GUIDE TO THE FO42 RUNDI FILE

[The following peoples, inhabitants of the dual kingdom of Ruanda and Rundi and adjacent areas, are included in this file: the Tutsi, Hutu, Twa, Hima, Ruanda or Banyaruanda, Ha, and the Vinza. All of the names given here are the basic or root forms which often appear with any of several prefixes, such as Ba- (people) or Mu- (person). The Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa are stratified ethnic sub-groups occuring together in both Ruanda and Rundi areas. The specific category 563 for such sub-grouping is usually applied in this file only when relations and differences between two or more of the sub-groups are being discussed. The Hima are of similar ethnic origin to the Tutsi, but are principally nomadic pastoralists whereas the Tutsi are sedentary. The Ruanda are inhabitants of Ruanda; the Rundi, strictly speaking, of the kingdom of Rundi. The Ha and Vinza are peoples living on the margins of the dual kingdom. There are only occasional references to these latter two groups in this file.

The ten sources which have been processed for this file cover the period from 1907 to the present. 1:Vanhove (translated from the French) is an account of native laws and customs from the legal viewpoint, based on questionnaires submitted to natives and touching on various aspects of the culture. Particularly, it indicates the means by which the ruling Ruanda maintained their dominance. 2:Meyer (translated from the German) is based on personal experience and extensive literary research. Although a broad treatment of the culture is presented, geographical and economic subjects are emphasized. 3:Smets is a brief work focusing on social and political organization and the factors of the culture most readily affecting it. 4:Maquet centers on a discussion of values and cosmology, and stresses the relationship of these aspects to each other and to other parts of the culture. 5:Pages (translated from the French) discusses primarily persons and customs encountered in and about the royal court. 6:Czekanowski (translated from the German) is a general ethnography of the Rundi which is thorough though not exhaustive, covering a wide

GUIDE TO THE FO42 RUNDI FILE (cont.)

range of subjects. 7:Roscoe is a brief but clear treatment dealing almost exclusively with the Batuse (Balyanwanda) of Ruanda, especially their political and social organization. 8:Hall deals with native court records and how they reflect the law and customs, chiefly those related to marriage arrangements. 9:Maquet is a reconstruction of Ruanda socio-political structure as it existed in the first decade of the twentieth century. 10:Albert is a discussion of the goals of Rundi society and how Rundi women may achieve them. The file was processed between 1959 and 1965.]

Essay on the Common Law of Ruanda

J. Vanhove

Preface

101 Beyond the eastern shore of Lake Kivu extends a country of
563 high hills called Ruanda. Nestling in banana groves, innumerable huts cling to the hillside, their smoke rising to the sky, and on the summits the brisk wind sways the pink grasses of the pastures where long-horned cattle graze. The exceptionally dense population con-
[161] sists of about 3,000,000 Bahutu of Bantu origin who are dominated by some tens of thousands of Batutsi, Hamitic shepherds who have probably come down from the Ethiopian plateaus. Finally, here and there, Batwa pygmoids, potters and hunters, live apart from the other natives who despise them.

183 Europeans who first studied the customs of the country dis-
671 covered to their surprise that they showed a number of points in common with our feudalism. The tenure of land and of cattle as well as the dependence of persons are under a [4] strict regulation which the
[643] ruler of Ruanda has the absolute power to modify but which has, in fact, remained unchanged throughout the ages.

177 Our occupation has obviously had the effect of modifying the
183 customs in many ways. For example, we could not approve of the brutal evictions and attempts on life and liberty made in the name of the right of the strongest. Evangelization has also introduced into the heart of the native society notions of justice and gentleness which are very different from the natives' original conceptions. However, despite
177 the efforts of our civil servants and our missionaries to attack what is
183 most to be condemned in it, native customs still largely holds its
563 sway due to the influence of the great Batutsi chiefs, who are eager to maintain their authority intact, and also due to that of the sorcerers, toothsayers, rain makers, and many others, who attempt to maintain the traditional law by playing on the credulity and superstitious mind of the Banyarwanda [Banyaruanda] and thus protect their prestige and their revenues. In addition, while realizing the protection we give them in repressing arbitrary actions, the Bahutu submit to the changes we

133 western part is the tail end of a range of Archeozoic folded mountains; it consists of crystalline slate with many granite intrusions and outcrops. The boundary between the two formations is a sharp threshold or drop in the terrain running north to south approximately at the longitude of the Mugera missionary station. Toward the east the slate-quartzite plateau also slopes down in an extended gradient at high altitude toward the gneiss and granite plateau of Unjamwesi which I consider an eroded escarpment. A huge tectonic fault scarp is found in the steep western slope of the highland toward the central African graben and toward Lake Tanganyika. Smaller fault depressions in several places extend over the country of Urundi; in fact, the entire interlacustrine region is rich in such tectonic faults. (Cf. the map on opposite page.)

[648] [4] Only a few times have determined enemies invaded Urundi across the high ridges and escarpments in the west and southeast, but this has happened more often from the flatter, more open fronts in the north and northeast. In the north are [101] the proud, warlike neighbors, the Ruanda, in the northeast the restless tribes of the Lake Victoria region: the Bassuwi, Basindja [Linza], Wassumbwa [Sumbwa], and others.

The slate-quartzite plateau of eastern Urundi has been leveled by erosion from meteorological forces over many thousands of years into a large peneplain with long, broad, low ridges (Plate 1a), while in the west the older mountain periphery still rises to a considerable altitude although it has also been worn down and rounded for the most part. The plateau region has an average altitude of 1,600-1,800 meters; the peripheral mountains rise to as high as 3,000 meters. More recent block movements renewed again the process of erosion which had been slowing down, so that in many regions the streams have carved recent, deep valleys into the plateau and the mountain ranges which then divided the region into a great number of large blocks and bastions. However, in still more recent times this process of erosion was again considerably slowed down by other developments. This is apparent from the fact that at present there are rapid streams only in the mountains of the west (Plate 1b), while in the plateau region of the east almost

[122] Chapter 6

Population Elements

563 The population of Ruanda is made up of three elements which anthropologically and culturally are very different, although they speak the same language.

The ruling group are the Batutsi [Tussi] herdsman who are anthropologically quite close to the Bahima [Hima] of Mpororo. There is a great gap between them and their subjects.

The Bahutu [Hutu] farmers make up the bulk of the population.

The Batwa [Twa], an outcast hunting tribe who also engage in rainmaking and pottery, form the third element.

197 Batutsi. The language of the Batutsi is identical with that of their Bahutu subjects except for certain phonetic dialect differences as yet unexplained by scholars. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, as well as the Bahima, must be linked with the Nilotic-Hamitic pastoral tribes on the eastern edge of the Nile Basin as well as those on the bank of the Nile to the south of the great Nile swamps. The Batutsi form the main part of an older migrating group which was wedged in between Lake Victoria and the forests of the Congo Basin. The Bari and their relatives probably broke out later in a northwesterly direction towards the Uele Basin. The Massai [Masai] group apparently poured into the regions to the east of Lake Victoria.

101 174

197 If we consider the word "Hamite" as a purely linguistic designation, the Batutsi are not Hamites at all, and even less Semites, as they are called by Rehse (1) and Kandt (2). They simply belong

[113]

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 110.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili [The Head of the Nile] (Berlin, 1904), p. 339.

the interlacustrine group of the Bantu language family.

131

on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 348.

In the northwestern part of the above-mentioned axis the Batutsi are less numerous. Only in Bwischascha and above all in the district of Lubengera do they appear in larger numbers. (3)

3. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin), p. 505.

The Batutsi of Bugoye settled there only a few generations ago. They came there from Mukinjaga. The few Batutsi in Mulera came there a short time ago from Nduga.

101 167 The Batutsi have also migrated to the west across the eastern edge of the graben [Rift Valley]. Dr. Kandt (4) says the following about the Batutsi in Kishari:

4. Ibid., p. 456.

"Here (Tshove, Kishari) many Watussi visited us, simple, friendly people but less handsome and aristocratic than those of Urundi and Ruanda; they have to work. Here they are not the rulers of the country, but cattle breeders living in villages isolated from the original inhabitants who are agriculturalists. (It is indeed strange how sharp a boundary the Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu form in this respect: to the east whole groups of Watussi live as kings and chiefs of subject peoples; to the west they appear sporadically or, as in Kishari, in larger numbers, but in neither case as rulers.)... Later I heard that Kishari is the refuge for all Watussi who for some reason have had to flee from their homeland." [124]

241 558 Despite the fact that conditions are very favorable for agriculture, the Batutsi have remained herdsmen, and only seldom have poverty-stricken Batutsi taken up agriculture. This happened to a family of Bagwabiro in Bugoye. Those Batutsi who till the

563 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recog-
191 nize members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation. This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because of their privileged position. They are closely united and give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 They make up the conservative element which supports the
178 entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established order. However, they have little capability for independently organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found where individual provinces have given up their independent political existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state.
[184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences
[101] and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu. It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants in general, and here memories of the state that united Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not
•[101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than
142 the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable, [144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important
101 role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's
103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelèmy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the
101 Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

[113] 2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

167 Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use
●101 in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu,
Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily
make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly
[194] alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect.
In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the
Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition
to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area.
The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi
to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population
of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with
the Batutsi.

563 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the
144 population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively
small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi
is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa
with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding
expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is
not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that

[113]

2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.
Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this process.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 215-23. [8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

174 Ruanda, Burundi, Ha, Karagwe). It is not known where these
101 pastoralists came from.

Because of cultural and physical similarities the Galla or Somali country of Southern Abyssinia has been advanced as their possible place of origin. As the invaders have completely adopted the Bantu language of the agriculturists, the lack of linguistic clues so important in such questions is a great setback to any historical reconstruction. It should be noted in this connexion that the use of
[119] the linguistic term 'Hamites' to denote Tutsi, who do not speak a Hamitic language at all, is unfortunate and misleading. Dr. Meinhard's suggestion of using a term not burdened with linguistic connotations such as 'Ethiopians' or 'Ethiopoids' should be considered.[11] The population movement which brought the
174 invaders to Ruanda is probably at least four centuries old. The
643 present ruler is traditionally the fortieth king of Ruanda. We know the names of thirty-nine predecessors, but it is possible that the list is incomplete. On the other hand it seems that the first nineteen are legendary figures. Taking account of this and assuming that a reign lasts about twenty years, we go back to the sixteenth century.[12]

174 As the Tutsi migration seems to have been gradual and peaceful, an infiltration rather than a conquest, it is probable that at the beginning their cattle grazed on the unoccupied grasslands. But the population increased as more Tutsi kept on entering the country and more land had to be tilled to feed them. Cattle were also increasing and the Hutu had to move from the most fertile soil, in the bottom of valleys, because during the dry season these places were the only ones where cattle could find fresh grass. This process must have been in operation for a few centuries to produce the situation as we know it now.

161 Statistics are not available for the 1900–10 period, with which
[174] this study is concerned, but we may from the present figures (with some modifications) get a fairly good idea of the situation at the beginning of this century. The population was estimated on 31 December 1949, to be 1,870,410 souls: in 1956, 2,374,136, which

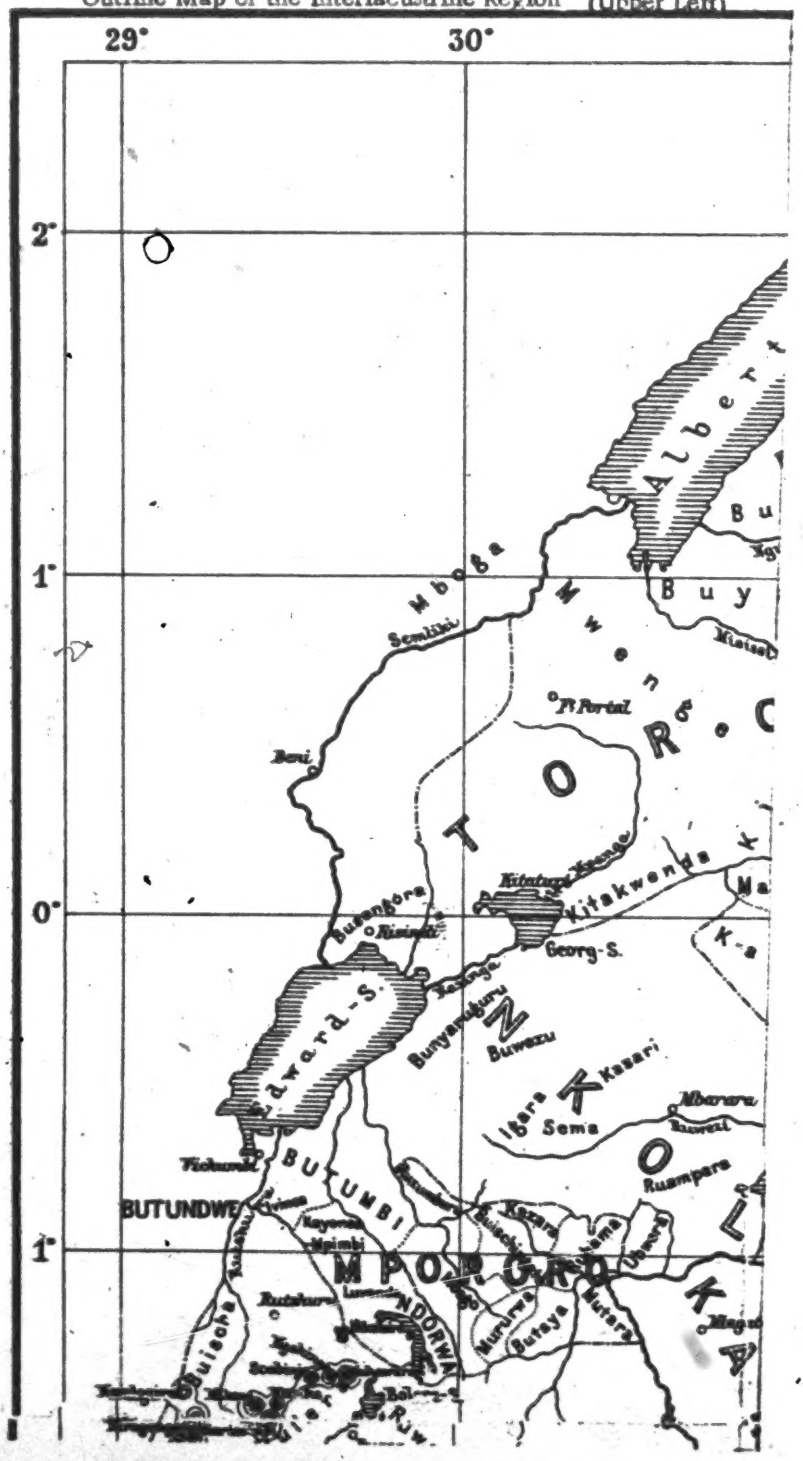
[11] Cf. Meinhard, 1947a, p. 3.

[12] According to Meyer, 1913, the pastoral invasion took place in two ways. The first, at the beginning of this millenium reached the north-east of the Province; the second, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought them farther southward. According to Kagame and Delmas, the first Hamitic populations invaded the country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (Gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi), (1956), p. 9.

6: Czekanowski--280 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Upper Left)

●102



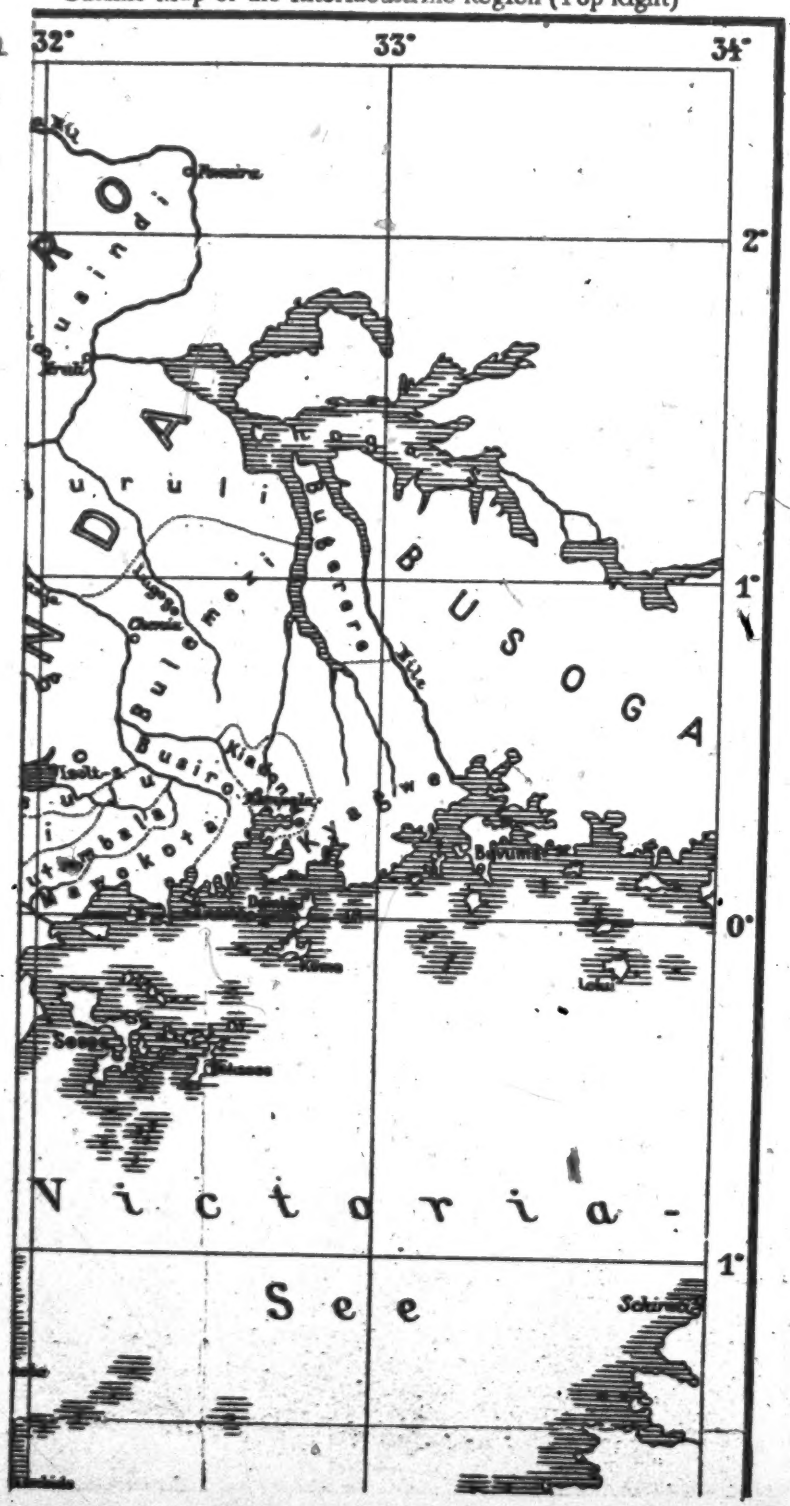
6: Czekanowski--281 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Top Center)

102

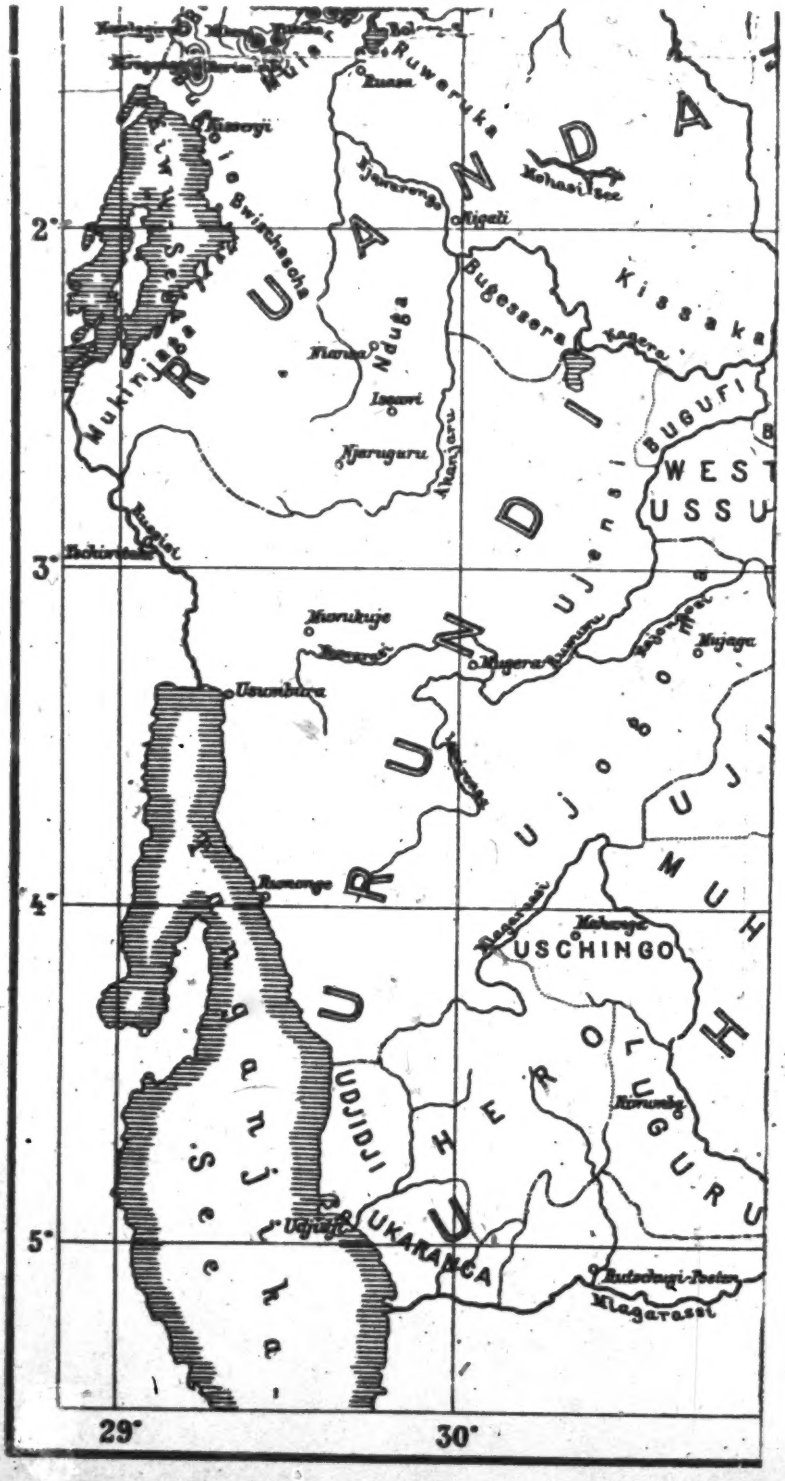
6: Czekanowski--282 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42
Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Top Right)

●102



6: Czekanowski--283 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

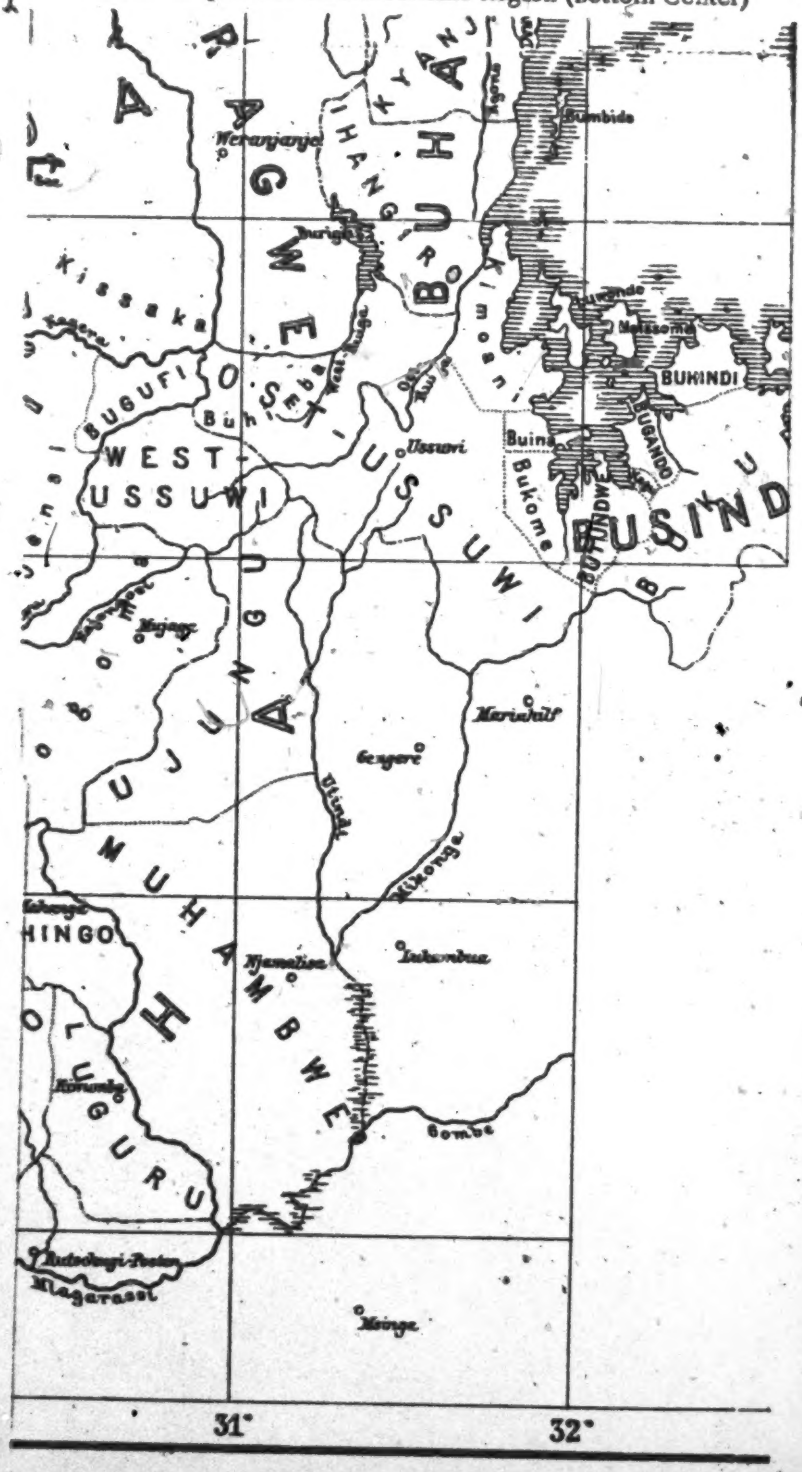
Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Left Bottom)



6: Czekanowski--284 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Bottom Center)

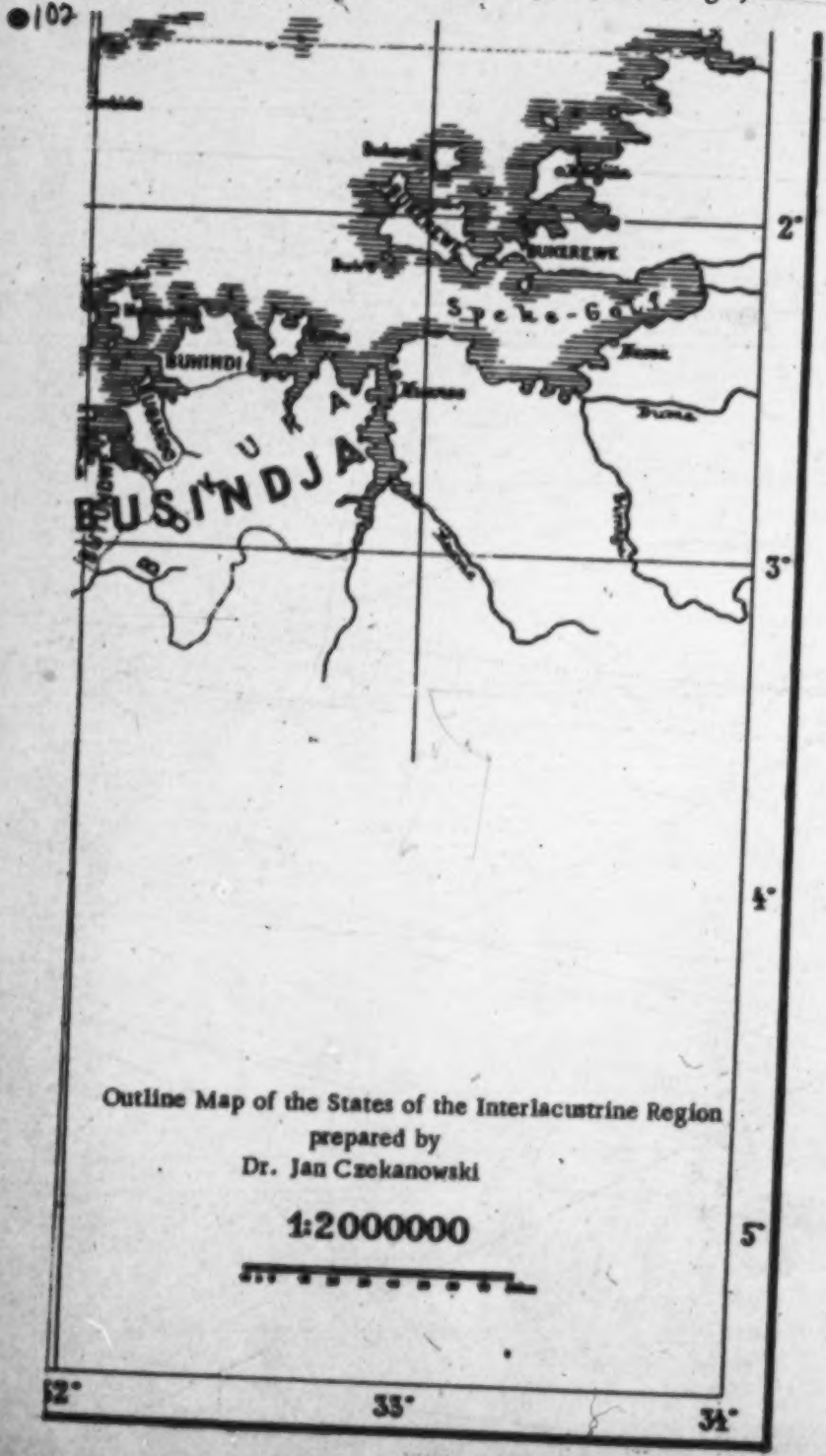
●/02



6: Czekanowski--285 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Bottom Right)

●102

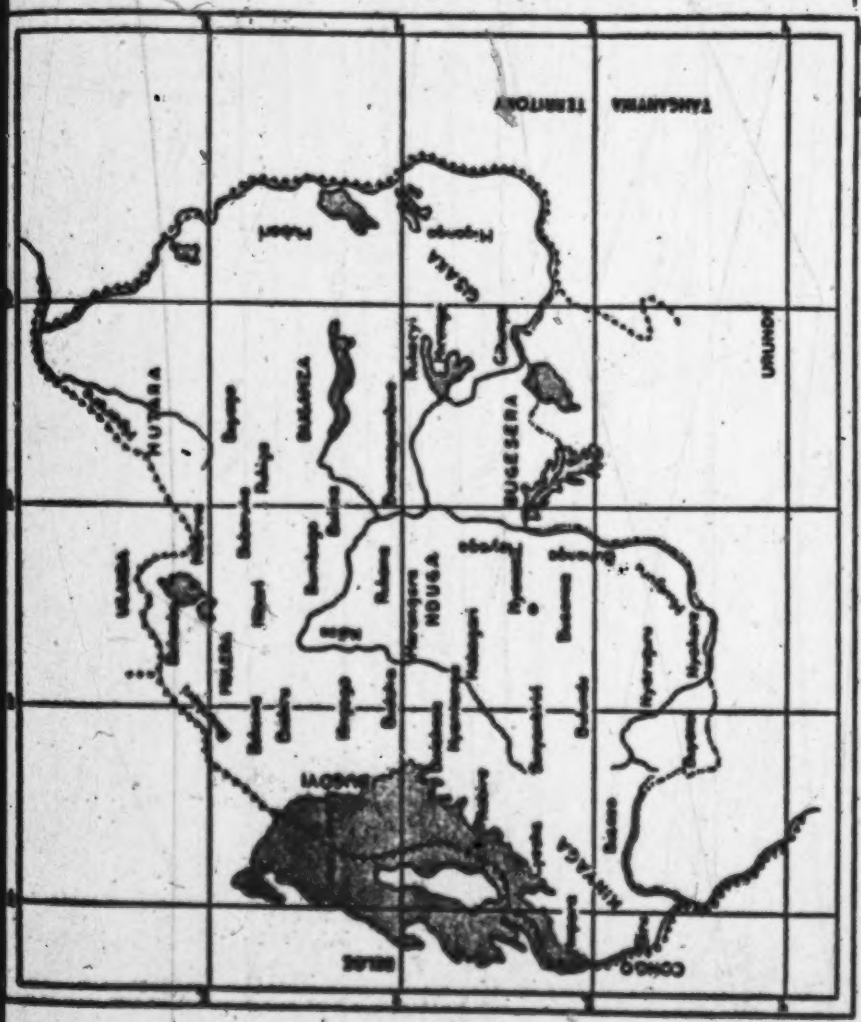


9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

102
103
131
133

[P.6]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42



The Districts of Ancient Ruanda

102
103
631
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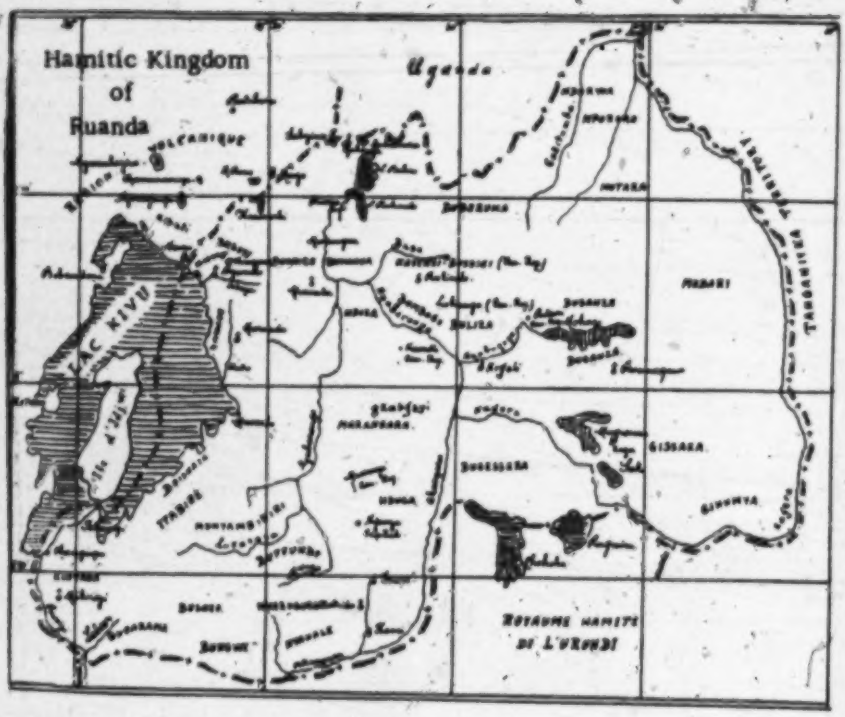
[Facing p. 102]

5: Pages--iii M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

103
131
133



648 The kings of Ruanda also headed numerous expeditions into the Congo with no definite results other than pillage.

133 [137] As a whole, Ruanda is a high, rolling plateau. It was deforested to get rid of wild beasts and to supply pastures and fields for cultivation.

The northwest is a broken, picturesque, wooded region. There stands the chain of volcanoes, practically all of which are extinct today. /24/

The highest peaks are the Karisimbi (1), which is 4, 506 meters

[103 301]

1. Karisimbi, from the word amassimbi, a kind of white shell which the Batutsi of Urundi and Ruanda wear at the neck as an ornament. Because of its color it served to designate the snow that covers the summits, and by extension the highest mountain.

high; the Mikeno (2), or Mukuru mubi (3), which is 4, 380 meters high;

[103]

2. Mikeno, from the verb gukena, "to be bare."

[103]

3. Mukuru mubi, "a peak of difficult access."

the Muhabura (4), which is 4, 127 meters high; the Sabyinyo (5), which

[103 487]

4. Muhabura, from the verb guhabura, "to set on the right path," because this mountain serves as a landmark for travelers.

[103]

5. Sabyinyo, "big-toothed father," owing to its volcanic ridges.

133 is 3, 647 meters high; the Mago (6), which is 3, 711 meters high; the
103

6. It is found wrongfully designated under the name of Visoke on some maps. /Visoke/ is a derivation of the term Bisoko, which is the name of the region itself.

Gahinga (7), which is 3, 474 meters high; etc.

7. Gahinga, "the little summit."

Father Paul Barthélemy, the founder of the Nyundo mission in the Bugoyi, was the first to climb the Karisimbi. This is why the name of Barthelemy peak is given on some maps to the highest peak.

The Mikeno, which had until now been regarded as inaccessi-
133 ble, has had its impregnability violated by daring explorers (8). Each

8. During the summer of 1927, on July 25, Fathers Van Hoef and Depluet and Mr. and Mrs. Leonard succeeded in surmounting all obstacles by using a rope and a small ladder. They reached the southern peak, which is separated from the other by an abyss. The summit forms a sloping esplanade covered with volcanic gravel.

of its two slender points ends in an immense and nearly vertical rock, from 300 to 400 meters high.

The so-called "Plain of the Volcanoes" extends between the Rutchuru and Lake Kivu. It is strewn with blocks of lava and hundreds of craters of varying size.

Among the active volcanoes, let us mention the Nyiragongo (3, 496 meters) of perfectly classic shape. The /25/ main crater, with

133 Then there are in order of size: Mohazi in the Buganza, Mugessera and Sake in the Gissaka, Ruhondo (at an altitude of 1, 750 meters) and Bolero (at 1, 065 meters) in Mulera, and Karago in Lwankeri plain.

In the Bugessera there are several ponds: Murago, Mirayi, Kagomasi, Chohoha, Gaharwa, Kilimbi, etc. The small land of Bgiriri, which is adjacent to Gissaka toward the south, includes Birira /pond/.

The two rivers that wind through Ruanda are: the Nyabarongo /Nyawarongo/ (1) and the Akanyaru (2). The former, to which

[103] 1. Nyabarongo, from the verb kulongora, kulongoroka, "to go far away." This river was called thus because it flows throughout Ruanda.

[103] 2. Akanyaru, from the verb kunyaruka, "to rush." The speed of its flow gave rise to this name.

Mr. Kandt, the last German resident, gave the name of Caput Nili ("Source of the Nile") in a well-known book, is formed by the junction of two rivers, the Mwogo (3) and the Lukarara.

[823] 3. The violence of its flow and the volume of its waters during the rainy season occasion numerous tragic accidents, hence the expression: "Mwogo! Thou doth not kill men, thou only taketh away those who come (of their own accord) to meet death," Mwogo! ntiwich' abantu, wicha abakwizaniye.

[539]

133 These two torrents have their source in the southwestern part of Ruanda. Their headwaters flow impetuously on a bed littered with rocks and pebbles.

Among the many subsidiaries of the Nyabarongo, let us mention in alphabetic order: the Base, Mukungwa (which comes out of Lake Ruhondo), Nyabugogo, which serves as an outlet for Lake Mohazi, etc.

The Akanyaru, whose basin is less extensive, also originates in the southwest and combines its waters with those of the Nyabarongo at the level of theBugesserá. /28/

After they join, these two rivers change their name to Kagera (1). Under this new name they enter the Victoria into which they

[103] 1. Kagera. This word comes from the verb kugera, "to deepen."

The Kagera slowly wanders through the plain, and its lazy waters overflow into large ponds and marshes infested with crocodiles and mosquitoes. [136]

pour their yellow waters loaded with silt.

Lake Kivu receives only a small part of the waters of Ruanda. Its outlet is the Ruzizi River, which flows into /Lake/ Tanganyika after a tumultuous course of about 120 kilometers.

131 Ruanda, whose surface may be estimated at 30, 000 to 35, 000 square kilometers boasts a population that is believed to reach two 161 million souls.

It is made up of three quite distinct ethnic groups: the Batutsi, 563 or Hamites, the Bahutu of the Bantu group, and the Batwa, or Negrillos (Pygmies).

The Batutsi, who are thought to be of Egyptian or Abyssinian 141 origin, (2) are tall in stature. Some measure as much as 2 or even

000 2. From an ethnological point of view the physical appearance of the Ethiopian people is an exception in

173 The varied origins of the tribes which occupied this area explain the multitude of autonomous groups found by the newcomers. The northern populations came almost in their entirety from the Mpororo and Ndorwa.

To the west, the Bagoyi on the east shore of Lake Kivu came from the Bgisha, Gishari, Mushari, Kamuronsi, and Bunyabungu, all of which are areas situated north and west of the lake. To the southwest, the Kinyaga inhabitants are a mixture of Banyabungu and Barundi /Rundi/. To the south and to the east, the population seems closely related to that of Urundi and Karagwe.

The most powerful tribe seems to have been the one that inhabited the Nduga. In the times of Kigeri I and /76/ Mibambge I Mutabazi, the tribe was ruled by the famous diviner-sorceror Mashira, who held the combined functions of king and priest. The reputation of this chief was due less to his military exploits than to the supernatural powers with which legend endows him. On the present soil of Ruanda there stood, among many others, the tiny kingdoms of Marangara, Bwana-Mkali (the Barenge), Burwe, Bgishaza, Budaha, Kingogo, Bugamba, Bushiru (1), Buhoma, Luhengeri, Bukonya, etc.

1. A province with a symbolic and meaningful name. The memories it calls to mind could not be expressed better.

[103] Bushiru is a noun derived from the neutral verb gushira, which means "to end," "to die out." It was lent this area whose inhabitants were incorrigible quarrelers and fighters who scorned death, who were always at war, who exterminated one another, and who killed those travelers who were sufficiently foolhardy to venture into the region.

173 The last one, Yuhi III Gahindiro, is mentioned only in connection with the fact that he raised a Mutwa /Batwa/ to noble rank and gave him his own daughter (Mulangamirwa) in marriage. The descendants of this couple make up the Basiete clan.

Where did those monarchs live? Which were their capitals?

The ancient royal residences (ibigabiro, ibisozi, imirwa), which are easily recognizable by the clumps of trees that mark the sites, are found most everywhere through the various provinces of Ruanda. They are found especially in the vicinity of Kigali, in the Nduga, after one crosses the Nyabarongo River, along the road to Nyanza and beyond, up to the Bwana-Mkali. Judging by the number of their dwellings, it seems that the Hamitic princes had made this central part of Ruanda their most select location, their favorite abode.

Matrimonial relations between conquerors and conquered were so frequent in the Nduga that the Bahutu of that province are strongly tinted with Hamitic blood. In order to explain the profusion of ancient residences, it must be added that certain monarchs such as Ruganzu II and Lwabugiri moved about readily and had many residences while their predecessors maintained only three or four (1).

● 103

1. Royal residences around Kigali:
Ntora, Kabuye, Rutare, Mwulire, etc.

In the Nduga:

Gibara (Lwogera and Lwabugiri), Runda (Musinga), Ishèru (Lwogera), Idjuru (Yuhi-Mazimpaka), Rukoma (Mibambge), Kanshyiri (Lwogera), Rugobagoba (Lwogera), Kamonyi (Lwabugiri and Musinga), Buhoro and Kivumu (Gahindiro), Mata, Lwamabare, Nyundo, etc.

In the Bwana-Mkalé:

Buhimba (Lwogera and Lwabugiri), Gikirambga (Mutara), Gisseke (Lwabugiri, Musinga), Ishyanda (Lwogera, Lwabugiri), Mwurire, Kisanze, Lussagara, etc.

773 This is how the young prince became willy-nilly the father of the
821 present Bashara, or rain-maker, lineage, which has inherited his
614 vocation.

If they wish to bring rain, these people[1] go outside, look at
789 the sky, and spread out their arms. If they wish to favor only the
821 hill they inhabit, they must sit. If they wish to benefit the entire land with their astonishing power, they must stretch out at full length and spread out their arms at the same time. The storytellers add that this is how the descendants of Rushara have acted ever since that time.

Up to these last few years, rain makers were exposed to
[686] serious dangers. It was not unusual to hear that one or another of those unfortunate creatures had been killed or thrown into the river for failing to produce the needed rain on time.

According to another interpretation of the same legend which
[773] is very popular in the central province of Nduga, Rushara disobeyed the orders of the sorcerer at the proddings of the demon of curiosity after he had crossed the Nyabarongo. The water ran out of the pot and spread onto the ground. Nyamukama was informed and replied that in order /431/ to get rain, all that was needed was to build upon the spot where the water from the vessel had been spilled, and to dig into the hill (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Many of the kings of Ruanda have indeed elected this hill as one of their favorite capitals.

In times of drought it is customary to scratch its soil lightly as though searching for a spring, and it is said that Nyamukama's prophecies always come true. This is why the area is appropriately
[103] called Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), that is to say, "the place where rain comes forth."

It is for the same reason, and to obtain the same results, that at Mata in Marangara, people dig into both sides of the hill.

The first of the two holes is called "the fountain of milk" (iliba ry'amata) and symbolizes abundance. Cows will then yield more milk. The other hole is called by the name of "source of rain" (iliba ry'imvura). Just by dealing it a few blows with a hoe, a favorable influence is exercised upon the clouds, which will give forth a beneficent rain.

[1] [i.e., the Bashara. - Ann Ist]

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178 sticks so that the custom should not altogether lose its penal character.

2. Another improvement over the past has been the complete suppression during the two preceding reigns of the odious custom which prompted each new prince when he ascended the throne to send his troops into the Russokovu, between the Bugamba and Kingogo, to make war and receive their baptism of fire.

This was called "to make the king's spear drink blood" (guhir' icchumu ry' umwami).

Just as the Banyarwanda have the habit of leading their herds to the watering hole (guhir' inka) at the /463/ beginning of the day, a traditional custom also made it necessary for the king to make his spear drink blood (kunywesh' amarasso icchumu ry' umwami) upon his accession to the throne.

After killing some unfortunate people, the victorious warriors returned home.

The beginning of a reign could not be augured more auspiciously.

773 Ruganzu II Ndori was the first to launch such an expedition, which later became traditional.

He did this to punish the killers of his father. According to one version, which has already been cited (1), old King Ndahiro was

1. Cf. Book III, Histoire du règne de Ruganzu II, /History of Ruganzu II's Reign/ /not translated/.

killed at Russokovo, by the Bakongoro (a segment of the great Banyabyinshi faction) who had rebelled against him and whom he had set out to subjugate.

The expedition ended in disaster. Ndahiro, so the tradition adds, died there along with many of his followers. The rebels seized the king's drums and had them burned. Only the Kalinga, or palladium of the realm, escaped the conquerors. This is why the [103] place where the defeat took place has been known since by the name

773 of Rubi rw'inyundo, meaning "the evil of the hammer," to recall that
[103] the weapons wrought by the blacksmiths' hammers were fatal there to Ndahiro and his warriors (2).

2. There are numerous variations on this historical theme. The inhabitants of the Bugamba insist that Ruganzu II was smoked out of Kirengo Cave by the Banyabyinshi. Hence the custom, they say, of leading two of the inhabitants of the land to the capital, where they were beaten, in memory of and punishment for this misdeed. Others believe that it was Chyilima-Rugwe who was fatally injured by the Bakongoro and who, pursued by his enemies, came to die near Gasseke, where his skeleton was later found. These tragic circumstances would explain the 15 annual days of mourning in June, if the disaster was such as the chroniclers lead us to suppose.

178 3. Fortunate, too, is the abolition of the custom which prompted
643 the young king to kill one of his maternal uncles (nyirarume) with his own hands, an act which was political as well as /464/ superstitious, and which often followed close on the murder of the princes who were the monarch's relatives by marriage.

The prosperity of the realm was believed to depend on the fulfillment of cruel customs.

The abolition of these barbarous practices would be wholly to the credit of the Banyarwanda were it not for the fact that in 1895, at the time when Mibambge-Rutalindwa was deposed, the victorious Bega faction then in power committed innumerable atrocities toward

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2. Many of those former royal residences recall historic events which took place at the site or in the vicinity.

It was at Mwurire that Mutara I, a son of Ruganzu II, vanquished the king of Urundi, a Mutaga, whose lands extended that far at the time.

On Ruchunchu hill, not far from a former residence of Lwabugiri's at Rubugurizo (that is to say, [103] according to the etymological sense of the word, "at the spot where the king's sons played backgammon"), the natives point out the spot where Mibambge-Rutalindwa, Lwabugiri's appointed heir, set fire to himself and his people /relations and friends/ in 1896, in some hastily built huts, when he found himself about to be captured by partisans of the powerful Bega family who had rebelled against him. In the Bumbogo, at places called Mbilima and Matovu, some tall fiscus trees mark the site /533/ of a dwelling formerly occupied by an important chief of the Batsobe clan who had married King Lwabugiri's own mother.

The latter, having grown up, wanted to wreak vengeance for what he regarded not only as a serious infringement of court custom but also as a crime of high treason.

His warriors surrounded the hill one day.

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable, [144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important
101 role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's
● 103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelèmy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the
101 Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

[113] 2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

775 823 sometimes large quantities of these reach the outside world. I repeatedly heard this explanation of volcanic activity. It sometimes happens, however, that Ryangombe drives spirits into the outer world as a punishment. Then they torment the living, who must make sacrifices so that Ryangombe will take the spirits back and thus free the living from molestation by these homeless.

[103] People from the region of Bobandana, whom I met on the way to Rutshuru, called Mount Nyiragongo Kilima ya Mungu, "Mountain of the Gods."

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) also says that Ryangombe allegedly

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-03]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

lived in Muhawura with his court which consists of the souls of the babandwa dedicated to him. Only the souls of the nsigo, that is, the profane and those initiated into other cults, go to Nyiragongo after death. However, he concedes that, according to other accounts, Ryangombe lives in Nyiragongo.

The volcanoes play a very important role in the supernatural world of Ruanda. Captain Von Beringe (2) mentions that the birunga

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, pp. 36, 37.

(plural of kirunga, "volcano") are named after the spirits which are said to live in them, such as Sabinio, Karisimbi, Mikeno, Nyamlagira, and Gonga. The last is the oldest among them. Formerly Nyamlagira, who was later exiled, was said to have lived with him. The later event is perhaps an allusion to the recent origin of the youngest volcano in this group.

[532] [300] Memorial Trees. There are no pictorial representations of the dead in Ruanda. I saw no sculpture or wood carvings that referred to them.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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The red line indicates the route taken by the expedition—The places visited fe
people Bakyiga—Bakunta on shore of L. Edward—Katwe and Fort Portal people
and L. Salisbury people Bateso—Mt Elgon people Bagesu and Basabei—Busoga

[End plate - Section A]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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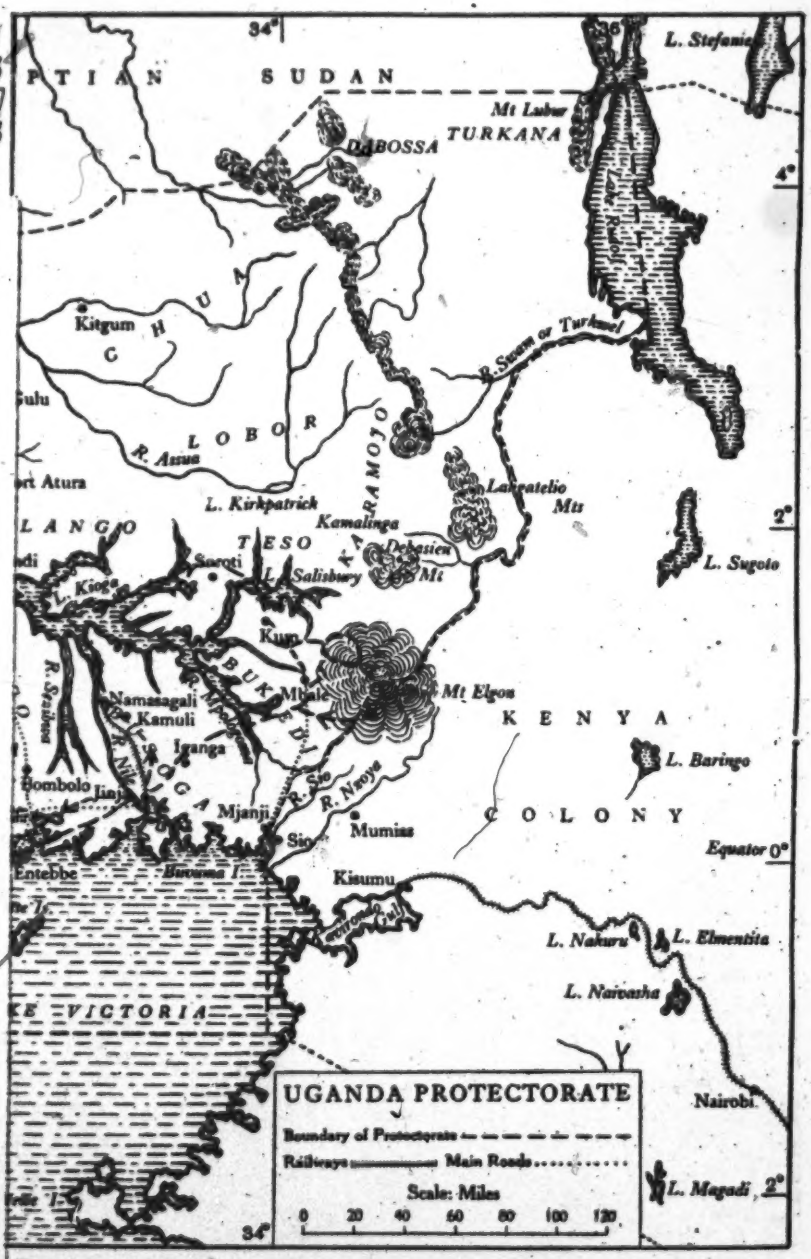

-The places visited for investigation were: Ankole people Banyankole—Kigezi and Fort Portal people Bambwa and Bakonjo—Bunyoro people Banyoro—Soroti and Basabei—Busoga people Basoga.

[End plate - Section B]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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[P.6]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

TANGANYIKA TERRITORY
URUNDI
BUGESERA
BUGANZA
BUHA
BUYOVI
BUHAVA
BUSOZO
BUSUBI
BUHAYA
BUSUMBU
BUGABO
BUHAKI
BUHAGA
BUSUMBU
BUSUBI
BUSOZO
BUHAVA
BUYOVI

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104 GLOSSARY--definitions of native terms frequently used in the sources; orthographies and transliteration systems. See also:

Word lists and vocabulary. 199

133 When I now attempt to describe the inhabitants of Urundi, the Barundi (1), the following question must first be briefly

[104] [194]

1. In the spelling of Barundi, Bahima, Batussi, Bahutu, Batwa, Baganda, Banjoro, Banjaruanda, Banjankole, etc., I am following the example of J. Czekanowski (Nos. 38 and 48). In this connection, it should be noted that the phonetic value of this b is often close to our w i.e., an English v and in correct phonetic terms might be more clearly transcribed by a v specially marked, but for the purpose of my study the common b corresponds more closely to the orthography of the tribes between the lakes. On the other hand, one must write Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, Waschaschi, etc., since these tribes pronounce the w in all clarity.

answered: What does the country look like, the soil which supports and nourishes the people and upon which its economic, social, and political life takes place? Urundi is a mountainous country, the southern part of the interlacustrine region to which belong Ruanda in the north, the Kisiba states and Uha in the east, and in the south also Uha and part of Ujiji. On all sides Urundi has good natural boundaries: in the north the rivers Akanjaru and Kagera, in the east the long plateau sloping down toward Uha, in the south the upper course of the Malagarasi, in the west Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. To the north the region has a broad front toward Ruanda, while to the south it tapers off in wedge-shaped form to Lake Tanganyika.

In its geological structure Urundi is divided into two large regions whose landscapes differ. The larger eastern part is a section of the Paleozoic slate and quartzite plateau (Plate 26) probably belonging to the Cape formation. This plateau covers almost the entire interlacustrine region. The narrower, tapering

/20/ Preface

104 Note: When we cite proper names, geographical terms, and
192 other common nouns, we shall write them with the article (1) and the
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1. The article (a, i, u), which varies according to word classes, is designated in Runyarwanda works already in existence under the term "euphonic vowel."

nominal prefix (indicating the singular or plural) (2), which are joined

2. The nominal prefix, which indicates the singular or plural, also varies according to noun class.

to the word itself as follows:

Class	Singular	Plural	Class	Singular	Plural
Class I	mu	ba	Class VI	u	n
II	mu	mi	VII	ka	tu
III	n	n	VIII	bu	ma
IV	ki	bi	IX	ku	ma
V	i	ma	X	ha	ha

Article	Number Singular or Plural	Word Root	Meaning
u	mu	ntu	man
a	ba	ntu	men
u	mu	tutsi	Hamite
a	ba	tutsi	Hamites
a	ba	hutu	serfs (cultivators)

904

192	a	ba	twa	Negrillos
193	u	ru	go	palisade
	i	n	go	palisades

It would be more logical to give only the root itself as follows: /les/ ntu, /les/ tutsi, /les/ hutu and, in the singular, /le/ ntu, /le/ tutsi, /le/ hutu. It would be a matter of habit but the euphony would suffer a little by this.

Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Amulet	ngisha	–	mihasira	–
Arms	amaboko	–	mikolantambara	–
Bracelet (copper)	imiringa	imihone	–	–
Eyes	amaso	–	agaweza	–
Axe	–	–	nsenya	–
Banana	ekitoke	–	bihuni	–
Bananenenhain	indoke	–	bihungatete	–
Sweet potato	–	–	ebizibizi	–
To build	kubaka	–	kizizimba	–
Farmer	umuhutu	umunutu	–	–
Tree	ikiti	–	kisale	–
Legs	–	–	malibasa	–
Beer	nzoga	ruhunga	mayanza	–
To drink beer (nzoga)	–	–	–	kutshwaga hwagura
Bow	umuheto	umuneto	bulega	–
Archery	kurasa	kurasha	–	–
Firewood	ntushari	–	nsali	–
Dagger	umusenyi	umusenyi	–	–
Peas	maharage	–	ebihurugu	–
To eat	kulia	kutanyira	–	–
European	–	–	Bazubu	–
Meat	nyama	–	migasi	–
Fire	umuriro	umwoto	muto	–
Woman	umugore	umukari	mukankazi	–
To give birth	kubiara	kubuta	–	–
To go	kugenda	kuzenga	–	–
Face	amasso	amashongo	–	–
God	Imana	Imende	–	–
Grass	ubwatsi	–	bunyamurwa	–
Hair	imitsatsi	–	ichoke	–
Chief	umutware	chirima	–	–
House	inzu	inzakaru	enzakaru	–

6: Czekanowski--252 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Dog	imga	kakungu	–	kakungu
Kahindiro (king)	Kahindiro	Kamindiro	–	–
Calabash	kisabo	–	ensweina	–
Child	umwana	umuhere	–	ibikende
Client	umugaragu	umugarama	–	–
Cooking pot	nyungu	–	ntwerwa	–
Queen mother	–	–	muyarami	–
Head	umutwe	–	muyara	–
Herbs	imboga	iziboze	–	–
Cow	inka	ihangi	–	–
Cowhide	inkanda	inkabara	–	–
Lwabugiri (king)	Lwabugiri	Rwabuguru	–	–
Girl	mukobga	musundi, ntara-komereke	–	–
Man	umugabo	umulabo	umulenzi	–
Mat	ikirago	–	mukabali	–
Mush	umutsima	umubonania	–	–
My child	umwana wanye	–	umwere wane	–
[317] To milk	kukama	kukoroga	–	–
Milk	amata	ameza	masugunu	amafuro
Ears	amatwi	–	mahuliru	–
Arrows	umuambi	–	milasa	–
Rain	–	–	nfonyi	–
Salt	umunyu	umusenyi	–	–
To suckle	–	–	kunuka	–
Sheep	ntama	–	mbwana	inyabuhoro
Stool	–	–	kisunta	–
Spear	ichumo	ishongoro	masongola	–
To die	kupfa	–	kuyiruma	–
Cloth	–	–	migonzi, mikorokozi	–

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Tobacco	–	–	ihukula	–
Forest	ishamba	–	kichaka	–
Water	amazi	–	matingi	–
Way	inzira	–	muhura	–
Teeth	–	–	manono	–
Goat	ihene	inguruka	uzwika	kianwa
Tongue	urulimi	–	lurigizi	–

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blood of the animal and placed on the chests, the foreheads, and, last of all, the backs of those present. Then the mubandwa spreads out small bundles of green twigs, muyambo, on the animal. When he has given the order to disperse, everyone begins to move. One person after another walks over the sacrificial animal and goes home without looking back; otherwise the sacrifice would lose all its meaning. In this procession the father goes first, then the sons, then the chief wife, followed by the other wives and their daughters. The mubandwa and his attendants remain at the place of sacrifice. [318] If someone passes in the vicinity of the sacrificial remains, he takes care to pick up a leaf, spit on it, and throw it in the direction of the remains, saying: "Do not pursue me (spirit, umuzimu, misfortune, or illness)." This refers to the fact that the evil, the spirit, or whatever has been cast off through the sacrifice might attack a passer-by at the crossroads.

The Batutsi sacrifice cows, sheep, and chickens, whereas the sacrificial animal of the Bahutu is the goat and, more rarely, sheep.

As far as I could ascertain, the meat of sacrificed cows is distributed to all present if the prophecy is favorable. If the entrails prophesy unfavorably, the meat is given to the Batwa. The family of the donor does not eat the meat of sacrificed sheep, but gives it to the mubandwa and his helpers who have performed the sacrifice. The ceremony described by Father Van Thiele thus undoubtedly refers to the sacrifice of a sheep, which he forgot to mention. The meat of sacrificial goats is eaten by the Bahutu who

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

I have given Ruanda words in the orthography now customary in Ruanda-Urundi. Articles and prefixes have been omitted wherever possible, as for instance in the words *hutu*, *tutsi*, *twa*, *ruanda*, *garagu*. The prefix has been kept in words widely used and which, if reduced to their radicals, might not be easily recognized. This is the case with the words *mwami* and *buhake*, whose roots are *-ami* and *-hake*.

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suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

105

Identification

The Ha (Abaha, Waha), with whom are included the kindred Jiji (Wajiji) and Vinza (Vinsa), are a Bantu nation of the Interlacustrine group similar in language and culture to the Rundi. They have a total population of 180,000 on 10,000 square miles.

Basic Economy

A dual economy -- herding by the dominant Tusi (Hima) and agriculture by the subject Bantu population. Since the reduction of cattle through Ngoni and Masai raids, the balance has shifted in favor of agriculture, which is done with the aid of irrigation. The staple crops are sorghum and maize, but other crops include bananas, manioc, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, pumpkins, legumes, and possibly millet [intimation by Meinhardt]. In addition to cattle, many goats, sheep, and chickens are kept, and also bees and pigeons. Fishing is important, and hunting is moderately productive. Trade is extensive, and there are markets.

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt and tend the livestock. Both sexes cultivate the fields [Hore says women only among the Jiji].

Property

Livestock is the standard of wealth and prestige; salt is used as currency; slaves and beads are also valued possessions. Land is communal property, individuals enjoying usufruct rights only so long as they cultivate it.

Inheritance is inferentially patrilineal.

Social Stratification

There is mild and unimportant slavery. The pastoral Tusi (Hima) and the subject Bantu agriculturists form distinct social classes.

Marriage

Incidental mention of a bride-price.

General polygyny prevails.

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Kin Groups and Exogamy

Exogamous, non-localized, totemic patri-sibs.

Settlement Pattern

Griffiths reports scattered hamlets, each occupied by a family group; another source [probably Grant] reports palisaded villages in contrast to the scattered hamlets of the Rundi. Domes beehive huts probably prevail [Meinhardt].

Local Government

There are local sub-chiefs.

State

The Vinza have a sultan and district chiefs. The Ha are organized into a number of petty states under Tusi "sultans," who are supported by bribes, court fees, etc. They have the character of divine kings; are not allowed to die a natural death but are throttled in extremis; pandemonium reigns for a period after their death; the body is mummified and tended indefinitely by women.

Warfare

Warfare is common.

Bibliography

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Meinhardt. Provisional Outline of the Ethnographic Provinces of East Africa. Unpublished Ms. [A very little information, mainly general.]

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Identification

The Ruanda (Banyaruanda, Rwanda) are a Bantu nation closely akin to the Rundi. They had a total population in 1952 of 2,133,000, representing a density of 89.7 per square kilometer. The original inhabitants were Pygmies, whose survivors are the Twa hunters. They were largely displaced by Bantu, the present Tussi agricultural caste. About four centuries ago the country was infiltrated by Nilotic pastoralists, who became the ruling and aristocratic caste of Tussi. The Tussi today speak only Bantu.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with hoe cultivation, but animal husbandry is also important and is the dominant activity of the aristocratic Tussi. The staple crops are sorghum and eleusine, but maize, sweet potatoes [important], manioc, bananas, beans, peas, and some yams, gourds, watermelons, peanuts, onions, tomatoes, and peppers are also grown. Cattle are the principal domestic animals; their meat is rarely eaten, but milk and butter are staples of the Tussi diet. Goats and sheep are also kept; mutton is not eaten, and only the Hutu eat goat meat; ewes are not milked, and goat milk is consumed only by children. The Twa specialize in hunting [their women in pottery manufacture]. Despite the lakes, little fishing is done. There are few markets.

Sex Division of Labor

Men clear land, hunt, gather honey, and herd and milk the livestock. Both sexes engage about equally in agricultural work.

Property

Cattle constitute the chief wealth and the prevailing unit of value. Eminent domain in all land and cattle is vested in the king, but private property in both is recognized. A man can acquire rights to land by inheritance, by gift from a chief, or by bringing untilled land under cultivation. Owners of land and cattle can grant usufruct rights to others; in cattle such rights consist in their milk, their flesh (when they die), and their male offspring. Collective land ownership [by lineages] is found only among the Hutu of the north.

Inheritance is patrilineal -- by sons, and in default thereof by brothers, then male ortho-cousins, then grandsons, then brothers' sons, then paternal uncles. Ordinarily a man gives part of his estate to each son when he marries; on his death the remaining sons share the rest. One son, usually the eldest, is selected by the father to succeed him as family head.

Social Stratification

Slavery formerly prevailed. Slaves were recruited from war captives, and the status was apparently non-hereditary. There are three castes: (1) the Tussi (Batuse, Batusi, Tutsi, Watuzi), a pastoral aristocracy of Nilotic descent; (2) the Hutu (Bahutu, Wahutu, Wakhutu), an agricultural peasantry of Bantu descent; (3) the Twa (Batwa), a Pygmy caste of hunters. In percentage of the population they constitute, respectively, about 10, 85, and 5 percent. The Twa are completely endogamous, and marriage between Tussi and Hutu is rare and disfavored. A feudal relationship of patron and client is common. It is established between persons of superior and inferior status, and can be terminated by either party by specifying the reasons, but otherwise the relationship is continued by the heirs of both parties. It is established by the patron entrusting the client with one or more cows and the usufruct in them. The client accompanies the patron to court or to war and renders him material aid when needed, and in return the patron renders legal and other protection and material assistance when needed, There is a royal sib.

Marriage

Virginity is demanded in a bride. Marriages are arranged by the fathers, often in infancy. Girls marry when their breasts are fully developed; boys at about 15 among the Twa, at 17-18 among the Hutu, at about 25 among the Tussi. All groups pay a bride-price; this consists of liquor among the Twa, of a cow or 12 goats among the Hutu, of 20 or more cows among the Tussi.

Polygyny is permitted, and its incidence is reported to be slightly higher than 20%. It may occur in the sororal form, but this is non-preferential and rather rare. Both the junior sororate and the levirate with the husband's eldest surviving brother are preferential. A man enjoys sexual privileges with the wives of his brothers and

his parallel and cross cousins, and also with the sister or ortho-cousin of his wife. He also has a semi-sanctioned right to sleep with his SoWi, but does so ordinarily only as a means of punishing his son. In a polygynous family each co-wife has her own hut and plot of land.

Family

The normal residential unit is an independent nuclear or polygynous family, to which domestics and dependents may be attached.

Residence

The prevailing rule is patrilocal, but there is occasionally an initial period of matrilocal residence with bride-service.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Some of the earlier sources suggest a tendency toward local exogamy.

Marriage and sex relations are forbidden with any primary or secondary consanguineal relative and also with a parallel cousin, WiMo, or an uncle's wife, but not with SoWi. Unions with FaSiDa and MoBrDa are permitted but not looked upon with favor.

Descent is patrilineal. There are about 30 agamous, totemic, non-localized, and non-corporate patri-sibs (ubwoko), which are divided into corporate patri-lineages that are exogamous with respect to both sex relations and marriage. The lineage functions in ancestor worship and blood vengeance, and in some instances is a land-holding unit. Each lineage (inzu) has a chief and a council of adult males. Intermediate between lineage and sib is the sub-sib (umulyongo), which is exogamous and sometimes has a chief. A sub-sib consists of people who would belong to the same lineage if this had not split into geographically separate groups.

Kinship Terminology [from Maquet]

Fa--data. Mo--mama. Ch, BrCh[ms]--mwana [addr.]. So, BrSo(ms)--muhungu. Da, BrDa(ms)--mukobwa. Wi, BrWi(ms)--mugore. Br, Si, FaCh--mwene-data. Elder full or half sibling of the same sex--mukuru. Younger sibling or half sibling of the same sex--murumuna. Br(ws)--musaza. Si(ms)--mushiki.

MoCh--mwene-mama.

FaBr--data wacu ["our Fa"]. MoBr--marume. FaSi--masenge. MoSi--mama wacu. BrCh(ws)--musengeneza. SiCh(ms)--mwishywa. GrFa--sogokuru. GrMo--nyogokuru. GrCh--mwuzukuru. FaWi, FaBrWi--muka-data. FaSiHu--mugabo wa masenge. MoSiHu--mugabo wa mama. WiFa, HuFa--data-bukwe. WiMo, HuMo--ma-bukwe. SoWi--mukazana. DaHu--mukwe. HuWi, HuBrWi--mukeba. HuBr--mugabo. WiSiHu--musanzire. BrWi(ws), SiHu(ws), HuSi, WiSi, WiBr, WiBrWi--muramu.

Cross-cousin--mubyara. Sibling terms extended to parallel cousins.

Joking relationships exist between grandparent and grandchild and between cross-cousins of opposite sex. A man shows respect toward his FaSiHu, MoSiHu, WiFa, WiMo; a woman toward HuFa and HuMo. There is also considerable restraint between MoBr and SiSo. Marriage and sex relations are forbidden with WiMo and WiBrWi.

Settlement Pattern

The Ruanda live in neighborhoods of dispersed homesteads. Only the royal capital approaches the composition of a village. Dwellings are thatched huts of beehive shape. A homestead consists of three or more of them in a circular enclosure surrounded by banana plantations.

Community Organization

Lineages seem to have been localized as clans, at least formerly.

Local Government

Each neighborhood has a headman, who collects taxes and organizes corvees. He is often [if not usually] a lineage head.

State

Lineages are aggregated into "hills," each with a single sub-chief. "Hills," in turn, are aggregated into 70-90 administrative districts or provinces. Each of these has two chiefs, who are independent of each other -- a land chief who collects taxes in agricultural products and a cattle chief who collects taxes in livestock. Hutu and even Twa may be hill chiefs, and Hutu may be land chiefs, but only Tussi can be cattle chiefs. In general, Tussi fill most of the hierarchical administrative offices, which siphon off roughly two thirds of all taxes raised, the rest going to the king. The Ruanda are organized in a strong state with an absolute monarch (mwami)

with divine attributes. The king is supreme judge, maintains a court in a capital village, and has his symbol a sacred drum. Ranking with him is a Queen-Mother (umugabekazi), the king's own mother or a substitute if she is dead, who has her own court, herds, and clients. The king is assisted by a number of high dignitaries (abiru), who are concerned largely with ritual and protocol. They do not form a council, but are exempted from taxes. Their offices are hereditary from Fa to So, but the king may depose an incumbent and appoint his son. There is also a council of major chiefs, of whom one is a sort of prime minister.

Warfare

The king has a standing army consisting of several regiments, each with 4-5 companies of 150-200 men each. There are defensive and offensive encampments on the borders.

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-----. Das Eherecht in Ruanda. Anthropos, VII, 1-32. 1912. Nk10. +An89. v. 7. [A modest amount of information.]

Vanhove, J. Essai de droit coutumier du Ruanda. Mémoires de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge, Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques, X, 1-125. 1941. Bk18. 6d. v. 10. [Useful.]

Identification

The Rundi (Barundi, Warundi) are a Bantu nation occupying the Belgian-administered country of Urundi. Their language is closely akin to the speech of the Ruanda, Nyambo, and Zinza. In 1943, the Rundi and Ruanda together numbered 3,830,000, of whom roughly half were Rundi, living on 20,115 square miles.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with hoe cultivation, use of animal manure and ashes as fertilizer, and considerable irrigation. The staple crops are bananas and beans (Phaseolus vulgaris), but peas (Pisum sativum), maize, and eleusine are also important. Lesser crops include peanuts, sorghum, yams, onions, sweet potatoes, manioc, pumpkins, gourds, and arrowroot. Animal husbandry is the chief occupation of the aristocratic Tussi. The chief animals are cattle, but goats, sheep, dogs, and chickens are also kept. Milk and blood are drunk, butter is made (for anointing the body), but meat is rarely eaten and chickens and eggs practically never. Hunting is done only by the Twa; the Tussi and Hutu abjure game. Fishing is done on the lakes and rivers, but elsewhere only by the Twa. Gathering is done by all groups, but is important only among the Twa. There is some internal trade in wax, hides, and salt, and external trade in palm oil is conducted on Lake Tanganyika. There are markets.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt, clear land, and do all the herding and milking. Tussi and Twa men do no agriculture, but Hutu men assist the women to a substantial extent.

Property

Land belongs to the king and is allocated by sub-chiefs to individuals, who hold heritable usufruct subject to revocation for misuse, tax delinquence, or sometimes mere whimsey. Water rights are distributed by district chiefs. Movable property is individually owned, subject to occasional confiscation by chiefs.

Inheritance is patrilineal, usually by primogeniture. The ElSo, or another son designated by the father, inherits most of the property, but a certain amount is divided among the younger sons.

Brothers inherit in default of sons.

Social Stratification

Society is divided into three ethnic castes: (1) the aristocratic pastoral Tussi, who are of Nilotic origin; (2) the agricultural Bantu commoners or Hutu; (3) the Twa, Pygmy hunters and gatherers who do a little agriculture. These castes tend toward endogamy, though there is some Tussi-Hutu intermarriage. At the apex of the society is a royal lineage, and at the bottom there was formerly some sporadic slavery. As among the neighboring Ruanda, a special client-patron relationship with reciprocal obligations is important.

Marriage

The Tussi and Hutu require a bride-price, but the Twa do not. It consists mainly of cattle among the Tussi, of hoes among the Hutu.

Polygyny occurs exclusively in the non-sororal form. It is favored, but in actual fact is very rare among the Twa, relatively uncommon among the Hutu, and not particularly frequent among the Tussi. The first wife is chief wife, but each co-wife has her own hut. Both junior levirate and junior sororate are preferential. Secondary marriages are forbidden with WiMo but permitted with SoWi.

Family

The residential unit, occupying a household or kraal, is a monogamous or polygynous family, though patrilineally related families commonly reside nearby. Patrilocal extended families are reported for the Twa.

Residence

Patrilocality is the norm, but neolocality also occurs.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Marriage is forbidden with any primary or secondary consanguineal kinsmen and with a parallel cousin, but cross-cousin marriage is preferential.

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There are exogamous totemic patri-sibs, presumably divided into lineages. Among the ruling Tussi, sibs tend toward endogamy rather than exogamy.

Kinship Terminology [from Bourgeois]

Fa--data, so, se. Mo--mama, nyoko, nyina. So, SiSo(ws)--umuhungu. Da, SiDa(ws)--umukobwa. Hu--umugabo. Wi--umugore. Co-wife, HuBrWi--umukeba. Elder sibling of same sex--mukuru. Younger sibling of same sex--murumuna. Br (ws)--musaza. Si(ms)--mushiki. FaWi--mukadata.

FaBr--sewabo. MoBr--inarume. FaSi--senge. MoSi--mamawacu. SiCh(ms)--umwishwa. BrCh(ws)--umusengezana. BrSo(ms)--umhungwacu. GrFa--sogokuru. GrMo--nyogokuru. GrCh--abuzukuru. WiFa, HuFa--databukwe. WiMo, HuMo--mabukwe. DaHu--umukwe. SoWi--umukazana. SiHu, WiBr, WiSi, WiBrWi--muramwanje. HuBr--umugabwacu. HuSi--muramukazacu. BrWi(ms)--umugoracu. BrWi(ws)--muramukazanje. WiSiHu--bendahamwe. HuSiHu--muramwacu.

Cross-cousin--umuvyara. Parallel cousin terms are derived from those for siblings.

Settlement Pattern

Except among the Twa, who live in migratory bands, the prevailing settlement pattern is a neighborhood of dispersed homesteads. Concentrated villages, however, are found in Uzige and on Lake Tanganyika. Dwellings are of beehive shape--nearly hemispherical--and are made of thatch laid on plaited reeds over a wooden frame. In wealthier families they are grouped in compounds.

Community Organization

There is possibly some tendency toward lineage localization.

Local Government

Each community has a headman and a council of dignitaries. A headman may be replaced by a district chief, but succession is normally patrilineal.

State

The Rundi are organized in an autocratic feudal state under a divine king, who is also chief priest. The royal emblem is a drum. The king is assisted by a supreme council, a chief minister, and various specialized officials, and his mother exerts important influence at court. The state is administratively divided, for tax collection and other purposes, into provinces and districts, each with chiefs. Provincial governors are members of the royal lineage or of the four other lineages into which the king may marry [he may not marry the daughter of a royal prince]. Most offices are filled with Tussi, but district chiefs are occasionally Hutu. Succession to all offices is patrilineal, and usually by primogeniture.

Warfare

Internal warfare is common, especially strife over succession to the kingship. Neither cannibalism nor headhunting is practiced. The Rundi were formerly almost perpetually at war with the Ruanda.

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Maes, J., and O. Boone. Les peuplades du Congo Belge, pp. 344-346. Bruxelles, 1935. Nkd82.+T27e.v.1. [Synonymy and tribal map only.]

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Meyer, H.H.J. Die Barundi. Leipzig, 1916. Nkd88.M8.f916m. [The standard monograph.]

Van der Burgt, J.M.M. Un grand peuple de l'Afrique équatoriale. Bois-le-Duc, 1903. Nkd88.M3.903b. [Considerable information in an encyclopedic organization.]

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1: Vanhove, J. Essay on the Common Law of Ruanda. [Essai de Droit coutumier de Ruanda] Memoires, Institut Royal Colonial Belge, Section des sciences Morales et Politiques, Vol. 10, pp. 3-125. Brussels: Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1941.

13 plates; 1 map.

Yale: Bk18.6d.10 [HRAF MS: pp. i-vii, 1-106.]

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Dorothy Crawford.

/Vanhove was a colonial administrator and lawyer. This essay, a systematic account of native laws and customs, is based upon information gathered from questionnaires sent to knowledgeable natives. It has materials on the family and clan, marriage and divorce, birth and death, family relations, property system, inheritance and guardianship, government structure , taxation, social classes,

1: Vanhove, J.

and the administration of justice. Since the author is writing primarily from the legal point of view, the information presented here does not provide any description of the intangible ties that bind the various social institutions together though it does provide an excellent account of the social and political means used by the Ruanda ruling class to maintain its feudalistic position over a docile population. --Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1935
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Government Official--5
Processed in 1959

2: Meyer, Hans. Die Barundi: Eine volkerkundliche Studie aus Deutsch-Ostafrika /The Barundi: an Ethnological Study of German East Africa/. Leipzig: Ott Spamer, 1916.

Pp. xiv, 205; preface; 55 end plates; 18 text figures; 2 text maps and 4 end maps; bibliography; index; /HRAF MS: pp. 1-293/

Yale: Nkd88.M8/ 916m

Pp. 151-205 and some non-descriptive passages in other parts of the text have been omitted from the Files.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Helmut Handzik.

/As a result of keen personal observations and extensive research into contemporary literature, Meyer's account of the Rundi and their country is characterized by thoroughness and an evident desire for accuracy. Being a

2: Meyer, Hans.

geographer, his interest in the material culture is varied and extensive. Included in his account are descriptions of the physical environment; agriculture and animal husbandry; utensils, tools, and weapons; handicraft industries; food, clothing and housing; and trade and means of communication. Other aspects of Rundi culture, such as social and political organization, marriage, religion, medicine, life cycle, forms of recreation, and folk knowledge are also well presented. The Rundi are composed of three distinct and highly stratified ethnic elements--the Bahutu, Batussi, and Batwa. In marking for this source, category 563 (Ethnic Stratification) has been used only when it is necessary to highlight the racial and cultural differences of these three groups. The data on "clan" has been marked for 614 (Sibs). --Analyst/

Field date: 1911
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Geographer - 5
Processed in 1959

3: Smets, George. The Structure of the Barundi Community (Ruanda-Urundi Territory, Central Africa). Man, Vol. 46, pp. 12-16. London: The Royal Anthropological Institute, 1946.

Yale: Nk10 -M31 46-47

/The author treats ethnic divisions of the Rundi, geography, the community settlement pattern with respect to the peculiar lack of markets, the economic importance of agriculture and cattle-breeding, political and social hierarchy, and the relationships among various social groupings. In his summary he emphasizes the importance of personal relationships and the impact of foreign influence in changing many traditional institutions. At the time of publication the author was Professor in the Université Libre de Bruxelles and Head of the Institut de Sociologie Solvay. --Analyst/

Field date: 1935
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1959

4: Maquet, Jacques J. The Kingdom of Ruanda. Daryll Forde, ed., African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples, London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1954.

Pp. viii, 244; introduction by Daryll Forde; index.

/Processed for the files: pp. 164-189/

Hraf copy

/Although the subject matter of this article centers on values and cosmology, many aspects of Rundi society are discussed because of their relationship to the main theme. Among these are the tri-partite caste system, economic factors such as the control of cattle by the aristocracy, interpersonal relationships, individual and group status, and the conceptions of inequality, authority, and reciprocity in exchange transactions. Directly related to the central subject are the author's discussions of man's relation to material and spiritual worlds, mythological origins, ideas of death and afterlife, and the role of divination and sorcery. The article especially reveals the close interrelationship of various aspects of the culture. The author is an ethnologist at

111 FO42 Rundi--2

4: Maquet, Jacques J.

L'Université Officielle du Congo Belge et Du Ruanda-Urundi.--Analyst/

Field date: 1950-1951
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1959

5: Pagès, G. Un Royaume Hamite au Centre de l'Afrique: au Ruanda sur les Bords du Lac Kivu (Congo Belge) [A Hamitic Kingdom in the Center of Africa: in Ruanda on the Shores of Lake Kivu (Belgian Congo)]. Mémoires, Institut Royal Colonial Belge, Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Collection in-8°, Vol. 1. Bruxelles: Libraire Falk fils, Georges van Campenhout, Successeur, 1933.

Pp. iv, 704; 1 map; 29 plates (58 Photographs).

Yale: DT641 A27 1 [HRAF Ms. pp. v, 293]

[Not translated; Pp. 95-346, 541-700]

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Bernard Scholl

/Books II, III, and V have not been processed for the files. These chapters deal primarily with mythology and historical matters. In the sections processed, the following subjects are treated: Physical and ethnological make-up of the Ruanda, political and social organization, psychology of the people; a short historical

5: Pagès, G.

account of the Hamitic invasion of Ruanda; the Royal court personnel and activities; and funeral practices. Almost all discussion of Rundi culture by the author is based on observations made in and about the royal court. Although much of the author's writing is derived from personal experiences among the Rundi, it is apparent that a good deal of his data was obtained from unidentified informants and perhaps suffers from having been transmitted orally through several individuals. The author makes a number of general statements about "blacks" which, if interpreted as "Rundi," may have some authority; but if taken at face value, seem to be unfounded generalizations. The author was a missionary of the White Fathers. -- Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1925
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Missionary - 5
Processed in 1960

6: Czekanowski, Jan. Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet, Erster Band: Ethnographie; Zwischenseengebiet Mpororo: Ruand[illegible] [Investigations in the Area between the Nile and the Congo, First Volume: [illegible]hnography, the Inter-lacustrine Region of Mporo and Ruanda.] Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Deutschen Zentral-Afrika-Expedition 1907-1908 unter Führung Adolf Friedrichs, Herzogs zu Mechlenburg. [Scientific Results of the German Central African Expedition 1907-1908 under the Leadership of Adolf Friedrich, Duke of Mechlenburg.] Vol. 6, First Part: Ethnography-Anthropology I, edited by Dr. Jan Czekanowski. Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1917.

Pp. xvi, 412, 14; 186 text illustrations; 4 plates; musical appendix by E.M. Hornbostel.

Yale: Nkd80. 911d. V. 1 /HRAF MS. pp. ix, 285/

[Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze]

6: Czekanowski, Jan.

[First five chapters, pp. 1-121, the last two chapters plus appendix, pp. 329-412, and 14 supplementary pages of musical notation have not been translated.]

/This work is a general ethnography of the Rundi. While not exhaustive in treatment, it nevertheless presents a wide range of information on various aspects of the culture. The detailed table of contents (pages i-iv of the translated text) give the researcher an indication of the subjects treated. The sections which have not been translated discuss the organization of the expedition, the history of the region, the Mpororo, vocabulary and music; these sections are included in the complete original German text in category 116. The author, trained in Zurich, has held positions at ethnographic museums in Berlin and St. Petersburg, and teaching positions at the Universities of Lvov, Lublin, and Poznan. --Analyst. /

Field date: 1907-1909
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1959

111 FO42 Rundi

7: Roscoe, John. The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate: the Third Part of the Report of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924.

Pp. xii, 205; preface; 32 plates; end map; index.

/Processed for the Files: pp. 184-199/

Yale: Nkd88 B15 924r

/The selection from this book which has been processed for the file constitutes chapters 28-31, pp. 184-199, and deals almost exclusively with the Batuse (Batussi) of Ruanda. Information contained within this section covers the clan and chieftainship systems, government, taxation, homicide, the position of the king in the society, the life and occupations of the Batuse people, marriage customs, illness, and death. The author, a clergyman, traveled extensively in Central Africa. --Analyst/

Field date: 1919-1920
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1960

111 FO42 Rundi

8: Hall, R. DeZ. The Study of Native Court Records as a Method of Ethnological Inquiry. Africa, Vol. 11, Pp. 412-426. London: Oxford University Press, 1938.

Yale: Bk2.10.11

/This source deals with the various aspects of native law and custom as revealed by the study of native court records. The author studied these records from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west section of Tanganyika during the time he was stationed in the region from 1929-31. In all, 850 cases were examined, starting with the year 1924 and ending in 1930.

In general, most of this study deals with marital cases--broken obligations, return of the bride price, and the termination of the marriage, as recorded in the court book. Many illustrative cases are quoted in the study to point out the workings of native law and moral custom. --Analyst/

Field date: 1929-1931
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1960

FO42 Rundi-1-3
Ruanda

9: Maquet, Jacques J. The Premise of Inequality in Ruanda: A Study of Political Relations in a Central African Kingdom. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1961.

Pp. viii, 200; introduction; 7 photographs; 2 maps; 4 diagrams; 3 appendices including bibliography; index.

Yale: DT449 R8 M36

[This study is primarily a reconstruction of Ruanda social structure as it existed in the first decade of this century just prior to significant modifications resulting from European influences. Maquet focuses upon the political system, but the first 4 chapters provide the necessary contextual information. Particularly good is the material on kinship, which includes a very thorough analysis of kinship terminology and kin behavior, a description of the patrilineal descent groups, and a discussion of marriage and family relations. Subsistence patterns, habitat, and economic organization are treated more briefly. The pivotal factor in Ruanda social and political relations is the caste system composed of 3 groups: the pastoral Batutsi who constitute c. 10% of the population and

9: Maquet, Jacques J.

are the dominant group; the agricultural Bahutu - c. 85% of the population; and the more or less outcaste hunting and gathering Batwa - c. 5% of the population. More strictly political structures consist of the central government headed by the king, and the territorial-administrative system which serves mainly as a channel by which tribute is collected and distributed. Significant political functions are also fulfilled by the military organization and the clientage structure (buhahe) which conforms to a type of interpersonal relationship which has been called "feudo-vassalage." The premise of the inequality of individuals and groups, particularly with reference to caste, underlies all of these structural arrangements which are designed to accomplish two major but antithetical functions - economic exploitation and the maintenance of social cohesion.

Since this is a reconstruction based upon interviews rather than a description of observed behavior, Maquet's methods are of crucial importance to an evaluation of the reliability and validity of his structural analysis. He has had extensive field experience in Ruanda, and while the basic data for this book were obtained in the period 1949-1951, these were supplemented by materials derived from fieldwork in 1952-1955, and 1956-1957, as well as from the voluminous published literature. His informants

9: Maquet, Jacques J.

were almost entirely Tutsi who were familiar with the pre-European political system, particularly from direct experience. Detailed questionnaires on major topics were developed and administered, and an unusual feature of the book is Maquet's careful specification of the extent of agreement by informants on given issues. (Cf. Appendices 1 and 2 for a reproduction of the questionnaire on political organization and a tabulation of the results obtained.) The picture which emerges from all of this of traditional Ruanda social structure is a generalized and formalistic one, but it is internally consistent and convincing. It is of value both in its own right and as a base line for the study of social change. --Analyst]

Field date: 1949....1957
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1962

10: Albert, Ethel M. Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values. In, Denise Paulme, ed., Women of Tropical Africa, pp. 179-215. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963.

4 plates.

Yale: Nqk97 960Pg.

[Using as the central core of her study the Rundi ideals of the acquisition of political power and authority, wealth (in the form of cows, land, material goods, money, and the things it can purchase), respect and love from one's dependents, and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions, the author attempts to show how a woman in Rundi society, despite her low social status, may achieve these goals through careful manipulation of her "environment," providing that she starts with a common denominator of relatively high caste position, intelligence and just plain luck. The author, a professional anthropologist, also presents a detailed study of the various social roles played in the society by a woman as mother, wife, co-wife (in a polygynous union), mother-in-law, sister-in-law, and unmarried girl. Caste differences in status are also clearly indicated here.

10: Albert, Ethel M.

The author did her field work for this study under a Fellowship grant from the Ford Foundation, African Program, between March 1956 and July 1957.

Footnotes appearing in the text will be found in category 116, pp. 214-215. Data on the disciplining of inferiors by superiors has been placed in category 681.]

Field date: 1956-1957
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965

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Albert, Ethel M. Socio-Political Organization and Receptivity to Change: Some Differences between Ruanda and Urundi. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 16, pp. 46-74. Albuquerque; University of New Mexico, 1960.

HRAF copy.

[This work is based largely on the author's experiences in the field in 1955 to 1960. It gives one of the best introductions to the social structure of modern and historical Ruanda-Urundi culture, and is especially noteworthy for the distinctions between the two kingdoms. The section divisions include: General-an introduction to and cultural summary of the area; historical; traditional political organization; kingships; social status and kinship related to political organization; and contemporary socio-political behavior. A bibliography is appended.]

Baeck, L. Quelques Aspects Socieux de l'Urbanisation au Ruanda-Urundi [Some Social Aspects of Urbanization in Ruanda-Urundi]. Zaire, Vol. 10-12, pp. 115-145. Brussels, 1956.

/In this article, Baeck discusses and describes various factors in Rundi demography, urbanization, composition of population, and recent changes in population distribution. --Analyst/

Delacauw, Père Am. Droit Coutumier des Barundi /Customary Law of the Barundi/. Congo, Vol. 1 /i.e., Vol. 17/, pp. 332-357, 481-522. Bruxelles: Goemaere, Imprimeur du Roi, 1936.

Yale: Bk18.6 17[1]

/This source, by a missionary of the White Fathers, is an extended discussion of the main features of Rundi customary law. Included in the essay are materials on family law, including marriage, rights and duties of spouses, divorce and remarriage; property and contracts; and jurisprudence and jurisdiction of native authorities. --Analyst/

Delhaise, Charles. Chez les Warundi et les Wahorohoro [Among the Warundi and the Wahorohor]. Bulletin de la Société Royale Belge de Geographie. Vol. 32, pp. 386-421. Bruxelles: Secrétariat de la Societe Royale Belge de Géographie, 1908.

Yale: E10.So75 v. 32

/This article, by a Belgian government official, is concerned mainly with the western Rundi. It is in the form of a standard ethnography, with two or three pages devoted to each major aspect of culture, e.g., life cycle, subsistence, social organization, and war.--Analyst/

FO42 Rundi

Kagame, A. Les Organisations Socio-familiales de l'Ancien Rwanda /The Socio-familial Organizations of Old Ruanda/. Memoires de l'Academie Royal des Sciences Coloniales, Classe des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Vol. 38. Bruxelles, 1954.

Pp. 355

/This monograph, by a native Rundi, discusses the social organization of the Rundi prior to the time of Belgian administration. --Analyst/

Schumacher, P. Das Eherecht in Ruanda [Marriage Law in Ruanda]. Anthropos, Vol. 7, pp. 1-32. Mödling-bei-Wien: Anthropos-Institut, 1912.

/This source is a description of Ruanda customary law concerning marriage, the relations among spouses, and conditions for divorce. --Analyst/

Schumacher, P. Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]. Anthropos, Vol. 5, pp. 870-906. Mödling-bei-Wien, Anthropos-Institut, 1910.

/This source is an account of the various preliminaries leading to marriage and the ceremony itself among the Ruanda. --Analyst/

FO42 Rundi

Van der Burgt, J.M.M. Un Grand Peuple de l'Afrique Equatoriale [A Great People of Equatorial Africa]. Bois-le-Duc, 1903.

/This source is a general descriptive monograph of the Rundi nation as seen soon after the taking over of the area by the Belgians. --Analyst/

Vervloet, G. Aux Sources du Nil [To the Sources of the Nile]. Bulletin de la Société Royale Belge de Géographie, Vol. 34, pp. 108-137, 262-273. Bruxelles, 1910.

Yale: E10.So75 v.34

/This source is an account of a trip by a traveler to the sources of the Nile in the Interlacustrine Region of Central Africa. Vervloet gives some information on the Rundi and on the Toro. --Analyst/

Vincent, Marc. L'Enfant au Ruanda-Urundi [The Child in Ruanda-Urundi]. Memoires de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge, Tome 23, Fasc. 6. Brussels, 1954.

Pp. 220; 1 map

/This monograph is an analysis of the life cycle of Rundi children. Vincent takes Klineberg, Du Bois and Kardiner as models, but he points up very few specific relationships between early events and later character structure. Sample responses of informants are presented whether they agree with the author's generalizations or not. The differences between Tutsi, Hutu, and Bemba childrearing are summed up in a final chapter. --Analyst/

197 the language of the Nandi in the Uganda protectorate. The language of the Nandi, of all the languages of East Africa, seems to resemble most closely the pure Hamitic language type since the Nandi probably are the remnants of a former Galla invasion. (A. W. Crabtree, "The Languages of the Uganda Protectorate," Journal of the African Society, January, 1914, pp. 158 ff.)

194 An exact study of the peculiar manner in which the Batussi speak the Bantu idiom, Kirundi, will also yield many intimations and indications in this respect, for it is obvious even to an observant layman that the Batussi differ from the Bahutu in speaking Kirundi. They have a different accent, pronounce certain sounds differently, and combine the syllables differently. In general, it seemed to me that in both Ruanda and in Urundi the Batussi speak Kirundi with a much softer intonation and also that they have a tendency to swallow the vowels of the final syllables. Instead of the 's' or 'ss' pronounced by the Bahutu, they use a very soft 'sch' or 'dsch': instead of Munjahasi they say Munjahasch'; instead of Lanongo, Lanong'; instead of Lubassa, lubasch'. It is also often difficult to say whether the final vowel pronounced is an 'a,' or 'e.' It is also difficult to hear the difference in the pronunciation of 'r,' 'l,' and 'd.'

●113 It would serve no purpose to list examples of modern Kirundi at this point since one may consult the comprehensive Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi by Father J. M. van der Burgt and the small Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi et Kirundi-Français by Father F. Ménard which is specifically intended for missionary use (No. 29). Van der Burgt reproduces a few examples of stories, fables, songs, and hymns with an interlinear translation in his Dictionnaire, pp. 96, 292-293, 332-334, 339-342; I myself cannot add anything to them. In conclusion, however, I should
539 like to add a few proverbs which are noteworthy for their sharpness of observation and brevity of expression (No. 19, p. 470).

[150] 1) Ivintu vy'ukwibwa viraguma.
Things of no interest (are) hard [to comprehend].

2 reflex

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

whenever goods are given to someone, a return is expected. This return is not the exact counterpart of what has been provided and is not due immediately or at a precisely determined time. By the granting of a favour, an almost permanent relationship is established between two persons, extending eventually to their immediate relatives. Undoubtedly some obligations are more formalized, such as those resulting from some kinds of exchange (*kuguza*), loan (*gutiza*), &c. But many relations which, in Western culture, would result in strictly defined obligations, do not have the same consequence in Ruanda. The man who receives a service or a gift is not expected to return its equivalent immediately. Such behaviour would even be frowned upon. He should wait till he is asked to return other services or goods. This is indeed the intention of the man who grants the favour: to put somebody under an undefined obligation.

There are several reasons for these relations of reciprocity. First, in an economy in which there is no standard value in relation to which everything may be assessed, it is not easy to determine a precise equivalent for goods. Second, where there is no standard medium of exchange, such as money, which can be accumulated without deteriorating, it is usually difficult to have the required equivalent to hand. Third, in a material culture in which the technological development does not allow of specialization, one has to rely on many people. It is thus very useful to have permanent debtors. Finally, and this is very important, the principle of reciprocity is much more consistent with other parts of the Ruanda culture than are alternative methods. In that culture people are not regarded as independent and equal. Consequently any relation will be so interpreted as to magnify the elements of dependence and inequality implicit in it. Moreover, to have power over somebody is an ultimate value for the Batutsi. They will thus prefer to keep a debtor under the vague obligation to do something, some day, rather than receive immediate compensation.

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—— 'La poésie pastorale au Rwanda', *Zaïre* (Bruxelles), July 1947, pp. 791–800.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

KANDT, R. *Caput Nili*, Berlin, 1921.
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Population Elements

563 The population of Ruanda is made up of three elements which anthropologically and culturally are very different, although they speak the same language.

The ruling group are the Batutsi [Tussi] herdsman who are anthropologically quite close to the Bahima [Hima] of Mpororo. There is a great gap between them and their subjects.

The Bahutu [Hutu] farmers make up the bulk of the population.

The Batwa [Twa], an outcast hunting tribe who also engage in rainmaking and pottery, form the third element.

197 Batutsi. The language of the Batutsi is identical with that of their Bahutu subjects except for certain phonetic dialect differences as yet unexplained by scholars. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, as well as the Bahima, must be linked with the Nilotic-Hamitic pastoral tribes on the eastern edge of the Nile Basin as well as those on the bank of the Nile to the south of the great Nile swamps. The Batutsi form the main part of an older migrating group which was wedged in between Lake Victoria and the forests of the Congo Basin. The Bari and their relatives probably broke out later in a northwesterly direction towards the Uele Basin. The Massai [Masai] group apparently poured into the regions to the east of Lake Victoria.

101 174

197 If we consider the word "Hamite" as a purely linguistic designation, the Batutsi are not Hamites at all, and even less Semites, as they are called by Rehse (1) and Kandt (2). They simply belong

[113]

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 110.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili [The Head of the Nile] (Berlin, 1904), p. 339.

the interlacustrine group of the Bantu language family.

144 The word "Hamite" is, however, also used in a different sense. We speak of a "Hamitic anthropological type." This designation refers to the anthropological element so characteristic of the tribes who have mixed relatively little and who speak Hamitic languages, the Somal [Somali] and Galla, for example. In this sense [123] one may count the Batutsi among the Hamites. The Hamitic anthropological type is more obvious in them than in the Massai to the east and the Bari and Kakwa in the northwest. They are less "Negroized."

173 131 According to their traditions, the Batutsi come from the north, which, however, refers essentially to the Buganza district south of Lake Mohasi, not to the distant lands on the other side of the Victoria-Nile, the Bukedi, traditional homeland of the Babito. This might mean that the Batutsi have been in their present country long enough for the other, older traditions to have faded, leaving only those concerning the founding of the Ruanda state.

Karagwe, however, is also mentioned in these traditions. Perhaps this has something to do with the older migration of the Ruanda Batutsi. Presumably this migration took place along an axis extending from the steppes in the northeast, along the Karagwe border, and across Lake Mohasi to Nduga and Mukinjaga. It is along this axis that one finds the strongest concentration of Batutsi.

131 Dr. Kandt states that the original homeland of the Batutsi is the Mhogo Basin (districts of the upper Nyawarongo). Kissaka also has a large percentage of Batutsi. Baumann (1) mentions

[113]

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 204.

isolated groups of Batutsi in the mountains in the northwestern part of Tanganyika. Only in the Muwissi Mountains, in the southwestern part of Issawi, are there reputedly very few Batutsi. (2)

2. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer

181 563 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 [578] The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi [163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He [48] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different 563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and 191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable, [144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important
101 role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's
103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelèmy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the
101 Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

[113]

2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

167 Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use
101 in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu, Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly
[194] alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect. In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area. The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with the Batutsi.

563 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the
144 population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that

[113] 2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.

Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

563 "The Batwa at Musinga's court and in the Issawi region, as well
144 as those in northwestern Urundi, are not very different from the Wahutu, and there is doubtless considerable blood relationship."

Baumann (4) goes still farther and maintains that the Batwa

4. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle (Berlin, 1894), p. 215.

are no smaller than the Barundi.

The latter opinion is also erroneous. Anthropological analysis (5) proved that the Batwa do have a Pygmy element as

[113] 5. Czekanowski, J., "Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen der zentral-afrikanischen Pygmäen [Aspects of Kinship of the Pygmies of Central Africa]," Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1910, pp. 101-109.

one of their components. Although other, subsequent mixtures have lessened the importance of this element, nevertheless it accounts for many characteristic features of the Batwa.

The Batwa are strikingly similar to the Forest Bantu and stand midway between the latter and the Bahutu. This conclusion, unexpected at first glance, is simply explained if we assume that the more isolated Batwa were less open to outside influences and that anthropologically they are relicts of an older order in Ruanda. If we assume that formerly the population of Ruanda was more closely related to the Forest Bantu, then the Batwa, from whom we may learn about former conditions, must also be similar to the Forest Bantu. This is, in fact, the case. Apart from their anthropologi-
563 cal relationship, the Batwa are also said to resemble the Forest
266 Bantu in a very characteristic custom. They are cannibals, at least in northwestern Ruanda among the western group of volcanoes. Nonconflicting rumors about this custom have been reported by both Count Von Götzen (6) and Von Parisch (7).

[113] 6. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch

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266
[113]

Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are

[113]

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Eléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

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[113]

Dr. Kandt (2) mentions, however, that there are also Batwa

2. Kandt, R., "Bericht über meine Reisen und gesamte Tätigkeit in Deutsch-Ostafrika [Report on my Journeys and Entire Work in German East Africa]," Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1900 [Reports on the German Protectorates 1900], p. 246.

living in the forests of Sabinio.

In Ndorwa the following influential Batwa chiefs were mentioned.

5 and 6. Ngurube and Katulenge. Ngurube's Batwa are called Puniu. (3)

3. Parisch, F.R. Von "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 to 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

7. The Batwa on Idjwi Island were visited by Dr. J. Mildbraed and Dr. H. Schubotz and are supposed to be more similar to the Pygmies than the rest of the Batwa.

8. Batwa of southern Ruanda. There are large colonies of Batwa in the Rugege Forest and in the forests in the southwestern part of the province of Nduga. This [134] group is called Mashami or Machaba. Their forest belongs to the Njaruguru country which was formerly under the jurisdiction of Chief Kaizuka (1).

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

9. Batwa from Kabgaye. Apart from these larger groups, I met a colony of 20 to 25 who lived in the vicinity of the Kabgaye Mission (Marangara) and were potters.

10. Finally there are Batwa in Nyanza who live there in order to serve the king. From time to time they are relieved by fellow tribesmen.

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber shortage is a very important economic problem. In some places wood
372 must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

245 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have
197 begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation
554 a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C.T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

501 In rowing, the oarsmen sit on the edges of the boat. Only the large Kivu canoes had seats which were fastened on either side with ropes passing through holes in the rim of the boat. The holes are made

[227]

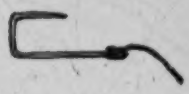

Fig. 40. Fishhook from Mukinjaga. (Actual size. III E 6896. 17 centimeters long.)

with a percussion drill (umutwero).

Industry. In Ruanda, as Dr. R. Kandt's (1)

463

[113]

1. Cf. the monograph "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 329-372.

studies have already pointed out, industry has the character of handicraft or hired work. There are few branches of industry on the level of home industry where at times surplus goods not used in the household are sold. This is true, for example, of basketry which generally is produced by the women.

Beer which is brewed in every household seldom figures in business transactions and then

Fig. 41. Oar from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13731. 181 centimeters long.)

only between friends, in exchange for the care of cows and for rented fields.

Potters and woodworkers are craftsmen who produce for the market, whereas metalworkers are wage earners who work on order. Wiredrawers [149], as well as the producers of barkcloth, reputedly work at the home of their employers.

439 Aside from trade in hides, there is an old, respectable foreign trade. Iron hoes are imported from the Congo state and salt from Lake Edward. These are paid for chiefly in goats. Goats are also used to pay for ivory and rubber smuggled out of the Congo.

438 Internal trade consists above all in the exchange of local products between producer and consumer. Barter is carried on in food, iron, clay products, sheep and goats, salt, etc.

The people of Issawi get their salt from Njaruguru. It is brought there from Urundi. They buy their hoes in Mukinjaga. This province does not manufacture them; they are imported from Bunyabungu. The northern provinces get their iron from Bgisha and their salt from Katana on Lake Edward where salt from Kagwe is sold in large quantities. Salt is also prepared within the country, in Mulera, and, according to Dr. Kandt (1), in a

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 513.

southern bay of Lake Kivu. I do not know whether Busindja salt (2)

[113]

2. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha and Urundi [A Missionary Journey to Uha and Urundi,]," Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, p. 185.

which is obtained in Kigoma west of [163] Mumurumba on the southern border of Ujungu, reaches Ruanda.

Copper is imported in small amounts from Urundi and in larger amounts from Busindja in payment for ivory. Goats are exported from Mulera, Kissaka, and Njaruguru. Sheep are exported from Mulera. Mukinjaga produces the prettiest mats. The colored mats of the Batutsi are made in Nduga. Bamboo baskets are made in Bwischascha, Bugoye, and Mulera. Ndorwa exports otter skins. The most beautiful spears and the best arrows are made at Mount Ndisa. All these goods are also traded within the country.

438 484 This trade is conducted by native middlemen who, in contrast to foreign traders (bachuruzi), are known as bagenza. They

304 body with the point of the knife. Later, when the design stands out due to the skin injury, short, deeper incisions are made with the razor. The incisions, or rather the punctures, are made while the skin is pinched and lifted with two fingers. The skillful artist does not draw blood, and the punctures close with the appearance of lymph. After a few days the scabs are scraped off and rubbed with butter and cow dung (kisheshe). No pigment is used. After the wounds have healed, the thickened skin at each incision forms a raised design.

If the tatooing is done clumsily, keloids form where the incisions have been made. This condition is quite common in Mulera where tatooing is done chiefly by Batwa. Keloids are a sign of the Lake Edward region, for among the Bakondjo living there very large keloid formations are intentionally produced, particularly on the back. In Nduga, the country of tatoo artists, and among the Batutsi, the designs are very delicate. The price of the operation is a goat. A person gradually builds up a collection of designs during a lifetime.

Fig. 89. Tattooing Patterns from Ruanda.

Tatooing, in Kissaka at any rate, seems to have no religious meaning and is performed without any kind of ceremony.

Circumcision is not practiced in Ruanda, but it is not unknown. This is proved by the proverb: "In the compound through which many people pass, circumcised children are born."

At initiation ceremonies and, according to Father
302 Schumacher (2), at [184] weddings, people are painted with kaolin

●[113] 2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 878.

(runoni). However, the practice does not seem to be limited to these occasions, for twice I saw painted children. One child was completely covered with a mixture of clay and ocher. The other had only an oblique line drawn across its forehead over the eyes. There was no question of initiation in this case, for the children were only five and seven years old.

411 The Batwa carry a reinforced bamboo bow. It consists of a split bamboo staff, the hollow of which is reinforced with a stick of wood. The bow is more than one and a half meters tall and more than half of it is reinforced. The finished bow is bound with grass along its entire length, so the reinforcement does not show. The accompanying illustration of a child'w bow which I saw in Mulera clearly shows the manner of this reinforcement. This bow, however, is not made of bamboo, and therefore the reinforcement is not fitted into the natural groove, but it is in the proper position, namely, on the outside, away from the archer as he pulls the bowstring.

In Ruanda the string of the Batwa bow is made of a strip of bamboo braided at either end before it is strung. (1) The rattan

[13]

1. Luschan, F. Von, "Bogen und Pfeile der Watwa vom Kiwu-See [Bows and Arrows of the Watwa of Lake Kivu]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Verhandlungen, 1899, pp. 634-640.

string is wound with grass for protection against wear.

Lieutenant Bischoff discovered that the Urundi Batwa used a forehead bow [Stirnbogen]. These forms are not familiar to me in Ruanda, but they are said to occur in Butembo.

Arrows, like bows, can be divided into two groups. The first group includes the arrows for Ruanda bows. They have a [190] notch into which the twisted bowstring fits. The second group includes arrows that correspond to the Batwa bows, and these are characterized by smooth, often bulbous ends, similar to the head of a drumstick.

The arrows of the first group have inserted iron points and three radial segments of clipped feathers. The split feathers are laid along the shaft and bound securely to it. The two ends of the shaft are also bound to protect against splitting. At the nock end the binding is narrow, while at the point it is about five centimeters wide. The arrows are made of wood. The points of the arrows usually have the form of sharply tapered, long pyramids

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has [redacted] thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

586 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in

[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

631
642 The modern European who is accustomed to sharply demarcated administrative districts and has no idea of social equilibrium based on the interweaving of economic interests finds this principle of administration absurd. That is how Captain Göring (1)

[13]

1. Captain Göring, "Zu den Unruhen in Urundi [On the Unrest in Urundi]," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1911, p. 552.

judged conditions in Urundi. He says: "The division of the country is entirely without system. One often finds watuale who own various lands widely separated from each other."

I was told that Lwabugiri's policy is being followed by Musinga. He is said to prefer appointing chiefs who are directly responsible to him and to give them lands. These unimportant, free persons, mindful of the king's protection, form an element [268] independent of and even hostile to the high chiefs. They guard their own interests and resist the particularistic tendencies of the powerful.

This policy tends to erase the boundaries of individual provinces, and one encounters great difficulties if he asks about the political division of the country.

After this brief discussion of the central organization of the state which is made up of the king and a dozen and a half powerful feudal lords, we shall now touch on the political conditions in the individual sections.

The organization of Kissaka has the following pattern. The largest part of the country is divided among three large feudal lords, Kanuma, Niamutezi, and Lutangabo. Their lands are interspersed in such a way that no separate provinces can be formed. This increases their opposition to each other. Hence the dignitaries check on one another and fight one another with accusations and intrigues. In this way mutual control, which is very useful to the state, is established, as well as a quite stable equilibrium.

These three high chiefs of Kissaka live almost constantly at the court of Musinga in Nyanza, and when they obtain permission to visit their holdings, their sons remain behind as valuable hostages, a guarantee against possible separatistic

651 Parisch. (1) He mentions: [272]
635

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 74, 78.

Province or Region	Chief (mutware)	
	Ku butaka	Ku muheto
Bugoye	Bushakwe	Bushakwe
Mukinoni	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Bwischascha	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Mukinjaga	Lubilinda	Rudegambia
Niantungu . . . . . (between Bwischascha and Nduga)	Bushakwe	Kabare
Munjaga . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Lujondo	Kanuma
Kawagali . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Bushakwe	Bushakwe

Von Parisch also mentions the mutware ku muheto Balahanda who led the attack on Count Von Götzen.

651 The butaka, it seems, is always collected by the chief to whom the land is granted. The muheto tax, on the other hand, goes to the chief who is entrusted with the king's cattle in the district. He has the right to pasture cows on the harvested fields of the farmers, which is a very considerable burden to the population. Thus, for example, the grass on many hills in Bugoye belongs to Rudegambia, although Bushakwe is the high chief of the region. On my way to Kisenyi I saw many uncultivated fields that had to lie fallow because the Batutsi removed their cattle too late for planting.

Dr. Kandt (1) also speaks of two chiefs in the provinces. He

[113] 1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer

65/
[113]

des Kiwu [A March along the Eastern Shore of Lake Kivu]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 213.

calls one the chief of the people and the other the chief of the cattle.

The ilali tax seems to be collected by special officials who at the same time are entrusted with the supervision of the Europeans who travel about the country. In some cases this office is carried out by batware ku muheto or batware ku butaka.

The amount accruing to the chiefs when they collect the taxes is called musogongero and is fixed for the butaka and muheto. For the ilali this does not seem to be the case. The amount varies from one situation to another, in proportion to the size of the caravan of Europeans that has to be provided for.

In order to describe the taxes somewhat more in detail, we herewith give the tax burden carried by the three communities on Katebe and Kitebe which we have discussed before.

[273] Taxes for the Communities on Katebe and Kitebe -

	Baishaza	Balyolyo	Bagwabiro
Population (including bagaragu)	104	61	41
Male clan members among these	47 + 2[1)]	21	21
Butaka for Musinga	9 Kaniki = 27 hoes	10 hoes	6 hoes
Musogongero for Chief Bizira Kuzama	6 hoes	?	?
Muheto	3000 butega	1000 butega	1000 butega
Musogongero	3 hoes to Makobi	Goat for 5 hoes to Murahangubo	
Ilali (through Gamuji)	1 package of beans	Small pot of beer, basket of sweet potatoes, basket of beans	1 load of beans
Buletwa	none	none	none

1) Two sons-in-law.

685 except through the mediation of the chiefs. They try to pay
[867] them back by thievery. Parents try to teach their children not to steal by burning their fingers.

684 Crimes against established morals are also severely punished in Ruanda, although it is commonly maintained that these punishments are being mitigated. Formerly seduced girls of Kissaka, as well as their seducers had to pay with their lives. They were either thrown into the water or hanged from the roof of the hut above the burning hearth. At the present time the severest punishment is to banish the girl.

681 The official death penalty in Ruanda is to break the criminal's neck (kuhotora) or to impale him. In Lwabugiri's day, when the death penalty was more frequently administered, it is said that criminals were also thrown into the swamp with their arms and legs cut off. However, among the skulls collected by my men in Nyanza, in the swamp into which executed criminals were thrown, [279] there were some that showed traces of blows from a bush knife.

In the kuhotora type of execution, the head is put between two pieces of wood and twisted back with this leverage device.

The royal executioner, the Mutwa Muhenehene, is said to kill the king's victims with a spear.

The bodies of those executed in Nyanza are allegedly given to the king's dogs to devour.

The impaled criminal whom Dr. A. Römer had an opportunity to observe was tied between two bamboo sticks running the length of the body, one in front, the other behind. His hands were tied together in front. A stake three or four centimeters thick ran through his body from the perineum to the cranium, without injuring the neck externally. The corpse had no lower leg bones. It was already so decomposed that one could not tell whether these bones had been picked off by hyenas or chopped off by the executioner. The natives who were questioned were not in agreement about this. Dr. Kandt (1) gives the word kuvamba for impaling.

[113] 1. Kandt, R., "an account of his travels and research in Ruanda in Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 120.

175 Mutara Lwogera was also a successful warrior. He conquered
643 Bugoye and in 1876 added Kissaka to Ruanda by force of arms.

Lwabugiri Kigeri who was visited by Count Von Götzen, the first European to do so, was also a very belligerent ruler. He increased Ruanda's possessions in the Rutshuru Basin as far as Lake Edward.

175 In order to characterize the personality of Lwabugiri some-
643 what more exactly, we must mention that one of his chief delights
661 was stealing cows. If the owner of the cattle resisted, he was punished with confiscation for having the boldness to act against the muami [ruler]. If he did not resist, his cows, which he had learned to conceal, were simply taken away from him. These cow thefts with which Lwabugiri consciously promoted the splitting up of feudal possessions, as well as the constant wars, made him very troublesome to the Batutsi.

175 Without doubt the rule of Lwabugiri was a period of great
643 expansion and glory for Ruanda. The state enjoyed such a high reputation that neither the Arabs nor Stanley and Emin Pasha ventured to enter it. Lwabugiri undertook numerous campaigns, among them an unsuccessful one to Nkole (1891?). He wanted to get King Ntare's cows in order to supplement his own herds which had been very much decimated by disease. He waged war three times with Urundi, twice with Idjwi Island, three times against Bunyabungu, and twice with Kissaka. Moreover, he laid waste the country of Mulera three times in order to punish rebellious subjects, and he pillaged the Gana Mukari (1) three times in his

[113]

1. Brard, A., "Skizzen aus Ruanda [Ruanda Sketches]," Afrikabote, 1900-1901, p. 99.

ancestral province because of the revolt which was supposed to have taken place there. He was unsuccessful in his expeditions against Urundi. The two kings, Lwabugiri and Mwezi Kisabo (?), made peace with each other and built their settlements on the border between the two states, on the Akanjaru. The wars with the inhabitants of Idjwi Island were also only temporarily successful.

175 Kabare is said to have killed all of Lwabugiri's sons except Musinga,
643 the son of his sister Kanzogera, after their mighty father died.
These accounts agree with a note by Von Beringe (2) referring to

[113]

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 39.

Mumusa, the queen of Mururwa in Mpororo: "Mhumse claimed that she was a wife of the deceased Sultan Lwabugiri of Ruanda and that she was sent here by him to escape the persecution of Chief Kawalle who [292] killed four of his sons. However, there is no longer any connection between Mhumse and Ruanda."

Mibambwe who was temporarily proclaimed king after the death of Lwabugiri was burned to death in his hut along with his entire family (1). Most of his brothers died also. Only

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 263.

Ishirangabo, however, was not considered for the rulership because he was a man dedicated to the spirit Ryangombe. Bilegea, a son of Lwabugiri, was missing from the time of his youth and was always regarded as a possible, dangerous pretender to the throne. His return to the country was very much feared by the rulers. (2)

Ibid., p. 264.

Musinga, whose father had cast him out, was taken in by a Muhutu and reared by him. It was only because no other son of Lwabugiri came to be considered that the neglected son of Kanzogera was appointed king. He ascended the throne as Juhi Musinga. As a result of his plebeian upbringing, the king had learned to eat goat's meat. This custom is said to have been adopted by the court Batutsi out of courtesy.

175 This fact would probably have caused the young ruler great
643 difficulties if it had not happened that three years after the death
648

175 of Lwabugiri Captain Ramsay came to the country in 1897.
643 Musinga was recognized as the ruler. Captain Ramsay entered
648 into a special pact of blood brotherhood with him or at least with the man that was introduced to him as Musinga. (3) He reports:

[113]

3. Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 315.

"Thereupon I had to tie a string around Juhi, and he tied several strings around me; then we shook hands vigorously, and the king of Ruanda and I became blood brothers."

Since that time Musinga has been energetically supported by the government, which, through him, again has the entire country in hand. Musinga has at his disposal the Askari of the guard troops who in an emergency can teach his rebels a lesson. I had occasion to observe this in 1907 in Mulera. With the intervention of this new factor, the country has become orderly to an extent that formerly did not seem possible.

173 Kissaka. The history of Kissaka cannot be traced as far back as that of Ruanda.

Banyakissaka traditions about ancient times say that they, like the Banyoro and Baganda, came from the north, not from the south, like the Wasukuma.

[293] Kissaka has been a state since very ancient times. According to Busindja (1) tradition, the Kissaka rulers were Basinga.

[113]

1. Van Thiele, Father H., "Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda [Businza under the Bahinda Dynasty]," Anthropos, 1911, p. 499.

One of these rulers was married to Nyakachende, the daughter of Ruhinda, and she bore him a successor. From then on the rulers of Kissaka were referred to as Bayango of Ruhinda.

173 some Batwa living there. The Batwa were in part driven out, in part assimilated. The latter are known as Batwa bikyugu "Batwa of the inhabited land." Very many colonists came from Kishari and Kameronse, regions north of Lake Kivu. They were driven out of their homes by raids of the cannibalistic Balioko, probably Manyema, or perhaps also of the Babira who were driven out by the Manyema. To this emigration we can probably attribute latent traces of Bakondjo in Bugoye. Besides this wave, the Bambari clan from Ndorwa came to Bugoye, as well as the Bagwabiro from the region of Ischangi on the southern shore of Lake Kivu. The latter are impoverished Batutsi who till fields and own but few cows.

805 Chronology. Time in Ruanda is divided into years, seasons, months (moons), and weeks. The weeks have only five or six days. Thanks to the kindness of Father Buisson, I can herewith give the names of the months used in Kissaka and Ussuwi, opposite the Mulera calendar. The data on Nkole have been taken from Meldon (3). [295]

[113]

3. Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Nkole," Journal of the African Society, 1907, p. 137.

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221

Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
I. Kwakira, pea harvest, beginning hoeing for millet	Kimguru	Kashantare	Biruru
II. Mutarama, millet sowing	Kakire	Werurwe	Kata
III. Werurwe, weeding millet fields	Mahingo	Kichurasi	Katumba
IV. Mata, sowing green peas (nyagasha)	Ruwoza	Kamena	Ikoma
V. Kichurasi, sowing peas	Muhiranguzu	Nyakanga	Chabahezi
VI. Kamena, one hopes to have plenty to eat soon	Rweru	Katumba	Nyerurue

266 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago.
782 The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King
651 Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a mûja (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[643] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in
575 the north and by poisoners (balozi). Koch (1) confirms its occurence
794

1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

266
794
575

guards near corpses. They believe that if a person eats corpses he is imbued with weird, magical power and can turn into wild animals, as in our legend of the werewolf."

According to Johnston (2), the secret society of basezi in

[13]

2. Johnston, H., The Uganda Protectorate (London, 1902), p. 692.

Buddu and on the Sese Islands assembles at night and devours corpses. Johnston (3) characterizes the inhabitants of the Sese

3. Ibid., p. 693.

Islands as notorious cannibals who gave up this passion only when they were forced to by the Baganda.

Ruanda's western neighbors, the Bahunde, are likewise cannibals, as Dr. Kandt (4) has determined. He reports the

4. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 449.

following discovery: "Here lay the head of a human being that had been slaughtered not more than two days ago. The ears, the lips, and the flesh of cheeks, neck, and chin had been cut away, and the large hollow bones had been broken, apparently to suck out the marrow and the blood. The place where the fire had been, marked by ashes, was still visible; the blood-soaked apron of barkcloth and the straw and wire rings of the slaughtered person lay strewn about in the grass. I called the guides. They knew the man and said that if we wanted to look around we could find many other remnants of this kind, but I had no desire to do so."

From these facts we may conclude that formerly cannibalism was common in the entire interlacustrine region from the western lakes to the Sese Islands. Only recently suppressed, it has left definite traces in the cult and in secret societies.

6: Czekanowski--274 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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[113]

1. Adolf Friedrich, Duke of Mecklenburg, Ins innerste Afrika [Into the Interior of Africa] (Leipzig, 1909), p. 118.

boys of Kanuma performed another dance of the same type (2).

Ibid., p. 119.

The dances are divided into two distinct groups, the kwamiriza and the kuhyereka. In the first group the dancers hold a spear or an arrow in their hands and swing them rhythmically. The martial bearing of the dancers indicates that this is a war [534] dance. In these dances the dancers wear iron bells on their ankles and move in a closed circle or in a line from left to right. This type seems to be representative of all true Batutsi dances.

The second group is the kuhyereka. This is danced by one or two dancers, very rarely by three. In this dance the dancer rocks back and forth with his arms outstretched and often bent backward. This position is called kutega amaboko. For the kuhyereka the bells, if they are used, are fastened under the knee. It is very characteristic that in these dances, which were probably originally Bahutu, the bells are worn in the place where the Bakondjo, who are not influenced by the Batutsi, wear their leg rings.

[334] The dances which I had an opportunity to observe in Mulera belonged altogether to the kuhyereka group. The dance was performed by two soloists, and the passive participants accompanied their movements with singing and hand clapping to maintain the rhythm. The dance was sometimes also accompanied by the playing of the inanga. That only the kuhyereka type of dance appears in Mulera shows very definitely that it belongs to the lower Bantu stratum.

524 Play. Rattles are the common toys for children. Bigger boys like to play with small bows. A discus game is played with bow and arrow. There are two teams, with seven boys on each side. One team throws soft discusses cut out of a banana stalk;

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128 To investigate systematically the social significance of kinship terminology, some procedure should be adopted whereby every term is analysed from a set of relevant viewpoints. In order to do this we are setting them in the following table. The table recapitulates the sixty-one kinship terms mentioned in the preceding sections and for each of them gives eleven characteristics. In this [113] choice I have followed closely the chapter 'Analysis of Kinship' in Murdock's *Social Structure*.[17]

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		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
[18]Sogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
[18]Sogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Sogo-kuru-za	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru-za	r	dr	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Isogg-kuru	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	d
Data	a	e	+	+	–	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Data	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mama	a	e	+	+	+	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Mama	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mama-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-rume	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Maku-data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-gabo-wa-ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wa-mama-wacu	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Data-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-vandimwe	a	dr	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mw-ene-data	r	ds	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-rumuna-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-saza-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-kuru-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-shiki-wanjye	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mw-ene-datu-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-shiki-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-byara-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-byara-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-gore-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gore-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-rume-kazi-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gabo-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-rume-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-ene-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
M-wene-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-mwene-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-rume-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-ombo-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	d

[17] Murdock, 1949, pp. 91-112. Quotations in the following paragraphs come from p. 98.

[18] *a* means address; *r* reference.

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APPENDIX 3

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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

[3]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954.

[3]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights.

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi.

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred.

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society.

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups.

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.*

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste.

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956.

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three.

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer.

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light.

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help.

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy.

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system.

177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous
671 population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
184 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over
563 the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the
● 114 members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pagès, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

121 Nevertheless, we do not believe that a more or less complete account of the customs of private and public law of Ruanda has ever been prepared. This is what we have modestly attempted to do in the
[125] present work by inserting observations gathered in a questionnaire set up especially to facilitate [6] the study of native law (1). We have

1. J. Vanhove, Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique, Brussels, printer Lesigne, 1939.

not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

778 643 placed in the hut called rwimiringa (lit., house of copper objects (2),

2. Kalinga means "royal drum"; Karinga means "small copper object."

[727] built inside the king's boma, where the war trophies are kept. The Kalinga is guarded night and day, for it is the emblem of the grandeur of the kings of Ruanda.

4. The Court of the Mwami

644 At Nyanza, the royal residence (ibgami), flocks of people of every rank come to attend court or to inform the Mwami of the affairs of their region: Bahutu or even Batwa villagers hoping to obtain some benefit from the Mwami or his mother, dignitaries of various ranks and functions, and servants of both sexes (3).

•[114]

3. These duties and functions have been minutely described by the Rev. Father Pages in his fine book, Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique [A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa] (ed. I.R.C.B. [Institut Royal Colonial Belge], Brussels, 1933). This work constitutes a veritable and priceless monument for the knowledge of Ruanda and its people. We cannot do better than suggest that the reader refer to it for everything concerning the organization of the Royal Court.

5. The Council of Ministers

645 787 In serious circumstances, such as war or famine, the Mwami is obliged to convene the great chiefs (abatware b'intebe) in council (inima). The soothsayers (abapfuma) then consult the oracles and

Chapter 1

Survey of Land People (1)

(Cf. the map [colored in the original] at the end of the book.)

114 1. Part of this chapter is taken from a lecture which I gave at the 19th German Geographers' Conference in Strasbourg in the spring of 1914.

1. The Land Urundi

131 In the extreme west of German East Africa lies one of the regions of Africa least known until now: Urundi. To the north it borders on Ruanda, to the east on Ussuwi and Uha, to the south also on Uha, to the west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Since Urundi has an area of almost 29,000 square kilometers, i.e., approximately twice that of the Kingdom of [161] Saxony, and since it has over one and a half million inhabitants (according to van der Burgt, around two and a half million), it deserves attention for this reason alone. However, although 648 it has been German territory for over 25 years, we know little about it. Because of the recalcitrance of its population, the government had almost completely closed off the area to travel from the outside, and until 1911 political influence was limited to the establishment of a station with a resident and a company of colonial troops in Usumbura on Lake Tanganyika. It was not until 1912 that the seat of government was moved on a trial basis to Gitega in the interior of the region.

648 797 Oskar Baumann in 1812 was the first European who traveled through northern Urundi to the source of the Nile on the upper Ruvuvu. There followed then between 1896 and 1898 several military expeditions by colonial army officers, Ramsay, von Trotha, Langheld, von Langenn-Steinkeller, Fonck, and Dr. Kandt; and between 1896 and 1899 the Catholic Mission of

648 the "White Fathers" founded the stations of Usumbura (later
[797] moved to Marienheim), Mujaga, and Mugera in central Urundi. However, this advance of the Europeans was met with hostility by the Barundi [Rundi], so that from 1900 on German colonial troops under their leaders, Bethe, von Beringe, and von Grawert, had to contend with Kisabo, the king of Urundi, whereupon the Barundi finally recognized the sovereignty of the Germans. This recognition, however, is only nominal, for our power there is much too small to permit the establishment of a German administration in Urundi as yet.

114 Under such circumstances the exploration of Urundi could make no substantial progress. Ethnology alone has been advanced to a high degree by Father J. M. M. van der Burgt, who for many years was active in Urundi as a missionary and published the results of his excellent ethnological studies in Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi which appeared in 1903 through the Dutch Missionary Publishing House at Bois le Duc. The extremely extensive ethnological and ethnographical data, however, are so interspersed in this book with all kinds of historical and [2] linguistic digressions that it is difficult to extract and methodically collate the ethnological data of scientific value.

In view of this situation I decided to devote part of my 1911 expedition to the investigation of Urundi. Therefore, I worked there for a few months, sufficient time to obtain an over-all view which I have endeavored to supplement, as far as possible, by inquiries, correspondence, and other kinds of studies. Setting out from Ruanda in the northwest, I first crossed the northwestern mountain region, the "Mountains of the Moon" with my two companions, Lieutenant Tiller and Dr. Houy, then descended to the great central African depression into the valley of the Ruzizi, then crossed in dugouts the northern end of Lake Tanganyika to the residency, Usumbura, and thereupon traveled through the whole of central Urundi from west to east in a month and further through northern Uha and the Ussumbwa states, until finally, at Tabora, I reached the central railroad by which I traveled to Dar es Salaam.

3. Physical Characteristics

114 I have not undertaken anthropological measurements of the Barundi since I was completely occupied by my geographical and ethnographical tasks. My medical companion, Dr. R. Houy (unfortunately murdered in the Cameroons in 1913), whose own field was anthropology but who was at the same time very interested in zoology, found such a rich field in collecting and observing the peculiar fauna of this country that he, too, abstained from the time-consuming anthropological measurements. Thus I had to limit myself to the occasional use of the tape measure and the color scale, and for the rest I can only report general somatic observations.

[8] The most impressive of the Barundi people are naturally
144 the ruling tall Batussi (Plates 11, 12, 14). Aside from their heads which in most cases are smoothly shaven, they physically very much resemble their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. At first glance their Hamitic origin is apparent. On my earlier travels I had often been among the Somali and Galla, and when I was among the Batussi of Urundi and Ruanda it seemed that I had been transported again into the midst of the former, especially the Galla.
141 In one trait, however, the Batussi have an advantage over the Hamites of northern East Africa: they are, on the average, much taller. The most convenient yardstick I carry with me is provided by my own height, and against this I could easily make approximate measurements of the many hundreds of Batussi whom I met. I did not find any adult smaller than 1.77 meters (measured by a tape), few below 1.80 meters, the majority between 1.80 and 1.90 meters, many (about 10 per cent) between 1.90 and 1.95 meters, some few between 1.95 and 2 meters, and a very small number over 2 meters up to an upper limit of 2.08 meters (measured by tape). In spite of their extraordinary
142 height, their body parts are exactly proportioned in relation to each other; not merely are their legs and arms very long but also their torsos which are often so narrow and extended that one can hardly imagine how the internal organs are distributed inside. The impression of abnormal height is further increased by the

3. Clans, Exogamy, Totemism

614 In addition to the social stratification resulting from the different ethnic strata of the population with the Bahima conquerors, Batussi, as the upper class, there is in the entire interlacustrine region a subordinate social structure determined by kin groups or clans consisting of blood relatives. Depending on their nature, there are clans of Batussi, of Bahutu, and of Batwa. As a group of families related by blood, the clan is the basis of the entire social organization of both Ruanda and of Urundi, and also of Karagwe, Kisiba, Ankole, etc., while the political state is organized on the feudal system. Unfortunately, we 614 know very little about the clans of the Barundi since my pre- 114 decessors have given little attention to this institution and since the natives are reluctant to give information about these conditions, more from fear of the evil results of mentioning names [551] than from their religious concepts (see p. 111, 112). These things are much clearer in Ruanda where Czekanowski, assisted by the missionaries and Christianized natives, was able to obtain much interesting information about the clan structure (No. 48, Chap. 11). What I am able to convey below I owe -- except for my own findings in the field -- to information received from Capt. von Langenn-Steinkeller and Father van der Burgt.

"In his Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi, van der Burgt refers to a few privileged Batussi families from whom the kings customarily choose their wives (see pp. 99, 101, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]), but he fails to mention anything about an organization of the entire population into clans which is of decisive legal, social, and political importance. In reply to my direct inquiry, Father van der Burgt sent me the following information: "Formerly I held the belief for a long time that no clan organization at all existed in Urundi. Both in Unjamwesi and in Kisiba (No. 31, p. 5) one always hears people speak of their luganda (families, cognatio) and their kisse (pl., visse), i.e., clan; for example, whenever one asks a woman for her name, she first gives the name of her clan, e.g., "I am a Magana" or a "Njamurega" or a "Kundwa," etc. In central

614 Urundi, however, I only once heard a woman say that she was
114 a Magana. Thus, I would say that clan organization is not as pronounced in Urundi as it is in Unjamwesi, Ussuwi, Kisiba, etc. In Kirundi I am not familiar with a word like the Usâmbiro "kisse" [99] but the Warundi often speak of their "umurjango" which also means kin group, clan. However, in Ruanda clan organization seems to be well developed. In northern Urundi (Mariensee Mission) where there are many Wanjakissaka immigrants, they often speak of their clans, but this does not apply to the Warundi who live there.

"Whether there are few or many such clans in Urundi I do not know. I discovered the names listed below, but I cannot guarantee that they are genuine Urundi clan names. I rather think that they originate from the periphery of the country: Wajango, Wamagana, Wassindi, Waschambo, Wasinga, Wajambo (Wanjambo), Wasigawa (Wasigaba), and others. Incidentally, although the population is divided into clans, the members live all over the area without rule or restraint, i.e., not localized."

Van der Burgt further lists (see p. 183 [not translated]) the Wakundo, Warwanda (Wawanda, Babanda?), Wenengwe, Wanjakarama, Wasigaba, and Waterwa (Watoirwa?) as the families closest to the royal family. On the other hand, Capt. v. Langenn informs me that the Batussi families of the highest rank are the Banjakarama, Benengwe, Banjakissaka, Baschunguka, and Boschoka, after which there follows a second series of families, also very distinguished, the Bawanda, Bahondogo, Bassawu, Bawejuru, Baschama, Bega, Bawankundu, Babile, Basindakire, and others. A few of these family names, like the Bega, the Bawanda, the Bakundo, and the Baschama, were repeatedly mentioned to me in Urundi, and in addition the Baschambo, Basito, Bagessera, Bakango, Balenge, Baransi, Balesi, Bakono, Basseke, Bassabu, Bajosi, and Barire.

If we compare these names with the family names listed by Czekanowski in his clan tables from Unjoro, Toro, Ankole, Mpororó, Kjamtwara, Kisiba, and Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 41, 88, 233-251) and with those mentioned by Kandt, van der Burgt, van Thiel,

614 Stuhlmann, P. Schumacher, Meldon, Roscoe, Rehse, and
114 others, we rediscover over half of the Barundi names also in these lands, especially in Ruanda. This indicates the direction of the closest relationship to the Barundi families. According to legend, the Basinga, Bagessera, and Basigaba are the oldest kin groups there (see p. 153 [not translated]). Probably these clans of Urundi and the northern Bahima states which have the same name are mere offshoots of one original clan which split up as the result of a large increase in numbers or from being harrassed by war and spread over the area by migration. Throughout Urundi, Ruanda, and the northern areas of the interlacustrine region, the Bawanda, Bega, Bakango, Baschambo, Bagaia, Basindi, Basinga, Basito, Bajango, Basigaba, Bajubu, and others are most widely dispersed, while the Bahondogo, Bassabu, Baschunguka, Babile, Basindakire, Barire, and Basseke seem to be restricted to Urundi, although future investigators may discover them in other areas. Perhaps their blood relatives and namesakes may be found father south and west, rather than in the north.

614 The majority of the clans listed above are those of the Batussi, but the Bamagana, Bajango, Basseke, Basjubu, Barire, and others are Bahutu. In addition to this, there are numerous Batwa clans whose names, however, I was unable to ascertain. Some clan names refer both to Batussi and to Bahutu clans. In fact, a few, as, for example, the Bagessera and Basinga, even refer to Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa clans. It appears that the type of clan structure, the internal organization and the hierarchy of the clans, their social role, and their mutual legal relationships among the Batussi differ essentially in only a few characteristics from those of the Bahutu and the Batwa, namely, in those institutions and rules whose aim is to keep the Batussi blood pure and to maintain the exclusive position of their race and thus its authority. [100] Remnants of earlier endogamy still exist among them (see p. 101), while otherwise the clans are strictly exogamous. Probably the Batussi adopted the clan organization of the older ethnic elements in Urundi, just as they adopted many

614 Wherever monarchy with its state organization has not yet
621 dissolved the clans and dispersed their members all over the various feudal districts of the Batussi state (see p. 89), wherever the clans have preserved the main elements of their ancient solidarity and autonomy, as is the case particularly in the more or less independent border provinces of Urundi (and Ruanda), the clans form small or large communities under an elected clan elder (umugabo). This is especially true of
614 the Bahutu clans that existed in the area before the period of
423 Batussi rule. The office of the umugabo is hereditary in
621 many cases. The central communalistic element in the organization of these clans is the communal ownership of the land occupied by the clan. The land belongs to the clan community probably because it was originally appropriated and cultivated by the clan. The individual clan members is merely entitled to the use of the land he cultivates or of the pasture where his cattle grazes. Only the hut built on this ground is the real property of the individual, in addition to the inventory of implements, tools, weapons, and the cattle he has raised from the herd with which he has been vested by his feudal lord (see p. 93).

614 E. Johanssen, a missionary who in 1907 founded the first
182 Protestant missionary stations of Dsinga and Kirinda in Ruanda
[114] and who is an eminent student of the Banjaruanda, makes the following comment on the social importance of the Ruanda clans: "These kin group organizations hand down the old customs and traditions from one generation to the next. In this way they preserve the national characteristics against intermixture and decay. The easier it is to loosen the ties of the family group in its narrowly defined sense as a result of polygamy and by the dissolution of marriage, the greater is the [105] importance of the stable, indissoluble, religiously determined kin group. The destruction of this group would cause the entire nation to disintegrate and to split up into isolated groups which would be exposed to any outside influence. There can be no doubt that the kin group, as the

794 the fraternity of the ababandwa existed long before the histori-
575 cal Riangombe. It is most probably an extremely old element
171 of Negro religion in East Africa which has been preserved in its pure form in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda, Karagwe, the eastern Congo (Bunjabungu) (No. 44, p. 291), and in a degenerate form in Unjamwesi and Ussumbwa. Many parallels to it can be found in the secret societies of the Bantu and Sudan Negroes of Loango, the Cameroons, Togo, the Gold Coast, etc. Ac-
794 cording to van der Burgt, the Kubandwa cult in Urundi is part
575 of the Bantu religion of the Bahutu and has been taken over
114 by the Batussi. However, the king may not participate in the cult while the Batwa are very dedicated to it, particularly to that of Kiranga. In his dictionary van der Burgt defines the ababandwa as a "société religieuse et secrèt" (No. 19, pp. 220, 463), but according to a more recent written communication he regards the Kubandwa not as a real "secret society" but as a gathering for a mysterious cult act to which not everyone is admitted, for example, children. Captain von Langenn, however, regards it as a religious secret society in which old sorcerers play the leading role; admission to it follows special ceremonies. Missionary Johanssen, too, describes the analogous institution in Ruanda as a "society of the initiated or of mediums" who are in contact with the world of the spirits and join Riangombe after their death, in contrast to the laymen, the insigo, who are excluded from this community (No. 39, p. 96). Father van Thiel likewise refers to the initiated persons of the Kubandwa cult in east Ussuwi as a "soeiété secrète" whose leader is the sorcerer (No. 24, p. 49).

[793] In Ruanda a high priest (kiranga) is the head of the
794 ababandwa. He is appointed by the king, but he may also be
644 dismissed by him. In Ruanda the king appoints the mpara as his
575 assistants. They are a group of ababandwa who enjoy the privilege of offering their sacrifices to Riangombe in the kraal of the king. It is noteworthy that they are all Bahutu. This is probably a concession to the old Bantu origin of the Kubandwa cult. These mpara, in addition to the Batwa who live at the k king's court (see p. 13), are the bodyguards and the "guardians of the royal sleep," and much confidence is placed in them (No. 44, p. 292).

173 their history, but they regard it as a hallowed secret of the Batutsi which belongs to the category of ibanga [secrets].

173 Father F. Dufays and Father P. Loupias succeeded in learning about one of the traditions of ancient times from a Mututsi whom ●114 I personally know very well but whose name I must withhold out of consideration for his own safety. The man clashed with his fellow tribesmen [287] and told his story to the missionaries to express his gratitude for their protection.

173 According to this story, human beings in former times lived in heaven as well as on the earth. The children of Nyina Kigwa, 173 Kigwa, Lututsi, and their sister, Nyina Batutsi, were cast out from heaven as a punishment for their mother's loquacity. They fell to earth in Bugansa, Ruanda, and discovered the following Bahutu families in the country: the Basinga, Bagessera, and Bazigaba. In the forest they found the Batwa. The Bahutu and Batwa had been expelled from heaven before them. The new immigrants brought fire, agriculture (hoe culture), cattle raising, and industry (iron technique). In this way they gained influence, and Kigwa became the ruler of Ruanda. Kigwa married his sister, Nyina Batutsi, and became the protoplast of the Banieginia who are descended from his three sons and still rule Ruanda. Lututsi emigrated to Karagwe and married one of Kigwa's three daughters. He became the protoplast of the Bega who supply the kings of Ruanda with wives and mothers who are their peers. Kigwa and his descendants kept in touch with heaven through Batabazi redeemers, who came to their aid in times of great need. There are three chief Batabazi mentioned. The first protected the children of Nyina Batutsi and brought animals to Ruanda; the second was Kihana, son of King Ndahiro; and the third, Kyamweru, was the son of King Luzugira Iwijuru.

[117] This tradition contains some details of Christian legends, which we shall not go into here. Its origin will probably be determined some day, but at present it is a mystery. However, the statement that the children of Nyina Kigwa (referring doubtless to the Batutsi) brought fire and hoe culture into the country can be written off as historically incorrect. In any case, it is certain that this story tells us about the settling of the Batutsi in Ruanda and the establishment of their rule in Bugansa, and that at this time Bagessera,

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INTRODUCTION

THE greater part of this work is directly concerned with the description and analysis of the political organization of Ruanda. The first chapters, however, are devoted to other aspects of the social system: kinship and affinity, marriage and family. As the whole system of social relations in Ruanda constituted a closely knit fabric, it was thought that an understanding of the political institutions necessitates also some treatment of the other structures of human relations. Moreover, a brief account of the physical environment, the quest for food, shelter, and health, and some demographic data have been included because these elements, if external to the pattern of political relations, set the limits within which the Ruanda system of domination grew.

This study refers to the period immediately preceding the time when Ruanda was submitted to the influence of Western culture through its European agents. That is to say, in the continuously moving historical stream, we have chosen to study the particular configuration of the Ruanda political organization at the moment when it had been moulded by the action of many forces, but not by the full impact of European contacts. For reasons mentioned later, the 'zero point' of direct European influence on Ruanda society is not difficult to assess. It is in the first decade of this century. Ruanda social structure did not undergo any significant modification due to European influence until roughly 1910. This date is fortunately not very distant, and around 1950 it was still possible to interview many people who had been young when the old régime was still a working concern. As far as we know, there had been also no direct and continuous contact between Arabs and Ruanda prior to that time.

To remind the reader that we are describing structures and institutions which no longer exist, at least in their entirety, my account is given in the past tense even when it refers to features which are still functioning today. The expressions 'today', 'now', 'at the present time', &c., refer to the period 1950–1 during which basic research was carried out in Ruanda.

As a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale*, I carried out field work in Ruanda

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114 for two years, from December 1949 to November 1951. During that period information was secured by continuous observation and by informal interviews with Africans and Europeans. Some administrative officers and missionaries, keenly interested in the society and culture of the Ruanda, have contributed much information and stimulating opinions.

[121] In addition to this work, three systematic inquiries on specific subjects have been completed: political organization, kinship and family structures, and cosmological and ethical systems. Each of these inquiries was prepared by a preliminary survey on the subject, on the basis of which schedules of topics and specific questions were framed.

125 114 The preliminary survey of political organization enabled me to collect a considerable amount of information on that subject. Consequently, a later inquiry could aim primarily at checking and making more precise what was already known. To achieve this purpose a hundred-question schedule was devised. It was the object of each question that it should fulfil as adequately as possible the following conditions: to be neutral (formulated in such a way as not to suggest that the investigator preferred one answer rather than another), significant (likely to clarify obscure or controversial issues), concrete (such as 'Were there more or less people in group A than in group B?') rather than abstract (such as 'Give a definition of the administrative organization'), and simple (to be answered by 'yes', 'no', or one word). This last requirement was particularly important as it made possible a summing up of the answers. A translation of this questionnaire is given as Appendix One.

124 The choice of informants was made according to the following procedure. About a dozen persons, Africans and Europeans, who had been living for many years in Ruanda and had been in close contact with many members of the African community, were asked to give a list of Ruanda (Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa) who, in their opinion, would be familiar with the pre-European political structure, particularly from direct experience. The importance of listing people living in all the different regions of the country was stressed. By collating the various lists I finally obtained a set of about 350 names of men scattered everywhere in the country.

In order to interview them, I had to move between seventy-four different places which were about evenly distributed through the

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124 [115] informant. Sixteen Hutu and twenty Tutsi informants were interviewed. Two junior administrative officers, Messrs. E. Finoulst and G. De Clercq, who were taking a six-month course of training in anthropology, participated in the different stages of this inquiry, as did Mr. S. Naigisiki, who acted as assistant and interpreter.

The inquiry into the cosmological and ethical systems was carried out on similar lines. A schedule of thirty-five headings, under each of which several points were listed, was used in several collective and individual interviews.

114 This research from 1949 to 1951 forms the main basis for my *Système des relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, published in 1954. But I have spent two other research periods in Ruanda (December 1952–December 1955 and September 1956–September 1957) on more specific topics. What was observed in these later periods, however, bearing on the topic of the earlier study, has been taken into account in the present volume.

Secondarily, the present study of Ruanda is based on literary 127 sources published both before and after 1954. These are fully listed in the Bibliography.

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122 All my field work in Ruanda was sponsored by the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.) for which I am deeply grateful. At the same time I assumed the 114 functions of Head of the Scientific Research Centre of I.R.S.A.C. in Astrida. I wish to extend my thanks particularly to Professor L. van den Berghe, Director of I.R.S.A.C. The late Professor 000 F. Olbrechts, when he was Chairman of the *Commission des Sciences de l'Homme* of I.R.S.A.C., also greatly encouraged my research.

For guidance in planning the research project on Ruanda and for supervision of all its later stages, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Daryll Forde.

I should also like to thank Miss Barbara Pym, of the International African Institute, London, who very kindly corrected the first typescript, and Dr. R. J. Apthorpe, of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, Lusaka, for his patient and invaluable help in preparing this edition of my book.

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The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this processs.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 215-23. [8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

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174 Ruanda, Burundi, Ha, Karagwe). It is not known where these
101 pastoralists came from.

Because of cultural and physical similarities the Galla or Somali country of Southern Abyssinia has been advanced as their possible place of origin. As the invaders have completely adopted the Bantu language of the agriculturists, the lack of linguistic clues so important in such questions is a great setback to any historical reconstruction. It should be noted in this connexion that the use of [114] the linguistic term 'Hamites' to denote Tutsi, who do not speak a Hamitic language at all, is unfortunate and misleading. Dr. Meinhard's suggestion of using a term not burdened with linguistic connotations such as 'Ethiopians' or 'Ethiopoids' should be considered.[11] The population movement which brought the invaders to Ruanda is probably at least four centuries old. The 174 present ruler is traditionally the fortieth king of Ruanda. We 643 know the names of thirty-nine predecessors, but it is possible that the list is incomplete. On the other hand it seems that the first nineteen are legendary figures. Taking account of this and assuming that a reign lasts about twenty years, we go back to the sixteenth century.[12]

174 As the Tutsi migration seems to have been gradual and peaceful, an infiltration rather than a conquest, it is probable that at the beginning their cattle grazed on the unoccupied grasslands. But the population increased as more Tutsi kept on entering the country and more land had to be tilled to feed them. Cattle were also increasing and the Hutu had to move from the most fertile soil, in the bottom of valleys, because during the dry season these places were the only ones where cattle could find fresh grass. This process must have been in operation for a few centuries to produce the situation as we know it now.

161 Statistics are not available for the 1900–10 period, with which this study is concerned, but we may from the present figures (with [174] some modifications) get a fairly good idea of the situation at the beginning of this century. The population was estimated on 31 December 1949, to be 1,870,410 souls: in 1956, 2,374,136, which

[11] Cf. Meinhard, 1947a, p. 3.

[12] According to Meyer, 1913, the pastoral invasion took place in two ways. The first, at the beginning of this millenium reached the north-east of the Province; the second, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought them farther southward. According to Kagame and Delmas, the first Hamitic populations invaded the country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (Gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi), (1956), p. 9.

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and Tutsi compounds. Only the size and number of huts and enclosures were different.[24] 361

These compounds, usually surrounded and more or less hidden by banana groves, were scattered throughout the country. They were on the top or on the slopes of hills, never in the valleys which were flooded every year at the end of the rainy season. They were usually rather isolated but even when they were not far from each other (and they were never so near together as to have two adjacent hedges) they did not constitute villages in the sense of concentrated clusters of dwellings situated near the centre of the territory worked by the inhabitants. There was, however, some grouping 621
on a predominantly local basis of people who were all personally acquainted with each other. They could be described, following Murdock's terminology, as *neighbourhoods*.[25] These neighbourhoods were made up of a certain number of compounds (from twenty to sixty) situated on a hill (*umusozi*) or a part of a hill (*umurenge*). The people living there had a few common activities: mutual aid in the building of huts and in the performance of [496]
certain agricultural tasks, and recreational gatherings (such as dancing, jumping competitions, arrow shooting, &c.). They showed a certain *esprit de corps* in taking the side of one of their members in a dispute against a member of another similar community. The word used to designate the members of such groups expressed this idea of neighbourhood. They were called *abazimya muriro*, 'those who put out the fire', people very often needed. One 622
important person in the group such as a lineage-head, was appointed as neighbourhood-head (*umukoresha*) by the traditional administrative authority to take charge of the collection of dues and tribute-labour of a hill or, more frequently, of a group of hills (*umutware w'umusozi*). He acted as an intermediary between his neighbours and the hill chief. The group could refuse the appointment of a certain person and another would be chosen. These neighbourhoods had no communal place for meeting, 621
exchanging goods, or worshipping.

The same pattern of local grouping was to be found throughout Rwanda.

[24] Cf. Czekanowski, 117, p. 200 ff; Pauwels, 1953; Vincent, 1954, pp. 12-13.

[25] Murdock, 1949, p. 80. The definition of village given in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 64. ('a territorially separate collection of homesteads, which is regarded as a distinct unit and of such a size that its inhabitants can all be personally acquainted') cannot be applied to the Rwanda type of local community. [119]

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for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territories*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

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[P.64]

CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

1. MARRIAGE

121 59 THE family, the social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction[1] had in Ruanda a conjugal basis[2] that we shall consider in this section.

Married life will not be dealt with here but only the ways and conditions of the establishment of that 'union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are then recogized legitimate offspring of both partners'.[3]

(a) *The choice of a spouse*

582 In a primary marriage (the first that an individual contracts) there were few positive socially recognized criteria of choice and none of them indicated one or a few individuals as preferential partners. Among close kin cross-cousins were possible spouses, but it was generally an unfortunate circumstance that obliged a man to marry his cross-cousin. It was usually either because he was not able to pay bride-wealth immediately, or because his cross-cousin had become pregnant by him. We should add that there was no restricted or generalized exchange among the [114] Ruanda in Lévi-Strauss's sense. On the contrary I was told that because they limited connexions, exchanges were not in favour except in some special circumstances.[4]

In the preceding chapter we have mentioned persons whom Ego was prohibited from marrying because of his relations of kinship or affinity with them. Let me sum up the different categories of these persons.

We may start with that which seems fundamental in the sense

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 1.
[2] Linton, 1936, p. 159.
[3] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 110.
[4] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, pp. 189, 322. There is restricted exchange if, when a man of group A gets a woman from group B, it results in a man of group B claiming a woman from group A. Exchange is generalised if when a woman of group A is given to a man of group B, a woman of B must be given to a man of C and a woman of C may be claimed by a man of A.

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585 Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have [493] been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his [428] share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their 591 own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

(*d*) *Polygynous unions*

595 Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, [556] as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which [842] were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually [119] occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

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cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

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It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of more than one lord, I was told. Firstly, the services required were such that it was not easy for the same person to perform them twofold. Secondly, a lord did not like to enter into *buhake* relations with somebody who was already the client of another *shebuja*, because such an arrangement was very likely to result in a considerable lessening of each lord's control on his client.

571 675

2. ANALYSIS OF THE CLIENTAGE STRUCTURE

(a) *Notion of feudality*

If the term 'feudal' is to be legitimately applied to the social structure described in the preceding section, it must be understood as a notion covering more than the historical sense of that term as used when referring to the Western Middle Ages. Feudality is here an 'ideal-type' in the Weberian sense.

114 642

Feudality is a particular ordering of certain human relations. This organization is based on an agreement between two individuals who unequally partake in the symbols of wealth and power culturally recognized in their society. The person who, in that respect, is inferior to the other, asks the other for his patronage, and, as a counterpart, offers his services. This is the essence of the feudal régime which must be found in any social system qualified by that term. Feudality is manifold in its modalities. The latter differ in many respects. For instance, obligations of each party may vary and be more or less definite in measure; the symbols and proofs of the feudal relation may be very dissimilar. Thus, in the European Middle Ages, the symbol and the proof of the feudal agreement was the tenure of a tract of land granted by the man in the superior position to the other. That piece of land was called a fief and the parties concerned became suzerain and vassal as soon as the tenure had been granted and accepted.

It seems that the qualification 'feudal' may be applied to the organization of social relations between a *shebuja* and a *garagu* described in the preceding section. At the root of that relation, there are two individuals having a different social status. From one of these individuals, there is a demand for aid and protection, and from the other a promise of assistance in counterpart of services. Granting the usufruct of a few cows to the man of inferior status is the symbol and proof of the agreement.

571 675

The word 'agreement' is employed here rather than 'contract' which is more frequently used in this connexion. I do not consider

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178 possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference
564 was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of
114 the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the
55A maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

55A Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them
564 to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of
178 their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds,
184 they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer, and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to
[162] know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to
[171] comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

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184 it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical
564 stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as
826 significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light
178 skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

•114 Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

178 The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type
564 differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both
826 ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority
184 endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the
[554] physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark
[531] (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

[P.160]

CHAPTER VIII

THE PREMISE OF INEQUALITY

1. DEFINITIONS

121 d19 THERE is in a culture much more than can be observed (artifracts, behaviour) or known by direct questions (myths, religious beliefs, &c.). There are conceptions concerning the place of man in the world, his destiny, his main values, his attitudes to his fellow men, the meaning of the invisible world, &c. That covert part of a culture is partly or totally implicit in the sense that these fundamental conceptions and values remain for the culture bearers unexpressed or even unconscious. They are thus reached by induction, some by immediate inference from observation, some by a process encompassing several states of abstraction.

Some elements of the covert culture are particularly fundamental because they underline different cultural phenomena which hitherto might have appeared unrelated. They act as a principle in the logical order from which a set of conclusions may be deduced. This is why the word 'premise' has been preferred here to others such as 'configuration',[1] 'sanction',[2] and 'theme'.[3]

On the other hand, the word 'premise' should not be thought to imply that the relationships between the cultural principle and its cultural consequences obey the strictest laws of rational logic. This relationship may be said to be logical only in a very broad sense. Or more accurately, we must clearly distinguish between 'logical' and 'rational'. There are relationships which are meaningful although they express a sequence which is emotional or 'psychological' or even unconscious rather than rational. Such relationships, however, may be said to be 'logical' in the sense in which we speak of a logic of sentiments or emotions. This simply means that we expect them, 'understand' them.[4]

114 To make the point clear, let us take an example of a logical but not rational relationship between two social phenomena. In the past, a positive correlation has been noted between low economic

[1] Kluckhohn, 1941, 1943.
[2] Opler, 1945.
[3] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 122 f.
[4] Maquet, 1951, p. 185.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

indices and the lynching of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union. There is evidently no rational means for the whites of the south to impute the responsibility for the lack of rain—which was then the cause of the poor cotton crops—to Negroes. This typically irrational behaviour, however, becomes comprehensible if we accept the frustration-aggression sequence. In this sense, it can be said that the relation between the two phenomena, economic crises and lynching, is a logical relation.[5]

Ruanda political relations disclose one of the premises of that culture. Underlying the political and feudal structures there was a general assumption about human relations. In order to formulate it as accurately as may be possible, I shall first consider more closely the social roles of the superior and inferior in the field of political and feudal relations. In the following section the words 'ruler' and 'subject' refer to superiors and inferiors in the administrative, military, and clientage structures.

2. THE RULER'S AND SUBJECT'S SOCIAL ROLES

The analysis of the political organization of Ruanda indicates that the ruler was expected to assume a complex role towards his subject. The two poles of it were protection and profit. The subordinate was somebody whom one protected: he was also a resource from which it was normal to draw some advantage.

Protection was not restricted to a certain field of action, but potentially encompassed the whole of the subject's life. When the inferior needed some help, any help, he was expected to apply to his ruler even if the issue was completely alien to the sphere of the main relations between the ruler and the subject. A client could ask his *shebuja* for aid in matters not pertaining to cattle and *buhake* services. It was even thought proper for the ruler to interfere in difficulties which his subject through his own misdemeanour had run into as, for instance, when an inferior had been caught stealing from somebody. When protection was refused, it was not because the question was not the ruler's concern, but on other grounds, such as disloyalty.

The extent of that protection was not strictly defined. It did not constitute for the ruler a set of particular and fixed obligations. The subordinate had a general right to be protected but very few claims to particular advantages. In *buhake*, when one offered one's

[5] Dollard, 1939, p. 44 (quoted by Maquet, 1951, p. 166).

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

571 services to a lord in order to become his client, one was entitled to
829 receive usufruct of his cattle. But the number of cows was not
156 determined. It could be one or twenty or fifty or even more.
641 It was up to the ruler to decide if any protection was to be granted and to what extent. Of course the pressure of public opinion obliged him not to refuse aid to his subordinate unless he had some socially accepted reason to do so (such as the subordinate's disobedience), but the measure of the protection depended on his own will and pleasure.

These characteristics of the protective attitude (care of the whole of the subordinate's life, its very variable extent being left to the superior's judgement) allow us to apply to it the qualification of
128 'paternalistic'. Paternalism is understood here as 'the principle of
114 acting in a way like that of a father towards his children. Because of the total dependency of the human offspring, during their first years, on those who nurse and educate them—and they are usually their parents—the latter's authority ranges over the whole of the life of the child. In everything he needs his parents, in everything they have to direct and control him. Moreover, parents sovereignly judge what they are going to give their children. Undoubtedly, their social groups force them to secure for their children the protection they need to live and develop but the children may not require such or such a particular service. Parents decide without further ado what is suitable for the child and think that better than he they know what is 'best for him'.

571 A paternal relation does not exclude profit. In describing the
829 Ruanda's father's role towards his sons, I mentioned that the
156 father's interests were usually thought to be predominant in
641 respect of the children's interests. When inferiors were not the superior's children but his subjects or clients, that aspect of profit was much more emphasized. All those who occupied the inferior position in the relations of the political and feudal structures had dues to give and tribute labour to perform for the profit of their superiors, and some of these obligations were heavy. It did not appear at all unusual to Ruanda that power brought many privileges to those who had it. If one is a chief, is it not fitting to draw advantages from one's situation? Here, again, the extent of the subject's obligations was left within very broad limits to the superior's discretion.

The ruler's role seems to have been that paternalistic blend of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

shaped the new Ruanda situation according to their ideology. Again, it is possible that some themes and types of organization of the Hutu cultivators were particularly capable of being used in the formation of the Ruanda ethos as I have described it. But a conquest evolving into a caste structure is sufficient to account for an inegalitarian premise. Even if prior to the conquest each of the two groups concerned has an egalitarian ideology, the establishment of hereditary groups, whereby the status of vanquishers and vanquished is perpetuated, suffices to give birth to a theory of inequality.

I am of the opinion that such a theory is a necessary 'superstructure' (in the Marxist sense) of a caste system. Undoubtedly, a body of inheritance laws, opportunities for a certain kind of education restricted to the wealthiest, a difference in languages, &c., may maintain for some time a high social power in the hands of the conquerors' descendents, even if the cultural ideology is that all men are born equal. But such a lack of internal coherence ('all men are born equal' versus 'political and economic power is restricted to those who are descendants of the conquerors') is very likely to result rapidly in an evolution from a caste system to a class society. A 'racial' theory seems the only ideology perfectly consistent with a caste structure. It is very probable that conquerors adopt it not only for consistency's sake, but because it is more efficient, more easily understood and accepted, particularly when different physical traits are characteristic of each caste.

It should be understood that when we speak of 'the adoption of an ideology by the conquerors', it is not meant that one day the conquerors made a conscious choice among various possible ideologies. Rather, once a caste system operates, the patterns of political domination and of economic exploitation require people to behave as if the upper caste members were by nature different from that of the lower caste members. When the 'idea behind' these behaviours is made more or less explicit, as in tales and proverbs, it is rationalized in terms of fundamental and inborn inequality.

If there is such a necessary link between caste systems and the premise of inequality, then to know whether the conqueror's ideology, prior to the conquest, was egalitarian or not is only an historical question; when the vanquisher settles and establishes a caste system, the inegalitarian ideology is produced, as its corollary.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The question of the previous premise of the conquerors' culture, however, remains very important in another connexion: to what extent does an anterior egalitarian ideology deter the conquerors from establishing a caste system? Is the conqueror, if imbued with an ethos of egalitarianism, inclined to admit that his principles are valid also in his relations with the vanquished group? Or does he think that obviously the conquered groups are different people? Because of our ignorance of the Tutsi cultural premises before they entered into Ruanda, these questions have to be left unanswered in the case of ancient Ruanda.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

*Author's translation.

†The research upon which this paper is based was supported by a Fellowship from the Ford Foundation, African Program (1955-1957). The field work was done between March, 1956 and July, 1957. Thanks are due also to I.R.S.A.C. (Instut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale) for having granted me the privileges of *Chercheur Associé*. Changes since the period of the research render the present tense historical.

124 of the complex customs of Ruanda. The value of our information,
[115] emanating from the principal abiru, guardians of the customs of the Court of Nyanza, and from the seminarists, sons of the great provincial chiefs, as well as the cross-checking we have done, make us hope that we will present an essay from which all fantasy has been eliminated.

121 We hope that it will be possible for all those, both clerical and lay, who work in the "country of the cow and the drum," as well as ethnologists needing a basis for research, to have a clear picture of an organization, of a mechanism both complicated and precise, that takes us back mutatis mutandis both to the atmosphere of the ancient City and to that of the medieval world. [7]

539 impongo. Ati iyi ntikwiye umwana,
the antelope. Since this does not suffice for the child,

akokanya, batongera kuhiga. Avumbuka imbogo nyaki gumbu.
it is small, they begin to hunt. He meets a buffalo black very.

Nyakisha Chimpenebere ati: "ndashaka iyo." Ryangombe
Nyakisha Chimpenebere thus: "I want this one." Ryangombe

afata ichumu na ingota, aja kuyitera. Imbogo
seizes spear and sword, goes to throw (to spear). The buffalo

ilahinduka. [305] Imuchumito ihembe. Ryangombe alapfa.
turns around. Gores with horns. Ryangombe dies.

Nyakisha Chimpenebere alishima. Ryangombe agiye kupfa, atuma
Nyakisha Chimpenebere is glad. Ryangombe goes to die, he notifies

yuko apfuye. Babwira umwana we Binego. Alaza
that he will die. They tell child his Binego. He comes

n'impiri ye y'ichuma. Aikubita Nyakisha Chimpenebere.
with scepter of iron. He hits with it Nyakisha Chimpenebere.

Binego alaicha n'umwana wayo ni imbogo nyaki bumbu.
Binego kills with it and child her and the buffalo black very.

Binego amaze kubyicha, abwira abagaragu be, ko aka bamaze.
Binego he ends killing, he says followers his, that he has ended.

Binego achamba Ryangombe. Alataha, asanga nyina
Binego buries Ryangombe. He returns, he visits (his) mother

Nyira Kadjumba. Binego alima mubwani bwa Ryangombe.
Nyira Kadjumba. Binego inherits the kingdom of Ryangombe.

[115] I am indebted to Father Buisson for the translation of this manuscript which was written by a pupil of the mission in Nsasa.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

THE BATUSE OR BALYANWANDA OF RUANDA

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TRIBE AND ITS GOVERNMENT

The clans—government—powers of the chiefs—taxation—murder—homicide—death in battle—suicide—the chief priest

115 THOUGH much of the Ruanda country became Belgian after the war, there is still a large part of Kigezi which is British Ruanda. My information with regard to these people was derived from two chiefs who were political prisoners in Mbarara. One of them was a prince of Ruanda who had fought against the British during the war and had been captured, and both were exiles from their own country because their king regarded them as dangerous to him and wished to kill them.

THE CLANS

614 The tribe was divided into clans which were totemic, having both primary and secondary totems. Sub-divisions of several clans were mentioned, but the information given was so imperfect as to be of little value. The names given were the same as some of the main clans and details as to the totems were lacking. The list, however, is given to show the existence of such sub-divisions:

1. Abanyiginya, totem, *mpekhi* or *opu* and *efuti*, a calf born feet foremost?

This was the royal clan and had three sub-divisions with the same totems:

(*a*) Abasindi.
(*b*) Nabaganzo.
(*c*) Abene, which had also a third totem, an unmarried girl with child.

2. Abega, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.

Sub-divisions with the same totems:

(*a*) Abakono.
(*b*) Abaha.

[p. 184]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

Religion

773 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 The list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

whole area of Ruanda. This took several months. With the help of two assistants, Messrs. G. Sebyeza and M. Sekanyambo, to whom I had given some training in interviewing and recording data, 326 informants were eventually interviewed. The aim of the inquiry was explained to them in small groups, but each interview was privately held to prevent informants from influencing each other's answers. In order to make sure that answers could be accurately recorded, the questionnaire had been printed and the answers of each informant were written on a separate copy.

As might have been expected, the more competent persons on political organization were Tutsi and in fact more than ninety per cent. of our informants were Tutsi. Since the number of Hutu and Twa was too small to be of any significance (there was, in fact, only one Twa!) their interviews were not taken into account in the computation of the results. A few more interviews were discarded on other grounds (such as suspicion about the sincerity or the mental ability of the informant). In the end the number of interviews used in the summing up was reduced to 300.

To count up the answers, some questions had to be modified. For instance, the question, 'Give the name of your patrilineage head', was replaced by, 'Do they know the name of their patrilineage head?' The computation of answers for the whole of Ruanda is given as Appendix Two.

Obviously, this class of 300 informants does not constitute a random sample representative of the total Ruanda population: the informants are practically all Tutsi and have been chosen according to certain criteria. This does not invalidate our procedure, however, as our aim was not to assess the opinions and knowledge of the whole of the Ruanda population on their past political organization, but to discover as accurately as possible what that organization was. This is why we attempted to interview only the most informed persons on the subject and to take into account the divergence of their views.

On kinship, family, and related subjects, the preliminary survey did not give as much information as the preliminary political survey revealed. Consequently, another procedure had to be adopted. A very comprehensive schedule of topics to be brought into the interview was elaborated. There were 542 items distributed under sixty-two headings to be covered with each

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

124 [115] informant. Sixteen Hutu and twenty Tutsi informants were interviewed. Two junior administrative officers, Messrs. E. Finoulst and G. De Clercq, who were taking a six-month course of training in anthropology, participated in the different stages of this inquiry, as did Mr. S. Naigisiki, who acted as assistant and interpreter.

The inquiry into the cosmological and ethical systems was carried out on similar lines. A schedule of thirty-five headings, under each of which several points were listed, was used in several collective and individual interviews.

114 This research from 1949 to 1951 forms the main basis for my *Système des relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, published in 1954. But I have spent two other research periods in Ruanda (December 1952–December 1955 and September 1956–September 1957) on more specific topics. What was observed in these later periods, however, bearing on the topic of the earlier study, has been taken into account in the present volume.

120 Secondarily, the present study of Ruanda is based on literary sources published both before and after 1954. These are fully listed in the Bibliography.

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122 All my field work in Ruanda was sponsored by the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.) for which I am deeply grateful. At the same time I assumed the 114 functions of Head of the Scientific Research Centre of I.R.S.A.C. in Astrida. I wish to extend my thanks particularly to Professor 000 L. van den Berghe, Director of I.R.S.A.C. The late Professor F. Olbrechts, when he was Chairman of the *Commission des Sciences de l'Homme* of I.R.S.A.C., also greatly encouraged my research.

For guidance in planning the research project on Ruanda and for supervision of all its later stages, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Daryll Forde.

I should also like to thank Miss Barbara Pym, of the International African Institute, London, who very kindly corrected the first typescript, and Dr. R. J. Apthorpe, of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, Lusaka, for his patient and invaluable help in preparing this edition of my book.

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1: Vanhove G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Essay on the Common Law of Ruanda
(Essai de Droit Coutumier de Ruanda)

by J. Vanhove

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Human Relations Area Files

1959

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643
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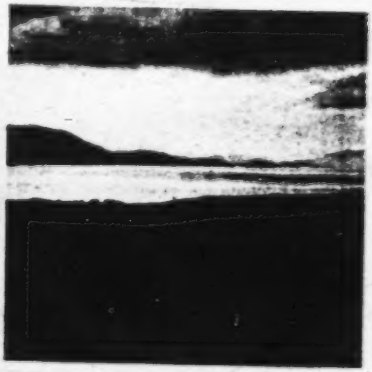
Mutara III, King of Ruanda. (Taken by Author)

1: Vanhove--v G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

133 [Facing p. 3]

Two aspects of Central Ruanda.

Lake Mohasi in Buganza.



Lake Mulera.
In the foreground, field of lava.
In the background, the Muhavura volcano.

(All taken by Author)

1:Vanhove--vi G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

Political and Administrative Map of Ruanda

[Following Title Page]

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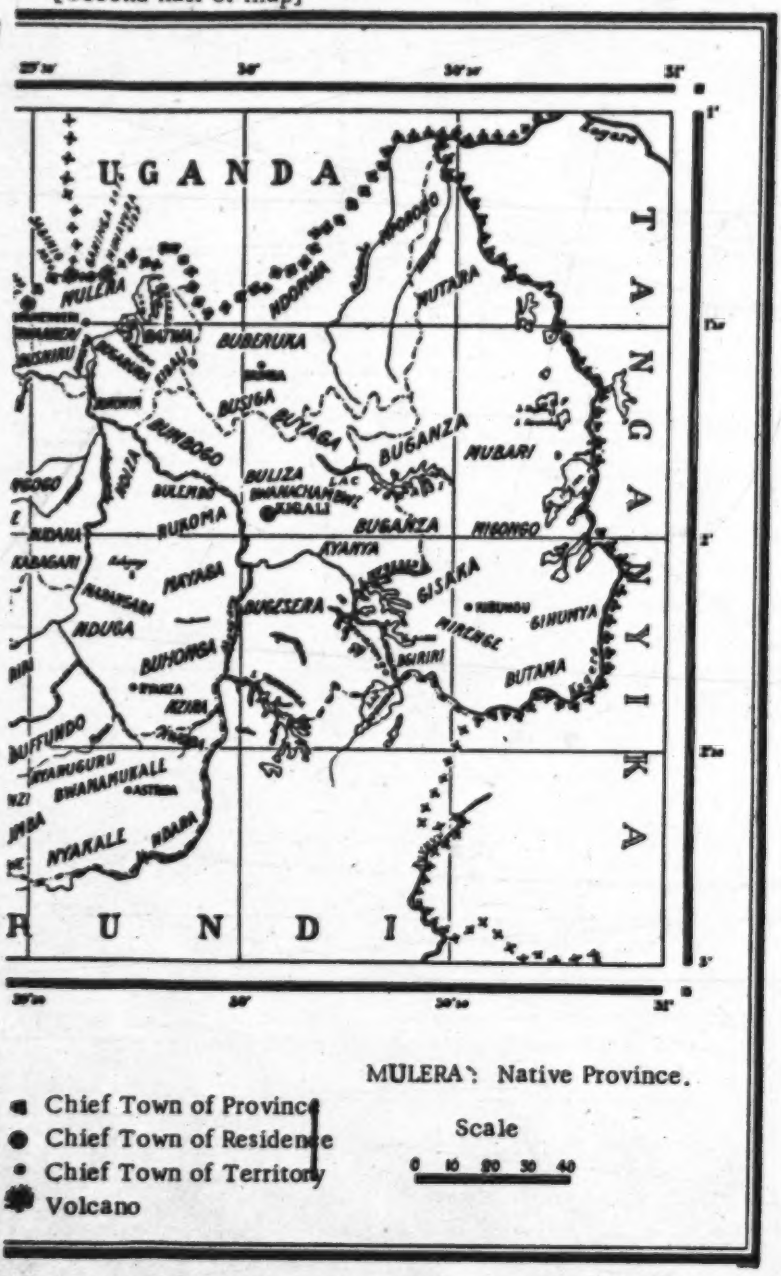
Limit of State
Limit of Residence
Limit of Territory

Chief Town of Province
Chief Town of Residence
Chief Town of Territory
Volcano

1: Vanhove--vii G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Second half of map]

13)



MULERA: Native Province.

- Chief Town of Province
- Chief Town of Residence
- Chief Town of Territory
- Volcano

Scale

0 10 20 30 40

Essay on the Common Law of Ruanda

J. Vanhove

Preface

101 Beyond the eastern shore of Lake Kivu extends a country of
563 high hills called Ruanda. Nestling in banana groves, innumerable huts cling to the hillside, their smoke rising to the sky, and on the summits the brisk wind sways the pink grasses of the pastures where long-horned cattle graze. The exceptionally dense population con-
[161] sists of about 3,000,000 Bahutu of Bantu origin who are dominated by some tens of thousands of Batutsi, Hamitic shepherds who have probably come down from the Ethiopian plateaus. Finally, here and there, Batwa pygmoids, potters and hunters, live apart from the other natives who despise them.

183 Europeans who first studied the customs of the country dis-
671 covered to their surprise that they showed a number of points in common with our feudalism. The tenure of land and of cattle as well as
[643] the dependence of persons are under a [4] strict regulation which the ruler of Ruanda has the absolute power to modify but which has, in fact, remained unchanged throughout the ages.

Our occupation has obviously had the effect of modifying the
177 customs in many ways. For example, we could not approve of the
183 brutal evictions and attempts on life and liberty made in the name of the right of the strongest. Evangelization has also introduced into the heart of the native society notions of justice and gentleness which are very different from the natives' original conceptions. However, despite
177 the efforts of our civil servants and our missionaries to attack what is
183 most to be condemned in it, native customs still largely holds its
563 sway due to the influence of the great Batutsi chiefs, who are eager to maintain their authority intact, and also due to that of the sorcerers, toothsayers, rain makers, and many others, who attempt to maintain the traditional law by playing on the credulity and superstitious mind of the Banyarwanda [Banyaruanda] and thus protect their prestige and their revenues. In addition, while realizing the protection we give them in repressing arbitrary actions, the Bahutu submit to the changes we

177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

671 The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
184 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over
563 the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

114 Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pagès, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

121 Nevertheless, we do not believe that a more or less complete account of the customs of private and public law of Ruanda has ever been prepared. This is what we have modestly attempted to do in the
[125] present work by inserting observations gathered in a questionnaire set up especially to facilitate [6] the study of native law (1). We have

1. J. Vanhove, Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique, Brussels, printer Lesigne, 1939.

not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

1: Vanhove--2A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 6]

342

A hill chief and his family sitting on the threshold of their home. In the foreground can be seen the imitabo, a very low, festoon-shaped mud walls.

291

Reverend Father Pages surrounded by young Batutsi men.

(Both photos taken by Author)

124 of the complex customs of Ruanda. The value of our information,
[115] emanating from the principal abiru, guardians of the customs of the Court of Nyanza, and from the seminarists, sons of the great provincial chiefs, as well as the cross-checking we have done, make us hope that we will present an essay from which all fantasy has been eliminated.

121 We hope that it will be possible for all those, both clerical and lay, who work in the "country of the cow and the drum," as well as ethnologists needing a basis for research, to have a clear picture of an organization, of a mechanism both complicated and precise, that takes us back mutatis mutandis both to the atmosphere of the ancient City and to that of the medieval world. [7]

1: Vanhove--3A G-5 (ca. 1936) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

342 [opp. p. 7]

External view of a provincial chief's rugo.

(Official photograph, Colonial Office.)

SECTION I. PERSONAL STATUS

CHAPTER I. THE FAMILY AND THE CLAN

1. Generalities

596 The family sensu stricto (rugo) (1) is more inclusive than in

[196] 1. The rugo is the enclosure in which are the hut, the granaries, and the stables. By extension, this word designates the family in the strict sense of the word. In the plural: ingo.

our countries. It includes the father; his wives and their children, whether married or not; the father's brothers; and their wives and children. Formerly, the slaves taken in war (abanyagano) (2) were

[567] 2. Cf. also Marriage, p. 15; Birth and Filiation, p. 29; Government and Administration, Nationality, p. 70; Social Classes, p. 91; Right of War, p. 92.

also part of it.

[566] The Bahutu, serfs of the Batutsi, have their own rugo. The Ruanda family is of the patriarchal type. Filiation counts in the [611] paternal line (3); the child does not necessarily take the name of his

3. The children are nevertheless considered, in a way, as belonging to both father's family and the mother's. The Banyarwanda say: Umuntu akomoka iwabo wase nanyina, that is to say, "the man proceeds from both (families), his father's and his mother's."

596 591 father (4); paternal authority is exercised by the father, and the wife

4. This was even rare before European penetration.

596
[591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[575] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a child-
596 less man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A
[563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a
[428] brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has
[562] the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother
[586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (umutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from
428

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

614 The clan (umulyango) (4) or inzu includes all those who claim

4. Not to be confused with umúlyango, "door."

a common ancestor who is founder of the [9] race. In the course of time the clan has become divided into several subclans (imílyango).

The clan and the subclan have names (ubgoko) that recall the name of the founder. Thus the members of the umulyango of the Abanyiginya are the descendants of Kimanuka who is the Umunyiginya (the first of the Abanyiginya). Ndabarasa, son of the Mwami Rujugira Chyirima, who became king under the name of Kigeri, was the Umurabarasa, the first of the umulyango of the Abarabarasa or Ibigina. This last name is what they are called at the present time.

614 775 Each umulyango possesses one or several animal totems (ibiziro). For example, the totems of the Abanyiginya are the crested crane (umusambi) and the ox-pecker (inyange); that of the Abega is the toad (igikeri); that of the Abagessera is the wagtail (inyamanza). The member of a clan will never kill such a bird, for example, because he believes that it contains the spirit of an ancestor.

614 563 The Bahutu belong to the same umulyango as the Batutsi and possess the same totems. However, they have a different name. For example, those who live with the Abega and the Abanyiginya are called respectively Abasavere and Abasindi.

2. The Head of the Family and of the Clan

596 The head of the family sensu stricto (umutware w'urago rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) is normally the father. After his death, one of his sons, not necessarily the eldest, succeeds him. It may happen that the widow of the family head provisionally directs the rugo if her husband has died without designating his successor or when his sons are still children (1). [10]

614 1. While still forming part of her [own] umulyango, the wife is, so to speak, incorporated into her husband's inzu if she has children. But she does not take the name of her husband's umulyango. The

614 wife always remains a stranger to her husband's clan and keeps her own totem.

596 The umutware w'urugo rwa se is only slightly important and
614 this word is seldom used. More important is the umutware w'urugo rwa bo (lit., of them), also called umutware w'umulyango, who has command both of his rugo and the umulyango.

614 The umulyango is a social entity without any political value. Thus Rwabutogo, chief of the umulyango of the Abega, owns only the province of East Buganza. In matters of family and cattle he commands Rwagatakara, who in turn commands Rwabusisi, chief of Buliza and South Buganza.

614 The umutware w'umulyango exercises a paternal jurisdiction
689 over all the members of his group. If they disobey him seriously he
425 can drive them out and seize their cattle (indemano, inkazibiti) except for the animals they have received as a gift from the king (ingabane) (1). However, it is the Mwami who has the right of

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 42.

[166] eviction. In addition, if the king sees that an injustice has been committed, he authorizes the one who has been the victim to settle elsewhere so as to remove himself from the jurisdiction of the chief of the umulyango, without however ceasing to belong to the clan. If the Mwami asks the umulundo (2) from the chief of the umulyango,

2. That is to say, lit., "wishes to see the cattle of his cattle." He takes only one or two animals.

the latter can in turn claim some inyiturano (3) from his family. On

3. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

the other hand, the chief of the umulyango can show his favor to those of his relatives with whom he is satisfied by giving them some ingabane.

3. Laws of the Family and the Clan

614 1. It is forbidden to marry a person belonging to the same umulyango, whatever the degree [of relationship]. Only the Abanyiginya, the clan from which the kings come, may marry [11] within their [own] inzu (1) and a fortiori into the other imilyango.

1. The reason for this endogamy must be sought in the fact that, according to legend, Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu.

However, marriage is forbidden with the Abatshyaba, the Abungura, and the Abakomankali. They usually marry the Abega.

The Abega (the family providing the queens), the Abagessera, the Abakono, the Abaha, and the Abasinga may not marry within their [own] umulyango nor into the other inzu. They are allowed to marry the Abunguru and Abakomankali, but not the Abatshyaba.

[426] [672] 2. The active and passive solidarity [joint and separate liability] in the matter of debts exists only on the paternal side (iwabo wa se) and not in the mother's umulyango (iwabo wa nyina).

The same is true in penal matters unless it is a case of a blood debt.

4. Table of Names Indicating Relationship through Kinship and Marriage

601 Those who are members of the same umulyango are called abagil'ichyobahuriycho, abagil' ichyobapfana, or, and it is the most frequently used and most precise term, abafit'isano.

Husband: umugabo
Wife: umugore
The husband of two wives: umugabo z'ishyali
One of the wives speaking of the other: umukeba wa njye
The husband speaking of one or the other [of the wives]: umukeba we

Son:
1) When the mother speaks: umuhungu wa njye
2) When another wife of the father speaks: umuhungu wa mukeba wa njye or umuhungu w'umugabo wa njye

601 Daughter:

1) When the mother speaks: umukobga wa njye [12].
2) When another wife of the father speaks: umukobga w'umukeba wa njye

Father: data
Mother: mama } Parents: ababyeyi

The second wife of my father: muka data
Each of the other wives of my father: muka data

Brothers and sisters:

A. — Of the same father and the same mother: abo tuv'indimwe kwa data na mama

a) Brother (a boy speaks)
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye (big brother)
2) Younger brother: murumuna wanjye (little brother)
3) Twin: uwo dusangiye data na mama

b) Sister (a boy speaks):
1) Eldest: mushiki manjye mukuru
2) Younger sister: mushiki wanjye muto
3) Twin: mushiki wanjye (implying, twavutse impanga)

a) Brother (a girl speaks):
1) Eldest: musaza wanjye mukuru
2) Younger brother: musaza wanjye muto
3) Twin: uwo (implying, twavutse impanga)

b) Sister (a girl speaks)
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye
2) Younger sister: murumuna wanjye
3) Twin: uwo (implying, twavutse impanga)

B. — Of the same father and different mothers: bene data

a) Brother (a boy speaks):
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data
2) Younger brother: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data

b) Sister (a boy speaks)
1) Eldest: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo kwa data
2) Younger sister: mushiki wanjye muto wo kwa data

a) Brother (a girl speaks)
1) Eldest: musaza wanjye mukuru wo kwa data
2) Younger brother: musaza wanjye muto wo kwa data

601 b) Sister (a girl speaks)

1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data

2) Younger sister: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data [13]

C. — Of the same mother and different fathers:

a) Brother (a boy speaks)

1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama

2) Younger brother: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama

b) Sister (a boy speaks)

1) Eldest: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama

2) Younger sister: mushiki wanjye muto wo mwa mama

a) Brother (a girl speaks)

1) Eldest: musaza wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama

2) Younger brother: musaza wanjye muto wo mwa mama

b) Sister (a girl speaks):

1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama

2) Younger sister: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama

Paternal grandfather: sogokuru

Paternal grandmother: nyogokuru

Maternal grandfather: sogokuro ubyara mama

Maternal grandmother: nyogokuru ubyara mama

Grandchildren: abuzukuru

Paternal great-grandfather: sogokuruza

Paternal great-grandmother: nyogokuruza

Maternal great-grandfather: sogokuruza ubyara mama

Maternal great-grandmother: nyogokuruza ubyara mama

Great-grandchildren: abuzukuruza

Paternal uncle: sewabo (or tata wachu

Paternal aunt: masenge

Maternal uncle: marume (my uncle), nyirarume (his uncle)

Maternal aunt: mama wachu

Nephew (son of my brother) (a man speaks): umuhungu wachu

Niece (daughter of my brother) umukobwa wachu

Nephew (son of my sister) (a man speaks) umwishywa

Niece (daughter of my sister) (a man speaks): umwishywa m'umukobwa [14]

Nephew (the paternal aunt speaks): mwisengeneza wanjye

Nephew (the maternal aunt speaks): umwana wanjye

601 Niece (the paternal aunt speaks): mwisengeneza wanjye

Sons and daughters of the paternal uncle (cousins): bene data wachu

a) Cousin (a boy speaks)

1) Older: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data wachu

2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data wachu

3) Of the same age: mwene data wachu

b) Girl cousin (a boy speaks):

1) Older: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo kwa data wachu

2) Younger: mushiki wanjye muto wo kwa data wachu

3) Of the same age: mushiki wanjye wo kwa data wachu

a) Cousin (a girl speaks):

1) Older: musaza wanjye mukuru wo kwa data wachu

2) Younger: musaza wanjye muto wo kwa data wachu

3) Of the same age: musaza wanjye wo kwa data wachu

b) Girl cousin (a girl speaks):

1) Older: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data wachu

2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data wachu

3) Of the same age: umuvanadimwe wo kwa data wachu, or more simply, mwene data wachu

Sons and daughters of the paternal aunt (cousins): ababyara bo kwa masenge (1)

Niece (the maternal aunt speaks): umwana wanjye

Sons and daughters of the maternal aunts: (cousins): ababyara

a) Cousin (a boy speaks)

Older: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama wachu

2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama wachu

3) Of the same age: mwene mama wachu

b) Girl cousin (a boy speaks):

1) Older: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama wachu

2) Younger: mushiki wanjye muto wo mwa mama wachu

3) Of the same age: mushiki wanjye wo mwa mama wachu

a) Cousin (a girl speaks):

1) Older: musaza wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama wachu

2) Younger: musaza wanjye muto wo mwa mama wachu

3) Of the same age: musaza wanjye wo mwa mama wachu [16]

b) Girl cousin (a girl speaks):

1) Older: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama wachu

2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama wachu

3) Of the same age: uwo wanjye wo mwa mama wachu

Sons and daughters of the maternal uncle (cousins): ababyara bo marume (1)

1. These are not distinguished by age nor

601

whether a boy or a girl speaks of the children of his or her paternal aunt or his or her maternal uncle.

Paternal great-uncle: sogokuruza
Maternal great-uncle: sogokuruza wo mwa mama
Paternal great-aunt: nyogokuruza wo kwa data
Maternal great-aunt: nyogokuruza wo mwa mama
Great-nephews: abuzukuruza

Father-in-law (father of my wife): databukwe
Mother-in-law (mother of my wife): mabukwe

Father-in-law (father of my husband): databukwe
Mother-in-law (mother of my husband): mabukwe

Son-in-law (husband of my daughter):
A man speaks: umukwe
A woman speaks: umukwe wanjye
Daughter-in-law (wife of my son):
A man speaks: umukazana
A woman speaks: umukwe wanjye [16]
Brother-in-law:
(a man speaks)
1) Husband of my sister: muramu wanjye
2) Brother of my wife: muramu
3) Husband of my wife's sister: musanzire wanjye
(A woman speaks)
1) Husband of my sister: muramu wanjye
2) Brother of my husband: umugabo wanjye
3) Husband of my husband's sister: muramu wachu
Sister-in-law:
(a man speaks)
1) Wife of my brother: umugore wachu
2) Sister of my wife: muramu
3) Wife of my wife's brother: umugore wa muramu wanjye
4) Second wife of my sister's husband: mukeba wa mushiki wanjye
(a woman speaks)
1) Wife of my brother: muramukazi

7

601 2) Sister of my husband: muramukazi wanjye
3) Wife of my husband's brother: mukeba wanjye
4) Second wife of my sister's husband: umugore wa muramu wanjye or mukeba w'uwo tuv'indimwe
Those who have married two sisters: abasanzire
Two men, each of whom has married the sister of the other: abaramu
Father of my son-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Mother of my son-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Brother of my son-in-law: umukwe wanjye
Sister of my son-in-law: umwana wanjye
Father of my daughter-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Mother of my daughter-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Brother of my daughter-in-law: umukwe wanjye
Sister of my daughter-in-law: umwana wanjye [17]

5. The Blood Pact

608 The blood pact (kunywana) is practiced throughout the whole of Ruanda and particularly by the Bahutu. Blood brothers (abanywanyi) can depend on each other completely. They must help each other in the most difficult circumstances of life and may even mutually dispose of their property (1) and their wives (2).

1. By special agreement.

2. With the consent of the wives.

The interested parties, each one assisted by a witness who will guarantee the other party's observation of the pact, sit down on a mat in the hut of one of them. Each of the witnesses cuts a leaf of coral erythrin (muko) and removes the stalk; he rolls the leaf into a cone shape and pours into it a little sorghum flour. Then with a small knife he makes an incision below the navel of the one he is assisting. He presses the sides of the cut to make the blood flow, collects it in the cone, and mixes it with the flour, using the leaf stalk. Then each party drinks the mixture called gihango (lit., blood) presented to him by the other's witness. The witnesses then pronounce imprecations (kutanga) in the name of their respective clients in order to seal the pact: "If you find me ill or wounded on the road and do not help me, may the gihango kill you."

608 "If you refuse to give me lodging or food, may the gihango kill you."

The two blood brothers then lie down on the mat side by side for a few moments to indicate that they will be indissolubly united in good as in bad days.

Then the one who is the visitor takes a handful of herbs and throws it on the hearth, saying: "If you come to my house and [18] I am away you may drink my beer and warm yourself with my wood, and may the gihango do you no harm, for you will not have wanted either to steal my beer or to burn my hut. But if my wife refuses to give you the beer and the wood, it is no concern of mine, for my wife is not bound as we are by the blood pact."

The abanywanyi then offer gifts to the witnesses such as hoes, necklaces, etc., and give each other presents of hoes, goats, and cows, according to their means, in order "to free themselves from the mat on which the blood pact has taken place," (kwichara ku kirago).

CHAPTER II. MARRIAGE

1. Kinds of Unions

583 The word ugushaka (to have a wife) designates marriage in general.

The typical marriage with payment of a dowry (inkwano) to the girl's father is called kurongora.

A umugeni w'ubuntu (lit., betrothed given as a present) may [572] be given as testimony of affection to a friend. Later the man can give a dowry, but he is not obliged to do so. If the friends quarrel, [562] the dowry may then be reclaimed. A powerful chief can also give his mututsi client a young girl as a gift (umugeni w'ingororano).

587 To marry a divorced woman or a widow is called gutshyura umusumbakazi (lit., to bring home a woman who has already been married). These unions are frequent, especially among the Bahutu. When they start keeping house, the husband only gives the bride's paterfamilias a jug of pombe, but if the couple have children he must give a dowry. [19]

1:Vanhove--14A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 18]

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Two Bahutu mothers, their heads encircled with the urugori greet each other.
(Official photograph, Colonial Office)

1:Vanhove--14B G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 19]

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301

Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her female servants.

(Official photograph, Colonial Office.)

583 A young man may carry off a young girl (kwiba umugeni) in order to force the consent of her parents. But the young man's father subsequently gives a dowry.

588 There are ibyomanzi (vagrant women) who stay with a man for indefinite period of time according to the circumstances of their wandering lives (kubuyera or kohoha). The fate of these unions is obviously precarious. If, against all probability, their common life lasts for several years, the woman may introduce her concubinary to relatives [or parents]. If children are born, the man may be obliged to give a dowry. The marriage is then regularized.

583 It may also happen that two men, each with a sister whose dowry they may claim, will exchange wives: abageni b'ubuntu bunyuranye (lit., the betrothed as gifts).

In all these marriages the fate of the wife and children is the same as in the typical marriage. If the husband does not pay any dowry, the wife's father may take the children away and keep them as hostages until their father has fulfilled his obligations.

567 583 Formerly, children who were prisoners of war (abanyagano) married later, usually amongst themselves. The master could also give a captive girl in marriage to one of his clients. He collected the dowry but on the other hand, he had to pay a dowry for one of his slaves who wanted to marry a woman of the same region.

The slave, his wife, and their children continued to be part of the master's household. If one of these children wished to get married in his turn, his father would pay the dowry for his son or collect it for his daughter, and by that very act, his son or daughter was freed and became munyarwanda.

567 If the master married a slave woman, the children of this union would be of the same status as their [20] father, even if he already had other children with a munyarwanda woman.

2. Types of Marriage

595 Polyandry does not exist in Ruanda.

Polygamy (polygyny) is universal, except among the Christian natives, and particularly among the Bahutu, who have an average of two or three wives and sometimes even four or five.

The Batutsi most often have two wives. The great chiefs have, in addition to their wives, a certain number of insholeke (concubines).

595 The Batwa usually have four or five wives.

One of the wives has a special name, inkundwakazi (the loved one, the favorite). She is thus called because of her qualities: her cleanliness, her ability to make pombe, her faithfulness, her careful supervision of the crops, the good treatment she extends to the abagaragu, the constant care she takes of the cattle, the friendly reception she reserves for her husband's friends, the care with which she has the master's orders carried out in his absence (1).

1. The inyungwakazi is quite the opposite of the inkwundakazi. She is a wife without any domestic qualities, who is disobedient, even adulterous. If her husband does not repudiate her, he keeps her at a distance and has no relations with her.

[836]

As to the other wives, the husband, in speaking of them, simply says abagore banjye (my wives). However, the favorite may not give them orders. Only the husband can give orders to his wives.

Children of different mothers (or of different fathers) are on the same footing and considered as real brothers and sisters. [21]

[848] Adulterine children belong to the husband of the unfaithful wife.

Whether legitimate or not, the children are not treated differently according to their mother's condition. But if the children of a concubine show themselves to be unbearable, people will not fail to contemptuously call them abana bo mu milombero (children of the hedges).

858 595

3. Obstacles to Marriage

582 1. Exogamy.

The Batutsi (except the Abanyiginya) and the Bahutu may not take a wife from within their father's family and clan, whatever the kinship. Parallel cousins (1) therefore cannot marry each other, but

1. Parallel cousins are those whose fathers are brothers or whose mothers are sisters.

582 marriage is allowed between crosscousins (2), for the sister's children

> 2. Crosscousins are those of whom the father of one is the brother of the other's mother.

belong to their father's family. An uncle may never marry his niece.

Endogamy (kwisabira ku mugongo, lit. to find one's self on one's back) and exogamy both exist at the same time among the Abanyiginya. However, they may not marry the daughter of their brother or their sister. Similarly, they may not take a wife among the Abungura, the Abasinga, and the Abatshyaba.

587 When a man dies, his father or his brother may marry one of his widows. Similarly, the son who succeeds him as head of the family may marry his father's wives, other than his own mother, on condition that they do not belong to his mother's family.

The husband of the deceased's sister may marry his sister-in-law (muramukazi), but not the latter's daughter (umukobwa wachu). Similarly, the brother of the deceased's wife may marry his sister-in-law, but not her daughter (umwishywa w'umukobwa). [22]

Marriage is permitted with the widow of a blood brother but not with his daughter.

582 The Batutsi may marry Bahutu women. For example, a patron
563 might give his daughter in marriage to one of his clients of whom he is particularly fond. But an umugaragu is forbidden to ask his shebuja for permission to marry his daughter.

2. Impuberty.

582 In the past a young man and a girl could not get married before the age of twenty-five and eighteen respectively. A little girl (inshube) and a little boy (ingimbi) were sometimes betrothed, but they remained with their parents until the time of their marriage.

Nowadays a young man usually gets married when he is eighteen and a girl when she is fourteen.

3. Lack of consent.

584 The father chooses the wife for his son. If he is dead, one of his brothers takes his place in this undertaking. The son who is head of the family finds wives for his brothers and receives marriage proposals

584 for his sisters. The girl and the young man must obey the will of the paterfamilias. Even if their feelings are not in agreement, they cannot refuse to marry. This is particularly true when the fathers are friends and wish to avoid quarreling. Obviously, marriages entered into under these conditions are unstable and nearly always last only a short time.

This rule is not sanctioned with any penalty, but anyone who did not comply with it would expose himself to public contempt. Nowadays, more and more frequently, the young man makes the choice himself and asks his father to take the necessary steps with the family of the girl he has chosen. [23]

4. The Dowry

583 The purpose of the dowry (inkwano) is to buy back the children that will be born of the marriage. In fact if it is not paid to whom it is due (the wife's father or brother), he will take the children as hostages.

Also the dowry contributes to the stability of the marriage. The relatives, who have to refund the dowry if the marriage is broken, are certain to encourage the husband and wife to become reconciled.

Among the Batutsi the dowry consists of cows. Formerly, well-to-do people gave eight cows, hence the word umunani (lit., eight, implying, heads of cattle). Today, these cows, of which there are only two but which have kept the name of umunani, are brought to the girl's father during the engagement and kept by him in trust. One of them is for the gukwa (1), the other for the gutebutsa (2). On the

1. Literally, "to take the necessary steps to conclude the engagement."

2. Literally, "to hasten" (implying, the marriage).

day of the wedding, the girl's father keeps for himself the cow that has given him the most calves, or the finest heifer, and returns the other to the young man's father.

585 In Buganza, Buliza, Nduga, and Bugessera, where cattle is plentiful, the Bahutu also give a cow as dowry. Elsewhere it consists of hoes, usually four, and about thirty jugs of beer. It may also happen that an imbata (3) or an ingabane (4) is claimed in addition

3. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 40.

4. Cf. idem, p. 42.

by the Muhutu father-in-law.

Among the Bakiga (region of Rukiga) the dowry is paid in goats (ibuguma) or in sheep (iliza). One of the wife's relatives with large hands seizes a leg of each animal, holds them together and tries to [24] assemble as many as possible. He repeats this operation twice and thus manages to collect about 20 animals. In Rukiga the dowry also sometimes consists of indundu and ingwate cows (1).

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

The Batwa give only one hoe and a pot of beer on the day of the engagement and four hoes as dowry.

The custom of re-using the dowry — that is, the father of a son and a daughter does not pay the dowry for the marriage of his son until after having received the dowry for his daughter — does not exist in Ruanda.

The Batutsi do not give any present to the mother-in-law. Among the Bahutu, on the day of the wedding, before the girl leaves her father's house, the young man sends his betrothed's mother a jug of beer called irizeneko (lit., quartering) to recall the suffering she endured in giving birth to her daughter.

If the dowry has been paid in cows, the father-in-law on the day of the wedding gives his son-in-law an indongoranyo cow (2).

2. Cf. idem, p. 44.

If it consists of hoes, the husband also receives a hoe as indongoranyo.

5. Betrothal and Marriage

584 If the young man has not made his choice, the father draws his attention to such and such a girl whom he would like to have as a daughter-in-law, after having made sure of her father's approval and agreed with him on the date of the official betrothal (gusaba umugeni, lit., to ask a girl in marriage).

On the appointed day he returns to the home of the girl's parents accompanied by one or two clients (3) carrying a new hoe and

3. One of his relatives among the Bahutu.

a jug of hydromel and leading a cow [25] called y'ilembo (lit., in order to enter the rugo). He is let into the rugo. The young man's father and the girl's father, as well as his brothers and brothers-in-law, sit on mats, drink, smoke and talk of this and that. Meanwhile, the mother and the girl keep themselves hidden in a near-by nook and follow the conversation eagerly.

After this preamble which is merely a distraction, the talk turns to the marriage. This often gives rise to a lively discussion during which each of the parties defends his interests. When agreement is finally reached, the father says: "we give you our daughter, but the cow is not fine enough (1); bring us some others." An umugaragu is

1. Even if the animal is magnificent.

then ordered to bring seven other cows to complete the umunani (2)

2. As we have seen above (cf. Dowry) the girl's father nowadays only keeps one out of the two cows for himself.

and to ask the girl's parents for their approval as to the date of the wedding.

[831] Sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden to the betrothed.

The wedding usually takes place at the home of the young
585 man's father (3).

3. The marriage ceremonies have been

585 minutely described by the Rev. Father Schumacher (Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906) and the Rev. Father Pages (Congo, 1922, Vol. I, pp. 645-63 and Vol. II, pp. 42-68). We merely refer the reader to these articles. This matter concerns folklore rather than common law. Hence we are intentionally leaving it out of our report.

584 If, after having accepted the dowry, the girl's father does not keep his promise and refuses to give his daughter or gives her to another, he must immediately return the dowry. But by that very act, he breaks all bonds of friendship with the young man's parents, and in the future no one of the young man's family will marry a girl of the other family. The same is true if the suitor breaks the engagement.

[26] 6. Domestic Life

591 Marriage in Ruanda is patrilocal, that is to say, the woman leaves her parents to go and live with her husband. If the wedding has taken place in the woman's family, the young couple remain there for some time (gutahira), then go and settle with the husband's family.

585 Among the Batutsi, about two months after the wedding, the wife's parents send their daughter the intwikururano (from gutwikurura, lit., to unveil, to uncover), consisting of beer, sorghum flour, and milk. The purpose of these gifts is to allow the young woman to come out of the retreat imposed on her the day after the wedding and to show herself in public. For his part, the husband's father gives his daughter-in-law a cow called y'itshyali (lit., of the nest). The young couple then leave the dwelling they have occupied provisionally and go and occupy the rugo that has been built for each of them [sic]. A little later they go and spend a night with the wife's parents (gucha mw'ilembo, lit., to cross the threshold, or gusubya amaguru, lit., to return on foot) and also confer gifts on them on this occasion.

592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

574 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance,
[481] for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda.

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 842 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

[163] 3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 562 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house), the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But 837 custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 586 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she nearly always will accept it. However, she sometimes leaves her

837 husband and returns to her parents. The latter will attempt to persuade
586 her to return to her husband, for if she refused they would be obliged to refund the dowry.

The husband who finds out that his wife has committed adultery (gusambana, lit., to take another man) enjoins her not to do it again. The second time he strikes her. If she continues, he repudiates (gusendwa) her publicly. A repudiated wife is brought into disrepute and finds it difficult to marry again. Sometimes the adulterous wife is sent away at night, out of consideration for the family, so that her offense is not known by everybody. [29]

837 Formerly, if the husband surprised his wife in the act, he
586 would have the man arrested and beaten. Then before witnesses he
684 would repudiate his wife. If the accomplice was a nobleman like
563 himself, he was allowed to leave with the woman. But, usually, if he was married, he would return to his wife who would merely make a jealous scene. When the lover was a Mututsi umugaragu he was deprived of his property and exiled far away. If he was a Muhutu, the husband could demand from the Mwami permission to impale him like a cattle thief, or else he would thrash him soundly and have him driven away from the hill. An accomplice of the Mwami's adulterous wife was always killed. In none of these cases was the woman seriously ill-treated.

684 Our occupation has put a stop to cruel punishments, and at the
586 present time the wife's accomplice is not punished at all. Adultery
177 leads only to pecuniary reparation (itshyiru) by the lover. On the other hand, divorce is pronounced to the husband's benefit and the dowry is refunded to him, at least if there are no children by the marriage.

848 If the adulterous woman is pregnant, she will always claim that
586 the child she is expecting is her husband's. Being in doubt, the hus-
837 band takes the child (umusambanano) (1) as soon as it is weaned. He

1. General term designating an illegitimate child, including that born of adultery or incest.

also provides for his wife's needs but does not consent to take up again their life in common.

If the husband is sure that the child is the fruit of adultery, he has nothing more to do with his wife, and her parents adopt the child.

837 It may also happen that the accomplice marries the mother of his child. A complaisant husband, or one who, knowing that his wife is unfaithful, keeps her in spite of all, [30] is the object of ricidule by his neighbors and friends, who do not hesitate to call him inganzwa.

837 586 Among the Bahutu, the adulterous wife is beaten by her husband and sent back to her family. If there are no children from the marriage the husband will claim the dowry paid to the wife's parents.

837 Among the Batwa, adultery is hardly important. If a wife is unfaithful her husband forgives her, and if she is pregnant he considers the child his own.

8. Extramarital Relations

836 684 Sexual relations have always been strictly forbidden to young Batutsi and Bahutu girls. Violation of this interdiction would bring great misfortune to the families, says the voice of the people. In the past, pregnant girls (ikinyandaro) (1) were often even killed with their

1. According to the beliefs of the Banyarwanda, a girl taken by force does not become pregnant.

children, or else they were led beyond the froniters of Ruanda to a desert island in Lake Kivu where they died of hunger, unless the Banyabungo came to their rescue. Sometimes they were led to Urundi where they had to remain until they gave birth. The child was killed or abandoned to the Barundi.

Today these cruel sanctions no longer exist, but a girl-mother is always considered a disgrace (inshyano) to her parents. The latter, however, usually take in the child.

Nevertheless, the young nobles do not deprive themselves of having sexual relations with the abagaragu girls placed with their fathers as servants. On the other hand, the Mututsi young man caught with a girl of his own caste was punished in the past in the same way as the accomplice of a married woman. [31]

837 [574] The great chiefs who possess concubines (insholeke) put them at the disposal of their visiting friends and relatives.

Blood brothers or friends sometimes exchange their wives for a night (guhan'ingo, lit., to exchange the ingo).

837 Up until recent times, the father-in-law and even the brothers-
606 in-law had the right to spend one or several nights with the wife of
607 his son or brother. The father-in-law had the right to claim this right without discussion, while the brothers-in-law had to have the brother's permission. The wife who refused to share her bed with her father-in-law or one of her brothers-in-law could be driven away. The husband even had the right to compel his wife to give her favors to one of his friends.

CHAPTER III. DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

1. Death

765 Two days after a death, the whole clan arrives to assist the widow and orphans in their mourning. The mother and her children shave off their hair, take off their bracelets, and abstain from washing their clothes (kwirabura, lit., to become black). One of the brothers of the deceased lights a fire that burns in the rugo without cease for two days (igitshaniro). When it has gone out, the children and their uncle take the ashes and go in secret to throw them in a marsh.

[834] Mourning lasts for two months during which time the married sons may not have intercourse with their wives.

On the first day of the third month the members of the family return. In the evening they all assemble, swallow [32] great quantities of beer, and sing happily (kwera, lit., to become white). The brother of the deceased who took charge of the igitshaniro, or in his absence, another brother, must share the bed of the widow (kweza). The married sons, in the order of their birth, simulate the sexual act with their wives.

The following day, the widow and the wives of the married sons put milk in the churns and make butter (1). Then all the members of

1. During the mourning they could not touch the churns. A stranger to the family of the deceased came and made the butter.

the family rub themselves with chalk, put on white garments, and go

765 to the watering place. A brother of the deceased goes down in the near-by well, draws out water with a jug, and empties it into the watering trough. Then he passes the jug to the male children, beginning with the eldest, and each one imitates his gesture (2). In

2. During mourning, only the cowherds fill the watering trough.

the evening the guardians milk the cows; then after the mother, with the help of the paternal uncle, has removed the butter from her own churn (gutshyura igisabo, lit., to bring the churns back), the married sons and their wives do the same thing with theirs.

The son then gives a heifer to the uncle and a bull calf to the sister who has removed the cow dung (gukuka) in the kraal.

768 The night is spent in drinking, and the following day the uncle proceeds to choose a new head of the family if the father had not already designated one before dying.

765 If the wife has not had any children or if the marriage has lasted only a short while, her death gives rise to no ceremony and the husband wears mourning for only a week. (3)

3. All these curious ceremonies show the deep sorrow of the deceased's relatives. Above all, their purpose [33] is to prevent misfortune descending on the family of the one who has disappeared (guhumana, lit., to be soiled, to change color, to contract a serious illness).

Although they are extraneous to the common law itself, we have deemed it desirable to make a brief sketch of these ceremonies, in order to show that the whole life of the Banyarwanda is encircled in a close web of prescriptions of a magic nature.

[33] 2. Separation and Divorce

586 It may happen that the husband's and wife's characters are not in harmony, that the wife complains of her husband's stinginess,

586 or that the husband finds his wife to be capricious or disobedient. In such cases the couple can separate for a while (kwahukana). But this separation often makes them think it over; either the husband makes amends and fetches his wife from her parents, giving presents to the latter and to his wife (beer, cloth, or goats), or else the wife, realizing that she was in the wrong to leave her home, returns of her own will.

During the time of separation, the children, except nurslings, remain with the husband.

If an understanding is definitely impossible, divorce (kwahukana rwose, lit., to separate definitely) can be requested by one of the couple.

Causes of divorce in favor of the husband (repudiation) are: repeated adultery; dirtiness; negligence in the care of the household and the supervision of servants; the evil eye (1) that will cause illness

1. Cf. preceding page, note 1.

of the husband or cattle; and, above all, stubborn disobedience.
[34] Sterility may be a cause for divorce, but if the husband is pleased with his wife he will keep her and merely take another who will be able to give him children.

Illness, even when prolonged, is not a cause for divorce. [34] If the marriage has been fruitful, the husband cannot take back the dowry, but keeps the indongoranyo he received from his father-in-law.

If there are no children, the husband who has received the indongoranyo is not authorized to claim the inkwano. He can do so, in the opposite case, but the wife's parents, in order to avoid this obligation, give him another of their daughters.

If the dowry has been paid in full, the children remain with their father, except those that have not been weaned.

The wife can ask for a divorce if the husband does not pay the dowry, does not provide her with cloth and ornaments, continually
[16] ill-treats her, or if the children's, dying one after another makes her believe in the malevolent influence of her husband.

If there are children, the husband may keep the indongoranyo. In the opposite case, he takes back the dowry unless he has received the indongoranyo.

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461] 1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

553 neighborhood children are then invited to eat a dish consisting of a gruel of sorghum and beans. But before eating they wait for the child to relieve himself, hence the name of this meal, ubunyano (from kunya, to defecate). Then the father recites a few names he would like to give the child, and those present choose one of them. If the parents have already lost a child, in order to turn away the evil spirits, the newborn child is baptized with an objectionable name such as Kangurube (little pig child). The same day the husband is obliged to have intercourse with his wife lest a misfortune happen to the child.

[845] Twins (impanga) are given names that resemble each other, Karengera and Karinganire for example. [36]

851 The rule pater is est quem nuptiae demonstrant is universally 848 applied. Normally, therefore, the husband is the child's father and [611] filiation is established in the patemal line. Children born after the father's death are considered legitimate if the wife was pregnant at the time of his death.

There is no special word to designate the legitimate child.

However, the rule mentioned above has certain exceptions. If a man marries an ikinyandaro, the child to be born, who is only an umusambanano for the husband, will belong to his natural father. But the husband may claim that the child is his if at the time of the marriage the girl is only a few months pregnant.

It may happen that a girl does not know the name of the man who has taken her (1). The natural child then belongs to the inzu of

1. This is especially the case with abajakazi (mistress-servants), who live at the Mwami's Court or with the great chiefs and who are put at the disposal of their master's guests.

the girl's father. Today there are many ibyomanzi who, eager for their independence, have left their parents and wander throughout the country. Their children are called abana b'umugore, but they do not belong to the maternal inzu, for the ibyomanzi no longer have any family.

The adulterine child belongs to the husband because of the dowry that has been paid. If the dowry has not been paid, the child is supposed to belong to the family of his mother's father. The incestuous child belongs to the husband. When a child is born to an unmarried

848 851 girl, the girl's father takes over the child.

In the past, during the wars, the owner of a woman slave [567] sometimes married her. The children of this marriage were considered legitimate and [37] had their fathers' status, even if he already had children from marriage with a munyarwanda wife.

Children born of the master and a woman slave were also considered legitimate.

CHAPTER V. PATERNAL AUTHORITY

593 The patria potestas is exercised by the father. In the past it implied the right of life and death over his children. Today the father does not have such power, but his authority still remains sovereign and extends even over married sons. The latter must in particular, give him cows if he asks for any to increase his herds and to replace animals that are sick or have died.

A bad son can be cursed by his father and driven out of the family and even from the hill (igitshibwa or ikivume, the accursed one). He goes off with empty hands, and his brothers divide his property.

As a counterpart to his authority, the father is obligated to support his children and to establish his sons by paying the dowry.

The children must obey their mother as well as their father.

[604] Simiarly they must be deferential to their paternal uncles and aunts, and to a lesser degree, to their maternal uncles and aunts. Sisters must obey their brothers, and younger brothers, their older ones.

603 604 The loss of paternal authority does not exist as such. If the father is unworthy or incapable, the grandfather or paternal uncle has charge of the children. [38]

CHAPTER VI. TUTELAGE AND EMANCIPATION (1)

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p. 60.

429 When the father is dead, usually one of his brothers watches over the widow and orphans. In the absence of a paternal uncle, guardianship goes to a maternal uncle.

604 The paternal uncle may marry his sister-in-law. He has the
429 same rights over his nephews and the same obligations to them as their father. If the widow marries a stranger (umwinjila), the latter becomes the guardian of the children, but as a rule he has not much authority. And if he does not fulfill his obligations, he may be driven out by the paternal uncle and has to go away empty-handed.

Similarly, if the uncle who is guardian does not fulfill his obligations, the children may complain to their father's patron, or, if they have no cattle, to the hill chief. When they have grown up, they may even drive out the unworthy guardian.

Only through marriage do the sons gain independence unless previously they have freed themselves with violence from the guardian's authority.

593 Nevertheless, even when they are emancipated by marriage, male children are not freed of their obligations to their parents (1).

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p.60.

[39] CHAPTER VII. MAJORITY AND INTERDICTION

[881] In Ruanda there is no initiation ceremony to mark the entrance
885 of boys into social life any more than there are age classes. But when a young man has become ingaragu, his father then looks upon him as a man; he speaks to him of cattle and crops, allows him to share his meal, and sends him in his place to the patron to pay homage, etc.

732 Lunatics (abasazi), the dumb (ibirazi) and the deaf (ibipfamatwi) move around freely and, except for the first, may marry.

The property of a spendthrift (ikarara, lit., half mad, exalted)
593 is managed by his parents.

As for the bad son who is disobedient and insolent, he can be cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume).

561 CHAPTER VIII. TABLE INDICATING THE NAMES USED TO DESIGNATE THE DIFFERENT AGES OF LIFE (1)

1. The age given in years is obviously

561

approximate, since the civil status of the natives has not yet been organized in the territories under mandate.

Men	Women
1) Uruhinja, from birth to the first steps	1) Same word
2) Igitambambuga, up to four or five years old	2) Same word up to three years old
3) Inchuke, up to seven years old	3) Same word up to six years old
[40]	
4) Ingimbi, up to ten years old	4) Same word, up to eight years old
5) Umwana ugimbutse, up to fifteen years old	5) Same word up to twelve years old
6) Ingaragu, up to twenty years old	6) Umwangavu, up to fourteen years old
7) Umusole, up to twenty-five years old	7) Inkumi, up to sixteen years old
8) Umusole uhamye, up to thirty years old	8) Inkumi inhamye, up to eighteen years old
9) Igikwerere, up to forty years old	9) Iliza, (lit., before her first child) up to twenty years old
10) Impotole, up to fifty years old	10) Impetule, up to twenty-five years old
11) Ijigija, up to fifty-six years old	11) Same word, up to thirty years old
12) Umusaza, up to sixty years old	12) Ijigija ihamye, up to forty years old
13) Umusaza rukukuri, over sixty years old	13) Umukechuru, up to fifty years old
	14) Umukechuru rukukuri, up to and over sixty years old

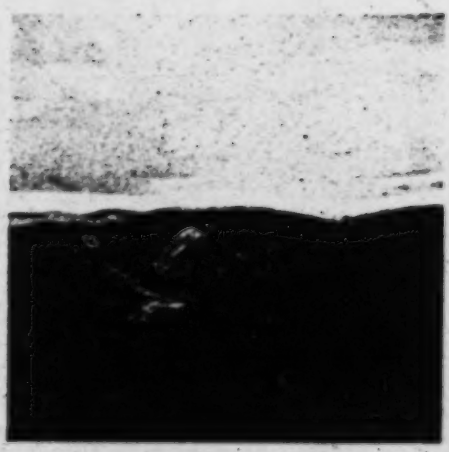
1:Vanhove--33A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 40]

231

Type of cattle in Ruanda.

133



Vicinity of Kigali.
Crops covering the spurs of the hills and the valleys can be seen.

(Photo taken by Author)

[41]

SECTION II. PROPERTY

1. Property in General

421 The Banyarwanda have a less abstract idea of property than we have. It is comparable to that of possession.

On the other hand, no differentiation is made between personal property and real estate. Property is given different names according to its nature and use. The Banyarwanda divide their property [into the following categories]: amatungo (animals); ibintu, a generic name applicable to the rugo, imilima (fields); ubgatsi (pasturage); imyaka (crops); and urutoke (banana plantations); ibiti (trees); intwaro (weapons and cutting instruments); ibikolesho (hoes, pickaxes, baskets, churns); imyambaro (clothing).

2. Landed Property

423 True landed property exists in Ruanda, while in the Belgian Congo the natives consider that the bare ownership of the land belongs to the souls of the departed and that they themselves only have usufruct.

[643] All the land in the country belongs to the Mwami who relin-
423 guishes its use successively to the various chiefs and subchiefs. These,
425 in turn, cede an isambu (land sold) or concede an umwatano (land
427 leased) to the Bahutu in consideration of a price or a payment consisting of a certain percentage of future crops (ichyata umulima, lit., gift in order to have a field).

The Muhutu holds his land in a more or less precarious way. Even if he makes his payments regularly [42] his land may be taken away from him one day, if, for example, he neglects to pay the customary dues to the chiefs and the king. In this case he may be deprived of all or part of his land, but the last crop is not taken from him (1).

423 184 1. An appreciably different administration of property exists in the western part of Bunyambiriri, the extreme north of Ndiza,

423
184

and in Rukiga (provinces of Mulera and Bugoyi) where the land cleared and cultivated by the Bahutu are subject to a right of family property. This right is sacred and the Batutsi, whose power in these regions is rather nominal, know that they cannot dispute it without exposing themselves to serious miscalculations and even to bloody reprisals.

423 [622] [425] The hill chief also has the right to take a plot of land (ubugerure) from the Bahutu in order to form an ubuka which he wishes to give to someone else or to keep as his own property (imilima y'inyarulembo). The part of the plot that is left to the Muhutu is called isagu.

[428] The Muhutu can transmit his right of exploitation to his son by inheritance. Land that passes from one generation to the next is called indeka.

[596] Land is sometimes held collectively by a family in the person of its head (isambu or ingobyi y'iwabo). Members of the family pay him no rent and, to the exclusion of strangers, have the right to cut firewood and graze their cattle there.

[622] There are also communal woods (itshanya). The hill chief reserves part of them for himself and allows the hill people to exploit the remainder.

[563] The Batwa claim to be the legitimate occupants of the forests. For this reason they often enter into disputes with the Bahutu living near the wooded regions.

[622] Mines and quarries of clay are the property of the chief, but he allows his people to [43] supply themselves there in exchange for a payment (a hoe or some pots).

The boundaries (imbibi) of fields are usually marked by small ditches (impavu) or piles of stones (ibishyinga).

There are no neutral zones between lands.

425 423 An inkungu is a piece of ground that has been abandoned because of the holder's voluntary departure or death without leaving an heir. A man who has been cursed by his father or driven out by the chief because of repeated thefts of cattle, for example, must also abandon his plot. The chief can offer an inkungu (or an ubugerure) to a stranger to the hill who asks to settle there. If he is a Muhutu, he is

423 obliged to submit to the same obligations as his predecessor. If he
[425] is a Mututsi, he is not required to pay any ground rent, and the chief gives him a pasture in addition.

Rights of way and of access are not private. The hill people may move about freely on each other's land. This is also true of the cattle for which special paths are made.

622 In the case of a dispute in matters of landed property, litiga-
692 tion is taken to the hill chief who goes to the place and, after having heard the witnesses, decides between the plaintifs.

3. Customary Law of Hunting

224 Customary laws of hunting are very numerous. Of these we will quote only a few of the most frequent cases.

A native hunting alone who has killed an ordinary antelope (impongo) takes the meat and skins the animal.

224 Hunting with beaters is organized by the chief who decides on
622 the land to be beaten after having taken the advice of the [44] expert Batutsi or Bahutu hunters and following the indications of the trackers. The chief also chooses the beaters from among the least good shots. To stimulate their zeal in this thankless task, he promises them pots of beer if the hunt is successful.

224 The natives are required to take part in the hunt, but they fulfill this obligation willingly as it is a much appreciated entertainment and also a source of profit.

Whoever first wounds an animal during a battue or beat, is presumed to have killed it. He is entitled to the skin and one rear leg. The meat is divided among all the Batutsi and Bahutu hunters. The hunter who has killed several antelopes may keep the skin of one animal.

224 Whoever finds an animal that has been killed must return it to
643 the hunters. At least theoretically, game belongs to the king and skins of any value (1) must be turned over to him, especially those of

281 1. Skins of marsh antelopes are much appreciated by the Batutsi because of their long silky fur with which they make bed coverings. Skins of the "bush bock" and

281 leopard are used as dance ornaments by the intore pages.

224 the otter (inzibyi or igihura), the marsh antelope (mpala), the
[643] "bush bock" (inzole), the lion, and the leopard, as well as ivory tusks.

If a wild beast such as a lion or leopard has been killed,
[622] its skin must be turned over to the chief who in exchange gives the hunters a sterile cow as ingororano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 48.

224 When the hill chief hunts with his people, he keeps some of
622 the skins and gives the others to the provincial chief, who in turn
643 keeps some of them and, if he considers it advantageous to himself, sends the others to the Mwami. If the hill chief has killed a lion or a leopard, the skin must be turned over to the Mwami. If there are two skins they are divided between the king and the provincial chief. The [45] hill chief may keep a leopardskin only if the hunt has been particularly fruitful.

224 The native who has killed three elephants has the sole right to the tusks of the third animal killed.

Finally, a hunter is forbidden to take any part of a crocodile
224 he has killed. The animal with its paws loaded with stones must be
825 thrown to the bottom of the river, for the Banyarwanda believe that the body of the saurian contains a violent poison and they want to prevent its being used.

224 When an animal is pointed out, the beaters who have gone forward into the thickets where they are almost invisible and the hunters who have followed them must indicate their presence by a low whistle. Hunting accidents are regulated by customary law (1).

1. Cf. Penal Law, p. 98.

4. Ownership of Heavy Cattle

422 231 a) Generalities.

[643] The Mwami is the owner of all the cattle in Ruanda or at least of all females kept for breeding purposes. The great chiefs (abatware) are charged by the king to watch over his cattle in the different provinces. Also, the sale of heifers cannot take place without his permission.

On the other hand, the holder of sterile cows or bulls may give away or slaughter these animals as he wishes.

In a province the native who has acquired a cow for breeding [643] purposes has usufruct and has no redress if the Mwami takes away the animal he has bought along with its young. The umutware w'umukenke (2) can oppose the removal of cattle from the province.

2. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Division, p. 85.

422 622 628 Any native who settles in another province must abandon his cattle [46] unless he has the chief's permission to take it with him. When a native leaves his province, leaving his cattle behind, to settle in another, his new chief usually gives him a herd of the same size as the one he has lost. If he escapes from his district carrying off his cattle surreptitiously, his former chief claims the herd. In the past if he was refused he would endeavor to capture a herd of equal value belonging to the deserter's new chief, and an armed clash would invariably result from such a dispute. Today the dispute must be submitted to the Mwami. He eventually orders the new chief to return the cattle, and if the latter is unwilling to do so, he may take from him one or more herds.

Before the European occupation a dissatisfied chief could take all or part of his cattle without previous permission from the Mwami. In this case the chief was "Mwami of his umugaragu."

422 231 The cowherds (abashumba) in the service of the cattle holders are authorized to keep for themselves part of the milk from the animals entrusted to them. They can be discharged in case of negligence.

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b) Classification of Cattle According to Color

Amanya, blue-grey
Ibihogo, dark brown
Ibihogo bitose, darker brown
Igaju, light brown
Igaju ly'intukura, yellow-brown

Igisa, café au lait [coffee-colored]
Igitare, white
Ikibamba, black with large white spots
[47]
Ikibayi, grey-brown
Ikijugu, light grey
Isine, white with small brown spots
Itshyasha, with a white spot on its forehead
Ubugondo bw'izagiriza, white with small brown spots
Umukara, black
Umusengo, brown with small white spots
Urwirungu rwumugoroba, black and white
Urwirungu rw'amarwa, pinkish tan

c) Classification of Cattle According to Age

1. MALE CATTLE

Umutavo, newborn
Ingimbuke, a fortnight old
Umushishe, a month old
Incharwatsi, that eats grass for the first time
Umukulira, that goes to pasture for the first time

Inchuke, weaned

Ikimasa ly'umukangara, a little larger than the inchuke
Karasiga inkivyondo, good for paying a fine
Igitobyi, ready to breed
Imfisi umutore, that has bred once
Ubukombe, adult bull
Umutaza, old bull

2. FEMALE CATTLE

Up to being weaned, same name as male cattle
Ishashi ikata, pregnant heifer
Iliza, first calf
Impete, second calf
Impetule, third calf
Ijigija, fourth calf
Ibuguma, cow that still calves but whose calf is too weak and dies
Inshura, old cow that no longer calves

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192

c) Classification by age (cont'd)

2. FEMALE CATTLE

Isave, cow sterile from birth (thin)
Urubeheri, cow sterile from birth (fat)

d) Classification of Cattle According to Horns

Igaritse, with large spreading horns
Impotore, with horns whose points are slightly twisted
Ingarure, with twisted horns whose points go forward
Inkungu, without horns
[48]
Intenderi, with horns whose points point toward the ground
Inkungu y'indegeri, with small mobile horns
Ikubis'ihembe, with one vertical and one horizontal horn
Itigey'inyuma, with horns whose points point backwards
Itez'akamosdu, with crossed horns
Urubindo, with horns whose points point towards the ears
Itegey'ijuru, with large almost vertical horns

e) Classification of Cattle According to Common Law

422 231 [622] [192] IMBATA. Head of cattle received as dowry, as a present, or bought in the market, and whose owner is the true proprietor. But if, in putting himself under the patronage of the hill or provincial chief (1) he receives from either of them one or several cows called

1. See further on, Obligations and Contracts, p. 63.

inkazibiti or ingabane, according to whether he is a Muhutu or a Mututsi, all the imbata cows can be taken away from him with the others, should he lose his status as a client, by an arbitrary decision of his patron.

422 231 427 If a Muhutu receives from a Mututsi some heads of cattle in virtue of the contract called ubugaragu (lease of livestock) (1),

1. See further on, Obligations and

Contracts, p.63.

231 and if after a few years by selling the young bulls, the skins, the
422 horns, the milk, and the butter, he has made enough money to
427 buy a head of cattle, the latter is not an imbata, but an impahano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

422 If a Muhutu, the umugaragu of a Mututsi, marries his
583 daughter and receives a milch cow as dowry, the latter is not an
192 imbata, but an inkwano, and the shebuja of the son-in-law can take
231 it back. In effect, it is the social position of the Muhutu which entitled him to collect a dowry in cattle. If he had not been a client of a Mututsi, he would have received as dowry only hoes or goats. [49]

231 INTUNDANO. (1) Cow bought in the market with the salary
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1. From kutunda, "to do business."

earned at the mines in exchange for goats or baskets of beans. It is an imbata.

INDUNDU. Cow acquired in immediate full ownership without the condition that the buyer should later make an additional payment. Indundu is opposed to ingwate (2).

2. See further on, p. 46.

[431] INKAZIBITI. Cows given without fee by the patron to a client who has paid homage (guhakwa). To take possession of cows promised by the shebuja is called kujya ku ilembo (lit., to cross the threshold of the rugo). The first cow received under these conditions is called inka y'igiti (3); the second, impetano; the others

3. Literally, "cow of the tree trunk."

do not have a special name. A father can also give some inkazibiti to his wives and sons.

231 INGABANE. When a Mututsi who has paid homage to the
422 Mwami receives from him a hill with cattle and abagaragu, the said
192 cattle is called ingabane (4). A herd of ingabane consists of at
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4. From kugabana, "to receive."

least 30 heads of cattle, cows, calves, heifers, and young bulls.

A simple Mututsi with no political authority may receive some ingabane and some inkazibiti. But the favor of the Mwami makes him considered an important person. He is the Mwami's umugaragu.

The Bahutu usually receive only inkazibiti.

INDEMANO. (5). a) Cows of the same color and age, given

5. From kulema, "to create," "to form," "to assemble."

by a father to his son when the latter is about to get married. The whole of the indemano is called iminani.

[50]

b) By a patron to a client of whom he is fond and who is going to get married.

c) By a husband to his wife.

The indemano are also ingabane.

After these various distributions, the cattle remaining to the master make up the ingarigari (reserved cows).

422 INGARIGARI. Cows which the master keeps for his own
231 pleasure and personal use without giving any to his wives, sons, or
192 friends, or without leasing them out to any abagaragu.

425 INKUKE (1). a) A son, who has received from his father
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1. From gukura, "to take away," "to remove."

indemano, returns a milch cow (inkuke) to his father which has been taken from among the indemano. When it no longer gives any milk the father sends it back to his son.

425 b) A Mututsi umugaragu is obliged to send the Mwami an inkuke
192 from among the ingabane he has received. When the cow no longer
231 gives milk, the client must bring other animals.

c) An umugaragu can receive some indemano from his patron. Usually these are old cows or bull calves which he then exchanges for heifers. When they are full grown, he gives one or several of these inkuke to his patron.

d) An umugaragu of the Mwami must occasionally send him a milch cow from among the ingabane he has received.

INDWANYI. Full-grown bull given annually to the Mwami by each provincial chief, for sacrifice to the spirits of the departed or slaughtered for the use of the king, his Batwa, or his foreign guests: Bahima, Barundi, Baganda, etc.

[51]

IBINIHA. Sterile cow given under the same conditions and meant for the same use.

[187] INTORWA. Bull calves or young rams to be used for consulting the auguries or for the cult of ancestors.

YO KUBIKA. Cow brought to the Mwami by the successor of a provincial chief who comes to announce the death of his father.

IY'UBUNTU (1). Cow given as a present. It belongs in full

1. From ubuntu, "generosity." Ineza, "good will," is also said.

ownership to the one who receives it, who is held under no obligation to the donor. Ubuntu cows are not ingabane; they are imbata when they are placed among the imbata that are already in the rugo, and keep the name of inka y'ubunta, without possessing any of its privileges, in all other cases [sic].

INYITURANO. Cow given in return by the one who has received an ubuntu. When a man who has bestowed ubuntu on certain of his friends dies, his children can claim an inyiturano cow from each of them.

IMPAHANO (2). Cows bought under the same conditions as

2. From guhaha, "to fetch, to procure."

the intundano and received as a gift or dowry. They have the same character, but if their owner attaches himself to a patron they become ipso facto cows of an umugaragu.

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
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INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young

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1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother

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2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[602] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

000 three banana trees.

192 [53] INKAMWA. When the father of a family dies, one of
764 his sons or grandsons is chosen to put between his hands a jug of
231 milk. The cow that has given this milk is called inkamwa. It is given to the one who has placed the jug of milk between the hands of the deceased and is not included in the division of the inheritance.

This cow cannot be sold or killed. Its young are not subject to this interdiction. If it dies, it is eaten by the Bahutu in the owner's rugo, and its bones are buried there.

Among the Bahutu a sheep is used as the inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. When the father of a family dies, the eldest son slaughters a bull calf, which is eaten by the family. The skin is worn by the eldest son for two months so that the cows will not die like their master.

192 IY'UMULIRO and INSHUMBUSHANYO. 1) If lightning has
231 destroyed the herd (or even one animal) held by the umugaragu, the
731 latter can obtain from his shebuja the umuliro (lit., the fire cow), either a cow or a bull calf.

When several cows are given by the patron to indemnify his client, the first one is called umuliro, the others inshumbushanyo.

425 2) If the patron deprives his client of his whole herd to punish him
231 for not performing one of his obligations, the umugaragu begs the protection of another shebuja who gives his new dependent a cow and a bull calf or only a bull calf.

192 IMPONOKE. When the herd of the patron, the provincial chief,
731 or the king is decimated by cattle plague (muryamo), the abagaragu
231 give some cows to fill the gaps caused by the epizootic disease.

[54] INDORANO (1). At the death of the king's child, wife,

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1. From kurora, "to see."

brother, and also in the case of death in a great chief's family, the provincial chiefs and the hill chiefs, if they are directly subject to the Mwami, each bring two cows to the Mwami, and only one in the other event. A cow is also given by the abagaragu. The cow given to a friend on the occasion of deep mourning is also called indorano.

192 IMPONGANO. A cow given to appease the anger of the king or
231 one of the provincial chiefs.
431 2) A cow given to a friend of the Mwami to thank him for his intervention with the king.

IZIMANO. The first time a great provincial chief goes to visit another, the host gives his guest a milch cow.

Similarly, if the king or a provincial chief visits one of their abagaragu, he is given a calf.

INJISHYWA. A cow that accompanies a noble Mututsi when he visits a provincial chief or the Mwami on business or to pay homage. It is meant to provide him with the milk necessary for food.

427 INDAGIZO. (2). A cow which the depositor (uwaragije) entrusts
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> 2. From kulagiza, "to give on trust in order to pasture."

to someone who owns a better pasture than his, but the trustee (uwaragiywe) does not become umugaragu. The latter must return the cow when it has calved, but he has the right to the milk for two months if the cow is young, and for a fortnight if it is not. If the calf dies, the trustee has the right to the milk one day out of four.

[55]

231 INTAHIRA (1). This is the best of the cows held by an umugaragu.
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> 1. From gutahira, "to come in front," "to precede," "to lead."

He always makes it walk at the head of the herd. The holder can take its milk (intagemura, lit., to keep the milk for one's self), but the calves must return to the owner.

192 INGWATE. Primus, who owns a bull calf (inguzwa) or a sterile
231 cow (also inguzwa), asks Secundus, who has a heifer (ingwate), if he is
437 willing to exchange on the following conditions:

a) If the heifer has a female calf (umukangara), Primus will keep it and its mother for a length of time to be agreed upon, usually two years. Secundus will then take back the cow and its calf and in addition will keep the inguzwa.

192 b) If the heifer has a male calf, Secundus takes it at once and Primus
437 keeps the mother for two years. The milk is divided between the two
231 contracting parties as follows: Secundus has the right to the milk for four days, Primus for two days, and the shepherd one day a week.

c) If the heifer dies before having a calf, Primus takes the skin and Secundus keeps the inguzwa. To avoid leaving the heifer with Primus for two years, Secundus gives the other contracting party a pregnant cow (ingenzura) and takes back the ingwate and its young (female or male calf). There are then two possibilities:

a) The ingenzura bears a female calf; Primus claims it.

1) Secundus accepts and takes back the ingenzura.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf, and does not give any of the milk until another cow is given him. [56]

b) The ingenzura gives birth to a male calf.

1) Secundus agrees to give Primus an umukangara and takes back the cow and its calf.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf. He will return the calf only after it is weaned. He waits for the cow to have a female calf.

IGICHANIRO (1). Primus who wishes to have a bull calf gives

1. The igichaniro is, strictly speaking, the fire lit in the kraal to protect the cows from the cold.

all his cows as a pledge (kugwatiriza) to Secundus, yet keeps them at his home. After two years, Primus gives a female calf to Secundus. If he refuses, Secundus would have the right to take a milch cow (gukubitira).

If the contract concerns goats, the fact that Secundus pays himself if Primus refuses is called gufatira.

192 INDABUKIRANO (2). 1) At the accession of the king, his abagaragu
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2. From kurabukira, "to offer an accession gift to the king."

and all the provincial chiefs must each give one or two cows in homage to the king.

2) When an umutware w'intebe, an ichibiri, or an igisonga (3)

3. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Divisions, p. 85.

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231 3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
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1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage

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3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
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651 by warriors.

IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to

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4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

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234 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is
574 called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

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431 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief,
231 or a patron when she has a child.

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

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231 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-
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1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

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231 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cow-herd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives
[465] milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a
431] present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a
[696] family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

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437 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches
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1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

5. Small Domestic Animals

422 231 The Mwami has a rather theoretical right of ownership of small livestock which are considered valueless by the large stockbreeders.

Consequently, the Bahutu can sell or keep for their own consumption goats and sheep.

[235] Poultry also belongs to the Bahutu who are required to provide, without remuneration, the chicks needed for divinatory sacrifices. Hens and eggs are not eaten by natives and therefore, except in the neighborhood of European posts, have no commercial value.

Small livestock as well as poultry are the exclusive property of men.

[224] The Banyarwanda are very fond of their hunting dogs. The Batutsi will pay as much as one or two cows for a dog that is known for its hunting qualities.

6. Other Personal Property and Real Estate

423 Among the Batutsi, the husband and each of his wives live in their individual rugo, but all these dwellings belong to the husband. In the same way, among the Bahutu, the hut and its annexes belong to the husband.

422 Work tools belong to the husband. The wife and children may not lend them without his permission, except for a short time.

[60] Household utensils given the wife by her husband remain his property. But the ibirongoranywa (1), that is to say,

1. Cf. note 1, p. 44.

the objects, utensils, and clothing, given by the father to his daughter at the time of her marriage, often equal to the value of several cows, or even consisting of cows, belong to the wife. She may dispose of them as she chooses, except in the case of cows.

SECTION III. INHERITANCE

1. Basis of the Law of Inheritance

428 The principles regulating the laws of inheritance are:

1) Wives and daughters are excluded from inheritance for they can neither bequeath nor inherit valuables.

2) In principle, the inheritance remains in the male paternal line (2);

> 2. A boy may also inherit from his mother's family but only if the deceased, a relative of his mother, has expressed his wish before dying and also, of course, if he has no natural heirs. It may also happen that a stranger inherits from the deceased, if the latter has no heirs.

3) The new head of the family is normally, but not necessarily, the eldest of the sons, with no distinction made between mothers.

2. Designation of the New Head of the Family

[765] The period of mourning (kwirabura, lit., to become black) and the
596 purification ceremonies (kwera, lit., to become white) being over, that
428 is, two months after the death (3), the [61] designation of the new head

> 3. The time is reduced to a few days if the couple have not had any children.

of the family (umutware w'urugo rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) takes place.

If the father has died without having been able to make his wishes known, this choice is made by the chief of the umulyango who asks beforehand the advice of the elders. It matters little whether the sons are of different mothers (polygyny, or successive marriages), whether they are legitimate, born of a concubine, or adulterine. Only the qualities required of a future head of the family are taken into consideration.

[763] Usually, feeling his end to be near, the father calls the chief
596 of the umulyango and two friends. He dictates to them his last wishes.
428 The wives of a polygamous man do not hesitate to intrigue in favor of their sons and attempt to circumvent their husband -- or even his brother -- using both their charms and their most subtle arguments. The situation is the same in the case of successive marriages.

It is easily understood that often the other sons, especially if they are of different mothers, feel themselves wronged, rightly or wrongly.
[691] But they are given the opportunity of demanding justice from the Mwami, the provincial chief, or the hill chief, according to whether they are sons of umutware w'intebe, of igisonga, or simple Batutsi or Bahutu. These authorities will ratify the choice made by the father or the uncle, or else will decide what other young man will succeed his father.

If there is no male descendant, the high position of head of the family falls on the oldest brother of the deceased. In this case, the heir will be both head of his rugo and of his brother's.

[614] He may also be, at the same time, chief of the umulyango, that is to say, of the clan. This is the umutware w'umulyango (or the umutware rwa bo).

If all the brothers have disappeared, their sons inherit by right of primogeniture. [62]

If the deceased has neither sons, nor brothers, nor nephews in his line, his father will succeed him, or in his absence, the father's brother or one of his male descendants by right of primogeniture.

The Bahutu and the Batwa have their own umutware w'urugo. But they are dependent on the same umulyango chief as the Batutsi.

3. Composition of the Inheritance

428 In addition to the high position of head of the family, the inheritance includes:

1) The heavy cattle
2) The clients (abagaragu)
3) Particularly among the Bahutu, the goats and sheep
4) Landed property (1)
5) Movables, personal property (1)

1. Cf. Property, Property in General, p. 34.

428 Gifts (kugabira, to make a donation) made by the father to one of his sons, called inkazibiti, if they consist of cows, remain the property of the receiver, except in the case of unworthiness such as marked disrespect, repeated disobedience, etc. (kunyaga, to take back).

The active as well as the passive obligations are passed on to the [672] heirs. If they are unable to pay a debt, the descendants of the deceased [426] in direct line -- and only they -- are required to work one or two days a week for the benefit of the creditor's heirs, whether sons or even brothers, until the debt is completely wiped out.

4. Transmission of Property

The property is assigned to the heirs two months after death among the Batutsi, one month after among the Bahutu. However, the tools and objects may be used immediately. [63]

The son who is cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume) must make restitution for everything he has received from him (inkazibiti, indemano); he is obliged to go far away all alone, without his wife or his children, abandoning all his belongings.

To clarify the mechanism of the transmission of property, we will choose four types of inheritance that commonly arise and make a diagram of the four cases.

Case 1. Inheritance of a Rich Mututsi(Provincial Chief or Umugaragu of the Mwami)

Nyirimigabo, chief of a province, dies, leaving five sons born of two wives. These are:

Bihutu, son of Mujijima, married
Nyagatoma, son of Mujijima, married
Nturo, son of Nyirampunga, not yet married
Rusagara, son of Mujijima, still a child
Mahira, son of Mujijima, still a child

On the death of his father, Nturo, the third son, becomes head of the urugo rwa se.

428 The property will be divided as follows (1):

1. For the definition of the different names designating the inherited property which consists of cattle, cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, pp. 40-50.

COWS. Nturo, not yet married, receives:

1) The ingarigari of his father, 2,000 heads, for example.

2) The indabukirano given by the abagaragu (simple option).

3) The intore given by the same (obligation).

4) The indabukirano given by his brothers, Bihutu and [64] Nyagatom, by Mujijima in the name of Rusagara and Mahira who are still children, and by his father's friends (option).

5) Part of the inyarulembo of his mother Nyirampunga.

6) In addition, his abagaragu and his friends may each bring him an indoramo cow.

Bihutu, the eldest, receives nothing. But, having married while his father was alive, he received from the latter at the time he was established the iminani, a herd of indemano cows.

Nyagatoma receives some indemano which Nturo withdraws from his inyarulembo (twenty-five, for example). In this way, as he is about to take a wife, he will be able to establish himself. His father [sic] gives him in addition a few inkazibiti (four or five).

Rusagara receives some inkazibiti from Nturo. Being still young he remains with his mother Mujijima, who will later give him some indemano taken from the inyarulembo she received from her husband.

Mahiri, like his brother Rusagara, continues to live with his mother. Nturo also gives him some inkazibiti, and later he will give him some indemano, for his mother will presumably not have enough inyarulembo to give him any.

The inyarulembo of Mujijima stay with her; she reserves some of them to give to Rusagara as indemano, and she keeps the others. The inyarulembo of Nyirampunga are taken by Nturo, who leaves a certain number of them to his mother.

When one of his married sisters comes to announce the birth of a child, Nturo gives her either a y'urugori or a y'ibihembo cow.

428 CLIENTS. The abagaragu whom Nyirimigabo had acquired by giving them some inkazibiti are all left to Nturo. [65] They are given the same as a herd of indemano cows, that is iminani.

The brothers of Nturo, as soon as they are provided with cows, also find for themselves some abagaragu.

The cowherds (abashumba) who look after the cows of the deceased's wives have the same fate as the inyarulembo of the wives: those of Mujijima remain with her cows, until some of them accompany the cows given as indemano to Rusagara and Mahira.

FIELDS, BANANA PLANTATIONS. As head of the family, Nturo can choose the fields wherever he wants on one of his father's hills.

Bihutu and Nyagatoma, who had received a field at the same time as their umanane, no longer have the right to ask for more.

Rusugora and Mahira will receive a field from their mother or from Nturo.

PASTURES. Rules regulating the assignment of fields apply to that of pastures.

RUGO. Each wife of the deceased continues to live in her own rugo, which is surrounded by banana plants, some land for cultivation, and a pasture.

WEAPONS, TOOLS, ETC. They belong by right to the head of the family.

CLOTHING. The same applies to these, but the head of the family usually distributes them to the servants.

Case II. Inheritance of an Average Mututsi (Hill Chief)

Gakire, son of Kanziga, married while his father Gafuku was living, received thirty indemano and three inkazibiti. Kagabo, son of Ligoga, also married, received from his father twenty-five indemano and three inkazibiti. [66]

Kinyogote, son of Ligoga, still a child, received from his father two inkazibiti.

Kanziga and Ligoga each received twenty inyarulembo from their husband.

At his death Gafuku owns an ingarigari of eighty animals.

COWS. Gakire, made head of the family, takes:

1) The eighty ingarigari.

428 2) The indabukiramo given by his brothers and the clients, as well as the intore given by the abagaragu.

3) Part of his mother Kanziga's inyarulembo.

Kagabo can receive nothing.

Kinyogote remains with his mother. When he is old enough to be married, he will receive from Gakire twenty cows of which the latter will take ten from his inyarulembo, five others from Kanziga's inyarulembo, and five from Kagabo's indemano. In addition, Kinyogote will receive five inyarulembo from his mother Ligoga. In this way he will have twenty-five indemano.

CLIENTS. Kanziga's servants remain in her own rugo. Those of Kanziga belong to Gakire who leaves a certain number of them to his mother. Gafuku's clients are also passed on to the new head of the family.

FIELDS AND PASTURES. Gakire chooses new fields for himself on the hill.

Kagabo receives nothing.

Kinyogote will remain with his mother until his marriage, when Gakire and Kagabo will each give him a field and a pasture. [67]

RUGO. Each widow remains in her rugo until her death, her return to her family, or her remarriage.

WEAPONS, TOOLS, CLOTHING. Their distribution is the same as in Case II [sic].

Case III. Inheritance of a Simple Mututsi

Gakuba, a humble man although a Mututsi, had four children from his marriage with Kampororo.

Karekezi, who married during his father's lifetime, received from him two inkazibiti cows. Gakuba is too poor to give his sons enough cows to merit the name iminani. Besides Karekezi has received a real inka y'igiti.

Kambanda, who is also married, has also received two cows of which one is a real inka y'igiti.

Gapyisi and Kayibanda were still small children when their father died and have received nothing from him.

When he died Gabuka left twenty inyarulembo cows.

428 COWS. They are divided as follows:

Kambanda, appointed head of the family, receives seven cows and in addition one as itako ry'umutware (1) (lit., chief's thigh).

1. In order to provide for the needs of his brothers and sisters.

Each of the other sons receives an equal number of cows (four). It may happen that some cows are not distributed. If there is only one, it belongs jointly to all the sons. If there are two, each of them belongs to two of the sons.

CLIENTS. There are hardly more than two or three and they go to the head of the family. [68]

FIELDS AND PASTURES. The two oldest received a field and a pasture at the time of their marriages. Of the land owned by the father when he died, Kambanda will take two thirds, and the remaining third will be divided later among the younger sons.

URUGO. It continues to be occupied by the mother.

WEAPONS, TOOLS. Are Kambanda's share.

Case IV. Inheritance of a Muhutu

Kimonyo dies, leaving five sons born of three wives:

Tabaro, son of Nyiramgunzu, married during his father's lifetime and having received a field from him

Fuku, son of Nyirambeba

Shumbushu, son of Nyiramgunzu

Karifuni, son of Nyirambeba

Nzabandora, son of Nyiramatama

FIELDS AND TREES. Shumbushu, appointed head of the family, remains with his mother. He receives as itako ry'umutware, in bare ownership, a large part of Nyiramgunzu's banana plantation, the remainder being divided in equal parts between him and his brother Tabaro (also in bare ownership).

Fuku and Karifuni will also each receive half of their mother's field and banana plantation.

428 Nzabandora is assigned Nyiramatama's field and banana plantation.

However, Shumbushu has the right to collect an itako on his brothers' property.

COWS, PASTURES. Usually the Muhutu does not own any pasture and, for even if he has one or two cows, they are inkazibiti and rarely imbata. These animals [69] belong jointly to the sons of the deceased, who go and ask a well-to-do Mututsi for permission to continue taking their animals to pasture on his land.

SMALL LIVESTOCK. The flock of goats and sheep is divided among the sons. The head of the family in addition takes the itako.

RUGO, CROPS. Each of the wives remains in her rugo and disposes of the surrounding crops.

WEAPONS, TOOLS. Are taken by the head of the family.

Inheritance of a Mutwa

The inheritance of a Mutwa amounts to very little, a few goats and sheep, some tools and utensils. He may however own a small field (ingobyi y'urugo), or sometimes even a fairly large tract of land (igikingi), usually received for choreographic skill.

5. The Fate of Widows

587 When the time of the kwirabura and kwera has expired, the widow (umupfakazi) may remarry.

If she accepts as her new spouse a member of her husband's family, such as the head of the family (except for her own son) (1), one of her

1. The son who is head of the family may take as wife one or several of his father's widows if they do not belong to his mother's family. An uncle may not marry his niece.

brothers-in-law (her husband's brothers), or her father-in-law, then the wife remains in the rugo where her new husband will visit her. No dowry (inkwano) is paid for a widow who remarries, and the wedding takes place without the customary ceremonies.

768 If the woman[1] refuses all offers of marriage in order to devote herself to the education of her children, she will be allowed [70] nevertheless to remain in her rugo. She keeps the inyarulembo cows, her servants, the field and the pasture she had received from her husband with the right to reap the benefits thereof. This property does not constitute a dowry for her but is kept by her provisionally. Actually she merely manages it in the interest of those of her sons who are minors and who stay with her. In this way she may continue to live in the same manner as in her husband's lifetime, with no fear of poverty. Furthermore, even when her sons take part of this property in order to establish themselves, they do not cease to show a tender solicitude for their mother and to provide for her needs.

If the widow wishes to return to her family, she must then abandon the rugo and its contents, except for her personal belongings. Her children must be left to the father's family as soon as they are weaned, that is to say, when they are about four or five years old -- unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

587 It may happen that a widow with children marries a stranger to the deceased's family. In principle, she is not forbidden to live in her rugo with her new husband. But these marriages, which are not well looked upon, are usually precarious. At the slightest difficulty, the deceased's relatives intervene, and the second husband is driven out without being able to carry anything away and is even obliged to abandon the children he has had with the woman.

768 As to the childless widow, she must return to her family unless she agrees to marry a member of the deceased's family.

1 [i.e., a widow.—Analyst]

6. Situation of the Widower

Usually the death of a wife does not bring to an end the relations of the widower with his family-in-law, especially if there are children born of the marriage. [71]

The parents-in-law have the option of giving their son-in-law one indorano cow (1) and sometimes even two.

1. The Bahutu give jugs of beer as indorano.

587 If the widower is left with very young children, the parents-in-law usually suggest to their son-in-law that he take one of their other daughters as a wife (2) so that the children do not have a stranger as

[765] 2. The widower may not remarry until after a month of mourning. During this time he does not shave, does not wash his clothes, and may not have intercourse with another woman.

stepmother. Far from claiming another dowry for her, they offer on the contrary an indongoranyo cow (3) which normally, however, is

3. A hoe, among the Bahutu.

the counterpart of the dowry paid.

A widower without children may claim restitution of the dowry. He usually does not do so because he knows that his parents-in-law, to avoid returning the dowry, will find him a new wife among their own daughters or those of their kin.

7. Guardianship of Children (4)

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768 4. Cf. Personal Status, Tutelage and Emancipation, pp. 31 and 32.

The widowed mother who does not remarry outside the family continues to live in her rugo where she brings up her children until their marriage, which emancipates them, at least so far as the boys are concerned.

The son who is named head of the family actually replaces his father, provided he is old enough to do so. He has the same rights and obligations as his father, especially that of establishing his brothers (by giving them some indemano) and marrying off his sisters. If later one of his sisters happens to be repudiated, she takes refuge with her mother or her brother, who finds her a new husband.

If all the boys are minors, the paternal grandfather or, in his absence, the paternal uncle who seems the best [72] qualified is

429 chosen as guardian. In this capacity he exercises the prerogatives
768 of the paternal authority and manages for his wards the property left by the deceased.

If the male relatives on the paternal side have died, one of the maternal uncles will be guardian. In effect as each of the couple continues to belong to his and her umulyango, the children are members of both families.

429 Emancipation, which occurs normally at the moment of marriage comes when the young man reaches eighteen years of age. But it may happen that the children, having reason to complain of their guardian, go and seek justice, according to their rank, from the hill chief, the provincial chief, or the Mwami. When they are grown they may even emancipate themselves (proprio motu) by driving out their unworthy guardian.

8. Irregular Inheritance

428 While daughters are excluded from inheriting by the law of inheritance, they are always presented with gifts by the new head of the family, at least when he is their brother.

As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the following case may arise? A Muhutu, umugaragu of a rich Mututsi, has a daughter who is a servant to his master and who is married to another servant. When his client dies, instead of taking back the cows, the master can give them to the daughter's husband, who thus becomes his umagaragu.

When a wife dies, the few ornaments she owns (necklaces, bracelets) do not go to her daughter, but to her stepdaughters (her husband's daughters). With the political chief's permission, the mother may also give them to her son who was living with her and who will later on give them to his wife.

428 A man who has no sons (inchike) or who has cursed them may adopt
597 a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu) [73], or in his absence, a son of his sister (umwishywa). He promises him his inheritance and his inheritance and his nephew becomes his true son (1).

1. Cf. Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4.

428 A man who has concluded the blood pact (kunywana) (2)
608
429

2. Cf. Personal Status, The Blood Pact, p.13.

inherits from his blood brother (umunywanyi) if the latter dies without leaving any male relatives. He may marry the wife of the deceased but not his daughter, who is considered as being his child, and he exercises paternal authority over the orphans.

429 If the deceased is tied to a patron by a lease of livestock and has no brother, the guardianship of the children who are minors belongs to the shebuja (kumuremera). In the opposite case, the shebuja shares it with a paternal or a maternal uncle of the orphans. If the patron has paid his client's dowry, he will take the dowries given for his umugaragu's daughters and will keep them to enable the boys to marry. Thus, in this case, a Mututsi becomes chief of the Muhutu's rugo.

9. Reversion of Property in Escheat

428 As women do not inherit, in the unlikely case of the deceased having no male relatives, his patron takes back the cows that belonged to him and appropriates the small livestock, tools, etc. (inzungu) (3). The fields, banana plantations, and pastures left

3. From guzungura, " to inherit without being a relative."

under the same conditions (inkungu) (1) go to the political chief who

1. Cf. Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4.

assigns them to another man. But widows are authorized to live in their own rugo.

If the deceased is not tied by an ubugaragu contract, all his property goes to the political chief who disposes of it as he sees fit.

[74] SECTION IV. OBLIGATIONS AND CONTRACTS

566 The typical obligation results from the contract of the so-called ubugaragu by which a man who has paid homage (guhakwa) to a cattle owner obtains from him one or more cows taken from among his inyarulembo (1), (2). They are called inkazibiti if the

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

2. The patron is not really tied by a contractual obligation. He merely accepts the client's services.

umugaragu (client) is a Muhutu, or ingabane if he is a Mututsi. The umugaragu has the right only to the usufruct of this cattle and its young, and only for the length of time it pleases his shebuja (patron) to leave it with him.

On the other hand, when a man is tied by the ubugaragu contract, the cows that were his personal property (imbata) become inkazibiti.

The principal advantages derived by the client from the ubugaragu contract are as follows: sale of the milk, butter, meat, and skins; help in case he should become disabled and incapable of providing for his needs; the honor of being named liegeman of such and such a person, instead of being given scornful names such as uriyamuntu, that man; or uriya mugabo, that simple man. That is why one says kugir'uguhatse n'ukugir'izina (to have a chief is to have a name).

Each client is subject to various obligations and payments to his patron for which he can be helped by his sons and even eventually by his abagaragu and their families.

[75]

A. Obligations of the Client.

1) Gufat'igihe (lit., to take the time), that is to say, to pay homage during a period of time whose duration is determined by the chief.

The client must accompany his patron on a journey, for example, when he goes to the Mwami's Court or to visit a great chief.

566 While they are traveling, the client acts as cook, makes sure that water and wood are collected, and keeps the injishywa (1). The

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

length of time the client must follow his patron depends on the number of cows he holds or hopes to acquire, and also on the number of clients among whom the obligations can be distributed.

When the patron is on his own land, the umugaragu carries the provisions to his storehouse.

2) Kubak'inkike (lit., to build a part of the rugo).

The clients must each build or repair a part of the enclosure surrounding the patron's hut and storehouses by providing the necessary materials.

The obligation to build the hut is shared jointly by all the abagaragu.

3) Kurarira (night watch or evening spent in talk).

The clients must take turns watching over the patron while he is resting and guard his rugo. The sentinels must bring the wood needed to light the watch fire.

4) Gutumwa (to be sent).

Each client must carry messages from his master any distance and accompany his servants who are bearing presents to a relative or friend of the patron. The umugaragu may even be a messenger and bearer at the same time if the present is intended [76] for an important person or for one who is particularly dear to the shebuja's heart.

5) The umugaragu must take part in the sowing of the sorghum (ishaka) (1) for two days.

1. Sorghum is a sacred plant and the sowing calls for a propitiatory ceremony.

6) Kutanga imibyizi (to cultivate the fields).

The Bahutu clients come and work in the patron's fields for an indefinite period of time, depending both on the number of abagaragu and the number of cattle that have been given them by the shebuja. Nor is the task of each one exactly determined.

566 7) Kumutabaraho (lit., to accompany to war).

This is a general obligation, to follow the master to war, to cut his wood, etc.

8) The client, designated in this case with the name umwozi (washer of pots), must watch over the quality of the milk kept in pots, bring it to his master (kugemera), and have the pots washed by a servant called umuhondamonyi.

9) Except for those that are poor, the abagaragu have a custom of honoring their master with presents, pots of beer, for example. The patron as a rule merely tastes the inzoga and then distributes it to his abagaragu.

10) If the patron loses any of his cattle, the clients must offer him an inshumbushanyo cow (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 45.

11) Similarly, if the shebuja is in mourning, he receives from umugaragu an indorano (3).

3. Cf. idem, p. 45.

[77]

B. Obligations of the Patron

1) If the client has stolen a cow from another proprietor, in order to avoid the punishment of his umugaragu, the client intervenes (kugura, to buy back) and indemnifies the injured party. If he did not act in this way, he would be held in no esteem.

2) If the client is very poor, the patron gives him a bull calf so that he can eat meat and clothe himself with the skin. He provides him with milk.

3) The patron must assist the client in his palavers (kulengera).

4) The patron must help the client who wants to get married pay the dowry. For this he gives him a cow. If the umugaragu is important, the shebuja authorizes him to choose the inkwano cow himself. (1). If he has received only a cow from the patron, the latter

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

566 can authorize him to give it as a dowry. The ties binding him to his patron are thus tightened, for the wife acts as guarantee that the ubugaragu contract will be well executed.

If the umugaragu commits a serious offense, the shebuja can take back the inkwano from the father-in-law (iyo batararongolanya or baraikoranura, lit., to prevent the marriage) for as long as his client has not received the indongoranyo (2). When this has been

2 Cf. idem, p. 44.

paid, the shebuja's rights are exercised over it.

5) When a client dies, the patron must watch over the fate of his wife and children. If the umugaragu has no brother, the shebuja becomes the orphans' guardian (kumuremera). In the opposite case, a paternal or maternal uncle shares the guardianship with the patron.

If the patron has paid his client's dowry, he takes the dowries given for his client's daughters and keeps them [78] until he turns them over to the boys so that they in turn can get married.

6) In the past the patron had to avenge his client's murder (kumuhorera) himself. Accompanied by his abagaragu and one of the deceased's sons, he would go and kill the murderer by means of a subterfuge. Pointing to the orphan, he would say to the murderer, "There is the one who kills you"; then he would kill him or else the shebuja would go to the Mwami to demand justice.

7) The client may dispose of the milk of the cows given him (intagemura) and make butter and cheese from it when the patron's requirements of milk are assured. Similarly, with the permission of the shebuja, he may slaughter animals and eat or sell the meat.

8) From time to time, the patron must give aihoe to his Muhutu client.

The patronage contract never comes to an end unless the cows die or if the client proves himself to be unworthy of the confidence placed in him. In this last case the master takes back his cows (kunyaga) and their young.

In addition, if the shebuja is at the same time the hill or provincial chief or the Mwami, he can deprive the client of his fields and rugo and drive him away from the hill. The client can only take with him his stick (banuh'akabando, lit., he is given a stick), the

566 most unimportant and useless of things.

Along with the ubuguragu contract and other leases of live-
437 stock such as the ingwate and its variants, the indagizo (1) etc.,

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

Ruanda common law has a number of other [79] contracts. We will list in the following which are those in most common use.

Purchase-sale (kugura)

These transactions take place in the markets (amaguriro,
443 plural iguriro), located usually at the crossroads of the thoroughfares.
437 The most frequented are those of Rukiga and Kinyaga. The people of Buganza and Buliza come there to exchange their cows for salt,
[435] provisions, beer, honey, baskets, etc. In the past, animals and things on sale were valued in hoes (1).

1. The salt seller wishing to obtain a bull calf would ask how much it was worth in hoes. He would be answered, "Fifty." He would then take a basket of salt valued at one hoe and would give 50 of these to the owner of the bull calf. A current expression was: "It is a three-hoe goat." Today a hoe is worth 8 francs.

Specialized merchants (abatunzi, lit., the rich) also go there and offer for sale produce and objects they have brought from far
[301] away, for example ubutega (2) made in Urega (country of the Warega).

2. These thin rings of rattan fiber worn around the legs by the Banyarwanda women from their ankles to their knees were formerly fairly valuable. Three thousand
[435] ubutega were worth a bull calf, and a complete set of the ornaments could be bought only with the payment of two sterile cows.

Sometimes they combine their resources in order to make large purchases (gufatanya urutundo, lit., to assemble business).

443 Women and children are admitted to the markets without
579 restriction. In the past, people came armed, for they risked being robbed or even killed on the way by highway bandits.

The Lease of Services (kununga).

[465] A man may agree to work for another for 50 days, for example, at the rate of [80] one or two days a week on the condition of receiving the meat of one cow in exchange.

437 Exchange (kuguza) (1)

1. Kuguza, lit., "to agree to give an advance."

A Mututsi asks a Muhutu for a granary of sorghum (ihundo, lit., an ear of sorghum) for example, in exchange for a bull calf or hoes (usually 30).

The Loan (gutiza)

426 The Banyarwanda distinguish the loan for use (commodatum) from the simple loan (or loan for consumption).

If the loan for use, in hoes for example, is granted without interest, the same is not true of the loan for consumption, which involves edible produce. Whoever has received a basket of sorghum or beans must usually return two. The basket of supplementary produce which must be given the lender is called kirenga.

The Guarantee (kuchyungura).

Primus owns a pruning knife which Secundus would like to borrow. Secundus does not know Primus, so he goes to Tertius, a friend of Primus. Tertius tells Primus to lend his pruning knife to Secundus and offers himself as surety if the latter does not return the tool. Tertius may eventually turn against Secundus.

This contract can be made for cows, granaries of sorghum, etc.

Security (ingwate)

Primus wishes to borrow a few baskets of beans from Secundus. But Secundus answers that he cannot give them to him without a guarantee. Primus then offers Secundus a goat, for example (2).

2. A goat is worth three hoes.

When he brings Primus the counterpart of his loan, he takes back the goat.

[81]

437 The Commission (kugerekesha) (1)

1. Kugerekesha, lit., "to add."

Primus goes to market to exchange a hoe for some beans. [Thereafter] Secundus asks him, as remuneration, to take thence one of his (Secondus') goats and exchange it for three hoes, for example.

426 The Deposit (kubitsa)

The deposit of goods not consisting of cattle involves no obligation on the part of the depositor to the depositary who agrees to keep the goods deposited with him.

These contracts are made before notables of the hill who act as witnesses. But most often they are made in front of a rugo being built or a watering trough, places where there are always many people, who in case of a dispute will give their testimony.

If one of the contractors does not meet his agreement (2)

2. In the case of absolute necessity, for example a famine or an invasion of grasshoppers, a provisional release from the obligation is allowed if the question is one of furnishing produce, sorghum or beans.

or is dishonest, the tribunal of the hill chief, on complaint of the injured party, would force him to discharge (3) his debt (4).

3. Kwishyuza, "to claim payment"; kwishyura, "to pay."

4. Umwenda, "material."

The creditor has the option of taking a pledge, a goat for example, to oblige the debtor to pay.

If the latter cannot pay, he is condemned to work to indemnify the plaintif, usually two days out of five (5); but he can be replaced

5. Cf. p. 29, note 1.

426 by his son, his daughter, or his daughter-in-law, and possibly an umugaragu. In the past, if a debtor fled in order to avoid his obligations, the creditor had the right to seize his cattle, [82] his banana plantations, and even his hut. However, in this case, the children could keep their father's property on the condition of agreeing to work for the creditor until the debt was fully paid.

Sometimes a patron pays for his client if the latter has only a storehouse of provisions and if he needs the help of his family to work for his shebuja. If the umugaragu dies, his son takes his place. The obligation thus passes to the descendants until it is fulfilled.

On the other hand, the creditor's brother or son can act in the place of their relatives (1).

1. Laws of the Family and of the Clan, p. 8.

574 Hospitality.

The duty of hospitality is sacred to the Banyarwanda. Even a Mututsi will never refuse a Muhutu either ichumbi (lodging) or izimano (wood, water, and food). A proverb says; "Uwubaka wese yubakira abu Mwami (2), and whoever did not grant food and lodging

2. "Whoever builds (a house) does it for the people of the Mwami," which means that his house must be open to all the king's subjects.

to a traveler would be given the name of umugome (bad); he would be Uwanga Umwami (an epemy of the Mwami).

Civil responsibility.

672 Civil responsibility does not exist. The parents themselves however, repair any damage done by their children.

SECTION V. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

1. Nationality

563 The Munyarwanda people include the Batutsi, the Bahutu, and the Batwa. The Mututsi aristocracy of Hamite origin dominates

1:Vanhove--70A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 82]

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Muhutu type.
(Official Photograph, Colonial Office.)

1:Vanhove--70B G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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Orchestra accompanying the dance of the intore.

The Mwami attending his intore.

(Photos taken by Author)

Dances of the Intore.

(Photos by Borchgraeve.)

1:Vanhove--70C G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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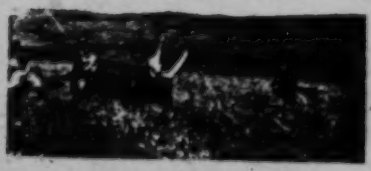
Mututsi prince.

Mutwa in a pantomime scene.

231



Inyambo, accompanied by their guardians, grazing in a Buganza pasture.

The parade of the Inyambo, A Muhutu praising the qualities of the sacred cattle he is guarding.

(All photos taken by Author)

563 the mass of the Bahutu who are Bantus. These devote themselves to agriculture and raise cattle for the benefit of the Batutsi. The [582] pygmoid Batwa are kept at a distance by the Batutsi and the Bahutu and marriage with them is forbidden. They are hunters, blacksmiths, and potters.

173 The legendary tradition of the country explains the origin of these different peoples. Nkuba (lightning), first king of the country, and his wife, Nyagasani, lived in the heavens with their two sons, Kimanuka and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day, having come down from their heavenly abode the three children settled on Mubari Hill in the Urgweya savanna, near Kissaka, and Kimanuka took the name of Kigwa (lit., fallen from the sky). They lived there on the produce of their hunting and are versed in the art of forging spears, pruning knives, and hoes. Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu, and Mututsi went off elsewhere. But when he learned that his brother and sister had had some children, he came back to them and married one of his nieces. The descendants of Kigwa took the name of Abanyiginya; those of Mututsi were called Abega. They sold weapons and farming tools and thus became very rich.

They continued to live on Mubari Hill until the time when Gihanga (the creator), twelfth king [84] of the dynasty, began to overrun the whole country in order to dispose of the products of his family's forges. This Mwami "traveling salesman" was the first to exercise supreme authority effectively and was much loved by all his people, who considered him as a half-god after his death.

Gatutsi received many cows from his father Gihanga. His brother Gahutu, however, did not get any from the father because there was not enough cattle for him. Thus he was obliged to become Gatutsi's servant. Gatwa, third son of Gihanga, killed Gatutsi. The weight of this crime has fallen on the Batwa descendants of Gatwa. Gihanga had still other sons: Nyakarundi, ancestor of the Barundi; Kanyabongo, father of the Banyabongo [Banjabungu?] people, who are now strangers to the Banyarwanda; finally Gahima, the first of the Bahima, inhabitants of Ndorwa, whom the Batutsi consider as their own people.

563 Whereas the Batutsi of Ruanda today consider their brothers from Rutshuru (Kivu) as Bahutu, they look upon the Batutsi of Urundi as their equals. On the other hand, the Bahutu of Urundi, by means

1: Vaghove--71A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 83]

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Batutsi of northern Ruanda. Their less pure type results from marriages with Bahutu women.

(Official photo, Colonial Office.)

563 of the ubugaragu contract, can be integrated into the Ruanda society (1). But if a Mututsi of Urundi settles in Ruanda with his

1. There are also Banyarwanda Bahutu who go and settle in Urundi.

abagaragu, although he is the equal of the Batutsi of that country, he and his household are nevertheless considered as foreigners (2).

[166]

2. These migrations are caused by the desire to escape personal vengeance following the accusation of murder, a sentence of banishment pronounced by the king of Urundi, or difficulties encountered by a client in his relations with his patron.

727 567 In the past, at the time of the wars, the vanquished who were taken prisoner were killed, while the women and the boys and girls were carried off to slavery. A Mututsi could [85] even marry a woman prisoner if she were of noble origin; the children held their father's status. But as a rule he gave her in marriage to one of his clients; the children of such a marriage continued to belong to the master's household, but their descendants were free and thus became Banyarwanda.

567 A slave might even marry a Mututsi woman. It was thus that the Mwami Rwabugiri, who had captured a young man called Rusera Muhima, later gave him his own daughter in marriage and made him a present of the subdistrict of Rugarama in Bunyambiriri.

2. Royal Power

643 173 The Mwami (king) has supreme authority in Ruanda. We have seen that all the traditions ascribe a divine origin to his power. The annalists of the Royal Court (abatshurabgenge) attribute to the present Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa, thirty-nine ancestors who, with the exception of the first, Nkuba, who remained in heaven, have all ruled over Ruanda (1).

1. Many names have certainly been omitted from this list. Assuming that

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it is correct, the domination of the Batutsi over Ruanda would go back nearly four centuries.

[565] 643 The Abanyiginya and the Abega are the most influential noble families of the country, and kings and queens have been chosen from among them since the earliest times.

[551] The kings of Ruanda have two names, that given them at birth (Musinga, Rudahigwa) and that given them on their accession (Yuhi, Mutara).

When the Mwami dies royal power passes to one of his sons, generally to one of the youngest.

The divine origin attributed to royalty and the legitimacy conferred on the king by a very long heredity led to the [86] acknowledgment of a third characteristic of royal power, that is to say, autocracy.

[423] The Mwami is the undisputed master of the whole country, of the land (fields and pastures), of the cattle, as well as of the people. He is the only real proprietor, all those on whom he bestows his generosity being merely his life tenants.

643 425 He does not necessarily own the land which he cultivates himself, and he does not need to, since his revenues are enriched by the tributes and payments owed to him by each of his subjects. When he is young he receives in appanage from the king, his father, one or several provinces, as well as cattle, and servants. On his accession he may keep all these provinces or give them to others (1).

1. Mutara Rudahigwa has kept his provinces of Nduga and Marangara but has shifted the responsibility of their administration to an umutware.

His favors may be bestowed to anybody, to a Muhutu and even to a Mutwa, whom he can raise immediately to the highest rank. Formerly, even in Musinga's time, those who had ceased to please the Mwami, or simply those whose property he coveted, could be dispossessed any day regardless of their high positions, all influence taken from them, and they themselves exiled from the country. Today, if the Mwami wishes to occupy a certain hill, he asks one

643 of his great chiefs to cede it to him. The latter yields with good
[425] grace and usually receives some cattle in exchange.

The Mwami is an absolute monarch by divine right who
643 661 692 knows no other rule but his will, even his caprice. (2) In the past,

2. Hence the proverb: Luyose higirwa n'Unwami, "all depends on the King."

before our occupation, he could with impunity torture, mutilate, or kill anyone who had displeased him. His criminal sentences conformed to the customs of the country, which acknowledged this [87] formidable right, and no one thought of rebelling against his decisions (1).

[177] 1. The Mwami's right of life and death was abolished in 1917 at the time of the occupation of the country by our troops.

In the same way he is high judge and makes the final settlement in disputes, even the slightest, among his subjects.

Finally, the king is the supreme legislator of the people. With the help of the abiru, he sees that the common law is kept, but he has the sole power of modifying the country's law if and whatever he wishes.

643 He announces his decisions (amategeko) at the door of his rugo,
[692] where people from all parts have congregated to pay homage or demand justice. The intumwa (messengers) are then charged to make known the Mwami's orders to the people of the different provinces.

643 In addition to his Mututsi name (Musinga, Rudahigwa, etc.),
551 the Mwami receives on his accession a king's name (Yuhi, Mutara, etc.). These names are repeated periodically; thus the present Mwami is Mutara III.

The king is sometimes given a surname such as Rwabugiri Sezisoni (Merciful, Clement) (2).

[192] 2. Foreign word originating in Buhima, east of Ruanda.

643 Often an interdiction is attached to a king's name: a Yuhi,
[551] for instance, may not cross great rivers like the Nyabarongo (3).

3. River flowing into the Akanyaru which forms the boundary between Ruanda and Urundi.

[775] After his death the king becomes a sort of divinity for the people. He has gone to Hades to join the demigods, his ancestors.
643 The king shares the supreme authority with his mother
644 (umugabekazi) (4). She is all-powerful, often more powerful than

4. The king's wife is called Umwamikazi or simply Muka-Rudahigwa, etc. The present King's wife is called Nyiramakomare.

her son. Whoever pays homage to the king [88] must also do so to his mother. She intervenes in law proceedings and the distribution of land, herds, etc. The king and his mother together are called Abami, The continual presence of the queen mother at her son's
[608] side is essential (1) and if the king loses his mother, he will be given

1. Kankazi, mother of Rudahigwa Mutara, lives on Shyogwa Hill in Marangara. This measure was taken by the Belgian government because, remembering the disastrous role played by Nyirayuhi with Musinga, they wished to prevent the mother of the present King from exercising too great a political influence.

an official mother. The king's mother has a special name, the
[551] same as that of her son, except when the king is called Mutara; that name even the court familiars cannot give her (2). The same honors

2. Yuhi Musinga's mother Kanjogera, bore the royal name of Nyirayuhi. Kankazi, mother of Mutara Rudahigwa, is called Nyiramavugo.

643 are paid the Mwamikazi as to her son, hand clappings repeated
644 three times (gukoma mumashyi). After the death of the Mwami (3),

> 3. Or rather, as the Banyarwanda say, "When he puts on his drum," for it is forbidden to say that the King is dead.

his mother no longer plays any official role.

3. The Sacred Drum

778 The origin of the Kalinga is said to go back to Ruganzu
173 Ndoli. While the latter, who was not yet king, was fighting against the Karagwe (Uganda), the Abakongoro of Kivu attacked Ruanda and killed the Mwami Ndahiro Chyamatara, father of Ndoli.

Returning from war, the latter stopped at Busigi (territory of Biumba), where a rich proprietor called Minyaruka presented a magnificent drum to the glorious victor.

778 The Kalinga is the very symbol of royalty (4). [89] Hung on
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> 4. The Banyarwanda say, Kalinga ibuze nta Mwami (lit., the drum was burned, there is no King). This proverb must not be taken literally for, on the other hand, the people of Ruanda say, Hagum'Umwami ingoma irabazwa, (lit., find the King (important thing), the drum (unimportant thing is only wood). [89]

its stretched cords are the ibikondo, virile attributes of the principal enemies vanquished and killed by the kings of Ruanda. It is also
[787] regularly sprinkled with the blood of victims sacrificed on occasions for auguries. Truly royal honors are given to the Kalinga; it is not made to resound but the other drums sound in its honor (1). It is

> 1. Kulamutza, "to salute (the king)." The drums are beaten every morning when the king leaves his apartments to begin his day as a public person.

778 643 placed in the hut called rwimiringa (lit., house of copper objects (2),

2. Kalinga means "royal drum"; Karinga means "small copper object."

[727] built inside the king's boma, where the war trophies are kept. The Kalinga is guarded night and day, for it is the emblem of the grandeur of the kings of Ruanda.

4. The Court of the Mwami

644 At Nyanza, the royal residence (ibgami), flocks of people of every rank come to attend court or to inform the Mwami of the affairs of their region: Bahutu or even Batwa villagers hoping to obtain some benefit from the Mwami or his mother, dignitaries of various ranks and functions, and servants of both sexes (3).

[114]

3. These duties and functions have been minutely described by the Rev. Father Pages in his fine book, Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique [A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa] (ed. I.R.C.B. [Institut Royal Colonial Belge], Brussels, 1933). This work constitutes a veritable and priceless monument for the knowledge of Ruanda and its people. We cannot do better than suggest that the reader refer to it for everything concerning the organization of the Royal Court.

5. The Council of Ministers

645 787 In serious circumstances, such as war or famine, the Mwami is obliged to convene the great chiefs (abatware b'intebe) in council (inima). The soothsayers (abapfuma) then consult the oracles and

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787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90] 6. The Intore

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861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

644
292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and
[535] others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

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173 [91] Legendary tradition attributes to Nyiraruchyaba, daughter of Gihanga, the introduction of cattle into Ruanda. One day when she went to cut wood, she noticed whitish patches on the ground. Being very thirsty and not finding any water nearby, she took her drinking-straw and drank the white liquid. Finding this drink delicious, she wished to know whence it came. She went into the forest and came upon a horned animal that was losing through its udder a liquid identical to that she had just drunk. In the meantime as Gihanga had fallen seriously ill, she brought him some of the white liquid. The patient drank it and recovered quickly. He asked his daughter where the medicine had come from and she brought him the animal. The cow was called ingizi (from kugira neza, to heal well). Since that time the Banyarwanda have had a great veneration for horned cattle.

232 Along with ordinary cattle (inkuku) the Mwami owns herds of scrupulously selected cows which, without being precisely the object of a cult as in ancient Egypt, are treated with particular care and are in the foreground at all festivals. These are the Inyambo (1).

1. The word Inyambo designates an animal, a herd, or all the herds together.

The origin of the Inyambo goes back to the Mwami Yuhi Mazimpaka. This king chose fine long-legged cows with long horns and a shiny dark brown coat (ibihogo) and mated them with a young and vigorous bull. The selected herd was kept apart in the province of Rukōma near the Nyabarongo River. These cows multiplied and from them the best ones continually selected. Under the preceding Mwami, Yuhi Musinga, the Inyambo were divided into two herds, one called agakanda and the other indoha. Musinga [92] added a third and called them respectively Inyuba hilo (the ones to be respected) or herd of Gihanga; Inshya (the new ones) or herd of Kigeri Ndabarasa which contained a remarkable bull called Rushya; and finally Ingabe (the dominating ones) or herd of Kigeri Rwabugiri.

The three herds combined were called Insanga. At the full moon in June they were led in procession to the Mwami amidst dancing and joyful cries (gukura gichurasi, lit., to carry off the month of May) (1).

S 821 1. The month of May, during which according to tradition Mwami Gihanga died.

821 was considered a time of mourning. It was forbidden to get married at that time.

232 At all times a bull called Rusanga and five cows of each of the three Insanga herds were kept in a special enclosure inside Musinga's boma, and the king would often come and stroke them and speak to them affectionately.

The Inyambo now live in the province of Buganza, a country of fine pastures and gently undulating hills; being delicate animals they cannot stand the high altitude climate. The Mwami hands over his herds to the umutware w'intebe who in turn entrusts them to a hill chief or to the common Batutsi, although without position of authority, they are of nobler origin than some chiefs and are therefore particularly qualified to care for this choice cattle.

The Inyambo are large, long-legged animals with a less well developed dewlap than ordinary cattle, a deeper chest, long flanks, and an angular, thin, and dry rump. The enormously long horns often attain a length of 1.75 meters. They are in the shape of a lyre or crescent; the width between the tips may be 2 or more meters. [93] The coat is bright russet (igaju) or cheese-colored (igitare), but mostly dark brown (ibihogo).

The Inyambo go back into the kraal every evening and are always bedded down, which is rarely done for ordinary cattle, even by wealthy owners.

234 They are not milked like ordinary cows. Only sufficient milk for their Bahutu guardians is taken daily. If they have a calf, their milk is reserved for the young animal. The offspring of the Inyambo is automatically an inyambo. Even the offspring of ordinary cows may become inyambo.

232 If in a herd of inkuku there is a heifer whose characteristics are similar to those of the Inyambo, the Banyarwanda mate this heifer with an inyambo bull. The calf born of this first union is called imilizo. If the breeders judge that the inyambo qualities are to be found in this animal, it is also mated with an inyambo bull, and the offspring is considered worthy to enter the Inyambo herd.

The inyambo cows are never slaughtered or sold for any reason, such as malformation or sterility; they all die of illness or old age. The males fare differently. When they are full grown

232 the best are kept for reproduction, but the others are sold, killed, or placed in ordinary herds. The meat of slaughtered bulls and that of dead cows is eaten or sold by the guardians.

Castration does not exist; it is even forbidden by customary law.

527 231 The Inyambo are led to the Mwami at festival time and at public rejoicings. They are escorted by the Mututsi, with whom they are boarded, and by [94] their guardians. For the occasion, the finest animal (inyamibwa) wears on its forehead an ornament of beads (amaraba), at the base of each of its horns three strings of beads (amashyongoshyo), and on the tips, tufts of banana fiber (amakamba); a strap covered with black and red beads goes round its neck; finally tufts of palm fiber called ubuhivu are fastened to the end of its tail. Six cows wear an ornament of white beads (inigi) between their horns and necks. Two others have two inigi and a bead collar longer than the inigi called imiheja. Finally the rest of the Inyambo simply have a tuft of fibers on their tails.

When they arrive at Nyanza, the Inyambo file before the Mwami while their escorts utter joyful cries (urwamu), wave sticks (guchyar'inka, lit., to make the cattle go in), and praise the good qualities of the Inyambo. Then they line the Inyambo up (kumulika Inyambo, lit., to show off the Inyambo) and renew their praises.

The intore pages then group themselves and dance in front of the herd (kwinikiza). The festival ends with libations of banana beer offered by the Mwami to all who have participated in the presentation of the Inyambo. If the Mwami is satisfied with the treatment of the Inyambo, he gives some ingororano to the chief of the province in which the herd is living and also to the chief's people.

8. Death of the King

643 763 When the Mwami feels his end is approaching, he calls to his side his stewards (abanyagikari), notables (abatoni) of whom he is particularly fond, and some guardians of the customs (abiru). He tells them his last wishes and reminds them of the name of the successor he has chosen. [95]

766 When the king is dead, the abiru shave their heads, take off their bracelets, and put on a garment of sycamore bark. Then they choose eight Batutsi or Bahutu belonging to the families of the Abatsobe, the Abagunga, or the Abanyargona, who are in charge of the funeral (abanyamugogo, lit., man with the great log). The corpse is dressed as when the person was alive, rolled in a mat, and placed in an ingobyi (1) resting on a raised hurdle (urutara) set up in

1. Long, boat-shaped basket in which people of high quality are carried.

one of the huts of the royal boma (2).

2. In the past, on the death of the king, two noble Batutsi had their throats cut. This was called gusegurir Umwami (lit., to make the king's pillow). When the Umugabekazi died, two great Batutsi ladies were similarly killed.

For eight days the watchers keep a great fire burning under the hurdle in order to cure the corpse. To speed up the operation the corpse is turned over morning and evening, and to prevent the skin from splitting, the watchers anoint it with butter from time to time.

At dawn of the ninth day, the body is lifted by the watchers, accompanied by a few abiru, and hidden during the day in the rugo of a Munyarwanda. At nightfall, the small group sets out again. Traveling only at night, the funeral procession arrives at Rutare Hill, near Lake Mohasi, the end of the journey. The owner of each rugo, where the bearers have spent the day with the corpse, must drink the gihango (3), the absorption of which will inevitably kill him if he

278 3. This gihango is different from the one in question in the blood pact, p. 13. It is a muddy drink in which medicinal herbs are mashed and mixed with wood ash and ash from the powder of the horn of a bull that has killed another bull. The Banyarwanda

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believe that this potion will kill whoever does not speak the truth or reveals a state secret (cf. also Procedure, pp. 104 and 105).

766 dared reveal what he had seen.

The summit of Rutarè Hill is crowned with trees, [96] the remains of an ancient forest. The cemetery of the kings and queens can be found there. The abanyamugogo build a hut there, dig a grave, and bury the king and his weapons in it. The hut is closed with beams and surrounded by a thorny enclosure to keep wild ani-
[767] mals out. Quite near-by, the watchers build themselves dwellings where they live for two years and are fed during this time by the people of the neighborhood. Then they return home after going through Nyanza where they are showered with gifts. But the Mwami may not see them for he would die during the year if he caught sight of those who have watched over and carried his father's body. For the same reason the abiru who have accompanied them to Rutare may never return to the court of Nyanza. The belief also exists that from
[825] the right shoulder of the dead Mwami there issues a worm (urunyo) which, if placed in a pitcher of milk, will grow and become a leopard that kills only those who are wicked and unjust.

When the Mwami dies all work stops for eight days. For two months the bulls are removed from the herds and the king's children may not have any marital relations. Although they are under no obligation to do so, the Banyarwanda behave in the same way.

The death of the Umugabekazi [king's mother] calls for the same ceremonies and the same interdictions, but they are somewhat simplified.

9. Succession to the Throne

643 The king of Ruanda always belongs to the family of the
[644] Abanyiginya. His wives (1) are mostly chosen from the clans of the

[644]

1. The king may have four legitimate wives whose children are the only ones who, in theory, can succeed him; he can have as many concubines as he wishes.

Abega and the Abakono.

643 Sometimes the reigning sovereign can openly designate [97] even one of his youngest sons as heir. This happens when the soothsayers recognize him as being a "magic" king, with the mission of overcoming, for example, an epidemic (Umwami w'imitsindo). Thus Rwabugiri conferred power on his eldest son Rutalindwa, who took the name of Mibambwe, only for the duration of Musinga's minority.

Usually the name of the king's successor is secretly indicated by the king to the abiru, who then proclaim the one chosen.

669 As the law of primogeniture does not exist, palace revolu-
643 tions frequently occur on the death of kings. There are disputes between royal wives who have male children, especially when the wives belong to powerful families, in order to raise themselves and their sons to supreme power and to be able to bestow on members of their family high positions, land, and herds. It was this kind of revolution that, soon after the death of Rwabugiri, overthrew Mibamwe and gave Ruanda to Musinga and his mother Kanjogera.

10. Accession of the King

643 Two days after the death of the Mwami, his successor is proclaimed king by the guardians of the customs. After two months of mourning, all the great and small chiefs and their abagaragu go to Nyanza. The Inyambo are also brought there. For two days the most unbridled joy is given free rein amidst drinking, dancing, and games. The new king shows himself to the people in formal garments, his forehead bound with a crown composed of strings of white beads (ikamba or igisingo) falling over his face, and he receives from his subjects, as a gift of accession, some indabukirano. Then the people go back to their homes and the new reign begins.

643 If the son of the deceased is too young to actually reign
644 [98], the mother and usually the maternal uncles of the young prince act as regents (1). Similarly the Umugabekazi participates in the

1. We should point out however that Ruganzu Bwimba, before setting out on an expedition against the people of

644
643

Gissaka, a war in which he was killed, had designated as regent of his son Kyilima Rugwe, an Umunyginya called Chyenge, and not one of his brothers-in-law.

meetings of the Council of Ministers until her son is about fifteen years old, an age at which he can exercise supreme authority. Formerly, the Mwami's maternal uncles, taking advantage of his youth and their own privileged position, would often have recourse to violence and trickery in order to increase their provinces and their herds.

11. Political Divisions

631 The characteristic traits of feudalism are found in Ruanda. The dispersion of authority and property and the Mwami's bestowing on his subjects benefits and commands that are always revocable, result in great uncertainty for everyone and permit the king to establish his domination firmly over the country.

635 Ruanda is divided into provinces (intara) placed under the
631 command of a single chief (umutware w'intebe) (2). There are

2. Intebe, stool-seat.

exceptions to this rule. In Bgishaza, for example, two different chiefs are placed under the orders of the umutware w'intebe, the umutware w'ubutaka who exerts his authority over the lands and the Bahutu, and the umutware w'umukenke who governs the pastures, the herds, and the Batutsi. The abatware are appointed by the Mwami. They do not necessarily belong to the first families of the country. An average Mututsi or even a Muhutu may become a chief, thanks to royal favor that rewards his intelligence and devotion. [99]

635 In the past, at the time of the wars, the Mwami's abapfumu
701 chose from among the abatware w'intebe the umugabe w'ingabo (chief of the army). When peace was concluded, the latter remained what he had been before.

631 There are abatware who personally own hills in other prov-
635 inces (1).

1. Since 1924, aiming to unify the commands of the provincial chiefs, the government has endeavored to persuade the abatware to exchange hills.

634 The abatchibiri, who own only a part of a province, are also directly subordinate to the Mwami, who has given them their lands.

622 The ibisonga are placed at the head of one or more hills.
562 They are the supervisors of the abatware and the abachibiri, on whom
624 they also spy for the Mwami. Women can be ibisonga. For example, they can be the Mwami's abaja (mistress-servants) who, as a reward for the bestowal of their favors, are given a hill. But the most frequent case is that of a widow of an igisonga [sic] without any male children who, while attending the king, obtains permission to continue to manage the hill held by her husband (2). Each hill chief has

2. An example would be Nyiraigweni, widow of Nyantabana, a great provincial chief, replaced today by Rwabutogo who commands the district of Buganza in the territory of Nyanza.

under him a factotum called umuhingisha who designates and marks the boundaries of the fields, for which the Bahutu have asked the chief, and who may even settle the palavers in the absence of the igisonga. The umunyabigega is hierarchically subordinate to the former igisonga. He is the steward of the granaries (ibigega) of the chief whose cultivated fields he supervises.

631 The abanyabikingi command only a portion, a spur of a hill.
622 Appointed directly by the Mwami, they act as supervisors, and even as spies of the ibisonga for the king. [100]

12. Succession of Command

635 Like the royal office, the position of provincial chief is hereditary. It is assigned by the chief to one of his sons whom he considers most worthy to succeed him. It may happen that he may at the same time become chief of the clan, but it is not always so (1), for the family and the clan are social entities that are distinct

1. Cf. the example quoted in Personal Status, The Head of the Family and of the Clan, p. 6.

from political units.

The new chief must come and announce his father's death to the Mwami, bringing him a yo kubika cow, (lit., which announces death). On the other hand, he receives some indabukirano from his people and his friends.

622 The chiefs other than the abatware are appointed by the latter and confirmed in their functions by the Mwami.

13. Taxes and Forced Labor

651 Along with the civil obligations derived from the ubugaragu
466 contract, there are others due to the chiefs as such.

A. Obligations Due to the Hill Chief.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu of the igisonga must bring the latter once a year a large basket of sorghum (urutete) and a small basket of beans (ipfukire). Formerly, they were also required to cultivate the chief's fields (ubuletwa or uruharo) (2), to build and main-

2. In 1924 this custom was modified by the authorities in order to improve the lot of the Muhutu, who now give only two days of work out of seven.

tain each a part of the chief's rugo (kubak'inkike), and to act as messenger (gutumwa). Finally, the igisonga keeps a group of five

466 [101] men (intizo) for his personal needs and puts the remainder at
651 the disposal of the provincial chief, who uses them either for building or repairing ingo belonging to the Mwami or his family, or else for work on the roads, etc.

The forced labor of kubak'inkike and gutumwa falls also on the simple Batutsi who are not the chief's clients (1).

1. The Batutsi obviously unload these obligations on their servants or their clients.

The chief's Bahutu and Batutsi abagaragu do not owe the ubuletwa. They are called ibyanga mibyizi (lit., those who refuse work). But they must bring the urutete and the ipfukire. In addition, the forced labor of kubak'inkike and of gutumwa falls on them also(2)

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

by virtue of the ubugaragu contract.

All the Bahutu must in turn watch each night in the igisonga's rugo (okulalira) and provide the necessary wood for heat and cooking.

B. Obligations Due to the Provincial Chiefs and the Abachibiri.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu owe them the urutete, the ipfukire, and also the ubuletwa for every two days out of seven. When the performance of this last obligation is difficult or even impossible because of the distance, the Bahutu replace it by bringing the produce of their cultivations (sorghum, peas, beans, Eleusine, and cush-cush). This tax is called ibihunikwa (lit., that which is put in the granary).

The Bahutu clients are only subject to the uretete and the ipfukire.

651 The ordinary Batutsi have the obligations of kubak'inkike, gutumwa, and kubyukurutsa, that is to say, of giving cows called imbyukuruke (2)

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

651 [102] Those who are abagaragu, unless they have a dispensation, must bring to the chief the uretete and the ipfukire.

The ibisonga [sic] are charged with the collection, in each umulyango, of the taxes in kind due respectively to the abatware and the abachibiri.

The inhabitants of Nduga and Marangara, provinces that are the appanage of the present-day Mwami, owe him and him alone, the tax because he is chief of the province.

C. Obligations Due the Mwami.

These obligations have the generic name of ikoro ry'Umwami.

The Bahutu have to bring the king the ikoro ry'ubutaka (lit., land tax), including the urutete and the ipfukire, on which the chiefs collect a tithe (umusogongero). Those who are his direct clients are subject to, in addition [to the above], either the ubuletwa or the ibihunikwa.

The Batutsi are subject to the kubak'inkike, the gutumwa, and the kubyukurutsa. Those who are the Mwami's abagaragu must in addition, unless they are exempt, provide the urutete and ipfukire. The taxes in kind intended for the Mwami are collected by the chiefs from the people under their administration.

The provincial chiefs have the obligation to live at Nyanza for some time in order to attend the court there, and the king is apt to keep them waiting sometimes for several months before dismissing those with whom he is displeased. They are also obliged to bring cattle to the Mwami, particularly some inkuke (1), one indwanyi (2), one ibiniha (3), and some intorwa (4).

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 42.

2. Cf. idem, p. 43.

3. Cf. idem, p. 43.

4. Cf. idem, p. 43.

651 The king also has the right to a certain percentage of the heads of game (gusogongera). In the past the Mwami also collected a certain number of cows [103] (iminyago) out of those acquired during wartime raids.

Some of the natives are subject only to the ingabo. This is the case of the artisans, hunters, and farmers who provide the king and the Court with bows, arrows, pruning knives, mats, skins, drums, honey, hydromel, etc.

The Batwa are subject to no actual fiscal obligation to the king and chiefs. Potters must only furnish pots and pitchers to the court and provide the Mwami, his wife, and the Umugabekazi with ingobyi. They are also the executors of the king's great undertakings. The hunters' payments consist of ivory, skins, and fragrant wood.

687 Punitive sanctions are provided in the case of nonexecution of these obligations. The hill and provincial chiefs as well as the king have the Bahutu cudgeled and take the cows away from the Batutsi. In the past, the Mwami would even sometimes have the Batwa executioners cut off the ears (kubiha) of the Bahutu who are delinquent in tax payment.

651. 486 A toll (ihoro) is paid by those who cross any water. To cross a larger river such as the Nyawarongo, the tax is paid to the provincial chief who refunds some of it to the boatmen.

Merchants must also pay a toll to the chief whose territory they cross. [104]

14. Secret Societies

575 563 668 The sect known as the Nyabingi (or Biheko) has its origin in the name of the Queen of Ndorwa who was killed by the warriors of Mwami Rwabugiri, resulting in a marked hostility to the Batutsi and the royal authority on the part of the Queen's descendants. Also, these people have become Bahutu by their marriages with commoners. These are sufficient reasons for the "Baheko" [sic] to be considered rescuers by the Bahutu, especially in the north of Ruanda where the resistance, if not the hostility, to the Batutsi and their administration is much stronger than in the rest of the country.

From Ndorwa where it originated, the sect spread out to Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi, and even to Buganza and Bwanachyambwe.

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is
565 called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

[72] the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
[56] same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

[70] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
[54] able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[79] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

[72] In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugerero) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
[78] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
[72] Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

[72] The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

1: Vanhove--92A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 106]

681

Impaled cattle thief.
(Official photo, Colonial Office.)

727 divided among the Banyarwanda warriors, who had to remit part of it to the Mwami (iminyago).

The king then reassembled his council and announced the end of the war.

[107] SECTION VI. JUSTICE

CHAPTER I. PENAL LAW

685 1. Theft (1) of Provisions and Small Livestock

1. Theft is called ubujura or ubgibyi. The word umujura designates the thief in general. The umushimusi is the cattle thief and the igisambo is the robber of provisions, tools, etc.

a) Thief Caught in the Act (flagrante delicto) (muchyuho).

Whoever found a thief in his rugo could, in the recent past, kill him with impunity, but if the victim of the theft did not succeed in giving the thief the unexpected mortal blow, and the antagonists got to fighting, the thief had to be brought before the [694] hill chief. Today the hill chief has the presumed culprit apprehended by some of his men, who bind him and lock him up until he is brought before the tribunal. However, the relatives or shebuja of the thief can offer a present (inchamugozi, lit., which cuts the cord) to the chief so that he may be unbound. At the tribunal they offer to pay the robbed man the ingurano (from kugura, to buy back), an indemnity which is not necessarily of the same nature as the object of the theft; for instance, hoes can be handed over for a basket of sorghum that has been stolen. The robbed man claims in addition the inchachyuho (2) for the violation of his

2. Lit., "the one (the cow) that cuts, delivers (the thief) for the break (into the rugo)."

1:Vanhove--93A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 107]

291
695
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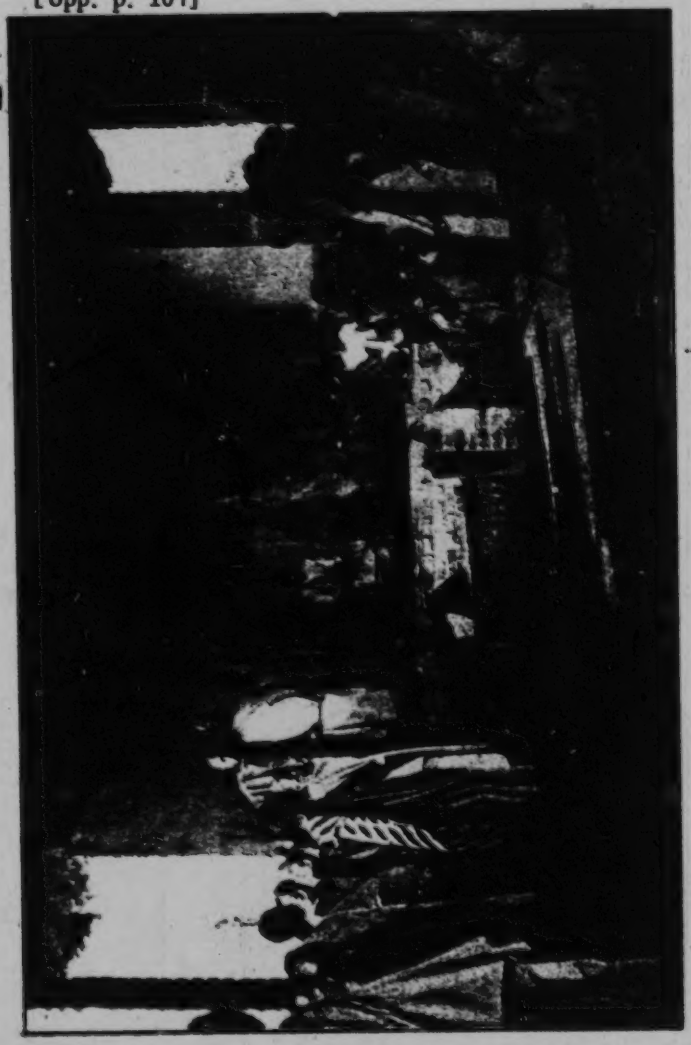

One of the many native tribunals instituted since the Belgian occupation.

(Official photograph, Colonial Office)

685 property right; it usually consists of a hoe. [108] If the thief is poor, a rich man may indemnify the victim of the theft, but in exchange he requires [from the thief] payments in the form of work.

In the past, if no intervention was made in his favor, the thief became the slave of the robbed man (umugaramu, the one who is bought back) for a certain period of time. However, he was well treated by the master and could even, when liberated, become his client.

b) Thief Not Caught in the Act.

685 694 In this case the robbed man has a discreet investigation made by a person who will not arouse suspicion. As soon as the investigator has gathered some information, he notifies the victim of the theft. The latter, with the help of his relatives or friends, goes and takes back his property and even something more; or else he arrests the thief or notifies the chief who has the thief apprehended. The man who was robbed must furnish the chief with proof of the crime (igihanga, lit., the head). Even if the robbed man has been paid back, the thief must pay him the umunani, representing eight times the value of the theft. Until the payment of this indemnity is complete, the thief remains in chains and is even beaten, unless he gives the inchamugozi. In addition to the imunani [sic] he is required to pay the inchachyuho.

685 The highway robber (umwambuzi) is sentenced to corporal punishment and to return what he has taken.

If the Mututsi, by any remote chance, stole provisions or small livestock, he would be given the usual punishments, and an even worse penalty, banishment from Mututsi society, for this theft would degrade and return him to the rank of Bahutu.

The umugambanyi (informer, traitor) does not steal himself, but sends some abajura (thieves) to commit [109] the crime. The ichyitso is one who gives the thieves necessary information. The umugambanyi is deprived of his property and bound and beaten until he has paid the umunani [sic]; then he is driven from the hill, and his rugo destroyed or given to another man. The punishment of the ichyitso is the same except that he is not held to the payment of the umumani.

685 Whoever has received stolen goods (1) is punished like the

1. The receiver is not designated by a special word. To receive stolen goods is called guhishira, "to hide in favor of someone."

thief. Whoever has hidden a thief from the searchers but can prove he did not participate in the theft is merely bound and cudgeled without further punishment.

2. Theft of Heavy Cattle

Today, the robbed man who catches the robber in flagrante delicto is no longer allowed to kill him. Whether flagrante delicto or no, only the provincial tribunal is competent to deal with the affair. As concerns the punishments, there are several possibilities.

Whoever has taken possession of one or several heads of cattle must return what he has stolen. In addition he is required to present to the tribunal eight animals (umunani) among which the man who has been robbed can choose a y'ichyuho cow, because the thief has entered his boma without his permission. Finally, he must give the man he has robbed an inguramaboko cow (lit., which releases arms that are bound) in order to purchase his freedom.

If the thief has slaughtered or sold the cattle, he must bring the umunani so that the robbed man may chose as many animals as have been stolen. In addition, the thief is obliged to give a y'ichyuho and an inguramaboko cow. The man who has been robbed must give the tribunal proof of the theft (igihanga). If, for example, the thief has slaughtered an animal, [110] the victim of the theft must show the horns of the animal that has been killed.

If the thief does not own any other animals except those he has stolen, his family pays the ichyuho and the inguramaboko. If the family owns no cattle or refuses to give any, the thief's hill chief or shebuja pays for him, but then the thief must redeem himself by working for the chief who has intervened in his favor.

685 If no one agrees to pay for the thief, the latter is led before the Mwami who asks one of the notables who is present to redeem him, in consideration of which the thief discharges his debt by working for this chief.

The Mututsi who steals a head of cattle is sentenced to ordinary punishments. During Mwami Rwabugiri's time, the thief might even have been condemned to death.

The receiver of stolen cattle is punished like the thief; sometimes he may also be deprived of his entire herd.

The obligation provided by customary law to restore what is stolen and in addition to pay the y'ichyuho and the inguramaboko is intended not only to repair the damage done, but also to severely punish the delinguent in order to inspire a salutary fear in him.

In the past, a chief might frequently have raided entire herds. He could be sentenced by the Mwami to return what he had taken and in addition to give to the man he had robbed several heads of cattle. The thief was also sometimes dispossessed of all his property. Unfortunately if the thief was a relative or friend of the Mwami, the theft often remained unpunished.

Formerly, one who stole a cow belonging to the Mwami's inyambo herds was condemned to be impaled.

Similarly, a cattle thief caught for the third time lost not only all that he possessed but was often condemned to death.

[111] 3. Fires

An incendiary (utwika) after being well beaten must restore the value of what he has destroyed; rugo, objects, provisions, etc. Otherwise he is dispossessed of his own rugo and all its contents for the benefit of the victim of the fire. If the fire is unintentional its author is only condemned to pay damages.

4. Blows and Wounds

683 If the blows administered result in wounds, the assaulter is condemned only to a fine (ichyiru), the amount of which varies with the rank of the victim. Thus an ordinary Muhutu messenger or an umugaragu of the Mwami may receive a whole herd. Usually if a

683 Muhutu has been wounded he receives the indwaza (lit., who cares for) indemnity consisting of one or two goats. If the author of the blows is a Mututsi, he must lend a cow to the Muhutu so that he can have its milk for as long as there is any; the Muhutu gets the full ownership of a bull calf when he returns the cow.

5. Murder

682 Murder cases were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Mwami at the time when he had the right of life and death over his subjects (1).

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Royal Power, p. 74, note 1.

682 696 628 If the murderer (gatozi) and his victim belonged to the same social class, the king ordered the exercise of private vengeance (guhora, to avenge; kwikorera, to avenge one's self), which resulted in endless conflicts between families and clans. The Mwami, however, could throw on the murderer, the full responsibility of his deed, and the relatives of the victim could not then resort to the "vendetta."

682 [112] If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two deaths were exacted.

On the other hand, if a Muhutu had been killed by a Mututsi, recourse to direct vengeance was impossible, but the Mwami could turn over a member of the Mututsi's family to the victim's relatives and have him killed. However, if a fairly important Mututsi killed a Muhutu, neither he himself nor his property would be affected. This iniquitous ruling did not rouse the natives' indignations because it conformed with the law of the land and they therefore submitted to it.

The right of pardon did not exist. However, the king could stop the vengeance (gucha inzigo, lit., to cut the vengeance) and offer compensation (wergild) to the family of the dead man; this was when the latter was a Muhutu, as the Batutsi accepted only blood atonement. For the king to agree to recognize the benefit of the compensation to the victim's family, the dead man had

682 obviously to be an important person, such as an umugaragu of the Mwami. In carrying out the sentence, the murderer had to give the victim's parents many heads of cattle, thirty or sometimes even more.

If a person lost his life in a fire started by a malicious person, the guilty party (or one of his family) was punished by having his head cut off by a member of the victim's family.

689 The abalozi (sorcerers) accused of having caused the death of a man by their evil spells were also punished by the death penalty.

696 If the murderer took refuge in the rugo of a chief, he found there inviolable sanctuary. It would have been a lack of respect to authority to kill a man at the chief's home and the administrators of justice might have been put to death for doing so. In such a case the chief himself brought the murderer before the Mwami.

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[113] 6. Special Cases

687 Exceptionally serious cases had to be submitted to the Mwami. The crime of lese majesty brought with it, in the recent past, the death penalty to the perpetrator. The Batwa executioners were charged with carrying out the sentence by strangling (guhotora), spearing (gutera inchumu), cudgeling (gukubita inkoni), or killing with an axe (gukubita intorezo). The criminal could also be thrown into a pit located in Bugessera (near Nyanza) after having been strangled (1), or else he was blinded with a hot iron (2).

1. Abanyiginya accused of having plotted against the Mwami were punished in this way.

2. A chief of the neighborhood of Issave called Kayijuka had his eyes burned out for having shown Nyirayuhi, mother of King Musinga, to a missionary. At this time the custom of the country did not allow noble women to be seen by foreigners.

689 Rain makers (abavubyi) proved guilty of imposture (3) were

> 3. In spite of this terrible punishment the rain makers continued to ply their dangerous but lucrative trade.

drowned in Lake Mugessera.

684 Unmarried girls found to be pregnant suffered the same fate.

7. Unintentional Homicide

682 It sometimes happens that a beater or a hunter hidden in thick shrubbery is confused with the game or a wild animal and is killed by an arrow. These accidents are regulated in the following way:

If an arrow, after wounding an animal, kills a man, the shooter's responsibility is not involved.

If an arrow intended for an animal misses its target and kills a man who has indicated his presence, [114] the clumsy shooter is considered a murderer and the right of revenge is granted the victim's family. However, if the murderer can prove that the victim gave no signal, he is relieved of responsibility. He can also plead not guilty before the tribunal of the provincial chief or of the king by pointing out, with the help of witnesses, that because of the cries and many signals set off at the same time, he was unable to distinguish his victim's warning whistle, or that the latter moved after having given the signal agreed upon.

If the plaintiff's statements are accepted, the tribunal declares that the victim has perished by reason of his own imprudence or of an accident for which the killer cannot be held responsible, and the latter is definitely exonerated.

8. Imputability and Responsibility

672 Except in a case where the guilty one and the victim are of different social ranks, the seriousness of the punishment corresponds ne varietur to a determined offense, and attenuating or aggravating

672 circumstances are not taken into account, except in the case of a theft of provisions, when the judge must make sure whether the motive for the crime was hunger or fraudulent intention.

Children who commit an offense are whipped. Insane crimi-
681 nals are shut up and shackled.

682 Striking back is considered legitimate in the case of an unjust attack. In the past, if the aggressor was killed, the individual who had legitimately defended himself asked for the Mwami's intervention to stop reprisals by the family of the author of the criminal attempt. The king then forbade the exercise of private vengeance.

[115] 9. Prescription

681 Prescription of the punishment as well as that of public action is unknown in Ruanda's common law.

CHAPTER II. PROCEDURE (1)

692 1. Today, with the exception of crimes such as the abduction of cattle and private disputes which are in the cognizance of native tribunals, penal cases in which natives are involved are judged by European courts. The Belgian government has maintained, almost entirely, the native judicial organization in civil affairs. (Cf. J. Vanhove, Les Juridictions indigènes au Ruanda [Native Jurisdiction in Ruanda], Revue Congo, July, 1939).

1. The Various Degrees of Jurisdiction

Usually the parties first attempt to settle their dispute amicably before appealing to the jurisdiction of the hill chief (2).

2. Uruja kujya ibgami rubanza mu bagabo, that is to say literally, "the palaver that

692 will go to the king begins between the men (meaning here the arbiters)."

The chief who is judge is always assisted by its abagaragu conversant with the common law of the country, who have the collective name of abachamanza (arbitrating judges). In very delicate matters the case may be postponed to a later date to permit particularly competent abagaragu to handle it. The abachamanza are not necessarily Batutsi; Bahutu may be appointed as assessors and are thus called upon to judge an affair in which a Mututsi is involved.

Cases are brought before the tribunal in two ways:

694 a) When the hill chief (igisonga) or the subchief (umuhingisha) hears that a crime has been committed, [116] he sends a few of his men to arrest the individual who is suspected by public rumor of having committed the offense. The latter, tightly bound, remains shut up in an enclosure open to the winds, located near the chief's house, until the tribunal decides on his fate. During this period of preliminary detention, some of the chief's abagaragu, whether judges or not, question the presumed guilty person and attempt to make him confess his crime (kwindja, lit., to tempt, to solicit).

b) In civil matters the plaintif (umulezi) goes to the chief before whom he squats down, his stick and his spear against his shoulder, claps his hands, and says to the chief: Nimugahorane Imâna! (May God help you!) (implying, to judge my palaver). The defendant (ulegwa) is asked to appear. If after three successive summonses he persists in not appearing, the chief has him called once more. If he still defaults, his adversary has won his case.

695 The tribunal sits on the threshold of the chief's dwelling, where the ibitabo (1) are, or else under the porch in front of the

1. Small, very low festoon-shaped mud walls.

insika (2).

2. A kind of wickerwork screens decorating the base of the pillars supporting the hut's roof.

695 The plaintif's relatives and a crowd of curious onlookers attend the debates.

The defendant, then the plaintif, speak in turn, each of them twice. They can have recourse to an unpaid lawyer, generally a son, a faithful servant, or their shebuja.

The assessors who have questions to ask interrogate the parties. The chief himself is silent. Then, at his command or that of the wisest of the assessors, one of them rises and takes up the palaver again in detail (gusor'imanza, to give the content of the palaver, or better, gusubira mu rubanza, to repeat [in place of] the palaver). At the end of this statement [117] during which there has been complete silence, he pronounces the following words: Kubganjye nyanaka aratsinze! (According to me so and so has won), then he sits down again. Although the tribunal's silence indicates their agreement, the chief asks the assessors to confirm their assent and then pronounces the sentence.

If the members of the tribunal are not unanimous, the chief asks one of the opposing assessors to give again a statement of the case, indicating the reasons for his attitude. The first speaker then answers, supported by those of his colleagues who agree with him. The assessors with a different opinion then answer back, and there follows a lively and often stormy debate in open court. The exchange of talk sometimes becomes such that the chief has to interrupt to call the meeting back to dignified order. At a given moment, having heard all the facts, the chief, who is judge, demands silence, takes over in his turn the affair ab ovo, and after having justified his point of view, says: Koko nyanaka aratsinze! (Truly that one wins!).

The most usual methods of proof are testimony and oath. Only the plaintif is authorized to demand testimony. The witness (1)

1. A woman or child can never act as a witness.

(umugabo), always a single one, can be called in civil and penal affairs. He is questioned after the two parties have spoken. The intervention of a witness is only relatively useful, he is always more or less closely related to the plaintif and the defendant generally objects to him.

695 The oath is administered by the chief to both litigants and the witness before they speak. After planting their spears in the ground, they swear, saying: Nkabeshya iti chumu ndakaritega Mutara! (2) (If I lie, may this spear pierce Mutara!)

2. Instead of pronouncing the name of the reigning king, one often simply says, Ndakariteg'Umwami!

[118] In the past, in the case of a serious theft, assaults and wounds, or suspect illness or death, the accused who persisted in his denial was often tortured or subjected to an ordeal.

A person presumed guilty of a big robbery was tightly bound, then cow's urine was poured into the cuts made by the cords; or else he was deprived of food and beaten till he was crippled, all this without prejudicing the punishment.

695 A man who had been the victim of a big robbery, or whose
787 relative had been attacked by, or died of, a suspicious disease, would go to complain to the chief, accompanied by a Muhutu sorcerer (umushuzi), who would then perform the gushora (divination). The sorcerer would take a pruning knife (ikibabo) and ask the accused to spit on the blade (gukamira, lit., to milk) and to pronounce the following words: "If I am guilty, you will become black. If I am not guilty, you will become white like an inyange (ibis)." The umushuzi would then plunge the pruning knife into the fire. When the iron turned red-hot he scattered magic powder (umubi) on the blade and awaited the result of the experiment.

Another test currently used in the same cases was that of the chick called umuchuri (from guchurikam, to upset) for the occasion. The accused drank a little water, rinsed out his mouth, and spat out the water into the beak of the chick. The sorcerer (mututsi) then spoke to the bird, saying: "If you find that this one is guilty, you will make the traveler walk and the sedentary one stop. If he is not guilty, you will make the traveler rest and the sedentary one walk (1)."

1. These sibylline words can be explained as follows: In the entrails of the chick (ibilanga) there are some intestines which in contracting or expanding give the impression of retreating or advancing.

695 787 opened up its body, and after examining its entrails would give the suitable interpretation.

696 [119] There is no special procedure in the execution of sentences. If the judgment concerns stolen cows, the plaintif or the abagaragu go and take them from the thief. In other cases the condemned one does it himself, and if, as unlikely, he refuses to do so, the chief would compel him by force.

692 In principle, justice is gratuitous and legal expenses do not exist, but the judges are not indifferent to douceur, which gives an advantage to the powerful and wealthy ones. On the other hand, as a rule, an umugaragu with a palaver brings beer or tobacco to his shebuja so that he will bring his case before the tribunal.

Appeals are dealt with by the provincial chief whose tribunal is organized on the same basis as that of the hill chief. This appeal is called gusuzugura (lit., to despise the chief's justice) or gusubira urubanza (to begin the palaver over again).

In the past a Muhutu did not appeal to the provincial chief but to the umugabe w'ingabo (1).

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Right of War, p. 92.

On the other hand, the provincial chief's tribunal has first cognizance of cases concerning cattle and territorial litigation between hill chiefs. It is also obliged to act in cases of expulsion or dispossession of a Mututsi or a Muhutu by a hill chief.

The Mwami's tribunal is the supreme jurisdiction. The king presides, surrounded by his confidential men who are versed in the customs (abahanga) or by persons of high rank who have the responsibility of being judges.

Normally, the Mwami alone is competent to deal in the first instance, and with no appeal, with criminal affairs, [120] but he may delegate his power to an umutware. If, for example, a provincial chief has denounced a sorcerer to the king, the latter may command the chief to kill the umulozi.

Crimes of high treason and violation of state secrets are also exclusively of his competence.

695 In the past, in criminal cases judged by the Mwami, recourse was had to the gihango test in order to force the accused to

695 confess (1). Sentences were carried out by the Batwa executioners.

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Death of the King, p. 82, note 3.

692 695 Any Munyarwanda, even the most humble, may appeal directly to the Mwami if he has been despoiled by a chief. But this resort to royal justice is illusory for the poorer claimants, who are often obliged to remain for an indefinite time at Nyanza before their case is called. In addition, while the judges of the Mwami's tribunal are required to refuse presents offered by the litigants and to judge equitably regardless of their caste, they sometimes are willing to accept an "honorarium" from one or the other of the parties.

692 Finally, the Mwami's tribunal intervenes, with no appeal possible, in litigations arising between individuals belonging to different jurisdictions.

2. Litigation between Natives of Different Jurisdictions

When litigation arises between natives belonging to different hills, the defendant's igisonga deals with the case. The plaintif appears assisted by his shebuja or one of the latter's umugaragu, who acts as a kind of lawyer and is called umuhagarikira. If the plaintif's claim is rejected, he appeals to his chief. The two chiefs then get together in a neutral place with their abagaragu and the [121] litigants. If an amicable arrangement is impossible, the parties have recourse to the jurisdiction of the provincial chief.

If the litigants belong to different provinces, the plaintiff whose claim has been rejected by his adversary's hill chief goes accompanied by his shebuja or a umuhagarikira to the provincial chief who tries to come to an agreement with his colleague. If he does not succeed in doing this, the parties and their patrons go to the Mwami. The king appoints some persons of high rank from among the provincial chiefs on official visits, his courtiers, and his abagaragu to examine the case. This time it is the hill chiefs who plead for their own people. If the decision rendered does not please

692 one of the parties, he appeals to his provincial chief who points the matter out to the king. The Mwami then calls certain of his abahanga (1) with whom he sits and listens to the respective provincial

1. Cf. p. 104.

chiefs of the parties who are acting for them. The king then pronounces the sentence, justifying his judgment.

692 628 It should be noted that the normal procedure we have described could not always be employed in the past. When two hill chiefs, for example, were hostile to each other, and if the victim of a robbery came to claim justice, it could be that the thief's chief might take the thief's part. The robbed man would notify his chief, and then it was war between the hills. If the robbed man's chief was weak and could not obtain justice for his man, he appealed to the provincial chief who would summon both chiefs, the thief, and the robbed one. Only the two chiefs plead, first the robbed man's chief then the thief's chief. If the latter proved that the victim of the theft had wished to take the law into his own hands without first appealing to him, and that he then had to defend himself against an attack which he believed unjust, the provincial chief then inflicted a fine (ichyiru) in cows on the robbed man's chief. If the domestic war had resulted in deaths or wounds, the palaver was obligatorily transferred to the Mwami. After paying his fine, the robbed man's chief could apprehend the thief and punish him, as we have stated above.

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ESSAI
DE
DROIT COUTUMIER
DU RUANDA

PAR

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MÉMOIRE COURONNÉ AU CONCOURS ANNUEL DE 1948.

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[p. I]

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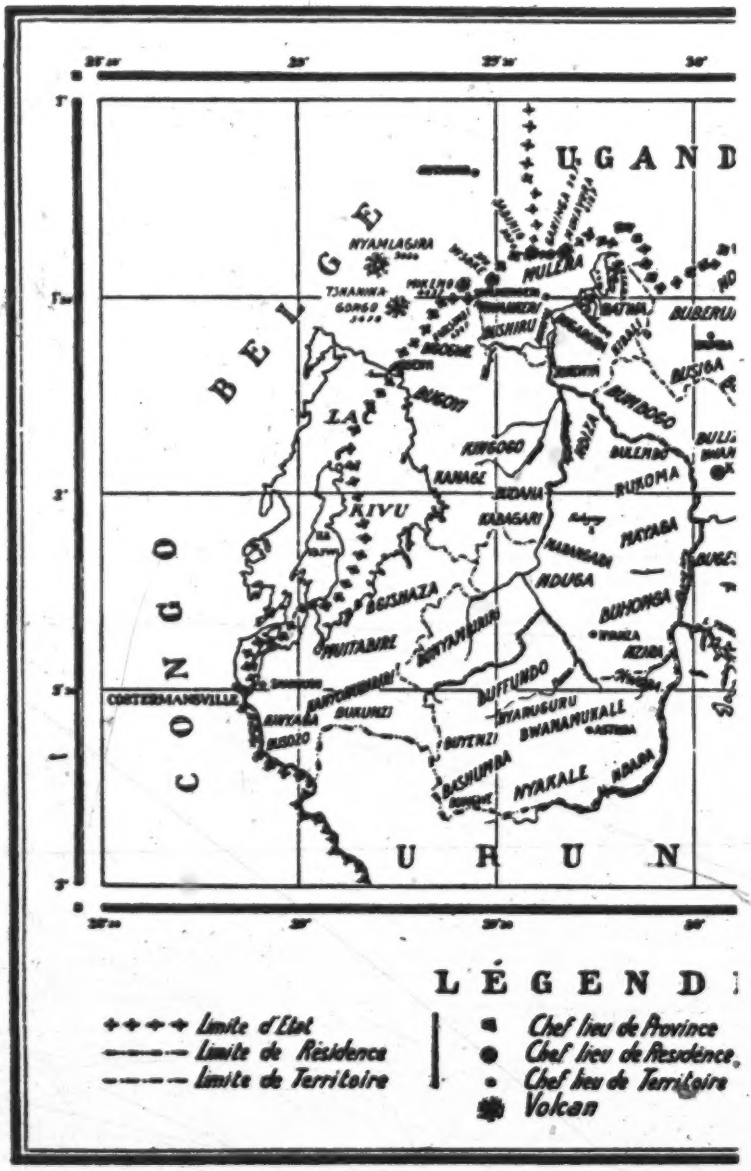

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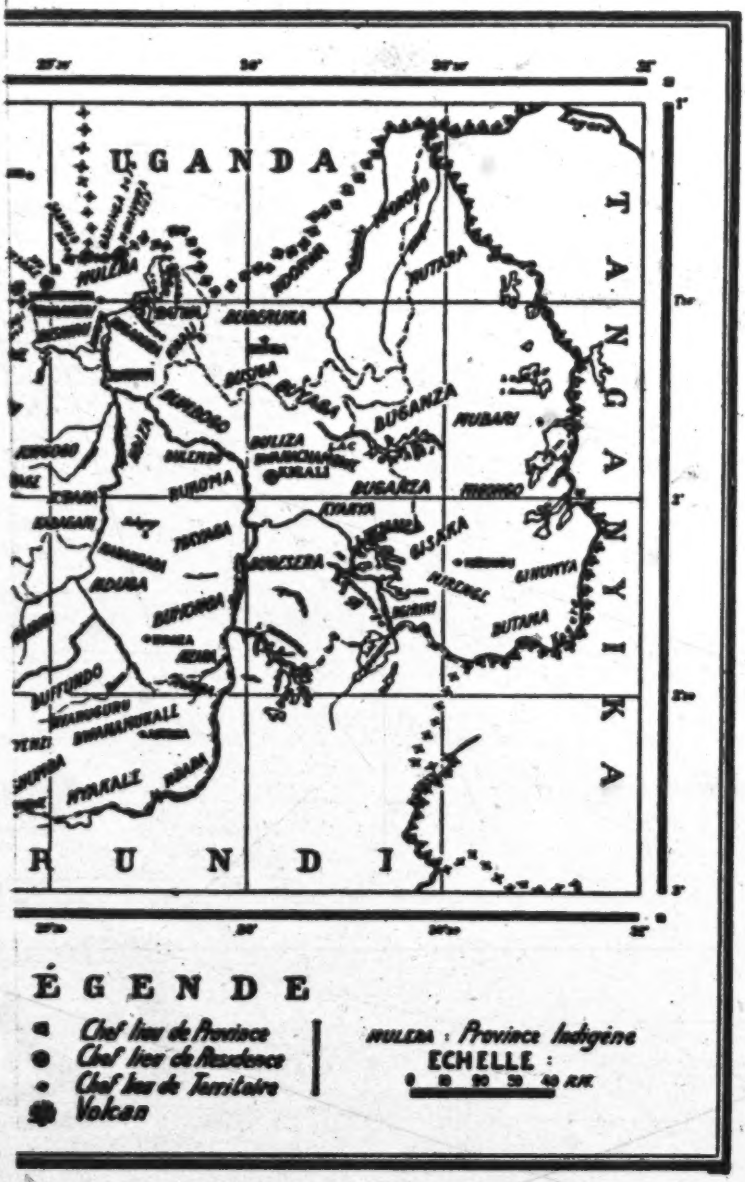

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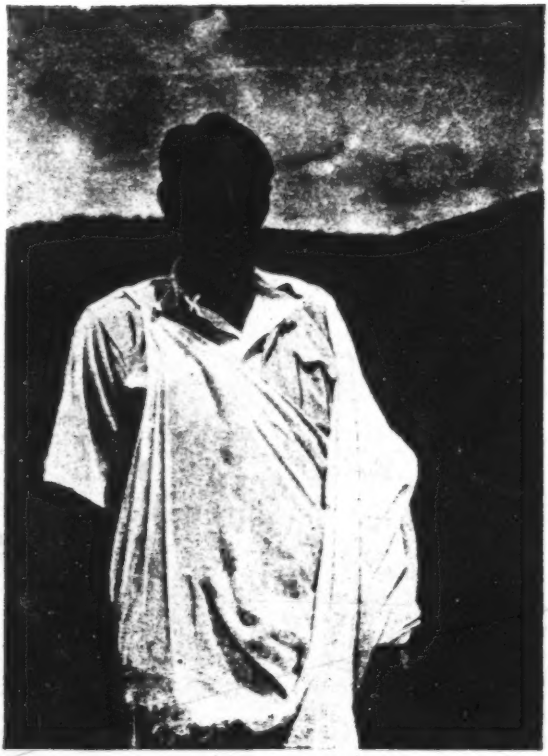

Mutara III, Roi du Ruanda.

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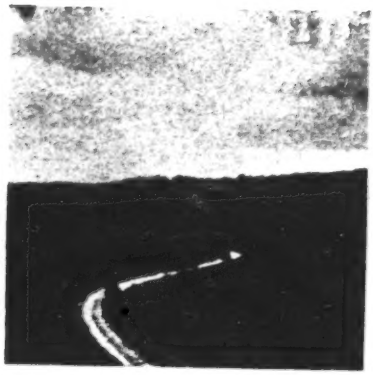
[p. I c]



Deux aspects du Ruanda Central.

Le lac Mohasi, dans le Buganza.

Le lac Mulera.
A l'avant-plan, champ de lave. A l'arrière-plan, le volcan Muhavura.

Clichés de l'auteur

[p. I d]

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ESSAI

DE

DROIT COUTUMIER

DU RUANDA

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Mémoire couronné au concours annuel de 1940.

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[p. 2]

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ESSAI

DE

DROIT COUTUMIER DU RUANDA

AVANT-PROPOS.

Au delà de la rive orientale du lac Kivu s'étend un pays de collines élevées, le Ruanda. Le long de leurs flancs s'accrochent, tapies dans les bananeraies, des huttes innombrables dont la fumée monte dans le ciel, et sur les crêtes, le vent vif fait ondoyer les graminées roses des pâturages où paissent des troupeaux de vaches aux longues cornes. La population, exceptionnellement dense, comprend trois millions environ de Bahutu, d'origine bantoue, dominés par quelques dizaines de milliers de Batutsi, pasteurs hamites descendus vraisemblablement des plateaux éthiopiens. Enfin, de-ci de-là, des pygmoïdes batwa, potiers et chasseurs, vivent à l'écart des autres indigènes, qui les méprisent.

Les Européens qui ont étudié les premiers l'organisation coutumière du pays ont découvert avec surprise qu'elle offrait de nombreux points communs avec notre féodalité. La tenure des terres et du bétail ainsi que la dépendance des personnes y sont l'objet d'une régle-

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mentation minutieuse que le Souverain du Ruanda a le pouvoir absolu de modifier, mais qui en fait est restée invariable à travers les âges.

Notre occupation a eu évidemment pour effet de modifier la coutume en de nombreux points. Nous ne pouvions approuver, par exemple, des dépossessions brutales et des attentats à la vie et à la liberté commis au nom du droit du plus fort. L'évangélisation a introduit également au sein de la société indigène des notions de justice et de douceur bien étrangères aux conceptions originales des natifs. Il convient cependant de noter que la coutume, en dépit des efforts de nos fonctionnaires et de nos missionnaires pour la battre en brèche dans ce qu'elle a de condamnable, conserve une grande partie de son empire, grâce à l'influence des grands chefs batutsi, soucieux de maintenir intacte leur autorité, et aussi grâce à celle de tous les sorciers, devins, faiseurs de pluie, etc... qui, tablant sur la crédulité et l'esprit superstitieux des Banyarwanda, s'attachent au maintien de la loi traditionnelle, sauvegarde de leur prestige et de leurs revenus. De plus, les Bahutu, tout en se rendant compte de la protection que nous leur offrons en réprimant les manifestations de l'arbitraire, subissent les transformations que nous avons apportées à la coutume plutôt qu'ils ne leur donnent une adhésion réelle. Cette attitude passive est due au fatalisme invétéré qui leur fait courber l'échine devant le maître incontesté : le Mututsi, et aussi à l'ancienneté de la coutume, qui la rend respectable à l'égal d'une institution quasi divine.

Comme c'est le cas au Congo belge et en général dans

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l'Afrique Noire, le droit coutumier ne renferme pas que des règles juridiques applicables aux personnes, aux biens et à la société. Il contient également des prescriptions d'ordre religieux et magique, des recettes diverses, etc... Tel quel, il forme un tout disparate, mais cependant solide, qui donne la solution aux problèmes posés par la vie individuelle et collective des Banyarwanda.

Le droit coutumier du Ruanda, s'appliquant à une population homogène, est le même partout, sauf dans le Nord, à la frontière du Kivu et de l'Uganda, là où l'autorité des Batutsi sur les Bahutu n'a pu s'affirmer comme dans le reste du pays. Cette indépendance a eu pour effet de substituer à l'administration des fonctionnaires hamites celle des chefs de clan et de famille bahutu.

Les meilleurs connaisseurs du Ruanda et de ses gens ont été les religieux de la Société des Pères Missionnaires d'Afrique. Les RR. PP. Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pages, Hurel ont publié, dans les revues « Anthropos » et « Congo », entre autres, et dans de nombreuses monographies, des études très fouillées sur différents points de la vie sociale, politique, religieuse et intellectuelle des Banyarwanda. Les administrateurs territoriaux Lenaerts et Sandrart ont également apporté leur contribution fructueuse à la connaissance du droit coutumier du Ruanda

Toutefois, nous ne pensons pas qu'un relevé plus ou moins complet des coutumes de droit privé et public du Ruanda ait jamais été dressé. C'est ce que, modestement, nous nous sommes efforcé de faire dans le présent travail en insérant les observations recueillies dans le cadre d'un questionnaire établi spécialement à l'effet de faciliter

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des études sur le droit indigène (1). Nous n'avons pu entrer dans le détail de toutes les institutions, dont certaines, notamment celles qui sont relatives aux contrats de bétail, nécessiteraient à elles seules un volume.

Mais, en dépit du temps restreint que nous avons pu consacrer à ce relevé des coutumes, nous croyons avoir pu donner l'essentiel du complexe coutumier du Ruanda. La valeur de nos informations, émanant des principaux *abiru*, gardiens des coutumes de la Cour de Nyanza, et des séminaristes, fils de grands chefs de province, de même que les recoupements auxquels nous avons procédé, nous font espérer que nous livrons un essai d'où toute fantaisie est bannie.

Nous souhaitons qu'il permette à tous ceux, religieux et laïcs, qui œuvrent au « pays de la vache et du tambour », aussi bien qu'aux ethnologues désireux de posséder une base de recherches, d'avoir des lumières nettes sur une organisation aux rouages à la fois compliqués et précis qui nous replace « mutatis mutandis » à la fois dans l'atmosphère de la Cité antique et dans celle du monde médiéval.

(1) J. VANHOVE, *Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique* (Bruxelles, Impr. Lesigne, 1939).

Un chef de colline et les siens assis au seuil de leur demeure.
On remarque au premier plan les « imitabo », murets très bas, de terre battue, en forme de festons.

Le R. P. Pagès entouré de jeunes gens batutsi.

Clichés de l'auteur.

[p. 6 a]

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Vue extérieure du rugo d'un chef de province.

Cliché du Ministère des Colonies.

[p. 67]

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SECTION I.

État des personnes.

CHAPITRE PREMIER.

LA FAMILLE ET LE CLAN.

1. Généralités.

La famille « sensu stricto » (*rugo*) [1] est cependant plus étendue que chez nous. Elle comprend le père, ses femmes et leurs enfants, mariés ou non, les frères du père, leurs femmes et leurs enfants. Jadis, les esclaves de guerre (*abanyagano*) [2] en faisaient également partie.

Les Bahutu, serfs des Batutsi, ont leur rugo propre.

La famille au Ruanda est du type patriarcal. La filiation se compte dans la ligne paternelle [3]; l'enfant ne prend pas nécessairement le nom de son père [4]; l'autorité paternelle est exercée par le père, et la femme vient habiter chez son mari [5].

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(1) Le rugo est l'enceinte où se trouvent la hutte, les greniers et les étables. Par extension, ce mot désigne la famille au sens strict. Au pluriel : *ingo*.

(2) Cf. aussi Mariage, p. 19; Naissance et Filiation, p. 36; Gouvernement et Administration, Nationalité, p. 84; Classes sociales, p. 105; Droit de la guerre, p. 106.

(3) Les enfants sont cependant considérés en quelque sorte comme appartenant à la fois à la famille du père et à celle de la mère. Les Banyarwanda disent : *umuntu akomoka iwabo wase nanyina*, c'est-à-dire : l'homme procède des deux (familles), celle de son père et celle de sa mère.

(4) C'était même chose rare avant la pénétration européenne.

(5) Le Mututsi polygame n'occupe pas une habitation personnelle. Il rend visite successivement à chacune de ses femmes dans leur demeure propre.

Les adoptés font aussi partie de la famille. C'est ainsi qu'un homme sans enfant (*inchike*) peut adopter un fils de son frère (*umuhungu wachu*), à son défaut, un fils de sa sœur (*umwishywa*) ou encore le fils d'un ami. Un Mututsi ne peut adopter un enfant muhutu et vice versa.

Comme les femmes ne peuvent hériter, l'adoption constitue un moyen pour un frère de faire bénéficier sa sœur de certains avantages, car elle a pour effet d'instituer un neveu comme héritier (*kulaga* : litt. promettre ses biens).

L'adopté agit en tout comme s'il était le fils de son père adoptif : il fait la cour pour lui auprès du chef, règle ses affaires, le défend en justice, etc... Les filles lui donnent le nom de frère, et si elles divorcent, elles viennent lui demander asile.

Il se peut même que l'umwishywa devienne, en même temps que chef du rugo de son oncle maternel, chef du clan maternel (*umutware w'umulyango ya nyina*).

L'enfant adoptif peut conserver les *inkazibiti* (1) reçues de son vrai père, mais ne peut plus intervenir dans le partage de la succession de celui-ci. Il se peut aussi qu'il reçoive sa part (*indemano*) (2) avant de se rendre chez son père adoptif; dans ce cas, tout en étant client (*umugaragu*) (3) de celui-ci, il reste également, par les indemano, client de son vrai père.

Si l'adopté se montre désobéissant ou ingrat à l'égard de son père adoptif, celui-ci peut le maudire et l'obliger à s'en aller les mains vides.

*
* *

Le clan (*umulyango*) (4) ou *inzu* comprend tous ceux qui se réclament d'un ancêtre commun fondateur de la

(1) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 49.
(2) Cf. idem, p. 49.
(3) Le patron s'appelle *shebuja*.
(4) Ne pas confondre avec : umulyango : porte.

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race. Au cours du temps, le clan s'est divisé en plusieurs sous-clans (*imilyango*).

Le clan et le sous-clan portent un nom (*ubgoko*) qui rappelle leur fondateur. C'est ainsi que les membres de l'umulyango des Abanyiginya sont les descendants de Kimanuka, qui est l'*Umunyiginya* (le premier des Abanyiginya). Ndabarasa, fils du Mwami Rujugira Chyirima, qui devint Roi sous le nom de Kigeri, fut l'*Umurabarasa*, le premier de l'umulyango des Abarabarasa ou Ibigina. C'est ce dernier nom qu'ils portent actuellement.

Chaque umulyango possède un ou plusieurs totems (*ibiziro*) animaux. Par exemple, les totems des Abanyiginya sont la grue couronnée (*umusambi*) et le pique-bœuf (*inyange*); celui des Abega le crapaud (*igikeri*); celui des Abagessera la bergeronnette (*inyamanza*). Le membre d'un clan ne tuera jamais tel ou tel oiseau, par exemple, parce qu'il croit que l'esprit d'un ancêtre y est renfermé.

Les Bahutu appartiennent au même umulyango que les Batutsi et possèdent les mêmes totems qu'eux. Ils prennent toutefois un autre nom. Par exemple, ceux qui vivent chez les Abega et les Abanyiginya sont désignés respectivement sous le nom d'Abasavere et d'Abasindi.

2. Le chef de famille et de clan.

Le chef de la famille « sensu stricto » (*umutware w'urago rwa se* : litt. le chef du rugo de son père) est normalement le père. Après sa mort, un de ses fils, qui n'est pas nécessairement l'aîné, lui succède. Il se peut que la veuve du chef de famille dirige provisoirement le rugo si son mari est mort sans avoir désigné son successeur ou quand ses fils sont encore enfants [1].

[1] Tout en continuant à faire partie de son umulyango, la femme est, en quelque sorte, incorporée dans l'inzu du mari si elle a des enfants. Mais elle ne prend pas le nom de l'umulyango de celui-ci. La femme reste toujours étrangère au clan de son mari et conserve son totem propre.

L'umutware w'urugo rwa se n'a qu'une importance réduite et ce mot n'est que rarement employé. Plus important est l'*umutware w'urugo rwa bo* (litt. : d'eux), appelé aussi *umutware w'umulyango*, qui commande à la fois son rugo et l'umulyango.

L'umulyango est une entité sociale sans valeur politique. C'est ainsi que Rwabutogo, chef de l'umulyango des Abega, ne possède que la province du Buganza-Est. Pour les questions de famille et de bétail, il commande Rwagatakara de qui dépend Rwabusisi, qui est le chef du Buliza et du Buganza-Sud.

L'umutware w'umulyango exerce une juridiction paternelle sur tous les membres de son groupe. S'ils lui désobéissent gravement, il peut les chasser et s'emparer de leur bétail (indemano, inkazibiti), à l'exception des bêtes qu'ils ont reçues en cadeau du Roi (*ingabane*) (1). Toutefois, c'est au Mwami qu'il appartient de prononcer la sentence d'éviction. De plus, si le Roi voit qu'une injustice a été commise, il autorise celui qui en est la victime à aller s'installer ailleurs pour se soustraire à la juridiction du chef d'umulyango, sans cesser pour cela d'appartenir au clan. Si le Mwami demande l'*umulundo* (2) au chef d'umulyango, celui-ci peut réclamer à son tour des *inyiturano* (3) aux siens. D'autre part, le chef d'umulyango peut témoigner sa faveur à ceux de ses parents dont il est satisfait en leur donnant des ingabane.

3. Lois de la famille et du clan.

1° Il est interdit d'épouser une personne appartenant au même umulyango à n'importe quel degré. Seuls les Abanyiginya, clan qui donne les rois, peuvent se marier

(1) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 49.
(2) C'est-à-dire littéralement : désire voir le bétail de son bétail. Il ne prend qu'une bête ou deux.
(3) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 51.

dans leur inzu [1] et à fortiori dans les autres imilyango. Toutefois, l'union leur est défendue avec les Abatshyaba, Abungura, Abakomankali. Ils épousent ordinairement des Abega.

Les Abega (famille qui donne les reines), les Abagessera, Abakono, Abaha, Abasinga ne peuvent se marier ni dans leur umulyango ni dans les autres inzu. Il leur est permis d'épouser des Abungura et des Abakomankali, mais non des Abatshyaba.

2° La solidarité active et passive en matière de dettes n'existe que du côté paternel (*iwabo wa se*) et non dans l'umulyango de la mère (*iwabo wa nyina*).

Il en est de même en matière pénale, sauf s'il s'agit d'une dette de sang.

4. Tableau des noms indiquant les rapports de parenté et d'alliance.

Ceux qui font partie du même umulyango s'appellent *abagil'ichyobahuriycho*, *abagil' ichyobapfana* ou, et c'est le terme le plus employé et le plus précis, *abafil'isano*.

Mari : *umugabo*.
Femme : *umugore*.
Le mari de deux femmes : *umugabo z'ishyali*.
L'une des femmes parlant de l'autre : *umukeba wa njye*.
Le mari parlant de l'une ou l'autre : *umukeba we*.
Fils :

1° La mère parle : *umuhungu wa njye*.

2° Une autre femme du père parle : *umuhungu wa mukeba wa njye* ou *umuhungu w'umugabo wa njye*.
Fille :

1° La mère parle : *umukobga wa njye*.

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[1] La cause de cette endogamie doit être cherchée dans le fait que, d'après la légende, Kigwa aurait épousé sa sœur Nyampundu.

2° Une autre femme du père parle : *umukobga w'umukeba wa njye.*

Père : *data.* } Parents : *ababyeyi.*
Mère : *mama.* }

La seconde femme de mon père : *muka data.*
Chacune des autres femmes de mon père : *muka data.*

Frères et sœurs :

A. — Du même père et de la même mère : *abo tuv'indimwe kwa data na mama.*

a) Frère (un garçon parle) :
1° Aîné : *mukuru wanjye* (grand frère).
2° Cadet : *murumuna wanjye* (petit frère).
3° Jumeau : *uwo dusangiye data na mama.*

b) Sœur (un garçon parle) :
1° Aînée : *mushiki wanjye mukuru.*
2° Cadette : *mushiki wanjye muto.*
3° Jumelle : *mushiki wanjye* (s. e. *twavutse impanga*).

a) Frère (une fille parle) :
1° Aîné : *musaza wanjye mukuru.*
2° Cadet : *musaza wanjye muto.*
3° Jumeau : *musaza wanjye* (s. e. *twavutse impanga*).

b) Sœur (une fille parle) :
1° Aînée : *mukuru wanjye.*
2° Cadette : *murumuna wanjye.*
3° Jumelle : *uwo* (s. e. *twavutse impanga*).

B. — Du même père et de mères différentes : *bene data.*

a) Frère (un garçon parle) :
1° Aîné : *mukuru wanjye wo kwa data.*
2° Cadet : *murumuna wanjye wo kwa data.*

b) Sœur (un garçon parle) :
1° Aînée : *mushiki wanjye mukuru wo kwa data.*
2° Cadette : *mushiki wanjye muto wo kwa data.*

a) Frère (une fille parle) :
1° Aîné : *musaza wanjye mukuru wo kwa data.*
2° Cadet : *musaza wanjye muto wo kwa data.*

b) Sœur (une fille parle) :
1° Aînée : *mukuru wanjye wo kwa data.*
2° Cadette : *murumuna wanjye wo kwa data.*

C. — De la même mère et de pères différents.

a) Frère (un garçon parle) :

1° Aîné : *mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama.*
2° Cadet : *murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama.*

b) Sœur (un garçon parle) :

1° Aînée : *mushiki wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama.*
2° Cadette : *mushiki wanjye muto wo mwa mama.*

a) Frère (une fille parle) :

1° Aîné : *musaza wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama.*
2° Cadet : *nusaza wanjye muto wo mwa mama.*

b) Sœur (une fille parle) :

1° Aînée : *mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama.*
2° Cadette : *murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama.*

Grand-père paternel : *sogokuru.*

Grand-père maternel : *sogokuru ubyara mama.*

Grand'mère paternelle : *nyogokuru.*

Grand'mère maternelle : *nyogokuru ubyara mama.*

Petits-enfants : *abuzukuru.*

Arrière-grand-père paternel : *sogokuruza.*

Arrière-grand-père maternel : *sogokuruza ubyara mama.*

Arrière-grand'mère paternelle : *nyogokuruza.*

Arrière-grand'mère maternelle : *nyogokuruza ubyara mama.*

Arrière-petits-enfants : *abuzukuruza.*

Oncle paternel : *sewabo* (ou *tata wachu*).

Oncle maternel : *marume* (mon oncle), *nyirarume* (son oncle).

Tante paternelle : *masenge.*

Tante maternelle : *mama wachu.*

Neveu (fils de mon frère) (un homme parle) : *umuhungu wachu.*

Neveu (fils de ma sœur) (un homme parle) : *umwishywa.*

Nièce (fille de mon frère) : *umukobwa wachu.*

Nièce (fille de ma sœur) (un homme parle) : *umwishywa m'umukobwa.*

Neveu (la tante paternelle parle) : *mwisengeneza wanjye.*

Nièce (la tante paternelle parle) : *mwisengeneza wanjye.*

Fils et filles de l'oncle paternel (cousins) : *bene data wachu.*

a) Cousin (un garçon parle) :

1° Plus âgé : *mukuru wanjye wo kwa data wachu.*

2° Moins âgé : *murumuna wanjye wo kwa data wachu.*

3° Du même âge : *mwene data wachu.*

b) Cousine (un garçon parle) :

1° Plus âgée : *mushiki wanjye mukuru wo kwa data wachu.*

2° Moins âgée : *mushiki wanjye muto wo kwa data wachu.*

3° Du même âge : *mushiki wanjye wo kwa data wachu.*

a) Cousin (une fille parle) :

1° Plus âgé : *musaza wanjye mukuru wo kwa data wachu.*

2° Moins âgé : *musaza wanjye muto wo kwa data wachu.*

3° Du même âge : *musaza wanjye wo kwa data wa chu.*

Neveu (la tante maternelle parle) : *umwana wanjye.*

Nièce (la tante maternelle parle) : *umwana wanjye.*

Fils et filles de la tante maternelle (cousins) : *ababyara.*

a) Cousin (un garçon parle) :

1° Plus âgé : *mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama wachu.*

2° Moins âgé : *murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama wachu.*

3° Du même âge : *mwene mama wachu.*

b) Cousine (un garçon parle) :

1° Plus âgée : *mushiki wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama wachu.*

2° Moins âgée : *mushiki wanjye muto wo mwa mama wachu.*

3° Du même âge : *mushiki wanjye wo mwa mama wachu.*

a) Cousin (une fille parle) :

1° Plus âgé : *musaza wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama wachu.*

2° Moins âgé : *musaza wanjye muto wo mwa mama wachu.*

3° Du même âge : *musaza wanjye wo mwa mama wachu.*

b) Cousine (une fille parle) :

1° Plus âgée : *mukuru wanjye wo kwa data wachu.*

2° Moins âgée : *murumuna wanjye wo kwa data wachu.*

3° Même âge : *umuvandimwe wo kwa data wachu*; ou plus simplement : *mwene data wachu.*

b) Cousine (une fille parle) :

1° Plus âgée : *mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama wachu.*

2° Moins âgée : *murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama wachu.*

3° Même âge : *uwo wanjye wo mwa mama wachu.*

Fils et filles de la tante paternelle (cousins) : *ababyara bo kwa masenge* (1).

Fils et filles de l'oncle maternel (cousins) : *ababyara bo mwa marume* (1).

Grand-oncle paternel : *sogokuruza.*

Grand-oncle maternel : *sogokuruza wo mwa mama.*

Grand'tante paternelle : *nyogokuruza wo kwa data.*

Grand'tante maternelle : *nyogokuruza wo mwa mama.*

Petits-neveux : *abuzukuruza.*

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Beau-père (père de ma femme) : *databukwe.*
Belle-mère (mère de ma femme) : *mabukwe.*

Beau-père (père de mon mari) : *databukwe.*
Belle-mère (mère de mon mari) : *mabukwe.*

Gendre (mari de ma fille) :

Un homme parle : *umukwe.*
Une femme parle : *umukwe wanjye.*

Bru (femme de mon fils) :

Un homme parle : *umukazana.*
Une femme parle : *umukwe wanjye.*

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(1) On ne distingue pas ceux-ci selon l'âge et selon qu'un garçon ou une fille parle des enfants de sa tante paternelle ou de son oncle maternel.

Beau-frère :

(un homme parle)

1° Mari de ma sœur : *muramu wanjye.*

2° Frère de ma femme : *muramu.*

3° Mari de la sœur de ma femme : *musanzire wanjye.*

(une femme parle)

1° Mari de ma sœur : *muramu wanjye.*

2° Frère de mon mari : *umugabo wachu.*

3° Mari de la sœur de mon mari : *muramu wachu.*

Belle-sœur :

(un homme parle)

1° Femme de mon frère : *umugore wachu.*

2° Sœur de ma femme : *muramu.*

3° Femme du frère de ma femme : *umugore wa muramu wanjye.*

4° Deuxième femme du mari de ma sœur : *mukeba wa mushiki wanjye.*

(une femme parle)

1° Femme de mon frère : *muramukazi.*

2° Sœur de mon mari : *muramukazi wanjye.*

3° Femme du frère de mon mari : *mukeba wanjye.*

4° Deuxième femme du mari de ma sœur : *umugore wa muramu wanjye* ou *mukeba w'uwo tuv'indimwe.*

Ceux qui ont épousé deux sœurs : *abasanzire.*

Deux hommes dont chacun a épousé la sœur de l'autre : *abaramu.*

Père de mon gendre : *bamwana wanjye.*

Mère de mon gendre : *bamwana wanjye.*

Frère de mon gendre : *umukwe wanjye.*

Sœur de mon gendre : *umwana wanjye.*

Père de ma bru : *bamwana wanjye.*

Mère de ma bru : *bamwana wanjye.*

Frère de ma bru : *umukwe wanjye.*

Sœur de ma bru : *umwana wanjye.*

5. Le pacte du sang.

Le pacte du sang (*kunywana*) est pratiqué dans tout le Ruanda et surtout par les Bahutu. Les frères de sang (*abanywanyi*) peuvent compter l'un sur l'autre de la façon la plus complète. Ils doivent s'entr'aider dans les circonstances les plus difficiles de la vie et peuvent même disposer mutuellement de leurs biens [1] et de leurs femmes [2].

Les intéressés, assistés chacun d'un témoin qui sera garant de l'observation du pacte par l'autre partie, s'assoient sur une natte dans la hutte de l'un d'eux. Chacun des témoins coupe une feuille d'érythrine corail (*muko*) et en coupe le pétiole; il roule la feuille en forme de cornet et y verse un peu de farine de sorgho. Puis, avec un petit couteau, il fait une incision au-dessous du nombril de celui qu'il assiste. Il presse les lèvres de l'entaille et fait couler le sang, qu'il recueille dans le cornet et mêle à la farine à l'aide de la queue de la feuille. Ensuite, chaque impétrant boit le mélange appelé *gihango* (litt. : sang) qui lui est présenté par le témoin de l'autre. Les témoins profèrent alors des imprécations (*kutanga*) au nom de leurs clients respectifs pour sceller le pacte : « Si tu me trouves malade ou blessé sur le chemin et si tu ne m'aides pas, que le gihango te tue ! »

« Si tu me refuses le gîte et la nourriture, que le gihango te tue ! »

Les deux frères de sang s'étendent alors sur la natte côte à côte pendant quelques instants, pour montrer qu'ils seront indissolublement unis aux bons comme aux mauvais jours.

Puis celui qui est étranger prend une poignée d'herbes et la jette dans le foyer en disant : « Si tu viens chez moi

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(1) Par convention spéciale.
(2) Avec le consentement des femmes.

F. Vanhove FO42 Rundi

et que je sois absent, tu peux boire ma bière et te chauffer avec mon bois, que le gihango ne te fasse aucun mal, car tu n'auras voulu ni voler ma bière, ni brûler ma hutte. Mais si ma femme te refuse la bière et le bois, je ne serai pas en cause, car ma femme n'est pas liée comme nous par le pacte du sang. »

Les abanywanyi offrent alors des cadeaux aux témoins : houes, colliers, etc., et se font des cadeaux consistant en houes, chèvres, vaches, suivant leur fortune, afin de « se dégager de la natte sur laquelle le pacte de sang a eu lieu » (*kwichara ku kirago*).

CHAPITRE II.

LE MARIAGE.

1. Sortes d'unions.

Le mot *ugushaka* (avoir femme) désigne le mariage en général.

Le mariage type, contre versement d'une dot (*inkwano*) au père de la jeune fille, se dit *kurongora*.

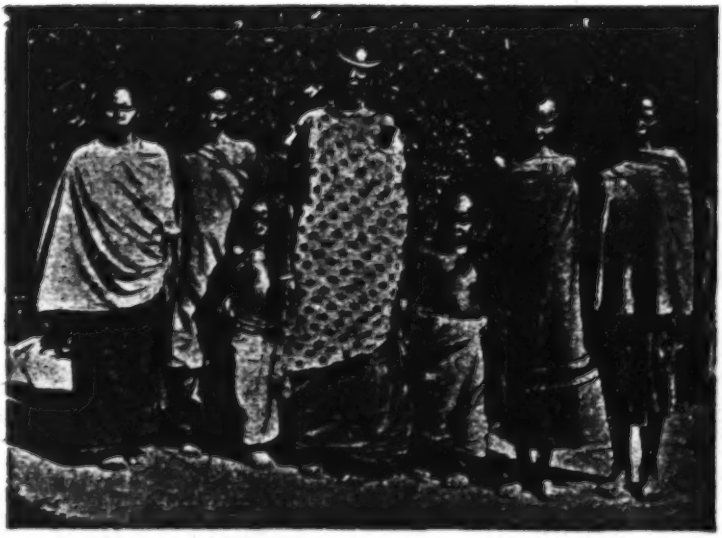
Il arrive qu'une *umugeni w'ubuntu* (litt. : fiancée donnée en cadeau) soit donnée en témoignage d'affection à un ami. Plus tard, le mari peut verser une dot, mais il n'y est pas obligé. Si la brouille survient entre les amis, il se peut qu'alors une dot soit réclamée. Un chef puissant peut également donner à son client mututsi une jeune fille en cadeau (*umugeni w'ingororano*).

Epouser une femme divorcée ou veuve se dit *gutshyura umusumbakazi* (litt. faire entrer (chez soi) une femme qui a été déjà mariée). Ces unions sont fréquentes surtout chez les Bahutu. Au moment d'entrer en ménage, le mari ne donne au « pater familias » de la femme qu'une cruche de pombe, mais si les époux ont des enfants, il devra verser une dot.

Deux mères batutu, la tête ceinte de l'« urugori », se congratulent.

Cliché du Ministère des Colonies.

[p. 18 a]



Dame mulutsi entourée de ses enfants et de son personnel féminin.

Cliché du Ministère des Colonies.

[p. 18 b]

Il arrive qu'un jeune homme enlève une jeune fille (*kwiba umugeni*) pour forcer le consentement des parents de celle-ci. Mais le père du jeune homme verse une dot ultérieurement.

Il est des *ibyomanzi* (femmes vagabondes) qui vont séjourner chez un homme plus ou moins longtemps au hasard de leur vie errante (*kubuyera* ou *kohoha*). Le sort de ces unions est évidemment précaire. Si, par impossible, la vie commune dure plusieurs années, la femme peut présenter son concubin à des parents. Si des enfants naissent, il se peut que l'homme soit alors obligé de verser une dot. L'union est alors régularisée.

Il arrive encore que deux hommes ayant chacun une sœur dont ils peuvent toucher la dot fassent l'échange des femmes : *abageni b'ubuntu bunyuranye* : (litt. : fiancées comme cadeau).

Dans tous ces mariages, le sort de la femme et des enfants est le même que dans le mariage type. Si le mari ne verse pas de dot, le père de la femme peut enlever les enfants et les garder en otage jusqu'à ce que leur père ait rempli ses obligations.

Jadis, les enfants prisonniers de guerre (*abanyagano*) se mariaient plus tard généralement entre eux. Le maître pouvait aussi donner une fille captive en mariage à l'un de ses clients. Il touchait la dot, mais, par contre, devait en verser une pour un de ses esclaves désireux de se marier avec une femme du pays.

L'esclave, sa femme et leurs enfants continuaient à faire partie du personnel du maître. Si un de ces enfants désirait contracter mariage à son tour, son père payait la dot pour son fils ou la touchait pour sa fille, et par le fait même, son fils ou sa fille était affranchi et devenait munyarwanda.

Le maître pouvait épouser une femme esclave et les enfants issus de cette union suivaient la condition de leur

père, même si celui-ci avait déjà d'autres enfants d'un mariage avec une femme munyarwanda.

2. Formes de mariage.

La polyandrie n'existe pas au Ruanda.

La polygamie (polyginie) est générale, sauf chez les indigènes chrétiens, et principalement parmi les Bahutu, qui ont deux ou trois femmes en moyenne et parfois même quatre ou cinq.

Les Batutsi en possèdent le plus souvent deux. Les grands chefs ont, outre leurs femmes, un certain nombre d'*insholeke* (*concubines*).

Les Batwa ont généralement quatre ou cinq femmes.

Une des femmes porte un nom spécial : c'est l'*inkundwakazi* (l'aimée, la favorite). Ce sont ses qualités qui la font appeler ainsi : sa propreté, son art à fabriquer du pombe, sa fidélité, sa surveillance vigilante des cultures, les bons traitements dont elle entoure les abagaragu, les soins constants qu'elle apporte au bétail, l'accueil aimable qu'elle réserve aux amis de son mari, le souci qu'elle met à faire exécuter les ordres du maître en l'absence de celui-ci [1].

Quant aux autres femmes, le mari dit simplement en parlant d'elles : *abagore banjye* (mes femmes). Toutefois, la favorite ne peut les commander. C'est au mari seul qu'il appartient de donner des ordres à ses épouses.

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Les enfants de mères différentes (ou de pères différents) sont mis sur le même pied et se considèrent vraiment comme frères et sœurs.

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[1] L'*inyungwakazi* est tout le contraire de l'inkwundakazi. C'est une épouse dépourvue de qualités ménagères, désobéissante, voire adultère. Si son mari ne la répudie pas, il la tient à l'écart et n'a plus de rapports avec elle.

Les enfants adultérins appartiennent au mari de l'épouse infidèle.

Les enfants, qu'ils soient légitimes ou non, ne sont pas traités différemment selon la condition de leur mère. Mais si les enfants d'une concubine se montrent insupportables, les gens ne manqueront pas de les appeler avec mépris : *abana bo mu milombero* (enfants des haies).

3. Empêchements au mariage.

1. Exogamie.

Les Batutsi (sauf les Abanyiginya) et les Bahutu ne peuvent prendre femme dans la famille et le clan de leur père à n'importe quel degré. Les cousins parallèles [1] ne peuvent donc s'épouser, mais le mariage est permis entre cousins croisés [2], car les enfants de la sœur appartiennent à la famille de leur père. Un oncle ne peut jamais épouser sa nièce.

L'endogamie (*kwisabira ku mugongo;* litt. : se trouver sur le dos) et l'exogamie existent à la fois chez les Abanyi ginya. Ils ne peuvent cependant épouser la fille de leur frère ou de leur sœur. De même, ils ne peuvent prendre femme chez les Abungura, Abasinga et Abatshyaba.

Quand un homme meurt, son père ou son frère peut épouser l'une des veuves. De même, celui de ses fils qui lui succède comme chef de famille peut épouser les femmes de son père, autres que sa propre mère, à condition qu'elles n'appartiennent pas à la famille de celle-ci.

Le mari de la sœur du défunt peut épouser sa belle-sœur (*muramukazi*), mais non la fille de celle-ci (*umukobwa wachu*). De même le frère de la femme du défunt peut prendre comme femme sa belle-sœur, mais non la fille de celle-ci (*umwishywa w'umukobwa*).

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(1) Les cousins parallèles sont ceux dont les pères sont frères ou les mères sont sœurs.

(2) Les cousins croisés sont ceux dont le père de l'un est le frère de la mère de l'autre.

Le mariage est permis avec la veuve d'un frère de sang, mais non avec sa fille.

Les Batutsi peuvent épouser des femmes bahutu. Il arrive, par exemple, qu'un patron donne sa fille en mariage à un de ses clients qu'il affectionne particulièrement. Mais il est interdit à un umugaragu de demander à son shebuja l'autorisation d'épouser sa fille.

2. Impuberté.

Jadis, un jeune homme et une jeune fille ne pouvaient respectivement se marier avant l'âge de vingt-cinq et de dix-huit ans. Une fillette (*inshube*) et un garçonnet (*ingimbi*) étaient parfois fiancés, mais ils demeuraient chez leurs parents jusqu'au moment du mariage.

A présent, un jeune homme se marie généralement à dix-huit ans, une jeune fille à quatorze.

3. Défaut de consentement.

C'est le père qui choisit l'épouse de son fils. S'il est mort, un de ses frères le remplace dans cette mission. Le fils chef de famille cherche femme pour ses frères et reçoit les demandes en mariage pour ses sœurs. La jeune fille et le jeune homme doivent accomplir la volonté de leur « pater familias ». Même si leurs sentiments ne sont pas à l'unisson, ils ne peuvent refuser de s'unir. Il en est notamment ainsi quand les pères sont amis et qu'ils veulent éviter de se brouiller. Evidemment, les mariages conclus dans ces conditions sont fragiles et presque toujours de courte durée.

Cette règle n'est sanctionnée d'aucune peine. Mais celui qui l'enfreindrait s'exposerait au mépris public.

De nos jours, il est cependant de plus en plus fréquent que le jeune homme fasse son choix seul et que ce soit lui qui demande à son père de faire les démarches nécessaires auprès de la famille de celle qu'il a élue.

4. La dot.

La dot (*inkwano*) a pour but de racheter les enfants à naître du mariage. En effet, si elle n'est pas versée à l'ayant droit de la femme (son père ou son frère), celui-ci prendra les enfants en otage.

De même, la dot contribue à assurer la stabilité du mariage. En effet, les parents qui devraient rembourser la dot en cas de rupture de l'union ne manquent pas d'inciter les époux à se réconcilier.

Chez les Batutsi, la dot consiste en vaches. Jadis, chez les gens aisés, celles-ci étaient au nombre de huit, d'où le nom d'*umunani* (litt. : huit, s-e : têtes de bétail). Aujourd'hui, ces vaches qui ne sont plus que deux mais qui ont gardé le nom d'umunani sont encore amenées au père de la jeune fille au cours des fiançailles et gardées par lui en dépôt. L'une est destinée au *gukwa* (1), l'autre au *gutebutsa* (2). Le jour du mariage, le père de la jeune fille se réserve uniquement la vache qui lui a donné le plus de veaux, ou la plus belle génisse, et rend l'autre au père du jeune homme.

Dans le Buganza, le Buliza, le Nduga, le Bugessera, où le bétail est nombreux, les Bahutu donnent aussi une vache comme dot. Ailleurs, elle consiste en houes, quatre généralement, et en une trentaine de cruches de bière. Il se peut qu'une vache *imbata*(3) ou *ingabane* (4) soit de plus demandée par le beau-père muhutu.

Chez les Bakiga (région du Rukiga), la dot est payée en chèvres (*ibuguma*) ou en moutons (*iliza*). Un parent de la femme pourvu de grandes mains empoigne une patte de chaque animal, les tient réunies et essaie d'en

(1) Littéralement : faire les démarches pour conclure les fiançailles.
(2) Littéralement : hâter (s. e. le mariage).
(3) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 48.
(4) Cf. idem, p. 49.

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rassembler le plus possible. Il répète cette opération deux fois et de la sorte arrive à réunir une vingtaine de bêtes. On connaît aussi parfois au Rukiga la dot en vaches *indundu* (1) et *ingwate* (2).

Les Batwa ne donnent qu'une houe et un pot de bière le jour des fiançailles et quatre houes comme dot.

La coutume du réemploi de la dot, à savoir que le père d'un fils et d'une fille ne paie la dot pour le mariage de son fils qu'après avoir reçu la dot pour sa fille, n'existe pas au Ruanda.

Les Batutsi ne donnent aucun cadeau à leur belle-mère. Chez les Bahutu, le jour du mariage, avant que la jeune fille quitte la maison de son père, le jeune homme envoie à la mère de sa fiancée une cruche de bière appelée *irizeneko* (litt. : écartèlement) pour rappeler la souffrance qu'elle a endurée en enfantant sa fille.

Si la dot a été payée en vaches, le beau-père donne le jour du mariage une vache *indongoranyo* (3) à son gendre. Si elle a consisté en houes, le mari reçoit aussi une houe comme indongoranyo.

5. Fiançailles et union.

Si le jeune homme n'a pas fait son choix, le père attire l'attention de son fils sur telle ou telle jeune fille qu'il aimerait avoir pour bru, après s'être assuré au préalable de l'accord du père de celle-ci et avoir arrêté avec lui la date des fiançailles officielles (*gusaba umugeni* : lit. : demander la jeune fille en mariage).

Le jour fixé, il retourne chez les parents de la jeune fille accompagnée d'un ou deux clients (3) porteurs d'une houe neuve et d'un pot d'hydromel et menant une vache

(1) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 49.
(2) Cf. idem, p. 52.
(3) Un de ses parents chez les Bahutu.

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dite *y'ilembo* (litt. : pour l'entrée du rugo). On l'introduit dans le rugo. Le père du jeune homme, le père de la jeune fille ainsi que les frères et beaux-frères de celui-ci s'asseoient sur des nattes, boivent, fument et devisent de choses et d'autres. Pendant ce temps, la mère et la fille se tiennent cachées dans un réduit voisin et suivent avidement la conversation.

Après ce préambule, qui n'est qu'un dérivatif, l'entretien porte alors sur le mariage. Il donne souvent lieu à une discussion animée au cours de laquelle chacune des parties défend ses intérêts. L'accord enfin réalisé, le père s'entend dire : « Nous vous donnons notre fille, mais la vache n'est pas assez belle [1]; amenez-en d'autres ». Un umugaragu est alors chargé d'amener sept autres vaches pour compléter l'*umunani* [2] et de demander aux parents de la jeune fille leur agrément quant à la date du mariage.

Les rapports sexuels sont strictement interdits aux fiancés.

Le mariage a lieu généralement chez le père du jeune homme [3].

Si le père de la jeune fille, après avoir accepté la dot, ne tient pas sa promesse et refuse de donner sa fille ou la promet à un autre, il doit immédiatement restituer la dot. Mais par le fait même, il brise tout lien d'amitié avec les parents du jeune homme et, dans la suite, aucun homme de la famille de celui-ci n'épousera une jeune fille de l'autre famille. Il en est de même quand le prétendant rompt les fiançailles.

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(1) Même si la bête est magnifique.

(2) Comme nous l'avons vu plus haut (Cf. Dot); le père de la jeune fille ne se réserve plus à présent qu'une vache sur les deux.

(3) Les cérémonies du mariage ont été minutieusement décrites par le R. P. SCHUMACHER (*Anthropos*, 1910, pp. 870-906) et le R. P. PAGES (*Congo*, 1922, t. I, pp. 645-663, et t. II, pp. 42-68). Nous nous contentons d'y renvoyer le lecteur. Cette matière relève d'ailleurs plus du folklore que du droit coutumier. Aussi la laissons-nous de propos délibéré en dehors de notre exposé.

6. Vie du ménage.

Le mariage au Ruanda est patrilocal, c'est-à-dire que la femme quitte ses parents pour aller habiter chez son mari. Si les noces ont eu lieu dans la famille de la femme, le jeune ménage y séjourne quelque temps (*gutahira*), puis va se fixer dans la famille du mari.

Chez les Batutsi, les parents de la femme envoient à leur fille, deux mois environ après le mariage, l'*intwikururano* (de *gutwikurura :* litt. : dévoiler, découvrir) consistant en bière, farine de sorgho et lait. Ces présents sont destinés à permettre à la jeune femme de sortir de la retraite qui lui est imposée au lendemain des noces et de se montrer en public. De son côté, le père du mari donne à sa bru une vache dite *y'itshyali* (litt. : du nid). Les époux quittent alors la demeure où ils s'étaient installés provisoirement et vont occuper le rugo qui a été bâti pour chacun d'eux. Un peu plus tard, ils vont passer une nuit chez les parents de la femme (*gucha mw'ilembo :* litt. : passer le seuil ou *gusubya amaguru :* litt. : retourner à pied) et les gratifient également de cadeaux à cette occasion.

Les femmes batutsi occupent chacune un rugo particulier avec leurs enfants, des servantes (*abaja*) et du bétail donné par le mari. Les concubines habitent, à une ou deux, dans des huttes séparées à l'intérieur du rugo d'une femme légitime.

Il arrive que les femmes bahutu occupent la même hutte, mais seulement pendant un temps assez court.

La femme n'est pas obligée de revenir de temps en temps chez ses parents. Toutefois, il se peut que les augures décident que l'accouchement se passera mieux dans sa famille à elle.

7. Droits et obligations des époux.

La coutume impose au mari un devoir général d'aide et d'assistance vis-à-vis de sa femme (*kukamira umugore* : litt. : traire pour sa femme). Il doit fournir des vêtements, des parures (1), la soigner quand elle est malade. De même une femme qui abandonnerait son mari malade ou dans le malheur serait l'objet d'opprobre.

La séparation des biens existe entre époux. La femme possède son rugo, son champ et en outre, chez les Batutsi, du bétail *inyarulembo* (2) et des abagaragu qu'elle tient de son mari.

Chez les Bahutu, l'homme assume la charge des lourds travaux : construction du rugo, défrichements et la femme, aidée de son mari et des enfants assez grands, cultive les champs. Les travaux du ménage sont également partagés : les corvées d'eau et de bois, la traite des vaches, la fabrication de la bière incombent au mari; la femme, elle, fait la cuisine, fabrique le beurre et veille à la propreté du rugo et du kraal.

Le mariage émancipe en quelque sorte la femme munyarwanda, mais la maternité seule lui confère des droits qui font d'elle une privilégiée si on la compare à ses sœurs de l'Afrique noire. Plus la femme a d'enfants, plus la considération dont elle est l'objet augmente (3). L'épouse mututsi est vraiment la *nyirarugo* (maîtresse de maison), la *nyirabuja* (patronne). Son mari la consulte

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(1) Naguère encore, le mari dépensait beaucoup pour procurer à sa femme les *ububutega* (anneaux en herbes) que par centaines elle portait aux jambes. Cette parure, qui alourdissait la silhouette des femmes banyarwanda et entravait leur marche, était considérée comme le comble de l'élégance, car elle leur donnait l'allure des vaches, objet d'admiration générale au Ruanda.

(2) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 51.

(3) Les familles comptant six, sept, huit et même dix enfants sont nombreuses au Ruanda; cette remarquable prolificité explique que la population du pays double en vingt-cinq ans environ.

dans les questions d'intérêt, lui demande son avis au sujet du mariage des enfants, etc. En outre, chez les Batutsi, elle dirige les servantes, surveille le travail des gens de la colline venant exécuter les corvées coutumières et celui des abagaragu. Elle ne peut toutefois destituer un client ou prendre une décision importante sans le consentement de son mari. Si elle le faisait et si son mari n'intervenait pas, il serait la risée du voisinage et on l'appellerait *inganzwa* (homme sans caractère, qui est dominé par sa femme).

Les Banyarwanda ont une expression pour qualifier une bonne épouse. Ils disent qu'elle « construit pour son mari » (*kubakira umugabo*).

Un Muhutu ne manque pas à la moindre occasion d'user de son droit de correction maritale. Au contraire, un Mutusi ne pourrait sans déchoir frapper sa femme, à moins de raison grave.

Le droit à la fidélité existe pour les deux époux. Mais la coutume est fort tolérante pour les infractions à la foi conjugale commises par l'homme, tout au moins quand il appartient à la même classe sociale que le mari trompé.

L'adultère du mari provoque évidemment un vif mécontentement chez la femme, mais presque toujours elle s'inclinera. Il arrive cependant qu'elle quitte son mari infidèle pour retourner chez ses parents. Ceux-ci s'efforceront de la persuader de rentrer chez son mari, car, si elle refusait, ils seraient obligés de restituer la dot.

Le mari qui apprend que sa femme a commis un adultère (*gusambana* : litt. : prendre un autre homme) lui enjoint de ne pas recommencer. La deuxième fois, il la frappe. Si elle continue, il la répudie (*gusendwa*) publiquement. Une femme répudiée est déconsidérée et trouve difficilement à se remarier. Parfois, la femme adultère est renvoyée la nuit, par égard pour sa famille, pour que sa faute ne soit pas connue de tous.

Jadis, si le mari surprenait sa femme en flagrant délit, il faisait arrêter et frapper l'amant. Puis, devant témoins, le mari répudiait sa femme. Si le complice était un noble comme lui, on le laissait partir avec la femme. Mais, en général, s'il était marié, il allait retrouver son épouse, qui lui faisait une scène de jalousie sans plus. Quand l'amant était un umugaragu mututsi, il était dépouillé de ses biens et exilé au loin. Si c'était un Muhutu, le mari pouvait demander au Mwami l'autorisation de l'empaler comme un voleur de bétail, ou bien il le rouait de coups et le faisait chasser de la colline. Le complice de la femme adultère du Mwami était toujours tué. Quant à la femme, dans aucun de ces cas, elle n'était gravement maltraitée.

Notre occupation a fait disparaître les châtiments cruels et, actuellement, le complice de la femme n'est plus l'objet d'aucun châtiment. L'adultère donne lieu uniquement à une réparation pécuniaire (*itshyiru*) de la part de l'amant; d'autre part, le divorce est prononcé au profit du mari et la dot lui est restituée, tout au moins s'il n'y a pas d'enfants issus du mariage.

Si la femme adultère est enceinte, elle soutiendra toujours que l'enfant qu'elle attend est né des œuvres de son mari. Celui-ci, dans le doute, prend l'enfant (*umusambanano* [1]) chez lui aussitôt qu'il est sevré. Il pourvoit d'autre part aux besoins de sa femme, mais ne consent pas à reprendre la vie commune.

Si le mari est certain que l'enfant est le fruit de l'adultère, il ne s'occupe plus de sa femme et les parents de celle-ci adoptent l'enfant. Il se peut enfin que le complice épouse la mère de son enfant. Un mari complaisant ou qui, sachant que sa femme lui est infidèle, la garde mal-

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[1] Terme générique qui désigne l'enfant illégitime, aussi bien naturel simple qu'adultérin et incestueux.

gré tout, est l'objet des railleries de ses voisins et amis qui n'hésitent pas à l'appeler inganzwa.

Chez les Bahutu, la femme adultère est battue par son mari et renvoyée dans sa famille. S'il n'y a pas d'enfants nés de l'union, le mari réclamera la dot payée aux parents de sa femme.

L'adultère chez les Batwa n'a guère d'importance. Si une femme a été infidèle, son mari lui pardonne, et s'il y a grossesse, il considérera l'enfant comme le sien.

8. Rapports en dehors du mariage.

De tout temps, les rapports sexuels ont été strictement défendus aux jeunes filles batutsi et bahutu. La violation de cette interdiction attirerait en effet de grands malheurs sur les familles, dit la voix du peuple. Autrefois, les filles enceintes (*ikinyandaro*) [1] étaient même souvent tuées avec leur enfant, ou bien elles étaient conduites en dehors des frontières du Ruanda dans une île déserte du lac Kivu et elles y mouraient de faim, à moins que les Banyabungo ne vinssent à leurs secours. Parfois aussi, on les menait dans l'Urundi, où elles devaient rester jusqu'après l'accouchement. L'enfant était tué ou abandonné aux Barundi.

Aujourd'hui, ces sanctions cruelles n'existent plus, mais une fille-mère est toujours considérée comme une honte (*inshyano*) pour les parents. Toutefois, ceux-ci recueillent généralement l'enfant.

Toutefois les jeunes gens nobles ne se privent pas d'avoir des rapports sexuels avec les filles d'abagaragu placées chez leur père en qualité de servantes. Le jeune homme mututsi surpris avec une jeune fille de sa caste était, par contre, puni jadis de la même manière que le complice d'une femme mariée.

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[1] D'après les croyances des Banyarwanda, une fille prise de force ne devient pas enceinte.

Les grands chefs qui possèdent des concubines (insholeke) les mettent à la disposition de leurs amis ou parents en visite.

Des frères de sang ou des amis échangent parfois leurs femmes pour une nuit (*guhan'ingo :* litt. : échanger les ingo).

Jusqu'en ces derniers temps, le beau-père et même les beaux-frères avaient le droit de passer une ou plusieurs nuits avec la femme de leurs fils ou frère. Le beau-père avait le droit de faire valoir ses exigences sans discussion, tandis que les beaux-frères ne pouvaient y prétendre qu'avec l'autorisation de leur frère. La femme qui refusait de partager sa couche avec son beau-père ou un de ses beaux-frères pouvait être chassée. Le mari avait même le droit d'obliger sa femme à accorder ses faveurs à un de ses amis à lui.

CHAPITRE III.

DISSOLUTION DU MARIAGE.

1. La mort.

Deux jours après le décès, tout le clan arrive pour assister la veuve et les orphelins dans leur deuil. La mère et ses enfants se rasent les cheveux, enlèvent leurs bracelets et s'abstiennent de laver leurs vêtements (*kwirabura :* litt. : devenir noir). Un des frères du défunt allume un feu qui brûle dans le rugo sans arrêt pendant deux jours (*igitshaniro*). Quand il est éteint, les enfants et leur oncle prennent de la cendre et vont en cachette la verser dans un marais.

Le deuil dure deux mois, pendant lesquels les fils mariés ne peuvent avoir de rapports avec leurs femmes.

Le premier jour du troisième mois, les membres de la famille reviennent. Le soir, ils s'assemblent tous, ingur-

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gitent force rasades de bière et chantent joyeusement (*kwera* : litt. : devenir blanc). Celui des frères du défunt qui a procédé à l'igitshaniro, ou, à son défaut, un autre frère doit partager la couche de la veuve (*kweza*). Les fils mariés font, par ordre de naissance, le simulacre de l'acte sexuel avec leurs femmes.

Le lendemain, la veuve ainsi que les femmes des fils mariés mettent du lait dans les barattes et font le beurre [1]. Puis tous les membres de la famille s'enduisent de craie, mettant des vêtements blancs et se rendent à l'abreuvoir. Un frère du défunt descend dans le puits creusé non loin de là, y puise de l'eau avec un pot et la vide dans l'abreuvoir. Puis il passe le pot aux enfants mâles en commençant par l'aîné, et chacun d'eux imite son geste [2]. Le soir, les gardiens traient les vaches, puis, après que la mère, aidée de l'oncle paternel, a retiré le beurre de sa baratte à elle (*gutshyura igisabo* : litt. : faire rentrer les barattes), les fils mariés et leurs femmes font de même avec les leurs.

Les fils donnent alors une génisse à l'oncle et un taurillon à celle de leurs sœurs qui a enlevé la bouse (*gukuka*) dans le kraal.

La nuit se passe à boire et le lendemain l'oncle procède au choix du nouveau chef de famille, si le père ne l'avait désigné avant de mourir.

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Si la femme n'a pas eu d'enfants ou si le mariage a été de peu de durée, sa mort ne donne lieu à aucune cérémonie et le mari ne porte le deuil que huit jours seulement [3].

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(1) Pendant le deuil, elles ne pouvaient plus toucher les barattes. C'était un étranger à la famille du défunt qui venait faire le beurre.

(2) Pendant le deuil, seuls les vachers remplissaient l'abreuvoir.

(3) Toutes ces curieuses cérémonies montrent la douleur profonde des parents du défunt. Elles ont aussi, et surtout, pour but d'éviter

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2. La séparation et le divorce.

Il arrive que les caractères des époux ne s'harmonisent pas, que la femme se plaigne de la ladrerie de son mari ou que celui-ci trouve que son épouse est capricieuse ou désobéissante. Dans l'un de ces cas, les conjoints peuvent se séparer pour quelque temps (*kwahukana*). Mais cette séparation les fait souvent réfléchir; le mari fait amende honorable et vient rechercher sa femme chez ses parents en donnant des cadeaux à ceux-ci et à son épouse (bière, étoffe, ou chèvres); ou bien, se rendant compte qu'elle a eu tort de quitter le foyer conjugal, la femme y retourne d'elle-même.

Pendant le temps de la séparation, les enfants, sauf les nourrissons, restent chez le mari.

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Si l'entente est définitivement impossible, le divorce (*kwahukana rwose* : litt. : se séparer définitivement) peut être demandé par l'un des époux.

Les causes du divorce au profit du mari (répudiation) sont : l'adultère répété, la malpropreté, la négligence dans les soins du ménage ou la surveillance des serviteurs, le mauvais œil [1] qui provoque une maladie du mari ou du bétail et surtout la désobéissance obstinée. La stérilité peut être une cause de divorce, mais si le mari est content de sa femme, il la gardera et se contentera d'en prendre une autre qui pourra lui donner des enfants.

La maladie, même prolongée, n'est pas une cause de divorce.

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que des malheurs ne fondent sur la famille du disparu (*guhumana* : litt. : être souillé, changer de couleur, contracter une maladie grave).

Bien qu'elles soient étrangères au droit coutumier proprement dit, nous avons jugé bon d'en brosser un bref tableau, afin de montrer que la vie entière des Banyarwanda est enserrée dans un réseau étroit de prescriptions d'ordre magique.

[1] Cf. p. 32, note 3.

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Si le mariage a été fécond, le mari ne peut reprendre la dot, mais conserve l'indongoranyo qu'il a reçue de son beau-père.

S'il n'y a pas d'enfant, le mari qui a reçu l'indongoranyo n'est pas autorisé à réclamer l'inkwano. Il le peut dans le cas contraire, mais les parents de la femme, pour éviter cette obligation, lui donnent une autre de leurs filles.

Si la dot a été intégralement payée, les enfants restent chez leur père, sauf ceux qui ne sont pas sevrés.

La femme peut demander le divorce si le mari ne paie pas la dot, s'il ne lui fournit pas d'étoffes ou de parures, s'il ne cesse de la maltraiter, si les enfants mourant l'un après l'autre lui font croire à une influence maléfique de son mari.

S'il y a des enfants, le mari peut conserver l'indongoranyo. Dans le cas contraire, il reprend la dot, à moins qu'il n'ait reçu l'indongoranyo.

Les enfants, après sevrage, retournent chez leur père, sauf si la dot n'a pas été entièrement versée.

CHAPITRE IV.

NAISSANCE ET FILIATION.

Une femme enceinte continue à se livrer à ses occupations jusqu'au moment de sa délivrance. Il arrive même qu'une femme muhutu accouche alors qu'elle travaille aux champs. Il ne faut pas voir là un effet de la rigueur de sa condition, mais l'influence de la tradition. Voyant ses parents, ses voisins agir de la sorte, elle ne conçoit pas qu'elle puisse rester inactive en attendant la venue de son enfant.

Quand l'événement est proche, on consulte les augures pour connaître l'endroit le plus favorable pour l'accou-

chement. Il se peut qu'il ait lieu chez les parents de la femme.

Pendant les huit jours qui suivent la naissance, l'accouchée se repose; son mari l'entoure de prévenances, veille à ce qu'elle ne manque de rien; viande, lait, bière, etc. (*guhemba umubyeyi :* litt. : récompenser la mère). De plus, les parents de la femme lui apportent eux aussi des présents. Vers le huitième jour, la mère recommence à sortir, à condition que le jour soit pair [1]. Pour cette circonstance, elle met son plus beau vêtement : une robe en peau de vache (*ikanda*) ou, si c'est une Mututsi, une dépouille de léopard, dont elle se couvre les épaules. Elle se met sur la tête une sorte de couronne (*urugori*) faite de paille de sorgho [2] qu'elle portera désormais avec fierté, car c'est l'emblème de sa dignité de mère. La jeune mère s'installe près de la porte du rugo avec son mari. Si l'enfant est un garçon, le père lui glisse entre les doigts un diminutif de lance, d'arc, de flèche et de bouclier pour qu'il soit brave. Les enfants du voisinage sont ensuite conviés à manger un plat composé de bouilie de sorgho et de haricots. Mais ils attendent pour manger que l'enfant ait fait ses besoins, d'où le nom de ce repas : *ubunyano* (de *kunya :* déféquer). Puis le père cite quelques noms qu'il aimerait donner à son enfant et les assistants en choisissent un. Si les parents ont déjà perdu des enfants, pour détourner les mauvais esprits, le nouveau-né est baptisé d'un nom malsonnant tel que : *Kangurube* (enfant-porcelet). Le même jour, le mari est obligé, sous peine de voir un malheur atteindre l'enfant, d'avoir des rapports avec son épouse.

Les jumeaux (*impanga*) portent des noms qui se ressemblent : Karengera et Karinganire, par exemple.

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(1) La semaine du Ruanda compte quatre jours ouvrables et un jour de repos. Les jours impairs sont considérés comme néfastes.

(2) L'urugori est garni de perles chez les riches Batutsi.

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La règle « pater is est quem nuptiæ demonstrant » est d'application générale. Normalement donc, le mari est le père de l'enfant et la filiation s'établit dans la ligne paternelle. Les enfants nés après la mort du père sont considérés comme légitimes si la femme était enceinte au moment du décès.

Il n'existe pas de nom spécial pour désigner l'enfant légitime.

La règle rappelée ci-dessus souffre cependant des exceptions. Si un homme épouse une ikinyandaro, l'enfant à naître, qui n'est qu'un umusambanano pour le mari, appartiendra à son père naturel. Mais il arrive que le mari prétende que l'enfant est né de ses œuvres si la fille n'est enceinte que de peu de mois au moment du mariage.

Il se peut qu'une fille ignore le nom de l'homme qui l'a prise [1]. L'enfant naturel appartient alors à l'inzu du père de la fille. Aujourd'hui, nombreuses sont les ibyomanzi qui, assoiffées d'indépendance, ont quitté leurs parents et errent dans le pays. Leurs enfants sont appelés *abana b'umugore*, mais ils n'appartiennent pas à l'inzu maternel, car les ibyomanzi n'ont plus de famille.

L'enfant adultérin appartient au mari. Il lui appartient de par la dot versée. Si celle-ci n'a pas été donnée, il est censé faire partie de la famille du père de sa mère. L'enfant incestueux appartient au mari.

Quand un enfant est né d'une fille non mariée, le père de celle-ci l'a sous sa dépendance.

Jadis, au temps des guerres, il arrivait que le possesseur d'une femme esclave épousât celle-ci. Les enfants issus de cette union étaient tenus pour légitimes et sui-

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[1] C'est le cas notamment pour les *abajakazi* (servantes-maîtresses) qui vivent à la Cour du Mwami ou chez les grands chefs et qui sont mises à la disposition des invités de leur maître.

vaient la condition de leur père, même si celui-ci avait déjà d'autres enfants d'un mariage avec une femme munyarwanda.

Les enfants nés du concubinage du maître avec une femme esclave étaient également considérés comme légitimes.

CHAPITRE V.

PUISSANCE PATERNELLE.

La « patria potestas » est exercée par le père. Jadis elle impliquait le droit de vie et de mort sur les enfants. Aujourd'hui le père ne dispose plus d'un tel pouvoir, mais son autorité reste toujours souveraine et s'étend même à ses fils mariés. Ceux-ci doivent notamment lui donner des vaches s'il en demande pour grossir ses troupeaux et remplacer des bêtes malades ou mortes.

Un mauvais fils peut être maudit pas son père et chassé de la famille et même de la colline (*igitshibwa* ou *ikivume :* le maudit). Il s'en va les mains vides et ses frères se partagent ses biens.

Comme contre-partie de ses pouvoirs, le père a l'obligation d'entretenir ses enfants et d'établir ses fils en payant la dot.

Les enfants doivent obéir à leur mère comme à leur père.

De même, ils doivent se montrer déférents à l'égard de leurs oncles et tantes paternels et, dans une moindre mesure, vis-à-vis de leurs oncles et tantes maternels. Les sœurs doivent obéissance à leurs frères et les cadets à leurs aînés.

La déchéance de la puissance paternelle n'existe pas comme telle. Mais si le père est indigne ou incapable, le grand-père ou un oncle paternel s'occupe des enfants.

1: Vanhove FO42 Rundi

CHAPITRE VI.

TUTELLE ET EMANCIPATION [1].

Quand le père est mort, c'est généralement un de ses frères qui veille sur la veuve et les orphelins. A défaut d'oncle paternel, c'est un oncle maternel qui assure la tutelle.

L'oncle paternel peut épouser sa belle-sœur. Il a vis-à-vis de ses neveux les mêmes droits et obligations que leur père. Si la veuve se remarie avec un étranger (*umwinjila*), celui-ci devient le tuteur des enfants, mais, en général, il n'a guère d'autorité. Et s'il ne remplit pas ses devoirs, il arrive qu'il soit chassé par l'oncle paternel et doive s'en aller les mains vides.

De même, si l'oncle tuteur méconnaît ses obligations, les enfants peuvent se plaindre au patron de leur père ou, s'ils n'ont pas de bétail, au chef de colline. Devenus grands, il arrive même qu'ils chassent le tuteur indigne.

*
* *

Seul le mariage émancipe les fils, à moins qu'auparavant ils ne s'affranchissent de façon violente de l'autorité du tuteur.

Toutefois, même lorsqu'ils sont émancipés par le mariage, les enfants mâles ne sont pas libérés de leurs obligations vis-à-vis de leurs parents [1].

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[1] Cf. également : les Successions, Tutelle des enfants, p. 71.

CHAPITRE VII.

MAJORITE ET INTERDICTION.

Il n'y a pas au Ruanda de cérémonie d'initiation ayant pour effet de marquer l'entrée des garçons dans la vie sociale, pas plus qu'il n'existe de classes d'âge. Mais, quand un jeune homme est devenu *ingaragu*, son père le considère alors comme un homme; il lui parle du bétail, des cultures, lui permet de partager son repas, l'envoie à sa place chez le patron pour faire la cour, etc.

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Les aliénés (*abasazi*), les muets (*ibirazi*) et les sourds (*ibipfamatwi*) circulent librement et, sauf les premiers, peuvent se marier.

Les biens du prodigue (*ikarara* : litt. : demi-fou, exalté) sont gérés par ses parents.

Quant au mauvais fils, désobéissant et insolent, il peut être maudit par son père (*igitshibwa* ou *ikivume*).

CHAPITRE VIII.

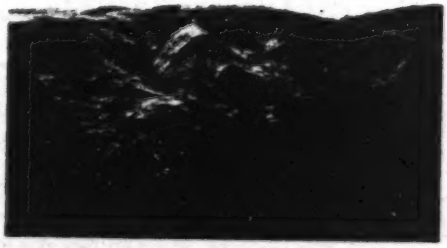
Tableau indiquant les noms désignant les différents âges de la vie [1].

Hommes.	Femmes.
1° *Uruhinja* : de la naissance jusqu'aux premiers pas.	1° Même nom.
2° *Igitambambuga* : jusqu'à quatre ou cinq ans.	2° Même nom : jusqu'à trois ans.
3° *Inchuke* : jusqu'à sept ans.	3° Même nom : jusqu'à six ans.

[1] L'âge donné en années est évidemment approximatif, puisque l'état-civil des indigènes n'est pas encore organisé dans les territoires sous mandat.

HOMMES.	FEMMES.
4° *Ingimbi* : jusqu'à dix ans.	4° Même nom : jusqu'à huit ans.
5° *Umwana ugimbutse* : jusqu'à quinze ans.	5° Même nom: jusqu'à douze ans.
6° *Ingaragu* : jusqu'à vingt ans.	6° *Umwangavu*: jusqu'à quatorze ans.
7° *Umusole* : jusqu'à vingt-cinq ans.	7° *Inkumi* : jusqu'à seize ans.
8° *Umusole uhamye* : jusqu'à trente ans.	8° *Inkumi inhamye* : jusqu'à dix-huit ans.
9° *Igikwerere* : jusqu'à quarante ans.	9° *Iliza* (litt. : avant son premier enfant): jusqu'à vingt ans.
10° *Impotole* : jusqu'à cinquante ans.	10° *Impetule* : jusqu'à vingt-cinq ans.
11° *Ijigija* : jusqu'à cinquante-cinq ans.	11° Même nom: jusqu'à trente ans.
12° *Umusaza*: jusqu'à soixante ans.	12° *Ijigija ihamye* : jusqu'à quarante ans.
13° *Umusaza rukukuri* : au delà de soixante ans.	13° *Umukechuru*: jusqu'à cinquante ans.
	14° *Umukechuru rukukuri* : jusqu'à soixante ans et au delà.

Type de bétail du Ruanda.



Environs de Kigali.
On aperçoit les cultures couvrant les éperons de colline et les vallées.

Cliché de l'auteur.

[p. 40a]

SECTION II.

Les biens.

1. Propriété en général.

Les Banyarwanda ont une notion de la propriété moins abstraite que la nôtre. Elle est comparable à celle de la possession.

D'autre part, la différenciation n'est pas faite entre les choses mobilières et immobilières. Mais les biens portent des noms différents selon leur nature ou leur usage : Les Banyarwanda distinguent les *amatungo* (animaux); les *ibintu*, nom générique qui s'applique au rugo, aux *imilima* (champs), *ubgatsi* (pâturages), *imyaka* (récoltes) et *urutoke* (bananeraies); les *ibiti* (arbres); les *intwaro* (armes et instruments tranchants); les *ibikolesho* (houes, pioches, paniers, barattes); les *imyambaro* (vêtements).

2. Propriété foncière.

Une véritable propriété foncière existe au Ruanda, alors que, au Congo belge, les indigènes considèrent que la nue propriété du sol appartient au mânes et s'en réservent uniquement l'usufruit.

Toutes les terres du pays appartiennent au Mwami, qui en abandonne la jouissance par voie de cascade aux différents chefs ou sous-chefs. Ceux-ci à leur tour cèdent un *isambu* (terrain vendu) ou concèdent un *umwatano* (terrain loué) aux Bahutu moyennant un prix ou une redevance consistant en un certain pourcentage sur les récoltes à venir (*ichyata umulima* : litt. : cadeau pour avoir un champ).

Le Muhutu détient son terrain de façon plus ou moins précaire. En effet, même s'il paie régulièrement les rede-

vances, il se peut que sa terre lui soit reprise un jour, par exemple s'il néglige de s'acquitter des prestations coutumières dues aux chefs et au Roi; dans ce cas, il peut être dépouillé en tout ou en partie de son terrain, mais la dernière récolte ne lui est pas enlevée [1].

Le chef de colline a également le droit d'enlever une parcelle de terrain (*ubugerure*) à des Bahutu pour en former un *ubuka* qu'il veut offrir à quelqu'un d'autre ou le garder comme propriété personnelle (*imilima y'inyarulembo*). Le morceau de parcelle qui reste au Muhutu s'appelle *isagu*.

Le Muhutu peut transmettre son droit d'exploitation à son fils par voie d'héritage. Un terrain qui passe d'une génération à l'autre s'appelle *indeka*.

Des terrains sont parfois détenus collectivement par une famille en la personne de son chef (*isambu* ou *ingobyi y'iwabo*). Les membres de la famille ne lui paient pas de location et, à l'exclusion des étrangers, ont le droit d'y couper du bois de chauffage ainsi que d'y mener paître le bétail.

Il existe aussi des bois communaux (*itshanya*). Le chef de colline s'en réserve une partie et permet l'exploitation du reste aux gens de la colline.

Les Batwa prétendent être les occupants légitimes des forêts. Pour cette raison, ils entrent souvent en conflit avec les Bahutu voisins des régions boisées.

Les minières et les carrières de terre plastique sont la propriété du chef. Mais celui-ci permet à ses gens de s'y

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[1] Un régime de propriété sensiblement différent existe dans la partie ouest du Bunyambiriri, l'extrême nord du Ndiza et le Rukiga (provinces du Mulera et du Bugoyi), où les terrains défrichés et cultivés par les Bahutu sont l'objet d'un droit de propriété familiale. Ce droit est sacré et les Batutsi, dont le pouvoir dans ces régions est plutôt nominal, savent qu'ils ne pourraient le contester sans s'exposer à de graves mécomptes, voire à des représailles sanglantes.

approvisionner en échange d'une redevance (une houe ou des pots).

Les limites (*imbibi*) des champs sont constituées en général par de petits fossés (*impavu*) ou des tas de pierres (*ibishyiraga*).

Il n'y a pas de zones neutres entre les terres.

Un *inkungu* est un terrain délaissé par suite du départ volontaire ou de la mort sans héritier de son détenteur. Un homme qui est l'objet de la malédiction paternelle ou qui est chassé par le chef, par exemple à la suite de vols répétés de bétail, doit aussi abandonner sa parcelle. Le chef peut offrir un inkungu (ou un ubugerure) à un étranger à la colline qui demande à s'y établir. Si celui-ci est un Muhutu, il est obligé de se soumettre aux mêmes obligations que son prédécesseur. Si c'est un Mututsi, il n'est tenu de payer aucune redevance foncière et le chef lui donne même en plus un pâturage.

Les droits de passage et d'accès ne sont pas privatifs. Les gens de la colline peuvent circuler librement sur les terres des uns et des autres. Il en est de même pour le bétail, pour lequel des chemins spéciaux sont aménagés.

En cas de contestation en matière foncière, le litige est porté devant le chef de colline, qui se rend sur les lieux et, après avoir entendu les témoins, départage les plaideurs.

3. Coutumes de chasse.

Les coutumes de chasse sont très nombreuses. Aussi ne citerons-nous que quelques cas parmi les plus fréquents :

L'indigène chassant isolément qui a tué une antilope ordinaire (*impongo*) prend la viande et la dépouille.

La chasse en battue est organisée par le chef, qui détermine les terres à battre, après avoir pris l'avis des chas-

seurs réputés batutsi ou bahutu et suivant les indications des pisteurs. Le chef désigne aussi les traqueurs, choisis parmi les plus mauvais tireurs; pour stimuler leur zèle dans cette tâche ingrate, il leur promet des pots de bière, si la chasse est fructueuse.

Les indigènes sont tenus de prendre part à la chasse, mais ils se plient de bon gré à cette obligation qui est pour eux un divertissement apprécié et également une source de profits.

De même, celui qui au cours d'une battue a blessé le premier une bête est censé l'avoir tuée. Il a droit à la peau et à une cuisse. La viande est partagée entre tous les chasseurs batutsi ou bahutu. Le chasseur qui abat plusieurs antilopes peut conserver la peau d'une bête.

Celui qui trouve une bête tuée doit la rendre aux chasseurs. Théoriquement du moins, le gibier appartient au Roi et les dépouilles d'une certaine valeur [1] doivent lui être remises, notamment les peaux de loutre (*inzibyi* ou *igihura*), d'antilope de marais (*mpala*), de « bush bock » (*inzole*), de lion et de léopard ainsi que les pointes d'ivoire.

Si un fauve a été abattu, sa dépouille doit être remise au chef, qui en échange donne aux chasseurs une vache stérile comme *ingororano* [2].

Quand le chef de colline chasse avec ses gens, il conserve quelques peaux et donne les autres au chef de province. Celui-ci à son tour en garde quelques-unes et, s'il le juge avantageux pour lui, envoie les autres au Mwami. Si le chef de colline a tué un lion ou un léopard, la dépouille doit être remise au Mwami. S'il y a deux peaux, elles sont partagées entre le Roi et le chef de province. Le

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(1) Les peaux d'antilope de marais sont très appréciées des Batutsi, à cause de leurs poils longs et soyeux; ils en font des couvertures de lit. Les peaux de « bush bock » et de léopard servent d'ornements de danse aux pages « intore ».

(2) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 57.

1: Vanhove FO42 Rundi

chef de colline ne peut donc conserver une peau de léopard que si la chasse a été particulièrement fructueuse.

L'indigène qui a abattu trois éléphants a cependant droit pour lui seul aux défenses de la troisième bête tuée.

Enfin, il est interdit à un chasseur de prendre une partie quelconque du crocodile qu'il a tué. L'animal, les pattes alourdies de grosses pierres, doit être précipité au fond de la rivière. Les Banyarwanda croient en effet que le corps du saurien contient un violent poison et ils veulent empêcher qu'il en soit fait usage.

Lorsqu'une bête est signalée, les traqueurs qui se sont avancés dans les fourrés, où ils sont quasi invisibles, et les chasseurs qui les y ont suivis doivent signaler leur présence à leurs voisins par un sifflement discret. Les accidents de chasse sont réglementés par la coutume [1].

4. Propriété du gros bétail.

a) Généralités.

Le Mwami est propriétaire de tout le bétail du Ruanda ou tout au moins des femelles reproductrices. Les grands chefs (*abatware*) sont chargés par le Roi de veiller sur son bétail dans les différentes provinces. Aussi, la vente de génisses ne peut-elle avoir lieu sans leur autorisation.

Au contraire, le détenteur de vaches stériles ou de taureaux peut céder ces bêtes ou les abattre comme il l'entend.

Dans une province, l'indigène acquéreur d'une vache reproductrice ne possède qu'un droit d'usufruit et n'aurait aucune réclamation à faire valoir si le Mwami lui enlevait la bête qu'il a achetée et son croît. L'*umutware w'umukenke* [2] peut s'opposer à ce que des têtes de bétail sortent de la province. Tout indigène qui va s'établir dans une autre province doit abandonner son bétail,

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(1) Cf. Droit pénal, p. 113.
(2) Cf. Gouvernement et Administration, divisions politiques, p. 98.

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à moins d'avoir reçu l'autorisation du chef de l'emmener avec lui. Quand un indigène quitte sa province, en y laissant son bétail, pour aller s'installer dans une autre, son nouveau chef lui remet généralement un troupeau de la même importance que celui qu'il a perdu. S'il s'échappe de sa circonscription en emmenant subrepticement son bétail, son ancien chef réclame le troupeau. Jadis, si ce dernier se heurtait à un refus, il cherchait à s'emparer d'un troupeau d'une égale valeur appartenant au nouveau chef du transfuge et un conflit armé résultait immanquablement d'un tel différend. Aujourd'hui, le litige est soumis obligatoirement au Mwami. Il ordonne éventuellement que le nouveau chef restitue le bétail et, en cas de mauvaise volonté de sa part, il peut lui enlever en outre un ou plusieurs troupeaux.

Avant l'occupation européenne, un chef mécontent d'un de ses gens pouvait lui prendre son bétail en tout ou en partie sans l'autorisation préalable du Mwami. Le chef était sur ce point le « Mwami de son umugaragu ».

Les vachers (*abashumba*) au service de détenteurs de bétail sont autorisés à prélever une partie du lait des bêtes confiées à leur garde. Ils peuvent être révoqués en cas de négligence.

b) Classification du bétail d'après la couleur.

Amanya : gris-bleu.

Ibihogo : brun foncé.

Ibihogo bitose : brun plus foncé.

Igaju : brun clair.

Igaju ly'intukura : jaune-brun.

Igisa : café au lait.

Igitare : blanc.

Ikibamba : noir avec de grandes taches blanches.

c) Classification du bétail d'après l'âge.

1. Bétail mâle :

Umutavu : nouveau-né.

Ingimbuke : de quinze jours.

Umushishe : d'un mois.

Incharwatsi : qui mange de l'herbe pour la première fois.

Umukulira : qui va au pâturage pour la première fois.

Inchuke : sevré.

b) Classification du bétail d'après la couleur.

Ikibayi : gris-brun.

Ikijugu : gris clair.

Isine : noir avec de petites taches brunes.

Itshyasha : avec une tache blanche sur le front.

Ubugondo bw'izagiriza : blanc avec de petites taches brunes.

Umukara : noir.

Umusengo : brun avec de petites taches blanches.

Urwirungu rwumugoroba : blanc et noir.

Urwirungu rw'amarwa : beige rosé.

c) Classification du bétail d'après l'âge.

Ikimasa ly'umukangara : un peu plus grand que l'inchuke.

Karasiga inkivyondo: bon pour payer une amende.

Igitobyi : prêt à saillir.

Imfisi umutore : qui a sailli une fois.

Ubukombe : taureau adulte.

Umutaza : vieux taureau.

2. Bétail femelle :

(Jusqu'au sevrage, même nom que le bétail mâle.)

Ishashi ikata : génisse pleine.

Iliza : premier veau.

Impete : deuxième veau.

Impetule : troisième veau.

Ijigija : quatrième veau.

Ibuguma : vache qui vêle encore mais dont le produit trop faible meurt.

Inshura : vieille vache qui ne vêle plus.

Isave : vache stérile de naissance (maigre).

Urubeheri : vache stérile de naissance (grasse).

d) Classification du bétail d'après les cornes.

Igaritse : aux grandes cornes fort étendues.

Impotore : aux cornes dont les pointes sont légèrement tordues.

Ingarure : aux cornes tordues dont les pointes sont dirigées en avant.

Inkungu : sans cornes.

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Intenderi : aux cornes dont les pointes sont dirigées vers le sol.
Inkungu y'indegeri : aux petites cornes mobiles.
Ikubis'ihembe : avec une corne verticale, l'autre horizontale.
Itegey'inyuma : aux cornes dont les pointes sont dirigées en arrière.
Itez'akamoso : aux cornes entrecroisées.
Urubindo : aux cornes dont les pointes sont dirigées vers les oreilles.
Itegey'ijuru : aux grandes cornes presque verticales.

e) Classification du bétail d'après le droit coutumier.

Imbata. — Tête de bétail reçue en dot, en cadeau ou achetée au marché et dont le possesseur est vraiment propriétaire. Mais si, en se mettant sous le patronage du chef de colline ou du chef de province [1], il reçoit de l'un de ceux-ci une ou plusieurs vaches appelées *inkazibiti* ou *ingabane*, selon qu'il est Muhutu ou Mututsi, toutes les vaches imbata peuvent, en cas de déchéance de sa qualité de client, lui être enlevées avec les autres par une décision arbitraire de son patron.

Si un Muhutu reçoit d'un Mututsi des têtes de bétail en vertu du contrat dit d'*ubugaragu* (bail à cheptel) [1] et si après quelques années, en vendant les taurillons, les peaux, les cornes, le lait, le beurre, il a gagné assez d'argent pour pouvoir acheter une tête de bétail, celle-ci n'est pas une imbata, mais une *impahano* [2].

Si un Muhutu umugaragu d'un Mututsi marie sa fille et reçoit une vache à lait comme dot, celle-ci n'est pas une imbata, mais bien une *inkwano* et le shebuja du gendre peut la reprendre. En effet, c'est la situation sociale du Muhutu qui lui a valu de toucher une dot en bétail. S'il n'avait pas été client d'un Mututsi, il n'aurait reçu comme dot que des houes ou des chèvres.

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(1) Voir plus loin : Obligations et Contrats, p. 74.
(2) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 51.

INTUNDANO [1]. — Vache achetée au marché, avec le salaire gagné aux mines, contre des chèvres ou des paniers de haricots. Elle est imbata.

INDUNDU. — Vache acquise immédiatement en pleine propriété sans condition pour l'acheteur de payer plus tard un supplément. Indundu s'oppose à *Ingwate* [2].

INKAZIBITI. — Vaches remises sans redevance par le patron à un client qui a fait sa cour (*guhakwa*). Prendre possession des vaches promises par le shebuja se dit : *kujya ku ilembo* (litt. : franchir le seuil du rugo). La première vache reçue dans ces conditions s'appelle *inka y'igiti* [3]; la deuxième *impetano*; les autres ne portent pas de nom spécial. Un père peut donner aussi des inkazibiti à ses femmes et à ses fils.

INGABANE. — Quand un Mututsi qui a fait sa cour auprès du Mwami reçoit de celui-ci une colline avec du bétail et des abagaragu, le dit bétail porte le nom de *ingabane* [4]. Un troupeau d'ingabane comporte au minimum trente têtes : vaches, veaux, génisses, taurillons.

Un simple Mututsi non pourvu d'un commandement politique peut recevoir des ingabane et des inkazibiti. Mais la faveur du Mwami lui vaut d'être considéré comme un personnage important. Il est l'umugaragu du Mwami.

Les Bahutu ne reçoivent d'ordinaire que des inkazibiti.

INDEMANO [5]. — *a*) Vaches de même couleur et de même âge remises par un père à son fils quand celui-ci est sur le point de se marier. L'ensemble des indemano porte le nom d'*iminani;*

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(1) De *kutunda*, faire le commerce.
(2) Voir plus loin, p. 55.
(3) Littéralement : vache du tronc d'arbre.
(4) De *kugabana*, recevoir.
(5) De *kulema*, créer, former, rassembler.

b) Par un patron à un client qu'il affectionne et qui va se marier;

c) Par un mari à sa femme.

Les indemano sont aussi ingabane.

Les têtes de bétail restant au maître après ces différents partages forment l'*ingarigari* (les vaches réservées).

Ingarigari. — Vaches que le maître conserve pour sa satisfaction et ses besoins personnels sans en donner à ses femmes, ses fils, ses amis ou sans les donner à bail à des abagaragu.

Inkuke [1]. — *a*) Un fils qui a reçu de son père des indemano rend à son père une vache à lait (*inkuke*) prise parmi les indemano. Quand elle ne donne plus de lait, le père la renvoie chez son fils.

b) Un umugaragu mututsi a l'obligation d'envoyer chez le Mwami une inkuke prise parmi les ingabane qu'il a reçues. Quand la vache ne donne plus de lait, le client doit amener d'autres bêtes.

c) Un umugaragu peut recevoir des indemano de son patron. En général, ce sont de vieilles vaches ou des taurillons qu'il échange alors contre des génisses. Quand elles sont adultes, il donne une ou plusieurs de ces inkuke à son patron.

d) Un umugaragu du Mwami doit envoyer de temps en temps à celui-ci une vache laitière prise dans les ingabane qu'il a reçues.

Indwanyi. — Taureau adulte fourni annuellement au Mwami par chaque chef de province et qui est sacrifié aux mânes ou qui sert de bête de boucherie pour les besoins du Roi, de ses Batwa ou de ses hôtes étrangers : Bahima, Barundi, Baganda, etc.

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[1] De *gukura*, enlever, ôter.

Ibiniha. — Vache stérile fournie dans les mêmes conditions et destinée au même usage.

Intorwa. — Taurillons ou jeunes béliers destinés à la consultation des augures ou au culte des ancêtres.

Yo Kubika. — Vache amenée au Mwami par le successeur d'un chef de province, qui vient lui annoncer la mort de son père.

Iy'ubuntu(1). — Vache donnée en cadeau. Elle appartient en pleine propriété à celui qui la reçoit; celui-ci n'est tenu à aucune obligation vis-à-vis du donateur. Les vaches ubuntu ne sont pas ingabane; elles sont imbata, quand elles prennent place parmi les imbata qui se trouvent déjà dans le rugo et gardent le nom d'*inka y'ubuntu*, sans en posséder les privilèges, dans tous les autres cas.

Inyiturano. — Vache donnée en retour par celui qui a reçu une ubuntu. Quand un homme qui a gratifié d'ubuntu certains de ses amis meurt, ses enfants peuvent réclamer une vache inyiturano à chacun de ceux-ci.

Impahano (2). — Vaches achetées dans les mêmes conditions que les intundano, reçues en cadeau ou en dot. Elles ont le même caractère que celles-ci, mais si leur possesseur se lie à un patron, elles deviennent « ipso facto » des vaches d'umugaragu.

Inyarulembo. — Vaches qui continuent à appartenir à un pasteur mututsi, mais qui peuvent se trouver chez une de ses femmes ou chez un umugaragu. Elles restent près de la demeure du maître, car elles sont destinées à fournir le lait nécessaire à l'alimentation de celui-ci et de sa famille. Les indemano remises par un propriétaire

(1) De *ubuntu*, générosité. On dit aussi *ineza*, bienveillance.

(2) De *guhaha*, aller chercher, se procurer.

de bétail sont des inyarulembo. Les vaches achetées par un umugaragu mututsi (intundano) sont aussi inyarulembo. Au contraire, celles acquises par un Muhutu qui s'est engagé dans un contrat de clientèle deviennent ingabane.

INKWANO. — Vache à lait donnée ou reçue en dot pour le mariage d'une fille ou d'une sœur. Elle devient imbata.

INDONGORANYO (1). — Tête de bétail donnée au jeune ménage par les parents de la femme et parfois aussi par les parents du mari. Chez les chefs, l'indongoranyo est remise aussitôt après le mariage en signe d'amitié. Chez les autres Batutsi, l'indongoranyo est donnée à la jeune femme par son père quand elle rend visite à ses parents après la naissance de son premier enfant.

IY'URUGORI (2). — Vache à lait ou génisse qu'une jeune mère reçoit de son père ou de son beau-père, à moins qu'elle n'ait été gratifiée déjà d'une indongoranyo. En cas de rupture du mariage, l'urugori n'est pas réclamé à la famille de la femme.

IY'ICHYARI. — La bru n'est pas autorisée à voir son beau-père pendant les premiers jours du mariage. En même temps qu'il lève l'interdiction, le beau-père peut donner une *ichyari* au jeune ménage. Chez les Bahutu, la vache est remplacée par un mouton ou une chèvre.

IY'IGISAGE. — Vache donnée par un père à son fils quand celui-ci atteint six ou sept ans. A ce moment, on modifie la coiffure qu'il avait jusqu'alors (*igisage*) pour lui faire des *amasunzu* (3). L'enfant muhutu reçoit au même âge deux ou trois bananiers.

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(1) De *kurongoranya*, aider à entrer en ménage.

(2) Du nom du bandeau en paille de sorgho que les mères banyarwanda portent sur la tête.

(3) Coiffure en forme de crête de coq ou de croissant de lune.

INKAMWA. — Quand un père de famille meurt, un de ses fils ou de ses petits-fils est choisi pour mettre entre ses mains un pot de lait. La vache qui a donné ce lait s'appelle *inkamwa*. Elle est donnée à celui qui a placé le pot de lait entre les mains du défunt et n'est pas comprise dans le partage de la succession.

Cette vache ne peut être vendue ou tuée. Son croît n'est pas soumis à cette interdiction. Si elle meurt, elle est mangée par les Bahutu dans le rugo du propriétaire et les os y sont enterrés.

Chez les Bahutu, un mouton joue le rôle d'inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. — A la mort du père de famille, l'aîné des fils égorge un taurillon, qui est mangé par la famille. La peau est portée par le fils aîné pendant deux mois pour que les vaches ne meurent pas, comme leur maître.

IY'UMULIRO et INSHUMBUSHANYO. — 1° Si la foudre a détruit le troupeau (ou même une bête) détenu par l'umugaragu, celui-ci peut obtenir de son shebuja l'*umuliro* (litt. : la vache du feu), à savoir une vache ou un taurillon.

Quand plusieurs vaches sont remises par le patron pour indemniser son client, la première s'appelle *umuliro*, les autres *inshumbushanyo*.

2° Si le patron dépouille son client de tout son troupeau pour le punir de l'inexécution de l'une de ses obligations, l'umugaragu sollicite la protection d'un autre shebuja, qui remet à son nouveau protégé une vache et un taurillon ou un taurillon seul.

IMPONOKE. — Quand le troupeau du patron, du chef de province ou du Roi est décimé par la peste bovine (*muryamo*), les abagaragu donnent des vaches pour combler les vides causés par l'épizootie.

INDORANO [1]. — A la mort de l'enfant, de la femme ou du frère du Roi, de même qu'en cas de deuil chez un grand chef, les chefs de province et, s'ils sont soumis directement au Mwami, les chefs de colline amènent chacun deux vaches chez le Mwami et une seulement dans l'autre éventualité. Une vache est remise également par les abagaragu. La vache donnée à un ami à l'occasion d'un grand deuil s'appelle aussi indorano.

IMPONGANO. — 1° Vache donnée pour apaiser la colère du Roi ou d'un chef de province.

2° Vache donnée à un familier du Mwami pour le remercier de son intervention auprès du Roi.

IZIMANO. — La première fois qu'un grand chef de province va en saluer un autre, l'hôte remet à son invité une vache à lait.

De même, si le Roi ou un chef de province se rendent chez un de leurs abagaragu, ils se voient offrir un veau.

INJISHYWA. — Vache qui accompagne un Mututsi noble se rendant chez un chef de province ou le Mwami pour affaires ou pour y faire sa cour. Elle est destinée à lui fournir le lait nécessaire à son alimentation.

INDAGIZO [2]. — Vache que le déposant (*uwaragije*) confie à quelqu'un qui possède un pâturage meilleur que le sien, mais le dépositaire (*uwaragiywe*) ne devient pas umugaragu. Celui-ci doit renvoyer la vache quand elle a mis bas, mais il a droit au lait pendant deux mois si la vache est jeune et pendant quinze jours si elle ne l'est plus. Si le veau meurt, le dépositaire a droit au lait un jour sur quatre.

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(1) De *kurora*, voir.

(2) De *kulagiza*, donner en dépôt pour faire paître.

INTAHIRA [1]. — C'est la meilleure des vaches détenues par un umugaragu. Il la fait toujours marcher en tête du troupeau. Le détenteur peut prendre son lait (*intagemura* : litt. : conserver le lait pour soi), mais les veaux doivent retourner chez le propriétaire.

INGWATE. — Primus, qui possède un taurillon (*inguzwa*) ou une vache stérile (également inguzwa), demande à Secundus, qui a une génisse (*ingwate*), s'il ne veut pas consentir à un échange aux conditions suivantes .

a) Si la génisse a un veau femelle (*umukangara*), Primus gardera le produit et la mère pendant un temps à convenir, deux ans généralement. Secundus reprendra alors la vache et son veau et conservera en plus l'inguzwa.

b) Si la génisse a un veau mâle, Secundus le prend tout de suite et Primus garde la mère pendant deux ans. Le lait est partagé entre les co-contractants : Secundus a droit au lait pendant quatre jours, Primus pendant deux jours et le gardien pendant un jour par semaine.

c) Si la génisse meurt avant d'avoir donné un veau, Primus prend la dépouille et Secundus conserve l'inguzwa. Pour éviter que la génisse reste pendant deux ans chez Primus, Secundus donne à son co-contractant une vache pleine (*ingenzura*) et reprend l'ingwate et son croît (veau femelle ou mâle). Deux cas peuvent alors se présenter :

a) L'ingenzura accouche d'un veau femelle. Primus le réclame.

1° Secundus accepte et reprend l'ingenzura;

2° Secundus refuse. Primus conserve l'ingenzura, son veau et ne donne pas le lait, en attendant qu'une autre vache lui soit remise.

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[1] De *gutahira*, venir devant, précéder, tenir la tête.

b) L'ingenzura met bas un veau mâle.

1° Secundus accepte de donner à Primus un umukangara et reprend la vache et son veau;

2° Secundus refuse. Primus garde l'ingenzura et son veau. Il ne rend ce dernier qu'après sevrage. Il attend que la vache donne un veau femelle.

Igichaniro (1). — Primus, désireux d'avoir un taurillon, donne en gage (*kugwatiriza*) toutes ses vaches à Secundus, tout en les gardant chez lui. Après deux ans, Primus remet un veau femelle à Secundus. S'il refusait, Secundus serait en droit de prendre une vache à lait (*gukubitira*).

Si le contrat porte sur des chèvres, le fait pour Secundus de se payer soi-même en cas de refus de Primus porte le nom de *gufatira*.

Indabukirano (2). — 1° A l'avènement du Roi, ses abagaragu et tous les chefs de province doivent lui donner chacun une ou deux vaches en hommage.

2° Quand un *umutware w'intebe*, un *ichibiri* ou un *igisonga* (3) sont nommés, les propriétaires de plusieurs têtes de bétail doivent lui offrir une vache. Les abagaragu ont la faculté, non l'obligation, de faire de même.

3° Quand le Roi ou un umutware destitue et dépouille un chef, les abagaragu du nouveau chef peuvent aussi lui donner chacun une indabukirano.

Les Bahutu, eux, offrent des chèvres, des moutons, des houes.

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(1) L'*igichaniro* est, à proprement parler, le feu allumé dans le kraal pour protéger les vaches contre le froid.

(2) De *kurabukira*, offrir un don d'avènement au chef.

(3) Cf. Gouvernement et Administration, divisions politiques, pp. 98 et 99.

INTORE. — 1° Certains grands chefs possèdent, comme le Roi, un corps d'*Intore* (pages danseurs) [1] [2]. L'enfant d'un riche Mututsi qui se rend chez un chef de province pour y devenir page y amène une vache *y'intore*. Celle-ci est donnée à l'*umutware y'intore* (commandant des pages), qui devient ainsi en quelque sorte le shebuja du père de l'enfant. Ce dernier n'est cependant tenu par aucun lien comme un client ordinaire.

2° On appelle aussi intore les vaches données obligatoirement par les abagaragu à un Mututsi noble qui succède à son père comme chef de famille.

3° Impôt en vaches.

INGORORANO [3]. — Vache donnée pour récompenser un guerrier de son courage ou pour un service rendu. Celui qui a bien soigné les vaches du maître (*inyarulembo* ou *ingarigari*) ou qui a bien cultivé ses champs peut recevoir une vache. Pour récompenser l'umutware w'intore de son enseignement, le père d'un page lui donne aussi une ingororano.

UMUHETO. — Vache prise grâce à l'arc (*umuheto*). C'était le butin de guerre. Jadis on donnait aussi ce nom à l'impôt payé par les guerriers.

IMIGOGORO [4]. — Vache envoyée tous les jours chez les blancs pour leur fournir du lait. Dans le Kinyaga (Shangugu) et dans le Bugoyi, on l'appelle *umuheto*. Dans le Ndorwa, elle est appelée *kibere*.

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(1) De *gutora*, prendre, ou *gutorana*, prélever, choisir.

(2) Cf. Gouvernement et Administration, les intore, p. 90.

(3) De *kugororera*, gratifier.

(4) De *mogogoro*, fatigue, ennui, imposition. Avant l'occupation belge, ces vaches étaient appelées *imbyukuruke* (litt. : parade).

IMBYUKURUKE. — Vache de choix destinée à être montrée à un haut personnage en visite et à lui fournir du lait pendant le temps de son séjour.

IBIHEMBO. — Cadeau en vaches offert à la femme du Roi, d'un grand chef ou d'un patron quand elle a un enfant.

Le don fait par les Bahutu qui consiste simplement en lait ou en bière se dit *y'ibihembo*.

INTIZO [1]. — 1° Un homme dépouillé par un chef reçoit d'un ami une vache en prêt (*intizo*) en attendant que justice soit rendue. Il se peut également que l'ami ne donne que du lait (*intizo*), parce que, en envoyant une vache, il montrerait ostensiblement son amitié et ainsi risquerait lui aussi d'encourir la colère du chef.

2° Un propriétaire de bétail doit donner au moins une vache à lait à un gardien (umushumba) qui n'a pas le temps de cultiver pour son compte.

3° Un Muhutu qui cultive les champs d'un Mututsi reçoit du lait (intizo), soir et matin, de celui-ci.

4° Une vache est remise à deux cultivateurs qui se partagent le lait et les prestations à fournir en contrepartie [2].

IMPONGANO. — Vache donnée en réparation d'une faute ou offerte à titre de cadeau à celui (*inshuti*) dont l'intervention peut aider à faire gagner le procès.

INGURANO. — Vache de rachat donnée par un patron ou par un chef de famille pour éviter que le coupable soit condamné.

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(1) De *gutiza*, prêter.

(2) La traite d'une vache est égale au salaire d'un jour de culture.

INKUNGURANYO [1]. — Primus, possesseur d'une génisse, s'adresse à Secundus pour échanger la vache contre un veau femelle ou deux taureaux. Ils ne doivent rien donner en supplément pour avoir un droit absolu sur l'objet de l'échange, mais aucun d'eux ne conserve non plus la possibilité de reprendre la valeur échangée.

5. Petits animaux domestiques.

Le Mwami possède un droit de propriété plutôt théorique sur le petit bétail, qui est considéré par les grands éleveurs comme étant sans valeur.

En conséquence, les Bahutu ont la faculté de vendre ou de réserver pour leur consommation chèvres et moutons.

La volaille appartient également aux Bahutu, qui ont l'obligation de fournir, sans rémunération, les poussins nécessaires aux sacrifices divinatoires. Les poules et les œufs ne sont pas consommés par les indigènes et n'ont donc, sauf aux environs des postes européens, aucune valeur marchande.

Le petit bétail ainsi que la volaille sont la propriété exclusive des hommes.

Les Banyarwanda tiennent beaucoup à leurs chiens de chasse. Des Batutsi vont jusqu'à payer une ou deux vaches pour un chien réputé pour ses qualités de chasseur.

6. Autres biens mobiliers et immobiliers.

Chez les Batutsi, le mari et chacune de ses femmes habitent leur rugo propre, mais toutes ces demeures sont la propriété du mari. De même, chez les Bahutu, la hutte et ses annexes appartiennent au mari.

Les instruments de travail appartiennent au mari. La femme et les enfants ne peuvent les prêter sans son autorisation, sauf pour peu de temps.

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[1] De *gukunguranya*, échanger deux vaches de valeur égale d'une manière définitive et irrévocable.

1: Vanhove FO42 Rundi

Les ustensiles de ménage fournis à l'épouse par le mari restent la propriété de celui-ci. Mais les *ibirongoranywa* [1], c'est-à-dire les objets, ustensiles, vêtements, donnés par le père à sa fille au moment du mariage et qui peuvent atteindre parfois la valeur de plusieurs vaches ou consister même en vaches, appartiennent à la femme. Elle peut en disposer comme bon lui semble, sauf s'il s'agit de vaches.

SECTION III.

Les successions.

1. Bases du droit successoral.

Les principes qui régissent le droit successoral sont :

1° Les femmes et les filles sont exclues de la succession, car elles ne peuvent ni tester ni hériter de valeurs;

2° La succession reste en principe dans la ligne masculine paternelle [2];

3° Le nouveau chef de famille est normalement, mais non nécessairement, l'aîné des fils, sans distinction de lits.

2. Désignation du nouveau chef de famille.

Le temps de deuil (*kwirabura* : litt. : devenir noir) et les cérémonies de la purification (*kwera* : litt. : devenir blanc) achevés, à savoir deux mois après le décès [3], il

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(1) Cf. note 1, p. 52.

(2) Il se peut qu'un garçon hérite également dans la famille de sa mère, mais seulement si le défunt, parent de sa mère, a exprimé sa volonté avant de mourir et, bien entendu, s'il n'a pas d'héritiers naturels.

Il arrive aussi qu'un étranger recueille la succession du défunt si celui-ci n'a pas d'héritiers.

(3) Le délai est réduit à quelques jours quand le ménage n'a pas eu d'enfants.

est procédé à la désignation du nouveau chef de famille (*umutware w'urugo rwa se* : litt. : le chef du rugo de son père).

Si le père est mort sans avoir pu faire connaître ses volontés, ce soin incombe au chef d'umulyango, qui prend au préalable l'avis des anciens. Peu importe que les fils soient de lits différents (polygynie ou mariages successifs), qu'ils soient légitimes, nés d'une concubine ou adultérins. Seules sont prises en considération dans le choix les qualités qui sont requises d'un futur chef de famille.

Mais le plus souvent, sentant sa fin proche, le père appelle le chef d'umulyango et deux amis. Il leur dicte ses dernières volontés. Les épouses d'un polygame ne se privent généralement pas d'intriguer en faveur de leur fils et s'efforcent de circonvenir leur mari — ou même son frère — en usant à la fois de leurs charmes et de leur plus subtile dialectique. La situation est identique dans le cas de mariages successifs.

On comprend donc aisément que souvent les autres fils, surtout s'ils sont issus de mères différentes, se jugent lésés à tort ou à raison. Mais la faculté leur est donnée de demander justice au Mwami, au chef de la province ou au chef de colline, selon qu'ils sont fils d'umutware w'intebe, d'igisonga, simples Batutsi ou Bahutu. Ces autorités ratifieront le choix fait par le père ou l'oncle ou bien décideront quel autre garçon succédera à son père.

A défaut de descendance masculine, la dignité du chef de famille revient au frère le plus âgé du défunt. Dans ce cas, l'héritier sera à la fois chef de son rugo et de celui de son frère.

Il se peut même qu'il soit en temps chef de l'umulyango, c'est-à-dire du clan. C'est l'umutware w'umulyango (ou encore l'umutware rwa bo).

Si tous les frères sont disparus, leurs fils héritent par droit de primogéniture.

Si le défunt n'a ni fils, ni frères, ni neveux dans sa ligne, son père lui succédera ou, à son défaut, le frère de celui-ci ou l'un de ses descendants mâles par droit de primogéniture.

Les Bahutu et les Batwa ont leur propre umutware w'urugo. Mais ils dépendent du même chef d'umulyango que les Batutsi.

3. Composition de la succession.

En outre de la dignité du chef de famille, la succession comprend :

1° Le gros bétail;
2° Les clients (abagaragu);
3° Chez les Bahutu surtout, les chèvres et les moutons;
4° Les immeubles [1];
5° Les meubles [1].

Les donations (*kugabira :* faire une donation) faites par le père à l'un de ses fils, et qui sont appelées inkazibiti quand elles consistent en vaches, restent acquises au donataire, à moins d'indignité : irrespect marqué, désobéissances multiples, etc. (*kunyaga :* reprendre).

Les obligations actives aussi bien que passives passent à la succession. Faute de pouvoir rembourser, les descendants du défunt en ligne directe — et eux seuls — seront tenus de travailler un jour ou deux par semaine au profit des héritiers du créancier — que ce soient ses fils ou même ses frères — et ce jusqu'à extinction complète de la dette.

4. Dévolution des biens.

Les biens sont attribués aux héritiers, deux mois après le décès chez les Batutsi, un mois après chez les Bahutu. Toutefois, les instruments et objets peuvent être utilisés tout de suite.

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[1] Cf. les Biens, Propriété en général, p. 41.

Le fils qui est maudit par son père (igitshibwa ou ikivume) doit restituer tout ce qu'il a reçu de celui-ci (inkazibiti, indemano); il est contraint de s'en aller au loin, seul, sans sa femme et ses enfants, en abandonnant tous ses biens.

Pour faire saisir plus clairement le mécanisme de la dévolution des biens, nous choisirons les quatre types de successions qui se présentent ordinairement et nous en ferons un schéma.

Schéma I. — Succession d'un riche Mututsi (chef de province ou umugaragu du Mwami).

Nyirimigabo, chef de province, meurt en laissant cinq fils issus de deux femmes. Ce sont :

Bihutu, fils de Mujijima, marié;
Nyagatoma, fils de Mujijima, marié;
Nturo, fils de Nyirampunga, non encore marié;
Rusagara, fils de Mujijima, encore enfant;
Mahira, fils de Mujijima, encore enfant.

A la mort du père, Nturo, le troisième fils, devient chef de l'urogo rwa se.

Voici comment les biens vont être répartis [1] :

Vaches. — Nturo, non encore marié, reçoit :

1° L'ingarigari de son père, deux mille têtes, par exemple;

2° Les indabukirano données par les abagaragu (simple faculté);

3° Les intore données par les mêmes (obligation);

4° Les indabukirano données par ses frères, Bihutu et

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[1] Pour la définition des différents termes désignant les biens de la succession et consistant en bétail : cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, pp. 48-59.

Nyagatoma, par Mujijima au nom de Rusagara et Mahira encore enfants et par les amis de son père (faculté);

5° Une partie des inyarulembo de sa mère Nyirampunga;

6° De plus, ses abagaragu et ses amis peuvent lui amener chacun une vache indorano.

Bihutu, l'aîné, ne reçoit rien. Mais, marié du vivant de son père, il avait reçu de ce dernier, lors de son établissement, l'iminani, troupeau formé de vaches indemano.

Nyagatoma reçoit des indemano que Nturo tire de ses inyarulembo (vingt-cinq, par exemple). De la sorte, comme il est sur le point de prendre femme, il pourra s'établir. Son père lui donne en plus quelques inkazibiti (quatre ou cinq).

Rusagara reçoit des inkazibiti de Nturo. Jeune encore, il reste chez sa mère Nujijima. Celle-ci lui donnera plus tard des indemano prises dans les inyarulembo qu'elle a reçues de son mari.

Mahira, comme son frère Rusagara, continue à habiter chez sa mère. Nturo lui donne également des inkazibiti, et plus tard il lui remettra des indemano, car sa mère n'aura vraisemblablement plus assez d'inyarulembo pour lui donner.

Les inyarulembo de Mijijima restent chez elle; elle en réserve quelques-unes pour les donner à Rusagara comme indemano et elle garde les autres. Les inyarulembo de Nyirampunga sont prises par Nturo, qui en laisse un certain nombre à sa mère.

Quand l'une de ses sœurs mariées vient annoncer la naissance d'un enfant, Nturo lui donne une vache y'urugori ou y'ibihembo.

Clients. — Les abagaragu que Nyirimigabo s'étaient acquis en leur donnant des inkazibiti passent tous à Nturo.

On leur donne le même nom qu'à un troupeau de vaches indemano : iminani.

Les frères de Nturo, dès qu'ils sont pourvus de vaches, se cherchent eux aussi des abagaragu.

Les bouviers (abashumba) qui s'occupent des vaches des femmes du défunt suivent le sort des inyarulembo de celles-ci : ceux de Mujijima restent avec ses vaches, en attendant que certains d'entre eux accompagnent les vaches données comme indemano à Rusagara et à Mahira.

Champs, bananeraies. — Nturo, en sa qualité de chef de famille, peut choisir des champs où il veut, sur l'une des collines de son père.

Bihutu et Nyagatoma, qui, en même temps que leur umunane, avaient reçu un champ, n'ont plus le droit de rien demander.

Rusugara et Mahira recevront un champ de leur mère ou de Nturo.

Paturages. — Les règles régissant l'attribution des champs s'appliquent aux pâturages.

Rugo. — Chaque femme du défunt continue chacune à habiter son rugo propre, qui est entouré de bananiers, d'un terrain de culture et d'une pâture.

Armes, instruments, etc. — Ils appartiennent de droit au chef de famille.

Vêtements. — Il en est de même pour ces objets, mais le chef de famille a coutume de les distribuer aux serviteurs.

Schéma II. — Succession d'un Mutatsi mayon (chef de colline).

Il s'agit de Gakire, fils de Kanziga, qui, marié du vivant de son père Gafuku, a reçu trente indemano et trois inkaribiti.

Kagabo, fils de Ligoga, marié également, a reçu de son père vingt-cinq indemano et trois inkazibiti.

Kinyogote, fils de Ligoga, encore enfant, a reçu de son père deux inkazibiti.

Kanziga et Ligoga ont reçu chacune vingt inyarulembo de leur mari.

Gafuku, à sa mort, possède un ingarigari de quatre-vingts bêtes.

Vaches. — Gakire, nommé chef de famille, prend :

1° Les quatre-vingts ingarigari;

2° Les indabukirano offertes par ses frères et les clients ainsi que les intore données par les abagaragu;

3° Une partie des inyarulembo de sa mère Kanziga.

Kagabo ne peut rien recevoir.

Kinyogote reste chez sa mère. Quand il sera en âge de se marier, il recevra de Gakire vingt vaches dont dix prélevées par celui-ci dans ses inyarulembo, cinq autres qu'il prendra dans les inyarulembo de Kanziga, et cinq prises dans les indemano de Kagabo. En outre, Kinyogote recevra cinq inyarulembo de sa mère Ligoga. De la sorte, il aura vingt-cinq indemano.

Clients. — Les serviteurs de Kanziga restent dans son rugo à elle. Ceux de Kanziga appartiennent à Gakire, qui en laisse un certain nombre à sa mère. Les clients de Gafuku passent également au nouveau chef de famille.

Champs et paturages. — Gakire se choisit de nouveaux champs sur la colline.

Kagabo ne reçoit rien.

Kinyogote restera chez sa mère jusqu'à son mariage. A ce moment, Gakire et Kagabo lui donneront chacun un champ et un pâturage.

Rugo. — Les veuves restent chacune dans leur rugo jusqu'à leur mort, le retour dans leur famille ou leur remariage.

Armes, instruments, vêtements. — Leur attribution est la même que dans le tableau II.

Schéma III. — Succession d'un simple Mututsi.

Gakuba, simple homme quoique Mututsi, a eu quatre fils de son mariage avec Kampororo :

Karekezi, marié du vivant de son père, a reçu de celui-ci deux vaches inkazibiti. Gakuba est en effet trop pauvre pour donner à ses fils des vaches en nombre tel qu'elles méritent le nom d'iminani. En plus, Karekezi a reçu une vraie inka y'igiti.

Kambanda, marié lui aussi, a reçu également deux vaches dont une vraie inka y'igiti.

Gapyisi et Kayibanda sont encore tout enfants à la mort de leur père et n'ont rien reçu de lui.

Gakuba, en mourant, laisse vingt vaches inyarulembo.

Vaches. — Elles sont divisées comme suit :

Kambanda, nommé chef de famille, reçoit sept vaches plus une comme *itako ry'umutware* (1) (litt. : cuisse de chef).

Chacun des autres fils reçoit un nombre égal de vaches (quatre). Il peut se faire que des vaches restent en dehors du partage. S'il n'y en a qu'une, elle appartient de façon indivise à tous les fils. S'il y en a deux, chacune d'elles est la propriété de deux des fils.

Clients. — Ils ne sont guère que deux ou trois et ils passent au chef de famille.

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(1) Afin de pourvoir aux besoins de ses frères et sœurs.

Champs et paturages. — Les deux aînés avaient reçu au moment de leur mariage un champ et un pâturage. Des terres possédées par le père à sa mort, Kambanda prendra les deux tiers et le tiers restant sera partagé plus tard entre les deux cadets.

Urugo. — Il continue à être occupé par la mère.

Armes, instruments. — Sont du lot de Kambanda.

Schéma IV. — Succession d'un Muhutu.

Kimonyo meurt en laissant cinq fils issus de trois femmes :

Tabaro, fils de Nyiramgunzu, marié du vivant de son père et ayant reçu un champ de lui;
Fuku, fils de Nyirambeba;
Shumbushu, fils de Nyiramgunzu;
Karifuni, fils de Nyirambeba;
Nzabandora, fils de Nyiramatama.

Champs, arbres. — Shumbushu, nommé chef de famille, reste chez sa mère. Il reçoit comme itako ry'umutware, en nue propriété, une grosse partie de la bananeraie de Nyiramgunzu, le reste étant divisé en parties égales entre lui et son frère Tabaro (en nue propriété également).

Fuku et Karifuni recevront chacun la moitié du champ et de la bananeraie de leur mère.

Nzabandora se verra attribuer le champ et la bananeraie de Nyiramatama.

Shumbushu a cependant le droit de prélever un itako sur les biens de ses frères.

Vaches, paturages. — Le Muhutu ne possède généralement pas de pâturages, car même lorsqu'il a une ou deux vaches, elles sont inkazibiti et rarement imbata. Ces bêtes

1: Vanhove FO42 Rundi

appartiennent indivisément aux fils du défunt, qui vont demander à un Mututsi aisé l'autorisation de continuer à mener paître les bêtes dans ses pâturages.

Petit bétail. — Le troupeau de chèvres et de moutons est divisé entre les fils. Le chef de famille prend en plus l'itako.

Rugo, récoltes. — Chacune des femmes reste dans son rugo et dispose des récoltes faites à l'entour.

Armes, instruments. — Sont pris par le chef de famille.

Succession d'un Mutwa.

L'héritage d'un Mutwa se résume à peu de chose : quelques chèvres et moutons, des instruments et des ustensiles. Il arrive cependant qu'il comporte un petit champ (*ingobyi y'urugo*), parfois même un terrain d'une certaine importance (*igikingi*), reçu le plus souvent en récompense de prouesses chorégraphiques.

5. Sort des veuves.

Le temps du kwirabura et du kwera expiré, la veuve (*umupfakazi*) a la faculté de se remarier.

Si elle accepte comme nouvel époux un membre de la famille de son mari : le chef de famille (à l'exclusion de son propre fils) [1], un de ses beaux-frères (frères de son mari) ou son beau-père, la femme reste dans son rugo, où son nouveau mari viendra lui rendre visite. Il n'est versé aucune dot (inkwano) pour une veuve qui se remarie et le mariage a lieu sans aucune des cérémonies habituelles.

Si la femme décline toute offre de mariage pour se consacrer à l'éducation de ses enfants, il lui sera permis

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[1] Le fils chef de famille peut prendre pour femmes une ou plusieurs des veuves de son père si elles n'appartiennent pas à la famille de sa mère. Un oncle ne peut épouser sa nièce.

1: Vanhove FO42 Rundi

quand même de ne pas quitter son rugo. Elle garde les vaches inyarulembo, ses serviteurs, le champ et le pâturage qu'elle a reçus de son mari avec le droit d'en retirer des avantages. Ces biens ne constituent pas pour elle un douaire, mais sont conservés par elle à titre provisoire. Elle ne fait en somme que les gérer dans l'intérêt de ses fils mineurs qui restent avec elle. De la sorte, elle peut continuer à vivre comme du temps de son mari, sans craindre de tomber dans la misère. Au surplus, même lorsque ses fils prélèvent une partie de ces biens pour s'établir, ils ne cessent pas de témoigner une tendre sollicitude à leur mère et pourvoient à ses besoins.

Si la veuve désire rentrer dans sa famille, elle doit dans ce cas abandonner le rugo et ce qu'il contient, sauf ses objets personnels. Ses enfants devront être laissés à la famille de leur père dès qu'ils seront sevrés, — c'est-à-dire vers l'âge de quatre à cinq ans, — à moins que la dot n'ait pas été entièrement versée.

Il arrive qu'une veuve avec enfants se remarie avec un étranger à la famille du défunt. En principe, il ne lui est pas interdit de vivre dans son rugo avec le nouveau mari. Mais ces unions, mal vues d'ailleurs, sont généralement précaires. A la moindre difficulté, les parents du défunt interviennent souvent et le second mari est chassé sans pouvoir rien emporter, en étant même contraint d'abandonner les enfants qu'il a eus de la femme.

Quant à la veuve sans enfants, elle doit rentrer dans sa famille, à moins qu'elle n'accepte d'épouser un membre de la famille du défunt.

6. Situation du veuf.

Le plus souvent, la mort de la femme ne met pas fin aux relations du veuf avec sa belle-famille, surtout si des enfants sont nés du mariage.

1: Vanhove FO42 Rundi

Les beaux-parents ont la faculté de donner à leur gendre une, parfois même deux vaches indorano [1].

Si le veuf reste avec des enfants en bas âge, pour que les orphelins n'aient pas pour marâtre une étrangère, les beaux-parents proposent généralement à leur gendre de prendre une de leurs autres filles pour femme [2]. Loin de réclamer pour celle-ci une nouvelle dot, ils offrent au contraire une vache indongoranyo [3] qui normalement cependant est la contre-partie de la dot versée.

Un veuf sans enfants peut réclamer la restitution de la dot. Il ne le fait généralement pas, car il sait que ses beaux-parents, pour éviter de rendre la dot, lui chercheront une nouvelle épouse parmi leurs propres filles ou celles de leur parenté.

7. Tutelle des enfants [4].

La mère veuve, non remariée au loin, continue à vivre dans son rugo et y élève ses enfants jusqu'au mariage de ceux-ci, qui, en ce qui concerne les garçons tout au moins, les émancipe.

Le fils qui est nommé chef de famille remplace effectivement son père, pourvu qu'il soit en âge de le faire; il possède les mêmes droits et obligations que lui, notamment celle d'établir ses frères (en leur donnant des indemano) et de marier ses sœurs; si plus tard l'une de celles-ci vient à être répudiée, elle se réfugie chez sa mère ou chez son frère, qui lui cherche un nouveau mari.

Si tous les garçons sont mineurs, le grand-père paternel ou, à son défaut, celui des oncles paternels qui paraît

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(1) Les Bahutu donnent comme indorano des cruches de bière.

(2) Le veuf ne peut se remarier avant un temps de deuil d'un mois. Pendant cette période, il ne se rase plus, ne lave plus ses vêtements et ne peut avoir de rapports avec une autre femme.

(3) Une houe chez les Bahutu.

(4) Cf. Etat des personnes, Tutelle et Emancipation, p. 38.

le mieux qualifié est choisi comme tuteur; il exerce en cette qualité les prérogatives de la puissance paternelle et gère pour ses pupilles les biens délaissés par le défunt.

Si les parents mâles du côté paternel sont disparus, c'est un des oncles maternels qui en sera tuteur. En effet, si chacun des époux continue à appartenir à son umulyango propre, les enfants, eux, sont membres des deux familles.

L'émancipation, qui se confond normalement avec le moment du mariage, arrive quand le jeune homme atteint dix-huit ans. Mais il peut se faire que les enfants, ayant des motifs de se plaindre de leur tuteur, aillent, selon leur rang social, demander justice au chef de colline, de province ou au Mwami. Devenus grands, il arrive même qu'ils s'émancipent (proprio motu » en chassant le tuteur indigne.

8. Successions irrégulières.

Bien que le droit successoral exclue les filles de l'héritage, celles-ci sont toujours gratifiées de cadeaux par le nouveau chef de famille, tout au moins quand il est leur frère.

En ce qui concerne les Bahutu, le cas suivant peut se présenter : un Muhutu, umugaragu d'un riche Mututsi, a une fille servante chez son maître, où elle est mariée à un autre serviteur; à la mort de son client, le maître, au lieu de reprendre les vaches, peut les remettre au mari de la fille, qui devient ainsi son umagaragu.

Quand une femme meurt, les quelques parures qu'elle possède (colliers, bracelets) ne vont pas à sa fille, mais à ses belles-filles (filles de son mari). La mère peut aussi, avec la permission du chef politique, les donner à son fils qui vivait avec elle. Celui-ci en fera cadeau plus tard à sa femme.

Un homme qui n'a pas de garçons (inchike) ou qui les a maudits peut adopter un fils de son frère (umuhungu

wachu) ou, à son défaut, celui de sa sœur (umwishywa). Il lui promet son héritage et son neveu devient en tout véritablement son fils [1].

Un homme qui a conclu le pacte du sang (kunywana) [2] hérite de son frère de sang (umunywanyi) si celui-ci meurt sans laisser de parents mâles. Il peut épouser la femme du défunt mais non sa fille, qui est considérée comme étant son enfant, et il exerce la puissance paternelle sur les orphelins.

Si le défunt, lié à un patron par un bail à cheptel, n'a pas de frère, la tutelle des enfants mineurs revient au shebuja (*kumuremera*). Dans le cas contraire, celui-ci la partage avec un oncle paternel ou maternel des orphelins. Si le patron a versé la dot de son client, il prendra les dots données pour les filles de son umugaragu et les gardera pour permettre aux garçons de se marier. Ainsi donc, dans ce cas, un Mututsi devient chef du rugo du Muhutu.

9. Successions en déshérence.

Les femmes n'héritant pas, si, par impossible, le défunt n'a pas de parents mâles, son patron reprend les vaches qui lui appartenaient et s'approprie le petit bétail, les instruments, etc. (*inzungu*) [3]. Les champs, les bananeraies, pâturages délaissés dans les mêmes conditions (*inkungu*) [1] vont au chef politique, qui les attribue à un autre homme. Mais les veuves sont autorisées à demeurer dans leur rugo.

Si le défunt n'est pas engagé dans les liens d'un contrat d'*ubugaragu*, tous ses biens vont au chef politique, qui en dispose comme il l'entend.

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(1) Cf. Etat des personnes, la Famille et le Clan, p. 7.

(2) Cf. Etat des personnes, le Pacte du sang. p. 17.

(3) De *guzungura*, hériter sans être parent.

SECTION IV.

Les obligations et les contrats.

L'obligation type résulte du contrat dit d'*ubugaragu*, par lequel un homme qui a fait sa cour (*guhakwa*) auprès d'un propriétaire de bétail obtient de celui-ci une ou plusieurs vaches prises dans ses inyarulembo (1) (2). Elles sont appelées inkazibiti si l'*umugaragu* (client) est un Muhutu, ingabane si c'est un Mututsi. L'umugaragu n'a droit qu'à l'usufruit de ce bétail ainsi que du croît et seulement pour le temps qu'il plaira à son *shebuja* (patron) de les lui laisser.

D'autre part, quand un homme se lie par le contrat d'ubugaragu, les vaches qui étaient sa propriété personnelle (imbata) deviennent des inkazibiti.

Les principaux avantages que retire le client du contrat d'ubugaragu sont : la vente du lait, beurre, viande, peaux, l'assistance dans le cas où il deviendrait infirme et serait dans l'impossibilité de subvenir à ses besoins, l'honneur d'être nommé homme-lige d'un tel ou d'un tel, au lieu d'entendre ces appellations pleines de mépris : *uriyamuntu* = cet homme; *uriya mugabo* = ce bonhomme. C'est pourquoi l'on dit : *kugir'uguhatse n'ukugir'izina* (avoir un chef, c'est avoir un nom).

Chaque client est soumis vis-à-vis de son patron à diverses obligations et prestations dans l'accomplissement desquelles il peut se faire aider par ses fils et même éventuellement par ses abagaragu et leur famille.

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(1) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 51.

(2) Le patron n'est pas vraiment lié par un engagement contractuel; il se contente plutôt d'accepter les services du client.

A. — Obligations du client.

1° *Gufat'igihe* (litt. : prendre le temps), c'est-à-dire faire sa cour pendant un temps dont la durée est déterminée par le chef.

Le client doit accompagner son patron en voyage, par exemple quand il se rend à la cour du Mwami ou chez un grand chef. Pendant ces déplacements, il lui sert de cuisinier, assure les corvées d'eau et de bois, garde les injishywa (1). Le temps pendant lequel le client doit suivre ainsi son patron dépend du nombre de vaches qu'il détient ou désire encore acquérir et aussi du nombre de clients entre lesquels l'obligation peut se répartir.

Quand le maître est dans ses terres, l'umugaragu porte sa pipe, l'escorte quand il rentre la nuit, porte les vivres dans ses greniers.

2° *Kubak'inkike* (litt. : construire une partie du rugo).

Les clients doivent construire ou réparer chacun une partie de l'enceinte entourant la hutte et les greniers du patron, en fournissant le matériel à cette fin.

Quant à la hutte, l'obligation de la bâtir repose sur tous les abagaragu indivisément.

3° *Kurarira* (garde de nuit ou veillée de causerie).

Les clients doivent à tour de rôle veiller sur le repos du patron et garder son rugo. Les sentinelles doivent apporter le bois nécessaire pour allumer le feu de garde.

4° *Gutumwa* (être envoyé).

Chaque client doit porter les messages de son maître à n'importe quelle distance et accompagner les serviteurs chargés de porter des cadeaux à un parent ou à un ami du patron. L'umugaragu peut même être messager et porteur à la fois quand il s'agit d'un présent destiné à une

(1) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 54.

personne importante ou qui est particulièrement chère au cœur du shebuja.

5° L'umugaragu doit participer aux semailles du sorgho (*ishaka*) [1] pendant deux jours.

6° *Kutanga imibyizi* (cultiver les champs).

Les clients bahutu viennent travailler dans les champs du patron pendant un temps plus ou moins long, qui n'est pax fixé, mais qui dépend à la fois du nombre d'abagaragu et de l'importance du bétail qui leur a été remis par le shebuja. La tâche de chacun n'est pas non plus déterminée exactement.

7° *Kumutabaraho* (litt. : accompagner à la guerre).

Il s'agit d'une obligation générale : suivre le maître au combat, couper son bois, etc.

8° Le client, désigné dans ce cas sous le nom de *umwozi* (laveur de pots), doit veiller à la qualité du lait conservé dans des pots, l'apporter à son patron (*kugemera*) et faire laver les pots par un serviteur appelé *umuhondamonyi*.

9° Les abagaragu, sauf ceux qui sont pauvres, ont coutume d'honorer leur maître de cadeaux : pots de bière, par exemple. Le patron se contente généralement de goûter l'*inzoga*, puis il la distribue à ses abagaragu.

10° En cas de perte de bétail par le patron, le client doit lui offrir une vache/inshumbushanyo [2].

11° De même, quand le shebuja est éprouvé par un deuil, il reçoit de son umugaragu une indorano [3].

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(1) Le sorgho est une plante sacrée et les semis donnent lieu à une cérémonie propitiatoire.

(2) Cf. les Biems, Propriété du bétail, p. 53.

(3) Cf. idem, p. 54.

B. — Obligations du patron.

1° Si le client a volé une vache chez un autre propriétaire, le patron, pour éviter un châtiment à son umugaragu, intervient (*kugura :* racheter) et indemnise le lésé. S'il n'agissait pas de la sorte, il serait mal vu.

2° Si le client est fort pauvre, le patron lui donne un taurillon pour qu'il puisse manger de la viande et se vêtir avec la peau. Il lui fournit du lait.

3° Le patron doit assister son client dans ses palabres (*kulengera*).

4° Le patron doit aider le client, qui désire se marier, à payer la dot. Il lui donne une vache dans ce but. Si l'umugaragu est important, le shebuja l'autorise à choisir lui-même la vache inkwano (¹). S'il n'a reçu qu'une vache du patron, celui-ci peut l'autoriser à la donner comme dot; les liens qui l'unissent à son patron en sont par là resserrés, car la femme sert de garantie à la bonne exécution du contrat d'ubugaragu.

En cas de faute grave de l'umugaragu, le shebuja peut reprendre l'inkwano chez le beau-père (*iyo batararongolanya* ou *baraikoranura :* litt. : empêcher le mariage) aussi longtemps que son client n'a pas reçu l'indongoranyo (²). Quand celle-ci a été remise, les droits du shebuja s'exercent sur elle.

5° A la mort du client, le patron doit veiller sur le sort de sa femme et de ses enfants. Si l'umugaragu n'a pas de frère, le shebuja devient le tuteur des orphelins (*kumuremera*). Dans le cas contraire, un oncle (paternel ou maternel) partage la tutelle avec le patron.

Si le patron a payé la dot de son client, il prend les dots données pour les filles de celui-ci et les conserve en atten-

(¹) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 52.

(²) Cf. idem, p. 52.

dant de les remettre aux garçons pour qu'ils puissent se marier à leur tour.

6° Le patron devait jadis venger lui-même le meurtre de son client (*kumuhorera*). Accompagné de ses abagaragu et de l'un des fils du défunt, il allait tuer le meurtrier en usant d'un subterfuge. Désignant l'orphelin, il disait au meurtrier : « Voilà celui qui te tue », puis il le tuait, ou bien le shebuja allait demander justice au Mwami.

7° Le client peut disposer du lait des vaches qui lui sont remises (*intagemura*) et en faire du beurre et du fromage quand les besoins du patron en lait sont assurés. De même, avec la permission du shebuja, il peut tuer des bêtes et consommer ou vendre la viande.

8° Le patron doit donner une houe de temps en temps à son client muhutu.

Il n'est jamais mis fin au contrat de clientèle, sauf si les vaches meurent ou si le client se montre indigne de la confiance placée en lui. Dans ce dernier cas, le maître lui reprend ses vaches (*kunyaga*) et leur croît.

De plus, si le shebuja est en même temps chef de colline, de province ou le Mwami, il peut dépouiller le client de ses champs, de son rugo et le chasser de la colline. Celui-ci ne peut emporter que son bâton (*banuh'akabando*) : litt. : on lui donne un bâton), chose la plus accessoire et la moins utile.

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A côté du contrat d'ubuguragu et d'autres baux à cheptel tels que l'ingwate et ses variantes, l'indagizo [1], etc., le droit coutumier du Ruanda connaît nombre d'autres

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[1] Cf. les Biens. Propriété du bétail, pp. 54 et 55.

contrats. Nous énumérons ci-après ceux dont il est fait le plus fréquemment usage.

L'achat-vente (Kugura).

Ces transactions ont lieu sur les marchés (*amaguriro* — plur. *iguriro*), situés généralement aux carrefours des voies de communication. Les plus fréquentés sont ceux du Rukiga et du Kinyaga. Les gens du Buganza et du Buliza y viennent échanger leurs vaches contre du sel, des vivres, de la bière, du miel, des paniers, etc. Jadis les animaux et les choses mis en vente étaient évalués en houes [1].

Des commerçants spécialisés (*abatunzi :* litt. : les riches) s'y rendent également et offrent en vente les denrées et objets qu'ils ont été chercher au loin, par exemple les *ubutega* [2], fabriqués dans l'Urega (pays des Warega). Ils unissent parfois leurs ressources pour effectuer des achats importants (*gufatanya urutundo :* litt : rassembler le commerce).

Les femmes et les enfants sont admis aux marchés sans restriction. Jadis les gens y venaient en armes, car ils risquaient d'être dévalisés et même tués en route par des bandits de grand chemin.

Le louage de services (kubunga).

Un homme peut s'engager à travailler pour un autre, pendant cinquante jours par exemple, et à raison d'un

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(1) Le vendeur de sel désireux d'acquérir un taurillon demandait combien celui-ci valait de houes. On lui répondait : cinquante. Il prenait alors un panier de sel dont la contenance valait une houe et en versait cinquante au propriétaire du taurillon. On disait aussi couramment : c'est une chèvre de trois houes. Aujourd'hui la valeur d'une houe est de huit francs.

(2) Ces minces anneaux de fibres de rotin portés autour des jambes, des chevilles aux genoux, par les femmes banyarwanda, avaient naguère encore une certaine valeur : trois mille ubutega valaient un taurillon, et une parure complète ne pouvait être achetée que contre paiement de deux vaches stériles.

jour ou deux par semaine, à la condition de recevoir en échange la viande d'une vache.

L'échange (kuguza) (1).

Un Mututsi demande à un Muhutu un grenier de sorgho (*ihundo :* litt. : épi de sorgho), par exemple, en échange d'un taurillon ou de houes (trente généralement).

Le prêt (gutiza).

Les Banyarwanda distinguent le prêt à usage (commodat) du prêt simple (ou de consommation).

Si le prêt à usage, en houes, par exemple, est accordé sans intérêt, il n'en est pas de même pour le prêt de consommation, qui a pour objet des denrées. Celui qui a reçu un panier de sorgho ou de haricots doit en rendre généralement deux. Le panier de denrées supplémentaire qui doit être donné au prêteur s'appelle *kirenga*.

La caution (kuchyungura).

Primus possède une serpette que Secundus voudrait emprunter. Secundus, qui ne connaît pas Primus, s'adresse à Tertius ami de Primus. Tertius dit à Primus de prêter sa serpette à Secundus en ajoutant qu'il se porte fort pour ce dernier s'il ne rend pas l'instrument. Tertius peut éventuellement se retourner contre Secundus.

Ce contrat peut être conclu pour des vaches, des greniers de sorgho, etc.

Le gage (ingwate).

Primus désire emprunter quelques paniers de haricots à Secundus. Mais Secundus répond qu'il ne peut les lui donner sans rien recevoir en garantie. Primus offre alors à Secundus une chèvre, par exemple (2). Quand il apporte à Primus la contre-partie de son emprunt, il reprend sa chèvre.

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(1) *Kuguza :* litt. : consentir une avance.

(2) Une chèvre vaut trois houes.

Le mandat (kugerekesha) (1).

Primus se rend au marché pour échanger une houe contre des haricots. Secundus lui demande, moyennant rémunération, d'y emmener une de ses chèvres et de l'échanger contre trois houes, par exemple.

Le dépôt (Kubitsa).

Le dépôt de biens ne consistant pas en bétail ne donne lieu à aucune obligation du déposant à l'égard du dépositaire qui accepte de conserver les biens mis en dépôt chez lui.

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* *

Ces contrats sont conclus devant des notables de la colline qui servent de témoins. Mais le plus souvent ils sont passés devant un rugo en construction ou un abreuvoir, endroits où les gens sont toujours nombreux. Ceux-ci, en cas de contestation, fourniront leur témoignage.

Si l'un des co-contractants ne s'exécute pas (2), ou est malhonnête, le tribunal du chef de colline, sur plainte du lésé, le force à s'acquitter (3) de sa dette (*ūmwēnda*) (4).

Le créancier a la faculté de saisir un gage, par exemple une chèvre, pour obliger le débiteur à payer.

Si celui-ci ne peut payer, il est condamné à travailler pour indemniser le plaignant, généralement deux jours sur cinq (5); mais il peut se faire remplacer par son fils, sa fille, sa bru et éventuellement par un umugaragu. Jadis, si le débiteur s'enfuyait pour se soustraire à ses obligations, le créancier avait le droit de s'emparer de son bétail.

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(1) *Kugerekesha* : litt. : faire ajouter.

(2) Le cas de force majeure, par exemple une famine ou une invasion de sauterelles, s'il s'agit de la fourniture de denrées : sorgho ou haricots, délie provisoirement de l'obligation.

(3) *Kwishyuza*, réclamer paiement; *kwishyura*, payer.

(4) *Umwēnda*, étoffe

(5) Cf. p. 35, note 1.

de ses bananeraies et même de sa hutte. Toutefois, dans ce cas, les enfants pouvaient garder les biens de leur père, à la condition de s'engager à travailler pour le créancier jusqu'à l'extinction de la dette.

Il arrive qu'un patron paie pour son client, si celui-ci ne possède qu'un grenier de vivres et s'il a besoin de l'aide des siens pour travailler pour son shebuja. Si l'umugaragu meurt, son fils le remplace. L'obligation passe ainsi aux descendants jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit éteinte.

D'autre part, le frère ou le fils du créancier peuvent agir aux lieu et place de leurs parents [1].

*
* *

Hospitalité.

Le devoir d'hospitalité est sacré pour les Banyarwanda. Même un Mututsi ne refusera jamais l'*ichumbi* (logement) et l'*izimano* (bois, eau, nourriture) à un Muhutu. En effet, un proverbe dit : *Uwubaka wese yubakira abu Mwami* [2], et celui qui n'accorderait pas à un voyageur le vivre et le couvert porterait le nom d'*umugome* (mauvais); il serait *Uwanga Umwami* (l'ennemi du Mwami).

Responsabilité civile.

La responsabilité civile n'existe pas. Toutefois, les parents réparent eux-mêmes le dégât causé par leurs enfants.

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(1) Cf. les Lois de la Famille et du Clan, p. 11.

(2) Celui qui construit (s. e. une maison) le fait pour les gens du Mwami, ce qui veut dire que sa maison doit être ouverte à tous les sujets du Roi.

Orchestre rythmant les évolutions des Intore.

Le Mwami assistant aux danses de ses Intore.

Clichés de l'auteur

Danses des Intore.

Clichés de Borchgrave.

[p. 82a]

Type de Muhutu.

Cliché du Ministère des Colonies.

[p. 826]

Prince mututsi.

Mutwa dans une scène de pantomime.

Inyambo, accompagnées de leurs gardiens, paissent dans un pâturage du Bugesera.

La parade des Inyambo.
Un Mubuto vante les qualités du bétail sacré dont il a la garde.

Clichés de l'auteur.

[p. 82c]

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Batutsi du Ruanda septentrional.
Leur type moins pur provient d'unions avec des femmes Bahutu.

Cliché du Ministère des Colonies.

[p. 82 d]

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SECTION V.

Gouvernement et Administration.

1. Nationalité.

Le peuple munyarwanda comprend les Batutsi, les Bahutu et les Batwa. L'aristocratie mututsi, d'origine hamite, domine la masse des Bahutu, qui sont des Bantous. Ceux-ci se livrent à l'agriculture et élèvent le bétail pour le compte des Batutsi. Les Batwa, des pygmoïdes, sont tenus à l'écart par les Batutsi et les Bahutu et tout mariage est interdit avec eux; ils sont chasseurs, forgerons ou potiers.

La tradition légendaire du pays donne l'explication de l'origine de ces différentes populations : Nkuba (la foudre), premier Roi du pays et sa femme Nyagasani habitaient au ciel avec leurs deux fils, Kimanuka et Mututsi et leur fille Nyampundu. Un jour, les trois enfants, descendus de leur demeure céleste, s'installèrent sur la colline Mubari dans la savane Urgweya, près du Kissaka, et Kimanuka prit le nom de Kigwa (litt. : tombé du ciel). Ils vécurent là du produit de leurs chasses et connaissaient l'art de forger lances, serpettes et houes. Kigwa épousa sa sœur Nyampundu et Mututsi s'en alla ailleurs. Mais quand il apprit que son frère et sa sœur avaient des enfants, il revint chez eux et épousa une de ses nièces. Les descendants de Kigwa prirent le nom d'Abanyiginya; ceux de Mututsi s'appelèrent Abega. Ils vendirent des armes et des instruments aratoires et devinrent ainsi très riches.

Ils continuèrent à habiter sur la colline Mubari jusqu'au moment où Gihanga (le créateur), douzième Roi de

la dynastie, commença à parcourir tout le pays pour écouler les produits des forges de sa famille. Ce Mwami « commis-voyageur », le premier qui exerça l'autorité suprême de façon réellement effective, fut fort aimé de tout son peuple, qui le considéra après sa mort comme un demi-dieu.

Gatutsi reçut de son père Gihanga de nombreuses vaches. Quant à son frère Gahutu, son père n'ayant plus de bétail à suffisance, il ne put s'en voir gratifier comme Gatutsi. Aussi fut-il obligé de devenir le serviteur de Gatutsi. Gatwa, troisième fils de Gihanga, tua Gatutsi. Le poids de ce crime est retombé sur les Batwa descendants de Gatwa. Gihanga avait encore d'autres fils : Nyakarundi, ancêtre des Barundi, Kanyabongo, père du peuple des Banyabongo, qui sont à présent des étrangers pour les Banyarwanda; enfin Gahima, le premier des Bahima, habitants du Ndorwa, que les Batutsi considèrent comme des leurs.

Si les Batutsi du Ruanda considèrent aujourd'hui leurs frères de Rutshuru (Kivu) comme des Bahutu, ils regardent au contraire comme des égaux les Batutsi de l'Urundi. D'autre part, les Bahutu de l'Urundi, par le moyen du contrat d'ubugaragu, peuvent être intégrés dans la société du Ruanda [1]. Mais si un Mututsi de l'Urundi vient s'établir au Ruanda avec ses abagaragu, tout en étant l'égal des Batutsi du pays, lui et ses gens sont considérés cependant comme des étrangers [2].

Jadis, au temps des guerres, les vaincus faits prisonniers étaient tués, tandis que les femmes, les garçons et les filles étaient emmenés en esclavage. Un Mututsi pouvait

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(1) Il y a également des Bahutu banyarwanda qui se rendent dans l'Urundi pour s'y fixer.

(2) La raison de ces exodes réside dans le désir de fuir la vengeance privée, à la suite d'une accusation de meurtre, dans une condamnation de bannissement prononcée par le roi de l'Urundi, ou encore dans les difficultés rencontrées par un client dans ses rapports avec son patron.

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même épouser une captive si elle était de noble origine; les enfants suivaient la condition de leur père. Mais généralement, il la donnait en mariage à 'un de ses clients: les enfants issus d'une telle union continuaient à appartenir à la maison du maître, mais leurs descendants étaient libres et devenaient par le fait même des Banyarwanda.

Il arrivait même qu'un esclave épousât une femme mututsi. C'est ainsi que le Mwami Rwabugiri, qui avait recueilli un jeune captif appelé Rusera Muhima, lui donna plus tard comme femme sa propre fille et lui fit cadeau de la sous-chefferie Rugarama au Bunyambiriri.

2. Le pouvoir royal.

Le Mwami (Roi) est l'autorité suprême du Ruanda. Nous avons vu que les traditions s'accordent à donner à son pouvoir une origine divine. Les annalistes de la Cour royale (*abatshurabgenge*) attribuent à l'actuel Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa trente-neuf ancêtres qui tous, sauf le premier Nkuba resté au ciel, auraient régné sur le Ruanda (¹).

Les Abanyiginya et les Abega sont les familles nobles les plus influentes du pays et c'est chez elles que, depuis les temps les plus reculés, sont choisis respectivement les rois et les reines.

Les Rois du Ruanda portent deux noms, celui qui leur est donné à leur naissance (Musinga, Rudahigwa) et celui qu'ils reçoivent à leur avènement (Yuhi, Mutara).

A la mort du Mwami, le pouvoir royal passe à l'un de ses fils, généralement l'un des plus jeunes.

L'origine divine attribuée à la royauté et la légitimité que confère au Roi une très longue hérédité entraînent la

(¹) Beaucoup de noms ont certainement été oubliés dans cette liste. En admettant qu'elle soit exacte, la domination des Batutsi sur le Ruanda remonterait à près de quatre siècles.

reconnaissance d'un troisième caractère du pouvoir royal, à savoir l'autocratie.

Le Mwami est le maître incontesté de tout le pays, aussi bien du sol — champs et pâturages — et du bétail que des habitants. Il est le seul vrai propriétaire; tous ceux qu'il gratifie de libéralités ne sont que ses usufruitiers.

Il ne possède pas nécessairement de domaine qu'il exploite en propre et il n'en a pas besoin, puisque ses revenus s'alimentent des tributs et prestations dont chacun de ses sujets est tenu vis-à-vis de lui. Quand il est jeune, il reçoit du Roi son père une ou plusieurs provinces en apanage, du bétail et des serviteurs. A son avènement, il peut ou conserver ces provinces ou les donner à d'autres [1]. Ses faveurs peuvent s'adresser à n'importe qui, à un Muhutu et même à un Mutwa qu'il peut élever sur-le-champ au rang des plus grands. Naguère encore, du temps de Musinga, ceux qui avaient cessé de plaire au Mwami ou simplement ceux dont il convoitait les biens pouvaient, du jour au lendemain et si haut placés fussent-ils, être dépossédés de tous leurs biens, déchus de toute influence et exilés du pays. Aujourd'hui, le Mwami désireux d'occuper telle ou telle colline demande à un de ses grands féodaux de la lui céder. Celui-ci s'incline de bonne grâce et reçoit généralement du bétail en échange.

Le Mwami est un monarque absolu de droit divin qui ne connaît d'autre règle que sa volonté, voire son caprice [2]. Jadis, avant notre occupation, il pouvait impunément torturer, mutiler ou mettre à mort quiconque lui avait déplu. Ses sentences criminelles étaient conformes aux coutumes du pays, qui lui reconnaissaient

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(1) Mutara Rudahigwa a conservé les siennes : le Nduga et le Marangara, mais il s'est déchargé de leur administration sur un *umutware*.

(2) D'où le proverbe : *Iuyose higiriwa n'Umwami* = tout dépend du Roi.

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ce droit redoutable, et personne ne s'imaginait pouvoir s'insurger contre ses décisions [1].

De même, il est grand juge et tranche en dernier ressort les différends, même les plus minces, qui surgissent entre ses sujets.

Enfin le Roi est le législateur suprême du peuple. Il exerce avec l'aide des *abiru* la mission de garder le droit coutumier, mais il a seul le pouvoir de modifier la loi du pays s'il le veut et comme il l'entend.

Il proclame ses décisions (*amategeko*) à la porte de son rugo, où se trouvent massés des gens venus de partout pour faire leur cour ou demander justice. Des *intumwa* (messagers) sont alors chargés de porter les ordonnances du Mwami à la connaissance de la population des différentes provinces.

Le Mwami, en outre de son nom de Mututsi (Musinga, Rudahigwa, etc.), reçoit à son avènement un nom de Roi (Yuhi, Mutara, etc.). Ces noms sont repris périodiquement; c'est ainsi que le Mwami actuel est Mutara III.

Il arrive aussi que le Roi soit désigné par un surnom, comme Rwabugiri Sezisoni (miséricordieux, clément) [2].

Souvent une interdiction s'attache à un nom de Roi : un Yuhi, par exemple, ne peut traverser les grandes rivières comme la Nyabarongo [3]. Après sa mort, le Roi devient pour les populations une sorte de divinité. Il va rejoindre dans les enfers les demi-dieux ses ancêtres.

Le Roi partage l'autorité suprême avec sa mère (*umugabekazi*) [4]. Elle est toute-puissante, souvent même plus puissante que son fils. Quiconque va faire sa cour au Roi

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(1) Le droit de vie ou de mort du Mwami a été supprimé en 1917, au moment de l'occupation du pays par nos troupes.

(2) Mot étranger, originaire du Buhima, à l'Est du Ruanda.

(3) Rivière se jetant dans l'Akanyaru, qui forme la frontière entre le Ruanda et l'Urundi.

(4) La femme du Roi est appelée Umwamikazi ou simplement Muka-Rudahigwa, etc. L'épouse du Roi actuel se nomme Nyiramakomare.

doit la faire aussi à sa mère. Elle intervient dans les procès, la distribution des terres, des troupeaux, etc. Le Roi et sa mère portent ensemble le nom d'*Abami*. La présence continuelle de la reine-mère à côté de son fils est essentielle (1), et si le Roi perd sa mère, il lui sera donné une mère officielle. La mère du Roi porte un nom spécial qui est le même que celui de son fils, sauf quand celui-ci s'appelle Mutara, et que même les familiers de la cour ne peuvent lui donner (2). On rend à la Mwamikazi les mêmes honneurs qu'à son fils : battements des mains trois fois répétés (*gukoma mumashyi*). Après la mort du Mwami (3), sa mère ne joue plus aucun rôle officiel.

3. Le tambour sacré.

L'origine du *Kalinga* remonterait à Ruganzu Ndoli. Pendant que celui-ci, qui n'était pas encore roi, luttait contre le Karagwe (Uganda), les Abakongoro du Kivu attaquèrent le Ruanda et tuèrent le Mwami Ndahiro Chyamatara, père de Ndoli.

En revenant de la guerre, ce dernier s'arrêta à Busigi (territoire de Biumba), où un riche propriétaire, appelé Minyaruka, offrit un superbe tambour au glorieux vainqueur.

Le *Kalinga* est le symbole même de la royauté (4).

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(1) Kankazi, mère de Rudahigwa Mutara, réside sur la colline Shyogwa dans le Marangara. Cette mesure a été prise par le gouvernement belge, qui, se souvenant du rôle néfaste joué par Nyirayuhi auprès de Musinga, a voulu empêcher la mère du Roi actuel d'exercer une trop grande influence politique.

(2) La mère de Yuhi Musinga, Kanjogera, portait le nom royal de Nyirayuhi. Celle de Mutara Rudahigwa, Kankazi, s'appelle Nyiramavugo.

(3) Ou plutôt, comme disent les Banyarwanda, « quand il remet son tambour », car il est interdit de dire que le Roi est mort.

(4) Les Banyarwanda disent : *Kalinga ibuze, nta Mwami* (litt. : le tambour fut brûlé, il n'y a pas de roi). Il convient de ne pas prendre ce proverbe au pied de la lettre. En effet, les gens du Ruanda disent, d'autre part : *Hagum'Umwami ingoma irabazwa* (litt. : trouvez le Roi [chose importante], le tambour [chose accessoire] n'est que du bois).

Il porte suspendus aux cordes qui le tendent les *ibikondo*, attributs virils des principaux ennemis vaincus et tués par les rois du Ruanda, et est, de plus, régulièrement aspergé du sang des victimes immolées pour la consultation des augures. On rend au *Kalinga* des honneurs vraiment royaux; on ne le fait pas résonner, mais les autres tambours retentissent en son honneur (1). Il est placé dans la hutte appelée *rwimiringa* (litt. : maison des objets de cuivre) (2), construite à l'intérieur du *boma* du Roi et où sont conservés les trophées de guerre. Le Kalinga est gardé jour et nuit, car il est l'emblème de la grandeur des rois du Ruanda.

4. La Cour du Mwami.

A Nyanza, résidence royale (*ibgami*), se pressent en foule des gens de toute importance faisant leur cour ou venant entretenir le Mwami des affaires de leur région : manants Bahutu ou même Batwa espérant obtenir un quelconque avantage du Mwami ou de sa mère, dignitaires de rang et de rôle divers, serviteurs des deux sexes (3).

5. Le Conseil des Ministres.

Dans les circonstances graves : guerre, famine, le Mwami a l'obligation de convoquer les grands chefs (*abatware b'intebe*) en conseil (*inima*). Les devins (*abapfumu*) consultent alors les oracles et d'après leur réponse indiquent la décision à prendre.

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(1) *Kulamutsa*, saluer (le Roi). On les bat en effet chaque matin quand le Roi sort de ses appartements pour commencer sa journée d'homme public.

(2) Kalinga = tambour royal; Karinga = petit objet de cuivre.

(3) Ces charges et emplois ont été décrits minutieusement par le R. P. Pagès dans son beau livre : *Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique* (éd. I. R. C. B., Bruxelles, 1933). Cet ouvrage constitue un véritable monument d'un prix inappréciable pour la connaissance du Ruanda et de son peuple. Nous ne pouvons mieux faire que d'inviter le lecteur à s'y reporter pour tout ce qui concerne l'organisation de la Cour royale.

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6. Les « Intore ».

Le prestige du Mwami veut qu'il possède une troupe d'*Intore* qui constituent en quelque sorte un corps de pages. Leur création remonte au Mwami Ruganzu. Ils s'appelaient alors les intrépides (¹). Les intore sont les fils des chefs d'intebe et d'abachibiri ainsi que des abagaragu du Mwami. Un père qui n'enverrait pas son enfant à la cour du Roi pour devenir intore ferait croire qu'il n'aime pas le Mwami et il lui en cuirait. C'est généralement quand ils sont ingimbi (vers l'âge de dix ans) que les jeunes garçons sont amenés à Nyanza, où ils restent jusqu'à l'âge d'homme. Ils apprennent à se battre, à sauter, à danser. En même temps, ils font leur éducation politique, apprenant les traditions légendaires et les coutumes du pays ainsi que les règles de courtoisie. Les intore campent sur une colline non loin de la résidence du Mwami et ils se réunissent le matin et le soir pour se livrer à leurs exercices.

A l'occasion des fêtes, les intore revêtent un costume spécial. Ils ont alors les reins ceints d'une peau de léopard (*inkindi*) et portent autour de la tête un bandeau (*umugara*) orné de poils d'*inkomo* (singe noir à collerette blanche dit Colobus), retenu par des *imirota* passant le long des joues. Ils ont un collier (*igitako*) au cou et d'autres en forme de baudrier (*inzibanye*). Ils dansent en tenant un arc (*umuheto*) d'une main, une lance (*ichumu*) de l'autre; des grelots de fer (*inzogera*) sont attachés à leurs chevilles.

7. Les « Inyambo ».

Le Ruanda peut être appelé *Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma* (le pays de la vache et du tambour royal). Le bétail bovin, qui constitue la principale richesse des Batutsi, y est soigné avec un amour qui confine à la vénération.

(¹) *Ibisumizi*, de *gusumira*, enlever de force.

Les traditions légendaires attribuent à Nyiraruchyaba, fille de Gihanga, l'introduction du bétail au Ruanda. Un jour que celle-ci était allée couper du bois, elle remarqua des taches blanchâtres sur le sol. Ayant grand'soif et ne trouvant pas d'eau à proximité, elle prit son chalumeau et but le liquide blanc. Trouvant ce breuvage délicieux, elle voulut savoir d'où il provenait. Elle s'avança dans la forêt et rencontra une bête à cornes qui perdait par ses mamelles un liquide identique à celui qu'elle venait d'absorber. Gihanga étant tombé gravement malade sur ces entrefaites, elle lui apporta du liquide blanc. Le patient le but et guérit rapidement. Il demanda à sa fille la provenance du médicament et celle-ci lui amena la bête. La vache fut appelée *ingizi* (de *kugira neza :* bien guérir). C'est depuis ces temps que les Banyarwanda ont une telle vénération pour le bétail bovin.

A côté du bétail ordinaire (*inkuku*), le Mwami possède des troupeaux de vaches sélectionnées minutieusement qui, sans être précisément l'objet d'un culte comme en connut l'ancienne Egypte, sont entourées d'une sollicitude particulière et figurent au premier rang dans toutes les fêtes. Ce sont les *Inyambo* [1].

L'origine des *Inyambo* remonte au Mwami Yuhi Mazimpaka. Ce Roi choisit de belles vaches hautes sur pattes, aux longues cornes, à la robe d'un brun foncé luisant (ibihogo), et leur adjoignit un jeune et vigoureux taureau. Ce troupeau sélectionné fut mis à l'écart dans la province du Rukoma, près de la rivière Nyabarongo. Ces vaches se multiplièrent et l'on continua à choisir parmi elles les plus beaux sujets. Sous le Mwami précédent, Yuhi Musinga, les *Inyambo* étaient divisés en deux troupeaux seulement appelés l'un *agakanda*, l'autre *indoha*. Musinga

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[1] Le mot « Inyambo » désigne une bête, un troupeau ou l'ensemble des troupeaux.

en ajouta un troisième et leur donna les noms respectifs d'*Inyuba hilo* (les respectables) ou troupeau de Gihanga, *Inshya* (les nouvelles) ou troupeau de Kigeri Ndabarasa, qui comptait un taureau remarquable nommé *Rushya*; enfin *Ingabe* (les dominatrices), ou troupeau de Kigeri Rwabugiri.

Les trois troupeaux réunis furent appelés *Insanga*. A la nouvelle lune de juin, ils étaient conduits processionnellement chez le Mwami, au milieu des danses et des cris d'allégresse (*gukura gichurasi* : litt. : enlever le mois de mai) [1].

En tout temps, un taureau appelé *Rusanga* et cinq vaches de chacun des trois troupeaux *Insanga* se trouvaient dans un enclos spécial à l'intérieur du boma de Musinga, et le Roi venait souvent les caresser et leur parler affectueusement.

Les Inyambo séjournent maintenant dans la province de Buganza, pays de beaux pâturages et de collines mollement ondulées, parce que ce sont des bêtes délicates qui ne supporteraient pas le climat des hautes altitudes. Le Mwami remet ses troupeaux à l'umutware w'intebe; celui-ci les confie à son tour à un chef de colline ou à de simples Batutsi qui, bien que dépourvus de commandement, sont d'origine plus noble que certains chefs, et ainsi sont particulièrement qualifiés pour veiller sur ce bétail de choix.

Les Inyambo sont des animaux de grande taille, hauts sur pattes, ayant le fanon moins développé que le bétail ordinaire, plus de coffre, le flanc long, la croupe anguleuse, maigre et sèche. Les cornes, démesurément longues, atteignent souvent près de un mètre soixante-quinze; elles sont disposées en forme de lyre ou de croissant; l'écartement entre les pointes peut être parfois de deux mètres et

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[1] Le mois de mai, au cours duquel, suivant la tradition, le Mwami Gihanga était mort, était considéré comme un temps de deuil. Il était alors interdit de se marier.

même plus. La robe est rouge vif (igaju), de couleur froment (igitare), mais surtout brun foncé (ibihogo).

Les Inyambo rentrent au kraal tous les soirs et sont toujours littées, tandis qu'il en est rarement ainsi pour le bétail ordinaire, même chez les riches propriétaires.

Elles ne sont pas traites comme les vaches ordinaires. On ne leur prend chaque jour que la quantité de lait nécessaire à leurs gardiens bahutu. Quant à celles qui ont un veau, leur lait est réservé aux jeunes animaux. Le produit des Inyambo est par le fait même inyambo. Même la progéniture des vaches ordinaires peut le devenir.

Si dans un troupeau d'inkuku se trouve une génisse dont les caractéristiques sont semblables à celles des Inyambo, les Banyarwanda font saillir cette génisse par un taureau inyambo. Le veau né de ce premier croisement porte le nom d'*imilizo*. Si les éleveurs jugent que les qualités d'inyambo se retrouvent dans cette bête, ils la font également saillir par un taureau inyambo et ce produit est alors considéré comme étant digne d'entrer dans le troupeau des Inyambo.

Les femelles inyambo ne sont jamais abattues ou vendues pour quelque motif que ce soit : malformation ou stérilité, par exemple; elles meurent toutes de maladie ou de vieillesse. Pour les mâles, il n'en va pas de même; quand ils sont devenus adultes, les meilleurs sont conservés pour la reproduction; les autres sont vendus, tués ou placés dans des troupeaux ordinaires. La viande des taureaux abattus et des vaches mortes est consommée ou vendue par les gardiens.

La castration n'existe pas; elle est même interdite par la coutume.

Les Inyambo sont conduites chez le Mwami à l'occasion des fêtes et des réjouissances publiques. Elles sont escortées par le Mututsi, chez qui elles sont en pension, et

par leurs gardiens. Pour la circonstance, la plus belle bête (*inyamibwa*) porte sur le front un ornement de perles (*amaraba*), à la base de chacune de ses cornes trois fils de perles (*amashyongoshyo*) et aux pointes, des touffes de fibres de bananier (*amakamba*); une lanière couverte de perles rouges et noires lui entoure le cou; enfin au bout de la queue sont attachées des touffes de fibres de palmier portant le nom d'*ubuhivu*. Six vaches portent un ornement de perles blanches (*inigi*) entre les cornes et au cou. Deux autres ont deux inigi et en outre un collier de perles plus long que l'inigi appelé *imiheja*. Enfin, le reste des Inyambo a simplement une touffe de fibres à la queue.

Arrivés à Nyanza, les Inyambo défilent devant le Mwami pendant que les gens de leur escorte poussent des cris de joie (*urwamu*), agitent des bâtons (*guchyur' inka :* litt. : faire rentrer le bétail) et vantent les qualités des Inyambo. Puis ils font aligner celles-ci (*kumulika Inyambo :* litt. : montrer les Inyambo) et ils renouvellent leurs éloges.

Les pages intore se groupent alors et dansent devant le troupeau (*kwinikiza*). La fête se termine par des libations de bière de banane offerte par le Mwami à tous ceux qui ont participé à la présentation des Inyambo. Si le Mwami est satisfait de la façon dont sont traitées les Inyambo, il donne des ingororano au chef de la province où les troupeaux séjournent ainsi qu'aux gens de ce dernier.

8. Mort du Roi.

Quand le Mwami sent sa fin prochaine, il fait venir auprès de lui ses officiers de bouche (*abanyagikari*), des notables (*abatoni*) qu'il aime particulièrement et quelques gardiens des coutumes (*abiru*). Il leur fait connaître ses dernières volontés et leur rappelle le nom du successeur qu'il s'est choisi.

Le Roi mort, les abiru se rasent la tête, enlèvent leurs bracelets et mettent un vêtement en écorce de sycomore. Puis il choisissent huit Batutsi ou Bahutu appartenant aux familles des Abatsobe, Abagunga ou Abanyargona, qui sont chargés du soin des funérailles (*abanyamugogo* : litt. : hommes à la grande bûche). Le cadavre est habillé comme de son vivant, roulé dans une natte et placé dans un *ingobyi* (1) reposant sur une claie surélevée (*urutara*), installée dans une des huttes du boma royal (2).

Pendant huit jours, les veilleurs entretiennent un grand feu sous la claie pour faire boucaner le cadavre. Dans le but d'activer l'opération, le cadavre est retourné matin et soir, et pour empêcher la peau de crever, les veilleurs l'enduisent de beurre de temps à autre.

A l'aube du neuvième jour, le corps est levé par les veilleurs, accompagnés de quelques abiru, et est caché pendant la journée dans le rugo d'un Munyarwanda. La nuit venue, la petite troupe reprend sa marche. Voyageant seulement la nuit, le cortège funèbre arrive ainsi à la colline Rutare, près du lac Mohasi, terminus du voyage. Le propriétaire de chaque rugo où les porteurs ont passé la journée avec le cadavre doit boire le gihango (3), dont l'absorption le ferait mourir infailliblement s'il osait révéler ce qu'il a vu.

Le sommet de la colline Rutare est couronné d'arbres,

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(1) Panier allongé en forme de nacelle dans lequel sont portées les personnes de qualité.

(2) Jadis, à la mort du Roi, deux nobles batutsi étaient égorgés; c'est ce qui s'appelait : *gusegurir Umwami* (litt. faire l'oreiller du Roi). Lors du décès de l'Umugabekazi, deux grandes dames batutsi étaient pareillement mises à mort.

(3) Ce gihango est différent de celui dont il a été question dans le Pacte du sang, p. 17. C'est un breuvage boueux dans lequel des herbes médicinales ont macéré et sont mélangées à de la cendre de bois et de la poudre de la corne d'un taureau qui en a tué un autre. Les Banyarwanda croient que cette potion tue celui qui ne dit pas la vérité ou trahit un secret d'Etat (cf. également la Procédure, p. 120).

1: Vanhove FO42 Rundi

vestiges d'une ancienne forêt. C'est là que se trouve le cimetière des Rois et des Reines. Les abanyamugogo y construisent une hutte, creusent une tombe et y enterrent le roi avec ses armes. La hutte est fermée à l'aide de madriers et entourée d'un enclos d'épineux pour empêcher les fauves de s'y introduire. Tout près de là, les veilleurs se bâtissent des habitations. Ils y séjournent pendant deux ans et sont nourris pendant ce temps par les gens des environs. Puis ils retournent chez eux après être passés par Nyanza, où ils sont comblés de cadeaux. Mais le Mwami ne peut les voir, car il mourrait dans l'année s'il apercevait ceux qui ont veillé et porté le corps de son père. Pour la même raison, les abiru qui ont accompagné ceux-ci à Rutare ne peuvent plus jamais venir à la cour de Nyanza. La croyance existe également que de l'épaule droite du Mwami défunt sort un ver (*urunyo*) qui, placé dans une cruche de lait, y grandit et devient un léopard qui ne tue que ceux qui sont méchants et injustes.

A la mort du Mwami, tout travail est suspendu pendant huit jours. Deux mois durant, les taureaux sont retirés des troupeaux, les enfants du Roi ne peuvent avoir de rapports conjugaux; sans que ce soit une obligation pour eux, les Banyarwanda agissent de même.

Le décès de l'Umugabekazi donne lieu aux mêmes cérémonies et interdictions, mais légèrement simplifiées.

9. Succession au trône.

Le Roi du Ruanda appartient toujours à la famille des Abanyiginya. Ses femmes [1] sont choisies surtout dans les clans des Abega et des Abakono.

Parfois, le Souverain régnant désigne ouvertement

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[1] Le Roi peut avoir quatre femmes légitimes dont seuls les enfants sont, en théorie, admis à succéder à leur père, et autant de concubines qu'il désire.

1: Vanhove FO42 Rundi

comme son héritier même l'un de ses plus jeunes fils; il en est ainsi si celui-ci est reconnu par les devins comme devant être un Roi « magique », chargé de vaincre une épidémie, par exemple (*Umwami w'imitsindo*). C'est ainsi que Rwabugiri ne conféra le pouvoir à son fils aîné Rutalindwa, qui prit le nom de Mibambwe, que pour le temps de la minorité de Musinga.

Le plus souvent, le nom du successeur du Roi est indiqué secrètement par ce dernier aux abiru, qui proclament ensuite l'élu.

Comme le droit d'aînesse n'existe pas, les révolutions de palais sont fréquentes à la mort des rois. Il y a lutte entre les épouses royales qui ont des enfants mâles, surtout lorsqu'elles appartiennent à des familles puissantes, afin de se hisser ainsi que leur fils au pouvoir suprême et de faire octroyer aux membres de leur famille des dignités, des terres et des troupeaux. C'est une révolution de ce genre qui, peu après la mort de Rwabugiri, renversa Mibamwe et donna le Ruanda à Musinga et à sa mère Kanjogera.

10. Avènement du Roi.

Deux jours après la mort du Mwami, son successeur est proclamé Roi par les gardiens des coutumes. Après deux mois de deuil, la foule des chefs, grands et petits, et de leurs abagaragu se rend à Nyanza. Les Inyambo y sont amenées également. Pendant deux jours, la joie la plus débridée se donne libre cours au milieu des beuveries, des danses et des jeux. Le nouveau Roi se montre à son peuple, en habits d'apparat, le front ceint d'une couronne composée de fils de perles blanches (*ikamba* ou *igisingo*) retombant sur le visage, et il reçoit de ses sujets, en don d'avènement, des indabukirano. Puis les gens retournent chez eux et le nouveau règne commence.

Si le fils du défunt est trop jeune pour régner effecti-

vement, la mère et généralement les oncles maternels du petit prince exercent la régence [1]. De même l'Umugabekazi participe aux réunions du conseil des ministres jusqu'à ce que son fils ait atteint quinze ans environ, âge auquel il peut exercer le pouvoir suprême. Naguère encore, les oncles maternels du Mwami, profitant de sa jeunesse et de leur situation privilégiée, avaient souvent recours à la violence et à la ruse pour arrondir leurs provinces ou augmenter le nombre de leur troupeaux.

11. Divisions politiques.

Les traits caractéristiques de la féodalité se retrouvent au Ruanda. L'émiettement du pouvoir et des biens, l'octroi par le Mwami à ses sujets d'avantages et de commandements toujours révocables entraîne une grande incertitude dans la condition de chacun et permet au Roi d'asseoir sûrement sa domination sur le pays.

Le Ruanda est divisé en provinces (*intara*) placées sous le commandement d'un chef unique (*umutware w'intebe*) [2]. Cette règle souffre des exceptions. Dans le Bgishaza, par exemple, deux autres chefs se trouvent placés sous les ordres de l'umutware w'intebe : l'*umutware w'ubutaka*, qui exerce son autorité sur les terres et les Bahutu, et l'*umutware w'umukenke*, qui gouverne les pâturages, les troupeaux et les Batutsi. Les *abatware* sont nommés par le Mwami. Ils n'appartiennent pas nécessairement aux premières familles du pays. En effet, un simple Mututsi, voire un Muhutu, peut devenir chef grâce à la faveur royale qui récompense son intelligence et son dévouement.

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(1) Signalons cependant que Ruganzu Bwimba, avant de partir en expédition contre les gens du Gissaka, guerre au cours de laquelle il fut tué, désigna comme régent de son fils Kyilima Rugwe, un Umunyginya, Chyenge, et non un de ses beaux-frères.

(2) *Intebe*, siège-tabouret.

Jadis, au temps des guerres, les abapfumu du Mwami choisissaient parmi les abatware w'intebe l'*umugabe w'ingabo* (chef de l'armée). La paix conclue, celui-ci redevenait ce qu'il était auparavant.

Il est des abatware qui possèdent en propre des collines dans d'autres provinces [1].

Les *abachibiri*, qui ne possèdent qu'une partie de province, dépendent, eux aussi, directement du Mwami, qui leur a donné leurs terres.

Les *ibisonga* sont placés à la tête d'une ou plusieurs collines. Ils sont les surveillants des abatware et des abachibiri et souvent aussi leurs délateurs auprès du Mwami. Des femmes peuvent être ibisonga. Ce sont, par exemple, des abaja du Mwami (servantes-maîtresses) qui, en récompense de l'octroi de leurs faveurs, reçoivent une colline. Mais le cas le plus fréquent est celui d'une veuve d'igisonga sans enfant mâle qui, faisant sa cour chez le Roi, obtient de continuer à gérer la colline détenue par son mari [2]. Chaque chef de colline a sous ses ordres un factotum appelé *umuhingisha*, qui désigne et délimite les champs demandés au chef par les Bahutu et peut même trancher les palabres en l'absence de l'igisonga. L'*umunyabigega* est hiérarchiquement subordonné au précédent. C'est le chef des greniers (*ibigega*) du chef dont il surveille les cultures.

Les *abanyabikingi* ne commandent qu'une partie, un éperon de colline. Nommés directement par le Mwami, ils jouent auprès des ibisonga le rôle de surveillant, voire d'espion pour le compte du Roi.

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(1) Depuis 1924, dans le but d'unifier les commandements des chefs de province, le gouvernement s'est attaché à persuader les abatware de procéder à des échanges de collines.

(2) Citons, par exemple, Nyirarigweni, veuve de Nyantabana, grand chef de province, remplacé actuellement par Rwabutogo, qui commande la chefferie Buganza dans le territoire de Nyanza.

12. Succession du commandement.

Comme la dignité royale, la charge de chef de province est héréditaire. Elle est attribuée par le chef à celui de ses fils qu'il juge le plus digne de lui succéder. Il se peut que celui-ci devienne en même temps chef du clan, mais il n'en est pas toujours ainsi [1]. En effet, la famille et le clan sont des entités sociales distinctes des unités politiques.

Le nouveau chef doit venir annoncer la mort de son père au Mwami en lui amenant une vache *yo kubika* (litt. : qui annonce la mort). D'autre part, il reçoit de ses gens et de ses amis des indabukirano.

Les chefs autres que les abatware sont nommés par ces derniers et confirmés dans leurs fonctions par le Mwami.

13. Impôts et corvées.

A côté des obligations civiles découlant du contrat d'ubugaragu, il en est d'autres qui sont dues aux différents chefs comme tels.

A. — Obligations dues au chef de colline.

Les Bahutu qui ne sont pas abagaragu de l'igisonga doivent apporter à celui-ci, une fois par an, un grand panier de sorgho (*urutete*) et un petit panier de haricots (*ipfukire*). Naguère encore, ils étaient tenus également de cultiver les champs du chef (*ubuletwa* ou *uruharo*) [2], de construire et d'entretenir chacun une partie du rugo du chef (*kubak'inkike*) et de lui servir de messager (*gutumwa*). Enfin l'igisonga garde un groupe de cinq

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[1] Cf. exemple cité dans : Etat des personnes, le Chef de famille et de clan, p. 10.

[2] En 1954, cette coutume a été modifiée par les autorités, pour améliorer le sort du Muhutu. Celui-ci ne fournit plus actuellement que deux jours de travail sur sept.

hommes (*intizo*) pour ses besoins personnels et met le reste à la disposition du chef de province, qui les utilise soit à la construction ou à la réparation des ingo du Mwami et des siens, soit pour des travaux de routes, etc.

La corvée de kubak'inkike et de gutumwa incombe également aux simples Batutsi qui ne sont pas clients du chef [1].

Les Bahutu et les Batutsi abagaragu du chef ne doivent pas l'ubuletwa. On les appelle *ibyanga mibyizi* (litt. : ceux qui refusent le travail). Mais ils doivent apporter l'urutete et l'ipfukire. De plus, la corvée de kubak'inkike et de gutumwa leur incombe également [1], mais en vertu du contrat d'ubugaragu.

A tour de rôle, tous les Bahutu doivent veiller chaque nuit dans le rugo de l'igisonga (*okulalira*) et fournir au chef le bois nécessaire au chauffage et à la cuisine.

B. — **Obligations dues aux chefs de province et abachibiri.**

Les Bahutu qui ne sont pas abagaragu leur doivent l'urutete, l'ipfukire et également l'ubuletwa, deux jours sur sept. Quand l'exécution de cette dernière prestation est difficile, voire impossible, vu la distance, les Bahutu la remplacent en apportant le produit de leurs cultures (sorgho, petits pois, haricots, éleusine, colocasses). Cet impôt porte le nom d'*ibihunikwa* (litt. : ce qui est mis au grenier).

Les clients Bahutu ne sont astreints qu'à l'uretete et à l'ipfukire.

Les Batutsi ordinaires ont l'obligation de kubak'inkike, gutumwa et *kubyukurutsa*, c'est-à-dire de donner des vaches dites *imbyukuruke* [2].

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[1] Les Batutsi se déchargent évidemment de ces obligations sur leurs serviteurs ou leurs clients.

[2] Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 58.

Ceux qui sont abagaragu doivent, sauf dispense, apporter au chef l'uretete et l'ipfukire.

C'est aux ibisonga qu'est dévolu le soin de prélever dans chaque umulyango les impôts en nature dus respectivement aux abatware et abachibiri.

Les habitants du Nduga et du Marangara, provinces qui sont l'apanage du Mwami actuel, doivent l'impôt à celui-ci en sa qualité de chef de province et à lui seul.

C. — Obligations dues au Mwami.

Elles portent le nom générique d'*ikoro ry'Umwami*.

Les Bahutu ont à apporter au Roi l'*ikoro ry'ubutaka* (litt. : impôt de la terre), comprenant l'urutete et l'ipfukire, sur lesquels les chefs prélèvent une dîme (*umusogongero*). Ceux qui sont ses clients directs sont astreints en plus soit à l'ubuletwa soit à l'ibihunikwa.

Les Batutsi sont tenus de kubak'inkike, gutumwa et kubyukurutsa. Ceux qui sont abagaragu du Mwami doivent encore, à moins d'en être dispensés, fournir l'urutete et l'ipfukire. Les impôts en nature destinés au Mwami sont prélevés par les chefs chez leurs administrés.

Les chefs de province ont l'obligation de séjourner à Nyanza un temps plus ou moins long pour y faire leur cour, et le Roi ne manquera pas de faire attendre parfois plusieurs mois avant de congédier ceux dont il est mécontent. Ils sont encore tenus d'amener au Mwami du bétail, notamment des inkuke (1), un indwanyi (2), une ibiniha (3) et des intorwa (4).

Le Roi a également droit à un certain pourcentage sur le produit des chasses (*gusogongera*). Jadis, le Mwami prélevait également un certain nombre de vaches (*imi-*

(1) Cf. les Biens, Propriété du bétail, p. 50.
(2) Cf. idem, p. 50.
(3) Cf. idem, p. 51.
(4) Cf. idem, p. 51.

nyago) sur celles qui provenaient des razzias opérées au cours des guerres.

Certains indigènes ne sont tenus qu'à l'*ingabo*. C'est le cas des artisans, des chasseurs, des agriculteurs qui fournissent au Roi et à la Cour des arcs, des flèches, des serpes, des nattes, des peaux, des tambours, du miel, de l'hydromel, etc.

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Les Batwa ne sont astreints à aucune obligation fiscale proprement dite à l'égard des chefs et du Roi. Les potiers doivent uniquement fournir des pots et des cruches à la Cour et porter le Mwami, sa femme et l'Umugabekazi en ingobyi. Ils sont aussi les exécuteurs des hautes œuvres du Roi. Les prestations des chasseurs consistent en ivoire, peaux et bois odorant.

∴

Des sanctions pénales sont prévues en cas de non-exécution de ces obligations. Les chefs de colline et de province ainsi que le Roi font bâtonner les Bahutu et prennent des vaches aux Batutsi. Jadis, le Mwami ordonnait même parfois à ses bourreaux batwa de couper les oreilles (*kubiha*) aux contribuables bahutu défaillants.

∴

Un droit de péage (*ihoro*) est perçu par les passeurs d'eau. Pour le passage d'une rivière plus importante, telle que la Nyawarongo, la taxe est versée au chef de province, qui en ristourne une partie aux bateliers.

Les commerçants doivent également verser un ihoro aux chefs dont ils traversent le territoire.

14. Sociétés secrètes.

La secte dite Nyabingi (ou Bibeko) tire son origine du nom de la reine du Ndorwa, tuée par les guerriers du Mwami Rwabugiri, d'où l'hostilité marquée aux Batutsi et au pouvoir royal par les descendants de la Souveraine. De plus, ceux-ci sont devenus des Bahutu par leurs alliances avec des femmes du peuple. Ce sont là autant de raisons pour que les « Babeko » aient été considérés comme des sauveurs par les Bahutu, surtout dans le Nord du Ruanda, où la résistance sinon l'hostilité aux Batutsi et à leur administration s'affirme bien plus que dans le restant du pays.

Du Ndorwa, où elle a pris naissance, la secte s'est étendue au Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi et même au Buganza et au Bwanachyambwe. Les propagandistes sont surtout des femmes qui se disent possédées par l'esprit de Nyabingi. Toute femme Nyabingi dispose d'un certain nombre d'*abagirwa* qui sont ses serviteurs, mais qui se substituent souvent à elle pour exploiter les naïfs Bahutu en exigeant d'eux des présents soi-disant destinés à honorer Nyabingi et à la remercier de les protéger contre les Batutsi, voire contre les Européens.

La secte Nyabingi exerce donc une action néfaste, non seulement parce qu'elle entretient le Muhutu dans de vaines croyances et qu'elle abuse de sa crédulité en exigeant de lui des cadeaux importants (corbeilles de pois, de haricots, de sorgho, moutons, chèvres, taurillons, génisses), mais surtout parce qu'elle prêche le respect d'une autorité indépendante du Mwami, excite la haine contre les chefs Batutsi et aussi contre le pouvoir occupant.

1: Vanhove FO42 Rundi

15. Classes sociales.

Les Bahutu dominés par les Batutsi et auxquels s'ajoutent quelques groupes de Batwa forment le peuple des Banyarwanda.

Mais les Bahutu comme les Batutsi se subdivisent en plusieurs catégories qui portent chacune un nom spécial.

Un Muhutu pauvre, n'ayant qu'un misérable lopin de terre, s'appelle *umutindi*. Si son dénuement est moins grand, il porte le nom d'*umugabo*. Un *umukungu* est un homme bien nanti, possédant plusieurs champs et de nombreuses têtes de bétail.

De même, selon leur degré de richesse progressif, les Batutsi seront *umukene*, *umukire*, *umutunzi*, *umutware*. Les abatware forment une aristocratie restreinte appelée *imfura*.

Comme nous l'avons vu, la faveur du Mwami ou des grands chefs peut avoir pour effet d'améliorer sensiblement la situation sociale même d'un simple Muhutu. D'autre part, un chef important peut être réduit à la condition la plus misérable s'il a déplu au Roi ou s'il est maudit par son père.

Les Batwa, eux, sont tous mis sur le même pied et sont universellement méprisés par les Bahutu comme par les Batutsi.

Jadis, les guerriers ennemis étaient le plus souvent massacrés. Les femmes nobles réduites en servitude étaient considérées comme des Batutsikazi; les femmes bahutu devenaient des *abaja* (servantes). Les fillettes suivaient le sort des femmes. Quant aux garçons, ils étaient traités comme des Bahutu [1].

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[1] Cf. aussi : Etat des personnes, la Famille et le Clan, p. 7; Mariage, p. 19; Naissance et Filiation, p. 36; Gouvernement et Administration, nationalité, p. 82; Droit de la guerre, p. 106.

Les guerriers ne constituaient pas une caste à part. Tous les hommes valides, Batutsi comme Bahutu, devaient prendre les armes quand le pays était menacé.

De même, les devins, sorciers, faiseurs de pluie, pas plus que les nombreux fonctionnaires de la Cour de Nyanza ne forment pas des castes fermées.

16. Droit de la guerre.

Le Ruanda a connu jadis de grandes guerres avec tous les pays voisins : Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu et Urundi notamment.

Quand les gardes-frontières (*abanyarugerero*) remarquaient des mouvements de troupes suspects, ils avisaient le Mwami. Celui-ci réunissait le conseil des ministres et l'on procédait à la consultation des augures. Si ceux-ci étaient favorables, la guerre était décidée. Un intumwa était envoyé à la limite des deux pays et, en criant de loin, annonçait l'ouverture des hostilités. Les guerriers banyarwanda, batutsi et bahutu, combattaient ensemble dans des corps de milices régionales. Le chef suprême de l'armée choisi pour le temps de guerre parmi les abatware portait le titre d'*umugabe w'ingabo*. Au combat, les troupes étaient précédées d'*abahenyi*, Bahutu qui entièrement nus vociféraient des insultes à l'adresse de l'ennemi.

Le Mwami mandait un émissaire pour sommer l'ennemi de se rendre. Si celui-ci consentait, un envoyé accompagnait celui du Ruanda, venait notifier la reddition au Mwami, puis retournait dans son pays.

Les prisonniers mâles étaient généralement massacrés; leurs femmes et leurs enfants étaient emmenés au Ruanda. Le butin, consistant surtout en bétail, était partagé entre les guerriers banyarwanda, qui devaient en remettre une partie au Mwami (*iminyago*).

Le Roi réunissait alors à nouveau son conseil et proclamait la fin de la guerre.

Voleur de bétail empalé.

Cliché du Ministère des Colonies.

[p. 106a]

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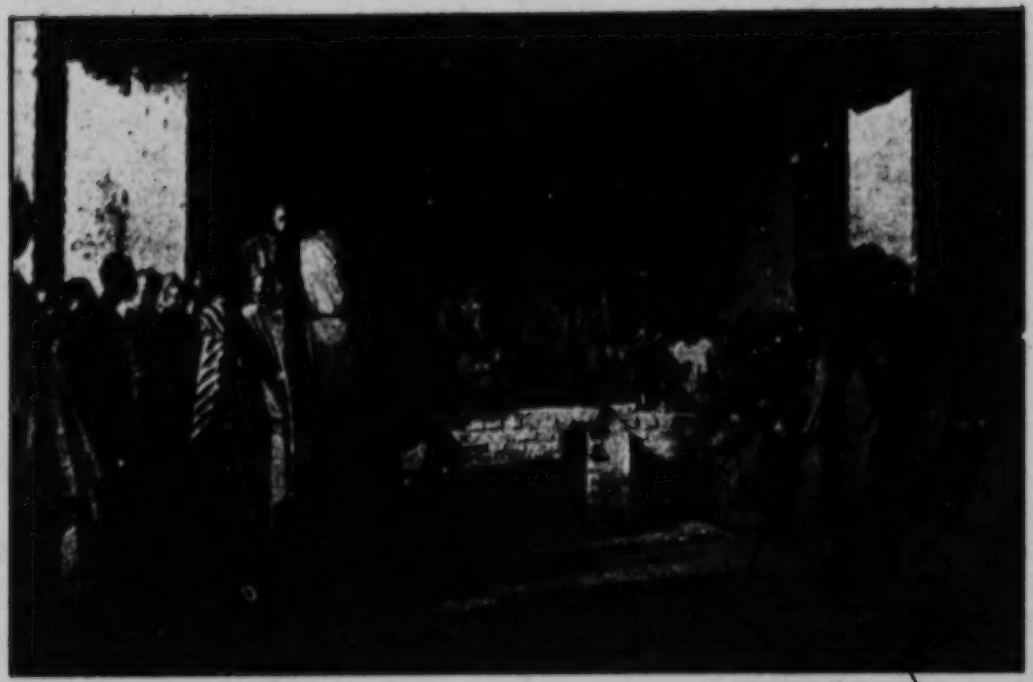

Un des nombreux tribunaux indigènes institués depuis l'occupation belge.

Cliché du Ministère des Colonies.

Cp. 1069

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SECTION VI.

La Justice.

CHAPITRE PREMIER

DROIT PENAL.

1. Vol [1] de vivres et de petit bétail.

a) Flagrant délit (*mushyuho*).

Celui qui surprenait le voleur dans son rugo pouvait naguère encore le tuer impunément, mais si la victime du vol ne parvenait pas à donner au voleur le coup mortel à l'improviste et si les antagonistes en venaient aux mains, le voleur devait être traduit devant le chef de colline. Aujourd'hui, celui-ci fait appréhender le coupable présumé par quelques-uns de ses hommes, qui le ligottent et l'enferment en attendant qu'il soit traduit devant son tribunal. Les parents ou le shebuja du voleur peuvent toutefois offrir un présent (*inchamugozi :* litt. : qui coupe la corde) au chef pour qu'il soit délié. Au tribunal, ils proposent au volé de lui verser l'*ingurano* (de *kugura*, racheter), indemnité qui n'est pas nécessairement de même nature que l'objet du vol; c'est ainsi, par exemple, que des houes peuvent être remises en cas de vol d'un panier de sorgho. Le volé réclame en plus l'*inchachyuho* [2] en vertu de la violation de son droit de propriété; elle consiste généralement en une houe.

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[1] Le vol se dit : *ubujura* ou *ubyibyi*. Le mot *umujura* désigne le voleur en général. L'*umushimusi* est le voleur de bétail et l'*igisambo* celui qui dérobe des vivres, des instruments, etc.

[2] Littéralement : celle (la vache) qui coupe, délivre (le voleur) pour la brèche (faite dans le rugo).

Si le voleur est pauvre, il arrive qu'un homme riche indemnise la victime du vol, mais il exige en retour du voleur des prestations en travail.

Jadis, si aucune intervention n'avait lieu en sa faveur, le voleur devenait, même pour un temps plus ou moins long, l'esclave du volé (*umugaramu* = le racheté). Il était cependant bien traité par le maître et pouvait même, à sa libération, devenir son client.

b) **Vol non flagrant.**

Dans ce cas, le volé fait faire une enquête discrète par une personne qui ne peut donner l'éveil. Dès que celle-ci a recueilli des éléments d'information, elle prévient la victime du vol, qui aidée de parents ou d'amis, va reprendre son bien et même davantage, ou bien arrête le voleur ou encore avertit le chef, qui le fait appréhender. Le volé doit fournir au chef la preuve du délit (*igihanga* : litt. : la tête). Même si le volé s'est payé lui-même, le voleur doit lui verser l'*umunani* représentant huit fois la valeur du vol. Jusqu'au paiement complet de cette indemnité, le voleur reste enchaîné et est même frappé, à moins qu'il ne donne l'inchamugozi. En outre de l'imunani, il est condamné à payer l'inchachyuho.

*
* *

Le détrousseur de grands chemins (*umwambuzi*) est condamné à une peine corporelle et à rendre ce qu'il a pris.

Le Mututsi qui, par impossible, volerait des vivres ou du petit bétail serait condamné aux peines ordinaires et, châtiment terrible, il serait mis au ban de la société mututsi, car ce vol le dégraderait, le ravalerait au rang des Bahutu.

L'*umugambanyi* (indicateur, traître) ne vole pas lui-même, mais envoie des *abajura* (voleurs) pour commettre

le délit. Quant à l'*ichyitso*, c'est celui qui donne aux voleurs les renseignements qui leur sont indispensables. L'umugambanyi est dépouillé de ses biens, lié et frappé jusqu'à ce qu'il ait payé l'umumani, puis il est chassé de la colline et son rugo est détruit ou donné à un autre homme. Le châtiment de l'ichyitso est le même, excepté qu'il n'est pas tenu au paiement de l'umumani.

Celui qui a recélé une chose volée [1] est puni comme le voleur. Celui qui a dissimulé un voleur aux recherches mais qui prouve n'avoir pas participé au vol est lié et bâtonné sans plus.

2. Vol de gros bétail.

Le volé qui surprend le voleur « flagrante delicto » n'est plus autorisé aujourd'hui à le tuer. Qu'il s'agisse ou non d'un délit flagrant, le tribunal de province est seul compétent pour connaître de l'affaire. En ce qui concerne les peines, il importe de distinguer plusieurs éventualités.

Celui qui s'est emparé d'une ou plusieurs têtes de bétail doit restituer ce qu'il a volé. De plus il est contraint de présenter au tribunal huit bêtes (umunani) parmi lesquelles le volé peut choisir une vache *y'ichyuho*, parce que le voleur s'est introduit dans son boma sans son autorisation. Il doit enfin remettre à la victime du vol une vache *inguramaboko* (litt. : qui délivre les bras liés) pour acheter sa liberté.

Si le voleur a abattu ou vendu le bétail, il doit amener l'umunani pour permettre au volé d'y choisir autant de bêtes que celles qui lui ont été prises. De plus, il est obligé de donner une vache y'ichyuho et une inguramaboko. Le volé doit fournir au tribunal la preuve du délit (igihanga). Si par exemple le voleur a abattu une bête, il

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[1] Le receleur n'est pas désigné par un mot spécial. Recéler se dit : *guhishira*, cacher en faveur de quelqu'un.

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incombe à la victime du vol de montrer les cornes de la bête tuée.

Si le ravisseur ne possède pas d'autres bêtes que celles qu'il a volées, sa famille paie l'y'ichyuho et l'inguramaboko. Si elle ne possède pas de bétail ou refuse d'en donner, le chef de colline du voleur ou son shebuja paie pour lui, mais alors le voleur doit se racheter en travaillant pour celui qui est intervenu en sa faveur.

Si personne ne consent à payer pour le voleur, celui-ci est conduit devant le Mwami, qui demande à l'un des notables présents de le racheter, moyennant quoi le voleur s'acquitte de sa dette en travaillant pour ce chef.

Le Mututsi qui vole une tête de bétail est condamné aux peines ordinaires. Du temps du Mwami Rwabugiri, il arrivait même qu'il fût condamné à mort.

Le recéleur de bétail volé est puni comme le voleur; aussi peut-il être parfois dépouillé de tout son troupeau.

L'obligation prévue par la coutume non seulement de restituer mais de payer en plus l'y'ichyuho et l'inguramaboko n'a pas seulement pour but la réparation du dommage causé, mais vise de plus à punir sévèrement le délinquant pour lui inspirer une crainte salutaire.

Autrefois, il était fréquent qu'un chef razziât des troupeaux entiers. Il pouvait être condamné par le Mwami à rendre ce qu'il avait pris et à donner en supplément au volé un nombre plus ou moins grand de têtes de bétail. Le voleur était parfois aussi dépossédé de tous ses biens. Malheureusement, si l'auteur du vol était un parent ou un ami du Mwami, il arrivait souvent que le vol restât impuni.

Naguère encore, le voleur d'une vache appartenant aux troupeaux inyambo du Mwami était condamné à être empalé.

De même, un voleur de bétail pris pour la troisième fois perdait non seulement tous ce qu'il possédait, mais de plus était souvent condamné à mort.

3. Incendie.

L'incendiaire (*utwika*), après avoir été roué de coups, doit restituer la valeur de ce qu'il a détruit : Rugo, objets, vivres, etc. Sinon, il est dépossédé de son propre rugo et de tout ce qu'il contient au profit de la victime de l'incendie. Si l'incendie est involontaire, son auteur est condamné uniquement à des dommages-intérêts.

4. Coups et blessures.

Si les coups qui ont été portés ont entraîné des blessures, l'auteur des faits n'est condamné qu'à une amende (*ichyiru*) dont l'importance varie avec la qualité de la victime. C'est ainsi qu'un simple Muhutu messager ou umugaragu du Mwami peut recevoir tout un troupeau. En général un Muhutu ayant reçu des blessures se voit gratifié de l'*indwaza* (litt. : qui soigne), indemnité de soins consistant en une ou deux chèvres. Si l'auteur des coups est un Mututsi, il doit prêter une vache au Muhutu pour lui permettre de prendre le lait aussi longtemps que la bête peut en donner; le Muhutu reçoit un taurillon en pleine propriété quand il a rendu la vache.

5. Meurtre.

Les affaires de meurtre étaient de la compétence exclusive du Mwami au temps où il avait le droit de vie et de mort sur ses sujets [1].

Si le meurtrier (*gatozi*) et sa victime appartenaient à la même classe sociale, le Roi ordonnait l'exercice de la vengeance privée (*guhora* : venger — *kwikorera* : se venger), qui entraînait des conflits interminables entre familles et clans. Le Mwami pouvait toutefois faire retomber sur le meurtrier seul la responsabilité de son acte et les parents de la victime ne pouvaient alors recourir à la « vendetta ».

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[1] Cf. Gouvernement et Administration, le Pouvoir royal, p. 87, note 1.

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Si le meurtrier était un Muhutu et la victime un Mututsi, deux morts étaient exigées.

D'autre part, si un Muhutu avait été tué par un simple Mututsi, le recours à la vengeance directe était impossible, mais le Mwami pouvait abandonner aux parents de la victime un membre de la famille du Mututsi pour le tuer. Toutefois, si un Mututsi de quelque importance tuait un Muhutu, ni lui ni ses biens n'étaient inquiétés. Cette sentence inique n'indignait pas les indigènes, parce qu'elle état conforme au droit du pays et ils s'inclinaient devant elle.

Le droit de grâce n'existait pas. Le Roi avait toutefois la faculté d'arrêter la vengeance (*gucha inzigo :* litt. : couper la vengeance) et d'offrir la composition (wehrgeld) à la famille du mort, mais seulement si celui-ci était un Muhutu, car les Batutsi n'admettaient que la réparation par le sang. Pour que le Roi consentît à reconnaître à la famille de la victime le bénéfice de la composition, il fallait évidemment que le mort ait été un homme important, qu'il ait été, par exemple, umugaragu du Mwami. En exécution de la sentence, le meurtrier devait donner aux parents de la victime un nombre important de têtes de bétail, trente et même plus parfois.

Si une personne avait perdu la vie au cours d'un incendie allumé par une main malveillante, le coupable (ou quelqu'un des siens) était décapité par un membre de la famille de la victime.

Les *abalozi* (sorciers), accusés d'avoir causé la mort d'un homme par leurs maléfices, étaient aussi punis de la peine capitale. Si le meurtrier se réfugiait dans le rugo d'un chef, il trouvait là un asile inviolable. C'eût été en effet un manque de respect à l'égard de l'autorité que de tuer un homme chez le chef et les justiciers auraient pu être mis à mort par ce fait. Mais le chef amenait alors le meurtrier devant le Mwami.

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6. Cas spéciaux.

Les affaires d'une exceptionnelle gravité étaient soumises obligatoirement au Mwami.

Le crime de lèse-majesté valait naguère encore la peine capitale à son auteur. Les bourreaux batwa étaient chargés d'exécuter la sentence par étranglement (*guhotora*), par la lance (*gutera inchumu*), par la bastonnade (*gukubita inkoni*), par la hache (*gukubita intorezo*). Le coupable pouvait être aussi précipité dans un gouffre situé dans le Bugessera (près de Nyanza), après avoir été étranglé [1], ou bien encore il était aveuglé à l'aide d'un fer rouge [2].

Les faiseurs de pluie (*abavubyi*) convaincus d'imposture [3] étaient noyés dans le lac Mugessera.

Les jeunes filles reconnues enceintes subissaient parfois le même sort.

7. Homicide involontaire.

A la chasse, il arrive qu'un traqueur ou un chasseur dissimulé dans un fourré épais soit confondu avec un gibier ou un fauve et soit tué par une flèche. Ces accidents sont réglés de la façon suivante :

Si une flèche, après avoir blessé une bête, tue un homme, la responsabilité du tireur n'est nullement engagée.

Si une flèche destinée à une bête manque son but et tue un homme qui avait pourtant signalé sa présence,

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(1) Des Abanyiginya accusés d'avoir comploté contre le Mwami furent châtiés de la sorte.

(2) Un chef des environs d'Issave, appelé Kayijuka, eut les yeux brûlés pour avoir montré Nyirayuhi, mère du roi Musinga, à un missionnaire. A cette époque, la coutume du pays n'admettait pas, en effet, que les femmes nobles pussent être vues par des étrangers.

(3) En dépit de ce châtiment terrible, les faiseurs de pluie n'en continuaient pas moins à exercer leur métier dangereux, mais lucratif.

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le tireur maladroit est considéré comme un meurtrier et le droit de vengeance est acquis à la famille de la victime. Toutefois, si le meurtrier peut faire la preuve que le signal n'a pas été fait par la victime, sa responsabilité est dégagée. De même, il peut plaider non coupable devant le tribunal du chef de province ou du Roi en faisant valoir, avec l'assistance de témoins, que par suite des cris, du grand nombre de signaux émis au même temps, il ne lui a pas été permis d'entendre le sifflement d'avertissement de la victime ou encore que celle-ci s'est déplacée après avoir lancé le signal convenu.

Si les déclarations du plaideur sont reconnues fondées, le tribunal déclare que la victime a péri par suite de son imprudence ou d'un accident dont le meurtrier ne peut être rendu responsable, et il met celui-ci définitivement hors de cause.

8. Imputabilité et responsabilité.

Sauf le cas où le coupable et la victime sont d'un rang social différent, la gravité de la peine infligée correspond « ne varietur » à une infraction déterminée et il n'est pas tenu compte de circonstances atténuantes ou aggravantes, sauf quand il s'agit de vol de denrées, auquel cas le juge doit s'assurer si le mobile de l'infraction est la faim ou une intention doleuse.

Les enfants qui commettent un délit sont fouettés. Quant aux délinquants privés de raison, ils sont enfermés et entravés.

La riposte est considérée comme légitime en cas d'attaque injuste. Jadis, si l'agresseur était tué, l'individu en état de légitime défense demandait au Mwami d'intervenir pour arrêter les représailles de la famille de l'auteur de l'attentat. Le Roi interdisait alors l'exercice de la vengeance privée.

9. Prescription.

La prescription de la peine, comme celle de l'action publique, est inconnue dans le droit coutumier du Ruanda.

CHAPITRE II.

LA PROCEDURE [1].

1. Les divers degrés de juridiction.

D'habitude, les parties essaient d'abord de régler leur différend à l'amiable avant de s'adresser à la juridiction du chef de colline [2]. Le chef-juge est toujours assisté d'abagaragu versés dans le droit coutumier du pays qui portent le nom collectif d'*abachamanza* (juges-arbitres). Il se peut que dans des matières très délicates, la cause soit remise à une date ultérieure pour permettre à des abagaragu particulièrement compétents de siéger. Les abachamanza ne sont pas nécessairement des Batutsi; il peut arriver que des Bahutu soient désignés comme assesseurs et ainsi soient appelés à connaître d'une affaire dans laquelle se trouve impliqué un Mututsi.

Le tribunal est saisi de deux façons :

a) Quand le chef de colline (igisonga) ou le sous-chef (umuhingisha) apprend qu'une infraction a été commise,

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(1) Aujourd'hui, à l'exception d'infractions telles que les détournements de bétail dont les tribunaux indigènes s'attribuent la connaissance à l'égal des différends d'ordre privé, les affaires pénales où des indigènes sont en cause sont jugées par des juridictions européennes. Quant à l'organisation judiciaire indigène en matière civile, le gouvernement belge l'a maintenue presque intégralement (cf. J. VANHOVE, *Les juridictions indigènes au Ruanda*, Revue CONGO, juillet 1939).

(2) *Uruja kujya ibgami rubanza mu bagabo*, c'est-à-dire littéralement : la palabre qui va (aller) chez le Roi commence entre les hommes (ici = arbitres)

il envoie quelques-uns de ses hommes pour arrêter l'individu que la rumeur publique soupçonne d'être l'auteur du délit. Ce dernier, étroitement lié, reste enfermé dans un enclos ouvert à tous les vents, situé près de la maison du chef, jusqu'à ce que le tribunal statue sur son sort. Pendant le temps de cette détention préparatoire, des abagaragu du chef, juges ou non, interrogent le coupable présumé et essaient de le faire avouer (*kwindja* : litt. : tenter, solliciter).

b) En matière civile, le demandeur (*umulezi*) va trouver le chef. Il se met à cropetons devant lui, son bâton ou sa lance contre l'épaule, bat des mains et dit au chef : « *Nimugahorane Imâna!* » : Que Dieu t'assiste ! » (s-e. : pour juger ma palabre). Le défendeur (*ulegwa*) est invité à comparaître. Si après trois convocations successives il persiste à se dérober, le chef le fait appeler une nouvelle fois. S'il fait encore défaut, son adversaire a cause gagnée.

Le tribunal siège au seuil de la demeure du chef, là où sont les *ibitabo* (1), ou encore sous le porche, devant les *insika* (2).

Les parents des plaideurs et la foule des curieux assistent aux débats.

Le défendeur, puis le demandeur parlent de façon alternée chacun deux fois. Ils peuvent recourir aux bons offices d'un avocat bénévole, généralement leur fils, un serviteur fidèle ou leur shebuja.

Les assesseurs qui ont des questions à poser interrogent alors les parties. Le chef, lui, se tait. Puis, sur son ordre ou celui du plus savant des assesseurs, un de ceux-ci se lève et reprend la palabre par le menu (*gusor'imanza* : donner le contenu de la palabre ou, mieux, *gusubira mu rubanza* : répéter [à la place de ...] la palabre). A la fin de cet exposé,

(1) Murets très bas, de terre battue, en forme de festons.

(2) Sorte de paravents de vannerie décorant le bas des piliers qui soutiennent le toit de la hutte.

pendant lequel un silence religieux n'a cessé de régner, il prononce les paroles suivantes : *Kubganjye nyanaka aratsinze!* (D'après moi, un tel l'emporte !), puis il se rassied. Bien que le silence du tribunal marque son accord, le chef demande aux assesseurs de confirmer leur acquiescement, puis il prononce la sentence.

S'il n'y a pas unanimité au sein du tribunal, le chef prie un des assesseurs opposants de refaire lui aussi l'exposé de l'affaire en indiquant les motifs de son attitude. Le premier orateur réplique ensuite, appuyé par ceux de ses collègues qui partagent sa façon de voir. Les assesseurs qui sont d'un autre avis ripostent ensuite et il s'ensuit un débat animé, souvent orageux, en pleine audience. Les écarts de langage sont parfois tels que le chef doit sévir pour rappeler l'aréopage à plus de dignité. A un moment donné, sa religion étant faite, le chef-juge réclame le silence, reprend à son tour l'affaire « ab ovo » et, après avoir justifié son point de vue, dit : *Koko nyanaka aratsinze!* (Vraiment, celui-là l'emporte!).

Les modes de preuve les plus usités sont le témoignage et le serment. Seul le demandeur est autorisé à invoquer le témoignage. Le témoin [1] (*umugabo*), toujours unique, peut être appelé dans les affaires civiles ou pénales. Il est interrogé après que les deux parties ont parlé. L'intervention d'un témoin a une utilité fort relative, car étant donné qu'il est toujours apparenté de près ou de loin avec le demandeur, le défendeur le récuse généralement.

Quant au serment, il est déféré par le chef aux deux plaideurs et au témoin avant qu'ils ne prennent la parole. Après avoir fiché leur lance en terre, ceux-ci jurent en disant : *Nkobeshya ili chumu ndakaritega Mutara!* [2] (Si je mens, que cette lance transperce Mutara!)

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[1] Une femme ou un enfant ne peuvent jamais servir de témoin.

[2] Au lieu de prononcer le nom du Roi régnant, on dit souvent simplement : *...Ndakaritegʼlʼmwami!*

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Jadis, en cas de vol grave, de coups et blessures, de maladie ou de mort suspecte, les accusés persistant dans leurs dénégations étaient torturés ou soumis à une ordalie.

Le coupable présumé d'un vol important était lié étroitement, puis dans les coupures faites par les cordes, on versait de l'urine de vache; ou encore il était privé de nourriture, frappé jusqu'à en devenir infirme et ce sans préjudice du châtiment.

Un homme ayant été victime d'un vol considérable, celui dont un parent était atteint d'une maladie suspecte ou y avait succombé allait se plaindre au chef en se faisant accompagner d'un sorcier (*umushuzi*) muhutu, qui procédait alors au *gushora* (divination). Celui-ci prenait une serpette (*ikibabo*) et invitait le prévenu à cracher sur la lame (*gukamira* : litt. : traire) et à prononcer les paroles suivantes : « Si je suis coupable, tu deviendras noir. Si je ne suis pas coupable, tu deviendras blanc comme un *inyange* (ibis) ». L'umushuzi plongeait ensuite la serpette dans le feu; quand le fer devenait rouge, il semait de la poudre magique (*umubi*) sur la lame et attendait le résultat de l'expérience.

Une autre épreuve utilisée couramment dans les mêmes cas était celle du poussin appelé pour la circonstance *umuchuri* (de *guchurika* : renverser). L'accusé buvait un peu d'eau, se rinçait la bouche et crachait l'eau dans le bec du poussin. Le sorcier (mututsi) s'adressait alors à l'oiseau en disant : « Si tu trouves que celui-ci est coupable, tu feras marcher le voyageur et tu arrêteras le sédentaire. S'il n'est pas coupable, tu feras reposer le voyageur et marcher le sédentaire [1] ». Le sorcier tuait alors le poussin, ouvrait son corps, et après avoir procédé à l'examen des entrailles, en donnait l'interprétation convenable.

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[1] Ces paroles sybillines s'expliquent comme suit : il y a dans les entrailles (*ibilangô*) du poussin des boyaux qui en se contractant ou en se détendant donnent l'impression de reculer ou d'avancer.

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L'exécution des sentences ne comporte pas de procédure spéciale. Si le jugement porte sur des vaches volées, le plaignant ou des abagaragu vont les reprendre chez le voleur. Dans les autres cas, le condamné s'exécute lui-même. Si par impossible, il refusait, le chef l'y contraindrait par force.

En principe, la justice est gratuite et les frais judiciaires n'existent pas, mais les juges ne sont pas insensibles aux épices, avantageant ainsi les puissants et les riches. D'autre part, il est de règle qu'un umugaragu ayant une palabre apporte de la bière ou du tabac à son shebuja pour qu'il introduise l'affaire devant le tribunal.

⁂

L'appel est prévu devant le chef de province, dont le tribunal est organisé sur la même base que celui du chef de colline. Ce recours est dit : *gusuzugura* (litt. : mépriser la justice du chef) ou *gusubira urubanza* (recommencer la palabre).

Jadis, un Muhutu ne faisait pas appel devant le chef de province, mais bien devant l'umugabe w'ingabo (¹).

D'autre part, le tribunal du chef de province connaît en premier ressort des affaires de bétail et des litiges territoriaux entre chefs de colline. De même, il est obligatoirement compétent en cas d'expulsion et de dépossession d'un Mututsi ou d'un Muhutu par un chef de colline.

⁂

Le tribunal du Mwami est la juridiction suprême. Le Roi le préside, entouré d'hommes de confiance versés dans les coutumes (*abahanga*) ou de grands personnages assumés comme juges.

Le Mwami est normalement seul compétent pour connaître en premier et dernier ressort des affaires crimi-

(¹) Cf. Gouvernement et Administration, Droit de la guerre, p. 106.

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nelles, mais il arrive qu'il délègue son pouvoir à un umutware. Si, par exemple, un chef de province a dénoncé un sorcier au Roi, il arrive que celui-ci ordonne à ce chef de tuer l'umulozi.

Les crimes de lèse-majesté et de violation des secrets d'Etat sont aussi de sa compétence exclusive.

Jadis, dans les affaires criminelles jugées par le Mwami, on recourait à l'épreuve du gihango pour forcer l'accusé à avouer [1]. Les sentences étaient exécutées par les bourreaux batwa.

Tout Mùnyarwanda, même le plus humble, peut se plaindre directement au Mwami s'il a été spolié par un chef. Mais ce recours à la justice royale est illusoire pour les plaideurs peu fortunés, qui sont souvent contraints de séjourner plus ou moins longtemps à Nyanza avant que leur affaire soit appelée. De plus, bien que les juges du tribunal du Mwami soient tenus de refuser les cadeaux offerts par les parties et de juger en équité sans se préoccuper de la caste des plaideurs, il leur arrive d'accepter d'être « honorés » par l'une ou l'autre des parties.

Le tribunal du Mwami intervient enfin en dernier ressort dans les litiges surgissant entre individus appartenant à des ressorts différents.

2. Litiges entre indigènes de ressorts différents.

Quand des litiges surgissent entre indigènes appartenant à des collines différentes, c'est l'igisonga du défendeur qui connaît de l'affaire. Mais le demandeur comparaît assisté de son shebuja ou d'un autre umugaragu de celui-ci qui joue en quelque sorte le rôle d'avocat et porte le nom d'*umuhagarikira*. Si le demandeur est débouté, il va se plaindre à son chef; les deux chefs se réunissent alors dans un endroit neutre, avec leurs abagaragu et les

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(1) Cf. Gouvernement et Administration, Mort du Roi, p. 35, note 3.

1: Vanhove FO42 Rundi

plaideurs. Si un arrangement à l'amiable est impossible, les parties recourent à la juridiction du chef de province.

Si les plaideurs appartiennent à des provinces différentes, le demandeur débouté par le chef de colline de son adversaire, accompagné de son shebuja ou d'un umuhagarikira, va trouver le chef de sa province. Celui-ci essaie d'arriver à un accord avec son collègue. S'il n'y parvient pas, les parties et leurs patrons se rendent chez le Mwami. Parmi les chefs de province en visite officielle, ses courtisans et ses abagaragu, le Roi désigne quelques-uns de ces hauts personnages pour examiner l'affaire. Cette fois, ce sont les chefs de colline qui plaident eux-mêmes la cause de leurs gens. Si la décision rendue n'agrée pas à l'une des parties, elle se plaint à son chef de province, qui signale la chose au Roi. Le Mwami appelle alors certains de ses abahanga [1]. Il siège avec eux et entend les chefs de province respectifs des parties qui agissent au nom de celles-ci. Le Roi prononce alors la sentence en justifiant sa façon de juger.

Il convient de noter que la procédure normale que nous venons de décrire ne pouvait pas toujours être employée jadis. Quand les deux chefs de colline étaient, par exemple, hostiles l'un à l'autre, si la victime d'un vol, par exemple, venait réclamer justice, il se pouvait que le chef du voleur prît le parti de celui-ci. Le volé prévenait son chef et c'était alors la guerre entre collines. Si le chef du volé, trop faible, n'obtenait pas justice pour son administré, il en appelait au chef de province, qui convoquait les deux chefs, le voleur et le volé. Seuls les deux chefs plaidaient, d'abord le chef du volé, puis celui du voleur. Si celui-ci prouvait que la victime du vol avait voulu se faire justice sans s'être d'abord plainte à lui, qu'il avait eu ensuite à se défendre contre une attaque qu'il pouvait croire injuste,

---

[1] Cf. p. 119.

1: Vanhove FO42 Rundi

le chef de province infligeait une amende (*ichyirù*) en vaches au chef du volé. Si la guerre intestine avait causé des morts ou des blessures, la palabre devait être transmise obligatoirement au Mwami. Après avoir payé l'amende, le chef du volé pouvait appréhender le voleur et le punir comme nous l'avons exposé plus haut.

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The Barundi, an Ethnological Study of German East Africa
[Die Barundi, Eine völkerkundliche Studie aus Deutsch-Ostafrika]

By Hans Meyer

Leipzig: 1916
Otto Spamer

Translated from the German by Helmut Handzik

Human Relations Area Files

1959

[Title page]

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Geological Sketch of the Central Interlacustrine Region 4A

Residences of the Great Batwale and Chief Vassals in Urundi [ommitted in translation]

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Explanation: The numbers listed in the text and enclosed in parentheses, for example (No. 38, p. 15), refer to the consecutively numbered works in the list of source material, Appendix II of this book.
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Chapter 1

Survey of Land People (1)

(Cf. the map [colored in the original] at the end of the book.)

114 1. Part of this chapter is taken from a lecture which I gave at the 19th German Geographers' Conference in Strasbourg in the spring of 1914.

1. The Land Urundi

131 In the extreme west of German East Africa lies one of the regions of Africa least known until now: Urundi. To the north it borders on Ruanda, to the east on Ussuwi and Uha, to the south also on Uha, to the west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Since Urundi has an area of almost 29,000 square kilometers, i.e., approximately twice that of the Kingdom of [161] Saxony, and since it has over one and a half million inhabitants (according to van der Burgt, around two and a half million), it deserves attention for this reason alone. However, although 648 it has been German territory for over 25 years, we know little about it. Because of the recalcitrance of its population, the government had almost completely closed off the area to travel from the outside, and until 1911 political influence was limited to the establishment of a station with a resident and a company of colonial troops in Usumbura on Lake Tanganyika. It was not until 1912 that the seat of government was moved on a trial basis to Gitega in the interior of the region.

648 797 Oskar Baumann in 1812 was the first European who traveled through northern Urundi to the source of the Nile on the upper Ruvuvu. There followed then between 1896 and 1898 several military expeditions by colonial army officers, Ramsay, von Trotha, Langheld, von Langenn-Steinkeller, Fonck, and Dr. Kandt; and between 1896 and 1899 the Catholic Mission of

648 the "White Fathers" founded the stations of Usumbura (later
[797] moved to Marienheim), Mujaga, and Mugera in central Urundi. However, this advance of the Europeans was met with hostility by the Barundi [Rundi], so that from 1900 on German colonial troops under their leaders, Bethe, von Beringe, and von Grawert, had to contend with Kisabo, the king of Urundi, whereupon the Barundi finally recognized the sovereignty of the Germans. This recognition, however, is only nominal, for our power there is much too small to permit the establishment of a German administration in Urundi as yet.

114 Under such circumstances the exploration of Urundi could make no substantial progress. Ethnology alone has been advanced to a high degree by Father J. M. M. van der Burgt, who for many years was active in Urundi as a missionary and published the results of his excellent ethnological studies in Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi which appeared in 1903 through the Dutch Missionary Publishing House at Bois le Duc. The extremely extensive ethnological and ethnographical data, however, are so interspersed in this book with all kinds of historical and [2] linguistic digressions that it is difficult to extract and methodically collate the ethnological data of scientific value.

In view of this situation I decided to devote part of my 1911 expedition to the investigation of Urundi. Therefore, I worked there for a few months, sufficient time to obtain an over-all view which I have endeavored to supplement, as far as possible, by inquiries, correspondence, and other kinds of studies. Setting out from Ruanda in the northwest, I first crossed the northwestern mountain region, the "Mountains of the Moon" with my two companions, Lieutenant Tiller and Dr. Houy, then descended to the great central African depression into the valley of the Ruzizi, then crossed in dugouts the northern end of Lake Tanganyika to the residency, Usumbura, and thereupon traveled through the whole of central Urundi from west to east in a month and further through northern Uha and the Ussumbwa states, until finally, at Tabora, I reached the central railroad by which I traveled to Dar es Salaam.

133 When I now attempt to describe the inhabitants of Urundi, the Barundi (1), the following question must first be briefly

[104]
[194]

1. In the spelling of Barundi, Bahima, Batussi, Bahutu, Batwa, Baganda, Banjoro, Banjaruanda, Banjankole, etc., I am following the example of J. Czekanowski (Nos. 38 and 48). In this connection, it should be noted that the phonetic value of this b is often close to our w i.e., an English v and in correct phonetic terms might be more clearly transcribed by a v specially marked, but for the purpose of my study the common b corresponds more closely to the orthography of the tribes between the lakes. On the other hand, one must write Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, Waschaschi, etc., since these tribes pronounce the w in all clarity.

answered: What does the country look like, the soil which supports and nourishes the people and upon which its economic, social, and political life takes place? Urundi is a mountainous country, the southern part of the interlacustrine region to which belong Ruanda in the north, the Kisiba states and Uha in the east, and in the south also Uha and part of Ujiji. On all sides Urundi has good natural boundaries: in the north the rivers Akanjaru and Kagera, in the east the long plateau sloping down toward Uha, in the south the upper course of the Malagarasi, in the west Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. To the north the region has a broad front toward Ruanda, while to the south it tapers off in wedge-shaped form to Lake Tanganyika.

In its geological structure Urundi is divided into two large regions whose landscapes differ. The larger eastern part is a section of the Paleozoic slate and quartzite plateau (Plate 26) probably belonging to the Cape formation. This plateau covers almost the entire interlacustrine region. The narrower, tapering

133 western part is the tail end of a range of Archeozoic folded mountains; it consists of crystalline slate with many granite intrusions and outcrops. The boundary between the two formations is a sharp threshold or drop in the terrain running north to south approximately at the longitude of the Mugera missionary station. Toward the east the slate-quartzite plateau also slopes down in an extended gradient at high altitude toward the gneiss and granite plateau of Unjamwesi which I consider an eroded escarpment. A huge tectonic fault scarp is found in the steep western slope of the highland toward the central African graben and toward Lake Tanganyika. Smaller fault depressions in several places extend over the country of Urundi; in fact, the entire interlacustrine region is rich in such tectonic faults. (Cf. the map on opposite page.)

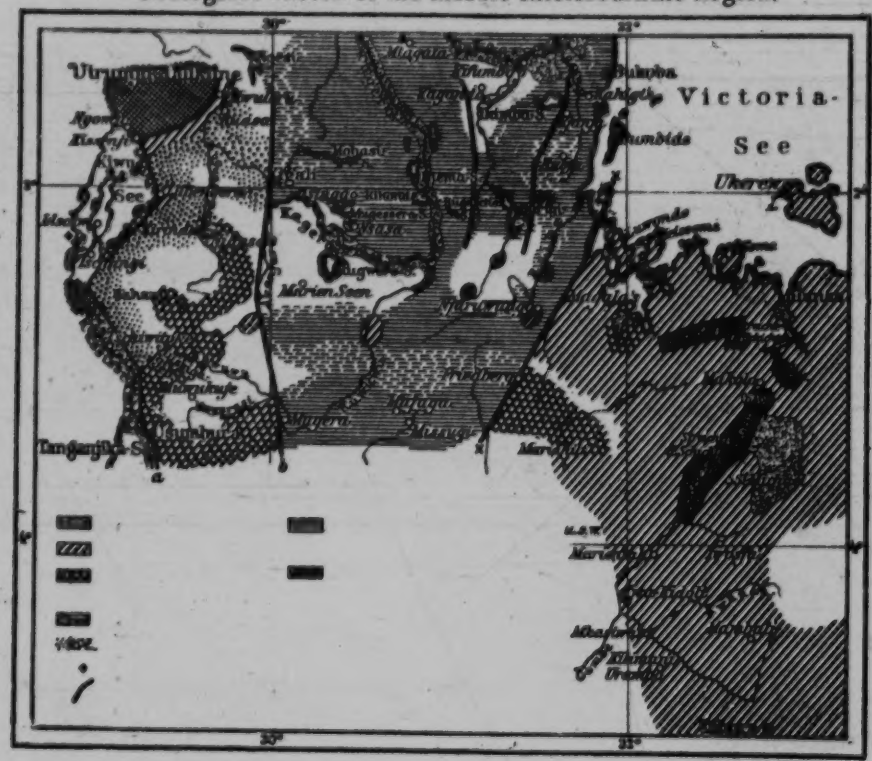
[648] [4] Only a few times have determined enemies invaded Urundi across the high ridges and escarpments in the west and southeast, but this has happened more often from the flatter, more open fronts in the north and northeast. In the north are [101] the proud, warlike neighbors, the Ruanda, in the northeast the restless tribes of the Lake Victoria region: the Bassuwi, Basindja [Linza], Wassumbwa [Sumbwa], and others.

The slate-quartzite plateau of eastern Urundi has been leveled by erosion from meteorological forces over many thousands of years into a large peneplain with long, broad, low ridges (Plate 1a), while in the west the older mountain periphery still rises to a considerable altitude although it has also been worn down and rounded for the most part. The plateau region has an average altitude of 1,600-1,800 meters; the peripheral mountains rise to as high as 3,000 meters. More recent block movements renewed again the process of erosion which had been slowing down, so that in many regions the streams have carved recent, deep valleys into the plateau and the mountain ranges which then divided the region into a great number of large blocks and bastions. However, in still more recent times this process of erosion was again considerably slowed down by other developments. This is apparent from the fact that at present there are rapid streams only in the mountains of the west (Plate 1b), while in the plateau region of the east almost

133

[3]

Geological Sketch of the Middle Interlacustrine Region.



(Caption on following page.)

[3] Caption to Map on Preceding Page.

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Legend

Based on personal observations and collections (revised by K. Schlossmacher; cf. Hans Meyer, Ergebnisse einer Reise durch das Zwischenseengebiet Ostafrikas 1911 [Results of a Journey Through the Interlacustrine Region of East Africa in 1911], Berlin, 1913) and taking into account earlier publications by Stuhlmann, Baumann, Count von Goetzen, Kandt, Herrmann, Dantz, Stromer von Reichenbach, Gagel, Koert, and others.

Primary formation.

Granite rock.

Primary formation in combination with granites.

Loose and more recent surface layers (alluvia of rivers).

Probable extent of layers.

Hot springs (occurring on fissures).

Fissure lines (a) or fault scarps (b?); probably eroded escarpment.

Horizontal quartzes, slate, etc. Perhaps Cape formation.

Granites, covered by recent volcanic rock.

133 everywhere only sluggish waters run in the relatively recent valleys. To all appearances a general damming up of waters has taken place due to recent block movements which have caused an enormous growth of swamps in the valleys in Urundi, especially in the north and northeast, and in the entire interlacustrine region. Its main cause is insufficient drainage in the network of streams of the Kagera River on the one hand and in that of the Malagarasi on the other, since their level of erosion has apparently been raised by more recent block movements in both areas.

The two big rivers mentioned above divide Urundi into two hydrographic systems: the larger northern system drains into the Kagera, Lake Victoria, the Nile, and, therefore, into the Mediterranean; the smaller southern one into the Malagarasi, Lake Tanganyika, the Congo River, and, therefore, into the Atlantic Ocean.

132 Since Urundi is between 2 1/2 and 4 1/2 degrees south latitude, it has, like Ruanda, an equatorial climate with two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The rains occur soon after the sun has reached its zenith in April and October. The amount of precipitation, approximately 1,250 millimeters in the north and less than 1,000 millimeters in the south, is not great for a tropical region, yet it is still plentiful and evenly distributed. The average annual temperature fluctuates about 20 degrees Centigrade. It is higher in the east, and in the mountains of the west the thermometer almost approaches zero in July. Day after day a vigorous east wind blows across the highlands. In the mornings there are often dense mists in the valleys.

The warm temperature, the amount of precipitation, and 137 the distribution of rain would lead one to expect extended forest growth in Urundi, but this is not the case. Urundi is quite predominantly grassland (Plate 1a), pasture land at high altitude, like Ruanda. This is because the natives cut down the forest [311] to make fields and pastures. Toward the east in the direction of Uha where the country is lower, the grassland gradually turns into a tree and tussock grass steppe (Plate 3b). The grass grows higher and wilder in Urundi than in Ruanda since the grassy plains

137 are not burned down so regularly, and Urundi is not as completely treeless as Ruanda because next to each kraal a few fig trees are maintained for the use of their bark. Also, [5] the larger rivers, such as the Ruvuvu or the Malagarasi, are bordered for some stretches with a rather dense forest on the banks (Plate 5). The great majority of the valleys, however, is swampy and filled with dense papyrus thickets which can be penetrated only in a few places (Plate 2a). While in our part of the world valleys are the natural arteries of traffic and the most suitable places for settlement, they can never serve this purpose in most of Urundi. The swamp covered valleys and [361] their often very steep slopes force the population and their roads and settlements to the upland plateaus and upper slopes. For this reason all farmsteads are on mountain ridges and the higher slopes of the valleys. In the valleys the only fields are of crops [241] that, like sweet potatoes, need considerable moisture. This character of the valleys will make it extremely difficult to open up the country by means of roads or even railroads. The papyrus swamps are, next to the grassy hills across which one can see for miles, the most characteristic feature in the landscape of Urundi, as well as of Uha and Ruanda, that is, of most of the interlacustrine region.

Richard Kandt, the poet among the travelers to East Africa, devotes the following impressionistic description to them.

"From the time we entered the region of Urundi and also during the last days in Uha, papyrus swamps formed the characteristic feature of the landscape. Often streams hardly more than two meters wide lie in a valley of papyrus several hundred meters wide. It fills not only the main valleys but extends also into all tributary valleys and even climbs up the ravines and gorges so that, seen from a height, the country looks like a gigantic network of green ribbons in whose meshes the mountains lie like islands. I have seen many a strange and beautiful landscape in Africa. I have experienced the indescribable melancholy hovering over burned, trembling-hot steppes when the rays of the sinking sun, in a bloody red, break through the glittering haze. In the territory of the Congo State I have tasted

137 to the full the splendors and terrors of the jungle. I have taken delight in the serene gracefulness of the central African lakes, and I have admired the grandiose miracle world of the volcanos. I know the harsh grandeur of the rivers which flow silently through the shadow of the forest galleries and the tragic mood inspired by the lava wilderness deserted by all good spirits. Yet I must say that scarcely any of these scenic moods has impressed itself on my mind more deeply than the picture of such a papyrus landscape. It is constantly changing, not only with the season but almost with every hour of day, depending on the angle of the rays of the sun; it is different in clear and in overcast weather, in the morning and in the evening. For hours I used to gaze down on it from the height of a mountain and never tired of observing the violet shadows of the wandering clouds moving across the green plains or the wind playing with them in such a way that only a mild disturbance would arise among them, as in a tightly crowded herd, but then it would swell up to a storm and plow long deep furrows between them which would repeatedly close up and open and close up again." (No. 22, page 246.)

Only on the highest mountain ridges of the west (Plate 4a) are there any virgin forests with tall trees in Urundi, but even here there are only relatively small remnants, as in Ruanda and in a few corners of Lake Victoria. Everywhere they have been pushed back and destroyed by the expanding population. Most probably the entire interlacustrine region was still covered by virgin forest only a few centuries ago, since the altitude as well as the temperature and rainfall in the interlacustrine region favor the growth of forests, but the rapid increase in population of the agricultural Bantu demanded more space, and the forest had to give way. The devastation of forests became even greater when the cattle-raising Batussi [Tussi] invaded the interlacustrine region and claimed larger and larger areas as pasture for their herds of cattle. Replacing the burnt forest, bamboo (Arundinaria alpina) has grown in many places in the upland valleys [6]; it

137 better resists the periodic grass fires and adds a peculiar feature to the scenery of the mountains (Plate 4b). The growth of grass and trees in the hot, dry plain of the Ruzizi lowland (Plate 3a) is, however, very much like a steppe.

As a result of the expansion of the population and the 136 destruction of the forest, free wildlife also has been considerably reduced. In the grassland there remain only very few antelope (Jimela, tuft antelope, gazelles), and of large birds only crowned cranes which because of their great numbers might be called the heraldic animal of Urundi and Ruanda, further bustards, herons, ibises, francolins, Nile geese, etc. In the forests on the riverbanks one still finds bushbucks (Tragelaphus), swamp antelopes, and duikers. In the water itself there are numerous hippopotamuses, crocodiles, and otters. In the remaining parts of forest on the highland periphery and in the tree steppe of the Ruzizi lowland, there still live quite a number of elephants, buffalo, baboons, etc. Everywhere leopards are quite frequent. Especially interesting is the mixture of East African and West African forms in this area which in terms of plant and animal geography is a border region. Just as num- [137] erous plants, flora of the West African forest, have penetrated into this region and in part even as far as Lake Victoria, so also have many small and large representatives of West African fauna; I shall mention only the gray parrot, the giant touraco, the hornbill, and, of the mammals, the red buffalo, the chimpanzee, and the gorilla. Because of this mixture of East and West African forms, the plant and animal collections of this bio-geographical border zone which extends through western Urundi and western Ruanda are very interesting.

2. The Population

563 Even more interesting than the mixture of flora and fauna is the population mixture, both in Urundi and in Ruanda. There are three anthropologically and culturally distinct elements which are quite sharply separated but exist side by side or one above the

563 other, and which in the course of centuries in this grouping have crystallized into a strong social and political community.

563 162 144 The great mass of the population consists of the agriculturalists, the Bahutu [Hutu], belonging to the Bantu race, more specifically to the so-called basic Bantu. In Urundi their number is approximately one and a half million. Above them, as the ruling caste, stands the Hamitic pastoral Batussi, who invaded Urundi from the north about 400 years ago and who, both here and in the entire interlacustrine region, subjugated the agricultural Bahutu. They are proud, tall figures, often over two meters in height, with sharp profiles and stately posture, so that at first they even impress the well-traveled European. According to official estimates, they number from 40,000 to 50,000 in the whole of Urundi. Besides these giants, the country also shelters the remnants of an original, short, pygmoid population, the Batwa [Twa], who lived here in the forests even before the Bantu and who, together with the forests, were partly destroyed, partly pushed back into remote corners by the other stronger elements. At present there are only a few thousand of them in Urundi and the same number in Ruanda. Their stature ranges mostly between 1.50 meters and 1.60 meters, but they are [463] strongly built and make a living as hunters, as blacksmiths and potters in the service of others, or as bodyguards of important people and of the king.

563 Undoubtedly the Batwa are the oldest stratum of population in the entire interlacustrine region. Dispersed in small tribal groups over the country, [7] they lack any kind of social cohesion; nor do they seem to have any traditions about their past. The [144] Urundi Batwa resemble the Batwa in the forests, but in Urundi they apparently have more Bantu blood in their veins. They are, therefore, somewhat taller and not as pure a type as the Batwa of Ruanda. Both in Urundi and Ruanda and in the northeastern Congo region, the Batwa are in the process of disappearing. Regarded as pariahs both by the Batussi and the Bahutu, they are everywhere treated badly but are at the same time thoroughly exploited. They always look profoundly melancholic and are

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148.) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

2: Meyer--11 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42
Batussi

3. Physical Characteristics

114 I have not undertaken anthropological measurements of the Barundi since I was completely occupied by my geographical and ethnographical tasks. My medical companion, Dr. R. Houy (unfortunately murdered in the Cameroons in 1913), whose own field was anthropology but who was at the same time very interested in zoology, found such a rich field in collecting and observing the peculiar fauna of this country that he, too, abstained from the time-consuming anthropological measurements. Thus I had to limit myself to the occasional use of the tape measure and the color scale, and for the rest I can only report general somatic observations.

[8] The most impressive of the Barundi people are naturally
144 the ruling tall Batussi (Plates 11, 12, 14). Aside from their heads which in most cases are smoothly shaven, they physically very much resemble their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. At first glance their Hamitic origin is apparent. On my earlier travels I had often been among the Somali and Galla, and when I was among the Batussi of Urundi and Ruanda it seemed that I had been transported again into the midst of the former, especially the Galla.
141 In one trait, however, the Batussi have an advantage over the Hamites of northern East Africa: they are, on the average, much taller. The most convenient yardstick I carry with me is provided by my own height, and against this I could easily make approximate measurements of the many hundreds of Batussi whom I met. I did not find any adult smaller than 1.77 meters (measured by a tape), few below 1.80 meters, the majority between 1.80 and 1.90 meters, many (about 10 per cent) between 1.90 and 1.95 meters, some few between 1.95 and 2 meters, and a very small number over 2 meters up to an upper limit of 2.08 meters (measured by tape). In spite of their extraordinary
142 height, their body parts are exactly proportioned in relation to each other; not merely are their legs and arms very long but also their torsos which are often so narrow and extended that one can hardly imagine how the internal organs are distributed inside. The impression of abnormal height is further increased by the

142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the [411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this. [301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aris- [554] tocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since [302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base [141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

142 the other type has a [9] straight or pug nose, Batussi Bahutu a broader nose tip, and a larger, thicker mouth u(Plate 17b). Both types are conspicuously the oval form of the face, the small but pronounced chin, and the complete absence of Negroid prognathism. Yet, 142 frequently, the noble impression of the face is reduced by the 143 fact that the upper front teeth jut out (buck teeth). For this 582 reason the mouth of these individuals mostly remains half open, and one can see the upper four incisors. These crooked teeth, it seems to me, are especially of frequent occurrence among the members of the most distinguished families, both here and in Ruanda; these people are also tallest. Perhaps these two features are special characteristics and result from the long inbreeding of these families, for they marry only among themselves and are severely restricted in their choice (p. 1004-106), while the common Batussi are allowed a wider choice in selecting a mate, and the lowest, poorest class enters into marriages, although not entirely legitimate ones, with the Bahutu as well.

If the hair of the head is left unshaven, it is seen to be 142 curly and woolly like that of the Batussi in Ruanda. One also sees at the temples and above the forehead that it does not grow even but in tufts; this is the most Negroid physical feature of the Batussi who, apart from this, do not look like Negroes at all.

The second large population group among the Barundi, 142 the Bahutu, who are ruled by the Batussi nobility, have the well- 144 known Bantu physical type, just like all the inhabitants of the interlacustrine area, that is, Ruanda, Mpororō, Ankole, Karagwe, Kisiba, etc. (Plate 6, 8, 9, 10). The differences between them and the Batussi are immediately visible in their short figures, [141] varying between 1.62 and 1.70 meters, and especially in their shorter legs, their thick-set muscular physique which admittedly often looks frail from undernourishment, and in their genuinely prognathous Negroid skull. Somatically they differ very little from the central Bantu of Unjamwesi and Usukuma, although in some respects they resemble the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region who formerly probably extended farther toward the east (see p. 152 [not translated]). Their eastern branches

142 in Urundi might be compared to the Bakiga [Chiga] in Ruanda.
144 The latter are a tough, strongly built, mountain people who have cleared the forests and differ from the remaining Bantu in the same manner as the Forest Bantu who live in the western mountains of Urundi differ from the other Bantu of Urundi (cf. also No. 47a, p. 272).

Very often, however, among the Bantu of the inter-lacustrine region are to be seen finer, narrower faces with noses and mouths less broad and with jaws less strongly pronounced than among the others. This is probably caused by the centuries-old admixture of Bahima [Hima] blood, for the Hamitic rulers of the Bantu do in fact often associate with Bantu women but never, or only very exceptionally, do Bantu men associate with Bahima women (p. 101). These individuals among the Bahutu with an admixture of Batussi blood are for the most part taller
[141] than the ordinary Muhutu. All Bahutu are rather dolichocephalic. The hair is curly and tufted, but not of the "peppercorn" type.

The difference between these two racial elements is also
142 apparent in their skin color. The large majority of the Bahutu has the color of dark café-au-lait with violet reflections, approximately Number 28 and 29 of Luschan's color scale. For many persons, however, the color of the skin resembles the reddish tinge of the South American highland Indians whom I know well from former travels [10], which may be ascribed to the admixture of Batussi blood in some of them, but among the others to the customary rubdown with red earth and butter. They then come close to Number 32 of the scale, but only as far as color value is concerned, not in the intensity of the shade. The Batussi, on the other hand, are in most cases light chocolate brown, between Number 26 and 28 of the scale or copper brown like many Indian tribes. Many show lighter gradations depending on the effects of the sun, but always with a predominantly reddish tone, never a yellow-brown or a black one. Batussi women (Plate 15, 17a) are supposed to be in all cases lighter than the men -- I have only seen very few -- because they stay within the homesteads most of the time whereas the Bahutu women, who while working in the fields expose themselves to

142 the sun as much as the men, are the same color as the men (Plate 14b, 16b). Small children are always considerably lighter in skin color.

142 144 The third population group, the Batwa (Plate 7), also have almost the same somatic character in Urundi as their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. The latter are somewhat better known to us through the work of J. Czekanowski. In Ruanda, especially in the forest areas of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes, they have preserved much of their original Pygmy character, for they are still able to lead a withdrawn life of hunting in the forests. Even in Ruanda, however, the majority of them already live as agriculturalists and craftsmen (potters, blacksmiths) dispersed in small communities among the Bahutu and have already received from them a strong admixture of Bantu blood, partly from the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region and partly from the central Bantu of the interlacustrine region. This has also happened to the majority of the Batwa of Urundi since, after the expansion of the Bantu and the disappearance of the forests, they too have been forced to settle among the Bahutu and into agriculture (see p. 152 [not translated]). However, we still meet many among them in whom we can recognize, either at first glance or on closer inspection, the pygmoid characteristics familiar to us from the more northern, racially pure Pygmies of the primeval forest (Wambutti [Bambuti]) of the Ruwenzori and of the upper Ituri.

141 Primarily their stature and the form of their limbs are striking in the case of the Mutwa, but whereas the racially pure Batwa of the Ituri are only between 1.30 and 1.40 meters tall, only among the hunting Batwa of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes are there individuals between 1.40 and 1.55 meters tall. On the other hand, among those engaged in agriculture among the Bahutu, there are few less than 1.60 meters tall, and many are taller. Without exception the women are shorter than the men. Czekanowski lists an average size of 1.53 meters for the Batwa men of Muhawura and for the women of Muhawura, 1.40 meters; for the Batwa men of the agricultural tribes, however, 1.61 meters, and for the women, 1.54 meters.

[141] The latter measurements are in general applicable to the Batwa of Urundi also. All of them have relatively short trunk and
142 limbs. The legs, however, are short in relation to the upper part of the body, but all limbs are well-proportioned and very muscular. The hands and especially the feet are relatively broad and clumsy; the fingers and toes are very short in relation to the back of the hand and the foot. The heel juts out so far in the back that, seen from the side, the lower leg appears to be placed more toward the middle of the foot.

[141] Upon a short neck is set a head which in most cases is fairly round and decidedly brachycephalic, with a short face and broad cheek bones. However, dolichocephalic individuals are not exactly rare. The frontal bone and the arch of the brows usually extend noticeably beyond the face. [11] The nose almost always is indented at the root which causes the forehead to jut out even more; the nose is flat and broad and has a broad, turned-up tip so that one looks into the nostrils. The mouth is of medium size, but the lips are, in most cases, rather thin, and the upper lip often is scarcely arched. The chin is small and somewhat receding. The ears usually have a very small lobe or none at all. The hair is curly, matted, and, whenever closely cropped, stands up in small "peppercorn" tufts, as among the Bushmen of South Africa. Old people have in many cases a very morose or unhappy facial expression due to three or four peculiar wrinkled furrows that run across the forehead, and one or two thick skin folds stretch from each corner of the nose across to the corners of the mouth. They often look almost like swollen scars (see Plate 7).

The skin color of the Batwa is darker than that of the Bahutu, often with a violet tinge even when the skin has been washed clean. In the colored picture in the travelogue of Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, in which a Mutussi, a Muhutu, and a Mutwa are standing side by side, the color of the Muhutu is most faithfully rendered while the Mutussi is too red and the Mutwa too brown.

144 Czekanowski conbines the results of his measurements and his comparisons of the Batwa with the pure Pygmies of the

144 more northerly regions and with the Forest Bantu and Interlacustrine Bantu and comes to the following conclusions: the Batwa are not a homogeneous group, but consist of elements taken from the Pygmies, the Bantu of the primeval forest and, to a lesser degree, the Interlacustrine Bantu also; among the Batwa of the volcanic region the Pygmy type predominates; among those of central Ruanda, the Interlacustrine Bantu type. This latter fact, according to my observations, is also true of Urundi. A surprising fact about the Batwa and one which was demonstrated by Czekanowski is that they show traces of a dolichocephalic Bushman-like element. This trait in conjunction with slight stature has turned up frequently in the works of other observers of East Africa and attracted Czekanowski's attention, especially in the area of Kilimanjaro. Originally the Batwa were "dwarfs," but their body type gradually changed through the admixture of Bantu blood. The farther north we meet Batwa, toward the racially pure Pygmies of the Ituri, the stronger are their pygmoid characteristics; most strongly so among the Batwa of Idschwi Island of Lake Kivu where they are well sheltered from outside influences (No. 31a, 101-109).

[162] Since according to official data the Batwa are only one per cent and the Batussi only about three per cent of the total population of Urundi, the numerical predominance of the Bahutu-Bantu is so great that they entirely determine the overall impression one gets of the Barundi people. Moreover, the Bahutu and also the relatively few Batussi who rule them are somatically, mentally, and culturally so homogeneous throughout Urundi that deviations from the average type are met with only rarely in this great country, excepting those of mixed Bahima blood mentioned above. Of course the Barundi people owe this homogeneity above all to their strict centuries-old seclusion from the outside world. The border areas farthest west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River might have worked considerable changes on the Barundi tribes living there, for they do have a much warmer lowland climate, and the great lake might have caused adaptive changes in the way of life of the inhabitants. Moreover, the neighboring Congo tribes are a quite different sort of people. However, even here, no such

144 changes occurred; the ethnic character of the Barundi changes only slightly, in spite of the fact also that political connections with the Mountain Barundi had become much less close.

[12] In 1901 Richard Kandt wrote as follows of the
63) Barundi of the Tanganyika lowlands.

"Politically the area between the eastern periphery of the Central African graben and the Ruzizi is divided into from ten to twelve rather small sultanates, most of which probably cover approximately 150 to 200 square kilometers. They are nominally not independent; their rulers, who all belong to the Semitic Watussi of the Galla territories south of Abyssinia, were originally vassals of the king of Urundi, or the 'Muesi' as he is called by title. But although the majority of the inhabitants gives the impression of being almost pure Warundi, the high crest of the peripheral mountains and the broad desolate primeval forest were too convenient a bulwark not to arouse the desire of independence in the population which is hardly affected by grandiose ideas of national unity, the more so since the mother country is also split up into a large number of mutually warring chiefdoms which are only loosely bound to the central power. The only existing remnant of cohesion seems to be the fact that the Muesi has some kind of religious importance which makes his chief think it advisable not to sever all connections with him.

If we consider how infinitely different the entire living
182 conditions of the Lake Warundi dwelling near Tanganyika are from those of the Mountain Warundi and how far back the various influences go which affect the Lake Warundi (namely, the presence of the Wasuaheli [Swahili], the Arabs, and the various western tribes following in their footsteps), we are surprised at how stubbornly they have nevertheless remained true in the matter of their external appearance, language, and customs to the peculiarities of their unusually isolated native country. The same is true of the Warundi living in the low valley of the Ruzizi, except that for them the temptation to abandon the customs of their forefathers was considerably smaller, and the farther north they lived, the smaller it became." (No. 22, pp. 339-340.)

164 Since then the Lake Barundi have not changed much as
regards their physical and mental constitution, but the individ-
165 ual tribes were struck by a terrible epidemic of sleeping sick-
ness and were reduced to scarcely a third of their original num-
bers, so that in 1911 I found most of the formerly flourishing
settlements deserted and laid waste. Fortunately the stinging
[136] fly, Glossina palpalis, which carries the infection, has not
penetrated into cool, windy, upper Urundi, and it probably
never will since it does not find favorable conditions there.

4. Mental Traits

000 At this point little will be said about the mental traits
of the Barundi since they can be adequately inferred from the
detailed descriptions of their life and of their material and in-
tellectual culture which will follow. Therefore, I shall give
only a few data about the disposition, temperament, and
character of these three large population groups which differ
so considerably from each other.

Of the Batwa, the more primitive, freer Forest Batwa
151 are also much freer mentally than those who have settled
among the Bahutu and Batussi. Like all hunting tribes, they
are characterized by their extraordinarily sharp senses, the
superiority of which is very often experienced and still feared
by the Bahutu as they advance against the forest in search of
563 arable land. As long as he can still hunt and live, freely
roaming the forest, the Mutwa is very proud of his independence
and looks with contempt upon the Muhutu wretched and bent
low tilling his field, and also on the Village Mutwa living
outside the forests who has to earn his living painfully either
by working in the fields or as a potter or blacksmith. Toward
609 a European the Mutwa is in most cases, if not hostile, at any
rate shy and ostensibly indolent, for even in peaceful inter-
course he is afraid of the sorcery and formidable powers of the
Whites.

563 [13] The Village Batwa are in all circumstances shy and
157 cringing as a result of their social position as pariahs, of which

563 they are reminded daily in living with the two other higher
157 classes of the population. Under this social pressure, their natural talent has been turned into cunning and craftiness. However, the Forest Batwa are quite proficient in these arts also.

Being shrewd and realizing their position fully, the Batwa
563 are friendly toward the Batussi, whereas they regard the Bahutu agriculturalists who destroy the forest with fire and axe as the robbers of their freedom, and this is the case both in Ruanda and in Urundi. Just as in Ruanda King Musinga himself keeps an
[644] entire settlement of Batwa at his court in Nyanza, preferring to entrust the protection of his person and the maintenance of order to these pariahs hostile to the Bahutu, so also in Urundi most of the Batwa are to be found near the residences of the chief where they find work and a livelihood in the service of the Batussi more easily than anywhere else except among the Bahutu. This is a symbiosis of the two numerically weaker population elements against the subjugated Bahutu, a people who number millions, within which both groups derive advantage.

The over-all character of the Barundi is provided by the large mass of the Bahutu, for although the Batussi are in fact the most striking members of the population because of their external appearance and their ruling position, they are too much in the minority, and in the majority of customs and external forms of culture they have assimilated with the Bahutu. Mentally, however, they are quite different from the Bahutu.

Like all Bantu, the Muhutu is by nature intelligent and
157 has a lively, sanguine temperament. This original trait is apparent in Urundi and in Ruanda wherever the hand of the Batussi rulers does not weigh upon them too heavily, i.e., more so in Urundi where the rule of the Batussi has never been as despotic as in Ruanda, and, in Urundi, most of all in the northwestern region, independent of the kingdom, where the chief, Kilima, is himself a Bantu or of mixed blood (see pp. 162, 168, 188 [these pages not translated]), and also in the far south and in the lowland areas of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. The mental agility, loud speech and lively gestures of the Bahutu are nowhere as noticeable in Urundi as there in the

157 northwest. In spite of their impulsive behavior, the Bahutu are incapable of any strong exertion of will. They are conservative out of inertia and indifference, and for this reason they cling to the old, habitual concepts and customs. A marked tendency toward everything mystical and supernatural works in the same direction, in spite of the rough sensuality of their physical nature. Much good-naturedness is apparent in their social behavior to their equals and in their warm love for children.

In his contacts with others, whenever no higher class Mutussi is present, the Muhutu is cheerful, loud, and talkative, but in the presence of a Mutussi superior he is serious and reticent. When the Muhutu is able to relax, his imagination is active and is expressed in naïve boasting and bragging. He likes to cheat his fellow countrymen and foreigners and is liable to use physical force if he considers the other person weaker. [609] The European is sure to be told lies by him at first and to have him soon turn impertinent if he does not know how to command his respect. If the European manages this, as the Mutussi 563 157 always does, the boasting of the Muhutu soon turns into slavish docility and cowardice. This is also the case when he is confronted by serious danger, for example, in war, unless his fear of the Mutussi ruler [14] is even greater than his cowardice and forces him to commit acts which look like the result of great courage and self-imposed discipline. In reality the Bahutu of Urundi have become slaves in thought and desire, as a result of the four centuries of despotism by the Batussi, although theirs is not so slavish an attitude as that of the Banjaruanda [Ruanda] under their monarchic Hamitic rulers.

For the keen observer this enormous influence of the relatively small Batussi minority upon the large mass of the Bahutu is at first impossible to understand, for he soon realizes that the Batussi are by no means the ideal men they seemed to us to be from the first descriptions by Count von Götzen, Dr. Kandt, and others.

Richard Kandt says of the Batussi:

181 "If I analyze my feelings and state them honestly, I must say that I was impressed by them. Even now I have not lost this feeling although my mind rebels against it and although I have told myself hundreds of times that these people are, after all, barbarians far inferior to me intellectually. But it is of no avail! I have explained to myself the source of this feeling, so unusual to experience toward a colored person ... Apart from the gigantic stature, apart from the nobility of each movement and the dignity of their manner of speech, apart from the tasteful unobtrusive manner in which they dress, apart from their refined features and the calm penetrating, often even mocking and provocative eyes, apart from all this, there still is -- and here I hesitate and am unable to formulate the dim obscure feelings which hover in my imagination." (No. 22, p. 266.)

[564] This is a sentimental but a very understandable judgment. In actual fact the Batussi are a ruling caste, but not a ruling race in the ethical sense.

563 Gradually one discovers the secret of the tremendous
186 superiority of the relatively few Batussi over the one and a half
156 million Bahutu: they are greatly superior to them in intelligence, calmness, composure, cruelty, cunning, racial pride, solidarity, and political talent. What strikes one most about the individual Mutussi, apart from his imposing outward appearance which certainly must have made a great impression on the Muhutu from the beginning, is first his calm and what appears to be unconcerned reserve. In his contact with the restless, impulsive, thoughtless Muhutu, this has always been to his advantage.

[609] Further one is struck by the arrogance he displays even toward Europeans, by his abysmal mendacity and cowardice when faced with any disagreeable situation. The Mutussi regards himself and his kind as the crown of creation, as a paragon of cleverness and political skill. This is small wonder, for the inferiority of the relatively few tribes within his sphere of vision -- intentionally kept narrowly circumscribed -- and the fact that a Batussi minority rules the large Bahutu people were bound to increase his feeling

186 of importance beyond all measure. It is true that he fears the
609

186 European because the latter is in possession of many mysterious
609 powers and resources, for example, the breechloader and technical skills, but he nevertheless considers him basically stupid since he can deceive him, and he looks down upon him with more contempt the less he knows and understands him. As a traveler, one at first has to get used to being looked up and down with a contemptuous smile by most Batussi in conversations and negotiations far from the military posts, and from then on it is best to treat them with a certain amount of humorous derision, provided one is capable of it. The longer one has traveled in Negro areas and the better one has familiarized oneself with Negro character, the more one is impressed when first meeting the Batussi by their proud reserve. There is no restless curiosity [15], no noisy, half fearful, half good-natured greeting as with most Negroes, but, calm and composed, these tall fellows stand there, leaning on their spears, and let the European pass or approach as though the unusual phenomenon did not impress them in the least. It is not until one matches their self-assurance and meets them with some force to back one up that one notices from the restless play of their eyes and the veins in their necks that most of them have a nervous uneasiness, anxiety, and fear concealed behind their apparent indifference.

181 Never or only very seldom does the Mutussi say what he thinks; it has to be inferred. Indeed, lying is not only customary to strangers, but it is a deep-rooted vice practiced toward everyone. This is a moral defect which cannot be glossed over by considering it optimistically, as R. Kandt does, as a "kind of competition between two intellects which to them is not dishonorable," or as "the unconscious transference into real life of their graceful riddle games, unusual for a Negro people, with which even as children they are accustomed to enliven conviviality" (No. 22, p. 273). Such romanticism is misleading in ethnology and ethnopsychology; sober objectivity in the evaluation of our colonial peoples is necessary for practical reasons alone.

In addition to mendacity, laziness and cowardice are also unpleasant character traits of the Batussi. The Mutussi never

The Mutassi never
181 works unless he belongs to the lower class, but he takes a sports-
[461] man-like interest in his cattle. Work is the concern of the sub-
jugated Bahutu and hence disgraceful to a Mutussi, and only the really poor Batussi will stoop to it. To be rich and powerful and to enjoy life in idleness is for him the essence of wisdom, the ideal which he endeavors to achieve with the utmost cunning and lack of scruple. It is everyone for himself, a maxim which is also adhered to by the Batussi as a whole in their relations to the ruled people, the Bahutu and Batwa.

Naturally this life of pleasure, indulged in for hundreds of years, has done great harm to the character and manly virtues of the Batussi. That they were not without courage, warlike ability, and energy can be easily inferred from the fact that, although they are small in numbers now and doubtless even smaller at one time, they have conquered this large country. Witness also the early history of their royalty (see p. 162 [not translated]). For a long time now, however, they have had their internal and external battles fought for them by their bondsmen, their Bahutu vassals, while they keep themselves cautiously in the background and cunningly direct operations from a safe place. Of course, there are praiseworthy exceptions even here.

In spite of all this, it must be admitted that even in this respect the Barundi are on a higher level than the Banjaruanda. In Urundi the Batussi are not so pleasure-seeking, lazy, mendacious, violent, and cowardly as those in Ruanda, nor are the Bahutu so servile and hypocritical toward superiors and so insolent toward the weak as they are there, nor does the king along with the lords living at his court indulge to such a degree in idleness, revelry, intrigues, and the satisfaction of vicious and cruel instincts as does the one in Ruanda.

563 In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, it is above all the will
[556] to power and the desire for pleasure which have caused the ruling Batussi to keep the greatest form of wealth, cattle, to themselves. By this means alone they have created for themselves, an economic power over [16] the mass of the Bahutu which also provides the surest foundation for their political predominance
[754] (see pp. 41-42). In addition they have cleverly succeeded in

563 acquiring a reputation among the superstitious Bahutu of being
[754] great sorcerers and have made themselves greatly feared for this reason. Also, the priesthood works hand in hand with them to enslave and exploit the people (see p. 134). The exploita-
563 tion of the mass of the people and the crass egoism of the small
642 Batussi minority are made possible by the whole ingenious political system of both the Barundi and the Banjaruanda, with its strict legal separation of races and castes, with the rigidly graded system of vassals and supervising officials, the hierarchy of priests, privileged families, princes, etc. All this will be described in detail in later chapters of this book. The astonishing political acumen of the Batussi merely promotes the selfishness with which they exploit the subject Bahutu. There is no trace of any higher conception of the state.

563 For this reason it is natural that the Bahutu regard the Batussi only as conquerors of a different tribe whose yoke weighs
181 heavily on them. Yet, although they hate the Batussi, they make no effort to free themselves from their bondage for, like almost all Negro peoples, their nature necessitates subordination under a firm guiding hand. Moreover, their fear of the Batussi is so great that they would not hazard an open rebellion against them. Indeed, though few in numbers, the Batussi are vastly
563 superior to the Bahutu in intelligence and in the fact that a
186 solidarity exists among them which is constantly being renewed under the impulse of common interests. The Bahutu, on the other hand, are split up into a number of mutually warring clans and tribal groups, lack any sort of genuine national consciousness, and are being played off against each other in an ingenious manner by the Batussi.

000 As long as the Batussi are the rulers in the country, an intellectual and cultural revival of the Barundi people is impossible, for it is only the present depressed condition of the Bahutu, maintained through hundreds of years of seclusion, that guarantees the domination of the Batussi. For the time being, however, we Germans must collaborate with the Batussi and interest them materially in our projects in Urundi since we are still too weak to meet an open attack on their part. The goal of our long term colonial policy, however, must be to crush the

000 rule of the Batussi, liberate the Bahutu from the yoke of the Batussi, and win them over to our civilizing aims which are, at the same time, in their very own interest.

181 In conclusion, I shall cite a very acute judgment of the Barundi in general by R. Kandt: "The Warundi, it is true, are as cowardly as the Wanjaruanda but -- being in any case more lively and intelligent -- they are also more boastful and impertinent. In those days I never rid myself of the impression that all these histrionics, these war games, etc., were the expression of real street Arab mentality. For this reason I also believe that it will be more difficult to bring about a satisfactory state of affairs in Urundi than in Ruanda. Nevertheless, we shall never have such difficulties with either of them as might necessitate the far-reaching and dangerous defensive operations which were conducted in Uhehe, for example. These peoples, emasculated by centuries of bondage, do not know - and this is good -- what latent power lies dormant in the bodies of innumerable millions, and, lacking any deeper national consciousness, they will be the convenient tools of an intelligent colonization based on a knowledge of the country and language. They will never conceive of banding together in a united defense against foreign invasion. To arouse them from this slumber and to goad them into a united defiance of the Europeans would require such brutal clumsiness on the part of the administrators that probably none of us or our grandchildren need be afraid of experiencing the horror of it." (No. 22, pp. 325-326.)

[17] Chapter 2

Settlement, Dwellings, Food

361 In Urundi and Ruanda the surface character of the country, the form and type of its plateaus, hills, mountains, and valleys, determine the form and location of the settlements.

133 By far the largest part of the country is a tableland which
361 powerful erosion has dissected into innumerable long and short ridges with flattened tops and chains of hills with frequently deep and rather steep valley escarpments. The majority of the valleys are filled by papyrus swamps which can only be crossed in a few places. Hence it is not the valleys, as in our part of the world, but the high places that provide the most suitable settlement sites. The marshes in the valley bottoms, the hot stagnant air in the lowlands, the myriads of mosquitoes and gnats, and the valley slopes which in many places are very steep cause the people with their roads and settlements to resort to the free, airy plateaus and hill tops, while in most valleys the only fields are of such crops as require much moisture. In most areas of Urundi and Ruanda the valleys serve not to unite people but to separate them. In both regions the division of the people and the state into small communities is, therefore, determined by natural causes (see p. 89). For this reason also, the future opening up of the country by means of roads or railroads is rendered unusually difficult. The valleys in many parts of the eastern drier quartzite regions are much less swampy and less steep. There also, the surfaces of the plateau ridges and of the hill ranges are everywhere so stony and sterile due to weathered quartzite fragments (see Plate 2b) that the people avoid the high land and prefer to settle on the sides of valleys where the springs break out below the crevassed quartzite on the upper line of stratification of the almost impermeable argillite and where the argillaceous residual soil is more fertile and easier to till than the quartzite lying above.

This natural diversity among the areas is in itself an ex-
161 planation of why the population is rather unevenly distributed over the country.

The government estimates the number of natives in Urundi at one and a half to two million ("Die deutschen Schutzgebiete 1912-13," Amtliche Jahresberichte ["The German Protectorates 1912-13," Official Annual Reports], pp. 8-9). This large margin is an indication that official censuses in the individual areas have so far not been possible. Both here and in Ruanda only the drawing up of tax registers will some day

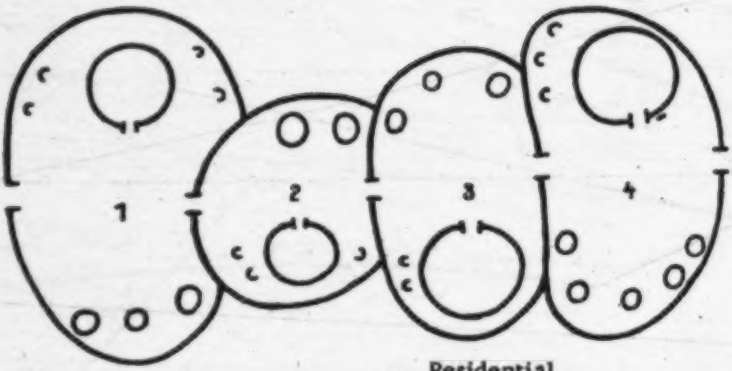
161 furnish more accurate figures. According to my own and other recent estimates, the figure of two million is too high; one and a half million is probably closer to the truth. However, a few missionaries, among them Father van der Burgt, have estimated even more than two million. [18] There are rela-
162 tively fewer Batussi in Urundi than in Ruanda; they constitute
563 hardly five per cent and probably only two or three per cent of the total population, i.e., 40,000-50,000 in Urundi. For them, too, van der Burgt assumes a much higher percentage: 15-20 per cent as against only five per cent for the Batwa. Apart from the mass of native Bahutu, there were in 1912-13 still about 2,500 other Negroes (Wasuaheli, Wanjamwesi, Manjema, and others) in the country, and, in addition, one or two dozen Arabs, two or three dozen Indians, and approximately five dozen Whites, half of them Germans and about 20 Frenchmen and Frenchwomen (missionaries).

On the whole Urundi and Uha are not by any means as
161 densely populated as Ruanda which has 72 inhabitants per square kilometer. [Fig. 1 appears here in original text.] The official estimate for 1912-13 gives an average of 51 inhabitants per square kilometer for Urundi (or 68, if one puts the total population at two million). On the whole the density of population increases from east to west. In the west the valleys and the broad ridges of the peripheral mountains are most densely populated; hence they are almost entirely cleared of timber. There, there are an estimated 50 to 60 people per square kilometer or, in other words, a density of population approximately equal to that of Portugal. Any comparison with Germany with its 120 inhabitants per square kilometer would be inappropriate since the area of utilizable land is relatively much smaller in Urundi than in Germany due to the many swampy valleys and quartzite wastes. The most densely populated parts are the
161 areas of granite, crystalline schist, mica schist, amphibolites,
133 diabases, etc., which comprise the more elevated western portion of Urundi where the rainfall is higher and which form fertile residual soils. Of the less elevated, large slate and

[Text continues on page 29]

592

[18]



Residential huts. Spirit huts.

Huts for provisions and small animals.

1. Front hut for the master and the cattle.
2 and 3. Center huts for women and children.
4. Rear hut for the servants.

Fig. 1. Homestead of a Barundi Lord.
(Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

161 quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more
[133] sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19]
One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more
[311] humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations
cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense
population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in
them.

The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in chil-
592 dren, as in Ruanda. Individually the Batussi women are less
[842] fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom
fewer than three children in each family and in many cases
(among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly
more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married
couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if
[595] there are many children or several wives, each mother lives
in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and
unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there
are often between two and four residential huts and several huts
for grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential
huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see
Fig. 1).

361 The settlement pattern is that of individual establish-
ments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (lugo, urugo).
Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and
its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates
18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals
belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each
other within calling distance so that village-like clusters
(ikisagara) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside ex-
tend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the
settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the
poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or
clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are
scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and sur-
rounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without
banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

361 and villages differ considerably depending on the quality of the soil. In the densely populated western districts one passes a cluster of homesteads every quarter or half hour, but in the thinly populated eastern districts one sometimes travels over an hour without seeing or passing a courtyard or a village.

One never sees many people outside, neither on the roads, 363 near the grazing cattle, nor in the fields. Only close to the huts and within the kraals does one see people walking, standing, and squatting in groups. Old people 70 years old and older 145 are extremely rare. Very few seem to live beyond the age of 60, and this seems to be more often the case with the Batussi than with the Bahutu.

According to missionaries' reports, the population has 161 been increasing during the last ten years or so, since the petty wars between the batwale and the princes and the invasions of the Banjaruanda and the Baha [Ha] have become rarer and less bloody. Only in the Tanganyika region which has been hit by 164 sleeping sickness has the population decreased considerably. 731 In the rest of Urundi the number of inhabitants is occasionally reduced considerably by smallpox epidemics or by crop failures, which are especially fatal to children, but such famines are relatively rare. In 1892, 1896, 1904-5 and 1908, rinderpest, bad harvests, and smallpox caused great devastations. In 1910 the distress resulting from drought in eastern Urundi was so great that the mission at Mujaga had to buy up large amounts of manioc and beans in Uha for their natives. Some travelers 181 claim that the majority of the Bahutu are waiting to be liberated from their conquerors. I cannot confirm this from my observations. [20] [Fig. 2 appears here in original text.] [21] The enthusiastic reception that the Bahutu gave at the time to the first European arriving there, Oskar Baumann in Urundi and Count Götzen in Ruanda, did indeed spring from the traditional hope for a great new conqueror who would usher in a golden age, but like all East African Bantu the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda do not in the least thirst for freedom. As has been mentioned above, they are submissive and dependent on others; they are happiest under firm authority and as accustomed to the discipline of their

[Text continues on page 31]

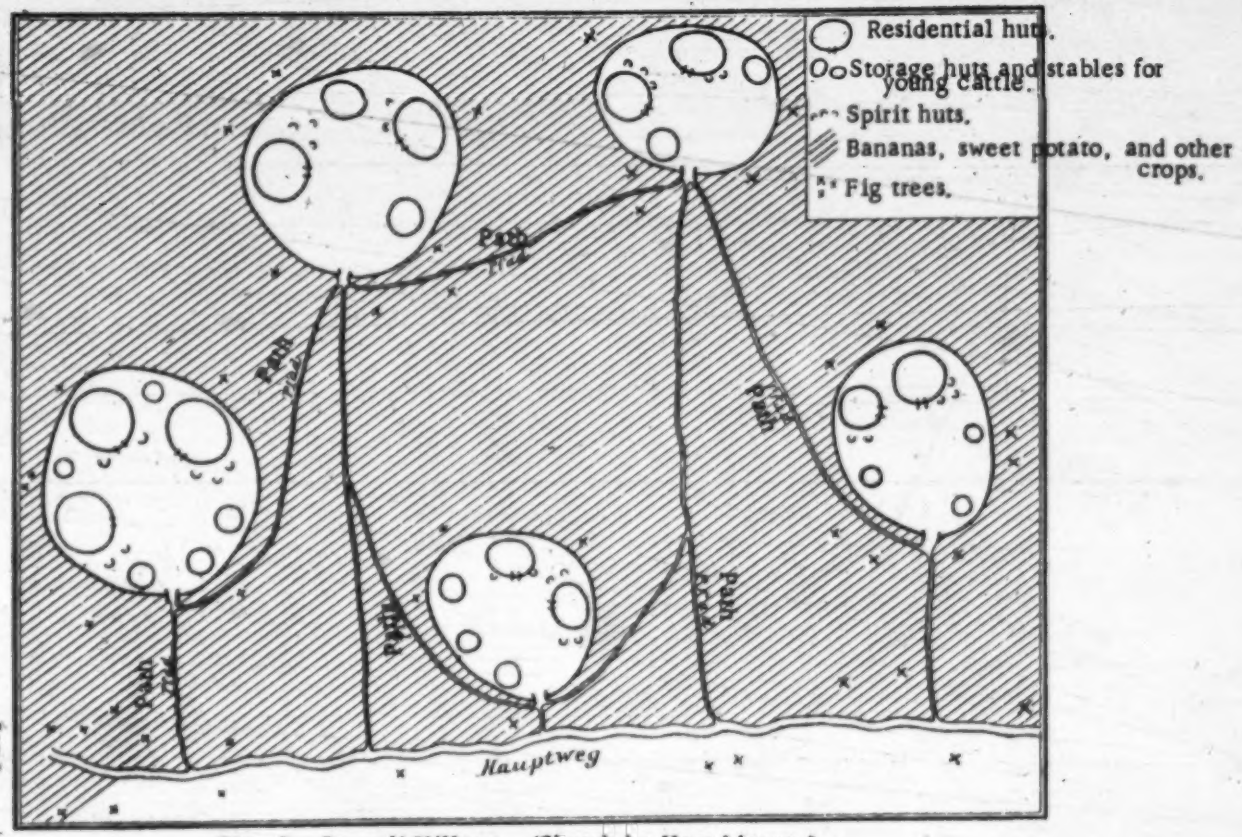


Fig. 2. Barundi Village. (Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

181 Batussi masters as they formerly were to the scarcely more lenient rule of their Bantu chiefs. When one comes from Ruanda which is governed on a rigid monarchical basis, one is astonished at how much freer, happier, and noisier, but also with how much less discipline the Barundi live and behave under their Batussi batwale than in Ruanda.

361 221 233 Predominantly agriculturists and breeders of small cattle, the Bahutu are completely sedentary. The Batussi, who own all the big cattle, also have permanent dwellings, but during the dry months they engage in a kind of alpine farming with their herds of cattle in the fresher pastures of the mountains, as though in memory of their former life as nomads. This will be described in more detail later in our discussion of stock farming (see p.40).

342 The residential huts (insu) of the Barundi differ essentially neither in form nor in structure, technique or material, from those of the Banjaruanda. Externally they are usually somewhat flatter than the huts in Ruanda; they have the shape of an umbrella rather than a beehive. Yet both in Urundi and Ruanda the crinoline-like frame is bound together by means of wooden poles or, wherever there is bamboo, by means of bamboo poles, the empty spaces between them being filled with vertical and horizontal layers of sorghum stalks. The superimposed, flat, hemispherical roof is not supported by a single pole in the center, but by a number of them evenly distributed in the hut. The entire frame is covered down to the ground with straw of tall grass (sedge, not reeds), and in some regions with dry banana leaves. As a protection against rain, a stick with a wisp of straw which spreads out at the bottom is fastened at the point of the roof. The opening for the door with the somewhat protruding door roof resembles that of the Ruanda house, but its side walls are interwoven less carefully than those of the Ruanda house. The door opening is closed by a coarsely plaited screen, kept in place by a stick propped against it. Except for the single door, there is no opening in the entire structure (Plate 18). Thus, the smoke must escape through the door. The entire hut can be lifted by several men and shifted to a

342 nearby site when the family changes its place of residence.

If the huts are very much inferior in their outward appearance and in the care with which they are built to those of Ruanda, this is even more true of their interiors. Here, as in Ruanda, the interior supporting poles are used to fasten [285] several woven screens, higher than a man and made of papyrus, reed stalks, or bamboo laths. These divide the hut into two or more separate living, sleeping, and store rooms. Many of these woven screens have the shape of a bent shield, as in Ruanda. In Urundi, however, very few of them are plaited as delicately and figured as beautifully as the shield-shaped wall screens and mats which in Ruanda cover the walls all around [22] and separate the various rooms from each other, admirably decorating not only the huts of the Batussi but often also those of prosperous Bahutu. Usually only two rooms are separated from each other by mats in this way: the front room (umurjango), which serves as a living room, kitchen, and dining room during the day, and the rear room (akagiro) which 513 serves as a bedroom. In the latter, the parents' bed space 352 is also separated from the sleeping place of the children by mat screens. Here most of the Barundi sleep simply on a bundle of straw which they cover with a cowhide or goatskin. However, where a bedstead does exist, it consists of four short posts rammed into the ground and a wooden frame fastened on them which is filled with laths and covered with a mat. In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, etc., such bedsteads are owned only by the distinguished and the rich.

352 . Wooden stools to sit on, like the ones used elsewhere in East Africa, are nonexistent in Urundi and Ruanda, or they exist only as a foreign import from Unjamwesi, Usâmbiro, etc.

Even in the dwelling of the powerful chief Lusabiko in East Urundi there was "not a single stool or log to sit on. Only a few thick bundles of straw were lying in a corner; they could be drawn toward one if he did not wish to squat on the ground. If one desires to sleep, the bundle is unfastened, and [513] a soft bed is made. In the homes of rich persons a hairy ox hide is placed over it before sitting or lying down." (No. 14, 1901, p. 214.)

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [289] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and 778 reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce [782] of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135 , and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 356 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage 342 next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding [514] the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

364 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. Accord-
356 ing to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings, and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired,
356 but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years. After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
429 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it, and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight
592 residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters of homesteads are much larger.

Rich people and the Batussi lords, however, are not con-
556 tent with a single kraal including several huts. They build
592 several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass
342 directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living and reception room for the master of the house and also as a shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1). For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common Batussi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

351 417 The enclosure (ingo) around the majority of the kraals both in Urundi and Ruanda is not only intended as a means of protection against human or animal intruders, but it also serves to enclose the family, especially the small children, and to keep the cattle penned in at night (Plate 20a, 21b). If the inhabitants have no cattle, they usually have no fences around their huts. This is the case, for example, in some mountain regions of northwest Urundi and in a few districts of western central Urundi. Wherever fences do exist, they are higher than a man so that one cannot see over them. Depending on what material is available, they consist of dry trunks of banana trees, sorghum stalks, papyrus shafts, or the dry branches of the Acanthus arboreus, roughly but firmly tied together, or they are formed by closely planted living dracaena, fig trees, or euphorbias. I never saw stones piled up so as to make a wall, although there are enough blocks of stone there to serve this purpose. The entrance to the kraal, which is flanked by two strong poles, is blocked at night by trunks placed across it. [24]

The kraals of the Batussi are in most cases more carefully and firmly enclosed than those of the Bahutu. In some areas settled predominantly by Batussi, for example, in the extensive highland pasture areas on the eastern slope of the peripheral mountains of Tanganyika on the upper Muwarasi, "each house is a small fortress with three concentric defenses. Within the protective wall (probably made of piled earth, there is a plaited cane fence, behind this one of euphorbias, and finally one made of thorns" (No. 8, p. 73).

351 248 Even when the hedge does not consist of fig trees planted close to one another, there are almost always a number of fig trees around the kraal, this being more often the case here than in Ruanda. These trees provide not only shade for the kraal, [287] but also bark which is used in a variety of ways, in particular for making clothes (Plate 18a, 21a). As in Ruanda, such circular groups of fig trees enable one to note the sites of former kraals, particularly those of chiefs, many years after the huts have

351 disappeared. Yet, I did not find any trees at all at the resi-
[249] dence of the great chief Kilima (see pp. 162, 188 [these pages not translated]) in northwest Urundi. Four large round kraals are situated there on an open round mountain top at an altitude of 2,150 meters, affording a wonderful view of the neighboring deep valleys and long mountain chains. Each kraal is surrounded
[417] by a thick bamboo palisade, twice as high as a man, enclosing six to eight spacious round huts. There is no tree, green fence pole, or even a banana leaf anywhere near it. The entire complex stands on the commanding steep mountain top, like a fort built for defense.

361 In other parts of the border districts adjoining Ruanda, the houses are sometimes crowded together into whole villages surrounded by strong protective fences. Indeed, Captain Bethe even found "a large city of natives, a compact community living together" (Deutsches Kolonialblatt [German Colonial Journal, 1899, p. 9) in Iwusome on Lake Rugwero in northeastern Urundi. However, these are exceptions to the general practice of living in individual kraals and occur only in a few exposed border regions.

The fireplace (isiko) is usually in the main center room
354 of the hut. I intentionally do not use the word "hearth," for usually it consists of a few stones which may be pushed together on a round platform of pounded clay in such a way that a fire may be built in the center and a cooking pot placed on top. Sometimes also, the fire is placed on a thick round plate of fired clay in the same manner as in Ruanda; its periphery is raised in the form of a roll to prevent the fire from being scattered.
372 When the embers cease to glow, which is very seldom, fire is obtained from one's neighbor. On long travels, however, fire is made in the well-known manner of the Bantu, when wood is available, by twirling a hard piece of wood on a soft one; otherwise, a glowing piece of coal is tied up in a bundle of slightly wet grass and carried along. In this manner they carry embers with them on journeys lasting several days.

Yet since firewood is often very scarce in a country almost destitute of trees and bushes, cakes of cattle dung dried in the sun are used for fuel or, wherever there are no cattle or only a few, papyrus or reed rootstocks are collected in the swampy valleys.

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

Since hunting also seldom provides
262 anything for the kitchen - the Barundi are poor hunters and,
[224] except for the Batwa, do not eat venison or if they do, only on exceptional occasions -- and since wild plants are seldom used for food, the menu is rather limited. The main food items for the whole of Urundi are bananas, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, and sorghum; all these are dried, ground, and prepared as mush. All the other things produced by the fields at different altitudes and in areas of different climate (see the chapter on agriculture, p. 48) play only a subordinate role.

It is true that when speaking to a European or a Muhutu the Batussi claim that they live only on milk, meat, and beer, but in reality they eat legumes, bananas, millet mush, and other foods exactly like the Bahutu. After all, not enough cattle are killed in the area to satisfy all the Batussi every day.
252 Except for meat, which, as has been mentioned, is almost always roasted on the spit, most dishes by far are cooked or stewed; only very few are fried in grease or oil as, for example, in the Tanganyika region where palm oil is plentiful.

As far as special rules concerning food are concerned,
262
264 I have discovered a number of food taboos connected with totemism and religious ideas (see p. 103). It is surprising that one never sees adults eating. They always take their meals inside the huts, the man together with his wife but apart from the children, and if they are ever caught at their meals, they stop and go away since the food would "not agree" with them if eaten in the presence of strangers. Of course, this is
262 not the case when they are traveling. In that case the force
261 of external circumstances often frees them from such considerations; yet conscientious or rigidly trained people, as most of the Batussi are, observe the custom so strictly even while traveling that they will go hungry rather than depart from it. When climbing the Karisimbi, for example, I had two young Batussi guides who, in spite of the extreme physical exertion involved, refused all the food I offered them and did not eat anything for two days because they did not have their customary mush and milk, nor did they accept anything from the people in my caravan.

[27] Chapter 3

Ornaments, Clothing, Weapons

301 The Barundi have very few body ornaments. Men and women wear thin rings of copper or iron wire around the ankles and above the wrist, or catgut strings with thin wire wrapped around them, and also more rarely a thick iron ring around the wrist. The men in particular wear an ornament around their necks which is unknown in Ruanda: a triangular section as thick as a finger, cut from a white shell (ikiresi), hanging on a string; for the most part it is imported from Unjamwesi (No. 19, p. 406) where men also wear it. Similarly, a polished boar's or hippopotamus tooth is worn on a string around the neck (Plate 33). More frequent these days are simple chains of pearls made of small pale pink or white European pearls; more rare are strings with small spindle-shaped wooden pegs strung in a row, with inlaid brass or copper discs like mosaics, or with all kinds of pieces of roots, animals' claws, goats' horns, etc., used as amulets (see p. 132). Small conical or bell-shaped pendants of copper or iron are also often worn in great numbers around the neck (umuhare, (Figs. 3 and 4). The thick disc-shaped wooden ring (ikirinsi), which many Barundi wear around their wrist to protect it from the recoiling bowstring when shooting (see p. 34 and Plates 11, 12b, 13, 30a), is often also merely an ornament. Although it is 20 to 25 centimeters in diameter and despite the delicate structure of the Barundi hand on which it is worn, this disc-ring nevertheless does not look clumsy since it is elegantly formed and inlaid [28] with various linear brass or copper ornaments (Plates 42, 43). The incision on its side through which the disc is slipped on the wrist is so narrow -- two and a half to three and a half centimeters -- that it is hard to see how a man's wrist can be pushed through it. A smooth ball the size of a plum and carved from fruit pits is a sign of rank or is a valuable amulet among the highborn. It is worn on top of the smoothly shaven head on a narrow strip of leather that passes around the back of the head.

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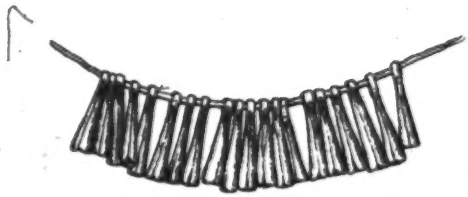

Fig. 3. Conical Pendants of Copper. Neck Ornament and Amulet filled with "Medicine." (Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

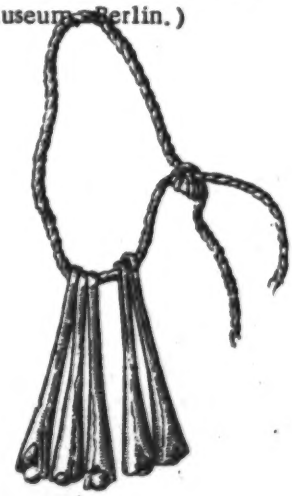

Fig. 4. Iron Bells as Neck Ornament. (Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

301 Often a second strip of leather, without the ball, however,
554 goes around the head from the back to the center of the forehead. I have never seen this form of ornament worn by the Bahutu or the common Batussi but only by members of the royal kin group (Baganwa) and by the high batwale (see Plates 11, 13, 14).

302 The hair style of the Barundi is very simple. According to the reports of former travelers, there was much greater variety years ago; today the large majority shave the head completely. For this purpose, after the hair has been somewhat softened with warm water, they use a short shaving knife without a handle. Many of them leave a small, round tuft of hair on top of their heads, more rarely a remnant of hair in a different form. The children frequently appear in long "poodle locks"; they then look like Galla or Somali children (Plate 12b, 16a). The heads of women and girls are usually smooth shaven. If they wear hair, they comb it with wooden combs (Fig. 5). The men also shave their beards; axillary and pubic hair are removed among the Batussi, but not among the Bahutu who have very little anyway. The two bristly fringes of hair running diagonally across the head, which are a national trait of the Banjaruanda, are very seldom seen on a Murundi.

302 Common to the Batussi of both regions is the care of the
515 skin by means of various cosmetics. Rubbing with half-liquid butter is the most frequent. Most by far of the butter produced is used for this purpose, and often some raw laterite and the juice of fragrant herbs is added to this skin ointment. Those people who have no cows and, consequently, no butter, such as most of the Bahutu, cannot smear themselves with butter. If this ointment is put on fresh every day, it is quite appetizing and nice, but if, as frequently happens, the butter turns rancid and combines with the smell of sweat and the stench of smoky huts and stables, the fellows stink so much that one can smell them at a distance of ten paces even in the dark of the night. Yet I must say in defense of the Barundi that they like to take a bath whenever water is plentiful, i.e., when drawing

[Text continues on page 42]

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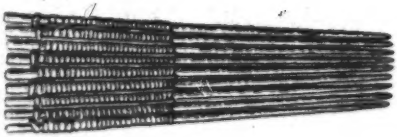

Fig. 5. Wooden Comb for Combing Hair.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

302 water at a spring, crossing brooks, and on similar occasions.
515 Sometimes children and, at times, even adults cover their hair, scalp, and other parts of the body, sometimes the entire body, with a light gray layer of paint made of clay, ashes, or the marly excrement of beasts of prey that is frequently found in the steppes. This is not a festive adornment, as is often the case when adults paint themselves (see p. 67 , 127), but is intended to free the skin of small parasites and to keep it smooth.

304 Tattooing (urusago) I have observed much more seldom in Urundi than in Ruanda and Uha, [29] and then only in the form of decorative scars, never colored tattooing on the surface of the skin. In Urundi, too, it is mainly the Batussi who are tattooed, and, as in Ruanda, the patterns extend over the upper part of the arms, the two halves of the chest from the shoulder down to the area of the navel, and both halves of the back from the shoulder to the waist. As in Ruanda, the patterns consist mainly of finger length half-moons which in great numbers are placed in a row and are generally connected in groups of two by a third crescent which interlocks with the open side of the sickle; the total effect is that of a chain-like pattern (see Fig. 7). Each line consists of many parallel cuts made by a knife (Fig. 6) and caused to swell by rubbing on ashes and euphorbia juice, so that they finally form a thick scar which stands as high as one centimeter above the surface of the skin. Practitioners skilled in medicine do the tattooing. Other patterns consist of zigzag lines, ribbon-shaped parallel rows of lines running across the shoulders like broad suspenders, or button-shaped scars, like thick inoculation scars, in rows on the upper arm and in the center of the chest. Other irregular clusters of scars are not decorative tattooing but incisions for local body pains or wound scars resulting from violent injuries.

304 In my opinion it is improbable that this tattooing was
171 originally practiced only by the Batussi and was imitated by the Bahutu and Batwa, as was stated by M. Weiss (No. 33, p. 93). This type of tattooing is quite unknown to the Hamitic peoples of Africa, but it is very common among the Bantu of the upper Nile and Congo regions and of the western and southern regions.

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Fig. 6. Knife for Tattooing and Bloodletting.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin. No. 6543a.)

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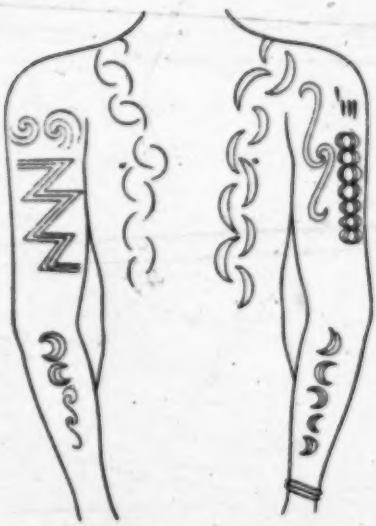

Fig. 7. Scar Tattooing of a Murundi.
(Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

304 around Lake Victoria, among the Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha,
171 Wassumbwa, etc. -- while, according to H. Rehse, the Basiba [Haya] do not tattoo themselves -- so it is much more likely to assume diffusion from the Bantu and Nilotes to the Batussi and a further development of tattooing by the latter. The tattoos of the Somali, Galla, Massai [Masai], etc., look quite different. A report by H. H. Johnston gives some indication of the wider context. According to him, the crescent-shaped scar tattoo, of which he gives a photograph (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 569), is also found among the Bakonjo [Konjo], who are probably the oldest Bantu race [30] in Unjoro, Toro, and Ankole, while the large mass of the Banjoro [Nyoro] in Unjoro, who are an important mixed race consisting of Bantu, Nilotic, and Bahima elements, do not tattoo themselves.

304 In Urundi I did not observe any tattooing on women and children. It was impossible to find out anything definite about the meaning of the patterns. I would doubt that they are intended to represent horns of cattle, as has been claimed by a missionary.

"Decorative disfigurements" of the ears (ear blocks), nose (nose pegs), the lips (pelele), the teeth (notches or filing), or other parts of the body are found in Urundi neither among the Batussi nor among the Bahutu, and this is also true of Ruanda. The Batwa, however, sharpen the two upper incisors. Also, neither cutting of the genitalia among either sex, deformation of the head, nor other such things are practiced. It is not until one descends to the west, east, or south from the interlacustrine plateau that one once more finds tribes with disfigurements of the body.

[287] Urundi is still the country of clothing made from barkcloth
439 (impusu). Except for the peripheral areas in the southeast, south,
177 and west where foreign trade, to which the rest of the country has been barred until recently, supplies cotton material, a piece of "Amerikani" or a cotton blanket used for clothing is still a rarity in Urundi. It was not until recently that more cotton material was introduced into the country by the few licensed traveling merchants, the missions, and the passing caravans

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat
291 skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the
[854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No.
287 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials
386 in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with
[531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

287 about this: "The Wanjoro (in the highland of southern Unjoro)
386 produce the same clothes of barkcloth as the Waganda [Ganda], dyeing them black by putting them for a day into the mud of a swamp." (No. 9, p. 377.)

291 There is no difference between the dress of the Batussi and the Bahutu, nor is there a special costume reserved for certain classes or professions. The Mutwa and the Muhutu, the Mutussi and the Muganwa, the great chief and the king: all dress in the same unattractive blackish-gray impusu of tree bark. Another feature common to them all is that they take off the long upper garment inside the huts and when working in the fields because it is a hindrance.

287 The material is made from the barks of several fig species
248 (Urostigma), mainly the Ficus chlamydodora Warb. or the Ficus Schimperi Hochst., in the same manner as in those areas of Ruanda where garments of barkcloth are still worn. Since more barkcloth is used in Urundi than in Ruanda where cotton cloth is already much in use, more fig trees are planted near the huts in Urundi than in Ruanda; often they look like a village orchard near the houses. For this reason alone the scenery of Urundi gives the impression of being more friendly and varied than Ruanda which is grassy for the most part. Almost every cluster of huts lies in the shade of a little fresh green fig grove. The fence surrounding the homesteads also consists partly of fig trees which form natural fence posts, giving firm support to the latticework of the fence. According to van der Burgt, the Ficus chlamydodora was introduced into Urundi only about 60 years ago and at present occurs only where it is cultivated. However, I believe I have seen it growing wild in the peripheral mountains of the northwest.

287 Once the tree has grown until the trunk is about the thickness of an arm, its bark is removed for the first time. For this purpose two horizontal incisions are made around the trunk from half a meter to one meter apart. Both incisions are connected by a vertical incision, and a long rectangular piece of bark is then loosened from the tree without difficulty. The exposed area of the trunk is then rubbed with butter, and banana leaves are tied around it. Then, from the cut edges, the bark completely

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by [462] men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their [301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted barkcloth, among many other things, from the subject Bahutu. [292] Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

291 head. Sometimes women wear a headband of corn leaves as a symbol of young motherhood; two narrow strips of banana bark over the forehead is the sign of a married woman. Both are also worn in Ruanda.

There is no special covering for genital parts or the feet. When men wear only the toga, the penis is often visible, but this does not offend their sense of modesty. The women have their breasts mostly covered by their upper garment, but they do not mind uncovering them when, for any reason whatsoever, they take off or change a garment. Before reaching puberty, children walk around entirely naked (Plate 16) or with a narrow apron of banana bast (Plate 38).

411 The Barundi are really a "people in arms," far more so than the Banjaruanda among whom the large mass of the Bahutu walk unarmed and even the Batussi rarely carry a spear, but rather only a long staff which, however, may be quickly made into a weapon by affixing a spear point. Similarly, the Barundi can be seen walking around with wooden shafts without points whenever they want to demonstrate their peaceful intentions or wish to protect the iron point against wear or rust, but they almost always carry the spear point wrapped up, and they never go far away from the homestead to tend the cattle, work in the fields, or go on a visit without having at least one or two people in the group armed with spears and bows. A Murundi with any self-respect will never let himself be seen without a spear, for without it he would feel "undressed." Even boys carry spears. As a rule, the two customary weapons, spear and bow, are carried together, the spear in one hand, the bow and two to four arrows in the other.

The spears (itschjumu) hardly differ from those in Ruanda, and, as in Ruanda, the shape of the points varies somewhat (Plates 39, 40). Generally the blade has a strong, sharpened central rib which makes it very elastic and resistant and gives the spear, so to speak, four edges. Next to the central rib two blood grooves are hollowed out; these are usually absent on a Bantu spear. Point and socket have a sleeve for inserting the shaft. The latter is a strong [33] stick, as thick as a thumb, two

411 to three meters long, absolutely straight generally, and as well-rounded and smoothly scraped as though polished. Considering the extreme rarity of trees and large bushes in Urundi, the quality of the spear shafts is surprising. No pole-timber for the spears is imported from the neighboring areas. Many spear shafts are family heirlooms which have been bequeathed down to the present day from a time when wood was more plentiful. Others are made from the wood of the cultivated fig tree which yields barkcloth; it grows good straight branches unless it is cut often. Poorer people and children generally have spears with inferior, somewhat bent or knotty shafts. Spear [326] points and sockets are made by special blacksmiths (see p. 77) [316] either from iron mined in Urundi itself or from iron hoes (see [439] p. 83) imported from the Congo (Uvira) or from Usindja. The rest of the work necessary to make a spear is done by each Murundi himself. [Fig. 8 appears here in original text.]

The spear is mainly a weapon used for stabbing or for defense. It is thrown only short distances when one is certain of hitting the target since one cannot risk losing this valuable possession. There are no slings for hurling spears.

The Murundi is inseparable from his spear, and the fact 516 that they are always able to lean on the long spear shaft determines the characteristic posture of both the Murundi and the Munjaruanda when they are standing still. He grips the upright shaft with his arm half-raised so that his hand is about the level of his face. Depending on whether the palm of the hand is turned in or out when clutching the spear, the shaft stands vertically either between chest and elbow or along the outside of the elbow, while its end rests on the ground. In both cases the body leans with all its weight against this prop which slants somewhat away from it; at the same time the leg bearing the main weight of the body is fully extended while the leg next to the spear which takes no weight is easily crossed over the other leg at knee-level so that it touches the ground only with the outer edge of the sole (Plate 9b). [34] Less frequently the foot of the leg taking no weight is planted firmly against the leg bearing the main weight, as is done frequently among the Negroes of the Upper Nile and also among the Massai. The composition of lines

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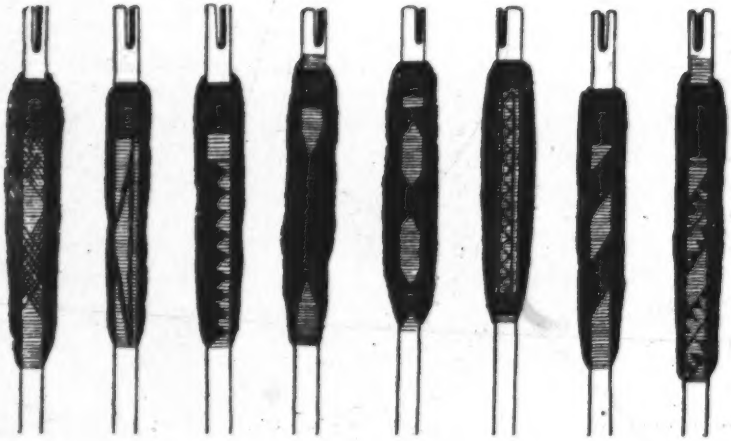

Fig. 8. Plaited Patterns on Feathering of Arrows.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5274.)

516 in this posture of the Barundi at rest is often surprisingly beautiful. A small group of men standing in this position really presents "a picture to be painted." [Fig. 9 appears on p. 34 of original text.]

The chief weapon for attack and fighting is the bow and
411 arrow. The bows (umuheto) have the simple shape of most of the East African bows and they are rather good weapons (Plate 41). The string is usually made of beef sinew. Compound bows, such as the Batwa of Bugoje have, do not exist among the Batwa of Urundi who have been much more influenced by the Negroes. The arrowheads (umwampi) have neither barbed hooks nor lobes and, by means of a thorn, are embedded in the wooden shaft whose upper part is wrapped and the bottom ends simply feathered. The feathering often is bound in a nicely patterned reed wrapping (Fig. 8). Neither the Batussi nor the Bahutu ever use poisoned arrows, but the Batwa do (No. 19, p. 246). It has already been mentioned that the left hand holding the bow is protected against the recoiling string by thick disc-shaped arm rings (ikirinsi) (see p. 27 and Plate 30a). Also, among the Barundi archery does not entail shooting from a held position with precise aiming, but rather suddenly and violently jerking off the arrow toward the target in an impulsive fashion, like hurling stones from a sling (which is not practiced in Urundi). Nevertheless, they do hit a man at a distance of 30 to 40 meters with a fair amount of precision (Plate 30). The majority of the arrows are made by the Batwa. Sometimes the arrows are kept in nicely carved wooden quivers (umutano) which are provided with overlapping lids on both ends (Plates 41, 42), but a quiver is seldom seen on the arm or back of a Murundi, mostly only inside the huts. [Fig. 9 appears here in the original text.]

The sword-like knives (imbugita) of the Barundi, up to
412 half a meter long, are not really weapons but instruments for
411 daily use which only occasionally are also used as weapons (Plate 43). The knife has two parallel edges, and its tip is only slightly pointed. In its entire width it is inserted into an hour-glass-shaped wooden handle, and it is worn in a wooden sheath

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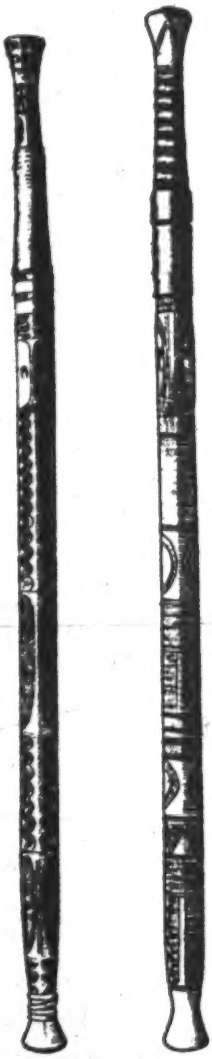

Fig. 9. Knives with Decorated Wooden Sheaths. (Ethnological Museum, Berlin, Nos. 2466, 3881.)

412 (uruwati) made of two thin boards held together by several
411 wrappings. In the same manner as the quiver, the sheath is often
[531] decorated with carved crescents or zigzag patterns (Fig. 9).
The knives are often carried by a strap running from the right shoulder to the left hip, like a shoulder belt. The much smaller
412 knives, 10 to 15 centimeters [35] long, which are found more often and which are of the same shape and used for smaller carving jobs, are either worn on a string around the neck or over the left upper arm. Only in western Lower Urundi on Lake
[177] Tanganyika can we find knives with fine copper wire nicely wound around them; there they are due to Congo influence and are produced by Wawira [Bira] blacksmiths (No. 19, 133).
[326] In Upper Urundi proper, the Bahutu and especially the Batwa blacksmiths are the suppliers of knives.

Fighting clubs (uwuhiri) which were once generally used
411 all over the region have become rather rare in Urundi; as among the Massai and the Wadschagga [Chagga] these former weapons have been degraded into a show piece or toy of the men. They consist of a beautifully planed piece of hardwood, about one third of a meter in length, which at the end has been carved into three or four edges and at the handle end is slightly thickened.

Shields (ingabo) are much more rare. They have com-
411 pletely lost their importance as a weapon of defense and, as in
554 Ruanda, they have become merely the emblem of a chief or of a family (perhaps the escutcheon of a clan) (Plate 44). The king possesses several shields and each chief and his bodyguards have one each which are painted differently. The Batwa do not have any shields and are not allowed to carry any. The round shield, up to one half meter in diameter, is carved of wood it has a wooden grip and is painted with white and red segments of circles of various types. There are also shields which have reeds plaited around them (see pp. 80-81 and Plate 53) and others of identical shape made of cowhide which occur even more rarely. The same shape and ornamentation of the wooden shields and quivers recur both among the northern Bahima in Ruanda and among the southern ones in Ufipa (cf. illustration in No. 47, p. 76).

714 Finally, battle dress is part of the fighting equipment of the Murundi. When the bodyguards of the king -- who are, as we shall see later (p. 87), the actual combatants -- march out for battle, they wear a uniform consisting of an apron of white tanned antelope hide or sheepskin (inkindi), and they paint [302] their skulls, faces, and the upper part of their bodies with all kinds of white and red lines and ornaments which give them a terrifying, savage appearance (No. 19, p. 277). This hide apron uniform is also worn at war dances. It is much the same in Ruanda where, in addition to this uniform, other decorations, for example, a headdress and foot rattles, are also worn. The Bahima in Ufipa have the same kind of war costume as here and in Ruanda (cf. illustration in Lechaptois, No. 47, p. 61).

172 411 Old stone weapons, the remnants of former cultures which have disappeared (see p. 151 [not translated]), are not in use any more in Urundi even among the Batwa who are the oldest ethnic element; the same is true in Ruanda.

[36] Chapter 4

Hunting, Fishing, Stock Farming, Agriculture, Stimulants

1. Hunting and Fishing

224 Hunting (uwuhisi) plays only a small role in the existence of the Barundi, for in an area which is so densely populated and almost completely denuded of forests and where game has been systematically exterminated in the interests of cattle farming and pastures as in the regions settled by the Boers, there are only a few animals left which one might hunt. It appears that the most frequent ones are the bushbuck (Tragelaphus) which are found mainly in the narrow bush thickets of the deep valleys of the streams and also the tufted antelope, gazelle, and the Jimela antelope. As far as other big game fit for hunting are concerned, the elephant is occasionally found in the thinly populated areas, in the deserted forests of the western peripheral

224 mountains, and in the Ruzizi lowlands. The hippopotamus, however, is still rather frequent; it finds food and shelter in all the sizable rivers and swamps. There are leopards everywhere but most of all in northeast Urundi.

It is seldom that the Murundi hunts (kuhiga) alone with his weapon. At times chiefs arrange hunting drives with from 10 to 20 persons; these, however, are more a sport than hunting and have only the single practical purpose of obtaining antelope hides for the war dress mentioned above and horns for trumpets and amulets. The Batussi and Bahutu do not eat the [224] meat of the hunted animals since they consider it impure; they give it to the Batwa or to the dogs who play an essential part [231] in each drive. The dogs can hardly be called hunting dogs as we understand the term (see p. 48), for they do nothing but rouse and pursue the game. They are the common Murundi dogs with pointed ears. Old King Kisabo had a real pack of hounds for hunting. The dogs wear a leather collar with an iron bell or rattle whose clanging and rattling scares the game, and they are kept on the leash until the hunters have taken their stand in a wide semicircle around the area where the game is suspected to be. The dogs are then released into the thicket. They soon scare the game with the rattling of their bells and finally hold it at bay by concerted attack so the hunters may approach and kill the animal with arrows or spears (No. 19, p. 100).

That the Forest Batwa, who earn their livelihood mainly by hunting, are much better hunters hardly requires explanation; in most cases they hunt in pairs. Above all elephant hunting in the forests of the northwestern peripheral mountains is their exclusive specialty. For this purpose and also for killing other big game, such as the hippopotamus, they use deep pits (itschjobo) which are dug on the paths where game usually pass. Sharp-pointed poles are placed in an upright position [37] at the bottom of the pits whose steep walls are up to eight meters high; these poles are supposed to injure or kill the animal falling into the pit. The hole is carefully covered with branches and leaves. An animal which has fallen into the pit and is still alive is killed with spears. The natives build very solid traps to catch

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b). A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins [554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

223 The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka) with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue. Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain [262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

226 Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi [563] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned [262] to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air.

[182] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt,

[791] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The

262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence

438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

226 of fishing. From an elevated point near the lake, for instance, from Boma in Usumbura, after dusk from all sides of the lake he sees dozens of lights quietly float out into the lake, arrange themselves out there in long rows, and then remain for hours in the same place, where the boats are anchored. On the other side, on the distant west shore (Uvira) which belongs to the Congo State, the same spectacle takes place. Hundreds of lights will often be twinkling above the quiet water, one dying out in one place, another being lighted and flashing up somewhere else, like a festive illumination; behind rises the large dark backdrop of the western peripheral mountains and above it the Milky Way with its millions of twinkling stars. A light, warm breeze is blowing across land and lake, and only seldom is the great silence of the African night penetrated by an animal's cry.

In the daytime the lake dwellers use a conical dragnet (itanda) for fishing. It is fastened to a wooden hoop and kept below water by stones tied to it. It is pulled behind the boat on two cords, and from time to time its contents which include both large and small fish are emptied into the boat. Kandt observed an unusual method of net fishing among the Barundi of northern Tanganyika, while I personally and others have not seen anything like it. This method is as follows: of the six men in the boat, four dive into the water at the same moment holding the net in their hands. They emerge again with their prey after 30 to 50 seconds and are pulled into the boat by their companions (No. 22, p. 333).

227 286 The various types of nets have a very firm and even texture although they are made by hand without a square ruler. The strings are woven of the fibers of the raffia palm.

226 Also in fishing with a line the Lake Barundi use various methods. A long line is usually used for catching big fish. Numerous strong fishhooks (umugera) are fastened to it at short intervals on short pieces of string; the whole thing is called umuhungo. To each hook one of the above-mentioned little fish, akahuso, is fastened as bait. The long line is thrown into the water from the shore or from the boat; it is held by both ends,

226 [39] and as soon as it is noticed that the fish bite, the line is pulled in by two men, and the fish are collected (No. 19, p. 426).

Fishing with rod (isanga) and line (impungo) is practiced mainly by boys but also by the Batwa. Not just one hook, as is the case with our fishing lines, but two to four hooks, one above the other, are fastened to the lower end of the line. They are kept afloat by a piece of wood. Often a fisherman will hold two or three such fishing rods in his hand. In spite of the crocodiles, the fishermen often stand in water up to the belly, and when a fish bites, they slowly turn the fishing rod around its axis so as to let the line wind up. If they gave a sudden pull, the hooks, which have no barb as ours do, would permit the fish to slide off.

A peculiar apparatus for catching medium-sized fish consists of a quadrilateral box-like frame (uvusago) made of palm leaves. Several holes are pierced in its sides, behind which grasshoppers or worms are fastened as bait. Thirty to forty such trap boxes are weighed down and lowered into the water around the boat. A wooden float fastened to each of these by a string indicates immediately when a fish trying to get at one of the pieces of bait is caught in one of the holes. This method is supposed to yield a rich catch.

Finally, weir-baskets (umugono) must be mentioned. They have the form of a long cone, which occurs elsewhere quite frequently, and inside there is a funnel-shaped smaller basket, on the order of a mousetrap. Although the fish can penetrate the narrow opening of the latter into the main part of the cone where the bait is kept, they cannot get out of it. The weir-baskets are fastened to the bottom of the lake near the shore by means of poles, and they are pulled out and emptied every few days.

No harpoons are used for catching fish, nor is poison used for stunning the fish. The Negroes here, like those in other parts of Africa, have not progressed to training swimming birds to catch fish. For instance, cormorants are frequent around Lake Tanganyika, and the natives have long been aware of their skill in catching fish.

222 In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment,
252 we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and
[262] termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa. Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

222 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the
231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi
[263] honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey
[273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes.

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

231 flies out with its queen, it is sprinkled with dust and water so it will not fly afield or will drop to the ground. The swarm of bees with its queen is then carefully swept into the tubes which are brought to it, the opening is closed, and the hive is suspended from a tree or a pole. The small entrance hole to the hive is then opened. All hives are suspended in a horizontal position. Of course, the whole procedure is usually not over before a few bee stings have been received, but the "bee-keepers" know quite well how to protect themselves by covering the whole body with barkcloth.

Gathering honey from the beehives later is a much simpler procedure. At night, when the bees are not flying, the back of the hive is opened, and a glowing wisp of straw which is smoking strongly is introduced, causing the bees to crowd together in the opposite corner. The honeycombs are cut out and then preserved in a pot (No. 19, p. 3). There are many different uses for the wax in the Barundi household. Since a demand for it has
439 developed in the markets, bee keeping has noticeably increased in the border regions accessible to trade. Undoubtedly it can and will find an even greater expansion once the country has been opened up to trade and there are more possibilities for marketing it. Even today wax and cattle hides are the most important trade products of Urundi.

2. Stock Farming

We often read that the economic life of the Barundi centers
231 around stock farming. This is not correct. The Barundi are,
563 first of all, agriculturists, like all Bantu Negroes, but stock farming is the chief occupation of the Hamitic ruling class, the Batussi, and it is only through their influence and in their service that many Bahutu are occupied in keeping and caring for livestock. By "livestock" we mean large domesticated animals, cattle (inka), for the Batussi hardly occupy themselves with smaller animals, goats and sheep. These latter animals had long been an element in the economy of the Bantu Negroes, that is, the Bahutu in this case, before the Batussi entered the country, and even today they are kept mainly by the Bahutu for their own consumption.

231 consumption. Their number, however, is relatively small.

In Ruanda the cattle all belong to the breed of the long-horned Bahima cattle which the Batussi brought with them on their treks southwest from their original homes in the northeast. The geographical distribution of these cattle is exactly identical with that of the Bahima (see p. 158 [not translated]). These are cattle of medium size with straight backs and with only a small hump of fat or none at all. To the thick-set head are attached two huge horns, up to more than one and a half meters long and extending in the form of a lyre in most cases. Their base is often enormously thick [41] (Plate 23). The largest horns may be found among sterile cows. Prof. Joh. Neumann-Hamburg has described those which I brought with me: "Der Schädel des Batussirindes" [The Head of the Batussi Cattle] in the Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1913 [Reports from the German Protectorates, 1913], Supplementary Volume 6, p. 113 ff. Apart from this, a characteristic trait of Bahima cattle is a large dewlap.

Bahima cattle most resemble the so-called Sanga cattle of Abyssinia, particularly that strain found in the area from southern Abyssinia to the lands of the Galla. The long-horned cattle of the old Egyptians belong to the same type, so do those of the Fulbe [Fulani] in the Sudan, in Bornu, in the Cameroons etc., among the tribes of the middle Zambesi to the Cape Colony, among the Hottentots in Damara and Ovamboland, in southern Angola, in other words, as far as the Hamites have traveled on their migrations (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 620 ff.; Nachtigal, Sahara, and the Sudan, Vol. I, p. 682; Thorbecke, Im Hochland von Mittel-Kamerun [In the Mountains of the Central Cameroon], Part 1, 1914, p. 70, showing a good photograph of a long-horned bull). As to the question whether the Batussi brought these cattle with them or whether they found them in the area they now inhabit, Stuhlmann also chooses the first alternative (No. 28a, p. 695). Long-horned cattle are found over the entire area of Ruanda and Urundi. Toward the west the limit is the big Central African trench, toward the south and southeast the scarp of the interlacustrine plateau toward Ujiji and Uha. Here in the southeast I found

231 the last herds of the long-horned cattle in the Urundi border villages west of the Kisuma River; east of this, in lower northern Uha, the bush forest and tsetse fly begin.

In Urundi and Ruanda there are none of the smaller, short-horned zebu or humped cattle that are found in the rest of East Africa. Bahima cattle are so well adjusted to the climate and the mode of life of the highlands of the interlacustrine region that they thrive only in this region. As soon as the animals are taken to the lower areas, that is, to Unjamwesi, Lake Victoria, or to the coastal regions, they languish and soon die, even if they are not stung by the tsetse fly. In this respect they are quite like the Batussi themselves with whom they live in a kind of symbiosis

As a former nation of shepherds, the Batussi place a high value on their cattle which is quite foreign to the Bantu. It far exceeds the estimate of their capital value. Cattle are not regarded as producers of meat, as an "article of consumption," but as original capital from which only the dividends (milk, [231] butter, blood tapped from the living animal, hair) may be used, while the capital itself (individual heads of cattle) may only be exchanged for other valuable capital assets, for example, women. More than that, cattle have a high sentimental value for the [182] Mutussi. His entire thoughts and aspirations revolve around the cattle; they are for him the mainstay of his social order, yes, even the object of his devotion which in many cases even transcends into the religious sphere. Accordingly, they are objects of a cult which is full of symbols and mystical relationships. [776] The highest deity, Imana, is first of all protector of the cattle. In East Africa we find a similar attitude among the Hamito-Nilotic nation of herdsmen, the Massai. In whatever concerns cattle, a woman has no say at all. The entire breeding and [462] care of the cattle, even milking, is the job of the man. It is true that in this sphere too the Bahutu have to do all the heavy work, cleaning the animals, tending the cattle in the pasture, milking the cows, etc., but the Mutussi does the more delicate work: he chooses the animals for breeding; he is the veterinarian; he decides what animals are to be killed or sacrificed; and he does this job with all the affection of the sportsman for his animal.

231 The cattle of the entire country belong de jure to the
122 king (or to the highest chief), as in Ruanda. He leaves a large part of the cattle with the Batussi sub chiefs, who enjoy the usufruct, and [42] the latter, in turn, leave small herds and single animals with lower Batussi and individual Bahutu for care, further breeding, and use. A set small number of the young becomes the property of the caretaker which he holds as an irrevocable fee.

231 To a certain degree the almost mystical esteem in which
554 cattle are held is transferred to the temporary owners, caretakers, and breeders of the cattle. A person who is vested with cattle is thus raised to a higher status. A Muhutu who is vested with cattle for the usufruct and for breeding is ennobled, so to speak, by this act; he is no longer subject to compulsory labor, nor does he have to work the fields for his master. Thus, the possession of cattle has a social significance which is no less important than the economic one. Not only for religious reasons but also for social and political ones, old and sick cattle are allowed to live as long as they possibly can, both in Urundi and Ruanda, for they can still be used to vest someone with them who through this rise in status is more closely tied to the Batussi rulers and the king. It is also for this reason that the immense number of cattle owned by the king are a strong support of Batussi rule.

233 All cattle are fed in pasture (Plate 23); only older calves and sick animals are fed in the stable. During the night the cattle are kept within the inner fence of the homestead. As soon as they have been cleaned after sunrise in the morning and the cows have been milked, the herd is driven to pasture (kwahura inka). The location of grazing land is determined by the season and the growth of fodder. The herd remains there until evening. Every sixth or eighth head of cattle carries a bell (insogera) made from a bent piece of sheet iron (Plate 45) or from wood; in many areas, however, there are no cattle bells at all. Twice daily the herd is driven to the water-
233 ing place in the nearest river valley. If the valley has no
312 flowing water but only underground water to be obtained by digging holes, as is often the case during the dry months, long

233 troughs of clay are constructed near the water holds into which
[312] the drinking water is scooped. As in our Alps, the hill slopes bear the imprint of the hooves of the cattle in the form of innumerable little steps and paths since the grazing cattle will usually move along the slope in a horizontal direction which is more comfortable for grazing.

In the months after the rains the cattle can gorge themselves on green grass and they then look quite attractive, but during the dry months when all the grass is parched to a gray-brown color, the cattle become so lean that one can count all their ribs. In Urundi during the months of September and October I have seen, almost without exception, cattle which were very emaciated. Only the herds of the chiefs preserve their healthy appearance in the dry period since the best grazing land is reserved for them. The general impression is that both
[137] in Urundi and Ruanda, which are both almost exclusively grasslands, good nourishing pastures are not very extensive. It is possible to wander for days over chains of hills and plains in the sterile, thinly populated quartzite areas of the east where the growth of grass is so poor that it is not worthwhile for the natives to burn it. Since the hill ridges and the valleys in the
[311] populated areas of central and western Urundi are covered with homesteads and fields, insofar as the valleys are not filled with papyrus swamps, in general only the hill slopes for pastures. However, since every year the dry expanse of grass on them is burned off in order to obtain a new growth of green grass as soon as possible and to destroy the vermin noxious to cattle, the quality, the food value, of the grass [43] cannot improve. Also, if the herds multiply greatly, as in the northwestern areas of Urundi and in most of Ruanda, the pastures are soon over-
[246] stocked. The Batussi and Bahutu do not grow any fodder with a high food value which could compensate for the lack of good grazing land. As a result most cattle suffer from malnutrition, and if then a contagious disease is brought into the country or if it is caused in the area itself through infectious vermin, etc., the animals with low resistance succumb to it in great numbers. The available grazing land is then sufficient for the

233 surviving animals for a long time to come, until the herds once more have become too large, the animals once more cannot find enough to eat, and natural selection by epidemics starts once again. This situation will not improve until Europeans introduce rational methods of stock breeding.

The animals are conscientiously cared for every day. Every night fresh litter is provided in the pens for the herds returning from the pasture. The animals are scrubbed clean with straw whisks and searched for ticks and other parasites which may have attached themselves to the animals. The udders are washed each time after milking. While the cattle are standing in the kraals or drinking from the troughs, they are bothered by stinging flies; human beings, too, are attacked by these bloodthirsty tormentors. For this reason fires are kept burning in the kraals and near the watering places, the smoke driving away the flies. Such pillars of smoke can be seen rising from the farms everywhere in the morning and evening. From time to time the animals are given saliferous ashes to lick. Even in the pastures the herdsman is constantly occupied with his herd. He is able to give it all kinds of orders by shrill whistling. As a result of good treatment, the animals are in most cases very good-natured; they do not kick, and they keep still when something is being done to them. In the latter case one of the herdsmen usually uses his stick or reed to stroke the animal gently between the upper part of the hind legs. Despite their long horns, the animals also cause much less damage among themselves than one might expect. Even if they are crowded together when driven to or from the pasture, a constant muffled rattling and clanking of the colliding horns can be heard -- the characteristic sound of a moving Urundi herd -- but it is extremely seldom that the animals injure each
232 other. In case an animal is seriously injured or becomes sick and the owner himself is unable to help which, however, he is usually able to do -- a Mutussi or Muhutu who is skilled in medicine is called to act as a veterinarian. For his help he
232 is paid very well (Plate 25a). The Batussi, like all Africans,
731 are quite powerless against epidemics, especially rinderpest,

232 and as a result the devastations caused among the cattle by a
731 single epidemic are terrible. Thus, the rinderpest that ravaged the entire interlacustrine region, as well as Uganda and Unjoro, in 1888 killed two thirds of all the cattle, and since the Bahima live mainly on milk, blood, and meat, it is reported that almost two thirds of the Bahima also died of hunger (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 626).

Although the Barundi take good care of their cattle, they
232 cannot really be called good cattle breeders, as is sometimes done. The same is true for the Banjaruanda. The livestock suffers from an insufficient supply of new blood, that is, from the centuries-old inbreeding. It is true that the Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda, always select the breeding steers from a different herd in order to prevent degeneration, but there is still only variation within the same long-horned strain of cattle [44] and the blood is not freshened up by other breeds. Since also most of the bulls are not castrated, although castration is known and a special term exists for it (kuschahura), there are often weak bulls in the herds which cause the breed to deteriorate. The improvement of the breeds is not helped either by the fact that, as a result of the growing demand for cattle hides by traders, more bulls are raised which in former times used to be slaughtered or sacrificed when they were still young. Degeneration is especially apparent from the fact that there are a great number of sterile cows, both in Urundi and Ruanda. They can be immediately recognized in a herd since they have the longest horns. It almost appears as if the excess of strength which has not been spent on reproduction is channeled into making the horns grow to a gigantic size. Both in Urundi and Ruanda only the herds of the kings and of the high batwale are in really good condition as a result of constant selection and exchange. There are white, brown, and dappled herds. However, these are deluxe herds and not representative of the general run.
232 The designation, "holy cattle," which is often heard applied
778 to the king's herds, is as incorrect as it is when applied to the herds of the Musinga [king] of Ruanda. It is also erroneous in that not even the animals destined for sacrifice are taken from these herds. On the other hand there are holy cattle kept

232 especially for sacrifice and for their function at the election
778 of the king, and there are others dedicated to one of the principal gods, Imana, Riangombe, Rikiranga (see p. [illegible], also p. 184 of original text [not translated]).

When a calf is born, it is rubbed with butter. As soon
233 as the horns appear, the owner tears off the covering epidermis with his teeth and rubs the little horns with butter so as to make them grow well. The calf is then given a name which is de-
[552] termined by its parentage, color, or some other characteristic, or in memory of some deceased member of the family, a chief, king, etc. The calves are put in the pen for six months before being sent to pasture, and after that the young cattle graze in a separate pasture. In the morning and in the evening, before the milking of the cows, the calves are permitted to suck. If a cow refuses to suckle her calf, both her udder and the calf are rubbed with salt water, whereupon the cow will lick the calf and will also allow it to lick and to suck her udder. In order to wean a calf, the cow's teats are smeared with cow dung (No. 19, p. 423).

234 Before a cow is milked (kukamma), the calf is permitted to suck for a few moments. Then the Murundi squats down near the udder, holding a vessel under it with his left hand and milking with his right hand. In this process a considerable amount of milk (amata) is spilled on the ground since the vessel has a narrow opening. An unruly cow or one that kicks has her legs tied together while being milked. If the calf dies or is slaughtered, the cow gives no more milk. In this case, to make her continue to produce milk, the skin of her calf stuffed with straw or simply a piece of the hide suspended on a stick is held in front of her nose (No. 22, p. 287; No. 48, p. 141; No. 27, p. 95). This is also true in Ruanda, Ankole, and the other Bahima regions. This artless yet useful deception usually tricks the cows, and they lick the hide and continue to give milk. The amount of milk produced by the long-horned cattle is quite small all over the interlacustrine region. It is seldom more than two to three liters daily, in
234 the morning and in the evening. The milk pails (itschjansi)
415 are always made of wood; in most cases they have a cylindrical shape and a rounded lid. Van der Burgt claims that [45] this

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle;
302 it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi
[262] eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororó, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, espe-
272 cially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

2: Meyer--66A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 10. Arrow for Bleeding of Cattle.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6546.)

272 jugular vein from a short distance, whereupon the blood spurts out swiftly. The arrow falls off immediately, and the blood is then caught in an earthenware pot. After two to four liters have been collected, the wound closes by itself. Part of the 262 warm blood is immediately drunk; the remaining larger part is boiled on the fire until it becomes solid, as in our black pudding. Then salt, beans, peas, and other ingredients are added, and the tasty meal (ikiremve) is eaten greedily (No. 19, p. 424).

Obviously, beef (injama) is eaten much more rarely. Since cattle are not regarded as food but as capital, there is beef to eat only when an animal has fallen or if it is killed for a sacrifice (cf. p. 136). Only the chiefs can indulge in the luxury of killing an animal for food from time to time. In this case almost always old steers or sterile cows are chosen. Cows that give milk or [46] breeding animals are never killed. The same is true for all Bahima people from Ankole (No. 26, p. 146) to Ufipa. The Bahutu, especially those on Lake Tanganyika, sometimes eat mutton and goat meat, although rarely; the Batwa also eat antelopes, gazelles, francolins, guinea fowl, ducks, etc., but neither they nor the Batussi or Bahutu will eat chicken (No. 19, p. 396). Beef is either eaten 252 raw, still warm if possible, or it is pierced with a wooden spit and roasted over the fire. It is cooked only very rarely. 439 Europeans, who are accustomed to eating meat, are able to buy 431 only sterile cows or defective steers when traveling through Urundi and Ruanda. Sometimes they receive them as a gift from the host. Even then the rules of custom require that the host or the person who sold the animal receives in return a hind leg, the skin, and horns: the leg for food, the horns as a cult object for the hut, and the skin as a bed cover or for making clothes -- especially for women and Batwa -- or to be sold to the trader.

439 According to all experience it is impossible to export live cattle in great numbers because they soon perish after leaving the highlands as a result of the change of fodder, the tsetse fly, and other infections which unfortunately are prevalent in East Africa. At present quite a large number of dried cattle hides

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
231 imp[illegible]d by the Batussi that especially close connections exist
776 between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

576 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is
231 possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting"
[171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

Second only to cattle, sheep (intama; Plate 24a) are con-
231 sidered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised
[281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi
[262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (impene) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have
[262] to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but
[231] goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade. [439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the [262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior [782] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453). [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by 262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 753 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom: when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

235 from doing this again. Barundi passing this way take pains not
753 to crush the shells since the improvident person doing so would get sick (No. 19, p. 453).

231 Finally, among the domesticated animals we shall mention the dog (imbwa). His only purpose in life is to eat all the refuse. Adults and children play with him and also maltreat him. It has already been mentioned above (p.36) that on rare occasions he is also used for hunting drives. Both mentally and physically they are most miserable curs and it is difficult to understand why, after being domesticated for so long, they have not made better progress. Perhaps their domestication does not date back as far as is generally assumed, but in that case what might be their indigenous wild ancestor? Van der Burgt says that they "tiennent du loup" (resemble the wolf) (No. 19, p. 104). This can only be an error of observation for these dogs have much more in common with a jackal than with a wolf. Perhaps the jackal is the ancestor. Yet the original stock has separated into two different breeds, unless we assume that one breed was indigenous while the other was introduced later, probably by the Bahima. One breed is yellow-brown, and its ears are pointed upright. The other one is black, white, or spotted and has drooping ears. Mixed types, however, are quite frequent. Both types have only a little hair on their tails. When they run, the stiff, jolting motions of their legs are conspicuous. I have found the same two types or varieties distributed also in Kisiba and Ruanda. In Ruanda dogs are bred in greater numbers than in Urundi, probably because they are used for hunting more than here. Since dogs are not fed, they have to take care of themselves, and of necessity they have become omnivorous. They are always hungry and very skinny. Whenever they find something to eat, they fill themselves until they are ready to burst. What Europeans find most revolting about them and the
364 Barundi consider a useful trait is that they eat human excrement. In a country where there are no pigs and only a few scavenger birds, which take care of the sanitation problem in the rest of East Africa, the dogs are of hygienic importance. Apart from this they have absolutely no social virtues. They are snappish, cowardly, thievish, very poor watchdogs, and miserable

231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi
241 and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and
[462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka,
412 241 igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine
[434] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and
[439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

412 acute angle joins it to a wooden handle whose club-shaped end
241 has a hole for this purpose, made with red-hot iron. In most cases the handle is so short (about three quarters of a meter) that the person using it in the fields always has to stoop quite low. Usually only the right hand is used for gripping the hoe while loosened stones, weeds, and the produce of the field are collected with the left hand. Hoes with handles as long as one and a quarter meter are also used, however. In northern Ruanda and on Lake Kivu such long-handled hoes predominate. Both hands are used to grip them, and they do not require one to work in such a stooped position as do those with shorter handles.

For digging holes to sow beans, peas, corn, and other produce, a piece of broken-off reed or wood is used at times. This piece, however, does not thereby become a permanent implement, that is, a "digging stick"; holes in the soft soil are mostly dug with the fingers. On the other hand, the short hatchet (ischenjo), shaped like a segment of a circle, is a permanent piece of equipment used for clearing the ground of underbrush. The same is true of the bent hewing knife (umuhoro;
[171] see Plate 46), characteristic of the interlacustrine region, which appears in the hand of the old Egyptian harvest god. It is also used here as a harvest knife, besides having many other uses.

241 Thus, the farming techniques of the Barundi are merely hoe-culture, and the produce of their fields only hoe-products [as contrasted to plow-culture and its products]. Bananas and beans are the main agricultural produce. Bananas thrive everywhere, but they grow well only up to an altitude of approximately 2,000 meters. Beans grow in somewhat higher altitudes. Finally, peas are entirely absent in the lowland, but they are quite frequent in the higher regions of central Urundi. They are the sole agricultural product found in the areas of greatest elevation. Corn is widely grown in the Tanganyika region and in the valley of the Ruzizi, but it is found in the interior areas to a much smaller extent than is generally assumed. In the dry eastern part of Urundi where bananas become scarce, corn, interspersed with beans, is often cultivated on artifically irrigated valley floors. Peanuts are also abundant in the Ruzizi and Tanganyika areas, but in the highlands of the interior they are only sparsely

241 distributed. Wherever water is plentiful, one will find sweet potatoes; therefore there are few in the highland of the interior and only in the valley bottoms. Yams are grown very rarely. Manioc, however, which requires a certain amount of dryness and warmth is widely distributed in the lowlands and in the dry quartzite areas of the east. In the mountains of the west it is found only in the lower, warmer regions. Sorghum is found all over Urundi, although nowhere in large amounts; its main growing areas are the drier quartzite regions of eastern Urundi. Eleusine [a kind of millet] is found only in small quantities, and mostly at high altitudes. A little rice is grown [50] but only on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. It is cultivated by non-Barundi who imported it from the east; the Barundi themselves are not familiar with the cultivation of rice. Tobacco is cultivated everywhere in Urundi but merely as a form of primitive horticulture near the huts. The same is true for the castor-oil plant. Finally, the oil palm grows only on the shores of Lake Tanganyika and on the slopes of the peripheral mountains on the western side toward the lake.

Let us now take a closer look at the most important cultivated plants and at the methods of growing them.

Several varieties of banana (ikitoke) are cultivated both
245 in Urundi and in Ruanda. Fifteen types can be distinguished in Urundi. Their flavor and the uses to which they are put differ widely. It is an open question whether there are wild varieties (musa ensete) in the mountains. In any case, out in the wild bush country I have often seen bananas which may have reverted to the wild state. According to the Barundi, their fruit is unpalatable, and they are called ikiribu. Van der Burgt has found them in northern Urundi near the mission at Mariensee. Wherever in East Africa bananas are cultivated as the main means of subsistence, a characteristic fact about their cultivation makes those tribes who plant them unusually sedentary. This fact is that the banana plant reproduces by means of runners or multiplies from shoots which cannot be taken far away, and once a banana grove has been planted around a farmstead it survives a long time. On the other hand, the fact that banana

245 cultivation requires hardly any work at all engenders laziness among those tribes who live almost entirely on bananas, as, for instance, the peoples living in the areas around Lake Victoria. Cultural progress through work is forced upon the population in this area only by their chiefs (Kahigi, Mugaráwua, and others) who are members of Hamitic Bahinda families. However, in Urundi and Ruanda the climate and topography of the area force the people to grow not only bananas but a whole series of other agricultural produce which the soil yields only after hard work with the hoe. There the limited banana cultivation cannot induce the same indolence among the people. However, when comparing the neglected banana plantations with the fields of other produce, it becomes evident that the former will thrive without much care. After the bunches of bananas have been gathered, the trunk withers yet it is left to stand there for quite a long time. The large dried leaves droop down, and weeds are removed only if they become too dense. Often no effort is made to plant young shoots, and the new striplings simply are left to grow from the rootstock. Subsequently, all of them are cut except one or two which are left for further growth. Sometimes all of them are left. For this reason the banana trees in a plantation do not grow singly, as is always the case on the coast, for instance, where reproduction and the increase in number of the plants are always effected by planting young striplings. Here, bananas grow from trunks which, in bundles of four, six, or ten, have shot from the same rootstock. Frequently, cultivated plants that are not too tall and can stand the shade are grown between the bananas such as sweet potatoes, pumpkins, beans, corn, and sorghum.

Bananas thrive best on soil which is quite moist while the plant is still growing but dry while the fruit appears and ripens. In areas where rain is plentiful, as in mountainous western Urundi, banana groves are not restricted to certain places, while in eastern Urundi with its drier climate they either nestle in the valleys so as to get sufficient water or they are [312] found in more exposed places where water has to be piped artificially through long ducts.

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is [252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are [262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to [273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as [231] vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work, and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for wrapping various objects, etc.

244 Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all. Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and 2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping, and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a, p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans. They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

244 there are about half a dozen varieties of the type Pisum sativum. One with a bluish fruit is supposed to have been imported by the Batussi from their original home in the lands of the Galla (No. 19, p. 283). Stuhlmann, however, assumes that the pea, which in East Africa is grown only in the highlands of the lake region, was introduced by the Portuguese from the south and spread north across the highlands (No. 28a, p. 225). In the upper mountainous areas of Urundi peas are the only cultivated plant. As on the high volcanoes of Ruanda, on the [262] peripheral mountains of Lake Kivu, and in the Ruzizi graben, many thousand natives in the high peripheral mountains of northwest and western Urundi, up to an altitude of almost 3,000 meters, live almost exclusively on peas. Wherever the [311] magnificent, old, virgin forest in these regions up to the watersheds is destroyed by ax and fire, it makes room almost without exception for pea fields. In the rich humus of the forest soil, the peas thrive exceptionally well, of course. As the destruction of the forests proceeds, so does the expansion of pea fields. What a miserable substitute for the wonderful and economically much more valuable forest which in the existing climate could never be restored to its former size, even if this were attempted.

Beans and peas are left to ripen fully on the "stalk." Only when the plants have withered so completely that the fruit is about to fall off by itself are they torn out and piled up in the kraals. Then they are spread out on the roofs of the huts and finally threshed with switches. The straw [52] that is not used for litter is distributed on the fields in numerous single piles, like our haycocks, and then burned so that the ashes will fertilize the soil.

Peanuts (itschjoba) and corn (ikigori) are sown in the same 243 manner as beans, by sticking them into holes. The peanuts are 244 first taken out their shells, and the corn kernels are left in water for a day to make them swell. There seem to be three types of peanuts which are differentiated as itschjoba, itschjema, and itschjansa. None of them is used for making oil. They are only [252] eaten as a dessert and delicacy, either raw or roasted in ashes (No. 19, p. 41).

243 There are at least half a dozen different varieties of corn (ikigori). In regions where the soil can easily be irrigated, corn is often sown three times a year, and relatively large stocks of it are always kept in the granaries. The ears are cut from the stalk. As long as they are still juicy and sweet, they are either [252] eaten raw or roasted in ashes, but for the most part the ripened kernels are ground into flour and made into a kind of polenta [372] [Italian dish]. The straw is used for fuel.

244 Yams (igname), arrowroot (amateke), and sweet potatoes (ikisumbu) are planted by sticking the tubers into the ground, and a little topsoil is heaped over them. Sweet potatoes, of which there are about half a dozen varieties (No. 19, p. 424), and arrowroot need much water for the first period of growth. For this reason they are mostly grown in the valley bottoms where they can be artificially irrigated (Plate 22b). When ripe, they are dug up with a hoe in the same manner as our potatoes; the tubers or rootstocks are removed and cooked or roasted in ashes.

245 Manioc (umumbati), however, is cultivated by shoots which are broken off from the juicy manioc shrubs and then planted in rows with a little topsoil heaped over them. After that the plant grows without any further care. It is the most undemanding of all the cultivated plants of East Africa, and for this reason it is found all over Urundi, especially in the eastern quartzite regions. At least six varieties are distinguished, 252 none of which is so poisonous as to require cooking or fermentation in order to become palatable, as do some other varieties in East Africa. It is eaten raw, cooked, dried, ground up as flour, in the form of dumplings, etc. The leaves are boiled as a vegetable.

243 Sorghum (isakka) plays a much less important role in Urundi than in Ruanda where it ranks first among cultivated plants, even before bananas. Uha, too, produces more sorghum than anything else and supplies the Barundi with it in times of scarcity. Nevertheless, sorghum occurs in Urundi in some twenty named varieties of the white and red types (No. 19, p. 544). When sorghum is sown, the soil is simply turned over with a hoe; in most cases no furrows are drawn. The grains

243 are then scattered from the swinging hand onto the level ground, after which some soil is sprinkled on the seed by hand. Eleusine (uwuro) is sown in the same manner. The ripe ears of these two types of millet are each individually cut from the stalks with a knife. This is also the method used for corn and rice. Then the ears are spread on the firm ground in front of the huts and threshed with switches. Some of the sorghum [252] is ground into flour, but most of it is used for brewing beer. [273] Eleusine is mainly ground into flour from which the daily ugali mush (umudsima) is made.

The Barundi grow tobacco (itabi) in small quantities near 249 almost every homestead, as has been mentioned above. The delicate plant is cared for so poorly, however, that it yields a mediocre product. Uvira tobacco, which is traded in considerable amounts in the Tanganyika area, is of much better quality. [53] The Barundi put the tobacco seeds into small holes dug into the soil with a hoe. The young seedlings are not transplanted, but the Barundi clear and irrigate the surrounding soil from time to time. As soon as the plant begins to blossom (red, not white), the leaves are picked off and strung up on bast strings to dry in the sun. Then, for fermentation and storage, they are wrapped in dry banana leaves. In spite of its terrible appearance, 276 the tobacco does not have a bad aroma, but it is so strong that even the Barundi seldom smoke it. In most cases it is smoked only by old men and women. The others are all inveterate snuff-takers (see p.59), whereas in Ruanda tobacco is only rarely taken as snuff but is smoked in considerable amounts.

[824] Tobacco is regarded by the Barundi in the same way as all narcotics are regarded by primitive peoples: as possessing [758] mysterious powers. From this originates the custom of stuffing a pinch of snuff up the nose of a person who has fainted. Also, the young bridegroom blows tobacco smoke at his wife, and so forth (No. 19, p. 557).

244 Several kinds of pumpkins (imboga) are likewise grown merely as garden produce or interspersed among bananas or sorghum, in particular a variety which is round and as big as a head, and another smaller variety that looks almost like a

244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.

The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000 to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with 300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness. For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can be made (see above, pp. 24, 31). This tree is really planted and cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The majority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil
388 for making soap; [54] only the people of the Tanganyika area
177 have learned from the Arabs and Wasuaheli how to mix oil with potash to make soap (kifefe) which is traded in fist-sized balls.

Apart from the cultivated plants mentioned above, the
222 Barundi and their women and children collect a number of wild
262 plants or parts of these plants to be used as food or condiments. There are, for instance, the stinging nettle, whose leaves are boiled as "spinach," and sorrel, also cooked as a vegetable. The fruit of the eggplant (Solanum esculentum) -- reverted to the wild state? -- is eaten raw or roasted. They also collect edible mushrooms which are eaten either raw or cooked, red pepper
[268] (intore) whose pods are used for seasoning, and various berries eaten as delicacies by women and children, especially blackberries which are abundant everywhere.

The location and arrangement of the fields (umurima)
241 in Urundi does not differ much from Ruanda. One thing that soon strikes the observer is that in Urundi, with the exception of the western mountain areas, terraced fields are much more rare than in Ruanda where they cover entire mountain slopes and constitute the characteristics appearance of the cultivated areas. In Urundi the fields extend predominantly over level ground, either on the broad ridges and plateaus or at the bottom of the valleys. They are always close to the huts and, of course, to water. No furrows are drawn on most fields; their surface is merely loosened with a hoe. In the case of freshly cleared land, the pulled grass and shrubs are piled up in the field, left to dry, and burned. Then the ashes, as fertilizer, are worked into the ground with the hoe. A similar method is used at the edge of papyrus swamps. After the water level has receded, the papyrus thicket is cut down over the whole extent of the extremely fertile alluvial land whose surface has dried. The hacked-off papyrus fronds are burned as soon as they have dried out (Plate 22a). Then the roots are dug up, narrow drainage ditches are dug, and the plant ash is spread over the field as fertilizer. Finally sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and beans are planted in the little holes which have been dug. They come up quickly. If land is cleared on a hill slope, the fields are laid out in long narrow strips which follow the contour horizontally. These are made as level as

241 possible by removing soil from farther up the hill and heaping it farther down. Thus, if there are several strips of land situated one above the other on a hillside, they are arranged in terraces. Each field is separated from the one below by a narrow grass-covered ridge in the same manner as in Ruanda. Stones piled up to form such a ridge are seen only rarely. A few broad furrows are drawn through these terrace fields so as to prevent the soil from being washed away by heavy rains. However, on the valley floors and on the artificially irrigated plains the fields are arranged in the form of elevated plots between which water may flow freely.

Since the hoes used in the fields do not penetrate very far into the soil, the clearing of the land, sowing, and planting do not extend very far below the surface. Hence, the uppermost topsoil is continuously used and is soon exhausted and "impoverished." In order to retard this process or to prevent it entirely, the Barundi use fertilizer, as has already been mentioned. This is not found very frequently in East African agriculture. As fertilizer, they use either animal manure (ikiragiriro) from cattle, goats, sheep, and chickens, or the ashes of burnt plants (amase) from the hearth and from the roots of grass or papyrus which they have dug up, or green fertilizer (chopped pieces of the banana trunk, sorghum stalks), or kitchen refuse, sweepings, etc. [55] These fertilizers are distributed evenly over the fields and sometimes raked into the soil somewhat, usually shortly before the rainy season.

As soon as the first rains come, men, women, and children begin to cultivate the fields. The various plants are sown throughout the rainy season, that is, from September or October until March or April: first, beans, peas, and corn; sorghum and eleusine next; then the tuberous plants. Fresh beans and young corn are available in November, but the main harvest (bananas, sorghum, eleusine) takes place in June. The dry period extends from June until September or October. It is a period of rest for most fields. However, in river and stream valleys, in the lowlands where water is available, and even on many hill slopes, the fields are tilled and planted and crops are harvested during the

241 entire year. Even during the driest months bananas, beans, corn, sweet potatoes, and pumpkins grow there.

241 312 This is made possible only by artificial irrigation (uwutotsi) which the Barundi have brought to a stage of development and apply in a manner similar to the Banjaruanda. In the valley plains and on the river bottoms, water is channeled from the main stream through a whole network of larger and smaller canals and ditches and distributed over the area. Here the innumerable plots of arable ground rise above the ditches like high beds (Plate 22b). In order to irrigate the fields on the hillsides as well, the upper course of the stream is dammed up with earth and latticework so as to form a pool. From there the water is led along the mountain slopes through a ditch, which is often several kilometers long, until the desired destination is reached. Small channels lead off from this main artery at various intervals and irrigate numerous fields on the hillsides. Once a field has received enough water, the ditch leading to it is dammed up. The last fields receive only a little water because the supply has been exhausted along the route. It is amazing with what understanding of the velocity and pressure of the water the ditches have been leveled, dammed up, and conducted along the valley slopes with all their indentations and salients. If the slope is interrupted by a gully that also interrupts the course of the irrigation ditch, a long tree trunk, often brought from a long distance, is placed horizontally across the gully. Its upper side is hollowed out to form a groove through which the water may flow. There are tree viaducts of this type 30 to 40 meters long (No. 19, p. 50). The construction of such an irrigation network is the joint enterprise of the men. Each is entitled to his share of water. The equitable distribution of the water is regulated and supervised by the mutwale of the district.

I have seen a similar carefully and painstakingly constructed irrigation network -- which would do credit to any European horticulturist -- only among the Wadschagga of Kilimanjaro. It must be said, however, that the artificial irrigation in some areas of Usambara, Uluguru, Ussagara, and several other mountain regions is not much inferior to that mentioned above.

241 In spite of all this, the Barundi do not grow more crops
433 than they need for their subsistence during the year. The soil
[134] is, for the most part, fertile red earth and, in the valley plains, dark gray alluvial soil or humus, except in the sterile and stony quartzite regions of the east. With or without artificial irrigation, this soil could produce much more if a larger area were cultivated. This is prevented mainly by the absence of trade. [56] Since there are neither markets nor organized trade in the large area of central Urundi -- only the Tanganyika region possesses both -- the Murundi could do nothing with what he produced beyond his own needs. Moreover, the Murundi does not anticipate bad harvests. Like nearly all Negroes, he never
731 worries about the future. Since not even the hardy manioc (which, even in the driest years when everything else withers, still furnishes a good yield) is grown in large quantities, extensive areas are plagued by famine in poor harvest years. This is especially true of the arid quartzite regions of eastern Urundi.
[797] Then the missionary stations (Mugera, Mujaga, and others) and the government try to help by importing grain (sorghum) from Uha and Usámbiro, but they still cannot prevent many people, particularly children, from starving to death.

Another important reason that prevents further expansion
241 of agriculture can be found in the way land is owned, in the
423 overruling power of the Batussi who claim, above all, grazing land for their herds of cattle. We shall discuss this problem later (p. 57).

Various efforts are made to protect the growing crops
241 against pests. Weeds are cleared away; caterpillars, beetles,
136 and snails are picked off; birds are frightened away by scarecrows which, for example, are made of gallows-shaped sorghum stalks tied one upon the other with dry, rattling fruit suspended from them. Large animals, however, like the wild boars and baboons in the mountains of western Urundi, are either kept out by fences or chased away by watchmen who walk around in the daytime and at night take up their positions in small huts perched on high posts. From there the guards from time to time set up a loud shouting or rattle with sticks. In the valleys of western

241 Urundi and Ruanda where water is abundant, crowned cranes,
136 spore geese, and Nile geese are the worst enemies of the crops since they eat the young budding sprouts of beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, millet, etc. The Bahutu try to frighten them away by rattles and shouting. Ibises, herons, and golden plovers also abound in the swamp valleys, but they do not attack the green crops and prefer to fish for frogs, worms, and snails in the drainage ditches. In the dry quartzite regions of eastern Urundi there are only a few such swamp valleys, and consequently there are only a few of the noxious birds mentioned above.

251 Harvested produce is partly kept in baskets and sacks in the huts, but most of it is put in the basket-shaped storage huts mentioned above (p. 22) which are located near the living huts. Particularly beans, sorghum, and corn are stored in these basket-like huts. However, during the dry period ears of corn are suspended in large bundles from the fig trees surrounding the homestead. The tuberous fruit, namely, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and arrowroot, are usually not piled up but are left in the ground until they are needed. This is another reason why the quantity grown is never large, since it would spoil otherwise.

423 I mentioned before that further expansion of agriculture in Urundi is blocked by the peculiar conditions of ownership. The situation here is quite similar to that in Ruanda. None of the agricultural Bahutu owns the land that he cultivates. All the land is the property of the king who vests his high batwale with it, who in turn vest the lower Batussi batwale (see p. 134). The mutwale distributes the individual lots of land to the Bahutu he rules, who hold it in fee. [57] The Bahutu must ask his per-
423 mission whenever they intend to work a plot of land, build a hut,
65/ or clear new ground for fields. They pay him a tribute of natural products which is done only once. In addition, they pay him an
[427] annual "tithe" as a ground rent. If the annual rent is not paid at harvest time, the mutwale may punish this tardiness by evicting the person from the land. The mutwale may also demand extraordinary tributes from the Bahutu without compensating them, for example, presents for the head chief, provisions for the caravan of a European passing through, etc. The gifts or payments made

423 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale:
651 Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the people?] !

311 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is
578 not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and against agriculture, will continue even when this big country is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of
000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at present, since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agricultural production and to sell more. These difficulties will only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions relating to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concentrated fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily upon these areas and retarding their development: the rule of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is necessary than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall
782 mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it (No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

241 beginning of the cultivation of the fields as soon as the rainy
782 season has started. This is done after he and his sorcerers (abafumu) have practiced a number of ceremonies and have
[776] offered sacrifices to the principal god, Imana, the fertility god. The order of the head chief is passed on by the subchief to the lower batwale who again pass it on to the Bahutu. The Bahutu also offer small gifts to the god. When they begin to till the field, a sorcerer (umufumu) dances in front of them on the first day, shouting and gesticulating, to banish the evil spirits and to bless the seed.

241 According to Father Gassldinger the consecration of the
782 fields takes a somewhat different form in central Urundi
796 (Mujaga). At the beginning of the rainy season, after the high grass has been cut down and dug into the topsoil with hoes, work is started with a ceremony that is supposed to bring the blessing of Kiranga. [58] The men, painted yellow and red, line up with their hoes on the field which is to be tilled. Kiranga with two escorts (ivisjego) sits on the side of the field. A girl who is painted and richly adorned stands in front of the men in the center of the field. She now begins to jump, dance, and sing while cutting the high grass with her sickle. Still singing, she asks Kiranga for a successful sowing and curses the sorcerers and witches who might want to harm the field. The men promise her ample gifts of beer for the summer. The men walk slowly behind her turning the soil over with their hoes which they strike rhythmically into the ground. Depending on the type of seed, Kiranga is invoked by a particular name: Njamurimi when sorghum is sown, Njabaschi for peanuts, Rumambo for corn, etc. (No. 45, p. 316).

782 The heir presumptive to the throne of the king is believed
241 to hold in his clenched fist at birth a grain of seed of each of the
[449] crops of Urundi. If the corn or sorghum in a field has been dashed to the ground by hail or a cloudburst, the Muhutu who cultivated the plot runs around the field with a cattle bell, and by its noisy clanging he reminds the god to whom he has made sacrifices of his duty to protect the field from evil spirits. If this clanging of the bell is done properly, the crops lying on the ground will raise themselves to an upright position.

4. Stimulants

276 The Murundi knows only two narcotics: tobacco and alcohol (beer). The method of cultivating tobacco (itabi) has already been discussed on page 53 . It has also been mentioned that the Barundi, except for old men and women (including the Batwa), do not smoke much tobacco while all of them are inveterate snuff-takers. Their neighbors, the Banjaruanda, as well as the Baganda and Banjoro, are habitual smokers but do not take snuff. This is true of both men and women. This striking difference between them and the Barundi is probably based on the quality of Urundi tobacco which, as a result of insufficient care, is very strong. Wherever tobacco pipes are seen among the Barundi [Fig. 11 appears here in the original text] -- which is mainly in the north and especially in the northwest -- their shapes are the same as those of the Banjaruanda, and the Batwa make them out of black clay in the same manner as in Ruanda (Plate 49 and Fig. 11). The pipe stem is a piece of reed. On Lake Tanganyika [59] water pipes are also used. [177] They are made of a calabash with a clay pipe bowl inserted at the side and have been taken over from the Wawira of the Congo.

Taking snuff (kusomera), on the other hand, is so popular among all Barundi, men, women and half-grown children as to constitute almost a national pastime or "national vice" (Plate 28). If only it were not such an unappetizing habit! Theirs is not the relaxed, almost graceful snuffing, so full of feeling, that one may observe among the Wadschagga of the Kilimanjaro region. Among the latter tribe a little finely ground tobacco powder is poured onto the back of the hand from a small box embroidered with pearls and then gently inhaled with the nose as though they were smelling a flower. The Murundi takes his snuff in the following manner. First of all, he uses three little instruments: a small goat's horn which is the tobacco container (ihembe) and is carried over the shoulder on a string; a wooden bowl for moistening the tobacco (Fig. 12), and a little nose clamp (umunengo) made from a small cleft piece of wood which

[Text continues on page 89]

2: Meyer--88A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 11. Double Tobacco Pipes of Black Clay, probably for Votive Offerings.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6595, 6596.)

276 has approximately the shape of a [Fig. 12 appears here in the original text] clothespin and is suspended from the neck on a string (Fig. 13). In order to take the snuff, the [Fig. 13 appears here in the original text] Murundi first pours some tobacco from the horn into the wooden bowl. He adds a little water and stirs the mixture until the water has turned into a brownish-green tobacco juice. Then he pours this sauce into the hollow of his hand and draws it in through his nostrils with an ecstatic grunt. All this is usually done in a sitting or squatting position (see Plate 28b). Since the juice would, of course, run out of his nose immediately, the already described nose clamp is pushed over the nostrils or the nose is blocked by gripping it between the index finger and the thumb. The pinch of snuff is considered good if it is sharp enough to bring tears to the snuff-taker's eyes. He will leave the stinging brew in his nose for three to five minutes or longer. Finally, when he has had enough of this pleasure, he bends forward, takes the clamp or his fingers from his nose and lets the slimy sauce drip to the ground. Any remainder is blown out of the nose with the fingers, and the fingers are wiped off on the bare legs. The entire procedure, which may be observed several dozen times each day, is so disgusting that it easily might cause one to be disenchanted with a sojourn among the Barundi if one did not remind himself that this is a subject for ethnological study which, as such, is beyond good and evil.

276 576 If one of the snuff-takers is suddenly overcome with the desire to sneeze, he quickly blows out all the juice, aiding the passage of it with his fingers; otherwise dire consequences would ensue. After he has sneezed, the bystanders wish him "kira" (bless you), whereupon he answers, "tukirane" (may things go well with us). Offering a pinch of snuff and accepting one which has been offered [60] are evidence of good breeding. Only the Batwa are never offered a pinch by the other Barundi, nor do they offer snuff to them (No. 19, p. 465).

273 Male and female Barundi of all tribal, status, and age groups are even more passionately addicted to alcohol in the form of beer (insoga). "If in general the Barundi are a sober

[Text continues on page 90]

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[415]

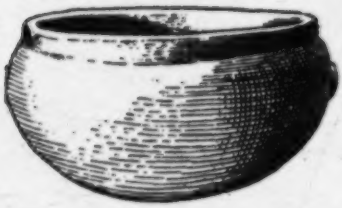

Fig. 12. Small Wooden Bowl for Moistening Snuff.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5277.)

[413]

Fig. 13. Wooden Nose Clamp for Snuff-takers.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5278.)

273 people, it is not out of virtue but simply because they do not have enough to eat and drink to satisfy their appetites. They could eat an ox at one sitting, and if they were given as much beer as they wanted, they would keep drinking from morning till night" (No. 19, p. 317). Drunkenness is not regarded as a shortcoming or a vice but as evidence of the prosperity or generosity of the host. After the millet and banana harvest, from July to September, is the time for brewing beer (kwenga insoga, kutoba), the period of gluttony and general drunkeness all over Urundi, and this continues until the provisions are exhausted. Often the last drop disppears down the gullet after not more than four weeks, and the thirsty souls have to remain
273 abstinent until the next harvest period. During the period of
574 carousal, singing and shouting can be heard issuing from most homesteads deep into the night, for there are no quiet and solitary drinkers. Drinking beer is always a social affair. One person after another invites friends and relatives to communal drinking bouts, and in this manner they make the rounds among all the families of friends, guzzling until nothing is left. In
[431] addition to this, pots filled with beer are given as presents or any suitable occasion, and then they are shared by receiver and donor together. Of course, beer is part of any kind of festive occasion which usually also includes dancing (see pp. 65, 125).
273 Since the banana beer, which is the most popular, is quite
579 potent and since, in addition, the Barundi are by nature easily
152 excited, the more advanced stages of such communal drinking bouts usually take a rather wild form. Quite regularly violent arguments ensue, and often fights result in which even lances are used, sometimes ending in manslaughter. In the latter case, the consequences for the families concerned are quite disastrous (see pp. 97, 105).

273 Significantly enough, beer-brewing among the Barundi
[462] is a task with which the women are charged. They are experts in this respect, but they also are hard drinkers. There are four different types of beer in Urundi. The most potent, popular, and widespread type is banana beer (insoga j'ivitoke). To

273 prepare it, green, unripe bananas are first ripened artificially in a kind of incubator. This is simply a pit which has been dug in firm ground. The bottom of it is covered with green banana leaves, the bundles of bananas are piled on top, and these are again covered with green banana leaves. Over all, dry banana leaves are heaped up and set on fire. As soon as they have started to burn, the whole thing is covered with twigs and earth. After four to five days the bananas are fully ripe. They are then taken out of the pit, peeled, and placed in a wooden trough. There they are mashed with the aid of clean bunches of grass which are held in the hand. Then water is poured on, and all the solid parts are fished out. The remaining juice is scooped into a large earthen pot with a pumpkin shell. A little sorghum flour is added to aid fermentation. After the liquid has been left to ferment for four to five days, the beer is poured into small jugs and is ready for drinking.

[61] Brewing millet beer (insoga j'impeke) is less complicated. However, this type of beer is less tasty and also less popular. Naturally it is predominantly produced in areas where more sorghum than bananas are grown, as, for instance, in eastern Urundi and in Uha. The brewing process is as follows. Red or white sorghum is left in cold water to swell and to germinate. After a few days the millet is poured into a basket, and after being left there to germinate a little more, it is dried in the sun and ground into flour. This flour is then poured into boiling water, and the mash is constantly stirred with a small piece of wood while cold water is gradually added. When the big pot is finally entirely filled with cold water, a little sour banana beer is added, and the mash is allowed to settle on the bottom of the vessel. The finished beer above it is then poured off into small pots. The beer always retains a somewhat floury color and teems with floating millet grains and seeds.

Without doubt, the European palate prefers the third kind of beer which might be called banana cider (umutobe). It is simply water mixed with the juice squeezed from ripe bananas which has fermented slightly. This beverage sparkles like champagne, has a bitter-sweet taste, is very refreshing, and is

273 easily digested. Barundi men scorn it because of its harmlessness, and it is left for the sick, the women, and the children, among whom it is very popular (No. 19, p. 74).

The fourth type of beer is honey beer (umutobe w'insuki). It resembles lemonade but is nevertheless somewhat alcoholic, so even men like to drink it. It consists of one fifth honey and four fifths water. This is boiled for a short time, and then it is poured into a different vessel and left standing near the fire for a few days without being allowed to boil. Finally it is placed under the open sun for an entire day so as to cause slight fermentation. This is also a tasty and wholesome beverage.

Honey beer and banana cider cannot be preserved for a long time; the latter will keep only for four to five days. For this reason both must be consumed quickly. The first two types mentioned, banana and sorghum beer, do not improve by aging either. They turn sour, the sooner the warmer the place is where they are kept. In mountain areas with a cold climate they will keep for five to six weeks, but in the much more extensive plateau lands they turn sour much sooner. For this reason alone the high time of general drinking is squeezed into the period of a few weeks which are enjoyed all the more strenuously. [Fig. 14 appears here in the original text.]

[62] The Barundi seldom drink beer directly from the pots or from open pumpkin bowls, as is the case among most other East African Negroes. Usually the beer is poured from the [264] pots into calabashes and then sucked out of these by means of straws or reeds (umukenke) in the same manner as we drink iced coffee. The Banjaruanda and Basiba use the same method. Also [484] on trips and marches they carry calabashes of beer with them, [415] together with the necessary tubes which are kept in plaited or carved cases (Fig. 14).

The real beer brewers in Urundi are the Bahutu women, as has already been mentioned, but as far as drinking is concerned, the Bahutu and the Batussi are of equal rank. Most of them are tremendous tipplers who consume 12 to 15 liters of beer a day. The Batwa, too, are hard drinkers if they have beer.

[Text continues on page 93]

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Fig. 14. Containers for Suction Tubes for Drinking Beer.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 4875, 6391, 6652.)

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children partici-
524 pate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e, the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

857 soldiers" ranks first among the children's games. [Fig. 15 appears
524 here in the original text.] As everywhere else the boys form two opposing armies, and then they try to outsmart each other by engaging in all kinds of maneuvers and attacking each other with bows and spears without, however, doing any harm to each other. These battle game is of a more serious nature: two groups arm themselves with corncobs or stones and keep bombarding each other until one party has suffered enough casualties and takes to flight. Single combat is taken even more seriously: two boys who have insulted and challenged each other beat away at one another with sticks until one of them runs away.

K. Weule discussed several toys used by Barundi children which are now on display in the Berlin Ethnological Museum (Ethnologisches Notizblatt [Ethnological Notes], Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 48-52). For toys, boys make small swords, bows, arrows, and spears of wood or reed. In the Tanganyika area where guns are known, they also make little rifles out of sorghum stalks or bamboo cane from which a wooden arrow is catapulted by a palm stalk acting as a spring (Fig. 15). The boys also make popguns out of cylindrical pieces of tree bark which is removed from the twig in one piece, in the same manner as European boys cut a whistle. Both openings are closed by a plug of wet bast, and then one plug is pushed [64] into the cylinder with a stick so that the other plug is forced out by the compressed air, giving a loud report.

A popular game in which adults also participate is hoop-throwing (ulubangwe). Two groups of players face each other and, by turns, throw a hoop which the opposite party is supposed to catch in the air. This is to be done neither with the hand nor a stick but by means of a piece of cord whose forward end is forked. Each end of this fork has an empty corncob fastened to it. The hoop must be caught in this end of the cord which is tossed toward it. The party who most often succeeds at this is pronounced the winner.

Small kites are made out of pieces of the very light pith of rushes which are held together by a small rod. The tail of the kite is made of a piece of barkcloth. These contraptions fly as

[Text continues on page 95]

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[63]

Fig. 15. Children's Toy: Reed Gun for Shooting Wooden Arrows.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6515.)

857 badly as the little kites made out of newspapers which European
524 children like to build (Weule, loc. cit., p. 51).

Boys and girls like to play at hiding nuts in the sand. This is quite similar to a game played by European children. Squatting on the ground, they make a little heap of sand, put a small nut inside, and divide the heap into five or six segments. The player who has scratched open the greatest number of segments before hitting on the nut is the winner.

The children make tops (irebe) out of a small pumpkin or the shell of a dry fruit which is pierced with a little stick. A bast string is wound around the stick and then quickly pulled by means of a cleft piece of wood held in the other hand. By piercing holes into the top, it is made to produce a buzzing sound (No. 19, p. 320 and Weule, loc. cit., p. 51).

The boys have stick-throwing contests. Each of them takes two sticks, and in turn they hurl their sticks, like spears, from the same place toward the same direction. Anyone whose stick is thrown farther than another stick is entitled to take the other stick and add it to his own collection. The player who ends up with the greatest number of sticks is the winner.

Balls for games are made of all kinds of elastic material. The children throw them to each other or hit them with a stick.

The game of hide-and-seek is also popular, of course. The child who has been discovered in his hiding place must in turn seek the others. As among the Banjaruanda, jumping over a high string or stick is also practiced.

Girls are given less time for playing than boys. From an early age they have to help with the house work, take care of their little brothers and sisters, fetch water, litter, etc., thus getting used to the idea, common to all these peoples, that the woman is a veritable work animal. Even they have some free time, however, which they use mostly for playing with dolls. They make the dolls (umwana) themselves out of a small pumpkin which has been laced tightly in the middle. Eyes, nose, and mouth are indicated by a few holes scratched on one side of the sphere, arms and hands by means of a few strokes on the other side. Or they use the conical reddish blossom of the banana plant. Sometimes a piece of bast material

857 524 is used to make a dress for the doll which is then carried on the back as mothers carry their children.

[65] When they are not drinking or gossiping, the adult 526 men spent their leisure time shooting arrows at a stick placed at a distance of up to 100 meters or more or by lance-throwing contests at any distant object. In the Tanganyika region a quiet 524 sitting game in which only two persons can participate is very popular. It is a game played on a board (ikisoro) resembling [177] our checker board. It is known to the Wasuaheli as mbao and probably has been imported from there to the Tanganyika area by way of Unjamwesi. From Tanganyika it also penetrated to a few chiefs of central Urundi. The board is rounded off at the edges and has four rows of little bowl-shaped hollows of which there are 32 altogether. Small stones or fruit pits are placed in them. By a complicated system of moves and counter-moves by which one opponent may take stones from the other, one player finally wins all the stones of his opponent. A precise description would lead us too far here, and in any case the game is known from the East African coastal areas.

Weule described (loc. cit., p. 52) the game of patience, ikifundo, that is played in Usige on the north shore of Lake [177] Tanganyika. It was probably an import from the Arabs or the Wasuaheli. I have not seen it myself.

There are also other widespread games, as, for instance, the string games, which I have not seen played by children or adults.

535 Dances (ivino, uruvino) are included here since they are to a certain extent mere "games." It is true that only a minority of dances are executed for their own sake as amusement; most of them are connected with some family, social, war, or religious celebration and are danced only on these special occasions. They all resemble each other in form, however, and may be described together here, except the religious ones which we shall discuss in the chapter on "Religion" (see p. 127).

Like the Banjaruanda, the Barundi are enthusiastic dancers and dance whenever they have the opportunity. "To amuse oneself, to play, to sing and to dance are synonymous words. They dance well, elegantly (especially the women), even with

585 consummate skill. Boys and girls practice dancing from the earliest age. This they do under the eyes of their parents who encourage and instruct them. For a Murundi of good birth, it would be a disgrace not to be a good dancer" (No. 19, p. 141).

The dances are for the most part mass or group dances, seldom solo dances. They are predominantly stepping dances, seldom hopping or turning dances. Most of them are accompanied by singing, some also by instrumental music. Men execute the great majority of the dances; only one special dance is reserved for the women who never dance with the men. The Batussi participate in all the dances of the Bahutu. Only where many Batussi are gathered, as, for instance, at the royal court, do they dance by themselves. The war dances of the Batussi youths, who are educated at the royal court ("cadet corps") are especially graceful and energetic. No Mutwa is permitted to dance with the Batussi and Bahutu, nor do the latter participate in the Batwa dances, but the Batwa dance often and well among themselves.

All over Urundi and Ruanda the men do the same "national dance." Remarkably enough it is free of any eroticism while the characteristic national dances of the neighboring peoples, especially the Wanjamwesi or even more so the Wawira near Lake Tanganyika, are often more than obscene. [66] This main dance of the men is really a war dance (Plates 31, 32). It is also executed on other occasions of all kinds, either for the mere pleasure of doing it, or to honor a chief or a European, or to celebrate certain anniversaries or occasions which occur only once in a lifetime. The men who participate in the dance arrange themselves with their spears in their right hands in two, three, or four rows. At the curt command of a leader, they execute a series of "figures" in a well-rehearsed sequence. This is mainly leg and foot dancing with the rest of the body hardly involved; only a few figures require any kind of violent movement of the upper part of the body. The main achievement is that the whole group, often numbering several hundred men, stamps the ground rhythmically and in unison, changing from one foot to another all together, as though they were one man. The

535 tempo becomes faster and faster and the stamping progressively heavier without becoming disorderly until suddenly, in one jolt, the figure ends with one movement. For more noise, little iron bells, shaped like cowrie shells, or dried fruit shells, half-filled with pebbles, are tied around the ankles or are fastened to the belt and make a rattling noise at each movement. An interesting description of such a dance can be found in Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 67:

"What a thrilling spectacle! Imagine several hundred black devils, their spears raised and making the most incredible movements with their bodies, all in the same rhythm. The ground trembles under the feverish stamping of their feet, and the weapons make a weird clanging noise. Everything is hidden in a fantastic semidarkness by big clouds of dust. At one moment the wild horde rushes toward you like a legion of the possessed, at another the whole column of men moves quickly backwards while conscientiously keeping in line as though the whole pack of men were only one single body moving over the ground with the speed of wind. In short, it seems like a dream, the onlooker is caught up by the frenzy. These joyous celebrations last through the entire day until many who have come a long distance set out for home."

R. Kandt (No. 22, p. 254) gives us another vivid description:

"I was especially pleased when in the afternoon, as though at a given signal, the hills around me became alive, and the Warundi came running down the slopes in single file looking like serpents with many tails. They gathered by the hundreds in the center of the camp, and, body pressed to body, they executed a silent dance under the aegis of their choir leader. Their feet were beating the ground in an ever changing rhythm, now in dactyls, now in anapaests, now in spondees. The beat became more violent until finally the black mass of men, with a forest of spears towering over them, was envoloped in an almost impenetrable

535 thick cloud of dust. Through this veil of dust I could see the white in their eyes, the shining rows of their teeth, and their heads thrown back with laughter or ecstasy. It was a strange spectacle which I watched for over an hour without tiring of it. I admired the incredible discipline of this mass of men which reacted to the slightest signal of the choir leader, following promptly the quickly changing rhythms so that it seemed as though the ground trembled under the step of a single giant. [868] Even the small naked boys of six to eight years imitated their fathers and brothers with such adroitness that only rarely did one of them miss a beat in this pedal ceremony. In that case the culprit, blushing with shame, was forced into the background by the angry jeer or rough hand of an adult onlooker."

Another dance, which is seldom done, is executed not in rows but in a wavy line. Holding their spears in their hands, all the men run in single file, keeping the same step by imitating the rhythm of their leader who runs at the head of the line. This produces a sound like that of a galloping horse (No. 19, p. 142).

Solo dances by men are even more rare. The motions of the solo dancer are much livelier than those observed in group dances. Usually the onlookers beat the rhythm by clapping their hands, or a musical accompaniment is made [67] with [534] rattle sticks, a zither (inanga), or a drum. Such a dance is described as follows in Kreuz und Schwert, 1901, p. 212:

"The dancer executes all kinds of jumps: now he approaches the instrument which is setting the rhythm; now he moves away from it in great leaps, now he rushes forward as though he intended to jump over the instrument player; he crawls away on hands and legs, falls backwards onto the ground, suddenly jumps up again; and he continues these antics until he loses his breath. Then someone else takes his place and once more amuses the audience with his wild gyrations. Even though the dancer may be engaged in the wildest leaps, he will stop as suddenly as the instrument player stops his music, for he will not dance without the accompaniment of an instrument."

535 The women always form a circle for their dances. One woman, usually a young girl (sometimes even two), dances in the center. With her arms not quite stretched out and her hands bent upward, she moves to and fro within the circle making all kinds of symbolic movements which are extraordinarily graceful. Von Trotha was very much reminded of the bayaderes (No. 8, p. 72). These dances do not have even a trace of eroticism. Apparently they are an imitation of the characteristics of animals. Van der Burgt interprets the position of the arms as an imitation of the horns of cattle and ascribes an originally religious meaning to the dances (No. 19, p. 142). I feel, however, that in many cases these are supposed to be imitations of the outspread wings of the crowned crane, the characteristic animal of the swampy Ruanda-Urundi landscape, as is also the case with quite similar dances in Ruanda. The position of the rest of the body and the manner of running forward and backward are also, it seems to me, in accord with this. In Ruanda this dance is called "crane dance." Boys and sometimes even men like to take part in it.

While the girl dancing solo (or the two of them) shows her skill in this manner, the women standing around in a circle stamp the ground rhythmically with their feet. They may also sing. A choir leader shouts very short stanzas, sometimes only a single word; which is then repeated by the choir until the choir leader calls out a new stanza.

535 292 There are no special costumes for the dances. Father van der Burgt mentions and gives a picture of a "couronne," a cap made of raffia fibers; from it a long train of fibers hangs down the back. Van der Burgt describes these caps as the decoration of the dancing girls (No. 19, p. 407, and Fig. 138), but these "crowns" are very rare. The Barundi are also not familiar with masked dances or other kinds of disguise connected with dances. There are only certain symbolic cult-costumes which are worn by sorcerers or priests leading certain religious dances [302] (see pp. 124, 126, 131 and Plates 25, 54). On the other hand, the faces of the dancers are often painted with white or red earth (cf. pp. 127, 128).

535 The only thing to say about the dances of the Batwa is that in general they resemble the dances of the Bahutu. The Batwa are very enthusiastic dancers, and in their solo dances they perform the strangest gyrations and leaps. Among them also the onlookers accompany the dance by shaking pumpkin rattles and singing short stanzas. This is done in a noisier and wilder fashion than among the Bahutu and the Batussi.

534 I have already mentioned a zither-like instrument, the inanga, with which the Barundi often accompany their solo dances. It consists of a flat, longish bowl of bark or wood. Six to eight cords of sheep gut or sinew are strung across the bowl. We call it a bowl zither (No. 6 of Plate 47). Usually the wood is decorated with a few simple linear decorations, and several holes are pierced in the bottom which are supposed to [68] add richness to the tone. It is noteworthy that the wooden bowl of the instrument is carved by the Batwa while the Bahutu string the cords. Van der Burgt infers from this that the inanga zither was originally the cultural property of the Batwa and was taken over by the Bahutu later (No. 19, p. 387). It seems more probable, judging from its geographical distribution, that it is the cultural property of the Bahima (see p. 158 [not translated]; it occurs both in the north of the Bahima region among the Banjankole and in the south among the Wafipa [Fipa].

The zither is played in a sitting position. The instrument is placed upon the knees, and the strings are plucked with both hands after the player has tuned them correctly by letting them in or out. The tuning is determined entirely by what kind of singing is intended and by the pitch of the singer's voice. I have not noticed that the strings were tuned to any particular sequence of notes in the scale.

533 As in Europe, there are many persons among the Barundi who play an instrument, but only a few can do it really well. There are professional musicians only at the courts of the chiefs. There the musicians, who are predominantly Batwa, play the drums, flutes, and zithers. The same is true in Ruanda.

533 The playing of the zither is almost always accompanied by singing which is done in a rather low voice, mostly in a minor key which is the characteristic key of the Negroes. Neither the voices nor the manner of performing are good. Either the song in short stanzas deals with some local incident, a current event, a person, a personal experience, etc., or it is one of the old traditional Barundi songs whose lyrics are [188] spoken in the Old Kirundi dialect (see p. 148). Apparently they are nothing but a series of unconnected nouns, adjectives, wishes, orders, etc., the meaning of which is not quite clear any more either to the singer or to the listeners (No. 19, p. 97).

534 The ox horn (ikihuha) is the real war or alarm horn. Its narrow end is provided with a hole, and this is the form generally in use in East Africa. Such signal horns are also widely used by the caravans.

The clarinet-like flute (ikihuschama), which is used only as a musical instrument, is much rarer. It is a wooden tube, a third of a meter long, with a funnel-shaped opening. Its lower end has three holes so that various notes can be blown (Nos. 3 and 4 of Plate 47).

On the other hand, a short fife (umwironge) is much more common. Like our fifes, it has a hole near one end which one blows into and two or three holes at the other end which may be stopped alternately. Flutes and fifes are seldom played singly but usually in an orchestra together with drums of which I shall speak later (p. 70).

Reed pipes are more children's toys than real instruments. Their two ends are plugged, and they have a hole in the middle. They are usually carved by boys. Rattle boards (urukajamba) belong in the same category. They are used particularly for accompanying the dances of the girls. These rattle boards are made of pieces of reed arranged in two separate layers which are kept apart by means of a piece of reed placed obliquely so that there is an empty space between the layers. Dry kernels of corn are placed inside. They produce a sharp rattling sound against the reed walls when the box-shaped rattle board is shaken. Rattle sticks are also often used. They consist of sticks

534 to which small pumpkin rattles are fastened (Nos. 1 and 5 of Plate 47). At religious [69] ceremonies single pumpkin rattles are swung (Plate 25a).

Finally drum (ingoma, inkiranji) is both the rarest and the most highly valued instrument. It is not only used for accompanying dances but also as the main orchestral instrument of the chiefs. Often it has great religious significance. The drum [202] is not used at all for the purpose of signaling or transmitting news. In Urundi there is no "drum language" as there is in other African countries.

Drums are made out of a section of a tree trunk which has been cut off straight at one end rounded off at the other end. The inside of the trunk is hollowed out with carving knives, leaving the fairly thin outer walls. It is then placed on a conical wooden pedestal so that the whole thing has approximately the shape of a "wine glass." The grain mortars are similarly shaped. The open upper end is covered with a piece of cattle hide, shaved thin and stretched tightly across, which was soaked in warm water beforehand. The hide is stretched tight by little wooden pegs fastened around the edge of the drum (No. 2 of Plate 47). Two wooden sticks are used as drum sticks.

If the drum is to be used for accompanying a dance -- 533 which is almost always a solo dance, not a group dance -- two, 535 three, or four men beat on it, each alternating quickly with the other in beating the drum with his two sticks in a certain rhythm. Each drummer uses a beat different from that of the next; each always uses only his particular beat. Thus, if there are four drummers, they produce a drum stanza consisting of four different tempos which are repeated until the "drum leader" starts a new stanza by introducing a new beat. The louder it booms, the better. After a short time one of the drummers suddenly jumps up while the others continue drumming; he makes all kinds of leaps, stamps on the ground, creeps forward, runs back and shakes his drumsticks about as though he were possessed. Just as suddenly, he jumps back to his drum and continues drumming with his partners. Then another drummer follows suit or one of the listeners surrounding the scene, and so

533 on for hours. The drum concert and drum dance are hardly
535 ever accompanied by singing (No. 19, p. 388).

In Urundi and Ruanda drums are such a rarity that an
534 experienced observer wrote as recently as 1901: "In Urundi drums are unknown" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 212). During my own two months' journey through central Urundi, I never heard a single drumbeat. This can be explained easily by the fact that there remain only a few small areas in this country where trees still exist that are large enough to make drums (and boats). It is probably because of
534 their high value that the possession of drums has become a
554 privilege of chiefs and of the king. Neither the "people" of
778 the Barundi (Bahutu or Batussi) nor the Batwa are permitted to own drums. A special role is reserved for the king's drum. This drum, in addition to the spear, the finger ring or bracelet (wrist disc), and the holy wooden milk vessels, is part of the royal insignia which the ruler bequeaths to his successor (No. 19, p. 524). This "holy" drum is a kind of Palladium of the realm and, as such, it is given the name akarjenda. It is very big and made from the wood of a special tree. This drum is regarded as the seat of the protective spirit of the realm, and solemn vows are made by this "drum spirit" akarjenda (No. 19, p. 388). Special guards are charged with taking care of [70] this royal drum (see p. 187 [not translated]). It is always kept at the residence of the king and, together with the holy spears and the holy milk vessels, it also accompanies him on his trips (report by Captain von Langenn). The hides used for the holy drums [sic] are taken exclusively from the cattle of the so-called "holy herd" (see p. 44).

533 Neither van der Burgt nor any other observer reports having heard of the combination of several drums and other instruments to form an orchestra, but natives assured me that such an orchestra existed at the royal court and that it consisted of Batwa. I consider this very likely since there is such an orchestra, a combination of several differently tuned drums and flutes, at the residence of Musinga, king of Ruanda. The members of the orchestra are Batwa. It sounds very melodious

533 and is quite impressive when, beginning with one muffled drum, the other drums gradually join in through a long rhythmic sequence, the sound of the orchestra rises to its full force, and then the flutes join at a shrill pitch. The sound of the orchestra then gradually diminishes, one drum after the other falls silent, until finally the muffled beat of the first drum softly fades away. At night, however, the tired European may be driven almost to despair by this drum orchestra. Everyone who has been a guest of Musinga will remember this night music.

We have already discussed the musical aspect of the songs with which instrumental music and dances are accompanied (p. 68). At this point I would like to add something about the content of these songs as taken down by van der Burgt. He states that the lyrics of these songs, sung mostly in unconnected Old Kirundi words (see pp. 124, 148), are not even understood in their original meaning by most of the Barundi themselves. A question about their meaning is usually answered by: "It means nothing, it is only a song." Only those who have been initiated in the esoteric meaning by the learned men, sorcerers and priests, have some understanding of the true meaning of these songs (No. 19, p. 97).

For example, these are the lyrics of a song accompanied by a zither:

[539] "Ntiwarima uy' umwaka, ntiwarima.
ninanga usiwire. umugaso utasimbe.
yagese ku' nama. isenge iritschjika."

(Translation: The field is not cultivated this year, i. e., war has been declared. Chief Ninanga stays here. The water ditch does not flow, i. e., the ditch forming the border is dry. It passes close to the homestead. The amulet is broken, i. e., a bad omen for the war.)

In contrast to these old traditional songs, the songs improvised during the dance generally have some connection with current events and are sung in the modern colloquial language. Even these are not coherent songs either but merely short interrupted sentences and thoughts.

533 This does not apply to religious songs which are sung at certain cult ceremonies. We shall discuss them in the chapter on "Religion" (p. 127).

533 461 Often, but not always, singing of the simplest form accompanies work done by several persons with the object of concentrating the individual's energies by means of the rhythm or to make for greater perseverance. For instance, this may be done while moving heavy objects, when hoeing the field in a group, rowing a boat, cutting trees, etc. Usually the song consists of only two or three words which are first sung by one person in the group and are then imitated by the others until the choir leader gives them a new word, a new "idea."

[71] Chapter 6

Means of Communication, Trade, Handicrafts

1. Means of Communication

487 In a country with as little internal and external trade as Urundi the means of communication are naturally very primitive. The roads connecting villages or districts with each other are simple, narrow, trampled footpaths which circumvent all obstacles by turning to the right or left. Wherever this is impossible, as, for instance, in the extremely rocky quartzite regions of central and east Urundi, obstacles are never moved out of the way but are simply left there, and the traveler has to climb over them. These paths in the quartzite regions are, therefore, extremely difficult to traverse for the non-native burden carrier in a caravan or even for a European. The difficulties are further increased by the fact that all the paths of Urundi and Ruanda tend to reach the hill ridges and highland plains which predominate in this area by the shortest possible route, in order to proceed along there with greater ease. Since many valleys are deeply cut and have steep sides, the paths which go

487 up and down the slopes in a straight line are a real nightmare for any non-Murundi.

Another circumstance which makes journeying more
491 arduous is that in spite of the innumerable streams and rivers there are hardly any bridges (ikiraro) in the whole of Urundi and Ruanda. The chief reason for this defect is the lack of suitable timber in these treeless areas. Even where there is still a sufficient number of trees, a bridge is built only in very rare cases since the entire width of the valley bottoms is usually covered with reed or papyrus swamps through the middle of which weaves a narrow, open watercourse. The swamps are too wide for building bridges.

Usually there is no other way but to wade through the swampy valley bottoms and streams up to one's knees or hips in the black, stinking morass. Only rarely are papyrus fronds or reeds cut down in bunches and piled next to each other and on top of each other to form a kind of floating bridge which prevents the travelers from sinking too deeply into the swamp. When reaching wide, open rivers, such as the Ruvuvu, Akanjaru, Luvironsa, and others, the traveler seeks out well-known fords and wades across, often up to his shoulders in water, and he uses a stick or a spear for support against the force of the
[482] stream. Everything that has to be kept dry must be carried in a bundle on the head. At the same time there is much shouting to frighten away the crocodiles. If the river is too deep,
501 dugouts are used for the crossing, and the shore dwellers make
505 a living at this. [72] If only a few persons and light burdens have to be ferried across, primitive rafts (ikitebo) are used. They are made of several layers of dried papyrus sticks which are tied together (Plate 26b). The rafts may be used a few times until they have soaked up too much water. On the Malagarasi River, large tubs made of tree bark are used. They are big enough for one man or one burden and are pulled and pushed across the river by two or three men who have to swim (No. 19, p. 448).

491 If it happens that a big tree is standing near a deep stream which cannot be forded, it is transformed into a bridge

491 by cutting it down, causing it to fall across both edges of the brook. If necessary, a rope of lianas is spanned across next to the bridge to help the traveler maintain his balance when walking over it. I have seen several such tree bridges in Uha where there are more trees than in Urundi. There are no suspension bridges.

In the whole interlacustrine region I have not seen any real bridges built by the natives themselves. Yet van der Burgt describes such a bridge: a few fork-shaped poles are rammed next to each other in the stream bed, and a few long pieces of timber are placed in the forks approximately parallel to each other, thus spanning the entire stream. A great number of crossbeams, approximately two meters long, are fastened to these, and finally bundles of reed or papyrus stalks are tied on top of them so that one may comfortably walk across.

Wherever missionary stations or colonial troops have built roads, there are solid wooden bridges on the European model, and wherever the route traverses swamps, there are earthen dams and corduroy roads. However, the lack of trees in this country will always be an obstacle to the construction of bridges.

The natives always make the cattle swim through the water or wade through the swamps even when bridges exist. Any crocodiles which may be in the vicinity are frightened away by shouting.

482 Since neither the Barundi nor the Banjaruanda have animals to ride or burden-carrying animals, all burdens and also people who are unable or unwilling to walk have to be carried by men. Burdens are packed in small or large bundles, generally wrapped in dry banana leaves, or in large baskets made of plaited bast. They are carried freely on the head or sometimes, for a change, on the shoulder but never in a sling or net on the back as, for example, in Kisiba or in Usambiro.

493 However, sick people or important persons who do not wish to walk travel on a stretcher (isjugi) which is carried by two men on their shoulders. The king also uses such a stretcher for

493 relatively long distances. These are not the comfortable, beautifully plaited carrying baskets which are in use in Ruanda for Musinga and the Batussi rulers, but in most cases they are merely two strong poles connected by crossbars which are covered with a layer of straw or a sheep skin. The traveler either lies on it or sits on it with his legs crossed under him. Old King Kisabo, who was almost blind, often traveled in this manner for several days (Plate 13a). Nevertheless, even in Urundi large, plaited wickerwork stretchers occur.

501 I have already briefly mentioned the boats (ubwato) in the chapter on fishing (p.37). They are almost without exception dugouts. Only rarely and only in the easternmost region can one observe small bark canoes [73] which apparently are used solely for crossing the intermittent streams that appear during the rainy season in summer. During the dry season one can see them cracked open lying beside the dry stream beds. They are only used during one rainy season, and new ones have to be built each summer. They consist merely of three pieces of tree bark patched together with tree bast. One piece forms the bottom, the other two the sides. They hold no more than two persons.

Dugouts, however, are strong and durable, although technically they are extremely defective. We shall discuss the manner of their construction later, in the section on "Handicrafts" (p. 82); at this point we shall only describe how they are used and manipulated. On the rivers of central Urundi dugouts are rare, and due to the lack of large trees, they are small and poorly constructed (Plate 5b). Often they are quite crooked, so it is difficult to keep them balanced. In forest regions, as in north Urundi, on Lake Tanganyika, and on the Ruzizi River, they are of better quality, larger, and more numerous. On Lake Tanganyika, canoes 15 meters long and 1,50 meters wide are no rarity. The best are from the west [313] shore, from Uwembe, where the tall forest furnishes a supply [439] of good timber. They are sold to the Barundi for goats or pearls and are valued at about six to ten rupees.

501 Most boats are somewhat tapered and pointed in front and in back which makes them easy to land on the flat shore. None of the boats is equipped with a rudder; they are steered by one of the oarsmen. No oars are used in shallow water, for instance, near the shores of Lake Tanganyika; instead, long bamboo poles are used to punt the boats (Plate 26a). Short "oars" (ingaffi), approximately one and a half meters long, are used in water which is deep or when there is a strong current. The heart-shaped blades of the oars are slightly bent so that they in effect scoop the water. The oars are not suspended in slings or 502 inserted in holes but manipulated freely. The oarsmen or punters usually stand upright in the boat facing forward. If there is only one man in the boat, he will take his position at the stern; if there are two, they stand in the rear third of the boat; if there are three men, two take their places in back and one in front; if there are four, two stand in front and two in back. Only long tiring trips do they sit on the crossbars. Anyone who is not rowing crouches on the bottom of the canoe.

[501] A heavy stone tied to a bast rope is used for an anchor. There are no masts, sails, or outriggers. None of the boats is decorated with carvings or paintings. If water has entered, it is scooped out with pumpkin shells or with little wooden shovels. If, however, a boat has sprung a crack or a leak, it is repaired in the following manner: holes are pierced near the edges of the crack with a red-hot point of iron; by means of these holes, a wooden board is tied to the hull with bast ropes as though "sewing" a patch. Then the crack is calked on both sides with tree bast or reed. Bitumen, which occurs frequently on Lake Tanganyika, is also used for that purpose.

The Batwa do not have any boats but they know how to make them for their Barundi masters (No. 19, p. 66).

The poor construction of the dugouts prohibits extended trips on Lake Tanganyika. It is very seldom that a large boat with several oarsmen will cross the lake from Usumbura to Uvira. Most boats hug the shoreline, not moving more than 100 to 200 meters away from it, and even when going from Usumbura to Uvira, they move along the north shore of the lake. Frequently the government in Usumbura sends dugouts to Ujiji and

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time [136] they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

484 The provisions for such trips lasting several days are generally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

481 The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

439 In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited 438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

443 In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

443 spite of the sleeping sickness, there has been a marked increase in the number of Barundi from the interior visiting some of these markets on Lake Tanganyika and more trading trips by Tanganyika people to central Urundi to buy cattle hides and wax, which they then bring to Usumbura.

Among themselves the Barundi of the distant interior trade
438 field produce for other produce or for goats, sheep, hides, bark-
317 cloth, pots, iron hoes, etc. The latter items are produced mainly by the Batwa (p. 77). The only trade object transported over a long distance is salt which is not found anywhere in Urundi itself. Formerly it was for the most part imported from adjoining Uha, but at present it is sold in much better quality by the Gottorp saltworks on the lower Malagarasi River which is under European management. It finds its way to the interior by way of Usumbura (Plate 27a).

Formerly palm oil was the main trade commodity in the
439 Tanganyika region (p. 53), but since all traffic and trade in the Tanganyika region has been paralyzed by the terrible sleeping sickness epidemic, the oil trade, too, has decreased considerably. The smaller portion of the oil goes to central Urundi, the larger portion is absorbed by Ujiji and the west shore of the lake which is part of the Congo state. Bananas, pombe beer, butter, fish, goats, and sheep are exported both to central Urundi and to Ujiji and the eastern Congo. The Congo region sends mainly caoutchouc, a little ivory, and cattle in exchange. By far the greatest portion of trade with the Congo area is carried out by smuggling. [75] While import and export is free in the German controlled area, Congo authorities have imposed large tariffs on imports and exports. The natives, however, are very adept at circumventing them. Most of the smuggled products are brought in on paths through the swamp thickets of the Ruzizi which are very difficult to control.

Only wax and cattle hides are exported from central Urundi.
439 In exchange, beads and thick wire (iron, copper, brass) are the
435 main imports, in addition to relatively little cotton material but much salt. In 1911 it was calculated that about 18,000 to 20,000 cattle hides, priced at eight rupees or the equivalent

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[491] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

443 the lake. A recent addition to this in the interior is the market near the new government station at Gitega which is growing in importance. Apart from these, there are a whole number of small markets serving purely local needs. The market at Usumbura which is held from six o'clock in the morning until 10 or 11 o'clock -- like all other markets -- is still frequented by over 1,000 persons a day. It is conducted in a very orderly fashion under German governmental supervision. There is even a large roof [347] of corrugated iron to protect the market from the sun and rain. The vendors, most of them women, squat in long rows under the roof and out in the open; each has his merchandise arranged in front of him in baskets or spread out on mats or banana leaves. The list of local products recorded by van der Burgt 15 years ago is still valid today: oil, salt, beer, cotton material, fish, mats, pots, jugs, bundles of tobacco, snuff, balls of soap, millet, [76] corn, flour, bananas, peanuts, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, beef, goats, sheep, chickens, nets, spear shafts, bamboo poles, canes of reeds, firewood, rope, string, hoes, etc. In addition to this, today one may see all sorts of cheap European industrial products, such as brightly colored cotton blankets, various printed cotton materials, petroleum, cigarettes, glass beads, iron, copper and brass wire, hardware, and china.

Von Trotha also describes the markets as "the most 443 characteristic feature of the region. Here every conceivable 562 object is traded with much shouting or paid for with strings of beads and goods. There were thousands of haggling and shouting people at the market of Mpinkasa on the northeast shore of Lake Tanganyika, but everything is settled in an orderly fashion and without fighting. One may buy a woman for ten strings of red beads, and once tired of her, she may be returned to the market and once more exchanged for beads." (No. 8, p. 77). Of course, the trade in women has stopped now, and even at the time of Trotha's journey in 1896 it must have been a very rare transaction.

443 571 [203] The market is the place where people meet, inspect merchandise and observe other people, gossip, hear and pass on news items, drink pombe, discuss business and non-business matters, and where they do many things which are useful and many others which are superfluous. Many Barundi visit the market even if they do not intend to buy or sell anything, merely to amuse themselves. If things become too lively in [625] the beer section or if a fight starts, the market police aided by the peaceful elements among the population quickly succeed in restoring order.

436 The German East African heller is the current coin at the main markets of Usumbura, Kajagga, and Gitega. Silver rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees are seldom seen. Apart from the heller, all sorts of other money substitutes are in circulation at other markets of the northern lakeshore belonging to Urundi. The heller has not yet penetrated into the large area of central Urundi, and it is known only at the few missionary and government posts and along the main roads linking them. Even there it is accepted reluctantly. Beads are still the most important medium of exchange in this area, notwithstanding the efforts of the government to introduce hellers and rupees everywhere in order to facilitate not only trade but also the future collection of taxes. These efforts will only meet with success after Urundi has actually been placed under government administration and after a hut or head tax has been introduced which has to be paid in currency. The same is true of Ruanda. There, however, the use of currency has already spread considerably as a result of the export trade and the residency at Kigali with its traders' settlement which has been established in the interior for years.

The small coin most in use in Urundi is the pink bead simsim or samsam; a string (kete, Kette? [Kette, "string" in German]) of beads, approximately 30 centimeters long, is the monetary unit. It is equivalent to three hellers. Ten strings equal 1 ifundo; 10 ifundo equal 1 ingoje; 10 ingoje equal 1 [301] akanono (No. 19, p. 111). The samsam bead is also used as the principal neck ornament of men and women.

436 An elongated, violet bead, with white stripes, inganga, is more valuable: one inganga bead equals one kete of samsam beads. Still more valuable are the thick white amaguru beads; a double necklace of these is valued at 10 kete of samsam beads. In addition to these, there are, especially in the lake region, medium-sized blue beads and reddish and white ones with a lacquer-like sheen, also large spindle-shaped white beads with red circles, and others. All these types, however, do not have a fixed monetary value, [77] like those mentioned above; their exchange value fluctuates. Yellow, green, and black beads are not accepted anywhere.

435 Naturally, the available stock of beads and the law of supply and demand also determine the value of the "monetary" beads. In general, these were the rates of exchange which formerly applied in the interior: 5 bananas = 1 heller, 1 bunch of about 20 bananas = 1 kete, more than 2 double handfuls of flour = 1 kete, 1 handful of salt = 1 kete, 1 pot of beer = 3 kete, 1 iron hoe = 6 kete, 1 pot of honey = 1 ifundo, 1 goat = 3 ifundo, 1 sheep = 4 ifundo, 1 bull = 5 to 10 ingoje, 1 cow = 20 ingoje. At present, one goat costs as much as 3 to 4 rupees in the interior, and all other prices have risen proportionately.

439 435 Cotton material which was formerly strictly banned by the chiefs is now accepted eagerly in the interior. The most popular brand is the ordinary white "amerikani" of which 1 gora of 30 ells [an ell is between 55 and 80 centimeters] is valued at approximately 12 rupees in the interior. The "lesso" or "kanga," printed materials with brown patterns which are popular in Ruanda, are gradually being introduced all over Urundi.

804 The double handful (kumaschi) or, on the markets, a pumpkin shell of equal capacity is the generally accepted dry measure for flour, grain, beans, etc. Larger items, like manioc roots, sweet potatoes, bananas etc., are sold by the 804 piece. There are no domestic weights. The farsalah (35 pounds 177 Brit.) used all over East Africa since Arab times has only been

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

323 of the slate districts of Urundi and Ruanda where good pottery clay (uwumba) has formed from decomposed or alluvial slate. In most cases its color ranges from dark gray to black. Thus it happens that entire potters' villages are built at such sites, a process which has been, and still is, greatly facilitated by the caste separation the parish-like Batwa.

The clay is dug by the men, kneaded with water, and beaten with a club until it has been freed of rough particles and becomes pliable. A small, round clod of clay which has been somewhat flattened with the hand is placed on a piece of a broken pot which serves as a foundation. A sausage-like ring of clay is superimposed around the edge so as to make a kind of bowl (Plate 7b). Adding superimposed long rings of clay is then repeated. The joints are filled in and smoothed out with a moist hand. All the time the whole thing is constantly turned around on the broken piece (urudsjo) under it (a primitive potter's wheel). While it is turning, the object is polished with the hand and water is sprinkled on it until the pot attains the desired size and shape. The rim is then evened off with a tree leaf. The real finishing, inside and out, is undertaken only after the vessel has dried somewhat in the air. For this purpose a piece of calabash, a small piece of wood, a piece of bark, or a little flat stone is used. Finally, simple linear 323 decorations (wavy lines or zigzag rows of short lines) are 381 scratched below the neck of the vessel with a pointed piece of wood or iron. No figures are scratched on the surface, nor are the pots dyed or even glazed. Van der Burgt believes that the wavy and zigzag lines of the decorations are supposed to be mysterious symbols for the "lightning of Imana," the highest god, which might be regarded as "a kind of hieroglyphic writing" (No. 19, p. 452). I do not believe that the potters are so profound, and I regard the patterns as a purely mechanical expression of the desire for ornamentation. The Barundi and Batwa themselves also assured me that these patterns had no deeper meaning. Clay pots of the European Stone Age show the same simple decoration which is determined purely by primitive techniques.

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
[563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware
415 vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[276] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
[782] ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like those found in Rifanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special
276 mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat
323 bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping.
439 Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
285 than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
285 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese Wawira and Wabembe [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery, weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees. From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting techniques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulungwa of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

322 412 The Barundi do not have a special tool for wood carving, only the two small chopping knives, the sickle-shaped, long-handled cutting knife (Plate 46, No. 4) with which we are already familiar from the discussion of agriculture (p. 49), and the short and long knives which are used for all kinds of daily jobs (Fig. 16). To round and smooth spear shafts, a small piece of wood is stuck on a small double-edged knife, at an angle. Then the knife is moved back and forth along the shaft until the wood has been scraped and given the desired shape. The wooden arm discs, after having been cut from a block of wood, are shaved with a knife and polished with fig leaves (which are probably flinty) until they have the elegant, mathematically correct shape and smooth surface which we admire in them. [Fig. 16 appears here in the original text.]

The simple parallel linear decorations which are occasionally seen on wooden utensils and calabashes are seldom carved [531] but generally burnt in by a kind of poker-work. For this purpose small notches are made in an old knife or spear point so that several tooth-like points are formed. This iron is made red-hot and then passed over the wood; its points burn a number of absolutely parallel lines into the surface (No. 19, p. 367). Apart from this, saws for cutting wood are as unknown as drills and nails. Because of this, holes are also made in wood by means of red-hot iron. As everywhere else in East Africa where saws are not available, boards or beams are carved from thick logs by chopping and cutting chips and splinters from both sides of the block until a board of the desired thickness remains. For this reason the traveler in these regions can hardly present the chiefs with a more welcome gift than a sturdy handsaw, a hand-drill, hammers, iron nails, and other tools.

322 532 Nowhere in Urundi or Ruanda did I see either human or animal figures scratched or cut into the surface of wood or carved from wood. Only among the Barundi on Lake Tanganyika [177] does one find carved wooden figures, an art which was introduced from the Congo region. Finally, the decorations found 322 531 on many -- not all -- of the wooden [82] hand discs deserve to be mentioned. They are inlaid with iron, copper or brass spirals,

[Text continues on page 124]

2: Meyer--123A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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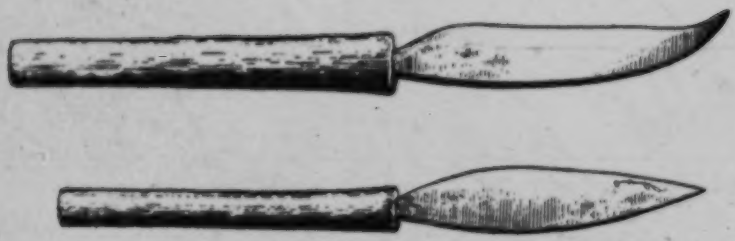

Fig. 16. Barundi Work Knives.

(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6386.)

531 angular or round pieces of foil and pins (Plates 34 and 35).
322 Occasionally their entire surface is almost completely covered with such thin metal inlays. They are attached to the surface by scratching the outlines of the metal pieces into the wood, then hollowing out the area within these outlines, filling it with wax, and, finally, pressing in the spirals and metal foils. There are only a few artists who master this technique. In Ruanda such metal inlays are seen on only a few hand discs and on the horns worn around the neck as part of the dancing costume. There the inlays consist of strips of zinc and lead.

The biggest carved object of the Barundi and the one most
396 difficult to make is the boat, the dugout (ubwato). As we have seen above (p. 73), dugouts are rare in this almost treeless country, and their use is confined to a few of the larger rivers and to Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Dugouts are ordered and paid for by chiefs who are in need of a boat for ferrying purposes in their district or by families engaged in fishing who can afford the expense. The Batwa are the best boat builders; the technique is a specialty of theirs (No. 19, p. 367). The two instruments used in the construction are a
[412] chopping knife whose blade is set at an angle and whose handle is gripped with both hands and an ax with a short handle. The tree -- the thicker and straighter the better -- is felled by thousands of blows. The bark is then removed with axes, and the log is first hewn roughly to the desired length and thickness of the boat. Then it is given its external shape: the bulging sides, the round bottom without a keel, and the somewhat pointed bow and stern. Finally the inner trough is hollowed out. This, too, is done solely with axes and knives. In other regions of East Africa this is accomplished by starting small fires on the upper side of the tree trunk. These fires gradually eat their way into the trunk, and the charred parts are scraped out until only the hull remains. According to their own testimony, the Barundi do not know this technique. After the job is more or less done, the boat, before being launched, is filled with water in order to test whether it is waterproof. After all the cracks have been calked, the dugout is pushed and pulled into the water with the participation of a festive and noisy crowd.

396 Often the boat has to be transported a long distance to
496 its launching site. This may take several days. An umufumu (sorcerer) walks in front, scattering "salutary" powder on the road so as to make sure that the boat will reach the water undamaged. As soon as the boat is launched, the people participating in the celebration sing and dance on both sides of the river. Then a pot of banana beer is covered with river clay and
[702] placed inside the boat; the immediate participants drink from the pot and spit into the river to appease the evil spirits. The clay on the pot is rubbed by the participants on their foreheads and on those of the members of their family as protection against accidents. Then the boat is rowed across the river to the other shore, and the people there go through the same ceremonies. The consecration of the boat is concluded by a dance
[273] of the abafumu (medicine men) and ends in a general drinking bout. (No. 19, p. 66)

If after the launching of the boat it is discovered that it
396 lacks buoyancy or equilibrium, corrections are made by further carving with knife or ax or by putting stones inside for ballast. It has already been mentioned (p.73) that the dugouts have neither seats nor rudder. The way they are propelled has also been described.

[83] I have also already discussed the very simple technique (p.31) of making barkcloth (fig. bast felt).

281 The technique for hides and leatherwork is also very simple. The Barundi on rare occasions use a piece of hide as their only garment. Otherwise they mainly use hides as blankets. The Batwa, however, prefer garments of hide to those made of barkcloth; consequently they are the most expert workers in leather (abaharra). However, both the Batwa and the Bahutu use the same technique. If it is merely a matter of firm, hard leather for lids, quivers, binding material for fastening arrowheads, etc., the hide is simply scraped clean and dried in the sun. If, however, soft, flexible leather (urusato) is needed for garments and blankets, it must be tanned. Since in Urundi the method of tanning and tawing is little known, as was originally the case in all other parts of Africa (No. 32a, p. 47), the hide

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

326 177 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe. [412] [411] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that 135 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained 316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19, 325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The 326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas. [439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

326 rings, etc., which are customary in the country. The Bahutu and the Batwa use the same technique, but apparently the Batwa are the more adroit blacksmiths. In Urundi blacksmiths do not form a special guild, but in some families the craft is passed on from one generation to the other. Blacksmiths live [554] with the other Barundi, and because of their craft they are highly respected. They are professional craftsmen who sell [84] their merchandise, but as in Ruanda, they often also engage in agriculture on the side. [Fig. 17 appears here in the original text.]

325 [348] The work shop (uruganda) is a small round hut, open on all sides. In its center a hollow in the ground contains the [372] charcoal fire. Since blacksmiths need charcoal for their craft and since there are few trees in this country, they mostly have their huts not far from the remains of forests or the bushes along [438] the rivers. Charcoal from the peripheral mountains wrapped in long bundles of banana leaves is sold in the interior. Next to the fireplace there are bellows, either vessel or bowl bellows (umuvuba), shaped like a large, double wooden spoon, over each of whose ends a goatskin is stretched loosely (No. 2 of Plate 45). A wooden stick is tied to the center of each skin; it serves as a piston whose upward and downward movements press the air from the vessel into the end of the pipe. The blower stands or squats behind the bellows holding a piston in each hand which he alternately moves up and down quickly. The same type of bellows is used in Ruanda where it is also used for blowing the smelting furnaces. In Urundi (according to Stuhlmann's small map in No. 32a, p. 62), still another type is said to exist, the tube or bag bellows; yet I have not been able to find out anything about it. The more common vessel bellows just described is carved from a single block of wood and opens into a short, funnel-shaped clay pipe which is placed directly among the hot coals and keeps them glowing. From time to time water is sprinkled on the glowing pile of coal.

[85] On the other side of the fireplace there is a hard stone which serves as an anvil (Fig. 17). The piece of iron which is to be forged is pushed into the glowing coals with a wet, clamp-like piece of wood or with a pointed iron pin, and it is pulled

[Text continues on page 128]

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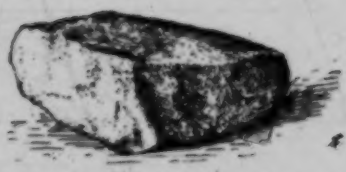
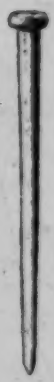


Stone Anvil



Pin for Engraving Ornaments.

File

Iron Hammer.

Iron Bolt for Forging Concave Forms.

Fig. 17.

(All 5 figures in the Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6386.)

325 out with the same instrument. Once on the anvil, the iron is forged with the hammer (injondo), a heavy piece of iron with several edges. It has no wooden handle but is elongated on one end to form a kind of handle so that it may be gripped firmly. The iron is hammered and intermittently made red-hot until it has been purified of all dross. Then it is forged with the
325 hammer into the shape of the desired object. For this purpose
412 any of the following auxiliary tools are used: a thick, rounded pin over whose curved head the glowing piece of iron is hammered into concave shapes, e.g., bells, sleeves for spear points, etc.; a short pointed piece of iron with which simple patterns of dots are engraved in arm rings, chopping knives, and other objects; an old knife to cut pieces of glowing iron in two by using it like a wedge and hitting it with the hammer; a file consisting of a serrated piece of iron with a wooden handle with which any unevenness is rasped off the forged objects after they have cooled down; and finally a few hard, smooth stones for polishing.

I have not been able to ascertain whether the Barundi are
[439] familiar with wiredrawing. They use imported European types of iron, copper, or brass wire to wind around their bracelets and knife sheaths.

325 Copper (umurinda) and brass are hardly used at all in
439 Urundi, with the exception of the Tanganyika district where copper and brass have been imported from the Congo (for instance, Katanga) for years and are used for many purposes. In
[316] the large interior areas of Urundi no copper ore is mined. The small amount of copper imported from Tanganyika in the form of wire is hammered out cold and used for making simple brace-
[301] lets, small bells used as dangling ornaments, small pieces of foil used as inlays for the large wooden arm discs, and other things. Both in Urundi and Ruanda the casting of iron in molds is unknown.

[86] Chapter 7

Political Organization, Law, Social Organization, Clans, Totemism

1. War, Monarchy, Feudal System

721 Insofar as there is a historical tradition, the history of the Barundi shows that under the rule of strong and energetic kings this people performed extraordinary warlike deeds which for a long period protected the country from the oppression of black or Arab conquerors (Ruanda, Mirambo, Wangoni [Ngoni]; Rumalisa). It is only in recent decades with the decline of the dynasty and the lack of a great compelling personality that the warlike spirit and comprehensive organization has become weakened, so much so that the German occupation met no special obstacles. The present-day Barundi, i.e., the Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa, are not inclined to conduct war against an external enemy, in spite of their violent, quarrelsome temperament and their innumerable internal feuds. They are peaceful if they are left in peace.

In the past, too, during the period of their political strength, the Barundi did not conduct big wars for the purpose of expansion and conquest as did the Wangoni and the Wahehe [Hehe]. The usual practice was rather internal guerrilla warfare by one Murundi chief against another and the eternal clan and family feuds within their own country. Matters became serious only when foreign aggressors invaded the country. In such a case there were first several minor attempts to repel the aggressor, and then the entire people finally rose up behind their king and expelled the invader. This happened, for example, to the Arab leader, Rumalisa, and his slave-hunting bands (p. 165 [not translated]).

[648] Our government seldom considers it necessary to intervene to any great extent in the internal feuds and petty wars which still occur frequently. These quarrels are seldom of a very 726 bloody nature. If a chief finds cause to quarrel and complain [754] against his neighbor, he first seeks to make him give in peacefully by means of "sorcerers." If this method fails, he sends

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to [754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro- [789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 701 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms, [722] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and [714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors [411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the [714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful 726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state.
[782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream --
[411] the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read
787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are
726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or
727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed.
721 Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces
[648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a .

642 number of the leading men of the country had become more or less independent of the king. As we shall see in the historical survey (p. 166 [not translated]), the government recognized the independence of a few of these chiefs after the death of old King Kisabo. Even there, however, the people still regard the distant king -- who it is true has become almost a phantom for them -- as the supreme authority of the realm in many respects, especially in religious matters.

643 Theoretically, the king is the absolute ruler of all of Urundi. Whoever does not submit to him is a renegade and a revolutionary. In the last analysis this claim to royal supremacy is founded on the fact that the king is descended from the old ruling family, the Baganwa, and is regarded and revered as an almost divine being. In this capacity he is the head of the national religion and the religious head of the nation, regardless of the personal characteristics of the king who is ruling at any one time. If, in addition to the religious respect which he enjoys, the king is prudent and strong-willed, as the bearer of the "crown" he will have no difficulty in enforcing his claim to be the sole ruler in the whole of Urundi. This is proved by the history of Urundi.

In both Urundi and Ruanda, also in Ufipa (No. 47, p. 29), the official title of the king is umwami, i.e., he who rose to authority. The Urundi king is also referred to as the njen' ingoma, the possessor of the (holy) drum, or as umvijéji, father, master.

644 The person closest to the king is the umufumu w'umwami, [793] the "house chaplain," high priest. Generally he is a highly intelligent man who in all cases is attached to the semidivine king and who also is the first to advise him in mundane matters. [791] A "court kiranga," a chief magician or sorcerer, assists the high priest. Among the officials of the court, there are masters of the kitchen, butchers, firewood keepers, stable masters, water suppliers, cow milkers, night watchmen, the bodyguard, and others. As far as political personalities are concerned, there are in the entourage of the king representatives of the great head men, the governors of the provinces, just as at the court of Musinga of Ruanda. Here, as well as in Ruanda, it is often the governors themselves who temporarily or permanently are drawn

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without 635 exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of 565 the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces 634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

631 The same organization of officialdom also exists in 614 Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided [635] among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district [634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of [635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as 643 well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this 614 may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

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423
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As in Ruanda and the other Bahima states, from Unjoro in the north to Ufipa in the south (No. 47, p. 74), all the land, people, and cattle in Urundi belong to the king on the basis of his inherited right as conqueror. He distributes the land among the members of his family and his clan, the Baganwa, as a hereditary fief. He may reclaim it, however, if at any time he is dissatisfied with the holder. These grand vassals or grand batwale again subdivide their territory in many small fiefs among their followers, and these continue the process so that the entire country is covered by a gigantic network of vassals of the king (see p. 171 [not translated]). They are predominantly Batussi, and the lowest among them have approximately the position of a village mayor. The smallest territorial unit of this large administrative organization is the [361] mountain, the plateau ridge (umutumba, umurambi). In the highlands which are cut up by swampy valleys, the mountains bear the settlements, not the valleys. For this reason the boundaries of the provinces and their subdivisions are formed almost everywhere by the stream and river valleys, the most obvious and most effective natural lines of separation between the regions and their inhabitants. However, the large fiefs seldom consist of one continuous stretch of land within a region; almost always they are formed by numerous smaller pieces of territory distributed over various provinces. Thus, the important vassals are prevented from becoming too powerful for the king.

Of course, all vassals are expected to pay a certain amount of tribute to the king. From these the latter meets the expenses of his large household, pays his officials, and conducts his wars. Depending on the duties involved, there are three kinds of feudal tenure. 1) Land fiefs: their holders have to pay regularly a certain share of the produce of their fields to the king. 2) Cattle fiefs: the tenants monthly furnish a certain number of cattle, milk, and butter. 3) War fiefs: the holders must keep ready for action a certain number of warriors who must be placed at the king's disposal upon his command. Sometimes these three types of feudal tenure are combined in one region and in the

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take [redacted]t, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

662 The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

631 districts in the area adjoining Ruanda and Ussuwi. They still pay a set amount of tribute in natural produce to the king, but otherwise they may do, or not do, whatever they please unless they disturb the peace or necessitate the military intervention of our Resident.

As a rule the king or the princely governor will not make alternations in the conditions of feudal tenure if the vassal regularly sends his tribute, keeps his subjects in timorous dependence, promptly contributes the necessary groups of men in case of war, and remains subservient and loyal to the king.

[624] Finally, in the different villages and hamlets there are communal officials (bisonga) who are responsible to the batwale; they collect the taxes, arrange for corvée labor, and are in charge of petty jurisdiction, etc.

645 When discussing important matters, the king, also the
634 provincial governors, and the batwale, are assisted by a state council or a communal council, respectively. These councils are appointed by the king or by the governor, as the case may be, and are chosen from among the most respected and most prosperous men of the country or of the region. Represented among them particularly are the clan elders (abagabo). The council is convened on important occasions, and the king or the mutwale presides, but in his decisions the king or the mutwale is not bound by the advice of the council (No. 19, p. 267). The
634 batwale are responsible to the king for everything that happens
641 in their administrative district. They also have almost absolute power over the Bahutu and Batwa population which they administer. This includes the power of execution. It is true that subjects suppressed by an unjust mutwale may appeal to the provincial governor or to the king, but they obtain satisfaction only very seldom, for "the tsar is far away and the sky is high." [91]
643 The absolute ruler, the semidivine king is, of course, always
641 right and has every privilege; he owns all the land and all the cattle, and he vests with it whomever he chooses, whenever he chooses, and in amounts that he alone decides, and he may take any subject's life or property as he pleases.

643 These are the conditions, de jure and de facto, whenever
631 the king is a man of strong will, and there has been a whole

643 series of such kings in Urundi. If the king is a weakling, if he
631 lacks the cunning and the capacity for violence and cruelty to inspire fear, which are the necessary characteristics of African rulers -- as, for example, the present weak King Mutaga -- his absolutism is mere show. Then the real rulers are the heads of the royal family, the Baganwa or Abaganwa, who make the royal puppet dance to their tune. These, then, are times when the various provincial governors make themselves independent, when other parts of the country fall under the rule of foreign neighboring sultans (for example, Ujogoma temporarily under Ussuwi), and when anarchy more or less prevails in the entire realm. Concerning the development of these conditions and the present state of affairs, see the chapter, "History," p. 151 ff. [not translated].

643 The present impotence of the monarchy, the weakening
648 of central power, and the disruption of the formerly powerful unified realm have been sanctioned by the German colonial government to its own advantage. At the same time the colonial government is attempting to replace gradually the supreme power of the king with the rule of the German Resident. It cannot eliminate the monarchy as such unless it is prepared to take up the fight against all the Batussi. For this our strength is still not sufficient. However, in the future much will depend on what kind of a man from the old ruling dynasty succeeds the present weak puppet king, Mutaga, and what the attitude of our government to him will be.

643 The succession to the throne is determined by primogeniture
662 in Urundi, unless the king or the head chief decides otherwise. By law he is succeeded by the oldest son of his head wife. Usually, however, the king designates as his successor the one of his many sons who appears most suitable to him, and he bequeathes to him the insignia of royalty, i.e., the holy drum, his spear, and his arm ring. If this decision is made during the lifetime of the king, it is dangerous for the favored son. He will consider it advisable to escape from the jealousy of his brothers and relatives by taking refuge in some distant place until his time comes. If he is still a child, he is hidden by his mother far out of reach

643 of his relatives. However, the young prince who, according
662 to the belief of the Barundi, is destined to be king of Urundi also lives far from the court. The Barundi believe that this
[787] predestined royal child who has been born of one or another of the wives of the king can be recognized at birth by the fact that he holds in his hands seeds of all the species of produce grown in Urundi. They also believe that because of these revealing signs, the mother with her child flees to the neighboring country until the ruling king has died. A royal prince is regarded as suitable to succeed the king only if he is not yet married when ascending the throne and if his mother is still alive (p. 184 [not translated]). In any case there is a struggle between the various parties when the pretender to the throne returns from abroad after the king's death to lay claim to the succession. This ends with the victory [92] of one party and its pretender. The new ruler is proclaimed king after a ritual act of election (p. 184 [not translated]) by the council of the Baganwa and abafumu [plural of umufumu, sorcerer], and he usually has all his brothers and close relatives killed or sent into safe exile (No. 19, p. 524).

634 Less blood and violence is involved in the succession of the greater and lesser batwale. In this case, too, the father during his lifetime designates one of his sons as his successor by inheritance (or one of his daughter if he has no sons); usually it is the eldest. The king, however, may change the decision in favor of someone else. After the death of the chief, the new mutwale is ceremonially installed in his office by the council. He is given the insignia of the deceased and also the cattle, the wives, and the kraal of his predecessor; in short, he receives all his family property (No. 19, p. 550). He now proceeds to rule his new fiefdom like a sovereign prince, but he has to pay punctually to the king the tribute imposed on him, and he must also fulfill his other feudal duties which are not burdensome. Otherwise, he risks deposition, war, exile, and death.

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother [429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a 428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers 768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her 587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional 428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest 463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith 868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is 671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is 563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

563 the law. The law of the land is, of course, a "master's law"
671 which favors the Batussi in all respects. In contrast, the Bahutu as bondsmen enjoy few privileges, and the Batwa are almost entirely without rights. The Batussi batwale often commit grave violations of the law, especially in their dealings with the Bahutu and Batwa without, however, being held responsible for such infractions. It is only the fear of vendetta that puts a restraint on their arbitrariness.

As is the case among all primitive people, the ethical
577 concepts of the Barundi regarding what is right and wrong are elusive. Questions aimed in this direction either remain unanswered or the reply is simply: "We do not know" or "the headman says so" or "our parents, superiors, the king wish it that way," and similar answers (No. 19, p. 381). One never hears that "conscience" prescribes certain actions or that the ghosts, the manes, or the gods wish it that way. Whatever is said on this subject has probably been suggested by the questioners, especially the missionaries. In contrast, concrete concepts of
671 law are much clearer. They are chiefly based on conditions of ownership and on social conditions, and they define something as right or wrong depending on whether it benefits or impairs these conditions which have become traditional.

As has been mentioned above (p. 91) the king is, in
423 principle, the sole owner of the entire land and fields and of all the cattle in the country. As described above (p. 86), the batwale and the lesser district chiefs -- almost always Batussi -- hold larger or smaller portions of this royal property in feudal tenure, and they, in turn, parcel out smaller portions for the use of those Batussi who are not officials or for the use of the Bahutu. Whatever these latter produce from the fields and from the cattle belongs to them by law as their own property after they have paid their tribute to the feudal lords. The huts and the courtyard which the Murundi has set up on the plot of land left to him are also his property. However, he can be driven from his house and field, for example, if he fails to pay his tribute or if he has committed murder of theft and also if the feudal lord wishes to put someone else in his place, either a

423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him for other reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the property of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

The inhabitants own their huts and, in addition, every-
421 thing they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus, men, women, and children may own property, and the following may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade objects, etc.

685 Property violations, i.e., damage and theft (uwivi), are
674 frequent, but if someone leaves his hut unguarded, a woven screen in front of the door opening is usually sufficient to keep away uninvited guests. Although the kraals are surrounded by
[417] strong fences and the paths between the fields are often lined with high euphorbia hedges (Plate 20), these have not been put up or grown as a protection against thieves but to pen and restrain the cattle. If a person steals something from [94] a homestead or produce from the fields, he is taken before the mutwale and is sentenced to severe corporal punishment unless he can pay a generous amount in damages of which the mutwale will appropriate one half (No. 4, p. 224).

692 The mutwale or in smaller districts the village chief is
627 the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves without appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings several witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases
696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see p. 97.

563 554 The second important legal sphere is constituted by social conditions, but first, something about the social stratification. I shall reserve a separate chapter for the relationships within the clan and family (p. 98 , 106). As has already been mentioned, social stratification is determined by the three racial elements of which the Barundi people is composed: Hamitic Batussi, Bantu Bahutu, and the original indigenous population, the Batwa. By the law of conquest, the Batussi form the nobility; the Bahutu are those who are not free, or rather those whose rights are only conditional; and the Batwa are the helots who have no rights. If we disregard the Batwa pariahs, there is no separation of castes closed off from one another, although the priests (kiranga), the sorcerers and medicine men (abafumu), and partly also the religious brotherhoods (ababandwa) enjoy a privileged position on the basis of their magical powers which other persons lack. The professional craftsmen, especially the blacksmiths, also maintain a particularly respected position if they are Batussi or Bahutu, but this does not apply to Batwa. And, as is true everywhere, the [556] rich in Urundi enjoy more respect and influence than the poor.

In spite of the considerable difference in social and legal status and in spite of the arrogance of the Batussi, the latter associate with the Bahutu on a friendly basis in most cases, a relationship similar to that between a master and his useful, docile servant. Even if a Mutussi is a mutwale of the lowest rank or a petty feudal lord, the Muhutu will never forget that in his relations with the former he is dealing with a master. If he should ever forget this, he most certainly would be reminded of his inferior status in a manner which would not be pleasant for him, but the "better situated" Muhutu regards the ordinary non-propertied Mutussi as his equal. At times, although [582] only rarely, there are even marriages between Batussi and Bahutu, yet these are not considered as completely valid (see p. 101 , 169). It is also reported that, as in Ruanda, a Muhutu [557] may be promoted to the privileged class of the Batussi by an act of royal favor.

563 The Batwa, however, stand entirely apart from and below the others. They are not slaves who are forced to render services, but they are regarded as excluded from the society of the others, as outcasts whom the Batussi and the Bahutu despise and detest. They are considered animals, not human beings (No. 19, p. 541). The Batussi and Bahutu do indeed buy all kinds of handicraft products, especially pots, from them and also employ them as medicine men, musicians, and watchmen, but they never enter into closer relationships with them. (In Ruanda it is more likely that exceptions will be made, especially at the royal court.) A Mutussi or a Muhutu will never enter the hut of a Mutwa, he will never eat or drink with him, nor will he use a pot or a garment which has already been used by a Mutwa. [95] Only one thing is permitted: the [576] Mutwa may greet the Murundi and return his greeting although in a different manner than a Murundi would have done.

576 Depending on the social status of the person who tenders a greeting and the person greeted, there are considerable dif-
554 ferences between the forms of greeting used among the Barundi. In all cases the greeting is tendered and returned with a certain amount of ceremonial politeness so much so that some observers maintain that greetings are a kind of religious act. Even the words of the stereotyped greeting often suggest a religious connection (see p. 46). It is perhaps for this reason, but even more likely because of the great innate or learned politeness of the Murundi, that each of them would consider it a serious insult if he were not greeted or if his greeting were not returned. Corresponding to the social stratification of the people, we may differentiate three large groups of greetings.

576 1. Greeting the king. The person greeting the king kneels down,
643 bends toward him, claps his hands in his direction, and calls
554 out: "uganse umwami" (command me, King) or "ugire umwami" (may you enjoy good health, King). The members of the royal family, the Baganwa, who for the most part rule the provinces as head chiefs, are greeted in a similar fashion.

554 2. Greeting the batwale who are not of royal blood and the lesser
576 chiefs of communities. The person tendering the greeting bows

554 toward the mutwale and calls out "amahoro umutwale" (Peace,
576 Mutwale) or "mwakeje umutwale" (did you wake up in good health, Mutwale?), whereupon the person addressed simply answers "amahoro" or "mwakeje." Or the person tendering the greeting calls out "turakuje ubwatsi" (we offer you grass) or "sjinde awansi" (conquer your enemies). At the same time the greeter plucks a handful of leaves, straw, or grass and places them at the feet of the king or the mutwale. This is a symbol of submission for the grass or straw is the symbol of the soil and of all that grows on it (No. 14, p. 48; No. 22, p. 254; No. 4, p. 79). The "grass homage" is a widespread custom among the
[71] Hamitic nations of herdsmen and it also plays a ceremonial role among the Galla (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, p. 275).

576 3. Greetings exchanged between ordinary Barundi. There is an extraordinary number of different types of greeting depending on the time of day, the occasion and the person involved, etc. In this type of greeting, "mwakeje" or "amahoro" is also used as the beginning phrase in most cases, but after that there follows a whole flood of phrases exchanged between the two persons. When taking leave, it is quite customary to call "ibaba" or "akababa" to the other person. These words are also used by the Wanjamwesi (No. 19, p. 529).

The Barundi do not embrace or kiss each other as a form of greeting, but there is a peculiar kind of accolade which is the customary form of greeting among relatives and friends. It is executed in a very ceremonial fashion and is accompanied by many turns of speech (No. 23, 1904, p. 36). If someone meets one of his relatives or a close acquaintance, he first gazes at him for some time without saying anything and then approaches, stretching his folded hands toward the person. The other takes these folded hands between his own and then gently strokes the arms of the person who greeted him. At the same time, the chests and heads of the two approach one another as though they intended to embrace. While these gestures are being made, numerous phrases of greeting are exchanged. The words

576 "ischo, scho, amascho"(cattle, cattle herd) are used frequently and signify that each wishes the other the greatest possible prosperity and happiness, namely, cattle. This is a very characteristic herdsmen's greeting which undoubtedly has been introduced by the Batussi (see p. 46).

431 [96] Giving and receiving presents (isimano, ingawano)
576 play a very important role in social intercourse. This also takes various forms depending on the social status of the donor and recipient and the event which occasioned the present. In Urundi it is an extremely frequent custom to give presents out of friendship, respect, politeness, or as a sign of submission. However, only rarely is the donor unmotivated by selfishness. In most cases he aims at receiving a present in return to which, according to custom, he is in fact entitled. If a present is given to the mutwale, the aim is to secure his favor in official decisions. To discontinue exchanging presents is regarded as a sign of hostility, the rejection of a present is considered a serious insult. The gift to be presented, whether it consists of field produce, pots of honey, goats, jugs of beer, or something else, is placed at the feet of the recipient. At the same time the donor never fails to taste a little of the food presented in order to show that it is neither poisoned nor bewitched. Then the donor makes a solemn speech assuring the other person of his affection and respect and asking him to return these friendly feelings; finally he openly requests a nice return present. This is what custom demands. The recipient of the gift replies in the same solemn manner and in the end promises a return present or has it brought immediately. At the sight of the present the other person frequently breaks into shouts of joy or begins a wild dance. Custom also requires that a little portion of the present be returned at once to the donor. This, of course, considerably
[563] facilitates the giving of presents (No. 19, p. 87). The Batwa among themselves also practice these customs connected with the giving of present, but to their Barundi chiefs they may only present pots, iron tools, weapons, tobacco pipes, or firewood, and, under no circumstances, beer, honey, or other foodstuffs since a Murundi would never eat food given to him by a pariah.

357 The domestic bondsmen, the servants, are an important
567 element in the social structure and the economic life. Neither in Urundi nor in Ruanda does slavery exist -- or rather, it no longer exists. In fact, the Batussi do not need slaves for the Bahutu are all bondsmen of the Batussi rulers and provide all the services that are required of slaves in other parts of East Africa. On the other hand, until the turn of the century, there existed quite a brisk slave trade out of Urundi to other areas. This was carried on under the influence of the Arabs and the coastal dwellers, with the Wawira, Bassuwi, Wassumbwa, and Wanjamwesi acting as middlemen. Not only did the Barundi sell their countrymen as slaves, in particular the women and girls, but also orphans were sold by their relatives, and even children by their own parents (No. 19, p. 212). The purchase price was paid in salt, pearls, and iron hoes. Pretty Batussi girls fetched the highest prices and were destined for the harems of the Arabs, prosperous coast Negroes, or the Wanjamwesi. As recently as 1900 there were public slave auctions in Uha (Heru) and in Usámbiro. Mainly slaves from Ruanda (Kissaka) and Urundi were sold there. A witness wrote at that time: "All the roads are full of slave trains, almost all of them women and girls. Eight out of ten female slaves perish, for these children of the mountains only rarely survive in a different climate" (No. 14, 1900, p. 178). At present, as the German occupation progresses, these atrocities have been stopped, and only rarely and under the cloak of secrecy is a girl or a child from Urundi sold into slavery in the neighboring areas.

[97] In Urundi itself, however, in the households of many
357 influential families, especially of the Batussi, there are, in-
597 stead of the domestic slaves, bond servants or maids (abaschumwi).
592 Although they are personally free, they have to work for the master and receive only room and board in exchange. They get their jobs by a kind of adoption; someone who has no relatives or who, for some reason or other, wants to leave his family will offer his permanent services to a prosperous Murundi or to a mutwale. The latter takes him into his home and treats him

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

628 in most cases. However, if the ransom is not paid, the mem-
672 bers of the injured group, with the consent of the mutwale, pro-
681 ceed to execute the victim. They take the captive to a remote place and first cut off his hands, then his feet, and eventually also the ears, nose, and tongue. Then the unfortunate victim is nailed to the ground by piercing four poles through his arms and thighs; there he finally receives the death blow through his chest (No. 19, p. 472). Another method of execution is to drive a sharp pole through his anus into his body up to his throat. The body is then exhibited in a public place. The vendetta takes similar forms among the other Bahima, down to the far south in Ufipa (No. 47, pp. 108-111). Stealing cattle and witchcraft are punished in the same cruel manner in Urundi.

762 [98] Persons intending to commit suicide, who are not by any means rare either in Urundi or Ruanda, usually kill themselves by hanging or drowning.

695 It appears that the oath (indahiro), the invocation of the deity, the manes, or the king for the purpose of affirming a statement, is not permitted as a legal device among the Barundi who, incidentally, "use oaths, curses, sorcery, lies, or trickery" copiously. On the other hand, a judge frequently inflicts the ordeal on the accused, especially if it is a case where he has charged with witchcraft and sorcery (No. 19, p. 405). Most often this takes the form of the spear test. It consists of stabbing the accused person's arm with a hot spear point. If the blood gushes out, he is judged guilty; if not, he is considered innocent. The water test is applied by making the accused place his hand into a pot of boiling water. If his hand is scalded, he is considered guilty, otherwise, not. Also, under certain conditions, the poison test is used, a custom found all over Africa. Of course, there exist all kinds of methods designed to make the ordeal come out correctly, like greasing or powdering one's skin, using counter-poisons, etc.

3. Clans, Exogamy, Totemism

614 In addition to the social stratification resulting from the different ethnic strata of the population with the Bahima conquerors, Batussi, as the upper class, there is in the entire interlacustrine region a subordinate social structure determined by kin groups or clans consisting of blood relatives. Depending on their nature, there are clans of Batussi, of Bahutu, and of Batwa. As a group of families related by blood, the clan is the basis of the entire social organization of both Ruanda and of Urundi, and also of Karagwe, Kisiba, Ankole, etc., while the political state is organized on the feudal system. Unfortunately, we 614 know very little about the clans of the Barundi since my pre- 114 decessors have given little attention to this institution and since the natives are reluctant to give information about these conditions, more from fear of the evil results of mentioning names [551] than from their religious concepts (see p. 111, 112). These things are much clearer in Ruanda where Czekanowski, assisted by the missionaries and Christianized natives, was able to obtain much interesting information about the clan structure (No. 48, Chap. 11). What I am able to convey below I owe -- except for my own findings in the field -- to information received from Capt. von Langenn-Steinkeller and Father van der Burgt.

"In his Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi, van der Burgt refers to a few privileged Batussi families from whom the kings customarily choose their wives (see pp. 99, 101, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]), but he fails to mention anything about an organization of the entire population into clans which is of decisive legal, social, and political importance. In reply to my direct inquiry, Father van der Burgt sent me the following information: "Formerly I held the belief for a long time that no clan organization at all existed in Urundi. Both in Unjamwesi and in Kisiba (No. 31, p. 5) one always hears people speak of their luganda (families, cognatio) and their kisse (pl., visse), i.e., clan; for example, whenever one asks a woman for her name, she first gives the name of her clan, e.g., "I am a Magana" or a "Njamurega" or a "Kundwa," etc. In central

614/114 Urundi, however, I only once heard a woman say that she was a Magana. Thus, I would say that clan organization is not as pronounced in Urundi as it is in Unjamwesi, Ussuwi, Kisiba, etc. In Kirundi I am not familiar with a word like the Usâmbiro "kisse" [99] but the Warundi often speak of their "umurjango" which also means kin group, clan. However, in Ruanda clan organization seems to be well developed. In northern Urundi (Mariensee Mission) where there are many Wanjakissaka immigrants, they often speak of their clans, but this does not apply to the Warundi who live there.

"Whether there are few or many such clans in Urundi I do not know. I discovered the names listed below, but I cannot guarantee that they are genuine Urundi clan names. I rather think that they originate from the periphery of the country: Wajango, Wamagana, Wassindi, Waschambo, Wasinga, Wajambo (Wanjambo), Wasigawa (Wasigaba), and others. Incidentally, although the population is divided into clans, the members live all over the area without rule or restraint, i.e., not localized."

Van der Burgt further lists (see p. 183 [not translated]) the Wakundo, Warwanda (Wawanda, Babanda?), Wenengwe, Wanjakarama, Wasigaba, and Waterwa (Watoirwa?) as the families closest to the royal family. On the other hand, Capt. v. Langenn informs me that the Batussi families of the highest rank are the Banjakarama, Benengwe, Banjakissaka, Baschunguka, and Boschoka, after which there follows a second series of families, also very distinguished, the Bawanda, Bahondogo, Bassawu, Bawejuru, Baschama, Bega, Bawankundu, Babile, Basindakire, and others. A few of these family names, like the Bega, the Bawanda, the Bakundo, and the Baschama, were repeatedly mentioned to me in Urundi, and in addition the Baschambo, Basito, Bagessera, Bakango, Balenge, Baransi, Balesi, Bakono, Basseke, Bassabu, Bajosi, and Barire.

If we compare these names with the family names listed by Czekanowski in his clan tables from Unjoro, Toro, Ankole, Mpororô, Kjamtwara, Kisiba, and Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 41, 88, 233-251) and with those mentioned by Kandt, van der Burgt, van Thiel,

614 Stuhlmann, P. Schumacher, Meldon, Roscoe, Rehse, and
114 others, we rediscover over half of the Barundi names also in these lands, especially in Ruanda. This indicates the direction of the closest relationship to the Barundi families. According to legend, the Basinga, Bagessera, and Basigaba are the oldest kin groups there (see p. 153 [not translated]). Probably these clans of Urundi and the northern Bahima states which have the same name are mere offshoots of one original clan which split up as the result of a large increase in numbers or from being harrassed by war and spread over the area by migration. Throughout Urundi, Ruanda, and the northern areas of the interlacustrine region, the Bawanda, Bega, Bakango, Baschambo, Bagaia, Basindi, Basinga, Basito, Bajango, Basigaba, Bajubu, and others are most widely dispersed, while the Bahondogo, Bassabu, Baschunguka, Babile, Basindakire, Barire, and Basseke seem to be restricted to Urundi, although future investigators may discover them in other areas. Perhaps their blood relatives and namesakes may be found father south and west, rather than in the north.

614 The majority of the clans listed above are those of the Batussi, but the Bamagana, Bajango, Basseke, Basjubu, Barire, and others are Bahutu. In addition to this, there are numerous Batwa clans whose names, however, I was unable to ascertain. Some clan names refer both to Batussi and to Bahutu clans. In fact, a few, as, for example, the Bagessera and Basinga, even refer to Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa clans. It appears that the type of clan structure, the internal organization and the hierarchy of the clans, their social role, and their mutual legal relationships among the Batussi differ essentially in only a few characteristics from those of the Bahutu and the Batwa, namely, in those institutions and rules whose aim is to keep the Batussi blood pure and to maintain the exclusive position of their race and thus its authority. [100] Remnants of earlier endogamy still exist among them (see p. 101), while otherwise the clans are strictly exogamous. Probably the Batussi adopted the clan organization of the older ethnic elements in Urundi, just as they adopted many

614 other customs and institutions from them. However, the Batussi have contributed to a considerable extent in further reducing the importance of the old clan system. For the stronger the monarchy became and the more power and privileges the batwale who had been appointed by the king and the independent Batussi chiefs demanded and enjoyed, the less they could tolerate the continued existence of the authority of the former clan heads or clan elders and the more they suppressed and reduced the clan privileges still existing and replaced them by the administrative organization of the growing Batussi feudal state. In Ruanda, which is under strict monarchical rule, the activity of the clans in law and social affairs has been to a greater extent suppressed and restricted. Even in Urundi where the monarchy is not as strong and the state is more differentiated, the clans have had to hand over to the king and to the chiefs most of their former privileges, and they have lost their solidarity. In spite of all this, the clans continue to exist as a natural organization of the people alongside the artificial one of the state. Not only have they preserved in their organization and customs quite a number of traditions from earlier times, but they also carry on many activities stemming from their organization which have general social significance and effects. This is true particularly of functions relating to family law.

The chief characteristics of clan organization have remained the same as in earlier times: the patriarchal nature of the organization; the exogamy of the clans among each other; the totemistic peculiarity of each clan and, connected with this, the injunctions and taboos (abasiru) affecting the members, especially food taboos. These clearly separate the clans from each other. Further, there is the communalism of the clan members and the protection of the members of the kin group by their clan, by vendetta if necessary. Even under Batussi rule, this acts as a restraining influence against acts of violence by Batussi officials.

Let us briefly review the chief points as they were sketched by Czekanowski for Ruanda. Each clan recruits its members by

614 patriarchate, by patrilineal succession; each child belongs to the clan (umurjango) of its father from the day of its birth. Strangers may join the clan only in exceptional cases, but they do not enjoy full privileges. The greater the number of male members of the kin group, the stronger the clan is in its internal and external functions, the better will it protect and benefit the individual. This accounts for the fervent wish of each father of a family to have as many sons as possible and to bring them into his clan.

Marriages between the members of the same clan are forbidden. A clan member may choose his wife only from another clan. Strict exogamy is thus the rule. C. Meinhof traces the origin of this custom, which is particularly pronounced among the African Hamitic herdsmen, back to the fact that originally the wife belonged not just to a single man but rather to the whole kin group, to all clan associates of the man in common. In other words, the whole of the man's clan married the woman, and for this reason she had to be from another clan (No. 41, p. 84). Clear remnants of this kind of group marriage still persist among many of these Hamitic tribes and also among the Massai; it is customary for a husband to put his wife at the disposal of any clan member during the time of the latter's visit. [101] Also, the married wives are so easily accessible to the men of their clan that prostitution is almost nonexistent among these tribes. The concept of adultery is meaningful only with regard to illicit intercourse outside the clan. To a limited degree this is also true of the exogamous marriages of the Barundi (see p. 107). A member of a Batussi clan never enters into a completely valid marriage with a member of a Bahutu or a Batwa clan, and there never occur wholly valid mixed marriages between members of Bahutu and Batwa clans. The racial distinctions among the three large population groups are stronger than the rules regarding exogamy. It is true that Batussi may frequently be found in Bahutu clans and Bahutu in Batussi clans, but these are either offspring from concubinage with Bahutu women or from other liaisons with inferiors through special circumstances, and they are not regarded as fully valid clan members.

563 614

614 It appears, however, that the exogamy of the clans is not entirely unrestricted. It seems that members of a Batussi clan cannot enter into marriage with the members of all other Batussi clans, nor can the members of a Bahutu clan marry the members of any other Bahutu clan. It seems rather that the member of a clan is restricted in his choice of a wife or husband to a certain number of other clans, most probably to those having the same totem (umusiru). As among other peoples practicing totemistic exogamy, marriages may originally have taken place between old totemic cult groups founded upon animistic concepts (No. 43, p. 162). It appears that in this case also marriages are restricted to clans which have the same totem or belong to totem groups which entertain friendly relations with each other. Among other East African tribes, for example, among the Wagogo [Gogo], Wahehe, Bafipa, Banjoro, and Baganda, marriage is at least not excluded if the partners have the same totem (No. 49, p. 164). In any case it is not the identity of the totem but only the membership in the same kin group, i.e., consanguinity, which is the determining element in exogamy. Evidently exogamous and totemic groups have different origins even where they coincide (No. 49, p. 166).

614 In the rest of East Africa exogamous, totemic clans exist
171 among the Sulu [Zulu] (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 380), the Wangoni (395), Wagogo (402), Wahehe (404), Waheia [Haya] (406), Wayao [Yao], Makua, Makonde (406), Massai (408), Watakomba (420), Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Kamasia [Kamasya] (426), Wakawirondo [Kavirondo] (448), Basoga (457), Baganda (472), Banjoro (513), Batoro [Toro] (531), Banjankole (535), Galla (540), Basiba (No. 31, pp. 5-6), Bafipa (No. 47, pp. 131-135), Wakamba [Kamba], Wataweta [Taveta], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], Wabena [Bena], Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, [Sukuma], Wasango [Sango], Wawemba, and others (No. 49, pp. 122-124). If among these tribes the clans are not exogamous -- as among the Wahehe and the Massai -- the subclans into which the clans are divided practice exogamy. Often there are four clans and

614 almost everywhere the totem is called musiro or umusiru (pl., 171 abasiru).

In Urundi only the royal kin group, the Baganwa clan, is 614 not strictly bound by the rules of exogamy. Its members may 643 marry members of other clans of the high Batussi nobility (exogamy), or they may marry other Baganwa (endogamy). The king of Urundi himself always practices exogamy and marries into one of the four (or six?) highest clans (pp. 99, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). Under exceptional circumstances the king in both Urundi and Ruanda may, or must, as the case may be marry even his own sister or daughter (see p. 182 [not translated]).

Among the Bahima of Ankole, Unjoro, Ufipa, among 614 the Baganda and the Galla or Oromo, the kings and princes 643 of royal blood may practice endogamy within the royal kin 171 group and may even marry their own sisters while all the other clans are exogamous (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 523, 538, 541; No. 27, p. 105; No. 47, pp. 49, 132; Emin Bey, Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 120).

[102] As an extreme form of endogamy, marriage with a sister is practiced in East Africa only in cases of emergency when the ruling dynasty is unable to preserve the purity of its blood by any other connection. It probably is or was practiced by the ruling families of other peoples past and present only if the dynasty, as, for example, the Bahima, came either as peaceful immigrants or as conquering invaders and originally formed an alien element which excluded any miscegenation with the subjugated group (No. 43, p. 150).

From the fact that there are always several clans with the 614 same totem it may be concluded that these clans originally belonged to the same tribe which later split into two or more kin groups and clans as a result of growth while nevertheless keeping

614 the common totem. After separating, the clans took different names. Among the Bahima and Bahutu of East Africa, unlike the North American Indians, the totem name was not used as the name of the clan itself, but rather, as among the Australian aborigines, the names of the clan and the totem are different. However, the totem cult and its membership have been preserved even though in diluted form (cf. No. 43, pp. 142-143). In a few individual cases the names of the kin groups are identical with that of their totem, as among the Basoga, Basiba, and Banjoro, while the kin groups of the Baganda are named, without exception, after their totem (No. 49, p. 155).

Both in Urundi and in Ruanda the totem (umusiru) is still the cult object of the clan or the clan group, even if only in a passive or negative sense, in that everything connected with the totem must be strictly avoided by its clan. There is no active cult devoted to the totem either among the Barundi or among any other Bahima people (cf. also No. 47, pp. 133, 134 and No. 49, pp. 145, 147). Sacrificial offerings are occasionally made to them but that is all. Among most Rundi clans the totem is an animal or part of an animal. Much more rarely it is an object, as, for example, the small pillow with which burdens are carried on the head or the basket in which sweet potatoes are stored, even more rarely plants or parts of plants, flowers, and stones. The definite predominance of animal
614 totemism is probably related, as among all peoples organized
775 by totems, to the idea that the totem animal was originally
171 considered the "ancestral animal." Among the Barundi and Banjaruanda, however, this does not appear to indicate that the particular species of animals is regarded as the founder of the race or the tribal ancestor or ancestress of the particular clan, but rather that the soul of each clan member after his death enters an animal of this particular type. Evidently the belief in a relationship between the human kin group and the totem animal species does not include the concept of common descent from the same ancestral animal. Whenever a member of the kin group dies, this relationship is renewed by his soul entering an

614 775 171 animal of his totem species. In Central Africa many tribes of the northern Congo basin and of the western Sudan (No. 49, pp. 140-142) have the same belief.

614 Van der Burgt believes that the royal family of the Barundi has no totem (letter). According to other reports, however, their totem animal is probably the large python (see p. 118) which is also the "soul animal" of the kings; this also applies to the Basiba (No. 31, pp. 107, 130) and to the Baganda (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 500). According to the belief of the Banjankole, the souls of the kings enter into lions, those of the princes into snakes (No. 26, p. 151; No. 27, p. 102); among the Banjaruanda the souls of the kings enter into leopards."

[103] Thus, the belief in a relationship between clan members and the totem animal is one of the roots of totemism; the other is the same kind of animism that gives rise to awe and fear of the spirit of a dead person living in an animal or some other object and, in connection with this, brings about the cult of ancestors (cf. No. 49, p. 169). For this reason the totem animals are identical with the "soul animals" which are generally assumed to be the residence of human souls (see p. 118). In this case, too, these are characteristically animals, those which excel in great speed and agility and, thus, are suggestive of the vital breath, as, for example, the snake, lizard, certain fish and birds, the otter, weasel, duikerbok, long-tailed monkey, or those animals which have a sinister appearance or other terrifying characteristics, as, for example, the chameleon, the insect walking stick, leopard, buffalo, and hippopotamus. However, certain kinds of domestic animals, for example, black, white striped, or otherwise mottled cows or certain varieties of sheep may be chosen as totem animals by many clans. The veneration of cattle, which are neither used for work nor ordinarily butchered, would indicate that they were formerly the cult animal of the Bahima herdsmen, which to some extent is still true today. Some clans designate only liver, heart, and intestines of certain animals as totems. This custom is also found among many other Bahima and Bantu tribes. This is

614 probably done for a variety of reasons: partly because the original clan split up into several totem groups; partly because these organs of the animal body are most often regarded as containing the soul; partly for the practical reason of not wishing to forego the enjoyment of eating the meat of the entire animal. For a clan of herdsmen, it would have been impossible to select only cattle as their totem like, for instance, the hyena or the chameleon since the clan would have had to go hungry because of the taboo imposed by its totem.

614 784 262 For the clan member his clan totem, his umusiru, is an object of awe. It either inspires veneration as a member of an earlier generation of his kin group or it causes revulsion for other reasons. It is taboo to him, either because he regards it as sacrosanct due to its superior characteristics or because he regards it as impure due to its disagreeable characteristics. In their effect on the attitude of the clan member, these two emotions are the same. The umusiru is carefully avoided. Any injury or, what is worse, killing of a totem animal, any contact with or occupation connected with the totem or a part of the totem is considered an offense of which it is difficult to purge oneself. Eating its meat or drinking its blood or milk is prohibited. Out of this strict food taboo, there developed the now predominant attitude that meat, blood, milk, and other parts of an animal are impure and injurious to the health of the clan member. The impurity can only be eliminated by [783] means of elaborate ceremonies, and the umufumu (medicine man) determines the amount of the penance which depends on the seriousness of the case. Moreover, violations of the totem taboo, particularly of the food taboo, are automatically and magically punished by illness or even death for the offender (cf. No. 49, pp. 152, 153).

Since the members of other clans eat the meat of the totem animal of one clan, they are regarded as impure by this clan. Thus, the food taboos erect barriers between clans with different totems. For example, [104] if members of the clan of the Bawanda (Babanda), whose totem is the duikerbok, find

614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
784 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests
563 that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism. In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

614 Wherever monarchy with its state organization has not yet
621 dissolved the clans and dispersed their members all over the various feudal districts of the Batussi state (see p. 89), wherever the clans have preserved the main elements of their ancient solidarity and autonomy, as is the case particularly in the more or less independent border provinces of Urundi (and Ruanda), the clans form small or large communities under an elected clan elder (umugabo). This is especially true of
614 the Bahutu clans that existed in the area before the period of
423 Batussi rule. The office of the umugabo is hereditary in
621 many cases. The central communalistic element in the organization of these clans is the communal ownership of the land occupied by the clan. The land belongs to the clan community probably because it was originally appropriated and cultivated by the clan. The individual clan members is merely entitled to the use of the land he cultivates or of the pasture where his cattle grazes. Only the hut built on this ground is the real property of the individual, in addition to the inventory of implements, tools, weapons, and the cattle he has raised from the herd with which he has been vested by his feudal lord (see p. 93).

614 E. Johanssen, a missionary who in 1907 founded the first
182 Protestant missionary stations of Dsinga and Kirinda in Ruanda
[114] and who is an eminent student of the Banjaruanda, makes the following comment on the social importance of the Ruanda clans: "These kin group organizations hand down the old customs and traditions from one generation to the next. In this way they preserve the national characteristics against intermixture and decay. The easier it is to loosen the ties of the family group in its narrowly defined sense as a result of polygamy and by the dissolution of marriage, the greater is the [105] importance of the stable, indissoluble, religiously determined kin group. The destruction of this group would cause the entire nation to disintegrate and to split up into isolated groups which would be exposed to any outside influence. There can be no doubt that the kin group, as the

614 vehicle of tradition and religious customs (totem, food taboos,
182 sacrificial community), has been of great importance in sustaining the nation's life." (No. 39, p. 73.) This characterization also applies to the clans of the Barundi.

However, the Batussi monarchy is a most powerful enemy
614 of the clan organization. The growing power of the Batussi kings
642 has laid claim, as has been shown above, to all the land and
182 cattle as the personal property of the king who parcels it out in larger or smaller portions as fiefs to his Batussi followers (see p. 89). The king's vassal, in turn, divides his fief into smaller portions with which he vests his people. The former clan elder is usually appointed mutwale of the king and collects the taxes and other tribute of which he retains a share. Under the conquering kings the clan has thus been disrupted socially and economically and has been rather quickly absorbed into the political feudal community of the state, although it may still retain its clan name, its old customs, some of its institutions, and its totem for a long time to come.

There is one element of the old clan organization which
642 the clan members have retained even under the political re-
614 organization of the Batussi monarchy since it offers them a
628 strong protection against arbitrary acts of their rulers: it is
182 the vendetta (kuhora). Originally, allied clans used it as the most effective way to protect themselves when they were threatened by other clans. Even at the present time the vendetta is the strongest bulwark for the protection of the individual in spite of the fact that public and private security has considerably increased under the strong rule of the royal batwale. Despite criminal jurisdiction administered by the batwale, the vendetta is still used by the clan members as the most effective form of self-help and as a protective instrument of intimidation on the part of those who are politically weak. A person who kills or injures a member of a clan is killed or wounded by the members of the wronged clan (see p. 97). If the wrongdoer cannot be apprehended, the vendetta will strike another member of the criminal's clan. Indeed, more than that, some clans

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price; the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are [589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor. If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife. Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within
583 the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a
685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358).
595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

595 reach a marriageable age, and the girl has been chosen as his marriage partner by his parents; he will then take a concubine from a lower class for the waiting period. However, in most cases, the parents give their sons free choice.

584 When a young man takes a liking to a girl, he first proposes marriage to her without asking anyone else. If she accepts, the young man asks his parents to pay the "bride price." When the parents have given their consent, the suitor sends a matchmaker to the parents of the girl or, if her parents have died, to her closest relatives. If the father or, if he is dead, the mother refuses or explains that the girl has already been promised to someone else, the matter is considered closed, and the two lovers have to give each other up. If, contrary to 836 the orders of the parents, they engage in extramarital intercourse, the girl will, in most cases, receive corporal punishment. If she should become pregnant, she is placed completely outside the social pale, for by her behavior she has cheated her parents of the purchase price, and she has also deprived other girls of the opportunity of being asked for in marriage in her place.

583 However, when a girl's father or mother, as the case may be, accepts the suitor's proposal, the matchmaker has to negotiate the purchase price (inkwano) for the bride. This fluctuates depending on the individual, the position of and the property owned by the bridegroom and the bride. Among the large class of the unpropertied, a few strings of small pearls and a few pots of pombe beer are considered sufficient. Among more prosperous groups the bride costs, besides beer and pearls, one or more goats and sometimes even one or two head of cattle (No. 4, p. 221). Among the families of the rich and powerful, that is, the Baganwa, a bride may seldom be had for [107] less than 10 to 15 head of cattle. A bride can also be purchased by paying a part of the agreed price. In this case the young husband becomes security for the rest of the money but does not need to pay it if the marriage is annulled.

585 The objects constituting the agreed purchase price are sent to the bride's parents by the bridegroom through the matchmaker.

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No. 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage.
582 Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close
582 relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a
563 Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the
836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely
837 surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband
684 is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in flagrante delicto (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution
586 of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.
[587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes
587 the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
587 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia,
171 Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

768 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's
736 family and provide for their widowed mother. However, childless widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or by begging.

The position of women is higher and the esteem in which
562 they are held is greater than among most other East African
593 Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned, the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the husband. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the
[462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found among any other East African people -- that husband and wife
[264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier husbands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex-
562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded
[644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of respect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

595 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi. [837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is [428] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists. [428] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children [563] have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very [842] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage [583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi; 548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see
also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are
no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a
people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi,
probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force
available to the parents and the better are the prospects of
obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of
herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359).
As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is
particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the
husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove
the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is
induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions
made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret
science among the women, and the men do not appear to have
any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[613] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [116] by the head
man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in
Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions
is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers
tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and 853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feel- 845 ings. Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand, Gasslinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No. 45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which 845 conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the 782 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in. Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By vener- [776] ating this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19, 845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces 535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffoca-
[826] tion). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

553 As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nsujimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal; kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

853 The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the affair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more rejoins his playmates. The children are kept clean and given 854 [515] a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time [482] in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground. They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which 513 is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

854 p. 63). In order to put the child to sleep and also to soothe it
513 in the daytime, the mother may lightly pat its back and occasionally sing a monotonous "cradle song." Van der Burgt has recorded one in which the evil mother-in-law is mentioned to frighten the child: "Be quiet; otherwise I shall take you to the mother-in-law. She will give you only water. When the cows come home and are milked, you will go hungry. Mother-in-law will not protect you from the sun nor against hunger" (No. 19, p. 71).

Spiritually and morally the children grow up wild. There
861 is no effort to cure children of bad habits nor to teach them good ones. As long as the children's bad manners do not inconvenience the parents, they even take pleasure in inciting them to fits of temper, to fight, and to steal. Only in exceptional cases is there any practical training in special jobs and handicrafts. Whatever the children learn is acquired by observation, listening, and by helping with work. From an early age they must help their parents in all their work, and being by nature intelligent and vivacious, they soon become surprisingly independent.

145 Boys reach puberty (kukura) when they are between 12 to
864 15 years old, girls even earlier. Long before that, however,
839 they are enlightened about sexual matters and have learned many loathsome things of a sexual nature from those who are older. This does not mean that they have sexual intercourse at a very early age, but onanism and masturbation are widespread vices.

[113] About these practices van der Burgt reports (No. 19,
839 p. 361): "Puellae praesertim horibili huic vitio valde deditae sunt, sub praetextu quidem, ut magis aptae fiant matrimonio et viris placeant. In actu ipso nefando quoddam juramentum vel potius imprecationem pronuntiant: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. Insuper variis mediis utuntur ad majorem voluptatem sibi procurandam. Media generatim sunt plantae, vel radices plantarum arborumve, quibus labia perfricantur." [Tr., "The girls especially are given to indulge in this horrible vice at an early age under the pretext that this makes them more fit for

839 marriage and is pleasing to men. During this execrable act, they pronounce certain oaths or, rather imprecations: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. In addition, they use various means to obtain greater pleasure for themselves. In general they use plants or roots of plants and trees with which they rub the labia." Van der Burgt adds in a letter to me: "His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes prostent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adspirantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt 'pulchras se facere,' quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione." [Tr., "By means of this friction they extend the labia so that they become yellow and protrude, and they try to give them an extraordinary size and length. This custom may be considered
[171] a general or national one not only in Urundi and Ruanda but also among the majority of tribes of central Africa with few exceptions, as, for instance, the Wasukuma. Consequently, it is not primarily intended as a means of obtaining pleasure, but the
[826] girls simply wish to 'make themselves pretty,' since very many young men would not marry a girl who did not have such labia. After marriage the girls abstain from this manipulation."

I could not learn anything about the puberty rites; how-
881 ever, they most certainly are celebrated. Van der Burgt does not report anything on this subject either (No. 19, p. 394). In
304 any case, boys are not circumcised nor are girls infibulated. Only the Batwa, who in contrast to the Batussi and the Bahutu practice deformation of the teeth, sharpen the two upper incisors with a knife as an act to announce puberty (No. 19, pp. 105, 155).

I also was unable to ascertain whether the youths who had
561 reached puberty joined a social club or formed a special "age

561 group" as is found among several East African tribes. Is such a social institution does exist among the Barundi, it plays no role in public life. Nor are there special bachelors' huts or kraals for such an age group, while among other Hamitic peoples of East Africa -- or peoples under Hamitic influence -- for example, the Massai, the Wapokomo [Pokome], and the Galla, these age groups constitute the principal structure of the entire social life.

Among the Massai there are three age groups: the boys living with their parents, the unmarried youths (of the warrior caste) who live together in their own kraals, and the peaceful married men. Similarly among the Wapokomo and the Galla there are: first, the boys; second, the various age groups of those who have been circumcised at the same time, or Luva; and third, the class of the older men, or Gada. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 262 ff.) In Ruanda the youthful band of warriors which usually appears at the court of Musinga for festive occasions and performs war dances might suggest that such an "age group" of unmarried youths exists among the Batussi, but perhaps they are only a kind of cadet or page corps of the king (see p. 65).

888 775 Old persons who have lost their physical and mental agility are seldom seen since they remain within the homesteads. Their next of kin take care of them until their death (ukufa), perhaps less for reasons of piety than for fear that if they treated them badly they might take revenge after their death as spirits. 763 When a person is dying his family usually gathers around him. Immediately after death, the women in the house and the neighborhood raise a loud and plaintive wailing while the men close the eyes of the deceased, bend his arms and legs, and tie him up (in a crouched position) so as to prevent him or his spirit from returning. Preparations are immediately made for the burial.

764 Burial in a crouched position is also the custom in Ankole, 771 Mpororó, Ufipa, and in other Bahima states, also among the

764 Massai and the Galla. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa,"
171 Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 283; and No. 47, p. 159.)

764 [114] With the exception of executed criminals whose
[766] corpses are thrown into the bush for the hyenas to feed on, all Barundi are buried (kuhamba). Baumann reports that "the next of kin cut open the belly of those who have died in order to search for the evil charm responsible for the death" (No. 4, p. 222). I have not been able to confirm this either by my own investigations in the country itself, by van der Burgt, or others. The corpse is not washed but is put into the grave in its ordinary garments and with its amulets; at best it is wrapped in an old mat. No other funeral gifts are added. The burial takes place a few hours after death has occurred.

The grave (isjobo) is dug within the courtyard next to the fence or, if the dead person was the father of the family, in the center of the courtyard opposite the entrance to the main hut (No. 19, p. 203). However, according to O. Baumann, the grave is dug inside the hut itself (?) which is then abandoned. (No. 4, p. 223). While the corpse is being carried to the grave, the women once more set up a loud lament; they act as though they intended to prevent the burial, and they shout words of farewell to the deceased. If the dead person was the father of a family, the widow squats beside him before his burial, applies butter to his head, and speaks well of him so as to make his spirit look with favor on the members of the family. Then the corpse is placed in the grave which is padded with leaves; it is placed on its right side in a crouched position. Then the grave is filled with earth and a little sepulchral mound is formed on top upon which are placed various objects that the dead person used, for example, earthen vessels, old baskets, the plaited screen that covered the entrance to his hut, and other things. After a short time these objects are removed, the sepulchral mound is leveled, and nothing is left to indicate the site of the grave.

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than 766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

[765] The mourning period for a mutwale lasts two to three weeks.
However, the highest honors are paid to the dead king
766 (see p. 185 [not translated]). The corpse is first wrapped in
775 hides and barkcloth. It is not buried but dried over a smoking fire until it has become completely mummified. The first worm ("soul worm") that leaves the corpse is put into a milk pot and fed until one night it leaves the pot and turns into a giant snake (isato) in which the spirit (umusimu) of the dead
766 king will reside from then on. The corpse is not embalmed. The corpse of the king is not arranged in a crouched position as are those of the common Barundi; the arms and legs remain extended (No. 19, p. 204). In Ankole, however, the king's body is also put in a crouched position, wrapped in cowhide and buried (No. 27, p. 101). In Urundi the dead king is then put on a wooden trestle in the center of the homestead and left to lie in state until the feet of the trestle are eaten by termites. Under certain conditions this may take months. It is reported that King Kisabo lay in state in this way for an entire year. A local missionary told me that the deceased was
[588] even "married" to a young wife whose duty it was to take care of him and to provide him with food and pombe beer every day. During the entire period in which he lies in state the king's subjects gather from all corners of his realm; they pray to his spirit to win his favor, eat and drink in a festive funeral banquet beside his bier, and praise the deceased. Of course, the great ceremony of the "holy spear" is also performed. The
[765] official period of mourning for the king is one month. Finally, the mummy, accompanied by the medicine men and priests and followed by a wailing crowd of people, is carried away by the closest male relatives of the king. It is taken a distance of several days' journey to Ganso Mountain in the northwestern border mountains adjoining Ruanda, south of the source of the Ruvuvu River. The corpse is finally buried in a forest which may be entered only by the members of the royal family (Baganwa) and the priests. According to van der Burgt, however, it is not buried but simply laid to rest in a hut (see p. 186 [not translated]). The other Barundi kings have also been laid to rest there (No. 4, p. 223). On the other hand, van der Burgt writes

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro
171 that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned
768 as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a
775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place an
769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca-
766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and
661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is
[761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

[117] Chapter 9

Religion, Myths, Cults, Missions

1. Gods

771 The religion of the Barundi is probably best described as animism and totemism, with a generous admixture of elements of fetishism (talisman), manism (worship of the ancestral spirits), and hero cult. The last has already become a cult of gods in many respects. This mixture of elements of the "totemistic era" with those of the "era of heroes and gods" (No. 43, pp. 116, 278) is undoubtedly the result of the mixture of the indigenous Batwa and Bantu with the Hamitic conquerors who added their totemistic clan organization and the cult of their heroes -- who have become tribal gods -- to the clan system, animism, and fetishism of the Batwa and Bantu. All these different social and religious elements have permeated each other, partly by merely existing side by side, partly by merging together and changing, so that it is often difficult to separate out neatly the individual elements and to recognize their origin.

Animism and the belief in demons constitute the main body of the religious concepts of the Barundi. These beliefs are shared by Batwa, Bahutu, and also the Batussi, although the latter to a much smaller extent. Apparently in Urundi as well as in all the rest of the interlacustrine region the Bahima brought with them more refined religious ideas from their original homes in the north. These ideas partly repressed the crude belief in demons and sorcery held by the Bantu Negroes and gave a more important role to ancestor worship. It is true, however, that the large majority of the Bahutu still cling to the old primitive belief in demons and sorcery which conforms so well to their spiritual bent. The Barundi believe that everything is endowed
774 with a soul. As among most primitive peoples who are still
787 at the stage of animism, their ideas of an immaterial soul are based on the observed fact that in a sleeping body there exists

774 something which is alive, which does not rest but thinks, sees,
787 and moves about. In a dream this incorporeal part of us sees the world not merely as a person who is awake does, but it also meets the dead who thus continue to exist incorporeally after death. If this immaterial element, the life-generating soul, permanently leaves the body, the human being dies.

774 The distinction between the body or shadow soul and the breath soul which W. Wundt and C. Meinhof considered characteristic of totemistic conceptions (No. 43, p. 203; No. 41, pp. 32-34) apparently fits [118] the notions of the Barundi, for the Murundi clearly distinguishes between the spirit of a dead person, the umusimu, and the soul active within a living person, the umutima, which is destroyed at the moment of death along with the pulsating heart, the indihagusi (No. 46, p. 15). It further seems certain to me that the Barundi conceive of all things, organic or inorganic, as being endowed with souls; this does not only apply to persons and animals but also to plants, stones, stars, fire, fountains, rivers, etc. These are not simply regarded as the occasional residences of former human and animal souls but as having souls of their own. Thus, the thorny bush which scratches the hunter and makes him bleed does so not only because it is the abode of what formerly was a malicious human soul but because it has a malicious "bush soul" of its own. The fountain refreshes the thirsty traveler not because, or not only because in it resides the spirit of what was formerly a generous person but because it has its own generous "fountain soul."

775 Umusimu is not only the term for the spirit of the deceased but also for the object or the animal which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as its residence; there may be various ones. Frequently these are small oblong pebbles (inguru) from the fields of the deceased. These pebbles are collected by the next of kin and put into a wooden trough which is placed inside the sacrificial hut where a beer sacrifice is made to them (No. 46, p. 16). Often the soul of a dead person also resides in an object close to his former dwelling, in a tree, fence, or rock, often also in an animal which by its nimble

775 agility conjures up the idea of the breath-like fleetingness of the soul, especially in snakes, lizards, and birds and also in unpleasant animals like toads, crocodiles, hyenas, and others. Apparently the members of certain clans all turn into specific animals, the totem animal (umusiru) of the clan (see p. 102). In general the first worm leaving the decaying corpse of a person is regarded as the vehicle of his soul until it has choosen another definite residence. As mentioned on p. 115, the first worm leaving the corpse of a king is therefore fed with milk until it turns into a large python who is worshipped as a god. The souls of great batwale turn into other snakes, lions, and leopards, who then reside in the holy groves (imana) near the graves. From there the snakes often visit the huts of the family and the mother of the family regards them as soul animals of the deceased family members and feeds them milk. The same [171] is true of the Galla, the Massai, and the Kaffir [Xosa] of South Africa (No. 41, p. 36; No. 19, p. 354). The idea of divine punishment, purification, and expiatory transmigration of souls which missionaries in particular read into this transfer of human souls into animals was certainly foreign to the Barundi originally. The fundamental notion of such a "transmigration of souls" is rather the totemic affinity of a human kin group with a particular animal species (see p. 102). The Barundi are, however, in the least disturbed by the internal contradiction contained in these notions, namely, the fact that the animal, tree, rock, stream, etc., which is occupied by the soul of the deceased person, would then have to have two souls. The logic of Negroes is different from that of Europeans.

The question of the immortality of the soul, which, of course, is strongly emphasized in the teachings of the Christian missionaries, leaves the non-Christianized Murundi as cold as all other East African Negroes. His imagination and ethical needs are [119] satisfied by assuming that the soul survives death. He is not further concerned about how long this survival lasts. Perhaps he thinks, as most other African natives do, that souls do not live on for eternity but that they gradually become weaker and smaller and finally disappear entirely (No. 41, p. 41) or that after the soul has entered an animal its life will be extinguished with that of the animal.

775 The spirits of the dead are, without exception, more or less evil and hostile to the living even if they were relatively good-natured when they were still alive. The dead person was forced to leave behind everything that he loved and cherished in his life, and for this reason he is filled with envy for those who survive and possess all these things. These jealous spirits, hostile to men and causing sickness, ruined crops, cattle epidemics, and other misfortunes, are the dreaded abasimu or imisimu (sing., umusimu); to repel, confine, appease them, or to win their favor forms the largest part of the thoughts and acts which occupy a Barundi's mind in his daily life. We find these primitive evil spirits among all the Bahima under the same name, abasimu or imisimu, even in the southern area of settlement, in Ufipa (No. 047, pp. 167-168). The envy and
775 hostility of the abasimu are soothed and assuaged by placing
782 valuable objects belonging to the deceased on his grave. Also, as often as possible morsels of food and parts of the objects formerly belonging to the deceased and now in use are offered as a sacrifice (see p.136). The incorporeal spirit eats or uses only the incorporeal part of these sacrifices, i.e., the "essence" of the proffered beer, meat, millet gruel, jugs, knives, arrows, hoes, etc. The sacrificial offerings are nothing but a premium to obtain greater security against the hostility of the abasimu. By no means can they be regarded as pious offerings to the revered and beloved ancestors. The Murundi only offers sacrifices to the manes because he is afraid of them. Yet a more effective method than making sacrifices is joining a
775 religious secret society, the religious fraternity of the ababandwa
794 of which we shall speak in greater detail below (p. 124). These ababandwa assume a privileged position in the realm of the spirits after their death. If their behavior within the society has been found correct, they come to Riangombe where, as imandwa, they form a kind of bodyguard of the god. They are, so to speak, the saints of the Barundi heaven.

776 Above the innumerable nameless abasimu and above the imandwa there is a stratum of higher spirits who are given names.

776 The relation between these two groups is similar to that of the ruling caste of the Batussi to the Bahutu (No. 19, p. 213). They are all personified beings whom we may call simply gods. A whole series of them bears the same names as former historical personalities among the Barundi or neighboring peoples. Everything that is said about them proves that these gods were originally heroes, chiefs, and kings of the people. As a result of their apparently superhuman characteristics and acts, they were worshipped as heroes and have gradually been elevated to the rank of gods. The hero has not been formed after the image of god, but the god after the image of the hero (No. 43, p. 280). Nor are these gods personifications of great natural phenomena, as, for example, the sun, moon, clouds, or thunder. The Murundi regards these phenomena simply as the residence and the expressions of the abasimu who inhabit them but not the personification of individual gods (No. 43, p. 358 ff.).

776 177 The name-bearing hero-gods of the Barundi who have been [120] vested with the characteristics of superhuman personality and immortality are -- judging by the attributes and histories ascribed to them -- partly popular gods of the indigenous Bantu and Batwa and partly an import of the Hamitic conquerors, partly also a mixture of both these elements. Van der Burgt does not believe that the deified heroes were originally Hamitic princes but emphasizes (reported by letter) that "most of the names of the gods belong to Bantu religion and are Bantu words." He maintains that in addition to the language the Batussi also acquired the gods of the Bahutu, but that the Batwa have some gods of their own, for example, Indagarra. However, among the 30 names of Barundi gods listed by van der Burgt (No. 19, p. 214), the following appear to me to be of Hamitic origin, or at least not genuine Bantu gods: Riangombe, Umugassa, Wamara, Kagoro, Ruwambo, Ruhanga, Rugba. Of these, Riangombe (Ljangombe, Djangombi) is also worshipped as a god in the Bahima states of Ruanda, Kisiba, Mpororó, Ankole, and others. He is thought to have been a Ruanda-Mutussi, the pupil of the first Ruhinda, and it is said that he distinguished himself by his great magic power (see also p. 188 [not translated]). Umugassa

776 or Mugascha is worshipped as a god of streams and of rain in
177 Uganda ("Mukessa," see Anthropos III, p. 214), in Ankole, Kisiba, Karagwe (Lake Mugascha), Kissaka, and Ussuwi. According to the tradition of the Basiba, he was a former king of the Sese Islands in the northern part of Lake Victoria (No. 31, p. 128; No. 27, p. 110; No. 34, pp. 518-519). Wamara is worshipped in Ankole and in Kisiba as the spirit of the dead souls. According to Banjankole tradition, he was a king of the Batschwesi in Baera (Uganda) who were a Hamitic people different from the Bahima, and he conquered Ankole. According to Rehse, he was "formerly a great ruler to whom the nations from Nyanza to the Congo State owed allegiance" (No. 31, pp. 126-127; No. 34, p. 520). Kagoro is regarded in Kisiba as a grandchild of Wamara (No. 31, p. 133). Rugaba or Lugaba, who is worshipped as the creator of man and cattle in Kisiba and in Ankole (No. 27, p. 108), was, according to van der Burgt, "the oldest king of the Wahinda" (No. 19, p. 219). Rehse writes of the gods of the Basiba that "the description of this world of spirits would at the same time represent the oldest history of Kisiba as well as that of all the central African countries." This also applies to the hero-gods of the Barundi. It would be a rewarding task to study these religious sources, especially for missionaries!

The Basiba worship a supreme god named Rugaba as the
776 creator of the world and the highest giver of grace, but they never offer sacrifices to him (No. 31, p. 125). In the same manner the Barundi and Banjaruanda (No. 28, pp. 1-13) worship Imana. He is never offered sacrifices or prayers, as an unapproachable supreme being. People prefer to turn to gods who are closer to human beings, who have once been human beings themselves, like Riangombe, Kiranga, Wamara, and others. Although he is conceived of as the personified creator and ruler of the world, Imana is the only one in the abode of the gods of the Barundi whose name is sometimes used as a
776 general term for the world of the spirits. Imana is simply "the
778 divine," "the godhead." Imana is also the term for all that is sacred to the Murundi: the sacred trees, the sacred steer, the

776 king, the amulets, the oracle animals, the sacred spear, etc.
[778] (No. 19, p. 214). The same applies to Ruanda (No. 44, pp. 284; No. 39, pp. 102, 109). Imana is given a number of different names or is identified with other gods, depending on his different characteristics and functions. This is also true in
[551] Ruanda. Children are often given names which contain the word Imana: [121] Kaimana, little Imana; Mbonimana, gift of Imana; Ndorimana, appearance of Imana; Keschimana, ornament of Imana (No. 23, 1913, p. 308). Both men and
[842] women, if they wish to have offspring, wear an impusu y'Imana, a garment of Imana, made of reddish barkcloth with black circles painted on it. Imana is the supreme god of all manes, of all ancestral spirits, and thereby has the character of an old national god.

Although Imana as the sole creator of the world ranks high above the other gods, one nevertheless cannot describe this as a monotheistic concept of the Barundi, as is done by some missionaries (No. 44, p. 283). Nor is it correct to attempt to see a kind of "Trinity" in the fact that, besides Imana, the Barundi have two supreme gods, Rikiranga and Riangombe, whom they often identify or confuse with Imana (No. 19, p. 214). This is to put Christian interpretations on the matter, and these are foreign to the thinking of the Barundi.

It appears that Kiranga or Rikiranga ranks closest to Imana. If Imana is described as the supreme head of the high ancestral spirits, Kiranga is the ruler of all the lesser demons and of all things material. For this reason von der Burgt describes him as a kind of "logos payen" (No. 19, p. 216). He is the god to whom people appeal first for assistance in all worldly matters. It is Kiranga to whom the priestly cult of the crowds is devoted, to him the ceremony of the "sacred spear" is dedicated (see p. 134), and the high priest calls himself Kiranga for he is "possessed" by him, he is his medium (p. 123). To all appearances he is a deity of the old Bantu population and has remained
776 quite free of Batussi influence. The missionaries refer to
778 Kiranga as the "devil" (No. 23, 1904, p. 123). It is said that
793 near Mujaga in central Urundi Kiranga possesses two large herds

776 of cattle led by two sacred steers. He is thought to have a sacred
778 mountain administered by a priestess who wields great influence
793 and is even immune to the power of the king, although the latter keeps her under constant guard so as to insure that she fulfills her cult duties. If she neglects her duties, she and her closest relatives are executed upon the order of the king. Her office, it is said, begins and ends with the reign of the king, for after the king's death she has to take poison.

776 Father Gassldinger describes Kiranga as the "great
782 destroyer," the Lucifer of the Barundi. People appeal to him first in all their afflictions, misery, and fear, and it is to him that most sacrificial huts (akararo) are dedicated. Inside these huts there is, as a rule, a big three-legged earthen pot with three spouts into which the sacrifice is deposited. Besides beer, grain stalks constitute the main sacrificial offerings made in these huts. Horns of cattle are also burned in them as sacrifices (No. 45, 1913, p. 359 ff.).

776 It is characteristic of the confused conception which the Barundi have of the different personalities of their gods and spirits that they often mix up the terms and attribute the names of several gods to a single one of them. For example, one may hear them say: "Riangombe is powerful, he is Kiranga; Kagoro is also Kiranga, he is Sengoga." Kiranga is also called Rugaba, Ruhanga, Inganje, Njabaski, Indagarra, or Rukisa, or these names are used as epithets of Imana, and the word Imana itself is used as a plural concept (No. 45, 1913, p. 363). Among the names listed there are several which we already know, as shown above (p.120), from other Bahima states as the names of specific gods and spirits. In Urundi their images seem to have faded [122] so much that they are confused with one another, and the concepts people had of them seem to have been reduced to mere attributes or epithets of Imana who in any case has already become a collective term for "sacred" or "divine" rather than a personified god.

Riangombe is third among the gods. He is the supreme head of all good spirits (imandwa) whom Imana entrusted with the task of guiding human beings and protecting them against evil

776 spirits (abasimu) (No. 44, p. 286). In Ruanda the religious society Kubandwa is dedicated to him (see p. 124), and after death he is the judge of the just and the unjust. For this reason he plays a more important role than any other god in the ethical and emotional life of the Barundi, and the same is true in Ruanda. This is also demonstrated by the fact that Riangombe (or Imana) is the protector of what to the Murundi and the Munjaruanda are their most treasured possessions: their cattle (see p. 46).

776 According to Ruanda tradition, Riangombe during his human existence was a Muhima of the privileged kin group, the 773 Bega, the highest nobility next to the royal family of the 772 Banjeginja. His father, Babinga, was the religious head of Ruanda, and Riangombe became his successor as the chief of the ababandwa, the religious fraternity. At the same time the political king of Ruanda was Lugansu who at first made war on him but then recognized and honored him (No. 44, p. 281). Imana was very favorably disposed toward the high priest Riangombe during his lifetime. When the latter died, Imana led him to the high volcano Muhawura where Riangombe now grazed his herd and planted his tobacco (the large-leafed Senecio). The plantations, however, were destroyed by the evil spirit Niragongo who resides on the mountain of the same name [Nyiragonga]. Then Riangombe, backed by Imana, sallied out against Niragongo, destroyed his dwelling, and set fire to the mountain (the volcano Nyiragongo). Now Riangombe alternately lives undisturbed on Muhawura and Karisimbi [Mountain] where he grazes his large, sacred, milch cattle herds and where he is served by the imandwa, the spirits of the deceased members of the religious society of the ababandwa. These alone enter his "Paradise," while the souls of unblessed, profane persons (abansigo) are relegated as demons (abasimu) to Namlagira and Nyiragongo where in the "Hell" of the volcanos they lead a shadowy existence as slaves. This is the Ruanda tradition as reported by Father Arnoux (No. 44). The essential elements of this tradition have also been preserved among the Barundi. Indeed, one still finds here even the account that after his death Riangombe was buried on the

776 mountain "Vurunga wa niangombe" in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 216),
773 although the Virunga volcanos of northern Ruanda are completely
772 unknown to the Barundi. The concept of Paradise and Hell (Karisimbe and Nyiragongo) is probably of local origin in Ruanda; in Urundi nothing of this sort is known (van der Burgt, written communication).

776 Both in Urundi and Kisiba, Riangombe is mainly regarded as the protector of cattle. In Kisiba he is only worshipped by the Bahima, and his priest is always a Muhima. However, he does not enjoy special status in Ankole (No. 34, p. 520). Further, since in Ruanda and Urundi he (next to Kiranga) is the focus of worship for the religious fraternities (ababandwa) and since in Urundi he is even revered by the Batwa as their chief deity (No. 19, p. 216), one may conclude that this herdsman's god, who evidently came into the country with the Bahima, has gradually been adopted by the Negroes and has become established in the old Negro mythology of the Bahutu and Batwa.

[123] Father Loupias, however, is of a different opinion. He assumes that Riangombe was originally a deity of the Bahutu or perhaps of the Batwa, and he states that in Ruanda neither the king nor the "great" Batussi are members of the order of the imandwa which is dedicated to Riangombe (No. 28, p. 6). The latter statement, however, is true also for Urundi, but it might be interpreted as aristocratic reserve on the part of the Batussi nobles against close contact with the Bahutu or with the Batwa.

Among the other Barundi deities which have not been mentioned above, the following are most probably the old indigenous gods of the agricultural Bahutu and the Batwa: Indagarra is the god of procreative power, a "Priapus," who is worshipped especially by the Batwa; Njamurimi is regarded as the protector of the fields; Njankuru is the national god of the Basige in northwest Urundi; Ingansje appears to be a god of time, "Chronos"; Wandamutoni is the wife of Imana; Ikisjego is the son of Imana; Tusara is the god of the spirits of domestic service, "kobold"; Kwiguka is the god of lewdness; and there are many others (No. 19, pp. 216-220).

2. Cults

793 Each of these gods is worshipped by specific cults; each
787 has his specific priest whom he "enters" from time to time,
makes him "possessed," and lets him prophesy and perform
794 feats of magic. There are male and female priests. Allegedly
756 the female ones remain unmarried. Divine power and inspiration and the predisposition for being possessed are in most cases passed on from father to son or daughter in the same manner as the power to heal and to raise spirits which is held by the medicine men (abafumu).

793 In Urundi these priests are called iviranga (sing. kiranga); in Ruanda, imandwa; in Kisiba, wabandwa. Among the persons who dedicate themselves to the cult of gods and spirits, the kiranga most of all has the character and functions of the priest in our sense. He has the same name as the god Kiranga (derived from the word root kira, to put in order), and he is regarded both as the representative and as the ambulatory abode of the god himself. Men or women become kiranga either because their fathers or mothers were kiranga and transmitted this talent after their death or as a result of having been struck but not killed by lightning, the sign of the power of the god (No. 19, p. 253), or they are seized by the spirit and enter a state of
[828] manic possession at the Kubandwa celebration or the "sacred spear" ceremony (cf. p. 134). As soon as such happenings and conditions make their appearance, the person in question is declared a kiranga and has to officiate at the ceremonies of the holy spear which are performed on so many occasions (No. 19, pp. 462-463) and to mediate between humanity, suffering or filled with metaphysical urges, and the spirits and gods.

As has been mentioned before, in Ruanda the ecstatic
791 mediators of the world of the spirits are called imandwa. They are male or female, divinely chosen mediums of one of the principal spirits, i.e., either Riangombe, Binego, Mugassa, or others. Depending on this association with a particular god, they have to adorn themselves in a fashion different from the others. They have to express themselves by growling, hissing,

791 or howling. A special spirit language is also used. Usually
[198] they fall into a religious ecstasy after consuming copious quantities of beer, and the spirit himself [124] will begin to speak through them and utter prophesies and oracles. They are
[672] not responsible for anything they do while they are in this spiritualistic-mediumistic state, even if they commit the worst violations of law and good manners (No. 39, p. 100). Those who are possessed make liberal use of this immunity, and one may very well consider this one of the chief motives for the whole institution of the imandwa cult.

In Unjoro the medicine men are also called abandwa. They "practice magic by killing animals or using certain herbs" (No. 9, p. 377).

Through the writings of A. Vix and B. Struck (Nos. 34 and 36) and Rehse (No. 31, pp. 107, 132), we have more precise knowledge from Kisiba of these persons who are called wabandwa and each of whom is possessed by a specific god. There, too, they differ depending on the nature of their god or demon, but all of them display their power "in hysterical fits caused by auto-suggestion." One of them may be an expert at making rain, another at curing the plague, a third may be proficient in agricultural matters, a fourth in the curing of cattle, etc. When the spirit seizes them, these divinely blessed persons put on a leopard skin, which the chief furnishes them, and a fur cap. Then they hang amulets from their necks and dance, holding long sticks and gourd rattles (Plate 54). However, they are not organized in a society.

794 In contrast, the ababandwa in Ruanda form a religious
575 cooperative or fraternity, and there are suggestions of this in Urundi too. The people in question are not the divinely possessed priests (kiranga) nor the magicians and medicine men (abafumu) to whom we referred above, but pious men who dedicate their lives to the god out of concern for their earthly well-being and for the future salvation of their souls. They are all organized in a fraternity, a cult community, bound by solemn ceremonies, and they offer their sacrifices jointly.

Van der Burgt does not differentiate between the ababandwa, the wachwesi, the iviranga, the ivisjego, etc.

794 575 (No. 19, pp. 220, 292, 463, 516), so it is impossible to obtain a clear picture of the nature of the Kubandwa cult of the Barundi from his writings. However, his accounts corespond essentially to the descriptions of the Imandwa secret society of Ruanda which have been given to us by Father Arnoux and the missionary Johanssen (No. 44 and No. 39, pp. 96-101). Thus, we can obtain many insights concerning Urundi from their writings. Quite correctly van der Burgt refers to similar cults of the "Watschwesi" (Batschwesi) fraternities in Ussuwi, Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Unjamwesi. In their nocturnal orgies have been preserved the last traces of religious cults and cult societies which still function openly as national institutions in Urundi, Uha, and Ruanda. The old relationship is also still recognizable in the hymns which are sung at such celebrations of the Watschwesi in Unjamwesi, Usindja, and in eastern Urundi. It is noteworthy that their lyrics are in the Old Kirundi language (No. 19, pp. 220, 463).

794 575 198 Father van Thiel, too, reports that in eastern Ussuwi at the ceremony of the Kubandwa, the admission to the society of the ababandwa, a ritual language called luchwesi is used. Father van Thiel lists a few dozen words (No. 24, p. 57), for example: bulege, bow; milasa, arrow; migasi, meat; muto, fire; masugunu, milk; muyara, head; manono, teeth; agawesa, eyes. It will have to be investigated whether this luchwesi is identical with Old Kirundi (cf. pp. 149, 332). Czekanowski gives a few specimens of the secret language of the babandwa in Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 316-317).

794 575 171 The following is known about the ababandwa in Ruanda. According to legend, the historical high priest Riangombe, before dying, expressed the desire [125] to be worshipped by the Batussi as well as by the Bahutu and the Batwa, without differentiation by caste. For this reason they all, without differentiation, dedicate themselves to him in the Kubandwa ceremony. It appears that this tradition merely means that the fraternity was extended to include the Batussi, for according to tradition

794 the fraternity of the ababandwa existed long before the histori-
575 cal Riangombe. It is most probably an extremely old element
171 of Negro religion in East Africa which has been preserved in its pure form in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda, Karagwe, the eastern Congo (Bunjabungu) (No. 44, p. 291), and in a degenerate form in Unjamwesi and Ussumbwa. Many parallels to it can be found in the secret societies of the Bantu and Sudan Negroes of Loango, the Cameroons, Togo, the Gold Coast, etc. Ac-
794 cording to van der Burgt, the Kubandwa cult in Urundi is part
575 of the Bantu religion of the Bahutu and has been taken over
114 by the Batussi. However, the king may not participate in the cult while the Batwa are very dedicated to it, partieularly to that of Kiranga. In his dictionary van der Burgt defines the ababandwa as a "société religieuse et secrèt" (No. 19, pp. 220, 463), but according to a more recent written communication he regards the Kubandwa not as a real "secret society" but as a gathering for a mysterious cult act to which not everyone is admitted, for example, children. Captain von Langenn, however, regards it as a religious secret society in which old sorcerers play the leading role; admission to it follows special ceremonies. Missionary Johanssen, too, describes the analogous institution in Ruanda as a "society of the initiated or of mediums" who are in contact with the world of the spirits and join Riangombe after their death, in contrast to the laymen, the insigo, who are excluded from this community (No. 39, p. 96). Father van Thiel likewise refers to the initiated persons of the Kubandwa cult in east Ussuwi as a "soeiété secrète" whose leader is the sorcerer (No. 24, p. 49).

[793] In Ruanda a high priest (kiranga) is the head of the
794 ababandwa. He is appointed by the king, but he may also be
644 dismissed by him. In Ruanda the king appoints the mpara as his
575 assistants. They are a group of ababandwa who enjoy the privilege of offering their sacrifices to Riangombe in the kraal of the king. It is noteworthy that they are all Bahutu. This is probably a concession to the old Bantu origin of the Kubandwa cult. These mpara, in addition to the Batwa who live at the k king's court (see p. 13), are the bodyguards and the "guardians of the royal sleep," and much confidence is placed in them (No. 44, p. 292).

794 575 The main reasons for joining the Kubandwa are usually the following: the invitation of a magician; the wish to be cured of a sickness or to be rescued from a difficult situation caused by evil spirits; the intention of obtaining a privileged position of various material advantages of joining the cult society; the fulfillment of a promise or vow made to one's ancestors; the carrying on of a family tradition, etc. Thus, we have motives in all of which the positive principle of utility strongly predominates.

The consequence of joining the Kubwanda [sic] is that the umubandwa ceases to be a member of common humanity; he now belongs to an exalted adoptive family which protects and promotes its members. We might regard it as a kind of Free Masons' Lodge. Through solemn vows the newly admitted members pledge themselves not to betray or violate the secrets of the Kubwanda. If a member should nevertheless do so, the [789] ababandwa curse him, wishing all sufferings on him, and Riangombe carries out the malediction (No. 44, p. 294).

[126] The ceremonies of the Kubandwa, the admission 796 of new members to the society, are accompanied by a great 794 number of formalities; they are identical, however, for Batussi, 575 Bahutu, and Batwa. To the best of my knowledge they correspond in their main outlines to the procedure that is customary in Ruanda which is as follows. First the aspirant (nsigo) informs a sorcerer (umufumu) of his desire to be admitted to the society. Then the abafumu require weeks and months to obtain the spirits' [787] assent by performing all kinds of sorcery: they listen to their "inner voices," they observe floating pieces of butter and wood, they read the entrails of chickens, sheep, water-wagtails, etc. (No. 44, p. 530). During this entire period the candidate is expected to bring the umufumu a series of presents: sheep, goats, beans, iron hoes, even cattle (required of the Batussi). At the same time bananas, meat, pombe beer, and other delicacies must be offered as sacrifices to the spirits in the little sacrificial huts. At last the spirits agree to the admission of the candidate. Then the abafumu choose from their circle a sponsor whose duty it is to introduce the candidate to the ababandwa. The real

794 admission to the order by the society's members is then enacted
575 in the kraal of the candidate. It is accompanied by innumerable
796 formulas, ministrations, invocations of Riangombe, Painting of face and body, eating, drinking, dressing up, handling the sacred spear, alternate chants, and the rattling of bells and gourds. Each of these acts has a symbolic meaning and reference (No. 44, pp. 539-558).

At the end of the ceremony the candidate's sponsor puts
[292] on the insignia of Riangombe (leopard skin, headdress with a cow's tail, etc.) and thereby turns into Riangombe himself who now in his own person performs the ceremony of the admission of the neophyte by a kind of examination and instruction. However, the novice is initiated to no profound secrets or "esoteric wisdom," as in the mysteries of antiquity, but only to ritual formalities, and though the novice is required to make a solemn vow that he will keep the secrets of the Kubandwa, this refers merely to these superficial ceremonies, for, like the other ababandwa, he knows of nothing else. In conclusion, the newly admitted member once more offers presents to Riangombe and to the ababandwa assisting him. Then Riangombe confers
[551] a new name on the novice by which he will be exclusively known in the future; in Ruanda, for example, the name may be "the little one who smashes the stone," or "the one who swallows cream," or "the one who steals from his mother," or "the one who rids the dogs of fleas" (No. 44, p. 870). After this the neophyte is a regular member of the society. Then the ababandwa, decorated with the insignia of their spirits, march through the countryside collecting food which is finally squandered in an eating and drinking bout (No. 44, p. 110). The newly admitted umubandwa then has to give public demonstration of his newly acquired power. A Munjaruanda who finds himself in some difficult situation asks him to help him appeal to Riangombe or some other god or protective spirit (for example, Kiranga, Masira, Binego, Kagoro, Mugassa). This is done by ceremoniously imploring the god to grant the request and by slaughtering in honor of the god a sterile cow, an old steer, or a ram, which is consumed by the ababandwa of the entire region (No. 44, p. 123 ff.). [127] On this occasion, as at all cattle sacrifices,

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. 121). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the
[302] courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and
[301] narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.
575 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[534] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128] Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Riangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
796 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
794 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
575 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word
198 insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
794 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

796
794 Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting
575 for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all
[576] kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured;
another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga
promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him
generous presents of beer and cattle.

Now the dance begins under the direction of a female
796 leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the
794 flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist
575 joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each
535 other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become
gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward,
sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are ac-
companied by staggering steps. The dance excites the par-
ticipants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl lead-
ing the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the
others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums
and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the
meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer.
Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places
amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he
names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively ap-
plause" (No. 45, 1913).

The women are usually particularly skillful in this role.
796 The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head,
794 which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells.
575 Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome
786 sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with
her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool
and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred:
"All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is
greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of partici-
pants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again
the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall
die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions
jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

796 bellies" (i.e., like sick cattle). And so it continues with in-
794 numerable wild curses. When the storm has subsided, individ-
575 ual supplicants once more stumble forward in front of the
786 enthroned woman, pay profuse respects to the "king," and request his help in opposing witches and sorcerers who have harmed them. The woman promises this, and with the voice of a fury she calls for a pledge of faith to Kiranga. [129] The ivisjego jump up, and under their leadership and accompanied by the noise of all the instruments and with a thousand curses and screams, a dance is performed, such that in the end everyone is bathed in sweat.

A wild drinking bout by the men and women follows, while they repeatedly scream to Kiranga sitting on the footstool: "Remain on the ruler's throne forever, King of Urundi; Kiranga is king." After that the frantic dancing in rows and the noise continue until the woman representing Kiranga becomes thirsty and surrenders her place to a male successor who is then the host. Naturally, he also is enthroned with tremendous jubilation. In this fashion the drinking and dancing, the invocations of Kiranga, and the curses against enemies continue through the entire night until early morning. Then suddenly the whole group breaks up, and in single file, rattling their bells, they run to the nearest stream where they all wash themselves. With this, the celebration comes to an end, and everyone goes home. From this moment on, none of the participants of the celebration may show any sign of recognizing his companions. The whole Kubandwa must be kept secret. However, the host who last "played" Kiranga belongs from now on among those most privileged and divinely blessed.

796 Since much beer is drunk at these cult festivals and at all
794 other celebrations and it is only available after harvest time,
575 from July to the end of October, all festivals occur exclusively
273 in these months. Every night, especially when there is moonlight, one can hear the noise of drinkers and dancers from the banana groves. Usually they are mere drinking bouts which resound into the night and have no further importance, but often they are cult gatherings of the abandandwa in which only members of the fraternity may participate.

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
569 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

There is another group of persons who maintain close
756 relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with
791 supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person
756 in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

756 accordingly" (No. 45, 1913, p. 46). As a rule the craft of the umufumu is passed on from father to son, but it is also possible for extraordinary events or experiences suddenly to lead a Murundi, who until then has not felt any inclination to be an umufumu, to practice sorcery (kuragusa), for example, if he is unexpectedly saved from death. Then people say: "You have been chosen by Kiranga, and you must help us and mediate between him and us. Go and find the necessary objects, we shall come." If someone has thus been elevated to the status of the abafumu without any of his doing, if for many years he practices his craft and is sought after by numerous suffering people, success quite understandably often causes a kind of auto-suggestion and self-deception. Gradually the umufumu begins to believe more and more in his own power. He does after all believe in the magic of Kiranga, and besides, quite often he uses real and effective medicines in his cures. However, pious belief often goes hand in hand with a liberal dose of deliberate deception.

751 Father Gassldinger gives an excellent description of the
789 versatility of the abafumu in inventing and manufacturing their amulets and also of their function as magicians which affects every situation in the life of a Murundi: "The little stranger has hardly arrived on this earth when his brother, uncle, or nephew runs to the umufumu and asks him to come to the hut and to bring along his isato, the magic wand. The umufumu does not have to be asked twice. He puts a large number of peculiarly shaped pieces of wood and bones into a bag and immediately appears at the side of the newborn infant. The family may be rich, and in this case a great show must be made to earn the generous reward which is expected. First, he spends quite a while practicing all kinds of tricks. When he has finished with this, he solemnly takes the real iviheko from his bag: finger-length pieces of wood covered with butter and red earth and with a hole in the middle; then a few seeds of a sacred tree adroitly wrapped in twisted straws; a little antelope horn filled with ocherous earth into which are stuck small pieces

751 of wood and cat's hair; two leppard claws; a piece of snake skin
789 covered with soot; a little box made of dried pumpkin rind containing a piece of umbilical cord and hair of a newborn infant mixed with bean flour and ashes of the bones of wild boars, etc. He hangs these 20 to 30 small amulets around the infant's neck, and another such string with at least a dozen of these amulets is tied around the child's loins: one amulet against intestinal worms, another as protection against lightning, another against diarrhea, the next against snake bite, another one against skin diseases, and the last one to help the child become fat and strong. The umufumu breathes on the child, flails his arms convulsively, rattles his bells violently, and blesses and sanctifies the individual iviheko, for the Barundi do not believe in a power in these sticks, hair, and horns in themselves but only in the blessing and anointing which they have received from the umufumu. The potency of this blessing depends on the power of the umufumu and on the rarity of the substratum, the vehicle of this sanctification. There is no other Negro tribe which believes as firmly in the iviheko or which wears them in such great numbers as the Barundi.

789 "After the child has grown somewhat older, he begins to make crude bows and wooden arrows for himself and to practice shooting at birds. At that stage his parents seek even stronger iviheko for him, especially the horn of a gazelle filled with powder and containing a few iron points. This is supposed to impart strength for hunting, to make for good marksmanship, and to deflect the missiles of the enemy. When the boy has reached the age when he wants to find himself a wife, there is another series of iviheko to help him. After the marriage, he safeguards his wife's faithfulness and the speedy arrival of healthy [131] offspring by using still other amulets. In disease and misfortune and especially when he feels death approaching, the Murundi seeks rest and comfort in sleep caused by using particularly strong iviheko. On a journey the Murundi wears his own amulets; he sticks others in the four corners of his field; some hang over his bed. There are more amulets hidden near the entrance to the hut, and particularly strong and powerful ones are buried in the earth next to the fireplace. Sick cows are supposed to be cured

789 by iviheko. They also neutralize the evil influence of personal enemies. When at war, the night before the battle, the Murundi sleeps on his beloved iviheko, and he is laid to rest in the grave together with his iviheko.

"Once the body of a Murundi has been made invulnerable, it is still necessary to secure his property. Another amulet is fastened to the spear, or a special stick bought from the umufumu is carried in the same hand as the spear, or a magic sign may be scratched into the iron of the spear. An additional amulet is fastened to the top of the bowstring. Inside the hut a pile of amulets is buried in the ground near the entrance, one amulet is fastened above the entrance, but the most powerful and effective ones are placed near the three hearth stones. There are other amulets used in the fields, against hail and storm, against locusts and other calamities. Very frequently one may find them also on roads, especially on those leading to the banana groves or directly to the hut. If one is careless, he may easily stumble over slabs of wood colored ochre-red, protruding about five centimeters from the ground, and that, after all, is their purpose: a person with evil intent is expected to stumble and fall on the road, thus revealing himself to be an umurosi (malicious witches or wizards)." (No. 45.)

791 293 424 756 The magic power of the umufumu is handed down in families, not only by blood relationship but also by transfer of the insignia characteristic of the umufumu, which consist chiefly in a leopard skin, a headdress made of a cow's tail (Plate 54) and goat hair, a gourd rattle, a stick with charms, a certain way of painting the body and the face with light-colored clay and fat, etc. (No. 19, p. 461).

791 756 The abafumu of the Batwa enjoy a special reputation. They are feared by the Barundi because of their strong magic powers, but they are also consulted for cures. The supreme head of all medicine men, however, resides in Uha (No. 19, p. 462). He lives in the northern district of Ujungu and was formerly called Kawango, the name of one of the spirits of the interlacustrine region. He was probably the medium of this god.

791 This chief sorcerer was a kind of Delphic Oracle for the entire
756 interlacustrine region. He enjoyed such a high reputation that the kings of Urundi and Ruanda often sent missions to him to obtain the benefit of his counsel. The same is also frequently reported of the rulers of Usindja (No. 35, pp. 498, 506). As far as the sorcerers of Urundi, Kisiba, Ussumbwa, and other adjoining areas are concerned, we know that at times they travel to Uha in order to learn higher magic from the famous abafumu who live there. On the other hand, there are Baha medicine men who are employed as "court sorcerers" by various rulers of the interlacustrine region. The influential court sorcerer of the Urundi king, Mutaga, is also a Muhutu from Uha. His name is Kiburua (Ndandi), and he is well provided for by the king (report by von Langenn). It appears that all these Baha sorcerers are Bahutu, Bantu. This again is connected with the fact that the Bantu is by nature inclined toward mysticism and that the Bantu population is much older than the Bahima immigrants. There is no sorcerers' school in Urundi or Ruanda, where one might learn the secret teachings and practices from a "Council of Wise Men," but, as has been mentioned above, power and wisdom is passed on from one generation to the other within the family. Whoever has inherited these attributes and wishes to augment them must try to imitate the techniques of other magicians.

[132] As is evident from the examples reported by Father
756 Gassldinger which have been listed above, the functions of the umufumu are extremely varied. They encompass all conceivable physical ailments of man and animal, and the umufumu applies innumerable natural and supernatural techniques for assuaging and curing them. In the opinion of the Barundi, however, the natural remedies are not successful merely because of their natural characteristics -- for what does he know about physical and chemical effects, about the physiology of the body, or about causality, etc. -- but their effects stem from supernatural
[753] powers imparted to them by the umufumu. They believe that sickness, when not a case of direct poisoning, is usually caused by the supernatural influence of evil spirits (abarosi). It is, of
756 course, true that the Murundi, for his domestic use, applies
757 a great number of simple remedies which have been passed down

756 to him for generations, but this is done before the "case" be-
757 comes serious and requires the attention of an umufumu. These remedies are in a class by themselves (p. 140), and at this point we are only discussing sorcery, magic remedies and their application.

Regardless of the kind of remedy which is to be applied,
755 the Murundi first tests its effectiveness by external application. Even those remedies which can only be of help if taken internally are first strapped or spread on the ailing part of the body since they are expected to have a magical power similar to an amulet. Even European medicines meant to be taken internally, such as pills, powders, or tablets, are first wrapped in a leaf by the Murundi and tied to the sick organ. Only if he does not feel any improvement after that, will he finally make up his mind to swallow or drink them.

There are countless numbers of true amulets (iviheko)
751 which are made of various substances and in various shapes.
789 They are always worn suspended on the body in a small compact form (Plate 55). We have already listed quite a number of these above (p. 130). Usually they are suspended from the neck on strings, but frequently they are also tied to the head, to the belly, or to the genitalia, etc. At times each one hangs on a separate piece of string, at other times dozens of different kinds are strung up on a single piece of string, similar to a necklace. The material used for making the amulet is not as important as the sorcery through which the umufumu imparts supernatural powers to the object, but in most cases the amulet consists of a piece of wood three to six centimeters long, if for no other reason than that it is easiest to produce and to carry. One may also see claws or hooves of leopards, cats, goats, and sheep, the bones of birds, pieces of snake skin or the fur of wild animals, dried fruit, mussels, pebbles with unusual shapes, but, most frequently, powder from various types of soil, ashes of burnt bones or of the horns of animals, and flour made of various kinds of grain (No. 19, p. 29). Usually these powdery charms are poured into a small cattle, goat, or antelope horn whose opening is then closed with wax. Hollowed out fruit

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies, against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who
[556] can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most
[554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the
[791] Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most lucrative sources of income.

The abafumu have another important task: to discover
754 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various
791 ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

754 the first to be considered responsible if a person becomes sick
791 or dies, if a storm devastates the fields, if the cattle meet with an accident or are attacked by epidemics, when women remain barren, if infants are aborted, if thefts are committed, etc. The abarosi frequently employ poison, which is popular both in Urundi and in Ruanda (No. 48, p. 319), but in most cases they use their magic powers. The abarosi obtain magic power over people or over their cattle and other possessions by appropriating a little piece of a person's body, some hair, the paring of a fingernail, sputum, semen or urine, or some cattle dung, straw from the hut, or soil from the fields. All of these things give the abarosi power over a part of the person's "soul." This explains the great reluctance with which a Murundi, like all East African Negroes, allows a stranger to take pictures of himself, submits to physical measurement, or gives his own name or that of his family. If the medicines and protective amulets prove to be ineffective against the black magic of the abarosi, the umufumu will close in on the malefactor, the umurosi. By inspiration and by questioning his magic rattles and other apparatus, the umufumu's suspicion is directed to certain persons, who in most cases are old women! They are accused,
[695] arrested by the mutwale, and if there is no other proof, the umufumu subjects them to a kind of ordeal in which fire, poison, or boiling water is used. In most cases the verdict is unfavorable to the accused (No. 19, p. 405). In petty cases the person found
[688] guilty receives physical punishment or has to pay a fine; in serious ones they are simply beaten to death and thrown in the bush (see above, p. 97).

The umufumu's power of divination may also be directed
791 to other things if the party concerned so desires and is prepared
789 to pay the price. Through special ceremonies the umufumu brings rain to the fields, or if there is too much rain, he may stop it (No. 19, p. 443). For rain-making, which is so important for agriculture, there are special experts, the abavurati. However, their number is decreasing since every failure is severely punished by the batwale (No. 45, 1913), p. 50).

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus. Many small objects are poured on the ground from various calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an intelligent man.

[134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no
791 circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
754 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may be characterized in the following manner. According to Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medicine men who can free a person from the malediction of the evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, protectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
[578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either incurred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentricity, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
661 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly informed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

791 as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the
661 entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by
628 law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to
793 officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine
796 services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the
796 important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

778 Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred
796 in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear"
[411] guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the
[776] point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but
796 one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

796 expresses the wish that the "ceremony of the sacred spear" be celebrated for his benefit, he invites his friends and the priest (kiranga) of the district along with the latter's spear. The kiranga arrives with two or three male or female assistants (ivisjego), and all the participants in the celebration take their seats in the hut. The priest sits in the middle holding the sacred spear in his hand and wearing a cap made of leopard skin with its tail falling down his back. Each of the assistants holds in his hand a bifurcated branch to whose ends are tied little calabashes, some of which are filled with grains or pebbles. These rattles are shaken in a certain rhythm, and to their accompaniment the entire gathering sings -- in a minor key and andante -- a traditional hymn in the old Kirundi language (see p. 148) which is for the most part unintelligible. The hymn calls on the congregation to praise and glorify the spirits, Kiranga, Rugondo, Riangombe, and others (No. 19, pp. 517 and 292). While they are singing, each person gathers a little straw from the ground and places it as a sacrifice in front of the sacred spear, clapping his hands as a sign of homage, and then directs to the spirit Kiranga, residing in the spear point, a number of requests expressing the wishes of the host. After that the whole party leaves the house with a chant and proceeds to the little spirit hut (ikitabo) close by. Its floor is then covered with fresh straw or grass. After they have returned to the house, the whole gathering is sprinkled with water by the priest (symbol of purification?). At the end all join in drinking the contents of a large jar of "sacrificial beer." This concludes the ceremony, the priest receives his fee (beads, grain, barkcloth, etc.), and everyone goes home. In Ruanda and Uha the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated in a similar fashion (No. 19, p. 518).

796 There is another ritual at which the priest is regularly asked
778 to officiate: the ceremony of erecting and consecrating the little
346 spirit and sacrifice huts (Plate 18a). There are two different types of these huts: some are dedicated to the gods, Imana, Kiranga, and Riangombe, and are open to the public (ikitabo, akararo); the others are dedicated to the family ancestors and are private (ikigabiro).

778 The public cult sites used for common worship of the gods
[821] are erected wherever lightning has struck the ground, either where it injured or killed a person or a head of cattle or where it has just struck the ground. Lightning is regarded as sent by the god Imana himself (No. 19, p. 253). At such a place a circular piece of ground, two to three meters in diameter, is leveled and covered with straw. Manioc and fig branches are planted around it. Then, celebrating the ceremony of the sacred spear, the kiranga plants in the middle of it a shoot from a banana or a fig tree which is regarded as the temporary residence of the god, Imana-Rikiranga-Riangombe. uEvery passerby
[782] puts a little tuft of dry grass in front of the young tree in homage to the god (see grass greeting, p. 95). Sick people are brought to this site so that they may ask the god to grant them recovery (No. 19, p. 564). This kind of homage is also supposed to be helpful when asking for rain for the fields and herds. Usually
[346] some small grass huts are also erected at or near the sacrificial site; in these huts food and drink are sacrificed to the god. Often, however, such huts are absent.

[136] The second type of cult and sacrifice huts at whose
778 consecration the kiranga must participate is the private sacri-
346 fice huts (ivigabiro), dedicated to the spirits of the dead
782 (imisimu or abasimu). Often, however, a sacrifice is also offered to the god Kiranga in one of these little private huts; it is then called akararo ka rugabo, i.e., the great master's humble quarters for the night (No. 46, p. 18). These little huts are erected inside the kraal next to the residential huts. In most cases their shape resembles that of the residential huts, but they are only one half to one meter high (Plate 18a). They are always constructed in a careless fashion. In fact, often a few branches or some bundles of straw or reed, inserted in the ground and tied together at the top in the shape of an arch, are considered sufficient. A little straw is spread underneath, and on it a few implements are placed as a sacrificial offering, for example, a piece of imanga wood which is used for amulets, a piece of bottle gourd, shaped like a bowl, which is used as a container for food, an old pot as a receptacle for beer, an old tobacco pipe, etc. In some areas of Urundi, for example, in

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
778 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
782 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
796 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the an-
769 cestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
769 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
782 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
778 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the
775 neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is
778 regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned, the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may
[784] touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
532 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or
776 as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
[781] by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman
[843] may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
[825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 784 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

482 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child
784 who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic conceptions.

3. Missions

797 The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success
563 in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave," the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the [139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons, and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.
797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men (abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and organizations form a network over the entire land. Although
797 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years
735 in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor
737 and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van
888 der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives" No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.

797 For all these national, social, and political reasons, the Batussi would also reject Islam if at some time in the future it should attempt to gain a foothold in this country which so far has been hardly accessible to foreign penetration. The memory of the battles they fought against Arab slave hunters only intensifies the Murundi's rejection of it.

The missionaries, however, continue their work untiringly in spite of little expectation of spreading the gospel among the Barundi as long as the Batussi remain the rulers. Such idealism and firmness of belief is indeed admirable. For many years only the Catholic "White Fathers" were active in this area. In 1896 they founded the first mission in Mujaga (east Urundi; Plate 29b), and later they opened other missions in Mugera (central Urundi), Marienberg (west Urundi), Mariensee (north-eastern Urundi). The Protestant Neudettelsbach Mission began its activity in Iruwura (northwest Urundi) only in 1910. The founding of a second mission in northwest Urundi followed in 1912.

Due to the predominantly negative attitude of the Barundi, 797 very little cultural work has been accomplished of the kind 177 which prepares for and accompanies actual missionary work: teaching basic school subjects, guidance in handicrafts, the spread of innovations in agriculture and stockbreeding. The medical activity of the missionaries seems still to be more efficacious than anything else in winning the confidence of the people.

In the Batussi states of Ruanda and Uha which have been inaccessible to the outside world for such a long time, the position is the same. On the other hand, the adjoining areas of Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Ihangiro, where the people are less divided by differences of caste and race and where there is no strict Batussi rule, have been open to foreign influences for a much longer period and there the work of the missionaries has been far more successful. Only time can tell whether the prospects for Christianization will also improve in Urundi. Most probably this will come about once the power of the Batussi rulers has been destroyed.

[140] Chapter 10

Medicine, Chronometry, Arithmetic, Language

1. Medicine

753 We have already discussed above (p. 132) the basic re-
755 ligious elements in the concepts of the Barundi about all kinds
of sickness and their remedies. *To the Barundi, all illnesses*
757 are the result of sorcery by a demon, and they can be cured or alleviated only by counter-magic. This counter-magic may be performed by the sorcerer or medicine man (umufumu) by means of the magic powers vested in him. He may seek to affect the demon of sickness either by certain manipulations or incantations or by means of talismans and amulets which he has endowed with his powers, or he may choose with prudent circumspection and mature experience certain natural substances which have specific inherent magical powers, herbs, juices, types of earth, or the body parts of animals, and use them as specific remedies for each particular case.

I should like to describe this last type of application as
757 being essentially medical treatment of the patient, for the decisive element is, after all, that these remedies have not been vested with their magic power and effectiveness by the umufumu, but rather they had these qualities originally. Without a thorough investigation, we are unable to answer the question whether we should say that the natives regard these properties as the expression of a soul inherent in the object or as the characteristic emanations of the object itself (in the sense of "emanism" as defined by Karutz, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie [Ethnological Journal], 1913, p. 545 ff.). For our present purposes this question is only of secondary importance. Such remedies, endowed with healing power a priori, can be effectively applied not only by the sorcerer but by any other intelligent man or woman familiar with their specific magical properties and able to select them properly. In addition to these remedies which are applied internally and externally,

757 there are others which rely on mechanical means for an effect, as, for instance, massage, enema, hot and cold baths, and, further, a small number of surgical operations from the simple [752] opening of a boil to (allegedly) the Caesarean operation (see above, p. 110). Difficult cases are treated by an experienced, skillful umufumu, but for simple cases every father of a family uses a number of household remedies. The art of using them is passed on from father to son. If necessary, a sick neighbor is given the benefit of them also.

[141] Generally, the first remedy tried is hot or cold water. It is used for intensive rubdowns, for long baths in treating skin diseases, aching joints, insomnia, and fever. A Murundi [515] enjoys taking a bath whenever a sufficient supply of water is available, but as soon as possible after the bath he will rub butter on his skin. There are several natural thermal baths in Urundi [312] which are used not only by the people living in the vicinity. For example, a gushing thermal spring whose water temperature is 47° Centigrade is located near Kisagara, a village not far from the Mugera missionary station, and there is another one north of Tschiwitoke in the Ruzizi Valley. A kind of steam bath is given to persons with fever by alternately holding their heads and limbs over a pot of boiling, steaming water (No. 19, p. 183). Enemas of warm water to which some herbal juice has been added are very common. They are given by first introducing the end of a long hollow stalk of reed or a strong leaf folled into the form of a tube into the anus; then the person applying the treatment blows a mouthful of water through the other end of this pipe into the bowels (No. 19, p. 331). Adults frequently give an enema to themselves: they fill one of the long-necked bottle gourds with water, insert the narrow end of the long bottleneck into the anus, and then lift the calabash in such a manner as to permit the water to enter the bowels by its own weight. Enemas are used for stomach-aches of any kind, constipation, diarrhea, fever, etc.

[278] There are innumerable medicines made of inorganic, vegetable, and animal substances. Among these, poisons play a relatively minor role, for the Barundi do not even know how to make arrows poisonous. The Batwa often use very effective

757 poison on their arrows. Nevertheless, besides magical conceptions, the fear of poison is probably the main reason why most medicines are first applied externally to the skin or worn in a poultice. Only after this method fails to produce results do they decide to take the medicine internally (cf. also p. 132).

One of the popular external remedies is the burning of the skin (cauterization) on the ailing part of the body. For this purpose a mixture of grease and wood ashes is first rubbed on the skin, then a red-hot piece of iron is applied to it. Afterward a little butter is rubbed on to alleviate the pain (No. 19, p. 91). In other cases a sharp knife is used instead of a hot piece of iron. It is used either as an especially strong irritant or for drawing blood. The method is similar to that of tattooing (p. 79). The Murundi does not actually practice blood-letting nor does he open the veins of human patients, although he frequently uses an arrowhead for bleeding cattle so as to enjoy their blood (p. 45). Boils on the surface of the skin are opened
752 with a needle or a knife. If a person is suffering from aching limbs, a series of small incisions are made in the skin with the local type of razor. Certain healing ointments or powders are then applied to the wound. The technique of cupping is also known. [Fig. 18 appears here in the original text.] It is applied by placing a piece of cattle horn (Fig. 18), [142] with the point pierced, on the place where an incision has been made in the skin. Through the hole in the horn the wound is then sucked until a sufficient amount of blood has been extracted (No. 19, p. 527).

However, the Barundi are very much afraid of deeper incisions, even if they are made by a European. A Murundi physician never performs amputations of limbs. Broken arms or legs are adroitly and carefully put in splints by placing them between two flat boards of wood which are then held firmly together with strips of barkcloth so that movement is impossible. Considering the prevailing disinclination for surgical operations, it appears very doubtful to me whether the Barundi actually perform as difficult an operation as the Caesarean on living women as van der Burgt mentions in a short note (No. 19, p. 363).

[Text continues on page 221]

2: Meyer--220A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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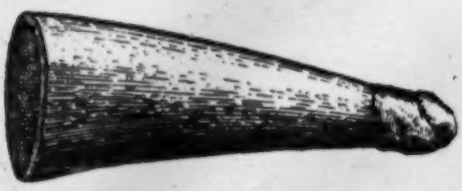


Fig. 18. Cupping Instrument of Cattle Horn.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6543.)

752 It seems more likely that, as in Ruanda, Ussuwi, and Kisiba (No. 31, p. 117; No. 48, p. 228; Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications] 1879, p. 393), they only perform a Caesarean operation on women who have just died in order to save the infant or at least to remove it from the womb so that it may be buried separately (see pp. 110, 140). Trepanation is unknown among the Barundi.

164 Many of the diseases from which the Barundi suffer are of an endemic character, for example, malaria, relapsing fever, leprosy, and sand fleas. Only a few appear as an epidemic, for example, smallpox and sleeping sickness, but their effect is all the more terrible since the Barundi do not know or apply any antidotes. Van der Burgt lists a whole series of diseases which occur in this region (No. 19, pp. 350-351), but he often uses different names for one and the same disease in its different stages. The following ones, in particular, should be mentioned: syphilis, fever, boils, inflammation of the eye, sores on legs and arms, epilepsy, cramps, leprosy, tapeworms and other intestinal worms, phthisis (ikihaha), dysentery, coughing, abscess on the vulva, diphtheria (?), inflammation of the testicles, gonorrhea, rheumatism, head porrigo, threadworms (filaria), omphalocele, elephantiasis, smallpox, insanity, loss of teeth, lithiasis, paralysis, catarrh of the frontal cavity, whooping cough, dropsy, blood in the urine, deafness, inflammation of the chest, leucorrhea and blennorrhea.

164 Of all diseases, smallpox (akaranda, akasibe) is the most
.731 feared. It comes in epidemics and depopulates entire districts, as, for instance, in the beginning of the 1890's when in Urundi, Ruanda, Karagwe, and other areas of the interlacustrine region many thousands of people were carried away. According to native reports a serious smallpox epidemic afflicted the country around the turn of the century. Less epidemic in nature but also
164 very much feared are the different types of inflammation of the throat (ikiwa) which should be described as angina and some of them perhaps as diphtheria. Often they quickly result in the infected person's death. Running pustules and boils (ikihoro,

164 ikinutsi, amosi, ikivimba) are also very widespread but less dangerous. They can presumably be identified with frambesia and are contracted especially by children. The afflicted persons suffer less from pain than from being immobilized. Since they do not keep the sores clean, the healing process is very slow. These skin sores should not be confused with those caused by syphilis (ikikatschji) which is fortunately still very rare in Urundi and in Ruanda. Sores caused by the sand flea (infunsa) are also rather rare in Urundi, except in the area around Lake Tanganyika which has been very much affected by trade. This affliction is far more common in Ruanda. Still more seldom have I seen persons suffering from leprosy (umuwembe) in Urundi, only two cases near Lake Tanganyika and a few cases near the Mugera missionary station where a small isolation hut has been built for lepers. During my entire trip through Urundi I observed elephantiasis only two or three times, and it is equally rare in Ruanda. [143] According to van der Burgt, phthisis can be found in a few districts, but I doubt whether the disease which he calls ikihaha is identical with our European tuberculosis. The bubonic plague, which is endemic in the area around Lake Victoria, in Uganda, Kavirondo, the Mwanza district, and Kisiba, does not seem to occur in Urundi at all, but it is reported that it occurs quite frequently in Ruanda and is known as masseke sickness.

Many Barundi suffer from intestinal worms, and children in particular often die of them. Acute diarrhea is also frequent, and the dangerous dysentery sometimes develops into an epidemic, for example, in 1908. According to the reports given by the missionaries, gonorrhea and fluor albus have been imported here from the East, but they are not very widespread. Eye diseases are rare, except that small children are afflicted by them, and their eyes are often covered by large numbers of the infectious flies.

164 As in Ruanda, malaria (injonko, indurwe) occurs everywhere in the warm, swampy lowlands which abound in these
136 countries. I have caught the anopheles mosquito in the swampy mountain valleys of southern Ruanda and northwestern Urundi at

164 altitudes as high as 1,600 to 1,700 meters, once even at
[136] 2,140 meters east of Usumbura. There I saw natives suffering from malaria, and I treated them with quinine. Some of the members of my caravan were also infected. However, it appears that blackwater fever occurs not at all or only very rarely. The highland Barundi are particularly afraid of being infected with malaria in the lowlands of the Akanjaru and the Ruvuvu in the north, in the swampy lakes in the northeast, and in the low, warm coastal area of Lake Tanganyika with the adjoining valley of the Ruzizi River, but the relatively few Barundi who live there permanently appear to be immune for the most part.

The highland Barundi are extremely sensitive to changes
164 in climate when traveling or when changing their residence.
147 In former times when the neighboring areas, for example, Ussumbwa, were still importing female slaves from Urundi, they calculated that eight out of ten slaves would perish because they could not live in the climate (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 178). The missionaries in Mariahilf in Uschirombo report that in their missionary orphanage they always have quite a number of children from Urundi and Ruanda who are unable to get used to the climate of Uschirombo (which is not particularly bad) and who are almost always sick. The women who go there from Urundi and Ruanda have the same difficulty. Quite a few of them die or lose so much weight that they look like skeletons. Many of them recover after about a year, but they remain weak (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 288). I would like to add that, ac-
[146] cording to my own observations, it is not merely the change of climate which is responsible for these cases of sickness but also the change in food, for example, lack of milk and poor water. In any case, it has been confirmed by experience that in the whole of East Africa the inhabitants of the cool mountainous areas and the highlands, such as Ruanda, Urundi, Uhehe, Usambara, etc., cannot live for any length of time in the lower, warmer regions, as, for example, in Unjamwesi, Ugogo, Useguha, and the coastal areas. This should be a serious warning to us not to import great numbers of people for work in the plantations of the lowlands, or, as the slogan goes, to open the gates of

164 these large "human reservoirs" of the highlands in order to
147 supply the plantations suffering from a chronic lack of labor. An attempt to do so would lead to results which would differ little from mass murder.

[144] The spread of sleeping sickness from the eastern
164 Congo to the western, lower regions of Urundi has had terrible
136 results. The carrier of the sleeping sickness, the stinging fly
731 Glossina palpalis, has infected the Ruzizi valley up to the vicinity of Lake Kivu, which is still safe, and the entire basin of Lake Tanganyika almost to the border formed by the surrounding mountains, and it also has spread to the stream and river valleys facing the lake as far as the eastern highland, for example, the valley of the Malagarasi. According to official reports on the development of our protectorate in 1912-13, the situation on Lake Tanganyika is such that, as a result of the considerable expansion of the infected area, the inaccessibility of the population, and also the difficulty of controlling the traffic with the infected areas of the Congo colony, the fight against sleeping sickness will continue for a long time to come. According to official sources, 3,303 new cases were observed in 1913, as compared with 3,560 cases in 1912. In the area of Lake Tanganyika there are probably a total of 200,000 persons suffering from sleeping sickness.

164 In 1911 I traveled through the infected areas of the lower
731 Ruzizi valley and in northeastern Tanganyika. I was horrified by the devastation that the disease had caused among the population which formerly had been so dense and had been so cheerful. Entire villages have ceased to exist, and the population of extensive areas have moved away or have been relocated by the government. The sick who have been collected in well-guarded camps by the government are slowly dying, and none of the remedies applied (Atoxyl, Salvarsan, and others) seem to have any beneficial effect. All economic activity has ceased, traffic and commerce have stopped, and the European firms which were active there have either gone bankrupt or moved away except for a few. After the railroad has been built to Lake Tanganyika, it will be possible to combat the spreading of the sleeping sickness

164 in the Tanganyika region with much better means and prospects
731 for success, but it will take decades before the damage is repaired to any extent.

164 Fortunately the disease has not yet spread to the large
area of Urundi proper east of Lake Tanganyika, and it probably
136 will not spread there in the future since the highlands of Urundi, Ruanda, and Uha are too cool for the Glossina palpalis to thrive and also because the conditions necessary for the existence of the fly, flowing water and shady bushes near the water, exist only in certain places of the highlands which are predominantly covered with grass. On the other hand, it seems to me that the great danger still approaching is that after the completion of the Tanganyika railroad the disease may also spread to the central areas of East Africa. Disease-carrying specimens of the Glossina palpalis, which at present is unable to fly across the dry steppes east of Lake Tanganyika, might be disseminated passively by being carried in railroad trains, as has happened in other countries with so many other epidemic or endemic diseases that were spread by means of railroads and ships. Then, if these infected flies find favorable conditions of existence at the eastern end of the railroad line, new nidi for sleeping sickness will be created. The situation may become even more dangerous if Glossina morsitans, the tsetse fly which is very common in the eastern regions, contracts the infection from Glossina palpalis and carries it farther. It has already been definitely proved in the southern part of our colony that Glossina morsitans may become a carrier of true sleeping sickness. If now, by [145] means of the railroad, the immensely large area where Glossina morsitans is common were infected from the direction of Lake Tanganyika, the consequences for the population of German East Africa would be incalculable. It is advisable to face up in time to this danger which is threatening us from western Urundi and the region of Lake Tanganyika. Otherwise reality might prove too much of a shock for us someday.

2. Chronometry, Counting, Arithmetic

821 The astronomical observations and knowledge of the Barundi are very meager. To them the sun (isuba) is only the wandering fire of Imana, the principal god. They believe that when the sun goes down in the west it falls into the hands of the Wabemba. The Wabemba, however, are cannibals and eat the sun, except for a small piece which escapes them and returns to the east where it once more grows to its full size and rises again in the morning (No. 19, p. 53).

In the minds of the Barundi the moon (ukwesi) is of greater importance, for it is by the regularly recurring phases of the moon that they measure the time. The moon is a male (or hermaphroditic?) being; the evening star is his favorite wife; the other stars are his children and servants; the stars of the "Great Bear" are his concubines; and those of Orion are his oldest sons (No. 19, p. 54). As among all Negroes, the appearance of the first crescent after new moon is greeted with jubilation, but the Barundi have no special cult devoted to the return of the moon. The word ukwesi, moon, has the same root as the Swahili word mwesi; the moon is the shining, strong, and powerful one. This is probably also the origin of the name Mwesi for one of the Barundi kings (see p. 162 [not translated]). The name Unjamwesi really refers to the land of Mwesi, i.e., Urundi, but when the Arabs invaded the lake region (in 1840), they applied this name to the whole area south of Lake Victoria and east of Lake Tanganyika. They named it after the most powerful of the local rulers, the king of Urundi. Thus, the name has been retained for the region of Unjamwesi which, in addition to Tabora, was occupied by the Arabs; yet the real land of Mwesi (Urundi) remained closed to them.

805 Everything in Urundi is determined by the course and the changes of the moon. The year is a lunar year, but the year is not consciously divided into twelve months, nor is there any definite measure of time for a year (umwaka). A year has passed when the two main seasons, the dry season and the rainy season, have passed. Within this framework, time is reckoned by the various agricultural activities undertaken at certain phases of the

805 moon during the rainy season or the dry season, for example: beginning of the rainy season (end of October), sowing corn; end of the rainy season (end of May), planting manioc; birth of a boy, full moon after the corn was sowed; death of a relative, new moon after planting manioc, and so forth. Nobody is able to count back in time for more than eight or ten years, and to do this one counts by saying: we have harvested sorghum so many times (No. 19, p. 377). Nobody knows exactly how old he is as soon as he is more than eight to ten years old. If one describes an event as 20, 30, or 40 years in the past, he means by this merely that it happened a long time ago.

To be specific, certain seasons which are marked by regularly recurring agricultural events are given definite names which one might call the names of months as determined by the agricultural cycle. Van der Burgt lists a whole series [146] of these (No. 19, p. 377), for example: uratsi, time when the grass sprouts (end of September and beginning of October); umwirima, beginning of the rainy season, beginning of planting and sowing (end of October, November); umwirawura, sprouting of the seed (December); umukuwesi, the corn is beginning to form cobs, beans are blossoming (end of December); ikigarama, beans are ripe (beginning of January); ikidida, beans are picked (end of January); akataschi, sorghum is planted (beginning of February); uruschana, corn is ripe (end of February, beginning of March); umunjonjo, sorghum is growing cobs (end of March); urusamo, sorghum is almost ripe (beginning of April); akawosa, harvesting sorghum (end of April); uruheschi, end of the rainy season, planting manioc, harvesting corn (end of May); itsi, dry season, time for drinking beer and catching fish (June to October); umukakora, burning the grass (June, July, August); akasjabirano, preparing the fields (October).

805 201 Of course the Barundi do not divide the day into twelve hours but into periods determined by the position of the sun and by phenomena which regularly occurs during daylight. Like almost all Negroes, when referring to a certain time of day in a story, they indicate the particular position of the sun in the sky

805 201 with their outstretched hand. They also do this when they wish to indicate the length of a trip or the distance between two places. Specific expressions are used for the following times of day: first crowing of the cock, first signs of daybreak, dawn, time of the awakening of the birds, rising of the sun, time between noon and evening, beginning of dusk, sundown, nightfall, bedtime, midnight, very late, very early. The concept for "week" is unknown.

802 201 When counting and reckoning (kuharura) the Murundi uses the fingers of one or both hands; he does not use his toes or his feet. Like all Bantu Negroes, the Barundi count by placing together or bending a certain number or group of fingers. They thus employ the decimal system. In the Bantu language the numbers from one to ten are: one, umwe; two, iwili; three, itatu; four, inne; five, itano; six, itandatu; seven, indwi; eight, umunane; nine, tschjenda; ten, tschjumi. Frequently, however, one may hear them count by using combinations of numbers with five, i.e., 6 = 5 + 1, 7 = 5 + 2, 8 = 5 + 3, 9 = 5 + 4. The number of fingers on one hand is thus the arithmetical unit which, as a closed fist, is always used for calculations. Individual numbers are indicated with the fingers in the following manner: one, outstretched index finger of the right hand with the other fingers bent inward; two, outstretched index finger and middle finger with the other fingers bent; three, outstretched index finger, middle finger, and ring finger with the other fingers bent; four, all fingers of a hand, except the thumb, outstretched; five fist formed with the right hand; six, fist formed with the right hand touched by the outstretched little finger of the left hand; seven, fist formed with the right hand touched with the little finger and ring finger of the left hand; eight, fist formed with the right hand touched with the little finger, ring finger, and middle finger of the left hand; nine, fist formed by the right hand and touched with the little finger, ring finger, middle finger, and index finger of the left hand; ten, two fists placed together. In order to indicate eleven, the fists are beaten together once and then the index finger of the

802 right hand is stretched out to indicate one, etc., up to nine-
201 teen. To indicate twenty, thirty, forty, the fists are beaten together two, three, or four times while counting: two tens (amatschjumi awili), three tens (amatschjumi atatu), etc. There are no specific numbers above ten (No. 19, pp. 114-115).

If in practical life the Murundi has to calculate with
802 objects, for example, when buying a certain number of sweet potatoes or manioc or beads, he divides the objects in groups of five, then piles two such groups of five together, and then adds the two, three, or four tens, etc. [147] A Murundi will hardly ever count above 100; he will always try to visualize the amounts by dividing them into separate groups, for example, when counting cattle or the warriors or subjects of a mutwale.

The Murundi does not have a number for describing the concept of "much" or "very much," as, for instance, the figure 40 among the Turkic peoples or 600 among the Romans; he expresses "much, many" with the Bantu word inschi (Swahili, ingi).

3. Language

197 All Barundi speak the same Bantu idiom, Kirundi. This is true of the original Batwa inhabitants as well as of the Bahutu who settled in the area later, and also of the most recent Hamitic conquerors, the Batussi. Kirundi belongs to the agglutinative languages; its structure is the same as that of all Bantu languages. Its distribution covers the entire interlacustrine region. It is spoken in Urundi and, with dialectal variations, in Ruanda, Uha (Ujungu, Uschingu, Heru, Uruguru) and in Ujiji. The idioms spoken in Usindja, Ussuwi, and Karagwe, i.e., Kisindja, Kimueri, and Kinjambo, are very similar to Kirundi, and the languages spoken in Uganda and Unjoro are closely related to it (No. 19, p. 329). Many Kirundi words, mainly for governmental and administrative institutions and religious customs, can also be found in the Kinjamwesi dialects, such as Kissumbwa, Kirwana, Kisukuma, and Kitakama. The religious
198 secret societies (Waswesi, Batschwesi) of these peoples make

198 use of a special Kirundi terminology (No. 18, p. 1; cf. also above, p. 124).

The characteristic features of Kirundi are as follows:
193 1. absence of gender; 2. absence of declension, but nouns are grouped into classes and have special prefixes for singular and plural; 3. the parts of a sentence are governed by the nouns by means of certain prefixes or characteristic syllables (No. 18, p. 2).

All nouns can be divided into ten classes. Certain nouns are doubled in order to intensify the meaning or to give an expression a connotation of familiarity. Like all Bantu languages, Kirundi has very few adjectives; it uses instead participial forms of verbs, nouns, generic concepts, etc.

The most difficult aspect of Kirundi is the structure and system of the verb. It is true the verb as such is simple and its construction and use are logical, but the number and variety of forms is so great that it is extremely difficult to find equivalents for a Kirundi verb form in a European language. There are, for example, base forms, auxiliary forms, conjunctive forms, passive, conditional, causative, oppositional, restrictive, and other forms, altogether more than fifty (No. 18, pp. 32-33). On the other hand, the number of conjunctions is very small; most of them are expressed by auxiliary verbs. Since the Murundi will drop even these if they are not absolutely essential for conveying the meaning, sentences are short, and their manner of speech sounds choppy. If a Murundi were to understand an elegant German or even Latin sentence, he would translate it into at least ten sentences of Kirundi.

In addition to the shortness of the sentences, rapidity of
194 speech is also characteristic of the Barundi. The Banjaruanda, on the other hand, speak much more slowly with a somewhat [148] singing intonation. Accent, i.e., stressing a particular syllable or pronouncing it on a certain pitch, is very important for the meaning of a word. This also applies to whole sentences. A European who does not pay express attention to these factors will therefore often misunderstand a Murundi or be misunderstood by him, even if otherwise he speaks and understands Kirundi quite well. As a general rule, the syllable next to the last one in a word is stressed longer [sic] then the others, i.e., as in

194 German. In order to avoid harshness in the sound and pronunciation of words, the Murundi never permits an uninterrupted succession of two consonants or two vowels in the same syllable; he separates the consonants by a vowel and the vowels by a consonant or by the elision of one of the vowels.

However, in addition to the Kirundi which is generally
191 spoken in Urundi, there is also a vulgar and sacral Old Kirundi.
192 Its use is limited, and wherever it is spoken only fragments of it are mixed with modern Kirundi. The Barundi have two, three, or more terms for most objects and concepts; some belong to the elegant conversational language, others to the vulgar manner of speech of Old Kirundi which is used by the common people, old women, and also by the Batwa whenever they are among themselves (No. 19, p. 330), and it is found in the religious hymns, festive chants, and ceremonial speeches (see pp. 70 ,
198 124, 128). In Ruanda there is also a secret ritual language called "lubandwa" (No. 48, p. 315), and there is a similar language called "luchwesi" in Ussuwi (No. 24, p. 57).

In Old Kirundi the roots of nouns and verbs and their in-
197 flection are quite different from modern Kirundi. They are also
191 unlike those of any other Bantu language. Presumably Old Kirundi is the original language of the Batwa who have been living in these highlands longer than anyone else. The immigrants who arrived later learned this language from the Batwa and at present use it either separately in addition to their own idiom or intermingled with it. Of course, the Batwa speak modern Bantu Kirundi in addition to their original language (No. 18, pp. 106-107).

Here are a few examples to illustrate the three linguistic
192 elements which co-exist in Urundi:

197

Word	Kitwa	Old Kirundi	New Kirundi
sun	irijotwa	irijotwa	isuba
moon	ukurabwa	ukurabwa	ukwesi
leopard	uwuhama	uwuhama	ingwe
sorghum	ururerema	ururerema	isakka
to hunt	kutamagisa	kutamagisa	kuhiga
to forge	kunaga	kunagura	kususa

197 According to Czekanowski, these Kitwa words are also known in Ruanda; supposedly they belong to a "local dialect" there. It appears that the language of the Batwa living in the volcanic regions of northern Ruanda is still another one; even such an eminent expert on Ruanda as Father Barthélemy was not familiar with it (No. 48, p. 131), and the idiom of the Ituri Batwa seems to belong to still another linguistic group. Samples of it taken down by Stuhlmann have no similarity with the Kitwa spoken in Urundi (No. 19, p. 330).

It is quite noteworthy that the Hamitic Batussi who invaded Urundi from the north and northeast approximately four centuries ago (see p. 7) understand Old [149] Kirundi, but as far as we know they have preserved no trace of their own original Hamitic language. To all appearances they stayed in the northern Bantu countries for quite some time before coming to Urundi. As a result they lost all trace of their Hamitic language and exchanged it for Bantu Kirundi, in addition to giving up many of their original Hamitic customs and accepting many Bantu customs and concepts. This phenomenon is especially noteworthy since the Batussi up to the present day have strictly and unwaveringly maintained the somatic and social purity of their race against the Bantu peoples over whom they rule. According to Captain von Langenn, only the members of the royal family, the Baganwa, have preserved some fragments of the Hamitic language, but van der Burgt has no knowledge of this (written communication). Also the missionary Roehl describes as incorrect the claim which often appears in the literature on the subject that the Ruanda Batussi have a separate language (No. 47a, p. 274). On the other hand, Captain Weiss reports that the Bahima of Ruanda and Mpororó have their own special language which he and his men could not understand, but he does not give any specimens (No. 33, p. 70). Future investigators should pay particular attention to such Hamitic language fragments, for they might yield valuable indications as to the former language and thus the origin of the Batussi.

Comparisons will have to be made with the Niloto-Hamitic languages of the Massai, Teso, Bari, Latuka, and especially with

197 the language of the Nandi in the Uganda protectorate. The language of the Nandi, of all the languages of East Africa, seems to resemble most closely the pure Hamitic language type since the Nandi probably are the remnants of a former Galla invasion. (A. W. Crabtree, "The Languages of the Uganda Protectorate," Journal of the African Society, January, 1914, pp. 158 ff.)

194 An exact study of the peculiar manner in which the Batussi speak the Bantu idiom, Kirundi, will also yield many intimations and indications in this respect, for it is obvious even to an observant layman that the Batussi differ from the Bahutu in speaking Kirundi They have a different accent, pronounce certain sounds differently, and combine the syllables differently. In general, it seemed to me that in both Ruanda and in Urundi the Batussi speak Kirundi with a much softer intonation and also that they have a tendency to swallow the vowels of the final syllables. Instead of the 's' or 'ss' pronounced by the Bahutu, they use a very soft 'sch' or 'dsch': instead of Munjahasi they say Munjahasch'; instead of Lanongo, Lanong'; instead of Lubassa, lubasch'. It is also often difficult to say whether the final vowel pronounced is an 'a,' or 'e.' It is also difficult to hear the difference in the pronunciation of 'r,' 'l,' and 'd.'

113 It would serve no purpose to list examples of modern Kirundi at this point since one may consult the comprehensive Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi by Father J.M. van der Burgt and the small Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi et Kirundi-Français by Father F. Ménard which is specifically intended for missionary use (No. 29). Van der Burgt reproduces a few examples of stories, fables, songs, and hymns with an interlinear translation in his Dictionnaire, pp. 96, 292-293, 332-334, 339-342; I myself cannot add anything to them. In conclusion, however, I should 539 like to add a few proverbs which are noteworthy for their sharpness of observation and brevity of expression (No. 19, p. 470).

[150] 1) Ivintu vy'ukwibwa 'viraguma.
Things of no interest (are) hard [to comprehend].

2: Meyer--234 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

539 2) Kukenura n' ukuvina.
To work is to dance (play).

3) Ischano irasje ujumunsi, irindi risosa hanjuma
Misfortune comes today, something else will come later.

4) Invura irahedsje, isuba risosa.
Rain finished, sun will come.

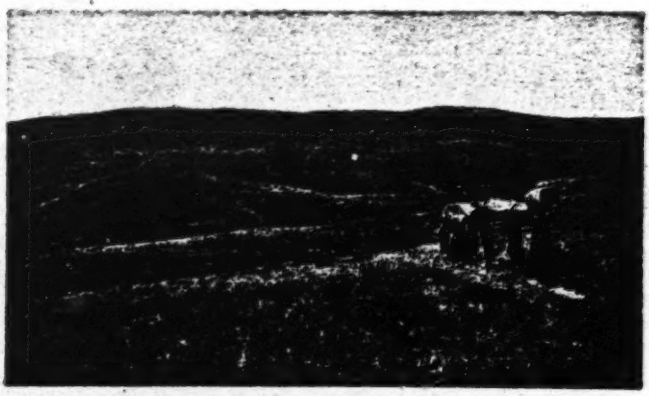
5) Infisi iravuga, iraschaka kutwara umuntu.
Hyena howls, will carry away man.

6) Aravjutse, ari mubi.
(When) he has risen he is irritable.

2: Meyer--235 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 1

133
.482



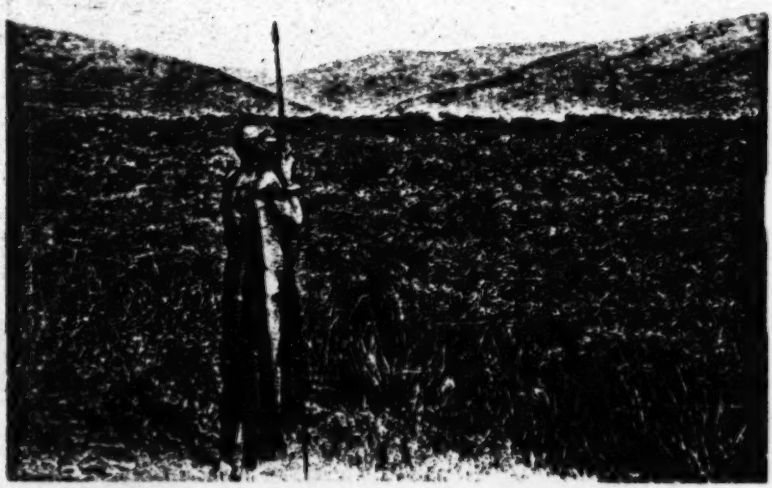
Highland Pasture in Southwest Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

133

Waterfall in the Eastern Peripheral Mountains of
Lake Tanganyika, West Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

Plate 2

137
411



Valley Filled with Papyrus Swamp in Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

133

Quartzite Ridge East of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--237 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 3

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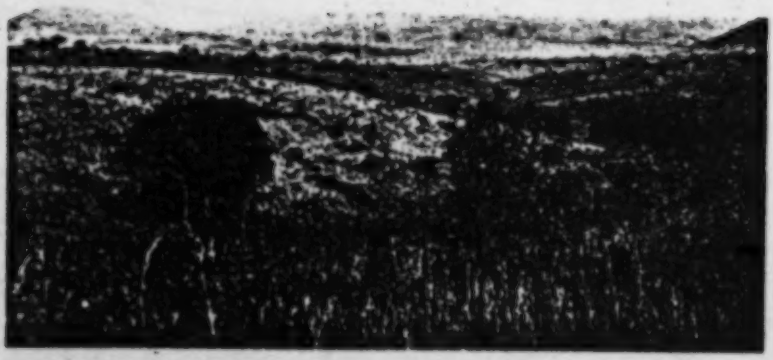
[482]

Grass Steppe in the Lower Ruzizi Valley, District of Bulinga
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Tree and Grass Steppe on the Kajongo River, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 4

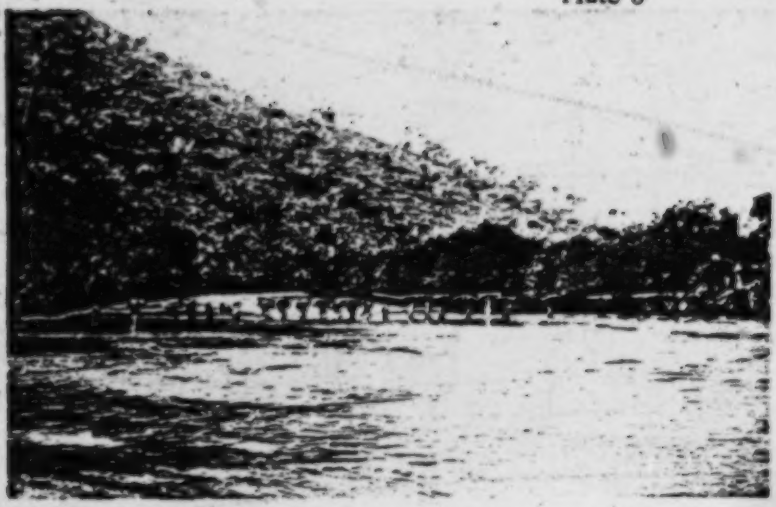
137

Primeval Forest in the Peripheral Mountains of Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by R. Grauer)

Bamboo Forest in the Peripheral Mountains East of Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 5

482
133



Ford in the Ruvuvu River East of Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

505
133

Crossing the Ruvuvu River near Kihansa
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 6

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Barundi on the Ruvuvu near Kihansa, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

411

Barundi on the East Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. By Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 7

142
291
411

Batwa near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

516
323

Batwa Making Pottery near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--242 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 8

291
411

Barundi West of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 9

142
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516
302

Barundi from the Upper Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi from Migeni, West of Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 10

342
164
291

Women with Sleeping Sickness, Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

697
142
291

Chain Gang in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 11

291
142
411

Batussi Delegation of King Mutaga in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

[643]

King Mutaga (*) of Urundi with Batussi Entourage
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--246 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate 12

Entourage of the Muganwa Lusokosa in front of Gitega Station, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

142
291
411
302

Young Batussi, Central Urundi
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

493
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Urundi King Mwesi Kisabo, Carried on a Traveling Litter
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

Plate 13

643
516

Urundi King Mwesi Kisabo, died 1908
(Photo. by "White Fathers" Urundi)

142
291
301

Barundi Christian Barundi Girls, North Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

142
291
411

Muganwa Seruschanja (right) with Two Brothers
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

142
291
301

Mutussi Girl, Urundi

Muhutu Woman, Urundi

Christian Mutussi Girl, Urundi

(Photos. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

Plate 15

Plate 16

142
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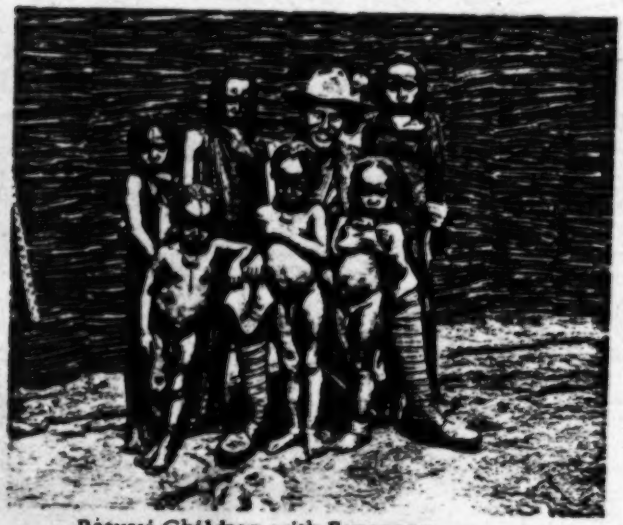
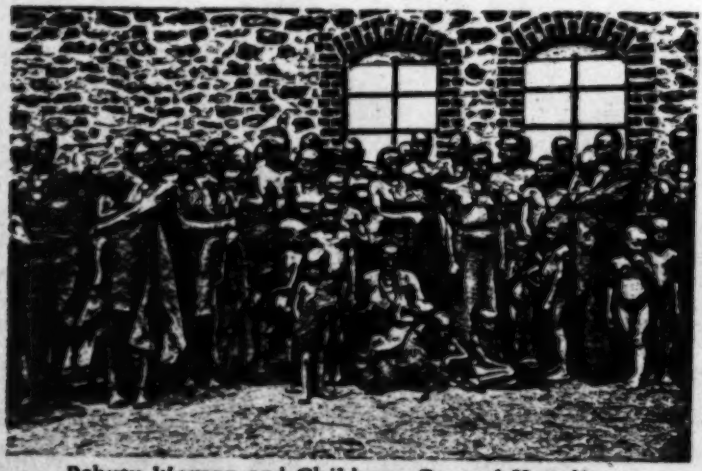


Bàtussi Children with European
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)



Bahutu Women and Children, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 17

142
291

Mother of King Mutaga

Chief Kilima, Northwest Urundi

Muganwa Sindiwironga

Muganwa Kambi

(Photos. by Captain von Langenn)

Plate 18

342
346
516

Hut in Northwest Urundi with Little Spirit Hut
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

342
516

Hut in Northwest Urundi with Bahutu Women
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--253 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 19

361
342
137

Barundi Village near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi Homestead East of the Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 20

361
417
137

Village with Euphorbia Fence in the Hyphaene Steppe
of the Lower Ruzizi River
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

417
137

Euphorbia Hedges to Protect the Fields, near Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--255 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 21

482

Barundi Carrying Bamboo Poles for House Construction, near Gitega, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

137

Homestead with Fig Trees for Barkcloth, East of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

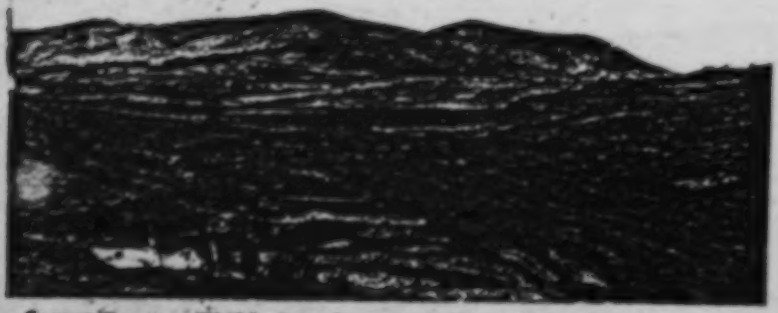
2: Meyer--256 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

241

Plate 22

Laying out a Field after Burning Papyrus, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

133
241



Sweet Potatoes Fields in a Swamp Valley, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 23

231
137

Cattle Near Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

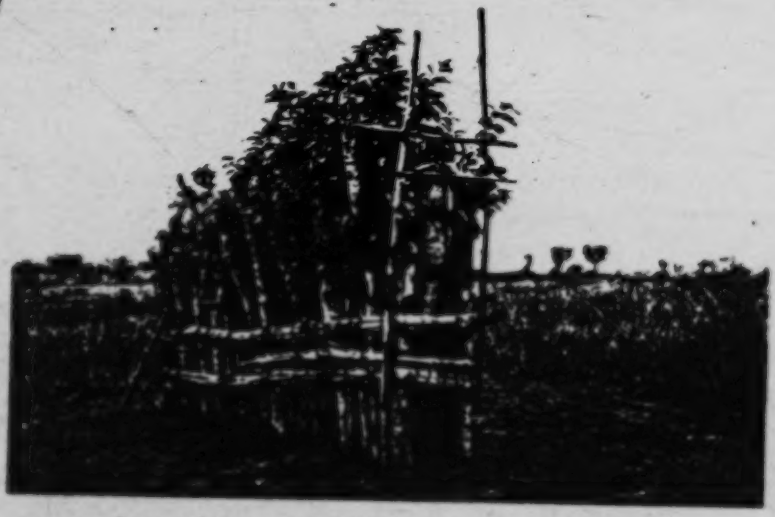
Cattle with Bitterns in the Ruzizi Valley, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--258 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

233

Herd of Livestock (Cattle, Sheep, Goats) in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

224

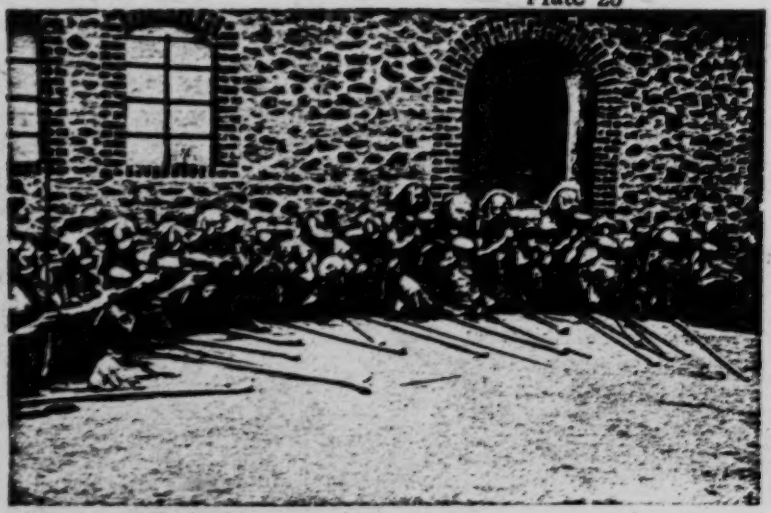


Leopard Trap in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--259 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 25

516



"Cattle Doctors" of King Mutaga During the Exorcizing Ceremony.
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

285
231
142

Murundi Woman with Woven Beehives
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--260 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 26

501
133

Punts on the North Shore of Lake Tanganyika
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Papyrus Raft on the Central Ruvuvu
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--261 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 27

482
415

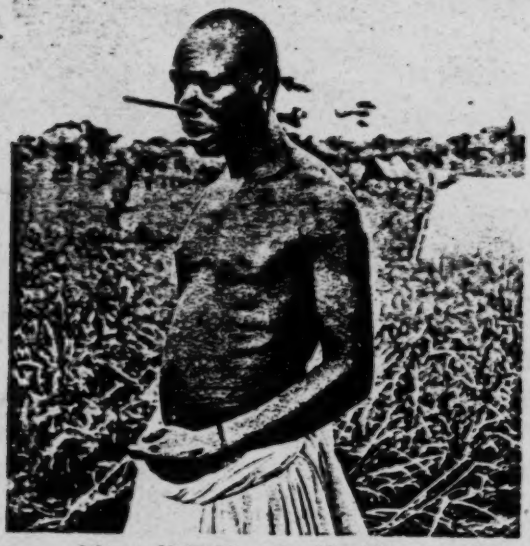
Packs of Salt from the Gottorp Saltworks on the Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

443
482
415
516
291

Daily Market in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

276
142

Plate 28



Murundi Taking Snuff with Nose Clip
(Photo. By Captain Kraut)

[516]

Barundi Taking Snuff by Drawing Tobacco Juice into the Nose
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

778
137

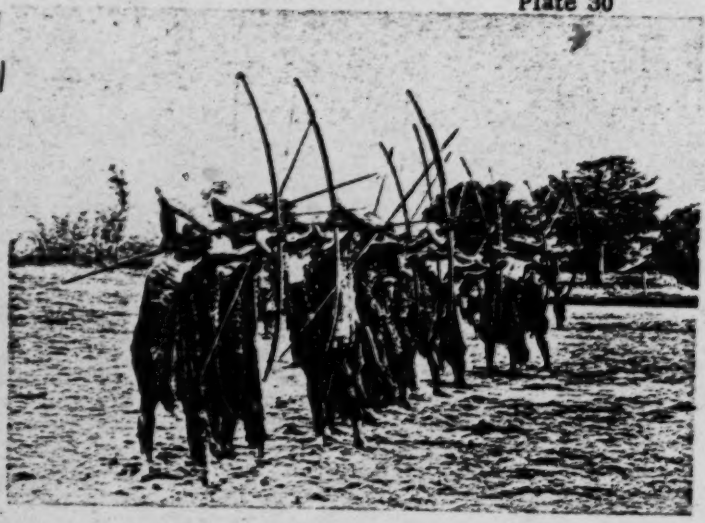
Sacred Grove (Imana) in Central Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

346
797

Church at the Mujaga Missionary Station, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

411
291

Plate 30



Archers in Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)

Archers in Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)

535

Plate 31

Barundi Batussi Assembling for a Dance
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Barundi Dancing near Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 32

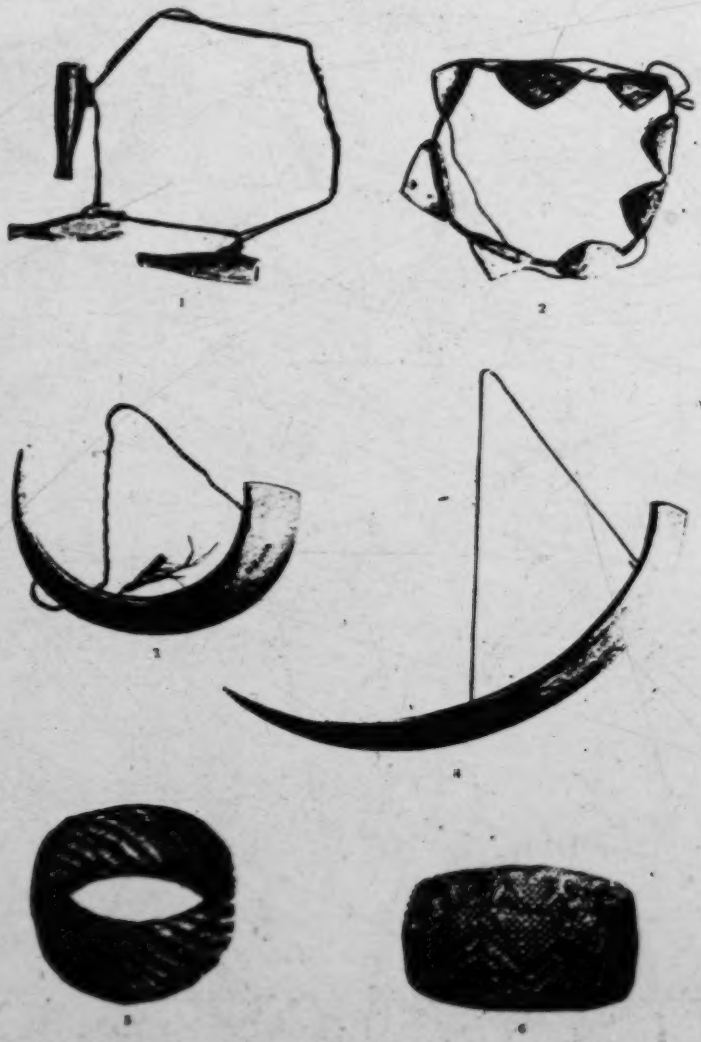
535

War Dance of Barundi in Festive Attire
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)

War Dance of Barundi near Gitega Station
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

Plate 33

301

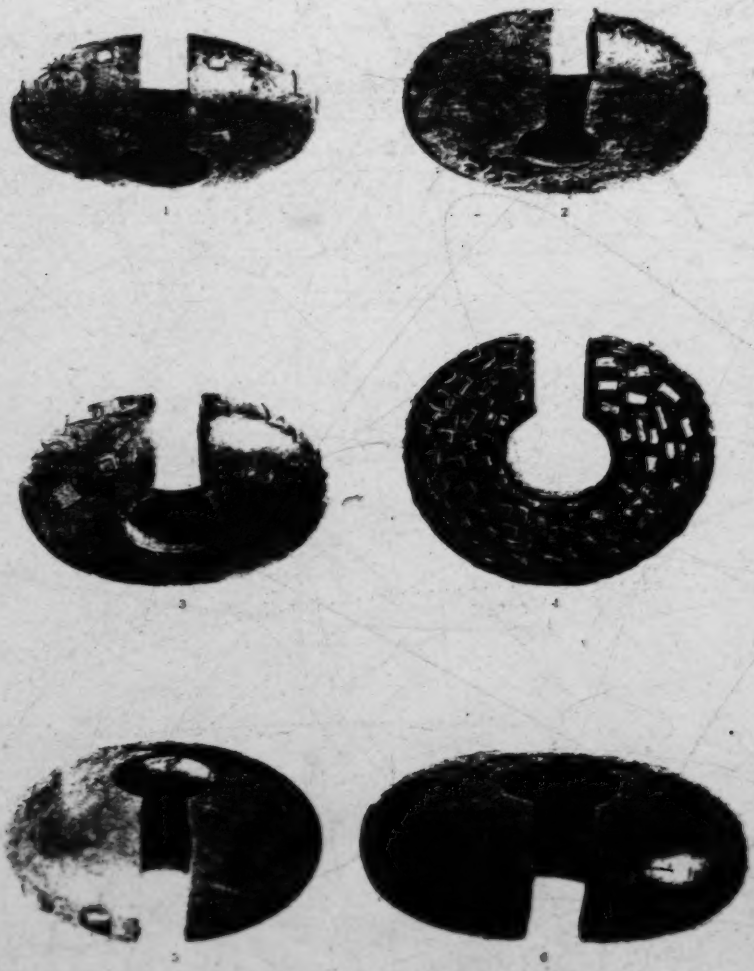


415
285

No. 1) Neck ornament of bone pipes, 3 1/2 centimeters long. No. 2) Neck ornament of polished shells and red beads, 5 centimeters long. No. 3) Neck ornament of the tooth of a hippopotamus, 14 centimeters long. No. 4) Neck ornament of hippopotamus tooth, 20 centimeters long. No. 5) Bottle stand plaited of straw, 14 centimeters wide. (All at Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

Plate 34

411



Wooden Arm Discs; Some with Inlaid Metal Plates to Protect Wrist against Recoil of Bowstring.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6) 12-17 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 4) 14 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Plate 35

411

Wooden Arm Discs; Some with Inlaid Metal Plates to Protect Wrist against Recoil of Bowstring.

Nos. 1-5) 12-16 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

Nos. 6, 7) 15 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

2: Meyer--270 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 36

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291

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Barkcloth and Bark Hammer; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Milled piece of material made of fig bark, not yet processed, 140 centimeters long. — No. 2) Processed cloak of fig barkcloth with shoulder tassel of banana bast; 135 centimeters long. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding the fig bark, 32 centimeters long.

Plate 37

287
291

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531
412

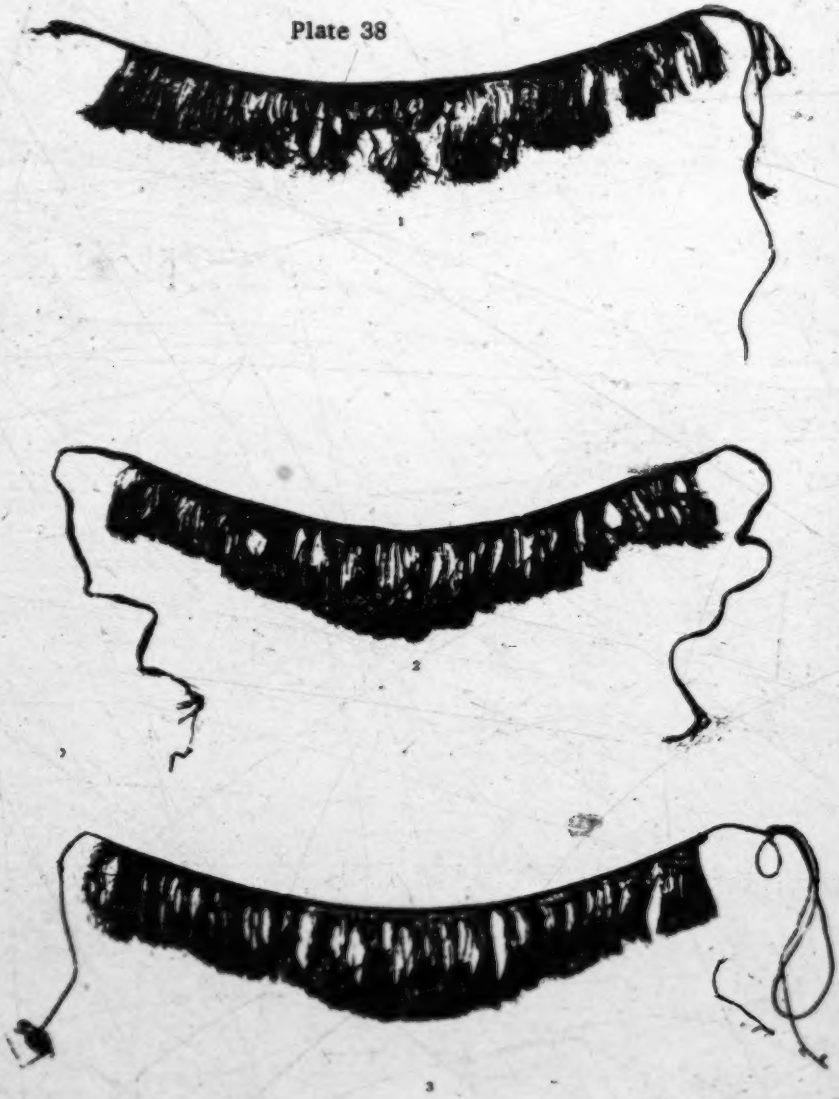
Barkcloth and Bark Hammer.

No. 1) Upper garment of fig barkcloth with bast ribbons, 100 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — No. 2) Painted mat of fig barkcloth, 98 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding fig bark, 42 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

2: Meyer--272 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 38

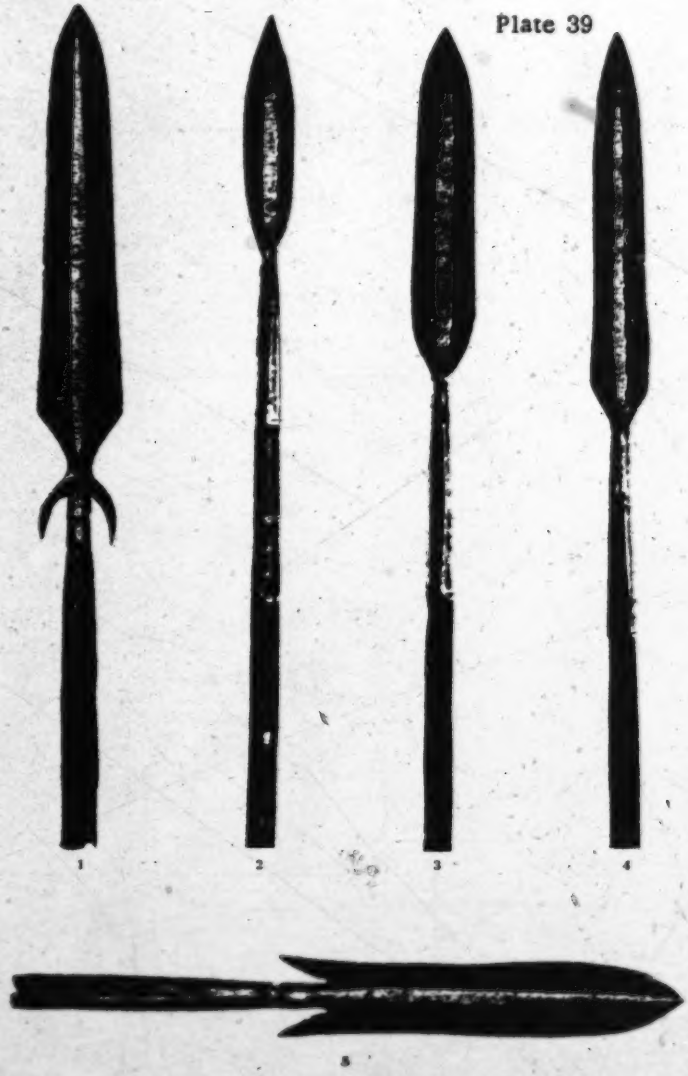
291



Loincloths of Banana Bast for Little Girls.
58 to 62 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Plate 39

411

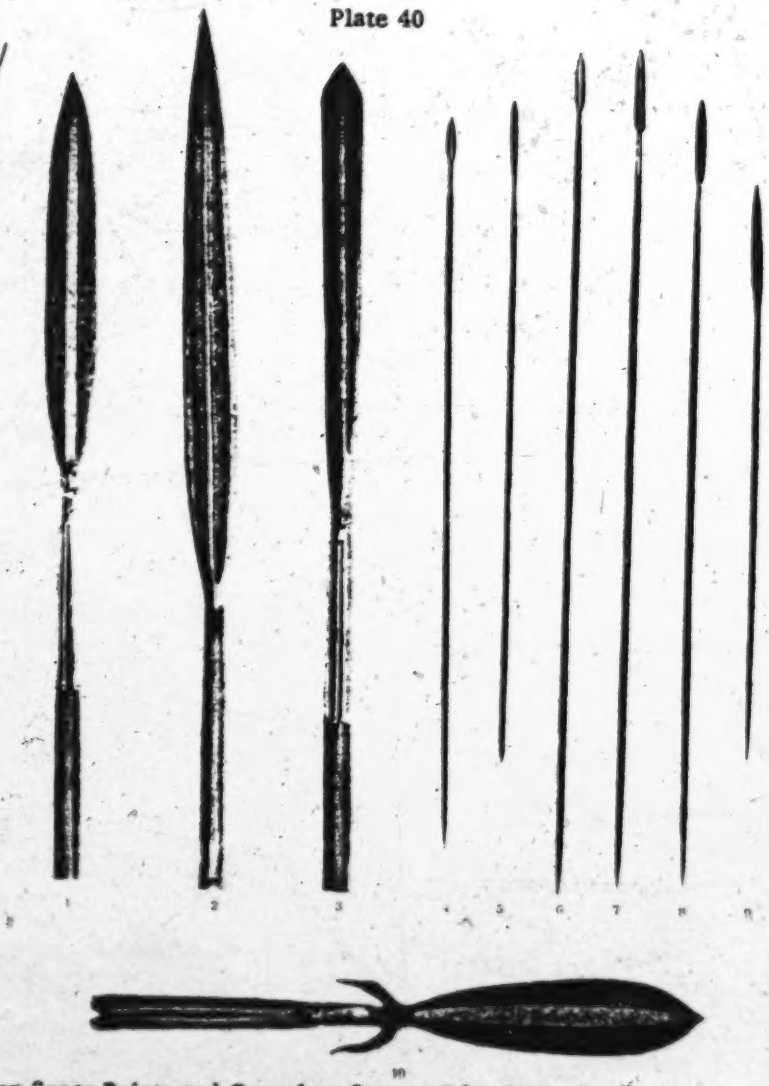


Iron Spear Points; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 30 centimeters; No. 2) 16 centimeters; No. 3) 24 centimeters; No. 4) 27 centimeters; No. 5) 24 centimeters.

Plate 40

411

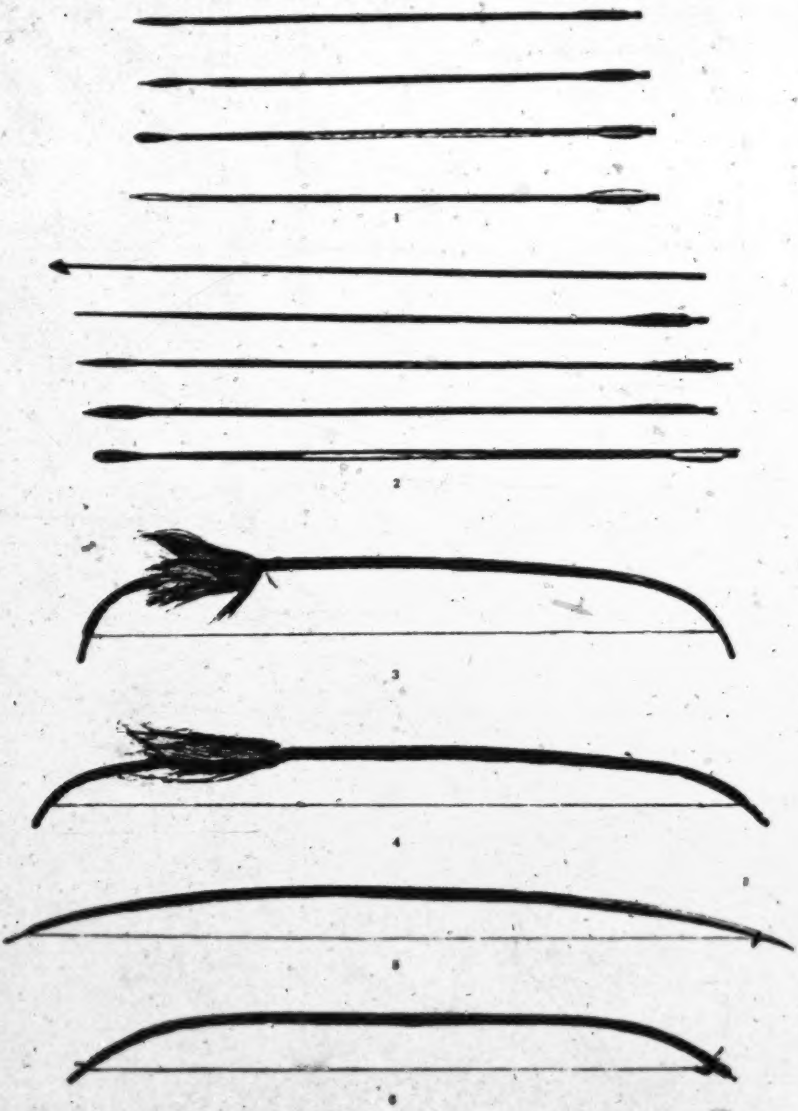


Iron Spear Points and Complete Spears; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 23 centimeters; No. 2) 32 centimeters; No. 3) 28 centimeters; No. 10) 22 centimeters; Nos. 4-9) 1.70 to 2.40 meters.

Plate 41

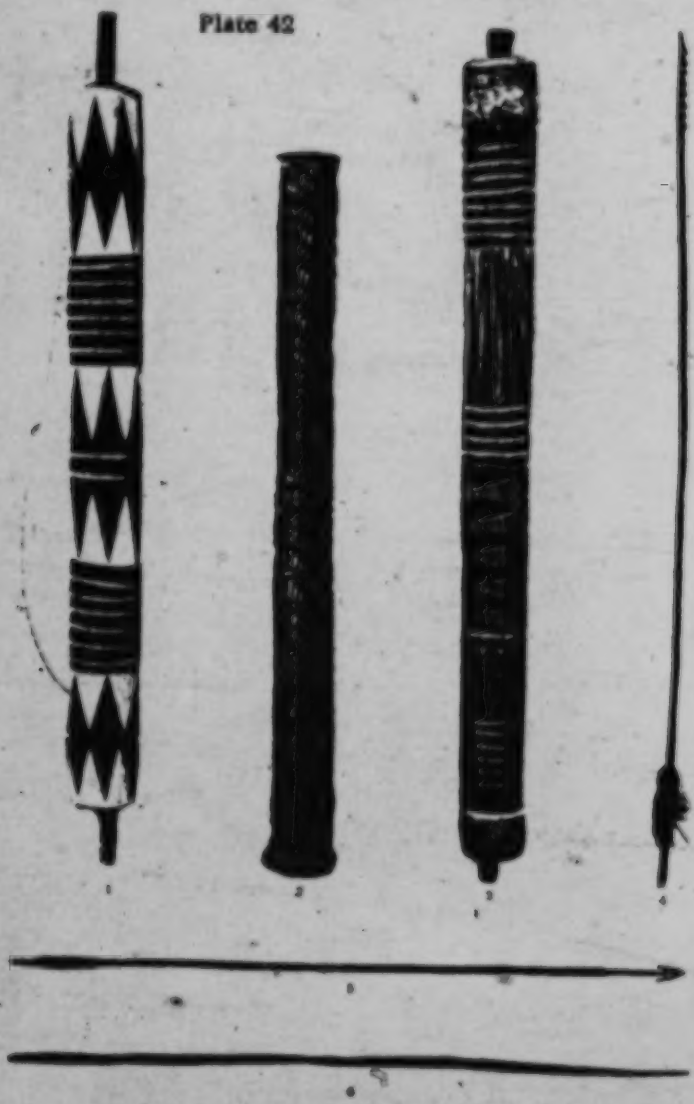
411



Bows and Arrows; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.
Nos. 1, 2) With iron points, 72 to 76 centimeters; Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6) 145 to 166 centimeters.

Plate 42

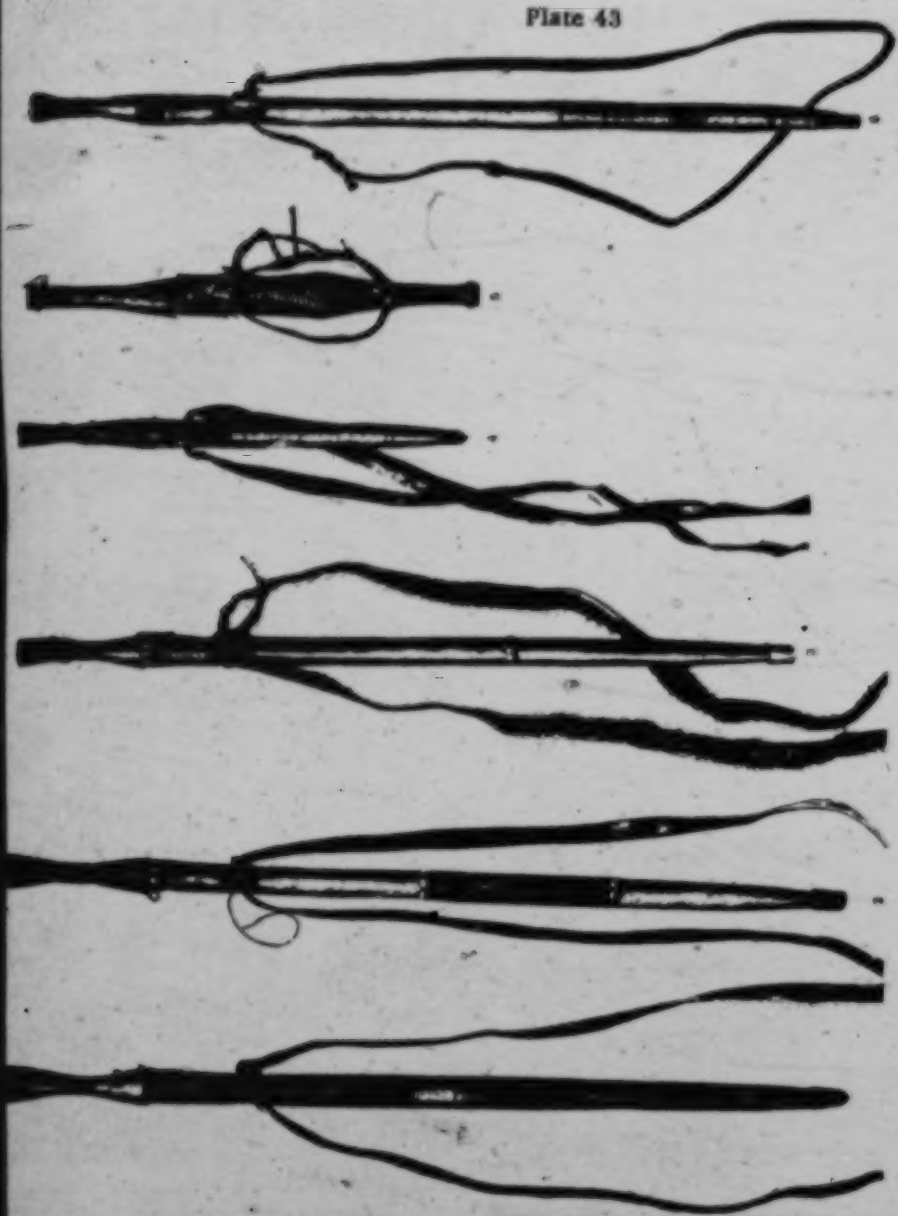
411
531



Quivers and Arrows; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. No. 1) Carved of wood, 110 centimeters; No. 2) Plaited of reed, 90 centimeters; No. 3) Carved of wood, 97 centimeters; No. 4) With serrated wooden point, 95 centimeters; No. 5) With iron point, 92 centimeters; No. 6) With smooth wooden point, 95 centimeters.

2: Meyer--277 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 43



411
412

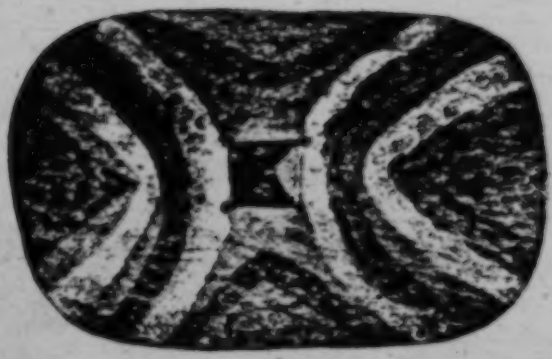
Knives in Wooden Sheaths Wound with Copper Wire and with Leather Straps; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 51 centimeters; No. 2) 52 centimeters; No. 3) 52 centimeters; No. 4) 30 centimeters; No. 5) 31 centimeters; No. 6) 67 centimeters.

2: Meyer--278 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

411
531

Plate 44

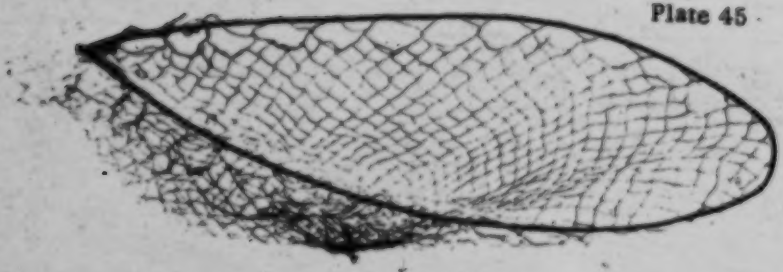


Painted Wooden Shields; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 60 centimeters high; No. 2) 85 centimeters high; No. 3) 80 centimeters high.

2: Meyer--279 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 45 227



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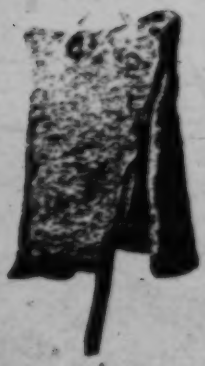
[415]

[534]



[415]

Implements Used in the Household, Fishing, and Field Work;

No. 1) Fish net of bast strings, 120 centimeters long; No. 2) Vessel bellows of wood and goat skin, 97 centimeters long; No. 3) Wooden milk bottle, 28 centimeters; No. 4) Iron cattle bell, 14 centimeters; No. 5) Wooden double container for butter, 20 centimeters wide.

Plate 46

412

Agricultural and Household Implements; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Carved piece of wood for stirring millet gruel, 68 centimeters; No. 2) Digging stick with iron point, 150 centimeters; No. 3) Iron hoe for field work with wooden handle, 47 centimeters long; No. 4) Iron slashing knife for field work, 53 centimeters long; No. 5) Sickle for cutting bananas, 76 centimeters long.

2: Meyer--281 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO4:

Plate 47

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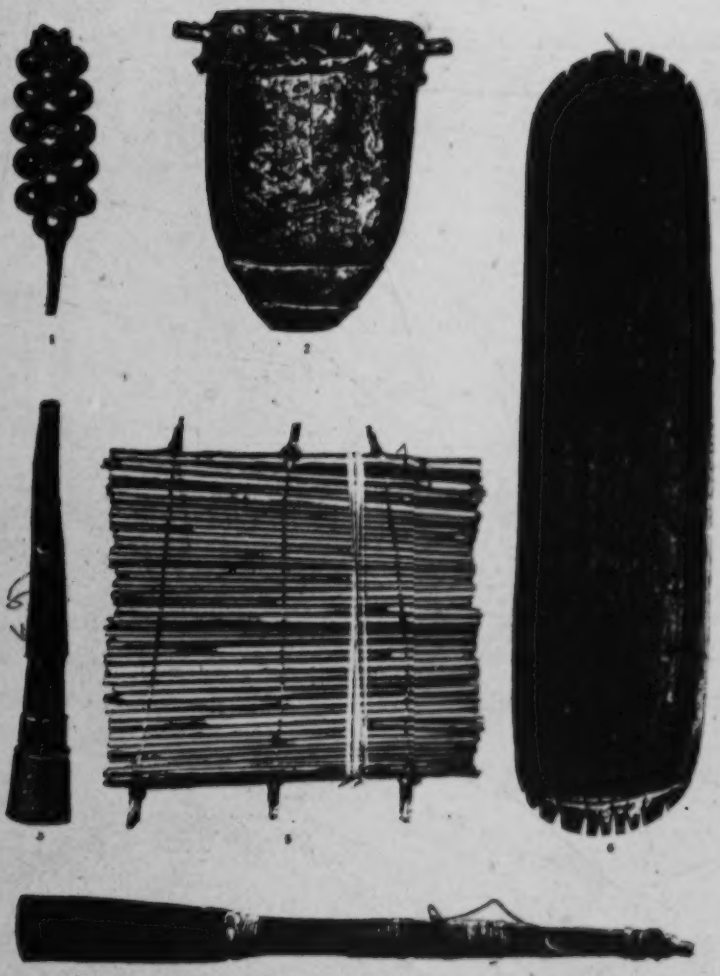

Musical Instruments (Nos. 1, 2, 5, Ethnological Museum, Berlin; Nos. 3, 4, 6, Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.
No. 1) Rattle of gourds, 32 centimeters long; No. 2) Wooden drum covered with cattle hide, 66 centimeters high; Nos. 3, 4) Wooden flutes with a cover of sewn cattle hide, 40 and 62 centimeters long; No. 5) Rattle board of reed, 18 centimeters long; No. 6) Wooden bowl-shaped zither, 72 centimeters long.

2: Meyer--282 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 48

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Earthenware Pots.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) Earthenware vessels for liquids, 18 to 20 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Berlin. — Nos. 4, 5, 6) Earthenware cooking pots, 14 to 22 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Plate 49

Tobacco Pipes of Black Clay, 12 to 16 Centimeters Long.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6-9, Ethnological Museum, Leipzig; Nos. 4, 5, Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

2: Meyer--284 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 50

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Baskets and Plates for Grain, Flour, etc., Woven of Straw; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 20 centimeters high; No. 2) 23 centimeters high; No. 3) 21 centimeters high; No. 4) 60 centimeters high; No. 5) 19 centimeters in diameter; No. 6) 28 centimeters in diameter

2: Meyer--285 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 51

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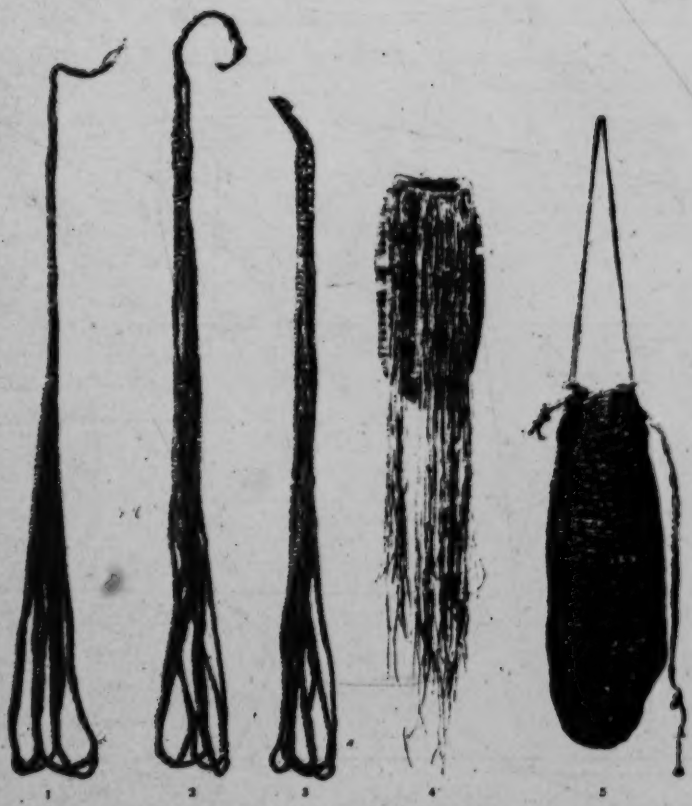
482
415



Plaited Ropes for Burden Carrying and Plaited Bags for Provisions, Tobacco, etc., Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) 100 to 112 centimeters long; No. 4) 48 centimeters long without strings; No. 5) 64 centimeters long without strings.

2: Meyer--286 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 52

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Household Utensils of Wood and Gourds; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Wooden bowl for grain, flour, etc., 35 centimeters long; No. 2) Decorated bottle gourd for milk, 12 centimeters high; No. 3) Decorated bottle gourd, 16 centimeters high; No. 4) Wooden vessel for butter, 20 centimeters high.

2: Meyer--287 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 53

411
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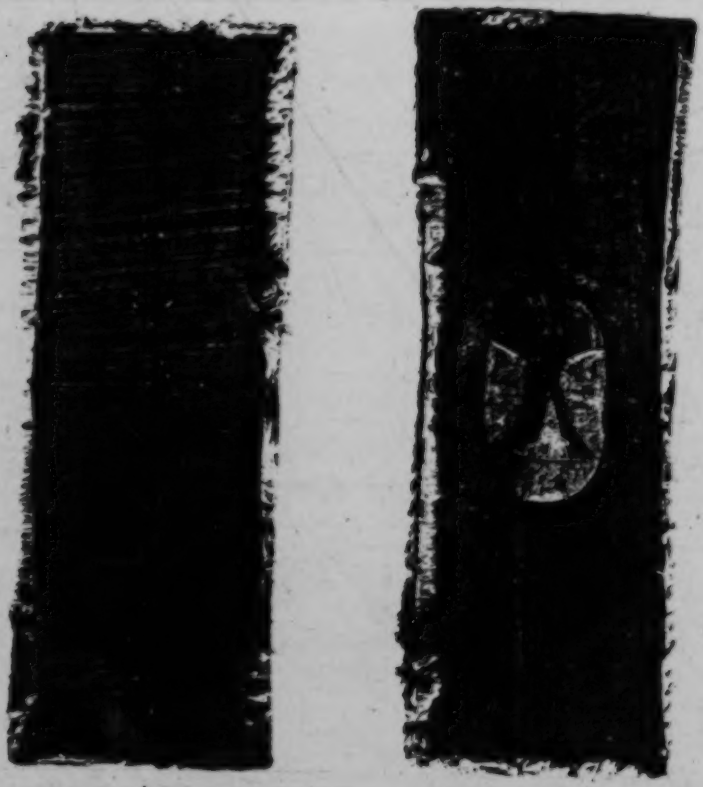

Shield Plaited of Reed.
No. 1) Front; No. 2) Back with wooden handle, 122 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

2: Meyer--288 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 54

751
789

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[285]

Headdresses and Amulets; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 1) Bifurcated stick with medicine amulets in plaited satchels, 82 centimeters long; Nos. 2, 3) Plaited dancing caps with goat hair and cowrie shells, 68 and 80 centimeters long.

2: Meyer--289 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 55

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751
789
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[531]

Neck Ornaments and Amulets Filled with "Medicine."

Nos. 1, 4) Goat horns, pieces of bone, wooden sticks, 16 and 20 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — Nos. 2, 3) Carved cattle horns, 9 and 10 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

2: Meyer--290 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Maps of the Central Interlacustrine Regions of East Africa

133

Oro-hydrographic Map

1 3 5

2 4 6

1. under 1,000 meters
2. 2,000 - 3,000 meters
3. 1,000 - 1,500 meters
4. 3,000 - 4,000 meters
5. 1,500 - 2,000 meters
6. 4,000 - 5,000 meters

[End map, upper left, in color]

2: Meyer--291 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Precipitation Map
according to H. Maurer, P. Heidke and W. Pietsch.

1 2 3 4 5

Annual Rainfall in Millimeters:

1. 500-750
2. 750-1000
3. 1000-1500
4. 1500-2000
5. over 2000

The annual totals and stations (x) given in centimeters.

[End map, upper right, in color]

2: Meyer--292 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rumdl FO42

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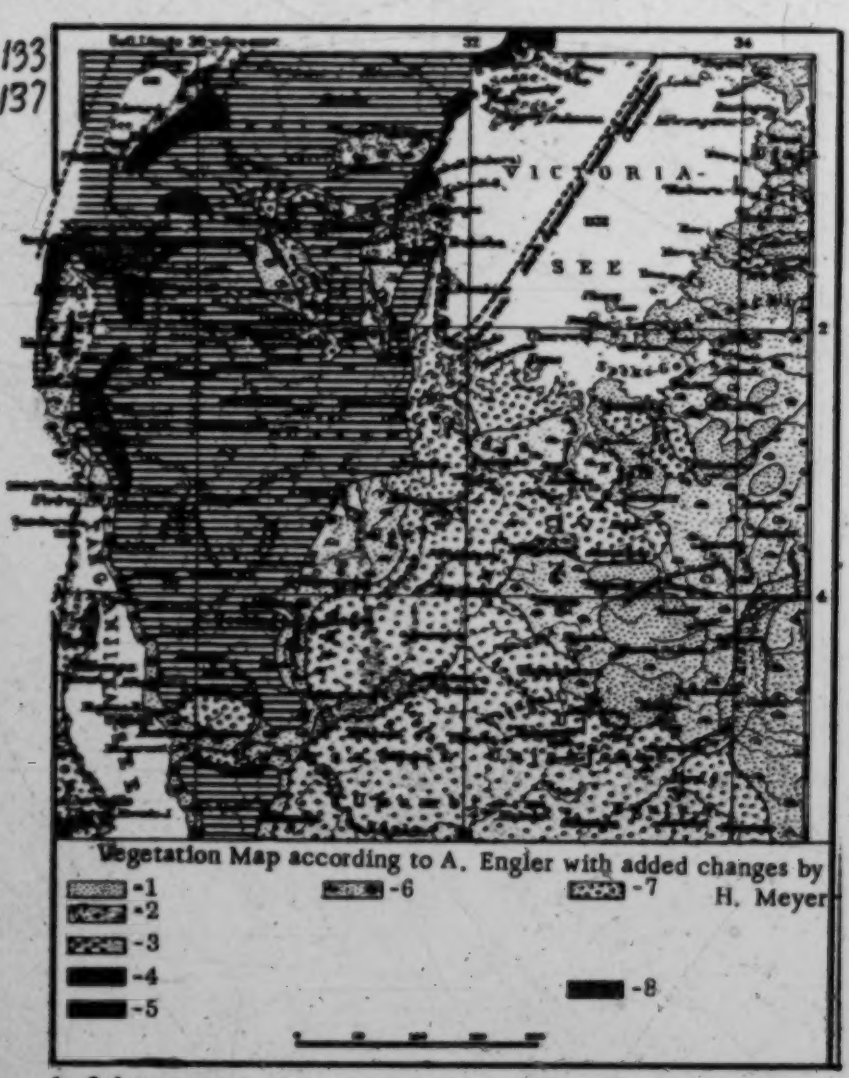

1. Salt steppe.
2. Alluvial plain with West African forms.
3. Alluvial plain, region with little rain, frequently parklike.
4. Tropical rain forest of plains and mountains.
5. Forest and high altitudes, or forest where fog is common.
6. Dry brushland, also mountain brush, partly non-deciduous forms, in some places with trees, and frequently turning into blish and bush and tree steppe.

[End map, lower left, in color] (continued)

133
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7. Dry forest (steppe forest, Miombo forest) or tree steppe with sparse grass; a few types of trees predominate, the individual types often in clusters.

8. Grazing plateau and mountain steppe; besides mountain bushes, rock and loose rock vegetation of the highest regions.

2: Meyer--293 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Population Map according to K. Weule, the northern section supplemented according to Czekanowski.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1. Bantu, no other groups superimposed (Basic or Original Bantu, "Older" Bantu according to Baumann). Bantu of the interlacustrine region with predominantly Hamitic political systems superimposed (Bahima States). (a) Speaking their original language

2. Banjaruanda, Barundi, Baha. (b) Speaking Kinjoro

3. Banjoro, Banjankole, Banjámbo, Basiba, Basíuwi, Basindja.

4. Bakondjo.

5. Batwa (Pygmies).

6. Baganda,

7. Wagaja (Nilotes).

[End map, lower right, in color]

I: Meyer FO42 Rundi

Königlich Sächsische Forschungsinstitute in Leipzig

Institut für Völkerkunde

Erste Reihe: Ethnographie und Ethnologie

Erster Band:

Die Barundi

Eine völkerkundliche Studie aus Deutsch-Ostafrika

von

Hans Meyer

Leipzig 1916

[p. iv]

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

Die Barundi

Eine völkerkundliche Studie aus Deutsch-Ostafrika

von

Hans Meyer

Mit 1 farbigen Karte, 32 Lichtdrucktafeln, 23 Tafeln in Ätzung und 19 Textbildern

1916
Verlag von Otto Spamer in Leipzig

[p. v]

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Gesamt
bei Spamerfilm
Reichsamt in Leipzig

[p. vi]

Vorwort

Das vorliegende Buch enthält die Zusammenfassung eigener und fremder Beobachtungen und Studien über das in den westlichen Hochlanden Deutsch-Ostafrikas ansässige Volk der Barundi, das in sehr eigentümlicher Art aus Bantu, pygmoiden Batwa und reinrassigen Hamiten zusammengesetzt ist. Ich habe Urundi im Sommer 1911 bereist und meine Beobachtungen im wesentlichen durch das reiche Material ergänzt, das der lange Jahre in Urundi missionierende Pater J. M. M. van der Burgt (Missionsgesellschaft der „Weißen Väter") in seinem Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi zusammengetragen hat. Für die freundliche Erlaubnis der Benutzung dieses Materials zum Zweck meiner methodischen Darstellung bin ich dem Herrn Verfasser zu wärmstem Dank verpflichtet; ebenso für die wertvollen genealogischen Tabellen der Barundifürsten mit den erklärenden Begleitworten, die ich am Ende dieses Buches veröffentliche, ferner für mehrere interessante Photographien der Barundi und für die Mühewaltung, der sich Herr Pater van der Burgt durch Mitlesen der Korrekturbogen unterzogen hat. Was die Literatur sonst noch über die Barundi bot — leider ist es sehr wenig — habe ich mit verarbeitet; dazu eine Reihe mündlicher und brieflicher Erkundigungen, die ich von Landeskennern, namentlich von Offizieren unserer Schutztruppe, eingezogen habe. Vor allem habe ich für solche schätzenswerte Auskünfte den Herren Hauptmann von Langenn-Steinkeller und Hauptmann W. von Grawert zu danken. Ersterer hat in freundlichstem Entgegenkommen auch eine Übersichtskarte der Häuptlingssitze Urundis und eine Anzahl ausgezeichneter photographischer Aufnahmen aus Urundi beigetragen. Desgleichen bin ich für die Überlassung mehrerer guter Photographien Herrn Hauptmann Kraut verbunden.

Meiner Darstellung liegt das bekannte ethnologische Schema F. von Luschans zugrunde, das ich auch auf dieser Reise wieder vorzüglich bewährt gefunden habe. Wenn ich in einzelnen Punkten davon abgewichen bin, so geschah es hauptsächlich mit Rücksicht auf die besondere Eigenart der Barundi. Sehr nützlich war es mir ferner, daß ich während der letzten Ausfeilung meines Manuskriptes Einblick in die Aushängebogen des vortrefflichen neuen Buches „Ruanda" von J. Czekanowski (Bd. VI

der „Wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der deutschen Zentralafrika-Expedition 1907—1908 S. H. des Herzogs Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg", Leipzig bei Klinkhardt & Biermann) nehmen konnte, wodurch ich auf zahlreiche ethnologische Parallelerscheinungen bei dem sehr ähnlich gearteten Nachbarvolk, den Banjarwanda, aufmerksam gemacht wurde, die mir manches im Leben der Barundi verständlicher machten. Auch hierfür sage ich sowohl dem Autor wie dem Verleger meinen besten Dank. Ich muß das Entgegenkommen um so höher schätzen, als das Czekanowskische Buch wegen des Krieges, an dem sowohl der Verfasser als auch der Verleger kämpfend teilnehmen, noch nicht erscheinen konnte. Da aber das Werk bis auf die Bildertafeln fertig gedruckt ist und gleich nach dem Krieg erscheinen wird, konnte ich in meinem Text die mehrfachen Verweisungen auf dieses Buch stehen lassen, ohne die Gefahr zu laufen, ihm etwas vorauszunehmen.

Ferner danke ich der Leitung des Kgl. Museums für Völkerkunde in Berlin für die Erlaubnis, aus den Schätzen dieses Museums eine größere Anzahl ethnographischer Gegenstände der Barundi abbilden zu dürfen, die entweder photographiert oder von der vielgewandten Künstlerhand Wilhelms von den Steinen für mein Buch gezeichnet wurden. Die übrigen abgebildeten Objekte gehören meiner eigenen Sammlung an und befinden sich im Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Desgleichen sind die Typen-, Gruppen- und Landschaftsbilder dieses Buches von mir aufgenommen, soweit ihre anderweitige Provenienz nicht besonders angegeben ist. Dem Assistenten am Forschungsinstitut für Völkerkunde in Leipzig, Herrn Dr. H. Plischke, bin ich für seine sorgsame Mitarbeit am Register des Buches aufrichtig dankbar.

Schließlich ist es mir eine angenehme Pflicht, dem Leiter des neuen Kgl. Sächs. Forschungsinstituts für Völkerkunde in Leipzig, Herrn Prof. Dr. K. Weule, hiermit auch öffentlich meinen Dank dafür abzustatten, daß er mir Gelegenheit gibt, die Reihe der Abhandlungen dieses Institutes, die sich auf alle Zweige der wissenschaftlichen Völkerkunde erstrecken sollen, mit meiner in ethnologischer Methodik angelegten Arbeit über ein wenig bekanntes Volk unserer ostafrikanischen Kolonie zu eröffnen.

Eine allgemeine illustrierte Schilderung meiner Reise von 1911 wird unter dem Titel „Im Lande der Nilquellen" voraussichtlich im übernächsten Jahr in einem anderen Verlag erscheinen. Für geographisch Interessierte sei bemerkt, daß über verschiedene Resultate meiner Expedition bereits folgende Schriften veröffentlicht sind:

1. Hans Meyer, Reiseberichte aus Ruanda und Urundi an das Reichskolonialamt. (Mitteil. aus d. Deutsch. Schutzgeb., Berlin 1911, Bd. 24, Heft 4 u. 5.)

2. Hans Meyer, Auf neuen Wegen durch Ruanda und Urundi. (Zeitschrift d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin, 1912, Nr. 2.)

3. Hans Meyer, Ergebnisse einer Reise durch das Zwischenseengebiet Ostafrikas 1911. Mit Beiträgen mehrerer Fachmänner, 8 Bildertafeln und 4 farbigen Karten. (Mitteil. aus d. Deutsch. Schutzgeb., Berlin 1913, Ergänzungsheft 6.)

4. Hans Meyer, Der Kagerafluß in Ostafrika und die Ruandabahn. (Koloniale Monatsblätter, Berlin 1914, S. 6—21.)

Die dem vorliegenden Buch am Ende beigegebene vierteilige Karte des mittleren Zwischenseengebietes, dessen Hauptteile die Hochländer Urundi und Ruanda bilden, ist nach dem bis Anfang 1916 veröffentlichten neuesten Material bearbeitet.

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

Dazu ist kurz zu bemerken:
1. die oro- und hydrographische Karte enthält im wesentlichen nur Höhenschichten von 500 m, wodurch bloß die großen Formen hervorgehoben werden. Die Höhenzahlen sind nach dem deutschen Kolonialatlas, den Aufnahmen der verschiedenen Grenzexpeditionen, den Karten des Oberleutnant Weiß und nach meinen eigenen Messungen eingetragen. Im Flußnetz sind nur die Hauptadern eingezeichnet. — 2. Die Karte der Niederschläge beruht auf den Arbeiten von H. Maurer, ergänzt durch die fortlaufenden Publikationen von G. Heidke in den Mitt. a. d. Deut. Schutzgeb. und durch die Karte in der Dissertation von W. Pietsch über das Abflußgebiet des Nils, 1910. Die Regenmessungen auf dem hohen Randgebirge des Zentralafrikanischen Grabens sind unsicher. Wahrscheinlich muß die 1500-mm-Kurve auf lange Strecken des Gebirges östlich vom Russisi und vom Nord-Tanganika ausgedehnt werden. — 3. Der Vegetations-Karte liegt die Englersche Karte in meinem Buch „Das Deutsche Kolonialreich", Band Ostafrika, zugrunde, ergänzt durch meine Aufnahmen von 1911 in den Mitt. a. d. Deutsch. Schutzgeb. 1913, Ergänzungsheft 6. — 4. Die Völker-Karte beruht auf K. Weules Karte im Band Ostafrika des Werkes „Das Deutsche Kolonialreich" und auf J. Czekanowskis Karte zur Ethnographie des Nil-Kongozwischengebiets in Peterm. Mitt. 1912, Januarheft. — Für die Redaktion der Karten bin ich Herrn Kartographen P. Krauß in Leipzig zu Dank verpflichtet.

Mein Buch stellt die Dinge in Urundi dar, wie sie kurz vor dem Ausbruch des Weltkrieges lagen. Seitdem wütet die Kriegsfurie zwei volle Jahre lang in unserer Ostafrikanischen Kolonie, dank der Raubgier Englands und seiner belgischen, portugiesischen und südafrikanischen Spießgesellen, und der Zeitpunkt wird nicht mehr fern sein, wo unsern braven, von aller Außenverbindung abgeschnittenen Verteidigern die Kräfte erlahmen werden. Die schönen, reichen Hochländer Urundi und Ruanda sind von den plündernden Horden der kongolesischen Belgier durchzogen und besetzt worden. Was für Greuel und Jammer dies bedeutet, weiß nur, wer die belgische Kolonisationspraxis vom Kongostaat her kennt. Geschwächt und verarmt wird Ostafrika aus dem Krieg hervorgehen, und die großen, von deutschem Fleiß und deutscher Umsicht geschaffenen Werte werden vernichtet oder gestohlen sein; der wahnwitzige Konkurrenzneid unseres britischen kolonialen Nebenbuhlers wird hier wie in Kamerun gründlich dafür gesorgt haben, bis es zum Frieden kommt. Und trotzdem lassen wir uns den Glauben an unsere koloniale Auferstehung nicht erschüttern!

Mit freudiger Zuversicht und mit zähem Machtwillen erwarten wir vom Endsieg auf den europäischen Schlachtfeldern und Meeren auch die Wiedergeburt eines deutschen Kolonialreiches, eines größeren, schöneren und stärkeren, als das vorige gewesen, eines Kolonialreiches, dessen mittelafrikanisches Kernstück von Ostafrika durch den ganzen Kontinent bis zur Kamerunküste und weiter reichen soll, und dessen geschlossene Einheit uns endlich die natürlichen, wirtschaftlichen, kulturellen, politischen und militärischen Vorteile bieten soll, die wir in der Zersplitterung unserer früheren Kolonialgebiete so lange haben entbehren müssen. Es wird eine Lust sein, in dem neuen deutschen Kolonialreiche zu leben, zu arbeiten, zu organisieren, zu schaffen, zu forschen. In unseren alten Schutzgebieten wird aus den Trümmern feindlicher Zerstörung durch den Zauber deutscher Kraft und Kenntnis der Phönix junger schöner Wirtschafts- und

Kulturblüte erstehen, am schönsten und stärksten vielleicht in den ostafrikanischen Hochländern Ruanda und Urundi, wo ein der Menschenarbeit förderliches Klima, günstige Boden- und Bewässerungsverhältnisse und eine dichte, arbeitsame Bevölkerung natürliche Grundlagen für die Kolonisation bieten, die wohl vorübergehend geschwächt sein können, aber über alle Kriegsnöte hinweg Bestand haben werden. Der nächsten Generation, die jetzt um Deutschlands Existenz und Zukunft kämpft, ist es vorbehalten, all das fortzusetzen, was wir Älteren in langer wirtschaftlicher, politischer und wissenschaftlicher Kolonialarbeit begonnen und ein gutes Stück vorwärts gebracht haben. Auf sie, deren Willen und Kraft der Weltkrieg gestählt, deren Einsicht und Weitsicht er geklärt und geschärft hat, setzen wir Älteren unsere kolonialen Zukunftshoffnungen. Könnte ihnen mein Buch ein Wegweiser zur rechten Erkenntnis und demnach zur richtigen Behandlung eines der meistversprechenden Eingebornenvölker unserer bisherigen Kolonien werden, so wäre sein praktischer Zweck, der dem wissenschaftlichen nicht nachstehen will, erfüllt. Sei dem Buch ein freundliches Geschick in Deutschlands schwerster Zeit beschieden!

Leipzig, im Herbst 1916.

Hans Meyer.

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

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Erklärung: Die im Text in Klammern stehenden Nummern, z. B. (Nr. 38, S. 15), beziehen sich auf die fortlaufend numerierten Bilder im Illustrationsverzeichnis, Anhang I dieses Buches.

Erstes Kapitel

Übersicht über Land und Volk[1]

(Vgl. hierzu die farbige Karte am Ende des Buches.)

1. Das Land Urundi

Im äußersten Westen Deutsch-Ostafrikas liegt eines der bisher am wenigsten bekannten Länder Afrikas: Urundi. Im Norden grenzt es an Ruanda, im Osten an Usuwi und Uha, im Süden ebenfalls an Uha, im Westen an den Tanganikasee und den Russisifluß. Da Urundi nahezu 29000 qkm groß ist, also etwa doppelt so groß wie das Königreich Sachsen und über 1½ Million (nach van der Burgt sogar zirka 2½ Mill.) Einwohner hat, so ist es schon deshalb der Beachtung wert; aber obwohl es nun schon über 25 Jahre deutsches Gebiet ist, wissen wir doch nur wenig von ihm. Wegen der Schwierigkeit seiner Bevölkerung hatte das Gouvernement das Land für den Außenverkehr fast ganz gesperrt, und die politische Beeinflussung beschränkte sich bis zum Jahre 1911 darauf, daß in Usumbura am Tanganikasee eine Station mit einem Residenten und einer Schutztruppenkompagnie errichtet war. Erst 1912 ist die Residentur versuchsweise ins Landesinnere nach Gitega verlegt worden.

Oskar Baumann war der erste Europäer, der 1892 durch Nord-Urundi nach der Nilquelle am oberen Ruwuwu wanderte, worauf 1896—98 mehrere militärische Streifzüge der Schutztruppenoffiziere Ramsay, v. Trotha, Langheld, v. Langenn-Steinkeller, Fonck und des Dr. Kandt folgten; und 1896—99 errichtete die katholische Mission der „Weißen Väter" die Stationen Usumbura (später nach Marienheim verlegt), Mujaga und Mugera in Mittel-Urundi. Diesem Vorgehen der Europäer begegneten aber die Barundi feindlich, so daß die deutsche Schutztruppe unter ihren Führern Bethe, v. Beringe, v. Grawert sich von 1900 ab mit dem Urundikönig Kisabo herumschlagen mußte, worauf endlich die Barundi die Oberhoheit der Deutschen anerkannten. Diese Anerkennung ist aber nur nominell, denn unsre Macht ist dort viel zu klein, als daß schon eine deutsche Verwaltung in Urundi eingerichtet werden könnte.

Unter solchen Umständen hat auch die Erforschung Urundis keine wesentlichen Fortschritte machen können. Bloß die Völkerkunde ist in hohem Maß gefördert worden durch den Pater J. M. M. van der Burgt, der viele Jahre in Urundi als Missionar tätig war und seine ausgezeichneten völkerkundlichen Studien in einem Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi niedergelegt hat, das 1903 im holländischen Missionsverlag zu Beis le Duc erschienen ist. Aber die überaus zahlreichen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Angaben sind in diesem Buch so eng mit allerlei historischen und

[1] Ein Teil dieses Kapitels ist einem Vortrag entnommen, den ich im Frühjahr 1914 auf dem 19. Deutschen Geographentag in Straßburg gehalten habe.

linguistischen Exkursen verbunden, daß es schwer ist, das wissenschaftlich brauchbare völkerkundliche Tatsachenmaterial herauszulesen und methodisch zusammenzustellen.

In Anbetracht dieser Lage der Dinge entschloß ich mich, einen Teil meiner Expedition 1911 der Untersuchung Urundis zu widmen; und so habe ich denn einige Monate dort gearbeitet, Zeit genug, um einen Überblick zu gewinnen, den ich durch Erkundigungen, Korrespondenzen und anderweitige Studien möglichst zu ergänzen bemüht war. Von Ruanda aus Nordwest kommend, habe ich mit meinen beiden Begleitern, Herrn Oberleutnant Tiller und Herrn Dr. Houy, zuerst das nordwestliche Gebirgsland, die „Mondberge", überschritten, bin dann zur großen Zentralafrikanischen Grabensenke in das Russisital abgestiegen, habe mit Einbäumen den Nordzipfel des Tanganikasees bis zur Residentur Usumbura überquert und bin darauf durch ganz Zentral-Urundi von West nach Ost in einem Monat und weiter durch Nord-Uha und die Ussumbwastaaten gezogen, bis ich schließlich bei Tabora die Zentralbahn erreichte, auf der ich nach Daressalam fuhr.

Wenn ich nun die Bevölkerung Urundis, die Barundi[1], zu schildern versuche, so ist voraus die Frage kurz zu beantworten: Wie sieht das Land aus, der Boden, der das Volk trägt und nährt, und auf dem sich sein wirtschaftliches, soziales und politisches Leben abspielt? Urundi ist ein Hochland, der Südteil des Zwischenseengebietes, zu welchem im Norden Ruanda, im Osten die Kisibastaaten und Uha, im Süden ebenfalls Uha und ein Stück von Udjidji gehören. Nach allen Seiten hat Urundi gute natürliche Grenzen: im Norden die Flüsse Akanjaru und Kagera, im Osten die lange, nach Uha abfallende Plateaustufe, im Süden den Oberlauf des Mlagarassi, im Westen den Tanganikasee und Russissifluß. Das Land hat nach Norden eine breite Front gegen Ruanda, während es nach Südwesten keilförmig zum Tanganikasee ausläuft.

Seinem geologischen Bau nach ist Urundi in zwei große, landschaftlich verschiedene Gebiete gegliedert, von denen der größere, östliche Teil ein Stück des paläozoischen, wahrscheinlich der Kapformation angehörenden Tonschiefer- und Quarzitplateaus (Tafel 2b) ist, das fast durch das ganze Zwischenseengebiet geht, während der schmälere, langgestreckte Westteil der Rumpf eines archäischen Faltengebirges ist, das aus kristallinen Schiefern mit vielen Granitintrusionen und -durchbrüchen besteht. Die Grenze zwischen den beiden Formationen ist eine starke Geländeschwelle oder -stufe, die in Nordsüd-Richtung ungefähr im Meridian der Missionsstation Mugera verläuft. Nach Osten fällt das Tonschiefer-Quarzitplateau zur großen Gneis- und Granittafel von Unjamwesi ebenfalls in einer hohen langgestreckten Stufe ab, die ich für eine Denudationsstufe halte. Aber eine gewaltige tektonische Bruchstufe ist der steile Westabfall des Hochlandes zum Zentralafrikanischen Graben und zum Tanganikasee. Und kleinere Bruchsenken durchziehen an mehreren Stellen das Land Urundi, wie ja das ganze Zwischenseengebiet reich an solchen tektonischen Brüchen ist. (Vgl. die nebenstehende Karte.)

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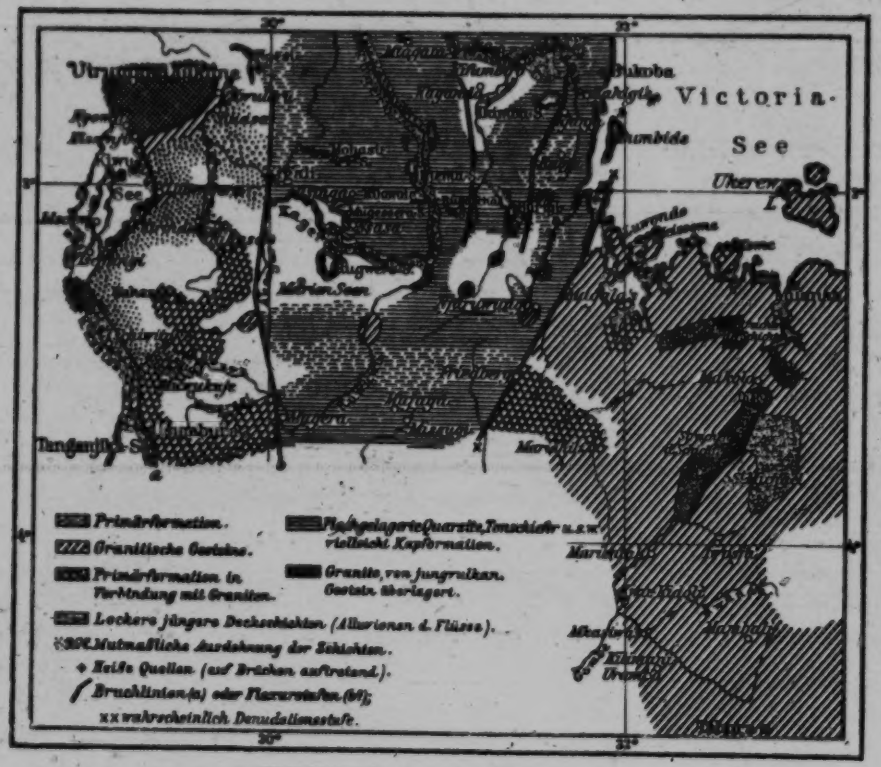
[1] In der Schreibung Barundi, Bahima, Batussi, Bahutu, Batwa, Baganda, Banjoro, Banjaruanda, Banjankole usw. folge ich dem Beispiel J. Czekanowskis (Nr. 38 u. 48). Hierzu ist zu bemerken, daß der Lautwert dieses B oft unserm W nahesteht und phonetisch-korrekt durch ein besonders gekennzeichnetes B verdeutlicht werden könnte; aber dem Zweck meiner Arbeit entspricht das allgemeine B für die Schreibung der Zwischenseenstämme besser. Dagegen muß Banjamwesi, Wasukuma, Waschaschi usw. geschrieben werden, weil von diesen Stämmen das W in aller Deutlichkeit ausgesprochen wird.



Geologische Skizze des mittlern Zwischenseengebietes.

Auf Grund eigner Beobachtungen und Sammlungen (bearbeitet von K. Schloßmacher; vgl. Hans Meyer, Ergebnisse einer Reise durch das Zwischenseengebiet Ostafrikas 1911, Berlin 1913) und mit Berücksichtigung der älteren Veröffentlichungen von Stuhlmann, Baumann, Graf v. Goetzen, Kandt, Herrmann, Danz, Stromer v. Reichenbach, Gagel, Koert und andern.

Über die hohen Schwellen und Stufen im Westen und Südosten sind nur einige Male ernstliche Feinde nach Urundi eingedrungen, aber um so mehr auf den ebeneren, offneren Fronten im Norden und Nordosten. Im Norden liegt der stolze streitbare Nachbar Ruanda, im Nordosten die unruhigen Völkerschaften der Victoriaseeregion: die Bassuwi, Basindja, Wassumbwa u. a.

Das Tonschiefer-Quarzitplateau Ost-Urundis ist in vieltausendjähriger Abtragung durch die meteorischen Kräfte zu einer großen Rumpffläche mit langen, breiten Bodenwellen ausgeglichen worden (Taf. 1a), während im Westen das ältere Randgebirge noch hoch aufragt, aber ebenfalls größtenteils runde Formen erhalten hat. Das Plateauland hat eine durchschnittliche Höhe von 1600—1800 m, das Randgebirge steigt bis zu 3000 m empor. Jüngere Schollenbewegungen haben den zur Ruhe gehenden Erosionsprozeß neu belebt, so daß in vielen Gegenden die Gewässer von neuem in die Plateaumassen und in die Gebirgsgewölbe junge, tiefe Täler eingeschnitten haben, die nun das Land in eine Unmenge von großen Blöcken und Bastionen zerteilten. In noch jüngerer Zeit jedoch ist dieser Erosionsprozeß durch andere Vorgänge wieder sehr verlangsamt worden. Dies zeigt sich darin, daß es jetzt nur im Gebirge des Westens muntere, schnelle Bäche gibt (Taf. 1b), während im Plateauland des Ostens fast überall nur träge Gewässer in den relativ jungen Tälern fließen. Allem Anschein nach hat durch junge Schollenbewegungen eine allgemeine Stauung der Gewässerstatt gefunden, die eine kolossale Versumpfung der Täler in Urundi, besonders im Norden und Nordosten, wie im ganzen Zwischenseengebiet verursacht hat. Ihre Hauptursache ist der mangelhafte Abfluß der Gewässer im Flußnetz des Kagera einerseits und in dem des Mlagarassi andererseits, weil ihre Erosionsbasis hier wie dort offenbar durch jüngere Schollenbewegungen wieder gehoben worden ist.

Die genannten beiden großen Flüsse teilen Urundi in zwei hydrographische Systeme: der größere Norden entwässert sich zum Kagera, Victoriasee, Nil, also zum Mittelmeer; der kleinere Süden zum Mlagarassi, Tanganikasee, Kongo, also zum Atlantischen Ozean.

Da Urundi zwischen $2^1/_2$ und $4^1/_2$° südl. Br. liegt, hat es, wie Ruanda, Äquatorialklima mit zwei Regenzeiten und zwei Trockenzeiten. Die Regen treten bald nach dem Zenitstand der Sonne im April und im Oktober ein. Die Regenmenge ist mit zirka 1250 mm im Norden und unter 1000 mm im Süden nicht groß für ein tropisches Land, aber doch reichlich und gleichmäßig verteilt. Die mittlere Jahrestemperatur schwankt um 20°, ist im Osten höher, und das Thermometer sinkt in den Gebirgen des Westens bis nahe an Null im Juli herab. Tagein, tagaus bläst ein strammer Ostwind über die Hochflächen. Morgens liegen sehr oft dichte Nebel in den Tälern.

Die Wärme, die Niederschlagsmenge und die Regenverteilung lassen ausgedehnten Waldwuchs in Urundi erwarten; aber dies ist ein Irrtum. Urundi ist ganz überwiegend Grasland (Taf. 1a), Hochweideland wie Ruanda, dem die Eingeborenen zerstören den Wald für ihre Äcker und Viehweiden. Nach Osten, nach Uha, wo das Land niedriger wird, geht das Grasland allmählich in Baum- und Buschgrassteppe über (Taf. 3b). Der Graswuchs Urundis ist höher und wilder als in Ruanda, weil die Grasflächen nicht so regelmäßig abgebrannt werden, und Urundi ist nicht so absolut baumlos wie Ruanda, weil bei jedem Kral einige Fikusbäume zur Nutzung ihrer Rinde gehegt werden. Auch sind die größern Flüsse,

wie der Ruwuvu oder der Mlagarassi, streckenweise mit ziemlich dichtem Uferwald gesäumt (Taf. 5). Aber die große Mehrzahl der Täler ist sumpfig und von mächtigen Papyrusdickichten erfüllt, die man nur an wenigen Stellen durchdringen kann (Taf. 2a). Während bei uns die Täler die gegebenen Verkehrswege und die geeignetsten Siedelstätten für die Menschen sind, können sie das in den meisten Gegenden Urundis und Ruandas nie sein. Die Talsümpfe und die oft sehr steilen Talhänge drängen die Bevölkerung mit ihren Wegen und Siedelungen auf die Plateauhöhen und obern Hügelflanken hinauf. Alle Gehöfte liegen deshalb oben auf den Bergrücken und den höhern Talstufen; in den Tälern nur Äcker von solchen Feldfrüchten, die, wie Bataten, viel Feuchtigkeit brauchen. Diese Beschaffenheit der Täler wird die künftige Erschließung des Landes durch Straßen oder gar Eisenbahnen außerordentlich erschweren. Die Papyrussümpfe sind neben den meilenweit übersehbaren Grashügeln der charakteristischste Zug in der Landschaft Urundis wie auch Uhas und Ruandas, also des größten Teils des Zwischenseegebietes.

Richard Kandt, der Poet unter den Ostafrika-Reisenden, widmet ihnen daher die folgende stimmungsvolle Schilderung:

„Seitdem wir das Gebiet von Urundi betreten hatten, auch schon die letzten Tage in Uha, bildeten Papyrussümpfe das charakteristische Merkmal der Landschaft. Oft liegen Bäche, die kaum zwei Meter breit sind, in einem Tal von Papyrus, das mehrere hundert Meter breit ist. Aber nicht nur die Haupttäler werden von ihm ausgefüllt, sondern er dringt auch in alle Nebentäler und steigt selbst die Furchen und Schluchten hinauf, so daß, von einer Höhe gesehen, das Land einem riesigen Netz grüner Bänder gleicht, in dessen Maschen die Berge wie Inseln liegen. Ich habe manches seltsame und schöne Landschaftsbild in Afrika gesehen; ich habe die unsägliche Melancholie kennengelernt, die auf verbrannten, bebend heißen Steppen liegt, wenn die Strahlen der untergehenden Sonne blutrot den flimmernden Dunst durchbrechen; ich habe auf tongostaatlichem Boden die Herrlichkeit und die Schrecken des Urwaldes bis zur Neige gekostet; ich habe mich an der heiteren Anmut zentralafrikanischer Seen erfreut und die grandiose Wunderwelt der Vulkane angestaunt; ich kenne die herbe Größe der Flüsse, die schweigend den Schatten der Galeriewälder durchströmen, und die Tragik der von allen guten Geistern verlassenen Lavawildnis, und doch muß ich sagen, daß kaum eine dieser Landschaftsstimmungen sich meinem Geiste tiefer eingeprägt hätte als das Bild einer solchen Papyruslandschaft. Sie ist immer wechselnd, nicht nur mit der Jahreszeit, sondern fast mit jeder Stunde des Tages und dem Einfallswinkel der Sonnenstrahlen; sie ist anders bei klarem und bei trübem Wetter, des Morgens anders als des Abends. Stundenlang konnte ich von der Höhe eines Berges auf sie hinabblicken und ward nicht satt zu schauen, wie die violetten Schatten der wandernden Wolken über die grünen Gefilde zogen oder wie der Wind mit ihnen spielte, so daß erst eine leise Unruhe in ihnen wie in einer dichtgedrängten Herde entstand, bis er zum Sturm anschwoll und lange tiefe Furchen zwischen sie pflügte, die sich immer wieder schlossen und wieder öffneten und wieder schlossen." (Nr. 22, S. 246.)

Hochstämmiger Urwald wächst in Urundi nur noch auf den höchsten Gebirgsrücken des Westens (Taf. 4a), aber auch dort nur in verhältnismäßig kleinen Resten, wie in Ruanda und in einigen Winkeln des Victoriasees. Überall wird er von der sich ausbreitenden Bevölkerung zurückgedrängt, vernichtet. Sehr wahrscheinlich war vor wenigen Jahrhunderten noch das ganze Zwischenseegebiet von Urwald bedeckt, da sowohl die Höhenlage als auch die Temperatur und die Niederschläge im Zwischenseegebiet dem Waldwuchs günstig sind. Aber die starke Bevölkerungszunahme der ackerbauenden Bantu brauchte Raum, der Wald mußte weichen; und noch größer wurde die Waldverwüstung, als die viehzüchtenden Batussi ins Zwischenseegebiet eindrangen und immer größere Flächen Grasweide für ihre Viehherden in Anspruch nahmen. An Stelle des abgebrannten Waldes ist in den Hochtälern des Gebirges vielfach Bambus (Arundinaria alpina) emporgewachsen, der den perio-

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

dischen Grasbeständen besser widersteht und nun einen eigenartigen Zug ins Landschaftsbild der Berge bringt (Taf. 4b). Ganz steppenhaft hingegen ist der Gras- und Baumwuchs in der heißen, trocknen Ebene der Russissiniederung (Taf. 3a).

Durch die Ausbreitung der Menschen und die Vernichtung des Waldes ist auch das freie Tierleben außerordentlich eingeschränkt worden. Im Grasland gibt es nur noch sehr wenige Antilopen (Simela, Schopfantilopen, Gazellen) und von großen Vögeln nur noch Kronenkraniche, die man wegen ihrer Häufigkeit das Wappentier Urundis und Ruandas nennen könnte, ferner Trappen, Reiher, Ibisse, Frankoline, Nilgänse usw. In den Uferwäldern der Flüsse kommen noch Buschböcke (Tragelaphus), Moorantilopen und Ducker vor, im Wasser selbst zahlreiche Nilpferde, Krokodile und Fischottern. In den Waldresten des Randgebirges und in der Baumsteppe der Russissiniederung leben noch ziemlich viele Elefanten, Büffel, Paviane usw. Leoparden sind überall nicht selten. Besonders interessant ist die Mischung ostafrikanischer und westafrikanischer Formen in diesem pflanzen- und tiergeographischen Grenzgebiet. Wie zahlreiche Pflanzen der westafrikanischen Waldflora bis hierher und teilweise sogar bis zum Victoriasee vorgedrungen sind, so auch viele kleine und große Repräsentanten der westafrikanischen Fauna; ich nenne nur den Graupapagei, den Riesenturako, den Hornraben, und von Säugern den Rotbüffel, den Schimpansen und den Gorilla. Wegen dieser Mischung der ost- und westafrikanischen Formen sind die Pflanzen- und Tiersammlungen aus dieser durch West-Urundi und West-Ruanda verlaufenden biogeographischen Grenzzone sehr interessant.

2. Die Bevölkerung

Noch viel interessanter als die Mischung der Flora und Fauna ist in Urundi wie in Ruanda die Mischung der Bevölkerung. Es sind drei anthropologisch und kulturell ganz verschiedene Elemente, die aber ziemlich streng gesondert neben- resp. übereinanderstehen und in dieser Gruppierung sich im Lauf der Jahrhunderte zu einem starken sozialen und politischen Gemeinwesen befestigt haben.

Die große Masse der Bevölkerung sind die der Bantuasse, und zwar den sog. Grundbantu, angehörenden Ackerbauer, die Bahutu, die in Urundi zirka $1^1/_2$ Millionen Köpfe zählen. Über ihnen steht als Herrenkaste das hamitische Hirtenvolk der Batussi, die vor etwa 400 Jahren von Norden in Urundi eingewandert sind und hier wie im ganzen Zwischenseegebiet die ackerbauenden Bahutu unterworfen haben. Es sind stolze, hochgewachsene Gestalten von oft mehr als 2 m Höhe, mit scharfen Profilen und vornehmer Haltung, so daß sie selbst dem vielgereisten Europäer zunächst imponieren. Ihre Zahl beläuft sich nach amtlicher Schätzung auf 40—50 000 in ganz Urundi. Und neben diesen Riesen birgt das Land noch die Reste einer kleinwüchsigen, pygmoiden Urbevölkerung, die Batwa, die schon vor den Bantu hier in den Wäldern gelebt und mit den Wäldern durch die anderen, stärkeren Elemente teils ausgerottet, teils in entlegene Winkel verdrängt worden sind. Es sind ihrer jetzt nur noch einige Tausend in Urundi und ebenso viele in Ruanda. Ihre Körpergröße schwankt meist zwischen 1,50 m und 1,60 m, aber sie sind kräftig gebaut und erwerben ihren Unterhalt teils als Jäger, teils als Schmiede und Töpfer im Dienst der andern, teils als Leibwachen der Großen und des Königs.

Zweifellos sind die Batwa die älteste Bevölkerungsschicht im ganzen Zwischenseegebiet. In kleinen Stammessplittern über das Land zerstreut, entbehren sie

jedes sozialen Zusammenhanges; auch scheinen sie keinerlei Tradition über ihre Vergangenheit zu haben. Die Urundi-Batwa sind ähnlich den Batwa in den Wäldern Ruandas, aber in Urundi haben sie augenscheinlich mehr Blut von der Bantubevölkerung in ihren Adern, sie sind daher etwas größer und nicht so rein im Typus wie die Batwa-Ruandas. In Urundi wie in Ruanda und im nordöstlichen Kongogebiet sind die Batwa im Verschwinden. Von den Batussi wie von den Bahutu als Parias betrachtet, werden sie überall schlecht behandelt, aber weidlich ausgenutzt. Sie sehen immer tief melancholisch aus und sind äußerst mißtrauisch; ich habe selten einen Mutwa lachen sehen. Es ist eine alte, müde Menschenrasse, die dem baldigen Untergang entgegengeht. Deshalb ist es die höchste Zeit, daß die Reste dieses Volkes endlich methodisch von einem ethnologischen Fachmann in längerem Aufenthalt untersucht werden. Mir scheint das eine der dankbarsten Aufgaben in unserm an ethnologischen Problemen so reichen Ostafrika zu sein.

Die etwa $1^1/_2$ Millionen Köpfe starke Hauptbevölkerung Urundis, die ackerbauenden Bahutu, gehören zu den sog. Grundbantu des zentralen Ostafrika, wie auch die Wanjamwesi. Ihrer Tradition nach sind sie einst von Osten, also vom südlichen Victoriasee her, nach Urundi gekommen und haben, das Waldland rodend, sich immer weiter nach Westen verbreitet. Sie sprechen fast denselben Bantudialekt wie die Bewohner von Ruanda und von Uha. Ja, merkwürdigerweise sprechen auch ihre Eroberer, die hamitischen Batussi, und ihre Unterjochten, die Batwa, nur diesen Bantudialekt, während in den östlichen und nördlichen Nachbarstaaten die ganze Bevölkerung Kinjoro, stellenweise auch Kissumbwa, spricht. (Über Reste eines ältern Kirundidialektes siehe S. 148.) Dagegen haben in Urundi und Ruanda die Bantu ihren ethnischen und somatischen Charakter unter dem Einfluß ihrer hamitischen Eroberer einigermaßen verändert. Diese, die Batussi, haben zwar in den wenigen Jahrhunderten ihrer Besitzergreifung die Sprache, die Kleidung (Rindenzeug) und viele Sitten von den Bantu angenommen, aber sie haben ihnen dagegen etwas von ihrem Blut, ihre Wohnart (Rundhütte), ihre großhörnige Rinderrasse und ihre politische Gliederung gegeben.

Von der Geschichte der Bahutu Urundis und Ruandas ist nichts bekannt aus den Zeiten vor der Batussiherrschaft. Erst mit und unter den Batussieroberern treten auch die Bahutu ins Licht der afrikanischen Geschichte. Von da ab gibt es eine Geschichte der Barundi, der staatlich zusammengefaßten Gemeinschaft von Batussiadel, Bahutuvolk und Batwaparias (s. S. 151).

3. Körperbeschaffenheit

Anthropologische Messungen habe ich an den Barundi nicht vorgenommen, da ich durch meine geographischen und ethnographischen Aufgaben völlig in Anspruch genommen war. Mein medizinischer Begleiter, Dr. R. Houy (leider 1913 in Kamerun ermordet), dessen Aufgabe die Anthropologie eigentlich war, fand aber, da er zugleich höchst interessierter Zoologe war, in der merkwürdigen Fauna des Landes ein so reiches Feld für seine Sammel- und Beobachtungstätigkeit, daß auch er von den zeitraubenden anthropologischen Messungen absehen mußte. So mußte ich mich auf nur gelegentliches Hantieren mit Bandmaß und Farbentafel beschränken und kann im übrigen bloß allgemeine somatische Beobachtungen wiedergeben.

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

Die eindrucksvollsten Erscheinungen in der Barundibevölkerung sind natürlich die hochgewachsenen herrschenden Batussi (Taf. 11, 12, 14). Abgesehen von ihrem meist glattrasierten Schädel gleichen sie körperlich durchaus ihren Stammesgenossen in Ruanda. Auf den ersten Blick sieht man ihnen ihren hamitischen Ursprung an. Ich habe auf meinen früheren Reisen oft mit Somali und Galla zu tun gehabt und glaubte mich bei den Batussi Urundis wie Ruandas wieder mitten unter jene, namentlich die Galla, versetzt. Aber eine Eigenschaft haben die Batussi vor den Hamiten Nordostafrikas voraus: sie sind im Durchschnitt viel größer als jene. Den bequemsten Maßstab trage ich in meiner eigenen Körperlänge mit mir, und an diesem konnte ich leicht die vielen Hunderte von Batussi annähernd messen, mit denen ich zusammenkam. Keinen Erwachsenen fand ich kleiner als 1,77 m (mit Band gemessen), wenige unter 1,80 m, die Mehrzahl zwischen 1,80 und 1,90 m, viele (zirka 10%) zwischen 1,90 und 1,95 m, wenige zwischen 1,95 und 2 m und vereinzelte über 2 m bis zu einem mit Band gemessenen Extrem von 2,08 m. Trotz der außerordentlichen Länge ist das Größenverhältnis der Körperteile zueinander ebenmäßig; nicht bloß die Beine und Arme sind sehr lang, sondern auch der Rumpf, der oft so schmal und langgestreckt ist, daß man sich kaum vorstellen kann, wie die inneren Organe darin gelagert sind. Und der Eindruck der abnormen Länge wird noch dadurch verstärkt, daß fast alle Batussi hager und mager sind. Nur die älteren Batwale (Oberbeamten) und die wohllebigen Baganwa (Angehörige der Königssippe) haben runde Fleischformen, aber Fettbäuche sieht man auch bei den ältern selten. Die Taille ist gewöhnlich sehr dünn, die Brust und Schultern aber breit. Alle diese Eigenschaften sind höchst wahrscheinlich die Folge einer langen, mehr oder minder bewußten Zuchtwahl, d. h. Züchtung auf große Körperlänge (vgl. Luschan in Anhang II zu Nr. 40, S. 252).

Die meisten Batussi haben sehnige Glieder und feste Muskulatur, aber kein dickes Muskelfleisch an den Armen und Beinen. Die Waden fehlen gewöhnlich ganz. Auffallend zierlich und feingegliedert sind die Hände und Füße; nach unsern Begriffen sind es lauter schmale Damenhände mit der Handschuhnummer 5 oder 6 und mit langen Fingern, während die Füße zwar auch schmal und klein sind, aber kurze Zehen haben. Das Handgelenk ist so dünn, daß auch die Männer es leicht in den $2^1/_2$—$3^1/_2$ cm weiten Spalt der Holzscheiben einschieben können, mit denen sie sich die linke Hand gegen die zurückschnellende Bogensehne schützen (s. S. 34, 82). Kein erwachsener Europäer vermag dies. Ihre am rechten Handgelenk getragenen kupfernen oder eisernen Schmuckringe sind alle so eng, daß sie für Kinder bestimmt zu sein scheinen. Die Vornehmen lassen als Zeichen ihres Adels und ihrer Freiheit von Handarbeit den Nagel am kleinen Finger $1^1/_2$—$2^1/_2$ cm lang wachsen.

Der Hals ist ziemlich lang und fein geschwungen, wodurch der Kopf eine leichte, stolze Haltung erhält, im Gegensatz zum Bantumeger mit seinem gedrungenen Hals.

Sehr schön ist der Schädel geformt (Taf. 17c, d). Da die Batussi Urundis ihn im Gegensatz zu denen Ruandas meist glatt rasieren, kann man seine hohe Wölbung, seine runde breite Stirn und seine außerordentliche Länge, die das runde Hinterhaupt weit über den Halsansatz hinausragen läßt, stets bewundern. Die Schädel sind extrem dolichocephal.

In der Gesichtsform möchte ich zwei Typen unterscheiden. Der eine, edlere, hat eine feingeschwungene Nase mit schmaler Nasenspitze und dünnen Nasenflügeln, relativ kleinem Mund und schmalen Lippen (Taf. 17d); der andre Typus hat eine

gerade oder stumpfe Nasenform, eine breitere Nasenspitze und einen größeren, dickeren Mund (Taf. 17b). Aber beide Typen zeichnen sich durch die ovale Form des Gesichts, durch das kleine, aber ausgeprägte Kinn und durch das gänzliche Fehlen der Negerprognathie aus. Häufig ist jedoch der edle Eindruck des Gesichtes durch starkes Vorstehen der obern Vorderzähne (Prodentie) beeinträchtigt. Deshalb steht der Mund dieser Individuen meist halb offen und läßt die obern vier Schneidezähne sehen. Diese Schiefzähnigkeit schien mir gerade bei den Mitgliedern der vornehmsten Geschlechter hier wie in Ruanda oft vorzukommen, denen auch die längsten Körpergestalten eigen sind. Vielleicht sind diese beiden Eigenschaften besondere Merkmale und Folgen der langen Inzucht dieser Geschlechter, die nur in enger Wahl untereinander heiraten (S. 100, 106), wogegen den gewöhnlichen Batussi ein größerer Spielraum in der Ehewahl gewährt ist und die niederste, ärmste Klasse auch Ehen, wenn auch keine vollgültigen, mit Bahutu eingeht.

Wenn das Haupthaar stehengelassen wird, sieht man, daß es kraus und wollig wie das der Ruanda-Batussi ist. Auch sieht man an den Schläfen und über der Stirn, daß es nicht gleichmäßig dicht, sondern in einzelnen Büscheln wächst; es ist die am meisten negerhafte Körperrigenschaft der im übrigen so gar nicht nach Negern aussehenden Batussi.

Die zweite große Bevölkerungsschicht der Barundi, die von der Adelskaste der Batussi beherrschte Volksmasse der Bahutu, hat denselben bekannten Körpertypus der Bantu wie in allen Ländern des Zwischenseengebietes, also wie in Ruanda, Mororo, Ankole, Karagwe, Kisiba usw. (Taf. 6, 8, 9, 10). Durch ihre untersetzte Gestalt, die zwischen 1,62 und 1,70 m schwankt, namentlich durch ihre kürzeren Beine, ihren gedrungenen muskulösen Körperbau, der freilich oft infolge von Unterernährung schwächlich erscheint, und den echten prognathen Negerschädel, fallen sie sofort gegen die Batussi auf. Von den Zentralbantu Unjamwesis und Usukumas unterscheiden sie sich somatisch nur wenig, obwohl sie in mancher Beziehung auch den Waldbantu des östlichen Kongogebietes ähneln, die vermutlich früher weiter nach Osten verbreitet waren (s. S. 152). Ihre östlichen Ausläufer in Urundi dürften den Baliga in Ruanda gleichzusetzen sein, die als rauhes, den Urwald rodendes, kräftig gewachsenes Bergvolk sich von den übrigen Bantu Ruandas ebenso unterscheiden wie in Urundi die das Westgebirge bewohnenden Waldbantu von den andern Bantu Urundis (vgl. auch 47a, S. 272).

Sehr oft sieht man aber unter den Bantu des Zwischenseengebietes feinere, schmälere Gesichter mit weniger breiten Nasen und Mäulern und mit weniger starker Entwickelung des Unterkiefers als unter den andern. Die Ursache wird die jahrhundertelange Beimischung von Bahimablut sein, denn die hamitischen Herren der Bantu mischen sich zwar oft mit Bantuweibern, aber nie oder nur in seltenen Ausnahmefällen Bantumänner mit Bahimaweibern (S. 101). Diese mit Batussiblut gemischten Individuen der Bahutu sind auch meist höher gewachsen als der gewöhnliche Muhutu. Alle Bahutu sind ziemlich langschädelig. Das Haar ist kraus, kurz und büschelig, aber nicht „pfefferkörnig".

Der Unterschied dieser beiden Rassenelemente macht sich auch in der Hautfarbe bemerkbar. Die große Mehrzahl der Bahutu hat die Farbe dunklen Milchkaffees mit violetten Reflexen: etwa Nr. 28 und 29 der Luschanschen Farbenskala. Bei vielen aber ähnelt die Hautfarbe dem rötlichen Ton der mir von früheren Reisen her gut

bekannten südamerikanischen Hochlandsindianer, was bei den einen der Ingredienz von Batussiblut, bei den andern aber der gewohnheitsmäßigen Einsalbung mit roterdiger Butter zuzuschreiben ist; sie kommen dann der Nr. 32 der Skala nahe, aber nur im Farbenwert, nicht in der Intensität des Tones. Die Batussi dagegen sind meistens leicht schokoladenbraun, zwischen Nr. 26 und 28 der Skala, oder kupferbraun wie manche Indianerstämme. Viele zeigen hellere Abstufungen je nach der Sonnenwirkung, aber immer herrscht ein rötlicher Ton vor, nie ein gelbbrauner oder ein schwarzer. Die Batussiweiber (Taf. 15, 17a) sollen durchweg heller als die Männer sein — ich habe nur sehr wenige zu sehen bekommen —, weil sie sich meistens in den Gehöften aufhalten, während die Bahutuweiber, die sich bei der Feldarbeit dem Sonnenlicht ebenso aussetzen wie die Männer, auch ebenso gefärbt sind wie diese (Taf. 14b, 16b). Kleine Kinder sind immer beträchtlich heller.

Auch die dritte Bevölkerungsgruppe, die Batwa (Taf. 7), haben in Urundi fast denselben somatischen Charakter wie ihre Stammesverwandten in Ruanda, von wo wir sie durch die Arbeiten J. Czekanowskis etwas genauer kennen. In Ruanda haben sie namentlich in den waldigen Gebieten von Bugoje und der Virungavulkane noch viel von ihrem ursprünglichen Pygmäencharakter bewahrt, da sie noch ein zurückgezogenes Jägerleben in den Wäldern führen können. Aber auch in Ruanda lebt schon die Mehrzahl von ihnen als Ackerbauer und Handwerker (Töpfer, Schmiede) in kleinen Gemeinden verstreut zwischen den Bahutu und hat von diesen schon eine starke Beimischung von Bantublut, teils von den Waldbantu des östlichen Kongogebietes, teils von den Zentralbantu des Zwischenseengebietes, erhalten. So ist es auch der Mehrzahl der Batwa Urundis ergangen, da auch sie mit der Ausbreitung der Bantu und dem Dahinschwinden der Wälder zur Siedelung zwischen den Bahutu und zum Ackerbau gedrängt worden sind (s. S. 152). Aber immer noch begegnen wir unter ihnen vielen Individuen, die uns entweder schon auf den ersten Blick oder doch bei näherem Zusehen die pygmoiden Merkmale erkennen lassen, wie wir sie von den nördlicheren, reinrassigen Urwaldpygmäen (Wambutti) des Ruwensori und des obern Ituri kennen.

Zunächst ist es die Körpergröße und die Gliederform, die am Mutwa auffällt. Während da aber die reinrassigen Batwa des Ituri nur 1,30—1,40 m lang sind, trifft man in Ruanda nur noch unter den Jägerbatwa Bugojes und der Virungavulkane Individuen von 1,40—1,55 m Größe; dagegen unter den ackerbauenden, zwischen den Bahutu lebenden, nur selten einen von weniger als 1,60 m, oft aber von mehr. Durchweg sind die Weiber kleiner als die Männer. Czekanowski gibt für die Batwamänner vom Muhawura das Durchschnittsmaß von 1,53 m, für die Weiber vom Muhawura 1,40 m an, für die Batwamänner der ackerbauenden Stämme dagegen 1,61 m und für die Weiber 1,54 m. Diese letztern Maße gelten im allgemeinen auch für die Batwa Urundis. Bei allen sind Rumpf und Glieder relativ kurz, die Beine wieder verhältnismäßig kurz zum Oberkörper, aber alle Glieder mahen wohlproportioniert und von kräftiger Muskulatur. Die Hände und namentlich die Füße sind relativ breit und plump, die Finger und Zehen im Verhältnis zum Hand- und Fußrücken sehr kurz. Die Ferse springt weit nach hinten vor, so daß, von der Seite gesehen, der Unterschenkel mehr nach der Mitte des Fußes hin aufgesetzt zu sein scheint.

Auf dem kurzen Hals sitzt meist ein rundlicher, ausgesprochen brachycephaler Kopf mit kurzem Gesicht und breiten Jochbeinen, doch sind auch langschädelige Individuen nicht gerade selten. Stirnbein und Brauenbogen überragen gewöhnlich das

Gesicht stark. Die Nase ist fast immer an der Wurzel eingezogen, wodurch die Stirn noch mehr vorspringt; die Nase ist flach und breit und hat eine breite, meist stark aufgestülpte Spitze, so daß man in die Nasenlöcher hineinsieht. Der Mund ist mittelgroß, die Lippen aber meist ziemlich dünn und die Oberlippe oft kaum geschwungen. Das Kinn ist klein und tritt etwas zurück. Die Ohren haben gewöhnlich ein sehr kleines Ohrläppchen oder gar keins. Das Haar ist kraus, filzig und steht, wenn es kurz geschnitten ist, in kleinen „pfefferkörnigen" Büscheln, wie bei den Buschmännern Südafrikas. Alte Leute haben häufig einen sehr griesgrämlichen oder unglücklichen Gesichtsausdruck, indem über die Stirn drei oder vier eigentümliche runzelige Querfalten laufen und von den Nasenwinkeln je eine oder zwei dicke Hautfalten nach den Mundwinkeln ziehen, die oft fast wie Narbenwülste aussehen (s. Taf. 7).

In ihrer Hautfarbe sind die Batwa dunkler als die Bahutu, nicht selten mit einem Stich ins Violette, auch wenn die Haut reingewaschen ist. Auf dem farbigen Bild im Reisewerk des Herzogs Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg, wo ein Mutussi, ein Muhutu und ein Mutwa nebeneinanderstehen, ist die Farbe des Muhutu am besten getroffen, während der Mutussi zu rot und der Mutwa zu braun ist.

Czekanowski faßt die Ergebnisse seiner Messungen und seiner Vergleichungen der Batwa mit den reinen Pygmäen der nördlicheren Gebiete und mit den Wald- und Zwischenseenbantu in folgende Schlüsse zusammen: Die Batwa sind keine einheitliche Gruppe, sondern aus Elementen der Pygmäen, der Urwald- und in geringerem Maße auch der Zwischenseenbantu zusammengesetzt; unter den Batwa des Vulkangebietes überwiegt der Pygmäentypus, unter denen Mittelruandas der Typus der Zwischenseenbantu. Das letztere ist nach meinen Beobachtungen auch in Urundi der Fall. Auffallend ist bei den Batwa die von Czekanowski nachgewiesene Spur eines dolichocephalen buschmannartigen Elementes, das in der Verbindung mit geringer Körpergröße auch sonst in ostafrikanischen Beobachtungsreihen oft erscheint und Czekanowski namentlich am Kilimandjaro stark aufgefallen ist. Die Batwa sind ursprünglich „Zwerge" gewesen, haben aber allmählich ihren Typus durch Aufnahme von Bantublut verändert. Je weiter wir nach Norden, zu den reinrassigen Pygmäen des Ituri hin, Batwa antreffen, desto stärker sind ihre pygmäischen Eigenschaften; am stärksten bei den Batwa der Insel Idschwi des Kiwusees, wo sie gegen äußere Einflüsse sehr geschützt sind (Nr. 31a, S. 101—109).

Da nach amtlicher Angabe in der Gesamtbevölkerung Urundis die Batwa kaum 1% und die Batussi nur etwa 3% ausmachen, ist die Überzahl der Bahutu-Bantu so groß, daß sie den Totaleindruck vom Volk der Barundi schlechthin bestimmen. Und die Bahutu sind, wie anderseits auch die sie beherrschenden relativ wenigen Batussi, somatisch, geistig und kulturell so einheitlich durch ganz Urundi, daß man in dem großen Reich nur selten Abweichungen von dem Durchschnittstypus findet; außer den oben erwähnten Mischlingen aus Bahimablut. Natürlich verdankt das Barundivolk diese Einheitlichkeit vor allem dem jahrhundertelangen festen Abschluß nach außen. Selbst in den westlichsten Grenzgebieten am Tanganikasee und am Russisifluß, die doch durch ihr viel wärmeres Niederungsklima, durch die Lebensanpassungen an den großen See, durch die Nachbarschaft der ganz anders gearteten Kongovölker u. a. m. stark abwandelnd auf die hier wohnenden Barundistämme hätten einwirken können, hat sich der ethnische Charakter der Barundibevölkerung nur wenig geändert, obgleich sich der politische Zusammenhang mit den Hochland-Barundi sehr gelockert hatte.

Richard Kandt schrieb 1901 über die Barundi der Tanganikaniederung:

„In politischer Beziehung zerfällt das Gebiet zwischen dem Ostrande des Zentralafrikanischen Grabens und dem Ruffiffi in zehn bis zwölf kleinere Sultanate, von denen die meisten zirka 150 bis 200 Geviertkilometer bedecken mögen. Nominell sind sie unselbständig, und ihre Herrscher, die alle dem semitischen, aus den Gallaländern südlich von Abessinien stammenden Geschlecht der Watussi angehören, sind ursprünglich Vasallen des Königs von Urundi, des ‚Mueſi', wie sein Titel lautet, gewesen. Aber, wenn auch die große Masse der Bewohner den Eindruck ziemlich unvermischter Warundi macht, so ist der hohe Kamm der Randgebirge und die breite Urwaldwildnis ein zu bequemes Bollwerk gewesen, um nicht bei der von großen Ideen nationaler Zusammengehörigkeit unberührten Bevölkerung Selbständigkeitsgelüste wachzurufen, um so eher, als auch das Mutterland in eine Unzahl sich gegenseitig befehdender und mit der Zentrale nur noch locker verknüpfter Häuptlingsschaften zersplittert ist. Der noch bestehende Rest von Zusammenhängen scheint allein dadurch sich zu erhalten, daß dem Mueſi irgendeine Art religiöser Bedeutung innewohnt, die es seinen Häuptlingen ratsam erscheinen läßt, die Brücken zu ihm nicht bis zum Pfeilergrund abzubrechen.

Wenn man bedenkt, wie unendlich verschieden die gesamten Lebensverhältnisse der am Tanganika sitzenden See-Warundi von denen der Berg-Warundi sind, und wie weit die mannigfachen Einflüsse zurückgreifen, die durch die Anwesenheit der Wasuaheli und Araber und des deren Fußspuren folgenden Gemenges westlicher Stämme sich an den See-Warundi betätigten, so staunt man, wie hartnäckig sie trotz allem im Äußern, Sprache und Sitten der Eigenart ihres in seltener Abgeschlossenheit lebenden Stammlandes treugeblieben sind. Dasselbe gilt für die im Ruffiffigraben sitzenden Warundi, nur daß für sie die Verlockung, von der Väter Bräuchen abzufallen, wesentlich kleiner und, je nördlicher sie wohnten, um so geringer gewesen ist." (Nr. 22, S. 339—340.)

Seitdem hat sich in der physischen und geistigen Konstitution der See-Warundi nicht viel verändert, aber die Stämme selbst sind durch die furchtbare Seuche der Schlafkrankheit heimgesucht und auf kaum ein Drittel ihrer vorigen Menge reduziert worden, so daß ich 1911 die meisten früher blühenden Siedelungen verlassen und verödet fand. In das große kühle windige Hoch-Urundi ist aber glücklicherweise die infizierende Stechfliege Glossina palpalis nicht vorgedrungen und wird es wohl auch nicht, da sie dort keine günstigen Daseinsbedingungen findet.

4. Geistige Eigenschaften

Über die geistigen Eigenschaften der Warundi ist an dieser Stelle wenig zu sagen, da sie aus den folgenden ausführlichen Schilderungen ihres Lebens, ihrer materiellen und ideellen Kultur genugsam hervorgehen. Darum hier nur einige Angaben über Anlage, Temperament und Charakter der drei großen, voneinander sehr verschiedenen Bevölkerungsgruppen.

Von den Batwa sind die ursprünglicheren, freieren Wald-Batwa auch geistig viel freier als die unter den Bahutu und Batussi angesiedelten. Wie alle Jägerstämme zeichnen sie sich durch außerordentliche Schärfe der Sinne aus, deren Überlegenheit die Bahutu bei ihrem, Ackerboden heischenden Vordringen gegen den Wald sehr oft spüren und immer fürchten. Solange er noch frei herumschweifend im Walde jagen und leben kann, ist der Mutwa sehr stolz auf seine Unabhängigkeit und schaut mit Verachtung auf den mühselig und krummgebeugt sein Feld bestellenden Muhutu und auf den außerhalb der Wälder lebenden Dorf-Mutwa hin, der sich seinen Unterhalt teils ebenfalls durch Feldbau, teils durch Töpferei oder Schmiederei sauer erarbeiten muß. Dem Europäer gegenüber ist der Mutwa, wenn nicht feindlich, so doch meist scheu und scheinbar indolent, denn er fürchtet auch im friedlichen Verkehr die Zauberei und starken Kräfte des Weißen.

Immer und überall aber zeigen die Dorf-Batwa ein scheues und gedrücktes Wesen infolge ihrer sozialen Pariastellung, die ihnen durch ihr Zusammenleben mit den beiden andern, höheren Volksschichten täglich zum Bewußtsein gebracht wird. Unter diesem sozialen Druck ist ihre natürliche Begabung in Verschlagenheit und Hinterlist abgewandelt, worin aber auch die Wald-Batwa Erkleckliches leisten.

Aus Klugheit und richtiger Erkenntnis ihrer Lage halten es die Batwa mit den Batussi, wogegen sie in den mit Feuer und Beil den Wald zerstörenden Bahutuackerbauern die Vernichter ihrer Freiheit sehen; so in Ruanda, so auch in Urundi. Und wie in Ruanda sogar der König Musinga eine ganze Niederlassung von Batwa an seinem Hof in Njansa hat, weil er die den Bahutu feindlichen Parias lieber mit der Bewachung seiner Person und mit Aufrechterhaltung der Ordnung betraut als jene oder gar als Batussi, so findet man auch in Urundi die meisten Batwa in der Nähe der Häuptlingssitze, wo sie im Dienst der Batussi leichter Beschäftigung und Lebensunterhalt finden als abseits nur unter den Bahutu. Es ist eine Symbiose der beiden numerisch schwächeren Volkselemente gegenüber dem Millionenvolk der unterworfenen Bahutu, bei der jeder der beiden Symbionten seinen Vorteil findet.

Die große Masse der Bahutu gibt dem Volk der Barundi seinen allgemeinen Charakter, da die Batussi zwar durch ihre äußere Erscheinung und ihre herrschende Stellung am meisten in der Bevölkerung auffallen, aber zu sehr in der Minderzahl sind und sich in den meisten Sitten und äußern Kulturformen den Bahutu angeglichen haben. Geistig freilich sind sie von den Bahutu recht verschieden.

Der Muhutu ist, wie alle Bantu, von Natur intelligent und lebhaften, sanguinischen Temperaments. Diese ursprüngliche Anlage zeigt sich in Urundi und in Ruanda überall, wo nicht die Hand der Batussiherren zu schwer auf ihnen lastet, also in Urundi, wo die Herrschaft der Batussi nie so despotisch war wie in Ruanda, mehr als dort; und in Urundi am meisten in den vom Königtum unabhängigen Gebiet im Nordwesten, wo der Häuptling Kilima selbst ein Bantu oder ein Halbblut ist (s. S. 162, 168, 188), ferner ganz im Süden und im Niederland des Tanganika und des Russissi. Die leichte Beweglichkeit des Geistes, das laute Reden und lebhafte Gestikulieren der Bahutu fällt einem nirgends in Urundi wieder so auf wie dort im Nordwesten. Trotz der impulsiven Art ihres Handelns sind die Bahutu doch nicht fähig zu starker Anspannung des Willens. Sie sind konservativ aus Beharrungstrieb und Gleichmütigkeit und halten deshalb an altgewohnten Vorstellungen und Sitten fest. Zu diesem Ende wirkt ein ausgeprägter Zug zu allem Mystischen, Übersinnlichen mit, trotz der derben Sinnlichkeit ihrer physischen Natur. Eine große Gutmütigkeit spricht aus ihrem sozialen Verhalten zu ihresgleichen und aus ihrer warmen Kinderliebe.

Im Umgang mit andern ist der Muhutu, wenn kein höherer Mutussi dabei ist, heiter, laut und mitteilsam; aber in Gegenwart eines Mutussiherrn ernst und zurückhaltend. Wenn sich der Muhutu gehen lassen kann, ist seine Phantasie geschäftig und äußert sich gern in naivem Prahlen und Aufschneiden. Seine Landsleute und Fremde betrügt er gern und schreitet leicht zu Gewalttätigkeiten, wenn er den andern für schwächer hält. Der Europäer kann zunächst sicher sein, von ihm angelogen zu werden und ihn bald anmaßend zu finden, wenn er ihm nicht Respekt einzuflößen versteht. Tut dies der Europäer — wie es der Mutussi immer tut —, so schlägt die Großsprecherei des Muhutu schnell in sklavische Fügsamkeit und in Feigheit um, wie auch angesichts jeder ernsten Gefahr, z. B. im Krieg, wenn da nicht die Furcht vor dem Mutussiherrn

noch stärker als die Feigheit ist und ihn zu Taten zwingt, die wie das Ergebnis hohen Mutes und selbstgewollter Disziplin aussehen. In Wirklichkeit sind die Bahutu Urundis durch die vier Jahrhunderte lange Gewaltherrschaft der Batussi zu Knechten im Denken und Wollen geworden, wenn auch nicht so sklavischen Sinnes wie die Banjaruanda unter ihren monarchischen hamitischen Despoten.

Dieser enorme Einfluß der verhältnismäßig kleinen Batussiminorität auf die große Masse der Bahutu ist dem scharf zusehenden Beobachter zunächst unverständlich, denn er erkennt bald, daß die Batussi durchaus nicht die Idealmenschen sind, als die sie uns in den ersten Schilderungen des Grafen v. Götzen, des Dr. Kandt und anderer erschienen.

Richard Kandt sagt von den Batussi: „Ich muß, wenn ich meine Empfindungen analysieren und ehrlich definieren will, geradezu sagen, daß sie mir imponierten. Ich bin dieses Gefühl auch bis jetzt noch nicht losgeworden, trotzdem mein Verstand sich dagegen sträubt, und trotzdem ich mir hundertmal vorgesagt habe, daß diese Menschen doch intellektuell tief unter mir stehende Barbaren seien. Und trotzdem! Ich habe mir natürlich Rechenschaft abgelegt über die Ursachen, in denen dies einem Farbigen gegenüber so fremde Gefühl wurzelt... Es ist außer dem riesigen Wuchs, außer der Hoheit jeder Bewegung und der Würde ihrer Sprechweise, außer der geschmackvollen, unaufdringlichen Art ihrer Kleidung, außer den vornehmen Zügen und den ruhigen durchdringenden, oft sogar spöttischen und dann irritierenden Augen, außer all diesem ist noch — hier stocke ich und vermag dem keine Gestalt zu geben, was mir dunkel und schattenhaft vorschwebt." (Nr. 22, S. 266.)

Das ist ein empfindsames, aber sehr begreifliches Urteil. In Wirklichkeit sind die Batussi zwar eine Herrenkaste, aber nicht eine Herrenrasse im ethischen Sinn.

Allmählich merkt man, worin das Geheimnis der gewaltigen Superiorität der relativ wenigen Batussi über die $1^1/_2$ Millionen Bahutu liegt: sie sind ihnen weit überlegen in Intelligenz, Ruhe, Gelassenheit, Grausamkeit, Verschlagenheit, Rassenstolz, solidarischem Zusammenhalt, politischem Talent. Was uns am einzelnen Mutussi am meisten auffällt, ist zunächst außer seiner imposanten äußern Erscheinung, die gewiß auch auf den Muhutu von Anbeginn großen Eindruck gemacht hat, seine gleichgültig erscheinende Ruhe und Reserviertheit, die ihm gegenüber dem unruhigen, impulsiven, unbedachten Muhutu stets zum Vorteil gereicht. Ferner fällt uns sein auch dem Europäer gegenüber zur Schau getragner Hochmut auf, seine abgründige Verlogenheit und seine Feigheit, wenn ihm die Situation fatal wird. Der Mutussi hält sich und sein Geschlecht für die Krone der Schöpfung, für den Ausbund aller Klugheit und politischen Gewandtheit. Kein Wunder, denn die Inferiorität der verhältnismäßig wenigen Stämme, die seit Jahrhunderten in seinen durch Abschließung nach außen absichtlich eng gezogenen Gesichtskreis getreten sind, und die Herrschaft der Batussiminorität über das große Bahutuvolk mußten sein Selbstgefühl über die Maßen steigern. Den Europäer fürchtet er zwar, weil dieser im Besitz vieler rätselhafter Kräfte und Mittel, z. B. Hinterlader und technischer Künste, ist, aber er hält ihn im Grund doch für dumm, weil er ihn so leicht belügen kann, und schaut um so hochmütiger auf ihn herab, je weniger er wirklich von ihm kennt und versteht. Als Reisender muß man sich erst daran gewöhnen, abseits der Militärstationen von den meisten Batussi bei den Gesprächen und Verhandlungen mit geringschätzigem Lächeln von oben herunter gemustert zu werden, und begegnet ihnen von dann ab am besten selbst mit leichtem Spott und Humor — wenn man welchen hat. Je länger man in Negerländern gereist ist und je besser man den Negercharakter kennengelernt hat, desto mehr imponiert einem bei den ersten Begegnungen mit den Batussi ihre stolze Zurückhaltung. Da gibt es keine

unruhige Neugierde, kein lautes, halb furchtsames, halb gutmütiges Begrüßen, wie bei den meisten Negern, sondern still und gelassen stehen die langen Kerle auf ihre Speere gestützt da und lassen den Europäer vorbeigehen oder herankommen, als mache ihnen die ungewohnte Erscheinung gar keinen Eindruck. Erst wenn man ihnen ebenso selbstsicher entgegentritt und einige Macht hinter sich hat, bemerkt man bei den meisten am unruhigen Spiel der Augen und am heftigen Pulsieren der Halsadern, daß sich hinter der scheinbaren Gleichgültigkeit eine nervöse innere Unruhe, Beklemmung, Angst verbirgt.

Der Mutussi sagt nie oder nur sehr selten, was er denkt; man muß es erraten. Und zwar ist das Lügen nicht nur gegen Fremde Brauch, sondern tiefgewurzelte Unsitte gegen jedermann; es ist ein moralischer Defekt, der sich nicht damit beschönigen läßt, daß man es, wie R. Kandt, optimistisch als eine „für sie nicht unedle Art des Wettstreites zweier Intelligenzen" auffaßt oder als „die unbewußte Übertragung ihrer anmutigen, bei einem Negervolk überraschenden Rätselspiele, mit denen sie als Kinder schon die Geselligkeit zu beleben pflegen, in das wirksame Leben" (Nr. 22, S. 273). Mit solcher Romantik gerät man in der Ethnologie und Völkerpsychologie in die Irre, während doch gerade in der Beurteilung unserer Kolonialvölker schon aus praktischen Gründen nüchterne Sachlichkeit vonnöten ist.

Neben der Verlogenheit sind Faulheit und Feigheit unerfreuliche Charakterzüge der Batussi. Der Mutussi arbeitet nie, wenn er nicht der armen, niedern Klasse angehört, sondern er beschäftigt sich nur sportweise mit seinen Rindern. Arbeiten ist Sache der unterworfenen Bahutu, daher für den Mutussi geradezu eine Schande, der sich nur die wirklich Armen unter den Batussi aussetzen können. Reich und mächtig sein und in Nichtstun das Leben genießen, ist ihm der Inbegriff aller Lebensweisheit, das Ideal, das er mit größter Raffiniertheit und Gewissenlosigkeit zu verwirklichen sucht, und zwar jeder einzelne für sich und ebenso die Gesamtheit der Batussi gegenüber dem beherrschten Volk der Bahutu und Batwa.

Dieses jahrhundertelang gepflegte Genußleben hat natürlich dem Charakter und den männlichen Tugenden der Batussi schweren Schaden getan, denn daß sie nicht ohne Mut, Kriegstüchtigkeit und Energie waren, ist ohne weiteres daraus zu schließen, daß sie trotz ihrer geringen Anzahl, die einst sicherlich noch viel kleiner war, sich das große Land unterworfen haben; auch bezeugt es ihre frühere Königsgeschichte (siehe S. 162). Seit lange aber lassen sie ihre innern und äußern Kämpfe nur durch ihre Hörigen, ihr Bahutu-Lehnsgefolge ausfechten, während sie sich selbst vorsichtig im Hintergrund halten und aus sicherem Rückhalt die Aktion mit Schlauheit und Tücke leiten. Rühmliche Ausnahmen gibt es natürlich auch hier.

Trotz alledem muß anerkannt werden, daß auch in dieser Beziehung die Barundi höher stehen als die Banjaruanda. Weder die Batussi sind in Urundi so genußsüchtig, faul, verlogen, gewalttätig und feige wie in Ruanda, noch die Bahutu so unterwürfig und heuchlerisch gegen Große und so unverschämt gegen Schwache wie dort, noch ist der König mit seinen am Hof lebenden Großen so sehr dem Müßiggang, der Schlemmerei, den Intrigen und der Befriedigung boshafter und grausamer Triebe hingegeben wie in Ruanda.

In Urundi wie in Ruanda ist es vor allem der Wille zur Macht und zum Genuß, der die herrschenden Batussi veranlaßt hat, den größten Reichtum, das Vieh, sich allein vorzubehalten. Schon dadurch haben sie sich eine wirtschaftliche Gewalt über

die Bahutumenge geschaffen, die auch ihrer politischen Vormacht die festesten Stützen gibt (s. S. 41, 42). Dazu haben sie es verstanden, sich durch ihre Schlauheit bei den abergläubischen Bahutu in den Ruf, große Zauberer zu sein, zu setzen und darum sehr gefürchtet zu werden; und die Priesterschaft hält mit ihnen zusammen, um gemeinsam mit ihnen das Volk zu knechten und auszubeuten (s. S. 134). Der Ausbeutung der Menge, dem krassen Egoismus der kleinen Batussiminorität dient die ganze klug ersonnene Staatseinrichtung der Barundi wie der Banjaruanda mit der scharfen rechtlichen Scheidung der Rassen und Kasten, mit dem genau gegliederten System von Lehnsleuten und Kontrollbeamten, mit der Hierarchie von Priestern, bevorrechteten Geschlechtern, Fürsten usw. Alles dies werden wir in spätern Kapiteln dieses Buches besonders darzustellen haben. Der erstaunliche politische Sinn der Batussi steht ausschließlich im Dienst ihres die beherrschten Bahutu ausbeutenden Egoismus. Von einer höheren Staatsauffassung keine Spur.

Es ist darum natürlich, daß die Bahutu in den Batussi nur die stammesfremden Eroberer sehen, deren Joch sie auf sich lasten fühlen. Aber obwohl sie die Batussi hassen, streben sie nicht nach Befreiung aus dem Knechtsverhältnis, denn sie haben, wie fast alle Negervölker, von Natur das Bedürfnis der Unterordnung unter eine fests führende Hand; auch ist ihre Furcht vor den Batussi viel zu groß, als daß sie sich offen gegen sie aufzulehnen wagten. Und tatsächlich sind die Batussi trotz ihrer relativ geringen Zahl doch durch ihre Intelligenz und durch ihr aus gemeinsamen Interessen immer neu erstehendes solidarisches Zusammenhalten den Bahutu weit überlegen, die in zahlreiche einander befehdende Geschlechter und Stammesgruppen zerfallen sind, jedes tieferen Nationalgefühls entbehren und von den Batussi geschickt gegeneinander ausgespielt werden.

Solange die Batussi Herren im Lande sind, ist ein geistiger und kultureller Aufschwung des Barundivolkes unmöglich, denn nur der jetzige, in jahrhundertelanger Abgeschlossenheit beibehaltene Tiefstand der Bahutu sichert den Batussi ihre Herrschaft. Einstweilen freilich müssen wir Deutschen es mit den Batussi halten und sie an unsern Vornahmen in Urundi materiell interessieren, da wir noch zu schwach zu ihrer offnen Befehdung sind. Aber das Ziel einer weiter ausschauenden Kolonialpolitik muß die Brechung der Batussiherrschaft, die Befreiung der Bahutu vom Batussijoch und ihre Gewinnung für unsere zivilisatorischen Ziele sein, die zugleich ihre eigensten Interessen sind.

Zum Schluß führe ich noch ein treffendes Urteil R. Kandts über die Barundi im allgemeinen an: „Die Warundi sind zwar ebenso feige wie die Banjaruanda, aber — wie sie überhaupt lebhafter und intelligenter erscheinen — so auch großsprecherischer und anmaßender. Ich wurde in jenen Tagen nie den Eindruck los, daß all dies Gebaren, dieses Kriegsspielen usw. der Ausfluß echter Gassenjungenempfindungen sei. Darum glaube ich auch, daß es schwerer sein wird, in Urundi einen befriedigenden Zustand zu schaffen als in Ruanda. Immerhin werden wir bei beiden niemals Schwierigkeiten begegnen, die so weittragende und gefährliche Abwehrunternehmungen nötig machen könnten, wie z. B. in Uhehe. Diese Völker, in jahrhundertelanger Knechtschaft entmannt, wissen nicht — und es ist gut so — welch latente Kraft in den Leibern ungezählter Millionen schlummert, und, jedes tieferen Nationalbewußtseins bar, werden sie gefügige Werkzeuge einer vernünftigen, auf Landes- und Sprachkenntnis bauenden Kolonisation werden und nie den kraftvollen Wunsch finden, sich zu einer einheitlichen Abwehr gegen fremde Invasion zu verbinden. Sie aus diesem Schlafe aufzustören und zu gemeinsamem Drutze gegen die Europäer aufzustacheln, dazu gehörte schon eine so brutale Ungeschicklichkeit der Regierenden, daß sie von uns und unsern Enkeln wohl niemand schaudernd zu erleben fürchten muß." (Nr. 22, S. 325—326.)

Zweites Kapitel

Siedelung, Wohnung, Nahrung

In Urundi und Ruanda ist die Oberflächengestalt des Landes, die Form und Art seiner Plateaus, Hügel, Berge und Täler, von bestimmender Bedeutung für die Form und Lage der Siedelungen. Da der weitaus größte Teil des Landes Plateauland ist, das die starke Erosion in zahllose lange und kurze, oben abgeflachte Rücken und Hügelwellen mit meistens tiefen, ziemlich steilwandigen Tälern zerschnitten hat, und da die Mehrzahl der Täler von Papyrussümpfen erfüllt ist, die man nur an wenigen Stellen überschreiten kann, sind nicht, wie bei uns, die Täler die geeignetsten Siedelplätze für die Menschen, sondern die Höhen. Die Versumpfung der Talsohlen, die heiße stagnierende Luft in den Niederungen, die Unzahl von Moskitos und Stechmücken und die oft große Steilheit der Talhänge drängen die Menschen mit ihren Wegen und ihren Siedelungen auf die freien luftigen Plateau- und Hügelrücken hinauf, während in den meisten Tälern nur Äcker von solchen Feldfrüchten liegen, die viel Feuchtigkeit brauchen. Die Funktion der Täler ist in den meisten Gegenden Urundis und Ruandas nicht eine die Menschen verbindende, sondern eine sie trennende. Deshalb ist hier wie dort die Gliederung des Volkes und des Staates in kleine Gemeinwesen von Natur gegeben (s. S. 89), deswegen aber auch die künftige Erschließung des Landes durch Straßen oder Bahnen ungemein erschwert. Viel weniger sumpfig und weniger steil sind die Täler in vielen Teilen der östlichen, trockneren Quarzitgebiete. Auch sind dort weit und breit die Oberflächen der Plateaurücken und Hügelzüge so steinig und steril durch die ausgewitterten Quarzitbrocken (s. Taf. 2b), daß die Menschen die Höhen meiden und sich mit Vorliebe an den Talflanken da ansiedeln, wo unterhalb der zerklüfteten Quarzite auf der oberen Schichtgrenze der schwer durchlässigen Tonschiefer die Quellen austreten und die tonigen Verwitterungsböden fruchtbarer und leichter zu bearbeiten sind als die darüberliegenden Quarzite.

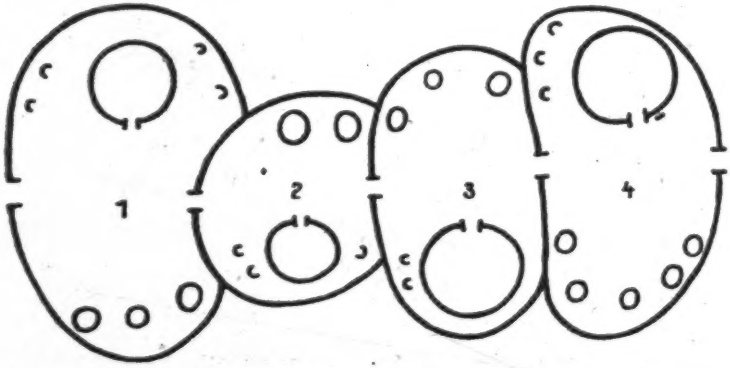
Schon aus dieser natürlichen Verschiedenheit der Gegenden erklärt es sich, daß die Bevölkerung recht ungleich über das Land verteilt ist.

Die Zahl der Eingebornen in Urundi wird vom Gouvernement auf $1^1/_2$ bis 2 Millionen geschätzt („Die deutschen Schutzgebiete 1912/13", Amtliche Jahresberichte, S. 8—9). Dieser große Spielraum beweist, daß Zählungen in den Einzelgebieten bisher unausführbar waren. Hier wie in Ruanda wird erst die Aufstellung von Steuerrollen einmal genauere Zahlen bringen. Nach meinen und anderen neueren Beobachtungen ist die Zahl von 2 Millionen überschätzt; $1^1/_2$ Millionen dürfte richtiger sein. Einige Missionare freilich, auch Pater v. d. Burgt, nehmen sogar mehr als 2 Mil-

[p. 17]

lionen an. Batusi gibt es verhältnismäßig weniger in Urundi als in Ruanda; sie werden kaum 5%, wahrscheinlich nur 2—3% der Gesamtbevölkerung, also 40—50 000 Köpfe in Urundi ausmachen. Auch für diese nimmt v. d. Burgt einen viel größeren Prozentsatz an: 15—20% gegenüber nur 5% Batwa. Neben der großen Masse der eingeborenen Bahutu saßen 1912/13 etwa noch 2500 andere Neger (Wasuaheli, Wanjamwesi, Manjema u. a.) im Lande, dazu 1—2 Dutzend Araber, 2—3 Dutzend Inder und etwa 5 Dutzend Weiße, zur Hälfte Deutsche und zirka 20 Franzosen und Französinnen (Missionare).

Urundi und Uha sind im Durchschnitt lange nicht so dicht bevölkert wie Ruanda, das 72 Bewohner pro Quadratkilometer hat. Die amtliche Schätzung von 1912/13



1 Vorderhof, für den Herrn und die Rinder.
2 und 3 Mittelhöfe, für Frauen und Kinder.
4 Hinterhof, für das Gesinde.

Wohnhütten. Geisterhüttchen.
Vorrats- und Kleinviehhütten.

Fig. 1. Gehöft eines Barundi-Großen.
(Skizze von Hans Meyer.)

nimmt für Urundi durchschnittlich 51 Einwohner pro Quadratkilometer an (oder 68 bei der möglichen Annahme einer Gesamtbevölkerung von 2 Millionen). Die Bevölkerungsdichtigkeit wächst im ganzen von Osten nach Westen. Am dichtesten bewohnt sind im Westen die Täler und breiten Rücken des Randgebirges, die deshalb auch fast ganz abgeholzt sind. Dort mögen 50—60 Menschen pro Quadratkilometer zu rechnen sein, also eine Volksdichte wie etwa in Portugal. Ein Vergleich mit Deutschland, das 120 Einwohner pro Quadratkilometer hat, würde hinken, weil die nutzbare Bodenfläche in Urundi wegen der vielen Sumpftäler und der quarzitischen Ödländer verhältnismäßig viel kleiner ist als in Deutschland. Am bevölkertsten sind die Gebiete des Granites, der kristallinischen Schiefer, der Glimmerschiefer, Amphibolite, Diabase usw., die das höhere, regenreichere West-Urundi ausmachen und einen fruchtbaren Verwitterungsboden bilden. Von den östlich sich anschließenden, tiefer liegenden großen Tonschiefer- und Quarzitgebieten sind die letzteren die sterilsten und

deshalb am wenigsten bevölkert und bebaut. Dieselbe Erscheinung beobachten wir auch in Ruanda. Wo in den feuchteren Gegenden Bananen gebaut werden, nehmen die Bananenpflanzungen große Flächen ein und täuschen dadurch eine relativ dichte Bevölkerung vor, während sich doch nur wenige Hütten darin verstecken.

Die Familien der Batussi und Bahutu sind ziemlich kinderreich, wie in Ruanda. Im einzelnen sind die Batussiweiber weniger fruchtbar als die Bahutuweiber, aber im allgemeinen kommen selten weniger als 3 Kinder auf eine Familie, oft (bei den Bahutu) 6—8 und entsprechend mehr, wenn der Mann mehrere Frauen hat. Gewöhnlich wohnt jedes Ehepaar mit seinen Kindern in einer Hütte. Sind aber viele Kinder oder mehrere Frauen da, so bewohnt jede Mutter mit den jüngsten Kindern eine besondere Hütte. Auch die Großeltern und die unverheirateten Erwachsenen beziehen Hütten für sich. So stehen oft 2—4 Wohnhütten und mehrere Hütten für Getreide und Vieh in einem Kral, oder es sind mehrere umzäunte Wohnhütten nebst Zubehör zu einem großen Gehöft verbunden (s. Textbild 1).

Die Wohnanlage ist die der Einzelsiedelung, der umzäunte Kral, Weiler, Hof (lugo, urugo). Jedes Gehöft steht gesondert für sich, umgeben von seinen Fikusbäumen und seiner Bananenpflanzung, wenn es eine Bananengegend ist (Taf. 18, 21 b). Aber meist liegen mehrere Krale, die dem weiteren Familienkreis angehören, in Nähe beieinander, so daß doch dorfartige Gruppen (ikisagara) zustande kommen (s. Textbild 2 und Taf. 19a). Außerhalb breiten sich die Felder aus. Das gilt natürlich vor allem für die Siedelungen der Bahutu, denn von den Batussi bebauen nur die ärmsten, niedersten Klassen Felder; die Krale oder Kralgruppen der vermögenderen Batussi liegen überall im grasigen Weideland ihrer Rinder zerstreut, umhegt von hohen Euphorbien- oder Fikushecken, ohne die Umgebung von Bananenhainen oder Feldern. Von Gruppe zu Gruppe, von Dorf zu Dorf sind die Entfernungen sehr verschieden groß nach der Bodenbeschaffenheit. In den dichtbesiedelten westlichen Landstrichen kommt man alle viertel oder halbe Stunden an einer Gehöftgruppe vorbei, in den dünn bewohnten östlichen hingegen kann man über eine Stunde wandern, ohne einen Hof oder ein Dorf zu sehen oder zu passieren.

Niemals sieht man viele Menschen in der Landschaft, weder auf den Wegen, noch beim weidenden Vieh, noch auf den Feldern. Nur bei den Hütten und innerhalb der Krale gehen, stehen und hocken sie in Gruppen beisammen. Alte Leute von 70 und mehr Jahren sind äußerst selten. Über 60 Jahre scheinen nur wenige hinauszukommen, und zwar öfters die Batussi als die Bahutu.

Nach Angabe der Missionare ist die Bevölkerung seit etwa einem Jahrzehnt in Zunahme begriffen, da die Kleinkriege der Batwale und Fürsten gegeneinander und die Einfälle der Banjaruanda einerseits und der Baha anderseits seltener geworden sind und unblutiger verlaufen. Nur in dem von der Schlaftrankheit befallenen Tanganikagebiet ist die Bevölkerungszahl enorm zurückgegangen. Im übrigen Urundi wird die Volkszahl gelegentlich durch Pockenepidemien oder durch Mißernten stark reduziert, die namentlich die Kinder hinwegraffen, aber solche Hungersnöte sind doch relativ selten. 1892, 1896, 1904/5 und 1908 haben Rinderpest, Mißwachs, Pocken große Verwüstungen angerichtet. Im Jahr 1910 war die Not im östlichen Urundi infolge des Ausbleibens der Regen so groß, daß die Mission Muyaga große Mengen von Maniok und Bohnen in Uha für ihre Landeskinder auflaufen mußte. Daß die große Masse der Bahutu sich wirklich nach Befreiung von ihren Eroberern sehnt, wie

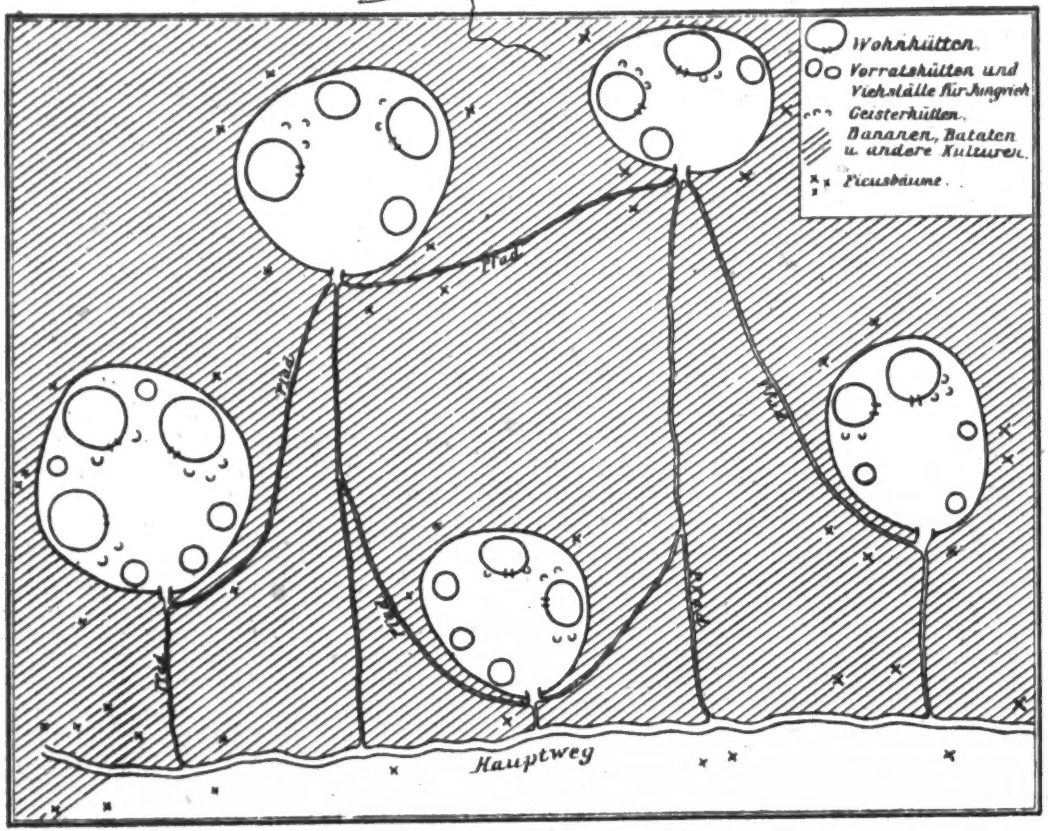


Fig. 2. Dorf der Barundi. (Skizze von Hans Meyer.)

manche Reisende angeben, kann ich aus meinen Beobachtungen nicht bestätigen. Der jubelnde Empfang, den seinerzeit die Bahutu dem ersten eindringenden Europäer, Oskar Baumann, in Urundi, wie dem Grafen Göhen in Ruanda, bereiteten, entsprang zwar der traditionell gehegten Hoffnung auf einen neuen großen Eroberer, mit dem ein glückliches Zeitalter anbrechen werde; aber wie alle ostafrikanischen Bantu, sind auch die Bahutu Urundis und Ruandas nichts weniger als freiheitsdurstig, sondern, wie oben erwähnt, submisse, unselbständige Naturen, die sich am wohlsten unter einer festen Autorität fühlen und sich an die Zucht ihrer Batussiherren bereits ebenso gewöhnt haben wie ehedem an die sicherlich keineswegs mildere Herrschaft ihrer Bantuhäuptlinge. Wenn man aus dem stramm monarchisch regierten Ruanda kommt, fällt es einem sogar auf, wieviel freier und fröhlich-lauter, aber auch wieviel weniger disziplinniert sich die Barundi unter sich und unter ihren Batussi-Batwalen bewegen und verhalten als in Ruanda.

Ganz vorwiegend Ackerbauer und Züchter von Kleinvieh, sind die Bahutu völlig seßhaft. Auch die Batussi, denen alles Großvieh gehört, haben feste Wohnsitze, betreiben aber in den Trockenmonaten mit ihren Rinderherden eine Art Almwirtschaft in den frischere Weide bietenden Bergen, gleichsam in Erinnerung an ihr einstiges Nomadentum. Auf diese Dinge werden wir später bei Besprechung der Viehzucht näher einzugehen haben (s. S. 40).

Die Wohnhütten (insu) der Barundi sind weder in der Form, noch in der Einrichtung, noch in Technik und Material wesentlich verschieden von jenen der Banjaruanda. Äußerlich sind sie gewöhnlich etwas flacher als die Ruandahütten, haben mehr Regenschirm- als Bienenkorbform, aber hier wie dort ist das krinolinenartige Gerüst aus Holzstangen oder, wo es Bambus gibt, aus Bambusstangen zusammengebunden, zwischen denen aufrechte und wagerechte Lagen von dicken Sorghumstengeln die Zwischenräume füllen. Das aufgesetzte flach-halbkugelige Dach wird nicht von einem Mittelpfahl getragen, sondern durch eine Anzahl gleichmäßig in der Hütte verteilter Pfähle gestützt. Das ganze Gerüst wird mit langhalmigem, aus den Niederungen geholtem Grasstroh (Cyperaceen, nicht Schilf) und in manchen Gegenden mit trockenen Bananenblättern gedeckt, bis auf den Erdboden herab. Auf die Dachspitze setzt man zum Schutz gegen eindringenden Regen einen Stock mit einem nach unten auseinandergespreizten Strohwisch. Die Türöffnung mit dem etwas vorgewölbten Türdach gleicht der des Ruandahauses, ist aber an den Seitenwänden weniger sorgfältig geflochten als jenes. Verschlossen wird sie durch einen grob geflochtenen Vorsatzschirm, den ein gegengestemmter Knüppel festhält. Außer der einzigen Tür ist keine Öffnung im ganzen Bau (Taf. 18). Auch der Rauch muß also durch die Türe abziehen. Die ganze Hütte kann von mehreren Männern emporgehoben und bei einem Ortswechsel der Familie an eine benachbarte Stelle versetzt werden.

Stehen die Hütten schon im Äußern und in der Sorgfalt des Baues sehr hinter den Ruandahütten zurück, so noch mehr im Innern. Auch hier werden wie in Ruanda die Stützpfähle im Innern benutzt, um einige übermannshohe Flechtwände aus Papyrus- oder Rohrstengeln oder Bambuslatten daran zu befestigen, durch welche die Hütte in zwei oder mehrere gesonderte Wohn-, Schlaf- und Vorratsräume geteilt wird. Oft haben diese Flechtmatten die gebogene Schildform wie in Ruanda, aber sehr selten sind sie in Urundi so fein geflochten und so hübsch gemustert wie die schildförmigen Wandschirme und Matten, die in Ruanda die Wände ringsum bekleiden

und die verschiedenen Kammern voneinander trennen und nicht nur die Hütten der Batussi, sondern auch die der wohlhabenden Bahutu häufig bewundernswert schmücken. Gewöhnlich sind es nur zwei Räume, die durch solche Matten voneinander geschieden werden: der Vorderraum (umurjango), in dem während des Tages gewohnt, gekocht, gegessen wird, und der Hinterraum (akagiro), wo geschlafen wird. Im letzteren ist die Lagerstatt der Eltern wieder durch Mattenschilde von der Schlafstätte der Kinder getrennt. Die meisten Barundi schlafen hier einfach auf einer Schütte Stroh, über die ein Rinds- oder Ziegenfell gelegt ist. Wo aber eine Bettstelle vorhanden ist, besteht sie aus 4 in den Boden eingerammten niedrigen Pfählen und einem darauf befestigten Holzrahmen, der mit Latten ausgefüllt und mit einer Matte bedeckt ist. Solche Bettstellen haben in Urundi wie in Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole u. a. nur die Vornehmen und Reichen.

Holzschemel zum Sitzen, wie sie sonst in Ostafrika gebräuchlich sind, gibt es in Urundi und Ruanda nicht oder nur als fremden Import aus Unjamwesi, Usambiro usw.

Selbst in der Behausung des mächtigen Häuptlings Lusabiko in Ost-Urundi fand sich „kein einziger Schemel oder Sitzklotz. Nur ein paar dicke Strohbündel lagen in einer Ecke, die man sich herbeirücken konnte, wenn man nicht auf dem Boden kauern wollte. Wünscht man zu schlafen, so macht man das Bündel los und bereitet sich ein weiches Bett. Bei reichen Leuten wird erst eine haarige Ochsenhaut darübergelegt, wenn man sich setzen oder legen will". (Nr. 14, 1901, S. 214.)

Im ganzen Hausbau wird kein einziger Nagel, Holzdübel oder Pflock verwandt, sondern alles Gestänge und Geflecht ist festgebunden, gewöhnlich mit dem frischen Bast der Fikusrinde oder mit zerschlissenen Fasern der Bananenstämme oder der Papyrusstengel. Die Hüttenhöhe schwankt zwischen 2 und 4 m (in Ruanda bis zu 8 m), der Durchmesser zwischen 3 und 6 m.

Wohnhütten von anderer Form habe ich in Urundi nicht gesehen; aber nach Baumann gibt es am oberen Kagera Wohnhütten mit zylindrischem Bambusunterbau (Nr. 4, S. 218). Solche kenne ich von Urundi nur als Vorratshütten, wo im Gebirge Bambus wächst.

Wie schon oben erwähnt, hat jede Familie, also wenn mehrere Frauen da sind, jede Frau, ihre eigene Hütte. Besondere Häuser für Junggesellen, für unverheiratete Mädchen, für Fremde, für Versammlungen oder bestimmte Gemeinschaften gibt es nicht; dagegen halboffene, roh hergerichtete Arbeitshütten für Schmiede und gut gebaute kleinere Hütten für Jungvieh (uruhongore) und für die Vorräte an Feldfrüchten (ivikeka). Die Vorratshütten haben die Form von breiten doppelmannshohen, sich unten verjüngenden Körben, die mit einem flachkegeligen, meist abnehmbaren Strohdach gedeckt sind (S. 56). Das Ganze steht auf einem niedrigen Rost aus Holzstangen, damit Feuchtigkeit und Ungeziefer möglichst abgehalten werden. Seitlich in nächster Nähe der Hütte pflegen einige kleine, bis 1 m hohe Geisterhüttchen (ikigabiro) aus Stroh und Rohr zu stehen, in denen den Geistern Fleisch oder Milch oder Bodenfrüchte in Topfscherben oder Kürbisschalen dargebracht werden (s. S. 121, 135 und Taf. 18a). Ein anderes Miniaturhüttchen (ikitabo) ist dem Hauptgott Niangombe oder Kiranga gewidmet. Solcher Hüttchen sieht man in Urundi, Uha und Ussumbwa viel mehr als in Ruanda.

Von der großen Reinlichkeit, die in der Umgebung der Ruandahütten zu herrschen pflegt, sind die Barundi, vor allem die Bahutu, weit entfernt; sie werfen die Abfälle

dicht neben das Haus und defäzieren in dem die Hütten umgebenden Bananenhain, aber die koprophagen Hunde und Aasgeier, wo solche vorkommen, sorgen doch für Entfernung des Schlimmsten. Am schlechtesten scheint es mit der Sauberkeit und Bauforgfalt der Hütten und Höfe nach den Schilderungen der meisten Reisenden in Nord- und Nordost-Urundi bestellt zu sein, während ich auf meiner Reise quer durch Mittel-Urundi die schönsten Siedelungen im Westen, die unsaubersten und am schlechtesten gebauten im Osten gefunden habe. Von Nordost-Urundi sagt z. B. von Trotha: „Unglaublich ist die Gleichgültigkeit der Leute gegen Reinlichkeit und sorgfältige Bauart der Häuser. Nur die Chefs haben gut gebaute Wohnungen, und im Umkreis ihrer Behausung ist der Schmutz noch nicht zur Festung geworden wie bei ihren Untertanen" (Nr. 8, S. 62).

Wird die Hütte alt und schadhaft, so wird sie ausgebessert, aber länger als 5—6 Jahre hält sie auch dann selten; danach muß sie ganz neu gebaut werden. Nach dem Tod des Besitzers bleiben die Witwe oder die unverheirateten Kinder darin wohnen, und nach Auflösung der Familie wird das Haus abgerissen.

Da jeder Hof bis 6 oder 8 Wohnhütten umschließen kann, je nach der Wohlhabenheit und der Weiberzahl des Besitzers, und da oft in einer Kralgruppe oder einem Dorf 4, 6 und mehr Krale enthalten sind, kann ein Dorf bis zu 60, 80 und mehr Menschen bergen. Aber gewöhnlich sind die Siedelungen kleiner, wenn auch, wo Bananen gedeihen, die weite Ausdehnung der Bananenpflanzungen, in denen die Krale der Bahutu versteckt liegen, die Dörfer oder Hofgruppen viel größer erscheinen lassen.

Die Wohlhabenden und die Batussigroßen begnügen sich aber nicht mit einem, mehrere Hütten umfassenden Kral, sondern setzen mehrere Krale in Zusammenhang nebeneinander, so daß man aus dem einen direkt in den nächsten übertreten kann. Der Vorderhof dient dann dem Hausherrn zur Wohnung und zum Gästeempfang, auch zur Bergung der Rinder in der Nacht; die Mittelhöfe zur Behausung der Frauen und Kinder und der Hinterhof für das Gesinde, als Kochstätte, Speicher usw. (s. Textbild 1). Im übrigen unterscheiden sich die Hütten und Höfe der Großen, der Fürsten oder selbst des Königs weder durch ihre Ausstattung noch durch ihre Sauberkeit von denen der gewöhnlichen Batussi und der „besseren" Bahutu; nur ihre Größe ist meist beträchtlicher als bei jenen.

Die Umzäunung (ingo), von der in Urundi die Mehrzahl der Krale umhegt wird, hat, wie in Ruanda, nicht nur den Zweck eines Schutzmittels gegen Eindringlinge menschlicher oder tierischer Gestalt, sondern auch den eines Zusammenschlusses der Familie, insbesondere der kleinen Kinder, und vor allem der Einpferchung des Viehs während der Nacht (Taf. 20a, 21b). Wenn die Hüttenbewohner kein Vieh haben, fehlen gewöhnlich auch die Zäune um die Hütten; so z. B. in manchen Berggegenden Nordwest-Urundis und in einigen Landschaften des westlichen Zentral-Urundi. Wo Zäune vorhanden sind, sind sie übermannshoch, so daß man nicht darüber wegsehen kann, und je nach dem vorwaltenden Material aus trockenen Bananenstämmen oder Sorghumstengeln oder Papyrusschäften oder dürren Ästen des Acanthus arboreus roh, aber fest zusammengebunden oder aus dicht gepflanzten lebenden Drazänen- oder Ficusbäumchen oder Baumeuphorbien zusammengesetzt. Nie sah ich Steine zu Mauern aufgeschichtet, obwohl geeignete Steinblöcke genug da sind. Die von zwei festen Pfählen flankierte Kralöffnung wird nachts durch quergelegte Stämme verrammelt.

Die Kraale der Batussi sind meistens viel sorgfältiger und fester umfriedet als die der Bahutu. In manchen Gegenden, wo vorwiegend Batussi sitzen, wie z. B. in den ausgedehnten Hochweidegebieten auf der Ostseite des Tanganika-Randgebirges am oberen Muwarasi, ist „jedes Haus eine kleine Festung mit dreifacher Umwallung. Innerhalb des (wohl aus Erde aufgeworfenen) Schutzwalles ist ein Zaun aus Rohrgeflecht, dann einer aus Euphorbien und schließlich einer aus Dornen angebracht" (Nr. 8, S. 73).

Ist nicht die Hecke selbst aus eng gepflanzten Fikusbäumen hergestellt, so stehen doch fast immer eine Anzahl Fikusse um den Kral herum — viel häufiger als in Ruanda — und geben ihm nicht bloß Schatten, sondern auch seinen Bewohnern die für allerlei Zwecke, namentlich für die Rindenstoffkleidung dienliche Rinde (Taf. 18a, 21a). An solchen kreisförmigen Fikusgruppen sind, wie in Ruanda, namentlich die Stätten alter Häuptlingskraale viele Jahre kenntlich, nachdem längst die Hütten daraus verschwunden sind. Gar keinen Baum jedoch fand ich am Wohnsitz des Großhäuptlings Kisima (s. S. 162, 188) in Nordwest-Urundi. Dort liegen auf freier runder Bergkuppe, 2150 m hoch, mit prachtvoller Aussicht auf die benachbarten tiefen Täler und langen Gebirgsketten, vier große runde Kraale, jeder von einem dichten doppelmannshohen Bambuspalisadenzaun umgeben, der 6—8 geräumige Rundhütten umschließt. Nirgends ist ein Baum oder ein grüner Zaunstecken oder ein Bananenblatt in der Nähe; das Ganze steht wie eine zur Verteidigung eingerichtete Zwingburg auf beherrschender steiler Bergeshöhe.

In anderen Gegenden der Grenzgebiete gegen Ruanda sind die Höfe mitunter zu ganzen, mit starken Schutzzäunen umhegten Dörfern zusammengedrängt; ja Hauptmann Bethe traf in Iwusome am Rugwerosee in Nordost-Urundi sogar eine „große Eingebornenstadt, eine geschlossen wohnende Gemeinde" (Deutsch. Kol.-Blatt 1899, S. 9), doch sind dies auf einige gefährliche Grenzstriche beschränkte Ausnahmen von der sonst allgemeinen Wohnweise der Einzelkraale.

In der Hütte liegt gewöhnlich im mittleren Hauptraum die Feuerstelle (isiko). Ich sage absichtlich nicht „Herd", denn es sind meist nur ein paar Steine, die auf einer runden Unterlage von gestampftem Lehm nach Bedarf zusammengerückt werden, um Feuer dazwischen- und den Kochtopf daraufzusetzen. Bisweilen liegt das Feuer auch auf einer dicken runden Platte aus gebranntem Ton wie in Ruanda, die an der Peripherie mit einem Wulst versehen ist, damit das Feuer nicht zerstreut wird. Wenn einmal die glühenden Kohlen verloschen sein sollten, was äußerst selten vorkommt, holt man sich Feuer vom Nachbar. Auf langen Wanderungen aber wird Feuer nach bekannter Bantuart durch Quirlen eines harten auf einem weichen Holzstück erzeugt, wenn es Holz gibt, oder ein glimmendes Kohlenstück in halbtrockenes Gras eingebunden und mitgetragen. So können sie glimmende Kohlen ganze Tagereisen weit mit sich führen.

Da aber Brennholz in dem baum- und straucharmen Land oft ein rarer Artikel ist, benutzt man an der Sonne getrocknete Fladen von Rindermist als Brennmaterial oder, wo es keine oder wenig Rinder gibt, die aus den Sumpfdickichten geholten Wurzelstöcke des Papyrus oder des Schilfrohrs. Der stinkende Rauch erfüllt die ganze Hütte. Kommen dazu mehrere Erwachsene, von denen oft einige Tabak rauchen, ein halbes Dutzend Kinder, ein paar Ziegen, Hunde und Hühner, und wird bei schlechtem Wetter oder nachts die einzige Öffnung zugestellt und beginnen dann auch die in

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keiner Hütte fehlenden Ratten ihr Spiel, so kann man sich vorstellen, wie erquickend der Aufenthalt darin für jeden Nicht-Murundi ist.

Das Kochen (kuteka) in und außer der Hütte besorgt die Frau, nötigenfalls mit den Kindern; der Mann aber nur, wenn er muß, z. B. auf Reisen. Als Kochgeschirr wird ausschließlich der tönerne Kochtopf (inkono) gebraucht, wie er von den Batwatöpfern (s. S. 78) oder von den der Töpferei kundigen Weibern hergestellt wird (Taf. 48). Große Tontöpfe (imiwindi), die bis zu 20 Liter fassen, dienen als Wasserbehälter und zur Aufbewahrung des Pombebieres. Geschöpft wird mit Holz- oder Kürbisschalen. Milch wird in geschnitzten Holzgefäßen (iwango) von meist plumper Form aufbewahrt, die, wie bei den Banjaruanda, vor dem jedesmaligen Füllen mit Kuhurin ausgespült werden, um die Milch besser zu konservieren. Butter aber, die niemals zum Essen, sondern nur zum Einreiben des Körpers benutzt wird, wird durch Schütteln der Dickmilch in großen Flaschenkürbissen hergestellt und ist immer halbflüssig. Die großen Tongefäße, die alle einen runden Boden haben, stehen auf dem Erdboden der Hütte, von Steinen seitlich gestützt, während verschiedene Holz- und Kürbisgefäße (ubwato, akako) zwischen dem Flechtwerk der Hüttenwände stehen oder in großmaschigen Netzen aufgehängt sind. Die hölzernen Milchgefäße aber sind auf einem bankartigen Gestell in der Nähe der Feuerstelle an der Wand aufgestellt. Eßlöffel gibt es nicht, aber hölzerne Schöpflöffel, die oft hübsch mit geschnitzten Linienornamenten verziert sind. Der kochende Brei wird mit einem breiten hölzernen Spachtel („Streichholz") umgerührt (Taf. 46, Fig. 1) und die fertige Speise auf flache Holz- oder Flechtschalen gehäuft, von wo sie in üblicher Negerweise mit den Fingern in Klößchen geformt, in eine der gekochten Kräutersaucen getunkt und in den Mund geschoben wird.

Vor keinem Haus fehlt der entweder zylindrische oder sanduhrförmige Holzmörser (isekuro), in dem die Weiber in taktmäßigem abwechselnden Stampfen mittels hölzerner Stampfer das Getreide von den Hülsen oder Rispen befreien, also „dreschen". Das Ausschwingen zur Beseitigung des Speltes besorgt dann gewöhnlich der Mann mittels großer, ganz flacher Körbe oder „Schwingen"; und auf ebensolche flache Körbe wird schließlich das Mehl ausgebreitet, das die Frau durch Zerreiben des Getreides auf einem Mahlstein (uruschjo), der gleichfalls vor jeder Hütte liegt, hergestellt hat. Alles dies ist ganz ähnlich wie in Ruanda und bei anderen Völkern des Zwischenseengebietes (Nr. 19, S. 371/2, 451/2).

Die meisten Batussi essen nur einmal warm am Tag, und zwar abends; die Bahutu aber zweimal, und zwar die erste Mahlzeit um die Mittagsstunde, die zweite am Abend zwischen 7 und 8 Uhr. Die Batwa scheinen sich an keine bestimmte Essenszeit zu binden. Kalte Speisen, wie gekochte Bataten, Maniok, gerösteter Mais, Erdnüsse u. dgl., werden von Batussi und Bahutu auch in den Zwischenzeiten genossen, wenn man Hunger hat, namentlich am frühen Morgen. Milch wird in frischem oder saurem Zustand getrunken, von den Batussi mit Vorliebe als gequirlte Sauermilch. Um auch auf Reisen stets frische Milch zu haben, lassen vermögende Batussi mehrere Milchkühe nebst dem nötigen Personal mitlaufen. Fleisch wird meist am Stock geröstet, also „Spießbraten", oder im Rauch und an der Sonne gedörrt. Aber Fleisch ist ein seltener Genuß, denn die Batussi Urundis essen, wie die aller anderen Bahimastaaten, nur Rindfleisch und dieses nur, wenn die Tiere steril oder zu alt zur Zucht sind, oder wenn ein Tier zum Opfern geschlachtet wird (vgl. S. 103, 136). Die Bahutu bekommen

nur beim Rindfleisch, wenn ihnen die Batussi als Besitzer der Rinder etwas abgeben, und das Fleisch der ihnen zugewiesenen Ziegen oder Schafe bestenfalls dann, wenn ein Tier des Felles wegen, das zur Kleidung dient, geschlachtet wird. Mehr Fleisch fällt an die Batwa ab, die an den „Höfen" ihrer Batussiherren als Wächter, Polizisten, Maßlanten usw. gehalten werden. Man sieht verhältnismäßig wenig Ziegen und Schafe in Urundi, während früher die Herden kolossal waren; infolge der von den Wanderhändlern seit 1906 angeregten Rindwirtschaft sind sie großenteils verschwunden. Auch Hühner und Eier werden nicht gegessen, sondern nur zu Opferzwecken oder zum Weissagen verwandt (s. S. 47). Und da auch die Jagd nur selten etwas in die Küche liefert — die Barundi sind schlechte Jäger und essen, außer den Batwa, kein Wildfleisch oder ganz ausnahmsweise — und die wild wachsenden Pflanzen nur wenig zur Nahrung herangezogen werden, so ist der Küchenzettel recht klein. Hauptnahrungsmittel sind durch ganz Urundi Bananen, Bohnen, Erbsen, Bataten, Sorghum, die sämtlich getrocknet, zerrieben und in Mehlbrei verwandelt werden; alles andere, was die Felder in den verschiedenen Höhen- und Wärmelagen noch außerdem hervorbringen (s. Kapitel Ackerbau, S. 48), spielt nur eine untergeordnete Rolle.

Zwar behaupten die Batussi sowohl dem Europäer wie dem Muhutu gegenüber, nur von Milch, Fleisch und Bier zu leben, aber in Wirklichkeit essen sie ebenso Hülsenfrüchte, Bananen, Hirsebrei und anderes wie die Bahutu. So viel Rinder werden ja auch gar nicht im Lande geschlachtet, daß alle Batussi täglich davon satt werden könnten. Abgesehen vom Fleisch, das, wie erwähnt, fast immer am Stock gebraten wird, werden weitaus die meisten Gerichte gekocht oder gedämpft, nur sehr wenige mit Fett oder Öl gebacken, wie z. B. in der palmärmeichen Tanganikagegend.

Von besonderen Speisevorschriften der Barundi habe ich eine Reihe der mit dem Totemismus und mit religiösen Vorstellungen zusammenhängenden Speiseverbote in Erfahrung gebracht (s. S. 103). Im übrigen fällt auf, daß man nie Erwachsene beim Essen sieht. Sie nehmen die Mahlzeiten stets in den Hütten ein, der Mann zusammen mit seinem Weib, aber gesondert von den Kindern, und überrascht man einmal jemand beim Essen, so hört er auf und geht weg, da es ihm in Gegenwart Fremder „nicht bekommen" würde. Auf Reisen ist es natürlich etwas anders. Da entbindet der Zwang der äußeren Umstände oft von solchen Rücksichten; aber gewissenhafte oder streng gewöhnte Menschen, wie die meisten Batussi, halten sich auch auf Reisen so streng an die Sitte, daß sie lieber hungern als von jener abweichen. So hatte ich z. B. bei der Besteigung des Kerisimbi zwei junge Batussi als Führer, die trotz der großen übermenschlichen Anstrengung alles, was ich ihnen zum Essen anbot, zurückwiesen und zwei Tage lang keinen Bissen zu sich nahmen, weil sie nicht ihren vorgeschriebenen Brei und Milch hatten; auch von meinen Karawanenleuten nahmen sie nichts an.

Drittes Kapitel

Schmuck, Kleidung, Waffen

Der Körperschmuck der Barundi ist sehr dürftig. Um die Knöchel und über dem Handgelenk tragen Männer und Weiber dünne Drahtringe aus Kupfer oder Eisen, oder Darmsaiten, die mit feinem Draht umwickelt sind, seltener auch einmal einen dicken Eisenring um das Handgelenk; um den Hals aber namentlich die Männer ein in Ruanda unbekanntes Schmuckstück: einen dreieckigen fingerdicken Ausschnitt aus einer weißen Muschel (ikiresi), das an einer Schnur hängt und meist aus Unjamwesi eingeführt wird (Nr. 19, S. 406), wo man es ebenfalls an den Männern sieht. Desgleichen trägt man einen geschliffenen Wildschwein- oder Flußpferdzahn an einer Schnur am Hals (Taf. 33). Häufiger sind heutzutage einfache Perlkettchen aus kleinen blaßrosafarbigen oder weißen europäischen Perlen, seltener Schnüre mit aufgereihten kleinen spindelförmigen Holzstücken, in die mosaikartig Messing oder Kupferplättchen eingelegt sind, oder mit allerlei Wurzelstücken, Tierkrallen, Ziegenhörnchen usw. als Amuletten (s. S. 132). Auch kleine kupferne oder eiserne kugel- oder glockenförmige Anhängsel werden oft in großer Zahl um den Hals getragen (umuhare, Textbilder 3 u. 4). Ein bloßes Schmuckstück ist oft auch der dicke scheibenförmige Holzring (ikirinsi), den viele Barundi um das Handgelenk tragen, um dieses gegen das Zurückschnellen der Bogensehne beim Schießen zu schützen (s. S. 34 und Taf. 11, 12b, 13, 30a). Trotz seiner Größe von 20 bis 25 cm Durchmesser und trotz der feinen Gliederung der ihn tragenden Barundihand wirkt dieser Scheibenring doch nicht plump, weil er sehr elegant geformt und oft

Fig. 3. Kupferne kugelförmige Anhängsel, Halsschmuck und Amulett, mit „Medizin" gefüllt.
(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.)

Fig. 4. Eiserne Glöckchen als Halsschmuck.
(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.)

[p. 27]

mit verschiedenen linearen Messing- oder Kupferornamenten ausgelegt ist (Taf. 42, 43). Der seitliche Einschnitt, durch den die Scheibe auf das Handgelenk geschoben wird, ist mit $2^1/_2$—$3^1/_2$ cm so schmal, daß man nicht begreift, wie sich ein Männerhandgelenk hindurchzwängen kann. Ein Rangabzeichen der Vornehmen oder ein nur ihnen eignes wertvolles Amulett ist eine pflaumengroße, aus Fruchtkern geschnitzte glatte Kugel, die an einem um den Hinterkopf laufenden schmalen Fellstreifen mitten auf dem kahl rasierten Scheitel getragen wird. Oft wird gleichzeitig ein zweiter solcher Fellstreifen, aber ohne Kugel, vom Hinterkopf über die Mitte der Stirn gelegt. Ich habe diese Schmuckform nie an Bahutu und gewöhnlichen Batussi gesehen, sondern nur an Mitgliedern der Königssippe (Baganwa) und an Großbatwalen (s. Taf. 11, 13, 14).

Die Haartracht der Barundi ist sehr einfach. Vor Jahren war sie, nach den Berichten früherer Reisender, viel mannigfaltiger; heute rasiert sich die große Mehrzahl das Kopfhaar glatt ab. Dazu dient ein kurzes Schabmesser ohne Stiel, nachdem das Haar bloß mit warmem Wasser etwas geschmeidiger gemacht ist. Viele lassen auch einen kleinen runden Haarbüschel auf dem Scheitel stehen, seltener einen Haarrest in anderer Form. Die Kinder laufen häufig in langen „Pudellocken" herum und sehen dann aus wie Galla- oder Somalkinder (Taf. 12b, 16a). Die Weiber und Mädchen sind gewöhnlich glatt rasiert. Wenn sie Haare tragen, strähnen sie es mit hölzernen Kämmen (Textbild 5). Die Männer rasieren auch den Bart; Achsel- und Schamhaare werden von den Batussi entfernt, wogegen sie bei den Bahutu stehenbleiben, aber sehr spärlich sind. Sehr selten sieht man an einem Murundi die beiden schief über den Kopf laufenden aufgesträubten Haarraupen, die für die Banjarwanda Nationaltracht sind.

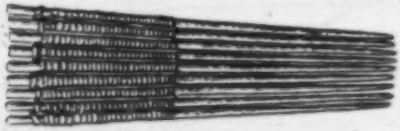

Fig. 5. Hölzerner Kamm zum Haarsträhnen. (Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.)

In beiden Ländern ist aber den Batussi gemeinsam die Pflege der Haut mit verschiedenen kosmetischen Mitteln. Am gebräuchlichsten ist das Einreiben mit halbflüssiger Butter. Der weitaus größte Teil der Butterproduktion wird hierzu verwandt, und oft wird dieser Hautsalbe etwas rote Lateriterde und der Saft von wohlriechenden Pflanzen zugesetzt. Wer keine Rinder und somit keine Butter hat, wie die große Menge der Bahutu, kann sich auch nicht einbuttern. Wenn die Salbung täglich frisch ist, ist die Sache ganz appetitlich und hübsch, aber wenn, wie sehr häufig, die Butter ranzig wird und sich dazu der Schweißgeruch und der Muff von rauchigen Hütten und Viehställen mischt, stinken die Kerle so intensiv, daß man sie in dunkler Nacht auf 10 Schritt wittern kann. Ich muß aber zur Ehre der Barundi sagen, daß sie sich gern baden, wenn sie reichlich Wasser haben, also beim Wasserschöpfen an den Quellen, beim Passieren von Bächen und ähnlichen Gelegenheiten. Kinder und zuweilen auch Erwachsene schmieren sich mitunter das Haar, den Schädel oder andere Körperteile, manchmal auch den ganzen Körper, mit einer hellgrauen Farbschicht ein, die aus Ton oder Asche oder den in den Steppen häufigen mergeligen Exrementen von Raubtieren hergestellt wird. Es ist kein Festschmuck, wie oft die Bemalung bei Erwachsenen (s. S. 67, 127), sondern es soll die Haut von kleinen Schmarotzern befreien und glatt machen.

Tätowierung (urusago) habe ich in Urundi viel seltener beobachtet als in Ruanda

und in Uha. Und zwar nur in Form von Ziernarben, nie von flacher Farbentätowierung. Auch in Urundi sind vorwiegend Batussi tätowiert, und wie in Ruanda sind es die Außenseiten der Oberarme, die beiden Brusthälften von der Schulter bis in die Nabelgegend und beide Rückenhälften von der Schulter bis in die Gürtelzone, über die sich die Tätowierungsmuster ziehen. Diese sind wie in Ruanda in der Hauptsache fingerlange Halbmonde, die in größerer Zahl aneinandergereiht und meist zu 2 und 2 durch einen dritten, in die offene Sichelseite eingreifenden Halbmond miteinander verbunden sind, so daß im ganzen ein kettenartiges Muster entsteht (Textbild 7). Jeder Strich besteht aus vielen kleinen parallelen Schnittchen, die mit einem Messer (Textbild 6) eingeritzt und durch Einreiben von Asche und Euphorbiensaft zum Aufschwellen gebracht werden, so daß sie schließlich eine verdickte, bis 1 cm über die Hautfläche vortretende Narbe bilden. Das Tätowieren besorgen heilkundige Ärzte. Andere Muster bestehen aus Zickzacklinien, aus bandförmigen parallelen Linienreihen, die wie breite Hosenträger über die Schultern laufen, oder aus knopfartigen Narben, die wie dicke Impfnarben auf dem Oberarm und in der Brustfurche aneinandergereiht sind. Andere, unregelmäßige Narbengruppen sind nicht schmuckhafte Tätowierung, sondern Einschnitte gegen lokale Körperschmerzen oder Wundmale aus gewaltsamen Verletzungen.

Fig. 6. Messer zum Tätowieren und Aderlassen.
(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. N. 8413 a.)

Daß diese Tätowierung ursprünglich nur den Batussi eigen gewesen und von den Bahutu und Batwa erst den Batussi nachgeahmt worden sei, wie M. Weiß (Nr. 33, S. 93) angibt, ist mir nicht wahrscheinlich. Das Tätowieren dieser Art ist vielmehr den hamitischen Völkern Afrikas fremd, aber bei den Bantu der oberen Nil- und Kongoländer sowie der westlichen und südlichen Victoriaseegebiete, den Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha, Wassumbwa usw. — die Basiba tätowieren sich nicht, nach H. Nehse — sehr verbreitet, so daß viel eher an eine Übertragung von den Bantu und Niloten auf die Batussi und an ihre weitere Ausbildung durch die Batussi gedacht werden kann. Die Tätowierungen der Somal, Galla, Massai usw. sehen ganz anders aus. Einen Hinweis auf die Zusammenhänge gibt die Mitteilung H. H. Johnstons, daß die nämliche halbmondförmige Narbentätowierung, von der er auch eine Photographie abbildet (Nr. 17, Bd. II, S. 569), sich auch bei den Bakonjo, der wohl

Fig. 7. Narbentätowierung eines Murundi.
(Skizze von Hans Meyer.)

ältesten Banturasse in Unjoro, Toro, Ankole findet, während die große Masse der Banjoro, des Hauptmischvolkes von Bantu, Nilnegern und Bahima in Unjoro, sich nicht tätowiert.

An Frauen und Kindern habe ich in Urundi keine Tätowierung beobachtet. Über die Bedeutung der Muster war nichts Bestimmtes zu erfahren. Daß sie Rindshörner vorstellen sollen, wie ein Missionar meint, möchte ich bezweifeln.

„Schmückende Verunstaltungen" der Ohren (Ohrlöcher), der Nase (Nasenpflöcke), Lippen (Pelele), Zähne (Kerben oder Feilen) oder anderer Körperteile gibt es in Urundi weder bei den Batussi noch bei den Bahutu, also wie in Ruanda, aber die Batwa spitzen die beiden oberen Schneidezähne zu. Auch ist weder Beschneidung bei beiden Geschlechtern noch Deformation des Schädels u. dgl. üblich. Erst wenn man vom Zwischenseenplateau nach West, Ost, Nord oder Süd hinabsteigt, trifft man wieder auf Völker mit Körperverunstaltungen.

Urundi ist immer noch das Land der Rindenstofffkleider (impusu). Abgesehen von den peripherischen Landschaften im Südosten, Süden und Westen, wo der Fremdhandel, für den das übrige Land bis vor kurzem gesperrt war, Baumwollstoffe heranbringen kann, ist ein Stück „Amerikani" oder eine baumwollene Decke als Kleidung in Urundi immer noch eine Seltenheit. Erst in jüngster Zeit kommt durch die relativ wenigen zugelassenen Wanderhändler, durch die Missionen und die durchziehenden Beamten- und Militärkarawanen mehr Baumwollzeug ins Land und wird von den Eingebornen begierig aufgenommen. Zu Zeiten des Königs Kisabo aber verboten die Häuptlinge das Tragen von Baumwollstoffen aufs strengste, denn sie vermuteten sehr richtig, daß mit dem Hereinkommen fremder Händler und Handelswaren auch bald andere Einflüsse eindringen würden, die ihrer Selbstherrlichkeit Abbruch tun könnten.

Neben den vorherrschenden Rindenstoffen werden auch Ziegenfelle (ikikoba, urusato) als Lendenschurze getragen, die Fellseite nach innen, und zwar als alleiniges Kleidungsstück von den Kindern, den Armen und meist auch den Batwa (Taf. 7). Auch in Nordost-Urundi, in der Landschaft Bugusi, werden viel mehr Umhänge aus Fell als aus Rindenstoff getragen (Nr. 8, S. 61). Die Weiber tragen in ganz Urundi außer dem Lendenschurz aus Fell oder Rindenstoff noch ein an einer Ecke zusammengeknotetes vierseitiges Fell- oder Rindenstoffstück um den Oberkörper, in dem hinten das jüngste Kind zu sitzen pflegt, und die Männer einen größern, togaartigen Überwurf, der über den Schultern geknotet wird und bis über die Knie herabfällt. Oft wird die Verknotung auf den Schultern durch ein paar große Quasten aus trockenem Bananenbast geschmückt, die wie ein paar riesige Majorsepauletten aussehen (Taf. 11a, 14a).

Das Rindenzeug (impusu) — Stuhlmann nennt es „Bastfilz" (Nr. 32a, S. 35) — hat vor den Fell- und Baumwollstoffen den Vorzug, daß es sehr leicht, warm, weich und durchlässig ist; aber die Herstellung erfordert Arbeit, und da es sich bei längerem Tragen auffasert, wird es bald löcherig und ausgefranst und sieht dann sehr schäbig aus (Taf. 9, 13a). Dazu kommt die meist sehr unfreundliche dunkelgraue Färbung. Von Natur ist es braun. Selten wird es mit Laterit oder Pflanzensäften rot gefärbt (Trauergewand) oder auf dem natürlichen rotbraunen Grund mit schwarzen spindel- oder blattförmigen oder kreisrunden Ornamenten verziert. Gewöhnlich wird es mit Holzasche oder Tonschiefer oder Sumpfschlamm dunkelgrau gefärbt und sieht dann sehr trist aus. Wenn eine größere so gekleidete Menschenmenge beisammensteht, vereinen sich

die vielen schwarzbehangenen Gestalten mit den blank rasierten Schädeln und den von jedermann getragenen blitzenden Speeren zu einem überaus eindrucksvollen Gesamtbild von tiefem Ernst. Dieselbe einfache Färbemethode finden wir auch im nördlichsten Verbreitungsgebiet der Bahima, in Unjoro, wieder, von wo Vandeleur schreibt: „Die Wanjoro (im Hochland von Süd-Unjoro) machen die nämlichen Rindenkleider wie die Waganda und färben sie schwarz, indem sie sie einen Tag lang in den Schlamm eines Sumpfes stecken." (Nr. 9, S. 377.)

Einen Unterschied der Kleidung zwischen Batussi und Bahutu gibt es nicht, ebensowenig eine besondere Tracht für einen besonderen Stand oder Beruf. Der Mutwa und der Muhutu, der Mutussi und der Muganwa, der Großhäuptling und der König: sie alle kleiden sich in denselben unansehnlichen schwarzgrauen Impusu aus Baumrinde. Gemeinsam ist allen auch, daß sie in dem Innern der Hütten und bei der Feldarbeit das lange Obergewand als hinderlich ablegen.

Der Stoff wird aus den Rinden mehrerer Ficus-(Urostigma-)Arten, hauptsächlich des Ficus chlamydodora Warb. oder Ficus Schimperi Hochst., in derselben Weise wie in den noch Rindenzeuge tragenden Gegenden Ruandas hergestellt. Da aber in Urundi viel mehr Rindenstoff gebraucht wird als in dem schon stark mit Baumwollstoffen versehenen Ruanda, werden hier auch weit mehr Fikusbäume bei den Hütten angepflanzt als dort, oft wie ein dörflicher Obstgarten neben den Gehöften. Schon aus diesem Grunde macht die Urundilandschaft einen freundlicheren, abwechslungsreicheren Eindruck als das meist nur grasige Ruanda. Fast jede Hüttengruppe liegt im Schatten eines kleinen frischgrünen Fikushaines. Auch der Rundzaun der Gehöfte besteht zum Teil aus Fikusbäumen, die als natürliche Pfähle dem Flechtwerk des Zaunes festen Halt geben. Nach v. d. Burgt soll der Ficus chlamydodora erst vor zirka 60 Jahren in Urundi eingeführt worden sein und jetzt nur kultiviert dort vorkommen. Ich glaube ihn aber auf den Randbergen im Nordwesten wild bemerkt zu haben.

Wenn der Baum etwa armdick geworden ist, wird er zum ersten Male entrindet. Zu diesem Zweck wird der Stamm im Abstand von $^1/_2$ bis 1 m mit zwei Horizontalschnitten umringelt, beide Schnitte durch einen vertikalen Längsschnitt verbunden und die so angeschnittene Rinde als ein langes Rechteck ohne Mühe abgelöst. Das nackte Stammstück wird mit Butter beschmiert und mit Bananenblättern umbunden, worauf unter dem am Holz ausschwitzenden Harz die Rindensubstanz von den Schnittflächen her sich wieder völlig ergänzt, und die Wunde zuwächst. Zwei Jahre später kann der Baum wieder von neuem beschnitten werden. Das abgeschnittene Rindenstück wird erst mit dem Messer von der rauhen äußern Borke befreit, dann über einen am Boden liegenden Baumstamm gelegt und mit einer kurzen, vielfach gekerbten Holzkeule (Taf. 36, 37) so lange auf beiden Seiten geklopft, bis es weich geworden ist. Darauf wird der noch darin sitzende Saft ausgerungen wie aus einem Waschlappen, das Stück ausgebreitet an der Sonne getrocknet und schließlich mit anderen Stücken durch Bananenbastfaden und Pfriemen zu einem so großen Gewand zusammengenäht, wie man es für einen Hüftschurz oder einen Mantel braucht (Nr. 19, S. 279). Das Rindenzeug wird ausschließlich von Männern und fast nur für den eigenen Haus- und Familienbedarf hergestellt, doch gibt es in Ruanda auch besondere „Fundi", die das Zeug gewerbsmäßig für andere machen und verkaufen. Die Frauen besorgen nur das Ausschmücken ihrer Gewänder mit eingeflochtenen Kanten oder Litzen, während die Männer an

ihren Gewändern auch den Schmuck der Troddeln und Schulterquasten anbringen (Taf. 11a, 44, 45). Sogar der König Kisabo betrieb diese Beschäftigung gern in seinen Mußestunden; und das gleiche wird vom mächtigen Häuptling Lusabiko in Ost-Urundi berichtet: „Wir fanden den Häuptling damit beschäftigt, Fransen aus feinem trockenen Gras herzustellen, um sein Rindengewand damit zu schmücken. Niemand würde in dem schlichten Neger, der da am Boden hockend Fransen flocht, den großen Lusabiko vermutet haben, dem ein Viertel des schönen Urundilandes zitternd zu Füßen liegt" (Nr. 14, S. 214).

Es ist anzunehmen, daß die Batussi als Hirtenvolk ursprünglich Gewandstücke aus Rindshaut getragen haben, wie heute noch mehrere Hirtenstämme Ostafrikas, z. B. die Massai und Wandorobbo. Aber seitdem sie seßhaft geworden sind, haben sie von den unterjochten Bahutu neben manchen anderen Dingen auch deren Rindenstoffe angenommen. Nur im Festgewand, bei Kriegstänzen und anderen Feierlichkeiten, kommt die sorgfältig und geschmackvoll präparierte Fellkleidung nebst Leopardenfellschurz zum Vorschein (s. S. 124, 126); dazu allerlei Schmuck (Taf. 11b, 12a, 31, 32).

Eine Kopfbedeckung haben weder Männer noch Weiber. Brennt die Sonne zu heiß oder regnet es, oder will man den Kopf aus einem anderen Grunde schützen, so zieht man einen Zipfel des Gewandes über den kahlen Schädel. Ein Stirnband aus Maisblättern tragen mitunter die Weiber als Zeichen junger Mutterschaft; zwei schmale Stirnstreifen aus Bananenrinde als Frauenzeichen. Wides auch in Ruanda.

Eine besondere Bekleidung der Schamteile oder Füße gibt es nicht. Bei den Männern wird der Penis oft sichtbar, wenn sie nur die Toga tragen, aber ihr Schamgefühl wird dadurch nicht verletzt. Die Weiber haben meist auch die Brüste durch das Oberkleid verhüllt, entblößen sie aber ungeniert, wenn sie aus irgendeinem Grunde das Gewand ablegen oder wechseln. Kinder vor der Pubertät gehen gewöhnlich ganz nackt (Taf. 16) oder mit einem schmalen Schurz aus Bananenbast (Taf. 38).

Die Barundi sind wirklich ein „Volk in Waffen", weit mehr als die Banjaruanda, bei denen die große Menge der Bahutu unbewaffnet einhergeht und auch die Batussi viel öfters als den Speer nur den langen Stab tragen, der freilich durch Aufstecken einer Speerspitze schnell zur Waffe gemacht werden kann. Desgleichen sieht man häufig Barundi mit dem spitzenlosen Holzschaft umherwandern, wenn sie ihre friedliche Gesinnung dartun oder wenn sie die Eisenspitze gegen Abnutzung oder Verrosten schützen wollen, aber fast immer führen sie die eingewickelte Speerspitze bei sich, und nie entfernen sie sich weit vom Gehöft zum Viehhüten, zur Feldarbeit, zu Besuchen, ohne daß von mehreren Leuten nicht wenigstens einer oder zwei mit Speer und Bogen bewaffnet sind. Ein Murundi, der etwas auf sich hält, läßt sich nie ohne Speer sehen; er würde sich ohne ihn für „nicht angezogen" halten. Auch die Knaben tragen schon Speere. In der Regel werden die beiden gebräuchlichen Waffen, Speer und Bogen, zusammen getragen, der Speer in einer, der Bogen und 2—4 Pfeile in der anderen Hand.

Die Speere (itschjumu) unterscheiden sich wenig von den Ruandaspeeren und variieren auch etwas in den Formen der Spitzen, wie dort (Taf. 39, 40). Meist hat das Blatt eine starke, zugeschärfte Mittelrippe, die es sehr elastisch und widerstandsfähig macht und dem Speer sozusagen vier Schneiden gibt. Neben der Mittelrippe sind zwei Blutrinnen eingetieft, die dem Bantuspeer gewöhnlich fehlen. Spitze und Schuh haben eine Düse zum Einstecken des Schaftes. Dieser ist ein 2 bis

3 m langer, stark daumendicker Stock, meist ganz gerade, gut gerundet und glatt abgerieben, wie poliert. In Anbetracht der äußersten Armut Urundis an Bäumen und großen Sträuchern ist die Güte der Lanzenschäfte erstaunlich. Einfuhr von Stangenholz für die Speere gibt es nicht aus den Nachbarländern. Viele Speerschäfte sind Familienstücke, die sich aus holzreicherer Zeit her auf die Gegenwart vererbt haben, und andere werden aus dem Holz des angepflanzten Rindenstoff-Fikus gemacht, der schöne gerade Äste treibt, wenn man ihn nicht viel beschneidet. Ärmere Leute und Kinder haben meist Speere mit minderwertigen, etwas gebogenen oder knorrigen Schäften. Die Spitzen und Schuhe der Speere werden von besonderen Schmieden (s. S. 77) entweder aus dem in Urundi selbst gewonnenen Eisen oder aus den vom Kongo (Uwira) oder aus Usindja eingeführten Eisenhacken (s. S. 83) verfertigt. Die übrige Arbeit an der Herstellung seines Speeres tut jeder Murundi selbst.

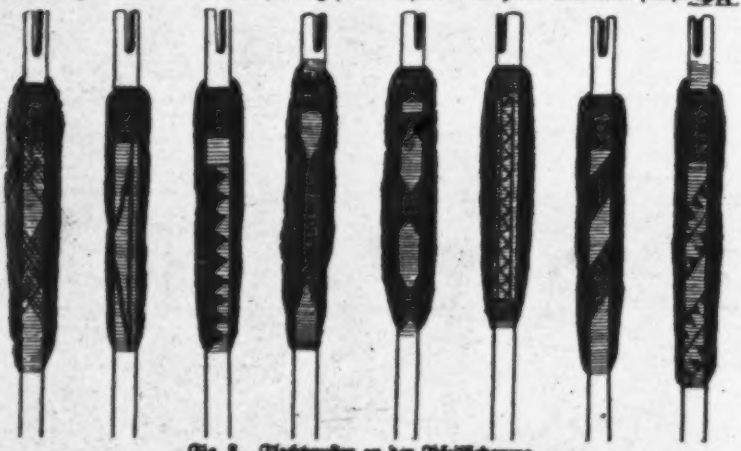

Fig. 8. Flechtmuster an der Pfeilfederung.
(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, No. 5274.)

Der Speer ist hauptsächlich Stoßwaffe und Verteidigungswaffe. Geworfen wird er nur, wenn man aus nächster Nähe seines Zieles sicher ist, da der Verlust dieses kostbaren Besitzes nicht riskiert werden darf. Wurfschlingen zum Schleudern der Speere gibt es nicht.

Die Unzertrennlichkeit des Murundi von seiner Lanze, die Möglichkeit, sich jederzeit auf den langen Speerstock zu stützen, bestimmt die Körperhaltung des Murundi, wie des Munjaruanda, in Ruhestellung sehr charakteristisch. Er umfaßt den aufrechten Stock mit halb emporgerecktem Arm, so daß die Hand ungefähr in Gesichtshöhe liegt. Je nachdem beim Anfassen die Handfläche nach innen oder nach außen gekehrt ist, läuft der Stock entweder zwischen Brust und Ellenbogen zum Boden oder an der Außenseite des Ellenbogens entlang. In beiden Fällen lehnt sich der Körper voll gegen die etwas schief nach außen stehende Stütze, wobei das „Standbein" gestreckt wird, das der Stütze benachbarte „Spielbein" aber über das Standbein in Kniehöhe leicht übergeschlagen wird, so daß es nur mit dem äußeren Sohlenrand den Fußboden

berührt (Taf. 9b). Viel seltener sieht man, daß der Fuß des Spielbeines gegen das Standbein gestemmt wird, wie es die Oberniloger und auch die Massai häufig tun. Die Linienführung dieser Körperhaltung der Barundi in Ruhestellung ist oft von überraschender Schönheit. Eine größere Zahl so dastehender Männer ist wirklich „ein Bild zum Malen".

Die eigentliche Angriffs- und Kampfwaffe ist der Bogen mit den Pfeilen. Die Bogen (umuheto) haben die schlichte Form der meisten ostafrikanischen Bogen und sind ziemlich gute Waffen (Taf. 41). Die Sehne ist gewöhnlich aus Rindersehne gemacht. Zusammengesetzte Bogen wie bei den Bugoje-Batwa gibt es bei den viel mehr verneigerten Batwa Urundis nicht. Die Pfeilspitzen (umwampi) sind weder mit Widerhaken versehen noch gelappt und stecken vermittels eines Dorns im Holzschaft, der oben umwickelt ist; am Fuß sind sie einfach gefiedert. Die Fiederung aber ist oft in hübsch gemusterte Rohrumwicklung eingebunden (Textbild 8). Niemals werden von den Batussi und Bahutu die Pfeile vergiftet, wohl aber von den Batwa (Nr. 19, S. 246). Daß die den Bogen haltende linke Hand durch dicke hölzerne scheibenförmige Armringe (ikirinsi) gegen den Rückschlag der Sehne geschützt wird, wurde schon oben erwähnt (s. S. 27 und Taf. 30a). Das Bogenschießen ist auch bei den Barundi nicht ein Schießen aus langem Stand und mit genauem Zielen, sondern vielmehr ein rasches, heftiges Abschnellen des Pfeiles gegen das Ziel aus dem Gefühl heraus, wie beim Wurf mit der Steinschleuder (die es in Urundi nicht gibt). Sie treffen aber den Mann auf 30—40 Meter ziemlich genau (Taf. 30). Die Mehrzahl der Pfeile ist Fabrikat der Batwa. Die Pfeile werden zuweilen in hübsch geschnitzten hölzernen Köchern (umutamo) aufbewahrt, die an beiden Enden mit übergreifenden Deckeln versehen sind (Taf. 41, 42), aber sehr selten sieht man einen Köcher am Arm oder Rücken eines Murundi, meist nur in den Hütten.

Fig. 9.
Messer mit ornamentierten Holzschaften.
(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Nr. [illegible].)

Die bis $^1/_2$ m langen schwertartigen Messer (imbugita) der Barundi sind keine eigentlichen Waffen, sondern Werkzeuge des täglichen Gebrauches, die nur gelegentlich als Waffe mit benutzt werden (Taf. 43). Das Messer hat zwei parallele Schneiden und ist vorn nur wenig gespitzt. Es ist mit seiner ganzen Breite in einen sondahefförmigen Holzgriff eingelassen und steckt in einer hölzernen Scheide (uruwati), die aus zwei dünnen, durch mehrere Umwicklungen miteinander verbundenen Brettchen gefertigt ist. Die Scheide wird oft wie der Köcher durch eingeschnittene Halbmonde und Zickzackmuster verziert (Textbild 9). Die Messer werden wie ein Wehrgehänge an einem von der rechten Schulter zur linken Hüfte laufenden Riemen getragen. Die häufigeren viel kleineren, 10—15 cm langen

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

Messer dagegen, die ebenso geformt sind und zu kleineren Schneidearbeiten dienen, trägt man an einer Schnur entweder um den Hals oder am linken Oberarm. Hübsch mit feinem Kupferdraht umwickelte Messer gibt es nur im westlichen Nieder-Urundi am Tanganikasee, wo sie kongolesischer Einfluß sind und von den Wawiraschmieden hergestellt werden (Nr. 19, S. 133). Im eigentlichen Hoch-Urundi sind die Bahutu- und namentlich die Batwaschmiede die Messerlieferanten.

Recht selten sind in Urundi die einst allgemein verbreiteten Schlagkeulen (uwuhiri) geworden; sie sind von der vormaligen Waffe zum Paradestück oder zum Spielzeug der Männer herabgesunken, wie bei den Massai und den Wadschagga. Sie bestehen aus einem zirka $^1/_2$ m langen, schön geglätteten Stück Hartholz, das am Kopf drei- oder vierkantig zugeschnitten ist und am Handende etwas verdickt ausläuft.

Noch viel seltener sind die Schilde (ingabo). Sie haben die Bedeutung als Schutzwaffe gänzlich verloren und sind wie in Ruanda ein bloßes Häuptlings- oder Familienemblem (vielleicht Clanabzeichen) geworden (Taf. 44). Der König besitzt mehrere, jeder Häuptling und seine Leibgarde je einen, die verschiedene Bemalung haben. Die Batwa haben keine Schilde und dürfen keine führen. Der bis $^1/_2$ m breite runde Schild ist aus Holz geschnitzt, hat einen hölzernen Griff und ist mit weißen und roten Kreissegmenten verschiedener Art bemalt. Auch gibt es solche, die mit Rohr umflochten sind (s. S. 80—81 und Taf. 53), und gleichgestaltete aus Rindshaut, die noch seltener sind. Dieselbe Form und Ornamentierung der hölzernen Schilde und Köcher kehrt sowohl bei den nördlichen Bahima in Ruanda als auch bei den südlichsten in Ufipa wieder (vgl. Abbildung bei Nr. 47, S. 76).

Zur kriegerischen Ausrüstung des Murundi gehört schließlich noch der Kriegsschmuck. Wenn die Leibgarden des Königs oder des Häuptlings, die, wie wir später sehen werden (S. 87), die eigentlichen Kriegführenden sind, ins Feld ziehen, werden sie mit einem Schurz aus weißgegerbtem Antilopen- oder Schaffell (inkindi) uniformiert und bemalen sich den Schädel, das Gesicht und den Oberkörper mit allerlei weißen und roten Linien und Ornamenten, die ihnen ein erschreckendes wildes Aussehen geben (Nr. 19, S. 277). Auch bei den Kriegstänzen wird jener uniforme Fellschurz getragen, also ganz ähnlich wie in Ruanda, wo zur Uniform noch andere Schmuckstücke, wie Kopfputz und Fußrasseln, hinzukommen. Dieselbe Art des Kriegsschmuckes wie hier und in Ruanda haben auch die Bahima in Ufipa (vgl. Bild bei Lechaptois, Nr. 47, S. 61).

Von alten Steinwaffen als Resten einstiger, untergegangener Kulturen (s. S. 151) ist in Urundi auch bei den Batwa, dem ältesten Volkselement, nichts oder nichts mehr in Gebrauch; ebensowenig wie in Ruanda.

Viertes Kapitel

Jagd, Fischfang, Viehzucht, Ackerbau, Genußmittel

1. Jagd und Fischerei

Die Jagd (uwuhisi) spielt im Dasein der Barundi eine nur geringe Rolle, denn in einem so stark bevölkerten und fast ganz abgeholzten Land, wo man, wie in den Burenländern, der Viehhaltung und Viehweidung wegen das Wild systematisch ausgerottet hat, gibt es nur noch wenige jagdbare Tiere. Am häufigsten dürfte noch der hauptsächlich in den schmalen Buschdickichten der tiefen Bachtäler lebende Buschbock (Tragelaphus), ferner die Schopfantilope, Gazelle und Zimela-Antilope sein. Von anderen großen jagdbaren Tieren kommt gelegentlich der Elefant in den dünn bewohnten Gegenden, in den menschenleeren Wäldern des westlichen Randgebirges und in der Russissiniederung vor, häufig ist aber noch das Flußpferd, das in allen größeren Strömen und Sümpfen Nahrung und Schutz findet. Leoparden gibt es überall, am meisten in Nordost-Urundi.

Selten jagt (kuhiga) der Murundi mit der Waffe für sich allein. Zuweilen jedoch werden von den Häuptlingen Treibjagden von 10—20 Personen veranstaltet, die freilich viel mehr Sport als Weidwerk sind und nur den einen praktischen Zweck haben, Antilopenfelle für die obenerwähnte Kriegstracht und Gehörne für Trompeten und für Amulette zu verschaffen. Das Fleisch der gejagten Tiere wird als unrein von den Batussi und den Bahutu nicht gegessen, sondern den Batwa oder den Hunden gegeben, die bei jeder Treibjagd wesentlich mitwirken. Jagdhunde in unserem Sinn können diese Hunde (s. S. 48) kaum genannt werden, denn sie tun weiter nichts als das Wild aufstöbern und verfolgen; es ist der gewöhnliche Murundihund mit aufrechtstehenden Ohren. Eine wirkliche große Meute von Hetzhunden für die Jagd hatte der alte König Kisabo. Die Hunde tragen ein Lederhalsband mit einer eisernen Schelle oder Rassel, deren Klirren und Klappern das Wild aufscheucht, und werden so lange an der Leine geführt, bis die Jäger das Gelände, wo Wild vermutet wird, in einem weiten Halbkreise umstellt haben. Nun werden die Hunde ins Dickicht losgelassen, und bald scheuchen sie mit ihrem Schellengerassel das Wild auf und stellen es schließlich durch gemeinsamen Angriff, so daß die Jäger hinzulaufen und das Tier mit Pfeilschüssen oder Speerstichen töten können (Nr. 19, S. 100).

Viel bessere Jäger sind erklärlicherweise die vorwiegend von der Jagd lebenden Wald-Batwa, die meist zu zweien zu jagen pflegen. Vor allem ist die Elefantenjagd in den Wäldern des nordwestlichen Randgebirges lediglich ihr Werk. Hierzu wie zur Erlegung anderen großen Wildes, z. B. der Flußpferde, benutzen sie tiefe Fallgruben (itschjobo), die sie auf den Wechseln der Tiere anlegen. Auf dem Grund der steil-

[p. 36]

wandigen, bis 8 m tiefen Gruben pflanzt man aufrecht stehende spitze Pfähle ein, die das einbrechende Tier verwunden oder töten sollen, und bedeckt das Loch sorgfältig mit Ästen und Laub. Ein hineingestürztes Stück Wild, das noch lebt, wird mit Speerstichen getötet. Höchst solide Fallen bauen die Eingeborenen zum Fang der Leoparden, des schlimmsten Feindes ihres Kleinviehes, indem sie innerhalb eines engen, niedrigen, durch einen starken Palisadenzaun führenden Ganges einen schweren steinbeladenen Balken aufhängen, der durch Berührung einer Schnur ausgelöst wird und herabstürzt (Taf. 24b). Innerhalb des Zaunes wird neben dem engen Gang eine Ziege angebunden, und der Leopard, der zu dem schreienden Tier durch den Gang einzudringen sucht, wird durch den niedersausenden Balken erschlagen. Alle Leopardenfelle müssen an den König abgeliefert werden, der allein das Recht hat, sich und seine Sippe mit Schurzen von Leopardenfell zu kleiden.

Sehr geschickt sind die Batwa im Aufstellen von Schlingen (uschiwuka), in denen sie große Vögel und kleine Säugetiere fangen. Auch die Leimrute zum Fang kleiner Vögel ist ihnen nicht unbekannt; sie üben eine Art Sport damit aus, indem sie im Dickicht sich leise an sitzende Vögel anschleichen und die Tierchen plötzlich mit der Rute berühren, so daß sie daran kleben bleiben. Eigentümlich ist auch ihre Art, Francoline und Perlhühner zu fangen. Sobald es abends dunkel geworden ist, zieht der Jäger mit einer glimmenden Grasfackel in die Steppe, wo er solche Scharrvögel gespürt hat. Neugierig nähern sich die Tiere dem Feuer. Sowie aber der Mann eins bemerkt, legt er die Fackel neben sich, schleicht vorsichtig ausbiegend auf den Vogel, dessen Aufmerksamkeit auf die Fackel gerichtet ist, zu und erschlägt ihn mit einem Stockhieb. In allen diesen Fällen wird natürlich das Fleisch der gejagten Tiere verzehrt, denn die Wald-Batwa leben hauptsächlich von der Jagd und sind keine Kostverächter.

Die Batwa des inneren Urundi sind es auch allein, die Fische essen und Fischfang treiben (kuroba), während die Barundi des Inneren weder fischen noch Fische essen, wenn sie es nicht von den Missionaren und Offizieren gelernt haben. Dagegen sind die Barundi des Tanganikasees und des Russisi gute Fischer und passionierte Fischesser. Die Batwa fischen hauptsächlich mit der Angel (igera) und nur wenig mit Netzen (urusenga), die Barundi des Tanganikagebietes aber wenden eine ganze Reihe verschiedener Fangmethoden an: Die gebräuchlichste, oft im großen betriebene und quantitativ ertragreichste ist die nächtliche Netzfischerei vom Boot aus. Sie hat es fast nur mit den kleinen sardinenartigen, 5 cm langen, akahuso genannten Fischchen zu tun, die in großen Schwärmen den See bevölkern und nachts durch Fackelschein angezogen werden. Der Fang wird vom Einbaum aus von zwei Mann betrieben, von denen der eine das Netz handhabt, der andere rudert und den Brand der langen Rohrfackel (ikimuri) unterhält, die ein Hauptstück der Ausrüstung bildet. Diese Fackel ist eigentlich ein langes, 20—25 cm dickes Tau, das aus trockenem, mit Bananenbast zusammengebundenem Schilfrohr besteht und je nach Bedarf 10—20 m lang gemacht wird. Das riesige Schilfbündel wird so auf den Boden des Einbaumes gelegt, daß es über den vorderen Bootsrand ein Stück hinausragt, dieses Vorderende wird dann angezündet, und nun rudert man in den See hinaus. Draußen wird das Boot mittels eines an einem Baststrick befestigten Steins verankert, worauf die kleinen Fische in Scharen nach dem Feuerschein schwimmen und durch wiederholtes Auswerfen und Einziehen des Netzes zu Hunderten und Tausenden gefangen und in

das Boot ausgeschüttet werden. Die noch kleineren umuschischja-Fischchen, kleine Krebstierchen und anderes winziges Getier werden mit einem unseren Handnetzen ähnlichen Schöpfnetz gefangen (Nr. 19, S. 426 und Taf. 45).

Diese beiden kleinen Fischsorten, akahuso und umuschischja, werden lebend oder tot, wie sie gerade aus dem Boot kommen, auf dem Platz vor und zwischen den Hütten in einer großen dünnen Schicht ausgebreitet und trocknen schnell an der Sonne und Luft. Mitten hinein wird ein Gefäß mit Wasser gestellt, das dem Imana geweiht ist und dem Fischfang die Gunst des Gottes erhalten soll (Nr. 19, S. 427). Auch haben die See-Barundi, nach v. d. Burgt, einen besonderen Zauberer, der für erfolgreichen Fischfang durch allerlei magische Künste zu sorgen hat. Die getrockneten Fischchen, die sehr hübsch silberig und goldig schillern und nicht übel schmecken, erfreuen sich großer Beliebtheit bei den Eingeborenen. Auch nach dem Innern werden sie verhandelt, soweit man dort Fische ißt, namentlich nach Nordwest-Urundi. Ich traf Tanganikaleute mit großen Körben voll solcher Fischchen drei Tage weit vom See am Fuß der Nussigaberge.

Von der nächtlichen Fischerei am Tanganika bekommt jeder Reisende einen lebhaften Eindruck, viel mehr als von den anderen Fangmethoden. Von einem erhöhten Punkt am See, z. B. der Boma in Usumbura, sieht man nach Dunkelwerden von allen Seiten des Seeufers Dutzende von Lichtern ruhig in den See hinausschwimmen, sich draußen in langen Reihen anordnen und dann stundenlang an einem Fleck verharren, wo die Boote Anker geworfen haben. Drüben am fernen kongostaatlichen Westufer (Uvira) vollzieht sich dasselbe Schauspiel. So blinken oft Hunderte von Lichtern über das stille Wasser herauf, da eins verglimmend, dort eins frisch entzündet und neu aufleuchtend, wie eine festliche Illumination; dahinter die mächtige finstere Kulisse der westlichen Randberge und darüber das millionenfache Flimmern der Milchstraße, während ein leichter warmer Luftzug über Land und See hinweht und nur selten einmal ein tierischer Laut durch die große Stille der afrikanischen Nacht bringt.

Bei Tage fischen die Seeanwohner oft mit einem kegelförmigen Schleppnetz (itanda), das an einem Holzreifen befestigt ist und durch angebundene Steine unter Wasser gehalten wird. Man zieht es an zwei Stricken hinter dem Boot her und entnimmt ihm von Zeit zu Zeit seinen Inhalt, der sowohl kleine wie große Fische birgt. Eine sonderbare Methode der Netzfischerei hat Kandt bei den Barundi des Nord-Tanganika beobachtet, während ich und andere nichts Derartiges gesehen haben. Diese Methode besteht darin, daß von den sechs Insassen eines Bootes vier Mann gleichzeitig, das Netz in Händen, kopfüber ins Wasser springen und, nach 30—50 Sekunden mit ihrer Beute wieder auftauchend, sich von ihren Gefährten wieder in den Kahn ziehen lassen (Nr. 22, S. 333).

Die verschiedenen Netzarten sind sehr fest und gleichmäßig gearbeitet, obwohl sie ohne Knoten aus freier Hand geknotet werden. Die Schnüre werden aus den Fasern der Raphiapalme geflochten.

Auch in der Angelfischerei wenden die See-Barundi verschiedene Methoden an. Zum Fang großer Fische wird gewöhnlich eine lange Schnur verwendet, an der in kleinen Zwischenräumen zahlreiche starke Angelhaken (umugera) an kurzen Schnurstücken befestigt sind; das Ganze umuhungo genannt. An jedem Haken steckt eins der obengenannten kleinen akahuso-Fischchen als Köder. Die lange Leine wird vom Strand oder vom Boot aus ins Wasser geworfen, an beiden Enden fest-

gehalten und, sobald man das Anbeißen von Fischen spürt, von zwei Mann eingezogen und abgesammelt (Nr. 19, S. 426).

Mit Angelstock (isanga) und Leine (impungo) wird namentlich von den Knaben, aber auch von den Batwa gefischt. Am unteren Ende der Schnur hängen aber nicht ein Haken, wie bei unseren Angeln, sondern zwei bis vier Haken übereinander, die durch ein Holzstück als Schwimmer in der Schwebe gehalten werden. Oft hält ein Fischer zwei oder drei solcher Angelstöcke in der Hand. Ungeachtet der Krokodile stehen die Fischer oft mehrere Stunden lang bis an den Bauch im Wasser, und beißt ein Fisch an, so drehen sie langsam den Angelstock um seine Achse, so daß sich die Leine aufwickelt, denn bei schnellem Herausziehen würden die Haken, die keinen Widerhaken wie unsere Angeln haben, den Fisch abgleiten lassen.

Ein eigenartiger Apparat zum Fang mittelgroßer Fische ist ein vierseitiger kastenartiger Rahmen (uvusago) aus Palmblatt, in dessen Flächen mehrere Löcher angebracht sind, hinter welchen Heuschrecken oder Würmer als Köder befestigt werden. 30—40 solcher kleiner Fangkästen werden beschwert und rund um das Boot ins Wasser gesenkt. Ein hölzerner Schwimmer, der an jedem mit einer Schnur befestigt ist, zeigt sofort an, wenn ein Fisch, der nach einem Köder schnappen wollte, in einem der Löcher steckengeblieben ist. Der Erfolg dieser Fangmethode soll sehr reich sein.

Schließlich seien noch die aus Holzstäben geflochtenen Reusen (umugono) erwähnt. Sie haben die auch sonst häufige Gestalt eines langen Kegels, in dem ein trichterförmiges kleineres Geflecht steckt: System der Mausefallen. Durch die engere Öffnung des letzteren können die Fische zwar zu dem im Hauptkegel befindlichen Köder gelangen, aber nicht wieder hinausschwimmen. Die Reusen werden nahe dem Ufer mit Stangen auf dem Seegrund befestigt und alle paar Tage herausgezogen und ausgeleert.

Harpunen werden beim Fischfang nicht benutzt; ebensowenig wird Gift zur Betäubung der Fische angewandt. Bis zum Abrichten von Schwimmvögeln für den Fischfang, z. B. der Kormorane, die am Tanganikasee häufig sind und deren Gewandtheit im Fischen den Eingeborenen längst bekannt ist, haben es die Neger hier so wenig wie anderwärts in Afrika gebracht.

Bei der Nutzung der freien Tierwelt zur Nahrung muß auch das Fangen oder Sammeln von Heuschrecken und von Termiten erwähnt werden, das die Bahutu und Batwa gern betreiben. Heuschrecken werden in Menge gefangen, wenn die großen Wanderschwärme über das Land ziehen, durch Eindrücken des Brustkastens getötet und in Fett geschmort. Termiten fängt man, indem man die kleineren Termitenhaufen bis zur Bodenfläche abträgt und aus den so geöffneten Löchern und Kammern die Termiten in einen Topf sammelt, aus dem sie dann lebendig in siedendes Fett geworfen werden. Namentlich im steppenhaften Ost-Urundi bemerkte ich oft am Pfad die geöffneten handbreiten, röhrenförmigen, tief in den Boden reichenden Termitengänge, die von den Bahutu ausgeräumt waren. Gewöhnlich wird dann der Bau von den überlebenden Termiten wieder geschlossen, durch einen neuen Erdhaufen überdeckt und von neuem bevölkert.

Den Übergang von der jagdlichen Tiernutzung zur Tierhaltung in Domestikation bildet die Nutzung der wilden Bienen (urujuki) zum Honiggewinn. Das Ursprüngliche war auch hier das Aufsuchen von Bienenstöcken in der Wildnis und das Ausnehmen ihrer Honigwaben. Diesen Brauch üben noch die Batwa gelegentlich, während die Bahutu wie die anderen ostafrikanischen Neger es längst verstanden haben, die wilden Bienen durch Aufhängen von Bienenkörben in geeigneten Blütenbäumen der

Steppe und des Waldes zur Dienstleistung für den Menschen zu veranlassen. Am meisten pflegt man die Bienenzucht in den Außenlandschaften Ujogoma und Ufige, die noch am meisten Wald und Baumsteppe haben. Der Honig ist für die Barundi von großer Wichtigkeit, weil sie kein anderes Süßmittel haben. Vor allem brauchen sie ihn zur Herstellung von Honigbier (s. S. 61) und als Zusatz zu verschiedenen Speisen.

Die Bienenstöcke (umusingo) haben die Gestalt kurzer dicker Röhren von zirka $1^1/_2$ m Länge und $^1/_2$ m Durchmesser und werden entweder aus einem ausgehöhlten Stammstück oder, wo es nur wenig Bäume gibt, aus zusammengebundenen oder zusammengedrehten Papyrus- oder Sorghumstengeln verfertigt (Taf. 25b). Die beiden Rohröffnungen werden durch Scheiben aus Holz oder Strohgeflecht verschlossen, in deren einer ein Flugloch angebracht ist. Auch ein kleines Anflugbrett vor dem Loch fehlt nicht. Sobald ein junger Schwarm mit seiner Königin ausfliegt, wird er mit Staub und Wasser bespritzt, damit er sich nicht weiter verfliegt oder zu Boden fällt. Darauf wird der Schwarm mit der Königin sorgfältig in die herbeigeholte Röhre gekehrt, die Öffnung verschlossen und der Stock auf den Baum oder auf einen Pfahl gehängt, wo das kleine Flugloch geöffnet wird. Alle Stöcke hängen horizontal. Ohne Stiche geht die Prozedur natürlich nicht ab, aber durch Einhüllen des ganzen Körpers in Rindenzeug wissen sich die „Imker" doch ziemlich gut zu schützen.

Einfacher ist später die Entnahme des Honigs aus den Stöcken. Man öffnet nachts, wenn die Bienen nicht fliegen, die Rückseite der Röhre, führt einen glimmenden, stark rauchenden Strohwisch ein, vor dem sich die Bienen in die entgegengesetzte Ecke zusammendrängen, und schneidet die Honigwaben heraus, die dann in einem Topf verwahrt werden (Nr. 19, S. 3). Das Wachs findet mancherlei Verwendung im Hausrat der Barundi; seitdem es aber auch Absatz nach den Handelsplätzen gefunden hat, hat die Bienenzucht in den dem Handel zugänglichen Randgebieten merklich zugenommen. Sie kann und wird zweifellos noch viel größere Ausbreitung gewinnen, wenn erst das Land dem Verkehr erschlossen und größere Absatzmöglichkeit da sein wird. Wachs und Viehhäute sind schon jetzt die wichtigsten Handelsartikel Urundis.

2. Viehzucht

Oft liest man, daß im Mittelpunkt des Wirtschaftslebens der Barundi die Viehzucht stehe. Das ist nicht richtig. Die Barundi sind in erster Linie Ackerbauer, wie alle Bantuneger. Die Viehzucht aber ist der Lebensinhalt der hamitischen Herrscherklasse, der Batussi, und erst durch sie und größtenteils für sie befassen sich auch viele Bahutu mit der Wartung und Pflege des Viehes. Gemeint sind mit „Vieh" das Großvieh, die Rinder (inka), denn mit Kleinvieh, mit Ziegen und Schafen geben sich die Batussi nur wenig ab. Diese waren längst Bestandteile der Wirtschaft der Bantuneger, also hier der Bahutu, ehe die Batussi ins Land kamen, und werden noch heute hauptsächlich von den Bahutu für eigenen Bedarf gezüchtet, aber ihre Zahl ist verhältnismäßig nicht groß.

Die Rinder gehören wie in Ruanda alle der Rasse des großhörnigen Bahimarindes an, das die Batussi aus ihrer nordöstlichen Urheimat auf ihren Südwestwanderungen mitgebracht haben, und dessen Verbreitungsgrenzen sich genau mit denen der Bahima decken (s. S. 158). Es sind mittelgroße Rinder mit geradem Rücken und kleinem oder gar keinem Fettbuckel. Auf dem gedrungenen Kopf sitzen zwei riesige, bis über

1½ m lange, meist lyraförmig ausladende Hörner von oft enormer Basisdicke (Taf. 23). Die mächtigsten Hörner finden sich an sterilen Kühen. Die von mir mitgebrachten hat Prof. Joh. Neumann-Hamburg beschrieben: „Der Schädel des Batussirindes", in den Mitteil. a. d. Deut. Schutzgeb., 1913, Ergänz.-Heft 6, S. 113 ff. Außerdem ist für diese Bahimarinder eine starke Hautwamme zwischen den Beinen charakteristisch.

Am nächsten steht das Bahimarind dem sog. Sangarind Abessiniens, besonders dem Schlag, der von Südabessinien in die Gallaländer reicht, und zu denselben Formen gehören die Großhornrinder bei den alten Ägyptern, bei den Fulbe im Sudan, in Bornu, in Kamerun usw., bei den Stämmen des mittleren Sambesi bis zur Kapkolonie, bei den Hottentotten, in Damara- und Ovambolande, in Süd-Angola; also soweit wie hamitische Wanderungen reichen (Nr. 17, Bd. II, S. 620 ff.; Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, Bd. I, S. 682; Thorbecke, Im Hochland von Mittel-Kamerun, 1. Teil 1914, S. 70, mit guter Photographie eines Großhornstieres). Auch Stuhlmann entscheidet sich in der Frage, ob die Batussi diese Rinder mitgebracht oder in ihren jetzigen Wohnsitzen vorgefunden haben, für die erstere Auffassung (Nr. 28a, S. 695). Ganz Ruanda und Urundi haben Großhornrinder. Im Westen ist die Grenze dieser reinen Bestände der Große Zentralafrikanische Graben, im Süden und Südosten der Abfall des Zwischenseenplateaus nach Udjidji und Uha. Hier im Südosten fand ich die letzten Herden der Großhornrinder in den Urundi-Grenzdörfern westlich des Kisumabaches; östlich davon im niedrigeren Nord-Uha beginnt der Buschwald und die Tsetsefliege.

Die kurzhörnigen, kleineren Zebu- oder Buckelrinder des übrigen Ostafrika gibt es in Urundi und Ruanda gar nicht. Das Bahimarind ist dem Klima und der Lebensweise in den Hochländern des Zwischenseengebietes so angepaßt, daß es nur dort gedeiht. Sobald die Tiere in die tieferen Länder herabkommen, also nach Unjamwesi, dem Victoriasee oder gar in die Küstengebiete, verkümmern sie und gehen bald ein, auch wenn sie nicht von Tsetse gestochen werden. Also ganz wie die Batussi selbst, mit denen sie in einer Art Symbiose leben.

Als einstiges Hirtenvolk reinster Art haben die Batussi für ihre Rinder eine Wertschätzung, die dem Bantuneger ganz fremd ist. Sie geht weit hinaus über die Schätzung des Kapitalwertes, die im Rind nicht einen Fleischlieferanten, einen „Konsumartikel", sondern ein Stammkapital sieht, von dem nur die Zinserträgnisse (Milch, Butter, Zapfblut, Haare) verbraucht werden dürfen, während Kapitalsteile (einzelne Rinder) nur gegen andere hochwertige Vermögensobjekte, z. B. Weiber, eingetauscht werden dürfen. Die Rinder haben vielmehr hohen Affektionswert für den Mutussi. Sein ganzes Sinnen und Trachten dreht sich um die Rinder; sie sind ihm der Rückhalt seiner sozialen Ordnung, ja sogar Gegenstand einer Verehrung, die vielfach in die religiöse Sphäre übergreift, und demgemäß auch eines Kultus, der voll von Symbolen und mystischen Beziehungen ist. Die oberste Gottheit Imana ist in erster Linie Schutzherr der Rinder. Ähnliches finden wir in Ostafrika auch bei dem hamito-nilotischen Hirtenvolk der Massai. In allem, was das Rindvieh angeht, hat die Frau nicht mitzureden. Die gesamte Aufzucht und Wartung des Rindes, auch das Melken, ist Sache des Mannes. Zwar haben die Bahutu auch hierbei alle schwere Arbeit zu verrichten, wie das Reinigen der Tiere, das Hüten des Viehes auf dem Weidegang, das Melken der Kühe usw., aber der Mutussi tut die feinere Arbeit: er wählt die Zuchttiere aus, er ist Vieharzt, er bestimmt die Tiere zum Schlachten und Opfern, und diese Arbeit verrichtet er mit der ganzen Liebe des Sportsmannes zu seinem Sporttier.

Die Rinder des ganzen Landes gehören de jure dem König (oder dem Oberhäuptling), wie in Ruanda. Dieser überläßt einen großen Teil den Batussiunterhäuptlingen zum Nießbrauch, und von diesen wieder werden kleine Herden und Einzeltiere an die

niederen Batussi und an einzelne Bahutu zur Pflege, Weiterzucht und Nutznießung gegeben. Eine bestimmte geringe Anzahl aus der jungen Aufzucht verbleibt den Pflegern als unwiderrufliches Lehen.

Die beinahe mystische Hochschätzung, die den Rindern zuteil wird, geht in gewissem Grad auch auf die zeitweiligen Inhaber, Pfleger und Züchter der Rinder über. Wer mit Vieh belehnt wird, ist in eine höhere Sphäre gehoben worden. Der Muhutu, dem Rinder zum Nießbrauch und zur Zucht überlassen werden, wird dadurch gewissermaßen geadelt, er braucht keine Frondienste mehr zu leisten, kein Feld mehr für seinen Herrn zu bebauen. So hat der Rinderbesitz eine soziale Bedeutung, die nicht minder groß ist als die wirtschaftliche. Es sind nicht nur religiöse, sondern auch sozialpolitische Gründe, aus denen man in Urundi wie in Ruanda die alten und kranken Rinder so lange leben läßt, wie sie noch leben können, denn es kann immer noch jemand damit belehnt und durch solche Standeserhöhung enger an die Batussifürsten und den König gebunden werden. Der riesige Rinderbesitz des Königs ist auch aus diesem Grund eine starke Stütze der Batussiherrschaft.

Alle Rinder werden im Weidegang gefüttert (Taf. 23), Stallfütterung gibt es nur für ältere Kälber und für kranke Tiere. Nachts stehen die Rinder innerhalb der Umzäunung des Gehöftes. Sobald sie des Morgens nach Sonnenaufgang gereinigt und die Kühe gemolken sind, wird die Herde zur Weide getrieben (kwahura inka), deren Lage sich nach den Jahreszeiten und Futterverhältnissen richtet, und bleibt dort bis gegen Abend. Jedes sechste oder achte Rind hat eine Glocke (insogera) aus einem zusammengebogenen Stück Eisenblech (Taf. 45) oder aus Holz; in manchen Gegenden aber gibt es gar keine Viehglocken. Zweimal täglich wird die Herde in das nächste Bachtal zur Tränke getrieben. Wenn das Tal kein fließendes Wasser, sondern nur Grundwasser in gegrabenen Löchern hat, wie vielfach in den Trockenmonaten, werden neben den Wasserlöchern lange Tröge aus Lehm gemacht, in welche das Tränkwasser eingeschöpft wird. Die Hügelhänge sind durch das weidende Vieh, das beim Abgrasen möglichst in der bequemen Horizontale am Hang entlang schreitet, in zahllose kleine Stufen und Pfade zertreten, wie in unseren Alpen.

In den Monaten nach der Regenzeit kann sich das Vieh am grünen Grase satt fressen und sieht dann ziemlich schmuck aus, aber in den Trockenmonaten, wenn alles Gras graubraun verdorrt ist, werden die Rinder so mager, daß man alle Rippen zählen kann. Ich habe in den Monaten September und Oktober in Urundi fast nur stark abgemagertes Vieh gesehen. Bloß die Herden der Häuptlinge, denen die besten Weiden vorbehalten sind, behalten auch in der Trockenzeit ihr gutes Aussehen. Im allgemeinen hat man den Eindruck, daß in Urundi wie in Ruanda, die ja beide fast ausschließlich Grasländer sind, die gute, nahrhafte Weide doch eine recht beschränkte Ausdehnung hat. In den sterilen, dünnbewohnten Quarzitgebieten des Ostens wandert man tagelang über Hügelzüge und Flächen, wo der Graswuchs so schlecht ist, daß sich für die Eingebornen das Abbrennen gar nicht lohnt. Und da in den bewohnten Gebieten Mittel- und West-Urundis die Höhenrücken und die Talböden von den Gehöften und den Feldern besetzt sind, soweit die Täler nicht von Papyrussumpf erfüllt werden, bleiben für die Viehweide in der Hauptsache nur die Abhänge der Hügelzüge übrig. Da auf diesen aber alljährlich die dürren Grasflächen niedergebrannt werden, um baldigen grünen Nachwuchs zu erzielen und das dem Vieh schädliche Ungeziefer zu vertilgen, kann sich die Qualität, der Futterwert

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

des Grases, nicht bessern. Und wenn sich die Herden stark vermehren, wie in den Nordwestlandschaften Urundis und in den meisten Gegenden Ruandas, so werden die Weiden bald überstockt. Kraftfutter aber, das den Mangel guter Weide ausgleichen könnte, wird von den Batussi und Bahutu nicht gebaut. Infolgedessen leiden die meisten Rinder an Unterernährung, und wird dann einmal eine Seuche eingeschleppt oder an Ort und Stelle durch infektiöses Ungeziefer u. dgl. verursacht, so fallen ihr die wenig widerstandsfähigen Tiere in Massen zum Opfer. Für die überlebenden aber genügt nun die vorhandene Weide wieder auf lange Zeit hinaus, bis die Herden wieder zu groß geworden sind, die Tiere deshalb wieder nicht genug zu fressen finden und die Auslese durch Seuchen von neuem beginnt. Diese Lage der Dinge wird sich erst bessern, wenn durch Europäer rationelle Viehzuchtsmethoden eingeführt sein werden.

Die Tierpflege wird tagtäglich sorgsam betrieben. In den Hürden wird der heimgekehrten Herde jeden Abend frische Streu gegeben, die Tiere werden mit Strohwischen sauber abgerieben und anfitzende Zecken oder andere Schmarotzer abgesucht. Die Euter werden jedesmal nach dem Melken gewaschen. Während die Rinder in den Kralen stehen oder an den Tränken saufen, werden sie sehr von Stechfliegen belästigt und beunruhigt; auch die Menschen haben von diesen blutgierigen Quälern zu leiden. Darum werden in den Kralen und bei den Viehtränken Feuer angezündet, deren Rauch die Fliegen vertreibt. Allerwärts sieht man morgens und abends solche Rauchsäulen aus den Gehöften aufsteigen. Von Zeit zu Zeit bekommen die Tiere salzhaltige Asche zu lecken. Auch auf der Weide ist der Hirte stets um seine Herde bemüht. Durch schrille Pfiffe weiß er ihr allerlei Befehle zu geben. Die Tiere sind infolge der guten Behandlung meist sehr gutmütig, sie stoßen nicht und halten still, wenn irgend etwas mit ihnen vorgenommen wird; im letzteren Fall pflegt einer der Hirten das Tier mit einem Rohr oder Stock sanft zwischen den hinteren Oberschenkeln zu streicheln. Mit ihren riesigen Hörnern richten die Rinder auch untereinander viel weniger Unheil an, als man erwarten könnte. Selbst wenn sie bei dem Aus- oder Heimtrieb auf den Wegen sich eng aneinanderdrängen, hört man wohl ein andauerndes dumpfes Klappern und Krachen der aneinanderschlagenden Hörner — das charakteristische Geräusch einer wandernden Urundiherde —, aber sehr selten kommen gegenseitige Verletzungen vor. Bei schweren Verletzungen und ernstlicher Erkrankung des Viehes wird, wenn der Besitzer nicht selbst zu helfen weiß — was er meistens versteht —, ein heilkundiger Mutussi oder Muhutu als Tierarzt gerufen, der sich für seine Hilfe dann ordentlich bezahlen läßt (Taf. 25a). Gegen epidemische Viehseuchen, namentlich die Rinderpest, sind die Batussi wie alle Afrikaner ganz machtlos, und furchtbar sind infolgedessen die Verheerungen, die eine einzige Epidemie im Viehbestand anrichtet. So hat die Rinderpest, die 1888 das ganze Zwischenseengebiet nebst Uganda und Unjoro heimsuchte, $^2/_3$ aller Rinder getötet, und da die Bahima hauptsächlich von Milch, Blut und Fleisch leben, so sind angeblich auch fast $^2/_3$ der Bahima Hungers gestorben (Nr. 17, Bd. II, S. 626).

Sind die Barundi gute Viehpfleger, so kann man sie doch eigentlich nicht gute Viehzüchter nennen, wie es oft geschieht. Dasselbe gilt von den Banjaruanda. Der Viehbestand leidet unter dem Mangel an Zufuhr frischen Blutes, unter der jahrhundertelang betriebenen Inzucht. Zwar nehmen die Barundi wie die Banjaruanda die Zuchtstiere stets aus einer fremden Herde, um Degeneration zu vermeiden, aber es ist doch immer nur ein Wechsel innerhalb desselben großhörnigen Schlages

und keine Blutauffrischung durch andere Rassen. Und da auch die meisten Bullen nicht verschnitten werden, obwohl man das Kastrieren kennt und ein besonderes Wort (kuschahura) dafür hat, so gibt es in den Herden oft schwache Bullen, die die Rasse verschlechtern. Auch der Umstand, daß infolge der wachsenden Handelsnachfrage nach Rindshäuten mehr Bullen aufgezogen werden, die man früher jung zu schlachten bzw. zu opfern pflegte, ist der Rassenverbesserung nicht förderlich. Die Degeneration zeigt sich namentlich auch darin, daß es auffallend viele sterile Kühe in Urundi wie in Ruanda gibt. Man erkennt sie in einer Herde sofort daran, daß sie die größten Hörner haben. Es scheint fast, als ob der Kräfteüberschuß, der sich nicht im Hervorbringen von Nachkommenschaft ausgeben kann, sich im Riesenwachstum der Hörner Luft mache. In wirklich guter Verfassung sind, wie in Ruanda, durch fortwährende Auslese und Austausch eigentlich nur die Herden des Königs und der Großbatwale. Es gibt weiße, braune, scheckige Herden. Das ist aber Luxusvieh, das für die allgemeinen Verhältnisse nicht maßgebend ist. Die für die Luxusherden des Königs oft gehörte Bezeichnung „heilige Rinder" ist ebenso unrichtig wie für die Herden des Musinga von Ruanda; auch insofern stimmt es nicht, als ihnen nicht einmal die Stiere für die Opfer entnommen werden. Dagegen gibt es heilige Rinder, die besonders für Opfer und zur Mitwirkung bei der Königswahl gehalten werden, und andre, die einem der Hauptgötter, Imana, Riangombe, Rikiranga, geweiht sind (s. S. 121, 184).

Wenn ein Kalb geboren ist, wird es mit Butter abgerieben. Sobald sich die Hörner zeigen, reißt der Besitzer die deckende Oberhaut mit seinen Zähnen ab und reibt die Hörnchen mit Butter ein, damit sie tüchtig wachsen. Das Kalb bekommt einen Namen je nach seiner Abstammung, Farbe oder sonstigen Eigenschaft oder auch in Erinnerung an ein verstorbenes Familienmitglied, an einen Häuptling, König usw. Sechs Monate werden die Kälber in der Hürde eingestellt, ehe sie auf die Weide kommen, und dann weidet das Jungvieh gesondert für sich. Früh und abends vor dem Melken der Kühe werden die Kälber zum Saugen herangelassen. Will eine Kuh ihr Kalb nicht saugen lassen, so reibt man sowohl das Euter wie auch das Kalb mit einem salzigen Wasser ein, worauf die Kuh das Kalb beleckt und sich das Lecken und Saugen des Kalbes am Euter gefallen läßt. Um ein Kalb zu entwöhnen, schmiert man die Zitzen mit Kuhmist ein (Nr. 19, S. 423).

Soll die Kuh gemolken (kukamma) werden, so läßt man erst das Kalb einige Augenblicke saugen. Dann kauert der Murundi am Euter nieder, hält mit der Linken das Milchgefäß unter und melkt mit der Rechten, wobei ziemlich viel Milch (amata) vorbeispritzt, da das Gefäß eine enge Öffnung hat. Einer unruhigen oder ausschlagenden Kuh werden beim Melken die Beine zusammengebunden. Wenn das Kalb stirbt oder geschlachtet wird, gibt die Kuh keine Milch mehr. In diesem Fall wird, wie in Ruanda, Ankole und anderen Bahimaländern, die Kuh dadurch zu weiterer Milchabgabe veranlaßt, daß man ihr das mit Stroh ausgestopfte Fell ihres Kalbes oder auch nur ein auf einen Stock gehängtes Stück des Felles, vor die Nase hält (Nr. 22, S. 287; Nr. 48, S. 141; Nr. 27, S. 95). Durch diesen plumpen, aber frommen Betrug lassen sich die Kühe gewöhnlich täuschen, belecken das Kalbfell und geben weiter Milch. Die Milchmenge der Großhornrinder ist überall im Zwischenseengebiet immer recht gering; selten mehr als 2—3 Liter täglich, früh und abends. Die Milchgefäße (itschjansi) sind stets aus Holz und haben meist eine zylindrische Form mit einem gerundeten Deckel. Ob in dieser Gestalt, wie v. d. Burgt

meint, die Nachbildung eines Stierphallus zu sehen sei, „als wäre dieses Emblem untrennbar von ihrem Kult", lasse ich dahingestellt sein. Täglich wird das Milchgefäß mit frischem Kuhurin (amaganga) ausgespült, von Zeit zu Zeit aber mit Menschenurin „gereinigt" (Nr. 19, S. 423). Möglicherweise liegt auch in diesem Brauch eine Kultbedeutung neben der praktischen Erfahrung, daß Urin eine leichte desinfizierende Wirkung ausübt. Wie dem auch sei, jedenfalls hat dieser auch bei vielen anderen Stämmen bestehende Brauch zur Folge, daß die Milch einen für europäische Nerven ekelerregenden Geruch und Geschmack hat. Will der Europäer genießbare Milch haben, so muß er sie direkt in seine eigenen Gefäße melken lassen.

Die Barundi trinken die Milch, wie die Banjaruanda und andere Bahima, entweder frisch oder geronnen als Dickmilch, aber niemals gekochte Milch. Ein großer Teil wird zum Buttern aufgehoben. Man läßt die Milch zu diesem Zweck 3 bis 4 Tage in einem großen Holzgefäße stehen, bis sie gerinnt, worauf sie in einem großen Flaschenkürbis (ikisabo) geschüttelt wird, bis sich die Butterflocken ausscheiden, die mit dem Löffel herausgefischt, zusammengepreßt und in einem Tongefäß, das mit frischen Bananenblättern zugestopft wird, verwahrt werden. Die abgegossene Buttermilch wird gern getrunken. Das Buttern ist bezeichnenderweise nicht Männerarbeit, wie alles andere, was mit den Rindern zusammenhängt, sondern Weiberarbeit, weil die Butter nicht als ein von der Kuh kommendes Genuß- und Nährmittel betrachtet wird, sondern lediglich als ein kosmetisches Mittel. Denn kein Murundi ißt Butter, niemand verwendet sie zum Backen, Braten, Kochen, sondern nur zum Einreiben des Körpers (s. oben S. 28). So tun auch die Banjaruanda, Banjamororó, Banjankole und andere Hamiten.

Mit Vorliebe genießen die Barundi und vor allem die Batussi Rindsblut. Sie verfahren dabei wie die Banjaruanda und ähnlich wie die Massai. Jeder Stier wird etwa alle drei Monate einmal zur Ader gelassen. Dazu benutzt man einen ad hoc hergestellten Pfeil mit kurzem breiten runden Blatt, das nicht tief in den Körper eindringen kann (Textbild 10). Der Pfeil wird, nachdem mehrere Männer den Stier bei den Hörnern gepackt haben, mit einem Bogen aus nächster Nähe in die Halsader geschossen, so daß das Blut stark herausspritzt. Der Pfeil fällt sofort ab, und das Blut wird in einem Tontopf aufgefangen. Wenn 2 bis 4 Liter entflossen sind, schließt sich die Wunde von selbst. Ein Teil des Blutes wird sofort warm getrunken, der größere Rest auf Feuer so lange gekocht, bis er fest geworden ist, wie in unseren Blutwürsten. Dann wird Salz, Bohnen, Erbsen oder andere Zutaten beigemengt und das wohlschmeckende Gericht (ikiremve) gierig verspeist (Nr. 19, S. 424).

Fig. 10. Pfeil zum Aderlaß der Rinder. (Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Nr. 6546.)

Viel seltener ist begreiflicherweise der Genuß von Rindfleisch (injama). Da die Rinder nicht Nahrungsmittel, sondern Kapital sind, gibt es Rindfleisch nur zu essen, wenn ein Tier gefallen oder wenn es zum Opfern geschlachtet worden ist (vgl. S. 136). Bloß die Häuptlinge können sich von Zeit zu Zeit einmal den Luxus leisten, ein Rind zum Essen zu schlachten, und zwar sind es dann fast immer alte Stiere oder sterile Kühe. Niemals werden milchende Kühe oder

Stammtiere geschlachtet. Rindfleisch ist das einzige Fleisch, das die Batussi essen. Das gleiche gilt für alle Bahima von Ankole (Nr. 26, S. 146) bis nach Usipa. Die Bahutu, namentlich die am Tanganikasee, essen außerdem auch gelegentlich, aber selten, Hammel- und Ziegenfleisch, die Batwa auch Antilopen, Gazellen, Frankoline, Perlhühner, Enten u. a., aber ebensowenig Hühnerfleisch wie die Batussi und Bahutu (Nr. 19, S. 396). Das Rindfleisch wird entweder roh, möglichst noch warm, verzehrt oder am Feuer an Holzstäbe gesteckt und gebraten, sehr selten gekocht. Die fleischgewöhnten Europäer bekommen auf ihren Reisen durch Urundi und Ruanda immer nur sterile Kühe oder fehlerhafte Stiere zu kaufen oder als Gastgeschenk; und auch dann will es die Sitte, daß man dem Gastgeber oder Verkäufer eine Hinterkeule, die Haut und die Hörner zurückgibt: die Keule zum Essen, die Hörner als Kultgegenstand für die Hütte und die Haut als Lagerdecke oder zur Anfertigung von Kleidern, besonders der Weiber und der Batwa, oder zum Verkauf an die Händler.

Lebendes Vieh in größerer Menge zu exportieren, ist nach allen Erfahrungen unmöglich, da es bald nach dem Verlassen der Hochländer an Futterwechsel, Tsetsestich und anderen Infektionen, woran leider Ostafrika reich ist, eingeht. Jetzt kommen ziemlich viel getrocknete Rindshäute aus Urundi und Ruanda in Usumbura und Bukoba zum Versand, da die Nachfrage groß ist; aber die Häute stammen fast alle von gestorbenen Tieren oder von unbrauchbaren Stieren oder von sterilen Kühen, die deshalb jetzt in viel größerer Zahl geschlachtet werden als früher. Da andere Rinder aus den vorhin genannten Gründen nur selten geschlachtet werden, so liegt hierin für die Zukunft eine starke Beschränkung des Haut- und Fellexportes.

Zu den „abergläubischen", mit der Viehzucht verknüpften Bräuchen, deren praktischer Kern und Sinn nicht mehr erkennbar ist, gehört vor allem, daß der Murundi niemals Milch heiß machen oder gar kochen darf. Würde er es doch tun, so würde die Kuh, von der die Milch stammt, ein wundes Euter kriegen oder gar die Milch ganz verlieren. Auch bekäme die Kuh Geschwüre am Euter, wenn der Murundi an dem Tag, an welchem er Milch trinkt, Erbsen oder Erdnüsse äße; ein Verbot, das offenbar auch diätetische Gründe hat. Unverständlich dagegen ist wieder die Vorstellung, daß jemand, der eine Wunde am Bein oder anderswo hat, nicht beim Kalben einer Kuh zusehen darf; sonst würden seine Wunden viel größer werden (Nr. 19, S. 423).

Das ist sicher, daß die Barundi den von den Batussi importierten Glauben an besonders enge Beziehungen des Rindes zu der Hauptgottheit Imana haben. Das Rind ist das dem Imana geweihte, vom Imana „besessene" Geschöpf. Anstatt Imana wird auch oft Riangombe genannt. Anderseits wird berichtet, daß auch der „Teufel", also Rikiranga, der oberste der bösen Geister (s. S. 121), bei Mujaga eine Rinderherde mit zwei ihm geweihten Stieren besitze (Afrikabote 1904, S. 123). Wie weit aber diese religiösen Vorstellungen über die Rinder reichen, ist ganz unbekannt. Schließlich sei noch bemerkt, daß in den umständlichen Begrüßungen sehr oft die Formel „ischo-scho-amascho", d. h. „Rind, Rinderherde", wiederholt wird. In diesem echten Hirtengruß sieht v. d. Burgt, da alle Begrüßungen der Barundi einen religiösen Charakter hätten (s. S. 95, Begrüßungsarten), eine Art Beschwörung des Hauptgottes Imana, dem Begrüßten alles Glück zuteil werden zu lassen, als dessen Inbegriff eben das Rind gilt (Nr. 19, S. 530). Das ist möglich und sehr wahrscheinlich, wenn man den heiligen Ernst beobachtet, mit der die lange Be-

grüßungszeremonie von den Beteiligten vollzogen wird. Aber es ist zu bedenken, daß auch bei anderen ostafrikanischen Negerstämmen höchst feierliche lange Begrüßungen Brauch sind, die absolut keinen religiösen Inhalt haben, sondern nur aus dem allgemeinen Negerbedürfnis umständlicher Ansprache und würdevoller Begegnung hervorgegangen sind. Der „Rindergruß" ist auch, in kürzerer Form, den Banjaruanda eigen, die ihn ebenfalls von ihren Batusi übernommen haben. Selbst die Batwa, die doch nie Rinder besitzen, haben ihn sich zu eigen gemacht.

Nach dem Rind ist das wertvollste Haustier das Schaf (intama; Taf. 24a). Trotzdem ist es in Urundi weniger zahlreich als die Ziegen, weil seine Aufzucht schwerer und seine Nachkommenschaft geringer ist als die der Ziegen. Die Barundi haben zwei Schafrassen: ein mittelgroßes Wollschaf ohne Fettschwanz, und ein größeres Fettschwanzschaf; beide scheckig oder weiß, selten schwarz. Beide werden nur der Felle wegen gezüchtet, die entweder für eigenen Bedarf (Umhang, Schlafunterdecken usw.) verwendet werden oder im Handel zum Austausch gegen eiserne Hacken, Salz und andern Bedarf. In kleiner Zahl dienen sie als Opfer- und Orakeltiere. Das Fleisch wird weder von den Batusi noch von den Bahutu gegessen oder doch nur ausnahmsweise von Bahutu, aber gern von den Batwa.

Viel häufiger sind in Urundi die Ziegen (impene), eine hochbeinige, ziemlich kurzhaarige Rasse mit kurzem scheckigen oder gelbgrauen Haar (Taf. 24a). Der Schlag ist häufig, widerstandsfähig, sehr anspruchslos und sehr fruchtbar; ein Wurf mit 3 oder 4 Zicklein ist keine Seltenheit. Ziegen und Schafe werden oft zusammen gehütet; wo aber der Graswuchs schlecht ist, finden nur die Ziegen noch genügend Futter, während die Schafe mit den Rindern auf bessere Weideflächen getrieben werden müssen. Ziegenfleisch essen die Batusi ebensowenig wie Schaffleisch, auch die Bahutu nur sehr selten, aber Ziegenfelle sind ein wichtiger Artikel im Tauschhandel der Barundi, und deshalb sind seit Zulassung der Händler (1906) die Ziegenbestände furchtbar dezimiert worden. Zu Opferzwecken werden Ziegen nicht benutzt.

Das einzige Hausgeflügel der Barundi ist das Huhn (inkoko), dies aber auch nur in kleiner Anzahl. Man kann tagelang durch die Gehöfte Mittel-Urundis wandern, ohne ein einziges Huhn zu sehen. Weit mehr gibt es in Ussige, im Tanganjikagebiet, wo es ausschließlich Handelsware ist; es wird an die dort von der Araberzeit her und gegenwärtig durch die europäische Kolonisation zahlreichen mohammedanischen Küstenneger verkauft, die gern Hühner essen. Nicht nur Batusi und Bahutu, sondern auch die Batwa verabscheuen Hühnerfleisch; es ist ein uraltes, wahrscheinlich totemistisches Speiseverbot. Die Rasse ist die allgemeine ostafrikanische hochbeinige, vorwiegend schwarze. Gefüttert werden sie gar nicht, sondern sie müssen sich ihre Nahrung selbst suchen und sind deshalb immer mager. Ihre einzige Verwendung im großen Inner-Urundi ist wie in Ruanda die zum Opfern und Orakeln. Geopfert werden sie, wie Schafe und Rinder, den Manen verstorbener Familienmitglieder oder den Geistern Imana, Kiranga, Ntongombe (s. S. 135), bestimmte Hühner sind auch dem Imana geweiht (Nr. 19, S. 453). Zur Befragung des Orakels werden die Hühner geschlachtet und aus der Farbe und Lage ihrer Eingeweide die Zukunft oder Ungewißheiten der Gegenwart erkannt. Das besorgen die Zauberer oder Medizinmänner, die daraus natürlich lesen, was ihnen am besten paßt. Das Hühneressen der Europäer und mohammedanischen Küstenneger ist den Barundi ein Gruel. Ebenso verabscheuen sie das Essen von Eiern, und zwar wahrscheinlich auch aus totemistischen Gründen und nicht,

weil sie in den Eiern nur Exkremente der Hühner sehen, wie so oft angegeben wird und sie zuweilen selbst angeben; denn sie wissen natürlich sehr gut, daß im Ei der Keim des Hühnchens enthalten ist, der Eiesser also schon das Hühnchen ißt und damit gegen das Speiseverbot verstößt.

Einen anderen „abergläubischen" Brauch erwähnt v. d. Burgt: Wenn ein Huhn seine Eier auffrißt oder seine Küken tötet, wirft man die Eierschalen auf einen Kreuzweg, damit es das Huhn nicht wieder tue. Barundi, die den Weg passieren, hüten sich, die Schalen zu zertreten, da der Unvorsichtige dadurch krank würde (Nr. 19, S. 453).

An letzter Stelle ist unter den Haustieren der Hund (imbwa) zu nennen. Sein Daseinszweck erschöpft sich damit, daß er allen Unrat wegfrißt und daß Erwachsene und Kinder mit ihm spielen und ihn auch malträtieren. Daß er bei seltenen Gelegenheiten auch auf Treibjagden verwandt wird, wurde schon oben erwähnt (S. 36). Es sind körperlich und geistig höchst üble Köter, von denen man nicht begreift, daß sie in der langen Domestikation, die ihnen doch zugeschrieben wird, nicht bessere Fortschritte gemacht haben. Vielleicht ist ihre Domestikation gar nicht so alt, wie man annimmt. Was sollte dann freilich die einheimische wilde Stammform sein? Daß sie „tiennent du loup" (dem Wolf ähnein), wie v. d. Burgt sagt (Nr. 19, S. 104), kann nur ein Versehen des Beobachters sein, denn sie haben sehr viel mehr mit dem Schakal als mit dem Wolf gemein. Vielleicht ist der Schakal der Stammvater. Der Stamm hat sich aber in zwei verschiedene Rassen geteilt, falls nicht die eine Rasse eingeboren, die andere erst später, wahrscheinlich von den Bahima, eingeführt ist. Die eine ist gelbbraun und hat aufrecht stehende Ohren, die andere ist schwarz, weiß oder gefleckt und hat Hängeohren, aber auch Mischformen sind häufig. Beide Arten haben nur wenig Behang am Schwanz und fallen beim Trablaufen durch die steifen, stoßenden Beinbewegungen auf. Dieselben beiden Arten oder Varietäten habe ich auch in Kisiba und Ruanda verbreitet gefunden, und zwar werden sie in Ruanda in größerer Zahl gezüchtet als in Urundi, wohl weil sie dort mehr Verwendung zur Jagd finden als hier. Da die Hunde nicht gefüttert werden, haben sie selbst für ihren Unterhalt zu sorgen und sind unter diesem Zwang Omnivoren geworden. Sie sind immer hungrig und sehr mager, fressen sich aber zum Platzen voll, wenn sie einmal genug Freßbares finden. Die Eigenschaft, die uns an ihnen am meisten anwidert, den Barundi aber als ein Vorzug erscheint, ist die, daß sie den Menschenkot wegfressen. In dem Land, in dem es keine Schweine und nur wenige aasfressende Vögel gibt, die anderwärts in Ostafrika das Abfuhrgeschäft besorgen, sind also die Hunde hygienisch von Wichtigkeit. Sonst haben sie absolut keine sozialen Tugenden; sie sind bissig, feige, diebisch, sehr schlechte Wächter und miserable Kameraden. Groß ist aber ihre Fruchtbarkeit; unter 8 bis 10 Jungen in einem Wurf tut es selten eine Hündin. Es wird gewöhnlich behauptet, daß die Eingebornenhunde in Ostafrika nicht bellen, sondern nur heulen. Das ist nicht ganz zutreffend; sie bellen zwar nicht in kurzen, reinen Lauten, wie unsere Haushunde, aber sie heulen auch nicht bloß, sondern ihr Lautwerden ist stets eine Verbindung von beiden, indem auf einen langgezogenen Heulton 2 oder 3 kurze, ineinander verschwimmende Beller folgen, dann wieder ein langer Heuler und so fort.

Andere Haustiere als die genannten gibt es nicht in Urundi und in Ruanda.

3. Ackerbau

Trotz der Wichtigkeit, mit der in Urundi wie in Ruanda die Rinderzucht betrieben wird, ist die Grundlage des Wirtschaftslebens doch der Ackerbau (kurima). Acker-

bauer sind fast nur die alteingesessenen Bahutu und ein Teil der metamorphosierten Batwa, während die Batussi bei der Bodenbestellung nur selten mit Hand anlegen, sondern die Bahutu für sich, für die Batussi, arbeiten lassen. Bloß die niederste, ärmste Klasse der Batussi arbeitet auch auf dem Feld ordentlich mit. Der Ackerbau ist hier nicht das Arbeitsgebiet der Frau allein, sondern Männer, Weiber und Kinder beteiligen sich gleichermaßen daran. Nur bei den Batwa, also dem ältesten Bevölkerungselement, ist die Feldarbeit ausschließlich Weiberarbeit (Nr. 19, S. 19); sie sagen aber, daß sie die Bodenbestellung erst von den Bahutu gelernt hätten.

Das einzige Ackergerät ist die eiserne Hacke (ischuka, igembe), welche die in Ostafrika bekannte Gestalt eines Kleeblattes oder eines „gestielten Herzens" hat (s. Taf. 46). Ihre weite Verbreitung durch das ganze Zwischenseengebiet bringt es mit sich, daß die Feldhacke der Hauptgegenstand des internen Handels ist, ein Wertmesser, ein Geldstück. Da der Bedarf durch die Barundi- und Batwaschmiede nicht gedeckt wird, werden viele Hacken aus Ulpa, Usámbiro, Uwinsa usw. eingeführt. Das Blatt der Hacke ist ca. 30 cm lang und steckt mittels seines eisernen Dornes unter spitzem Winkel in einem Holzstiel, dessen keulenförmiges Ende zu diesem Zweck mit glühendem Eisen durchlocht ist. Der Stiel ist meist so kurz (zirka $^3/_4$ m), daß der Feldarbeiter immer in tief gebückter Stellung hacken muß; gewöhnlich wird die Hacke nur mit der Rechten gehandhabt, während die Linke die ausgehackten Steine oder Unkräuter aufliest und die Feldfrüchte aufsammelt. Doch sind auch Hacken mit $1^1/_4$ m langen Stielen im Gebrauch. Im nördlichen Nuanda und am Kiwusee gibt es vorwiegend solche langstieligen Hacken, die mit beiden Händen aus weniger gebückter Stellung geführt werden.

Um die Löcher für das Stecken von Bohnen, Erbsen, Mais und andern Früchten zu machen, benutzt man zuweilen ein hierzu abgebrochenes Stück Rohr oder Holz, ohne daß dieses die Bedeutung eines ständigen Gerätes, eines „Grabstockes", hätte, denn meist bohrt man die Löcher im weichen Erdboden mit dem Finger. Dagegen ist ein ständiges Gerät das kurze Beil (ischenjo) in Form eines Kreissegmentes mit dem der Boden von Gebüsch gelärt wird, und das charakteristische gebogene Zwischenseenhaumesser (umuhoro; s. Taf. 46), das man schon in der Hand des altägyptischen Erntegottes sieht; es ist auch hier Erntemesser, neben vielen anderen Verwendungen.

Der Feldbau der Barundi ist also lediglich Hackbau, ihre Feldfrüchte nur Hackfrüchte. Ihre Hauptfrüchte sind Bananen und Bohnen; die Bananen gedeihen überall, aber gut nur bis zur Höhe von zirka 2000 m, die Bohnen noch etwas höher, bis zuletzt Erbsen, die im Niederland ganz fehlen und im höheren Inner-Urundi sehr häufig sind, die Alleinherrschaft in den höchsten Lagen führen. Mais wird im Tanganikagebiet und im Russissital reichlich angebaut, im Innern aber viel weniger, als man gemeinhin annimmt; im trockenen Ost-Urundi, wo die Bananen sehr zurücktreten, wird oft Mais untermischt mit Bohnen auf den künstlich bewässerten Talböden kultiviert. Auch Erdnüsse sind im Russissi- und Tanganikagebiet häufig, im Hochland des Innern aber spärlich. Bataten gibt es überall, wo reichlich Wasser vorhanden ist, also im inneren Hochland wenig und nur in den Talgründen. Yams werden sehr wenig gebaut. Maniok dagegen, der ein gewisses Maß von Trockenheit und Wärme braucht, ist in den niederen Landstrichen und in den trockenen Quarzitgegenden des Ostens verbreitet, in den Bergen des Westens dagegen nur in den unteren, wärmeren Regionen. Sorghum gibt es in ganz Urundi, wenn auch nirgends sehr viel, am meisten im trockeneren, quarzitischen Ost-Urundi; Eleusine sehr wenig und meist in hohen Lagen. Reis aber wird nur an den

Tanganika-Ufern etwas angebaut und zwar von Nicht-Barundi, die ihn von Osten importiert haben; den Barundi ist der Reisbau fremd. Tabak wird überall in Urundi kultiviert, aber nur in einer Art primitiver Gartenkultur neben den Hütten, der auch die Riziusstaude angehört. Die Ölpalme schließlich wächst nur an den Tanganika-Ufern und an den zum See abfallenden Westhängen des Randgebirges.

Betrachten wir die wichtigsten Kulturgewächse und ihre Anbaumethoden im einzelnen genauer.

Die Banane (ikitoke) wird in Urundi wie in Ruanda in mehreren Varietäten kultiviert — in Urundi unterscheidet man 15 —, die in Geschmack und Verwendung recht verschieden sind. Ob es in den Bergen wilde Formen (musa ensete) gibt, ist eine offne Frage. Jedenfalls habe ich nicht selten im wilden Busch Bananen gesehen, die wohl verwilderte waren; sie tragen nach Angabe der Barundi ungenießbare Früchte und heißen ikiribu. Auch in Nord-Urundi bei der Mission Marienfee hat sie v. d. Burgt beobachtet. Überall, wo in Ostafrika Bananen als Hauptnährmittel gebaut werden, macht die Eigenschaft der Bananenkultur, daß die Pflanzen durch Wurzelschößlinge sich erneuern oder durch Stecklinge, die nicht weit transportiert werden können, vermehrt werden, und daß der einmal um die Gehöfte geschaffne Bananenhain von langer Dauer ist, die Bananenpflanzer zu außerordentlich seßhaften Stämmen. Anderseits erzieht die große Leichtigkeit der Bananenkultur die Volksstämme, die fast nur von Bananen leben, wie die Randbevölkerung des Victoriasees, zur Trägheit. Kulturfortschritte durch Arbeit werden dort der Bevölkerung nur durch ihre, den ebenfalls hamitischen Bahindageschlechtern angehörenden Häuptlinge (Kabigi, Mugarawa und andere) aufgezwungen. In Urundi und Ruanda dagegen, wo das Klima und die Oberflächengestalt des Landes die Menschen nötigt, außer Bananen auch noch eine ganze Reihe anderer Hackfrüchte zu bauen, die zum Teil sehr viel Arbeit verlangen, kann die beschränkte Bananenkultur keine träge machende Wirkung ausüben. Immerhin sieht man es den gegenüber anderen Fruchtfeldern stets vernachlässigt aussehenden Bananenpflanzungen an, daß sie auch ohne viel Arbeit gedeihen. Die nach der Abnahme der Fruchtbüschel absterbenden Stämme werden gewöhnlich noch lange stehen gelassen, die vertrockneten großen Blätter hängen gelassen, das Unkraut nur entfernt, wenn es sehr dicht wuchert. Vielfach gibt man sich nicht die Mühe, neue Stecklinge zu setzen, sondern läßt junge Schosse aus dem Wurzelstock austreiben. Dann schneidet man sie weg, bis auf 1 oder 2, die man weiterwachsen läßt, oder man läßt sie alle wachsen. Daher stehen oft in einer Pflanzung die Bananen nicht in einzelnen Stämmen, wie z. B. stets an der Küste, wo die Vermehrung und Erneuerung durch junge Stecklinge die Regel ist, sondern in riesigen Büschen von 4—6—10 aus demselben Wurzelstock getriebenen Stämmen. Häufig sind zwischen die Bananen niedrigere Kulturgewächse gepflanzt, die etwas Schatten vertragen, namentlich Bataten, Kürbisse, Bohnen, auch Mais und Sorghum.

Am besten gedeihen die Bananen auf dem Boden, der während des Wachstums der Pflanze recht feucht, während des Ansatzes und der Reife der Früchte aber trocken ist. Wo reichlich Regen fällt, wie im bergigen West-Urundi, sind deshalb die Bananenschamben nicht an eine bestimmte Lage gebunden, während sie im trockneren Ost-Urundi sich entweder in die Täler schmiegen, um genug Wasser zu bekommen oder auf freieren Lagen das Wasser durch lange Leitungen künstlich zugeführt erhalten (s. S. 55). In den Berggegenden wird es der Banane aber oberhalb

2400 m zu kalt; schon von 2000 m Höhe an wird sie sichtlich dürftiger. Auch in den sterilen Quarzitlandschaften Ost-Urundis wachsen nur wenig Bananen.

Die Bananenfrüchte werden zum allergrößten Teil unreif und grün abgeschnitten, geschält und in Wasser zu Brei gekocht oder an der Sonne getrocknet und zu Mehl verrieben. Reife Früchte werden nur als Leckerei und in kleiner Menge gegessen, da sie ungekocht schwer verdaulich sind. Künstlich gereift werden sie dagegen mit Feuer in Erdlöchern zum Bierbrauen (s. S. 60).

Nach Abschneiden der Fruchtbüschel geht der Stamm ein. Wenn es nötig ist, haut man ihn ab, zerstückelt ihn und häuft die Stücke als Gründünger um den Fuß der anderen Stämme. Auch als Futter für Jungvieh werden zerhackte Bananenstämme verwendet. In trockenen Gegenden preßt man den wässerigen Saft aus den Stämmen, um ihn zu trinken. Aus den Fasern der halbtrockenen Stämme macht man Schnüre, Stricke, Flechtwerk, mit den trockenen großen Blättern deckt man die Hütten, benutzt sie zum Einpacken verschiedenster Gegenstände usw.

Die **Bohnen** (ikiharage), die neben den Bananen die Basis der Ernährung der Barundi sind, werden im ganzen Land in großen Feldern angebaut, am meisten in den höheren oder in den trockeneren Gegenden, wo die Banane schlecht oder gar nicht mehr fortkommt. Noch zwischen 2000 und 2500 m Höhe gedeiht sie ganz gut. Man unterscheidet etwa 90 Varietäten, buschige, kriechende, kletternde, wärmeliebende, kälteliebende, mit Früchten verschiedener Größe und Farbe. Sie alle gehören der Spezies Phaseolus vulgaris an, die in das Zwischenseengebiet wohl zusammen mit der Batate und dem Mais, also wohl von Westen her, eingedrungen ist (Nr. 28a, S. 222). Die hochrankenden werden mannshoch und erhalten je einen Sorghumstengel oder einen Stock zum Anhaften wie unsere „Stangenbohnen". Gepflanzt werden sie in kleine, mit der Hacke gemachte Löcher, in die 2 oder 3 Bohnen gesteckt werden.

Ebenso verfährt man mit den **Erbsen** (uwusassja), von denen es etwa ein halbes Dutzend Varietäten der Art Pisum sativum gibt. Eine mit bläulichen Früchten soll von den Batussi aus ihrer Urheimat in den Gallaländern mitgebracht worden sein (Nr. 19, S. 283), wogegen Stuhlmann annimmt, daß die in Ostafrika nur auf den Hochländern des Seengebietes gebaute Erbse von Süden aus durch Portugiesen eingeführt und sich nordwärts über die Hochländer verbreitet habe (Nr. 28a, S. 225). Die Erbsen sind die einzige Feldfrucht in den oberen Gebirgsgegenden Urundis. Wie auf den hohen Vulkanen Ruandas und auf den Randgebirgen des Kivusees und des Russisigrabens, so leben auch auf den hohen Randbergen Nordwest- und West-Urundis bis fast 3000 m Höhe viele tausend Eingeborene fast nur von Erbsen. Überall, wo dort der prachtvolle alte Urwald bis zu den Wasserscheiden hinauf mit Feuer und Axt niedergelegt wird, macht er fast ausschließlich Erbsenfeldern Platz, die in dem humusreichen Urwaldboden natürlich wunderbar gedeihen. Immer weiter geht die Vernichtung des Waldes, immer weiter die Ausbreitung der Erbsenfelder, ein jämmerlicher Ersatz für den herrlichen und wirtschaftlich tausendfach wertvolleren Waldbestand, der im jetzigen Klima nie wieder zu seiner vorigen Größe heranzuschonen ist, wenn man das endlich einmal wollte!

Die Bohnen und Erbsen läßt man auf dem „Stock" völlig ausreifen. Erst wenn die Pflanzen gänzlich abgedorrt sind, so daß die Früchte auszufallen drohen, werden sie ausgerissen, in den Gehöften aufgehäuft, auf den Hüttendächern ausgebreitet und schließlich mit Ruten ausgedroschen. Das leere Stroh wird dann, soweit man

es nicht zur Steuer benutzt, auf den Feldern in zahlreiche Einzelhaufen, wie unsere Heuhaufen, verteilt und verbrannt, so daß die Asche das Feld düngt.

Erdnüsse (itschjoba) und Mais (ikigori) werden ebenso wie Bohnen in Löcher eingesät, richtiger gesagt: eingesteckt. Die Erdnüsse werden aber vorher enthülst, die Maiskörner einen Tag lang in Wasser gequellt. Von Erdnüssen scheint es 3 Varietäten zu geben, die man als itschjoba, itschjenna und itschjansa unterscheidet. Aus keiner von ihnen wird Öl gemacht, sondern sie werden nur als Zuspeise oder Nascherei, roh oder in der Asche geröstet, gegessen (Nr. 19, S. 41).

Mais (ikigori) ist in mindestens einem halben Dutzend Varietäten vertreten. Wo sich der Boden leicht bewässern läßt, sät man oft dreimal im Jahre Mais und hält davon immer riesige große Vorräte in den Getreideschebern. Die Kolben werden vom Stock geschnitten. Solange sie noch saftig und süßlich sind, werden sie entweder roh oder in der Asche geröstet verzehrt; größtenteils aber werden die ausgereiften Körner zu Mehl zerstampft und zu einer Art Polenta verarbeitet. Das Stroh dient als Brennmaterial.

Von Yams (iganame), Pfeilwurz (amateke) und Bataten (ikisumbu) werden die Knollen gesteckt und etwas Erde darauf gehäufelt. Namentlich die Bataten, von denen etwa ein halbes Dutzend Varietäten unterschieden werden (Nr. 19, S. 424), und der Pfeilwurz brauchen für das erste Wachstum viel Wasser und sind deshalb meist auf den Talböden, wo sie auch künstlich bewässert werden können, angebaut (Taf. 22b). Die reifen Pflanzen werden ausgegraben wie unsere Kartoffeln und die abgenommenen Knollen resp. Wurzelknöl: gekocht oder in Asche geröstet.

Maniok (umumbati) hingegen wird durch Stecklinge kultiviert, die man von den saftigen Maniokstauden abbricht und reihenweise in etwas aufgehäufelte Erde steckt. Die Pflanze wächst dann ohne weitere Pflege; sie ist die anspruchloseste aller Kulturgewächse Ostafrikas und bedeutsam in Urundi namentlich in den östlichen Quarzitlandschaften verbreitet. Man unterscheidet mindestens 6 Varietäten, von denen keine so giftig ist, daß sie, wie andere Varietäten Ostafrikas, erst durch Kochen oder Gären genießbar würde. Man ißt sie roh, gekocht, getrocknet, als Mehl zerrieben, in Klößform usw.; die Blätter gekocht als Gemüse.

Sorghum (inkka) spielt in Urundi eine viel geringere Rolle als in Ruanda, wo es an erster Stelle der Kulturpflanzen, noch vor den Bananen, steht. Auch Uha produziert vor allem Sorghum und versorgt in knappen Zeiten die Barundi damit. Immerhin ist in Urundi Sorghum in einigen zwanzig verschieden benannten Varietäten der weißen und roten Art vertreten (Nr. 19, S. 544). Zum Säen des Sorghum wird der Boden einfach umgehackt, meist ohne Furchenziehen, worauf man auf die ebene Erde die Körner mit schwingender Hand ausstreut und mit der Hand Erde über die Saat streut. Ebenso wird Eleusine (uwuro) gesät. Die reifen Ähren dieser beiden Hirsearten werden mit dem Messer einzeln von den Halmen geschnitten, wie auch der Mais und der Reis, und auf dem festen Erdboden vor den Hütten mit Ruten ausgedroschen. Ein Teil des Sorghum wird zu Mehl gemahlen, der größte aber zum Bierbrauen verwandt, während aus Eleusine hauptsächlich Mehl für den täglichen Ugalibrei (umudima) gemacht wird.

Tabak (itabi) bauen die Barundi, wie oben erwähnt, fast bei jedem Gehöft in kleinen Mengen an, aber die empfindliche Pflanze wird so schlecht gepflegt, daß sie nur ein mäßiges Produkt liefert. Besser ist der Urwiratabak, der im Tanganikagebiet viel

gehandelt wird. Die Barundi stecken den Tabaksamen in kleine, mit der Hacke gemachte Löcher und pflanzen die jungen Stauden nicht um, reinigen und bewässern aber den Boden von Zeit zu Zeit. Sobald die Pflanze blüht (rot, nicht weiß), pflückt man die Blätter, reiht sie auf Bastfäden und trocknet sie an der Sonne. Zur Fermentation und Aufbewahrung werden sie dann in Pakete aus trockenen Bananenblättern gesteckt. Trotz seines schlechten Aussehens riecht der Tabak nicht schlecht, ist aber so stark, daß ihn selbst die Barundi nur selten rauchen, meist bloß alte Männer und Weiber. Alle andern aber sind leidenschaftliche Tabakschnupfer (s. S. 59), wogegen in Ruanda nur selten Tabak geschnupft, aber sehr viel geraucht wird.

Wie alle Narkotika bei den Naturvölkern, so steht auch der Tabak bei den Barundi im Ansehen geheimnisvoller Kräfte. Daher der Brauch, daß man jemand, der ohnmächtig geworden, vor allem eine Prise Tabak in die Nase stopft; ferner daß der junge Ehemann seine Frau mit Tabakrauch anbläst, und andres mehr (Nr. 19, S. 557).

Ebenfalls im engen Gartenbau oder als Zwischenkultur zwischen Bananen oder Sorghum werden mehrere Arten von Kürbissen (imboga), namentlich eine etwa kopfgroße rundliche und eine kleinere gurkenartige, gebaut, die als Gemüse gegessen werden, sowie Flaschenkürbisse (ikisabo) mit verschieden gestalteten Früchten für den Bedarf an Gefäßen.

Die Ölpalme (ingasi), die in Urundi nur im Tanganikagebiet vorkommt, ist nicht eigentlich eine Kulturpflanze der Barundi, sondern ein wildwachsender, aus Westafrika herübergekommener Baum, dessen Früchte sich die Barundi zunutze machen. Etwa 12 km nördlich von Usumbura liegt der Ölpalmenwald von Mtara, der zirka 800 Hektar groß ist und 4—500000 Ölpalmen (Elaeis guineensis) hat. Näher bei Usumbura steht ein Wald von 2—220000 Palmen, und weiter südlich von Usumbura bis in die Nähe von Udjidji erstrecken sich weitere Bestände von 3—400000 Palmen. Erst die Europäer haben die rationelle Kultur der Ölpalme am Tanganika eingeführt, aber gegenwärtig werden die Wälder weder von Europäern noch von Eingebornen genutzt, weil sie der Hauptaufenthalt der Schlafkrankheitsfliege sind und deshalb möglichst gemieden werden. Der einzige Baum, den die Barundi in ihren der Baumkultur abträglichen Hackbau aufgenommen haben, ist der Rindenstoff-Fikus (s. oben S. 24, 31), der wirklich gepflanzt und gepflegt wird. Die Ölpalme aber wird von den Eingeborenen nur selten gesteckt und gepflanzt. Die Nüsse treiben, wie sie von den Bäumen fallen, leicht in dem feuchten Boden, auf dem die Ölpalmwälder zu wachsen pflegen. Von den jungen Bäumchen wird die Mehrzahl ausgerissen oder abgehackt und nur wenige stehen gelassen, die die abgestorbenen alten Bäume ersetzen sollen. Die abgeschnittenen reifen Früchte werden erst gebrüht und dann so lange in einem Mörser gestampft, bis alles äußere ölhaltige Fleisch losgelöst ist. Dieser gestampfte Brei wird mit der Hand in einem wassergefüllten Holztrog ausgequetscht, so daß das Öl auf dem Wasser schwimmt. Von da schöpft man es in einen irdnen Topf und bringt es schließlich in kleineren Töpfen auf den Markt. Das meiste wird nach Udjidji und nach dem Kongogebiet (Uwira) verkauft; das wenige, was die Barundi behalten, wird zum Ölen einiger Speisen und zum Braten der Fische benutzt, teilweise auch zum Einreiben der Haut und zum Heilen der von den Sandflöhen verursachten Wunden (Nr. 19, S. 291 und 411). Die Verwendung des Palmöls zur Seifenfabrikation kennen die Barundi ursprünglich

nicht; nur die Tanganikabevölkerung hat durch die Araber und Wasuaheli gelernt, durch Vermengung des Öls mit Aschensalzen Seife (kileke) zu machen, die in faustgroßen Kugeln verhandelt wird.

Außer den genannten Kulturgewächsen sammeln die Barundi und ihre Weiber und Kinder eine Anzahl wildwachsender Pflanzen resp. Teile derselben als Nähr- oder Genußmittel, so z. B. Brennesseln, deren Blätter als „Spinat" gekocht werden; Sauerampfer, der ebenfalls als Gemüse gekocht wird; Früchte der (verwilderten?) Eierpflanze (Solanum esculentum), die roh verzehrt oder geröstet wird; eßbare Pilze, die entweder roh oder gekocht genossen werden; roter Pfeffer (intore), mit dessen Schoten gewürzt wird; verschiedene Beeren, die von den Weibern und Kindern genascht werden, namentlich Brombeeren, die überall häufig sind.

Die Lage und die Anlage der Felder (umurima) ist in Urundi nicht viel anders als in Ruanda. Nur das fällt dem Beobachter bald auf, daß in Urundi, mit Ausnahme der westlichen Bergländer, die Terrassenfelder, die in dem viel bergigeren Ruanda ganze Berghänge bedecken und überall die Kulturlandschaft charakterisieren, viel weniger häufig sind als dort. In Urundi breiten sich die Felder vorwiegend auf den Flächen aus, sei es auf den breiten Rücken der Hügel und kleinen Plateaus, sei es im Grund der Täler; immer möglichst nahe den Hütten und natürlich auch dem Wasser. Die meisten Felder werden nicht mit Furchen durchzogen, sondern flach umgehackt. Geschieht dies auf noch unbearbeitetem Neuland, so werden die ausgehackten Gräser und Stauden an Ort und Stelle aufgehäufelt, getrocknet und verbrannt, um dann die Asche als Dünger mit einzuhacken. Auch an den Rändern der Papyrussümpfe verfährt man so, daß man nach dem Sinken des Wasserspiegels so weit, wie der oberflächlich trocken gewordene, äußerst fruchtbare Schwemmboden reicht, das Papyrusdickicht abhaut und die abgehackten Papyruswedel, sobald sie dürr geworden, verbrennt (Taf. 22a). Dann werden die Wurzelstöcke umgegraben, schmale Dränagegräben gezogen, die Pflanzenasche als Dünger über das Feld gebreitet und schließlich Bataten, Pfeilwurz und Bohnen in Grablöcher eingesteckt, die schnell aufgehen. Wenn aber Felder an einem Hügelhang angelegt werden, gibt man ihnen die Gestalt langer schmaler Streifen, die dem Abhang in der Horizontale folgen und durch Wegnahme des Bodens bergaufwärts und Anhäufung der Erde bergabwärts möglichst ausgeebnet werden, so daß bei mehreren übereinanderliegenden Feldern eine Stufenanlage entsteht. Jedes Feld ist von dem nächstunteren durch einen grasbewachsenen Erdrain getrennt, wie in Ruanda, selten durch aufgeschichtete Steinsetzungen. Auf diesen Terrassenfeldern bringt man einige breite Furchen an, um Abschwemmungen durch starke Regengüsse zu verhindern. In den Talniederungen aber und auf den künstlich bewässerten Flächen haben die Felder die Form hoher Beete, zwischen denen das Wasser zu- und ablaufen kann.

Da die Feldhacken nicht tief in den Boden eindringen, ist das Roden, Säen und Pflanzen immer ziemlich oberflächlich, so daß die immer wieder bearbeitete äußere Bodenschicht bald ausgesogen wird und „verarmt". Um dies zu verlangsamen oder ganz zu verhüten, wenden, wie mehrfach erwähnt, die Barundi — was nicht häufig im ostafrikanischen Ackerbau ist — Düngung der Felder an, und zwar entweder tierischen Mist (ikiragiriro) von Rindern, Ziegen, Schafen, Hühnern, oder Asche verbrannter Pflanzen (amase), vom Herdfeuer, von den ausgerodeten Wurzelstöcken des Grases, des Papyrus, oder Gründünger (Bananenstammstücke, Sorghumstengel) oder Küchen-

abfälle, Kehricht u. dgl. Diese Dungstoffe werden gleichmäßig über die Felder verteilt und mit der Hacke leicht eingehackt, gewöhnlich kurz vor Beginn der Regenzeit.

Sobald die ersten Regen fallen, fängt man mit der Felderbestellung an — Männer, Weiber und Kinder — und sät und pflanzt die verschiedenen Gewächse die ganze Regenzeit hindurch, also vom September oder Oktober bis März oder April. Bohnen, Erbsen und Mais sind das erste, worauf Sorghum und Eleusine folgen, dann kommen die Knollengewächse daran. Schon im November gibt es frische Bohnen und jungen Mais, aber die Haupternte (Bananen, Sorghum, Eleusine) findet im Juni statt. Von Juni bis September oder Oktober ist Trockenzeit, die Ruheperiode für die meisten Felder. Aber in den Fluß- und Bachtälern und in den Niederungen, wo es Wasser gibt, jedoch auch an vielen Stellen der Hügelhänge, wird das ganze Jahr hindurch geackert, gepflanzt und geerntet. Bananen, Bohnen, Mais, Bataten, Kürbisse grünen da auch in den trockensten Monaten.

Dies ist nur unter Zuhilfenahme künstlicher Bewässerung (uwutotsi) möglich, die von den Barundi ganz ähnlich betrieben und zu ähnlicher Entwicklung gebracht ist wie von den Banjaruanda. In den Talebenen und den Bachgründen wird das Wasser durch ein ganzes Netz von größeren und kleineren Kanälen und Gräben aus dem Hauptlauf abgelenkt und über die Fläche verteilt. Hier ragen dann die zahllosen Parzellen der Felder als hohe Beete über die Wassergräben empor (Taf. 22b). Um aber auch Felder auf Hügelhöhen zu bewässern, wird der Bach in seinem Oberlauf durch einen Damm aus Erde und Flechtwerk zu einem Weiher angestaut und von hier aus ein oft mehrere Kilometer langer Graben an den Berghängen entlang geführt, bis er das gewünschte Endziel erreicht hat. Von dieser Hauptader zweigen von Zeit zu Zeit kleinere Wasseradern ab und berieseln zahlreiche Felder an den Hügeln. Ist ein Feld genug bewässert, so wird sein Zufuhrgraben abgedämmt. Die letzten Felder bekommen nur noch wenig; alles Wasser ist aufgebraucht. Es ist erstaunlich, mit welchem Verständnis für die Laufgeschwindigkeit und den Druck des Wassers die Gräben nivelliert, eingedämmt und an den Talhängen mit allen ihren Ein- und Ausbuchtungen entlang geführt sind. Wird der Hang einmal durch eine tiefe Erosionsschlucht unterbrochen, die auch den Graben unterbricht, so hilft man sich durch einen oft von weither gebrachten langen Baumstamm, den man horizontal über die Schlucht legt und ihn auf der Oberseite als Rinne aushöhlt, durch die das Wasser fließen kann. Es gibt solche Baumleitungen von 30—40 m Länge (Nr. 19, S. 50). Der Bau der Wasserleitungen ist gemeinsame Männerarbeit der Anwohner, und jeder hat Anspruch auf seinen Anteil Wasser. Die gerechte Verteilung des Wassers wird vom Mutwale des Distriktes angeordnet und überwacht.

Ähnlich sorgfältige und mühsame künstliche Bewässerung, die jedem europäischen Gartenbauer Ehre machen würde, kenne ich aus Ostafrika nur noch von den Wadschagga des Kilimandjaro. Die in manchen Teilen von Usambara, Uluguru, Ussagara und mehreren anderen Bergländern stehen ihnen aber nicht viel nach.

Trotz alledem bauen die Barundi nicht mehr Nährfrüchte an, als sie gerade für den Jahresbedarf brauchen. Mit und ohne künstliche Bewässerung würde der Boden, der, außer in den sterilen steinigen Quarzitgebieten des Ostens, zum größten Teil eine fruchtbare Roterde oder in den Talniederungen ein dunkelgrauer Schwemmboden oder auch Humus ist, viel mehr hervorbringen, wenn mehr Feld unter Kultur genommen würde. Dem aber steht hauptsächlich der Mangel an Verkehr

entgegen, denn da es im großen Inner-Urundi weder Märkte noch organisierten Handel gibt — nur das Tanganikagebiet hat beides —, so könnte der Murundi eine über den eigenen Bedarf hinausgehende Produktion gar nicht verwerten. Mit Mißernten aber rechnet er nicht, er sorgt sich, wie fast alle Neger, nie um das, was kommen mag. Und da auch nicht einmal die Dauerfrucht Maniok, die selbst in den trockensten Jahren, wenn alles andere verkümmert, noch guten Ertrag bringt, in beträchtlicher Menge gebaut wird, so werden in schlechten Erntejahren weite Gebiete von Hungersnot heimgesucht. Das ist namentlich in dem unfruchtbaren quarzitischen Ost-Urundi der Fall, wo dann die Missionen (Mugera, Mujaga u. a.) und das Gouvernement durch Einfuhr von Getreide (Sorghum) aus Uha und Usambiro helfend einzugreifen pflegen, aber doch nicht hindern können, daß viele Menschen, vor allem Kinder, Hungers sterben.

Ein anderer gewichtiger Grund, der die weitere Ausdehnung des Ackerbaues hindert, liegt in den Eigentumsverhältnissen des Bodens, in der Vorherrschaft der vor allem Weideland für ihre Rinderherden beanspruchenden Batussi, worauf wir nachher zu sprechen kommen (S. 57).

Die auf den Äckern heranreifenden Feldfrüchte sucht man mannigfach gegen Schädlinge zu schützen. Unkraut wird gejätet, Raupen, Käfer, Schnecken abgelesen; Vögel werden durch Vogelscheuchen abgeschreckt, die man z. B. aus galgenförmig aufeinander gebundenen Sorghumstengeln und daranhängenden klappernden trockenen Früchten herstellt; große Tiere aber, wie in den Bergen West-Urundis die Wildschweine und Paviane, werden entweder durch Zäune abgehalten oder durch Wächter verjagt, die am Tag herumgehen und nachts von kleinen, im Feld stehenden hochbeinigen Pfahlbauhütten aus zeitweise lautes Geschrei erheben und mit Stöcken klappern. In den wasserreichen Tälern West-Urundis sind wie in denen Ruandas die dort sehr häufigen Kronenkraniche, Sporengänse und Nilgänse die ärgsten Feinde der Felder, da sie die jung hervorsprießende Saat der Bohnen, Bataten, Kürbisse, Hirse usw. abfressen. Mit Klappern und Geschrei suchen sich die Bahutu ihrer zu erwehren. Die ebenfalls in den Sumpftälern häufigen Ibisse, Reiher und Regenpfeifer schädigen die Saaten nicht, sondern grubeln in den Dränierungsgräben nach Fröschen, Würmern, Schnecken. Im trockeneren quarzitischen Ost-Urundi gibt es solche Sumpftäler und damit auch die genannten, den Feldern schädlichen Vögel nur sehr wenige.

Die eingeernteten Feldfrüchte werden teilweise in den Hütten selbst in Körben und Säcken aufbewahrt, größtenteils aber in den obenerwähnten korbförmigen Vorratshütten (s. S. 22) neben den Wohnhäusern. Namentlich mit Bohnen, Sorghum und Mais werden diese Korbhütten angefüllt, die Maiskolben aber in der Trockenzeit auch in großen Bündeln an den die Gehöfte umstehenden Fikusbäumen aufgehängt. Die Knollenfrüchte Bataten, Yams, Maniok, Pfeilwurz werden gewöhnlich nicht aufgestapelt, sondern so lange im Boden gelassen, bis man ihrer bedarf; weshalb auch die angebaute Menge nie groß ist, da sie sonst verderben würden.

Ich erwähnte vorhin, daß einer weitern Ausbreitung des Ackerbaues in Urundi die eigentümlichen Besitzverhältnisse entgegenstehen. Die Dinge liegen hier ganz ähnlich wie in Ruanda. Keiner der ackerbauenden Bahutu ist Eigentümer des von ihm bearbeiteten Grund und Bodens. Alles Land gehört dem König, der seine Groß-Batwale und diese wieder die kleineren Batussi-Batwale damit belehnen (s. S. 89). Der Mutwale vergibt die einzelnen Landparzellen an die ihm unterstehenden Bahutu

zu Lehen. Von ihm müssen die Bahutu in jedem Einzelfall die Erlaubnis zur Bearbeitung eines Stückes Land, zum Bau einer Hütte, zur Anlage von Feldern einholen, und an ihn zahlen sie eine einmalige Abgabe in Naturalien und einen jährlichen „Zehnten" als Lehnzins. Wird der Jahreszins zur Erntezeit nicht entrichtet, so kann der Mutwale den Säumigen sofort von der Scholle jagen. Auch kann er außerordentliche Abgaben, wie Geschenke an den Oberhäuptling, Karawanenverpflegung durchreisender Europäer u. dgl. von den Bahutu verlangen, ohne sie zu entschädigen. Die Gegengaben oder Zahlungen der Europäer steckt der Mutwale in seine eigene Tasche: Misera contribuens plebs!

Da nun aber das größte Interesse des Mutussi-Lehnsherrn nicht auf den Ackerbau der Bahutu gerichtet ist, sondern auf seine Rinderherden und deren Gedeihen, also vor allem auf die reichliche Weide der Tiere, so ist es ihm in den meisten Fällen sehr unangenehm, wenn ein Muhutu die ohnehin schon recht knappen Weidegründe durch Anlage neuer Felder noch mehr einengen will. Dieser Widerstreit der Interessen, der natürlich von den Batussi meist zugunsten der Viehweide und zuungunsten des Ackerbaues entschieden wird, wird freilich auch bestehen bleiben, wenn einmal das große Land dem Handel und Verkehr geöffnet sein wird und der Muhutu seine Bodenprodukte nach auswärts verkaufen kann. Der Konflikt der Interessen wird dann sogar noch viel schärfer werden, als er jetzt ist, da die Bahutu dann immer mehr anzubauen und abzusetzen sich bemühen werden. Da kann nur eine gründliche Änderung in den Weideverhältnissen, ein teilweiser Übergang zum Anbau von Kraftfutter und zur Stallfütterung, die Schwierigkeiten mildern. Das sind in der Praxis schwer zu lösende Fragen; aber sie werden nun, nachdem die Mittelbahn am Tanganika angelangt ist und die anliegenden großen volkreichen Länder produktiver gemacht werden sollen, unsere an leitender Stelle stehenden Kolonialpolitiker viel beschäftigen müssen. Schließlich wird man nicht umhin können, das auf diesen Ländern und ihrer Entwicklung lastende Grundübel, die Batussiherrschaft selbst, an der Wurzel zu fassen. Dazu gehören aber stärkere Machtmittel, als wir sie jetzt dort haben. Wird die Schutztruppe nicht vermehrt, so wird doch die Mittelbahn helfen, die Machtmittel schneller konzentrieren zu können als bisher, und die Bahutu werden schließlich mit uns gegen die Batussi sein, sobald sie sehen, daß wir stärker sind als jene.

Am Schluß dieser Übersicht über den Ackerbau der Barundi seien einige mit ihm zusammenhängende religiöse Bräuche kurz angeführt (Nr. 19, S. 20/21). Für jeden der großen Lehnsbezirke oder Provinzen befiehlt der dortige Oberhäuptling oder Großmutwale am Anfang der Regenzeit den Beginn der Feldarbeiten, nachdem er mit seinen Zauberern (abafumu) eine Menge Zeremonien ausgeführt und Opfer dem Hauptgott Imana als dem Segenspender dargebracht hat. Der Befehl des Oberhäuptlings wird von den Unterhäuptlingen an die kleineren Batwale und von diesen an die Bahutu weitergegeben. Auch diese bringen erst dem Gott kleine Spenden dar, und wenn sie dann das Feld zu hacken anfangen, tanzt am ersten Tag ein Zauberer (umufumu) mit Rufen und Gestikulieren vor ihnen her, um die bösen Geister zu bannen und die Saat zu segnen.

Nach Pater Gaßdinger verläuft in Zentral-Urundi (Muzaga) die Weihe der Feldbestellung etwas anders. Dort wird bei Beginn der Regenzeit, wenn das hohe Gras abgesichelt und mit den Hacken unter die Erdschollen untergegraben wird, die Arbeit mit einer Zeremonie begonnen, die den Segen Kirangas herbeiführen

soll. Die gelb und rot bemalten Männer stellen sich auf dem zu bearbeitenden Feld in Reihe und Glied mit den Hacken auf. Neben dem Feld sitzt Kiranga mit zwei Begleitern (ivisjego). Vor den Männern inmitten des Feldes steht ein bemaltes und reich geschmücktes Mädchen und beginnt nun zu springen, zu tanzen und zu singen, wobei sie das hohe Gras abschelt. Singend erbittet sie vom Kiranga gute Saat, verflucht die Zauberer und Hexen, die dem Felde schaden wollen, und läßt sich von den Männern reichliche Bieropfer für den Sommer versprechen. Die Männer schreiten ihr langsam nach und graben den Boden um, wobei sie in rhythmischem Takt die Hacken ins Erdreich schlagen. Kiranga wird je nach der Art der Saat mit einem besonderen Namen angerufen: Njamurini beim Säen des Sorghum, Njabaschi bei Erdnüssen, Numambo bei Mais usw. (Nr. 45, S. 316).

Vom vermutlichen Thronerben des Königs glaubt man, daß er bei seiner Geburt ein Samenkorn von jeder Feldfrucht Urundis in seinen geballten Fäustchen halte. Hat Hagel oder ein Wolkenbruch den Mais oder das Sorghum eines Feldes zu Boden geschlagen, so läuft der Muhutu, der den Acker bestellt hat, mit einer Viehglocke um das Feld herum und erinnert durch lautes Schellen den Gott, dem er geopfert hat, an seine Pflicht, das Feld gegen böse Geister zu schützen. Wenn dieses Schellen gehörig geschieht, richten sich die niederliegenden Pflanzen wieder auf.

4. Genußmittel

Narkotische Genußmittel kennt der Murundi nur zwei, den Tabak und den Alkohol (Bier). Die Kultivationsart des Tabaks (itabi) ist schon S. 53 besprochen worden, desgleichen die Tatsache, daß die Barundi außer alten Männern und

Fig. 11. Doppelte Tabakspfeifen aus schwarzem Ton, wahrscheinlich zu Vorlingwaden. (Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Nr. [illegible])

alten Weibern (auch der Batwa) nicht viel Tabak rauchen, alle aber starke Schnupfer sind. Dieser auffallende Unterschied von den benachbarten Banjaruanda, die sämtlich, wie auch die Baganda und Banjoro, Männer und Weiber, leidenschaftliche Raucher sind, aber nicht Schnupfer, hat wohl seinen Grund in der Qualität des Urundibitabaks, der infolge geringer Pflege sehr schwer ist. Wo man bei den Barundi Tabakspfeifen sieht — und das ist hauptsächlich im Norden und namentlich im Nordwesten der Fall — sind es dieselben Formen wie bei den Banjaruanda, und wie dort werden sie von den Batwa aus schwarzem Ton hergestellt (Taf. 49 und Textbild 11). Das Pfeifenrohr ist ein Stück Schilfrohr. Am Tanganika sind auch

Wasserpfeifen aus Kalebassen mit seitlich eingestecktem tönernen Pfeifenkopf in Gebrauch, die von den kongolesischen Wawira übernommen sind.

Das Schnupfen (kusomera) hingegen wird von allen Barundi, Männern, Weibern und halbwüchsigen Kindern, so eifrig betrieben, daß es fast als ein nationaler Sport oder ein „Nationallaster" gelten kann (Taf. 28). Wenn nur nicht so unappetitlich dabei verfahren würde! Es ist nicht das gemütliche, fast zierliche, gefühlvolle Schnupfen der Wadschagga des Kilimandjaro, die aus einem kleinen perlenbestickten Büchschen ein wenig feingeriebenes Tabakpulver auf den Handrücken streuen und es kurz mit der Nase einziehen, als ob sie an einer Blume rröchen, sondern der Murundi schnupft folgendermaßen: Zunächst braucht er drei kleine Schnupfgeräte, ein kleines Ziegenhorn als Tabakbehälter (ihembe), das an einer Schnur um die Schulter getragen wird, eine Holzschale zum Anwässern des Tabaks (Textbild 12), und einen aus einem kleinen gespaltenen Holzstück verfertigten Nasenklemmer (umunengo), der etwa die Form einer Wäscheklammer hat und an einer Schnur um den Hals hängt (Textbild 13). Um nun zu schnupfen, tut der Murundi zunächst etwas Tabak aus dem Horn in die Holzschale, gießt ein wenig Wasser dazu und quetscht die Mischung so lange mit einem Stück Holz durcheinander, bis das Wasser zu einem braungrünlichen Tabaksaft geworden ist. Diese Sauce gießt er dann in die hohle Hand und schlürft sie mit wenigem Grunzen in die Nasenlöcher ein. Das alles geschieht meist im Hocken oder Sitzen (s. Taf. 28b). Da der Saft aber natürlich gleich wieder herauslaufen würde, setzt man den genannten hölzernen Kneifer auf die Nasenflügel oder hält sie sich mit Daumen und Zeigefinger von oben her zu. Die Prise ist gut, wenn sie so scharf ist, daß dem Schnupfer die Tränen aus den Augen kollern. So läßt er die beizende Brühe 3, 5 und mehr Minuten in der Nase. Hat er endlich genug von diesem Genuß, so beugt er sich vornüber, nimmt den Kneifer oder die klemmenden Finger weg und läßt die lange rotzige Sauce zur Erde laufen, worauf er den Rest mit den Fingern ausschneuzt und sich die Finger an den nackten Beinen abwischt. Die ganze Prozedur, die man täglich viele Dutzend Male beobachten kann, ist so widerlich, daß einem dadurch der Aufenthalt unter Barundi leicht verleidet werden könnte, wenn man sich nicht immer wieder sagte, daß man ein ethnologisches Studienobjekt vor sich hat, das als solches jenseits von Gut und Böse steht.

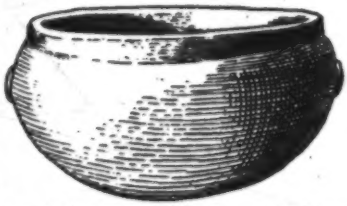

Fig. 12. Kleine Holzschale zum Anrühren von Schnupftabaksaft.
(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Nr. 5277.)

Fig. 13. Hölzerner Nasenklemmer für Tabakschnupfer.
(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Nr. 5276.)

Wenn aber einem Schnupfer plötzlich das Niesen ankommt, schneuzt er schleunigst den ganzen Saft mit den Fingern aus; sonst passiert Fürchterliches. Und wenn er genießt hat, wünschen ihm die Umstehenden „kira" (wohl bekomm's), und seine Antwort lautet „tukirane" (gehe es uns gut). Eine Prise anbieten und die an-

gebotene annehmen, gehört zum guten Ton. Nur die Batwa bekommen keine von den andern Barundi und bieten ihnen keine an (Nr. 19, S. 465).

Noch leidenschaftlicher als den Tabak lieben die männlichen und weiblichen Barundi aller Stammes-, Standes- und Altersklassen den Alkohol in Gestalt des Bieres (insoga). Man kann annehmen, daß mindestens die Hälfte der Jahresernte in Bier verwandelt wird. „Wenn die Barundi im allgemeinen ein nüchternes Volk sind, so sind sie es nicht aus Tugend, sondern weil sie nicht genug zu trinken und zu essen für ihren Appetit haben. Sie würden einen Ochsen auf einen Sitz auffressen, und wenn man ihnen Bier à discretion gäbe, würden sie sich vom Morgen bis zum Abend betrinken" (Nr. 19, S. 317). Trunkenheit gilt nicht für einen Fehler oder für ein Laster, sondern für einen Beweis von Wohlhabenheit oder von Freigebigkeit des Gastgebers. Die Monate nach der Hirse- und Bananenernte, also vom Juli bis September, sind die Zeit des Bierbrauens (kwenga insoga, kutoba), des Schlemmens und der allgemeinen Bezechtheit in ganz Urundi, d. h. solange der Vorrat reicht; oft ist schon nach vier Wochen der letzte Tropfen durch die Gurgel gejagt, und die durstigen Seelen müssen enthaltsam sein bis zur nächsten Ernte. In den Zechmonaten aber hallt aus den meisten Gehöften Gesang und Geschrei bis tief in die Nacht hinein, denn stille einsame Zecher gibt es nicht, da das Biertrinken immer Gesellschaftssache ist. Einer nach dem andern lädt Freunde und Verwandte zu gemeinsamem Gelage ein, und so kneipt man sich der Reihe nach durch alle befreundeten Familien durch, bis nichts mehr da ist. Außerdem werden volle Biertöpfe bei jeder passenden Gelegenheit als Geschenk dargebracht und gemeinsam vom Beschenkten und Schenker ausgetrunken. Und selbstverständlich gehört Bier, viel Bier zu jeder Art festlicher Veranstaltung, die auch gewöhnlich mit Tanz verbunden sind (s. S. 65, 128). Da das am meisten beliebte Bananenbier ziemlich stark stürmt und die Barundi von Natur leicht erregbar sind, geht es bei den gemeinsamen Gelagen im vorgerückten Stadium meist recht stürmisch zu, und regelmäßig kommt es zu heftigem Wortstreit, oft auch zu Prügelei, Lanzenstechen und Totschlag, was im letzteren Fall schlimme Folgen für die beteiligten Familien hat (s. S. 97, 105).

Bemerkenswerterweise ist das Bierbrauen bei den Barundi Sache der Frauen, und sie verstehen sich vortrefflich darauf; sie kneipen aber auch sehr wacker mit. Es gibt vier verschiedene Bierarten in Urundi. Am verbreitetsten, beliebtesten und kräftigsten ist das Bananenbier (insoga j'ivitoke). Zu seiner Herstellung werden zunächst grüne, unreife Bananen künstlich in einer Art Brutofen ausgereift. Dieser ist nichts anderes als eine in festem Erdboden gegrabene Grube. Sie wird unten mit grünen Bananenblättern belegt, darauf die Bananenbüschel geschichtet, hierüber wieder grüne Blätter gebreitet und oben dürre Bananenblätter darübergehäuft, die angezündet werden. Sobald sie brennen, wird das Ganze mit Zweigen und Erde zugedeckt. Nach 4—5 Tagen sind die Bananen ausgereift. Sie werden nun herausgeholt, geschält und in einen Holztrog getan, wo sie mit reinen Grasbüscheln, die man in der Hand hält, zerquetscht werden. Darauf wird Wasser zugegossen und alle festen Bestandteile herausgefischt. Der übrigbleibende Saft wird mit einer Kürbisschale in einen großen Tontopf geschöpft und etwas Sorghummehl zugesetzt, um es gären zu lassen. Nachdem er so 4—5 Tage gegoren hat, wird das nunmehrige Bier in kleinere Krüge gegossen und ist fertig zum Gebrauch.

Weniger umständlich ist das Brauen des Hirsebiers (insoga j'impeke), das aber auch weniger schmackhaft und weniger beliebt ist. Natürlich überwiegt es in den Landstrichen, wo mehr Sorghum als Bananen gebaut werden, wie z. B. im östlichen Urundi und in Uha. Das Brauverfahren ist folgendes: Rotes oder weißes Sorghum wird in kaltem Wasser zum Schwellen und Keimen gebracht. Nach einigen Tagen wird die Hirse in einen Korb gehäuft, und nachdem sie auch darin einige Tage geteimt hat, an der Sonne getrocknet und zu Mehl verrieben. Hierauf wird das Mehl in kochendes Wasser geschüttet und der Brei unter allmählichem Zugießen von kaltem Wasser beständig mit einem Holzbrettchen umgerührt. Wenn schließlich der große Kochtopf ganz von kaltem Wasser angefüllt ist, gießt man ein wenig saures Bananenbier zu und läßt nun den Brei sich auf den Boden des Gefäßes absetzen, wonach das darüberstehende fertige Bier in kleine Töpfe abgegossen wird. Es behält freilich immer eine etwas mehlige Farbe und wimmelt von schwimmenden Hirsekörnchen oder Keimchen.

Am besten schmeckt zweifellos dem europäischen Gaumen die dritte Art Bier, die man Bananenmost (umutobe) nennen könnte, da es nur mit Wasser vermischter Saft ausgedrückter reifer Bananen ist, der leicht angegoren ist. Das Getränk moussiert wie Sekt, schmeckt süß-säuerlich, ist sehr erfrischend und bekommt gut. Wegen seiner Harmlosigkeit wird es aber von den Barundimännern verschmäht und den Kranken, den Weibern und Kindern überlassen, die es überaus lieben (Nr. 19, S. 74).

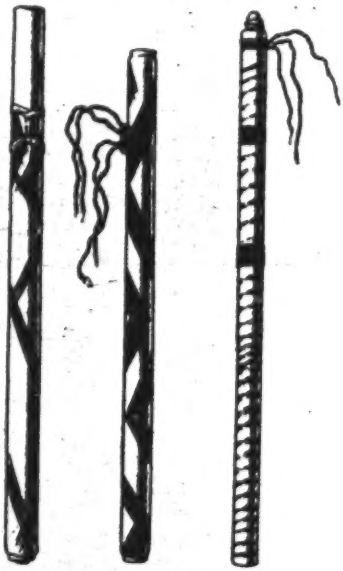

Fig. 14.
Behälter für Saugrohre zum Biertrinken.
(Museum f. Völkerk., Berlin, Nr. 4875, 4391, 4882.)

Als vierte Biersorte ist das Honigbier (umutobe w'insuki) zu nennen, das einen limonadenartigen Charakter hat, aber doch etwas alkoholisch ist, so daß es auch die Männer gern trinken. Es wird aus $^1/_3$ Honig und $^2/_3$ Wasser zusammengemischt, die man kurz kochen läßt. Darauf wird es umgegossen, einige Tage nahe dem Feuer warm gestellt, ohne daß es sieden darf, und schließlich einen Tag lang an die offene Sonne gesetzt, wo es leicht gärt. Auch dies ist ein wohlschmeckendes gesundes Getränk.

Das Honigbier und der Bananenmost halten sich nicht lange, letzterer nur 4 bis 5 Tage, weshalb sie schnell weggetrunken werden müssen. Auch die an erster und zweiter Stelle genannten Bananen- und Sorghumbiere sind keine Dauerbiere, sondern werden um so schneller sauer, je wärmer sie stehen. In den kalten Gebirgsgegenden halten sie sich 5—6 Wochen lang, aber in den viel größeren wärmeren Plateauländern schlagen sie viel früher um, so daß schon aus diesem Grund die hohe Zeit des allgemeinen Kneipens auf nur wenige Wochen zusammengedrängt ist, diese aber um so intensiver ausgenossen werden.

Die Barundi trinken das Bier selten aus Töpfen oder aus offenen Kürbisschalen, wie die meisten anderen ostafrikanischen Neger, sondern gewöhnlich gießen sie es aus den Töpfen in Kalebassen und saugen es daraus mittels Strohhalme oder Schilfrohre (umukenke), etwa wie wir den Eiskaffee. Ebenso tun die Banjarwanda und Basiba. Auch auf Reisen und Märschen tragen sie Bierkalebassen mit den dazugehörigen, in geflochtenen oder geschnitzten Futteralen steckenden Saugrohren mit sich (Textbild 14).

Die eigentlichen Bierbrauer sind in Urundi, wie erwähnt, die Bahutuweiber. Im Trinken aber sind Bahutu und Batussi gleich stark, und zwar sind sie meist gewaltige Potatoren, die durchschnittlich 12—15 Liter täglich vertilgen. Auch die Batwa sind starke Biertrinker, wenn sie Bier haben. Gewöhnlich tauschen sie sich es gegen die von ihnen fabrizierten Tongefäße von den Bahutu ein, obwohl ihre Weiber nicht ungeschickt im Bierbrauen sind; die Bananen dazu kaufen sie ebenfalls von den Bahutu, da sie keine eigenen Bananenpflanzungen haben. Batussi und Bahutu trinken oft gemeinsam, aber nie mit den Batwa, die selbst für sich nicht trinken dürfen, wenn ein Muhutu oder gar ein Mutussi in der Nähe ist.

Daß es in einem noch recht verkehrsarmen Lande wie Urundi auch keinen von außen eingeführten Alkohol oder gar europäischen Schnaps gibt, bedarf kaum der Erwähnung.

Auch das Haschischrauchen ist den Barundi unbekannt, obgleich es bei den benachbarten Wanjamwesi sehr im Schwange ist und Hanf (urumogi) stellenweise in Urundi, bis weit im Innern, wächst (Nr. 19, S. 260). Ebensowenig kennen sie das Betelkauen, das leider durch Araber und Inder weit in Ostafrika verbreitet worden ist, oder irgendein anderes stimulierendes Genußmittel außer den obengenannten.

Fünftes Kapitel

Spiele, Tänze, Musik

Wie fast alle ostafrikanischen Stämme sind auch die Barundi, Kinder und Erwachsene, immer zu Spiel (uwukini), Tanz und Vergnügen geneigt; die Batussi, die sonst wenig oder nichts zu tun haben, obenan, aber auch die große Menge der Bahutu. Selbst die durch ihre Pariastellung niedergedrückten Batwa sind eifrige Tänzer.

Bei den Batussi und Bahutu beteiligen sich an den Spielen und Tänzen der Erwachsenen schon viele Kinder, denn die Kinder sind hier wie bei allen Negerstämmen schon mit 8 oder 9 Jahren fast ebenso reif wie die Erwachsenen. Niemals spielen Negerkinder, wenn sie über die ersten Jahre hinaus sind, mit so naiver Hingebung und Anmut wie unsere Kleinen. Eine ganze Reihe Spiele haben aber die Kinder, andere die Erwachsenen für sich. Unter den Kinderspielen steht voran das „Soldaten-

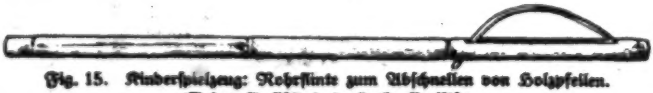

Fig. 15. Kinderspielzeug: Rohrflinte zum Abschnellen von Holzpfellen.
(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Nr. 6145.)

spielen" der Knaben, wobei sie sich, wie überall in der Welt, in zwei feindliche Heere teilen, einander zu überlisten suchen, allerlei Manöver machen und mit Bogen und Speeren aufeinander losgehen, ohne sich etwas Empfindliches anzutun. Ernster geht es schon beim Gefechtspielen zu: zwei Trupps bewaffnen sich mit leeren Maiskolben oder Steinen und beschießen sich damit so lange, bis die eine Partei genug Verwundete hat und die Flucht ergreift. Noch ernster wird der Zweikampf ausgefochten, bei dem zwei Knaben, die einander beleidigt und herausgefordert haben, so lange mit Stöcken aufeinander losprügeln, bis der eine ausreißt.

Über mehrere im Berliner Völkermuseum befindliche Spielsachen der Barundikinder hat K. Weule berichtet (Ethnolog. Notizblatt, Bd. II, Heft 1, S. 48—52). Als Spielsachen machen sich die Jungen kleine Schwerter, Bogen, Pfeile, Lanzen aus Holz oder Rohr, im Tanganikagebiet aber, wo man Gewehre kennt, auch kleine Flinten aus Sorghumstengeln oder Bambusrohr, aus dem ein federndes Stück Palmstengel einen Holzpfeil schleudert (Textbild 15). Ferner verfertigen sie sich aus einem röhrenförmigen Stück Baumrinde, die sie, wie bei unserem Pfeifenschneiden, vom Zweig lösen, ohne sie zu zerreißen, Knallbüchsen. Beide Öffnungen werden durch je einen Pfropfen aus nassem Bast verschlossen und der eine Pfropf dann durch ein Stöckchen

[p. 63]

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

hineingestoßen, so daß die komprimierte Luft den anderen Pfropf mit lautem Knall hinaustreibt.

Ein beliebtes Spiel, an dem sich auch Erwachsene beteiligen, ist das Reifenwerfen (ulubangwe). Zwei Spielergruppen stehen einander gegenüber und werfen sich abwechselnd mit starkem Wurf einen Reifen zu, den die Gegenpartei in der Luft auffangen muß, aber nicht mit der Hand oder einem Stock, sondern mit einer Schnur, die sich vorn gabelt und an jedem Ende einen leeren Maiskolben angebunden hat. Der Reifen muß sich in dem ihm entgegengeschleuderten Schnurende verfangen. Die Partei, der dies am häufigsten glückt, hat gewonnen.

Kleine Flugdrachen werden aus Stücken federleichten Binsenmarkes gemacht, die durch ein Stäbchen zusammengehalten werden. Als Schweif dient ein Fetzen Rindenstoffes. Aber die Dinger fliegen ebenso schlecht wie die kleinen aus Zeitungspapier verfertigten Drachen unserer europäischen Kinder (Weule a. a. O., S. 51).

Knaben und Mädchen spielen gern Nußverstecken im Sand, das ganz ähnlich auch von unseren Kindern gespielt wird. Auf dem Erdboden sitzend, häufeln sie den Sand auf einen kleinen Haufen, stecken die kleine Nuß eines Baumes hinein und teilen den Haufen in 5—6 Segmente, deren eines die Nuß enthalten muß. Wer nun die meisten Segmente auseinanderkratzt, bis er auf das mit der Nuß kommt, der hat gewonnen.

Kreisel (ireve) machen sich die Kinder aus einem kleinen Kürbis oder einer trockenen Fruchtschale, in die ein Stöckchen gesteckt wird. Um das Stöckchen wird ein Bastfaden gewunden und dieser rasch durch ein mit der anderen Hand gehaltenes gespaltenes Holzstück abgezogen. Durch Löcher im Kreisel wird er zum Brummen gebracht (Nr. 19, S. 320 und Weule a. a. O., S. 51).

Die Knaben vergnügen sich mit Stockwettwerfen, indem jeder zwei Stäbe nimmt und einer nach dem anderen seine Stäbe wie Speere von demselben Platz aus nach derselben Richtung wirft. Jeder, der einen anderen Stock überworfen hat, nimmt nun diesen anderen Stock zu den seinigen hinzu, und wer schließlich die meisten hat, der hat gewonnen.

Zum Ballspiel werden Bälle aus allerlei elastischem Material verfertigt, die sich die Kinder einander zuwerfen oder mit dem Stock schlagen.

Versteckenspielen und Suchen, wobei der Gefundene nun seinerseits suchen muß, wird natürlich auch geübt; desgleichen wie bei den Banjaruanda das Springen über eine möglichst hoch aufgespannte Schnur oder Stock.

Den Mädchen wird weniger Zeit zum Spielen gelassen als den Knaben, denn sie werden von früh auf durch Heranziehen zur Hausarbeit, zum Behüten kleiner Geschwister, zum Wasserholen, Streuholen usw. an die all diesen Völkern eingewurzelte Auffassung gewöhnt, daß das Weib das eigentliche Arbeitstier ist. Immerhin haben auch sie freie Stunden, und die gehören dann meist dem Puppenspielen. Die Puppen (umwana) machen sie sich selbst aus einem der in der Mitte etwas eingeschnürten kleinen Kürbisse, indem sie auf dem einen Rundteil Augen, Nase und Mund durch ein paar eingekratzte Löcher andeuten, auf dem andern ein paar Striche als Arme und Hände anbringen. Oder aber sie nehmen die zapfenförmige rötliche Blüte der Bananenstaude zum gleichen Zweck. Oft wird noch ein Fetzen Bast als Kleid angebracht und dann die schöne Puppe auf dem Rücken getragen, wie die Mütter die Kinder tragen.

Die erwachsenen Männer vertreiben sich die arbeitslose Zeit, wenn sie nicht kneipen und nicht klatschen, mit Wettschießen von Pfeilen nach einem bis über 100 m weit aufgestellten Stock oder mit Wettwerfen von Lanzen nach irgendeinem entfernten Gegenstand. Als ruhiges Sitzspiel, an dem aber immer nur zwei teilnehmen können, ist im Tanganikagebiet das unserm Damenbrett ähnliche Brettspiel (ikisoro) viel im Gebrauch, das als mbao von den Wasuaheli bekannt ist und wohl von dort über Unjamwesi nach dem Tanganika importiert ist. Vom Tanganika ist es auch zu einigen Häuptlingen Inner-Urundis vorgedrungen. Das Brett ist an den Kanten abgerundet und hat in 4 Reihen 32 kleine napfförmige Aushöhlungen, die mit kleinen Steinen oder Fruchtkernen besetzt werden. Durch ein ausgeklügeltes System von Zügen und Gegenzügen bzw. Setzen und Wegnehmen, dessen Beschreibung hier zu weit führen würde und ohnehin aus dem ostafrikanischen Küstenland bekannt ist, gewinnt schließlich der eine Spieler sämtliche Steine des andern.

Das von Weule (a. a. O., S. 52) aus Usige, also vom Nordrand des Tanganikasees, beschriebene Geduldspiel ikifundo dürfte Import der Araber oder Wasuaheli sein. In Urundi selbst habe ich es nicht gesehen.

Auch andere verbreitete Spiele, wie z. B. Fadenabheben, habe ich weder bei den Kindern noch bei den Erwachsenen beobachtet.

Als teilweise bloße „Spiele" sind aber hier die Tänze (ivino, uruvino) anzuschließen. Freilich wird nur die Minderzahl bloß um des Tanzes willen zur Unterhaltung ausgeführt; die meisten haben Beziehung zur Feier irgendeines familiären, sozialen, kriegerischen oder religiösen Festes und werden bei diesen besonderen Anlässen getanzt. Aber sie alle gleichen einander in der Form und können deshalb gleich hier zusammen betrachtet werden, bis auf die religiösen, über die wir später im Kapitel „Religion" sprechen werden (s. S. 127).

Wie die Banjaruanda tanzen die Barundi mit größtem Vergnügen und bei jeder sich bietenden Gelegenheit. „Sich vergnügen, spielen, singen und tanzen sind synonyme Wörter. Sie tanzen gut, mit Eleganz (namentlich die Weiber), sogar kunstvoll. Vom zartesten Alter an üben sich die Knaben und Mädchen im Tanzen, und zwar unter den Augen der Eltern, die sie aufmuntern und unterweisen. Nicht ordentlich tanzen zu können, wäre eine Schande für einen Murundi guter Herkunft" (Nr. 19, S. 141).

Die Tänze sind meist Massentänze oder Gruppentänze, selten Einzeltänze; vorwiegend Schrittänze, selten Sprung- oder Drehtänze. In den meisten Tänzen wird gesungen, zu einigen auch Instrumentalmusik gemacht. Die große Mehrzahl der Tänze werden nur von Männern getanzt, die Weiber haben nur einen besonderen für sich und tanzen niemals mit den Männern zusammen. Die Batussi beteiligen sich an allen Tänzen der Bahutu; nur wo viele Batussi beisammen sind, wie am Königshof, tanzen sie für sich allein. Besonders anmutig und kraftvoll sind die Kriegstänze der Batussijünglinge, die am Königshof erzogen werden („Kadettenkorps"). Kein Mutwa darf mit den Batussi und Bahutu tanzen, noch nehmen die letztern auch an den Batwatänzen teil. Aber für sich tanzen die Batwa viel und gut.

Durch ganz Urundi und Ruanda wird von den Männern der gleiche „Nationaltanz" getanzt, der bemerkenswerterweise ganz frei von erotischem Einschlag ist, während die charakteristischen Nationaltänze der Nachbarvölker, namentlich der Wanjamwesi oder gar der Wawira am Tanganika, oft mehr als obszön sind. Dieser Haupttanz

der Männer ist eigentlich ein Kriegstanz (Taf. 31, 32), er wird aber auch bei allen möglichen anderen Gelegenheiten ausgeführt: entweder zum bloßen Vergnügen oder um einen Häuptling oder Europäer zu ehren oder um gewisse Jahres- oder Lebensfeste zu feiern. Die tanzenden Männer, den Speer in der Rechten, treten in 2, 3 oder 4 Reihen an und führen nun auf kurzes Kommando eines Anführers uno corpore eine Reihe von „Touren" in wohl eingedrillter Folge aus, die in der Mehrzahl Bein- und Fußtänze sind, während der übrige Körper wenig beteiligt ist; nur in einigen Touren wird der Oberkörper stark bewegt. Die Hauptkunst ist, daß die oft nach mehreren Hunderten zählende Schar im festen Takt und ganz bestimmten Fußwechsel den Boden stampft wie ein Mann, und daß das Tempo immer schneller, das Stampfen immer stärker wird, ohne in Unordnung zu geraten, bis plötzlich mit einem Stoß die Tour zu Ende ist. Der Lärm wird dadurch erhöht, daß man entweder kleine eiserne kauriförmige Schellen um die Fußgelenke bindet oder getrocknete, halb mit Steinchen gefüllte Fruchtschalen um den Gürtel befestigt, die bei jeder Bewegung rasseln. Eine packende Schilderung eines solchen Tanzes lesen wir in „Kreuz und Schwert", 1900, S. 67:

„Welch ein markerschütterndes Schauspiel! Man denke sich, daß mehrere Hunderte schwarzer Teufel mit gehobenen Lanzen und genau im Takt die unglaublichsten Körperbewegungen ausführen. Der Boden dröhnt unter dem fieberhaften Fußgetrampel und einem unheimlichen Waffengeklirr. Große Staubwolken hüllen alles in ein phantastisches Halbdunkel. Bald kommt die wilde Schar angestürmt wie eine Legion Besessener, bald rutscht die ganze Kolonne pfeilschnell rückwärts, so gewissenhaft in Reihe und Glied bleibend, als wäre die ganze Rotte nur ein Körper, der mit Windesschnelle über den Boden streift. Kurz, man glaubt sich in einem Traum; dermaßen ist man vom Taumel ergriffen. Diese Freudenfeste dauerten den ganzen Tag über, bis endlich manche, die von weit hergekommen, sich auf den Heimweg machten."

Eine andere anschauliche Schilderung verdanken wir R. Kandt (Nr. 22, S. 254):

„Eine besondere Freude bereitete es mir, wenn nachmittags, wie auf ein gegebenes Zeichen, die Hügel ringsum lebendig wurden und von allen Seiten die Warundi, einer hinter dem andern her, in vielfach geschweiften Serpentinen die Hänge herabliefen, sich in der Mitte des Lagers zu Hunderten ansammelten und, Leib an Leib gedrängt, unter der Ägide eines Vorsängers einen stummen Tanz aufführten, bei dem die Füße in immer wechselndem Rhythmus bald in Daktylen, bald in Anapästen, bald in Spondeen immer wilder den Boden stampften, bis zuletzt die schwarze, von einem Lanzenwald überragte Masse in eine fast undurchdringliche, dichte Staubwolke gehüllt ist, durch deren Schleier man das Weiße der Augen und die blitzenden Zahnreihen der lachenden oder ekstatisch zurückgeworfenen Köpfe schimmern sieht. Ein merkwürdiges Schauspiel, dem ich ohne Ermüdung eine Stunde und länger zuschaute, die unerhörte Disziplin bewundernd, mit der diese Masse, dem leisesten Wink des Vorsängers gehorchend, agierte und so sicher dem raschen Wandel der Rhythmen folgte, daß es klang, als erdröhne der Boden unter dem Tritt eines einzigen Riesen. Und selbst die kleinen nackten Bübchen von 6, 8 Jahren ahmten ihren Vätern und Brüdern so geschickt nach, daß nur selten einmal einer in diesem pedalen Salamanderreihen nachklappte, in welchem Falle den beschämt Errötenden der zürnende Spottruf oder die rauhe Hand eines erwachsenen Zuschauers in den Hintergrund drängte."

Ein anderer, seltener aufgeführter Tanz bewegt sich nicht in Reihen, sondern in einer Schlangenlinie. Alle laufen, den Speer in der Hand, einer hinter dem andern her, alle in gleichem Schritt, und alle machen den Takt des an der Spitze laufenden Führers nach, so daß ein Lärm wie ein schneller Pferdegalopp entsteht (Nr. 19, S. 142).

Noch seltener sind Einzeltänze der Männer. Die Bewegungen des Solotänzers sind viel lebhafter als bei den Gruppentänzen. Gewöhnlich schlagen die Zuschauer mit den Händen den Takt dazu, oder es wird Begleitmusik mit Rasselstöcken

oder auf der Zither (inanga) oder auf der Trommel dazu gemacht. In „Kreuz und Schwert", 1901, S. 212, ist ein solcher Tanz folgendermaßen beschrieben:

„Der Tänzer macht allerlei Luftsprünge, bald kommt er dem Instrument, das den Takt angibt, näher, bald entfernt er sich in gewaltigen Sätzen davon, bald nimmt er einen Anlauf, als wolle er über den Spielenden wegspringen, bald kriecht er auf allen Vieren von dannen, fällt rücklings auf den Boden, schnellt plötzlich wieder empor und fährt mit diesen Possen so lange fort, bis ihm der Atem ausgeht. Dann nimmt ein andrer seine Stelle ein und ergötzt abermals die Umstehenden mit seinen tollen Streichen. Ist einer auch in den tollsten Sprüngen, sobald das Instrument stockt, hält er plötzlich inne, denn ohne Instrumentbegleitung tanzt er nicht."

Die Weiber stellen sich zu ihren Tänzen immer im Kreis auf. Darin tanzt eine einzelne, gewöhnlich ein junges Mädchen (manchmal auch zwei), indem sie mit halb ausgestreckten Armen und aufwärts gebogenen Händen in dem Kreis hin und her läuft und allerlei symbolische Bewegungen macht, die außerordentlich anmutig sind; v. Trotha erinnerten sie lebhaft an die Tänze der Bajaderen (Nr. 8, S. 72). Sie zeigen nicht eine Spur von erotischer Bedeutung, sondern sind offenbar Nachahmungen charakteristischer Tiere. M. v. d. Burgt erklärt die Armhaltung für eine Nachahmung des Rindergehörns und schreibt deshalb dem Tanz eine ursprünglich religiöse Bedeutung zu (Nr. 19, S. 142), mir scheint aber, daß es in vielen Fällen, wie bei ganz ähnlichen Tänzen in Ruanda, Nachahmungen der ausgebreiteten Flügel des Kronenkranichs, des Charaktertieres der sumpfigen Ruanda-Urundilandschaften, sein sollen. Auch die übrige Körperhaltung und das Hin- und Herlaufen stimmt dazu. In Ruanda heißt der Tanz, an dem mit Vorliebe auch die Knaben und zuweilen auch Männer teilnehmen, „Kranichtanz".

Während die Solotänzerin (oder zwei) so ihre Künste zeigt, stampfen die umstehenden Weiber rhythmisch den Boden mit den Füßen und singen wohl auch dazu, indem eine Vorsängerin ganz kurze Strophen, oft nur ein Wort, ausruft, das dann vom Chor der übrigen so lange wiederholt wird, bis die Vorsängerin eine neue Strophe angibt.

Besondere Kostüme zu den Tänzen gibt es nicht. Pater v. d. Burgt erwähnt und bildet ab eine „couronne", eine Mütze aus Raphiafasern, von der hinten ein langer Faserschweif auf den Rücken herabhängt, und bezeichnet sie als Schmuck der Tänzerinnen (Nr. 19, S. 407 und Fig. 138), aber diese „Kronen" sind sehr selten. Maskentänze oder Tanzvermummungen anderer Art kennen die Barundi ebenfalls nicht oder doch nur bestimmte symbolische Kultkleidungen bei den bestimmte religiöse Tänze leitenden Zauberern oder Priestern (s. S. 124, 126, 131 und Taf. 25, 54); dagegen werden zum Tanz oft die Gesichter mit weißer und roter Erde angemalt (vgl. S. 127, 128).

Von den Tänzen der Batwa ist nur zu sagen, daß sie im allgemeinen den Tänzen der Bahutu gleichen, daß die Batwa sehr leidenschaftlich tanzen und hauptsächlich beim Einzeltanz die wunderlichsten Körperverdrehungen und Sprünge machen. Auch bei ihnen begleiten die Umstehenden den Tanz mit dem Geräusch der Rasselkürbisse und mit dem Gesang kurzer Strophen, aber lauter und wilder als die Bahutu und Batussi.

Es ist bereits von dem zitherartigen Musikinstrument inanga die Rede gewesen, mit dem die Barundi oft die Solotänze begleiten. Es ist eine flache längliche Rinden- oder Holzschale, über die 6—8 Saiten aus Schafdarm oder Sehnen gespannt sind; wir nennen sie Schalenzither (Taf. 47, Fig. 6). Das Holz ist gewöhnlich mit einigen einfachen Linienornamenten geziert und der Boden von mehreren Löchern durch-

bohrt, die den Ton klangreicher machen sollen. Bemerkenswerterweise wird die Holzschale des Instrumentes von den Batwa geschnitzt, während die Bahutu die Saiten aufziehen; v. d. Burgt schließt daraus, daß die inanga-Zither ursprünglich Kulturbesitz der Batwa war und erst von den Bahutu übernommen worden ist (Nr. 19, S. 387). Viel wahrscheinlicher aber ist sie ihrer Verbreitung nach als Kulturgut der Bahima anzusehen (s. S. 158); sie kommt im Norden des Bahimagebietes bei den Banjankole ebenso vor wie im Süden bei den Wasipa.

Die Zither wird im Sitzen gespielt, das Instrument auf die Knie gelegt und die Saiten mit beiden Händen gezupft, nachdem sie der Spieler vorher durch Anziehen oder Nachlassen richtig gestimmt hat. Das Stimmen richtet sich ganz nach dem Charakter des beabsichtigten Gesanges und nach der Stimmlage des Sängers. Eine bestimmte Tonfolge innerhalb der Tonleiter habe ich an den gestimmten Saiten nicht bemerkt.

Wie bei uns so spielen auch bei den Barundi viele auf den Instrumenten, aber nur wenige können es wirklich gut. Berufsmäßige Musikanten gibt es nur an den Höfen der Häuptlinge, wo sie — vorwiegend Batwa — das Spielen der Trommeln, Flöten und Zithern zu besorgen haben; ebenso in Ruanda.

Zum Zitherspiel wird fast immer gesungen, und zwar mit ziemlich leiser Stimme und meist in Moll, der Charaktertonart der Neger. Weder die Stimmen noch die Vortragsart sind gut. Der Gesang behandelt entweder in kurzen Strophen irgendeinen Vorgang in der Umgebung, ein Ereignis der Gegenwart, eine Person, ein persönliches Erlebnis u. dgl., oder es ist einer der traditionellen alten Barundigesänge, die im Ritkirundidialekt gesprochen werden (s. S. 148) und scheinbar nichts sind als eine Folge von unzusammenhängenden Substantiven, Adjektiven, Wünschen, Befehlen usw., deren Sinn weder die Sänger noch die Zuhörer mehr recht verstehen (Nr. 19, S. 97).

Eigentliches Kriegs- oder Alarmhorn ist das Rindshorn (ikihuha), das am dünnen Ende mit einem Loch versehen ist; also die Form, wie sie allgemein in Ostafrika üblich ist. Auch die Kavamoaen benutzen solche Signalhörner viel.

Viel seltener ist die lediglich als Musikinstrument dienende klarinettenartige Flöte (ikihunchama), ein $^1/_4$ m langer Tubus aus Holz mit trichterförmiger Öffnung, der am unteren Ende drei Löcher hat, um verschiedene Töne hervorzubringen (Taf. 47, Fig. 3, 4).

Weit häufiger hingegen ist eine kurze Querpfeife (umwirongo), die, wie unsere Querpfeifen, nahe dem einen Ende ein Loch zum Einblasen und nahe dem anderen Ende zwei oder drei Löcher zum wechselweisen Zuhalten hat. Flöten und Querpfeifen werden seltener allein gespielt als im Orchester zusammen mit Trommeln, von denen nachher die Rede sein wird (S. 70).

Mehr Kinderspielzeuge als Instrumente sind Rohrpfeifen mit verstopften Enden und einem Loch in der Mitte, die sich die Knaben schneiden, und Rasselbretter (urukajambo), die namentlich den Mädchen zur Tanzbegleitung dienen. Diese Rasselbretter werden aus Rohrstäben gemacht, die in zwei durch ein querliegendes Rohrstück voneinander getrennte Lagen angeordnet sind, so daß zwischen diesen ein leerer Raum entsteht. Dahinein werden trockene Maiskörner getan, die nun beim Schütteln des hufenförmigen Rasselbrettes ein scharfes Rasseln an den Rohrwänden verursachen. Auch Rasselstäbe, d. h. Stöcke, an denen rasselnde kleine Kürbisse befestigt

sind, werden oft gebraucht (Taf. 47, Fig. 1, 5). Einzelne Rasselkürbisse werden bei religiösen Zeremonien geschwungen (Taf. 25a).

Das seltenste, aber am höchsten geschätzte Instrument ist schließlich die Trommel (ingoma, inkiranji), die nicht bloß Begleitinstrument zum Tanz, sondern auch Hauptorchesterinstrument der Häuptlinge ist und teilweise hohe Kultbedeutung hat. Gar nicht hingegen dient sie zum Signal- und Nachrichtengeben; eine „Trommelsprache", wie in anderen afrikanischen Ländern, gibt es in Urundi nicht.

Die Trommeln werden aus einem auf einer Seite glatt abgeschnittenen, auf der anderen Seite abgerundeten Stück Baumstamm verfertigt, der mit Schnitzmessern bis auf die ziemlich dünne Außenwand ausgehöhlt und dann auf einen kegelförmigen Holzfuß gesetzt wird, so daß das Ganze annähernd die Form eines „Römerweinglases" hat; auch die Getreidemörser sind ähnlich geformt. Das obere offene Flächende wird mit einem Stück dünn geschabter Rindshaut überspannt, die vorher in warmem Wasser eingeweicht wird. Durch kleine, rings um den Trommelrand befestigte Holzpflöcke wird die Haut stramm angespannt (Taf. 47, Fig. 2). Die Trommelschlegel sind zwei hölzerne Stäbe.

Wenn man die Trommel einen Tanz begleiten soll — fast immer nur die Einzeltänze, nicht Massentänze —, so wird sie von zwei, drei oder vier Mann derart geschlagen, daß einer unmittelbar nach dem anderen mit seinen zwei Schlegeln einen bestimmten Takt auf die Trommel schlägt, jeder aber einen anderen Takt als der nächste und jeder immer nur seinen Takt, so daß bei vier Teilnehmern eine aus vier verschiedenen Takten bestehende Trommelstrophe entsteht, die so lange wiederholt wird, bis der „Vortrommler" mit einem neuen Takt eine neue Strophe beginnt. Je lauter das Dröhnen, desto besser. Nach kurzer Zeit springt plötzlich einer der Tambours auf, während die anderen weitertrommeln, macht allerlei Luftsprünge, stampft den Boden, schleicht vor, rennt zurück und fuchtelt mit seinen Trommelschlegeln in der Luft umher wie besessen. Ebenso plötzlich springt er wieder auf die Trommel los und setzt das Trommeln mit seinem Mitarbeitern fort. Darauf folgt ein anderer oder auch einer der umstehenden Zuhörer und so fort stundenlang. Fast nie wird zu dem Trommelkonzert und Trommeltanz gesungen (Nr. 19, S. 388).

Trommeln sind in Urundi und Ruanda so selten, daß ein erfahrener Beobachter noch 1901 schreiben konnte: „In Urundi sind Trommeln unbekannt" (Kreuz und Schwert, 1900, S. 212), und daß ich während meiner zweimonatigen Reise durch Mittel-Urundi nicht einen einzigen Trommelschlag gehört habe. Diese Seltenheit begreift sich in einem Land, wo es nur in wenigen, eng begrenzten Gebieten noch große Bäume gibt, aus denen man Trommeln (und Boote) verfertigen könnte. Hauptsächlich wohl wegen dieser Kostbarkeit hat man den Besitz von Trommeln zu einem Vorrecht der Häuptlinge und des Königs gemacht. Weder das „Volk" der Barundi (Bahutu oder Batutsi) noch die Batwa dürfen Trommeln haben. Eine besondere Rolle spielt die Trommel des Königs. Diese gehört mit der Lanze, dem Fingerring oder Armring (Handscheibe) und den heiligen, hölzernen Milchgefäßen zu den königlichen Insignien, die der Herrscher seinem Nachfolger vermacht (Nr. 19, S. 524). Diese „heilige" Trommel ist eine Art Palladium des Reiches und trägt als solches den Namen akarjenda; sie ist sehr groß und aus dem Holz eines besonderen Baumes geschnitzt. Man betrachtet sie als Sitz des Schutzgeistes des Reiches und schwört in feierlichen Reden bei diesem „Trommelgeist" akarjenda (Nr. 19, S. 388). Eigne Wächter sind mit

der Wartung der Königstrommel betraut (s. S. 187); sie wird stets am Aufenthaltsort des Königs aufbewahrt und begleitet den Herrscher auch auf seinen Reisen nebst den heiligen Speeren und den heiligen Milchgefäßen (Mitteil. von Hauptmann v. Langenn). Die Felle zu den heiligen Trommeln werden nur von Rindern der sogenannten „heiligen Herde" (s. S. 44) genommen.

Von einer Vereinigung mehrerer Trommeln und anderer Instrumente zu einem Orchester weiß weder v. d. Burgt noch ein anderer Beobachter zu berichten, aber es wurde mir von Eingebornen versichert, daß am Hof des Königs Mutaga ein solches Orchester bestehe und von Batwa gespielt werde. Mir ist dies sehr wahrscheinlich, da es auch in der Residenz des Ruandakönigs Musinga ein aus mehreren verschieden abgestimmten Trommeln und Flöten zusammengesetztes Orchester gibt, das von Batwa gespielt wird. Es klingt sehr melodisch und ist eindrucksvoll, wenn es, mit einer dumpfen Trommel beginnend, allmählich die anderen Trommeln in langer Rhythmusfolge aufnimmt, langsam zu voller Kraft anschwillt, wo dann auch die Flöten schrill einfallen, und ebenso allmählich abschwillt, eine Trommel nach der anderen schweigt, bis am Ende die dumpfen Taktschläge der Anfangstrommel leise verhallen. Aber in den Nächten kann der schlafbedürftige Europäer durch dieses Trommelorchester schier zur Verzweiflung gebracht werden. Jedem, der beim Musinga zu Gast gewesen, wird diese Nachtmusik im Gedächtnis bleiben.

Von der musikalischen Seite der zur Instrumentmusik und den Tänzen häufig gesungenen Gesänge ist schon oben die Rede gewesen (S. 68). Ich möchte hier noch einiges über den Inhalt der Gesänge anschließen, wie er von v. d. Burgt aufgezeichnet worden ist. Dieser sagt, daß die meist in zusammenhanglosen Altrundiwörtern (s. S. 124, 148) vorgetragenen Gesänge größtenteils nicht einmal von den Barundi selbst mehr ihrem ursprünglichen Sinne nach verstanden würden. Auf die Frage nach der Bedeutung erhält man die Antwort: „Es bedeutet nichts, es ist nur ein Gesang." Nur die von den Gelehrten, Zauberern, Priestern esoterisch Eingeweihten haben einige Vorstellung von dem richtigen Sinn der Gesänge (Nr. 19, S. 97).

So lautet z. B. ein zur Zither gesungenes Lied:

„Ntiwarima ny' umwaka, ntiwarima.
ninanga ntiwire. umugano utanimbe.
yagene ku' nama. ibengo irittachjiku.

(Deutsch: man bestellt das Feld nicht in diesem Jahr, d. h. man geht in den Krieg. Häuptling Ninanga bleibt hier. Der Wassergraben springt nicht, d. h. der Grenzgraben ist trocken. Er geht nahe dem Gehöft vorbei. Das Amulett ist zerbrochen, d. h. ein unglückliches Vorzeichen für den Krieg.)

Gegenüber diesen alten traditionellen Liedern sind die beim Tanz gesungenen improvisierten Gesänge meist auf die Gegenwart zugeschnitten und werden in der modernen Umgangssprache vorgetragen. Aber auch sie sind nicht ein zusammenhängendes Lied, sondern lauter kurze abgerissene Sätze und Gedanken.

Anders die religiösen Gesänge, die bei bestimmten festlichen Kulthandlungen gesungen werden. Wir kommen auf sie im Kapitel „Religion" zu sprechen (S. 127).

Gesang einfachster Art begleitet oft, nicht immer, die von mehreren gemeinsam ausgeführte Arbeit, um durch den Rhythmus die Einzelkräfte zu konzentrieren oder zu größerer Ausdauer anzuhalten; so beim Lastenbewegen, bei gemeinsamer Hackarbeit im Feld, beim Bootrudern, beim Holzfällen usw. Es sind meist nur zwei oder drei Wörter, die von einem Beteiligten vorgesungen und von den andern so lange nachgeplärrt werden, bis der Vorsänger ein neues Wort, eine neue „Idee" angibt.

7

Sechstes Kapitel

Verkehrsmittel, Handel, Handwerk

1. Verkehrsmittel

In einem Land von so geringem Verkehr im Innern und nach außen, wie in Urundi, sind natürlich auch die Verkehrsmittel sehr primitiv. Die Wege von Dorf zu Dorf, von Landschaft zu Landschaft, sind einfach getretene schmale Fußpfade, die alle Hindernisse rechts oder links umgehen, und da, wo dies nicht möglich ist, wie z. B. in den äußerst steinigen Quarzitgebieten Inner- und Ost-Urundis, auch niemals ein Hindernis aus dem Weg räumen, sondern darüber wegsteigen. Diese Quarzitpfade sind daher für die nichteingebornen Karawanenträger oder gar für Europäer äußerst mühsam zu begehen. Dies um so mehr, als alle Wege Urundis wie Ruandas bestrebt sind, auf möglichst kurzer Linie die im Lande vorherrschenden langgestreckten Hügelrücken und Plateauflächen zu erreichen, um dort leicht fortlaufen zu können. Deshalb sind bei der Steilheit der vielen tief eingeschnittenen Täler die gerade hinauf und hinab über die Talhänge steigenden Pfade ein wahrer Greuel für jeden Nicht-Murundi.

Dazu kommt noch ein anderer, die Märsche erschwerender Umstand: Ganz Urundi und Ruanda hat trotz der zahllosen Bäche und Flüsse fast gar keine Brücken (ikiraro). Der Hauptgrund für diesen Mangel ist das Fehlen von geeignetem Bauholz in diesen baumlosen Ländern. Aber auch wo es noch genügend Bäume gibt, baut man doch nur in den seltensten Fällen eine Brücke, weil die Täler fast immer in der ganzen Breite ihrer Sohle von Schilf- oder Papyrussumpf erfüllt sind, in dessen Mitte sich ein schmaler offener Wasserlauf entlang schlängelt; die Sümpfe sind zu breit zum Brückenschlagen.

Gewöhnlich watet man bis an die Knie oder Hüften im schwarzen, stinkenden Morast durch die sumpfigen Bachtäler. Seltener werden Papyruswedel und Röhricht bündelweise abgehauen, an- und aufeinandergelegt, so daß eine Art schwimmender Brücke entsteht, die ein allzu tiefes Einsinken der Passanten in den Sumpf verhindert. An breiten offenen Flüssen, wie dem Ruvuvu, dem Akanjaru, Luwironsa u. a., sucht man bekannte Furten auf und watet hindurch, indem man, oft bis an die Schultern im Wasser, sich gegen den Strom mit einem Stock oder Speer stützt und alles, was nicht naß werden soll, in einem Bündel auf dem Kopf trägt. Dabei wird viel Geschrei gemacht, um die Krokodile zu verscheuchen. Wenn aber der Fluß zu tief ist, wird man von Einbäumen übergesetzt, womit die Anwohner sich einen Erwerb

[A71]

machen, oder man ist, wenn nur wenige Personen und leichte Lasten übergesetzt werden müssen, auf primitive Flöße (likitebo) angewiesen, die aus einigen Lagen zusammengebundener getrockneter Papyrusstangen hergestellt sind (Taf. 26b) und ein paarmal benutzt werden können, bis sie zuviel Wasser eingesogen haben. Am Mlagarassi sind auch große Kübel aus Baumrinde im Gebrauch, die einen Mann oder eine Last tragen können, während zwei oder drei Männer mitschwimmen und das Vehikel mitziehen und mitschieben (Nr. 19, S. 448).

Nur wenn gerade ein großer Baum an einem tiefen Bach, der nicht durchwatet werden kann, gestanden hat, wird er zu einem Steg umgewandelt, indem man ihn so abhaut, daß er fallend sich über die Bachränder legt; eventuell ist neben ihm noch eine lange Lianenleine hinübergespannt, an der man sich beim Übergang das Gleichgewicht halten kann. Solche Stege habe ich mehrmals in Uha angetroffen, wo es mehr Baumwuchs gibt als in Urundi. Hängebrücken gibt es nicht.

Wirkliche von den Eingebornen selbständig errichtete Brücken habe ich aber im ganzen Zwischenseengebiet nicht gesehen, während v. d. Burgt eine solche beschreibt: Einige gabelförmige Pfähle werden nebeneinander im Bachbett eingerammt und über die Gabeln ein paar lange Stämme gelegt, die einander annähernd parallel von Ufer zu Ufer reichen. Auf diese werden zirka 2 m lange Querhölzer in großer Zahl befestigt und schließlich hierauf Bündel von Rohr- oder Papyrusstengeln gebunden, so daß man bequem hinübergehen kann.

Wo die Missionen oder die Schutztruppe Wege angelegt haben, gibt es solide Holzbrücken nach europäischem Muster oder, wenn der Weg Sümpfe überschreitet, Erddämme oder Knüppeldämme. Im übrigen wird die Holzarmut des Landes immer dem Brückenbau hinderlich sein.

Das Vieh lassen die Eingebornen stets durch das Wasser schwimmen oder durch die Sümpfe waten, auch wenn Brücken vorhanden sind. Auch da werden etwa vorhandene Krokodile durch Geschrei verscheucht.

Da die Barundi wie die Banjaruanda keine Reit- und Lasttiere haben, müssen nicht nur alle Lasten, sondern auch Menschen, die nicht gehen können oder wollen, von Menschen getragen werden. Die Lasten werden in kleinen oder großen, meist mit trockenen Bananenblättern umschnürten Bündeln oder in großen aus Bast geflochtenen Körben frei auf dem Kopf getragen, zur Abwechslung auch einmal auf der Schulter, aber nie auf dem Rücken in einem Traggurt oder Tragnetz, wie z. B. in Kisiba oder in Ulsámbiro.

Kranke Menschen hingegen, die nicht gehen können, oder Vornehme, die nicht gehen wollen, werden auf einer Bahre (isjugi) befördert, die von zwei Männern auf den Schultern getragen wird. Auch der König bedient sich bei einigermaßen weiten Entfernungen einer solchen Bahre. Es sind aber keine bequemen, schön geflochtenen Tragkörbe, wie sie in Ruanda beim Musinga und den Batessigroßen üblich sind, sondern meist nur zwei starke Stangen, die durch Querhölzer verbunden sind und auf diesen eine Schicht Stroh oder auch ein Schaffell tragen, auf dem der Reisende liegt oder mit untergeschlagenen Beinen sitzt. Der alte, halb blinde König Kisabo reiste auf diese Weise oft mehrere Tage lang (Taf. 13a). Indessen kommen auch in Urundi geflochtene große Korbbahren vor.

Der Boote (ubwato) habe ich schon beim Fischfang kurz Erwähnung getan (S. 37). Es sind fast durchweg Einbäume; nur sehr selten und nur im äußersten

Often kleine Rindenkanus, die offenbar bloß zum Übersetzen über die sommerlichen Regenflüsse gebraucht werden, in der Trockenzeit aber zersprungen neben den trockenen Bachbetten liegen. Sie dienen also immer nur für eine Regenzeit und müssen jeden Sommer neu gemacht werden. Es sind nur drei mit Baumbast zusammengeflickte große lange Rindenstücke, deren eins den Boden, die beiden andern die Seitenwände bilden. Mehr als zwei Personen können sie nicht tragen.

Die Einbäume hingegen sind solide, wenn auch technisch höchst mangelhafte Gebilde und von langer Dauer. Die Art ihrer Herstellung betrachten wir später im Abschnitt „Handwerk" (S. 82), hier nur ihre Verwendung und Handhabung. Im inneren Urundi, an den Flüssen, sind die Einbäume selten und, dem Mangel an großen Bäumen entsprechend, klein und schlecht (Taf. 5b). Oft sind sie ganz krumm, so daß sie kaum das Gleichgewicht halten. In waldigen Gegenden, wie in Nord-Urundi, am Tanganika und Russisi, sind sie besser, größer und zahlreicher. Kanus von 15 m Länge und 1,50 m Breite sind keine Seltenheit am See; die besten kommen vom Westufer aus Uwembe, wo der hochstämmige Wald gutes Holz liefert, und werden an die Barundi für Ziegen oder für Perlen im Wert von 6—10 Rupien verkauft.

Die Boote sind meist vorne und hinten etwas abgeschrägt und zugespitzt, so daß sie gut auf flache Ufer auflaufen. Kein Boot hat ein Steuer, sondern es wird von einem der Ruderer gesteuert. Im seichten Wasser, z. B. nahe dem Tanganikastrand, benutzt man keine Ruder, sondern lange Bambusstangen, mit denen die Boote gestakt werden (Taf. 26a). Im tiefen oder stark strömenden Wasser dagegen wird mit ziemlich kurzen, zirka $1^1/_2$ m langen „Riemen" (ingaffi) gerudert, deren herzförmiges Blatt leicht gebogen ist, so daß es das Wasser gleichsam löffelt. Die Ruder werden nicht in Schlingen eingehängt oder in Löcher eingesteckt, sondern frei gehandhabt, und die Ruderer oder Staker stehen meist aufrecht im Boot, das Gesicht in der Fahrtrichtung. Ist nur ein Mann im Boot, so steht er hinten; sind zwei darin, so stehen sie im hinteren Drittel; sind drei darin, so stehen zwei hinten, einer vorne; sind vier darin, so stehen zwei hinten, zwei vorne. Nur auf langen, ermüdenden Fahrten setzen sie sich ins Boot auf Querhölzer. Wer nicht mit rudert, hockt sich auf den Boden des Kanus nieder.

Als Anker dient ein schwerer Stein, der an einen Baststrick festgebunden ist. Maste und Segel gibt es nicht, auch keine Ausleger. Kein Boot ist durch Schnitzereien oder Malereien verziert. Eingedrungenes Wasser wird mit Kürbisschalen oder mit kleinen hölzernen Schippen ausgelöffelt. Wenn aber ein Boot einen Riß oder ein Leck bekommen hat, bindet oder „näht" man durch Löcher, die mit einer glühenden Eisenspitze in die Ränder des Lecks gebrannt werden, ein brettförmiges Stück Holz durch Bastschnüre fest darauf und kalfatert von innen und außen mit Baumbast oder Schilf; auch benutzt man dazu Bitumen, das am Tanganika nicht selten ist.

Die Batwa besitzen keine Boote, aber sie verstehen sich gut auf deren Anfertigung im Dienst der Barundi (Nr. 19, S. 66).

Die Mangelhaftigkeit der Einbäume verbietet lange und weite Fahrten auf dem Tanganikasee. Höchst selten einmal fährt ein großes Boot mit mehreren Ruderern quer über den See von Usumbura nach Uwira. Die allermeisten halten sich in 100 bis 200 m Entfernung von der Küste und fahren auch von Usumbura nach Uwira an der Nordküste des Sees entlang. Häufig werden Einbäume vom Gouvernement in Usumbura nach Udjidji geschickt und umgekehrt. Diese bleiben ebenfalls immer in Küstennähe, so daß sie auf der ganzen Fahrt staken können, was schneller geht als Rudern.

und brauchen für die Zurücklegung der in Luftlinie zirka 180 km langen Strecke 5 Tage, wobei sie aber gegenwärtig nur in der Nacht fahren, da am Tage vielenorts am See die Glossina palpalis, die gefürchtete Schlafkrankheitsfliege, schwärmt.

Auf solche mehrtägigen Reisen wird gewöhnlich der Proviant vom Ausgangsort mitgenommen; meistens Bataten, die einfach auf den Boden des Bootes geschüttet und an den Rastplätzen abgekocht werden.

Das Schwimmen (kuoga) lernen die Seeanwohner als Kinder, gehen aber nicht weit ins Wasser wegen der Krokodile. Im Innern, wo die Flüsse viele Krokodile haben, wird nur wenig geschwommen. Die Schwimmbewegungen sind die aller ostafrikanischen Neger: man wirft sich mit weit ausholendem Arm von einer Seite auf die andere und rudert immer nur mit einem Arm.

2. Handel, Geld, Maße, Gewichte

Nennenswerten Handel gibt es im großen Urundireich nur im Tanganikagebiet. In ganz Inner-Urundi, das ja aus politischen Gründen vom Gouvernement für den allgemeinen Handel und Verkehr mit der Außenwelt gesperrt ist und wo nur Wanderhändler in geringer Zahl zugelassen sind, beschränkt sich der Handel in der Hauptsache auf den Austausch von Landeserzeugnissen der Eingebornen unter sich, der, mit Ausnahme von Salz, nicht auf weite Entfernungen, sondern von Nachbarschaft zu Nachbarschaft stattfindet.

Während im Tanganikagebiet Urundis unter dem Einfluß der kongolesischen Nachbarschaft an vielen Orten täglich Märkte (akaguriro) abgehalten werden, kennt man diese nützliche Einrichtung in Inner-Urundi gar nicht; außer bei den Missionsstationen und der neuen Residentur Gitega. Aber der Besuch einiger dieser Märkte am Tanganika, namentlich Usumburas, durch Barundi des Innern und die Handelsgänge von Tanganikaleuten nach Inner-Urundi, um dort Viehhäute und Wachs zu kaufen und nach Usumbura zu bringen, haben in den letzten Jahren sehr zugenommen, trotz der Schlafkrankheit.

Unter sich tauschen die abgelegenen Barundi des Innern Bodenfrüchte gegen andere Bodenfrüchte oder gegen Ziegen, Schafe, Felle, Rindenzeug, Töpfe, Eisenhacken usw. aus, an deren Erzeugung die Batwa stark beteiligt sind (S. 72). Die einzige von weither kommende Handelsware ist das Salz, das in Urundi selbst nirgends gewonnen wird und früher größtenteils vom benachbarten Uha eingeführt wurde, jetzt aber in viel besserer Qualität aus der europäisch betriebenen Saline Gottorp, am unteren Mlagarassi, über Usumbura ins Innere Urundis verhandelt wird (Taf. 27a).

Im Tanganikagebiet war früher Palmöl der Haupthandelsartikel (S. 53), aber seitdem die furchtbare Seuche der Schlafkrankheit allen Handel und Wandel im Tanganikagebiet gelähmt hat, ist auch der Ölhandel sehr zurückgegangen. Das Öl geht zum kleinsten Teil nach Inner-Urundi, größtenteils nach Udjidji und nach der kongolesischen Westküste des Sees. Bananen, Pombebier, Butter, Fische, Ziegen, Schafe werden sowohl nach Inner-Urundi als nach Udjidji und Ostkongoland ausgeführt. Vom Kongogebiet kommt dafür hauptsächlich Kautschuk, etwas Elfenbein und wiederum Vieh. Weitaus der meiste Handel mit dem Kongogebiet ist Schmuggel.

Während in unserem Gebiet Ein- und Ausfuhr frei sind, haben die Kongolesen Import und Export mit nicht unbeträchtlichen Zöllen belegt, die aber von den Eingebornen mit großer Findigkeit umgangen werden. Namentlich über die sehr schwer kontrollierbaren Passagen durch die Sumpfdickichte des Russisi wird fast alles geschmuggelt.

Aus Inner-Urundi kommen nur Wachs und Rindshäute zum Export, wofür hauptsächlich Perlen, dicker Draht (Eisen, Kupfer, Messing), verhältnismäßig wenig Baumwollstoffe, aber viel Salz genommen werden. 1911 rechnete man 18—20 000 Rindshäute, die jährlich aus Inner-Urundi nach Usumbura kamen, zum Preis bzw. im Wert von 8 Rupien pro Frasila. Die Wachsausfuhr betrug 500—600 Frasila jährlich à 18—20 Rupien. Die Häute stammen meist von gefallenen Tieren, da zum Essen und Opfern nur wenige geschlachtet werden (S. 45). Lebendes Großvieh wird gar nicht ausgeführt, weil sich die Batussi als Eigentümer der Rinder sehr schwer von ihnen trennen und die Absatzmöglichkeit nur gering ist, solange sie nicht per Dampfer und Eisenbahn an den europäischen Abnehmer gebracht werden können. Auch ist es ein schweres Hindernis für den Vieherport, daß ganz Urundi mit Ausnahme der Nordseite (gegen Ruanda) und der Richtung nach Udjidji hin von einem mächtigen Gürtel der dem Vieh verderblichen Tsetsefliege umgeben ist, der aber vielleicht einmal von der Eisenbahn durch besondere Schutzeinrichtungen durchbrochen werden kann.

Die Ausfuhr dieser beiden fast ausschließlich für den Handel in Betracht kommenden Landeserzeugnisse, Viehhäute und Wachs, bewegt sich zum größten Teil von Usumbura über Kigali nach Bukoba oder aus Ost-Urundi über Uffuwi nach Bukoba; nur wenig geht über Udjidji, da von dort der Landtransport zur Küste zu weit und zu teuer ist, woran auch die Tanganikabahn mit ihren hohen Frachten zunächst kaum etwas ändern wird. Ein Lastträger, der 60—70 Pfund und noch mehr trägt, bekam 1911 für die Strecke Usumbura-Kigali 4—5 Rupien, für den Weg Usumbura-Bukoba 8—9 Rupien und für den Rückweg Bukoba-Usumbura, auf dem er keine so unförmige Last wie die getrockneten Rindshäute zu schleppen hat, 7—8 Rupien. Der Handelsweg von Usumbura durch das Russisital nach dem Kiwusee ist wegen der Schlafkrankheit gesperrt.

Unter den Wirkungen der Schlafkrankheit hat natürlich auch der Verkehr auf den Märkten stark gelitten. Während man um 1900 noch über ein Dutzend gut besuchter Märkte im Umkreise von 3 Stunden um Usumbura zählte, von denen der Usumburamarkt täglich von etwa 5000 Personen frequentiert war, haben jetzt in dieser Gegend nur noch zwei Märkte einige Bedeutung: Usumbura selbst (Taf. 27b) und Kajaggo am Nordzipfel des Sees. Dazu kommt neuerdings im Innern bei der neuen Regierungsstation Gitega ein Markt von wachsender Bedeutung. Kleine Märkte für bloßen Lokalbedarf gibt es daneben eine ganze Reihe. Den Usumburamarkt, der wie alle anderen von früh 6 bis 10 Uhr oder 11 Uhr abgehalten wird, besuchen immer noch über 1000 Personen täglich, und unter behördlicher deutscher Aufsicht geht es sehr geordnet dort zu; sogar eine Markthalle in Gestalt eines großen Wellblechdaches zum Sonnen- und Regenschutz ist da. Unter ihm und im Freien vor ihm hocken die Verkäufer, meist Weiber, in langen Reihen; jeder hat seine Ware in Körben oder auf Matten oder Bananenblättern ausgebreitet vor sich. Die von v. d. Burgt vor 15 Jahren aufgestellte einheimische Warenliste gilt noch heute: Öl, Salz, Bier, Baumwollstoffe, Fische, Matten, Töpfe, Krüge, Tabakbündel, Schnupftabak, Seifenkugeln, Hirse,

Mais, Mehl, Bananen, Erdnüsse, Zuckerrohr, Bataten, Yams, Maniok, Kürbisse, Rindfleisch, Ziegen, Schafe, Hühner, Netze, Speerstäbe, Bambusstangen, Schilfrohr, Feuerholz, Stricke, Bindfaden, Hacken usw. Außerdem sieht man da heutzutage allerlei billige europäische Industrierzeugnisse, wie grellbunte baumwollene Decken, verschiedene bedruckte Baumwollstoffe, Petroleum, Zigaretten, Glasperlen, Eisen-, Kupfer-, Messingdraht, Eisenwaren, Porzellangeschirr.

Auch v. Trotha bezeichnete die Märkte als „das am meisten Charakteristische der Gegend. Hier wird alles gehandelt, was nur möglich ist, unter Geschrei vertauscht oder mit Perlschnüren und Zeug bezahlt. Der Markt von Mamkasa an der Nordostküste des Tanganikasees wies Tausende von feilschenden und schreienden Menschen auf, aber alles geht in Ordnung und ohne Streit ab. Ein Weib kauft man für 10 Schnüre roter Perlen, und wenn man sie nicht mehr mag, bringt man sie wieder auf den Markt und vertauscht sie wieder gegen Perlen." (Nr. 8, S. 77.) Das Weiberkaufen auf dem Markt hat freilich jetzt aufgehört und dürfte wohl schon 1896 zur Zeit der Trothaschen Reise sehr selten gewesen sein.

Der Markt ist der Ort, wo „man" sich trifft, guckt, schwatzt, Neuigkeiten hört und mitteilt, Pombe trinkt, Geschäftliches und Ungeschäftliches bespricht und viel anderes Nützliches und Überflüssiges tut. Auch wenn sie nichts kaufen oder verkaufen wollen, gehen viele Barundi auf den Markt, um sich zu unterhalten. Geht es in der Bierecke zu lebhaft zu oder entsteht eine Prügelei, so schafft die Marktpolizei unter Mitwirkung der friedlichen Elemente schnell Ruhe.

Auf den Hauptmärkten Usumbura, Kajagga und Gitega ist der deutsch-ostafrikanische Heller die kursierende Münze; silberne Rupien, $^1/_2$- und $^1/_4$-Rupienstücke sieht man seltener. Auf den anderen Märkten des zu Urundi gehörenden nördlichen Seegebietes sind neben den Hellern noch allerlei andere Geldsurrogate im Umlauf, aber ins große innere Urundi ist das Hellergeld noch nicht gedrungen oder wird doch nur an den wenigen Stationen und Hauptverkehrswegen der Missionen und des Gouvernements gekannt, aber ungern genommen. Dort herrscht noch überall die Perle als Tauschmittel, wie sehr sich auch das Gouvernement bemüht, das Heller- und Rupiengeld einzuführen und dadurch nicht nur den Verkehr flüssiger zu machen, sondern auch der künftigen Steuererhebung vorzuarbeiten. Erfolg werden diese Bemühungen erst haben, wenn Urundi wirklich unter Verwaltung genommen und die Hütten- oder Kopfsteuer eingeführt sein wird, die in Geld entrichtet werden muß. Dasselbe gilt für Ruanda, wo aber durch den schon lebhafter gewordenen Außenhandel und durch die seit Jahren im Zentrum gelegene Residentur Kigali mit ihrer Händleransiedlung der Geldverkehr sich bereits sehr ausbreitet.

In Urundi ist das gebräuchlichste Kleingeld die rosafarbige Perle simsim oder samsam, von denen eine zirka 30 cm lange Schnur (kete, Kette?) die Münzeinheit im Wert von 3 Hellern bildet. 10 Schnüre sind 1 ifundo, 10 ifundo = 1 ingoje, 10 ingoje = 1 akanono (Nr. 19, S. 111). Die Samsamperle dient daneben als hauptsächlicher Halsschmuck der Männer und der Weiber.

Wertvoller ist eine längliche violette, weißgestreifte Perle, inganga, von denen eine gleich einer kete Samsam gilt, und noch wertvoller die dicken weißen Perlen amaguru, von denen eine zweimal um den Hals reichende Schnur den Wert von 10 kete Samsam hat. Außerdem gibt es namentlich im Seegebiet noch mittelgroße blaue und lackglänzende rötliche und weiße Perlen sowie große spindelförmige weiße mit roten Ringeln u. a., aber alle diese und andere Sorten haben keinen festen Münz-

wert wie die obengenannten, sondern wechselnden Tauschwert. Gelbe, grüne und schwarze Perlen werden nirgends genommen.

Natürlich schwankt auch der Wert der „Geldperlen" nach dem Vorrat an Perlen und nach Angebot und Nachfrage der Ware. Im allgemeinen galten früher im Innern folgende Wertmaße: 5 Bananen = 1 Heller, 1 Traube von zirka 20 Bananen = 1 kete, 2 Doppelhand Mehl = 1 kete, 1 Handvoll Salz = 1 kete, 1 Topf Bier = 3 kete, 1 Eisenhacke = 6 kete, 1 Topf Honig = 1 ifundo, 1 Ziege = 3 ifundo, 1 Schaf = 4 ifundo, 1 Stier = 5—10 ingoje, 1 Kuh = 20 ingoje. Heute aber kostet im Innern 1 Ziege bereits 3 — 4 Rupien, und entsprechend sind alle andern Preise gestiegen.

Baumwollstoffe, die früher von den Häuptlingen streng verboten waren, werden jetzt im Innern sehr gern genommen, am liebsten das gewöhnliche weiße „amerikani", von dem 1 Gora von 30 Ellen im Innern ungefähr 12 Rupien wertet. Auch die mit braunen Mustern bedruckten „Lesso" oder „Kanga", wie sie in Ruanda beliebt sind, verbreiten sich allmählich in Urundi.

Das allgemein übliche Hohlmaß für Mehl, Getreide, Bohnen usw. ist die doppelte Hohlhand (kumaschi) oder auf den Märkten eine ihr gleich große Kürbisschale. Größere Gegenstände, wie Maniokwurzeln, Bataten, Bananen u. a., werden nach der Stückzahl verkauft. Einheimische Gewichte gibt es gar nicht. Erst der Verkehr mit den Fremden hat im Außenhandel, z. B. für Rindshäute, Elfenbein, Wachs, das seit der Araberzeit in ganz Ostafrika gebräuchliche Frasila (35 Pfund engl.) auch hier eingeführt.

Die Kaurimuschel als Geld ist weder in Urundi noch in Ruanda bekannt.

Handwerk

F. Stuhlmann sagt in seinem ausgezeichneten Buch „Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika", Hamburg, L. Friederichsen & Co., 1910: „Es ist zu betonen, daß in Afrika das Handwerk fast überall nur Nebensache ist; die Grundlage der Volkswirtschaft bildet die Landwirtschaft" (S. 3). Dies trifft auch für Urundi zu; und zwar ist hier das Handwerk größtenteils „Hauswerk", d. h. die Rohprodukte werden im Haus für eigenen Bedarf verarbeitet und nur der Überschuß gegen Erzeugnisse anderer vertauscht. Hausindustrie, d. h. Herstellung größeren Umfanges im Hause für fremden Bedarf und Verkauf nach auswärts als Lebensunterhalt, gibt es nur für Töpferei und Schmiederei. Dagegen ist das „Lohnwerk", in welcher der Handwerker gegen Lohn im Haus des Bestellers die vom Besteller gelieferten Rohstoffe verarbeitet (Stör), mehrfach in Übung, z. B. in der Herstellung von Rindenstoff, im Hüttenbau, in der Holzschnitzerei. Natürlich gibt es in jeder Technik und in jeder Familie Geschickte und Ungeschickte, und die Arbeiten der ersteren werden selbstverständlich den Erzeugnissen der letzteren vorgezogen, aber nur in der Töpferei und der Schmiederei vererbt sich der Beruf vom Vater auf den Sohn und Enkel. In erster Linie sind es die Batwa, die diese beiden Handwerke von Generation zu Generation ausüben, aber auch unter den Bahutu gibt es Familien, in denen das Töpfer- oder das Schmiedehandwerk erblich ist (Nr. 19, S. 369). Das Schmieden, das Holzschnitzen, die Rindenstofftechnik sind ausschließlich Männerarbeit, die Flechterei nur Frauenarbeit. Auch die Töpferei wird bei den Bahutu nur von Frauen be-

trieben, bei den Batwa ebenfalls hauptsächlich von Frauen, aber auch von Männern (Nr. 19, S. 451).

Die Töpferei (inkono, Topf) wird natürlich vorwiegend da ausgeübt, wo der Boden den geeigneten Ton enthält. Das ist in den Tonschiefergebieten Urundis und Ruandas an vielen Stellen der Fall, wo sich aus verwittertem oder auch abgeschwemmtem Tonschiefer guter Töpferton (uwumba) gebildet hat. Er ist meist dunkelgrau bis schwarz. So kommt es, daß an solchen Stellen ganze Dörfer von Töpfern angesiedelt sind; ein Vorgang, der durch die Stammesabsonderung der pariaartigen Batwa noch sehr erleichtert wurde und wird.

Der von den Männern gegrabene Ton wird mit Wasser durchgeknetet und mit einer Keule geschlagen, bis er von gröberen Teilen befreit und geschmeidig geworden ist. Dann wird auf eine Topfscherbe als Unterlage ein kleiner runder, mit der Hand etwas flachgedrückter Tonklumpen gelegt und auf dessen Rand ein wurstförmiger Tonwulst aufgesetzt, so daß eine Art Schale entsteht (Taf. 7b). Dieses An- und Übereinanderfügen von langen Tonwürsten wird nun fortgesetzt, indem sie mit der nassen Hand flachgedrückt und miteinander verstrichen werden, und dabei wird das Ganze auf der unterliegenden Scherbe (urudsjo) fortwährend hin und her gedreht (primitive Drehscheibe) und mit der Hand unter Wasserspritzen geglättet, bis der Topf die gewünschte Höhe und Form erreicht hat. Der Rand wird darauf mit einem Baumblatt ebenmäßig abgestrichen. Das eigentliche Glätten außen und innen wird aber erst vorgenommen, nachdem das Gefäß ein wenig an der Luft getrocknet ist. Man benutzt dazu ein Stück Kalebasse, ein Hölzchen, ein Stück Rinde oder einen kleinen flachen Stein. Und schließlich werden mit einem spitzen Holz- oder Eisenstück einfache Linienornamente (Wellenlinien oder zickzackförmige Reihen kurzer Striche) unter dem Hals eingekratzt. Färben der Töpfe oder Einritzen von Figuren oder gar Glasieren gibt es nicht. Van der Burgt glaubt, in den Wellen- und Zickzacklinien der Topfornamente geheimnisvolle Symbole der „Blitze Imanas", des obersten Gottes, sehen zu sollen, also „eine Art Hieroglyphenschrift" (Nr. 19, S. 452). Ich glaube nicht an solchen Tiefsinn der Töpfer, sondern halte die Muster für eine rein mechanische Äußerung des Schmucktriebes, wie mir auch die Barundi und Batwa selbst eine tiefere Bedeutung verneinten. Dieselben einfachen, durch die primitive Technik mitbestimmten Ornamente haben auch unsere steinzeitlichen Tongefäße.

Der nunmehr fertige Topf wird erst an der Sonne getrocknet und dann gebrannt. Zu diesem Behuf wird als Unterlage eine größere Zahl bereits gebrannter Töpfe mit der Mündung nach unten auf den Erdboden gestellt, darauf eine Reihe gekreuzter Mais- oder Sorghumstengel gelegt und auf diese die neuen Töpfe dicht nebeneinandergestellt. Oben darauf häuft man trockenes Gras, da man nur selten Brennholz hat, zündet es an und fügt immer weiter dürres Gras hinzu, bis die Töpfe gründlich gebrannt sind. Aus der Asche werden endlich die nun fertigen Töpfe herausgenommen und durch Wasserspritzen abgekühlt, aber die anhaftenden Aschenteilchen werden nicht entfernt, denn sie sind das Kennzeichen, daß der Topf noch nicht gebraucht ist; einen schon gebrauchten würde ein Murundi nie von einem Mutwa kaufen.

Die Barundi und namentlich die Batwa machen Tongefäße verschiedener Form und Bestimmung (Taf. 48): kleine längliche, enghalsige Krüge zum Holen und Aufbewahren von Wasser und Bier; große kugelrunde oder dickbauchige Töpfe mit größerer Öffnung zum Kochen; Näpfe und Schalen zum Trinken; bauchige Töpfe mit kegel-

förmigem Deckel zur Aufbewahrung von Butter; weite Trichter zum Einfüllen von Flüssigkeiten; selten auch Gefäße mit zwei Öffnungen und Tabakspfeifen mit zwei Köpfen zu Votivzwecken, wie in Ruanda (Nr. 19, S. 452 und Textbild 11; Nr. 48, S. 318). Große dreibeinige Töpfe werden nur für den religiösen Kultus angefertigt (S. 127).

Die Tabakspfeifen (inkono j'itabi, injungu) verdienen besondere Erwähnung, obgleich sie in der hauptsächlich „schnupfenden" Barundibevölkerung nur eine geringe Rolle spielen; sie werden nämlich nur von Männern gemacht und sind viel sauberer und zierlicher als die übrigen Töpferwaren der Barundi. Die Grundform ist dieselbe wie in Ruanda, aber im einzelnen variieren die Formen zwischen spitz trichterförmigen und fast kugeligen Köpfen je nach Laune des Verfertigers oder des Bestellers (Taf. 49).

Kein einziges Tongeschirr der Barundi hat einen flachen Boden oder einen Henkel, höchstens einen Wulst zum Anfassen. Sie müssen deshalb beim Hinstellen immer durch Steine gestützt oder in eine Erdvertiefung oder einen Strohring gesetzt werden. Im Tanganikagebiet sieht man zwar nicht selten Gefäße mit Henkeln oder Schnabelausgüssen oder Füßen, aber dies sind stets Fabrikate der Wawira vom kongolesischen Westufer und meist auf besondere Bestellung so geformt. Die einfachen Urundigefäße sind sehr billig: in Usumbura wird ein großer Kochtopf für 1 Heller, im Innern zwei Töpfe für 1 kete Perlen verkauft.

In der Flechterei (kudsjischa) sind die Barundi kaum weniger geschickt als die Banjaruanda, aber in der Musterung und Ornamentierung stehen sie weit hinter jenen zurück. Man kann in der Flechterei drei Arten unterscheiden: Bindetechnik, Webetechnik, Näh- oder Schlingtechnik (Nr. 32a, S. 42). Die Bindetechnik ist die einfachste; sie besteht darin, daß Rohrstengel oder Papyrusstreifen oder Grosbüschel oder Binsen nebeneinandergelegt und durch einige querlaufende Bastschnüre miteinander verbunden werden. So macht man Matten, offene Körbe, Siebe, aber dieses Flechtwerk ist so wenig dicht, daß es nur beschränkte Verwendung finden kann. Matten gibt es ohnehin im innern Urundi nur sehr wenige; selbst die Häuptlinge setzen sich gewöhnlich auf den bloßen Fußboden oder auf ein Fell. In einigen Gegenden braucht man aber solche aus langen Gräsern geflochtene Matten, um sich zum Schlafen nackt darein einzuwickeln (N. 19, S. 390). Viel mehr Matten findet man im Tanganikagebiet, wo ihr Gebrauch vom Kongo und von Norden (Ruanda) her sich eingebürgert haben mag. Bemerkenswerterweise sind es in Urundi fast immer die Männer, die die Matten flechten, auch die Batwa, während in Ruanda die oft wunderhübsch gemusterten, fein geflochtenen Bodenmatten, Bettjalousien, Bettmatten, die großen Wandschirme u. dgl. nur von Frauen geflochten werden.

Eine viel breitere Ausdehnung findet die Webetechnik in der Verfertigung von Körben, Tellern, Beuteln, Säcken u. a. m. (Taf. 51). Gewöhnlich werden zwei Lagen feiner Baststreifen rechtwinkelig ineinander verflochten wie ein Gewebe, und je nach dem Material ist das Flechtwerk fest und elastisch oder weich und geschmeidig, aber immer sehr dicht. Die dazugehörigen Instrumente sind nur ein dünnes Holzstäbchen, das die Masche zum Durchschieben des Flechtfadens lockert, oder eine eiserne Nadel ohne Öhr, aber mit einem Vorsprung, um den der Bastfaden zum Durchziehen geschlungen wird. So macht man große und kleine, runde und eckige, hohe und niedrige, offene und Deckelkörbe, lange enge Behälter zum Aufbewahren von Biersaugröhren, sehr große als Reisekoffer dienende Deckelkörbe, Mehlschwingen, Speiseteller, Getreidesäcke, bisweilen auch Pfeilköcher u. a. m. Seiten werden durch

Einflechten schwarz gefärbter Baststreifen einfache lineare Muster erzeugt. Diese Webetechnik ist in Urundi ausschließlich Frauenarbeit; nur die großen flachen Mehlschwingen werden von den Männern gearbeitet (Nr. 19, S. 577), vermutlich weil diese Geflechte mit Kuhdünger gedichtet werden, also mit einem Erzeugnis der Rinder, mit denen sich die Weiber prinzipiell nicht befassen dürfen.

In der Näh- oder Schlingtechnik endlich werden die Flechtwerke aus langen, dünnen, umwickelten Stroh- oder Bastwulsten hergestellt (ähnlich wie die Bienenkörbe unserer Bauern), die spiralförmig übereinander verlaufen und miteinander durch den die Wulste umwickelnden Bastfaden eng verbunden werden; daher auch Spiraltechnik genannt (Taf. 50). Diese Technik liefert Körbe und Schüsseln mit dickeren, gegen Druck und Stoß widerstandsfähigeren Wänden als die vorige; ferner wasserdichte Becher, die langen Zipfeldeckel der Kürbisflaschen für Bier, die oft sehr hübschen kranzförmigen Ringe zum Aufstellen von Gefäßen und zum Tragen von Lasten auf dem Kopf. Auch diese Technik ist nur Frauenarbeit. Stuhlmann nimmt an, daß sie hamitischen Ursprungs sei (Nr. 32a, S. 44), was ja ihre Hauptverbreitung und hohe Vollendung in den Batussistaaten erklären würde, und auch F. von Luschan macht darauf aufmerksam, daß sie von den Somal bis zu den Ovambo charakteristisch für hamitische oder hamitisch beeinflußte Stämme ist (Nr. 40, S. 252).

Schließlich seien die durch einfache kreuzweise Verknüpfung gedrehter Bastschnüre hergestellten Tragnetze erwähnt, in denen Kalebassen und andere Gegenstände in den Hütten aufgehängt werden (Taf. 51). Diese Netze sind den Barundi unentbehrlich, denn Flechtwerk kann auch in den Hütten nicht auf dem Fußboden stehengelassen werden, weil es von den Termiten angefressen wird.

Fischnetze werden von den See-Barundi des Tanganikagebietes in ähnlicher Weise mit weiten oder mit engen Maschen geflochten, aber dies scheint eine von den kongolesischen Wawira und Wabemba gelernte Kunst zu sein (Nr. 19, S. 577).

Das Weben von Gewandstoffen ist den Barundi unbekannt, denn sie tragen Rindenstoff- und Fellgewänder und erst neuerdings europäische Baumwollgewebe.

Die Holzschnitzerei (uwuwasi) tritt begreiflicherweise in einem so äußerst baumarmen Land wie Urundi hinter der Töpferei, Flechterei und Metalltechnik zurück. Das meiste Schnitzwerk wird in den westlichen Berggegenden hergestellt, wo es noch Reste hochstämmigen Urwaldes gibt, und von dort in die holzarmen zentralen Landstriche verhandelt. Namentlich die Batwa sind gute Holzschnitzer, und zwar sind es bei ihnen, wie bei den Bahutu und den Batussi, nur die Männer, die der Holzschnitzerei obliegen. Die gewöhnlichen hölzernen Gegenstände im Haushalt, wie Pfähle, Stäbe, Getreidestößer, Hackenstiele, Messergriffe u. dgl., verfertigt jeder selbst, da sie keine besondere Kunstfertigkeit erfordern, aber andere Holzarbeiten, die eine gute technische Kenntnis und Übung verlangen, wie Lanzenschäfte, Bogen, Pfeile, Köcher, Handscheiben, Meltgefäße, Blasebälge, Schilde, Getreidemörser, werden von Spezialisten hergestellt, die ihre Erzeugnisse vertauschen oder verkaufen (Taf. 52). Charakteristisch ist auch für die Holztechnik der Barundi und Banjaruanda, was Stuhlmann an aller afrikanischen Holztechnik hervorhebt (Nr. 32a, S. 28), daß nämlich die Gegenstände immer aus einem Stück Holz herausgearbeitet werden. Zusammengesetzte Werkstücke sind äußerst selten: in Urundi wie in Ruanda nur die aus zwei flachen zusammengebundenen Brettchen bestehenden Messer- und Dolchscheiden. Eine Verbindung von Schnitzerei und Flechtwerk ist die eine Art der in Urundi äußerst seltenen Schilde

(ingabo), deren längliche Holzplatte mit Streifen von Fikusrinde oder von Rotang überflochten ist, die bloß den zentralen Holzbuckel unbedeckt lassen (Taf. 53). In Ruanda sind diese beflochtenen Schilde, die Stuhlmann dem Kulturkreis der Bahima zuschreibt (Nr. 32a, S. 30), häufiger, aber auch nur vereinzelt; erst nach Uganda hin werden sie häufig.

Als Handwerkszeug zur Holzbearbeitung haben die Barundi kein Spezialinstrument, sondern nur die beiden kleinen Hacken, das sichelförmige langstielige Haumesser (Taf. 46, Fig. 4), die wir schon bei Besprechung des Ackerbaues kennengelernt haben (S. 49), sowie die kurzen und langen Messer, die zu allem möglichen im Tagesgebrauch dienen (Textbild 16). Um Lanzenschäfte zu runden und zu glätten, steckt man auf ein kleines zweischneidiges Messer ein Stückchen Holz und fährt mit dem dadurch gebildeten Winkel so lange auf dem Stab schabend hin und her, bis er die gewünschte Form erreicht hat. Auch die hölzernen Armscheiben werden, nachdem sie aus dem Holzklotz herausgeschnitten sind, mit dem Messer so lange geschabt und mit Fikusblättern (die wohl stark kieselig sind) so lange gerieben, bis sie die elegante, mathematisch korrekte Form und die glatte Oberfläche haben, die wir an ihnen bewundern müssen.

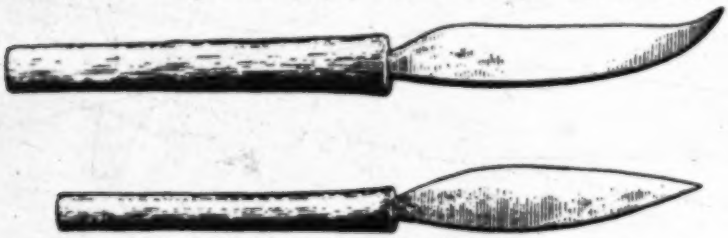

Fig. 16. Arbeitsmesser der Barundi.
(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Nr. 4366.)

Die hier und dort auf Holzgeräten und Kalebassen angebrachten einfachen Ornamente paralleler Linien werden selten eingeschnitzt, meist eingebrannt in einer Art Brandmalerei. Es werden nämlich hierzu auf einem alten Messer oder einer alten Lanzenspitze kleine Scharten ausgebrochen, so daß mehrere sägeartige Spitzen entstehen. Fährt man nun mit diesem glühend gemachten Eisen über das Holz, so brennen diese Spitzen lauter parallele Linien ein (Nr. 19, S. 367). Im übrigen sind Sägen zum Zerteilen des Holzes ebenso unbekannt wie Bohrer und Nägel. Löcher werden deshalb ebenfalls mit glühenden Eisenspitzen ins Holz gebrannt, und Bretter oder Bohlen werden, in Ermangelung von Sägen, wie überall in Ostafrika, aus dicken Stammstücken herausgearbeitet, indem der Verfertiger von beiden Seiten des Klotzes so lange Späne und Splitter weghaut und -schneidet, bis ein Brett von der gewünschten Dicke übriggeblieben ist. Man kann daher in diesen Ländern den Häuptlingen kaum etwas Willkommeneres schenken als eine starke Handsäge, einen festen Drehbohrer, Hämmer, eiserne Nägel und sonstiges Handwerkszeug.

Tierische oder menschliche Figuren habe ich in Urundi wie in Ruanda nirgends gesehen, weder eingeritzt noch eingeschnitten noch in plastischer Schnitzerei. Erst bei den See-Barundi am Tanganika findet man geschnitzte Holzfiguren als eine aus dem Kongogebiet übertragene Kunst. Erwähnenswert ist schließlich noch die Verzierung

vieler der hölzernen Handscheiben — nicht aller — mit eingelegten eisernen, kupfernen oder messingenen Spiralen, eckigen und runden Blättchen und Stiften (Taf. 34, 35). Zuweilen ist die ganze Oberfläche von solchen dünnen Metallauflagen fast lückenlos überzogen. Sie werden befestigt, indem man die Umrisse der Metallstückchen in das Holz einritzt, die Fläche innerhalb der Umrisse etwas vertieft auskratzt, sie mit Wachs ausstreicht und dahinein die Spiralen und Blättchen eindrückt. Es sind nur wenige Künstler, die sich auf diese Technik verstehen. In Ruanda sieht man solche Metallauflagen nur an wenigen Handscheiben und an den zum Tanzschmuck gehörenden Umhängehörnern (Zink- oder Bleistreifen).

Das größte und am mühsamsten herzustellende Holzschnitzwerk der Barundi ist das Boot, der Einbaum (ubwato). Wie wir oben (S. 73) gesehen haben, sind Einbäume in dem baumarmen Lande selten und auf einige der größeren Flüsse sowie auf den Tanganikasee mit dem Russisi beschränkt. Sie werden im Auftrag und auf Kosten der Häuptlinge verfertigt, in deren Gebiet das Boot Fährdienste tun soll, oder auf dem See im Auftrag zahlungsfähiger Fischerfamilien. Die besten Bootbauer sind die Batwa, zu deren Spezialität diese Technik gehört (Nr. 19, S. 367). Die beiden dazu nötigen Instrumente sind die zweihändige Hacke mit querstehendem Blatt und das kürzere einhändige Beil mit längsstehendem Blatt. Der Baumstamm — je dicker und je gerader, desto besser — wird durch Tausende von Kerbhieben zu Fall gebracht, mit den Äxten entrindet und zunächst roh auf die gewünschte Länge und Dicke des Bootes zugehauen. Dann wird ihm die äußere Form mit den bauchigen Seiten, dem rundlichen, kiellosen Boden und den etwas zugespitzten Vorder- und Hinterteilen gegeben und zuletzt erst der innere Trog ausgehöhlt. Auch diese Arbeit wird lediglich mit den Äxten und Messern ausgeführt. Die Zuhilfenahme von Feuer, die anderwärts in Ostafrika darin besteht, daß man durch kleine, auf der Oberseite des Stammes angelegte Feuer den Stamm allmählich nach unten und innen verkohlt und die verkohlten Teile von Zeit zu Zeit auskratzt, bis nur noch die Außenwand stehengeblieben ist, kennen die Barundi nach eigener Aussage nicht. Wenn das Werk im großen und ganzen fertig ist, füllt man das Boot, ehe es von Stapel gelassen wird, innen mit Wasser, um seine Dichtigkeit zu prüfen. Sind etwaige Risse dicht gemacht, so wird der Einbaum unter Beteiligung einer großen Menschenmenge mit festlichem Lärm ins Wasser geschoben und gezogen.

Oft muß das über eine weite Landstrecke geschehen, was mehrere Tage dauern kann. Da geht ein Umufumu (Zauberer) voraus und streut heilbringendes Pulver auf den Weg, um das Boot unbeschädigt zu Wasser zu bringen. Sobald es schwimmt, singen und tanzen die Festteilnehmer auf beiden Flußufern. Dann setzt man einen mit Flußlehm beschmierten Topf Bananenbier in das Boot, und die Nächstbeteiligten trinken daraus und spucken in den Fluß, um die bösen Geister mild zu stimmen. Mit dem Lehm aber beschmieren die Leute sich und ihren Angehörigen die Stirne, um sich beim Gebrauch des Bootes gegen Unfall zu schützen. Dann fährt das Boot an das andre Flußufer, wo von den dortigen Leuten dieselben Zeremonien vollführt werden. Ein Tanz der Abafumu (Medizinmänner) und eine allgemeine Kneiperei schließt die Weihe des Bootes ab. (Nr. 19, S. 66.)

Fehler in der Schwimmfähigkeit und Balancierung des Bootes, die sich nun herausstellen, sucht man nachträglich durch weiteres Schnitzen mit Messer und Beil und durch Einlegen von Ballaststeinen zu korrigieren. Daß die Einbäume weder Sitze noch Steuer haben, wurde schon oben (S. 73) erwähnt, desgleichen die Art ihrer Fortbewegung.

Die sehr einfache Technik der Rindenstoffabrikation (Fikusbastfilz) habe ich ebenfalls schon oben (S. 31) besprochen.

Auch die Technik der Fell- und Lederbearbeitung ist sehr einfach. Da die Barundi nur selten ein Fellstück als alleinige Kleidung tragen und sonst Häute hauptsächlich als Decken benutzen, die Batwa aber die Fellkleidung vor dem Rindenstoff bevorzugen, sind auch die Batwa die geschicktesten Lederarbeiter (abaharra). Die Technik ist aber dieselbe bei den Batwa und den Bahutu. Wenn es sich nur um Herstellung von festem, hartem Leder zu Gefäßdeckeln, Pfeilköchern, Bindungen, Befestigung von Pfeilspitzen usw. handelt, wird die Haut einfach reingeschabt und an der Sonne getrocknet. Soll jedoch weiches, biegsames Leder (urusato) zu Gewändern und Decken fabriziert werden, so muß es gegerbt werden. Da man in Urundi aber die Loh- und die Weißgerberei ebensowenig kennt wie ursprünglich im ganzen übrigen Afrika (Nr. 32a, S. 47), so wird hier das Fell nach der Art der Sämischlederfabrikation bearbeitet. Zuerst wird die Haut mit vielen durch die Ränder gesteckten Pflöcken auf dem Boden straff ausgespannt und mit einem Messer die Haare und die noch ansitzenden Fleisch- und Fettrunzeln glatt abgekratzt. Fast trocken, wird die Haut dann abgepflöckt, mit Fett oder Butter eingerieben und tüchtig mit beiden Händen Stück für Stück durchgewalkt, bis sie geschmeidig und weich geworden ist (Nr. 19, S. 425). Schließlich reibt man sie mit etwas weißer Verwitterungserde (Kaolin) ein, um ihr ein hübsches Aussehen zu geben. Felle für Decken werden ebenso behandelt, aber die Haare nicht entfernt.

In der Eisenindustrie sind die Leistungen der Barundi gut, zum Teil sogar hervorragend. Dies ist eigentlich verwunderlich, da die Schmiedetechnik angeblich erst zur Zeit des Ruandakönigs Ruganza, also vor etwa zwei Jahrhunderten, aus Nordosten, wohl aus Kissaka, durch eine sagenhafte Persönlichkeit, Kigwe, nach Urundi eingeführt sein soll. „Vorher habe man sich", wie mir v. d. Burgt schreibt, „zur Bodenbearbeitung der Holzhacken bedient, ebenso wie man Pfeile und Lanzen aus Holz gehabt hätte." Ein alter Mutwa hat v. d. Burgt erzählt, daß er selbst in seiner Jugend noch solche Holzgeräte gesehen habe. Jetzt gibt es, wie auch ich beobachtet habe, keine hölzernen Waffen und Hacken mehr, aber wenn v. d. Burgt meint, die Rückständigkeit der Eisenindustrie der Barundi komme daher, daß es im Boden Urundis keine Eisenerze gebe (Nr. 19, S. 250), so irrt er sich. Ich habe an vielen Stellen ausgezeichnetes Eisen (itschjuma) in Gestalt von Brauneisenstein und von Eisenglanz gefunden. Dagegen kann ich bestätigen, daß die Barundi nicht verstehen, diese einheimischen Eisenerze abzubauen und zu verhütten. Schmelzöfen wie in Ruanda, wo ich sie in voller Tätigkeit sah, gibt es in Urundi nicht. Die Barundischmiede verarbeiten lauter von auswärts eingeführtes Eisen, teils solches, das in Form von Hacken aus Ufindja (Südvictoriasee) durch Vermittlung der Baha und Bassuvi importiert wird, teils europäischen Eisendraht, der vom Tanganika her ins Land kommt. Dieses eingeführte Eisen verarbeiten die Bahutu- und Batwaschmiede zu den landesüblichen Formen der Hacken, Messer, Haumesser, Speerspitzen, Pfeilspitzen, Armringe usw.; Bahutu und Batwa in derselben Weise, und zwar sind die Batwa offenbar die geschickteren Schmiede. Eine besondere Gilde bilden in Urundi die Schmiede nicht, aber das Handwerk ist in bestimmten Familien erblich. Die Schmiede wohnen und leben mit den anderen Barundi und genießen wegen ihrer Kunst eine hohe Wertschätzung. Es sind also doch berufsmäßige Fachhand-

Steinerner Amboß.

Stift zum Einschlagen von Verzierungen.

Feile.

Fig. 17.
Eiserner Hammer.

Eisenbolzen zum Schmieden von Hohlformen.

(Nähe 1 Figuren im Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Nr. 4388.)

werker, die für den Verkauf arbeiten. Nebenbei betreiben sie aber wie in Ruanda oft auch Ackerbau.

Die Werkstatt (uruganda) ist eine kleine, allseits offene Rundhütte, in deren Mitte eine Vertiefung im Erdboden das Kohlenfeuer enthält. Da sie Holzkohlen zu ihrem Handwerk brauchen, sitzen sie in dem holzarmen Land meist in der Nähe der Waldreste und der Uferbüsche der Flüsse. Nach dem Innern werden aus den Randbergen Holzkohlen in langen Bananenblattbündeln verhandelt. Neben der Feuerstelle liegt der Blasebalg, ein Gefäß- oder Schalenblasebalg (umuvuba) in Form eines großen hölzernen Doppellöffels, über dessen beide Öffnungen je ein Ziegenfell lose gespannt ist (Taf. 45, Fig. 2). Ein in der Mitte jedes Felles angebundener Holzstab dient als Stempel, durch dessen Auf- und Abbewegen die Luft aus dem Gefäß in die gemeinsame Endröhre getrieben wird. Der Bläser steht oder hockt hinter dem Blasebalg, hat in jeder Hand einen Stempel und bewegt diese abwechselnd schnell auf und ab. Dieselbe Gebläseform ist in Ruanda gebräuchlich, wo sie auch zum Anblasen der Schmelzöfen benutzt wird. In Urundi soll (nach Stuhlmanns Kärtchen in Nr. 32a, S. 62) noch eine andere Form, der Schlauch- oder Sackblasebalg vorkommen; ich habe aber darüber nichts erfahren können. Der beschriebene üblichere Gefäßblasebalg ist aus einem Stück Holz geschnitzt und mündet in eine kurze trichterförmige Tonröhre, die direkt in die glühenden Kohlen gesteckt wird und diese anblasend in Glut erhält. Von Zeit zu Zeit wird der glühende Kohlenhaufen mit Wasser bespritzt.

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

Auf der anderen Seite der Feuerstelle liegt ein harter Stein als Amboß (Textbild 17). Mit einem nassen klammerförmigen Holzstück oder einem spitzen Eisenstift schiebt man das zu bearbeitende Stück Roheisen in die Kohlenglut und holt es damit wieder heraus. Auf dem Amboß wird es nun mit dem Hammer (injondo) bearbeitet, einem schweren mehrkantigen Eisenstück, das keinen Holzstiel hat, sondern an einem Ende griffartig verlängert ist, so daß es fest gepackt werden kann. Das Eisen wird so lange gehämmert und wieder geglüht, bis alle Schlacken herausgetrieben sind. Dann wird es mit dem Hammer zur Form des gewünschten Gegenstandes ausgeschmiedet. Als Hilfswerkzeuge dienen dabei ein dicker abgerundeter Bolzen, über dessen runden Kopf das glühende Eisenstück zu Hohlformen, z. B. Glocken, Düsen der Speerspitzen usw., gehämmert wird; ein kurzes spitzes Eisenstück, mit dem einfache Punktmuster in die Armringe, Haumesser und andre Gegenstände gepunzt werden; ein altes Messer, mit dem glühende Eisenstücke entzweigehauen werden, indem man es als Keil daraufsetzt und mit dem Hammer daraufschlägt; eine Feile, bestehend aus einem gekerbten Eisenstück mit Holzgriff, mit dem an den erkalteten Schmiedearbeiten die Unregelmäßigkeiten abgerafpelt werden; und schließlich einige harte glatte Steine zum Polieren.

Ob die Barundi auch das Drahtziehen verstehen, habe ich nicht erfahren können. Zum Umwickeln der Armspangen und der Messerscheiden mit Eisen-, Kupfer- oder Messingdraht benutzen sie eingeführte europäische Drahtsorten.

Die Verwendung von Kupfer (umurinda) und Messing ist in Urundi sehr gering, mit Ausnahme des Tanganikagebietes, wo seit langer Zeit das vom Kongo (z. B. Katanga) herüberkommende Kupfer und Messing vielerlei Verwendung findet. Im großen Innern Urundis wird kein Kupfererz gewonnen, und das wenige vom Tanganika her in Drahtform eingeführte Kupfer wird kalt ausgehämmert, um einfache Armspangen, kleine Glöckchen als Anhängeschmuck, kleine Plättchen zum Einlegen in die großen hölzernen Armringe u. dgl. zu verfertigen. Das Gießen von Metall in Gußformen ist in Urundi wie in Ruanda unbekannt.

Siebentes Kapitel

Politisches; Recht, Soziales; Clans, Totemismus

1. Krieg, Königtum, Lehnswesen

Die Geschichte der Barundi — soweit sie eine geschichtliche Überlieferung haben — zeigt, daß dieses Volk unter starken, energischen Königen außerordentliche kriegerische Taten vollbracht hat, die das Land lange Zeit vor der Bedrückung schwarzer oder arabischer Eroberer (Ruanda, Mirambo, Wangoni, Rumalisa) bewahrt hat. Erst der Niedergang der Dynastie in den letzten Jahrzehnten und der Mangel einer großen herrschenden Persönlichkeit hat auch den kriegerischen Geist und die kriegerische zusammenfassende Organisation geschwächt, so daß die deutsche Okkupation nicht auf besondere Schwierigkeiten gestoßen ist. Die heutigen Barundi, d. h. Batussi, Bahutu und Batwa, sind trotz ihrer reizbaren, zu Streit und Prügelei neigenden Natur und trotz ihrer zahllosen inneren Fehden nicht kriegerisch nach außen. Sie sind friedlich, wenn man sie in Frieden läßt.

Auch früher in ihrer politisch starken Zeit führten die Barundi nicht große Kriege zu expansiver Eroberung wie die Wangoni und die Wahehe, sondern an der Tagesordnung war der innere Kleinkrieg des einen Murundihäuptlings gegen den andern, die ewige Clan- und Familienfehde im Lande selbst. Nur wenn fremde Eroberer eindrangen, wurde es bitterer Ernst; dann erhob sich nach verschiedenen kleineren Abwehrversuchen schließlich das ganze Volk unter seinem führenden König und warf den Eindringling hinaus. So z. B. den Araberführer Rumalisa mit seinen sklavenjagenden Banden (S. 165).

Bei den inneren Zwistigkeiten und Kleinkriegen, wie sie auch heute noch oft genug vorkommen, ohne daß sich unsere Regierung viel einzumischen genötigt sähe, geht es selten sehr blutig zu. Wenn ein Häuptling gegen seinen Nachbar Anlaß zu Streit und Klage hat, sucht er ihn erst friedlich durch „Zauberer" zum Nachgeben zu bewegen. Bleibt dies erfolglos, so schickt er ohne Kriegserklärung seine Leute gegen ihn aus. Der Kriegshaufe besteht fast nur aus Bahutu und Batwa, während die Batussi einige Anführer stellen, sich aber gewöhnlich vorsichtig zurückhalten. Der Bedrohte bekommt durch seine Freunde schnell Kunde von der nahenden Gefahr und weicht ihr entweder aus oder sucht nun durch seine Leute den Gegner an Habe und Gut zu schädigen. Jeder ist bestrebt, seinem Feind soviel Rinder wie möglich wegzunehmen, soviel Männer zu verwunden oder zu töten wie möglich und durch nächtlichen Überfall die Gehöfte auszurauben, niederzubrennen und die Weiber gefangen wegzuführen. Selten kommt es zu offenem Kampf der beiden feindlichen Parteien, und selten werden in einem solchen Krieg mehr als ein Dutzend Menschen

getötet (Nr. 19, S. 276). Hauptsächlich bekämpft man sich, wie die Helden Homers, durch gegenseitige Beschimpfungen oder durch Zauberei, die dem Feind par distance schaden oder ihn töten soll. Die eigenen Leute aber schützt der Medizinmann durch besondere Zaubermittel (Steinchen, Pflanzenstückchen, Knochenstückchen, die alle angehängt werden) gegen Verwundung und Verzauberung.

Bei Fehden großer Häuptlinge gegeneinander oder bei Kriegen des Königs gegen eindringende äußere Feinde — als welche bis vor wenigen Jahren auch die Deutschen angesehen wurden — ist natürlich das Aufgebot und der Aufwand größer. In diesem Fall müssen alle Männer und alle hinreichend kräftigen Jünglinge unter die Waffen treten, während die Weiber, Kinder und Rinder in sichere Verstecke gebracht werden. Zuerst ist immer die Leibwache (abagendanji) zur Stelle, die sich jeder große Häuptling auch im Frieden hält. Es sind ausgesuchte Leute, die vom Häuptling mit Rindfleisch genährt und mit einer Art Uniform in Gestalt eines weißen Fellschurzes bekleidet werden; ihr Führer, der stets ein Mutussi ist, ist durch einen besonderen Schild ausgezeichnet. Häufig besteht die Leibgarde nur aus Batwa. Alle anderen Krieger eilen auf das Dröhnen der Kriegstrommel herbei, jeder mit 2 Speeren, 1 Bogen und 4—5 Pfeilen bewaffnet. Um den Feind zu schrecken, bemalen sich die Krieger das Gesicht, den Schädel und viele Teile des übrigen Körpers mit weißen und roten Linien, Flecken und Schnörkeln aus pulverisierter Tonerde, und verleihen sich dadurch wirklich ein greuliches Aussehen. Auch jetzt mischt sich natürlich der Medizinmann mit allem möglichen Zauber ein, um dem Feind zu schaden. Der Häuptling oder der König zieht nur in wirklich großen Kriegen, wenn es sich um Existenzfragen handelt, mit ins Feld. An den Grenzbächen — die Grenzen sind meistens Bäche — wird den Schutzgeistern geopfert, auf den Pfaden der Feinde werden schädliche Pulver ausgestreut, in den Eingeweiden von Hühnern und Schafen wird die Zukunft gelesen und demgemäß Vorkehrung getroffen. Wenn es geht, läßt der Zauberer sogar ein geweihtes Rind (ingabe) gegen den Feind anlaufen. Rennt es durch die feindlichen Reihen, so ist es ein gutes Zeichen, dem sich sogar der Feind selbst unterwirft; kehrt es aber vor dem Feind um, so bedeutet es Übles, so daß man sich auf Friedensverhandlungen einläßt (Nr. 19, S. 277).

Wenn trotz alledem einmal ein offener Kampf zustande kommt, reißt sehr bald die eine Partei aus, nachdem einige Mann durch Speerwürfe und Pfeilschüsse gefallen oder verwundet sind. Die Sieger fallen dann über die Gehöfte her, sengen und brennen und schleppen alles weg, was Wert für sie hat, vor allem das Vieh. Heimkehrend werden sie dann mit jubelndem Trillergeschrei der Weiber empfangen, und es beginnt ein großes Tanz-, Kneip- und Fleischfreßfest, das oft Wochen dauert, solange der Häuptling Bier und Rinder dazu spendet. Wenn aber der feindliche Häuptling gefangen worden ist, wird er gewöhnlich getötet. Wirklichen Friedensschluß gibt es selten. Meist vererbt sich die Feindschaft der Häuptlinge nach dem ungeschriebenen Gesetz der Blutrache auf Sohn und Enkel, so daß eine ewige Beunruhigung im Land herrscht, wenn nicht eine stärkere Faust eingreift. Das hat denn auch unsere Schutztruppe wiederholt tun müssen und mit Erfolg getan, wenn es sich um gefährliche Störungen des Landfriedens unserer Kolonie handelte. Aber in die kleinen inneren Streitigkeiten darf sich nach einem sehr richtigen Gouvernementserlaß der deutsche Resident nicht einmischen; ebensowenig wie der Resident von Ruanda in die dortigen oft genug blutigen inneren Krakeele. Diese werden daher noch lange andauern,

bis sie mit der fortschreitenden wirklichen Besetzung des Landes durch unser Militär völlig zur Ruhe kommen werden.

Urundi war jahrhundertelang, bis zur deutschen Okkupation, ein einheitliches Königreich; freilich nur der historischen Entwicklung und dem Namen nach, denn in Wirklichkeit hatte sich eine ganze Reihe der Großen des Landes mehr oder minder unabhängig vom König gemacht. Das Gouvernement hat, wie wir im geschichtlichen Überblick sehen werden (S. 166), nach dem Tod des alten Königs Kisabo die Unabhängigkeit einiger dieser Großen vom König anerkannt, aber auch dort gilt im Volk der freilich fast schemenhaft gewordene ferne König noch in mancher Beziehung, namentlich im religiösen Kult, für das Oberhaupt des Reiches.

Ideell herrscht der König absolut über ganz Urundi, und wer sich ihm nicht fügt, ist abtrünnig und revolutionär. Dieser Anspruch auf die königliche Obergewalt gründet sich in letzter Linie darauf, daß der König dem alten Herrscherstamm der Baganwa entsprossen ist und selbst als ein halb göttliches Wesen angesehen und verehrt wird. In dieser Eigenschaft ist er das Haupt der nationalen Religion und das religiöse Haupt der Nation, einerlei, welcher Art der gegenwärtig herrschende König persönlich ist. Vereint sich mit diesem religiösen Ansehen ein kluger Kopf und ein starker Wille, so ist es dem Träger der „Krone" nicht schwer, seinem Anspruch auf die absolute Alleinherrschaft im ganzen Urundireich Geltung zu verschaffen. Das lehrt die Geschichte Urundis.

Der offizielle Titel des Königs lautet in Urundi wie in Ruanda und auch in Usipa (Nr. 47, S. 29) umwami, d. h. der zur Herrschaft Emporgestiegene; auch spricht man vom Urundikönig als dem njen' ingoma, d. h. Besitzer der (heiligen) Trommel, oder umvijéji, d. h. Vater, Herr.

Die dem König am nächsten stehende Persönlichkeit ist der umufumu w'umwami, der „Hauskaplan", Oberpriester; meist ein hervorragend kluger Mann, der dem halbgöttlichen König stets beigeordnet ist und ihn auch in weltlichen Dingen zuerst beratet. Diesem steht ein „Hof-kiranga", ein Obermagier oder Zauberer, zur Seite. Unter den Beamten des Hofstaates gibt es Küchenmeister, Fleischer, Brennholzbewahrer, Stallmeister, Wasserversorger, Kuhmelker, Nachtwächter, Leibgarde u. a. m. Als politische Persönlichkeiten leben in der Umgebung des Königs Vertreter der großen Chefs, der Provinzgouverneure, ähnlich wie am Hof des Musinga von Ruanda. Wie dort sind es aber auch hier vielfach die Gouverneure selbst, die zeitweilig oder dauernd an den Königshof gezogen werden, weil sie der König aus irgendeinem Verdachtsgrund in seiner unmittelbaren Nähe und Aufsicht haben will.

Diese Provinzgouverneure sind in Urundi fast durchweg Mitglieder der Königsfamilie (abaganwa) oder einer der vier mit dem Königshaus verschwägerten Sippen des hohen Bahimaadels (s. S. 91, 101, 182), während in den Unterbezirken der Provinzen einfache Batussi als Regierungsbeamte (abatware oder bátwale) eingesetzt sind; mitunter, namentlich im Südosten, gibt es auch Bahutu als Batwale. Dieses Amt ist in den eingesetzten Familien erblich, aber der König kann nach dem Tod des Mutwale die Erbfolge des Sohnes kassieren und auch sonst jederzeit einen anderen Mutwale einsetzen (Nr. 19, S. 267).

Dieselbe Beamtenorganisation besteht auch in Ruanda. Desgleichen ist in Ankole das ganze Land aufgeteilt an 9 dem König verantwortliche Gouverneure oder Großbatwale, die dort den Namen Bakungu führen und sämtlich dem Königsclan der Abahinda an-

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gehören. Jeder Mutunga hat mehrere Distriktschefs unter sich, die aber lauter Vertreter von Bahima-Clans sind, und deren jeder von seinem Clan gewählt wird, also Clanälteste ist. Diese besitzen die niedere Gerichtsbarkeit über ihre Clangenossen, während Streitigkeiten verschiedener Clans vom Mutunga entschieden werden. Das Amt des Mutunga ist erblich. (Nr. 27, S. 98.)

So fest fundiert wie in Ruanda (König Musinga) ist aber das Königtum in Urundi nicht oder noch nicht, was vor allem seine Ursache in dem viel lebhafteren Unabhängigkeitssinn der Barundi und in der noch sehr starken Clanorganisation der Batussi und der Bahutu hat; aber die Könige Urundis und ihre mächtige Sippe, der Clan der Baganwa, haben es doch im Lauf der letzten zwei Jahrzehnte durchgesetzt, daß fast überall im Land an Stelle der Clanältesten, die früher das Heft in der Hand hatten, die Beamten und die Lehnsleute des Königs getreten sind, die der absoluten Herrschaft des Königs Vorschub leisten.

Wie in Ruanda und den anderen Bahimastaaten, von Unjoro im Norden bis Ukipa im Süden (Nr. 47, S. 74), so gehört auch in Urundi alles Land und Volk und Vieh dem König vermöge seines angestammten Erbererrechtes. Er verteilt das ganze Land an die Mitglieder seiner Familie und seines Clans, der Baganwa, zu Erblehen, das er aber jederzeit widerrufen kann, wenn er mit dem Inhaber unzufrieden ist. Diese großen Lehnsleute oder Groß-Batwale teilen ihr Gebiet wieder in viele kleineren Lehen an ihre Gefolgschaft auf, und diese wieder weiter, so daß das ganze Land von einem riesigen Netz von Lehnsleuten des Königs überzogen ist (s. S. 171), die sehr überwiegend Batussi sind, und deren geringste etwa die Stellung von Dorfschulzen haben. Die unterste territoriale Einheit dieser großen Verwaltungsorganisation ist der Berg, der Plateaurücken (umutumba, umurambi), denn in dem von Sumpftälern außerordentlich zerschnittenen Hochland ist nicht das Tal, sondern der Berg der Träger der Siedelungen. Die Grenzen der Provinzen und ihrer Untergebiete sind darum fast überall die Bach- und Flußtäler, denn diese sind die ausgeprägtesten und wirksamsten natürlichen Trennungen der Landschaften und ihrer Bewohner. Die großen Lehen bilden freilich nur selten geschlossene Komplexe in einer Landschaft, sondern bestehen fast immer aus zahlreichen kleineren, auf verschiedene Provinzen verteilten Landstücken, damit die großen Lehnsmänner dem König nicht zu mächtig werden.

Alle Lehnsleute haben natürlich dem König bestimmte Leistungen zu machen, aus denen dieser seinen riesigen Haushalt bestreitet, seine Beamten bezahlt und seine Kriege führt. Nach der Art der Verpflichtungen gibt es drei Arten von Lehen: 1. Landlehen, deren Inhaber dem König regelmäßig bestimmte Anteile aus dem Ertrag der Felder abzuliefern haben; 2. Viehlehen, die monatlich eine bestimmte Anzahl Rinder sowie Milch und Butter liefern müssen; 3. Kriegslehen, deren Inhaber eine bestimmte Kriegerschar stets schlagfertig zu halten und auf Befehl des Königs sofort zu stellen haben. Zuweilen sind die genannten drei Lehnsarten in einer Landschaft auf einen Lehnsmann vereinigt, was die Verwaltung wesentlich vereinfacht; öfters aber bekommt der Lehnsmann zwar den Berg zu Lehen und die daselbst wohnenden Bahutu als seine Leute, aber nicht zugleich alle Gerechtsame, sondern auf demselben Berg kann ein anderer Mutussi das Kriegslehen erhalten, d. h. die Pflicht, für den Kriegsfall die dortigen Männer zusammenzubringen, oder es kann einem dritten Mutussi auf diesem Berg die Verteilung des Weidelandes unterstellt

sein usw. Durch diese Einrichtung wird bezweckt und erreicht, daß jeder der Berechtigten den anderen eifersüchtig überwacht und daß der König die Zügel der Regierung überall fest in der Hand behält.

Der mit einem Lehen begabte Mutwale ist aber in seinem Lehnsbereich Herr über die untergebenen Bahutu und Batwa. Insbesondere bestimmt er die Arbeitsleistungen seiner Leute und übt die gewöhnliche Gerichtsbarkeit aus. Die Stellung der Untergebenen ist jedoch keineswegs etwa sklavisch, sondern die Leute genießen eine Menge Freiheiten und zugestandene Rechte und haben immer einen Rückhalt an ihrer Sippe, ihrem Clan, der wirkliche Gewalttaten der Batwale wie jeglicher andern Person in Heimlichkeit blutig zu rächen pflegt. Es ist eine Art Feme, vor der auch die größten Batussi-Batwale Respekt haben. Übrigens hat jeder Muhutu das Recht, seinen Lehnsherrn, der ihn schlecht behandelt, zu verlassen und sich einen andern Herrn zu suchen. Da aber das Ansehen und der Reichtum eines Mutussi hauptsächlich von der Zahl seiner Leute abhängt, so hat er selbst das größte Interesse daran, daß seine Leute nicht wegen schlechter Behandlung weglaufen.

Um die großen Lehnsmänner und Batwale nicht allzu selbständig werden zu lassen, läßt sie der König stets von Spionen umgeben. Im übrigen sorgen schon Eifersucht und Neid dafür, daß jeder Mutwale von seinen Nachbarn gründlich kontrolliert wird. Natürlich wird kolossal intrigiert und denunziert. Erweist sich die dem König gemachte Anzeige der Untreue oder des Hochverrats als richtig, so schreitet die königliche Justiz schnell mit Speer und Gift. Trotzdem haben es mehrere Groß-Batwale verstanden, im Lauf der Jahrzehnte ein großes Maß von Selbständigkeit zu erringen; namentlich die in den exponierten Grenzbezirken nach Ruanda und nach Uffumi hin wohnenden. Sie entrichten zwar noch einen bestimmten Naturaltribut an den König, können aber sonst tun und lassen, was sie wollen, falls sie nicht den Landesfrieden brechen und nicht das militärische Einschreiten unsres Residenten nötig machen.

In der Regel wird der König oder der prinzliche Gouverneur an dem Lehnsverhältnis nichts ändern, wenn der Lehnsmann regelmäßig seine Abgaben entrichtet, seine Untertanen in Ordnung und in furchtsamer Abhängigkeit hält, in Kriegsfällen schnell die nötigen Mannschaften stellt und dienstwillig und königstreu bleibt. Von den Batwale hängen schließlich in den einzelnen Ortschaften oder Gehöftgruppen Kommunalbeamte (bisonga) ab, die die Steuern eintreiben, Fronarbeiten verrichten lassen, die niederste Gerichtsbarkeit ausüben usw.

Zur Beratung wichtiger Angelegenheiten steht dem König wie auch den Provinzgouverneuren und den Batwale ein Staatsrat resp. Gemeinderat zur Seite, der aus den angesehensten und vermögendsten Männern des Landes, resp. der Landschaft, worunter namentlich die Clanältesten (abagabo) vertreten sind, vom König oder dem betreffenden Gouverneur ernannt wird. Der König oder der Mutwale sitzt dem bei wichtigen Anlässen einberufenen Rat vor, ist aber in seinen Entschlüssen nicht an die Beratung gebunden (Nr. 19, S. 267). Die Batwale sind dem König für alle Vorgänge in ihrem Verwaltungsbezirk verantwortlich, haben aber über die ihnen unterstellte Bahutu- und Batwalebevölkerung fast absolute Gewalt, die auch das Recht der Tötung einschließt. Von einem ungerechten Mutwale können die bedrückten Untertanen zwar an den Provinzgouverneur oder an den König selbst appellieren, aber sie kommen sehr selten zu ihrem Recht, denn „der Zar ist fern und

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der Himmel ist hoch". Der absolute, halbgöttliche König hat natürlich immer recht und alles Recht, ihm gehört alles Land und alles Vieh, und er gibt davon zu Lehen, an wen er will, wieviel und wann er will, und er nimmt Besitz und Leben von jedem Untertanen, wie es ihm gut dünkt.

So ist es de jure, und so ist es auch in praxi, wenn der König ein willensstarker Mann ist, wie deren Urundi eine ganze Reihe gehabt hat. Ist er aber ein Schwächling, entbehrt er der verschlagenen Klugheit und des Grades von furchterregender Gewalttätigkeit und Grausamkeit, die zu den nötigen afrikanischen Herrschertugenden gehören, wie z. B. der gegenwärtige schwache König Mutaga, so ist sein Absolutismus nur Schein, und die wahren Herrscher sind die Häupter der königlichen Sippe, die Baganwa oder Abaganwa, die die Königspuppe nach ihren Wünschen tanzen lassen. Das sind dann Zeiten, in denen sich einzelne Provinzgouverneure selbständig und unabhängig machen, andere Landesteile unter die Botmäßigkeit fremder Nachbarsultane (z. B. Ujogoma zeitweilig unter Uffumi) geraten und im ganzen Reich eine mehr oder minder große Anarchie herrscht. Über die Entwicklung dieser Verhältnisse und über die gegenwärtige Lage der Dinge vgl. das Kapitel Geschichte, S. 151 ff.

Das gegenwärtige Daniederliegen des Königtums, die Schwächung der zentralen Gewalt, den Zerfall des früheren starken Einheitsreiches hat die deutsche Kolonialregierung im eigenen Interesse sanktioniert, indem sie gleichzeitig versucht, das Regiment des deutschen Residenten allmählich an die Stelle der obersten Königsgewalt zu setzen. Das Königtum selbst kann sie nicht beseitigen, wenn sie nicht den Kampf gegen das gesamte Bateffitum aufnehmen will; dazu ist unsre Macht noch zu gering. In Zukunft wird aber sehr viel davon abhängen, was für ein Mann aus der alten Herrscherdynastie Nachfolger des jetzigen schwachen Scheinkönigs Mutaga werden wird, und wie sich unsere Regierung zu ihm stellt.

Die Thronfolge regelt sich in Urundi nach der Erstgeburt, falls der König oder Großhäuptling keine besondere Bestimmung getroffen hat; und zwar folgt ihm von Rechts wegen der älteste Sohn der Hauptfrau. Gewöhnlich aber bestimmt der König einen seiner vielen Söhne, der ihm der geeignetste erscheint, zu seinem Nachfolger und hinterläßt ihm die Zeichen der Königswürde, d. i. die heilige Trommel, seinen Speer, seinen Armring. Erfolgt diese Bestimmung zu Lebzeiten des Königs, so ist sie gefährlich für den bevorzugten Königssohn. Er hält es daher für geraten, sich der Eifersucht seiner Brüder und Verwandten zu entziehen und versteckt sich in der Ferne, bis seine Zeit gekommen ist. Ist er noch ein Kind, so verbirgt ihn seine Mutter fern vom Bereich seiner Verwandten. In der Ferne hält sich aber auch der junge Prinz auf, der nach dem Glauben der Barundi vom Schicksal zum König von Urundi bestimmt ist. Sie glauben, daß dieses prädestinierte Königskind, das von irgendeiner der Frauen des Königs geboren worden ist, bei der Geburt daran kenntlich sei, daß es in seinen Händchen Körner aller Arten von Früchten des Urundibodens halte, und daß wegen dieser verräterischen Vorzeichen die Mutter mit dem Kind vor den ihm durch die Verwandten drohenden Gefahren ins benachbarte Ausland fliehe, bis der regierende König gestorben ist. Sukzessionsfähig ist aber ein königlicher Prinz nur, wenn er beim Thronwechsel noch nicht verheiratet ist und wenn seine Mutter noch lebt (S. 184). In jedem Fall entsteht, wenn der zur Thronfolge Berechtigte nach des Königs Tod aus der Ferne zurückkehrt, um seine Ansprüche zu erheben, Streit und Kampf der verschiedenen Parteien, der mit dem Sieg der einen

Partei und ihres Prätendenten endet, worauf der vom Rat der Baganwa und Abafumu nach rituellem Wahlakt (S. 184) ausgerufene neue König gewöhnlich seine gesamten Brüder und nächsten Anverwandten töten oder in sichere Verbannung bringen läßt (Nr. 19, S. 524).

Bei der Erbfolge der großen und kleinen Batwale geht es weniger gewaltsam und blutig zu. Auch hier bestimmt der Vater noch zu Lebzeiten einen seiner Söhne zum Nachfolger im Erblehen (oder eine Tochter, wenn er keinen Sohn hat), gewöhnlich den ältesten, aber der König kann die Bestimmung zugunsten eines anderen umstoßen. Nach dem Tod des Häuptlings wird der neue Mutwale vom Rat feierlich in Amt und Würden eingesetzt. Es werden ihm die Insignien des Verstorbenen übergeben, ihm die Rinder, die Weiber und der Kral seines Vorgängers, kurz alles Familiengut überliefert (Nr. 19, S. 550). Er schaltet und waltet nun in seinem Lehensgebiet wie ein souveräner Fürst, muß aber pünktlich die ihm aufliegenden Abgaben an den König entrichten und seine sonstigen sehr wenig drückenden Lehnspflichten erfüllen; sonst riskiert er Absetzung, Bekriegung, Verbannung, Tod.

2. Rechtspflege, soziale Verhältnisse

In den Familien der nichtbeamteten, einfachen Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu und Batwa) ist der älteste Sohn (oder Tochter) der ersten Frau der profane und religiöse Haupterbe seines Vaters. Er erbt (kuraga) von dem vorhandenen Familienbesitz den größten Teil, während die Mutter und die übrigen Kinder zu gleichen Teilen erben. Ist die Mutter schon gestorben und sind die Kinder noch klein, so muß der älteste Sohn als Haupterbe für sie Sorge tragen. Wenn aber ein Murundi kinderlos stirbt und eine Witwe zurückläßt, teilen sich seine Brüder in seinen Besitz, während die Witwe zu ihrer Familie zurückkehrt. Eine Witwe mit Kindern hingegen wird die Frau des nächsten Bruders des Verstorbenen (Leviratehe) und bleibt gewöhnlich in der bisherigen Behausung mit ihren Kindern wohnen. Die Familie bleibt beisammen bis zur Verheiratung und eigenen Familiengründung der Kinder (Nr. 19, S. 285). Nach v. Langenn erben nur die Söhne, welche dann die Mutter und Schwestern unterhalten; sind keine Söhne vorhanden, so erbt die Witwe resp. die Töchter.

Der älteste Sohn erbt auch die religiösen und die fachmännisch beruflichen Eigenschaften und Fertigkeiten des Vaters. Wenn der Vater Priester (kiranga) oder Zauberer, Medizinmann (uniufumu) oder Schmied (umususi) usw. war, wird oder bleibt es der älteste Sohn, indem er vom Vater außer den Kenntnissen auch die Abzeichen und die Werkzeuge erbt. So bleiben bestimmte Berufe bestimmten Familien eigen. Hat die Mutter solche Eigenschaften, so vererben sie sich auf die älteste Tochter.

Wenn aber jemand ohne Angehörige und Anverwandte stirbt, erbt der Mutwale des betreffenden Bezirks den Nachlaß (Nr. 19, S. 568). Da es geschriebene Gesetze irgendwelcher Form nicht gibt, ist alles Recht Gewohnheitsrecht, Tradition, Brauch; aber jeder erwachsene Murundi kennt diesen Brauch, und wenn jemand dagegen verstößt, so ist es eine strafbare Rechtsverletzung. Selbst der König hält sich gegenüber den Batussi für daran gebunden und setzt sich nur ausnahmsweise

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darüber hinweg. Das Recht ist natürlich ein die Batussi in jeder Weise bevorzugendes Herrenrecht, demgegenüber die Bahutu als Hörige nur wenig Recht haben und die Batwa fast ganz rechtlos sind. Den Bahutu und Batwa gegenüber erlauben sich namentlich die Batussi-Batwale oft schwere Rechtswidrigkeiten, ohne deshalb zur Verantwortung gezogen zu werden. Nur die Furcht vor Blutrache schränkt ihre Willkür ein.

Die ethischen Vorstellungen der Barundi über das, was recht und unrecht ist, sind wie bei allen Naturvölkern schwer zu fassen. Auf dahingehende Fragen bekommt man entweder keine Antwort oder sie sagen: „das wissen wir nicht" oder „der Verstand sagt es so" oder „die Eltern, die Vorgesetzten, der König wollen es so" u. dgl. (Nr. 19, S. 381). Wohl nie hört man, daß es das „Gewissen" so vorschreibt, oder daß es die Geister, Manen, Götter so wollen. Was hierüber ausgesagt wird, dürfte von den Fragestellern, namentlich Missionaren, erst in sie hineingefragt sein. Um so klarer sind die konkreten Rechtsbegriffe. Sie knüpfen hauptsächlich an die Eigentums- und sozialen Verhältnisse an und heißen etwas recht oder unrecht, je nachdem es den Interessen dieser traditionell gewordenen Verhältnisse nützt oder schadet.

Grundsätzlich ist, wie oben erwähnt (S. 91), der König alleiniger Eigentümer des gesamten Grundes und Bodens und alles Viehs im Lande. Die Batwale und die kleinen Bezirkschefs, fast immer Batussi, haben, wie oben ausgeführt (S. 86), große oder kleine Teile dieses königlichen Eigentums zu Lehen und überlassen ihrerseits wieder kleinere Teile an die nichtbeamteten Batussi und an die Bahutu zum Nießbrauch. Was diese aber aus dem Boden und aus dem Stammvieh produzieren, gehört von Rechts wegen ihnen als Eigentum, nachdem sie den Lehensinhabern die schuldigen Abgaben daraus entrichtet haben. Auch die Hütten und der Hof, die er auf der ihm überlassenen Scholle gebaut hat, gehören dem Murundi zu eigen. Er kann aber von Haus und Hof und Feld vertrieben werden, wenn er etwa seine Abgaben nicht zahlt oder wenn er gemordet oder gestohlen hat, oder auch wenn der Lehensinhaber einen anderen an seine Stelle setzen will, der mehr zahlt oder ihm sonst genehmer ist (Nr. 19, S. 469). Gewöhnlich pflegen aber die Familien Generationen hindurch auf demselben Grund und Boden, der vor den Zeiten der Batussi wohl meist Eigentum des Bahutu-Clans gewesen ist (s. S. 104), sitzenzubleiben und ihn zu bebauen, für sich und teilweise für den Lehnsherrn. Die von den Batussi selbst bewohnten Gehöfte stehen meist etwas abseits von denen der Bahutu und außerhalb der Felder im Weideland.

Wie die Hütten, so gehört auch alles, was in den Hütten ist und was die Bewohner an sich tragen, diesen als Eigentum. So können Männer, Weiber und Kinder Eigentum haben, und Objekte des Eigentums können sein: Hütten, gepflanzte Bäume, auf den Feldern stehende sowie abgeerntete Feldfrüchte, aufgezogenes Vieh, Mobiliar, Arbeitsgeräte, Kleidungsstücke, Waffen, Schmucksachen, Handelswaren u. a. m.

Vergehen gegen das Eigentum, also Beschädigungen und Diebstähle (uwivi), sind nicht selten. Wenn aber jemand aus seiner Hütte fortgeht und sie unbewacht stehen läßt, genügt meist das Verstellen der Türöffnung durch einen geflochtenen Schirm, um ungebetene Besucher abzuhalten. Die Kraale sind zwar von starken Zäunen umhegt und die Pfade zwischen den Feldern oft von hohen Euphorbienhecken gesäumt (Taf. 20), aber diese sind nicht zum Schutz gegen Diebe errichtet, sondern zum Einpferchen oder Zurückhalten des Viehs. Stiehlt jemand etwas aus

dem Gehöft oder Feldfrüchte auf den Äckern, so wird er vor den Mutwale gebracht und zu schweren Leibesstrafen verurteilt, wenn er nicht sehr reichlich Schadenersatz leisten kann, von dem sich aber der Mutwale die Hälfte aneignet (Nr. 4, S. 224).

Der Mutwale, oder in kleinen Bezirken der Dorfchef, ist der Richter, der in allen Fällen Recht spricht. Die Batwa regeln ihre Rechtsstreitigkeiten gewöhnlich unter sich, ohne ihren Murundi-Mutwale darum anzugehen, aber die Batussi und die Bahutu bringen alles, was sie nicht im Familienrat ordnen können, vor ihren Mutwale. Der Kläger bringt womöglich mehrere Zeugen mit, zugleich aber auch ein Geschenk für den Richter, das nicht ohne Einfluß auf das Urteil ist (Nr. 19, S. 472). Körperstrafen werden an dem Verurteilten meist durch die Familienmitglieder des Geschädigten ausgeführt oder durch die Leibwache des Häuptlings, falls er eine hat. Über die Strafarten siehe S. 97.

Die zweite große Rechtssphäre sind die sozialen Verhältnisse. Zunächst einiges über die Standesgliederung, indem ich die Verhältnisse der Sippe und der Familie einem eigenen Kapitel vorbehalte (S. 98, 106). Wie schon oben erwähnt, ist die Standesgliederung durch die drei das Barundivolk zusammensetzenden Rassenelemente gegeben: hamitische Batussi, Bantu-Bahutu, Urbewohner-Batwa. Die Batussi sind der Adel kraft ihres Eroberrechtes, die Bahutu sind die Unfreien oder nur bedingt Berechtigten, die Batwa die rechtlosen Heloten. Abgesehen von den Batwa-Parias gibt es keine Sonderung in sich voneinander abschließende Kasten. Wohl aber haben die Priester (kiranga), die Zauberer und Medizinmänner (abafumu) und teilweise auch die religiösen Brüderschaften (ababandwa) eine Vorzugsstellung vermöge ihrer magischen Kräfte, die den anderen fehlen. Auch die Berufshandwerker, namentlich die Schmiede, haben eine besonders geachtete Stellung, sofern sie Batussi oder Bahutu sind; die der Batwa nie. Und wie überall, so genießen auch in Urundi die Reichen vor den Armen eines höheren Ansehens und Einflusses.

Batussi und Bahutu verkehren trotz des großen Standesunterschiedes, trotz des rechtlichen Abstandes und trotz des Hochmutes der Batussi meist auf freundschaftlichem Fuße miteinander, wie der Herr mit einem brauchbaren fügsamen Diener. Wenn der Mutussi ein auch noch so kleiner Mutwale oder Lehnsinhaber ist, vergißt der Muhutu doch nie, daß er in ihm den Herrn vor sich hat; täte er es, so würde er sehr empfindlich daran erinnert werden. Dem besitzlosen Mutussi gewöhnlichen Schlages aber betrachtet sich der „bessere" Muhutu sozial ebenbürtig. Mitunter, wiewohl selten, kommen sogar Ehen zwischen Batussi und Bahutu zustande, wiewohl sie nicht vollgültig sind (s. S. 101, 109). Auch soll, wie in Ruanda, ein Muhutu durch Gnade des Königs in die bevorrechtete Klasse der Batussi aufgenommen werden können.

Aber die Batwa stehen ganz für sich, außer und unter den anderen. Sie sind nicht Sklaven, die zu Dienstleistungen gezwungen wären, sondern Ausgeschlossene, Verworfene, die von den Batussi und Bahutu verachtet und verabscheut, als Tiere, nicht als Menschen angesehen werden (Nr. 19, S. 541). Man bezieht zwar von ihnen allerlei Gewerbeerzeugnisse, namentlich Töpfe, und gebraucht sie gern als Medizinmänner, Musikanten, Wächter, aber tritt nie in engere Beziehung zu ihnen. (In Ruanda macht man viel eher eine Ausnahme, namentlich am Königshof.) Niemals betritt ein Mutussi oder Muhutu eine Mutwahütte, nie ißt oder trinkt er mit einem Mutwa, nie benutzt er ein Gefäß oder Gewand, das schon ein Mutwa be-

mußt hat. Nur eins läßt man zu: daß der Mutwa den Murundi grüßt, und erwidert auch seinen Gruß, wiewohl anders als den eines Murundi.

Die Grußformen der Barundi sind außerordentlich verschieden nach der sozialen Stellung des Grüßenden und des Begrüßten, aber immer wird der Gruß mit einer gewissen zeremoniellen Feierlichkeit dargebracht und erwidert, so daß manche Beobachter darin eine Art religiöser Handlung sehen wollen. Auch der Inhalt der stereotypen Grüße deutet öfters religiöse Beziehungen an (s. S. 46). Vielleicht deshalb, wahrscheinlicher aber wegen der dem Murundi angeborenen oder anerzogenen großen Höflichkeit betrachtet jeder Murundi das Unterlassen des Grußes oder des Gegengrußes als eine beleidigende Grobheit. Entsprechend der sozialen Gliederung des Volkes lassen sich drei große Gruppen von Grüßen unterscheiden: 1. Begrüßung des Königs. Der Grüßende kniet nieder, beugt sich zum König vor, klatscht ihm entgegen in die Hände und ruft „uganse umwami" (gebiete, König) oder „ugire umwami" (sei gesund, König). Auch die Mitglieder der königlichen Familie, die Baganwa, die großenteils als Oberhäuptlinge die Provinzen regieren, werden ähnlich begrüßt. — 2. Begrüßung der Batwale aus nicht königlichem Geschlecht und der kleineren Gemeindechefs. Der Grüßende neigt sich dem Mutwale entgegen und ruft „amahoro umutwale" (Friede, Mutwale) oder „mwakeje umutwale" (bist du gesund erwacht, Mutwale?), worauf der Angeredete einfach „amahoro" oder „mwakeje" antwortet, oder der Grüßende ruft „turakuje ubwatsi" (wir bringen dir Gras dar) oder „sjinde awansi" (besiege deine Feinde). Dabei rupft der Begrüßende eine Handvoll Laub oder Stroh- oder Grashalme ab und legt sie dem König oder dem Mutwale zu Füßen; ein Symbol der Unterwerfung, denn das Gras oder Stroh ist das Sinnbild des Erdbodens und alles dessen, was auf ihm wächst (Nr. 14, S. 48; Nr. 22, S. 254; Nr. 4, S. 79). Die „Grashuldigung" ist bei den hamitischen Hirtenvölkern weit verbreitet und spielt auch bei den Galla eine zeremonielle Rolle (A. Werner, The Galla of East Africa; Journ. of the African Society, Bd. 13, S. 275). — 3. Begrüßung gewöhnlicher Barundi untereinander. Diese Begrüßungsarten sind außerordentlich zahlreich, je nach Tageszeit, nach Gelegenheit, Persönlichkeit usw. Auch hier hört man zuerst meist „mwakeje" oder „amahoro", dann aber einen ganzen Schwall von hin und her gehenden Phrasen. Zum Abschied ist der Zuruf „ibaba" oder „akababa" sehr gebräuchlich, den auch die Wanjamwesi haben (Nr. 19, S. 529).

Umarmungen und Küsse als Gruß kennen die Barundi nicht. Aber eine merkwürdige Art Akkolade ist als Begrüßung unter Verwandten und Freunden üblich, die sehr umständlich ausgeführt und von vielen Redewendungen begleitet wird (Nr. 23, 1904, S. 36). Wenn nämlich jemand einen Verwandten oder guten Bekannten trifft, guckt er ihn erst einige Zeit stumm an und geht dann auf ihn zu, ihm die gefalteten Hände entgegenstreckend. Der andere nimmt diese gefalteten Hände zwischen die seinigen und streicht dann sanft auf den Armen des Begrüßenden auf und ab, wobei sich Brust und Kopf der beiden einander nähern, als ob sie sich umarmen wollten. Während dieser Gesten entströmen zahlreiche Grußformeln in Anrede und Antwort den beiderseitigen Lippen, worunter sehr häufig die Worte „ischo, scho, amascho" (d. h. Rinder, Rinderherde) sind und bedeuten, daß man sich gegenseitig das höchste Gut und Glück, nämlich Rinder, wünscht. Ein sehr charakteristischer Hirtengruß, der zweifellos von den Batussi eingeführt ist (s. S. 46).

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

Eine große Rolle im sozialen Verkehr spielt das Geben und Nehmen von Geschenken (isimano, ingawano). Auch dies geht in den mannigfaltigsten Formen vor sich, die durch die gesellschaftliche Stellung der Geber und Empfänger und durch den Anlaß der Schenkung bestimmt sind. Man beschenkt sich außerordentlich häufig in Urundi, aus Freundschaft oder Hochachtung, aus Höflichkeit oder zum Zeichen der Unterwürfigkeit; aber nur selten ist der Schenker selbstlos, sondern meist zielt er auf ein Gegengeschenk ab, das ihm nach der Sitte auch zusteht, oder, wenn er den Mutwale beschenkt, auf die Erlangung seiner Gunst in obrigkeitlichen Entscheidungen. Das Aufhören des Geschenkaustausches bedeutet Feindschaft, die Zurückweisung eine schwere Beleidigung. Zuerst wird die mitgebrachte Gabe, seien es Feldfrüchte oder Honigtöpfe oder Ziegen oder Bierkrüge oder sonst etwas, dem zu Beschenkenden vor die Füße gelegt, wobei der Geber nicht versäumt, von den Lebensmitteln etwas zu kosten, um zu zeigen, daß sie weder vergiftet noch verzaubert sind. Dann hält der Geber eine feierliche Ansprache, in der er den andern seiner Liebe und Verehrung versichert und auch von ihm freundliche Gesinnung erheischt und schließlich offen um ein schönes Gegengeschenk bittet; so will es die Sitte. Der Beschenkte antwortet ebenso feierlich und verspricht am Ende sein Gegengeschenk oder läßt es gleich anbringen, worüber der Empfänger häufig in Freudengeschrei ausbricht und wie besessen tanzt. Auch will es die Sitte, daß man vom Geschenk sogleich dem Geber etwas wieder zurückgibt, was die Darbringung des Geschenkes natürlich sehr erleichtert (Nr. 19, S. 87). Auch die Batwa üben diese Geschenksitten unter sich, aber ihren Barundichefs dürfen sie nur Töpfe, Eisengerät, Waffenstücke, Tabakpfeifen, Brennholz darbringen, niemals Bier, Honig oder andere Lebensmittel, da ein Murundi diese, die von einem Paria kommen, nie genießen würde.

Ein wichtiger Bestandteil in der gesellschaftlichen Gliederung und im Wirtschaftsleben sind die Haushörigen, die Dienerschaft. Sklaverei gibt es in Urundi nicht oder nicht mehr, ebensowenig in Ruanda. Die Batussi brauchen ja auch keine Sklaven, denn die Bahutu insgesamt sind Hörige der Batussiherren und leisten ihnen alle Dienste, die anderwärts in Ostafrika von Sklaven verlangt werden. Dagegen bestand bis um die Wende des Jahrhunderts ein recht lebhafter Sklavenhandel aus Urundi nach auswärts unter dem Einfluß der Araber und der Küstenleute und durch Vermittlung der an den West- und Ostgrenzen Urundis wohnenden Wawira, Bassuwi, Wassumbwa, Wanjamwesi. Als Sklaven wurden von den Barundi nicht nur die in den inneren Kriegen gefangengenommenen Landsleute, namentlich die Weiber und Mädchen, verkauft, sondern auch Waisen von ihren Verwandten, ja selbst Kinder von ihren Eltern (Nr. 19, S. 212). Der Kaufpreis wurde in Salz, Perlen, eisernen Hacken entrichtet, und am höchsten wurden die hübschen Batussimädchen bezahlt, die in die Harems der Araber, der vermögenden Küstenneger oder Wanjamwesi wanderten. In Uha (Heru) und in Usambiro wurden noch um 1900 öffentliche Sklavenmärkte abgehalten, wo hauptsächlich Sklaven aus Ruanda (Kissaka) und Urundi verkauft wurden. Damals schrieb ein Zeuge: „Alle Wege sind mit Sklavenzügen bedeckt, fast lauter Frauen und Mädchen. Unter 10 Sklavinnen gehen 8 zugrunde, denn jene Bergkinder ertragen schwer ein anderes Klima" (Nr. 14, 1900, S. 178). Heute haben diese Scheußlichkeiten mit dem Fortschritt der deutschen Okkupation aufgehört, oder es wird doch nur noch selten und geheim einmal ein Mädchen oder Kind aus Urundi in die Nachbarländer verkauft.

In Urundi selbst aber gibt es im Haushalt vieler einflußreicher Familien, namentlich der Batussi, anstatt der Hausſklaven hörige Hausdiener oder Knechte und Mägde (abaschumwi), die zwar persönlich frei sind, aber für den Herrn arbeiten müssen und nur Unterhalt und Wohnung bekommen. Sie gehen aus einer Art Adoption hervor, indem jemand, der keine Verwandten hat oder aus irgendeinem Grund seine Familie verlassen will, sich einem vermögenden Murundi oder einem Mutwale zu dauernder Dienstleistung anbietet. Dieser nimmt ihn in sein Gehöft auf und behandelt ihn wie ein Familienmitglied (Nr. 19, S. 13). Der Adoptierte tut Hausarbeit, hütet Vieh, bestellt das Feld, kann sich aber kein Eigentum erwerben. Wenn er aus dem Dienst ausscheiden und sich einem andern Herrn anbieten will, steht es ihm jederzeit frei, doch hat der bisherige Herr so viele indirekte Mittel, ihn zum Bleiben zu zwingen, daß die meisten einmal Adoptierten ihr ganzes Leben bei demselben Herrn zubringen.

Aus diesen Haushörigen, aus verarmten Verwandten und schmarotzenden Freunden, aus glückjagenden Schmeichlern, wirtschaftlich oder politisch Abhängigen verschiedener Art setzt sich die Klientel, die Gefolgschaft jedes wohlhabenden und einflußreichen Murundi zusammen, die ihm täglich im Kral ihre Huldigung darbringen und ihm auf seinen Ausgängen das Geleite geben. Je größer das Ansehen des Herrn, desto zahlreicher sein Gefolge; einen hochstehenden Mutussi sieht man selten mit weniger als einem Dutzend, oft mit 20—30 Begleitern einherschreiten. In Urundi heißt das Gefolge mafuatano, in Ruanda, wo dieselbe Einrichtung besteht, bagaragu.

Eine Schuldſklaverei gibt es in Urundi nicht. Für Rechtsverletzungen an Eigentum, Leib und Leben haben aber die Barundi verschiedene sehr drastische Strafen (ikihano). In den meisten Fällen kann der Schuldige oder seine Angehörigen oder sein Clan das Vergehen oder Verbrechen durch eine mehr oder minder große Zahlung in Naturalien, in Vieh, Salz, Perlen, Eisen usw., sühnen. Über das Maß entscheidet der Mutwale als Richter (S. 94). Wenn es sich aber um ein schweres Verbrechen, um Totschlag, Mord, schwere Verwundung handelt, tritt Blutrache der Sippe, des Clans (s. S. 105) in ihr Recht, und zwar unter Mitwirkung der Obrigkeit. Der Geschädigte oder, wenn er erschlagen ist, seine Sippe bemüht sich auf jede Weise, des Missetäters habhaft zu werden. Flieht dieser in eine Nachbarprovinz, unerreichbar dem rächenden Arm der geschädigten Sippe, so sucht man eines oder mehrere seiner Weiber, Kinder, Geschwister, nahen Verwandten oder Clangenossen an seiner Statt abzufangen. Der Gefangene wird gebunden und eingesperrt, bis ihn die Seinigen um hohes Lösegeld freikaufen. In den meisten Fällen geschieht dies; wenn sie es aber nicht tun, so schreiten die Geschädigten mit Einwilligung des Mutwale zur Exekution. Sie führen den Gefangenen an einen abgelegenen Ort und schneiden ihm zuerst die Hände, dann die Füße, eventuell auch die Ohren, Nase, Zunge ab. Darauf wird das unglückliche Opfer mit vier Pfählen durch die Arme und Schenkel hindurch auf den Erdboden festgenagelt, wo es endlich den Todesstoß in die Brust empfängt (Nr. 19, S. 472). Eine andere Exekution besteht darin, daß dem Gefangenen ein spitzer Pfahl vom Anus aus durch den Leib bis zum Hals getrieben und der so Gepfählte an einem öffentlichen Ort aufgestellt wird. Ganz ähnliche Formen hat die Blutrache bei den andern Bahima, bis zu den fernsten im Süden, in Ufipa (N. 47, S. 108—111). Auch Viehdiebstahl und Hexerei werden in Urundi so grausam bestraft.

Selbstmörder, die in Urundi wie in Ruanda durchaus keine unbekannte Größe sind, bringen sich gewöhnlich durch den Strang oder durch Ertränken ums Leben.

Der Eid (indahiro), das Anrufen der Gottheit oder der Manen oder des Königs zur Bekräftigung der Aussage, scheint bei den Barundi, die im übrigen sehr viel „schwören, fluchen, zaubern, lügen oder trügen", als Rechtsmittel nicht zugelassen zu sein. Dagegen wird vom Richter häufig das Gottesurteil über einen Angeklagten zur Offenbarung der Wahrheit verhängt, namentlich wenn es sich um die Beschuldigung der Hexerei und Zauberei handelt (Nr. 19, S. 405). Die üblichste Form ist die Speerprobe; sie besteht darin, daß der Beschuldigte mit einer glühenden Speerspitze in den Arm gestochen wird. Wenn Blut spritzt, ist er schuldig, andernfalls unschuldig. Auch die Wasserprobe wird angewandt, indem man den Angeklagten die Hand in ein Gefäß voll kochenden Wassers stecken läßt. Wenn er sich verbrüht, ist er schuldig, sonst nicht. Desgleichen wird unter Umständen die in ganz Afrika gebräuchliche Giftprobe gemacht. Natürlich gibt es allerlei Mittel, wie Einfetten, Einpulvern, Gegengifte u. a., die das Gottesurteil einigermaßen zu korrigieren wissen.

3. Clans, Exogamie, Totemismus

Im ganzen Zwischenseengebiet steht neben der durch die verschiedenen ethnischen Volksschichten gebildeten Standesgliederung, deren Oberschicht die Bahima-Eroberer oder Batussi sind, die Gliederung nach blutsverwandten Sippen oder Clans als untere Ordnung. Ihrer Natur nach gibt es Clans der Batussi, der Bahutu und der Batwa. Der Clan als Zusammenfassung der blutsverwandten Familien ist die Basis der ganzen sozialen Organisation Urundis wie auch Ruandas, Karagwes, Kisibas, Ankoles usw., während der politische Staat auf dem Lehnswesen aufgebaut ist. Nur wissen wir leider bloß wenig von den Clans der Barundi, da meine Vorgänger dieser Einrichtung gar keine Beachtung geschenkt haben und die Eingeborenen über diese Verhältnisse hauptsächlich aus Scheu vor der vermeintlich verhängnisvollen Namennennung (s. S. 111, 112) noch weniger gern Auskunft geben als über ihre religiösen Vorstellungen. Viel klarer liegen diese Dinge in Ruanda, wo Czekanowski mit Hilfe der Missionare und christianisierter Eingeborener zahlreiche interessante Aufschlüsse über die Clanverhältnisse gewinnen konnte (Nr. 48, Kap. 11). Was ich im nachstehenden mitteilen kann, danke ich, außer meinen Erkundigungen im Land, den Auskünften der Herren Hauptmann v. Langenn, Steinkeller und Pater v. d. Burgt.

In seinem Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi spricht v. d. Burgt von einigen priviligierten Batussigeschlechtern, aus denen die Könige ihre Weiber zu nehmen pflegen (s. S. 99, 101, 182,, aber von einer Gliederung des ganzen Volkes in Clans, die von einschneidender rechtlicher, sozialer und politischer Bedeutung ist, sagt er nichts. Auf meine direkte Anfrage erteilte mir Pater v. d. Burgt folgenden Bescheid: „Ich habe früher lange gemeint, daß das Clanwesen in Urundi überhaupt nicht bestehe. In Unjammesi wie in Kisiba (Nr. 31, S. 5) hört man fortwährend die Leute von ihren luganda (Familien, cognatio) und ihrem kisse (Plur. visse) = Clan reden; z. B. fast immer, wenn man eine Frau nach ihrem Namen fragt, sagt sie erst ihren Clannamen, z. B.: „ich bin eine Magana" oder eine „Njamurega" oder eine „Kundwa" usw. Aber in Mittel-Urundi habe ich nur einmal ein Weib sagen hören, daß sie eine Magana sei. Also so ausgesprochen wie in Unjammesi, Ussumi, Kisiba usw. besteht das Clanwesen in Urundi nicht. Ein Wort wie „Kisse" in Usambiro kenne

ich in Urundi nicht, aber die Warundi reden viel von ihrem „umurjango", was ebenfalls Sippe, Clan bedeutet. In Ruanda scheint das Clanwesen wieder stark ausgeprägt zu sein. Auch in Nord-Urundi (Mission Marienseen), wo viele Wanjakissaka eingewandert sind, hört man von ihren Clans sprechen, nicht aber bei den dortigen Warundi.

„Ob es in Urundi solche Clans viele gibt oder wenige, weiß ich nicht. Ich habe die hier folgenden Namen herausgefunden, garantiere aber nicht, daß es echte Urundi-Clannamen sind, sondern glaube eher, daß sie von der Peripherie des Landes stammen: Wajango, Wamagana, Wassindi, Waschambo, Wasinga, Wajambo (Wanjambo), Wasigawa (Wasigaba) u. a. m. Wenn übrigens die Bevölkerung in Clans gegliedert ist, so wohnen die Glieder überall verstreut ohne Regel, ohne Beschränkung, also nicht lokalisiert."

Ferner nennt v. d. Burgt (s. S. 183) als die der Königsfamilie am nächsten stehenden Geschlechter die Wakundo, Warwanda (Wawanda, Babanda?), Wenengwe, Wanjakarama, Wasigaba, Waterwa (Watoirwa?). Herr Hauptmann v. Langenn gibt mir dagegen als die vornehmsten Batussigeschlechter die Banjakarama, Benengwe, Banjakissaka, Baschunguka, Boschoka an, denen sich in zweiter Linie die ebenfalls sehr vornehmen Bawanda, Bahondogo, Bassawu, Bawejuru, Baschama, Bega, Bawankundu, Babile, Basindakire u. a. anreihen. Einige dieser Geschlechternamen, wie die Bega, die Bawanda, die Bakundo, die Baschama, wurden mir in Urundi selbst wiederholt genannt, dazu die Baschambo, Basito, Bagessera, Bakango, Balenge, Baransi, Balesi, Bakono, Bassekе, Bassabu, Bajosi, Barire.

Vergleichen wir diese Namen mit den von Czekanowski in seine Clantabellen aus Unjoro, Toro, Ankole, Mpororó, Kjamtwara, Kisiba und Ruanda eingetragenen (Nr. 48, S. 41, 88, 233—251) und mit den von Kandt, v. d. Burgt, van Thiel, Stuhlmann, P. Schumacher, Meldon, Roscoe, Rehse u. a. genannten Geschlechternamen, so finden wir mehr als die Hälfte der Barundinamen auch in jenen Ländern wieder, namentlich in Ruanda, wohin also die nächste Verwandtschaft der Barundigeschlechter deutet; als die ältesten Sippen werden dort von der Legende bezeichnet die Basinga, Bagessera und Basigaba (s. S. 153). Wahrscheinlich sind die gleichnamigen Clans in Urundi und den nördlicheren Bahimastaaten nur Abzweigungen desselben, ursprünglich einheitlichen Clans, die sich infolge starker Vermehrung oder kriegerischer Bedrängung abgetrennt und durch Wanderung weiter verbreitet haben. Am verbreitetsten durch Urundi, Ruanda und die nördlichen Länder des Zwischenseengebietes bis nach Unjoro hinein sind die Bawanda, Bega, Bakango, Baschambo, Bagaia, Basindi, Basinga, Basito, Bajango, Basigaba, Bajubu u. a.; wogegen die Bahondogo, Bassabu, Baschunguka, Babile, Basindakire, Barire, Bassekе auf Urundi beschränkt zu sein scheinen, wenn sie nicht von späteren Forschern auch noch anderwärts gefunden werden. Vielleicht sind ihre Bluts- und Namensverwandten mehr im Süden und Westen als im Norden zu suchen.

Die Mehrzahl der genannten Clans sind solche der Batussi, aber die Bamagana, Bajango, Bassekе, Basjubu, Barire u. a. sind Bahutu, und dazu kommen noch zahlreiche Clans der Batwa, die ich aber nicht erfragen konnte. Manche Clannamen betreffen sowohl Batussi- als auch Bahutuclans; ja einige, wie z. B. die Bagessera und Basinga, erstrecken sich sogar auf Batussi-, Bahutu- und Batwaclans. Die Art der Clangliederung, die innere Organisation und Ordnung der Clans, ihre soziale Wirksamkeit und ihre gegenseitigen Rechtsverhältnisse scheinen bei den Batussi nur in wenigen Beziehungen wesentlich anders zu sein als bei den Bahutu und bei den Batwa, und zwar namentlich in den Einrichtungen, die auf die Reinhaltung des Batussiblutes, auf die exklusive Stellung ihrer Rasse und damit ihrer Herrschaft

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abzielen. Es haben sich bei ihnen noch Reste einer früheren Endogamie erhalten (s. S. 101), während sonst die Clans streng exogam sind. Wahrscheinlich haben sich die Batussi, wie in vielen andern Sitten und Institutionen, so auch in der Art der Clanorganisation den älteren Volkselementen Urundis allmählich angeglichen; aber dennoch haben die Batussi viel dazu beigetragen, daß das alte Clanwesen immer mehr an Bedeutung verlor, denn je stärker das Königtum wurde, je mehr Macht und Rechte die vom König eingesetzten Batwale und die selbständigen Batussihäuptlinge beanspruchten und ausübten, desto weniger konnten sie das Weiterbestehen der Autorität der bisherigen Clanobersten oder Clanältesten dulden, desto mehr drängten sie die bisherigen Clanbefugnisse zurück und setzten dafür die Verwaltungsorganisation des heranwachsenden Batussi-Lehnsstaates ein. Am meisten ist die öffentlich-rechtliche und die soziale Tätigkeit der Clans in dem streng monarchischen Ruanda zurückgedrängt und eingeengt, aber auch in dem weniger stark monarchischen, mehr differenzierten Urundistaat haben die Clans den größten Teil ihrer früheren Rechte an die Häuptlinge und den König abgeben müssen und ihren festen Zusammenhang verloren. Trotzdem bestehen die Clans als natürliche Gliederung des Volkes neben und unter der künstlichen des Staates weiter und haben nicht nur in ihrer Organisation und ihren Sitten eine Menge Überreste aus alter Zeit bewahrt, sondern üben auch noch viele auf ihrer Organisation fußende Tätigkeiten aus, namentlich familienrechtliche, die auch von allgemeiner sozialer Bedeutung und Wirkung sind.

Als Hauptpunkte der Clanorganisation sind aus früherer Zeit in Geltung geblieben: Der patriarchalische Charakter seines Verbandes; die Exogamie der Clans untereinander; die totemistische Eigenart jedes Clans und damit im Zusammenhang die seine Genossen treffenden Gebote und Verbote (abasiru), namentlich Speiseverbote, wodurch die Clans scharf voneinander geschieden werden; der Kommunismus der Clangenossen; der Schutz des Sippengenossen durch seinen Clan, nötigenfalls durch Blutrache, was auch unter der Batussiherrschaft ein Korrektiv gegen Gewalttaten der Batussibeamten ist.

Überblicken wir kurz diese Hauptpunkte, wie sie Czekanowski auch für Ruanda skizziert. Jeder Clan rekrutiert sich durch Patriarchat, Vaterfolge; jedes Kind gehört von Geburt dem Clan (umurjango) seines Vaters an. Nur ausnahmsweise werden auch Fremde in den Clan aufgenommen, sind aber nicht vollberechtigt. Je mehr männliche Sippengenossen ein Clan hat, desto schärfer ist er nach innen und außen, desto kräftiger schützt er den einzelnen, desto mehr nützt er ihm; daher namentlich der heiße Wunsch jedes Familienvaters, möglichst viele Söhne zu bekommen und sie seinem Clan zuzuführen.

Ehen zwischen Angehörigen desselben Clans sind verboten, ein Clangenosse darf sich eine Frau nur aus einem andern Clan holen. Es herrscht also strenge Exogamie. C. Meinhof führt den Anfang dieser bei den afrikanischen hamitischen Hirtenstämmen besonders ausgeprägten Sitte darauf zurück, daß die Frau wohl ursprünglich nicht dem einzelnen Mann, sondern der ganzen Sippe, allen Clangenossen des Mannes gemeinsam gehörte, daß also jedesmal der ganze Clan des Mannes das Weib heiratete, das eben darum aus einem andern Clan sein mußte (Nr. 41, S. 84). Deutliche Reste dieser Gruppenehe sind noch bei vielen dieser hamitischen Stämme wie auch bei den Massai in der Sitte vorhanden, daß der Mann seine Frau jedem ihn besuchenden Clangenossen für die Zeit des Besuches überläßt und daß die

verheirateten Weiber auch sonst für die Männer ihres Clans so zugänglich sind, daß es daneben bei diesen Stämmen fast gar keine Prostitution gibt und daß der Begriff Ehebruch nur für den illegalen Verkehr außerhalb des Clans Geltung hat. In beschränktem Maß gilt dies auch von den exogamen Ehen der Barundi (s. S. 107). Aber niemals geht ein Mitglied eines Batussiclans eine vollgültige Ehe mit einem Mitglied eines Bahutu- oder gar Batwaclans ein, niemals kommen vollwertige Mischehen von Angehörigen der Bahutu- mit denen der Batwaclans vor. Der Rassengegensatz unter den drei großen Bevölkerungsgruppen ist stärker als die exogamischen Vorschriften. Zwar kommen nicht selten Batussi in Bahutuclans und Bahutu in Batussiclans vor, aber diese stammen entweder aus Konkubinaten mit Bahutuweibern oder aus andern, durch besondere Verhältnisse entstandenen unebenbürtigen Verbindungen und werden nicht als vollgültige Clanmitglieder betrachtet.

Die Exogamie der Clans scheint aber keine unbeschränkte zu sein, ein Clan der Batussi scheint nicht mit allen andern Batussiclans, ein Clan der Bahutu nicht mit allen andern Bahutuclans in die Ehe treten zu können, sondern es scheint, daß der Angehörige eines Clans in der Wahl seiner Ehefrau resp. des Ehemanns, auf eine bestimmte Zahl von andern Clans beschränkt ist, höchst wahrscheinlich auf die, welche mit ihm das gleiche Totem (umusiru) haben. Wie bei andern Völkern mit totemistischer Exogamie dürften es auch hier alte, auf gemeinsamen animistischen Vorstellungen beruhende totemistische Kultgemeinschaften gewesen sein, die miteinander in Eheverbindung getreten sind (Nr. 43, S. 162); es dürfte auch hier der Eheverkehr sich auf Clans beschränken, die das gleiche Totem haben oder befreundeten Totemgruppen angehören. Bei andern ostafrikanischen Stämmen, z. B. den Wagogo, Wahehe, Basipa, Banjoro, Baganda wird die Ehe durch Totemgleichheit wenigstens nicht ausgeschlossen (Nr. 49, S. 164). In jedem Fall ist nicht die Gleichheit des Totems, sondern nur die Zugehörigkeit zu derselben Sippe, also die Blutsverwandtschaft, maßgebend für die Exogamie. Exogame und totemistische Gruppe haben offenbar verschiedene Entstehung, auch da, wo sie sich decken (Nr. 49, S. 166).

Im übrigen Ostafrika finden wir die Gliederung in exogame, totemistische Clans bei den Sulu (Nr. 30, Bd. II, S. 380), den Wangoni (305), Wagogo (402), Wahehe (404), Wahela (406), Wapaa, Mafua, Matembe (406), Massai (408), Watakomba (420), Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Kamasia (426), Wakawirondo (448), Basoga (457), Baganda (472), Banjoro (513), Batoro (531), Banjankole (535), Galla (540), Basipa (Nr. 31, S. 5—6), Basipa (Nr. 47, S. 131—135), Wakamba, Wataweta, Wakihnu, Wahena, Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, Wasango, Wawemba u. a. m. (Nr. 49, S. 122—124). Wo bei diesen Stämmen nicht die Clans selbst exogam sind, wie bei den Wahehe und den Massai, sind es die Subclans, in welche die Clans zerfallen. Häufig ist die Vierzahl der Clans, und fast überall heißt das Totem musiro oder umusiru (Plur. abasiru).

In Urundi ist nur die Königssippe, der Clan der Baganwa, nicht streng an die exogamen Vorschriften gebunden. Ihre Mitglieder können sich mit andern Clans des hohen Batussiadels verheiraten (Exogamie), aber auch mit Baganwa (Endogamie). Der Urundikönig selbst heiratet stets exogam aus einem der vier (oder sechs?) höchsten Clans (S. 99, 182). Aber ausnahmsweise darf resp. muß in Urundi wie in Ruanda der König sogar seine eigene Schwester oder Tochter heiraten (s. S. 182).

Auch bei den Bahima Ankoles, Unjoros, Ulipas, bei den Baganda und den Galla oder Oromo dürfen die Könige und die Prinzen aus königlichem Geblüt endogam in der Königssippe, ja sogar ihre Schwestern heiraten, während die übrigen Clans exogam sind (Nr. 30, Bd. II, S. 523, 538, 541; Nr. 27, S. 105; Nr. 47, S. 49, 132; Emin Bey, Peterm. Mitteil. 1879, S. 120).

Die Schwesternheirat als Extremform der Endogamie findet sich aber in Ostafrika nur als Notfall, wenn das Herrschergeschlecht die Reinhaltung seines Blutes nicht durch eine andere Verbindung besser zu wahren vermag, und sie findet resp. fand sich wahrscheinlich auch bei anderen Völkern der Gegenwart und Vergangenheit nur in Herrschergeschlechtern, die, wie die Bahima, als ein ursprünglich landesfremdes Element friedlich eingewandert oder erobernd eingedrungen sind und sich gegen alle Vermischung mit den Unterworfenen abschließen (Nr. 43, S. 150).

Aus dem Umstand, daß immer mehrere Clans das nämliche Totem haben, läßt sich wohl mit Recht schließen, daß diese Clans ursprünglich einem Stamm angehört haben, der sich später infolge allzu großen Wachstums in zwei und dann in mehrere Sippen oder Clans geteilt hat, während sie das früher gemeinsame Totem beibehalten haben. Die Clans haben nach der Trennung verschiedene Namen angenommen, aber nicht ist bei den Bahima und Bahutu Ostafrikas, wie bei den nordamerikanischen Indianern, der Totemname als Name des Clans selbst angenommen worden, sondern wie bei den Australiern sind Clanname und Totemname verschieden, während sich der Totemkult und seine Genossenschaft, wenn auch in abgeschwächter Form, erhalten haben (vgl. Nr. 43, S. 142 bis 143). Nur in wenigen Einzelfällen sind die Namen der Sippen mit dem ihres Totems bei den Basoga, Basiba, Banjoro identisch, wogegen die Sippen der Baganda durchweg nach ihrem Totem benannt sind (Nr. 49, S. 155).

Kultobjekt ist das Totem (umusiru) des Clans oder der Clangruppe in Urundi wie in Ruanda immer noch, und sei es auch nur im passiven oder negativen Sinn, insofern als alles, was mit dem Totem zusammenhängt, von seinem Clan streng gemieden werden muß. Ein aktiver Kult aber wird dem Totem nicht gewidmet, weder bei den Barundi noch bei einem andern Bahimavolk (vgl. auch Nr. 47, S. 133, 134 und Nr. 49, S. 145, 147). Nur Opferspenden werden ihnen gelegentlich dargebracht (s. S. 118). Das Totem ist bei den allermeisten Barundiclans ein Tier oder Teil eines Tieres, viel seltener ein Gegenstand, wie z. B. das kleine Kissen, mit dem Lasten auf dem Kopf getragen werden, oder der Korb, in dem Bataten aufbewahrt werden, noch seltener Pflanzen oder Pflanzenteile, Blumen, Steine. Das starke Überwiegen des Tiertotems hängt, wie bei allen totemistisch gegliederten Völkern, wohl damit zusammen, daß das Totemtier ursprünglich als das „Ahnentier" galt. Das scheint aber bei den Barundi und Banjaruanda nicht zu bedeuten, daß diese Tierspezies als der Stammvater oder die Stammutter des betreffenden Clans angesehen wird, sondern daß die Seele jedes Clangenossen nach seinem Tod in ein Tier dieser bestimmten Art übergehe. Es besteht offenbar der Glaube an eine Verwandtschaft zwischen der Menschensippe und der Totemtierspezies ohne die Vorstellung einer gemeinsamen Abstammung von demselben Ahnentier, und diese Verwandtschaft erneuert sich bei jedem Todesfall eines Sippengenossen durch den Übergang seiner Seele in ein Tier seiner Totemspezies. Denselben Glauben haben in Mittelafrika viele Stämme des nördlichen Kongobeckens und des westlichen Sudan (Nr. 49, S. 140—142).

v. d. Burgt glaubt, daß die Königsfamilie der Barundi kein Totem habe (Brief). Nach anderen Angaben ist es aber wahrscheinlich die große Pythonschlange (s. S. 118), die ja auch „Seelentier" der Könige ist; so auch bei den Basiba (Nr. 31, S. 107, 130) und den Baganda (Nr. 30, Bd. II, S. 500). Nach dem Glauben der Banjankole gehen die Seelen der Könige in Löwen, die der Prinzen in Schlangen über (Nr. 26, S. 151; Nr. 27, S. 102); bei den Banjaruanda die der Könige in Leoparden.

Die eine Wurzel des Totemismus ist also hier der Glaube an eine Verwandtschaft zwischen Clangenossen und Totemtier, die andere ist derselbe Animismus, aus dem auch die Scheu und Furcht vor dem in einem Tier oder einem andern Objekt hausenden Dämon eines Verstorbenen und damit im Zusammenhang der ehrfürchtige Ahnenkult hervorgehen (vgl. Nr. 49, S. 169). Die Totemtiere sind daher mit vielen der allgemein als Sitz menschlicher Seelen aufgefaßten „Seelentiere" (s. S. 118) identisch, und zwar sind es auch hier bezeichnenderweise solche Tiere, die sich durch große und rasche, der vorgestellten Hauchseele entsprechende Beweglichkeit auszeichnen, wie z. B. Schlange, Eidechse, gewisse Fische und Vögel, Fischotter, Wiesel, Zwergantilope, Meerkatze, oder die ein unheimliches Aussehen oder sonst schlimme Eigenschaften haben, wie z. B. Chamäleon, Stabheuschrecke, Leopard, Büffel, Flußpferd. Aber auch Haustiere besonderer Art, wie die schwarzen, weißgestreiften oder in anderer bestimmter Weise gezeichneten Kühe oder bestimmte Varietäten der Schafe, sind Totemtiere mancher Clans; während die Verehrung des Rindes überhaupt, das nicht als Arbeits- und nicht schlechthin als Schlachttier benutzt wird, darauf hindeutet, daß es einst als Kulttier des Bahima-Hirtenvolkes gehalten wurde, was es teilweise noch heute ist. Wenn von manchen Tieren nur Leber, Herz, Eingeweide als Totem einiger Clans bezeichnet werden, wie auch bei vielen anderen Bahima- und Bantustämmen, so sind sie das wahrscheinlich teils deshalb, weil der Mutterclan sich in mehrere Totemgruppen gespalten hat, teils weil diese Organe des Tierkörpers mit am liebsten als Träger der Seele betrachtet werden, teils aus dem praktischen Grunde, weil man sich nicht den Fleischgenuß des ganzen Tieres versperren wollte. Einfach das Rind als solches zum Totem zu wählen, wie etwa die Hyäne oder das Chamäleon, wäre für den Clan eines Hirtenvolkes unmöglich gewesen, weil der Clan sonst vor dem Tabu seines Totems hätte hungern müssen.

Dem Clangenossen ist sein Clantotem, sein Umufiru, ein Gegenstand der Scheu, weil es ihm entweder als Angehöriger einer früheren Generation seiner Sippe Ehrfurcht oder aus andern Gründen Widerwillen erweckt; es ist ihm tabu, weil es ihm entweder wegen seiner hohen Eigenschaften heilig oder wegen seiner niederen, häßlichen Eigenschaften unrein erscheint. In der Rückwirkung auf das Verhalten des Clangenossen zu seinem Totem sind diese beiden Gefühlsregungen gleich: das Umufiru wird scheu gemieden, jede Verletzung oder gar Tötung des Totemtieres, jede Berührung oder engere Beschäftigung mit dem Totem oder mit einem Teil von ihm gilt als ein Vergehen, von dem man sich nur schwer reinigen kann, der Genuß seines Fleisches, seines Blutes, seiner Milch ist verboten. Aus diesem strengen Speiseverbot entwickelte sich die jetzt überwiegende Anschauung, daß das Fleisch, Blut, Milch und andre Teile dieses Tieres unrein und dem Clangenossen schädlich seien. Die Verunreinigung kann nur durch umständliche Zeremonien beseitigt werden, wobei der umufumu (Medizinmann) je nach der Schwere des Falles die Höhe der Buße bemißt. Außerdem strafen sich Übertretungen des Totemverbotes, insbesondere des Speiseverbotes, von selbst auf magischem Wege durch Erkrankung des Übeltäters oder gar durch seinen Tod (vgl. Nr. 49, S. 152, 153).

Da nun aber die Mitglieder anderer Clans ohne Scheu und Folgen von diesem Totemtier essen, so erscheinen auch sie dem Clan dieses betreffenden Totems unrein. Es errichten also diese Eßverbote eine nach mehreren Seiten trennende Scheidewand zwischen den Clans der verschiedenen Totems. Wenn z. B. Angehörige des Clans der

Bawanda (Babanda), die die Zwergantilope als Totem haben, mit Angehörigen des Clans der Baschama (Totem: Klippschliefer) oder des Clans der Bagessera (Totem: Bachstelze) zusammen sind, meiden sie ihre gegenseitige Berührung und dürfen nicht zusammen essen. So auch in Ruanda. Auch das allgemeine Verbot, daß die Batussi nicht mit den Bahutu und Batwa, die Bahutu nicht mit den Batwa essen dürfen, hat außer dem rassenhaften Kastengeist wohl solche totemistischen Gründe, schon deshalb, weil manche Bahutu und Batwa gelegentlich Ziegen- und Schaffleisch essen, das die Batussi verabscheuen. Auf die Kinder sollen sich die totemistischen Speiseverbote nicht erstrecken, ebensowenig wie in Ruanda (Nr. 48, S. 240), wohl aber auf die Frauen.

B. Ankermann läßt die Frage nach dem Alter und der Herkunft des Totemismus in Afrika offen, gibt aber der Vermutung Raum, daß die Hamiten als Träger des Totemismus anzusehen seien, weil in vielen Stämmen eine nicht totemistische Unterschicht von einer totemistischen Oberschicht beherrscht werde, die hamitisch sei. In Urundi wie in Ruanda ist sowohl die Unterschicht, die Bantu (Bahutu), wie auch die herrschende hamitische Oberschicht, die Batussi, totemistisch; ja auch die pygmoiden Urbewohner, die Batwa, sind in totemistische, exogame Clans gegliedert. Ich möchte deshalb und aus andern Gründen, die mit dem allerwärts offenbar sehr hohen Alter der Totemkultur zusammenhängen, mich bezüglich der Barundi und Banjaruanda viel mehr der von Ankermann für die wahrscheinlicher angesehene Hypothese anschließen, daß schon die Urneger, aus denen die Sudanneger und die Bantu hervorgegangen sind, totemistisch waren (Nr. 49, S. 176—178), und daß da, wo totemistische Neger von totemistischen Hamiten beherrscht werden, wie in Urundi und Ruanda, die Hamiten ihren eigenen mitgebrachten Totemismus mit dem der Unterworfenen vermischt haben, wie sie wohl auch ihre mitgebrachte eigene Clanorganisation und andere Kulturelemente mit jenen der unterworfenen Bantu vermengt haben (s. S. 100).

In der inneren Organisation und im inneren Leben des Clans kommt das starke Solidaritätsgefühl seiner Genossen vor allem im weitgehenden Kommunismus zum Ausdruck. Wo die Clans noch nicht durch das Königtum und seine Staatsorganisation aufgelöst und die Clanmitglieder in die verschiedensten Lehnsbezirke des Batussistaates zerstreut worden sind (s. S. 89), sondern sich ihren alten Zusammenhang und ihre Autonomie großenteils noch bewahrt haben, wie namentlich in den mehr oder minder unabhängigen Grenzprovinzen Urundis (und Ruandas), da bilden die Clans, und zwar naturgemäß vor allem die vor der Batussiherrschaft ansässigen Bahutuclans, kleine oder große Gemeinden, die unter einem selbstgewählten Clanältesten (umugabo) stehen. Oft ist die Würde dieses Umugabo erblich. Der kommunistische Kernpunkt der Organisation dieser Clans ist das gemeinsame Eigentum am Grund und Boden, auf dem der Clan sitzt. Das Land gehört dort der Clangemeinde, wohl weil es ursprünglich vom gesamten Clan in Besitz genommen und nutzbar gemacht worden ist, während der einzelne Clangenosse nur den Nießbrauch an dem von ihm bestellten Boden oder Weidestück hat. Wirkliches Eigentum des einzelnen ist nur die Hütte, die er darauf baut, das Inventar an Geräten, Werkzeug und Waffen, und das Vieh, das er aus den ihm zu Lehen gegebenen Rindern aufzieht (s. S. 93).

Missionar E. Johanßen, der 1907 die ersten evangelischen Missionsstationen Dsinga und Kirinda in Ruanda gegründet hat und ein vorzüglicher Kenner der Banjaruanda ist, sagt über die soziale Bedeutung der Ruanda-Clans: „Diese Sippenverbände überliefern die alten Sitten und Gebräuche von einem Geschlecht aufs andere und bewahren insofern die nationale Eigenart vor Vermischung und Untergang. Je leichter es ist, durch Auflösen der Ehe und durch Wiederheiraten den Familienverband im engeren Sinn zu lockern, um so

wichtiger ist der feste, unauflösliche, religiös bestimmte Verband der Sippe. Mit der Zerstörung dieses Verbandes würde das ganze Volk auseinanderfallen und sich in einzelne auflösen, die jedem Einfluß ausgesetzt wären. Der Sippenverband als Träger der Überlieferung und der religiösen Sitte (Totem, Speiseverbot, Opfergemeinschaft) hat unzweifelhaft bis jetzt eine große volkserhaltende Bedeutung gehabt." (Nr. 39, S. 73.) Diese Charakterisierung trifft auch auf die Clans der Barundi zu.

Die Clanorganisation hat aber einen mächtigen Feind im Königtum der Batussi. Die wachsende Macht der Batussikönige hat, wie oben gezeigt, den gesamten Grund und Boden und alles Vieh als Eigentum des Königs in Anspruch genommen, der es in großen oder kleinen Parzellen an seine Batussigefolgschaft zu Lehen gibt (s. S. 89). Der Lehnsmann des Königs teilt sein Lehen wieder in kleineren Parzellen an seine Leute zur Nutznießung auf, und der bisherige Clanälteste wird gewöhnlich zum Mutwale des Königs eingesetzt und treibt für ihn die Steuern und sonstigen Abgaben ein, wovon ihm ein Anteil zufällt. So wird unter dem erobernden Königtum der Clan sozial und wirtschaftlich ziemlich schnell zerrüttet und geht in der politischen Lehngemeinde des Staates auf, während er seinen Clannamen, seine alten Sitten, manche seiner Einrichtungen, sein Totem noch lange beibehält.

Ein Element der alten sozialen Clanorganisation haben aber die Clangenossen auch in der politischen Neuordnung des Batussikönigtums bewahrt, weil es ihnen einen starken Rückhalt gegen Übergriffe ihrer Herren gibt: die Blutrache (kuhora). Sie war das ursprünglichste, kräftigste Mittel zum Schutz des sich solidarisch fühlenden Clans gegen Existenzschädigung durch andere Clans und ist noch heute die stärkste Schutzwehr des einzelnen, obgleich die öffentliche und private Sicherheit unter der festen Hand der Königsbatwale erheblich zugenommen hat. Trotz der staatlichen Strafrechtspflege der Batwale wird die Blutrache doch immer noch von den Clangenossen als wirksamste Selbsthilfe und als schützendes Schreckmittel der politisch Schwächeren ausgeübt. Wer den Angehörigen eines Clans tötet oder verwundet, wird von den Genossen des geschädigten Clans ebenfalls getötet oder verwundet (s. S. 97), und wenn dies nicht gelingt, trifft die Blutrache ein anderes Mitglied des verbrecherischen Clans. Ja, noch mehr: manche Clans begnügen sich nicht mit der gleichen Vergeltung, sondern rächen sich für den Verlust eines Genossen durch den Totschlag zweier oder mehrerer des gegnerischen Clans. Früher war dadurch ein permanenter Kriegszustand im eigenen Volk geschaffen, der kein größeres politisches Gemeinwesen aufkommen ließ und die Widerstandskraft der Barundi gegen äußere Feinde außerordentlich schwächte. Ebenso war es in Ruanda (Nr. 48, S. 238). Erst das starke Königtum der Batussi hat in seinem eigenen Interesse diesem fortwährenden inneren Kleinkrieg ein Ende gemacht. Aber nun üben die Clans die Blutrache zum Schutze ihrer Genossen im geheimen aus; aus dem offenen Kleinkrieg ist der hinterhältige Mord geworden, vor dem auch der mächtigste Mutussi-Mutwale nicht sicher ist, wenn er sich blutige Gewalttaten gegen einen Clan hat zuschulden kommen lassen. Die Wirkung dieser vergeltenden Volksjustiz und ihr Ansehen beim Volk ähneln jenem unserer mittelalterlichen Feme, wie sehr auch sonst beide verschieden sind.

Achtes Kapitel

Ehe, Geburt, Tod

1. Eheschließung, Frau, Kinder

Die Barundi heiraten (kurongora) meist in recht jugendlichem Alter; die Männer, sobald sie die Mitgift zahlen können, die Mädchen oft schon mit 12 Jahren und noch jünger, falls sie eher mannbar werden. Freiwillig bleibt sehr selten ein Mann unverehelicht. Wenn einer spät zum Heiraten kommt, liegt es nur daran, daß er die Mitgift, d. h. den Kaufpreis für die Frau, nicht aufbringen kann. Die Ehen sind exogam, Heiraten innerhalb desselben Clans kommen nicht vor (s. S. 100). Brautraub als Eheschließungssitte ist unbekannt und wird, wenn er im Einzelfall einmal vorkommt, als gemeiner Diebstahl behandelt (Nr. 19, S. 358). Konkubinat kommt namentlich dann vor, wenn der Sohn eines Mutwale oder Häuptlings auf das Herangewachsen eines ranggleichen Mädchens warten muß, das ihm die Eltern zur Ehefrau bestimmt haben; dann nimmt er sich für die Wartezeit eine Konkubine aus niederem Stand. Gewöhnlich lassen aber die Eltern den Söhnen freie Wahl.

Wenn ein junger Mann Gefallen an einem Mädchen findet, trägt er ihr, ohne zunächst jemand anders zu befragen, die Ehe an. Willigt sie ein, so bittet der Jüngling seine Eltern um die Zahlung der „Mitgift", und wenn diese ihre Zusage gegeben haben, schickt der Jüngling einen Brautwerber zu den Eltern oder, falls diese gestorben, zu den nächsten Verwandten des Mädchens. Gibt ihm der Vater oder, wenn dieser tot ist, die Mutter eine Absage oder erklären sie, daß das Mädchen schon versprochen sei, so ist die Sache erledigt, und die beiden Ehekandidaten müssen aufeinander verzichten. Etwaiger außerehelicher Verkehr gegen das Verbot der Eltern setzt nicht selten das Mädchen schweren körperlichen Züchtigungen aus, und wenn sie etwa gar schwanger werden sollte, wird völliger gesellschaftlicher Bann über sie verhängt, denn sie hat dadurch ihre Eltern um den Kaufpreis betrogen und andere Mädchen um die Aussicht gebracht, an ihrer Stelle um die Ehe befragt zu werden.

Wenn aber der Vater resp. die Mutter des Mädchens die Werbung annehmen, hat der Werber weiterhin um den Kaufpreis (inkwano) für die Braut zu verhandeln. Dieser schwankt in seiner Höhe sehr nach der Person, der Stellung, dem Vermögen des Bräutigams und der Braut. Bei der großen Menge der Unbemittelten genügen ein paar Stränge kleine Perlen und einige Töpfe Pombebier. Bei Wohlhabenderen kostet die Braut außer Bier und Perlen noch eine oder mehrere Ziegen, eventuell auch ein oder zwei Rinder (Nr. 4, S. 221). In den Familien

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der Großen, der Baganwa, ist eine Braut selten unter einem Preis von 10—15 Rindern zu haben. Es gibt aber auch Brautkauf auf Anzahlung eines Teiles des vereinbarten Preises, während für den Restbetrag der junge Ehemann haftet, ihn aber nicht zu entrichten braucht, falls die Ehe bald wieder geschieden wird.

Die Objekte des vereinbarten Kaufpreises werden alsbald vom Bräutigam durch den Brautwerber den Brauteltern überbracht, und sobald sie abgeliefert sind, folgt die Braut dem Werber zur neu erbauten Hütte des Bräutigams, wo nun die Hochzeit durch Geschenke der Familienmitglieder, durch festliches Essen und Trinken und Tanzen gebührend gefeiert wird. Mit der Hochzeit tritt die Frau in die Familie des Mannes (Patriarchat) ein. Am Hochzeitstag muß die junge Frau große Betrübnis heucheln und sich das Haupt verschleiern, der Mann ihre Trauer durch Geschenke zu lindern suchen. Sieben Tage bleibt das junge Paar ungesehen in der Hütte, aber auch an den folgenden Tagen geht die Frau nur verschleiert aus (Nr. 4, S. 222; Nr. 19, S. 359).

Auf Jungfräulichkeit der Braut wird Wert gelegt. Wenn nach der Hochzeitsnacht die Schlafmatte der jungen Frau Blutspuren aufweist, schickt der Ehemann dieses Attest dankend an die Eltern der Frau und fügt eine Feldhacke als Geschenk hinzu.

Ehehindernisse gibt es eine ganze Reihe. Vor allem dürfen Blutsverwandte in direkter und in Seitenlinie, Angehörige desselben Clans, derselben Totemgruppe nicht einander heiraten: Exogamie ist oberstes Gebot (s. S. 100).

Auch bei den Batwa Urundis ist die Ehe unter nahen Verwandten unstatthaft. Verboten oder doch nur in seltenen Ausnahmen mit königlicher Erlaubnis gestattet ist die Ehe eines Muhutu mit einem Mutussiweib, denn der Rassestolz der Batussi will es nicht. Auch wo man duldsam ist, dürfte geschlechtlicher Umgang von unverheirateten Angehörigen derselben Rasse nicht häufig vorkommen, da die Barundimütter auf ihre heranwachsenden Töchter ein wachsames Auge haben. Von grundsätzlicher Gewährung der Freiheit vor der Ehe kann bei den Barundi nicht die Rede sein.

Auf eheliche Treue hält aber der Mann, falls er nicht absichtlich sein Weib dem Clangenossen preisgibt; während er es mit der eigenen Treue nicht so genau nimmt. Zwar wird heimlich begangener Ehebruch nicht von Rechts wegen bestraft wie Diebstahl, als welcher eigentlich auch der Ehebruch bei den Barundi gilt, aber der betrogene Ehemann hat die Befugnis, die Schuldigen in flagranti zu töten (Nr. 19, S. 14). Meist begnügt er sich damit, die Ehebrecherin aus dem Haus zu jagen. Eine solche Lazheit der ehelichen Sitte wie in mehreren anderen Bahimastaaten, z. B. Ankole, und bei den Massai, wo der Mann sein Weib jedem zu Gast kommenden Sippengenossen zu überlassen pflegt, ist in Urundi nicht allgemein, aber auch in Urundi erlauben sich die verheirateten Weiber der Batussi viel größere Freiheiten mit anderen Batussimännern als die unverheirateten, namentlich mit Sippengenossen; nur nicht mit Bantumännern (s. S. 101).

Scheidung und Trennung der Ehe (uwuhakanji) sind aus diesem und aus vielen andern Gründen sehr häufig. Leute, die fünf- oder sechsmal verheiratet waren, sind gar nicht selten. Da der Brautpreis im Durchschnitt sehr gering ist und auch ohne Schwierigkeit zurückgezahlt werden kann, benutzen die Männer und Weiber oft den geringsten Anlaß, um sich voneinander zu trennen. Behandelt der Mann die Frau schlecht, so läuft sie ihm weg und kehrt zu ihren Eltern oder Angehörigen zurück, die dann den erhaltenen Kaufpreis an den schuldigen Ehemann nicht zurückzugeben

brauchen. Wenn aber der Mann die Frau wegjagt, weil sie faul, boshaft oder gar ehebrüchig ist, so müssen die Eltern der Frau dem Mann den bezahlten Brautpreis zurückerstatten. Die Geschiedenen können sich jederzeit wieder verheiraten. Kleine Kinder verbleiben der Mutter, von den größeren folgen die Knaben dem Vater, die Mädchen der Mutter (Nr. 19, S. 174).

Nach dem Tod des Ehemannes geht seine Witwe (umufakasi) in den Besitz des Bruders des Verstorbenen oder seines nächsten Verwandten über (s. S. 92), denn sie war mit der Hochzeit in die Familie des Mannes aufgenommen worden.

Diese sog. Leviratsehe ist in Ostafrika auch bei den Sulu, den Wagogo, den Massai, den Turkana, Kamasia, Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjarwanda u. a. üblich (Nr. 30, Bd. II, S. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

Gibt es weder Brüder noch nächste Verwandte des Verstorbenen, so kehrt die Witwe in ihre eigene Familie zurück und nimmt ihre unmündigen Kinder mit. Die erwachsenen Kinder bleiben in der Familie des Mannes und sorgen für die verwitwete Mutter. Kinderlose Witwen aber schaffen sich Lebensunterhalt, indem sie für die Nachbarn arbeiten oder indem sie betteln.

Die Stellung und das Ansehen der Frau in der Ehe ist höher als bei den meisten andern ostafrikanischen Negern. In Haus- und Familienangelegenheiten steht die Ehefrau dem Manne ziemlich gleich. Beide teilen sich in die wirtschaftlichen Arbeiten des Tages, ausgenommen die Viehwartung, die lediglich Sache des Mannes ist, und die Acker- und Gartenpflege, bei der die Hauptarbeit der Frau zugewiesen bleibt, wenn auch der Mann in allem mithilft, und die Zubereitung des Essens, die nur von der Frau besorgt wird. Dazu kommt noch für die Frau die Besorgung der Kinder und der Hütten. Die soziale Gleichstellung beider Geschlechter kommt auch in der bei keinem andern ostafrikanischen Volk bestehenden Sitte zum Ausdruck, daß Mann und Frau gemeinsam essen (s. S. 26). Auch von den nördlichsten Bahima in Unjoro berichtet Emin Pascha ausdrücklich, daß die Frauen mit ihren Männern essen, was die dortigen Bantu nicht tun (Peterm. Mitt. 1879, S. 222). In allen wichtigen Angelegenheiten wird in Urundi die Frau und namentlich die Mutter mit zu Rat gezogen, und ihre Meinung gibt oft den Ausschlag. Weibliche Häuptlinge sind zwar seltener als bei den östlicheren Stämmen, den Wassumbwa und Wanjamwesi, kommen aber, durch Erbgang eingesetzt, vor und treten nur nicht so an die Öffentlichkeit wie bei den Wanjamwesi. Den größten Einfluß hat die Mutter des Königs, die während ihrer ganzen Lebenszeit mitregiert (s. S. 185); eine Ehrfurchtsstellung, die sich auch in den anderen Bahimastaaten bis zum südlichsten, Usipa, erhalten hat (Nr. 47, S. 90).

Am stolzesten unter den Barundifrauen sind natürlich die der Batussi, wogegen die Frau bei den Batwa mit Arbeit überladen und gering geachtet ist und keine Stimme im Familienrat hat.

In der großen Mehrzahl sind die Barundi monogam. Sie sind nicht vermögend genug, um sich mehr als ein Weib kaufen, mehr als einen Hausstand unterhalten zu können. Wer es sich aber leisten kann, lebt in Polygamie, um Arbeitskräfte für die Bewirtschaftung seines Besitzes zu haben, um seine soziale Stellung hochzuhalten, um sich während der Unnahbarkeit der einen Frau in der Geburtszeit an die andere halten zu können, und aus anderen Gründen mehr, die aber stets viel

mehr im praktisch wirtschaftlichen als im erotischen Gebiete liegen. Deshalb haben sehr viele Batussi zwei Frauen, die größeren Häuptlinge drei oder mehr, der König eine ganze Schar. Die Batwa hingegen sind aus Armut fast alle monogam (Nr. 19, S. 447).

Sehr selten scheint in Urundi die bei den Bahima Ankole und Kissaba häufige polyandrische Sitte vorzukommen, daß mehrere Brüder, die zu arm sind, als daß sich jeder eine Frau kaufen könnte, ihre Mittel zusammenlegen und sich gemeinsam ein Weib kaufen, deren Kinder dann dem ältesten der Brüder gehören (Nr. 27, S. 105). Aber die Brüder einer Familie sind in Urundi oft allzu vertraulich mit den Weibern ihrer Brüder.

Jede Frau hat in Urundi ihre Hütte und ihren Hausstand in einem besondern Kral. Bei den vermögenden Batussi wohnen zwei Frauen sehr selten innerhalb einer Umzäunung, sondern gewöhnlich liegen ihre Gehöfte weit voneinander ab, möglichst auf verschiedenen Bergen. Der Mann ist einmal bei der einen, einmal bei der andern zu Gast. In polygamen Familien ist die zuerst geheiratete Frau die Hauptfrau, und ihre Kinder haben im Erbfall den Vorrang vor denen der übrigen Frauen. Neben den regelmäßigen Ehen gibt es Konkubinate mit Weibern niederer sozialer Stellung. Die Konkubine (umukeda, umugensi) ist zwar sozial anerkannt, kann aber jederzeit entlassen werden und hat für sich und ihre Kinder kein Erbrecht. Da die Bahimaweiber wenig fruchtbar sind, nehmen viele Batussimänner zur Verstärkung ihres Haushaltes Bahutuweiber zu Konkubinen, die viel fruchtbarer sind. Das geschieht auch in den anderen Bahimaländern häufig, und überall ist deshalb dort eine ziemlich starke Mischung der Bantu mit Bahimablut die Folge (Nr. 17, S. 631). Heiraten auf Zeit oder auf Probe kennen die Barundi nicht; die Ehen werden ja so leicht geschlossen und gelöst, daß solche provisorische Bindungen unnötig sind. Auch gewerbsmäßige Prostitution ist deshalb in Urundi so gut wie unbekannt (s. auch S. 101). Ob die Barundi „Weiberbünde" mit eigener Organisation haben, weiß ich nicht; jedenfalls besitzen sie keine besonderen Weiberhäuser.

2. Geburt, Kindheit, Pubertät, Tod

Die Barundi sind, soweit die Bahutu in Betracht kommen, ein kinderreiches Volk; weniger die Batussi, was wohl eine Folge der langen Inzucht ist. Je mehr Kinder, desto besser, desto größer die Arbeitshilfe für die Eltern, desto größer die Aussicht, für die heiratenden Mädchen gute Brautpreise zu erhalten. Um die Fruchtbarkeit zu erhöhen, genießen Mann und Weib gelegentlich Aphrodisiaka aus Pflanzensäften (Nr. 19, S. 359). Sobald die Frau konzipiert hat, wird der Medizinmann (umufumu) gerufen, der ihr zum Schutz der Frucht gegen böse Geister Amulette gibt, die an dem besonders zu schützenden Unterleib getragen werden. Zum gleichen Zweck bläst der Mann die Frau von Zeit zu Zeit mit Tabakrauch an.

Wo aber die Konzeption unwirksam gemacht werden soll, sei es aus Bequemlichkeit der Weiber, sei es um die Folgen unerlaubten Verkehrs zu beseitigen, wird der künstliche Abortus (kukorora) durch starke Massage und durch Einnehmen bestimmter Pflanzenabgüsse herbeigeführt. Der Gebrauch dieser Mittel ist eine Art Geheimwissenschaft der Weiber, von der die Männer keine Kenntnis zu haben scheinen. Ihre Anwendung gilt für verbrecherisch und wird vom Chef oder Häuptling bestraft

(Nr. 19, S. 62). Dagegen ist das Fruchtabtreiben durch Decoctte von Pflanzen in Uffumbwa und Unjamwesi enorm verbreitet. „Ziel der Barundi-Eheleute ist, möglichst viele Kinder zu haben. Oft sieht man Väter ihre Kinder besorgen, tragen, füttern usw., nie in Uffumbwa oder Unjamwesi. Unfruchtbarkeit (ingumba) gilt für ein Unglück und Grund zur Ehescheidung. Es kommt oft vor, daß eine Urundimutter nach einem Jahr wieder gebiert. In Uffumbwa dauert es mindestens zwei Jahre, da erst das Kind entwöhnt sein muß, ehe neuer Verkehr erlaubt ist; nicht so in Urundi. Die Kindersterblichkeit ist auch in Urundi groß. Auch dort bleiben von den Kindern bis zu 13—15 Jahren nicht zwei Drittel am Leben. Oft hört man Weiber sagen, daß sie zehn Kinder verloren haben, aber bei der großen Fruchtbarkeit bleiben noch genug übrig" (v. d. Burgt, Kol. Rundschau, 1913, S. 721—722).

Wenn die Geburt (uwurjasi) naht, werden ein paar Nachbarinnen zur Unterstützung der Kreißenden gerufen; nur in schwierigen Fällen eine „weise Frau" oder der Medizinmann, der mit allerlei Zauber, aber auch mit wirklich wirksamen Mitteln und Eingriffen, von pflanzlicher Medizin und leichter Massage bis zum Kaiserschnitt (s. S. 140, 142) operiert (Nr. 19, S. 9, 363). Wie der letztere ausgeführt wird, weiß ich nicht; vermutlich nur an der Toten, um noch das Kind zu retten oder es zu entfernen, wie dies Emin Pascha ausdrücklich von den Bahima Unjoros bemerkt (Peterm. Mitteil. 1879, S. 393). In Ruanda, Uffumi, Kisiba, Uganda kennt man den Kaiserschnitt auch (Nr. 48, S. 228). Während der Geburt liegt das Weib auf ihrem Schlafsager oder kauert auf dem Boden, den Rücken gegen einen Hauspfeiler gestützt oder von hinten gehalten, während die Männer die Hütte verlassen. Sobald das Kind geboren ist, wird es mit kaltem Wasser gewaschen und mit Butter eingesalbt. Die Nachgeburt wird in der Hütte unter dem Bett der Mutter vergraben, die Nabelschnur mit einem Holzspan durchgeschnitten und als Amulett von der Mutter aufbewahrt. Das Neugeborene aber wird nun von der Mutter am ganzen Körper zurecht gedrückt und gezogen, um dem Kopf und den Gliedern die richtige Form zu geben (Nr. 19, S. 9). Deformation des Schädels wird jedoch nicht ausgeübt.

Nach der Geburt wird die Wöchnerin mit warmem Wasser gewaschen und der Leib äußerlich mit Pflanzensäften eingerieben. Sie bleibt 4 oder 5 Tage in der Hütte, je nachdem sie ein Mädchen oder einen Knaben geboren hat, und wenn sie wieder ausgeht, hat sie den Schädel frisch rasiert und trägt ein breites Stirnband aus Baumbast; wohl als Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit und als Amulett.

Die Mutter stillt ihr Kind, solange sie Milch hat und der Körperzustand des Kindes es zu verlangen scheint, nicht selten 3 bis 4 Jahre lang. Vom Ehemann bleibt sie nach der Geburt getrennt, bis wieder die Menses eintreten. Bleiben diese aber aus, so wird die Trennung bald wieder aufgehoben.

Mit gemischten Gefühlen wird die Geburt von Zwillingen (amahasa) begrüßt. B. d. Burgt meint, daß man erfreut darüber sei, weil die Barundi der Zwillingsgeburt eine religiöse Bedeutung beimessen, weil sie sie für „ope incubi" ansehen helfen (Nr. 19, S. 325); Gehlinger hingegen sagt, daß man eine Zwillingsgeburt als unglücklich ansehe, weil Zwillinge Lieblinge Kiranges seien und deswegen bald von ihm weggeholt (sterben) würden, wenn sich die Eltern nicht durch große Opfer loskaufen (Nr. 45, 1914, S. 314). Ich lasse dahingestellt sein, welche Auffassung richtig ist; aber Tatsache ist es, daß eine Zwillingsgeburt mit außergewöhnlichen Riten, Opfern und Festen gefeiert wird, und der letzte Grund

hierfür wird wohl die Erfahrung sein, daß Zwillinge gewöhnlich schwächlich sind und von der Mutter nicht genügend genährt werden können, so daß sie (oder eines) meist sterben, wenn ihnen nicht Kiranga durch besondere Opfer gnädig gestimmt wird. Auf die Nachricht von der Geburt eines Zwillingspaares laufen die Nachbarn und Freunde in Scharen herbei, singend, Geschenke bringend und Mengen von Nahrungsmitteln zusammentragend, die aber nur für die Geister bestimmt sind und in der Nacht verschwinden. Der herbeigerufene Priester (kiranga) vollzieht zunächst mit seinen Gehilfen und zahlreichen Teilnehmern die Zeremonie des „heiligen Speeres" (s. S. 134), um in der Verehrung dieses Symbols seinem Inhaber, dem großen Geist Kiranga, dem Herrn über alle materiellen Güter, Dank zu bezeugen und ihn um besondere Gunst für die Zwillinge und die Eltern anzurufen (Nr. 19, S. 516, 324, 216). Dann führen die jungen Männer, rot und gelb im Gesicht bemalt, im Hof der Hütte unter Rasselbegleitung rituelle Tänze auf, die vier bis sechs Stunden hintereinander dauern und die Tänzer in wahre Leidenschaft versetzen; sie schließen einen Kreis, springen und winden sich schweißtriefend und singen rhythmische Lieder in kurzen Strophen. Ein Kreistanz der Mädchen, die ebenfalls angemalt und mit Laub geschmückt sind, löst sie ab. Dazwischen werden Mengen von Bier vertilgt. So geht es zwei, drei Nächte und noch länger fort, und am Ende wird vom Priester nochmals die große Zeremonie des heiligen Speeres vollzogen, wobei zwei kleine Lämmer dem Gott geweiht werden, zur Stellvertretung für die beiden Zwillingskinder. Die Lämmer dürfen nicht geschlachtet werden und können herumlaufen und fressen, wo und was sie wollen. Die Tänze aber und die Zecherei dauern oft noch 2—3 Wochen fort (Nr. 19, S. 325; Nr. 45, 1914, S. 315).

Kindsmord (kumuniga umwana) ist bei den Barundi nicht häufig, kommt aber vor, hauptsächlich weil die Mutter die lange Arbeit des Aufziehens und Nährens scheut. Das Verbrechen steht nominell unter Strafe, wird jedoch selten gesühnt, da die Absicht der Tötung (Ersticken) schwer nachzuweisen ist. Von Rechts wegen wird ein Kind durch den Medizinmann getötet, wenn es mit Zähnen auf die Welt kommt oder wenn ihm die oberen Schneidezähne zuerst wachsen (Nr. 4, S. 221). Das gleiche berichtet Lechaptois aus dem südlichsten Bahimastaat, Ufipa (Nr. 47, S. 138). Auch die Batwa töten solche Kinder.

Sobald dem Kind die Haare wachsen oder sobald es laufen kann, bekommt es einen Namen (isina) durch den Vater. Mutter und Freunde fügen noch andere Namen hinzu, so daß jeder Murundi mindestens zwei oder drei hat. Besondere Feierlichkeit ist mit der Namengebung nicht verbunden. Die Namen haben die größte Mannigfaltigkeit und bedeuten entweder besondere Eigenschaften des Kindes oder gewisse Vorkommnisse in seinem jungen Leben oder irgendeine Laune des Namengebers, z. B. kitwe = Dickkopf; mbiriko = Holzspan; ntarija = es weint nicht; kimina = es geht aufrecht; kiriwate = Rindshaut; mawa = Großmaul; mawamba = Weiße; yamirwa = Bier; inambu = Hunger; tunguru = Vogelname. Andere, höfische Barundinamen, die Pater Gaßdinger irrtümlich mit der Furcht vor dem Tod zusammenbringt, sind: mujimbwa = Hundehütte; sembwa = Hundevater; inangurube = Schweinemutter; kabwebwe = Schakal; kaharagasza = Floh; somojindi = Menschenkot. Andere lauten: ruteratschuma = Er schleudert das Eisen; ndaruanse = Ich habe getroffen; ntamavukiro = Heimatlos; rurihasi = Er ist nahe; rurondna = Er ist der Verderber; rutakaje = Er ist verloren ge-

gangen (Nr. 46, 1913, S. 13). Außer dem persönlichen Namen führt jedes Kind noch den Namen seines Clans und einen oder mehrere Spitznamen, die auch der Erwachsene beibehält. Fremden Leuten nennt man ungern die richtigen Namen von Kindern oder Erwachsenen, da jene möglicherweise durch die Kenntnis des Namens magische Gewalt über den Namensträger erlangen und sie zu seinem Schaden mißbrauchen könnten (s. S. 133).

Ernährung und Aufzucht des Kindes sind gänzlich Sache der Mutter. Sie nährt es bis ins 3. und 4. Jahr, und es sieht drollig aus, wenn ein strammer kleiner Bengel vom Spiel herbeigerannt kommt, ein paar erquickende Züge an der Mutterbrust tut und dann schnell wieder zu seinen Gespielen läuft. Die Kinder werden sauber gehalten und täglich gebadet. Da es Körbe oder Wiegen zum Absetzen der Kleinen nicht gibt, wird das Kind, solange es nicht ordentlich laufen kann, fortwährend von der Mutter auf dem Rücken in einem aus Ziegen- oder Hammelfell verfertigten Tragleder (impetso) mit umhergetragen, aus dem oben der Kopf, rechts und links die Beine herausgucken. Auch bei der Feldarbeit und selbst beim Tanz behält die Mutter gewöhnlich das Kind auf dem Rücken, dessen Kopf und Beine dann von den heftigen Bewegungen herumgeschlenkert werden, wie bei einer Gliederpuppe; selten schreit es deshalb. Von Zeit zu Zeit wird das Kind aus dem Tragleder durch seitliche Lüpfung herausgenommen und „abgehalten". Wenn es aber dennoch einmal seine Bedürfnisse im Rucksack verrichtet hat, wird dieser nebst Kind und Mutter einfach abgewaschen. Größere Kinder werden rittlings auf die linke Hüfte der Mutter gesetzt und mit dem linken Arm von hinten umfaßt.

Nachts liegen die Kinder auf Fellen zu ebener Erde und werden mit dem aus weichem Fikusrindenstoff bestehenden Obergewand der Mutter zugedeckt. Ganz kleine Kinder liebkost die Mutter bisweilen mit Küssen. Sonst kennen die Barundi den Kuß nicht (Nr. 19, S. 63). Um es einzuschläfern oder auch um es am Tag zu beruhigen, klopft sie es leicht auf den Rücken und singt wohl auch ein monotones „Wiegenlied". V. d. Burgt teilt ein solches mit, in dem mit der bösen Schwiegermutter gedroht wird: „Sei ruhig; sonst werde ich dich zur Schwiegermutter tragen; sie wird dir nur Wasser geben. Wenn die Kühe kommen und gemolken werden, wirst du Hunger leiden. Die Schwiegermutter wird dich nicht gegen die Sonne schützen und gegen den Hunger" (Nr. 19, S. 71).

Geistig und moralisch wachsen die Kinder wild auf. Von Abgewöhnung übler Eigenschaften ist so wenig die Rede wie von der Anerziehung guter. Solange die schlechten Eigenschaften der Kinder die Eltern nicht schädigen, haben diese sogar oft ihre Freude daran, die Kinder zu Zornesausbrüchen, zu Prügeleien, zum Stehlen usw. anzureizen. Auch praktische Unterweisung in bestimmten Arbeiten und Handwerken gibt es nur ausnahmsweise. Was die Kinder lernen, lernen sie durch Zusehen, Zuhören und Mithelfen. Helfen müssen sie aber von früh an in allen Verrichtungen der Eltern und werden dadurch, da sie von Natur geweckt und lebhaft sind, sehr bald erstaunlich selbständig.

Die Geschlechtsreife (kukura) tritt bei den Knaben im Alter von 12 bis 15 Jahren, bei den Mädchen schon früher ein. Lange vorher schon sind sie über das Sexuelleben aufgeklärt und haben von den älteren auch manche garstigen Dinge aus der sexuellen Sphäre gehört. Nicht, daß sie sehr früh schon kohabitieren, aber Onanie und Masturbation sind verbreitete Laster.

Über die letzteren sagt v. d. Burgt (Nr. 19, S. 301): „Puellae praesertim horribili huic vitio valde doditae sunt, sub praetextu quidem, ut magis aptae fiant matrimonio et viris placeant. In actu ipso nefando quoddam juramentum vel potius imprecationem pronuntiant: witsche inka nisakura ndaty'inka. Insuper variis modis utuntur ad majorem voluptatem sibi procurandam. Media generatim sunt plantae, vel radices plantarum arborumve, quibus labia perfricantur". Brieflich fügt mir v. d. Burgt hinzu: „His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes praetent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adipiscantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt ‚pulchras se facere', quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione."

Über Pubertätsfeste, die sicherlich gefeiert werden, konnte ich nichts erfahren. Auch v. d. Burgt weiß nichts davon (Nr. 19, S. 394). Jedenfalls werden weder die Knaben beschnitten noch die Mädchen infibuliert. Nur die Batwa, bei denen im Gegensatz zu den Batussi und Bahutu Deformation der Zähne üblich ist, nehmen das Zuspitzen der beiden oberen Mittelzähne mittels Messerschlages als Akt der Pubertätserklärung vor (Nr. 19, S. 105, 155).

Ferner konnte ich nicht feststellen, ob die zur Pubertät gelangten Jünglinge sich zu einem gesellschaftlichen Verband zusammenschließen, zu einer besonderen „Altersklasse", wie wir sie bei mehreren ostafrikanischen Stämmen finden. Sollte diese soziale Einrichtung bei den Barundi bestehen, so spielt sie doch gar keine Rolle im öffentlichen Leben und kennt auch keine besonderen Junggesellenhäuser oder -kraale für einen solchen Altersverband, während unter den anderen hamitischen oder hamitisch beeinflußten Völkern Ostafrikas, wie z. B. den Massai, den Wapokomo, den Galla, diese Altersklassen die Hauptgliederung des ganzen sozialen Lebens darstellen.

Bei den Massai sind es die drei Altersklassen der bei den Eltern wohnenden Knaben, der in eignen Kraalen zusammen hausenden unverheirateten Jünglinge (der Kriegerklasse) und der verheirateten, friedlichen Männer; bei den Wapokomo und Galla ebenfalls erfassen die Knaben, zweitens die verschiedenen Jahrgänge der gleichzeitig Beschnittenen oder Laua und drittens die Klasse der älteren oder Gada. (A. Werner, The Galla of East Africa; Journal of the African Society, Bd. 13, 1914, S. 262 ff.) In Ruanda legt die jugendliche Kriegerschar, die am Hof des Mufunga bei festlichen Gelegenheiten zu erscheinen und Kriegstänze aufzuführen pflegt, den Gedanken an eine solche „Altersklasse" der unverheirateten Jünglinge bei den Batussi nahe, aber vielleicht ist es auch nur eine Art Kadetten- oder Pagenkorps des Königs (s. S. 65).

Alte Leute, die ihre körperliche und geistige Regsamkeit eingebüßt haben, sieht man selten, weil sie innerhalb der Gehöfte bleiben. Sie werden von den Ihrigen bis zum Tode (ukufa) gepflegt, vielleicht weniger aus Pietät als aus Furcht, daß sie sich sonst nach dem Tod als Geister für schlechte Behandlung rächen würden. Um den Sterbenden ist gewöhnlich die Familie versammelt. Sobald er verschieden ist, erheben die Weiber des Hauses und der Nachbarschaft lautes Wehklagen, während die Männer dem Toten die Augen zudrücken, ihm die Arme und Beine einbiegen und festbinden (Hockerstellung), um ihm resp. seinem Geist die Wiederkehr unmöglich zu machen, und sofort die Beerdigung vorbereiten.

Begräbnis in Hockerstellung ist auch in Ruanda, in Bukoba, Mpororo, Ankole und anderen Bahimahamiten üblich, desgleichen bei den Massai und den Galla. (A. Werner, The Galla of East Africa. Journal of the African Society, Bd. 13, 1914, S. 283; und Nr. 47, S. 158.)

Mit Ausnahme der getöteten Verbrecher, deren Leichname den Hyänen zum Fraß in den Busch geworfen werden, werden alle Barundi begraben (kuhamba). Baumanns Angabe, daß „die Angehörigen allen Toten den Bauch aufschneiden, um darin den bösen Zauber, der sie getötet hat, zu suchen" (Nr. 4, S. 222), habe ich weder durch Erkundigung im Lande selbst noch bei v. d. Burgt oder anderen bestätigt gefunden. Die Leiche wird nicht gewaschen, sondern in ihren gewöhnlichen Gewändern und mit ihren Amuletten ins Grab gelegt; bestenfalls eingewickelt in eine alte Matte. Andere Grabbeigaben werden nicht hinzugetan. Schon wenige Stunden nach dem Tod findet die Beerdigung statt.

Das Grab (isjobo) wird innerhalb des Hofes neben der Umzäunung gegraben oder, wenn der Tote der Familienvater ist, inmitten des Hofes gegenüber dem Eingang der Haupthütte (Nr. 19, S. 203); nach O. Baumann aber in der Hütte selbst (?), die hierauf verlassen werde (Nr. 4, S. 223). Während die Leiche zum Grab getragen wird, erheben die Weiber von neuem großes Klagegeschrei; sie tun so, als ob sie sich der Beerdigung widersetzen wollten, und rufen dem Toten Abschiedsworte nach. Ist es ein Familienvater, so kauert die Witwe vor der Beerdigung neben ihm nieder, salbt ihm das Haupt mehrmals mit Butter und sagt ihm allerlei Gutes nach, um seinen Geist den Familienmitgliedern günstig zu stimmen. Dann wird die Leiche so in das mit Blättern ausgepolsterte Grab gelegt, daß sie in Hockerstellung auf der rechten Seite liegt, darauf das Grab mit Erde zugefüllt und über ihm ein kleiner Tumulus aufgehäuft, auf den verschiedene Gegenstände, die der Tote benutzt hat, wie z. B. Tongefäße, alte Körbe, der Geflechtsschirm, der den Hütteneingang verschließt, u. a. m. gestellt werden. Nach kurzer Zeit werden diese weggenommen, der Tumulus eingeebnet, und nichts läßt mehr die Grabstätte erkennen.

Totenfeste werden nur bei der Bestattung des Königs veranstaltet, aber bestimmte Trauerbräuche werden bei jedem Todesfall eingehalten, die je nach der sozialen Stellung des Verstorbenen mehr oder minder umständlich sind. Wenn der Verstorbene ein gewöhnlicher Murundi und Familienvater ist, trauert die Witwe (oder die Witwen) mit den Kindern 7 Tage, indem sie das Gehöft nicht verlassen. Wahrscheinlich fürchten sie so kurz nach dem Tode den Geist des Toten außerhalb der Behausung. In den Hütten aber nehmen sie zahlreiche Neuerungen und Veränderungen vor, als ob sie den Geist des Toten irreführen und ablenken wollten, falls er zurückkommen sollte. In der Wohnhütte wird der Eingang nach einer andern Seite verlegt, die Herdstätte erneuert, die Bettstelle beseitigt, alle Geräte umgestellt u. a. m. Nach dem 7. Tag badet sich jedes Familienmitglied gründlich in einem Bach, wohl um sich sinnbildlich von der durch den Toten verursachten Verunreinigung zu befreien. Dann lassen sie sich als Reinigungs- und Trauersymbol alle den Kopf rasieren und gehen für die nächsten 2 Monate in Trauergewändern aus, d. h. in Rindenstoffen, die weder, wie sonst allgemein, schwarz gefärbt noch mit Mustern bemalt sind (Nr. 19, S. 163), also ihre rotbraune Naturfarbe haben; so wird hier Rot zur Trauerfarbe. Der Name des Verstorbenen wird nicht mehr genannt, um nicht seinen böswilligen Geist herbeizurufen, und alle denselben Namen tragenden Personen oder Dinge werden umgetauft.

Einem verstorbenen Mutwale wird natürlich höhere Ehre erwiesen als einem gewöhnlichen Murundi. Vor dem toten Mutwale vollführt der Kiranga die Zeremonien des „heiligen Speeres" (s. S. 134), und auf sein Grab pflanzt man

einen Gedenkbaum (imana), der unverletzlich ist. Die Familie des Toten aber verläßt das Gehöft und siedelt sich an einer anderen Stelle an, während die Hütten des Verstorbenen zerfallen und verschwinden und die Fikusbäumchen der Umzäunung allmählich zu stattlichen Bäumen heranwachsen, von denen niemand bei Todesstrafe Holz holen darf (Nr. 19, S. 205). Durch diese im Kreis der ehemaligen Hofumzäunung stehenden Bäume fallen einem die einstigen Häuptlingssitze in Urundi wie in Ruanda überall in der Landschaft auf (Taf. 29a). Die Trauer um einen Mutwale dauert zwei bis drei Wochen.

Die höchsten Ehren aber werden dem toten König zuteil (s. S. 185). Zunächst wird die Leiche in Häute und Rindenstoffe eingewickelt, aber nicht begraben, sondern über einem rauchenden Feuer so lange getrocknet, bis sie zur völligen Mumie geworden ist. Der erste aus dem Leichnam herauskriechende Wurm („Seelenwurm") wird in einen Milchtopf gelegt und gefüttert, bis er eines Nachts den Topf verläßt und nun zur Riesenschlange (isato) wird, in welcher fortan der Geist (umusimu) des Königs haust. Ein Einbalsamieren des Toten findet nicht statt; auch wird die Leiche des Königs nicht in Hockerstellung eingebogen, wie die gewöhnlichen Barundi, sondern behält Arme und Beine ausgestreckt (Nr. 19, S. 204), wogegen in Ankole die Leiche des Königs ebenfalls in Hockerstellung in Kuhhaut eingebunden und begraben wird (Nr. 27, S. 101). Dann wird in Urundi der tote König mitten im Gehöft auf einem hölzernen Gestell aufgebahrt und bleibt hier so lange liegen, bis die Füße des Gestelles von den Termiten abgefressen sind. Das kann unter Umständen Monate dauern. Der König Kisabo soll ein ganzes Jahr so gelegen haben, ja es soll, wie mir ein dortiger Missionar erzählte, dem Toten sogar ein junges Weib „angetraut" worden sein, die ihn zu behüten und täglich mit Speise und Pombe zu versorgen hatte. Während dieser ganzen Zeit der Aufbahrung kommen die Untertanen aus allen Gegenden herbeigezogen, flehen seinen Geist um Gunst an, essen und trinken in feierlichem Totenschmaus neben der Bahre und loben den Verstorbenen. Die große Zeremonie des „heiligen Speeres" fehlt natürlich hier erst recht nicht. Die offizielle Trauer um den König dauert einen Monat. Schließlich wird die Mumie von den nächsten männlichen Verwandten des Königs, unter Begleitung der Medizinmänner und Priester und gefolgt von einer wehklagenden Volksmenge, fortgetragen, Tagereisen weit bis auf den Berg Ganso im nordwestlichen Grenzgebirge gegen Ruanda, südlich von der Rumuvuquelle, wo im Wald, zu dem nur die Mitglieder der Königsfamilie (Baganwa) und die Priester Zutritt haben, die Leiche endlich begraben wird; nach v. d. Burgt aber nicht begraben, sondern nur in einer Hütte beigesetzt (s. S. 186). Auch die anderen Barundikönige ruhen dort (Nr. 4, S. 223). Burgt gibt dagegen einen Ort Wanjange am Zwangaberg als Bestattungsplatz an (s. S. 185).

Auch von den Bahima (Wahuma) Urundi berichtet Emin Pascha, daß dort der Leichnam des Herrschers auf einem Gerüst geräuchert und oft jahrelang in seiner Hütte aufbewahrt wurde, bis ihn endlich sein Nachfolger begrub (Petern. Mitt. 1879, S. 307).

In Urundi wird das Gehöft des verstorbenen Königs verlassen, wie jene der verstorbenen Batwale; es zerfällt, und nur die im großen Kreis der einstigen Umzäunung stehenbleibenden Bäume verraten dem Fremden die frühere Bedeutung des Platzes. Daneben aber wird ein Wächter in eine Hütte gesetzt, der dafür zu

sorgen hat, daß niemand die Stätte betritt und daß der Geist des verstorbenen Königs, den man sich, wie erwähnt, hauptsächlich als eine große, am Ort hausende Schlange (Totemismus, S. 102) vorstellt, regelmäßig seine Trank- und Speiseopfer erhält (Nr. 19, S. 205).

Von der Burgt berichtet, daß zu Ehren des toten Königs „Hekatomben von Menschenopfern" dargebracht werden (Nr. 19, S. 204) und daß manche große Batwale und hochstehende Barundi getötet würden, „um die Manen des Königs zu beruhigen". Vermutlich sind hauptsächlich die Unglücklichen damit gemeint, die sofort nach dem Tode des Königs der Politik seines Nachfolgers oder Thronprätendenten zum Opfer fallen, sowie die vermeintlichen Zauberer und Hexen, die den Tod des Königs verursacht haben — denn natürlichen Tod kennen die Barundi nicht — und nun von den Medizinmännern ausfindig gemacht und hingerichtet werden (s. S. 132, 140). Aber auch einige junge Mädchen und Große des Landes wurden früher bei der Bestattung des Königs getötet, um den Verstorbenen „ins Jenseits zu begleiten" (s. S. 186).

Neuntes Kapitel

Religion, Mythus, Kultus, Mission

1. Die Götter

Die Religion der Barundi läßt sich wohl am besten als Animismus und Totemismus bezeichnen, denen zahlreiche Elemente von Fetischismus (Talisman), Manismus (Ahnenverehrung) und Heroenkult beigemischt sind; der letztere ist in mancher Beziehung schon zum Götterkult geworden. Diese Mischung von Bestandteilen des „totemistischen Zeitalters" mit dem „Zeitalter der Helden und Götter" (Nr. 43, S. 116, 278) ist zweifellos die Folge der Mischung der alteingesessenen Batwa und Bantu mit den hamitischen Eroberern, die ihre totemistische Clangliederung und den Kult ihrer zu Stammesgöttern gewordenen Heroen dem Clansystem und dem Animismus und Fetischismus der Bantu und Batwa hinzugefügt haben. Alle diese sozialen und religiösen Elemente haben einander durchdrungen, teils in bloßem Nebeneinanderbestehen, teils in gegenseitiger Verschmelzung und Veränderung, so daß es meist schwer ist, die einzelnen Bestandteile rein herauszulösen und ihren Ursprung zu erkennen.

Den breitesten Raum in den religiösen Vorstellungen der Barundi nehmen der Animismus und der Dämonenglauben ein. An ihnen sind sowohl die Batwa und Bahutu als auch die Batussi beteiligt, aber die Batussi offenbar in viel geringerem Maß. Allem Anschein nach haben die Bahima hier wie im ganzen übrigen Zwischenseegebiet höhere religiöse Ideen aus ihrer nördlichen Heimat mitgebracht, die den wüsten Dämonen- und Zauberglauben der Bantuneger teilweise zurückgedrängt und dem Ahnenkult größere Bedeutung gegeben haben. Freilich hängt die große Volksmasse der Bahutu dem alten niedern Dämonen- und Zauberglauben, der der Geistesrichtung der Bantu so gut entspricht, an wie zuvor. Die Barundi denken sich alles beseelt. Wie bei den meisten noch im Stadium des animistischen Denkens befindlichen Naturvölkern, knüpfen ihre Vorstellungen von einer immateriellen Seele an die Beobachtung an, daß im schlafenden Körper etwas lebt, was nicht ruht, sondern denkt, sieht und herumschweift, denn im Traum sieht dieser unser immaterieller Teil nicht nur die Welt, so wie wir mit unsern Augen, sondern er begegnet auch den Verstorbenen, die also auch nach ihrem Tod immateriell fortbestehen. Wenn dieses immaterielle Etwas, die lebenerzeugende Seele, den Körper dauernd verläßt, stirbt der Mensch.

Die von W. Wundt und E. Meinhof für den totemistischen Gedankenkreis als charakteristisch bezeichnete Unterscheidung zwischen der Körper- oder Schattenseele und

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der Hauch- oder Atemſeele (Nr. 43, S. 203; Nr. 41, S. 32—34) ſcheint für die Vorſtellungen der Barundi zuzutreffen, denn der Murundi unterſcheidet den dämoniſchen Geiſt des Verſtorbenen, den umusimu, genau von der im Lebendigen wirkenden Seele umutima, die im Todesaugenblick mit dem pulſierenden Herzen, indihagusi, vernichtet wird (Nr. 46, S. 15). Es ſcheint mir ferner gewiß, daß die Barundi ſich alle Dinge, jedes Organiſche und Anorganiſche, beſeelt denken; nicht nur die Menſchen und Tiere, ſondern auch Pflanzen, Steine, Geſtirne, Feuer, Quellen, Flüſſe uſw.; und zwar gelten dieſe nicht nur als gelegentliche Wohnſitze vormaliger Menſchen- und Tierſeelen, ſondern als ſelbſtbeſeelt. Alſo der dornige Buſch, der den Jäger blutig ritzt, tut das nicht oder nicht nur, weil er der Sitz einer einſtigen boshaften Menſchenſeele iſt, ſondern weil er ſelbſt eine boshafte „Buſchſeele" hat. Die Quelle labt den durſtigen Wanderer nicht oder nicht nur deshalb, weil in ihr der Geiſt eines einſtigen mildtätigen Menſchen wohnt, ſondern weil ſie eine eigene milde „Quellſeele" birgt.

Umusimu iſt aber nicht nur die Bezeichnung für den Geiſt des Verſtorbenen, ſondern auch die für den Gegenſtand oder das Tier, das ſich der Geiſt des Verſtorbenen zum Sitz erwählt hat; es können deren viele verſchiedene ſein. Sehr oft ſind es kleine längliche Steinchen (inguru) von den Feldern des Verſtorbenen. Dieſe Steinchen werden von den Hinterbliebenen geſammelt, in eine Holzmulde gelegt und ins Opferhüttchen geſtellt, wo ihnen Bieropfer geſpendet wird (Nr. 46, S. 16). Oft hauſt die Seele eines verſtorbenen Menſchen auch in einem Gegenſtand nahe beim ehemaligen Wohnſitz des Toten in einem Baum, Zaun, Felſ; oft auch in einem Tier, das durch ſeine flüchtige Beweglichkeit die Vorſtellung von der hauchartigen Flüchtigkeit der Seele hervorruft, alſo namentlich in Schlangen, Eidechſen, Vögeln, oder auch in unheimlichen Tieren wie Kröten, Krokodilen, Hyänen u. a. Die Angehörigen beſtimmter Clans ſcheinen alle in Tiere einer beſtimmten Art, das Totemtier (umusiru) des betreffenden Clans, überzugehen (ſ. S. 102). Gemeinhin wird der erſte Wurm, der den verweſenden Körper des Menſchen verläßt, als Träger der Seele angeſehen, bis dieſe einen anderen definitiven Aufenthalt gewählt hat. Die erſte Made aus der Leiche eines Murundikönigs wird deshalb, wie S. 115 erwähnt, mit Milch genährt, bis ſie ſich in eine große Pythonſchlange verwandelt, der man göttliche Verehrung zollt. Die Seelen der großen Batwale gehen aber in andere Schlangen, Löwen, Leoparden über, die dann in den heiligen Hainen (imana) bei den Gräbern hauſen. Die Schlangen pflegen von dort aus die Hütten der Familie zu beſuchen und werden von den Familienmüttern als Seelentiere der verſtorbenen Angehörigen betrachtet und mit Milch gefüttert. So auch bei den Galla, den Maſſai und den Kaffern Südafrikas (Nr. 41, S. 36; Nr. 19, S. 354). Die Idee einer göttlichen Strafe, einer Läuterung und ſühnenden Seelenwanderung, wie ſie beſonders von Miſſionaren in dieſer Verſetzung der Menſchenſeelen in Tiere geſehen wird, iſt den Barundi urſprünglich gewiß fremd; vielmehr iſt der Grundgedanke ſolcher „Seelenwanderung" die totemiſtiſche Verwandtſchaft der Menſchenſippe mit einer beſtimmten Tierſpezies (ſ. S. 102). Gar nicht aber ſtört die Barundi in dieſen Vorſtellungen der innere Widerſpruch, daß dann das von der abgeſchiedenen Menſchenſeele okkupierte Tier, Baum, Felſ, Waſſer uſw. zwei Seelen haben müßte; Negerlogik iſt nicht Europäerlogik.

Die Frage nach der Unſterblichkeit der Seele, die natürlich vom chriſtlichen Miſſionar mit in den Vordergrund ſeiner Lehre geſtellt wird, bewegt den nicht chriſtianiſierten Murundi ebenſowenig tief wie alle anderen oſtafrikaniſchen Neger. Seiner Vorſtellung

und seinem ethischen Bedürfnis genügt es, daß die Seele den Tod überdauert, aber wie lange diese Fortdauer währt, kümmert ihn nicht weiter. Wahrscheinlich denkt er wie andere Afrikaner sich die Sache so, daß die Seelen nicht in alle Ewigkeit leben, sondern allmählich schwächer und kleiner werden und schließlich ganz vergehen (Nr. 41, S. 41), oder daß, wenn sie in Tiere übergegangen sind, sie mit dem Tod dieser Tiere verlöschen.

Die Geister der Verstorbenen sind durchweg mehr oder minder böse, den Lebendigen feindlich, auch wenn sie im Leben relativ gut gewesen sind. Denn der Tote hat alles, was ihm im Leben lieb und wert war, zurücklassen müssen und ist deshalb von Neid gegen die Überlebenden, Besitzenden erfüllt. Diese neidischen, den Menschen übelgesinnten, ihnen Krankheit, Mißwachs, Viehsterbe und anderes Unheil verursachenden Geister sind die gefürchteten abasimu oder imisimu (Sing. umusimu), um deren Abwehr, Fesselung, Besänftigung, Gewinnung sich zum größten Teil das Sinnen und Trachten der Barundi im täglichen Leben dreht. Unter demselben Namen abasimu oder imisimu finden wir diese niederen bösen Geister bei allen Bahima wieder, auch im südlichen Verbreitungsgebiet, in Ufipa (Nr. 47, S. 167/8). Der Neid und die Feindseligkeit der Abasimu werden besänftigt und gemildert, indem man dem Toten wertvolle Stücke seines Besitzes auf das Grab legt und indem man möglichst oft Teile von dem, was man genießt, oder von dem, was man aus dem ehemaligen Besitz des Toten benutzt, als Opfer darbringt (s. S. 136). Der immaterielle Geist genießt oder benutzt von diesen Opfern auch nur den immateriellen Teil, also den „Geist" des dargebrachten Bieres, Fleisches, Hirsebreies, der Krüge, Messer, Pfeile, Hacken usw. Die Opfer sind nichts anderes als Prämien auf größere Sicherheit gegen die Feindseligkeit der Abasimu und keineswegs pietätvolle Weihgeschenke an die verehrten oder geliebten Vorfahren. Nur weil er die Manen fürchtet, opfert ihnen der Murundi. Noch viel wirksamer als das Opfern ist aber der Eintritt in den religiösen Geheimbund, die religiöse Brüderschaft der Ababandwa, von dem nachher Näheres zu berichten sein wird (S. 124). Diese Ababandwa nehmen nach ihrem Tod eine bevorzugte Stellung im Geisterreich ein. Sie kommen, wenn ihr Bundesverhältnis für richtig befunden worden ist, zu Riangombe, wo sie als imandwa eine Art Leibgarde des Gottes bilden. Sie sind sozusagen die Heiligen des Barundihimmels.

Über den niederen Geistern der zahl- und namenlosen Abasimu und über den Imandwa steht eine Schicht von höheren, benannten Geistern, wie die Herrenkaste der Batusi über den Bahutu (Nr. 19, S. 213). Es sind lauter persönliche Wesen, die wir schlechthin Götter nennen können. Eine ganze Reihe von ihnen tragen dieselben Namen wie einstige historische Persönlichkeiten der Barundi oder ihrer Nachbarvölker. Alles, was von ihnen ausgesagt wird, beweist, daß diese Götter ursprünglich Helden, Häuptlinge, Könige des Volkes gewesen sind, die infolge ihrer übermenschlich erscheinenden Eigenschaften und Taten als Heroen verehrt und allmählich zu Göttern erhoben worden sind. Der Heros ist nicht nach dem Bild des Gottes geschaffen, sondern der Gott nach dem Bild des Helden (Nr. 43, S. 280). Ebensowenig sind diese Götter Personifikationen großer Naturerscheinungen, wie etwa der Sonne, des Mondes, der Wolken, des Gewitters. In diesen Erscheinungen sieht auch der Murundi nur die Sitze und die Äußerungen der darin wohnenden Abasimu, aber nicht die Verkörperung persönlicher Götter (Nr. 43, S. 358 ff.).

Die benannten, mit dem Merkmal der übermenschlichen Persönlichkeit und der

Unvergänglichkeit ausgestatteten Heroengötter der Barundi sind, wie man an den ihnen beigelegten Eigenschaften und Geschichten erkennt, zum Teil Volksgötter der alteingesessenen Bantu und Batwa, zum Teil Import der hamitischen Eroberer, zum Teil Mischlinge aus beiden Elementen. Van der Burgt glaubt nicht, daß die vergötterten Heroen Hamitenfürsten gewesen sind, sondern betont (briefliche Mitteilung), daß „die meisten Götternamen der Bantureligion angehören und Bantuwörter sind". Wie die Sprache hätten die Batussi auch die Götter der Bahutu angenommen, aber die Batwa hätten einige eigene Götter, z. B. Indagarra. Unter den 30 Namen von Barundigöttern, die v. d. Burgt aufzählt (Nr. 19, S. 214), erscheinen mir jedoch die folgenden hamitischen Ursprungs oder wenigstens nicht reine Bantugötter zu sein: Riangombe, Umugassa, Wamara, Kagoro, Ruwambo, Ruhanga, Rugaba. Von ihnen ist Riangombe (Ejangombe, Djangombi) auch in den Bahimastaaten Ruanda, Kisiba, Mpororó, Ankole u. a. göttlich verehrt; er soll ein Ruanda-Mutussi, Schüler des ersten Ruhinda, gewesen sein und sich durch starke Zauberkräfte ausgezeichnet haben (s. auch S. 188). Umugassa, Mugascha, der auch in Uganda („Mukessa", s. Anthropos III, S. 214), in Ankole, Kisiba, Karagwe (Mugascha-See), Kissala, Ussuwi als Gott der Gewässer und des Regens verehrt wird, war nach der Tradition der Basiba ein früherer König der Sesse-Inseln im nördlichen Victoriasee (Nr. 31, S. 128; Nr. 27, S. 110; Nr. 34, S. 518/19). Wamara wird in Ankole und Kisiba als Geist der abgeschiedenen Seelen verehrt und war nach der Banjankoletradition ein König der Batschwesi in Baera (Uganda), eines von den Bahima verschiedenen Hamitengeschlechts, und eroberte Ankole; nach Rehse „früher ein großer weltlicher Fürst, dem die Reiche von Nyansa bis in den Kongostaat untertan waren" (Nr. 31, S. 126/7; Nr. 34, S. 520). Kagoro gilt in Kisiba als Enkel Wamaras (Nr. 31, S. 133). Rugaba, Lugaba, der in Kisiba und in Ankole als Schöpfer des Menschen und des Rindes verehrt wird (Nr. 27, S. 108), war nach v. d. Burgt „der älteste König der Wahinda" (Nr. 19, S. 219). Was Rehse von den Göttern der Basiba sagt, daß „die Schilderung dieser Geisterwelt die älteste Geschichte Kisibas sowohl wie die der sämtlichen zentralafrikanischen Länder darstellen würde", das gilt auch von den Heroengöttern der Barundi. Diesen religiösen Quellen nachzugehen, wäre eine dankbare Aufgabe, namentlich für Missionare!

Wie die Basiba einen obersten Gott Rugaba als Weltschöpfer und höchsten Gnadenspender verehren, ihm aber niemals Opfer darbringen (Nr. 31, S. 125), so die Barundi und Banjarwanda (Nr. 28, S. 1—13) den Imana. Auch ihm wird nie geopfert, nie zu ihm gebetet, gleichsam als einem unnahbar hohen Wesen. Man wendet sich lieber an die den Menschen näher stehenden, einst selbst Menschen gewesenen Götter Riangombe, Kiranga, Wamara u. a. Obwohl als persönlicher Weltschöpfer und Weltordner gedacht, ist Imana doch der einzige im Götterhimmel der Barundi, dessen Namen man bisweilen als eine Gesamtbezeichnung der Geisterwelt gebraucht. Imana ist „das Göttliche", „die Gottheit" schlechtweg. Imana ist auch die Bezeichnung für alles dem Murundi Heilige: für die heiligen Bäume, den heiligen Stier, den König, die Amulette, die Orakeltiere, die heilige Lanze usw. (Nr. 19, S. 214). Ebenso in Ruanda (Nr. 44, S. 284; Nr. 39, S. 102, 109). Je nach seinen verschiedenen Eigenschaften und Tätigkeiten legt man dem Imana zahlreiche verschiedene Namen bei oder identifiziert ihn mit anderen Göttern; ebenso in Ruanda. Kinder werden oft mit Namen belegt, in denen Imana vorkommt: Kaimana = kleiner

Imana, Mbonimana = Geschenk des Imana, Ndorimana = Erscheinung des Imana, Keschimana = Schmuck des Imana (Nr. 23, 1913, S. 308). Männer und Frauen tragen ein impusu y'Imana, ein Imanakleid aus rötlichem schwarzgeringelten Rindenstoff, wenn sie sich Nachwuchs wünschen. Imana ist das Oberhaupt aller Manen, aller Ahnengeister, und bekommt dadurch den Charakter eines alten Nationalgottes.

Wiewohl Imana als einziger Weltschöpfer hoch über den anderen Göttern steht, wird man doch diese Vorstellung der Barundi nicht eine monotheistische nennen können, wie es manche Missionare tun (Nr. 44, S. 283). Ebensowenig ist es zutreffend, in dem Umstand, daß die Barundi neben Imana zwei Hauptgötter haben, Nikiranga und Niangombe, die sie oft mit Imana identifizieren oder verwechseln, eine Art „Dreieinigkeit" sehen zu wollen (Nr. 19, S. 214). Das sind christliche Hineindeutungen und Auslegungen, die dem Gedankengang der Barundi fremd sind.

Dem Imana am nächsten scheint Kiranga, Nikiranga, zu stehen. Wenn Imana das Oberhaupt der hohen Ahnengeister genannt wird, bezeichnet man Kiranga als den Herrn aller niederen Dämonen und aller materiellen Dinge. Van der Burgt nennt ihn deshalb eine Art logos payen (Nr. 19, S. 216). Er ist der Gott, der in allen irdischen Angelegenheiten zuerst um Beistand angerufen wird. An ihn wendet sich vor allem der priesterliche Kultus der Menge, ihm ist die Zeremonie des „heiligen Speeres" geweiht (s. S. 134), nach ihm nennt sich der Oberpriester selbst Kiranga, denn er ist von ihm „besessen", sein Medium (S. 123). Allem Anschein nach ist es eine Gottheit der alten Bantubevölkerung und noch ziemlich frei vom Batusseinfluß. Kiranga ist es, von dem die Missionare als dem „Teufel" sprechen (Nr. 23, 1904, S. 123), der bei Mujaga in Mittel-Urundi zwei große Rinderherden besitze, an deren Spitze zwei heilige Stiere stehen. Auch habe er einen heiligen Berg, den eine Priesterin verwalte. Diese habe großen Einfluß und sei sogar der Gewalt des Königs entzogen, obwohl dieser sie stets bewachen lasse, damit sie ihren Kultverpflichtungen nachkomme. Vernachlässige sie aber ihre Obliegenheiten, so werde sie mit ihren nächsten Verwandten auf Befehl des Königs getötet. Ihr Amt beginne mit der Regierung des Königs und ende auch damit, denn nach des Königs Tod müsse sie Gift nehmen.

Pater Gaßdinger nennt Kiranga den „Allesverderber", den Luzifer der Barundi. Ihn rufe man zuerst in aller Trübsal, Not und Angst an, ihm seien die meisten Opferhüttchen (akararo) neben den Wohnhütten gewidmet, und darin stehe regelmäßig ein großer dreibeiniger und dreimündiger Tontopf, der das Opfer aufnehme. Außer Bier werden hauptsächlich Getreidehalme in den Hüttchen hergebracht und die Hörner von Rindern darin als Opfer verbrannt (Nr. 45, 1913, S. 359 ff.).

Bezeichnend für die verworrenen Vorstellungen der Barundi von den verschiedenen Persönlichkeiten ihrer Götter und Geister ist es, daß sie oft die Begriffe durcheinanderwerfen und die Namen verschiedener Götter einem und demselben beilegen. So hört man sie z. B. sagen: „Niangombe ist mächtig, er ist Kiranga; auch Kagoro ist Kiranga, er ist Sengoga." Auch Rugaba, Nahenga, Inganje, Nsabaski, Indagarra, Nakiza wird der Kiranga genannt oder auch diese Namen als Beinamen des Imana bezeichnet und das Wort Imana als Mehrheitsbegriff gebraucht (Nr. 45, 1913, S. 363). Unter diesen angeführten Namen sind mehrere, die wir, wie eben (S. 120) gesehen, bereits als Namen ganz bestimmter Götter und Geister von anderen Bahimastämmen kennen. Ihre Gestalten scheinen in Urundi verblaßt zu sein, so daß sie mitein-

ander verwechselt werden, und ihre Begriffe sich zu bloßen Attributen oder Beinamen des Imana verflüchtigt zu haben, der ohnehin schon mehr ein Kollektivbegriff „Heilig" oder „Göttlich" ist als ein persönlicher Gott.

Als dritter in der Götterreihe ist zu nennen Riangombe, das Oberhaupt aller guten Geister (imandwa), den Imana beauftragt hat, die Menschen zu lenken und sie gegen die bösen Geister (abasimu) zu schützen (Nr. 44, S. 286). Ihm ist in Ruanda der religiöse Bund des Kubandwa geweiht (s. S. 124), und er ist nach dem Tod der Menschen der Richter über Gerechte und Ungerechte. Daher spielt er im ethischen Interessenkreis, im Gefühlsleben der Barundi eine so große Rolle wie kein anderer Gott; ebenso in Ruanda. Dies spricht sich auch darin aus, daß Riangombe (oder Imana) der Schutzherr des Wertvollsten ist, was der Murundi und der Munjarwanda besitzt: der Rinder (s. S. 46).

Riangombe war nach der Ruandatradition in seinen menschlichen Lebzeiten ein Muhima aus der privilegierten Sippe der Bega, des höchsten Adels neben dem Königsgeschlecht der Banjeginja. Sein Vater Babinga war das religiöse Oberhaupt Ruandas, und Riangombe wurde sein Nachfolger als Chef der Ababandwa, der religiösen Brüderschaft, während der weltliche Ruandakönig Luganfu war, der ihn erst befehdete, dann aber anerkannte und ehrte (Nr. 44, S. 281). Imana war dem Hohenpriester Riangombe zu Lebzeiten sehr geneigt. Als dieser starb, führte ihn Imana auf den hohen Vulkanberg Muhawura, wo Riangombe nun seine Herde weidete und seinen Tabak baute (die großblätterigen Senecien); aber die Pflanzungen wurden vom bösen Geist Niragongo, der den gleichnamigen Berg bewohnt, zerstört. Da zog Riangombe, von Imana unterstützt, gegen Niragongo, zerstörte dessen Wohnsitz und setzte den Berg in Flammen (Vulkan Niragongo). Ungestört wohnt nun Riangombe abwechselnd auf dem Muhawura und auf dem Karissimbi, wo er seine große heilige, milchende Rinderherde weidet und von den Imandwa, den Geistern der verstorbenen Mitglieder des religiösen Bundes der Ababandwa, bedient wird. Diese allein gehen in sein „Paradies" ein, wogegen die Seelen der nichtgeweihten Profanen (abansigo) als Dämonen (abasimu) zu Namlagira und Niragongo verwiesen werden, wo sie in der „Hölle" der Vulkane ein sklavisches Schattendasein führen. Soweit die Ruandatradition, nach Pater Arnoux (Nr. 44). Das Wesentliche aus ihr hat sich auch bei den Barundi erhalten; ja sogar die Angabe, daß Riangombe nach seinem Tod auf dem Berg „Vurunga wa niangombe" in Ruanda beigesetzt sei, findet sich hier noch (Nr. 19, S. 216), obwohl den Barundi die Virunga-Vulkanberge Nordruandas gänzlich unbekannt sind. Die Vorstellung von Paradies und Hölle (Karissimbi und Niragongo) ist in Ruanda wohl lokal entstanden; in Urundi gibt es nichts Derartiges (v. d. Burgt, briefliche Mitteilung).

Wie in Urundi gilt Riangombe auch in Kisiba hauptsächlich als Schutzherr der Rinder. Er wird dort nur von den Bahima verehrt, und auch sein Priester ist immer nur ein Muhima. In Ankole dagegen nimmt er keine Ausnahmestellung ein (Nr. 34, S. 520). Da er ferner aber in Ruanda und Urundi (neben Kiranga) im Mittelpunkt der Verehrung der religiösen Brüderschaften (ababandwa) steht und in Urundi sogar von den Batwa als ihr Hauptgott verehrt wird (Nr. 19, S. 216), so kann man folgern, daß dieser offenbar mit den Bahima eingewanderte Hirtengott allmählich in seiner neuen Heimat vernegert ist und sich in der alten Negermythologie der Bahutu und Batwa festgesetzt hat.

Anderer Meinung ist allerdings Pater Loupias, der annimmt, Riangombe sei ursprünglich eine Gottheit der Bahutu oder vielleicht der Batwa, und angibt, daß in Ruanda weder der König noch die „großen" Batutsi Mitglieder des dem Riangombe geweihten Ordens der Imandwa werden (Nr. 28, S. 6). Letzteres ist aber auch in Urundi der Fall und kann ebensogut als aristokratische Zurückhaltung der Batutsi-Großen gegen nahe Gemeinschaft mit den Bahutu oder gar mit den Batwa gedeutet werden.

Unter den übrigen, oben noch nicht genannten Gottheiten der Barundi können wir die folgenden sehr wahrscheinlich als altreinheimische Götter der ackerbauenden Bahutu und der Batwa ansehen: Indagarra ist der namentlich von den Batwa verehrte Gott der Zeugungskraft, ein „Priapus"; Njamurimi gilt als Schutzherr der Felder; Njankuru ist der Nationalgott der Basige in Nordwest-Urundi; Inganfse scheint eine Art Zeitgott, „Chronos" zu sein; Wandamutoni ist die Frau des Imana; Ikifjego der Sohn des Imana; Tusara der Gott der dienstbaren Hausgeister, „Kobolde"; Kwiguka der Gott der Unzucht u. a. m. (Nr. 19, S. 216—220).

2. Kultus

Jeder dieser Götter hat seine bestimmten Kultformen, jeder seinen bestimmten Priester, in den er von Zeit zu Zeit „hineinfährt", ihn „besessen" macht, wahrsagen und zaubern läßt. Es gibt männliche und weibliche Priester. Die weiblichen bleiben angeblich unverheiratet. Göttliche Kraft und Inspiration, die Anlage zur Besessenheit geht meist vom Vater auf den Sohn oder Tochter über; ebenso wie die Heil- und Beschwörungskraft der Medizinmänner (abafumu).

In Urundi heißen diese Priester Ivíranga (Sing. Kiranga), in Ruanda Imandwa, in Kisiba Wabandwa. Der Kiranga hat unter den Personen, die dem Götter- und Geisterkult obliegen, am meisten den Charakter und die Funktionen eines Priesters in unserem Sinn. Er hat denselben Namen wie der Gott Kiranga (vom Wortstamm kira = in Ordnung bringen) und gilt für den Repräsentanten und den wandelnden Wohnort des Gottes selbst. Ein Mann oder Weib wird Kiranga entweder dadurch, daß Vater oder Mutter Kiranga gewesen sind und nach deren Tod ihm die Eigenschaft vererben, oder dadurch, daß der resp. die Betreffende vom Blitz, dem Gewaltzeichen des Gottes, niedergeworfen, aber nicht getötet worden ist (Nr. 19, S. 253), oder dadurch, daß er beim Fest des Kubandwa oder des „heiligen Speeres" (vgl. S. 134) vom Geist gepackt wird und in einen manischen Zustand der Besessenheit verfällt. Vom Eintritt solcher Ereignisse oder Zustände an wird die betreffende Person für Kiranga erklärt und hat in allen, bei so vielen Anlässen aufgeführten Zeremonien des heiligen Speeres den Kultus mit zu leiten (Nr. 19, S. 462/63) und den Verkehr der leidenden oder von metaphysischen Bedürfnissen erfüllten Menschen mit den Geistern und Göttern zu vermitteln.

In Ruanda sind, wie erwähnt, diese ekstatischen Vermittler der Geisterwelt Imandwa genannt. Sie sind männliche oder weibliche gotterwählte Medien eines der Hauptgeister, also entweder des Riangombe oder des Binego oder des Mugasse usw., und haben je nach dieser Zugehörigkeit eine von den anderen verschiedene Art sich aufzuputzen und sich brummend oder zischend oder heulend zu äußern; auch eine besondere Geisterspracke ist dabei im Gebrauch. Gewöhnlich geraten sie nach reichlichem Biergenuß in ihre religiöse Ekstase, in welcher der Geist selbst aus ihnen

spricht, wahrsagt, orakelt. Auch sind sie dann nicht mehr verantwortlich für alles, was sie in diesem spiritistisch-mediumistischen Zustand tun, seien es auch die gröbsten Überschreitungen der Gesetze und des Anstandes (Nr. 39, S. 100). Von dieser Freiheit machen denn auch die Besessenen reichlich Gebrauch, so daß man darin wohl mit Recht ein Hauptmotiv für die ganze Einrichtung des Imandwawesens erblicken kann.

Auch in Unjoro heißen die Medizinmänner Abandwa, die „Magie treiben, indem sie Tiere töten oder gewisse Kräuter verwenden" (Nr. 9, S. 377).

Aus Kisiba kennen wir diese, von je einem bestimmten Gott besessenen und dort Wabandwa genannten genauer durch A. Vix und B. Struck (Nr. 34 und 36) und durch Rehse (Nr. 31, S. 107, 132). Auch dort sind sie nach der Art ihres Gottes oder Dämons verschieden, äußern aber alle ihre Kraft in „hysterischen, durch Autosuggestion entstehenden Anfällen". Der eine ist Spezialist im Regenmachen, der andere im Pestheilen, der dritte in Ackerbausachen, der vierte in Rinderkuren usw. Wenn der Geist über sie kommt, bekleiden sich diese Gottbegnadeten mit einem Leopardenfell, das ihnen der Häuptling liefert, und mit einer Fellmütze, behängen sich mit Amuletten, tanzen mit langen Stöcken und Rasselkürbissen (Taf. 54). Sie sind aber nicht zu einer Genossenschaft vereint.

Eine Berufsgenossenschaft, einen religiösen Zweckverband oder religiöse Brüderschaft bilden dagegen die Ababandwa in Ruanda, von denen sich auch in Urundi viele Anklänge finden. Das sind nicht die vorgenannten, von einem Gott besessenen Priester (kiranga) und nicht die Magier und Medizinmänner (abakumu), sondern die aus Sorge um ihr irdisches Wohl und um ihr künftiges Seelenheil sich dem Gott weihenden Frommen, die sich zu einer, durch feierliche Zeremonien gebundenen Brüderschaft, einer Kultgemeinde zusammentun und auch gemeinsame Opfer bringen.

Van der Burgt hält die ababandwa, die wachwesi, die iviranga, die ivisjego u. a. nicht auseinander (Nr. 19, S. 220, 292, 463, 516), so daß man hieraus kein klares Bild von der Art des Kubandwawesens der Barundi bekommt; aber was er mitteilt, entspricht im wesentlichen den Schilderungen, die uns Pater Arnoux und Missionär Johanßen von dem Imandwa-Geheimbund Ruandas geben (Nr. 44 und Nr. 39, S. 96—101), so daß wir uns dort für Urundi manche Aufklärung holen können. Mit Recht weist aber v. d. Burgt auf die ähnlichen Kulte der „Watschwesi"- (Batschwesi-) Brüderschaften in Uffuwi, Uffumbwa, Usindja und Unjamwesi hin, wo in nächtlichen Orgien sich die letzten Spuren religiöser Kulte und Kultgenossenschaften erhalten haben, die sich in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda noch als nationale Einrichtung in der Öffentlichkeit abspielen. Den alten Zusammenhang lassen auch die bei solchen Festen der Watschwesi in Unjamwesi, Usindja und Osturundi gesungenen Hymnen erkennen, die merkwürdigerweise in der alten Kirundisprache lauten (Nr. 19, S. 220 und 463).

Von Ost-Uffumi berichtet auch Pater van Thiel, daß dort bei der Zeremonie des Kubandwa, der Aufnahme in den Bund der Ababandwa, eine luchwesi genannte rituelle Sprache gebraucht wird, von der er einige Dutzend Wörter aufzählt, z. B. bulege Bogen, milam Pfeil, migasi Fleisch, muto Feuer, masugunu Milch, muyara Kopf, manono Zähne, agawesa Augen (Nr. 24, S. 57). Es wird zu erkunden sein, ob dieses luchwesi mit dem Alt-Kirundi übereinstimmt (vgl. S. 70, 148). Von der Geheimsprache der Babandwa in Ruanda teilt Czekanowski einige Proben mit (Nr. 48, S. 316—317).

Von den Ababandwa in Ruanda aber wissen wir folgendes: Der Sage nach hat der historische Oberpriester Mangombe vor seinem Tod den Wunsch geäußert, er wolle

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

ohne Unterschied der Kasten von den Batussi sowohl wie auch von den Bahutu und Batwa verehrt werden. Daher weihen sie sich ihm im Kubandwa ohne Unterschied. Diese Tradition scheint aber nur eine Erweiterung der Brüderschaft durch Ausdehnung auf die Batussi zu bedeuten, denn nach anderen Überlieferungen bestand die Brüderschaft der Ababandwa längst vor dem historischen Riangombe; sie ist höchstwahrscheinlich ein uraltes Element der Negerreligion, das sich in Ostafrika noch rein in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda, Karagwe, Ostkongoland (Bunjabungu) erhalten hat (Nr. 44, S. 291), entartet in Unjamwesi, Uffumbwa ist und sehr viele Parallelen in den Geheimbünden der Bantu und Sudanneger von Loango, Kamerun, Togo, Goldküste usw. hat. Nach v. d. Burgt gehört der Kubandwakultus in Urundi der Bantureligion der Bahutu an und ist von den Batussi übernommen. Der König aber darf an dem Kult nicht teilnehmen, während die Batwa dem Kult, besonders dem des Kiranga, sehr ergeben sind. Burgt nennt in seinem Diktionär die Ababandwa eine société religieuse et secrète (Nr. 19, S. 220, 463), aber nach einer neueren, brieflichen Mitteilung betrachtet er das Kubandwa nicht als eigentlichen „Geheimbund", sondern als Vereinigung zu einer geheimnisvollen Kulthandlung, zu der nicht jedermann, z. B. Kinder, zugelassen ist. Hauptmann v. Langenn dagegen hält es für einen religiösen Geheimbund, in dem alte Zauberer die Hauptrolle spielen; die Aufnahme erfolge durch besondere Zeremonien. Auch Missionar Johansen nennt die analoge Einrichtung in Ruanda eine „Gemeinschaft der Eingeweihten oder Medien", die mit der Geisterwelt in Verkehr stehen und nach dem Tod zu Riangombe kommen, in Gegensatz zu den Laien, den Insigo, die von dieser Gemeinschaft ausgeschlossen sind (Nr. 39, S. 96). Und ebenso nennt Pater van Thiel die Eingeweihten des Kubandwakultes in Ostussuvi eine „société secrète", deren Meister der Zauberer sei (Nr. 24, S. 49).

An der Spitze der Ababandwa steht in Ruanda ein Oberpriester (kiranga), der vom König eingesetzt wird, aber auch abgesetzt werden kann. In Ruanda sind zu seinen Helfern vom König die mpara bestellt, eine Gruppe von Ababandwa, die das Vorrecht haben, im Kral des Königs selbst dem Riangombe zu opfern, und die bezeichnenderweise nur aus Bahutu bestehen; also wahrscheinlich ein Zugeständnis an die alte Bantuherkunft des Kubandwakultus. Diese Mpara sind zusammen mit den am Hof des Königs lebenden Batwa (s. S. 13) die Wächter und die „Behüter des königlichen Schlafes", genießen also ein hohes Vertrauen (Nr. 44, S. 292).

Hauptgründe zum Kubandwa pflegen folgende zu sein: Befolgung der Aufforderung eines Zauberers; der Wunsch, von einer durch die bösen Geister verursachten Krankheit oder schlimmen Lage befreit zu werden; die Absicht, sich durch die Ordensgemeinschaft bevorzugte Stellung oder materielle Vorteile aller Art zu verschaffen; die Erfüllung eines den Ahnen gegebenen Versprechens oder Gelübdes; die Beibehaltung der Familientradition u. a. m. Also lauter Beweggründe, in denen das positive Nützlichkeitsprinzip stark überwiegt.

Die Folge aber des Kubwandwa ist die, daß der Umubandwa nun nicht mehr zur gemeinen Menschheit gehört, sondern zu einer höheren Adoptivfamilie, die ihre Angehörigen schützt und fördert, also eine Art Freimaurerloge. Die Aufgenommenen verpflichten sich mit Schwüren, die Geheimnisse des Kubwandwa nicht zu verraten oder zu verletzen. Tut das einer dennoch, so wird er von den Ababandwa zu allen Leiden verflucht, und Riangombe erfüllt den Fluch (Nr. 44, S. 294).

Die Zeremonien des Kubandwa, der Aufnahme in den Bund, sind außerordentlich umständlich; sie sind aber für die Batusi, Bahutu und Batwa die gleichen. Soviel ich erfahren konnte, stimmen sie in den Hauptpunkten mit dem in Ruanda üblichen Verfahren überein. Dort verläuft der Vorgang folgendermaßen: Zuerst teilt der Aspirant (nsigo) einem der Zauberer (umufumu) die Absicht, in den Bund aufgenommen zu werden, mit. Dann brauchen die Abafumu wochen- und monatelang, um die Geister durch allerlei Zauber um ihre Zustimmung zu befragen: sie lauschen auf ihre inneren Stimmen, sie beobachten schwimmende Butter- und Holzstückchen, sie lesen in den Eingeweiden der Hühner, Hammel, Bachstelzen usw. (Nr. 44, S. 530). Und während all dieser Zeit muß der Kandidat dem Umufumu ein Geschenk nach dem anderen machen: Schafe, Ziegen, Bohnen, eiserne Hacken, ja sogar Rinder (von den Batusi); während gleichzeitig den Geistern in den kleinen Opferhüttchen Bananen, Fleisch, Pombe und andere genießbare Dinge geopfert werden. Endlich sind die Geister mit der Aufnahme des Kandidaten einverstanden. Die Abafumu wählen ihm nun aus ihrem Kreis einen Paten, der den Kandidaten bei den Ababandwa einzuführen hat. Und nun beginnt im Kral des Kandidaten die eigentliche Aufnahme in den Orden durch die Bundesbrüder unter zahllosen Formeln, Handreichungen, Anrufungen des Niangombe, Gesicht- und Körperbemalungen, Essen, Trinken, Bekleidungen, Handhabung des heiligen Speeres, Wechselgesang, Schellen- und Kürbisrasseln, wovon jedes eine symbolische Bedeutung und Beziehung hat (Nr. 44, S. 539—558).

Gegen Ende dieser Zeremonie legt der Pate des Kandidaten die Insignien des Niangombe an (Leopardenfell, Kopfputz mit Kuhschwanz und anderes) und verwandelt sich damit in Niangombe selbst, der nun in eigener Person die Aufnahme des Neulings durch eine Art Examen und Belehrung vollzieht. Es sind aber keine tiefsinnigen Geheimnisse, in die der Novize eingeweiht wird, keine „esoterische Weisheit", wie in den antiken Mysterien, sondern nur rituelle Äußerlichkeiten, und wenn der Novize schwören muß, daß er die Geheimnisse des Kubandwa wahren will, so erstreckt sich dies nur auf die äußeren Zeremonien, denn etwas anderes weiß er nicht, so wenig wie alle Ababandwa. Zum Schluß werden Niangombe und die ihm assistierenden Ababandwa vom Neuaufgenommenen wieder mit Geschenken beehrt, worauf Niangombe dem Novizen einen neuen Namen verleiht, den er künftig allein zu führen hat: in Ruanda z. B. „der Kleine, der den Stein zerschlägt" oder „der, welcher Sahne verschlingt", oder „der, welcher die Mutter beschützt", oder „der, welcher die Hunde flieht" (Nr. 44, S. 870). Damit ist der Neuling ein ordentlicher Bundesbruder geworden. Die Ababandwa ziehen hierauf, mit den Abzeichen ihrer Geister angetan, im Land umher, sammeln überall Lebensmittel und verprassen diese am Ende in einem gemeinsamen Mahl und Trinkgelage (Nr. 44, S. 110). Der neuaufgenommene umubandwa muß nun aber seine jüngst erworbene Kraft öffentlich erweisen. Er wird von einem in irgendeiner schwierigen Lebenslage befindlichen Munjaruanda gebeten, ihm bei der Anrufung Niangombes oder eines anderen Gottes oder Schutzgeistes (wie Kirenga, Mafera, Bimego, Kagere, Magasse) beizustehen. Dies geschieht durch umständliche Beschwörung des Gottes um Erfüllung der Bitte und durch Schlachten einer sterilen Kuh, eines alten Stieres oder eines Hammels zu seinen Ehren, an deren Verspeisung die Ababandwa der ganzen Gegend teilnehmen

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

(Nr. 44, S. 123 ff.). Die Hörner der geschlachteten Rinder werden bei dieser Gelegenheit wie bei jedem anderen Rinderopfer neben den Hütten aufgehängt oder aufgestellt oder halb eingegraben, so daß nur die Spitzen herausstehen. Am Eingang von Musingas Empfangshütte in Njansa fallen jedem Besucher solche halb vergrabenen Hörner auf.

Mit dieser Amtshandlung der Gebetshilfe, die erfolgreich sein muß, wenn nicht „höhere Kräfte" dagegen sind, ist die lange Zeremonie des Kubandwa zu Ende.

Von den Zusammenkünften der Ababandwa in Urundi, von ihren Kulthandlungen, Gesängen, Tänzen wissen wir einiges durch den Pater Gaßdinger (Nr. 45, S. 309—314). In Urundi gelten aber die Zeremonien meist dem Gott Kiranga, der ja in Urundi eine viel größere Rolle spielt als der in Ruanda vorwiegend verehrte Niangombe und oft mit Niangombe identifiziert wird (s. S. 121). So ist auch in den von Gaßdinger beschriebenen Riten nicht Niangombe, sondern Kiranga der Herr und Protektor des Geheimbundes der Ababandwa.

Wenn eine vermögende Murundifamilie im Lauf des Jahres Krankheit oder andere Drangsal durchgemacht hat, veranstaltet sie nach der Getreideernte, sobald die Speicher gefüllt sind und das Bierbrauen begonnen hat, ein Kubandwafest, zum Kult des Kiranga, wozu alle Ababandwa der Gegend geladen werden. Zuerst wird ein befreundeter Umubandwa, in dessen Hof die Zeremonie zuletzt stattgefunden hat, gebeten, bei dem Fest als Hierophant, als Stellvertreter Kirangas, zu fungieren. Dieser bereitet sich durch Isolierung und Fasten auf das Amt vor. Sobald er in seiner Hütte nachts zu brummen und zu gröhlen anfängt, ist es das Zeichen, daß er nun vom Kiranga besessen ist, und das Fest kann beginnen. Langsam finden sich die geladenen Ababandwa, Männer und Weiber, im Hof des Festgebers ein. Das Geisterhüttchen Kirangas wird mit jungen Fikuszweigen geschmückt, um das Hüttchen herum frisch geschnittenes Gras sauber ausgestreut und darauf vor dem Hüttchen ein Klotz oder niedriger Holzschemel hingestellt. Neben den Schemel setzt man einen der riesigen dreifüßigen Biertöpfe, die beim Kirangafest benutzt werden, und in die Hofmitte stellt man eine weite geflochtene Wanne mit zauberwirkenden Kräutern und Blättern. Unterdessen haben sich die Ababandwa mit weißgelbem Ton breite und schmale Streifen über das Gesicht geschmiert, die Weiber außerdem Haar und Arme mit Blättern und Binden verziert. Jeder bewaffnet sich mit langstieligen Rasselkürbissen oder Eisenschellen; alles schweigt.

Da kommt langsamen Schrittes aus der Hütte heraus Kiranga selbst, das Gesicht bis zur Unkenntlichkeit mit Ton beschmiert und die Augen geschlossen. Mit beiden Fäusten hält er eine lange Lanze, den heiligen Speer, umklammert und läßt sich von vier Assistenten (ivinjego) geleiten; einer von ihnen ist der Hausherr, der Festgeber. Feierlich läßt sich Kiranga auf dem Schemel nieder, während die Ivinjego zu seinen Seiten hocken. Nun setzt sich eine Prozession der Ababandwa zu ihm in Bewegung. Sie nehmen aus der vorhin genannten Flechtwanne Grasbüschel, legen sie beim vor Kiranga nieder und rufen ihm zu „Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, du bist der König der Barundi). Auf ihre Plätze zurückgekehrt, beginnen sie ihre Rasselkürbisse in bestimmtem Rhythmus und in streng eingehaltenem Takt zu schütteln und dabei im gleichen strammen Takt den Boden zu stampfen. Ein Vorsänger stimmt nun die althergebrachte Kubandwahymne an:

Hai yeye wohima ye!
Ababandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Rangombe ye usw.

deren Refrain „Hai yeye wohima ye" alle mitsingen (ganz ähnlich bei Burgt, Nr. 19, S. 292).

Die Hymnen, die Anrufungen Kiranga's, die Verwünschungen und die übrigen zur Zeremonie gehörenden Äußerungen werden auch hier nicht im gewöhnlichen Kirundi gesprochen, sondern „in einem verstümmelten Kauderwelsch, das Kiranga und seine Untertanen allein verstehen". Statt imoga (Bier) sagt man inganda; amata (Milch) heißt hier amafuro (Schaum), amukobwa (Mädchen) heißt amaschenge; statt kubita (schlagen) sagen sie kubomagura (mit Mäctel bewerfen) usw. Diese besondre Kirundi-Terminologie ist ja auch den religiösen Geheimbünden der Nachbarvölker eigen und scheint hauptsächlich aus Elementen des sonst fast vergessenen Alt-Kirundi zu bestehen. (Vgl. S. 148.)

Sobald Tanz und Gesang der Männer in fanatischer Begeisterung geendet haben, treten einzelne Festgenossen vor den Kiranga, verbeugen sich, klatschen in die Hände (Begrüßungsform vor dem König, auch in Ruanda und in Kisiba) und tragen ihm allerlei Bitten vor; der eine wünscht sich die Genesung seiner Rinder, die andere einen Mann, der dritte eine Frau usw., und Kiranga verheißt ihnen Erfüllung, wenn sie ihm brav Bier und Vieh opfern.

Nun beginnt ein Tanz der Mädchen unter Leitung einer Vortänzerin. „Die Arme sind seitwärts ausgestreckt, die flachen Hände bewegen sich in den Gelenken weich und graziös. Lächelnd bewegen sich die Tanzenden in Reihen einander entgegen, der Kopf wiegt sich in verschiedenen Richtungen, immer lebhafter werden die Gestikulationen, der ganze Körper neigt sich vor-, seit- und rückwärts in unglaublichen Verdrehungen mit taumelndem Schritt. Der Tanz regt die Veranstalter und die Zuschauer auf. Mit hauchender Stimme improvisiert die Vortänzerin einen Lobgesang auf Kiranga; die anderen nehmen ebenso leise den Refrain auf. Düster und heimlich wirbeln die kleinen Trommeln und Rasseln der Männer mit, die inzwischen dem Bier kräftig zusprechen. Endlich sind die Mädchen müde, brechen jäh den Tanz ab und begeben sich unter wildem Beifallsgetöse auf ihre Plätze. Aber auch Kiranga ist ermüdet und ernennt einen Nachfolger, eine Frau, die mit lebhaftem Beifall begrüßt wird" (Nr. 45, 1913).

Die Weiber pflegen sich auf diese Rolle besonders gut zu verstehen. Die Erwählte setzt sich eine Art Krone aus Muscheln auf den rot beschmierten Kopf; das Gesicht zuckt in nervöser Aufregung. Es ist ein schauerlicher Anblick. Nachdem sie sich ein paarmal mit ausgestreckten Armen im Kreis gedreht hat, läßt sie sich auf den Schemel Kirangas nieder und schreit sofort mit heiserer Stimme haßerfüllt: „Alle Nichtgekommenen sollen Hungers sterben." Hundertstimmiger Beifall der vom Bier und von der Erregung trunkenen Festgenossen. Das Weib schreit von neuem: „Alle Weißen und ihre Freunde sollen unter der Lanze sterben." Jubelnd wiederholt der ganze Kreis die Flüche. Weiter: „Alle Feinde sollen mit geschwollenen Bäuchen verrecken" (also wie krankes Vieh), und so geht es in zahllosen wüsten Verwünschungen fort. Wenn sich der Sturm gelegt hat, taumeln wieder einzelne Bittsteller vor das thronende Weib, begrüßen den „König" überschwenglich und erflehen seine Hilfe bei der Bekämpfung der Hexen und Zauberer, die ihnen Übles zugefügt haben. Das Weib verspricht es und fordert mit Furienstimme zum Bekenntnis an Kiranga auf.

Die Ivisjego springen auf, und unter ihrem Vortritt wird nun ein so toller Tanz mit Lärmen aller Instrumente, mit tausendfachem Fluchen und Schreien aufgeführt, daß am Ende alle in Schweiß gebadet sind.

Es folgt ein wüstes Zechgelage der Männer und Weiber, wobei dem auf dem Schemel sitzenden Kiranga immer wieder zugeschrien wird: „Bleib auf dem Herrscherthron immerdar, König von Urundi; Kiranga ist König." Und danach wird das rasende Reihentanzen und Lärmen fortgesetzt, bis das den Kiranga darstellende Weib selbst durstig geworden ist und einem männlichen Nachfolger Platz macht, der nun der Festgeber selber ist. Natürlich wird auch dieser mit ungeheurem Jubel auf den Thron gesetzt. Und so geht es mit Trinken und Tanzen, Anrufen des Kiranga und Verfluchen der Feinde die ganze Nacht fort bis zum frühen Morgen. Da bricht mit einem Male die ganze Gesellschaft auf, läuft im Gänsemarsch mit Schellengerassel zum nächsten Bach, wo sich alle waschen, und damit ist die Feier beendet, jeder geht heim. Von diesem Augenblick an darf keiner der Festteilnehmer den anderen mehr kennen, das ganze Kubandwa muß geheimgehalten werden. Der Festgeber aber, der zuletzt den Kiranga „gespielt" hat, gehört von nun an zu den bevorzugtesten Gottbegnadeten.

Da zu diesen Kultfesten wie zu allen anderen Festen der Barundi vor allen Dingen viel Bier gehört und dieses nur nach der Erntezeit, also von Juli bis Ende Oktober, vorhanden ist, spielen sich die Feste fast nur in diesen Monaten ab. Allnächtlich, besonders aber bei Mondenschein, ertönt dann in allen Bananenhainen der Lärm der Zechenden und Tanzenden, und wenn es auch gewöhnlich nur Trinkgelage ohne weitere Bedeutung sind, die in die Nacht hinausschallen, sind doch auch oft Kultversammlungen der Ababandwa darunter, an denen lediglich die Bundesbrüder teilnehmen dürfen. Die Brüderschaft der Ababandwa, die zu einem religiösen Zweck Männer und Frauen, Batussi, Bahutu und Batwa aufnimmt, wenn sie ihr geeignet erscheinen (d. h. wenn sie die hohen Aufnahmekosten zahlen können und Einfluß haben), ist auch von großer sozialer Bedeutung in diesen Ländern, wo durch die dreifache Rassenscheidung in Batussi, Bahutu und Batwa, durch die Gegensätze der Eroberer-kaste zu den Unterworfenen, durch die scharf gegliederte Clanorganisation tiefe Spaltung in der Gesellschaft besteht. Der Orden der zum Riangombe- oder Kirangakultus vereinten Ababandwa bildet diesen Gegensätzen gegenüber einen sozialen Ausgleich, indem er seine Mitglieder schützt und fördert, einerlei welcher Rasse, welcher Kaste und welchem Clan sie angehören.

Eine andere Gruppe der zu den Geistern in näherer Beziehung stehenden und von ihnen mit übernatürlichen Kräften ausgestatteten Menschen sind die Zauberer, Medizinmänner, Magier, die unter dem Namen abafumu (Sing. umufumu) zusammenzufassen sind. Dieses Wort ist ein Bantuwort, das auch in Unjamwesi üblich ist, und bedeutet jemand, der magische Heilmittel und Amulette anwendet (Nr. 19, S. 461). Die Abafumu sind die Ärzte, welche gegen Unglück und Krankheiten, die ja alle durch den übernatürlichen Einfluß böser Geister verursacht sind, mit übernatürlichen Kräften und Mitteln angehen (s. Medizin, S. 140).

Der Umufumu ist zweifelos die mächtigste Person in seiner Gemeinde, sehr oft mächtiger als der Beamte des Königs, der Mutwale. „Er ist zugleich Arzt und Apotheker, Beschwörer, Berater und Priester, gern gesehener Familienfreund und universeller Nothelfer. Ihm ist es gegönnt, in die Karten zu schauen, die Imana und

Kiranga mit seinen Gesellen über die armen gewöhnlichen Sterblichen schlägt; seine Augen sind schärfer und durchdringen besser den Schleier der Übernatur, ihm offenbart der unsichtbare Gott seine Wünsche, er ist dessen Liebling und Vermittler." „Der moderne Europäer sieht in allem nur Natur und will sie nur mit Natürlichem bezwingen; der Murundi hält alles, was nicht gerade Wasser und Gras heißt, für Wirkungen von Übernatürlichem, das er auch entsprechend behandeln muß" (Nr. 65, 1913, S. 46). Der gewöhnliche Fall ist der, daß sich das Umufumuhandwerk vom Vater auf den Sohn vererbt. Aber auch besondere Ereignisse oder Erlebnisse können einen Murundi, der bisher noch keine Anlage zum Umufumu in sich gespürt hat, veranlassen, plötzlich das Zauberhandwerk zu betreiben (kuragusa), z. B. unverhoffte Errettung aus Todesgefahr. Dann heißt es: „Du bist ein Auserwählter Kiranges und mußt uns helfen, mußt vermitteln. Suche dir die nötigen Gegenstände, wir werden kommen." Ist nun jemand auf diese Weise ohne sein Zutun in den Stand der Abafumu erhoben worden und übt lange Jahre eine von zahlreichen Leidenden gesuchte Praxis aus, so bewirkt der Erfolg begreiflicherweise oft eine Art Autosuggestion und Selbstbetrug. Um so mehr wird der Umufumu allmählich an seine eigene magische Kraft glauben, als er ja auch an den Zauber Kiranges glaubt und als ja auch sehr oft wirkliche, wirksame Arzneien in seinen Heilkuren zur Anwendung kommen. Dem frommen Glauben mischt sich aber in den meisten Fällen ein gut Teil bewußter Schwindel bei.

Vorzüglich schildert Pater Gaßldinger die Vielseitigkeit der Abafumu in der Erfindung und Verfertigung ihrer Amulette und ihre in jede Lebenslage des Murundi eingreifende magische Tätigkeit: „Kaum ist der winzige Weltbürger glücklich auf die Erde gesetzt, da läuft der Bruder oder Onkel oder Neffe zum Umufumu, er möchte mit seinem isatu, seinem Zauberstock, kommen. Der läßt sich's nicht zweimal sagen, steckt eine gehörige Portion der wunderlichsten Hölzchen und Beinchen in den Sack und ist flugs an der Seite des neuen Erdenpilgers. Die Familie ist reich, da heißt's weit ausholen und große Anstrengung für großen Lohn sich kosten lassen. Zuerst verweilt er lang bei allerlei Schabernack. Ist er damit fertig, so holt er mit andächtigen Zügen die eigentlichen ivilheko heraus: ein fingerlanges Holzstäbchen, rund geschnitzt, mit Butter und roter Erde beschmiert, in der Mitte durchlochert, dann ein paar Fruchtkörner eines heiligen Baumes, die mit gedrehten Strohhalmen geschickt umwickelt sind; ein kleines Antilopenhörnchen, mit Ocererde gefüllt, worin kleine Holzstäbchen und Kuhenhaare stecken; zwei Leopardenkrallen; ein Stück Schlangenhaut, mit Ruß beschmiert; ein kleines Büchschen aus getrockneter Kürbisschale, darin ein Stück Nabelschnur und Haare des Neugeborenen selbst, gemischt mit Bohnenmehl und Asche von Wildschweinknochen usw. Diese 20 bis 30 kleinen Amulette werden dem Kinde um den Hals gehängt. Um die Lenden gürtet der Umufumu ein weiteres Band, woran ebenfalls ein gutes Dutzend solchen Plunders baumelt: ein Amulett gegen Eingeweidewürmer, ein anderes gegen den Biß, wieder eines, um schnell zu wachsen, ein weiteres gegen Durchfall, das folgende gegen Schlangenbiß, wieder eines gegen Hautausschlag, ein letztes, um dick und stark zu werden. Unter Anhauchen und kouvulsivischen Armverdrehungen und unter heftigem Schellengeschüttel segnet und heiligt der Umufumu die einzelnen ivilheko; denn die Barundi glauben nicht an die Kraft dieser Hölzer und Haare und Hörnchen selber, sondern an die Weihe und Salbung des Umufumu, die er in die Dinge hineingeheiligt hat. Diese Kraftwirkung ist um so größer, je mächtiger der Umufumu selber ist und je feiner das Substratum, der Träger der Heiligung, ist. Kein anderer Negerstamm hält so viel auf die ivilheko oder trägt sie in solcher Zahl wie die Barundi.

„Ist das Kind einigermaßen gewachsen und gediehen und fängt an, sich einen primitiven Bogen und dementsprechende Holzpfeile zu schnitzen und sich im Schießen auf Vögel zu üben, so suchen ihm seine Eltern noch kräftigere ivilheko, besonders ein Gegellerhörnchen mit magischem Pulver gefüllt, darin einige Eisenspitzen; das gibt Kraft für die Jagd, sichert die Pfeilrichtung und lenkt tödliche Geschosse ab. Will der Wildling sich dann ein Ehegespons suchen, so hilft ihm dabei wieder eine andere Serie von ivilheko. Nach der Hochzeit sichert er sich die Treue seines

Wachsen und die heilige Gebrauchs prächtiger Gewächse durch weitere Umstände. In Kundschaft und bösen Gerüchten sucht er Trost im Gebrauchmacher auf ganz besonders starken Gebieten, vorzugsweise, wenn es gegen Gerüchten geht. Eigenes Gerücht trägt der Mwambi auf der Welt, besonders hat er in die Gewegnahme des Gebiet gebracht, wieder andere hängen über seinem Bette, weitere sind zur Abhängigkeit verbunden und besonders heiligen in die Erde neben dem Bett eingegraben. Manche Kräfte sollen durch Gebäude gemacht, verschiedene Gebäude durch die ihnen eigenen Gerüchte verwendet haben; bei Krieg und Kampf schützt der Mwambi vielfach vorher auf seinem verschiedenen Gebäuden, und mit seinem Gebäude legt man ihn nach Bad Gruh.

„Bei der Rückgabe des Mwambi geht, besonders gibt es noch, das Gebäude zu halten. Da die Lange wird ein weiteres Gerücht beschäftigt oder aber in der gleichen Hand mit der Lange noch ein besonderer, dem Umsumu gehaufter Gerücht gebunden aber in das Ilpa ein Zauberpfahl eingeritzt. Da die Gegenstände immer abwechselt oder ein weiteres Gerücht. In der Zeit schlägt wird am Eingang in die Erde ein Kurzes Gerücht eingegraben, über den Eingang wird abwechselt einer gebracht, wer allein aber sich die Schlüssel und Schwerter mehr an den Hof Zerschlagen angebracht. Weitere Gerüchte haben wir auf dem Feld, gegen Kugel und Stangenbüchse, gegen Kopfschmerzen und anderen Dingen; sehr häufig erblickt Gerücht sich auf den Wegen, besonders auf denen, die in die Bananenhaine oder gar Zelte führt führen. Gibt man nicht acht, so kann man leicht über die am Boden stehenden, 5 cm weit hervorschauenden, oderver gefärbten Kälber stolpern; das ist eben auch der Zweck, nämlich der Gerücht soll auf dem Weg fallen und sich dadurch als Zauberer (Gebrauchs Kopen verhindern oder unbemerkbaren Gefährlichkeit) verraten." (Nr. 45.)

Die magische Kraft des Umsumu vererbt sich in den Familien nicht nur durch die Blutsverwandtschaft, sondern auch durch Übertragung der den Umsumu kennzeichnenden Insignien, die hauptsächlich in einem Leopardenfell, einem Kopfschmuck aus Kuhschwanz (Tafel 56) und Ziegenhaaren, einem Rasselkürbis, einem Stab mit Zaubermitteln, einer bestimmten Art Gesichts- und Körperbemalung mit hellfarbigem Lehm und Fett und dergleichen mehr bestehen (Nr. 19, S. 461).

Einen besonderen Rufes erfreuen sich die Abesumu der Batwa; sie werden von den Barundi wegen ihrer starken magischen Kräfte gefürchtet, aber auch zu Heilzwecken gern herangezogen. Das Haupt aller Medizinmänner residiert jedoch in Ilpa (Nr. 19, S. 462). Er wohnt in der nördlichen Landschaft Ilpunga und hieß früher Kuvunga, wie einer der Geister des Zwischenseegebietes; wahrscheinlich ist er das Medium dieses Gottes gewesen. Dieser Obergezauberer war eine Art delphisches Orakel für das ganze Zwischenseegebiet und genoß einen so hohen Rufes, daß die Könige von Urundi und Ruanda oft Gesandtschaften zu ihm schickten, um seinen Rat zu erfahren. Auch von den Herrschern Ussindjas wird dies öfters berichtet (Nr. 35, S. 498, 506). Von den Zauberern Urundis, Kissaas, Ussumbwas und anderer angrenzender Länder wissen wir, daß sie zeitweilig nach Ilpa gehen, um von den dortigen berühmten Abesumu die höhere Magie zu erlernen. Andererseits finden wir Baha-Medizinmänner als „Hexenbanner" bei verschiedenen Stämmen des Zwischenseegebietes; auch des Urundiländchens Matuga einflußreicher Hexenbanner ist ein Mahuta aus Ilpa, er heißt Kiburua (Mundi) und ist vom König nach Bukahat (Mitteil. v. Langenn). Alle diese Hexenbanner scheinen Bahuta, Bantu zu sein, was wiederum mit dem gerade dem Bantuhexenbanner eigenen Hang zum Mystischen und mit dem gegenüber der Bahimaniumwanderung viel höheren Alter der Bantubevölkerung zusammenhängt. Eine Zauberschule, wo man von einem „Rat der Weisen" die geheimen Lehren und ihre Praktiken lernen könnte, gibt es in Urundi und Ruanda nicht, sondern die Kraft und Weisheit vererbt sich, wie erwähnt, in der Familie, und wer sie geerbt hat und noch vermehren will, muß anderen Magiern ihre Kräfte abzugewinnen suchen.

Die Tätigkeit des Umufumu ist, wie aus den oben von Gaßdinger angeführten Beispielen ersichtlich ist, außerordentlich vielseitig, sie erstreckt sich auf alle denkbaren Nöte des Leibes von Mensch und Vieh und wendet zu ihrer Linderung und Heilung zahllose natürliche und übernatürliche Mittel an. Die natürlichen Mittel wirkt aber nach Auffassung der Barundi nicht durch ihre natürlichen Eigenschaften — denn was versteht er von physikalischen und chemischen Eigenschaften, von Physiologie des Körpers, von Kausalität usw. —, sondern übernatürlich durch die magischen Kräfte, die ihnen der Umufumu einflößt. Entsteht doch auch die Krankheit gewöhnlich durch den übernatürlichen Einfluß der bösen Geister (abarosi), wenn nicht durch direkte Vergiftung. Zwar gibt es eine Menge einfacher Mittel, die der Murundi im Hausgebrauch nach Großväterrtradition anwendet, ehe der „Fall" so besorglich wird, daß der Umufumu herangezogen wird, aber diese Mittel sind eine Sache für sich (S. 140); hier sei von dem Zauber, den magischen Mitteln und ihrer Anwendung die Rede.

Welcher Art die Mittel auch seien, zunächst versucht der Murundi ihre Wirkung durch äußerliche Anwendung. Auch solche, die nur innerlich wirken können, werden zuerst äußerlich auf den leidenden Körperteil aufgebunden oder aufgestrichen, weil man auch von ihnen eine magische Wirkung wie von einem Amulett erwartet. Selbst europäische, zum Einnehmen bestimmte Medizinen, wie Pillen, Pulver, Tabletten, wickelt der Murundi zunächst in ein Blatt ein und bindet sie sich auf das kranke Organ; erst wenn er davon keine Wirkung verspürt, entschließt er sich zum Verschlucken oder Trinken.

Unzählig sind die eigentlichen Amulette (ivitheko), die in den verschiedensten Gestalten und in verschiedenstem Material, aber immer in kleiner kompendiöser Form am Körper getragen werden (Taf. 55). Wir haben ihrer schon eine ganze Reihe oben kennengelernt (S. 130). Gewöhnlich hängen sie an Fäden um den Hals, oft aber sind sie auch auf den Kopf, auf den Bauch, auf die Genitalien usw. gebunden. Zuweilen sind sie einzeln an Fäden befestigt, zuweilen in Dutzenden verschiedener Art halskettenartig auf ein einziges Band gereiht. Auf das Material, das zum Amulett verwendet ist, kommt es nicht so sehr an als auf den Zauber, mit dem der Umufumu dem Gegenstand übernatürliche Kräfte beilegt; aber zumeist ist das Amulett ein Stückchen Holz von 3—6 cm Länge, schon weil es sich am leichtesten herstellen und tragen läßt. Ferner sieht man Klauen von Leoparden, Katzen, Ziegen, Schafen; Knöchlein von Vögeln, Stückchen von Schlangenhaut oder Wildfell, getrocknete Früchte, Muscheln, Steinchen von auffallender Gestalt, am häufigsten aber Pulver von verschiedenen Erden, Asche von verbrannten Knochen oder von Tierhörnern, Mehl von Getreidearten (Nr. 19, S. 29). Diese pulverigen Zaubermittel werden gewöhnlich in ein kleines Rinds-, Ziegen- oder Antilopenhorn gefüllt, das mit Wachs verschlossen wird. Auch ausgehöhlte Fruchtschalen werden dazu benutzt und sind dann oft mit Draht oder Perlenreihen kunstvoll umwickelt. Je nach der vom Umufumu dem Amulett beigelegten Zauberkraft gibt es Schutzamulette gegen bestimmte Unfälle, gegen bestimmte Krankheiten, gegen Bosheiten übler Geister, gegen Hexerei zauberkräftiger Menschen, oder Glücksamulette zur Herbeiführung guter Ernten, gesunden Viehstandes, glücklicher Reisen, kräftigen Familienzuwachses usw. Reiche Leute, die sich den Luxus vieler, kostspieliger Amulette leisten können, tragen sie in so großer Menge um den Hals, daß die ganze Brust davon bedeckt ist wie die von einer Ordensfassade überschüttete Brust eines europäischen Diplomaten. Die meisten haben natürlich die großen Häuptlinge und Batussibatwale, die ja gewöhnlich selbst gefürchtete Medizinmänner sind.

Ein Beispiel gibt folgende Schilderung: „Der alte Zauberer Nsenge schwitzt, sich auf einen riesigen Stab stützend und mit einer unhörbaren Lunge hervorstoßend, unter seinen Drohen umher wie ein jähzorniger Bänger. Nichts unterscheidet ihn von den anderen als die Zahl von Amuletten, die seinen Leib, Brust, Rücken, seine Hüften, Arme und Beine schmücken. Er ist bekannt als ein überaus mächtiger Zauberer und deshalb noch mehr von den Leuten gefürchtet. Der mächtige Gebrauch, den er von seinem mächtigen Rudepel macht oder machen läßt, verleiht seinen Worten besondere Kraft" (Kreuz und Schwert 1900, S. 70).

Die meisten Amulette der Barundi werden von den Batwa verfertigt, aber auch die anderen Abafumu sind sehr produktiv in der Amulettfabrikation, und natürlich ist diese eine ihrer einträglichsten Einnahmequellen.

Eine weitere wichtige Aufgabe der Abafumu ist es, die der Hexerei fundigen Menschen, die ihren Mitmenschen auf die verschiedenste Weise Übel und Unheil anhängen, ausfindig und unschädlich zu machen. Diesen abarosi (Sing. umurosi) genannten Hexen und Schwarzkünstlern wird zunächst die Schuld zugeschoben, wenn ein Mensch erkrankt oder stirbt, wenn Unwetter die Felder verwüstet, wenn Vieh verunglückt oder von Seuchen befallen wird, wenn Weiber unfruchtbar bleiben, Kinder mißraten, Viehställe vorkommen usw. Oft werden die Aborosi durch Gift, das in Urundi wie in Ruanda gern angewandt wird (Nr. 48, S. 319), meist aber durch Zauberkräfte. Die magische Gewalt über andere Menschen oder über deren Vieh und anderen Besitz gewinnen diese Aborosi dadurch, daß sie sich ein Stückchen vom Körper des anderen, also etwas vom Haar, vom Fingernagel, Sputum, Semen, Urin aneignen oder vom Mist der Rinder, vom Stroh der Hütte, vom Erdboden der Felder, denn mit alledem bekommt er ja auch ein Stück „Seele" des anderen in seine Gewalt. Daher auch die große Scheu, mit welcher der Murundi, wie jeder andere ostafrikanische Neger, ein Bild von sich aufnehmen oder Körpermessungen an sich vornehmen läßt oder dem Fremden seinen und seiner Angehörigen Namen nennt. Helfen gegen die schwarzen Künste der Aborosi die Medizinen und die abwehrenden schützenden Amulette nichts, so rückt der Umufumu dem Missetäter, dem Umurosi, selbst auf den Leib. Durch Inspiration und durch Befragung seiner Zauberrasseln und anderer Apparate lenkt sich sein Verdacht auf gewisse Personen; meist sind es alte Weiber! Sie werden angeklagt, vom Mutwale festgenommen und vom Umufumu, wenn kein anderes Beweismittel da ist, einer Art Gottesurteil mit Feuer, Gift oder kochendem Wasser unterworfen, das meist zuungunsten des oder der Angeschuldigten ausfällt (Nr. 19, S. 405). In leichten Fällen werden die Schuldigen an Gut und Körper gestraft, in schweren einfach totgeschlagen und in den Busch geworfen (s. oben S. 97).

Auch auf andere Dinge richtet sich die Divinationsgabe des Umufumu, wenn es von einem Interessenten gewünscht und honoriert wird. Er ruft durch besondere Zeremonien Regen für die Felder herbei oder verscheucht den Regen, wenn es der Äcker zu viel ist (Nr. 19, S. 443). Für das im Ackerbau so wichtige Regenmachen gibt es besondere kundige Spezialisten, die abavurati, die aber sehr in Abnahme begriffen sind, weil sie für jeden Mißerfolg schwer von den Mutwale bestraft werden (Nr. 45, 1913, S. 50).

Der Umufumu sucht ferner die Zukunft vorauszusagen und unbekannte Vorgänge kundbar zu machen, also wahrzusagen. Das geschieht unter großem Aufwand von gutgläubigem Hokuspokus, indem aus verschiedenen Kalebassen viele kleine Gegenstände ausgeschüttet werden und aus ihrer zufälligen Anordnung der Gang und die Lage der Dinge gedeutet werden. Die Barundi meinen, daß die Abafumu meistens richtig wahrsagen, was ja, wenn der Zauberer ein findiger Mann ist, nicht allzu schwer sein wird.

Keinesfalls darf man den Umufumu, den Medizinmann, mit dem Umuroſi, dem hexenden Unhold, verwechseln. Den Unterſchied zwiſchen beiden kann man folgendermaßen charakteriſieren: Die Abafumu ſind im Vorurteilsglauben die guten helfenden Medizinmänner, die aus dem Banniſuch des böſen Zauberers, des Umuroſi, befreien; ſie ſind die amts- und berufsmäßigen Entzauberer, die Uburoſi dagegen die gelegentlich verhexenden böſen Verzauberer. Denſelben Namen umfumu bzw. murosi oder mulosi haben die guten bzw. die böſen Zauberer in Ruanda wie im äußerſten ſüdlichen Bahimaſhoat Uſipa (Nr. 47, S. 179, 183—186; Nr. 48, S. 319). In Wirklichkeit iſt der Umufumu, der gewöhnlich ein heller Kopf und ein geſchickter Kerl iſt, eine Miſchung von Gutgläubigkeit und betrügeriſchem Schwindel; der verfolgte Umuroſi meiſt ein unſchuldiges Menſchenkind, das entweder durch perſönliche Sonderlingseigenſchaften den Verdacht der Mitmenſchen auf ſich gezogen hat oder, was noch häufiger der Fall iſt, durch reichen Beſitz oder Glück den Neid der anderen erregt. Die größten und berühmteſten Abafumu aber ſind faſt durchweg abgefeimte Verbrecher, die vor keiner Schandtat zurückſchreuen und namentlich deshalb ſo unheilvoll wirken können und ſo große Macht haben, weil ſie ſtets mit den Häuptlingen im Bunde ſind und durch ihre Tätigkeit als Ärzte und Berater in allen Familien genau Beſcheid wiſſen. Das ganze Volk ſeufzt unter dem Terroriſmus der mit den Häuptlingen verbündeten großen Medizinmänner, und niemand wagt, die Schandtaten an den Miſſetätern ſelbſt zu rächen, denn wenn ein ſolcher erſchlagen oder infolge einer Anzeige beim deutſchen Reſidenten hingerichtet würde, wäre die ganze Sippe des Häuptlings oder des Umufumu zur Blutrache verpflichtet und würde ſie ſehr gründlich an der Sippe des „Verräters" vollziehen (Nr. 45, 1913, S. 83—84).

Weder der Umufumu noch der Umubandwa werden von den Barundi zu den eigentlichen Kulthandlungen des Volkes, zu den „Gottesdienſten" herangezogen, ſondern dies iſt Sache des Prieſters, des Kiranga. Obwohl ihr ganzes Leben nur eine Reihe von Erfüllungen religiöſer, in alle Vorkommniſſe des Daſeins eingreifender Vorſchriften iſt, legen die Barundi doch zwei Kulthandlungen eine beſonders hohe Bedeutung bei; ſie müſſen deshalb vom Kiranga geleitet werden. Die eine iſt die Zeremonie des „heiligen Speers", die andere iſt die Errichtung der Ahnen- und Götterhüttchen ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (Nr. 19, S. 498/99).

Die Zeremonie des heiligen Speers wird bei allen wichtigen Geſchehniſſen im Leben des Murundi ausgeführt, wo die Abwehr der böſen Geiſter beſonders erwünſcht erſcheint. Der Familienvater veranſtaltet die Zeremonie und honoriert den zelebrierenden Kiranga; die Verwandten, Freunde und Nachbarn aſſiſtieren. Der Ritus hat ſtatt z. B. bei der Geburt eines Kindes, namentlich von Zwillingen, bei ſchweren Krankheitsfällen, bei Hochzeiten, bei freudigen Feſten, bei Begräbniſſen u. a. m. (Nr. 19, S. 516). Es iſt alſo eine Zeremonie, die von jedem Murundi veranſtaltet werden kann, der die Koſten zu tragen vermag, und nicht die oben S. 124 beſchriebene Kultverſammlung der Ababandwa, die ebenfalls unter Leitung des Kiranga ſtattfindet und ganz ähnliche Formen hat, aber lediglich von dem Geheimbund der Ababandwa ausgeführt wird.

Iſt ſchon die gewöhnliche Lanze des Murundi in gewiſſem Sinn heilig gehalten, da ſie das Symbol der väterlichen Gewalt und der Autorität der Ahnen iſt, ſo iſt der vom Prieſter in Verwahrung gehaltene „heilige Speer" ein Gegenſtand hoher Verehrung, denn in ihm, und zwar in ſeiner Spitze, wohnt wirklich der Geiſt Kiranga

oder Indogarra oder Kiangombe, je nachdem der Speer dem einen oder dem anderen geweiht ist; zumeist ist es Kiranga. Der Speer ist wie jeder andere gestaltet, aber sein Blatt ist zur Hälfte ungeschliffen, schwarz. Wünscht nun jemand, daß die „Zeremonie des heiligen Speers" zu seinen Gunsten gefeiert werde, so ladet er seine Freunde und den Priester (kiranga) des Bezirkes nebst seinem Speer ein. Der Kiranga kommt mit zwei oder drei Assistenten (ivisjego) männlichen oder weiblichen Geschlechts, und die ganze Festgesellschaft nimmt in der Hütte Platz. Der Priester sitzt in der Mitte, in der Hand den heiligen Speer, auf dem Kopf eine Kappe aus Leopardenfell, dessen Schwanz ihm auf den Rücken herabreicht. Die Assistenten halten in der Hand je eine Astgabel, an deren Enden kleine, teilweise mit Getreidekörnern oder Steinchen gefüllte Kalebassen festgebunden sind. Diese Rasselstäbe werden in einem bestimmten Rhythmus geschüttelt, und zu ihrem Gerärsch singt die ganze Versammlung andante und in Moll eine althergebrachte Hymne, die in großenteils unverständlichen Ausdrücken der alten Kirundisprache (s. S. 148) zur Verherrlichung der Geister Kiranga, Rugondo, Kiangombe u. a. auffordert (Nr. 19, S. 517 und 292). Während des Gesanges rafft jeder etwas Stroh vom Boden auf, legt es opfernd vor dem heiligen Speer nieder und klatscht huldigend in die Hände, wobei er an den in der Speerspitze wohnenden Geist Kiranga eine Reihe Bitten richtet, die den Wünschen des Festveranstalters entsprechen. Hierauf zieht die ganze Gesellschaft singend aus dem Haus zum benachbarten Geisterhüttchen (ikitabo) und legt es mit frischem Stroh oder Gras aus. Wieder ins Haus zurückgekehrt, wird die Versammlung vom Priester mit Wasser bespritzt (Reinigungssymbol?) und trinkt am Ende gemeinsam eine große Krule „Opferbier" aus. Damit ist die Zeremonie beendet, der Priester bekommt sein Honorar (Perlen, Getreide, Rindenstoff u. a.), und jedermann geht wieder heim. Ganz ähnlich wie in Urundi wird die Zeremonie des heiligen Speeres auch in Ruanda und Uha gefeiert (Nr. 19, S. 518).

Die andere bedeutungsvolle Kulthandlung, zu welcher der Priester regelmäßig zugezogen wird, ist die Errichtung und Einweihung der kleinen Geister- und Opferhüttchen (Taf. 18a). Solcher Hüttchen gibt es zwei verschiedene Arten: die einen sind die öffentlichen, den Göttern Imana, Kiranga, Kiangombe gewidmeten (ikitabo, akararo), die anderen sind die privaten, den Familienahnen gewidmeten (ikigabiro).

Die öffentlichen, der gemeinsamen Göttervereehrung dienenden Kultstätten werden da errichtet, wo ein Blitz in den Boden gefahren ist, sei es, daß er einen Menschen oder ein Stück Vieh verwundet oder getötet hat, sei es, daß er ohne weiteres die Erde getroffen hat, denn der Blitz ist eine Sendung des Gottes Imana selbst (Nr. 19, S. 253). An dieser Stelle wird eine 2—3 m breite runde Fläche ausgeebnet, mit Stroh belegt und ringsumher mit Maniok oder Fikuszweigen umpflanzt. In der Mitte aber wird vom Kiranga unter Ausführung der Zeremonie des heiligen Speeres ein Bananenstamm oder ein junger Fikusbaum gepflanzt, der als zeitweiliger Wohnsitz des Gottes Imana-Kiranga-Kiangombe angesehen wird. Jeder Vorübergehende legt vor dem Bäumchen etwas ausgerauftes trockenes Gras zur Begrüßung des Gottes nieder (s. Grasgruß S. 95), und die Kranken werden auf dem Fleck niedergelassen, um sich hier von Gott Genesung zu erbitten (Nr. 19, S. 564). Auch zum Erbitten von Regen für die Felder und Herden sollen diese Huldigungen gut sein. Gewöhnlich werden auf oder neben dem Opferplatz noch kleine Grashüttchen errichtet, in denen dem Gott Speise und Trank geopfert werden, oft aber fehlen solche Hüttchen.

Die zweite Art Kult- und Opferstätten, an deren Einweihung der Kiranga teilnehmen muß, sind die den Geistern der Verstorbenen (imisimu oder abasimu) gewidmeten privaten Opferhüttchen (ivigabiro). Häufig wird aber auch dem Gott Kiranga in einem dieser Privathüttchen geopfert; es heißt dann akararo ka rugabo, d. h. das kleine Nachtquartier des großen Herrn (Nr. 46, S. 18). Sie werden innerhalb des Krals neben den Wohnhütten errichtet und haben meist die Gestalt der Wohnhütten, sind aber nur $^1/_2$—1 m hoch (Taf. 18a). Stets sind sie nachlässig gebaut, ja oft müssen einige Zweige oder ein paar Büschel Stroh oder Schilf genügen, die in den Boden gesteckt und bogenförmig zusammengebunden sind. Darunter wird etwas Stroh ausgebreitet und auf dieses einiges Werkzeug zum Opfern gestellt; z. B. ein Stück Imangaholz, das zu Amuletten dient, ein schalenförmiges Stück Flaschenkürbis zur Aufnahme von Speise, ein alter Topf zur Aufnahme von Bier, eine alte Tabakspfeife u. a. In manchen Teilen Urundis, z. B. in Usige, haben die Hüttchen zwei Türöffnungen, der darin stehende Topf zwei Ausgüsse, die rituelle Tabakspfeife zwei Köpfe, wahrscheinlich weil sie dem Geist des Ahnen und seiner Frau dienen sollen (s. Textbild 11). Van der Burgt deutet diesen Brauch als eine Beziehung auf die vermutliche Zweigeschlechtigkeit der Manen (Nr. 19, S. 564), wofür ich aber keine Belege habe.

Selten begnügt sich der Murundi mit nur einem Ikigabiro, gewöhnlich sind es deren drei oder vier für die Geister der ihm am nächsten stehenden drei oder vier verstorbenen Familienmitglieder. Ja, einmal habe ich solcher Opferhüttchen nicht weniger als acht in einem Kral gezählt.

Die Einweihung der Hüttchen erfolgt durch den Kiranga unter der Zeremonie des heiligen Speeres. Während der Zeremonie essen die Familienmitglieder neben der kleinen „Votivkapelle" mehrere Speisen zu Ehren des Ahnen, dem das Hüttchen geweiht ist und setzen von jeder Speise und vom Bier ein wenig in dem Ikigabiro nieder. Diese Darbringung wiederholt sich später jedesmal, wenn aus irgendeinem Grund die Speerzeremonie in der betreffenden Familie gefeiert wird. Es bleibt aber nicht bei Hirsebrei und Pombebier, sondern in „guten" Familien besteht das Opfer auch aus Fleisch von Hühnern, Ziegen, Hammeln und sogar Rindern.

Nach der Überzeugung der Barundi bezieht der Ahnengeist die ihm errichtete Hütte entweder zu ständigem Aufenthalt oder doch als gelegentliches Abstiegequartier und läßt sich dann zuweilen auch als Gespenst in der Nähe sehen. Die dargebrachten Speisen glaubt der Murundi von dem Geist aufgegessen, wenn sie in Wirklichkeit von den Hunden oder Ratten oder Vögeln gefressen worden sind; bleiben sie aber unberührt, so tröstet sich der Murundi mit dem Gedanken, daß der immaterielle Geist nur die immateriellen Teile der Speisen, des Bieres, des Tabaks genossen habe.

Außer den beiden vorgenannten Kultstätten gibt es nach v. d. Burgt noch eine dritte Art, die aber sehr selten zu sein scheint. Das sind 2—3 m große geschlossene Hütten in der Nähe der bei alten Königskralen gelegenen heiligen Haine. Die von v. d. Burgt gesehene war den Manen des Königs Ntare geweiht (Nr. 19, S. 565) und beherbergte angeblich eine große Pythonschlange als Behältnis des Geistes des verstorbenen Königs, die von eigenen Wächtern behütet und gefüttert wurde. Von solchen offiziellen Heiligtümern habe ich auch in Ruanda und Kisiba sprechen hören, wo sie ebenfalls von einer großen Schlange bewohnt seien, die als Träger der Seele des Königs gelte und von dem Priester regelmäßig mit Milch gefüttert werde. (Vgl.

auch Nr. 31, S. 107, 130.) Gewöhnlich aber entbehren die heiligen Haine solcher geweihten Hütten.

Der heilige Hain (imana, iteka, intatenwa) ist schon an sich für den Murundi ein Gegenstand tiefster Verehrung (Nr. 19, S. 77). In dem größtenteils waldlosen Urundi und noch mehr in dem sehr baumarmen Ruanda sind die kleinen Gruppen von hohen Fikusbäumen, die weit verstreut auf Hügelrücken aufragen, ein sehr charakteristischer Zug im Landschaftsbild (Taf. 29a). Sie bezeichnen überall die Stelle, wo einst die Residenz, der Kral (lugo, urugo) eines Königs oder eines Häuptlings gestanden hat und wo vielleicht sogar der einstige Herr selbst begraben liegt. Nach dem Tode des Besitzers wird sein Gehöft verlassen, die Hütten zerfallen, und nur die Fikusbäume, die den Zaun des Kraals gebildet hatten, wachsen ungehindert weiter und dürfen fortan von niemand berührt oder gar abgehauen werden; sie sind, wie die ganze einstige Wohnstätte, dem Volk unheimlich, heilig (= imana = tabu). Es ist nicht Pietät gegen den Verstorbenen, die diese Bäume seiner einstigen Behausung schützt, denn solche schöne Herzensregungen kennt der Murundi nicht, sondern es ist die Furcht vor dem Zorne der Geister der Toten, aus deren Gräbern vielleicht die Bäume herausgewachsen sind, was den Menschen die Schonung des doch sonst so sehr begehrten Brennholzes aufzwingt. In dem Dickicht haust allerlei Getier und darunter die Schlange, die sich der Geist des verstorbenen Großen zu weiterem Aufenthalt auserkoren hat. Der Priester des Distriktes opfert hier zuweilen dem Geist, indem er der Schlange Speisen und Milch spendet.

Daß die Barundi keinerlei figürliche, plastische oder gezeichnete Darstellungen ihrer Geister, Dämonen und Götter haben, ist ein Beweis nicht gegen die Lebendigkeit ihrer religiösen Vorstellungen, sondern für den Mangel an künstlerischer Gestaltungskraft, die auch in ihrem ganzen übrigen Kulturbesitz zum Ausdruck kommt. Dasselbe gilt für die meisten anderen Ostafrikaner. Nur in ihren religiösen Tänzen (s. S. 127) stellen die Barundi die gedachten Geister selbst dar, bekleiden sie mit bestimmten symbolischen Emblemen und erweisen ihnen ihre aus Furcht und Berechnung gemischte Huldigung.

Religiöse Vorstellungen und Empfindungen spiegeln sich schließlich auch in vielen „abergläubischen" Gebräuchen wider, von denen das Leben der Barundi voll ist; meist Bräuchen, die der Abwehr der bösen Geister dienen und die, wenn sie sich auf Speisevorschriften, Körperpflege u. dgl. erstrecken, oft genug dem europäischen Beobachter wie hygienische Maßnahmen erscheinen. Speisegebote und -verbote (umuniro) gibt es eine Menge. Rindfleisch dürfen, wie oben erwähnt, alle Barundi essen; freilich kommt es selten genug an sie (S. 46). Ziegen genießen nur die Batwa, selten einmal ein Muhutu. Niemand aber darf das Fleisch von Hühnern, von Wild und zahlreichen aus den verschiedensten Gründen für unrein angesehenen Tieren essen, wozu noch das Speiseverbot der Totemtiere der verschiedenen Clans kommt (S. 103). Schaffleisch wird nur von sehr wenigen genossen, Fische nur von den Anwohnern des Tanganikasees. Die Schmiede, bei deren Arbeit übrigens kein Weib zusehen darf, müssen sich des Genusses von Schweinefleisch ganz enthalten (Nr. 23, 1914, S. 111ff.). Einem schwangeren Murundiweib ist der Genuß von Fleisch, Bohnen, Bataten, Bier, Salz verboten und nur der von gekochtem Maniok, heißem Maisbrei, reifen Bananen, Erdnüssen erlaubt, während ein schwangeres Mutwaweib essen und trinken kann wie sonst. Verboten ist jedermann das Wärmen und Kochen von Milch, da sonst die Kühe krank werden, auch darf niemand, der Erdnüsse oder Erbsen ißt, an demselben

Tag Milch trinken, da die Kühe ertranken würden, und niemand Milch und Vegetabilien zusammen genießen, da dies den Kühen, von denen diese Milch stammt, schaden würde. Denselben Aberglauben haben die Banjarwanda, Banjankole, Banjampororo, Banjoro (Nr. 30, Bd. II, S. 514, 534; Nr. 19, S. 6). Nach dem Tod eines Familienvaters essen in Urundi die Witwe und ihre Kinder kein Salz bis zum Ablauf der Trauerzeit und schneiden sich nicht das Haar.

Besondere Vorschriften betreffen den Wasserverbrauch. Das für den Wasch- und Trinkbedarf im Haus vorhandene Wasser darf niemals ganz aufgebraucht werden. Man läßt abends immer ein wenig in einem Kruge stehen, damit sich die Manen des Nachts daran laben können, und nennt es amasi y'Imana. Mit diesem Wasserrest wäscht sich am nächsten Morgen die Familie (Nr. 19, S. 6). Einen Fluß darf man nicht überschreiten, ohne sich mit dem Schlamm des Ufers einen Strich auf die Stirn zu machen.

Zahlreiche Vorschriften greifen in das Familienleben ein. Der Vater betritt nie das Haus seiner Schwiegertochter, er darf auch seine verheiratete Tochter, solange diese noch kein Kind hat, nur verschleiert sehen (Nr. 19, S. 6). Eine Wöchnerin darf nicht vor dem dritten Tage ausgehen, da sonst das Kind krank wird, nicht sie selbst. Wenn aber Zwillinge geboren werden, muß eine religiöse Zeremonie veranstaltet werden (s. S. 110), weil sonst die Kinder sterben würden. Der Schwiegersohn muß die Schwiegermutter, die Schwiegertochter den Schwiegervater meiden. Bei unerwarteten Begegnungen müssen die jungen Leute vor den Alten fliehen oder wenigstens ihnen den Rücken zukehren. Es ist der Ausdruck höchsten Respektes, dessen Außerachtlassung eine schwere Beleidigung wäre und zur Lösung des Verlöbnisses führen würde. Im Grund genommen ist es freilich wohl hauptsächlich die Scheu vor dem mit exogamen Vorstellungen zusammenhängenden Tabu der nahen Verwandtschaft, dessen Verletzung als schadenbringend und verunreinigend von vielen Völkern Ostafrikas streng vermieden wird; z. B. von den Wangoni, den Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda u. a. (Nr. 30, Bd. II, S. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). Erst wenn das junge Ehepaar Kinder hat, fällt in Urundi jene Verpflichtung zum Vermeiden der Schwiegereltern fort, aber dafür müssen sich nun die Jungen der größten Dienstfertigkeit gegen die Alten befleißigen. Oft gehen die Ansprüche der Alten so weit, daß die Jungen kaum Zeit genug zur Besorgung ihres eigenen Hausstandes und Feldes haben (Nr. 23, 1914, S. 122).

Mit eigentümlicher Vorsicht muß das Tragpolster (ingata) behandelt werden, das zum Lasttragen auf den Kopf gelegt wird. Man darf sich nicht darauf setzen, denn das würde den Tod des Unbedachten oder seines Vaters verursachen; ein Kind, das sich aus Versehen darauf setzt, wird nicht mehr wachsen, wenn es nicht zur Abwehr des Übels auf das Kissen spuckt (Nr. 19, S. 553). Wahrscheinlich liegen dieser Scheu totemistische Vorstellungen zugrunde.

3. Die Mission

Der grenzenlose Rassenhochmut und Rassenstolz der Batussi ist der Hauptgrund, weshalb die christliche Mission in Urundi wenig Erfolg hat. Die Lehre von der Brüderlichkeit aller Christenmenschen, die dem Mutussi zumutet, sich mit seinen „Sklaven", den Bahutu, gleichzustellen oder gar mit den verachteten Parias, den

Batwa, brüderlich zu verkehren, lehnt er von vornherein schroff ab, nicht aus religiösen, sondern aus sozialen Gründen. Und selbstverständlich wird jeder Watussi den ihm unterstellten Bahutu den Eintritt in eine Glaubensgemeinde verbieten, deren Lehren die tiefe soziale Kluft ausgleichen wollen, auf der gerade die politische Herrschaft der Batussi über die große Masse der Bahutu beruht. Unter den Bahutu aber hat die Mission scharfe und zähe Gegner in den Priestern (kiranga), Medizinmännern (abafumu) und Mitgliedern geheimer religiöser Gesellschaften (z. B. ababandwa), die das Geistes- und Gemütsleben ihrer Volksgenossen beherrschen und über das ganze Land hin ihre vielverzweigten Beziehungen und Organisationen haben. Die Mission ist daher trotz ihrer mehr als 30jährigen Tätigkeit im Land immer noch hauptsächlich auf die Ärmsten und Verlassenen angewiesen, die sonst keinen Anschluß an ihre Volksgenossen haben; wie v. d. Burgt schreibt: „Der Hauptzulauf der Mission sind die Hungernden während der häufigen Hungersnöte und die Greise und Greisinnen, die von den Ihrigen verstoßen werden. Es wäre ein leichtes, binnen einiger Wochen ein Greisenasyl mit Hunderten von Bewohnern vollzupfropfen, denn viele werden von den Ihrigen im nächsten Fluß ertränkt; das Vieh ist dem Murundi viel mehr ans Herz gewachsen als seine greisen Anverwandten" (Nr. 23, 1905, S. 178). Im übrigen sind es nur sehr wenige Barundi, die aus innerem Beweggrund zum Christentum übergetreten sind.

Aus all den angeführten völkischen, sozialen und politischen Gründen werden die Batussi auch den Islam ablehnen, wenn dieser einmal versuchen sollte, in dem bisher dem Außenverkehr sehr verschlossenen Land Fuß zu fassen. Die Erinnerungen an die Kämpfe mit den arabischen Sklavenjägern werden diese Ablehnung nur verstärken.

Trotz der geringen Aussicht, dem Evangelium unter den Barundi einen breiten Boden zu gewinnen, solange die Batussi herrschen, arbeitet die Mission unverdrossen weiter. Wirklich bewundernswert ist solcher Idealismus und solche Glaubensstärke. Lange Jahre waren nur die katholischen „Weißen Väter" tätig, die 1896 die erste Station in Mujaga (Ost-Urundi; Taf. 29b) und nachher weitere Stationen in Mugera (Mittel-Urundi), Marienberg (West-Urundi), Mariensee (Nordost-Urundi) gründeten. Erst 1910 begann die evangelische Neudettelsbacher Mission ihre Tätigkeit in Ikuzwara, Nordwest-Urundi, worauf 1912 die Gründung einer zweiten Station in Nordwest-Urundi folgte.

Auch die auf die eigentliche Missionierung vorbereitende und sie begleitende Kulturarbeit, wie die Unterweisung in den elementaren Schulkenntnissen, die Anleitung zu handwerklichen Fertigkeiten, die Verbreitung von Verbesserungen im Ackerbau und Viehzucht usw., ist bei der größtenteils ablehnenden Haltung der Barundi noch sehr gering. Am meisten scheint noch die ärztliche Tätigkeit der Missionare für die Gewinnung des Vertrauens zu wirken.

Ähnlich sieht es um die Missionsarbeit in den so lange nach außen abgeschlossenen Batussistaaten Ruanda und Uha, während in den dem fremden Einfluß schon viel länger zugänglichen angrenzenden Ländern Ussumbwa, Usindja, Ihangiro, wo die Kasten- und Rassengegensätze das Volk viel weniger zerspalten und es keine straffe Batussiherrschaft gibt, die Mission weit erfolgreicher ist. Nur die Zeit kann lehren, ob sich auch in Urundi die Aussichten für die Christianisierung günstiger gestalten werden; sehr wahrscheinlich wird sie kommen, wenn einmal die Macht der Batussiherren gebrochen sein wird.

Zehntes Kapitel

Medizin, Zeitrechnung, Rechnen, Sprache

1. Medizin

Über die religiösen Grundelemente in den Vorstellungen der Barundi von aller Krankheit und von deren Heilmitteln haben wir schon oben gesprochen (S. 132). Jede Krankheit ist ihm Bezauberung durch einen Dämon, die nur durch einen Gegenzauber geheilt oder gebessert werden kann. Dieser Gegenzauber kann entweder durch den Zauberer, Medizinmann (umufumu) vermöge der ihm innewohnenden magischen Kräfte ausgeübt werden, indem er durch gewisse Manipulationen oder Beschwörungen oder aber durch Talismane und Amulette, denen er seine Kräfte eingeflößt hat, auf den Krankheitsdämon wirkt, oder indem er gewisse natürliche Substanzen, Kräuter, Säfte, Erden, tierische Körperteile, denen von Natur bestimmte magische Kräfte innewohnen, mit klugem Bedacht und reifer Sachkenntnis auswählt und für den jeweiligen Fall als spezifisches Heilmittel anwendet.

Gerade diese letztere Art von Anwendungen möchte ich als eigentliche medizinische Beeinflussung des Kranken bezeichnen, denn das Entscheidende dafür liegt eben darin, daß es Mittel sind, die ihre magische Kraft und Wirkung nicht erst von außen durch den Zauberer hineingetragen bekommen, sondern sie schon ursprünglich in sich enthalten. Ob diese Kraft als die Äußerung einer dem betreffenden Ding innewohnenden Seele oder als Ausstrahlung der dem Ding als solchem eigentümlichen Eigenschaften (im Sinne des von Karutz gelehrten „Emanismus"; Zeitschrift für Ethnol. 1913, S. 545ff.) von den Eingebornen angesehen wird oder von uns anzusprechen ist, läßt sich ohne eindringende Untersuchung nicht feststellen. Für unseren vorliegenden Zweck kommt diese Frage erst in zweiter Linie in Betracht. An Stelle des Zauberers können solche a priori mit Heilkraft begabten Heilmittel auch von jedem anderen klugen Mann oder Weib wirksam angewendet werden, wenn der Betreffende nur ihre spezifischen magischen Eigenschaften kennt und sie richtig auszuwählen versteht. Diesen innerlich und äußerlich gebrauchten Heilmitteln schließen sich solche an, die bestimmte mechanische Einwirkung bezwecken, wie z. B. Massage, Lavements, heiße und kalte Bäder, und weiter eine kleine Reihe chirurgischer Operationen von der einfachen Geschwüröffnung bis (angeblich) zum Kaiserschnitt (s. oben S. 110). Die schwierigen Fälle werden von einem erfahrenen, geschickten Umufumu behandelt, aber für den gewöhnlichen Bedarf hat jeder Familienvater eine Reihe von Hausmitteln im Gebrauch, deren Kenntnis sich vom Vater auf den Sohn vererbt und nötigenfalls auch dem erkrankten Nachbar zugute kommt.

[p.140]

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

Zuerst pflegt man meist nach Wasser, kaltem oder heißem, zu greifen. Man benutzt es zu stark frottierenden Abreibungen oder zu langen Bädern bei Hautkrankheiten, Gliederschmerzen, Schlaflosigkeit, Fieber. Der Murundi badet gern und so oft wie er reichlich Wasser hat, worauf er aber baldigst wieder den Körper mit Butter einsalbt. Natürliche Thermalbäder gibt es in Urundi mehrere, die nicht bloß von den Umwohnenden gebraucht werden, z. B. beim Ort Kisagara nahe der Missionsstation Mugera, wo eine 47° heiße starkfließende Quelle entspringt, und eine andere nördlich von Tschiwitole im Russisital. Eine Art Dampfbäder wird bei Fieberkranken angewandt, indem der Kopf und die Glieder des Kranken nacheinander über einen Topf kochenden und dampfenden Wassers gehalten werden (Nr. 19, S. 183). Viel gebräuchlich sind Klistiere aus warmem Wasser mit einem Zusatz von Pflanzensaft. Sie werden so angebracht, daß erst ein hohler Rohrstengel oder ein röhrenförmig zusammengerolltes starkes Blatt mit einem Ende in den After eingeführt wird und dann der Behandelnde einen Mund voll Wasser durch das andere Ende dieser Röhre in den Darm bläst (Nr. 19, S. 331). Erwachsene bringen sich oft selbst ein Klistier bei, indem sie einen der langhalsigen Flaschenkürbisse mit Wasser füllen, das dünne Ende des langen Halses in den After stecken und dann die Kalebasse so aufrichten, daß das Wasser durch sein eigenes Gewicht eindringt. Klistiere werden angewandt gegen Leibschmerz jeder Art, Verstopfung, Diarrhöe, Fieber u. a. m.

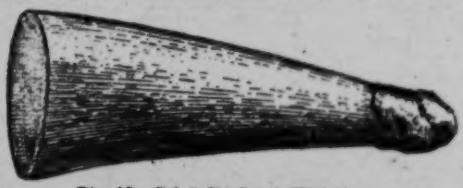

Fig. 18. Schröpfkopf aus Rindshorn.
(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Nr. 643.)

Zahllos sind die Medizinen aus anorganischen, vegetabilen und animalischen Substanzen. Eine verhältnismäßig geringe Rolle spielen darunter die Gifte; kennen doch die Barundi nicht einmal die Anwendung von Pfeilgiften, während die Batwa ihre Pfeile oft sehr wirksam vergiften. Trotzdem ist es wohl neben magischen Vorstellungen die Furcht vor Vergiftung, weshalb die meisten Medizinen zunächst oberflächlich auf die Haut eingerieben oder in Umschlägen getragen werden. Erst wenn diese Art nichts hilft, entschließt man sich zu innerlichem Einnehmen. (vgl. auch S. 132).

Zur äußerlichen Medizin zählt man auch das Brennen der Haut (Kauterisation) an kranken Körperteilen, das sehr im Schwange ist. Zu diesem Behuf schmiert man erst etwas eingefettete Holzasche auf die betreffende Stelle und betupft dann mit einem glühenden Eisenstäbchen diese Stelle, worauf zur Linderung des Schmerzes etwas Butter eingerieben wird (Nr. 19, S. 91). In anderen Fällen tritt an Stelle des brennenden Eisens das schneidende Messer, um besonders starke Reize auszuüben und um zugleich Blut zu lassen. Es ist ein ähnliches Verfahren wie beim Tätowieren (S. 29). Bis zum eigentlichen Aderlaß, zum Anschlagen einer Vene, versteigt sich der Murundi beim Menschen nicht, obwohl er sehr oft die Rinder mit einer Pfeilspitze zur Ader läßt, um ihr Blut zu genießen (S. 45). Aber man öffnet oberflächliche Geschwüre mit der Nadel oder dem Messer und macht häufig in die Haut schmerzender Glieder eine Reihe kleiner Einschnitte mit dem einheimischen Rasiermesser, worauf gewisse heilsame Salben oder Pulver in die Wunden gerieben werden. Auch das Schröpfen ist nicht unbekannt und wird ausgeübt, indem man ein Stück Rindshorn (Textbild 18),

das an der Spitze durchbohrt ist, auf die Hautreinschnitte setzt und durch das Loch die Wunde ansaugt, bis genügend Blut in das Horn geflossen ist (Nr. 19, S. 527).

Vor tieferen Einschnitten haben die Barundi große Scheu, auch wenn sie der Europäer macht; und niemals führt der Warundiarzt Amputationen von Gliedern aus. Gebrochene Arme oder Beine werden aber mit viel Geschick und Sorgfaltigkeit „geschient", indem man sie zwischen flache Holzstücke legt und mit Rindenzugstreifen unbeweglich bandagiert. Ob bei dieser Abneigung gegen chirurgische Eingriffe die Barundi wirklich eine so schwierige Operation wie den Kaiserschnitt an lebenden Frauen ausführen, wie v. d. Burgt kurz erwähnt (Nr. 19, S. 363), scheint mir doch höchst zweifelhaft zu sein. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich wie in Ruanda, Usiumi, Rüsha (Nr. 31, S. 117; Nr. 48, S. 228; Peterm. Mitt. 1879, S. 393) nur um Kaiserschnitt an sechen gestorbenen Frauen, um das Kind zu retten oder es wenigstens aus dem Leib zu entfernen und gesondert zu begraben (J. S. 110, 140). Trepanation kennen die Barundi nicht.

Unter den Krankheiten der Barundi sind ziemlich viele endemisch, z. B. Malaria, Rückfallfieber, Lepra, Sandfloh, aber nur wenige treten epidemisch auf, wie z. B. Pocken und Schlafkrankheit; diese jedoch um so furchtbarer, als die Barundi keinerlei Gegenmittel kennen und anwenden. Van der Burgt gibt eine lange Namenliste vorkommender Krankheiten (Nr. 19, S. 350/51), die aber oft mehrere Namen für eine und dieselbe Krankheit in ihren verschiedenen Stadien enthält. Hauptsächlich dürften die folgenden aufzuzählen sein: Syphilis, Fieber, Furunkeln, Augenentzündung, Bein- und Armgeschwüre, Epilepsie, Krämpfe, Lepra, Band- und Eingeweidewürmer, Lungenschwindsucht (ikihaha), Dysenterie, Husten, Abszeß an der Vulva, Diphtheritis (?), Hodenentzündung, Gonorrhöe, Rheumatismus, Kopfgrind, Fadenwürmer (Filarien), Nabelbruch, Elefantiasis, Blattern, Pocken, Wahnsinn, Zahnausfall, Steinleiden, Paralyse, Stirnhöhlenkatarrh, Keuchhusten, Wassersucht, Bluturin, Taubheit, Brüsterentzündung, weißer Fluß, Blennorrhöe.

Am gefürchtetsten von allen Krankheiten sind die Pocken (akaranda, akandbe). Epidemisch auftretend, entvölkern sie ganze Landstriche, so Anfang der 90er Jahre, als nicht nur in Urundi, sondern auch in Ruanda, in Karagwe und in anderen Ländern des Zwischenseegebiets viele Tausende dahingerafft wurden. Auch gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts scheint nach den Berichten der Eingebornen eine schwere Pockenseuche das Land heimgesucht zu haben. Weniger epidemisch, aber ebenfalls sehr gefürchtet sind die verschiedenen Formen der Halsentzündung (ikiwa), die als Angina, zum Teil vielleicht auch als Diphtheritis, anzusprechen sind und oft schnell zum Tod des Infizierten führen. Sehr verbreitet, aber weniger gefährlich sind eiternde Beulen und Blasen (ikihoro, ikinutsi, amosi, ikivimba), die zum Teil vermutlich mit Frambösie zu identifizieren sind; namentlich die Kinder sind sehr häufig davon befallen. Die Kranken leiden weniger durch Schmerz als durch Behinderung ihrer Beweglichkeit, und da sie die Wunden sehr unsauber halten, heilen sie schwer. Nicht zu verwechseln sind diese Geschwüre mit denen der Syphilis (ikikatschji), die glücklicherweise in Urundi wie in Ruanda noch sehr selten ist. Auch die durch den Sandfloh (infunza) erzeugten Geschwüre sieht man nicht häufig in Urundi, außer in der vom Verkehr viel berührten Tanganikagegend. In Ruanda ist dieses Leiden weit mehr verbreitet. Noch seltener habe ich Leprakranke (umuwembe) in Urundi gesehen, zweimal am Tanganika und einige Fälle bei der Mission Mugera, wo den Lepräsen ein besonderes kleines Isolierhaus gebaut worden war. Elefantiasis (iwamba) ist mir auf der ganzen Urundireise

nur zwei- oder dreimal vorgekommen, ebenso selten in Ruanda. Phthisis soll es nach v. d. Burgt in einigen Distrikten geben, aber ich bezweifle, daß die von ihm ikihaha genannte Krankheit unsere europäische Lungenschwindsucht ist. Bubonenpest, die rings um den Victoriasee, in Uganda, in Kaiwirondo, im Maasadistrikt, in Kisiba endemisch ist, scheint in Urundi ganz zu fehlen, während sie in Ruanda als masseke-Krankheit nicht selten sein soll.

Sehr viele Barundi leiden an Eingeweidewürmern, namentlich Kinder sterben oft daran. Auch heftige Diarrhöen sind häufig, und die gefährliche Dysenterie nimmt zeitweise epidemischen Charakter an, z. B. 1908. Gonorrhöe und Fluor albus sind nach Angabe der Missionare vom Osten her eingeschleppt, aber nicht sehr verbreitet. Selten sind Augenkrankheiten, außer an kleinen Kindern, an deren Augen die infizierenden Fliegen in Menge zu sitzen pflegen.

Malaria (injonko, indurwe) gibt es, wie in Ruanda, überall in den warmen sumpfigen Niederungen, an denen diese Länder reich sind. Ich habe Anophelesmücken in den sumpfigen Bergtälern Süd-Ruandas und Nordwest-Urundis noch in 1600—1700 m Höhe, einmal sogar in 2140 m Höhe östlich von Usumbura, gefangen und Fieberkranke unter den dortigen Eingebornen gesehen und mit Chinin behandelt. Auch von meinen Karawanenleuten infizierten sich einige daselbst. Schwarzwasserfieber hingegen scheint nicht oder nur sehr selten vorzukommen. Besonders gefürchtet sind von den Hochland-Barundi wegen der Malaria die Niederungen des Akanjaru und Ruwuvu im Norden, die sumpfigen Seen im Nordosten und das tiefe warme Küstenland des Tanganika mit dem anschließenden Russisital, während die dort ansässigen, relativ wenigen Barundi großenteils immun zu sein scheinen.

Gegen klimatische Veränderungen auf Wanderungen oder Wohnsitzwechseln sind die Hochland-Barundi außerordentlich empfindlich. Früher, als die Nachbarländer, wie z. B. Ussumbwa, noch Sklavinnen aus Urundi bezogen, rechnete man damit, daß unter zehn Gefangenen acht zugrunde gingen, weil sie das Klima nicht vertrugen (Nr. 14, 1900/1, S. 178); und die Missionare in Mariahilf in Uschirombo berichten, daß sie im dortigen Missionswaisenhause immer sehr viele Kinder aus Urundi und Ruanda haben, die sich nicht an das (keineswegs besonders schlechte) Klima Uschirombos gewöhnen können und fast immer krank sind. Auch den aus Urundi und Ruanda kommenden Frauen geht es in Uschirombo so. Nicht wenige sterben, andere magern zu Skeletten ab. Etwa nach einem Jahr erholen sich viele dieser Kranken, bleiben aber schwächlich (Nr. 14, 1900/1, S. 288). Ich möchte hinzufügen, daß nach meinen Beobachtungen nicht der Klimawechsel allein an diesen Erkrankungen schuld ist, sondern wesentlich auch die veränderte Nahrung, z. B. Mangel an Milch, und das schlechtere Wasser. Jedenfalls sollte die fast in ganz Ostafrika durch die Erfahrung bestätigte Tatsache, daß die Bewohner der kühlen Berg- und Hochländer, wie Ruanda, Urundi, Uhehe, Usambara u. a., den Aufenthalt in tieferen, wärmeren Landstrichen, z. B. in Unjamwesi, Ugogo, Useguha, Küstenland, nicht vertragen, uns eine ernste Warnung sein, aus den Hochländern größere Menschenmengen zur Arbeit in den Plantagen des Tieflandes heranziehen zu wollen oder, wie das Schlagwort heißt, die großen „Menschenreservoire" jener Hochländer für die an chronischem Arbeitermangel leidenden Plantagen zu öffnen. Der Versuch würde in seinen Folgen sich nicht viel von einem großen Massenmord unterscheiden.

Schreckliche Wirkungen hat das Eindringen der Schlaftrankheit aus dem Ostkongoland in die westlichen, niederen Gebiete Urundis gehabt. Die Russissniederung bis in die Nähe des Kivusees, der noch frei davon ist, und das ganze große Becken des Tanganikasees bis nahezu hinauf an den Rand seiner Gebirgsumrahmung sowie die dem See zugewandten Bach- und Flußtäler bis ins östliche Hochland hinein, z. B. das Tal des Mugaruffi, sind vom Träger der Schlaftrankheit, der Stechfliege Glossina palpalis, verseucht. Nach den amtlichen Berichten über die Entwicklung unserer Schutzgebiete 1912/13 liegen die Dinge am Tanganikasee so, daß infolge der großen Ausdehnung des infizierten Gebietes, der Unzugänglichkeit der Bevölkerung und des schwer zu kontrollierenden Verkehrs mit den Infektionsgebieten der Kongokolonie die Bekämpfung der Seuche noch längere Zeit in Anspruch nehmen wird. Von den Behörden sind 1913 3303 neue Fälle gegen 3560 im Jahr 1912 beobachtet worden. Im ganzen mögen im Tanganikagebiet 200 000 Menschen schlaftrank sein.

Ich bin 1911 durch die heimgesuchten Landstriche der unteren Russissniederung und am nordöstlichen Tanganika gezogen und war entsetzt über die Verheerungen, die von der Seuche unter der früher ziemlich dichten und lebenslustigen Bevölkerung angerichtet worden sind. Ganze Dörfer sind ausgestorben, die Bewohner weiter Landstriche sind weggezogen oder von der Regierung anderwärts angesiedelt worden, und die von der Regierung in wohlbewachten Sammellagern untergebrachten Kranken siechen dahin, ohne daß ihnen mit irgendeinem der versuchten Mittel (Atoxyl, Salvarsan u. a.) wirksam geholfen werden könnte. Alle wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit liegt danieder, aller Verkehr und Handel stockt, und die vordem vorhandenen europäischen Firmen haben bis auf wenige entweder bankerott gemacht oder sind weggezogen. Nachdem die Eisenbahn den See erreicht hat, wird man der weiteren Ausdehnung der Schlaftrankheit im Tanganikagebiet mit viel größeren Mitteln und mit besserer Aussicht auf Erfolg entgegenarbeiten können, aber es wird Jahrzehnte dauern, bis die Schäden einigermaßen geheilt sein werden.

Glücklicherweise hat sich die Seuche bisher nicht auf das eigentliche große Urundi östlich vom Tanganika ausgedehnt und wird sich wohl auch nicht dahin ausdehnen, weil es in den Hochländern von Urundi, Ruanda, Uha zu kühl für das Gedeihen der Glossina palpalis ist und weil die Fliege ihre Existenzbedingungen, fließendes Wasser und schattigen Busch am Wasser, nur stellenweise in den sehr überwiegend grasbewachsenen Hochländern findet. Dagegen scheint mir die große Gefahr immer näher zu rücken, daß sich die Seuche nach der nunmehrigen Vollendung der Tanganikabahn auch in die zentralen Gebiete Ostafrikas verbreitet. Sehr leicht können infizierte Exemplare der Glossina palpalis, die jetzt die trockenen Steppenländer östlich des Tanganika nicht durchfliegen können, durch Eisenbahnzüge passiv verschleppt werden, wie so manche andere epidemische oder endemische Krankheit in anderen Ländern durch Bahnen und Schiffe verschleppt worden ist. Wenn dann diese infizierten Fliegen irgendwo an der Bahn im Osten geeignete Daseinsbedingungen finden, werden daselbst neue Schlaftrankheitsherde entstehen. Noch viel gefährlicher aber wird die Situation, wenn die in den Ostländern ungeheuer verbreitete Glossina morsitans, die eigentliche Tsetsefliege, die Infektion von der Glossina palpalis übernimmt und weiterträgt. Schon ist aus dem Süden unserer Kolonie bestimmt nachgewiesen, daß die Glossina morsitans die echte Schlaftrankheit übertragen kann. Würde nun das ungemein große Verbreitungsgebiet der Glossina morsitans vom Tanganikasee her durch

Vernichtung der Saat infiziert, so wären allerdings die Folgen für die Bevölkerung Deutsch-Ostafrikas unabsehbar. Es ist gut, dieser uns von West-Urundi und dem Tanganjikagebiet drohenden Gefahr rechtzeitig entgegenzusehen, um nicht eines Tages von der Wirklichkeit allzusehr überrascht zu werden.

2. Zeitrechnung, Zählen, Rechnen

Die astronomischen Beobachtungen und Kenntnisse der Barundi sind recht dürftig. Die Sonne (izuba) ist ihnen ein wandelndes Feuer des Imana, des Hauptgottes, das am Abend im Westen zu den Wabemba niedersinkt. Diese aber sind Anthropophagen und fressen die Sonne bis auf ein kleines Stück auf, das ihnen entflieht, nach Osten zurückkehrt, dort wieder wächst und am Morgen von neuem aufsteigt (Nr. 19, S. 53).

Eine größere Wichtigkeit hat in den Vorstellungen der Barundi der Mond (ukwezi), denn nach den regelmäßig wiederkehrenden Mondphasen haben sie ihre Zeitrechnung eingerichtet. Der Mond ist ein männliches (oder hermaphroditisches?) Wesen, der Abendstern sein Lieblingsweib, die anderen Sterne seine Kinder und Diener, die Sterne des „großen Bären" seine Konkubinen, die des Orion seine ältesten Söhne (Nr. 19, S. 54). Die Erscheinung der ersten Mondsichel nach dem Neumond wird, wie bei allen Negern, mit Frohlocken begrüßt, aber einen besonderen Kultus widmen die Barundi der Wiederkehr des Mondes nicht. Der Name ukwezi = Mond hat dieselbe Wurzel wie das Suahelimort mwezi; es ist der Glänzende, Kräftige, Mächtige. Daher wohl auch der Name Mwesi für den einen König der Barundi (s. S. 162). Unter Unjamwesi ist eigentlich das Land des Mwesi, also Urundi, zu verstehen, aber die Araber haben bei ihrem Eindringen (1840) nach dem Seengebiet diesen Namen auf das ganze Land südlich vom Victoriasee und östlich vom Tanganika angewandt, nach dem mächtigsten der dortigen Herrscher, dem von Urundi; und so ist er denn an dem von den Arabern mit Tabora besetzten Gebiet des heutigen Unjamwesi haften geblieben, während das eigentliche Mwesiland (Urundi) den Arabern verschlossen geblieben ist.

Nach dem Lauf und dem Wechsel des Mondes richtet sich alles in Urundi, das Jahr ist ein Mondjahr; aber man teilt nicht das Jahr bewußtermaßen in 12 Monate und hat für das Jahr (umwaka) kein festes Zeitmaß, sondern man weiß nur, daß ein Jahr um ist, wenn die beiden Hauptjahreszeiten, die Trocken- und die Regenzeit, abgelaufen sind, und rechnet innerhalb dieses Rahmens nach den verschiedenen Handlungen des Ackerbaues, die zur Zeit bestimmter Mondphasen in der Regen- oder Trockenzeit vorgenommen werden müssen, also z. B. folgendermaßen: Beginn der Regenzeit (Ende Oktober) Aussaat des Mais, Ende der Regenzeit (Ende Mai) Auspflanzen des Maniok; Geburt eines Knaben Vollmond nach Aussaat des Mais, Tod eines Verwandten Neumond nach Auspflanzen des Maniok u. dgl. Mehr als 8—10 Jahre zurück weiß niemand zu zählen und diese nur in der Form, daß es heißt: Wir haben so viel mal Sorghum geerntet (Nr. 19, S. 377). Niemand weiß genau, wieviel Jahre er alt ist, sobald die ersten 8—10 Kinderjahre vorüber sind. Wenn er bei der Erzählung eines Ereignisses von 20, 30, 40 Jahren spricht, will er damit nur sagen, daß es sehr lange her ist.

Im einzelnen aber haben die im Verlauf des Jahres regelmäßig wiederkehrenden, bestimmte Geschäfte des Ackerbaues bezeichnenden Jahreszeiten feststehende Namen, die man Monatsnamen des Feldbaues nennen könnte. Von der Burgt zählt deren eine

ganze Reihe auf (Nr. 19, S. 377); z. B. uratsi = Zeit des Grashrießens (Ende September und Anfang Oktober); umwirima = Beginn der Regenzeit, Beginn der Feldbestellung und Aussaat (Ende Oktober, November); umwirawura = Aufgang der Saat (Dezember); umukurwesi = Mais setzt Kolben an, Bohnen blühen (Ende Dezember); ikigarama = Bohnen sind reif (Anfang Januar); ikidida = Bohnen werden gepflückt (Ende Januar); akataschi = Sorghum wird gepflanzt (Anfang Februar); urunchuma = Mais ist reif (Ende Februar, Anfang März); umunjanjo = Sorghum treibt Kolben (Ende März); urusasa = Sorghum ist fast reif (Anfang April); akawuno = Ernte des Sorghum (Ende April); urukechi = Ende des Regens, Bestellungen des Maniok, Ernte des Mais (Ende Mai); itsi = Trockenzeit, Zeit des Wiertriebens, des Fischfangs (Juni bis Oktober); umuhukura = Wiederkommen des Grases (Juni, Juli, August); akanjabirana = Zurichten der Felder (Oktober).

Den Tag teilen die Barundi natürlich nicht in 12 Stunden ein, sondern in Abschnitte nach dem Stand der Sonne und nach regelmäßigen Erscheinungen des Tageslichtes. Um im Gespräch eine Tageszeit anzudeuten, zeigen sie mit ausgestreckter Hand die entsprechende Stellung der Sonne am Himmel an, wie fast alle Neger tun. Dasselbe geschieht, wenn sie die Dauer eines Marsches, die Entfernung bis zu einem bestimmten Ort angeben wollen. Feststehende Ausdrücke haben sie für folgende Tageszeiten: Erstes Krähen des Hahnes, Beginn der Morgendämmerung, Zeit der Morgenröte, Erwachen der Vögel, Sonnenaufgang, halber Vormittag, Mittag, halber Nachmittag, Beginn der Abenddämmerung, Sonnenuntergang, Eintritt voller Dunkelheit, Zeit des Schlafengehens, Mitternacht, sehr spät, sehr früh. Der Begriff Woche ist unbekannt.

Beim Zählen und Rechnen (kuharura) bedient sich der Murundi der Finger einer Hand oder zweier Hände, nicht auch der Zehen und Füße. Wie alle Bantuneger zählen sie, indem sie die Finger in verschiedener Zahl und Gruppierung zusammenlegen oder umbiegen. Das Zahlensystem ist also das dezimale. Die Zahlwörter 1—10 sind die der Bantusprache: 1 = umwe, 2 = iwili, 3 = itatu, 4 = inne, 5 = itano, 6 = itandatu, 7 = indwi, 8 = umunane, 9 = tschjenda, 10 = tschjumi. Aber ebenso oft hört man in Zusammensetzungen mit 5 zählen, also 6 = 5 + 1, 7 = 5 + 2, 8 = 5 + 3, 9 = 5 + 4. Die Fingerzahl der Hand ist also die rechnerische Einheit, die stets in Gestalt der geschlossenen Faust beim Rechnen mitspielt. Die Einzelzahlen werden mit den Fingern folgendermaßen verdeutlicht: 1 = ausgestreckter Zeigefinger der rechten Hand bei umgebogenen übrigen Fingern, 2 = ausgestreckter Zeige- und Mittelfinger bei umgebogenen übrigen Fingern, 3 = ausgestreckter Zeige-, Mittel- und Ringfinger bei umgebogenen übrigen Fingern, 4 = Zeige-, Mittel-, Ring- und kleiner Finger bei umgebogenem Daumen, 5 = Faust der rechten Hand, 6 = Faust der rechten Hand mit daran gelegtem kleinem Finger der Linken, 7 = Faust der rechten Hand mit daran gelegtem kleinem und Ringfinger der Linken, 8 = Faust der rechten Hand mit daran gelegtem kleinem, Ring- und Mittelfinger der Linken, 9 = Faust der Rechten mit daran gelegtem kleinem, Ring-, Mittel- und Zeigefinger der Linken, 10 = 2 Fäuste aneinandergelegt. Um 11 darzustellen, schlägt man einmal die Fäuste zusammen und streckt dann den Zeigefinger der Rechten = 1 aus usw. bis 19. Für 20, 30, 40 schlägt man 2, 3, 4 mal die Fäuste zusammen und zählt: 2 Zehner (amatschjumi awili), 3 Zehner (amatschjumi atatu) usw. Besondere Zahlwörter über 10 hinaus gibt es nicht (Nr. 19, S. 114/115).

Wenn der Murundi im praktischen Leben mit Gegenständen rechnen muß, z. B. wenn er eine größere Menge Süßkartoffeln oder Maniok oder Perlen kauft, gruppiert er den Vorrat immer in Häufchen von 5 zu 5 Stück, fügt diese zusammen und addiert

die 2, 3, 4 Zehner usw. Über 100 hinaus wird ein Murundi kaum jemals zählen, sondern die Menge sich jedesmal durch Teilgruppen veranschaulichen, so z. B. beim Zählen von Vieh oder von Kriegern oder von Untertanen eines Mutwale.

Ein Zahlwort zur Bezeichnung des Begriffes „viel" oder „sehr viel", wie z. B. 40 bei den Turkvölkern oder 600 bei den Römern, hat der Murundi nicht; er drückt „viel" mit dem Bantuwort inschi (Kisuaheli ingi) aus.

3. Die Sprache

Alle Barundi, also sowohl die Urbevölkerung der Batwa als auch die später angesiedelten Bahutu wie die jüngsten, hamitischen Eroberer, die Batussi, sprechen ein und dasselbe Bantudiom, das Kirundi. Kirundi gehört zu den agglutinierenden Sprachen; sein Bau ist derselbe wie der aller Bantusprachen. Sein Verbreitungsbezirk erstreckt sich über das ganze Zwischenseegebiet, es wird gesprochen in Urundi und mit dialektischen Abwandlungen in Ruanda, in Uha (Ujungu, Ufchingu, Heru, Urugeru), in Ubjidji. Die Idiome von Ufindja, Uffumi, Karagwe, also das Kifindja, Kimuera, Kinjambo, ähneln ihm sehr, und nahe verwandt sind ihm die Sprachen von Uganda und Unjoro (Nr. 19, S. 329). Auch in den Kinjamwesidialekten wie Kiffumbwa, Kiziwa, Kifulama, Kitulama findet man viele Kirundiwörter, die hauptsächlich für Bezeichnungen der Regierungs- und Verwaltungseinrichtungen und der religiösen Gebräuche üblich sind. Die religiösen Geheimbünde (Wasiwesi, Batschwesi) dieser Völker haben eine besondere Kirunditerminologie (Nr. 18, S. 1; vgl. auch oben S. 124).

Die charakteristischsten Eigenschaften des Kirundi sind: 1. Fehlen des Geschlechts; 2. Fehlen der Deklination, aber Gruppierung der Hauptwörter in verschiedene Klassen mit besonderen Präfixen für Einzahl und Mehrzahl; 3. Beherrschung der Satzteile durch die Hauptwörter mittels bestimmter Präfixe oder bezeichnender Silben (Nr. 18, S. 2).

Die Substantive lassen sich in zehn Klassen unterbringen. Gewisse Substantive werden verdoppelt, um die Bedeutung zu verstärken oder um dem Ausdruck einen familiären Sinn zu geben. Wie alle Bantusprachen ist Kirundi arm an Adjektiven, aber es ersetzt sie durch Partizipformen von Zeitwörtern, durch Substantive, durch Gattungsbegriffe u. a. m.

Am schwierigsten ist im Kirundi der Bau und das System des Zeitwortes. Zwar ist das Verbum an sich einfach und von logischer Konstruktion und Anwendung, aber die Zahl und Art der Formen, von denen es Grundformen, Hilfsformen, Bindeformen, passive, kondisionale, kausative, gegensätzliche, einschränkende und andere Formen gibt — über 50 — ist so groß, daß eine Gleichsetzung einer Kirundiform in eine entsprechende europäische äußerst schwer ist (Nr. 18, S. 32—33). Dagegen ist die Zahl der Konjunktiva sehr klein; die meisten werden durch Hilfsverba ersetzt. Da der Murundi auch diese wegläßt, wenn sie nicht durchaus nötig sind, ist die Satzform sehr kurz, die Redeweise klingt abgehackt. Aus einem eleganten deutschen oder gar lateinischen Satz würde ein Murundi, wenn er ihn verstände, wenigstens zehn Sätze in Kirundi machen.

Außer der Kürze der Sätze ist auch die Schnelligkeit des Sprechens für die Barundi bezeichnend, während die Banjaruanda viel langsamer und mit etwas singen-

dem Tonfall sprechen. Sehr wichtig für den Sinn eines Wortes ist seine Betonung, d. h. die Akzentuierung einer bestimmten Silbe und die Höhe der Stimmlage, in der diese Silbe gesprochen wird. Dies gilt auch für ganze Sätze. Der hierauf nicht scharf achtende Europäer wird, selbst wenn er sonst ganz gut Kirundi versteht und spricht, deshalb sehr oft den Murundi mißverstehen oder von ihm mißverstanden werden. Im allgemeinen aber wird die vorletzte Silbe der Wörter länger betont als die anderen, also wie bei uns. Zur Vermeidung von Härten im Klang und in der Aussprache der Wörter läßt der Murundi nie zwei Konsonanten oder zwei Vokale in einer Silbe aufeinanderfolgen, sondern trennt jene durch einen Vokal, diese durch einen Konsonanten oder durch Elision des einen Vokals.

Neben dem heute in Urundi allgemein gesprochenen Kirundi gibt es dort aber noch ein vulgäres und sakrales Altkirundi, dessen Gebrauch beschränkt ist und, wo es gesprochen wird, meist nur bruchstückweise dem modernen Kirundi beigemischt wird. Für die meisten Dinge und Begriffe haben die Barundi zwei, drei oder mehr Ausdrücke, von denen die einen dem guten Ton der Umgangssprache, die anderen der vulgären Sprechweise des Altkirundi angehören, die der Pöbel, alte Weiber und auch die Batwa gebrauchen, wenn sie unter sich sind (Nr. 19, S. 330), oder in den religiösen Hymnen, festlichen Gesängen und zeremonialen Gesprächen angewendet werden (s. S. 70, 124 u. 128). Ebenso gibt es eine „lubandwa" genannte rituelle Geheimsprache in Ruanda (Nr. 48, S. 315) und eine solche „luchwesi" genannte in Ussumi (Nr. 24, S. 57).

Die Haupt- und Zeitwörter des Altkirundi sind in ihren Wortstämmen und ihrer Umbildung ganz verschieden vom modernen Kirundi der Verkehrssprache; sie gleichen auch keiner anderen Bantusprache. Vermutlich ist das Altkirundi die ursprüngliche Sprache der in diesen Hochländern von alters her wohnenden Batwa, von denen sie die späteren Einwanderer gelernt haben und nun teils selbständig neben ihrem eigenen Idiom, teils untermischt mit diesem gebrauchen. Auch die Batwa sprechen natürlich neben ihrer Ursprache das moderne Bantukirundi (Nr. 18, S. 106/7).

Einige Beispiele mögen die drei in Urundi nebeneinander bestehenden Sprachelemente illustrieren:

Wort	Kitwa	Altkirundi	Neukirundi
Sonne	irijotwa	irijotwa	inuba
Mond	ukurabwa	ukurabwa	ukwezi
Leopard	uwuhama	uwuhama	ingwe
Sorghum	ururerema	ururerema	inkoko
jagen	kutamagisa	kutamagisa	kuhiga
schmieden	kunaga	kunagura	kunuza

Auch in Ruanda kennt man, nach Czekanowski, diese Kitwawörter; sie sollen dort einem „Lokaldialekt" angehören. Wieder eine andere Mundart scheint aber die der Batwa des Vullangebietes in Nordruanda zu sein, die sogar einem so guten Kenner Ruandas wie Pater Barthélemy unbekannt war (Nr. 48, S. 131), und einer dritten Gruppe scheint das Idiom der Batwa des Ituri anzugehören, deren von Stuhlmann aufgezeichnete Sprachproben dem Kitwa Urundis nicht gleichen (Nr. 19, S. 330).

Sehr auffallend ist es, daß, soviel wir wissen, die erst vor etwa vier Jahrhunderten nach Urundi aus Norden und Nordosten eingedrungenen hamitischen Batusi

(s. S. 7), die alle das moderne Bantu-Kirundi sprechen, zwar das Alttirundi verstehen, aber von ihrer eigenen hamitischen Ursprache nicht einmal Reste bewahrt haben. Allem Anschein nach ist, bevor sie nach Urundi kamen, ihr Aufenthalt in nördlicheren Bantuländern von so langer Dauer gewesen, daß sie mit der Preisgabe vieler ihrer ursprünglichen hamitischen Sitten und mit der Annahme vieler Bantusitten und Bantuvorstellungen auch ihre hamitische Sprache zugunsten des Bantu-Kirundi restlos aufgegeben haben. Dieser Vorgang ist um so merkwürdiger, als die Batussi bis auf den heutigen Tag mit äußerster Strenge und Konsequenz auf die somatische und soziale Reinheit ihrer Rasse gegenüber den von ihnen beherrschten Bantuvölkern gehalten haben. Nur die Mitglieder der Königssippe, die Baganwa, sollen nach Hauptmann v. Langenn noch alte hamitische Sprachreste bewahrt haben, aber v. d. Burgt weiß davon nichts (briefliche Mitteilung). Auch Missionar Roehl erklärt die in der Literatur oft wiederkehrende Behauptung, daß die Ruanda-Batussi eine besondere Sprache hätten, für einen Irrtum (Nr. 47a, S. 274). Hauptmann Weiß berichtet hingegen von einer eigenen Sprache der Bahima Ruandas und Mpororós, die ihm und seinen Leuten unverständlich gewesen sei, führt aber keine Proben davon an (Nr. 33, S. 70). Künftige Forscher werden solchen hamitischen Sprachresten besondere Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken haben, da man daraus wertvolle Aufschlüsse über die frühere Sprache und damit über die Herkunft der Batussi wird gewinnen können.

Vergleiche werden anzustellen sein mit den nilo-hamitischen Sprachen der Massai, Teso, Bari, Latuka und namentlich mit jener der Nandi im Ugandaprotektorat, die dem reinen hamitischen Sprachtypus am nächsten von den afrikanischen Idiomen zu kommen scheint, da die Nandi sehr wahrscheinlich Reste einer früheren Gallainvasion sind. (A. W. Crabtree, The Languages of the Uganda Protectorate; Journal of the African Society, January 1914, S. 158 ff.)

Auch ein genaues Studium der eigentümlichen Art, wie die Batussi das Bantuidiom Kirundi sprechen und aussprechen, wird manchen Anhalt und Hinweis nach dieser Richtung geben, denn schon dem aufmerksamen Laien fällt auf, daß die Batussi das Kirundi anders akzentuieren, einzelne Laute anders aussprechen, die Silben anders verbinden als die Bahutu. Im allgemeinen schien es mir, daß sie, wie auch in Ruanda, das Kirundi viel weicher sprechen und die Vokale der Endsilben gern verschlucken. An Stelle des s oder ss der Bahutu setzen sie mit Vorliebe ein ganz weiches sch oder tsch, anstatt Munjahaß sprechen sie Munjahasch', anstatt Lanongo: Lanong', anstatt Lubassa: Lubasch', und schwer ist oft zu unterscheiden, ob der ausgesprochene Endvokal ein a, o oder e ist. Auch zwischen r, l und d hört man meist keinen Unterschied.

Beispiele des modernen Kirundi hier anzuführen, erübrigt sich, da wir hiervon das umfangreiche „Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi" von Pater J. M. v. d. Burgt und das kleine, für den engeren Missionsgebrauch eingerichtete „Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi et Kirundi-Français" des Paters F. Ménard besitzen (Nr. 29). Einige Beispiele von Erzählungen, Fabeln, Liedern, Hymnen mit Interlinearversion gibt v. d. Burgt in seinem Dictionnaire S. 96, 292/3, 332—334, 339—342 wieder; ich weiß deren keine hinzuzufügen. Doch seien zum Schluß einige Sprichwörter angeführt, die sich durch gute Beobachtung und Kürze des Ausdrucks auszeichnen (Nr. 19, S. 470):

1) Ivintu vy'ukwibwa viraguma.
Sachen des Gestohlenwerdens (sind) hart.

2) Kukenura n' ukuvina.
Arbeiten ist tanzen (spielen).

3) Ischano irasje ujumunsi, irindi risosa hanjuma.
Unglück kommt heute, andres wird kommen später.

4) Invura irahedsje, isuba risosa.
Regen beendigt, Sonne wird kommen.

5) Infisi iravuga, iraschaka kutwara umyntu.
Hyäne schreit, will fortschleppen Mann.

6) Aravjutse, ari mubi.
(Wenn) er ist aufgestanden, er ist ärgerlich.

Elftes Kapitel

Geschichte, Kolonialpolitisches

1. Geschichte der Barundi

Die Geschichte der Barundi beginnt für uns erst mit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Als die Araber (1845) bis Udjidji vorgedrungen waren, erhielten wir die ersten Nachrichten über Urundi und seine Bewohner, worauf durch die Reisenden Burton und Speke (1858), später durch Livingstone und Stanley (1871 resp. 1876) weitere kurze Mitteilungen folgten. Aber alle diese Reisenden haben nur die äußerste Westperipherie Urundis gestreift; erst als in den 80er und 90er Jahren die katholischen „Weißen Väter" im eigentlichen Urundi von Westen und Osten her Fuß gefaßt hatten, begann 1892 mit Oskar Baumann die wissenschaftliche Erforschung Urundis, an der sich auch die nun auf den Stationen Mujaga, Mugera und Marienheim angesiedelten Weißen Väter erfolgreich beteiligten. Vor allem hat sich Pater J. M. M. van der Burgt um die Geographie, Ethnographie und Geschichte Urundis verdient gemacht und die Ergebnisse seiner in langjährigem Aufenthalt gewonnenen Beobachtungen und Forschungen in einer Reihe wertvoller Arbeiten, namentlich seinem Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi, niedergelegt.

Unser Wissen von Urundi und seiner Geschichte ist also erst wenig über ein halbes Jahrhundert alt. Alles, was davor liegt, kennen wir nur bruchstückweise aus der Tradition der Eingeborenen, und zwar nur des Teiles der Eingeborenen, der erst vor wenigen Jahrhunderten eingewandert ist und heute die Herrschaft führt, der hamitischen Batussi, während die altringesessenen Bahutu (Bantu) und die noch älteren Batwa (Pygmoiden) gar keine Tradition zu haben scheinen. Auch im übrigen liefert uns das Land selbst so gut wie gar kein Material zur Aufhellung der früheren Geschichte, denn es gibt keine Bauteruinen, keine Inschriften, keine vor der Batussizeit liegenden Königsgräber u. dgl., und es können solche in Anbetracht des niederen Kulturstandes der ältern Bantu und Batwa auch nicht erwartet werden. Das einzige, was als „prähistorische" Überbleibsel gedeutet werden könnte, sind alte Steinwerkzeuge, die der Pater Grün in Nordost-Urundi (Bugusi) beim Häuptling Russengo wie auch in Kuragwe gefunden haben soll und im missionarischen Sinn für semitischen Ursprungs aus der salomonischen Zeit (Ophir!) hält, aber Genaueres ist darüber nicht bekannt. Wahrscheinlich ist es alteinheimisches, der afrikanischen neolithischen Kulturperiode angehörendes Steinwerkzeug, wie es auch sonst in Mittelafrika nicht gerade selten ist.

[p. 15]

Aus dem Gesagten ergibt sich, daß die Geschichte Urundis, wie sie aus den vorhandenen Quellen zu erschließen ist, nicht viel anderes sein kann als eine Geschichte des eingewanderten herrschenden Batussivolkes. Beim Versuch, einen solchen historischen Abriß zu entwerfen, wird man des öfters auf Quellen zurückgreifen müssen, die außerhalb Urundis liegen und über den Zusammenhang der Batussi Urundis mit ihren außerhalb Urundis sitzenden Stammesgenossen und über die Wanderungen dieses Volkes vor ihrem Eindringen nach Urundi einiges Licht werfen. Im folgenden sei dieser Versuch gemacht, obgleich darin noch viele Lücken klaffen und noch manches Hypothetische stehenbleiben muß.

Die älteste Bevölkerungsschicht in Urundi wie im ganzen Zwischenseegebiet sind die Batwa. Von der Geschichte dieses in kleinen Stammessplittern über das Land zerstreuten pygmoiden Bevölkerungselementes ist gar nichts bekannt. Sie hängen, wie wir bereits früher zeigten (S. 7), ethnisch und somatisch mit den ähnlich gearteten Batwa Ruandas zusammen und haben viel Blut von der großwüchsigen Bantubevölkerung ihrer Umgebung aufgenommen, während sich die Wald-Batwa des nordöstlichen Kongogebietes (Ituri), denen sie verwandt sind, noch rein erhalten haben. Hier wie dort sind sie im Verschwinden begriffen. Es ist deshalb die höchste Zeit, daß diese, wenn auch nicht mehr reinrassigen, Reste eines uralten Pygmäenvolkes methodisch von einem ethnographischen Fachmann besucht und untersucht werden. Die Hauptzüge ihrer Körperbeschaffenheit haben wir oben (S. 10) kennengelernt.

Die Mehrzahl der Batwa in Urundi wie in Ruanda trägt neben ihrem pygmoiden Grundcharakter zahlreiche Bantumerkmale. Und zwar sind es, wie Czekanowski anführt (Nr. 48, S. 48, 130), Merkmale der Wald-Bantu, also hauptsächlich der Bantuvölker des benachbarten Kongowaldlandes, was sich aus der durch zahlreiche pflanzen- und tiergeographische Erscheinungen gestützten Annahme erklären läßt, daß einst das ganze, heute von Grasfluren und Buschparzellen bedeckte Zwischenseegebiet von Wald bedeckt war, der mit dem großen Kongowald zusammenhing und dieselbe Bevölkerung von Wald-Bantu hatte wie jener (vgl. S. 9). Dem Einfluß dieser Wald-Bantu sind die Batwa sehr lange ausgesetzt gewesen und haben sich ihnen kulturell und körperlich stark angeglichen. Wie jene Wald-Bantu sind die Batwa Nordwest-Ruandas sogar Anthropophagen (nach v. Götzen, v. Parish, Czekanowski). Als dann von Osten her durch vordringende andere Bantustämme (Zentralbantu K. Meinhof), die vom Unjamwesi und vom Victoriasee her kamen, der Wald des Zwischenseegebietes immer mehr ausgerottet wurde, um für andere Wirtschaftsformen Raum und Boden zu schaffen, zogen sich sowohl die Waldbantu als auch die Batwa immer weiter nach Westen zurück und sind nur noch parzellenweise im Zwischenseegebiet sitzen geblieben oder von den wirtschaftlich und numerisch stärkeren Zentralbantu-Eindringlingen allmählich absorbiert worden. Soweit sich zwischen ihnen in Urundi und Ruanda noch Batwa erhalten haben, haben sie nun auch von den Zentralbantu des Zwischenseegebietes viel Beimischung bekommen und demgemäß ihren Typus noch weiter abgewandelt (s. oben S. 9).

Diese Zentralbantu, deren somatischen und geistigen Charakter wir oben (S. 11, 13) kennengelernt haben, bilden die heutige große Masse der Bevölkerung von Urundi wie der von Ruanda, Mpororo, Ankole, Toro, Kuragwe, Uha, Usiaba, Usindja; also fast des ganzen Zwischenseegebietes. In Ruanda, Uha und Urundi sprechen sie Dialekte des Bantuidioms Kirundi, in den genannten anderen Staaten Kinjoro.

In Urundi und Ruanda heißen sie **Bahutu**; in Karagwe und Mpororó: Banjambo; in Ankole, Kisiba, Usindja: Bahiru. Ihren ethnischen Charakter haben diese Zwischenseebantu aber nicht ganz rein erhalten können, denn sie wurden überlagert von den aus Norden eindringenden hamitischen Bahima-Batussi, die sich zu ihren Herren aufschwangen und ihnen viel von ihrem Blut, ihrer Denkart und ihren Sitten einimpften.

Von der Geschichte dieser jüngeren Bantu, der Bahutu Urundis und Ruandas, wissen wir so gut wie nichts aus der Zeit vor der Herrschaft der Batussi. Erst die **Bahima-Batussi** werden die Träger der Geschichte Urundis und Ruandas, erst mit ihnen treten auch die von ihnen unterworfenen und heute beherrschten Völker in den historischen Geschichtskreis ein.

Nach v. d. Burgt und Hptm. v. Langenn beginnt die erste Dynastie der hamitischen Beherrscher Urundis, die v. d. Burgt Bahinda nennt (vgl. S. 158), um das Jahr 1500. Es ist aber, wie Czekanowski nachgewiesen hat (Nr. 48, S. 49ff.), als sicher anzunehmen, daß schon lange Zeit vorher die hamitischen Bahima (Wahuma), deren heute in Urundi wie in Ruanda herrschender Zweig Batussi (Batutsi) heißt, ihre Rinder im Zwischenseengebiet geweidet haben. Die Bahima-einwanderung Ugandas verlegt Czekanowski sogar in die ersten Jahrhunderte unseres Milleniums (Nr. 48, S. 49).

Bezeichnend für die Auffassung, welche die Batussi selbst von ihrer Herkunft haben, ist die nach Pater Loupias in Ruanda fortlebende Legende: Vater der Bogesfamilie ist Lututsi, der „auf Erden gemachte" (!) Sohn des Gottes Imana, während der ebenso gemachte andere Sohn des Imana, Kigwa, der Vater der Banjeginjafamilie ist, die in Ruanda herrscht. Kigwa, Lututsi und ihre Schwester Nimabatutsi (d. h. Mutter der Batutsi) wurden aber von Imana aus seinem „Paradies" vertrieben und fielen in Buganda, alle am Mubafikke in Ruanda, nieder. In Ruanda wohnten jedoch bereits drei große Familien, die Basinga, Bogessera und Basigaba, außerdem die Batwa in den Wäldern. Alle diese Menschen oder ihre Vorväter waren früher von Imana aus dem „Paradies" gejagt worden. Kigwa wurde ihr König, heiratete seine Schwester (Endogamie!) und wurde Stammvater der Ruanda-Batutsi (Banjeginja), während Lututsi nach Karagwe ging und Stammvater der Bega wurde. Später siedelte auch er nach Ruanda über. Seitdem geben die Banjeginja ihre Töchter den Bega und diese ihre Töchter jenen zu Frauen (Exogamie!). Alle Batutsifamilien kommen von ihnen her. (Nr. 28, S. 1—13.)

Die Bahima Urundis wollen von Norden und Nordosten aus einem Bergland Igitára oder Ikitara gekommen sein (Nr. 19, S. 288, 614), und auch die Bahima Ruandas nennen als frühere Heimat ein Land im Nordosten, „wo große Berge seien und wo der Mond aus deren Spitzen neue Kraft und sein schönes weißes Licht schöpfe" (Langheld, Über einen Zug nach Ruanda; Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1895, S. 73). Igitára oder Ikitara ist zweifellos identisch mit dem Land **Kitára** anderer Berichte, dessen Hauptgebiet das spätere Unjoro war. Die verbreitete, schon von Speke (Nr. 1, Bd. I, S. 273) geäußerte Auffassung, daß Kitára einst ein politisch starkes Reich gewesen sei, bestreitet Stuhlmann; der Name bezeichne nur das Heimatland der Wahumahäuptlinge (Nr. 5, S. 651, Anmerk.). In der Tradition der Ruanda- und Urundileute scheint jedenfalls die Erinnerung an **Unjoro** fortzuleben und an die Bergländer zwischen Unjoro und ihrer jetzigen Heimat, nicht aber die Erinnerung an eine viel ältere Urheimat im Nordosten des Erdteils, als die man wohl die Galla-Länder anzusehen hat. Man ist jetzt überwiegend der Meinung, daß die Bahima auf die Borana-Galla zurückzuführen sind, mit denen sie auch somatisch die meiste Verwandtschaft haben.

Außerhalb des Zwischenstromgebietes dürften die nilotо-hamitischen Massai, Nandi, Teso, Latuka, Bari, von denen die Nandi auch in ihrer Sprache am meisten Reinhamitisches haben und als Reste einer früheren Galla-„Infiltration" angesehen werden (Journal of the African Society, Bd. XIII, S. 160), Verwandte der Bahima sein und wie sie Zweige der Galla-Expansion, die sich einst schon weit nördlich vom Victoriasee gegabelt hat und den einen Wanderstrom östlich, den andern westlich des Victoriasees allmählich nach Süden getrieben hat. Schon die Tatsache, daß die vorgenannten Nilotohamiten homogene Sprachzonen trennen, läßt auf ihre spätere Einwanderung in diese Gebiete der Sudan- und Bantuneger schließen (Nr. 38, S. 25). Wie die Bahima sind auch sie hauptsächlich Hirten und bevorzugen deshalb die grasigen Hochländer. Aber im Gegensatz zu den Bahima haben sie ihre Rasse nicht rein vom Blut der umwohnenden Negerstämme erhalten, während sie ihre hamitischen Sprachen und Sitten viel strenger bewahrt haben als die Bahima. Lange bevor die fremden Rasseneinflüsse auf die Hamiten stattfanden, muß eine frühe hamitische Einwanderung Unjoro okkupiert haben.

Schon Speke, dem wir die ersten Nachrichten über die „Wahuma" verdanken, schreibt, daß einst im Norden des Victoriasees fremde Hirtenstämme, „wahrscheinlich Abessinier oder möglicherweise Galla[1]", aus Nordosten nach Uganda und Unjoro eingedrungen seien und dort „das große Königreich Kittara gründeten, wo sie ihre Religion verloren, ihre Sprache vergaßen, ihre untern Schneidezähne wie die Eingeborenen ausgezogen, ihren Nationalnamen in den der Wahuma änderten und sich nicht mehr der Namen Kuschi oder Galla erinnerten, obgleich selbst die jetzt regierenden Könige eine eigentümliche Tradition bewahren, daß sie einst halb weiß, halb schwarz gewesen seien". „Die Fürsten von Unjoro werden Wawitu genannt und zeigen nach Norden, wenn sie gefragt werden, wo ihr Land Uwitu läge." (Nr. 1, Bd. I, S. 272/3.)

Über diese Einwanderung in Unjoro hörte Emin Bey im Lande selbst folgende Überlieferung: „Unjoro bildete einst mit Usoga, Uganda, Ulidi und Karagwe ein großes Land, bevölkert von den Witschwesi. Da kamen auf dem fernen Nordosten Leute mit weißer Haut und brachten den Fluß (Somerset); ihre Zahl war sehr groß, und die Einwohner flüchteten sich vor ihnen, denn die weißen Leute waren valabantu (Menschenfresser). Als nun die neuen Ankömmlinge alle über den Fluß gekommen, versammelten sie sich in Mafuan (einem noch heute existierenden Orte südöstlich von Mrooli) und beschlossen, eine Kolonne nach Unjoro, eine andere nach Gibbe (Uganda usw.) zu senden und sich dieser Länder zu bemächtigen. Die Eindringlinge nannten sich Wawitu (Leute von Witu), ein Name, der heute nur den herrschenden Geschlechtern gebraucht; das Volk aber nannte sie Wahuma (Leute von Norden), in Uganda auch Bachuli. Sie waren und sind Hirten, während die Witschwesi Ackerbauer waren. Als nun die Wawitu immer weiter vordrangen, zogen sich die Witschwesi vor ihnen immer weiter nach Westen; ein großer Teil von ihnen ertrank im Mwutan-Nzige (Meer der Heuschrecken) oder Albert-See, weil sie keine Kähne besaßen. Der Rest wurde zu Sklaven gemacht; aus ihrer Vermischung mit den Ankömmlingen entstand die heutige hellfarbige Rasse. Wo die Einwanderer sich ganz rein erhielten, sind sie noch heute rein weiß, wie in Toro und Gambalagalla; wo die Witschwesi rein blieben — und viele von ihnen durchziehen noch heute das Land als fahrende Sänger und Zauberer — sind sie rein schwarz. Die Einwanderer adoptierten die Sprache der Ureinwohner, unter sich aber sprechen sie noch heute (1878) die Sprache der Wahuma. In Unjoro ist heutigen Tages der Name Witschwesi gleichbedeutend mit Leibeigener, so wie in Uganda das Wort mudsu (eigentlich Bewohner von Mdsu) heute Sklave bedeutet. Ich gebe die verkürzte Erzählung genau so, wie ich sie hier im Distrikt gehört." (Emin Bey, Journal einer Reise von Mrooli nach der Hauptstadt Unjoro. Petermanns Mitt. 1879, S. 182.)

Ph. Paulitschke faßt 1886 die Angaben der bisherigen Forscher über die Völkerbewegungen der Gallastämme und das Ergebnis seiner eigenen Untersuchungen zusammen: Die Orono-Galla saßen einst im ganzen Ostsudan Afrikas. Durch die Ausbreitung der Somal wurden sie nach Süden gedrängt. Dort stießen sie teils auf eine Gegenbewegung der Bantuvölker, teils auf den Widerstand der Massai und Wakwafi; schließlich wandten sie sich nach Nordwesten ins abessinische Bergland südlich von Harrar, während sieben Stämme nach Westen und Südwesten zum mittleren Nil und ins Seengebiet vordrangen. Bei allen Somal- und Gallastämmen findet sich noch

diese Wanderungen. Der letzte große Abschnitt dieser Völkerwanderung vollzog sich seinem historischen Nachrichten zufolge vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts an (Nr. 3a, S. 7—11). — Um diese Zeit fanden auch neue heute nachweisliche Völkerbewegungen im Zwischenseengebiet und hamitische Dynastiegründungen in Urundi statt, wie wir weiter unten (S. 157) sehen werden.

F. Stuhlmann nimmt an (Nr. 5, S. 713), daß eine der ersten Bahimaeinwanderungen, die vom fernen Nordosten her durch Unjoro, Ankole, Toro nach Süden zogen, „diejenige der Ruhinda gewesen sei, ein Name, der offenbar der vornehmsten Familie dieser Einwanderer angehört und von einem Häuptling Muhinda abgeleitet wird". Diese Ruhinda seien durch nachrückende Bahimascharen, zu denen auch die Wawitu gehörten, nach Süden gedrängt worden, wo sie neue Reiche gründeten, und zwar habe die Abwanderung der Ruhinda aus Unjoro etwa im 17. Jahrhundert stattgefunden, wie auch Speke annähernd berechnet hat (Nr. 1, Bd. I, S. 275).

Die vorstehend angeführten Mitteilungen und Ansichten Spekes, Emins, Pauliteschkes, Stuhlmanns und anderer lassen sich kurz so zusammenfassen: In Unjoro und Uganda saßen vor der ersten Bahimaeinwanderung die Bantustämme der Witschwesi. Diese wurden vor mehreren Jahrhunderten durch eine aus Nordosten (Galaländer) eindringende nomadische Bahimainvasion überrannt, deren erste Ankömmlinge sich Ruhinda (Stuhlmann) und deren später folgende Hauptmasse sich Wawitu (Speke und Emin) nannten. Während die ackerbauenden Witschwesi größtenteils im Lande blieben und sich den Bahima unterwarfen, wichen die Ruhinda vor den Wawitu etwa im 17. Jahrhundert nach Süden aus und gründeten im südlichen Zwischenseengebiet neue, noch heute bestehende Reiche.

Dieser Auffassung gegenüber haben die neueren Forschungen J. Czekanowskis zu einem ganz andern Ergebnis geführt. Er tut dar, daß die Angabe Emins von einer Witschwesi genannten Urbevölkerung Unjoros ein Mißverständnis ist. Batschwesi (Watschwesi, Witschwesi) sind in Unjoro die alten Bahima- oder Bahindaherrscher, deren Geistern noch jetzt göttliche Verehrung gezollt wird: Wamara, Mugascha, Kisiba u. a. m. Darum bedeutet dort Batschwesi soviel wie Manen. Dieselbe Erklärung gibt auch H. H. Johnston: Batschwesi sei ein Synonym für die alten Bahimaeinbringlinge Unjoros und für die Ahnengeister der Häuptlinge jener Eroberer; nach letzteren seien aber auch die Priester, die den Kultus dieser Geister leiten und sich im Kult mit den Geistern identifizieren, Batschwesi genannt, und hiervon ist wohl der Name auf die Zauberer und Medizinmänner der Bahimaländer des Zwischenseengebietes übergegangen und hat sich bis nach Unjamwesi ausgebreitet. Bemerkenswert ist, daß die Bahima Ankoles noch heute in Unjoro Batschwesi genannt werden (Nr. 17, Bd. II, S. 588/9, 592, 594). Die Urbevölkerung Unjoros und des ganzen Zwischenseengebietes sind vielmehr die Batwa und die Bantustämme (z. B. die Batonjo und Bafita), die mit den Waldnegern des Ostkongolandes sehr viel Gemeinsames haben. In diesen kamen als eine der ältesten Einwanderungen die Bahimastämme der Batusi. Die Zeit dieser Einwanderung ist unbekannt, aber jedenfalls liegt sie viel weiter zurück als die Tradition der gegenwärtigen Bahimastämme, und zweifellos kamen die Eindringlinge aus Nordosten und verbreiteten sich über Uganda, Unjoro, Toro, Ankole usw., wo sie überall die eingeborenen Bantu unterwarfen und ihnen viel von ihrem Blut mitteilten, während sich ihre eigenen Stämme rein von Bantublut hielten. In Uganda dürften sie im Anfang unseres Jahrtausends eingefallen sein. Mehrere Jahrhunderte lang haben sie in Uganda geherrscht, als aus Norden eine neue Völkerwoge eindrang und vom Land Besitz ergriff; es waren die nilotischen Madistämme der Baganda, deren Ankunft etwa auf den

Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts angesetzt werden kann, da seitdem 22 Herrschergeschlechter gezählt werden (Nr. 48, S. 49). In Unjoro aber ereignete sich vor 18 Generationen, also um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, ein neuer Völkereinbruch aus Osten, aus Bukedi vom Tschogasee her, und auch da waren es diesmal nicht Bahima, nicht Hamiten, sondern Schuli oder Atschuli; sie nannten sich Babito oder Wawitu (die mit Mwitu, Mombassa, gar nichts zu tun haben). Ihre von Emin auf die Witschwesi zurückgeführte Sitte des Ausbrechens der untern vier Vorderzähne ist Schulisitte und im Unjorosprachgebiet nur auf die Einflußsphäre der Babito (Wawitu) beschränkt. Nur die aus Bantu, Hamiten und Nilnegern gemischte Hauptrasse Unjoros, die große Masse der Banjoro, pflegt diese Sitte (Nr. 17, Bd. II, S. 581); südlich von Unjoro kommt sie nicht vor. Eine andere Woge dieses Schuliwanderstromes ist auf der Ostseite des Victoriasees nach Süden vorgedrungen, wo ihm die heutigen Wakawirondo und Wagaia angehören.

Die beiden Invasionen nilotischer Stämme in Uganda (Baganda-Madi) und in Unjoro (Babito-Schuli) haben die dort eingesessenen Bahimadynastien (Batschwesi) beseitigt. In Uganda wurden damit alle Bahima ihrer Privilegien beraubt, so daß sie dort heute nur einfache Hirten sind, während in Unjoro die Bahima eine bevorzugte Stellung als Adelskaste beibehielten (Nr. 17, Bd. II, S. 592). Die neuen, nilotischen Herrschergeschlechter haben sich aber vielfach mit den zurückgebliebenen Bahima vermischt, so daß in den jetzigen dortigen Fürstengeschlechtern viele Bahimagestalten, die aber meist ganz dunkelhäutig sind, erscheinen. Das jetzige Fürstengeschlecht Unjoros, die Bakama, geht zurück auf den Babitofürsten Lukedi, d. h. den Mann aus Bukedi, dem Land der Nackten und Schwarzhäutigen (Schuli), der noch elf Nachfolger gehabt hat, worunter zuletzt der in der Entdeckungsgeschichte viel genannte Kabarega (Nr. 17, Bd. II, S. 596/7). Da der Einfall der Babito in Unjoro, die Auswanderung der Batschwesi aus Unjoro und die Gründung der Bahindadynastien in Ankole, Karagwe, Kisiba, Usindja zeitlich zusammenfallen, und da die Tradition der Bahinda auf Unjoro zurückgeht, so kann man wohl annehmen, daß die ausgewanderten Batschwesi und die Gründer der Bahindadynastien identisch sind (Nr. 48, S. 50—66).

Das Fazit dieser Erörterungen ist also dies, daß die Witschwesi (Batschwesi) nicht die Bantu-Urbevölkerung Unjoros sind, sondern die Herrschergeschlechter der ersten Bahimaeinwanderung in Unjoro, und daß die Wawitu (Babito) nicht die ersten in Unjoro erobernd eingedrungenen Bahimanomaden, sondern die, lange nach den letzteren, Unjoro unterwerfenden Nilotenstämme sind; ebenso die Baganda in Uganda. Ich schließe mich dieser wohlbegründeten Ansicht Czekanowskis an.

Wir haben also nun anzunehmen, daß die Bahima-Hirtenstämme sich auf ihrer großen Nordsüdwanderung allmählich von Unjoro über weite Grashochländer des westlichen Zwischenseengebietes verbreitet haben, wo sie den Namen Batussi tragen, und daß schließlich die in Unjoro zurückgebliebenen Bahimageschlechter der Batschwesi durch einfallende Nilotenstämme (Babito, Wawitu) aus der Herrschaft verjagt und zum Teil nach Süden gedrängt wurden, wo sie unter dem Namen Bahinda (nach ihrem Stammherrn Ruhinda oder Muhinda) neue Dynastien im östlichen Zwischenseengebiet gegründet haben.

Je weiter nach Süden, desto geringer wird die Zahl der Bahima im Verhältnis zu den von ihnen beherrschten Bantu, desto reiner aber finden wir die Bahimarasse,

deren Körperbeschaffenheit im 1. Kapitel (S. 8) kurz skizziert ist, erhalten. In Mpororó, wo sie zahlreicher als die dortigen Bantu sind, haben sie ziemlich starke nilotische Beimischung; in Ruanda, wo sie sehr in der Minderzahl sind, wenig, in Urundi und Uha gar keine. Nach Czekanowskis Messungen wächst der Schädelindex von Norden nach Süden immer mehr. Die südlichsten Bahima, also die Batussi in Urundi, Uha, Udjidji usw., sind Glieder der reinsten, ältesten Bahimageschlechter, aber wahrscheinlich erst beträchtlich später ins Land gekommen als die Bahima Ankoles, Mpororós und Ruandas in das ihrige (S. 160). Schon nach den ersten Berichten des Grafen Götzen über die Batussi Ruandas hat Schweinfurth den richtigen Gedanken ausgesprochen, daß diese südlichsten Bahima den „ältesten und ursprünglichsten Zustand der Rasse darstellen, und daß die anderwärts in Afrika durch Isolierung des Typus bedingte Reinhaltung des Typus hier durch die Steigerung der ethnischen Gegensätze bedingt worden ist, dem Verhalten von Öl und Wasser gleich" (Verhandl. d. 7. Intern. Geogr. Kongr. Berlin 1899, Bd. I, S. 192).

Seit ihrem ersten Erscheinen im nördlichen Zwischenseengebiet sind die Bahima immer weiter nach Süden vorgedrungen und haben sich bis in die Gegenwart auch über die Grenzen des Zwischenseengebietes hinaus nach Westen (Ostkongoland), nach Süden (Unjamwesi und Tanganika-Randgebirge) und Südosten (Ussukuma) vorgeschoben. Auf dem südöstlichen Randhochland des Tanganika beherrscht eine vor vielen Jahren aus Norden eingewanderte reinrassige Bahimafamilie die große Landschaft Ufipa (Nr. 11, S. 321).

Nach Bischof Lechaptois haben diese südlichen Bahima die Tradition bewahrt, daß ihre Vorfahren vom Norden des Tanganika aus einem unbekannten Lande gekommen seien. Sie nannten sich Watwaki, was wahrscheinlich der Name ihres Stammes (Clans) sei. Sie seien aus einer sehr fernen Gegend in großer Zahl ausgewandert, aber viele seien unterwegs in verschiedenen Ländern sitzen geblieben. Nur drei Weiber seien schließlich bis nach Urungu und von dort nach Überschreitung der Berge bis nach Ufipa vorgedrungen, wo sie sich durch Klugheit, Zauberei (Mufimu) und Tücke in den Besitz der Oberherrschaft gesetzt haben. Sie wählten sich Ehemänner aus dem Stamm der Wampika, aber ihre Kinder blieben Watwaki (Matriarchiat!), und fortan hielten die Watwaki ihre Rasse rein von fremdem Blut, indem sie nur unter sich heirateten und selbst Ehen zwischen Brüdern und Schwestern gestatteten. (Nr. 47, S. 44—50.)

Diese Überlieferung läßt erkennen, daß die Bahimaeinwanderung nach dem südöstlichen Tanganika ohne kriegerische Eroberung stattgefunden hat und daß die durch ihre geistige Überlegenheit zur Herrschaft gelangte Sippe durch strenge Endogamie die Superiorität ihrer Rasse bewahrte. Es ist also der nämliche Vorgang, den wir auch von den anderen nach Süden wandernden und sich die Eingeborenen untertan machenden Bahimageschlechtern kennen oder vermuten können. Lechaptois zählt in seiner Königsliste von Ufipa 17 Bahimaherrscher auf und bemißt die Gesamtzeit ihrer Herrschaft auf etwa 150 Jahre, so daß der Beginn ihrer Einwanderung auf ungefähr die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts anzusetzen wäre; er fügt hinzu, daß nicht der Sohn dem Vater in der Königswürde folgt, sondern der Bruder dem Bruder oder der Neffe dem Oheim. Auch dies also ein Kennzeichen des Matriarchates.

Ferner sei erwähnt, daß H. Johnston einzelne reinblütige Bahima auch entlang der Westküste des Tanganika, auf dem Njassa-Tanganikaplateau und sogar zwischen den Bantu des mittleren Sambesi sah (Nr. 17, Bd. II, S. 616). Die Anwesenheit der Bahima unter anderen Stämmen ist auf den ersten Blick zu erkennen, da sie sich in den Gebieten, wo sie die Herren des Landes sind (also nicht in Unjoro und

Uganda), niemals mit den Bantuvölkern ihrer Umgebung vermischt, sondern ihr Hamitenblut durchaus rein erhalten haben. Wie oft glaubte ich bei ihrem ersten Erscheinen die hochgewachsenen scharfnasigen Leute von der Galla- oder Somaliküste Nordostafrikas vor mir zu haben, die ich von früher kannte, und wie oft wurde ich an die Typen altägyptischer hamitischer Herrscher erinnert, wie sie uns auf den Bildwerken der ägyptischen Königs- und Tempelbauten und in manchen Königsmumien des Bulakmuseums so eindrucksvoll entgegentreten.

Unverkennbar sind die Bahima aber auch durch die wichtigsten Elemente ihres Kulturbesitzes. Sie sind Hirtenvölker reinster Ausprägung und haben überall, wo sie hingekommen sind, das Großhornrind mitgebracht, das von den Rinderrassen der Bantu außerordentlich verschieden ist (s. S. 41). Auch die nur bei ihnen vorkommende windhundartige Hunderasse, die Bienenkorbhütte, die Spiraltechnik ihrer Korbflechterei, die sog. Schalenzither als Musikinstrument u. a. m. scheint für sie charakteristisch zu sein. Ob ein hamitischer Wanderzug — der wohl viel älter gewesen sein müßte als die, welchen die jetzigen Bahima des Zwischenseengebietes angehörten — wirklich Südafrika erreicht hat, wo die Hottentotten von manchen Ethnographen als ein mit Bantu vermischter Hamitenstamm angesprochen werden, bedarf noch der näheren Untersuchung.

Das ausschließliche Vorhandensein des großhörnigen Bahimarindes bei den Hottentotten, Herero und Ovambo und die für die Bahima charakteristische Spiraltechnik der Korbflechterei bei den Ovambo sprechen sehr dafür. Hamitische Typen sind unter den Hottentotten nicht selten, und bei den westlichen Kaffern beobachtete v. Luschan etwa 1/8 Proz. Hamitentypen: schmales Gesicht, schmale Nasen, hohe Nasenrücken, dünnere Lippen, hellere Haut, feineres und weicheres Haar (Anhang II zu Nr. 40, S. 252). Die Schnalzlaute der Hottentotten sind nach Meinhofs Forschungen Lehngut von den Buschmännern, aber die Grammatik der Hottentottensprache ist rein hamitisch.

Bei ihrem ersten Eindringen in das nördliche Zwischenseengebiet werden die Bahima wohl meist mit kriegerischer Eroberung vorgegangen sein, wie wahrscheinlich auch früher in den weiter nordöstlichen und nördlichen Ländern. Später aber verbreiteten sie sich weiter über das Zwischenseengebiet und die angrenzenden Länder wohl meist durch friedliches langsames Dazwischenschieben zwischen die alteingesessenen Bantu-Ackerbauer; so noch jetzt, wogegen auch die deutsche Regierung nichts einzuwenden hat. Von Nordosten und Norden her erfolgten jedoch im Lauf der Jahrhunderte noch mehrere Bahimainvasionen in das Zwischenseengebiet nacheinander. Während in Uganda nach der in den ersten Jahrhunderten unseres Jahrtausends stattgehabten Bahimaeinwanderung die Einwanderung der Baganda um den Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts und danach die der Babito um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts sich aus Norden vollzog, und die Baganda und Babito die Herrschaft der Bahima vernichteten, sind in den Zwischenseenstaaten Ruanda, Urundi, Uha die Bahima-Batussi die herrschenden Geschlechter geblieben, aus denen auch die Könige hervorgingen. In den östlichen Ländern des Zwischenseengebietes dagegen haben die Bahima die Herrschaft den Geschlechtern der ebenfalls hamitischen Bahinda überlassen müssen, die heute allein diesen Ländern die Könige geben und mit ihren wenigen, aber starken Familien die Herrschaft ausüben.

Wahrscheinlich waren die Bahinda ein bevorzugtes Bahimageschlecht, das ursprünglich in Unjoro saß und mit andern Clans Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts von dort durch die von Nordosten eindringenden nilotischen Babito verdrängt

wurde (s. oben S. 156). Diese verdrängten Bahimageschlechter Unjoros sind offenbar nach Süden und Südosten ausgewichen, denn um dieselbe Zeit der Bahitoinvasion in Uganda und Unjoro, Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, werden in Ankole, Karagwe, Ihángiro, Usindja neue Dynastien von eindringenden Bunjoro-Königssöhnen gegründet, und der dem Königsgeschlecht der Bajango angehörende Held Ruhinda oder Muhinda dehnte die Herrschaft weiter nach Süden und Südwesten aus (Nr. 48, S. 54). Seine Nachkommen, die Bahinda, bilden mit den Bajango denselben Clan und dürfen deshalb einander nicht heiraten (Oberl. Richter, Der Bezirk Bukoba, Mitt. Deut. Schutzgeb. 1899, S. 69). Die Bahinda sind also höchstwahrscheinlich eine jüngere, kleinere, aber kriegerische Hamiteninvasion, ein vornehmes zahlreiches Bahimageschlecht, das, aus Unjoro verdrängt, sich neue Herrschafts- und Weidegebiete im mittlern und südlichen Zwischenseengebiet eroberte und sich in den Ländern Toro, Ankole, Mpororó, Karagwe, Kisiba, Ost-Ussuwi, Usindja, wo teilweise schon die älteren Hamiteneinwanderungen der Bahima-Batussi zu Besitz und Herrschaft über die einheimische Bantubevölkerung gelangt waren, zu despotischen Königs- und Fürstengeschlechtern aufschwang. Überall, wo Bahinda herrschen, ziehen ihre Geschlechter scharfe soziale Grenzen zwischen sich und der Menge der gewöhnlichen Batussi, über denen sie sich hoch erhaben dünken, wiewohl sie jene als blutsverwandte Rasse, als Adel gegenüber der Plebs der Bahutu und Batwa anerkennen und privilegieren. Nach der Clantabelle Czekanowskis gibt es Bahinda in Unjoro, Toro, Ankole, Mpororó, Kjamtwara, und später fügt er hinzu: Buhaja, Ihángiro, Karagwe, Ost-Ussuwi, Busindja (Nr. 48, S. 42). In Ankole wird der Königsclan der Abahinda ausdrücklich auf den dortigen ersten Bahimastammkönig Ruhinda zurückgeführt (Nr. 27, S. 97, 99).

Aber weder in Ruanda noch in Urundi kommt der Clan der Bahinda vor. Zwar bezeichnet v. d. Burgt die Könige von Urundi als „Wahinda" und führt als ersten Urundikönig einen Ruhinda an, aber weder kommt dieser Name je wieder in der späteren Königsliste vor, noch wissen andere Landeskenner etwas von Bahinda in Urundi. Hauptmann v. Langem-Steinkeller erklärte mir ausdrücklich, daß es in Urundi keine Bahinda gebe, sondern daß alle Könige dem Geschlecht der Baganwa oder Abaganwa angehören. Das wird auch von andern Kennern bestätigt, z. B. Hauptmann Goering (Deutsch. Kol.-Blatt 1911, S. 552), und so habe ich es im Land selbst wiederholt von den Eingeborenen gehört. Es scheint also in diesem Fall bei v. d. Burgt ein Irrtum vorzuliegen, was ich auch deshalb annehme, weil er sonst gar nichts weiter über die Bahinda mitteilt, als daß sie eine „race dynastique, superbe, noble" seien (Nr. 19, S. 4, 629). Auch seine Angabe, daß die Bahinda wie in Urundi so auch in Ruanda regieren, trifft nicht zu, denn auch in Ruanda gibt es keine Bahinda, sondern die dortigen Könige gehören dem edlen Bahimageschlecht der Banjeginja an. Desgleichen schreibt Pater van Thiel, daß der Ruandakönig kein Muhinda, sondern wahrscheinlich ein Mutussi sei (Nr. 35, S. 517). Nach einer neuern brieflichen Mitteilung v. d. Burgts an mich ist „Wahinda" in Urundi keine ethnische Bezeichnung, sondern ein „Ehrenname, der am besten durch Herrscher, Beschützer oder Eroberer wiedergegeben ist. Auch der Sultan von Usámbiro, dessen Dynastie sicher aus Unjoro stammt, und seine Verwandten nennen sich Wahinda, die Frauen Wahindakasi. Die Waganwa Urundis nennen sich selbst aber nie Wahinda".

Am wahrscheinlichsten ist es mir, daß die Bahinda ihre um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts beginnenden Eroberungszüge niemals bis nach Ruanda, Urundi und Uha

ausgedehnt haben. Die Bewohner dieser, damals wohl schon großenteils von älteren Batussieinwanderern besetzten und beherrschten großen Länder werden den Bahinda zu kriegerisch gewesen sein, oder wenn sie eine Invasion versucht haben sollten, sind sie vermutlich mit blutigen Köpfen zurückgeschlagen worden. Ich halte es daher für sicher, daß die herrschenden Geschlechter Ruandas, Urundis und Uhas reine Bahima der älteren Einwanderung sind, ebenso wie die Mehrzahl der dem Königsgeschlecht nicht angehörenden Batussi. Über die Königsgeschichte wird nachher mehr zu sagen sein (S. 163, 180).

Die Ausbreitung der Batussi über die großen Hochländer zwischen den Seen wird wohl in der Hauptsache so vor sich gegangen sein, daß die jüngeren Einwanderungen sich an den bereits festgesetzten älteren vorbeigeschoben haben und so in immer weiter südliche Gebiete vorgedrungen sind, oder daß die jüngeren Generationen der sich stark vermehrenden Ansässigen nicht mehr genug Raum in der Heimat fanden und deshalb in die noch nicht oder wenig von Batussi okkupierten südlicheren Länder sich ausbreiteten. Demzufolge wären also die südlichsten Batussistaaten die jüngsten. Oft wird es aber auch zu blutigen Kämpfen zwischen den Altangesessenen und den Neuankömmlingen gekommen sein, infolge deren dann und wann die Älteren vor den aus Norden eindringenden Jüngeren nach Süden auswichen. Dies nimmt auch v. d. Burgt für Urundi an (briefliche Mitteilung). Dann sind zwar die südlicheren Ansiedlungen und Staatenbildungen jünger als die nördlichen, aber ihre Menschen gehören den älteren Einwanderergenerationen des Zwischenseengebietes an (vgl. S. 158). In allen Fällen wird der Grund für alle diese Wanderungen der Batussihirten der Expansionstrieb wegen starker Volksvermehrung und damit im Zusammenhang die Suche nach neuen Weidegebieten für das Vieh gewesen sein und noch sein.

Sehr auffallend ist es, wie ganz anders sich die Bahima bei ihren Verbreitungen zu den von ihnen unterworfenen alteingesessenen Bantuvölkern verhalten haben als andere erobernde Wanderstämme Afrikas. Für afrikanische Auswanderer im allgemeinen nimmt v. Luschan an, daß, wenn sie fortzogen, um sich unter einem fremden Volk eine neue Heimat zu suchen, „es in der Regel ausgesucht kräftige, vielleicht überwiegend junge Leute sind. Sie brechen die Brücken hinter sich ab und befinden sich im neuen Land den alten Bewohnern gegenüber numerisch in der Minderheit. Gewöhnlich haben sie nur wenige oder gar keine Frauen mitgeführt. Infolgedessen nähern sie sich in ihren körperlichen Eigenschaften allmählich den neuen Nachbarn an. Die geistigen Eigenschaften werden aber von der neuen Umwelt nicht beeinflußt, sondern im Kampf derselben siegt immer die bessere: also die bessere Sprache, die bessere Religion, die bessere Schrift usw. So haben sich z. B. die hamitischen Massai körperlich den Ostsudanesen und Niloten angeglichen, aber in der Sprache und geistigen Kultur sind sie hamitisch geblieben. Anders die Bahima. Diese waren von vornherein streng auf Reinhaltung ihres Blutes bedacht und haben fast niemals einheimisch Frauen in ihre Sippen aufgenommen (weil sie selbst genug hamitische Weiber aus der Urheimat mitgenommen hatten). Daher hat sich ihr alter Typus vielfach wunderbar rein erhalten. Viele sehen wie alte Ägypter aus; als wären alte Pharaonen aus ihren Gräbern auferstanden. Aber überall haben sie die Sprache ihrer Bantuuntertanen angenommen. Die alte Sprache scheint restlos verschwunden zu sein." (Nr. 40, Anhang II, S. 247 bis 251.)

Auf welchen Zugstraßen die Einwanderungen der Batussi nach Ruanda, Urundi und Uha sich vollzogen haben, ist nicht mehr festzustellen. Sie aus den jetzigen stärksten Ansammlungen von Batussi in verschiedenen Landschaften rekonstruieren zu wollen, wie es Czekanowski tut (Nr. 48, S. 123), scheint mir gewagt, da die Verteilung der Familien im Lande schon seit langer Zeit ganz abhängig davon ist,

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

wie und wo diese und jene Familie vom König mit Land belehnt wurde oder wird. Aus diesem Grunde kann auch die Verteilung und Verbreitung der verschiedenen Clans im Zwischenseengebiet nur für die Wanderungen von Staat zu Staat, vom Herrschaftsbereich des einen Königs zu dem des andern Anhalte und Aufschlüsse geben, nicht aber für die freiwillige Ausbreitung in einem bestimmten Staat (Ruanda oder Urundi oder Uha), da innerhalb seiner Landesgrenzen der König willkürlich über die Verteilung der Clans resp. der zu einem Clan gehörenden Familien bestimmt. Im allgemeinen wird man annehmen können, daß die von Norden nach Süden vordringenden Wanderzüge sich auf Bahnen bewegt haben, wo sie die geringsten Widerstände bei den Menschen und in der natürlichen Landesbeschaffenheit fanden, und wo es für ihre Rinderherden, an deren Existenz sie als reine Hirtenvölker gebunden waren, genug Futter gab. Das werden zuerst die Landstriche östlich und westlich vom mittleren Kagera, also das östliche, niedere Ruanda, Kissaka, Karagwe, Uhimba, Ussuwi, Ujungu, Nord-Uha gewesen sein, wo die Einwanderer offenes Land ohne schwierige Gebirge, leichte Übergänge über die Flüsse und allerwärts gute Weide für die Rinderherden fanden. Uha, obwohl weit südlich gelegen, dürfte in diesem Zug der frühen Bahimawanderungen schon mit am ersten von Batussi besetzt worden sein, weil es eben unschwer zu erreichen war.

Erst von dieser östlichen Achse aus werden die Batussi in Nordost-Südwest- und in Ost-West-Richtung, wie die wenigen Überlieferungen sagen, sich in die bergigen, von Bächen und Flüssen stark zerschnittenen Länder von Hoch-Ruanda und Hoch-Urundi vorgeschoben haben. Je weiter nach Westen, um so langsamer wird dies gegangen sein, weil dort noch weite Gebiete vom Urwald bestanden waren; aber mit ihrem Eindringen wird sich die Waldrodung durch die unterjochten ackerbauenden Bahutu doppelt schnell vollzogen haben, weil nun auch immer größere Weideflächen für die Herden der Eroberer geschaffen werden mußten. An Stelle des Waldes trat Grasland. Den Endverlauf dieses Prozesses, den Schlußakt des Waldverwüstungsdramas, sieht man gegenwärtig auf dem Randgebirge von West-Ruanda und Nordwest-Urundi sich abspielen, wo die letzten Reste des herrlichen alten Urwaldes in wenigen Jahrzehnten verschwunden sein werden, wenn sie unsere Regierung nicht zu Reservaten erklärt und die Häuptlinge für den Waldschutz verantwortlich macht.

Von Zentral-Ruanda aus scheint die Expansion der Batussi erst vor wenigen Generationen nach Nord-Ruanda in das Gebiet der Virungavulkane und ein Stück darüber hinaus gelangt zu sein, und ebenso von West-Ruanda und Nordwest-Urundi aus über den zentralafrikanischen Graben westwärts in die Grenzregionen der Kongokolonie. Noch im Mbogaland auf der Westseite des Semliki und an mehreren Stellen der Westküste des Albertsees gibt es Bahima (Nr. 17, Bd. II, S. 610); in den grasigen Baleggabergen auf dem Südwestrand des Albertsees sind die Häuptlinge Bahima wie die Aristokratie in Unjoro und seinen südlichen Nachbarländern (Bright, Geogr. Journ. 1909, Bd. 34, S. 140). Aber diese Bahimageschlechter am Albertsee entstammen nicht der von Ruanda aus nach Norden und Nordwesten vordringenden Völkerwelle, sondern einer älteren Strömung, die direkt aus Nordosten und Osten dorthin gekommen ist.

In den oben bezeichneten Außensäumen ihres von Ruanda ausstrahlenden südlichen Verbreitungsgebietes sitzen dagegen die Bahima-Batussi nur vereinzelt oder

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

in verstreuten geschlossenen Dörfern als Viehzüchter neben der Menge der ackerbauenden Bantubevölkerung (Nr. 22, S. 456) und keineswegs als Herrscher oder als dominierende Adelskaste, sondern eigentlich als geduldete Fremdlinge, von deren Viehzucht die Ackerbauer mancherlei Nutzen haben. Für den Ruandakönig sind die Grenzgebiete seines Reiches ein Gegenstand beständiger Sorge, denn immer ist die dortige Bantubevölkerung aufsässig gegen die Batussibeamten (Batwale) des Königs, und Mord und Totschlag ist an der Tagesordnung. Sowohl im Norden, im Gebiet der Virungavulkane, besonders in der Landschaft Mulera, als auch im Randgebirge des Westens sind die Batussi noch dünn gesät und steht die Herrschaft des Ruandakönigs Musinga noch auf schwachen Füßen.

Ähnlich ist es mit der Batussiherrschaft in den Grenzgebieten Urundis bestellt. In Nordwest-Urundi hat sich der Häuptling Kilima seit langen Jahren erfolgreich gegen die Ausbreitung der Batussi und gegen die Machtansprüche des Königs von Urundi, früher Kisabo, jetzt Mutaga, gewehrt. Kilima soll zwar königliches Blut in sich haben, denn er sei ein Sohn Kihanamasangos und damit ein Enkel des Urundikönigs Ntare III., aber seine Mutter war eine Bantufrau aus Unjambungu, westlich vom Russisigraben, und er selbst hat von ihr ganz den Bantutypus geerbt (vgl. unten S. 188 und Taf. 17). Bei der Thronfolge seines Onkels Kisabo nach Unjambungu vertrieben, wuchs er in Bantuanschauungen und in Bantuhaß gegen die Batussi und die Sippe des Urundikönigs auf, so daß er, als er erwachsen mit einem starken Banjambungugefolge nach dem heimatlichen Nordwest-Urundi zurückkehrte, dort im Grenzgebiet bei den Bahutu schnell Anhang gewann und in kurzem alle vorhandenen Batussi niedermachte, weshalb er den Namen „Batussischlächter" bekam. Heute gibt es in seinem Land, das sich vom oberen Akanjaru (Urundi-Ruanda-Grenze) süd- und westwärts bis über den oberen Ruwuvu erstreckt, nur noch zwei oder drei Batussifamilien, die mit Kilima verschwägert sind; alle andern sind ausgerottet. (Briefliche Mitteilung des Hauptmanns v. Langenn.)

Wie in der für unsere Kenntnis historischen Zeit der Bahimageschichte, so wird sich wohl auch in den vorausgegangenen Zeiten die Ausbreitung der Bahima im Zwischenseengebiet teils friedlich, teils kriegerisch vollzogen haben; kriegerisch wahrscheinlich immer dann, wenn ein energischer Bahimafürst aus dem Bedürfnis dynastischer Machterweiterung seinen Anhängern und Lehnsleuten neuen Boden zu verschaffen bestrebt war. Eine wirkliche planvolle Eroberungspolitik trieben aber erst die großen, zu absoluten, despotischen Herrschern gewordenen Könige von Ruanda und Urundi.

An der Spitze des Herrschergeschlechtes, d. h. des Baganwa-Clans, von Urundi steht nach der unten (S. 194) wiedergegebenen Tabelle v. d. Burgts (Tabelle M) der sagenhafte Ruhinda, ca. 1500 bis 1530. Ihm folgen in steter Wiederholung die Königsnamen Ntare (= Löwe), Muwesi (= der Leuchtende, Mond), Mutaga (= der Morgen, aufgehende Sonne), Muwambutsa (= Furt?). Nach Hauptmann v. Langenn ist die immer gleichbleibende Reihenfolge der Königsnamen: Mutaga, Muwambutsa, Ntare, Muwesi; aber von einem Dynastiegründer Ruhinda in Urundi weiß v. Langenn nichts. Beide Angaben decken sich bezüglich der Aufeinanderfolge der Könige, müssen aber, da sie innerhalb derselben mit verschiedenen Namen beginnen, auch verschiedene Lebens- und Regierungszeiten der einzelnen Könige annehmen. Für diese halte ich mich an v. d. Burgt, da er seine Genealogie mit vielen Details zu stützen weiß. Die von

Czekanowski für die Bahimastaaten Ankole, Kisiba, Karagwe, Ihángiro, Kjamwara, Kjanja, Ost-Usfuwi, Usindja aufgestellten genealogischen Tabellen (Nr. 48, S. 67—70) enthalten für Urundi nichts.

Alle von Czekanowski angeführten Stammbäume der Bahindaherrscher werden eröffnet von Ruhinda I., worauf in Ankole, Karagwe, Ihángiro, Ost-Usfuwi ein Ntare I. folgt. Die Namen Ruhinda und Ntare kommen dann in den Herrscherlisten von Ankole, Karagwe und Ihángiro noch öfters vor, nicht aber in den andern, in Ankole auch der Name Mutembusa, der zweifellos mit dem Mwambutsa der Barundi identisch ist, wenn er auch sehr wahrscheinlich einer anderen Persönlichkeit angehört (Nr. 27, S. 97); doch steht Ruhinda II. an der Spitze der Genealogie all der kleinen Herrschaften von Usindja. Wenn nun der v. d. Burgtsche Stammbaum der Urundiherrscher ebenfalls mit Ruhinda anfängt, dessen Regierungsbeginn ins Jahr 1500 gesetzt wird, später aber der Name Ruhinda nicht wieder vorkommt, sondern nur Ntare, so dürfte dieser Ruhinda-Stammvater, von dem die Urunditradition nichts weiter anzugeben weiß, während die Existenz des Bahindageschlechts für Urundi entschieden bestritten wird, apokryph sein; vermutlich nur übertragen aus den Genealogien der Mehrzahl der Zwischenseenstaaten, wo wirklich die Bahindageschlechter herrschten und großenteils noch herrschen (S. 159).

Über die Geschichte des historischen Ruhinda I., der von Uganda aus allmählich Ankole, Karagwe, Kjamtwara, Ihángiro, Usindja eroberte und durch Heirat seiner Töchter und Söhne auch Ost-Usfuwi und Kissaka in seinen Herrschaftsbereich zog, hat uns Pater van Thiel eingehend berichtet (Nr. 35, S. 497—520). Daß er sein Regiment bis nach Urundi ausgedehnt habe, wird nirgends bestätigt. Dagegen ist verbürgt, daß Ost-Urundi (Ujogoma) früher zu dem damals viel mächtigeren Nachbarreich Uha gehört hat, in dem es keine Bahindaherrscher gegeben hat. Nach Uha flohen gewöhnlich die von den Bahindaherrschern Usindjas, Ost-Usfuwis und Karagwes beim Thronwechsel gefährdeten und verfolgten Familien der vom Thronerbe Ausgeschlossenen und fanden dort bei den Batussiherrschern Schutz. Mehrmals fielen die Baha zugunsten ihrer Schützlinge in das Nachbarland ein und besiegten die Basindja, so daß die späteren Uhaherrscher oft Ansprüche auf Usindja erhoben. Auch vom Urundikönig Ntare (II. oder III.) wird berichtet, daß er, im Kampf gegen die aus Nordosten eindringenden Wahondogo besiegt, sich nach Uha geflüchtet habe, wo er die Tochter des Königs Kihumbi geheiratet habe (s. S. 181). Uha war offenbar der Zufluchtsort für diejenigen Bahimafürsten und Bahimagroßen der Nachbarländer, die von ihren Feinden bedrängt waren; es war ein starkes, wahrscheinlich beträchtlich älteres Bahimareich als die meisten anderen des Zwischenseengebietes und umfaßte nicht nur im Westen das später zu Urundi abgefallene große Ujogoma bis zum Ruvuvu, sondern auch im Osten die jetzigen Ufumbwastaaten bis zur Landschaft Msalala (Nr. 10, S. 124).

Von der auf den sagenhaften Ruhinda folgenden ersten und zweiten Dynastie Urundis, die nach v. d. Burgts Aufstellung das 16. und 17. Jahrhundert ausfüllen, ist wenig mehr als die Namen überliefert. Es sind in der ersten Dynastie 4 Könige: Ntare I., Mwefi I., Mutaga I., Mwambutsa I.; und in der zweiten Dynastie dieselben Namen, denen wir zur chronologischen Bestimmung die Zahl II beifügen. Die ersten Jahrhunderte scheinen ganz erfüllt gewesen zu sein von Fehden und Kämpfen im Innern und von Krieg nach außen; im Innern waren es vor allem die durch Blut-

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roche in Permanenz erklärten Fehden der von alters her straff organisierten Bahutuclans gegeneinander, ferner die Kämpfe der sich ausbreitenden Batussi gegen die alte Clanorganisation der Bahutu, die in dem Maß geschwächt und zersetzt wurde, in dem sich die Macht der Batussihäuptlinge und die Staatsgewalt des Königtums befestigte, und endlich die Kämpfe der erstarkenden Batussihäuptlinge gegeneinander sowie der Mitglieder der Königsfamilie um die Erbfolge. Namentlich nach dem Tode Ntares I. (ca. 1550) soll der innere Erbfolgekrieg blutig und lang gewesen sein, bis Mwesi II. (Rufuku) obsiegte. Erst von Ntare III. (ca. 1720—1750) an fließen die geschichtlichen Quellen reichlicher. Von ihm ist überliefert, daß er die aus Osten in Urundi einfallenden Wahondogo (Abahondogo), die rothäutig gewesen seien und lange Fellgewänder, Bogen und Speere getragen haben (Nr. 48, S. 288), in mehrjährigem Krieg besiegt und samt ihrem Oberhäuptling Nsoro nordwärts nach Bugessera und Kissaka verdrängt habe, wo noch heute Nachkommen des Nsoro als gewöhnliche Batussi leben. Van der Burgt meint, daß diese Abahondogo vielleicht Watuturu gewesen seien; ich möchte eher annehmen, daß es ebenfalls eine aus Nordosten kommende hamitische Völkerwoge war, also ebenfalls nomadische Bahima, auf welche die Angaben der Rothäutigkeit und der Fellkleidung schließen lassen. Einen vornehmen Batussiclan der Abahondogo gibt es noch heute in Urundi. Im Anfang waren ihnen die Barundi unterlegen, denn Ntare mußte vor ihnen nach Uha flüchten (s. S. 181). Schließlich aber überwältigten die Barundi ihre Feinde nahe beim Königsgehöft Imbuje am Westknie des Muwarasi, und zur Erinnerung an dieses, das Schicksal Urundis entscheidende Ereignis ließ Ntare daselbst auf dem Berg Iwanga ein Siegesdenkmal in Gestalt einer ca. 1 km langen Doppelreihe von Steinhaufen errichten, die möglicherweise die Gebeine der gefallenen Barundi enthalten (s. S. 182).

Auf diese Ereignisse scheinen längere Kämpfe mit Uha um dessen große Westprovinz Ujogoma gefolgt zu sein, die mit der Einverleibung Ujogomas in das Urundireich endeten. Der Eroberer dürfte Ntare IV. (1830—1860) gewesen sein, der dort seinen Sohn Ruassa als Statthalter einsetzte. Vorausgegangen war ein Krieg gegen die mächtig aufstrebende Dynastie der Ruandaherrscher, deren Einfall der Urundikönig Mutaga III. (1780—1800) zurückschlug, wobei er aber selbst fiel. Seitdem ist der Akanjarufluß die von beiden Seiten respektierte Grenze. Uha jedoch versuchte unter seinem König Nkansa, Ende der 70er oder Anfang der 80er Jahre, das verlorene Ujogoma wiederzugewinnen. Nkansa rief den kriegerischen Urambohäuptling Mirambo zu Hilfe, aber auch dieser wurde von den Barundi am Muroleberg in Ujogoma in schwerer Niederlage geschlagen (1884). Und nicht besser erging es den von Mirambo unterstützten Watuta, jenem nördlichen Zweig der Salustämme, die, von Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts an vom Njassasee aus mit ihren Viehherden auf den grasigen Hochländern des östlichen Tanganikarandes nordwärts ziehend, alle Widerstände niederwarfen, die durchzogenen Länder ausplünderten und bis nach Usindja am Victoriasee vordrangen. Von Ugomba aus, wo sie sich nach Übereinkunft mit Mirambo festgesetzt hatten, dehnten sie ihre Raubzüge in die umliegenden Länder aus und machten unter anderm einen heftigen Vorstoß durch Uha nach Südost-Urundi, wurden aber vom Barundikönig Mwesi IV. (Kisabo) am oberen Mlagarassi zu Paaren getrieben (1885), so daß sie sich nie wieder in Urundi sehen ließen. Aber erst 1895 wurden sie von der deutschen Schutztruppe dauernd zur Ruhe gebracht und ihre Reste im Buschwald

von Runsebbe (Ussumbwa) angesiedelt, wo sie jetzt, wie ich 1911 sah, friedliche Viehzüchter und Ackerbauer geworden sind.

Mwesi IV., mit dem Beinamen Kisabo (1860—1908), der Vater des jetzigen Urundikönigs Mutaga IV., ist der erste Urundiherrscher, von dem wir aus unserer Kolonialgeschichte Genaueres wissen. In seine halbhundertjährige Regierungszeit fallen heftige innere Kämpfe gegen aufsässige Unterhäuptlinge und gegen falsche „Mwesi", Kronprätendenten, die ihm mit starkem Anhang den „Thron" streitig machten. Namentlich Bugufi, im äußersten Nordosten des Urundireiches, war stets ein Herd revolutionärer, gegen den Mwesi gerichteter Bewegungen, und noch heute sind die Häuptlinge von Bugufi unabhängig vom König, und diese Selbständigkeit ist auch von unserem Residenten anerkannt worden (s. S. 170). Außerdem hat sich Kisabo mehrere Male im Norden an der Grenze von Bugessera und am Akanjaru der eindringenden Ruandakrieger erwehren müssen; teils hat er selbst wiederholt die südlichen Grenzländer Ruandas bekriegt. Die jetzige Ruandadynastie des Musinga mißtraut daher den Barundiherrschern, mit denen sie immer in Feindschaft gestanden hat, sehr und begünstigt deshalb im stillen den im Nordwesten Urundis sitzenden Häuptling Kilima (S. 162), der sich von Kisabo und seinem Nachfolger unabhängig zu erhalten gewußt hat. Im Volk von Süd-Ruanda aber lebt der Glaube, daß eines Tages ein großer König aus Urundi in Ruanda einbrechen und das Land erobern werde. Auch mit dem Häuptling Kassussura von Ussuwi, der seine Herrschaft westwärts bis an den Ruwuwu ausgedehnt und sich das nördliche Ujogoma tributpflichtig gemacht hatte, hatte Kisabo eine Reihe von Kämpfen, die aber zuungunsten Urundis ausgingen.

Mit viel gefährlicheren Feinden hatte es Kisabo jedoch mehrmals an der Westgrenze Urundis zu tun: mit den Arabern. Von Udjidji aus, wo sich der berüchtigte Sklavenhändler Rumalisa festgesetzt hatte, drangen die mit Feuerwaffen ausgerüsteten Banden der Wangwana zum Nordende des Tanganika vor und fielen von dort in das nordwestliche Urundi ein, um Sklaven zu rauben. Die Grausamkeit ihrer Kriegführung verbreitete lähmendes Entsetzen in der ganzen Grenzbevölkerung. Als sie sich aber weiter ins Land wagten, stellte ihnen Kisabo einen Hinterhalt und rieb sie 1885/86 in mehreren überraschenden Überfällen fast ganz auf; einmal am mittleren Russisi, das andre Mal bei Kibira, westlich vom Königssitz Muwukuje. Der Eindruck auf die Araber war so tief, daß sie sich nie wieder an die Barundi wagten.

2. Kolonialpolitisches.

Anfang der 90er Jahre endlich beginnt Urundi in das Licht unserer Kolonialgeschichte einzutreten. Zuerst friedlich. Nachdem Burton und Speke bereits 1858 mit den westlichen Grenzbarundi in Berührung gekommen waren, Livingstone und Stanley 1871, letzterer allein wieder 1876 die Küstenbarundi des Tanganika kennengelernt hatte, und vom Beginn der 80er Jahre an die katholischen Weißen Väter verschiedene verunglückte Versuche zur Gründung von Missionsstationen an der westlichen Urundigrenze gemacht hatten, führte Oskar Baumann im Herbst 1892 als erster Europäer einen Zug durch das nördliche Urundi von Osten nach Westen aus, um es geographisch zu erforschen (s. S. 1). Die freundliche Aufnahme, die er namentlich bei der großen Menge der Bahutu fand, weil diese in ihm einen langersehnten Befreier vom Joch der Batussi zu sehen glaubten — Baumann selbst

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verkannte das Motiv —, veranlaßte die katholischen Missionare, von neuem die Errichtung von Missionsstationen in Urundi zu versuchen, und diesmal waren sie erfolgreicher. In den Jahren 1895—99 durchzogen sie das Land in vielen Richtungen und gründeten 1896 die Stationen Usumbura (später nach Marienheim verlegt), Mujaga und Mugera, die heute ihre Hauptstützpunkte sind, ferner 1902 Marienheim, 1905 Marienseen, 1910 Bweru, 1912 Buhoro. Vor allem hat sich dabei der Pater van der Burgt, der nun in Europa lebende Nestor der Urundimission und gründlichste Kenner der Barundi, auch durch die geographische Erforschung des Landes verdient gemacht. Auch aus späteren Jahren verdanken wir v. d. Burgt viele wichtige Aufschlüsse über Urundi und sein Volk. Gleichzeitig mit der Festsetzung der Mission begannen die friedlichen Orientierungsreisen unserer Schutztruppenoffiziere, wobei es freilich schon zu vereinzelten kleinen Plänkeleien mit Batussihäuptlingen kam: 1895/96 reisten in Urundi Ramsay, v. Trotha; 1897 Ramsay, Langheld, Fonck; 1898 Kandt, Bethe.

Dieses Vorgehen der Europäer in dem bis dahin gänzlich gegen äußere Einflüsse abgeschlossenen Urundireich hatte den Batussihäuptlingen und dem alten König Kisabo bald die eigentlichen Absichten der Deutschen klargemacht; sie erkannten die Gefahr, die ihrer autokratischen Unabhängigkeit durch eine allmähliche deutsche Besetzung drohte. Daher machten sie im Mai 1899 einen offenen Angriff auf die im Zentrum des Landes befindliche Expedition Bethe, wurden jedoch von dieser geschlagen und gründlich bestraft (Deutsch. Kol.-Blatt 1899, S. 6—12). Die Feindseligkeiten setzten sich aber in den nächsten Jahren gegen die ins Land kommenden Expeditionen der Schutztruppenoffiziere fort, und wer von den Barundi es mit den Deutschen hielt, wurde vom König Kisabo getötet, seine Habe geraubt, sein Hof niedergebrannt. Auch die Lage der Missionen wurde kritisch. Da entschloß sich das Gouvernement im Frühjahr 1903, einen entscheidenden Schlag gegen Kisabo zu führen. Von Usumbura aus drang ein starkes Kontingent der Schutztruppe unter Hauptmann v. Beringe in Westurundi ein, schlug, mit Unterstützung des dem König feindlichen Häuptlings Kilima, Kisabos Anhänger in mehreren Gefechten, überrumpelte schließlich Kisabos Lager am Kihondoberg und zersprengte seine Kriegerschar vollständig. Der König selbst entkam, stellte sich aber bald in Ikiganda zu Verhandlungen, die damit abschlossen, daß er sich der deutschen Oberhoheit unterwarf, Geiseln stellte, sich zu regelmäßigen Leistungen verpflichtete und dafür vom Gouvernement als Oberkönig über ganz Urundi anerkannt wurde (Nr. 21, S. 6—12).

Die Anerkennung Kisabos als Oberkönig von Urundi nach seiner Unterwerfung erschien dem damaligen Residenten Urundis, dem Hauptmann Werner von Grawert, als eine politische Notwendigkeit. Solange dem Residenten nur eine kleine Schutztruppenmacht zu Gebote stand, war es unmöglich, das große Urundireich, das die schärfsten, einander widerstrebenden Gegensätze von Königtum und halb oder ganz unabhängigen Batussihäuptlingschaften, von dominierender, numerisch geringer Batussirasse und unterworfener Bahutumasse in sich barg, auch nur einigermaßen zu beherrschen; es war um so weniger möglich, als die in Usumbura ihren Sitz habende Residentur bis 1908 auch noch das große Ruanda mit umfaßte. Deshalb glaubte man, am besten zu verfahren, wenn man die Verhältnisse Urundis möglichst denen von Ruanda nachahmte, wo es der Resident nur mit einem angestammten Oberhaupt zu tun hatte. In Ruanda haben es die Vorfahren des jetzigen Musinga, na-

wenigstens sein Vater Ludongiri, verstanden, mit Gewalt und Klugheit sich die übrigen, früher selbständigen Häuptlinge im jetzigen Ruandareich botmäßig zu machen und das Ganze zu einem feßgefügten Lehnsstaat mit despotisch-monarchischer Spitze zusammenzuschweißen. Daher konnte in Ruanda der Resident (als welcher seit der 1923 errichteten selbständigen Ruandaresidentur Dr. Kandt amtiert) seine politischen Ziele, die hauptsächlich in der Anbahnung einer geordneten Verwaltung und in der Hebung des Handels und Verkehrs bestehen, bedeutend verfolgen, daß er in Hinsicht diplomatischer Behandlung auf die Person des Königs selbst einzuwirken suchte, aber anderen gegenüber die Autorität des Königs durch das eigene Auftreten des Europäers und deutschen Oberbeamten stützt; er spielt viel mehr die Rolle eines dem König entsandten Gesandten oder Botschafters einer befreundeten Großmacht als die eines fordernden oder verfügenden Verwaltungsbeamten. Das ist ja auch der Charakter der „Residenten" in den englischen und den holländisch-indischen Kolonien. Diese Einrichtung setzt natürlich voraus, daß der König den Vorteil, der ihm durch die Anwesenheit und die Beratung des Residenten erwächst, erkennt und sich nicht ablehnend gegen die Ratschläge und Wünsche desselben verhält.

Ruandi war unter den Vorgängern Mpakos und unter Mpako selbst noch lange nicht so bei einheitlichen staatlichen Entwicklung fortgeschritten wie Ruanda. Das Königtum hatte sich noch lange nicht eine so weit übergreifende Stellung und Gewalt gegenüber allen Bevölkerungen des Landes geschaffen wie in Ruanda, obgleich gerade Mpako mit großer Energie und viel Erfolg ein langes tatenreiches Leben darauf verwendet hatte. In dieser politischen Zersplitterung konnte der Resident von Ruandi nur dann auf das Ganze wirken und nachgehenden Einfluß zu gewinnen hoffen, wenn er, wie in Ruanda, nur mit einem Herrscher in dem großen Land zu verhandeln hatte und durch die Unterstützung dieses einen gegen die übrigen Häuptlinge die Oberherrschaft des Königs erweiterte und befestigte.

Demgemäß erkannte bereits der Resident v. Grawert den König Mpako, dessen Vorfahren bereits seit vier Jahrhunderten die Alleinherrschaft über Ruandi angebahnt hatten, als Oberkönig des Ruandireichs an, nachdem er ihn mit Waffengewalt dem Willen des Residenten gefügig gemacht hatte. Mpako siedelte sich in der Landschaft Nyaß bei Mugombo, zwei Tage östlich von Mugombo, unter der Aufsicht eines Militärpostens an, nachdem der Resident seinen Sitz in der am Tanganjikasee und damit am großen Verkehrsweg gelegenen Militärstation Mugombo bekommen hatte.

Mpako war gewiß nicht einer der bedeutendsten Herrscher in der Geschichte der Ruandi nicht war, sondern Ost- und Zentralafrikas überhaupt (Taf. 13). Wenn ihm auch zu der glücklichen Gestalt eines Mwambu, eines Mwezi, eines Ludongiri oder Mujenge der feurige kriegerische Geist und der unbeugsame, immer weitere Ziele verfolgende, von keiner Gewalttat zurückschreckende Wille fehlte, so fand er ihnen doch an Intelligenz, diplomatischer Klugheit, friedlicher Entschlossenheit und zähler Ausdauer nur wenig nach, und er übertraf sie vielleicht noch an Duldsamkeit und Milde. Wenn er der großen inneren Schwierigkeiten, die ihm namentlich seine französischen Nachbarn bereiteten, nicht völlig Herr wurde, so lag es nicht an seinen Fehlern, daß er in diesen Kämpfen nicht den höchsten Ehrgeiz, seine und der Seinen ganze Größe, zeigte. Als er 1903 [illegible], also sehr jung bereits für einen Mann, [illegible] hatten ihn die Ältesten des Landes zum Mitregenten. In seiner Jugend hatte er, entgegen dem Gebot, ein Weib verehren und hatte auch einen seiner vielen Königsöhne

ein lahmes Bein davongetragen, so daß er in den späteren Jahren sich nur schwer bewegen konnte. Seine äußere Erscheinung war nichts weniger als königlich, um so weniger, als er sich wie jeder gemeine Murundi nur mit einem Umhang aus Rindenstoff ohne besondere Abzeichen kleidete. Vorzüglich hat er es verstanden, sich mit einem mystischen Schleier des Unbekannten zu umgeben, teils um sein halbgöttliches Ansehen bei den ungemein abergläubischen Eingeborenen zu erhöhen, teils um sich vor der Annäherung Fremder möglichst zu schützen.

Als Kisabo von unserer Schutztruppe 1903 überwunden worden war, schrieb der in Urundi missionierende Pater Sweens über ihn: „Kisabo führt schon seit 40 Jahren das Regiment. Seine Regierung ist bis in die jüngste Zeit bezeichnet durch Kriege, Räubereien und Brandschatzungen. Der Karawanenweg durch sein Gebiet war sehr unsicher. Seit Jahren hat kein Europäer den merkwürdigen Landesvater ausfindig machen können, weder Offiziere noch Reisende, noch auch die Missionare. Keiner seiner Untertanen wollte den Aufenthaltsort des Königs verraten; jedenfalls hatten die wenigsten gewöhnlichen Sterblichen Kisabos Angesicht geschaut. So mußte dieser seinen Verbleib völlig verborgen zu halten, und ein ganzes Gewebe von Legenden umhüllte den unsichtbaren Herrscher. Da noch kein Europäer ihn zu Gesicht bekommen hatte, begannen wir schon zu glauben, er existiere überhaupt nicht, und manche sprachen bereits vom „sagenhaften Kisabo". Indessen zeugte alles, was in seinem Namen geschah, von einer Verschlagenheit, die auf einen raffinierten Bösewicht schließen ließ; es wurde eine Schandtat nach der andern begangen, und es war hohe Zeit, daß dem Unwesen ein Ende gesetzt wurde. Hauptmann von Beringe tastete nicht, bis er den gefürchteten Despoten, in dessen Namen und Auftrag alles geschah, lebendig in seinen Händen hatte ... So konnte dann das Land endlich zu Atem kommen. Jetzt ist, so hoffen wir, der Stolz der herrschenden Watussi gründlich gedemütigt. Die Wahutu, die die ursprüngliche Bevölkerung Urundis bilden, haben noch mehr Grund, ihren Befreiern dankbar zu sein, als alle anderen. Es läßt sich nicht beschreiben, wie ihre Unterdrücker sie bislang niedergehalten haben ...

„Kisabo ist wenig fürstlich gekleidet. Ein Stück Baumrinde, das so lange geklopft worden ist, bis man es biegen und falten kann, und stellenweise in eine Art Fransen ausläuft, bildet seinen Königsstaat, den er nach Art einer römischen Toga um die Schultern wirft. Über die rechte Achsel fällt eine lange Quaste aus seinem Grase herab, und das königliche Gewand ist über und über mit oben befestigten, lose herabfallenden Bindfäden verziert. Mitten auf dem Kopf prangt ein kleines Büschel Haare; der übrige Teil des Schädels ist kahl. Gerade über dem Puls trägt Kisabo ein doppeltes Armband aus seinem Elfenbein, ein dickes und ein dünneres; beide werden mittels eines Stückes Kupferdraht, das um den Unterarm gewunden ist, wie mit einer Feder in dieser Höhe festgehalten. Diese ganze Ausstattung nebst der unvermeidlichen Lanze bildet die Nationaltracht der Warundi ...

„Wenn der König reist, wird er auf seinem höchst einfachen Tragsessel getragen. Dieser ist aus einigen Balken zusammengezimmert, die durch Querhölzer verbunden sind; darüber wird ein Schaffell ausgebreitet, auf dem der Herrscher Platz nimmt. Ein großes Tuch entzieht sein Antlitz den Blicken der Leute und gewährt Schutz gegen die sengenden Sonnenstrahlen. Seine Leibwache sind durchweg hochgewachsene Kerle mit entschlossenen Zügen, bewaffnet mit Lanzen, Pfeil und Bogen. Sein Gefolge macht einen durchaus kriegerischen Eindruck." (Nr. 23, 1904, S. 240ff.)

Die nächsten fünf Jahre nach der Unterwerfung Kisabos (1903) waren ausgefüllt mit den Bemühungen des Residenten, der Oberherrschaft Kisabos in ganz Urundi Geltung zu verschaffen. Aber diese Aufgabe war viel schwerer, als es anfänglich geschienen hatte. Einige der bisher selbständig gewesenen Fürsten und der sich ziemlich unabhängig gemacht habenden Großbatwale wehrten sich energisch gegen die vom deutschen Residenten gebilligten Machtansprüche des Königs und leisteten zum Teil sehr zähen bewaffneten Widerstand; am zähesten der vermutlich halbblütige, tatkräftige Häuptling Kilima im nordwestlichen Grenzgebiet (s. S. 162), der sich von jeher der Ausbreitung der Batussi mit grausamer Gewalttätigkeit entgegengestellt hatte (Taf. 17). Wiederholt zog deshalb die Schutztruppe gegen ihn zu Feld und warf ihn schließlich nieder; er wurde nach Neu-Langenburg am Njassasee deportiert, wo

er einige Jahre unter Militäraufsicht in Verbannung gehalten wurde. In Urundi trat aber keine Ruhe und Ordnung ein. Um die Lage zu verwickeln, gesellten sich zu den Autoritätskämpfen des Kisabo noch zahlreiche heftige Fehden der Großbatwale gegeneinander, so z. B. des energischen Russabiko gegen seinen Bruder Musasje in Ujogoma, und blutige Erbstreitigkeiten innerhalb derselben Sippe, und nur zu oft zeigte es sich, daß Kisabo und die Mitglieder der Königssippe, die Baganwa, mit der ihnen gewährten Unterstützung der Residentur schweren Mißbrauch trieben.

Durch alle diese Vorgänge schien die „Befriedung" des Urundireiches noch in weite Ferne geschoben, als der Resident v. Grawert ein anderes militärisches Kommando übernahm und erst Hauptmann Fonck interimistisch, dann Hauptmann v. Goering definitiv Resident von Urundi wurde. In dieser Übergangszeit starb plötzlich im August 1908 der 63jährige König Kisabo. Ein schnelles Eingreifen des Residenten verhinderte, daß das sonst bei den Thronwechseln in Urundi übliche schreckliche Interregnum von Mord und Totschlag unter den an der Erbfolge interessierten Königsverwandten eintrat. In kurzem wurde einer der jüngsten Söhne Kisabos, Mwikidje, den Kisabo noch vor seinem Tod zu seinem Nachfolger bestimmt hatte, als Mutaga (IV.) zum Umwami oder Mwami, zum König ausgerufen (siehe S. 183) und vom Residenten bestätigt. Mutaga war damals ca. 15jährig. Er ist der älteste Sohn von Kisabos Lieblingsfrau Ndirikumútima aus der Sippe der Banjakarama, während der von einer anderen Frau geborene, unter allen 42 Kindern Kisabos älteste Sohn den Namen Ntarugera, alias Seruschanja, führt. Diesen Seruschanja und einen andern Sohn Duumwe hatte Kisabo vor seinem Tode zu Vormündern des unmündigen Mutaga und zu Reichsverwesern ernannt. Diese beiden und die Mutter des Königs, die nach alter festgewurzelter Sitte der Barundi mitregiert und großen Einfluß ausübt, haben nun die Dauer der Vormundschaft weidlich ausgenützt, um sich und ihren Angehörigen nebst Freunden so viel Land- und Viehlehen wie nur möglich zuzuschieben; und wenn sie ein noch besetztes Lehen reizte, so machten sie es mit offener oder mit heimlicher Gewalt für sich selbst frei. Die Unruhe und Unordnung hörte deshalb im ganzen Reich nicht auf.

So ging es aber in Urundi bei jedem Thronwechsel zu, auch wenn der neue König nicht unmündig war und keine Vormundschaft bis zu seiner Großjährigkeit eingesetzt werden mußte, denn die Landessitte verbietet es, daß die Mutter des zukünftigen Königs aus demselben Clan wie die Mutter des bisherigen Königs ist. Dieses Gesetz hat ursprünglich wohl den Sinn, daß neben der Königssippe der Baganwa nicht noch eine der anderen vier, zur Lieferung der Königsmütter privilegierten und darin nacheinander abwechselnden Batusiclans (Banjakarama, Benengwe, Barwanda, Batumbo) zu hoch emporwachsen sollte; aber jetzt hat es die Wirkung, daß jedesmal nach dem Tode eines Königs die Sippe der Mutter des neuen Königs sich mit allen Mitteln Platz an der Sonne zu verschaffen und die Sippe der vorigen Königsmutter zu verdrängen sucht. Da nun die Mutter des jetzigen Königs Mutaga, die Ndirikumútima, eine Banjakarama ist, so sind gegenwärtig die Banjakarama obenauf und streben danach, sich neben und unter den überall im Land als königliche Statthalter sitzenden Baganwa, den Prinzen aus königlichem Stamm, in gute Lehnsposten einzuschieben und ihre Gefolgsleute unterzubringen. Daß dies alles aber nicht mehr, wie in den bisherigen Jahrhunderten, mit Gewalt und Totschlag vollführt werde, ist der energische Wille des deutschen Residenten, der alle wichtigen Streitigkeiten vor seine

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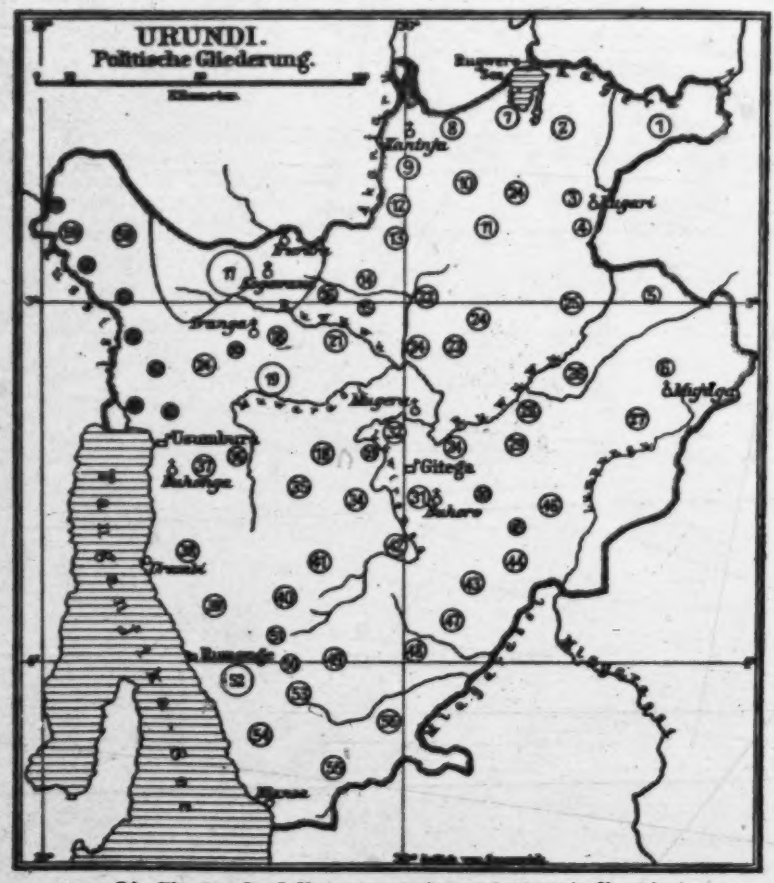
richterliche Entscheidung zwingt. Daher lassen die Sippengenossen des neuen Königs heutzutage an Stelle von Gift und Speer, womit sie früher sich Land und Vieh und Macht verschafften, mehr und mehr die Verleumdung und die falsche Anklage vor Gericht im „großen Schauri" treten; und der Resident, der in dem Gewirr von familiärer und politischer Intrige die richtige Entscheidung treffen soll, muß heute vor allem fragen, ob die Kläger etwa Banjakarama sind, um zu wissen, wie im Grund die Dinge liegen.

In diesen periodisch mit jeder Königswahl wiederkehrenden schweren Streitigkeiten kommen die ewigen Rivalitäten der engeren Familiengruppen der großen Königssippe, der Baganwa, unter sich. Fast von jedem der früheren Könige sind noch direkte Abkömmlinge am Leben, und ihre Zahl ist groß, denn jeder König hatte zahlreiche Frauen und von jeder Frau mehrere Kinder; Kisabo z. B. hatte 42, sein Vater 28. Im ganzen wird es etwa tausend solcher königlicher Prinzen geben, die als Großhatwale oder Statthalter das ganze Land wie mit einem Netz überziehen. Jede dieser prinzlichen Familien sieht in der andern einen Konkurrenten, und obgleich sie alle der Königssippe der Baganwa angehören, sind sie doch nichts weniger als einig und benutzen jede Gelegenheit, sich gegenseitig aus Besitz und Macht zu verdrängen. Diese zahllosen aus- und gegeneinander strebenden Interessen und Kräfte könnte nur ein König von ungewöhnlicher Energie und Umsicht niederhalten und zu gemeinsamem Dienst zwingen, wie es in Ruanda geschieht. Aber ein solcher Mann ist Mutaga nicht. Wenn es seinem willensstarken verschlagenen Vater Kisabo nicht möglich war, Ordnung im Reich zu schaffen trotz der vom Residenten geleisteten Hilfe, so vermag es Mutaga noch viel weniger.

In der Erkenntnis dieser Sachlage änderte die deutsche Regierung ihre Politik in Urundi grundsätzlich. Der Resident Hauptmann v. Goering verzichtete darauf, sich auf die Macht des einen Königs zu stützen, wie es in Ruanda mit gutem Erfolg geschieht, und verfuhr fortan nach dem Grundsatz „divide et impera". Dieser Wechsel in der Orientierung der Politik hat sich bewährt; sie wird vom jetzigen (1913) Residenten, Hauptmann von Langenn-Steinkeller, energisch fortgesetzt. Unsere Regierung hat eine Reihe der Großhäuptlinge, die sich bisher den Oberherrschaftsansprüchen des Königs widersetzten, als unabhängig anerkannt und kann nun den einen gegen den andern ausspielen, braucht dem König keine militärische Hilfe mehr zu leisten und vermag den König und seine Sippe besser im Zaum zu halten als vorher, ohne dazu einer größeren Truppenmacht zu bedürfen, die eben nicht vorhanden ist. Als selbständige „Großhatwale" gelten jetzt amtlich: Lussengo (in Bugufi), Lussokossa (Rusokosa), Bansabugabo, Tschoja, Muhini, Wisirakufura, Kilima. Den letzteren, den man aus der Verbannung von Neu-Langenburg zurückgeholt und in sein Heimatgebiet an der Nordwestgrenze Urundis mit allen Rechten eines selbständigen Häuptlings wiedereingesetzt hat, hat man dadurch zu einem festen Anhänger der gegenwärtigen deutschen Regierung gewonnen, der aus eigenstem Interesse den Mwami Mutaga und seinen Anhang im Schach halten mithilft. Von den anderen vorgenannten selbständigen Großhatwale sind auch Lussokossa und Bansabugabo grimmige Feinde Mutagas, während Lussengo, Tschoja und Wisirakufura sich dem Mutaga nicht fügen wollen, weil sie von dem Mutaga (III.) der vorigen Dynastie abstammen, also sich für gleichwertig dem jetzigen König Mutaga (IV.) halten.

Auf der beigefügten Übersichtskarte von Urundi, die ich der Güte des Residenten Hauptmann v. Langenn verdanke, ist die Verteilung der Gebiete der



Die Sitze der Groß-Batwale und Hauptlehnsleute in Urundi.

Nach den Aufnahmen von Hauptmann v. Langenn-Steinkeller, Oberleutnant Wintgens und andern Offizieren der Schutztruppe.

(Mit einer Stadt mit einfachem Ring — kaiserliche Stellen; mit doppeltem Ring — europäische Stellen; Dorf mit Häuptlingen — Regierungsgehöfte.)

Groß-Batwale aus dem Königsgeschlecht der Baganwa.

1. Lusinge (Bugesi)
2. Lusekeke
3. Bandeingale
4. Lwamba
5. Mafa
6. Sanjumunge
7. Tschoja
8. Mutsai
9. Wiliamkuru
10. Numa
11. Sengemma
12. Mugaru
13. Bikinga
14. Sibirid
15. Matschumago
16. Mengale
17. Kilima mit seinem Sohn Kadikwami
18. Dumbe
19. Mutaga
20. Magiali
21. Tsuri
22. Kabuche
23. Bjiroko
24. Ntaragera, alias Serutschanka
25. Kamuga
26. Kanjubaha
27. Kiranganja
28. Kiamnjaga
29. Ntamagerra
30. Njamuhiji

Groß-Batwale aus dem Königsgeschlecht der Baganwa. (Fortsetzung.)

31. Rugema	40. Biladjuguma	49. Kaschenza	58. Matakambwe
32. Kaninga	41. Bikandagira	50. Mussesso	59. Katole
33. Bigenni	42. Massangu	51. Sekihimbi	60. Kana
34. Ngumidje	43. Tetruje	52. Nduga	61. Muniamsimba
35. Karavona	44. Msuduri	53. Binga	62. Mtscherenge
36. Njanama	45. Luamabeki	54. Hararame	63. Massabo
37. Karavona	46. Wiskmana	55. Rukwirwa	64. Makwaluso
38. Muengeso	47. Bitira	56. Ndandi	65. Luassamanga
39. Mdauschirua	48. Kamugwe	57. Wasassa	

Bemerkung zur Liste der Groß-Batwale.

Nr. 19 ist der jetzige König Mutaga IV. Nr. 1, 7, 8, 9, 55 sind Abkömmlinge des früheren Königs Mutaga II., des Urur-Großvaters von Mutaga IV. Nr. 11, 22, 24, 31, 34, 39 sind Söhne des vorigen Königs Mwesi Kisabo, des Vaters von Mutaga IV. Nr. 14, 15, 20, 33, 36, 52, 54 sind Enkel des Mwesi Kisabo. Nr. 13, 16, 18, 35, 37 sind echte Brüder von Mutaga III. Nr. 2, 3, 17 sind Feinde des Mutaga. Nr. 57—65 sind Batwale im Russissi-Tal und mit der Königsfamilie nicht verwandt.

hauptsächlichen Batwale über ganz Urundi eingetragen. Die Kreise bezeichnen die Lage und Begrenzung der Gebiete natürlich nur schematisch, aber die Größe der Kreise entspricht annähernd der Bedeutung ihrer Inhaber. Es erhellt aus diesem Situationsplan, daß Mutaga mit seiner nächsten Verwandtschaft, d. h. mit seinen Brüdern, Stiefbrüdern und Neffen, das mittlere westliche Drittel des Landes zwischen dem Ruwuvu und dem Luwironsa sowie das ganze östliche Randgebirge des Tanganikasees innehat. Das sind die nach Bodenbeschaffenheit, Bewässerung, Klima und Wachstum besten Teile Urundis. Die entfernter verwandten Mitglieder der Königssippe und die von ihr abhängigen kleineren Batwale anderer Sippen nehmen die minder wertvollen Landstriche im Süden und Osten Urundis ein, während die unabhängigen Häuptlinge im Nordwesten und Nordosten sitzen. In den Niederungen des Russissitales endlich sitzen Batwale, die mit der Königsfamilie gar nicht verwandt, aber größtenteils Batussi sind. Auch unter den Groß-Batwale der andern Landschaften Urundis gibt es einige gewöhnliche Batussi und sogar „geadelte", vom König zu Batussi beförderte Bahutu, aber sie sind Ausnahmen in der großen Gruppe der Groß-Batwale königlichen Blutes, der Baganwa.

An dieser Verteilung der fast ganz der königlichen Baganwasippe angehörenden Groß-Batwale über das Reich etwas Wesentliches zu ändern, hat die deutsche Regierung weder einen zwingenden Grund noch die nötige Macht. Da der König Mutaga aber ein junger, jetzt (1912) etwa zwanzigjähriger und willensschwacher Mann ist, steht er ganz unter dem Einfluß einiger seiner in der Nähe wohnenden älteren Brüder, die mit ihrem Anhang die eigentlichen Herrscher Urundis sind. Daher hält sich der Resident mit seinen Verwaltungsmaßnahmen nicht an den König, sondern direkt an die einflußreichsten Groß-Batwale, um die Ordnung im Land aufrechtzuerhalten, und fährt recht gut dabei. Nur die in den entfernten Provinzen Süd- und Südost-Urundis sitzenden Baganwa-Batwale entziehen sich dem direkten Einfluß des Residenten wie der Autorität des schwachen Königs und glauben genug zu tun, wenn sie von Zeit zu Zeit Tribut und Naturalien an den König schicken.

Um seinen Anordnungen mehr Nachdruck zu geben und den Verkehr mit den Barundi zu erleichtern, hat der Resident v. Langenn 1912 einen wichtigen Schritt getan. Er hat den Sitz der Regierung, der bisher in Usumbura an der äußersten

Westgrenze des großen Reiches gewesen war, vier Tagereisen weit ins Innere verlegt, eine halbe Tagereise südlich der Missionsstation Mugera. Der neue Platz heißt Gitega. Er liegt im Herzen von Urundi und bietet die Möglichkeit, von hier aus mit allen Groß-Batwale direkt in Verbindung zu treten und mit dem Truppenkontingent schnell zur Hand zu sein, wenn und wo es nottut. Da von Usumbura bis Gitega ein guter Weg gebaut ist, können Europäer die Strecke in drei bis vier Tagen zurücklegen, flinke Postboten sogar in zwei Tagen durchlaufen. Usumbura am Tanganikasee wird immer der Stützpunkt und der Verkehrsanschluß für die Station Gitega bleiben, da es der nächste, beste Anlaufeplatz der Dampfer ist und nun auch mit dem Endpunkt Kigoma der Zentralbahn am Tanganika in schneller, regelmäßiger Dampferverbindung steht. Nach Osten wird von Zentral-Urundi aus der Verkehr stets schwieriger und langwieriger sein, auch wenn einmal eine Eisenbahn das Südknie des Kagera erreicht haben sollte, aber die östlichen und nordöstlichen Landschaften Urundis werden bald in den Wirkungskreis einer solchen Nordbahn einbezogen werden.

Die Lage Gitegas in Urundi hat, rein räumlich betrachtet, viel Ähnlichkeit mit jener der Regierungsstation Kigali in Ruanda. Auch dort sitzt der Resident nahezu in der Mitte des Landes und nicht zu weit vom Wohnplatz des Königs entfernt, auch dort hat er einen starken Stützpunkt (in Bukoba) am großen See und den Anschluß an den gesicherten durchgehenden Verkehr zu Wasser und weiterhin zur Bahn.

Die Verlegung der Residentur ins Landesinnere hat schon mehrere nützliche Folgen gezeitigt. Abgesehen davon, daß, wie gewöhnlich, mehrere Araber und Inder ihre Kramläden (duka) bei der Station errichtet haben, ist auch schon (1913) eine Niederlassung der Internationalen Handelsgesellschaft (Sitz Hamburg) in Gitega gegründet worden und haben sich einige Europäer unter dem Schutz der Boma angesiedelt. Nahebei ist nach dem Muster von Usumbura ein Markt eingerichtet worden, der von den Barundi zum Austausch ihrer Produkte stark besucht wird und viel zur Einführung und Verbreitung des Geldverkehrs beiträgt. Auch die Gerichtstage des Residenten werden hier im Innern viel eifriger und regelmäßiger von Bahutu, Batussi und selbst Baganwa besucht als im entlegeneren Usumbura, wo die Bergbewohner obendrein sehr ungern weilten, weil sie im Niederungsklima Fieber bekamen. Meist sind es Vieh-, Land- und Erbschaftsstreitigkeiten, die der Resident zu schlichten hat, und das Vertrauen zu seinen richterlichen Entscheidungen nimmt sichtlich zu und festigt seine Stellung auch in anderer Beziehung. Die Batwale stellen gegen Entgelt die nötigen Leute zur Ausführung öffentlicher Arbeiten, wie Straßenbau, Abholzung im Seegebiet für die Sanierung gegen die Schlafkrankheit, und zum Trägerdienst der Regierungskarawanen. Die Gegenwart des Residenten im Innern und die stete sichtliche Bereitschaft der Schutztruppe wirkt dämpfend auf die Streitlust der Batwale und auf die Neigung der kleineren und kleinsten Machthaber zu Übergriffen, der sie früher oft und gerne nachgaben. Sogenannte Wanderposten der Schutztruppe, die einmal da, einmal dort sich für einige Wochen niederlassen und einen widerhaarigen Mutwale bestrafen (meist durch Viehwegnahme) oder sein Tun genau kontrollieren, tragen ebenfalls zur Sicherung bei, wenn sie von einem verständigen deutschen Unteroffizier geführt werden, was meist geschieht. Den als selbständig anerkannten Häuptlingen im Nordosten und Nordwesten ist der Anlaß zu territorialen Streitigkeiten mit ihren Nachbarn und mit der Partei des Königs genommen, nachdem durch mehrere Expeditionen der Residentur

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die Grenzen ihrer Länder unter Mitwirkung der Beteiligten festgelegt worden sind. Natürlich ist ihr Verhalten zur Residentur von Urundi auch durch die Nähe des in Usumbura von der Residentur Bukoba errichteten starken Militärpostens beeinflußt.

Von den selbständigen Häuptlingen, wie vom König und seinen Batwale aus der Bagamwaspppe, verlangt die Residentur vorläufig weiter nichts, als daß sie unter sich und nach außen hin Frieden halten, sich den obersten richterlichen Entscheidungen des Residenten fügen, die durchziehenden Karawanen in Ruhe lassen, den Karawanen gegen Entgelt Nahrungsmittel liefern, am Wegebau und anderen öffentlichen Arbeiten mitwirken u. dgl. Von Steuerauflagen hat die Regierung in richtiger Erwägung ihrer geringen Machtmittel und des in den meisten Gebieten Urundis noch gänzlich mangelnden Geldverkehrs bisher Abstand genommen. Nur im Ort Usumbura sind Gewerbesteuern bei den Händlern eingeführt, während Zölle in unserm der Kongokolonie zugewandten westlichen Grenzgebiet gar nicht erhoben werden. Geringe Steuerleistungen, seien es Hütten- oder Kopfsteuern, könnten zwar schon jetzt im Urundi-Küstenland des Tanganika und im Russisital eingeführt werden, weil hier der Geldverkehr schon allgemein ist; aber der immer noch andauernde, durch die furchtbare Schlafkrankheitsseuche verursachte wirtschaftliche Tiefstand dieser Gebiete und ihrer Bevölkerung wird die Regierung wohl noch auf längere Zeit davon absehen lassen.

Wenn mit der Festsetzung der deutschen Regierung in Zentral-Urundi selbst und mit der seit mehreren Jahren verfolgten Politik der Anfang zur „friedlichen Durchdringung" und kolonialen Entwicklung Urundis gemacht ist, so sind dies doch eben nur Anfänge. Bei der Abgelegenheit und Unwegsamkeit des großen Landes und bei dem primitiven Kulturstand, der geringen Zugänglichkeit, der leichten Erregbarkeit und dem starken Unabhängigkeitsgefühl der Barundi — die viel lebhafteren Geistes und viel freiheitlicher gesinnt sind als die despotisch disziplinierten Banjaruanda — wird es noch Jahre dauern, bis die Regierung eine wirkliche, wenn auch noch so einfache Verwaltung Urundis einrichten kann. Darin deckt sich meine Meinung mit der aller guten Kenner des Landes. Selbst nachdem die Zentralbahn vollendet ist und von dorther der kulturelle Einfluß auf Urundi sowie unsere Machtentfaltung in Urundi noch viel größer werden wird als jetzt, wird eine weise Politik noch auf Jahre hinaus keine tiefgreifenden Änderungen vornehmen. Namentlich wird sie noch lange Zeit darauf bedacht sein, mit und durch die Häuptlinge und großen Batwale zu regieren, da diese auf alle ihre Hintersassen den entscheidenden Einfluß haben, obwohl das Verhältnis der Bahutu zu ihren Batwale keineswegs so unterwürfig ist wie in Ruanda. Nicht das muß das Ziel des nächsten Jahrzehntes sein, die Herrschaft der Bahima über die Bahutu zu brechen, denn dazu haben wir nicht die nötige Macht, sondern die herrschende Klasse an unsern Verwaltungsmaßnahmen materiell zu interessieren, wie es im Bukobabezirk mit Erfolg geschieht und in Ruanda beabsichtigt ist. Es heißt, daß die Regierung beabsichtige, in der Oberleitung Urundis an Stelle der bisherigen Militärs künftig Zivilbeamte zu setzen und die Residentur in ein Bezirksamt umzuwandeln. Ich würde einen solchen Versuch für außerordentlich verfrüht halten und kann nur üble Folgen davon erwarten. Die Entwicklung in Urundi ist noch lange nicht so weit wie in Ruanda, wo die inneren und äußeren Verhältnisse die Einrichtung einer organisierten Zivilverwaltung viel eher erlauben, sondern bedarf noch sehr der festen Hand, der schnellen Entschließung, des

scharfen Blicks und des kriegerischen Ansehens eines an leitender Stelle stehenden Soldaten; aber eines erfahrenen, des Landes und des Volkes kundigen Soldaten, dessen Posten nicht bloß als ein kurzfristiges „Kommando" betrachtet wird, sondern als ein Stück Lebensaufgabe.

Zwei Dinge verlangen in der künftigen Verwaltungspolitik Urundis die sorglichste Beachtung: die Öffnung des Landes für den Handel und die Arbeiteranwerbung für andere Länder der Kolonie. Diese beiden Forderungen werden schon lange von vielen und einflußreichen Interessenten erhoben, aber beide darf die Regierung nur unter den schärfsten Kautelen zugestehen, wenn das Land nicht schweren Schaden nehmen soll. Bis 1908 war das Land für den Außenhandel ganz verschlossen, da früher die Könige niemand hereinließen, um fremde Einflüsse abzuhalten, und dann die deutsche Regierung den Fremdhandel und die Fremdenansiedlung untersagte, weil sie nach den anderwärts gemachten Erfahrungen von der Tätigkeit der Fremden starke Beunruhigung des Volkes in dem ohnehin schwer zu ordnenden Land befürchten mußte. Ebenso war es von der Residentur in Ruanda gehalten worden. Seit 1908 hält nun zwar die Regierung das Verbot, das Land zu betreten, für die gefährlichsten Elemente wie Araber und Inder aufrecht und erlaubte nur die Errichtung einiger Kramläden unter den Augen des Residenten selbst, aber sie gestattete, daß Wasuaheli und andere Neger als Wanderhändler das Land durchziehen und Hausierhandel treiben (kutschurusa). Die Folge war, daß zahlreiche indische und arabische Händler sich an der Außenperipherie Urundis in Uffuwi, Usámbiro, Uha, Unjamwesi, Udjidji in kleinen Gruppen ansiedelten und von da aus Urundi mit einem ganzen Heer von eingeborenen Agenten überschwemmen, die vor allem Viehhäute, daneben auch gelegentlich andere Landesprodukte, wie z. B. Wachs, gegen Stoffe und Perlen einhandeln und sie ihren an den Grenzen sitzenbleibenden Herren zuführen, von wo aus sie teils nach Bukoba an den Victoriasee, teils jetzt nach der Zentralbahn gehen. Dieser Hausierhandel der eingeborenen Agenten hat sich bereits zu einer wahren Landplage ausgewachsen. Es sind meist schlimme Kerle, die bei ihrem Handel die Barundi betrügen, die Häuptlinge und Batwale durch Warenvorschüsse von sich abhängig machen, die Weiber belästigen, Gonorrhöe, Lues und andere bis dahin den Barundi ferngebliebene Krankheiten verbreiten, Vieh und Feldfrüchte stehlen und allerlei anderen Unfug treiben. Nicht selten greift da der gereizte Murundi zu seinem Speer; und wird in dem Streit einer der schwarzen Händler oder einer seiner Träger und Boys, die gewöhnlich ebensolches Gesindel sind, totgeschlagen, so muß die Schutztruppe mit einer Strafexpedition einschreiten, wobei wohl auch Unschuldige mit den Schuldigen leiden müssen. Die Schutztruppe muß drakonisch bestrafen, um aufständische Bewegungen zu verhindern, aber der Grund des Übels, das schlimme Gebaren der schwarzen Händler, wirkt weiter.

Und was ist der wirtschaftliche Erfolg dieser Öffnung des Landes für den Verkehr, dieser „Belebung des Handels"? Wird durch die gesteigerte Nachfrage die Produktionskraft der Barundi erhöht? Wird die Viehzucht intensiver betrieben, um dem Handel die vor allem begehrten Häute und Felle reichlicher liefern zu können? Nein, im Gegenteil! Der von den Indern, Arabern, Wasuaheli und Wanjamwesi mit oft sehr bedenklichen Mitteln betriebene Häutehandel hat die Barundi in vielen Gegenden des Landes bereits zu einer wahren Raubwirtschaft unter ihren Viehbeständen verführt. Wenn es so weitergeht wie jetzt, wird in wenigen Jahren der

Viehstand Urundis (und Ruandas), der bisherige Stolz des Landes, aufs schwerste geschädigt sein. Was darüber der beste Kenner des Landes, v. d. Burgt, in der Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Zeitung, 1913, Nr. 84, geschrieben hat, ist im höchsten Grade lehrreich und beherzigenswert. Und meine im Lande gemachten Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen decken sich durchaus mit seinen Ausführungen. Am meisten sind von dem Raubhandel die Ziegenbestände betroffen, denn Ziegen werden von der großen Menge der Bahutu und Batwa gezüchtet und von vielen gegessen, während die Rinder den Baganwa und Batussi, die kein Ziegenfleisch essen, gehören, von ihnen als Kapital angesehen und zugleich aus religiösen Gründen so hoch geschätzt werden, daß nur die alten und kranken Tiere und die sterilen Kühe geschlachtet oder verkauft werden können (s. S. 46). Aber während man bis 1908 mit dem Schlachten der Rinder äußerst sparsam verfuhr und die Tiere nur zum Zweck festlichen Fleischgenusses oder zu Opfern tötete, wird jetzt unter allen möglichen Vorwänden in großem Maß geschlachtet, um die Häute an die Händler zu liefern, und vielleicht noch mörderischer wird mit den Ziegenbeständen aufgeräumt. Vor 1908 gab es mehrere Millionen Ziegen in Urundi, heute wird man kaum 1 Million zählen können; vor 1908 wurden die Rinder auf mindestens $^1/_2$ Million geschätzt, jetzt ist der Rindviehbestand innerhalb 5 Jahren unter $^1/_4$ Million herabgesunken (v. d. Burgt, a. a. O.). Lebendes Rindvieh kann glücklicherweise nicht oder doch nur bis in die nächsten Hochlandsgegenden ausgeführt werden, weil schon bald außerhalb Urundis die Verbreitungsgeviete der Tsetse beginnen, deren Stich die Rinder tötet (s. S. 41); aber Ziegen vertragen den Tsetsestich und werden deshalb lebend von den Händlern so weit ausgeführt, wie es sich lohnt.

Die aus diesen Mißständen erwachsende Gefahr für das ganze Wirtschaftsleben der Barundi ist ungeheuer groß. Sie muß die Regierung zwingen, sobald wie nur möglich die Grenzen des Landes wieder für den Wanderhandel der von den an den Grenzen sitzenden Indern, Arabern, Wasuaheli ausgesandten schwarzen Agenten zu sperren und die Batwale der Grenzdistrikte für die strikte Befolgung des Verbots verantwortlich zu machen. Gleichzeitig muß für die Einfuhr neuer Rinder-, Ziegen- und Schafrassen aus andern Ländern gesorgt werden, um durch Kreuzung das Blut des einheimischen Viehs aufzufrischen, das durch die lange Inzucht entartet ist. Denn erst, wenn sich der Viehstand wieder gekräftigt haben wird, ist die Zeit für geordneten Vieh- und Häuteexport unter europäischer Kontrole gekommen. Keinesfalls aber sollten in den Motiven, die in amtlichen und nichtamtlichen Schriften für die Notwendigkeit und Rentabilität einer Urundi-Ruanda-Bahn aufgezählt werden, die angeblich „nach vielen Hunderttausenden zählenden Viehherden jener Länder" genannt werden, die „der Ausnutzung harren".

Ebenso entschieden ist gegen ein anderes Argument Stellung zu nehmen, das in amtlichen und anderen Äußerungen für die Wünschbarkeit einer Ruanda-Urundi-Bahn stark betont wurde. Man hat diese volkreichen Hochländer des Zwischenseengebietes ausersehen, für die in den dünnbevölkerten küstennahen Gebieten gelegenen Plantagen die nötigen Arbeiter zu liefern. Aus den „großen Arbeiterreservoiren" Ruandas und Urundis soll den notleidenden Pflanzungen der Europäer im Küstengebiet, in Usambara, Ulugurn, am Kilimandjaro usw. die überall mangelnde Arbeitskraft zugeführt werden. Man braucht die Lage der Dinge nicht vom Standpunkt der Missionare zu betrachten, und man braucht kein grundsätzlicher Gegner der kapitalistischen Nutzung der Arbeitskraft der Eingeborenen zu sein, um sich mit aller Ent-

schiedenheit gegen die Arbeiterausfuhr aus Urundi und Ruanda zu wenden. Diese Völker sind Bergvölker, die das Klima der tieferen, wärmeren Lagen, wo Plantagenprodukte gedeihen können, absolut nicht vertragen. Auch ist der Murundi und Mumjaruanda an eine bestimmte Nahrung, in der die Milch eine große Rolle spielt, gewöhnt und hält an ihr auch aus religiösen Gründen fest (s. S. 103). Alle bisherigen Erfahrungen lehren, daß die Versetzung dieser Menschen aus ihren heimatlichen Hochländern nach anderen Gebieten sie in kurzem krank macht und bald ganz eingehen läßt. Auch erklären keineswegs sentimentale Kenner des Volkes, daß dabei die psychische Depression, das Heimweh, wie beim Tiroler, stark mitwirke. Es wäre meines Erachtens geradezu ein Frevel an dem Besten und Wertvollsten, was wir in unserer Kolonie haben, an der Volkskraft unserer Eingeborenen, wenn man jenen Wünschen gewisser Interessentenkreise nachgeben wollte. Die Hochlandsbewohner zur Lohnarbeit in die Tiefländer versetzen, wäre gleichbedeutend mit Massenmord, der sich an der Kolonie selbst am schwersten rächen würde. Es ist in dieser Hinsicht bereits schwer gefrevelt worden, indem man durch die organisierte Arbeiteranwerbung großen Gebieten unserer Kolonie, namentlich dem vormals von einer ziemlich dichten, arbeitswilligen Bevölkerung bewohnten Unjamwesi und Ussumbwa, für Plantagen, Bahnbau und andere europäische Unternehmungen so viele Männer entzogen hat, daß weite Landstriche völlig verödet sind, in anderen eine greuliche Sittenlosigkeit eingerissen ist, Syphilis und Kinderlosigkeit erschreckend um sich greifen, die Dörfer und Felder verfallen. Was ich und andere Beobachter in diesen Gebieten gesehen und zum Teil auch öffentlich mitgeteilt haben, bewegt mich, dringendst vor jedem Versuch zu warnen, die Arbeiteranwerbung auch auf die bisher noch in ihrer Volkskraft ungeschwächten Länder Urundi und Ruanda auszudehnen.

Sorgen wir für Ruhe und Ordnung in Urundi, helfen wir mit zur methodischen Entwicklung von Ackerbau und Viehzucht, sorgen wir für gute Verkehrswege, setzen wir arbeitsame deutsche Kolonisten in die kühlen Bergländer des Westens, soweit dort noch Platz ist, fördern wir die Tätigkeit eines geregelten, von deutschen Firmen ausgehenden und kontrollierten Handels und halten wir für jeden Fall unser Pulver trocken und unsere Truppe schlagfertig, so haben wir für die nächsten Jahrzehnte ein Arbeits- und Regierungsprogramm, dessen Durchführung für Urundi, die Barundi und uns selbst erfreuliche wirtschaftliche, kulturelle und politische Folgen haben wird.

Zwölftes Kapitel

Bemerkungen zur genealogischen Tabelle (s. Anhang I) der Barundifürsten

Von Pater J. M. M. van der Burgt

1. Ich war 1905—1908 in Nord-Urundi (Missionsstation Marienseen, Kaninja) sehr befreundet mit dem Großhäuptling (umuganwa) Muhini. Von ihm erfuhr ich alles, was mich interessierte. Besonders 1908, wenige Monate vor dem Tod des Königs Kisabo (Oktober 1908), als noch niemand vermuten konnte, daß der König, obwohl alt, so bald sterben würde, erzählte mir Muhini eine Menge Einzelheiten von der Barundidynastie, der Geschichte des Landes, von den beim Tod und Begräbnis des Königs üblichen Gebräuchen, von den Grundsätzen der Erbfolge, von der Wahl und Einsetzung des Königs usw.

Den größten Teil der Namen in der nachstehenden genealogischen Tabelle verdanke ich ebenfalls dem Muhini. Die Tabelle kann im ganzen als genau bezeichnet werden, obwohl im einzelnen Irrtümer nicht ausgeschlossen sind; sie ersetzt die Tabelle in meinem Buch „Un grand peuple de l'Afrique équatoriale", 1903. Damals hatte noch kein Europäer den Sultan Kisabo gesehen und gesprochen, vielleicht nicht einmal einen richtigen Muganwa (Mitglied des Königsgeschlechtes). Ich selbst war schon im Juli 1896 in nähere Berührung mit den Söhnen Kengeresas (Russabiko und Serjamurungu) gekommen, aber es war nicht möglich, damals etwas Vollständiges und Genaues aus ihnen über die Dynastie, die Geschichte des Landes, die Gebräuche usw. herauszubekommen. Später auf der Missionsstation Mugera (1899) bekam man höchstens Batussi zu sehen, besonders Wenengwe (s. S. 182), aber nur wenige Großhäuptlinge, die eine führende Rolle spielten. Diese großen Herren werden in ihrem Stolz und ihrem Mißtrauen nicht leicht intim und lassen sich schwer ausfragen, und doch kann man fast nur von ihnen etwas Genaues über Staats- und Familienangelegenheiten erfahren. Der gewöhnliche Murundi, sei er Mutussi oder Muhutu, weiß wenig oder gar nichts oder bringt nur Verworrenes, Unkontrollierbares zutage. Es ist bekannt, daß fast alle Neger sehr schwer dazu zu haben sind, die Namen der Verstorbenen zu nennen, aus Aberglaube oder Furcht vor den Geistern der Verstorbenen. Um so erstaunlicher ist es, daß Muhini zum Beispiel alle Namen der verstorbenen Fürsten ohne weiteres ausplauderte.

Das will aber nicht sagen, daß meine Liste vollständig und in allen Details genau ist. Zwar stehen darauf einige hundert Namen von Waganwa und Wamikasi bzw.

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Wenemwesi, also von königlichen Prinzen und Prinzessinnen, aber vielleicht nicht ein Zehntel der Gesamtzahl, denn die Gesamtheit dieser größeren und kleineren Waganwa bedeckt wie ein Netz ganz Urundi. Der größte Teil von ihnen sitzt in Nord-, Nordost- und Zentral-Urundi, während sie im Süden und westlich des großen Tanganika-Randgebirges minder zahlreich sind oder ganz fehlen. Dort gibt es nur Batussihäuptlinge, besonders der vier großen adligen Familien oder Sippen (s. unten). So ist z. B. auf der Regierungsstation Usumbura der bekannte Häuptling Kijogoma ein Munjakarama. Meine Liste ist aber doch wertvoll, besonders was Nord-Urundi betrifft, wo Muhinis Ahnen saßen und seine Verwandtschaft noch wohnt. Jetzt gilt es, die Liste zu vervollständigen, was hauptsächlich durch die Missionare geschehen kann, da diese länger im Lande sind, an verschiedenen Orten sich aufhalten, die Sprache beherrschen und auch das Vertrauen der Häuptlinge in höherem Maße besitzen als andere.

Ein großer Teil der Kinder des Sultans Kisabo, besonders der ältesten, haben jetzt schon Enkelkinder (Seruschanja) oder Großenkel (Seberiti); daher könnten schon jetzt Hunderte von Namen aus Nordwest-Urundi eingetragen werden. Muhini nannte mir stets ohne Zögern auch die Namen und Zahl der Töchter, Frauen und anderer weiblicher Verwandter, wie er sie auch gelegentlich gern vorstellte. Aber unter gewöhnlichen Umständen ist es sehr schwer, Genaueres über die Frauen zu erfahren. So hörte ich erst 1905 von Muhini, daß zwei seiner Schwestern mit meinem alten Freund Russabiko (1896) und später mit dessen Bruder Serjamurungu verheiratet waren. Man hat es also hier mit einer hochinteressanten Königsfamilie zu tun, die enorm zahlreich und fein gegliedert ist und sich jahrhundertelang durch die eigentümliche, streng durchgeführte Endogamie (s. S. 101, 182) sehr rein erhalten hat.

Viele Europäer, auch Offiziere, verwechseln noch immer die Batussi mit den Baganwa (abaganwa), was aber grundverschiedene Dinge sind. Muhini z. B. würde es als eine Beleidigung aufgefaßt haben, wenn seine Leute ihn einen Mutussi genannt hätten; er ist ein Muganwa, ein Prinz aus königlichem Blut. Diese Baganwa gelten fast als geheiligte Personen; sie zu töten, zu schlagen oder auch nur zu beleidigen, ist ein Sakrilegium und wird niemals vergessen. Unter den Batussihäuptlingen gibt es zwar auch größere mit viel Einfluß, aber sie nehmen doch stets eine untergeordnete Stellung ein, selbst wenn sie zu einer der vier oder fünf privilegierten adligen Sippen gehören, z. B. den Wenengwe oder den Wanjakarama. Es wäre von großem Wert, wenn solche Baganwa sich zum Christentum bekehrten. Bis jetzt ist nur ein einziger Christ, namens Buridzje in Kaninja, der mir 1905 wie ein gewöhnlicher Muhutujunge beim Bau der Missionsstation half.

Interessant wäre es auch, genealogische Tabellen von den Batussisippen anzufertigen, speziell den vier oder fünf großen privilegierten. Ich gebe nur eine einzige, von Suris Kindern.

Schließlich gebe ich auch noch die Namen von Russengos Ahnen (in Bugusi). Da dort möglicherweise bald der Pfiff der Lokomotive erschallen wird, wäre es wertvoll, dies Land zu studieren, ehe es zu spät ist. Pater Grün soll dort in Russengos Gebiet sehr alte bearbeitete Steinobjekte gefunden haben, wie auch in Karagwe; er glaubt an semitische Herkunft. Der Sage nach haben sich dort in Nordost-Urundi, Kissaka, Karagwe usw. vor 3—400 Jahren heftige Kriege abgespielt, z. B. zwischen dem legendenhaften Nsoro, den Wahondogo und dem Ruhinda oder Ntare. Vielleicht

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handelt es sich da um die Kämpfe einheimischer Fürsten (Nsoro) mit den aus Norden eindringenden Bahinda-Batussi-Eroberern. Mit diesen könnten die genannten Funde möglicherweise zusammenhängen.

2. **Chronologie.** In meiner Tabelle der Urundisultane von Ruhinda an bis Mutaga IV. habe ich Zahlen angegeben, die nur rechnerisch ermittelt sind. Beim Mangel fester Überlieferung ist es unmöglich, etwas Bestimmtes darüber zu erfahren. Ich habe diese Einteilung gemacht, um an das aus der übrigen Geschichte ziemlich feststehende Jahr 1500 heranzukommen. Statt drei Reihen von vier Königen, wie in meinem Buch „Un grand peuple de l'Afrique équatoriale", habe ich jetzt vier solcher Reihen aufgestellt. Da die Urundisultane sehr jung und unverheiratet ihr Amt antreten, so kann man eine lange Regierungszeit als das Normale annehmen, aber Muhini sagte mir, daß es auch Awami (Sultane) gegeben habe, welche nur kurz regierten. Der letzte, im Oktober 1908 gestorbene Mwesi Kisabo hat jedenfalls sehr lange, ca. 60 Jahre regiert. Er war noch ein Kind, das auf dem Rücken getragen wurde, als sein Vater starb; geboren ist er um 1840. Da um diese Zeit (1840 bis 1850) die Araber nach Tabora und Udjidji kamen, ist es wahrscheinlich, daß sie nach diesem damals zur Regierung gelangten jungen Mwesi das Land mit dem allgemeinen Namen Unjamwesi bezeichneten.

Kisabos Vater, Ntare IV., soll etwas älter gewesen sein, als er an die Regierung kam, und noch nicht alt, als er starb. Dagegen soll Mwambutsa III., der Vater von Ntare IV., sehr alt gestorben sein; dessen Vater Mutaga III. (oder II.?) jedoch noch jung im Krieg gegen Ruanda. Er hatte nur drei Söhne und keine Tochter.

Die Sultane von Urundi führen nur vier, immer in derselben Reihenfolge wiederkehrende Namen: Ntare, Mwesi, Mutaga, Mwambutsa. Dies ist auch anderswo in Negerdynastien üblich, z. B. in Uha, wo ebenfalls vier Namen immer wiederkehren, während es in Usambiro deren nur zwei sind. 1896/97 nannte man mir in Usumbura irrtümlich den Mwambutsa vor dem Mutaga. Daselbst behauptete der Häuptling Kijogoma, daß Mwambutsa (Ruhinda?) der Gründer der Dynastie gewesen sei.

Was passiert, wenn ein Umwami sehr jung ohne männliche Nachkommen stirbt, ist mir nicht bekannt; wahrscheinlich wird dann ein noch unverheirateter Bruder des Verstorbenen gewählt und führt dessen Namen, wie es z. B. in Usambiro Brauch ist.

3. **Geschichtliches.** Wie schon erwähnt, ist es schlechterdings unmöglich, viel wirklich Bestimmtes über die Geschichte ausfindig zu machen. Nach dem Tod des Ntare I. kam es zu großem Streit über die Erbfolge. Ntares Nachfolger war Mwesi II., der auch Rufuku genannt wurde. Allgemein wird ausgesagt, daß unter Ntare IV. (Kisabos Vater) das Land ruhig und glücklich gewesen sei, ohne Krieg, feindliche Einfälle, Krankheiten, wie solche z. B. unter Kisabos langer Regierung häufig waren (Rinderpest, Sandflöhe, Pocken, Heuschrecken usw.). Doch wird behauptet, daß Ntare IV. vergiftet worden sei. Es steht fest, daß in früheren Jahrhunderten das Land und seine Bevölkerung nur selten längere Zeit zur Ruhe kam wegen der ewigen Familienfehden und Streitigkeiten um die Erbfolge oder wegen der Kriege der Sultane und Großhäuptlinge untereinander. Diese Fehden dauerten bisweilen Jahrzehnte oder ein Menschenalter lang, wie unter dem König Kisabo. Kriege wie die des 1908 gestorbenen Kisabo mit dem Pseudo-Mwesi Kilima, mit seinen Brüdern und Neffen, oder die des Großhäuptlings Russabito mit seinem Bruder Musasje in Ujogoma, sind sicherlich keine Ausnahme in der Geschichte Urundis

gewesen, sondern vielmehr das Normale; wie bei uns im Mittelalter. Weiß Gott, wie viele Leute dabei zugrunde gegangen sind. Daß unter solchen schwierigen Umständen die Bevölkerung, auch die des Sultansgeschlechtes, für afrikanische Verhältnisse in Urundi und Ruanda so zahlreich ist, das spricht deutlich für die erstaunliche Lebenskraft und für den Kinderreichtum dieses starken Volkes. Es ist nicht zu verwundern, daß andere afrikanische Volksstämme aus solchen Gründen gänzlich in Verfall geraten sind, z. B. die 20 Sultanate des Wassumbwastammes. Was Pater van Thiel von der Bahindadynastie in Busindja geschrieben hat (Anthropos 1911, S. 497—520) ist ja nur ein Beispiel. Darum muß man es als einen großen Segen betrachten, daß die deutsche Regierung in dieser Beziehung Ordnung und Frieden schafft und derartige Fehden und Kriege, wie sie unter Kisabo üblich waren, allmählich unmöglich macht.

Früher war es in Urundi, wie fast überall in Ostafrika, die Regel, daß der neue Sultan seine nächsten Verwandten, besonders die älteren Brüder, durch Meuchelmord, Gift oder Krieg aus dem Wege schaffte. Wenn 1908 bei Kisabos Tod die deutsche Truppe nicht schnell zur Hand gewesen wäre, wäre sicherlich der kleine Mutaga (der jetzige Sultan) nicht unbehelligt von seinen Verwandten geblieben, und es hätte jahrelange kriegerische Streitigkeiten zwischen Seruschanja, Kilima, Kanoguno, Russokosa u. a. gegeben.

Von äußeren Kriegen ist in den Überlieferungen wenig die Rede, doch scheint Urundi nicht immer so groß gewesen zu sein wie heute. Die große Landschaft Ujogoma gehörte zu Nkansas Zeit noch zu Nord-Uha (Ujungu) und scheint vom Urundikönig Ntare IV. (1830—60) erobert und seinem Sohn Ruassa zugewiesen worden zu sein. Kisabo aber hatte viel mit Angreifern, die von außen kamen, zu tun, z. B. mit den Wangoni im Osten, die er bei Murole schlug, und mit den Arabern (Numalisa) im Westen. Mutaga III. (1780—1800) starb jung im Krieg gegen Ruanda. Es war ein Verteidigungskrieg, denn der Akanjarufluß scheint immer die Grenze gegen Ruanda gewesen zu sein. Die Ruandasultane der jüngeren Dynastie haben immer Eroberungsgelüste bei den Urundiherrschern vorausgesetzt und gefürchtet. Dort gibt es eine Sage, daß einmal ein großer König aus Urundi kommen werde, der ganz Ruanda erobern werde.

Ntare III. (oder II.?) soll Urundi nach Nordosten hin vergrößert haben und die Wahondogo unter Nsoro (Sohn des Sewukeje) endlich besiegt und nach Ruanda (Bugessera, Kissaka) gedrängt haben. Dort in Ruanda leben noch Abkömmlinge des Nsoro als gewöhnliche Batussi. Der Krieg muß heiß gewesen sein, denn die Alten reden viel von jenen Wahondogo. Im Anfang war das Kriegsglück offenbar auf seiten der letzteren, denn Ntare mußte nach Uha flüchten, wo er die Nionawa, Tochter des Kihumbi (des Vaters von Ruhaga und Großvaters von Nkansa) heiratete. Er wollte zwar Nsuriwakugwa, eine Schwester des Ruhaga, zur Frau haben. Dies wurde ihm aber verweigert, und aus Rache dafür soll er den Ruhaga getötet haben. Einen Monat später sei er zur Strafe für die Müssetat an den Pocken gestorben. Die Exogamie (s. S. 101) hat aber nichts daran ändern können, daß später unter Nkansa (1880?) Ujogoma für Uha verloren ging. Der schließliche Sieg des Ntare über die Wahondogo ist im Lande durch ein Denkmal verewigt, das für Mittelafrika sehr ungewöhnlich ist. Ende 1904 fand ich wenige Kilometer nördlich vom Sultanskral Mbuje am Berg Iwanga hinauf eine doppelte Reihe von Steinhaufen

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in regelmäßigen Abständen, wie eine „Siegesallee" von Kilometerlänge. Möglicherweise sind unter den Steinhaufen gefallene Krieger begraben, vielleicht enthalten sie Knochen, Schmuckgegenstände, Waffen.

Ich sprach von Beziehungen Urundis zu Uha. Uha scheint bezüglich seiner Geschichte, Ethnologie usw. ein sehr altes Land zu sein. Auch jetzt noch stehen die Ruanda- und Urundisultane in Beziehung zu den Uhazauberern und Hohenpriestern und schicken von Zeit zu Zeit Deputationen dorthin. Schon 1892 sagte mir der Pater Capus: „Dort in Uha (Nuguru) gibt es eine zentrale Akademie für Zauberer (Wafumu)." Das Wort Akademie klingt ja etwas feierlich, aber sicherlich ist dort ein Zentrum von Großwafumu und Geheimbünden, z. B. der Watschwesi, wie es ein zweites solches Zentrum in Kibija in Usukuma gibt. Viele Wafumu aus Unjamwesi, Ussumbwa, Usámbiro, Ussuwi usw. gehen nach Uha, um dort zu studieren, und holen sich dort ihre Weisheit und ihre Komplottgelüste. Denn der Unfug des Kihege in Süd-Uha (1909—10) ist zweifellos aus jenem Nest entsprungen.

Der Mwesi Kisabo wurde in Mugera in Mittel-Urundi, 3 Stunden südlich von der St.-Antonius-Mission, geboren. Deswegen kam es ihm und seinen Zauberern sehr ungelegen, daß gerade dort am 11. Februar 1899 die ersten Europäer (katholische Missionare) sich festsetzten. Der Mugeraberg gilt als ein heiliger Berg; sein Imana (Gruppe von alten heiligen Bäumen) ist berühmt. Kisabo durfte bei Lebzeiten den Boden dieses Berges nicht betreten. Kisabos Mutter ist in Wukeje begraben, und auch Mwambutsa, Kisabos Großvater, liegt dort begraben. Dort in Nordwest-Urundi, östlich des Gebirgshanges, gibt es eine besonders große Menge solcher Imanas oder Ivigabiros, d. h. geheiligter Plätze, die einst wohl Sultanskrale gewesen sind.

4. Die hohen Adelsgeschlechter der Batussi. Unter den zahlreichen Batussigeschlechtern Urundis gibt es nur vier (oder sechs?), welche das ausschließliche Recht und die Ehre haben, dem regierenden Sultan (umwami) die ebenbürtigen Ehefrauen zu liefern; mit andern Worten: aus diesen vier Geschlechtern (umurjango) wählt sich der Sultan seine Ehefrauen und niemals unter den Töchtern der Baganwa. Der obenerwähnte Fall, wo ein Sultan Ntare sich eine Prinzessin aus Uha (Kihumbis Tochter) holte, ist meines Wissens eine Ausnahme; es war wahrscheinlich nur eine politische, nicht ebenbürtige Ehe. Diese Regel scheint auch für die Söhne des Sultans zu gelten, wird aber nicht so streng durchgeführt. Die Töchter des regierenden Sultans werden jedoch niemals an Baganwasöhne verheiratet, aber stets an Batussi der vier privilegierten Geschlechter. Andererseits verheiraten die Baganwa ihre Töchter meistens an andere Baganwa. Aus demselben Grund der Reinhaltung des Blutes gibt es andere Negerdynastien, z. B. Msalala in Unjamwesi, wo nicht ein Sohn des verstorbenen Sultans regiert, sondern ein Sohn von einer der Schwestern seines Vaters oder auch seine eigene Schwester. So wird von Luabugiri, dem Vater Musingas in Ruanda, behauptet, daß er seine eigene Schwester oder gar seine Tochter zur Frau gehabt habe. Dies aber sei in den Augen der Bevölkerung verpönt gewesen. Die meisten Sultane prunken damit, Königstöchter aus weiter Ferne zu Frauen zu haben. So hatte z. B. der berühmte Sike von Unjanjembe (Tabora) eine Häuptlingstochter aus Usámbiro zur Frau; Mhimu in Ngaja (Msalala) eine Tochter des Sultans der Wangoni, wie auch Mirambo.

Die vier privilegierten, sozusagen hoffähigen Batussigeschlechter sind: die Wakundo, die Warwanda, die Wenengwe und die Wanjakarama, vielleicht

auch die Wasigawa. Ob der Urvater der Warwanda (Wawanda, Wabanda?) aus Ruanda stammte, bleibe dahingestellt. Der Urvater der Wakundo hieß Rukundo und war von mütterlicher Seite der Urvater des 1. Ntare; vermutlich stammte er aus Kissaka. Auch Ruruna, einer der Ahnen Schojas, war ein Wenerukundo. Die Wanjakarama nennen Senjakarama, der in Rugasi, Kungare, begraben ist, ihren Urahnen; und endlich die Wenengwe den Kenengwe. Manche behaupten, es gebe noch ein fünftes privilegiertes Geschlecht (umurjango), die Wasigawa, die wenigstens früher dem Sultan Ehefrauen lieferten (kuschingira). Dieses Geschlecht ist noch in Kissaka und auch in Uha häufig. So soll die Mutter des 1. Ntare, die aus Kissaka stammte, eine Musigawa mit Namen Nakafumba-Kaukomera gewesen sein. Endlich ist noch die Rede von einem sechsten privilegierten Geschlecht, den Waterwa (Watirwa), dessen Urahne Nuterwa gewesen ist. Zu diesem Geschlecht der Waterwa gehörte Tschiandore, dessen Vater Virengesi war.

Die Wenengwe-Batussi sind besonders zahlreich in Mittelurundi (Mugera) und waren seit fast einem Jahrhundert sehr rührig. Sie haben eine Menge führender Stellungen als Batwale inne. Dagegen traten die andern genannten Geschlechter, besonders die Wakundo und Wawanda, immer mehr in den Hintergrund, was übrigens nicht zu verwundern ist, da die Mütter der zwei letzten Könige (Ntare IV. und Mwesi Kisabo) Wenengwe waren. Mit den Wenengwe haben aber auch die Wanjakarama in der letzten Zeit mehr Einfluß gewonnen. Unter den 11 Frauen Kisabos zählte man fünf Wenengwe, vier Wanjakarama, eine Mukundo und eine Muwanda.

5. Thronfolge und Sultanswahl. Die Mutter des jetzigen Umwami Mutaga, also die Ninamutaga, ist eine Tochter des Sekawonji. Sie wurde geboren im Kral Katabo zu Musiramwanda (Provinz Wunoge, Nordost-Urundi); sie heißt Ndirikumútima und gehört zu den Wanjakarama-Batussi. Ihre älteste Schwester war die erste Frau des Muhimi. Sie soll noch jung und insobe (hübsch) sein und dazu sehr intelligent und energisch. Eines Tages ging die Prinzessin auf Besuch nach Wukeje zu einer ihrer Verwandten, nämlich der Mutter des Seruschanja, des ältesten lebenden geliebten Sohnes von Kisabo. Diese Verwandte, Umwamikasi, war auch eine Munjakarama. Dort lernte der alte Sultan Kisabo die Prinzessin kennen, und nach dem Tod von Seruschanjas Mutter nahm er sie zu seiner Favoritfrau. In wenigen Jahren schenkte sie ihm 13 Kinder, von denen 1908 noch acht am Leben waren, sechs Knaben und zwei Mädchen. Der älteste der Knaben, Mwikidzje oder Mwikidje, der jetzige Mutaga, war 1908 kaum mehr als 15 Jahre alt. In der ersten Zeit ihrer Ehe wohnte die Frau in dem Sultanskral Mutukura, aber bald darauf siedelte sie nach Ndago in Nordwest-Urundi über, wo auch die meisten ihrer Kinder, u. a. der Kronprinz Mwikidje, geboren sind. Alle Barundi sagen und glauben, daß der Mwikidje bei seiner Geburt als Zeichen seiner künftigen Herrschaft in seiner kleinen Hand die Samen von allen Getreiden und Pflanzenarten Urundis mit zur Welt gebracht habe. Als er von der Brust entwöhnt und mit zwei Jahren ein Mutschuku war, hat die Ndirikumútima ihren Erstling eines Tages feierlich dem Seruschanja und andern offiziellen Personen gezeigt, und so galt er von diesem Tag an als der zukünftige Umwami, jedoch ohne Wissen der andern Brüder. Von diesem Tage an ist er dann jahrelang in Mwirimwa südlich von Kigando bei vertrauten Batussi verborgen geblieben, angeblich um ihn vor der Vinjorokrankheit (Frambösie?) zu

schützen, in Wirklichkeit aber, um sein Leben gegen die Eifersucht seiner zahlreichen Brüder und Anverwandten zu sichern. Zur Zeit des Krieges des Hauptmanns v. Beringe gegen Kisabo (1903), als der letztere wie ein Flüchtling in seinem Land umherstreifte und die Mutter wie auch die anderen Reichsgroßen glaubten, daß es mit dem alten Mwesi zu Ende sei, ist der vorher bestimmte Kronprinz etwa neunjährig aus Mwirimwa zurückgeholt worden, um für alle Fälle bereit zu sein.

Was gehört nun dazu, um Sultan von Urundi zu werden? Wie erwähnt, fabelt die Menge davon, daß der künftige Thronfolger mit allerhand Samen von Landesfrüchten in seinen Händen geboren wird. Auch in anderen Negerstaaten besteht dieser Glaube. Eine zweite Bedingung ist die, daß er noch nicht verheiratet ist, und die dritte, daß seine Mutter noch lebt, denn ein Sprichwort sagt: „Ein Waisenkind regiert nicht". Diesmal mußte aber auch noch die Mutter eine Munjakarama sein. Wie gesagt, waren die Mütter der zwei letzten Könige Wenengwe, und wahrscheinlich gibt es hier eine bestimmte Regel für den Wechsel der privilegierten Familien, so daß schon hierdurch die meisten noch lebenden Söhne Kisabos von der Herrschaft ausgeschlossen waren, weil die Söhne schon verheiratet waren oder ihre Mütter nicht mehr lebten. Jedenfalls sagte mir Muhini schon 1905, daß nur die Kinder der Ndirikumütima in Betracht kämen, und daß unter diesen der Mwikidzje der Prädestinierte und Auserwählte (kutora, kutorwa) sei.

Es ist zu bemerken, daß in Urundi die Thronfolge zwar erblich ist, aber doch auch eine Wahl stattfindet. Man spricht immer von kutora (wählen). Gewöhnlich wartet man einen Monat nach dem Tod des Sultans ab. 1908 bei Kisabos Tod war aber Eile nötig. Der alte Kisabo starb nach einem Besuch der Militärstation Usumbura unweit von diesem Platz plötzlich auf dem Rückweg nach Wukeje. Dieses Mal verlief der große Wahlakt glatt. Wenn aber die Deutschen mit ihrem Militär nicht im Land gewesen wären, wäre es sicher zu einer großen Streiterei gekommen, wie nach dem Tod Ntares IV., und es hätten wohl besonders der Häuptling Kilima und die Baganwa im Osten ihre Stimme erhoben.

Der Wahlakt scheint keine bloße Formalität zu sein. In früheren Jahren sagte man mir, daß der Vater selbst seinen Nachfolger bezeichne, aber solcher Bezeichnung wird bei der Wahl häufig nicht Rechnung getragen. Daß auch die Mutter resp. die Mütter mitreden, versteht sich von selbst, obwohl sie nicht bei der Wahl gegenwärtig sind.. Sicherlich spielen auch die alten Bahima-Bafumu, die Zauberer, eine große Rolle bei dieser Gelegenheit

Wenn der Wahltag, der durch Opfer an die Geister (keterekera) festgestellt ist, gekommen ist, werden am frühen Morgen die Rinder aus dem Kral des Königs zur Tränke getrieben. Dies besorgen diesmal nur die Wahlmänner, nicht die gewöhnlichen Hirten; es sind alte vertraute Batussi, die Räte des verstorbenen Sultans, zusammen mit einer entsprechenden Anzahl von Bafumu (Zauberern). Auch der älteste Sohn des verstorbenen Umwami (diesmal Seruschanja) ist dabei, sonst niemand. Die Rinderherde ist eine auserwählte, denn es gibt sogenannte heilige Herden in Urundi. Beim Tränken der Tiere vollzieht sich nun die Wahl. Wie diese aber im einzelnen geschieht, ob aus dem Benehmen der Tiere bestimmte Weisungen abgeleitet werden, die zur Entscheidung des Wahlaktes führen oder ob andre Zeichen gedeutet werden, ist mir unbekannt und wird wohl noch für lange unbekannt bleiben. Denn der Vorgang wird mit großem Geheimnis umgeben. Die Batussi, die Baganwa und die ganze königliche

Familie üben ja einen wahren Rinderkultus aus. So ist auch das Zurtränketreiben der Rinder stets ein feierlicher Akt für die Batussi. Nachdem die Herde vom Wahlakt gekommen ist und die Kühe gemolken worden sind, fragt die versammelte Menge neugierig, wer der Erkorene sei, und feierlich antworten die Wahlmänner: „Umwami wimje, n'intuse" (d. h. der König herrscht, es ist N. N.). Nun geht der Jubel los. Die sogenannte Strohhuldigung (kukura ubwatsi) beginnt. Berge von trockenem Gras häufen sich an; man klatscht in die Hände (kukoma maschi), man beschmiert sich die Gesichter mit Kalkerde (ingwa), die Trommeln werden gerührt, und laut wird der Name des neuen Herrschers ausgerufen, indem man schreit: „Umwami aratasche, arasje", d. h. der König hat sich verabschiedet, er ist zurückgekommen. Man tanzt wie toll, und das ganze Hofpersonal nimmt an dem Tanz teil; man bringt zahllose Dankopfer dar, verschenkt Bier in Menge und schlachtet viele Ochsen an diesem Tag und in der nächsten Zeit.

Nur die Mutter des neuen Sultans ist anwesend, und auch ihr wird viel Ehre erwiesen. Die anderen Sultansfrauen dürfen nicht dabei sein, und möglichst werden auch die andern jungen Prinzen beiseite gehalten. Die ältern Sultansweiber läßt man leben, aber die jüngern, von denen man annimmt, daß sie sich noch einmal verheiraten könnten, werden getötet, wenigstens geschah dies früher nach der alten Sitte. Solange der Sultan noch jung ist, hat die Königsmutter einen großen Einfluß auf die Geschäfte, auch auf die politischen, und spielt eine fast ebenso große Rolle wie der Regent (damals Seruschanja). Bald nach der Wahl sucht man dem Umwami eine Frau aus den Töchtern einer der vier privilegierten Sippen aus. Beim jetzigen König Mutaga scheint die Sippe der Wenengwe in den Hintergrund treten zu müssen und die Wanjakarama, die Wakundo und die andern mehr in den Vordergrund zu treten. Früher war es eine der ersten und vornehmsten Beschäftigungen des neuen Königs, richtiger gesagt der Königsmutter, des Regenten und seiner Familie, die Wagome, d. h. die Aufständischen (meist Familienmitglieder), zu beseitigen. Künftig wird das nicht mehr möglich sein.

6. Tod und Bestattung des Königs, Trauergebräuche. Nach dem Tod eines Königs wird der Leichnam, so wie er ist, in den Kral (lugo) getragen, wo die Leute, besonders die Weiber, zusammenkommen, um ihn zu beweinen (kugandara). Dann werden die privilegierten Leichenträger (wanjange) bestellt, die zugleich die Wächter der Grabstätten der Urundifultane sind. Sie bilden einen eigenen Stand, sind Bahutu, keine Batussi, und wohnen in ihrem Dorf Wunjange südlich des Imangaberges. Dorthin wird nun der Leichnam in einem Trauerzug getragen, aber nur wenige Vertraute des Königs, darunter auch einige Dienerinnen (intschoreke), begleiten den Zug. Wunjange ist eine geheim gehaltene Örtlichkeit, die kein Murundi betreten darf. Dort angekommen, fangen die Wanjange an, den Leichnam zu präparieren, denn von einem eigentlichen Begraben kann nicht die Rede sein. Nachdem die Leiche von allem Schmuck, Amuletten usw. befreit ist, wird sie gewaschen und reichlich mit Butter eingesalbt. Diese Butter ist mit wohlriechenden Kräutern (imbasi), mit roter Erde (akahama) u. a. vermischt. Darauf wird der Leichnam in zahlreiche Häute, unter anderen in solche der Moorantilope (insobe) und in Fikusrindenstoffe eingewickelt und auf ein hölzernes Gerüst, das aus dem Holz des Murinsi-Baumes hergestellt ist, gelegt (kutarura). Zwei Monate lang wird unter dem Gerüst ein leichtes Rauchfeuer unterhalten und der Körper mehrmals umgedreht. Nach nicht

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langer Zeit kommt, wie alle Barundi glauben, ein dicker großer Wurm zum Vorschein (umusimu wa sultani), der nun durch die Wanjange mit Milch gefüttert und gepflegt wird (kurarira), bis er sich in einen Löwen oder eine Pythonschlange verwandelt. Wenn nach langer Zeit das Gerüst vermodert zusammenbricht, wird eine Hütte über die Trümmer gebaut, aber nichts wird berührt, alles, auch die Knochen, bleiben an ihrer Stelle liegen, selbst der neue Sultan darf nichts wegnehmen. Der Ort Wunjange ist die einzige Bestattungsstelle der Könige von Urundi, obwohl man sagt, daß Mwambutsa III. anderswo „begraben" sei. Der sorgsam geheimgehaltene Platz ist auch ein Freiplatz, d. h., wenn es vorkäme, daß zufällig ein zum Tode verurteilter Missetäter sich dorthin flüchten würde, dürfte er dort nicht belästigt werden. Möglicherweise wird er in den Bund der Wanjange aufgenommen. Bei der genannten Leichenhütte (ikigabiro) werden von nun an dauernd Opfer gebracht.

Die dienenden Frauen und Mädchen (intschoreke), die den Leichenzug begleitet haben, kehren nach zwei Tagen zurück, aber ein Mädchen, das vom Chef der Wanjange auserwählt worden ist, bleibt dort und wird die Frau des Wanjangechefs, welcher fortan den Namen Mwesi annimmt; ihre Kinder werden Awene Mwesi wu Wunjange genannt. (Bis zum Tode Kisabos gab es dort also einen überlebenden Ntare.) Alles, was das erwähnte Mädchen an Vieh, Hausgeräten usw. besitzt, wird dorthin geschafft. Stirbt sie, so wird sie nicht durch eine andere Person ersetzt.

In Wunjange gibt es noch einen zweiten Wanjangechef, der den Namen Mwesi w'inkoma oder Njamateke führt. Dieser Chef hat die Obhut der heiligen alten Getreide- und Fruchtsamen (imbuto ja masaka). Dieser Behüter der Getreidefrüchte wird beim Tod des Sultans getötet. Sonst werden, wie mir Muhini berichtete, bei Gelegenheit der Bestattung des Sultans keine jungen Mädchen oder andere jungen Leute mehr getötet oder geopfert, aber man wählt unter den Großen des Landes einen umuherekesi, welcher getötet wird, um den verstorbenen Sultan ins Jenseits zu begleiten (kuherekesa), und zwar wird diese Rolle als eine besondere Ehre angesehen.

Wie erwähnt, leben auf diese Weise durch Stellvertreter die Königsnamen Ntare, Mwesi, Mutaga, Mwambutsa fort, und die Barundi hegen keine Scheu, diese Namen auszusprechen, während sie sonst ängstlich vermeiden, die Namen der Toten, unter andern der Eltern, zu nennen; vielleicht werden die Barundisultane noch als lebend betrachtet. Jedenfalls ist diese Ausnahme von der Regel bemerkenswert. Im übrigen wird die Scheu vor den Verstorbenen so weit getrieben, daß sogar Berge und andere Gegenstände, die den gleichen Namen wie der Verstorbene haben, diesen ändern. Einer der Söhne Kisabos heißt z. B. Mafjuguru, d. h. Speer. Nach seinem Tod benennt man nun einen Speer nicht mehr mit dem Wort mafjuguru, sondern mit itschumu. Der älteste Sohn Kisabos hieß Namagongo. Nach seinem Tod wurde der große Bergsturz in Nord-Urundi nicht mehr Magongo, sondern Mukidja genannt. Ich möchte nebenbei bemerken, daß meiner Ansicht nach ein großer Teil der ostafrikanischen Bantunamen für Länder, Provinzen usw. von Personennamen herrührt. So spricht man z. B. in Unjamwesi immer von Ukundi, Upera, Usámbiro usw., was früher einfach die Namen der Könige waren, die in der betreffenden Landschaft herrschten.

Die Trauergebräuche der Barundi beim Tod der Könige sind sehr mannigfaltig. Ich kann nur von einem Teil Mitteilung machen. Die tiefe Trauer dauert

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nur einen Monat für die gesamte Bevölkerung, ausgenommen die Batwa, die keine Verpflichtung zum Trauern haben, weil sie keine Abantu (Menschen) sind. In der Umgegend der Sultanskrale dauert die Trauer fast ein Jahr. Während des vollen Monats der tiefen Trauer darf kein Murundi sein Feld bestellen, ackern, säen oder pflanzen. Jedes Geräusch wird vermieden oder bei Arbeiten, die nicht ohne Geräusch ausgeführt werden können, wenigstens sehr gemildert. Die Schmiede dürfen nicht schmieden, das Klopfen der Baumrinden zum Herstellen der Rindenkleider ist verboten, oder man darf das Zeug nur auf einem Holzblock oder auf dem harten Boden ganz leise klopfen. So muß auch beim Mehlmahlen der Weiber der Mahlstein statt auf eine steinerne Unterlage nur auf den Boden gelegt werden. Das Getreide darf nicht in Mörsern gestampft werden, sondern man darf die Körner nur leise auf dem harten Erdboden ausklopfen. Beim Bau einer Hütte dürfen die Löcher im Boden, in welche die Hüttenstützen gesteckt werden, nicht wie sonst mit einem eisernen Speerende ausgegraben werden, sondern nur mit einer Feldhacke, was weniger Geräusch macht. Das Buttermachen durch Schütteln in großen Kalebassen ist nicht erlaubt. Der geräuschvolle große Religionsakt des kubandwa darf während der Trauerzeit nicht ausgeübt werden. Getanzt darf nicht werden, aber es ist erlaubt, die inkindi, d. h. die als Tanzschmuck gebrauchten weißgegerbten Häute, zu tragen. Statt der üblichen schwarzen Rindenstoffe werden rotbraune, nicht geschwärzte, getragen, wenn man solche hat. Die Haarfrisuren (massunsu, urugori usw.) werden abrasiert, die Weiber verhüllen ihre kupfernen und eisernen Armbänder und Beinringe mit altem Rindenzeug usw.

Ein eigentümlicher Trauerbrauch ist der, daß bei den Rindern die männlichen Tiere von den weiblichen getrennt gehalten werden, dergleichen beim Kleinvieh, selbst beim Geflügel. Noch mehr: auch die Menschen sollen während der Trauerzeit einen Monat lang Abstinenz üben (warariama hasi); man glaubt sogar, daß der neue Sultan sterbe, wenn in dieser Zeit ein Kind gezeugt werde. Ein solches Kind komme zur Welt mit den Füßen voran und mit Zähnen an der Nase. Ein derartiges Monstrum (ikimuga) wird sofort im Fluß ertränkt.

Im allgemeinen verursachen nach dem Glauben aller Barundi Zuwiderhandlungen gegen diese Trauergebräuche allerlei großes Unglück. Die Übertreter werden zwar nicht getötet, aber ihre Handlungsweise wird als schwere Pietätlosigkeit oder gar als Majestätsbeleidigung angesehen. Wenn Bahutu z. B. ertappt werden, daß sie in dieser Zeit doch ihr Feld bestellen, werden ihre Hacken durch den Mutwale beschlagnahmt. Endlich behaupten die Barundi, daß in dem Trauermonat ein großer Hund oder anderes Ungeheuer (ikisuka) vom Königskral aus nächtlich das ganze Land durchstreift und die unverheirateten Frauen und Mädchen belästigt. Die Ärmsten müssen in dieser Zeit eine Menge zweifelhafter Witze hören.

7. Die heilige Trommel, das Paladium des Reiches. Die für heilig gehaltene Trommel des Sultans heißt akarjenda; sie stammt aus Mugera in Mittel-Urundi, wie auch die karinga genannte Trommel der Ruandasultane und ebenso die der früheren Sultane von Kissaka. Diese heilige Trommel wird nie geschlagen, sondern bleibt stets verhüllt in eine Menge Rindenzeug und Matten. An dem Tag, wo der Sultan für ganz Urundi die Erlaubnis gibt zum Aussäen des Sorghumgetreides (masakka), wird die Trommel etwas von ihrer Hülle befreit. Die akarjenda-Trommel empfängt fast göttliche Verehrung (kusenga); der Sultan in Person

bringt ihr eine Menge Rinder zum Geschenk. Zum Alarmschlagen gibt es noch eine zweite Trommel, rukinso genannt. Drei „Vestalinnen" sind angewiesen, die akarjenda-Trommel zu behüten und ihr die pflichtmäßigen Opfer zu bringen. Eine solche Vestalin wird umuka w' akarjenda, d. h. Frau des akarjenda genannt. Die erste im Rang, eine Mutussikasi, wohnte damals in Kagongo bei Ndaga unweit des alten Krals des einstigen Sultans Ntare; sie gehörte der Batussifamilie der Warima an. Die zweite hat ihren Sitz in Wukeje, die dritte in Itara. Die letztere war eine Muhutu aus dem Geschlecht der Wawaga. Diese drei Vestalinnen werden durch die Ältesten ihrer Familie ausgewählt. Sie müssen Jungfrauen (inkumi) sein und bleiben. Sie werden streng überwacht und, wenn es vorkommt, daß sie ihre Keuschheit verletzen, getötet.

Bei der Gelegenheit, als Muhini mir manches über die akarjenda-Trommel erzählte, kam auch die Sprache auf Riangombe, einen der Hauptgötter der Barundi (S. 120, 122, 126). Dieser Riangombe, wie auch der zweite Gott Kiranga, soll ein Mensch, ein gewöhnlicher Sterblicher gewesen sein. Dagegen wird Imana, der oberste Gott, als die Weltseele, die gebärende, befruchtende, lebenspendende Urkraft, eine Art Pandämonium, gedacht. Riangombe soll in Murinsi begraben sein. Der Name des geweihten Murinsiholzes in den Königskralen war wahrscheinlich früher der Name für einen Ort oder eine Landschaft. Mpumuti hat Riangombe getötet, aber Ruhanga hat seinen Vater Riangombe gerächt und den Mpumuti erschlagen. Die Sage geht, daß Riangombe eines Tages auf der Rhinozerosjagd durch Mpumuti, der die Gestalt eines solchen Tieres angenommen hatte, ermordet wurde. Darauf hätten seine sämtlichen Kinder Selbstmord begangen, ausgenommen Ruhanga, welcher die Tochter Mpumutis zur Frau nahm.

8. Der Urundiprätendent Kilima. In der genealogischen Tabelle habe ich den Häuptling Kilima, der dem rechtmäßigen Umwami Kisabo und auch der deutschen Regierung so viel zu schaffen gemacht und das Land immer in Unruhe gehalten hat, besonders aufgeführt. Von diesem Kilima, der auch Kitinwa (der Gefürchtete), Witaho oder Kirimamjambi genannt wurde, wird behauptet, er sei ein richtiger Muganwa, ein Sohn des Masango oder Kihanamasango (eines Sohnes des Ntare), der durch seinen Bruder Kisabo getötet worden sei. Andere behaupten, er sei identisch mit Kihanamasango. Kilima hat einen großen Anhang, der an seinen berechtigten Anspruch auf „die Krone" Urundis glaubt, aber nur in der äußersten Nordwestecke Urundis, auf der Westseite der Kibiraberge zum Russisisifluß hin und in geringerem Maß auch unter den Nachkommen Ndwjarjes in Ost-Urundi, Bweru. Daß der alte Kisabo den Kilima stets für einen Eindringling erklärte, ihn einen Inwubu (Nilpferd), einen Muhutu, sogar einen Mutwa nannte, könnte aus Neid oder Politik erklärt werden, aber die richtigen Baganwa, z. B. Muhini und Tschoja, der sicherlich kein Freund Kisabos war, haben mir stets bestimmt versichert, daß er ein Pseudo-Umwami, ein Pseudo-Muganwa sei. Sein Ahne (Vater?) soll Makasa, ein Sohn des Ntatschawukura, ein Mutwa des Ruandasultans Luabugiri gewesen sein. Nach anderen Aussagen folgen die Ahnen Kilimas aufwärts in nachstehender Reihe aufeinander: Ruabika (sein Vater), Materana, Makombe. Wahrscheinlich ist er einfach ein Munjambungu aus der großen Landschaft Unjambungu westlich des Russisisiflusses und soll durch Rutaganda, den Sultan von Unjambungu, aus politischen Gründen gegen Urundi ausgespielt worden sein. Kilimas Mutter war eine

2: Meyer FO42 Rundi

Ruhjambungu und seine erste Frau (Njavisaga) eine Muwira aus der Landschaft Uwira. Als seine Söhne werden u. a. genannt Kagijebuami, Ruassa u. a.

Kilima macht persönlich einen guten Eindruck, und es ist nicht zu leugnen, daß er von Anfang an (1896—1898) der deutschen Regierung und den Europäern überhaupt viel freundlicher gesinnt war als Kisabo und die alte konservative Batussipartei, welche früher und heute noch alle Europäer am liebsten aus dem schönen Land Urundi hinausgeworfen hätte. Aber das war von seiten Kilimas großenteils nur Politik; er wäre gern mit Hilfe der Deutschen in den Besitz von ganz Urundi gekommen. Jetzt ist Kisabo tot und sein Nachfolger Mutaga noch jung, aber es wird immer aufreizend auf die Sultansfamilie wirken und noch manche Wirren hervorrufen, wenn man den Kilima in der Nordwestecke dicht bei den uralten Königsheiligtümern (ivigabiro) und heiligen Bäumen (imana), die besonders zahlreich in Wukeje sind, wohnen läßt. Wenn man den Kilima beibehalten will, so wäre es klug, seinen Bezirk auf den Teil Urundis westlich vom Kiviragebirge bis nach Usumbura, dem Russisifluß und der Ruandagrenze hin zu beschränken.

Anhang I.

Genealogische Tabellen der Barundifürsten.

Von Pater J. M. M. van der Burgt.

Tabelle A.

Kinder des Ntare IV.

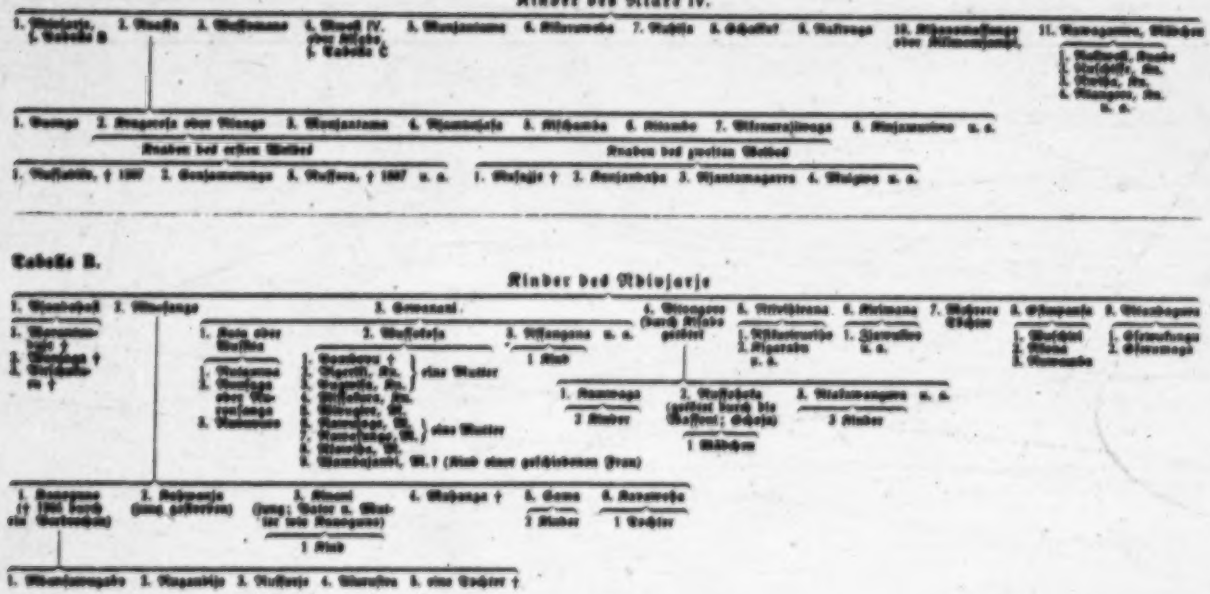

Tabelle B.

Kinder des Mbiujerje

Tabelle C.

Kinder des Mwesi Kisabo († 1908).

Söhne:

1. Rjangenge †: Sebiriri (hat Kinder) u. a.
2. Semubandi, † 1907 zu Bjanda
3. Rjimwaitenda oder Mahinga †, eine seiner Töchter verheiratet mit Mwisagarra
4. Rishgeri, † 1908
5. Seruschenja: hat Kinder und Kleinkinder
6. Setoborwa, † 1902 zu Kibinga
7. Ngumidjje
8. Nagema
9. Ntambali †
10. Kitschondo †
11. Nagwisa
12. Karamona
13. Bischinga
14. Mwamme
15. Kabondo
16. Majabo
17. Sangamana
18. Rjamunira †
19. Bitsinanintama †
20. Sitsabwa oder Mafyagura oder Matschumi, † im Krieg
21. Mwilidjje; jetzt König unter dem Namen Mutaga
22. Mongura
23. Ngangafe

Töchter:

24. Rjawalenda †, verheiratet mit Muschenji †
25. Mahutakaß †, verheiratet mit Sjewangandila, Vater des Mwisagarra
26. Rimalaherß †, verheiratet mit Mutawessi
27. Mutotschumarra †, verheiratet m. Mtembanji †
28. Mukritschondo } verheiratet mit Rumararifa,
29. Rjamije † } ein Mwenengwe, getötet
30. Rimaßaja, verheiratet mit Marigoma, ein Mwenengwe
31. Ramumumbo †, verheiratet mit Mwnjange, ein Murbwilikwa
32. Rambowanga, verheiratet mit Ntafangura, Sohn des Gori
32. † getötet durch ihren Mann, verheir. m. Mwnjahwaßja, Sohn d. Kagenja († in Ilfumbura)
34. †
35. †
36. Ramagengera
37. Rjangerera
u. a.

Nach den Müttern geordnet:

1. † eine Mukundo der Familie Warukundo rua Ntare ja Iera
   - 1. Rjagenge, ältester S.
   - 2. Semubandi
   - 3. eine Tochter
2. Mussaniwamo, Tochter des Bitabwa, eine Mwnjalarama
   - 1. Seruschenja
   - 2. Kitandaß
   - 3. Nagema
   - 4. Rambowanga, M.
   - 5. Mafaßa, M.
   - 6. Mpawije, M.
3. Rimawantu, Tochter des Rjamatega, eine Mwenengwe
   - 1. Setoborwa
   - 2. Setakwa
   - 3. Ngumidjje
   - 4. Rjawalenda, M.
   - 5. Rimalaherß, M.
4. Rimavirege, eine Mwenengwe
   - 1. Kabondo
   - 2. Majabo
   - 3. Rjamunira
   - 4. eine Tochter
5. †
   - 1. Kitschondo
   - 2. Mukritschondo, M.
6. Rimavisenge, Tochter des Sfenjafabe, eine Mwenengwe
   - 1. Rishgeri
   - 2. Mahinga
   - 3. Nagwisa
   - 4. Mahutakaß, M.
7. Rwimo (getötet durch Kisabo), Tochter des Ntabo, Sohn des Kitunß, eine Mwnjalarama
   - 1. Sangamana
   - 2. Bitsinanintama

Ihre Mutter (Bitsinanitore) war eine Tochter des Katamba, Großvater Mahinis.

So: Katamba:

Biratumganje Bitsinanitore

Mahini	Rwimo
Ntwere	Sangamana

8. Nbirihumatima, Tochter der Sekamonji, eine Mwnjalarama. Ihre Schwester war die erste Frau Mahinis.
   - 1. Karamona } verheiratet (1908)
   - 2. Bischinga } verheiratet (1908)
   - 2. Mwamme } verheiratet (1908)
   - 4. Mwilidjje, jetzt König Mutaga
   - 5. Mongura
   - 6. Ngangafe
   - 7. Rimawajengera, M.
   - 8. Rjangerera, M. und 5 Kinder tot

Noch lebende Frauen des Kisabo (Oktober 1908): Sollten nach der alten Sitte alle getötet werden, auf daß sie sich nicht wieder verheiraten (oder Nachwuchs bekommen):

1. Rimavirege, alt; Mutter des Majabo usw.
2. Nbirihumatima, Lieblingsfrau des alten Kisabo; Mutter des jetzigen Königs; eine sehr intelligente und energische Frau
3. Rambo „alte" (zu Mbuje wohnend, November 1904): ihre Tochter war erst verheiratet mit Mwnjahwaßja, später mit Ditari
4. Rishgeri: 1 Sohn: Wawangela
5. Rimawantu: 1 Tochter
6. † eine Mwenengwe: 1 Kind †

Töchter des Sekamonji (alle Großvater mutterseits des Mutaga): Mwnjahwawa Watoßß (obige) Ohya, eine der vier obigen Familien, welche dem König Frauen zur Heirat bringen: „Rukhingha wamami"

1. Mwisenge, die Alte
2. Rjajawaki
3. Nbirihumatima; ihre Mutter (Muallafa) war eine Mwenengwe, jetzt „Nimamiaga"
4. Rimawaßa, Gattin des Semubandi, Sohn Kisabos
5. Jamatama, die jüngste, † zu Mwage: war die erste Frau Mahinis; Mutter von 1) Majawa, 2) Ntwere, 3) Rjimbafaja

Tabelle D.

Kinder des Mutaga III. (oder II.?)

- 1. Abenzinginge
  - 1. Mussine
    - 1. Mukore, alle Kinder tot mit Ausnahme des Gewogi
    - 2. Katomba
    - 3. Magerorwa † alle Kinder tot, ohne Enkel ꝛc. zu hinterlassen
    - 4. Rugege
      - 1. Gonjakasana, Knabe
      - 2. Njanbura, Knabe
    - 5. Gazjo (s. Blatt J)
    - 6. Rusfera
    - 7. Rdinagira
      - 1. Njakabene
      - 2. Magurura
      - 3. Gussa
      - 4. Marindi
      - 5. Kulawire
    - 8. Rugema
      - 1. Gewogabo
      - 2. Manuma
      - 3. Rukeba
      - 4. Rugengege
      - 5. Greigori
      - 6. Gembertwa
      - 7. Gewahutu
    - 9. Kanjankiko
      - 1. Kirimanfra †
      - 2. Marawufu †
    - 10. Kindjori
      - Mawori †
  - 2. Gonjambili u. a.
- 2. Mwambussa
  - Mare IV.
    - Mwell (Kisabo) IV.
      - Mutaga IV. (s. die Blätter A (B) und C
- 3. Kibabwa
  - 1. Mikindu
  - 2. Musuma
  - Zwillinge
- 4. Mjungage, u. a. Mädchen

- 11. Rubamirisa
  - 1. Mpombase
  - 2. Kirosjagaraje
  - 3. Mjagagarra
  - 4. Mjoritambura
- 12. Gewitira
  - 1. Biterimanfa
  - 2. Birschurannra
- 13. Rusfonfera
  - 1. Rugambwa
  - 2. Rwowu
  - 3. Njawesebi
  - 4. Rugwisa
- 14. Rinawerege, M.
- 15. Waschengera, M.
- 16. Rusfanawagrni, M.
- 17. Rinawatoni, Mutter des Rutwa
- 18. Rinawamonje, Mutter des Biteri
- u. a.

- 1. Mrutungamje oder Rusfisja
- 2. Bichanja
  - 1. Ginamenji
  - 2. Maganja
  - 3. Rusfusumtra
  - 4. Rankamanjamma
  - u. a.
- 3. Bitschangabe †, (s. Blatt H)
- 4. Gewukunda †, (s. Blatt G)
- 5. Wugunga †, gefallen in Ruanda
  - 1. Mafumoja
  - 2. Bitungira †
- 6. Gewifarra †
  - 1. Rusfafu
  - 2. Jabjabe
- 7. Rugandabuje, (s. Blatt F)
- 8. Rutegarra
  - 1. Rampi
  - 2. Wartgaragaje, M.
  - 3. Rinaremba, M. †
- 9. Gewamenjje
  - Mfumbibuje und zwei Töchter
- 10. Kisfoge, (s. Blatt F)
- 11. Rgurifisje, M.
  - 1. Rufiganja, Kn.
  - 2. Gewwenda, Kn.

- 12. Rankumagi, M. †
- 13. Njandenja, M. †
- 14. Njafmorefe, M. †
- 15. Njamufcho, M. †
- 16. Mufja, M. †
- 17. Rufsaninjange, M. †
- 18. Rawahoma, M. †
- 19. Gissantintore, M. †
- u. a.

- 1. Gamatwajagga
- 2. Mubini, (s. Blatt E
- 3. Gefafingwa oder Gefanjerere, † ohne Kinder
- 4. Mbubuje, Tochter, verheiratet mit Gerjarwoja
- 5. Mabossumbamago, Tochter, verheiratet mit Rugari
- 6. Mufsirwegwe, Tochter
- Mafchafa, Tochter
  - beide verheiratet mit Rufsabito und nach seinem Tode mit Rufsabitos Bruder Gerjamurungo in Ijogoma

Kinder der ersten Frau
- 1. Kotissgana
  - 1 Sohn, 2 Töchter ††
- 2. Gerumwa
- 3. Jakana

Kinder der zweiten Frau
- 4. Genjawutschulku
- 5. Gewissegu
- 6. Missigarra
- 7. Dibungu

der dritten Frau
- 8. Ngonsi

Tabelle E.

Kinder des Muhini:	Muhinis Frauen:
1. Mujowera	1. Ninatama, † in Monge, Mutter des Mujowera, also eines Neffen des Königs Mutaga
2. Ntware	2. Kirebe
3. Nsirakussefwa	3. Irwagise, Schwester des Schoja
4. Ntuntu	4. Mukujangembe, Schwester des Schoja
5. Kimana	5. Nawaganma
6. Nurakenjanja u. a.	6. Ninawunjegere
7. Kahiru, M., die älteste; noch nicht verheir. (1908)	7. Wavakure
8. Magrja, M.	8. Natamo, Schwester der Schoja
9. Muhimpundu, M. u. a.	

Tabelle G.

Kinder des Sewukunda (eine seiner Frauen: Ninandore; ihr V

1. Nunsaga †, Vater des Nukanjagura	2. Venjoa	3. Vikweto †, eine s. Frauen heißt Mumschengwa, Mutter von 3 Kindern	4. Ndawahagama †	5. Njavirere	6. Ntak
					Mutter Kasagg
	1. Sesamoja 2. Kanjandibu 3. Muburantschuti 4. Ruhombawana 5. Mutambananga 6. Bukuru } Mutt. Kajagge[1] 7. Toji	1. Njabubwa	1. Senjagari	2. Buridsje	3. Munanga 4
		2. Nwassa	3. Nutimburantschuro	4. Semahorovje	5. Jriri 6. N

[1] Kajagge, welche nach dem Tode des Ndawahagama sich mit Venjoa verheiratete.

Tabelle H.

Kinder des Vitschangando.

Söhne:	Mädchen:
1. Imbajiba	1. Kaburente
2. Kanjamagendo	2. Vikamakare
3. Wuhoma	3. Ntakafiriti
4. Vigomese	4. Nakigina
5. Kavamahanga	5. Njakasja
6. Ntakawassoba	6. Ntamanama
7. Kmenina	7. Nawusebe
8. Nwassa	8. Njarischahe
9. Ntiruhangura	9. Warasananije u. a.
10. Wandije	
11. Bisata	
12. Warantuntuje u. a.	

Vitschangandos Frauen[1]:

1. Simbaschiramanga
2. Ntivihirana[2]
3. Wakinga
4. Wukeje
5. Ninakatschanji
6. Njankurikije
7. Nsojihera
8. Kawandagaje

[1] Diese Frauen sind fast alle Wanuzafali, eine alte Bauernfamilie (wenige: Schoja), abstammend von Nawuna, siehe Liste K.

[2] Diese Ntivihirana, Mutter des Wuhoma, war eine Bufumbo, Tochter des alten Giathwaruha (in Kwanja), welcher den Nare (Kisabo Sohn) gefangen hat und mit diesem in den Krieg gegen Kazumba zog.

Tabelle F.

Kinder des Ruganbabuje:

1. Waranfata
2. Ntalagije
3. Nsikaruriho
4. Ermagwati
5. Ruganja
6. Vihege
7. Ngeragele
8. Sekandari
9. Wuhembe
10. Mpengjeri
11. Ruganga
12. Kalana, M.
13. Ndondere, M.
14. Ntimambarirwa, M.
15. Ninamagana, M.

Kinder des Kissiga:

1. Vinaffowutare
2. Waranfira
3. Fujagga
4. Irihanjuma
5. Ruffinana
6. Kibugu
7. Tschangufsi
8. Ntamufisa, M.
9. Namawuga, M.
10. Nanjalafura, M.
11. Mdawirinde, M.
12. Mudsjalafi, M.
13. Ntawaganira, M.

r Vater: Ruffengo; ihr Bruder: Ntimurfindimvi, Vater des Ruaffa)

ntalaguje	7. Nilalafje, M.	8. Muffehe, M.	9. Mawerwa, M.	10. Muschalawubi, M.	11. Nemissischiru, M.
ngge			Von einer anderen Frau		
a	4. Minani, M.	5. Kitimbir	6. Rugundana	7. Wenjawegurire	8. Mahongare, M.

6. Nijongere	7. Wajimba	8. Wambere	9. Toji	10. Wahimba	11. Wuturu	12. Minani	13. Ninamonge
			Mädchen				

Tabelle J.

Kinder des Gazjo

1. Vissirakuffura	2. Ntahogora	3. Viramba †	4. Ngembananga, Tochter	u. a.
			Nteguru	
1. Nsirajawabi	2. Ntahirabfja	3. Mashavu	u. a. (zahlreich)	

Tabelle K.

Kinder des Ntare III.

1. Ruvuna 2. Kabuje 3. Rukundo 4. Mawugifiro 5. Mwefi III. 6. Kissonga

1. Sankunda 2. Rutasama 3. Wansakafe, M.

1. Mutendo 2. Vijogoma 3. Wirwanji 4. Ngamussafji, M. 5. Tombajimuhana

1. Ruibfje 2. Kiwiri 3. Mussambere 4. Rugoraroka 5. Mwisa 6. Nangwizje, M. ?

1. Scheja[1]) 2. Ngassakuhunga † 3. Ruhinjura † 4. Njammessa † 5. Funguranji † 6. Ru

12. Ruvuna † 13. Mbomba † 14. Mawenganera, M. †, die älteste, gest. in Karehe; Frau des Sewakunda 15. Murehw gabo, S des Köni

1. Kafeje, Frau des Rukangirankoko, 3 Kinder 2. Semujange, Frau des Kalassigana 3. Mutoruwa, ? 8. Mussoni 9. Mukajimassgi, Frau d. Kominji in Nuand

[1]) Scheja behauptet, von Ntare III. (durch Ruvuna) abzustammen.

Tabelle L.

Kinder des Großhäuptlings Suri

(wird auch „Mugamwe" genannt, aber nur honoris causa, gehört in das adlige Bauerngeschlecht der Wanjakarama):

1. Sewuhume
2. Ntasangora
3. Njakatugu, seine Frau: Warigomerwa
4. Warigoro
5. Kafwa

Mutter: Njongere

1. Nakararire
2. Muwigiri
3. Sekivirise

6. Semuhe †: 1 Kind
7. Waranderese †, Frau des Kassassi; neu verheiratet mit Russengo
8. Namawumba, Frau des Sisetoborwa †, Sohn Kisabos
9. Warantschongo, Frau des Nianokare
10. Vigoro
11. Muhimpundu, Frau des Musasje (Russabikos Bruder)
12. Mutsiri
13. Nammikima, M.
14. Inawukere

u. a.

Tabelle N.

Geschlecht des Russengo, Sultan (umwami) von Bugufi,
Nordostecke Urundis.

1. Wodaja[1])
2. Schawakanga
3. Vitowahara
4. Waramba
5. Mpandana
6. Ruvubi
7. Russengo

[1]) Dieser Wodaja, Begründer der Dynastie, soll ein gewöhnlicher Muhutu gewesen sein, welcher aber nach der Sage beim Ntare I. (oder II.) bei Leber retirte und dafür eine Trommel (ingoma), Mukawwa genannt, und den Sultanstitel (umwami) und das Land Bugufi (und Mawoga?), gegrüt noch ganz bewaldet und unbewohnt, als Denkmal empfing. Gewiß ist Bugufi doch immer etwas abhängig; die Dynastie von Urundi ist geblieben.

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oinga 7. Ruhangula

ie

l. 7. Waschjamunda, M. 8. Toji, M.

. Rutsua 7. Munjiganiko 8. Ruwoganje 9. Serwenda 10. Ruwano † 11. Songojinka †

rskoa, M., Frau des Saran-
o, Sohn des Luabugiri, Vater
Königs Musinga von Ruanda

16. Natamo, M. 17. Jriwagiſa, M. 18. Mutujangombe, M.

Frauen des Muhini

ra, Frau des Senjawutschukku 4. Njampalaſi 5. Mutwischi 6. Munjawirori 7. Murenſi

uanda 10. Wenkeschja, M. 11. Mpajana 12. Rukutsa 13. Vilanga 15. Wojira, M. u. a.

Tabelle M.

Stammtafel der Könige (awami) von Urundi.

1500—1530 Ruhinda
1530—1550 Ntare I.
1550—1580 Mweſi I.
1580—1600 Mutaga I.
1600—1620 Mwambutſa I.

1620—1650 Ntare II.
1650—1680 Mweſi II.
1680—1700 Mutaga II.
1700—1720 Mwambutſa II.

1720—1750 Ntare III., ſ. Blatt K
1750—1780 Mweſi III.
1780—1800 Mutaga III., ſ. Blatt D (Muhinis Stamm)
1800—1830 Mwambutſa III. (geſt. im Krieg gegen Ruanda)

1830—1860 Ntare IV., ſ. Blatt A
1860—1908 Mweſi (Kiſſabo) IV., ſ. Blatt C
1908— Mutaga IV.

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Anhang II

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Zur Einführung

Am 1. November 1914 ist in Leipzig das Kgl. Sächs. Forschungsinstitut für Völkerkunde ins Leben getreten, dessen erste Veröffentlichung hiermit der wissenschaftlichen Welt vorgelegt wird.

Das neue Institut faßt, dem universalen Charakter des Leipziger Museums für Völkerkunde und dem an der Universität geübten Lehrbetrieb entsprechend, die Völkerkunde in ihrem ganzen Umfang ins Auge; sie schließt deshalb in sie neben der Ethnographie und der Ethnologie auch die Urgeschichte und die Volkskunde ein, soweit beide Wissenschaften Vergleichsmomente mit der Völkerkunde im engeren Sinn ergeben. Die Arbeitsteilung in Feldforschung durch Expeditionen mit Spezialaufträgen und in Institutsforschung mit der Untersuchung besonders wichtiger Probleme, wie sie das Bureau of Ethnology in Washington, das einzige Institut verwandter Art, seit Jahrzehnten so erfolgreich betrieben hat, ist auch für Leipzig die gegebene Methode.

Für die Veröffentlichung der Ergebnisse dieser Studien sind zunächst zwei Reihen von Abhandlungen vorgesehen:

Reihe I: Ethnographie und Ethnologie.

Reihe II: Urgeschichte und Volkskunde.

Die einzelnen Abhandlungen werden vom Unterzeichneten in zwangloser Folge herausgegeben. Sie erscheinen im Verlag der Firma Otto Spamer in Leipzig und sind durch jede Buchhandlung zu beziehen. Alle Zuschriften und Sendungen, die die Mitarbeit an den Forschungen und die Herausgabe von Abhandlungen betreffen, sind zu richten an das Kgl. Sächs. Forschungsinstitut für Völkerkunde, Leipzig, Grassimuseum.

Leipzig, im Herbst 1916.

Karl Weule.

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080 **THE STRUCTURE OF THE BARUNDI COMMUNITY (RUANDA-URUNDI TERRITORY, CENTRAL AFRICA).**

By Georges Smets, Professor in the Université Libre de Bruxelles, Head of the Institut de Sociologie Solvay;
(communicated to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 25 September, 1945.

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122 **6** *Sources*

The subject of this address is Urundi rural life and, broadly speaking, Urundi social structure. Thanks to the Jacques Cassel Foundation, which was established to enable the teaching or scientific staff of the University of Brussels to carry on research in the colonies, I have had the opportunity of staying eight months of the year 1935 in the tropical African

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122 country that I shall attempt to describe to you in a few words.

000 On the other hand, I gratefully acknowledge my debt towards some former students of Barundi customs (viz. J. M. M. van der Burgt, *French and Kirundi Dictionary*, 1903—Hans Meyer, *Die Barundi*, 1916—and the author of an anonymous monograph inserted in the Belgian Government *Report on Ruanda-*

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800 *Urundi Administration* 1925—and Bishop (!) Gorju in several works dealing with Urundi, where he has been Vicar Apostolic. It lies N.E. of Tang. lake, 2 to 4 degrees S. of the Equator.

Ethnical conditions

563 The Urundi as well as the two neighbouring sultanates of Ruanda and Buha consist of three ethnical groups: (1) the tall, fine-featured, cattle-grazing Batutsi, of Hamitic stock, who constitute a ruling class of some fifty thousand; (2) the middle-sized, rough-featured, land-tilling Bahutu, the largest and main body of a population of over one and a half million; (3) the Pygmy hunting and pot-making Batwa, a mere handful of some thousands of outcasts.

I am reasonably satisfied that these three ethnical groups mix together more than one is generally inclined to believe: they rather seem to become social strata. At any rate there are impoverished Batutsi who till the land, Bahutu who possess cattle, and landless Batwa are not a frequent occurrence to-day. Many impoverished Batutsi have been considered as Bahutu, rich Bahutu as Batutsi. The reasons and theory I brought home were elaborated by Dr. Gerkens and seem to prove that each of the groups is of mingled stock.

Geographical conditions

133 The Urundi is a high country. The region between mountain to the west and the steppe to the east is a plateau, 5,000 feet high, often more, and almost completely without ligneous vegetation, except in the near proximity of habitations. Rivers and brooks have dug themselves deep into this plateau and their valleys have made it a country of more or less important hills, each of them with its own name. The bottom of the valleys is covered with swamps where papyrus grows unchecked (for native agriculture had not been successful there). The stony, grassy hilltops are merely meadow-land. The cultivated belt
[311] normally spreads on the hill-side, with the fenced cabins of the land-tillers in the middle of fields and banana-plantations. Only persons of rank dwell in the higher region.

311 Typical of Urundi scenery as seen from a favourable observation point are the three belts running along one another: below, the ashy green of the papyrus; above, brownish stones and light-coloured grass, sometimes with the rugo of a chief or of his deputy; in between the deep shining green of the banana-trees.
[161] Though the population often reaches 350 per square mile, the habitations of most land-tillers remain invisible amidst the banana-trees where they are hidden, and only at the time when meals are prepared does the peacefully ascending smoke betray their presence there.

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No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds [417] them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other populations; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* [534] (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making
butter, which is employed not for food, but for a
cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social
standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day.
Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[462] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female
labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the
general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[778] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the
exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

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643 between the various elements of the people; it was
796 supposed to be a large contribution to the land's fertility and the country's welfare, and in all this the part played by the king was prominent.

643 Only in fact was the king's power limited. He
631 transferred the leadership of parts of his sultanates to some chiefs, almost in every case relatives (brothers, uncles, cousins), members of the royal family (*baganwa*). In their turn these would establish subchiefs chosen among their relatives, or the aristocracy (*bafásoni*), or even Batutsi commoners, but seldom among the Bahutu. The division reached very far and the last elements of it were not only single hills, but even parts of a hill. And although the ensuing intrication and divided hierarchy remind us forcibly of our own feudo-vassalic middle ages, and appear consequently most unstable, the Barundi system, if we set aside some violent revolutions, possessed some sort of stability and could carry on thanks to its practically hereditary organization. Chiefs, subchiefs and all who had availed themselves of the deep-seated division of authority were naturally possessed of rights over the common people and were entitled to demand from them various privileges, usually defined by local custom, and which ranged from a present of beer to well-determined contributions or vaguer corvées (services).

423 Some scholars have maintained that the *mwami*
661 definitely had a right of possession over the land of the whole of his sultanate. But the truth is that land was not an object of property for the *mwami* or for commoners and the *mwami* and his representatives simply had to allow its utilization and choose the people to carry it out. Such designations were, just as the political leaderships, more or less unstable, more or less precarious; there exists a heredity in fact; but it is possible for a chief, should he care to do so, to eject the tenants. Besides, the abandoned or untilled lands are at his disposal. The system in general enables members of the leading classes as well as members of the subject classes to constitute estates with the only difference that the former will possess large herds of cattle and have their lands tilled by people liable to unpaid service while the latter have only very few cows and must depend on their own labour and that of their families.

The political leader's say in agricultural matters also solves the difficult problem of proportioning field and pasture-lands. The chief will not allow the latter to be reduced, and the threat to the cattle-breeder is further avoided by the chief's right to use the sorghum fields for pastures after the harvest (*ibishaka-shaka*) either for themselves or for others.

423 The territory of an important chief, with its intermixing complex of herds, estates, revenues, and services, very often extended over large, sometimes

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423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 We have said that the *mwami* did not possess the
661 land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *mwami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them
43 are naturally attracted towards those who own them.
357 The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* (who watch over the cattle), *bakevvi* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here
675 are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later
425 return a calf after the cow has calved two or three times. (2) An important owner gives several cows
554 to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 *The relations between agriculturists*

425 Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
425 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

But, besides this universal barter-system, there is
431 what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': it is practised among members of the aristocracy
435 only; it consists in offering members of the ruling
565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the
461 domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

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462 Consequently the men folk, even when they do not
461 cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably certain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them : if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

444 You see Barundi who buy goods on one market and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

The evolution in progress

178 Most chiefs have been converted and have accord-
177 ingly adopted monogamy : the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished : some corvées are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs : already the *store*[1] have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendanyi*[2] obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and
[436] money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate barional ex-

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1 [a type of vassal — Analyst]

2 [messenger attendant — Analyst]

178 changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground.
177 Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which
[241] grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of famine ; coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps to pay the tax-collector).

178 Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type,
177 closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neigh-
361 bourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres)
563 or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly foreigners : Belgian officials, European traders (Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *baswahili* (Islamized negroes). It remains however that they are an entirely new feature in a country with such a widely dispersed population.

Conclusions

361 I thought I could draw your attention to some
571 details of the curious Urundi organization : a dense population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and habitable land according to the geographic possibilities, without any orientation centres (the few habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce anything like demographic concentration) ; the small part played by neighbourhood relations, the predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating man-to-man dependance, or in other words the primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relationships.

Such an organization was possible in a country almost completely closed to foreign influence, without either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure and must be related to conditions both ethnographical and geographical. This organization is
[177 giving way under the influence of European ad-
178] ministration, of the development of trade, and of a new economy based more and more upon monetary transactions.

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THE KINGDOM OF RUANDA

By J. J. MAQUET

121 THE world-view of a people refers to a kind of reality which is not directly observable. We can observe things and behaviour, but not ideas or mental attitudes. These have to be inferred. Furthermore, although the concepts and propositions which make up the world-view of the Banyarwanda[1] are all arrived at by induction, they do not possess the same logical status. They are located, so to speak, on different levels of abstraction. Some are arrived at by immediate inference from observation, as when we say, for instance, that for Banyarwanda 'the invisible world is a fearful reality'. This statement may be immediately inferred from the behaviour of the Ruanda people: their words, when they tell us their beliefs about the action of the spirits of the dead, and their behaviour if they are threatened by them. On the other hand, a statement such as 'strictly contractual relationships are inconceivable for a Munyarwanda' is much more abstract because it is reached by successive stages from an analysis of the political organization of Ruanda. The validity of the two kinds of statement is not necessarily affected by their degree of abstraction. Even a proposition which seems very far removed from its factual foundation may be checked by the observation of other relevant facts.

Ideas concerning the place of man in the world, his destiny, his main values, his attitudes in relation to his fellow men, the rules of his behaviour, and the meaning of the invisible world, may find expression in many kinds of social phenomena. However, as might be expected, some of these phenomena are particularly significant, as, for instance, folk-tales concerning the creation of the world and the arrival of the Batutsi in the country, proverbs, and forms of cult. To these special attention has been given.

The validity of an unstated cultural premiss will, of course, be established with more certainty if it is found implied in several and very different cultural phenomena. For instance, an analysis of the political structure may lead to the discovery of the principle of the fundamental inequality of the three castes of ancient Ruanda. The same principle is also implied in tales explaining the origin of the three groups and the sources of their social roles.

121 This study refers to the period when the Ruanda cult had not yet been
177 subjected to the impact of Western culture. This is not very far back in time, for it seems that the first white man to be seen in Ruanda was Count von Götzen, who travelled through the country with a German scientific-military expedition in 1894. The first permanent occupation of the country was not more than fifty years ago, and important changes in the culture have

[1] The inhabitants of Ruanda.

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been brought only during the past thirty years. The present Ruanda culture has lost the coherence that existed in pre-European days. Those who have become more closely associated with alien activity, and have therefore felt its influence more constantly, now share a culture made up in part of their ancestral way of life and in part of their interpretation of the Belgian variety of Western culture as it operates in a colonial situation. Even those who have not been brought into direct contact with whites feel that their old patterns of life are losing their validity. But that more or less hidden part of the old culture, consisting of basic assumptions on the relationships of man with the world and with other men, has suffered the least change. To be sure, the legends of the descent of the first Batutsi meet with more scepticism than in the past, but the fundamental beliefs that this story reflects are still profoundly embedded in the Ruanda ethos. Even when new institutions, based on assumptions conflicting with the earlier ones, are imposed under external pressure and adopted, the principles shaping the older institutions will subsist and, if participation in the new institutions is unchecked, these will be completely reinterpreted in accordance with the former premises. Some manifestations of the continuing existence of the ancient assumptions in the contemporary context will be considered here, but we shall be mainly concerned with the Ruanda world-view as it was at the beginning of this century.[1]

Ruanda is a highland country in East Africa lying in the region delimited by lakes Kivu, Victoria, and Tanganyika. Its area is 24,500 square kilometres; its population amounts to almost 2 million inhabitants, the highest density in Africa south of the Sahara. Three socio-'racial' castes are to be

[1] Much of the material used in this study was collected by the author during two years' work (1950–1) in Ruanda as a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.). The author was very much helped in his field research by Dr. E. Finoulst and Dr. G. De Clercq during their six-month course of training under his direction. Extensive and valuable information has been found in the published literature on Ruanda, especially studies by Father A. Arnoux, Abbé L. de Lacger, Abbé Alexis Kagame, the late Father A. Pagès, Mr. G. Sandrart, Father Schumacher, and Mr. J. Vanhove. The author is also grateful to the Abbé Kagame for having placed at his disposal some of his manuscripts. In formulating the conceptual and theoretical scheme used in this paper, the author has relied considerably on the teaching and works of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn of Harvard University. He is immensely indebted for his fundamental training in anthropology to the teaching staff of London University and particularly to Professor Daryll Forde. Mr. Lawrence Oschinsky has kindly corrected the manuscript. A short bibliography is given at the end, but it has not been felt necessary to document this study at every point, nor indeed was this possible, since it was written in the field with the use of a very restricted library.

This is an essay in the etymological meaning of the word. If the underlying configurations of a culture constitute its most important part, since they provide a key to the interrelatedness of apparently unconnected phenomena and to the meaning of apparently incomprehensible behaviour, they are also the most elusive realities. They evade direct observation and, often, direct interrogation. The anthropologist, therefore, must be sure that his inferences are logically acceptable not only to his own mind but also to the minds of the participants in the culture he studies. All this requires a thorough knowledge of the overt aspects of a culture and a long familiarity with them. The author is painfully aware that he has not gone very deeply into the ethos of Ruanda. This is only an attempt at a synthesis of the results so far obtained in researches which are still proceeding.

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564 Three socio-'racial' castes are to be
distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of
563 the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa,
162 hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

773 The world in which men are placed and which they know through their
senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to
776 produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say
that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

772 The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material
[823] world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat; its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

821 In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms)
stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

773 In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been
[823] some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, crea-
[825] tures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

772 This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old
(people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

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questions are asked, it appears that this conception of the life of the universe has not been the subject of speculation and is not of great importance to the Banyarwanda. 772

Without *Imana* the world would not continue to exist and his action is necessary to maintain life. *Imana's* action, however, is not manifested in particular interventions; it is conceived rather as an underlying force which sustains the whole universe but does not interfere in the development of the life of nature. Seeds are put into the ground and after some time plants come up, the banana-trees produce their yields, the cows breed. All this is the normal course of things and we may expect the recurrence of these events at the proper times. This universal order, indeed, is not independent of *Imana*. He made plants grow and animals multiply, but he does not have to act to give fertility in each case. The scholastic distinction between prime cause and secondary causes can very well be applied to Ruanda conceptions. *Imana* acts as the prime cause of the universe and therefore any event may be imputed to him. On the other hand, nature itself includes the secondary causes which account for the regular unfolding of its course. 776 772

But this natural order is not unalterable. *Imana* remains master of the rules he has established. There are numerous stories of miracles worked by *Imana* (a stick becomes a cow, teeth are granted to a girl who had none, &c.). Other beings besides *Imana* may act on nature: the spirits of the dead and even some men, the sorcerers. They may prevent somebody's beans from growing, they may have a man or a cow struck down by lightning. In particular, rain, so important in this country where rainfall is very irregular, has been regarded as under man's control. There were rain-makers (*bavubyi*) who had the dangerous responsibility of regulating rainfall. [821 791]

Natural forces—rain, wind, hail, storms—are not considered as persons having desires and intentions that could be influenced by prayers or offerings. It seems that only thunder is personalized, and is regarded as a king (*mwami*). When a person has been struck by lightning, it is said that the Thunder-King has honoured his subjects with a visit and has taken one of them with him. Lightning receives the same salute as the king of Ruanda. 821 776

Banyarwanda implicitly distinguish between the regular course of nature and more or less unexpected events. Towards the former they assume a rational attitude. They do not look to the invisible world to account for the alternation of the phases of the moon, the growth of plants, the breeding of cattle. These phenomena are explicable on the level of secondary causes. Neither *Imana* nor the occult powers interfere in the normal course of material nature. It would be misleading to conceive of the Ruanda people as 'primitives' living in an irrational world where every phenomenon is an enchantment demanding explanation in terms of an intervention of the invisible world. They look at the world in its regular course in the same way as does a product of Western culture. 772

Of course, a Munyarwanda could not explain the interplay and the exact action of secondary causes as a Western scientist would do. But neither

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could the great majority of people in our culture. They believe that some specialists know exactly how natural phenomena work, and they have an idea of the type of explanation the specialists use. Banyarwanda have fundamentally the same attitude.

In relation to natural phenomena which do not appear with such regularity that they may be expected at about this or that time, the ideas of the Banyarwanda are quite different. Because of their unexpectedness, these events resemble the consequences of human intention. As a man suddenly becomes angry and hits somebody, so thunder strikes. If an occurrence is clearly an exception to natural laws, as Banyarwanda know them, they are confused. If I have taken ordinary care of my banana-grove and it does not produce so many or such good fruits as the trees of my neighbours on the same hill, there must be some reason to be sought outside the normal order of the world. Moreover, these unexpected events may often be dangerous and detrimental. Since any Munyarwanda has, as we shall see later, many powerful enemies in the invisible world, he is easily led to suspect them. Consequently, when confronted with happenings in the material world which do not fit into their conception of the normal order of things, the Banyarwanda explain these events as due to a special intervention of supernatural forces. *Imana* himself may be responsible, but when the event is regarded as harmful, ghosts or sorcerers bear the blame.

In this interpretation of unusual events, the Banyarwanda differ significantly from the people of the West. First, it should be emphasized that for us, events which seem to be exceptions to the laws of nature are much rarer. Those who scientifically know a certain field of spatio-temporal reality can show that events unforeseen by laymen, such as a storm, are in fact completely in accordance with the order of nature. When the event seems inexplicable to the specialist, the uninitiated person is generally unaware of the fact and indeed often displays a greater belief in physical science than do scientists themselves. A basic assumption of our culture is that science (of the physico-chemical type) can explain any material phenomenon. Thus any event in that sphere of reality will be interpreted in accordance with that belief. The event may, however, be of such a type that a 'scientific' explanation does not seem possible. For instance, the unpredictable event (a storm, a famine) may happen several times in the same place and no reason can be found for that repetition. The Western mind will then usually have recourse to the concept of chance, by which is meant, that the numerous conditions which must be realized in order to produce the event may happen accidentally to coincide more than once. There is no inevitability in the repetition of that constellation of conditions, it may just happen. The concept of chance, by which we avoid recourse to the supernatural in such cases, is not used by Banyarwanda. For them a phenomenon of the material world is either a part of the normal course of nature and is explicable in itself, or it is extraordinary and must be understood as a supernatural interference.

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Man and the Non-material World

Imana, the Creator

Imana, the creator, is a person. He is conceived as an intelligence, a will, an emotivity. He is extremely powerful: 'the plant protected by *Imana* is never hurt by wind', '*Imana* has very long arms', '*Imana* goes above any shield'. He is non-material. His action influences the whole world; but Ruanda is his home where he comes to spend the night. He is always invoked as 'God of Ruanda' (*Imana y'i Ruanda*). 776

Imana is essentially good: 'your enemy is digging a pitfall for you, *Imana* prepares your exit', '*Imana* gives, he does not sell'. This is why he takes care of men and why there is no cult in his honour. He is so good, I have been told, that he does not require any offering.

There is a special creative act of *Imana* at the beginning of each person's life. Impregnation in itself would not be sufficient to produce a new human being. This is why the young wife, at evening, leaves a few drops of water in a jar. *Imana*, as a potter, needs some water to shape the clay into a child in her womb. Then, after birth, *Imana* decides what life is to be for that individual: happy or unhappy. If, later on, a man is miserable, poverty-stricken, in bad health, it is said that he was created by *Ruremakwaci*. This way of speaking has led some observers to understand that besides *Imana*, there was another creator, perhaps subordinate, perhaps an evil spirit. As a matter of fact, *Ruremakwaci* is the name given to *Imana* when he does not create very successfully, when 'he is tired', or, for some inscrutable reason, decides that a certain destiny will be unhappy. This is consistent with the Ruanda linguistic habit of assigning different names to one cause according to its different effects. 776 842 776 777 [196]

Imana's influence is thought to be always beneficial for human beings. It happens very often that obstacles are placed in the way of his action by malevolent agencies of the invisible world, but from him only good things come. This is not completely consistent with the belief in an unfortunate predestination by *Imana*. It should be noted, first, that the theory of predestination has not a very deep impact on the attitude of Banyarwanda. A person who thinks himself unhappy, and might thus suspect that he has been predestined to a miserable life, does not seem to be submerged by a feeling of doom. Unless he is brought to despair by a situation from which there is no escape, he will go on living and trying to improve his condition. Secondly, this inconsistency will be better understood if we consider the attitude of Banyarwanda towards the king (the *Mwami*) in similar circumstances. The *Mwami*, the supreme authority is good, yet he may be harmful and cruel to some of his subjects. As his power is absolute, as he is magically identified with Ruanda itself, he may never be criticized. Thus the victims of some arbitrary royal decision, and their friends, go on saying that the king is good but that his favourite counsellor is very bad and is responsible for what they suffer. As might be expected, in Ruanda God is conceived [152] [143]

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776 according to the image of the *Mfumu*, and thus when some misfortune
777 occurs, the blame is put on another name of God or on the ghosts or sorcerers.

The beneficent action of *Imana* is general and remote. *Imana* is the source of all gifts, but he does not interfere very much in individual lives unless he is invoked. He is not the vigilant deity whom no single detail of the lives of his creatures can escape and who, when he acts, takes into account all the antecedents of the situation. There is a story of a man who borrowed beans from different people. When repayment of the loans was demanded, he was always able by his wits to avoid fulfilling his obligations. One creditor—Death—insists on being paid and pursues him. The debtor, when fleeing, calls upon *Imana* who saves him.

Imana—as is illustrated by this tale—is not the guardian of ethics and social order. He is not offended when somebody is robbed, but only if the offence is directed against himself, as when somebody disobeys a particular order of his or abuses his name. Then he punishes the offender by sending him misfortunes during his earthly life.

The Spirits of the Dead

775 The spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), with whom *Imana* has no closer relationships than he has with living people, constitute the second category of non-material beings. They continue the individuality of living persons and have the same names. It is usual to say: 'when he will be a *muzimu*. . . .' Though non-material, they are localized by their activity, in contrast to *Imana* who, having a much wider range of action, cannot be so precisely localized. They live in the lower world whose ruler is *Nyamuzinda* ('the one with whom one is forgotten'). Banyarwanda have not elaborated a very detailed picture of post-mortem existence. Although, according to some informants, the deceased kings of Ruanda constitute a kind of governing body in the underworld, there are no social distinctions. Life is neither pleasant nor unhappy. The *bazimu* do not drink, eat, or mate but their existence in other respects is similar to that in the world of the living. The *bazimu* sometimes come back to this world, returning to the places where they used to live. An ancestor and some other spirits may stay permanently in the hut where their descendants live or in the small huts made for them in the enclosure around the dwelling.

775 Whatever their temper when they were in this world, the *bazimu* are bad.
769 Direct ancestors in both lines (although the system of descent is patrilineal) are believed to protect their living descendants, if they showed them proper filial behaviour when they were in this world, if they observe prohibitions and avoidances and if they do not forget to make offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to one's patrilineage (*mulyango*) are always harmful. The *bazimu* of other families are less detrimental except where there are feuds between the families. Ghosts are thus essentially malevolent towards the living. At best they are not actively injurious.

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In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzimu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

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in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *imandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barozi*), on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *mazimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes of others. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or the rainy season is considered to be due to the change of weather. It is known that yaws can be got by contagion. Even death is very often accepted without seeking any magical explanation. It is expected, for instance, that people will die because of old age. If beans had been planted on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences have

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been observed or when 'causes' have been discovered in the sphere of human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following these causes are considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events cannot be explained by reference to natural antecedents or causes, or are surrounded by peculiar circumstances, the intervention of ghosts or sorcerers is suspected and a diviner is consulted. If somebody has tuberculosis (*igitundu*) and none of his forebears or the people with whom he lives has suffered from that disease, it is thought that sorcery is the cause. If somebody dies from an illness usually considered 'natural', but the death occurs a few days after a theft of which he is the supposed culprit, he is said to have been magically stricken at the request of the robbed person.

This attitude is in fact quite coherent. When the natural cause is known, the event is attributed to it; when it is not known, or appears extraordinary on account of the circumstances, the explanation is given in terms of beliefs concerning the non-material world. Why do Westerners not use a magical frame of reference on similar occasions? First, their wider knowledge of natural sequences of antecedents and consequents makes the residuum of naturally inexplicable facts more restricted. For instance, a sudden death appears to them quite understandable for purely medical reasons. To Banyarwanda, on the contrary, a sudden death is an event of which the physical causes are completely unknown. Second, even for residual facts not scientifically explained, there is in Western culture a faith that, given time and effort, a scientific explanation will be found. The Munyarwanda has no such belief in positive science. Third, for the disconcerting circumstances which may be coincidental with illness or death, the concept of chance, which does not appear frequently in Ruanda culture, is resorted to. However, Western believers in a provident God see in these exceptional circumstances, not an accidental constellation, but a sign of the meaning God intends to give to the illness or death.

A threat permanently dominating the mind of the Bahutu was that of being accused of sorcery. This danger was connected with the invisible world but was objective enough, for such an accusation could result in being killed and, of course, merely to refrain from anti-social magic did not ensure immunity from being called a *muvusi*.

The Nature and Situation of Man

Kazikamuntu (which may mean Root-of-Men) is the common ancestor of all mankind. Created by *Imana*, he had, among other children, Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa who, as their names indicate, are the ancestors of the three Ruanda social and 'racial' groups. Gatwa killed one of his brothers and for that reason was cursed by his father. Gahutu, who had been chosen by his father as heir and successor, had been commissioned by him to accomplish an important mission. As a result of overeating, Gahutu fell asleep and could not collect the information his father wanted. Gatutsi, on the

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other hand, got it by his sobriety and cleverness. Kazikamuntu then chose Gatutsi to be the chief of the brothers. There are numerous versions of this tale. Moreover, the stories concerning man's creation are often inextricably mixed with the legends about the arrival of the Batutsi in Ruanda. The same names appear sometimes in the creation, sometimes in the conquest stories. In general the latter are better known. The summary given above is thus only one of the various accounts of the origin of mankind.

According to a widely known folk-tale, Death, personalized as a sort of animal, was hunted by *Imana*. He told all men to stay at home in order that Death should not find a hiding-place. An old woman, however, went out to work in her banana-grove. Death, pursued by *Imana*, asked her protection. Moved by pity, she let the animal hide under her skirt. *Imana*, in order to punish her, decided then that death should stay with men. This story might perhaps suggest a belief that there was a time when men did not die. But we could not find other elements to corroborate that interpretation.

On the ontological character of man two points are certain. First, an adult human being is considered to be different from an animal by virtue of his faculty of speech (*kivuga*), his intelligence (*ubwenge*), and his will (*ugushaka*); but the difference, if any, between a small child and an animal is not quite clear. Second, no one of these attributes is equated with the surviving spirit (*muzimu*). There is something in the human being which, after his death, becomes *muzimu*, but there is no agreement as to what it is. According to a fairly common opinion, the *muzimu* is the metamorphosis of the *igicucu*, the shadow cast by the body in sunshine. But according to some informants, this shadow is only an image of the spiritual shadow which is the essence of the post-mortem spirit. In conformity with that opinion, the living man is said to be made of three components: the body (*mubili*) which, after death, becomes a corpse (*murambo*); life (*buzima*), which disappears; and the shadow (*igucucu*) from which the surviving spirit (*muzimu*) results.

The heart is believed to be the seat of intelligence and affectivity. It is conceived as a single organ although some ways of speaking suggest that it is double. For instance, it is frequently said: 'One heart told me this, one heart told me that.' This is another application of the habit of attributing opposed effects of the same cause to several causes, but this is only a verbal habit which does not deceive anybody.

These uncertainties regarding the nature of man indicate that Banyarwanda do not make any clear-cut distinction between the concepts of body and mind. Although they recognize parts in man, they prefer to consider the unit rather than its components.

Whatever the culture, human experience is made up of a sequence of events and activities, such as working, eating, sleeping, maturing, suffering, mating, getting old, and dying. What is the Ruanda attitude in face of these universals of human life? In many societies these happenings are considered not in their naked reality but in terms of the beliefs held as true in the particular culture. For instance, in a society with a Christian ideology, to

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suffer is not only to be hurt but also to expiate one's sins, to purify one's soul, and to identify oneself with Christ. For serious Christians, suffering cannot be stripped of its religious meaning without being completely distorted. Banyarwanda, on the contrary, seem to take a very 'secular' view of the human condition. Their belief in the supernatural world does not greatly influence their attitude to the unavoidable hardships and pleasures of life. All our informants agree that to die means above all to quit life. They believe that they will become *bazimu* but that leaves them rather indifferent. Even initiates do not show any enthusiasm for the idea of joining *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa* at their feasts. To abandon his children, his herds, his friends, is a sad thing for a Mututsi. But it is accepted, without dramatizing it, as one of those facts which belong to the normal order of things.

If quitting this life is so unfortunate, is human existence such a cheerful experience for Banyarwanda? Enjoyments and the pleasant things of life are very unevenly distributed in Ruanda. The superior caste, the Batutsi, form about 10 per cent. of the population. But, by various means, principally by the institutionalized exchange of cattle for services and dues, Batutsi have been able to gather a much higher proportion of consumers' goods. They do no manual work and have leisure to cultivate eloquence, poetry, refined manners, and the subtle art of being witty when talking and drinking hydromel with friends. Bahutu, perhaps 85 per cent. of the population, do not enjoy such gracious living. They have to produce for themselves and for Batutsi. On a very poor soil, with technologically primitive implements, it is necessary to work hard to secure the surplus production required by the Batutsi. Moreover, the great social influence of Batutsi has given opportunities for the arbitrary exercise of power, so that there are many insecurities in a Muhutu's life. But exploitation has been kept within limits set by the wisdom and the interests of the Batutsi, and a system of protection has assured a minimum of security to the Bahutu. As to the Batwa, they are so low in the social hierarchy, and are considered so irresponsible that they have had a greater independence of action. Formerly they lived on the margin of Ruanda society. They had a reputation for grossly enjoying any opportunities for eating, drinking, making music, and dancing. It should be added that Banyarwanda, according to our standards, have been rather defenceless against disease, that starvation was a real threat for the majority when the rains failed, that ritual observances and interdicts were numerous, and that when somebody happened to be involved in a charge of sorcery he had good reason for great fear. Thus it seems that, for an ordinary Munyarwanda, life is objectively hard, often dangerous but bearable. This partly explains the Ruanda outlook upon the totality of life. It might be described as a mild optimism. As many of our informants put it: 'Existence for Banyarwanda was not easy, it was even often very painful, but on the whole, life was rather a good thing.'

As everywhere, some individuals were at some time of their lives plunged into circumstances which offered apparently no way out. A Mututsi who

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154 had incurred the king's displeasure and was for that reason left without protectors, friends, or cattle was in a desperate situation; only with difficulty could he gain a bare subsistence. A Muhutu against whom an accusation of sorcery was repeated; an unmarried girl of a noble family whose pregnancy became publicly known; all these, if they failed to escape from their predicament by skill and rational behaviour (such as obtaining the king's mercy, denying the charge of sorcery and looking for the protection of a powerful man, using abortifacients or denying the pregnancy), would have recourse to the *bapfumu*, seeking to know what spirit or sorcerer was responsible for their misfortune and how to appease the malevolent being. If all the practices and offerings recommended by the diviner had no effect, then they called upon *Imana*, and if their prayers were unanswered, only drastic solutions remained, such as exile in a foreign country or suicide. But these tragic destinies were not numerous and they did not shake the belief of the majority in the moderate happiness of living.

812 There is a further reason for their generally cheerful acceptance of the conditions of their existence. Banyarwanda are not inclined to speculate about the inaccessible. Westerners are given to imagining how beautiful and good life might be if humanity and the universe were different from what they are. This trend of thinking is quite alien to Banyarwanda and, when it is suggested, appears futile to them. The usual, the normal (in the sense of what we are accustomed to, and what we have reason to expect) is often self-explanatory. When a particular event fits into the normal scheme of things, there are no questions to be asked. If everybody has to [761] relinquish this existence and die, death is no scandal or absurdity. It is the way *Imana* has arranged things. There is no further problem.

Cultural Values

181 Human action is determined partly by cultural values, partly by the socially recognized means of attaining them. By cultural values we mean the final or intermediate aims that are considered the proper purposes of human activity in a particular society.

181 In a stratified society, such as that of Ruanda, each layer is likely to have its own set of values, although some of those originating in one group may extend 354 to others. Let us begin with the Batutsi. When a Mututsi informant is asked what the people of his group wish for above all, the answer comes immediately: 'children and cattle.' 564 A further question, 'why?', discloses that these are not ultimate values sought for themselves, but intermediate ones, means to reach more abstract ends. The latter are power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

Power is understood here in connexion with persons (power over somebody) rather than with things (power to do something). It is, to paraphrase Lasswell's definition, the ability that a person, engaged in a human relationship with another, has to oblige the latter to do or not to do something (on pain of suffering severe privation). Power is essentially the capacity to

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exert a significant pressure on somebody. In Ruanda, to be powerful is to be able to exact from others tribute in labour or in kind, or support for one's claims to some advantage to be obtained from the king. In the latter case pressure may remain undefined and indirect: for instance, a threat to withold backing which may later be necessary to the person who is now asked to support a request. We desire to have cattle, say our informants, because by giving one or two beasts to a Muhutu, he becomes our client (*mugaragu*) and then has to do, to a large extent, what we ask of him. We also like to have cattle in order to get as vassal another Mututsi who lacks them. The services expected from a vassal are not manual, but he will increase the influence of his lord by his family connexions and will be useful through his diplomatic shrewdness in dealing with his lord's intrigues. Finally, we desire to become ourselves the vassals of great chiefs, or even of the king, because we are then under the protection of somebody very important, we get more cows and that allows us to have more clients.

In order to become powerful it is important, almost indispensable, to have many children. Girls, by their marriages, extend one's family connexions and bring their fathers a few cows as bridewealth. Boys at an early age begin their military training which gives them a complete education in the skills, knowledge, and virtues pertaining to their noble condition. This training is given them as *intore* (chosen ones) at the royal court or at the court of an important chief. For a father to have a son at court would reinforce his influence: through his son he knows what is going on, and the king or the chief is constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence —an important security for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Mututsi, and thereby getting protection and cows for himself and his parents' family (*mulyango*). Finally, the marriages of his sons could create new links between the father and the families of his daughters-in-law.

In complex societies like our own the roads to power are many. In Ruanda it does not appear that power could be readily attained except through the possession of children and cows. As we shall see, warlike valour could confer very high prestige, but not necessarily power. Great warriors were often granted herds of cattle by the king as rewards for their prowess, and could then gain power by their cattle, but not directly.

If we press our analysis farther, we may say that from the point of view of power, the significance of children is to provide cattle or connexions. On the other hand, cattle give direct power (over the Bahutu clients) or ensure connexions. In relation to Bahutu labourers, cattle have many of the social functions of money in our culture. They enable the man who owns them to exert pressure on those who have few or none of their own and who try to acquire them in exchange for services. In order to facilitate comparison with other ways of life, we may use the term wealth (as a medium of exchange) instead of cattle. As for connexions, what is meant here is that type of relationship in which one party may require something from the

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181 other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be
554 considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the
556 polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently
564 we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and relationships in which sanctions are implied.

181 The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely con-
554 nected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and
233 cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-
564 value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk
[272] is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was considered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone. As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an important herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover, cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was
[538] devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beautiful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-value is readily understandable.

181 The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi
554 is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A family has property which is handed on from one generation to another,
564 common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and their esteem for the father is enhanced.

181 Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the
554 respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous.
564 They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

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main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

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is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossesaion of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

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that they are the almost indispensable means for achieving these ends. 181
The originality of Ruanda culture does not lie in its high valuation of power 554
and fame. These are recognized ends in many cultures. What is distinctive 564
is the paucity and the indispensability of the means provided in that society for effecting these purposes.

An ordinary Muhutu could never hope to achieve a position of power over other men comparable to that which a Mututsi could attain without difficulty. A well-to-do Muhutu could acquire a few servants either by ensuring the subsistence of other Bahutu poorer than himself or, like a Mututsi, by the gift of cattle. But this was not common. Ambition for power is proper to people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. The ultimate value for Bahutu is security, for this means protection from the things our informants say they fear above all: accusations of witchcraft, starvation, and the arbitrary actions of the powerful. There are no direct methods of protecting oneself against the first of these threats. All that can be done preventively is to be a good neighbour, not to be envied by anybody, not to have enemies. . . . But there are ways of reducing the other two dangers and these are the intermediate values which the Bahutu earnestly seek: work, children, and patronage.

Bahutu till the soil from which they have to get subsistence, the tribute 181
demanded by the chief, and perhaps a surplus. This surplus is extremely 564
important because it will enable them to acquire some goats, sheep, even a 461
cow, to have the time to work for their lord, to store enough food to get a few servants who will then increase production. Surpluses may be obtained only by work. That is why, among Bahutu, the man or the woman who works hard and competently is highly considered. Work enables Bahutu to achieve some security against starvation and even to attain moderate wealth.

There is a Ruanda proverb that the dog is not feared because of his 181
fangs but because of his master. This is the main reason why a Muhutu 564
wants to have a patron. A peasant rich enough to own a couple of cows needs the protection of somebody more powerful than himself in order to avoid the arbitrary exactions of some member of the dominant class. Patronage was institutionalized by the *bukake* agreement mentioned above. Like the lord in medieval Europe, the patron was bound to protect his client in most of the dangerous situations of life. A second reason for seeking a patron lay in the material and moral advantages accruing from the possession of cattle.

If we wish to state Bahutu values in more abstract terms, we may say that they seek security through the production of agricultural goods and the protection of a powerful patron.

Although he is not indifferent to his reputation, the Muhutu does not 181
seem to stress its importance as much as does the Mututsi. The reputation 564
he desires reflects the values of his caste. He likes to be considered a 554

their children just because they are their children. This, of course, exists in Ruanda as in many other cultures. [854]

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181 *mugabo* (a rich man) and a *mukungu*—a very rich man possessing a few
584 cows, many fields, goats, and bee-hives. He enjoys the recognition of his
554 fidelity to his master and his qualities as a labourer.

The Batwa never had the stability of peasants. They were hunters, potters, dancers, buffoons, and were regarded by their neighbours as being on the margin of society. They did not possess anything that others could envy. Consequently security from exactions was not such an important value for them. As people who lived a hazardous and unsettled existence, they greatly appreciated momentary and immediate satisfactions, and among these, food, especially during periods of scarcity, was the object of their activity. Their principal means of securing food varied according to their particular occupations. Hunters depended on their ability and their courage, of which they were very proud. Dancers, musicians, and buffoons relied on their talents and on the favour of their masters, their loyalty to whom was widely recognized. Indeed it is said that one could rely upon a Mutwa much more than on anybody else.

The social and economic situation of the Batwa explains and to some extent determines the value they attach to gratifying the basic need for food. Ability in their specialized occupations and a blind faithfulness to their masters were the best means to achieve that satisfaction, but skills and loyalty were also valued for themselves.

Rules of Human Action

517 These values, ultimate and intermediate, were eagerly sought by Banyar-
183 wanda but, as in any society, some means for realizing them were prohibited under certain circumstances. Stealing is rarely, if ever, culturally accepted as an ordinary practice for getting rich. Socially defined values are to be reached by socially approved means. We do not suggest that, in a particular society, the rules of action appear as merely social imperatives, or that the only basis for these rules is social. We would point out that some rules of action, whatever their origin and their philosophical foundation, are part of the collective heritage in any society. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, there are such rules of action. Murdering somebody who is not an enemy of one's family is prohibited. Women are forbidden to commit adultery and, among Batutsi and Bahutu, unmarried girls may not have sexual intercourse. When an order is issued by somebody in authority it has to be obeyed.

517 Does submission to the rules appear only as the rational behaviour of one
who wishes to avoid an external punishment or is it moral conduct? Does
626 a prospective offender refrain from wrong-doing simply in order to avoid very probable and unpleasant consequences, or is it his conscience which tells him that he should not follow his desire?

Of course this is not an either-or problem, but the question of degree or relative stress is important. Even in cultures which lay most stress on the moral motivation to action, external social sanctions are useful deterrents from prohibited behaviour. In Ruanda these external sanctions exist. Those

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who steal cattle, or set fire to huts, or commit adultery are punished by the 577
political or family authorities. Social sanctions are not only physically en- 626
forced penalties, such as corporal punishment and compensations, but also the unorganized reactions of the people who know the delinquent: kin, neighbours, clients, and lord. For the Batutsi, for whom reputation stands high in the scale of values, this is extremely important. According to our informants, the fear of being considered a man without loyalty or without dignity, the dread of being despised by one's family, prevent many breaches of rules. To use Kluckhohn's terminology, we may say that Ruanda's is a shame-culture. But it is also a guilt-culture. When a Munyarwanda has transgressed some rule so secretly that there is not the slightest chance of his being found out and incurring punishment and shame, he nevertheless feels guilty and knows, our informants told us, that his action is bad. When a child has disobeyed his father without the latter's knowledge, he thinks not only of the unpleasant consequences that the discovery of his misbehaviour might produce but also (and some informants say 'mainly') of the wickedness of the act itself. The Ruanda word for conscience, *kamera*, means something that is internally felt. It is situated in the heart.

That the Banyarwanda have a 'conscience' will not be rated as a great discovery by some. But since some recent studies, such as Kluckhohn's on the Navaho, have stressed the fact that, in some cultures, submission to rules seems to be realized almost entirely through a rational concern to avoid punishment or shame, it does not seem superfluous to consider how far observance of rules is, or is not, linked to ethical principles and feelings of guilt.

Let us now attempt to indicate more precisely how moral wrong is con- 577
ceived in the Ruanda culture. As has been already mentioned, *Imana* is not 776
the guardian of the moral order. Sometimes he seems to be regarded as its 673
author in the sense that he might have decided that men should not steal; but it is clear that when a man steals another man's cows, *Imana* is not personally offended. Those who are offended are those who have been wronged by the action, or those who had issued an order which has been disobeyed. When *Imana* has not been directly injured (as by blasphemies), or when the injury done to another has not been specifically forbidden by him, he is not thought to be offended. The victim could, however, ask *Imana* to punish the wrongdoer and if he then became ill, it would be said that *Imana* had punished him.

The other agencies of the supernatural world have even slighter relations 577
with ethical values. The *bazimu* are naturally malevolent and punish only 776
those actions which they take to be directed against themselves. A way to 775
honour the spirit of somebody who had been a thief during his life was to simulate a robbery. *Ryangombe* and his fellows were not models of morality during their earthly existence and they did not care about the ethics of their followers. Nor was there any punishment after death. For those who believe that there are two kinds of life after death—happy or unhappy—the

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577 qualification for the happy one is not to live a blameless life on earth, but to
776 undergo initiation into the *Ryangombe* cult.
775

Thus the ethics of the Banyarwanda are not integrated on a religious
577 basis such as the will of God. What is the principle of integration, or rather, we should first ask, are their ethical conceptions integrated? On the surface they consist, like any moral code, of a multiplicity of prohibitions, orders, and exhortations. Have they achieved a synthesis of these separate elements by reducing the multiplicity to one or a few principles? Or, what amounts to the same thing, could they give a definition of good and evil?

577 In Ruanda a great number of particular rules are subsumed under general
183 principles such as: do not do what is harmful to people of your group or of your country; do what people related to you would like; submit to your superiors. Principles such as these are already on a higher level of abstraction than the particular rules. When informants are asked to account for a given rule or principle they give as the final justification: 'It has always been done that way in Ruanda.' We may perhaps express the Ruanda definition of good and evil in these terms: That is good (or evil) which tradition has defined as good (or evil).

Tradition is indeed a powerful force in cultures which, as in Ruanda, have been isolated for centuries from world currents. Each generation is more conscious of the importance of what it has received from the preceding one than is possible when much of what constitutes its way of life comes not from its ancestors but from some other social tradition. Moreover, their relations with their neighbours whom they frequently subjugated have persuaded Banyarwanda of the excellence of the ways of life transmitted by their forefathers. In such a situation the traditional character of a rule appears to be sufficient justification. If the ancestors, who were so wise, behaved in that way it would be preposterous to question it.

But it would be misleading to picture the Banyarwanda as following blindly the moral rules framed in a remote past without having any idea of their purpose. Some old men have a clear understanding of the social significance of certain rules. They explained, for example, that the duality of the
[562 rules concerning adultery committed by the husband or by the wife was
837] accounted for by the importance of the wife's function in procreation. She has thus a greater responsibility than the husband for maintaining the integrity of the family.

577 Does this kind of thinking extend so far as independence of tradition?
Some informants told us that, apart from the authority of custom, some
183 actions were thought of as dishonourable in themselves. But these in-
177 formants were Christians and, apparently, very much influenced by their religion. Moreover, they could not quote a clear case of conflict between tradition and ethics.

577 No moral code can achieve an absolute character in all its precepts.
Prohibitions and commands frequently relate only to certain categories of
183 persons and situations. Even the Christian Western ethic, which realizes to
673

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a very considerable extent universality and absoluteness, qualifies some of 577
its commands. The degree of absoluteness and universality of the Ruanda 183
rules of conduct is much lower. We might say that most of its precepts are 673
qualified in relation to persons and circumstances. To steal cattle was forbidden, but a Mututsi could take the cattle of a Muhutu who had no lord. For a Muhutu to rob a foreigner was not forbidden. A wife might not commit adultery, but she was allowed to have sexual relations with people when ordered by her husband to do so and, even without her husband's permission, a woman could have intercourse with her husband's brothers and parallel cousins. Killing a man was prohibited, but not if he was an enemy of Ruanda or of the family, and if the feud had not been barred by the king. Banyarwanda certainly had no idea of rules of behaviour applicable to all men in virtue of their common humanity. This is perfectly consistent with the Ruanda conception of mankind and the very significant inequalities which Banyarwanda observe between themselves and neighbouring peoples and, among themselves, between the different castes.

To conclude, the rules of human action which prohibit or enjoin the use 577
of certain means in order to achieve the culturally recognized values of 183
Ruanda are sanctioned, not only by organized and unorganized social reactions but also by individual conscience or guilt feelings. The foundation of 676
this moral code is not religious or supernatural but traditional; its content is a multiplicity of rules synthesized under a few moral principles. Particular precepts do not have a universal application but are relative to persons and groups.

Human Relations

Two principles dominate the field of human relations in Ruanda: in- 181
equality of men and indefinite reciprocity.

For the Banyarwanda all men have indeed a common nature; they are 564
ultimately the descendants of the same ancestor. But this notion does not 828
seem to be very significant, for Banyarwanda are much more impressed by the differences displayed by the various castes. The characteristics of these castes are stereotyped and repeated in many folk-tales. Batutsi are intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), apt to command, refined, courageous, and cruel. Bahutu are hard-working, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong. Batwa are gluttonous, loyal to their Batutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, lacking in restraint. These characteristics, with differences in stress and shading, are generally recognized by all Banyarwanda. As they reflect the Mututsi point of view, it appears that the superior caste has been able to make other people see themselves in important respects as Batutsi see them. Moreover, those qualities are considered to be innate, not acquired. A Mututsi is born clever
and a Muhutu impulsive. Some tales, more widely known than those con- 773
cerning the creation of man, relate how the first Batutsi came to Ruanda 564

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773 from the heavenly world. According to some versions of this tale, they came
564 with their servant, Mutwa, who mated with a forest ape. From that union all Batwa are descended. Such tales clearly reveal the fundamental differences which the Banyarwanda see among their castes.

564 When such a picture of 'natural' differences, so significant from the point of view of power, is accepted, the inevitable consequence is that some
554 men are born chiefs and others labourers. Inferiority and superiority are due not to personal qualities but to membership of certain groups. By belonging to different castes, people have fundamentally unequal rights. If
[682] an ordinary Mututsi kills a Muhutu, one kinsman of the murderer could eventually be killed in retaliation if the king authorized it. If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two lives were taken.

The principle of the fundamental inequality between social groups thus established in Ruanda has spread from the original inter-caste relations to intra-caste situations. A man superior to another member of his class because of his functions or his wealth, or even his ability, tends to assume towards his inferior an attitude similar to that of a Mututsi *vis-à-vis* a Muhutu. Of course the conception of inequality between superiors and inferiors of the same class is not so rigid as that between the castes, but it permeates all hierarchical situations in Ruanda.

554 The theme of inequality was embodied in the indigenous political organization, so that political relations clearly express the attitudes socially ex-
571 pected from superiors and inferiors. They are quite understandable if one bears in mind that they originate from an inter-caste situation. Authority as such is all-embracing. According to Western conceptions, any authority is defined not only as regards the people who are subject to it, but also in respect of the matters falling within its competence. A man who gives orders to another because they are on different levels in a hierarchical scale may be considered his equal in other relations. In Ruanda, there is almost no sphere of life in which an inferior is free from the interference of his superior. Because Batutsi are considered fundamentally superior to the Bahutu, there is no field in which they can feel equal. This attitude has been transferred to any hierarchical situation. The complementary attitude of dependence is, of course, expected from the inferior. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a clearly defined field; dependence is inferiority in the totality of life. The dependent person has to submit to his master in any question. There is no domain where he is free even to express a contrary opinion. As the dependent has always to
554 acquiesce even when orders are quite impracticable, he has to conceal his
571 opinions and find excuses for not doing what has been ordered. Double-dealing, politeness, or a utilitarian conception of language, are the only de-
576 fences of the dependent. Some time ago, a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. When the most important person had given his views, everybody voted for his proposition. But after the assembly, many expressed disagreement. At the

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time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with their superior.

On the other hand, no superior enjoys a purely arbitrary power. There are norms which are informally enforced by social pressure; and this is particularly important for people so concerned about their reputations. Since, moreover, there are several chiefs of equal rank belonging to different political structures, it is not difficult for the subject of one superior to secure support in opposing him from another. Finally, there is the possibility of appeal to a higher authority empowered to control subordinate chiefs. All this limits, in fact, the authority of chiefs, but nevertheless the authority of a superior cannot be questioned by his subjects. They may escape, intrigue, or look for another protector, but they cannot offer direct opposition. The Western conception of contract, derived from Roman law, with well-defined obligations on both parties who are equal before and during the contract, is accordingly not understood or acted upon even by Banyarwanda who have long been familiar with our culture.

Any superior is a protector, and his protection is of the same character as his authority: all-embracing and limited only by his own convenience. In any difficulty, the inferior may ask the help of his master, and, if help is refused, it will not be on the grounds that the superior is not concerned with that aspect of the life of the subordinate. On the other hand, the superior himself will be the only judge of the limits of his intervention, for the dependent has no right to require anything from his superior.

Everywhere men in authority enjoy advantages denied to those whom they command, but it is often felt that justification is needed for these privileges. In Ruanda such rationalizations do not seem to be required. It is taken for granted by everybody, the subjects included, that superiors as such should derive profits from their position. The very high standard of living of Europeans is accepted without any criticism by 'traditional' Banyarwanda not yet imbued with egalitarian principles.

The conception of authority as all-embracing, unlimited, protective, profitable, and of inferiority as dependent, devoid of rights, fundamentally weak, and generally exploited, is exactly suited to a structure of castes composed of human beings who are thought to be fundamentally different and unequal. On these inter-caste relations all hierarchical relations have been modelled. This means that the conceptions and attitudes which have just been sketched pervade most human relations in Ruanda. Indeed, very many human interactions involve persons who, in Ruanda, are placed on a hierarchical scale: man and woman, husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, old and young, craftsman and apprentice, &c., and when there is also a superiority-inferiority situation, even though confined to one aspect of the relation, the whole of that relation is impregnated with inequality.

Another basic principle governing the field of human relations in Ruanda is that of indefinite reciprocity. Whenever somebody receives a service,

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whenever goods are given to someone, a return is expected. This return is not the exact counterpart of what has been provided and is not due immediately or at a precisely determined time. By the granting of a favour, an almost permanent relationship is established between two persons, extending eventually to their immediate relatives. Undoubtedly some obligations are more formalized, such as those resulting from some kinds of exchange (*kuguza*), loan (*gutiza*), &c. But many relations which, in Western culture, would result in strictly defined obligations, do not have the same consequence in Ruanda. The man who receives a service or a gift is not expected to return its equivalent immediately. Such behaviour would even be frowned upon. He should wait till he is asked to return other services or goods. This is indeed the intention of the man who grants the favour: to put somebody under an undefined obligation.

There are several reasons for these relations of reciprocity. First, in an economy in which there is no standard value in relation to which everything may be assessed, it is not easy to determine a precise equivalent for goods. Second, where there is no standard medium of exchange, such as money, which can be accumulated without deteriorating, it is usually difficult to have the required equivalent to hand. Third, in a material culture in which the technological development does not allow of specialization, one has to rely on many people. It is thus very useful to have permanent debtors. Finally, and this is very important, the principle of reciprocity is much more consistent with other parts of the Ruanda culture than are alternative methods. In that culture people are not regarded as independent and equal. Consequently any relation will be so interpreted as to magnify the elements of dependence and inequality implicit in it. Moreover, to have power over somebody is an ultimate value for the Batutsi. They will thus prefer to keep a debtor under the vague obligation to do something, some day, rather than receive immediate compensation.

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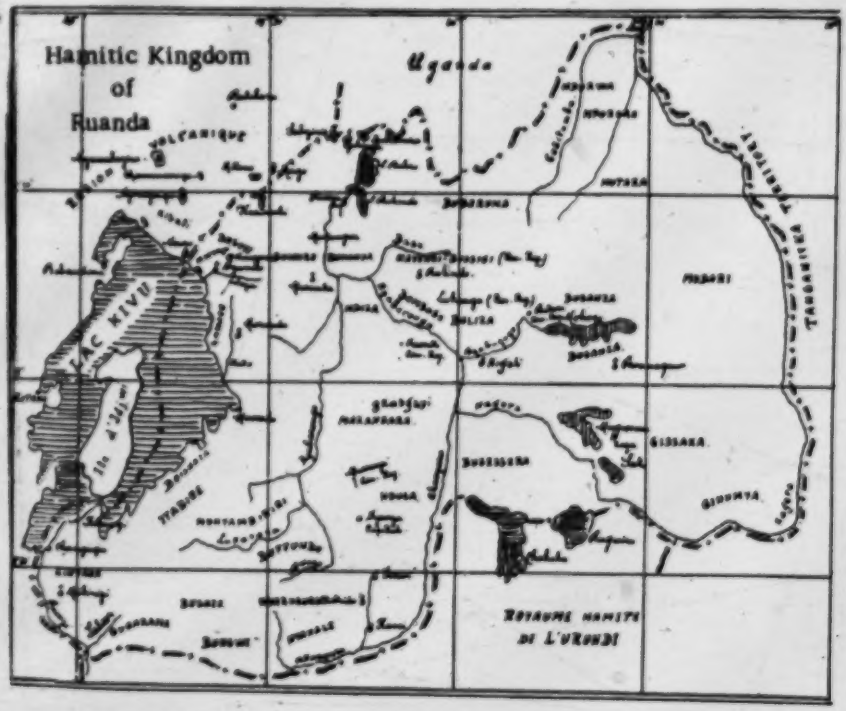

/20/ Preface

104 Note: When we cite proper names, geographical terms, and
192 other common nouns, we shall write them with the article (1) and the
193

1. The article (a, i, u), which varies according to word classes, is designated in Runyarwanda works already in existence under the term "euphonic vowel."

nominal prefix (indicating the singular or plural) (2), which are joined

2. The nominal prefix, which indicates the singular or plural, also varies according to noun class.

to the word itself as follows:

Class	Singular	Plural	Class	Singular	Plural
Class I	mu	ba	Class VI	u	n
II	mu	mi	VII	ka	tu
III	n	n	VIII	bu	ma
IV	ki	bi	IX	ku	ma
V	i	ma	X	ha	ha

Article	Number Singular or Plural	Word Root	Meaning
u	mu	ntu	man
a	ba	ntu	men
u	mu	tutsi	Hamite
a	ba	tutsi	Hamites
a	ba	hutu	serfs (cultivators)

104

192	a	ba	twa	Negrillos
193	u	ru	go	palisade
	i	n	go	palisades

It would be more logical to give only the root itself as follows: /les/ ntu, /les/ tutsi, /les/ hutu and, in the singular, /le/ ntu, /le/ tutsi, /le/ hutu. It would be a matter of habit but the euphony would suffer a little by this.

/21/ A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa

Book I

A Summary Outline of Ruanda and Its Inhabitants

Chapter 1

Physical and Ethnological Make-up of Ruanda. Political, Familial, and Social Organization of Its Inhabitants.

|3| Ruanda is bound to the north by the Protectorate of Uganda which encloses the Bufumbiro, separated from Ruanda in 1912 by the Anglo-Belgian Commission of Delimitation. /22/

To the northeast it is bound by the Kagera, which runs into Lake Victoria.

The Akanyaru River, which delimits Ruanda to the south and southeast does not enclose the Bugessera. That province, situated at the angle formed by the junction of the Akanyaru and the Kagera, was separated from Urundi, to which it used to belong. It is now divided from it by an artificial line. Nor is the Bungwe enclosed by the southern river, which leaves it to the right.

To the west, Ruanda is separated from the Belgian Congo by Lake Kivu along a length of 120 kilometers. To the northwest the volcanic chain forms a natural boundary beyond which are situated, however, two small provinces, the Bgisha, or Gisigari, and the Jomba, which were joined to Belgian Kivu in 1912.

484 Such are the approximate boundaries of Ruanda. This does not
[317] prevent its inhabitants from extending their contacts well beyond the
circle of their own land. They go as far as Lake Edward to fetch salt,
[825] which is collected in the marshes near the lake. There they also

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with
439 the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
436 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neigh-
651 bors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of
301 rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up
[481] to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[691] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

648 The kings of Ruanda also headed numerous expeditions into the Congo with no definite results other than pillage.

133 [137] As a whole, Ruanda is a high, rolling plateau. It was deforested to get rid of wild beasts and to supply pastures and fields for cultivation.

The northwest is a broken, picturesque, wooded region. There stands the chain of volcanoes, practically all of which are extinct today. /24/

The highest peaks are the Karisimbi (1), which is 4, 506 meters

[103 301]

1. Karisimbi, from the word amassimbi, a kind of white shell which the Batutsi of Urundi and Ruanda wear at the neck as an ornament. Because of its color it served to designate the snow that covers the summits, and by extension the highest mountain.

high; the Mikeno (2), or Mukuru mubi (3), which is 4, 380 meters high;

[103]

2. Mikeno, from the verb gukena, "to be bare."

[103]

3. Mukuru mubi, "a peak of difficult access."

the Muhabura (4), which is 4, 127 meters high; the Sabyinyo (5), which

[103 487]

4. Muhabura, from the verb guhabura, "to set on the right path," because this mountain serves as a landmark for travelers.

[103]

5. Sabyinyo, "big-toothed father," owing to its volcanic ridges.

133 is 3, 647 meters high; the Mago (6), which is 3, 711 meters high; the
103

6. It is found wrongfully designated under the name of Visoke on some maps. /Visoke/ is a derivation of the term Bisoko, which is the name of the region itself.

Gahinga (7), which is 3, 474 meters high; etc.

7. Gahinga, "the little summit."

Father Paul Barthélemy, the founder of the Nyundo mission in the Bugoyi, was the first to climb the Karisimbi. This is why the name of Barthelemy peak is given on some maps to the highest peak.

The Mikeno, which had until now been regarded as inaccessi-
133 ble, has had its impregnability violated by daring explorers (8). Each

8. During the summer of 1927, on July 25, Fathers Van Hoef and Depluet and Mr. and Mrs. Leonard succeeded in surmounting all obstacles by using a rope and a small ladder. They reached the southern peak, which is separated from the other by an abyss. The summit forms a sloping esplanade covered with volcanic gravel.

of its two slender points ends in an immense and nearly vertical rock, from 300 to 400 meters high.

The so-called "Plain of the Volcanoes" extends between the Rutchuru and Lake Kivu. It is strewn with blocks of lava and hundreds of craters of varying size.

Among the active volcanoes, let us mention the Nyiragongo (3, 496 meters) of perfectly classic shape. The /25/ main crater, with

133 a chimney opening at the bottom (1), has a diameter of about 400 meters.

1. In 1912 there were two juxtaposed chimneys. The wall that divided them disappeared in 1915.

The column of smoke, which was rather light between the years 1908 and 1926, thickened in January, 1927 and may be seen from afar.

Its neighbor to the right, the Nyamlagira (3, 056 meters), is more active. The mouth of the volcano is nearly 2, 000 meters in diameter.

Lava in fusion is constantly boiling in four or five small chimneys scattered along part of the old crater. It exudes fumaroles /sic/ and sulphurous vapors. The volcano called Mugunga or Ntsuro, not far from Lake Kivu, still emits some occasional vapors. Its eruption is of recent date, since it revived at the end of December, 1912.

Let us still mention the Bwana-Mahalage, which is nearly lost among blocks of lava. It erupted twice between 1903 and 1905, and since then has given no signs of life.

Its crater is now almost completely obstructed, and its diameter is insignificant.

In places where lava has begun to desintegrate, as happened [134] in the Bugoyi plain, which extends northeast of Lake Kivu, the soil is quite fertile.

The aspect of the land is imposing and pleasant to gaze at. The lake with its islands, the high peaks that block the horizon to the north, the plain strewn with craters, and the active volcanoes [132] make it an area unsurpassed in scenic value. The climate is temperate and the soil rich. It is volcanic soil that keeps disintegrating without ever being exhausted. One finds in the fields sorghum, peas, beans, sweet potatoes, and eleusine. Edible arum is rare and so is manioc, but potatoes and wheat are becoming increasingly widespread. The soils of Byahi and Riverere are most propitious to the

134
241

134 cultivation of the famous plante médicée /Tr.: "Medici plant"/
241 (tobacco), the sale of which provides a living for a number of families. /26/

The vast Rwrere plain covers nearly half of the Bugoyi province.
133 Not a spring or brook is to be found there. The rain water immediately
312 drains beneath the lava, which is covered by a mere 50 or 60 centimeters of arable soil. The inhabitants are compelled to cover distances varying between 10 and 20 kilometers, round trip to draw water from the brooks of the Sebeya or the Mutura. During the rainy season, they carefully save the water that collects in the crags of rocks or in small moats dug by each person around his dwelling. The owners of banana groves use the water held by the thicker husks of the banana trees. These are split lengthwise with a knife, and produce water lightly mixed with potash. The natives get used to drinking this liquid without any repugnance.

The Bagoyi who live in the mountainous area are better off than the plains people as far as water is concerned.

The northern area, called Bigogo, consists entirely of pastures.
133 It is inhabited by the herding Batutsi, who own numerous herds of cattle, the wealth of the country.

These same lands of volcanic origin, gave birth to a beautiful
[137] forest where bamboo grows along with some rare species of trees. It spreads east of Kivu in a north-south direction.

[311] The natives, ever in search of fertile fields and charcoal, have made terrible inroads into it. This is why large gaps are to be found in it.

The central and eastern provinces, the Nduga, Bwana-Mkali, Gissaka, Buganza, etc., are made up of long rolling hills, nearly always separated by small valleys which are often transformed into
[311] marshes and which are very useful for summer planting.

The Buliza, Bussigi, and Luhanga are long plateaus where numerous herds of goats, sheep, and cows graze. These areas lie at an altitude of about 2,200 meters. /27/

Ruanda also has lakes, the most important of which is Kivu, which is 120 kilometers long and from 40 to 50 kilometers wide.

133 Then there are in order of size: Mohazi in the Buganza, Mugessera and Sake in the Gissaka, Ruhondo (at an altitude of 1, 750 meters) and Bolero (at 1, 065 meters) in Mulera, and Karago in Lwankeri plain.

In the Bugessera there are several ponds: Murago, Mirayi, Kagomasi, Chohoha, Gaharwa, Kilimbi, etc. The small land of Bgiriri, which is adjacent to Gissaka toward the south, includes Birira /pond/.

The two rivers that wind through Ruanda are: the Nyabarongo /Nyawarongo/ (1) and the Akanyaru (2). The former, to which

[103] 1. Nyabarongo, from the verb kulongora, kulongoroka, "to go far away." This river was called thus because it flows throughout Ruanda.

[103] 2. Akanyaru, from the verb kunyaruka, "to rush." The speed of its flow gave rise to this name.

Mr. Kandt, the last German resident, gave the name of Caput Nili ("Source of the Nile") in a well-known book, is formed by the junction of two rivers, the Mwogo (3) and the Lukarara.

[823] 3. The violence of its flow and the volume of its waters during the rainy season occasion numerous tragic accidents, hence the expression: "Mwogo! Thou doth not kill men, thou only taketh away those who come (of their own accord) to meet death," Mwogo! ntiwich' abantu, wicha abakwizaniye.

[539]

133 These two torrents have their source in the southwestern part of Ruanda. Their headwaters flow impetuously on a bed littered with rocks and pebbles.

Among the many subsidiaries of the Nyabarongo, let us mention in alphabetic order: the Base, Mukungwa (which comes out of Lake Ruhondo), Nyabugogo, which serves as an outlet for Lake Mohazi, etc.

The Akanyaru, whose basin is less extensive, also originates in the southwest and combines its waters with those of the Nyabarongo at the level of theBugessera. /28/

After they join, these two rivers change their name to Kagera (1). Under this new name they enter the Victoria into which they

[103] 1. Kagera. This word comes from the verb kugera, "to deepen."

The Kagera slowly wanders through the plain, and its lazy waters overflow into large ponds and marshes infested with crocodiles and mosquitoes. [136]

pour their yellow waters loaded with silt.

Lake Kivu receives only a small part of the waters of Ruanda. Its outlet is the Ruzizi River, which flows into /Lake/ Tanganyika after a tumultuous course of about 120 kilometers.

Ruanda, whose surface may be estimated at 30, 000 to 35, 000 131 square kilometers boasts a population that is believed to reach two 161 million souls.

It is made up of three quite distinct ethnic groups: the Batutsi, 563 or Hamites, the Bahutu of the Bantu group, and the Batwa, or Negrillos (Pygmies).

The Batutsi, who are thought to be of Egyptian or Abyssinian 141 origin, (2) are tall in stature. Some measure as much as 2 or even

000 2. From an ethnological point of view the physical appearance of the Ethiopian people is an exception in

Africa, owing as much to the sum of characteristics that determine it as to its originality. These people of indeterminate race are apparently of Indo-European origin, in view of their regular features and general physical appearance. The brown color of their skin is but the result of subsequent darkening under the action of the sun. If their external appearance were not sufficient to reveal the infusion of Aryan blood, the local dialects (Geez, or Old Ethiopian, and Amharic, for which linguistic experts find Iranian origins) would confirm this commonly accepted opinion. In any event, their Semitic origin cannot be questioned. (Pierre Alype, L'Empire des Négus /The Empire of the Negusses/, pp. 22-23.)

This same author adds that "the Ethiopian civilization, which originated in the Arabic peninsula and moved to Africa with Yemenites at a very early time, developed in contact with the Egyptian civilization, on which it left a mark in turn" (pp. 23-24).

Pierre Alype mentions the name of an Ethiopian king, Sebacos, who, according to historians (Herodotus being foremost among them), conquered Egypt and occupied it for a long time. Others speak of another prince of the same race, Taharka, who governed Egypt as well as Ethiopia

000

800 years before our era. To him is attributed the erection of the lotus column in the Temple of Karnak.

[141] 2.10 meters. /29/

142 They have well-proportioned limbs, regular features, a straight nose, thin lips, and they present striking resemblances to the Egyptian Pharaohs. Like Ethiopians, the Batutsi are characterized by a brown complexion with reddish undertones, at least in some types, and by a somewhat elongated oval face.

157 Usually gay, they are easily approachable and impress others with their noble, slightly haughty but polite manner.

141 While the average stature of the Batutsi is estimated at 1.79 meters, that of the Bahutu is 1.67 meters. The latter are stockier and shorter, with less regular features. Their muscular strength is 147 greater than that of their masters, no doubt because of the heavy work they perform.

152 As a whole, the Bahutu are less appealing, less polite, and shier than the Batutsi. When angry they cannot control themselves 577 as well as the latter, but on the other hand they are simpler and have more rigid mores (1).

515 181 1. Most of the great chiefs are polygamous or keep concubines in their many domains. The simpler Hamitic herders, who are in the majority, are usually monogamous and of a sterling moral character equaling that of the Bahutu. One might even add that those who lead a pastoral life could give the Bahutu advice in matters of decency.

h [i.e., the Batutsi - Analyst]

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
826

1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets. The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

144

2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

142 lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs,' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies,' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'." (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

[141]

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them
233 556 than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a
181 sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart," they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!, "May you come to own many cows!"

233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [366] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up 241 the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

Their Food is Varied

262 It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate
[241] a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ébikoro), squash and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain
[263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/, who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and
[272] intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with
[273] a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their
263 everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824] 1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from
258 263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824] 1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

258 water, which overflows into a jar, carrying with it a few more or less
263 soluble particles of this sooty dust. The liquid is preserved. The cooks pour a little into the cooking pot at every meal. Some families subsist on this humble vocation and trade with water which is not salted but which has an ashy taste.

Salt was indeed rare before the arrival of the Europeans. The great Batutsi chiefs were about the only ones able to obtain it.

This salt, collected by the Blacks in the marshes of Lake Edward, contained an amount of earth and sand at least equal to half its volume. It sold nevertheless for a very high price at native markets.

The salt from the Gottorp plant (not far from Kigoma) is now used by all social strata. It is highly valued by the Banyarwanda, who call it ulugera, a substantive derived from the verb kugera, which means "to penetrate," because, as they say, it goes all the way down to their stomachs thanks to its high quality and its tart and pungent flavor. One understands why formerly the Blacks, when deprived of salt, would seek out bitter herbs and sour fruits. Red pepper and
[241] chives, which were imported fairly recently, have for this reason been a great success among the Blacks, who cultivate them in small plots near their huts. It is probably for the same reason that children show almost as much fondness for lemons as for oranges. /34/ A few years after the eruption referred to as that of the Ntsuro (December, 1911 and January, 1912), when the natives were able to approach the volcano safely, they began collecting salt mixed with large quantities of earth. The inhabitants of nearby villages spend most of their time collecting the indispensable substance. In order to rid the salt of its
[415] impurities, people melt it in large wooden troughs full of water, which are called imivule or imizinga. The liquid is then removed to other troughs where it is exposed to the sun. The most skillful and enterprising workers allow the water to boil until it evaporates completely. The markets which are held north of Kivu are supplied with this salt, which sells as high as that of Gottorp in spite of its poor quality. It is less white, contains impurities, and always remains damp.

241 The Batwa, or Negrillos, do not farm much. They look down
461 on field work.
563

241 To them, this labor is almost taboo (1). They are divided in
461

1. Extensive fields of peas are to be seen among the Batwa of the Bugoyi, who live at the edge of the forest. Should one see this as a new state of affairs caused by the deep changes which have upset or transformed their former way of life?

It is certain that the hunting grounds of the Pygmies are not as extensive as they used to be. The forest dwindles imperceptibly but surely as the Bahutu, in search of new fields, gnaw at it incessantly with their axes. It must also be said that the Negrillos can no longer plunder and rob as they used to do. European penetration is largely responsible for stopping this source of income. In order to support themselves, the Batwa have begun to farm out of necessity, like the Bahutu.

323 two categories, the potters and the hunters. The former settle in Bahutu villages but live apart. They work with clay, a task which everyone else gladly leaves to them. They get foodstuffs in exchange for their vessels.

224 The hunters prefer the solitude of the forest. They are the
[195] true children of the woods, and "milk" the forest in every way, as though it were their cow, to repeat a familiar expression /35/ of theirs. They live on the game they kill.

They are very fond of meat and tirelessly track elephants, buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, the large tailless, clawless rats called

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden
[411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times,
[579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that
463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them
696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches,
[342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

1 [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -Author]

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has
578 given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the
631 following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugesera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are trammitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

642 individuals through a continuous chain of lesser chiefs." This regime resulted from the invasion and conquest of Ruanda by the Hamites. The monarchical system was introduced by them in order "to keep the subject people within a very tight administrative network." (1) Ac-

1. Les Relations entre l'évolution sociale et l'évolution religieuse /The Relations between Social and Religious Evolution/ by Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J. (Correspondant, January 25, 1929.)

cording to the classification adopted by Deniker (2), the Banyarwanda

2. Races et peuples de la terre /Races and Peoples of the Earth/, 1900, p. 151.
Deniker divides peoples into savage, semicivilized, and civilized.

belong in their degree of culture to the first group by the Bahutu and Batwa, but it is also proper to place them in the second category on account of the Hamites, who gave their conquered subjects an organization superior to that of the peoples in the first stage and a higher degree of culture. They form an intermediate group between the first two divisions of this classification.

643 The land is governed by a king with unlimited and hereditary powers (we are speaking of the past). The symbol of royalty is a drum, a sacred object, a sort of palladium referred to as Kalinga. /38/

Like all African potentates, the Hamitic prince formerly held powers of life and death over his subjects. Everything belonged to him in his own right, lands and people, crops and livestock. He
631 would designate the dignitaries and the provincial governors, who were almost invariably chosen from the ranks of the Batutsi, the noble and conquering race.

631 These in turn would select their own assistants, who became "hill chiefs." The great chiefs, although they owned a number of dwellings in their respective districts, seldom lived among their people.

[662] Ever surrounded by jealous and often malevolent rivals, they were exposed to intrigues. Espionage and delation were endemic at court. This is why the great dignitaries remained by the king's side in order to guard against all eventualities.

643 Hamitic royalty, once it became powerful, immediately acquired great brilliance. United under a single scepter, the Banyarwanda became one of the best-organized Negro peoples and spread beyond their natural boundaries to defeat and subject to tribute the enemy nations around them. The union of the Bahutu clans took place thanks to the increasingly centralized administrative organization of the new inhabitants.

The Hamitic kings never lost the simplicity of their ancient mores. They kept up their interest in their herds of cattle, which they regularly asked to see, and they would ask and remember the names and genealogy of the animals. On the battlefields they were hardly distinguishable from their warriors, whose outfit and weapons they wore: a mere goatskin around the loins, a spear, a bow and arrows.

In peacetime, however, etiquette would elevate the monarch 644 and isolate him from his subjects. One could not visit him without asking for an audience and being announced first. This was so at least as far as common people were concerned, for dignitaries and favorites acted with greater freedom and even took certain liberties. According to court protocol, one had /39/ to clap hands (gukom' amashi) when appearing before the monarch.

The "lords" would throng around him to fill out the government offices and to make up the court (1). Not only were princes of royal

1. "The Hamitic Court!" In dealing with the persons and times whose history we are describing, one must not think of the courts established in civilized countries. The Batutsi Court does not

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> resemble them much. It would be difficult, however, to call by another word the group of personages and servants who make up the entourage, followers, and retinue of these African potentates.

blood and dignitaries for the most part of Hamitic race and blood admitted to the court, but so were men whom the king introduced there directly. Among them were found, although in small numbers, commoners, foreigners, and even more rarely some Batwa whose status had been raised on account of their services or their skill in sorcery.

It was an art to arrive and to remain for them all.

644 662 The king inspired in his entourage a very humble respect mixed with a constant fear. Uncertainty as to what his dignified but slightly haughty manner held in store for them constantly worried these ambitious people.

They would, therefore, watch with apprehension the changes on his august face, which occasionally betrayed his most intimate feelings and his most sudden decisions, although most often it remained inscrutable.

A quick flash of wrath in his eyes portended disgrace and possibly death. A bright smile on his austere face caused radiant hopes to blossom.

These abrupt and capricious changes, which might dispose of one's future or even of one's life, constantly held souls in suspense between fear that makes one shudder and peace as refreshing as a breath of fresh air.

Yet, although one lived in anxious uncertainty, one tried to reassure oneself by saying that the king was too just to ignore virtue and honesty.... Although this integrity of the heart as expressed by words /40/ could strengthen the position of a courtier who had already arrived, however, how could it suffice to single out the aspiring courtier, whose qualities were hardly known as yet? In order to succeed, to find a patron willing to introduce a novice and sufficiently

644 enterprising to draw the king's glance and heart toward him, it was
662 sometimes necessary to arouse and maintain the protector's interest by way of attentions which might be more or less discreet, but which were always significant.

The gift you are offered broadens the path.
And leads you to the presence of the great.

When fortune was slow to smile, this was no cause for discouragement. There is an art of knowing how to wait.

But waiting does not mean inaction. A besieged city always ends up surrendering. One must undertake the siege of the king (1).

1. "La Cour royale et les classes sociales au temps de David et de Solomon /The Royal Court and Social Classes at the Time of David and Solomon/, " by Louis Desnoyers. (Correspondant, July 25, 1927.)

Patience costs ambitious people nothing, no matter how eager they may be to reach their goal. The chief occupation of the great and the parvenu was to dabble in politics, to plot intrigues, to flatter the king, and to increase their personal wealth. They owned lands and cattle, which they managed with care.

They followed the king on his moves so as not to lose his favor, so as to ward off the maneuvers of their enemies and profit from the crumbs that might fall from the royal table.

They would all make their way to the monarch, jolt each other to be near him and to have a choice place at his side.

Not one of them wished to leave.

They wanted to live at the capital, under the eyes of the master who dealt out influence and promotion. Court life and gossip were filled with the intrigues of the envious, with rivalries, "the bitter competition for power, the plots to win and keep favor, /41/ the treacherous insinuations of enemies who harried one another with hatred and decency /sic/, the brutal passions satisfied at any cost, "

644 with flagrant disgraces and the official executions that sometimes
662 resulted from them.

People became madly infatuated with everything abnormal or enigmatic, with the predictions of sorcerers, with ghosts, crimes, sudden or mysterious death.

And since the regular court attendants had a thorough knowledge of their neighbors' genealogy, past, history, acquaintances, and interests, it is easy to guess that the daily chronicle also concerned private quarrels, bereavements, marriages, and births. This was the usual pabulum of conversation. Similar in this respect to a certain French king who associated largely with lowly people, fortunetellers, astrologists, apothecaries, wig makers, and even the executioner, the Hamitic monarch also liked to surround himself with master cooks, archiaters, healers, magicians, and charlatans of all sorts to whom he occasionally distributed honors and appointments (1).

1. Some striking examples of those royal favors are known. Some subjects in most humble circumstances managed to obtain the hand of a Hamitic princess and to be raised to noble rank.

One can easily imagine what the royal administration was like
643 under the circumstances. No desire to encourage the arts, to favor
661 agriculture, to improve the people's condition. The rights of the people exist theoretically, but they are regulated by no organic text and are too often dependent on the whims of royal and local power.

Infatuated with their own glory and exclusively preoccupied with their own pleasure, the sovereigns had no ambition other than to raise their prestige and to enjoy life.

The kings did not resemble one another from one reign to the next.

A warrior would succeed a peaceful man. Some, cruel and brutal, had the bloody whims and disordered passions of despots and degenerates. Others, of /42/ simpler tastes, led a peaceful existence and allowed the people to breathe.

643 One hears of sovereigns who liked and practiced the "things
661 of the mind," such as Yuhi-Mazimpaka, whose literary output is still highly prized by Black intellectuals.

The king's wives and concubines lived away from the court.
644 "Either he had noticed their beauty himself..., or their charms had been brought to his attention by the great who were sure to please him in so doing."

Among the reasons for the profusion of wives in the sovereign's harem, "the yearnings of the heart and the demands of the senses both played their part" above all else. Many a prince surrendered without restraint to voluptuous activities. Yet one hears of some romances adorned with the charms of literature which may actually have taken place.

842 It must be admitted in all fairness that a powerful idea presided over the establishment of the family among the Hamites. Like the Hebrews and so many other ancient peoples, the Batutsi regarded large numbers of children, and especially sons, as an honor, a glory, and a source of strength. They considered themselves fortunate if they could watch the growth of their children and their children's children to the third and fourth generations.

A large progeny seemed to them a sure guarantee for the future
595 of their race. Let us add that peace could not reign in their homes.
578 For among the legitimate wives, there was almost invariably a favorite. "Competing among themselves, competing for their children, they drove the latter to rivalry, and the husband, following his preferences or giving way to his weakness, did not always share equitably his heart, his favors, and his goods." (1) /43/

1. The loved wife is called nkundwakazi, the hated wife mbikazi. A rival is called mukeba or umugore w'ishyari, that is to say, literally, "jealously woman /or wife/."

595 One can easily imagine the troubles and conflicts caused by an excessive number of wives and children.

The history of the Hamitic princes of Ruanda contains "pages soiled and as if bloodied by the tale of passions which set them one against the other and which, unleashed with brutal violence, " eventually gave rise to tragedies and palace revolutions. Family unity and family spirit have never gained anything from polygamy. The history of the Hamites of Ruanda is here to prove and confirm this.

The king's mother held first place among the harem princesses,
644 and reigned along with her son. She was "shown the most respectful consideration, and whoever wished to obtain some favor from the monarch had no better recourse than to see her first. "

It has been said that a people must be well disciplined in
157 order to grow prosperous and powerful. The Hamites' strength resided
643 in their courage and organization.

Those who know the Hamites cannot but admire among their qualities perseverance in an undertaking and obedience to chiefs. One must recognize in these political and diplomatic beings, and this is to their credit, a thorough self-possession and great calmness. As true leaders, they rarely give way to anger, and their violent feelings rarely show.

Their apprenticeship to life begins early.

868 From childhood on, indeed, the young Batutsi devote themselves to real exercises in sports, under the supervision of the Mwami or of the great chiefs. They practice endurance and bravely bear the fatigue of the lengthy and frequent exercises of guhamiriza (dances indigenous to the Batutsi). For many years they remain as pages (intore) in the service of the Mwami or of the provincial governors, in order to be trained to life and to win the favors of currently powerful figures. /44/

Chapter 2

Familial and Social Organization (continued).
Clans. Family Life and Traditions. Mentality and Psychology.
Character and Temperament of the Africans.
Intelligence, Ability, and Perfectibility of the Blacks.
Africa, the Cradle of the Aurignacian Civilization.

614 The Banyarwanda, whether Batutsi, Bahutu, or Batwa, are grouped into tribes or clans whose names they bear. They lead a patriarchal life. The northwestern regions are those where the concept of the clan has retained all its force and all its importance. The members of a clan pool their interests, their joys, and their revenges.

The exclusiveness of the clans is rigorous. It was in those same regions that the invasion of the Batutsi was opposed most vigorously. One may wonder how this separation into clans originated.

As they evolved, the three ethnic groups, Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, each adopted the name of one or the other of their ancestors in order to be distinguished from other families with the same origin. This caused the parceling of the tribes.

The Basiete, who became Batutsi only recently, claim to be descended from their ancestor Busiete, who was of Mutwa /sing of Batwa/ origin and who was raised to noble rank by Yuhi III Gahindiro.

Among the Batutsi, it is the Banyiginya, Bega, Balejuru, and Bakongori who claim to have come down from heaven.

614 592 The clan or tribe is nothing more than the extended lineage. "The family, thus constituted, did not remain limited to father, mother, children, and servants.... It grew larger. The spirit of solidarity which united its various members, strengthened by the necessities of time, keeps the various branches attached to the trunk. The younger brothers and their progeny remain grouped around the eldest, from whom they continue to receive a central guidance." /45/

614 This enlarged family, which comprises the younger brothers
[592] and their children, the cousins and servants attached to the household (1), takes the name of umulyango, which has the same meaning as

1. Funck-Brentano, L'Ancien Régime /The Old Regime/, p. 15.

mesnie from the Latin mansionata, "household." Eventually the tribe became too large and split up. Each subtribe then took the name of the new chief while retaining as a reminder the name of the common ancestor. In other words, the major clans divided as time went on and remained bound to the mother tribe under a new name.

The Bagwabiro of Bugoyi are descended from a Migwabiro rain maker who belonged to the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ clan of the Basinga.

He left his village of Suti (Munyambiriri), and, after a vain
173 attempt at colonization in the Kinyaga, settled in the Bugoyi during
614 the reign of Chyilima II Ludjugira, around 1700 or thereabouts. He was reunited there with his son Macchumu, who played an important role in the fight against the famous "Mutes," or "men with an incomprehensible tongue."

614 A change of territory, a raise to the noble ranks, an important role played in some event, the holding of a post at court, etc., such were some of the motives that determined the creation of new clans. In the following pages, we shall describe many examples of such recent formations.

We shall now provide a brief list of clans.

1. Batutsi Ethnic Group

a) The two major clans:
Abanyiginya, from which the royal family originated.
Abega.

b) The secondary clans:
Abatsobe (Gatsobe, Nyirarutsobe).
Abaha, which came from the Uha.

614 Abasinga, Abagessera, Abasiete, etc. /46/

2. Bahutu Ethnic Group

a) Oldest clans:
Ababanda, Abagessera, Abazigaba, Abungura, Abasinga, Abatchaba or Abiru, etc.

b) Secondary or recent clans:
Abambari, Abalevu, Abalindwa, Abatabo, Abahindi, Abakora, Abahigo, Abahuma, Abatembe, Abaziko, Abashobyo, Abondo, Abanyunjo, Abajongo, Abachira, Abakwa, Abanyoni, Abungura, Abalimba, etc.

3. Batwa Ethnic Group

563 614 They borrow their designations from the Bahutu for most of their clans. Although of Bahutu origin, the Bayovu are linked to the Batwa race. They are regarded as a degenerate group because, like the Negrillos, they eat animals considered impure and make pottery.

In spite of their more or less artificial division into tribes, the Pygmies actually regard themselves from a social point of view as part of one single group called Batwa. They practice what we call solidarity among themselves.

If one of them is killed, the whole group feels injured and [574] rises to avenge him. A Mutwa /sing. of Batwa/ who travels is everywhere offered hospitality by his "brothers," even if they do not know him.

421 Property rights exist among the Banyarwanda. They are well defined by custom and tradition, notwithstanding temporary injustices and the discretionary powers of the king and of the chiefs. Everyone recognizes those rights and accepts them in principle. No one fails to exercise them or claim them.

They are taken into account in legal proceedings.

Daughters do not inherit but are taken care of by their brothers 421 until the day they marry. /47/

428 Only boys share in the real estate (1).

1. As exceptions to this rule, one finds a few joint patrimonial domains which the co-heirs exploit together under the frerage (or frareshe). This kind of landed property is called isage (or ingaligazi).

The oldest son, or at least the one appointed by the dying man to succeed him, receives a share slightly larger than that of his brothers, owing to his right of primogeniture. If there are three heirs, the property is divided into three lots of equal size except for one field or one small banana grove.

This /latter/ parcel is called umusaya and is added to the share of the first heir.

Cattle and sheep are divided equally among them.

One does not find any free or abandoned land in Ruanda. There
311 may be more or less extensive areas that lie fallow because they are
423 not very fertile, or because the presence of wild beasts makes them too dangerous, or because they are too remote from inhabited centers or too extensive in relation to the population size, but they are not on this account res nullius /Tr.: nobody's property/. Their owners always retain the right to use them and take effective possession of them whenever they wish.

Forests, mountains, moors, marshes, and bogs are divided into a multitude of lots whose owners are publicly known.

Through an abuse of authority, the chiefs may temporarily
[661] reserve for themselves part of the plateaus, valleys, or marshy lowlands to graze their cattle.

In spite of this, their subjects retain proprietary ownership of these lands and grasslands and they will not fail to assert their rights at the first opportunity, for example, when a chief departs or when he is replaced.

In some regions it frequently happens that the arable plots no longer meet the /48/ needs of the population. Then those men who

423 are least fortunate or most enterprising get together to sell or exchange
[311] their plots and go to the edge of the forest to buy a piece of land or to develop the one they owned there.

From then on, the clan to which they belong includes an additional village.

As in Europe the sale and lease of fields and banana groves is made in the presence of witnesses. Land boundaries are marked with stones and other conventional signs.

A felled tree, a displaced stone, some ground which has been broken in a neighbor's field over the dividing line, such things cause frequent litigations that give rise to disunity within families and among tribes over long periods of time.

The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ remains attached
361 to his native village, to his plot of land. He does not feel the need to move elsewhere, to change his domicile, as do the Blacks settled east and west of Tanganyika.

Ruanda soil is richer by far and sustains numerous and varied
[134] crops.

In addition to the banana grove, which is the most important
245 part of his property, the Munyarwanda has begun to plant trees and to cultivate coffee, which brings in large profits to which he was not
[231] accustomed. Ownership of a small herd of cattle or sheep makes his home even dearer to him.

It may be said that his home life is more stable than in neigh-
593 boring areas, and that he leaves it only rarely (1).

[166]

1. The Blacks, too, are familiar with nostalgia and home sickness. The fear of a vendetta or the attraction of large salaries may temporarily induce the natives to expatriate themselves. Sooner or later, however, they return to the cradle of their ancestors. The Banyarwanda cite characteristic instances of this.

428 The line of behavior followed by the Banyarwanda when it is
543 time to make a will shows that their social organization, /49/ though far from perfect, is superior to that of many other Negro tribes.

Hamites, Bahutu, and Batwa are anxious to express their last wishes clearly in order to leave nothing unforseen and in order to keep chicanery from creeping in among the heirs.

While alive the father gathers his children around him on a day he selects, or, if he wishes to lend more solemnity to the occasion, he goes with them to the hill chief and offers him a beer as an introductory gift. Among his male children, he appoints the one he likes best as his principal legatee, whether it be the oldest, the youngest, or any one among them.

The chosen son will succeed him in his role as head of the family to levy taxes on his brothers in the name of the king or of the Hamitic chief, and will deal with the latter in matters concerning the small group.

A father may disinherit and curse a son who has given him
[578] serious grounds for complaint, who has not shown him due respect, who has insulted him, abandoned him in times of misfortune, or defected during legal proceedings. "May he bear no more children," he exclaims, spitting into one hand and then into the other. "You have behaved badly toward me. I cut you off from my family, I
[539] curse you." (1)

1. Ntabyare! Ntaheke! Wambereye gito, nanje ndaguchiye mu bana banje!

As we have already said, the family property is divided into as many lots as there are boys.

The same holds true for the livestock, cows, goats, and sheep. Each son receives an equal share.

The executor of the will, as the eldest son or head of the family, adds a small field or a piece of a banana grove to his patrimonial share.

While his father is still alive, he usually receives a cow, called "obedience cow" (inka y'indabukirano) to confirm his authority

428 over his brothers. As an act of vassalage, the latter must in turn /each/
593 give him a beer, a hoe, and a sheep. /50/ They acknowledge his superiority thereby, and place themselves under his dependence. In return he must show interest in them and in their legal proceedings, take care of their affairs in the event of illness, defend them against one and all.

[429] Daughters have no right whatever to inherit from their father. Before he dies, on the other hand, the father appoints one of his sons to look after each one of them to take care of her future, her marriage, and to watch over her until she marries.

851 A daughter whose bride price was paid for in cows receives
431 a heifer from her father or brother when she comes to show them her first born. Among wealthy families, she is given a cow at the birth
[556] of each male child. Among poorer families, the gift consists of a young bull, a goat, or one or two hoes, depending on the amount of the bride price (1).

1. A cow given under these circumstances is called "young mother's cow" (ichari, umwari). The young bull obtained under the same circumstances is called "woman's garment" (inkanda), because the animal's hide must theoretically be used to clothe the happy mother.

According to the Banyarwanda custom governing the occasion, the child's father must give three jugs of beer and a basketful of cooked food to his father-in-law or to the brother-in-law who is his wife's guardian.

428 Upon their father's death, daughters merely receive garments made of cowhide, hoes, or sheep, which on account of the bereavement are called by the name of "salary or reward for tears."

428 The widow whose son was chosen as chief legatee usually en-
[768] joys the use of the family property until her death. The sharing is definitively carried out only after she has left this world. A childless widow is usually sent away by her husband's relatives, who share among themselves the property of the deceased. On being dismissed, she is left merely with a mat and a few household utensils. If she is fairly young, one of her brothers-in-law takes her as a concubine or gets her another husband. /51/ When a child loses both parents, he
429 is given a guardian. The legal guardian is the paternal grandfather, or lacking him, an uncle, a paternal first cousin, or lastly the chief of the village himself.

Maternal uncles and aunts, especially if they belong to another clan, cannot as a general rule manage the orphan's property. This would give rise to disputes and legal porceedings among the members of both tribes. They may bring up the child at best.

The guardianship devolves by right to relatives on the paternal side. They administer the ward's property until he comes of age,
[582] that is to say, until the day when he takes a wife. This usually happens at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

If only daughters are left, the nearest paternal relatives
[428] inherit the family property, but they must take care of the orphans until they marry.

If a person dies childless and leaves no relatives, his property devolves by right to the hill chief. This property is called inkungu.

[165] The families are large, but child mortality is high.

Eight days after his birth the newborn child receives from his
851 father a name that befits the circumstances (1). The mother /52/ is
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1. "We notice that all men," says Mgr. LeRoy, "give themselves names that characterize them, and frequently the best one they could find was that of an animal whose strength, skill, agility, or beauty they had noticed, of a plant that was useful to them.... of an object or phenomenon which had struck them." (Les primitifs /Primitive Peoples/, p. 126.)

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We shall now list some examples of those names:

Ntare . . . . . = "lion"
Se-ntama . . . . . = "sheep man"
Se-buhene . . . . . = "goat man"
Se-nkôkô . . . . . = "chicken man"
Se-mbga . . . . . = "dog man"
Njangwe . . . . . = "cat"
Se-biti . . . . . = "tree man"
Bissussa . . . . . = "(edible) nettles"
Nyira-massaka . . . = "sorghum girl"
Se-bishimbo . . . . = "bean man"
Se-masuka . . . . . = "hoe man"
Hakiz'umwami . . . = "it is the king who reprieves (or favors)"
Nyiragitondo . . . . = "morning woman" (one born in the morning).
Se-batware . . . . . = "chiefs' man"
Se-mapfa . . . . . = "famine man"
Madjoro . . . . . = "night" (because born during the night).
Semahundo . . . . . = "sorghum-stalk man"
Lwango . . . . . = "the one who hates"
Luvuga-make . . . . = "the one who speaks little" (that is, the quiet one).
Se-bazungu . . . . . = "Europeans' man," that is to say, born upon the arrival of the Whites.
Ndegeya . . . . . = "man with a sixth finger," that is to say, born with this peculiarity of a sixth finger.

granted a fair amount of respect, and the child is treated well, but from our point of view his education is nil.

684 As happens among most Negro peoples, the law is very strict for extramarital crimes.

684 It is not extraordinary to hear that a wronged husband has taken justice into his own hands, especially if the culprits were caught in flagrante delicto. As for unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), in the Bugoyi
684 they were abandoned on the islands of Lake Kivu where they died of
848 starvation. The small, rocky, and completely arid islands of Ntera, Kapfunuka, and Itembabagoyi were renowned on this account, along with the larger but deserted islands known by the name of Bugarura, Wawu, etc. In the Nduga and other provinces bordering the Akanyaru, the girls were inexorably hunted out by the chiefs, who had them drowned in the river. They were thrown in with their hands and feet tied, and if they did not sink below the water right away, they were knocked on the head with oars and clubs, under the eyes of the populace who had come to witness their torture. There is a river dweller who is in charge of the execution of those unfortunate victims and who tells cold-bloodedly of the drownings he has carried out. If one is to believe him, a dozen victims have passed through his hands. It is said that a grandfather acted as his own granddaughter's executioner to avoid persecution by the chiefs, who take advantage of /53/ the opportunity to pillage the home of the wrongdoer's relatives. Occasionally, families succeeded in ransoming their child by giving a cow to the local authorities, but obviously such recourse was not available to everyone. Even in this case the newborn child was pitilessly killed at birth. Sometimes the culprit could also be made to escape in time to Urundi, the Ndorwa, or the Congo. The motive alleged for such severity is fear of the punishment that would not fail to befall the country if such crimes were allowed.

Let us add that we are speaking of the past, and that today it
181 would be very difficult to dispose of the criminals without the knowledge of the Europeans. Crimes of this kind, moreover, were relatively rare. The Banyarwanda are indeed superior by far to neighboring peoples as far as morality is concerned. It is of little moment that this should be attributed to the altitude of the country, which reaches an average of 1, 700 or 1, 800 meters, or to their working habits, both of which facts are incidentally quite true.

[152 In any event the women are very shy. So are the nubile girls,
862] who are closely watched by their mothers.

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse marsh grass called urukangaga.

[554] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and inter-
352 connected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports
513 a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the
[415] hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

In addition, against the partition delimiting the space reserved
352 for strangers, there are jars and jugs of varying size, a half-gourd
415 to scoop water, whole gourds of varying shape and size to hold banana juice or drinking water.

If the Munyarwanda is fortunate enough to own a cow, which is a gift from the gods, he will also have milk containers and churns.
351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and
[343] protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives [326] out of it. /55/

Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small 285 articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care 462 of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ 776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, 769 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that 775 befall him.

769 This explains his invocations, offerings, and libations before the hood-shaped shelter that contains the angered spirit who was pointed out to him.

The Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ is bound by the law of taboos
784 (imiziro).

He may not smoke or sit on a chair during a thunderstorm. A woman may not use a billhook to cut grass. She may eat only cow meat. The flesh of certain animals is forbidden, /56/ in some cases to every Munyarwanda, in others to certain clans only. The objects used by a deceased person and the food that was in the hut at the time of his death are taboo. At the end of the mourning period, all these things will be purified with lustral water. The widow herself will have to go through the rites of purification.

Work is forbidden on certain days. The relatives of a deceased person give up all their occupations for four or five days.

Upon the death of the king, all work in the fields is prohibited for three months. In certain parts of Ruanda, one stops work for one day when a child is born, when a hut has burned down, when there has been a hailstorm, even when a dog has died. Some taboos only affect the king.

The burial method peculiar to the Banyarwanda, which
763 incidentally is shared by other African peoples, must now be mentioned. When a sick person is about to die and spreads his arms and legs, his relatives bring his knees up to the chin. His arms are bent at the elbows and his hands are made to cover his face.

764 This crouching position is the absolute rule among pagans. It is not far-fetched to state that this most uncomfortable position, when forced on a dying person, makes breathing very difficult and shortens his last moments.

In the right hand of the deceased, one places the leaves of
[824] plants with magical properties, ishoza, umulembe, umwishwa, seeds of squash, sorghum, and isogi, and lamb's wool. All these things are symbols explained by the following words pronounced on this occasion, "Return to us as a limb (with the sweetness of a lamb)! Return to us without thorns (like the plants, soft to the touch, that we have given thee), that is to say, without mean intentions."

His relatives leave him victuals and a few utensils for the long trip to the netherland. They attend to his needs but ask him in return not to come and torment them. /57/ This is an ethnic custom which the Blacks observe with great faithfulness, so much so that if death occurs unbeknownst to them, they will do everything possible to bring the body to this crouching position. They will even use a cutting instrument to force the limbs into the desired posture. "To give the dead the shape of a basket (Gupfuny' upfuye nk' igitebo)" is the Runyaruanda expression used to describe this procedure. In so doing the Blacks believe that they are performing an act of filial reverence. It would be a lack of respect toward the dead not to fold their legs. "You bury your dead as straight and stiff as sticks," the pagans used to exclaim at first when they reproached Christians for no longer following the native customs.

The body is wrapped in a mat and tied in order to maintain the prescribed shape. The twine is cut only at the burial ground. The body is buried so that the face lies on its right side (1).

1. The funeral rites practiced at the death of a Hamitic prince are totally different from those of the Bahutu. The royal corpse is mummified and dried under the action of fire. The undertakers who are in charge of this follow a complex and strange etiquette. Cf. Book IV, Chapter VII.

The dead of the Mousterian and Aurignacian eras were found buried in the sleeping position, with their face resting on the right side, while during the Magdalenian era the face of the dead rests on the left side. The Egyptians and Nasamon of Tripolitania proceeded approximately in the same manner.

"The body (of an Egyptian)," says Dr. Weisgerber, "usually lay on the left side (head to the south), with legs folded, knees brought up near the chest, hands on the face or neck....

000 "Herodotus," the same author goes on to say, "tells us that the Nasamon who lived in Tripolitania buried their dead in a crouching position. They took good care /58/ that a dying person, when about to give up the ghost, should be made to sit up and prevented from lying down. . . ." (1)

1. Dr. Weisgerber, Les Blancs d'Afrique /The Whites of Africa/, pp. 309 and 310.

121 Déchelette says that it is not possible to explain the origin of this custom of folding up the corpse. Several conjectures have been offered about it.

1. Identification of the corpse with a fetus (symbolic embryonic position). The deceased returns to the womb of the mother, who will bring him back to life (belief of the Peruvians and Hottentots).

2. Practice performed for practical reasons, so as to reduce the dimensions of the funeral container (or grave).

3. Feeling of terror which the dead inspired in the living (possible origin of the tying process) (2).

2. Joseph Déchelette, Manuel d'Archéologie prehistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine /Handbook of Prehistoric, Celtic, and Gallo-Roman Archeology/, Vol. 1, p. 473.

764 In some parts of Ruanda the relatives of the deceased, after preparing the grave, dig to one side and at the bottom of the pit a sort of chamber where the body is laid. They are obviously moved by respect for the dead whose body, thus placed, is not crushed by the weight of the earth.

Others cover the mortal remains with a layer of grass to prevent direct contact with the soil and to allay the weight [of the earth].

000 This explains an expression used by the ancients, who would say to one another as a wish, "May the earth rest lightly on thy bones."

The description we have just given of burial methods observed in countries very remote from one another shows a general family resemblance which is surprising to encounter in such different periods, since even today we find these same practices among the Blacks.

One is also surprised to find that the primitive mill /59/ of the polished stone age, or Neolithic period, is almost identical to that used now by the Blacks of Africa. It consists of a block of granite into which a hole has been made, with a roughly cylindrical stone serving as pestle. Deniker regards it as "the most primitive version of the mortar and pestle."

"We are also familiar," says Déchelette, "with the primitive neolithic millstones, a number of which are in existence. They are found in abundance at both land and lake sites. They are mere flat stones of compact rock, frequently sandstone, of which one facet, worn by friction, is more or less concave. Grain was crushed on these millstones by means of a crushing stone that was made to rotate. These primitive mills are still to be found among various tribes of modern ethnography. In the great neolithic necropolis in the vicinity of Worms, some women's graves each contain one of those hand mills." (1)

1. Joseph Déchelette, op. cit., pp. 344 and 345.

"Excavations," Dr. G. Contenau adds in turn, "have revealed one type of archaic mill. This is a bowl of porous stone shaped like a platter, on which grain was crushed with a round pebble made of the smea kind of stone." (2)

2. Dr. G. Contenau, La Civilisation phénicienne /The Phoenician Civilization/, p. 284.

Déchelette, speaking of the use of these hand mills, says that "with the wheat made into flour on those primitive millstones, the

000 neolithic people made a bread or rather a cake, some interesting specimens of which have been preserved in the waters of Swiss lakes....

"They are round biscuits, probably prepared without yeast with coarse flour...." (3) The bread made of sorghum flour that the

3. Joseph Déchelette, op. cit., p. 344.

Blacks bake is similar to those biscuits and of the same shape. /60/

Who can fail to see that all these analogies, resemblances, and ethnological similarities open to the mind a vast realm of conjecture, especially if one accepts the idea that Africa is the cradle of the Aurignacian civilization (1)?

1. It is enough to wander through the galleries of a museum of comparative ethnography, Déchelette adds, to find that the initial stage of civilization among all peoples of the earth presents in every case, if not a uniform appearance, at least many identical fundamental traits. Everywhere the same industry corresponds to the same cultural phase. (Op. cit. p. 313.

614 825 Totemism is not highly prized in Ruanda. Perhaps it is nothing more than a vestige from the past. The totem is always an animal. That of the king is a leopard, the crowned crane is that of the Banyiginya, and the frog that of the Bega. Among the Bahutu, the Bagessera have the wagtail (inyamanza) as their totem, the Babanda have the hyena (impyisi), the Basinga the sparrow hawk (sakabaka), etc. The totem is a member of the clan and is respected as such by the other members.

In the past it happened sometimes that the clan took up arms to avenge the death of its totem, deliberately or accidentally killed by one of the members of a neighboring tribe. The members of certain tribes, the Bapyisi, for example, are said to communicate

614 with their totems or even with other animals, to render them harmless
825 or to excite them against their enemies.

This, however, is a belief that will soon disappear, for the Banyarwanda take small notice of their totems nowadays.

538 As far as oral literature and folklore in general are concerned, one may assert without risk of error that the Banyarwanda have no reason to envy the neighboring peoples.

There may be few Black groups who managed to preserve so many and such ancient traditions, made all the more precious by the fact that they help us understand more than one facet of their history. This will be shown readily /61/ in the course of this work. We believe that the Hamites, who are given to the things of the mind and have organized the country methodically, must be justly regarded as the chief authors of this literary development.

181 The Bahutu of Ruanda owe to these same Batutsi the appreciable advantage of being less backward, less "primitive" than many of their fellow Bantu of Central Africa. Because they were less isolated than most of the members of the tiny neighboring states at the time of European penetration, the Banyawanda found themselves in a situation more favorable to the progress of civilization thanks to the centralization of the Hamitic state.

171 The inhabitants of Ruanda, as we have just pointed out, have more than one trait in common with the other African tribes. In speaking on the subject, Maurice Delafosse provides the following explanation, "The African Negro peoples, as different from one another as they may seem to a superficial observer, have a unified character which may be attributed to their common ethnic origins and to the relative similarity of the physical, economic, and social environments where they first developed and where they later evolved." (1)

1. Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro African Civilizations/.

157 As for the reader who wishes to know what to think of the Blacks, we must answer in all sincerity that it is very difficult to

157 make precise and definite judgments about their temperament and mentality. The factors involved are so complex that it is easy to be misled and influenced by racial prejudices or by lack of knowledge of this strange people.

Much has been written on the subject. We shall present as ours the following opinions, which we have summarized (2). /62/

> 2. They were given by a civil servant of the Educational Service of Uganda and published in an American journal. (Communication of Rev. Fr. Joire of the White Fathers.)

An observer will note that the Black has many characteristics quite different from those of the white race. These characteristics may be divided into two groups: those that would help him climb the ladder of civilization and progress, and those that would be a handicap, a hereditary taint of which he must beware, for they might become a serious impediment to the progress of his race.

I. Let us first consider the assets.

Patience. Among the Whites, who are usually so quick, who cannot bear delays, and who are the foes of laziness, anger and impatience are always lurking just below the surface. When we come into contact with the Blacks, on the other hand, we are surprised by their patience and their endurance in suffering.

Joviality. There is no doubt that the Blacks have a basic joviality which, however, varies considerably in degree among the several tribes....

Arts and crafts. Ornamental designs (sculpture on wood, ivory, gourds, etc.; designs on pottery and bark cloth, basketry, beadwork, mats, etc.) show quite remarkable taste and skill but reveal hardly any progress, innovation, or improvement, or none whatever. The Blacks seem marvelously gifted for imitation but lacking in inventive genius (1).

> 1. We believe that the true reason for this is the isolation in which they have lived.

157 Eloquence. It was no doubt necessary to cultivate loquacity in lands totally ignorant of the art of writing. Whatever the reason, there is no doubt that the Blacks find it easier to speak endlessly than to remain silent.... It does not occur to the Blacks to limit their speeches to pertinent data. /63/

Loyalty. Among the various peoples of East-Central Africa with whom I have been in contact, I have always found a remarkable degree of loyalty in return for the confidence placed in them.

Instincts. In my opinion, they have those of the most primitive peoples. Among those instincts, some may be classed among the characteristics beneficial to the Blacks.

1. First, the religious instinct. I do not believe that a "skeptic" ever existed among the true Black primitives. He is a by-product of civilization.

2. Perspicacity. The Blacks seem gifted with a mysterious power to judge strangers.... This gift of insight, which enables them to perceive the characteristics of a foreigner, is enviable. I do not mean to say that every black man possesses it individually to a remarkable degree, but collectively they seem able to judge a foreigner in practically no time. This is applied to the Whites, who no sooner arrived are granted a surname by the natives. If this name is not flattering, it will be used without his knowledge.

II And now, a few words on the shortcomings of the Negroes of Central Africa.

Duplicity. Lying is a "cultivated" art among our Africans.... It is quite likely that this is a familial practice, or else how could one explain their great skill in this art? It must be in part the result of circumstances, for primitive people regard it as a natural means of protection.... As a result, the Blacks have little if any sense of honor and place ruse on a much higher level than truth.

157 461 Laziness. There have been few occasions for the Blacks to develop habits of industriousness and sustained effort. /64/ As a rule, nature was very kind to them, supplying them with essentials even where the population was densest. Their needs were few apart from their own subsistence and that of their livestock. The rains were seasonal, and sowing time depended upon them. In the villages those

157 were the times of hard work for all able-bodied persons who could
461 wield a hoe. Once sowing time was over, why cultivate further? The busy times were intermittent, therefore, and even those people who were most inclined to work had nothing to do but sit for a good half of the year, unless a war should bring them to their feet. It is obvious that such a state of affairs does not lead to the development of industrious habits and sustained application to work.

157 Immorality. I fear that I won't be contradicted if I say that the Black is immoral.... How could one expect these "child-peoples," who live such a carefree and easy life, to acquire habits of abnegation and self-restraint? When the evangelization of these primitive tribes was begun, it was not easy to establish among them such habits of morality as befit a Christian people (1).

1. We have good reason to believe that the Banyarwanda may be classified among the least corrupt. The taboos and traditions that prevail among them act as a check against profligacy.

Mistrust. Centuries of struggle to the death among the various
[609] African tribes have engendered... a certain attitude toward foreigners which makes it very difficult for a well-intentioned person to lead them as far as he might wish on the road to progress....

To conclude. If the previous lines do not contain an exact description of the African in general (for there are no generalizations applicable at once to one and all), /65/ I hope nevertheless not to have been guilty of injustice toward the Blacks in describing them. If only they could make the most of their assets and persevere in conquering their shortcomings, then no doubt a fine future would be open to them.

The same author adds that if one could persuade them to develop a civilization peculiar to their race, instead of slavishly giving way to their natural aptitude for copying that of others, this would be a good contribution to the glory of humanity and a denial

157 of the common assertion that the Blacks are of such limited intellectual capacity that it is impossible for them to attain the habitual level of civilized men (1).

> 1. If one were to draw a mental portrait of the Batutsi, one should praise their intelligence, their sense of discipline, their organizational talent, and their stubborn will. Since every coin has two sides, however, one should add that the great Batutsi chiefs are far more immoral than the Bakutu.

.... Experience of the African mentality, the author goes on to say, has shown that a number of things that one might be tempted to discuss with assurance must be stated with reservations. The fact is that the Blacks are a mass of contradictions to the Whites.... This is said... to suggest that the hastiness of such conclusions must stand in reverse ratio to the experience that inspired them.

This could hardly have been said with greater tact and restraint.

000 General Mangin, an experienced colonial well acquainted with African matters, makes the following remarks on the same subject, "When we judge the Black race, we must not lose sight of these basic facts: until the middle of the nineteenth century, the African, kept isolated by nature, came in contact with no higher concepts.

"Europe, on the other hand, witnessed the development of the Mediterranean civilizations, which benefited from broad exchanges among themselves and with Asiatic civilization. Writing came from Egypt through Phoenicia and Greece, /66/ Asia invented a number of alphabets while Europe invented none. Through the Arabs and Mongols, Europe unknowingly benefited from important contributions of Indian and Chinese origin: compass, paper paste, and gunpowder, for example. In short, the European peoples have evolved slowly over the past 3,000 years or so, in contact with all civilizations

through trade and war. Nothing similar happened in Negro Africa. In the nineteenth century it resembles Central Europe prior to the Roman conquest.

As a result nothing permits us to assert that the race of black Africans is inferior to the European Whites in terms of intelligence. At most one might say that they are several stages behind. Our present status is the result of a slow evolution which they lack, and we cannot judge them by their behavior when suddenly propelled into the midst of modern civilization, for example by the results obtained in Liberia, Santo Domingo, or Haiti. Within their own setting, they have produced great organizer-kings who found ministers worthy of their undertakings...; some of their languages, like that of the Peul, are greatly admired by philologists for their richness, precision, harmony, and flexibility. The Blacks are remarkably gifted from an artistic standpoint.... (Their musical instruments), from which they draw effects comparable to those of a piano, show a remarkable aptitude /for music/ and a great capacity for invention. Their war songs and some of their ballads are very expressive."

The General speaks of the daring, naive, and apt expressions found in their literature and in their triumphal songs.

He adds that the Blacks have a sense of ornamentation. Their fabrics and mats are remarkable for their design and color balance.

.... Their feelings for family, clan, and race, their devotion to their born or elected chief, have always inspired in them a devotion that ranges from constant fidelity /67/, from a total and daily selflessness, to the sacrifice of their life.

Of course, one sometimes blames them for a carelessness toward work that may turn into laziness if the chief lacks the requisite attitude, a quiet but firm manner which the Blacks acknowledge quite readily....

As a rule the Blacks are open, gay, and easy to command. They are big children whose laughter explodes at every opportunity, disarming their anger and sulkiness. They are grateful for the smallest attentions.

The same author adds that there are excellent Blacks "who, much to their credit, weathered two ordeals: a hereditary one, slavery

000 (which is basically demoralizing) and the sudden, unplanned rise to the level of their former masters, owing to prematurely granted rights of citizenship.... Many were unable to withstand this two-fold distortion. The primitive Blacks, however, have none of the defects transmitted to the spuriously civilized Blacks through our own errors." (1)

1. General Mangin, Regards sur la France d'Afrique /A Look Toward French Africa/, pp. 174-178.

Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, in speaking of "very primitive" societies, lists the causes which explain their stagnation, ... "concentration of their energies on tasks which are not, like industry, susceptible of improvement: once the game is killed or the fish caught, their efforts come to a stop only to begin again endlessly and with no ulterior goal. Hence, general equality ... no specialists to perfect the procedures, no "idlers" dedicated to speculation" ... (2).

2. Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J. Correspondant, January 25, 1929.

[463] [176] The same might be said of the Banyarwanda, who are cultivators, woodcutters, blacksmiths, basket makers, potters, etc., and who have merely imitated their predecessors and made no innovations. To sum up this matter of stagnation, let us add that it would be wrong and unjust to attribute it to a lack of intelligence /68/ on the part of the Blacks. Among many other causes, it comes chiefly from their lack of method and their lack of initiative, which are due to the long isolation in which they have lived. As we have said before, the facilities and resources offered by nature to the Africans are also partly responsible for this. The intermittent work required for their daily sustenance demanded no great efforts. The Blacks, with their trust in nature, their satisfaction with their fate, their lack of artificial needs and cares, and no worries about the morrow, would "let themselves live" from day to day. Let us hear what Mr. Delafosse, the

scholarly ethnologist, has to say. "It is said that the Blacks are actually inferior in their intellectual development to the other human groups. It seems to me that in saying this, one has confused 'ignorance' with 'lack of intelligence.' The greatest genius in the world, if he had never gone to school and had always lived among savages, would no doubt have been completely unable to display his high natural intelligence, although this does not mean that he would have lacked it.

"It has further been said, however, that some African Blacks have been educated and exposed to a highly developed intellectual atmosphere and yet have produced nothing.

".... In order to judge accurately the intellectual capacities of a people taken as a whole, one must watch the natural evolution of the group rather than pick out a few individuals, more or less aptly chosen, and transpose them to a world so remote from their own that they can only appear as uprooted and like any uprooted plant wilt and die, except in very exceptional circumstances. As it is, the Blacks of Africa had the fatal bad luck of not being permitted to evolve like the other major human races. This, incidentally, was in no way their fault (since they were isolated from the rest of humanity).

".... The African Negroes demonstrate the situation, no doubt unique in this world, of a whole race that could never turn /69/ to anyone but itself in order to evolve and that received nothing from the outside, or received as many regressive factors as progressive elements, if not indeed more. Would we have done better than they, had we been in the same situation?

".... The isolation in which natural barriers kept them for so long has made the Negroes of Africa appear backward as compared with the more fortunate Europeans, or more precisely has delayed them. They have lost much time, and they could not catch up in one day or even in one century. They certainly have not said their last word, however, and their history is not at an end. Perhaps it is only beginning, and this book is only a preface." (1)

1. Les Noirs de l'Afrique
/The Black Peoples of Africa/,
pp. 155 ff.

000 To conclude this chapter, we shall bring to the readers' attention the following lines, which are pertinent to our topic and which defend the Black race. They were written by a prehistorian.

"It is a phenomenon worthy of note that this intelligence (which effected man's total evolution), whenever it can be apprehended, proves to be the same throughout the ages. Potentially, man was as intelligent in the most ancient times as he proudly is today.

"In all eras, human intelligence has seemed susceptible of reaching its highest development, ranging all the way to genius, under the influence of the environment. The painters of paleolithic caves, for example, equaled in realism the best animal artists of our time.

"We seem to witness an evolution of matter, but never one of the spirit."

In another passage of his work, this prehistorian adds, ".... It may seem strange that thousands of years ago, man should already have known and put to use such abstract principles (he is referring to magic) as those we shall see him apply, and yet, at the same time /70/, his artistic genius was attuned to his concepts: an astonishing proof that throughout the endless centuries, man's intelligence has always proved the same, ever capable, under the necessities of the moment, to reach the development needed to face up to those necessities (1)..

1. Georges Goury, Origine et évolution de l'homme /Man's Origins and Evolution/, pp. 31 and 321.

The same author, speaking of the Aurignacian civilization, offers striking hypotheses about the Africans.

"This origin (of the Aurignacian civilization in France), was it Asiatic? Or rather, would not the tremendous leap this civilization seems to have made in Africa appear to indicate that its original nucleus was to be found there also? A civilization that originated on African soil, there is something to upset the principles which have been taught up to now!

000

"The classical tradition has never ceased to assert that all ancient civilizations came from the Orient, as did the great streams of peoples who gave rise to the first historic invasions.

"We are so permeated with traditions set up as dogmas that to think of Africa as a civilizing nucleus seems to us incomprehensible. And yet, is not the history of Egypt a proof that a civilization equal in greatness and importance to those we believe came from the Orient may arise on this African soil? Studies of the prehistory and protohistory of Egypt prove that the peculiar civilization of this country was not a sort of lost branch of the civilizing Asiatic trunk, but the highest flowering of an autochthonous civilization.

"Nowadays, in any case, one no longer thinks of the African peoples as degenerate elements of the human family, but as branches which have remained at a primitive stage of evolution.

"Why, then, is it unthinkable that Africa should have produced the /71/ civilizing nucleus of the Aurignacian culture and then played an important role in the peopling of southern Europe?

"African prehistory, like Asian prehistory, is still too little known for us to offer anything but hypotheses. It seems that we are at least in a position to assert, however, that the first stream of people to whom we owe the Lower Aurignacian /culture/ came from Africa by way of Spain and no doubt also of Italy." (1)

1. Op. cit., pp. 194-195.

172 One finds traces of paleolithic industries in Ruanda and in neighboring areas.

In the course of a geological expedition in 1921-22, Rev. Fr. Salée found a quartz amygdaloid axe of Acheulian type.

The find was made in "an area (the Nduga) of very worn ridges revealing vast outcrops of biotitic granite ... among the thin deposits of a small marshy stream, a tributary of the Karuruma." The absence of fossils did not permit the explorer to date this industry in geological chronology.

In 1926, Rev. Fr. Tristan found on a platform of Mount Mugera (Urundi) "a whole group of lithic pieces, obviously worked and of

72 paleolithic type, along with fragments of cuttings, roughly attempted pieces, and traces of a hearth." Those tools had been carved in a quartzite which had been made quite friable by weathering. They were buried under a layer of red clayey soil, about 1 to 1 1/2 meters thick on the average but sometimes as deep as 3 meters, and they lay at the top of a formation of lateritic gravel crossed by veins of limonite which increased with depth.

"The demarcation between the clayey layer /72/ and the gravel is very clear.... The surface... is indeed an ancient ground upon which stood the paleolithic-style worshop. The materials were supplied by the quartzites of Mount Mugera. The steep slopes of the latter still jut upwards as high as 150 meters above the platform of the Petit Seminaire /Little Seminary/, which rises above the junction of the Ruvuvu and Luvironza rivers surrounding Mugera." (1)

1. Communications from Mr. Salée, Annales de la Société scientifique de Bruxelles /Annals of the Brussels Scientific Society/, April 21 and 22, 1925, and April 25, 1927.

000 To mention Ham and the curse which is said to have struck and corrupted the black race to its utmost depths, even in a mere figurative sense, is to commit one of those platitudes which must be classed with absurd and preconceived ideas.

It is more appropriate to admire the skill which the Africans have shown in their long and thorough isolation, drawing out nature's resources with the small means at their disposal "in order to cope with that eternal obsession, the struggle for existence."

Chapter 3

Short Historical Account of the Hamitic Invasion of Ruanda

173 Our intention here is to furnish a summary that will enable the reader to encompass with a quick look the history of Ruanda and the gradual conquest of the territory by the Hamites.

This small summary, we believe, will facilitate the understanding of the narratives, romances, and legends which we have intentionally linked with the career of each monarch.

We beg the indulgence of the reader in regard to the evaluations and opinions of the author concerning the narratives and incidents /73/ which are discussed below. He had as a guide only the traditional documentation available, that is to say, that of strictly oral transmission.

These traditions may be vague, incomplete, legendary, and even sometimes contradictory, depending on whether they were narrated by one or another individual, in one region or another. One must be glad, nevertheless, that they have come down to us, curtailed and distorted as they may be. No doubt there must be very few primitive peoples (1) with a folklore as rich and varied as that of the

000 1. What is a Primitive? Fr. Bros gives the following definition. The word "primitive" must be explained. It does not designate here the first man or men, but a certain stage of human civilization characterized by crude and unspecialized industries and social customs. In the same sense, one says "populations of inferior culture," "savage or uncivilized peoples."

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What is a primitive? By what signs is he recognized? Historians traditionally regard as primitive prehistoric peoples, the savage populations of the various continents, and also the ancient civilizations antedating the history of the various peoples (Greeks, Romans, Arabs, etc.)

Ethnologists have recently attempted to introduce certain distinctions into this confusion. They have evaluated the degree of primitiveness of various primitive peoples... by tracing every known cycle of civilization geographically through space and historically through time. (Cf. Ecclesia, Encyclopédie populaire des connaissances religieuses /Ecclesia, Popular Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge/, pp. 725 and 726.)

173 Banyarwanda. The arrival of the Hamites, or Batutsi, in the area and the influence they exercised there, especially when they entered the central province of Nduga under Mibambge-Mutabazi, twenty-third in the dynasty, transformed Ruanda and its autochthonous inhabitants in more ways than one. The conquerors contributed a great deal to the development of the legends and traditions.

173 814 A great part of what we have to say about Ruanda was related to us by the official historians, abachurabgenge ("knowledge makers"), appointed to the court. From times immemorial, those men have been in charge of preserving the memory of the Hamitic princes' deeds and actions. /74/

173 They record the genealogy of kings, their birth name and
8/4 reigning name. They do not overlook the queen-mother's name and that of her clan of origin. They are always at the monarch's beck and call, attend upon him in shifts two by two, and beguile his leisure with the narration of his ancestral lineage and of the exploits that adorn it. It must be admitted that this purely oral tradition is liable to a serious shortcoming, forgetfulness and resulting distortion. Time, that wears away everything, eventually obliterates certain facts and even the names of people whose existence is lost in the mists of time and who are replaced with legends and myths. This is the impression made by the tales of the chroniclers concerning the first sovereigns of the Mututsi /Batutsi/ dynasty. The first nine or ten kings seem to have been invented out of whole cloth. Their genealogy seems to have been created as an afterthought in order to flatter the pride of princes, who are enraptured at the thought of being descended from a long line of ancestors with some demigods among them.

173 These legends, nevertheless, do not lack interest. They disclose native ideas about the creation of the world, the existence of good and evil, the origin of death, etc.

Moreover, the historical outline is revealed in spite of everything and makes it possible for us to divine the political state of affairs in Ruanda at the time of the Batutsi arrival.

Whence did the Hamites come? No one knows exactly. It is likely that they came from the Nkole, which is now part of the Protectorate of Uganda. It is generally agreed that they emerged from the Ndorwa through the northeast and that they stayed for a while at the place called Mutara, which is often mentioned in narratives and legends.

While some of them settled more or less definitively in the Ndorwa region and its immediate surroundings, others continued their journey and successively established the kingdoms of Ruanda, Gissaka, /75/ Burundi, and Uha (1). The first stopping places and first conquests

1. The eight small kingdoms located in the territory of the Bahaya shore dwellers of lake

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/sic/ Nyanza) are governed by Bahinda princes of Muhima, that is to say, Mututsi origin, who conquered the area. Those tiny principalities are called by the names of Karagwe, Kitara, Kiziba, Bugabo, Kyamtwara, Kiyanja, Ihangiro, and Usui. Their total surface adds up to 30, 000 or 35, 000 square kilometers, while Lake Nyanza covers 68, 600 square kilometers. (Cf. Anthropos, 1927, "Comment les Bahaya interprètent leurs origines /How the Bahaya Interpret their Origins/, " by Rev. Fr. César.)

In the Unyamwezi, especially near Tabora, one still finds Hamitic groups who have retained their customs and language and who live on good terms with the autochthonous inhabitants of the region. The royal family of the Ufipa is partially of Mututsi racial stock . (Cf. Aux Rives du Tanganika /On the Shores of the Tanganyika/, by Mgr. Lechaptois, Maison-Carrée, Algiers.)

of the Hamites who founded the kingdom of Ruanda were the Buganza, Bwana-Chambge, and Buliza, the plateaus of Bussigi and Luhanga, the Bumbogo, etc. The Buganza was part of Gissaka kingdom for a while, and the Bwana-Chambge, in turn, was divided between the two Hamitic states. The Batutsi, united at first, soon began to make war on each other and to dispute the land. There were fratricidal wars in which the conquered autochthonous inhabitants took part.

Prior to the Hamitic penetration, the Bahutu, or aborigines of Bantu racial stock, were divided into a number of principalities, the stronger of which attempted to absorb the weaker.

173 The varied origins of the tribes which occupied this area explain the multitude of autonomous groups found by the newcomers. The northern populations came almost in their entirety from the Mpororo and Ndorwa.

To the west, the Bagoyi on the east shore of Lake Kivu came from the Bgisha, Gishari, Mushari, Kamuronsi, and Bunyabungu, all of which are areas situated north and west of the lake. To the southwest, the Kinyaga inhabitants are a mixture of Banyabungu and Barundi /Rundi/. To the south and to the east, the population seems closely related to that of Urundi and Karagwe.

The most powerful tribe seems to have been the one that inhabited the Nduga. In the times of Kigeri I and /76/ Mibambge I Mutabazi, the tribe was ruled by the famous diviner-sorceror Mashira, who held the combined functions of king and priest. The reputation of this chief was due less to his military exploits than to the supernatural powers with which legend endows him. On the present soil of Ruanda there stood, among many others, the tiny kingdoms of Marangara, Bwana-Mkali (the Barenge), Burwe, Bgishaza, Budaha, Kingogo, Bugamba, Bushiru (1), Buhoma, Luhengeri, Bukonya, etc.

1. A province with a symbolic and meaningful name. The memories it calls to mind could not be expressed better.

[103] Bushiru is a noun derived from the neutral verb gushira, which means "to end," "to die out." It was lent this area whose inhabitants were incorrigible quarrelers and fighters who scorned death, who were always at war, who exterminated one another, and who killed those travelers who were sufficiently foolhardy to venture into the region.

173 The families or clans which made up each of those tiny states were at first autonomous and independent from one another. They were self-governed and lacked any well-defined authority. It was only gradually in the course of time that one local chief came to impose his will upon the others. Along with royal prerogatives, and in accordance with his title of sovereign, the man in power took over the functions of sorcerer, diviner, magician, rain maker, etc. The office of sorcerer-king (umuhinza) then became hereditary. The small provinces of Buberuka, Kibali, Buyoka, Bugarura, and especially Mulera, retained their original organization and never had kings. Each tribe governed and administered itself according to its own lights. As a result they were nearly always at war with one another owing to thefts, boundary disputes, or vendettas (2). Peace ruled for a while among

[628]

2. This region was preeminently the land of the vendetta. Individuals would take justice into their own hands, with the help of family or clan members, and were implacable in /seeking/ vengeance.

those tribes only when they banded forces against the common enemy, the detested Hamite, who, in spite of the fact that he had subdued them, had not deemed it safe to settle in the mountainous regions. Ruganzu II and Kigeri IV Lwabugiri are listed among the Hamitic kings who traveled through those areas populated by proud /77/ inhabitants. The mountain dwellers did not make a great show of resistance, but after the princes were gone, they nevertheless continued to lead an independent existence. No Mututsi chief dared settle among those fierce populations. Their only obligation was to pay tribute in kind to the king himself or to the high court dignitary who was supposed to govern the area at a distance.

The Bantu of the central and southern provinces, who make up the greater part of the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ population, [184] accepted and bore more readily the yoke of the Hamites, who settled among them and shared their way of life (1).

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1. The clans in those provinces are more imbued with Mututsi influence and lack the jealous exclusivism of the tribes situated to the northeast of Lake Kivu. Their mores are gentler, and vendetta never ruled among them with the violence and frequency it assumes, for example, among the Balera and Bagoyi.

173 The vicissitudes of the conquest were numerous and varied. The immigrants used every possible means /to attain their goal/, violence, ruse, and diplomacy. Their chronicles /chansons de geste/ bear witness to this.

It seems that before they entered the land which they were to conquer, the Batutsi formed a solid group ruled by a single chief. The partition of the land and competition for power soon divided their allegiance and engendered fratricidal struggles.

After they had subdued the Bahutu (Bantu) princes, the central Batutsi, who dreamed of being the sole rulers of a vast land, turned against their own brothers who had hewed out small kingdoms in the Ndorwa, Gissaka, and Bugessera regions.

Were the two last-mentioned Hamitic kingdoms contemporary to that of Ruanda? Nothing rules against this possibility, since the columns that invaded Ruanda marched side by side /de front/, at least in the beginning.

King Gihanga, whose symbolic and significant name /78/ means "Creator," seems to have existed although the deeds which are attributed to him have a strongly legendary character. He is tenth in the dynasty. The authenticity of his reign tends to be corroborated by the fact that his original place of residence is said to have been the sacred land of Buhanga in the Muko Plain not far from the large Mukungwa River. Then he is said to have lived in the land of Kibali, at Kangomba, where a sacred grove (ikigabiro) stands. The same tradition locates his tomb, or at least that of his wife Nyirakabego,

173 in the royal cemetery which retained his name and which is called Luhanga. Must he be regarded as the Hamitic chief who was first to come with his family and a few compatriots and occupy the area, after staying in the Ndorwa at a place called Mutara, which seems to have been the first stopping place of the Batutsi at the threshold of Ruanda?

Along with Ruganzu II, he is of all the ancient kings the one most often mentioned and the one whose legends are prized most highly by the people. According to a curious legend, one of his [173] daughters is said to have discovered and domesticated the first cow, from which the others descended. The narrative built around this memorable event is very popular and contains several episodes. Gihanga is also regarded as the inventor of fire, which he bequeathed to his son and successor.

This alleged discovery has won Gihanga special honors. The official chroniclers maintain the most profound silence about the nine following kings, whose names alone they have preserved.

Did they all really exist? It is not easy to answer this question clearly, for we have not yet left the legendary realm. Gihanga, indeed, is regarded as the father of all men. His sons became the ancestors of all peoples. Kafomo, who is mentioned in the legend concerning the introduction of cows into Ruanda, gave birth to the Bashubbi (Basuï), or people of Usui. /79/

Kanyarwanda, the heir to the throne, gave birth to the Banyarwanda. His immediate successor, Musindi, twelfth in the dynasty, is regarded as the founder of the Basindi, or Banyiginya, clan, the most powerful among the Batutsi (1).

1. Most of the important families have picked out for themselves imaginary ancestors. Among some of them, however, the claimed ancestry is authentic.

[191] The sacrificer-diviners, known by the name of Abosha, claim to be descended from the famous Lunukamishyo,

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[191]

"the man with the sorcerer's knives," who was originally from the Ndorwa and who left it for Ruanda. The important Batsobe family claims to be descended from Gatsobe and Nyirarutsobe, who aided Ruganzu II Ndori in his expedition against Nzira in the land of Bugara.

Families vie with each other to claim the most distant and most illustrious ancestors.

No matter how well devised they may be, these genealogies are practically worthless from a historical standpoint. At best one may regard as true the origin of the Abosha, who belong to the Basinga clan, and that of the Batsobe, who entered the great family of the Banyarwanda a little later.

One must come all the way to Ruganzu I Bwimba and Chyilima I Rugwe, the twentieth and twenty-first in the dynasty, in order to obtain a few historical details of a greater moment. The latter king is said to have been killed at Gasseke where his spirit (umuzimu) is still regularly "soothed" and "honored." The central province of Nduga, it seems, had not yet been invaded by the Batutsi. At that time they may, at best, have occupied the Buganza, the Gissaka, which formed a small Hamitic kingdom, possibly the Bugessera, and later the Bgana-Chambge and the Bumbogo. It is possible that Chyilima I died in the course of an expedition which he carried out to invade the Nduga.

With his two immediate successors, Kigeri I and the latter's son, Mibambge I Mutabasi, we enter an important and better-known historical period.

The present surface of Ruanda was still covered with tiny autonomous kingdoms.

173 [635] The small provinces of Bukonya, Mulera, Buhoma, Bushiru, Luhengeri, Kingogo and Bgishaza, all of which are situated toward the north and west, formed as /80/ many mutually independent principalities. The situation was the same toward the south, in the Munyambiriri and the Kinyaga, where several petty kings ruled side by side as in Biguzi, Bukunzi, and Busozo. Toward the southwest the Burwe, also known as Mukindo or Ndala, may have been autonomous. The province of Bwana-Mkali was itself divided among several petty kings. There was practically no cohesion among those various groups, although they were for the most part of common origin.

The north is, indeed, populated by tribes who came from Mpororo and the Ndorwa. They are the Bahunde (1), who settled in

1. The "Bahunde" came from the northwest of Lake Kivu, from the various areas designated by the respective names of Kamuronsi, Gishari, Shari, Buyungu, Butembo, and Bwito.

the northwest, particularly in the Bugoyi. In the Kinyaga, toward the south, one finds a mixture of Bashi, or Banyabungu, who crossed the Ruzizi River, and Barundi, who have mixed with them. The inhabitants of the Burwe and Bwana-Mkali are also Barundi.

In the central province of Nduga there lived a group of individuals known by the name of Ababanda, who were divided into small groups and governed by several petty kings. The small lands of the Muhanga and especially that of the Marangara had a certain renown in local history. This will be discussed in the "History of a Reign" /Book III, not translated/. At that time, the most powerful of those petty kings was unquestionably the famous Mashira, who also possessed the Ndiza to the north in addition to most of the Nduga.

Legend claims that it was in his capacity as sorcerer that he was earnestly requested by Kigeri I, the Hamitic king who is believed to have lived at Mwurire near Kigali, to come to his aid. The

173 Banyoro had invaded Kigeri's lands. Ntete, Ntende, Runda, Gasetsa, Urwara, Migongo, Ngungu, Munyaga, etc., all the villages situated to the northeast of his kingdom, had been overrun /81/ and pillaged by those new invaders who had just entered the Bwana-Chambge. In desperation and as a last resource, Kigeri called on Mashira to repel the Banyoro.

The native historians naïvely relate that the charms and spells of the sorcerer-king made Kigeri's troops victorious. One may read between the lines that the material aid which Mashira supplied to Kigeri in the form of his own warriors must have contributed a great deal to the final Batutsi victory (1).

1. The invasion of the Banyoro, the ravages they caused; and their defeat are the subject of a long narrative which, owing to its importance, will be discussed in Book V /not translated/.

Forgetful of the services rendered by the sorcerer-king, Mibambge-Mutabazi, who succeeded his father Kigeri, managed several years later to occupy the Nduga and to get rid of Mashira himself.

Under Mibambge-Mutabazi, the Batutsi invaded this province which is located in the heart of Ruanda. After Mashira's death, Mibambge settled at Ruchango near Butare, not far from Nyanza. It was also during his reign that the Bugessera was added to the Hamitic kingdom of Ruanda. Nsoro, the petty king of that land, also belonged to the Hamitic family.

According to tradition, the Bugessera was part of Urundi, where the Batutsi had already settled. One of them took over the government of the land and ruled over his fellow chiefs, who had distributed the hills (imisozi) among themselves. The chiefs from the Bugessera gradually broke the bonds which tied them to Urundi and proclaimed themselves independent. This resulted in long-drawn-out quarrels which weakened the small country and finally drew the attention of

173 Mibambge, who played the part of the "third thief." There were thus, at first, several adjacent Hamitic kingdoms established at variable /82/ intervals of time. We may already recognize Ruanda, Urundi, and the Bugessera whose existence was ephemeral. The Ndorwa and Gissaka also had their autonomous Hamitic kings. The small kingdom Gissaka managed to retain its independence until about 1850. The Ndorwa, although continually attacked by the kings of Ruanda, was never completely subjugated.

The sovereigns of the Ndorwa belonged to the Hamitic clan called "Abashambo," which was closely related to the Banyiginya group that supplied the kings of Ruanda. It seems, therefore, that at the time of their arrival in Ruanda, the Batutsi formed a compact group in order later to disperse at a given moment and to head off into various regions where they took the place of the autochthonous princes. We have seen that according to legend the sons of Gihanga gave rise to the various tribes, Banyarwanda, Banyagissaka, Bagessera /Gesera/, Barundi, Basui, etc. Whether one accepts the existence of Gihanga or deliberately doubts it as a myth, it is not farfetched to use it as an explanation of the preceding fact, that is to say, that the Batutsi emigrants, together at first on the northeastern frontier of Ruanda (Ndorwa, Mutara) and united under one of their own men, later headed off in various directions and partitioned that part of Africa among themselves.

Considering how few they were in relation to the rest of the aboriginal population, one may ask how they managed to take over the government of the lands we have just mentioned, including Uha, which borders Urundi to the south. No doubt there were local instances of resistance, since tradition has it that some Hamitic kings such as Chyilima I Rugwe and Ndahiro-Chyamatara lost their lives in the course of expeditions. Their forward march, however, was never checked in a definitive way. Their initial unity, their good practical sense, their intelligence, which was superior to that of the autochthonous Bahutu, and their /83/ skillful strategy were no small contributions to their military success.

Instead of tackling several petty kings at once, they outwitted them separately and challenged them in turn.

173 It is also possible that their physical height, the color of their skin, and their more civilized manners impressed the "Primitives" they had come to subjugate. They reached an understanding and allied themselves with those aboriginal princes who could be of some use to them, and sometimes got rid of them when the danger was past and they felt that they now were stronger. Kigeri I and his son Mibambge I acted thus toward Mashira. Ruganzu II utilized in like fashion the aid and assistance of the petty king of Marangara, the famous Nkoma.

Let us finally add that their relative moderation after a victory and their talent for government strengthened their rule over Ruanda and caused their new subjects to accept them.

There are numerous problems which are still difficult to solve completely. One of them is the question of the time when the Batutsi entered Ruanda. It is not possible to draw full historical conclusions from the famous "Barenge episode" either. If the legend which preserved it is not altogether false, the event may be set at the beginning of Mibambge I's reign, before the defeat and death of Mashira, which resulted in the conquest of the central province of Nduga by the Batutsi. The Barenge, or people from Rulenge, inhabited the Bwana-Mkali and formed a separate tribe distinct from the Ababanda, their Nduga neighbors. Tradition claims that the Barenge, in order to bring to an end the famine and drought that were devastating the land attempted on the advice of a sorcerer to pile up on one another and mount to the sky to fetch the rain there. /84/ The live pyramid, however, collapsed before the goal was reached, and the Barenge died from the fall, crushed or suffocated. This tragedy occurred at Mara, near the present Savé mission.

The chief, who was called by the name of Kimari, a son of Rulenge's, escaped the disaster along with several members of his family but soon met with an unhappy end. The narrative, which is quite confused, adds that Mibambge apparently had something to do with the catastrophic event symbolized by the collapse of a human pyramid, and that Mashira inherited the succession from Kimari, at least for a while. What did actually happen, and how did events develop? The legend, such as it was passed down to us, is mysterious.

173 One does not know how to interpret it. Was it Mibamgbe who instigated the annihilation of the Barenge or, if one holds to the narrative only, did he merely profit from Mashira's success, if the latter actually attacked and conquered the Barenge?

So many questions which are not easily solved, since anachronisms and contradictions abound. The clearest fact is that the Barenge were attacked and fell prey to disastrous events. It does not seem sensible to lay on the Batutsi all responsibility for the struggle to the death that befell the inhabitants of Mara. The Batutsi, indeed, after vanquishing the aboriginal princes, had thoughts only for the government and administration of the subjugated populations, from which they drew their subsistence as true feudal lords. Granting that there were excesses on their part and that their victims were numerous, one may rest assured that given their mentality and customs, they would not wage an actual war of extermination on the tribes they had come to subjugate. They needed them for their own subsistence.

Should one regard the Barenge, on the other hand, as the first autochthonous inhabitants of the area upon whom their Nduga neighbors, /85/ the Ababanda, waged a merciless war as primitive peoples are wont to do, since the rule of might is axiomatic to them?

[172] The pottery remnants ascribed rightly or wrongly to the Barenge would also tend to lend them a distinct origin (1). The name

1. The so-called "Barenge episode" is described separately in Book V /not translated/, owing to its importance.

"Barenge" is no longer borne by any present-day tribe. The natives believe that they all disappeared in the disaster.

Yuhi I, the Hamitic successor to Mibambge I, hardly left any traces in history. He was the twenty-fourth in the dynasty.

His reign is mentioned /by the chroniclers/ only to bring up a fact which is rather insignificant from our point of view. Rushara, one of his favorite sons, became a "rain maker" in spite of himself, as the result of a mishap, and gave rise to the clan called Bashara whose members still have today the reputation for "making rain and good weather."

173 Under Ndahiro-Chyamatara, twenty-fifth in the royal lineage, the Batutsi star suffered a pronounced eclipse. The reign of this prince ended in disaster. His death is the subject of a long narrative which is recounted in the "History of Ruganzu's Reign" /Book III, not translated/. According to that episode, he sought death of his own accord in the Bugoyi forest. According to another version which seems more likely, he died at Russokovu in the Bugamba where he is said to have fallen, weapons in hand, in the course of an ill-starred expedition against the inhabitants of the area whom he apparently wished to subjugate. The region was known thereafter as the "hammer-cursed land" (i Rubi rw'inyundo), meaning that the weapons wrought with hammers produced unfortunate results in that area since they caused the death of the king and the elite of his men. It is believed that [796] the annual June mourning observed at the capital (igichurassi) is held [769] in memory and commemoration of this tragic occurrence.

This defeat had baneful consequences for the /86/ Hamitic kingdom, which until then had made continual headway in the interior of the land. Legend and tradition have drawn the picture on the dark side by stressing the tragic events.

A certain Nsibura, chief of the Banyabyinshi, who lived to the southwest of Ruanda, overran the land as a conqueror, subjugating everyone, on his path. The kingdom's misfortunes had no end, say the bards, until the day when the son and successor of the hapless prince, Ruganzu II Ndori, claimed his ancestral throne by force of arms.

Following the disaster which took the life of his father, the young prince had fled to the court of the King of Karagwe, where he was raised by his paternal aunt, the Queen. Upon his return to Ruanda, circumstances were kind to him.

His chief opponent, Nsibura, had just died in the Bugessera forest of an accident dramatized by legend. His energetic and determined character helped him a great deal in his undertakings. Ruganzu greatly expanded the boundaries of the kingdom left to him by his ancestors. No one did more than he for the unity of the monarchy.

The last autochthonous petty kings who had weathered the Hamitic invasion were subjugated by him. The Bugara beyond the

173 Mulera lakes, the Munyambiriri, Kinyaga, Bwana-Mkali, Burwe, etc., henceforth became an integral part of the Crown territories. Like his predecessors, /Ruganzu/marched on the Ndorwa where he killed a relative of the king, a certain Kanyoni, and then on the Bunyabungu to the southwest of Lake Kivu, but those were short-lived conquests.

His successors were no more successful in this regard. The inhabitants of the two afore-mentioned regions never allowed themselves to be assimilated permanently by the Banyarwanda. Ruganzu had no fixed residence; he /87/ spent his entire life waging war, hence his name of "Conqueror" or "Eminently Victorious" (Kuganza).

Only two small principalities are /at this point/ discerned in the present territory of Ruanda, the "Busozo," a sort of vassal land, and "Marangara," which Ruganzu permitted to survive. The potentate showed a certain respect for their independence in view of the benefits he might derive from them. The petty king of the latter region, who was then Nkoma, had the reputation of being a powerful magician. It is still said today that "Nkoma of Marangara, the son of Nkondoguro,
531 knew how to bewitch a great deal better than it is done today." (Nkoma ya Nkondoguro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubusa nk'aba none.)

Ruganzu did not dare undermine his prestige but chose to make him an ally instead. The Hamitic kingdom of Gisaka was not disturbed either. As we have already said, no one knows the exact date when it was founded. It may have originated at the same time as Ruanda.

Only 11 of its kings are known. The first one, Kimenyi I, was a contemporary of Ruganzu II. Relations between the two courts must have been good at certain times since we find that a king of Ruanda, Kigeri II Ndabarasa, married a Gisaka princess, the sister of Kimenyi II Cetula. This harmony came to an end, however, on the day when the Gisaka kings seized the Buganza and Bwana-Chambge, which, incidentally, they did not retain very long.

The son and successor of Ruganzu, Mutara I Nsoro, enlarged the kingdom to the southeast by driving the Barundi, who occupied part of the Bwana-Mkali province, beyond the Akanyaru River. Tradition adds that the decisive contest was fought near the Savé

173 Mission. The King of Urundi lost his life there, and the victors seized his ceremonial garment (inkindi), which is still preserved as a trophy in the royal treasure (intore).

This historical piece survived the Ruchunchu disaster /88/, when fire consumed the many pieces and objects belonging to the royal wardrobe. The afore-mentioned vestment is none other than a colobus pelt (inkomo), such as the Batutsi chiefs and kings used to wear.

This garment was rather small, and as a result it is called [522] derisively in the story "the overly short garment" that did not match the size of its owner (1). Laughter and jokes come readily to the

1. The literal meaning is more vivid and "spicy." Ntizihish' amabuno!

Blacks.

As far as we know, no outstanding event took place under the three following monarchs.

Under the thirty-first, Chyilima II Ludjugira, on the other hand, the struggle with the Barundi was renewed. This war is the subject of a long narrative embellished and distorted by legend. According to it, the Banyarwanda declared war on the Barundi as the result of a drought and in order to bring it to an end. Under the same reign, an alien tribe invaded the Bugoyi, on the east shore of Lake Kivu, and was repelled with great difficulty. The historical character of this second episode is better preserved. "It concerns a people," so the elders narrate, "of light complexion, who spoke a language different from ours and who built their houses differently."

They had the peculiar habit of covering their dwellings with earth. Their tools, axes, and hoes, were better wrought and more durable than those of the autochthonous inhabitants. They were designated as "Those who cover their roofs with earth" (Abassakazataka) or the "Mutes" (Ibiragi) because of their incomprehensible language. The newcomers had settled in the Bugoyi province, which is separated from the Nduga by the forest, and they were soon quarreling with the

173 few native dwellers who had settled in a small part of that volcanic region. It was in vain that the latter banded together to repel the stangers. The "Mutes" remained victorious and /89/ repelled their assailants. Then Chyilima's help was requested, and he sent an army to their aid. The intruders were hewed to pieces, and the survivors fled to the north and never returned.

Who were those strangers, and where did they come from? Tradition is silent on both counts. One must resort to hypotheses in order to identify them. History says that they were "white" (1), that

1. The Bagoyi surely exaggerated on this score. Cf. Book V /not translated/.

they built with earth, and that their tools were better.

We are inclined to believe that they were a Congo tribe who had come from the northwest of Lake Kivu at a time when the fearsome Warega /Rega/ cannibals were putting the adjacent lands to fire and sword.

It was probably for the same reason that the ancestors of the Bagoyi left their homeland (Gishari, Buyungu, etc.) and settled to the northeast of the lake where they founded a clan /? fait souche/.

It is also said that the last king of the Ndorwa was vanquished by Chyilima's troops. This is not absolutely certain, since the same victory is ascribed to one of his predecessors and to two or three of his successors. It may nevertheless be said that until about 1890 the ill-starved populations of the Mpororo, and especially those of the Ndorwa, never knew any peace. Nearly all the kings of Ruanda sent expeditions there although they did not do so in person.

As we have already mentioned, the inhabitants of the area were never thoroughly subjugated. Once the troops had departed, the survivors would leave their hiding places and live again from day to day until the next attack. This is why the land always remained poor and almost without herds.

Little is known about the three sovereigns who succeeded Chyilima. /90/

173 The last one, Yuhi III Gahindiro, is mentioned only in connection with the fact that he raised a Mutwa /Batwa/ to noble rank and gave him his own daughter (Mulangamirwa) in marriage. The descendants of this couple make up the Basiete clan.

Where did those monarchs live? Which were their capitals?

The ancient royal residences (ibigabiro, ibisozi, imirwa), which are easily recognizable by the clumps of trees that mark the sites, are found most everywhere through the various provinces of Ruanda. They are found especially in the vicinity of Kigali, in the Nduga, after one crosses the Nyabarongo River, along the road to Nyanza and beyond, up to the Bwana-Mkali. Judging by the number of their dwellings, it seems that the Hamitic princes had made this central part of Ruanda their most select location, their favorite abode.

Matrimonial relations between conquerors and conquered were so frequent in the Nduga that the Bahutu of that province are strongly tinted with Hamitic blood. In order to explain the profusion of ancient residences, it must be added that certain monarchs such as Ruganzu II and Lwabugiri moved about readily and had many residences while their predecessors maintained only three or four (1).

103 1. Royal residences around Kigali:
Ntora, Kabuye, Rutare, Mwulire, etc.
In the Nduga:
Gibara (Lwogera and Lwabugiri), Runda (Musinga), Ishèru (Lwogera), Idjuru (Yuhi-Mazimpaka), Rukoma (Mibambge), Kanshyiri (Lwogera), Rugobagoba (Lwogera), Kamonyi (Lwabugiri and Musinga), Buhoro and Kivumu (Gahindiro), Mata, Lwamabare, Nyundo, etc.
In the Bwana-Mkalé:
Buhimba (Lwogera and Lwabugiri), Gikirambga (Mutara), Gisseke (Lwabugiri, Musinga), Ishyanda (Lwogera, Lwabugiri), Mwurire, Kisanze, Lussagara, etc.

173 Mutara II Lwogera, grandfather of the present king, brings us to the vicinity of 1845. The most /91/ important event of his reign was the final conquest of the Hamitic kingdom of Gissaka, which had been split by internal divisions. One of the great chiefs of this land, having been dispossessed of his property, appealed to the king of Ruanda, who took advantage of this opportunity to send his troops there.

This event took place between 1850 and 1860. Mutara died shortly after this handsome accomplishment. It is believed that he died of consumption. He first lived at Batsinda near Rugobagoba, then at Kivumu not far from Kabgaye. The central province of Nduga always remained the most important one. The Hamitic kings spent the greater part of their reign there.

It was at the time of Mibambge I Mutabazi, twenty-third in the dynasty and victor over the sorcerer-king Mashira, that the Batutsi began to make the Nduga their favorite land. This is why the "sacred groves" (ibigabiro) that mark the location of the ancient royal residences (imirwa) stand there in a nearly unbroken line.

Kigeri IV Lwabugiri, who died as recently as 1895, was the prince whose mode of life most resembled that of his ancestor Ruganzu II Ndori.

Like him, he spent all his life making war. The regions situated to the northeast of Ruanda, the Bukonya, Mulera, Buhoma, Bushiru, etc., although nominally subjugated from the time of Ruganzu II, had never proved quite submissive toward the Batutsi and had retained an irreverent and unruly attitude toward their conquerors. Lwabugiri paid them frequent visits.

Those mountain peoples, who were impressed by his fame as a warrior, did not offer any resistance. He marched with his troops through the Nkole, Ndorwa, Urundi, and Bunyabungu, which he would have liked to join, at least in part, to Ruanda.

Those were profitless expeditions /92/ that caused great losses in terms of men and brought no real benefits to the Crown, in spite of the booty acquired. His /Lwabugiri's/ only lasting conquest was that of the isle of Idjwi. The epidemic which felled the prince caught him at Kiranga, at the time when he was headed for the Bunyabungu to the southwest of Lake Kivu for the fourth time at least.

173 His reign, being recent, is well known, and the tale of his expeditions is still to be heard from the lips of those of his contemporaries who survived him. His popularity is almost equal to that of his grandfather Ruganzu II, whose deeds and actions, badly distorted by legend as they are, have been preserved and are still the subject of many a fireside conversation. Lwabugiri's shifts of mood were most interesting. [747] His revenges, like his bloodthirsty whims, were short lived. He would raise the children of his victims and adopt young captives for whom he took a fancy, shower them with wealth, and admit them into his family.

His immediate successor, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, barely remained on the throne for a year. He was overthrown by Kabale, the most powerful chief of the Hamitic Bega clan.

So as not to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, the vanquished king took his own life. Mussinga, one of Lwabugiri's youngest sons, was immediately enthroned under the name of Yuhi IV.

Through his mother Kanjogera, he was a nephew of the ambitious Kabale, who was regent before the young prince came of age. The Banyiginya clan, from which the royal family is issued and which had until then wielded a preponderant influence at court, was stripped of its property. The most outstanding chiefs of the vanquished party were relentlessly killed by the Bega people, who divided the government of the provinces among themselves over the corpses of their victims. The Bega men, embittered because they had been kept away from public affairs, were avenging once and for all the inferior position in which they felt /93/ they had been held for such a long time by their rivals.

One may ask whether Kabale when he gave his nephew the royal name of Yuhi did not do so intentionally.

643 173 551 Two categories of kings are distinguished: warrior kings and peaceful kings (from the verb guteka, "to sit." (1))

1. The same verb guteka also means "to cook" (kupika in Kiswahili).

The name which is given to them on the day of their enthronement binds and commits them throughout their reign to a certain course of

643 action. "Ruganzu" is a war name, and so is "Kigeri." Ruganzu II
173 Ndori, as recounted by one tradition, had suffered so much (yari
551 yarushye chyane) that in order to spare his successors as much as possible of the anxieties, sorrows, and fatigue he had endured, he demanded that his name of "Ruganzu" should vanish forever with him into the grave. He thought that he would reduce thereby the number of future wars. The titles of "mutara" and "Yuhi" commit to peace those to whom they are given, who are not permitted to cross rivers (ntibambuk' uruzi). To break this "taboo" would make them and their realm subject to great misfortunes.

701 Thus, it was not Mutara himself who conquered the Gissaka. In case of a necessary war or expedition, the sovereign appoints two generals, one of whom (umugabe) has command of military operations while the other holds a mere honorary rank. He is said to exercise an occult and magic influence over the opponents, who cannot fail to be conquered if he fulfills his role properly. In the course of his expeditions, Lwabugiri always had at his side one of those generals with superstitious functions. They are called Abagaba.

Book IV

(First Fascicle)

The Royal Court

(Its Posts, Privileges, Mores, and Customs)

644 /348/ The object of the present study is the organization of the royal court, its posts and offices, its customs and festivals (1).

1. In order to designate the court and capital as they are here and now, the Banyarwanda use the word

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ibgami, "at the king's."
In speaking of the ancient
royal residences, they use
the noun umurwa, plural
imirwa, or else ikigabiro,
plural ibigabiro. As for the
term umuhango (plural
imihango), it signifies "mores,
customs, traditions," hence
the name Abanyamihango given
to the "keepers of the customs."

[642] We remind the reader that the native government is an absolute and hereditary monarchy.

The sovereign is master of the land and all it contains; he deals
643 with the life and goods of his subjects as he pleases. Until recently
his power knew no bounds of any sort and was wholly dependent upon
[776] his whims or good will. Imana (God) was no more powerful than he.
Any attempt to draw a comparison between the two was formerly
[687] regarded as a crime of high treason. God and the King could, at
best, be one and the same person.

The subjects, therefore, tended to be regarded as things from
641 which to draw as much pleasure and well-being as possible.

Their own worth and usefulness were assessed and measured
only with reference to the king. Let us add that the welfare of the
kingdom, although it was not disregarded, could only come second
in the thoughts of the king. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans,
644 the dignitaries of the realm to whom the king assigned the government
of the provinces were compelled to spend most of their time at court.
The Hamitic princes were very eager to keep the nobility close to
them. They were always on the alert and daily surveyed the lords and
courtiers who surrounded them (2). The latter belong /349/ almost

2. From Saint Simon we learn
that the situation was the same
under Louis XIV. "It is a demerit

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> for the most distinguished courtiers, " he says, "not to make of the court their daily abode, and for the others to appear there only rarely. It is a sure disgrace for anyone to fail completely or almost completely to appear. "

entirely to the noble and conquering Batutsi group. They are lords and courtiers, and they too live only for the king, his service, and his pleasure. In those territories lying under their jurisdiction the Batutsi, in turn, exercised the same powers as the monarch. The disadvantages and excesses of such an autocratic system are easy to imagine. The gift of government cannot be denied, however, to the Batutsi and their princes. They have had at all times an aptitude for organization and administration. Within a short period of time, thanks to their subtlety and talent, they succeeded in building a single kingdom upon the ruins of some 50 autonomous principalities, and in lending it stability.

Nyanza is the name of the present capital in the Nduga province. It is made up of a vast agglomeration of huts which stand apart from each other.

The group formed by the aggregate of royal huts is by far the most important. There live the king, the queen mother, and their servants (1). The chiefs are settled in the vicinity. So as not to

> 1. With rare exceptions the royal wives have little influence. They are rarely mentioned. Their august spouse may cast them away at the slightest whim.

offend the sensibilities of the king, they must see to it that their huts and courtyards are of modest dimensions. The other inhabitants, who are gathered all around, are there only for His Majesty's sake. The capital may thus be compared to a vast beehive where the jobs are

644 varied and numerous but all aimed at a single end, the service and entertainment of the king.

"The capital is filled, populated, and occupied for the sake of the life of a single man. It is but a royal residence, set up exclusively to attend to the needs, pleasures, service, protection, entertainment, and display of the king." (Taine.) "The king's household contains a veritable /350/ multitude of servants divided into various departments under the orders of high officials (Seignobos)." These two quotations, which refer to Versailles, may be applied to Nyanza and the court of Musinga if due allowances are made.

The operation of those departments regarded as indispensable to the life of the court demands an extensive staff that would fill a telephone directory. Lord of the Palace, Chief of the "Mouth" Department, Majordomo, High Keeper of the Treasure, High Cup Bearer or Butler, ushers, pages, chamberlains, valets, Keepers of the Wardrobe, physicians or rather quacks, etc., all have their equivalent at the court of His Black Majesty.

644 Of course, one must not imagine a Versailles with its delight-
ful gardens. Musinga's royal residence consists of a vast enclosure
344 of ficus trees and woven rushes and reeds. Its main opening is one meter wide. Toward the front, some 30 paces from the entrance, stands the large royal hut of branches and thatch.

It is dark inside. As in all local huts, light enters only through the door.

A multitude of wooden pillars rise within to support the roof. Along the inner walls stand a row of cubicles closed by large screens of artistically braided local rushes. The hearth lies in the center of the floor, protected by a sort of large clay rosette. This is the main hall, where only Europeans and courtiers are admitted. It also serves as bedroom to the king and his mother.

The vast enclosure is divided into several courtyards in which stand the huts of the queen mother, her daughters-in-law, and their male and female followers. Within the enclosure, here and there, stand the hut where the palladium-drum is kept, the one where the sacred fire is preserved, and the numerous huts dedicated to the shades of the royal /ancestors/.

644 One sees standing about what seem to be huge baskets covered
[343] with thatch roofs. They are granaries where the food of the employees is kept. The storeroom is the king's favorite spot. He takes pleasure in hoarding there the most disparate objects: fabrics, crockery, furniture, and trinkets of all sorts. It is said that it gives him infinite
[157] pleasure to survey his "bazaar" and to handle the goods piece by piece, away from all prying eyes.

It is easy to imagine the life and bustle that prevail at court and in the capital.

The entire nation dwells in the person of the king. He alone represents it. Since the State is identified with the king, he alone is eternally mentioned. "Everything is done for his sake. Justice is the king's justice, troops are the king's army, the nobility fights for him.... The monarch is absolute master and naturally has full and complete command over the property owned by his subjects, and when he takes it he is only taking what belongs to him.... Whoever is born a subject must obey without question...."

This short account of the history of Louis XIV's reign fittingly describes the rights exercised by the Hamitic kings of Ruanda. As a result of this concept and attitude on the part of the Blacks, nearly all the clans or family groups which make up the population of Ruanda have a role to fulfill at court, not so much for the welfare of the realm as for the pleasure of the king. The functions they must exercise are many and vary with the nature of the people involved and the products of the soil on which they live. Some of the posts derive from historical circumstances. Among these offices, some are regarded as an honor and privilege and others as a chore. Some offices are also assigned as punishment or /352/ revenge for misdeeds which were committed in the past by ancestors and the very memory of which has been lost. Most of those posts amount to actual bondage for their holders.

Positions of a mere utilitarian nature are by far the most numerous.

644 It is surprising to hear that literary pleasures and entertainments
538 are included in the court program and even stand in a separate category. By the sovereign's side, indeed, there stand official historians and

644 appointed bards (abachurabgenge), as well as literary jousters or men
538 of choice language called Abasizi, whose only role is to refresh the king's memory or to beguile his leisure with tasteful improvisations. Even the commoners are not insensitive to literature. There is not a single Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ who is not keenly interested in the legends, narratives, fables, moral or humorous tales, riddles, plays on words, jokes, etc., belonging to the oral literature.

644 Every post at the capital has its own traditions which must be scrupulously observed. We shall attempt to provide a short description of the duties and regulations connected with those offices, and of the practices and formalities to which the king must submit on the one hand and his subjects on the other.

The reader should not be surprised to hear that there is etiquette and ceremonial at court.

It is easy to imagine the oddity of a circle such as that of the court, where such varied figures rub shoulders within such a relatively small space: lords, courtiers, disciples of Aesculapius and vulgar charlatans, servants, sorcerers and diviners of various sorts, caterers, stewards, dancers, pages, keepers of the traditions, official chroniclers, literary men, etc., to list but a few. /353/ This whole world exists, thinks, and acts for the sake of the king alone. It is a true medieval court with, moreover, pagan mores where the element of sorcery predominates.

128 Laymen unfamiliar with Africa will be able to form an idea of what a king and his court represent in a Black land. What we shall say of the former political situation, the royal mores that prevailed, the human tributes and bloody bondage, will not only describe the
[643] ancient times but also demonstrate the respect that surrounded the person of the king, who was regarded by his subjects as a demigod. When viewed in the past, his bloody whims, far from being injurious to his reputation, only served to strengthen his power and his majesty. Primitive souls are awed by displays of brute force.

Among other interesting details, one will find in these pages the more or less rational origin, derived from legend or history, of many a practice and custom that still exists today.

128 Among those customs, let us mention the preservation and upkeep of a dog-faced baboon at the capital, the watch over the sacred fire bequeathed by one of the dynastic forebears, the worship of the royal drum which is regarded as the "palladium" of the realm, the existence of sacred cows and their presentation at important ceremonies, the yearly celebration of the festival called the "first-fruits festival," and the observance of a day of rest every five days. No less interesting, from an ethnological standpoint, are the passages describing the funeral customs observed at the death of a king and those referring to cemeteries, royal groves, and the royal ancestral spirits, including the annual June mourning observed at court in memory of an ancient prince. The reader will hear of the special franchises and immunities accorded to certain tribes, and of the prerogatives, privileges, and varied duties of the other groups. Some of those large families have /354/ the special function of supplying His Black Majesty with sorcerers, keepers of the traditions, rain makers, royal undertakers (who form a closed corporation), etc. (1). In order

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1. The political and social organization of the Banyarwanda is slightly reminiscent of the caste system which is found in the early history of many groups, whether political, religious, or even mere professional castes are involved.

Thus among the Hebrews, the tribe of Levi had a monopoly on sacerdotal functions. Among the Greeks the Asclepiades, who claimed to descend from Aesculapius, transmitted the secrets of medicine to one another from generation to generation. In Rome there were the two great political castes of patricians and plebeians. Even at the present

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time India is the classical land of castes, where various classes of people remain completely separated.

128 to clarify the pages that follow, we shall use the following outline to describe the duties and privileges at court.

The few details given in the short list of posts and dignities will provide an initial understanding of the mores and customs which may prevail at a court of this sort.

In order to round out the picture we wish to convey, it will then suffice to mention, among other things, the safeguards which the king feels he must demand from his employees, the dangers to which the latter were exposed by the nature of their functions, and a few other practices and formalities which the sovereign and his subjects are compelled to observe.

The last two chapters will bear on the two great festivals at court and the strange funeral rites observed at the death of a king. Our data are far from complete: there is too much to be told, and the sources of information are too inadequate. European penetration into those lands is hardly 25 years old. Up to the time of the Great European War, the natives and especially the "great ones" (Abatutsi) remained on their guard. Tongues are just beginning to loosen a little. The historical and ethnological harvest in Ruanda is barely beginning. For these reasons, /355/ the following pages will provide only a short account.

It is nevertheless to be feared that the numerous and strange practices that still largely govern the present life of the court may soon disappear one by one and make room for progress and modern civilization. We believe, therefore, that we did well in presenting to the reader a brief and concise survey of these practices before they sink into oblivion.

While giving choice place to the customs of the court and the mores of the Hamites, we shall not hesitate, whenever the opportunity arises, to wander from the rather narrow boundaries indicated and defined by the title of Book IV. Whenever suitable, and without leaving the subject at hand, we shall broaden its scope to include customs

128 common to the three ethnic groups which make up the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ nation, or peculiar to one group or another.

Chapter 1.

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I. Posts and Offices of a Historical and Superstitious Nature. The Keepers of the Customs and Traditions. The "King" of the First Fruits and the "King" of the Imandwa.

1. Maintenance at court of a dog-faced baboon and a sacred bull.

It will be recalled that according to legend, when the enemies of Ruganzu II the Victorious attempted to smoke him out of a cave, /356/ he was saved by dog-faced baboons (inguge), who led him through subterranean tunnels to another exit. One of those animals is kept at the capital in order to commemorate this fantastic legend.

The clan in charge of caring for the animal is known under the name of Abanyamuheno, that is to say, "Men of the Cave," in memory of the event.

The monkey, tied with a chain, is fed by his keepers with sweet potatoes, beans, grains, sorghum stalks, etc.

When he gets old he is released in the forest where he was captured when young, and another monkey is sought out to replace him.

Is not this custom reminiscent of honored practices at the court of the Pharaohs, where dog-faced baboons were also raised?

[233] Ruanda is a land of pastures. The Batutsi possess numerous herds of cattle which are, rightly enough, the pride and joy of their owners.

It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that aside from the sacred herds that will be mentioned in the last chapter but one of this book there is a bull at court that is the object of special care and attentions.

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).
778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here, " he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

[773] In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and
even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the
inyambo.

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291 inyambo. The individual who is placed in charge of Rusanga is called
778 /358/ Nkwaya and belongs to the Banyiginya clan. This is a position of trust.

The insanga are well known by the inhabitants of the capital.

2. The chief of protocol and the "king" of the first fruits.

644 There exists a complicated ceremonial and a series of rites whose teaching would soon be lost if their preservation were not entrusted to a group of personages who supervise their observance scrupulously at the monarch's side. They do not fail to call him to order occasionally on this score.

The most important of those directors of protocol, or masters of ceremony, is unquestionably the chief of the Batsobe clan. His is a select position by the side of the sovereign, whom he counsels and directs in those matters which are within his competence. His name will come up again in the pages that follow (1).

1. The Batsobe played an exalted role in the Ruchunchu coup d'état. As a reward, the spoils of the vanquished were distributed among them. Their major fees are the Bumbogo, Luhanga, Bussigi, etc.

Under the ultimate supervision of this high dignitary, one family is in charge of cultivating in the sacred land of Bumbogo the sorghum and eleusine which are later brought to court for the yearly "first-fruits festival." We shall speak of this later when we discuss festivals.

The head of this family is sometimes called "king of the first fruits" (umwami w'umuganura). The father and founder of the Batsobe clan, as we have already mentioned, was raised to noble rank and brought into Ruanda by the Hamitic king, Ruganzu II, as a result of the latter's expedition into Bugara lands, north of the Mulera, against the petty king Nzira, son of Mulamira. In connivance with his mother, the ancestor of the Batsobe had sheltered the disguised

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen [778 362] from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda).

784 This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and 173 he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are re- [769] cruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

744 173 [171] time it came into being, or where and by whom it was first established. It seems to be of foreign origin, although it has made important strides in Ruanda proper. It has been noted that the neighboring peoples to the north, south, east and west of Ruanda indulge in a similar cult (1). Did Ryangombe and his companions really exist?

1. In the work entitled Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Édouard /Between Lakes Victoria, Albert, and Edward/ the author, Mgr. Gorju, discloses details about this secret society which lead one to believe that it is of Hamitic origin and that it was introduced into Ruanda by the Hamites.

"In the Bunyoro each tribe has its high Muchwezi, or acknowledged protector. Thus ... the Bagweri claim to be under Mugasa's protection....

"Aside from these protectors peculiar to each tribe, however, there are universal protectors common to all tribes who have specialized in some menial function... such as Kagoro, the god of lightning (p. 202). There is a group (of these demigods, or genii) in which individuals were included under the name of bachwezi, such as Nyabatwa and Nyabakonjo, whose legendary history hardly corroborates a kinship with the authentic Bachwezi (three powerful figures whose trail is suddenly

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lost)... (p. 203).

"In the Bunyoro the Bachwezi cult was superimposed on the local religion whose primary objects of worship were no other than the spirits of the ancestors and the Creator himself."

(Luhanga, Nyamuhanga, among the Bahima of Uganda), p. 218.

(Sub-army /sub L'armee?/ (society) of the mbandwa).

The same author speaks also of Muzana, the servant girl honored by the initiates.

Fr. Césard, in turn, lists the same figures, including Rungu (Nyabirungu among the Banyarwanda) in his study, "Comment les Bahaya interprètent leurs origines /How the Bahaya Interpret their Origins/," Anthropos, 1927.

Yes, if the legends are to be believed, but the details they provide are not sufficiently accurate to make us accept the reality of their existence. What are the bonds of kinship or subordination which unite Ryangombe and the figures who are grouped at his side in the worship and ceremonies held in his honor?

173 776 794 There does exist a sort of mythology that classifies some of those figures, but others were introduced into some of the provinces at a later time and are more or less unknown. Some of them nevertheless have historical associations, and their claimed patronage arouses certain conjectures. /361/ We wonder whether the Banyarwanda may have introduced into this sort of religious pantheon sorcerers, ancient petty kings, and political figures who played an important role in the land. The Blacks, being superstitious, timorous, eager to avert the wrath of ancestral spirits and anxious to gain their protection, have

173 rendered them a special worship. The Hamites were perhaps the first
776 to organize this religious group in the newly conquered land. The
794 Bahutu (or Bantu) were not excluded from it. Their admission was a political act on the part of the immigrants (1).

1. It is not impossible that the Hamites found the imwandwa society already organized when they arrived in Uganda, and later in Ruanda, and that they immediately adopted it and had themselves initiated into it to serve their own ends. As we can see, the problems relating to the origins of this religious society remain unsolved. Any hypothesis may be offered until the day when light will be brought on the subject.

By conviction and perhaps also in a spirit of diplomacy, in order to win their subjects over, the conquering Batutsi, killers of the magician-petty kings, did not hesitate to invoke the spirits of their victims and to honor them in cult ceremonies.

The Romans acted similarly toward foreign divinities, and admitted them willingly into the pantheon of the Empire.

According to this interpretation, should Ryangombe and his initial companions be placed in the category of aboriginal princes? If one accepts the facts set forth in the Banyarwanda legend, such a supposition is not impossible. The mythological narrative represents Ryangombe as a sort of independent prince (umuhinza), whose residence was at Kibingo in the small province of Nyakale. The legend says that Ryangombe went hunting to please his wife Nyanzige, daughter of the great king, Ruganzu II, who had asked him for a buffalo hide in which to wrap (ingobyi) her newborn child. He found one of those /362/ formidable animals and even wounded it, but was charged by the beast and killed at a spot about two hours distant from his dwelling,

173 Nyabikenke, which became thereby historical and accursed. His sons
776 and companions avenged his death and killed Nyanzige, who was the
794 indirect cause of the misfortune. The initiates of the Ryangombe cult also deified Ruganzu's daughter and made her a liberator (Umutabazi). It may have been the children and followers of Ryangombe who ennobled the end of this unfortunate woman for political reasons, so as to escape the anger and reprisals of the vindictive monarch.

Nyanzige is designated in ritual ceremonies by the name of Nyagishya or Inzobe, that is to say, "pale-faced woman," on account of her complexion.

The Bagoyi attribute Ryangombe's death to another one of his relatives, a young girl whom he had previously seduced after offering her a heady drink of hydromel. "I will have my revenge," cried the adolescent girl. "You will find me along the way, changed into a buffalo, and your blood will pay for my dishonor."

In accordance with local custom, the family of the unlucky girl chased her away. She found refuge in a wooded area where she bore a male child.

Ryangombe had gone out hunting when he suddenly met with the angered mother. She changed herself into a buffalo and pierced the king of the Imwanda with her horns.

The Banyarwanda like to ascribe to Ruganzu II most historical events and the origin of a number of practices and customs. What aspects of the afore-mentioned legend should we keep in mind? The interpretation of the facts is far from easy. The reign of Ruganzu II is relatively recent. On the other hand, the cult of Ryangombe is found in neighboring areas although the details vary. It is difficult to accept all the narrative details as historical. The religious society seems to /363/ date much farther back than the reign of this great monarch (1).

1. Ryangombe himself may have been only the perpetuator of these rites and may have practiced them by virtue of the law of succession, if it is assumed that he was a petty king (umuhinza), or on the authority of the Hamitic potentates.

The figures honored by the members of this secret society rank as demigods. Their protection is believed to be effective in the various circumstances of public and family life. As a result, their disciples appeal to them for the obtaining of any material benefit, recovery from illness, ownership of cattle, good relations with chiefs or neighbors, triumph over enemies, protection against bewitchers or spell casters, fecundity, etc.

In order to reach these goals, the initiates respectfully come to the man who plays the role of Ryangombe, greet him, kneel at his feet, address his companions, and offer them gifts.

There is a traditional way to honor these spirits of varying rank and position. No rite is overlooked. Ceremonial dress, gestures, words, offerings, everything is foreseen and prescribed by immutable laws.

Each of the "patrons" has a peculiar costume and special insignias which the man who plays his role must perforce take into account. They are offered gifts of various kinds, and chants or "paeans" are sung, recalling to the spectators the brilliant deeds of their protectors.

1. Ryangombe is represented as seated on a native chair, with a cutlass suspended from his neck. One sets down at his side a vessel full of lustral water and a large jar of pombe, beer made of sorghum or banana juice.

The ladies who wish to honor him hold in their hands a household spatula (umwuko). His adepts imitate the call of the hyena to praise him (2). /364/

2. Is this a vestige of the ancient tribal totems? We cannot be sure.

2. Binego, son of Ryangombe, is called the "Liberator" because he saved his father from ruin and dishonor.

The man who plays his role holds a spear and stick and has a pipe (urwika in the language of the initiates) and a small gourd full of banana beer.

794 His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba. . . , " pronounced in a virile tone,
776 recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a
[30] necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung
854 around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye. . . . "

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

[224 His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around
[237 the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i. . . " to recall
534 that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence
[287 the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with
a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a
[445 hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using
[272 a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

794 9. Nkonjo, another enslaved servant girl, who was first to
776 bring the sad news of Ryangombe's death.

She is offered a broom as a gift, the symbol of her work as a slave, and a small storage granary or some produce as a reminder that she was in charge of watching over the harvest and of attending to the household tasks.

10. Mashira.

The Banyarwanda, forgetful of their own history, regard him as Ryangombe's child. We have better reasons to believe that he was no other than the celebrated magician-petty king acknowleged as one of the most powerful sorcerers.

In ritual sessions, his representatives assume a majestic bear-
[711] ing and hold in their hand an iron spear made all of a piece (igihosho), which is a sorcerer's emblem symbolizing strength. His followers
[415] offer him an earthen pitcher of special design, with two openings and a drinking tube in each to permit the spectators to drink the hydromel it contains in honor of the magician.

His peculiar cry is "shi shi shi ...."

11. Mutwa, one of Ryangombe's companions, is invoked especially by the Batwa. /366/

This figure seems to have been invented for the sake of the
[782] Batwa. He is offered gifts of beans, meat, milk, and sorghum bread which the members of this despised group share with delight.

The selection of these particular foods, which are offered first as a sacrifice to Mutwa, aims at pleasing him by satisfying his hunger. This is because the Negrillos, whose prototype (or ancestor) he portrays, do not always eat their fill, and these foods appeal to them as the ideal dishes they most desire.

New members were added later to this gallery of demigods. We shall mention only the best-known ones.

1. The Liberator Kibogo, son of King Ndahiro, is often invoked for rain.

[782] 2. The Bagoyi, lake-shore dwellers, offer libations of beer to Mwungeri, son of Nyankaka, who perished in the Lake Kivu disaster.

3. The inhabitants of the Bwana-Mkali honor in turn Rumana

794 and Mulengetwe, old historical figures who may have been notorious.
776 4. The "Munyoro" figure was invented for the same superstitious reasons which cause the Blacks to honor the spirits of the dead and more particularly the souls of those who distinguished themselves for good or for evil in the course of their mortal existence.

The figure of Munyoro was probably included in the ceremonies after the defeat of the Banyoro.

5. The inhabitants of the Nkombo isles render special worship to Muhima and Nyirangenge.

Muhima, a synonym for Mututsi, symbolizes the Batutsi conquerors who seized the isles, and Nyirangenge, a feminine figure, stands for the Batutsi ladies or personifies the intelligence of the Hamites.

6. Nyarwambari, son of Mulema and grandson /367/ of Ngwegwe, figures among Ryangombe's followers. The initiates do not have much to say about him.

7. Bukiranzuki figures among the daughters of the founder. During the ceremonies, the women who worship her wear on their heads the tail of an animal known under the name of igiharangu.

The members of this religious pantheon are numerous. They include, aside from the afore-mentioned figures, the founder's father and grandfather, Babinga and Nyundo; his wives, Kajumba, mother of Binego, Karyango, mother of Bukiranzuki, and Gachubya, mother of Nyabirungu; Nyirakabali, his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to one of his companions; and Lubindankima ("the man who girds his loins with a monkey pelt"). The inhabitants of the Bugoyi have it that this latter figure, who was probably invented out of whole cloth, was the friend and confidant of one of Ruganzu II's great victims, the famous Gatabirora, nicknamed Bilikunkomo, whose actions and deeds have been dramatized and romanticized (1).

1. Cf. Book III /not translated/.

In the meetings of the initiates there is also mention of
[825] Gassankomo, "the man who wraps himself in colobus pelts." This is the honorific name given to Kagoro, whose impersonator must for some

794 reason gather myriapods (centipedes) which he must dry in the sun and
796 then string up and wear as a badge when he goes begging for sorghum
[625] or banana bunches in the course of ritual processions.

The disciples of Ryangombe also honor the memory of the master's mother, whose role was rather insignificant to judge by the legend.

Ntamutimuchumyi is mentioned only to state that he was the cause of Ryangombe's first misfortunes, for he was about to dishonor him by depriving him of his property and his rights. He was eventually killed for the sake of the general /368/ welfare and honor by Binego, who arrived at the most critical moment. The name of Ntamutimuchunyi /sic/ is synonymous with felony and treachery.

As for Nkonjo, the slave, she personifies cowardice and coarseness. She is mentioned only with scorn (1).

1. Cf. Book V, "The Legend of Ryangombe," /not translated/.

794 To designate the master's hunting dogs, initiates avail them-
552 selves of appellations and epithets replete with allusions. Some of them recall the abilities of these animals, others the qualities and defects of human beings. The names of the following animals are readily mentioned:

1. "The (serious) man who never laughs at his fellowman" (Ntamugab' usek' undi).

2. "He who preserves (as a careful owner) a store of smoked meat" (Nyamubikan' umuranz' uruguma).

3. "He who pays the bride price for a girl whose family did not raise her properly" (Bakoska batahana).

4. "The pot-herb which is so odorous, although it is not yet ripe, that it causes people to eat up (at one blow) all the butter in the house" (Urunyegeri rutoto).

5. "Her mother knows her well (including all her faults), so she will make no effort to argue with her because she knows that her daughter is incorrigible" (Nyina aramuzi, ntazamumpora).

794 6. "The dog that runs like the wind" (Nyakayaga).
552 7. "The dog with fringes (with long hair)" (Nyagayonga).

Among the prototypes or figures who appear in this legend,
173 Ryangombe is the one most highly honored.
794 He is regarded as a sort of hunter-king who made volcanoes his favoirte dwelling place after his death.

According to the same narrative, he still enjoys the pleasures of the hunt with his sons, companions, and favorites in those high mountainous and wooded regions. The Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa have participated in this cult in large numbers. They observe its /369/ rites faithfully and observe the rules of the arcana. The ceremonies take place mostly at night. Each of the adepts appeals to the spirit or spirits for whom he has a special devotion. The Batutsi have chosen those whose life most closely parallels their own.

643 The chiefs do not like to mix with their subjects to honor those powerful spirits, but they seek out the help of the Bahutu and
794 Batwa who belong tothis cult and have them dance and sing in honor of Ryangombe and his companions. The Bahutu and Batwa alone take part in the ritual processions and collections which are carried out through the villages in summertime.

794 The gestures of this cult are pervaded with earnest and impressive seriousness. Initiation, confirmation, ritual feasts, the taking on and carrying out of vows, the collections and processions, all take place secretly, away from prying eyes. Laymen are not allowed to come near the gatherings, and jests and insults directed at the initiates were seriously punished in the old times. A former queen, Nyiramulema (a wife of King Mutara), was crucified upon the ground in the courtyard of her dwelling by the imandwa for having ridiculed their ceremonies. The tomb of the unfortunate woman lies at Savé, in the Nyarigina quarter.

644 II. Official Posts of Great Importance from the Standpoint of the Crown (Ingoma) as well as from that of the Executive.
Generals and Official Drummers.
Executioners, Capital Punishment, and the "Pit" of the Bugessera.

701 1. The generals or commanders of the armed forces.

701 A general is called umugabe, an army corps umutwe, and an army on the march igitero, from the verb gutera, "to attack."

For the sake of documentation, here is a list of the names of the army corps, /370/ those of the regions where they are recruited, and the names of the born generals /généraux-nes/ who lead them.

Army Corps	Region	Generals
Ndala	Burwe	Lwasamanzi
Imvejuru	Bwana-Mkale	Chytatire
Nyaruguru	Buyenzi and Bungwe	Sebagangari
U Ruyange	Various regions	Lwabutogo
A-Bashumba	Part of the Bungwe	Kabera
Nyakale	Nyakale	Sezikeya
Impamakwicha	Busanza	Luharamanzi
Inzirabgoba	Buhanga	Lugerinyange
Abashakamba	Bwana-Chambge	Lwabusisi
Intaganzwa	Various regions	Nturo
Impara	Kinyaga	Lwakataraka
Issumo	Nduga, Lukiga	Rwidegembya
Abakembanyi	Bugarama	Gisazi
Abiru	Southwestern Kinyaga	Birassenyeri
Abakemba	Bugassera and Buganza	Mafene
Abahirika	Migongo	Muligo
Abarassa	Gihumya	Kanuma
Abadahigwa	Mirenge	Gashamura
Indengabanizi	Various regions	Mudukikwa
Abalima	Mututu	Gamakwandi
Abalito	Nduga and Buganza	Nyakassaza
Ndushabandi	Buganza and elsewhere	Lukarakamba
Abadahemuka	Gisseke	Machari
Imitari	Eastern Mayaga	Buzizi
Ibisiga	Mutara-Ndorwa	Zimulinda
Abashakamba	Bugoyi (Abagwabiro)	Lwangeyo
Abatalindwa	Bugoyi, Bgishaza	Bushako
Abakemba	"	Mugemanshuro

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Abarangamyambi	Bumbogo, Bussigi	Gashamura
Abangogo	Kingogo	Luvuzandekwe
Abatanyagwa	Budaha	Lwamanywa (1)
etc.	etc.	etc.

1. The Batwa, like the Bahutu, are divided into several army corps.

The four principal ones are the following:

The army corps called Rwiririza, which includes the Batwa of Gihogwe, in the Nduga, beyond the Kayumbo River; the Biniga, which includes the Batwa of the Bwana-Mkalé and which has as its chiefs two Batwa, Senkobga and his son, Kanyamubare; Abagiga, or Batwa /371/ of the great chief Kayondo; and finally the Batwa soldiers called Impunyu. These are none other than the forest Negrillos who are commonly designated by the name of Impunyu, whose etymological meaning is "men of small stature," that is to say, Negrillos or Pygmies, of which the native word is an exact translation.

Such is the military regime that still prevails, although in purely theoretical fashion. /371/

Until 1900 most of the Hamitic kings had taken advantage of this system to such an extent that some clans are said to have been decimated as a result of the too numerous expeditions of ancient times.

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2. The provincial governors (Abatware b' intebbe), who are nearly always at court.

644 634 64 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises, the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain the latter's approval.

644 778 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

[534] This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it [402] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock, and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails "turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

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1. They are among others Kanyoni, son of Gatibamenya, and Rubunda, princes of the Ndorwa area; Nyagaketchuru, the woman chief who governed part of Huyi in the Nyaruguru; Mutaga, the king of Urundi who was killed under the reign of Mutara I; Nyirabihoro, another princess from the neighborhood of Uswi; Kabego, king of the isle of Idjwi (in Lake Kivu), and his son Nkundiye.

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This drum is jealously guarded within the enclosure of the royal palace, on the east side in a hut called by the name of imilinga, that is to say, "copper objects."

This term is both metaphorical and euphemistic, and well understood by the people. It is metaphorical so as not to draw the attention of enemies upon the function of the hut, and it is also euphemistic so as to remind the courtiers of the importance of this palladium, which is likened thereby, to the copper threads and bracelets formerly regarded by the Banyarwanda as precious objects. The same hut serves as museum and repository. It also shelters the other royal drums which played a role in the past, before the Kalinga, in its stead, or along with it. /373/

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These drums bear characteristic names. Perhaps they should be regarded merely as symbols or trophies, reminders of victories won in the past by the Hamitic kings over the autochthonous princes. The latter's lands and drums went from their hands into those of the Batutsi monarchs.

The hut also encloses enormous quivers (imitana), arrows, spears, and other weapons of varied shapes and sizes. A certain element of taste must have presided over the selection of this booty, for people who have managed to see them say that the objects in the collection are almost invariably characterized by a certain richness, a great deal of originality, and fairly careful craftsmanship.

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
[202]/374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
533 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
644 hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated
[614] to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
644 name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of
814 closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

644 forebears. Along with thedeeds of the past, they must preserve the
814 memory of each king's name, the names of the queen mother, of the king's immediate ancestors, and of the tribe to which they belonged.

Needless to say, critical sense has not yet appeared in the land. It happens sometimes that the Court historians and keepers of the traditions disagree about some detail which is now forgotten or
[787] in dispute. In such cases divinatory sacrifices are offered in order to find out what the king should be told (1).

1. See "Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom of Ruanda" /Book II, not translated/ for opinions regarding the authenticity of the first /few/ sovereigns. As fas as the beginnings of the kingdom are concerned, the traditional documentation is of greater value to ethnology than to history.

In spite of their inherent faults and imperfections, the epics nevertheless are not lacking in interest or charm. Through them we can grasp at first hand the thoughts of the Banyarwanda, their feelings, their /375/ ideas about life, their love of their native soil, their attachment to old customs and memories of the past. They reveal the pathetic sorrow caused by foreign invasions, and the enthusiasm inspired by eventual triumph.

[64] 7. The keepers of the traditions belong to the important Abiru clan. Their role is to preserve the unity and continuity of customs at the capital and throughout the realm. The supreme chief of this corporation is the chief of the Batsobe, whose position entails numerous and varied functions.

644 In accordance with a popular tradition, he is personally en-
643 trusted with the task of collecting the umbilical cord (umukungwa) of
787 each of the king's sons, as well as their teeth, including their milk teeth. Then, when the time comes to determine the heir to the throne, it is this personage who has the honor of presiding over the selection.

644 According to popular belief, this choice is made in a very interesting
643 manner. The umbilical cords of the young princes are buried separate-
787 ly in pots of ficus wood (umwuko), with gourd, sorghum, eleusine,
and native spinach (issogi) seeds planted all around them (1). The

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1. These seeds are designated by the name of mbuto nkuru, that is to say, "the major seeds." Eleusine and sorghum play an important role in the diet by yielding a sort of native bread. Spinach is also highly valued because of the flavor it lends to the beans with which it is cooked. The Banyarwanda also include in this category the seeds of a special gourd called inzungwane, which is hollowed out when ripe. It is used to store beer, and it is this relationship to pombe, so highly appreciated by the natives, which lends so much importance to the seed.

According to another popular belief, the successor to the throne is the one among the king's sons born with the "major seeds" in his right hand.

After subjugating the Bahutu by force, the Hamites insured their obedience by exploiting their credulity.

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future holder of the drum is pointed out by the most plentiful harvest. According to these naive people, the umbilical cords are /376/ then discarded except for that of the crown prince, which must be preserved (1).

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1. In actual practice it is the king himself who designates his heir directly during his lifetime, or indirectly through executors, who make known the king's last will after his death.

When the throne was left vacant, there often ensued contests which gave rise to complications and bloody tragedies.

The Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief of the most powerful clan sometimes made his own choice among the sons of the dead king andforced acceptance of his candidate. This happened in 1896, when Kabale rebelled against the rightful heir, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, and had Yuhi IV Musinga, his own nephew and the present king, elected instead.

644 767 8. The royal corporation of undertakers called Abanyamugogo. Rightly or wrongly, they claim to be descendants of those who handled the funeral of Ruganzu II Ndori.

We shall mention them again in the section dealing with funeral rites.

644 681 696 9. Executioners.

They are usually chosen from among the Batwa.

So far as ordinary criminals are concerned, executions take place at the capital. High-ranking culprits are often placed in the custody of a chief, who leads them to the Buberuka or Bugessera provinces.

The unfortunate victims are strangled or smitten down with spears, and then tossed into the pit (urwobo) of Bayanga or into the shifting marsh of Nkonde. Aside from strangulation and drowning,

644 the Banyarwanda also practice dismemberment, otherwise known as
681 the "torment of the hundred wounds."
696 First the flesh of the face, arms, calves, back, etc. are cut up in order to make the victim suffer as long as possible. This refinement of cruelty is carried out mainly in vendettas (guhora).

Impalement is reserved for cattle thieves. There is mention of an unfortunate man whose stake threatened to come out through his side. The operation was begun all over again..., but the patient /377/ died long before it was concluded. The most common torture for persons of medium rank consisted in cutting off their hands and feet and leaving them thus on the spot, where they died of cold if the hyenas did not devour them first. Sometimes death lingered for two or three days because the blood had coagulated and the hemorrhage had stopped.

Some of those unfortunate victims would bellow their torment and thirst, dragging themselves wretchedly on knees and elbows and vainly attempting to come near the huts and implore the pity of human beings. Their doleful cries were heard throughout the night.

[687] Fear suppressed pity, for the slightest act of compassion would have been regarded as high treason. Any show of pity or mercy was punishable by death. Execution by club, spear, or billhook blows and the cutting of the carotid artery were regarded as the mildest and quickest methods for victims entitled to a certain consideration. This category included elders, women, former favorites, and certain court employees. Important personages whom one did not wish to "do away with" (gusonga) were often sentenced to lose their eyes.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, hardly a week went by at the capital without a bloody execution. If several weeks elapsed without one, the fact seemed so extraordinary that the following expression was repeated everywhere, "Peace (or calm) reigns at the capital" (N' ubuhoro ibgami).

644 Sorcery was the cause of condemnation most frequently in-
683 voked. When people had an enemy and wished for revenge or when they coveted a rich man's possessions and wealth, no great effort of the imagination /378/ was needed on their part to prove the culpability of the man whose death they desired. When a man was led before

644 the king following such a denunciation, the sentence was swiftly
683 pronounced. "Nakukijije (You are pardoned)," said the king, if the accused had been so fortunate as to find powerful protectors or to refute peremptorily the accusations of his enemies. "Mumujane ku kivumu (Lead him to the ficus tree)," cried the king to the executioners when the man was condemned.

696 "Come on, we shall pardon you (guino twakukijije)," added the executioners derisively while leading away their prey. The unfortunate creature vainly implored the pity of the king and of the spectators, who just looked away. He was quickly led to a hollow near the ill-omened ficus tree (ikivumu), where he was to suffer the [152] prescribed punishment under the eyes of the crowd, who loved to attend those dreadful spectacles (1). The moans, complaints, cries,
[541]

1. Capital punishment drew large crowds filled with morbid curiosity and avid for cruel emotions.

and howls of the tormented victims did not stop the executioners from pursuing their deadly task to the end. The sufferings of the condemned persons in no way affected their sensibilities. "Has it been a long time since So-and-So was executed?" they were sometimes asked. "The hyenas have eaten him and even digested him (zamuliye, zamuneye)," they would answer coarsely without changing their tone.

Executioners were seen to prolong the victim's torment for their own gratification, or to lead them to run away by releasing them from their bonds so as to have the pleasure of finishing them on the run. We shall not elaborate on the disgraceful mutilations which those unfortunate individuals were first made to suffer.

686 Many a "rain maker" was killed because he could produce no rain. At times of great drought, those who had the misfortune /379/ of being caught were brought to court. They remained bound for days under the burning rays of the sun, while the populace hurled insults at them.

686 "Why don't you make the sky weep if you wish to find a remedy for your suffering!" people would shout at them as a joke (1).

1. Izuba libaririre!

"If it does not rain at such-and-such a time, if you do not make our fields green again, you will die".... And execution followed close upon the threat.

635 692 Like the king, the great Batutsi chiefs sat in judgment and passed sentence in their provinces when they resided there or whenever they were passing through. They were not all alike. Among them there were just and humane men, and one likes to believe that they were in the majority. Some nevertheless left a bad reputation on account of their cruelty. It is said that two of them took pleasure 681 in having the arms of their victims bound behind their backs with wire drawn so tightly that the elbows met and the wire sank into the flesh.... Many persons died of this unique and atrocious torment. Another dignitary had those upon whom he wanted to wreak his revenge immobilized and made to lie on their backs.

Then he would make his victim drink a pitcher of beer or water through a gourd shaped like a funnel. A third man, leaning heavily on his spear, would pierce his victim's foot and thus nail him to the ground. A high dignitary punished those who had displeased him by seizing two of their fingers and pulling them apart with all his might, thus tearing the tissues that connected them. Fortunately, however, those were exceptions which should be ascribed to paganism, the primitiveness of customs, the cruelty of the times, the criminal procedures then in effect, the passions aroused by clan struggles, the competition for power, the revolutions, and sometimes also the proud and savage conceit of chiefs who were too young to govern. /380/

643 661 In order to gain an accurate understanding of the more that prevailed at the time, the reader must be reminded that the life of a man counted for very little in the eyes of the king and of the great chiefs. Subjects of Lwabugiri who are still alive today (he died in 1895) report that in order to show his skill or to judge the strength of his bow, the sovereign would shoot at the first person who appeared

643 along the road, to the sanctimonious applause of his entourage. Once
661 he even tried his spear against one of his chief lieutenants. The latter had the audacity to evade the blow, pick up the weapon, and hurl it back at him with equal skill. The king managed to duck and showed no displeasure, at least on that day. He even congratulated the man for his boldness and courage and said that he was a "man" (umugabo).

This scene was enacted more than once during the same reign. The unfortunate men who served as targets to the spirited monarch, however, lacked sufficient audacity, and especially good fortune, to get away... with such amiable words.

Under the reign of the present monarch, Yuhi IV Musinga,
[687] from the time of his accession to the throne and prior to European penetration, the famous Ndamutsa drum often heralded one or several executions. Aside from the crime of sorcery it was enough to be denounced, rightly or wrongly, as having spoken poorly of the king and queen mother. Such crimes were punished on short order and briskly.

Public rumor has it that the young king tried his first gun shot on a madman. He hit him point blank.

The courtiers who were present at this murder scene emitted frenzied bravos to applaud the supreme skill of His Majesty.

[177] European influence and supervision alone managed to bring to an end this state of affairs and this kind of behavior, which in the natives' way of thought only served to accentuate the majesty and power of the king. /381/ It does not follow that this change made the pagan Blacks any happier, for they were awed by the ancient customs and the bloody displays of brute force.

671 In principle, justice was the king's justice, since as the saying goes, "the king is the law." For the sake of truthfulness, however, it must be added that there is a set of laws in existence. It is certainly not a complete code, but it nevertheless includes a series of laws and practices adding up to a veritable common law which, had it been rigorously applied, would have avoided many an extortion and cruelty. Gradually, over the centuries, a special procedure had been established for litigations bearing on property rights, inheritance rights, matrimonial rights and bride price, physical damage such as

671 theft, arson, and destruction of crops caused to a neighbor, grazing rights, the levying of taille /head tax/ and forced labor, etc. Culprits [696] of high lineage and wealthy people often extricated themselves with money and innocent people sometimes payed for offenders, especially when false witnesses were suborned.

The Pit of the Bugessera

133 Among the various torture spots such as the swamp, called 823 Nkonde in the Buberuka, the Nshimbo swamp near Lukaza, the 681 Ruboneye swamp near Nyanza, the place called "Ficus-tree spot" 696 (ku Kivumu), certain rapids of the Akanyaru and Nyabarongo rivers, etc., it was the pit of the Bugessera that left the most evil memory. Its reputation is highly sinister, owing to the illustrious offenders who were tossed into it and also to the legends that circulate about this accursed place.

The pit is located in the Bugessera region, not far from one of Lwabugiri's ancient residences, which it is surprising to find in the middle of this deserted region.

The landscape is stark, even wild, and darkened by the memory of the tragic executions it witnessed. /382/

The pit is a sort of depression in a rocky area (ibuye ryasamye), 681 about three or four meters deep. It is more or less filled with stagnant 696 rain water according to the time of year, and it is half choked with 823 mud (1). Clumps of trees of various kinds make islets of greenery and

1. The Blacks like to account for the peculiarities of rocks and boulders, whose shapes and cavities invite comparisons. They tend to attribute these formations to the influence of men or demigods. They gave the name of "Bayanga's little beer boat" (umuvule) to another depression located near the preceding one and which to their eyes had that appearance. All around

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the "little boat" there are cavities or small holes upon which the Mututsi Bayanga, according to the same tradition, placed the beer jars (ibiteleko by' ibibindi by' inzoga).

The torture spots sometimes borrowed their name from the first victim to be sacrificed there, such as Nkonde, Ruboneye, Nshimbo, etc.

break the monotony of that vast plain on which only herders and hunters roam.

Tradition adds that a Mututsi formerly lived not far from the pit and led his herds to water there.

His name, Bayanga, remained bound to the spot (urwobo rwa Bayanga). Cursed by some king whose name is now forgotten, the place was later deserted.

It seems, however, that the pit was not put to its new and tragic use until the reign of King Lwabugiri, who settled with his court in the middle of the Bugessera waste around 1886 or 1889 in order to be closer to the Urundi he hoped to conquer. The presence and proximity of the pit probably suggested to him the idea of tossing criminals and convicted political offenders into it. It was a short step from thought to deed. The first victims, at least those whose name has been preserved, date from the time of Lwabugiri's reign.

Since this is a remote place that inspires terror, it is known only to the executioners and to the few inhabitants of the Bugessera. Fancy took charge of this cursed place and wove fantastic tales about it which are naïvely believed by the populace. /383/

It is said that anyone who drinks of the water will die instantly. Even to wash one's hands in it or merely touch it would have the same result. It is said that a hunter who was a stranger to the land and who quenched his thirst at the pit contracted leprosy on the spot and died after horrible sufferings. This same water is said to be fatal

681 to birds and animals such as buffalo, gazelles, wild boars, dogs.
696 Even if the latter should not die immediately, their masters would
823 have to kill them for fear of being stricken themselves by contagion.

Each night, they say, smoke and flames rise from that awful place and cast a reddish glare on the horizon (1).

1. The grass fires at the end of summer must not be foreign to this association of thoughts and images.

It is also said that the waters have the color of blood (atukura, assa n'amarasso). Every time an offender is led to the pit, the waters rise suddenly as though to fetch the victim (ngw' abon' umugome, akassama). After swallowing their prey, the waters subside. Then protracted cries and moans (akaboroga, akater' induru) arise from the bottom of the pit.

The pit is so deep, it is commonly said, that its waters join those of Lake Kivu (ngw' aja hasi, afatanye n'i Kivu).

Considering such stories, one can easily understand why people should speak with terror of that cursed place.

In actual fact, the victims were strangled or killed with spears
681 before they were thrown into the water.
696 An attempt was made to submerge the bodies, but they would rise once more to the surface. The hyenas quickly disposed of them. After leaving the place of torture, the executioners would go a certain distance to another depression, usually filled with water, in order to clean their weapons and wash their blood-stained hands. /384/

Traitors and enemies, bewitchers and ranking political
[848] prisoners were not the sole victims of the accursed pit. Among those
[845] condemned to die at that sinister spot were also freak babies (ibimara),
[847] unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), children born during the period of mourning held for their father (inda y'amabi) sometimes along with
[826] their mother, young girls whose breasts had not grown (impenebere) (1)..., and calves born in a "faulty" manner (ubufuti), such as those whose legs... came first.

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1. Girls who reached marriageable age with this physical peculiarity were formerly regarded as an evil and a threat to the land. The small development of their breasts was considered a crime. They were called the girls "with undeveloped breasts," impenebere, from the verb guhenebera, meaning "to be limited," "to be brought to nothing."

681 whose legs... came first.
696 Those beings, abnormal or regarded as such, were invariably condemned prior to European penetration. There was no pity for them. They had to be done away with secretly and at night, so as not to be denied passage through the land which had to be crossed. According to popular belief, the mere presence or accidental sojourn of one of those beings could unleash famine or other evils throughout the region.

Chapter 2

Duties of a Purely Utilitarian Nature

644 A. The employees of His Majesty's "Mouth" and "Cup" /departments/, that is to say, the cooks and domestic servants (Abahanga, "the Skillful Ones," and Abozi, "the Washers") have always been regarded as holding the least enviable position at court. The hut in which the servants keep the bowls of milk reserved for the king is /385/ designated by the name of kiryana, "the house that devours its inhabitants," since few are the men who survived their duties. After a varying length of service, they were suspected in almost every case of planning to poison the king, and they died a
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644 violent death when they least expected it. This was for a long time
[682] a sword of Damocles which almost invariably fell upon the head of those who had the misfortune of being selected for that unenvied position.

We shall cite, later on, a few examples of this.

644 B. The cupbearers (abanyanzoga), like their colleagues in
273 the royal dairy and kitchen, also practiced a dangerous trade. Their
651 duties involved the obtention of the best beer available, which they had to preserve and to offer at the moment it was desired. They were numerous, and some of them lived near the king while others roamed the land to requisition honey, beer itself, or the bunches of bananas which are used in the manufacture of this precious beverage (1).

1. The head of the cupbearers, a certain Mutagikwa, is regarded thereby as captain of the Indengabaganizi army corps. This is a strictly honorific title, which nevertheless enables him to levy taxes in those territories where he exercises his functions as an officer of the "Cup."
He lives at Nyarugenge in Gassagara, the Buhanga.

Originally, employees in this category theoretically had rights
[661] only to bunches of bananas and honey (imitsama), and they roamed the land to obtain them (gutorana). Gradually they took on the habit of behaving like true chiefs and of demanding from the inhabitants contributions in kind, beans, sorghum, cows, etc., as well as forced labor, called buletwa. This permitted them not only to live well, but also to acquire large herds.

644 C. There are several work groups assigned to the cultivation
276 and preparation of the tobacco which is used by the prince. The plants destined for his use come from the Bugoyi /386/ Mata in the Marangara, and Ruyanza and Mussambiro in the Nduga, among other

644 regions. The leaves are prepared at the capital by special employees,
276 men or women, who also risked their lives occasionally for the reasons cited above.

D. The preparation of tobacco juice, which is used for a most unusual and worldly purpose (mukibuno), is entrusted to a group of female servants or young girls in the service of the queen mother. The tobacco leaves are immersed in a liquid of tart and bitter flavor (inkari), in which they are allowed to remain for some time.

The liquid alone is then used by the queen mother and high-
[278] ranking ladies, who believe that tobacco juice, when prepared in this fashion, is an infallible remedy against the ailment known locally under the name of imisuzi.

This strongly scented solution bears the name of a plant with a pungent odor (umugabagaba) from which the odalisks in charge of this work also draw their name, abanyamugabagaba. The rooms where this curious medication is applied are known at court and among the great chiefs who are all familiar with the famous recipe by special names whose meaning is clear only to those in the know. They are the imikinga, or "secret cabinets," (from gukinga, "to close") and ubugonyi, "public toilets."

E. A group of factotums known as Abanyakambere remain at
644 the disposal of the sovereign, who spends most of his day in the hut called by the name of Ikambere, "the first one," because it stands at the heart of the main courtyard. The function of these valets is to watch over the various objects which make up the room furnishings. They also carry out the king's orders and relay messages to the other
[202] servants. /387/

F. There are also the keepers of the treasure. They are
644 called Abanya-byuma.
556 The Banyarwanda designate all iron objects by the word byuma. Billhooks, axes, graters, knives, bracelets, and especially hoes represent wealth to their owners in terms of their numbers and actual value.

This manner of conceiving and understanding riches gave the keepers of the treasure the name of "people entrusted with the preservation of iron objects (abanya-byuma)." The treasure itself

644 556 bears the meaningful name of intore, from the verb gutora, "to choose," because it contains a selection of unique pieces. It includes the wardrobe (imyambar' abami) of the former kings and their jewels. Fabrics of all kinds; colobus hides, beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other objects of this sort make up the greater part of the treasure proper, which is exhibited twice a year, as we shall see later on when we discuss the festivals at Court.

644 356 G. A group of young girls is in charge of cleaning the hut which the monarch uses as a bedroom. They are entrusted with the task of renewing the fine grass which makes up the royal bed and of stretching upon it the mats and precious furs (ibyahi), that is to say, the otter, lion, and leopard hides on which the sovereign lies. Those chambermaids are popularly called Abashahsi, "those who stretch out the mats," from the word gusasa, "to stretch out the mats." Another of their functions, and not the least important one, consists of "warming" the royal bed every night. In order to achieve this, they lie down on the couch successively or even all together until the king arrives.

The women or girls who fulfill a function at court live under the ultimate supervision of the queen mother, at whose side they live. /388/

644 701 H. The "Irresistibles" (Intalindwa) take their name from the army corps of that name. They include a group of servants and factotums chosen among the various classes of society. Among other duties, they watch over the king and his children at night and keep up the fire that must burn on the hearth throughout the night, according to a custom of the country which is also observed by the great chiefs. They renovate the huts by rebuilding them regularly every three years. Since the huts which make up the royal palace are numerous, they share this task with the chiefs of certain provinces.

[482] It is from among the "Irresistibles" that hammock bearers (abahetsi b' ingobyi) are selected when great ladies of the royal harem venture outside. They belong to the army corps whose name they bear. The members of this military group were regarded as the most courageous (Intalindwa, "those who cannot be resisted").

644 They[1] were sometimes employed, in preference to other servants, to
701 lead away the convicted high-ranking offenders who were to be exe-
[681] cuted at the usual places of punishment (Buberuka, Bugessera).

I. The name of Impara is used to designate another army corps which is recruited from among the inhabitants of Kinyaga provinces. This name was also given by extension to a group of individuals who are initiates of the Ryangombe secret society and who are compelled thereby to live close to the king in order to draw upon him the favors of the shades of all those who once belonged to that religious society.

They must make an appearance when the king rises, bearing on their heads the tails of hares (amashira y' inkwavu) or of some other carnivore /sic/ like the marten (ibiharangu), which they shake
[769] to the right and to the left while singing and dancing. They hold in the hand small bells or sistra (ibinyuguri), which they ring while /389/ invoking in a loud voice the protection of Ryangombe and his companions. Aside from this beseeching role, they fulfill other functions within the king's household.

Owing to their functions as suppliants and intercessors, which is their chief role by far, they might just as correctly have been included in the category that follows.

Duties of a Supposedly Utilitarian Nature, Some of Which Are Private and Others Public and National.

Sorcerers and Diviners of All Kinds.

644 A. The Bakoma clan has already been discussed at some
791 length in "History of a Reign, " /Book III, not translated/. They were direct descendants of the autochthonous petty kings of Marangara land and were formerly regarded, along with Mashira, as powerful sorcerers. It was believed that they could preserve or take life by hidden means known to them alone.

The first of those autochthonous princes, whose real name was Sekibakanyi, had a tremendous reputation. It is still said today that "Nkoma Sekibakanyi, king of Marangara, (son) of Nkondogoro, knew
[539] how to cast spells a great deal better than those things are done today" (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!). This phrase is now proverbial.

[1] [i.e., the Intalindwa. - Analyst]

644 On account of this fame,[a] the Bakoma have been entrusted with
791 the preparation of an elixir to prolong life called issubyo from the
278 name of the plant which they use for this purpose, hence their name Abanyissubyo, "people of the life beverage," a name and function which they regard as a great honor. In order to make their elixir, the Bakoma, or people from Nkoma's land, look deep into the forest for a kind of moss or mould (urugombyi) which is found on trees. When they have a good amount of it they /390/ burn it all. The ashes are carefully gathered and stored in a safe place. They also use the roots of the plant called issubyo, which they dry in the sun and crush to powder on their flour mill.

The third ingredient of this water of youth is a kind of Lycoperdon called agatumura which resembles the puffball.

Small amounts of these ashes and powders are mixed with beer and handed daily to the king by two representatives of the ancient family. The Hamitic monarch sucks in a few drops through a drinking tube (umuseke or umuheha), rinses his mouth with them once, and immediately spits out the liquid.

[466] In principle the members of the Bakoma clan are exempt from
644 forced labor and have retained a fair amount of independence (1).
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1. Over these last few years, the Hamitic chief who was placed above them had to concern himself only with the observance of European laws and ordinances.

They have no function other than to take turns at court and hand to the monarch the invigorating beverage of which they are the inventors (2).

2. Along with the Basozo, the Bakoma have enjoyed privileges and immunities[b] for the longest period of time. In the "Reign of

a [i.e., of being descended from the best sorcerer. —Analyst]

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Ruganzu II, " /Book III, not translated/, we spoke at some length of the Basozo and the origin of the privileges they still enjoy.

The royal corporation of undertakers has similar prerogatives.

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B. The sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind who are employed at court or personally by the king may be said to form the most important and most numerous group. The king requests their services both on a private and on a public and national basis. Their titles and duties are infinitely varied. They are recruited from numerous clans. The Bega tribe provides the most celebrated sacrificer-diviners, known under the name /391/ of Abakongori or Abanyambuto. The Abachumbi group, who aside from their role as diviners have the power of setting spirits to flight, are drawn from among the Basinga. So are the Abosha, who claim to be direct descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo, that is to say, "the man with the sorcerer's knives, " who came from the land of Ndorwa. It has already been said that he came to seek his fortune in Ruanda, where he was well received by the Hamitic princes, who raised his family to noble rank and showered it with material goods. The name of the forebear, as preserved in history, derives from two words, kunuka, "to feel, " and imishyo, "knives, " because of the habit he had of using his sacrificer-diviner's knife to take his bearings.

Also included in the category of sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind are the Abanyantondwe, Abanyakarago, Bihungamutwe, Abanyanzuzi, who are the most common, and many others.

Rev. Fr. Arnoux has discussed them at some length in his work (1).

1. "La Divination au Rwanda /Divination in Ruanda/, " Anthropos, 1918. In this study

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the author discusses diviners, including the Bakongori, and the various methods of practicing their art.

The same individual is both diviner and sacrificer.

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The Abakongori are also designated by the name of Abanyambuto because they use the saliva of their clients in their method of divination, hence the name mbuto given to this viscous fluid in this particular case.

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Numerous are the clans, such as the Bazigaba, Batembe, and Bahigo, of the Muhutu /Bantu/ race, which provide the court with diviners and sacrificers, but more numerous still are the families where these functions have been transmitted, since more or less distant times, from father to son or from mother to daughter.

The Bahigo and Batembe inhabit the Bugoyi region. The ancestors of these two families emigrated to the /Ruanda/ kingdom around the year 1800, during the reign of Yuhi III Gahindiro. The members of these two /392/ groups owed their good fortune to a Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief who was pleased with their divinatory talents and made them known to the court of King Yuhi III Gahindiro, where they were summoned (1).

1. The events and incidents of this emigration to Ruanda were preserved by his descendants and make an interesting tale.

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Their method of divination differs from that of other diviners. They are called Abanyamihundwa, that is to say, "jawbone diviners," because instead of using any small bones as do the ordinary Banyanzuzi, they use only the jawbones of sheep, beeves, and antelopes (2).

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2. The bones of goats are excluded from their divinatory practices.

To those small bones (imihundwa y' urwasaya), which must be six in number, they add three small pieces of iron (imbaba), three seeds of the gourd called inzungwane, and a piece of wood about ten centimeters long adorned with beads at one end and on one side, which is called igichumbi.

The diviners ascribe great importance to it /the last?/ and place it in the center of the jawbones, three to the right and three to the left, in order to consult the future. Another detail distinguishes them from their colleagues. While the latter throw their magic dice onto the plate (impinga) with an abrupt gesture, the Banyamihundwa simply allow theirs to fall upon the hide of one of the above-named animals.

Small bones play an important role at court and throughout the land. They are resorted to for everyday events. The bone thrower's role is to interpret the relative positions of the bones in accordance with his special knowledge. The number of dice or bones varies with the rank or title of the diviner. Each of the dice and bones has a significance of its own, which is modified in turn according to the manner in which they fall to the ground.... One must take into account the side upon which the bones fall, the direction in which they /393/ are pointing, and the position they assume in relation to each other. It is easy to imagine how many combinations are possible when all those elements are taken into account....

If the desired answer is not obtained at the first throw, one begins again...once, twice, ten times...until it comes (Levy-Bruhl) (1).

1. La Mentalité primitive /Primitive Mentality/, Félix Alcan Publ., 1922.

644 C. Aside from the haruspices, diviners, and sacrificers we
791 have just mentioned, the king retains appointed representatives of every possible and imaginable kind of sorcery.

A whole crowd of sorcerers toils for the monarch and his court: necromancers (Abashyitsi or abahamagazi), conjurer-magicians (Abahuzi), makers of philters and charms (abanyanzaratsi), makers of amulets (abachunyi), etc.

Strangers who came from Bunyabungu or Buhunde (regions located to the north and west of Lake Kivu), from Uswi or Ujinja (on the shores of /Lake/ Victoria), etc., are no less popular than their autochthonous colleagues and sometimes surpass them in the novelty or originality of their art.

There was even once a dispensary for charms and poisons (ubulozi, plural amarozi or ibirozi) which one requisitioned from afar or attempted to make on the spot, although it appears that these experiments met with little success.

The plants whose juice, bark, or leaves were used were not among the most poisonous, as we shall see later.

We may add that the reputation of these magicians seems to have been more impressive than their deeds or the consequences of those deeds.

In all justice one must except from this statement the conjurer-
644 magicians called abahuzi, whose crimes /394/ and misdeeds are too
756 numerous to list (1). It is difficult to understand how they managed
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1. "To seek" is guhura in Kinyarwanda, hence the word umuhuzi, "seeker," given to this fearsome group of sorcerers. Guhurish' ihembe means "to seek with the horn," and guhurish' umunwa, "to seek with the mouth" (in the patient's body).

to exploit public credulity with impunity through so many centuries. The popular expression "to have blood on one's hands" may be fully

644 applied to them. They are said to have the power of identifying
756 spell casters and bewitchers and also of expelling from the patient's
791 body whatever is claimed to have caused the illness, poisoning, or bewitchment.

The remove the source of evil with a small horn or a gourd
[755] in the guise of a cupping glass, or even with their own mouth, and produce before the bedazzled spectators bones, pebbles, toads, snake heads, and other incredible objects removed with the instrument. The Banyarwanda have boundless faith in the effectiveness of this method and tell of marvelous cures obtained in this fashion.

It is no use trying to reason with them about this. The elders are especially intractable.

In order to unmask the jettatori /from Italian/ and other such
791 cronies, our miracle workers (abahuzi) use another horn full of incongruous and even unmentionable things.

Popular belief adds that they set out in the nude, horn in hand. The horn moves and twists about, people say, as if possessed
[683] by an invisible spirit. It leads to the alleged spell-casters and bewitchers, who were killed on the spot without furthur ceremony prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

The naïve Blacks add that ingredients used to bewitch or to produce a spell /395/ were discovered in the same manner, no matter whether they had been buried or hidden in a hut (1).

1. The case is cited of several individuals in whose possession a collection of bones was found, and who confessed of their own accord that they were spell casters and bewitchers. It is possible that those unfortunate people, having fallen prey to autosuggestion, believed in the effectiveness of their baleful activities.

791 Those same "seekers," in their capacity as conjurer-magicians
789 have the power of staving off the results of spells and sorcery. For a fee, they will set physical and moral boundaries to the evil powers of other sorcerers. They do this by means of medicines (imiti) of their own creation, amulets (impigi), and tree branches with magical properties, which they bury or stick into the ground. Areas thus "closed" to the evil of spells remain for a long time inviolable havens. Henceforth, the owners of such immunized grounds have nothing to fear from bewitchers.

The Banyarwanda talk a great deal, by the hearth, about those
791 conjurer-magicians and their high deeds.

In order to recover stolen objects, the Banyarwanda resort to the Banyerango (2). These do not inspire the same fear as their afore-

2. Abanyerango. This substantive is derived from the word kulangira, meaning "to show," "to uncover," and designates the sorcerer's trade. Hence the name irango given to the horn which he uses in his search.

mentioned colleagues, although they use the same magic horn. The
[842] Bachunyi, or makers of grigris, chiefly specialize in bringing fertility to sterile women.

For a fee they sell amulets and magic beverages. Gossipers add that charlatans in this category often take advantage of their clients while the naïve husband, a small bell in hand, is sent to take a slow walk around the sorcerer's hut.

754 D. The curser-sorcerers (Abahenyi) are also held in high esteem. Their mission, like that of the false prophet Balaam, /396/ is to curse the foes and annihilate their power to resist. Their chief,
[644] named Agakwande, enjoys high regard at court. His ancestors were simple Bahutu. It was on account of their important functions that they gradually made their way into the noble caste of the Batutsi, with whom they continually intermarried. They inhabit the Ndiza, at Bulembo, and form a powerful and formidable body. Their

754 incantations are claimed to be highly effective. When they practice their magic, they gather at night in a small grove which is their habitual spot and which bears the name of ihinero, from the word guhena, "to curse" (1).

1. The etymological and precise meaning of the verb guhena is stronger than the one just stated. It designates a symbolic and expressive gesture which serves to show the low regard in which a person is held or the contempt manifested toward him. The curser-magicians also turn the back on the foe while fulfilling their functions, hence the name of their profession.

On this occasion a black goat is killed and its pelt hung onto a bush.

They wear the fruits of a spiny bush (intobo) around the neck and sow charms on the path which the enemy is about to follow. They did this when the first Europeans arrived but met with little success.

644 701 E. We have already mentioned the generals (abagabe) among high court dignitaries. Above them stands another important figure, who might be called the commander (Umugaba). He plays the role of a sort of honorary general-in-chief of a superstitious character who is believed to make the troops successful. As a distinctive badge of his superiority over the actual general, he encircles his forehead with a strap (ikamba), which is somewhat reminiscent of the royal crown. He is chosen by the diviners (yarelejwe) and perhaps taken from among the Bahutu.

Most often, nevertheless, the role was filled by one of the Batutsi, sons or relatives of the king. It was thus that Karara followed his /397/ father, King Lwabugiri, to the Bunyabungu in the capacity

644 of a good-luck general. During the Ishangi expedition it was another
701 son of Lwabugiri, Nshozamihigo, who filled this role. These generals wear amulets around the neck and paint the face with white chalk or
[302] lustral water (amazi y'ingwa).

They are also the holders of charms and other talismans (inzaratsi, insinzi), which are supposed to help bring about the defeat of the enemy. They remain at camp while the troops fight. They are graced with almost royal honors. The drums sound reveille for them (akabikirwa) as they do for the king. They have full power to
[692] make laws and settle differences, and their sentences cannot be appealed (ikyo bavuze ntikisubir' inyuma) (1).

1. Umugaba is a noun derived from the verb kugaba, meaning "to distribute" or "to give free of charge." In principle this term applies only to the king. Its synonym Rugaba, which stems from the same verb, is reserved for God (Imana).

When the king chooses someone other than the general-in-chief called umugabe to take his place at the head of his troops, he grants this man extensive powers and honors appropriate to his rank as a result of this title.

Other Duties Similar in Nature to the Preceding.
Spell Casters and Bewitchers.
Purifiers and Exorcisers of All Sorts. Makers of Test Poison.

791 The duties of these men are practically everyday affairs and
644 thus rather well known, and their works are as famous as those of their colleagues the sacrificer-diviners, the conjurer-magicians, etc.

791 644 We mention them here separately because of the relatively numerous details cited about each one of them.

It must be said that all those "doctors of occult, mystic, and magic sciences, " far from being ashamed of their trade, pride themselves in it and regard themselves as /398/ important and needed beings. They are conscious of their dignity and of the nobility of their functions, which they publicly advertise (1). For some of them professional

[754]

1. This does not concern those who act on their own account and become bewitchers or spell casters on an occasional and temporary basis.

Such people operate in a hidden and roundabout way in order to exercise a purely personal vengeance. They take every possible precaution to conceal their operations, therefore, for they risk death if their deeds are disclosed.

remuneration is quite high. Glory brings profit.

In their pride and vanity the professional practitioners of magic and sorcery of all kinds have tried to give their art a noble origin by tracing it back to the great king Ruganzu II. According to legend, he was the man who invented and organized everything. [173]

Craftsmen, blacksmiths, and cultivators claim him /as their forebear/.

When pressed to account for their powers and with their backs against the wall, theurgic sorcerers, medicine men, etc., have claimed in turn to be merely trustees of the gifts and talents which the illustrious monarch was the first to hold and possess. He passed on those gifts and talents to their predecessors, whose line they carry on.

After subjugating the petty autochthonous princes who had governed Ruanda, the Hamitic kings used the services of those princes' descendants. Some of these petty kings, such as those of Marangara and the Bgishaza, had the reputation of being the most powerful of

644 sorcerers and of possessing exceptional talents. This is why the purely
791 mystical functions of their successors were sanctioned by the conquerors.

As a result, they remain on duty both to His Black Majesty and to his faithful subjects at court, at the capital, and throughout the realm. /399/

A. Bewitchers, spell casters, spells, and sorcery. The sorcerers in this category are subdivided into several groups and operate in various ways.

They are referred to as a group by the generic term umulôzi (abalôzi in the plural), "bewitcher." Kuloga means "to bewitch, to cast a spell," and also "to poison." Ubulôzi (amalôzi in the plural) means "bewitchment," "evil spell," "sorcery," and "poisoning." Those are familiar words in the great lake region.

As we shall see later, many of them ply their trade publicly both at the capital in the service of the king, to deliver him from his enemies, and in the villages where they serve their fellow men.

Others, whose activities are more or less acknowledged, practice only in secret.

Some, as will be made clear, have only a fictional existence and exist only in the imagination of naïve people.

1. Abashitsi, or "the catchers," is the name of those who
787 can force a thief to reveal himself through magical practices.
695 The name of their function is borrowed from the verb gushika, "to catch" (the thief), hence the word "urushiko" to designate the procedure. To do this the magician fills a vessel (imbehe) with a liquid which he prepares himself. He blows for a while into a drinking tube, one end of which is immersed in a wooden jar, until the froth (urufuro) overflows, forcing the thief through this mystic and symbolic procedure to reveal his deed in spite of himself. Such, at least, is the popular belief.

2. Abaheretsi (from the verb guhereka, "to lay traps through
791 bewitchment") serves to designate a second group of sorcerers who
789 specialize in burying charms and amulets of their own making in banana groves and cultivated fields, /400/ hence the name of uruhereko given to their sorcery.

789 241 Woe to those who plunder lands which have been thus bewitched! They are struck motionless on the spot and become completely paralyzed (baragangara) and incapable of any motion. The sorcerer alone can free them by uttering some cabalistic words. In order to safeguard his crops the owner of a field often uses the following method, which consists of laying down on the field which is to be protected the sharpening stone, a handful of ashes from the hearth, and strips of leather taken from an old drum. If a sorghum crop is involved, our man ties together four sorghum stems near the mystic assortment, as though to simulate a hut consecrated to the spirits. The trespasser who chances on the property will be immobilized, or he will catch an illness that will lead him to the grave (1).

1. We are talking as from the native's mouth, but we do not intend to confirm his claims in any way. Even when events justify those claims, this may undoubtedly be ascribed to emotion, autosuggestion, or sheer coincidence.

791 789 In the Bwana-Mkali province, operators of this kind bear the name of Abakagizi (from gukagira, "to hinder"), and their method is called urukago, "hindrance." Like their other colleagues, they bury amulets, plants with magic properties, an old household spatula, or even the small stone used to crush the grain at the entrance to the courtyard or behind the hut. The stone, called ingasire, is also called ikinane in sorcerers' terms, that is to say, "the obstacle," "the supreme preventitive." The use of a spatula which is worn or out of commission has a mystic sense and a magic virtue at the same time. The thief who should attempt to enter a dwelling protected in this fashion would find his efforts come to naught (2). Professional

2. This method is reminiscent of bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/.

791 /practitioners/ of this kind demand rather high fees /401/ and will
789 accept no less than a goat, an ox, or even a heifer as the price of their services.

3. In the Gissaka people believe that there are tame snakes
[825] guarding the fields and houses of their masters. Those reptiles coil themselves around the neck of thieves and suffocate them. They also follow the tracks of thieves and receivers of stolen goods to their homes.

4. According to popular belief, the batezi (from the verb gutega, "to lay traps") are capable of uncovering evildoers and thieves by means of a curious method, which is none other than bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/. The victim of the theft comes to the spell caster and presents him with a goat whose throat is immediately slit. Then the magician takes the bladder, fills it with air, and suspends it with a rope from the ceiling of the hut. If the thief's death is desired, the sorcerer punctures the bladder or even cuts the rope that holds it. If the membranous sac collapses on the ground, the thief cannot fail to die instantly. It will be sufficient to ask for news in the vicinity. Any sudden death will be interpreted in this light and ascribed to the act of bewitchment. The belly of the victim will be greatly inflated. This is what is called gubang' agaheto, "to string a bow, " as the Banyarwanda sometimes put it when they wish to allude to this method of bewitching.

If the owner of the stolen object wishes to be magnanimous, he asks the sorcerer to strike the bladder only lightly, in order to cause the culprit mere intestinal pains. Needless to say, the Blacks have complete faith in these magic procedures and believe that they have witnessed their consequences in a large number of cases.

754 5. Abachuraguzi. This word comes from the word guchuragura
[535] and designates a kind of dance. /402/ The devotees of this kind of dance stamp up and down on the spot. People in this category are the true jettatori /from Italian/ whose aim is to cast a spell, jettatura, on their fellow men because they are jealous of their good fortune or because they want revenge fro an offense, real or fancied. Those baleful men operate at night. In order to succeed better in their black designs, the spell casters must wear nothing but an old mat

754 which is no longer usable (umusambi). Then they fetch a human tibia
[826] or fibula (umurundi) with which they carry out a gruesome dance (guchuragura) in the courtyard of the person they wish to harm. They hold in their hand a small jar full of live coals to symbolize the life of their enemy which is soon to burn out. After breaking the clay jar and scattering the coals, they toss a handful of earth taken from a grave upon the owner's hut and say the following words in a low voice,
[539] "I don't want your beans but your life" (Sinshak' ibishyimbo, ichyo ndashaka n'amagara yawe). This is reputed to be one of the worst evil spells.

6. Gutambikir' umutambikiro, that is to say, "to dig a small ditch across" the path where the hated enemy they wish to bewitch will pass. This is another kind of spell by analogy /sympathetic
[826] magic/. In order to do this, the operator must if possible procure a nerve taken from a human cadaver, and a strip of bamboo or some other wood that was used in transporting the dead.

With these he makes a tiny bow which he places in the ditch dug out on the path of his enemy, who is soon to come by. The hole is covered with earth and grass so as not to arouse anyone's suspicion. When the detested person puts his foot on the concealed bow, the spell caster, hidden in the surrounding bushes, pronounces in a low voice the fateful word, Fatwa, "Be caught." This is the end of the unlucky traveler. /403/ Assailed with violent intestinal pains, distended, blown up, he will soon die in terrible agonies, or so claims the theory.

This procedure is also designated under the name of kubang' agaheto or guteg' umuntu agaheto, "to lay the bow trap."

7. Guteger' umuntu inkoko, "to practice the chick spell"
754 (implicitly, one whose guts did not turn white, iteze neza, yabay'
787 urutunda) is regarded along with guchuragura as one of the worst evil spells.

In order to make use of this spell, one usually resorts to specialists in divination who are past masters of this art. If the diviner
[826] agrees to do the job, for a handsome fee, his client prepares to collect secretly (since the Blacks are suspicious and mistrustful of their fellow men) a little saliva expectorated by the person on whom

754 he wishes to take revenge. The viscous material, carefully gathered
787 in a leaf, is brought to the sorcerer who introduces it with a little
[826] water into the beak of the chick he is about to sacrifice.

The diviner first holds a conversation with the bird and requests it to make sure that its guts will not "turn white" but "turn black," so the evil deriving from this fact may be duly utilized. After talking at some length, the operator slits the chicken's throat in the usual fashion of diviners and carefully washes the guts to verify the specific color (white or black) on which the spell depends. If black is present, the lucky client takes what is left of the chick from the hands of the diviner and tosses it surreptitiously into the hut or enclosure of his enemy, or else he buries it at the favorite spot where the person likes to sit and rest. The effects of the sorcery will be felt quickly, and the unfortunate victim /404/ will die almost instantly after a few moments of indisposition.

The Blacks add that this sorcery is feared by everyone but used more especially by the nobility (Batutsi). They say that if one wishes to ensure success, it is preferable to use a chick which is the only survivor (yonyine, ikinege) of its brood.

If the guts turn black in the course of the divinatory procedure, the chick will infallibly "swallow" (gusama) and "destroy" (gufata) the person whose death is desiired.

754 8. Let us now mention the bewitcher who uses the horn of a cow to cast an evil spell on an enemy (ihembe umulozi alogesha).

The horn is hollowed out by the sorcerer, who carves at its tip the head of a snake. He fills it with all sorts of objects and ingredients, the droppings of various birds or animals, and scraps of flesh taken from victims he has already killed.

9. Freak babies (ibimara), young girls whose breasts have not
[787 developed (impenebere), and other unfortunate beings of this kind are
845 regarded by the Banyarwanda as "revealing in themselves the presence
856] of an evil principle or mystic force whose influence is deadly." (1)
just like the monstra, portenta, and other ill omens of Roman times

1. La mentalité primitive
/The Primitive Mentality/,
by Levy-Bruhl, pp. 158 ff.

754 just like the monstra, portenta, and other ill omens of Roman times.

In order to check an enemy invasion, the Banyarwanda formerly had the habit of leaving those abnormal beings to the blows of the invaders. The shedding of this blood, or even the mere presence of such individuals, was regarded as a curse.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the various methods of bewitchment and spell casting. The imagination of the Blacks is disproportionately fertile in this respect. The wealth of methods will [538] be /405/ appreciated when we recount the famous "Banyoro Invasion" tale, which has now become a traditional epic poem. Numerous incantations and much sorcery are mentioned in this narrative, and the eventual defeat of the invaders is ascribed to them.

754 842 10. Aglet knotters. It is rather surprising to find that the Blacks, too, believe in the evil influence of people to whom this kind of misdeed is ascribed.

Activities of this sort are called in the native language kumanikir' undi ngw'atabyara, "to tie up or check fecundity, " or again, kubang' ingata, "to braid a grass pad. "

As the etymological meaning of these words indicates, the grass knotters attempt to procure from the household of the people they wish to injure a handful of grass of the kind (ishinge) which is strewn upon the floor of the hut.

With it they braid a sort of pad (ingata), which is then hidden and hung in the hut.

So long as the grass remains knotted (in the pad), the mistress of the household cannot hope to become a mother.

Many young women ascribe their sterility to this /form of/ sorcery.

A handful of hair taken from a neighboring woman and braided [826] in the shape of a crown will have the same result. This is called kumuzingirahw'amasunzu, "to coil someone's hair. "

The natives claim that it would also suffice for the ill-disposed to get hold of one of the vegetable-fiber rings which ladies or women of rank wear on their legs, and crumple it in their hands, for the unfortunate woman to become sterile or to die in childbirth.

754 11. In order to wreak vengeance on an unfaithful wife who
684 has left the conjugal home, the husband fetches a plant known by the
837 name of uruburamadjo /406/ the etymological meaning of which (kubura kujya) is "to have no place to go," that is to say, to have no place to stay. This indicates the use to which the angered husband puts the plant, and the results he expects from it. He braids it into a sort of pad upon which he must place butter or pour castor oil that belonged to the unfaithful woman. The mystic pad is hidden under a rock. It must be removed a month later and placed under another rock. This method, add the credulous natives, infallibly creates difficulties between the fugitive woman and her temporary husbands. She will be dismissed as many times as her first spouse shifts the magic pad.

783 B. Purifiers or exorcisers of all sorts and exhumers or mutilators
791 of corpses. In order to ward off evil spells and the deadly consequences that might derive from certain events such as the violation of a taboo, the burning of a hut, a murder, the coming across a corpse or a killed animal, or to avert the fury of a spirit on the rampage, the king, his court, and his subjects call upon the services of people called by the name of Abashumburuzi, Abahanyi b'amachumu, Ababuzi, etc. Like their other colleagues in the occult, mysterious, and magical sciences, these practitioners enjoy official and legal recognition.

1. The Abashumburuzi, sorcerers who are resorted to by taboo violators.

Abashumburuzi is the title given by the people of the Lukiga (that is, the mountain people) to a group of purifiers whose function is often the same as that of the mugangahuzi, or "protectors against lightning," with whom they are often wrongly identified.

755 The mushumburuzi, if one holds to the etymological meaning
783 of his trade, is believed to have the power of expelling spirits from the body of a sick person (1). To do this, /407/ he performs veritable exorcisms, makes magic passes over the body of the patient, calls the spirits by name, and begs them to let go of their victim. He holds in the hand a bunch of shrub branches endowed with magic properties and moves them over the body of the sick person.

The spirit that caused the illness takes refuge in the symbolic broom. Then all the magician has to do is to take the spirit-chasing

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads. . . .Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit, ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo, departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it.

Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
787 nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no
783 matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly material infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions, some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction frequently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter, she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune, and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has been used to kill entails the same consequences.

783 It is easy to see from these cases how frequently people must
843 resort to purification (1).

1. In certain cases, taboo violators need not resort to specialists and may purify themselves by a simple method.

If a pregnant woman has come upon a death weapon, a bound prisoner, a killed snake, or anything else that is taboo, she must immediately procure some of those herbs or leaves with magic properties which are in common usage. She will bring them into contact with the corpse or bond, and then crush them to drink their juice or inhale their aroma. If there are no plants available, she first touches the thing involved in the taboo and then brings her hand to her forehead, where she traces a kind of sign of the cross. This is what Fr. A. Bros called "procedures of imitative magic." Religion des Peuples non civilisés /Religion of Uncivilized Peoples/, p. 72).

783 The rites of purification vary in accordance with the case, the individuals involved, and the sorcerer himself. Almost invariably, however, the latter pours into the person's hand a few drops of a liquid (issubjo) in which he has mixed the juice of certain plants with magic characteristics which have the property of curing all evils. /409/

Taboos and Portents

784 Taboos (imiziro) and portents, good or bad, are innumerable. We must limit ourselves to a few samples without taking any account whatever of their rational classification, which would be at best a very difficult undertaking.

The appearance of an evil portent or the violation of a taboo make the Banyarwanda liable to misfortunes which vary in magnitude with the seriousness of the infraction, whether or not it was voluntary.

We know that it is not easy to give an exact definition of taboo, for the subject is vast and far reaching.

A taboo does not involve merely the obligatory respect due to traditional customs and practices or the observance of sacred rules, but also a group of prohibitions and interdictions dealing with an object or an animal which may not be touched, which may not be eaten, and which may not be looked at (1).

1. Let us add that in certain cases portents and taboos are identified with each other in the minds of the Blacks, as we have stated above.

What is taboo to one person is not taboo to another.

262 As for taboos dealing with animals whose flesh is impure and
784 may not be eaten, the rule is not the same for everyone.

With the single exception of cows, the flesh of all animals is forbidden to women.

Mutton is taboo to certain clans, while goat meat is forbidden to others.

Fish and wild boars are forbidden to the Banyarwanda with the exception of riverain people and hunters. Hares, partridges, ducks, and guinea fowl are included among the impure animals (2) /410/

2. Children sometimes eat them in secret.

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull,
[825] billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

784 keeper or owner of a herd, his property would also suffer from this infraction of custom (2). /411/

2. 2. His cows would bear only male calves.

A husband may not use this kitchen utensil to beat his wife! He would risk the loss of his life.

The failure to observe most of the prescribed customs while celebrating a wedding would make the parents of the two partners liable to illness or death.

[551] When asked what their name is, children, young men, and girls either do not answer or give a false name, for fear that the stranger may cast an evil spell upon them and thus prevent them from growing.

[841] A woman in her menses may not enter a hut where there is a newborn child, lest she cause the baby to contract scabies. Hence [751] the custom of placing a copper-thread bracelet (urunyerere, or urwinjiri) about the neck of babies as a talisman and preventive.

[643] The king must never bend his knees, in order not to expose his kingdom to becoming smaller.

A father may not step over the hide that serves as a portable cradle (ingobyi) for his child, nor may a son step over his mother's belt.

A woman may not step over a spear, milk a cow, repair the roof of a hut, imitate (!) the cry of a rooster, etc.

It is forbidden to sit on a food basket.

When it thunders, one may not smoke a pipe when seated on a chair.

No one may rest on a sheepskin, or he will contract scabies (ngo badahumana). There is danger of death involved in carrying a whetting stone (ityano) into someone else's house.

It is expressly forbidden to kill certain birds and certain reptiles, [825 777] not only because they are totem but also because they are regarded either as good luck for the land, like the wagtail (inyamanza), or as bad luck, like the scaly anteater, whose dead body might draw great misfortunes upon the territory. /412/

784 A traveler who stubs his left foot against an obstacle or who
[484] meets with a rat whose pelt is slightly mottled (umushushwe) must return home, lest misfortune come to him.

If one finds black ants (intozi) on one's path, he must draw his hand over his foot as though to remove them, lest they swarm into his hut.

A pregnant woman must not see a European nor hear the sound
[843] of a gunshot, else the child she bears will suffer (1).

1. In order to neutralize this influence, she need only procure a cartridge case, a piece of paper,
[751] or even a piece of tile, brick, or any other object of European origin, and wear it around her neck as an amulet or talisman. The child will be born safe from injury.

[842] A woman who has borne only sons may not nurse the daughter of another woman, lest she bear nothing but girls from now on.

A man may not meet with his betrothed or with his mother-in-law prior to marriage (2). The king was formerly forbidden to see
[643]

2. Cf. "Cérémonies du mariage /Marriage Ceremonies/," by Fr. Pagès (Anthropos, 1925).

his sons, at least in theory, for it has been proved that the last monarchs often broke this rule.

If the manufacturer of banana wine insults someone while crushing the fruit, he runs the risk of contracting the scurfy disease (guhumana).

A woman must keep silent while kneading sorghum dough. If a dog or chicken dirties the floor of the hut, she is forbidden to leave her work and clean the spot, or the bread may shrink.

If the bottom bananas in a bunch ripen first, the owner of the grove worries because it means that a danger threatens him. /413/

784 A crowned crane that perches at the top of a hut, or a dog, goat, or sheep that manages to climb upon it, are sure signs of approaching misfortunes.

It is rigorously forbidden to kill a crowned crane, crow, wagtail, lizard, frog, or toad.

The parents of a newly married man may not partake of his meals unless they first cook a bunch of bananas in his house. Scurvy is the punishment for this transgression.

[844] A woman who has just given birth to a child must see to it that the umbilical cord of the newborn is not lost. If there is food in the hut at the moment of childbirth, the mother may not touch it. If she broke this taboo she would contract a disease (guhumana).

The father of a baby whose teeth have not yet come out may not take a new wife without exposing the child to the danger of contracting the acute scurfy disease (amahumane).

[593] If a child wishes to sit in a chair just vacated by his father, he must first place there a little straw. If he were to act otherwise, he would risk his father's curse.

Children are not permitted to lean against the post which is reserved for the family head. This, too, is done for reasons of propriety.

The owner of a calf whose hooves have only one toe as the result of a congenital deformity may not butcher it except at his own home. The meat of the animal may not be eaten elsewhere. It must be eaten on the spot with the sorghum bread brought by each guest. At the end of the meal, the guests wash their hands in the courtyard and not outside of it.

A goat that sits...on its behind must be butchered /414/ or sold immediately, so that evil will not befall the occupants of the hut.

A hunter of "feli-cervaline /?/" (tiger cats) must be careful careful not to make too many victims among those carnivores so as not to risk unfortunate consequences. A peasant threshing beans in the pod must see to it that no one steps on the threshing floor while he is working.

He would experience the surprise of seeing his provision of beans diminish if a passer-by were to stop suddenly before him.

784 A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while
her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another
[842] path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband.

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest,
787 it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

789 In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a
mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the
691 case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer
[273] made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

784 There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange)
824 is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

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1. The Blacks set great store by plants with magic properties. It would be easy to make up a long list of them. A whole separate study could be made about them, in view of the number and importance of popular beliefs concerning the vegetable world. "From the most humble herbs to the largest trees," says Fr. Sébillot, "/plants/ play a role which for many years has drawn the interest of scholars." (Le Folklore /Folklore/.)

783 2. "Spear purifiers" (abahanyi b' amachumu) and their exorcisms.

The word umuhanyi, plural abahanyi, comes from the verb guhana, which means literally "to punish, to reprimand." It is only in a figurative sense that it means "to purify." The word guhanula is used to describe the performance of the purifying rites. /416/

The spear purifier exercises his functions at the time of a murder or assassination.

He is called upon by the victim's relatives to give satisfaction to the dead person and the members of his family by aiding them to obtain justice for the spilt blood with his mysterious procedures. He purifies the spear or death weapon with the aim of preventing or arresting the fatal consequences which the murder would not fail to involve for the dead person's relatives. The latter, fearing that they will undergo the same fate as their dead kinsman, call upon the sorcerer. He often works simultaneously with the "conjurer of spirits" (umushyitsi, umuhamagazi), who also has a role to play at this time, and sometimes both functions are filled by the same man. Among other rites, for we do not intend to describe them all (they would be more pertinent to a study dealing exclusively with funeral ceremonies), we shall cite only those pertaining to the role and function of the "spear purifier."

783 The weapon must be both "punished" and "purified" at the same time.

If the weapon involved is a spear that was successfully retrieved, the sorcerer first unhafts it. The spearhead is set aside, its tip (umuhunda) broken to pieces, and a few wooden scrapings are removed from the shaft (uruti). This debris is placed in a small gourd of the type called idegede (1). If the actual weapon is not available, the

1. Henceforth, the family may not eat this kind of gourd. (La Mentalité primitive /Primitive Mentality/, op. cit., p. 293.)

purifier works with a similar weapon, but a used one. Then the gourd is filled with beer. Owing to its mystic usage and to the scrapings that were placed in it, this gourd bears the name of akabatongera in sorcerers' terms. The relatives who are present take a mouthful of this pombe. The gourd with the scrapings and spearhead is then entrusted to someone who is an outsider (umuse) to the clan or to the family, and who goes /417/ and hides it in an isolated spot, such as a thicket, a cave, or a hole of some sort. The same is done with any other weapon that may have been used to commit the crime, arrow, sword, or knife.

... "A practice of this kind," says Levy-Bruhl," is almost uni-
783 versal among African tribes.
171 "Those ceremonies are carried out because it is thought that the weapon bears calamity or fatality with it. This is the case among the Akamba. According to them, a weapon once used to commit a murder will continue to be the instrument of new deaths. No ceremony, charm, or magic of any sort, however, could ever exhaust this deadly property. The weapon will continue to kill indefinitely through its master's hand, no matter what he may do. Since there is no way of removing this curse, the Mkamba uses guile. He places the weapon on a path or at some spot where a passer-by is likely to see it. Once the latter has picked it up, the deadly influence of the weapon falls upon him and the first owner is freed from it...." (1)

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1. A Munyarwanda would never pick up such accursed weapons, whose origin and function he knows only too well. The curse which is attached to them and the fear which they inspire cause him to go his way without a covetous glance.

In certain clans the purifier-sorcerer slips the scrapings into a sweet potato which he feeds to a goat. The latter is then sold to strangers faraway on whom falls the curse attached to the weapon which was used to commit the murder. The price of the animal, which was formerly paid in kind (hoes, peas, beans, sorghum, etc.) was renounced or thrown away. The victim's family considered that they were thus freeing themselves completely from the evil spell which befell them through the violent death of one of its members.

769 783 628 In order to pacify the spirit of the deceased, a young man of the kin group is chosen during the funeral ceremonies to avenge him. He must obtain a new /418/ spear which the purifier-sorcerer or his colleague, the "conjurer of spirits," takes from his hands in order to cut in two a plant with a mysterious property called irago or umurago. "I have 'cut up' the tribe of murderers," he says, "may they all die of it." Then, addressing himself to the deceased, "Here is the spear that will avenge you. Grant it the opportunity and the power to carry out the vendetta."

[766] According to customs peculiar to each clan, the body is exposed on a deserted hill, hidden far out in the bush in rocky crags, or buried near the village or even in the courtyard.

In the latter case, some irago, or if there is none some murago that grows in the swamps, is planted along with its roots. At the end of about a year, the sorcerer comes back to cut this plant /again/, as he did once before. Then a goat is sacrificed.

The purifier takes some of the blood of this offering and sprinkles it on the grave, saying, "Let this blood cause the entire family of the assassin to perish."

[i.e., of a murdered person - Analyst]

783 The murderer in turn worries about the consequences of his act. He appeals, therefore, to the same kind of operators in order to avert the vengeance and the curse which he was wrought upon himself and his kinsmen.

The rival of the previously mentioned sorcerer takes a reed which he cleaves throughout its length without altogether separating the tips. He draws apart the two rods, which are stuck into the ground. The culprit and members of his family pass under this novel type of bridge. The operator seizes the reed, puts its two parts back together, and tosses it at a distance, saying, "I have warded off the spirit (of the deceased) that was pursuing you." Then, leading his client to a crossroads, he sprinkles him with a few drops of a liquid he has prepared and which contains the juices of certain plants.

Standing back to back with his protégé, the sorcerer /419/ slips into his hands some amulets which he must wear around his neck. "Just as we cannot see each other," adds the protector against sorcery, "may the spirit of the man thou hast killed never see thee (find thee)." Then he tells the man to lie flat on the ground. Taking a sort of broom (urutsiro) made of plants with magic properties, he brushes it over the body of the individual. "Ndagushumburuye, I have caused the spirit of the man who pursued thee to depart," he adds.

The operation has every chance of success if the murderer manages to obtain through gifts the services of the sorcerer who "worked" for the victim and his relatives.

3. "Exhumers and mutilators of corpses" (ababûzi), from the
789 word kwabura, "to exhume a corpse."
751 They are resorted to in two cases; /first, / when it concerns a criminal who has been executed, and his spirit must be prevented from harming the living, that is to say, those who killed him. We shall speak of this later in the course of this work.

The second case is the following: The murderer, a man of common extraction, whether he killed willingly or unwillingly, wishes to be protected in turn against the wrath of his victim's spirit. To this end, he calls upon one of the exhumers of corpses who helps him obtain the body of the slain man (this is not always easy). Then the corpse must be mutilated in order to drive the spirit out of it.

789 The sorcerer mutilator cuts off a tiny piece (isonga) from the tongue,
751 heart, little finger (umuhera), and skin, and these pieces are dried above the hearth. All of this is then enclosed in a small horn, preferably black, which the assassin wears around his neck as a talisman and which guards him not only against his victim but also against the latter's relatives.

It is also good to procure some of the herb called irago or umurago which has been planted on the slain man's grave. /420/

If this is added to the other gruesome items contained by the horn, the talisman becomes more powerful.

We may add that these people charge very high fees for their services. A bull, at least, is required.

C. Sorcerers who preside over ordeals and who prepare the
695 test poisons. Sorcerers of this type bear the name of Abashozi, hence the verbs gushora, "to put someone through a test," and gushoka (a neutral verb) to designate the test itself.

It does seem that here in Ruanda ordeals are employed only in criminal cases and that their sole object is to prove the innocence or culpability of those who submit to them, as was formerly done in the Middle Ages. Our Blacks have such faith and trust in such judicial methods that they believe in their absolute effectiveness. They have never given a thought to the absurdity of those divinatory tests, in which chance and fraud play such a predominant role.

Such tests are numerous, but the most widespread is that which
695 consists of drinking or smoking the urwizilinga, a kind of shrub that
278 seems to bear at least a superficial resemblance to datura (1). In any

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1. Moavi is used as the test poison practically throughout the rest of Africa. This plant does not seem to exist in Ruanda. The matter, nevertheless, would be worth investigating.

case their effects are similar.

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The maker of test poison usually handles it in the form of a powder which he mixes with water or with pipe tobacco. The accused, male or female, must draw two or three puffs from the pipe. The results are swift. One of the smokers or another, or even several of them at once, is almost immediately seized with a real madness (kussàra) which strips him of his reasoning faculties and which may last sometimes /421/ close to a month, as we were able to verify. The unfortunate victim eats or takes to his lips everything he finds along the way, no matter how unlikely or even repulsive (amabyi!) it may be.

He casts off his clothing, and a mother tosses away her child and goes off, raving or gesticulating like a true lunatic.

Then the intoxicated person sinks into a nightmare-ridden sleep. He talks in his sleep and speaks of ghosts and wild animals which he believes he sees.... In short, he becomes very trying to his family. Could this not be a simple case of autosuggestion, which occurs frequently among Blacks?

If the patient pleads guilty right from the onset of the illness and begs for mercy, the same sorcerer administers to him a counter-poison, another vegetable powder mixed with a little "chloride of liquid sodium" (inkari!), which immediately neutralizes the effects of rwizilinga. The Batutsi also know that in such cases it helps to give fresh milk to those who have taken the poison.

We are acquainted with a case where nearly ten individuals submitted voluntarily to this test. Only two of them were affected. They were deemed guilty then and there. It so happens that the true culprit was discovered some time later. He had not been subjected to the ordeal.

The people nevertheless continue to praise this judicial procedure. Certain things are even related about the subject which are amazing but untrue, and which do naught but strengthen the prestige of the sorcerers (1). /422/

1. "The European cannot help considering, first and foremost, the physiological effects of the

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poison. Accordingly, /in his own mind, / the results of the ordeal will vary in direct proportion with the strength and amount of the drug taken into the organism. If the dose is sufficiently strong, it will invariably do away with the person who swallows it, whether innocent or guilty. If it is insignificant, it will do no harm to the worst criminal. The Whites consider it extraordinary that the native should disregard such simple truisms.

"The point of view of the Blacks, however, is completely different. The idea of what we call "poison" is not clearly defined in their own minds. They know by experience, no doubt, that certain concoctions have the power of killing those who drink them, they are nevertheless unfamiliar with the mechanics of poisoning, and do not attempt to understand it. They do not even suspect its existence. According to them, these concoctions may be deadly only because they serve as vehicles for mystic forces, just like the remedies which they use to cure diseases and whose effectiveness they explain wholly in this way.... The Blacks do not grasp the actual properties of the test poison, but consider only its mystical and immediate power....

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It is a sort of mystic reagent, and as such it is infallible.

"The native is so convinced of this that often he takes no precautions before undergoing the test. He does not make use of his right to watch while the poison is being prepared, he does not scrutinize the dose to see whether it may not be too strong, the liquid too thick, etc.... Why should he, since the beverage does not act physically, so to speak, but spiritually? It does not matter whether a little less or a little more is swallowed. The outcome of the test does not depend on this...

"Such is the faith they have in trial by ordeal that the natives regard the matter of who pounded the poison into powder as an unimportant detail." (Levy-Bruhl, La Mentalité primitive /The Primitive Mentality/, pp. 250 and 251.)

[81] Full of trust, sure of their innocence, and excessively naïve, the natives are completely blind to the frauds of the sorcerers, who call the accused persons in turn into a hut or to an isolated spot. What crimes and injustices have been committed by those doctors in occult sciences!

Other Judicial Tests

695 A. The drum test. One rubs cow dung on the surface of a drum and pours some water onto it, which the accused gathers in his hands and brings to his lips, while the man who presides over the ordeal loudly cries, "May the shades of the deceased and the spirits

695 of the initiates (in the Ryangombe sect) abstain from interfering. As for you, may you be subjected to the sole influence of the test!"

If the accused is guilty, he must "theoretically" suffer and die of excruciating intestinal pains after submitting to the test. /423/

B. The bell test. This test consists of making the accused persons drink water into which a small bell has been plunged for an instant. "May this beverage, " says the judge, "cause you to die if you have been justly accused. " "Let me die, " each of the accused says in turn, "if I have lied!" A disease similar to leprosy will cover the body of the perjurers.

C. The ordeal called "rush-basket ordeal" (urutete). The basket is made of rushes or papyrus stems, with spaces one or two centimeters wide between the coarse meshing. The accused person sits directly on the basket, holding in his hand the sword which is the usual badge of Ryangombe. The bystanders stick their spears into the ground, haft downward, around the man and his improvised seat. A handful of grass of the ishinge kind is brought and laid down by the basket. "If I am guilty, " says the man, "may I be the victim of these spears. I call upon you, Ryangombe, king of the initiates! If my innocence is not recognized, I promise to offer you as many cows as there are openings (holes) in this basket and blades of grass in this bunch."

D. The red-hot billhook ordeal. The accused puts some saliva on the billhook, which is held above a fire set up in the courtyard.

The bystanders use a winnowing basket to fan the flames. As in the case cited above, the man who presides over the test, requests the spirits of the dead to refrain from interfering and to let the test follow its course. If the billhook becomes red, the innocence of the individual is proved.

E. The "iron-piece" test. Two spears are stuck into the ground on the public square. Between them is set an earthenware jug or wooden vessel in which a beverage is prepared /424/ with disparate and repulsive ingredients. Cow dung, the droppings of birds and animals (crowned crane, crow, etc.), honey and beer, the leaves of certain plants (the castor-oil plant, isenyanguzi), etc., chopped up

695 in the liquid, such are the ingredients of this drink which is prepared for God's judgment.

A small piece of iron, kadigi, which is believed to have a magic property, is tossed into the vessel. Gravity and solemnity are the rule during sessions of this kind. A drinking tube is given to the accused to take the poison. Some people are made seriously ill by it, while others are able to "relieve" themselves almost immediately, which goes to prove their innocence.

F. The chick test. The accused are given small chicks which have just hatched. Each of them must hold one in his hand under the supervision of watchmen who are supposed to prevent tricks and infractions in the proceedings. The chick which survives the lack of food for the longest period of time (about one day and one night) proves "in its own way" the honesty of its lucky owner.

G. The boiling water test, so well known and so popular in the Middle Ages. The procedure is the same.

The numbers and kinds of ordeals vary among the provinces of Ruanda. Many of them were borrowed from neighboring lands with which the Banyarwanda have frequent contact.

Up to now, both plaintiffs and defendants had frequent recourse
[177] to those methods. The introduction of European tribunals has dealt a death blow to tests of this sort, which occur in the beginnings of every civilization. /425/

Chapter 3

Rain Makers or Tempest Makers (Ababvubyi).
Protectors Against Lightning (Abagangahuzi).
Ravagers of Crops and Fields (Abahoryo).

791 Owing to the people's credulity, the services of these personages are among the most valued and also the most lucrative. They seldom live at the capital, or go there only occasionally when summoned expressly.

791 The dangers which formerly threatened them in times of drought were such as to keep them away from the capital.

Before mentioning their duties, we deem it useful to list the 132 names of the native months and seasons with a short explanation of 221 their meaning. This will make it easier to understand the importance 805 of these men to their compatriots, whom they fleece shamelessly.

Part One

Months, Seasons, and Principal Rains

I. Native Months

1.	Nzeri	October	7.	Werurgwe	April
2.	Okwakira	November	8.	Mata	May
3.	Ogushingo	December	9.	Gichurassi	June
4.	Okuboza	January	10.	Kamena	July
5.	Mutarama	February	11.	Nyakanga	August
6.	Gashantare	March	12.	Gatumba gatoya	September
				Gatumba kanama	"

Nzeri, October, is the first on the list (imfura y' amezi). The Banyarwanda, indeed, count from October onward and regard this month as the most important because the cultivation of beans begins at this time.

Okwakira, November, comes from the verb kwaka (or kwakira), which means "to shine" because the sun is quite strong. /426/

Ogushingo, December, is reputed to be a very rainy month.

Okuboza, January, comes from the word kuboza, "to rot." It often happens, indeed, that the rains of the preceding month persist and seriously damage the crops.

The word Mutarama, which comes from the verb gutarama, "to nibble" (like the verb guhekenya, with which it is synonymous) was given to the month of February because it is at that time that one finds in certain parts of Ruanda, here and there, a few ears of ripe sorghum which children do not hesitate to cut off and eat.

221 Werurgwe, April. This word designates microscopic insects
805 which occasionally prey on sorghum and quickly destroy it. Hence the expression, "Go and see whether the (above-mentioned) insects
[539] have attacked (the sorghum)" (Mulebe ngo Werurgwe itayajamo).

Gichurassi. This is the baleful month (ukwezi kubi) during which the annual mourning which lasts 15 days takes place at court. It is also the time of colds and bronchitis, hence the common expression, "He who lies down with a cold will be carried away (made
[539] to die) by the month of June" (Uryamye ibichurane, igichurassi kizamutwara).

Kamena, July. This month is thus called from the word kumena, "to shatter" or "to tear out," because in those provinces of Ruanda where sorghum is cultivated only once a year people harvest the ripe ears in order to crush the grain and make bread (umutsima), which they have not tasted for a long time.

Nyakanga, August, comes from the word gukanga "to frighten." It is called thus because it is often fatal to old cows (amabuguma, ibibuguma), hence the common expression, Nyakanga ikanga amabuguma,
[551] "The month of August frightens old animals," that is to say, causes them to die.

The two terms Gatumba gatoya and Gatumba /427/ kanama formerly served to designate two months, that is, August and September, prior to the creation of the month of Mata, May. Today they indicate the two fortnights in September, thus named from the word gutumba,
[132] "to swell," because the clouds begin to gather in the sky and the rains begin to fall.

As for the month of Mata, it was created at the instigation of the sorcerers under the reign of Lwabugiri.

Mata literally means "milk," and in a figurative sense it means "abundance." It is also the name of a hill at Marangara, where as already mentioned Mutara and his son Lwabugiri established their residence because this area is reputed to bring good fortune to those who inhabit it. It is said that once for several years the rains failed to come and the crops did not ripen. In order to cope with this grave difficulty, it was resolved that henceforth a new month would be added to the year, and that this month would precede the month of

221 805 mourning (gichurassi) so as to give the crops time to ripen. And thus it was done. The name of the hill, a name of good omen, was given to the new month.

132 805 The native months correspond more or less to those of our solar year, owing to the elasticity with which the Banyarwanda endow their lunar divisions. They take the short rainy season, indeed, as their point of reference for cultivation and sowing. This rainy period bears the name of Nzeri and corresponds roughly to our month of October (1).

1. In some areas of vast Central Africa, the Blacks use the word masika, which means "rainy season" and belongs to the Kiswahili vocabulary. This term is preceded by the qualifiers "little" or "big" to denote the two rainy seasons. The little masika begins in October and usually ends in December. The big masika covers the months of February, March, April, and part of May.

We have heard it said that the Batutsi, herders living in the open air, acquired a practical knowledge of time from the plants and flowers that grow /428/ at regular intervals, and that they imparted this knowledge to the cultivators.

II. Seasons

221 805 The Banyarwanda also distinguish four seasons.

1. Uruhira, from the verb gushya, after its applicative /sic/ guhira, "to burn," designates the end of summer because this is the time when grass is burned everywhere. Another synonymous term is used, ku (1) Muyonga (ivu), which means "the time of ashes." One

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> 1. Ku or kw' before a vowel, or mu or mw' before a vowel /sic/, is none other than the preposition "at, in."

also says isekera, from the verb gusekera, "to cultivate," because the fields are readied at the end of summer although no planting or sowing is done, hence the difference from the word guhinga, which also means "to cultivate" but with immediate planting in mind.

2. Urugaryi. This term designates first and foremost the time when beans are cultivated (mw' itabira ry' ibishimbo) and also the time when the beans yield pods (imishogoro) tender enough to eat (gashogoro). This same season includes about a month of good weather, which enables people to harvest the beans and which has earned it the name of "little summer season." This first harvest usually takes place in January or February.

3. Itumba. This season corresponds roughly to our winter. The word that designates it comes from the verb gutumba, "to swell," to indicate that the clouds keep piling up and the rain keeps falling. Hence the synonym Urushyana, "time of heavy rains."

4. Ichyi or Mpeshi designates the summer season when the harvesting is done, hence the two synonyms mw' (1) itema from

> /1. See footnote (1) immediately preceding./

gutema, "to cut," and mw' isarura from gusarura, "to harvest."

As for the origin of the months and seasons, /429/ legend states that King Gihunga sent two of his sons to an important personage who controlled rain and good weather in order to ask him for divisions (ibihe) in the year. This extraordinary man was called Kibariro, "he who knows how to count." Thanks to the gifts that were presented to him, he agreed to adjust the year in this fashion. We can see that the Blacks manage to explain everything with their imaginative minds. It is also obvious that a slight tongue-in-cheek attitude always transpires through their many tales. It must be said, indeed, that they are not

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invariably gulled by their own legends and that they do not have absolute faith in them, although they tend on the whole to be rather naïve.

Another legend explains the origins of the Bashara, or corporation of appointed rain makers.

This took place, according to the chronicle, under the reign of Yuhi I. Drought prevailed throughout the land of Ruanda and threatened to destroy everything. The king, in his anxiety, called his son Rushura and ordered him to go to the Kinyaga and see Nyamukama, a famous sorcerer who controlled the rain.

The prince's mission was to learn from the rain maker the secret of drawing the beneficent element to the earth. His pride flattered by the royal request, Nyamukama gave the envoy a sealed wooden pot with instructions to hand it over to His Majesty. "Be very careful not to open it along the way." he warned, "and give it to your father just as it is." When Rushura had gone half the distance, he was overcome with curiosity. "I have been entrusted with something, and I don't even know what it is. Let's see, I'll open it. . . ." He undid the knot which held the grass cover. His eyes scanned the inside of the pot. He saw nothing. . . . The water had evaporated across his face. When he returned to his father, Rushura gave him the precious vessel. Yuhi opened it in turn and, to his great surprise, found it empty. "Is this all that Nyamukuma gave you?" the king asked. "Yes, father, this is all." "In this case, my son, you must return to the rain maker and ask him why this vessel is empty." /430/

Rushura left the royal hut, very much worried about the whole thing. He lifted his eyes to the heavens with a sigh. At that moment the clouds gathered and shed upon the earth an abundant rain.

Puzzled by this strange phenomenon, Yuhi called back his son and asked him to tell the truth, for he realized that something unusual had happened. Rushura shame-facedly confessed to his father what he had done under the promptings of curiosity and what had ensued. In spite of the sorcerer's warning, he had wished to look and the water had evaporated across his face, hence his sudden and unforeseen vocation as a rain maker.

Yuhi, who was very fond of his son and wished to give him the throne, had to choose a new heir and leave Rushara to his new fate.

773 This is how the young prince became willy-nilly the father of the
821 present Bashara, or rain-maker, lineage, which has inherited his
614 vocation.

If they wish to bring rain, these people[1] go outside, look at
789 the sky, and spread out their arms. If they wish to favor only the
821 hill they inhabit, they must sit. If they wish to benefit the entire land with their astonishing power, they must stretch out at full length and spread out their arms at the same time. The storytellers add that this is how the descendants of Rushara have acted ever since that time.

Up to these last few years, rain makers were exposed to
[686] serious dangers. It was not unusual to hear that one or another of those unfortunate creatures had been killed or thrown into the river for failing to produce the needed rain on time.

According to another interpretation of the same legend which
[773] is very popular in the central province of Nduga, Rushara disobeyed the orders of the sorcerer at the proddings of the demon of curiosity after he had crossed the Nyabarongo. The water ran out of the pot and spread onto the ground. Nyamukama was informed and replied that in order /431/ to get rain, all that was needed was to build upon the spot where the water from the vessel had been spilled, and to dig into the hill (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Many of the kings of Ruanda have indeed elected this hill as one of their favorite capitals.

In times of drought it is customary to scratch its soil lightly as though searching for a spring, and it is said that Nyamukama's prophecies always come true. This is why the area is appropriately
[103] called Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), that is to say, "the place where rain comes forth."

It is for the same reason, and to obtain the same results, that at Mata in Marangara, people dig into both sides of the hill.

The first of the two holes is called "the fountain of milk" (iliba ry'amata) and symbolizes abundance. Cows will then yield more milk. The other hole is called by the name of "source of rain" (iliba ry'imvura). Just by dealing it a few blows with a hoe, a favorable influence is exercised upon the clouds, which will give forth a beneficent rain.

[1] [i.e., the Bashara. - Ann Ntr]

III. Names of the Principal Rains of the Year

805 The generic term for rain is the word imvura. To make rain
821 is called kubvuba, hence the name of the occupation, umuvubyi, or "rain maker," which is largely the specialty of the members of the Bashara clan.

1. Imvura y' umuhindo, "thunder rain," from the word guhinda, "to thunder," because it is a stormy downpour accompanied by lightning and thunder (in October).

2. Amahole y' imvura, "persistent rain," from the word guhora, "to persist," "to last." It is also called imvura y' indoha (from the verb kuroha, "to flood").

3. Amahuhezi, from the word guhuha, "to blow," designates windstorms when the rain is driven by the wind. /432/

4. Amassuri, "torrential rain" (1).

> 1. Umuvu serves to designate the bed of torrents suddenly scooped out by the rain.

5. Also called imivumbi, "rain that begins early in the morning and falls during the greater part of the day."

6. Amahindu, when it rains and hails (urubura, "hail").

7. Urushyana serves to designate the long rainy season in March, April, and part of May.

8. Impungira mirara or inyagira mirara, "rain that falls on several sorghum ears left in the fields"; it occasionally falls in July.

9. Intsindagir' ibigega, "rain that packs tight (the sorghum stored in) the granaries," because it falls for a day or two at the end of August when the granaries have not been covered in time.

10. Imvura y' impangukano, "rain that ends the waiting period," that is to say, the first rains that were hoped for in order to cultivate the soil (guhanga, "to hope for," and its reverse /sic/ guhanguka, "to see one's hopes fulfilled").

11. Inkaza bigunda, from gukaz' ibigunda, "to make the grass lands green again," designates the few more or less unexpected rainfalls at the end of summer.

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12. Imvura y' igisanura (2), "the rain that soaks (the parched

2. Gusanura is a sort of auxiliary verb which is understood in a figurative sense and has many meanings, like the verb gukaza.

lands), that is to say, the first showers of the rainy season.

IV. Seasonal Rites

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When the sorghum-sowing time (mu kubiba) comes by, the mistress of the household takes a handful of grain which she proceeds to grind. With the resulting small amount of flour, she fashions a roll into which she slips some fruit of the shrub called intobo. Then the roll is placed in a small basket (interero or chyibo) along with a household spatula (umwuko) /433/ Meanwhile, the children of the household wrap the embers from the hearth in a bunch of grass which should contain either bran or sorghum husks whenever possible. They bury this parcel in the field which is about to be sowed.

One must not forget to add to the contents of the basket a piece of iron dross. There remains only to place the whole thing in the storage granary (ikigega), which shall be filled to the brim at harvest time as a result of this symbolic and superstitious procedure.

The owners of the hut must see to it that none of their neighbors will come to get some fire (kulahura) and enter the hut until the day when the first sorghum shoots appear.

If one were to neglect this precaution, one would incur the risk of a bad harvest (ngo batabak' umugisha).

At the time when beans are cultivated, the owner of the field sticks his spear into the ground and places on the tip of the weapon a pod of unshelled beans which he drives in lightly. His children bring him a hollowed half gourd (uruho), which is used as a basin. He fills it with water.

On a grass pad he puts a rolling stone (ibuye ry' intosho). Then a handful of beans in the pod are placed on the pad for an instant and shelled.

241 The beans are poured onto the back of an overturned winnowing
788 basket. Then the owner removes one of the long grass stalks covering the entrance to the hut, and he places this dried stem on the winnowing basket whose concave side is facing down. He takes the basket, lifts it, and shakes it strongly with both hands in order to get the beans into the other side of the grain-scouring implement.

This superstitious practice bears the name of bean "creation" or "multiplication." If a stranger /434/ happens by in the course of this ritual, he must not walk around the basket but pass to one side of it.

Then the beans are buried in the tilled ground in the hope of a rich harvest. This procedure is commonly used to insure good weather.

In their credulity and trust in superstitious practices, the Banyarwanda hope to exercise an influence over sunshine.

At the time of the sorghum harvest, when the Banyarwanda
[273] are extremely eager to secure beer from this plant (amarwa) of which they have been deprived for so long, they expose the crushing stone (ingasire) to sunlight, believing that they are "retaining" the sun in this fashion. We may add that their knowledge of astronomy is nil,
821 They have only one generic term, inyenyeri, to designate the stars, and another, nyakotsi, for comets (1).

1. Nyakotsi means "the /female/ one with smoke," that is to say, with a tail.

The sun (izuba), the moon (ukwezi), and the planet Venus (nyamuhiribona) are the only heavenly bodies for which they have specific names.

5: Pages--161 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Part Two

Sorcerers Who Are Believed to Have an Influence on Rain, Lightning, and Crops

791 They may be put into three categories, as indicated by the title, to wit: rain makers, protectors against lightning and its fearsome consequences, and finally those who watch over the crops.

Rain Makers (Ababvubyi)

We have seen previously that the members of the Bashara clan are born rain makers, in the tradition of their alleged ancestor Rushara, who was granted this role quite unwittingly. /435/

Aside from the Bashara, there are other rain makers, such as those from Bukunzi in the Kinyaga and those from Bussigi to the north of Kigali.

Among them the trade is transmitted from father to son.

Here and there one finds impromptu rain makers of varying fame.

They are usually poor people, men or women, who came from another region, for here as elsewhere "no one is a prophet in his own land." They profess to be rain makers so as not to die of hunger.

This is indeed a lucrative although dangerous profession. In order to get rain the people must offer a gift called by the name of amasororo (gusorora) and which becomes due at least once a year. The king and the chiefs go so far as to present the rain makers with a cow or even several. Woe to them, however, if the beneficent shower fails to come. Numerous were the victims of this difficult art when the elements withheld their cooperation. Most of those unfortunate [686] people were drowned or beaten to death for not practicing their calling properly, inducing or arresting storms according to the season (kubvuba no kwich' imvura).

Protectors against Lightning and Its Fearsome Consequences

791 They are known by the name of abagangahuzi (from the verb kugangahura) Their honorable and lucrative profession does not expose them to any danger.

Their role is to purify, as their name (umugangahuzi) and their duties (kugangahura) indicate, and to avert any future consequences of lightning. Here are the various circumstances in which sorcerers of this kind officiate and the manner in which they operate.

761 1. When a human being is struck down by lightning. Accord-
766 ing to /436/ native belief, lightning is regarded as the king of the
821 sky, who comes occasionally and chooses subjects among men. It is
791 said in such cases that the person who was struck is a "living tax" (inkuke) levied by the god, or else a subject or a page of his (intore). As a consequence, laments are forbidden. So as not to displease the king of the sky, who may do as he pleases, the relatives and friends of the victim must dance and emit joyful cries while the drums are played.

766 The purifier-sorcerer then makes an appearance. Those
821 present receive from him, on the back of their hand, a few drops of a liquid which they must allow to fall upon the ground. Then the
791 sorcerer pours some for the second time in the palm of their hand, and each of the participants drinks what is given to him.

Then they inhale in turn the aroma of another liquid substance
766 (issubyo) made by the purifier.
821 The victim's hut and all people present are sprinkled with a mixture of water and chalk. The corpse also gets some on the forehead and chest. Then it becomes proper to lay out the corpse, which the relatives would not have dared to do prior to the sorcerer's intervention.

The guests put around their necks a special grass stem (umwishwa) which, as we have seen, plays an important role in ritual ceremonies as though it had a purifying property. The deceased also gets one, and the funeral procession sets out for the place where the body is to be exposed.

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
766 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
821 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824 umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783] avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

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Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose [422] property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of [539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning [833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered [302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

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231 The purifier-sorcerer need not be present at this last ceremony.
621 Their role and presence were essential only on the day of purification. They always come away with handsome rewards, leaving on the spot protective herbs or lucky amulets (impigi za Biheko).

753 3. In some localities individuals also resort to these doctors in mystical sciences upon the death of a leper or the burning of a hut.

783 a. The natives have an acute aversion to contagious diseases and especially to leprosy. Once the unfortunate victim of one of those terrible diseases is dead, the purifier-sorcerer is called in to carry out various ceremonies. He tosses lustral water upon the hut of the deceased, and finally sets fire to it. The onlookers run far away in order to avoid the smoke, as though it could transmit the disease of the deceased owner.

In the central province of Nduga, the sorcerer has a small hut built in which he places the son of the deceased. With one hand he sets fire to the hut, while with the other he rapidly snatches the child out of it.

The leprosy is supposed to have vanished forever, and henceforth no other member of the family will become its victim. The sorcerer vouches for this. /440/

b. In order to avoid the evils which might befall the owner of a hut that has burned or even his neighbors, the same sorcerer is resorted to. He makes his clients drink the liquid mentioned previously.

The site of the hut is sprinkled with lustral water, and the bystanders are also sprinkled with it.

Three reeds stuck into the ground and covered with banana leaves make an improvised hut in which the owner and his wife must stay for an instant (baryamana). The evil spell has been lifted. Henceforth, nothing is to be feared (bamaz' umuriro or bamaze ishyano, that is to say, "they have warded off all misfortune"). The diseases which might have afflicted those present at the accident and their unborn children have been averted forever.

791 In the Bugoyi, to the northeast of Lake Kivu, the role of protector against fire and its deadly consequences is the prerogative of a special category of sorcerers known by the title of Abahozi or

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Abashumburuzi (1).

1. Umuhozi (plural abahozi) literally means "extinguisher." It is the noun from the active verb guhoza, "to extinguish," or from the neutral form of the same verb, guhora, "to cool off."

[191] The common people, who do not know the vernacular language thoroughly and are unfamiliar with its riches and subtleties, often confuse in practice the names and professions of the numerous sorcerers who exploit the populace.

Sorcerers Who Are Believed to Exercise an Influence Over the Crops by Benefitting Them or by Endangering Them With Their Sorcery

They are called by the name of Abahinza, that is to say, "kings and descendants of the ancient aborigional kings," which goes to explain the origins of most of them at least.

In l'Histoire d'un Règne /Book III, not translated/ there was repeated discussion /441/ of those autochthonous petty kings, who joined the powers of priesthood with those of civil and military magistrature.

Among the best-known examples of these diviner- or magician-kings are Mashira, the famous sorcerer-king of the Nduga, Nkoma, the petty king of Marangara, and Rutoke, of the Buhanga. Their subjects could resort to them in every emergency, for they had an answer to everything. To read and foresee the future, to uncover hidden things, to bewitch and cast spells on their enemies and reduce them to impotence, such were not the least prerogatives of their position. They were also begged for a handful of grain of the time of sowing and cultivation, for this was believed to insure a rich harvest.

791 This was no doubt how the profession of "protector and defender of the crops" originated. It is now exercised by the bahinza, nearly all of whom are descended from the ancient petty kings subjugated by Ruganzu. They never gave offense to the Hamitic kings, who not only allowed them to remain but even protected them in the thought that they and their subjects might benefit thereby.

The professionals in this category are numerous, but the most renowned among them have been so far those from Lubengera in the Bgishaza and those from Suti in the Munyambiriri, because they were closer to the central province of Nduga and in continuous contact with the Hamitic court.

Their colleagues from the Kingogo, Bushiru, Buhoma, Bugamba, etc., were not well known outside their own home territory.

According to public belief, these masters of occult sciences
791 can place restrictions (kuvuma) upon the birds and insects that ravage
825 the crops. Caterpillars are the most dreaded because some of them (ingungu) attack the stems of sweet potatoes and destroy every last one of them, while others devour the leaves of trees in the summertime. /442/

The latter are called bahema. Grasshoppers, weevils, and other worms or insects which attack the crops are no less feared. This is why the natives frequently resort to the bahinza and implore their protection. This protection is purchased with gifts in kind which the chiefs levy themselves on their subjects in order to enlist the intervention of the powerful sorcerers. Some of the bahinza have been known to add rain making to their other functions.

791 One of the sorcerers in this category, called Nyamitwe, who lived on the top of a mountain (Chungeri) in the Bugoyi province, had the idea of excavating a small well, about 1.50 meters deep, in the courtyard fronting his home.

Since the ground was impervious to water, rain water would remain there for varying lengths of time. This enabled the crafty fellow to spread the rumor that he had high powers over the clouds. An ingenious way of bringing grist /Tr.: in French, "water"/ to his mill!

754 The sorcerers who are reputed to unloose insects and other pests over the crops are called by the name of Abahoryo, which means "baleful men."

Popular belief indeed goes so far as to lend them this occult power, which causes everyone to fear them.

They are believed capable of the most evil designs.

In view of this, they are avoided and shunned as much as possible.

The natives will avoid carefully all matrimonial relations with them. This would entail every evil including sterility, which is not the least feared among them.

These dangerous men are believed to cast the /443/ evil eye (guter' umwaku) and are placed in the same category as the members of the Abahenyi, Abatchaba, and Abungura clans, who inspire the [578] same mistrust and the same repulsion. Thus the name Abahoryo, "baleful men," is regarded as an insult by the Abahoryo themselves.

The bahinza of the Bgishaza province have always had the reputation of excelling in the exercise of these supernatural powers. What wonders are not ascribed to them! One of them as one tradition goes, was condemned to death for some misdeed or other.

While he was being led to the place of punishment, he resorted to his occult powers. Vultures, hawks, eagles, and crows flocked instantly from every corner of the sky and descended with open beaks and claws upon the executioners and onlookers.

Filled with wonder, the Mututsi /Batutsi/ prince pardoned him.

Another time, two brothers from the same family quarreled over their sorcerer's birthright after the death of their father. When asked to interfere, the king decided that the position would go to the one who proved superior in skill.

It so happened that the dreaded caterpillars were devouring the sweet potatoes at the time. One of the men proceeded to exercise his art in order to do away with them. The other one used his power to act in an opposite way, and made them multiply without end. The caterpillars came out of the ground and covered the earth. "Now," he exclaimed to the monarch, "do you wish me to deliver you from them?"

754 The land was cleared instantly, to the stupefaction of the onlookers. The prince confirmed him in his position.

In closing, we need only cite the Italian proverb, "Se non è vero, è bene trovato /It may not be true, but it is a felicitous invention/." The Blacks hold the sorcerers and their power in high regard.

789 The deep-rooted trust of the Blacks in the /444/ skill of their sorcerers and the efficacy of their magic practices has something to do with the stagnant state of their civilizations.

How much are the doctors of occult and divinatory sciences to blame in this connection?

"It would be unfair," says Maurice Delafosse, "to make the magicians responsible for this situation, for they share the belief of their compatriots in the efficacy of their art. They practice magic not only because it is profitable, but also because they are as credulous as their clients." (Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro-African Civilizations/.)

Chapter 4

Offices of a Recreational and Literary Nature

644 a. The dancing groups are numerous, and their motions
535 interesting and varied.

The pages have a special dance known by the name of guhamiriza. The kwiyereka and kulambira are indigenous to the mountain dwellers and especially to the Bagoyi.

The renown of this latter group in connection with this type of dance harks back to their great chief Bushako.

The people of the Gissaka specialize in the kubyina urushara.
[534] When the dances are accompanied by stringed instruments known by the name of inanga, they take the name of gutambir' inanga. When performed to the beat of the drum, they are called gutambir' ingoma.

535 The kubyin' umudiho is danced by both men and women, who range themselves in a circle and clap their hands in time while their feet tread the ground. /445/

The word "dance" conveys but imperfectly the pastimes we are describing.

They are rather war games and hunting games. The imitation and mimicry of combats and the pursuit of game are very expressive. The Blacks spend hours on end simulating a battle, challenging and crushing imaginary enemies. From time to time they put down their weapons or present them to the king in perfect unity of motion, sing for a while the great deeds of the monarch, and then renew their fictional struggle.

The men's mudiho and that of the women, or young girls, are closer to the dance.

The women first come forward slowly to the sounds of a chanted elegy, and then some of them leave the group and execute graceful movements guided by the singing and hand clapping of their companions.

Their dances are more aesthetic and less wild.

644 b. The corps of pages (intore, from the word gutora, "to
535 choose"), who are recruited among the sons of chiefs, is not the least interesting among the groups who surround the king and who live wholly for his service and pleasure.

Along with the dancers, they contribute a great deal with their gambols and gyrations to the distinctive character of the public festivities which are celebrated at court from time to time, to the festival of the "First fruits," and to the day that closes the great June mourning (igichurassi).

They have special dances for which they undergo an apprenticeship almost daily for several years.

535 Like the king, each great Mutusi chief entrusts his pages to
554 the care of highly paid dancing teachers who are to instruct their pupils in new motions and rhythms. This is why the training is carried out secretly /446/, so the "ballets" will be new. A chief derives honor and pleasure from hearing that his pages are the best trained. A great rivalry exists in this connection, therefore, among the various page corps and their respective chiefs.

535 The young men are sustained by the hope of eventually obtaining some cows, by the cheers of the spectators, and by the presence of the king.

On important festival days, the noble squires gird their loins [293] with a colobus or calf pelt adorned with otter hide fringes. On the head they wear a hat of banana-tree fibers that looks like long hair, and their chest is adorned with beads or long narrow strips. They wear bells on their legs and ankles, and they all hold in their hands a spear and a bow. They form groups of 40 or 50, which are differentiated by the richness or design of their costumes and ornaments.

One by one, at the command of the choreographers, they make writhing motions intermingled with jumps and shouts, coming and going with impeccable rhythm, revolving the head as though wishing to tear it from the body. The Blacks are very fond of those war dances, which are in fact marvels of technique.

It is the rhythmic motion of the feet that they admire most and watch most carefully.

644 We shall give here for what it may be worth a list of the names
535 of the principal page corps, including the dance groups of the Muhutu /Bahutu/ and Mutwa /Batwa/ race:

Pages and Dancers	Race	Chief
Inchogozabahizi	Abatutsi	Yuhi-Musinga
Intangamuganzanyo	"	"
Urugangazi	"	"
Ibirushya	Abahutu	"
Ishyaka	Abatwa	"
Inkerarugamba	"	" /447/
Indinzi	Abatutsi	Sebagangari
Inkeramihigo	"	Kayondo
Imbasharugamba	Abatwa	"
Inkorabahizi	Abatutsi	Chyitatire
Urwintwari	"	Nturo
Ingeri	"	Rukarakamba
Imbabazabahizi	"	Lwagataraka

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Intagwabira	"	Lugerinyange
Inkwaya (from Bgana-Chambge)	"	Lwabusisi
Amakuza (from Lukaragata)	"	"
Impambara (from Bgishaza)	"	Rwidegembya
Inkaranga (from Bugoyi)	"	Bushako

535 "How shall we describe those dances," says Chalux, (1) "which

1. Un An au Congo belge /A Year in the Belgian Congo/ (Albert Dewit, publ., Brussels), pp. 487 ff.

are as beautiful, as elaborate, and as orderly as the best Russian ballet? They are obviously war dances, and evoke the epic combats of old. They have style and majesty, but in spite of the exactness of motion, the refinement of effects, the artfulness of entrances, exits, and groupings, their essential beauty resides in the fact that they retain a free, sparkling, spontaneous, and seemingly unrehearsed element. Each dancer (there are only men), when observed individually, expresses in his leaps, his steps, and his attitudes the harsh joy of challenging and defeating the enemy. The head is always tossed back, sometimes literally tossed upon the back, and revolves on and on as though the dancer were lending it impetus to propel it through space, as far as possible, against a detested foe. The chest is thrown out arrogantly, the fists are clenched upon the bow and spear, and the arms are rigid, menacing, stretched in two parallel lines. The naked feet hammer on the bare ground, stressing the beat with resounding slaps. The leaps, which are prodigious, defy gravity. The man seems to remain suspended in mid-air while he turns about with a powerful twist of the back, and he touches ground only to spring up even higher /448/ or to simulate with strikingly realistic gestures a fight to the death, the glory of war, the pride of fighting well, of having good weapons, of being a man and a hero, and the full certainty of victory and all its intoxication!

"All this is so natural, so perfectly true, that one must wrench one's sight from the individual and look at the dancers as a whole,

535 all performing exactly the same gestures at exactly the same time, to realize that their dance has been long rehearsed, that it is not improvisation but art, virile, inspired, and magnificently primitive!

"Burning eyes, mouths open on dazzling clenched teeth, feline motions, hip swaying that would shame a gypsy, rippling muscles, stamping feet, ankle bells, the wild gloomy gasps of great drums, the twist of gleaming bodies nude but for an antelopeskin, swinging headgear of long white hair, bold faces, rhythmic jolts, masterly precision, grace and vigor, a frenzied yet controlled youthfulness... What a unique and unforgettable spectacle!

"The dancers of Kayondo (a great chief) were outstanding. To the great surprise and secret mortification of Musinga (the king) his own dancers were a little less so.

"A vertical fold cleaved his black brow. To quote divine Virgil, when Jupiter knits his brows all Olympus trembles.

"Nyanza did not tremble, but I know that some young Batutsi who saw the expression on the face of their demigod were seized with uneasiness.

"The best dancers were the Batwa.

"Yes, the pygmies!...

"The victory in this memorable contact which lasted several hours went to a child, a little mite of hardly twelve, who outshone all the others in the supreme perfection of his dance. /449/

"It began to rain torrentially, as it always does near the Equator. The Batwa danced on.

"The harsh water slashed at them, tearing off their headgear and pressing their antelopeskins so close against their thighs and knees that their movements were hindered. They all went on dancing, but the sacred fire was put out by the storm. The child alone surpassed himself, his beauty heightened by frenzy.

"All eyes were focused upon him. Conscious that he was the center of attention, even for the king and the Whites who were with him, he gave himself completely to the dance. Intoxicated with pride, dealing and parrying fabulous blows, puffing up his small chest to the bursting point, slapping the puddles with frenzied feet and splashing everything around him, he filled the huge flooded enclosure with the suddenly overwhelming dimensions of his tiny self.

535 "His high-pitched, excited voice was heard above all the others when the Batwa, their dance over and their arms uplifted toward Musinga, all shouted at the same time, according to custom, one of these traditional phrases, 'I shall go to my death for the king!' 'When I fight, I kill twenty men!' 'I can no longer keep count of those I have defeated!' 'I shed the greatest amount of blood!'"

c. These musicians who are reputed to be the most skillful
533 are retained at court or called there frequently. Their instruments
[534] are most primitive. They have a flute (umwironge), the stringed instrument so widespread in equatorial Africa (inanga), and another instrument, more primitive still, the isenge (ocarina type) from which they draw unpleasant sounds. People originally from Usui introduced small drums into the country which they beat with their fingers and which were a great success with the king.

The cithara players are the favorite musicians of the populace. They sing and accompany themselves on their instrument.

The themes of these songs are varied. They deal with the exploits of heroes, the national wars, and even with various /450/ ordinary events of everyday life. The subject is sometimes borrowed from dramas of which the essence and form are common, but they nevertheless draw the attention of listeners because they parallel their own mental attitudes.

We cite here one of those pieces. We heard it recited by a
533 cithara player. He was seated amidst about ten of his companions,
534 who all plucked their stringed instruments together and repeated certain words in chorus at the end of each phrase. The soloist sang, "A leopard left the woods long after sunset.

"He crossed Goko Stream near the village of Murunda (in the Kanage region).

"He came to the Gishwati country in the early evening.

"He came to the hut of the man called 'I am the man who knows how to handle difficulties' (Nziguye).

"The beast knocked at the door with his paw.

"The daughter of the house (recognized and) addressed the animal.

533 "Her father said, 'My child, what you have done is bad.
539 "'Evil will come unto us.'

"The carnivore knocked on the door for the second time.

"He entered the hut and hid near the rush wall (that divides the inside of the hut in two compartments).

"The woman got up to take a brand from the fire.

"The leopard leaped upon her and took her outside.

"With his claws he tore out her entrails (imushing' urwara mu nda, hava mw' umwana).

"The father got up to go to her aid.

"The animal had dragged his quivering prey into the banana grove.

"The husband, after a search, found nothing but a few blood-stained copper bracelets.

"After a period of time the feline returned. /451/

"The master of the house was not caught napping.

"His mind had been active since the accident.

"It was in vain that the leopard brought along Jack Rabbit (the prototype of the resourceful rogue who has a thousand tricks up his sleeve).

"He came near the hut.

"Nziguye ('I know how to handle difficulties') (1) had dug a

1. Nziguye is the substantive of the verb kwizigura, which means "to get out of trouble," "to escape danger through one's own resources."

deep ditch (covered with light branches).

"The leopard vanished into the trap and died there."

538 d. Aside from the bards and official chroniclers already mentioned, there are also at court some literary jousters who speak a refined language, who are appointed to the king's side, and who attend to him in shifts.
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They are called Abasizi, from the word gusiga, which means "to speak a refined language." They expound the events of the day

538 in an amusing and literary form which is not understood by those who
195 are not in the know.

This is why the opposite of the verb gusǐgǎ is gusigura, which means "to explain." These men have great verbal facility and are always ready to improvise. The king takes pleasure in those literary jousts, which are not lacking in charm. Their language, which is very rich, lends itself readily to those witticisms which the Abasǐzǐ have built up into a vocation and livelihood. Their recruitment is usually entrusted to a great chief. The present incumbents of this office belong, on the one hand, to the Basinga and aBene Katambi clans, and, on the other hand, to the Bakōbga (Nyaruguru, near the Bisi Mountains).

538 Like the official chroniclers, they remain at the sovereign's disposal, ready to beguile his leisure and to make him enjoy literary pleasures.

In order to give an idea of their style and of their talent,
539 /452/ we transcribe here three small pieces of their own making, chosen from among the simplest and easiest.

First Example

Agasǐgo ka Rumanur' imbāba.	A small literary piece about that (famine) which caused bits and pieces of hoes to come out (of their hiding places to buy food with them).
Ibyo bitag' imitsima.	What used to be called bread (to wit, the roots of banana trees).
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	The Victorious (king) has delivered us from it (forever).
Intoke ziraruhutse.	The banana trees may (now) rest.
Ibyo twaryaga.	What we (formerly) ate.
Ngaho wabay' umutsima.	That it has now become (true) bread.
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	The Victorious (king) has delivered us (from these evils).

539 Tulek' intōke. — Let us leave (alone) the banana trees (their roots) (1).

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1. Times of want are unfortunately frequent among the Blacks owing to their lack of foresight. They till the soil only for their own personal consumption. If a crop is ruined by drought or too much rain, therefore, they run out of food. The narrator describes one of those famines and gives it the name of "that which caused bits and pieces of hoes to come out (of hiding)," no matter how worn, to be sold to blacksmiths. One would then attempt to buy food in neighboring provinces with those meager resources.

Reference is made to the roots of banana trees which are dried in the sun after being struck with the handle of a hoe in order to remove the potash. They are then crushed on the grain-grinding stone and furnish an indigestible food which does not satisfy and does not hinder the end, which is death, unless this imitation flour is mixed in with something more substantial.

Second Example

539 Akasigo ko gutur' umwami. — A small literary piece (on how to address the king when offering gifts to him).

539 Nd' uwawe, nd' uw' imanzi. — I am yours, I am the Hero's (man).
Nkazibgira, Muzima. — I speak to him (to this Hero), oh perfect (king)!
Nivugire, nd' uwinganji. — Let me rejoice, I am (the man) of the Victorious.
Witwa Ndabagize. — You are named (oh king!) the master of their fate. /453/

[195] We may add that in order to observe the rules of euphony, the black men of letters are permitted to use poetic license and deliberately to make errors of syntax, construction, conjugation, etc.

Third Example

Akanganiro k' umubyeyi w' umwana.	Conversation of a mother with her child (to amuse him).
Umugor' atiny' umugabo.	The wife fears her husband.
Umugab' atiny' umwami.	The man fears the king.
Umwam' agatiny' inkuba.	The king fears lightning.
Inkub' igatiny' umugano.	Lightning fears bamboo (1).

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1. The Banyarwanda, especially those who live in the mountains, have the custom of setting up a long bamboo stem in the court-yard near their hut to protect against lightning. They believe that the latter is caged and harmless when it splits the bamboo.

539 Umwan' atinya nyina. — A child fears (respects) his mother.
Umugan' ugatiny' umuliro. — Bamboo fears fire (2).

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2. "Bamboo fears fire" because people who live near the forest burn chiefly bamboo.

539 Umurir' ugatiny' amazi. Fire fears water.
Amaz (i)' atiny' ifu. Water fears flour. (3)

3. "Water fears flour," that is to say, the bread or "mush" into which it vanishes.

If' itiny' amenyo. Flour fears teeth (4).

4. "Flour fears the teeth" of those who eat it.

Ameny' atiny' umuhoro. Teeth fear the billhook (iron) (5).

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5. "Teeth fear the billhook," as all other hard bodies, especially when made of iron, like the billhook, which is one of the most useful tools.

538 The Blacks of Ruanda have a rich and varied oral literature. They like witticisms, and since their language is rich in shades and nuances, they manipulate it with great art.

The most refined speech is heard at the capital.

195 The habitual frequenters of the court, lords, courtiers, and
644 employees, express themselves in flawless language, use the right words and choice expressions, and give them the proper inflections, for Runyarwanda is a phonetic /sic/ language. The appointed men of letters, storytellers, bards, genealogists, and historians carefully
[521] watch their diction. Among them conversation is never /454/ dull, for jokes and witticisms abound.

Considering the good taste that distinguishes the familiars of the king and the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga, it is not

195 surprising that they should be shocked and amused by the lingo of the
644 mountain dwellers and those who inhabit the frontiers of the realm. The latter's language is far from refined. It teems with syntactical and accentual mistakes and contains a mixture of foreign terms borrowed from the tongues of neighboring groups.

More conversant than others with matters of language, the men at court readily argue about the worth or etymology of existing words, and willingly create others which are more adequate by drawing upon the genius of their language.

The plural word imiduha means "cactus." Its literal meaning
195 is "those (plants) that give to us." Since those kinds of plants, which
814 resemble the Abyssinian quelqual or kwelkol, are not of any productiveness to the Banyarwanda, the men of letters propose, at least theoretically, to replace the word with imyiha or ichyiha, both of which are purely conventional nouns devoid of this misleading connotation.

It is in the same spirit that the black academicians wish to substitute the word ikyiyone, that is to say, "large bird" for the usual term igikona, whose literal meaning is "that which ravages" (the crops). Our African "Immortals" /Tr.: term applied to members of Académie Française/ would also like to see the term umuguta used exclusively to designate a skeleton (or dried-up cadaver), and its synonym umwite reserved for the word "skin."

551 In their superstitious fear the Blacks avoid pronouncing the
195 names of persons, animals, and things of which they are afraid. They are motivated by the spirit expressed in the French proverb:

Quand on parle du loup, il sort du bois /Talk of the wolf and he will come out of the woods, i.e., speak of the devil and he will appear./ /455/

Instead of calling the leopard by his real name, ingwe, the cowherds, shepherds, travelers, and all other persons who frequent the areas haunted by those animals use the following expressions:

"The one whose name is kept unsaid," Nyiramahole.

"The wind (fast as the wind)," Muyaga.

"The claw of claws," Rwara.

"The animal with the spotted coat," Bugondo.

"The voracious one," Kimizi.

[551] 195 So as not to risk meeting a lion /intare/, they use the following expression when speaking of that animal: "the glutton" (Iwabgiga).

The Blacks are never at a want for words. Their language is rich and lends itself to subtleties and to the development of the new ideas introduced by the Europeans.

198 [575] In order to communicate among themselves, the members of the Ryangombe secret society have created a sort of dialect. Many of its more common terms are known to the uninitiated but arouse mirth when used in ordinary speech.

We shall list here some of the words in this Rumandwa dialect:

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Rumandwa	Literal Sense	Runyarwanda	Meaning
Ameza	"Good things"	Amata	Milk
Ubgihinga	"A difficult thing to cultivate."	Uburo	Eleusine
Ibihimbaza	"Things that satisfy /hunger/"	Ibishimbo	Beans
Amaranda (1)	"Creeping things"	Amateke	Taraud /the dictionary meaning "screw cutter" does not seem to apply here./

1. Or amabya y' abak ungu.

Umubonanya		Umutsima	Sorghum bread
Inganda		Inzoga	Beer
Akayoba nzara	"That which staves off hunger"	Itabi	Tobacco
Imirundi y' inkuba	"The legs of lightning," (that is to say, that which is shaped like a bolt of lightning).	Ibijumba	Sweet Potatoes /456/

5: Pagès--182 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

198 Urwiko	"The silent one"	Inkono y' itabi	Pipe
192 Uruhunga		Inzoga y' urwagwa	Banana beer
Isakara	"That which has a roof"	Inzu	Hut
Gakungu	"That which has no horns"	Imbga	Dog
Inguruka		Ihene	Goat
Ihangi		Inka	Cow
Gukoroga		Gukama	To milk
Gutanyara		Gutabara	To go to war
Gutakura		Gukinga	To cultivate
Gaminga		Gahinga	Hilltop
iKinyamusenyi		Ikinyamunyu	Bunch of bananas
Umusenyi	"Sand"	Umunyu	Salt
Serukanaga (1)	"The man who binds"	Umutware	Chief

1. Gukanaga, the verb from which the substantive se-rukanaga is derived ("the man who binds"), is synonymous to the word kuboha, "to bind."

Ibifunga mwoyo (2)	"That which wears pants"	Abazungu	Europeans

2. The etymological sense of the native expression is stronger than that of the French translation and shows how poorly the Whites were regarded at first.

Umumputu		Umugabo	Man

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198 Umumkari — Umugore — Woman
Umwere wa giti — Umwana — Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

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3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

438 651 The inhabitants of the Bugoyi, Mulera, Bussigi, Bgisha, Bufumbiro, etc., formerly supplied this substance, as a tax under the name of umutsama (plural imitsama).

438 463 The people of the Kinyaga, dwellers on the shores of Lake Kivu, made strong mats (ibisunyu) of lake reeds for the court.

People from the Bgishaza, Kingogo, Budaha, etc., made litters, baskets, and hampers of various shapes because they lived close to the forest where the materials essential to their craft are to be found.

463 651 Dressing cases, combs, butter jars, dishes, spoons, pitchers, pipes, tobacco pouches, bows, arrows, shields, quivers, spear shafts, clubs, scabbards, cases for knives and drinking tubes, drums, chairs, etc., were all made by professionals who paid their taxes in this fashion.

644 In accordance with an immemorial custom, the king chose himself a wife from each of the following Hamitic clans: /458/ Bega, Basinga, Bakono, Baha, and sometimes also among the Bagessera, not to speak of those who were referred to him on account of their mental or physical qualities. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the neighboring princes of the Uswi, Karagwe, and Bunyabungu, but no son of those foreign princesses, to our knowledge, ever sat on the throne. Few royal wives managed to retain their husband's good favors indefinitely. Many of them were demoted to the rank of servants (abaja), if not sent back to their families (1).

1. This was the best they could hope for, since then they regained their complete freedom.

Some chiefs were bound by custom to send regularly to court some little girls, who were raised among the queen-mother's followers. The lot of those children was a rather unhappy one. Some of them when grown were chosen as servants or as symbolic wives offered to the spirits of dead kings (2).

2. Cf. Chapter VII below under "Funeral Rites."

[Wie, heavy. -Analyst]

644 Others were entrusted with the manufacture of baskets, hampers, mats, and other fine basketry.

Sebugrigri (deceased in 1925), the representative of the great chief Rwidegembya in the Bigogo province, had to supply annually two or three of those children, who were euphemistically known by the name of "pages" (intore) or "outgoers" (emigrants) chosen by fate (inkuke).

644 661 Nyiramurici (deceased in 1927), a Muhunde /Hunde/ from the Gishari and a close relative of the queen of that land, came to pay homage to the Hamitic prince of Ruanda. As a reward for his services as a sorcerer, he was given three villages (Gassovu, Gatoke, and Nyaruchundura) located in the Kanage, with the sole obligation of handing to the queen mother /459/ any girls he might father or obtain among his subjects (1).

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1. This obligation has always been regarded as a hateful one. As a rule parents were loath to surrender their offspring and complied only under duress. Sometimes they managed to elude this exorbitant tax by giving the chief one or even several cows. The chief also took advantage of this power to tax only his enemies or to extort several head of cattle from them under this revolting pretext.

In order to gain the good graces of the king or his mother, certain families freely gave up their children, boys or girls. The lot of the adolescent boys was much preferable to that of their sisters. Once grown up, after serving for a time in the page corps, they regained their freedom and were often granted the rule of a hill as a reward for their sojourn at court.

644 727 Among the other families who played a role at court, we may cite the aBasingo, Batchaba, and aBagessera. The Basingo, a subdivision of the powerful Biru clan, fulfill a special function in wartime along with the "Cursers" (Abahenyi).

They are in charge of "closing the path" to the enemy (gukingir' ababisha) by gathering all the monsters, real or fancied, who [787] are regarded by the Blacks as evil portents and therefore designated by the term intsiro. This covers chiefly black goats, black chicks whose entrails were found to "turn black" when examined by the diviners, that is to say, unfavorable to the enemy, dissolute mothers (ibinyandaro), children born out of wedlock, children born during the mourning period held for one of their relatives (umwana w'amabi), young girls with undeveloped breasts (impenebere), old women who remained sterile through life (umugetchuru w'igicha mbyaro), and other true monsters with real and visible defects, who are designated by the generic name of ibimara or ibimazi.

644 342 The aBatchaba, another branch of the great /460/ aBiru family, select and measure the sites of royal huts. They hang in the interior of the hut, and later fasten outside, some branches of trees with magic properties (1) which according to popular belief exercise a

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1. Among those plants or trees with magic properties, we may cite the ficus (umuvumu), the red-bloom erythrina (umuko), the plant called irarire, etc.

salutary influence over the inhabitants or owners of the huts. It is the duty of their wives and daughters to meet the victorious warriors, singing and dancing, and thus congratulate them for their feats of valor. They also take part in the traditional celebrations which are held when the king takes official possession of a newly built hut and enters it for the first time with a wife chosen especially for the occasion (2).

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2. Throughout Ruanda, in principle, a new hut is taken over in the name of a spirit (a dead relative) whose favors are desired.

It is also in his name that one takes a wife (kumulongorer' abazimu).

644 This is why these women are called abaterampundu, that is,
[342] "those who utter cries of joy."

The duties of the aBatchaba are often identical to those of
726 their brothers, the aBasingo, whom they assist in bewitching the enemy with teratological beings who are driven before the hostile army. Like the aBiru they also make drums.

The totem of the aBagessera is the wagtail, a bird of good
825 omen, which is consequently regarded as a member of the family.
342 Hence the power of the Bagessera to call this bird when needed. At
644 court and throughout the land, there is a custom whereby no one may enter a new hut until the wagtail has made an appearance. The bird must at least flit about or hop on the flattened ground where the hut is to be built or on the hut itself. One may even wait several days if necessary /461/ rather than risk the misfortunes which invariably befall those who do not take this traditional practice into account. At the capital, therefore, theBagessera are in charge of instigating the appearance of "their relative" (mwene wabo), the congenial bird, whenever a royal building is put up.

To achieve this they take some embers from their home and light a fire before the new hut.

They sit nearby and whistle in a special way to catch the attention of their totem.

825 The wagtail is highly regarded by the Banyarwanda. In story and song it is called "the bird (inyamanza) from the region of Mabera," a once famous village inhabited by the Bagessera (1). It is located

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1. The regard in which the wagtail is held is the subject of a charming tale. The wagtail

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gained a choice position among favorite birds because it once performed a very useful deed. A king whose name has been forgotten was pining for love. His courtiers did not know what to do, in spite of their numerous attempts to provide the monarch with a choice companion....

At about the same time, in a village far from the capital, a man and his wife were raising a girl of great beauty, who was nourished on cow milk.... The wagtail, who knew of the king's apathy, came and flitted about the courtyard where the young girl was dressing. The bird seized one of her main garments and flew toward the capital. Surprised, the fair maiden followed the bird, begging it to return her garment. "Do not fear," answered the bird, "I shall return it when we hear the sound of the (capital's) drums." While speaking, the winged messenger dropped some beads, of which he had brought a number. The young girl, who was fond of novelties, bent down and picked them up. Eventually they arrived at court.... At first people were surprised at such a miraculous event, but their attention was

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drawn to the beauty of the fair stranger. The king was notified. She was the girl he had been waiting for. As a reward, the wagtail was granted a permanent privilege to its species called ubulenga nzira, which included immunity and a sort of tithe to be levied upon the crops throughout the realm.

near the hill of Lwoga, not far from Nyanza, the present capital.

563 The Bagessera regard themselves as the most important Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan, and claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of Ruanda. According to them, they were the first masters of the land. /462/

Bloody Bondage Imposed on Some Families

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178 The Bakono, Banyabyinshi, and Bakunzi of the Kinyaga were for a long time the victims of this /type of bondage/.

Let us add, however, that the brutality and cruelty characteristic of those inhuman and now suppressed customs had lost some of their primitive harshness in the course of the last two reigns.

1. The expiatory debt to which the Bakono were bound for having fought Ruganzu II had been changed altogether.

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178 Upon the accession of a new king to the throne, the Bakono had to send one or two of their people to the capital, and so did another clan which had formerly belonged to the Banyabyinshi group, so often mentioned at the beginning of the great king's reign.

At court, instead of having their throats slit as was formerly done, those people were merely sprinkled with lustral water (chalk water) and driven for an instant into the hut of the spirits as though being offered in sacrifice to them. There the matter rested. Other chroniclers state that it was customary to beat them a few times with

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sticks so that the custom should not altogether lose its penal character.

2. Another improvement over the past has been the complete suppression during the two preceding reigns of the odious custom which prompted each new prince when he ascended the throne to send his troops into the Russokovu, between the Bugamba and Kingogo, to make war and receive their baptism of fire.

This was called "to make the king's spear drink blood" (guhir' icchumu ry' umwami).

Just as the Banyarwanda have the habit of leading their herds to the watering hole (guhir' inka) at the /463/ beginning of the day, a traditional custom also made it necessary for the king to make his spear drink blood (kunywesh' amarasso icchumu ry' umwami) upon his accession to the throne.

After killing some unfortunate people, the victorious warriors returned home.

The beginning of a reign could not be augured more auspiciously.

773 Ruganzu II Ndori was the first to launch such an expedition, which later became traditional.

He did this to punish the killers of his father. According to one version, which has already been cited (1), old King Ndahiro was

1. Cf. Book III, Histoire du règne de Ruganzu II, /History of Ruganzu II's Reign/ /not translated/.

killed at Russokovo, by the Bakongoro (a segment of the great Banyabyinshi faction) who had rebelled against him and whom he had set out to subjugate.

The expedition ended in disaster. Ndahiro, so the tradition adds, died there along with many of his followers. The rebels seized the king's drums and had them burned. Only the Kalinga, or palladium of the realm, escaped the conquerors. This is why the [103] place where the defeat took place has been known since by the name

773 of Rubi rw'inyundo, meaning "the evil of the hammer," to recall that
[103] the weapons wrought by the blacksmiths' hammers were fatal there to Ndahiro and his warriors (2).

2. There are numerous variations on this historical theme. The inhabitants of the Bugamba insist that Ruganzu II was smoked out of Kirengo Cave by the Banyabyinshi. Hence the custom, they say, of leading two of the inhabitants of the land to the capital, where they were beaten, in memory of and punishment for this misdeed. Others believe that it was Chyilima-Rugwe who was fatally injured by the Bakongoro and who, pursued by his enemies, came to die near Gasseke, where his skeleton was later found. These tragic circumstances would explain the 15 annual days of mourning in June, if the disaster was such as the chroniclers lead us to suppose.

178 3. Fortunate, too, is the abolition of the custom which prompted
643 the young king to kill one of his maternal uncles (nyirarume) with his own hands, an act which was political as well as /464/ superstitious, and which often followed close on the murder of the princes who were the monarch's relatives by marriage.

The prosperity of the realm was believed to depend on the fulfillment of cruel customs.

The abolition of these barbarous practices would be wholly to the credit of the Banyarwanda were it not for the fact that in 1895, at the time when Mibambge-Rutalindwa was deposed, the victorious Bega faction then in power committed innumerable atrocities toward

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643 the vanquished that the natives sometimes relate to each other secretly and fearfully in the evening by the fire.

4. The best known of those customs is the punishment of the
178 Bachuku and Bayumbo, who are from Bukunzi land, linked to the
643 Kinyaga province.
782 The story of the misdeed which gave rise to this penalty is told in Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II /The History of the Reign of Ruganzu II/ /Book III, not translated/.

Because the bull in one of the great king's herds had been killed, the king himself proceeded to take a blazing revenge there and then by having two young men and two young women killed in the valley called Nyakafunzo.

"My spear," cried the angered monarch, "I shall henceforth leave it among you so that you may give it children. At every change of reign, you shall surrender a young man and a young woman to expiate your misdeed." The royal envoys, therefore, would appear whenever a new king succeeded to the throne and claim their human tribute.

The young man was killed on the spot at Nyakafunzo. A dagger was plunged into his armpit. The blood was gathered into a wooden jar which was then taken into enemy country in accordance with directives from the capital.

The shedding of this cursed blood guaranteed the defeat of those inhabitants who had offended the king /465/ or who were at war with him. The corpse of the unfortunate one was left on the spot, where the hyenas soon disposed of it.... As for the young woman who had to be supplied by the Bachuku, it was agreed that she should be chosen among mothers who were suckling a baby girl. Her lot was less fearsome. She was given in marriage to the Bumbogo, where she had to attend to the cultivation of sorghum and eleusine, whose "first fruits" were taken to court for the great annual festival celebrated there at that time. As a further contribution to this custom, the Bachuku also supplied the flour mill used to grind the sorghum and eleusine.

An earthen jug and the large household spoon, or spatula, (umwuko), used to make bread (umutsima) were sent along with the millstones.

178 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the
643 present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which
782 took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of
661 exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or
644 families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the
644 Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial
554 unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have
565 been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).
565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has
565 /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who
[527] had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

173 558 563 Mututsi /Batutsi/ woman named Nyirandoba sought shelter in Bidiga's hut without being aware of his social status. The potter gallantly offered some food to the hunger-stricken lady.

Nyirandoba accepted eagerly. Meanwhile the sky had cleared and the woman, her hunger satisfied, took leave of her host after thanking him very kindly.

As she walked away, she heard a voice inviting Bidiga to take advantage of the improvement in the weather and go into the swamp to fetch some clay. Nyirandoba realized her mistake. She was forever dishonored. Everyone /468/ would know that she, a Mututsi woman, had entered the hut of a Mutwa and had taken food from the hand of a pariah.

Henceforth, no one in her own caste would be willing to associate with her.

Bidiga, who understood her uneasiness and misgivings, came to her aid and offered to marry her. The noble lady, very happy with the solution, became Bidiga's wife.

Not far from them there lived a Batutsi clan named Babambanganzi, who were in charge of one of the court herds known by the name of "black cows" (inka z'imikara, inkuke z'ibgami). Those people, who had no reasons to complain about Bidiga's proximity, made him their cowherd and put him in charge of the royal herd. Bidiga and his family gradually established close contact with the Hamites and contracted marriages with them which placed them in due course among the Batutsi ranks (1).

1. In view of all this, we can understand why the Hamitic type has lost its original purity to a greater or lesser extent in some of the clans belonging to this ethnic group. We may also add that the poorer Batutsi often take Bahutu wives.

2. Other Favors and Privileges

661 a. "The gift of the fire cow" (inka y' umuriro). This is when
644 the king sends a cow to a chief who has been stripped of his property or who has been in disgrace for some time. It is tantamount to a reconciliation.

This privilege grants the man who had been ostracized or banished permission to settle definitively on granted land and to build there like anyone else.

The gift of the cow, which is a sign and proof of forgiveness, also heralds further favors.

The last two beneficiaries of royal clemency were Musinga's maternal uncles, Lukangamiheto and Luhinankiko, whose ambition and political activities had /469/ greatly displeased the queen mother and the regent Kabale, creator of the bloody Ruchunchu revolution. They regained their rank and position at court.

661 b. Entrance rights (ilembo). This favor is highly valued by those to whom it is granted. It consists of receiving, in lieu of the king, the gifts of material goods and herds which are daily offered to the prince. Hence the expression, "to proceed to or place oneself at the entrance to the Court" (kuja kw' ilembo ry'ibgami) so as to take over the gifts and cows which subjects bring to their sovereign. This is a temporary privilege that is granted only for a few days and never more than two or three months to the same individual.

c. Ubulenga nzira is a sort of tithing right which the king and great chiefs grant to individuals whom they wish to reward. The
[651] holder of this right may levy a tax on the inhabitants of the territory over which the chief or king has jurisdiction. He gets cows and produce as long as the concession is not revoked.

d. The right to levy a cow wherever one spends the night
[651 (kurar'inka) is largely granted in times of war, on the way out and on
727] the way back.

[702] It is a good device to recruit soldiers, who greatly valued this privilege and made use of it both in friendly and in enemy territory.

e. Ubutumwa ("message"). The "right of message" grants the king's envoys the right to demand a cow from the recipient of the message. Instances are cited of men who managed to assemble fine herds thanks to their job as royal couriers.

661 f. "Those who are not looted" (abatanyagwa). This is a kind of privilege of inviolability granted by the prince to chiefs whom he takes under his special protection. He /470/ promises to help them and swears never to surrender them to their enemies.

g. "The right to secure provisions at night" (oguhaha n' ijoro) is a polite metaphor, or rather a gracious euphemism, that means that the beneficiaries of this privilege are entitled to steal freely during the night. It is said that this strange privilege was granted for the last time to the clan of the Bakoma, descendants of the petty king of Marangara, who took advantage of it to the best of their interests.

Favors of this kind were not surprising to the Blacks, who knew only too well that the goods of the subjects belonged to the king, and that by taking them (directly or through an intermediary) he was only taking what belonged to him.

Chapter 5

Safeguard with which the King Surrounds Himself on the Part of His
644 Employees. Dangers to Which the Latter Were Exposed Daily. Customs and Formalities Observed by the King and His Subjects.

I. Precautions Employed by the King to Insure the Fidelity of His Servants and Employees

Not only does the king demand the most absolute devotion, but he also requires the most rigorous secrecy from most of his people. Those who must be especially careful not to risk his anger and suspicion are the cooks, table servants (abõzi, abahanga), cup bearers, the men who prepare tobacco, and those in charge of the prince's pipe (abanyaruhago).

The sacrificer-diviners and especially those who are known by the name of Abakongori or Abanyambuto because they use the

644 king's saliva in their procedures carry out their duties in the greatest secrecy. The same applies to the official historians (abachurabgenge), /471/ the keepers of the traditions (abiru) and the members of the royal corporation of undertakers. No layman is permitted to have close contact with them. In order to insure their zeal, their attach-
644 ment, and their trustworthiness, the sovereign submits them at the
695 outset to a sort of test poison (igihango), which in the minds of the Blacks has a noxious, suspensive, and subsequent effect. To this end, the aspirants or successors to the above-mentioned positions were formerly led to Gihanga in the Nduga, on the banks of a famous spring, to drink the beverage that would guarantee their future fidelity. The officials in charge of those tests threw into the water on the preceding day some leaves, plants, and shrub branches which played an important role in this kind of ceremony. The horn of a bull also had to be obtained and dipped in the water, and whenever possible it had to come from a bull who had killed at least one person, as if the memory of the spilled blood were henceforth to haunt the minds of the new candidates and to fill them with terror. The performance was carried out with great seriousness. After drinking this magic water, the participants in the test were expressly forbidden to spit, smoke, or drink beer during the first few days, so that the beverage might work its effect upon them unchecked.' The Blacks are indeed very meticulous in the fulfillment of their rites and superstitions (imihango n'imigenzo). It was believed that from that time forward, those who had passed the test could not fall short in their official duties. They had pledged themselves forevermore, and the least infidelity, the least breach of duty could only entail disastrous consequences leading to the loss of their life. As in the case of the initiates into the Ryangombe secret society, the test poison thereafter exercised upon them a suspensive and subsequent effect.

It was a sort of Damocles' sword, ever ready to fall upon them in case of disobedience or violation of secrecy. /472/

By drinking the magic beverage, they pledged themselves implicitly to serve the king as the nature of their functions required and to maintain secrecy to outsiders about all court events.

Woe to them if they broke professional secrecy!

644 695 We have seen that in order to preserve the supernatural properties of the beverage (igihango) the candidates were forbidden to smoke, drink, or spit. What were they to do in order to avoid the disastrous effects that the test poison, according to popular belief, might have upon their health?

Accustomed as primitives are to the strangest and most incredible things, the Banyarwanda believed that in order to avert any danger in this connection, all they had to do was to commit a shameful act immediately.

As a result of this belief and in the thought that they were being helpful to the neophytes, their relatives led them away, outside the clan, along with some friends. They lay in wait and seized [839] a young man or a young girl, depending on the sex of the candidate, and did violence to the young person.

It must be added that the Blacks, knowing the distaste of Europeans for such sport, have not dared to fulfill the last part of the [178] program since the arrival of the Whites.

II. Dangers to Which Dignitaries, Employees, and Favorites at Court Were Exposed at All Times

644 661 It may be said that until recent years the secret of certain customs and traditions had been well preserved, for fear of the effects of the test poison and for fear of the king, who would not hesitate to punish delinquents at the first sign of indiscretion. It is equally true that until our time the majority of servants /473/ and underlings lived under the risk and perpetual threat of a violent death which might claim them at any moment. The monarch, who did not rely exclusively on the effectiveness of the test poison and probably had very good reasons not to do so, unfortunately made use quite often of his prerogatives as sovereign and his discretionary power over all things to apply extravagant punishments. Nothing counted in his eyes except his own interests, his whims and his passions. He frequently gave free rein to the latter. A mere suspicion or even less was sufficient to cause the merciless death of an unfortunate individual.

644 661 Some examples will clarify the preceding statements. We may add that they were the last in this bloody serial, and that such things could not happen at the present time.

The most vulnerable servants were unquestionably those who were assigned to the king's kitchens or to the service of his meals, as well as those who were in charge of watching over his beer and milk and those who prepared his tobacco. So as not to extend the necrological list out of all proportion, since the other employees were far from being safe, we shall speak here only of victims belonging to the above-mentioned categories of servants.

Kiryana (from the word kurya, "to eat"), or the "House that devours" its inhabitants, such is the portentous name given to the hut where the bowls of milk reserved for the prince are kept.

Two or three keepers are assigned to this duty, which consists of cleaning the bowls, receiving the milk brought by the chiefs, and presenting it to the king once a day.

Of all vocations this is the most feared and the least envied. Numerous have been its victims, and numerous also those who ran far away to neighboring lands in order to avoid this dangerous honor.

This is why it was always assigned by force. It may be said that /474/ few of those men left their duties without having paid with their lives. The sovereigns, who also lived under a perpetual fear of poisoning and bewitchment and who were not in the least miserly about the blood of their subjects since it counted for so little in their eyes, did not hesitate to nurture a salutary fear in their entourage by striking blindly into the ranks of their servants. Those who fell served as examples to those who remained. It was a matter of inspiring terror and instigation their zeal. Thanks to his high intelligence and to his diviners and sorcerers, the king was believed to know everything which might be plotted in secret against him.

Some Concrete Instances

644 661 696 A young man had been attached to this particular service /milk hut/ for about 15 years. Many a time his sovereign had assured him that he was satisfied with his services and that nothing would ever happen to him.

644 His assistants and colleagues kept vanishing, almost invariably
661 struck by the bloody fate which clung to them and to their position.
696 He alone remained untouched. To bind him closer the king plied him with gifts of goods and cattle.

Whenever an anxious thought disturbed his heart, he would think about all the things he possessed, about the royal favor, and about all that he could still expect. There came a time when the queen mother, influenced by rivals and envious men, began to persecute him. No matter how much our man defended himself, calling upon the guarantee he had offered by drinking the test poison and expressing in a most touching fashion the feelings of loyalty which he nurtured toward the royal family, the suspicions which rested upon him merely grew. The queen mother, who always held a sword in her hand, soon came to thrusts with it. While our unfortunate man was fulfilling his duties toward the king and /475/ serving him some drink, he felt the point of the sword graze his body many times. "Traitor, poisoner, son of a dog" (umwana w'imbga), such were the epithets that greeted his appearance. The prince at first seemed to defend him. He even told him privately that he did not believe the calumnies circulated against him, that everything would be all right, that his enemies would be exposed, and that the queen mother would eventually trust him once more.

The days went by, the animosity of the mother did not decrease, and now the king intervened only for the sake of appearances.

One evening, at nightfall, the unfortunate occupant of the "hut that devours" felt himself seized by strong arms.

Alone and taken by surprise, he did not put up any resistance. He was led to another hut.

He was laid upon the ground, firmly bound, and his hands tied behind his back. He vainly appealed to the mercy of his jailers, swearing his innocence.

They retorted that they were merely carrying out royal orders, and that their own life was at stake.

This the prisoner could well understand. Soon he was left to himself and to his own thoughts. Constrained tightly by his bonds, unable to move, and troubled about the fate that awaited him, the

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unfortunate man grieved. He was prey to the most bitter thoughts when three lugubrious shadows surged forward into his prison from the midst of darkness and came toward him.... It must have been about eight o'clock. Two sticks grazed his neck as though to grip him in a vice. He was going to be strangled. In a convulsion of despair, the man who was about to die managed to break the bonds which held his hands and arms. In a flash he grasped both sticks by one end and set up fierce resistance against the efforts of those who wished to kill him, while emitting heart-rending cries, shouting for help, and proclaiming his innocence to the surrounding echoes. The huge agglomeration of /476/ royal huts resounded with the screams of this man who held on to life desperately.... No one could fail to know what was going on.

People were familiar with those shrill, heart-rending wails, which had pierced the air more than once. Everyone's heart tightened with emotion, but each person, in fear of the master or the envious men, maintained an impassive or scoffing expression as befits those who live in uncertainty about the future.

The victim struggled violently against his opponents, who could not manage to relax his hold. While two of the executioners attempted to free the sticks by beating him on the head and chest and kicking him, the third one rolled the victim, who was lying on the ground, in the opposite direction. The executioners, who were doing this work for the first time and had never yet killed anyone and who realized the odiousness of their task, trembled all over before the despair of the unfortunate man who had been surrendered to them.

The fight for life was reaching its climax, but it was obvious that victory would eventually rest with the group of opponents, who were able to move freely. Chance, or rather Divine Providence, willed it that a European who was passing through the capital should be with the king at that very moment.

Hearing the desperate cries that arose within the royal enclosure, the white man was moved and spoke heatedly to the prince.... The latter, feigning surprise and astonishment, hastened to the courtyard whence the cries rose, checked the stranglers, and returned forthwith to reassure his interlocutor.

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The man who was about to depart this life, exhausted by his efforts, had almost lost consciousness when he heard himself called by a voice which pretended to be compassionate. It was the king himself, feigning pity. He gave his ex-favorite some beer to drink, had him set on his feet, and asked him to follow, promising /477/ to release him. He had never believed in his guilt, he added, and therefore would soon restore his freedom. His goods would be returned to him, and he would resume his functions at court.

It was only a matter of a couple of hours. The poor captive, staggering at each step under the grip of emotion and weakness, was led to a sort of brick building used as a prison. The door was closed upon him.

He found there a fellow captive who sympathized with his misfortune. More fortunate than he, the other man received food and pombe from the outside, which he shared forthwith. The prisoner, who felt that his last hour had come, regained some courage and the strength needed to undertake a new fight for life.

The honeyed words of the king had not fooled him. He knew that the matter had merely been postponed and that soon he would be fetched again. His companion, who was familiar with the mores of the capital, made no attempt to contradict him. Fearing nothing for himself because he was a noble and too well known to be dispatched secretly, he was full of pity for the man who was about to die. Certain of his fellow-prisoner's trustworthiness and encouraged by his advice, the unfortunate servant tried to shake the door open and weighed upon it with all his might. Nothing could be achieved there, however, for it was shut tight. His efforts were in vain. The planks were nailed solidly and resisted his blows and the pressure of his knees. Time was short, however, for the executioners could arrive at any moment.

The prisoner, in whom the desire to live was stronger than the death which threatened him, managed to climb the dry-brick wall by using his feet and hands. The building was several years old, and the soil which had been used as mortar had disintegrated in the course of time, offering occasional holds to fingers and nails actuated /478/ by an iron will. The head of the climber reached the thatch roof.

644 The man quickly broke through the wood and bamboo of the framework.
661 He was just in time. The door of the prison opened at the same
696 moment, and the executioners came in to seize the condemned man. The latter took off and hurled himself into space. The wall was fortunately of moderate height. The fugitive nevertheless sprained himself slightly in falling upon his feet. Not having had time for thought, he had merely obeyed the instinct for self-preservation. The imminence of danger lent him wings, for his leap had drawn the attention of those who vainly sought him inside.

The alarm was sounded, and the fugitive pursued. He did not lose his head, however. Instead of risking capture, which was bound to result if he placed all his trust in flight, our man, who had some headway over his pursuers, hid in the capital itself at the home of a friend he trusted completely. It was to be expected that searches would be made in the huts. In order to avert this new danger, one of the long baskets used to store beans inside the huts was readied to provide the fugitive with a foolproof hiding place.

For further safety his head was covered with beans which allowed him to breathe sideways but which were sure to defeat the searchers' quest. All inspections and investigations among the inhabitants were in vain. When vigilance had relaxed a little, the lucky fugitive took advantage one evening of the shades of night to leave forever that tragic place which had nearly become his grave. His flight was discovered some time later. Under directives from higher sources, the local chief had the hut surrounded. Its owner managed to escape in time.

The affair had become known, and furthermore the country had come increasingly under the sway of European administration. The latter /479/ heard of the matter. A trial took place which did not turn out in favor of the persecutors.

As a result, the fugitive was not disturbed again.

Many years have passed since this moving episode. The memory of those frightful events has nevertheless remained painful to the hero of the tragedy, who does not like to recall the past. The stubborn scars which cross his face, chest, and arms corroborate the seriousness of the episode that nearly killed him. He has met

644 since more than once with his neophyte executioners, who did not
661 fail to congratulate him with some embarrassment while apologizing
696 for the odious task which had been entrusted to them. "Some luck thou had!" they already told him (wagiz' Imana). "What an ugly business the king had entrusted to us!"

"Good for thee, if you managed to get out of such a tight corner." A little later he was even presented to the king, who was first taken aback. He recovered himself quickly and congratulated him in turn. "It was God who saved you (N'Imana yagukijije)," he added. In gratitude to God, Who had rescued him from such a diffi-
[553] cult situation, the lucky fugitive changed his name from Ngirimandwa ("The spirits of the initiates are on my side") to Ngirimana, which means "I have God (on my side)."

After a whole string of circumstances, all equally eventful and dramatic, the outcome had finally turned out in Ngirimandwa's favor.

For one fugitive who was able to narrate in detail the vicissitudes of the drama that nearly killed him, however, how many unfortunate ones vanished into the fatal den without a trace!

Now that the times have changed, elders whose lips were formerly sealed by the rule of secrecy and by the fear of corporal punishment, freely mention the names of unfortunate executed men they knew. They recall among many others a young man who had been a page. /480/ His intelligence, ability, and liveliness had drawn the notice of the sovereign to him, who made him his favorite and could not do without him. As in the previous case the years went by and the prince's favor was transferred elsewhere.

[539] "A king's friendship, a day's friendship," says the proverb.

He had been practically forsaken and was hardly noticed anymore, when one day he was requested to work in the famous "bloody hut."

What had he done that his fate should be so irreparably settled? That is practically unknown.

About eight days after he had received his new job, he was summoned in great haste as though for some pressing errand. It was

644 the queen mother who had called him. She wanted news of a court
661 lady who had just given birth.

696 This woman lived a short distance from the capital. Night fell. The messenger set out on his way. He was accompanied by a chief and by a factotum.

They reached the edge of a swamp of sinister fame where summary executions were formerly performed.

The young man, guiltless and carefree, walked in front. He was struck from behind... and has never been heard of since.

Another occupant of the hut with the portentous name, just as peaceable as the preceding one but older, was brutally seized in turn when he least expected it, after being designated by the diviners' bones.... First he managed to run away and hide at a friend's house. When he attempted to return to his own village, however, he was recognized and captured along the way by a chief who led him back to the capital. He was tossed into prison where he was joined during the night by sinister-looking men. They held in their hands large milk jars which they used to crush his jaw and face. The prisoner, tightly bound as the Blacks know how to do, was stretched upon the ground /481/ and unable to make the least motion. Kicks and blows fell thick and fast upon the chest and stomach of the unfortunate man whose body soon became a single wound.

He was finished off by strangulation.

Several groups of young girls were also killed, some under the fallacious pretext of having poisoned the tobacco they prepared, others for having stolen bead necklaces. The latter, after they had confessed, were first thrown into prison. A day or two later, they were taken out and led to the queen mother, who feigned reconciliation and pardon and received them with great displays of joy. Hydromel was served to them in large quantities. A deep sleep took hold of them. Then the executioner came and strangled them....

687 In order to give an idea of the frequency of executions and
696 variety of corporal punishments, we shall give here a sort of
644 necrological list that includes the names of the victims and the circumstances of their death.

681 This list, which is incomplete, covers a period of some 20
696 years just before the Europeans took possession officially.
644 We list these data, of course, without vouching for their accuracy. We cannot guarantee the authenticity of every victim, and still less that of the details of the executions. We can only relate popular reports that are sometimes or even frequently suspect in their statements and evaluations.

Victims of the "Milk House"

1. Lwandenzi, of Mututsi /Batutsi/ race, originally from the Bgana-Chambge, was led into the Bugessera forest.

His executioners tied him to a tree and cut off his feet (kumusongor' ibirenge). /482/

2. Lutindamateme, an Umututsi from the village of Ntenyo (Nduga), was first bound, then killed with a spear thrust and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

3. Lwanyonga, a Mututsi, died in the same way at the the same time as the preceding man.

His corpse was cut into pieces by sorcerers, who wanted to hinder his spirit from harming the king.

4. Minega, son of a certain Bushakiro, a Mututsi from Mwendo (Nduga), had his throat slit in the Bugessera forest.

5. Gahima, son of Nyarwambari, a Mututsi from Gassaka (near Gisseke), was clubbed to death in the inner courtyard of the palace.

6. Munyagishari, a Mututsi, was killed with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

7. Gakwise, of Muhutu /Bahutu/ race, suffered the same fate.

8. Karara, a Muhutu, died the same death.

9. Ntagwabira, a Muhutu, died like the preceding.

10. Ibingira, a Mututsi, also died in the same manner.

11. Butama, a Muhutu, was clubbed to death.

12. Majanjo, a Mututsi, strangled himself in prison to escape the corporal punishment which awaited him.

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13. Kajigiri, a Mututsi from the Gissaka country, was first bound. His executioners lifted him several times and dropped him on his head. He was finished off with club blows.

14. Lwamiheto was given numerous blows by club. He was released almost immediately and died three months later of the brutalities he had suffered, according to public opinion.

15. Kayonga and his son, after many vicissitudes, were slain with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

Victims on Other Counts

1. Bigutu and Balikage, the latter a son of Bisango and chief of the Bgishaza provinces, were killed while the court was settled at Kamonyi, after having been accused of opposing the new regime. /483/

2. The great Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief Lutishereka, his sons, and some of his followers had their throats cut while the court sojourned at Mukingo. This was done at the instigation of Luhinankiko, who blamed that high dignitary for inciting one of Lwabugiri's sons to murder his friend Baryinyonza.

3. Serukenyinkware, from the Mututsi /Batutsi/ clan of the Bachumbi, was accused of the same crime. He was cut to pieces while the court was staying at Mwima.

[685] 4. Three employees of the court, at Nyanza, were caught killing a cow which they had stolen from the king.

They were condemned to death by spearing, and they made it a point of honor not to utter the slightest cry of pain.

5. A young Mututsi, after being bound and beaten with rods all through the day, was dragged still alive by the feet, into the swamp, where he was finished off by the Batwa.

[683] 6. Two inhabitants of the village of Musumba (Nduga), named Lukesha and Lugingabahizi, had their hands and feet cut off for a crime of bewitchment. The two poor devils were held responsible because Lwibishenga, a brother of the queen mother, had almost lost his sight as a result of yaws.

7. Two Bahutu were shot point blank in the palace courtyard for a crime of espionage.

[681] 696 644 8. A slave (umuja) was struck down along the road at night after she had been advised to leave court and seek her fortune elsewhere. She was punished for not having watched closely enough over the moral behavior of two young princesses of royal blood.

9. Luhinankiko, a son of Queen Mother Nyirayuhi, was stripped of his property for having had Lutishereka killed. He even had to flee to Urundi, where he spent some 15 years.

Since Kabale, the regent, could not take his revenge upon him as he would have wished, he turned upon his friends and followers. /484/

Chaka, who was Luhinankiko's son-in-law, and Sebuharara and Rulinda, who were his protegés, were attacked in the Buganza by the men of the powerful minister. Defeated and unable to flee, they shut themselves up in a hut, set fire to it, and perished in the flames.

Kaningo, who belonged to their faction, was stripped of his property. On the point of being caught and knowing what awaited him at the capital, he also burned himself in his hut.

[683] 10. The Banyarwanda still remember the corporal punishment inflicted upon the six "poisoners" (1) led to Nyanza by chief Kanuma.

1. This is how the individuals suspected of the alleged crime of bewitching are designated.

These unfortunate persons had their hands and feet cut off.

11. Nyantanyi, son of Semakamba, as surrendered by Musinga to Gashamura, son of Lukagirashamba. Lwamwa, one of the latter's sons, had been killed at Ndolandi, a land he wished to conquer, by Nyantanyi's men. His relatives, the Batsobe, complained to the king, who gave them satisfaction by handing the local chief over to them.

Nyantanyi was bound and led outside the palace by Gashamura and his followers. Lwamwa's son stabbed him first in the side with a spear, and almost immediately 20 or 30 spear thrusts laid him low. [628] His head and right hand were cut off to be shown to the other followers, as was done in vendettas. One detail is to be noted: Gashamura was Nyantanyi's uncle by marriage and his father-in-law.

644 681 686 Sentashonga, the victim's cousin, was granted permission that evening to have the corpse of his relative buried.

The elders and former habitués of the court do not lack for [521] narratives of this kind, which they relate like any other tale without seeming overly shocked by them. Such is the environment, such are the mores and attitudes. /485/

643 644 "The king is the master," they say. "He does as he pleases. The decisions he makes cannot be contested. He is the supreme judge. One can only obey and assent." The victims' relatives were sometimes the first to come and greet him, feigning total impassiveness, forced as they were to drive back to the bottom of their hearts the bitter pain which they could not but feel.

Complaints, wails, and recriminations could only have stirred up the anger of the king and given rise to new slaughters.

While looking after his own safety, every person also had to keep in mind that of his people /relatives and friends/. The latter, indeed, might be held responsible for the deeds and actions, no matter how harmless, of any of their fellow members. The extermination of a whole family formerly weighed very little on the scale of royal justice.

So as not to provoke trouble which might prove fatal, therefore, they put a good face on misfortune. These executed, however innocent they might have been, were claimed in loud voices to have [687] been cursed men (ibichibga) or rebels. To shed tears or express one's sorrow were crimes of high treason. "A mere whim of the master was sufficient to send a person to punishment. What won't one do to avoid so cruel a fate?" This statement made by a court favorite of the previous reign /avant-règne/ reveals a great deal about the mores of the time. "If the king happened to sprain his foot," added the same man, "to knock against some obstacle or pebble, it was not a good idea to meet with him at that moment."

In his anger the monarch might accuse anyone of having bewitched him, and wreak then and there a signal vengeance.

Professional executioners were not always used for this purpose. The king might call upon any member of his retinue to carry out the [696] task. The person had to comply, no matter how revolted he might

643 be /486/ by this dreadful assignment. Hands unpracticed in dealing
661 death might sometimes fumble, but the master was watching and
686 the task had to be carried through. The fact of being a friend of the victim did not exempt anyone from this odious task.

As a rule and with some rare exceptions, it may be said that the subjects were not inordinately appalled by such assignments, so much was this an accepted custom of the times.

186 This did not prevent the Banyarwanda from regarding themselves as superior to other Blacks, whom they thought to surpass in intelligence and civilization. Despite the stains and stigmas of the past, they reject with irritation the term Shenzi, which is applied exclusively to noncivilized groups, as not applying in any way to them or to their ancestors. It is good to close the tale of these cruel practices and to feel that the curtain of time has been drawn forever over the past.

III. Poisoning and Bewitching: The Use of Charms and Philters

754 What should we really believe about those victims whose death is attributed to bewitchment or poisoning? The Blacks unquestionably mention this constantly. Their credulity in this connection is universal and extraordinary.

Numerous examples are cited of deaths which are said to have resulted from one or the other of those alleged causes.

We may add that the natives are familiar with numerous methods for bewitching their enemies, and that sorcerers in this evil category, both male and female, are found in great numbers throughout the country. One thing is certain: their superlative reputation is worse than their deeds.

As for crimes of poisoning, one may rest assured that such attempts were made and that toxic materials were used to this end, some of which were extracted locally and others purchased in neighboring regions such as /487/ the Uswi and Bunyabungu. How effective were those poisons? This is not easy to determine since, on the one hand, a true case of poisoning has never actually been witnessed, although the Blacks are absolutely convinced that they do occur

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known.

754 278 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other [164] people (1).

1. This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great [578] curse, "May you die of tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu).

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu), [841] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia [824 847] (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example, muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 824 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract [224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

278 Igisura belongs to the Urticaceae family.

824 This plant grows to a height of about 1.50 meters. Sufferers from yaws drink its juice as a remedy. They must be careful not to take too heavy a dose, so as not to risk a serious intoxication.

It is rumored that ill-disposed people have used one or another of those plants, and in particular the mutambasha, or rat poison, to wreak their vengeance and do away with their enemies.

754 Small packets of herbs were found in the possession of people
609 suspected of practicing the poisoner's vocation.

For what purpose had those plants been gathered? Perhaps the sorcerer had tried to lend them a harmfulness which of themselves they did not possess. Backbiters in the land insist that once at least royal hands mixed those allegedly noxious substances into milk, honey, and butter intended for Europeans who were passing through. The said person achieved no results, however, and this led him /or her/ to say that it was impossible to get rid of the Whites, that poisons, spells, and bewitchment had no hold over them. We are inclined to believe that in this case charms and philters were involved rather than noxious substances.

754 It is said that the penultimate king of the Uswi, Gasusuro,
178 one of the regular suppliers of such products, replied to the court envoys one fine day when they came to fetch the goods that henceforth he would not supply them, that he was through with all poisons. It is also quite /489/ possible that his answer was dictated by the fear of being caught practicing this vocation. Let us add for the sake of truthfulness that the days are long since past when such things could be said or plotted against Europeans (1).

1. The Blacks live in the almost constant fear of bewitchment and poisoning.

[761] Rickets, tuberculosis, and sudden or strange deaths, especially when the corpse swells up immediately, could have no other cause in their opinion.

How many unfortunate people
payed with their lives for having
been falsely accused of such
supposed misdeeds!

789 The use of charms to win the good graces of Europeans survived
648 only by a few years the use of the above-mentioned poisons. When the latter were tagged as ineffective /to Europeans/, or at least dangerous in their consequences, charms (inzaratsi) were resorted to. The makers of charms, called by the generic name of Abanyamihango, "men of the traditions," exercise a vocation which is regarded as lucrative and honorable as long as the professionals do not overstep the limits of their art.

Public opinion indeed accuses them, most probably wrongly, of deceiving people and giving them poison instead of inoffensive
832 charms. Women, especially, resort to their art and use their powders
278 to draw upon themselves the attention and favors of an unfaithful or forgetful husband. Sorcerers in this category use for this purpose
[824] the following plants and shrubs: umukunde, which bears the evocative name of "tree of love," umutanga, umugobora, umukeri, a kind of wild bramble, nkurimonga, umuhire, buryoher' imfizi, that is, "the plant that suits the taste of bulls," etc. The makers of philters take the bark, leaves, or roots of those plants and dry them in the sun. The whole thing is crushed and reduced to powder. One need only put a little of this powder into beer or butter, or else /490/ rub it onto a stick or spear, to obtain the desired effect. The neglected wife who manages to make her husband drink this beer will inevitably regain
[302] first place in his heart. The result is the same if the husband anoints his limbs and body with the butter containing the precious powder.

The use of a walking stick or the bearing of a spear rubbed
789 with one of those powders will bring good luck to the owner. His
648 words and requests will all be accepted, and those he addresses will be unable to do him any harm.

This is why the king and court dignitaries attempted in their turn to use this simple and effective means of winning over the hearts of the Europeans and of swaying them toward their own needs and

789 desires. At the beginning of his relations with the Whites, Musinga
648 often appeared with a small stick in his hand, the tip of which he would first turn toward himself as he spoke and then toward his interlocutors, in order to influence their answers. This stick was called by the name of uruchubyo, from the word guchubya, which describes the act of driving boiling water back into the pot with a stick of that name. The Blacks saw a certain similarity between the two occurrences. Just as cooks and their helpers keep the liquid from running over by forcing it back to the bottom of the pot, he who possesses a magic stick wards off the evil which his interlocutors might perpetrate upon him (ngo atsind' amagambo mabi). A happy and inoffensive credulity, which does harm to no one!

IV. Customs and Formalities Observed by the King and His Subjects

644 The relations between subjects and sovereign are permeated with a profound respect which is both superstitious and actuated by fear. The Banyarwanda formerly experienced /491/ no feelings toward their monarch other than reverential fear. The stateliness which surrounded the king and the bloody executions which confirmed his absolute power over all things had no small part in the preservation of these feelings, which were closely bound with an attitude of servility. The monarch was a true demigod far superior to other men, hence the following customs and formalities which governed the relations between subjects and sovereign.

1. The king is awakened by drums which are first played at four or five o'clock in the morning. Actually, he does not rise before seven thirty or eight o'clock. At the moment when he leaves his bed, women come and grind a handful of sorghum or eleusine, while a young girl shakes the large gourd (igisabo) which is used for churning.

The aim of these observances is to draw upon the king and the realm the prosperity symbolized by the sorghum, eleusine, and butter. The Impara, or group of initiates into the Ryangombe secret society, then make their appearance.

644 Swinging their grotesque headdress to the right and to the left,
[534] they come in dancing and singing, sounding the bells and sistra which they hold in their hands.

They call upon Ryangombe and other dead initiates to bestow their protection upon the sovereign.

195 2. In order to speak of the king and of his most trivial and
644 frequent actions, custom demands that colorful and noble terms be
192 used, such as for example the following: kubikirwa or kwisasira instead of kuryama, which means "to go to bed."

igisasiro for uburiri..... "royal bed"
kubamburwa for kubyuka..... "to get up"
kuj' ijabiro for kuboneka ..... "to appear"
inyundo for amaguru ..... "legs"
ingoro for inzu ..... "house" /492/
ingoro irakamwa for inzu irava . "it rains in the hut"
ingoro irahonjoka for inzu iragwa. "the hut is falling to pieces with age" (1)

1. Kubikirwa comes from the word kubika, "to put away an object," "to put it in its proper place"; kwisasira means "to spread out the mats on the ground"; igisasiro, "the place where the mats are spread out"; kubamburwa, "to be awake"; kuj' ijabiro, "to go to that part of the hut where one talks to guests"; inyundo, "iron hammer"; ingoro, "palace"; ingoro irakamwa, "the palace is milked," to mean that it rains in there; ingor' irahonjoka, "the palace grows fat" (that is, it swells), because it is falling to pieces with age.

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Figurative terms are used to speak of the king's death:

gutabara ..... "to go to the aid," "to go to war"
gutanga ..... "to hand over" (the drum to the successor)
kunywa ..... "to drink" (poison)
gussaza ..... "to grow old"
gusezera ..... "to take leave"
ijuru ryaguye ..... "the sky has fallen"

644 3. It would be most disrespectful to allude to anything pertaining to his eventual death. While on a trip the king must avoid passing too close to cemeteries or even to the mere "night stops" (ilaro, amalaro), where the bodies of his predecessors were laid in the course of their transfer to the royal necropolises.

[767] Nor is he permitted to spend the night in those villages which are inhabited by the undertakers.

The latter in turn must avoid appearing in his presence and must employ an intermediary when they have to deal with the king.

As if the thought, likeness, or memory of death could shorten his days or bring misfortune upon him!

4. Whenever possible His Majesty must avoid bending his knees (guhina), so as not to risk a reduction in the area of his kingdom (2). /493/

[821] 2. When caught by a storm or bad weather the king must not quicken his pace; he must proceed quietly to shelter. Rain is regarded as a blessing due to the influence of the prince. A quickening of his pace might bring the beneficial downpour to an end.

We believe that this popular belief will soon be pushed into the background, and that the monarch will become less willing to submit to all the demands of his position.

644 5. In certain cases and where certain objects are concerned, the king must help himself directly. When he wishes to play the drum, as he is wont to do, his followers set the sticks on the ground before him instead of offering them to him spontaneously. The prince picks them up himself.

To hand them over to him, which to us seems so simple, might cause him to die (gukenya).

644 272 6. It is for the same reason that the servants entrusted with keeping the milk in the famous "hut that devours its inhabitants" (ikiryana) observe the same custom. Two or three large bowls full [415] of milk are brought into the hut where the king is served. They are carefully closed with a lid woven of vegetable fiber.

Small wooden vessels known by the name of ichyantsi (plural ibyantsi) are laid before His Majesty. Whether there are two, four, or even eight of them, they must be immaculately clean. The servant fills a first container, which the king picks up himself without any help.

If the milk pleases him he goes on drinking, but he is careful not to finish it.

He must leave half of it, lest milk become scarce (ngw'amata atagabanuka) in the realm. Meanwhile, the servant fills another vessel, which the king picks up himself as he did the first one.

The first one is filled again. This table service continues until the king's hunger is satisfied.

644 7. Custom demands that when appearing at court one should clap one's hands three times (gukom'amashi) and use the customary formulas, with the sole addition of "king" (umwami) or "Sire" (Nyagasani). This is about the only external mark of respect reserved for the sovereign. /494/

644 293 8. At night the king must never be without the native hammer called Nyarushara. This tool goes with him on all his journeys.

412 It is left under the fine grass which serves as the monarch's bolster and pillow (barayisegurir' umwami).

778 It is a sort of ancient talisman which theoretically has not yet lost any of its mystic power. It was wrought according to the specifications of Mashira, the sorcerer-petty king, by an able

644 blacksmith, Gihu, son of Muhinda, on the hill of Mpanda (mu Buhigiro,
293 i Kizibaziba) in the Nduga. This was done to enable the Hamitic
412 king with whom this autochthonous prince had concluded an alliance
778 to turn back the Banyoro who had invaded Ruanda. The hammer, which is octogonal in shape (imigong' umunane), symbolized an all-powerful symbolic being. The artisan, on Mashira's specifications, had wrought two breasts upon it (1). Mutabazi, the monarch's son,

1. Such details demonstrate the importance attached to this fearsome mystic weapon. Nothing has been forgotten concerning the circumstances of its manufacture, the date, the place, the artisan, the man who inspired the project, etc.

only had to sit down and hold upon his knees the "dreadful" magic device, pointed facing the enemy, for the latter to be hewed to pieces.

Two other small hammers with the same origin and which played the same rôle are laid beside the Nyarushara. They are known by the name of ubushingo or abagaragu bayo, that is to say, its "companions." Every morning at about nine, when the drum called Ndamutsa ("I greet") is played to proclaim the rising and appearance of the monarch, the latter must touch the talisman hammer as if the day's luck depended upon it.

9. Inyundo ya Barenge, "the hammer of the Barenge people."

It is not known exactly why the hammer thus named is kept at court. /495/

Does it really belong to the Barenge, who lived in the country several centuries ago? This is hard to say. Since it is very heavy and weighs two or three times as much as an ordinary hammer, the king's laborers sometimes use it as a mallet to drive stakes (imiganda) into rocky ground (1).

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1. The existence of stones shaped like hammers has given rise to several tales.

The Banyarwanda formerly believed that the vault of heaven was a sort of rocky crust (urutare).

This is why in the legend of Kigwa they explain the fall of the first Hamitic king and his settlement in Ruanda in the following way. "Kigwa," they say, "being in the sky, wished to know what there was in the land below.

"Taking a hammer he dealt repeated blows to the celestial vault. A small opening was made and the hammer fell out of his hand and down to the Mulera, at the spot called Gifuna. He attempted to enlarge the hole with a second hammer. He struck with such violence that the vault caved in under him. Kigwa fell from the sky but arose safe and sound in the sacred land of the Buhanga on the Muko plain. The hammer sank into the ground near Ntenyo, at the place called Nyundo ("hammer").

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"This one may still be seen," add the Blacks. A stone lies at that spot which looks from afar like a native hammer.

The natives lavish upon it a superstitious worship mingled with fear. No one may touch it. Should a sacrilegious hand attempt

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to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

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It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

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In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

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It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

644 484 619 In addition, they are the born protectors selected by the Hamitic princes to ward off the bad luck which threatens them in certain circumstances. The Banyarwanda, indeed, have mystic defenders of this sort who are chosen among the members of a tribe alien to theirs.

Those individuals are believed to have the power to ward off the imaginary dangers which threaten human beings. They are called abase (singular umuse). The Banyarwanda call upon their omnipotence at times of death (1), a loss of fortune, the plundering of a herd, the

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1. In the Bugoyi the umuse, or protector, removes from the hut of the deceased the main post upon which the dead owner liked to lean, the piece of wood (umusego) which stands at the head of the bed, the log that was used as a chair, and the small piece of wood that surmounted the roof of the hut. All of this is laid upon the grave.

building of a hut, the giving of a name to a child, his teething, the celebration of a marriage, etc.

Since the Bagessera are the protectors of the Hamitic princes, it is understandable that the monarchs should seek their hospitality.

If there are no members of that family /in the locality/, the king stays with the Bazigaba, whose ancestor Kazigaba was the /497/ brother of Kagessera, founder of the Bagessera clan. If neither are to be found in the area through which the monarch is traveling, the latter resorts, in this order, to the Banyiginya, the Bega, or lastly, the Bakono.

644 484 While traveling, the king is accompanied by an honor guard of Bamtsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, who sleep around the royal hut at night.

[533] Five or six drummers walk at the head of the procession, beating occasionally on their instruments. The drums are also played at nightfall and at the first birdsong in the morning.

644 484 Appointed cowherds lead before them a small herd of milk cows to provide for the needs of the king.

64 The passage of a prince was formerly tantamount to a disaster for the local inhabitants, who had to harbor the members of the train.

The retinue did not merely include courtiers, the royal guard, sorcerers, and the usual employees. Those dignitaries who wished to retain the good graces of the sovereign made it their business to accompany him with their numerous servants. Idlers and jacks-of-all-trades also joined the train along the way and fleeced the unlucky natives on whom they paid a visit.

This was indeed a veritable army which spared neither friend nor foe, trampling the crops in their path, looting travelers, and taking by force from the local inhabitants whatever had not been hidden in time.

[551] The men who made up the usual retinue of Kigeri IV Lwabugiri were nicknamed the "Pillagers" (1), owing to their extortions.

1. Their native nickname, Ibitsimbanyi, is a noun derived from the verb gutsimba, which means "to pillage," "to fleece."

644 768 11. For the sake of completeness, we shall cite the following two customs which the keepers of the traditions assure us were observed in the past. /498/

When the death of a neighboring sovereign, of the Uswi, Urundi, or Karagwe, was announced, the king had to leave his residence and have a new one built (1).

1. Times have changed. The choice of a site and the building of a new "palace" would present too many difficulties today. When the prince of Urundi died, the king merely spent eight days outside his habitual

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home, on the advice of his familiars, in a hut that stood nearby. The sorcerers assured him that he had nothing more to fear on the part of the spirits, who had been given full satisfaction by means of this trick.

643 Upon the accession of each new king to the throne, a special envoy went to the Ruzizi Valley and drew water from a spring called Zina. He took some of that water and brought it for the young monarch to drink.

The reasons for this custom, which has now fallen into disuse, have been forgotten.

Chapter 6

I. The Two Great Festivals at Court

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The two most important celebrations (ibirori) take place at the official presentation of the "First Fruits," and on the day following the annual mourning period, which the king and his court must observe.

This latter feast, which closes the month of June, is celebrated with the same pomp and richness. Since it will be described in the chapter dealing with honors rendered to the spirits of the royal dead, we shall discuss here only the festival called "First-Fruits" festival.

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In their enthusiasm and admiration for Ruganzu II, the Victorious, the Banyarwanda go so far as to credit him with almost every food plant or grain they possess. Special mention is made of sorghum, eleusine, and a kind of wild plant /499/ known by the name of issogi (1), owing to their importance in the local economy.

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1. The Banyarwanda prepare the stem and leaves of issogi as though it were spinach.

Their introduction into Ruanda by the great monarch is the subject of numerous tales that are more or less contradictory.

We shall cite only the best-known ones.

"A chief in the Bumbogo country," according to one tradition, "had abducted and married Ruganzu's sister to his great dissatisfaction, and he had sworn to wreak a signal vengeance upon him. In order to appease the wrath of his royal brother-in-law, the abductor thought it best to send him envoys with gifts. Among the latter were several baskets of sorghum and eleusine, which were then unknown in Ruanda.

"The king recognized their importance and forgave the offender forthwith, but laid upon him the obligation of bringing one basketful of each plant to the capital every year. The king distributed the first consignments among the chiefs and advised them to plant them and watch over their growth."

According to another version, Ruganzu was passing through the Bumbogo when he saw an ant (imonyo) dragging a handsome grain along the path. He pointed this out to one of his followers. "Look at this ant," he said. "Let's see what it is holding in its mouth." The Banyarwanda had never seen a grain like that one.

The king ordered it to be preserved with care.

Upon his return to the capital he had it planted in the ground. Six months later a handsome ear was harvested, and its grains were sowed anew. Two years later the harvest was such that the precious grain could be distributed to a number of persons. The cultivation of this cereal, which /500/ was given the name of sorghum, soon spread throughout Ruanda.

On another occasion when Ruganzu was traveling across the same land of Bumbogo, he suddenly stopped before a hut from which there emanated a delicious cooking odor. "What could be the food that gives forth such a delicious aroma?" he exclaimed. The woman of the household invited the prince to come in, uncovered the pot, and showed him the famous issogi plant (spinach) that she was cooking

173 with beans. Ruganzu was pleased with the discovery and congratulated the cook. He was shown a few of the plants, and he had some of their seeds gathered.

Others add that the woman in question presented him on the same occasion with the first sorghum bread he had ever seen, hence the thought of introducing the cultivation of that grain plant into his kingdom.

Whatever the authenticity of these details may be, the truth 796 is that the "first fruits" festival (umuganura, kuganuz' umwami) is celebrated every year at the capital to commemorate the introduction of sorghum, eleusine, and the spinach-like plant into Ruanda. It was usually celebrated in February or March for eleusine, and in May for sorghum; to each occasion the famous plant was added. Over the last few years, eleusine, sorghum, and spinach have been brought at one time to the capital for a single ceremony. In the Bumbogo a special family is in charge of cultivating the field where the grain destined for the court is harvested.

This function is transmitted from father to son. At sowing time the appointed keeper of the field goes and asks the king for the hoe that will be used to break the ground.

When this envoy appeared at court, the king was supposed to have him struck three times, according to custom.

The reason for this curious practice is unknown.

The man left with his hoe during the night. Once the harvest /501/ was concluded, the same people /sic/ returned to the capital to fetch the special basket (igitenda ch' imikondo) in which the sorghum or eleusine was carried. The basket was placed on a litter [661] (ingobyi). Those who walked in the procession enjoyed the privilege of robbing and looting the people they found along the way.

The story tells that they did not hesitate to make use of this 796 privilege in the old days, but that for some time things had improved, 661 and with good reason. The chiefs whose territory they crossed at night were compelled to treat them well because they were the king's men. Needless to add, they were always ready to indulge in revelry when the opportunity arose. Once arrived at the capital they were allowed by custom, it seems, to handle the Batutsi roughly and to

796 throw cow bones into their face. This is no longer the case, and
661 times have changed for the better. An evolution of ideas has taken place under European influence. Since these men are no longer inviolate, their behavior has necessarily become less brutal.

They were immediately received by the king, who asked them
796 into his hut to the exclusion of his usual entourage. The great chief of the Bumbogo (umutware w' intebe), of the Batsobe clan, alone came in with the king. It was he who officially presented the first fruits to the sovereign. Precautions were taken so that no one might come near the grain destined for the king. Carefully selected slaves or servant girls threshed the stalks at night far from all unhallowed glances. Then they had the task of crushing the grain before the eyes of the monarch. They worked with the most meticulous cleanliness, that is to say, without spitting into their hands or touching the flour with their unhallowed fingers.

Princes and dignitaries live in perpetual fear of poisoning and spells, hence the numerous measures /502/ and strict watchfulness observed in these circumstances. When enough flour had been obtained to make bread (umutsima), another slave girl took it and immediately prepared it.

The dough was ceremoniously taken to the king, who removed a piece from it with his fingers. He brought it first to his forehead, then to his chest, and then took it to his mouth. The chief who was present did the same. This ceremony was carried out in silence. The men who had brought the first fruits also offered the monarch some stalks of issogi, which is, as we have seen, one of the most important plants (imbuto nkuru).

[262] It must be remembered that the Banyarwanda cannot eat sorghum bread or eleusine bread alone because it is too dry.

They usually eat it, therefore, with a mouthful of beans cooked along with this sort of spinach. The latter lends the beans a flavor which is highly esteemed by the natives. This is what gave the plant a choice place among other foods.

796 It was customary for the men who had taken part in the pro-
264 cession to be rewarded. A bucket (umuvule) was filled with milk, and another with beans that were only half cooked.

796 These were topped with rancid butter as though it were a special
264 treat.

The intended goal was to stuff the bearers of the first fruits.

The poorly cooked food was digested slowly, and meanwhile the eaters proved to the spectators, with their rounded stomachs, that they had been treated royally (ngo n' ishimo).

It is said that in the old days the guests were not allowed to leave the royal enclosure without having finished their Pantagruelic repast. They ate before the amused eyes of a delirious crowd which plied them with jeers and gibes. Nor were they allowed /503/ to leave the premises in order to relieve nature. "As a result," add the narrators, "the court looked more like a stable."

Yet the guests could consider themselves fortunate if their appetite was not stimulated with blows. It seems that at the present time these customs have lost some of their grotesque and brutal character.

Not only did the court familiars and neighboring inhabitants take part in those festivities, but so did the great chiefs and their retinues. Sacrifices followed upon dances and shows given by clowns and snake charmers.

There was also the presentation of the sacred cows (inyambo), which was to many people the most important part of the festivities. To those who know the Batutsi as professional herders, there is nothing surprising about this part of the program.

II. The Existence and Presentation of Sacred Herds

233 In speaking of sacred cows, our study would remain incomplete if we were not to say a few words about the attachment which the Banyarwanda, Bahutu, and Hamites demonstrate for their cattle.

Cows are cherished by everyone, without exception. Meticulous and often ridiculous care is lavished upon them. The Blacks of Ruanda stop at nothing to obtain cattle. A Muhutu /Bahutu/ will fawn upon his chief for many years, if necessary, in order to obtain one. He will bear the inclemencies of the seasons, undertake long journeys, perform endless drudgery, and sacrifice his crops to

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/, their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

Pastoral Terms

192 233 The rich and varied vocabulary used by the Banyarwands proves the interest they take in their cattle

They have special terms to designate a black cow (inka y' umukara), a dark-brown cow (igitare), a grey one (ikijuju), a purple one (issine), a red one (umusengo), cows splotched with white, black, or yellow on a russet or grey background (ubugondo), an ash-grey cow (rwirungu), a dark-yellow one (inumba), and inka y' inyombya, the blackbird-hued cow for which the Batutsi entertain a superstitious fear.

A cowherd is called umushumba or umwungeri.

The king's cows other than the sacred cows are called insanga, which means "those that were found," from the word gusanga, "to find," because it was one of the first kings of Ruanda, Gihanga, who discovered them. They are also called by the name of ibigarama, from the word kugarama, "to stretch out," because they have long horns, etc.

Inka is the generic name for all horned beasts, cows or bulls. Inkungu is a cow without horns; inkungu z' amalegelege is a cow whose horns are loose.

The shape of the horns, their orientation, and the arch they form give rise to the following names: inkondogoro, inyabulegelege, ibibinda, impotore. Certain Batutsi cowherds burn the horns of their animals with a red-hot iron while they are still young in order to obtain the desired shape. /506/

Inka y' imbata (kwihita, "to exert oneself") is a cow acquired or bought through personal labor. It is an inalienable cow over which the chiefs have no rights whatsoever.

Inka y' igiti, cow of landed property (of the hill) received from the chief.

Inka y' impetano (guheta, ..."for the second time"). Second cow obtained from the chief.

Inka y' ubuntu, "generosity cow," or inka y' ineza "benevolence cow," a gift between relatives or blood brothers.

Inka y'ingwate (kugwatiriza), a cow which must be redeemed [422] (irichungura). The owner of a young bull makes a deal with the owner

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[420] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

192 Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
233 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
431 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
844 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

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[844
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to the young mother who has suffered the pains of childbirth (umuruho w' umubyeyi). Her parents compensate her in this fashion for her troubles and sufferings.

Inka y' indundu (kurundura, "to give unconditionally") serves to designate a cow given unconditionally, as opposed to inka y' ingwate.

Inka y' ilembo means "the cow of entry (into the new household)," because the bride receives it as a gift from her parents-in-law when she enters her new home for the first time.

Inka y'indabukirano (kurabuka, kurabukir' umutware, "to pay an accession gift to a new chief") designates the cow given to a chief at the time of his accession to office.

Inka y' inyiturano (kwitura, kwiturana, "to pay a debt of gratitude") designates the cow given in acknowledgement of a kindness.

Inka y' inturano (gutura, "to offer a gift") serves to designate a cow which subjects must give to chiefs by way of a tax.

Inka y' intundano means "trade cow." The verb gutunda means "to trade" or "to purchase through an exchange of goods," hence the expression "trade cow."

Inka y' ingororano (kugororera, "to reward") designates /508/ a cow given as a reward for a favor done.

Inka y' inyibano (kwiba, "to steal"), a stolen cow.

Inka y' ibihembo, "a cow given in payment as salary," for example, to pay for two years of consecutive work.

Inka y' amahugu (guhuguza, "to deceive"), a cow obtained through trickery.

Inka y' umuheto ("bow"), a cow obtained by force.

Inka y' isaso ("bullet") is the generic name for the cows of the Europeans, who have taken over the land.

Inka z' indemano (kulema, "to create"), cows given by the king or by a great chief to someone they wish to honor or to raise above other men by providing him with a herd that will make him safe from want.

192 Inka z' inkuke (gukuka, "to come out of," "to come from") serves to designate cows which are merely in one's keeping.
233 Milk cows are always placed at the disposal of the chief, who never lacks milk.

Inka z'intarama (a term peculiar to the Bugoyi /region/), cows that are milked late in the morning and in the evening.

Inka z' imigogoro (imiruho), cows ("who cause trouble") because they often die or bring other worries to their owners, who are taxed on their milk.

Inka z' inyambo (indende), "cows of imposing size."

Inka z' ingegene, "ordinary cows."

Inka z' inyagisanze, "cows who graze in pastures which are always green."

Inka z' intahira (gu-ta-hira or gu-ta-gemura), "cows whose owner has full rights over them and is not subjected to any bondage toward his chief on their account.

Inka z'imilizo, "cows with a (short) tail." The Batutsi some-
[517] times shorten the tails of their heifers for esthetic reasons. /509/

Inka z' inkuku, "cows of small size."

Ikimasa, "ox"; impfizi, "bull"; ubukombe, "a bull in his prime" or one whose services are highly valued, hence the wish and expression, Ukagir' ubukombe! "May you own a fine bull!"

Inyana, "calf"; ishashi, "heifer"; imbyeyi, "mother cow"; inka y' issave or urubereri, "cow who has never calved"; ingumba, "cow who has become sterile"; inka y' issugi, "cow who never lost a calf"; iliza, "cow who has calved at least once"; ijigija, "cow who has calved many times"; inka y' ubusuri, "cow who lost a calf"; insindirano, "cow who is given the calf of another"; amabuguma, "old beasts," etc.

192 Fresh milk is called amata y' inshyushyu; curdled milk,
234 ikivuguto; the milk of a cow who has just calved, umuhondo; the milk of a cow who is pregnant again, amasitu; fresh milk mixed with water, umwerera; one night's milk, umubanji; whey, amachunde or amenda, etc.

Sacred Cows

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778 The idea for this select group is traced back to Ruganzu. These special herds are known as inyambo, or long-horned cattle, and they are always selected among the finest in the land. They are not all of the same color.

Among other hues, the following predominate: dusty red (ibihogo by' issine), purplish red (ibihogo by' igaju), red speckled with [822] white (ibihogo by' imyeru), and black and white, which are all favorite colors of the Batutsi.

Special cowherds are in charge of watching over those herds, which usually graze in the Buganza.

They are led to the capital for festivals or public celebrations. The finest animals, known as inyamibga or indatwa /510/ (from the word kurata, "to show off"), lead the herd.

There is usually only one or two of these in each herd, and they are accustomed to walking ahead of the others. Their horns, brow, and neck are covered with rows of beads and small antelope horns which serve as ornaments (imitako n' imiheha). Also included [824] are stems of the sacrosanct umwishwa grass, which the cowherds also wear on chest and head on numerous occasions. Then special [535] dances take place which are organized by the keepers of the herd or even by the Batwa and in which the animals participate with their mooing.

The cows are quite familiar with this kind of sport, and they seem to take an interest in it and watch the motions of the dancers. The latter emit special guttural cries all the while, in order to excite the animals further.

Performances of this sort are highly esteemed by the Banyarwanda and attract large crowds.

After the celebration the sacred cows return to their Buganza pastures. Their keepers treat them with great care and are the only ones permitted to milk them, just as they are the only ones to drink their milk.

The calves are gorged with milk and weaned quite late.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat animals who died a natural death, they are strictly forbidden

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778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

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543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived
292 the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King
543 Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

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292 Lake Victoria, the kings of the Karagwe and especially those of the Usui were among the first to establish contact with the Arabs and to receive fabrics from them. Their Ruanda friends benefitted from this. Since those garments were few, /the kings/ alone wore them, and they were also given /512/ the name of imyambarabami, "the king's vestments." Upon the death of a king his garments were put away and became part of the treasure. Although they wore cloth from that time onward, the kings of Ruanda did not forsake the national costume called by the name of inkindi and made of one or two colobus pelts (inkomo), well tanned and elaborately worked. Those pelts were collected and entrusted to the keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), trustworthy men who were preferably chosen among chiefs or the prince's favorites. Those employees had to see to it that the belongings of dead kings were properly cared for. Those garments were beginning to pile up in the wardrobe when the revolution which overthrew King Mibambge-Rutalindwa, appointed successor of Lwabugiri-Kigeri, broke out.

The fire which consumed the huts where the royal furnishings had been stored destroyed practically everything.

It has since been attempted to build up a new treasure by choosing new lengths of fabric bought from merchants, this being now an easy proposition.

Colobus pelts were tanned to replace the old ones. The present king has secured beads, bracelets, necklaces, etc., of various sorts. They are faithfully displayed with great solemnity before the royal hut, which stands at the heart /fond/ of the first outer courtyard, at the time of the two great festivals.

It should not be assumed that this is mere ostentation, a simple display of riches.

Of course, the kings are far from insensitive to this vainglorious exhibit of antiquated frippery and trinkets, which to them were
543 supreme artistic riches. This, however, was not all. This display
769 also had the purpose of gaining the good graces of dead princes. To this end, several individuals were selected among those present to recall their memory. They were made to dress in the old or new colobus pelts /513/ which had belonged, or were supposed to have

543 belonged, to the deceased monarchs. Then they danced in honor of
769 the "spirits" of dead kings on the grounds before the king's house. While moving about, they repeated in unison, "These are your treasures (intore), those that belonged to you. They are truly yours, those garments, those fabrics, those weapons, those beads, etc. It is in your name that we carry out these celebrations. We always remain your subjects, your lieges, your servants"....

(Tor' ibintu byawe, intore zawe; n' ibirori byawe, n'abagaragu bawe....) When the ceremony is over, the keepers of the treasure store the objects away until the following festival (1).

1. Among the original pieces included in the royal museum, there is the garment (inkindi) of the king of Urundi, Mutaga, who was killed in battle near Mwurire hill in the province of Bwana-Mkali. It is a hide, since no other garments were worn at that time, and it is altered almost beyond recognition in spite of the rancid butter with which it is constantly rubbed to preserve it. It is one of the rare trophies of victory that survived the fire caused by the Ruchunchu disaster. It is called by the name of ntizihishw' amabuno, that is to say, "that (garment) which is too short (for size)." The native expression is stronger and shows that the Banyarwanda wit never flags in situations tragic or comic.

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769 The festivals and celebrations are almost invariably of a sacrificial character in the sense that the ancestral spirits are commemorated and are offered gifts in a fictitious or even a real fashion, as we shall see in the pages that follow. We shall discuss funeral
766 customs or, more exactly, those that apply to the death of the king,

766 since in this restricted work we must try to limit ourselves, whenever possible, to the practices followed at the capital. The contrast will seem rather sharp, owing to the purely spatial proximity in these pages of the celebrations we have just described and the funeral rites observed at the death of a sovereign. To the Blacks, however, it would not seem so, in view of the constant contact they entertain with /514/ their dead and the participation they grant them in the life of the household (1).

1. Funeral ceremonies are very intricate, even for other members of society, and vary according to age, sex, the status of the individual, and the circumstances of his death.

They demonstrate the anxiety of the Banyarwanda to remain in contact with their dead, an anxiety inspired "by the belief in the power of those spirits, on whom health, prosperity, and life itself depend" .... (Levy-Bruhl, La Mentalité primitive /Primitive Mentality/, p. 76.)

Chapter 7

Funeral Rites. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves. Mummification of Corpses Under the Action of Fire. Honors Rendered to Ancestral Spirits. Hierogamies. Assignment of a Day of Rest in Memory of a Royal Prince.

I. Special Customs Observed at the Time of a Royal Funeral

In Ruanda the death of a king occasions intricate ceremonies,

766 including numerous regulations that seem to date from far back in the past. It appears that the Batutsi monarchs borrowed from the ancient autochthonous princes (abahinza) the majority of their funeral rites, and more especially mummification, or "smoking," since this is what it actually amounts to, as well as the choice of the resting place and the jealous care with which the royal cemeteries are guarded (2).

2. The royal cemeteries where the aboriginal Bahutu petty kings were buried are still to be found in many provinces of Ruanda and especially in the Kingogo. The Hamites borrowed other things from the vanquished and subjected autochthonous inhabitants. We have already seen that the drums at the capital recall the memory of the tiny principalities subjected by the Hamites and that they are regarded as trophies of victory and as guarantees for the preservation of the present kingdom. Those same instruments have retained their role and their importance among the Batutsi.

[767] There follows a brief descriptinn of these matters as given by laymen, since the appointed royal undertakers (abanyamugogo) maintain the strictest silence on the subject. /515/

1. How a King Dies, According to Popular Belief

643 In Ruanda a monarch is such a superior and respected being that in the mind of most Bahutu he could not possibly be born, live, and die like the common run of men.

643 Hence the following beliefs, to which the common people have given credence up to now.

644 In principle, in the old days the sovereign was not permitted to see his heir. The child was entrusted to the care of reliable men
855 and raised far from his father, who occasionally was brought pieces of string which had served to measure the height and waist of his future successor. In order to judge the development and strength of the young prince, the king imprinted the outline of his own foot in a basket of sorghum flour. This was brought to the crown prince, who in turn left in it the imprint of his foot. The basket was returned to the king, who never lost interest in the physical development of his child.

Bows were later sent to him so that he might try his strength. The heir was considered worthy of the throne on the day when he was able to string his father's bow, since now he had become as strong as his father.

The last verifications were made. It was necessary to make
643 sure that the king's garment fitted him perfectly, and that the im-
762 print of his feet matched exactly that of his father's. The latter, on the other hand, having grown old and noticed that his beard and hair were greying, (yamez' imvi), decided himself that his time had come. He immediately called his confidants and made known his last wishes. "I am going to depart (gutabara); there are only a few moments left to me. You shall see to it that my son rules (kwimika) in my place. You shall obey him in all things"....

The same evening the appointed sorcerers presented him /516/
[278] with hydromel (inkangaza) in which they had mixed a violent poison, purchased, it is believed, on the shores of Lake Victoria, where it was prepared with putrefied crocodile flesh.

The king went to sleep and never awakened. "He has drunk" (yanyone), as they said in official terminology, or else "He has departed" (yatabaye), he has rejoined his ancestors, the Liberators, who saved the land, "He has ceded the throne" (yatanze), "The sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye), for such are the expressions still consecrated by usage and used to proclaim this serious event.

643 There must have been few kings who benevolently left this life of their own accord.

Popular belief has accepted too many fables on the subject. It was still said recently that Queen Mother Nyiramavugo, a grandmother of King Lwabugiri who must have died around 1860, was the first to refuse the poison when old age drew near in spite of the dictates of custom and tradition. "Since that day," say the common people, "the Abiru, or keepers of the customs, who are in charge of this task and duty have not dared mention it anymore to kings and queens."

2. The Corpse of the Royal Dead is "Smoked"

766 "When a king died," the same people go on, "two Batutsi from important families were seized and killed forthwith near the body."
643 This was called "to make the king's pillow" (gusegurir' umwami). Those men were given to him to accompany and serve him in the spirit world.

[641] A subject counts for nothing while the king is all important. It is proper, therefore, to send him at least two men chosen from the highest social stratum.

"They did not dare observe this rite," add the narrators, "at the death of the last king, Lwabugiri (in 1895)." /517/

When a queen mother died, two great ladies of the same (Mututsi) /Batutsi/ race were sacrificed. It is the Banyamugogo, or [767] "men with the big (mourning) log," who are in charge of funeral ceremonies. They make up the royal corporation of undertakers, although their name does not indicate this outright. They are called "men with the big (mourning) log," owing to the custom which demands that a wooden log be burned for three or four days after the [824] death of an individual. For this purpose, one deliberately chooses a green log of red-bloom erythrina (umuko), a symbolic tree that recalls the death of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the famous secret society of initiates (imandwa).

The body of the dead king is transported from his last home, [823] which will henceforth be called Gisozi ("Big hill") (1), to one of the

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1. This expression "big hill" is readily understood by the natives, because it serves to designate the spot where a reigning monarch drew his last breath.

sacred groves (2) reserved for royal tombs by custom or tradition.

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2. We owe the reader an explanation of the expression "sacred grove, " which will recur frequently. The word "sacred" is taken here in a broad and technical sense to mean that these groves are set aside and closed to laymen, who may not enter them. They are guarded by official watchmen, who see to it that the grounds are properly respected.

The Banyamugogo, who become the temporary masters of the area, have a large hut built and enlist for its construction the services of neighboring people.

There the remains of the sovereign are sheltered and laid upon a grid in the middle of the hut, about 1.50 meters above ground. The members of the corporation keep a fire burning under the grid for several days in order to dry out the corpse and prevent it from putrefying.

The body, which lies on a bed of skins, is constantly moved so that the heat from the fire may reach all its parts. /518/

The keepers of the hut take turns without interruption, day and night, by the fire they must maintain. Meanwhile, no layman may come near the place under penalty of death.

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The undertakers keep up their work until, according to popular belief, the corpse gives birth to a leopard, which is at first

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only a small worm (1). Then a pit is dug in the same hut. The royal

1. Permit us to repeat once more that we are putting ourselves in the position of the natives. We are merely repeating their tales and beliefs.

remains are laid at the bottom of the tomb on a new bed of grass covered with precious skins: lion, leopard, and antelope hides.

The body is completely isolated from the ground, which must not soil it. The whole thing is covered with special mats (ibirago by' ibisunyu) made of lake reeds. Finally, the pit is filled up (2).

2. When a king named Yuhi ascends the throne, according to another popular belief, the undertakers have to perform another duty toward the deceased king in addition to what has already been said on the subject.

After having been smoked, the completely desiccated body (umwite) is carried to the sacred grove of Muhima, below Kigali. The pall bearers dig at the spot called Nyamvura ("the rain spot"), where there formerly existed an equally sacred spring, and lay the body in the hole for a moment.

This is called "giving the king a drink (guhira)."

Then the body is brought back to the royal cemetery. His

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successor may henceforth rule in peace, and abundance will reign in the realm, for the various formalities on which the prosperity of the land depends have been carried out.

3. Popular Beliefs Concerning the Survival of the King

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"The undertakers," the narrator goes on to say, "cannot leave the site of the grave yet.

"They are not permitted to leave it until the end of the mourning period, which lasts at least four months. The above-mentioned worm /519/ 'must' come out of the corpse's right hand after a while. It is immediately picked up by the keepers, who put it in a vessel full of milk.

"When the container becomes too small, the animal is put in a large jar into which milk is poured every day. The worm soon 'sprouts legs'; it will soon change shape. The jar is no longer adequate, and a tub (umuvule) is provided and also filled with milk. The thing becomes a leopard. It is still fed milk until the day when its carnivorous instincts awaken and it begins to use its claws. Then it is given fresh meat. It must be tied, for it has become 'mean' (irakaliha). The animal manages to break its first bonds, woven of banana-tree bark. It is tied with new ficus ropes, which are soon broken in turn.

"In order to chain the beast, a piece of wire (umukwege) is brought from the royal court (ibgami), where messengers keep going incessantly to report on the whole affair.

"The day comes when the wild beast wounds one of its keepers. Another one soon meets with the same fate, and a third dies of his wounds.

"The situation has become intolerable and cannot go on.

"The leopard, anxious to gain its freedom, grows fierce. Finally, permission is given to grant it freedom, thus releasing the Banyamugogo from an impossible task.

643 825 "A sensible man," the narrator added as he closed his tale, "cannot believe in such things. As for myself, I am only repeating what I have heard around me."

The "sacred groves" often serve as lairs for leopards, who take advantage of the rainy season, when the sorghum has grown tall, to comb the countryside /520/ for prey. Furthermore, the leopard is the totem of the king, who formerly appropriated all leopardskins for his own personal use. Many common people, therefore, believe in these fables. In the capital, where no one is taken in by such childish tales, nothing is done to enlighten the people. The undertakers, who maintain the strictest silence about their own functions, stand only to gain by exaggerating the wondrous aspects of the matter in order to acquire increased importance in the eyes of their fellow men. One can imagine the prestige that surrounds the king, a prestige that is mixed in with a large amount of superstition and that causes him to be revered on a par with a demigod by most of his subjects.

4. Duties and Privileges of the Undertakers

643 767 The task of burying or, more accurately, mummifying (gwosa, gwosereza) the sovereign is entrusted as we said to a special corporation known by the name of Banyamugogo, that is to say, "the men with the big (mourning) log," who belong to the Abiru clan. This is the special clan whose members are responsible for preserving the memory of customs and traditions. The royal undertakers have no duties other than the funerary ones and enjoy rare privileges. No chief may attack or pillage them, for they live under the king's protection.

They are not subjected to forced labor, nor do they pay taxes. On the other hand, they are strictly forbidden to come to court and to appear in the presence of the prince. If they have to plead a case before him, they may at best set out on the path to the capital, but they must stop at a good distance from it. There they build a large fire into which they toss fresh cow dung in order to create thick clouds of smoke /521/ and to draw attention upon themselves. Meanwhile they delegate men to present their complaints and grievances.

643 767 Then the king appoints one or two chiefs to go and settle their difficulties.

In the old days these undertakers could not visit with their fellow men, nor could they eat or drink with them. Even today, when [415] invited to feast with their neighbors, they must bring with them their own drinking tube. It is maintained that they do not eat with their children. If it came to pass that the latter, in turn, should bury a new king, they would have to leave their parents and never see them again.

A special vocabulary is used to speak of the monarch and [198 644] certain of his acts. It would be most disrespectful to say that the king sleeps, drinks, eats, etc., like anyone else. We have already seen how his ailments and his death are mentioned (yaberamye, yanyoye, yatabaye, etc.).

767 644 643 It is for the same reason that the royal undertakers bear a name that recalls their function only in a very indirect way. Just as they are strictly forbidden to go to the capital, custom forbids the king to go through areas inhabited by members of this corporation or to camp there. He must avoid the sacred groves where the spirits of his ancestors rest, as though the idea of death could shorten the life of the sovereign. It is mandatory to his followers to avert that image and thought from his eyes and from his ears, which are those of a demigod well above common mortals.

He must be enabled to enjoy this life and all its pleasures in peace.

5. Mourning Rites Observed at the Death of a Prince

643 765 The king is mourned for four months, that is to say, until the official accession of his successor to the throne. During /522/ that period of time, cohabitation between spouses is theoretically forbidden. Bulls are also separated from the herds at the time of this terrible misfortune, which causes the Banyarwanda to state that "the sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye). Men and even children shave their heads [302] as a sign of mourning.

643 765 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might [689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the [731] ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

766 778 Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa), [824] and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

766 The sacred groves are numerous, and it is surprising to find
778 them most everywhere, even in the most deserted areas.

Royal cemeteries and former residences are legion. There is
778 not one province in Ruanda that does not boast several of them at
766 least.

They are found even in bordering lands which were invaded
644 more than once by the Banyarwanda. Their numbers are understandable if one recalls the nomadic life of the warrior kings such as Ruganzu and Lwabugiri, who did not sleep often under the same roof. The sovereign had only to spend the night in a hut along the way for the spot to become sacred from then on. The owners had to abandon their dwelling and go elsewhere or build at the side. The ficus branches which fenced in the courtyard went on growing and created a new sacred grove (ikigabiro).

These groves are made up of various tree species, with the
[824] ficus usually predominating. Several types of this tree are found: imigobge, imilehe, imikobe, imitabataba, etc.

The bark of the last two trees is used to make a kind of cloth
[287] which wears out rapidly (impuzu). Those clumps of trees, which are almost invariably green and which loom into sight here and there, contrast with the bareness of the land, /524/ especially in the Nduga, and lend it a characteristic appearance which does not lack a certain charm.

Among the sacred groves, some of which stand on the tallest hills, only eight or nine at most are known to have been used as royal burial grounds. The others mark the sites of former royal capitals and recall the successive moves occasioned by the numerous expeditions undertaken in certain reigns. They are referred to by the generic name of ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," from the word kugabira, "to distribute" or "to offer as a gift." As we can see, the term ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," is quite suited etymologically to the tree clumps which mark the sites of the former royal dwellings, whose owners, by virtue of their absolute ownership and power, could mete out all sorts of favors to their subjects. It was only by extension that the same name was quite wrongly applied to the royal cemeteries. Indeed, custom does not allow the popular

778 and common terms ikibira, "cemetery," imva or "igituro, "grave,"
766 to be used in this connection. In certain parts of Ruanda, owing to
644 the respect with which the king is regarded and to the reverential fear he inspires, the Blacks use another expression which is much more accurate. One frequently hears them speak of musezero (misezero in the plural), that is to say, the place where the monarch permanently "took leave" of his subjects, from the verb gusezera, which means "to take leave."

The word umusezero is now commonly used to mean "restricted place," "guarded place," because in summer when people set fire to the tall grass, they first clear the bush from the edges of the cemeteries to protect the royal graves from fire. /525/

2. Main Royal Cemeteries

766 It is at Gasseke in the Nduga, about four hours from the Kabgayi mission in the northeast, that one of the first "sepulchral" groves is found where a prince by the name of Chyilima was buried.

173 Two monarchs by this name are known. It was during the reign of the more recent of the two that the famous migration into
643 Ruanda of the "Mutes," or "Foreign men with an incomprehensible
766 language," took place. According to tradition, the one with whom
778 we are dealing here was the brother and immediate successor of Ruganzu I, surnamed Bwimba (1), who lived long before his illustrious

1. The natives relate that the mother of this Ruganzu late in life married one of her courtiers named Chenge, and Chyilima-Rugwe was born of this union. She did this to the great dissatisfaction of her eldest son, Ruganzu I, for
[644] it ran contrary to the custom which requires the queen mother to live solely with the reigning prince.

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The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [175] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit...and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

173 As for the royal cemetery of Luhanga, which lies atop the
643 plateau of the same name, the inhabitants of the area all concur in
the belief that if King Gihanga himself was not buried there, that is
766 to say, the eminent "Creator," then at least his wife Nyirakabogo was.
778 It is probable that numerous other monarchs sleep their last sleep
there by the queen's side, but the people are not quite sure of their
names anymore.

Nor are they sure of the names of those who were buried on the neighboring Kayenzi-Bussigi plateau, where four of those cemeteries are to be found.

The names of the princes buried in the northern most cemetery are better known. The inhabitants of the area are almost unanimous in naming Kigeri-Mibambge and Nyiramavugo as being buried there. During the last European war, which had local repercussions, the natives were rightly frightened and erected huts (indaro) over their tombs where they offered numerous sacrifices. As for Queen Nyiramavugo, the elders recall seeing her corpse go by in their earliest childhood. /527/ The body was laid at the foot of the plateau for the night before being carried to the top where it was buried. This was the mother of Lwogera-Mutara, that is to say, the grand-mother of the present king.

Malembo, daughter of Nyamajinya and mother of Yuhi-Mazimpaka, was buried on one or the other of the two plateaus, it is not known exactly which. One still hears of Yuhi-Mazimpaka himself and of a sister of Ruganzu, Nyirangabo, who, according to the natives, were buried in the afore-mentioned cemeteries. What is certain is that the grove which follows upon the first one starting from the north holds the remains of Kilongoro, daughter of a certain Magoma and mother of Chyilima-Ludjugira, who succeeded Yuhi-Mazimpaka.

According to present-day opinion, the sacred groves of Luhanga and Kayenzi-Bussigi are reserved exclusively for the burial of queen mothers (abanyambuto, "those of the grains"), that is to say,
[562] those who provided the heir to the throne and who reigned along with him.

173 643 766 778 The best known of the royal cemeteries is that of Rutare in the mountainous Buyaga area, not far from Lake Mohazi near the frontier of Ruanda.

The existence of this resting place is traced back, rightly or wrongly, to Ruganzu II, who is said to have been the first one to be buried there.

According to one tradition, he had himself chosen the site of his tomb on this high spot, so as to be an insuperable obstacle to the enemies of Ruanda even after his death. This tradition is seriously challenged by the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga (1).

1. Cf. Book III, The Reign of Ruganzu II.

The last two kings who were buried there and who are recalled most readily were Lwogera and Lwabugiri, the immediate predecessors of the present reigning monarch.

It is rather difficult to say for how many monarchs the sepulchral grove of Rutare has served as last resting place. /528/ The trees in the thickets, some of which are quite old, were formerly separate but eventually merged. Here and there, old trunks which marked the site of the courtyards in which the huts were built have disappeared, so that one cannot count the funerery enclosures with any exactitude. There do not seem to be more than eight or ten.

Three other royal cemeteries are found at Musenyi in the Nduga to the south of the Kabgayi mission, about two hours away. The first one stands on the slope of a hill called by the name of Mayebe. It is made up of a small wood of thorny acacia trees which have reached their maximum height and whose long intertwined branches lend a mysterious atmosphere to the grove, where a half light barely penetrates. Some other trees with thicker foliage dominate the grove. Those are the inganzamarombo (1).

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1. They are called thus from kuganza, "to overtop," and marombo, "swarms of bees," because the natives like to set their hives there.

173 643 766 778 A native village stands nearby, its banana groves bordering on the thickets. Its occupants are in charge of watching over the cemetery, which according to the opinion of the Banya-Nduga (inhabitants of the Nduga province) includes the tomb of Ruganzu II Ndori. Those who claim that his body was buried at Rutare cling to their opinion and insist that he was merely "smoked" at Mayebe. The inhabitants of the latter area, on the other hand, claim in turn that after having been mummified he was indeed buried right there, and add that this is the usual procedure. The place is quite commonly known by the name of "Ruganzu's cemetery."

According to the same interpretation, this prince alone was buried there.

Not far from Mayebe, two other small groves made up chiefly of ficus trees stand barely 300 meters apart. /529/ According to some, the corpses of several queens by the name of Nyirakigeri and Nyirayuhi were mummified there. Local people insist that they were also buried there, and support their claim by adding that the place where a king or queen is smoked is also the place where they are buried. The two clumps of trees formerly made up a single sacred grove, and this is why the natives call them by the same name.

The last of those cemeteries stands two kilometers farther. It is made up of handsome ficus trees, but the same controversies arise concerning the use to which this funeral site was put. It is called "the cemetery of the queens who bore the name of Nyiramavugo."

[123] It is not easy to give precise information on this subject. The keepers of the groves, the undertakers (abanyamugogo), and the official chroniclers (Abachur' ubgenge) are not willing to surrender all their information on the subject. The statements of other people are unreliable.

Funerary enclosures called ilaro (amalaro in the plural), or "night stopping places," are also found in the area.

They mark the sites of huts which served as shelters for the mortal remains of kings and queens in transit to the cemeteries.

The dwellings had to be abandoned after their visit, just as happens when a prince travelling through his realm stops for the night.

173 The term gisozi ("big hill") serves, as we have said, to
643 designate the place where a king died.

It is the augmentative of the word musozi, which means "hill"
766 and by extension "village." This term belongs to the /word/ class
778 prefixed by the consonant ki.

This class includes nothing but words conveying the idea of majesty, fear, etc. /530/

There are numerous groves in this category, such as those of Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

In order to prove the truth of any pronouncement or assertion, the natives use the following phrase which alludes in metaphorical terms to the death of one or another of their sovereigns, Mb' ali jye wakuye
[539] Lwogera i Kaganza!

"Let it be I ('if I do not speak the truth' being implied here) who tore (King) Lwogera away from Kaganza (name of the place where the king died)!"

The reader must have noted that kings and queen mothers
[644] alone have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Mere wives were entitled to no special honors after their death. They were buried like common mortals. Queen mothers, that is to say, those who bore the heir to the throne and then reigned with him, were granted the same funerary honors as sovereigns.

Aside from the groves we have just described, there is also
173 mention of one at Bugarama-Ntare (i Buhurura) not far from Rukoma.
644 It is believed to be the spot where the undertakers fulfilled their usual
766 functions at the death of a queen named Nyirakigeri. The sacred
778 grove of Butare, which now only includes a few very old trees, is thought to be the place where Nyagihaga, daughter of Ruyenzi and mother of a Chyilima or Mutara died (1).

1. The official chroniclers do provide a genealogical list of the kings of Ruanda, with the name of their mothers and of the clans to which the latter belonged, but this cannot be fully credited. We have

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seen that the names of the
first kings were pure fantasy.
The chronological order of
several others is lacking,
and the chroniclers do not agree
on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

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a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses, are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

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The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

767 trees and green branches. Human conscience can adapt itself to any-
778 thing. The keepers, who get their share, pretend to see nothing.
178 As a result, relatives and friends take full advantage of their tacit permission and make inconspicuous forays into the groves.

b. General honors paid to the spirits of the royal dead.

769 The dead are neither forgotten nor forsaken. Superstitious fear plays its part in the cult of the dead. /532/ The Blacks' fear of the dead recalls them constantly to the remembrance of the living (1). From

1. The muzimu retains "the passions, tastes, inclinations, and grudges that characterized it during the material life span of the individual whose existence it perpetuates spiritually after death." (Maurice Delafosse.) To the natives, this belief explains and justifies the cult of spirits.

time to time and in important circumstances, when real or imagined calamities threaten, the drums are beaten in their honor.

Huts (indaro) of varying size are raised on their graves, and sacrifices performed in them to pacify and ingratiate their spirits.

At certain times, young bulls are sent from the capital and immolated by the sacrificers with pomp and solemnity.

The things most readily sent are small earthenware vessels, rounded, rather graceful, (uruherezo, imperezo), filled with banana wine, which the keepers offer as a libation to the dead kings in order to win their support.

Similar sacrifices were, and still are, performed occasionally
[778] at the sites of numerous former royal dwellings: at Lwamaraba near the Kabgayi mission, at Mwurire near the Savé mission, at Lussagara near Nyaluhengeri, in honor of Lwabugiri, Lwogera, and another Mutara, a son of Ruganzu II, to mention only a few (2). /533/

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2. Many of those former royal residences recall historic events which took place at the site or in the vicinity.

It was at Mwurire that Mutara I, a son of Ruganzu II, vanquished the king of Urundi, a Mutaga, whose lands extended that far at the time.

On Ruchunchu hill, not far from a former residence of Lwabugiri's at Rubugurizo (that is to say, according to the etymological sense of the word, "at the spot where the king's sons played backgammon"), the natives point out the spot where Mibambge-Rutalindwa, Lwabugiri's appointed heir, set fire to himself and his people /relations and friends/ in 1896, in some hastily built huts, when he found himself about to be captured by partisans of the powerful Bega family who had rebelled against him. In the Bumbogo, at places called Mbilima and Matovu, some tall fiscus trees mark the site /533/ of a dwelling formerly occupied by an important chief of the Batsobe clan who had married King Lwabugiri's own mother.

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The latter, having grown up, wanted to wreak vengeance for what he regarded not only as a serious infringement of court custom but also as a crime of high treason.

His warriors surrounded the hill one day.

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

769 [609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

769 766 791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies.

769 [775] The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

769 similar to those used to conciliate men one deals with. The spirits are presented with pleasant offerings; they are fed; they are ingratiated in many ingenious ways.

In other words, they are regarded after death as human beings who have retained their faculties for enjoyment.

We have already seen that in order to gain their good graces one offers them libations, and sacrifices, and one beats the drums in order to remind them of their royalty and to prove to them at the same time that they are still regarded as kings. This is done not only on their tombs, in the important cemeteries, but also at the sites of their former favorite residences. This last procedure is believed to be more gratifying to them.

By reason of their fear and respect, the Banyarwanda usually avoid building too close to former capitals, and keep at a distance from them. In the Bwana-Mukali in the village of Lussagara, the inhabitants of the hill bury their dead far away in the forest so as not to defile the ground that was often trod by Lwogera and Lwabugiri.

Aside from these precautions and cares, the reigning princes have set up for each of their dead predecessors a true family home with wife and servants, including even the small traditional herd, in order to honor them and to obtain their protection.

It will be recalled that Chyilima-Rugwe is believed to have reigned only a short time. As a result, it is thought that he has retained an unpleasant memory of his stay on the throne.

Moreover, he refused to leave the country (yanze kuva mu Ruanda) and continues to exist in the form of a leopard which is often seen, so the natives say.

In order to pacify /535/ his spirit, which is perennially dissatisfied (yarushije abandi gukaliha), a large hut has been erected for him at the very spot where he was buried. A keeper maintains it in good order and watches over the preservation of a herd of cows which is said to belong to Chyilima himself. A woman is in attendance on him.

[582] From time to time, a young girl is appointed by the diviner-sorcerers to be his new wife. The keeper substitutes for the dead king /in this connection/.

769 As a rule, the girls are sent back to their families after a short
582 stay in the hut of the spirit, but an appointed woman must always remain there. At Idjuru, about halfway along the road leading from the Kabgayi mission to Kigali, a clump of trees marks the site of the ancient residence of King Yuhi-Mazimpaka. Legend tells us that this place was the scene of a prodigious event following the death of the prince. He had barely been mummified and buried in the Rutare cemetery when the earth began to tremble at Idjuru. While a heavy rain poured down, the sound of clashing horns (amahembe arakomangana) was distinctly heard. Yuhi-Mazimpaka made it known thereby that he insisted on being cared for and on having his dwelling maintained. His wishes were fulfilled. In addition to a large hut, he was granted on the spot a small herd of cows called indoha because their lowing is harmonious. Furthermore, a woman lives there permanently for his pleasure, not to mention his temporary wives.

At the capital, inside the royal enclosure, there are numerous huts dedicated to the spirits of former kings. Although they are used for the various services entailed by the royal way of life, those huts are also consecrated to the memory of each of the deceased monarchs. The women who occupy them, while they are part of the harem, are also regarded as wives of the sovereigns whose huts they inhabit. As far as the lesser /536/ dead princes are concerned, it is considered sufficient to raise little girls at court who are occasionally made to enter the huts (indaro) dedicated to the spirits. The girls are sprinkled there with lustral water (ingwa, "chalky water"). Their royal (deceased) husbands are satisfied with this ceremony.

769 In the large hut consecrated to King Gihanga, a fire is main-
372 tained night and day, in a huge earthenware jug (intango), which is replaced when worn out.

King Gihanga, the alleged inventor or creator of fire, bequeathed it to his son Kanyarwanda. Fire is maintained in his hut in memory of this inestimable gift. Theoretically, no one but the king may take a brand from it to light his pipe. To allow this fire to go out or to be taken by unhallowed hands might have entailed death in the old days. A group of individuals chosen from the Abiru clan are in charge of watching this fire.

769 d. The cult of Kibogo and the observance of a day of rest.
773 As for Kibogo, a brother of Ruganzu II and son of King Ndahiro, although he never ascended the throne, he is honored in a special way owing to his role as Liberator. It will be recalled that he was appointed by the diviners to save the land and bring a drought to a close. He was taken to the sky and wrapped in a cloud, and his ascension had fortunate consequences for Ruanda. Each newly elected prince builds him a separate dwelling outside the royal enclosure, so that Kibogo will truly be "at home." The hut consecrated to him is surrounded by a large and beautiful courtyard. A woman lives there and cares with her servants for the traditional herd of cows assigned to the purely theoretical "needs" of the spirits.

769 The present monarch complied with this custom by building him a home, as his predecessors did, /537/ which is altogether separate from the other dwellings and which is still designated by the name of "Kibogo's place." He even has a special drum, which emphasizes further the importance of the role he played in the past.

537 The Kibogo episode is connected with a curious practice which is still observed today in some provinces. It consists of stopping work in the fields once every five days, but in the morning only. This practice gave rise to the well-known word chumweru, which contains the meaning of "white" and "whiteness" and which the Christians have adopted now to designate Sunday.

On what occasion and at what time did the Banyarwanda choose this day? Some trace the custom back to Gihanga the Creator. It is not unusual, indeed, to hear on the lips of pagans the expression Chumweru cha Gihanga, "Gihanga's white day."

Others say that Chumweru was a man in Kibogo's retinue. He belonged to the Basindi clan, they add, and he lived at Ruhina, not far from the present Kabgayi mission. He was in the service of Kibogo and watched over his crops (guhingishiriza). He went along with his master on the day of his "ascension," carrying around his neck the small bag (uruhago) of banana-tree fiber which contained his chief's pipe and tobacco.

The cloud seized them all together.

527 As we can see, the origins of this practice are obscure. Could a trace of the Sabbath or Sunday be involved here?

The hypothesis would be fairly plausible, especially if one supposes that the Batutsi originally came from Egypt or Abyssinia.

Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it used to be strictly observed. Many pagans who live far from European settlements still observe it today. Like their ancestors, /538/ they [B21] lend it a superstitious meaning. If hail should fall on that day, they would not fail to attribute it to a supernatural punishment and to place the responsibility on those who were caught breaking the rule. "One didn't hesitate," the elders relate, "to insult the delinquents, to rob them or even to strike them if need be, and it was not unusual to be taken to task, so highly was this custom regarded."

769 The great chiefs also do for the dead members of their families, proportionately speaking, what the king does for his own ancestors (1). Each of the huts which make up their homes, for usually

764

1. The Bega preferably take their dead to the Budaha region, which is one of their fees. The regent Kabale and one of his favorite wives, Kirumwero, were buried in the village of Ngoma, near Gatare hill. His father Lwagara had been buried at Gisunzu, not far from Munzanga, and his brother Lwibishengo at Nyamutukura. His son Nyantabana and one of his grandsons were interred at Lwasankuba.

The Banyiginya choose their burial sites in enemy country to check invasions and to wreak evil on foreigners (Abanyamuhanga).

Before it was joined to the Crown, the isle of Idjwi served as a final

764 resting place for several important members of this clan.

Other Banyiginya were buried in Urundi and in the Bugessera province, which borders on that country. The dead sons of Musinga, who number at least five or six, rest there in their last sleep.

The deceased are usually buried in a hut. In the Budaha, the owner of a hut that served as a Mwega's tomb cannot leave the dwelling until about a year later. He is forced to remain there to prevent sorcerers from digging up the body.

769 there are several, is dedicated to a spirit in whose honor they marry a woman whom they later keep or discard, depending on their whims and fancies.

Well-off Bahutu attempt to imitate the great, but their huts [343] are usually few in number. So as not to be inferior to those they emulate in their superstitions, they build around their dwelling several tiny huts (indaro) which often consist merely of two or three sticks planted in the ground and barely bound at the top by a small band. /539/

4. The Annual Mourning Period of Fifteen Days in the Month of June, Which Ends With an Important Celebration

765 The famous annual mourning period of 15 days takes place
769 during the last fortnight of the lunar month called by the native name
771 of Gichurassi, which corresponds approximately to our month of June. In principle the king alone is supposed to go into mourning, but the whole court joins him for the sake of solidarity. At that time, the

765 prince must cast aside his ornaments and retain only ordinary clothes.
769 No marriage ceremony may take place. Games and dances are prohibited. Among the drums, only the Ndamutsa is heard around
796 nine o'clock in the morning.

When the mourning period is nearly over, the chiefs have beer brought in from various parts of Ruanda in preparation for the closing celebration (gukur' igichurassi, "to chase away the month of mourning"). On the eve of the day appointed for the festivities, the small drum (ishako) is heard at four different times during the night to herald the great solemn occasion. At dawn other instruments join in. Joyous shouts rise on all sides and the crowd rushes to the huge esplanade where the festival is to take place.

Continuous dancing follows, with pages and other specialists participating. The members of the Ryangombe secret society, their faces smeared with white, observe their usual ceremonies. Sacrifices are offered.

The sacred cows appear on the square and contribute in no small way to the original character of the festivities. Needless to say, beer flows freely.

As for finding out in whose honor the mourning is held, this is no easy matter. The chroniclers do not agree on this score. /540/

Some say that it is held in honor of all kings; others add that it is held in honor of a queen whose name has been forgotten. The majority state that it is observed in memory of Ndahiro.

The latter's death is said to have occurred precisely during the month of Gichurassi and in the circumstances we have already mentioned. We leave it to better informed people to cut those Gordian knots.

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

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King Musinga and some people of his entourage.

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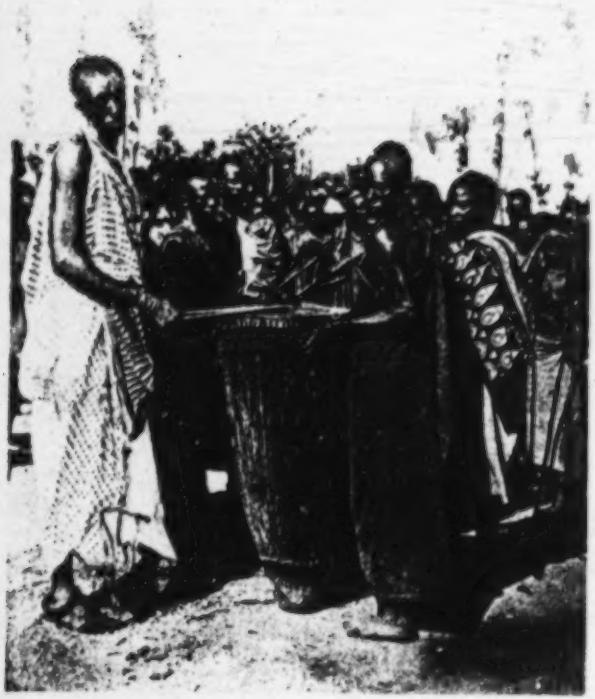
The king at one of his favorite diversions.



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Mututsi (Batutsi) warrior in dance costume.

Nkusi, Nturo's son, in dance costume.

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Warriors in festival dress.

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Kayondo dancers.

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Dance of the pages.

Popular merrymaking. Native dance.

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High jump. Popular sport among the Batutsi.

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R. P. Van den Houdt

Lake Kivu, near Gisenyi.

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An arm of Lake Mugessera.

Rapids in the Mukungwu in the Mulera region.

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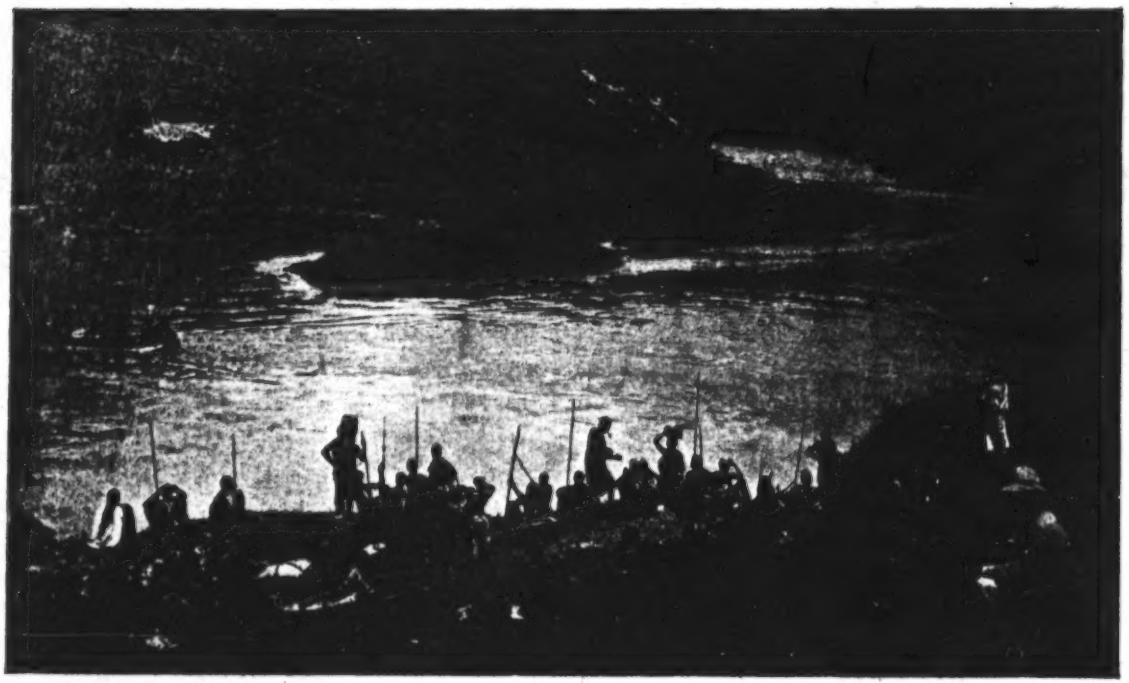
On the shores of the Nzabarongo.



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A waterfall in the mountains.

5: Pages--274 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Lake Ruhondo and Bahutu types. Region of the Mulera.

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A crossing by boat.

5: Pages--275 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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A volcanic landscape. The Nyiragongo and its plume of smoke.

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Muchabura and Gahinga.

5: Pages--276 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Volcanic eruption of Nyamulagira. The photo was taken at night in 1907 at Nyundo mission.

Volcanic landscape. Lava from the last eruption which took place on the shores of Kivu (December 1912 - January 1913)

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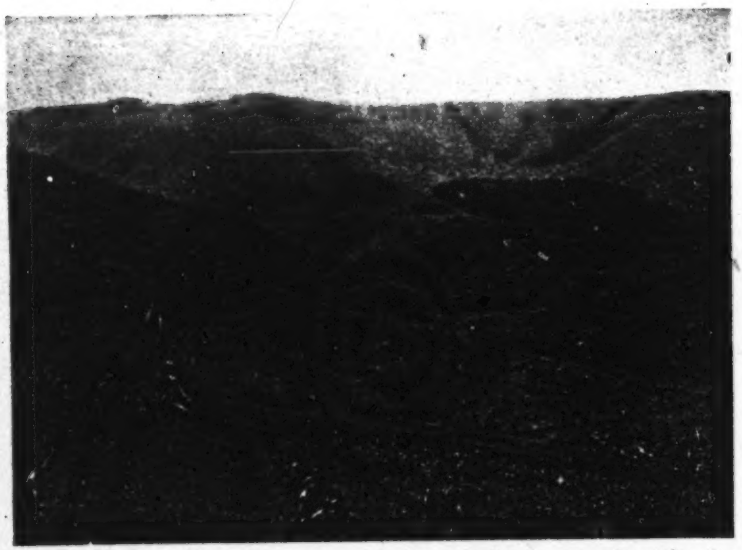

Panorama of Rulindo. The two groves which served as the last resting place for queen mothers can be seen on the heights.

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On the border between Ruanda and the Karagwe.

5 Pages--278 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Acacia Spirocarpa.

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Native encampment outdoors at the foot of a large ficus.

Buffalo.

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Horned chameleons. They are found in the region of the Bugoyi.

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On the plain of the Mulèra in the middle of a field of sorghum. After an elephant hunt.

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Longhorn cows.

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A ceremony in front of the kiosk dedicated to the spirits.

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A divination scene.

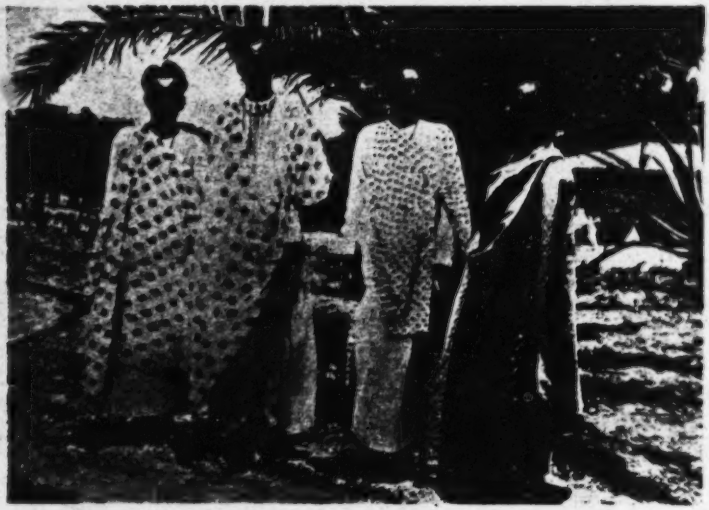
5: Pagès--282 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Rwagataraka, chief of the Kinyaga.

Chiefs from around Kabgayi

5: Pages--283 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Batutsi from Nyanza.



The high chiefs of Ruanda.

5: Pages--284 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Young Mututsi (Batutsi) woman carrying her baby on the back.

Mututsi type with long tufts of hair.

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Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type.

Mututsi type.

5: Pages--285 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her feminine attendants.

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Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type.

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Little girls in children's dress, from the central province of Nduga.

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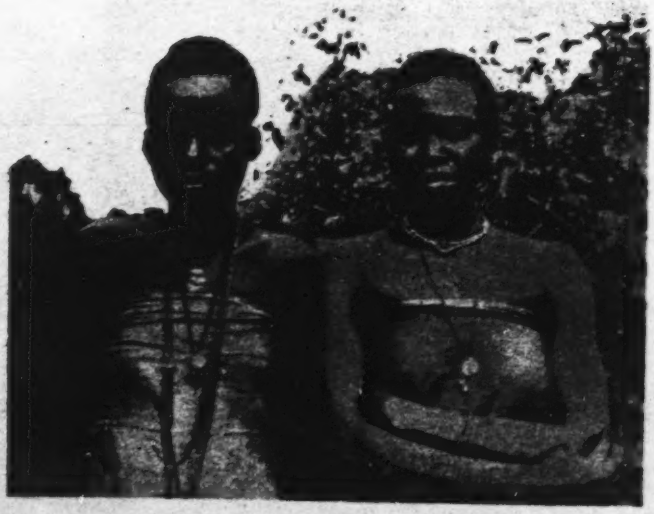
Two young Bahutu girls.



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Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type. The long fringed costume they wear is made of banana fibers which they have woven themselves.

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Women of the Muhutu type.

5: Pages--288 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A leper.

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Young Muhutu girl with tattooing on the back.

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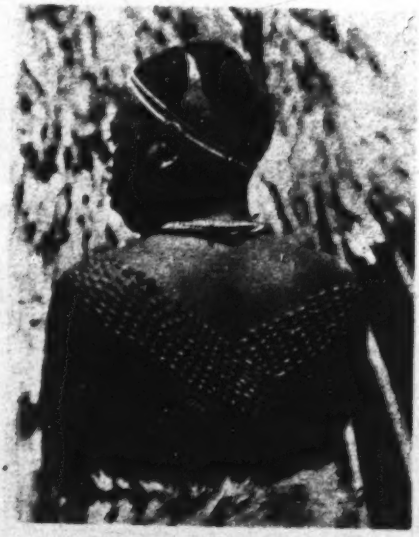

R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

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Banana leaf serving as an umbrella.

A banana leaf shelters a baby's head.

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Winnowing basket serving as an umbrella.

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Umbrella of Isinde cowherds.

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Family umbrella.

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A semicivilized (person).

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Blacksmiths at work outdoors. The iron ore is piled up over the hearth. The founders stir up the fire with primitive bellows.

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Blacksmiths around their blast furnace.

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Impalement of a cattle thief before European penetration.

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Bellows and apparatus of a primitive forge.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

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KONINKLIJK BELGISCH KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT

VERHANDELINGEN

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5: Pages FO42 Rundi

INSTITUT ROYAL COLONIAL BELGE

Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques

MÉMOIRES

KONINKLIJK BELGISCH KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT

Afdeeling der Staat- en Zedekundige Wetenschappen

VERHANDELINGEN

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AU RUANDA
SUR LES BORDS DU LAC KIVU
(CONGO BELGE)

UN
ROYAUME HAMITE
AU
CENTRE DE L'AFRIQUE

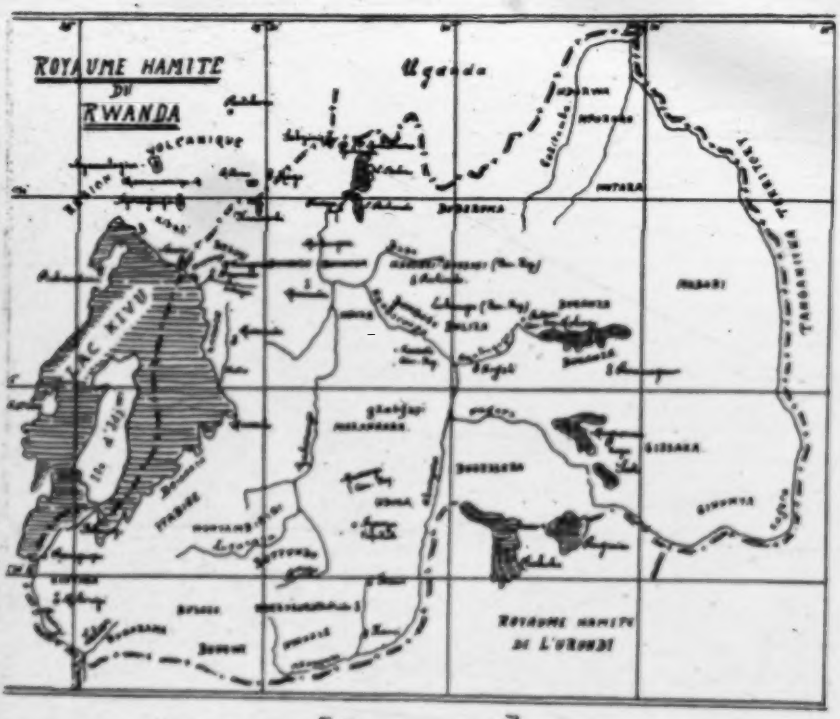
PAR LE

Rév. Père PAGÈS
DES MISSIONNAIRES D'AFRIQUE (PÈRES BLANCS).

[p. 1]

Mémoire présenté à la séance du 17 novembre 1930.

[p. 2]


ROYAUME HAMITE
DU
RWANDA
Uganda
VOLCANIQUE
LAC KIVU
ROYAUME HAMITE
DE L'URUNDI

[facing p. 2]

[p. 3]

AVANT-PROPOS

Les races du Rwanda; problème de leurs origines. But et division de l'ouvrage.

Nous n'avons pas la prétention d'épuiser le sujet indiqué par le titre du volume. Le but qu'on se propose est modeste. Les répertoires vivants n'ont pas dit leur dernier mot. Ils n'ont fait que commencer. Presque tous les rois hamites et les anciens roitelets autochtones ont leurs pages d'histoire (1) écrites dans la mémoire des chroniqueurs.

Lire ces pages et les déchiffrer sera l'œuvre de l'avenir. Notre travail n'est qu'une ébauche, une sorte d'essai de monographie. Pour ne pas s'exposer à recourir au subterfuge du raisonnement et pour éviter des affirmations téméraires, nous avons préféré donner, avec les traditions authentiques, les légendes elles-mêmes ou leur résumé. Au lecteur de tirer les déductions ou les conclusions qui s'imposent (2). L'abondance des détails que nous avons jugé bon d'insérer dans cette esquisse, qui, après tout, est un essai sans prétention d'ethnographie autant qu'une étude d'histoire, ne doit inspirer aucune méfiance. Les minuties, les circonstances accessoires, les aventures sin-

(1) Ou leurs légendes, car il n'est pas possible d'écarter ces dernières de parti pris. Sans elles on ne comprendrait pas et l'histoire et l'âme des Banyarwanda. Les légendes sont à l'histoire ce que les sources et les ruisseaux sont aux fleuves.

(2) Bien qu'il s'agisse d'événements complexes et encore obscurs, on n'a pu résister à la tentation de risquer quelques interprétations et de les développer. Cela a été fait sans passion ni sans esprit de système. Nous n'éprouverions aucune difficulté à les retirer devant une plus ample information.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

gulières donneront aux faits leur véritable physionomie. A. Brisson proclamait l'intérêt qu'il y a à rendre le drame plus vivant et disait « tout ce qu'ajoute de couleur à un personnage la perception de l'atmosphère où il se meut et combien la nature morale et la nature extérieure sont inextricablement liées ». Retz de Richelieu affirmait à son tour qu'il « faut avoir le faible de ne pas mépriser les petites choses ».

Nous n'avons pas cru devoir négliger les anecdotes piquantes, ni les mythes eux-mêmes, ni les usages bizarres de ce peuple curieux, pour essayer d'éclairer son histoire. La connaissance du passé aide à comprendre le présent et dans une certaine mesure à éclairer l'avenir. « Il n'y a pas d'autre moyen, enseignait Taine, pour connaître à peu près les actions d'autrefois, que de voir à peu près les hommes d'autrefois », c'est-à-dire dans leur milieu et à leur époque. Le même auteur ajoutait qu'il faut « démêler à travers la distance du temps, l'homme vivant, l'homme agissant, doué de passions, muni d'habitudes, avec sa voix et sa physionomie, avec ses gestes et ses habits, distinct et complet comme celui que tout à l'heure nous avons avons quitté dans la rue ». Tel serait le beau programme à réaliser, l'idéal à atteindre. Descartes, de son temps, avait déjà dit : « S'ils ne changent ni n'augmentent les choses pour les rendre plus dignes d'être lues, les historiens en omettent presque toujours, les plus basses et les moins illustres, d'où vient que le reste ne paraît pas ce qu'il est ».

Nous conviendrons volontiers que les éléments qui forment la trame de chaque règne sont diffus, obscurs et présentent un ensemble hétéroclite. Ces matériaux informes ont obtenu droit de cité dans notre travail parce que, pour la plupart, ils sont édifiés sur une base historique et que, par voie de conséquence, ils permettent de fixer quelquefois la physionomie propre de plus d'un prince hamite.

Il sera toujours malaisé de donner une vision exacte et complète des épisodes qui se sont déroulés à l'arrivée des Batutsi et durant le temps de leur marche à travers le pays.

Bien des côtés multiples de ces drames sanglants échapperont toujours à notre entendement. Mérimée savait que tout récit des événements primordiaux n'est qu'une interprétation des faits, par un individu dont les connaissances sont bornées, et modestement il se contentait de ce que les Goncourt ont appelé la « monnaie de l'histoire ». Nous faisons nôtre cette appréciation.

On rencontrera souvent le mot « Hamites » (1); il sert à désigner les « Batutsi », qui sont les mêmes que les « Bahima » de l'Uganda et du Nkole (2), les Banyambo du Ndorwa et du Karagwe. Les « Peuls » ou « Peulhs » (au pluriel « Foulbé » ou « Foula ») du Soudan (3), paraissent, eux aussi, fortement apparentés à la race des Hamites.

La communauté d'origine des Hamites avec les Sémites (Égyptiens ou Abyssins) semble hors de conteste. Leurs ressemblances physiques, leurs affinités de mœurs pastorales, l'identité de coutume, telles que la division en animaux purs et impurs (imiziro), la loi du lévirat, la mutilation d'un ennemi, leur organisation politique (système féodal), etc., sont autant de traits qui prouvent leur parenté avec cette race. On pourrait en citer aisément beaucoup d'autres.

A la question de savoir quel fut le point de départ des Hamites et quand ils commencèrent à émigrer vers le centre de l'Afrique, nous ne pouvons donner une réponse exacte. De quelle partie de l'Égypte ou mieux de l'Abyssinie vinrent-ils?

---

(1) Hamite, de l'arabe « chaud », « rougeâtre » (Mgr Gorju).

(2) Le Nkole est appelé « Buhima » par les Banyarwanda, ce qui veut dire le pays des Bahima.

(3) Il ne sera fait aucune allusion au Massai. Nous sommes si peu familiarisés avec leur histoire et leurs coutumes que nous ne permettrons aucun point de comparaison entre les membres de cette peuplade et les Hamites dont nous parlons.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

Quelle date faut-il mettre à l'exode initial et aux exodes successifs? Quels furent les motifs qui occasionnèrent leur départ? Faut-il en chercher les causes dans le surpeuplement de leur pays d'origine, les guerres, les famines, l'amour de l'inconnu, la recherche de l'or?

Quelles furent les étapes de leur voyage? Quelle fut l'importance des groupements migrateurs? L'esprit curieux voudrait pouvoir résoudre ces problèmes, qui sont encore insolubles en partie [1]. Voici quelques présomptions et quelques données sur lesquelles on peut s'appuyer pour essayer de faire un peu de lumière. Il n'y a pas d'autre base pour le moment.

Mgr Gorju écrit dans son ouvrage qu'un Père jésuite en voyage à travers l'Unyoro, il y a trois cents ans environ, s'entendit raconter par les gens du pays qu'un prince Galla de naissance royale avait dû autrefois quitter l'Abyssinie, pour avoir prétendu au trône. Il s'était enfui avec nombre de ses partisans et vécut plusieurs années parmi les habitants de l'Unyoro. Le fait était ancien et les narrateurs ajoutèrent que le prince rentra plus tard dans son pays par le lac Victoria [2].

Le même auteur parle encore de la découverte récente au nord de Nkole, de camps de chercheurs d'or, camps faits d'enceintes en terre où l'on a retrouvé des débris de

---

[1] On peut affirmer sans crainte d'erreur que les Hamites à leur arrivée dans le Rwanda, par la région de Mutara, puis le Buganza, le Buliza, etc., avaient avec eux des servants ou suivants noirs racolés sur leur passage, mais en assez petit nombre, croyons-nous. Ces derniers ayant fait souche dans le pays, ont dû vraisemblablement fonder de nouveaux clans (imilyango), à côté des familles aborigènes.

« Nombre de tribus hamites, dit Mgr Gorju, ont leurs corrélatives de même nom parmi les Bahutu (autochtones). »

L'auteur donne deux raisons de ce parallélisme, ou le servage ou un stimulant : « Les Hamites pour les (autochtones) fixer à leur service leur auraient donné leur nom. »

Cf. *Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard*, p. 37.

[2] Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 53.

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poterie d'une facture supérieure à celles des Baganda et où l'on a reconnu aussi les bassins de lavage et les canaux qui amenaient l'eau.

Kintu, le premier des rois Baganda, d'après une tradition qui a persisté jusqu'à nos jours, avait un visage blanc et exerça une grande influence sur ses sujets noirs.

L'existence de ce souverain a passionné à ce point l'opinion durant ces dernières années que les Anglais, désireux de résoudre le problème de son origine, organisèrent, mais en vain, des fouilles sur le lieu où la tradition plaçait sa sépulture.

Les Abyssins connaissaient l'Uganda. Plusieurs y trouvèrent un refuge, d'autres y cherchèrent de l'or. Kintu, si l'on s'en tient à la couleur de son visage « blanc », c'est-à-dire bien différent de celui des Baganda, appartenait probablement à cette race. Ajoutons qu'il y eut des perturbations politiques considérables sur le plateau éthiopien vers le XVIe siècle, époque à laquelle la série chronologique des rois Baganda permet de faire remonter l'arrivée du fameux « Kintu » sur les bords du Victoria [1].

L'Abyssinie commença à être évangélisée dès la fin du IVe siècle par saint Frumence [2].

L'église éthiopienne était devenue suffragante de la métropole d'Alexandrie. Elle se vit imposer par le patriarche Benjamin, auquel selon l'usage elle avait envoyé des ambassadeurs demander un Abouna (évêque); l'erreur

---

(1) Les Hamites de l'Uganda ou Bahima n'ont pas pu subjuguer les aborigènes du pays qui les ont employés comme gardiens de leurs troupeaux.

(2) Deux Grecs, Frumence et Aidessius, fils d'un marchand de Tunis du nom de Méropius, s'égarèrent sur les côtes de la mer Rouge, furent faits prisonniers et conduits dans l'intérieur de l'Ethiopie. Frumence, converti au christianisme, du temps des Romains, se fait l'apôtre de cette religion qu'il enseigne aux autochtones et fonde ainsi l'église éthiopienne. En 365, à Alexandrie, saint Athanase conféra officiellement à Frumence le titre de fondateur de l'Eglise éthiopienne en même temps que celui d'évêque de cette église. (PIERRE ALYPE, *L'Empire des Négus*.)

d'Eutychès qui infectait l'Égypte, où ses adhérents formaient le parti national sous le nom de Jacobites.

Il y eut des tentatives d'évangélisation à l'arrivée des Portugais (1526-1542) commandés par Christophe de Gama.

L'église catholique compta même parmi ses adeptes un empereur, Socinios, qui mourut en 1632.

Une persécution violente éclata sous le règne de son successeur. Le catholicisme fut noyé dans le sang [1]. Dès lors on peut se demander si les Hamites émigrés appartenaient ou non à la religion chrétienne, ou étaient monophysites, comme le devinrent les Abyssins au Ve siècle? A dire vrai, les Batutsi, qui habitent le Rwanda, l'Urundi et l'Uha, ont conservé un si léger bagage de croyances et de coutumes franchement chrétiennes qu'on hésite à répondre par l'affirmative.

Il existe toutefois des légendes, des traditions, des observances et des usages qu'il serait difficile d'expliquer autrement si l'on niait, à priori, leur origine chrétienne.

Monophysites à leur départ d'Abyssinie, les Hamites ont peut-être peu à peu oublié, au cours de leur long exode, la croyance chrétienne et adopté les pratiques et les superstitions des peuples au milieu desquels ils ont vécu. Une autre hypothèse peut être admise. Au sud de l'Éthiopie, des tribus Galla, plus ou moins mêlées aux Noirs, dont elles étaient les voisines, ont presque toujours vécu turbulentes et indépendantes, en marge de la vie et de la civilisation Abyssine. Ne serait-ce pas parmi les membres de ces clans à demi sauvages qu'il faudrait chercher les ancêtres de nos Hamites, Bahima, Peuls, Batutsi?

Pour le lecteur désireux de connaître l'opinion d'un colonial distingué et savant sur les autochtones de l'Afrique, les Négrilles et leurs contemporains de race blanche habitant plus au Nord, sur le premier habitat des Noirs

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(1) Le Père Martial de Salviac, *Les Galla*.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

(Bantu) et des Hamites, nous transcrivons les lignes suivantes : « D'où viennent les Nègres africains? Est-il possible de se prononcer sur leur origine première? Il semble que l'état actuel de nos connaissances ne permet pas encore de répondre à cette question d'une manière définitive ni même satisfaisante » [1]. C'est ainsi que s'exprime M. Delafosse, ancien gouverneur des Colonies.

Primitivement les Négrilles, d'après l'auteur cité, constituaient au centre et vers le Sud la population aborigène de l'Afrique :

« Actuellement le nombre des Négrilles relativement purs de tout croisement n'est pas considérable en Afrique. On en rencontre cependant, à l'état dispersé, dans les forêts du Gabon et du Congo, dans les vallées des hauts affluents du Nil et dans d'autres portions de l'Afrique équatoriale. Plus au Sud, sous les noms de Hottentots et de Bushmen ou Bochimanes, c'est-à-dire d'« hommes de la brousse », ils forment des groupements plus compacts... Il semble bien certain que ce sont là des restes appelés à diminuer de siècle en siècle et peut-être même à disparaître totalement un jour, d'une population autrefois beaucoup plus répandue.

» L'on n'est pas d'accord sur le point qui marqua le terminus du fameux voyage accompli au VIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ par l'amiral carthaginois Hannon... : les estimations extrêmes le placent, les plus larges entre Sierra-Leone et Monrovia, les plus rigoristes non loin de l'embouchure de la Gambie. Quoi qu'il en soit ce hardi navigateur termina son soi-disant périple en une région où l'on ne trouve plus de Négrilles aujourd'hui, mais où il y en avait encore de son temps. Car il n'est pas possible de ne point identifier avec les Négrilles que nous connais-

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[1] Le problème des origines des Bantu est encore plus obscur que celui des Hamites. Faute de données plus précises, nous nous en tenons à ce qui est avancé par les ethnologues.

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sons, dont les habitudes arboricoles ont été très souvent mentionnées par tous ceux qui les ont étudiés, ces petits êtres velus ressemblant à des hommes et se tenant sur les arbres, aperçus par Hannon... et qualifiés de *gorii* par son interprète. »

Le brillant ethnologue suggère que l'interprète de l'amiral carthaginois avait été vraisemblablement embauché sur la côte sénégalaise et parlait la langue des Ouolofs actuels du Sénégal, chez qui le mot gorii ou gôr-yi correspond à notre expression « ce sont des hommes ». Or, ajoute l'auteur, ce mot, « nous l'avons appliqué à une espèce africaine de singes anthropomorphes, qui ne se rencontre, au moins de nos jours, que bien au Sud du point le plus méridional qu'ait pu atteindre l'amiral carthaginois, et nous avons supposé que les petits êtres velus, ressemblant à des hommes, de ce navigateur, étaient des gorilles, sans songer que le gorille, même vu de loin, n'a aucunement l'aspect d'un petit homme, mais bien plutôt celui d'une sorte de géant.

« ...Il semble donc qu'il soit permis, en l'absence de toute certitude à cet égard, de supposer que l'habitat des Nègres africains était primitivement peuplé de Négrilles. Le domaine de ceux-ci ne s'étendait vraisemblablement pas beaucoup au delà des limites de ce qui constitue aujourd'hui, en Afrique, le domaine des Noirs... Il est probable que l'Afrique du Nord, très différente déjà du reste du continent et se rapprochant de l'Europe méditerranéenne plus que de l'Afrique centrale et méridionale, était habitée par une autre race d'hommes (de couleur blanche).

» Selon toute probabilité, les Négrilles de l'époque antérieure à la venue des Noirs en Afrique devaient être des chasseurs et des pêcheurs, vivant à l'état semi-nomade, qui convient à des hommes se livrant exclusivement à la chasse ou à la pêche. Leurs mœurs se rapprochaient vraisemblablement beaucoup de celles des Négrilles qui

existent encore à l'heure actuelle... Peut-être s'adonnaient-ils à l'industrie de la pierre taillée ou polie, et convient-il de leur attribuer les haches. les pointes de flèches, les grattoirs et les nombreux instruments en pierre que l'on trouve, un peu partout, dans l'Afrique noire contemporaine... » (1).

Les Noirs, ceux que nous appelons Bantu, bien différents des Négrilles, proviendraient de migrations dont le point de départ aurait été le Pacifique à sa limite avec l'Océan Indien. Ils auraient emprunté, à des époques fort éloignées, soit la voie d'un continent aujourd'hui effondré, la Lémurie, soit tout simplement la voie de mer.

L'invasion, ou plutôt les invasions successives, que M. Delfosse dispose en deux groupes distincts, séparés par des siècles sinon des millénaires, auraient abordé la côte orientale d'Afrique à hauteur des Comores, d'où elles se seraient répandues peu à peu sur tout le continent. Au contact de chaque vague avec les vagues précédentes, des mouvements provoqués par les disettes, les épidémies, les grandes guerres, etc., serait né le chaos des races.

« Si les indigènes de l'Australie, de la Papouasie et des îles mélanésiennes sont à ranger dans la même catégorie humaine que les Noirs africains, l'on peut raisonnablement se demander si les premiers viennent de l'Afrique ou les seconds de l'Océanie, ou bien si les uns et les autres n'eurent pas, lors des premiers âges du monde, un habitat commun, en quelque hypothétique continent aujourd'hui disparu, situé entre les terres africaines et les archipels océaniens, et ayant constitué autrefois, entre celles-là et ceux-ci, un trait d'union et un passage. Ce continent, berceau supposé de la race noire... a même reçu un nom, la Lémurie... comme l'autre a été appelé l'Atlantide, et l'on nous montre ses restes, représentés par Madagascar, les Mascareignes et quantité d'îles de diverses grandeurs,

(1) MAURICE DELAFOSSE, *Les Noirs de l'Afrique*, pp. 8, 9, 12 et 13.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

de même que l'on regarde les Canaries et les Açores comme des débris de l'antique Atlantide.

» L'existence de la Lémurie demeure problématique. Même si elle était prouvée, il se pourrait que ce continent eût disparu déjà de la face du globe avant l'apparition du premier homme. Il n'est pas besoin d'ailleurs d'avoir recours à cette hypothèse pour justifier la théorie qui fait venir de l'Océanie les Nègres africains. Nous savons aujourd'hui, de façon certaine, qu'une portion fort importante du peuplement de Madagascar est originaire de l'Indonésie, et il paraît bien démontré que, pour une partie tout au moins, la migration s'est opérée à une époque où il n'y avait pas plus de facilités de communication qu'aujourd'hui entre l'Océanie et Madagascar, et que les exodes auxquels je fais allusion se sont effectués par mer.

» Il est infiniment probable aussi que les envahisseurs nègres qui s'étaient avancés le plus loin dans la direction du Nord s'y trouvèrent en contact avec les autochtones primitifs, de race blanche méditerranéenne, qui étaient, à partir du Sahara central, dans le pays devenu plus tard l'Egypte et la Lybie, les contemporains des Négrilles du Sahara méridional et du reste de l'Afrique. Ce contact ne put se produire ni surtout se prolonger sans qu'il en résultât des mélanges et des unions entre les peuples blancs préhistoriques de l'Afrique du Nord et les immigrants noirs succédant aux Négrilles ou fondus déjà en partie avec ces derniers.

» C'est très vraisemblablement à ces mélanges fort anciens, à ces unions lointaines, qu'il convient de faire remonter pour la plus grande part l'origine de ces peuples ou fractions de peuples, qu'on appelle parfois des négroïdes, que l'on rencontre d'une manière presque continue, à la limite Sud de la zone désertique actuelle et parfois même plus au Nord, de la Mer Rouge à l'Océan Atlantique, et qui nous apparaissent tantôt comme des

populations de race blanche fortement métissées de sang noir (Bichari, Somali, Galla, Danakil, Sidama, etc.), tantôt comme des populations de race noire plus ou moins métissées de sang blanc (Massaï, Nouba, Toubou, Kanouri, Hacussa, Songoï, Sarakollé, Toucouleurs Ouolofs), les traces de métissage se révélant tantôt dans l'aspect physique ou physiologique, tantôt dans les aptitudes intellectuelles, tantôt dans le langage, ou dans ces trois éléments à la fois. Il est même possible que les éléments de race blanche qui se manifestent incontestablement chez certaines familles peules tirent de cette circonstance une part appréciable de leur origine. Il est possible aussi que ce soit à la même cause qu'il faille attribuer les traces fort anciennes de sang noir relevées tant chez les Egyptiens de l'époque des Pharaons que chez les Abyssins modernes et chez beaucoup de tribus berbères ou arabo-berbères, indépendamment des métissages produits ultérieurement par des unions avec des esclaves noires.

» ...Quant aux peuples qui avoisinent l'Abyssinie proprement dite au Nord..., au Sud-Est (Somali) et au Sud (Galla ou Oromo), ils présentent les types les plus variés, parmi lesquels le type nègre domine souvent, et parlent, eux aussi, des langues qui semblent se rattacher en partie aux parlers négro-africains [1]. En fait, toutes ces populations sont plus ou moins négroïdes d'aspect et, chez toutes, se manifeste, à des degrés divers, l'influence de la race noire; celle-ci paraît surtout prépondérante chez les tribus les plus éloignées du plateau amharique; elle devient à peu près unique chez les Massaï, qui font suite aux Galla

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[1] M. Pierre Alype ajoute que la civilisation éthiopienne « amena chez les habitants plus ou moins métissés de la mer Rouge, comme chez les Noirs répandus dans le Soudan oriental et entre les montagnes d'Ethiopie et les grands Lacs, une transformation comparable à celle que les colonies phéniciennes de la Méditerranée apportaient à distance chez les peuplades du Soudan central occidental. » (*L'Empire des Négus*, p. 24.)

et aux Somali, dans la direction du Sud. Des invasions asiatiques diverses ont contribué, d'ailleurs, à multiplier les mélanges.

» Les Danakil et les Somali sont, à l'heure actuelle, en majeure partie, des musulmans; ce sont surtout des nomades, divisés en une multitude de petites tribus. Les Galla, à la fois agriculteurs et pasteurs, sont en majorité chrétiens; on trouve chez eux des collectivités communales administrées par des conseils de notables. Ils étaient déjà constitués au temps des Pharaons. Très puissants au Xe siècle de notre ère, d'après Massoudi, ils se livrèrent à de grandes migrations aux XVe et XVIe siècles; après avoir été longtemps des adversaires redoutables pour les négous d'Abyssinie, ils furent englobés, au XVIIIe siècle, dans l'empire de ceux-ci » (1).

Il faut ajouter, avec M. René Pinon, que « sous le nom générique de Galla, on désigne tout un ensemble de populations qui habitent les montagnes du Harrar, du Kaffa et les régions avoisinantes. Les Galla sont d'origine mal connue; on a même rapproché leur nom de celui de nos ancêtres (Galli) (2); leurs légendes les font venir de l'Ouest. En tout cas, ils ne sont pas de race nègre. Ce sont des paysans et des cultivateurs; leurs contingents forment, dans l'armée éthiopienne, une cavalerie de premier ordre ».

A laquelle de ces peuplades doit-on rattacher les Hamites? Nous préférons, et pour cause, laisser intact le problème de leurs origines, en attendant de meilleures informations.

Jusqu'à quel point s'est faite l'assimilation des Batutsi parmi les Noirs des Grands-Lacs? Telle est la question que l'on peut encore se poser. Dans les royaumes du Rwanda, de l'Urundi et de l'Uha, les Hamites ont adopté la langue

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(1) *Les Noirs de l'Afrique*, pp. 4, 5, 6; 16, 17; 115 et 116.
(2) *Les Galla*, par le P. MARTIAL DE SALVIAC.

bantu, qui est la même pour ces pays. Y ont-ils introduit quelques mots de leur premier parler? Nous laissons aux philologues le soin d'élucider ce problème.

Un fait est certain, c'est que les Batutsi se sont adaptés aux mêmes façons de vivre, de manger, de se vêtir et de se loger que les Bahutu, ce qui n'a pas dû être une innovation, s'ils provenaient vraiment des tribus hamites insoumises dont nous venons de parler.

Même langage, même nourriture, mêmes costumes, mêmes habitations; il n'est pas jusqu'aux coutumes et aux superstitions qui ne soient devenues communes entre peuple vainqueur et peuple vaincu. Les rois hamites ont été jusqu'à emprunter aux princes autochtones leur mode de sépulture et le cérémonial en usage à cette occasion. L'habitude de dessécher le cadavre royal sur un foyer, le meurtre rituel de plusieurs individus pour accompagner l'esprit du prince dans l'Au Delà, la création d'un bosquet sur sa tombe, etc., sont de provenance muhutu [1].

Le nom des tambours, la forme de respect rendu tout particulièrement au Kalinga ou tambourin-palladium, ne sont que des survivances des usages pratiqués, autrefois, à la Cour des roitelets aborigènes.

Les monarques batutsi ont maintenu et confirmé dans leurs charges de sorciers, de magiciens et de faiseurs de pluie, les descendants des roitelets qui réunissaient dans leurs mains les pouvoirs spirituels et temporels, pour des raisons de conviction et d'intérêt tout à la fois.

Les Hamites n'auraient-ils pas introduit de nouvelles superstitions? Comme ils sont à peu près les seuls, dans le pays, à lire l'avenir dans les entrailles des poussins, il

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[1] Il serait intéressant de savoir de qui les princes Bahutu à leur tour tiennent ces coutumes, qui rappellent de loin celles que l'on suivait pour l'inhumation des Pharaons. Nous rappelons au lecteur que les Hamites s'étaient déjà répandus à travers tout le Protectorat de l'Uganda, bien avant leur entrée dans le Rwanda. Les potentats autochtones n'auraient-ils pas, à cause du voisinage, déjà subi l'influence de certains de leurs usages ?

n'est pas téméraire de penser qu'ils en ont pris l'habitude en dehors du Rwanda.

A qui faut-il attribuer l'origine et la paternité de la fameuse société secrète de Ryangombe, dont font partie les Batutsi, les Bahutu et les Batwa? Existait-elle avant l'arrivée des Hamites? Nous traiterons plus au long cette intéressante question dans le Livre quatrième. Ce que l'on constate, c'est que les Hamites, tout en s'adonnant à ce culte, se montrent moins bruyants et moins exubérants que les Bahutu, dans les cérémonies. Ils les célèbrent chez eux, dans l'intimité, avec un personnel choisi et presque trié sur le volet.

Le recours aux sorciers des différentes catégories, l'emploi des sortilèges et des amulettes, les sacrifices aux esprits des défunts, sont communs aux Batutsi et aux Bahutu.

Les Négrilles de la région boisée paraissent moins adonnés à ces superstitions. La seule catégorie de sorciers pour laquelle les Hamites aient montré peu d'empressement est celle des « Ababyukurutsa », encore appelés Nyabingi ou prêtres de Biheko.

Biheko est un personnage féminin, réel ou imaginaire, honoré et invoqué à peu près exclusivement dans les pays situés au Nord-Est du Lac Kivu, le Buogoyi, le Mulera, le Ndorwa et le Buganza.

Le culte de Biheko semble venir des contrées voisines, le Ndorwa, le Mpororo, dont sont originaires les Balera. Les ministres de ce culte élèvent des disciples, filles et garçons, interprètent les volontés de Biheko, parlent en son nom, passent pour guérir la stérilité, rendent la santé aux enfants et donnent la fécondité aux champs, moyennant finance, bien entendu.

Les Hamites ont laissé aux Bagoyi le soin de fêter l'apparition de la lune. Ils ont toléré, mais sans y prendre part, les danses et les réjouissances auxquelles se livrent ces derniers venus dans la famille des Banyarwanda. Ceux-

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

là en ont emprunté l'habitude aux pays situés au Nord et sur la rive occidentale du Lac Kivu.

Cette façon de faire est restée locale et ne s'est pas étendue dans le reste du Rwanda.

Si les habitants de l'intérieur n'accueillent point l'apparition de l'astre des nuits, comme les Bagoyi, par l'emploi des sistres, le son des flûtes, le bruit des clochettes, des trompes et des tambours, ils le considèrent, toutefois, comme un ami et un protecteur.

Les Banyarwanda étaient persuadés, avant la pénétration européenne, que leur pays était le centre du monde, que c'était le royaume le plus grand, le plus puissant et le plus civilisé de toute la terre (1). Aussi trouvaient-ils naturel que les deux cornes du croissant lunaire fussent tournées du côté du Rwanda, comme pour le protéger.

Les païens ont encore l'habitude, quand la lune est à son premier quartier, d'élever le bras dans sa direction et de dire : « Sois-moi favorable comme tu l'as été dans le mois passé » (2).

S'ils ont eu des mécomptes ou ont été éprouvés par la maladie, durant le mois écoulé, les suppliants varient légèrement la formule : « Sois-moi favorable comme l'autre fois » (*Umbonekere nk' ukundi*).

Les Noirs, simples et crédules, prêtent à la lune une grande influence sur les événements heureux (3).

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(1) Ce sentiment que les Banyarwanda ont de leur supériorité n'est qu'une manifestation de ce que l'on peut appeler leur conscience ethnique. Il est commun aux autres peuples limitrophes.

(2) Umbonekere nk' ugushize ! c'est-à-dire au sens littéral : Regarde-moi comme (lors de la lune) écoulée. Il faut lever en même temps le bras et le pied droit.

(3) On sait que les Chinois, les Juifs, les Abyssins et les Noirs considèrent la lune comme une protectrice.

« L'aspect de la lune, son contraste avec le soleil, ses transformations, sa douceur, sa clarté, la fidélité avec laquelle elle « mesure » le temps, l'espèce de bienveillance sereine qui lui fait présider des nuits entières, les danses et les fêtes au son du tam-tam, la facilité qu'elle donne de voyager... tout cela la fait regarder comme une amie. Il (le Noir) ne

La dynastie royale des Batutsi se réclame d'une origine céleste, tout comme les Pharaons d'Egypte, les empereurs de Chine et du Japon. La vie des premiers princes, Muntu, Kazi, Kigwa, Kimanuka, Gihanga, tient plus du roman que de l'histoire. Dans les légendes consacrées à ces personnages, et qui prennent le monde à ses débuts, le mythe religieux absorbe le mythe historique.

Le plus important des groupes ethniques d'où sortirent les premiers rois d'Egypte avait pour emblème le faucon.

Chez les Batutsi du Rwanda, ce fut le clan des Banyiginya, dont le totem est la grue huppée, qui assura sa prépondérance sur les autres. Outre la division en clans et l'existence des emblèmes ou totem, qui sont des particularités communes à ces deux peuples, on trouvera encore, dans le cours de l'ouvrage, plus d'un point de contact entre les Égyptiens et les Batutsi [1].

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l'adore pas plus qu'il n'adore le soleil et les étoiles; mais il est heureux de saluer son retour, il est épouvanté des dangers que l'éclipse lui fait courir, et il lui témoigne une sorte de reconnaissance lointaine pour tous les services qu'elle lui rend. » (Mgr LEROY, *Les Primitifs*.)

« La lune, amie des Juifs, accomplit sa fonction sainte qui est de courir dans le ciel pour fixer la suite des années et des jours, et la date des fêtes, et aussi pour guider les pèlerins qui s'en vont à Jérusalem, et les pauvres voyageurs...

» ... Répandue sur la place, la foule vêtue de blanc faisait monter vers l'astre éblouissant ces hymnes de tendresse, que, de tout temps, les fils de Sem, Hébreux ou Phéniciens, nomades du désert ou de la mer agitée, ont adressés à la froide Déesse, compagne et protectrice de leur mobilité sans fin.

» O lune, disaient-ils, à l'origine des temps, au commencement des âges, tu brillais, le jour comme la nuit, égale en beauté au soleil. Mais tu rêvas de devenir la plus grande et la seule des lumières...

» ... Depuis ce jour, astre déchu, tu cours le ciel enténébré, pour consoler le malheureux, conduire le voyageur, servir de guide à l'égaré, rayon d'espoir dans les prisons et dans l'âme des désespérés.

» Comme à nous, le pardon, ô Lune bienfaisante ! Alors tu régneras, comme autrefois, sur les jours.... »

JÉROME et JEAN THARAUD, *L'ombre de la Croix*, pp. 258 et 259.

R. P. HUC, *Dans la Tartarie*, p. 71.

[1] Qu'on ne s'attende pas à une chronologie exacte. Les Hamites du Rwanda ont vécu au jour le jour; ils n'ont pas d'ère ni de division normale du temps bien qu'ils connaissent les mois lunaires, de sorte que la date et la longueur des règnes restent problématiques.

Dans le livre premier, nous donnerons, avec un aperçu sommaire sur le Rwanda, la physionomie physique et ethnologique du pays, ainsi qu'un court exposé historique de l'invasion hamite.

Dans le livre deuxième, on parlera de la « Fondation du Royaume Hamite du Rwanda ».

Comment se fit l'établissement des Batutsi parmi les Bahutu qui occupaient le pays et quelle fut la carrière des princes hamites qui se succédèrent sur le trône, tel est l'objet de cette deuxième partie.

Nous parcourrons successivement, dans l'ordre chronologique présumé, le cycle de la dynastie mututsi, en rapportant, à chacun des trente-huit souverains, authentiques ou supposés, les faits qui le concernent.

Quant aux légendes qui mentionnent les gestes des princes hamites, nous les donnerons dans la mesure où elles se confondent avec eux, et, aussi, pour satisfaire la curiosité des lecteurs qui aimeraient à connaître la mentalité des Banyarwanda et leur goût du merveilleux.

Dans le livre troisième, on raconte, d'après la légende et la tradition, la vie et le règne du roi le plus célèbre, connu sous le nom de Rungazu II Ndori. De tous les monarques, il est celui qui a contribué le plus à l'unification du royaume. Il fit vraiment œuvre d'agrégation politique.

Les emplois et les privilèges de la Cour, ses us et coutumes, seront longuement développés dans le livre quatrième.

Un certain nombre d'événements, l'épisode des Barenge, l'invasion des Banyoro, la guerre contre les Barundi, sous le règne de Chylima II Ludjugira, l'immigration dans le Bugoyi des hommes au langage incompréhensible, et l'histoire du Gyssaka, avec la légende de Ryangombe, formeront la matière du livre cinquième.

En raison de leur valeur historique, ethnologique et

littéraire, comme aussi à cause de leur longueur, ils méritent d'être traités à part.

N. B. — Quand nous aurons à citer dans le texte, en langue runyarwanda, les noms propres, les termes géographiques et autres noms communs, nous les écrirons en leur conservant l'article (1) et le préfixe nominal (indiquant le singulier ou le pluriel) (2), qui font corps avec le mot lui-même, *vg*:

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(1) L'article (a, i, u), qui varie selon les classes de mots, est désigné dans les ouvrages runyarwanda déjà existants sous le nom de voyelle euphonique.

(2) Le préfixe nominal, qui indique le singulier ou le pluriel, varie également d'après la classe des noms.

CLASSES.		SINGULIER.	PLURIEL.	CLASSES.		SINGULIER.	PLURIEL.
I^e	Classe	mu	ba	VIe	Classe.	u	n
IIe	»	mu	mi	VIIe	»	ka	tu
IIIe	»	n	n	VIIIe	»	bu	ma
IVe	»	ki	bi	IXe	»	ku	ma
V^e	»	i	ma	X^e	»	ha	ha

ARTICLE.	NOMBRE SING. OU PLUR.	RADICAL DU MOT.	SIGNIFICATION.
u	mu	ntu	l'homme
a	ba	ntu	les hommes
u	mu	tutsi	le Hamite
a	ba	tutsi	les Hamites
a	ba	hutu	les serfs (cultivateurs)
a	ba	twa	les Négrilles
u	ru	go	la palissade
i	n	go	les palissades

Alors qu'il serait plus logique de ne donner que le radical lui-même *vg*. les *ntu*, les *tutsi*, les *hutu*, et au singulier, le *ntu*, le *tutsi*, le *hutu*. Ce serait une affaire d'habitude, mais l'euphonie en souffrirait un peu.

[p. 21]

UN
ROYAUME HAMITE
AU
CENTRE DE L'AFRIQUE

LIVRE PREMIER
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Physionomie physique et ethnologique du Rwanda. Organisation politique, domestique et sociale des habitants.

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CHAPITRE PREMIER

Physionomie physique et ethnologique du Rwanda. Organisation politique, domestique et sociale des habitants.

Le Rwanda est limité au Nord par le Protectorat de l'Uganda, qui enclave le Bufumbiro, détaché du Rwanda en 1912 par la Commission de Délimitation anglo-belge.

Au Nord-Est, il a pour frontière le Kagera, qui se jette dans le lac Victoria.

Le fleuve de l'Akanyaru, qui le borne au Sud et au Sud-Est, n'enferme pas le Bugessera. Cette province, qui se trouve à l'angle formé par le confluent de l'Akanyaru et de la Kagera, a été détachée de l'Urundi, auquel elle appartenait autrefois. Elle en est séparée, aujourd'hui, par une ligne artificielle. Le Bungwe non plus n'est pas enlacé par le fleuve du Sud, qui le laisse à sa droite.

A l'Ouest, le Rwanda est séparé du Congo belge par le lac Kivu, sur une longueur de 120 kilomètres. Au Nord-Ouest, la chaîne des volcans lui forme une limite naturelle, au delà de laquelle s'étendent toutefois deux autres petites provinces, le Bgisha ou Gisigari, et Jomba, rattachées au Kivu belge, en 1912.

Telles sont à peu près les frontières du Rwanda, ce qui n'empêche pas ses habitants d'étendre leurs relations bien au delà du cercle de leur pays. Ils vont jusqu'à l'Edouard chercher le sel, qui est recueilli dans les marais qui avoisinent le lac. Ils y achètent aussi les peaux de colobus blanc et noir (*inkomo*) qui servent à confectionner le costume de Cour (*inkindi*), si chez aux pages (*intore*) de la Cour.

Les Hamites du Rwanda entretinrent longtemps des rapports de bon voisinage avec les rois plus modestes du Karagwe et de l'Uswi, avec lesquels ils faisaient échange de bons procédés.

Il n'en fut pas de même avec l'Urundi, qui forme la frontière Sud et Sud-Est du Rwanda. Malgré la communauté d'origine et de langue, les deux pays se firent souvent la guerre.

L'Urundi, cependant, servit fréquemment de refuge aux bannis du Rwanda.

Les Banyarwanda ne cessèrent pas de faire des échanges commerciaux avec les peuplades du Congo, qui leur fournissaient des pioches et des anneaux de fibre végétale,

appelés *ubutega*, que les femmes portent en guise de parure autour des jambes [1].

Ces fibres sont tirées d'un arbuste (*intunda*), qui n'existe que dans le territoire de Masisi; leur achat donne lieu à un va-et-vient incessant entre ce pays et le Rwanda. On se sert encore de l'écorce d'une autre plante, dite *isiha*, pour faire des anneaux d'une qualité inférieure, qui se vendent moins que les autres.

Les *butega* sont considérés comme une parure, une richesse, et servent de monnaie d'échange. Les Banyarwanda, riverains du lac et voisins de Masisi, étaient imposés, comme contribuables, en *butega*. Chaque clan devait en fournir annuellement plusieurs milliers à la reine-mère, qui en disposait pour elle-même, ses suivantes et ses esclaves.

Il n'est pas rare de rencontrer des dames Batutsi qui portent des centaines d'anneaux autour des jambes. Ces ornements s'entassent les uns sur les autres jusqu'aux genoux et donnent, à celles qui s'en parent, une démarche lente et fort disgracieuse.

La garde-robe d'une femme riche comprend plusieurs milliers de *butega*, dont l'achat occasionne des dettes qui donnent souvent lieu à de longs procès et querelles.

Les rois du Rwanda dirigèrent aussi nombre d'expéditions au Congo, sans autres résultats définitifs que des razzias.

L'ensemble du Rwanda est un plateau élevé, fortement ondulé. Il a été déboisé, pour écarter les animaux sauvages et pour avoir des pâturages et des terrains de culture.

Le Nord-Ouest est une région accidentée, pittoresque et forestière. C'est là que s'étend la ligne des volcans, à peu près tous éteints aujourd'hui.

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(1) Quelle que soit la somptuosité ou l'indigence de leur costume, les femmes noires ont toutes un grand amour de la parure (Maurice Delafosse).

Les sommets les plus élevés sont le Karissimbi (1), qui mesure 4,506 mètres; le Mikeno (2) ou Mukuru mubi (3), 4,380 mètres; le Muhabura (4), 4,127 mètres; le Sabyinyo (5), 3,647 mètres; le Mago (6), 3,711 mètres; le Gahinga (7), 3,474 mètres, etc.

Le Père Paul Barthélemy, fondateur de la Mission de Nyundo, dans le Bugoyi, est le premier qui ait fait l'ascension du Karissimbi, d'où le nom de Pic Barthélemy donné, par certaines cartes, au plus haut sommet.

Le Mikeno, que l'on croyait jusqu'ici inaccessible, a vu de hardis explorateurs profaner son inviolabilité (8). Chacune de ses deux pointes élancées se termine par un immense rocher, presque taillé à pic, qui mesure de trois à quatre cents mètres de haut.

La plaine dite « des Volcans » s'étend entre la Rutchuru et le lac Kivu. Elle est parsemée de blocs de lave et de centaines de cratères de dimensions variables.

Parmi les volcans en activité, signalons le Nyiragongo (3,496 mètres), aux formes entièrement classiques. Le cra-

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(1) Karissimbi, du mot amassimbi, sorte de coquillage blanc que les Batutsi de l'Urundi et du Rwanda portent au cou en guise d'ornement. A cause de sa couleur, il a servi à désigner la neige qui couvre les sommets et par extension la plus haute montagne.

(2) Mikeno, du verbe gukena, être dénudé.

(3) Mukuru muhi, sommet d'accès difficile.

(4) Muhabura, du verbe guhabura, remettre dans le chemin parce que la montagne sert de point de repère aux voyageurs.

(5) Sabyinyo, le père aux grosses dents, à cause de ses arêtes volcaniques.

(6) On le trouve désigné à tort sur certaines cartes sous l'appellation de Visoke. C'est une altération du terme Bisoko qui est le nom du pays lui-même.

(7) Gahinga, le petit sommet.

(8) Durant l'été de 1927, le 25 juillet, les PP. Van Hoef et Depluet, M. et Mme Léonard parvinrent à surmonter tous les obstacles en s'aidant d'une corde et d'une petite échelle. Ils arrivèrent sur le pic du Sud, séparé de l'autre par un abîme.

Le sommet forme une esplanade à plan incliné et couverte de gravier volcanique.

tère principal, au fond duquel s'ouvre une large cheminée [1], a un diamètre d'environ 400 mètres.

Son voisin de droite, le Nyamulagira (3,056 mètres), est plus actif. L'ouverture du volcan mesure près de 2,000 mètres de diamètre.

Dans quatre ou cinq petites cheminées distribuées sur une partie de l'ancien cratère, la lave en fusion bouillonne constamment, dégageant des fumerolles et des vapeurs sulfureuses. Le volcan dit de Mugunga ou de Ntsuro, non loin du lac Kivu, émet encore quelques rares vapeurs. L'éruption de ce dernier est de date récente, puisqu'elle ne remonte qu'à la fin de décembre 1912.

Citons encore le Bwana-Mahalage, presque perdu au milieu des blocs de lave. Il a eu deux éruptions successives, de 1903 à 1905; depuis, il n'a pas donné signe de vie

Son cratère, à l'heure actuelle, s'est à peu près complètement obstrué et n'offre qu'un diamètre insignifiant.

Là où les laves ont commencé à se désagréger, comme c'est le cas pour la plaine du Bugoyi, qui s'étend au Nord-Est du lac Kivu, la terre est d'une grande fertilité.

L'aspect du pays est imposant et agréable à voir. Le lac et ses îles, les hauts pics qui ferment son horizon au Nord, sa plaine parsemée de cratères et ses volcans actifs en font une contrée unique sous le rapport de la curiosité. Le climat est tempéré et le sol riche. C'est une terre volcanique qui continue à se décomposer sans jamais s'épuiser. On rencontre dans les champs le sorgho, les pois, les haricots, les patates et l'éleusine. L'*arum* comestible est rare, ainsi que le manioc, mais la pomme de terre et le blé se répandent de plus en plus. Les terres dites du Byahi et du Riverere sont les plus propices à la culture de la fameuse plante médicée (tabac), dont la vente fait largement vivre nombre de familles.

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[1] En 1912, il y avait deux cheminées juxtaposées. La paroi qui les séparait a disparu en 1915.

La colonne de fumée, relativement légère entre les années 1908 et 1926, a augmenté en janvier 1927 et se voit de loin.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

La vaste plaine du Rwrere occupe près de la moitié de la province du Bugoyi. On n'y rencontre pas une source, ni un ruisseau. Les eaux de pluie s'écoulent aussitôt sous la lave, que recouvrent à peine 50 ou 60 centimètres de terre arable. Les habitants sont obligés d'aller puiser à des distances variant entre 10 et 20 kilomètres, aller et retour, aux ruisseaux de la Sebeya ou de la Mutura. En temps de pluie, ils recueillent précieusement les eaux qui se ramassent dans les anfractuosités des rochers ou dans les petits fossés que creuse chaque individu près de sa demeure. Les propriétaires de bananeries utilisent l'eau que contiennent les larges écorces des bananiers. Celles-ci sont fendues dans le sens de la longueur, à l'aide d'un couteau, et il en sort de l'eau légèrement mélangée à la potasse. Les indigènes s'habituent à boire ce liquide sans aucune répugnance.

Les Bagoyi qui habitent la partie montagneuse sont plus favorisés que ceux de la plaine, sous le rapport de l'eau.

La partie Nord, appelée Bigogo, est tout en pâturages. Elle est habitée par les Batutsi pasteurs, qui y possèdent de nombreux troupeaux de vaches, la richesse du pays.

Ces mêmes terres, tributaires des volcans, ont donné naissance à une belle forêt, où poussent les bambous et quelques essences rares; elle s'épanouit à l'Est du Kivu, dans la direction Nord-Sud.

Les indigènes, toujours en quête de champs plantureux ou de charbon de bois, lui ont porté des coups terribles. Aussi y trouve-t-on de larges solutions de continuité.

Les provinces du Centre et de l'Est, le Nduga, le Bwana-Mkali, le Gissaka, le Buganza, etc., se composent de longues collines ondulées, presque toujours séparées par de petites vallées souvent transformées en marais, fort précieux pour les cultures d'été.

Le Buliza, le Bussigi, le Luhanga sont de longs plateaux où paissent de nombreux troupeaux de chèvres, de moutons et de vaches. Ces régions sont à une altitude moyenne de 2,200 mètres.

Le Rwanda compte aussi des lacs, dont le plus important est le Kivu, qui mesure 120 kilomètres de long et 40 à 50 kilomètres de large.

Viennent ensuite, par ordre de grandeur, le Mohazi, dans le Buganza; le Mugessera et le Sake, dans le Gissaka; le Ruhondo (1,750 mètres d'altitude) et le Bolero (1,065 mètres), dans le Mulera, et le Karago, dans la plaine de Lwankeri.

Au Bugessera, on compte plusieurs étangs : le Murago, le Mirayi, le Kagomasi, le Chohoha, le Gaharwa, le Kilimbi, etc. Le petit pays du Bgiriri, qui fait suite au Gissaka, vers le Sud, comprend le Birira.

Les deux fleuves qui serpentent dans le Rwanda sont : la Nyabarongo (1) et l'Akanyaru (2). Le premier, que M. Kandt, le dernier résident allemand, dans un ouvrage bien connu, a décoré du titre de « Caput Nili » (Source du Nil), est formé par la jonction de deux rivières, la Mwogo (3) et la Lukarara.

Ces deux torrents prennent leur source au Sud-Ouest du Rwanda; dans leur cours supérieur, leurs eaux coulent avec impétuosité dans un lit encombré de roches et de galets.

Parmi les nombreux affluents de la Nyabarongo, citons, par ordre alphabétique: la Base, la Mukungwa (qui sort du lac Ruhondo), la Nyabugogo, qui sert d'émissaire au lac Mohazi, etc.

L'Akanyaru, dont le bassin est moins étendu, vient également du Sud-Ouest et mêle ses eaux à celles de la Nyabarongo, à la hauteur du Bugessera.

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(1) Nyabarongo du verbe kulongora, kulongoroka, aller au loin. Ce fleuve a été ainsi appelé parce qu'il s'étend à travers le Rwanda.

(2) Akanyaru du verbe kunyaruka, se précipiter. La rapidité de son cours lui a fait donner ce nom.

(3) La violence de son cours et le volume de ses eaux, à la saison des pluies, sont cause de nombreux accidents tragiques d'où l'expression : Mwogo ! tu ne tues pas les gens, tu n'entraînes que ceux qui sont venus (d'eux-mêmes) y chercher la mort. Mwogo ! ntiwich' abantu, wicha abakwizaniye.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

Les deux fleuves, après avoir fait leur jonction, échangent leur nom en celui de Kagera [1]. Avec cette nouvelle dénomination, ils entrent dans le Victoria, où ils vont jeter leurs ondes jaunes chargées de limon.

Le lac Kivu ne reçoit qu'une faible partie des eaux du Rwanda; il a pour émissaire le fleuve de la Russizi, qui, après un cours mouvementé, sur une longueur d'environ 120 kilomètres, va se déverser dans le Tanganyika.

Le Rwanda, dont la superficie peut être évaluée à 30,000 ou 35,000 kilomètres carrés, renferme une population que l'on croit atteindre deux millions d'âmes.

Elle comprend trois groupes ethniques bien distincts: les Batutsi ou Hamites; les Bahutu, du groupe des Bantu, et les Batwa ou Négrilles (Pygmées).

Les Batutsi, qu'on pense originaires d'Egypte ou d'Abyssinie [2], sont hauts de taille. Il y en a qui mesurent jusqu'à 2 mètres et même 2m10.

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(1) Kagera. Ce mot vient du verbe kugera, aller en profondeur.

La Kagera promène d'un cours lent, dans la plaine, ses eaux paresseuses qui s'épandent dans de vastes étangs et marécages, où pullulent les crocodiles et les moustiques.

(2) La physionomie du peuple éthiopien est, au point de vue ethnologique, une exception en Afrique, tant par l'ensemble des caractères qui la déterminent que par l'originalité qu'elle présente. De sang imprécis, ce peuple est apparemment d'origine indo-européenne par la régularité, des traits et l'ensemble physique. Le brun de l'épiderme n'est que le résultat d'un métissage postérieur sous l'action du soleil. Si l'aspect extérieur ne suffisait pas à révéler chez l'Ethiopien l'infusion de sang aryen, les dialectes locaux : le ghez ou vieil éthiopien et l'amharique, auxquels de savants linguistes trouvent des sources iraniennes, viendraient confirmer l'opinion couramment admise. Sa filiation sémitique, en tout cas, n'est pas douteuse. (Pierre Alype, *L'Empire des Négus*, pp. 22 et 23.)

Le même auteur ajoute que « la civilisation éthiopienne, née dans la presqu'île arabique passée en Afrique avec des Yéménies dès une époque très reculée se développa au contact de la civilisation égyptienne sur laquelle elle ne manqua pas à son tour de réagir » (pp. 23 et 24).

Pierre Alype cite le nom d'un roi d'Ethiopie, Sebacos, qui d'après les historiens, Hérodote en tête, conquit l'Egypte et l'occupa longtemps. D'autres parlent d'un autre prince de même race, Taharka, qui en même temps que l'Ethiopie gouverna l'Egypte huit cents ans avant notre ère. On lui attribue l'élévation de la colonne de lotus au temple de Karnak

Ils ont les membres bien proportionnés, les traits réguliers, le nez droit, les lèvres fines, et présentent des ressemblances remarquables avec les Pharaons d'Egypte. Comme les Ethiopiens, les Batutsi sont caractérisés par leur teint brun avec un reflet rougeâtre, au moins chez certains types, et par leur visage allongé un peu en ovale.

Généralement gais, ils sont d'un abord facile et en imposent aux autres par leur allure noble, un peu hautaine, mais correcte.

Alors que la taille moyenne des Batutsi est estimée à 1m79, celle des Bahutu s'élève à 1m67. Ceux-ci sont plus trapus et plus courts, et leurs traits sont moins réguliers. Leur force musculaire est supérieure à celle de leurs maîtres, sans doute à cause des travaux pénibles auxquels ils se livrent.

Les Bahutu sont en général moins séduisants, moins polis et plus timides que les Batutsi. Dans la colère, ils ne savent pas se dominer autant que ces derniers, mais, par contre, ils sont plus simples et de mœurs plus sévères [1].

La taille moyenne des Batwa ou Négrilles ne dépasse pas 1m59. Courts et trapus, assez mal proportionnés, ils ont plutôt des formes disgracieuses. Ils sont velus, leur poitrine surtout offre une large surface pileuse. Le prognathisme est plus prononcé chez eux que chez les Bahutu. Ils sont aussi, au moins ceux qui habitent la forêt, plus insensibles au froid et à la fatigue, habitués qu'ils sont aux privations et aux intempéries de la saison.

Leur vigueur et leur longévité sont passées en proverbe. Aussi les Batutsi et les Bahutu aiment-ils à donner à leurs enfants des noms de Batwa, tels que Mutwa, Gatwa, Lwa-

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[1] La plupart des grands chefs sont polygames ou entretiennent des concubines dans leurs nombreux domaines. Les simples pasteurs hamites, et ce sont les plus nombreux, sont généralement monogames et d'une moralité de bon aloi qui vaut celle des Bahutu. On peut même ajouter que ceux qui mènent la vie pastorale pourraient en remontrer à ces derniers sous le rapport de la décence.

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mukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., comme s'ils pouvaient leur infuser, par ces dénominations, les qualités physiques de cette race [1]. Un os quelconque, pourvu qu'il ait appartenu à un Négrille, est réputé remède souverain contre l'infirmité dite des « *makonyora* », qui est une des suites du pian.

Les osselets de cette catégorie se portent au cou comme les amulettes.

La confiance que les Bahutu ont mise dans ces sortes de gris-gris va plus loin. Ils ont cru jusqu'ici que, pour améliorer le rendement d'un champ, il suffisait de jeter, dans ce dernier, un doigt de Négrille, d'où le nom de « ilemo » (création, c'est-à-dire fertilité) donné à ces sortes d'objets, et celui de « kulemesha » (fertiliser) pour désigner cette opération.

Le genre de vie des Négrilles, leurs habitudes et leur caractère ne ressemblent en rien à ceux des autres groupes ethniques [2].

Les Batutsi sont un peuple de pasteurs par excellence. Ils s'appliquent à peu près exclusivement au métier pastoral, quand ils n'ont pas de collines ou de villages à gouverner.

C'est un métier qui a leurs préférences. Pour eux, la

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(1) C'est dans le même ordre d'idées et pour des raisons semblables que les Noirs portent des noms de certains animaux : hyène, lion, chien, etc.

(2) Les préhistoriens et les anthropologistes « ont démontré scientifiquement que les nains ou pygmées signalés de tout temps en certaines régions de l'Afrique appartiennent à une race humaine distincte de la race noire. Non seulement ils sont en moyenne de couleur moins foncée et de taille plus exiguë que la généralité des Nègres, mais en outre ils se différencient de ceux-ci par nombre d'autres caractères physiques, notamment par le rapport plus disproportionné des dimensions respectives de la tête, du tronc et des membres. Les savants leur refusent l'appellation de « nains », qui convient à des individus d'exception dans une race donnée et non à l'ensemble d'une race; ils rejettent le terme de « pygmées », qui représente à notre esprit l'extrême petitesse de la taille comme un caractère essentiel et prédominant, alors que les hommes dont il s'agit, bien que dépassant rarement 1 m. 55, ne descendent généralement pas au-dessous de 1 m. 40. On leur a donné le nom de Négrilles. » (MAURICE DELAFOSSE, *Les Noirs de l'Afrique*, p. 8.)

vache prime tout. Un grand troupeau de bovidés est un titre d'honneur et un signe d'aisance. On peut dire en toute vérité qu'ils ont le culte, la passion de la race bovine. Ils ne pensent et ne causent que bœufs et vaches. Aussi, leur rêve est-il d'en avoir le plus possible. Suivant l'axiome qui veut que « La bouche parle de l'abondance du cœur », ils ont conçu une formule de salutation qui traduit ce secret désir de leur cœur.

« Amashyo! » c'est-à-dire « Puisses-tu avoir beaucoup de troupeaux »! dit le plus digne; l'autre de répondre : « Amashongore » « Puisses-tu avoir beaucoup de vaches! »

Avec le temps ils ont réussi à communiquer autour d'eux cette soif de posséder des vaches. Tout Muhutu s'estime heureux quand il en a une. On se demande si ce ne serait pas les Batutsi qui ont importé le bétail dans le Rwanda. Ce qui est certain, c'est que leurs bovidés se distinguent des autres par la longueur de leurs cornes, qui atteignent parfois jusqu'à un mètre et qu'ils ont une grande analogie avec les vaches que l'on voit représentées sur les monuments égyptiens.

L'hypothèse qui fait venir les Batutsi du pays des Pharaons ne manque pas de relever le fait.

Il faut convenir que les Batutsi s'entendent bien à l'élevage du bétail. Ils connaissent bon nombre de ses maladies et le traitement qu'elles réclament. A voir les soins dont ils entourent leurs vaches, on serait tenté de croire qu'ils ont conservé quelque chose de la religieuse vénération que leurs ancêtres possibles professaient pour le bœuf Apis.

Ils ne souffrent pas que leurs animaux soient maltraités; plutôt que de l'abattre ils laisseront tomber à terre une bête malade, ou s'éteindre de lui-même un individu sénile.

La bouse de ces bovidés, que des serviteurs entraînés ramassent chaque matin, de leurs mains est déposée, avec soin, en dehors de l'enceinte faite de ficus, et forme avec le temps, autour d'une grande place fréquemment balayée,

un avant-mur odorant. Il n'est pas jusqu'à l'urine qui ne serve à rincer les vases de bois où l'on verse le lait. Il va sans dire que le liquide blanc,au contact de l'acide, prend une saveur qui ne plaît pas à tout le monde et tourne en peu de temps.

Les Bahutu sont avant tout un peuple cultivateur.

Ils forment le fond de la population, dont ils composent aux moins les huit dixièmes. Alors que les Batutsi, qui ne vivent que de l'élevage de leurs troupeaux, s'installent à proximité des pâturages, de préférence sur les hauteurs, sur les plateaux et à l'entrée de la forêt, les Bahutu s'établissent dans les endroits où il leur est permis de cultiver, surtout au milieu de leurs bananeries quand ils en possèdent.

Leur nourriture est variée.

Elle consiste en haricots, petits pois et patates. Ils cultivent beaucoup le sorgho, l'élusine et le maïs. Dans certaines régions on rencontre le chou caraïbe ou arum comestible (amatcke), l'igname (ébikoro), la courge et la citrouille dont les gens sont friands. Il se fait aussi une grande consommation de miel parmi les montagnards. Ailleurs, le Muhutu le porte au Mututsi qui l'exige comme une redevance et s'en sert pour faire l'hydromel (inkangaza et intoramo), la boisson préférée des nobles.

La banane, que le Munyarwanda mêle assez souvent à ses autres aliments, lui fournit surtout une bière très recherchée (inzoga y'urwagwa).

Les Banyarwanda pour donner du goût et de la saveur à leur nourriture ordinaire et à leurs mets favoris y mettent des plantes amères, ou des fruits acides et aigrelets qu'ils font cuire en même temps [1]. Les ménagères se servent aussi d'une eau qui contient un peu de potasse

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[1] L'issogi est de toutes ces plantes la plus communément employée. Les arbustes qui donnent les baies les plus estimées à cause de leur goût amer sont « intagashya » et « igitagarasoryo ».

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et remplace le sel absent. Les Noirs retirent ce médiocre assaisonnement de la cendre de plantes qui poussent dans les marais [1]. On brûle ces herbes après les avoir fait dessécher au soleil. La cendre est ensuite recueillie dans un grand tesson sur lequel les humbles sauniers africains versent de l'eau pure qui déborde et coule dans une cruche, en entraînant avec elle quelques partictules plus ou moins solubles de cette poussière charbonneuse. Le liquide est mis en réserve. Les cuisinières en versent une petite quantité, à chaque repas, dans la marmite. Quelques familles vivent de ce modeste métier et font le négoce d'une eau qui n'est pas salée, mais a un goût de cendre.

Le sel, en effet, était rare avant l'arrivée des Européens. Les grands chefs Batutsi étaient à peu près les seuls à pouvoir s'en procurer.

Ce sel, recueilli par les Noirs dans les marais du lac Édouard, contenait une proportion de terre et de sable au moins égale à la moitié de son volume et se vendait néanmoins fort cher sur les marchés indigènes.

Le sel de l'usine Gottorp (non loin de Kigoma) a pénétré aujourd'hui dans tous les milieux. Il est très estimé des Banyarwanda qui l'appellent « ulugera », un substantif dérivé du verbe kugera qui signifie pénétrer, parce que, à cause de sa bonne qualité, de son goût âcre et piquant, il arrive, disent-ils, jusque dans l'estomac. On comprend pourquoi les Noirs privés de sel autrefois, recherchaient les herbes amères et les fruits acides. Le piment et la ciboulette, qui sont d'importation relativement récente, ont eu pour ce motif beaucoup de succès auprès des Noirs, qui en cultivent un petit carré auprès de leurs cases. C'est probablement pour la même raison que les enfants se montrent presque aussi friands de citrons que d'oranges.

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[1] Les indigènes désignent ces herbes sous le nom de umuberanyi, umurago et igikangaga. On utilise surtout les cendres de la dernière de ces plantes.

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Quelques années après l'éruption dite du Ntsuro (décembre 1911 et janvier 1912) quand les indigènes purent sans danger approcher du volcan, ils se mirent à recueillir du sel mélangé à de fortes proportions de terre. Les habitants des villages voisins passent la majeure partie de leur temps à récolter l'indispensable substance. Pour débarrasser le sel de ses impuretés, les gens le mettent à fondre dans de grandes auges en bois dites imivule ou imizinga remplies d'eau. Le liquide est ensuite retiré pour être exposé au soleil dans d'autres auges. Les ouvriers les plus habiles et les plus entreprenants font bouillir l'eau jusqu'à évaporation complète. Les marchés qui se tiennent au nord de Kivu sont approvisionnés de ce sel qui se vend malgré son infériorité aussi cher que celui de Gottorp. Il est moins blanc, renferme des impuretés et reste toujours humide.

Les Batwa ou Négrilles ne cultivent pas beaucoup. Ils dédaignent le travail des champs.

Cette occupation est presque « tabou » pour eux [1]. Ils se divisent en deux catégories : les potiers et les chasseurs. Les premiers s'établissent dans les villages bahutu, mais vivent à l'écart. Ils façonnent l'argile, métier que tout le monde leur abandonne. En retour de leurs vases, ils reçoivent des vivres.

Les chasseurs préfèrent la solitude de la forêt. Ce sont les vrais enfants des bois; ils « trayent » la forêt de toutes les façons, comme leur vache propre, selon une expression

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[1] Chez les Batwa du Bugoyi qui vivent à la lisière de la forêt, on rencontre des champs de petits pois sur une vaste étendue. Faut-il voir dans ce fait un nouvel état de choses dû aux changements profonds qui ont bouleversé ou transformé leur ancienne manière de vivre ?

Il est certain que les domaines de chasse des Pygmées ne sont plus aussi spacieux qu'autrefois. La forêt diminue insensiblement, mais sûrement, sous les coups de hache que ne cessent de lui porter les Bahutu en quête de nouveaux champs. Il faut bien dire aussi que les Négrilles ne peuvent plus se livrer comme par le passé à la maraude et au brigandage. La pénétration européenne est pour beaucoup dans la cessation de cette source de revenus. Les Batwa pour se sustenter se sont mis par la force des choses à cultiver comme les Bahutu.

qui leur est familière. Ceux-là vivent du gibier qu'ils tuent.

Très friands de viande, ils poursuivent sans relâche l'éléphant, le buffle, l'antilope, la gazelle, le gros rat sans queue, ni griffes, dit « inkezi », et le singe [1], dont ils mangent la chair, ce qui les rend on ne peut plus « impurs » aux yeux des autres. Ils se servent avec beaucoup d'adresse d'arcs et de flèches en bois. Bien que toujours à l'affût du gibier, ils ne peuvent tirer de là toute leur subsistance. Les plantes et les racines sauvages de la forêt ne leur suffisent pas davantage. Jadis ils rançonnaient les voyageurs qui avaient la témérité de passer sur leur domaine et faisaient des razzias dans les cultures des Bahutu. Aujourd'hui que l'autorité européenne a mis fin à ces actes de brigandage, ils se sont créé des ressources en fabriquant des cordes, en faisant des paniers et des arcs qu'ils vont vendre dans les villages ou qu'ils portent au marché. On ne peut plus dire des Négrilles du Rwanda qu'ils sont encore au « stade de la cueillette ». Ils l'ont dépassé depuis une époque indéterminée.

Les grands chefs Batutsi aiment avoir quelques Batwa autour d'eux et s'en servent surtout comme porteurs de litière. Ils vivent nombreux à la capitale où ils sont utilisés pour divers travaux de garde ou de surveillance. C'est parmi eux que se recrutent les bourreaux, fonction qu'ils exercent volontiers, car ils font leurs les dépouilles des victimes.

Il faut ajouter qu'ils se montraient dans ce terrible métier d'une cruauté sans exemple. Les cris des suppliciés ne leur inspiraient aucune pitié. La pénétration européenne a mis heureusement un terme à ce lugubre métier.

Les Négrilles habitent des huttes de branchages très

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[1] Seuls, le chimpanzé (impndu) et le gorille (ingagi) échappent au pot au feu, « parce que, ajoutent les Pygmées non sans un grain de malice, ils ont été des nôtres autrefois (ngo n' abatwa bachu) et que ce n'est qu'à la longue qu'ils ont dégénéré et se sont transformés en bête (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa) ! »

primitives qui ne les mettent pas complètement à l'abri des intempéries des saisons, ni des bêtes fauves. Ces dernières ne leur inspirent généralement pas grande crainte, vu la connaissance qu'ils ont de leurs mœurs, de leurs habitudes et de leurs repaires. Ils grimpent comme des écureuils sur les arbres pour fuir le danger ou se mettre aux aguets. Ils passeront huit ou même quinze jours sans rentrer au logis, à la poursuite du gibier surtout s'il s'agit d'un éléphant.

La région boisée est leur domaine propre, ils en connaissent les fourrés et les recoins, se glissent partout sur les traces des animaux, à travers les épines et la broussaille, sans courir le risque de s'égarer.

Les Pygmées vivent par groupes de six à sept familles réparties à travers la forêt qu'ils se sont partagée comme un bien de famille, en s'y fixant des limites respectives, pour ne pas se gêner.

La chasse en zone défendue ou même simplement contestée a donné lieu à plus d'une rixe sanglante entre frères et amis.

On compte à peine une quinzaine de ces groupements de Négrilles-chasseurs qui auraient peine à se suffire, si la viande était leur seule nourriture.

Les incendies volontaires pour cause de défrichement qui ont amoindri le pays boisé et les nouvelles conditions politiques qui transforment peu à peu la société contribuent à diminuer leurs ressources alimentaires.

Aussi verra-t-on peut-être bientôt les derniers représentants de ces hommes des bois rejoindre leurs autres compatriotes, les potiers disséminés à travers les villages des Bahutu, ou se mettre à cultiver comme le font déjà quelques-uns.

Les Batwa vivent complètement à l'écart. Ils ne se mêlent pas aux Bahutu, encore moins aux Batutsi. C'est une caste méprisée.

Le Rwanda n'eut pas son unité politique dès le début. On verra dans les pages qui suivent que son morcellement

en royaumes minuscules ou en petites principautés indépendantes les unes des autres atteignait un chiffre considérable. Les pays les plus anciennement habités semblent avoir été au Nord-Est, le Ndorwa, le Buganza, le Gissaka, le Bugessera; au centre, le Nduga, le Munyambiriri; au Sud-Est, le Bwana-Mkali. Les régions situées au Nord-Ouest, le Mulera, le Bugoyi, le Bgisha, le Kanage, etc., ont été conquises peu à peu sur la forêt et ont été peuplées par des gens originaires des contrées voisines.

Politiquement, le Rwanda est une monarchie absolue.

Les Banyarwanda appartiennent au type de sociétés « plus hiérarchisées, caractérisées par la constitution d'un pouvoir central dont les ordres, obligatoires par eux-mêmes, sont transmis jusqu'aux plus humbles individus par une série continue de chefs subalternes ». Ce régime fut la conséquence de l'invasion et de la conquête du Rwanda par les Hamites. Le système monarchique fut introduit par eux pour « maintenir par un réseau administratif très ferme les populations assujetties » (1). Dans la classification adoptée par Deniker (2), les Banyarwanda appartiennent d'après leur degré de culture au premier groupe par les Bahutu et les Batwa, mais il convient aussi de les ranger dans la seconde catégorie à cause des Hamites qui surent donner à leurs sujets soumis une organisation supérieure et une culture plus élevée que celle des peuples du premier stade. Ils forment une catégorie intermédiaire entre les deux premières divisions de ce classement.

Le pays est gouverné par un roi dont le pouvoir est illimité, — il s'agit du passé —, et héréditaire. Le symbole de la royauté est un tambour, objet sacré, espèce de palladium, désigné sous le nom de Kalinga.

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(1) *Les relations entre l'évolution sociale et l'évolution religieuse*, par le R. P. Pinard de la Boullaye, S. J. (Correspondant, 25 janvier 1929.)

(2) *Races et peuples de la terre*, 1900, p. 151.
Deniker répartit les peuples en peuples incultes, en peuples semi-civilisés et en peuples civilisés.

Comme tous les potentats africains le prince hamite avait jadis le droit de vie et de mort sur ses sujets; tout lui appartenait en propre, terres et gens, récoltes et animaux domestiques. C'est lui qui nommait les dignitaires et les gouverneurs de province, presque toujours choisis dans les rangs des Batutsi, la race noble et conquérante.

Ceux-ci à leur tour se choisissaient des auxiliaires qui devenaient chefs de colline. Les grands chefs, tout en possédant nombre d'habitations dans leurs districts respectifs, vivaient rarement au milieu de leurs gens.

Toujours entourés de rivaux jaloux et souvent malveillants, ils étaient en butte aux intrigues. L'espionnage et la délation étaient, à la Cour, à l'état endémique; voilà pourquoi les grands dignitaires restaient à côté du roi pour parer à tout événement.

La royauté hamite, devenue autoritaire, brilla tout de suite d'un grand éclat. Les Banyarwanda, réunis sous un même sceptre, devinrent un des peuples nègres les mieux organisés et se répandirent au delà de leurs frontières naturelles pour vaincre et soumettre au tribut les nations ennemies qui les entouraient. L'union des clans Bahutu s'effectua, grâce à l'organisation administrative de plus en plus centralisée des nouveaux occupants.

Les rois hamites ne dépouillèrent jamais la simplicité des mœurs antiques. Ils s'intéressèrent toujours à leurs troupeaux de vaches qu'ils se faisaient présenter régulièrement, demandant et retenant les noms des bêtes et leur généalogie. Sur les champs de bataille, on les reconnaissait à peine de leurs guerriers dont ils portaient le costume et les armes, c'est-à-dire une simple peau de chèvre autour des reins, une lance, un arc et des flèches.

En temps de paix toutefois l'étiquette élevait le monarque et l'isolait de ses sujets. On ne pouvait aller le visiter sans demander audience et sans se faire annoncer, au moins pour ce qui concerne le commun des mortels, car les grands et les favoris usaient de plus de liberté et même de sans-gêne. Le protocole de la Cour exigeait le

claquement des mains (gukom' amashi) quand on se présentait devant le monarque.

Autour de lui se pressaient les « seigneurs » pour occuper les charges du gouvernement et former la Cour [1]. Celle-ci n'accueillait pas seulement les princes de sang royal, les dignitaires presque tous de race et sang hamite, mais ceux aussi que le roi y introduisait d'emblée. On trouvait parmi eux, en petit nombre cependant, des roturiers, des étrangers et même plus rarement des Batwa que leurs services ou leur habileté en sorcellerie avaient élevé sur le pavois.

Pour tous c'était un art que d'arriver et de rester.

Le roi inspirait à son entourage un respect très humble mêlé d'une inquiétude constante. L'incertitude de ce que leur réservait son attitude digne, mais un peu hautaine, ne laissait pas que de tourmenter ces ambitieux de la fortune.

Aussi épiaient-ils avec appréhension les mouvements de son visage auguste qui, pour rester le plus souvent fermé, trahissait parfois cependant ses sentiments les plus intimes et ses dispositions les plus subites.

Un éclair rapide de colère dans ses yeux présageait la disgrâce et peut-être la mort; un sourire illuminé dans son visage sévère faisait s'épanouir de radieux espoirs.

Ces changements brusques et capricieux, qui pouvaient décider de l'avenir et même de la vie, tenaient perpétuellement les âmes en suspens entre la peur qui fait frissonner et la paix aussi agréable qu'une douce fraîcheur.

... Pourtant si l'on vivait dans une incertitude anxieuse, on essayait de se rassurer en se disant que le roi était trop juste pour méconnaître la vertu et la droiture... Mais, si cette intégrité du cœur, que la bouche exprimait pouvait

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[1] La Cour des Hamites! Quand il s'agit des personnes et des temps dont nous écrivons l'histoire, il ne faut pas s'imaginer sous le nom de Cour une de ces assemblées que virent se former les pays civilisés. Celle des Batutsi ne leur ressemble guère. Cependant il est difficile d'appeler d'un autre vocable l'ensemble des personnages et des domestiques qui composent l'entourage, la suite et le cortège de ces potentats africains.

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rendre solide la situation du courtisan déjà parvenu, comment aurait-elle suffi à faire apprécier l'aspirant courtisan, dont les qualités étaient encore à peine connues? Pour y réussir, pour trouver le patron décidé à introduire un novice et assez entreprenant pour faire s'incliner vers celui-ci le regard et le cœur du monarque, on devait parfois provoquer et soutenir l'intérêt d'un protecteur par des attentions plus ou moins discrètes, mais toujours significatives.

Le cadeau qu'on vous donne fait la route large.
Et il vous conduit en présence des grands.

Si la fortune tardait trop à sourire, on ne se décourageait pas. C'est une habileté que de savoir attendre.

Mais attente n'est pas inaction. Une ville assiégée finit toujours par tomber; il faut entreprendre le siège du roi [1].

La patience ne coûte rien aux ambitieux, tout pressés qu'ils soient d'aboutir. La principale occupation des grands et des parvenus était de faire de la politique, d'ourdir des cabales, de flatter le roi et d'arrondir leur fortune privée. Ils possédaient des terres et des troupeaux qu'ils géraient avec soin.

Ils suivaient le prince dans ses déplacements pour ne pas perdre ses faveurs, écarter les menées de leurs ennemis et profiter des miettes qui tombaient de la table royale.

Tous s'avançaient et se poussaient pour s'approcher du monarque et avoir une place de choix auprès de lui.

Nul d'entre eux ne tenait à s'éloigner.

Ils voulaient vivre à la capitale, sous les yeux du maître, de qui dépendaient le crédit et l'avancement. La vie et les papotages de la Cour étaient alimentés par les intrigues des envieux, les rivalités, « l'âpre compétition du pouvoir, les brigues pour gagner et garder la faveur, les insinua-

[1] *La Cour royale et les classes sociales au temps de David et de Salomon*, par Louis Desnoyers. (*Correspondant*, 25 juillet 1927.)

Ce que l'auteur dit des Hébreux s'applique proportions gardées aux Hamites du Rwanda. Nous faisons maints emprunts à l'article cité en nous inspirant largement des idées qui y sont exprimées.

tions perfides des ennemis qui se poursuivaient avec haine et décence, les passions brutales assouvies à tout prix », les disgrâces éclatantes et les exécutions officielles qui en étaient parfois la conséquence.

On s'engouait avec une sorte de frénésie de tout ce qui était anormal ou énigmatique, prédictions de sorciers, fantômes, crimes, morts subites ou mystérieuses.

Et comme les habitués de la Cour connaissaient à fond la généalogie du voisin, son passé, son histoire, ses relations, ses intérêts, il est aisé de deviner que la chronique du jour portait également sur les querelles privées, les deuils, les unions, les naissances. C'était la pâture habituelle des conversations. Pareil en cela en certain roi de France qui faisait sa compagnie ordinaire de petites gens, diseurs de bonne aventure, astrologues, apothicaires, perruquiers, voire même Monsieur le Bourreau, le monarque hamite à son tour aimait s'entourer de maîtresqueux, archiâtres, empiriques, magiciens et charlatans de tout acabit, auxquels il répartissait à l'occasion les honneurs et les places [1].

On comprend facilement ce qu'était dans ces conditions, l'administration royale. Nul soin d'encourager les arts, de favoriser l'agriculture, d'améliorer la condition du peuple. Les droits des sujets existent bien en principe, mais ils ne sont réglés par aucun texte organique et se trouvent trop souvent soumis aux caprices du pouvoir royal et local.

Amoureux de leur propre gloire et uniquement préoccupés de leurs plaisirs les souverains n'avaient pas d'autre ambition que celle de rehausser leur prestige et de jouir de la vie.

D'un règne à l'autre les rois ne se ressemblaient guère.

Le guerrier succédait au pacifique. Les uns, cruels et brutaux, avaient les caprices sanglants et les passions désordonnées des despotes et décadents; les autres, de

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[1] On connaît quelques exemples éclatants de ces faveurs royales. Des sujets de la plus humble condition réussirent à obtenir la main d'une princesse hamite et à se faire anoblir.

goûts plus simples, coulaient une existence paisible et laissaient respirer le peuple.

On rencontre des Souverains qui aimaient et pratiquaient les « choses de l'esprit », tel Yuhi-Mazimpaka dont les productions littéraires sont encore fort prisées des intellectuels noirs.

A l'écart de la Cour, vivaient les épouses et les concubines du roi, « dont il avait remarqué lui-même la beauté..., ou dont ses grands, sûrs de lui plaire ainsi, lui avaient signalé les charmes ».

Parmi les raisons qui inspiraient la profusion des femmes dans le harem du Souverain, « les sentiments du cœur et les réclamations des sens y collaboraient » plus que tout le reste. Nombreux sont les princes qui s'adonnèrent sans mesure aux œuvres de la volupté. On connaît toutefois des idylles parées des charmes de la littérature qui furent peut-être vécues.

Il faut avouer pour être juste qu'une grande idée présidait chez les Hamites à la constitution de la famille. Comme les Hébreux et tant d'autres peuples de l'antiquité les Batutsi envisageaient le grand nombre des enfants et surtout des fils, comme un honneur, une gloire et une force. Ils s'estimaient heureux de voir grandir autour d'eux leurs enfants et les enfants de leurs enfants jusqu'à la troisième et à la quatrième génération.

Une nombreuse progéniture leur paraissait une sûre garantie pour l'avenir de leur race. Ajoutons que la paix ne pouvait s'asseoir à leur foyer. Car de toutes les femmes légitimes il y en avait presque toujours une préférée. « Rivales l'une de l'autre, rivales pour leurs enfants, elles poussaient ceux-ci à la rivalité, et le mari obéissant à ses préférences ou cédant à sa faiblesse ne savait point toujours partager équitablement son cœur, ses faveurs et ses biens » [1].

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[1] La femme aimée s'appelle « nkundwakazi », la femme haïe « mbikazi ». Rivale se dit « mukeba » ou « umugore w' ishyari » c'est-à-dire femme de jalousie au sens littéral.

On devine sans peine les causes de trouble et les conflits que faisait naître le nombre excessif des épouses et des enfants.

L'histoire des princes hamites du Rwanda contient des « pages souillées et comme ensanglantées par le récit des passions qui les dressèrent les uns contre les autres, et qui se déchaînant avec une violence brutale » finirent par occasionner des tragédies et des révolutions de palais. L'unité et l'esprit de famille n'ont jamais rien gagné à la polygamie. L'histoire des Hamites du Rwanda est là pour prouver et confirmer cette assertion.

La mère du roi conservait le premier rang parmi les princesses du harem et régnait avec son fils. On lui « témoignait les égards les plus respectueux, et qui voulait obtenir une faveur du monarque n'avait pas de plus sûr recours que de passer par elle ».

Pour être prospère et puissant, a-t-on dit, un peuple doit être bien discipliné. Ce qui a fait la force des Hamites, c'est leur bravoure et leur organisation.

Ceux qui connaissent les Hamites ne peuvent s'empêcher d'admirer parmi leurs qualités la persévérance dans l'œuvre entreprise et l'obéissance aux chefs. Ames politiques et diplomates, on leur reconnaît, et c'est à leur éloge, une entière possession de soi, un grand calme. En vrais chefs, ils se fâchent peu, leurs sentiments violents paraissent rarement au dehors.

Leur apprentissage de la vie commence de bonne heure.

Dès leur enfance, les jeunes Batutsi, en effet, s'adonnent à de vrais exercices de sport, sous la surveillance du Mwami ou des grands chefs, pratiquent l'endurance, et supportent vaillamment les fatigues que leur imposent les longs et fréquents exercices du « guhamiriza » (danses particulières aux Batutsi). Ils restent attachés, comme pages (intore), de nombreuses années, au service du Mwami ou des gouverneurs de province pour se former à la vie et gagner les faveur des puissants du jour.

CHAPITRE II

Organisation domestique et sociale (suite). — Clans; vie et traditions de famille. — Mentalité et psychologie; caractère et tempérament des Africains. — Intelligence, savoir-faire et perfectibilité du Noir. — L'Afrique, berceau de la civilisation aurignacienne.

Les Banyarwanda, qu'ils soient Batutsi, Bahutu ou Batwa, sont agglomérés par tribus ou par clans dont ils portent le nom. Ils mènent la vie patriarcale. Les contrées du Nord-Ouest sont celles où l'idée du clan a conservé toute sa force et son importance; les membres qui le composent mettent en commun leurs intérêts, leurs joies et leurs intérêts, leurs joies et leurs vengeances.

L'exclusivisme y est rigoureux. Ces mêmes régions ont opposé la plus grande résistance à l'envahissement des Batutsi. On peut se demander d'où vient cette répartition en clans.

Au fur et à mesure de leur développement, chacun des trois groupes ethniques, Batutsi, Bahutu et Batwa a adopté le nom de l'un ou l'autre de ses ancêtres, pour se distinguer des autres familles ayant la même origine. De là est venu le morcellement des tribus.

Les Basiete, Batutsi de fraîche date, se réclament de leur aïeul, Busiete, le Mutwa d'origine, ennobli par Yuhi III Gahindiro.

Parmi les Batutsi, ce sont les Banyiginya, les Bega, les Balejuru, les Bakongori qui se disent descendus du ciel.

Le clan ou tribu n'est autre chose que le lignage étendu. « La famille ainsi constituée n'est pas restée réduite au père, à la mère, aux enfants, aux serviteurs...; elle s'est agrandie. L'esprit de solidarité qui en unissait les différents membres, renforcé par les nécessités du temps, en tient fixées au tronc les diverses branches. Les cadets et leurs rejetons demeurent groupés autour de l'aîné et continuent à recevoir de lui une direction commune.

Cette famille élargie, qui réunit les cadets et leurs enfants, les cousins et les serviteurs attachés à la maison [1], prend le nom de umulyango dont la signification est la même que celle de « mesnie », du latin mansionata, maison. La tribu devenue trop nombreuse dans la suite, s'est fractionnée; chaque sous-tribu a pris alors le nom du nouveau chef, tout en conservant, comme nom de rappel, celui de l'ancêtre commun. En d'autres termes, les clans principaux se sont scindé dans la suite des temps, et sous un nom nouveau sont restés unis à la tribu mère.

Les Bagwabiro du Bugoyi sont les descendants d'un pluviateur Migwabiro qui appartenait au clan muhutu des Basinga.

Il quitta son village de Suti (Munyambiriri) et vint, après un essai infructueux de colonisation au Kinyaga, s'installer au Bugoyi, sous le règne de Chyilima II Ludjugira, aux environs peut-être de 1700. Il y retrouva son fils Macchumu qui joua un rôle de choix dans la lutte contre les fameux « Muets » ou hommes au langage incompréhensible.

Changement de pays, ennoblissement, rôle important joué dans un événement, exercice d'une charge à la Cour, etc. sont autant de motifs qui ont présidé à la création de nouveaux clans. Nous constaterons dans les pages qui suivent maints exemples de ces formations récentes.

Nous donnons ici une courte nomenclature des clans :

1° Groupe ethnique des Batutsi.

a) *Les deux principaux clans :*

Abanyiginya, d'où est sortie la famille royale.
Abega.

b) *Les clans secondaires :*

Abatsobe (Gatsobe, Nyirarutsobe).
Abaha, venus de l'Uha.
Abasinga, Abagessera, Abasiete, etc.

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(1) Funck-Brentano, *L'Ancien Régime*, p. 15.

2° Groupe ethnique des Bahutu.

a) *Clans les plus anciens :*

Ababanda, Abagessera, Abazigaba, Abungura, Abasinga, Abatchaba ou abiru, etc.

b) *Clans secondaires ou récents :*

Abambari, Abalevu, Abalindwa, Abatabo, Abahindi, Abakora, Abahigo, Abahuma, Abatembe, Abaziko, Abashobyo, Abondo, Abanyunjo, Abajongo, Abachira, Abakwa, Abanyoni, Abungura, Abalimba, etc.

3° Groupe ethnique des Batwa.

Ceux-ci empruntent aux Bahutu les mêmes désignations pour la plupart de leurs clans. On rattache à la race des Batwa les « Bayovu » qui, bien qu'originairement « Bahutu », sont considérés comme des dégénérés parce que à l'instar des Négrilles, ils mangent des animaux réputés impurs et s'occupent de poterie.

Malgré leur répartition plus ou moins factice en tribus, les Pygmées se considèrent pratiquement, au point de vue social, comme faisant partie d'un seul groupe, dit des Batwa. Ils pratiquent entre eux ce que nous appelons la solidarité.

Quelqu'un d'entre eux est-il tué, tout le groupe se sentira lésé et se lèvera pour le venger. Un Mutwa en voyage reçoit partout l'hospitalité chez ses « frères », même quand il est inconnu d'eux.

Le droit de propriété existe chez les Banyarwanda. Il est bien défini par la coutume et la tradition, nonobstant les injustices passagères et le pouvoir discrétionnaire du roi et des chefs. Tous le reconnaissent et l'admettent en principe. Nul ne se fait faute de l'exercer ou de le réclamer.

On en tient compte dans les procès.

Les filles n'héritent pas, mais restent à la charge de leurs frères, jusqu'au jour où elles entrent en ménage.

Les garçons seuls se partagent les biens immeubles [1].

L'aîné ou tout au moins celui qui est désigné par le mourant pour lui succéder, reçoit une part un peu plus grande que celle de ses frères en vertu de son droit d'aînesse. Si les héritiers sont au nombre de trois, la propriété est divisée en trois lots, d'égale grandeur à l'exclusion d'un champ ou d'une petite bananerie.

Cette parcelle est appelée « umusaya » et s'ajoute à la part du premier.

Il y a parité pour chacun d'eux dans le partage des bovidés et des ovidés.

Les terres libres ou abandonnées ne se rencontrent pas au Rwanda. Il peut y avoir des zones plus ou moins étendues, inoccupées parce que peu fertiles, dangereuses à cause des fauves, trop éloignées des centres habités ou trop vastes par rapport au chiffre de la population, elles ne sont pas, pour ce motif, « res nullius ». Leurs propriétaires en gardent toujours la jouissance et en prendront possession effective quand ils voudront.

Forêts, montagnes, landes, marécages et marais mouvants sont divisés en une multitude de lots, dont les possesseurs sont parfaitement connus.

Les chefs par suite d'un abus d'autorité peuvent se réserver provisoirement une partie des plateaux, des vallées ou des bas-fonds marécageux pour y faire paître le bétail.

Leurs administrés, malgré cela, restent en droit propriétaires de ces terres et prairies et ne manqueront pas de faire valoir leurs titres à la première occasion, par exemple au départ ou lors du remplacement du chef.

Il arrive fréquemment dans certaines régions que les parcelles cultivables deviennent insuffisantes pour les

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[1] On trouve à l'état d'exception quelques domaines patrimoniaux indivis que les cohéritiers unis entre eux par le « frerage » (ou « fraresha ») exploitent d'un commun accord. Ces biens-fonds portent le nom de « isage » (ou « ingaligazi »).

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besoins de la population. Les moins favorisés du sort ou les plus entreprenants s'entendent alors pour vendre ou échanger leur part et vont à la lisière de la forêt acheter un terrain ou mettre en valeur celui qu'ils y possédaient.

Le clan dont ils sont membres compte désormais un village de plus.

La vente et l'affermage des terres et bananeries se fait comme en Europe devant témoins. Les propriétés sont délimitées et se reconnaissent à des bornes et autres marques conventionnelles.

Un arbre coupé, une pierre déplacée, quelques coups de pioche donnés sur la limite dans le champ du voisin donnent lieu à de fréquents litiges qui mettent la désunion durant de longues années dans les familles et parmi les tribus.

Le Munyarwanda reste attaché à son village natal, à son coin de terre. Il n'éprouve pas le besoin de se déplacer et de transporter ailleurs ses pénates, comme le font les Noirs installés à l'Est et à l'Ouest du Tanganyika.

Le sol du Rwanda est de beaucoup plus riche et supporte des cultures nombreuses et variées.

En plus de la bananerie, qui est la partie principale de sa propriété, le Munyarwanda commence à planter des arbres et à cultiver le caféier qui lui rapporte de gros bénéfices auxquels il n'était pas habitué. La possession d'un petit troupeau de bovidés ou d'ovidés lui rend son « home » encore plus cher.

On peut dire que son foyer domestique est plus stable que dans les régions voisines et qu'il ne le quitte que difficilement [1].

La ligne de conduite que suivent les Banyarwanda quand il s'agit de tester prouve que leur organisation

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[1] Les Noirs aussi connaissent la nostalgie ou mal du pays. La crainte de la vendetta et l'emprise des gros salaires peuvent momentanément inciter les indigènes à s'expatrier. Ils reviennent tôt ou tard au berceau de leurs aïeux. Les Banyarwanda citent des traits caractéristiques à ce sujet.

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sociale tout en laissant à désirer est supérieure à beaucoup d'autres, parmi les tribus nègres.

Hamites, Bahutu et Batwa tiennent à exprimer nettement leurs dernières volontés pour ne rien laisser à l'imprévu et empêcher l'esprit de chicane de se glisser parmi leurs héritiers.

De son vivant le père, au jour choisi par lui, réunit ses enfants autour de sa personne, ou s'il veut donner plus de solennité à son acte, se présente avec eux chez le chef de la colline auquel il offre une bière en cadeau comme entrée en matière. Il désigne parmi ses rejetons mâles comme légataire principal celui qu'il préfère, l'aîné, le benjamin, n'importe lequel d'entre eux.

L'élu lui succédera dans son rôle de chef de famille, pour lever l'impôt sur ses frères au nom du roi ou du chef hamite et traiter avec ces derniers des affaires concernant le petit groupe.

Le père peut déshériter et maudire le fils dont il aurait eu gravement à se plaindre, qui lui aurait manqué de respect, l'aurait insulté, l'aurait abandonné dans ses malheurs, ou lui aurait fait défaut dans un procès : « Qu'il n'ait plus d'enfant, s'écrie-t-il en crachant dans l'une et l'autre de ses mains. Tu as mal agi à mon égard, je te retranche d'entre les miens, je te maudis » (1).

Le bien de famille est partagé, avons-nous dit, en autant de lots qu'il y a de garçons.

Il en est de même des troupeaux, vaches, chèvres, moutons. Chacun en a sa part égale.

L'exécuteur testamentaire en sa qualité d'aîné ou de chef de famille ajoute à son avoir patrimonial un petit champ ou un coin de bananerie.

Il reçoit habituellement du vivant de son père une vache dite vache d'obédience (inka y'indabukirano) pour affirmer son autorité sur ses frères. Ceux-ci doivent à leur tour lui offrir une bière, une pioche et un mouton pour faire

(1) Ntabyare ! ntabeke ! Wambereye gito, nanje ndaguchiye mu bana banje !

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acte de vassalité. Ils reconnaissent par là sa supériorité, se mettent sous sa dépendance. Lui, en retour, devra s'intéresser à eux et à leurs procès, s'occuper de leurs affaires en cas de maladie, les défendre envers et contre tous.

Les filles n'ont aucun droit à la succession paternelle. Mais, par contre, le père avant de mourir désigne pour chacune d'elles un de ses fils qui devra spécialement s'occuper de leur avenir, de leur mariage et veiller sur elles jusqu'à leur établissement.

Celle dont la dot a été payée en vaches reçoit de son père ou de son frère une génisse, le jour où elle vient leur présenter son premier-né. Dans les familles riches elle est gratifiée d'une vache, à chaque naissance d'enfant mâle. S'il s'agit de gens de condition modeste, le cadeau consiste en un taurassin, une chèvre ou une ou deux pioches selon l'importance de la dot payée [1].

Au décès de leur père, les filles ne reçoivent que des vêtements en peaux de vache, des pioches ou des moutons que l'on désigne en raison du deuil sous le nom de « salaire ou récompense des larmes ».

La veuve, celle dont le fils a été choisi comme légataire principal, jouit habituellement des biens familiaux jusqu'à sa mort. Le partage n'a lieu d'une façon définitive qu'après sa disparition d'entre les vivants. Une veuve sans enfants est généralement chassée par les parents de son mari qui se répartissent les biens du défunt. On ne lui laisse en la congédiant qu'une natte et quelques ustensiles de ménage. Si elle est relativement jeune, un de ses beaux-frères la prend comme concubine ou lui cherche un autre mari.

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[1] La vache donnée dans ces circonstances porte le nom de « vache de la jeune mère » (ichari, umwari). Le taurassin obtenu dans ces même conditions est désigné sous le nom de « vêtement de femme » (inkanda) parce que la peau de l'animal doit servir en principe à habiller l'heureuse mère.

Le père de l'enfant doit, selon l'usage en vigueur chez les Banyarwanda à cette occasion, offrir à son beau-père ou à celui de ses beaux-frères, constitué tuteur de sa femme, trois cruches de bière et un panier de nourriture cuite.

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Quand un enfant perd ses parents, on lui donne un tuteur. Le tuteur légal est le grand-père paternel, ou à son défaut, un oncle, un cousin germain du côté paternel ou, enfin, le chef lui-même du village.

Les oncles et les tantes du côté maternel, surtout s'ils appartiennent à un autre clan, ne peuvent en règle générale régir les biens de l'orphelin. Cela donnerait lieu à des contestations et à des procès entre les membres des deux tribus. Ils peuvent tout au plus élever l'enfant.

La tutelle revient de droit aux parents du côté paternel qui administrent les biens du pupille jusqu'à la majorité de ce dernier, c'est-à-dire jusqu'au jour où il prend femme, ce qui arrive habituellement à l'âge de dix-huit ou dix-neuf ans.

S'il ne reste que des filles, les parents les plus rapprochés du côté paternel héritent du bien de famille, mais doivent s'occuper des orphelins jusqu'à leur établissement.

Quand un individu meurt sans postérité et ne laisse aucune parenté, ses biens reviennent de droit au chef de la colline. Ces biens se nomment « inkungu ».

Les familles sont nombreuses, mais la mortalité infantile y est considérable.

Huit jours après sa naissance, le nouveau-né reçoit du père un nom approprié aux circonstances [1]. La mère est

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[1] Nous voyons tous les hommes, dit Mgr Le Roy, se donner un nom qui les distingue, et souvent le meilleur qu'ils aient trouvé a été celui d'un animal dont ils avaient remarqué la force, l'adresse, l'agilité ou la beauté, d'une plante qui leur était utile..., d'un objet ou d'un phénomène qui les avait frappés. (*Les Primitifs*, p. 126.)

Nous donnons quelques exemples de ces appellations familiales :

Ntare . . . . . = le lion.
Se-ntama . . . . . = l'homme (ou le père) au mouton.
Se-buhene . . . . . = l'homme aux chèvres.
Se-nkôkô . . . . . = l'homme aux poules.
Se-mbga . . . . . = l'homme aux chiens.
Njangwe . . . . . = le chat.
Se-biti . . . . . = l'homme aux arbres.
Bissussa . . . . . = les orties (comestibles).
Nyira-massaka. . . . = la fille au sorgho.

assez considérée et l'enfant bien traité, mais à notre point de vue son éducation est nulle.

Comme chez la plupart des peuplades nègres, la loi est sévère pour les crimes hors mariage.

Il n'est pas inouï d'entendre dire qu'un mari lésé se soit fait justice lui-même, surtout quand les coupables ont été surpris en flagrant délit. Pour ce qui est des filles-mères (ibinyandaro), au Bugoyi elles étaient exposées sur les îles du lac Kivu où elles mouraient de faim. Les petits îlots rocheux et absolument arides de Ntera, Kapfunuka, Itembabagoyi en sont devenus célèbres, ainsi que les îles plus étendues, mais désertes connues sous le nom de Bugarura, Wawu, etc. Dans le Nduga et dans les autres provinces limitrophes de l'Akanyaru, elles étaient inexorablement poursuivies par les chefs qui les faisaient noyer dans le fleuve. On les y jetait pieds et poings liés et si elles tardaient à disparaître sous les eaux, on les assommait à coups de rames ou de bâtons, sous les yeux de la population qui venait assister à leur supplice. Il est tel individu, riverain du fleuve, chargé d'office d'exécuter ces malheureuses, qui raconte froidement les noyades qu'il besogna lui-même. A l'en croire, une douzaine de victimes lui passèrent par les mains. On raconte qu'un grand-père lui-même se fit le bourreau de sa petite-fille pour n'être pas poursuivi par les chefs qui profitent de l'occasion pour

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Se-bishimbo . . . . . = l'homme aux haricots.
Se-masuka . . . . . = l'homme aux pioches.
Hakiz' umwami . . . = c'est le roi qui grâcie (ou qui favorise).
Nyiragitondo . . . . = la mère du matin (celle qui est née dans la matinée).
Se-batware . . . . . = l'homme des chefs.
Se-mapfa . . . . . = l'homme de la famine.
Madjoro . . . . . = la nuit (parce que né de nuit).
Semahundo . . . . . = l'homme aux tiges de sorgho.
Lwango . . . . . = celui qui hait.
Luvuga-make . . . . = celui qui parle peu (c'est-à-dire le paisible).
Se-bazungu . . . . . = l'homme des Européens, c'est-à-dire né à l'arrivée des Blancs.
Ndegeya . . . . . = l'homme au sixième doigt, c'est-à-dire né avec cette particularité d'un sixième doigt.

piller les parents de la criminelle. Quelquefois les familles réussissaient à racheter leur enfant en cédant une vache aux autorités locales; mais ce moyen n'était évidemment pas à la portée de tout le monde. Même dans ce dernier cas le nouveau-né était impitoyablement tué dès sa naissance. On arrivait aussi quelquefois à faire fuir la coupable à temps, à l'Urundi, au Ndorwa ou au Congo. La raison donnée de cette sévérité, c'est la crainte des châtiments qui ne manqueraient pas de fondre sur le pays, à la suite de crimes de ce genre.

Ajoutons que c'est du passé qu'il s'agit, et qu'il serait bien difficile aujourd'hui de faire disparaître les criminelles à l'insu des Européens. Bien plus, les fautes de cette nature étaient relativement rares. Les Banyarwanda sont, en effet, de beaucoup supérieurs, sous le rapport de la moralité, aux peuples limitrophes. Peu importe qu'on le mette sur le compte de l'altitude du pays qui atteint une moyenne de 1.700 à 1.800 mètres ou sur celle de leurs habitudes de travail, toutes choses d'ailleurs fort vraies.

Toujours est-il que les femmes sont très réservées. Il en est de même des filles nubiles que leurs mères surveillent aussi de près.

Le Munyarwanda habite des huttes rondes, faites de roseaux, de bambous et de menus bois plantés en terre et dont la pointe va se perdre dans une sorte de ciel (igisenge) tressé au préalable.

Des tiges flexibles, réunies en nombre, liées à l'intérieur, en forme de cercle donnent à la construction de l'unité et de la consistance. Des piliers en bois, disposés sous la coupole, servent d'appui et empêchent la voûte de s'effondrer sur ses maîtres.

La couverture en est faite d'herbe : c'est tantôt le foin des prairies, tantôt la grossière herbe des marais dit urukangaga.

Ajoutons que la beauté comme la solidité de la case varie avec l'état de fortune de son propriétaire. La hutte

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comprend plusieurs compartiments partagés par des cloisons tressées en bambous ou en roseaux.

Le lit se compose de quatre piquets fixés en terre et reliés entre eux par des bois en long et en large.

Il porte un matelas d'herbes recouvert d'une natte. Le lit est réservé aux parents; les enfants dorment à terre sur une natte dont une moitié sert de paillasse et l'autre de couverture.

Si le propriétaire a quelques ovidés, chèvres ou moutons, voire même un petit veau, il leur fait un logement en un coin de la hutte. La volaille à son tour y trouve une place. Et tout y dort du plus paisible sommeil.

Le mobilier est très rudimentaire. Trois boules de terre, jadis trois coupoles d'autant de fourmilières, forment les chenets du foyer. Ils supportent le grand pot à eau où invariablement tout cuira. Au-dessus du foyer se trouve une sorte de claie sur laquelle on fait sécher le bois.

Par ailleurs, contre la cloison qui limite l'espace réservé à l'étranger, des pots et des cruches de différente grandeur, une demi-calebasse pour puiser de l'eau, des calebasses entières de forme et de capacité diverses servant de récipient au jus de banane ou à son défaut, à l'eau potable.

Si le Munyarwanda est favorisé d'une vache, qui est un présent des dieux, il aura encore des vases à lait et des barattes. Des rondins en bois légèrement évidés servent de siège. La case est ordinairement entourée d'une cour plus ou moins vaste, fermée par une enceinte de ficus ou d'euphorbes (imiyenzi) qui sert d'abri contre le vent et protège des voleurs. De petits édicules (indaro) consacrés aux esprits, ainsi que des greniers à provisions s'élèvent dans l'intérieur, sur l'un ou l'autre des côtés de la cour.

L'industrie au Rwanda est très primitive. Le pays est pauvre en minerai de fer. On ne le rencontre guère que dans le Buberuka et au Kanage. Les Banyarwanda le tirent surtout du Bunyabungu, au Sud-Ouest du lac Kivu.

Ils en font des houes, des lances, des serpes, et des couteaux rudimentaires.

La vannerie est plus développée, mais à part quelques petits travaux exécutés avec un certain art, par les femmes Batutsi dans leurs moments de loisir, cette industrie n'a rien de bien remarquable. Les ouvriers et les artisans ne visent qu'au pratique. La poterie, comme nous l'avons dit est l'apanage à peu près exclusif des Batwa ou des Bayovu, un clan muhutu presque aussi méprisé que le groupe ethnique des Batwa.

La femme comme l'homme a son travail déterminé. Pendant qu'elle s'occupe des enfants, prépare la nourriture, entretient l'ordre et la propreté dans la case, le mari trait les vaches, répare la maison. Par ailleurs on les voit souvent ensemble cultiver les champs ou récolter les céréales [1].

Au point de vue religieux le Munyarwanda est superstitieux à l'excès. Il reconnaît l'existence d'un être suprême (Imana), créateur de toutes choses, mais ne s'en occupe pas beaucoup dans la pratique de la vie, pour la raison qu'il ne fait pas de mal.

Ses soins vont aux mânes qu'il redoute. Il croit, en effet, que les esprits des morts sont les auteurs des maux qui l'affligent.

De là des invocations, des offrandes, des libations devant l'édicule forme capuchon, où se localise l'esprit irrité qu'on lui a signalé.

Le Munyarwanda est assujetti à la loi des Tabou (imiziro).

On ne peut fumer, ni s'asseoir sur une chaise en temps d'orage. Une femme ne doit pas se servir de la serpe pour couper de l'herbe. Elle ne peut manger que de la viande de vache. La chair de certains animaux est interdite.

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[1] *Grammaire Kirundi*, par le R. P. Meyers, des Pères Blancs. Maison-Carrée (Alger).

Ce que l'auteur y dit des Barundi, dans sa Préface, s'applique à peu près intégralement aux Banyarwanda. Les deux pays et les deux nations se ressemblent beaucoup. La langue est la même à quelques différences près.

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tantôt à tout Munyarwanda, tantôt à certains clans. Les objets qui ont servi au défunt et les vivres qui se trouvent dans la case au moment du décès sont tabou. Quand le deuil aura pris fin, tout cela devra être purifié au moyen de l'eau lustrale. La veuve, elle aussi, devra passer par les rites de la purification.

Il est des jours où le travail est interdit. La parenté d'un mort cesse toute occupation quatre ou cinq jours durant.

Au décès du roi, toute culture est prohibée l'espace de trois mois. Dans certaines régions du Rwanda, on chôme un jour à la naissance d'un enfant, à la suite de l'incendie d'une hutte, à la chute de la grêle, voire même à la mort d'un chien. Certains tabou atteignent le roi seul.

Il faut mentionner le mode d'inhumation particulier aux Banyarwanda, il est commun du reste à d'autres peuplades africaines. Lorsqu'un malade est sur le point de mourir et qu'il écarte les bras et les jambes, ses proches lui ramènent les genoux sous le menton. Les bras sont repliés aux coudes et les mains ramenées sur le visage.

Cette attitude d'accroupissement du cadavre est de règle absolue chez les païens. Il n'est pas téméraire de dire que cette position plus qu'incommode imposée au moribond lui rend la respiration très difficile et abrège ses derniers instants.

On dépose dans la main droite du défunt des feuilles de plantes à propriétés magiques, ishoza, umulembe, umwishwa, des grains de courge, de sorgho, d'issogi et de la laine de mouton, toutes choses dont le symbolisme est expliqué par les paroles suivantes, prononcées à cette occasion : « Reviens parmi nous comme l'agneau (ou avec la douceur de l'agneau)! Reviens parmi nous sans épines (comme les plantes douces au toucher que nous t'avons données), c'est-à-dire sans mauvais dessein ». Ses parents lui confient des vivres et quelques ustensiles pour le long voyage de l'au delà. Ils subviennent à ses besoins, mais lui demandent en retour de ne pas venir les tourmenter.

C'est une coutume ethnique à l'observation de laquelle les Noirs se montrent d'une fidélité absolue, à tel point que si la mort survient à leur insu, ils feront tout pour ramener le cadavre à cette position d'accroupissement. On se servira même s'il le faut d'un instrument tranchant pour imposer aux membres l'attitude voulue. Donner au défunt la forme d'un panier (Gupfuny' upfuye nk' igitebo), telle est l'expression runyarwanda consacrée pour l'usage. Les Noirs croient faire œuvre de piété filiale en agissant ainsi. Ce serait manquer de respect envers un mort que de ne pas lui replier les jambes. « Vous enterrez les vôtres droits et raides comme un bâton », s'écriaient au début les païens qui reprochaient aux chrétiens de ne plus suivre les usages du pays.

Le corps est enveloppé d'une natte et ligoté pour qu'il conserve la forme prescrite. On ne coupe les liens que sur le lieu de l'inhumation. Il est enterré de façon que la figure repose sur le côté droit [1].

Les morts de l'époque moustérienne et aurignacienne ont été trouvés inhumés dans l'attitude du sommeil, la figure reposant sur le côté droit, alors que pour l'époque magdalénienne la figure des morts repose sur le côté gauche. Il en était à peu près de même chez les Égyptiens et chez les Nasamons de la Tripolitaine .

« Le corps (des Égyptiens), dit le docteur Weisgerber, était généralement couché sur le flanc gauche (la tête au Sud), les jambes repliées, les genoux rapprochés de la poitrine, les mains sur la face ou sur le cou...

» Hérodote, ajoute le même auteur, nous apprend que les Nasamons qui habitaient la Tripolitaine, enterraient leurs morts accroupis et avaient bien soin, quand le

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[1] Les rites funéraires observés à la mort d'un prince hamite sont totalement différents de ceux des Bahutu. Le cadavre royal est momifié et desséché sous l'action du feu. Les employés des pompes funèbres chargés de ce soin suivent un cérémonial compliqué et curieux. Cf. Livre quatrième, chap. VII.

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mourant était sur le point de rendre l'âme, de le faire asseoir en l'empêchant de s'étendre... » [1].

Il n'est pas possible d'expliquer, dit M. Déchelette, l'origine du ploiement des cadavres. On a proposé à cet égard diverses conjectures :

1° Assimilation du mort au fœtus (attitude embryonnaire symbolique); le mort rentre dans le sein de la mère maternelle qui doit lui restituer la vie (croyance des Péruviens et des Hottentots);

2° Opération employée dans un but pratique afin de réduire les dimensions des coffres funéraires (ou des fosses);

3° Sentiment de terreur que les morts inspiraient aux vivants (origine possible du ligotage) [2].

Dans quelques localités du Rwanda, les parents du défunt après avoir préparé la tombe creusent sur l'un des côtés, au fond de la fosse, une sorte de loculus où le cadavre est déposé. Ils sont inspirés évidemment par le respect du mort dont le corps ainsi placé n'est pas écrasé par la masse de terre.

D'autres recouvrent la dépouille mortelle d'un tapis d'herbes pour empêcher le contact direct avec le sol et amortir le poids.

On s'explique l'expression des anciens qui se disaient par manière de souhait : « Que la terre soit légère à tes os ».

La description que nous venons de donner du mode d'inhumation pratiqué dans des contrées fort éloignées les unes des autres, marque un air général de famille qu'on n'est pas peu étonné de rencontrer à des époques aussi différentes puisque nous constatons encore aujourd'hui chez les Noirs ce même usage.

On n'est pas peu surpris de voir aussi que le moulin

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(1) Dr WEISGERBER, *Les Blancs d'Afrique*, pp. 309 et 310.

(2) JOSEPH DÉCHELETTE, *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine*, t. I, p. 473.

primitif de l'âge de la pierre polie ou période néolithique est à peu près identique à celui dont se servent les Noirs de l'Afrique. Il se compose d'un bloc de granit dans lequel on a pratiqué une cavité avec comme pilon une pierre de roche à peu près cylindrique. Deniker y voit « la forme la plus primitive du mortier à pilon. »

« Nous connaissons aussi, dit Déchelette, par un grand nombre d'exemplaires les meules primitives néolithiques. Elles abondent dans les stations terrestres et lacustres. Ce sont de simples pierres plates en roches compactes, très souvent en grès, dont une face usée par le frottement, présente une concavité plus ou moins accentuée. On écrasait le grain sur ces meules au moyen d'un broyeur en pierre auquel on imprimait un mouvement de rotation. Ces moulins primitifs se rencontrent encore chez diverses peuplades de l'ethnographie moderne. Dans les grandes nécropoles néolithiques des environs de Worms, des tombes de femme contiennent chacune un de ces moulins à bras » (1).

« Les fouilles, ajoute de son côté le Dr G. Contenau, nous ont restitué un type de moulin archaïque; ce sont des coupes de pierre poreuse en forme de plateau, sur lesquelles on écrasait le grain avec un galet arrondi de la même pierre » (2).

Déchelette, parlant de l'usage de ces moulins à bras, dit qu' « avec le blé réduit en farine sur des meules primitives, les Néolithiques obtenaient un pain ou plutôt un gâteau, dont l'eau des lacs suisses nous a gardé quelques curieux spécimens...

» Ce sont des galettes rondes préparées probablement sans levain, avec une farine grossière... » (3). Le pain de farine de sorgho que cuisent les Noirs, est analogue à ces galettes et de même forme.

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(1) Joseph Déchelette, *op. cit.*, pp. 344 et 345.
(2) Dr G. Contenau, *La Civilisation phénicienne*, p. 284.
(3) Joseph Déchelette, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

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Qui ne voit que toutes ces analogies, ces ressemblances, ces similitudes ethnologiques n'ouvrent à l'esprit un vaste champ de suppositions, surtout si l'on admet que l'Afrique est le *berceau* de la civilisation aurignacienne [1].

Le totémisme n'est guère en honneur au Rwanda. Peut-être n'est-il plus qu'un souvenir du passé. Le totem est toujours un animal. Celui du roi est le léopard, la grue huppée l'est des Banyiginya, le crapaud celui des Bega. Parmi les Bahutu, les Bagessera ont comme totem la bergeronnette (inyamanza); les Babanda, la hyène (impyisi); les Basinga, l'épervier (sakabaka), etc. Le totem fait partie du clan et est respecté comme tel par les autres membres.

Il est arrivé dans le passé que le clan avait pris les armes pour venger la mort de son totem, tué à dessein ou par mégarde par un des membres de la tribu voisine. Les membres de certaines tribus, les Bapyisi, par exemple, passent pour entrer en relations avec leur totem et même avec d'autres animaux, les rendre inoffensifs ou les exciter contre leurs ennemis.

C'est toutefois là une croyance qui ne tardera pas à disparaître, vu le peu de cas que font actuellement de leur totem les Banyarwanda.

Pour ce qui concerne la littérature orale et le folklore en général, on peut assurer sans courir le risque de se tromper, que les Banyarwanda n'ont rien à envier sous ce rapport aux peuples voisins.

Parmi les Noirs, il en est peut-être assez peu qui aient su conserver tant et de si anciennes traditions, d'autant plus précieuses qu'elles aident à comprendre plus d'un point d'histoire. Il sera facile de le constater durant le

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(1) Il suffit, ajoute encore DÉCHELETTE, de parcourir les galeries d'un musée d'ethnographie comparée, pour constater que la période initiale de la civilisation chez tous les peuples du globe terrestre présente partout sinon un facies uniforme, du moins bien des traits fondamentaux identiques. Partout une même industrie correspond à une phase de même culture. (*Op. cit.*, p. 213.)

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cours de ce travail. Nous croyons que les Hamites, qui sont portés aux choses de l'esprit et ont méthodiquement organisé le pays, doivent être considérés à juste titre comme les principaux auteurs de ce développement littéraire.

C'est aux mêmes Batutsi que les Bahutu du Ruanda doivent l'appréciable avantage d'être moins arriérés, moins « primitifs » que beaucoup de leurs congénères Bantu du centre africain.

Moins repliés sur eux-mêmes comme l'étaient, lors de la pénétration européenne, pour la plupart les membres des états minuscules voisins, les Banyarwanda se sont trouvés, grâce à la centralisation de l'état hamite, dans une situation plus favorable aux progrès de la civilisation.

Les habitants du Ruanda, on vient de le constater, ont plus d'un trait de ressemblance avec les autres peuplades africaines. Maurice Delafosse, traitant de ce sujet, en donne l'explication suivante : « Les populations négro-africaines quelque différentes les unes des autres qu'elles apparaissent à l'observateur superficiel offrent entre elles un caractère d'unité, qui tient sans doute à la communauté de leurs origines ethniques et à la similitude relative des milieux physiques, économiques et sociaux dans lesquelles elles se sont formées d'abord et ont par la suite évolué » (1).

Au lecteur désireux de savoir ce qu'il faut penser des Noirs, nous répondrons sincèrement qu'il est très difficile de porter un jugement précis et définitif sur leur tempérament et leur mentalité. Les éléments de ce problème sont si complexes qu'il est aisé de se tromper et de se laisser influencer par des préjugés de race ou la méconnaissance de ce peuple curieux.

On a beaucoup écrit sur ce sujet. Nous faisons nôtres, en les résumant, les réflexions suivantes (2) :

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(1) *Les Civilisations négro-africaines.*

(2) Elles ont été faites par un fonctionnaire du Service de l'éducation en Uganda et publiées dans une revue américaine. (Communication du R. P. Joire, des Pères Blancs.)

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Un observateur remarquera que le Noir a nombre de caractéristiques fort différentes de celles de la race blanche. Ces caractéristiques peuvent se répartir en deux groupes : celles qui sont pour lui un appoint en faveur de son avancement sur l'échelle de la civilisation et du progrès, et celles qui sont pour lui un désavantage, une tare héréditaire dont il doit se défier, car elles peuvent devenir de sérieux empêchements au progrès de sa race.

I. — Considérons en premier lieu les avantages :

Patience. — Chez les Blancs, en général si vifs, ne supportant pas de délais, ennemis de la paresse, la colère et l'impatience sont toujours à fleur de peau. Par contre lorsque nous venons en contact avec le Noir, sa patience nous étonne et aussi son endurance dans la souffrance.

Bonne humeur. — Nul doute que les Noirs ne possèdent un fond de jovialité dont le degré cependant varie considérablement selon les différentes tribus...

Arts et métiers. — Les dessins ornementatifs : sculpture sur bois, ivoire, calebasses, etc.; dessins sur poteries et étoffes d'écorce; vannerie, travaux de perles, nattes, etc., dénotent un goût et une habileté assez remarquables, mais ne révèlent guère, sinon aucunement, un progrès, une innovation, un perfectionnement. Les Noirs semblent merveilleusement doués pour l'imitation mais dépourvus du génie inventif [1].

Eloquence. — Il était sans doute nécessaire de cultiver la loquacité dans des pays où l'art d'écrire faisait complètement défaut. Quoi qu'il en soit, il n'y a pas de doute que le Noir trouve plus aisé de parler sans fin que de se taire... Le Noir n'a aucune idée de restreindre son discours dans les limites de données se rapportant au fait.

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(1) Nous croyons que la vraie raison en est l'isolement dans lequel il a vécu.

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Loyauté. — Parmi les différents peuples du Centre oriental africain avec lesquels je me suis trouvé en relation, j'ai toujours rencontré un degré remarquable de loyauté répondant à la confiance mise en eux.

Instincts. — Se sont, à mon avis, ceux des peuples les plus primitifs. Parmi ces instincts quelques-uns peuvent être classés parmi les caractéristiques avantageuses aux Noirs :

1° *Et d'abord l'instinct religieux :* Chez les vrais Primitifs noirs je ne pense pas que le « sceptique » existât jamais, car c'est là un sous-produit de la civilisation;

2° *Perspicacité :* Le Noir semble doué d'un pouvoir mystérieux pour juger les étrangers... Cette qualité de pénétration, permettant de découvrir les caractéristiques de l'étranger, est enviable. Je ne veux pas dire que tous les Noirs la possèdent individuellement à un degré remarquable, mais collectivement ils semblent pouvoir juger d'un étranger en très peu de temps. Il en est ainsi vis-à-vis du Blanc, qui, aussitôt arrivé, est décoré par les indigènes d'un surnom, qui, s'il n'est pas flatteur, sera mis à contribution à son insu...

II. — Et maintenant quelques mots sur les désavantages des Noirs du Centre africain :

Duplicité. — Mentir est un art « cultivé » parmi nos Africains... Il est très vaisemblable que l'usage en est domestique, car comment expliquer autrement leur haute habileté dans cet art? Ce doit être en partie la résultante des circonstances, les Primitifs voyant là un moyen naturel de protection... et le résultat est que les Noirs possèdent peu, si même ils en possèdent l'ombre, de notre sens de l'honneur, et ils placent la ruse sur un pied beaucoup plus élevé que la vérité.

Paresse. — Pour le Noir, rares ont été les occasions de développer des habitudes d'industrie et d'efforts soutenus.

La nature en général fut très généreuse à son endroit, lui fournissant le nécessaire, même là où la population était la plus dense. Les besoins étaient peu nombreux indépendamment de sa propre subsistance et de celle de ses bêtes. Les pluies étaient périodiques et les semailles solidaires de ces pluies, c'était alors au village le moment du travail actif pour tout bras valide pouvant manier la pioche. Le temps des semailles passé à quoi bon cultiver davantage? Les périodes occupées étaient donc intermittentes et les plus enclins au travail n'avaient qu'à rester assis pendant une grande moitié de l'année à moins qu'une guerre ne les mit sur pied. Il est de toute évidence qu'un semblable état de choses ne conduit pas au développement d'habitudes industrieuses et d'application soutenue au travail.

Immoralité. — Je crains bien de n'être pas contredit en disant que le Noir est immoral... Comment attendre de « peuples-enfants » vivant insouciants une vie si facile, l'acquisition d'habitudes d'abnégation et de retenue. Au début de l'évangélisation de ces populations primitives, ce ne fut pas un jeu que de former au milieu d'elles des habitudes de moralité qui siéent à un peuple chrétien [1].

Défiance. — Les siècles de lutte pour la vie entre les diverses tribus africaines ont engendré en elles,... une certaine attitude d'esprit vis-à-vis des étrangers, attitude qui rend très difficile pour une personne bien intentionnée, la tâche de l'avancement des Noirs dans la mesure où elle le souhaiterait...

Concluons. — Si les lignes précédentes ne contiennent pas une description exacte de l'Africain en général, il n'est pas, en effet, de généralisations qui puissent s'appliquer en même temps à tous et à chacun — cependant

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[1] Nous avons de bonnes raisons de croire que les Banyarwanda peuvent être classés parmi les moins corrompus. Les tabou et les traditions en usage chez eux opposent une barrière au déréglement des mœurs.

j'espère ne pas m'être rendu coupable d'injustice à l'égard des Noirs en les traçant. Si seulement ils peuvent tirer le plus de profit possible de leurs avantages et avec persévérance vaincre leurs désavantages, alors nul doute qu'un bel avenir s'ouvre devant eux.

Si l'on pouvait, ajoute le même auteur, les persuader de développer une civilisation propre à leur race au lieu de suivre servilement leurs aptitudes naturelles à copier celles des autres, ce serait un bon appoint à la gloire de l'humanité et un démenti à l'assertion commune que le Noir est d'une capacité intellectuelle si restreinte qu'il lui est impossible d'atteindre le niveau normal de l'homme civilisé [1].

...Cette expérience de la mentalité africaine, continue l'auteur cité, a démontré que nombre de choses dont on serait tenté de parler avec assurance, ne doivent être avancées qu'avec réserve. Le fait est que les Noirs sont pour les Blancs une masse de contradictions... Ceci dit,... pour insinuer que la promptitude de ces conclusions doit être en raison inverse de l'expérience qui les a dictées.

On ne peut parler avec plus de tact et de mesure.

Un colonial averti bien au courant des questions africaines, le général Mangin émet sur le même sujet les réflexions suivantes : « Quand nous jugeons la race noire, il ne faut pas perdre de vue ces considérations essentielles: isolé par la nature, l'Africain n'a reçu, jusqu'au milieu du dix-neuvième siècle, aucune notion supérieure.

L'Europe, au contraire, a vu se développer les civilisations méditerranéennes, qui ont profité de larges échanges entre elles, et aussi avec les civilisations asiatiques; l'écriture lui vint d'Egypte, à travers la Phénicie et la Grèce;

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[1] Si l'on devait tracer le portrait moral des Batutsi il faudrait faire valoir leur intelligence, leur esprit de discipline, leur talent d'organisation et leur volonté persévérante. Mais comme toute médaille a son revers il faut ajouter que les grands chefs Batutsi l'emportent de beaucoup en immoralité sur les Bahutu.

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l'Asie a inventé quantité d'alphabets, l'Europe aucun. Par les Arabes et les Mongols, elle a bénéficié sans le savoir d'apports importants venant de l'Inde et de la Chine : la boussole, la pâte à papier, la poudre à canon, par exemple. Bref, les peuples d'Europe ont évolué lentement, depuis quelque trois mille ans, en contact avec toutes les civilisations par le commerce et par la guerre. Rien de pareil en Afrique noire : au dix-neuvième siècle elle se présente comme l'Europe centrale avant la conquête romaine.

Aussi, rien ne nous permet d'affirmer que la race des Africains noirs est inférieure aux Blancs d'Europe par l'intelligence; c'est tout au plus si l'on peut dire qu'ils sont de plusieurs étapes en arrière. Notre état actuel résulte d'une lente évolution qui leur manque, et nous ne pouvons les juger par la façon dont ils se comportent quand ils sont brusquement jetés au milieu de la civilisation moderne, par les résultats obtenus à Libéria, à Saint-Domingue, à Haïti, par exemple. Ils ont produit dans leur cadre de grands souverains organisateurs, qui ont trouvé des ministres dignes de leur œuvre...; certaines de leurs langues, comme celle des Peulhs, font l'admiration des philologues par leur richesse, leur précision, leur harmonie et leur souplesse. Les Noirs sont remarquablement doués au point de vue artistique... (Leurs instruments à musique) dont ils tirent des effets comparables à ceux du piano, démontrent des dispositions remarquables et une grande capacité d'invention. Leurs chants de guerre et certaines de leurs romances sont très expressifs.

Le général parle d'images hardies, naïves, heureuses que l'on rencontre dans leurs lettres et leurs chants de triomphe.

Les Noirs, ajoute-t-il, ont le sens de l'ornementation; leurs étoffes et leurs nattes sont remarquables par le dessin et la disposition des couleurs.

... Les sentiments de famille, de clan, de race, le dévouement au chef naturel ou choisi ont toujours inspiré aux Noirs un dévouement qui va de la fidélité constante,

du désintéressement parfait et quotidien jusqu'au sacrifice de la vie.

Evidemment, on leur reproche parfois une nonchalance au travail qui peut devenir de la paresse, si le chef n'a pas la manière qu'il faut pour intervenir, manière douce et ferme que le Noir reconnaît assez vite...

En général, le Noir est franc, gai, d'un commandement facile; c'est un grand enfant dont le rire éclate à tout propos et désarme sa colère ou sa bouderie. Il est reconnaissant des moindres attentions.

Le même auteur ajoute qu'il est des Noirs excellents « qui ont eu le mérite de résister à deux épreuves, l'une héréditaire, celle de l'esclavage qui est essentiellement démoralisante et l'autre, celle de l'ascension subite, sans préparation, au niveau du maître d'hier, par les droits du citoyen prématurément accordés... Beaucoup n'ont pas résisté à cette double déformation. Mais le Noir primitif n'a rien des défauts que nos fautes ont transmis au Noir faussement civilisé » (1).

Le Rév. Père Pinard de la Boullaye parlant des sociétés « très primitives » énumère les causes qui expliquent leur stagnation : ...« concentration de leur énergie sur des tâches qui ne sont pas comme l'industrie, susceptibles de progrès : le gibier abattu et le poisson pris, l'effort s'arrête pour reprendre sans fin et sans but ultérieur; par le fait égalité de tous,... sans spécialistes non plus qui perfectionnent les procédés, sans « oisifs » qui se consacrent à la spéculation »... (2).

On peut en dire autant des Banyarwanda, cultivateurs, bûcherons, forgerons, vanniers, potiers, etc., qui n'ont fait qu'imiter leurs devanciers et n'ont rien innové. Ajoutons, pour résumer cette question de stagnation, qu'il serait faux et injuste de l'attribuer au défaut d'intelligence du

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(1) Général Mangin, *Regards sur la France d'Afrique*, pp. 174-178.

(2) Rév. Père Pinard de la Boullaye, S. J., *Correspondant*, 25 janv. 1929.

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Noir; elle provient, entre bien d'autres motifs, surtout de leur manque de méthode et de leur défaut d'initiative à cause du long isolement dans lequel ils ont vécu. Les facilités et les ressources, a-t-on dit, qu'offre la nature aux Africains y sont aussi pour quelque chose. Les travaux intermittents pour la sustentation de la vie quotidienne n'exigeaient pas de grands efforts. Les Noirs confiants en la nature, heureux de leur sort, libres de besoins factices et de soucis, sans préoccupation du lendemain se « laissaient » vivre au jour le jour. Laissons encore parler le savant ethnologue qu'est M. Delafosse : « On dit que les Noirs seraient actuellement inférieurs, sous le rapport du développement intellectuel, à ce que sont les autres types de l'humanité. Il me paraît qu'on a, ce disant, confondu « ignorance » avec « inintelligence ». Le plus grand génie du monde, s'il n'était jamais allé à l'école et n'avait jamais vécu qu'au milieu des sauvages, aurait été sans doute dans la complète impossibilité de manifester sa haute intelligence naturelle, ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'il ne l'eût pas possédée effectivement.

Mais, ajoute-t-on, des Noirs africains ont reçu de l'instruction et ont été placés dans un milieu intellectuel très développé et pourtant ils n'ont rien donné.

... Pour bien juger des capacités intellectuelles d'une population prise en bloc, il faut la suivre dans l'évolution normale de sa masse et non pas prendre quelques individus plus ou moins heureusement choisis et les transporter dans un monde tellement éloigné du leur qu'ils ne peuvent qu'y faire figure de déracinés et, comme toute plante déracinée, que s'étioler et périr, à moins de circonstances nécessairement exceptionnelles. Or, les Noirs de l'Afrique ont eu cette malechance funeste de ne pouvoir évoluer comme l'ont fait les autres grandes races humaines, sans qu'ils y aient été d'ailleurs pour rien (isolés qu'ils étaient du reste de l'humanité).

... Les Nègres africains offrent ce spectacle, sans doute unique au monde, de toute une race n'ayant jamais eu à

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compter que sur elle-même pour progresser et n'ayant rien reçu de l'extérieur, ou en ayant reçu autant de ferments de régression que d'éléments de progrès sinon plus. Aurions-nous fait mieux qu'eux si nous nous étions trouvés dans la même situation?

... L'isolement dans lequel des barrières naturelles ont enfermé trop longtemps leur habitat a fait des Nègres de l'Afrique, par rapport aux Européens plus favorisés, des arriérés ou, plus exactement des attardés; ils ont perdu beaucoup de temps et ils ne sauraient le rattraper en un jour ni même en un siècle. Mais ils n'ont certainement pas dit leur dernier mot et leur histoire n'est pas finie. Peut-être ne fait-elle que commencer et ce livre n'est-il qu'une préface » (3).

Pour clore ce chapitre, nous mettons sous les yeux du lecteur, ces lignes qui se rapportent à notre sujet et défendent la race noire. Elles sont d'un préhistorien :

« Phénomène digne de remarque, cette intelligence (qui réalisa la pleine évolution de l'Homme) dès qu'il est possible de la saisir est une dans l'éloignement des temps; l'homme la possède en puissance, telle aux époques les plus reculées qu'il peut s'en enorgueillir aujourd'hui.

» A tous les âges, l'intelligence humaine apparaît susceptible d'atteindre, sous l'influence du milieu, au plus parfait développement, jusqu'au Génie. Nous verrons, par exemple, les peintres des cavernes paléolithiques égaler en réalisme les meilleurs artistes animaliers de notre temps.

» Il semble que nous assistions à une évolution de la matière, mais nulle part à celle de l'esprit. »

Dans un autre passage de son ouvrage le préhistorien cité ajoute : « ... Il peut sembler étrange que par delà les millénaires, l'homme ait déjà connu et mis en œuvre des principes aussi abstraits (il s'agit de la Magie) que ceux que nous allons lui voir appliquer, et cependant, au même

(3) *Les Noirs de l'Afrique*, pp. 155 et ss.

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instant, son génie artistique se trouve à l'unisson de sa pensée : preuve étonnante que dans l'infini des siècles, l'intelligence de l'homme nous apparaît toujours identique à elle-même, toujours susceptible sous la nécessité du moment, d'atteindre le développement devant y répondre [1] ».

Le même auteur parlant de la civilisation aurignacienne présente au sujet des Africains des hypothèses impressionnantes.

« Cette origine (de la civilisation aurignacienne en France) fût-elle asiatique? Ou plutôt l'immense essor que cette civilisation nous paraît avoir pris en Afrique ne serait-il pas l'indice que là aussi fût son centre primitif? Une civilisation issue de la terre africaine, voilà qui bouleverserait les principes enseignés jusqu'ici!

» La tradition classique n'a jamais cessé d'affirmer que toutes les civilisations anciennes viennent d'Orient comme les grands courants de peuples, qui ont amené les premières invasions historiques.

» Nous sommes si imprégnés de traditions érigées en dogme qu'une Afrique, noyau civilisateur, nous paraît incompréhensible. L'histoire de l'Egypte n'est-elle pas là cependant pour prouver que sur cette terre d'Afrique peut s'élever une civilisation égalant en grandeur et en importance toutes celles que nous croyons devoir à l'Orient? Les études poursuivies sur la préhistoire et la protohistoire de l'Egypte démontrent que la civilisation si particulière de ce pays ne fut pas une sorte de rameau perdu du tronc civilisateur asiatique, mais l'efflorescence suprême d'une civilisation autochtone.

» D'ailleurs on ne voit plus aujourd'hui dans les peuplades de l'Afrique des éléments dégénérés de la famille humaine, mais des branches restées à un stade primitif d'évolution.

» Quoi d'impossible dès lors à ce que l'Afrique ait

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[1] GEORGES GOURY, *Origine et Evolution de l'Homme*, pp. 32 et 321.

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formé le noyau civilisateur de la culture aurignacienne et ait joué alors un rôle prépondérant dans le peuplement de l'Europe méridionale?

» La préhistoire de l'Afrique, tout comme celle de l'Asie, nous est encore trop inconnue pour que l'on puisse émettre autre chose que des hypothèses. Mais ce que du moins nous semblons en mesure de pouvoir affirmer, c'est que le premier courant de peuple à qui nous devons notre Aurignacien inférieur vint d'Afrique par l'Espagne, et sans doute aussi par l'Italie [1].

» On rencontre des traces d'industrie paléolithique au Rwanda et dans les régions limitrophes.

» M. l'Abbé Salée, lors d'une exploration géologique faite en 1921-1922, a trouvé une hache amygdaloïde en quartz, de type acheuléen.

» La trouvaille a eu lieu dans « un pays (le Nduga) de croupes très surbaissées montrant de vastes affleurements de granite à biotite,... dans les maigres alluvions d'un petit ruisseau marécageux, affluent de la Kururuma ». L'absence de fossiles n'a pas permis à l'explorateur de situer cette industrie dans la chronologie géologique.

» En 1926, le Rév. Père Tristan découvrit sur une plate-forme du mont Mugera (Urundi) « tout un ensem-» ble de pièces lithiques incontestablement travaillées et » de type paléolithique avec des débris de taille et des » ébauches, ainsi que des traces de foyer »... Ces instruments ont été taillés dans un quartzite que l'altération a rendu actuellement très friable. Ils se trouvaient enfouis sous une couche de terre rouge argileuse d'environ un mètre à un mètre cinquante centimètres en général, mais pouvant atteindre trois mètres de puissance, et gisaient à la partie supérieure d'une formation de grenaille latérique parcourue par des passées de limonite qui augmentent avec la profondeur.

» La démarcation est très nette entre la couche argi-

(1) *Op. cit.* pp. 194, 195.

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leuse et la grenaille... La surface... représente bien un ancien sol sur lequel était établi l'atelier de style paléolithique. Le matériel était fourni par les quartzites du mont Mugera qui dresse encore ses pentes abruptes jusqu'à 150 mètres au-dessus de la plate-forme du Petit-Séminaire, elle-même élevée au-dessus du confluent des rivières Ruvubu et Luvironza qui entourent Mugera [1].»

Parler même simplement au figuré de Cham et de la malédiction qui aurait atteint et vicié, jusque dans ses plus intimes profondeurs, la race des Noirs est un de ces lieux communs qu'il faut classer parmi les idées absurdes et préconçues.

Il y a plutôt lieu d'admirer l'habileté dont les Africains ont fait preuve dans leur long et profond isolement, en tirant parti avec les faibles moyens dont ils disposaient, des ressources de la nature « pour faire face à cette éternelle obsession qu'est la lutte pour la vie ».

CHAPITRE III.

Court exposé historique de l'invasion hamite à travers le Rwanda.

Le dessein que nous nous proposons ici est de donner un résumé pour permetre à ceux qui liront ces lignes d'embrasser d'un regard rapide l'histoire du Rwanda et la conquête progressive qu'en firent les Hamites.

Ce petit abrégé facilitera, pensons-nous, la compréhension des récits, des romans et légendes, que nous avons intentionnellement rattachés à la carrière de chaque monarque.

Que le lecteur bénévole veuille faire montre d'indulgence vis-à-vis des jugements et des appréciations portés par l'auteur de ces pages sur les récits et les événements

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[1] Communications de M. Salée. *Annales de la Société Scientifique de Bruxelles*, 21 et 22 avril 1925; 25 avril 1927.

dont il est parlé. Il n'a eu, pour se diriger dans sa marche, que des documents traditionnels, c'est-à-dire de pure transmission orale.

Ces mêmes traditions sont vagues, incomplètes, légendaires, et même contradictoires quelquefois, selon qu'elles sont racontées par tel ou tel individu, dans une région ou dans l'autre. Ce dont on peut s'estimer heureux toutefois, c'est qu'elles aient pu arriver jusqu'à nous, toute tronquées et déformées soient-elles. Bien rares sans doute sont les peuples primitifs [1] qui, comme les Banyarwanda, ont un folklore aussi riche et varié. L'arrivée des Hamites ou Batutsi dans le pays et l'influence qu'ils y ont exercée surtout quand avec Mibambge-Mutabazi, le vingt-troisième de la dynastie, ils firent leur entrée dans la province centrale du Nduga, ont transformé le Rwanda et les autochtones à plus d'un point de vue. Les vainqueurs comptent pour beaucoup dans le développement des légendes et des traditions.

Ce que nous disons sur le Rwanda nous a été fourni en grande partie par les historiens officiels « abachurabgenge » (fabricants d'intelligence), attitrés à la Cour. Ces personnages sont chargés de temps immémorial de conserver le souvenir des faits et gestes des princes hamites.

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(1) Qu'est-ce qu'un Primitif ? L'abbé Bros en donne la définition suivante. Le mot « primitif » doit être expliqué. Il ne désigne pas ici le premier, ni les premiers hommes, mais une certaine étape de la civilisation humaine caractérisée par une industrie et des habitudes sociales grossières et non spécialisées. On dit dans le même sens « populations de culture inférieure », « peuples sauvages ou non civilisés ».

Qu'est-ce qu'un primitif, à quel signe le reconnaît-on ? Les historiens habituellement tiennent pour primitifs les peuples préhistoriques, les populations sauvages des divers continents et aussi les civilisations anciennes qui ont précédé l'histoire des divers peuples (Grecs, Latins, Arabes, etc.).

Dans cette confusion, récemment les ethnologues se sont efforcés d'introduire quelques distinctions. Ils ont discerné la plus ou moins grande primitivité des divers primitifs, ... en suivant géographiquement dans l'espace, puis historiquement dans le temps, chaque cycle de civilisation déterminée. (Cf. *Ecclesia, Encyclopédie populaire des connaissances religieuses*, pp. 725 et 726.)

Ils annotent la généalogie des rois, leur nom de naissance et leur nom de règne. Ils n'oublient pas celui de la reine-mère, ni celui du clan dont elle est issue. Toujours à la disposition du monarque auprès duquel ils se relaient deux à deux, ils charment ses loisirs en lui apprenant la lignée de ses ancêtres et les exploits qui les ont illustrés. Cette tradition purement orale est sujette, il faut l'avouer, à un grave inconvénient, l'oubli, et par suite, la déformation. Le temps, qui use tout, finit par oblitérer certains faits, voire même le nom des personnes dont l'existence se perd dans la nuit des temps; et à leur place, on met des légendes et des mythes. C'est l'impression qui se dégage des dires des chroniqueurs concernant les premiers titulaires de la dynastie mututsi. Les neuf ou dix rois du début paraissent fabriqués de toutes pièces. Leur généalogie semble être faite après coup pour flatter l'orgueil des princes qui se pâment d'aise et s'entendent descendre d'une longue série d'ancêtres où figurent des demi-dieux.

Ces légendes, cependant, ne manquent pas d'intérêt; elles font connaître les idées des indigènes sur la création du monde, sur l'existence du bien et du mal, sur l'origine de la mort, etc.

Au reste la trame historique s'y trahit malgré tout et il nous est possible d'y deviner l'état politique du Rwanda à l'arrivée des Batutsi.

D'où sont venus les Hamites? On ne le sait pas exactement. Il est vraisemblable qu'ils sortirent du Nkole, qui fait actuellement partie du Protectorat de l'Uganda. On est d'accord pour dire qu'ils débouchèrent du Ndorwa, par le Nord-Est et qu'ils séjournèrent quelque temps au lieu dit de Mutara, dont il est souvent parlé dans les récits et les légendes.

Pendant que les uns se fixaient plus ou moins définitivement dans la région du Ndorwa et les environs immédiats, les autres continuèrent leur progression et formèrent successivement les royaumes du Rwanda, du Gissaka, du

5: Pages FO42 Bundi

Burundi et de l'Uha [1]. Les premières étapes et les premières possessions des Hamites qui fondèrent le royaume du Rwanda sont le Buganza, le Bwana-Chambge, le Buliza, les plateaux de Bussigi et de Luhanga, le Bumbogo, etc. Le Buganza fit partie quelque temps du royaume du Gissaka; le Bwana-Chambge à son tour se trouva partagé entre les deux états hamites. Les Batutsi, unis entre eux au début, ne tardèrent pas à entrer en lutte les uns contre les autres et à se disputer le pays; il y eut des guerres fratricides où prirent part les autochtones soumis.

Les Bahutu ou aborigènes de race bantu étaient, avant la pénétration hamite, répartis en une série de principautés dont les plus fortes tentaient d'absorber les plus faibles.

L'origine diverse des peuplades qui occupaient ce pays explique la multitude des groupements autonomes que rencontrèrent les nouveaux venus. Les populations du Nord ont presque toutes débouché du Mpororo et du Ndorwa.

A l'Ouest, sur la rive orientale du Kivu, les Bagoyi ont émigré du Bgisha, du Gishari, du Mushari, du Kamuronsi, du Bunyabungu, pays situés au Nord et à l'Ouest du lac. Au Sud-Ouest, les gens du Kinyaga sont un mélange de Banyabungu et de Barundi. Au Sud et à l'Est, la population y paraît fortement apparentée à celle de l'Urundi et du Karagwe.

La tribu la plus puissante paraît avoir été celle qui habitait le Nduga. Elle obéissait au temps de Kigeri I et de

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(1) Les huit petits royaumes que comprend le territoire des Bahaya ou riverains du lac Nyanza sont gouvernés par des princes Bahinda, d'origine muhima, c'est-à-dire mututsi, qui conquirent le pays. Ces principautés liliputiennes sont désignées sous les noms de Karagwe, Kitara, Kiziba, Bugabo, Kyamtwara, Kiyanja, Ihangiro et Usui. Leur superficie globale est de 30,000 à 35,000 km² alors que le lac Nyanza compte 66,600 km². (Cf. *Anthropos*, 1927 : « Comment les Bahaya interprètent leurs origines », par le R. P. César.)

On trouve encore dans l'Unyamwezi, surtout près de Tabora, des groupes de Hamites qui ont conservé leurs mœurs, leur langue et vivent en bons termes avec les autochtones de la région. La famille royale de l'Ufipa est partiellement de race mututsi. (Cf. *Aux Rives du Tanganika*, par Mgr Lechaptois, Maison-Carrée, Alger.)

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Mibambge I Mutabazi, au fameux sorcier-devin Mashira, qui unissait la royauté au sacerdoce. Le prestige de ce chef était moins dû à ses exploits militaires qu'au pouvoir supranaturel que lui prête la légende. Sur le sol actuel du Rwanda, on comptait, entre bien d'autres, les royaumes minuscules de Marangara, du Bwana-Mkali (les Barenge), du Burwe, du Bgishaza, du Budaha, du Kingogo, du Bugamba, du Bushiru [1], du Buhoma, de Luhengeri, du Bukonya, etc. Les familles ou clans qui composaient chacun de ces états liliputiens étaient primitivement autonomes et indépendants les uns des autres. Ils s'administraient eux-mêmes, sans une autorité bien définie. Ce n'est qu'à la longue et peu à peu qu'un chef de groupe finit par s'imposer à ses congénères. Avec les prérogatives royales, le représentant du pouvoir assuma, de par son titre de souverain, les fonctions de sorcier, devin, magicien, faiseur de pluie, etc. La charge de roi-sorcier (umuhinza) devint alors héréditaire. Les petites provinces de Buberuka, du Kibali, du Buyoka, du Bugarura et du Mulera surtout gardèrent leur organisation première et n'eurent jamais de rois. Chaque tribu se gouvernait et s'administrait d'après ses propres lumières. Aussi étaient-elles presque toujours en guerre les unes contre les autres, pour affaire de vol, de limite ou de vendetta [2]. L'accord entre ces clans ne se réalisait d'une façon passagère que pour faire front contre l'ennemi commun, le Hamite détesté, qui, tout en les ayant soumis, n'avait pas jugé prudent de s'implanter dans la contrée montagneuse. Parmi les rois hamites qui parcoururent ces régions peuplées de fiers

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(1) Province au nom symbolique et significatif. On ne peut mieux exprimer les souvenirs qu'elle évoque. -

Bushiru est un substantif dérivé du verbe neutre gushira, qui veut dire finir, s'éteindre. Il a été donné au pays dont les habitants, querelleurs et batailleurs intraitables, faisant fi de la mort, étaient toujours en guerre, s'exterminaient entre eux et tuaient les voyageurs qui commettaient l'imprudence de s'aventurer dans leur région.

(2) Cette région était le pays par excellence de la vendetta. Les particuliers aidés des membres de leur famille ou du clan se rendaient justice eux-mêmes et se montraient implacables dans leur vengeance.

habitants, on cite Ruganzu II et Kigeri IV Lwabugiri. Les montagnards ne leur opposèrent pas grande résistance, mais après le départ des princes, ils n'en continuèrent pas moins à mener une existence indépendante. Aucun chef Mututsi n'osait se fixer parmi ces populations farouches. Tout se réduisait de la part de ces dernières à payer des tributs en nature au souverain lui-même ou à un des grands seigneurs de la cour qui était censé gouverner le pays à distance.

Les Bantu des provinces centrales et du Sud, qui forment la majorité du peuple munyarwanda, acceptèrent et supportèrent plus facilement le joug des Hamites, qui s'installèrent au milieu d'eux et vécurent de leur vie [1].

Les péripéties de la conquête furent nombreuses et mouvementées.

Pour arriver à leur fin, les immigrants mirent tout en œuvre, violence, ruse et diplomatie. Leurs chansons de gestes en font foi.

Il semble bien qu'au seuil du pays qu'ils allaient conquérir, les Batutsi formaient un groupe compact ayant un chef unique. Le partage des terres et la compétition du pouvoir ne tardèrent pas à diviser les cœurs et à engendrer des luttes fratricides.

Rêvant de dominer seuls sur un grand pays, les Batutsi du centre, après avoir soumis les princes Bahutu (Bantu), se tournèrent contre leurs frères, qui s'étaient taillé de petits royaumes au Ndorwa, au Gissaka et au Bugessera.

Ces deux derniers royaumes hamites sont-ils contemporains de celui du Rwanda? Rien n'empêche de le supposer puisque les colonnes d'invasion qui pénétraient dans le Rwanda marchaient de front, tout au moins au début.

Le roi Gihanga, au nom symbolique et significatif de

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[1] Les clans de ces provinces se sont davantage compénétrés sous l'influence mututsi et n'ont pas cet exclusivisme jaloux des tribus situées au nord-est du lac Kivu. Aussi leurs mœurs sont plus douces et la vendetta n'y eut jamais ce caractère de violence et de fréquence qu'on trouve, par exemple, chez les Balera et les Bagoyi.

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Créateur, paraît avoir existé, bien que les faits qui lui sont attribués aient un caractère fortement légendaire. Il est le dixième de la dynastie. Ce qui incline à admettre l'authenticité de son règne, c'est qu'on assigne à ce prince le pays sacré du Buhanga, dans la plaine du Muko, non loin de la forte rivière de la Mukungwa, comme ayant été le lieu de sa première résidence. Il aurait ensuite habité dans le pays du Kibali, à Kangomba, où s'élève un bosquet sacré (ikigabiro). La même tradition place son tombeau ou tout au moins celui de sa femme Nyirakabego dans le cimetière royal qui a gardé son nom et s'appelle Luhanga. Faut-il voir en lui le chef hamite qui, avec les membres de sa famille et quelques compatriotes, aurait été le premier à venir occuper le pays, après avoir séjourné dans le Ndorwa au lieu dit de Mutara qui semble être la première étape des Batutsi, au seuil du Rwanda?

De tous les anciens rois, il est avec Ruganzu II celui dont on parle le plus souvent et dont les légendes sont le plus appréciées du peuple. Une de ses filles aurait, d'après une curieuse légende, découvert et domestiqué la première vache, d'où sont venues les autres. Le récit dont ce mémorable événement a fait l'objet est très populaire et comprend plusieurs épisodes. Gihanga passe encore pour être l'inventeur du feu qu'il légua à son fils et successeur.

Cette prétendue découverte a valu à Gihanga des honneurs particuliers.

Les annalistes officiels gardent le plus profond silence sur les neuf rois suivants, dont ils n'ont conservé que les noms.

Ont-ils tous réellement existé? Il n'est pas facile de répondre clairement à cette question, nous ne sommes pas encore sortis du domaine de la légende. Gihanga, en effet, est considéré comme le père de tous les hommes. Ses fils sont devenus les ancêtres de tous les peuples. Kafomo, dont il est question dans la légende qui parle de l'introduction des vaches dans le Rwanda, a donné naissance aux Bashubbi (Basuí) ou gens de l'Usui.

Kanyarwanda, l'héritier du trône, a donné naissance aux Banyarwanda. Son successeur direct, Musindi, le douzième de la dynastie, passe pour être le fondateur du clan des Basindi ou Banyiginya, qui étaient les plus puissants d'entre les Batutsi [1].

Il faut arriver à Ruganzu I Bwimba et à Chyilima I Rugwe, le vingtième et le vingt et unième de la dynastie, pour obtenir quelques détails historiques de plus grande importance. Le dernier aurait été tué à Gasseke où on ne cesse de « calmer » et d'« honorer » son esprit (umuzimu). La province centrale du Nduga n'avait pas encore été entamée, semble-t-il, par les Batutsi. Tout au plus devaient-ils occuper à ce moment le Buganza, le Gissaka, qui formait un petit royaume hamite, peut-être le Bugessera, puis le Bgana-Chambge et le Bumbogo. Il est possible que Chyilima I soit tombé au cours d'une expédition qu'il faisait pour pénétrer dans le Nduga.

Avec ses deux successeurs immédiats, Kigeri I et le fils de celui-ci, Mibambge I Mutabazi, nous entrons dans une époque importante de l'histoire aux sentiers mieux battus.

Le sol actuel du Rwanda était encore couvert de royaumes minuscules autonomes.

Les petites provinces du Bukonya, du Mulera, du Buhoma, du Bushiru, du Luhengeri, du Kingogo, du Bgishaza, toutes situées vers le Nord et vers l'Ouest, for-

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(1) Les grandes familles se sont choisi des ancêtres imaginaires pour la plupart. Il en est toutefois dont l'ascendance donnée est authentique.

Les devins-sacrificateurs, connus sous le nom de Abosha, se disent les descendants du fameux Lunukamishyo, l'homme aux couteaux de sorcier, originaire du Ndorwa qu'il avait quitté pour le Rwanda. L'importante famille des Batsobe se réclame de Gatsobe et de Nyirarutsobe qui aidèrent Ruganzu II Ndori dans son expédition contre Nzira, au pays du Bugara.

C'est à qui se trouvera les ancêtres les plus lointains et les plus illustres. Il y a émulation sur ce point.

Mais pour bien imaginées qu'elles soient, on ne voit pas quelle valeur historique peuvent avoir ces généalogies. Tout au plus peut-on retenir comme vraies, l'origine des Abosha, qui font partie du clan des Basinga, ainsi que celle des Batsobe, qui, eux aussi, sont entrés, mais un peu plus tard, dans la grande famille des Banyarwanda.

maient autant de principautés indépendantes les unes des autres. Il en était de même vers le Sud, au Munyambiriri et dans le Kinyaga, où se coudoyaient plusieurs roitelets, tels que celui de Biguzi, du Bukunzi, du Busozo. Vers le Sud-Ouest, le Burwe, connu encore sous le nom de Mukindo ou Ndala, avait peut-être son autonomie; la province de Bwana-Mkali était de même divisée entre plusieurs roitelets. Il n'y avait presque aucune cohésion entre ces divers groupements pourtant d'origine commune pour la plupart d'entre eux.

Le Nord est, en effet, peuplé de gens venus de Mpororo et du Ndorwa. Ce sont des Bahunde [1] qui ont fait souche au Nord-Ouest, au Bugoyi en particulier. Dans le Kinyaga au Sud, on trouve un mélange de Bashi ou Banyabungu qui ont traversé le fleuve de la Russizi et de Barundi qui fusionnent avec les précédents. Les habitants du Burwe et du Bwana-Mkali sont également Barundi.

Dans la province centrale Nduga vivait un groupe d'individus connu sous le nom de Ababanda, divisés en fractions et gouvernés par plusieurs roitelets. Les petits pays du Muhanga et surtout celui du Marangara ont eu une certaine célébrité dans l'histoire locale. Il en sera question dans l'« Histoire d'un règne ». Le plus puissant de ces roitelets, à cette époque, était sans contredit le fameux Mashira, qui avec la majeure partie du Nduga, possédait encore le Ndiza, vers le Nord.

C'est en qualité de sorcier, dit la légende, qu'il fut instamment sollicité par Kigeri I, le roi hamite, qui habitait, croit-on, tout près de Kigali, à Mwurire, de lui venir en aide. Les Banyoro avaient envahi les possessions de ce dernier. Ntete, Ntende, Runda, Gasetsa, Urwara, Migongo, Ngungu, Munyaga, etc., tous les villages situés au Nord-Est de son royaume avaient été parcourus et

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(1) Les « Bahunde » sont venus du nord-ouest du lac Kivu des différents pays désignés sous le nom de Kamuronsi, Gishari, Shari, Buyungu, Butembo, Bwito.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

ravagés par ces nouveaux envahisseurs qui venaient de pénétrer dans le Bwana-Chambge. En désespoir de cause et à bout de moyens, Kigeri fait appel à Mashira pour repousser les Banyoro.

Ce furent les charmes et les sortilèges du roi-sorcier, racontent dans leur crédulité les historiens indigènes, qui donnèrent la victoire aux troupes de Kigeri. L'aide matérielle que fournit à celui-ci Mashira par l'apport de ses propres guerriers, car c'est ainsi qu'il faut lire entre les lignes, dut être pour beaucoup dans le succès final enregistré par les Batutsi [1].

Oublieux des services que lui avait rendu le roi-sorcier, Mibambge-Mutabazi, qui avait succédé à son père Kigeri, réussit quelques années après à occuper le Nduga et à se débarrasser de Mashira lui-même.

Avec Mibambge-Mutabazi, les Batutsi pénétrèrent dans la province qui est au cœur du Rwanda. Après la mort de Mashira, Mibambge s'établit à Ruchango près de Butare, non loin de Nyanza. C'est encore durant son règne que le Bugessera fut ajouté au royaume hamite du Rwanda. Le roitelet de ce dernier pays, Nsoro, appartenait aussi à la famille des Hamites.

D'après la tradition, le Bugessera faisait partie de l'Urundi où s'étaient déjà installés les Batutsi. L'un de ceux-ci avait pris le gouvernement du pays et commandait aux autres chefs, ses compatriotes, qui s'étaient distribué les collines (imisozi). Ceux du Bugessera rompirent peu à peu les liens qui les rattachaient à l'Urundi et se proclamèrent indépendants. Il en résulta de longues querelles qui eurent pour résultat d'affaiblir ce petit pays et d'attirer enfin l'attention de Mibambge, qui joua le rôle de troisième larron. Il y eut donc tout au début plusieurs royaumes hamites limitrophes, fondés à plus ou moins

(1) L'invasion des Banyoro, les ravages qu'ils causèrent et leur défaite font l'objet d'un long récit, qui à cause de son importance, sera exposé dans le Livre cinquième.

d'intervalle. On connaît déjà le Rwanda, l'Urundi et le Bugessera qui eut une existence éphémère. Le Ndorwa et le Gissaka avaient aussi leurs rois hamites autonomes. Le petit royaume du Gissaka a pu conserver son indépendance jusqu'aux environs de 1850. Le Ndorwa, bien que continuellement attaqué par les rois du Rwanda, ne fut jamais bien soumis.

Les titulaires de la couronne dans le Ndorwa appartenaient au clan hamite dit des « Abashambo », fortement apparentés aux Banyiginya d'où sont sortis les rois du Rwanda. Il semble donc qu'à leur arrivée au seuil de ce dernier pays, les Batutsi formaient un groupe compact, pour pouvoir ensuite à un moment donné se disperser et se diriger dans des contrées différentes, où ils se substituèrent aux princes autochtones. On a vu que les fils de Gihanga, d'après la légende, ont donné naissance aux diverses peuplades, Banyarwanda, Banyagissaka, Bagessera, Barundi, Basui, etc. Soit que l'on accepte l'existence de Gihanga, ou qu'on la mette en doute délibérément en n'y voyant qu'un mythe, il n'est pas défendu d'y trouver l'explication du fait précédent, à savoir que les émigrants Batutsi unis à l'origine et serrés autour de l'un d'entre eux, sur la frontière Nord-Est du Rwanda (Ndorwa, Mutara), ont pris dans la suite des directions diverses et se sont partagé cette partie de l'Afrique.

On se demande, vu leur petit nombre par rapport au reste de la population aborigène, comment ils ont pu réussir à s'emparer du gouvernement des pays dont nous venons de parler, y compris l'Uha, qui fait suite à l'Urundi vers le Sud. Il y eut, sans aucun doute, des résistances locales, puisque la tradition rapporte que quelques rois hamites, comme Chyilima I Rugwe et Ndahiro-Chyamatara, perdirent la vie en cours d'expédition. Mais leur marche en avant ne fut jamais arrêtée d'une façon définitive. Leur union du début, leur bon sens pratique, leur intelligence supérieure à celle des Bahutu autochtones et leur

habile stratégie ne contribuèrent pas peu à leurs succès militaires.

Au lieu de s'attaquer à plusieurs roitelets à la fois, ils les circonvinrent séparément et les défirent les uns après les autres.

Il est possible aussi que leur haute taille, la couleur de leur visage et leurs manières plus policées en imposèrent aux « Primitifs » qu'ils venaient soumettre. Nous les voyons s'entendre et faire alliance avec ceux des princes aborigènes qui peuvent leur être de quelque utilité, quitte ensuite à s'en débarrasser quand le danger est passé et qu'ils se sentent plus forts qu'eux. Kigeri I et son fils Mibambge I agirent ainsi avec Mashira. Ruganzu II utilisa pareillement l'aide et le secours du roitelet de Marangara, le célèbre Nkoma.

Ajoutons enfin que leur modération relative après la victoire et leur talent de gouverner fortifièrent leur domination sur le Rwanda et les firent accepter de leurs nouveaux sujets.

Nombreux sont les problèmes sur lesquels il n'est pas encore facile de faire la lumière complète. Le fait de savoir à quelle époque remonte l'entrée des Batutsi dans le Rwanda en est un autre. Il n'est pas davantage possible de tirer toutes les conclusions historiques du fameux épisode dit des Barenge. Si la légende qui en a conservé le souvenir n'est pas erronée de tout point, on peut situer l'événement au début du règne de Mibambge I, avant la défaite et la mort de Mashira, qui eurent pour conséquence la conquête de la province centrale du Nduga par les Batutsi. Les Barenge ou gens de Rulenge habitaient le Bwana-Mkali et formaient une tribu à part, distincte des Ababanda, leurs voisins du Nduga. La tradition rapporte que pour faire cesser la famine et la sécheresse qui désolaient leur pays, les Barenge, sur les conseils d'un sorcier, se mirent en devoir de faire la « courte échelle » et d'escalader ainsi le ciel pour y aller chercher la pluie. Mais la

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pyramide vivante s'écroula avant que ne fût atteint le but et les Barenge moururent de cette chute, écrasés ou étouffés. La tragédie se déroula à Mara près de la mission actuelle de Sàve.

Le chef, qu'on appelait Kimari, fils de Rulenge, échappa au désastre avec quelques membres de sa famille, pour finir bientôt d'une mort malheureuse. Le récit, qui est très embrouillé, ajoute que Mibambge n'aurait pas été complètement étranger à cette catastrophe symbolisée par l'écroulement d'une pyramide vivante et que Mashira hérita de la succession de Kimari, au moins pendant quelque temps. Qu'y eut-il au juste et comment se déroulèrent les événements? La légende telle qu'elle s'est transmise jusqu'à nos jours est mystérieuse. On ne sait comment l'interpréter. Est-ce Mibambge qui provoqua l'anéantissement des Barenge ou si l'on s'en tient au récit, profita-t-il seulement des succès de Mashira, s'il est vrai que ce soit celui-ci qui ait vraiment attaqué et vaincu les Barenge?

Ce sont autant de questions auxquelles il n'est pas aisé de donner une solution, parce que les anachronismes et les contradictions abondent. Le plus clair de l'affaire, c'est que les Barenge furent attaqués et éprouvèrent un désastre. Dans cette lutte sans merci qui fut imposée aux habitants de Mara, il paraît difficile de mettre uniquement en cause les Batutsi. Ceux-ci, en effet, après avoir vaincu les princes aborigènes, ne songeaient qu'à gouverner et à administrer les populations soumises, dont ils tiraient leur subsistance, en vrais seigneurs féodaux qu'ils étaient. Tout en admettant qu'il y ait eu des excès de leur part et que leurs victimes furent nombreuses, on peut assurer, étant données leur mentalité et leurs habitudes, qu'ils ne firent pas une guerre d'extermination proprement dite aux peuplades qu'ils venaient subjuguer. Ils en avaient besoin pour vivre.

Par contre, faut-il voir dans les Barenge les premiers autochtones du pays auxquels leurs voisins du Nduga, les

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Ababanda, imposèrent une guerre sans merci, comme savent le faire les peuples primitifs chez qui la raison du plus fort était une axiome de règle.

Les débris de poterie que l'on attribue à tort ou à raison aux Barenge tendraient aussi à leur donner une origine distincte [1]. Le nom des Barenge n'est plus porté par aucune tribu actuelle. Les indigènes croient qu'ils disparurent tous dans la catastrophe.

Yuhi I, le successeur hamite de Mibambge I, n'a presque pas laissé trace dans l'histoire. Il est le 24e de la dynastie.

On ne parle de son règne que pour raconter un fait assez insignifiant à notre point de vue. Rushara, l'un de ses fils préférés, devint malgré lui, à la suite d'une mésaventure, « pluviator » et donna naissance au clan dit des Bashara dont les membres ont la réputation encore aujourd'hui de « faire la pluie et le beau temps ».

Avec Ndahiro-Chyamatara, le 25e de la lignée royale, l'étoile des Batutsi subit une forte éclipse. Le règne de ce prince se termina par des désastres. Sa mort a fait l'objet d'un long récit qui est raconté dans l'Histoire du règne de Ruganzu. D'après l'épisode en question il alla chercher lui-même la mort dans la forêt du Bugoyi. Une autre version qui semble plus vraisemblable le fait mourir à Russokovu dans le Bugamba, où il serait tombé les armes à la main au cours d'une expédition malheureuse contre les gens du pays qu'il aurait voulu soumettre. La contrée est désormais connue sous le nom de « pays maudit du marteau » (*i Rubi rw'inyundo*) pour dire que les armes forgées par le moyen du marteau y eurent des conséquences fâcheuses, puisqu'elles y causèrent la mort du roi et de l'élite de ses gens. On croit que c'est en souvenir de ce tragique événement et pour le commémorer qu'a lieu à la capitale le deuil annuel du mois de juin (igichurassi).

Cette défaite eut des suites néfastes pour le royaume

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[1] L'épisode dit des « Barenge » est à cause de son importance traité à part, dans le Livre cinquième.

hamite, qui jusqu'ici n'avait cessé de progresser dans l'intérieur du pays. La légende et la tradition ont poussé le tableau au noir, en accumulant les faits tragiques.

Un certain Nsibura, chef des Banyabyinshi qui habitaient au Sud-Ouest du Rwanda, parcourt le pays en vainqueur, soumettant tout sur son passage. Les malheurs du royaume ne cessèrent, racontent les bardes, que le jour où le fils et successeur du prince infortuné, Ruganzu II Ndori, vint réclamer par la force des armes le trône de ses aïeux.

A la suite du désastre qui avait coûté la vie à son père, le jeune prince s'était enfui à la Cour du roi du Karagwe; il y fut élevé par la reine qui était sa tante paternelle. A son retour dans le Rwanda les circonstances le servirent à merveille.

Son principal adversaire, Nsibura venait de mourir dans la forêt de Bugessera des suites d'un accident dramatisé par la légende. Son caractère énergique et décidé l'aida grandement dans ses entreprises. Ruganzu recula au loin les limites du royaume que lui avaient laissé ses ancêtres. Nul ne fit plus que lui pour l'unité de la monarchie.

Les derniers roitelets autochtones qui avaient survécu jusque-là à l'invasion hamite furent soumis par lui. Le Bugara au delà des lacs du Mulera, le Munyambiriri, le Kinyaga, le Bwana-Mkali, le Burwe, etc., firent désormais partie intégrante de la couronne. Comme ses prédécesseurs, il se rendit au Ndorwa où il tua un parent du roi, un certain Kanyoni, puis au Bunyabungu, au Sud-Ouest du lac Kivu, mais ce ne furent là que des conquêtes éphémères.

Ses successeurs n'eurent pas plus de succès que lui. Les habitants de ces deux dernières contrées ne se laissèrent jamais assimiler d'une façon durable par les Banyarwanda. Ruganzu n'eut pas de résidence fixe; il passa

toute sa vie à guerroyer, d'où son nom de Conquérant, de Victorieux par excellence (kuganza).

On ne connaît sur le territoire actuel du Rwanda que deux petites principautés, le « Busozo » sorte de pays vassal et le « Marangara » que Ruganzu laissa subsister. Le potentat respecta plus ou moins leur indépendance en vue du profit qu'il pouvait en tirer. Le roitelet de cette dernière contrée, qui était alors Nkoma, avait la réputation d'un magicien puissant, ce qui fait encore dire aujourd'hui que « Nkoma de Marangara, le fils de Nkondogoro, réussissait à ensorceler autrement qu'on ne le fait aujourd'hui ». (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk'aba none.)

Ruganzu n'osa pas s'attaquer à son prestige; il préféra en faire son allié. Le royaume hamite du Gissaka ne fut pas davantage inquiété. On ignore, nous l'avons déjà dit, à quelle époque exacte il avait été fondé. Peut-être commença-t-il en même temps que celui du Rwanda.

On ne lui connaît que onze rois, dont le premier, Kimenyi I, était contemporain de Ruganzu II. A certaines époques, les relations durent être bonnes entre les deux Cours, puisque nous voyons un roi du Rwanda, Kigeri II Ndabarassa, épouser une princesse du Gissaka, la sœur de Kimenyi II Cetula. Mais l'harmonie cessa dès le jour où les rois du Gissaka s'emparèrent du Buganza et du Bwana-Chambge qu'ils ne gardèrent pas longtemps du reste.

Le fils et successeur de Ruganzu, Mutara I Nsoro, agrandit le royaume au Sud-Est en refoulant au delà du fleuve de l'Akanyaru les Barundi qui détenaient une partie de la province du Bwana-Mkali. La tradition ajoute que la partie décisive se joua tout près de la mission de Save. Le roi de l'Urundi y perdit la vie et les vainqueurs s'emparèrent de son costume d'apparat (inkindi) qui figure encore aujourd'hui comme trophée dans le trésor royal (intore).

Cette pièce historique a survécu au désastre de Ruchun-

chu, où l'incendie dévora les multiples pièces et objets qui faisaient partie de la garde-robe royale. Le vêtement en question n'est autre qu'une peau de colope (inkomo), comme en portaient autrefois les rois et les chefs Batutsi.

Il était de dimensions assez étroites; aussi a-t-il été appelé par dérision, dans l'histoire, l'« habit trop court » qui ne va pas à la taille de son propriétaire [1]. Les Noirs ont, en effet, le rire et la plaisanterie faciles.

Il ne se passa aucun fait saillant, que l'on sache du moins, sous le règne des trois monarques suivants.

Par contre, avec le 31e, Chyilima II Ludjugira, la lutte recommence avec les Barundi. Cette guerre a fait l'objet d'un long récit embelli et défiguré par la légende. D'après celle-ci, en effet, c'est à la suite d'une sécheresse et pour en obtenir la cessation que les Banyarwanda déclarèrent la guerre aux Barundi. Sous le même règne eut lieu dans le Bugoyi, sur la côte orientale du lac Kivu, l'invasion d'une peuplade étrangère, qu'on eut beaucoup de peine à refouler. Le caractère historique de ce deuxième épisode a été mieux conservé. « Il s'agissait d'une race, racontent les vieux, de couleur claire, parlant une langue différente de la nôtre et ne bâtissant pas comme nous. »

Ils avaient la spécialité d'enduire et de couvrir de terre leurs habitations et possédaient des instruments, haches et pioches, mieux forgés et plus résistants que ceux des autochtones. On les appela les « Couvreurs de toits en terre » (Abassakazataka), ou encore les « Muets » (ibiragi), à cause de leur langage incompréhensible. Les nouveaux venus s'étaient installés dans la province du Bugoyi qui est séparée du Nduga par la forêt et ne tardèrent pas à avoir des démêlés avec les quelques aborigènes du pays qui s'étaient taillé un coin dans cette région volcanique. Ces derniers eurent beau se réunir pour repousser les étrangers. Les Muets restèrent vainqueurs et

[1] Le sens littéral est plus imagé et plus « épicé » aussi. Ntirihish' amabuno !

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

repoussèrent les assaillants. On fit alors appel au concours de Chyilima, qui envoya une armée à leur secours. Les intrus furent taillés en pièces et les survivants s'enfuirent vers le Nord d'où ils ne sont plus revenus.

Qu'étaient ces étrangers et d'où venaient-ils? La tradition est muette sur ces deux points. Pour les identifier, on en est réduit aux hypothèses. L'histoire rapporte qu'ils étaient « blancs » (1), qu'ils bâtissaient en terre et qu'ils avaient des instruments plus perfectionnés.

Nous inclinons à croire qu'il s'agissait d'un tribu congolaise venue du Nord-Ouest du lac Kivu, à une époque où les Warega, terribles anthropophages, mettaient les pays limitrophes à feu et à sang.

C'est probablement pour le même motif que les ancêtres des Bagoyi quittèrent leur patrie (Gishari, Buyungu, etc.) pour s'installer au Nord-Est du lac où ils ont fait souche.

On raconte encore que le dernier roi du Ndorwa fut vaincu par les troupes de Chyilima. Le fait n'est pas absolument sûr, car la même victoire est attribuée à un de ses prédécesseurs et à deux ou trois de ses successeurs. On peut dire toutefois que jusqu'en 1890, les malheureuses populations du Mpororo et celles du Ndorwa surtout n'eurent jamais de repos. Presque tous les rois du Rwanda y dirigèrent, quand ils ne les conduisirent pas en personne, des expéditions.

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, les habitants ne furent jamais bien soumis. Les troupes une fois parties, les survivants sortaient de leurs cachettes et se remettaient à vivre au jour le jour jusqu'à la nouvelle attaque. Aussi le pays est-il resté toujours pauvre et presque sans troupeaux.

Les trois souverains qui succédèrent à Chyilima sont peu connus.

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(1) Les Bagoyi ont certainement exagéré sur ce point. Cf. Livre cinquième.

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On ne parle du dernier, Yuhi III Gahindiro, que pour dire qu'il ennoblit un Mutwa et qu'il lui donna sa propre fille (Mulangamirwa) en mariage. Les descendants de ce couple forment le clan des Basiete.

Ces monarques où vécurent-ils? Quelles furent leurs capitales?

Les anciennes résidences royales (ibigabiro, ibisozi, imirwa), facilement reconnaissables aux bouquets d'arbres qui en marquent l'emplacement, se rencontrent un peu partout, dans les différentes provinces du Rwanda. On les aperçoit tout particulièrement aux environs de Kigali, dans le Nduga, après le passage du fleuve de la Nyabarongo, sur la route qui va à Nyanza et au delà jusque dans le Bwana-Mkali. On dirait que les princes hamites avaient fait de cette partie centrale du Rwanda leur lieu d'élection, leur séjour favori, à en juger par le nombre de leurs habitations.

Les relations matrimoniales entre vainqueurs et vaincus ont été si fréquentes dans le Nduga que les Bahutu de cette province sont fortement teintés de sang hamite. Il faut ajouter pour expliquer la profusion des anciennes résidences que certains monarques Ruganzu II, Lwabugiri, se déplaçaient facilement et eurent beaucoup de résidences, alors que leurs prédécesseurs n'en comptaient que trois ou quatre [1].

Avec Mutara II Lwogera, le grand-père du roi actuel, nous arrivons aux environs de 1845. Le fait le plus impor-

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[1] Résidences royales autour de Kigali; Ntora, Kabuye, Rutare, Mwulire, etc.

Dans le Nduga :

Gibara (Lwogera et Lwabugiri); Runda (Musinga); Ishèru (Lwogera); Idjuru (Yuhi-Mazimpaka); Rukoma (Mibambge); Kanshyiri (Lwogera); Rugobagoba (Lwogera); Kamonyi (Lwabugiri et Musinga); Buhoro et Kivumu (Gahindiro); Mata, Lwamabare, Nyundo, etc.

Dans le Bwana-Mkalé :

Buhimba (Lwogera et Lwabugiri); Gikirambga (Mutara); Gisseke (Lwabugiri, Musinga); Ishyanda (Lwogera, Lwabugiri); Mwurire, Kisanze, Lussagara, etc.

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tant de son règne fut la conquête définitive du royaume hamite du Gissaka, où les divisions intestines s'étaient introduites. L'un des grands chefs de ce dernier pays ayant été dépossédé de ses biens, s'adresse au Roi du Rwanda qui profita de cette occasion pour y envoyer ses troupes.

L'événement se passa entre 1850 et 1860. Mutara ne tarda pas à mourir après ce beau succès. On croit qu'il fut terrassé par la phtisie. Il vécut tout d'abord à Batsinda, près de Rugobagoba, puis à Kivumu, non loin de Kabgayi. La province centrale du Nduga resta toujours la province par excellence; les rois hamites y passèrent la plus grande partie de leur règne.

C'est à partir de Mibambge I Mutabazi, le 23e de la dynastie et le vainqueur du roi-sorcier Mashira, que les Batutsi firent du Nduga leur pays de prédilection. Aussi les « bois sacrés » (ibigabiro) qui marquent l'emplacement des anciennes résidences royales (imirwa), s'y suivent-ils presque sans interruption.

Kigeri IV Lwabugiri, dont la mort ne remonte qu'en 1895, est le prince dont le genre de vie se rapproche le plus de celui de son ancêtre Ruganzu II Ndori.

Comme lui, il passa toute sa vie à guerroyer. Les régions situées au Nord-Est du Rwanda, le Bukonya, le Mulera, le Buhoma, le Bushiru, etc., bien que nominalement soumises depuis Ruganzu II, ne s'étaient jamais montrées bien dociles à l'égard des Batutsi et avaient conservé vis-à-vis de leurs vainqueurs une attitude frondeuse et turbulente. Lwabugiri ne manqua pas d'y faire de fréquentes visites.

Ces populations montagnardes, à qui en imposait son renom guerrier, ne lui opposèrent aucune difficulté. Le Nkole, le Ndorwa, l'Urundi et le Bunyabungu qu'il aurait voulut réunir, au moins en partie, au Rwanda, le virent passer avec ses troupes.

Ce ne furent là que des expéditions blanches, où malgré

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le butin retiré, il éprouva de grandes pertes en hommes, sans aucun profit sérieux pour la couronne. Sa seule conquête définitive fut celle de l'île d'Idjwi. L'épidémie qui terrassa le prince le surprit à Kiranga, au moment où pour la quatrième fois au moins il se rendait au Bunyabungu, au Sud-Ouest du lac Kivu.

Son règne, parce que récent, est bien connu et le récit de ses expéditions se trouve encore sur les lèvres de ses contemporains qui lui ont survécu. Sa popularité est presque égale à celle de son aïeul Ruganzu II dont les faits et gestes, malheureusement défigurés par la légende, ont été conservés et font l'objet de maintes conversations au coin du feu. Les contrastes de caractère de Lwabugiri n'ont pas laissé que d'être fort curieux. Ses vengeances, comme ses caprices sanguinaires, étaient sans lendemain. On le voyait ensuite élever les fils de ses victimes et adopter de jeunes captifs qu'il prenait en affection, comblait de biens et admettait même dans sa famille.

Son successeur direct, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, resta à peine une année sur le trône. Il fut renversé par Kabale, le chef le plus puissant du clan hamite des Bega.

Pour ne pas tomber vivant aux mains de ses ennemis, le royal vaincu se donna la mort. Mussinga, un des plus jeunes fils de Lwabugiri, fut aussitôt intronisé sous le nom de Yuhi IV.

Il était, par sa mère Kanjogera, neveu de l'ambitieux Kabale, qui exerça la régence durant la minorité du jeune prince. Le clan des Banyiginya, d'où est sortie la famille royale et qui avait jusqu'alors exercé une influence prépondérante à la Cour, se vit déposséder de ses biens. Les chefs les plus en vue du parti vaincu furent implacablement immolés par les Bega, qui se partagèrent sur les cadavres de leurs victimes, le gouvernement des provinces. Les Bega, aigris d'avoir été tenus à l'écart des affaires publiques, se vengeaient une fois pour toutes de la condition inférieure dans laquelle ils estimaient avoir

été maintenus à tort pendant si longtemps par leurs rivaux.

On se demande si Kabale en imposant à son neveu le nom royal de Yuhi ne l'a pas fait intentionnellement.

On distingue deux catégories de rois : les rois guerriers et les rois pacifiques (abami b' inteko, du verbe guteka s'asseoir [1]).

Le nom qui leur imposé au jour de leur intronisation les lie et les engage, pour tout leur règne, dans l'une ou l'autre voie. Ruganzu est un nom de guerre, comme celui de Kigeri. Ruganzu II Ndori, raconte une tradition, s'était donné tant de mal (yari yarushye chyane) que, pour éviter autant que possible à ses successeurs les ennuis, les peines et les fatigues qu'il avait endurés, il ordonna que son nom de « Ruganzu » disparût à jamais avec lui dans la tombe. Il comptait par là réduire le nombre de guerres futures. Les titres de Mutara et de Yuhi engagent au repos ceux auxquels ils sont imposés. Il ne leur est pas permis de franchir les fleuves (ntibambuk' uruzi). La violation de ce « tabou » les exposerait eux et leur royaume à de grands malheurs.

Aussi ce ne fut pas Mutara lui-même qui fit la conquête du Gissaka. Dans le cas d'une guerre ou d'une expédition nécessaire le Souverain désigne deux généraux dont l'un (umugabe) a la direction des opérations militaires et l'autre une simple préséance honorifique. Celui-ci passe pour excercer une influence occulte et magique sur les ennemis qui ne peuvent manquer d'être vaincus, s'il remplit bien son rôle. Lwabugiri avait toujours à ses côtés, durant ses expéditions, un de ces généraux à titre superstitieux. Ces derniers sont appelés Abagaba.

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(1) Le même verbe guteka signifie aussi cuire (en kiswahili, kupika).

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LIVRE DEUXIEME

[p. 95]

Fondation du royaume hamite du Rwanda.
(UN EMBRYON D'HISTOIRE.)

CHAPITRE PREMIER.

Des origines obscures du royaume jusqu'à l'avènement de Ruganzu I.

CHAPITRE I.

Des origines obscures du royaume jusqu'à l'avènement de Ruganzu I.

CHAPITRE II.

De Ruganzu I jusqu'au roi visionnaire Yuhi II Mazimpaka. Les princes libérateurs.

CHAPITRE III.

De Yuhi II jusqu'à Kigeri IV Lwabugiri. La prophétesse Nyirabiyoro et le supplice de Kamegeri.

CHAPITRE IV.

Le règne de Kigeri IV Lwabugiri. Ses nombreuses expéditions. Prophéties populaires.

CHAPITRE V.

Derniers épisodes du règne de Lwabugiri. Entrevue du prince hamite avec le célèbre explorateur allemand, le comte von Götzen.

CHAPITRE VI.

L'époque contemporaine. Le coup d'État de Ruchunchu et le triomphe des Bega. L'avènement de Yuhi IV Musinga (1896 ou 1897).

Liste généalogique des Souverains hamites.

NOM DE RÈGNE.	NOM DE NAISSANCE.	NOM DE LA MÈRE.	CLAN DE LA MÈRE.
1° Landa.	Inconnu.	Inconnu.	Inconnu.
2° Muntu.	»	»	»
3° Kazi.	»	»	»

	NOM DE RÈGNE.		NOM DE NAISSANCE.	NOM DE LA MÈRE.	CLAN DE LA MÈRE.
4°	Nkuba.		Inconnu.	Inconnu.	Inconnu.
5°	Kigwa.		»	»	»
6°	Kimanuka.		»	»	»
7°	Kijuru.		»	»	»
8°	Kôbo.		»	»	»
9°	Kizira.		»	»	»
10°	Kihanga.		»	»	»
11°	Kanyarwanda.		»	»	»
12°	Musindi.		»	Klezi.	Abega.
13°	Lumeza.		»	Nkundwa.	Abaha.
14°	Nyarume.		»	Musindi.	Abasinga.
15°	Lukuge.		»	Nkindi.	»
16°	Rubanda.		»		Abega.
17°	Ndora.		»	Monde.	Abaha.
18°	Samembe.		»	Nyabitoborwa.	Abasinga.
19°	Nsoro.		Samukondo.	Nyakanga.	»
20°	Ruganzu	I.	Bwimba.	»	»
21°	Chyilima	I.	Rugwe.	Nyakiyaga.	Abega.
22°	Kigeri	I.	Mukobanya.	Nyankuge.	Abakono.
23°	Mibambge	I.	Mutabazi. Sekarangoro.	Nyabadaha.	Abega.
24°	Yuhi	I.	Gahima.	Matama.	Abasinga.
25°	Ndahiro.		Kyamatara.	Nyirangabo.	»
26°	Ruganzu	II.	Ndori.	Nyabachuzi.	Abakono.
27°	Mutara	I.	Muyenzi. Nsoro Semugeshi.	Nyiramavugo.	Abega.
28°	Kigeri	II.	Nyamuheshera.	Nchenderi.	Abaha.
29°	Mibambge	II.	Gisanura.	Nyabuhoro.	Abega.
30°	Yuhi	II.	Mazimpaka.	Nyamalembo.	Abaha.
31°	Chyilima	II.	Ludjugira.	Kilongoro.	Abakono.
32°	Kigeri	III.	Ndabarassa.	Lwesero.	Abagessera.
33°	Mibambge	III.	Sentabyo.	Nyiratamba.	Abega.
34°	Yuhi	III.	Gahindiro.	Nyiratunga	»
35°	Mutara	II.	Lwogera.	Nyiramavugo.	»
36°	Kigeri	IV.	Lwabugiri.	Murole-unkwere.	Abakono.
37°	Mibambge	IV.	Rutalindwa.	Nyiranshongore.	»
38°	Yuhi	IV.	Musinga.	Kanzogera.	Abega.

Des dix-neuf premiers membres vrais ou supposés de la dynastie royale bien peu ont laissé une trace dans l'histoire. On dirait des mythes. Nous les mentionnons toutefois pour la curiosité des lecteurs en passant rapidement sur les faits et gestes que l'on prête à quelques-uns d'entre eux.

1. Le premier fut Landa (du verbe kulanda qui signifie ramper à terre). Les Banyarwanda entendent par là qu'il fut à la base de tous les autres.

Dans la province du Buganza les Banyarwanda, pour parler du premier homme, se servent du mot « Shyerezo » : le Commencement, qui veut dire aussi la fin.

Il habitait au ciel et donna naissance aux Banyarwanda. Il faut se rappeler que le Buganza est comme Mutara dans le Ndorwa, le berceau des Batutsi. Ces deux régions furent leurs premières étapes vers le Rwanda. Aussi les légendes qui y ont cours offrent-elles le plus grand intérêt comme nous le verrons plus loin.

2. Le second, Muntu veut dire homme, pris dans son sens le plus générique (1).

3. Le troisième est Kazi, terme suranné pour dire vieilli ou qui a vécu de longues années.

4. Nkuba, « la foudre », vient après.

De ces quatre personnages fictifs, c'est Nkuba (la foudre) dont il est le plus souvent question dans les contes indigènes. D'aucuns en font un fils de Nyiragihanga, dont il sera parlé plus loin.

Le successeur de Nkuba fut

5. Kigwa, Celui qui est tombé (du ciel).

6. Kimanuka, Celui qui est descendu (du ciel) lui succéda et céda à son tour le trône à

7. Kijuru, Celui qui est du ciel, le céleste.

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(1) Les Baganda ont gardé le souvenir d'un de leurs rois de nom Kintu.

Il ne serait pas impossible que le Muntu des Hamites du Rwanda ne soit qu'une réminiscence du Kintu, un Galla probablement qui régna sur les Baganda et fut entouré d'un grand respect.

Mgr Gorju, dans l'ouvrage déjà cité, essaie d'expliquer l'origine du mot Kintu en résumant les souvenirs des Baganda par rapport à Kintu : « D'où venait Kintu ? Nous n'en savons rien (affirment les indigènes); nous ne savons non plus quel était son nom. Il était blanc et son arrivée excita chez nous une curiosité non sans crainte. — J'ai vu une chose étonnante (ekintu), se disaient les gens; le nom lui en resta, ce fut Kintu. » Page 100.

Ces trois termes sont presque synonymes et ont été donnés à des êtres imaginaires. Le nom de Kigwa encombre les légendes dont se pare la littérature des Batutsi [1].

8. Kŏbo, dont le sens étymologique est « petit trou », règne après Kijuru et fut remplacé par

9. Kizira, Ce qui est défendu.

Jusqu'ici nous sommes dans le plein domaine de la légende. L'histoire n'a pas encore fait un pas. On dirait une généalogie mythologique créée après coup par des familiers et des courtisans, pour des monarques en quête d'aïeux nombreux et illustres. Les Banyarwanda n'ont pas manqué de tomber dans ce travers et les Basozo du Kinyaga ont imité leur exemple en cherchant aussi pour leurs rois une lointaine et fort problématique ascendance qui se perd dans les temps éloignés.

Il n'est pas dit aussi que l'un ou l'autre des rois qui suivent ne méritent pareillement d'être rangés dans la catégorie fictive de leurs devanciers.

10. Avec Gihanga, le Créateur par excellence, on semble toucher à quelque chose de positif. D'après une légende assez répandue, ce prince aurait vécu dans la plaine de Muko, au lieu désigné sous le nom de Buhanga, pays sacré dont le sol était interdit même aux Batutsi.

Il serait ensuite venu dans le Kibali, à Kangomba. Son nom est resté attaché au bois sacré de Luhanga, où l'on croit qu'il a été enterré avec sa mère Nyirakihanga, selon les uns, ou sa femme Nyirakabogo, selon les autres.

C'est sous son règne que les bovidés auraient pour la première fois fait leur apparition dans le Rwanda.

A cela rien d'étonnant, puisque les Batutsi sont un peuple de pasteurs. Il est tout naturel que dans leur émigration ils aient amené avec eux, sinon de grands troupeaux, au moins quelques couples. Les Banyarwanda, qui

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[1] Cf. « La légende des Batutsi sur la Création, la Chute et leur établissement dans le Rwanda », par le P. LOUPIAS, *Anthropos*, III (1908), p. 2 ss. et « Au Rwanda, sur les bords du lac Kivu (Congo Belge) », par le P. PAGES, *idem* (1920).

ont oublié avec le temps la provenance de ces animaux, en ont fait l'objet d'un récit merveilleux, dans lequel Nyirarutchaba, la fille du roi, joue le principal rôle.

Le voici résumé en quelques lignes : Gihanga avait deux femmes Nyirampirangwa et Nyamussussa. Celles-ci se disputèrent un jour pour la possession d'une peau de chat-tigre que Gihanga avait tué à la chasse.

Nyirarutchaba prit parti pour sa mère Nyirampirangwa. S'emparant d'un pieu aiguisé, elle en porte un coup violent à Nyamussussa qui était dans un état de grossesse très avancé. Celle-ci mourut presque aussitôt en mettant au monde un enfant qui fut nommé Kafomo, c'est-à-dire né avant terme. Sa colère calmée, la jeune meurtrière se prit à réfléchir sur la gravité de son acte. Redoutant à juste titre la colère de son père, elle s'enfuit dans la forêt qui s'étendait à l'Est jusque vers le lac Victoria.

Après avoir erré quelque temps à l'aventure, elle fut rencontrée harassée de fatigue, par un chasseur appelé Gahu qui la recueillit et en fit son épouse. Le ménage vécut en bons termes. Un enfant leur naquit...

Or, un jour que Nyirarutchaba était allée sarcler un champ d'éleusine, elle aperçut de loin une bête à longues cornes allaitant un petit. Elle s'enfuit tout d'abord, mais revint ensuite pour mieux examiner la cause de son effroi et de son étonnement.

L'étrange animal s'était retiré plus loin et paissait paisiblement. Nyirarutchaba s'approcha de l'endroit où elle avait aperçu l'étrange quadrupède pour la première fois. Elle remarqua qu'un peu de lait était tombé dans une cavité du terrain rocailleux. Elle voulut y goûter et le trouva délicieux. De retour au logis, elle fit part de la découverte à son mari et réussit non sans peine à le conduire au pâturage pour lui faire admirer la bête.

L'idée lui vint bientôt d'apprivoiser l'animal. Malgré les craintes de son homme, elle vint se mettre à l'affût avec une longue liane en mains. Voyant que le petit était éloi-

gné de sa mère, elle s'approche doucement, lui met le licol au cou et tire sur la corde. La bête voyant que sa progéniture s'écarte, se met en demeure de la suivre. Nyirarutchaba réussit à faire pénétrer le veau dans la cour qui précède la case et fixe le lien à un des bois qui en forme l'enceinte...

La mère ne voulut pas se séparer de son petit et se familiarisa bien vite avec les gens de la hutte.

Nyirarutchaba, après s'être servie durant longtemps de petites cruches en terre, réussit à décider son mari à lui préparer des ustensiles mieux appropriés à cet usage. Le chasseur savait travailler le bois. Il présenta un jour à son épouse les pots à lait si connus sous le nom de «ibyantsi». Mais ce ne fut qu'au cours d'une grave maladie que Gahu se décida à boire de ce liquide qui lui avait inspiré jusque-là une profonde répugnance. Son rétablissement fut prompt, grâce à la bienfaisante liqueur.

Les deux époux étaient à peu près les seuls êtres humains qui vivaient dans la forêt.

Des Batwa s'étant égarés à la chasse montèrent sur un arbre et virent de la fumée.

Ils s'approchent de l'endroit et aperçoivent bientôt Nyirarutchaba qui les questionne sur leur pays. Sur leur réponse qu'ils sont les chasseurs attitrés de Gihanga, elle leur demande des nouvelles de son père. Ils lui apprennent que le prince est gravement malade d'une dysenterie. Son cœur se serre à cette nouvelle. Elle obtient de son mari la permission de le quitter pour aller voir l'auteur de ses jours et lui porter trois jarres de lait, dans la pensée qu'elle pourra le guérir.

Elle arrive à la capitale et trouve le roi sans connaissance.

On réussit à lui faire prendre un peu de lait. Gihanga pousse aussitôt un soupir de satisfaction.

Quelques instants après, on lui donna de nouvelles gorgées qui le raniment.

Il ouvre les yeux et reconnaît sa fille.

Grâce au lait qu'elle avait apporté, il se trouva bientôt guéri. Nyirarutchaba voyant son père complètement remis voulut retourner chez son mari. Le souverain accède à ses vœux, mais lui demande où elle a trouvé un si bon breuvage. Craignant pour son petit troupeau, Nyirarutchaba lui fait croire que c'est du jus laiteux d'une plante que son mari a cultivée. Gihanga feint de croire au mensonge de sa fille. Elle prend congé de lui, mais il la fait suivre de loin par ses Batwa.

Sa demeure est bientôt découverte. Gihanga en personne va s'emparer des vaches qu'il conduisit dans le Rwanda, et... c'est de là, ajoutent les conteurs, que sont sortis les troupeaux actuels [1].

D'après une autre légende, c'est Kafomo (né avant terme) qui devint à cette occasion le père des Basui (gens de l'Usui).

Les devins avaient dit que l'enfant né dans la circonstance tragique que l'on connaît porterait malheur. Gihanga doit en débarrasser le royaume :

« Prends cet arc, lui dit son père. Une fois que tu auras pénétré dans la forêt, appuie-toi sur un arbre à épines et fixe ton arc à une des branches. Si l'arc disparaît dans le tronc, ne crains rien, reste immobile.

« Ne fuis pas devant les chasseurs, personne ne te fera de mal. Le bonheur qui t'attend dépend de ton obéissance. »

Kafomo suivit à la lettre les recommandations de Gihanga.

Il avait suspendu son arc et s'était assis quand soudain, il vit des vaches sortir du lac Victoria : « Un grand mal-

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[1] Le souvenir de Nyirarutchaba est resté attaché au petit pays de Buhimba, près Nyanza. Un grand arbre y porte encore le nom de cette princesse.

Les gens du clan des « Batchaba » se réclament d'elle, on ne sait pour quelle raison.

heur, s'écria-t-il épouvanté, est arrivé chez nous; en voilà le signe et la preuve ».

C'était au moment où Gihanga et ses hommes étaient allé piller Gahu. Eux-mêmes assistaient à ce prodige et attendaient que le troupeau sortît du fond du lac pour s'en emparer. Mais Kafomo de crier plus fort : « Au secours! le royaume est en péril ». Il monte sur l'arbre pour que sa voix soit entendue au loin.

Un magnifique taureau (Lutenderi) venait d'apparaître, les cornes sortaient de l'eau...

Aux cris poussés par le jeune homme, la bête prend peur et disparaît dans le lac avec le reste du troupeau. Gihanga et ses hommes n'en eurent que la plus faible partie.

Le prodige passé, Kafomo se remet sous son arbre et l'arc à son tour se dérobe à ses yeux...

Le fils du roi s'endort. L'arbre se fend pendant la nuit. Il en sort d'autres vaches, des serviteurs, des cases toutes construites et une femme que Kafomo épousa. Il devint le roi du pays.

Ses descendants portent le nom de « Abashubbi » du mot « mushubbi », arbre à épines, parce que le prince s'était reposé sous un de ces troncs.

Le nom de Nyiragihanga, mère du roi Gihanga, intervient dans un autre récit. Nyiragihanga avait donné le jour à sept ou huit personnages fictifs, désignés sous le nom de Lion, Léopard, Buffle, Eléphant, Hyène, etc. puis à la Foudre (Nkuba) et enfin à une fille Nyirabukangaga. Les enfants avaient reçu des occupations particulières. Les uns allaient à la chasse, les autres coupaient du bois; leur mère restait presque toujours seule au logis.

Un jour que Nyiragihanga avait fini de préparer les huit marmites qui servaient à la consommation journalière, la Mort se présenta et se fit donner la nourriture qu'elle avala gloutonnement.

De retour, les enfants, mis au courant de l'événement,

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tinrent conseil pour savoir comment ils se débarrasseraient du vorace personnage qui avait promis de revenir. Le Lion assura qu'il se chargeait de faire expier son forfait au coupable et que ses frères n'avaient qu'à se rendre à leurs travaux quotidiens. Quand il fut en présence de l'ennemi il eut peur et se cacha. « Laissez-moi faire, dit l'Éléphant, le jour suivant, je l'écraserai ». L'aspect de la Mort le terrifia et il s'enfuit. Aucun d'eux ne réussit à se défaire de l'horrible visiteuse. La Foudre s'offrit enfin à son tour jurant que rien ne la ferait reculer. De fait elle réussit à blesser l'importune visiteuse. La Mort essaie de se dérober aux coups de la Foudre et se réfugie à l'intérieur d'un rocher d'où elle est délogée. Elle pénètre dans un trou de taupe qui, pour aveugler la Foudre, lui jette de la terre, ce qui l'oblige à se retirer. La Foudre n'abandonne pas la partie, elle avertit les gens de s'enfermer chez eux. On connaît la suite. Une vieille sort malgré la défense et servit de refuge à la Mort qui depuis lors n'a cessé d'exercer son funeste empire sur le monde : « Je vous l'avais bien dit, s'écrie la Foudre. Vous avez violé la défense, tant pis pour vous! Vous en subirez les conséquences. Quant à moi, je vais me réfugier en haut (hejuru) » [1].

Gihanga est de plus considéré comme l'inventeur du feu. Dans la hutte que tout monarque doit bâtir en l'honneur de Gihanga, on entretient du feu dans une immense cruche en terre cuite.

Ce sont les Abiru ou « gardiens des traditions » qui ont la charge du feu sacré. Ils se succèdent de nuit et de jour autour du foyer pour ne pas le laisser s'éteindre. Nul autre que le roi ne peut venir y prendre du feu pour allumer sa pipe.

11. Kanyarwanda, l'habitant du Rwanda, fut destiné par feu son père à occuper le trône. Ses frères supposés Kages-

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[1] Cf. « Au Rwanda, sur les bords du Kivu (Congo Belge) », par le P. Pasts. *Anhropos* (1929).

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

sera, l'homme du Bugessera, Kanyagissaka, l'homme du Gissaka, etc., eurent le gouvernement des provinces qui portent leur nom.

Quelle créance historique peut-on donner à Kanyagissaka, à Kagessera, à Kanyarwanda et à Gihanga? Nous n'osons pas trancher la question ni dans un sens, ni dans l'autre, faute de documents précis.

Les Batutsi, au début, durent avoir un chef commun; on ne s'imagine pas plusieurs rois rivaux marchant de front à cette époque. Ils se divisèrent probablement au seuil du Rwanda, les uns se dirigeant vers le Mulera, les autres vers le Buganza, le Gissaka, etc. Pendant que les premiers, si nous admettons cette hypothèse, s'établissaient dans la plaine du Mohazi, les autres prenaient pied dans les provinces nommées. Le mythe précédent donnerait l'explication de cette séparation et du partage des terres qui s'ensuivit. Ce que l'on constate ensuite sûrement en s'appuyant sur les légendes traditionnelles, c'est que les Banyarwanda, pénétrés de cette idée que l'homme, la terre et tout ce qu'elle renferme n'ont pu se créer d'eux-mêmes, ont imaginé nombre de mythes dans lesquels « Imana » lui-même, c'est-à-dire Dieu, ou le roi « Gihanga » jouent un grand rôle.

Nombreux sont les mythes qui expliquent l'origine de l'homme et celle des rois.

Presque tous se ressemblent. La légende de « Shyerezo », très répandue dans la province du Buganza, met en scène les personnages précédents. Leur arrivée et leur établissement sur la terre y sont expliqués de la façon suivante :

« Shyerezo » (le Commencement), disent les chroniqueurs, habitait le ciel. Il eut de nombreux enfants issus de plusieurs lits. Parmi eux Kigwa, Kimanuka, Mututsi, Rupfu (la Mort) et de plus Nyirampumbya (l'enfant de la joie), leur sœur, naquirent de la même mère. Ils avaient pour frères consanguins entre bien d'autres Nkuba (la

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Foudre), Gihu (le Nuage) et Sata, sorte d'animal imaginaire et fantastique ayant quatre pattes et une queue, formé par une certaine disposition des nuages.

Après avoir vécu de longues années, leur père Shyerezo mourut. On l'enterra selon les rites usités dans la famille. Le deuil n'était pas encore terminé que Sata vint rendre visite à la mère de Nkuba pour lui faire la cour. Nkuba était chargé de garder les troupeaux. Il remarqua bien vite les assiduités de son frère consanguin qu'il rencontrait toujours le soir autour du foyer domestique : « D'où vient, lui dit un jour Sata, que tu as l'air fâché? Est-ce parce que je fréquente ta mère? Tu es un être étrange... »

A peine avait-il dit ces mots que Nkuba lui décocha un maître soufflet. Ce fut la mère de Nkuba qui reçut la gifle et mourut sur-le-champ. Le coup avait été mal mesuré. Sata, en effet, avait subitement paré l'attaque en levant le bras.

Il fut pourtant blessé à l'œil qu'il perdit complètement...

Bientôt après une grande famine s'abattit sur la région. Les fils de Shyerezo eurent beaucoup à souffrir. La pluie s'étant mise enfin à tomber, les frères utérins Kigwa, Kimanuka, Mututsi, Rupfu ensemencèrent des haricots, du sorgho et de l'éleusine.

Leur sœur se chargeait des soins du ménage et Rupfu, en sa qualité de dernier-né, faisait paître les troupeaux.

Comme c'était un enfant et qu'il aimait à s'amuser, les troupeaux abandonnés à eux-mêmes endommagèrent gravement les récoltes. Irrités, ses frères prirent le parti de le punir : « Qu'allons-nous devenir si cela continue? disaient-ils. Nous avons pâti de la famine, l'année dernière. Nous sommes sur le point de faire la récolte et voilà que ce malencontreux vacher va nous réduire de nouveau à la dernière nécessité. »

Le jeune berger surprit leur conversation. Craignant d'être frappé, il fit rentrer les vaches dans l'enceinte, mais se cacha sous la haie, dans un angle de la cour.

C'était au tour de Kimanuka de veiller sur le troupeau durant la nuit. A un moment donné les bêtes comme prises de peur se démènent dans le « kraal ». Kimanuka se dit que des voleurs rôdent dans les environs. Il prend un tison pour « percer » (1) les ténèbres et distingue vaguement une chevelure. C'était celle de Rupfu qui dormait profondément. Pris de peur Kimanuka saisit une forte bûche et la lançant de toutes ses forces dans la direction de la haie, il atteint en pleine figure le malheureux enfant qui fut assommé sur le coup... On s'aperçut de la méprise, mais il était trop tard.

Après avoir accompli les rites des funérailles, les enfants du premier lit se dirent : « Nous avons eu le malheur de tuer notre frère. Comment fuirons-nous la vengeance de nos autres consanguins? Ils ne manqueront pas de nous poursuivre. Pourrons-nous échapper à leurs atteintes? Ce qui nous attend, c'est la mort à bref délai et la mort violente ».

« Non, répondit Kigwa, laissez-moi vous donner un conseil. Faisons nos préparatifs de départ. Recueillons des provisions comme pour un long voyage; sortons du ciel et allons chercher fortune dans le Rwanda. »

L'avis de Kigwa fut adopté. Ils emmenèrent les troupeaux que leur père Shyerezo leur avait légués. Il y avait le taureau et sa sœur la vache (Lugira n'Ingizi), le porteur de sonnette et sa sœur, c'est-à-dire le bouc et la chèvre (Mudende n'iyayo); l'ami de la paix et sa sœur, le bélier et la brebis (Nyabuhoro); l'oiseau aux cris matinaux et perçants avec sa sœur, le coq et la poule (Mugambira n'iyayo); l'animal qui remue la queue (inzunguzungu), c'est-à-dire le chien, etc.

Ils marchèrent longtemps et arrivèrent enfin dans la région de Mubali, sur le fleuve de la Kagera, aux endroits désignés sous le nom de Lugeyo et de Rwehe, chez le roi Kabejya.

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(1) Nous donnons la tradition littérale du texte indigène.

Ils étaient tout différents des habitants de ce pays. Comme ils connaissaient le métier de forgeron, ils se mirent à vendre des pioches qu'ils échangeaient pour des vivres. Ils vécurent ainsi de longs jours. Leur fortune s'accrut rapidement, ainsi que leur troupeau. Il manquait pourtant une chose à leur bonheur.

C'est ce que Kimanuka exprima un jour en ces termes :

« Nous sommes dans l'abondance des biens, disait-il à ses frères, mais notre famille ne prend aucun accroissement. Nous ne sommes pas plus nombreux que lorsque notre père Shyerezo nous a engendrés. Il nous faut des compagnes. » De fait, les gens de Mubali avaient refusé de leur donner leurs filles en mariage. Ils étaient de race et d'origine différentes et ceux qui étaient descendus du ciel étaient de couleur blanche, ce qui effrayait leurs voisins. Kigwa se désolait. Kimanuka le consola en lui faisant la proposition suivante :

« Nul ne peut épouser sa propre sœur, c'est entendu. Il y a pourtant un moyen terme. Prends ce qui t'appartient et va te fixer au delà. Séparons-nous et devenons étrangers l'un à l'autre. Cessons de nous fréquenter. Quand tu auras fini de t'installer, tu viendras me trouver et me demander une épouse, comme si nous ne nous connaissions plus. »

Kigwa fit comme son frère lui avait conseillé. Il reçut sa propre sœur en mariage et en eut de nombreux enfants, les Bega d'aujourd'hui. Kimanuka et Mututsi réussirent à épouser des femmes du pays.

C'est d'eux que descendent les Batutsi, les Banyiginya et les autres Banyarwanda.

12. Musindi, qui monta sur le trône après la mort de Kanyarwanda, passe pour être le père et l'ancêtre du clan des « Basindi », les mêmes que les Banyiginya.

En d'autres termes, ce prince inaugura la dynastie des Banyiginya. C'est de cette famille qu'est sortie la lignée

des princes qui ont régné sur le Rwanda et dont fait partie le monarque actuel.

Les Banyiginya après avoir quitté le Ndorwa traversèrent le Buganza et vinrent s'établir dans le Bgana-Chambge. Peut-être est-ce Musindi lui-même qui fixa sa capitale à Muhima [1], au-dessous de Kigali. Un bosquet que l'on voit encore aujourd'hui et qui recèle une ou deux sources, jadis l'abreuvoir des troupeaux du roi, marque le séjour temporaire des Batutsi en ce lieu. Avant l'arrivée des Européens, il était absolument interdit aux indigènes de fouler ce terrain considéré comme sacré et à plus forte raison d'y couper du bois.

Il n'est presque pas une tribu qui ne se réclame d'un ancêtre illustre. Nous avons déjà vu que les Batchaba se donnent comme descendants de Nyirarutchaba, la fille de Gihanga qui dut s'enfuir de la Cour.

Les Batsobe prétendent tirer leur origine du fils de Nyirarutsobe, l'esclave qui sut gagner les bonnes grâces de Ruganzu lors de l'expédition de celui-ci chez Nzira dans le Bugara, non loin des lacs du Mulera [2].

Les Bakongori et les Balejuru se sont montrés plus soigneux encore du problème de leur origine.

Ils racontent que leurs deux ancêtres, Nkongori et Ndejuru étaient frères. Ils habitaient le ciel. Manquant de bois pour fermer (kwugarira) l'entrée de la cour, comme le font tous les soirs les indigènes, à l'entrée de la nuit, ils commirent le crime de couper un arbre qui se dressait non loin de là. Il s'agissait d'un arbre sacré, auquel leur père, avait défendu de toucher. A peine s'étaient-ils attaqués au tronc que la terre s'entr'ouvrit et qu'ils disparurent pour se retrouver en bas: Nkongori prit le chemin du Rwanda où ses descendants sont devenus les sorciers

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(1) Les Hamites à leur entrée dans le Rwanda ne devaient être connus que sous le titre de « Bahima » d'où le nom historique de Muhima donné au village qu'ils fondèrent près de Kigali.

(2) Cf. Livre troisième. Le Règne de Ruganzu II.

attitrés (abanyambuto) du roi. Ndejuru lui se dirigea vers le Gissaka où les Balejuru ont fait souche. D'après une autre tradition en cours dans le pays, les premiers Balejuru passaient pour être descendus du ciel, mais affublés... d'une queue, d'où leur surnom de « Abanyamirizo » les hommes à queue. Les gardiens des traditions expliquent volontiers en riant que c'est une façon de parler, qu'on voulait dire par là qu'ils ne ressemblaient pas aux autres (1).

La légende que les Basinga ont consacrée à l'histoire de leurs origines mérite d'être racontée. A travers les embellissements et les figures habituelles de langage, on y voit un exemple d'immigration relativement récent toutefois, pris sur le vif.

Notre père, disent-ils, s'appelait « Lunukamishyo » (2). c'est-à-dire le sorcier aux couteaux, ou l'Homme aux couteaux de sorcier, nom qu'il tirait de son état. Il était né dans le Ndorwa et y vivait de son métier au temps du roi Kabeja. Ayant l'intention d'émigrer, il se mit à consulter les entrailles d'un poussin.

Il jugea que les sorts lui étaient favorables et qu'il ne courait aucun risque à mettre son projet à exécution. A peine avait-il déposé par terre les entrailles du petit poussin, qu'un épervier (Sakabaka) fondit du haut des airs et les emporta dans ses serres, à la grande stupéfaction de l'aïeul qui ne savait que penser de ce curieux incident.

Il suivit des yeux l'oiseau de proie et le vit se diriger vers le pays de Mutara, un peu vers le Sud.

L'Homme aux couteaux de sorcier y vit une indication.

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(1) Un chef païen de noble race, auquel l'auteur de ces pages doit de précieux renseignements, voyant le sérieux avec lequel ces détails étaient recueillis et notés s'écria : « Ne crois pas à leur authenticité, ce sont des mythes, des fables (imigani) et non pas des faits d'histoire (ibetekerezo) ». Il fut facile de le rassurer sur ce chapitre.

(2) Ce mot de « Lunukamishyo » vient de deux termes « kunuka », sentir, et « mishyo », les couteaux, à cause de l'habitude qu'ont les sorciers de se servir de leurs couteaux pour s'orienter, et cela en les mettant un instant sous le nez.

Dès le lendemain après avoir emballé ses quelques hardes et pris quelques provisions pour la route, il quitta le sol natal avec sa famille. Après avoir longuement marché, ils s'arrêtèrent fatigués.

Le sorcier se coucha aux pieds d'un arbre pour goûter un peu de sommeil. Or, pendant qu'il dormait, quelque chose lui tomba sur le visage.

Il se réveille en sursaut. Ses enfants et ses petits-enfants accourent auprès de lui : « Voyez donc, leur dit-il ce que j'ai reçu sur la figure. Qu'est-ce que cela peut être? ». Les uns disent : « Ce sont des entrailles d'oiseau ». « Non, répondent les autres, elles ressemblent à celles d'un rat. » Chacun donne son avis.

L'aïeul se fait apporter un peu d'eau. On la verse dans une petite cavité. Lunukamishyo y plonge l'objet contesté pendant quelques instants. Il reconnaît alors de ses yeux exercés au métier d'aruspice qu'il était en présence des entrailles du poussin qu'avait emportées l'épervier et que celui-ci avait laissé choir sur l'arbre aux pieds duquel il s'était reposé : « J'en suis sûr, s'écria-t-il, je ne puis pas me tromper. Levons-nous, continuons notre chemin, nous sommes sur la bonne voie. »

Et comme s'il était inspiré, il ajoute : « Nous ne sommes plus dans le pays de Gahaya, nous sommes désormais hors de son atteinte. Il vient toutefois d'apprendre à l'instant notre départ de chez lui. On va incendier notre village et nos habitations, veillez bien à ne pas regarder en arrière. Allons, mettons-nous en route (maze mumenye ntimulol' inyuma, bagiye kudutwikir'amago n'amazu. Mulilinde kukol'inyuma. Ati ni muhoshi!). »

On se remet en marche, on fait quelques pas. Voilà qu'un des plus jeunes enfants rejette la tête en arrière. Il aperçoit au loin dans la direction du village qu'ils viennent de quitter une colonne de fumée qui monte jusqu'au ciel. Une exclamation de douleur et d'effroi lui échappe aussitôt : « On brûle chez nous ».

L'homme aux couteaux de sorcier se retourne instinctivement; il devient aveugle à l'instant et faillit tomber à la renverse. Atterrés, ses fils l'entourent ne sachant que dire et que faire. Après un moment d'angoisse et d'émotion, le vieillard demande ses couteaux. On les lui présente, il s'avance de quelques pas, se baisse et en frappe légèrement le sol. Le son lui indique la direction à prendre. C'est ainsi qu'ils se guidèrent. Quand on arrivait à un endroit où les sentiers se croisaient, l'aïeul se faisait donner un de ses instruments qu'il utilisait comme on vient de le raconter.

Ils arrivèrent à petites étapes dans le Nduga où ils s'installèrent et devinrent dans la suite très nombreux [1].

A partir de Musindi les chroniqueurs officiels qui appartiennent au clan des Bachurabgenge donnent dès lors le nom de la mère du roi et le clan auquel elle appartient, sans autre appréciable précision. L'histoire n'en est pas plus avancée qu'auparavant.

Après Musindi apparaît

13. Lumeza, celui qui fait germer (les plantes et les récoltes), du verbe « kumeza » faire germer, faire pousser.

14. Son successeur Nyarume n'a pas laissé plus de trace de son passage sur le trône. Ce nom est composé de deux mots, la particule « nya » qui exprime la possession et « urume » (ou ikime) qui signifie la rosée d'où le nom d'Homme à la rosée, c'est-à-dire Celui qui préside à la rosée pour entretenir la fraîcheur et aider au développement des plantes.

Peut-être ne faut-il voir dans cette appellation qu'une allusion à son goût pour la chasse qu'il aimait à tel point qu'il ne craignait pas de partir de bon matin malgré la

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[1] Quand il s'agit de trouver des ancêtres à la famille royale, ou aux différents clans qui habitent le pays, les Noirs ne sont pas embarrassés et savent donner libre cours à leur imagination. Les récits généalogiques contiennent quelquefois des détails utiles à l'histoire. Ce motif nous a incité à les recueillir.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

rosée abondante qui se déverse en pluie des hautes herbes sur les passants matinaux.

Il est facile de constater combien les familiers de la Cour, dans leur désir de se concilier les bonnes grâces de leurs Souverains, d'ennoblir la famille royale et d'en rehausser le prestige, se sont ingéniés en cherchant des ancêtres à la dynastie actuelle, à leur trouver des noms à signification on ne peut plus honorable ou louangeuse ou même simplement utilitaire et bienfaisante. Le roi autrefois était censé commander aux éléments eux-mêmes qui favorisent le développement des germes : la pluie et le soleil.

Leur règne fut une ère de prospérité, une rosée de bénédictions temporelles. Le nom symbolique donné à ces princes en rappelle le souvenir à la postérité. Les Noirs savent manier l'hyperbole et la flatterie.

15. On ne sait rien de Lukuge qui succède à Nyarume.

16. Rubanda, qui occupa le trône à la suite de Lukuge, nous avertit, si l'on s'en tient à l'étymologie de son nom, que la bénédiction temporelle descendue du ciel sous ses aïeux s'étendit aux familles qui devinrent si nombreuses qu'elles formèrent un grand peuple. Cette conclusion nous la déduisons du mot Lubanda qui signifie foule.

17, 18 et 19. Ndora, Sambe et Nsoro, fils, petit-fils et arrière-petit-fils, furent trois illustres inconnus.

Les Bachurabgenge, historiens officiels de la Cour sont on ne peut plus sobres de détails sur ces quelques princes.

Parmi ces premiers souverains il en est, nous venons de le voir, quelques-uns dont le nom est un symbole. Landa, signifie ramper à terre, être à la base; Muntu, défiguration du mot kintu veut dire chose; Nkuba, foudre; Kigwa, celui qui est tombé; Kimanuka, celui qui est descendu; Kijuru, celui qui est venu du ciel, le céleste; Gihanga, le créateur; Kanyarwanda, l'habitant du Rwanda.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

Les autres sont affublés de noms étrangers, termes et vieillis et désuets qui n'ont presque plus cours dans la langue, Kazi, Kobo, Kizira, Lumeza, Nyarume, Lukuge, Rubanda, Ndora, Samembe.

La solution du problème de leur existence dépend d'une plus ample information que nous n'avons pas encore obtenue.

Il ne serait pas impossible que les généalogistes aient fait entrer dans l'ordre de succession au trône des personnages autres que les Hamites, mais ayant joué un rôle considérable parmi les autochtones. L'hypothèse est donnée pour ce qu'elle vaut.

Le fait qu'on ne parle jamais des cimetières dans lesquels auraient été inhumés ces princes hamites, Gihanga mis à part, laisse planer des doutes graves sur leur existence.

On peut s'étonner à juste titre de constater que leur nom et leur souvenir n'aient pas été attachés d'une façon expresse, comme cela se fait pour les autres, à une des huttes de la capitale.

Dès tout premiers monarques Gihanga est le seul qui échappe à ces deux points d'interrogation.

On croit qu'il a été enterré à Luhanga et il possède à Nyanza, la résidence actuelle du roi, une case qui lui est consacrée spécialement [1].

De toutes les généalogies royales du centre de l'Afrique, la dynastie hamite du Rwanda est la seule qui compte trente-huit titulaires.

La liste des rois du Bunyoro est celle qui s'en rapproche le plus avec dix-huit titulaires. On a des raisons de croire que la fondation du royaume hamite du Rwanda est subséquente à celle de l'Unyoro, ce qui infirme l'authenticité de la longue lignée des Batutsi du Rwanda.

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[1] Livre quatrième, chapitre VII : Rites funéraires.

CHAPITRE II.

De Ruganzu I jusqu'au roi visionnaire Yuhi II Mazimpaka. Les princes libérateurs.

20. Avec Ruganzu I, de son nom de famille Bwimba, l'histoire prend une mine plus sérieuse, mais pas bien sévère. Une légende raconte que sa mère, au lieu de prendre le poison qui devait mettre fin à ses jours, comme le voulait la coutume, alors que ses cheveux blancs la mettaient dans l'obligation de quitter la vie, épousa un certain Chenge [1]. Honteux de cette mésalliance, son fils le roi Ruganzu alla se faire tuer au Gissaka.

Ruganzu I est, d'après une autre version, rangé parmi les « Libérateurs » (Abatabazi). Il s'offrit en victime volontaire aux coups des ennemis du royaume pour empêcher le Rwanda de tomber sous le joug étranger.

Son dévouement et sa mort ont fait l'objet d'une chanson de gestes dont le fond historique n'est pas complètement défiguré. On devine à travers la légende ce que furent les relations des deux princes hamites rivaux.

Nous pouvons supposer qu'une guerre s'ensuivit et que ce fût dans le cours d'une embuscade que Ruganzu perdit la vie...

Nous résumons les faits d'après le récit populaire.

Le roi du Gissaka, Kimenyi kimeny' umuheto (celui qui sait tirer à l'arc), avait déjà demandé, sous le règne de Nsoro, la main de Robga, sœur de Rugangu. Les devins lui avaient assuré et promis la possession du Rwanda, s'il réussissait à épouser la princesse. Le père de la jeune fille, mis au courant de la prophétie par ses propres sorciers,

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[1] D'après une croyance populaire la reine-mère et le roi lui-même, à l'apparition de leur premier cheveu blanc devaient se donner la mort.

repoussa la demande. Il mourut quelque temps après, en engageant son fils et successeur à opposer le même refus.

Kimenyi revint à la charge et réussit par ses cadeaux à se concilier la faveur de la reine-mère Nyakanga et celle de Nyamussussa, l'oncle maternel du nouveau roi. Celui-ci ne sachant comment faire pour résister aux objurgations de sa mère et de son oncle, demanda l'avis des grands de la Cour.

Ils étaient de cœur avec le jeune prince et comme lui avaient des appréhensions pour l'avenir. Craignant les représailles de la reine-mère et de ses partisans, ils conseillèrent au roi de céder. Robga, la princesse royale, avait, de son côté, des répugnances pour ce mariage qu'elle savait devoir être funeste à son pays. Elle céda aux instances de son frère et se laissa conduire au Gissaka, où Kimenyi la reçut avec de grandes démonstrations de joie.

Avant son départ, elle avait eu une entrevue intime avec Ruganzu : « Les devins ennemis de notre patrie, dit-elle, ont prédit que le fils qui naîtrait de mon sein régnerait sur le Rwanda. Ne crains rien, ô mon frère, je ne permettrai pas que le pays de nos aïeux perde son indépendance par ma faute. Mon devoir est tracé. Je t'avertirai à temps. Ne néglige rien, quant à ce qui te concerne, des recommandations de tes sorciers, viens te faire tuer par nos ennemis, répands ton sang sur leur terre maudite, et je saurai me donner la mort au moment voulu, pour que le fruit de cette union que je déteste n'entraîne point la perte de ton royaume. »

De fréquents messages partirent, en effet, du Gissaka. Ruganzu était tenu au courant des faits et gestes de son beau-frère qui se réjouissait de la venue prochaine d'un héritier, signe et présage de la réalisation des prophéties qui lui avaient été annoncées. Un courrier pressant de Robga vint apprendre à Ruganzu qu'il n'y avait plus de temps à perdre. Après avoir inutilement invité son oncle à se joindre à lui, le roi du Rwanda quitta sa capitale.

sortit du royaume et pénétra sur le territoire ennemi. Il avait revêtu pour la circonstance les insignes que doivent porter les « Libérateurs » qui vont donner leur vie pour le pays.

Tout en étant impatient de répandre son sang, Ruganzu hésitait à mourir avant d'avoir obtenu la certitude qu'il aurait un héritier. Un de ses confidents put l'atteindre enfin. Un fils et successeur venait de lui naître. Chyenge, tel était le nom de l'homme qui lui apportait la nouvelle. Il appartenait au village de Karama : « Désormais, lui dit le Roi, tu t'appelleras l'Homme de Karama au message agréable. » (Abanyakarama b' inkuru nziza) (1).

Presque aussitôt, l'heureux père fait la rencontre d'un léopard qu'il perce de sa lance. Il fait dépecer la bête : « Prends cette peau de léopard, ajoute-t-il à son compagnon Chyenge, remets-la à ma femme Nyakiyaga, et dis-lui de s'en servir de berceau ambulant (ingobyi) pour porter son nouveau-né. Quant à toi, je te choisis comme le dépositaire de mes dernières volontés. En souvenir de cette chasse, du donneras à mon fils le nom de Léopard (Rugwe), mais il régnera sous le titre de Chyilima. »

Pendant qu'il parlait, il s'aperçut qu'un bûcheron caché près de là suivait la conversation. Il lui ordonne de s'approcher, le frappe sur la nuque sans le blesser : « Prends-le comme témoin, ajoute-t-il, emmène-le, il t'aidera à faire accepter du peuple ce que je t'ai confié. »

Le prince s'avance en plein pays ennemi et rencontre un chasseur. Il feint de courir après le même gibier pour faire naître l'occasion d'une querelle. L'étranger se fâche, bande son arc et vise Ruganzu qu'il atteint d'une flèche en plein front. Le monarque tombe à la renverse et expire sur-le-champ. Un Mutwa le suivait de loin. Il avait reçu l'ordre de suivre son maître et de porter la nouvelle de sa mort à Robga, comme il avait été convenu.

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(1) Les gens du village de Karama, considérés comme les descendants du messager, portent encore aujourd'hui ce nom.

Kimenyi, le roi du Gissaka, jouissait de la présence de son épouse qui ne laissait rien paraître de ses craintes et de ses projets. Il parlait souvent de l'héritier sur lequel il fondait de grands desseins et de vastes espérances, cependant que Robga lui répondait d'une façon prophétique et amphibologique : « Nous allons mettre en mouvement les soufflets de forge; les scories du minerai seront pour toi, je me réserve le fer » [1]. Le mari croyant que sa femme désirait des bracelets lui promettait tout ce qu'elle demanderait. Ils en étaient là de leur joute littéraire quand le Mutwa, témoin de la mort de Ruganzu, fit son apparition.

Robga habituée à la présence des messagers, lui fait offrir une jarre de lait. Le porteur de la nouvelle fatale se maîtrisait difficilement. Sous le coup de la fatigue et de l'émotion, il est pris d'un tremblement tel que la jarre de lait au lieu d'arriver à ses lèvres lui passe par-dessus les épaules. Il est secoué d'un tic nerveux, ses mains et ses bras lui refusent tout service... La jeune femme comprend tout de suite : « Je sais ce que tu viens m'annoncer ».

Kimenyi présent à la scène a la même pensée. Il croit que les prédictions vont se réaliser et ne peut s'empêcher de les exprimer à haute voix : « Robga, ma femme, s'écrie-t-il, il y avait deux êtres puissants (imfizi) qui se disputaient dans la forêt, l'un a tué l'autre; veux-tu que le tambour-palladium (Rukurura) du Gissaka devienne aussi celui du Rwanda? » Robga feint d'accepter. Kimenyi fait apporter le tambourin qu'on dépose près du lit de la reine, dont l'état de grossesse était fort avancé. Robga s'appuie des deux mains à l'un des piliers qui encadrent l'ouverture de l'alcôve où se trouve le lit, prend son élan et se jette en dehors de la couche, pour tomber lourdement sur le tambour-palladium. « Arrêtez-la! Arrêtez-la! » clame Kimenyi. « A quoi bon m'arrêter, cela ne vous servira de rien, répond la jeune femme blessée à mort. Je te

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[1] La princesse voulait dire par là qu'au lieu de lui donner un héritier, elle ne lui laisserait que des cadavres, le sien et celui de son enfant.

l'avais bien dit, Kimenyi, vil chien du Gissaka! que je ne te laisserai que des scories. » Elle expira en prononçant ces dernières paroles [1].

21. Chyilima I - Rugwe [2].

Les chroniqueurs indigènes racontent de lui qu'il fut « ensorcelé » alors qu'il était encore enfant. A la suite de maléfices dont il fut impossible de découvrir les auteurs, une vipère du Gabon (nchira) pénétra dans la poitrine du petit prince qui se mit à dépérir. On ne pouvait plus le sustenter. Les gens de la Cour recoururent à un sorcier déjà célèbre, Ntembe, originaire du village de Munanira dans le Bugoyi. Celui-ci donna l'ordre d'égorger une vache grasse dont les morceaux saignants rangés auprès du jeune roi dégagèrent une odeur de viande fumante et firent sortir le reptile de son repaire... L'enfant fut délivré et ce succès ne fit qu'accroître la renommée de Ntembe dont les descendants vivent encore à la Cour, au service de Sa Majesté. Devenu grand, Chyilima-Rugwe s'enquit de la mort de son père. On lui narra tous les détails de son dévouement héroïque et celui de sa tante Robga.

Il résolut de tirer vengeance contre le roi Kimenyi qui vivait encore. Ayant réuni ses favoris et ses courtisans : « Quel est celui d'entre vous, les conjura-t-il, qui répandra le sang de Kimenyi? » Mukubu, l'un des plus braves s'offre aussitôt : « Je vengerai le sang de Ruganzu, je le jure. » Il prit congé du roi et se rendit à la cour de Kime-

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(1) Le mariage forcé et la mort tragique de Robga ont donné lieu aux expressions suivantes qui ont passé dans la langue et sont d'un usage courant au Gissaka : « Maudit sois-tu ! Veux-tu me traiter comme on a traité Robga ? » — « Ah ! tu veux me maltraiter ».

« Est-ce que tu me prends pour Robga ? » (Urachibga ! ngo mbese nij' ugize Karobga mul' aba bose ? — Ko nduz'ushaka kungirira nabi ? Nije, karobga se ? — Dans le Rwanda son patriotisme et son dévoûment sont passés en proverbe : « Il s'est fait Robga », c'est-à-dire il a donné sa vie pour son pays, comme Robga (yabaye Robga).

(2) Une tradition le fait naître du mariage déshonorant de la reine-mère Nyakanga avec Chenge, d'où la fatalité attachée au sort du malheureux prince, ainsi que l'expliquent les tenants de cette opinion.

nyi en se donnant comme proscrit. « Chyilima m'a voué, lui dit-il, une haine à mort, il a essayé de me tuer. Prends-moi sous ta protection, je te servirai ». — « Je suis heureux de t'avoir à mon service, répond le prince, je connais ta bravoure dans les combats et ton habileté à former les danseurs. Tu faisais partie, je m'en souviens, de la suite de Robga, quand elle vint à ma Cour ». Un an se passa. Kimenyi n'avait qu'à se féliciter de son protégé qui vivait journellement auprès de lui.

Il l'invita à une grande chasse : « Nous partirons demain, dit le roi, et nous lutterons d'adresse. Nous verrons lequel sera de nous le meilleur tireur. Je suis sûr de l'emporter sur toi. Je ne prendrai que quatre flèches, et aucune ne manquera son but, je te l'assure. » — « Moi aussi, reprend Mukubu, je ne mettrai dans mon carquois que le même nombre de flèches et si je n'atteins pas le gibier que je viserai, j'accepte d'être disgracié par toi, j'engage mon avenir. » On se mit en route vers la forêt. Le cortège atteignit la lisière, une large clairière s'étendait au loin. Kimenyi arrête ses gens : « Restez ici, que nul de vous ne me suive; j'irai seul avec Mukubu mesurer la justesse de notre tir. »

Les deux rivaux s'élancent en avant à travers la broussaille.

Deux gazelles apparaissent à l'horizon, le prince tend son arc et d'une seule flèche transperce les bêtes. Presque aussitôt Mukubu aperçoit deux petites antilopes : « A ton tour », lui crie Kimenyi. Le courtisan Munyarwanda met une flèche à son arc vise les antilopes, puis soudain se retourne sur le roi qu'il frappe en plein cœur. Le monarque tombe, le meurtrier se jette sur le cadavre du prince, lui coupe un bras et s'enfuit. Les gens de la suite s'étonnent de voir courir Mukubu. « Qu'y a-t-il? » lui demandent-ils de loin. « C'est une antilope blessée qui galope avec une de mes flèches », répond l'homme. Le temps passe, la nuit va tomber, les courtisans curieux et inquiets

se rendent sur le terrain de chasse et découvrent le corps inanimé du monarque, auquel on a enlevé le bras droit. Tout s'explique, c'est Mukubu qui est l'assassin. Ils se mettent à sa poursuite. Ce fut en vain. L'autre avait de l'avance. Il se rendit à la Cour de Chyilima avec son macabre trophée. Grande fut la liesse du roi et de son entourage. On fit fête au héros, les échos en parvinrent jusqu'au Gissaka. Pendant que les uns pleuraient et gémissaient, les autres se livraient aux plus vives démonstrations de joie dans le camp opposé [1].

Quelles sont les conclusions historiques que l'on peut déduire de la légende où il est question de Ruganzu I, de sa sœur Robga et du vengeur Mukubu? Ce qui appert clairement, c'est que le royaume hamite du Gissaka existait à cette époque. Les princes des deux pays limitrophes entretenaient des relations matrimoniales, elles se continueront plus tard.

Il est facile aussi de constater à travers les « Chansons de gestes » qu'il y eut des jalousies et des rivalités entre eux.

Les guerres et les embuscades en furent la conséquence. Il y eut des victimes de part et d'autre. Pour un roi tué par ruse ou à la tête de ses troupes, il fallait le sang d'un autre, car la vengeance appelle la vengeance. On s'explique les démêlés politiques des deux royaumes, sans pouvoir entrer dans les détails.

Que fut au juste le règne de Chyilima I - Rugwe?

Les historiens noirs ne s'entendent pas à son sujet. Il en est parmi eux qui ne lui attribuent qu'un court règne, étant déjà âgé lorsqu'il monta sur le trône. Nombreuses sont les variantes contradictoires qui relatent sa carrière. D'après les uns, il mourut à la suite d'une expédition malheureuse.

Il fut grièvement blessé, dans ce combat, disent les

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(1) Induru zivug' i Gissaka; impundu zivug' i Rwanda rwa Gasabo.

autres, mais réussit à se rétablir. Pour récompenser, ajoutent les mêmes historiens, les bergers qui l'avaient recueilli et lui avaient prodigué des soins, Chyilima porta un décret aux termes duquel les susdits bergers avaient le droit, en été, où tout est sec, de faire paître leurs vaches dans les champs de patates des Bahutu. Avec le temps, les Batutsi, gardiens de troupeaux, étendirent la portée du privilège et s'arrogèrent le même droit. De là des abus considérables dont les cultivateurs furent souvent victimes dans le passé.

Les habitants du Bwana-Chambge sont plus catégoriques et affirment que ce monarque rendit le dernier soupir près de Kigali dans sa résidence de Ntora devenue depuis un lieu funèbre et transformée en fourré épais (gisozi) que l'on ne pouvait autrefois traverser sans danger de perdre la vie (1).

Au dire des Banyarwanda, Chyilima a conservé un mauvais souvenir de son règne.

Aussi a-t-il fallu, pour calmer son esprit, lui élever une hutte à Gaseke, près de Bukoma, à l'endroit même où il a été enterré. Cette case est habitée par un gardien qui a en outre la garde de quelques vaches appartenant en propre au roi défunt (2).

22. Chyilima - Rugwe fut remplacé sur le trône par Kigeri I Mukobanya.

A l'époque où nous sommes, la capitale se trouve à Mwurire, emplacement bien marqué par un bosquet (ikigabiro) que l'on voit encore, au sommet de Kigali.

Le règne de ce monarque compte dans les annales traditionnelles. On attribue à ce prince et à son fils l'honneur et le mérite de la défaite des Banyoro, qui furent battus au pied de cette même colline. Ils venaient probablement

(1) Le désaccord qui règne parmi les annalistes et les anciens au sujet de certains événements historiques est un motif sérieux de n'accepter qu'avec prudence les opinions exprimées.

(2) Cf. Livre quatrième. Honneurs rendus aux mânes royaux.

du Nkole, sur le lac Edouard et non de l'Unyoro, situé beaucoup plus au Nord sur la rive orientale du lac Albert. On ignore le motif pour lequel ils ont été désignés dans l'histoire sous le nom de Banyoro. Nombreux et aguerris, ils ravageaient tout sur leur passage. Deux chefs bien connus essayèrent de les arrêter. Ce fut peine perdue : leurs troupes démoralisées se débandèrent au premier choc. L'heure était grave. Grâce au secours de Mashira, chef autochtone du Nduga, dont la réputation de sorcier était célèbre, les Banyoro furent enfin vaincus et refoulés (1).

23. A Kigeri succéda son fils Mibambge I qui mérita le titre de Libérateur (Mutabazi) à cause du rôle qu'il joua dans la campagne contre les Banyoro. On lui attribue encore la conquête du Nduga.

A l'époque où nous sommes il n'était question que de Mashira. Sa réputation cependant lui venait moins de ses exploits militaires que de ses incantations. On recourait à lui de partout.

Nous avons vu que Kigeri lui-même, le père de Mibambge, fit apel à son art lors de l'invasion des Banyoro. Le succès qu'il remporta sur les terribles dévastateurs n'était pas de nature à diminuer le prestige du sorcier.

Par ailleurs son royaume était relativement considérable puisqu'il comprenait le Bulembo (ou Ndiza), le Nduga et une partie du Bwana-Mkali. On ne connaît pas d'une façon précise les péripéties de la lutte à mort qui se déroula entre les deux rivaux. Il semble d'après la légende que Mibambge alla attaquer dans ses retranchements Mashira qui, surpris et se trouvant trop faible pour résister, se perça de sa lance (2).

Le vainqueur annexa à ses possessions le pays que le prince magicien avait reçu de ses aïeux et qu'il avait

(1) Cet événement important est devenu l'objet d'une chanson de gestes que nous donnons *in extenso* dans le Livre quatrième.

(2) La conquête du Nduga dans le Livre cinquième.

arrondi aux dépens d'un de ses voisins, Kimari, fils de Rulenge. Kimari était le chef des Barenge et habitait à Mara dans le Bwana-Mkali. A l'époque d'une grande famine qui sévissait dans la région, les Barenge vinrent consulter Mashira pour conjurer le fléau. Le sorcier, rapporte la légende, conseilla à Kimari d'employer ses hommes à creuser un grand puits. D'après un autre récit, le roi-magicien lui fit entreprendre la construction d'un grand édifice s'élevant jusqu'aux nues, afin de dérober aux vapeurs amoncelées l'eau bienfaisante dont manquaient les Barenge.

Quoi qu'il en soit des détails donnés par les « historiographes » il semble que Mashira fondit un jour à l'improviste sur les malheureux Barenge et anéantit la plupart des hommes faits [1].

Les bénéfices de cette victoire furent recueillis du même coup par le prince hamite.

Il eut encore l'avantage d'ajouter à la couronne le petit pays du Bugessera.

Géographiquement le Bugessera se rattache plutôt à l'Urundi dont il est une pointe avancée.

Il est situé à l'Est du Rwanda dont il est séparé d'abord par le fleuve de l'Akanyaru, puis par celui de la Kagera dont le premier est tributaire. Le confluent (amasangano) des deux fleuves se trouve à Busoro. La majeure partie de la région est boisée, mais les arbres sont clairsemés et inutilisables en menuiserie. Les Batutsi, pasteurs par excellence, toujours en quête de pâturages, s'y sont installés avec leurs troupeaux. Le pays, selon les lieux, porte des noms divers : il y a le Munyinya, le Kagassa, où se trouve une source pour abreuver le bétail, le Migina, le Rugenge où Lwabugiri éleva une résidence; le Kamamana et le Kibugabuga.

On y trouve quatre étangs; le Murago, le Mirayi, le

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(1) Cf. La légende des Barenge dans le Livre cinquième.

Kagomissi et le Chohoha qui sont assez rapprochés les uns des autres. Les trois premiers sont en communication directe avec la Kagera et lui servent de déversoir au moment des grandes eaux. Ils se dessèchent presque entièrement en été et les indigènes en profitent alors largement pour y faire leurs cultures. Les terrains qui avoisinent les lacs sont submergés, à la saison pluvieuse, par le trop-plein (umwuzure) des eaux, que ne peut contenir le lit trop étroit des deux fleuves. Les habitants occupent généralement les endroits élevés et viennent ensuite travailler dans les terrains d'alluvion qu'ils estiment être à l'abri de l'inondation. Il n'est pas rare que leurs calculs soient déjoués et qu'ils n'aient à déplorer une fois ou l'autre la perte de leurs récoltes.

Le pays, qui n'est pas très peuplé à l'heure actuelle, ne semble jamais l'avoir été beaucoup.

Il fut envahi par les Batutsi qui, venant du Gissaka, s'y créèrent une principauté avant de s'avancer dans l'Urundi.

Quelques-uns d'entre eux s'y arrêtèrent et y fixèrent leur séjour. Dès le début ils semblent avoir conservé des relations très étroites avec ceux de l'Urundi. Le Bugessera fit donc partie tout d'abord du royaume Mututsi fondé dans l'Urundi, jusqu'au jour où ses chefs, qui appartenaient au clan des *Abahondogo* se déclarèrent indépendants. Combien dura ce petit royaume? L'histoire ne le dit pas.

La tradition ne relate que quatre titulaires ayant régné sur ce pays : Sankunda, Nsangano, Nyabalega et Nsoro, le dernier.

Ruganzu I du Rwanda, ainsi que son successeur Chyilima-Rugwe déclarèrent la guerre au Gissaka et au Bugessera.

C'est dans le Gihumya, l'une des trois régions du Gissaka, que Ruganzu I, croit-on, trouva la mort. Nous constatons que les Batutsi, qui présidaient aux destinées des trois petits royaumes susdits, Rwanda, Gissaka, Bugessera, oublièrent bien vite leur commune origine, en vin-

rent aux mains et se disputèrent la possession du Bwana-Chambge qui était limitrophe.

A un moment donné nous voyons une partie de cette province incorporée au royaume de Gissaka et l'autre à celui du Bugessera. Nombreux sont les détails qui relatent les différentes phases de ces luttes fratricides, mais vu leurs multiples contradictions, il est difficile d'en tirer parti, à l'heure actuelle.

Le dénouement seul paraît être un peu plus clair.

Nsoro, le dernier roi du Bugessera, fut renié par les siens. Il essaya d'entrer en relations avec Mibambge I, pour en obtenir du secours. Très politique, celui-ci profita des divisions intestines et de la famine qui ravageaient la région pour la soumettre à sa domination. Abandonné de tous, Nsoro mourut de faim dans le Bgiriri, à l'endroit connu sous le nom de Munyinya de Lusukira. La principauté du Bugessera avait vécu et le Rwanda s'augmentait d'une nouvelle province.

Un sorcier, Runyotwe, fils d'un nommé Nyamigogo, aurait, d'après la légende, joué un grand rôle dans la conquête du Bugessera.

Presque dans tous les récits historiques ou légendes à fond historique on voit apparaître un sorcier qui fait obtenir le succès. Les rois et les grands du royaume ne font et n'entreprennent jamais rien sans avoir consulté d'abord les devins et les magiciens les plus renommés. Ceux-ci ne manquent pas de prédire les événements futurs, sous une forme elliptique et à sens multiple qui s'accordera toujours avec les événements quels qu'ils puissent être. Ce qui arrive d'heureux est attribué aux sortilèges qui font l'objet de leur art.

Le rôle historique joué par Mibambge I a donné naissance à des récits romantiques dont il est le héros et à une prophétie concernant l'arrivée des Blancs.

Le Roi, content ses admirateurs, était entouré de ses fidèles et de ses pages quand soudain il se prit à pâlir et

demanda son arc et ses flèches : « Calme-toi », lui crient les courtisans, qui tremblaient de frayeur et croyaient à un accès de folie. Mibambge fixait d'une façon effrayante les pages dont le visage, d'après une coutume en vigueur à la Cour, était barbouillé de craie blanche : « Je crains pour mon pays, s'écria-t-il enfin, car il viendra des étrangers au visage pareil à celui de ces enfants et ils s'empareront du royaume (bizantwar' igihugu) ». Cette vision prophétique, ajoutent les conteurs, fut suivie bientôt d'un autre curieux événement. Le prince était à sa résidence d'Ilemera, près de Kanyinya, dans le Nduga.

Une nuit, il est réveillé en sursaut: « N'entendez-vous pas un enfant qui pleure? » Ses familiers ont beau prêter l'oreille et s'informer dans le voisinage, aucun bruit ne parvient à leurs oreilles.

« Il pousse des cris perçants », continue le monarque. On parcourut les villages situés à proximité, l'enfant restait introuvable et Mibambge percevait toujours la voix de quelqu'un qui pleure.

Un des favoris du roi, nommé Mugunga, voulut éclaircir le mystère. On le vit traverser le Rwanda, l'Urundi et parvenir à l'Uha, où il entendit enfin les cris d'une fillette. Elle était inconsolable de la perte d'une perle qu'avait avalée une poule.

Celle-ci avait été mangée par un chat sauvage qui périt sous la dent d'une hyène. La hyène à son tour avait été croquée par un lion qui, lui aussi, servit de pâture à un éléphant...

Mis au courant de l'événement, Mibambge lança à la poursuite de l'éléphant ses habiles chasseurs, les Bayovu. Le pachyderme fut attaqué, tué et dépecé. On retrouva dans ses entrailles ce qui restait du lion, de la hyène, du chat sauvage et... de la poule. Bref, la perle fut découverte et remise à la petite propriétaire, dont les pleurs tarirent à l'instant. L'enfant s'appelait Matama et était la fille de Bigega, le roi de l'Uha. On la fiança dès lors à Mibambge

qui l'épousa quelques années après. De leur mariage naquit Yuhi I Gahima. Ainsi finit l'histoire.

Se non e vero, e bene trovato pourrait-on ajouter.

24. Yuhi I Gahima. La tradition est muette sur les derniers jours de Mibambge.

Elle nous fait passer sans transition au règne de Yuhi I Gahima. On ne connaît à peu près rien de la vie et du règne de ce prince. Quelques-uns en ont fait le père de Mwungeri, le Pasteur, qui d'après une curieuse légende [1] habitait le pays du Kivu, avant la grande catastrophe.

On lui donne encore pour fils Rushara, l'ancêtre des « Bashara » actuels qui font l'office de faiseurs de pluie, et dont il sera parlé plus loin.

25. Ndahiro-Kyamatara. Le successeur de Yuhi I ne fut pas Lushara, mais Ndahiro-Kyamatara qui devait donner naissance au célèbre Ruganzu.

Le règne de Ndahiro ne fut pas heureux. Son royaume subit le fléau de la famine et de l'invasion.

La légende s'est emparée de ses malheurs et le tableau en a été assombri par les narrateurs toujours en quête de détails sensationnels. Autant son étoile avait pâli, autant celle de son successeur devait briller et les chroniqueurs se sont chargés d'en dire la gloire et les grandeurs avec une prolixité sans pareille.

Le souvenir de son autre fils Kibogo qu'un nuage emporta dans les cieux et dont l'ascension mit fin à une longue sécheresse qui désolait le Rwanda, est resté aussi très vivace. Le prince ou mieux son esprit a toujours son habitation particulière près de la résidence royale. Chaque roi lui constitue un vrai « home » avec une femme et des serviteurs, auxquels est confié le petit troupeau traditionnel de vaches dont ne peut se passer un vrai Mututsi. Il a même un tambour spécial, preuve de l'importance

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[1] Cf. « Au Rwanda sur les bords du lac Kivu (Congo Belge) », par le P. Pagès, *Anthropos* (1920).

qu'on attribue au rôle joué par lui dans le passé et du cas qu'on en fait.

On dit couramment en parlant de ce home : « Chez Kibogo », comme s'il était encore en vie. Dans les anciennes capitales (umurwa) où s'élèvent de nombreux bosquets qui en marquent l'emplacement on n'oublie pas de montrer la place qu'occupait le foyer familial de Kibogo. C'est ainsi qu'à Mara, dans le district de Marangara, les gens du pays indiquent près d'une résidence de Lwogera-Mutara, une enceinte composée de ficus qu'ils désignent sous le nom de « chez Kibogo » (kwa Kibogo). Le roi Yuhi-Musinga, lui aussi, s'est conformé à la coutume et a installé dans sa capitale de Nyanza un « chez soi » au glorieux Libérateur, pour se le rendre favorable.

26. Ruganzu II - Ndori.

Comme son règne fait l'objet du Livre Troisième nous n'insisterons pas ici sur ses faits et gestes. Il mérite vraiment le nom de Conquérant, de Victorieux. Bien que la légende et la tradition aient dénaturé et défiguré ses expéditions et ses actes, il n'en reste pas moins vrai que c'est lui qui a contribué le plus à l'unification du royaume actuel. On lui doit une œuvre d'agrégation politique. Rien qu'à considérer le nombre des « bahinza » actuels ou anciens descendants des princes autochtones (Abahutu), on se rend compte de la grandeur de la tâche que Ruganzu avait entreprise à la suite de ses aïeux. Cette grande œuvre ne s'acheva pas en un jour. L'indépendance plus ou moins reconnue des « bahinza » du Bushira, du Buhoma et du Kingogo en sont une preuve frappante [1].

L'influence considérable dont jouissaient encore durant ces dernières années le muhinza du Bgishaza et le « faiseur de pluie » (umuvubyi) du Bukunzi dans la province du Kinyaga, pour n'en citer que quelques-uns, n'est qu'un vestige et une preuve de leur ancienne puissance.

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[1] Le gouvernement a dû remplacer peu à peu par des chefs Batutsi chacun de ces bahinza.

De chefs indépendants, ils ont dû se confiner à la longue dans le rôle encore fort honorable de pluviateur (umuvubyi) ou de « préservateurs des récoltes » (abahinza), qui faisait autrefois partie des prérogatives royales de leurs ancêtres. C'est tout ce qui leur en est resté. Ce que l'on vient de dire de ces deux derniers personnages peut s'appliquer aussi au faiseur de pluie de Bussigi.

27. Mutara I dit Nsoro succéda à son père Ruganzu II qui l'avait désigné comme son héritier.

La légende s'étend longuement sur les débuts de son règne.

L'homme de confiance, choisi par Ruganzu pour faire monter Mutara sur le trône (umwika wimitse), s'appelait Gahenda et appartenait au clan des Bega.

Gahenda conseilla à Mutara de prendre comme épouse une des plus jeunes femmes de son père; cette princesse, ajoutent les chroniqueurs, était stérile. La reine-mère voyant que son fils vivait avec une de ses anciennes rivales (umukeba) en éprouva un violent chagrin (arwan' ishyari).

Des larmes abondantes jaillirent de ses yeux et atteignirent Mutara à la figure. L'un de ses yeux, est-il dit d'après la légende, en fut atteint et enfla démesurement. On fit appel aux services de Mpande. Celui-ci appartenait au clan des Abiru. En sa qualité de sorcier-devin, il passait pour être au courant de tout.

Les autres magiciens et médecins indigènes (abavuzi) avaient été impuissants à soulager le royal malade. De plus la famine sévissait dans le pays. On ne savait pas où Mpande s'était enfui. Un pasteur put enfin indiquer son refuge.

Le roi Mutara fit préparer de l'hydromel (inkangaza), du beurre (imbilibiri) et du tabac, le meilleur du pays, et envoya ces présents au sorcier dont il requérait les services.

Celui-ci répondit au messager : « Je suis un malheureux dépouillé de tout, je ne puis accepter des cadeaux royaux qui ne se renouvelleront probablement plus (Nd' umunyage n' umukene, simbasha gutunga ukw' ibgami).»

Le roi lui fait parvenir aussitôt une vache et lui envoie en même temps une litière pour le porter, lui manifestant par là l'intention qu'il avait de le tirer de la misère. Mpande n'hésite plus. Il se présente à la Cour et demande au prince s'il a bien accompli les cérémonies qui terminent le deuil (ati : waleze?). Mutara répond qu'il n'en a rien omis. « Mais, reprend le sorcier, le pot à lait dont tu t'es servi le dernier jour du deuil de ton père, quand on conduisait les vaches à l'abreuvoir [1], de quel bois était-il fait? » — « Il était de mukaka (arbre réputé de mauvais augure), » dit le roi. « Et en cours de route, reprend Mpande, pendant que les troupeaux se dirigeaient vers le ruisseau, n'as-tu rien rencontré? » — « Oui, avoue Mutara, nous avons vu des fourmis noires, et nous avons essayé de les détruire par le feu [2]. » Et le sorcier de lui répondre avec des airs de prophète inspiré : « Tu as mal agi; tu as eu tort de t'attaquer à ces fourmis. Tu sais bien que cela est contraire aux usages, surtout lorsqu'on mène le deuil.»

Le sorcier prononce alors l'oracle suivant : « Procure-toi un pot à lait fait de bois de l'arbre sacré, l'érythriña (umwuko, umulinzi); remplis ce vase d'eau lustrale (ichyuhagiro) en y plongeant les branches des plantes magiques (umusekera, umuchyuro). »

Le roi agit comme il lui avait été recommandé. On conduisit les vaches à l'abreuvoir; les fourmis noires (intozi) reparurent, mais on se garda bien de leur nuire.

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(1) Allusion à l'une des multiples cérémonies qui ont lieu au jour où se termine le deuil d'un parent.

(2) Quand un Noir rencontre des fourmis, il ne songe pas à leur nuire. Il secoue les pieds, dans la croyance que ce geste l'immunisera contre les piqûres de ces insectes et les empêchera de le suivre à la maison.

Cela se passait à la source dite de Mata, dans le pays du Buhanga.

Quand on revint de l'abreuvoir, le sorcier-devin s'adressant de nouveau au prince lui dit : « Si tu veux que ton œil guérisse, choisis dans tes troupeaux une vache qui a toujours été stérile (inka y' urubereri). Cherche dans le pays des filles aux seins non développés (abakobga b' impenebere). Chasse-les dans la forêt, ainsi que ton épouse sans perdre de temps. » On exécuta de point en point les ordres du sorcier. Ceux qui étaient chargés de conduire la vache et les malheureuses prirent avec eux les « balais symboliques » (intsiro mbi) composés de différentes branches d'arbres réputés maléfiques et qui servent à prévenir et à conjurer (gutsirika) les malheurs.

On arrivait à peine dans la forêt que la foudre atteignit les membres du cortège. Nul n'en réchappa. A ce même instant l'irritation de la reine-mère cessa, parce que sa rivale n'était plus et l'œil de Mutara reprit son état normal.

Le même Mpande qui venait de guérir le roi, lui dit ensuite : « Il me reste du vin de bananes, que m'a confié ton père. Nous allons le donner au Libérateur, à celui qui répandra son sang pour ramener la paix dans le royaume.» Il va retirer le liquide d'une termitière (umugina) où il l'avait caché.

La cruche qui contenait le breuvage surnommé « le viatique de voyage des Libérateurs » (impamba y' Abatabazi) était surmontée d'une pioche qui lui servait de couvercle.

Le sorcier la découvre et y goûte en disant : « Quel est celui qui veut sauver le royaume? » Kibogo, fils du roi Ndahiro se présente et insiste tellement qu'il est agréé par Mutara pour libérer la monarchie. Il était accompagné d'un de ses gens, le célèbre Chyumweru; avant de quitter le roi, il lui dit : « Sire, veuillez trouver bon que ma femme soit délivrée de toute corvée trois jours sur cinq (asibe gatatu) parce que je m'en vais avec celui qui

l'aidait dans ses travaux. Quant aux autres hommes, qu'ils cessent le travail une fois tous les cinq jours, et cela en mon honneur (uwa katano abantu bansibire nanje, ngo n' ichyumweru) ». Mutara accorda ce qui lui était demandé (1).

On s'adressa encore au dévouement de Kinywi, fils d'un certain Mpanga. Il était originaire de Buhanga et on l'appelait l'« Homme qui a toujours soif » (ikyot' amakara, de kwot' amakara, c'est-à-dire celui qui se chauffe aux charbons du foyer). Il but lui aussi au vin de banane réservé aux Libérateurs en s'écriant : « Je me dévoue pour enrichir le Rwanda et lui mériter de nombreux troupeaux de vaches. Je m'en vais boire toute l'eau qui se trouve dans les autres pays ». Il s'en alla, continue le narrateur, et remplit sa promesse. Les vaches ne trouvant plus où s'abreuver s'enfuirent dans le Rwanda, attirées par l'eau qu'elles sentaient à distance (inka zo mu mahanga yose, zibur' amazi, zikaja zichika Irwanda, zumva ah' amaz' anuka hose honyine). Quant à Kinywi le Buveur (2), un jour qu'il se trouvait dans le Ndorwa, il aperçut une vache qui vêlait, il disparut à jamais par où le veau était venu (atabara munda y' inka hamaze guterana) (3), afin que son dévouement fut complet.

Le seul fait d'armes à l'honneur du prince Mutara est sa victoire sur les Barundi qui s'étaient avancés sur le territoire du Rwanda jusqu'aux environs de Mwulire dans la province du Bwana-Mkali. On appelle ainsi une colline élevée d'où la vue s'étend au loin sur la contrée environnante. Elle porte encore les vestiges d'anciennes résidences royales.

Mutara vint en toute hâte établir son camp sur ce poste

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(1) « Allusion au dévoûment » de Kibogo, que d'autres placent au commencemen du règne de Ndahiro, comme nous le raconterons dans le Livre troisième.

(2) Le sens littéral est « soiffeur ».

(3) Les historiens noirs ne reculent pas devant les crudités de langage.

d'observation. Là il attendit l'occasion de se jeter sur les envahisseurs. Héritier de la fourberie de son père, il feignit de lier amitié avec Mutaga, roi des Barundi, en acceptant de faire le pacte du sang. Au lieu d'avaler la liqueur où se trouvait la goutte empourprée, comme le veut le cérémonial en pareille occurrence, le roi hamite la versa à terre à l'insu de son rival. Il n'en prononça pas moins les serments d'usage. La paix dura quelque temps. Un jour, cependant, les troupeaux se rencontrèrent à l'abreuvoir et les deux taureaux faillirent s'éventrer. Mutara dit alors à Mutaga : « Si tu voulais bien abattre ta bête, les troupeaux vivraient en paix et nous deux aussi. » — « Assurément, répliqua Mutaga, mais il serait bien préférable que tu fisses disparaître la tienne. » Le Mututsi n'ajoute rien; peu de jours après, le taureau murundi gisait à terre éventré. Comment? Personne ne le savait. La tranquillité ne fut pas de longue durée. Après le combat des taureaux, il y eut la querelle des bergers. Chacun des deux groupes voulait passer le premier à l'abreuvoir commun. Et un jour on vit bien que l'un voulait se l'accaparer au détriment de l'autre. La mêlée devint générale, les deux rois étaient parmi leurs hommes. Finalement le chef murundi reçut une flèche à l'œil et la bagarre se termina à l'avantage des Banyarwanda qui refoulèrent les envahisseurs au delà de l'Akanyaru.

L'histoire ne dit pas combien de temps régna Mutara. Le prince, ajoute encore la légende, avait fait de Mpande son conseiller habituel. Il le consulta pour savoir où il devait construire sa capitale : « Bâtis ta résidence à Mwurire, lui répondit-il. Tu y passeras huit ans et huit jours. » —« Tu iras à Gisseke, reprend le sorcier qui fait un jeu de mots, tu y goûteras toutes les joies (ussekerwe) et tu y vivras huit ans et huit jours. » — « Où vivrais-je ensuite, dit le roi? » — « Tu t'installeras à Mwima, répond le sorcier qui fait un nouveau jeu de mots, et tu y « régneras » (uzima) huit ans et huit jours. » — « Après cela, où por-

terais-je mes pas? » — « Il faudra que tu ailles à Nyamagana, près de Nyanza, où tu posséderas des troupeaux de vaches par centaines (inka zib' amagana). Passé huit ans et huit jours, tu choisiras comme résidence la colline de Mukingo où tu garderas les frontières du Rwanda (gukingir' Urwanda). Tu y séjourneras pareillement huit ans et huit jours. De là tu partiras vers la colline de Bgeramvura, pour que la pluie (imvura) fertilise le sol du royaume (1). Les huit ans et huit jours écoulés, tu bâtiras un nouveau palais à Kigali, pour y étendre les frontières de ton pays (kugarur' amahanga) (2). Tu y habiteras huit ans et huit jours. Tu te rendras ensuite à Gassabo pour que les courges (ibissabo), qui servent à baratter le beurre, ne fassent pas défaut dans le Rwanda. Passé ce temps, tu te dirigeras vers Munyaga, d'où tu iras chercher du butin chez les ennemis (unyag' amahanga) pendant huit ans et huit jours. De Munyaga il faudra te rendre à Rutare (le fameux cimetière royal) où tu habiteras huit ans et huit jours. Tu changeras alors de place (uzahimuke), mais sans quitter la colline. Passé les huit nouveaux ans et les huit nouveaux jours tu transporteras ta résidence un peu plus loin, mais sans sortir de la région, et cela sans discontinuer ». C'était lui dire qu'il y mourrait et serait enterré sur place.

Ainsi parla le sorcier. Le roi suivit ses recommandations. Il fit de chacune des collines désignées ses capitales successives et vint enfin s'installer à Rutare. Il y avait déjà de longues années qu'il vivait dans la paix et le bonheur.

Il y avait changé de place plus de quatre fois cinq fois

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(1) Comme on le voit, le sorcier en lui désignant chacune de ses futures résidences, lui prédit un avantage ou un événement heureux. Au fur et à mesure qu'il nomme une colline, il fait un jeu de mot en tirant du nom propre de chaque capitale, un verbe qui en dérive naturellement et sert ainsi à exprimer les profits qu'il y recueillera.

Les hyperboles et autres figures de rhétorique sont fréquemment employées dans les récits indigènes et ne contribuent pas peu à les faire goûter des auditeurs, dont elles raniment l'attention.

(2) Kigari (sous-entendu igihugu) veut dire pays étendu.

(kanne gatano), c'est à dire souventes fois, quand il s'écria un jour : « Je suis fatigué, je n'en puis plus » (ndarushye). C'est pour cela que l'on dit depuis cette époque que « là où un homme a longtemps vécu, il finit par y mourir ». (Ah' umugab' atuye kera arahatabarira.)

Le roi trépassa et fut inhumé à Rutare même.

Mutara I, d'après une autre version, mourut d'une vengeance de sorcier. On se souvient que Ruganzu II avait entretenu les meilleures relations avec le roitelet de Marangara.

Les nouveaux princes n'imitèrent pas la sagesse et la prudence de leurs pères. Des chèvres appartenant à Mutara avaient dévasté un champ de Nkoma. Le roi hamite n'y avait attaché aucune importance; il n'en fut pas de même du petit prince lésé qui rongea son frein et songea à des représailles. L'occasion s'en présenta bientôt. Mutara I, en cours de route, vint demander l'hospitalité à Nkoma qui le reçut dans sa résidence au sommet de la colline qui porte son nom et où se trouve encore aujourd'hui un petit bosquet. Mutara en buvant de la bière empoisonnée contracta la maladie qui le fit mourir quelques jours après. Le roitelet de Marangara, ajoutent les autres, se vengea tout autrement. Il chargea, en vertu de tous ses pouvoirs magiques, une chenille (kanyabgoya) de le venger.

Mutara prit congé de Nkoma. Il était déjà près de deux heures quand, au village de la Ruhina, il se sentit soudainement mordu au talon. Il rejeta loin de lui la malencontreuse chenille en maugréant et en jurant. Il comprit sur-le-champ qu'il s'agissait d'un vrai ensorcellement. Le pied se mit à enfler et à le faire souffrir. L'inflammation gagna bientôt le corps; le prince ne tarda pas à expirer à Gisozi de Musumba, où ses gens l'avaient transporté en toute hâte, dans une hutte d'emprunt. Le sommet de la colline est inhabité depuis cette époque. Les arbres épineux (iminyinya) et la brousse s'y sont multipliés formant un petit bosquet (ikigabiro) qu'il n'est pas permis de fouler.

28. Mutara I fut remplacé par Kigeri II Nyamuheshera, qui figure comme bon nombre de ses prédécesseurs dans la liste des rois fainéants.

29. Son successeur Mibamge II Gisanura n'a pas laissé plus de trace de son passage sur le trône. Les historiens de la Cour se taisent à peu près complètement à son sujet.

CHAPITRE III

De Yuhi II jusqu'à Kigeri IV Lwabugari. La phrophétesse Nyirabiyoro et le supplice de Kamegeri.

30. Yuhi II Mazimpaka, dont le nom veut dire « terminer les différends », reçut ce titre d'honneur à cause de son habileté à trancher les procès. On dit aussi que dans les discussions il avait toujours le dernier et le bon mot pour mettre les rieurs de son côté. Il passe pour avoir joui d'une grande intelligence.

C'est vers la fin de son règne que Mulinda, le Mugoyi dont on reparlera plus loin, vint s'installer sur la colline de Rugobagoba qui domine la route du Marangara à Kigali.

Yubi-Mazimpaka est compté parmi les « improvisateurs » littéraires les plus renommés (abasizi). On connaît de lui plusieurs monologues de haute envergure (ibisigo).

Dans l'un d'eux il célèbre en les résumant les exploits de ses aïeux et dans un autre il fait allusion à des malheurs domestiques.

Les annalistes racontent que le monarque aimait à boire. A peine enivré, il devenait fou furieux et tuait de ses mains les gens de son entourage. Employés, amis et courtisans, parents et enfants, nul n'était épargné. Revenu de son ébriété, le roi regrettait ses actes et pleurait ses victimes, mais son penchant pour l'hydromel l'emportait sur le reste. Ivre, la colère le reprenait et le sang coulait...

Les familiers de la Cour se concertèrent un jour : « Si nous restons auprès du roi, nous allons tous y passer les

uns après les autres. Il ne nous reste plus qu'un parti à prendre, quittons le pays et allons nous réfugier à l'étranger ». Ils s'enfuirent pendant la nuit.

Yuhi, à son réveil, se trouva tout étonné de ne voir âme qui vive auprès de lui, ses gardes l'avaient abandonné. Il eut beaû appeler, personne ne répondit. Sortant de sa case, il parcourut les différentes pièces du palais sans rencontrer visage humain. Il finit par découvrir un boiteux qui le met au courant du complot : « Ils sont partis, lui expliqua-t-il, parce qu'ils ont peur de toi. Ils craignent de subir le même sort que leurs compagnons, et si je suis resté, moi, c'est parce que j'étais dans l'impossibilité de les suivre. » Le monarque comprend sa faute et son malheur. « Essaie de les rejoindre, reprend-il, va clopin-clopant comme tu pourras, ramène-les en leur disant que désormais je suivrai leurs avis et leurs conseils. S'ils m'imposent des conditions, je jure de m'y soumettre ». Le messager put atteindre les fuyards au delà du fleuve et leur fit part des serments de Yuhi. Ils revinrent sur leurs pas et trouvèrent à mi-chemin le monarque brisé de douleur. « Nous voilà, tu nous as fait rappeler. » — « Oui, ajoute le prince, et pour vous prouver la sincérité de mon repentir je promets d'accomplir tout ce que vous exigerez de moi. » — « Ce sont, lui répondent-ils, tes deux épouses, Kiranga et Chyihunde qui sont cause de nos maux. Elles n'ont cessé d'armer ton bras contre nous [1] ». — « Vous dites vrai, je vous les livre, faites-les mourir. » Dès qu'elles apparurent elles furent égorgées. Le roi fut « traité » par les sorciers qui lui rendirent tous ses esprits et toute sa raison.

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[1] La légende dit que les deux femmes qui étaient sœurs avaient « ensorcelé » leur royal époux, par la malice de leurs paroles (uburozi bg' amakaburo) de telle façon que le monarque se conduisait vis-à-vis de ses sujets comme s'il avait à la main droite une vipère du Gabon dont il utilisait les morsures contre ses sujets (bamuloz' impiri ku kiganza ch' uburyo), ce qui n'est pas peu dire. Il s'agissait bien d'une vipère, ajoute une autre légende, car on vit ce reptile malfaisant sortir de la main du prince, après les exorcismes des sorciers.

Pour confirmer la résolution qu'il avait prise de ne plus s'exposer à être « ensorcelé », Yuhi réunit en grand apparat les deux grandes familles Batutsi, les Banyiginya et les Bega : « Je maudis pour toujours le clan des Batchaba (auquel appartenaient ses femmes). Gardez-vous d'épouser leurs filles. Si cela devait arriver à l'un d'entre vous, je le maudis et puisse sa postérité s'éteindre! » Le monarque composa alors l'improvisation suivante :

C'en est fini désormais de mon affection.
Celles (c'est-à-dire ses deux femmes préférées) qui en ont été
N'ont été d'aucun profit pour moi. [l'objet
Au lieu de me rendre amour pour amour
Elles ont été la cause de mes malheurs
Elles ont provoqué une émigration au loin (d'où le proverbe dû
Aimer sans retour comme je l'ai fait [au même roi)
C'est ressembler à la pluie qui tombe (sans profit) dans la forêt
[(au lieu de fertiliser les champs cultivés [1]).

A partir de ce moment les Bega et les Banyiginya ont cessé toutes relations matrimoniales avec les Batchaba.

On attribue à Yuhi-Mazimpaka une autre prophétie concernant l'arrivée des Européens.

Un jour que le roi était au milieu de ses courtisans, il perçut comme un roulement lointain : « N'est-ce pas le tonnerre? N'avez-vous pas entendu? » — « Non », lui répondent ses gens. Il lève les yeux vers le ciel et découvre une sorte de barque qui vogue dans les profondeurs du firmament, là où le regard de l'homme ne peut atteindre [2]. C'est à lui seul qu'il fut donné de jouir de ce prodige, parce qu'il avait l'âme de prophète (yarafit' uguha-

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(1) Singikund' ukundi,
Ibyo nkunda ntibinkundirira.
Aho kunkunda birakuka
Bikaj(a)' ikamagoma (nom de pays)
gukungika (empaqueter des provisions) kule.
Proverbe. Gukund' Ikitagukunda.
n'imvur' igwa mw' ishamba.

(2) Aho umuntu atagez' amaso.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

nura). « Ne voyez-vous pas une embarcation dans les airs? » crie-t-il à ses compagnons. « Nous ne distinguons rien, répondent ces derniers, et nous n'avons rien entendu. » Mazimpaka fait appeler les Biru à l'esprit inspiré comme lui. On mande ensuite les sorciers. Peine perdue, le ciel restait fermé à leurs regards. Le roi seul jouissait de la vision de la nacelle s'avançant à travers le ciel ; « Je la vois distinctement ainsi que les hommes qu'elle contient. Elle se rapproche de nous. Je distingue nettement le bruit de rames... Je pressens que les occupants de l'esquif deviendront les possesseurs du Rwanda et qu'ils y apporteront l'ordre et la paix ».

Etonnés, stupéfaits, les auditeurs n'osent parler; ils se regardent entre eux en se serrant les coudes. La même pensée leur vient. Ils se souviennent que le monarque a un faible pour la bière et l'hydromel. Il est souvent pris d'ivresse. Peut-être est-il devenu fou.

Le visionnaire interprète le motif de leur silence. Leur incrédulité l'afflige : « Vous ne voulez pas me croire, je fais appel à la postérité, vos arrière-petits-fils me rendront justice en se portant garants de la véracité de ce que je vois et j'entends, car cette barque n'arrivera dans le royaume qu'à leur époque ». Au lieu de diminuer, l'émotion des courtisans ne fait que croître ; « Notre roi a perdu la tête, dit l'un; il a trop bu, chuchote l'autre; est-ce qu'il rêve ou bien l'a-t-on ensorcelé? Comment peut-il discerner des choses que nous ne pouvons distinguer nous-mêmes? Son ouïe est-elle meilleure que la nôtre? Il parle d'une embarcation qui vogue dans les airs... alors que les barques sont faites pour naviguer sur les eaux. Yuhi n'a plus tous ses esprits, il est certainement malade ».

Le pauvre prince de plus en plus attristé reprend : « Je souffre de vos moqueries et de vos soupçons; j'en prends à témoin vos arrière-petits-fils, ils constateront la vérité de ce que j'affirme. Eux aussi ne voudront pas d'abord y croire. Leur étonnement ne sera pas moindre que le vôtre.

Vous tous mes sujets, mes devins, mes sorciers, mes enfants, sachez que cette embarcation s'approchera de notre pays. Ce n'est pas votre incrédulité ni vos dénégations qui l'arrêteront dans sa marche. Je connais votre scepticisme à ce sujet. Je vous prédis que vos descendants éloignés se serviront de cette barque à leur tour et qu'elle leur permettra de passer (sains et saufs) au-dessus d'un lac horrible. C'est alors qu'on se souviendra de moi. J'en prends à témoin les générations futures [1] ».

Mazimpaka, que sa vision prophétique et l'attitude moqueuse des courtisans avaient troublé au plus haut degré, passa quatre jours et quatre nuits sans prendre aucune boisson fermentée et sans se montrer à ses sujets.

Telle est la première des prophéties concernant l'annonce des Européens.

Le thème habituel de ces prédictions roule sur les Blancs, leur entrée dans le Rwanda, les actes par lesquels ils signaleront leur apparition, le rôle qu'il joueront dans le pays; il est aussi question de famines, d'épidémies, de l'apparition des chiques ou *pulex penetrans*, etc.

Avec Chyilima-Rugwe et Kibogo, Yuhi II est de ceux dont les « mânes » sont le plus respectés et pour lequel on a organisé aussi un home domestique. Il s'en ouvrit à Idjuru, sa résidence préférée, où par des prodiges renou-

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(1) Voici le texte lui-même : « Mbabajwe n' abuzukuruza banyu bazabon' ibyago. Bikabajija, bakabijijinganya mo, nkuko namwe mbajijura mukajijinganya. Nuko lero, bana banje, kandi Biru banje, namwe bapfumu banje, namwe rubanda rw' ubutaka.

» Mumenye yuko buliya bwato aho buzagerera hasi mutazabutsinsura. Aliko nduzi ko mutabyitayeho, nanje mukaba mutemera ibyo mbabgiye, aliko abuzukuruza banyu bazabuvugama kandi nabwo buzabambuts' i Nyanja mbi, kandi nanje bazanyibuka, nibo bagabo ntanze ! »

Les chrétiens n'ont pas manqué à leur tour d'interpréter la vision de la barque. Elle représente pour eux le berceau de l'Enfant-Dieu ou encore l'Église dont ils font partie. Le lac horrible que leur fait traverser cette embarcation symbolique n'est autre que l'enfer. Dans sa signification primitive, le lac représente l'ère des meurtres, des peines, des difficultés, etc. que doit faire disparaître l'arrivée des Blancs avec leur civilisation chrétienne.

velés, il manifesta sa volonté, dit la légende, d'avoir un foyer familial [1].

31. Chyilima II Ludjugira prit les rênes du gouvernement après la mort de Yuhi. Ce prince est de ceux qui ont laissé le plus de traces dans l'histoire : 1° On lui fait l'honneur d'avoir sauvé le Rwanda des horreurs de la famine; 2° Il eut l'heureuse fortune de repousser l'invasion dite des muets; 3° Il réunit à la couronne le pays de Ndorwa. Parlons de chacun de ces trois faits.

Entouré de ses quatre fils : Ndabarassa, Gihana, Binama et Sharangabo, qu'on a surnommés les Batangana (ceux qui ne se détestent pas), tant la chose est rare dans les familles batutsi, Chyilima régnait en paix depuis plusieurs années, quand survint une sécheresse qui menaçait de ruiner le Rwanda. Consultés, les oracles déclarèrent que les Barundi étaient les auteurs du fléau et que Gihana, fils du roi, devait se sacrifier pour le bien public en allant se faire tuer au pays ennemi. Il fallait une mort amenée par une main étrangère. Cette victime de substitution détournerait le mal sur la contrée voisine et sauverait le royaume des Hamites. Le jeune homme réussit, en effet, à vaincre les Barundi et à ramener par son dévouement la pluie dans son pays. Ses derniers moments ont été dramatisés. Gihana, ajoutent les chroniqueurs, avait été blessé traîtreusement par son adversaire le roi de

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(1) Cf. Livre quatrième. Honneurs posthumes réservés aux mânes royaux.

Ce que le roi fait pour les mânes de ses prédécesseurs, les grands chefs le font aussi, mais sur une plus petite échelle pour les leurs. Les huttes dont se composent leurs habitations particulières sont consacrées à des « esprits » de leur famille en l'honneur desquels et pour lesquels on épouse une femme qui doit désormais habiter la case. Ce sont habituellement les propres femmes du chef lui-même. Quelques-unes d'entre elles n'ont que le titre de servante ou d'esclave (umuja) et sont délaissées après leur première entrée dans la hutte.

Pour honorer ses morts, le Muhutu se contente de leur bâtir de petits édicules (indaro) ou même des semblants de huttes dans lesquelles il fait des sacrifices en rapport avec sa fortune.

l'Urundi, Ntare. Avant d'expirer, le prince porta une première fois la main à sa blessure, pour en recueillir le sang qui sortait : « Maudit soit l'Urundi, s'écria-t-il, en le répandant du côté de ses ennemis. Puissent-ils n'avoir à « traire » que du sang (c'est-à-dire à s'entr'égorger) ». Puisant une deuxième fois sur ses flancs entr'ouverts, il en sortit du lait qu'il répandit du côté du Rwanda en présage de prospérité, d'abondance et de paix.

Il mourut en assurant les siens qu'il ne les abandonnerait pas. Les conteurs prolixes en détails de toute sorte ne tarissent pas sur un pareil sujet.

Gihana, comme Kibogo, son autre émule en héroïsme et en gloire, est resté populaire parmi les Banyarwanda. On l'honore et l'on ne cesse de lui offrir des sacrifices à Muyange près de Butare sur la route de Nyanza où il aurait habité et à Mututu aussi (ku Mayaga) où se trouvent ses descendants, une fraction importante des Banyiginya [1].

C'est encore sous le règne de ce Chyilima II qu'eut lieu dans la province du Bugoyi l'expulsion des fameux « Biragi » ou Muets, ainsi appelés à cause de leur langage inintelligible. Venus de l'intérieur du Congo, ils s'étaient installés dans plusieurs endroits au Nord-Est du lac Kivu. Ces étrangers ne ressemblaient nullement aux autres Noirs et couvraient leurs habitations de mottes de terre, d'où leur deuxième surnom de « Couvreurs de toits en terre ». La campagne s'organisa sous l'impulsion d'un Munyarwanda originaire de Suti, qui avait émigré dans le Bugoyi.

Il s'appelait Macchumu et ses descendants sont aujourd'hui connus sous le nom de « Bagwabiro ». Les débuts de l'expédition ne furent pas heureux pour les assaillants.

Il fallut faire appel au roi et aux gens de l'intérieur qui leur vinrent en aide. Les intrus furent enfin taillés en pièces et à jamais chassés du pays.

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[1] La légende de Gihana n'est qu'un des nombreux épisodes de guerre que se firent fréquemment les deux peuples voisins.

Huit générations, disent les historiens officiels, se sont écoulées depuis cet événement mémorable. Si l'on compte de 25 à 30 ans pour chaque génération, on peut situer le fait en l'an 1700 environ.

Chyilima réunit encore à la couronne le royaume du Ndorwa dont le dernier titulaire s'appelait Gahaya. Les prédécesseurs de ce prince sur le trône, dont l'histoire fait mention, sont en remontant vers le passé Mulori et Kabeja. Ces roitelets appartenaient au clan des Bashambo fortement apparentés aux Banyiginya du Rwanda. Bien que nominalement soumis, les sujets des Bashambo demeurèrent longtemps réfractaires au joug des Banyiginya. Aussi, voit-on les rois hamites faire de fréquentes incursions dans le Ndorwa.

32. Chyilima II Ludjugira eut pour successeur son fils, Kigeri II Ndabarassa.

Par sa mère Lwesero, il était le petit-fils de Muhoza, roi du Gissaka.

Les historiens, se basant sur son surnom de Ndabarassa, qui signifie « je tire de l'arc sur eux », en ont fait le vainqueur du personnage désigné dans les récits sous la dénomination de Mulinda avec lequel le lecteur a déjà fait connaissance. Comment offensa-t-il le monarque hamite? On ne le sait pas. Toujours est-il qu'on parle de lui comme d'un révolté (umugome). Kigeri II vint l'attaquer et le rencontra au bas de Kamonyi, au lieu appelé Bihembe de Rugarika, et le perça de sa lance. L'arme fut projetée avec tant de force, ajoute la légende, qu'elle traversa (guhinguka) le corps de la victime et fendit la colline, à l'endroit susnommé, qui est devenu désormais célèbre.

Kigeri II vécut à Kamonyi près de Rugobagoba, où son grand-père avait bâti une de ses résidences, au lieu dit « Inkingo », c'est-à-dire la « fermeture ». Son prédécesseur avait choisi lui-même ce dernier emplacement pour

fermer l'accès du royaume (gukinga veut dire fermer) aux ennemis.

Les conteurs officiels citent, comme étant l'événement le plus saillant du règne de Kigeri, les prophéties de Nyirabiyoro. Le peuple leur donne encore une importance qu'explique sa mentalité crédule et superstitieuse. Nyirabiyoro était une sorte de pythonisse, domiciliée à Mazinga, dans la province de Mubari. L'influence qu'elle exerçait dans ce pays porta-t-elle ombrage au prince hamite? On ne cessait en tous cas de la lui représenter comme voulant se soustraire à son autorité : « Je te ferai tuer! » lui dit le roi quand elle lui fut présentée. « Je suis en ton pouvoir, répondit la sorcière, il t'est loisible de m'ôter la vie, mais je te préviens qu'il te sera impossible de repousser l'animal étrange (âne) qui viendra à travers le Mubari et le Mirenge (pays du Gissaka), portant sur son dos un individu non moins curieux (le Blanc, l'Européen). » — « Tes prédictions ne m'inquiètent nullement, répartit Ndabarassa; mon petit-fils au teint noir (Musinga-Yuhi), celui-là même qui prendra pour capitale l'ancienne résidence (Nyanza) du grand devin Mashira, écartera le danger que tu m'annonces [1] ». — « Mais le jour où les herbes à droite et à gauche des sentiers pousseront de façon à s'entrelacer (parce qu'à la suite de la peste bovine, il n'y aura plus de troupeaux pour les brouter) que feras-tu? » — « Un autre de mes petits-fils, reprit Kigeri, celui qui naîtra d'une montagnarde (c'est-à-dire Lwabugiri-Kigeri, dont la mère est originaire du grand massif du Ndiza), reconstituera le bétail (par ses razzias dans les pays voisins). »

« Quand tes sujets auront une alène (uruhindu) à la main (pour crever les pustules de la variole), crois-tu en venir à bout (du fléau)? » — « J'offrirai, dit le roi, comme rançon celui de mes fils qui est né à Bitare. » — « Et si ce

(1) Le roi prophétise à son tour que ce même Yuhi-Musinga, sans pouvoir s'opposer à l'arrivée des Blancs, s'arrangera de façon à vivre en bons termes avec eux.

sacrifice ne suffit pas? » (Kimanuka, le premier des enfants de Kigeri, mourut, en effet, de la variole). — « Alors, riposte Kigeri, je donnerai comme victime de propitiation mon héritier (qui périt aussi victime de la variole) et le fléau cessera [1]... »

Le roi voulut se retirer un instant, ajoutent les historiens, ses fils, ceux que l'on nomme les Bigina (d'où le clan des Bigina, auquel appartient Bandora, le sorcier actuel), profitèrent de son absence pour mettre à mort la prophétesse.

33. Mibambge III Sentabyo.

Après Kigeri II Ndabarassa, régna Mibambge III Sentabyo. Il eut pour mère une Mwega, Nyiratamba, fille d'un certain Sessunga.

Il reconquit, croit-on, le Buganza et le Bwana-Chambge, que les Banyagissaka aux jours de leur prospérité avaient réussi à détacher du Rwanda.

Sous son règne la variole fit son apparition. La population fut décimée comme elle devait l'être plus tard sous le

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(1) La série des oracles sibyllins prêtés à Nyirabiyoro est loin d'être close. La visionnaire fit encore allusion à Nyantaba, l'homme à la balafre (lui aussi devin) et à sa fin malheureuse; à Rutalindwa que devaient supplanter Kabale et sa sœur Nyirayuhi; à Musinga, le roi actuel et à ses deuils répétés.

Plusieurs des enfants de ce prince sont morts en bas âge; le séjour de Nyanza passe pour être mortel à ses héritiers d'où la croyance populaire qu'il les fait élever au moins durant leur première enfance en dehors de la capitale pour les soustraire au sort néfaste qui les attend : « On entendra, fait-on répéter à la Sybille, des cris et des pleurs de mères endeuillées, sur les collines voisines... »

Il n'est pas difficile aux bardes de fabriquer des prédictions et d'ajouter de nouveaux anneaux à la chaîne prophétique.

Le thème le plus fécond sur lequel ils aiment à faire parler Nyirabiyoro est celui de la pénétration européenne. « Un jour viendra, lui fait-on encore dire, où les collines se couvriront de lacets (ou ceintures, pour désigner les chemins) et ceux qui les traceront s'en ceindront aussi les reins. »

L'allusion et le jeu de mots deviennent transparents quand on sai' que le mot ceinture en runyarwanda sert, en effet, à désigner encore les routes tracées par les Européens, en pays de colonie. (Umusi imisozi yakenyej' imishumi na banyirayo bakazirik' indi, uzabishoboz' iki ?)

règne de Lwabugiri-Kigeri et Kimanuka son frère mourut. Sa sœur Nyiraburo put en guérir. Le fléau atteignit enfin le roi lui-même qui y laissa la vie.

Pour un monarque hamite une mort pareille était trop banale et trop commune.

Aussi les gens de Cour ont-ils transformé son trépas et ennobli ses derniers instants, en lui attribuant un dévouement héroïque imaginaire.

Mibambge III n'est pas une victime ordinaire de la variole, disent-ils. C'est lui-même qui alla au-devant de la contagion, qui la contracta volontairement en s'inoculant du pus de varioleux. Telle est désormais l'opinion admise. Le souverain donna sa propre vie pour sauver ses sujets [1].

Ce noble sacrifice marqua la cessation du fléau.

Mibambge III est depuis lors classé parmi les « Libérateurs » (Abatabazi).

Le modeste souvenir que les annalistes de la Cour ont gardé de ce prince et le genre de sa mort laissent supposer que son passage sur le trône fut de courte durée.

Nous pouvons ajouter que si le prince s'était réellement

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[1] Cet exemple pris sur le vif éclaire une fois pour toutes la question des Libérateurs et donne la clef des Légendes dont ces héros font l'objet. Les annalistes officiels (qu'on me pardonne ce nom pompeux !) n'ont pas voulu que leurs princes soient assimilés au commun des mortels, jusque dans le vulgaire trépas. D'où la création de termes spéciaux (comme « guiabara », aller au secours, partir en guerre), pour annoncer le décès d'un monarque.

Les chroniqueurs attitrés ont poussé plus loin le respect de la dignité royale, devant les coups subits de la mort, en transformant en héros, en victimes volontaires, en vrais sauveurs les rois tombés dans les combats ou décédés des suites d'une épidémie.

C'est pour ce motif que le glorieux titre de Libérateur a été décerné à nombre de personnages qui n'avaient fait que payer tribut à dame Nature.

Nous citons ici pour mémoire, parce que nous n'aurons plus l'occasion d'en parler, les noms des trois autres Libérateurs ou Libératrices : Nyanzige, fille de Ruganzu II Ndori; Binama, fils de Yuhi I-Gahima, tué par les Barundi, dans le Busanza, et Buhura, lui aussi de race royale, grand-père du général Biyenzi. Buhura périt les armes à la main dans le Ndorwa. Sa mort fit cesser la peste bovine qui décimait les troupeaux.

« vacciné » il se serait immunisé au lieu de succomber au fléau dont il fut la victime entre les années 1780 et 1790.

34. Yuhi III - Gahindiro.

Mibambge III fut remplacé par Yuhi III Gahindiro. Il eut pour mère Nyiratunga, sœur du roi Ndabarassa. Nyiratunga avait été tout d'abord donnée en mariage à Gihana, le « héros » qui se fit tuer à l'Urundi. Les devins prédirent à Mibambge III que son successeur naîtrait de la veuve de Gihana. Mibambge s'empressa de l'épouser.

Yuhi III-Gahindiro n'avait que deux ans quand son père mourut. Ses oncles résolurent de l'assassiner.

L'un d'entre eux, Gasènyi devait monter sur le trône à la place de l'enfant. Tous les détails du complot avaient été prévus. Le crime devait se consommer au milieu de la nuit, on poignarderait le jeune prince dans son lit.

Une servante prit la place de la reine-mère et fit coucher un enfant à ses côtés.

Les sicaires se présentent au moment qui avait été fixé, s'approchent de la couche, tâtent le petit corps et le percent de coups.

Quel ne fut pas l'étonnement des complices et des meurtriers quand, le lendemain, ils entendirent les roulements du tambour annoncer le lever du roi et virent les courtisans se présenter comme à l'ordinaire pour faire la cour à la régente! Ils n'eurent même pas le temps de se communiquer leurs impressions. Les employés du palais s'emparèrent en un clin d'œil des conjurés et les conduisirent au supplice.

Yuhi III vécut longtemps à Givumu près de la rivière dite de la Kayumbo à l'endroit où des bouquets d'arbres bien conservés indiquent l'emplacement de la résidence royale et des dépendances. On trouve les vestiges de deux autres de ses habitations à Buhoro, près de Rugobagoba et à Ngoma dans le pays de Mayaga (Pays chauds).

L'histoire n'a enregistré aucun événement saillant. On

aime à citer de ce monarque qu'il ennoblit le Mutwa Busiete, dont il avait eu à se louer, en lui donnant une de ses filles en mariage.

Le rocher de Kamegeri.

Le rocher de ce nom est à proximité du camp de Butare, dans le Nduga, et rappelle un fait tragique qui se passa sous le règne de Yuhi III Gahindiro.

Le roi voulait châtier sévèrement un criminel. Il demanda conseil à son entourage. Chacune des personnes présentes indiqua un genre de mort. Un seul des courtisans n'avait pas encore parlé.

Kamegeri, c'était son nom, proposa en dernier lieu de faire chauffer à blanc, un rocher qui offrait l'aspect d'une vaste couche.

Le projet est adopté. Son auteur fut chargé de l'exécuter.

Pour aller vite, Kamegeri fit détruire les huttes voisines et les greniers à provision, dont les matériaux combustibles furent entassés sur le lit funèbre... Quand le bois eut fini de se consumer, le Procuste noir ordonna à ses gens de balayer le rocher. Il fallut se servir de longues perches de bambou à cause de la réverbération et du rayonnement de la chaleur du brasier.

Gahindiro, qui assistait à ces épouvantables préparatifs, s'écria soudain : « L'inventeur d'une peine aussi atroce ne peut être qu'un maudit! » Et il décida qu'en lieu et place du condamné, on jette Kamegeri pieds et poings liés sur le lit de feu.

On vit le malheureux faire des bonds et se retourner vainement sur le roc incandescent. Les hurlements s'entendaient au loin. Il n'y eut bientôt plus qu'une forme inerte, noircie, se rapetissant pour ne laisser enfin qu'un squelette de dimensions infimes.

Comme Procuste, dont il avait voulu jouer le rôle. Kamegeri périt du supplice qu'il avait inventé pour un autre.

85. Mutara II Lwogera.

Mutara-Lwogera « prit le tambour » après Yuhi III.

Le jeune monarque débuta par une expédition au Bunyabungu, puis à Nyamiteja, sur l'Akanyaru, contre les Barundi qui venaient cultiver dans le Rwanda.

Rares sont les allusions faites à cette deuxième campagne; on dut se borner à quelques escarmouches insignifiantes. Par contre, les chroniqueurs racontent qu'au Bunyabungu, les guerriers tuèrent un nombre si grand d'ennemis qu'on remplit plusieurs paniers (amatete) de leurs « dépouilles » sanglantes. Celles-ci furent ensuite arborées par les vainqueurs, qui en faisant leur entrée à la capitale au milieu des danses et des cris de joie, les fixèrent sur le haut de leurs lances, comme signe indéniable de succès.

David s'étai servi jadis du même procédé pour prouver sa victoire contre les Philistins.

Le grand événement du règne fut la conquête du Gissaka où la division intestine s'était introduite dans le sein de la famille royale. Les malheurs du petit royaume commencèrent sous le gouvernement de Kimenyi II, dit Getula. Son contemporain au Rwanda était Mibambge-Sentabyo qui reprit aux Banyagissaka les provinces du Buganza et du Bwana-Chambge. Les derniers jours de Getula furent remplis de chagrin. Nyabarega, épouse favorite du vieux roi, attenta à la vie du prince héritier dont elle était la propre mère pour la raison qu'elle ne pouvait supporter sa belle-fille. Kimenyi fit mettre à mort la criminelle et poursuivit en vain les autres fils qu'il en avait eus.

Ils réussirent à s'échapper.

L'héritier du trône ne se sentant pas en sûreté se réfugia au Burundi où il demeura jusqu'à la mort de Getula qui s'éteignit peu après.

Rugeyo-Zigama sortit de sa retraite à la mort de Kimenyi et sut se faire proclamer à Murarama. Les débuts du

(1) Expression pour dire : ceindre la couronne.

nouveau roi furent pénibles, car il eut à guerroyer contre ses propres frères qui ne voulurent pas le reconnaître. Il parvint cependant à en tuer quelques-uns et à chasser les autres; après quoi il put régner quelques années en paix. Son contemporain au Rwanda fut Yuhi III - Gahindiro, avec lequel il vécut en bons termes.

Arrivé à un âge avancé, il connut quelques-uns des déboires qui avaient attristé la vieillesse de son père. Mushongore, son neveu, lui enleva deux troupeaux de bêtes à cornes et s'enfuit au Migongo. Ntamwete, petit-fils de Nyabarega, première épouse de Kimenyi, prit le reste et disparut à son tour. Découragé, Rugeyo mourut sans désigner son successeur.

Les Banyagissaka, divisés sur le choix de leur roi, élirent, les uns Ntamwete, les autres Mushongore. Les deux princes se firent une guerre acharnée qui n'eut d'ailleurs d'autre résultat que d'ouvrir le pays à l'invasion des Banyarwanda.

En effet, un certain Nshikiri, d'origine munyarwanda et conseiller intime de Ntamwete, réussit par ses intrigues à faire dépouiller à son profit le chef de Mirenge. Rushenyi se voyant supplanté alla demander protection au roi du Rwanda qui était alors Lwogera-Mutara. Le Hamite l'écouta avec beaucoup d'intérêt et envoya une armée au Gissaka. Giharamagara, général en chef, rencontra Ntamwete à Kirwa et le défit. Rushenyi ainsi débarrassé de son spoliateur, reprit le gouvernement de sa province, mais sous l'autorité du roi du Rwanda qui se payait ainsi du service rendu. Un mois plus tard, Giharamagara marcha sur le Migongo. Mushongore, qui l'occupait, n'attendit pas le vainqueur de son cousin et s'enfuit dans l'Usui. Ainsi finit le royaume du Gissaka.

Lwogera, très politique, en laissa le gouvernement à ses chefs naturels qui l'exercèrent sous la surveillance de trois hauts commissaires Banyarwanda.

On ne sait pas exactement l'année où se fit la conquête

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du nouveau fief. D'après les données obtenues, on estime qu'elle eut lieu entre 1840 et 1850.

Le roi hamite malade n'eut pas le temps de visiter le domaine que la division de ses maîtres venait de lui donner (1).

Son fils Lwabugiri se rendit au Gissaka au cours de ses marches guerrières et y mit à mort un grand nombre de chefs autochtones qu'il remplaça par des Banyarwanda.

La soumission du Gissaka fut suivie d'une promenade militaire à travers le Ndorwa qui subit une fois encore les malheurs de l'invasion.

Mutara II ne survécut que d'un an ou deux à sa mère Nyiramavugo qui périt, croit-on, de mort violente.

Une reine-mère ne peut pas mourir de vieillesse, elle doit s'empoisonner, comme le roi du reste, à l'apparition de ses premiers cheveux blancs. Ce dernier acte lui répugnant, il fallut que le fils intervint auprès de son oncle maternel Nyamushanja. Celui-ci ne recula pas devant le crime et fit étrangler sa sœur (2).

Les annalistes n'ont fait que consigner les bruits et les croyances populaires dont nous ne garantissons pas l'authenticité.

Mutara lui-même mourut à Gisozi, non loin de Kigali, atteint de la variole, disent les uns, de la phtisie, affirment les autres.

Quelques-uns veulent qu'il soit décédé à Kaganza, non loin des cimetières royaux de Musenyi.

C'est sur les dires des sorciers qui prétendaient que les

(1) Cf. Livre Cinquième. Histoire du Gissaka; conquête du royaume par les Banyarwanda.

(2) Le corps de Nyiramavugo fut « momifié » (autrement dit boucané) à Mussenyi, dans l'un des bosquets réservés à cet usage. Les gens des environs prirent la précaution de tuer leurs chiens, pour que l'odeur du cadavre ne les attirât près de la hutte funèbre, où se faisaient les derniers préparatifs. Avisés et prudents, les Banyarwanda savent qu'il suffit de bien peu de chose pour s'exposer aux royales vengeances. Aussi préfèrent-ils pécher par excès que par défaut. Ce n'était là de leur part qu'une sage mesure préventive.

Bagereka avaient communiqué la tuberculose à Lwogera, que Lwabugiri, devenu roi, fit massacrer presque tout entière cette famille dont faisait partie la tante paternelle du terrible monarque [1].

CHAPITRE IV.

Le règne de Kigeri IV Lwabugiri. Ses nombreuses expéditions. Prophéties populaires.

36. Le successeur de Lwogera fut Kigeri IV - Lwabugiri surnommé Sezisoni. Ce prince est celui qui se rapproche le plus de Ruganzu II Ndori dont il semble avoir hérité des qualités et des défauts.

Il fut le vrai type du roi aventurier. Comme son ancêtre il ne put se fixer nulle part et passa va vie à guerroyer, jusqu'au jour où la mort le surprit à Kinyaga alors qu'il se rendait pour la quatrième fois au moins dans le Bunyabungu, au sud-ouest du lac Kivu.

Il n'avait pas encore atteint la cinquantaine. Son corps fut rapporté à Nyamasheke, une de ses résidences royales; de là il fut transféré au cimetière royal de Rutare, au nord du lac Mohazi.

N'eût été l'arrivée des Blancs qui par le fait de leur installation dans le pays ont bouleversé un peu les vieilles traditions, ses exploits auraient déjà fait l'objet de nouvelles chansons de gestes aussi glorieuses et aussi fabuleuses que celles de son illustre aïeul.

La légende n'aurait pas manqué de s'en emparer et de rehausser le héros en lui attribuant comme à Hercule des travaux fameux.

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[1] Les Banyarwanda soupçonneux et crédules attribuent l'origine de ce mal à l'absorption de la poudre provenant du poumon d'un individu mort de cette maladie. Ils croient que le viscère desséché est ensuite réduit en poussière et mélangé à la bière que l'on fait prendre à la personne détestée dont on veut se débarrasser. Cette vaine croyance a occasionné maintes vendetta parmi les Batutsi et les Bahutu.

Les pays limitrophes eurent sa visite une fois, sinon plusieurs. Il n'est aucune région du Rwanda, au Nord et au Sud, à l'Est et à l'Ouest, que Lwabugiri n'ait parcourue, à l'aller ou au retour de ses multiples excursions à l'extérieur du royaume. Les nombreux bouquets d'arbres qui marquent l'emplacement de ses anciennes résidences royales et de ses campements en font foi : « On était alors, disent les vieux qui ne tarissent pas sur ce sujet, à l'époque des grandes guerres ». Dans le Nord et le Nord-Est, les gens de Nkole, du Mpororo, du Ndorwa eurent affaire à lui. A l'Ouest, Nkiko qui commandait au delà des Volcans, puis Muvunyi, chef des Bahunde, dans le Butembo, au Nord-Ouest du lac Kivu, virent razzier et ravager leur pays. Muvunyi y perdit un de ses fils, Nyamunyomoka. Lwabugiri ne se retira qu'après avoir parcouru et dévasté les contrées voisines connues sous les noms de Kamuronsa, Bunyungu, Gishari, Shari, etc. L'Ile d'Idjwi ne fut pas épargnée, on le verra un peu plus loin. Pour s'emparer du Nord de l'Urundi, il était allé habiter avec sa Cour, en pleine forêt du Bugessera, dans un pays sans eau, à l'endroit dit de Rugenge. Il s'était établi là pour être plus à portée de sa proie et y méditer à loisir le coup de main qu'il comptait faire.

L'emplacement de la résidence royale y est indiqué par une vaste enceinte de « miyenzi », ou variété d'euphorbes qu'on n'est pas peu étonné de rencontrer dans la brousse.

L'ambitieux conquérant essaya d'y attirer avec Choya qui fréquentait déjà la Cour depuis quelque temps, un autre grand chef, Muhini.

Pour gagner celui-ci, il s'était servi de l'influence du premier, dont il avait épousé la sœur, Mulerwa, encore vivante et veuve de Sherangabo, frère consanguin du roi Musinga. Ce fut Mulerwa elle-même qui donna l'éveil à son frère et à Muhini. Ce dernier ayant de bonnes raisons pour ne plus se croire en sécurité, disparut sans retour un beau matin, avec les guerriers qu'il avait par précaution

amené avec lui. Choya dut faire de même un peu plus tard. Lwabugiri voyant son jeu découvert et se jugeant trop rapproché de la frontière de l'Urundi, estima prudent de se mettre à l'abri d'une surprise. Craignant, en effet, une rapide offensive de la part de ses anciens commensaux, il franchit sans tarder le fleuve de la Kagera et passa la nuit à Mfune; il campa le deuxième jour à Gituza dans le Bgiriri, sur le lac Mugessera. De là il se rendit à Lwamagana où il séjourna plus longtemps.

L'ardent Mututsi qu'un repos prolongé fatiguait tourna ses yeux du côté du Bunyabungu. Ce pays situé au Sud-Ouest du lac Kivu devint l'objet de ses ardentes convoitises. Le succès, au moins dans les débuts, ne répondit pas à ses efforts. La première tentative fut malheureuse. Les Banyabungu aux aguets surprirent leurs envahisseurs et les rejetèrent en désordre sur le fleuve de la Russizi.

Là, pressés par l'ennemi et manquant de barques, beaucoup se jetèrent à la nage et furent emportés par le courant au passage désormais historique de Mwururu.

Parmi les noyés se trouvait Yaterana, l'un des meilleurs lieutenants de Lwabugiri : « C'est l'eau seule qui nous vainquit », répétèrent les survivants non sans une pointe d'excuse.

Une deuxième expédition ne réussit pas davantage. Le roi du Rwanda y vit périr Nyirimigabo, père de Nturo, Rwanyunga et Nyamushanja, la fleur et l'élite de la noblesse. Tout autre que Lwabugiri eut renoncé à l'entreprise. Obstiné dans le malheur, l'orgueilleux monarque s'installe à Mururu. Tandis qu'il réfléchissait aux moyens de vaincre, il fit la connaissance d'un nommé Rubago, dont les ancêtres étaient originaires de Bunyabungu.

Séduit par les promesses de l'ambitieux potentat, Rubago se fit traître. Il avait conservé de nombreuses relations avec les habitants de l'autre rive.

Le roi qui trouvait en lui un homme décidé, lui promit des troupeaux et la possession d'un gouvernement, s'il

réussissait à lui livrer la reine. Rubago se fit fort de la lui amener.

Grâce à ses liens de parenté avec les gens du pays qui croyaient trouver en lui un frère dévoué, le perfide eut vite découvert la retraire de Mugeni.

Après avoir donné de nombreux renseignements sur Lwabugiri, il promit de tenir la souveraine au courant de tout ce qui se tramait contre elle.

Une belle nuit, l'espion revient trouver le roi, se fait donner des hommes qui l'accompagnent.

Le matin, au lever du jour, les Banyarwanda cernent l'habitation de la malheureuse.

Les gens de celle-ci essaient vainement de se frayer un passage. Ils sont massacrés.

Les envahisseurs mettent le feu aux huttes. La reine pour ne pas brûler vive, se rend avec le prince-consort. Celui-ci est égorgé aussitôt, Mugeni fut étranglée quelque temps après à Idjwi sur les ordres de Lwabugiri, qui se l'était d'abord fait présenter.

Toutefois le succès du conquérant fut une victoire éphémère. Le prince héritier avait pu, en effet, être sauvé par des mains amies. Sa présence releva le courage des siens qui ne se soumirent jamais aux Banyarwanda.

Pour prix de sa trahison, Rubago reçut le commandement de plusieurs collines dans le Kinyaga.

Le roi offrit un gros bracelet de cuivre à la femme du délateur qui, elle aussi, avait pris parti avec enthousiasme pour la cause des envahisseurs [1].

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[1] Rubago dut être dépossédé en 1917 de sa belle « chefferie », à cause des exactions de ses fils et de son insouciance. On lui laissa par pitié près de Shangugu, au Sud du Kivu, le petit village de Kamembe où il vécut pauvrement jusqu'à la fin de ses jours (1926).

Moins habiles à gouverner que les Batutsi, les chefs Bahutu ont généralement des difficultés dans l'exercice de leur pouvoir et se font peu respecter de leurs sujets. Il serait facile de citer d'autres exemples de ce genre pour confirmer le jugement porté sur l'administration des Bahutu.

La félonie avait eu raison des dernières résistances.

Les Banyabungu étaient vaincus, mais non abattus. Ils secoueront le joug et reprendront leur indépendance au lendemain même de la mort du prince hamite. Enorgueilli de son succès, Lwabugiri rentra au Kinyaga et se reposa quelques jours sur ses lauriers.

Mis en appétit par sa récente victoire le Mututsi installé à l'extrémité de la presqu'île de Nyamirundi eut bientôt l'occasion de faire une descente dans l'île d'Idjwi qui se trouve en face (1).

La grande île que sa proximité du Rwanda surtout par le Sud-Est, mettait difficilement à l'abri d'un coup de main, avait attiré l'attention du roi guerrier.

L'occupation d'Idjwi naquit d'une circonstance fortuite. Nkundiye jaloux de son père dont il ambitionnait le trône, vint trouver Lwabugiri pour lui demander main-forte. Pris comme arbitre, le rusé Hamite trancha la cause en sa propre faveur. Il suivit le jeune prince dans l'île et massacra toute la famille régnante, y compris le prétendant qui, effrayé des suites de sa trahison, s'était tout d'abord enfui dans l'îlot d'Ishovu. C'est là qu'on l'y surprit. Enchanté de son aubaine, le vainqueur compléta son œuvre en occupant les deux groupes d'îles Binja et Nkombo situées au sud d'Idjwi. Nkombo et Idjwi restèrent difinitivement acquises au Rwanda. Lwabugiri alla plusieurs fois sur la grande île et s'y établit sur divers points. Des bouquets d'arbres marquent l'emplacement de ses résidences (2).

Nous avons déjà dit que les provinces de l'Ouest et du Nord ne s'étaient jamais soumises complètement, malgré les expéditions successives qu'y firent les rois hamites.

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(1) Des conteurs noirs à la mémoire plus fidèle assurent que la conquête d'Idjwi fut la première en date. Ce premier succès décida le vainqueur à faire la conquête du Bunyabungu.

Lwabugiri comptait sur ses nouveaux sujets, de même race et de même langue que les Banyabungu, pour pénétrer plus facilement au cœur du pays.

(2) L'île d'Idjwi, dans le lac Kivu, compte environ 18,000 habitants originaires du Bunyabungu dont ils parlent la langue.

Au commencement du règne de Lwabugiri, la reine-mère, qui était toute-puissante, donna le pays du Kingogo à un de ses favoris, nommé Seruteganya, du clan des Batsobe. Celui-ci réunit un petit corps d'armée et pénétra dans le district montagneux qui venait de lui être concédé. Dès le troisième jour il parvint au centre de la province, dans le village de Gitega. A son approche, les habitants du lieu se réfugièrent dans la grotte qui s'ouvre sur le versant de la colline, à l'endroit dit de Gikoro. Les voisins de Gassovu, Rutchano, Hindiro se joignirent aux premiers : Hommes, femmes, enfants, il y en avait des centaines et des centaines à fuir devant les Batutsi », ajoutent les vieux qui exagèrent un peu. Les Bahutu s'étaient fait suivre de leurs troupeaux de vaches, chèvres et moutons. La grotte était vaste et profonde, suffisante donc pour les abriter tous.

Les gens de Seruteganya conçurent un dessein horrible; ils détruisirent les cases dans les environs et transportèrent les matériaux pour les entasser devant l'ouverture de la grotte.

Ils y mirent le feu qui brûla pendant deux jours. La fumée de l'immense foyer pénétra dans la caverne et les malheureux qui y avaient cherché un abri y périrent asphyxiés. Il ne s'en échappa pas un seul. On prétend que la fumée sortit par des trous de fourmilier, assez loin dans les environs. Le détail, s'il est vrai, prouverait que la grotte s'étend profondément sous terre.

Depuis la catastrophe les gens du pays n'ont jamais plus osé y pénétrer [1].

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[1] Voici comment on raconte l'origine de la fortune de ce Seruteganya. Il habitait à Nkingo de Kamonyi, dans le Nduga. Une femme Mututsi se présenta, un jour, demandant l'aumône.

C'était une épouse disgraciée du roi Mutara-Lwogera; l'infortunée, mourant de faim, portait dans ses bras l'enfant qui devait plus tard monter sur le trône et s'appeler Kigeri IV Lwabugiri.

Seruteganya leur offrit l'hospitalité et les traita avec déférence... Devenue reine-mère à l'avènement de son fils, Nyirakigeri prit et exerça une grande influence sur le cœur de son fils. Elle n'avait pas oublié les

Dès le début de son règne Lwabugiri avait été possédé de l'esprit des batailles. Il ne devait le quitter qu'avec la vie.

Comme son aïeul Ruganzu II Ndori auquel le royaume doit sa grandeur et son unité, Lwabugiri-Kigeri passa à peu près tout son règne au milieu des camps. Assoiffé de gloire et de conquêtes, il ne se sentit jamais rassasié. En plus de la célébrité que lui conféraient ses expéditions, il en tirait d'autres profits plus sensibles et plus immédiats dont bénéficiaient aussi ses gens. Le roi guerrier ne quittait, en effet, jamais un pays conquis sans emmener avec lui un certain nombre de femmes et d'enfants qu'il partageait ensuite entre ses soldats. Les troupeaux de chèvres, de moutons et surtout de vaches étaient également de bonne prise. C'était là le butin habituel. Pour ce qui est du pillage du bétail, le Nord-Ouest du Rwanda lui-même ne fut pas plus épargné que les pays assujettis par la force des armes.

Bien que nominalement soumises, les contrées du Nord-Ouest supportaient difficilement l'autorité des Batutsi qui n'y vivaient qu'en petit nombre. Le Bukonya, le Mulera, le Luhengeri, le Buhoma, le Bushiru, le Bugamba, le Kingogo, le Bugoyi, etc. étaient de ce nombre.

Lwabugiri ne pouvait pas manquer d'y faire acte de souverain.

On se garda bien de lui faire obstacle. Les Bahutu l'accueillirent partout avec les plus grands égards et tous les honneurs dus à son rang. Les « bahinza » ou descendants

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bontés de Seruteganya. Elle l'appela à la Cour, en fit son protégé et lui donna à gouverner une partie du Bumbogo, le pays de Nyabitare dans le Muhanga et le Kingogo.

Quelques années plus tard l'ancien bienfaiteur devint l'objet de la haine du roi Lwabugiri qui lui reprochait d'avoir pris sa mère comme épouse. Son habitation, dans le Bumbogo, fut entourée par les guerriers du roi. Ne pouvant s'enfuir, Seruteganya se brûla dans sa case, non sans avoir fait tuer auparavant Nyirakigeri, pour qu'elle ne lui survécut pas.

L'événement se passa au village de Mbilima de Matovu dans la susdite province.

des anciens roitelets autochtones qui gouvernaient le pays en son nom s'empressèrent à son passage de lui présenter, comme le veut la coutume, les vaches du pays (kubyukurutsa). Le monarque faisait souvent main-basse sur les troupeaux qu'on lui amenait à cette occasion.

C'est ainsi qu'il dépouilla les riches propriétaires du Buhoma et du Bushiru, deux ans environ avant sa mort. La peste bovine avait alors fait des ravages incalculables dans la province centrale du Nduga.

Lwabugiri éprouvait sans doute le besoin de reconstituer ses propres troupeaux.

Durant son règne, les descendants des anciens princes autochtones se montrèrent on ne peut plus soumis.

Pour ne pas être accusés de tiédeur ou de manque de zèle à l'égard du monarque et par suite pour ne pas s'exposer à perdre la vie et leur place, choses fort possibles en ce temps-là, c'était à qui se distinguerait le plus au service du roi. Porter des vivres et de la bière, fournir des soldats, faire la cour au prince hamite, tel était leur souci constant et le seul moyen de ne pas déchoir dans l'estime du Maître toujours besogneux et toujours exigeant. En plus de leurs attributions de chef et de leur rôle de courtisans, bon nombre d'entre eux exerçaient encore les fonctions honorables de « préservateurs des récoltes », faiseurs de pluie, fabricants de charmes, etc. L'un d'entre eux, Sangano, de la province du Bgishaza, paya de sa vie l'usage qu'il fit de son art, en faveur d'une des femmes du roi.

Cette dernière, Nyambibi, mère de Nshozamihigo, fut surprise un jour à manier des charmes (inzaratsi). Elle voulait ramener à elle les faveurs royales qui se portaient depuis quelque temps sur Nyirayuhi, la mère de Musinga.

Ayant dû avouer qu'elle les avait reçus de Sangano, celui-ci fut sur-le-champ condamné à mourir. On porta la même sentence contre Nyambibi.

Lwabugiri fit acte de maître et de roi dans toutes les

provinces de son royaume et y laissa maintes traces sanglantes de son passage. Les instincts belliqueux et sauvages qui s'étaient trahis en lui dès son avènement ne firent que s'accroître avec le temps.

Pour continuer la guerre et maintenir son armée à l'effectif nécessaire, il avait complètement réorganisé le régime militaire qui régissait alors le pays. Chaque région administrative devait fournir un corps de troupes, dont le chef était en même temps commandant en chef (umugabe).

Les corps se remplaçaient successivement de sorte que les hommes pouvaient après un certain temps rentrer dans leurs foyers et se livrer à leurs occupations habituelles. Des contemporains de Lwabugiri, il en est certes bien peu qui n'aient pris part à l'une ou l'autre de ces expéditions.

La province du Rwanda qui eut le plus souvent sa visite et où il fit de longs séjours, fut celle du Kinyaga, à cause de sa proximité avec le pays conquis du Bunyabungu et l'île d'Idjwi.

Sa résidence favorite était à Nyamasheke, non loin de la presqu'île de Nyamirundi, où il avait installé un autre domicile. Il y reçut plusieurs fois des Noirs musulmanisés venus du lac Tanganika, pour entrer en relations avec lui et obtenir l'autorisation de faire le commerce dans le pays. Il ne semble pas que la permission fût accordée de bon cœur.

Lwabugiri défiant ne voyait par ces marchands d'un œil favorable.

Comme ils lui achetaient volontiers des défenses d'éléphants, moyennant de nombreux échanges de marchandises nouvelles pour lui, il n'osa pas leur fermer complètement les frontières de son royaume. Les mauvaises langues du pays lancèrent le bruit qu'il en fit noyer quelques-uns, par les bateliers qui les reconduisaient en barque... Quelle est au juste l'exacte vérité? Nous n'osons

pas nous prononcer. Disons que c'est par l'intermédiaire des commerçants que le roi batailleur commença à se familiariser, bien avant l'arrivée du comte von Götzen, avec les produits européens, cotonnades, habits, perles, caisses, fusils et autres objets de pacotille.

Sans doute, les premières étoffes avaient fait leur apparition sous le règne de son grand-père Gahindiro, mais elles étaient rares et cotées à des prix élevés [1]. Il n'était pas facile de s'en procurer. Gahindiro ainsi que son fils et successeur les avaient reçues en cadeau, de la part des rois de l'Usui et du Karagwe en témoignage d'amitié. Ils s'en étaient pour ainsi dire réservé le privilège. Ce n'est qu'à partir de Lwabugiri qu'on vit quelques favoris porter, eux aussi, des tissus.

Le roi, de tous ses sujets, le moins porté au misonéisme, s'affubla pendant quelque temps d'un costume européen, qu'il délaissa bientôt sur les conseils de son entourage. La nouveauté choquait les idées de l'époque et l'influence des sorciers était encore considérable.

Les parapluies eurent plus de succès. Les indigènes leur donnèrent, à cause de leur forme arrondie, le nom de « idjuru », c'est-à-dire ciel. Lwabugiri ne voyageait jamais sans un de ces parasols.

Lorsqu'on le transportait en palanquin (ingobyi), selon la mode indigène, un homme était chargé de tenir un de ces appareils au-dessus de son visage pour le préserver des ardeurs du soleil.

Durant un séjour qu'il fit au Kinyaga, le potentat noir reçut une députation du célèbre Rumaliza, l'Arabe esclavagiste bien connu, qui avait choisi comme capitale Tabora et avait soumis à peu près toute la côte orientale du lac Tanganyika.

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(1) Les premiers « pagnes » ne dépassaient pas de beaucoup la grandeur d'un mouchoir de priseur. Il fallait beaucoup d'ingéniosité pour arriver à se ceindre les reins avec ces pans d'étoffe. Comme les gens de l'Usui ne les troquaient d'ordinaire que contre de fortes primes, les chefs furent à peu près les seuls à porter cette sorte de vêtement — qui seyait fort peu à leur taille au-dessus de la moyenne.

Parti d'Ujiji le célèbre musulman avait gagné le Nord du lac et s'était installé pendant quelque temps à Usumbura d'où il rançonna et razzia les contrées voisines [1]. Ayant entendu parler de Lwabugiri, mais n'osant l'aborder directement, il désira entrer en rapports avec lui.

Ses envoyés rencontrèrent le roi à Kimbagiro, au-dessus de la plaine de Bugarama, non loin de la frontière de l'Urundi.

Ils furent bien traités par le roi qui les reçut avec honneur. Parmi les nombreux cadeaux que lui envoyait Rumaliza se trouvaient deux ânes. Le chef arabe croyait faire plaisir au noir potentat, presque son émule en fait d'expéditions.

Un pareil envoi ne pouvait manquer de produire un effet sensationnel. Lwabugiri et ses gens, tout en ayant entendu parler de ces animaux n'en avaient encore jamais vu. Aussi les deux baudets devinrent-ils l'objet de leur étonnement et de leur hilarité, tant l'aspect de ces bêtes était nouveau pour eux. L'un des deux animaux fut dévoré par les hyènes à Sakara (Gissaka). L'autre, malgré les efforts qu'on tenta pour l'apprivoiser, ne se laissa jamais monter que difficilement. Il est possible aussi que les apprentis cavaliers n'eussent ni selle, ni bride ou n'aient jamais su s'en servir.

Les braiments de la bête n'étaient pas faits non plus pour rassurer les écuyers. On finit par la vendre aux gens de l'Uswi qui servaient d'intermédiaires entre les rois des deux pays et qui l'achetèrent au nom de leur maître.

Les guides et les donateurs des baudets furent désignés

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[1] Rumaliza est le surnom de Mohamed-ben-Halfan, Arabe d'Ujiji opérant avec l'argent et les ressources qui lui étaient fournis par Tippo-Tip. Rumaliza veut dire : qui ravage tout, ne laisse rien après lui, exterminateur. (Général baron Jacques de Dixmude.)

C'est pour avoir aidé Rumaliza à se procurer des esclaves que le Mututsi Kiyogoma, un inconnu de la veille, finit peu à peu, grâce aux Arabes, à prendre de l'influence sur ses compatriotes. Il compta à partir de ce temps parmi les principaux chefs du district d'Usumbura dans l'Urundi. Il mourut en mai 1923.

sous le nom de « Abapfumura » du verbe gupfumura, percer, pour dire qu'il s'agissait de gens hardis qui pénètrent partout.

Les ambassadeurs de Rumaliza reçurent en échange, des peaux de loutre (ibihura, inzibyi), de colobus (inkomo), de léopard (ingwe), des pointes d'ivoire et quelques vaches.

Mais Lwabugiri ne voulut s'engager à rien. Les députés s'en retournèrent ne rapportant à leur prince que des paroles de politesse et d'amitié. Lwabugiri entendait rester maître chez lui. Il semble que les relations en soient demeurés là. Rumaliza dut se contenter des présents du Hamite et n'osa jamais s'aventurer le long du fleuve de la Russizi.

Il est à croire que la réputation du roi du Rwanda, que l'on représentait partout comme un guerrier émérite, lui en ait imposé et ait arrêté sa marche vers le Nord. Le Rwanda fut ainsi sauvé des horreurs et des abominations de l'esclavage.

On compta toutefois plusieurs marchés d'esclaves, dans le Kingogo, au Bugoyi (à l'endroit dit du Lugerero), dans le Kinyaga, à Ruyanza près de la Kayumbo, à Kivumu, dans le Nduga, et à Save dans le Bwana-Mkali, d'où le bétail humain était conduit vers l'Uswi. Ces centres ne furent jamais bien achalandés, les Banyarwanda se montrant assez rebelles à ce genre de commerce qui leur répugnait.

Lwabugiri toléra plus ou moins les courtiers de ce triste négoce, mais ne s'en fit pas le protecteur officiel [1].

C'étaient les gens de l'Uswi qui avaient apporté ce trafic dans le pays. De l'Uswi les esclaves étaient ensuite dirigés sur Tabora et la côte pour être livrés entre les mains des Musulmans.

Par l'entremise des Arabes ou Noirs islamisés, Lwabu-

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[1] Quelques chefs cupides, en quête de cotonnades, se prêtaient par-ci par-là au commerce des esclaves, mais ce fut toujours l'exception.

giri reçut quelques-uns de ces fusils primitifs vulgairement appelés « Makwa » dans toute l'Afrique équatoriale et qui se chargeaient par le canon.

Ses ennemis s'en étaient servi contre lui, pour la première fois, au Bunyabungu, puis dans le Nkole.

Dans une de ces expéditions, les Banyarwanda se trouvèrent subitement en face d'une trentaine de Noirs habillés à l'européenne et armés d'un fusil, qui les mirent en joue.

Le roi et ses gens eurent la bonne inspiration de se coucher à terre.

La décharge passa par-dessus leur tête. Ils se relevèrent aussitôt pour foncer sur les tireurs qui n'eurent pas le temps de charger leurs armes une deuxième fois. La débandade se mit dans les rangs de ces derniers qui s'enfuirent en jetant leurs fusils et en laissant des morts sur le terrain. Lwabugiri et ses gens recueillirent une dizaine de ces armes, que les serviteurs royaux traînèrent désormais partout comme trophée. Les fusils firent ensuite partie des bagages de la Cour. Ils furent enfin consumés dans l'incendie de Ruchunchu, après la défaite de Rutalindwa en 1896. Les porteurs de fusil auxquels eurent affaire les Banyarwanda furent appelés, on ne sait pourquoi « Mariane », et leurs fusils « Makoba », par altération probablement du mot « Makwa ».

Même durant les expéditions Lwabugiri vivait entouré de sa Cour, au milieu des sorciers et des grands du royaume, qui pour ne pas perdre les bonnes grâces du Souverain n'osaient pas s'éloigner.

Kabale, qui a joué un si grand rôle à la mort de Rutalindwa, était un des familiers du roi qui venait d'épouser sa sœur. Les fils aînés du monarque, Sherangabo [1],

[1] Sherangabo avait reçu de son père le gouvernement de quelques collines dans le Buganza. C'est lui qui conduisit le comte von Götzen à Kageyo. Il vécut toujours en disgrâce à la Cour. Ses malheurs le rapprochèrent des Européens, sans rien lui faire abandonner de ses superstitions auxquelles il resta profondément attaché jusqu'à sa mort (1927).

Rutalindwa, Muhigirwa, suivaient aussi leur père dans ses déplacements. Bien qu'on fut en campagne, les cabales, les intrigues et les complots ne cessaient d'être fomentés par les envieux et les mécontents. Redouté de tous à cause de sa cruauté, le terrible Hamite était haï de son entourage immédiat. On raconte que durant l'un de ses nombreux séjours à Nyamasheke, quelques chefs Batutsi ourdirent une conspiration contre leur souverain.

La date en avait été fixée et tout était prêt quand un des conjurés, un nommé Bihire, craignant d'être découvert, trahit ses complices et vint révéler au roi, qui devait être tué cette nuit même, durant son sommeil, les détails de la machination.

Lwabugiri refusa d'abord de croire à la coupable intrigue. Se ravisant tout à coup, il demande au dénonciateur de se prêter à un dessein qu'il vient d'imaginer : « Bihire, lui dit-il, prends ma place ce soir, occupe mon lit, j'irai cette nuit dormir ailleurs. Nous jouerons ainsi les conspirateurs, et si l'événement se produit, je saurais que tu as dit vrai ».

Le monarque entendait par là s'assurer de la réalité du complot et de la culpabilité des affiliés.

Il y avait également plus d'un grain de malice dans son projet.

Aussi Bihire de s'écrier : « Que deviendront mes enfants et mes biens, si je viens à être poignardé? »

« Ne crains rien, reprend le roi, s'il t'arrive malheur, je suis là pour veiller sur les tiens. »

Les autres ne se doutant de rien, pénètrent aux environs de minuit dans la hutte royale, tombent sur Bihire qu'ils prennent pour le roi, le percent de coups et se retirent croyant en avoir fini avec le monarque détesté. Quel ne fut pas leur étonnement dans la matinée. Au lieu des clameurs et des cris d'épouvante auxquels ils s'attendaient, nos conspirateurs déçus ne perçoivent et ne remarquent rien d'anormal. Les employés de la Cour se livrent à leurs

occupations quotidiennes. Les courtisans, les solliciteurs et les plaignants forment des groupes séparés devant la première enceinte du palais et s'entretiennent paisiblement. Le « Ndamutsa » (tambour) annonce le lever et l'apparition du monarque que tout le monde vient saluer comme à l'ordinaire.

Quelques instants après, Lwabugiri sort de l'enceinte et se dirige vers la case du chef des conjurés, Giharamagara. Après les préambules d'usage, le roi qui cherche un prétexte, lui demande à boire : « Je n'ai plus de bière, ajoute l'interpellé, il y a longtemps que je n'ai rien reçu de chez moi ».

« Eh bien! alors viens avec moi, je t'invite », reprend le souverain.

Ils allaient arriver à l'entrée de la cour royale, quand soudain le roi se retourne et perce de sa lance Giharamagara qui le suivait de près.

Le malheureux tombe noyé dans son sang. Lwabugiri s'approche de lui, essuie sur les lèvres du mourant, son arme ensanglantée : « J'agis à ton égard, lui cria-t-il, comme tu voulais le faire envers moi; je te rends la pareille ». Nkoronko, un autre conjuré put s'enfuir du Kinyaga.

Il fut rattrapé au Bumbogo et tué.

Nous le constaterons encore plus loin, Lwabugiri était cruel dans ses vengeances, au dire de ses contemporains. Mais et ceci est à remarquer, à l'encontre de ses prédécesseurs ou successeurs, il ne s'en prenait jamais à une parenté tout entière. Les frères et les fils de ses victimes ne furent jamais inquiétés.

Un membre de la famille pouvait être tué, ses biens allaient à ses descendants directs. Le fils de Giharamagara, Nyirinkwaya ne fut jamais persécuté à cause de son père et ne perdit pas la confiance du roi. Lugerinyange, petit-fils de Nkoronko, devint chef de la province de Buhanga et jouit d'un grand crédit à la Cour.

Les vengeances de l'autocrate n'avaient pas de lendemain. Il faillit être un jour la victime de ses amusements enfantins, lorsqu'il habitait à Lwamaraba dans le Nduga. Un soir, il prit avec lui, un de ses favoris, Lwakageyo, fils de Gacheyeye (Mwené kitore). Après une beuverie, la fantaisie lui vient de se mesurer avec son commensal et ami. Lwabugiri le saisit à bras le corps et fait mine de le frapper avec son couteau. Le favori croyant à une plaisanterie ne se défend d'abord que mollement. Le monarque s'excitant de plus en plus, devient dangereux.

Lwakageyo craignant pour sa vie repousse son antagoniste tout en respectant le plus qu'il peut la personne du roi.

Celui-ci loin d'arrêter le jeu cruel accentue ses efforts. Lwakageyo en désespoir de cause, s'empare de l'arme. La vie de Lwabugiri était à la merci de son invité qui paraissait résolu à se servir de sa supériorité, quand intervint Nyirayuhi, la mère de Musinga. De la couche où elle se trouvait, elle assistait muette à la scène, jusqu'au moment où Lwakageyo, le bras levé, allait immoler son époux. A l'instant, elle saute à bas du lit, se précépite sur le malheureux partenaire qu'elle immobilise. Le royal lutteur, libre de ses mouvements saisit le couteau et égorge le malheureux courtisan.

C'est durant le règne de Lwabugiri-Kigeri qu'eurent lieu, bien avant l'arrivée du comte von Götzen, les célèbres prédictions, relatives à l'arrivée des Européens, l'invasion des chiques (*pulex penetrans*), l'apparition de la variole et de la peste bovine.

Elles furent le fait d'un chef Munyiginya, nommé Nyantaba. Ayant été faussement accusé auprès de Lwabugiri, qui n'avait de tendresse pour personne, Nyantaba, sans être entendu, fut conduit dans la province du Buberuka, pour y être étranglé et jeté dans le fameux marais de Nkonde, réservé aux grands coupables. On conte que Nyantaba avait supplié ses gardiens de le conduire chez

le prince parce qu'il avait d'importantes révélations à lui communiquer avant de mourir. Les bourreaux craignant pour leur tête refusèrent en lui disant qu'il ne leur restait qu'à accomplir leur mission, bien qu'elle leur parut odieuse : « Le roi a commandé, il faut obéir ». C'est alors que le condamné fit les déclarations suivantes connues depuis lors dans tout le pays, où elles impressionnèrent vivement les esprits : « Dites au roi, que je vais mourir puisqu'il l'a ordonné. Je le plains, car que va-t-il advenir de lui et de ses sujets? Des gens bien propres (imonge), habillés comme des nouveaux mariés (abakwe) vont venir du pays d'en bas (baturutse igihugu gichuri) (1).

» Ils seront portés par des vaches sans cornes (rukungu) (2). Ils feront bientôt leur entrée dans le Rwanda. J'ai compassion de vous. Comment ferez-vous? »

Il leur annonça encore l'invasion de petits insectes, vulgairement nommés aujourd'hui « chiques » (*pulex penetrans*), ainsi que la variole. Il prédit ensuite la peste bovine en termes imagés : « Dites au roi qu'un taureau étrange viendra avec la rapidité du vent, du pays de Mutara (Ndorwa) et qu'il bondira au milieu des troupeaux de la capitale, où il exercera de grands ravages (3).

» Dites-lui encore de ma part que dans les chemins, l'herbe d'en bas rejoindra en la dépassant l'herbe d'en haut (ubgatsi bgo hepfo buzalenga ubg'aruguru). »

Nyantaba voulait dire par là que les herbes pousseront à l'envi et se rejoindront de tous les côtés, parce qu'il n'y aura plus de vaches pour les brouter.

De retour à la capitale les exécuteurs se présentèrent au roi pour lui annoncer que justice était faite. Ils lui firent part des curieuses révélations de la victime. On

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(1) Le pays d'en bas désigne le Kiziba, sur le lac Victoria.

(2) Il s'agit de l'âne, ainsi appelé.

(3) C'est un taureau de mauvais augure, qui ne peut que commettre des dégâts, d'où son nom de taureau du vent, aux effets désastreux « Imfizi-y'umuyaga izachugit' inka ku Gihasha cha Gabiro (pays de Mutara, dans le Ndorwa) yimiriza Ntaruka (marais auprès de Nyanza) ».

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ajoute que Lwabugiri regretta de l'avoir envoyé au trépas.

L'époque était aux révélations. Dans la province du Mulera, un infirme nommé Rugwabiza, qui ne vivait que d'aumônes, se rendit également célèbre par ses prédictions sur l'arrivée imminente des Blancs, en donna des précisions que les Noirs trouvent aujourd'hui très curieuses.

« Ils viendont du pays où se lève le soleil (l'Est). Ils arriveront portés par des animaux étranges, à forme de lion, qui parlent... des deux côtés à la fois!!! Ces mêmes étrangers éliront domicile sur la colline de Kabushinge, qui deviendra leur capitale, et où les tambours résonneront soir et matin. Ils jetteront un pont sur la rivière de la Mukungwa; ce pont sera tellement large et solide, que les troupeaux le traverseront sans difficulté. Ces inconnus ne feront de mal à personne. Hommes et femmes, pauvres et riches, tous pourront les approcher et recevront des perles pour les porter au cou.

» Ces mêmes individus couperont l'arbre sacré à trois troncs qui pousse sur la colline, etc., etc. »

Le prophète Rugwabiza n'était jamais à court de prédictions. Il s'en servait pour remercier ceux qui l'accueillaient et menacer ceux qui le congédiaient sans lui faire l'aumône.

A première vue il ne semble pas qu'il faille s'étonner outre mesure de ces révélations.

Même avant l'arrivée du comte von Götzen, nombre de Banyarwanda avaient entendu parler des Européens installés dans les contrées limitrophes.

L'invasion des « chiques », la variole, la peste bovine, étaient plus ou moins connues et prévues; ces fléaux ravageaient depuis quelque temps les pays voisins, quand ils firent leur apparition dans le Rwanda. Certains, comme les deux personnages dont on vient de parler, surent en tirer parti. Il est possible aussi, qu'ils aient annoncé d'autres événements qui ne se sont pas réalisés et que l'on n'ait retenu de leurs dires, qu'une infime partie des pré-

dictions qui paraissaient concorder avec ce qui arriva effectivement.

La dernière prophétie, dans l'ordre des dates, est due à une femme de race mutusi. On la connaissait sous le nom de Nyiramuganuza; elle habitait dans la province du Bgisha. Les Banyarwanda recouraient beaucoup à ses « talents » de sorcière-devineresse. A une femme muhutu, originaire de la province voisine du Bugoyi que Nyiramuganuza rencontra fortuitement sur son chemin, elle fit spontanément les déclarations suivantes. C'était en 1914, quelques mois avant la grande guerre : « Mon enfant, lui dit-elle, quand tu rentreras dans ton pays natal, les Européens (avec leurs askaris) envahiront la forêt que tu dois traverser. Tu te rencontreras nez à nez avec eux (avec leurs gens) [1]; on ne te fera aucun mal. Un grand conflit va éclater et la famine, avec toutes ses horreurs, s'ensuivra. Mais alors, ajoute la prophétesse, tu te trouveras avec ton mari dans un autre village (auquel tu ne songes pas en ce moment). Un Blanc vous viendra en aide et vous conduira dans un district où vous verrez une chose sans nom [2]. Tu mettras au monde un garçon puis une fillette; de celle-ci, tu ne tireras aucun parti pour tes travaux [3] (elle mourra). Mes prophéties se réaliseront quand je ne serai plus. On me tuera, je deviendrai une des victimes de la guerre (nzichwa n'igitera). Vous assisterez aux événements que je prédis. Vous tremblerez de peur (muzanyeganyega) quand les Blancs se serviront d'arcs auxquels vous n'êtes pas habitués [4]. Je ne te demande, ma fille, aucun paiement pour la consultation que je te donne. Tu peux t'en aller ».

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(1) Vous-vous rencontrez avec eux « joue à joue » tel est le sens littéral.

(2) Vous verrez une chose sans nom (igintu gitagir' ibara). Le mari et sa femme aperçurent en effet dans un champ une brebis qui venait de mettre bas un petit monstre sans pattes.

(3) « Cette fillette vous ne pourrez l'envoyer » (sous-entendu au travail, ntimuzamutuma), pour dire qu'elle mourra en bas âge.

(4) Bazarwanish' imiheto mutarabona.

Ce fut la fin de l'entretien. La prophétesse mourut comme elle l'avait annoncé, elle périt durant un engagement.

Ses prédictions s'accomplirent à la lettre, point par point. Ceux qui furent les héros et les témoins de ces oracles et de leur réalisation assurent qu'ils n'ont rien inventé.

CHAPITRE V

Derniers épisodes du règne de Lwabugiri.
Entrevue du prince hamite avec le célèbre explorateur allemand, le comte von Götzen.

Le règne de Lwabugiri fut fertile en événements souvent provoqués par le prince lui-même dont l'activité était dévorante et inlassable. Ses sujets lui donnèrent cependant plus d'une fois l'occasion de s'occuper d'eux. Ils n'eurent pas tous à s'en féliciter. Les Bagoyi en savent quelque chose.

Ils ont eu de tout temps une mauvaise réputation qu'il faut mettre au compte de leur tempérament, de leur indiscipline, de leurs mœurs et de leur origine.

Ils sont, en effet, pour la plupart venus du Nord-Ouest du lac Kivu et ne ressemblent guère aux Banyarwanda de l'intérieur.

A l'époque dont nous parlons, le clan des Baligira, gouverné par Lwerinyange, père de Ngomayombi, avait empiété sur les possessions des Bagwabiro qui étaient restés en faveur auprès des rois hamites, depuis leur célèbre victoire sur les « Muets » (1). Lésés dans leurs intérêts les Bagwabiro portèrent plainte au souverain lui-même.

Lwabugiri députa au Bugoyi un de ses proches, Lwalinda fils de Rubega, petit-fils de roi.

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(1) Il s'agit du célèbre épisode dit des « Muets » qui se déroula sous le règne de Chyilima II et qui fit connaître les Bagwabiro.

L'envoyé fut mal reçu des Baligira qui l'expulsèrent après l'avoir blessé. L'autocrate mis au courant de ce qui s'était passé par son ambassadeur, jura de tirer une vengeance éclatante de cet affront. Les insulteurs sentant gronder l'orage sur leur tête et désireux d'apaiser la colère royale, recueillirent des vivres et des cadeaux. Personne ne voulait se charger de les porter à la cour. Il fallut parlementer longtemps pour trouver des volontaires. Lwabugiri était à sa résidence de Lwamaraba dans le Marangara. Il refusa de recevoir les excuses des Baligira. L'arrivée de leurs représentants ne fit que raviver le ressentiment du monarque.

Les envoyés eurent beau supplier et faire intervenir des protections puissantes. Leurs efforts n'eurent aucun succès.

Un beau matin, les hommes du roi entourèrent le village où avaient pris logis les Bagoyi... Ceux-ci se laissèrent égorger sans résistance et rares furent ceux qui apportèrent la nouvelle du massacre à leurs compatriotes.

Les Baligira rendirent les Bagwabiro responsables de cette hécatombe. Ils n'osèrent pourtant pas, vu leur infériorité numérique, prendre les armes contre eux et se contentèrent de rompre toute relation avec les membres du clan incriminé.

Lors du dernier séjour de Lwabugiri dans l'une de ses résidences, à l'île de d'Idjwi (lac Kivu), qu'il avait conquise quelques années auparavant, les gens du pays de Marangara avaient profité de son éloignement pour se livrer au pillage.

On les dénonça au Souverain. Pour les punir, celui-ci organisa une petite expédition qui alla saccager le district. Les habitants subirent à leur tour l'invasion des troupes qui ravagèrent leur contrée. Les chefs Batutsi eux-mêmes qui n'avaient pas su maintenir l'ordre furent rendus responsables du désordre qu'ils n'avaient pas pu ou voulu empêcher. Le roi destitua ceux qui n'avaient pas pris part à la dernière campagne dans l'île d'Idjwi.

Les Banyarwanda se sont désormais servi de cette date pour fixer leurs souvenirs d'où l'expression « kul' inyagira », c'est-à-dire l'époque du pillage. Le terrible justicier ne pouvait s'habituer au calme de l'existence dans une capitale paisible. La vie des camps et les voyages aventureux lui plaisaient davantage. On vit bientôt l'infatigable prince reprendre le cours de ses campagnes.

La seule province du royaume que le grand Ruganzu ne visita point est le Bgisha. Ses contemporains et ses successeurs trouvèrent cet oubli de la part du roi boute-feu tellement curieux qu'ils donnèrent à cette région le surnom de Gisigari (gusigara, rester), c'est-à-dire le seul pays qui n'ait pas été parcouru par le monarque.

Quand Lwabugiri se rendit pour la première fois au lac Albert, il traversa le Bgisha et la Rutchuru.

Il fit ensuite plusieurs séjours dans cette province. Le village de Kayenzi possède une de ses anciennes résidences (ikigabiro).

Le district de Jomba qui touche au Bgisha par sa limite Nord-Est en compte deux autres, près des villages de Mabungo et de Muganza.

Nyamuraga, le roi de Bwito, contemporain de Lwabugiri, pour vivre en paix avec son belliqueux voisin, fit acte de vassalité en lui envoyant de nombreux cadeaux.

Les deux princes, croit-on, se lièrent par le pacte de sang (kunywana) [1].

S'il est vrai de dire que Lwabugiri-Kigeri passa toute sa vie à guerroyer, il est non moins exact d'ajouter que ses conquêtes, exception faite de la seule île d'Idjwi, furent

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[1] Dans ses expéditions au Nord-Ouest du Kivu, Lwabugiri ne rencontra, en règle générale, aucune résistance sérieuse, parce que les rares habitants désignés sous le nom de « Bahunde » par les Banyarwanda étaient répartis en une foule de petites principautés et ne se prêtaient aucune aide mutuelle. Le prince hamite parcourut ainsi les royaumes minuscules de Bwito, Tongo, Shari Shari, Bunyungu, Gishari, Butembo, etc. sans éprouver de difficulté.

éphémères et ne survécurent pas à sa mort. Il eut beau faire de fréquentes visites au Bunyabungu, les habitants de ce pays n'acceptèrent jamais leur défaite. Le vainqueur hamite tenta vainement de leur donner des chefs Banyarwanda. Ceux-ci n'osèrent pas prolonger leur séjour dans ce pays insoumis. De l'aveu même des Banyarwanda, on ne réussit jamais à gagner le cœur des Banyabungu qui défendirent avec acharnement le sol national, luttant pied à pied, sans jamais se lasser ni se décourager.

Ils maniaient fort bien l'arc et la lance et grandes furent les pertes qu'ils infligèrent aux envahisseurs dans les combats et dans les embuscades. « Ceux qui furent ainsi surpris et massacrés, ajoutent-ils, ne se comptent pas ». (Abafashwe mpiri ntibabarika). Aussi, tout en ayant pénétré dans le pays, les Banyarwanda ne purent jamais arriver jusqu'à la forêt de bambous devant la résistance d'un ennemi presque toujours insaisissable [1].

Et quand des conteurs enthousiastes assurent, dans la chaleur du récit, « qu'on pouvait faire quatre jours de marche en pays conquis », l'amour de la vérité exige qu'on fasse justice de cette exagération un peu vaniteuse. Les limites de leur imagination ont seules été dépassées.

Les conquêtes du Ndorwa et du Nkole furent aussi éphémères que la précédente. Lwabugiri, disent les vieux, séjourna près de deux mois dans ce dernier pays. « Les guerriers s'aventurèrent même si loin, ajoutent-ils, qu'ils restèrent égarés, pendant quelques jours, ne sachant plus quelle direction prendre pour le retour ». Là encore les Banyarwanda eurent affaire, comme dans le Buyabungu avec des gens armés de fusils. Ils réussirent à prendre cinq ou six de ces armes, dont l'une était à deux canons.

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(1) Un officier belge, M. Tondeur, qui s'était aventuré avec une quinzaine de soldats dans les mêmes parages, y trouva une mort affreuse en 1901 après un court combat.

Leur provision de cartouches devait être médiocre.

Assiégés et ayant usé leurs dernières cartouches, ils furent massacrés sans merci. On fit subir au malheureux officier des mutilations honteuses.

Les tentatives auxquelles se livra le roi, du côté de l'Urundi, furent encore moins heureuses.

Seul, Choya, dont il avait épousé la sœur Mulerwa et qui commandait la petite province du Busoni, au Nord de l'Urundi, fit acte de vassalité, pendant quelques années. Bien placé pour savoir que les liens de parenté ou d'amitié ne comptaient pas beaucoup aux yeux de Lwabugiri, l'intelligent beau-frère craignant pour sa vie, s'enfuit, nous l'avons dit, pour ne plus revenir.

Des fils de Lwabugiri, Chyitatire est celui qui lui ressemble le plus, disent les indigènes. Il est donc assez facile de se représenter Lwabugiri, bien membré, avec un léger embonpoint et de taille bien prise. De son entourage, il était presque le seul à s'habiller d'étoffes (1).

Des chapelets d'amulettes (ibinure by' ingimbu) lui enserraient le cou. Comme ses prédécesseurs, il aimait à se ceindre le front d'une sorte de collier auquel étaient enfilés de petits ovelets finement travaillés provenant d'un petit animal (intimba). Les perles venaient à peine de faire leur apparition; aussi étaient-elles rares et le roi s'en était réservé l'usage.

Quelques bracelets de cuivre ou de fer aux bras et des anneaux plus légers au cou-de-pied complétaient sa parure. Curieuse et originale figure que celle de ce conquérant noir assoiffé de pouvoir, de conquêtes et presque toujours en campagne. Malgré ses travers, ses défauts, sa barbarie et sa cruauté natives, on ne peut lui dénier beaucoup de bravoure et une grande intelligence. A peine a-t-il reçu quelques fusils qu'il songe à les utiliser, comme s'ils devaient donner une grande supériorité à ses troupes. Des gens de l'Uswi restèrent pendant quelque temps à son service pour enseigner aux Banyarwanda le maniement de ces nouveaux engins. Peut-être ces mêmes individus avaient-ils été les premiers à les lui conseiller

(1) Le roi et les chefs Batutsi ont une façon de se draper qui rappelle la manière dont les Romains portaient la toge et leur donne grand air.

et à lui en procurer avant que les islamisés n'entrassent en rapport avec lui.

On raconte que son étonnement et sa surprise furent extrêmes, quand près de Mbarara dans le Nkole, il se trouva en présence d'un pont en planches construit à la façon européenne sur une grosse rivière. Superstitieux à l'excès, ses gens s'étaient arrêtés, ne voulant pas passer, craignant qu'il ne leur arrive malheur. Après avoir partagé leur crainte, Lwabugiri finit par s'écrier : « D'autres avant nous ont suivi ce chemin, pourquoi ne ferions-nous pas de même? » Et il s'engage le premier sur la voie redoutée Les survivants de l'expédition ajoutent, en y mêlant un grain d'hyperbole et d'exagération, que durant les deux mois qu'ils campèrent sur place, les poutres et les planches du pont leur servirent à se chauffer, à faire la cuisine et qu'ils n'arrivèrent pas à en brûler la moitié.

La première fois qu'ils rencontrèrent une maison arabe construite en « pisé », leur anxiété et leur appréhension furent les mêmes que devant le pont. Personne n'osait y pénétrer.

La curiosité l'emporta enfin. Le roi suivi de ses gens entra à l'intérieur et considéra attentivement la disposition des deux ou trois pièces que comprenait la petite bâtisse. L'examen une fois terminé, le bâtiment eut un sort pareil à celui du pont.

Pendant cette campagne, Lwabugiri eut surtout affaire à un roi du nom de Ntare, dans la résidence duquel on trouva des meubles européens, chaises, tables, etc. [1].

Le reste du mobilier et les provisions avaient été cachés par les propriétaires dans les hautes herbes.

Les Banyarwanda les découvrirent et firent main basse sur ce qui leur paraissait être de bonne prise.

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[1] Le roi guerrier fit traîner à sa suite, dans les bagages de la Cour, pendant quelque temps, une tente européenne.

Provenait-elle de Rumaliza ou faisait-elle partie du butin de guerre ? Les survivants n'ont pu le dire au juste.

Ils se distribuèrent le contenu de plusieurs caisses de papier et de cahiers qui traînèrent longtemps dans les huttes du Rwanda.

Nos pillards ignoraient l'usage de ces fournitures scolaires. Ces dernières faisaient peut-être partie d'un stock de marchandises ayant appartenu à un Arabe ou à un Noir musulmanisé installé dans le Nkole et qui s'était sauvé à l'approche des Banyarwanda.

D'où la méprise des envahisseurs qui croyaient avoir mis en fuite un Blanc [1].

Vaincus, les habitants du Nkole ne s'étaient soumis qu'en apparence. Quand le vainqueur quitta le pays pour rentrer dans ses foyers les Banyankole l'accompagnèrent jusqu'à la frontière, au village de Gatsibu. Ils reçurent alors leur congé du roi qui les engagea à aller cultiver leurs champs, car on était à la saison des pluies. Les partants promirent au souverain de rester ses fidèles sujets et de lui apporter régulièrement l'impôt. Le ciel entendit leurs serments, mais la bouche ne parlait pas de l'abondance et encore moins de la sincérité du cœur.

Les Banyarwanda ne revirent oncques les gens du Nkole.

La guerre, on le comprend, se faisait de part et d'autre, d'après les mœurs cruelles de l'époque; tout adulte surpris, combattant ou non, même blessé était un homme perdu. Il n'y avait pas de quartier. Seuls les femmes, les adolescents et les enfants étaient, en règle générale, épargnés, parce qu'on les réduisait en servitude.

On peut se demander ce que devenait le bétail humain et quel sort était réservé aux prisonniers.

Quelques-uns furent vendus aux Baswi ou gens de l'Uswi qui depuis quelque temps avaient essayé de venir s'approvisionner d'esclaves dans le Rwanda. Les autres,

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(1) Les Banyarwanda poursuivirent l'ennemi à trois ou quatre journées de marche au delà de Mbarara.

Ils se battirent surtout contre les Bahima (Batutsi) du Nkole.

de beaucoup plus nombreux, restèrent aux mains de leurs possesseurs qui les traitaient avec humanité. Ils faisaient partie de la famille au titre de domestiques ou même d'adoptés. On ne comprenait pas autrement l'esclavage chez les Hamites. On a vu quelques-uns de ces jeunes captifs, une fois devenus grands, recevoir leur part d'héritage ou même prendre la succession de leur maître dans le gouvernement d'une colline. Ainsi en fut-il pour Kaningo, Lwanyindo dans le Budaha, et pour Lusera, à Gitongati dans le Marangara.

Lwabugiri restait habituellement à l'arrière-garde (mu nteko) pendant que les troupes se battaient. Les Batutsi étaient aux premiers rangs menant le combat et allant au-devant du danger. Les Bahutu qui les accompagnaient étaient surtout chargés de ravitailler le camp, de bâtir les abris de fortune, de traire les troupeaux qui suivaient l'armée dans ses déplacements; ils s'occupaient, en un mot, des services auxiliaires. Des gardiens spéciaux convoyaient les vaches laitières pour approvisionner de lait frais le roi et les guerriers nobles. Chacun d'entre eux possédait en propre quelques-uns de ces animaux.

Les chèvres et les moutons recueillis dans les razzia, servaient à l'entretien des troupes ou allaient s'ajouter à l'avoir des chefs.

Les expéditions de Lwabugiri lui coûtèrent beaucoup de sang.

On cite quelques familles dont presque tous les membres furent tués les uns après les autres à la guerre.

Aussi les épouses se plaignaient-elles amèrement de ces luttes meurtrières qui leur arrachaient leurs maris et leurs fils. Certaines de ces campagnes furent d'une telle durée, ajoutent les vieux, que les survivants à leur retour dans les foyers, ne reconnaissaient plus les enfants qu'ils avaient quittés en bas âge. Les Batutsi étant relativement peu nombreux, par rapport au reste de la population, ce furent surtout les Bahutu qui virent leurs rangs s'éclaircir. Beau-

coup tombèrent victimes de la guerre, sous les coups de l'ennemi ou par suite de maladies et de privations. Les Bahutu qui ne prirent pas part aux campagnes n'eurent jamais beaucoup à souffrir de la part du roi. La vie d'un homme comptait sans doute fort peu aux yeux de celui-ci, mais les plus exposés étaient sans contredit les Batutsi qui, en règle générale, subirent ses caprices sanguinaires. Les Bahutu serviles, soumis et respectueux, se tenaient à distance, tandis que les Batutsi, plus ou moins admis dans l'intimité du roi, de par leurs charges et leurs fonctions, vivaient à ses côtés et restaient exposés à l'influence de son humeur. Aussi Lwabugiri était-il redouté des grands qui devenaient, sur de simples dénonciations, l'objet de ses vengeances (1).

Un rien suffisait pour qu'il semât la mort autour de lui. Nombreux sont ceux qui perdirent la vie sous son règne. Parmi eux on cite de grands noms de l'époque.

Lwampembge fut jeté dans le gouffre de Bayanga; Ryezimbere fut percé d'un coup de poignard à Gashora; Kabaka, père de Muyogoma, tomba à Nyakasozi. Muhumuza, le chef de la puissante tribu des Bagwabiro, dans le Bugoyi, fut lié et jeté du haut du rocher de Nkuri, dans la plaine de Lwankeri, aux pieds des volcans. Le grand-père de Lukara un nommé Segitande (2), eut les deux pieds coupés. Il fut ensuite à demi enseveli dans une fourmilière pour y être dévoré par cette espèce particulière connue dans le pays sous le nom de Ntozi. Armés de fortes pinces, ces animaux causent des douleurs intolérables. Aussi bien, disent les gens du pays, le malheureux impuissant poussait des hurlements affreux.

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(1) Ajoutons pourtant, et c'est à son honneur, que Lwabugiri après le combat s'occupait du transport des blessés, leur faisait donner des soins immédiats et leur procurait ce dont ils avaient besoin. Il aimait s'entretenir avec eux, après la bataille.

(2) Segitande est le grand-père du fameux Lukara qui devait plus tard assassiner le Père Loupias, supérieur de la mission de Rwaza, qu'il croyait de connivence avec les Batutsi.

Les membres de la famille royale n'étaient pas mieux traités. Jaloux comme tous les égoïstes, Lwabugiri ne supportait pas qu'on admirât quelque chose en dehors de lui. Gatchinya, petit-fils du roi Gahindiro, passait pour avoir de beaux enfants. L'heureux père avait lui-même une physionomie agréable qui attirait les regards et faisait avantageusement parler de lui. Lwabugiri, entendant un beau jour vanter la régularité des traits de son cousin, fut saisi d'un violent accès de colère et de son bâton pointu, perça la poitrine du prince qui avait eu l'irréparable malheur de se trouver à ses côtés. L'infortuné ne se remit pas de sa blessure; la gangrène se mit dans la plaie et emporta le jalousé.

Ses deux frères Nyamwesa et Nyamahe ne furent pas plus heureux.

Ayant entendu dire par des courtisans qu'on avait parlé d'eux pour les faire rois à sa place, il leur fit crever les yeux.

Rencontre du roi hamite avec le comte von Götzen

C'est pendant son séjour à Kageyo, dans la province du Kingogo, que le roi Lwabugiri, qui venait du Bunyabungu, eut son entrevue célèbre, en mai 1894, avec le comte von Götzen qui en a relaté les incidents dans son journal de voyage. C'était le premier Blanc qui traversait le pays; aussi son arrivée fut-elle un événement.

Voici les quelques détails typiques que donnent aujourd'hui les témoins de cette scène mémorable.

Lwabugiri, disent-ils, ayant entendu parler de l'arrivée prochaine de l'explorateur, avait d'abord songé à le tuer, ne se doutant pas que le comte était armé et accompagné [1]. Ses courtisans, Kabale, et Luharamanzi en

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[1] On envoya d'abord à sa rencontre les sorciers « maudisseurs » (Ababenyi) dont le rôle était d'ensorceler les nouveaux venus et de provoquer leur mort par les sortilèges. Les magiciens eurent beau faire

particulier, l'en dissuadèrent : « Tu ne peux pas faire mourir un être de cette espèce, il nous arriverait malheur. Son cadavre souillerait le royaume.

» Il n'a pas l'aspect d'un homme, il ne nous ressemble nullement; on dirait un vrai monstre... il est tout blanc. C'est un drôle d'étranger. Son corps est comme celui d'un enfant qui vient de naître.

» On ne peut même pas le comparer aux albinos de chez nous. Son aspect défie toute comparaison. On ne sait quel nom lui donner.

» C'est un personnage dont on n'a pas idée », etc., etc.

Les interlocuteurs continuent à discourir sur les graves conséquences que ne manquerait pas d'entraîner la mort d'un tel individu (igisimba!).

« Ce serait s'exposer, ajoutent-ils, à voir le lait des vaches tarir, les femmes devenir stériles et les moissons sécher sur pied; gardons-nous de répandre son sang » (1).

Le conseil fut suivi, le comte parvint sans encombre à la capitale du Rwanda et ne remarqua rien d'anormal.

Il sentit bien quelque opposition à l'établissement de son camp près de la résidence royale et attendit longtemps les vivres en retard.

Von Götzen eut la sagesse de ne pas s'en offenser.

La renommée qui le précédait était extraordinaire. On racontait de lui des faits prodigieux.

Au fur et à mesure qu'il portait la main à ses poches, il retirait des perles qui se multipliaient sous ses doigts de thaumaturge. Les vaches qu'il égorgeait et dont on avait mangé la viande, revenaient à la vie, etc.

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appel à tout leur savoir-faire, leur science se trouva mise en défaut; ils en furent pour leurs frais. Les étrangers échappaient à leur influence occulte.

(1) Cha kintu ntazi, s'uwo kupfa, n' ikimara.

Huyu muntu assa n' umuntu w' uruhinja nyina yabyay' uwo musi, umubil' ulera, ntassa n' abandi, ntagir'inzobe kandi nka twe; n' ikintu tutabonye, n' ikintu kitaraboneka mu Rwanda, n'umuntu w' inzovu, w' inyamaswa, n' ikinyamahanga : Ntavir' amarasso. Agwa mu Rwanda, ibintu ntibyatunguka, t'rwanda rukashira, ibintu bitalimbuka, etc.

Partout sur son passage, c'était ou la crainte qui provoquait une panique ou comme au Mulera la curiosité qui attirait les foules sur ses pas. D'autres, après avoir risqué un œil, s'éloignaient aussitôt, pour éviter le mauvais sort (bakoz' akajisho bagahunga).

A son arrivée à Kageyo le comte se présente à Lwabugiri et lui tend la main [1].

Le roi la garde entre les siennes, l'examine attentivement ainsi que le poignet, d'où il repousse un peu la manche de chemise :

« Est-ce que vous vous ressemblez tous comme cela dans votre pays », demande Lwabugiri. « Mais oui, répond l'interprète Musukuma auquel le comte dicte la réponse en souriant. Nous avons les mêmes traits ». « On m'a dit, reprend le roi, qu'après avoir égorgé une bête, et en avoir fait rôtir les morceaux, la peau se remplit de nouveau et l'animal revient à son premier état ».

Le comte se met à rire et l'interprète explique que les vaches égorgées par lui ont exactement le même sort que celles que le roi et ses gens abattent, qu'elles n'en diffèrent en rien.

« Qu'es-tu donc venu faire dans mon pays? Que viens-tu y chercher? Pourquoi ne m'as-tu pas annoncé ton arrivée à l'avance? » ajoute le monarque intrigué.

Le guide Musukuma fait remarquer que le comte n'a causé de mal à personne. Il vient pour voir les volcans, admirer la beauté du pays et s'en retourner dans son pays par l'autre côté.

Le prince peu familiarisé avec de telles pensées en demeura tout interdit et sans doute crut avoir affaire à un espion.

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[1] Au moment où le Comte, suivi de son escorte pénétrait dans la première enceinte de la résidence royale, les employés de la Cour étaient occupés à la toilette de leur maître. Kabale veut empêcher le voyageur d'approcher, mais celui-ci le repousse et demande le roi qui s'avance aussitôt. Parmi les personnages qui entouraient le monarque on cite encore : Luhinankiko, Rwidegembya, Nyiriminega, Lwamuhanga, père de Biganda et Bondoyi (Lusumbamitwe), le favori du roi.

Von Götzen prit ensuite le roi et le conduisit dans sa tente pour lui montrer son équipement de voyage, pendant que les gens à l'extérieur se demandaient s'il n'allait pas arriver malheur à leur souverain.

Les soldats noirs qui formaient l'escorte de l'explorateur avec leur fusil sur l'épaule et des plumes à leur képi en imposaient aux Banyarwanda. Leur costume et leur attitude martiale servirent longtemps de thème aux conversations.

Plusieurs attiraient l'attention par leur haute stature (byakuze, bilebile).

En cours de route ils ne cessaient de tirer sur les gros oiseaux et tout particulièrement sur les grues couronnées que l'on rencontre fréquemment dans les vallées ou dans les champs de patates.

Les coups de feu se répercutaient aux échos d'alentour, inspirant la crainte et la terreur. La discipline des Askaris, puis l'ordre dans lequel fut disposé le camp, firent l'admiration des Batutsi.

Sherangabo, un des fils aînés de Lwabugiri, s'était constitué le guide de la caravane du comte.

Celui-ci l'avait rencontré non loin du fleuve de la Kagera, dans le Buganza, à son domicile de Lwamagana.

Le jeune prince le conduisit avec son escorte près de Kigali, pour lui faire traverser la Nyabarongo et le diriger vers la résidence de son père. Le dernier campement fut installé sur les bords de la rivière Satimbyi.

On devine le genre de conversation entre Sherangabo et l'auteur de ses jours : « Comment s'y prend l'Européen pour passer la nuit? » « Il loge tout seul dans sa tente », répond le fils. « A-t-il peur? » demande le roi. « Non, mais il a un fusil à côté de lui, et nul ne peut approcher de son camp, le soir, il y a des soldats qui veillent jusqu'au jour » (1).

(1) Le Comte reçut les surnoms de Muzungu, l'Européen et de « Lupari », sorte d'onomatopée dont le son de « pari » rappelle le bruit d'un coup de feu. Les détonations des fusils de la caravane avaient

Les jumelles (ibigeni) du comte avaient sans nul doute provoqué l'étonnement et l'admiration de Sherangabo, car on l'entendit vanter l'instrument à son père : « Avec cet objet, lui disait-il, tu peux voir de Kageyo même (la résidence du roi) tous les sujets de ton royaume ».

Le fils de Lwabugiri n'alla pas plus loin et l'on choisit un autre guide.

Après son entrevue avec le roi à Kageyo, le comte continuant sa route vers les volcans traversa la forêt de Rurandama (Kingogo) et vint camper sur la Sebeya (rivière) au pied de la colline Nkuri.

Il foulait le sol de la province du Bugoyi. Le jour suivant l'explorateur dressa sa tente à Kayove, le lendemain dans la plaine du Rwerere au bas du cratère de Ngomwa. Les habitants du pays se présentaient en foule pour satisfaire leur légitime curiosité.

Le quatrième jour la caravane s'arrêta dans la vallée du Byahi, à Chirambo, non loin du mont Ngoma.

Elle fut attaquée, au commencement de la nuit, par une troupe de guerriers conduits par le gouverneur lui-même de la province, Bissangwa, qui passait pour être très brave et que pour ce motif on appelait l'« Irrésistible » [1]. Les sorciers avaient laissé croire aux assaillants que pour rendre inoffensifs les coups de feu, il suffisait de lancer au-dessus de leurs têtes les fruits d'un arbuste (intobo) et de battre un chien pour le faire hurler. Les plaintes de la bête ainsi maltraitée étaient dans la pensée de ces primi-

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impressionné les indigènes, d'où le qualificatif de « Lupari » donné au chef qui la conduisait. Le terme de « Rulema », le Créateur, est celui que les Bagoyi lui ont donné de préférence, parce que les perles (amasaro) de l'espèce dite « imisasa » que le Comte distribuait en manière de paiement paraissaient inépuisables entre ses mains. Les perles qui faisaient leur apparition dans le pays avaient une valeur inappréciable aux yeux des indigènes. Les Batutsi ont appelé l'explorateur « Lwogamata » (de deux mots : kwoga, qui signifie nager, et amata, lait). « Celui qui nage dans le lait » pour dire que le voyageur avait bu tant de lait que tout son être en avait pris la couleur blanche.

[1] « Mutakikwa » du verbe kudakikwa, ne pas connaître d'obstacle.

tifs la reproduction imitative du bruit de la décharge et le jet des fruits signifiait l'innocuité des balles.

On ne devait pas plus s'en préoccuper que des gémissements d'un chien blessé.

Quelques salves bien nourries produisirent sur les timides assaillants l'effet contraire à celui qu'avaient fait prévoir les magiciens.

Les Batutsi n'eurent pas assez de jambes pour s'enfuir. Ce fut une course éperdue à travers les fourrés et les blocs de lave parsemés dans la plaine. Les Bahutu qui formaient l'escorte des Batutsi se débarrassèrent de leurs charges, nattes, paniers, gourdes ou cruches de pombe, pour aller plus vite. Bissangwa, leur commandant en chef, se distinguait au premier rang des fuyards.

Ses gens se relayaient auprès de lui, pour le tirer à bras le corps et le soustraire à l'atteinte des balles. Bulahanda, un des suivants du chef fut blessé, ainsi que le frère de Lwakadigi [1], un nommé Kiromba qui reçut un coup de fusil au bras, blessure dont il guérit dans la suite. Le Mutsobe Mulahangabo eut l'épaule transpercée. Luzimya et Lwakadigi avaient suivi le général noir au combat et n'eurent rien de plus pressé après la première fusillade que de mettre la forêt entre eux et les soldats du comte. On dit que Kaningo, originaire du Nkole et devenu fils adoptif de Lwabugiri, avait essayé de s'approcher du voyageur blanc pour lui donner un coup de lance. Les premières obscurités de la nuit facilitèrent la fuite des Banyarwanda qui n'eurent que six blessés et quatre morts dont les Batutsi Munigantama et Munyanshoza de la province du Bugoyi. On releva le cadavre d'une femme qui avait suivi les combattants dans l'espoir du pillage, tant les perles que les indigènes avaient vu pour la première

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[1] Ce Lwakadigi, d'origine modeste, fut choisi par Bushako pour gouverner la province du Bugoyi en son nom.

Après la mort de Bissangwa, la contrée échut en effet à Bushako, le favori de la Cour.

fois entre les mains des étrangers avaient excité les convoitises. Les Bagoyi comptaient sur une victoire facile et un riche butin. Leur rêve fut cruellement déçu.

L'embuscade avait été dressée avec l'autorisation de Lwabugiri. A la distance où il se trouvait, le roi ne courait aucun risque et pouvait se défendre de toute participation à l'attaque.

L'explorateur eut vent du complot tramé contre lui et des agissements de Bissangwa.

Celui-ci avait passé la nuit à Gisenyi; il vint au-devant du comte, se disculpa et lui fit croire à une incursion des Pygmées (Batwa) [1]. Les agresseurs ne revinrent plus à charge et permirent à la « bête d'Europe » de s'éloigner tranquillement.

Von Götzen après avoir exploré le volcan du Nyiragongo auquel il a laissé son nom, se rendit par la voie du lac à l'île d'Idjwi.

Nous donnons ces renseignements et ces explications sous toute réserve, car « qui n'entend qu'une cloche n'entend qu'un son ». Le comte von Götzen, qui est mort quelque temps avant la guerre, a publié en allemand le récit de son exploration au cœur de l'Afrique.

Résidences de Lwabugiri

Alors que les bouquets d'arbres qui rappellent les résidences des anciens rois, commencent à se raréfier et à disparaître sous l'usure du temps, comme c'est le cas pour les habitations de Mibambge-Mutabazo à Ruhango (près de Butare) ou encore pour Chyilima-Ludjugira à Nyenyeri, dans le Nduga, les bosquets qui marquent les demeures

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(1) Bissangwa devait tomber sept ou huit ans plus tard à Ishangi, sous les balles des soldats belges qu'il avait été attaquer dans leur camp. Sorti sain et sauf de la bagarre de Chirambo, les courtisans le croyaient « immunisé » et l'avaient désigné au roi Mibambge, comme pouvant désormais affronter sans danger les coups des armes à feu.

de Lwabugiri sont innombrables et en pleine croissance.

Dans le Bunyabungu, il en eut au moins deux, trois dans le Kinyaga (à Mwururu, à Biti et à Nyamasheke). Ngeri dans le Nyaruguru, Gisseke, Mwurire et Lussagara dans le Bwana-Mkale furent habités par lui, ainsi que Mata, Lwamabare, Ntosho (Kaganza) et Nyamagana, dans le Nduga. Nous avons déjà parlé de Kageyo dans le Kingogo. Il faut citer encore Nyanza dans le Buyaga, Gatsibu sur la frontière du Ndorwa; Bgeramvura, Mwulire, Lwamagana et Zinga dans le Buganza; Gituza dans le Bgiriri; Rugenge dans le Bugessera, etc.

Chaque case habitée par lui, en cours de route, devenait désormais interdite aux profanes. Abandonnée par les propriétaires, elle tombait bientôt en ruine, mais les arbres qui formaient l'enceinte de la cour continuaient à grandir et donnaient naissance à un nouveau bosquet royal (ikigabiro).

Dans la province centrale du Nduga, qui est toute dénudée, parce que l'incendie annuel des hautes herbes y brûle les plants et les semences des arbres; l'existence de ces bouquets impressionne favorablement l'œil [1]. Le regard se repose agréablement sur ces tapis de verdure qui rompent la monotonie du paysage.

Liste des principaux fils de Lwogera-Mutara [2]

1° Lwabugiri-Kigeri, son successeur.

2° Lwabilinda, qui avait reçu le gouvernement de la

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(1) Grâce aux mesures prises par l'administration et aux distributions de semences, semences d'eucalyptus surtout, faites par les missions, le pays çà et là change d'aspect et commence à se reboiser peu à peu.

Les indigènes apprécient beaucoup l'eucalyptus à cause de sa croissance rapide et de la qualité de son bois que les tarets (imungu) n'attaquent point, exception faite de l'espèce dite « maculata ».

(2) Parmi les nombreuses femmes de Lwogera-Mutara il y en a trois qui sont mortes à un âge avancé :

Mukorwa, décédée en 1910 à Munini;

Sekarubera, décédée en 1913 au Budaha;

Mamayinza, décédée en 1916 à Save.

province du Kinyaga. Il en fut dépouillé dans la suite au profit de Rwidegembya. On lui a laissé une petite possession à Lukanura.

3° Nyamwesa, eut les yeux crevés sur l'ordre de son frère Lwabugiri.

4° Nyamahe, eut le même sort.

5° Lukangamiheto. Craignant pour sa vie, il s'était tout d'abord enfui à l'Urundi, d'où il est revenu en 1920.

6° Kanyangemwe. Il fut pillé, comme le précédent, à l'avènement de Musinga au trône, et s'enfuit à l'Urundi, où il mourut presque aussitôt de la tuberculose.

7° Bichundamabano, que l'on croit mort de la variole.

8° Nyiramukesha, une fille.

Provinces du Rwanda ou existent encore les descendants des anciens roitelets (de race Muhutu, c'est-a-dire Bantou).

Bukonya	Nord-Ouest.
Luhengeri	Idem.
Buhoma	Idem.
Bushiru	Idem.
Bugamba	Idem.
Kingogo	Idem.
Budaha	Idem.
Bgishaza	(Lubengera).
Bukunzi	(dans le Kinyaga).
Busozo	(dans le Kinyaga).
Marangara	(dynastie des Nkoma) [1].

[1] Il est fort possible que les faiseurs de pluie de Bussigi soient les descendants d'un autre de ces anciens roitelets.

On se souvient que Ruganzu II Ndori détruisit un grand nombre de ces principautés minuscules, celles du Burwe, de Bisi, de Huyi, de Muhanga, de Bugara, etc.

Le plus grand de ces princes fut sans contredit le fameux Mashira qui commandait à presque tout le Nduga et le Ndiza. Il fut vaincu par un des ancêtres de Ruganzu, le roi Mibambge-Mutabazi, quelques années après la défaite des Banyoro.

LISTE DES PRINCIPAUX FILS DE LWABUGIRI.

1° Rutalindwa-Mibambge, l'héritier désigné, ne régna que peu de temps et perdit la vie à Ruchunchu en 1896.

2° Muhigirwa, chef de la province du Nyaruguru. Il se suicida, à Nkima, six ou sept mois après l'affaire de Ruchunchu (Nduga). Un de ses fils fut mis à mort, les deux autres furent laissés en paix.

3° Sharangabo, chef d'une partie du Buganza, vécut toujours dans la disgrâce depuis le drame de Ruchunchu.

4° Chyitatire, celui qui ressemblait le plus à son père; on lui laissa l'administration de la province du Bwana-Mkali. Il passa sa vie à l'écart de la cour. Nyirayuhi, la reine-mère, ne pouvait le souffrir.

5° Nshozamihigo, mort le 5 décembre 1915. Il possédait presque tout le Marangara.

6° Karara, mourut avec son frère Rutalindwa à Ruchunchu. Il laissait deux filles qui ne furent pas inquiétées.

7° Muligo, tué à Ruchunchu au moment où il s'apprêtait à passer dans le camp des Bega.

8° Baryinyonza. Bien qu'il eut pris parti pour Musinga, l'oncle et la mère de celui-ci le firent jeter quelque temps après dans le gouffre du Bugessera. Il reste de lui une fille.

9° Burabyo, tout jeune encore défendit vaillament son frère Rutalindwa. Il put rejoindre son autre frère Muhigirwa. Ayant été fait prisonnier dans la suite, on le précipita dans le susdit gouffre.

10° Nyindo, chef du Bufumbiro, est mort en 1918.

11° Yuhi-Musinga, le roi actuel.

Oncles maternels de Yuhi-Musinga.

Par sa mère Kanjogera-Nyirayuhi, Musinga est petit-fils du Mwega Lwakagara. Celui-ci était frère de la reine-mère Nyiramavugo. Lwakagara, entre autres fils, eut :

1° Giharamagara, tué par Lwabugiri.

2° Kabale, mort en 1912. C'est lui qui a mis Musinga, son neveu, sur le trône. Il a laissé deux fils, dont l'aîné, Nyantaba, est mort de la poitrine en 1924.

3° Chyigenza, frère utérin de Nyirayuhi et père de Rwidegembya.

4° Banzabigwi, père de Kaoyndo.

5° Luhinankiko, celui des oncles du roi dont la disgrâce fut la plus longue [1]. Dépouillé de ses biens, pour avoir fait égorger inhumainement la famille de Lutishereka, ami et frère de sang du puissant Kabale, il dut s'enfuir à l'Urundi.

6° Nyamushanga, mort depuis longtemps.

7° Lwibishenga qui n'a pas joué un grand rôle dans l'histoire. Il mourut en 1924 à Musumbga (Marangara) et fut enterré, en sa qualité de Mwega, dans le Budaha, qui est depuis de longues années, un fief des Batutsi-Bega.

Victimes de Lwabugiri.

1° Mugeni, reine du Bunyabungu, morte étranglée dans l'île d'Idjwi.

2° Gatabirurwa, prince-consort, mari de la précédente.

3° Kabego, roi de l'île d'Idjwi, avec deux de ses femmes, Mwalikakiko, Mwalijambo, et trois ou quatre de ses fils, dont Nkundiye.

4° Bugi, fils de Bujuri, chef du Ndorwa.

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[1] On faillit lui crever les yeux, en même temps qu'à Kayijuka. La reine-mère s'y opposa formellement.

C'était une peine assez fréquente. Lwabugiri en avait usé souvent. Il en fut de même au début du règne de Musinga.

5° Nyamunyomoka, fils de Muvunyi, le roitelet du Buhunde (ou Butembo).

6° Les deux freres consanguins de Lwabugiri, Nyamwesa et Nyamahe auxquels il fit crever les yeux, pour que nul ne soit tenté de les faire roi à sa place.

7° Gatchinya, un de ses cousins (petit-fils de Gahindiro) dont il jalousait la beauté et la popularité et qu'il perça d'un coup de bâton.

8° Une de ses femmes, Nyambibi (mère de Nshozamihigo et de Muligo), qu'il surprit à porter des charmes pour reconquérir ses faveurs.

9° Sangano, du pays du Bgishaza, qui en sa qualité de sorcier avait donné des charmes à la précédente et avait tenté de s'opposer aux préférences royales.

10° Luzirabgoba, chef de Ruri, qui eut les yeux crevés.

11° Muhumuza, chef de la puissante tribu des Bagwabiro, dans le Bugoyi. On le précipita du haut du rocher de Nkuri, non loin de Lwankeri, aux pieds des volcans.

12° Segitande, le grand-père du fameux Lukara auquel on coupa les pieds. Il fut ensuite enfoui jusqu'à mi-corps dans un nid de fourmis rouges (intozi). Les hurlements de la victime s'entendirent au loin.

13° Giharamagara, Nkoronko et Bihire, les trois conjurés qui avaient voulu attenter à sa vie, à Nyamasheke dans le Kinyaga.

14° Le malheureux favori Lwakageyo, qui mourut victime des caprices d'enfant du monarque, à Lwamaraba (Marangara).

15° Ryezimbere qu'il perça de son sabre à Gashora.

16° Kabaka, le père de Muyogoma, qu'il fit mourir à Nyagasozi.

17° Lwampembge, un autre de ses chefs qui fut jeté dans le gouffre du Bugessera.

18° Nyantaba, le prophète qu'on précipita dans le marais du Buberuka (muli Nkonde).

19° Une de ses tantes paternelles qui périt à Lwesero,

dans le Nduga, où il était allé tirer vengeance des Abagereka, soupçonnés d'avoir causé, par leurs ensorcellements, la mort de son père Mutara-Lwogera.

20° A Lwamaraba (Nduga) il ordonna la mort des Baligira de Kinyanzovu (village de la province du Bugoyi) parce qu'ils avaient refusé de recevoir un de ses messagers Lwalinda et l'avaient même blessé [1].

21° Lwatambuga, homme de confiance de Lwampembge (cousin du roi) et chef des « Abashakamba », fut dépecé vivant, sous les yeux du prince, au milieu des chiens qui happaient les morceaux à même sur le corps du supplicié. Il avait été accusé d'avoir rapporté à son maître que le monarque voulait le mettre à mort.

22° Un certain Bidàga eut le même sort à Lwamaraba, sur de fausses dénonciations.

23° A Ngeri, dans le Bungwe, Katebera fils de Nkundiye et donc petit-fils du roitelet de l'île d'Idjwi, Kabego, fut atrocement égorgé par Lwabugiri lui-même.

Mal conseillé, le pauvre jeune homme avait compté à tort sur l'indulgence du vainqueur, auquel il était venu faire la cour. Il fut aussitôt lié et couché sur un manche de pioche afin que les lances puissent plus facilement traverser la poitrine de l'infortuné jeune homme.

Il mourut en poussant des plaintes déchirantes, tandis que le monarque, appuyant sa lance sur sa victime pantelante entonnait un chant de guerre (ikyivugo).

24° Lwankuba, un Mushi de Nsuro (au Nord du lac Kivu), fut égorgé comme le précédent.

25° Nyiramaloba, une autre de ses épouses, celle même qui avait donné le jour à Rutalindwa (l'héritier du trône) et à son frère Kamarashavu, fut tuée sur les ordres de son

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(1) Les Bagoyi étaient toujours restés un peu indépendants et frondeurs vis-à-vis de l'autorité royale. Les Baligira manifestèrent également leur hostilité contre les Blancs et tuèrent un soldat noir et un catéchiste en 1908. La pendaison de Ngomayombi leur chef, à Kigali, en 1912 leur inspira une saine terreur.

royal époux, dans le Bulembo, pour avoir mal parlé de la reine-mère.

Elle appartenait au clan des « Bakono » et avait été mariée tout d'abord à Kabale.

26° Nyiraburunga, sœur de la précédente et comme elle, femme du roi, subit le même sort.

Elle avait eu deux fils de Lwabugiri, Baryinyonza et Karara.

27° Luhangara, fils de Byaterana, fut mis à mort à Nyamasheke (dans le Kinyaga).

Pendant que la cour se trouvait à Ngeri dans le Bungwe-Nyaruguru, il fit mourir, on ne sait pour quel motif, les personnages suivants, presque tous grands chefs et de race Mututsi :

28° Katebera.

29° Luchampunzi du clan des « Abosha ».

30° Bigwabichinze du clan des « Banyiginya ».

31° Sekaragwenyera, père de Nyanjwenge.

32° Gashagaza, un cousin germain de Luharamanzi.

33° Ndwanyi.

34° Luhirika, chef de la province du Busanza et père de Kabango [1].

Expéditions de Lwabugiri.

1° Il débuta par l'expédition traditionnelle de Rusokovu, pour y venger son ancêtre Ndahiro et recevoir en même temps le baptême de feu. (Cf. *Histoire d'un règne*, Livre troisième.)

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[1] Citons pour mémoire la foule des humbles et des inconnus qui périrent pour avoir fait attendre le fougueux et impatient monarque. Leur seul crime avait été de n'avoir pas apporté à temps, à la suite de circonstances souvent indépendantes de leur volonté, les vivres et les pots de bière réclamés à chacun pour la maison du roi. Le trou ou précipice de Bayanga dans la forêt du Bugessera, à proximité de la résidence royale servit de dernière demeure à nombre de malheureux condamnés pour ce retard.

2° En compagnie de sa mère Nyirakigeri, qui devait mourir tragiquement plus tard, il va s'installer dans le Kinyaga, à la pointe de la presqu'île de Nyamirundi. De là, il fait une première descente, dans l'île d'Idjwi. Il devait y aller quatre fois.

Nkundiye y disputait le trône à son père Kabego. Lwabugiri fut pris pour arbitre. Cette dispute de famille l'attira dans l'île, d'où il ne sortit plus. Presque tous les membres de la famille royale périrent de mort violente. Le loup était entré dans la bergerie, les victimes furent nombreuses.

Rwanyunga, un courtisan de Lwabugiri, tua le roi Kabego.

Les femmes de celui-ci, Mwalikakiko, Mwalijambo, et trois de ses fils eurent le même sort.

Nkundiye, l'aîné, put s'enfuir tout d'abord, mais quelque temps après il fut surpris et mis à mort dans l'ilôt d'Ishovu.

3° Comme les sorciers avaient fait courir le bruit que Mutara-Lwogera, son père avait été ensorcelé par le clan des Abagereka, Lwabugiri se rendit chez eux à Lwesero et en fit une hécatombe. Sa tante maternelle, qui appartenait à cette famille, ne trouva pas grâce devant les meurtriers.

4° De Gatsibu, où il avait construit une nouvelle résidence, il se rendit dans le Ndorwa, chez un certain Luhama, dont il pilla les troupeaux.

5° Un peu plus tard l'infatigable guerrier envahit le petit pays du Bugiri (Kabale) dans le Ndorwa et tua le chef, Bugi, fils de Bujuri.

6° Luzigama, un chef de l'Urundi (Mulito) eut ensuite sa visite.

7° Pour la première fois, il tente de passer le fleuve de la Russizi, dans le dessein d'envahir le Bunyabungu. Il y essuie un vrai désastre où périt la fleur de la jeunesse

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Mututsi, Nyamushanja, Nyirimigabo, Rwanyunga, etc. Il devait y retourner encore trois fois.

8° Le Ndorwa l'attire de nouveau. Les districts appelés Bumpaka et Bushengero, dont le chef se nommait Mutana, sont ravagés et pillés par ses guerriers.

9° Les troupes se dirigent encore une fois dans le Ndorwa, à Ruhinda (rwa Kajari).

10° On remonte ensuite vers le Nord-Ouest, chez Muvunyi, roi du Butembo dont le pays est incendié et razzié.

11° Après une deuxième expédition dans le Bunyabungu, aussi malheureuse que la première, on réussit enfin à la troisième, à prendre pied dans le pays.

12° Aussitôt après le passage du comte von Götzen, Lwabugiri quitte sa résidence de Kageyo (dans le Kingogo) pour aller porter la guerre dans le Nkole, au roi Ntare. L'expédition ne dut pas durer plus de deux mois.

13° A peine de retour, il repart pour la quatrième fois au Bunyabungu où il est surpris par la mort au village de Kiranga, sur la Russizi.

CHAPITRE VI

L'époque contemporaine.
Le coup d'Etat de Ruchunchu et le triomphe des Bega.
L'avènement de Yuhi IV Musinga (1896 ou 1897).

37° Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, fils du précédent, ne régna qu'une année a peine.

Le nom de Mibambge IV Rutalindwa n'est pas compris dans la liste dynastique officielle. Dans les chants et récits indigènes, il n'est jamais fait allusion à l'infortuné prince. Le drame dont il devint la victime est de date récente; ceux qui lui enlevèrent le trône et la vie ne sont pas encore tous morts. Bardes, annalistes, gardiens des traditions et seigneurs de la cour en parlent le moins souvent,

pour pouvoir, avec l'appui du temps, consacrer la légitimité du fait accompli.

Rutalindwa se trouvait à Ngeri, dans la province de Nyaruguru, quand il fut désigné par son père pour lui succéder sur le trône.

Encore jeune prince, il avait des mœurs très douces et répugnait à verser le sang. Lwabugiri le chérissait et les courtisans le tenaient en grande estime. Après la mort du roi qu'il avait accompagné au Bunyabungu, il fut reconnu sans peine par ses frères et prit le nom de Mibambge. Revenu dans le Nduga, il chercha longtemps un lieu propice pour y établir sa capitale. Les quelques mois de règne du jeune roi se passèrent à voyager à travers le royaume. Après avoir visité successivement Gatovu, Nyundo (Ntenyo) le Bumbago, puis Nyamagana et Giseke, il s'arrêta enfin à Ruchunchu, à proximité d'une ancienne résidence de Lwabugiri.

C'est durant l'année qu'il resta au pouvoir (1896) que Bissangwa fut envoyé avec des troupes à Ishangi, au Sud-Est du lac Kivu, pour y attaquer le poste de soldats belges qui s'y trouvait installé depuis quelque temps.

Le roi et les nobles avaient pris ombrage du voisinage de ces étrangers. Ils craignaient de leur part une invasion prochaine du Rwanda.

Les Congolais avaient à leur tête un officier belge. M. Sandrart, dont le savoir-faire et la bravoure surent tirer parti de la situation critique dans laquelle il aurait pu se trouver si la panique s'était emparée de ses hommes.

De nombreux chefs Batutsi, Nshozamihigo, Rwidegembya, etc., accompagnaient le général (umugabe) noir, Bissangwa, avec lequel le lecteur a déjà fait connaissance.

Les soldats qui s'étaient abrités derrière une forte palissade, les laissèrent s'approcher sans donner signe de vie. Croyant avoir affaire à des gens démoralisés, les Banyarwanda s'élancent à l'assaut du camp.

Les miliciens, au commandement de leur chef, font une décharge générale.

De nombreux assaillants mordirent la poussière.

Les autres, dont la plupart entendaient les fusils pour la première fois, s'enfuirent affolés, perdant la tête [1].

Bissangwa s'agite et veut rallier ses gens : « Ne partez pas, revenez à l'attaque »... leur criait-il, quand soudain une balle le frappe en plein front. Il tomba raide mort. Ce fut alors une course éperdue à travers les bananeries. Les soldats sortant de leur redoute poursuivirent les Banyarwanda un instant. Parmi les morts on compta de grands noms de l'époque : Nkwaya, fils aîné de Kanuma, Luzigana, Bikobe, Lwangampuhwe, etc. Quant à Bissangwa, il fut amèrement regretté. Il n'est pas rare, tant son souvenir est resté vivace, d'entendre dire, par manière de serment : « Que je sois l'Européen qui a tué Bissangwa... si je ne dis pas la vérité » (Mkaba umuzungu wishe Bissangwa).

Le règne du nouveau prince ne commençait pas sous d'heureux auspices. D'autre part, Mibambge se voyant fermer la porte du Bunyabungu, dut abandonner ses projets d'extension dans cette province toujours ambitionnée. Au reste, s'il en eut aucun, la mort qui le guettait ne lui laissa pas le temps de le réaliser.

Privé de bonne heure de sa mère naturelle (elle avait été tuée, on s'en souvient, sur l'ordre de son irascible mari), le nouveau roi choisit comme mère officielle, conformément à la coutume, une des femmes de son père, Kanzo-

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(1) On ajoute plaisamment et c'est l'écho de la rumeur publique, que Rwidegembya eut tellement peur qu'il couvrit en moins de deux jours les cent quarante kilomètres qui le séparaient de la province du Nduga et que pour la première fois de sa vie, il but de l'eau en cours de route.

Le surnom de « Lupari » a été donné à M. Sandrart, pour les mêmes raisons qu'au Comte von Götzen. Les Banyarwanda imposent volontiers ce nom à leurs enfants, comme porte-bonheur et comme garantie d'une longue vie, parce qu'ils estiment les Européens plus immunisés que les Noirs contre les mauvais sorts, les maladies et la mort.

gera, dont le fils Musinga, né aux environs de 1883, allait bientôt le supplanter sur le trône. Kanzogera appartenait au clan des Bega et avait pour frère Kabale dont l'ambition était ardente et inassouvie. Le choix de sa sœur comme reine-mère, favorisa le plan qu'il avait conçu de renverser Rutalindwa et de le remplacer par son neveu Musinga. C'est surtout pendant le séjour de la cour à Kianja (Lwoga) que Kabale mûrit son dessein. Luhinankiko, son frère, Lutishereka et Lukagirashamba du clan des Batsobe étaient du complot. Ils étaient soutenus par de nombreux partisans. Mibambge comptait, lui aussi, bien des amis et des clients.

On dit qu'il eut vent de la chose; mis au courant des menées ténébreuses de Kabale, il ne sut pas prendre les mesures qu'exigeaient les circonstances.

D'autres disent qu'il était d'un caractère doux et faible et qu'il ne put se résigner à faire mourir Kabale, comme on lui conseillait.

Il n'ignorait pas du reste la force du camp opposé qui comprenait le clan des Bega uni à celui des Batsobe. Quant à Kabale, il se tenait sur ses gardes et était toujours prêt à donner le signal de la révolte.

Il ne cessa de payer d'audace et il eut la bonne fortune de réussir. Déjà à Ntenyo, puis à Gisseke, car il suivait le roi dans ses déplacements, il avait failli donner le signal de l'insurrection. Rutalindwa ne pouvait plus mettre en doute l'existence de la conspiration. Pour essayer de désarmer son rival, le jeune monarque, qui était alors à Nyundo (Nduga), lui livra un de ses courtisans, le gouverneur du Gissaka, Mugugu, fils de Shumbusho. Kabale, qui nourrissait depuis bien longtemps des projets sanguinaires à l'endroit de cet ennemi, le mit à mort à Bulima.

Le sang appelle le sang. Cet assassinat, loin de calmer l'ambitieux Mwega, ne fit qu'exciter ses désirs encore inassouvis. La Cour venait de se transporter au Bumbogo.

Kabale s'empara en cachette d'un favori de Rutalindwa.

Il s'appelait Sehene (fils de Lugombituri) et était le frère de Bissangwa, déjà tombé à Ishangi.

On l'égorgea dans la hutte même qui servait d'habitation au frère de la reine-mère. Comme l'infortuné transpercé de lances poussait des cris perçants, les meurtriers le prirent à la gorge et l'étranglèrent de sang-froid (1).

Pour dissimuler le cadavre, on creusa une fosse dans la case qui avait été le théâtre du meurtre.

Il périt, croit-on, parce que son frère Bissangwa, mis par Kabale au courant de la conjuration, avait refusé d'y entrer. Ne pouvant s'en prendre à un défunt on se vengeait sur un de ses proches.

Le roi n'osa pas inquiéter les auteurs de ce crime.

Le complot devait enfin éclater. La cour se trouvait à Ruchunchu, près d'une ancienne habitation de Lwabugiri. On dit que Rutalindwa avait l'intention de s'établir dans les environs. Il demeurait en attendant dans des huttes d'emprunt (gusembera), avec sa suite.

Il advint donc qu'un jour, vers les quatre ou cinq heures du soir, une querelle s'éleva entre des enfants qui jouaient ensemble (2).

Leurs cris assourdissants attirèrent l'attention des voisins qui voulaient les faire taire. Kabale, qui était à la recherche d'une occasion, profite du désordre pour crier aux siens que le moment est venu et donne le signal du combat. Les flèches tombèrent sur la capitale. Il n'était pas difficile de comprendre qu'on avait affaire aux conjurés. On s'y attendait depuis longtemps. Les amis de Rutalindwa courent aux armes, font face à l'ennemi et le combat s'engage.

Les fidèles se défendent vigoureusement et repoussent même les assaillants qui commencent à fuir. La fortune

(1) On compte parmi les assassins, Karubambana, le père de Kanimba; Sebaganji chef de Luhande dans le Bwana- Mkali, Ndaruhutse dont les fils habitent à Cheza et un Muhutu de nom Shirubute.

(2) Ils se jetaient de ces sortes de fruits-fleurs que l'on trouve sur chaque régime de banane (umwanana ou ichyanana).

trahissait le parti de Kabale. Les agresseurs débandés reculaient. Certains d'entre eux parlaient même de s'entretuer. Surviennent alors Lwamanywa, gouverneur (umutware w'intebe) du Budaha, et Luniga, le chef du clan des « maudisseurs » (Abahenyi), qui, avec leurs gens, prennent fait et cause pour Kabale, renforçant ainsi les rangs des émeutiers. Les partisans du révolté se voyant près de la victoire redoublent d'efforts.

La partie est dès lors perdue pour Rutalindwa et les siens. Épuisés par la lutte, décimés, ils perdent courage, cèdent du terrain et se dispersent.

Voyant qu'il n'y avait plus d'espoir, Rutalindwa, refoulé dans son habitation provisoire avec les quelques fidèles qui le suivent y embrasse, de concert avec eux, une résolution extrême.

Le feu est mis aux cases qui sont groupées les unes contre les autres.

Pour ne pas être brûlés vivants, ils s'entre-égorgèrent les uns les autres [1].

Périrent avec le malheureux roi, sa femme Kanyunga (fille de Bushako) et ses trois fils, Nyamuheshera, Sekarongoro et Lwagira.

Muligo, dont le frère Nshozamihigo se trouvait dans le camp opposé, essaya de s'enfuir; on ne lui en laissa pas le temps. Bigirimana, le cousin de Mibambge, lui porta un coup mortel; après quoi il se tua à son tour, en compagnie de Karara, frère du monarque déchu.

On était à la fin de novembre (ou au commencement de décembre) à l'époque où les haricots commencent à mûrir (ku rugaryi rw'ibishyimbo).

Le combat dura près de deux heures, pendant que tombait une petite pluie, et cessa à la nuit, au moment où les bêtes rentrent au kraal (ku rutaha rw'inka).

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[1] On raconte encore que les huttes furent incendiées de loin par les partisans de Kabale qui lançaient des flèches auxquelles ils avaient fixé des brandons enflammés.

Nombreux furent les morts de la journée. Avec les cadavres du prince et de sa famille on retrouva, au milieu des cendres, plus ou moins carbonisés ceux de Kibaba, Lutikanga, Luterizilinzi, Njangwe, Nyamuganza, Mubumbyi, etc. Leurs restes servirent de pâture aux oiseaux de proie et aux hyènes. Un fils de Bissangwa périt aussi dans la lutte; l'autre réussit à s'enfuir au Gissaka, où il se suicida à la nouvelle des vengeances et des représailles exercées contre ceux qui passaient pour être les amis ou les partisans du pouvoir tombé.

La voie était ouverte aux immolations.

Il se fit des coupes sombres parmi les membres de la puissante famille des Banyiginya qui, jusque-là, avait partagé le pouvoir avec le roi et avait détenu le gouvernement des plus grandes provinces.

Les vainqueurs abusèrent étrangement de leur victoire.

Les Bega et les Batsobe se montrèrent sans pitié pour les vaincus.

La cruauté des bourreaux dépassa toutes les bornes. On cite le cas d'un malheureux (Shamabga) qui fut dépecé vivant au milieu d'une meute de chiens happant, à même la victime, les morceaux de chair que, par une barbarie raffinée, on ne détachait pas complètement du corps du supplicié.

Un autre (Rutalindagira) suppliait qu'on ne le fit pas souffrir et qu'on l'achevât d'un coup bien porté. Il est frappé d'un violent coup d'herminette qui lui emporta la moitié de la figure comprenant la peau du front, le nez et la bouche jusqu'au gosier. Laissé dans cet état, il resta abandonné aux rires et aux insultes d'une vile populace, pendant les deux jours que dura son martyre et son agonie.

Nyabakonjo, chef du Bgishaza, eut le corps cerclé de fil de fer qui pénétra dans les chairs en lui causant des douleurs indicibles.

Lwamanywa, l'homme de confiance de Muhigirwa, fut pris dans le Buliza, alors qu'il s'enfuyait, par un de ses

faux amis, Biganda (Umusiete), qui l'attira dans un guet-apens. On l'accusait d'avoir tué, sur l'instigation de son maître, Nyamashaza, le propre frère de Nyirayuhi.

Ses gardes de corps le conduisirent auprès de cette dernière qui l'engageait à regretter son acte, à renier le passé et à accepter le nouveau régime : « Je te prends à mon service et sous ma protection, lui disait-elle. Tu deviendras mon homme-lige. Tu recevras en retour de ton obédience des vaches et des collines. Tes ennemis ne pourront rien contre toi. Ils envieront ton sort. Tu seras comblé d'honneurs. Veux-tu te soumettre? » Le prisonnier, qui savait fort bien le cas qu'il fallait faire de telles promesses pour le moins mensongères, s'y refusa obstinément en faisant montre du plus grand courage. Il fut martyrisé durant cinq longues journées. Une seule plainte s'échappa de ses lèvres au début de son emprisonnement. Les sbires auxquels il avait été confié s'étaient donné toute licence à son égard. Les liens qui lui enserraient les bras derrière le dos commençaient à pénétrer dans les chairs : « Je vais mourir (ngiye guhenuka) », fit-il. Un des assistants, ému de compassion, lui offrit un peu d'eau.

Il ne prit pas autre chose durant son long et épouvantable supplice.

Conduit chaque matin en présence de la reine-mère, on inventait pour lui de nouveaux tourments. Tout en le piquant avec la pointe de leurs lances ou de leurs sabres, les bourreaux se gardaient de le faire mourir trop vite.

On aiguisa des broches faites de bois de bambou pour les enfoncer sous les ongles des pieds et des mains (guchinyira mu nzara) de la victime. Par un raffinement de cruauté, les tortionnaires essayaient de briser dans la plaie la pointe de la broche. Il fallut s'y prendre plus d'une fois, mais aucun doigt de pied ou de main ne fut oublié. Tous les jours on découpait des lambeaux de chair, aux endroits les plus sensibles, avec le mépris le plus total des règles de la pudeur.

Le lecteur devine les souffrances atroces du supplicié. Celui-ci était renfermé le soir dans sa prison. Il implora vainement ses gardiens pour obtenir le coup de grâce. Les ordres étaient précis et sévères; il fallait que le droit de vengeance exercé par la reine-mère fût poussé jusqu'à sa dernière limite. Le captif essaya de se jeter sur les armes des gardes, ceux-ci prirent leurs mesures pour écarter les tentatives de suicide du prisonnier.

Vers le cinquième jour, il apparut évident que Lwamanywa ne tarderait pas à rendre le dernier soupir. Pour en finir avec lui, les bourreaux reçurent l'ordre de lui couper les mains et les pieds et d'abandonner le cadavre aux hyènes.

Malgré de si cruelles souffrances, l'infortuné ne cessa de protester jusqu'au bout de son dévoûment pour Rutalindwa et Muhigirwa : « S'ils revenaient à la vie, je me mettrais à leur suite et nous recommencerions le combat. »

Ce furent aussi ses dernières paroles.

Rukwavu, le propre frère de Lwamanywa, ne pouvait échapper à la fatalité qui l'attendait. Il est livré à son tour. Ses ennemis lui passent une corde autour du ventre... et serrent jusqu'à ce que mort s'ensuive.

Il fallut moins d'une heure pour arriver à ce résultat.

Muhigirwa n'était déjà plus de ce monde. Kabale était allé l'attaquer dans le Nyaruguru. C'était en 1897, à la fin de juin ou au commencement de juillet (muli kamena) [1].

Le Régent entama des négociations avec les partisans de son rival. Elles durèrent près de quinze jours. Il ne fut pas difficile de débaucher les amis et les administrés de Muhigirwa dont la cause était perdue. Sa morgue hautaine le faisait détester de tous.

Aussi le vainqueur de Ruchunchu n'eut pas besoin de quitter son camp de Mwurire.

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[1] Le sorgho était mûr, racontent les indigènes, mais la moisson n'était pas encore commencée. Il y eut même à cette époque de fortes pluies qui compromirent les récoltes.

Muhigirwa, suivi de quelques-uns de ses gens, s'était installé à Nkima, aux pieds de la montagne de Huyi.

Les soldats de Kabale vont l'en déloger un matin, vers les 10 heures, et le blessent d'une flèche au genou.

Se voyant en petit nombre, les hommes de Muhigirwa se sauvent et abandonnent leur chef. Celui-ci essaie de faire quelques pas; son genou le fait souffrir, il est dans l'impossibilité de fuir. Les ennemis le serrent de près.

Un Mutwa de sa suite qu'il avait supplié de lui ôter la vie, oppose un refus absolu à sa demande. Le terrain allait en déclinant. Il prend sa lance, la fixe en terre et se jette sur elle pour échapper aux mains des poursuivants (yisonga mu mutima).

Les partisans de Kabale ne relevèrent qu'un cadavre. L'arme avait transpercé le cœur. Cela se passait au village de Mpungwe, près de Nkima, à l'endroit appelé Muyogoro.

Pour créer des difficultés à Kabale et à son parti, Muhigirwa, aussitôt après l'affaire de Ruchunchu, avait proclamé roi son fils aîné, Muhungurisoni, à peine âgé de onze à douze ans.

Après la mort tragique de son père, le pauvre petit est conduit à Kamonyi chez la reine-mère (sa grand-mère par alliance).

On l'interroge sur la manière dont il a exercé sa royauté éphémère; le jeune captif répond comme un enfant. Hélas! son âge et son innocence ne lui firent pas trouver grâce devant les fauteurs de la révolution. Il fut condamné, bien que petit-fils du défunt roi Lwabugiri et neveu du souverain nouvellement élu, à perdre la vie. Comme on estimait peu noble de verser directement son sang, à cause de sa haute origine, les bourreaux le prirent à bras-le-corps et le jetèrent sur des lances fixées en terre, dans un terrain qui allait en pente [1].

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[1] D'après une autre version il est raconté que ce sinistre projet ne fut pas exécuté, on se contenta de précipiter l'enfant dans le gouffre du Bugessera.

On se rappelle que Bigirimana, un des principaux défenseurs de Rutalindwa, avait assassiné à Ruchunchu, le frère de Nshozamihigo, nommé Muligo, au moment où ce dernier tentait de quitter le camp. La reine-mère, qui affectionnait tout particulièrement ce jeune homme, en éprouva un grand chagrin et une violente colère.

Dès le lendemain on lui amena le fils du meurtrier, un enfant de dix à onze ans.

Nyirayuhi prend aussitôt un sabre et de ses propres mains, ajoutent les Noirs, égorge le petit garçon, pour venger la mort de son favori.

Kabale et son frère Luhinankiko se montrèrent impitoyables à l'égard de ceux qu'ils croyaient être défavorables au nouveau régime. Mais comme cela arrive presque toujours en pareil cas, ils ne furent pas longtemps d'accord sur le choix des victimes. Ils en vinrent bientôt à se disputer, parce que l'un voulait arracher à la mort celui qui y avait été condamné par l'autre.

Le dissentiment finit par éclater et se changea en féroce inimitié.

Luhinankiko désirait sauver Baryinyonza, un des fils de Lwabugiri. « Non, répondait Lutishereka, l'homme de confiance de Kabale qui agissait de connivence avec son maître, le royaume est en péril par le fait de cet individu: il faut qu'il meure. » Baryinyonza fut étranglé, puis jeté dans le gouffre du Bugessera.

Luhinankiko est pris de rage à cette nouvelle. Il profite d'une absence de Kabale, fait attaquer Lutishereka qui est transpercé de coups de lance et extermine sa famille.

Kabale, à son tour, veut venger son favori. Luhinankiko, pour échapper à la colère de son frère, dut s'enfuir à l'Urundi, où il passa une quinzaine d'années dans l'exil.

Ne pouvant s'en prendre à un absent, Kabale exerça ses représailles sur les amis et les parents de Luhinankiko. Chaka, le gendre de ce dernier, puis Sebuharara, Kulinda, Kaningo sont attaqués successivement à leurs domiciles respectifs.

Ne pouvant échapper au sort qui les attend, ils se brûlent dans leurs huttes [1].

C'était à qui se surpasserait en férocité. Les excès des Bega continuèrent jusqu'au jour où les Européens purent s'installer définitivement dans le pays.

Les Banyiginya, si forts et si puissants autrefois, ne sont plus que l'ombre d'eux-mêmes et doivent à la venue des Blancs de n'avoir pas été exterminés.

38e Yuhi IV — Musinga.

Après le coup d'état de Ruchunchu, Musinga, le protégé de Kabale, fut proclamé roi sous le nom de Yuhi IV. C'était en l'année 1896. Né dans le Budaha, pendant que Lwabugiri, son père, était en expédition, il avait environ douze ans quand il monta sur le trône.

Sa mère et son oncle Kabale exercèrent la régence pendant sa minorité. Curieuse figure que celle du Régent. Sans vouloir justifier sa conduite, on peut dire que la nature l'avait grandement pourvu de ressources d'initiative et énergie. Sa sœur ayant eu un enfant du roi Lwabugiri, pourquoi n'essayerait-il pas d'élever son neveu au trône : *Fortuna audaces juvat*, Kabale n'était pas homme à reculer devant une révolution de palais pour substituer son neveu au prince régnant. Les obstacles et les difficultés ne l'effrayaient pas. Tout en suivant dans ses dépla-

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[1] La pitié trouvait place quelquefois dans ces actes de cruauté. On raconte que le puissant Kabale avait condamné un Muhutu, accusé d'avoir proféré contre lui des menaces de mort. Les Batwa prirent le malheureux et lui coupèrent les mains et les pieds. La nuit qui suivit, un des hommes de Kabale, s'approche de l'endroit où gisait la victime... Celui-ci entendant du bruit demande : « Qui est là ? »

L'autre contrefaisant sa voix, se donne pour un proche parent : « Apporte-moi des patates, dit le mutilé, car j'ai grand faim. » Le serviteur va raconter la chose à Kabale qui ordonne en riant de satisfaire au désir du quémandeur.

On s'empressa de lui donner à manger; il fallut lui mettre la nourriture à la bouche... Il ne mourut que le surlendemain.

cements Rutalindwa-Mibambge, il ne négligea rien pour arriver à ses fins.

Le complot fut organisé froidement et de longue main.

On a vu que l'occasion de se démasquer complètement naquit du fait le plus fortuit en apparence. Bien que plus ou moins prévu, l'événement surprit de part et d'autre. Les gens de Rutalindwa ayant l'avantage du nombre et de la cohésion gagnaient du terrain. Le combat tournait contre Kabale.

Les habitants des collines voisines accouraient de tous côtés au bruit de la bataille. C'est alors que l'instigateur de la conjuration s'empare de son neveu, l'élève au-dessus de sa tête et s'adressant à la foule : « Voici le roi que nous a laissé Lwabugiri. C'est lui qu'il a désigné en mourant. Il s'appelle Yuhi. Rutalindwa est un intrus qui ambitionne le trône. »

Il fait nuit, on ne sait plus où l'on en est. Au lieu d'aller rejoindre les troupes de Mibambge-Rutalindwa, comme c'était leur intention, les nouveaux arrivants s'égarent et vont grossir, malgré eux, les rangs des adversaires. Le denoûment approchait.

Lwamanywa, chef du Budaha, et Luniga, chef du Ndiza, arrivaient au pas de course avec leurs montagnards décidés. Le feu et la fumée qui s'élevèrent bientôt au-dessus des huttes royales, pendant que les ténèbres de la nuit s'éclairaient de lueurs sinistres, annoncèrent bientôt que tout était fini.

La victoire restait à Kabale.

Ses amis venaient se lamenter auprès de lui de ce que l'incendie de Ruchunchu avait consumé le trésor royal, ainsi que les tambours, y compris le fameux tambourin-palladium connu sous le nom de Kalinga.

« Le roi est trouvé, il nous reste. Quant au tambour, il n'est pas difficile d'en faire un autre » (Hagum'

umwami, ingom' irabâzwa), s'écria le Régent dans l'ivresse du triomphe.

« Tout Kabale est dans cette parole » (Mgr Classe).

Le principal était fait, le reste est accessoire.

Le vainqueur de Ruchunchu demeura puissant jusqu'au jour où il mourut (1912) d'une violente fièvre (amasseke) à Gisanzi, dans le Bwana-Mkali [1].

Ce n'est qu'à partir de 1908 que le nouveau roi Musinga commença à faire parler de lui, tout en restant sous la tutelle de sa mère, qui exerce encore une grande influence sur lui.

Les augures n'étant pas favorables pour le choix d'une capitale, la cour fut longtemps instable. Elle vécut successivement à Lwamiko, à Runda, à Kamonyi, à Gitwiko, à Mukingo, à Bgeramvura et à Mwima.

Pendant que la Cour séjournait à Gitwiko, von Behring, venu par le Mpororo et le Ndorwa et qui visitait alors son district, demanda naturellement à voir le jeune roi; on était en 1898.

Comme les Européens inspiraient encore la plus vive défiance, les grands lui présentèrent en lieu et place du prince un certain Mparamogamba, le fils d'un petit chef de Lukaza. Pour ce qui est de la reine-mère, elle est restée longtemps impénétrable aux regards de ces « étrangers au corps semblable à celui d'un enfant qui vient de naître » (Umubili ulera n ' umwana w' uruhinja). Ce n'est qu'en 1917, grâce au major Declerck, qu'elle a consenti à les recevoir, ce qui n'était pas peu déroger à ses habitudes.

Depuis environ 1900, le roi est installé avec sa Cour à Nyanza, qu'il n'a quitté à partir de 1920 que pour aller voir les missions voisines de Save et de Kabgayi..., ce qui, à l'époque, était faire un grand pas dans la voie du progrès. On se rappelle que Kabale avait imposé à son

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[1] On croit que le célèbre régent succomba à la dysenterie. Comme il s'agit d'un grand personnage, les Banyarwanda taisent par politesse et par discrétion la cause de sa mort.

neveu le nom de Yuhi comme présage d'une carrière pacifique. Il s'opposait à celui de Kigeri, qui signifie règne de guerre et de conquête. En vertu d'une ancienne coutume, ce titre impose au roi du Rwanda l'obligation de demeurer dans l'intérieur du cercle formé par la Nyabarongo et l'Akanyaru. C'était fermer au monarque le chemin des longs voyages en même temps que l'ère des campagnes meurtrières.

Il y a quelques années, c'était au début de l'administration belge, on jeta sur la Nyabarongo, en aval de Kigali, un pont en bois qui fut emporté par la crue du fleuve, à la grande joie de la Cour. On imputa l'heureux événement aux faiseurs de pluie.

Les indigènes crurent, en effet, que les sorciers avaient fait droit au désir et à la demande du roi lui-même qui craignait que les Blancs ne l'obligent à passer le fleuve pour se rendre à la Résidence de Kigali.

En 1929, les autorités belges réussirent à décider le prince à voyager à travers son royaume et cela au grand étonnement des Banyarwanda, qui connaissaient parfaitement l'existence du tabou spécial attaché au nom de Yuhi.

Le bruit courut bientôt que les sorciers de la capitale avaient tourné la difficulté par le moyen d'une originale fiction.

Musinga en cours de route n'était plus, d'après une savante interprétation, le roi officiel Yuhi. Il ne lui restait plus que le rôle de tuteur du vrai monarque, un de ses propres fils, décoré pour la circonstance du titre royal de Mutara, vocable qui n'impose aucune servitude au détenteur de ce nom.

Musinga, accompagné du jeune prince, peut donc franchir les fleuves impunément. Cette substitution mentale lui permet de passer outre à la prohibition constitutionnelle et de jouir, en sa qualité de simple régent, de tous les avantages et de tous les privilèges royaux.

Le petit Mutara, âgé à peine d'une douzaine d'années et trop jeune pour régner d'une façon effective, ne « parade » que dans l'esprit du père et des sorciers.

Musinga, en vertu de la fonction qu'il s'est attribuée, échappe à tout danger et continue à recevoir les honneurs princiers. C'est à lui que s'adressent les délégations des provinces et que vont les dons et les cadeaux. Il tranche les litiges et traite des affaires du royaume, sans que le public ait à connaître le tour simpliste qui lui a permis d'abandonner son titre royal d'une manière fictive et provisoire (1).

On reproche au souverain actuel une grande dépravation de mœurs. Il y a certainement une part de vérité dans ce que racontent les habitants de la capitale.

Deux expéditions marquèrent le début du nouveau règne. Les Bakiga (montagnards) du Nord-Est et du Nord-Ouest, c'est-à-dire les Bagoyi et les Bassigi qui avaient souvent regimbé contre le joug des Batutsi, profitèrent de l'arrivée au trône du nouveau titulaire pour entrer en effervescence. Ils se soustrayèrent aux corvées et refusèrent délibérément de payer les impôts en nature que les gouverneurs de province (abatware b'intebe) faisaient lever en leur nom par des subalternes (2). Il fallut réunir plusieurs corps d'armée (imitwe ou ibitero) pour soumettre les résistances. Lukagirashamba (3), chef du clan des Batsobe parcourut le Luhanga et le Bussigi, les armes à la main. On était en 1898. Les guerriers mirent à feu et à

(1) Nous ne garantissons pas l'authenticité de cette rumeur. La conception est toutefois digne du monarque et de ses confidents habituels. Il n'y aurait pas lieu de s'étonner que de pareilles extravagances aient pu germer dans leur cerveau. On peut ajouter que la créance populaire dans le sujet qui nous occupe justifie le proverbe d'ancien style qui dit qu'il n'y a pas de fumée sans feu ou de poudre sans fumée.

(2) Les grands chefs Batutsi allaient rarement dans leurs provinces et vivaient presque toujours à la Cour.

(3) Lukagirashamba est mort à un âge avancé en 1924. Il était tombé en enfance depuis plusieurs années.

sang la contrée rebelle. Les dirigeants voulaient faire un exemple qui impressionna vivement les Bahutu récalcitrants. Les assaillants se retirèrent en emmenant du butin et des esclaves.

Les vaincus gardèrent un mauvais souvenir de l'expédition et se vengèrent des Batsobe en incendiant leurs habitations lors de la révolte de Ndungutse, en qui ils voyaient un sauveur.

Les Bagoyi eurent leur tour à la même époque.

Ils avaient refusé de reconnaître le nouveau régime en rompant toute relation avec la capitale. Après le coup d'État de Ruchunchu, un partisan du roi déchu s'était enfui au Bugoyi. Il était le fils de Ntamati, s'appelait Sebakara et appartenait à la race hamite. Lwamigabo, chef du village de Gihinga, le reçut à son foyer et subit son influence. L'exilé engagea son hôte à se soustraire à l'obédience du prince illégitime qu'une révolution sanglante venait de mettre sur le trône : « Il viendra bientôt, ajoutait le témoin de la scène tragique, un nouveau roi qui portera le nom de Bilegeya. Attendez son avènement. » Le mouvement de protestation contre le régime s'étendit bientôt à travers le Bugoyi. Les indigènes ne fournirent plus d'impôt, ni de prestations. Les Bega vainqueurs se décidèrent à faire la guerre aux opposants. Deux corps d'armée envahirent le pays par le Nord et par le Sud-Est. Un Munyiginya, Serugi (fils de Bihutu et petit-fils de Nkusi) du village de Mpuski commandait le premier groupe.

Il quitta le Kingogo, mais ne put pénétrer dans le Bugoyi. Les Bahutu et les Batwa allèrent le surprendre à la sortie de la forêt et lui tuèrent une douzaine d'hommes. La panique éclata dans les rangs des envahisseurs qui rebroussèrent chemin, entraînant avec eux leur commandant.

Rwidegembya, avec ses guerriers connus sous le nom

symbolique de « Nkemba » (brigands de profession), vint par le Bgishaza, Kinunu et le Gishwati, en bordure du lac.

Il était guidé par des Bagoyi transfuges, les Bahigo qui étaient bien vus à la Cour, à cause de leur chef et parent, un autre Bihutu dont la réputation de sorcier était solidement établie à la Cour.

Pour ne pas être confondus avec les Bagoyi qu'on venait châtier, il avait été convenu que les membres du clan des Bahigo ne sortiraient pas de leurs villages sans un signe distinctif. Les troupes furent prévenues que les indigènes qui circuleraient dans le pays ou à travers le camp portant au cou une tige de la plante « umwishwa » et une marque de craie blanche sur le front ne seraient pas inquiétés.

Les soldats devaient respecter leurs personnes et leurs biens. Il y eut des malentendus et des méprises tragiques dont furent victimes des Bahigo isolés qui s'aventurèrent trop loin ou ne furent pas avertis à temps par leurs congénères.

Les guerriers s'avancèrent rapidement, ne rencontrant aucun obstacle. Les Bahutu, au lieu de s'entendre et de faire front commun contre l'armée du Sud-Est, fuyaient à toutes jambes et allaient se cacher. Beaucoup cherchèrent un refuge au Kibati, sur les pentes du volcan Nyiragongo et dans les grottes profondes du Rwerere. Ceux qui avaient des parents ou des amis dans la province voisine du Bgisha y attendirent en paix la fin de la tourmente. On égorgea sans pitié les infortunés qui furent surpris ou n'avaient pu se sauver à temps.

Les assaillants razzièrent la contrée et firent prisonniers les femmes et les enfants pour les vendre comme esclaves aux gens de l'Uswi. On cite des atrocités. Des malheureuses femmes sur le point de devenir mères tombèrent entre les mains du parti ennemi. Leur état n'inspira

aucune pitié aux brutes qui les transpercèrent de coups de lance : « Elles n'enfanteront désormais plus d'ennemis », s'écriaient en ricanant les bourreaux. Ce ne furent heureusement que des cas isolés.

Un Muhutu Semabenga, père de Sebikolera et chef du village de Rwankomo, n'avait rien à se reprocher. Il vint au-devant des agresseurs et voulut parlementer avec eux. Il fut tué sans avoir eu le temps de s'expliquer.

Rwidegembya agissait pour le compte de son parent et allié Bushako, gouverneur de la province du Bugoyi, et qui était resté auprès du roi.

On était en octobre ou novembre. Les haricots étaient en fleurs sur les rives du Kivu. Les envahisseurs détruisirent en partie ce qu'ils ne purent consommer.

Bushako, auquel appartenait le fief du Bugoyi, craignant qu'une trop grande dévastation ne nuisit à ses intérêts, intervint pour limiter le théâtre des opérations militaires et réussit ensuite à faire rappeler les troupes qui appauvrissaient le pays.

Cette invasion arrivait juste après une forte disette dont les Bagoyi avaient souffert. La pluie ayant fait défaut durant le dernier trimestre qui avait précédé l'arrivée des Nkemba, les semences ne levèrent pas. La récolte fut à peu près nulle. Les plus pauvres essayèrent en pure perte de manger les fibres desséchées des racines (impanda ou inkuri) de bananiers. La guerre qui suivit ne contribua pas à ramener l'aisance dans les foyers dévastés [1].

Les Bagoyi ont donné à cette famine le nom de Nyamabara, c'est-à-dire « la famine des plaques » (ou des couleurs) parce que, à la suite du manque de nourriture, la peau des misérables s'était desséchée et ratatinée, ce qui donnait à ces malheureux un aspect minable.

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[1] Ces deux événements sont restés, dans l'histoire locale du Bugoyi, des dates tragiques dont les anciens n'ont pas perdu le souvenir.

Le fléau de la faim avait, hélas! fait son apparition plus d'une fois dans la contrée. Dans leurs récits et dans leurs conversations les Bagoyi parlent encore de la famine dite de l'époque des Bagereka, de celle qui fut occasionnée par l'arrivée des sauterelles et d'une troisième qu'on appela fort improprement la disette des patates.

Le première (urwa Rugereka) est rattachée au souvenir d'un événement politique qui s'était déroulé dans une autre province du Rwanda. La légende qui a pris le nom des personnages (Abagereka) mis en cause bien que conservée par les bardes indigènes reste très obscure. On ignore le motif qui a dicté aux Bagoyi le choix de ce terme pour désigner une des calamités dont ils pâtirent.

La deuxième famine (urwa Ruzige) doit son nom à une invasion de criquets, comme l'indique le sens étymologique du terme employé.

La disette des patates fut ainsi désignée (urwa Kajumba) parce que les Bagoyi, à court de vivres, allèrent acheter des patates dans la province voisine du Kingogo qui, à ce moment-là, était abondamment pourvue de ces tubercules.

Une autre famine plus récente que celles dont on vient de parler éprouva les habitants de la région au commencement du règne de Lwabugiri (Kigeri IV). Des orages diluviens compromirent la récolte de sorgho. Les pauvres se trouvèrent réduits à manger une plante à tiges rampantes qu'ils faisaient cuire en guise d'épinards. Le nom de cette herbe ibigembegembe ou son diminutif akagembegembe sert à désigner cette triste époque.

L'imprévoyance des Noirs est proverbiale. Il n'est pas une province du Rwanda qui n'ait eu à souffrir une fois ou l'autre des atteintes et des affres de ce terrible fléau. Disettes ou famines ont reçu une appellation qui en indique la date ou les circonstances. On entend souvent parler de l' « époque du soleil » (ku kazuba), de la calamité qui a fait retirer de leur cachette les plus modestes

bouts de fer (akamanur'imbaba) et cela pour les échanger contre un peu de nourriture. Il est aussi question de la saison du « fil de fer » (urwa gakwege) ainsi nommée parce que les indigènes se serrèrent la ceinture à cette occasion.

La plus désastreuse des famines est sans contredit celle qui éclata lors de la grande guerre durant les tragiques années 1917 et 1918. Elle porte un surnom original qui demande une explication. Les askaris et les porteurs venant de l'intérieur du Congo n'entendaient en traversant le Bugoyi à cette triste époque, que les mots de chaparder, voler, piller, en runyarwanda « gusahura ». Dans leur ignorance de la langue ils crurent comprendre Sandruma. Le mot resta, il est devenu historique.

Le fléau de la faim fut directement provoqué par la conflagration européenne qui eut son contre-coup en Afrique et sur le Kivu. Des combats continuels eurent lieu au Bugoyi durant plus d'un an et demi, entre les troupes belges et allemandes. Il fallait des vivres pour nourrir tout ce monde qui se battait et mangeait. Les habitants livrèrent leurs semences; les derniers champs furent razziés. Les bananeries avaient été coupées pour supprimer les surprises et les embuscades. On devine ce qui s'ensuivit [1]. Les Bagoyi semèrent de leurs cadavres les sentiers qui conduisaient à la périphérie de leur province. Répugnant à quitter le sol natal et déjà affaiblis par de longs jeûnes, beaucoup tombèrent avant d'avoir pu atteindre les contrées voisines plus favorisées. Les survivants furent encore décimés par la variole et la cérébro-spinale. Avant que les secours pussent être organisés méthodiquement.

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[1] Les gens de la montagne avaient réussi à ensemencer leurs champs et comptaient sur une récolte suffisante. Ils furent impuissants à conserver le fruit de leurs sueurs et de leurs travaux. Les riches propriétaires de troupeaux résistèrent seuls à la tourmente et n'eurent pas à émigrer. Grâce à leurs champs de patates, les Bahigo purent aussi en grand nombre se river au sol du Bugoyi.

il disparut certainement plus d'un tiers de la population, qui, d'après certaines estimations, comptait environ 120,000 âmes avant la guerre. Huit ans après cette grande épreuve, on ne recensait pas plus de 65,000 habitants [1].

Au moment où l'arrivée de von Behring faisait sensation, comme autrefois celle du comte von Götzen, un petit groupe de révoltés belges pénétrait dans le Rwanda par le Nord-Ouest.

Ils étaient sous la conduite d'un sergent noir, surnommé « Kigufi », c'est-à-dire le Courtaud. Ils traversèrent le Mulera, le Bugoyi, le Budaha, penant de force tout ce dont ils avaient besoin et atteignirent le fleuve de la Kagera à l'Est, où ils livrèrent leurs armes à un officier allemand.

Le règne de Musinga fut encore témoin d'un événement qui faillit être la contre-partie du coup d'état de Ruchunchu. C'était en 1912.

Un prétendant nommé Ndungutse-Bilegeya [2] fit son apparition et se donna comme l'héritier légitime de la couronne.

D'où venait-il? Qui était-il au juste? Était-il fils de Rutalindwa ou de Lwabugiri?

On ne l'a jamais bien su. Le bruit a toutefois couru après coup qu'il ressemblait étrangement à un individu qui vivait dans la province du Gissaka et qu'on n'a plus revu depuis cette date. Parmi les partisans de la première heure, nul ne songea à lui demander ses titres. Il venait en Sauveur et en Libérateur. Cela suffisait amplement.

Une tradition en cours dans les pays du Nord annonçait la venue prochaine d'un libérateur qui aurait pour mis-

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(1) Les émigrés ne sont pas tous revenus. Il est difficile de savoir leur nombre.

(2) Une version en cours dans le Rwanda fait de Ndungutse un simple général chargé de mettre sur le trône Bilenga (un personnage que nous croyons fictif) donné comme fils d'une princesse du Ndorwa, Nyiragahumuza et de Kigeri IV Lwabugiri.

sion de ramener l'abondance et la paix. Ndungutse parut être le héros en question. L'âge d'or allait recommencer avec lui. Le prétendant sut habilement exploiter la situation et profiter des circonstances.

Les excès des Bega avaient, en effet, révolté les Banyarwanda. Les malheurs immérités de Rutalindwa étaient encore l'objet de plus d'une conversation secrète. Les nouveaux chefs installés par le parti vainqueur à la place des Banyiginya n'avaient songé qu'à s'enrichir du travail et des troupeaux de leurs administrés en prélevant bien au delà de la dîme.

Leur joug était abhorré, on le subissait à contre cœur.

L'arrivée de Ndungutse se répandit comme une traînée de poudre. On connut bientôt son programme. Des émissaires parcoururent le pays en son nom annonçant qu'il n'en voulait qu'aux Bega et aux Batsobe, qui avaient renversé Rutalindwa.

C'était pour le venger qu'il s'était levé. Quant aux Bahutu, ils pouvaient compter sur lui. Il supprimerait entre autres corvées, celles qui déplaisaient le plus aux Bahutu et qu'on désignait sous le nom de « ubuletwa ». Les promesses de tout ordre étaient nombreuses et alléchantes. En peu de temps le Nord fut gagné à sa cause.

Le vengeur des Banyiginya avait établi son camp et sa Cour, au delà du Kibali, à proximité du Buberuka et du Bukonya.

Les montagnards (Abakiga) lui firent une garde d'honneur, se constituèrent ses défenseurs et ses partisans. Un village se fonda auprès de lui. Le mouvement séditionnaire s'étendit bientôt dans les régions voisines.

Le Mulera, le Bukonya, le Kibali, le Buberuka, une partie du Bumbogo, les villages attachés aux flancs de la double chaîne de Luhanga et de Bussigi se donnèrent à Ndungutse. Les Bega et les Batsobe ne se sentant plus en sûreté partirent aussitôt, abandonnant leurs biens qui

furent pillés et leurs habitations auxquelles les révoltés mirent le feu : « Prenez leurs biens, mais respectez leur personne », tel était le mot d'ordre.

Dans le reste du pays on était à l'affût des événements et partout on faisait des vœux pour la prompte arrivée de Ndungutse. De grands chefs, lui envoyaient en cachette des cadeaux, pour se concilier ses bonnes grâces, dans le cas où il réussirait [1].

Les Batutsi jaloux de leur indépendance et voulant faire quelque chose par eux-mêmes, avaient cru tout d'abord pouvoir arriver à bout de la révolte.

Les différents chefs de province, suivis d'une longue queue de Bahutu apparurent un matin, suivant la chaîne du Luhanga. A cette vue, les Bakiga ou gens de la montagne, débouchèrent de toutes parts, armés de lances et de flèches et se groupèrent en masse faisant front à l'ennemi. Cette barrière vivante, faite de centaines de corps humains était à renverser si l'on voulait arriver jusqu'à Ndungutse. Quelques flèches furent tirées, mais les nobles jugeant la partie inégale prirent le parti de se retirer après avoir livré un semblant de bataille. La cause de Musinga était certainement perdue, si le gouvernement de la Colonie, pour éviter les désordres que ne pouvait

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[1] Tandis que la nouvelle du sauveur venu se répandait au loin et lui gagnait des adhérents, Ndungutse s'informait discrètement auprès des missions de l'attitude éventuelle que prendrait à son égard le gouvernement de la colonie. C'est au cours de ces pourparlers à distance avec la mission de Rwaza que le prétendant désireux de se concilier l'appui des Européens, arrêta Lukara (le meurtrier du regretté P. Loupias) qui s'était mis dès la première heure au service du libérateur. Confié à deux soldats noirs en patrouille, il fut livré aux autorités. Le procès suivit son cours ordinaire. L'assassin fut condamné à être pendu au milieu des siens. Arrivé au lieu du supplice, le monstre altéré de sang ne voulant pas mourir seul, saisit de ses deux mains liées par devant, la baïonnette du sergent indigène qui le précédait et plus rapide que l'éclair, la lui enfonça entre les deux épaules. Le bandit roula à terre, criblé de balles, après avoir encore tenté une fugue, une fois son crime commis.

manquer d'entraîner un nouveau changement de règne, ne se fût opposé à la marche du prétendant.

Il est un beau jour surpris et cerné dans son camp, à une heure assez matinale, par une troupe de soldats conduits, par M. Godovius, Résident intérimaire. Ayant fait mine de s'enfuir, le compétiteur fut tué d'une balle, presque à bout portant.

Le bruit courut plus tard que ce n'était pas le vrai Ndungutse qui avait été mis à mort, mais son sosie. D'autre part, les Anglais internèrent à Jinja, un individu qu'ils affirmaient être Ndungutse et qui mourut en 1918 (1).

Quelque temps après l'affaire du prétendant, M. Godovius réussit à faire la capture d'un brigand dont les agissements l'inquiétaient.

Nous avons nommé Basebya. Chef d'un parti de Batwa, l'homme de ce nom habitait dans le Buberuka au milieu d'un immense marais couvert de papyrus, dont ses hommes et lui connaissaient seuls les rares sentiers. De là, il rayonnait à sa guise sur les contrées avoisinantes qu'il rançonnait peu ou prou, en raison du besoin et qui finirent, de guerre lasse, par le reconnaître pour leur maître. Il n'est pas jusqu'au roi lui-même qui ne dût capituler devant son audace.

Dans une de ses excursions le fameux détrousseur avait enlevé le taureau sacré que le monarque du Rwanda avait fait mettre dans le bosquet de Kayenzi. Ce crime de lèse-majesté fut suivi d'une expédition dont l'effectif comprenait, dit-on, quelques milliers de Bahutu ayant à leur tête les plus grands chefs batsobe.

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(1) Le fameux Lukara, alors prisonnier, que l'on mit en présence du cadavre de Ndungutse, déclara sans hésiter que ce n'était pas là le corps du prétendant, mais un de ses suivants (umugaragu we). Ndungutse savait que les Européens n'étaient pas pour lui et faisait surveiller tous leurs mouvements. Avait-il été averti à temps ?

Basebya s'aperçut vite qu'il n'aurait pas le dessus dans une action en rase campagne. Aussi intelligent qu'audacieux, il établit son quartier général en plein marais dans un îlot, d'un accès difficile, sinon périlleux, pour une troupe armée. Les Batutsi présomptueux, ne pouvant se résigner à reculer devant un Mutwa, se mettent en devoir de s'avancer dans l'impasse suivis de leurs gens. Pour encourager le mouvement, Basebya et ses hommes qui se trouvaient en embuscade parmi les papyrus, aux abords de l'îlot, mirent le feu à quelques huttes dans le but de faire croire à la démoralisation des assiégés.

Ambitionnant l'honneur de la victoire, chacun des Batutsi, se précipite au lieu de l'incendie où criblés de flèches, ils succombent les uns après les autres. Les Bahutu restés seuls, voyant tomber leurs chefs, sans pourtant distinguer la main qui les abat, sont pris de panique et s'enfuient à toutes jambes. En un rien de temps la déroute était complète et le marais désert. Dès ce jour, le prestige de Basebya s'accrut à tel point qu'on le crut invincible et jamais Musinga n'osa, dans la suite, se mesurer avec lui. Bien plus, la résidence allemande elle-même, tenta vainement le siège de la place. L'habile Mutwa, qui comptait çà et là des amis secrets, passait entre les mailles et demeurait insaisissable. Au cours de l'affaire Ndungutse, le major Godovius eut à cœur d'en finir avec le bandit du Buberuka. Prévoyant que la force serait impuissante, il recourut à la ruse.

Il travestit en marchands deux de ses soldats et les confia à Rwubusisi, grand chef bien connu, parent de la reine-mère. Le rusé Mututsi, après de longs pourparlers à distance, obtint de Basebya qu'ils aient une entrevue en rase campagne, sous prétexte de lier amitié.

Le Mutwa accepta à condition que lui aurait toute sa suite et que le grand chef n'aurait que quelques hommes.

Pendant qu'il dégustait quelques lampées d'hydromel, offert par Rwubusisi, les soldats l'arrêtèrent, tandis que les

fusils mettaient en fuite la bande des suivants. Il fut conduit au major allemand, qui se souvenant de l'accident tragique qu'il avait eu à la pendaison de Lukara, le fit fusiller tout de suite.

Ainsi donc, Ndungutse, le rival hamite qui lui aurait en peu de temps ravi le trône, vaincu sans retour; Basebya, le bandit imprenable, qui arguait sa puissance, maintenant mort; les populations turbulentes redevenues calmes, voilà le fruit savoureux cueilli et présenté par les mêmes Blancs au teint fleuri, dont il rêvait de se débarrasser.

Musinga dut observer dans l'obscurité de sa hutte que si les « sauvages » d'Europe portaient ombrage à son orgueil, ils savaient, par contre, faire triompher avantageusement sa cause.

Pour être complet, il faut bien dire aussi que durant les premières années, les rapports de la Cour et des grands chefs Batutsi, avec les Blancs, bien que polis et courtois extérieurement, étaient loin d'être empreints de franchise et de cordialité. On ne voyait dans les Européens que des envahisseurs, des étrangers venus avec les plus noires intensions. Les grands du royaume, Rwidegembya, Kayondo, Lwubusisi, pour ne citer que les plus violents, parlaient d'en finir une fois pour toutes avec ces sauvages d'Europe.

Ils ne les désignaient que par des surnoms ou des insultes grossières et méprisantes dans leur pensée [1]. La prise de possession du Rwanda par les Allemands, qui, en 1908, fixaient leur résidence à Kigali, blessa le sentiment national.

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[1] « Ibituku », Les Rouges (pris dans un sens méprisant à cause de la couleur empourprée de leur figure); « Ibisimba », les bêtes sauvages; « Ibimara » les monstres par suite de la blancheur de leur corps qui les rendait semblables aux nouveaux-nés »; les mangeurs de poule et d'œufs, etc. Les Banyarwanda n'avaient pas de termes assez vils pour désigner cette race, à laquelle ils se croyaient alors dans leur orgueil, bien supérieurs.

Les Batutsi, qui se croyaient encore indépendants, conçurent un vif déplaisir de cette occupation effective. Ils prévirent que tôt ou tard le gouvernement du royaume leur échapperait.

Plusieurs conseils furent tenus à cet effet. Les plus influents étaient d'avis qu'il fallait se défaire au plus tôt de ces hommes étrangers. Il ne fallut rien moins que la froide sagesse de l'oncle du roi, Kabale, pour empêcher un malheur toujours possible à cette époque de transition.

« C'est entendu, disait-il aux plus écervelés, vous pourrez peut-être tirer quelques Blancs : admettons par impossible que vous les massacriez tous. Il en viendra aussitôt une multitude d'autres pour les venger. Et alors ce sera notre tour.

» Le roi perdra son trône (ingoma) et nous, le gouvernement de nos collines, si tant est qu'on nous laisse la vie. »

Le conseil du sage prévalut. Kabale, ce jour-là, avait bien mérité de sa patrie. Les Hamites durent se féliciter de s'être rangés à cet avis lorsque, en 1916, ils virent défiler successivement les troupes allemandes et les effectifs belges, en nombre pour eux incalculable, armés de fusils, de mitrailleuses et de canons.

Ne pouvant s'en prendre directement aux Blancs, les courtisans essayèrent de se venger sur ceux qui passaient pour leur être favorables. Chyitatire, demi-frère du roi, donc un Munyiginya, ne put jamais se faire pardonner ses accointances avec les Blancs [1].

Sherangabo, un autre frère consanguin du prince régnant, fut choisi comme bouc émissaire. Il avait servi de guide au Comte von Götzen et avait conduit la caravane à travers le pays, jusqu'à Kageyo, à la résidence de Lwabugiri-Kigeri. On le lui reprocha comme un crime sa vie durant. Il appartenait de plus au clan des Banyi-

[1] Chyitatire est mort foudroyé au début de 1927. Son frère Sherangabo l'a suivi de près dans la tombe.

ginya. Il faillit être tué plusieurs fois. Peut-être est-ce en sa qualité de roi des « imandwa » qu'il a échappé à la mort violente. Les gens bien renseignés assurent que toutes les fois qu'à la Cour on consulta les entrailles des poulets, pour savoir si sa condamnation ne serait pas une source de malheurs pour le Rwanda, la chance tourna en sa faveur. Les augures étaient-ils gagnés à sa cause? La supposition est plausible.

Par contre, on n'eut jamais assez de mépris pour lui. Retenu à la capitale, il ne pouvait s'approcher du roi et se mêler aux grands chefs, maintenu à distance comme un paria.

Si le roi laissait ainsi traiter ses plus proches parents, parce que « Banyiginya » et amis des Blancs, on devine le sort des autres. Ce n'est pas ici le cas de traiter tout au long la fameuse « question des Bega et des Banyiginya », dont on a pu, du reste, se faire une idée, après ce qui a été dit précédemment. On ne parle que des contre-coups qu'eurent dans le pays l'arrivée des Blancs et de la haine qui leur fut aussitôt vouée.

Kayijuka, un grand chef Munyiginya auquel on avait confié, après la mort de Muhigirwa, le gouvernement de la province de Nyaruguru, devint suspect pour avoir entretenu des relations avec les Européens nouvellement venus et si franchement détestés, et aussi pour n'avoir pas réussi à en débarrasser le pays. Il avait reçu l'ordre de les empoisonner ou de les ensorceler, ce qui n'était pas chose facile.

Inutile d'ajouter qu'il y perdit sa peine et son temps, malgré la bonne volonté qu'il y apporta [1].

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[1] Kayijuka avait sur l'ordre de la capitale fait tuer dans son district une trentaine de gens, coupables d'avoir été les amis de Muhigirwa, ce qui lui valut de terribles inimitiés. On lui prêtait encore des cruautés inutiles. Dès lors, il ne cessa d'être accusé auprès du roi et de la reine-mère.

Sentant son crédit faiblir et craignant pour ses jours il s'enfuit tout d'abord à l'Urundi. Après un court séjour, la confiance et le courage lui revinrent. Il rentra dans sa province croyant pouvoir se disculper des calomnies dont il était l'objet. Mal lui en prit.

Il est un jour mandé en grande hâte à la capitale, pour une affaire importante, lui fait-on dire. Il se laisse introduire sans aucune défiance chez la reine-mère qui, après les salutations d'usage, l'engage à quitter son vêtement d'étoffe et lui remet un habit de cérémonie (umukane) de Musinga, comme pour l'honorer. Ces sortes de costumes faits de peaux de colobe finement découpés étaient très estimés.

On s'en servait pour les réjouissances et les autres grandes circonstances de la vie. Dérisoire était cette marque de considération. La reine-mère n'avait qu'un but en agissant ainsi, celui de faire ressortir davantage la grandeur de la chute de l'ex-favori.

« Tu m'as montrée aux Blancs! » (ko wanyerets' Abazungu), tel fut le motif spécieux dont usa Nyirayuhi pour lui dicter sa condamnation. Tout avait été concerté à l'avance. Les sbires se jettent sur l'infortuné, le ligotent et l'emmènent hors du palais. On lui fait parcourir la distance de six à sept cent mètres sur un sentier qui descend vers le bas de la colline, cependant qu'on entendait les soufflets de forge... Nturo, un des grands chefs et son plus cruel ennemi, lui crie : « Ces collines et tout ce qu'elles contiennent, regarde-les bien; c'est pour la dernière fois que tu les vois, tu ne pourras plus désormais les embrasser du regard. » (Imisozi n' ibi bintu ubitekereze, uherukiyeho kulola, nta bundi uzongera kubona). Le cortège tragique pénètre dans une enceinte. Des forgerons étaient installés en plein air à un foyer, faisant rougir au feu deux gros clous indigènes, au bruit de trois ou quatre soufflets qui activaient le brasier. Le condamné est étendu sur le dos et des mains inhumaines le prennent à la gorge, comme pour l'étrangler, car il faut que les yeux sortent de leur orbite. L'un des clous chauffés à blanc est enfoncé en plein dans la pupille du malheureux qui hurle sa souffrance sous les regards impassibles des spectateurs. Le deuxième clou ne tarda pas à être appliqué

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sur l'autre œil qui se fondit bientôt sous l'ardente brûlure... L'infortuné, laissé à lui seul, poussait de longs gémissements en couvrant de ses mains sa pauvre face endolorie, quand il s'entend interpeller par Kabeja, un autre de ses ennemis : « Qu'est-ce qu'on t'a donc fait, Kayijuka? » — « Comment c'est toi, Kabeja, je suis mort... » (ndapfuye), répond l'autre qui n'ose mettre personne en cause et se contente de dire son tourment.

« Est-ce possible, s'écrie méchamment l'interlocuteur, tu vois encore? » Il court aussitôt faire part à Nyirayuhi de sa découverte : « Il m'a reconnu et il m'a appelé par mon nom ».

Un messager est dépêché en hâte vers les forgerons. La terrible opération fut recommencée, on y apporta la même cruauté.

Mais les bourreaux promenèrent longuement le fer rouge dans ce qui restait de l'orbite des deux yeux... Aveuglé pour la vie, le malheureux fut ensuite délié et congédié. Il avait perdu ses biens avec la vue. Kayijuka appartenait à une famille qui jouait de malheur. Nyantaba, son père, on l'a déjà vu, avait été tué sur les ordres de Lwabugiri.

Un de ses frères consanguins, Kampayana et un de ses beaux-frères Nyakatana, soupçonnés de n'être pas assez chauds partisans du nouveau roi Musinga, avaient été égorgés sur l'instigation de Kabale et de Nyirayuhi. Le proverbe qui dit que « le malheur était entré dans la maison » ne se trouvait que trop justifié pour les membres de cette famille [1].

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[1] Le drame dont Kayijuka devint la victime eut lieu en 1906, durant le mois lunaire dit de Werurgwe (fin d'avril ou commencement de mai).

Le malheureux fait partie du clan des Banyiginya et compte parmi ses ancêtres le roi Yuhi-Mazimpaka, le monarque connu par la célèbre prophétie de la « barque aérienne ». Avant l'arrivée des Européens, les Batutsi étaient sans pitié les uns pour les autres. Le talion régnait en maître.

La rémission n'entrait pas dans leurs mœurs.

La fortune changeant et le sort aidant, les représailles devenaient atroces.

Après ce qui a été dit sur le règne de Lwabugiri et de ses deux successeurs jusqu'à la pénétration européenne, il est facile de constater que les mœurs du pays et de la cour ont été sensiblement les mêmes, depuis Ruganzu II Ndori, le Conquérant, jusqu'à l'avènement de Yuhi-Musinga.

A ce point de vue-là il n'y a eu entre eux de différence, que la longueur des années. Les temps ont heureusement changé, on peut même dire que la transformation a été soudaine et subite, et de tout ce passé cruel, il ne restera bientôt plus qu'un lointain souvenir [1].

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[1] Le vice-gouverneur, plein de commisération à l'égard de l'infortuné Kayijuka, lui confia à la fin de l'année 1927 l'administration de la colline de Gihindamuyaga sur le territoire de laquelle l'aveugle habitait. Il n'avait pas encore atteint la cinquantaine à cette époque.

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LIVRE TROISIEME

Le règne de Ruganzu II, le plus connu des rois du Rwanda.

(SON CURRICULUM VITÆ.)

Avant-propos. Popularité de Ruganzu; raisons qui l'expliquent. Etymologie de son nom devenu légendaire.

CHAPITRE I.

Evénements qui se rapportent à la naissance de Ruganzu et à la mort de son père.

CHAPITRE II.

Accession de Ruganzu au trône. Multiples péripéties dans lesquelles il se trouve engagé.

CHAPITRE III.

Ruganzu guerrier. Ses hauts faits. Eclat de son règne. Succès de ses nombreuses expéditions. Ses promenades militaires. Aspects différents de la conduite du prince vis-à-vis de ses rivaux et de ses voisins.

CHAPITRE IV.

Ruganzu guerrier. Ses hauts faits. Aspects différents de la conduite du prince vis-à-vis de ses rivaux et de ses voisins (suite).

CHAPITRE V.

Ruganzu et l'agriculture. Plantes, pierres, rochers, arbres, etc. auxquels est attaché le nom du prince. La mort du dompteur des rois. Conclusion. Importance du rôle de Ruganzu et fondation du royaume hamite sur les ruines des principautés autochtones.

APPENDICE.

Tableaux généalogiques des roitelets auxquels eut affaire Ruganzu.

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AVANT-PROPOS

Popularité de Ruganzu; raisons qui l'expliquent; étymologie de son nom devenu légendaire.

Pour décrire la vie de celui qui fut le grand Ruganzu, nous devons faire appel à la « littérature » orale, dont la personne, les faits et gestes de ce roi hamite ont fait les frais.

Qu'on veuille bien toutefois ne pas croire à un hors-d'œuvre ou à un bric-à-brac. Les traditions, récits et légendes dans lesquels nous allons puiser largement sont suffisamment clairs pour que le lecteur puisse lire à travers les lignes.

La conclusion générale qui se dégage des chroniques indigènes et des chansons de gestes dont ce monarque a été le héros, peut se résumer en quelques mots.

Ruganzu II Ndori paraît être, de tous les rois connus, celui qui a contribué le plus à l'unification du royaume actuel du Rwanda. Avant son arrivée au trône, le pays comptait nombre de petits royaumes ou principautés minuscules gouvernés les uns par des Bahutu (de la race des Bantu), les autres par des Hamites (ou Batutsi).

Ces derniers, qui s'étaient infiltrés dans le pays, — à une époque inconnue, — réussissaient à se substituer peu à peu aux princes Bahutu, qui, eux aussi, à leur tour, avaient peut-être, à une date reculée de l'histoire, vaincu et refoulé dans la forêt les Batwa ou Négrilles, autochtones présumés de la contrée.

Les ancêtres de Ruganzu semblent déjà avoir joué un certain rôle parmi leurs compatriotes, les autres Hamites.

Il est probable qu'ils avaient attiré l'attention sur eux par quelques faits d'éclat, comme Kigeri et son fils Mutabazi-Mibambge qui refoulèrent les Banyoro et vainquirent ensuite Mashira le roi-sorcier qui leur portait ombrage. Leurs possessions comprenaient déjà le Buganza, le Buliza, le Bgana-Chambge, le Bumbogo, etc.

Ruganzu, tout en trouvant à son avènement la situation fort compromise, on ne sait au juste pour quel motif réussit bientôt à rétablir et à consolider le trône de ses ancêtres.

Ses goûts belliqueux et son esprit d'aventure l'entraînèrent plus loin. Il eut vite fait de se débarrasser de ceux qu'il considérait comme des intrus, des rivaux ou des ennemis.

Ses successeurs n'eurent qu'à compléter son œuvre. Ruganzu « le Victorieux » avait largement ouvert la voie à l'unification du Rwanda.

La seule province de son royaume que Ruganzu ne visita point est le Bgisha. Ses contemporains et ses successeurs trouvèrent la chose tellement étonnante, de la part du roi conquérant, qu'ils donnèrent à cette région le nom de Gisigari (gusigara, rester), c'est-à-dire le pays qui n'a pas été parcouru par le monarque [1].

Le potentat africain dont nous tentons de retracer la carrière est le vingt-sixième de la dynastie royale qui

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[1] Kigeri IV dit Lwabugiri répara cette omission et fit plusieurs séjours dans cette contrée située à la limite Nord-Ouest du Rwanda.

Le village de Kayenzi possède une de ses anciennes résidences (ikigabiro).

Le district de Jomba, qui touche au Bgisha par sa limite Nord-Est, en compte deux autres, Mabungo et Muganza. Quand Lwabugiri se rendit pour la première fois au lac Albert, il traversa le Bgisha et la Rutchuru.

Nyamuraga, le roi de Bwito, pour vivre en paix avec le belliqueux voisin qui passait sur ses terres, fit acte de vassalité en lui envoyant de nombreux cadeaux. On assure que les deux princes se lièrent par le pacte du sang. Bwito était un petit royaume « muhunde ». Le possesseur actuel du tambour (trône) s'appelle Kamori et appartient au clan des Bahogo qui détiennent le pouvoir depuis un temps immémorial.

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compte 36 titulaires, s'il faut en croire le clan des Bachurabgenge. Ruganzu-Ndori, car il porte au moins deux noms, nom de règne et nom de famille, comme les autres, est bien le roi le plus populaire. Ses exploits ont été transformés en chansons de gestes et se trouvent sur toutes les lèvres. Le court aperçu qui en est donné dans les pages qui suivent permettra de se rendre compte des faits que les Banyarwanda prêtent à leurs souverains, surtout quand il s'agit d'un monarque aussi célèbre que celui-là. On verra jusqu'à quel point peut aller l'imagination féconde des Noirs.

Leurs grands hommes ne sont rien moins que des êtres extraordinaires devant qui fléchissent les forces de la nature. Ce sont des héros d'épopées dont les actes, depuis le berceau jusqu'à la tombe, sont marqués au coin du merveilleux. Pour honorer et chanter leurs princes hamites les Banyarwanda ont dramatisé les actions les plus communes et les moins dignes d'admiration en se servant des embellissements du langage et des figures de rhétorique.

Le grandiose et le tragique de leurs preux se coudoient presque à chaque pas dans la vie, comme dans les romans épiques que nous a laissés le Moyen Age.

Le roi Ruganzu n'est devenu si célèbre que parce que c'était un vrai guerrier. Il eut affaire à beaucoup d'ennemis et courut de grands dangers.

Grâce à son courage qu'accompagnait une grande habileté, il sut se tirer des plus mauvais pas.

D'après la tradition et la légende, sa vie s'est passée dans des luttes homériques, d'où ne sont malheureusement pas exclues la trahison, la perfidie et la cruauté, comme on peut en juger d'après ses faits d'armes, malgré la bravoure qui y est déployée de-ci de-là. Évidemment les Noirs n'y voient pas autre chose que de la grandeur héroïque.

Le pardon des injures et tout ce qui peut ressembler aux

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vertus de l'Évangile, y est presque inconnu. Faire œuvre de pitié ou de miséricorde vis-à-vis d'un vaincu, d'un rival, d'un ennemi, passerait pour une marque de faiblesse, chez ces âmes frustes qui sont loin d'avoir la bonté native que leur prêtent quelques utopistes.

Dans les différents épisodes guerriers qu'ils attribuent à leurs princes les Banyarwanda se servent de l'hyperbole pour vanter l'emploi de la force et de la violence.

Les peuples jeunes et primitifs comme les enfants ont besoin d'un pouvoir fort, absolu, d'une sorte de tutelle qui serait abusive à l'égard d'hommes ayant atteint leur majorité et leur maturité d'esprit par la civilisation.

Aussi ce serait une grande erreur de juger les Hamites et leurs sujets d'après nos sentiments et nos idées ainsi que de vouloir évaluer leurs passions et leur activité à la mesure de notre expérience et de notre modération.

Le nom de Ruganzu est de plus resté attaché à nombre de découvertes. C'est lui qui aurait le premier doté les indigènes de ce qu'ils ont de mieux en fait de plantes nourricières, de troupeaux et d'armes. Bananiers, haricots, petits pois, patates passent pour avoir été introduits par lui dans le Rwanda, ainsi que les vaches, les chèvres et les moutons. Il aurait enseigné le premier la façon de faire la bière, de bâtir les maisons et de fondre le minerai qu'il avait découvert. Bref, il n'est rien que les Banyarwanda ne lui doivent, tant il est devenu populaire. L'influence de ce prince s'est étendue dans tous les domaines de l'activité humaine, s'il faut en croire, les Banyarwanda. En parlant de Ruganzu et de son époque, ses admirateurs semblent faire allusion à une sorte d'âge d'or, où l'on vivait heureux, libre de toute corvée et surtout de l'impôt si détesté dit « de la terre » (ubuletwa, ubutaka). La vie s'écoulait alors, disent les vieux, comme avec une pointe d'envie et de regret, dans l'abondance des biens matériels.

Ses victoires ont valu à notre héros le glorieux titre de

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Ruganzu. Ce dernier nom vient du verbe « guganza » terrasser, dont le sens est plus fort que celui des deux autres termes analogues « kunesha » qui signifie surpasser et « gutsinda » vaincre.

De ce verbe kuganza, les Noirs ont tiré le substantif Ruganzu, c'est-à-dire le vainqueur absolu, le vainqueur par excellence, pour rappeler ses prouesses. Chacune des découvertes et des expéditions auxquelles la tradition a attaché son souvenir a donné lieu à une infinité de récits qui ont cours dans le pays et sont extrêmement appréciés du peuple. On pourra juger par ce qui va suivre, de l'originalité et de l'abondance de la littérature orale des Banyarwanda. Les exploits de Ruganzu n'en forment pas une des pages les moins importantes.

Les récits populaires révèlent l'âme, le sentiment d'une nation. Nous les donnerons tels qu'on les surprend sur les lèvres des conteurs en laissant au lecteur le soin de relever les répétitions oiseuses, les naïvetés, les absurdités et les anachronismes. Rares sont les chansons de gestes qui échappent à ces défauts. On ne s'étonnera pas de constater que chez les Hamites et les Bantu de l'Afrique centrale, il s'en rencontre de semblables.

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CHAPITRE PREMIER

Evénements qui se rapportent à la naissance de Ruganzu et à la mort de son père.

I. — Naissance de Ruganzu et événements qui suivent son entrée dans la vie. Naissance de Ruganzu.

Ndahiro, le roi du Rwanda, rapporte la légende, avait bien une femme, du nom de Kabuchi. Mais jusque-là ils n'avaient enfanté que des Batutsi, c'est-à-dire des enfants ordinaires. Parmi eux il ne se trouvait point d'héritier du trône [1]. La reine craignant d'être délaissée, réussit à faire accepter à son mari le pacte du sang (kunywana), voulant par là consolider si possible l'union conjugale. Quelque temps après cet engagement, les chasseurs de Ndahiro aperçurent dans la forêt un être fantastique qui s'enfuyait dans la direction d'un lac.

S'étant mis à sa poursuite, ils purent l'approcher d'assez près et lui reconnurent une apparence humaine. A son aspect qu'ils jugeaient terrifiant, ils prirent peur et revinrent sur leurs pas. « Nous avons vu, dirent-ils à Ndahiro, un homme d'une taille démesurée dont le visage était effrayant. » — « C'est bien, reprit le roi, nous irons ensemble à sa recherche, pour savoir à qui nous avons affaire. » Dès le lendemain ils se mirent en route et cernè-

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[1] Au lieu de dire simplement que la reine ne plaisait plus à son mari et que celui-ci s'était épris d'une jeune fille dont la jeunesse et les charmes avaient rendu le prince amoureux, les chroniqueurs se servent de métaphores et de longues périphrases, pour expliquer le changement survenu dans le cœur du roi. Le lecteur averti rencontrera plus d'un trait de ce genre.

rent le fourré où cet étrange personnage avait été rencontré. Ndahiro le saisit à bras-le-corps.

« Que fais-tu donc ici? » — « Et toi, répond le géant, que me veux-tu? » — « Ce pays-là m'appartient », dit le prince et il essaie d'entraîner avec lui le colosse à face hirsute. « Écoute, reprend le prisonnier, je m'appelle Nyangara et je suis devin-sorcier. Je sais que tu es le roi du Rwanda, que le palais que tu habites, n'a point d'héritier et ne peut en avoir... » — « Que veux-tu dire et en quoi cela te regarde-t-il? » — « Calme-toi, dit Nyangara, fais-moi un cadeau et je me charge de trouver une épouse qui te donnera le successeur que tu désires si vivement. » — « C'est entendu, je consens à ce que tu me demandes. » — « Eh bien! pour commencer, ramène-moi à l'endroit où tu m'as arrêté. » Ndahiro ne se fait pas prier, il le reconduit et lui fait présent d'une vache grasse.

Le sorcier qui était d'une force extraordinaire la déchire de ses mains, s'empare successivement des jambes de la bête et les engloutit l'une après l'autre.

Le repas pantagruélique terminé, il ne resta bientôt plus rien de la bête, au grand étonnement des spectateurs qui n'avaient jamais assisté à une scène pareille. « Je m'en vais », s'écria le géant. « Tu reviendras, n'est-ce pas? » — « Ne crains rien, nous nous reverrons... »

Pendant que le monarque s'éloigne avec sa suite, Nyangara plonge dans l'étang qui était son chemin préféré. Par cette route sous-lacustre il arriva et prit pied sur une île retirée qu'habitait un certain Bitebo. « D'où viens-tu, ô homme? s'écria Bitebo étonné. » — « Je viens de la capitale, lui répond le sorcier et j'ai un message pour toi. » — « Comment cela se fait-il, nous n'avons aucune relation avec le roi et personne jusqu'ici n'a foulé notre sol. Approche quand même et dis-nous ce qui t'a conduit en ce lieu. » Nyangara entre dans la case du maître de céans et demande à boire.

On lui apporte de la bière. Tout en la dégustant il

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demande à son interlocuteur si toutes les vaches qui paissent dans les environs sont à lui. « Elles m'appartiennent, répond Bitebo. » — « N'aurais-tu pas aussi, reprend le sorcier, une fille nubile et un de tes proches pour la conduire en voyage? Dis-leur de venir se présenter aussitôt, je veux leur faire connaître la teneur du message royal. » — « Et si je refuse, pourrais-tu m'y obliger? » — « Je t'y contraindrai », reprend Nyangara, avec un froncement de sourcil et un éclat dans la voix.

Bitebo comprend qu'avec un sorcier aux formes herculéennes comme celui qu'il a sous les yeux, il ne lui reste qu'à obéir, appelle aussitôt sa fille, l'oncle de celle-ci et les domestiques qui doivent les accompagner. On rassemble les troupeaux qui doivent être présentés au prince en même temps que l'épousée. Le colosse fait quelques pas, pénètre dans la bananerie, détache une poignée d'écorces et fabrique un gigantesque coussinet (ingata) qu'il se met sur la tête. Il se charge aussitôt de la hutte dans laquelle se trouve la future reine. Bêtes et gens sont rangés tout autour, les uns à côté des autres. Rien n'est oublié, de ce qu'il faut pour la route, cruches de bière et paniers de provision. Notre hercule, ainsi chargé, reprend le chemin du retour, plonge sous les eaux avec toute la cargaison qui dépasse le niveau des eaux et reprend pied sur le royaume du Rwanda.

Quand les gens de la capitale aperçurent de loin cette masse informe aux dimensions démesurées qui s'avançait peu à peu : « Qu'est-ce donc que cela, s'écrièrent-ils stupéfaits. On dirait que cette chose monstrueuse est sortie du lac... » Leurs prunelles se dilataient. L'aspect et l'approche de ce phénomène avaient fait naître dans leurs cœurs une angoisse indicible. On se demandait ce qui allait arriver, quant tout à coup la voix du sorcier se fit entendre : « Dites au roi que je suis de retour ». Ndahiro se présente à l'instant. « Voici, lui dit Nyangara, l'épouse qui te donnera le fils qui doit te succéder. »

Les noces furent aussitôt célébrées au milieu des acclamations enthousiastes. On fit fête à la nouvelle mariée et le vieux monarque se réjouit à la pensée que le trône ne resterait pas vacant après sa mort. Il récompensa généreusement le sorcier. On lui offrit autant de vaches qu'il pût en emmener.

Une seule pensée contristait Ndahiro. Ayant trouvé l'épouse de ses vœux, il se demandait comment il pourrait congédier la vieille reine à laquelle il s'était engagé imprudemment par le pacte de sang. Il s'entendit avec un de ses frères en vue de lui dresser un piège.

La malheureuse fut séduite.

Le jour même de sa chute, Ndahiro se trouva à point nommé devant l'habitation du tentateur : « Avec qui causes-tu? », s'écria-t-il. « Tu n'es pas seul. Qui est-ce qui se trouve avec toi? »

Et en même temps, sans plus de gêne, il prononce le nom de sa femme.

Elle avoue sa culpabilité. « Je ne te ferai pas de mal, reprit le roi, je te laisserai la vie sauve, mais désormais nous ne pouvons plus reprendre la vie commune, tu le comprends bien. Retire-toi dans le pays que je vais te désigner; tu pourras y vivre à l'aise avec tes enfants. » Ndahiro réussit ainsi à se débarrasser de Kabuchi.

Quelque temps après, sa jeune femme mettait au monde celui auquel ses contemporains devaient bientôt donner le nom de Ruganzu, c'est-à-dire le Victorieux.

Légende de Kibogo, un autre fils de Ndahiro. Cessation d'une sécheresse.

Les chroniqueurs rattachent à l'époque heureuse du règne de Ndahiro l'événement suivant.

Une grande sécheresse, racontent-ils, s'était abattue sur le pays, amenant avec elle la famine.

Ndahiro était en même temps affligé d'une grave

infirmité; un de ses yeux sortant de son orbite le faisait horriblement souffrir.

Nombreux furent les sacrifices qu'il offrit. Les « esprits » de ses aïeux restaient insensibles ou impuissants. Les sorciers et les devins du pays furent consultés. Les aruspices firent des hécatombes de jeunes poussins. Le roi ne cessait d'être tourmenté par son mal et la famine faisait des victimes.

On dut recourir aux services d'un sorcier étranger de très grand renom. Le résultat de la consultation fut que le roi devait sacrifier Kibogo, son fils, réclamé par les « esprits » (imana z'Urwanda), comme victime de substitution (inchungu) en faveur du pays. La rançon était dure. Le monarque se résigna et Kibogo apprenant la condition du salut public, accepta sans hésiter. Le devin expliqua comment celui-ci devait sauver le royaume.

Dès le lendemain, Kibogo revêtit ses plus beaux habits et s'arma de sa lance et de ses flèches.

Sa femme et ses fils l'accompagnaient.

Les serviteurs suivaient portant sur leurs têtes ce qui est nécessaire à un long voyage.

Les troupeaux de Kibogo, ajoutent quelques autres, faisaient partie du cortège. On se rendit sur une petite montagne, située non loin de Gasseke, désignée aujourd'hui sous le nom de Akakabogo (celle de Kibogo). Arrivés au sommet, Kibogo et sa suite s'assirent un instant sur le gazon comme dans l'attente d'un dénouement.

Survint une nuée qui les enveloppa tous et les emporta au séjour des dieux. Aussitôt le ciel apaisé versa sur la terre une pluie abondante et rendit au Rwanda sa prospérité d'antan.

Les bananiers reverdirent et donnèrent de beaux régimes; patates, courges, sorgho, éleusine, tout se mit à pousser. Les vaches vêlèrent, les chèvres et les brebis se

multiplièrent, etc. [1]. Ndahiro lui-même fut complètement délivré de son infirmité. Bref, grâce à Kibogo, le pays fut sauvé.

II. — Épisode de l'esclave Nyiransibura.

Pendant que le vieux monarque, continue la légende, se réjouissait de la naissance de son fils il se passa à la Cour un fait insignifiant, semblait-il, qui cependant eut son contre-coup sur le Rwanda et remplit de chagrin les derniers jours du roi. C'était l'annonce et le prélude des malheurs qui allaient fondre sur le pays, pour une longue période.

Origine de l'esclave et l'incongruité qu'elle se permet.

Dans une de ses campagnes au Sud-Ouest du Rwanda le roi Ndahiro avait fait une captive du nom de Nyiransibura, « celle qui débouche », c'est-à-dire la mère de l'inondation.

Par son origine elle appartenait à la nation des Sauvages (Abashi) du Bunyabungu et on la disait fille d'un certain Muriro (le feu).

Elle avait été attachée au service de la maison royale et son principal emploi était d'entretenir la propreté dans les divers appartements.

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[1] Nombreux sont les récits de ce genre qui se terminent par cette finale habituelle.

Cette légende a cours dans tout le Rwanda. Kibogo est rangé dans la catégorie des Libérateurs (Abatabazi). Il a été emporté au ciel par un nuage ou par la foudre elle-même. Les détails varient selon les provinces, mais les conteurs s'accordent sur le fond du récit. Dans le Bwana-Mkali les indigènes ajoutent qu'au moment où Kibogo fut enlevé dans le ciel, il pressait contre lui (guhagatira) un mouton. Pour commémorer le souvenir de cet événement, les initiés à la société secrète, dans quelques districts du Rwanda, offrent à ce personnage, durant leurs cérémonies, une petite cruche de bière. Sa femme n'est pas oubliée; on offre des bananes à celle qui en joue le rôle.

Dans les légendes hamites on ne retrouve pas seulement des détails à allure biblique, on y rencontre aussi des réminiscences chrétiennes.

Un jour que Ndahiro avait réuni les grands de la Cour pour traiter des affaires du royaume, on entendit soudain un bruit... malséant. Nyiransibura était occupée à balayer la cour, à proximité de la case où s'étaient réunis les conseillers du roi. L'esclave s'était oubliée et avait livré passage un peu trop bruyamment à un gaz incommodant, agissant en cela « comme le font les gens de son pays », ajoutent les conteurs.

Une minute après, l'air ambiant ne laissait aucun doute sur la provenance du fluide. Scandale sans pareil. Il y eut une minute d'ahurissement.

« Cette forfaiture ne peut rester impunie, s'écria Kavuna (Le Victorieux), un des fils que le roi avait gardé auprès de lui. » « Il y va du salut de l'État », ajoute un autre. « Elle mérite la mort », clame l'assistance. « Non », reprend Mpande, fils de Rusanga, dont le nom signifie « Côte de Bœuf » [1] et qui jouait le rôle de sorcier à la

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[1] Mpande de Lusanga a toute une histoire. Les circonstances qui ont entouré sa naissance ont été conservées. Elles sont de celles qui se gravent facilement dans les mémoires. Nous résumons les faits. C'était pendant une famine. Une femme mourant de faim pénétra, de nuit, dans la cour d'un riche propriétaire. Elle alla droit au grenier à sorgho (ikigega) pour s'y approvisionner largement. Prise au même moment des douleurs de l'enfantement, elle mit au monde un enfant mâle que dans sa frayeur elle laissa sur place.

Quelle ne fut pas l'étonnement et la stupéfaction des habitants de la case quand ils aperçurent, le lendemain matin, au milieu de la cour, un enfant vagissant que le taureau (rusanga) du troupeau léchait doucement... Ils ne s'expliquèrent pas comment le fait avait pu se produire.

Pour ne pas être les victimes du sort, ils allèrent trouver le roi qu'on croit être Ndahiro, le vingt-cinquième de la dynastie et le père du fameux Ruganzu. Ils lui racontèrent tout au long l'événement.

Ils sont probablement le jouet des puissances occultes. Un malheur ne tardera pas à les frapper. Que faut-il faire ? N'est-il pas expédient de tuer l'enfant au plus vite ?

... Le roi après avoir consulté les devins de son entourage s'y opposa. Il faut laisser vivre le nouveau-né; il est destiné à devenir un grand devin et un puissant sorcier.

L'enfant fut élevé par le propriétaire de la maison. On l'appela Côte de Bœuf (Mpande ya Rusanga) en raison des circonstances curieuses qui avaient présidé à sa naissance.

Il devait devenir célèbre plus tard. Il fut choisi comme conseiller et

Cour. « Écoutez-moi ». Le tumulte était tel qu'on n'entendait que des cris de mort. « Elle a interrompu notre Conseil, elle nous a ensorcelés et elle a ensorcelé le pays. Elle sera la cause de la ruine du royaume, il faut la tuer, pour faire disparaître les mauvais germes dans l'œuf. » « Taisez-vous », répond le roi, « voyons les moyens que propose notre ami Rusanga ».

L'esclave est congédiée, mais on la confie à un homme sûr qui doit remplir une mission secrète.

« Pour prévenir les malheurs présagés par cette conduite inqualifiable », ajoute l'interpellé, « il faut la congédier et la renvoyer dans son pays. Un homme sûr doit l'accompagner sous le prétexte de s'attacher à son service. Le jour où l'esclave enfantera pour la première fois, qu'il s'empare aussitôt des membranes (ingobyi) qui enveloppent le corps du nouveau-né. Qu'il prenne alors la fuite et qu'il aille les déposer dans le Bugessera au lieu dit de l'Embûche (Ikibamba), et je réponds de l'avenir de la monarchie ». Les conseillers avaient écouté avec l'attention la plus soutenue. L'avis du sorcier prévalut. Le prince l'adopta. On ne pouvait toutefois se défendre d'une certaine crainte.

Un drame allait se jouer dont on ignorait les péripéties. Le prince congédie l'esclave, séance tenante. Un homme du roi se dévoue pour la conduire et la servir, afin de suivre les instructions du sorcier. Un panier lui est remis pour lui rappeler la commission dont il est chargé... La route fut longue, mais se passa sans incident.

A leur arrivée dans le Kinyaga, au Sud-Ouest du Rwanda, ils furent reçus par le potentat du pays qui était en même temps faiseur de pluie.

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comme exécuteur testamentaire (umunyejambo n' Umwiru) par le roi Ndahiro, son sauveur, et mourut au commencement du règne de Mutara I, après lui avoir prédit les événements qui devaient se dérouler sous son gouvernement.

Mariage de l'esclave. Naissance de son premier enfant et origine du lac Kivu.

La jeunesse et les charmes de Nyiransibura plurent à son hôte qui ne tarda pas à l'épouser [1].

Le mari, voulant faire plaisir à sa femme, forma le dessein de lui bâtir une demeure digne d'elle, dans la vaste plaine qui s'étend à l'Ouest, alors qu'il n'y avait pas encore de lac. Il fit dire à ses sujets de chercher un emplacement favorable, d'y réunir des matériaux afin de construire le plus promptement possible, la nouvelle case qu'il désirait offrir à son épouse privilégiée. Ses désirs furent exaucés et l'heureux couple en prit possession. Les jours se succédaient quand vint l'accouchement de Nyiransibura.

O prodige! A peine eut-elle mis au monde son enfant, que de la « poche des eaux » sortirent des flots qui se multiplièrent à l'infini, donnant naisance au lac Kivu...

L'immense plaine fut submergée.

L'endroit où se trouvait l'habitation du faiseur de pluie forma un flot.

Cette légende a cours dans le Kinyaga indépendamment de l'autre version admise dans le reste du Rwanda.

Pendant que les gens de la maison s'empressaient autour de la mère et du nouveau-né, l'homme auquel le sorcier avait confié une mission secrète, s'empara des membranes.

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[1] Les princes hamites du Rwanda furent toujours en relation avec leurs voisins du Karagwe, de l'Uswi ou Ujinja, de l'Urundi, du Bunyabungu, de Bunyungu, Gishari, Nkole, etc.

Les cadeaux et envois réciproques comprenaient des vaches, des chiens, des défenses d'éléphants, des anneaux pour jambes (ubutega), puis des étoffes, des fusils et surtout des esclaves. Nyiransibura dut faite partie d'une députation de ce genre.

Comme les autres monarques africains, les Batutsi en agissaient ainsi, pour vivre en paix ou se réconcilier avec leurs ennemis et en obtenir des services.

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Il les mit dans le panier que lui avait donné Ndahiro et sortit de la demeure.

Les eaux se répandaient de tous côtés dans la plaine envahissant les champs et les bananeries. Notre homme eut juste le temps de gagner la terre ferme, avec son précieux dépôt. La distance qui le séparait de la capitale fut bien vite parcourue. Ndahiro se réjouit à la vue du messager. Il le fit aussitôt conduire dans le Bugessera, au lieu désigné par le devin. Les membranes furent fixées à l'endroit dit de l'« Embûche » par le moyen de neuf pieux.

Croissance rapide de l'enfant. Ses luttes contre Ndahiro.

Nyiransibura s'aperçut vite de la fuite de son domestique (umugaragu) et du vol qu'il avait perpétré. Elle ignorait le mobile vrai de sa conduite. « Je sais, s'écria-t-elle en riant, pourquoi le voleur s'est enfui. C'est un Mutwa vorace, toujours affamé. Il a commis un acte de gourmandise (umunyamerwe) et n'osant plus reparaître, il a été chercher fortune ailleurs ». L'enfant reçut le nom de Nsibura, c'est-à-dire le fils de l'Inondation, du nom de celle qui lui avait donné le jour.

Nsibura vivait avec son père et sa mère. Des années se passèrent. Le faiseur de pluie devenu vieux passa de vie à trépas. Le jeune prince gardait les vaches depuis longtemps quand il succéda à l'auteur de ses jours. « Ses lèvres s'étaient agrandies »... pour emprunter l'expression indigène [1]. Il fut bientôt à même de batailler. « Mère, dit-il un jour, je vais me battre contre Ndahiro. » « Comment peux-tu songer, mon fils, à lutter contre le roi du Rwanda? Ton père ne l'a pas pu. Penses-tu être plus heureux que lui? » « Je veux essayer ». Nyiransibura ne réussit pas à calmer les ardeurs belliqueuses de son rejeton. Un pressentiment lui disait que le conflit se termi-

[1] C'est une façon de dire qu'il croissait en âge.

nerait mal pour le fruit de ses entrailles. Ses supplications furent vaines. Dès le lendemain Nsibura rassembla les guerriers du pays dont il était devenu le roitelet par la mort de son père. Il alla attaquer les partisans de Ndahiro.

Ceux-ci attendaient leurs ennemis de pied ferme, ils furent pourtant taillés en pièces par les gens de Nsibura. La frayeur s'empara des Banyarwanda, ils ne résistèrent plus. C'était l'ère des mauvais jours pour le royaume des Hamites.

Le jeune général s'avançait triomphalement soumettant tout sur son passage.

III. — Mort du vieux roi Ndahiro.

Dernières volontés de Ndahiro et malédiction de l'un de ses fils, Kavuna.

Il fallait se hâter. Ndahiro, brisé par l'âge et le chagrin, comprit qu'il était sur le point de terminer son règne. Tout était perdu pour le moment. Il ne lui restait plus qu'à mourir, avec l'espérance toutefois que l'héritier de droit rétablirait un jour les affaires de la monarchie. Voulant prendre ses ultimes dispositions, il réunit une dernière fois auprès de lui ceux qui lui étaient restés fidèles, pour leur faire ses adieux.

Il prit ensuite à part Mpande de Rusanga qu'il avait choisi pour être son exécuteur testamentaire. « Je vais mourir bientôt, le « Sauvage » du Kinyaga est sur le point de nous vaincre. Je te confie mon fils Ruganzu. C'est lui qui doit me succéder quand il sera devenu grand. Conduis-le au Karagwe, chez sa tante paternelle, pour le soustraire aux dangers qui vont fondre sur le Rwanda. »

S'adressant ensuite à Mihwabaro qu'il avait appelé dans le même but : « Tu seras aussi du voyage, tu accompagneras mon enfant et tu veilleras sur lui. Voici un marteau, ne t'en sépare pas, il vous rendra service un jour à

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votre retour, au seuil du royaume. Je m'en remets à vous deux pour le maintien des traditions.

» Je désigne Kavuna, mon autre fils, pour aller chercher son frère au Karagwe, quand sonnera l'heure de le faire monter sur le trône. »

Ndahiro avait à peine fini de parler qu'un incident troubla cette séance grave entre toutes.

Un éternuement étouffé frappa les oreilles de la petite assemblée qui se croyait sans témoin. C'était Kavuna qui s'était glissé dans la case, en dépit des ordres de son père. Le roi entra dans une violente colère.

Il avait écarté les membres de la Cour pour expliquer aux deux affidés ses dernières volontés. Le secret devait être gardé. Il y allait de l'avenir du pays et de la vie de Ruganzu. « Qui est là? », s'écria-t-il hors de lui. Les deux hommes qui se trouvaient avec lui firent sortir l'indiscret de sa cachette. Il s'était dissimulé dans un coin de la salle, pour écouter ce que le roi avait à dire d'une façon si clandestine. Ndahiro trépignait de rage, tant il était indigné d'un pareil manque d'égard.

Il fut sur le point de tuer l'indiscret; il se retint pourtant pour n'avoir pas à tremper les mains dans le sang de son fils. « Écoute, lui clama-t-il, je te renie et je te maudis.

» Je te défends de toucher aux haricots; tu ne mangeras plus désormais du pain de sorgho.

» Que les patates « fuient tes lèvres »! Je t'interdis aussi de boire la bière de bananes. Le tabac n'est pas fait pour toi. Quand tu voudras fumer, tu te contenteras des feuilles délaissées dans les champs et dont personne ne veut user.

» Que les malheurs te servent d'oreiller. Puisses-tu ne récolter que des ennuis! (Uzaruhe, uzisegur' imiruho). »

Kavuna s'éloigna plus mort que vif. Jamais langage aussi sévère n'avait été adressé par un père à son fils. Ndahiro continua de donner ses instructions à ses deux confidents. Le sort de Kavuna avait été fixé, ses jours étaient comptés.

Après avoir rempli sa mission auprès de son frère Ruganzu, il expiera son forfait, comme on le verra dans les pages suivantes.

Le Rwanda était envahi de toutes parts. Les dangers croissaient de jour en jour. Il était temps de faire fuir Ruganzu si l'on ne voulait pas exposer sa vie. L'héritier du trône n'était pas assez grand pour prendre en main les rênes du gouvernement et rétablir les affaires. Sa croissance n'avait pas été aussi rapide que celle de son compétiteur et rival, Nsibura, que favorisaient les esprits infernaux. Il restait encore de durs moments à passer avant que paraisse l'aurore du triomphe. Le confident de Ndahiro, Mpande de Rusanga, fit partir Ruganzu et l'accompagna jusqu'à la frontière. Il le confia ensuite aux soins de son compagnon Mihwabaro pour le reste de la route. Prenant congé des deux voyageurs, il alla se cacher au Buhanga pour y attendre des jours meilleurs. Ruganzu et son guide arrivèrent sains et saufs chez le roi Ndagara, fils de Luhinda, qui avait épousé la sœur de Ndahiro, Nyirabunyana.

La manière dont le vieux roi Ndahiro termine sa vie (1).

On vivait alors à une époque mouvementée; les coutumes n'étaient plus observées. Le pays était bouleversé; tout était sens dessus dessous. Ndahiro ne pouvait pas terminer sa carrière comme les autres. Le prince, poursuit la légende, avait eu nombre de difficultés durant sa jeunesse. Devenu vieux il n'imposait plus autant de respect. Son prestige avait beaucoup diminué depuis le jour où les troupes

(1) L'histoire est plus simple et moins longue que la légende. La voici en quelques mots. Ndahiro ayant voulu soumettre les habitants de Russokovu dans le Bugamba, subit probablement un désastre et y trouva la mort. D'où le nom de « Rubi rw' inyundo, ou le mal du marteau », donné au lieu de la défaite.

Les Banyarwanda se servent d'une expression métaphorique pour dire que les armes forgées par les marteaux des forgerons causèrent le trépas du souverain.

vaincues avaient laissé le Rwanda ouvert à l'invasion. On commençait à se moquer de ses cheveux gris (Rusatsi rushaje). Se voyant abandonné et sur le point de perdre son royaume que Nsibura, le fils de l'esclave, avait envahi, il quitte le Nduga et s'enfuit seul vers l'Ouest, dans la direction du Bugoyi.

C'était alors un pays non soumis, qu'habitaient des étrangers qui s'étaient taillé un coin dans la forêt. Ndahiro, épuisé par de longues journées de marche arrive devant une habitation. Il pénètre dans la cour et demande à haute voix : « Je désire du travail, voulez-vous m'accepter à votre service? » Des voix répondent aussitôt : « Nous voulons bien ». Le maître de la maison, qui s'appelait Kilinda, était absent. Il faisait cultiver ses champs et surveillait les nombreux ouvriers. Seules les filles étaient restées dans la case; elles convièrent le nouveau venu à s'approcher.

Et chacune de dire : « Moi je l'emploierai à mon service ». Pendant qu'elles se disputaient entre elles, l'homme à la haute chevelure, ainsi qu'elles le désignaient (Lusatsi), fut agréablement impressionné par l'odeur de la bière qui se dégageait des cruches mises en réserve dans la hutte. On avait songé aux ouvriers qui allaient bientôt rentrer.

» Eh bien! dit Ndahiro, si vous voulez me prendre comme domestique (guhaka, guhakwa) commencez par vous taire. Je donnerai mon travail à celle qui m'offrira la meilleure bière. » Chacune des filles se met en devoir de lui chercher la boisson fermentée dont le goût sera le plus agréable à leur hôte. L'une lui présente de la bière de sorgho, une autre de l'hydromel, une troisième du jus de bananes. Toutes parlent à la fois : « Prenez patience, je goûterai à chaque liqueur, je n'en refuse aucune ». Notre assoiffé commence par le jus de bananes. Le trouvant un peu tiède et pas assez avancé, il passe à la bière de sorgho. Vient ensuite le tour de l'hydromel (inzoga y' ubuki, inkangaza).

Ndahiro reconnaît la vraie liqueur des rois, il boit à longs traits (kubundagura). Ses joues se gonflent, ses yeux pétillent de plaisir, il soupire de contentement : depuis longtemps il ne s'était trouvé aussi heureux.

Les autres jeunes filles protestent, elles sont fatiguées de tendre les bras. Ndahiro, pour les contenter, goûte à toutes les cruches. Elles aussi s'invitent à leur tour.

Ce n'est bientôt plus qu'une beuverie. Le roi, qu'une longue marche avait déprimé, fit à lui seul plus d'honneur au bienfaisant breuvage que ses hôtesses ensemble. L'hydromel avait ses préférences, il ne prenait même pas le temps de respirer. La gaîté fit bientôt place à l'ivresse (biberey' intosi bose).

Ndahiro n'étant plus maître de lui, s'adresse à la compagnie.

— « L'une d'entre vous veut-elle m'accepter pour époux ? »

— « Personne n'a renoncé au mariage », répondent-elles en chœur.

Le prétendant, devenu galant, veut aussitôt faire son choix.

Les adolescentes prises de peur s'enfuient en criant : « Un inconnu est entré dans la maison et il a jeté son dévolu sur l'une d'entre nous. »

Le maître du champ se précipite vers sa demeure, ses gens le suivent : « Ohé! l'homme aux longs cheveux, d'où sors-tu? Qu'es-tu venu faire chez moi? De quel droit as-tu violé mon domicile? »

— « Je viens d'un pays éloigné répondit l'ivrogne. C'est la faim qui m'a conduit ici. Je suis à la recherche d'un patron (Shebuja) pour me mettre à son service (usab' ubuhake). »

— « Comment, reprit le père des jeunes filles, peux-tu me faire une pareille demande? Tu viens de m'offenser en apportant le déshonneur chez moi.

» Tu mérites la mort, je vais te couper les pieds et les mains, puis la tête. »

— « Ce n'est pas de moi-même que j'ai agi ainsi (si ku bganje), répond Ndahiro. Je te le dis à l'avance : ne me coupe pas la tête, il t'arriverait malheur. »

— « C'est bien, je me contenterai de te couper les pieds. »

— « Fais-le, mais alors tes fils, tes filles et tes gens perdront les leurs; tu n'auras plus que des infirmes autour de toi. »

— « Voilà un être curieux, s'écria Kilinda. Je ne te trancherai que les mains. »

— « Tu ne feras par cela, ajoute le roi, car dans ce cas tu perdrais aussi les tiennes. De plus, je te le prédis encore une fois, de tes biens il ne te resterait pas même un coussinet (ingat' imenwe) rendu inutilisable par la casse de la cruche » (1).

« Comment le mettre à mort? »

— « Attends, je vais te le dire, reprend Ndahiro. Donne-moi de la bière encore et de la meilleure qui puisse se trouver. Laisse-moi boire à satiété pour la dernière fois. Quand je n'en pourrai plus, conduisez-moi aux pieds de ce grand arbre. Hissez-moi sur le tronc jusqu'à la plus haute branche. Liez-moi solidement, mais ne répandez pas mon sang si vous ne voulez pas avoir à vous en repentir. »

Le conseil plut beaucoup à Kilinda.

« C'est entendu, j'accepte tes conditions. Tu ne mourras pas autrement que tu le souhaites. »

Il fait venir sur-le-champ ce qu'avait demandé le condamné. On lui sert du vin de bananes et du lait en abondance. Notre homme y alla largement et fit honneur à son dernier repas.

Quand il en eut assez, il donna lui-même le signal du départ. On se mit en route. Ils arrivèrent à l'endroit qu'il

(1) Le coussinet d'herbes sèches n'a aucune valeur. On s'en défait presque aussitôt qu'il a servi à porter un fardeau et, à fortiori, quand il n'a plus de raison d'être, comme dans le cas où le porteur casse sa cruche.

leur avait désigné. Ses bourreaux croyaient que Ndahiro avait indiqué son genre de mort pour leur éviter des ennuis. Or, le vieux roi ne l'avait fait que pour les induire en erreur.

Placé comme il devait l'être, sur l'arbre le plus élevé du pays, pour y mourir, les contrées voisines n'en auraient que plus à souffrir.

On le pousse sur l'arbre. Les gens de Kilinda veulent l'attacher au milieu du feuillage : « Non, répond-il, montons plus haut! » Il leur indique la dernière branche. Ses désirs sont exaucés.

Les yeux de Ndahiro embrassent l'horizon et s'étendent jusqu'aux extrémités du Rwanda : « Je suis bien comme cela, prenez vos cordes et tirez vengeance de ma personne. » Ses gardes de corps le lient solidement à l'arbre. « Le Rwanda allait perdre son roi », ajoute la chanson... de geste.

Malheurs qui fondent sur le royaume.

Ndahiro vécut encore environ huit jours, dans l'immobilité la plus complète. Les liens qui lui prenaient tout le corps avaient été fortement serrés autour de la victime. La mort fit son œuvre, les chairs se corrompirent. Une odeur fétide se répandit au loin, jusqu'aux dernières limites du royaume, apportant avec elle toutes les malédictions. Le cadavre se dessécha quelque temps après et devint semblable à un bois mort. Les cordes se desserrèrent, mais sans lâcher leur proie. Le vent faisait tourner le squelette. Selon que la tête penchait dans telle ou telle direction, c'était un accroissement de maux pour les habitants que poursuivait la malédiction royale. Nulle contrée ne fut épargnée. Les premiers atteints furent Kilinda et les siens. Il n'existe plus trace de leur descendance.

On s'aperçut bien vite dans le Rwanda que le roi n'était plus. Les fléaux qui s'abattirent sur la région en étaient

la preuve évidente. Il ne pouvait y avoir de doute à ce sujet.

C'en était fait de l'abondance et de la fécondité. Il n'y avait plus de naissances. Les animaux domestiques, loin de s'accroître, diminuaient de jour en jour; même les bêtes sauvages se ressentaient du malheur des temps.

Et nos conteurs de pousser le tableau au noir. « Les poules, ajoutent-ils, ne furent pas épargnées. Chose étonnante! les gallinacées avaient beau faire des efforts, les œufs ne paraissaient jamais... Les oiseaux n'étaient pas mieux partagés (zaja kut' igi, ikalibeeera, ikanga kugera hasi). On eut dit que la nature entière avait été maudite. Jamais on ne vit une telle désolation.

La paix et le bonheur avaient disparu (byose bibur' iyambizo n' iturizo). Une sécheresse épouvantable s'abattit sur la contrée, accompagnée de la famine. Les terres et les champs n'étaient plus d'aucun rapport. Tout au plus pouvait-on utiliser pour le foyer, quelques brins d'herbe brûlés par le soleil. Le deuil se répandit sur la terre. Les vivres firent défaut; il ne resta bientôt plus rien pour sustenter les habitants infortunés.

Les quelques survivants que la mort avait jusque-là épargnés n'eurent plus que les os et la peau (al' imiguta gussa). On n'entendait que des pleurs et des gémissements. La disette et les maladies ne cessaient pas de faire des victimes.

Les maux ne se comptaient plus; l'avenir paraissait désespéré. Veuf de son souverain, le Rwanda avait tout perdu. Nul ne savait quand et comment prendrait fin ce temps d'épreuve et d'affliction. « Nous n'avons plus de roi, se lamentaient-ils. Et son successeur, quel est-il? Quand viendra-t-il nous délivrer de nos calamités? » (1).

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(1) Les Banyarwanda ont un vocabulaire très riche pour faire la peinture de leurs maux.

On peut en juger par les traits suivants, dont la traduction vient d'être donnée : « Abagore bari bafit' inda zituma ntizavuka. Ibitungwa

Pour comble de malheur, Nsibura, le fils de l'esclave abhorrée régnait en maître dans le pays qu'il souillait de sa présence.

Il le parcourut en vainqueur de l'Est à l'Ouest, du Nord au Sud, avec ses guerriers aux traits inhumains (à face de Sauvages).

Le Rwanda était devenu sien. Mais dans quel pitoyable état se trouvait-il alors? Presque tous les habitants avaient disparu. Seuls quelques misérables avaient survécu, ne tenant plus debout (abasigaye ar' ukuneganega). On ne reconnaissait les anciennes habitations qu'aux vieux restes de paille ou d'herbe qu'emportait le vent.

Le royaume hamite était devenu semblable à un désert. C'était l'abomination de la désolation (imidugararo, amakuba).

CHAPITRE II

Accession de Ruganzu au trône.
Multiples péripéties dans lesquelles il se trouve engagé.

I. — La fin de Nsibura et les préliminaires du voyage de Ruganzu.

La fin de l'usurpateur.

Le Rwanda n'avait jamais traversé une époque aussi critique, ajoutent les conteurs. L'esclave et son fils avaient

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n'inyamaswa zo mw' ishyamba nazo zirandnirwa ntibyaba bikibyara Abana bahama mu nda ya banyina, n' inyoni ziba zitakibyara. Nuko ibyo byo kubyara bihavuye, umuluho umaze kuba hose, ukwunguka kw' ibintu kwahebge, hasigara iy' ubutube gusa. Ibintu birachika, amapfa akahagana. Urwanda rurahabe, ruhabishijwe n' inzara mbi chyane. Nuko biba bityo imyaka myinshi; al' ibyago bissa, nta mvura, nta kindi kintu kibafatir' umutima.

Ar' amarira gussa, y' amapfa, y' ibisebe, y' imize yose, ikw' ingana. Ibintu birayoba, abahira barahira. Urwanda rutashy' amapfa mabi chane n'ubuhabe bgw' ubupfubyi luno kutagir' umwami. »

Abantu bakaganya bati : ayi weeee; bati : twabur' umwami weee. Bakabora balira batyo; bifux' uza kwima, ngo akiz' ikihugu chyabur' ukivulira, chyali chyabuze hose).

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déchaîné des maux sans nombre sur leur passage. De la part de Nyiransibura, cela n'avait rien d'étonnant. Tout en elle la prédisposait à ce rôle malfaisant, son origine, son nom, la grossièreté de sa conduite, sa condition de captive, son mariage avec un faiseur de pluie qui n'avait jamais cessé de lutter contre les Banyarwanda. La naissance de l'enfant fut une catastrophe même pour le pays qu'elle habitait; ce fils, qu'une croissance rapide et extraordinaire avait transformé en guerrier puissant, continua le rôle néfaste de la mère. Ayant hérité de la haine de son père pour le Rwanda, l'aventurier l'avait envahi dans les circonstances que l'on vient d'exposer. On se rappelle aussi la fuite du serviteur de la maison et le larcin qu'il avait perpétré. C'est de là que devait sortir le premier gage de la victoire. Le sorcier de Ndahiro n'avait pas parlé en vain. Le châtiment devait venir tôt ou tard.

Nsibura était allé chasser avec ses gens dans la forêt du Bugessera. Le hasard les conduisit vers le lieu de l'Embûche, où le produit du vol avait été apporté et fixé. Des graines de courges, de celles qui présagent l'héritier du trône, y avaient été semées autrefois (1).

Les fruits mûrs étaient à point.

Il n'en fallut pas davantage pour arrêter les chasseurs qui pour se reposer et se désaltérer s'asseyèrent au milieu des courges. Le terrain était rocheux et allait en pente. Nsibura demanda à fumer; un homme fait du feu, un autre lui prépare sa pipe et y place un tison pour l'allumer. Le roitelet, qui s'était mis à l'ombre (guhundagara), avance le bras. La pipe lui est présentée, il en tire quelques bouffées et voilà qu'un coup de vent emporte le tison qui rebondit sur le sol rocailleux.

Des étincelles jaillissent avec un peu de fumée qui

(1) D'après la croyance populaire, l'héritier du trône apporte en naissant, dans ses petites mains crispées des graine de courge et des graines d'éleusine.

arrive jusque dans le nez de Nsibura. Le rocher frappé par la chute du tison à demi consumé émet un son que rendent bien les mots suivants : « Tu n'es plus un homme! » (ntur' umuntu!) [1]. Le fils de l'esclave se sent tout aussitôt incommodé (afatirwaho n' agaseseme); les vomissements le prennent, aramokorwa); la fumée maudite avait provoqué son malaise. Il veut se lever pour faire passer le vertige qu'il éprouve, en se disant que ce n'était qu'une indisposition passagère. A peine a-t-il fait quelques pas qu'il trébuche et tombe de tout son long sur un des piquets qui avaient servi à fixer les susdites membranes.

Les fourmis blanches, en attaquant ce bois pour le ronger n'avaient fait que le rendre plus dangereux.

La tête de l'ancien pieu s'était amincie. On devine ce qui arriva. Nsibura se blessa grièvement au dos. Le corps enfla aussitôt.

On l'installa sur une litière, mais il mourut en route. La nouvelle s'en répandit vite dans le pays.

Mission de Kavuna. Son désespoir et son châtiment.

Kavuna avait survécu aux maux du royaume. Il avait reçu la mission de ramener l'héritier.

Le moment était tout indiqué. Le prétendant n'était plus, la famine pourtant ne cessait de désoler le pays. Seul, le roi légitime pourrait faire renaître la joie et l'abondance (kubundur' Urwanda). Kavuna, soucieux de s'acquitter des ordres de son père, se dirigea par petites étapes vers la capitale de Ndagara.

Dès le premier soir il frappa à la porte d'un certain Nyaruzi, fils de Haramanga : « Ouvrez-moi et donnez-moi un gîte pour la nuit. Je vous apporte des nouvelles ». On lui offrit des haricots, il les refusa; il n'accepta pas davantage la bière. « Avez-vous du tabac? Je ne désire que celui

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[1] Ces mots runyarwanda « ntur' umuntu » forment onomatopée.

dont les feuilles de mauvaise qualité ont été abandonnées dans la plantation. » Il ne fut pas difficile de lui en trouver. Tout en fumant son tabac à odeur âcre il commença ainsi : « Je vais vous raconter ce que je sais. Écoutez : L'arbre sacré est tombé (1). Le roi du tarau (arum comestible) (2) est mort, Nsibura a été pris dans son propre piège, mais il n'y a plus dans le pays que des huttes en ruines ou abandonnées ». Les hôtes sont saisis de stupeur et d'étonnement. Le lendemain Kavuna arrive chez Nyamikenke, un célèbre faiseur de pluie, qui paraît avoir exercé une grande influence à son époque, dans le pays de Bussigi, où vivent encore ses descendants. « Offrez-moi l'hospitalité! (ni munfungurire) » crie-t-il à l'entrée de la cour. Il est invité à entrer.

On lui présente à boire et à manger. Il refuse comme la veille et n'accepte qu'un peu de mauvais tabac : « L'arbre sacré est tombé, le Tarau par excellence n'est plus ». Le voyage se continua dans les mêmes conditions. La scène se répétait d'une façon identique tous les soirs.

Il racontait, à qui voulait l'entendre, la mort de Ndahiro, la fin de Nsibura et l'état lamentable du royaume.

Kavuna atteignit enfin le Karagwe et ne tarda pas à retrouver Ruganzu chez sa tante : « Hâte-toi, lui dit-il, le pays est à l'agonie (Urwanda lwose rwalembye). C'est à bref délai l'extinction de la population (igihugu chalimbutse) si tu tardes à rentrer. Il n'y a pas de temps à perdre. Viens vite relever le trône de tes pères. Le désordre le plus

(1) L'arbre sacré dont il est question n'est autre que le roi dont on annonce la mort. C'est une métaphore. L'arbre dont on emprunte le nom pour désigner la personne royale est un ficus de grandes dimensions qui pousse très vite. Les indigènes aiment à utiliser cette essence pour clôturer leurs cours.

Les écorces qui servent de vêtements sont tirées de ce même arbre.

(2) Le souverain est aussi appelé le roi de l'arum comestible ou choucaraïbe (Ruteke) parce que la racine de cette plante est un aliment très recherché.

On désigne encore le monarque sous le nom de « Rutenderi » ou taureau sacré. On comprendra l'allusion en se rappelant le cas et l'estime que font les Batutsi de leurs troupeaux et surtout du taureau qui sert pour la reproduction.

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profond règne dans le royaume; il n'y est pas tombé une goutte d'eau depuis que Ndahiro a abandonné le sceptre (yatanze). Viens donc le sauver ». Le jeune prince, quoique bien soigné par sa tante, avait eu à subir bien des avanies de la part de son oncle ombrageux et de ses cousins jaloux. Aussi vit-il de bon œil l'arrivée de son frère. La proposition qu'il lui faisait n'avait pas de quoi lui déplaire. Ruganzu n'hésita pas. Il fit part de sa décision à sa tante qui lui donne des habits et des armes, non sans verser des larmes. Elle pensait aux dangers du voyage. Ruganzu essaye l'arc et la lance qui lui sont présentés. L'arc tendu se rompt, la lance brandie se casse en deux.

Il fallut lui remettre les armes qui avaient appartenu en propre à son père. Seul, le costume d'apparat, une peau de « colobus » travaillée et découpée en fines franges portée jadis par Ndahiro lui seyait à merveille. Les préparatifs achevés, Ruganzu se mit en route avec Kavuna et le fidèle Mihwabaro à qui il avait été confié. Les chiens préférés, qui ne le quittaient pas, suivaient la petite caravane. Le prince adolescent profite de l'absence de Ndagara pour prendre congé de Nyirabunyana et fuir au pays de ses pères. Il marche en toute hâte, présumant une poursuite de la part de son tuteur : « Comment saurais-je, lui avait demandé sa tante qui l'aimait, que tu es arrivé sain et sauf ? » — « Tu l'apprendras, répondit Ruganzu, quand tu entendras résonner les tambours de la capitale. »

Quand ils furent près du fleuve de la Kagera que l'on devait traverser pour pénétrer dans le Rwanda, Ruganzu s'arrête jouant l'étonnement : « Et mes sandales, — sorte de semelles faites d'une lamelle de cuir que les Banyarwanda utilisent en voyage — que j'ai oubliées! » Kavuna se propose d'aller les reprendre à la maison : « Tu les trouveras suspendues sur le pilier du milieu ».

Ruganzu avait été mis au courant de l'indiscrétion commise par son frère consanguin; il connaissait la malédiction qui s'en était suivie. L'heure du châtiment allait

sonner. Au moment où Kavuna s'éloigne, Ruganzu dit à voix basse : « L'ignorant est attiré par la contrée où il doit mourir (intamenya y'umugabo itabazwa ubuzagwayo) ». Il voulait dire par là que Kavuna ne reviendrait plus dans sa patrie. Ce dernier, ne se doutant de rien, fait diligence. Sa tante se met à pleurer en l'apercevant : « Qu'y a-t-il donc, mon enfant? » — « Je suis venu chercher les chaussures que mon frère dit avoir laissées par mégarde sur le pilier des arcs! » — « Mais non, pauvre Kavuna, c'est la mort qui te guette, je le vois (n' urupfu rwakusamye). Ruganzu n'a rien oublié. Les chaussures étaient bien dans le panier que je lui ai remis, à côté des graines royales (imbutu nkuru) ».

Kavuna presse le pas en se demandant ce qui l'attend. Il aperçoit au loin Ruganzu qui a passé le fleuve et demande à être porté sur la rive du Rwanda. Les bateliers lui disent qu'il leur est enjoint sous peine de mort de refuser sans pitié le service de leur barque. Kavuna comprend à la défense qu'on lui oppose pourquoi son frère lui a fait rebrousser chemin. Il a été la dupe de Ruganzu. On ne veut plus de lui, on l'abandonne à son sort, il doit mourir en exil. Il éclate en sanglots : « Malheureux que je suis! s'écrie-t-il. Je suis proscrit; je n'ai plus de patrie. Maudit par mon père, abandonné par mon frère, comment pourrai-je vivre sur une terre étrangère? Et pourtant c'est moi qui suis venu le prendre au Karagwe, pour le faire régner. Au lieu de m'en récompenser, il me rejette comme un proscrit. Combien triste est mon sort! Infortuné Kavuna! Eh bien! mes peines, mes maux, je les lègue aux vivants (umuruho nyusigiy' abagabo), je les lègue aux vaches, aux animaux! » De cet incident de voyage est venu l'axiome qui a désormais cours dans le pays, « que personne n'a autant pâti que Kavuna (ngo yarushije uwa Kavuna) ».

Là-dessus, fou de douleur, après avoir clamé son chagrin aux échos d'alentour, notre désespéré brise son arc, sa lance et se précipite dans le fleuve.

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II. — Persécutions subies par Ruganzu durant son séjour au Karagwe. Dangers qu'il court pendant le voyage.

Son oncle et ses cousins tentent de l'assassiner.

Ruganzu était bien l'homme prédestiné qui devait sauver le royaume. Les « mânes » du Rwanda veillaient sur lui dès le berceau. Son enfance et sa jeunesse s'étaient écoulées au milieu d'embûches et de périls. Même dans le Karagwe il ne trouva pas toute la sécurité qu'il était venu y chercher. Bien que sa tante maternelle l'eût entouré de soins et d'affections, il n'en avait pas été de même de la part de son oncle et de ses cousins.

Maintes fois ils formèrent le dessein de se débarrasser de lui sans oser toutefois s'y prendre ouvertement. Un jour qu'on l'avait envoyé puiser de l'eau, avec des enfants de son âge, il reçut pour sa part une cruche ébréchée. C'était la marque qui devait le désigner aux coups des assassins apostés sur le chemin. Ruganzu qui n'était pas sans intelligence, à peine sorti de la maison, dit à ses petits compagnons : « Ébréchez tous votre cruche ».

Cette première tentative avorta.

Les instigateurs du complot dirent une autre fois aux affidés qui devaient tuer l'enfant : « Pour connaître celui qui doit tomber sous vos coups, appelez-le par son nom de Ndori. La mort doit suivre la réponse ». Le petit prince portait ce vocable, le titre du Ruganzu ne devait lui être donné que plus tard. Ayant appris la chose, il adresse la recommandation suivante à ses camarades : « Si l'on demande qui est Ndori parmi nous, répondez tous à la fois que c'est le nom que nous ont donné nos parents.

Ruganzu avait une petite lance en fer qui devait le faire remarquer de ceux qui en voulaient à ses jours. Il l'abandonne aussitôt dans un fourré. Les tentatives criminelles

dirigées contre sa vie furent ainsi déjouées par son savoir-faire et son adresse.

On a dit précédemment que Ruganzu, sur l'invitation de Kavuna, s'était mis en route et avait dû partir durant une absence de son oncle et de ses cousins (arahengera bataraho). Il refusa même les suivants que sa tante lui proposait et ne prit avec lui que Mihwabaro qui ne l'avait jamais quitté et son frère.

Celui-ci venait d'être congédié dans les circonstances que l'on sait. Ils étaient déjà loin quand ils entendirent une rumeur... Les prévisions de Ruganzu ne l'avaient pas trompé. L'oncle ayant appris le départ de son protégé, s'était mis à la tête de ses hommes pour courir après le fugitif. On aperçoit de loin la troupe qui avance à grands pas. Sans plus tarder, le neveu quitte le sentier battu et s'enfonce dans les bois.

Un gros arbre se dressait au milieu d'un fourré. Les deux hommes grimpent sur le sommet et se dissimulent dans le feuillage; les chiens, conscients du danger se glissent dans le creux du tronc.

Il était temps. Les Baragwe approchaient. Ils avaient ordre de rattraper Ruganzu et de le tuer. Les alentours sont fouillés.

On passe vingt fois aux pieds de l'arbre sur lequel se trouvait la victime vouée à la mort.

Nul ne songe à lever les yeux pour regarder dans les branches. Ruganzu et son compagnon ne perdaient aucun de leurs mouvements. Les hommes du roi du Karagwe poursuivirent leurs recherches jusque vers le fleuve. A leur retour, ils défilèrent encore sous les regards des deux fugitifs.

Aussitôt qu'ils eurent disparu à l'horizon, Ruganzu et son camarade se jugeant hors de danger descendirent de l'arbre et continuèrent leur voyage. Ils atteignirent le fleuve à leur tour. Le chef batelier, voyant qu'il avait

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affaire à des inconnus, refuse de les laisser monter sur sa barque.

Le maître de l'embarcation avait un gros bracelet de cuivre autour du bras. Pendant qu'il parlemente il éprouve sur ce membre une douleur atroce, comme si le bracelet se resserrait pour s'enfoncer dans la chair vive. Il comprend sur-le-champ qu'il a devant lui des gens peu ordinaires. Il se met aussitôt à leur service.

Arrivé sur la rive droite, Ruganzu élève la voix et s'adressant d'un ton solennel au batelier : « L'homme qui se présentera pour passer, je te défends de lui prêter ta barque. Soit qu'il vienne aujourd'hui, demain ou après-demain, montre-toi inflexible. Si j'entends que tu as désobéi à mes ordres, je te tue, j'extermine ta race, je détruis ta maison »... On sait ce qu'il advint de Kavuna et comment il expia sa fatale indiscrétion.

Ruganzu, cependant, continuait sa marche en avant. En chemin, il eut à se mesurer maintes fois avec des patrouilles ennemies : les Barundi au Sud, les Banyabyinshi au Nord. Il ne fut jamais à bout d'expédients; ici il lutte de vitesse, là il se travestit et passe sans être reconnu; ailleurs il se cache dans des cavernes qui lui offrent une issue du côté opposé à l'entrée que l'ennemi a bouchée ou enfumée [1]. Exposons les faits d'après la légende.

Poursuite de Ruganzu par les Barundi.

Ruganzu se trouvait dans le Bugessera sur le territoire des Barundi. Des vachers abreuvaient leurs troupeaux à une source d'eau minérale (amashyuza). Le trou était profond, quelques-uns d'entre les pasteurs étaient descendus dans l'excavation et puisaient au moyen de jarres et de cruches.

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[1] La légende la plus commune, c'est celle qui lui fait franchir d'un seul bond, pour échapper à la poursuite de ses ennemis, un espace énorme, un précipice, une vallée, en laissant sur un rocher l'empreinte de son pied. Cf. Chapitre cinquième.

D'autres faisaient la chaîne et versaient le liquide dans les bassins d'argile préparés à cet effet. Ruganzu s'arrête. Voyant la façon dont ils se passaient les jarres de l'un à l'autre, il se met à rire et s'adressant à son compagnon : « Comme ces gens sont curieux! » — « Quel est donc cet étranger qui se moque de nous? ripostent en chœur les Barundi. Viens donc nous montrer comment on s'y prend chez vous autres, au Rwanda! »

Ruganzu ne se fait pas prier, il prend place au milieu d'eux. On lui met une première cruche entre les mains, il la renverse en faisant le maladroit : « Périssent ainsi les ennemis du Rwanda! » marmonne-t-il entre les dents. La deuxième il la prend dextrement entre les mains, la tient élevée et prononce à demi-voix les paroles suivantes : « Je ramène l'ordre et la paix dans le Rwanda ». — « Avez-vous donc entendu ce que vient de dire cet homme? s'écrient les voisins de Ruganzu. C'est un chien! (n'imbga). Il nous a insultés. Il est venu ensorceler notre source et nos vaches. A-t-on jamais vu chose pareille? » Et tous de se jeter sur Ruganzu et son inséparable serviteur. Ils essaient de les encercler.

Nos deux voyageurs ne leur en donnent pas le temps. Ils s'échappent à toute vitesse. Les Barundi ont beau courir après eux en gesticulant et en poussant des cris de mort. Ils se trouvent devant un étang dans lequel Ruganzu s'est jeté avec son compagnon. Les pasteurs ahuris les revoient bientôt après, sortir du côté opposé : « Quels sont ces êtres extraordinaires qui plongent sous les eaux », s'exclament-ils. Leur stupeur est à leur comble : « Pourvu, ajoutent-ils, qu'ils ne nous arrive pas d'autre malheur! »

Premières rencontres avec les gens de Nsibura, les Banyabyinshi.

Le pays du Rwanda était encore sillonné de bandes d'ennemis.

Même après la fin tragique de Nsibura, ses partisans, les

Banyabyinshi (les Riches) n'en continuèrent pas moins d'exercer leurs ravages. Ruganzu eut à lutter d'adresse et de ruse avec eux.

Sur le point d'être cerné par ces guerriers infatigables, Ruganzu et son suivant se jettent une deuxième fois dans un petit lac et reprennent pied sur l'autre rive. Le même fait se reproduit plusieurs fois; les fleuves, les lacs, les étangs, les marais le dérobèrent à propos aux atteintes de ceux qui le poursuivaient. Le prince hamite était insaisissable; ses ennemis n'avaient aucune prise sur lui. Les Banyabyinshi entre autres en surent quelque chose. Ruganzu leur échappa toujours, en plongeant sous les eaux ou en les jouant habilement.

Un jour qu'il était serré de près par ces derniers, il rencontre une hutte habitée par une vieille femme : « Ohé! la mère, cache-moi bien vite ». A peine la vieille l'a-t-elle fait mettre sous le lit que les persécuteurs arrivent à leur tour : « N'as-tu pas vu un homme qui vient de passer à l'instant? » — « Non, répond la femme, personne n'est venu chez moi. Cela je le jure, non par les gens du Rwanda, mais par les gens de l'Urundi et de tous les autres peuples excepté toutefois ceux dont mon mari pourrait descendre. »

De la part de la digne fille d'Ève, c'est une finesse parfaitement comprise de ses interlocuteurs qui flairent tout de suite une supercherie. En termes équivalents, c'est comme si elle leur avait dit : « Je ne voudrais pas le jurer par les gens du Rwanda qui sont mes compatriotes, mais je le fais volontiers en me servant du nom des Barundi, gens méprisables avec lesquels je n'ai aucune relation et dont on peut invoquer impunément le nom pour mentir. »

Aussi les questionneurs ne la croient pas sur parole. Ils se présentent chez un devin célèbre, qui, après avoir consulté le sort, leur assure que Ruganzu est caché sous le grabat.

Ils retournent vers la hutte, mais ne trouvent point celui

qu'ils cherchaient. La maîtresse du logis les ayant vu revenir de loin, avait fait entrer son protégé dans une immense cruche (intango).

Dans le but de dérouter les chercheurs, elle s'était mise à attiser le feu du foyer avec du bois de senteur, pour en chasser l'odeur et la fumée sur une peau de vache qu'elle préparait pour s'en faire une jupe (inkanda).

Une deuxième fois consulté, le devin leur désigne la cruche; Ruganzu en était sorti à temps heureusement avant le retour de ceux qui le traquaient. Une botte d'herbes lui avait servi de refuge.

La nouvelle cachette est indiquée aux assassins.

Ruganzu quitte son abri d'occasion, revêt une peau de veau prend un bâton de vacher à la main, se donne un autre extérieur et va s'asseoir à l'endroit où l'on trait habituellement les vaches.

Furieux de leur déconvenue, les Banyabyinshi retournent chez le magicien : « Sorcier de malheur, espèce de lâche! (Nyakuvun' umuheto, briseur d'arc, c'est-à-dire lâche) auras-tu bien vite fini de nous tromper? » Le devin leur dit l'accoutrement et le déguisement de Ruganzu. Ils reviennent sur leurs pas, le faux pasteur avait disparu. Par contre, nos sbires se croisent en route avec un homme lourdement chargé, portant sur la tête une peau de vache enroulée. Le sorcier détourne encore une fois leur courroux en leur expliquant la ruse : « C'est Ruganzu lui-même que vous avez rencontré en chemin, renfermé dans la peau et sur les épaules de l'individu qui vous a fait un pied de nez ».

Ils se précipitent sur les traces du mystificateur. Celui-ci avait depuis quelques instants mis son fardeau à terre. Ruganzu s'était dégagé et ils l'aperçoivent au loin qui pressait le pas.

Ils se jettent à sa poursuite; le dépit et la fureur décuplent leur vitesse.

On verra par l'épisode suivant qu'ils avaient affaire à plus fort qu'eux.

Ruganzu se réfugie dans une grotte où il est enfumé. Curieux incidents.

Les Banyabyinshi se croyaient sûrs de leur proie. Ruganzu allait se trouver acculé par eux dans un fond de vallée. Et voilà qu'il disparaît subitement à leurs regards. Une caverne à l'ouverture étroite l'avait dérobé à leur atteinte.

La grotte se prolongeait fort avant sous terre (ichobo ch' igitabasi). Ils n'osent entrer à sa suite. Ils ramassent du bois et des herbes sèches. Quelques-uns d'entre eux, pour faire plus vite, démolissent les cases voisines et en entassent les matériaux à l'entrée. On met le feu au tas et les Banyabyinshi, avec des feuilles vertes de bananiers, essaient de chasser la fumée (gwuka) dans l'intérieur de l'antre pour asphyxier Ruganzu.

Mihwabaro avait suivi son maître; leurs chiens ne les avaient pas quittés.

Pendant que les Banyabyinshi étaient tout entiers à leur œuvre de mort, les chiens avaient déjà exploré la caverne, à la recherche d'une autre issue. Ils font lever une troupe de singes (inguge) qui dormaient au fond d'une excavation.

Surpris dans leur sommeil et dirigés par l'instinct de conservation, les quadrumanes, dit la légende, creusent un nouveau souterrain. La terre vole sous leurs griffes. La gent canine se lance à leur poursuite; les singes, pour leur échapper se hâtent à l'ouvrage. Ruganzu et son compagnon n'ont qu'à suivre.

La diligence que les primates mettent à fuir ne fait qu'exciter l'émulation des lévriers, jusqu'au moment où un rocher leur barre la route en créant un obstacle infranchissable : « O Dieu secourable! (ay'ibambe) ô le Miséricordieux! s'écrie Ruganzu atterré. Puissent les esprits de mes ancêtres me venir en aide dans cette difficulté (muli chyo chagane)! Si au moins j'avais offert de nom-

breux sacrifices en l'honneur de mon père défunt! O esprits des initiés (à la société secrète de Ryangombe qui joue un grand rôle dans le pays), tirez-moi de ce mauvais pas!... »

« Tais-toi, reprend son compagnon Mihwabaro, et ne gémis plus. Souviens-toi que ton père Ndahiro m'a chargé de veiller sur tes jours.

» Je t'ai suivi au Karagwe, je ne me suis jamais séparé de toi durant la route. Jusqu'ici tu ne m'as rien offert pour les services que je t'ai rendus. Que me promets-tu et je m'engage à te sortir d'embarras? Dis-moi ce que tu me donneras! »

« Je suis le roi du Rwanda, lui répond Ruganzu, tu recevras un gouvernement (ubutware) et de nombreux villages. Je te ferai don de troupeaux de vaches (nkurundir' imibande y' inka), je t'aiderai à fonder une famille et je comblerai tous tes vœux. »

« Non! riposte Mihwabaro un peu piqué, ce n'est pas cela que je désire, je veux autre chose. »

« Que puis-je t'offrir de mieux? Le miel du Rwanda, ajoute Ruganzu, sera à ta disposition. On en fera de l'hydromel (amuki, inkangaza) et tu en boiras tous les jours à satiété. » Mihwabaro hoche la tête : « Il s'agit bien de miel », riposte-t-il. « Parle donc, dit Ruganzu, qui ne savait que penser, explique-toi enfin. Que demandes-tu? » — « Tu sais bien que je t'ai protégé, je t'ai accompagné, à ton départ du Rwanda comme au retour. Tu n'ignores rien de ce que j'ai fait pour toi. Rien que ces derniers jours, pour te donner le temps de fuir et de détourner l'attention des Banyabyinshi, je suis resté dans la hutte où nous nous étions réfugiés. J'y ai allumé le feu (ulya muliro n' urushingo nagushingiraga) comme le fait un propriétaire chez lui et je me suis mis à jouer de l'instrument à cordes.

» Tes ennemis ne se sont doutés de rien, te le rappelles-tu? Ce que je veux en retour, c'est de pouvoir m'inviter

partout où il y aura une fête, dans le Rwanda, et d'avoir ma part de bière. Chaque fois donc qu'il se célébrera un mariage, qu'on bâtira une nouvelle case, qu'on se rassemblera pour l'initiation à la société secrète de Ryangombe, et les autres cérémonies rituelles, donne-moi le droit de me présenter et de participer aux agapes. Quand on tuera une bête, ordonne à tes sujets de m'en réserver un morceau. Je réclame tout particulièrement « ce qui termine la colonne vertébrale » (umulizo n' inguge yawo alicho kizete). Peu importe qu'on se moque de moi, qu'on me méprise (bannene), il suffit qu'on me donne ce que je demande. Fais-y ajouter aussi la tête et les entrailles de l'animal égorgé. Je désire que désormais on me désigne sous le nom de Mutwa. » Depuis ce temps, ajoute la légende, les Batwa commencèrent à faire parler d'eux.

Ils se réclament de leur ancêtre Mihwabaro; c'est de lui qu'ils descendent et ils sont restés fidèles à son esprit et à ses goûts. Ruganzu avait écouté avec une curiosité amusée et étonnée.

« C'est donc cela que tu souhaites! Sois tranquille (humura), tes désirs seront satisfaits! Je t'accorde tout ce que tu me demandes. » Mihwabaro, créé « Mutwa », plonge la main dans la blague à tabac (uruhago) qu'il portait suspendue au cou et en retire un lourd marteau : « C'est l'instrument, dit-il, que j'ai reçu de ton père Ndahiro, quand il nous fit ses dernières recommandations. Il nous le remit à Mpande et à moi et nous dit dans sa prévoyance : « Mihwabaro, mon ami, prends ce marteau et ne t'en » défais jamais, car viendra un jour où les deux bras » vous tireront d'un mauvais pas (hazaz' igihe ch' ama- » boko kw'abiri kazabateturura) ». Et ce disant, prenant à deux mains le marteau, il en frappe le rocher à tour de bras, en haut et en bas, à droite et à gauche. Les pierres volent en éclats, la masse rocheuse disparaît et le Rwanda se présente à leurs yeux ravis.

Ils se trouvaient dans la province sacrée du Bumbogo

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sur le flanc de la majestueuse chaîne de montagnes de Luhanga qui leur avait livré passage.

Dans la région de Rulindo, entre les deux chaînes de Luhanga et de Bussigi, les indigènes montrent deux grottes à Ilemera et à Bushoke qu'ils assurent avoir servi de refuge au célèbre Ruganzu. Antres et rochers servirent souvent de retraite au roi aventurier, ajoutent les chroniqueurs. Une autre fois qu'il se trouvait au pays du Bugamba, Ruganzu fut attaqué par les habitants du pays. Il ne lui restait plus aucun moyen de fuir. Le prince avait été refoulé dans un cul-de-sac quand il disparut (yiligita) soudainement au travers d'un rocher à l'endroit dit de « Ishishi », à Russokovu, non loin du lieu où, d'après la tradition, son père Ndahiro avait été tué. Après s'être entr'ouverte, la paroi rocheuse s'était refermée sur lui, au grand ébahissement des Banyabyinshi. Ruganzu ressortit plus haut. Des arbres sacrés (imana) qui ont conservé le nom du monarque marquent l'emplacement où eut lieu le prodige. Du rocher qui avait servi de refuge à l'heureux prince a surgi, content les Noirs, une source abondante et très connue dans le pays. On la désigne sous le nom de Kiruhura; ses eaux sont très appréciées des vachers qui y conduisent souvent leurs troupeaux [1].

D'après une deuxième interprétation, c'est Mihwabaro lui-même qui de ses propres mains ouvrit à Ruganzu un passage, en creusant une galerie à l'opposé de celle par où leur arrivait la fumée. Le Mutwa fut pour ce motif désigné sous le nom de « inguge », singe cynocéphale. Les descendants de Mihwabaro ont conservé cette dénomination. Les Batwa, qui forment la garde du corps du roi dans les voyages et les expéditions, ne portent pas d'autre titre dans les récits.

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[1] Il n'est presque pas de grotte dont l'existence soit indépendante du souvenir de Ruganzu.

La caverne qui s'ouvre non loin de Kigali, à Ijabana, dans le Buliza, a été, d'après une autre légende, le théâtre où s'est déroulée la scène des cynocéphales.

Le service signalé rendu par Mihwabaro à Ruganzu, ajoutent les mêmes conteurs, valut à ses descendants d'être compris dans la catégorie des Abiru où se recrutent la plupart des employés de la Cour. Ils habitent la province du Bumbogo, au lieu appelé la « Capitale du feu » (kwa Bgami bga Muliro). Le village est ainsi nommé parce que les habitants sont considérés comme les « faiseurs de feu officiels » (Abanyarushingo) [1].

C'est à cette famille de Batwa qu'il appartient de rallumer le feu, si jamais il venait à s'éteindre, dans la fameuse hutte consacrée au roi Gihanga, le dixième de la dynastie. Les membres de cette corporation prennent régulièrement leur tour (güzilik' amezi) à la capitale, pour y exercer leurs fonctions.

Service important que rendit au roi un autre Mutwa appelé Mitim'igwanyi.

Ruganzu se trouvait dans le bois dit de Ruganda. Les Banyabyinshi, ses ennemis, l'apprennent et mettent le feu aux quatre coins. Il soufflait un vent violent qui active les flammes. Des hautes herbes et de la broussaille l'incendie se communique aux branches des arbres et aux troncs eux-mêmes.

Le monarque ne savait quel parti prendre et s'attendait à mourir. Un Mutwa l'aperçoit, s'approche de lui : « Je puis te sauver, mais je demande une récompense ».

Suit alors une conversation pareille à celle de l'épi-

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[1] Le mot « urushingo » indique l'action de fixer et vient du verbe gushinga, qui veut dire « fixer, planter ». Les Batwa se servent, en effet, pour faire du feu, de deux baguettes d'un bois très sec qu'ils appuient l'une sur l'autre.

On imprime un mouvement rapide de rotation à celle qui est fixée perpendiculairement sur la seconde, d'où le nom de « gushinga », fixer.

A leur point de jonction se forme une fine poussière qui s'enflamme bien vite à la suite du frottage. Tel est le mode classique dont se servent les Batwa pour se procurer du feu dans le centre de l'Afrique.

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sode précédent. Le souverain accepte les conditions de Mitim'igwanyi : « Je le jure, dit le roi, je confirmerai les privilèges que tu exiges pour les tiens ». Le Mutwa avait, en effet, ajouté qu'il périrait dans l'incendie, pour le salut du roi.

Le temps pressait, l'incendie se rapprochait.

Mitim'igwanyi se couche à plat ventre et engage Ruganzu à se placer sur son dos... L'homme se met à ramper, s'aide comme il peut des mains et des pieds, passe par-dessus les troncs embrasés qui obstruaient le sentier et réussit à traverser la zone en feu.

Ruganzu sortit à peu près sain et sauf de la fournaise, mais le Mutwa, brûlé sur tout le corps, ne vécut que quelques instants. Son héroïque dévoûment avait sauvé la vie du souverain qui tint ses promesses. Les princes hamites sont les obligés des Batwa, d'où la grande familiarité de ceux-ci vis-à-vis du roi.

Les paroles, faits et gestes prêtés aux Batwa sont presque toujours marqués au coin de l'ironie. Ils sont composés pour amuser les auditeurs. Les bardes ou conteurs indigènes excellent à faire rire aux dépens des Négrilles et ne cessent d'inventer de nouveaux détails dont personne n'est dupe.

III. — Derniers épisodes relatifs a l'avènement de Ruganzu.

Accueil qu'il reçoit chez un faiseur de pluie fameux et prodiges qui signalent sa présence.

Après mille péripéties, plus extravagantes les unes que les autres, le prince arrive au Bissigi où les fiers montagnards attendent toujours l'héritier du trône. Il se fait connaître à Nyamikenge, le faiseur de pluie. Ce dernier habitait sur le haut plateau de Kayenzi où l'honorable et fructueux métier de tempestaire s'est continué dans cette

famille célèbre, de père en fils, sans interruption jusqu'à nos jours. La soirée était déjà avancée.

« Ohé! s'écrie Ruganzu, voulez-vous donner l'hospitalité à un roi qui se présente à votre porte et lui offrir un gîte pour la nuit? » L'entrée de la cour qui précède la hutte était fermée.

« Hélas! répond de l'intérieur Nyamikenge, vous parlez de roi. Nous en aurions un pressant besoin, nos maux sont extrêmes. Où peut-il se trouver en ce moment? Il y a longtemps que nous en sommes privés. On raconte que le fils de Ndahiro s'est enfui au loin, chez les Sauvages (Abashi) d'où il ne reviendra plus. Depuis lors nous n'avons que des ennuis en partage. Les malheurs ont fondu sur le pays (ibintu birachika byose). » — « Viens donc dégager la porte et nous ouvrir, reprend Ruganzu et je te donnerai des nouvelles qui feront battre ton cœur. »

Au moment où il pénètre dans la cour les tambours du maître de céans résonnent tout seuls, l'unique vache se met à beugler et... à vêler à l'instant. La femme de Nyamikenge, qui attendait vainement sa délivrance, voit enfin ses vœux exaucés. C'est en même temps un tintamarre inusité et de bon augure dans l'intérieur du logis. Les poules caquettent, les coqs lancent leurs cocoricos aux échos d'alentour. Nyamikenge comprend : « C'est le roi, s'exclame-t-il. Nous sommes sauvés ».

Et il l'accueille des salutations les plus flatteuses. « Sire! Sauveur! Père! Mère! etc. (Nyagasani, Rukiza, Biheko, Data, Mubyeyi). »

Pendant que cette scène se déroule dans la case, le tonnerre se met à gronder accompagné d'une forte pluie. « Le sol assoiffé depuis de longues années n'avait jamais reçu une ondée aussi bienfaisante », poursuivent les conteurs.

Le bonheur était entré dans la hutte de Nyamikenge. Ruganzu fut fêté et soigné en conséquence. On lui prépare la meilleure place; un feu est allumé près de son lit.

Tout eût été pour le mieux si le faiseur de pluie n'avait eu une malencontreuse idée.

Quelques jours après l'arrivée de son hôte, croyant bien faire, il prend une hache et égorge la vache blanche qui venait de lui donner un veau. Il se disait que la viande serait bien accueillie de Ruganzu. S'approchant donc de la couchette sur laquelle reposait le roi : « Maître! (databuja) lève-toi! » — « Que me veux-tu, dit Ruganzu. » — « On t'a préparé à manger. Nous avons pu nous procurer de la viande. »

— « De la viande! dis-tu Mais comment as-tu réussi à en trouver? Les quelques vaches qui restent ont été conduites au loin dans les rares pâturages de la forêt. »

— « J'ai tué la vache blanche », répond le pluviateur, un peu interloqué. « Comment, reprend le roi, tu as osé abattre une vache mère. Que va devenir le veau? Est-ce que tu n'as pas honte d'un tel acte? Tu ne t'es pas senti ému de pitié (gahengahenge) devant une mère (imbyeyi) et son petit. » — « Je n'avais pas autre chose à t'offrir », fait Nyamikenge en s'excusant.

« Approche-toi, crie Ruganzu, et étends les bras. » Séance tenante le roi irrité lui coupe les mains de deux coups de hache : « Je vous maudis tous, habitants du pays de Bussigi. Désormais il ne se traira plus de vaches chez vous. Vous n'aurez plus besoin de faire du feu (guchanir' inka) dans la cour pour les apprivoiser. Votre village n'entendra désormais plus leurs meuglements. »

La légende ajoute — ce qui n'est plus vrai à l'heure actuelle — que les gens de Bussigi n'ont jamais plus possédé de vaches à partir de cette date. Après un acte aussi répréhensible, Ruganzu ne pouvait séjourner sous un toit si peu digne d'estime. Il partit à l'instant après avoir expressément recommandé le petit veau : « Ayez-en soin. je vous le réclamerai plus tard, ainsi que la peau de la victime ».

Heureux effets de l'arrivée de Ruganzu et découverte inespérée du tambour royal.

La nouvelle de l'arrivée de Ruganzu se répandit vite. On accourait de tous côtés pour le saluer. La foule grossissait sur son passage; les acclamations enthousiastes l'accueillaient partout. Sa marche était un triomphe.

Sur les collines on frappait le tambour en son honneur. Le pays était en fête.

Les prodiges qui avaient signalé l'entrée de Ruganzu dans la case du faiseur de pluie avaient eu leur répercussion dans l'étendue du royaume. La fécondité reparut dans les familles. Les troupeaux bénéficièrent pareillement des effets bienfaisants de l'arrivée du prince.

A chaque arrêt de Ruganzu, pendant que les tambours clament l'allégresse des sujets, on lui présente les vaches de la contrée comme l'exige la coutume (kubyukurukiz' umwami). Les veaux gambadent et bondissent autour de leurs mères. Les cris des pasteurs se mêlent aux beuglements des animaux.

C'est un brouhaha joyeux. On trait les bêtes devant le roi, qui après s'être réservé sa part, fait distribuer le reste à sa suite.

La pluie apporte avec elle la fraîcheur et la fécondité. Les beaux jours vont renaître. Les « vouvou » (impundu) des femmes et des enfants accompagnent partout le souverain. Des exclamations joyeuses retentissent dans les villages, annonçant que d'heureuses mères sont enfin délivrées ou que de nouveaux ménages vont se fonder. Ruganzu avait ramené l'ordre, la paix et le bonheur. Le Rwanda avait enfin retrouvé son sauveur et son roi [1].

Les derniers ennemis furent vaincus en peu de temps.

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[1] Les Banyarwanda ne sont pas moins prolixes à décrire une époque heureuse qu'à dépeindre leurs malheurs. Voici dans leur idiome national un spécimen de ce nouveau tableau :

« Abagore babyar' ubgo. inka zose zihérako zibyara... Ingoma zivugir'

Ruganzu en finit avec les terribles Banyabyinshi; il massacra les uns, soumit les autres et les attacha à son service pour la défense du royaume.

Une chose cependant préoccupait le monarque et sa cour. La joie n'était pas complète. Mpande, revenu de sa retraite du Buhanga, avait mis Ruganzu au courant des coutumes et des traditions. Les fêtes et les cérémonies avaient repris leur cours à la capitale. Mais le « Kalinga » faisait défaut et nul ne savait où il se trouvait. Ce tambourin est, en effet, le palladium de l'État, l'emblème même de la royauté. Sa disparition inquiétait vivement Ruganzu, ainsi que les grands qui l'entouraient.

On avait interrogé les vieillards. Les renseignements obtenus se réduisaient à ceci. Au moment de la mort de Ndahiro, un jeune homme appartenant au clan des « Abiru » ou gardiens des traditions ancestrales, avait emporté le précieux instrument et s'était réfugié dans la forêt avec son dépôt. Dès lors nul n'en avait plus entendu parler. On obtint enfin des renseignements plus précis. Des gens appartenant au même clan et qui, eux aussi, s'étaient cachés dans le maquis, pour fuir les Banyabyinshi, vinrent un jour trouver le roi : « Nous connaissons l'endroit où est le tambourin, mais il te sera difficile de le reprendre; il est gardé par un énorme serpent ». Ils lui racontent que le gardien du tambour, après avoir épuisé ses dernières provisions, ne voulut pas abandonner l'emblème royal. Il choisit un monticule où s'élevait un grand arbre aux branches en parasol (inganzamarungu) (1). Le

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umwami, inka ziramubyukulukira, rubanda rwe lwose ruramushengerera.

Ukw' ingoma zivuga inka nazo zilinikira, zirakamwa, Imvura yari yarahangamye kw' ijuru, iherakw' igw' ubgo. Mu Rwanda hose impundu zivugira Ruganzu lwaje kubundur' ikihugu. Izindi zivugir' abagore babyaye n'abakobga bashyingiwe.

Nukw' Urwanda rurahabuka kuko kiramir' Urwanda yari yaje. Ab' umwami, igihugu kiramuyoboka arachyima... » etc. etc.

(1) De « marungu », essaim d'abeilles, et de « kuganga », dépasser.

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fidèle serviteur grimpa avec son tambour sur le sommet de l'arbre auquel il s'attacha étroitement et ne tarda pas à mourir d'inanition. Son corps à la longue se dessécha et devint semblable à du bois mort. Le temps fit son œuvre, le squelette se réduisit en poussière et de ses cendres sortit un énorme serpent. Celui-ci s'est enroulé autour du tambour. Personne ne peut en approcher; le reptile a des allures de python et met en pièces ceux qui osent s'aventurer sur son domaine, pour aller y ramasser du bois mort ou couper des arbustes. « Voilà donc, ajoutent-ils, ce qu'est devenu le tambour de tes ancêtres ».

La nouvelle réjouit grandement le prince. Il envoie sur-le-champ des messagers dans les différentes directions : « Le Roi, annoncèrent-ils à son de trompe, désire qu'on lui apporte du lait, de l'hydromel, de la bière fermentée, du jus de bananes mélangé au miel et à la farine de sorgho. Hâtez-vous! » Au jour désigné, les jarres de lait et les cruches de bière vinrent de partout.

On réunit en nombre des vaches et des bœufs gras. Ruganzu, suivi de ses gens, se mit en route pour la forêt à la recherche du palladium. Le cortège grossit en cours de route. On battit les tambours dans les villages. Il s'agissait d'un événement extraordinaire. On atteignit la futaie; les cœurs battaient d'émotion. Ruganzu ouvrait la marche accompagné de son peuple. L'arbre mystérieux apparut à leurs regards. La foule anxieuse fit cercle à distance. Le roi donna l'ordre d'égorger les bœufs et les vaches grasses. La forêt retentit des beuglements des victimes.

Les quartiers de viande, d'où se dégageait une fumée de sang chaud, furent rangés à proximité de l'arbre. On verse à part le lait et la bière dans les barquettes ou auges de forme allongée en bois (imivule) apportées à cet effet. De ces liquides, de ces liqueurs s'exhalaient un fumet, une vapeur agréable qui se répandaient dans l'atmosphère.

Le python en fut comme enivré. Il déroula ses anneaux, abandonna le tambourin et se laissa glisser sur le tronc.

Ayant touché terre, c'est d'abord la viande qui l'attira. Il se dirigea ensuite vers le lait, puis vers l'hydromel... Il but à longs traits, l'ivresse le saisit, il devint inoffensif. Les soldats d'élite (ibisumizi) de Ruganzu s'approchèrent du reptile. Ils étaient suivis de près par les gardes de corps et enfin par le gros de la troupe.

Le reptile, criblé de traits, expire. Le tambour est dégagé et remis à Ruganzu qui le prend dans ses bras et... le serre avec effusion. On le transporta à la capitale au milieu d'un grand concours de peuple.

Le trône royal était à jamais affermi par la recouvrance du palladium.

Quelques événements secondaires

Ruganzu s'était fait réserver chez Nyamikenge la peau de la vache qui avait été si malencontreusement tuée. On lui amena aussi le veau mâle qui avait grandi.

Comme la peau du tambourin s'était détériorée durant le long séjour dans la forêt, on se servit pour la remplacer de celle que les gens de Bussigi apportèrent. Un autre des tambours de la capitale se trouvait en mauvais état. On employa la peau du taurassin pour le réparer. Depuis cette époque ce tambour appelé « Ndamutsa », c'est-à-dire « le salut du roi » (du verbe « kulamutsa », saluer [1]), parce qu'on le frappait dans la matinée au moment où le roi se montrait à ses sujets), n'a cessé de se faire entendre à la capitale.

Jadis il donnait aussi le signal de l'exécution des condamnés, spectacle auquel ne manquait pas de s'intéresser autrefois une bonne partie de la Cour.

Nous avons dit que Ruganzu avait eu à souffrir de l'humeur ombrageuse de son oncle et de la jalousie tracassière de ses cousins. En garda-t-il rancune? Peut-être. Toujours est-il qu'il ne paraissait pas vouloir y

(1) Le sens littéral de Ndamutsa est « je salue » (le roi).

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

donner suite, lorsqu'une circonstance imprévue réveilla un beau jour les instincts de vengeance du fier Mututsi : « Nous t'avons sauvé, lui firent-ils dire par leurs messagers; si tu es monté sur le trône de tes pères, c'est à nous que tu le dois.

» Que vas-tu nous donner en retour des services que nous t'avons rendus? » — « C'est vrai, répondit le roi, vous m'avez offert un abri, je ne l'oublierai pas... C'est pourquoi je me contenterai de vous faire une seule défense, alors que vous mériteriez d'être exterminé.

» Écoutez bien ce que je vais vous dire. Vous avez comme nous l'habitude de traire vers les huit heures du matin (ku mabyukuruka). Eh bien! vous laisserez tomber cet usage.

» Si j'aperçois de la fumée à ce moment-là (les Banyarwanda allument toujours du feu, au milieu du troupeau, pendant que se fait la traite des vaches), je saurai que vous m'avez désobéi.

» A l'odeur du lait frais qui viendra frapper mon odorat, je saurai que vous avez contrevenu à mes ordres. » C'est ainsi que s'exprima « Celui qui sait parler aux hommes » (Lugambirir'abagabo), un autre nom de guerre de Ruganzu : « Allez-vous-en, ajouta-t-il aux envoyés. Dites à votre maître qu'il tienne compte de mes paroles. Je n'ai pas d'autre réponse à lui donner. Engagez-le à la prudence s'il ne veut pas avoir affaire à moi ». Les envoyés rentrèrent et firent la commission. « Comment, s'écria le roitelet mécontent, en apprenant l'injonction de son neveu. C'est toute la reconnaissance de Ruganzu. Il ose nous traiter de cette manière! » Ndagara ne fit aucun cas de cet ordre bizarre. Ruganzu ne tarda pas à l'apprendre [1]. Il n'y avait plus de ménagements à garder. Une expédition est aussitôt dirigée sur le Karagwe.

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[1] Il est à croire que ses espions l'informèrent mieux que l'odeur du lait, du superbe dédain de Ndagara pour cette injonction originale.

Les vaches furent pillées et conduites au Rwanda; on appauvrit le pays. La vengeance que le roi hamite tira de son oncle ne fit qu'accroître sa renommée (ichyatwa, ikilangirire) dans la région. On se souvient que l'ex-reine, en dépit du nombre de ses enfants, n'avait pas donné de prince héritier. En succombant au piège dressé par son mari, elle avait aggravé son cas. Son avenir était compromis sans retour. Il n'y avait plus d'espoir pour elle et ses fils. Ayant appris que Ruganzu approchait de la capitale, la malheureuse comprit qu'il n'y avait pas à compter sur un retour de la fortune. Elle se renferma dans une hutte avec ses enfants et y mit le feu. L'incendie les dévora tous. Les sorciers dispersèrent les cendres au vent.

CHAPITRE III

Ruganzu guerrier. — Ses hauts faits. — Eclat de son règne. — Succès de ses nombreuses expéditions. — Ses promenades militaires. — Aspects différents de la conduite du prince vis-à-vis de ses rivaux et de ses voisins.

Il est impossible de narrer par le détail tous les faits que la légende et la tradition prêtent au conquérant hamite : ils sont innombrables. Les récits suivants, très appréciés des indigènes, donneront une idée de la popularité de Ruganzu parmi les Banyarwanda. Ils aideront à comprendre le rôle que joua à son époque le célèbre monarque transformé en héros par les chansons de gestes.

Il fut admirablement servi par les circonstances.

Nsibura, le plus puissant de ses ennemis, disparaît avant son avènement au trône, sans qu'il ait à intervenir.

Le Nord-Ouest du Rwanda, où vivaient les Banyabyinshi, se soumet presque sans résistance.

Au lieu de s'attaquer de front à ses ennemis ou à ses rivaux, Ruganzu préfère employer la ruse comme il le fit pour Nzira, dans le pays de Bugara.

C'était sa méthode préférée, semble-t-il. Il laisse provisoirement de côté ceux qui ne peuvent lui nuire et contracte alliance avec les plus forts dont il redoute la puissance.

Le temps travaille pour lui; ses successeurs n'auront qu'à continuer et à consolider une œuvre si bien commencée. Il est vrai aussi que Ruganzu avait de qui tenir. Ses prédécesseurs avaient eu à lutter vigoureusement pour se maintenir dans leurs possessions et pour arrondir ensuite leur domaine. Le fils de Kigeri, Mutabazi-Mibambge, nous l'avons vu, après avoir repoussé, du vivant de son père, les Banyoro, réussit à pénétrer dans le Nduga; il parvint ensuite à se débarrasser du roitelet-sorcier Mashira, avec lequel il était tout d'abord entré en relations d'amitié pour refouler les susdits envahisseurs.

Durant longtemps ce ne furent que luttes continuelles entre les Hamites et les autochtones, puis entre les Hamites eux-mêmes. Ruganzu marcha sur les traces de ses ancêtres et les éclipsa de sa gloire. Il est évident que les différents personnages auxquels eurent affaire les monarques Batutsi, y compris celui dont nous décrirons la carrière, n'avaient pas tous la qualité et le titre de roi. Quelques-uns n'étaient que de simples particuliers, qui, pour une raison ou l'autre, s'attirèrent l'animosité des fougueux Hamites. La défaveur qui atteignit ces infortunés et la fin malheureuse qu'ils firent leur valurent d'être rangés par les historiens dans la catégorie des « abahinza », c'est-à-dire des roitelets ou prétendants et des révoltés (en runyarwanda abagome).

Parmi les nombreuses victimes du Conquistador africain, on peut ranger à côté des chefs, de riches propriétaires, des possesseurs de troupeaux et de pauvres hères qui lui avaient simplement déplu ou qui lui avaient été dénoncés à tort, car les intrigues et les cabales des courtisans ont été de tous les temps et de tous les lieux. « La malice de l'homme, disait un vieux conteur dont les tra-

verses dans la vie ne se comptaient plus, s'est souvent exercée sur son semblable. »

Aussi ne faut-il pas prendre à la lettre tout ce qui est rapporté par la légende. Pour honorer leurs héros et ajouter du lustre à leur gloire, les bardes ont une tendance explicable à rehausser le rang et la puissance de ceux qui furent sacrifiés et immolés.

Artistes, poètes et écrivains s'entendent à faire valoir leurs œuvres.

Défaite de Nzira, fils de Mulamira, dans le pays de Bugara.

Le roi hamite rêvait de se débarrasser d'un certain Nzira, qui détenait le pays de Bugara. Restait à connaître le moyen qu'il emploierait pour y réussir sans danger.

Ruganzu avait eu beau immoler un taurassin, un mouton et une chèvre. Les sacrificateurs, après avoir lu l'avenir dans les entrailles des victimes, ne purent lui donner l'assurance de la victoire sur son ennemi. Les aruspices avec leurs poussins ne furent pas plus heureux. Les sorts étaient défavorables à une campagne en règle.

Ayant consulté de nouveaux sorciers, ceux-ci lui promettent le succès, mais à condition de se déguiser et d'aller lui-même trouver son adversaire.

Ruganzu se dépouille de ses insignes royaux. Revêtu d'une vulgaire peau de mouton, comme le commun des mortels, il va trouver Nzira.

A peine entré dans le territoire de ce dernier, il s'en prend d'abord à l'arbre qu'avaient planté les ancêtres de son rival et que pour cette raison celui-ci entourait de respect et de vénération. D'un coup de hache il fait tomber l'une des fortes branches orientées du côté du Rwanda, en disant : « Puissent les mânes de mes pères m'aider à vaincre! »

De la blessure faite sur le tronc, il sortit du lait. C'était une marque de bon augure.

Il frappe une autre branche de l'arbre dans la direction opposée faisant face au village de son ennemi. Il en jaillit du sang, présage de mort pour Nzira. En cours de route il fait la rencontre d'une femme qui le reconnaît et le salue de ses titres. Ruganzu l'arrête et lui demande le secret en lui promettant ses faveurs pour plus tard. Elle avait un fils qui fréquentait Nzira et passait pour être un de ses favoris. Il a ses allées et venues libres auprès du roitelet. Le jeune homme servira donc d'intermédiaire et d'introducteur à la Cour du prince.

Ruganzu se fait conduire chez son rival qui deviendra bientôt sa victime et se donne comme un grand chef du Rwanda persécuté. « Je possédais, lui raconte-t-il, un grand nombre de collines, j'avais plusieurs habitations et de grands troupeaux. Le roi m'a dépouillé de tout et je me suis enfui. Veux-tu m'accepter à ton service? »

Le ton du beau parleur convainquit Nzira, qui de par ailleurs n'était pas fâché d'obtenir des renseignements plus précis sur le roi du Rwanda.

Le bruit s'était répandu en effet que ce monarque devait tenter un coup de main sur son territoire; le sort le favorisait en lui envoyant quelqu'un qui était en état de le mettre au courant des intentions de son ennemi et pourrait lui donner de bons conseils. Il lui fit donc le meilleur accueil.

Par son savoir-faire Ruganzu capta la confiance du roitelet, malgré les soupçons et les pressentiments de la mère de ce dernier.

La vieille douairière trouvait l'étranger trop flatteur pour être bien sincère et suggérait à son fils d'être prudent.

Nzira l'avait admis dans son intimité, l'invitant souvent à boire avec lui. Chose curieuse, toutes les fois que Ruganzu pénétrait dans l'intérieur de la hutte, les poules

se mettaient à caqueter, les vaches à meugler, les veaux rompaient leur corde, les tambours résonnaient d'eux-mêmes, les courges qui servent de récipients s'entre-choquaient. Le phénomène se renouvelait quotidiennement, ce qui faisait sursauter la mère de Nzira. Elle disait suppliante et larmoyante : « Défie-toi, mon enfant, cet homme revêtu d'une peau de mouton n'est autre que Ruganzu; tu refuses de m'écouter, il va nous arriver malheur ».

Le rusé prince n'avait que trop bien réussi à gagner les bonnes grâces du chef, chez lequel il passait la plus grande partie de la nuit à protester de son entier dévouement et à lui prédire son triomphe futur sur le roi du Rwanda.

Il se faisait fort, ajoutait-il, de veiller sur sa sécurité, de l'avertir à temps de l'approche de ses ennemis et de le tirer du danger. Durant les intervalles que lui laissaient ses assiduités auprès du chef, Ruganzu prenait ses dispositions. Il s'était lié par le pacte de sang avec le jeune homme qui l'avait présenté chez Nzira. Son frère de sang le renseigna sur les richesses du pays et sur les forces en hommes dont pouvait disposer le roitelet. Ruganzu fit alors avertir ses guerriers.

Ceux-ci se mirent en route et l'on aperçut bientôt la fumée de leurs campements. Ils n'étaient plus qu'à une journée de marche. Pour donner une certaine vraisemblance à ses discours et entretenir Nzira dans sa fausse sécurité, l'« Homme à la peau de mouton » (Chambara ntama) lui annonça à l'avance l'arrivée de Ruganzu et de son armée : « Ils ne sont pas loin et tu peux t'attendre à une attaque imminente. Ne crains rien toutefois, ils ne sont pas aussi puissants qu'on le dit. Nous les vaincrons sûrement ». La mère de Nzira n'en devenait que plus anxieuse et plus pressante : « Mon fils, lui soufflait-elle à l'oreille, tu ne veux pas me croire, je suis sûre que nous avons affaire à Ruganzu lui-même; il ne s'est déguisé que

pour mieux nous trahir. Le péril nous menace (Uzumva uli habi)! ». — « Ce ne sont que des paroles de femme craintive », lui répond Nzira. « Puissent mes pressentiments ne pas se réaliser », ajoute la pauvre créature.

Le dénoûment approchait. Ruganzu assure à son rival que le premier choc aura certainement lieu dans la journée du lendemain. Il lui propose un stratagème qui lui donnera la victoire : « Autant que je connaisse les Banyarwanda, tu peux t'attendre à leur arrivée ici, dès demain. Prends donc tes mesures en conséquence. Fais battre le tambour. Dis à tes gens de préparer de la nourriture et surtout beaucoup de vin de bananes. Dès que l'ennemi paraîtra, dis à tes gens de prendre la fuite et simule une grande frayeur. Les Banyarwanda, très goulus, se jetteront comme des chiens affamés sur les vivres et le pombe. Nous surviendrons alors à l'improviste et nous les exterminerons ».

Nzira fut charmé de cette leçon de stratégie. Il donna des ordres pour la faire exécuter. Ruganzu avait prévenu le jeune homme et sa mère : « Si vous entendez du bruit durant cette nuit, restez tranquilles chez vous, il ne vous arrivera rien de mal ».

C'était à peu près vers l'heure de minuit. Les Banyarwanda, profitant des ténèbres, s'étaient avancés subrepticement et avaient enfin rejoint Ruganzu qui les attendait dans la hutte du chef. Celui-ci, plus que jamais rempli de sécurité, dormait profondément. Ruganzu, une serpette à la main, s'approche de la couche de son rival. Nzira, comme sous l'impression d'un mauvais rêve s'écrie : « Ohé! l'homme à la peau de mouton, j'ai rêvé que Ruganzu allait me tuer ». — « Ce n'est pas un rêve, reprend celui-ci, c'est une réalité. » Et d'un seul coup il fend la tête de son ennemi. La mère de Nzira s'était réveillée en sursaut au moment du drame : « Je te l'avais bien dit ». Le roi la précipite hors du lit et la fait empaler dehors toute vivante : « Vieille sorcière, continue donc tes prophéties sur mon compte comme autrefois ». Les

Banyarwanda firent bombance, ils passèrent des journées entières à boire et à manger. On mit à feu et à sang le district de Nzira. Le butin fut tel que les chemins n'étaient pas assez larges pour le laisser passer et qu'il fallut des mois et des jours pour l'emporter. Le jeune homme et sa mère, qui avaient si bien reçu l'exilé et lui avaient donné les renseignements voulus, s'appelaient l'un Gatsobe et l'autre Nyirarutsobe. Ruganzu les fit porter en triomphe à la capitale. Il donna au fils sa propre fille en mariage et lui confia le gouvernement de plusieurs provinces. De l'union de Gatsobe avec la fille du Hamite sortirent les Batutsi qui forment encore aujourd'hui un clan important parmi les Batutsi. On les appelle Batsobe, du nom de leur ancêtre.

Meurtre de Nyagaketchuru

« Nyagaketchuru » (la petite vieille) demeurait dans les terres de Huyi. Elle y avait bâti une enceinte solide qui de loin ressemblait à une forêt. Des arbustes épineux, les « minyonza » et les « minyinya » (acacias) en fermaient les interstices; des chardons montants (ibitovu) et de grandes orties (ibisura) en garnissaient les abords.

Mais ce qui constituait la principale défense de la demeure de Nyagaketchuru, c'était un serpent de l'espèce la plus dangereuse, qui se tenait dans la haie et crachait sur ceux qui venaient attaquer la maîtresse de céans.

Un matin, Ruganzu veut s'approcher. Nyagaketchuru le met en fuite à l'aide de son reptile. Le roi ayant vu que l'enceinte de son ennemie est protégée par un rideau d'arbres et d'épines lui fait offrir en cadeau, comme pour la gagner, un troupeau de chèvres.

La propriétaire du logis accepte sans défiance. Ruganzu avait son idée. Le temps devait lui donner raison.

Le troupeau est entouré de soin; les chèvres mettent bas et deviennent nombreuses. Nul parmi les gardiens ne fait attention à leurs déprédations.

Les ovidés dévastent l'épaisse clôture de Nyagaketchuru. En broutant la palissade, elles l'ajourèrent peu à peu et y firent de vastes brèches.

Il n'y eut bientôt plus de haie. C'est ce que voulait le roi du Rwanda. Le serpent, ne s'y trouvant plus en sécurité, se sauve au loin. On vient avertir Ruganzu que les chèvres ont dévasté l'enceinte derrière laquelle se réfugiaient Nyagaketchuru et ses gens. Il revint accompagné de ses hommes.

A son approche, la vieille monte sur le haut de sa maison. Elle eut beau faire des incantations pour arrêter les assaillants, ceux-ci la précipitent en bas et la percent de leurs lances. Ruganzu s'empara de ses biens et emmena ses troupeaux.

On se distribua les domestiques et les servantes.

Les vainqueurs ne quittèrent la colline qu'après avoir mis le feu à l'ensemble des cases. L'endroit est devenu, depuis ce temps, un lieu désert et inhabité.

« Seule, disent les gens, la petit muraille en terre, sur laquelle Nyagaketchuru rangeait ses vases à lait, a survécu aux ravages des hommes et du temps et se voit encore à Huvi. »

Quelle est la part de vérité qui se dégage de ce banal épisode auquel les contemporains de Ruganzu ont donné une certaine importance.

Il s'agit probablement d'une vulgaire sorcière. Le prince dut avoir recours à son art et lui offrit des présents, entre autres un petit troupeau de chèvres. Les opérations magiques n'eurent pas le résultat qu'escomptait le royal client ou bien celui-ci, prévenu par son entourage, eût-il peur de ses sortilèges? En tout cas la dernière entrevue fut tragique et la malheureuse périt assassinée. L'« assaut » des chèvres, qui, en broutant, détruisent la haie épaisse servant de clôture, n'est qu'une conception de l'imagination. Le peuple a applaudi au geste meurtrier, l'a embelli et l'a classé parmi les grands faits du règne.

Défaite successive d'autres personnages connus sous les noms de Gogo, Nyaruzi, Ruhande, Rutoke, etc.

On était encore aux premiers jours du règne, racontent les chroniqueurs. Ruganzu, ne se sentant pas encore suffisamment fort pour attaquer de front ses ennemis, y allait prudemment. Tantôt il feignait de lier amitié avec eux pour faire face à un ennemi commun; tantôt il se déguisait comme il le fit lors de son expédition au Bugara, chez Nzira. Tous les moyens lui étaient bons pour réussir. Étant allé guerroyer dans le Kinyaga, il députa un de ses lieutenants chez le chef de Mwito et de Biguzi. Muvunyi, le fils de Kalema, dont on reparlera bientôt, fut envoyé dans ce but. Gogo, le chef en question, le reçut entouré de ses gens. Muvunyi, ne sachant que dire pour amorcer la conversation, se donna comme porteur d'une nouvelle importante : « Sire, j'ai une communication grave à te confier de la part de Ruganzu. La discrétion exige que je transmette ce message sans témoin ». Gogo, trop confiant, suit son interlocuteur qui l'entraîne à l'écart. L'habitation du chef se trouvait sur un petit plateau. Muvunyi le conduit à l'extrémité, un peu en contre-bas. C'est alors que le lieutenant du Hamite saisit son coutelas et le lui enfonce sous l'aisselle jusqu'à la poignée.

Les gens qui suivaient de loin avaient vu le bras du meurtrier s'élever, puis Gogo s'affaisser. Ils accoururent à toute vitesse; le messager put s'enfuir à temps.

Ruganzu comptait désormais un ennemi de moins. Nous verrons plus tard que le fils de la victime essayera de venger son père. Ruganzu, blessé grièvement, refusera le combat et reconnaîtra l'indépendance du successeur de Gogo.

La province du Burwe, que l'on désigne encore aujourd'hui sous le nom de Ndala [1], était soumise au fils de

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[1] Ndala sert à désigner le contingent militaire recruté dans la province.

Haramanga, Nyaruzi, dont l'habitation se trouvait à Mukindo, non loin du fleuve de l'Akanyaru.

Ruganzu, pour ne pas éveiller l'attention, ne voulut prendre avec lui que quelques hommes dont Muyenzi-Mutara, celui de ses fils qui devait lui succéder; Rwona, le fils de Nyirantayandi, l'une de ses esclaves et Gihogwe Ainsi accompagné, il se rendit chez Nyaruzi. On était à l'époque des labours et des semailles. Le chef était allé surveiller ses ouvriers. Ruganzu trouva chez Nyaruzi deux invités qui buvaient de la bière et qui lui cherchèrent querelle.

Survint alors le maître de la maison.

« Qui êtes-vous? » demanda-t-il à l'étranger et à ses suivants. « Nous sommes des voyageurs (abangenzi) et nous demandons un gîte pour la nuit », lui fut-il répondu.

« C'est bien », reprend Nyaruzi. Il les engage à entrer et à s'asseoir auprès de lui. On avait préparé de nombreuses cruches de bière, comme cela se fait quand on a des travailleurs. Ceux-ci ne tardèrent pas à rejoindre le maître qui les avait engagés. C'était la fin de la journée, ils avaient terminé leur tâche. La soirée se passa dans le bruit et l'animation.

L'heure n'était donc pas à un coup de main. Sans se déconcerter, le roi et ses compagnons prirent place autour des pots de bière et attendirent que tous eussent bu. Les heures se passent, les cruches se vident et les conversations vont bon train. Finalement, bien avant dans la nuit, des ouvriers les uns se retirent et s'en vont chez eux, les autres pris de sommeil s'endorment sur place.

Le silence et le calme de la nuit succèdent aux rires et aux conversations.

Jugeant le moment favorable, Ruganzu tire son glaive du fourreau et en perce la gorge de Nyaruzi étendu à ses côtés. Les cris de la victime réveillent les dormeurs.

Serviteurs, ouvriers, voisins, tous se lèvent en poussant des cris d'appel (induru). Le crime est bientôt connu.

Ruganzu et ses compagnons se précipitent au dehors et « s'enfoncent dans les ténèbres ». L'éveil est donné dans le village.

Les habitants sont sur pied et se mettent à la poursuite des assassins. Les fuyards n'ont pas d'autre ressource que de se jeter dans le bois qui longe le fleuve.

Pour ne pas laisser échapper leur proie, les gens de Nyazuri cernent le bois et allument d'immenses brasiers sur la lisière. Le danger devenait pressant; le cercle allait se resserrant et le jour commençait à poindre.

On ne manquerait pas de fouiller les coins et d'explorer les replis du terrain. Les meurtriers devaient tomber infailliblement entre les mains de ceux qui les recherchaient.

« Déguise-toi en bûcheron (Wigir' umushènyi), dit soudain Ruganzu en s'adressant au fils de l'esclave; traverse les lignes de nos ennemis, fais-toi livrer passage et amène vite du renfort; hâte-toi de nous tirer de ce mauvais pas. Nous sommes en grand danger. » Rwona (ou Rgwona) se prépare un lourd fagot de brindilles et de branches sèches.

Ses compagnons le lui chargent sur la tête. Il rencontre les premiers assaillants. On l'arrête pour le questionner.

« J'étais venu faire du bois, répond-il, la nuit m'a surpris, je me suis attardé. »

Soupçonneux, ses interlocuteurs lui demandent s'il n'aurait pas vu des fuyards, des gens qui se cachaient : « Oui, ajoute-t-il, je crois avoir aperçu de loin des gens qui cherchaient à m'éviter. » — « Indiquez-nous donc le chemin? » — « Suivez-moi, je vais vous conduire. » Ils font quelques pas ensemble, mais dans une direction opposée. Les voyant sans défiance, le bûcheron de circonstance ayant un peu d'avance fait un bond et disparaît dans un petit sentier... Les partisans et les amis de Ruganzu n'étaient pas très éloignés. Ils étaient à proximité de la région. Arrivé sur une hauteur, Rwona se mit à

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

crier que Ruganzu était en danger. Les guerriers arrivèrent à temps pour délivrer leur souverain.

L'épisode de Nyaruzi est célèbre et les allusions y sont fréquentes dans les conversations. Ruganzu avait failli y laisser la vie, c'est le plus clair de la légende.

Quelle fut au juste l'origine et la raison de la querelle? Les récits sur ce sujet donnent plusieurs versions. Le prince hamite, d'après un premier récit, dans une rencontre fortuite avec les gens de Nyaruzi, se serait mis à les insulter et les aurait dépouillés de leur butin de guerre.

Conduit au tribunal du roitelet, celui-ci, ignorant la qualité de l'étranger, le condamna à la restitution, d'où l'accès de colère et de violence auquel se porta le monarque vindicatif.

D'autres racontent que Ruganzu, toujours en voyage, traversait le Ndala et s'était arrêté chez Nyaruzi. Ce dernier était absent et le roi guerrier voulut quand même se reposer et causer avec la femme de céans, originaire du Rwanda. Nyaruzi à son retour en prit-il ombrage ou même les surprit-il en faute? L'hypothèse est plausible.

Nous avons vu que Nyaruzi fut tué et que Ruganzu l'échappa belle, c'est tout ce que l'on sait.

Le fourré dans lequel se cacha le roi existe encore en partie à l'endroit dit de Nyagahuru et a conservé le nom du monarque (ikibira cha Ruganzu).

Muyenzi-Mutara, le fils aîné de Ruganzu, était, avons-nous dit, de la partie et partagea le danger de son père.

Gihogwe, un des hommes de l'escorte, voyant le péril pressant dans lequel se trouvait son maître, aurait devancé Rwona, disent certains chroniqueurs. Monté sur un arbre élevé, il se mit à crier avec une telle force que l'armée de Ruganzu, qui était campée à Buhimba de Mujejuru (c'est-à-dire à une distance de 30 kilomètres environ), entendit sa voix, raconte la légende, et se mit en route pour venir délivrer le prince.

L'acte de Gihogwe est passé en proverbe.

« Ce sont les cris d'appel de Gihogwe » (induru ya Gihogwe), dit-on, quand on entend des clameurs perçantes ou des éclats de voix inusités.

On peut se demander quelle était la condition sociale et politique de Nyaruzi par rapport au roi du Rwanda. La victime est donnée comme Hamite dans le récit. Peut-être ses ancêtres Batutsi s'étaient-ils taillés une petit principauté, comme le firent tant d'autres, à leur arrivée dans le Rwanda, et nous nous expliquons alors la conduite de Ruganzu.

Ou bien encore, Nyaruzi, grand chef de province, avait-il essayé de desserrer les liens de vassalité qui le rattachaient au roi, en montrant dans ses relations avec lui quelque indépendance? Nous en sommes réduits aux suppositions.

En quittant la province du Burwe, Ruganzu parvint dans la soirée au village de Ruhande. Ruhande était alors le nom du chef lui-même. Le roi le rencontra dans ses champs occupé à surveiller ses ouvriers. « Tuvire uluhande limwe », c'est-à-dire « Finissons-en une fois pour toutes! » s'écria Ruganzu, qui fait un jeu de mots, en employant le nom du chef Ruhande, dans un tout autre sens. Et en même temps il lui fracasse le crâne. « De cette façon, j'en aurais fini avec tous les ennemis de la région », ajoute le terrible justicier.

Une autre fois, il était allé camper sur le fleuve de la Nyabarongo, en face de Suti, la colline la plus importante de la province de Muyambiriri. Ruganzu reprochait au chef du village Gisulera, un pluviateur de renom, d'avoir fait preuve d'insoumission. Le sorcier aurait même, disaient ses détracteurs, menacé de mort ceux qui tenteraient de traverser le fleuve pour pénétrer dans son pays. Ruganzu, renseigné par ses espions, passe la rivière durant la nuit et surprend Gisulera, qui est tué durant son sommeil.

Gisulera mort, ses descendants ne furent pas inquiétés

Ils continuèrent leur rôle de « gardiens et de préservateurs des récoltes » qu'assumaient presque tous les chefs et roitelets du pays. Le titulaire actuel conserve le titre de Muhinza ou de « roi des récoltes », en souvenir des anciennes traditions.

En cette qualité il a encore le privilège du tambour. On lui attribue le pouvoir d'écarter les sauterelles (nzige) et les chenilles qui font en été de grands ravages dans les récoltes. Le chef de Suti et les autres « bahinza », en général, exercent cet honorable et lucratif métier qui les font largement vivre. Lukambura, l'avant-dernier chef de Suti, fut tué à Kamonyi en 1896, par le puissant ministre Kabale, qui le croyait hostile au nouveau régime instauré par lui; le fils de la victime continue à jouir paisiblement de son « tambour » et à percevoir ses « honoraires ».

Le Muhanga, qui sert de limite au pays de Marangara, obéissait à un sorcier célèbre, Rutoke-Rutukura, l'« homme au doigt rouge ».

On l'appelait ainsi parce que, dit la légende, il avait le don prodigieux de mettre le feu à l'un de ses doigts (gukongeza) dont il se servait comme d'une torche embrasée pour s'éclairer ou allumer sa pipe. Le doigt brûlait, ajoutent les conteurs, sans se consumer et sans que le sorcier en souffrit autrement. Ruganzu redoutait les maléfices du magicien. Il résolut de s'en défaire. Le sorcier, moins confiant dans son pouvoir, s'enfuit à l'approche du Hamite qui réussit à l'atteindre et à le tuer à Rutaka, près de la Nyabarongo.

Pendant que Ruganzu était occupé à guerroyer contre ses ennemis et ceux qu'on lui présentait comme tels, il fut offensé gravement par Kalinda, un petit chef Muhutu, qui habitait à Biti, près de la mission actuelle de Kabgayi. On conduisait au pâturage l'un des troupeaux du roi. En passant à Biti, les vaches, échappant à la surveillance des gardiens, pénétrèrent dans un champ où elles firent des dégâts. D'où la colère de Kalinda. Les

vachers furent maltraités et on alla jusqu'à frapper les vaches du roi. On rapporta la chose au monarque qui résolut d'en tirer une vengeance éclatante.

En sa qualité de souverain, le pays ne lui appartenait-il pas tout entier, champs et récoltes, bêtes et gens? Averti à temps, Kalinda, sachant bien ce qui l'attendait, s'enfuit au loin. On n'en entendit jamais plus parler. Ruganzu s'empara de ses biens et les donna à ses partisans.

Ngurugunzu, chef indépendant du Bugamba; Kanyabirago, qui commandait à Gatenzi, à Kivumu et au Bgirika; Sekera et bien d'autres furent attaqués par Ruganzu, qui exerça à leur égard une justice sommaire. Pour se débarrasser d'eux Ruganzu se servit du moyen classique qui lui avait si bien réussi jusque-là, en particulier chez Nzira et chez Nyaruzi. Il se présenta comme voyageur ou comme chef disgrâcié, qui pour échapper à la mort avait dû s'enfuir de la Cour de Ruganzu.

On crut à ses paroles. Il fut hébergé, traité en ami. Nul ne se défiait de lui.

Profitant du sommeil de ses hôtes, le vrai Ruganzu se levait, immolait ses hôtes et retournait dans son camp où on l'accueillait en vainqueur... pour d'aussi faciles victoires.

Relations entretenues par Ruganzu avec le roitelet du petit royaume de Marangara.

Outre les principautés dont on vient de parler, Ruganzu à son avènement au trône, trouva le modeste royaume de Marangara, qui était aux mains d'un Muhutu nommé Nkoma. Le Marangara comptait en plus de ses limites actuelles, les districts voisins, qui avaient été soumis par les prédécesseurs de Nkoma. Il s'étendait au Bumbogo, au Munyambiriri et au Muhanga.

Ne se sentant pas assez fort pour attaquer le prince autochtone, Ruganzu lia amitié avec lui. Nkoma, roi et

devin, exerçait alors un grand prestige autour de lui. Il pouvait se transformer à volonté, dit la légende, en taureau emporté, en chien furieux ou tout autre animal redoutable.

Il allait au-devant de ses ennemis et les terrassait sans le secours de personne.

Il avait le pouvoir singulier de mettre le feu aux bananeries, qui se consumaient et se réduisaient en cendres sous ses yeux.

Ses talents magiques étaient tels qu'il lui suffisait de jeter en l'air un couteau et une cuisse de vache, par exemple, la viande retombait à l'instant découpée en une multitude de petits morceaux (bikigabanya byinshi). Son renom s'était étendu au loin. Les Noirs croyaient à sa toute-puissance. On le craignait et on le respectait tout à la fois. Ses sujets ne manquèrent de rien sous son règne. Le prince autochtone commandait aux éléments et à la pluie. Les semences (imbutu z' imyaka), qu'il distribuait annuellement, réussissaient parfaitement, rapportant le centuple, content ses admirateurs. L'abondance régnait dans la principauté.

Ruganzu crut bon de le ménager, d'autant plus qu'il passait pour un redoutable ensorceleur. Aussi le traita-t-il d'égal à égal tout d'abord. Il n'eut qu'à se féliciter de son concours. Nkoma lui prêta les secours de son art magique. Il se joignit à Ruganzu avec ses troupes et l'accompagna dans nombre d'expéditions. Ce prince aborigène l'aida particulièrement contre la sorcière de Huyi, la célèbre Nyagaketchuru, et Rutoke, l'homme au doigt rouge, le sorcier de Muhanga.

Nkoma est un des rares roitelets qui n'eut pas à souffrir des agissements de Ruganzu. Ils vécurent amis jusqu'au bout. Le sorcier périt dans un combat que le roi du Rwanda livra contre les Barundi.

Il se laissa surprendre dans une embuscade. Pour échapper à ses ennemis il fit un prodige. Par l'effet de sa

puissance, disent les conteurs, la terre s'entr'ouvrit sous ses pas et Nkoma disparut aux regards stupéfaits des Barundi, qui étaient sur le point de s'emparer de sa personne.

Le fait, ajoutent les bardes, se passa sur la colline de Save, dans la province du Bgana-Mkali, à l'endroit où l'on voit encore une sorte de tumulus (umugina). La nouvelle de sa disparition étant parvenue chez lui, sa veuve rassembla tout ce qui leur appartenait. On rangea les effets et les objets du ménage dans de grands paniers, que des serviteurs chargèrent sur leur tête.

La princesse, ainsi accompagnée, sortit de sa demeure et gravit la colline qui porte le nom de son mari. Arrivée au sommet, la terre s'entr'ouvrit comme pour son époux et l'engloutit avec ses gens.

En reconnaissance des services rendus à Ruganzu par Nkoma, les descendants de ce dernier ne furent pas inquiétés. Parmi ses successeurs, l'histoire relève les noms de Nkoma II, Nyamurassa et Kibogo. Trois petits bosquets indiquent la place de leurs demeures respectives. Il y eut pourtant une brouille entre l'un de ces princes et le monarque hamite, son contemporain, à la suite d'une querelle de pasteurs.

Le roi du Rwanda prit parti pour les siens et se montra fort mécontent. Quelque temps après, se trouvant en voyage, il fut piqué à la jambe par un insecte. La blessure s'envenima à tel point qu'il en mourut à Musamba.

Le prince Muhutu fut soupçonné de l'avoir ensorcelé.

On n'osa toutefois rien tenter contre lui. Ses successeurs conservèrent le sceptre jusqu'au jour où Kibogo, le dernier d'entre eux, mourut de la variole, en 1894 ou 1895, un peu avant Lwabugiri, le roi du Rwanda. Les malheurs fondirent sur le petit royaume.

Les chiques (*pulex penetrans*) firent leur apparition et beaucoup de malheureux, ne sachant ce dont il s'agissait, moururent des suites des plaies occasionnées par cette

espèce de ciron. La peste bovine décima les troupeaux, la famine survint. Les habitants se détournèrent alors du descendant de leurs rois, incapable de trouver un remède à leurs maux.

Il n'avait probablement pas, ajoutent les Noirs crédules, apporté en naissant les graines (imbuto nkuru) qui désignent l'héritier de la couronne et présagent un règne prospère.

L'autonomie qui n'était plus que nominale déjà à cette époque et les privilèges de la principauté ne sont plus restés qu'à l'état de souvenir.

Les rois hamites du Rwanda ont vécu dans la persuasion que la prospérité du Marangara venait du pouvoir magique de son chef. Aussi ont-ils confié aux Bakoma ou descendants de ces princes autochtones le soin de leur fabriquer l'élixir de longue vie, appelé issubyo [1], d'où le nom de Banyissubyo donné aux préparateurs qui se glorifient de ce titre.

Cet élixir n'est autre chose que de la bière de bananes dans laquelle on a versé une mixtion faite des cendres d'une sorte de champignon appelé agatumura et de celles d'une mousse, parasite de certains arbres, qu'on brûle après dessiccation. On y ajoute encore de la poudre d'issubyo qu'on obtient par la mouture des racines de cette plante préalablement séchée au soleil. Chaque matin le monarque en aspire par le moyen du chalumeau quelques gouttes pour s'en rincer la bouche.

Sous l'empire de la même persuasion, on croit que le ciel de Marangara est très favorable à la santé; les rois hamites y ont fait un séjour plus ou moins long. La colline de Mata, qui se trouve dans ce pays de cocagne, a servi de résidence à Mutara-Lwogera. Le reine Nyiramavugo y a passé quelque temps et Lwabugiri a vécu un

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[1] Les Banyarwanda se servent de ce terme pour désigner un certain nombre de produits pharmaceutiques et tout particulièrement l'ammoniaque qui a obtenu un grand crédit chez eux.

mois. Il n'est pas jusqu'aux pierres à aiguiser qui ne soient douées, dans ce lieu fortuné, de propriétés spéciales.

La pierre que l'on voit encore à Mata, et qui a servi à rendre plus aiguë la lance de Luganzu, a communiqué à l'arme du fameux guerrier la vertu de tuer tous ses ennemis.

On raconte même que les émissaires de la capitale, à chaque règne, allaient en cachette effiler sur cette même pierre les armes destinées à tuer les frères du nouveau roi, capables de lui disputer la couronne.

Le châtiment des « Bachuku » et des « Bayumbo ». Origine d'un tribut humain.

Ce terrible châtiment fut la conséquence d'un acte de gloutonnerie. On a vu dans les épisodes précédents que pour réussir le prince hamite se sert de tous les moyens licites et illicites. Le succès seul lui importe. Le récit suivant va nous montrer comment il exerce sa vengeance quand il estime qu'on lui a fait tort et qu'on a porté atteinte à son prestige.

Au cours d'une de ses nombreuses randonnées, Ruganzu se trouvait dans la province du Kinyaga, au Sud-Est du lac Kivu. Un roi ne se déplace jamais sans se faire suivre de vaches laitières, pour ses besoins personnels [1]. De plus, les troupeaux sont en principe la propriété du souverain.

Le pays lui appartient avec ce qu'il renferme. Quand il traverse une région, on lui amène les bêtes à cornes, dont il peut disposer comme bon lui semble.

Libre à lui de les garder ou de les distribuer à qui il veut. C'est la coutume. Il advint qu'un des taureaux de l'un de ces troupeaux chassé sans doute par ses rivaux, vivait en solitaire et errait dans la campagne, endommageant les cultures. Il parvint jusqu'à l'endroit connu sous

[1] Un grand chef fait de même en voyage.

le nom de « Sources d'eaux chaudes ». Les eaux y sont légèrement alcalines, comme celles du lac et pour cela fort prisées des troupeaux que l'on y conduit régulièrement. On les appelle « Amashuza », c'est-à-dire, les eaux chaudes (du mot « gushuha » qui veut dire être chaud). Les sources à cette époque au lieu de se développer en étangs comme aujourd'hui, ne formaient alors que de petites flaques. Le taureau royal trouvant que l'eau était à son goût, agrandit peu à peu les trous. Les étangs actuels, racontent les Noirs, datent de cette époque.

La bête paraissant abandonnée, les gens du pays, qui faisaient partie du clan des Bachuku, friands de viande comme leurs congénères et toujours à l'affût de ce qui pouvait leur tomber sous la main, s'emparent de l'animal. Ils l'égorgent séance tenante et le dépècent entre eux. Ruganzu l'apprend. Gardant l'incognito, il se porte au lieu ou le bovidé a été tué et demande sa part du butin. Les Bachuku, voyant à ses traits qu'il s'agissait d'un Mututsi, lui offrent chacun un morceau de viande, ainsi qu'il en avait exprimé le désir. Le noble quémandeur enfile les parts sur sa lance qui était d'une seule pièce et toute en fer.

Arrive un vieillard du clan des Bayombo, attiré lui aussi par l'odeur de viande fraîche. Devant le refus des Bachuku qui ne veulent plus se dessaisir de la part qui revient à chacun : « Attends un peu, dit Ruganzu, je ne suis pas aussi pauvre ni aussi chiche que ces gens ».

Il lui présente sa lance sur laquelle avaient été fixés les morceaux, en lui disant toutefois qu'il devait les retirer avec les dents et non avec les mains. « Le plaisir ne doit pas aller sans peine », ajoute-t-il. Le vieillard se soumit bénévolement à la condition imposée et n'éprouva pas tout d'abord de grosses difficultés. Il en fut autrement pour les derniers morceaux qu'il ne réussissait plus à faire glisser. Ruganzu dut l'autoriser à se servir de la méthode commune.

En agissant ainsi le roi n'avait pas l'intention de faire acte de condescendance et de libéralité. Ce n'était là de sa part qu'une pure comédie. Le nouveau venu avait à peine terminé que le roi s'écria d'une voix terrible : « Je plante ici ma lance, je vais la laisser au milieu de vous pour que vous lui donniez des enfants (c'est-à-dire des victimes). En expiation du forfait que vous venez de commettre, vous livrerez désormais à chaque avènement un jeune homme et une jeune fille. Telle est ma volonté (Iryo chumu libazaja mo..., Umwani uzima, mubyarir' ir' ichumu; ni yima muvemo inkuke) ».

Et tout en s'éloignant il fait saisir deux jeunes gens et deux jeunes filles qu'on sacrifia à Nyakafunzo (petit marais), près du village de Gashashi, dans le pays dit du Bukunzi. Depuis cette époque, affirment les indigènes, la vallée dans laquelle se fit cette sanglante exécution s'est transformée en marécage. L'histoire ajoute que le vieillard, pour gagner les bonnes grâces de Ruganzu qu'il prenait pour un simple Mututsi, lui aurait promis une cruche de bière en échange de sa part de viande : « Peut-être même pourrai-je t'offrir de l'hydromel ». La promesse était de pure forme.

Le Hamite, sachant bien qu'elle ne serait pas tenue, étant donnée la qualité des gens du pays, répondit : « C'est entendu, mais si tu ne tiens pas ton engagement, ma lance viendra le faire exécuter ». Ruganzu ne cherchait qu'à englober dans une même vengeance les habitants de l'endroit, les Bayombo, dont faisait partie le vieillard, et les Bachuku qui s'étaient emparés de la bête.

Telle fut l'origine du tribut humain payé par les gens du Kinyaga.

Comme punition du crime de lèse-majesté, les premiers étaient tenus, à chaque succession au trône, de livrer un jeune homme qu'on massacrait à Nyakafunzo, au même lieu où Ruganzu avait exercé sa première vengeance. Les émissaires envoyés à cette occasion pour faire

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exécuter la sanglante loi, lui plongeaient un poignard au défaut du bras. Le sang de la victime était recueilli dans une jarre en bois que l'on portait ensuite, d'après les indications reçues de la capitale, en pays ennemi. Par l'effusion de ce sang maudit, les Banyarwanda escomptaient la défaite de ceux qui avaient offensé le roi ou étaient en guerre avec lui.

Le cadavre du malheureux était abandonné dans le marais, où les hyènes ne tardaient pas à le faire disparaître. Quant aux Bachuku, c'est à eux qu'incombait le soin de livrer une jeune fille.

Son sort pourtant était moins tragique. On la mariait au Bumbogo, pays sacré situé sur le premier bras de la Nyabarongo. Elle devait s'occuper de la culture du sorgho et de l'éleusine, dont on portait ensuite les prémices en grande pompe, une fois dans l'année, à la capitale. C'est pour aider à la pratique de cet usage que les Bachuku fournissaient le moulin à farine, qui sert à moudre le grain. Une cruche en terre pour cuire la pâte et une grande cuiller de ménage ou spatule (umwuko) pour tourner la bouillie accompagnaient la pierre meulière.

Au dire des Noirs, lors de l'avènement du roi actuel au trône, l'impôt humain ne fut pas réclamé. Les événements sanglants qui se déroulèrent à cette époque et à cette occasion firent perdre un peu de vue la cruelle coutume.

Ajoutons aussi que les Bakunzi se prêtaient de moins en moins à l'odieux tribut et témoignaient d'une certaine indépendance vis-à-vis du prince hamite.

Le pays s'appelle « Bukunzi », d'où le nom de « Bukunzi » donné indistinctement à ceux qui l'habitent. Il est gouverné par Ndagano, le plus en vogue des pluviateurs. Il n'est pas un grand chef qui ne recourre à ses bons offices, y compris le roi lui-même. L'autorité que lui confère l'importance de son rôle de faiseur de pluie est immense.

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Aussi ses sujets, qui sont au nombre d'environ 15.000 ou 16.000, lui donnent-ils le titre de roi.

A part un petit groupe d'élite qui ne le quitte pas, il reste caché aux yeux de ses sujets et à fortiori de tous les étrangers, ce qui ne lui donne que plus de prestige (1).

CHAPITRE IV

Ruganzu guerrier. — Ses hauts faits.
Aspects différents de la conduite du prince vis-à-vis de ses rivaux et de ses voisins (suite).

I. — Expédition de Ruganzu contre un roitelet du Bunyabungu; bravoure qu'y déploie un de ses lieutenants.

Des faits et gestes, vrais ou supposés, de Ruganzu, le récit suivant est un de ceux qui sont le plus goûtés des Banyarwanda. Il a pour nous l'avantage, malgré son romantisme, de faire saisir sur le vif le caractère altier et absolu prêté au roi par ses contemporains. Le thème est le suivant : Sûr de lui-même et toujours entier comme il était, le monarque avait un jour provoqué ses principaux lieutenants; l'un de ces derniers relève le défi au grand étonnement de tous. Le hardi champion sort pleinement victorieux du concours de rivalité, réussit même à sauver la vie du souverain, qui en éprouve d'abord le plus grand dépit et la plus vive irritation. Il y eut un violent combat

(1) Le grand pluviateur est mort le 30 mars 1923. En sa qualité de roi son cadavre fut « boucané » et trois individus de son entourage furent occis à l'occasion de ses funérailles.

Cette coutume barbare s'appelle guseguz' umwami, c'est-à-dire faire l'oreiller du roi. Le gouvernement, qui jusqu'alors n'avait réussi qu'à moitié à exercer son influence sur le faiseur de pluie et sa famille, profita de la circonstance pour s'emparer des meurtriers. Les uns périrent les armes à la main et les autres furent fait prisonniers. Le district où ils gouvernaient en maîtres est passé aux mains plus souples et plus avisées des Batutsi.

dans l'âme du roi. La mauvaise humeur du prince inspirait des inquiétudes à son entourage. Ce n'est qu'après avoir réfléchi et s'être laissé raisonner que les sentiments les plus élémentaires de justice et de reconnaissance reprirent le dessus sur la violence de son tempérament.

Il y avait au Bunyabungu, dit la légende, au Sud-Ouest du lac Kivu, un roi sauvage qui s'appelait Gatabirora, c'est-à-dire l'étourdi, l'irrespectueux. Il était le fils de Kabibi (le méchant) et le grand-père se nommait à son tour Kabirogoso, c'est-à-dire le grossier. Son ventre était tout rebondi et pareil à un gros panier de haricots (inda y' umutiba yabàye Nyabuturi). Se croyant plus puissant que le roi du Rwanda, il lui envoie des messagers pour l'inviter à venir lui faire la cour et lui payer tribut : « Procure-toi, lui fait-il dire, des bois et des roseaux et viens me bâtir une case semblable à celle que tu habites. Si tu tardes à venir, je te traiterai comme une feuille de tabac vert et te mettrai en pièces ».

Les messagers, arrivés à la Cour du prince hamite, n'osent pas expliquer l'objet de leur démarche : « Ruganzu ne manquera pas de nous tuer, s'étaient-ils dit en cours de route, si nous lui tenons ce langage. Il est trop fier pour ne pas s'en irriter. Nous ne sortirons pas vivants de ses mains. Cherchons donc autre chose ». Admis devant le roi et intimidés par sa belle prestance, ils ne font pas connaître le but de leur mission. Ils se contentent de le saluer au nom de leur maître et se taisent sur le reste.

Le rusé monarque leur fait apporter de l'hydromel, sous prétexte de leur faire honneur. Les cruches succèdent aux cruches, les envoyés, qui étaient au nombre de huit, y puisent largement : « Nous allons voir, disait Ruganzu, s'ils n'ont pas autre chose à faire connaître ». Pris d'ivresse, les sauvages oublient leur première résolution et perdent toute réserve. « Celui auquel on a confié un message ne peut pas le garder pour lui », dit l'un d'eux. « Et

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puis, peut-on s'en prendre à un porte-parole », ajoute un autre.

« Voici la commission dont nous sommes chargés par Gatabirora », s'écrient-ils d'une commune voix. Sans plus tarder ils exposent le but de leur visite. « Comment, s'écria Ruganzu qui ne se possédait plus, ce sauvage ose me faire une pareille proposition! Tuez-moi ces individus à l'exception d'un seul. » A l'instant, le sol est jonché de leurs cadavres. « Qu'allons-nous faire maintenant de celui qui reste? Dans quel état faut-il le renvoyer à son maître pour lui rapporter ma réponse? » Ruganzu s'adresse à chacun de ses courtisans : « Toi, Muvunyi, fils de Gachu, qu'en penses-tu? Et toi, fils de Shwagara? Et toi, Muvunyi, le Sauveur des tiens, qu'en dis-tu? Muvunyi, fils de Kalema, donne aussi ton avis ».

Les assistants sont invités à dire leur mot. On remarquera que le roi, pour désigner les gens de son entourage, se sert du qualificatif de « Muvunyi », c'est-à-dire « bon guerrier » (du mot kuvuna, qui signifie faire la guerre ou porter secours) parce qu'il estime leur bravoure.

Les opinions sont recueillies, l'un renchérit sur l'autre; les familiers du prince se montrent inventifs et chacun y va de son cru. On coupe un bras à l'unique survivant, on lui arrache un œil, on lui ampute une oreille et on lui supprime un doigt et deux orteils, conformément aux différents jugements exprimés. C'est dans cet état que l'estafette est congédiée. « Va trouver ton maître, ajoute Ruganzu, et avertis-le que je viendrai le huitième jour. » Le mutilé eut toutes les peines du monde à rentrer chez lui. « Voyez donc comme Ruganzu m'a traité. Il a fait massacrer les autres et il ne m'a réservé que pour vous annoncer qu'il serait ici le huitième jour. »

Ruganzu, après avoir joué ce tour au messager et à son chef, se sent en liesse.

Il fait apporter de l'hydromel; on en remplit plusieurs cruches. Il plante sa lance au milieu de l'assemblée,

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dépose tout près son sabre, son arc et ses flèches : « Je vous mets au défi, leur dit-il, de tuer Gatabirora; que celui d'entre vous qui se fait fort de l'immoler avant moi s'avance et vienne boire ».

Il y eut un silence d'un moment. La suffisance et la morgue avec laquelle ces paroles avaient été prononcées faisaient hésiter les spectateurs de la scène, quand tout à coup, Muvunyi, fils de Kalema, sort des rangs. Il s'approche des cruches, prend le chalumeau et boit avec lenteur, non sans une certaine crânerie, à la stupéfaction des autres. Il s'arrête un instant pour respirer, reprend le chalumeau et aspire la liqueur fermentée. « J'ai bu, ajoute-t-il simplement, et je jure que je frapperai le Sauvage avant toi. » La bravade de Ruganzu était relevée.

Le jeune homme quitte l'assemblée et rentre à la maison. « Mon père, toi dont le bras est de fer, toi dont les jambes n'ont jamais craint le fer, toi dont la tête a résisté à tous les coups, je viens d'accepter le défi porté par le roi. Les autres craignaient, j'ai eu l'audace de me mesurer avec lui. Comme preuve de l'engagement que je prenais, j'ai bu à la bière qu'il avait fait placer devant nous. »

Il lui narre ensuite par le détail les circonstances de la provocation et le grand nombre de cruches et d'armes déposées à terre. « Tu ne sais pas t'y prendre mon fils, répond le vieux Kalema. Si j'avais été à ta place, moi, l'homme de fer dont tu viens de parler, j'aurais pris mon temps, mais j'aurais vidé toutes les cruches. Je me serais de plus emparé de la lance du roi, j'aurais pris son arc et ses flèches et j'aurais fait mien son sabre. »

Stimulé par son père qui l'encourage du geste et de la voix, Muvunyi retourne chez le roi. Nul n'avait osé imiter son audace. Il se rapproche de l'hydromel, se penche sur la cruche, épuise le liquide. Il passe à la seconde, puis à la troisième et ainsi de suite, n'en oubliant aucune, dit la légende. Il se relève, prend en main la lance de Ruganzu, ramasse l'arc, le carquois de flèches et le sabre.

Et les assistants de dire : « Que fait donc le fils de Kalema? » — « C'est ainsi qu'agissent ceux de chez Muvunyi, ils sont fous dans sa famille », ajoutent les autres. Le hardi champion feint de ne rien entendre. « J'accepte le défi, répète-t-il pour la deuxième fois, en se tournant vers le prince et j'en subirai toutes les conséquences. Si je perds mon pari, tu pourras dépouiller ma famille de ses biens, je consens même à ce que mon père et moi en soyons réduits à boire du lait de chèvre [1]. » — « C'est entendu, répond Ruganzu, et si tu viens à tuer le Sauvage avant moi, le Rwanda est à toi. Je me démets du trône, on ne frappera plus les tambours en mon honneur, ils seront à toi. »

Le duel de rivalité était engagé. Muvunyi revient trouver son père. « J'ai suivi tes conseils. De part et d'autre nous avons fait une gageure. Si je suis vaincu, nous nous résignerons à boire du lait de chèvre!!! Mais si je l'emporte sur le roi, il doit me donner son royaume... » Le vieux guerrier comprend que la lutte sera chaude après un tel enjeu. Aussi va-t-il faire passer son enfant par une série d'épreuves pour l'affermir et l'encourager. Il lui fait prendre dans du lait, un peu de jus d'une plante vénéneuse (umuhoko). Le jeune homme doit aller se coucher et ne tarde pas à s'endormir d'un profond sommeil. C'est ce que voulait Kalema qui l'ensevelit sous un tas de lourdes pierres; on utilisa pour cela les pierres meulières du voisinage. Il referme sur le dormeur la porte de la hutte qui est attachée solidement à l'extérieur. Kalema voulait voir si son fils serait capable de terrasser Gatabirora. Il multiplie les obstacles autour de son fils pour expérimenter sa force et sa valeur.

Ruganzu, lui aussi, pour mettre les chances de son côté, prend ses mesures. Il fait appeler ses gens. « Muvunyi,

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[1] Expression pour dire qu'on est réduit à la dernière misère. Il est inouï au Rwanda qu'un homme puisse en arriver à boire le lait de cet ovidé.

leur dit-il, aime les réjouissances et les plaisirs (ibiloli). Pour l'entraver dans sa marche, organisez des chœurs de danse, partout où il passera. Tâchez de le retarder. Comme il est jeune il ne pourra pas ne pas s'y laisser prendre. Je tiens à gagner mon pari; je veux tuer Gatabirora avant lui. »

Aux premières lueurs de l'aurore, au moment où les coqs battaient des ailes (zikubis' iryoya), le roi se met en route.

Il arrive chez le Sauvage au ventre rebondi comme un gros panier de haricots. « Gatabirora, Gatabirora! où es-tu? lui crie-t-il aussitôt, viens donc te mesurer avec moi! » — « Je suis là, je viens tout de suite », répond le roitelet. Les deux assaillants, à une courte distance l'un de l'autre, se défient mutuellement un bon moment, n'osant s'engager à fond, tant ils se craignaient. Ils se toisent du regard, hésitant à en venir aux mains, tant la prestance de l'un en impose à l'autre.

Muvunyi dormait toujours. « Ruganzu vient de partir », lui crie son père. Il se réveille en sursaut et veut se lever; un poids énorme l'étouffe et l'écrase. « Je ne puis pas remuer. » — « Si j'étais à ta place, reprend Kalema, j'aurais bien vite secoué tout cela. »

Muvunyi se ramasse, recueille ses forces et les pierres vont rouler sur les côtés

Il veut ouvrir la porte, elle résiste; il s'aperçoit que contrairement aux habitudes, elle est fixée à l'extérieur et qu'on a tendu des fils de fer et des lanières de peau de vache pour l'immobiliser sur les parois. « J'ai beau pousser, la porte ne cède pas », s'écrie-t-il.

— « Je sais bien ce que je ferais à ta place. d'un coup de pied je la briserais et elle volerait en éclats. » Muvunyi suit le conseil et les débris de la porte attestent que son père n'avait pas parlé à un sourd. A peine sorti de la hutte il se trouve devant un monceau de bois entrelacé d'épines et haut comme une montagne. On avait obstrué la pre-

mière entrée de la cour. « Comment vais-je m'y prendre? » gémit le malheureux. « Frappe donc à droite et à gauche, en haut et en bas, vas-y des deux pieds, comme je l'aurais fait moi-même si j'avais engagé un pari », conseille le père. Muvunyi tente la chance et réussit. Il n'était pas au bout de ses peines. Le passage qui donne dans la deuxième cour était encombré pareillement, mais le tas de bois était le double du précédent. « Cette fois-ci je ne pourrais plus sortir, le tas est trop élevé », clama-t-il désespéré. « Allons donc, cria le vieillard, crois-tu qu'un si petit obstacle m'aurait fait peur, j'aurais pris mon élan et d'un seul bond je serais déjà loin! » Le jeune homme recule un peu, se pelotonne, rassemble ses forces, bondit et retombe au delà de la cour sur ses pieds.

Le soleil était déjà haut. Suivi d'un de ses hommes, Muvunyi se hâte, car Ruganzu qui a déjà de l'avance pourrait bien gagner la partie. A peine a-t-il avancé de quelques pas, qu'un chœur de jeunes adolescentes l'entoure comme pour lui faire honneur. Il ne fait aucune attention à elles et passe son chemin. Un peu plus loin, des femmes parées viennent à sa rencontre élevant les bras en l'air et frappant en cadence le sol de leurs pieds. Elles ont pris leurs plus beaux atours; leur front et leur cou sont garnis de perles. Elles barrent la route. Pressé qu'il est, Muvunyi reste insensible à leurs charmes et renverse la première qui s'oppose à sa marche. Elles s'enfuient en criant.

Les jeunes gens qui l'accostent à un autre détour du sentier n'ont pas plus de succès. Muvunyi ne fait attention à personne. Les petits enfants groupés à quelques mètres plus loin ne l'intéressent pas davantage. Leurs voix caressantes ne l'émeuvent aucunement.

Ruganzu en a été pour ses frais. Notre héros avait jusque-là surmonté tous les obstacles, même ceux qui s'adressaient à ses sens.

Des vachers postés sur les sentiers ont beau lui présenter les plus belles bêtes de leurs troupeaux pour les lui

faire admirer et le retarder. Muvunyi ne détourne pas les yeux, il ne leur adresse même pas la parole. Il allait toujours pressant le pas. On entendait de loin sa respiration pareille « à une eau de cascade qui mugit » (Asuma nk'urumanzi, ahurura nk'urumazi). Il demande à un passant s'il a des nouvelles de Ruganzu. « Oui, répond l'autre, il est parti au premier chant des oiseaux. »

Plus loin il rencontre un autre individu qui revenait du marché avec des pioches sous le bras : « Le roi s'est-il rencontré avec le Sauvage? » — « Oui, ajoute l'homme, ils étaient en présence l'un de l'autre, prêts à commencer le combat. » Muvunyi, qui craint d'arriver trop tard, se met à courir, il vole; la poussière du chemin tourbillonne derrière lui. Son compagnon ne peut le suivre. « C'est le fils de Kavuna, dit-on, qui fait tant de poussière (agakungugu kamuzinga mu nyuma), il est pressé d'arriver, il a parié avec Ruganzu. » Alors qu'il était sur le point d'atteindre le champ clos, le roi disait à son ennemi : « A moi, Sauvage ». — « Je t'attends de pied ferme », ajoutait l'autre.

Muvunyi parut juste au moment où Ruganzu disait à Gatabirora : « Je suis sûr de t'atteindre ». Et de toutes ses forces, il brandit sa lance dans la direction de l'adversaire. Celui-ci s'était retiré sur le côté; l'arme, étincelante comme un brandon enflammé, avait continué sa route et était allée mettre le feu à la forêt de bambous. « A ton tour, s'était écrié Gatabirora, tu vas voir la lance que manient des bras robustes comme les miens, tu verras si mon arme vaut la tienne. »

Ce disant, il la jette avec force et adresse. Elle passa si près de Ruganzu que celui-ci, sans en être touché cependant, tomba évanoui.

Le déplacement d'air, dit la légende, produit par le passage de la lance, avait renversé le monarque. Le deuxième javelot poursuivit sa marche et pénétra dans la forêt qu'il incendia pareillement.

Ruganzu était tombé abasourdi et ne se relevait pas. Le duel allait toucher à sa fin. L'heure était critique. Muvunyi arrivait juste derrière la hutte de Gatabirora, entendant tout et se rendant compte du drame dont le prince hamite allait être la victime. Il enjambe la haie et tombe sur le roitelet auquel il trancha l'artère carotide. Par un rapide croc-en-jambe il le jette à terre et lui coupe la tête.

Le fils de Kalema disparaît aussitôt avec le trophée dans un panier qu'il confie à l'homme qui l'avait accompagné. Sans perdre de temps ils reviennent sur leurs pas, refont en sens inverse le même chemin.

Les sujets du roitelet, se croyant tournés par les gens de Ruganzu, s'étaient enfuis dans les bananeries.

Muvunyi présente la tête du Sauvage à son père qui ne se tient plus de joie. Jusqu'à son retour il n'avait cessé de trembler d'émotion, dans la crainte qu'il avait d'être comparé à un buveur de lait de chèvre (ubgoba bw' uko azakamirw' ihene), c'est-à-dire d'être dépouillé de ses biens. « Reste là, mon enfant, et repose-toi. Le reste est mon affaire, je saurai tirer parti de ta victoire. »

Au moment où Ruganzu roulait à terre, ses courtisans, qui assistaient à quelques pas de là au combat singulier que se livraient les deux monarques, se précipitèrent à son secours. Pendant qu'ils le relevaient, Muvunyi avait eu le temps de terrasser Gatabirora et de lui couper la tête. Il put repartir sans qu'on eut fait attention à lui, tant la chute du prince avait préoccupé les esprits.

Le Hamite debout remarque le cadavre de son adversaire qui gît décapité. « Qui a tué le Sauvage? » demande le roi anxieux. Le fils de Gachu, auquel il s'adresse, répond : « Je me suis porté à ton secours et je n'ai pas vu autre chose ».

Les autres lieutenants interrogés à tour de rôle font la même réponse.

Le cadavre de Gatabirora décapité était là sous leurs yeux, nul ne savait qui l'avait terrassé « C'est bien, dit

Ruganzu, allons-nous-en. » En cours de route ils demandent à tout venant le nom de celui qui avait immolé le roitelet. « C'est le fils de Kalema, leur répond-on enfin. Il est passé ici, il n'y a qu'un instant et l'un de ses hommes l'accompagnait portant dans un panier la tête du Sauvage. » Ruganzu, jaloux et irrité, en éprouva le plus vif mécontentement. Désappointé, le fier Mututsi s'en retourna plus vite encore qu'il n'était venu.

En route, sa parole rare et entrecoupée, trahissait malgré lui l'émotion qui l'agitait. Les sujets accouraient pour le saluer et lui offrir des présents; les tambours étaient frappés à tour de bras en son honneur. Le potentat se rappelle la gageure qu'il vient de perdre. « Allez, leur crie-t-il, chez Muvunyi, c'est lui qui est le roi, je ne le suis plus. »

Kalema, le père de ce dernier, voyant cette affluence inusitée, commence à avoir peur. Il comprend que Ruganzu est affecté de sa défaite au plus haut degré.

Prévoyant que la déception de l'orgueilleux monarque aurait une mauvaise issue, il renvoie les présents et les tambours. Prenant sa lance et son bouclier, il va trouver le roi pour plaider la cause de son fils. Les gens de la Cour l'aperçoivent de loin et vont avertir le souverain qui, lui aussi, se précipite sur son arc et sur son carquois rempli de flèches.

A peine Kalema a-t-il franchi le seuil de la première cour que le prince irascible lui décoche une première flèche. Le vieillard réussit à l'éviter. Il dut se garer une deuxième, puis une troisième fois... Ruganzu hors de lui y alla de toutes ses flèches et vida son carquois.

Kalema crut alors pouvoir l'approcher. Se jetant aux pieds de Ruganzu : « Sire, dit-il, mon fils t'a rendu quelques services, je le veux bien. Mais pourquoi lui envoyer les tambours quand c'est toi qui es le roi, et que nous ne sommes que tes humbles sujets.

» Il t'a sauvé la vie au péril de la sienne, mais sache-le

bien, il n'ambitionne pas la royauté et n'aspire pas à se substituer à toi. Il est trop petit et tu es trop grand. La gloire dont il se contente est d'avoir préservé son prince du danger de mort. Ne reconnais-tu pas les cicatrices qui sillonnent ma figure et mon corps?

» N'est-ce pas pour ta défense que j'ai reçu ces blessures? Souffre donc qu'on te ramène les tambours et qu'on les frappe en ton honneur. Ne sois pas fâché contre ton serviteur pour l'aide qu'il peut t'avoir donnée. » Puis se tournant vers l'assistance en la constituant pour ainsi dire juge du cas : « N'est-ce pas votre avis? » — « Kalema a raison », s'écrient-ils en chœur. L'un d'eux ajoute : « Son fils mérite une récompense pour avoir sauvé les jours du roi ». Et tous de s'écrier : « Oui, c'est cela. Nuko Nuko ». Ruganzu, apaisé et souriant, approuve le discours du père et le jugement des courtisans. Il mande Muvunyi, lui donne le gouvernement d'une province et le dote d'un troupeau de vaches.

« Ce n'est pas moi qui suis mort, ajoute le narrateur pour terminer, c'est le héros de l'histoire que je viens de raconter, c'est Gatabirora le Sauvage, fils de Méchant, petit-fils de l'homme grossier, au ventre rebondi comme un gros panier de haricots. »

Le fait historique lui-même.

Nous prenons ici en flagrant délit de délire d'imagination ou mieux d'exagération littéraire les bardes et les annalistes officiels.

L'histoire du « roi sauvage » a été délibérément amplifiée et muée en vrai roman.

Nous avons sous les yeux un exemple frappant de cette déformation que l'imagination populaire, dans son désir instinctif d'embellir les faits et d'enchanter les auditeurs, fait subir à la véritable personnalité de ceux dont on raconte la vie.

La victime du récit, dont on a fait un roitelet étranger vivant au delà des frontières naturelles du royaume, était un Munyarwanda qui habitait dans le pays d'Iskiki, au village de Kabira, à proximité de Ngabo, non loin de la montagne de Magaba, dont il est fréquemment parlé dans les légendes. La contrée est située au Nord-Est du lac Kivu.

Ce sujet récalcitrant, disent les conteurs du pays, mieux renseignés que les autres, avait refusé de travailler pour le roi et de payer les impôts en nature que chaque individu fournit à des dates déterminées.

« Je te condamne, lui aurait fait répondre le monarque, à m'apporter une quantité de beurre (amasoro) suffisante pour fabriquer les bassins où l'on mène boire les troupeaux de la capitale (¹). ».

Une pareille exigence suppose que l'individu incriminé était riche, avait des vaches et que son insoumission avait gravement offensé le roi, pour que celui-ci lui demande une chose irréalisable. L'histoire ajoute que le malheureux, se voyant sur le point d'être arrêté, s'enfuit vers le lac. Il fut rejoint en cours de route et tué.

Les péripéties sans nombre que l'on connaît ont été inventées après coup pour les besoins de la cause... royale et littéraire.

Le même motif a poussé les « faiseurs d'esprit » (Abachurabgenge) à donner au rebelle des parents dont les noms sont une dérision, une insulte.

Le nom réel de l'individu lui-même est tombé dans l'oubli, mais on lui en a forgé d'autres. Le Sauvage, l'Irrespectueux (le Cynique), fils de Méchant, petit-fils de Grossier, au ventre rebondi comme un gros panier de haricots est encore traité de Géant (igihangange), de Colosse (igihimbiri) parce qu'on lui a opposé un adversaire de marque.

(¹) Pour abreuver leurs vaches, les Batutsi construisent souvent des bassins d'argile, près des puits et des sources dont les eaux sont réputées avoir des propriétés minérales ou légèrement alcalines.

Le rival d'un roi doit être de la taille de son partenaire. Il y aura plus de mérite à chanter la gloire du vainqueur, en grandissant le vaincu, en lui donnant une forme et une force herculéennes.

Par contre, il est de bon ton parmi les historiens de diminuer sa personne morale pour mieux faire ressortir les qualités de l'émule victorieux.

Au Nord-Est du Kivu, dans son pays d'origine, la victime est désignée sous les appellations injurieuses de Lâche (Mbebilimabya) et de l'Homme à l'attache (Bilikunkomo) [1], digne d'être enchaîné comme un chien, parce que, croit-on, l'individu en question se ceignait les reins (kubinda) à la manière des Bahunde, habitants du Nord-Ouest du lac, que les Banyarwanda traitent d'arriérés, de barbares.

« On ne prête qu'aux riches. » Les mal famés sont capables de tout, on leur attribue n'importe quel méfait. Leur réputation est faite pour supporter l'injuste, l'inexplicable... Ce sont des boucs émissaires chargés des péchés du monde et dévoués aux dieux infernaux. Haro sur le baudet! Leurs épaules et leur dos sont suffisamment larges et solides pour recevoir les coups.

Le Sauvage... de la légende, s'il pouvait parler, nous en dirait long sur la renommée qui lui a été faite et les injures dont il a été couvert.

Ses détracteurs, les aèdes et les littérateurs pour le déconsidérer à tout jamais, lui ont encore donné pour femme la fameuse Nyiransibura. Ils en font donc le père du chef des Banyabyinshi qui mirent le royaume hamite à deux doigts de sa perte [2].

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(1) Le sens littéral de ces deux expressions est beaucoup plus fort en runyarwanda et évoque chez les auditeurs indigènes des idées qui ont peu d'élévation morale.

(2) Il n'est pas rare d'entendre débiter des récits et des légendes formés de morceaux disparates, sans lien logique et chronologique, empruntés aux contes imaginaires et aux épisodes historiques, donnant l'idée de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler un « pot pourri ».

II. — Derniers épisodes de la vie et du règne de Ruganzu.

Privilèges concédés au petit pays du Busozo dans la région du Kinyaga, sur les frontières de l'Urundi.

Le Busozo est un pays accidenté, formé par une chaîne de montagnes et resserré entre deux fortes rivières, dont l'une, la Rohwa, le sépare de l'Urundi et l'autre, qui coule dans la plaine de Bugarama, le limite du reste de la province du Kinyaga.

C'est une sorte de Suisse africaine qu'habitent près de 15,000 habitants, pour la plupart d'origine Murundi.

On raconte que Ruganzu, au retour d'une de ses expéditions, traversa cette région sauvage. Il y reçut un accueil chaleureux de la part du chef, qui le traita royalement (1). Des danses avaient été organisées en son honneur; le roi s'en montra charmé. Nombreux furent les présents qu'on lui offrit.

L'hydromel coula à flots... Ruganzu, flatté dans sa vanité et reconnaissant des égards qu'on avait pour lui, accorda au pays une certaine autonomie, permit au chef de prendre le titre de roi (umwami) et lui octroya quelques privilèges. Depuis ce temps, les Basozo députaient tous les ans une ambassade conduite par un Mututsi (2) et offraient au roi du Rwanda des cadeaux, en hommage de suzeraineté et non à titre onéreux.

Les présents consistaient en un taureau, des peaux de

(1) Le Busozo, instruit sans doute par la dure leçon infligée à son voisin, le Bukumzi, se montra plus diplomate et par suite fut mieux traité.

(2) L'introducteur à la Cour du roi hamite appartient au clan des Basinga.

Cette charge se transmettait de père en fils.

Les membres de cette famille habitent dans le Kinyaga, au village de Rubayi, près Igabiro.

On connaît les deux derniers Batutsi qui ont rempli cette fonction, Ruvumba et son fils Lwamiheto.

« colobus », des fruits d'un arbre appelé « intashikwa » (essence particulière au pays) et qui servent d'amulettes, des bois de lance et des copeaux de bois de senteur (imibavu y' umugeshi). Les habitants du Busozo, d'après la coutume et en vertu de leurs prérogatives, ne pouvaient passer plus d'une journée à la Cour du Hamite.

Le petit pays a gardé ses privilèges et ses traditions jusqu'en 1925. L'histoire nous a conservé le nom des huit roitelets qui s'y sont succédé depuis le règne de Ruganzu.

Ces princes ont organisé chez eux, un semblant de Cour sur le modèle de celle du roi du Rwanda.

Le prince régnant ne peut paraître aux yeux de ses sujets avant qu'il ne lui soit né deux enfants, un garçon et une fille (ibitsina bibiri). Seuls les sous-chefs (abaganda) d'une certaine catégorie peuvent l'approcher et lui causer les yeux baissés.

On n'entre et l'on ne se retire qu'en se traînant à quatre pattes, en signe de respect.

Le monarque isolé en était réduit à vivre enfermé dans la partie de l'enceinte royale qui lui était réservée. La reine-mère prenait durant ce temps la régence et dirigeait les affaires.

L'autorité royale s'exerçait par l'intermédiaire de ministres dont les attributions étaient bien déterminées et ne pouvaient dépasser telle limite.

Les corvées et les impôts étaient fixés par la coutume. Le régime de gouvernement était assez doux. Les Basozo ont conservé jalousement chez eux nombre d'usages curieux. On ne s'y marie qu'à l'époque de l'année désignée par le roi. Les jeunes époux sont tenus de lui offrir à cette occasion qui une chèvre, qui un mouton ou simplement deux pioches. Les présents et les vivres de règle que l'on apporte au roitelet doivent être d'une propreté irréprochable.

Les régimes de bananes destinés à la capitale sont

coupés en morceaux et lavés à l'eau courante, pour être ensuite déposés dans la fosse à fermentation (urwina). Le jus de banane une fois exprimé est mis dans une cruche que l'on enveloppe entièrement de feuilles de bananiers. Les sous-chefs eux-mêmes chargent leurs hommes et les accompagnent en route. Un sujet qui est en deuil ne peut approcher de la demeure royale. Les individus atteints du « pian » ou de plaies, ainsi que les blessés sont dispensés, jusqu'après guérison, de se présenter chez le roi ou la reine-mère. La même exclusion a lieu pour ceux qui se tirent du sang ou se mettent une ventouse. Ils sont devenus « tabou » pour quelques jours.

Seuls les enfants, garçons ou filles, peuvent goûter à la bière destinée à la capitale.

Une grande personne qui en approcherait ses lèvres souillerait le liquide. La défense atteint les gens mariés et surtout les femmes, à cause des infirmités inhérentes à leur sexe. Les porteurs eux-mêmes doivent veiller à ne pas porter directement la main au dépôt qui leur a été confié. Ils se procurent des feuilles de bananiers dont ils enveloppent la charge, pour éviter tout contact direct avec elle.

Ce n'est qu'après avoir observé ces minuties qu'ils peuvent placer l'objet sur leur tête ou le déposer à terre.

Les puiseurs d'eau sont astreints aux mêmes précautions. Le souci de la propreté est poussé si loin que lorsque la pipe du roi, de la reine-mère ou d'un membre de la famille vient à tomber, on ne peut la leur rendre qu'après l'avoir soigneusement lavée.

Les femmes ou filles occupées à moudre les grains d'éleusine et de sorgho s'abstiennent de cracher dans leurs mains et de passer la main sur leur corps aussi longtemps que dure le travail. La vie et la santé du roi dépendent de ces formalités. Ajoutons enfin, et ceci est une bonne note, que les vieillards qui entourent le roi et lui

servent de conseillers, l'empêchent de boire toute liqueur fermentée [1].

Cette coutume existe dans d'autres pays.

Fuite du géant-sorcier Nyangara.
Origine du pont en pierre sur le fleuve de la Russizi, à l'endroit dit de Malimba.

On se souvient que le vieux roi Ndahiro avait fait la connaissance de la reine qui devait donner le jour à Ruganzu, grâce aux bons offices de Nyangara, le sorcier aux formes herculéennes. On n'en reparle ici que pour raconter sa fin tragique. Nyangara, ayant offensé le roi pour on ne sait quel motif, s'enfuit un beau jour du camp qui se trouvait alors à Machukiro, non loin de la presqu'île de Nyamirundi, sur la côte orientale du lac Kivu. Le sorcier ne partit pas les mains vides. Il chargea sur sa tête un « grenier à provisions » rempli de haricots; d'autres assurent qu'il prit sur ses épaules une colline avec des cases, des troupeaux, des bananeries, etc. On vint avertir Ruganzu. Le sorcier-géant s'était dirigé du côté du fleuve de la Russizi qui sort du lac.

Il voulait le traverser pour aller s'installer au delà, dans le Bunyabungu. Le roi se met à sa poursuite; il avait en main des flèches qu'il lui décoche une à une. A chaque coup porté, c'est un pied de bananier qui tombe, du grain qui se répand, des haricots qui roulent à terre. Les pieds de bananier, les grains et les haricots, trouvant de la bonne terre, lèvent aussitôt pour se multiplier et se répandre peu à peu dans le Rwanda. Le géant ne se doutant de rien poursuit sa marche en avant. Un taureau vient à glisser, puis quelques vaches, le sorcier va toujours son chemin. Il

[1] Buhinga II, le roitelet du Busozo, est décédé à la fin de 1925, des suites d'une infirmité, alors qu'il avait à peine une trentaine d'années. Il était faible de caractère et se montrait timide et défiant vis-à-vis de l'autorité européenne, qui a profité de sa mort pour donner le pays à un grand chef Mututsi plus malléable.

arrive sur la Russizi qu'il réussit à passer. Ruganzu, qui le suit de près, veut traverser à son tour. Le fleuve est large et le courant rapide.

Le roi se baisse pour ramasser une pierre et la jette au milieu des eaux profondes et écumantes. A l'instant même le caillou se développe, prend des proportions inusitées et se soude aux deux rives, ce qui permet au monarque et à ses gens de passer à pied sec sur l'autre bord.

Une dernière flèche fait tomber les quelques bananiers qui restaient encore sur les épaules du géant. Ils donnèrent naissance à la bananerie connue des anciens. On entretint longtemps cette plantation sur le bord du fleuve; elle vient à peine de disparaître, ajoutent les conteurs. Nyangara finit par tomber lui-même sous les coups de lance que lui portèrent Ruganzu et ses compagnons.

C'est pour cela qu'aujourd'hui encore tout individu qui emprunte, pour traverser le fleuve, le pont naturel dit de Malimba ou pont de Ruganzu, doit déposer à la sortie une touffe d'herbe, en l'honneur de l'« esprit » du roi. De la presqu'île de Nyamirundi jusqu'au fleuve, sur le chemin suivi par Nyangara, on rencontre des arbres gigantesques, de l'espèce ficus. D'après la croyance populaire ce sont les flèches dont s'était servi Ruganzu pendant qu'il poursuivait l'homme-monstre qui leur ont donné naissance. Un bon Munyarwanda ne manque pas, quand il les rencontre sur son passage de déposer une touffe d'herbes à leurs pieds ou sur les branches basses.

Ceux qui habitent à proximité aiment à élever sous les arbres des huttes aux mânes du roi et lui offrent des sacrifices [1].

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[1] Les Banyarwanda citent maints hommes d'une taille et d'une force extraordinaires dont les actions et les travaux rappellent ceux des héros de la mythologie grecque. Ils les nomment des « bihangange », c'est-à-dire des géants. Après Nyangara, les plus connus sont Ngunda et Ngonde. Dans la province du Bgana-Mkali, non loin de la mission de Save près de la colline de Rubona, on trouve un petit terrain que nul n'osait cultiver autrefois, parce qu'il avait été habité par le géant-

La lance de Ruganzu et l'homme à la pioche.

Ruganzu avait la réputation de terrible justicier. On rapporte de lui maints détails qui ne font que confirmer ce jugement émis par ses contemporains. Se trouvant en expédition au pied des volcans, dans la province du Mulera, les gens du pays poussèrent la hardiesse jusqu'à lui dérober sa lance. « C'est bien, dit le roi, elle n'a qu'à y rester; désormais elle s'y traira avec du sang (izakamw' amarasso). » C'est comme s'il leur avait dit : « De même que les vaches donnent du lait, ma lance se traira de votre sang. Vous ne cesserez pas de vous entre-tuer ». Aussi les Balera racontent-ils, non sans une certaine fierté, qu'il ne se passe pas de jour où le sang ne coule chez eux, tellement ils sont batailleurs et querelleurs.

Il n'est pas rare non plus de les entendre, dans le cours d'une dispute, se vanter d'être vraiment des « hommes », en comptant sur les doigts le nombre de leurs victimes. Leurs adversaires sont invariablement traités de « femmes » ou de « femmelettes » s'ils ne peuvent justifier à leurs yeux d'un passé aussi sanglant.

Une autre fois, et nous terminons ce chapitre par ce dernier trait qui peint l'homme, Ruganzu rencontre en cours de route un paysan qui cultivait son champ. Pris d'une idée subite, il lui demande, par manière de plaisanterie, sa pioche pour le remplacer un instant dans son travail. « O roi, répond celui-ci, tu es trop grand person-

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prodige, Ngunda, d'où le nom de « terrain de Ngunda » donné à l'emplacement de ce qui fut sa demeure et son champ (imbuga ya Ngunda).

Les Noirs, qui ne sont jamais en peine d'imagination, ajoutent que Ngunda était doué d'une vigueur incroyable et d'un appétit formidable. En un jour, il pouvait cultiver toute la région. La récolte se terminait aussi en une fois. Quand il moissonnait le sorgho, y en eut-il une grande quantité, Ngunda en faisait un seul et énorme pain qu'il dévorait à l'instant. Partout sur son passage, il mettait à sec les ruisseaux où il s'arrêtait pour boire. Il fut tué, ajoute la légende, par des pasteurs Batutsi qui craignaient de voir tarir la source où Ngunda était allé étancher sa soif.

nage, et je comprends trop ma condition d'esclave pour te laisser manier mon instrument! » Ruganzu insiste. « Allons, l'homme sans vache (Kaburinyana), l'homme qui n'a rien du tout, prête-moi donc ta pioche. »

Le Muhutu, qui avait eu la bonne idée de la lui refuser, ne sut pas persévérer dans sa conduite. Il eut le malheur de céder aux objurgations du roi, qui, après en avoir frappé le sol trois fois, lui fracassa la tête au quatrième coup, pour le punir d'avoir eu la témérité d'accepter son offre. Cela se passa, raconte-t-on, à Mwinjiro, dans le pays de Ngiga, autrement dit dans la forêt du Kinyaga, sur la côte orientale du Kivu [1].

CHAPITRE V

Ruganzu et l'agriculture. — Plantes, pierres, rochers, arbres, etc., auxquels est attaché le nom du prince. — La mort du dompteur des rois. — Conclusion. — Importance du rôle de Ruganzu et fondation du royaume hamite sur les ruines des principautés autochtones.

I. — Plantes, pierres, rochers, etc. auxquels est attaché le nom ou le souvenir de Ruganzu.

Introduction dans le Rwanda, sous le règne de Ruganzu, de nouvelles plantes et céréales. — Cérémonies annuelles auxquelles donne lieu, à la capitale, la commémoration de ce souvenir.

Les Banyarwanda, dans leur admiration et leur enthousiasme pour Ruganzu vont jusqu'à lui faire honneur de presque toutes leurs cultures et leurs plantations. Une

(1) On devine à travers la légende le tempérament et les défauts de Ruganzu.

Tels furent sans doute beaucoup de ses prédécesseurs et de ses successeurs. Le grand-père du roi actuel, qui s'appelait Lwabugiri-Kigeri, est celui qui paraît s'en rapprocher le plus.

mention spéciale est faite pour le sorgho, l'éleusine et la plante connue sous le nom d'« issogi » qu'ils emploient en guise d'épinards. Leur introduction dans le pays par le monarque fait le sujet de multiples récits plus ou moins contradictoires. Pour ne pas manger seul leur pain de sorgho ou d'éleusine, parce que trop sec, les Banyarwanda accompagnent habituellement chaque bouchée d'une cuillerée de haricots qu'ils font presque toujours cuire avec les tiges, les feuilles et les fleurs d'issogi. Celles-ci donnent plus de goût aux haricots, qui, on le sait, occupent une place de choix dans l'alimentation indigène.

De là sont venus le rôle et l'importance de cette plante à la fête des Prémices [1].

Dans le récit où il est parlé de l'origine d'un tribut humain que doivent livrer les habitants du Kinyaga, on disait que la jeune femme était envoyée au pays sacré du Bumbogo pour y cultiver le sorgho et l'éleusine destinés à la fête des Prémices. Une autre version en cours raconte que la première titulaire de cette fonction s'appelait Nyirampingira, c'est-à-dire la femme cultivatrice, d'après le sens étymologique du mot. Voici à la suite de quelles circonstances on lui confia ce travail.

Nyirampingira était esclave à la Cour du roi. Or, on parlait beaucoup à ce moment-là d'un sorcier dont Ruganzu voulait éprouver la science et les talents. Une vache venait de perdre son veau.

Sa Majesté ordonna qu'on glisse fort avant... sous la queue (guhadika) de la bête un bracelet de cuivre. Il manda le sorcier.

L'homme répond à l'appel du roi. Sur le point d'approcher de la capitale, il rencontre l'esclave Nyirampingira qu'il questionne adroitement : « Que veut-on de moi? Pourquoi le roi m'a-t-il fait appeler? » L'esclave le met au courant de ce qui s'est passé et lui recommande à son

(1) Cf. Livre quatrième.

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tour de ne pas l'oublier. « Je ne suis qu'une esclave, dit-elle, mais un service rendu en vaut un autre, j'espère que tu te souviendras de moi à l'occasion. »

Le sorcier se présente au roi. « Pourrais-tu me dire, lui demande celui-ci, quelle maladie a cette vache? » « Oui, répond le devin qui est bien renseigné, elle a... sous la queue un objet luisant qui n'a pas de poil (*gitagira ubgoya*). Dis donc à l'un de tes hommes de se laver le bras et la main... et tu verras. » L'étonnement des assistants fut grand. L'homme au bras lavé faisait mine de ne rien trouver. « Plonge la main plus profondément », reprend le sorcier. Le bracelet de cuivre fut repéré sous les yeux ébahis des spectateurs. Le sorcier devint dès lors le favori de la Cour qui le combla de biens. Ayant capté la confiance du roi qui ne faisait rien sans le consulter, l'habile devin lui désigna un jour Nyirampingira comme étant la personne la plus capable de cultiver le sorgho et l'éleusine, au pays sacré du Bumbogo. L'homme paya ainsi sa dette de reconnaissance.

Arbres, sources, abreuvoirs, puits, ponts naturels et rochers auxquels est attaché le nom ou le souvenir de Ruganzu.

Lacs, étangs, fontaines, sources, abreuvoirs, puits et ponts naturels, monolithes, rochers aux formes grotesques ou originales, pierres brutes, rocs tenant au sol et offrant des cavités curieuses, arbres de dimensions énormes semblent avoir vivement frappé l'imagination des Noirs. Les objets matériels au milieu desquels ils vivent et qui leur paraissent, par leur apparence de vie, par l'obscurité de leur origine ou par leur forme grandiose, offrir un côté surnaturel, ne peuvent dans leur pensée qu'être le fait d'un génie supérieur.

Bref, ce qui dans le pays présente par quelque côté un aspect curieux, anormal ou même utilitaire, tout ce qui

en un mot dépasse en un certain sens l'intelligence des indigènes, parce qu'ils sont incapables de se l'expliquer naturellement en remontant aux vraies causes, ne pouvait provenir que de Ruganzu. Quels faits merveilleux ne prête-t-on pas à cet étrange roi qui d'un bond, dit la légende, passait d'une montagne à l'autre, par-dessus les ravins et les vallées, voyageait sous les eaux, dans les abîmes sous-lacustres et voyait les cavernes se refermer sur lui, le dérobant aux poursuites de ses ennemis. Les chiens qui le suivaient avaient aussi le privilège de laisser l'empreinte de leurs pattes sur les rochers tout comme leur maître. Un taureau du troupeau de Ruganzu avait avec ses cornes élargi la source d'eau chaude si connue et si fréquentée dans la province du Kinyaga. Les Noirs ne trouvent pas du tout étrange, loin de là, que les animaux qui ont appartenu à un personnage aussi extraordinaire aient reçu une parcelle de sa puissance.

1° *Arbres qui ont donné à Ruganzu l'occasion de faire des prodiges.* — On a déjà parlé des arbres auxquels les flèches de Ruganzu, — à la poursuite du sorcier-géant Nyangara, — donnèrent naissance.

On raconte que Ruganzu était en train de chasser dans le Bulima, sur le chemin qui conduit aujourd'hui à Kigali. Ses chiens suivaient une piste. Le gibier s'enfuyait à toute vitesse.

Un gros arbre barre le passage à notre héros qui le fend soudain et passe à travers la fente miraculeuse.

A Gassaka, dans le Bufundu, sur la route qui va au Kinyaga, Ruganzu pour empêcher ses ennemis de l'atteindre, jette en travers un arbre qui se met aussitôt à pousser des branches et donna naissance à un petit fourré, d'où le nom de « Fermeture » (umwugariro) de Ruganzu, attaché au bosquet. Lors de son retour de l'Urundi, où il était allé faire une expédition, le grand guerrier venait de pénétrer dans la province du Bwana-Mkali

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Arrivé entre Muyira et Kibirizi, il se sentit fatigué. Il appelle celui de ses suivants qui portait le panier où l'on renferme la calebasse de bière inséparable de tout grand qui va en voyage. Pendant qu'il se désaltère, il essuie la sueur de son visage sur l'arbre contre lequel il s'était appuyé. Depuis cet événement, l'arbre prit des proportions inusitées et fut dès lors appelé arbre de « Fubo » ou de Ruganzu. Une scène identique et le même prodige, ajoutent les intarissables conteurs, se renouvelèrent non loin de là, à Gisanzi, où l'on montre un bosquet qui a gardé le nom du prince.

2° *Sources, puits, abreuvoirs et ponts naturels auxquels la tradition a fixé le souvenir du grand roi.* — Nombreuses sont les sources que Ruganzu est censé avoir fait jaillir subitement.

C'est presque toujours dans le cours de ses expéditions que le prodige se produit. Les hommes ont guerroyé, la victoire a été remportée, mais les soldats meurent de soif et l'on se trouve en plein été, sur de hauts plateaux brûlés par le soleil. Ruganzu prend son arc et vise un point quelconque. La flèche s'enfonce dans le sol et fait jaillir une source où les gens vont se désaltérer. Sur le plateau de Luhanga, consacré par le séjour du fameux roi Gihanga (le Créateur), à une altitude d'environ 2,200 mètres, les indigènes montrent deux de ces sources, au-dessous du chemin, à l'endroit désigné sous le nom de Lussiga.

Le thaumaturge hamite a même, affirment les Noirs crédules, laissé l'empreinte de l'un de ses pieds sur le rocher qui affleure le sol. Le pied est dans une direction contraire à celle des sources, ce que les gens expliquent en disant que Ruganzu s'était accroupi en tournant le dos à l'endroit, mais qu'il avait visé en arrière par-dessus son épaule...

Il tira deux flèches et à deux endroits différents. La

première source servit à désaltérer les Batutsi qui l'accompagnaient, la seconde aux Bahutu. Nous avons là un détail emprunté aux mœurs du pays, indiquant la différence qui existe entre les différentes classes de la société.

Les Batutsi, la race noble, ne consentent pas à boire avec les Bahutu, leurs inférieurs, et à fortiori avec les Batwa, les derniers de l'échelle sociale.

Sur le plateau de Kayenzi-Bussigi, qu'a illustré le séjour du faiseur de pluie Nyamikenge, et qui se trouve à une altitude moyenne de 2.200 mètres, comme l'autre chaîne de montagnes qui lui est parallèle, on rencontre une sorte de puits naturel, fort profond et où l'eau ne tarit jamais. Ruganzu l'aurait fait apparaître, dans des circonstances analogues aux précédentes et de la même façon.

Une origine semblable est attribuée à la source d'Ilemera, dans le Bufundu, sur le chemin qui va au Kinyaga.

Les sources d'eau chaude du Mulera et du Bugoyi dérivent du même procédé.

A Muramba, sur la côte orientale du Kivu, dans le Kinyaga, on rencontre sur le chemin, un bassin naturel qui a dû se creuser peu à peu dans le rocher, sous l'usure du temps et des eaux de pluie. Les habitants de la contrée ne cessent d'y aller abreuver leurs troupeaux et ne manquent pas de rendre des actions de grâce à Ruganzu, qui leur a constitué un abreuvoir durable et autrement stable que les bassins d'argile que l'on trouve un peu partout dans le Rwanda.

On se rappelle comment s'y prit Ruganzu pour traverser le fleuve de la Russizi, alors qu'il était à la poursuite de Nyangara. Il est dit dans un autre récit que l'événement se produisit durant une campagne dirigée contre le Bunyabungu. Ruganzu avait été repoussé avec ses gens sur le fleuve et il allait être pris par les ennemis. Une de ses filles, voyant le péril qui menaçait l'auteur de ses jours, se dévoua et se précipita dans les flots. Elle fut

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aussitôt changée en un roc, qui s'unit soudainement aux deux rives du fleuve, sauvant ainsi la vie à son père.

Se rendant une autre fois dans le Kinyaga, le roi arrive près de la rivière Rukarara, qui coulait à pleins bords. On était à la saison des pluies. Rien que par la puissance de son vouloir il fit se rejoindre les deux rives par-dessus le courant et depuis ce temps les voyageurs passent sur ce pont naturel. Dans le Busanza, il sauta d'un bond par-dessus la Mwogo et il s'y est trouvé dès lors un gué que n'ont pas cessé d'utiliser les indigènes.

3° *Monolithes, pierres et rochers auxquels la légende et la tradition ont fixé le souvenir de Ruganzu.* — Dans le Nduga, non loin de la mission de Kabgayi, à l'endroit dit de Mussamo, s'élève un monolithe. On y distingue vaguement les traits d'une forme humaine.

Les Noirs disent qu'il s'agit d'une jeune fille. Elle fut pétrifiée pour avoir offensé le roi.

On donne encore à cet étrange monument le nom de « rocher de Kamegeri » à cause du drame historique qui s'y joua sous le règne de Gahindiro et qui eut ce pays pour théâtre.

Au Kibali, au lieu appelé Gasiza, il immobilisa une immense pierre, dite la pierre des Bagege, qui se déplaçait seule à travers le pays, tuant tout sur son passage. Dans les mêmes parages, sur le sommet d'une colline, on montre une autre pierre sur laquelle il aurait aiguisé sa lance.

Dans le Busanza, Ruganzu forgea lui-même ses armes, à l'endroit désigné sous le nom de Sheke.

Son travail terminé, il fixa en terre son marteau d'occasion, lequel s'est enfoncé si profondément que jusqu'ici, disent les indigènes, il a défié les efforts de ceux qui ont essayé de l'en retirer. A Gassaka, dans le Bufundu, on voit une autre pierre de ce genre.

Au Sud du Bumbogo, sur la rive droite de la Nyaba-

rongo, le sentier indigène très escarpé passe entre deux rochers assez rapprochés l'un de l'autre. La légende veut que ce soit Ruganzu qui ait fendu la roche primitive d'un coup de sabre. D'après une autre version, ce serait un de ses ennemis, Rugayi, fils de Buzi, originaire de l'Urundi, qui, ayant voulu frapper le roi, n'aurait fait qu'atteindre le roc qu'il sépara en deux, comme Roland à Roncevaux.

Dans le Nyakale près de la mission de Nyaluhengeri, notre paladin, au retour d'une chasse, trouve sur son chemin un serpent qui essaie de le mordre.

Irrité, le roi se met en devoir de le poursuivre pour le tuer. Le reptile s'enfuit et disparaît dans un trou.

Ruganzu prend un caillou, le met dans la petite excavation et pèse sur lui de tout son poids pour écraser la bête. La pierre a depuis augmenté de volume et est devenue énorme. On l'appelle la pierre de Schari. C'est peut-être à cause de ce trait que les Banyarwanda disent que les rochers croissent comme les plantes.

Ils ont même poussé plus loin leurs conceptions de la science minéralogique.

Comme il y a à côté de la pierre de Schari, dont on vient de parler, un autre bloc d'un volume plus petit, mais de même forme et de même nature, ils en ont fait la fille de la précédente (umwana wayo).

Il a été précédemment question des empreintes laissées par Ruganzu et ses chiens.

On les retrouve encore dans le Buganza, à Bichumbi, sur un rocher à fleur de sol et où, avec un peu de bonne volonté, on semble reconnaître aussi la forme d'un arc avec sa corde que le roi y aurait déposés pour prendre un instant de repos.

A Matyazo de Lugira on distingue vaguement des traces de pieds et des empreintes de pattes de chien ayant une origine analogue.

Les récits légendaires qui courent sur Ruganzu abondent en traits de ce genre.

Le lecteur doit être suffisamment édifié sur la gloire posthume qui a été décernée à Ruganzu, une des plus grandes figures du passé, dans le monde hamite. Il ne reste plus qu'à raconter la fin du potentat africain.

II. — La mort de Ruganzu.

Expédition malheureuse durant laquelle il est blessé mortellement

Ce fut, pense-t-on, le propre fils de Nsibura, un nommé Kanyoni (le petit oiseau), qui vengea son père, lors de la dernière expédition que fit au Kinyaga le roi guerrier. Celui-ci était encore une fois sorti victorieux du combat qu'il avait livré à un chef dont on a oublié le nom et qui était resté parmi les morts sur le champ de bataille. Le vainqueur s'était remis en route pour retourner dans l'intérieur du Rwanda.

Kanyoni l'apprend. Désireux de réparer en une fois les échecs subis par les Banyabyinshi, il se poste sur le passage des troupes qui longeaient le lac Kivu. L'armée était arrivée à hauteur d'Ishangi, en plein midi, sous un soleil de feu.

Les gardes de corps (ibisumizi) du roi, fatigués, marchaient en désordre et à distance les uns des autres. Ruganzu suivait à peu près seul. Kanyoni voyant que les circonstances le favorisaient, grimpe sur un arbre et attend, l'arc à la main, le roi au passage.

Insouciant du danger qu'il ignore, le monarque s'avance sous l'ombre du feuillage et lève machinalement la tête, comme pour juger de la hauteur de l'arbre. Le fils de Nsibura, qui tenait son arc tendu, lui décoche une flèche à la pointe en bois aiguisée (igisonga ch'umugano). Ruganzu pousse un hurlement de douleur, la flèche avait profondément pénétré dans l'œil droit. Il eut beau la retirer à l'instant, la blessure était mortelle.

Dernières circonstances qui précèdent sa mort.

Les gardes s'empressent et mettent le prince dans la litière bien connue (ingobyi) en usage dans le Rwanda A deux heures environ du lieu de l'accident un chef indépendant, qui s'appelait « Mwito », se met en travers du chemin avec ses guerriers.

Il se propose d'attaquer le cortège et veut l'empêcher de passer (aramutangira).

« Je ne veux plus me battre, lui fait dire le blessé. Je te donne le pays que tu occupes, restes-y en paix avec tes fils. »

Le roitelet, qui n'en demandait pas davantage, se retira.

Depuis ce temps la contrée s'appelle « Biguzi », c'est-à-dire « le cadeau »; une autre colline a également gardé jusqu'à nos jours le nom du chef lui-même, Mwito.

Porté par ses gens, Ruganzu atteignit le village de Muchiro. Son œil avait enflé démesurément et lui arrachait des cris de douleur. De rage, malgré les efforts que fait son entourage pour l'en empêcher, il tire de son orbite l'organe malade et le jette loin de lui.

Les tortures qu'il éprouvait étaient devenues intolérables, le dénoûment approchait. Le mourant refuse de se laisser emmener plus loin.

On s'arrête. Le prince, dans un dernier effort, se dresse sur ses jambes et s'avance vers la hutte d'un noble de l'endroit, qui s'appelait Rusenge.

Celui-ci était couché. S'entendant interpeller au dehors, il sort et se trouve en face d'un homme dont le visage tuméfié et couvert de sang est horrible à voir. « Que me veut donc, s'écrie-t-il courroucé, cet individu à la face ensanglantée qui pénètre chez moi? (Uyu winjira mu lugo, avamo amarasso, aranshakir' iki?) » Ruganzu cherchait un abri pour mourir. Devant l'attitude insolente de Rusenge, le moribond ne se possédant plus, lui prend le bras droit, le retourne avec force en sens contraire et

l'arrache en moins de temps qu'il ne faut pour le dire. Le brandissant ensuite avec les deux mains, il en frappe le visage de sa victime, qui remplissait l'air de ses rugissements.

Ce dernier effort avait épuisé Ruganzu, qui eut à peine la force de se traîner jusqu'à la case qui occupait le fond de la première cour (ikambere). On entendit bientôt ses derniers râlements. C'est ainsi que le dompteur des rois fut à son tour dompté par la mort.

Les derniers moments du grand roi ont été, on le voit, dramatisés. Il ne pouvait pas mourir comme le commun des mortels, dans des circonstances normales et ordinaires. Telle avait été la vie, telle devait être la mort. Il fallait que le cadre fut le même.

Les romanciers noirs ont dépeint son trépas sous des traits et des couleurs un peu forcés.

La conclusion qui semble se dégager de leurs dires, c'est que Ruganzu mourut d'une blessure, ou mieux, des suites d'une blessure.

S'il n'arriva pas vivant à Muchiro, son cadavre y fut au moins déposé pendant quelques jours. Cela explique pourquoi le nom de Ruganzu est resté attaché au bosquet royal de Muchiro. Les gardiens de l'endroit appartiennent au clan des Abiru et la tradition assure qu'ils sont les descendants de ceux qui s'occupèrent des funérailles du monarque. Cette circonstance leur valut le nom d' « Abanyamugogo », c'est-à-dire les hommes à la grande bûche de bois, à cause de la coutume qui exige qu'on fasse brûler durant au moins quatre jours une souche de l'arbre appelé umuko, erythrina à fleurs rouges, après l'ensevelissement d'un individu. On choisit à dessein pour cela une bûche verte de cet arbre.

Le nom de Muchiro étant très connu parmi le peuple, beaucoup se figurent qu'on y avait enterré Ruganzu, mais on a tout lieu de croire, d'après l'opinion la plus com-

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mune, qu'il fut porté pour y être inhumé à Musenyi, dans le Nduga, à l'endroit de Mayebe [1].

III. — Conclusion a tirer de toutes ces chansons de gestes. — Importance du rôle de Ruganzu et formation de l'unité du royaume.

Ruganzu occupe dans la littérature indigène une place de choix par le nombre et la variété des récits auxquels ont donné lieu ses actions d'éclat. Il n'est pas un de ses faits et gestes, réels ou supposés, qui n'ait été transformé et embelli.

Les événements ont été mesurés à la taille du héros. L'imagination populaire s'est donnée libre carrière à son occasion. On remarquera sans peine que les différents morceaux qui relatent sa vie et son règne sont d'une valeur inégale et souvent décousus, manquant de logique et fourmillent d'anachronismes et d'enfantillages. On lui attribue naïvement la découverte de la plupart des produits agricoles. Il est l'inventeur et l'organisateur de tout. Artisans, forgerons et cultivateurs se réclament de lui. Les faiseurs de pluie et les sorciers, mis en demeure d'expliquer leurs prétendus pouvoirs et poussés jusque dans leurs derniers retranchements, donnent la clef du problème, en se disant les simples dépositaires des « dons » et des « talents » dont Ruganzu fut le premier détenteur. Il en a fait bénéficier leurs prédécesseurs dont ils continuent la chaîne et la série. Bref, Ruganzu, c'est la réponse à toutes les questions et à toutes les difficultés.

On lui prête également maints actes glorieux accomplis par ses successeurs ou ses prédécesseurs.

Ce sont là choses qui n'embarrassent nullement les annalistes officiels pas plus que ceux qui les écoutent. Les Noirs ne sont pas difficiles en matière d'histoire. Tout

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(1) Cf. Livre quatrième.

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imparfaits qu'ils puissent être au point de vue littéraire, ces récits et ces légendes nous permettent cependant de nous initier aux us et coutumes des Banyarwanda et de pénétrer dans leur étrange mentalité. Leurs histoires de devins et de magiciens sont caractéristiques, à cause du concept que s'en font les indigènes.

On ne sera pas peu étonné d'y rencontrer quelques détails qui, par certains côtés, rappellent les légendes et le contes de fées du moyen âge. Les événements merveilleux qui se produisent à l'arrivée de Ruganzu, chez Nyamikenge, le fameux « tempestaire », le miracle des arbres auxquels donnèrent naissance les flèches que le prince décocha à un de ses ennemis, le jaillissement des sources opéré à sa voix ou provoqué par l'envoi d'une flèche, — le coup de sabre donné sur un rocher, — les merveilles opérées par Nyangara, etc., ont plus d'un lien de parenté avec les récits de l'époque précitée [1].

Ces mêmes épisodes, en nous mettant au courant des coutumes et des pratiques anciennes ou actuelles dont ils donnent quelquefois l'explication plus ou moins rationnelle, ont de plus l'avantage précieux de faire revivre à nos yeux le passé dont ils soulèvent un coin du voile. Il n'est pas besoin de dire qu'on était alors à une époque troublée et mouvementée, sous le règne de la crainte et de la violence. La constatation la plus intéressante au point de vue historique est la sui-

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(1) Entre bien d'autres auteurs, Montalembert cite les deux traits suivants :

« Les paysans admiraient dans leur simplicité un gros et vieux arbre, ils le disaient sorti de l'aiguillon dont l'Abbé Théodulphe se servait pour piquer ses bœufs, et qu'il avait fiché en terre, un jour qu'en les ramenant au monastère il s'était arrêté sur le bord du chemin pour racommoder sa charrue endommagée. »

« La légende d'un savant irlandais du VIe siècle, raconte qu'après sa mort, tous les étuis à livres de l'Irlande se détachèrent des crochets qui les retenaient contre les murs des écoles monastiques et tombèrent à terre. »

Les Moines d'Occident (t. II). Chap. : « Les moines et les bêtes fauves ».

vante : Les événements dont nous parlons se rapportent à l'époque où eut lieu l'unification du royaume actuel du Rwanda et Ruganzu semble, de tous les rois ou chefs auxquels il a succédé, celui qui a contribué le plus à cette œuvre de formation et d'agrégation.

Des traditions et des légendes qui ont cours dans le pays il ressort, en effet, nous l'avons déjà dit, que les Hamites vinrent dans le Rwanda par le Nord-Est, c'est-à-dire par le Ndorwa, Mutara, Buganza, à une date indéterminée. Ils soumirent, les uns après les autres, les roitelets indigènes qui ne surent pas se défendre et leur résister. La victoire des Batutsi dût être relativement facile vu le manque d'entente entre les chefs autochtones, le peu d'importance de chaque groupe et leur infériorité au point de vue civilisation (intelligence) [1].

Après les avoir subjugués, les Batutsi se partagèrent le pays et fondèrent à leur tour de petites principautés héréditaires à peu près égales en étendue aux royaumes minuscules qu'ils avaient trouvés à leur arrivée. Ils se mirent à la place des roitelets aborigènes qu'ils avaient détrônés.

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[1] Nous employons le mot civilisation dans un sens relatif, parce que les Batutsi malgré leur sens politique n'ont apporté aucune innovation dans les autres branches humaines.

Ils ont soumis les Bantu, leur ont donné un gouvernement stable et régulier en se substituant à leurs trop nombreux princes Bahutu, mais ils n'ont rien fait progresser, au point de vue des sciences et des arts. Pour ce qui concerne les cultures, les bâtisses, les armes, les instruments, etc., les Noirs s'en sont tenus aux méthodes et aux habitudes ancestrales. Les Batutsi sont restés administrateurs et pasteurs. Leur activité ne s'est pas exercée en dehors de ce cercle.

« La civilisation des Noirs elle-même, dit M. Delafosse, et son jugement s'applique aux Hamites et aux Bahutu du Rwanda, ne paraît pas avoir subi dans son ensemble, de modifications profondes depuis des milliers d'années. Tout au moins existe-t-il encore de nos jours de nombreuses peuplades nègres dont le développement matériel semble être demeuré au même stade où il se trouvait du temps des Pharaons, et dont les vêtements, les armes et les outils sont exactement identiques aux vêtements, aux armes et aux outils que portent les Nègres représentés sur les peintures et les bas-reliefs de l'ancienne Egypte. »

Les Noirs de l'Afrique, page 20.

Après de multiples péripéties, les chefs Batutsi de la province du Nduga, qui avaient gouverné en premier lieu, sinon simultanément, le Buganza, le Bgana-Chambge, etc., réussirent, par leur renom, leur génie et leur ambition à s'imposer peu à peu à leurs rivaux et voisins. C'est sous le règne de l'un des prédécesseurs de Ruganzu que les Banyoro furent repoussés.

Le fils du roi Kigeri, connu désormais dans l'histoire sous le nom de Mibambge-Mutabazi, s'était mis à la tête des troupes et avait refoulé les envahisseurs. Ce succès retentissant ne contribua pas peu à augmenter sa gloire et son influence. Le même Mibambge put ensuite se débarrasser de son redoutable voisin Mashira, qui régnait en maître sur la majeure partie du Nduga. Ces faits montrent le rôle et l'importance qu'avaient déjà les chefs hamites, auxquels allait bientôt succéder Ruganzu.

Celui-ci trouva donc l'œuvre commencée, mais engagée dans une mauvaise passe, semble-t-il, à la mort de son père Ndahiro. Les quelques pages qui précèdent aident à comprendre avec quelle habileté et quel succès il sut mener à bien l'entreprise d'unification. Ses successeurs n'eurent qu'à la compléter comme le firent notamment Yuhi-Mazimpaka, Chyilima, Kigeri-Ndabarassa, Mibambge-Sentabyo, Mutara-Lwogera.

Diverses furent les phases de cette lutte et nombreuses les péripéties. Le Nord-Ouest se défendit à outrance au début de l'invasion hamite. Les Batutsi y eurent affaire à des tribus belliqueuses dont quelques-unes combattirent courageusement pour conserver leur autonomie. Les Bashiru et les Bahoma se laissèrent entamer difficilement. Leurs chefs bahinza Nyamakwa et Nyakazana ont été évincés récemment. Ils se bornaient à payer un tribut annuel à la capitale. Les Batutsi n'osaient pas séjourner chez eux et craignaient même de traverser leur territoire.

L'établissement des Hamites et de leur influence dans le Kingogo, le Mulera, le Bukonya et le Kibali est de date

récente [1]. Le dernier chef autochtone du Bukonya, Bgimba, vient à peine d'être dépossédé; Kiruhura, du Kingogo, est encore respecté du grand chef Mututsi, qui a réussi à implanter dans la contrée l'autorité du roi.

Quant au Mulera, dont les habitants, de terribles montagnards, avaient malgré quelques revers passagers, tenu en respect les Batutsi, c'est à peine d'hier que date sa soumission, — et cela grâce encore aux divisions intestines qui ont réussi à se faire jour dans la région [2].

Les faiseurs de pluie qui se succèdent depuis plusieurs générations dans le pays de Bussigi et du Kinyaga surtout, au lieu dit du Bukunzi, sont probablement les descendants d'anciens chefs autonomes. Il ne restait plus qu'une grande influence morale à celui de Bussigi, mais celui du Bukunzi, comme on l'a vu précédemment, possédait encore un pays d'environ 20.000 habitants, sur lesquels il exerçait une vraie souveraineté.

Il descendait d'une ancienne famille venue du Bunyabungu (Rwinryi), pays situé sur la côte occidentale du Kivu. L'origine différente des Bahutu, qui occupent les diverses parties du Rwanda, explique la multitude des groupements autonomes que rencontrèrent les Batutsi à leur arrivée dans la contrée.

On comprend aussi la facilité relative avec laquelle, nonobstant leur petit nombre, les Batutsi soumirent peu à peu les autochtones.

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(1) Des Batutsi, qui avaient essayé de pénétrer individuellement dans les régions du Nord, durent rebrousser chemin. Les montagnards en jetèrent quelques-uns à la rivière. Ces faits ne pourraient plus se représenter à l'heure actuelle.

(2) Les populations du Nord sont presque toutes originaires du Mpororo et du Ndorwa; les Bagoyi qui habitent sur la côte orientale du Kivu sont originaires des pays voisins, Bgisha, Mushari, Gishari, Kamuronsi, Bunyabungu, régions situées au Nord et à l'Ouest du même lac. Les gens du Kinyaga sont venus du Bunyabungu et quelques autres de l'Urundi.

La population située au Sud et à l'Est du Rwanda est fortement apparentée à celle de l'Urundi.

Leur pénétration se fit par le Nord-Est, dans l'intérieur, pour progresser vers le Sud et enfin vers le Nord-Ouest, où ils éprouvèrent plus de difficultés. A différentes reprises, ainsi que nous l'avons dit et même assez récemment, entre 1898 et 1900, les Batutsi furent obligés de prendre les armes pour ramener à l'obéissance les populations montagnardes, qui ne payaient plus l'impôt et maltraitaient les chefs qu'on leur envoyait de la capitale. Inutile d'ajouter que ces expéditions ont été célébrées et chantées à l'envi comme dignes de passer à la postérité [1].

Les anciens roitelets et leurs descendants sont désignés dans la langue du pays sous le nom d'« Abahinza », c'est-à-dire préservateurs des récoltes ou même « usurpateurs », parce que, d'après le sens désormais attaché à ce terme, ils ne sont pas de vrais rois et qu'on ne peut pas les comparer avec leurs vainqueurs et successeurs, les Hamites.

Pour les Banyarwanda il ne peut y avoir qu'un seul roi digne de ce nom (umwami), le monarque de race Mututsi. Les autres n'ont aucun droit à ce titre, parce qu'ils commandent à des étrangers (abanyamuhanga) et à des Sauvages (abashi) qu'ils estiment appartenir à une civilisation inférieure à la leur. C'est la raison pour laquelle ils ont conservé ce nom aux descendants des anciens princes aborigènes, même à ceux qui ont disparu ou ont été évincés complètement comme Nyamubira fils de Kabamba, qui habite à Binana (Ndiza) ou Bgimba du Bukonya [2].

La disparition des anciens groupements indépendants

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(1) Les vieux « généraux en chef » qui prirent part à la campagne sont encore en vie, à l'exception de Lukagirashamba, mort depuis quelques années. Ce dernier appartenait au clan des Batsobe, Sezikeya à celui des Banyiginya et les deux autres à celui des Bega.

(2) Le terme de muhinza est passé dans la langue runyarwanda pour désigner non seulement les faiseurs de pluie de profession, mais ceux aussi qui le sont devenus subitement, d'occasion, dans un but de lucre. Il en est d'autres qui se sont vus imposer la fonction et le titre à cause de leur origine étrangère et ont dû accepter, sous la menace, de singer les pluviateurs officiels.

est un fait accompli, il n'en reste que le souvenir. Ces données expliquent la situation politique du Rwanda à l'arrivée des Batutsi. L'unification du Rwanda ne se fit pas en un seul jour, ni en une seule fois.

Les divers épisodes dont il a été parlé le prouvent assez. L'œuvre fut de longue haleine.

Les faits de l'histoire contemporaine, comparés à ceux que la légende et la tradition prêtent à Ruganzu, montrent clairement le rôle important joué par lui, lors de ce laborieux travail d'enfantement. Il n'est presque pas une province du Rwanda actuel que Ruganzu n'ait parcourue.

Le nombre de ses expéditions et le chiffre de ses victimes l'emportent de beaucoup sur celles que firent ses prédécesseurs et ses successeurs.

Les régions du Bgisha, de Jomba et du Gissaka semblent être les seules dans lesquelles il n'ait pas pénétré. Le petit royaume du Gissaka devait être à cette époque en bonne voie de formation et avoir une existence prospère, ce qui explique pourquoi Ruganzu ne songea pas à y établir son influence [1].

Tel fut donc, d'après la légende et la tradition, celui auquel l'enthousiasme populaire a donné, en souvenir de ses nombreux exploits les titres de : Conquérant (Ruganzu), l'habitant du lieu sacré de Gasâbo, l'Homme à la peau de mouton, celui qui sait parler le langage des hommes aux Sauvages du Nord comme aux Sauvages du Sud, l'observateur par excellence (l'Espion), le Maître du Rwanda, le possesseur du tambour sacré (le palladium du

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[1] Les traditions relatives au royaume du Gissaka ont conservé le nom de onze rois, dont le premier vivait du temps de Ndahiro, le père de Ruganzu. Ils étaient de race Mututsi, du clan des Bagessera. Eux aussi se taillèrent leur royaume au milieu et sur les ruines des groupes autochtones qui vivaient séparés les uns des autres.

Le Gissaka proprement dit avec ses trois districts (Gihumya ou Barasza, Migongo et Mirenge), compte peut-être à l'heure actuelle près de 150,000 habitants. Au moment de leur plus grande splendeur, les rois du Gissaka avaient réussi à s'emparer du Buganza et du Bgana-Chambge qu'ils gouvernèrent pendant quelque temps. Cf. Livre cinquième.

royaume), l'Homme à la lance ébréchée (par suite de l'usage qu'il en fit dans les combats), le chef des guerriers par excellence (1).

Pour terminer cette étude, l'auteur de ces lignes fait siennes les réflexions suivantes, qui, entre plusieurs autres, lui furent faites par des Batutsi fort au courant des traditions de leur pays : « Voilà, disait le premier, ce que nous savons sur Ruganzu, ce dont nous avons souvenance et que l'on raconte encore à l'heure actuelle, les uns en parlent de cette façon, les autres d'une autre. Quant à moi je n'ai pas entendu autre chose sur ce sujet (2) ». — « Les gens d'ici, ajoutait un deuxième dans le cours d'une conversation, ne connaissent pas très bien l'histoire de Ruganzu; ce qui leur manque surtout, c'est de ne pas savoir mettre en ordre les événements.

» La difficulté est la même quand il s'agit de donner la liste généalogique des rois. L'un rapporte ceci, l'autre cela, et nos récits ne concordent nullement entre eux (3). »

APPENDICE

Principautés hamites réunies à la couronne.

I. — Ndorwa.

Noms des rois connus :

Kabeja.
Mulari.
Gahaya.

On pense que Gahaya fut le dernier roi du Ndorwa.

(1) « Ruganzu rwa Ndahiro, Ruganzu rwa Gasàbo, Chambarantama, Rugambirir' Abahunde n' Abashi, Chyitatire, Nyirurwanda, Nyiringoma, Nyir' ichumu ry' uruhanga, Nyiringabo ».

(2) Ngay' amateka ya Ruganzu avugwa bachyibuka kurubu; bamwe babivug' ukundi, aband' ukundi.

(3) Nayo numvise kuli Ruganzu.

« Rubanda lwino ntirubimenya neza rwose, ndeise chyane chyane ntibazi kubikulikiranya, n' abami nuko ntibazi kubakulikiranya nabo.

Ichyo twabibuzeho rwose n' ubumwe. Umwe avug' ibi, undi naw' ibindi, amaze nuko ntibihure na gato. »

Après lui le pays resta morcelé et toujours exposé aux invasions des Banyarwanda.

Ruganzu I Ndori aurait été le premier à y faire la guerre. Il y tua un certain Kanyoni, proche parent du roi.

Chyilima II Ludjugira porta un coup mortel à l'existence du petit royaume.

Bien que nominalement soumis au Rwanda, les habitants de ce pays se montrèrent réfractaires à l'influence étrangère et secouèrent souvent le joug qui leur avait été imposé. Aussi voit-on la plupart des rois hamites du Rwanda y faire de nombreuses expéditions qui appauvrirent et désolèrent cette malheureuse région.

Les rois et les chefs Batutsi du Ndorwa appartenaient au clan dit des « Abashambo », fortement apparentés aux Banyiginya du Rwanda.

Dans les récits et légendes il est souvent question du petit pays de Mutara qui fait géographiquement partie du Ndorwa. Ce district de Mutara fut la première étape des Hamites, au seuil du Rwanda.

II. — Bugessera.

Noms des rois connus :

Sankunda.
Nsangano.
Nsoro.

Ce dernier prince fut, d'après la tradition, vaincu par Mibambge I Mutabazi.

Géographiquement parlant, la province du Bugessera appartient à l'Urundi. Elle est séparée du Rwanda par le fleuve de l'Akanyaru et au delà de son confluent avec la Nyabarongo par la Kagera.

Les premiers Hamites qui s'y installèrent dépendirent d'abord du roi hamite de l'Urundi. Ils ne tardèrent pas à entrer en conflit d'autorité avec lui. Les princes du Rwanda profitèrent de ces dissensions et le Bugessera finit

par être réuni à la couronne sous le règne de Mibambge I.

Les Hamites qui ont régné sur le Bugessera sont désignés sous le nom d'« Abahondogo », un des nombreux clans Batutsi.

Le Bugessera n'a jamais été bien peuplé.

C'est une région de pâturages parsemée d'arbres nains; la pluie y tombe peu. La plupart des terres situées au confluent des deux fleuves de l'Akanyaru et de la Nyabarongo sont souvent inondées à la saison des pluies. Les eaux emportent les cultures, au grand désespoir des riverains, qui ont été surpris maintes fois par l'irrégularité des crues. La famine et le voisinage des fauves sont loin de favoriser l'accroissement de la population

III. — Le Gissaka.

On ne connaît que les noms des onze derniers rois.

. . . . .	Rois du Rwanda contemporains :
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
1. Kimenyi I Kimenyi.	Ndahiro, père du célèbre Ruganzu.
2. Mukanya.	
3. Mutwa.	
4. Mutuminka.	
5. Kwezi.	
6. Luregeya.	
7. Muhoza.	Chyilima II Ludjugira.
8. Bazimya.	Kigeri-Ndabarassa.
9. Kimenyi II Getura.	Mibambge-Sentabyo.
10. Lugeyo-Zigama.	Yuhi-Gahindiro.
11. Ntamwete, détrôné et tué vers 1850.	Mutara-Lwogera.
	Mibambge - Rutalindwa, † 1896.
	Yuhi IV-Musinga (1896).

C'est sous le règne de Mutara-Lwogera que le Gissaka, grâce aux divisions intestines qui éclatèrent parmi les

grands chefs, perdit son indépendance et fut réuni au Rwanda.

Le Gissaka proprement dit comprend trois petites régions distinctes :

1° Le « Gihumya » ou « Barassa » avec environ 45.000 âmes (d'après un premier recensement fait en 1922);

2° Le « Migongo » avec près de 20.000 âmes;

3° Le « Mirenge » avec environ 16.000.

Les « chroniqueurs » du Gissaka disent qu'au temps de la plus grande prospérité du royaume les limites de leur pays s'étendirent jusqu'à la Nyabarongo, englobant la province du Bgana-Chambge, vers le Sud-Ouest, et le Buganza, vers le Nord.

I. — Principauté de Bussigi.

Essai de généalogie des princes autochtones Bahutu (Bantu).

. . . . .	Princes hamites contemporains :
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
Nyamikenke.	Ruganzu II Ndori.
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
Nzarubara.	Lwabugiri-Kigeri.
Minyaruko.	Musinga-Yuhi.

Ces personnages ont largement vécu jusqu'à nos jours de leur métier de « tempestaires » ou faiseurs de pluie.

II. — Principauté de Luhengeri.

. . . . . .

Kimararungu.
Gihima.
Lwabunga.
Mulamira.

Ils appartiennent au clan des Bassigi ou Babanda.

III. — Principauté du Buhoma.

Nkinzo Lemera.
Machumbi.
Nyakazana, décédé en 1928.
Bigirabagabo.

IV. — Principauté du Bushiru.

	Princes hamites contemporains :
1. Nyabissasso.	
2. Sangano.	Kigeri IV Lwabugiri.
3. Kibogora.	
4. Nyamakwa.	Yuhi IV Musinga.

Les Batutsi n'avaient pas osé s'implanter dans le pays, qui n'était que nominalement soumis à leur influence. Les titulaires de ce minuscule royaume prennent les noms de leurs prédécesseurs; ces noms sont au nombre de quatre. Ces Bahinza appartiennent au clan des Bagessera. On les dit originaires du Gissaka.

V. — Principauté du Bugamba-Kiganda.

1. Bagabo.	
2. Nkwakuzi.	
3. Biyuzi.	
4. Bigirimana.	
Nkwakuzi.	Yuhi IV Musinga.

VI. — Principauté du Bulembo-Ivunja.

1. Mazuru.
2. Samarwa.
3. Kibogora.
4. Nkumbuye, † 1918.

VII. — Principauté de Buliba [1].

1. Mulamira.
2. Biranda.
3. Kagesera.
4. Chungura. Yuhi IV Musinga.

VIII. — Principauté dite de Ntonde-Karama-Kagogwe.

1. Kibogora.
2. Mazuru.
3. Samarwa, décédé en 1924, durant la famine (Rumanura).

IX. — Principauté de Muhanga-Nyabitare.

1. Rutoke Rutukura, le sorcier au doigt rouge, tué par Ruganzu II.
2. Ruheke.
3. Magarure.
4. Birutwaninda. Ce dernier fut assommé à coups de casse-tête, au début du règne de Musinga.

Les possessions de ces princes autochtones s'étendirent à un moment donné dans le Nduga, vers le Sud-Ouest, jusqu'à Bgeramvura.

Les rois de cette principauté étaient enterrés à Rutaka.

Des traditions relatives à l'origine du tambour-palladium (Kalinga), l'une prétend que le tambourin appartenait aux roitelets de Muhanga, qui s'en virent dépouillés par Ruganzu. D'après une deuxième, le tambourin était en possession de Nyamikenke de Bussigi.

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[1] Cette principauté comprenait encore : Ishishiro, Gasave et Gishari (Ndiza).

X. — Principauté du Bukonya [1].

Magabe.
Bgimba.
Luvogo.
Lukaburacchumu.

Les tombeaux de ces princes sont dans de petits bosquets. On se demande si les rois hamités n'ont pas emprunté aux roitelets autochtones leur mode de sépulture et tout particulièrement la coutume de « momifier » les cadavres en les faisant dessécher lentement sur un foyer construit dans ce but.

XI. — Principauté du Kingogo.

1. Bgojojo, tué par Ruganzu II.
2. Bgoya.
3. Muhazi.
4. Mabango.
5. Sunzu.
6. Kiruhura, † 1915.
7. Muganwa. Yuhi IV Musinga.

Ils appartiennent au clan des Bazigaba. Les chefs Batutsi qui se sont succédé dans l'administration de la province, depuis près de 1874, sont : Seruteganya, Lutishereka, Luhinankiko, Lwangampuhwe, Nyiriminega et son fils Luvuzar dekwe.

XII. — Principauté du Bgishaza et du Budaha.

1. Rubondo.
2. Mujambere.

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(1) C'est sous toute réserve que nous donnons ces renseignements généalogiques sur les familles princières Bahutu que nous n'avons pas eu l'occasion d'étudier à fond sur place.

3. Sangano, tué par Kigeri III Lwabugiri
4. Mashushwe, † 1909 Yuhi IV Musinga.
5. Rwanyange.

Mashushwe fut livré au roi Musinga, qui lui fit couper les mains et les pieds. Le prince hamite voulait venger, croit-on, la mort de l'un de ses neveux, Kamashabi, assassiné par le fils adoptif de Mashushwe (un certain Nyirinkindi). Lwanyange, propre fils du roitelet, immola à son tour, de ses propres mains, celui qui avait été la cause involontaire de la mort de son père.

XIII. — Le royaume autochtone du Nduga, le plus puissant de ceux que les Hamites rencontrèrent dans le Rwanda.

Noms des rois connus :	Rois hamites contemporains :
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
Sabugabo.	
Nkuba.	Kigeri I Mukobanya.
Mashira.	Mibambge I Mutabazi.

Ce royaume muhutu comprenait la majeure partie de la province centrale du Nduga et le Ndiza ou Bulembo. Mashira était tout à la fois roi, sorcier-devin et magicien, comme les autres princes autochtones de l'époque. Il passait pour être le plus puissant de tous et son nom revient fréquemment dans les contes et les récits indigènes. Ses quatre principales habitations se trouvaient, l'une à Chubi dans le Ndiza, l'autre sur la chaîne du Muhanga, la troisième à Nyanza, la capitale actuelle du Rwanda et la dernière à Gisali près de Kibanda.

Au sommet de la colline de Gahogo, près de la mission de Kabgayi, on montre dans un terrain crayeux, l'endroit

où le roi sorcier aurait cherché vainement une source pour y abreuver ses troupeaux.

Mashira fut vaincu par le roi hamite Mibambge I-Mutabazi, auquel il avait tout d'abord prêté main-forte pour repousser l'invasion des Banyoro.

XIV. — Principauté de Marangara.

	Princes hamites contemporains :
. . . . .	
Nkondogoro I.	
. . . . .	
Nkondogoro II.	
. . . . .	
Nkoma I.	
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
Nkoma II Sekibakanyi.	Ruganzu II Ndori.
. . . . .	
Nyamurassa.	
Kibogo.	Rigeri IV Lwabugiri.

La principauté eut, à un moment donné, une existence prospère. Les vieux aiment à parler de son antique splendeur et de son étendue; elle était alors limitée au Nord par le Bumbogo, au Sud par le Munyambiriri (jusqu'à Bgeramvura), à l'Ouest par la petite chaîne de Muhanga et à l'Est par la rivière de la Rumanzi (jusqu'à Kabebya). Le territoire du Marangara actuel est plus restreint. Le petit royaume devint peu à peu tributaire des rois du Rwanda jusqu'au jour où Kibogo, dont l'influence sur ses sujets était médiocre, mourut de la variole en 1894. Les Bakoma, ou descendants des princes autochtones, qui s'enorgueillissent de leur passé, possèdent à Mata la pierre à aiguiser dont se serait servi Ruganzu. Ils prétendent que la pierre a pris racine et s'étend sous toute la montagne. D'après une croyance populaire, les émissaires de la capitale du Rwanda y viendraient en cachette, à chaque nouveau

règne pour y aiguiser les armes qui doivent servir à tuer les frères du roi susceptibles de lui disputer la couronne.

Les passants jettent une touffe d'herbe sur la pierre comme cela se pratique pour les autres « souvenirs » laissés par Ruganzu.

Les jeunes filles, qui vont ramasser du bois dans les environs, ne manquent pas, à leur tour, d'organiser une « ronde », en l'honneur du grand roi.

XV. — Faiseurs de pluie du Bukunzi dans le Kinyaga.

. . . . . L'ancêtre est originaire de
. . . . . Rwingryi dans le Bunya-
. . . . . bungu.
. . . . . .

Kidja I.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Ngoga.
Luzigamanzi.
Lutangaho.
Kabeja-Lusanga.
Kidja II Kissuma.
Ndagano, mort le 30 mars 1923.

Les susdits « faiseurs de pluie » avaient joui jusqu'à présent d'une large autonomie dans le district qu'ils administraient.

D'après la rumeur publique, Ndagano avait choisi pour lui succéder dans son métier de faiseur de pluie, le dernier-né de ses fils.

XVI. — Roitelets du Busozo, pays tributaire [1].

Ancêtres éloignés (ou imaginaires) que se donnent les princes du Busozo [1] :

1. Ndagara.

[1] Ce petit pays comprend un massif montagneux. Il avait autrefois pour limite au Sud le confluent de deux rivières, la Rubyiro et la

2. Ruhinda (1).
3. Kimenyi I (du Gissaka), dont les roitelets du Busozo se disent les descendants.

Princes régnants

4. Ruhinga I, dont Ruganzu I Ndori aurait reconnu l'indépendance.
5. Kalemera. Ce prince fut tué au cours d'un combat par les Barundi.
6. Batsinda.
7. Kibyutsa, qui aurait habité à Myugariro où il reste un bosquet sacré.
8. Nyabyungu, dont l'ancienne résidence se trouve à Rutsiro.
9. Musumbga.
10. Gisanganya.
11. Nyundo, mort en 1904.
12. Buhinga II, qui a dû naître dans les environs de l'année 1894. Ce prince, dont le rôle était très effacé, est mort en 1925. Son royaume liliputien a été donné au gouverneur hamite de la province du Kinyaga.

Rohwa, qui vont se jeter dans le fleuve de la Russizi. On y trouve aussi de vastes espaces désertiques du côté de la forêt vers le Nord.

D'origine Murundi, les roitelets du Busozo n'ont presque jamais entretenu de relations avec les chefs voisins du Rwanda, qui ont essayé toutefois de rogner un peu sur leur pays.

La contrée, très accidentée, est plus accessible aux chèvres qu'aux vaches et ressemble à une petite Suisse.

(1) On entend souvent prononcer le nom de Ruhinda dans l'Afrique des grands Lacs. Le premier roi hamite de l'Usinja s'appelait aussi Luhinda.

L'un des cinq grands clans Bahima (Hamite) du Nkole qui détient la royauté se nomme Bahinda.

Les rois des sultanats du Kiziba sur le côté Sud-Ouest du Victoria y compris celui d'Ukerewe se disent Bahinda.

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LIVRE QUATRIEME

[p.347]

(PREMIER FASCICULE)

De la Cour royale.

(SES EMPLOIS, SES PRIVILEGES, SES MŒURS ET SES COUTUMES.)

CHAPITRE I.

Emplois et charges à titre historique et superstitieux. Les gardiens des traditions et le « roi » des initiés (imandwa). Emplois officiels revêtant une grande importance tant au point de vue de la couronne que du pouvoir exécutif. Commandants des troupes et tambourineurs officiels. Bourreaux; exécutions capitales et « gouffre » du Bugessera.

CHAPITRE II.

Fonctions à titre purement utilitaire et fonctions d'un caractère utilitaire supposé, dont les unes sont à titre privé et les autres à titre public et national. Griots, sorciers et devins de tout rang qui forment l'entourage habituel du roi.

CHAPITRE III.

Des faiseurs de pluie ou tempestaires; des préservateurs de la foudre et autres sorciers de cette catégorie.

CHAPITRE IV.

Charges à titre récréatif et littéraire. Pages, danseurs et musiciens. Impositions diverses des clans et des sujets; servitudes sanglantes. Privilèges et faveurs de la Cour.

CHAPITRE V.

Garanties dont s'entoure le monarque. Dangers auxquels étaient journellement exposés les employés de la Cour. Usages et formalités auxquels s'astreignent le prince et ses sujets. Emploi des charmes et des philtres.

CHAPITRE VI.

Des deux grandes fêtes de la Cour. Vocabulaire des pasteurs. Exhibition des troupeaux sacrés et exposition rituelle des objets du trésor royal.

CHAPITRE VII.

Rites funéraires. Tombes royales et bosquets sacrés. Dessiccation et momification des cadavres royaux sous l'action du feu. Institution d'un jour de repos en l'honneur d'un prince hamite.

L'organisation de la Cour royale, ses emplois et ses charges, ses coutumes et ses fêtes [1], tel est l'objet de la présente étude.

Rappelons au lecteur que le gouvernement indigène est une monarchie absolue et héréditaire.

Le Souverain est le maître du sol et de tout ce qu'il renferme; il dispose comme il veut de la vie et des biens de ses sujets. Jusqu'à ces dernières années, son pouvoir était sans limites aucunes et ne dépendait que de ses caprices et de son bon vouloir. « Imana » (Dieu) n'était pas plus puissant que lui. Vouloir établir une comparaison entre eux deux aurait été considéré autrefois comme un crime de lèse-majesté. Dieu et le Roi ne pouvaient être qu'une seule personne, tout au plus.

Aussi les sujets étaient-ils plutôt regardés comme des choses dont on tire le plus de plaisir ou de bien-être.

Leur valeur et leur utilité propres n'étaient estimées et ne se mesuraient que par rapport au roi. Ajoutons que, sans être exclu, le bien du royaume ne peut venir qu'en second lieu dans la pensée du monarque.

Les grands du royaume auxquels le roi a distribué le gouvernement des provinces étaient tenus de passer la majeure partie de leur vie à la Cour, avant l'arrivée des Européens. Les princes hamites tenaient essentiellement à ce que les représentants de la noblesse fissent acte de présence auprès d'eux. Ils avaient l'œil sans cesse en éveil et faisaient journellement l'inspection des seigneurs et des courtisans qui les entouraient [2]. Ceux-ci appartiennent

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(1) Pour désigner la Cour et la capitale *hic et nunc*, les Banyarwanda se servent du mot « ibgami », « chez le roi ». Pour parler des anciennes résidences royales, ils emploient le substantif « umurwa » au pl. « imirwa » ou encore « ikigabiro », au pl. « ibigabiro ». Quant au terme « umuhango » (au pl. imihango) il signifie mœurs, coutumes, traditions, d'où le nom d'« Abanyamihango » donné aux « gardiens des coutumes ».

(2) SAINT-SIMON nous apprend qu'il en était de même sous Louis XIV : « C'est un démérite, dit-il, à tout ce qu'il y a de plus distingué, de ne pas faire de la Cour son séjour ordinaire, aux autres d'y venir rarement et une disgrâce sûre, pour qui n'y vient jamais ou comme jamais ».

presque tous à la race noble et conquérante des Batutsi. Ils sont seigneurs et courtisans et, eux aussi, ne vivent que pour le roi, son utilité et son plaisir. Dans les territoires soumis à leur juridiction, les Batutsi, à leur tour, exerçaient les mêmes pouvoirs que le monarque. On s'explique aisément les inconvénients et les excès d'un pareil système autocratique. Ce qu'on ne peut toutefois dénier aux Batutsi et à leurs princes, c'est le don de gouvernement. Ils ont eu à toute époque le talent d'organiser et d'administrer. Grâce à leur finesse et à leur génie, ils ont réussi, dans un court espace de temps, à édifier un royaume unique sur les ruines de près d'une cinquantaine de principautés autonomes et à lui donner une constitution stable.

Nyanza, tel est le nom de la capitale actuelle dans la province du Nduga. Elle se compose d'une vaste agglomération de cases isolées les unes des autres.

Le groupe que forme l'ensemble des huttes royales est de beaucoup le plus important. C'est là que vivent le roi, la reine-mère et leurs employés [1]. Les chefs sont installés dans les environs. Pour ne pas blesser les susceptibilités du Souverain, ils doivent veiller à ce que leurs cases et leurs cours soient de dimensions modestes. Les autres habitants, rassemblés tout autour, n'y sont que pour le service de Sa Majesté. Aussi la capitale peut-elle se comparer à une vaste ruche où les emplois sont variés et nombreux, mais concourent au même but, qui est d'assister et de récréer le Roi.

« La capitale est remplie, peuplée, occupée par la vie d'un seul homme. Ce n'est qu'une résidence royale arrangée tout entière pour fournir aux besoins, aux plaisirs, au service, à la garde, à la société, à la représentation du roi. » (Taine.) La maison du roi est composée d'une véritable

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[1] Les épouses royales à part de rares exceptions sont peu influentes. On en parle rarement. Il suffit du moindre prétexte pour que l'auguste époux s'en sépare.

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foule de domestiques organisés en services distincts sous les ordres de grands officiers (Seignobos). » Ces deux citations, qui concernent Versailles, peuvent s'appliquer à Nyanza et à la Cour de Musinga, proportions gardées.

Le fonctionnement des services jugés indispensables à la vie de la Cour comprend un vaste personnel dont la liste formerait un véritable annuaire. Comte du palais, chef du service de la « Bouche », maître d'hôtel, grand chambrier pour le Trésor, grand échanson ou bouteiller, huissiers, pages, camériers, valets de chambre, officiers de la garde-robe, médecins ou mieux médicastres, etc., ont leurs représentants équivalents à la Cour de Sa Majesté noire.

Sans doute il ne faut pas se figurer ici un palais de Versailles avec ses jardins enchanteurs. La résidence royale de Musinga n'est qu'un vaste enclos formé de ficus, de joncs et de roseaux entrelacés. La principale ouverture qui y donne accès est large d'un mètre. Par devant, à quelque trente pas de l'entrée, s'élève la grande hutte royale, faite de branches et de chaume.

L'intérieur est sombre. Comme toutes les cases du pays, elle n'a pour recevoir la lumière que la porte d'entrée.

Une forêt de piliers en bois se dresse au dedans pour supporter la toiture. Une rangée d'alcôves borde les parois intérieures, fermées par de grands paravents en joncs du pays artistement tressés. Au centre et par terre, le foyer protégé par une sorte de vaste rosace d'argile. C'est la salle d'honneur où n'entrent que les Européens et les familiers de la Cour. C'est en même temps la chambre à coucher du roi et de sa mère.

Le vaste enclos est divisé en plusieurs cours où se dressent les cases de la reine-mère, de ses belles-filles, de leurs suivants et de leurs suivantes. La hutte où est gardé le tambour-palladium, celle où est conservé le feu sacré, les nombreuses cases qui sont dédiées aux mânes royaux

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s'élèvent à droite et à gauche, mais dans l'intérieur de l'enclos.

De-ci de-là on aperçoit comme d'énormes paniers couverts d'un toit de chaume; ce sont les greniers où s'entassent les vivres du personnel. Le magasin est la place préférée du roi. Il se plaît à y entasser les objets les plus disparates : étoffes, vaisselle, meubles et bibelots de toutes sortes. On dit qu'il prend un plaisir infini à parcourir son « bazar », à palper les marchandises les unes après les autres, à l'abri de tout regard indiscret.

Il est aisé de se représenter la vie et le mouvement qui règnent à la Cour et dans la capitale.

La nation tout entière réside dans la personne du roi. Celui-ci seul la représente. L'État se trouvant identifié avec le prince, il n'est jamais question que de lui. « Tout se fait pour son service. La justice est celle du roi; les troupes sont l'armée du roi; les nobles combattent pour lui... Le monarque est seigneur absolu et a naturellement la disposition pleine et entière de biens qui sont possédés par ses sujets, et en les prenant, il ne prend que ce qui lui appartient... Quiconque est né sujet doit obéir sans discernement... »

Ce petit exposé de l'histoire du règne de Louis XIV résume parfaitement les droits exercés par les souverains hamites du Rwanda.

En conséquence de cette conception et de cette mentalité admises par les Noirs, presque tous les clans ou groupes de familles dont se compose la population du Rwanda ont un rôle à remplir à la Cour, non pas tant pour le bien du royaume que pour le plaisir du roi. Les fonctions qu'ils ont à y exercer sont multiples et varient selon la qualité des gens et les produits du sol sur lequel ils vivent. Pour quelques-uns, ce sont les circonstances historiques du passé qui leur ont fait conférer un emploi. De ces charges, les unes sont considérées comme un honneur ou un privilège et les autres comme une vraie corvée. Il y en a aussi qui sont imposées comme un châtiment ou une

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vengeance, pour une faute commise autrefois par des aïeux dont on a même perdu le souvenir. La plupart de ces offices constituent de vraies servitudes pour leurs titulaires.

Les emplois à caractère simplement utilitaire sont de beaucoup les plus nombreux.

On ne sera pas peu surpris d'apprendre que les plaisirs et les récréations littéraires ne sont pas exclus du programme de la Cour et y ont même une place à part. Nous trouvons, en effet, auprès du Souverain des historiens officiels et des bardes attitrés (abachurabgenge), ainsi que des jouteurs littéraires ou gens au langage choisi appelés Abasizi, dont l'unique rôle est de rafraîchir la mémoire du monarque ou de charmer ses loisirs par des improvisations de bon goût. Les gens du vulgaire, eux aussi, ne sont pas insensibles aux belles-lettres. Il n'est pas un Munyarwanda qui ne s'intéresse vivement aux légendes, récits, fables, contes moraux ou humoristiques, énigmes, jeux de mots, plaisanteries, etc., qui font partie de la littérature orale.

Chacun des emplois de la capitale a ses traditions propres qui doivent être scrupuleusement observées. Nous essayerons de donner un court aperçu de ce qui fait l'objet de ces fonctions, de leurs règles, ainsi que des usages et formalités auxquels doivent se soumettre le roi, d'un côté, et ses sujets, de l'autre.

Que le lecteur veuille bien ne pas s'étonner de nous entendre ajouter qu'il est question à la Cour d'étiquette et de cérémonial.

On conçoit l'originalité d'un milieu comme celui de la Cour, où se coudoient, dans un espace relativement restreint, des personnages aussi divers, seigneurs, courtisans, disciples d'Esculape et vulgaires charlatans, gens de service, sorciers et devins de différentes catégories, fournisseurs, intendants, danseurs, pages, gardiens des traditions, annalistes officiels, littérateurs, etc., car il est

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impossible de tout énumérer. Ce monde n'existe, ne pense et n'agit que pour le Roi. C'est une vraie Cour du moyen âge avec, en plus, les mœurs païennes où prédomine l'élément sorcier.

Les profanes qui ne connaissent pas l'Afrique pourront se faire une idée de ce qu'est un roi et son entourage en pays noir. Ce que nous allons raconter sur l'état politique d'autrefois, les mœurs royales d'alors, les tributs humains ou servitudes sanglantes, montrera, tout en expliquant ce que furent les temps anciens, le respect dont on entoure la personne royale considérée à l'égal d'un demi-dieu par ses sujets. Ses caprices sanguinaires, — envisagés dans le passé, — loin de nuire à sa réputation, ne font que rehausser sa puissance et sa majesté, tant en impose à des âmes primitives le déploiement de la force brutale.

Entre autres détails curieux, on trouvera dans ces pages l'origine plus ou moins rationnelle d'après la légende et l'histoire, de maints us et coutumes existant encore aujourd'hui.

Citons, parmi ces usages, le maintien et l'entretien d'un singe cynocéphale à la capitale, la garde du feu sacré légué par un des ancêtres de la dynastie, le culte rendu au tambourin royal, qui est regardé comme le « palladium » du royaume, l'existence et l'exhibition des vaches sacrées dans les grandes cérémonies, la célébration annuelle de la fête dite des « prémices », l'observance d'un jour de repos tous les cinq jours. Non moins intéressants au point de vue ethnologique sont les passages qui relatent les coutumes funéraires suivies à l'occasion de la mort d'un roi, ce qui a trait aux cimetières et aux bosquets royaux et ce qui se rapporte aux mânes royaux, y compris le deuil annuel du mois de juin observé à la Cour, en souvenir d'un ancien prince. Le lecteur y verra l'octroi qui est fait de franchises et d'immunités à certaines tribus, puis les prérogatives, les privilèges et les fonctions diverses des autres. Quelques-unes de ces grandes familles ont

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la spécialité de fournir les sorciers de Sa Majesté noire, les gardiens des traditions, les faiseurs de pluies, les ensevelisseurs royaux, qui forment une corporation fermée, etc. (1). Pour mettre un peu de clarté dans les pages qui vont suivre nous y introduirons la division suivante comprenant les charges et les privilèges de la Cour.

Les quelques détails donnés dans la courte énumération des emplois et dignités feront déjà comprendre ce que peuvent être les mœurs et les usages d'une Cour ainsi constituée.

Pour compléter l'idée qu'on doit s'en faire, il suffira ensuite de dire entre autres choses, les garanties dont le roi croit devoir s'entourer de la part de ses employés, les dangers auxquels étaient exposés ces derniers par le fait de leurs fonctions, et les quelques autres usages et formalités auxquels s'astreignent le Souverain et ses sujets.

L'objet des deux derniers chapitres portera sur la description des deux grandes fêtes de la Cour et les curieux rites funéraires observés à la mort du Roi. Le travail sur ce sujet sera loin d'être complet; il y a trop à dire et nos moyens d'information sont trop insuffisants. La pénétration européenne dans ces contrées ne date que d'un quart de siècle à peine. Et jusqu'au moment de la grande guerre européenne, les indigènes, les « grands » (Abatutsi) surtout étaient restés sur la réserve. C'est à peine si les lèvres commencent à se desserrer. La récolte historique et ethnologique du Rwanda n'en est encore qu'à ses débuts. On

(1) L'organisation politique et sociale des Banyarwanda rappelle un peu le régime des castes que l'on trouve à l'origine de beaucoup de peuples, qu'il s'agisse de castes politiques, religieuses ou même simplement professionnelles.

Ainsi chez les Hébreux, la tribu de Lévi avait le monopole des fonctions sacerdotales; chez les Grecs, les Asclépiades, prétendus descendants d'Esculape, se transmettaient de génération en génération les secrets de la médecine. A Rome, il y avait les deux grandes castes politiques des patriciens et des plébéiens. L'Inde est encore à l'heure actuelle le pays classique des castes, où les nombreuses classes des individus restent absolument distinctes.

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ne trouvera, pour ces motifs, qu'un court aperçu dans les lignes suivantes.

Il est à craindre toutefois que ces nombreux et curieux usages qui régissent encore pour la plupart la vie actuelle de la Cour, ne disparaissent bientôt les uns après les autres, cédant la place au progrès et à la civilisation modernes. Aussi avons-nous cru bien faire d'en présenter un bref et rapide tableau au lecteur, avant que l'oubli ne se fasse sur eux.

Tout en donnant une place de choix aux usages de la Cour et aux mœurs des Hamites, on ne se fera aucun scrupule quand l'occasion s'en présentera, de sortir des limites un peu étroites indiquées et déterminées par le titre de ce livre quatrième. Nous en élargirons volontiers le cadre sans toutefois abandonner notre sujet pour parler, selon les convenances du texte, des coutumes communes ou particulières à l'un et à l'autre des trois groupes ethniques que comprend la nation munyarwanda.

CHAPITRE PREMIER

Emplois et charges à titre historique et superstitieux. — Les gardiens des traditions et des coutumes. — Le « roi » des prémices et le « roi » des imandwa. — Emplois officiels revêtant une grande importance tant au point de vue de la couronne (ingoma) que du pouvoir exécutif. — Généraux et tambourineurs officiels. — Bourreaux; exécutions capitales et « gouffre » du Bugesera.

I. — Emplois et charges a titre historique et superstitieux. — Les gardiens des coutumes et des traditions. — Le « roi » des prémices et le « roi » des imandwa.

1° Entretien à la Cour d'un cynocéphale et d'un taureau sacré.

On se souvient que Ruganzu II le Victorieux, enfumé par ses ennemis dans une caverne, fut, d'après la légende,

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sauvé par des singes cynocéphales (inguge), qui le conduisirent à travers des galeries souterraines jusqu'à une autre issue. Pour commémorer cette tradition fabuleuse, on entretient à la capitale un de ces animaux.

Le clan auquel est confié le soin de la bête est désigné sous le nom d'« Abanyamuheno », c'est-à-dire les Hommes de la Grotte, en souvenir de l'événement.

Le singe, retenu par une chaîne, est nourri par ses geôliers, de patates, de haricots, de grains, de tiges de sorgho, etc.

Quand il devient vieux, on le relâche dans la forêt où il avait été capturé jeune et on en cherche un autre pour le remplacer.

N'y aurait-il pas dans cette coutume une réminiscence des usages en honneur à la Cour des Pharaons, où l'on élevait aussi des singes cynocéphales?

Le Rwanda est un pays de pâturages. Les Batutsi y possèdent de nombreux troupeaux de vaches qui font, à juste titre, l'orgueil et la joie de leurs propriétaires.

On ne s'étonnera donc pas d'apprendre qu'il y ait, à la Cour, indépendamment des troupeaux sacrés, dont il sera question à l'avant-dernier chapitre de ce livre, un taureau, objet d'attentions et de soins spéciaux.

L'animal est connu sous le nom de Rusanga et vit en compagnie de quelques vaches qui portent la même désignation « insanga » (pluriel de Rusanga).

On introduit de temps à autre le taureau dans le pays royal, à l'occasion des sacrifices et en sa qualité de représentant officiel de toute la race bovine de la monarchie. Les gardiens font avancer la bête, qui est flanquée habituellement de deux vaches, devant l'édicule consacré aux esprits. Le roi ou le sorcier qui officie en son nom présente les animaux en s'adressant aux mânes royaux : « Voici, dit-il, les troupeaux que vous nous avez laissés. Nous continuons à nous en occuper; leur nombre ne cesse de s'accroître. Détournez les épizooties de nos vaches et

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épargnez-nous les calamités de tout genre. Rendez-nous les événements favorables et les Européens (qui occupent le pays) bienveillants! » etc.

L'observation de ce rite se rattache dans l'esprit des Hamites au souvenir de Gihanga et de sa fille Nyirarutchaba, auxquels on attribue l'introduction du gros bétail dans le Rwanda.

Il y a lieu de croire que les Batutsi honorent par là, pratiquement parlant et d'une manière implicite, la mémoire du prince hamite qui introduisit réellement les premiers bovidés dans le pays. La légende de Nyirarutchaba n'a fait que se substituer peu à peu à l'événement historique.

Si l'on admet, d'autre part, que les Batutsi descendent des Égyptiens ou des gens apparentés à ces derniers, il n'y aurait rien d'étonnant à constater quelques vestiges du culte d'Apis à la Cour du Rwanda.

L'existence des troupeaux sacrés dits « inyambo » et leur exhibition, durant la célébration des grandes fêtes, peuvent être interprétées d'une façon identique. Leur apparition à la capitale dans les circonstances indiquées revêt la même signification et le même caractère sacrificatoire.

La cérémonie accomplie, on reconduit les bêtes au pâturage, dans les environs de la capitale.

Quand le taureau vient à crever, il faut le remplacer aussitôt par un autre. Le choix qui s'opère prend le nom d'intronisation, de nouveau règne (en runyarwanda, on dit kwimika); ce qui montre l'importance du fait en lui-même et le prix qu'on attache à cette originale tradition.

Bien que les Banyarwanda soient extrêmement friands de viande et mangent même les cadavres d'animaux, il est rigoureusement interdit de toucher à la chair du taureau sacré. La bête est enterrée comme le sont les « inyambo ». L'individu auquel est confié la garde de Rusanga s'appelle

Nkwaya et fait partie du clan des Banyiginya. C'est une charge de confiance.

Les « insanga » sont bien connus des gens de la capitale.

2° Le chef du protocole et le « roi » des prémices.

Il existe un cérémonial compliqué et un ensemble de rites dont la transmission se perdrait vite si le soin de les maintenir n'était confié à un certain nombre de personnages qui en poursuivent scrupuleusement l'observation auprès du monarque. Ils ne se font pas faute à l'occasion de le rappeler à l'ordre.

Le plus important de ces directeurs de protocole ou maîtres de cérémonies est sans contredit le chef du clan des Batsobe. Il occupe une place de choix auprès du Souverain qu'il conseille et dirige dans les affaires de son ressort. Son nom reviendra dans les pages qui suivent [1]

Une famille est chargée, sous la haute surveillance de ce grand dignitaire, de cultiver dans le pays sacré du Bumbogo, le sorgho et l'éleusine que l'on apporte ensuite à la Cour pour la fête annuelle dite des « Prémices ». Nous en reparlerons plus loin, quand il sera question des fêtes.

Le chef de cette famille est désigné quelquefois sous le nom de « roi des Prémices » (umwami w'umuganura). Le père et fondateur du clan dit des Batsobe, on l'a déjà dit, fut ennobli et amené dans le Rwanda par le roi hamite Ruganzu II, à la suite de l'expédition que fit celui-ci dans le pays de Bugara, au Nord du Mulera, contre le roitelet, Nzira, fils de Mulamira. De concert avec sa mère, l'ancêtre des Batsobe avait accueilli sous son toit le monarque déguisé et lui avait donné les renseignements qui permirent au roi Mututsi de vaincre son rival.

3° En souvenir du roi Gihanga, qui avait fait don du feu à son fils et successeur Kanyarwanda, un groupe d'individus pris dans le clan des Abiru doit veiller de

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(1) Les Batsobe prirent une glorieuse part au coup d'État de Ruchunchu. Pour les récompenser, on leur distribua les dépouilles des vaincus. Leurs principaux fiefs sont : le Bumbogo, le Luhanga, le Bussigi, etc.

jour et de nuit à l'entretien d'un feu et cela dans la hutte même qui est dédiée à ce grand roi. Le feu est conservé dans une immense cruche. Il y avait autrefois danger de mort pour les gardiens à le laisser s'éteindre.

4° Le roi des « initiés » (umwami w'imandwa).

Le titulaire existe encore à l'heure actuelle. Il a pom Kabano et a succédé à Sherangabo, qui avait été tout d'abord désigné pour remplir ce rôle.

Le prince hamite avait dû donner sa démission. On lui reprochait entre autres choses d'avoir introduit les Européens dans le pays, parce que le Comte von Götzen l'avait rencontré à Lwamagana, dans le Buganza, à son entrée dans le Rwanda, et l'avait pris avec lui comme guide. Ce n'était qu'un prétexte, le vrai grief venait de son origine royale. Fils de Lwabugiri, comme Musinga, il l'emportait de beaucoup sur celui-ci par l'âge et les droits sur le trône.

Le remplaçant qu'on lui a donné pour le mettre à la tête des « initiés » est un vulgaire Mututsi; le titre qu'il porte reste pompeux, mais l'emploi est sans importance.

Le monarque hamite ne pouvant, d'après la coutume, entrer dans cette société secrète, il en nommait lui-même le chef, qui se substituait en quelque sorte à la personne royale, afin de remplir en ses lieu et place les rites en l'honneur de Ryangombe.

Le roi des « initiés » avait autrefois des privilèges et les membres de cette société pouvaient réclamer son aide et sa protection dans les litiges. La charge est devenue purement honorifique.

Très curieuse est cette association religieuse, dont les adeptes se recrutent dans les différentes classes de la nation et ne cessent d'honorer les ancêtres fondateurs, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., par l'imitation de leurs actions purement matérielles, le chant de leurs exploits et l'offrande de libations ou de sacrifices.

Les questions relatives à l'origine de cette société restent mystérieuses. On ne sait à quelle occasion ni à

quelle époque elle prit naissance. On ignore pareillement son pays d'origine et ses premiers fondateurs. Elle est, semble-t-il, d'importation étrangère, bien qu'elle ait pris un grand essor dans le Rwanda même. On constate que les peuples limitrophes au Nord, au Sud, à l'Est et à l'Ouest du royaume se livrent à un culte qui lui ressemble [1]. Ryangombe et ses compagnons ont-ils réellement vécu? Oui, s'il faut en croire les légendes, mais ces dernières ne donnent pas de détails suffisamment précis qui permettent de croire à leur existence effective. Quels sont les liens de parenté ou de dépendance qui unissent Ryangombe et ceux qu'on lui associe dans le culte et les cérémonies faites en son honneur?

Il existe bien une sorte de mythologie qui classifie quelques-uns de ces personnages, mais il en est d'autres parmi ces derniers qui ont été introduits après coup dans certaines provinces et qui font plus ou moins figure d'inconnus. Quelques-uns toutefois se rapportent à l'histoire et leur patronage invoqué éveille un soupçon d'expli-

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(1) Dans l'ouvrage intitulé *Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard*, l'auteur, Mgr GORJU, donne sur cette société secrète des détails qui inclinent à croire qu'elle est d'origine hamite et qu'elle a été importée par les Hamites dans le Rwanda.

« Au Bunyoro chaque tribu a son grand Muchwezi ou protecteur attitré. C'est ainsi que... les Bagweri se réclament de Mugasa...

Mais outre ce protecteur spécial à chaque tribu, il y a les protecteurs généraux communs à toutes, lesquels se sont spécialisés dans une fonction domestique,... tel Kagoro, le dieu de la foudre (p. 202). Il en est une collection (de ces demi-dieux ou génies) dans laquelle sous le nom de bachwezi, sont entrés des individus dont l'histoire-légende établirait difficilement la parenté avec les Bachwezi authentiques (trois puissants dont on perd subitement la trace), tels Nyabatwa et Nyabakonjo... (p. 208).

Au Bunyoro, le culte des Bachwezi est venu se superposer à la religion domestique dont les objets primaires ne furent autres que les mânes des aïeux et le Créateur lui-même. »

(Luhanga, Nyamuhanga, chez les Bahima de l'Uganda), p. 218.

(Sub L'armée [la société] des mbandwa).

Le même auteur parle aussi de Muzana, la servante honorée par les initiés.

Le P. CÉSARD, à son tour, cite ces mêmes personnages, y compris Rungu (Nyabirungu chez les Banyarwanda) dans son étude : « Comment les Bahaya interprètent leurs origines », *Anthropos*, 1927.

cation. Dans cette sorte de Panthéon religieux, nous nous demandons si les Banyarwanda n'auraient pas fait entrer des sorciers, des roitelets anciens, des personnages politiques ayant joué un grand rôle dans le pays. Superstitieux et craintifs, les Noirs préoccupés d'échapper à la vengeance des mânes et soucieux de s'attirer leur protection, leur ont rendu un culte spécial. Les Hamites furent peut-être les premiers à organiser dans leur nouvelle conquête ce groupement religieux. Les Bahutu (ou Bantu) n'en furent pas exclus. Leur admission fut un acte politique de la part des immigrants [1].

Par conviction et peut-être aussi par esprit de diplomatie pour se concilier leurs sujets, les Batutsi vainqueurs et meurtriers des roitelets-magiciens, n'hésitèrent pas à invoquer les mânes de leurs victimes et à les honorer dans les cérémonies cultuelles.

Les Romains en agissaient de même avec les divinités étrangères et les admettaient volontiers parmi les dieux de l'Empire.

Faut-il ranger Ryangombe et ses premiers compagnons, d'après l'interprétation qui précède, dans la catégorie des princes aborigènes? Si l'on accepte les données de la légende admise par les Banyarwanda, cette supposition ne serait pas impossible. Le récit mythologique présente Ryangombe comme une sorte de prince indépendant (umuhinza), dont la résidence était à Kibingo, dans la petite province de Nyakale. Pour faire plaisir, est-il dit dans la légende, à son épouse Nyanzige, propre fille du grand roi Ruganzu II, qui lui demandait une peau de buffle afin d'emmailloter (ingobyi) son nouveau-né, Ryangombe partit à la chasse. Il rencontra un de ces

[1] Il n'est pas impossible que les Hamites aient trouvé toute constituée la société des imandwa lors de leur immigration dans l'Uganda, puis dans le Rwanda, et qu'ils l'aient aussitôt adoptée en s'y faisant initier à leur tour pour les besoins de leur cause. On le voit, le problème des origines de cette association religieuse reste intact. Toutes les hypothèses sont possibles jusqu'au jour où la lumière sera faite.

terribles animaux, le blessa même, mais fut chargé par la bête et en devint la victime, au lieu désormais historique et maudit de Nyabikenke, à deux heures environ de sa demeure. Ses fils et ses compagnons vengèrent sa mort et tuèrent Nyanzige, qui avait été la cause indirecte de ce malheur. Les initiés au culte de Ryangombe ont déifié également la fille de Ruganzu et en ont fait une libératrice (Umutabazi). Ce furent peut-être les enfants et les gens de Ryangombe qui ennoblirent la fin de l'infortunée, par raison politique, pour échapper à la colère et aux représailles du monarque vindicatif.

Nyanzige est désignée dans les cérémonies rituelles sous le nom de « Nyagishya » ou « Inzobe », c'est-à-dire la femme au visage pâle, à cause de la couleur de ses traits.

Les Bagoyi attribuent la mort de Ryangombe à une autre de ses parentes, une jeune fille qu'il avait séduite autrefois, après lui avoir offert une boisson capiteuse, l'hydromel : « Je me vengerai, s'était écriée l'adolescente, tu me trouveras sur ton chemin, transformée en buffle et ton sang payera mon déshonneur ».

Les parents de la malheureuse suivant en cela les coutumes du pays, chassèrent leur enfant qui se réfugia dans la région boisée, où elle mit au monde un fils.

Ryangombe était parti à la chasse, quand il se rencontra soudain avec la mère irritée. Celle-ci se changea en buffle et transperça de ses cornes le roi des Imandwa.

Les Banyarwanda aiment à rattacher au souvenir de Ruganzu II la plupart des événements historiques et l'origine de nombre d'usages et de coutumes. Que faut-il retenir de la légende ci-dessus résumée? L'interprépation des faits est loin d'être aisée. Le règne de Ruganzu II est relativement récent; d'un autre côté, le culte de Ryangombe existe dans les pays voisins, bien qu'avec des variantes. Il reste difficile d'accepter comme historiques tous les détails du récit. Le groupement religieux paraît

être de beaucoup antérieur au règne de ce grand monarque [1].

Les personnages honorés par les tenants de cette société secrète ont rang de demi-dieux. Leur protection passe pour être efficace dans les différentes circonstances de la vie publique et domestique. Aussi les disciples s'adressent-ils à leur intercession pour l'obtention de n'importe quel avantage matériel, guérison d'une maladie, possession de vaches, bonne entente avec les chefs ou les voisins, triomphe sur les ennemis, préservation contre les ensorceleurs ou les envoûteurs, fécondité, etc.

Pour arriver à ces fins, les initiés s'approchent respectueusement de celui qui joue le rôle de Ryangombe, le saluent, s'agenouillent à ses pieds, s'adressent à ses compagnons et leur offrent des cadeaux.

Il y a une façon traditionnelle d'honorer ces esprits de grade et de rang différents; aucun rite n'est oublié. Vêtements de cérémonie, gestes, paroles, offrandes, tout est prévu et prescrit par des lois immuables.

Chacun de ces « patrons » a son costume et ses insignes spéciaux, dont s'inspire de toute nécessité celui qui en joue le rôle et en tient la place. On leur offre des présents de nature diverse et on déclame des chants ou « péans » qui rappellent aux assistants les actions d'éclat de leurs protecteurs.

1. Ryangombe est représenté assis sur une chaise indigène, un coutelas suspendu au cou. On dépose à ses côtés un vase rempli d'eau lustrale et une grande cruche de pombe, bière faite de sorgho ou de jus de bananes.

Les dames qui veulent l'honorer, prennent dans les mains une spatule de ménage (umwuko). Pour l'exalter, ses adeptes imitent le cri de la hyène [2].

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(1) Ryangombe n'était peut-être, lui aussi, que le continuateur de ces rites et ne les accomplissait qu'en vertu du droit de succession, si l'on admet qu'il était roitelet (umuhinza), ou d'une délégation de la part des potentats hamites.

(2) Est-ce un souvenir des anciens totem des tribus ? Nous ne pouvons l'affirmer.

2. Binego, fils de Ryangombe, est surnommé le « Libérateur », parce qu'il sauva son père de la ruine et du déshonneur.

Celui qui en joue le rôle porte une lance, un bâton et possède une pipe (urwika en termes d'initiés), avec une petite calebasse remplie de bière de bananes.

Son cri particulier a ba ba ba... prononcé d'une voix virile rappelle que Binego était d'une forte constitution et d'un courage à toute épreuve.

3. Mugasa est le gendre de Ryangombe.

Ses adeptes l'imitent en jetant sur leur corps deux peaux de chèvres et en adoptant comme insigne particulier une spatule de ménage contenant un morceau de pain de sorgho. Mugasa avait un faible pour la viande de chèvre et le pain de sorgho. Pour l'honorer, ses disciples adoptent les mêmes usages et les mêmes habitudes que le maître. Ils font résonner, on ne sait pourquoi, un collier formé de petits bouts de bois secs, que l'on met habituellement au cou des enfants pour les amuser ou les empêcher de pleurer (inkondo z' ibichuma).

Son cri spécial est yee yee ye...

4. Nyabirungu, fils de Ryangombe, était chasseur.

Le sosie qui le représente agite une clochette (de celles qu'on met au cou des chiens), symbole de chasse, et fait i i i..., pour rappeler que Nyabirungu revenait content de la forêt, avec une bonne provision de viande de gibier.

5. Luhanga, fils de Ryangombe.

Il symbolise l'amour filial, parce qu'il retira de la misère sa mère abandonnée de Ryangombe, lui bâtit une belle case et subvint à ses besoins.

On le fait figurer dans les cérémonies avec un vase à lait, rempli de bière, pour rappeler peut-être que, grâce à lui, l'heureuse mère ne manqua plus de rien.

6. Nyakiriro, fils de Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, comme son frère Nyabirungu, aimait la chasse, d'où la présence de chiens à ses côtés. Il avait

l'habitude de se couvrir la tête d'un pan de « mpuzu », étoffe faite d'écorce de ficus, de boire en se servant d'une demi-courge évidée, préparée à cet usage (uruho), et de se servir d'une baguette (umutozo) pour bien mélanger le lait caillé, avant de le prendre. Ses invocateurs croient l'honorer en l'imitant, c'est-à-dire en reproduisant ses faits et gestes.

8. Muzana figure comme servante-esclave dans les cérémonies.

Cette dernière est honorée par les Batutsi, qui la représentent à côté d'une vache n'ayant jamais perdu de veau (inka y' issugi), d'une courge à baratter et d'une petite motte de beurre rance (isimbo y'amavuta).

9. Nkonjo, autre servante-esclave, qui, la première, vint apporter la triste nouvelle de la mort de Ryangombe.

On lui offre en cadeau un balai, symbole de son travail d'esclave, un petit grenier à provision ou des produits du sol pour rappeler qu'elle était chargée de surveiller les récoltes et de vaquer aux soins du ménage.

10. Mashira.

Les Banyarwanda, oublieux de leur histoire, le donnent comme fils de Ryangombe. Nous avons les meilleures raisons de croire qu'il s'agit en sa personne du célèbre roitelet-magicien, reconnu comme l'un des plus puissants parmi les sorciers.

Ses figurants, dans les séances rituelles, prennent un maintien majestueux et tiennent à la main une lance de fer, toute d'une pièce (igihosho), attribut de sorcier et symbole de la force. Ses clients lui offrent une cruche en terre, d'une facture spéciale, avec deux ouvertures et à chacune d'elles un chalumeau pour permettre aux assistants de boire l'hydromel qu'elle contient en l'honneur du magicien.

Son cri particulier est shi shi shi...

11. Mutwa, un des compagnons de Ryangombe, est invoqué particulièrement par les Batwa.

Ce personnage paraît avoir été inventé pour les Batwa. On lui donne en présents des haricots, de la viande, du lait et du pain de sorgho que se partagent avec délices les membres de cette race méprisée.

Le choix de cette nourriture, offerte d'abord en sacrifice à Mutwa, a pour but de lui faire plaisir en le rassasiant parce que les Négrilles, dont il représente le type (ou l'ancêtre), ne mangent pas toujours à leur faim et que ces sortes de mets excitent leur convoitise comme étant l'aliment idéal, recherché des Batwa.

De nouveaux comparses ont été ajoutés après coup dans cette galerie de demi-dieux. Nous ne donnons ici que les plus connus.

1. Le Libérateur Kibogo, fils du roi Ndahiro, est invoqué souvent pour la pluie.

2. A Mwungeri, fils de Nyankaka, qui périt dans la catastrophe du lac Kivu, les Bagoyi, riverains du lac, font des libations de bière.

3. Les habitants du Bwana-Mkali honorent, à leur tour, Rumana, Mulengetwe, anciens personnages historiques, qui firent peut-être parler d'eux.

4. Le type de « Munyoro » a été inventé pour les besoins de la même cause superstitieuse qui pousse les Noirs à honorer les mânes des défunts et plus particulièrement les mânes de ceux qui se distinguèrent en mal ou en bien durant leur vie mortelle.

Le personnage de Munyoro a figuré dans les cérémonies, probablement après la défaite des Banyoro.

5. Les habitants des îles Nkombo rendent un culte particulier à Muhima et à Nyirangenge.

Muhima, synonyme de Mututsi, symbolise les vainqueurs Batutsi qui s'emparèrent des îles, et Nyirangenge type féminin représente les dames Batutsi ou personnifie l'intelligence des Hamites.

6. Nyarwambari, fils de Mulema et petit-fils de

Ngwegwe, est rangé parmi les suivants de Ryangombe. Les initiés parlent peu de ce personnage.

7. Bukiranzuki est classée parmi les filles du fondateur. Les femmes qui s'adonnent à son culte portent sur la tête, durant les cérémonies, la queue d'un animal connu sous le nom de igiharangu.

Nombreux sont les hôtes de ce Panthéon religieux, qui comprend, avec les personnages précédemment nommés, le père et le grand-père du fondateur lui-même, Babinga, Nyundo; ses épouses, Kajumba, mère de Binego, Karyango, mère de Bukiranzuki, Gachubya, mère de Nyabirungu; Nyirakabali, sa fille, qu'il donna en mariage à l'un de ses compagnons; Lubindankima (l'homme qui se ceint les reins d'une peau de singe). Les habitants du Bugoyi ont fait de ce dernier personnage, créé probablement de toutes pièces, le confident et l'ami d'une des grandes victimes de Ruganzu II, le fameux Gatabirora, surnommé Bilikunkomo, dont les faits et gestes ont été romantisés et dramatisés [1].

Il est également question dans les réunions des initiés de Gassankomo, c'est-à-dire l'homme qui se drape de peaux de colobe (ou colope). C'est le nom d'honneur donné à Kagoro, dont le figurant doit, on ne sait pour quel motif, se procurer des myriapodes (mille pattes) qu'il fait dessécher au soleil pour pouvoir les enfiler et s'en parer comme d'un insigne, quand il va quêter du sorgho ou des régimes de bananes, lors des processions rituelles.

Les disciples de Ryangombe honorent encore la mémoire de la mère du maître, dont le rôle fut assez médiocre, si l'on s'en tient à la légende.

On ne parle de Ntamutimuchumyi que pour dire qu'il est la cause des premiers malheurs de Ryangombe, qu'il était sur le point de déshonorer en le privant de ses biens et de ses droits. Il fut, enfin, tué pour le bien et l'honneur

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[1] Cf. Livre troisième.

de tous par Binego, qui vint au moment le plus critique Le nom de Ntamutimuchunyi est synonyme de félonie, de traîtrise.

Quant à Nkonjo, l'esclave, elle personnifie la lâcheté, la grossièreté. On n'en parle qu'avec mépris [1].

Pour désigner les chiens de chasse du maître, les initiés se servent d'appellations et d'épithètes pleines d'allusions. Les unes rappellent les aptitudes de ces animaux, les autres les qualités et les travers des humains. On cite volontiers les noms des bêtes suivantes :

1° L'homme (sérieux) qui ne rit jamais de son prochain (Ntamugab' usek' undi);

2° Celui qui conserve (en propriétaire soigneux) une provision de viande fumée (Nyamubikan' umuranz' uruguma);

3° Celui qui paie la dot d'une fille que ses parents n'ont pas su élever (Bakoska batahana);

4° La plante potagère à tel point odorante, bien qu'elle ne soit pas arrivée à maturité, qu'elle fait manger (en une seule fois) tout le beurre de la maison (Urunyegeri rutoto);

5° Sa mère la connaît bien (ainsi que tous ses défauts), aussi ne fera-t-elle aucun effort pour la raisonner, parce qu'elle sait que sa fille est incorrigible (Nyina aramuzi, ntazamumpora).

6° Le chien qui court comme le vent (Nyakayaga);

7° Le chien à franges (au long poil) Nyagayonga.

Des types ou personnages de la légende en question, Ryangombe est le plus honoré.

On le donne comme une sorte de roi-chasseur, qui, après sa mort, fit des volcans son séjour d'élection.

D'après le même récit, il continue, avec ses fils, ses compagnons et ses élus, à se livrer aux plaisirs cynégétiques dans ces hautes régions montagneuses et boisées. Les Batutsi, les Bahutu et les Batwa en grand nombre se sont adonnés à ce culte et en pratiquent fidèlement les

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[1] Cf. Livre cinquième. La légende de Ryangombe.

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rites, tout en observant la loi de l'arcane. Les cérémonies ont lieu surtout de nuit. Chacun des adeptes s'adresse à l'esprit ou aux esprits pour lesquels il a une dévotion particulière. Les Batutsi ont jeté leur dévolu sur ceux dont la vie se rapproche le plus de la leur.

Les chefs n'aiment pas se mêler à leurs sujets pour honorer ces puissants esprits, mais ils font appel au concours des Bahutu et des Batwa initiés à ce culte, pour les faire danser et chanter en l'honneur de Ryangombe et de ses compagnons. Les Bahutu et les Batwa prennent seuls part aux processions et aux collectes rituelles qui se font à travers les villages à la saison d'été.

Les actes de ce culte sont remplis avec un sérieux convaincu et impressionnant. Initiation, confirmation, agapes rituelles, engagements et exécutions des vœux, collectes et processions, tout se passe en cachette, à l'abri des regards indiscrets. Les profanes ne peuvent approcher de leurs séances; les moqueries et les insultes à l'adresse des initiés étaient autrefois gravement punies. Une ex-reine, Nyiramulema (femme du roi Mutara), fut crucifiée, à même le sol, dans la cour de son habitation, par les « imandwa », pour avoir ridiculisé leurs cérémonies. La tombe de cette malheureuse existe à Save, au quartier de Nyarigina.

II. — Emplois a titre officiel revêtant une grande importance tant au point de vue de la couronne (ingoma) que du pouvoir exécutif. — Généraux et tambourineurs officiels. — Bourreaux; exécutions capitales et « gouffre » du Bugessera.

1° Les généraux ou commandants des corps d'armée.

Un général se dit « umugabe »; un corps d'armée « umutwe » et une armée en marche « igitero », du verbe « gutera » attaquer.

Voici à titre documentaire le nom des corps d'armée,

celui du pays où ils se recrutent et les généraux-nés qui les dirigent :

Corps d'armée.	Pays.	Généraux.
Ndala.	Burwe.	Lwasamanzi.
Imvejuru.	Bwana-Mkale.	Chyitatire.
Nyaruguru.	Buyenzi et Bungwe.	Sebagangari.
U Ruyange.	Diverses régions.	Lwabutogo.
A-Bashumba.	Une partie du Bungwe.	Kabera.
Nyakale.	Nyakale.	Sezikeya.
Impamakwicha.	Busanza.	Luharamanzi.
Inzirabgoba.	Buhanga.	Lugerinyange.
Abashakamba.	Bwana-Chambge.	Lwabusisi.
Intaganzwa.	Diverses régions.	Nturo.
Impara.	Kinyaga.	Lwakataraka.
Issumo.	Nduga, Lukiga.	Rwidegembya.
Abakembanyi.	Bugarama.	Gisazi.
Abiru.	Kinyaga Sud-Ouest.	Birassenyeri.
Abakemba.	Bugessera et Buganza.	Mafene.
Abahirika.	Migongo.	Muligo.
Abarassa.	Gihumya.	Kanuma.
Abadahigwa.	Mirenge.	Gashamura.
Indengabanizi.	Diverses régions.	Mudukikwa.
Abalima.	Mututu.	Gamakwandi.
Abalito.	Nduga et Buganza.	Nyakassaza.
Ndushabandi.	Buganza et ailleurs.	Lukarakamba.
Abadahemuka.	Gisseke.	Machari.
Imitari.	Mayaga-Est.	Buzizi.
Ibisiga.	Mutara-Ndorwa.	Zimulinda.
Abashakamba.	Bugoyi (Abagwabiro).	Lwangeyo.
Abatalindwa.	Bugoyi, Bgishaza.	Bushako.
Abakemba.	»	Mugemanshuro.
Abarangamyambi.	Bumbogo, Bussigi.	Gashamura.
Abangogo.	Kingogo.	Luvuzandekwa.
Abatanyagwa.	Budaha.	Lwamanywa (1).
Etc.	Etc.	Etc.

Tel est le régime militaire encore en vigueur, mais d'une façon purement théorique.

(1) Les Batwa comme les Bahutu sont divisés en plusieurs corps d'armées.

Les quatre principaux sont les suivants :

Le corps d'armée appelé « Rwiririza » qui comprend les Batwa de Gihogwe, dans le Nduga, au delà de la rivière de la Kayumbo; les « Biniga » qui comprend les Batwa du Bwana-Mkalé et à pour chefs, deux Batwa, Senkobga et son fils, Kanyamubare; « Abagiga » ou Batwa

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Jusqu'en 1900 les rois hamites, pour la plupart, avaient su tirer parti du système à tel point qu'on cite des clans qui furent décimés à la suite des trop nombreuses expéditions de l'ancienne époque.

2° Les gouverneurs de province (Abatware b'intebbe), presque toujours présents à la Cour.

3° Les petits chefs indépendants (Abanyabikingi), ne relevant que du roi, tout en occupant un modeste gouvernement dans les provinces soumises à un grand chef. Il est rare qu'un chef de province n'ait dans ses terres une enclave ou plusieurs enclaves de ce genre dont les titulaires sont placés directement par le souverain, qui retire ainsi de la misère un parent pauvre ou récompense un favori. L'heureux bénéficiaire surveillera à l'occasion les agissements de son collègue, le gouverneur de province, pour le dénoncer auprès du roi et se faire valoir auprès de ce dernier.

4° Les gardiens attitrés du fameux tambour-palladium, dit Kalinga, sur lequel veille de jour et de nuit une équipe particulière choisie dans le clan des Abiru.

Le tambourin de ce nom a une longue histoire et les péripéties qui se déroulèrent à son occasion ont fait le sujet de nombreux récits. Le plus important est celui qui se rapporte à sa conservation prodigieuse et à sa découverte inespérée au début du règne de Ruganzu II. On pense qu'il fut brûlé en 1896, lors de l'affaire de Ruchunchu; Kabale, l'instigateur de la révolte et oncle du nouveau roi, en fit faire un autre semblable au premier.

Il est le tambour sacré par excellence, l'emblème de la souveraineté et le palladium du royaume. On ne le frappe pas habituellement. En principe, il doit suivre le roi dans

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du grand chef Kayondo et enfin les soldats Batwa appelés « Impunyu ». Ceux-ci ne sont autres que les Négrilles de la forêt, désignés communément sous le nom de « Impunyu » dont le sens étymologique signifie « hommes de petite taille », c.-à-d. Négrilles ou Pygmées, que le mot vernaculaire indigène traduit exactement.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

ses déplacements. Il est porté dans un hamac et les autres tambours battent en son honneur. Il a droit aux mêmes égards que le roi et les gens frappent trois fois les mains l'une contre l'autre quand ils défilent devant lui. On l'oint de temps à autre, pour le conserver, de beurre et de sang de bœuf dont les entrailles ont « blanchi », c'est-à-dire dont le sacrifice a été reconnu favorable par les devins-sacrificateurs.

Les dépouilles sanglantes (ibikondo) des principaux ennemis sont fixées aux lanières de peau tendues sur les côtés de l'instrument.

La plupart de ces lugubres trophées disparurent dans l'incendie de Ruchunchu, mais les habitants de la capitale citent avec orgueil le nom des malheureux princes dont la défaite et la mort sont encore inscrites d'une façon macabre sur le tambourin-palladium [1].

Ce tambour est jalousement gardé dans l'enceinte du palais royal, sur le côté Est dans une hutte qui est désignée sous le nom d'« imilinga », c'est-à-dire « objets de cuivre ».

Cette manière de parler est tout à la fois une métaphore et un euphémisme fort bien compris des gens. C'est une métaphore pour ne pas attirer l'attention des ennemis sur la destination de la hutte et c'est un euphémisme en même temps pour prouver aux habitués de la Cour l'importance du palladium que l'on assimile, par cette image, aux fils et aux bracelets de cuivre, considérés autrefois par les Banyarwanda comme des objets précieux. La même hutte sert de musée et de dépôt. On y conserve les autres tambours royaux qui ont joué un rôle dans le passé, avant le Kalinga, à sa place ou en même temps que lui.

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(1) Ce sont entre autres, Kanyoni, fils de Gatibamenya, et Rubunda, princes du pays du Ndorwa; Nyagaketchuru, la cheffesse qui gouvernait une partie de Huyi, dans le Nyaruguru; Mutaga, le roi de l'Urundi, tué sous le règne de Mutara I; Nyirabihoro, une autre princesse des environs de l'Uswi; Kabego, le roi de l'île d'Idjwi (dans le lac Kivu), et son fils Nkundiye.

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Ils portent des noms caractéristiques. Peut-être ne faut-il voir en eux que des symboles ou des trophées, pour rappeler le souvenir des victoires remportées autrefois par les rois hamites sur les princes autochtones. Les terres et les tambours de ceux-ci passèrent de leurs mains à celles des monarques Batutsi.

On y trouve aussi des carquois énormes (imitana), des flèches, des lances et autres armes de formes et de dimensions variées. Un certain goût a dû présider au choix de ce butin, car les objets qui en font partie se distinguent presque tous par une certaine richesse, beaucoup d'originalité et une fabrication relativement soignée, au dire de ceux qui ont pu les approcher et les voir. La plupart de ces armes et de ces objets, ajoutent ces derniers, ont appartenu en propre aux princes et aux rois vaincus, d'où la valeur et le prix qu'y attachent les vainqueurs.

Les monarques hamites font encore recueillir soigneusement le crâne des vaches dont le sacrifice a été reconnu propitiatoire et les calebasses dans chacune desquelles ont été déposées au préalable la vésicule biliaire (igisabo), les turgescences du gros intestin (ishira) et certaines autres parties (ibiranga) des mêmes animaux immolés. Ces calebasses, hermétiquement fermées, constituent des talismans très efficaces.

Noms des principaux tambours :

Kalinga, le tambour-palladium;

Chyimamugezi, l'ancien tambour-palladium du roi Gihanga;

Nyamigezi, le tambour-palladium de Yuhi-Mazimpaka;

Butare (fort comme le roc);

Gissabarwanda (qui retentit dans tout le pays);

Sinkangimilyango, je ne fais pas peur aux clans (du pays); Mpatsibihugu, j'ai pris la défense du pays;

Kiragutse, il est étendu (pour dire qu'il est de dimensions énormes);

Ndamutsa, je le (roi) salue, du verbe « kulamutsa »,

saluer, parce qu'on le frappe dans la matinée, vers les neuf heures environ, au moment où le roi se montre à ses sujets pour recevoir leurs vœux et entendre leurs doléances. Il donnait aussi le signal de l'exécution des condamnés, spectacle auquel s'intéressait autrefois une bonne partie de la Cour.

5° Les tambourineurs officiels, qui, comme les gardiens dont on vient de parler, sont pris dans le clan des Abiru. Ce sont eux qui frappent le Ndamutsa, d'où leur titre d'Abalamutsa. Ils habitent la hutte qui est dédiée au feu roi Lwabugiri (mort en 1895). C'est là que sont les tambours ordinaires, que l'on commence à battre dès quatre heures du matin, en vertu d'une coutume immémoriale.

6° Les chroniqueurs ou annalistes de la Cour. Ils s'appellent du nom de leur profession Abachurabgenge, fabricants d'intelligence, et forment une sorte de clan fermé dont les membres se relaient à tour de rôle, auprès du roi, pour le mettre au courant de l'histoire du pays et des faits et gestes de ses aïeux. Ils sont chargés de conserver avec les actions du passé, les noms des rois, de la reine-mère, de ses ascendants immédiats et de la tribu à laquelle ils appartiennent.

Inutile d'ajouter que le sens de la critique n'a pas encore fait son apparition dans le pays. Il arrive quelquefois que les historiens de la Cour et les gardiens des traditions ne s'entendent plus sur l'exactitude de tel détail oublié ou contesté. On offre alors des sacrifices divinatoires pour savoir ce qu'il faut dire au roi [1].

Les épopées toutefois, malgré les défauts et les imperfections qui leur sont inhérents, ne manquent pas d'intérêt, ni de charme. Grâce à elles nous pouvons saisir sur le vif les pensées des Banyarwanda, leurs sentiments, le

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[1] Voir dans *Fondation du Royaume hamite du Rwanda* ce qu'il faut penser de l'authenticité des premiers souverains. Pour ce qui concerne les premières années de cette fondation, les documents traditionnels qui existent sont plus précieux pour l'ethnologie que pour l'histoire.

concept qu'ils se font de la vie, l'amour du sol natal, l'attachement aux coutumes et aux souvenirs du passé. On y trouve l'expression pathétique des tristesses causées par les invasions étrangères et l'enthousiasme inspiré par le triomphe final.

7° Les gardiens des traditions appartiennent à l'important clan des Abiru. Leur rôle est de maintenir l'unité et la continuité des coutumes à la capitale et dans le royaume. Le chef suprême de cette corporation est le chef des Batsobe, qui, par le fait même, a des attributions nombreuses et variées.

Il est, suivant une tradition populaire, personnellement chargé de recueillir le cordon ombilical (umukungwa) de chacun des fils du roi, ainsi que leurs dents y compris les dents de lait. Puis quand vient le moment de connaître l'héritier du trône, c'est au susdit personnage que revient l'honneur de présider à l'élection à l'intronisation qui se fait, d'après la crédulité populaire, d'une façon très originale. Les cordons ombilicaux des petits princes sont enfouis séparément dans des pots en bois de ficus (umwuko) avec tout autour des graines de courge, de sorgho, d'éleusine et de l'épinard indigène dit «issogi » (1). La plus belle récolte indique le futur détenteur du tambour. Les cordons ombilicaux, au dire des gens simples, sont

(1) Ces graines sont désignées sous le nom de « mbuto nkuru », c'est-à-dire les graines principales. L'éleusine et le sorgho, en fournissant une sorte de pain indigène, jouent un grand rôle dans l'alimentation. L'épinard est aussi très estimé, à cause de la saveur qu'il donne aux haricots avec lesquels on le fait cuire. Les Banyarwanda rangent encore dans cette catégorie les grains d'une courge spéciale appelée « inzungwane », qui, après avoir atteint sa maturité, est évidée. On s'en sert pour conserver la bière et c'est cette relation avec le pombe si apprécié des indigènes qui donne tant d'importance à sa graine.

D'après une autre croyance populaire le successeur au trône est parmi les enfants du roi celui qui vient au monde avec les graines principales dans la main droite.

C'est en exploitant la crédulité des Bahutu que les Hamites assurèrent l'obéissance des Bahutu après les avoir subjuguée par la force.

dès lors abandonnés, à l'exception de celui du dauphin, qui doit être conservé [1].

8° La corporation royale des employés des pompes funèbres dits Abanyamugogo. Ils se donnent à tort ou à raison comme les descendants de ceux qui s'occupèrent des funérailles de Ruganzu II Ndori.

Nous en reparlerons plus loin quand il sera question des rites funéraires.

9° Les exécuteurs des hautes œuvres.

Ils sont généralement pris parmi les Batwa.

Pour les criminels ordinaires, l'exécution se fait à la capitale. Les condamnés de haute marque sont souvent confiés à un chef, pour être conduits dans les provinces du Buberuka ou du Bugessera.

D'abord étranglés ou abattus à coups de lance, les malheureux sont ensuite jetés dans le gouffre (urwobo) de Bayanga ou dans le marais mouvant de Nkonde. Outre la strangulation et la noyade, les Banyarwanda connaissent aussi le dépeçage, autrement dit le supplice des cent plaies.

On commence par découper la chair du visage, des bras, des mollets, du dos, etc., pour faire souffrir la victime le plus longtemps possible. Ce raffinement de cruauté est surtout de mise dans la vendetta (guhòra).

L'empalement est réservé aux voleurs de vaches. On cite le cas d'un malheureux dont le pal allait sortir sur le côté. L'opération fut recommencée... mais le patient

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(1) En pratique, c'est le roi lui-même qui désigne son héritier directement de son vivant, ou indirectement par l'intermédiaire d'exécuteurs testamentaires, qui, après sa mort, font connaître les dernières volontés du monarque.

Souvent à la vacance du trône, il se produisit des compétitions, d'où naquirent des complications et des tragédies sanglantes qui en furent la conséquence.

Le chef mututsi du clan le plus puissant choisissait quelquefois lui-même parmi les fils du défunt et imposait l'élu. Il en fut ainsi en 1896, quand Kabale se révolta contre l'héritier de droit, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa et fit nommer à sa place le roi actuel Yuhi IV Musinga, son propre neveu.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

expira bien avant qu'elle fut terminée. Le supplice le plus fréquent pour les gens de condition moyenne est celui qui consistait à leur couper les mains et les pieds et à les abandonner dans cet état sur le lieu de leur martyre, où ils périssaient de froid, quand les hyènes tardaient à venir les dévorer. On en a vu attendre la mort deux et trois jours, parce que le sang s'étant coagulé, l'hémorragie s'était arrêtée.

Quelques-uns de ces malheureux, hurlant leur tourment et leur soif, se traînant lamentablement sur les coudes et les genoux, tentèrent vainement de se rapprocher des habitations pour implorer la pitié des humains. Leurs cris lugubres s'entendaient durant la nuit.

La crainte refoulait toute commisération. Le moindre acte de miséricorde à leur égard aurait été considéré comme un crime de lèse-majesté. Il y allait de la vie à faire montre d'indulgence ou de quelque compassion. La mort à coups de bâton, de lance ou de serpe et le fait de trancher l'artère carotide étaient considérés comme la peine la plus douce et la plus rapide pour les victimes dignes d'un certain intérêt. Étaient compris dans cette catégorie les vieillards, les femmes, les ex-favoris, certains employés de la Cour. La condamnation à la perte des yeux, pour un grand que l'on ne veut pas « achever » (gusonga), a été maintes fois appliquée.

Avant l'arrivée des Européens il ne se passait presque pas de semaine, à la capitale, où il n'y eut d'exécution sanglante. Et si durant plusieurs semaines il n'y avait pas eu de victime, le fait paraissait tellement extraordinaire que l'expression suivante se répétait partout : « La paix (ou le calme) règne à la capitale » (N'ubuhoro ibgami).

Le motif de condamnation le plus souvent invoqué était celui de l'ensorcellement. S'agissait-il d'un ennemi dont on voulait se venger ou d'un homme riche dont on convoitait les possessions et les biens, les adversaires et les envieux n'avaient pas besoin de faire de grands efforts d'imagina-

tion pour prouver la culpabilité de ceux dont ils complotaient la mort. Conduits devant le roi, à la suite d'une telle dénonciation, le jugement ne se faisait pas attendre : « Nakukijije », c'est-à-dire « je t'ai gracié », disait le monarque, si l'inculpé avait eu la bonne fortune de se trouver des protecteurs puissants ou de réfuter péremptoirement les accusations de ses ennemis. « Mumujane ku kivumu », « emmenez-le (l'accusé) près du ficus », criait aux bourreaux le prince, quand il prononçait une condamnation.

« Viens donc, nous allons te gracier » (Guino twakukijije), ajoutaient en ricanant les exécuteurs, qui entraînaient leur proie. L'infortunée créature implorait en vain la pitié du roi et des assistants. Le regards se détournaient d'elle. On l'emmenait rapidement dans un bas-fonds, auprès du ficus (ikivumu) de sinistre augure, pour y subir la peine portée contre elle, sous les yeux de la multitude, qui aimait à assister à ces terribles spectacles [1]. Les gémissements, les plaintes, les cris et les hurlements des suppliciés n'empêchaient pas les bourreaux d'aller jusqu'au bout de leur œuvre de mort. Les souffrances des condamnés n'émouvaient aucunement leur sensibilité : « Y a-t-il longtemps qu'un tel a été exécuté? » leur demandait-on quelquefois. « Les hyènes l'ont mangé et l'ont même digéré » (zamuliye, zamuneye), répondaient-ils grossièrement sans changer de ton.

On a vu des bourreaux prolonger à plaisir le tourment de leurs victimes ou les engager à fuir en les déliant de leurs liens, afin d'avoir le plaisir de les abattre à la course. Nous n'insistons pas sur les mutilations honteuses que l'on faisait subir tout d'abord aux malheureux individus.

Nombre de « tempestaires » furent tués pour n'avoir pas réussi à attirer la pluie. Aux époques de grande sécheresse on conduisait à la Cour ceux qui avaient eu la malchance

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[1] Les exécutions capitales attiraient des foules nombreuses remplies de curiosité malsaine et avides d'émotions cruelles.

de se laisser prendre. Attachés et exposés des journées entières aux brûlants rayons du soleil, la populace les accablait d'insultes.

« Faites donc pleurer le ciel, si vous voulez trouver un remède à vos maux! » leur criait-on par manière de plaisanterie [1]. « S'il ne pleut pas dans tant de temps, si vous ne faites pas reverdir nos prairies, vous mourrez »... Et l'exécution suivait de près la menace.

Les grands chefs Batutsi, à l'instar du roi, jugeaient et condamnaient dans leurs provinces quand ils s'y trouvaient en résidence ou de passage. Tous ne se ressemblaient pas. Parmi eux il y en avait de justes et d'humains et l'on aime à croire que ce fût le grand nombre. Quelques-uns toutefois ont laissé une mauvaise réputation, à cause de leur cruauté. On raconte que deux d'entre eux se plaisaient à faire lier leurs victimes, les bras derrière le dos, au moyen de fil de fer que l'on serrait à tel point que les deux coudes se rejoignaient et que le fil pénétrait dans les chairs... Plusieurs moururent de cet unique et atroce tourment. Un autre grand faisait immobiliser et coucher sur le dos ceux dont il avait résolu de tirer vengeance.

Puis, par le moyen d'une courge disposée en forme d'entonnoir, il faisait avaler aux patients une cruche d'eau ou de bière. Un troisième, appuyant fortement sur sa lance, perçait le pied de ses victimes, qui étaient ainsi clouées au sol. Un haut personnage usait de représailles vis-à-vis de ceux qui lui avaient déplu en leur prenant les deux doigts de la main qu'il écartait ensuite de toutes ses forces l'un de l'autre, en déchirant les tissus qui les réunissaient. Ce ne furent heureusement que des exceptions qu'il faut mettre sur le compte du paganisme, de la rudesse des mœurs, de la cruauté du temps, de la procédure criminelle alors en vigueur, des passions soulevées par les querelles de clans, les disputes d'influence ou les révolutions et aussi quelquefois de l'infatuation orgueilleuse et farouche de chefs trop jeunes pour gouverner.

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[1] Iruba Ibartirire !

Pour se faire une juste idée des mœurs de l'époque, le lecteur doit se rappeler que la vie d'un homme comptait pour peu de chose en regard du roi et des grands chefs. Les survivants du règne de Lwabugiri (mort en 1895) rapportent que pour montrer son habileté ou pour juger de la force de son arc, le souverain tirait sur le premier venu, en cours de route, aux applaudissements béats de sa suite. Une fois il voulut même essayer sa lance sur l'un de ses principaux lieutenants. Ce dernier ayant eu l'audace de se dérober, ramassa l'arme et la lui renvoya avec non moins d'adresse. Le roi put se garer et ne s'en montra pas choqué, au moins ce jour-là. Il le félicita même de sa hardiesse et de son courage, en lui disant que c'était un « homme » (umugabo).

La scène précédente se reproduisit plus d'une fois, sous le même règne; mais les malheureux visés par le fougueux monarque n'eurent ni la même audace, ni surtout la bonne fortune de s'en tirer... avec d'aussi aimables paroles.

Sous le sceptre du prince actuel, Yuhi IV Musinga, dès son avènement et avant la pénétration européenne, le fameux tambour « Ndamutsa » donnait souvent le signal d'une ou de plusieurs exécutions. Outre le crime de sorcellerie, il suffisait d'avoir été dénoncé à tort ou à raison, comme ayant mal parlé du roi et de la reine-mère. Justice était bientôt faite de ces crimes, et l'on y allait rondement.

La rumeur publique assure que le jeune roi fit l'essai de son premier coup de fusil sur un dément. Il le tira à bout portant.

Ce fut de la part des courtisans qui assistaient à cette scène de meurtre des bravos frénétiques pour applaudir à la suprême habileté de Sa Majesté.

Il n'a fallu rien moins que l'influence et la surveillance européenne pour faire cesser cet état de choses et cette façon d'agir, qui, dans la mentalité indigène, ne faisaient qu'accuser davantage la grandeur et la puissance royale.

Il n'est pas dit non plus que les Noirs païens s'en estiment plus heureux, tant leur en imposaient les coutumes du passé et ce déploiment sanglant de la force brutale.

La justice, en principe, était celle du roi, car selon l'adage bien connu, le roi c'est la loi. Pour rester dans la vérité, il est loyal d'ajouter qu'il existe une législation. Celle-ci n'est certes pas un code complet, mais elle comprend toutefois un ensemble de lois et d'usages formant un vrai droit coutumier, qui, s'il avait été appliqué rigoureusement, aurait évité bien des exactions et des cruautés. Peu à peu, dans le cours des siècles, il s'était formé toute une procédure pour les litiges concernant les droits de propriété, les droits d'héritage, — le droit matrimonial. la dot à payer, — les torts matériels causés au prochain, vol, incendie, destruction de récoltes, — les droits de pacage ou de pâturage, — l'imposition des tailles, des corvées, etc. Les coupables de haut lignage et les riches s'en tiraient souvent à prix d'argent et les innocents payaient quelquefois pour les délinquants, surtout quand on subornait les faux témoins.

Le gouffre du Bugessera.

Des différents lieux de supplice, le marais dit de Nkonde, dans le Buberuka, celui de Nshimbo près de Lukaza, celui de Ruboneye près de Nyanza, l'endroit dit du « ficus » (ku Kivumu), certains rapides de l'Akanyaru et de la Nyabarongo, etc., c'est le gouffre du Bugessera qui a laissé le plus mauvais souvenir. Sa réputation est des plus sinistres, à cause des condamnés de marque qui y ont été précipités et en raison aussi des légendes qui courent sur cet endroit maudit.

Il est situé dans la contrée du Bugessera, non loin d'une ancienne résidence de Lwabugiri, qu'on n'est pas peu étonné de trouver là, en plein pays désert.

Le décor est sévère, sauvage même et assombri par le souvenir des exécutions tragiques qui s'y déroulèrent.

C'est une sorte de dépression dans un terrain (ibuye ryasamye) rocheux, d'une profondeur de trois ou quatre mètres. Elle est plus ou moins remplie, selon les saisons, d'eau de pluie stagnante et se trouve envasée à demi [1]. Des bouquets d'arbres de diverses essences y forment des îlots de verdure et coupent la monotonie de cette vaste plaine que parcourent seulement les pasteurs et les chasseurs.

Un Mututsi, ajoute la tradition, habitait autrefois non loin du gouffre et y conduisait ses troupeaux à l'abreuvoir.

Son nom de Bayanga y est resté attaché (urwobo rwa Bayanga). Maudit par on ne sait plus quel roi, l'endroit fut dès lors abandonné.

Il semble toutefois que la nouvelle et tragique utilisation du gouffre ne commença qu'avec le roi Lwabugiri, quand, vers 1886 ou 1889, il vint s'installer avec sa cour, en plein désert du Bugessera, pour se rapprocher de l'Urundi dont il espérait faire la conquête. L'existence et la proximité du gouffre lui suggérèrent vraisemblablement l'idée d'y jeter les criminels et les condamnés politiques. Du projet à l'exécution il n'y eut qu'un pas à faire. Les premières victimes, celles du moins dont on a conservé le nom, ne remontent qu'au règne de Lwabugiri.

Comme c'est un endroit retiré qui inspire la terreur, il n'est connu que des bourreaux et des rares habitants du Bugessera. L'imagination s'est emparée du lieu maudit et a brodé sur ce sujet des choses fantastiques, acceptées avec crédulité par le menu peuple.

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[1] Les Noirs tiennent à expliquer les particularités que présentent les rocs et les rochers. Leurs formes ou leurs cavités éveillent chez eux des comparaisons, d'où leur tendance à les attribuer à l'influence de l'homme ou des demi-dieux. Ils ont désigné sous le nom de barquette à bière (umuvule) de Bayanga, une autre dépression voisine de la précédente qui à leurs yeux revêtait cette image. Tout autour de la « barquette » sont des cavités ou petites excavations sur lesquelles le Mututsi Bayanga, d'après la même tradition, déposait les cruches de bière (ibiteleko by'ibibindi by' inzoga).

Les lieux de supplice ont quelquefois emprunté leur nom à celui de la première victime qui y fut immolée : Nkonde, Ruboneye, Nshimbo, etc.

Nul ne peut boire de cette eau, sans mourir à l'instant. Celui qui s'y laverait les mains ou même ne ferait qu'y toucher aurait le même sort. On raconte qu'un chasseur étranger au pays, ayant voulu se désaltérer, contracta la lèpre sur-le-champ et expira après avoir enduré d'atroces souffrances. Cette même eau passe pour être mortelle aux oiseaux et aux animaux, buffles, gazelles, sangliers, chiens. Et même si ces derniers n'en crevaient pas aussitôt, leurs maîtres eux-mêmes devraient les achever de peur d'être frappés par contre-coup.

Toutes les nuits il se dégage de ce site abhorré de la fumée et des flammes dont on aperçoit au loin la lueur rougeâtre (¹).

Les eaux ont une couleur de sang (atukura, assa n'amarasso). Chaque fois qu'on y conduit un condamné le niveau des eaux augmente subitement comme pour venir prendre la victime (ngw' abon' umugome, akassama). Les eaux, après avoir aspiré leur proie se retirent Du fond de l'abîme sortent alors de longues plaintes et des gémissements (akaboroga, akater' induru).

Le gouffre est tellement profond, raconte-t-on dans le public, que ses eaux communiquent avec celles du lac Kivu (ngw' aja hasi, afatanye n'i Kivu).

On comprend si avec de telles données les gens parlent avec terreur de ce lieu maudit.

En réalité, les victimes étaient étranglées ou tuées à coups de lances avant d'être jetées à l'eau.

On essayait bien de les y plonger, mais les cadavres revenaient à la surface. Les hyènes se chargeaient bien vite de les faire disparaître. En quittant le théâtre du supplice, les bourreaux se dirigeaient à quelque distance de là, vers une autre dépression, habituellement remplie d'eau, pour y nettoyer leurs armes et laver leurs mains tachées de sang.

(¹) L'incendie des hautes herbes à la fin de l'été ne doit pas être étrangère à cette association de pensées et d'images.

Traîtres et ennemis, ensorceleurs et criminels politiques de marque ne furent pas les seules victimes du gouffre maudit. Étaient encore voués à la mort dans cet endroit sinistre les monstres (ibimara), les filles-mères (ibinyandaro), les enfants né durant le deuil de leur père (inda y'amabi) et quelquefois leur mère, les jeunes filles aux seins non développés (impenebere) [1]... et les veaux nés d'une façon « vicieuse » (ubufuti), comme ceux dont les jambes se sont présentées... en premier lieu.

Ces êtres anormaux ou jugés tels étaient infailliblement condamnés, avant la pénétration européenne. On n'avait aucune pitié pour eux. Il fallait s'en débarrasser en cachette et de nuit, pour ne pas se voir opposer le passage dans le pays que l'on devait traverser. D'après la croyance populaire, rien que la présence ou le séjour accidentel d'un de ces êtres peut déchaîner la famine ou d'autres malheurs sur la contrée.

CHAPITRE II

Fonctions à titre purement utilitaire et fonctions d'un caractère utilitaire supposé, dont les unes sont à titre privé et les autres à titre public et national. — Sorciers et devins de toutes catégories.

Fonctions purement utilitaires.

A. — Les employés de la « Bouche » et du « Gobelet » de Sa Majesté, c'est-à-dire les cuisiniers et les servants (Abahanga, les Habiles; Abozi, les Laveurs) furent considérés de tout temps comme les moins bien partagés parmi les nombreux employés de la Cour. La hutte dans laquelle les servants rangent les jattes de lait réservées au roi est

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[1] Les jeunes filles qui arrivaient à l'âge nubile avec cette particularité physique, étaient autrefois considérées comme un malheur et un danger pour le pays. On leur imputait à crime le peu de développement de leurs seins. On les appelait les filles « aux seins non développés », impenebere, du verbe guhenebera, qui signifie se restreindre, être réduit à rien.

désignée sous le nom de kiryana, la maison qui dévore ses habitants parce que bien rares étaient ceux qui survivaient à leurs fonctions. Presque tous finissaient après un laps de temps plus ou moins considérable par encourir le soupçon de vouloir empoisonner le roi et périssaient de mort violente au moment où ils s'y attendaient le moins. Ce fut pendant longtemps une épée de Damoclès qui finissait presque toujours par s'abattre sur la tête de ceux qui avaient le malheur d'être choisis pour cette charge peu enviée.

On en verra plus loin quelques exemples.

B. — Les échansons (abanyanzoga) pratiquaient aussi un métier dangereux comme leurs collègues de la laiterie et des cuisines royales. Ils étaient de par leurs fonctions chargés de se procurer les meilleures bières, de les garder et de les présenter au moment voulu. Ils forment encore une équipe nombreuse dont les uns vivent auprès du roi et les autres rayonnent au loin pour réquisitionner le miel, la bière elle-même ou les régimes de bananes qui servent à la fabrication de la précieuse boisson [1].

Les employés de cette catégorie n'avaient pouvoir originairement et en principe que sur les régimes de bananes et le miel (imitsama) et parcouraient le pays pour se les procurer (gutorana). Peu à peu, ils prirent l'habitude de se conduire en vrais chefs et d'exiger des habitants des contributions en nature, haricots, sorgho, vaches, etc., et imposèrent certaines corvées dites du « buletwa », qui leur permirent non seulement de vivre grassement, mais de se constituer de beaux troupeaux.

C. — Il y a plusieurs équipes pour la culture et la préparation du tabac qui sert à l'usage du prince. Le tabac qui lui est destiné vient entre autres régions du Bugoyi, de

[1] Le chef des échansons, un certain Mutagikwa, est de par sa charge capitaine du corps d'armée des Indengabaganizi, titre purement honorifique, mais qui lui permet de lever des impôts dans les territoires où il exerce sa charge d'officier du « Gobelet ».

Il habite à Nyarugenge de Gassagara dans le Buhanga.

Mata dans le Marangara, de Ruyanza et de Mussambiro dans le Nduga. Les feuilles sont préparées à la capitale par des employés spéciaux, hommes ou femmes, qui y risquaient aussi de temps à autre leur tête, pour les mêmes motifs précédemment cités.

D. — La préparation du jus de tabac, réservée à un usage original et aussi profane que possible (mukibuno), est confiée à un groupe de servantes ou de jeunes filles, attachées au service de la reine-mère. Les feuilles de tabac sont plongées dans un liquide d'une saveur piquante et âcre tout à la fois (inkari) dans lequel on les laisse séjourner pendant quelque temps.

Le liquide seul est ensuite utilisé par la reine-mère et les grandes dames, qui estiment que le jus de l'herbe médicée ainsi préparée est le remède infaillible contre l'infirmité désignée dans le pays sous le nom de « imisuzi ».

Cette solution à odeur prononcée porte le nom d'une plante (umugabagaba) qui sent très fort, de laquelle les odalisques chargées de ce travail tirent aussi leur nom d'« abanyamugabagaba ». L'appartement dans lequel se donne la curieuse médication est désigné à la Cour et chez les grands chefs qui connaissent tous la fameuse recette par des termes spéciaux dont seuls les initiés comprennent la signification. Ce sont les noms d'« imikinga », cabinets secrets (de gukinga, fermer), et « ubugonyi », chalet de nécessité.

E. — Une catégorie de serviteurs de tout ordre, connus sous l'appellation d'« Abanyakambere », se tiennent à la disposition du souverain, qui passe presque toute la journée dans la hutte désignée sous le nom d'« Ikambere » la première, parce qu'elle occupe le fond de la cour d'honneur. Le rôle de ces valets est de veiller sur les différents objets qui composent l'ameublement des pièces. Ils exécutent aussi les ordres du roi et vont avertir les autres gens de service

F. — Il y a aussi les gardiens du trésor. On les appelle « Abanya-byuma ».

Par ce mot « byuma », les Banyarwanda désignent tout ce qui est en fer. Serpes, haches, râpes, couteaux, bracelets et pioches surtout constituent par leur nombre et leur valeur réelle une vraie richesse pour leurs propriétaires.

Cette façon de comprendre et de concevoir les richesses a fait donner aux gardiens du trésor l'appellation de « gens préposés à la conservation des objets en fer (abanya-byuma) ». Le trésor lui-même porte le nom significatif d'« intore », du verbe gutora, choisir, parce qu'il se compose d'un choix de pièces très originales. Il comprend la garde-robe (imyambar' abami) des anciens rois et leurs bijoux. Étoffes de toute variété, peaux de colobe, perles, colliers, bracelets et autres objets de ce genre constituent la majeure partie du trésor proprement dit, qui est exposé deux fois par an, comme nous le verrons plus loin quand il sera question des fêtes de la Cour.

G. — Un groupe de jeunes filles est chargé de nettoyer la hutte qui sert de chambre à coucher au monarque. C'est à elles qu'incombe le soin de renouveler les herbes fines qui composent la couche royale, d'y étendre les nattes et les fourrures précieuses (ibyahi), c'est-à-dire les peaux de loutre, de lion, de léopard, sur lesquelles le souverain prend son repos. Ces femmes de chambre se nomment en langue vernaculaire « Abashashi », celles qui étendent les nattes, du mot gusasa, étendre les nattes. Une autre de leurs fonctions, et non la moins importante, consiste à « chauffer », tous les soirs, le lit royal. Pour atteindre ce résultat elles s'étendent sur la couche successivement ou même toutes à la fois, jusqu'à l'arrivée du monarque.

Les femmes ou filles qui ont un emploi à remplir à la Cour sont sous la haute surveillance de la reine-mère, auprès de laquelle elles vivent.

H. — Les « Irrésistibles » (Intalindwa) tirent leur appellation du corps d'armée de ce nom. On comprend sous ce nom d'une série d'employés et de gens à tout faire, choisis dans les différents rangs de la société. Entre autres travaux de leur ressort, ils veillent la nuit sur le roi et ses enfants et entretiennent le feu qui doit brûler durant ce temps dans le foyer, selon la coutume du pays, suivie aussi par les grands chefs. Ils renouvellent les huttes en les reconstruisant régulièrement tous les trois ans. Comme les cases qui forment l'ensemble du palais royal sont nombreuses, ils partagent cette tâche avec les chefs de certaines provinces.

C'est parmi les « Irrésistibles » qu'on choisit les porteurs de hamac (abahetsi b' ingobyi), quand les grandes dames du harem royal s'aventurent à l'extérieur. Ils font partie du corps d'armée dont ils portent le nom. Les membres de ce groupement militaire passaient pour être les plus braves (Intalindwa, ceux auxquels on ne résiste pas). On les employait quelquefois, de préférence aux autres serviteurs, pour conduire au loin les condamnés de marque destinés à être exécutés aux lieux de supplice habituels (Buberuka, Bugessera).

I. — Le nom d'« Impara » sert à désigner un autre corps d'armée qui se recrute parmi les habitants de la province du Kinyaga. Il a été donné aussi par extension à un groupe d'individus, initiés à la société secrète de Ryangombe, et qui sont obligés par devoir d'état à vivre auprès du roi, pour attirer sur lui les faveurs des mânes de tous ceux qui ont fait partie de cette association religieuse.

Au lever du souverain, ils doivent se présenter, portant sur la tête en guise de coiffure, des queues de lièvre (amashira y' inkwavu) ou d'un autre carnassier du genre fouine (ibiharangu), qu'ils font balancer de droite à gauche, en chantant et en dansant. Ils tiennent à la main des clochettes ou des sistres (ibinyuguri) qu'ils agitent en

invoquant à haute voix la protection de Ryangombe et de ses compagnons. En plus de ce rôle d'impétration, ils remplissent d'autres fonctions à l'intérieur de la maison du roi.

A cause de leur fonction de suppliants et d'intercesseurs, qui est de beaucoup la principale pour eux, on aurait pu, à aussi juste titre, les ranger dans la catégorie suivante.

Fonctions d'un caractère utilitaire supposé, dont les unes sont a titre privé et les autres a titre public et national. — Sorciers et devins de toutes catégories.

A. — On a déjà longuement parlé dans l'*Histoire d'un règne*, du clan des Bakoma, descendants directs des roitelets autochtones du pays de Marangara, qui passaient autrefois pour être avec Mashira de puissants sorciers. On les considérait comme pouvant conserver ou ôter la vie par des moyens cachés connus d'eux seuls.

La réputation du premier de ces princes autochtones, de son vrai nom Sekibakanyi, était immense. On dit encore aujourd'hui que : « Nkoma Sekibakanyi, roi de Marangara (fils) de Nkondogoro, ensorcelait autrement qu'on ne le fait aujourd'hui » (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!) L'expression est passée en proverbe.

A cause de cette renommée, les Bakoma ont été chargés de la préparation d'un élixir de longue vie, appelé « issubyo », du nom de la plante qu'ils utilisent à cet effet, d'où leur nom d'« Abanyissubyo », les gens au breuvage de vie, nom et fonction dont ils s'estiment très honorés. Pour fabriquer leur élixir, les Bakoma ou gens du pays de Nkoma vont chercher au loin dans la forêt une sorte de mousse ou moisissure (urugombyi) que l'on trouve sur les arbres. Après en avoir fait une bonne provision, ils

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font brûler le tout. La cendre est soigneusement recueillie et mise en lieu sûr. Ils utilisent encore les racines de la plante appelée « issubyo » qu'ils font sécher au soleil pour la réduire en poudre sur leur moulin à farine.

Une espèce de lycoperdon dit « agatumura », qui rappelle la vesse de loup, est le troisième élément qui entre dans la composition de cette eau de Jouvence.

Cendres et poudres sont mélangées en petite quantité dans de la bière, que présentent journellement au roi deux descendants de cette ancienne famille. Le prince hamite aspire quelques gouttes au moyen du chalumeau (umuseke ou umuheha) et s'en rince la bouche une fois pour rejeter aussitôt le liquide.

Les gens qui appartiennent au clan des Bakoma sont en principe exempts de corvée et ont gardé une indépendance relative [1].

Ils n'ont pas d'autre fonction que celle de se relayer à la Cour pour présenter au monarque le breuvage fortifiant dont ils sont les inventeurs [2].

B. — Pour ce qui est de la catégorie des sorciers du genre devin et sacrificateur attachés à la Cour ou à la personne du roi, on peut dire que c'est la plus importante et la plus considérable. Le roi fait appel à leurs services à titre privé, ou à titre public et national. Leurs noms et leurs fonctions se subdivisent presque à l'infini. Nombreux sont les clans parmi lesquels se recrute ce personnel. La tribu des Bega fournit les devins-sacrificateurs les plus célèbres, connus sous le nom d'Abakongori ou

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(1) Le chef hamite qui a été mis à leur tête, ces dernières années, ne devait s'occuper que de l'observation des lois ou ordonnances européennes.

(2) Les Bakoma sont avec les Basozo ceux qui ont joui le plus longtemps de privilèges et d'immunités. Dans le « Règne de Ruganzu II » nous avons longuement parlé des Basozo et de l'origine des franchises dont ils jouissent encore.

La corporation royale des employés des pompes funèbres est dans le même cas.

Abanyambuto. Parmi les Basinga se recrute la corporation des Abachumbi, qui, en plus de leur rôle de devin, ont le pouvoir de mettre en fuite les esprits, et celle des Abosha, qui se donnent comme les descendants directs du grand sorcier Lunukamishyo, c'est-à-dire l'homme aux couteaux de sorcier, originaire du pays du Ndorwa. Il vint, on l'a déjà dit, chercher fortune au Rwanda, où il fut bien accueilli par les princes hamites qui ennoblirent sa famille et la comblèrent de biens. Le nom de l'ancêtre conservé dans l'histoire vient de deux mots : « kunùka », sentir, et « imishyo », couteaux, à cause de l'habitude qu'il avait de se servir de son couteau de devin-sacrificateur pour s'orienter.

Font encore partie de la catégorie des sorciers du genre devin ou sacrificateur : les Abanyantondwe, les Abanyankarago, les Bihungamutwe, les Abanyanzuzi qui sont les plus communs, et bien d'autres.

Le R. P. Arnoux en parle longuement dans son travail [1].

Nombreux sont les clans qui, comme les Bazigaba, les Batembe, les Bahigo, de race Muhutu (Bantu), fournissent à la Cour des devins et des sacrificateurs, mais plus nombreuses encore sont les familles où, depuis un temps plus ou moins éloigné, les fonctions susdites se transmettent, selon les cas, de père en fils ou de mère en fille.

Les Bahigo et les Batembe habitent dans la région du Bugoyi. Les ancêtres de ces deux familles émigrèrent dans le royaume, sous le règne de Yuhi III Gahindiro, aux environs de l'année 1800. Les membres de ces deux grou-

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(1) « La divination au Rwanda », *Anthropos*, 1918. L'auteur traite dans cette étude de la personne des devins y compris les Bakongori et des différentes façons de procéder dans cet art.

Le même individu est devin et sacrificateur tout à la fois.

Les Abakongori sont encore désignés sous le vocable d'Abanyambuto parce que dans leur mode de divination ils utilisent la salive de leurs clients, d'où le nom de mbuto donné à ces humeurs visqueuses, dans le cas particulier qui nous occupe.

pes durent leur fortune à un chef mututsi, qui ayant eu à se louer de leurs pratiques divinatoires, les fit connaître à la Cour du roi Yuhi III Gahindiro, où ils furent appelés [1].

Leur mode de divination diffère de celui des autres.

On les appelle Abanyamihundwa, c'est-à-dire les devins aux os de mâchoire, parce que, au lieu de se servir de n'importe quels osselets comme les Banyanzuzi ordinaires, ils n'utilisent que les os de mâchoires provenant du mouton, du bœuf et de l'antilope [2].

A ces mêmes osselets (imihundwa y' urwasaya), qui doivent être au nombre de six, ils ajoutent trois petits bouts de fer (imbaba), trois grins de la courge dite inzungwane et un bout de bois d'une longueur de dix centimètres, garni de perles à une extrémité et sur l'un des côtés, que l'on appelle igichumbi.

Les devins lui attribuent une grande importance et le placent au milieu des maxillaires, trois à droite et trois à gauche, pour consulter l'avenir. Un autre détail les distingue de leurs collègues. Alors que ceux-ci jettent d'un geste brusque leurs dés magiques sur la palette (impinga), les Banyamihundwa laissent simplement tomber les leurs sur la peau d'un des animaux précédemment nommés.

Les osselets jouent un grand rôle à la Cour et dans le pays. On recourt à leur emploi pour des circonstances journalières. Le rôle du jeteur d'osselets est d'interpréter, par le moyen de ses connaissances, la disposition relative des os. Le nombre des dés ou des osselets varie selon la qualité ou le titre du devin. Chacun de ces mêmes dés ou osselets possède sa signification, laquelle à son tour est modifiée suivant la manière en laquelle ils s'éparpillent sur le sol... Il faut, en effet, considérer : le côté sur lequel tombent les astragales, la direction vers laquelle ils

(1) Les événements et les incidents de cette émigration dans le Rwanda ont été conservés par ses descendants et forment un récit original.

(2) Les os de chèvre sont exclus de leurs pratiques divinatoires.

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regardent, puis la position qu'ils prennent les uns par rapport aux autres. On conçoit combien grand est le nombre des combinaisons possibles, lorsqu'on tient compte de tous ces éléments...

Si l'on n'obtient pas du premier coup la réponse cherchée, on recommence... une fois, deux fois, dix fois... jusqu'à ce qu'elle vienne (Levy-Bruhl) [1].

C. — En plus des aruspices, devins, sacrificateurs dont on vient de parler, le roi a auprès de lui les représentants attitrés de tous les genres possibles et imaginables de sorcellerie.

Nécromanciens (Abashyitsi ou abahamagazi), magiciens-conjurateurs (Abahuzi), fabricants de philtres ou de charmes (abanyanzaratsi), faiseurs d'amulettes (abachunyi), etc.; c'est tout un monde de sorciers qui travaille pour le monarque et la Cour.

Les étrangers venus du Bunyabungu, du Buhunde, contrées situées au Nord et à l'Ouest du lac Kivu, de l'Uswi, de l'Ujinja (sur les bords du Victoria), etc., n'ont pas moins de vogue que leurs collègues autochtones et l'emportent quelquefois sur eux par la nouveauté ou l'originalité de leur art.

Il y a même eu une officine pour les charmes et les poisons (ubulozi, au pluriel amarozi ou ibirozi), que l'on faisait venir de loin ou que l'on essayait de fabriquer sur place, mais sans beaucoup de succès, semble-t-il.

Les plantes, dont on utilisait le suc, l'écorce ou la feuille, n'étaient pas des plus vénéneuses, comme nous le dirons plus loin.

Ajoutons que la réputation de ces magiciens précités paraît avoir été plus terrible que leurs actes ou les effets de ces mêmes actes.

Pour rester juste et vrai il faut excepter de ce jugement les magiciens-conjurateurs dits abahuzi dont les crimes

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(1) *La Mentalité primitive*. Libr. Félix Alcan, 1922.

et les méfaits ne se comptent pas (¹). On ne peut pas imaginer comment ils ont pu abuser, et cela impunément, durant tant de siècles, de la crédulité publique. L'expression populaire « avoir du sang sur les mains » peut leur être appliquée intégralement. Ils passent pour avoir le pouvoir de découvrir les envoûteurs, les ensorceleurs et puis encore de faire sortir du corps des patients ce qui est supposé avoir produit la maladie, l'empoisonnement ou l'ensorcellement.

C'est par le moyen d'une petite corne ou d'une calebasse formant ventouse ou même avec leur propre bouche qu'ils extirpent la cause du mal et qu'ils présentent aux yeux des spectateurs émerveillés des os, des cailloux, des crapauds, des têtes de serpent et autres objets inimaginables retirés par la ventouse. Les Banyarwanda ont une confiance illimitée en la toute-puissance de ce procédé et citent des cas de guérisons extraordinaires obtenus par ce moyen.

« On perd son latin » à vouloir raisonner avec eux, sur ce sujet. Les anciens surtout sont intraitables.

Pour démasquer les jettatori et autres compères de cette qualité, nos thaumaturges (abahuzi) se servent d'une autre corne remplie de choses hétéroclites ou même innommables.

Ils s'en vont, en costume adamique, ajoute la rumeur publique, et la corne en main. Cette corne s'agite et se démène, disent les gens, comme si elle était animée par un esprit invisible, indiquant ainsi le chemin qui conduit, chez les envoûteurs ou chez les ensorceleurs présumés. Ceux-ci, avant l'arrivée des Européens, étaient massacrés sur l'heure, sans autre forme de procès.

Les matières propres à ensorceler ou à produire l'envoû-

(¹) « Chercher » se dit en kinyarwanda guhura, d'où le nom de umuhuzi, chercheur, donné à cette catégorie redoutable de sorciers. « Guhurish' ihembe » signifie chercher avec la corne, « guhurish' umunwa » chercher avec la bouche (dans le corps des patients).

tement, qu'elles fussent enfouies ou cachées dans les cases, étaient découvertes de la même façon, ajoutent les Noirs crédules [1].

Ces mêmes chercheurs, en leur qualité de magiciens-conjurateurs, ont le pouvoir de prévenir les effets des sortilèges et des maléfices. Moyennent finances, ils vont fixer des limites physiques et morales au pouvoir néfaste des autres sorciers et cela par le moyen de remèdes (imiti) de leur cru, d'amulettes (impigi) et de branches d'arbres à propriétés magiques enfouies ou fixés en terre. Les terrains ainsi « fermés » à la malfaisance des sorts deviennent pour longtemps comme des asiles inviolables. Les propriétaires des terrains immunisés n'ont dès lors plus rien à craindre du fait des ensorceleurs.

Les Banyarwanda parlent beaucoup, au coin du feu, de ces magiciens-conjurateurs et de leurs hauts faits.

Pour découvrir les objets volés, les Banyarwanda font appel aux Banyerango [2]. Ceux-ci n'inspirent pas autant de crainte que leurs collègues précités, tout en usant de la même corne magique. Les Bachunyi ou fabricants de gris-gris ont surtout la spécialité de donner la fécondité aux femmes stériles.

Ils vendent, moyennant finances, des amulettes et des breuvages magiques. Les mauvaises langues ajoutent que les charlatans de cette catégorie ont abusé de leurs clientes plus d'une fois, pendant que le mari crédule, une clochette à la main, était chargé de faire à pas lents, une promenade autour de l'habitation du sorcier.

D. — Grande estime est encore faite des sorciers-maudisseurs (Abahenyi), qui, comme le faux prophète Balaam,

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(1) On cite le cas de plusieurs individus chez lesquels on a trouvé tout un lot d'ossements divers et avouant eux-mêmes leur profession d'envoûteur et d'ensorceleur. Il est possible que ces malheureux en proie à l'autosuggestion aient cru à l'efficacité de leurs opérations maléfiques.

(2) « Abanyerango ». Ce substantif est tiré du mot kulangira, qui veut dire montrer, découvrir, et indique le métier du sorcier, d'où le nom d'irango donné à la corne dont ce dernier se sert dans ses recherches.

ont pour mission de maudire les ennemis et d'annihiler leurs forces de résistance. Leur chef, un nommé Agakwande, jouit d'une grande considération à la Cour. Ses aïeux n'étaient que de simples Bahutu. C'est en raison de l'exercice de leurs importantes fonctions qu'ils sont entrés peu à peu dans la caste noble des Batutsi, avec lesquels ils n'ont cessé de contracter des alliances matrimoniales. Ils habitent dans le Ndiza, à Bulembo, et forment une corporation puissante et redoutable. Leurs incantations passent pour être très efficaces. Pour ce faire ils doivent se réunir la nuit dans un petit bosquet qui est le lieu habituel de leurs opérations magiques et dont il porte le nom « ihenero », du mot guhena, maudire [1].

A cette occasion, on tue une chèvre noire dont la peau est suspendue à un buisson.

Ils portent au cou les fruits d'un arbuste épineux (intobo) et vont semer des charmes sur le chemin que doivent suivre les ennemis. C'est ainsi qu'ils firent pour les premiers Européens, mais sans grand succès d'ailleurs.

E. — Parmi les grands dignitaires de la Cour, on a déjà nommé les généraux (abagabe). Au-dessus d'eux se trouve un autre personnage considérable qu'on pourrait appeler le Commandeur (Umugaba). Il joue le rôle d'une sorte de général en chef honoraire à sens et à titre superstitieux, qui passe pour donner le succès aux troupes. Comme signe distinctif de sa supériorité sur le général effectif, il se ceint le front d'un bandeau (ikamba), qui rappelle un peu la couronne royale. Il est choisi par les devins (yarelejwe) et peut être pris parmi les Bahutu.

Le plus souvent toutefois ce rôle échut aux Batutsi, fils ou parents de roi. C'est ainsi que Karara avait suivi son

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[1] La signification étymologique et précise du verbe Guhena est plus forte que celle que l'on vient de donner. Elle désigne un geste symbolique et expressif qui sert à montrer le peu de cas que l'on fait d'une personne ou le mépris manifesté à son égard. En d'autres termes, les magiciens-maudisseurs, dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions, tournent le dos à l'ennemi, d'où le nom de leur métier.

père, le roi Lwabugiri, au Bunyabungu, en cette qualité de général porte-bonheur. Lors de l'expédition d'Ishangi, ce fut un autre fils de Lwabugiri, Nshozamihigo, qui remplit ce rôle. Ces sortes de généraux portent des amulettes au cou et se peignent le visage avec de la craie blanche ou eau lustrale (amazi y'ingwa).

Ils sont encore détenteurs de charmes et autres talismans (inzaratsi, insinzi), qui doivent aider à vaincre l'ennemi. Ils restent au camp pendant que les troupes combattent. On leur rend des honneurs presque souverains. Les tambours sonnent pour eux le réveil (akabikirwa) comme pour le roi. Ils ont tout pouvoir pour faire des lois, trancher les différents et leurs jugements sont sans appel (ikyo bavuze ntikisubir' inyuma) (1).

Autres fonctions de même caractère que les précédentes. — Des ensorceleurs et des envoûteurs; des purificateurs ou exorcistes de tous rites; des fabricants du poison d'épreuve.

Les fonctions de ces personnages sont presque de tous les jours, partant donc assez connues et leurs œuvres sont aussi célèbres que celles de leurs collègues, les devins-sacrificateurs, les magiciens-conjurateurs, etc.

Nous en parlons ici à part à cause des détails relativement abondants donnés sur chacun d'eux.

Disons que tous ces « docteurs ès-sciences occultes, mystiques et magiques », bien loin d'avoir honte de leur métier s'en font gloire et se considèrent comme des êtres

(1) Umugaba est un substantif dérivé du verbe kugaba, qui signifie distribuer ou donner gratuitement. Ce terme ne s'applique en principe qu'au roi; son synonyme Rugaba, qui vient du même verbe, a été réservé à Dieu (Imana).

Quand le roi se choisit un remplaçant, autre que le général en chef appelé umugabe, pour le mettre à la tête des armées, il lui donne en conséquence de son titre des pouvoirs étendus et les honneurs dus à son rang.

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importants et nécessaires. Ils ont conscience de leur dignité et de la noblesse de leurs fonctions qu'ils affichent publiquement [1]. Les émoluments de leur profession deviennent, pour quelques-uns d'entre eux, fort appréciables. Le profit suit la gloire.

Les professionnels de la magie et de la sorcellerie en tous genres ont, dans leur orgueil et leur vanité, essayé de donner à leur art une noble origine, en le faisant remonter jusqu'au grand roi Ruganzu II. C'est lui qui, d'après la légende, a tout inventé et tout organisé.

Artisans, forgerons et cultivateurs se réclament de lui.

Les sorciers théurges, medecine-men, etc., mis en demeure d'expliquer leurs pouvoirs et poussés jusque dans leurs derniers retranchements, se sont donnés, à leur tour, comme les simples dépositaires des dons et des talents dont l'illustre monarque fut le premier détenteur et possesseur. C'est lui qui en a fait bénéficier leurs prédécesseurs, dont ils continuent la chaîne et la série.

Les rois hamites, après avoir soumis les petits princes autochtones qui s'étaient partagé le Rwanda, utilisèrent les services de leurs descendants. Certains de ces roitelets, comme ceux de Marangara et du Bgishaza, avaient la réputation d'être les plus puissants d'entre les sorciers et de jouir de talents exceptionnels. Aussi leurs successeurs furent-ils confirmés dans leurs fonctions d'ordre purement mystique.

Et conséquemment ils restent toujours en service commandé tant auprès de Sa Majesté noire que de ses fidèles sujets, à la Cour, à la capitale et dans tout le royaume.

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(1) Il n'est pas question de ceux qui, agissant pour leur compte privé, se font ensorceleurs ou envoûteurs d'une façon occasionnelle et passagère.

C'est par voie cachée et détournée qu'ils opèrent et cela pour exercer une vengeance purement personnelle. Aussi prennent-ils toutes les précautions afin de cacher leur jeu, car ils s'exposent à la mort si leurs agissements sont découverts.

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A. — *Des ensorceleurs, des envoûteurs, des sorts et des maléfices.* — Les sorciers de cette catégorie se subdivisent en plusieurs groupes et ont diverses façons d'opérer.

Pour les désigner *in globo*, on se sert du terme générique umulôzi (au pluriel Abalôzi), ensorceleur. Kuloga veut dire ensorceler, jeter un sort et aussi empoisonner; ubulôzi (au pluriel amalôzi) signifie ensorcellement, maléfice, sortilège et empoisonnement. Ce sont des mots connus dans la région des Grands Lacs.

Plusieurs exercent publiquement leur métier, ainsi qu'on le verra plus loin, à la capitale, au service du roi pour le délivrer de ses ennemis et dans les villages, où ils se mettent au service de leurs semblables.

Les autres, plus ou moins connus, n'agissent qu'en secret.

D'aucuns, ainsi qu'on le comprendra, n'ont qu'une existence fictive et n'existent que dans l'imagination des gens crédules.

1. « Abashitsi » ou « les preneurs », tel est le nom de ceux qui, par leurs opérations magiques, peuvent obliger le voleur à se découvrir de lui-même.

Le nom de leur fonction est emprunté au verbe gushika, prendre (le voleur), d'où le mot « urushiko », qui désigne l'opération. Pour ce faire le magicien remplit un récipient (imbehe) d'un liquide préparé par ses soins. Au moyen d'un chalumeau qu'il porte à la bouche, pendant que l'autre extrémité plonge dans le vase en bois, il souffle pendant quelque temps, jusqu'à ce que l'écume (urufuro) déborde, obligeant par cette opération mystique et symbolique le voleur malgré lui à venir dévoiler son larcin. Telle est du moins la croyance populaire.

2. « Abaheretsi » (du verbe guhereka, tendre des pièges par ensorcellement) sert à désigner un deuxième groupe de sorciers qui ont la spécialité d'enfouir en terre, dans les bananeries et dans les champs cultivés, des charmes

et des amulettes de leur fabrication, d'où le nom d'uruhereko donné à leurs maléfices.

Malheur à ceux qui viennent marauder sur les terrains ainsi ensorcelés. Ils restent immobiles sur place et deviennent complètement paralysés (baragangara), sans pouvoir faire le moindre mouvement. Le sorcier seul peut les délivrer en prononçant des paroles cabalistiques. Le maître d'un champ, pour sauvegarder ses récoltes, emploie souvent la pratique suivante qui consiste à déposer sur le terrain à garder, la pierre à aiguiser, une poignée de cendres du foyer et des lannières de cuir prises sur un vieux tambour. S'il s'agit d'une récolte de sorgho, notre homme lie à côté du dépôt mystique quatre tiges de sorgho, comme pour simuler une hutte dédiée aux esprits. Le profane qui se risquera sur la propriété sera réduit à l'impuissance ou contractera une maladie qui le conduira au tombeau [1].

Dans la province du Bwana-Mkali les opérateurs de ce genre portent le nom d'« Abakagizi » (de gukagira, empêcher) et leur procédé se dit urukago, empêchement. Comme leurs autres collègues, ils cachent sous terre, à l'entrée de la cour ou derrière la hutte, des amulettes, des plantes à propriétés magiques, une vieille spatule de ménage ou même la petite pierre qui sert à écraser le grain. Cette pierre dite « ingasire » est surnommée en termes de sorcellerie « ikinane », c'est-à-dire l'obstacle, le préservatif par excellence. L'emploi de la spatule usagée ou hors de service a un sens mystique et une vertu magique tout à la fois. Le voleur, qui tentera de pénétrer dans l'habitation ainsi préservée, verra ses efforts réduits à l'impuissance [2]. Les professionnels de ce genre se font payer

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[1] Nous nous mettons à la place de l'indigène et nous n'entendons nullement confirmer ses dires. Et même si l'événement venait les justifier, il faudrait sans doute l'attribuer à l'émotion, à l'autosuggestion ou à une pure coïncidence.

[2] Cette façon d'agir rappelle l'envoûtement par analogie.

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assez cher et ne réclament rien moins, comme prix de leurs services, qu'une chèvre, un bœuf ou même une génisse.

3. Au Gissaka, les gens croient qu'il existe des serpents apprivoisés qui gardent les champs et les demeures de leurs maîtres. Ces reptiles s'enroulent au cou des voleurs pour les étouffer. Ils se mettent aussi sur les traces des receleurs ou des larrons qu'ils suivent jusqu'au logis.

4. Les « batezi » (du verbe gutega, tendre des pièges) sont estimés capables, d'après la crédulité publique, de découvrir les malfaiteurs et les voleurs par le moyen d'une méthode curieuse, qui n'est autre que l'envoûtement par analogie. Le volé se présente chez l'envoûteur et lui fait cadeau d'une chèvre qui est aussitôt égorgée. Le magicien prend alors la vessie et la gonfle d'air, pour la suspendre ensuite au bout d'une corde fixée sous le plafond de la hutte. Veut-on faire mourir celui qui s'est rendu coupable de larcin, le sorcier perce la vessie ou bien coupe la corde qui la retenait. Si le sac membraneux s'écrase à terre, le voleur ne peut manquer de trépasser à l'instant. Il suffira d'aller aux nouvelles dans les environs. Toute mort subite sera interprétée dans ce sens et attribuée au fait de l'envoûtement. Le ventre de la victime doit enfler démesurément. C'est ce que l'on appelle gubang' agaheto, tendre un arc, ainsi que s'expriment quelquefois les Banyarwanda quand ils veulent faire allusion à cette manière d'ensorceler.

Si le propriétaire de l'objet volé veut faire montre d'indulgence, il demandera au sorcier de ne frapper que légèrement sur la vessie, pour ne provoquer que des maux d'entrailles chez le coupable. Inutile d'ajouter que les Noirs ajoutent une foi absolue à ces opérations magiques et croient avoir vu se réaliser l'événement dans un grand nombre de cas.

5. « Abachuraguzi ». Ce mot vient du verbe guchuragura et sert à désigner une espèce de danse. Les amateurs

de ce genre de danse piétinent sur place. Les gens de cette catégorie sont les vrais « jettatori » dont le but est de jeter un sort, « jettatura », sur leurs semblables, parce qu'ils jalousent leur bonheur ou parce qu'ils veulent en tirer vengeance, pour une injure vraie ou supposée. C'est pendant la nuit qu'opèrent ces hommes néfastes. Afin de mieux réussir dans leurs noirs desseins, les jeteurs de sorts ne doivent avoir pour habit qu'une vieille natte, hors d'usage (umûsâmbi). Ils vont ensuite se procurer un tibia ou un péroné humain (umurundi) avec lequel ils exécutent une danse macabre (guchuragura) dans la cour de celui auquel ils veulent nuire. Ils ont à la main une petite cruche remplie de charbons ardents, symbolisant la vie de leur ennemi qui va s'éteindre. Après avoir brisé le vase d'argile et répandu les charbons, ils jettent sur la hutte du propriétaire une poignée de terre recueillie sur une tombe, en prononçant à voix basse les paroles suivantes : « Ce ne sont pas des haricots que je veux, mais bien ta propre vie » (Sinshak' ibishyimbo, ichyo ndashaka n'amagara yawe). C'est là un des maléfices réputés les plus nocifs.

6. « Gutambikir' umutambikiro », c'est-à-dire « creuser transversalement un petit fossé » dans le chemin par où doit passer un ennemi abhorré, que l'on veut ensorceler, est une autre sorte d'envoûtement par analogie. Pour ce faire l'opérateur doit autant que possible se procurer un nerf de cadavre humain et une lanière de bambou ou de tout autre bois ayant servi à porter un défunt.

Il en fabrique un arc minuscule qu'il va déposer dans le fossé préparé sur le passage de son adversaire qu'il sait devoir venir bientôt. Le tout est recouvert de terre et de gazon, pour n'éveiller les soupçons de personne. Au moment où la personne exécrée met le pied sur l'arc ainsi disimulé, l'envoûteur caché dans les buissons ou les haies d'alentour prononce à voix basse le mot fatidique : « Fatwa », soit pris. C'en est fait du malheureux voyageur.

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Pris de violentes douleurs d'entrailles, gonflé, ballonné, il ne tardera pas à succomber dans d'horribles souffrances, théoriquement parlant.

Cette façon d'agir est encore désignée sous le nom de « kubang' agaheto » ou « guteg' umuntu agaheto », dresser l'embûche de l'arc.

7. « Guteger' umuntu inkôkô », faire l'ensorcellement du petit poussin (sous-entendu celui dont les entrailles n'ont pas blanchi, iteze neza, yabay' urutunda), est considéré avec le guchuragura comme l'un des sortilèges les plus malfaisants.

Pour l'emploi de ce sortilège, on s'adresse habituellement aux spécialistes de la divination passés maîtres en cet art. Dans le cas où le devin, grassement payé, accepte d'agir, son client se met en devoir de recueillir en cachette, — car les Noirs sont soupçonneux et se défient de leurs semblables, — un peu de salive expectorée par celui dont il veut tirer vengeance. Précieusement recueillie dans une feuille, cette matière visqueuse est portée au sorcier, qui l'introduit, au moyen d'un peu d'eau, dans le bec du poussin qu'il va égorger.

Le devin tient tout d'abord une conversation au volatile, afin que lui, poulet, s'arrange de façon que ses entrailles ne « blanchissent » pas, mais deviennent « noires », afin qu'on puisse se servir de la malfaisance attachée à cette circonstance-là. Après avoir longuement parlé, l'opérateur égorge le poulet à la façon habituelle des devins et lave soigneusement les entrailles pour distinguer la couleur spécifique (blanche ou noire) d'où dépend le sortilège. Y distingue-t-on la couleur noire, l'heureux client prend des mains du devin ce qui reste du poussin, va le jeter subrepticement dans la hutte ou l'enclos de son ennemi, ou va l'enfouir à l'endroit préféré où ce dernier vient s'asseoir et goûter du repos. Les effets du maléfice ne tarderont pas à se faire sentir, le malheureux ensorcelé

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mourra presque subitement, après quelques instants de malaise.

Ce maléfice, ajoutent les Noirs, est redouté de tous; mais ce sont surtout les nobles (Batutsi) qui l'utilisent, et si l'on veut réussir sûrement, il est préférable, disent-ils, d'employer un poussin qui soit resté l'unique survivant (yonyine, ikinege) de la couvée.

Si ses entrailles noircissent au cours de l'opération divinatoire, il doit infailliblement « avaler » (gusama) et « perdre » (gufata) celui dont on souhaite la mort.

8. Citons l'ensorceleur qui se sert d'une corne de vache pour jeter le mauvais sort sur un ennemi (ihembe umulozi alogesha).

La corne est évidée par le sorcier, qui sculpte sur la pointe une tête de serpent. Il la remplit de toutes sortes d'objets et d'ingrédients, crottes de différents oiseaux ou animaux et de lambeaux de chair ayant appartenu aux victimes qu'il a déjà faites.

9. Les monstres (ibimara), les jeunes filles aux seins non développés (impenebere) et autres malheureux de ce genre, sont considérés par les Banyarwanda comme « trahissant en eux la présence d'un principe malfaisant ou d'une force mystique dont l'action sera mortelle » [1], tels les « monstra » et les « portentâ » et autres porte-malheur du temps des Romains.

Aussi pour arrêter une invasion ennemie, les Banyarwanda avaient-ils l'habitude autrefois d'exposer ces êtres anormaux aux coups des envahisseurs. L'effusion de ce sang ou même seule la présence des individus de cette catégorie était considérée comme une malédiction.

Nous n'en finirions pas à vouloir énumérer les divers procédés d'envoûtement et d'ensorcellement. L'imagination des Noirs est féconde au delà de toute mesure quand il est question de ce sujet. On jugera de leur richesse en

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[1] *La mentalité primitive*, par LEVY-BRUHL, pp. 158 et ss.

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parcourant le récit du célèbre épisode de l'*Invasion des Banyoro*, aujourd'hui devenu *Chanson de gestes*. On parle dans ce récit de nombreuses incantations et de multiples maléfices, auxquels fut attribuée la défaite finale des envahisseurs.

10. Des noueurs d'aiguillettes. On ne sera pas peu étonné d'apprendre que les Noirs aussi croient à l'influence néfaste des gens auxquels on attribue ce genre de méfaits.

Les opérations de cette catégorie s'appellent dans la langue du pays « kumanikir' undi ngw'atabyara », nouer ou suspendre la fécondité, ou encore « kubang' ingata », tresser un coussinet d'herbes.

Ainsi que l'indique le sens étymologique de ces mots, les noueurs d'aiguillettes essaient de se procurer chez les gens auxquels ils veulent nuire une poignée d'herbes, de celles (ishinge) dont on jonche le sol de la hutte.

Ils en tressent une sorte de coussinet (ingata), qui est ensuite caché et suspendu dans la case.

Aussi longtemps que l'herbe reste nouée (dans le coussinet) la maîtresse du logis n'aura aucun espoir de devenir mère.

Beaucoup de jeunes femmes attribuent leur stérilité à ce maléfice.

Une poignée de cheveux dérobée à la voisine et tressée en forme de couronne aurait le même effet. C'est ce qu'on appelle « kumuzingirahw'amasunzu », enrouler les cheveux de quelqu'un.

Il suffirait encore, disent les indigènes, que les malveillants aient la possibilité de s'emparer d'un de ces anneaux de fibre végétale que les dames ou femmes de condition portent aux jambes et le froissent entre les mains, pour que la malheureuse devienne stérile ou meure en couches.

11. Pour tirer vengeance de l'épouse infidèle qui a quitté le domicile conjugal, son mari se procure la plante connue sous le nom d' « uruburamadjo », dont le sens éty-

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mologique (kubura kujya) « n'avoir pas où aller », c'est-à-dire ne pas trouver de logis, indique l'emploi qu'en fait le conjoint irrité et l'effet qu'il en attend. Celui-ci s'en sert pour tresser une sorte de coussinet sur lequel il doit mettre du beurre ou verser de l'huile de ricin, de celle qui a appartenu à la femme infidèle. Le coussinet mystique est caché sous une pierre; il faut l'en retirer un mois après, pour le déposer sous une autre pierre. Le moyen, ajoutent les indigènes crédules, est infaillible pour créer des difficultés entre la fugitive et ses maris d'occasion. Elle sera congédiée autant de fois que son premier époux déplacera l'herbe magique.

B. — *Des purificateurs ou exorcistes de tous rites et des exhumeurs ou mutileurs de cadavres.* — Pour se préserver du mauvais sort, des effets funestes qui pourraient être la conséquence de certains événements, tels que la violation d'un tabou, l'incendie d'une hutte, un assassinat, la rencontre d'un cadavre, d'un animal tué ou pour échapper aux fureurs d'un esprit déchaîné, le roi, sa Cour et ses sujets font appel aux services de gens désignés sous le nom d'« Abashumburuzi », « Abahanyi b'amachumu », « Ababuzi », etc. Comme leurs autres collègues ès-sciences occultes mystérieuses et magiques, ces derniers ont une existence officielle et légale.

1. Des Abashumburuzi, sorciers auxquels ont recours les violateurs de tabou.

« Abashumburuzi », tel est le titre donné par les gens du Lukiga (c'est-à-dire de la montagne) à une catégorie de purificateurs dont la fonction est souvent la même que celle du mugangahuzi ou préservateur de la foudre, avec lequel on les confond souvent.

Le mushumburuzi, si l'on s'en tient à la signification étymologique de sa profession, passe pour avoir le pouvoir de chasser les esprits du corps d'un malade [1]. Pour ce

[1] Umushumburuzi est le substantif du verbe gushumburura.

faire il se livre à de véritables exorcismes, fait des passes magiques sur le corps du patient, appelle les esprits par leur nom, les supplie d'abandonner leur victime. Armé d'une poignée de branches d'arbustes à propriétés magiques, il les promène sur le corps du malade.

L'esprit cause de la maladie se réfugie dans le balai symbolique. Il ne reste plus à l'opérateur que d'aller déposer au loin sur un carrefour son instrument chasse-esprit... Mais malheur au passant qui n'aperçoit pas à temps la demeure ambulante de l'esprit malfaisant toujours en quête d'une nouvelle victime. Ils ont en outre, d'après la crédulité populaire, le pouvoir de détourner le malheur ou le châtiment qui suit la violation, tout involontaire soit-elle, d'un tabou quelconque, d'une dérogation aux usages reçus, d'un manquement aux traditions et même l'apparition de toute chose ou événement extraordinaire.

La naissance d'un monstre, la croissance prodigieuse d'un fruit ou d'une plante, etc., peuvent nuire à celui qui en est le père ou le propriétaire.

Ce qui est insolite est une révélation pour le Noir; il n'y a rien de fortuit et ce qui sort tant soit peu de l'ordinaire manifeste l'action des puissances occultes. Après la rencontre ou l'observation de tels présages porte-malheur le Munyarwanda éprouve le besoin, pour qu'il ne lui arrive point malheur, de subir une purification comme pour une violation de tabous. Et c'est dans ce sens qu'il assimile la rencontre des présages défavorables à une dérogation aux usages ancestraux.

Nombreuses sont les prescriptions et les coutumes dont l'infraction purement matérielle entraîne avec elle des conséquences fâcheuses, par exemple, une maladie déterminée ou même la mort. Parmi les interdictions et les prohibitions il en est qui s'adressent à tout le monde, à un clan ou à l'autre, aux femmes seules ou au roi. Les personnes qui sont en deuil ou celles qui se trouvent dans d'autres circonstances particulières doivent respecter

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maints tabous, en s'abstenant d'un grand nombre d'actes. L'interdiction porte fréquemment sur un objet, un animal auquel on ne peut toucher ou dont on ne peut manger et sur lequel le regard ne doit pas se poser.

Il y a aussi des tabous de jours, c'est-à-dire des défenses de se livrer à certaines occupations et cela à des dates déterminées.

Multiples sont les tabous à la violation desquels est exposée une femme durant sa grossesse. La vue d'une barque l'expose à mettre au monde un enfant dont les lèvres seront en pointe comme la proue de l'embarcation.

La rencontre d'un animal tué, chien, sanglier, loutre, l'expose à donner le jour à un enfant mort ou couvert de plaies, comme celles qu'elle a remarqué sur les cadavres. La vue d'un homme mis à mort ou simplement lié l'expose au même malheur, ainsi que l'incendie d'une hutte. L'aspect de l'arme qui a servi à tuer entraîne les mêmes conséquences.

Il est facile de voir par ces cas combien le recours à ces sortes de purifications est fréquent [1].

Les rites de purification varient selon les cas, les personnes et le sorcier lui-même. Mais presque toujours celui-ci verse à boire sur la main de l'intéressé quelques gouttes d'un liquide (issubjo) dans lequel il a mélangé le jus de certaines plantes à vertu magique qui ont la propriété de guérir de tous les maux.

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[1] Les violateurs de tabou, dans certains cas, n'ont pas besoin de s'adresser aux hommes de l'art, ils peuvent se purifier eux-mêmes par un moyen bien simple.

Dans le cas où une femme en état de grossesse aurait rencontré une arme meurtrière, un prisonnier lié, un serpent tué ou tout autre objet tabou, elle doit se procurer aussitôt quelques-unes de ces herbes ou de ces feuilles à propriété magique, qui sont d'un usage courant. Elle leur fera toucher le cadavre, le lien et les écrasera ensuite pour boire le jus ou respirer le parfum qui s'en dégage. A défaut même de plantes, elle met d'abord la main sur ce qui fait l'objet du tabou et la porte ensuite sur son front, esquissant une sorte de signe de croix. C'est ce que l'abbé A. Bros appelle des « opérations de magie imitative » (*Religion des Peuples non civilisés*, p. 72).

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Tabous et présages.

Les tabous (imiziro) et les présages bons ou mauvais sont innombrables. Il faut se limiter à quelques échantillons que nous donnons ici sans tenir aucun compte de leur classement rationnel, estimé difficile à juste titre.

L'apparition d'un présage mauvais ou la violation d'un tabou expose les Banyarwanda à des malheurs plus ou moins grands selon l'importance de l'infraction, qu'elle soit volontaire ou non.

On sait qu'il n'est pas facile de donner une définition exacte du tabou tant la matière qui en fait l'objet est vaste et étendue.

Le tabou n'est pas seulement le respect à caractère obligatoire dû aux coutumes et aux usages reçus, ni l'observance des prescriptions sacrées, il désigne encore un ensemble de prohibitions et d'interdictions prononcées sur un objet ou un animal, auquel on ne peut toucher, dont on ne peut pas manger et sur lequel le regard aussi ne doit pas se porter (1).

Ce qui est tabou pour l'un, ne l'est pas pour l'autre.

Pour ce qui est des tabous d'animaux dont la chair est impure et ne peut être mangée, la règle n'est pas la même pour tous.

La chair de tous les animaux — à la seule exception des vaches — est interdite aux femmes.

Le mouton est tabou pour quelques clans, tandis que c'est la chèvre qui l'est pour d'autres.

Les poissons, les sangliers sont défendus aux Banyarwanda, à l'exception des riverains et des chasseurs. Les lièvres, les perdrix, les canards, les pintades rentrent dans la catégorie des animaux impurs (2).

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(1) Ajoutons que, dans certains cas, présages et tabous se confondent dans l'esprit des Noirs, comme il a été dit plus haut.

(2) Les enfants en mangent quelquefois en cachette.

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La mort d'un membre de la famille rend tabous les vivres qui sont restés dans la case, ainsi que les objets ou ustensiles qui lui appartenaient en propre. Ceux-ci peuvent être purifiés par le moyen de l'eau lustrale.

Même le veuf ou la veuve deviennent tabous par la mort du conjoint et doivent subir les rites de la purification.

Le cohabitation entre époux devient tabou à la mort d'un parent rapproché, du roi, de la reine-mère, et cela durant un laps de temps qui varie selon l'importance du défunt.

Ces mêmes relations conjugales sont interdites dans certaines circonstances prévues par l'usage ou la tradition, à l'occasion, par exemple, d'une demande subreptice en mariage (1).

Dans les deux cas qui précèdent la règle exige qu'on isole des troupeaux domestiques, le taureau, le bouc, le bélier et même le coq !

Tout travail de culture est interdit à l'occasion des funérailles, ainsi que dans les cas suivants : quand la foudre est tombée dans la cour ou sur la hutte, à la naissance d'un fils, à la mort d'un chien, à l'incendie d'une case, à la chute de la grêle. Le travail n'est prohibé que durant un jour, dans ces circonstances-là.

Une femme et un vacher ne peuvent toucher à la bouillie de sorgho, quand celle-ci est encore sur la spatule (umwuko) de ménage. A vouloir enfreindre cette prohibition une femme s'exposerait à n'avoir que des filles.

Quant au gardien ou propriétaire d'un troupeau, il souffrirait aussi dans ses biens de cette infraction aux coutumes (2).

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(1) Pour obliger les parents à céder leur fille en mariage, il suffit qu'un individu s'introduise dans la case en prétextant un motif quelconque et dépose en cachette un de ses bracelets. Après avoir pris congé des gens de la maison il crie de loin : « Prenez soin de l'objet que j'ai laissé ». Les parents de la jeune fille se croient obligés de la lui donner, pour s'éviter des malheurs.

(2) Ses vaches ne lui donneraient que des veaux mâles.

Un mari, pour battre sa femme, ne doit pas se servir de ce même ustensile de cuisine ! Il courrait le danger d'y perdre la vie.

L'inobservance de la plupart des coutumes qui sont de règle, lors de la célébration d'un mariage, expose les parents des deux conjoints à la maladie ou à la mort.

Questionnés sur leur nom, les enfants, les jeunes gens et les jeunes filles ne répondent pas ou donnent un faux nom, de crainte que l'étranger ne leur jette un mauvais sort et les empêche de grandir.

Une femme qui a ses époques ne doit pas s'aventurer dans la hutte où se trouve un nouveau-né, sinon elle fait contracter la gale à ce dernier. D'où l'habitude de mettre au cou des bébés un bracelet en fil de cuivre (urunyerere, ou urwinjiri) comme talisman et remède préventif.

Le roi ne doit jamais plier les genoux, pour ne pas exposer son royaume à diminuer d'étendue.

Le père ne peut enjamber la peau qui sert de berceau portatif (ingobyi) à son enfant, ni un fils la ceinture de sa mère.

Une femme ne peut passer par-dessus une lance, ni traire les vaches, ni recouvrir le toit d'une hutte, ni imiter (!) le chant du coq, etc.

Il est interdit de s'asseoir sur un panier de nourriture.

S'il tonne, il ne faut pas fumer la pipe quand on est assis sur une chaise.

Nul ne peut se reposer sur une peau de mouton, sous peine de contracter la gale (ngo badahumana). Il y a danger de mort à transporter dans la demeure d'autrui la pierre à aiguiser (ityazo).

Il y a défense expresse de tuer certains oiseaux et certains reptiles, non seulement parce que totem, mais aussi parce qu'ils sont considérés tantôt comme porte-bonheur pour le pays, telle la bergeronnette (inyamanza), et tantôt comme porte-malheur, tel le pangolin, dont le cadavre pourrait attirer de grands maux sur le territoire.

Le voyageur qui heurte le pied gauche contre un obstacle ou qui fait la rencontre d'un rat à la peau légèrement bigarrée (umushushwe), doit retourner à la maison, sinon il lui arrivera malheur.

Si l'on trouve des fourmis noires (intozi) sur son chemin, il faut passer la main sur le pied, comme pour faire le geste de les enlever, sinon elles envahiront la case de l'individu.

Une femme en état de grossesse ne doit pas voir un Européen, ni s'exposer à entendre tirer un coup de fusil, sinon l'enfant qui naîtra d'elle en souffrira [1].

Une mère qui n'a enfanté que des garçons ne doit pas donner le sein à la fille d'une autre, sinon elle s'expose désormais à n'enfanter que des filles.

Un fiancé ne doit pas se rencontrer avec sa fiancée ni avec sa belle-mère avant le mariage [2]. Le roi, autrefois, ne pouvait voir ses fils, du moins en théorie, car il est prouvé que les derniers princes ont souvent manqué à cette règle.

Si le fabricant de vin de bananes vient à souffleter quelqu'un, pendant qu'il est en train d'écraser ces fruits, il peut courir le risque de contracter la maladie des dartres (guhumana).

Une femme occupée à pétrir le pain de sorgho, doit garder le silence. Un chien ou une poule viendraient-ils à souiller le sol de la hutte, il lui est interdit de quitter son travail pour nettoyer la place, sous peine de voir diminuer le pain.

Si le régime de bananes commence à mûrir par le bas, le propriétaire de la bananerie s'en émeut. C'est signe qu'un danger le menace.

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(1) Pour neutraliser cette influence il suffit qu'elle puisse se procurer une douille de fusil, un bout de papier ou même un morceau de tuile, de brique, de n'importe quel objet de provenance européenne et de le porter au cou en guise d'amulette ou de talisman. L'enfant naîtra indemne de tout mal.

(2) Cf. « Cérémonies du mariage », par le P. Pagès (*Anthropos*. 1925).

Une grue huppée qui se perche sur le sommet de la case, un chien, une chèvre, un mouton qui réussiraient à grimper sur la hutte sont l'annonce certaine de malheurs prochains.

Il est rigoureusement défendu de tuer la grue huppée, le corbeau, la bergeronnette, le lézard, la grenouille, le crapaud.

Les parents d'un nouveau marié ne peuvent partager ses repas, s'ils ne commencent d'abord par faire cuire un régime de bananes dans la maison du jeune homme. La maladie des dartres est le châtiment de cette transgression.

Une femme qui vient de mettre au monde un enfant, doit veiller à ne pas laisser se perdre le cordon ombilical du nouveau-né. S'il y avait de la nourriture dans la hutte au moment de l'enfantement, il n'est pas permis à la mère d'y toucher. Elle payerait la violation de ce tabou par l'atteinte d'une maladie (guhumana).

Le père d'un bébé dont les dents n'ont pas encore poussé, ne peut prendre une nouvelle épouse, sans faire courir le risque à l'enfant de contracter la maladie des terribles dartres (amahumane).

Un enfant veut-il occuper la chaise que vient de quitter l'auteur de ses jours, doit y mettre d'abord un peu de paille. A vouloir agir autrement, il s'exposerait à la malédiction de son père.

Il n'est pas permis aux enfants de s'appuyer sur le pilier qui est réservé au chef de la famille et cela aussi pour raison de convenance.

Le propriétaire d'un veau dont le sabot ne compte qu'un doigt, à la suite d'une déformation congénitale, ne peut égorger la bête que chez lui. Il est interdit de manger la viande ailleurs; elle doit être consommée sur place, avec du pain de sorgho qu'apporte chaque convive. A la fin du repas les invités se lavent les mains dans la cour et non en dehors.

Une chèvre qui s'assied... sur son séant doit être égorgée

ou vendue aussitôt, pour qu'il n'arrive pas malheur aux occupants de la hutte.

Un chasseur de « felì-cervaline » (chat-tigre) se garde de faire trop de victimes parmi ces carnassiers, pour ne pas s'exposer à quelque chose de fâcheux. Le paysan qui bat des haricots en gousse s'arrange de façon que personne ne vienne au-dessus de son aire pendant qu'il est occupé à son travail.

Il éprouverait la surprise de voir sa provision de haricots diminuer si un passant s'arrêtait intempestivement face à lui.

Une jeune fille ne peut prendre le chemin que suivent les vaches pendant que se déroulent les pourparlers des fiançailles. Il faut qu'elle suive un autre sentier, pour ne pas s'exposer à la stérilité.

La case une fois terminée et couverte de chaume, il appartient à la femme du propriétaire du logis d'y apporter de ses propres mains la spatule de ménage, qui d'après les coutumes du pays est son arme symbolique à elle, sa sauvegarde. L'observation de ce rite lui vaudra de ne pas être expulsée de la hutte et de vivre en bons termes avec son mari.

Oublier son bâton chez un voisin devient une source d'ennuis; il est à craindre qu'on ne s'en serve pour faire des opérations de magie dont pâtira le propriétaire de l'objet oublié.

Votre cœur bat-il à se rompre dans la poitrine, c'est signe qu'on parle mal de vous quelque part.

Etes-vous oppressé, ressentez-vous un malaise à l'estomac, c'est signe que votre belle-sœur se trouve dans un état intéressant et deviendra mère.

Une démangeaison à la place où fut prise la goutte de sang qui servit à sceller le contrat d'amitié, est l'annonce certaine de la mort du frère de sang.

Pour faire gagner son procès à un plaideur, les parents de celui-ci entourent sa chaise d'une tige de « mwishwa ».

Durant l'instruction de sa cause, un membre de la famille prend place sur le siège et se met à balayer tout autour, comme pour écarter le mauvais sort. Pour être plus sûr de la réussite de l'affaire, on place encore sous le même siège la pierre à aiguiser (ityazo), qui, en termes de sorcellerie, se dit « obstacle » (ikinanira). Cet acte symbolique a la propriété d'enlever toute valeur aux témoignages et aux dépositions de la partie adverse. « Leurs paroles passeront comme le vent » (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), ajoute la croyance populaire.

Le plaignant doit de son côté s'abstenir de la bière faite des bananes de l'espèce dite « iginyambiba » ou « igihuna ». Grâce à ces précautions il peut réunir toutes les chances de succès.

Il existe aussi des plantes et des arbustes tabous. Le mwange (umwange) est un végétal au nom symbolique et significatif dérivé d'un verbe (kwanga), qui veut dire haïr, détester, ne pas aimer. Les jeunes filles ne doivent jamais y toucher quand elles vont cueillir des brindilles sèches ou du bois mort pour l'entretien du foyer, sous peine de... coiffer sainte Catherine. Seules les vieilles femmes n'en ont plus peur et ne se font pas faute de les utiliser pour les besoins de la cuisine [1].

2. — « Des purificateurs de lance » (abahanyi b' amachumu) et de leurs exorcismes.

Le mot umuhanyi, au pluriel abahanyi, vient du verbe guhana, qui veut dire punir, réprimander, dans le sens strict. Ce n'est qu'au sens figuré qu'il signifie purifier. On se sert du mot guhanula pour désigner l'accomplissement des rites de la purification.

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[1] Les Noirs font grand cas des plantes à propriétés magiques. Il serait facile d'en dresser une liste longuement chargée. On pourrait en faire une étude à part, vu le nombre et l'importance des croyances populaires en rapport avec le monde végétal. « Les herbes les plus humbles, dit P. Sébillot, jusqu'aux arbres géants jouent un rôle qui depuis de longues années a préoccupé les savants. » (*Le Folklore.*)

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Le purificateur de lance exerce ses fonctions à l'occasion d'un meurtre ou d'un assassinat.

Il est appelé par les parents de la victime pour donner satisfaction au mort et aux membres de sa famille, afin de les aider par ses pratiques mystérieuses à obtenir justice pour le sang versé.

Il purifie la lance ou l'arme meurtrière, dans le but de prévenir ou d'arrêter les conséquences funestes que le meurtre ne manquerait pas d'entraîner pour les proches du défunt. Ceux-ci, en effet, craignant de subir le même sort que leur parent tué, font appel au sorcier. Ce dernier opère souvent en même temps, quand il ne se confond pas avec lui, avec l'évocateur d'esprit (umushyitsi, umuhamagazi), qui a pareillement un rôle à remplir à cette occasion. Entre autres rites, car nous n'avons pas la prétention de les développer tous, ils seraient mieux à leur place dans une étude exclusivement réservée aux cérémonies des funérailles, nous ne citons que ceux qui appartiennent au rôle et à la fonction du purificateur de lance.

L'arme doit être « punie » et « purifiée » tout à la fois.

S'agit-il d'une lance que l'on a réussi à se procurer, le sorcier la démanche. Le fer de lance est mis de côté, on brise la pointe ferrée (umuhunda) et l'on détache quelques raclures de bois de la hampe (uruti); on dépose ces débris dans une petite calebasse du genre dit idegede [1]. A défaut de l'arme meurtrière, le purificateur opère sur une autre arme semblable, mais usagée. On remplit ensuite de bière la gourde, qui, à cause de l'usage mystique qui en est fait et des raclures qui y ont été mises, porte le nom d'« akabatongera » en termes de sorcellerie. Les parents présents boivent une gorgée de ce pombe. La calebasse où se trouvent les raclures et le fer de lance est ensuite confiée à un étranger (umuse) au clan ou à la famille, qui va la

(1) La famille ne pourra désormais plus manger de cette espèce de courge. (« La Mentalité primitive », op. cit., p. 293.)

cacher dans un endroit écarté, dans un fourré, une grotte ou excavation quelconque. On agit de même avec tout autre instrument : flèche, sabre, couteau, qui aurait servi à perpétrer le crime.

... « Une pratique de ce genre, dit M. Levy-Bruhl, est à peu près universelle dans les tribus africaines.

» On accomplit ces cérémonies parce qu'on a l'idée que l'arme porte avec elle le malheur ou la fatalité; il en est ainsi chez les Akamba. Selon eux, l'arme qui a une fois servi à un meurtre continue à être l'instrument de nouvelles morts; mais il n'y a ni cérémonie, ni charme, ni magie qui puisse venir à bout de sa vertu funeste : elle continuera indéfiniment à tuer par la main de son maître, quoi qu'il fasse. Puisqu'il n'y a pas moyen de se débarrasser de cette malédiction, le Mkamba a recours à la ruse; il posera l'arme sur un sentier ou une place où un passant aura des chances de l'apercevoir. Une fois qu'il l'aura ramassée, l'influence funeste de l'arme tombe sur lui et son premier possesseur en est délivré... (1) ».

Dans certains clans le sorcier-purificateur introduit les raclures dans une patate douce qu'il donne à manger à une chèvre. Celle-ci est vendue au loin, à des étrangers auxquels on laisse la malédiction attachée à l'arme qui avait servi à perpétrer le meurtre. Le prix de la bête, qui était autrefois payé en nature (pioches, pois, haricots, sorgho, etc.), était abandonné ou jeté. La famille de la victime estimait par là se délivrer complètement du mauvais sort qui lui était échu de par la mort violente d'un de ses membres.

Pour calmer l'esprit du défunt, durant les cérémonies des funérailles, un jeune homme de la parenté est choisi pour le venger. Il doit se procurer une lance neuve que

(1) Un Munyarwanda se gardera bien de recueillir ces armes maudites, dont il ne peut ignorer l'origine ni l'usage qui en a été fait. La malédiction qui leur est attachée et la crainte qu'elles lui inspirent, lui fera passer son chemin sans qu'il jette sur elles un regard de convoitise.

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le sorcier-purificateur ou son collègue l'« évocateur des esprits » lui prend des mains, pour couper en deux une plante à vertu mystérieuse dite irago ou umurago : « J'ai « coupé » la tribu des meurtriers, ajoute-t-il; qu'ils en meurent tous. » Puis s'adressant au défunt : « Voilà la lance qui te vengera, donne-lui l'occasion et la facilité d'exercer la vendetta. »

Le cadavre est, selon les coutumes propres à chaque clan, exposé sur une colline déserte ou enfoui au loin dans la brousse, dans les anfractuosités de rocher ou enterré près du village ou même dans la cour.

Dans ce dernier cas, on plante avec ses racines l'« irago » ou à son défaut le « murago » qui pousse dans les marais. Au bout d'un an environ, le sorcier revient couper cette plante, comme il avait déjà fait une première fois. On immole ensuite une chèvre.

Le purificateur prend du sang de cette oblation et en asperge la fosse en disant : « Que ce sang fasse périr toute la famille de l'assassin. »

Le meurtrier, à son tour, se préoccupe des conséquences de son acte. Aussi fait-il appel, lui aussi, aux mêmes opérateurs de ce genre, pour détourner la vengeance et la malédiction qu'il a attirées sur sa personne et sur sa parenté.

Le rival du sorcier précédent prend un roseau qu'il fend sur toute sa longueur, sans toutefois séparer complètement les extrémités. Il en écarte les deux branches qui sont fixées en terre. Le coupable et les membres de sa famille passent sous ce pont d'un nouveau genre. L'opérateur reprend le roseau dont il rejoint les deux parties et le rejette au loin en disant : « J'ai chassé l'esprit (du défunt) qui te poursuivait. » Conduisant ensuite son client à un carrefour, il l'asperge de quelques gouttes d'un liquide de sa fabrication, dans la composition duquel entre le jus de certaines plantes.

Se tenant ensuite dos à dos avec son protégé, le sorcier

lui glisse dans les mains des amulettes qu'il devra porter au cou : « De même que nous ne pouvons nous voir, ajoute le préservateur des maléfices, puisse l'esprit de celui que tu as tué ne jamais t'apercevoir (te rencontrer). » Il le fait ensuite coucher de tout son long. Prenant une sorte de balai (urutsiro) où sont réunies des plantes à propriétés magiques, il le promène sur le corps de l'individu : « Ndagushumburuye, j'ai fais partir l'esprit de celui qui te poursuivait », ajoute-t-il.

L'opération a toute chance de réussite si le meurtrier arrive par ses présents à utiliser les services du sorcier qui a « travaillé » pour la victime et ses parents.

3. — Des « exhumeurs et mutileurs de cadavres » (ababûzi), du mot kwabûra, exhumer un cadavre.

On a recours à eux dans deux cas; quand il s'agit d'un criminel qui a été exécuté et dont on veut empêcher l'esprit de nuire aux vivants, c'est-à-dire à ceux qui l'ont immolé. Il en sera parlé plus loin, dans le cours de ce même travail.

Le deuxième cas est le suivant : Le meurtrier, un homme du commun, qu'il ait assassiné volontairement ou involontairement, veut, à son tour, se prémunir contre l'irascibilité de l'esprit de sa victime. Pour cela il fait appel à un de ces exhumeurs de cadavres, qui lui aide à se procurer le corps du tué, ce qui n'est pas toujours facile. Il s'agit alors de mutiler le cadavre pour en chasser l'esprit. Le sorcier mutilateur coupe une infime partie (isonga) de la langue, du cœur, du petit doigt (umuhera) et de la peau, que l'on fait dessécher au-dessus du foyer. Le tout est ensuite renfermé dans une petite corne de couleur noire, si possible, que l'assassin porte au cou comme un talisman, qui le mettra non seulement à l'abri des coups de sa victime, mais aussi de ceux de ses parents.

Il y a avantage aussi à s'emparer de l'herbe dite « irago » ou « umurago », plantée sur la fosse du tué.

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En l'ajoutant aux autres débris macabres que contient la corne, le talisman devient plus puissant.

Ajoutons que les services rendus par ces sortes de personnages se paient très cher, un taureau pour le moins.

C. — *Des sorciers qui président aux ordalies et qui préparent les poisons d'épreuve.* — Les sorciers de cette série portent le nom d'« Abashozi », d'où les verbes « gushora », faire subir l'épreuve à quelqu'un et « gushoka » (verbe neutre) pour désigner l'épreuve elle-même.

Il semble bien qu'ici, dans le Rwanda, les ordalies ne soient employées qu'en matière criminelle et que leur seul objet est de démontrer l'innocence ou la culpabilité de ceux qui s'y soumettent, comme il en était autrefois au moyen âge. Nos Noirs ont une telle foi, une telle confiance dans ces sortes de procédures judiciaires, qu'ils croient à leur efficacité absolue. Ils n'ont jamais songé à l'absurdité de ces épreuves divinatoires dans lesquelles le hasard et la fraude jouent un rôle prépondérant.

Nombreuses sont ces épreuves, mais la plus courante est celle qui consiste à boire ou à fumer l'« urwizilinga », espèce d'arbuste qui paraît avoir une certaine ressemblance, au moins extérieure, avec le datura [1]. En tous cas leurs effets se ressemblent.

Le fabricant du poison d'épreuve l'utilise habituellement, sous forme de poudre qu'il fait boire avec de l'eau ou qu'il mélange au tabac d'une pipe. Les accusés, hommes ou femmes, doivent tirer deux ou trois bouffées de cette dernière. Le résultat ne se fait pas attendre; l'un ou l'autre des fumeurs, ou même plusieurs à la fois, sont atteints presque aussitôt d'une vraie folie (kussàra) qui leur enlève l'usage de la raison et qui peut durer quelque-

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[1] Presque dans tout le reste de l'Afrique on administre comme poison d'épreuve le « moavi ». Il ne semble pas que cette plante existe dans le Rwanda. La chose toutefois vaudrait la peine d'être tirée au clair.

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fois près d'un mois, comme nous avons constaté le cas. Le malheureux mange ou porte à ses lèvres tout ce qu'il trouve sur son passage, sans en voir le côté incompatible ou même répugnant (amabyi!).

Il se dépouille de ses vêtements, une mère jette son enfant et s'en va déraisonnant ou gesticulant comme une vraie démente.

L'intoxiqué se met ensuite à dormir, mais d'un sommeil rempli de cauchemars. Il rêve tout haut et parle des fantômes ou des animaux sauvages qu'il croit voir... Bref, il se rend fort pénible à son entourage. N'y aurait-il pas là un simple cas d'autosuggestion, dont les exemples sont fréquents parmi les Noirs?

Si dès le début de son mal, le patient avoue sa culpabilité et demande grâce, le même sorcier lui administre un contrepoison, une autre poudre végétale mélangée à un peu de « chlorure de sodium liquide » (inkari!), qui neutralise aussitôt les effets funestes du rwizilinga. Les Batutsi savent aussi qu'en pareil cas il est bon de faire prendre du lait frais à ceux qui ont bu le poison.

Nous avons connu un cas où près de dix personnes se soumirent bénévolement à cette épreuve. Deux seulement en subirent les atteintes. Elles furent jugées coupables séance tenante. Or, le vrai coupable fut découvert quelque temps après. Il n'avait pas été soumis à l'ordalie.

N'empêche, le public continue à vanter les avantages du procédé judiciaire. On a même, à cette occasion, raconté des choses surprenantes, mais totalement fausses, qui ne font que relever le prestige des sorciers [1].

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[1] « L'Européen ne peut pas s'empêcher de tenir compte, avant tout, des effets physiologiques du poison. Par suite, les résultats de l'épreuve varieront pour lui en fonction de la violence et de la quantité de la drogue introduite dans l'organisme. Suffisamment forte, la dose aura toujours raison de celui qui l'avale, qu'il soit coupable ou innocent; insignifiante, elle ne fera aucun mal au pire scélérat. Le Blanc trouve extraordinaire que l'indigène ferme les yeux à des truismes si simples.

» Mais le point de vue d'où les Noirs jugent est tout différent. L'idée de

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Plein de confiance, sûr de son innocence et crédule à l'excès, l'indigène ferme totalement les yeux sur les supercheries de l'opérateur, qui appelle les accusés à tour de rôle, les uns après les autres, dans une case ou dans un endroit un peu écarté. Que de crimes et d'injustices ont été commis par ces docteurs ès sciences occultes !

Autres épreuves judiciaires.

A. — *L'épreuve du tambour.* — On frotte de bouse de vache la surface d'un tambour et l'on y verse un peu d'eau que l'inculpé reçoit dans les mains pour la porter à ses lèvres, pendant que celui qui préside l'ordalie crie à haute voix : « Que les ombres des défunts et que les esprits des initiés (à la secte de Ryangombe) restent à l'écart du jugement; quant à toi, sois soumis à la seule influence de l'épreuve ! »

L'accusé est-il coupable, il doit, « en principe », souffrir et mourir dans d'atroces douleurs d'entrailles, après s'être soumis à l'épreuve.

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ce que nous appelons poison n'est pas nettement définie dans leur esprit. Sans doute ils savent par expérience que certaines décoctions peuvent tuer qui les boit. Néanmoins ils ignorent le mécanisme de l'empoisonnement, et ils ne cherchent pas à le connaître; ils ne soupçonnent même pas qu'il existe. Selon eux, si ces décoctions peuvent être mortelles, c'est parce qu'elles sont le véhicule de forces mystiques, comme les remèdes qu'ils emploient dans les maladies, et dont toute l'efficacité s'explique ainsi... Les Noirs ne conçoivent pas les propriétés positives du poison d'épreuve; ils ne pensent qu'à sa vertu mystique et immédiate... C'est une sorte de réactif mystique, et comme tel, infaillible.

» L'indigène en est si convaincu que souvent il ne prendra aucune précaution avant de subir l'épreuve. Il n'usera pas du droit qu'il a de surveiller la préparation du poison, il n'examinera pas la dose pour voir si elle n'est pas trop considérable, le liquide trop épais, etc... A quoi bon puisque le breuvage n'agit pas matériellement, pour ainsi dire, mais spirituellement ? Qu'on en avale un peu plus ou un peu moins, il n'importe. Ce n'est pas de cela que dépend le résulat de l'épreuve.

... » Telle est la foi que l'on a dans l'ordalie, que les indigènes regardent comme un détail sans importance que le poison soit broyé par celui-ci ou celui-là. » (Levy-Bruhl, *La Mentalité primitive*, pp. 250 et 251.)

B. — *L'épreuve de la clochette.* — Cette épreuve consist à faire boire aux inculpés l'eau dans laquelle on a plongé une sonnette un instant : « Puisse ce breuvage, prononce le juge, vous donner la mort, si vous êtes accusés à juste titre. » — « Que j'expire, dit à tour de rôle chacun des prévenus, si j'ai menti! » Une maladie pareille à la lèpre couvrira le corps du parjure.

C. — *L'ordalie dite du « panier de joncs » (urutete).* — Il s'agit d'une sorte de panier fait de joncs ou de tiges de papyrus laissant entre les grossières mailles des intervalles d'un à deux centimètres. L'accusé s'assied à même sur le panier, ayant en main le sabre, insigne usuel de Ryangombe. Les assistants fixent leur lance en terre, la tige en bas, autour de l'homme et du siège improvisé. On apporte une poignée d'herbes du genre « ishinge », que l'on range auprès du panier : « Si je suis coupable, dit l'homme, que je devienne la proie de ces lances; j'en appelle à toi, Ryangombe le roi des initiés! Je m'engage si mon innocence n'est pas reconnue, à t'offrir autant de vaches qu'il y a d'ouvertures (d'yeux) dans ce panier et de brins d'herbe dans ce bouquet. »

D. — *L'ordalie de la serpe chauffée à blanc.* — L'inculpé met de la salive sur l'instrument, que l'on place au-dessus d'un foyer installé dans la cour.

Les assistants, pour aviver la flamme du brasier, se servent d'un van. Celui qui préside l'épreuve demande, comme précédemment, aux esprits des défunts de ne pas se mêler de l'affaire et de laisser l'épreuve suivre son cours. Si la serpe passe au rouge, l'innocence de l'individu est proclamée.

E. — *L'épreuve du « bout de fer ».* — Deux lances sont fixées en terre, sur la place publique. Dans l'intervalle qui les sépare on place une cruche en terre cuite ou un vase en bois dans lequel on prépare un breuvage composé

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d'ingrédients disparates et répugnants. Bouse de vache, crottes d'oiseaux et d'animaux (grue huppée, corbeau, etc.), miel et bière, feuilles de certaines plantes (l'arbre à ricin, isenyanguzi), etc., hachées dans le liquide, tels sont les éléments de la boisson préparée pour ce jugement de Dieu.

On jette dans le récipient un petit bout de fer, « kadigi », auquel on prête un effet magique. La gravité et la solennité sont de règle dans ces sortes de séances. Un chalumeau est présenté aux inculpés qui s'ingurgitent le poison. Les uns en sont incommodés et deviennent sérieusement malades, tandis que les autres peuvent se « soulager » presque aussitôt, ce qui prouve leur innocence.

F. — *L'épreuve du poussin.* — On donne aux inculpés un petit poussin qui vient de naître. Chacun d'eux doit le conserver à la main, sous la surveillance de gardiens, qui doivent empêcher les supercheries et les infractions à la procédure. Le poussin qui résiste le plus longtemps au manque de nourriture (un jour et une nuit environ) proclame « à sa façon » l'honnêteté de son heureux possesseur.

G. — *L'épreuve de l'eau bouillante, si connue et si pratiquée au moyen âge.* — Le procédé est le même. Le nombre et la qualité des ordalies varient dans les provinces du Rwanda. Nombre d'entre elles ont été empruntées aux pays voisins, avec lesquels les Banyarwanda entretiennent des relations fréquentes.

Jusqu'ici plaignants et plaigneurs y recouraient fréquemment. L'introduction des tribunaux européens a porté un coup mortel à ces sortes d'épreuves que l'on trouve au début de toute civilisation.

CHAPITRE III

Des faiseurs de pluie ou tempestaires (ababvubyi). — Des préservateurs de la foudre (abagangahuzi). — Des dévastateurs des récoltes et des champs (abahoryo).

Les services de ces personnages sont des plus appréciés et des plus lucratifs aussi, grâce à la crédulité des gens. Ils vivent rarement à la capitale, ou n'y viennent que par intermittence, quand ils sont expressément convoqués.

Les dangers dont ils étaient autrefois menacés, en temps de sécheresse, n'étaient pas faits pour les y attirer.

Avant de parler de leurs fonctions, nous estimons utile de donner les mois et les saisons indigènes avec les explications succinctes qui s'y rapportent. On comprendra mieux alors l'importance de ces personnages parmi leurs compatriotes qu'ils grugent sans vergogne.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

Tableau des mois, des saisons et des principales pluies.

I. — Mois indigènes.

1° Nzeri	Octobre.	7° Werurgwe	Avril.
2° Okwakira	Novembre.	8° Mata	Mai.
3° Ogushingo	Décembre.	9° Gichurassi	Juin.
4° Okuboza	Janvier.	10° Kamena	Juillet.
5° Mutarama	Février.	11° Nyakanga	Août.
6° Gashantare	Mars.	12° Gatumba gatoya	Septembre.
		Gatumba kanama	

Nzeri, octobre, est le premier de la série (imfura y' amezi). Les Banyarwanda comptent, en effet, à partir d'octobre et considèrent ce mois comme le plus important, à cause de la culture des haricots qui commence à cette époque.

Okwakira, novembre, vient du verbe kwaka (ou kwakira), qui veut dire briller, parce que le soleil se fait sentir assez vivement.

Ogushingo, décembre, est réputé comme un mois fort pluvieux.

Okuboza, janvier, vient du mot « kuboza », faire pourrir. Il arrive, en effet, assez souvent, que les pluies du mois précédent persistent encore et endommagent gravement les récoltes.

Le mot « Mutarama », qui vient du verbe gutarama, grignoter (comme le verbe guhekenya, dont il est synonyme) a été donné au mois de février, parce que à ce moment, dans certaines régions du Rwanda, on rencontre de-ci de-là, quelques épis de sorgho mûrs, que les enfants ne se font pas faute de couper, pour les manger.

« Werurgwe », avril. Ce mot sert à désigner des insectes microscopiques qui s'attaquent de temps à autre aux grains de sorgho qu'ils détruisent rapidement. D'où l'expression : « Voyez donc si les (susdits) insectes n'y (dans le sorgho) ont pas pénétré » (Mulebe ngo Werurgwe itayajamo).

« Gichurassi ». C'est le mois néfaste (ukwezi kubi) durant lequel a lieu à la Cour le deuil annuel qui dure quinze jours. C'est le temps aussi des rhumes et des bronchites, d'où l'expression courante : « Celui qui se couche avec un rhume, le mois de juin l'emportera (le fera mourir) » (Uryamye ibichurane, igichurassi kizamutwara).

« Kamena », juillet. Ce mois est ainsi appelé du mot « kumena », briser ou arracher, parce que dans les provinces du Rwanda, où l'on ne cultive le sorgho qu'une fois l'an, les gens enlèvent les épis mûrs, pour en écraser le grain et faire du pain (umutsima) dont ils n'ont plus mangé depuis longtemps.

« Nyakanga », août, vient du mot « gukanga » faire peur. On le désigne ainsi parce qu'il est souvent fatal aux vieilles vaches (amabuguma, ibibuguma), d'où l'expression usitée : « Nyakanga ikanga amabuguma, le mois d'août fait peur aux vieilles bêtes », c'est-à-dire les fait crever.

Les deux termes « Gatumba gatoya » et « Gatumba

kanama » servaient autrefois à désigner deux mois, c'est-à-dire août et septembre, avant la création du mois de « Mata », mai. Ils indiquent aujourd'hui les deux quinzaines du mois de septembre, ainsi nommées du mot gutumba, enfler, parce que les nuages commencent à se rassembler dans le ciel et la pluie à tomber.

Quant au mois de Mata, il a été introduit, sous le règne de Lwabugiri, à l'instigation des sorciers.

Mata, au sens propre, veut dire lait et, au sens figuré, abondance. C'est en même temps le nom d'une colline de Marangara, où, comme on l'a déjà dit, Mutara et son fils Lwabugiri fixèrent leur résidence, parce que ce pays a la réputation de porter bonheur à ceux qui l'habitent. On raconte que plusieurs années de suite les pluies faisant défaut, les récoltes ne purent arriver à maturité. Pour remédier à ce grave inconvénient il fut décidé que désormais on ajouterait un mois à l'année et que ce mois précéderait le mois du deuil (igichurassi) pour donner ainsi aux récoltes le temps de mûrir. Et ainsi fut fait. Le nom de la colline, nom à heureux présage, fut donné au nouveau mois.

Les mois indigènes correspondent à peu près à nos mois de l'année solaire, à cause de l'élasticité que les Banyarwanda donnent à leurs divisions lunaires. Ils se basent, en effet, sur la petite saison des pluies pour faire leurs cultures et leurs semailles. Cette époque prend le nom de Nzeri et correspond assez bien à notre mois d'octobre [1].

Nous avons entendu dire que les Batutsi, pasteurs vivant en plein air, ont obtenu une connaissance pratique du temps en se basant sur les plantes et les fleurs qui poussent

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[1] Dans quelques régions du grand centre africain, les Noirs se servent du mot « 'masika », qui veut dire saison de pluie et appartient au vocabulaire kiswahili. On fait précéder ce terme des qualificatifs petite ou grande pour désigner les deux saisons de pluie. La petite masika commence en octobre pour se terminer habituellement en décembre. La grande masika comprend les mois de février, mars, avril et une partie de mai.

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à des époques régulières et qu'ils font profiter les cultivateurs de leur expérience.

II. — Saisons.

Les Banyarwanda distinguent aussi quatre saisons :

1° « Uruhira » du verbe gushya, à l'applicatif guhira, brûler, désigne la fin de l'été, parce qu'on met partout le feu aux herbes. On se sert d'un autre terme synonyme ku [1] « Muyonga » (ivu), qui signifie l'époque de la cendre. On dit encore « isekera » du verbe gusekera, cultiver, parce qu'on prépare les terrains, à la fin de l'été, mais sans planter ou semer, d'où la différence avec le mot guhinga, qui veut dire aussi cultiver, mais pour planter aussitôt.

2° « Urugaryi ». Cette dénomination indique tout d'abord l'époque de la culture des haricots (mw' itabira ry' ibishimbo), puis celle où les haricots donnent des gousses (imishogoro) assez tendres pour être mangées (gashogoro). Cette même saison comprend environ un mois de beau temps, ce qui lui a fait donner le nom de petite saison d'été et permet aux gens de cueillir les haricots. Cette première récolte a lieu ordinairement en janvier ou février.

3° « Itumba ». Cette saison correspond à peu près à notre hiver. Le mot qui sert à désigner cette saison vient du verbe « gutumba », enfler, pour dire que les nuages ne cessent de s'amonceler et la pluie de tomber. D'où encore le synonyme « Urushyana », époque des grandes pluies.

4° « Ichyi » ou bien « Mpeshi » servent à désigner la saison d'été où se font les récoltes, d'où les deux synonymes « mw' [1] itema » de gutema, couper et « mw' isarura » de gusarura, récolter.

Pour ce qui est de l'origine des mois et des saisons, la

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[1] ku ou kw' devant une voyelle, mu ou mw' devant une voyelle n'est autre que la préposition à, dans.

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légende raconte que le roi Gihunga envoya deux de ses fils à un personnage important qui commandait à la pluie et au beau temps, pour lui demander les divisions (ibihe) de l'année. Cet homme extraordinaire s'appelait du nom de Kibariro, celui qui sait compter. Grâce aux cadeaux qui lui furent offerts, il consentit à régler ainsi l'année. On voit que les Noirs à l'esprit imaginatif arrivent à tout expliquer. On s'aperçoit aussi que dans leurs nombreux récits, le grain de sel n'y fait jamais défaut. Car il est vrai de dire qu'ils ne sont pas tous dupes de leurs légendes et qu'ils n'y ajoutent pas une foi absolue, bien que le commun du peuple soit un peu porté à la crédulité.

Une autre légende explique l'origine de la corporation des Bashara ou faiseurs de pluie attitrés.

On était alors, dit la chronique, sous le règne de Yuhi I. La sécheresse sévissait sur le Rwanda et menaçait de tout détruire. Le roi, très inquiet, appela son fils Rushura et lui ordonna de se rendre au Kinyaga, chez Nyamukama, sorcier émérite, qui commandait à la pluie.

Le prince avait pour mission de connaître du pluviateur le secret d'attirer sur la terre l'élément bienfaisant. Très flatté dans son orgueil par la démarche royale, Nyamukama donna à l'envoyé un pot de bois bien fermé, avec ordre de le remettre à Sa Majesté : « Garde-toi bien, lui recommanda-t-il, de l'ouvrir en cours de route, et remets-le tel quel à ton père ». Rushara, arrivé au milieu du chemin, se sentit poussé par la curiosité : « On m'a confié un dépôt et je ne sais même pas ce dont il s'agit. Voyons, que j'ouvre... ». Il défait le lien qui retenait la couverture d'herbe. Ses yeux plongent à l'intérieur du pot; il ne voit rien... L'eau s'était évaporée à travers son visage. De retour chez son père, Rushara lui remet le précieux vase. Yuhi le découvre à son tour et le trouve vide à son grand étonnement. « Est-ce donc là tout ce que t'a donné Nyamukama ? » demanda le roi. « Oui, père, c'est tout. » « En ce cas, mon fils, il te faudra retourner chez le pluviateur pour lui demander le pourquoi de ce vase vide. »

Rushara sort de la hutte royale, très ennuyé de sa mésaventure. Il lève en soupirant les yeux vers le ciel. Au même instant les nuages s'amoncellent et versent sur la terre une pluie abondante.

Intrigué par cet étrange phénomène, Yuhi rappelle son fils et lui demande de dire la vérité, car il comprend qu'il s'est passé quelque chose d'inusité. Rushara, confus, confessa à son père son acte de curiosité et ce qui s'ensuivit. Il a voulu voir, malgré les recommandations du sorcier, et c'est à travers son visage que l'eau s'est évaporée, d'où sa vocation imprévue et subite de faiseur de pluie.

Yuhi, qui aimait beaucoup son fils et aurait voulu lui donner le trône, dut se choisir un autre héritier et laisser Rushara à sa nouvelle destinée. C'est ainsi que le jeune prince devint sans le vouloir le père de la lignée actuelle des Bashara ou faiseurs de pluie, qui ont hérité de sa vocation.

Veulent-ils faire pleuvoir, ils sortent, regardent le ciel et étendent les bras. S'ils ne veulent favoriser que la colline qu'ils habitent, ils doivent s'asseoir. Dans le cas où ils veulent faire bénéficier le pays entier de leur étonnante puissance, ils doivent se coucher de tout leur long et étendre les bras en même temps. C'est ainsi que les descendants de Rushara agissent depuis cette époque, ajoutent les conteurs.

Jusqu'à ces dernières années, les pluviateurs étaient exposés à des dangers sérieux; il n'était pas rare d'entendre dire que l'un ou l'autre de ces malheureux ait été tué ou jeté dans le fleuve, pour n'avoir pas su donner à temps la pluie dont on avait besoin.

D'après une autre interprétation de la même légende, fort en cours dans la province centrale du Nduga, c'est après avoir passé la Nyabarongo que Rushara, poussé par le démon de la curiosité, désobéit aux ordres du sorcier. L'eau s'échappa du pot et se répandit à terre. Mis au courant de l'événement, Nyamukama fit répondre que pour

avoir de la pluie, il n'y avait qu'à bâtir à l'endroit où l'eau du vase s'était répandue et à creuser sur la colline (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Et de fait, les rois du Rwanda ont, en grand nombre, fait de cette colline l'une de leurs capitales préférées.

Il est de coutume, en temps de sécheresse, d'y fouiller légèrement le sol, comme pour y chercher une source, et les prédictions de Nyamukama, se réalisent toujours, assure-t-on. Aussi la région porte-t-elle justement le nom de Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), c'est-à-dire l'endroit d'où sort la pluie.

C'est pour ce même motif et pour obtenir le même résultat, qu'à Mata, dans le Marangara, on creuse sur les deux versants de la colline.

Le premier des deux trous est appelé « la fontaine du lait » (iliba ry'amata) et figure l'abondance. Les vaches donnent alors plus de lait. L'autre est désigné sous le nom de « source de la pluie » (iliba ry'imvura). Pour peu qu'on y donne quelques coups de pioche, on exercera une influence heureuse sur les nuages qui laisseront échapper une pluie bienfaisante.

III. — Noms des principales pluies de l'année.

Le terme générique de pluie est le mot « imvura ». Faire tomber la pluie se dit « kubvuba », d'où le nom de la fonction « umuvubyi », faiseur de pluie, qui est surtout la spécialité des membres du clan des Bashara.

1° Imvura y' umuhindo, la pluie du tonnerre, du mot guhinda, tonner, parce que c'est une pluie d'orage accompagnée d'éclairs et de tonnerre (en octobre).

2° Amahole y' imvura, pluie persistante du mot guhora, persister, durer. Ou encore « imvura y' indoha » (du verbe kuroha, noyer).

3° Amahuhezi, du mot guhuha, souffler, sert à désigner les tornades quand le vent chasse la pluie.

4° Amassuri la pluie à torrents [1].

5° Ou encore « Imivumbi », pluie qui commence de grand matin et tombe une bonne partie de la journée.

6° Amahindu, quand il pleut et grêle (urubura, grêle).

7° Urushyana sert à désigner la grande époque des pluies, mars, avril et une partie de mai.

8° « Impungira mirara » ou « inyagira mirara », la pluie qui tombe sur les épis de sorgho coupés et laissés au champ, est une pluie accidentelle du mois de juillet.

9° « Intsindagir' ibigega », la pluie qui tasse (le sorgho entassé dans) les greniers, parce qu'elle tombe un jour ou deux, à la fin d'août, alors que les greniers n'ont pas été couverts à temps.

10° « Imvura y' impangukano », la pluie de la fin de l'attente, c'est-à-dire les premières pluies, après lesquelles on soupirait pour pouvoir cultiver (guhanga, soupirer après et son contraire, guhanguka, voir l'espoir réalisé).

11° « Inkaza bigunda » de gukaz' ibigunda, faire reverdir les prairies, sert à désigner les quelques pluies plus ou moins imprévues à la fin de l'été.

12° Imvura y' igisanura [2], la pluie qui abreuve (les terres desséchées), c'est-à-dire les premières ondées de la saison des pluies.

IV. — Rites saisonniers.

A l'époque des semailles (mu kubiba) pour le sorgho, la maîtresse du logis prend une poignée de grain qu'elle se met en devoir de moudre. Avec le peu de farine obtenu elle façonne un petit pain dans lequel elle introduit quelques fruits de l'arbuste appelé intobo. On glisse ensuite le pain et une spatule de ménage (umwuko) dans un petit

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(1) « Umuvu » sert à désigner le lit des torrents subitement creusé par la pluie.

(2) Gusanura est une sorte de verbe auxiliaire pris au sens figuré et à multiples significations, comme le verbe gukaza.

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panier (interero ou chyibo). Pendant ce temps les enfants de la maison enferment la braise du foyer dans un paquet d'herbes, qui, autant que possible, doit contenir du son ou de la bale de sorgho. Ils vont l'enterrer dans le champ prêt à être ensemencé.

Il ne faut pas oublier d'ajouter au contenu du panier un morceau de scorie de forge. Il ne reste plus qu'à déposer le tout dans le grenier à provision (ikigega), qui, à la suite de ce procédé symbolique et superstitieux, ne manquera pas d'être rempli jusqu'au bord, au moment de la récolte.

Les propriétaires de la hutte doivent s'arranger de façon que nul des voisins ne puisse aller chercher du feu (kulahura) et pénétrer dans la case jusqu'au jour où le sorgho lèvera.

Si l'on négligeait cette précaution, on s'exposerait à avoir une mauvaise récolte (ngo batabak' umugisha).

Au moment de la culture des haricots, le propriétaire du champ fixe sa lance en terre et met sur la pointe de l'arme une gousse de haricots non écossés qu'il y enfonce légèrement. Ses enfants lui apportent une demi-courge évidée (uruho) qui sert d'écuelle. Il la remplit d'eau.

Il place sur un coussinet d'herbes une pierre roulée (ibuye ry' intosho), on dépose un instant une poignée de haricots avec leurs gousses sur le coussinet et on les écosse.

Les haricots sont versés sur le dos d'un van retourné. Le propriétaire retire alors, à l'entrée de la hutte, une des longues herbes qui ont servi à la couvrir et dépose la tige desséchée sur le van dont la face concave regarde le sol. Il prend le van, le soulève et le secoue fortement des deux mains, pour pouvoir recevoir les haricots sur l'autre face de son instrument à nettoyer le grain.

Cette pratique superstitieuse porte le nom de « création » ou « multiplication » des haricots. S'il vient un

étranger durant l'accomplissement de ce rite, il ne doit pas tourner autour du van, mais passer sur le côté.

On pique ensuite les haricots dans le terrain cultivé, dans l'espoir d'une riche récolte. C'est un procédé courant pour obtenir le beau temps.

Les Banyarwanda, dans leur crédulité et leur confiance dans les pratiques superstitieuses, espèrent pouvoir exercer une influence sur le soleil.

Au moment de la récolte du sorgho, quand les Bânyarwanda sont extrêmement désireux de se procurer de la bière de cette plante (amarwa) dont ils ont été privés depuis longtemps, ils exposent au soleil la pierre à écraser (ingasire), croyant par là « retenir » le soleil. Ajoutons que leurs connaissances astronomiques sont nulles. Ils n'ont qu'un terme générique, inyenyeri, pour désigner les étoiles et un autre nyakotsi pour les comètes [1].

Le soleil (izuba), la lune (ukwezi) la planète Vénus (nyamuhiribona) sont les seuls astres qu'ils désignent d'un terme particulier.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

Des sorciers qui passent pour exercer une influence sur la pluie, la foudre et les récoltes.

On peut les ranger en trois catégories, comme l'indique le titre, à savoir : les faiseurs de pluie, les préservateurs de la foudre et de ses funestes conséquences et ceux, enfin, qui président aux récoltes.

Des faiseurs de pluie (Ababvubyi).

On vient de voir précédemment que les membres du clan des Bashara naissent faiseurs de pluie, à la suite de leur prétendu aïeul Rushara, qui se vit attribuer ce rôle bien malgré lui.

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[1] Nyakotsi veut dire « celle à la fumée, c'est-à-dire à la queue ».

En dehors des Bashara il existe d'autres faiseurs de pluie, comme ceux du Bukunzi, dans le Kinyaga, et ceux de Bussigi, au Nord de Kigali.

Le métier s'y transmet de père en fils.

De-ci de-là on en rencontre d'autres qui se sont improvisés pluviateurs plus ou moins connus.

Ce sont généralement de pauvres gens, hommes ou femmes, venus du dehors, car ici comme partout ailleurs « nul n'est prophète en son pays », qui se sont donnés comme tels, pour ne pas mourir de faim.

C'est, en effet, une profession lucrative, mais dangereuse aussi. Pour obtenir la pluie, les gens doivent offrir un cadeau, désigné sous le nom d'amasororo (gusorora) et qui se donne au moins une fois par an. Le roi et les chefs vont jusqu'à faire présent d'une ou même plusieurs vaches aux dispensateurs de la pluie. Mais malheur à eux si cette onde bienfaisante fait défaut. Nombreuses furent les victimes de cet art si difficile à pratiquer, quand les éléments en cause refusent leur concours. La plupart de ces malheureux étaient noyés ou périssaient sous les coups de bâton, pour n'avoir pas su exercer leur métier, en provoquant ou en arrêtant les orages selon la saison (kubvuba no kwich' imvura).

Les préservateurs de la foudre et de ses funestes effets.

Ils sont désignés sous le nom d'« abagangahuzi » (du verbe kugangahura). Leur profession honorable et lucrative ne les expose à aucun danger.

Leur rôle est de purifier, comme l'indiquent leur nom (umugangahuzi) et leurs fonctions (kugangahura), puis de prévenir dans l'avenir les effets de la foudre. Voici les différentes circonstances dans lesquelles interviennent les sorciers de cette catégorie et la manière dont ils opèrent.

1° Le foudroyé est un être humain. — D'après la

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croyance indigène la foudre est considérée comme le roi du ciel, qui vient de temps à autre se choisir des sujets parmi les hommes. On dit alors que le foudroyé est « l'impôt vivant » (inkuke) qu'il s'est prélevé ou bien son sujet, son page (intore). Aussi les pleurs sont-ils interdits. Les parents et les amis de la victime, pour ne pas mécontenter le roi du ciel, qui est le maître de ses actes, doivent danser et pousser des cris de joie, pendant qu'on frappe les tambours.

Le sorcier-purificateur fait alors son apparition. Les personnes présentes reçoivent de lui, sur le revers de la main, quelques gouttes d'un liquide qu'elles doivent laisser tomber à terre. Le sorcier leur en verse une deuxième fois dans le creux de la main et chacun des assistants boit ce qui lui a été donné.

Ils vont ensuite respirer à tour de rôle le parfum d'une autre substance liquide (issubyo) de la fabrication du purificateur.

La hutte de la victime et toute l'assistance sont aspergées d'un mélange d'eau et de craie. Le foudroyé en reçoit aussi sur le front et la poitrine. Dès lors on peut s'occuper de sa dernière toilette, ce que les parents n'auraient osé faire avant l'intervention du sorcier.

Les invités se passent autour du cou une herbe spéciale (umwishwa), qui joue, on l'a vu, un grand rôle dans les cérémonies rituelles, comme si elle avait la vertu de purifier. Le mort en reçoit une aussi et le cortège funèbre se met en route vers le lieu où doit être exposé le cadavre.

En principe, on ne peut pas le mettre en terre. Autant que possible il faut le porter sur une montagne, une hauteur ou un endroit élevé, face à face avec le roi du ciel qui a voulu l'honorer (Yamukujije) en l'appelant à lui. Dans la province du Gissaka, la dépouille est abandonnée sur une ancienne termitière.

Durant le temps que dure la cérémonie, les réjouissances sont de rigueur. Les proches doivent s'associer malgré leur

chagrin par des danses et des cris de joie à cette fête d'un nouveau genre. On dit du foudroyé, si c'est un homme, que le roi du ciel en a fait son sujet, son élu. Si c'est une femme ou une jeune fille, elle a été choisie comme épouse. Cette croyance était à tel point passée dans les mœurs que si la malheureuse en réchappait, nul autre que le roi ne pouvait l'épouser. Dans les provinces éloignées elle était considérée comme ayant été de fait l'épouse de la foudre. On la traitait alors comme une veuve ou une divorcée, c'est-à-dire que son deuxième mariage (guchùra) se passait le plus simplement du monde, sans aucune des cérémonies qui accompagnent l'hymen (kulongora) d'une jeune fille.

Avant de se retirer, le sorcier-purificateur fichait en terre, sur le lieu de l'accident, une branche de ficus, une autre d'erythrinée à fleurs rouges (umwuko), un roseau, une tige d'ishoza, d'umurembe, d'ifubge, d'ilalire, d'urubamba, etc., pour assainir l'endroit et préserver des effets à venir.

2° Rôle de sorcier-purificateur quand il s'agit d'animaux domestiques foudroyés. — Les cadavres des animaux en question, vaches, chèvres, moutons, restent sur place. Nul ne peut y toucher avant l'arrivée du sorcier. Si l'accident a eu lieu dans la soirée et qu'on ne puisse recourir à temps à ses bons offices, des gardiens passent la nuit auprès des victimes pour en écarter les hyènes et les rôdeurs.

Le lendemain, dès qu'il fait jour, on se rassemble sur le théâtre de l'accident et l'on frappe le tambour en signe de réjouissance. Comme dans le cas précédent le sorcier offre, à deux reprises, à chacun des assistants, une substance liquide de sa composition et leur en fait respirer une autre.

Les maris doivent s'en procurer quelques gouttes, pour les apporter à leurs femmes qui sont restées au logis. Les

cadavres des victimes en sont aussi abondamment aspergés.

Il est alors permis aux propriétaires de dépecer les bêtes sur place et d'en distribuer les morceaux; mais il faut éviter de prononcer les mots de vente et d'achat, pour ne pas offenser la foudre, dont ce serait violer les droits de propriété. Les acheteurs s'engagent tacitement à indemniser le propriétaire. Vient-on à le payer, les intéressés lui remettent en main le prix de la viande estimée à sa valeur, mais sans en parler autrement. Pour obliger un client récalcitrant à l'indemniser, le vendeur ne pourra pas le lui dire en termes explicites.

Tout au plus se rendra-t-il chez lui avec un parapluie indigène (issinde), lequel est censé par l'usage qu'on en fait en temps de pluie et d'orage, rappeler au délinquant le contrat tacite qui avait eu lieu à la suite d'un de ces orages. Il est parfaitement loisible au débiteur de faire le sourd et l'aveugle et de ne pas comprendre. Son créancier n'a aucune prise directe sur lui. Pour éviter les méfaits de la foudre dont le vendeur a beau le menacer par la présence du parapluie, notre homme récalcitrant n'a qu'à jeter au loin les os du morceau de viande qu'il s'était choisi en s'écriant : « C'est le roi du ciel qui m'en avait fait cadeau » (n'umwami yangabuliye). Ces paroles, prononcées à haute et intelligible voix, sont bien comprises du créancier, qui n'en peut, mais... Elles lui signifient clairement son congé et lui opposent un refus définitif.

Pour une vache foudroyée, le propriétaire et les gens de sa maison doivent observer, dans certaines provinces, un deuil de huit jours (okwirabura). La cohabitation entre époux est interdite, pendant ce temps, comme cela se passe à l'occasion de la mort d'un membre de la famille. On sépare des troupeaux le taureau, le bouc et le bélier. Le lait de vache est mis à part, nul ne peut en boire. Les huit jours écoulés, le maître de la bête bâtit une petite

hutte de circonstance à l'endroit où l'animal est tombé.

On y trait les autres vaches ou l'on se contente d'utiliser la crème qui a été recueillie les jours précédents pour la battre séance tenante. Le beurre obtenu, les assistants s'en oignent le corps, pendant que les femmes et les enfants chantent et poussent des cris de joie (bakavuz' impundu).

La bière est offerte aux invités et la journée se termine dans l'espoir que le roi du ciel (la foudre) ne viendra plus se chercher d'autres victimes.

Les sorciers-purificateurs peuvent ne pas assister à cette dernière cérémonie. Leur rôle et leur présence n'avaient de raison d'être qu'au jour de la purification. Ils se retirent toujours grassement payés, non sans avoir laissé sur place des herbes préservatrices ou des amulettes (impigi za Biheko) porte-bonheur.

3° Dans quelques localités, les particuliers font encore appel aux services de ces docteurs ès sciences mystiques à l'occasion de la mort d'un lépreux et de l'incendie d'une hutte.

a) Les indigènes ont une vive répulsion pour les maladies contagieuses et en particulier la lèpre. Le malheureux atteint de l'une de ces terribles affections, une fois mort, on appelle le sorcier-purificateur pour qu'il accomplisse diverses cérémonies. Celui-ci jette de l'eau lustrale sur la hutte du défunt et finit par y mettre le feu. Les assistants fuient au loin pour éviter la fumée, comme si elle pouvait leur faire contracter la maladie du propriétaire décédé.

Dans la province centrale du Nduga, le sorcier fait bâtir une petite case, dans laquelle il installe le fils du mort. D'une main il incendie la hutte pendant que de l'autre il en retire précipitamment l'enfant.

La lèpre est censée avoir disparu à jamais et nul autre de la parenté n'en deviendra la victime. Le sorcier s'en porte garant.

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b) Pour éviter les malheurs que peut attirer sur le propriétaire ou même sur ses voisins l'incendie d'une case, on recourt aux bons offices du même sorcier, qui fait boire à ses clients la substance liquide dont il a été parlé précédemment.

L'emplacement de la hutte est arrosé d'eau lustrale; les assistants en sont aspergés à leur tour.

Trois roseaux fichés en terre et recouverts de feuilles de bananiers figurent une hutte provisoire, dans laquelle le propriétaire et sa femme doivent séjourner un instant (baryamana). Le mauvais sort est enlevé; il n'y a désormais plus rien à craindre (bamaz' umuriro ou encore bamaze ishyano, c'est-à-dire ils ont écarté tous les malheurs). Les maladies qui auraient pu, à la suite de cet accident, atteindre les personnes présentes et les enfants à naître, sont à jamais écartées.

Au Bugoyi, au Nord-Est du lac Kivu, ce rôle de préservateur du feu et de ses funestes conséquences est réservé à une catégorie spéciale de sorciers désignés sous le titre d'« Abahozi » ou « Abashumburuzi » [1].

Des sorciers qui passent pour exercer une influence sur les récoltes en les favorisant ou en les compromettant par leurs maléfices.

On les désigne sous le nom d'« Abahinza », c'est-à-dire rois et descendants des anciens rois aborigènes, ce qui explique leur origine au moins pour la plupart d'entre eux.

Dans l'*Histoire d'un Règne* il a été question à maintes

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[1] Umuhozi (au pluriel abahozi) signifie littéralement l'extincteur ou l'éteigneur. C'est le substantif du verbe actif guhoza, éteindre ou du même verbe neutre guhora, se refroidir.

Les gens du commun qui ne possèdent pas à fond leur langue vernaculaire, en ignorent les richesses et les finesses, confondent souvent dans la pratique les noms ou professions des nombreux sorciers qui grugent le pauvre peuple.

reprises de ces roitelets autochtones qui cumulaient les pouvoirs du sacerdoce et de la magistrature civile et militaire.

Mashira, le fameux roi-sorcier du Nduga; Nkoma, le roitelet de Marangara; Rutoke, du Buhanga, sont comptés parmi les plus connus de ce type roi-devin, roi-magicien. Leurs sujets pouvaient recourir à eux en toutes choses, ils avaient une réponse à tout. Lire et prévoir l'avenir, découvrir les choses cachées, ensorceler et charmer leurs ennemis en les réduisant à l'impuissance, n'étaient pas les moindres de leurs prérogatives royales. On s'adressait encore à eux au moment des semis et des cultures, pour en obtenir une poignée de graines, gage assuré d'une riche récolte. De là, sans nul doute, est venue la profession de « préservateur et de défenseur des récoltes » qu'ont gardé les bahinza actuels, presque tous descendants des anciens roitelets soumis par Ruganzu. Ils n'ont jamais porté ombrage aux rois hamites, qui les ont non seulement maintenus, mais les ont même protégés, dans la pensée qu'eux-mêmes et leurs sujets pouvaient y trouver profit.

Nombreux sont les professionnels de cette catégorie, mais les plus renommés d'entre eux ont été jusqu'ici ceux de Lubengera, dans le Bgishaza, et ceux de Suti, dans le Munyambiriri, parce que plus rapprochés de la province centrale du Nduga et en relations suivies avec la Cour hamite.

Leurs compères du Kingogo, du Bushiru, du Buhoma, du Bugamba, etc., n'ont pas eu grande notoriété en dehors de chez eux.

Ces maîtres ès sciences occultes peuvent, d'après la crédulité publique, jeter l'interdit (kuvuma) sur les oiseaux et les insectes qui ravagent les récoltes. Les chenilles sont les plus redoutées parce que les unes (ingungu) s'attaquent aux tiges des patates qu'elles détruisent jusqu'à la dernière, pendant que les autres dévorent, en été, les feuilles des arbres.

Ces dernières se nomment « bahema ». Les sauterelles, les charançons et les autres vers ou insectes qui s'attaquent aux récoltes ne sont pas moins craints. Aussi les indigènes s'adressent-ils fréquemment aux bahinza pour implorer leur protection. Celle-ci s'achète par des cadeaux en nature que les chefs eux-mêmes prélèvent sur leurs administrés pour provoquer l'intervention des puissants sorciers. On a vu quelques bahinza ajouter à leurs fonctions celles de faiseur de pluie.

C'est ainsi que, dans la province du Bugoyi, l'un des sorciers de cette catégorie, un nommé Nyamitwe, installé au sommet d'une montagne (Chungeri), a eu l'idée de creuser, dans la cour qui précède son habitation, un petit puits d'environ un mètre cinquante centimètres de profondeur.

Le terrain étant imperméable, l'eau de pluie y séjournait un temps plus ou moins long, ce qui permettait au rusé compère de faire et de laisser croire qu'il avait toute-puissance sur les nuages. Façon ingénieuse d'amener une plus grande quantité d'eau à son moulin!

Les sorciers qui ont la réputation de déchaîner les insectes et autres fléaux sur les récoltes, sont désignés sous le nom d'« Abahoryo », qui a le sens d'« Hommes néfastes ».

La crédulité populaire, en effet, va encore jusqu'à leur prêter cette puissance occulte qui les fait redouter de tout le monde.

On les croit capables des plus mauvaises intentions.

Reconnus comme tels, on les évite et on les fuit autant que possible.

Les indigènes se garderont d'avoir des relations matrimoniales avec eux; ce serait s'attirer tous les maux, y compris la stérilité, qui n'est pas celui qu'on appréhende le moins.

Ces hommes dangereux passent pour jeter le mauvais

œil (guter' umwaku) et sont mis sur le même pied que les membres du clan des Abahenyi, des Abatchaba et des Abungura, qui inspirent, eux aussi, la même défiance et la même répulsion. Aussi, le nom d'« Abahoryo », hommes néfastes, est-il considéré comme une injure par les intéressés eux-mêmes.

Les bahinza de la province du Bgishaza ont eu de tout temps la réputation d'exceller dans l'exercice de ces pouvoirs supranaturels. Quels prodiges ne leur attribue-t-on pas? L'un d'entre eux, raconte une tradition, avait été condamné à mort pour on ne sait quel méfait.

Pendant qu'on le conduisait au supplice il fit appel à sa puissance occulte. A l'instant les vautours, les éperviers, les aigles, les corbeaux accourent de tous les coins du ciel et fondent à coups de bec et à coups d'ongles sur les bourreaux et sur les assistants.

Émerveillé, le prince Mututsi lui fit grâce de la vie.

Une autre fois, deux frères de la même famille se disputaient, après la mort de leur père, la succession de sorcier. Pris pour arbitre, le roi décida qu'elle appartiendrait à celui qui se distinguerait par son habileté.

Or, les terribles chenilles à cette époque dévoraient les patates. L'un d'entre eux se met en devoir de pratiquer son art pour les faire disparaître. L'autre aussi, usant de son pouvoir, agit à l'encontre de son frère et les multiplie à l'infini. Les chenilles sortaient de terre et couvraient le sol: « Voulez-vous, s'écria-t-il en s'adressant au monarque, que je vous en délivre maintenant? »

A l'instant le pays en fut débarrassé, à la stupéfaction des spectateurs. Le prince le confirma dans sa charge.

Il ne nous reste plus en terminant ces lignes qu'à ajouter avec le proverbe italien : « *Se non è vero, è bene trovato* ». Les Noirs se font une haute idée de leurs sorciers et de leur puissance.

La confiance invétérée des Noirs dans l'habileté des sor-

ciers et dans l'efficacité de leurs pratiques magiques est pour quelque chose dans l'état stagnant de leurs civilisations.

Quelle est à cet égard la culpabilité des docteurs ès sciences occultes et divinatoires?

« Il serait injuste, dit Maurice Delafosse, de rendre les magiciens responsables de cette situation, car ils partagent la croyance de leurs congénères en la vertu de leur art et s'ils se livrent à la magie, c'est assurément parce qu'elle est rémunératrice, mais c'est également parce qu'ils sont aussi crédules que leurs clients. » (*Les Civilisations négro-africaines.*)

CHAPITRE IV

Charges à titre récréatif et littéraire. — Danseurs, pages et musiciens. — Impositions diverses des sujets et des clans; servitudes sanglantes; privilèges et faveurs de la Cour.

Charges a titre récréatif et littéraire.

a) Nombreux sont les groupes de danseurs aux évolutions originales et variées.

Les pages ont une danse spéciale, connue sous le nom de « guhamiriza ». Le « kwiyereka » et le « kulambira » sont propres aux montagnards (abakiga) et surtout aux Bagoyi.

Le renom qu'ont ces derniers pour cette sorte de danse en rejaillit sur leur grand chef Bushako.

Les gens du Gissaka ont la spécialité du « kubyina urushara ». Quand les danses sont accompagnées de l'instrument à cordes connu sous le nom d' « inanga », elles prennent le nom de « gutambir' inanga ». C'est le « gutambir' ingoma », si elles se font au son du tambour.

Le « kubyin' umudiho » est propre aux hommes et aux femmes, qui se rangent en cercle et battent des mains en cadence pendant que leurs pieds foulent le sol.

Le mot danse traduit imparfaitement les amusements dont nous parlons.

Ce sont plutôt des jeux de guerre ou des jeux de chasse. L'imitation et la mimique des combats et de la poursuite du gibier sont très expressives. Les Noirs passent des heures entières à simuler une bataille, à provoquer et à terrasser des ennemis imaginaires. De temps à autre, ils déposent leurs armes ou les présentent au roi, avec un ensemble parfait, pour chanter les hauts faits du monarque, et recommencent la lutte fictive.

Le « mudiho » des hommes et celui des femmes ou jeunes filles se rapproche davantage de la danse.

Ces dernières s'avancent tout d'abord lentement au chant d'une élégie, puis quelques-unes d'entre elles se détachent du groupe et viennent exécuter des mouvements gracieux, dirigés par les chants et le claquement des mains de leurs autres compagnes.

Leurs danses sont plus esthétiques et moins sauvages.

b) Le corps des pages (intore, du mot gutora, choisir), qui se recrutent parmi les fils de chefs, n'est pas le moins intéressant parmi les autres groupes qui entourent la personne du roi et ne vivent que pour son service et son plaisir.

Avec les danseurs, ils ne contribuent pas peu par leurs ébats et leurs évolutions à donner un cachet spécial aux réjouissances publiques qui se célèbrent de temps à autre à la Cour, à la fête des « Prémices » et au lendemain du grand deuil du mois de juin (igichurassi).

Ils ont des danses particulières pour lesquelles ils font un apprentissage presque quotidien durant plusieurs années.

Chaque grand chef Mututsi, tout comme le roi, confie ses pages à des coryphées largement payés pour apprendre à leurs élèves des mouvements et des rythmes nouveaux. C'est pour cette raison que les exercices se font en cachette,

afin que les « ballets » restent inédits. Un chef trouve honneur et plaisir à entendre dire que ses pages sont les mieux dressés. Aussi règne-t-il une grande rivalité sur ce point entre les différents corps de pages et leurs chefs respectifs.

L'espoir d'obtenir un jour des vaches, les acclamations des spectateurs et la présence du roi soutiennent le courage des jeunes gens.

Aux grands jours de fête les nobles damoiseaux se ceignent les reins d'une peau de colope ou de veau avec des franges en peau de loutre; la tête est coiffée d'un bonnet fait de fibres de bananiers ressemblant à une longue chevelure, le buste est orné de perles ou de bandelettes; les jambes et les chevilles sont garnies de grelots, tous tiennent en main une lance et un arc. Ils forment des groupes de quarante à cinquante unités, qui se distinguent les uns des autres par la richesse ou la forme du costume et des parements.

Sur l'ordre des chorégraphes ils exécutent à tour de rôle des contorsions entremêlées de sauts et de cris, allant et venant avec une cadence impeccable, faisant tourner la tête comme s'ils voulaient la détacher du tronc. Les Noirs apprécient fort ces danses guerrières, qui, en fait, sont des prodiges d'évolution.

Ce qu'ils admirent le plus et ce qui attire davantage leur attention, ce sont les mouvements rythmiques des pieds.

Nous donnons à titre documentaire le nom des principaux groupes de pages y compris les corps de danseurs appartenant à la race muhutu et à la race mutwa :

Pages et danseurs.	Races.	Chefs.
Inchogozabahizi.	Abatutsi.	Yuhi-Musinga.
Intangamuganzanyo	»	»
Urugangazi.	»	»
Ibirushya.	Abahutu.	»
Ishyaka.	Abatwa.	»
Inkerarugamba.	»	»

Pages et danseurs.	Races.	Chefs.
Indinzi.	Abatutsi.	Sebagangari.
Inkeramihigo.	»	Kayondo.
Imbasharugamba.	Abatwa.	»
Inkorabahizi.	Abatutsi.	Chyitatire.
Urwintwari.	»	Nturo.
Ingeri.	»	Rukarakamba.
Imbabazabahizi.	»	Lwagataraka.
Intagwabira.	»	Lugerinyange.
Inkwaya (du Bgana-Chambge).	»	Lwabusisi.
Amakuza (de Lukaragata).	»	»
Impambara (du Bgishaza).	»	Rwidegembya.
Inkaranga (du Bugoyi).	»	Bushako.

« Comment, dit Chalux ([1]), décrire ces danses aussi belles, aussi étudiées et réglées que les meilleurs ballets russes ? Elles sont évidemment guerrières et évoquent les combats épiques d'autrefois. Elles ont du style et de la grandeur; mais ce qui fait leur essentielle beauté, c'est que, malgré la science des mouvements, la recherche des effets, l'art de l'entrée, de la sortie, des groupements, toute cette chorégraphie conserve un caractère libre, éclatant, spontané et comme inappris. Chaque danseur (il n'y a que des hommes), observé individuellement, exprime dans ses bonds, ses pas et ses attitudes, l'âpre joie de provoquer son ennemi et de le battre : la tête reste toujours en arrière et parfois elle est littéralement jetée sur le dos et tourne, tourne comme si le danseur lui donnait de l'élan pour la lancer dans l'espace, le plus loin possible, contre une horde détestée; le poitrail est bombé avec arrogance, les poings se crispent sur l'arc et la lance, au bout des bras rigides, menaçants, tendus en deux lignes parallèles; les pieds nus, martelant la terre nue, scandent le rythme avec un bruit de gifles retentissantes; les bonds, qui sont prodigieux, défient la pesanteur; l'homme semble rester suspendu en l'air, tandis qu'il se retourne d'un coup de rein irrésistible, et quand il touche le sol, c'est pour rebondir plus haut

([1]) *Un An au Congo belge* (Libr. Albert Dewit, Bruxelles), pp. 487 et ss.

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encore, ou pour simuler par des gestes d'une saisissante vérité le combat à mort, la gloire guerrière, la fierté de savoir lutter, de posséder de bonnes armes, d'être un mâle et un héros, et toute la certitude de vaincre et toute l'ivresse de la victoire !

Et c'est si naturel, si parfaitement vrai, qu'il faut s'arracher à l'homme qu'on observe et contempler l'ensemble des danseurs qui, tous, font exactement et simultanément les mêmes mouvements, pour se rendre compte que leur danse fut longuement étudiée, qu'elle est de l'art et non une improvisation, virile, inspirée et superbement primitive !

Prunelles ardentes, bouches ouvertes et dents serrées, éblouissantes, sursauts de carnassiers, déhanchements à faire pâlir une gitane de jalousie, ondulations des muscles, pieds tapageurs, grelots des chevilles, halètement farouche et sombre des grands tambours, torsions des corps luisants et nus, sauf une peau d'antilope, balancement des coiffures de longs poils blancs, visages hardis, saccades rythmiques, précision magistrale, grâce et vigueur, jeunesse frénétique et pourtant maîtresse d'elle-même... quel spectacle unique et inoubliable !

Les danseurs de Kayondo (un grand chef) furent remarquables. A la grande surprise et à la secrète mortification de Musinga (le roi), les siens le furent un peu moins.

Un pli vertical raya son front noir. Quand Jupiter fronce le sourcil, dit le divin Virgile, l'Olympe tremble.

Nyanza ne trembla pas, mais je sais de jeunes Batutsi qui, ayant vu l'expression de leur demi-dieu, furent saisis d'inquiétude.

Les meilleurs danseurs furent les Batwa.

Eh oui, les pygmées !...

La palme de ce concours mémorable qui dura plusieurs heures fut méritée par un enfant, par un gamin de douze ans à peine, haut comme une botte et qui éclipsa tous les autres par la perfection suprême de sa danse.

Il se mit à pleuvoir à torrents, comme il pleut toujours près de l'Équateur. Les Batwa dansaient.

L'eau agressive les cinglait, arrachant les coiffures et collant la peau d'antilope aux cuisses et aux genoux jusqu'à paralyser les mouvements. Tous continuèrent, mais le feu sacré s'éteignit sous la tornade. Seul l'enfant, plus beau d'être rageur, se surpassa.

On ne regardait que lui. Se sentant le point de mire de tous, même de son roi et de Blancs auprès de lui, il se livra tout entier, saoul de fierté, donnant et parant des coups fabuleux, bombant son petit torse à le faire éclater, éclaboussant tout de ses pieds endiablés qui claquaient les flaques d'eau, emplissant de sa minuscule personne, soudain démesurément grandie, la vaste enceinte inondée.

Et sa voix suraiguë, déchaînée, domina toutes les autres quand, ayant achevé leur danse, les Batwa, selon la coutume, leurs bras levés vers Musinga, hurlèrent chacun, et en même temps, une des phrases traditionnelles : « Moi, je me fais tuer pour mon roi ! » « Je tue vingt hommes quand je me bats. » « Je ne compte plus ceux que j'ai vaincus. » « C'est moi qui fais couler le plus de sang ! »

c) Les joueurs d'instruments de musique réputés pour être les plus habiles sont retenus à la Cour ou y sont du moins souvent appelés. Leurs instruments sont des plus primitifs; ils ont la flûte (umwironge), l'instrument à corde si répandu dans l'Afrique équatoriale (inanga), et un autre instrument plus primitif encore, l' « isenge » (genre ocarina), dont ils tirent des sons désagréables. Des gens originaires de l'Usui ont introduit dans le pays de petits tambourins qu'ils frappent avec les doigts et qui ont obtenu le plus grand succès auprès du roi.

Les joueurs de cithare sont les musiciens préférés de la foule.

Ils chantent en s'accompagnant de leur instrument.

Le thème de ces chants est varié. Il consiste à rappeler les exploits des héros, les luttes nationales ou même divers

faits communs de la vie ordinaire. Le sujet est quelquefois emprunté à des drames dont le fond et la forme sont vulgaires, mais il attire toutefois l'attention des auditeurs parce qu'il correspond à leur mentalité.

On trouvera ici un de ces morceaux. Nous l'avons entendu débiter par un joueur de cithare placé au milieu d'une dizaine de ses compagnons qui pinçaient tous à la fois leurs instruments à cordes, pour répéter ensuite en chœur certaines paroles à la fin de chaque phrase. Le soliste chantait : « Un léopard sort du bois bien longtemps après le coucher du soleil.

» Il traverse le ruisseau de la Goko près du village de Murunda (dans la région du Kanage).

» Il arrive dans le pays du Gishwati au commencement de la nuit.

» Il approche de la hutte de celui qu'on appelle : « Je » suis celui qui sait se tirer d'affaire (Nziguye). »

» Le fauve d'un coup de patte heurte la porte.

» La fille du logis (reconnaît et) interpelle l'animal.

» Son père lui dit : « Mon enfant ce que tu as fait est » mal. »

» Il va nous arriver malheur.

» Le carnassier cogne sur la porte pour la deuxième fois.

» Il pénètre dans la hutte et se cache près de la paroi en joncs (qui divise en deux compartiments l'intérieur de la case).

» La femme se lève et veut prendre un tison au foyer.

» Le léopard se jette sur elle et l'emporte au dehors.

» D'un coup de griffe il lui déchire les entrailles (imushing' urwara mu nda, hava mw' umwana).

» Le père se lève à son tour et veut porter secours.

» L'animal a entraîné sa proie pantelante dans la bananerie.

» Le mari, après recherche faite, ne retrouve que des bracelets de cuivre ensanglantés.

» Le félin revient après un laps de temps.

» Il n'arrive pas à trouver en défaut le maître du logis.

» L'intelligence de celui-ci avait travaillé depuis l'accident.

» Le léopard avait eu beau venir avec Jean Lapin (le type du malin et du débrouillard qui a mille tours dans son sac).

» Il s'approche de la case.

» Nziguye (je sais me tirer d'affaire) [1] avait creusé un trou profond (recouvert de légères branches d'arbres).

» Le léopard disparut dans la trappe et y mourut. »

d) Avec les bardes et les annalistes officiels dont il a déjà été parlé, il y a encore, à la Cour, des jouteurs littéraires au langage élevé, attitrés auprès du roi et qui se relaient sans cesse auprès de lui.

On les appelle « Abasizi » du mot gusiga, qui signifie parler un langage élevé. Ils présentent les événements du jour sous une forme plaisante et littéraire, qui n'est pas comprise des profanes.

Aussi le contraire du verbe « gusiga » est-il « gusigura », qui veut dire expliquer. Ce sont des gens qui ont une grande facilité d'élocution, toujours prêts à improviser. Le roi prend plaisir à ces joutes littéraires qui ne manquent pas de charme. Leur langue, fort riche, se prête volontiers à ces jeux d'esprit dont les Abasizi ont fait leur métier et leur gagne-pain. Un grand chef est habituellement chargé de leur recrutement. Les titulaires actuels de cette fonction font, les uns, partie du clan des Basinga et des aBene Katambi, et les autres, des Bakōbga (Nyaruguru, près des monts Bisi).

Comme les annalistes officiels, ils se tiennent à la disposition du souverain, prêts à charmer ses loisirs et à lui faire goûter les plaisirs littéraires.

Pour donner une idée de leur genre et de leur talent

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[1] Nziguye est le substantif du verbe kwizigura qui signifie se tirer d'embarras, échapper au danger par ses propres moyens.

nous transcrivons trois petits morceaux de leur cru, choisis parmi les plus simples et les plus faciles :

PREMIER EXEMPLE.

Agasigo ka Rumanur' imbāba.	Petit morceau littéraire sur ce (la famine) qui a fait descendre (de leur cachette) les bouts de pioche (pour en acheter de la nourriture).
Ibyo bitag' imitsima.	Ce qu'on appelait pain (à savoir les racines de bananiers).
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	Le (roi) Victorieux nous en a délivrés (à jamais).
Intoke ziraruhutse.	Les bananiers sont (désormais) en repos.
Ibyo twaryaga.	Ce que nous mangions (autrefois).
Ngaho wabay' umutsima.	Voilà que c'est devenu du (vrai) pain.
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	Le (roi) Victorieux nous en a délivrés (de ces maux).
Tulek' intōke.	Laissons (en paix) les bananiers (leurs racines) [1].

DEUXIÈME EXEMPLE.

Akasigo ko gutur' umwami.	Petit morceau littéraire (sur la façon de se présenter quand on vient faire des cadeaux au roi).
Nd' uwawe, nd' uw' imanzi.	Je suis à toi, je suis (l'homme) du Héros.
Nkazibgira, Muzima.	Je lui parle (à ce Héros), ô le (roi) parfait !
Nivugire, nd' uwinganji.	Que je me réjouisse, je suis (l'homme) du Victorieux.
Witwa Ndabagize.	Tu t'appelles (ô roi !) le maître de leur sort.

(1) Les disettes son malheureusement fréquentes vu le peu de prévoyance des Noirs. Ils ne cultivent que pour leur consommation personnelle. Aussi une récolte vient-elle à manquer, par suite de la sécheresse ou de l'abondance des pluies, ils se trouvent à bout de provisions. Le conteur décrit une de ces disettes, en lui donnant le nom de « Celle qui fait descendre (de leur cachette) les petits bouts de pioche » tout usés soient-ils, pour être vendus aux forgerons. On essaie alors d'acheter de la nourriture dans les provinces voisines avec ces maigres ressources.

Il est question de racines de bananiers que l'on fait sécher au soleil, après les avoir battues à coups de manche de pioche, pour en retirer la potasse. Écrasées ensuite sur la pierre à moudre le grain, elles donnent une nourriture indigeste, qui ne rassasie pas et ne retarde pas le dénoûment, qui est la mort, à moins que ce semblant de farine ne soit mélangé à autre chose de plus substantiel.

Ajoutons que pour observer les règles de l'euphonie, les Noirs littérateurs peuvent user de licences poétiques et faire délibérément des fautes de syntaxe, de construction, de conjugaison, etc.

TROISIÈME EXEMPLE.

Akaganiro k' umubyeyi w' umwana.	Conversation d'une mère avec son enfant (pour l'amuser).
Umugor' atiny' umugabo.	La femme craint son mari.
Umugab' atiny' umwami.	L'homme craint le Roi.
Umwam' agatiny' inkuba.	Le Roi craint la foudre.
Inkuh' igatiny' umugano.	La foudre craint le bambou (1).
Umwan' atinya nyina.	Un enfant craint (respecte) sa mère.
Umugan' ugatiny' umuliro.	Le bambou craint le feu (2).
Umurir' ugatiny' amazi.	Le feu craint l'eau.
Amaz (i)' atiny' ifu.	L'eau craint la farine (3).
If' itiny' amenyo.	La farine craint les dents (4).
Ameny' atiny' umuhoro.	Les dents craignent la serpe (le fer) (5).

C'est à la capitale qu'on entend le beau parler.

Les habitués de la Cour, seigneurs, courtisans, employés s'expriment dans un langage impeccable, se servent du mot juste, ont des expressions choisies et y mettent l'accentuation voulue, car le runyarwanda est une langue phonétique. Les hommes de lettres, conteurs, bardes, généalogistes et historiens attitrés surveillent soigneusement leur diction. Chez eux la conversation n'est jamais

(1) Les Banyarwanda, ceux surtout qui habitent dans la montagne, ont l'habitude d'élever un long bambou dans la cour, près de leur case, pour se préserver de la foudre. Ils croient que celle-ci, en fendant le bambou, est par le fait même emprisonnée et devient inoffensive.

(2) « Le bambou craint le feu » parce que les gens qui sont à proximité de la forêt brûlent surtout des bambous.

(3) « L'eau craint la farine », c'est-à-dire le pain ou la « bouillie » dans lesquels elle disparaît.

(4) « La farine craint les dents » de celui qui la mange.

(5) « Les dents craignent la serpe », comme tous les autres corps durs, surtout quand ils sont en fer, comme la serpe, un des instruments qui leur est le plus utile.

Les Noirs du Rwanda ont une littérature orale, riche et variée. Ils aiment les choses de l'esprit, et comme leur langue possède toutes les formes et toutes les nuances, ils savent la manier avec beaucoup d'art.

languissante; les plaisanteries et les jeux d'esprit sont à jet continu.

Avec le bon goût qui distingue les familiers du roi et les habitants de la province centrale du Nduga, il ne faut pas s'étonner de les voir se choquer et rire du jargon des montagnards et de ceux qui habitent sur les frontières du royaume. Le langage de ces derniers est loin d'être sélect; il fourmille de fautes contre la syntaxe ou l'accent et contient un mélange de termes étrangers empruntés aux idiomes des peuplades voisines.

Plus versés que les autres dans les questions de langue, les gens de la Cour discuteront volontiers entre eux sur la valeur ou l'étymologie des mots existants et en forgeront volontiers d'autres plus adéquats, en s'inspirant du génie de leur langue.

Le terme pluriel « imiduha » veut dire cactus; son sens littéral est « celles (plantes) qui nous donnent ». Comme ces sortes de plantes qui ressemblent au « quelqual » ou kwelkol abyssin ne sont d'aucun rapport pour les Banyarwanda, les gens de lettres proposent, au moins théoriquement, de le remplacer par le mot « imyiha » ou « ichyiha », substantifs de pure convention qui excluent une signification mensongère.

C'est dans le même esprit que les académiciens noirs désirent substituer le vocable « ikyiyone », c'est-à-dire gros oiseau au mot usuel « igikona », dont le sens littéral est « ce qui ravage » (les récoltes). Nos « immortels » africains souhaitent encore que le terme « umuguta » serve exclusivement à désigner le squelette (ou cadavre desséché) et que son synonyme « umwite » soit réservé au mot peau.

Dans leur terreur superstitieuse, les Noirs évitent de prononcer le nom des personnes, des animaux et des choses dont ils ont peur. Ils s'inspirent en cela du sens et de l'esprit qu'on a mis dans le proverbe français :

Quand on parle du loup, il sort du bois.

Au lieu de désigner le léopard de son vrai nom « ingwe », les vachers, les pâtres, les voyageurs, tous ceux qui fréquentent les zones infestées par ces fauves, emploieront les expressions suivantes :

Celui dont on tait le nom. Nyiramahole.

Le vent (rapide comme le vent). Muyaga.

La griffe par excellence. Rwara.

L'animal à la peau tachetée. Bugondo.

Le vorace. Kimizi.

Pour ne pas s'exposer à la rencontre du lion (intare), s'ils viennent à causer de lui, ils se serviront de l'expression suivante : le glouton (lwabgiga).

Les Noirs ne sont jamais à court de termes, leur langue est riche et se prête aux nuances et au développement des nouvelles idées introduites par la pénétration européenne.

Les membres de la société secrète de Ryangombe ont imaginé pour correspondre entre eux une sorte de dialecte dont nombre de mots fréquemment employés sont connus des profanes, mais prêtent au rire quand on veut s'en servir dans le langage courant.

Nous donnons quelques mots de ce dialecte rumandwa :

Rumandwa.	Sens littéral.	Runyarwanda.	Signification.
Ameza.	Choses bonnes.	Amata.	Lait.
Ubgihinga.	Chose difficile à cultiver.	Uburo.	Éleusine.
Ibihimbaza.	Choses qui rassasient.	Ibishimbo.	Haricots.
Amaranda [1].	Choses qui rampent.	Amateke.	Taraud.
Umubonanya.		Umutsima.	Pain de sorgho.
Inganda.		Inzoga.	Bière.
Akayoba nzara.	Ce qui trompe la faim.	Itabi.	Tabac.
Imirundi y' inkuba.	Jambes de la foudre (c'est-à-dire ce qui a la forme d'un éclair).	Ibijumba.	Patates.

[1] Ou amabya y' abak ungu.

Urwiko.	Le silencieux.	Inkono y' itabi.	Pipe.
Uruhunga.		Inzoga y' urwagwa.	Bière de bananes.
Isakara.	Ce qui a une toiture.	Inzu.	Hutte.
Gakungu.	Ce qui n'a pas de cornes.	Imbga.	Chien.
Inguruka.		Ihene.	Chèvre.
Ihangi.		Inka.	Vache.
Gukoroga.		Gukama.	Traire.
Gutanyara.		Gutabara.	Aller à la guerre.
Gutakura.		Gukinga.	Cultiver.
Gaminga.		Gahinga.	Sommet de colline.
iKinyamusenyi.		Ikinyamunyu.	Régime de bananes.
Umusenyi.	Sable.	Umunyu.	Sel.
Serukanaga (1).	L'homme qui lie.	Umutware.	Chef.
Ibifunga mwoyo (2).	Ce qui porte pantalon.	Abazungu.	Européens.
Umumputu.		Umugabo.	Homme.
Umumkari.		Umugore.	Femme.
Umwere wa giti.		Umwana.	Enfant.

Le langage cabalistique des initiés n'est pas des plus châtiés. Une plume honnête ne peut pas reproduire indistinctement tous les termes de leur vocabulaire.

Impositions diverses des sujets et des clans.

Outre les majordomes, les intendants, les courriers-estafettes (intumwa), on rencontre encore à la Cour la foule innombrable des fournisseurs de Sa Majesté.

Architectes, constructeurs de métier, armuriers, forgerons, fabricants de nattes, vanniers, potiers, tanneurs, tailleurs pour les costumes faits de peau de colobe, fournisseurs de bois de senteur (3), vétérinaires, saigneurs de

(1) Gukanaga, le verbe dont dérive le substantif Se-rukanaga, c'est-à-dire l'homme qui lie est un synonyme du mot kuboha, lier.

(2) Le sens étymologique de l'expression indigène est plus fort que celui de la traduction française et montre le peu de cas qu'on faisait des Blancs au début.

(3) Le bois de senteur « umugeshi », débité en copeaux dits « imibavu », sert à parfumer le beurre.

Lors de la dernière éruption volcanique, en 1912, le roi en fit brûler de grandes quantités pour purifier l'atmosphère que viciaient les dégagements sulfureux.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

vaches, bouchers et autres artisans en tous genres, on peut dire d'une façon générale que tous les sujets travaillent pour le roi.

Il n'est pas jusqu'aux « preneurs de rats » officiels qui ne viennent régulièrement exercer leurs fonctions, comme les membres des autres corporations. Au lieu de les désigner sous la dénomination ordinaire de « tendeurs de pièges » ou « preneurs de rats », il est convenu de les désigner sous le terme euphémique de « gendres » (abakwe), qui viennent pour se marier (ngo baje kulongora). C'est pour que l'attention des rats ne soit pas éveillée, quand ces importants personnages pénètrent à la Cour.

Le miel dont le Roi et les grands font un fréquent usage pour l'hydromel, leur boisson préférée (inkangaza), vient surtout des contrées montagneuses, riches en arbres et en fleurs.

Les habitants du Bugoyi, du Mulera, du Bussigi, du Bgisha, du Bufumbiro, etc., fournissaient autrefois cette substance par manière d'impôt, sous le nom d'« umutsama » (au pluriel imitsama).

Les gens du Kinyaga, riverains du lac Kivu, confectionnaient pour la Cour, des nattes solides (ibisunyu) faites d'herbes lacustres.

Ceux du Bgishaza, du Kingogo, du Budaha, etc., parce que proches de la forêt, où se trouvent les matériaux nécessaires à leur art, fabriquaient des palanquins, des corbeilles et des paniers de différentes formes.

Les nécessaires de toilette, les peignes, les pots à beurre, les assiettes, les cuillers, les cruches, les pipes, les blagues à tabac, les arcs, les flèches, les boucliers, les carquois, les bois de lance, les massues, les fourreaux, les étuis de couteaux et de chalumeaux, les tambours, les chaises, etc., étaient fabriqués ou travaillés par des professionnels qui payaient ainsi leurs impôts.

Le roi, d'après une coutume immémoriale, se choisissait une épouse dans chacun des clans hamites suivants :

Bega, Basinga, Bakono, Baha et quelquefois aussi chez les Bagessera, sans parler de celles qui lui étaient signalées pour leurs qualités morales et physiques. Il entretenait des relations matrimoniales avec les princes voisins de l'Uswi, du Karagwe, du Bunyabungu, mais on n'a pas entendu dire qu'un fils de ces princesses étrangères soit monté sur le trône. Rares furent les épouses royales qui purent conserver indéfiniment les faveurs de leur mari. Beaucoup d'entre elles retombaient au rang de servantes (abaja), quand elles n'étaient pas renvoyées dans leurs familles [1].

Quelques chefs étaient, de par la coutume, tenus d'envoyer régulièrement à la Cour des fillettes que l'on élevait dans l'entourage de la reine-mère. La condition de ces enfants était plutôt malheureuse. Devenues adultes, on recrutait parmi elles des servantes, des bonnes à tout faire et des épouses symboliques offertes aux esprits des rois défunts [2].

D'autres étaient chargées de la confection des paniers, corbeilles, nattes et autres fins ouvrages de vannerie.

Sebugrigri (décédé en 1925), le mandataire du grand chef Rwidegembya pour la province du Bigogo, devait fournir annuellement deux ou trois de ces enfants que par euphémisme on désignait sous le nom de « pages » (intore) ou de « sortants » (émigrants) désignés par le sort (inkuke).

Nyiramurici (décédé en 1927), un muhunde, originaire du Gishari et proche parent de la reine de ce dernier pays, qui était venu faire la cour au prince hamite du Rwanda, reçut en récompense de ses services de sorcellerie trois villages (Gassovu, Gatoke, Nyaruchundura) situés dans le Kanage, à seule charge de donner à la reine-mère les

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(1) Cette éventualité était la meilleure qu'elles pussent souhaiter, parce qu'elles recouvraient alors toute leur liberté.

(2) Cf. chapitre VII sub. Rites funéraires.

fillettes qu'il pourrait avoir ou qu'il arriverait à se procurer parmi ses sujets [1].

Certaines familles, pour gagner les bonnes grâces du roi ou de sa mère, envoyaient spontanément leurs enfants, garçons et filles. Le sort des adolescents était de beaucoup préférable à celui de leurs sœurs, parce que devenus grands, après un stage dans le corps des pages, ils recouvraient leur liberté et recevaient souvent, en récompense de leur séjour à la Cour, le gouvernement d'une colline.

Parmi les autres familles jouant un rôle à la Cour, nous citerons encore les aBasingo, les Batchaba et les aBagessera. Les Basingo, fraction du clan puissant des Biru, ont la spécialité d'exercer leur métier en temps de guerre, en même temps que les Maudisseurs (Abahenyi).

Ils sont chargés de « fermer le chemin » à l'ennemi (gukingir' ababisha) en réunissant tous les monstres fictifs ou réels, considérés chez les Noirs comme porte-malheur et désignés pour cela sous le nom d'« intsiro ». Ce sont tout particulièrement les chèvres noires, les poussins noirs dont les entrailles scrutées par les devins ont « noirci », c'est-à-dire ont été jugées défavorables aux ennemis, les mères dissolues (ibinyandaro), les enfants nés hors mariage, ceux qui sont nés durant le deuil d'un de leurs parents (umwana w'amabi), les jeunes filles aux seins non développés (impenebere), les vieilles femmes qui ont passé leur vie dans la stérilité (umugetchuru w'igicha mbyaro) et autres vrais monstres aux défauts réels et apparents, qu'ils désignent sous le nom générique d'« ibimara » ou « ibimazi ».

Les aBatchaba, une autre branche de la grande famille

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(1) Cette contribution est restée toujours odieuse. Les parents en général consentaient difficilement à livrer leurs rejetons et n'obéissaient qu'à la contrainte. Ils réussissaient quelquefois à se soustraire à cet impôt exorbitant en payant au chef une ou même plusieurs vaches. Le seigneur abusait aussi de son autorité en imposant uniquement ses ennemis ou en leur extorquant plusieurs têtes de bétail, sous ce révoltant prétexte.

des aBiru, choisissent et mesurent l'emplacement des cases royales. Ils suspendent dans l'intérieur de la hutte et fixent ensuite à l'extérieur des branches d'arbres à propriétés magiques (1) qui exercent, d'après les croyances populaires, une influence salutaire sur les habitants ou propriétaires des cases. Il appartient à leurs femmes et à leurs filles d'aller en dansant et en chantant au-devant des vainqueurs pour les féliciter de leurs prouesses. Elles participent encore aux réjouissances traditionnelles qui ont lieu quand le roi prend officiellement possession d'une case nouvellement construite et y pénètre pour la première fois avec une épouse de circonstance (2).

Aussi a-t-on donné à cette gent féminine le qualificatif d' « abaterampundu », c'est-à-dire les jeteuses de cris joyeux.

Les attributions des aBatchaba se confondent souvent avec celles de leurs frères, les aBasingo, qu'ils aident à ensorceler l'ennemi, par le moyen d'êtres tératologiques que l'on pousse devant l'armée adverse. Comme les aBiru, ils s'occupent aussi de la fabrication des tambours.

Les aBagessera ont pour totém la bergeronnette, oiseau porte-bonheur, considéré par le fait même comme un membre de la famille. De là le pouvoir qu'ont les Bagessera d'appeler ce volatile, quand on a besoin de lui. Il existe à la Cour et dans tout le pays une coutume en vertu de laquelle nul ne peut entrer dans une nouvelle hutte si la bergeronnette n'a fait son apparition. Il faut que cet oiseau vienne au moins voltiger ou sautiller sur le terrain aplani où doit s'élever la case ou sur l'habitation elle-même. On attendra même plusieurs jours, s'il le faut,

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(1) Parmi ces plantes ou arbres à propriétés magiques citons le ficus (umuvumu), l'érythrina à fleurs rouges (umuko), la plante dite irarire, etc.

(2) La prise de possession d'une nouvelle hutte se fait en principe et cela dans tout le Rwanda, au nom d'un esprit (parent défunt) dont on veut s'attirer les faveurs. C'est en son nom aussi qu'on prend femme (kumulongorer' abazimu)

plutôt que de s'exposer aux malheurs réservés infailliblement à ceux qui ne voudraient pas tenir compte de cet usage traditionnel. Les Bagessera sont donc chargés à la capitale, pour chaque bâtisse royale, de provoquer l'arrivée de « leur parent » (mwene wabo), le sympathique volatile.

Ils emportent dans ce but de la braise de chez eux, afin d'allumer un feu devant la nouvelle hutte.

Ils s'asseyent tout auprès et sifflent d'une façon particulière pour se faire entendre de leur totem.

La bergeronnette est respectée des Banyarwanda. Dans les contes et les chants, elle est appelée l'oiseau (inyamanza) du pays de Mabera, village célèbre dans le passé, habité par les Bagessera [1]. Il se trouve près de la colline de Lwoga, non loin de Nyanza, la capitale actuelle.

Les Bagessera se donnent comme le clan muhutu le plus important et se disent les plus anciens habitants du Rwanda. A les en croire, ils étaient les premiers maîtres du sol.

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[1] Le respect dont on entoure la bergeronnette a fait l'objet d'un conte charmant. C'est pour avoir rendu un jour un service signalé qu'elle a obtenu une place de choix parmi les oiseaux favoris. Un roi, dont on a oublié le nom, se mourait d'amour. Ses courtisans ne savaient que faire, malgré leurs nombreuses tentatives pour donner au monarque une compagne de choix...

Or, vers ce même temps, deux époux élevaient dans un village éloigné de la capitale, une fille de toute beauté, nourrie de lait de vache... La bergeronnette, qui connaissait la langueur du souverain, vint voltiger au-dessus de la cour où la jeune fille faisait sa toilette. Il s'empare d'une des principales pièces d'habillement et vole dans la direction de la capitale. Surprise, l'aimable personne suit l'oiseau, en le suppliant de lui rendre son bien : « Ne crains pas, répond l'oiseau, je te restituerai ton habit, quand nous entendrons résonner les tambours (de la capitale) ». Et tout en parlant, le messager ailé laisse tomber des perles dont il avait fait une provision. La jeune fille avide de nouveautés, se baisse pour les recueillir. On arrive ainsi à la Cour... On s'étonne d'abord d'un fait si prodigieux, mais l'attention est attirée par l'harmonie des traits de la belle inconnue. Le roi est averti. C'est elle qu'il attendait. La bergeronnette reçut en récompense pour sa race et à perpétuité le privilège appelé « ubulenga nzira » comprenant l'immunité et une sorte de dîme prélevée sur les récoltes dans l'étendue du royaume.

SERVITUDES SANGLANTES IMPOSÉES A QUELQUES FAMILLES.

Les Bakono, les Banyabyinshi et les Bakunzi du Kinyaga en furent longtemps les victimes.

Ajoutons toutefois que la brutalité et la cruauté qui présidaient à l'accomplissement de ces coutumes inhumaines, aujourd'hui supprimées, avaient perdu de leur rigueur primitive, durant les deux derniers règnes.

1. — La créance expiatoire à laquelle étaient asservis les Bakono pour avoir combattu Ruganzu II, avait été complètement transformée.

A l'avènement d'un nouveau roi, ces mêmes Bakono, de concert avec les gens d'un autre clan ayant fait partie autrefois du groupe des Banyabyinshi dont il est tant de fois question au début du règne du grand roi, devaient députer, les uns et les autres, un ou deux de leurs membres à la capitale.

Les gens de la Cour, au lieu de les égorger comme autrefois, se contentaient de les asperger d'eau lustrale (eau de craie) et de les pousser un instant dans la hutte aux esprits, comme pour les offrir en sacrifice à ces derniers, et tout en restait là. D'autres chroniqueurs assurent qu'il était d'usage de leur donner quelques coups de bâton, pour empêcher que la coutume ne perde complètement son sens pénal.

2. — Un autre progrès sur le passé a été la suppression pure et simple, durant les deux règnes précédents, de l'odieuse habitude qu'avait chaque nouveau prince, à l'occasion de son arrivée au trône, d'envoyer ses troupes guerroyer à Russokovu, entre le Bugamba et le Kingogo, comme pour y recevoir le baptême de feu.

On appelait cela « faire boire du sang à la lance du roi » (guhir' icchumu ry' umwami).

De même que les Banyarwanda ont l'habitude de mener leurs troupeaux à l'abreuvoir (guhir' inka) au commen-

cement de la journée, il fallait aussi que, d'après un usage traditionnel, le roi, à son avènement, fît boire du sang à sa lance (kunywesh'amarasso icchumu ry' umwami).

Après avoir tué quelques malheureux, les guerriers victorieux rentraient dans leurs foyers.

Le début du règne ne pouvait s'annoncer sous de plus heureux auspices.

Ruganzu II Ndori amorça le premier l'expédition devenue traditionnelle dans la suite.

C'était pour punir les meurtriers de son père. D'après une version, qui a été donnée déjà [1], le vieux roi Ndahiro avait été tué à Russokovu, par les Bakongoro (fraction du grand parti des Banyabyinshi), qui s'étaient révoltés contre lui et qu'il était allé soumettre.

L'expédition se termina par un désastre. Ndahiro, ajoute la même tradition, y périt avec un grand nombre de ses partisans. Les révoltés s'emparèrent des tambours du roi, qu'ils firent brûler. Seul, le palladium du royaume, le Kalinga, échappa aux mains des vainqueurs. Aussi le lieu de la défaite est-il désormais connu sous le nom de « Rubi rw'inyundo », c'est-à-dire « le mal du marteau », pour rappeler que les armes forgées par les marteaux des forgerons eurent en cet endroit des résultats funestes pour Ndahiro et ses guerriers [2].

3. — Heureuse abolition encore que celle qui consistait pour le jeune roi à tuer de ses propres mains un de ses oncles maternels (nyirarume), acte superstitieux autant

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(1) Cf. Livre troisième. Histoire du règne de Ruganzu II.

(2) Nombreuses sont les variantes sur ce point d'histoire. Les habitants du Bugamba racontent à qui veut les entendre que Ruganzu II a été enfumé dans la grotte de Kirengo par les Banyabyinshi. De là vint, d'après eux, la coutume qui consistait à conduire deux habitants du pays à la capitale, pour y être frappés, en souvenir et en punition de ce forfait. D'autres croient que c'est Chyilima-Rugwe qui fut blessé mortellement par les Bakongoro et qu'il vint mourir, poursuivi par ses ennemis, près de Gaiseke, où son squelette fut retrouvé. Ces circonstances tragiques expliqueraient les quinze jours de deuil annuel au mois de juin, si le désastre fût tel que le laissent supposer les chroniqueurs.

que politique, que suivait souvent de près le meurtre des princes apparentés au monarque.

La prospérité du royaume était censée dépendre de l'accomplissement de cruels usages.

L'omission de ces pratiques barbares aurait été tout à l'honneur des Banyarwanda si, en 1895, lors du détrônement de Mibambge-Rutalindwa, le parti des Bega, victorieux et maître du pouvoir, n'avait exercé sur les vaincus les atrocités sans nombre que les indigènes se racontent quelquefois en cachette, le soir, près du feu, non sans frémir.

4. — Le châtiment des Bachuku et des Bayumbo du pays du Bukunzi, rattaché à la province du Kinyaga, est de tous le plus connu.

Le récit de la faute qui provoqua cette peine est raconté dans l'*Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II*.

C'est pour avoir égorgé le taureau d'un des troupeaux du grand roi que celui-ci commença lui-même par en tirer sur place une vengeance éclatante, en faisant égorger deux jeunes gens et deux jeunes femmes, dans la vallée dite de Nyakafunzo.

« Ma lance, s'était écrié le monarque irrité, je vais désormais la laisser au milieu de vous, pour que vous lui donniez des enfants. A chaque changement de règne, vous livrerez en expiation du forfait que vous avez commis un jeune homme et une jeune femme. » Les émissaires royaux se présentaient donc à chaque nouvelle succession au trône pour prendre possession du tribut humain.

Le jeune homme était massacré à Nyakafunzo même. On lui plongeait un poignard sous l'aisselle. Le sang était recueilli dans une jarre de bois que l'on portait ensuite, d'après les indications reçues de la capitale, en pays ennemi.

Par l'effusion de ce sang maudit, on escomptait la défaite des habitants qui avaient offensé le roi ou étaient

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en guerre avec lui. Le cadavre du malheureux était abandonné sur place, où les hyènes ne tardaient pas à le faire disparaître... Quant à la jeune femme que devaient fournir les Bachuku, il était convenu de la choisir parmi les mères qui allaitaient une fillette. Son sort était moins terrible. On la mariait au Bumbogo, pour s'y occuper de la culture du sorgho et de l'éleusine, dont on portait les prémices à la Cour, pour la grande fête annuelle, qui s'y célèbre à cette occasion. C'est pour aider à la pratique de cet usage que les Bachuku fournissaient encore le moulin à farine qui devait servir à moudre le sorgho et l'éleusine.

Une cruche en terre et la grande cuiller de ménage ou spatule (umwuko) propre à faire le pain (umutsima) accompagnaient l'envoi des pierres meulières.

Les Noirs assurent que lors de l'avènement du roi actuel au trône, c'est-à-dire en 1896, la coutume ne fut pas suivie. Les événements sanglants qui se déroulèrent à cette époque la firent perdre de vue.

Il n'est pas dit aussi que les Bakunzi, ou gens du Bukunzi, s'y seraient prêtés de bonne grâce, vu l'odieux de la chose et l'indépendance qu'ils commençaient à manifester vis-à-vis du roi hamite.

Privilèges et faveurs de la Cour.

Dans le cours de ce travail il a été question à plusieurs reprises d'exemptions, de franchises et d'immunités concédées à des particuliers et à des familles. Que le lecteur veuille bien se reporter à ce qui est dit dans la *Fondation du Royaume hamite* et dans l'*Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II*, pour se faire une idée sur ce sujet.

On y verra l'époque approximative de la concession de ces franchises et les motifs pour lesquels elles furent accordées. On ne sera pas peu étonné d'y trouver des exemples d'autonomie régionale.

Nous ne voulons parler ici que de certaines faveurs ou

privilèges d'un caractère original, octroyés pour un temps déterminé ou même à perpétuité.

L'anoblissement entre dans la dernière de ces deux catégories.

1° *De l'anoblissement*

Les Batwa, avons-nous dit plus haut, forment une caste méprisée aussi bien des Bahutu que des Batutsi.

Et l'on croirait se déshonorer, non seulement en contractant des unions matrimoniales avec eux, mais encore en se faisant leur commensal. Il y eut pourtant des exceptions à cette sorte d'ostracisme. En remontant dans le passé, on trouve des Batwa anoblis et mis sur le même pied que les Batutsi.

D'autres acquirent avec le temps une noblesse de fait.

L'exemple le plus connu est celui du Mutwa Busiete, auquel Yuhi III Gahindiro donna sa propre fille, Mulangamirwa, en mariage, pour le récompenser de son dévoûment et de ses services. Les descendants de ce couple ont formé le clan des Basiete, qui jouissent encore d'une grande influence à la Cour et possèdent de nombreux territoires (fiefs).

Ce n'était pas là un fait sans précédent, car les rois hamites, tout en maintenant les différences sociales que l'on connaît, usèrent fréquemment de ce moyen pour récompenser les roturiers bien méritants.

Il en a été de même jusqu'à ces derniers temps.

Parmi les Bahutu admis dans la caste des Batutsi, avec lesquels ils ont contracté des alliances matrimoniales, on cite le chef du clan des maudisseurs (abahēnyi), Agakwande, ainsi que les descendants du grand sorcier Lunukamishyo. Ceux-ci forment un clan fermé, connu sous le nom d'Abosha, et ont rang à la Cour des devins-sacrificateurs.

Les gardiens du trésor (abanyabyuma) ou abanyori du village de Mpanda ont été pareillement anoblis, ainsi que

Bunyereri, le commandant de l'armée des « Irrésistibles » (Intalindwa).

On en fit autant pour nombre d'étrangers originaires de l'Uswi, du Bunyabungu et d'autres contrées limitrophes.

Les gens de service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) qui, avec la faveur du roi, ont obtenu l'ennoblissement et le gouvernement de quelques provinces ou villages, ne se comptent plus. Des prisonniers de guerre, après avoir gagné la confiance de leurs vainqueurs, prirent également rang parmi les Batutsi. Le chef Lusera, enlevé tout enfant au Nkole, durant une expédition, fut élevé par le roi Lwabugiri, qui lui donna plus tard, avec le village de Gitongati, dans le Nduga, sa propre fille Kalungerwa en mariage.

Le clan des Badiga doit son anoblissement à une curieuse circonstance, sans que les rois hamites aient eu besoin d'intervenir directement.

L'ancêtre de cette tribu, un nommé Bidiga, était de race Mutwa et ses parents, Sabulegeya et Rwiru, étaient originaires de la province du Bufundu. Ces derniers étaient venus s'installer au village de Gahogo. dans le Nduga. Bidiga, leur fils, y continua le métier paternel de potier. Durant une famine, un jour qu'il pleuvait à torrents, une femme Mututsi, nommée Nyirandoba, chercha un abri dans la hutte de Bidiga dont elle ignorait la condition sociale. Très galant, le potier offrit à manger à la noble dame éprouvée par la faim.

Nyirandoba accepte avec empressement. Sur ces entrefaites, le beau temps revint et la dame, restaurée, prit congé de son hôte après l'avoir remercié avec beaucoup de grâce.

Chemin faisant, elle entend une voix invitant Bidiga à profiter de ce moment d'éclaircie pour descendre au marais et y quérir de l'argile. Nyirandoba reconnaît sa méprise. Elle est déshonorée à jamais. Tout le monde

saura qu'elle, femme mututsi, est entrée sous le toit d'un Mutwa et y a pris de la nourriture de la main de ce paria.

Dans sa caste désormais personne ne voudra d'elle.

Bidiga, qui comprend son trouble et ses hésitations, se fait secourable en lui offrant sa main. La noble personne, toute heureuse de l'issue, devint l'épouse de Bidiga.

Non loin de là se trouvait le clan des Batutsi, dit les Babambanganzi, auxquels était confié un des troupeaux de la Cour, connu sous le nom de « vaches noires » (inka z'imikara, inkuke z'ibgami). Les pasteurs, qui n'avaient qu'à se louer du voisinage de Bidiga, en firent leur vacher et lui confièrent la garde du troupeau royal. Bidiga et sa famille entrèrent peu à peu dans l'intimité des Hamites et contractèrent avec eux des unions matrimoniales qui leur valurent à la longue la qualité de Batutsi [1].

2° *Autres faveurs et privilèges.*

a) « Le cadeau de la vache du feu » (inka y' umuriro) consiste dans l'envoi, de la part du roi, d'une vache, à un chef dépouillé de ses biens ou disgracié depuis quelque temps. Cela équivaut à une réconciliation.

Celui qui était devenu l'objet de l'ostracisme ou du bannissement, obtient, par l'octroi de ce privilège, la permission de s'installer définitivement sur un terrain concédé et d'y bâtir comme les autres.

Le don de cette vache, qui est le signe et la preuve de la rentrée en grâce, est, de plus, l'annonce de nouvelles faveurs.

Les deux derniers bénéficiaires de la clémence royale furent les oncles maternels de Musinga, Lukangamiheto et Luhinankiko, dont l'ambition et la politique avaient

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[1] Ces renseignements fournis, on comprend pourquoi le type hamite a plus ou moins perdu sa pureté primitive dans quelques-uns des clans qui appartiennent à ce groupe ethnique. Disons aussi que les Batutsi pauvres ne se font pas faute d'épouser des femmes Bahutu.

souverainement déplu à la Reine-Mère et au régent Kabale, auteur de la révolution sanglante de Ruchunchu. Ils ont repris leur rang et leur place à la Cour.

b) Droits d'entrée (ilembo). C'est une faveur très appréciée de ceux qui en sont l'objet. Elle consiste à recevoir, à la place du roi, les présents en nature et en troupeaux qui sont offerts journellement au prince. D'où l'expression « se rendre ou se poster à l'entrée de la Cour » (kuja kw'ilembo ry'ibgami), afin de s'approprier les cadeaux et les vaches que les sujets viennent présenter au souverain. C'est un privilège temporaire qui ne se concède que pour la durée de quelques jours et jamais plus de deux ou trois mois au même individu.

c) « Ubulenga nzira » est une sorte de droit de dîme que le roi et les grands chefs accordent à un individu qu'ils veulent récompenser. Le titulaire de ce droit peut aller prélever chez les habitants du territoire sur lequel s'étend la juridiction du chef ou du monarque. Des vaches et des produits du sol, tels sont les avantages qu'il en retire aussi longtemps que la concession n'est pas révoquée.

d) Le droit de prélever une vache partout où l'on passe une nuit (kurar'inka) est surtout concédé en temps de guerre, à l'aller et au retour.

C'était un bon moyen de s'attacher les guerriers, qui faisaient grand cas du privilège et en tiraient profit en territoire ami ou ennemi.

e) Ubutumwa (message). Le droit de message vaut à l'envoyé du roi la permission de demander une vache au destinataire du message. On cite des gens qui ont réussi, grâce à cet emploi de courrier royal, à se constituer de beaux troupeaux.

f) « Ceux qui ne sont pas pillés » (abatanyagwa). C'est une sorte de privilège d'inviolabilité conféré par le prince à des chefs qu'il prend spécialement sous sa protection. Il

leur promet son aide et jure de ne jamais les livrer à leurs ennemis.

g) « Le droit d'aller se procurer des vivres durant la nuit » (oguhaha n' ijoro) est une métaphore polie ou mieux un aimable euphémisme pour dire que les bénéficiaires auxquels est octroyé ce privilège peuvent aller voler impunément de nuit. On raconte que cette curieuse permission fut donnée pour la dernière fois au clan des Bakoma, les descendants du roitelet de Marangara, qui surent l'exploiter au mieux de leurs intérêts.

Les faveurs de ce genre ne pouvaient étonner les Noirs, qui savaient bien que les biens des sujets appartiennent au roi et qu'en les prenant (lui-même directement ou par intermédiaire), il ne prenait que ce qui était à lui.

CHAPITRE V

Des garanties dont le roi s'entoure de la part de ses employés. Dangers auxquels étaient journellement exposés ces derniers. Usages et formalités auxquels s'astreignent le roi et ses sujets.

I. — Précautions employées par le roi pour s'assurer de la fidélité de ses employés et serviteurs.

Avec le dévouement le plus absolu, le roi exige aussi le secret le plus rigoureux de la plupart de ses gens. Ce sont surtout les cuisiniers, les servants de table (abōzi, abahanga), les échansons, les préparateurs du tabac et les préposés à la pipe du prince (abanyaruhago), qui ont le plus à se surveiller, pour ne pas s'exposer à sa colère et à ses soupçons.

Les devins-sacrificateurs et principalement ceux qui sont connus sous le nom d'Abakongori ou Abanyambuto, parce qu'ils utilisent la salive du roi dans leurs opérations, se livrent à leurs occupations dans le plus grand mystère. Il en est de même des historiens officiels (abachu-

rabgenge), des gardiens des traditions (abiru), des employés de la corporation royale des pompes funèbres; nul profane ne peut être admis dans leur intimité. Pour s'assurer de leur zèle, de leur attachement et de leur discrétion, le souverain les soumet, à leur entrée en charge, à une sorte de poison d'épreuve (igihango), qui, dans la pensée des Noirs, est à effet nocif, suspensif et subséquent. Pour ce faire les aspirants ou successeurs aux emplois précités étaient autrefois conduits à Gihinga, dans le Nduga, sur le bord d'une source célèbre, pour y boire le breuvage garant de leur fidélité dans l'avenir. Les préposés à ces sortes d'épreuves y jetaient dès la veille, des feuilles, des plantes et des branches d'arbustes jouant un grand rôle dans ce genre de cérémonies. On devait encore se procurer, pour la plonger dans l'eau, la corne d'un taureau et autant que possible celle d'un de ces animaux qui aurait tué au moins une personne, comme si le souvenir du sang versé devait désormais hanter le cerveau des nouveaux candidats et les remplir de terreur. L'acte s'accomplissait avec un grand sérieux. Après avoir bu de cette eau magique, défense expresse était faite aux participants à l'épreuve, de cracher, de fumer ou de boire de la bière durant les premiers jours, afin que le breuvage puisse exercer en eux toute sa vertu. Les Noirs sont, en effet, très méticuleux dans l'accomplissement de leurs rites et de leurs superstitions (imihango n'imigenzo). Les héros de l'épreuve étaient désormais censés ne plus pouvoir manquer à leurs obligations d'état. Ils s'étaient engagés à jamais et la moindre infidélité, le moindre manquement à leurs devoirs ne pouvaient avoir que des conséquences désastreuses entraînant la perte de la vie. Comme pour les initiés à la société secrète de Ryangombe, le poison d'épreuve avait désormais sur eux un effet suspensif et subséquent. C'était comme une sorte d'épée de Damoclès toujours prête à les frapper en cas de désobéissance ou de violation du secret.

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En buvant le breuvage magique, ils prenaient l'engagement implicite de servir le roi comme le comporte la nature de leurs fonctions et d'observer vis-à-vis des profanes le silence sur ce qui se passe à la Cour.

Malheur à eux s'ils allaient à l'encontre du secret professionnel.

On a vu que, pour conserver au breuvage (igihango) sa vertu supranaturelle, il était interdit aux candidats de fumer, de boire et de cracher. Comment faire pour éviter les effets désastreux que, d'après la croyance populaire, pouvait avoir sur la santé le poison d'épreuve ?

Coutumiers, comme le sont les Primitifs, des choses les plus étranges et les plus incroyables, les Banyarwanda estimaient que, pour être quitte de tout danger à cet égard, il suffisait de commettre aussitôt une faute honteuse.

En vertu et en conséquence de cette croyance, les parents des nouveaux débutants pensant leur être utiles, les entraînaient au loin, en dehors du clan, avec quelques amis. Là on se mettait à l'affût et l'on s'emparait d'un jeune homme ou d'une jeune fille, selon que le candidat était de l'un ou de l'autre sexe, et on lui faisait violence.

Il faut ajouter que, depuis l'arrivée des Européens, les Noirs connaissant la répugnance de ces derniers en pareille matière, n'ont plus osé accomplir cette dernière partie du programme.

II. — Dangers auxquels ont été exposés de tout temps les dignitaires, les employés et les familiers de la Cour.

On peut dire que, jusqu'à ces dernières années, le secret de certaines coutumes et traditions avait été bien gardé, par crainte des effets du poison d'épreuve et par peur du roi, qui n'aurait pas hésité à punir les délinquants à la première annonce de leur indiscrétion. Il est également vrai de dire que, jusqu'à notre époque, la plupart des ser-

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viteurs ou employés subalternes ont vécu dans le danger et sous la menace perpétuelle d'une mort violente, les guettant à chaque instant. Le monarque, ne comptant pas exclusivement sur l'efficacité du poison d'épreuve, ayant probablement de très bonnes raisons pour ne pas trop s'y fier, usait malheureusement souvent de ses prérogatives de souverain et de son pouvoir discrétionnaire sur toutes choses pour sévir à outrance. Rien ne comptait à ses yeux que son intérêt, ses caprices et ses passions. Celles-ci se donnaient fréquemment libre cours. Il suffisait d'un simple soupçon ou moins encore pour que de pauvres malheureux fussent frappés sans miséricorde.

Quelques exemples éclaireront les lignes précédentes. Ajoutons qu'ils ferment la série sanglante et qu'ils ne peuvent plus se renouveler à l'heure actuelle.

Les serviteurs les plus exposés ont été sans contredit ceux qui étaient préposés à la cuisine ou à la table du roi, ainsi que ceux qui étaient chargés de la garde de la bière ou du lait et les préparateurs du tabac. Pour ne pas allonger outre mesure la liste nécrologique, car les autres employés étaient bien loin d'être à l'abri du danger, on ne parlera que des victimes appartenant à ces dernières catégories de servants.

Kiryana (du mot kurya, manger) ou la « Maison qui dévore » ses habitants, tel est le nom de triste augure donné à la hutte où sont rangées les jattes de lait réservées au prince.

Deux ou trois gardiens sont affectés à ce service, qui consiste à nettoyer les jattes, à recevoir le lait que doivent apporter les chefs et à le présenter au roi, une fois par jour.

C'est de tous les métiers le plus redouté et le moins envié. Nombreuses en ont été les victimes et nombreux aussi ceux qui, pour refuser ce dangereux honneur, se sont enfuis au loin dans les pays limitrophes.

Aussi l'impose-t-on presque toujours de force. Rares,

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peut-on dire, furent ceux qui quittèrent leur emploi, sans y avoir laissé la vie. Les souverains, vivant, eux aussi, sous la crainte perpétuelle du poison ou de l'ensorcellement, nullement avares de par ailleurs du sang de leurs sujets, qui comptaient si peu à leurs yeux, ne se faisaient aucun scrupule de maintenir leur entourage dans une crainte salutaire, en frappant aveuglément dans les rangs de leurs serviteurs. Ceux qui tombaient servaient d'exemple à ceux qui restaient. Il s'agissait de leur inspirer la terreur et les inciter au zèle. Le roi, grâce à sa haute intelligence, à ses devins et à ses sorciers, passait pour ne rien ignorer de ce qui pouvait se tramer dans l'ombre contre lui.

Quelques cas concrets.

Un jeune homme était attaché depuis une quinzaine d'années à ce service spécial. Maintes et maintes fois, son souverain lui avait assuré qu'il était content de ses services et qu'il ne lui arriverait jamais malheur.

Ses aides et ses collègues disparaissaient, presque tous emportés par la fatalité sanglante qui s'attachait à eux et à leur emploi; lui seul demeurait inamovible. Pour se l'attacher davantage, le roi le comblait de biens et de vaches.

Une pensée inquiète venait-elle effleurer son âme, il songeait à ce qu'il possédait, à la faveur du monarque et à ce qu'il en attendait encore. Vint un temps où la reine-mère, influencée par des rivaux et des jaloux, commença à le persécuter. Notre homme avait beau se défendre, faisant appel à la garantie qu'il avait donnée en buvant le poison d'épreuve et manifestant de la façon la plus touchante les sentiments de loyauté qu'il nourrissait à l'égard de la famille royale, les soupçons qui pesaient sur lui ne firent que s'aggraver. La reine-mère, qui avait toujours un sabre à la main, en vint bientôt aux coups. Pendant que notre infortuné remplissait ses fonctions auprès du

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roi, en lui servant à boire, il sentit plusieurs fois la pointe du sabre effleurer son corps : « Traître, empoisonneur, fils de chien » (umwana w'imbga), telles étaient les épithètes qui accueillaient son arrivée. Le prince d'abord parut le défendre. Il lui dit même en particulier qu'il ne croyait pas aux calomnies portées contre lui, que tout s'arrangerait, que ses ennemis seraient démasqués et que la reine-mère finirait par lui rendre sa confiance.

Les jours se passaient, l'animosité de la mère ne diminuait pas et le roi n'intervenait plus que pour la forme.

Un soir, à la nuit tombante, le malheureux habitant de la « hutte qui dévore » se sentit vigoureusement empoigné.

Seul et surpris, il ne fit aucune résistance. On le conduisit dans une autre case.

Couché à terre, il fut solidement garrotté, les mains liées derrière le dos. Il eut beau faire appel à la pitié de ses geôliers en jurant de son innocence.

Ceux-ci lui ripostèrent qu'ils ne faisaient qu'exécuter les ordres royaux et qu'il y allait de leur tête.

C'était un langage compris du prisonnier. Bientôt il fut laissé à lui-même et à ses réflexions. Trop serré dans ses liens, incapable de se mouvoir, l'infortuné se lamentait, anxieux du sort qui l'attendait. Il était en proie aux pensées les plus amères, quand du milieu de l'obscurité surgirent dans sa prison trois ombres lugubres qui s'approchèrent de lui... Il pouvait être près de huit heures. Deux bâtons frôlèrent son cou, comme pour l'enserrer dans un étau. On allait l'étrangler. Dans une convulsion de désespoir, l'homme qui allait mourir réussit à briser les liens qui lui emprisonnaient les bras et les mains. En moins d'un instant, il s'empare des deux bâtons par un des bouts et oppose une résistance farouche aux efforts de ceux qui voulaient faire œuvre de mort, non sans pousser des appels déchirants, criant à l'aide et clamant son innocence aux échos d'alentour. L'immense agglomération formée

par l'ensemble des huttes royales retentissait des clameurs de l'homme qui se cramponnait à la vie... Nul ne pouvait ignorer ce dont il s'agissait.

On connaissait ces plaintes aiguës et déchirantes qui avaient frappé l'air plus d'une fois. Le cœur de tous se serrait d'émotion, mais chacun par crainte du maître ou des envieux, conservait un masque impassible ou moqueur, comme il convient à des gens qui vivent dans l'incertitude du lendemain.

La victime se débattait énergiquemnet contre ses adversaires, qui n'arrivaient pas à lui faire lâcher prise. Pendant que deux d'entre les bourreaux s'efforçaient de dégager les bâtons en le frappant sur la tête ou sur la poitrine et en lui donnant des coups de pied, le troisième roulait en sens divers la victime couchée à terre. Les exécuteurs qui en étaient à leur premier coup et qui n'avaient encore fait mourir personne, comprenant l'odieux de leur acte, tremblaient de tous leurs membres devant la désespérance du malheureux qu'on leur avait livré.

La lutte pour la vie touchait à son point extrême, mais il était évident que force devait rester enfin au groupe des adversaires libres dans leurs mouvements. Le hasard ou mieux la divine Providence voulut qu'un Européen, de passage à la capitale, eût affaire au roi à ce moment-là.

Entendant des clameurs désespérées s'élever dans l'intérieur de l'enceinte royale, le Blanc, ému, s'adressa vivement au prince... Celui-ci, feignant la surprise et l'étonnement, se précipite à la hâte dans la direction de la cour d'où viennent les cris, arrête les étrangleurs et vient aussitôt rassurer son interlocuteur.

L'individu qui allait passer de vie à trépas, épuisé par tant d'efforts, avait presque perdu connaissance, quand il s'entendit interpeller par une voix qui voulait être compatissante. C'était le roi lui-même qui jouait la commisération. Il donne à boire à son ex-favori un peu de bière, le fait lever et l'engage à le suivre, en lui promettant

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son élargissement. Il n'a jamais cru à sa culpabilité, ajoute-t-il, aussi le rendra-t-il bientôt à la liberté. Ses biens lui seront rendus et il reprendra son emploi à la Cour.

Il ne s'agit plus que d'une couple d'heures. Le pauvre captif, chancelant presque à chaque pas sous le coup de l'émotion et de la faiblesse, est conduit à une sorte de bâtiment en briques qui servait de prison. La porte est refermée sur lui.

Il se retrouve avec un compagnon, captif comme lui et qui compatit à son infortune. Plus heureux que lui, l'autre reçoit du dehors des vivres et du pombe, qui sont aussitôt partagés. Le courage et les forces nécessaires pour tenter une nouvelle lutte pour la vie reviennent au prisonnier, qui se sent à sa dernière heure.

Les paroles mielleuses du monarque ne l'ont pas trompé. Il sait que la partie a été remise et qu'on ne tardera pas à revenir. Son compagnon, bien au courant, lui aussi, des mœurs de la capitale, ne cherche pas à le détromper, loin de là. Ne craignant rien pour lui, parce que de race noble et trop connu pour qu'on puisse se débarrasser de lui en cachette, il est plein de commisération pour celui qui va bientôt mourir. Sûr de la discrétion de son codétenu et encouragé de ses conseils, le serviteur malheureux essaie de secouer la porte et pèse sur elle de tout son poids. Il n'y a rien à faire de ce côté-là; elle est trop bien fermée. Ses efforts sont inutiles, les planches, solidement clouées, résistent à ses assauts et à la pression de ses genoux. Le temps presse pourtant, car les bourreaux peuvent arriver d'un moment à l'autre.

S'aidant des pieds et des mains, l'incarcéré, chez qui le désir de vivre est plus fort que la mort qui plane sur lui, réussit à grimper sur le mur fait de briques sèches. Le bâtiment date déjà de quelques années, la terre qui a servi de mortier s'est effritée sous l'usure du temps, offrant çà et là prise à des doigts et à des ongles que commande

une volonté de fer. La tête du grimpeur touche le toit de chaume. L'homme se fait bien vite un passage à travers les bois et les bambous qui forment la charpente. Il était temps. La porte de la prison s'ouvrait au même instant et les exécuteurs entraient pour s'emparer du condamné. Celui-ci prend son élan et se jette dans le vide. Le mur était heureusement de hauteur moyenne. Le fugitif se foule toutefois un peu en retombant sur les pieds. N'ayant pas eu le temps de la réflexion, il n'avait fait qu'obéir à l'instinct de la conservation. L'imminence du danger lui donne des jambes, car sa chute au dehors a attiré l'attention de ceux qui le cherchaient vainement à l'intérieur.

L'alarme est donnée. On se met à la poursuite du fuyard. Celui-ci ne perd pas la tête. Au lieu de s'exposer à être rattrapé, ce qui ne manquerait pas d'arriver, s'il met uniquement son salut dans la fuite; notre homme, ayant un peu d'avance, se réfugie à la capitale même, chez un ami, dont il est absolument sûr. On pouvait s'attendre aussi à ce que des fouilles fussent organisées dans les cases. Afin de parer à ce nouveau danger, un de ces longs paniers qui servent à conserver les haricots dans l'intérieur des huttes, est apprêté pour recevoir le fugitif et lui fournir une cachette introuvable.

Pour plus de sûreté, on lui verse encore sur la tête une quantité de haricots, qui tout en le laissant respirer sur le côté, défieront les recherches des inquisiteurs. On eut beau inspecter et perquisitionner chez les habitants, ce fut en vain. La surveillance s'étant un peu relâchée, l'heureux évadé profita un beau soir des ténèbres de la nuit pour quitter à jamais ce lieu tragique qui avait failli devenir son tombeau. Sa retraite fut encore découverte quelque temps après. Le chef de l'endroit, sur des instigations venues d'en haut, fit cerner la hutte. Le propriétaire put échapper à temps.

L'affaire avait été ébruitée; de par ailleurs le pays s'organisait fortement sous l'administration européenne. Celle-ci

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eut vent de la chose. Un jugement eut lieu qui ne fut pas en faveur de ses persécuteurs.

Aussi le rescapé ne fut-il désormais plus inquiété.

Bon nombre d'années se sont écoulées depuis cet émouvant épisode. Le souvenir de ces terribles émotions n'en est pas moins resté pénible au héros de la tragédie, qui n'aime pas à revenir sur le passé. Les cicatrices obstinées qui lui labourent le visage, la poitrine et les bras corroborent la gravité des événements dont il faillit devenir la victime. Il a depuis lors rencontré plus d'une fois ses bourreaux novices, qui n'ont pas manqué, non sans quelque gêne, de le féliciter, tout en s'excusant de l'odieuse tâche qui leur avait été confiée : « Tu en as eu de la chance ! » lui ont-ils déjà dit (wagiz' Imana). Le roi nous avait quand même chargé d'une vilaine affaire.

« Tant mieux pour toi, puisque tu as réussi à te tirer d'un si mauvais pas. » On le présenta même un peu plus tard au monarque, qui fut tout d'abord interloqué. Se reprenant vite, il le complimente à son tour : « C'est Dieu qui t'a sauvé » (N'Imana yagukijije), ajouta-t-il. Par reconnaissance pour Dieu, qui l'avait tiré d'un si mauvais pas, l'heureux rescapé a transformé son nom de « Ngirimandwa » (Les esprits des initiés sont pour moi), en « Ngirimana », c'est-à-dire « J'ai Dieu (pour moi) ».

Après toute une série de circonstances aussi mouvementées et aussi dramatiques les unes que les autres, le dénoûment avait fini par tourner en faveur de Ngirimandwa.

Mais pour un rescapé qui a pu narrer par le détail les péripéties du drame dont il faillit devenir la victime, que d'infortunés disparurent dans l'antre tragique sans laisser aucune trace!

Les anciens, dont les lèvres étaient, autrefois, fermées par la loi du secret et la crainte des supplices, citent volontiers, aujourd'hui, les temps ayant bien changé, les noms des malheureux exécutés qu'ils ont connus. Ils se rappellent, parmi beaucoup d'autres, un jeune homme qui avait

été page. Son intelligence, son savoir-faire et sa vivacité avaient attiré sur sa personne l'attention du souverain, qui en fit son favori et ne pouvait se passer de lui. Comme pour l'autre, des années s'écoulèrent, puis la faveur du prince passa à d'autres.

Amitié de roi, amitié d'un jour, dit le proverbe.

Plus ou moins délaissé, on ne s'occupait presque plus de lui, quand il fut un jour invité à prendre du service dans la fameuse hutte sanglante.

Qu'avait-il fait pour que son sort fût fixé sans retour ? On l'ignore ou à peu près.

Environ huit jours après avoir reçu son nouvel emploi, il est mandé en toute hâte, comme pour une commission pressante. C'est la reine-mère qui l'a convoqué. Elle désire avoir des nouvelles d'une dame de la Cour qui vient d'accoucher.

Celle-ci habite à une petite distance de la capitale. La nuit tombe. Le messager se met en route. Il est accompagné d'un chef et d'un homme à tout faire.

Ils arrivent sur le bord d'un marais de sinistre mémoire où avaient lieu autrefois les exécutions sommaires.

Le jeune homme, insouciant, n'ayant rien à se reprocher, marchait en tête. Il est frappé par derrière... et depuis on n'en a jamais plus entendu parler.

Un autre habitant de la même hutte au nom de triste augure, tout aussi paisible que le précédent, mais plus âgé, fut à son tour brutalement saisi, après avoir été désigné par les osselets des devins, au moment où il s'y attendait le moins... Il réussit d'abord à s'enfuir et se cacha chez un ami. Ayant voulu gagner son village, il fut reconnu et repris en cours de route par un chef qui le ramena à la capitale. Jeté dans un cachot, il y est rejoint dans la nuit par des gens à la figure sinistre. Ils avaient à la main de grosses jarres à lait dont ils se servirent pour lui fracasser les mâchoires et la figure. Le prisonnier, étroitement lié, comme savent le faire les Noirs, était

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étendu à terre, dans l'impossibilité de faire le moindre mouvement. Les coups de pied et les coups de poing tombent en même temps dru sur la poitrine et le ventre du malheureux dont le corps ne fut bientôt qu'une plaie.

On l'étrangla pour en finir.

Plusieurs groupes de jeunes filles furent également tuées, les unes sous le prétexte fallacieux d'avoir empoisonné le tabac qu'elles préparaient, les autres pour avoir volé des colliers de perles. Ces dernières, après avoir avoué, furent d'abord jetées en prison. Un jour ou deux après, elles en sont tirées et conduites chez la reine-mère, qui, feignant la réconciliation et le pardon, les reçoit avec de grandes démonstrations de joie. L'hydromel leur est servi à flots. Un profond sommeil s'empare d'elles. Surviennent alors les exécuteurs des hautes œuvres, qui les étranglent...

Pour donner une idée de la fréquence des exécutions et de la variété des supplices, voici une sorte de tableau nécrologique, comprenant le nom des victimes et les circonstances de leur mort.

Ce tableau, incomplet, s'étend sur une vingtaine d'années, juste avant la prise officielle de possession par les Européens.

C'est sous toute réserve évidemment que nous donnons les renseignements ci-inclus. Nous ne garantissons pas l'authenticité de toutes les victimes et encore moins des détails touchant leur exécution. On ne fait que reproduire ce qu'en dit la rumeur publique dont les jugements et les affirmations sont quelquefois, sinon souvent, sujets à caution.

Victimes de la « maison du lait ».

1° Lwandenzi, de race Mututsi, originaire du Bgana-Chambge, fut conduit dans la forêt du Bugessera.

Ses bourreaux l'attachèrent à un arbre et lui coupèrent les pieds (kumusongor' ibirenge).

2° Lutindamateme, Umututsi, du village de Ntenyo (Nduga), d'abord lié, fut tué à coups de lance et jeté dans le marais de Ruboneye.

3° Lwanyonga, Mututsi, subit le même sort, en même temps que le précédent.

Son cadavre fut découpé en morceaux par les sorciers, qui voulaient empêcher que son esprit ne nuise au roi.

4° Minega, fils d'un certain Bushakiro, Mututsi de Mwendo (Nduga), fut égorgé dans la forêt du Bugessera.

5° Gahima, fils de Nyarwambari, Mututsi de Gassaka (près de Gisseke), fut assommé à coups de bâton dans la cour intérieure du palais.

6° Munyagishari, Mututsi, fut abattu à coups de lances et jeté dans le marais de Ruboneye.

7° Gakwise, de race Muhutu, eut le même sort.

8° Karara, Muhutu, subit la même mort.

9° Ntagwabira, Muhutu, mourut comme le précédent.

10° Ibingira, Mututsi, périt de même.

11° Butama, Muhutu, fut assommé à coups de bâton.

12° Majanjo, Mututsi, s'étrangla lui-même dans sa prison, pour échapper au supplice qui l'attendait.

13° Kajigiri, Mututsi, du pays du Gissaka, fut d'abord lié. Ses bourreaux le soulevèrent à plusieurs reprises et le laissèrent retomber sur la tête. Il fut achevé à coups de bâton.

14° Lwamiheto reçut de nombreux coups de bâton. Délivré presque aussitôt, il mourut trois mois après, des mauvais traitements subis, ajoute la rumeur publique.

15° Kayonga et son fils, après maintes péripéties, furent égorgés à coups de lances et jetés dans le marais de Ruboneye.

Victimes pour d'autres motifs.

1° Bigutu et Balikage, ce dernier fils de Bisango et chef de la province du Bgishaza, furent tués, pendant que la Cour était à Kamonyi, après avoir été accusés d'être les ennemis du nouveau régime.

2° Le grand chef Mututsi Lutishereka, ses fils et quelques-uns de ses gens, furent égorgés, pendant que la Cour séjournait à Mukingo, sur les instigations de Luhinankiko, qui reprochait à ce haut personnage d'avoir poussé au meurtre de son ami Baryinyonza, un des fils de Lwabugiri.

3° Serukenyinkware, du clan Mututsi des Bachumbi, fut accusé du même crime. On le coupa en morceaux, durant un séjour de la Cour à Mwima.

4° Trois employés de la Cour, à Nyanza, furent surpris à égorger une vache qu'ils avaient volée au roi.

On les condamna à mourir sous les coups de lance; ils mirent leur point d'honneur à ne pas laisser échapper le moindre gémissement.

5° Un jeune Mututsi, après avoir été lié et fustigé, à coups de baguettes durant le cours d'une journée, fut traîné encore vivant, par les pieds, jusque dans le marais, pour y être achevé par les Batwa.

6° Deux habitants du village de Musumba (Nduga), les nommés Lukesha et Lugingabahizi, eurent les mains et les pieds coupés, pour crime d'ensorcellement. Lwibishenga, le propre frère de la reine-mère, ayant failli perdre les yeux, à la suite de la maladie du pian, on en rendit responsables les deux pauvres hères.

7° Deux Bahutu furent fusillés à bout portant, dans la cour du palais, pour crime d'espionnage.

8° Une esclave (umuja) fut assommée, en cours de route, pendant la nuit, alors qu'on lui avait conseillé de quitter la Cour et d'aller chercher fortune ailleurs. Elle était punie pour n'avoir pas surveillé d'assez près la conduite morale de deux jeunes princesses de sang royal.

9° Luhinankiko, frère de la reine-mère Nyirayuhi, avait été dépouillé de ses biens pour avoir fait tuer Lutishereka. Il dut même s'enfuir à l'Urundi, où il passa une quinzaine d'années.

Kabale, le régent, ne pouvant se venger sur lui comme il le souhaitait, s'en prit à ses amis et à ses partisans.

Chaka, le gendre de Luhinankiko, Sebuharara et Rulinda, ses protégés furent attaqués dans le Buganza, par les gens du puissant ministre. Vaincus et ne pouvant s'enfuir, ils s'enfermèrent dans une hutte, y mirent le feu et périrent ainsi dans les flammes.

Kaningo, qui était de leur parti, fut dépouillé de ses biens. Sur le point d'être pris et songeant à ce qui l'attendait à la capitale, il se brûla à son tour dans sa case.

10° Les Banyarwanda se souviennent encore du supplice des six « empoisonneurs » (1) que le chef Kanuma conduisit à Nyanza.

Les malheureux eurent les pieds et les mains coupés.

11° Nyantanyi, fils de Semakamba, fut livré par Musinga à Gashamura, fils de Lukagirashamba. Lwamwa, un des fils de ce dernier, avait été tué à Ndolandi, pays dont il voulait s'emparer, par les gens de Nyantanyi. Les Batsobe, ses parents, portèrent plainte au roi, qui leur donna satisfaction en leur remettant le chef local de l'endroit.

Nyantanyi fut lié et conduit par Gashamura et ses partisans en dehors du palais. Le fils de Lwamwa lui porte un premier coup de lance sur le flanc et presque aussitôt vingt, trente coups de lances l'étendent à terre. On lui coupa la tête et la main droite, pour les montrer aux autres partisans, comme cela se faisait dans la vendetta. Détail à noter : Gashamura était l'oncle par alliance de Nyantanyi et son propre beau-père.

Sentashonga, le cousin de la victime, obtint dans la soirée la permission de faire inhumer le cadavre de son parent.

Les vieux et les anciens habitués de la Cour ne tarissent pas en récits de ce genre qu'ils débitent à la façon d'une leçon, sans trop s'en montrer scandalisés. Tel est le milieu, telles sont les mœurs et les idées.

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(1) On désigne ainsi les individus qui sont soupçonnés du prétendu crime d'ensorcellement.

« Le roi est le maître, disent-ils, il fait ce qu'il veut. Les décisions prises par lui sont sans appel. Il est le juge souverain. On n'a qu'à obéir et s'incliner. » Les parents des victimes étaient quelquefois les premiers à venir le saluer en feignant une impassibilité absolue, obligés qu'ils étaient de refouler dans le plus profond du cœur la peine amère qu'ils ne pouvaient pas ne pas éprouver.

Plaintes, gémissements, récriminations n'auraient fait qu'enflammer la colère du monarque et auraient donné motif à de nouvelles hécatombes.

Tout en veillant à sa propre sécurité, chacun doit encore songer à la vie des siens. Ceux-ci, en effet, peuvent être rendus responsables des faits et gestes, même les moins peccamineux, de n'importe lequel de leurs membres. L'extermination d'une famille comptait fort peu, autrefois, dans la balance de la justice royale.

Aussi pour ne pas s'attirer des désagréments qui pouvaient devenir mortels, faisait-on bon visage contre mauvaise fortune. Les exécutés, quelle que fût leur innocence, ne pouvaient être que des maudits (ibichibga) ou des révoltés, clamait-on tout haut. Verser des larmes ou dire son chagrin devenait un crime de lèse-majesté : « Un simple caprice du maître suffisait pour être envoyé au supplice. Que ne fallait-il donc pas faire pour éviter un sort si cruel? » Cette réflexion d'un favori de la Cour de l'avant-règne, en dit long sur les mœurs de l'époque. « Arrivait-il au roi, ajoutait le même individu, de se fouler le pied, de heurter contre un obstacle ou un caillou quelconque, il n'aurait pas fait bon se rencontrer avec lui, à ce moment-là. »

Dans sa colère, le monarque pouvait accuser n'importe qui de l'avoir ensorcelé et en tirer sur-le-champ une vengeance éclatante.

On ne recourait pas toujours aux bourreaux de métier. Le roi s'adressait pour cela aux premiers venus de son entourage. Il fallait s'exécuter, quel que fût le dégoût

inspiré par cette terrible profession. Les mains inhabiles à faire œuvre de mort s'en ressentaient quelquefois, mais l'œil du maître était là et il fallait aller jusqu'au bout. Le fait d'être ami de la victime ne dispensait personne de ce travail odieux.

D'une façon générale et à part de rares exceptions, on peut dire que les sujets ne s'en épouvantaient pas outre mesure, tant c'était chose reçue à l'époque.

Les Banyarwanda ne s'en estimaient pas moins supérieurs aux autres Noirs, qu'ils croyaient surpasser en intelligence et en civilisation. Malgré les tares et les taches du passé, ils rejettent avec humeur le terme de « Shenzi », exclusivement réservé aux non-civilisés, comme ne s'appliquant nullement à eux et à leurs pères. On est heureux de fermer la page sur ces mœurs cruelles, en songeant que le rideau du temps est à jamais tiré sur le passé.

III. — Empoisonnement et ensorcellement; emploi des charmes et des philtres.

Que faut-il penser au juste des victimes dont la mort a été attribuée à l'ensorcellement ou à l'empoisonnement ? Il est certain que les Noirs en parlent beaucoup. Leur crédulité à ce sujet est extraordinaire et universelle.

De nombreux exemples de morts sont cités comme ayant été la conséquence de l'une ou de l'autre de ces accusations.

Ajoutons que les indigènes connaissent une foule de méthodes pour ensorceler leurs ennemis et que les sorciers et sorcières de cette catégorie malfaisante abondent dans le pays. Ce qui est sûr, c'est que la réputation surchargée de ces derniers est plus mauvaise que leurs actes.

Quant aux crimes d'empoisonnement, on peut tenir pour assuré qu'il y a eu des tentatives et qu'on a utilisé pour cela des matières toxiques, tirées les unes du pays lui-même, les autres achetées dans les contrées limi-

trophes, l'Uswi et le Bunyabungu. Quelle est la nocivité de ces poisons ? Il n'est pas facile de le dire, parce que, d'une part, on n'a jamais pu constater *de visu* un vrai cas d'empoisonnement, bien que les Noirs en soient absolument persuadés et en citent de nombreux exemples. D'autre part, on ne connaît pas encore assez bien les ingrédients qui entrent dans leur composition.

Tout au plus entend-on, d'après la rumeur publique, parler de serpents, de crapauds, de cadavres humains (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), de crocodiles, etc., dont on utilisait les chairs putréfiées. Les Noirs sont encore convaincus qu'on emploie les poumons des tuberculeux pour communiquer aux autres cette maladie ([1]).

D'après la croyance populaire, ces poumons, une fois desséchés, sont réduits en poudre, pour pouvoir l'introduire plus facilement dans le chalumeau qui sert à boire la bière indigène. Le sang des règles (irungu), dont ils ont une peur extrême et une vive répugnance, passe, d'après l'opinion publique, pour déterminer un empoisonnement lent quand on a réussi à le faire absorber à un ennemi. On mélange en cachette cette substance aux aliments. Il est également question de sucs vénéneux, tels que le lait de différentes variétés d'euphorbes (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) et de certaines plantes, par exemple, le « muhoko », qui sert aussi pour l'avortement. Pour que le lait de cactus et le suc du « muhoko » puissent entraîner la mort, il en faudrait une quantité telle que l'intéressé ne manquerait pas de s'en douter en en buvant. Il est donc difficile de s'en servir fréquemment.

Les Banyarwanda connaissent encore comme toxiques

([1]) Cette maladie est fréquente parmi les Batutsi, qui en ont grande peur.

Ils savent fort bien qu'elle ne pardonne pas. D'où aussi leur grande imprécation : « Puisses-tu mourir de la tuberculose ! » (uragichwa n' igituntu).

les plantes suivantes : « urwizilinga », « umutambasha » et « igisura ». L' « urwizilinga » est l'arbuste, avons-nous dit, qui rappelle un peu le datura. C'est celui dont le suc ou l'écorce réduite en poussière est employé dans les ordalies. L' « umutambasha » est un autre arbuste dont on écrase les feuilles pour en retirer le jus. Les Banyarwanda l'utilisent pour tuer les rats. Pour cela ils le mêlent à la nourriture qui sert d'appât aux rongeurs.

L' « igisura » appartient à la famille des urticacées.

Cette plante atteint près d'un mètre cinquante de haut. Les malades du pian en boivent le jus comme remède; ils doivent veiller à ne pas en prendre une trop forte dose, pour ne pas s'exposer à une intoxication grave.

Le bruit a couru que des gens malintentionnés ont essayé de l'une ou de l'autre de ces plantes et tout particulièrement du « mutambasha » ou mort aux rats, pour se venger et se défaire de leurs ennemis.

De petits paquets d'herbes ont été retrouvés chez des gens soupçonnés de pratiquer le métier d'empoisonneur.

Dans quel but avait-on recueilli ces plantes? Peut-être le sorcier avait-il essayé de leur conférer une nocivité qu'elles n'avaient pas d'elles-mêmes. Les mauvaises langues du pays assurent que des mains royales auraient, au moins une fois, malaxé ces matières réputées nocives dans du lait, du miel et du beurre, destinés à des Européens de passage. La personne en question en avait été pour ses frais, ce qui lui avait fait dire qu'il était impossible de se débarrasser des Blancs, que les poisons, les sortilèges et les ensorcellements n'avaient aucune prise sur eux. Nous inclinons à croire qu'il s'agissait dans le cas en question de charmes et de philtres et non de produits intoxicants.

On assure que l'avant-dernier roi de l'Uswi, Gasusuro, l'un des fournisseurs habituels de ces sortes de produits, aurait un beau jour répondu aux émissaires de la Cour, venus dans ce but, que, désormais, il ne leur en livrerait plus, qu'il en avait fini avec tous les poisons. Il est fort

possible aussi que la crainte d'être surpris dans ce métier, lui ait dicté sa réponse. Ajoutons, pour rester dans la vérité, que bien loin sont les temps où de pareilles choses pouvaient être dites et tramées contre les Européens [1].

L'emploi des charmes, pour se concilier les bonnes grâces des Européens, n'a survécu que de quelques années à l'utilisation des poisons précités. Ces derniers ayant été réputés inutiles ou tout au moins dangereux quant aux conséquences, on recourut aux charmes (inzaratsi). Les fabricants de charmes désignés sous le nom générique d'« Abanyamihango », hommes des traditions, exercent un métier qui est considéré comme lucratif et honorable, quand les professionnels ne sortent pas des limites de leur art.

La rumeur publique les accuse, en effet, mais à tort très probablement, de tromper les gens et de donner du poison au lieu de charmes inoffensifs. Ce sont surtout les femmes qui usent du secours de leur art et font appel à leurs poudres pour attirer sur elles l'attention et les faveurs d'un mari infidèle ou oublieux. Les sorciers de cette catégorie utilisent dans ce but des plantes et des arbustes suivants : l'« umukunde » au nom significatif d'arbre d'amour, l'« umutanga », l'« umugobora », l'« umukeri », sorte de ronce sauvage, le « nkurimonga », l'« umuhire », le « buryoher' imfizi », c'est-à-dire la « plante qui convient au goût des taureaux », etc. Les fabricants de philtres en prennent l'écorce, la feuille ou les racines pour les faire sécher au soleil. Le tout est écrasé et réduit en poussière. Il suffit ensuite de mettre un peu de cette poudre dans de la bière ou du beurre ou

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(1) Les Noirs vivent sous la crainte presque continuelle de l'ensorcellement et de l'empoisonnement.

Rachitisme, tuberculose, mort subite et étrange, surtout quand le cadavre enfle aussitôt, ne peuvent avoir pour eux d'autres causes que celles-là.

Que de pauvres gens on payé de leur vie pour avoir été accusés faussement de ces méfaits supposés !

encore d'en frotter un bâton ou une lance, afin d'obtenir l'effet désiré. L'épouse délaissée qui réussit à faire boire de cette bière à son mari, reprendra infailliblement la première place dans le cœur de celui-ci. Le résultat est le même si ce dernier oint ses membres et son corps avec le beurre qui a reçu la précieuse poudre.

L'usage d'un bâton de voyage ou le port d'une lance, frottés avec l'une des susdites poudres, portera bonheur à son possesseur. Ses paroles et ses demandes seront toutes agréées et ses interlocuteurs ne pourront lui nuire.

Aussi le roi et les grands de la Cour tinrent-ils, à leur tour, à user d'un moyen si simple et si efficace pour gagner le cœur des Européens et les influencer dans le sens de leurs besoins et de leurs désirs. Au début de ses relations avec les Blancs, Musinga se présentait souvent ayant à la main une petite baguette dont il tournait la pointe d'abord de son côté pendant qu'il parlait et ensuite du côté de ses interlocuteurs, afin d'influencer leurs réponses. La baguette a été désignée sous le nom d' « uruchubyo », du mot « guchubya », qui indique l'action de refouler dans la marmite l'eau entrée en ébullition et cela par le moyen d'une baguette ainsi appelée. Les Noirs ont trouvé une certaine similitude entre les deux faits. De même que marmitons et cuisiniers empêchent le liquide de se répandre en le refoulant au fond du pot-au-feu, ainsi fait celui qui détient la baguette magique en détournant de lui le mal que pourraient lui faire ses interlocuteurs (ngo atsind' amagambo mabi). Heureuse et inoffensive crédulité, qui ne fait de mal à personne!

IV. — Usages et formalités auxquels sont astreints le roi et ses sujets.

Les rapports qu'ont les sujets avec leur souverain sont empreints d'un profond respect, respect superstitieux et craintif tout à la fois. Les Banyarwanda ne connaissaient

autrefois pas d'autres sentiments, à l'égard du monarque, que celui de la crainte révérentielle. La majesté dont s'entourait le roi et les exécutions sanglantes qui corroboraient sa puissance absolue sur toutes choses, ne contribuaient pas médiocrement à maintenir ce sentiment, accompagné pour beaucoup d'une attitude de servilité. Le monarque était un vrai demi-dieu, bien supérieur aux autres hommes, d'où les usages et les formalités suivantes, réglant les rapports de sujet à souverain.

1. — Le roi est réveillé par les tambours que l'on commence à frapper à partir de quatre ou cinq heures du matin. En réalité, le prince ne se lève pas avant 7 h. ½ ou 8 heures. Au moment où il quitte sa couche, des femmes viennent moudre une poignée de sorgho ou d'éleusine, pendant qu'une jeune fille secoue la grosse courge (igisabo) qui sert à baratter.

L'observation de ces coutumes a pour effet d'attirer sur le roi et le royaume la prospérité figurée par la présence du sorgho, de l'éleusine et du beurre. Les « Impara » ou groupe d'initiés à la société secrète de Ryangombe font ensuite leur apparition.

Balançant de droite à gauche la grotesque coiffure dont ils sont affublés, ils entrent en dansant et en chantant, en faisant résonner les grelots et les sistres qu'ils portent à la main.

Ils appellent sur le souverain la protection de Ryangombe et des autres initiés défunts.

2. — Pour parler du roi et de ses actions les plus communes comme les plus ordinaires, l'usage veut qu'on se serve de termes imagés et nobles, comme, par exemple, les suivants : kubikirwa ou kwisasira au lieu de kuryama, qui signifie se coucher.

igisasiro pour uburiri . . . . . = couche royale.
kubamburwa pour kubyuka . . . . = se lever.
kuj' ijabiro pour kuboneka . . . . = apparaître.
inyundo pour amaguru . . . . . = jambes.
ingoro pour inzu. . . . . = maison.

ingoro irakamwa pour inzu irava . . = il pleut dans la hutte.
ingoro irahonjoka pour inzu iragwa . = la hutte tombe de vétusté (1).

Pour parler de la mort du roi, on se sert d'expressions figurées :

gutabara . . . . . = aller au secours, partir en guerre.
gutanga . . . . . = céder (le tambour au successeur).
kunywa . . . . . = boire (le poison).
gussaza . . . . . = vieillir.
gusezera . . . . . = prendre congé.
ijuru ryaguye . . . . = le ciel est tombé.

3. — Il serait on ne peut plus irrespectueux de faire allusion à tout ce qui touche à sa mort future. Le roi, en voyage, doit éviter de passer trop près des cimetières ou même des simples « haltes de nuit » (ilaro, amalaro), où reposèrent autrefois les cadavres de ses prédécesseurs durant leur transfert aux nécropoles royales.

Il ne lui est pas davantage permis de passer la nuit dans les villages habités par les employés des pompes funèbres.

Ceux-ci également doivent éviter de paraître en sa présence et se servir d'un intermédiaire s'ils ont affaire avec le roi.

Comme si la pensée, le souvenir et l'image de la mort pouvaient abréger ses jours ou lui attirer des malheurs!

4. — Autant que possible Sa Majesté doit éviter de plover les genoux (guhina), afin que son royaume ne puisse pas subir d'amoindrissement de territoire (2).

(1) Kubikirwa vient du mot kubika, serrer un objet, le mettre à sa place; kwisasira signifie étendre les nattes par terre; igisasiro, l'endroit où sont étendues les nattes; kubamburwa, être éveillé; kuj' ijabiro, aller à l'endroit de la hutte où l'on cause avec les invités; inyundo, marteau en fer; ingoro, palais; ingoro irakamwa, le palais se trait, pour dire qu'il y pleut; ingor' irahonjoka, le palais s'engraisse (c'est-à-dire s'enfle), parce qu'il s'écroule de vétusté.

(2) Surpris par un orage ou le mauvais temps, le roi ne doit pas presser le pas; il faut qu'il aille posément se mettre à l'abri. La pluie est considérée comme une bénédiction due à l'influence du prince. Une marche hâtive de sa part pourrait arrêter l'ondée bienfaisante.

Nous pensons que cette croyance populaire sera bientôt reléguée au dernier plan et que le monarque ne sera plus aussi disposé à se soumettre à toutes les exigences de sa charge.

5. — Dans certains cas et pour certains objets le roi doit se servir lui-même directement. Veut-il jouer du tambour, ainsi qu'il aime à le faire, ses suivants au lieu de lui offrir les baguettes dans un mouvement naturel et spontané, les déposeront à terre devant lui. Le prince les prendra lui-même.

Ce geste de présentation, que nous trouvons si simple, s'il était exécuté, pourrait le faire mourir (gukenya).

6. — C'est pour le même motif que les gens de service affectés à la garde du lait dans la fameuse hutte qui dévore (ikiryana) ses habitants, suivent la même coutume. Deux ou trois grandes jarres remplies de lait sont apportées dans la case où le roi se fait servir. Elles sont soigneusement fermées au moyen d'un couvercle tissé de fibres végétales.

De petits vases en bois, connus sous le nom de « ichyantsi » (au pluriel ibyantsi), sont déposés devant Sa Majesté. Il y en a deux, quatre ou même huit, peu importe, mais ils doivent être d'une propreté immaculée. Le servant remplit un premier récipient que le roi prend lui-même sans le secours de personne.

Si le lait est à son goût, il continue à boire, mais en se gardant bien d'aller jusqu'au bout.

Il doit en laisser la moitié, sinon le lait pourrait devenir rare (ngw'amata atagabanuka) dans le royaume. Pendant ce temps-là, le serviteur remplit un autre vase dont le roi s'empare directement comme il a fait pour le premier.

Celui-ci est de nouveau rempli. Le service de table se continue ainsi jusqu'à ce que le roi soit rassasié.

7. — L'usage exige que, quand on se présente à la Cour, il faut frapper trois fois les mains l'une contre l'autre (gukom'amashi) en se servant des formules accoutumées avec la seule qualification de roi (umwani) ou de Sire (Nyagasani). C'est à peu près la seule marque extérieure de respect que se soient réservée les souverains.

8. — Le roi ne doit jamais de nuit se séparer du marteau indigène surnommé « Nyarushara ». Cet instrument l'accompagne dans ses déplacements.

Il est placé sous l'herbe fine qui sert de traversin et d'oreiller au monarque (barayisegurir' umwami).

C'est une sorte de talisman ancien, qui, en théorie, n'a encore rien perdu de sa puissance mystique. Il fut forgé autrefois, d'après les indications de Mashira, le roitelet-sorcier, par un habile forgeron, Gihu, fils de Muhinda, sur la colline de Mpanda (mu Buhigiro, i Kizibaziba), dans le Nduga, pour permettre au roi hamite avec lequel ce prince autochtone avait fait alliance, de refouler les Banyoro qui avaient envahi le Rwanda. Le marteau, à forme octogonale (imigong' umunane), symbolisait un être symbolique tout-puissant; l'artisan, sur les indications de Mashira, lui avait forgé deux seins [1]. Mutabazi, le fils du monarque, n'eut qu'à s'asseoir et tenir sur ses genoux le « terrible » engin magique dirigé face à l'ennemi. Celui-ci fut taillé en pièces.

Deux autres petits marteaux, ayant la même origine et ayant aussi joué le même rôle, sont rangés à côté du Nyarushara. On les désigne sous le nom d'« ubushingo » ou « abagaragu bayo », c'est-à-dire ses « compagnons ». Tous les matins, vers les neuf heures environ, quand on frappe le tambour dit « Ndamutsa » (je salue) annonçant le lever et l'apparition du monarque, celui-ci doit toucher le marteau talisman, comme si le bonheur de la journée en dépendait.

9. — « Inyundo ya Barenge », le marteau des gens appelés Barenge.

On ne sait pas au juste la raison pour laquelle ce marteau ainsi nommé est conservé à la Cour.

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[1] Ces détails montrent l'importance attachée à cette arme mystique redoutable. Rien n'est oublié des particularités concernant sa fabrication, la date, le lieu, l'artisan, l'inspirateur du projet, etc.

Appartient-il réellement aux Barenge, qui ont vécu, il y a plusieurs siècles, dans le pays? Il est difficile de le dire. Comme il est très lourd et pèse deux ou trois fois plus qu'un marteau ordinaire, les hommes de peine du roi s'en servent quelquefois de masse pour enfoncer les pieux (imiganda) en terrain rocailleux [1].

10. — Appareil dont s'entoure le roi en voyage; coutumes suivies à cette occasion.

Les princes hamites, en cours de route, à travers les provinces du royaume, doivent, en vertu d'une tradition séculaire, camper autant que possible chez les Bagessera.

On se souvient que le totem de ces derniers est la bergeronnette et qu'un Muyarwanda, Mututsi ou Muhutu, ne peut entrer dans une habitation nouvellement construite avant que le volatile n'ait fait son apparition sur la case ou dans les environs immédiats.

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[1] L'existence de pierres ayant la forme de marteau a donné lieu à plusieurs récits.

Les Banyarwanda se figuraient autrefois que la voûte du ciel était une sorte de croûte rocheuse (urutare).

Aussi dans la légende de Kigwa expliquent-ils de la façon suivante la chute du premier roi hamite et son établissement dans le Rwanda. « Kigwa, disent-ils, étant au ciel, voulait savoir ce qu'il y avait au pays d'en bas.

« Prenant un marteau, il frappa à coups redoublés sur la voûte céleste. Une légère ouverture s'y fit et le marteau lui échappant des mains, tomba au Mulera, à l'endroit dit Gifuna. Avec un deuxième marteau il voulut élargir l'orifice. Il s'y prit avec une telle violence que la voûte s'effondra sous lui. Kigwa tomba du ciel, mais se releva sain et sauf au pays sacré du Buhanga, dans la plaine du Muko. Le marteau s'enfonça près de Ntenyo, à l'emplacement désigné sous le nom de Nyundo (marteau).

« Celui-ci s'y voit encore », ajoutent les Noirs. A la place indiquée, on trouve une pierre ressemblant de loin à un marteau indigène.

Les indigènes l'entourent d'un culte superstitieux mêlé de crainte. On ne peut y toucher. Si l'on portait une main sacrilège pour la faire remuer, la grêle ne tarderait pas, d'après les croyances locales, à venger l'affront fait à l'outil sacré.

La même légende ajoute que la mère de Kigwa se pencha aussitôt au-dessus du trou pour savoir ce qu'était devenu son fils. La coiffure d'ornementation (urugore) qu'elle portait sur la tête s'échappa et resta suspendue dans les airs.

On croit que cet ornement (originairement fait d'une large tige de sorgho) est l'origine de la lune !...

Les Bagessera ont, d'après la crédulité publique, le privilège d'entrer en relations avec l'oiseau porte-bonheur. Les Noirs invitent les membres de ce clan à utiliser leur savoir-faire pour attirer la bergeronnette.

Le roi fait appel à leurs services comme le dernier de ses sujets. C'est peut-être à cause de ce rôle joué par les Bagessera que le souverain choisit leurs villages pour y passer la nuit.

L'autre motif pour lequel le monarque loge de préférence chez eux vient peut-être de la considération attachée aux membres de cette tribu que l'on croit être la plus ancienne du Rwanda. Ils ont donné leur nom à la province dite du « Bugessera » dont se réclament tous les Bagessera.

Ils sont de plus les protecteurs nés choisis par les princes hamites pour écarter le mauvais sort qui les menace en certaines circonstances. Les Banyarwanda ont, en effet, de ces sortes de défenseurs mystiques pris parmi les membres d'une tribu étrangère à la leur.

Ces individus passent pour avoir le pouvoir d'éloigner les dangers imaginaires qui atteignent les humains. On les appelle « abase » (au singulier umuse). Les Banyarwanda font appel à leur toute-puissance, lors d'un décès [1], d'une perte de fortune, du pillage d'un troupeau, de la construction d'une hutte, de l'imposition d'un nom à l'enfant et de sa dentition, de la célébration d'un mariage, etc.

Les Bagessera étant les protecteurs des princes hamites on conçoit que les monarques aillent leur demander l'hospitalité.

Si les membres de cette famille font défaut, le roi campe chez les Bazigaba, dont l'ancêtre Kazigaba était le

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[1] Au Bugoyi, le muse ou protecteur est chargé d'enlever de la hutte du défunt le pilier principal sur lequel aimait à s'appuyer le propriétaire décédé, le bois (umusego) qui est à la tête du lit, le rondin qui servait de chaise et le petit bois qui surmontait le toit de la case. Le tout est déposé sur la tombe.

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propre frère de Kagessera, le fondateur du clan des Bagessera. Si les uns et les autres n'habitent pas la région que traverse le monarque, celui-ci s'adresse successivement aux Banyiginya, aux Bega et en dernier lieu aux Bakono.

Le potentat, en voyage, est accompagné d'une garde d'honneur composée de Batutsi, de Bahutu et de Batwa, qui couchent durant la nuit autour de la hutte royale.

Cinq ou six tambourineurs marchent en tête du cortège et frappent de temps à autre sur leurs instruments. Les tambours résonnent encore à l'entrée de la nuit et au premier chant des oiseaux.

Des vachers attitrés poussent devant eux un petit troupeau de vaches laitières pour subvenir aux besoins du roi.

Le passage d'un prince équivalait autrefois à un désastre pour les habitants de l'endroit qui avaient à héberger les membres du cortège.

La suite ne comprenait pas seulement les courtisans, la garde royale, les sorciers et les employés habituels. Les seigneurs qui tenaient à conserver les bonnes grâces du souverain se faisaient un devoir de l'accompagner avec leurs nombreux serviteurs. A l'escorte se joignaient aussi, en cours de route, des oisifs et des hommes à tout faire, rançonnant les indigènes qui avaient le malheur de recevoir leur visite.

C'était en fait une véritable armée, qui n'épargnait amis ni ennemis, foulant sur leur passage les récoltes sur pied, dépouillant les voyageurs et prenant de force chez l'habitant ce qui n'avait pu être caché à temps.

Les gens qui composaient la suite habituelle de Kigeri IV Lwabugiri furent surnommés les Pilleurs (¹) à cause de leurs exactions.

11. — Par acquit de conscience, nous citons les deux coutumes suivantes que les gardiens des traditions assurent avoir été suivies autrefois

(¹) Leur surnom indigène « ibitsimbanyi » est un substantif dérivé du verbe gutsimba, qui veut dire piller, rançonner.

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Le roi, à l'annonce de la mort d'un souverain voisin, de l'Uswi, de l'Urundi ou du Karagwe, devait quitter sa résidence et se faire construire une nouvelle habitation [1].

A chaque avènement au trône, un envoyé spécial allait puiser à une source appelée « Zina », située dans la vallée de la Russizi. Il emportait un peu de cette eau pour la faire boire au jeune monarque.

On ne se rappelle plus la raison de cette pratique qui est tombée en désuétude.

CHAPITRE VI

Des deux grandes fêtes de la Cour; de l'exhibition des troupeaux sacrés et de l'exposition des objets du trésor royal.

I. — Des deux grandes fêtes de la Cour.

Les deux plus grandes solennités (ibirori) ont lieu à l'occasion de la présentation officielle des « Prémices » et au lendemain du deuil annuel que doivent porter le roi et sa Cour.

Cette dernière fête, qui clôture le mois de juin, se célèbre avec la même pompe et la même affluence. Comme il en sera parlé dans le chapitre où il est question des honneurs rendus aux mânes royaux, nous ne traiterons ici que de la fête dite des « Prémices ».

Les Banyarwanda, dans leur admiration et leur enthousiasme pour Ruganzu II le Victorieux, vont jusqu'à lui faire honneur de presque tout ce qu'ils ont en fait de plantes ou graines nourricières. Une mention spéciale est faite pour le sorgho, l'éleusine et une sorte de plante pous-

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[1] Les temps ont changé. Le choix d'un emplacement et la construction d'un nouveau « palais » offriraient aujourd'hui trop de difficultés. Lors du décès du prince de l'Urundi, le roi se contenta sur les conseils de son entourage de passer huit jours en dehors de sa demeure habituelle, dans une case qui s'élevait à proximité. Les sorciers lui assurèrent qu'il n'y avait plus rien à craindre de la part des esprits auxquels toute satisfaction avait été donnée par ce truquage.

sant à l'état sauvage, connue sous le nom d' « issogi » [1], à cause de l'importance qu'ils tiennent dans l'économie domestique.

Leur introduction dans le Rwanda par le grand monarque fait l'objet de multiples récits plus ou moins contradictoires.

On ne citera que les plus connus.

« Un chef du pays du Bumbogo, raconte-t-on d'après une tradition, avait enlevé et épousé la sœur de Ruganzu, au grand mécontentement de celui-ci, qui avait juré d'en tirer une vengeance éclatante. Pour apaiser le courroux de son royal beau-frère, le ravisseur crut bien faire de lui députer une ambassade avec des cadeaux. Parmi ces derniers se trouvaient plusieurs paniers de sorgho et d'éleusine, graminées alors inconnues dans le Rwanda.

» Le roi en apprécia l'importance, pardonna dès lors à l'offenseur, mais en lui imposant l'obligation annuelle d'apporter à la capitale un panier de chaque espèce. Le roi distribua les premiers envois aux chefs en leur recommandant de les planter et d'en surveiller la croissance. »

Ruganzu, d'après une autre interprétation, parcourait le Bumbogo, quand il vit sur le chemin une fourmi (imonyo) entraînant avec elle un beau grain. Il montre la chose à un de ses suivants : « Vois cette fourmi, lui dit-il. Examinons ce qu'elle porte à la bouche. » Les Banyarwanda n'avaient jamais vu un grain pareil à celui-là.

Le roi ordonna de le conserver avec soin.

De retour à la capitale, il le fit mettre en terre. Six mois après, on recueillit un bel épi dont les graines furent de nouveau ensemencées. Deux années après la récolte fut telle que la distribution du précieux grain put être faite à nombre de gens. La culture de cette céréale, à laquelle

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[1] Les Banyarwanda préparent la tige et les feuilles d'issogi comme les épinards.

on donna le nom de sorgho, ne tarda pas à se répandre dans le Rwanda.

Une autre fois que Ruganzu voyageait à travers ce même pays du Bumbogo, il s'arrêta soudain devant une case d'où se dégageait une bonne odeur de cuisine : « Quelle est donc la nourriture qui répand un si délicieux arome ? » s'écria-t-il. La femme du logis en question invite le prince à pénétrer dans l'intérieur, découvre la marmite et lui montre la fameuse plante « issogi » (épinard) qu'elle faisait cuire avec des haricots. Heureux de la découverte, Ruganzu complimenta la cuisinière. On lui montra quelques plants, il en fit recueillir les graines.

D'autres ajoutent que la femme dont nous parlons lui présenta à cette même occasion le premier pain de sorgho qu'il eût jamais vu, d'où l'idée d'introduire la culture de cette graminée dans son royaume.

Quoi qu'il en soit de l'authenticité de ces détails, toujours est-il que pour commémorer le souvenir de l'introduction du sorgho, de l'éleusine et de la plante genre épinard dans le Rwanda, on célèbre chaque année à la capitale la fête dite des « prémices » (umuganura, kuganuz' umwami). Elle se solennisait généralement en février ou mars pour l'éleusine et en mai pour le sorgho; à chaque fois on y ajoute la fameuse plante. Depuis ces dernières années l'éleusine, le sorgho et l'épinard sont portés en une fois à la capitale, pour une seule et même cérémonie. Une famille spéciale est chargée, dans le Bumbogo, de cultiver le champ où l'on récolte le grain qui est destiné à la Cour.

C'est une fonction qui se transmet de père en fils. Au moment des semailles, le gardien attitré du champ va demander au roi la pioche qui servira à préparer le terrain.

Lorsque l'envoyé se présentait à la Cour, le prince devait, d'après la coutume, le faire frapper trois fois.

On ignore la raison de ce curieux usage.

L'homme partait de nuit avec sa houe. La récolte une

fois terminée, les mêmes gens retournaient à la capitale, pour y prendre le panier (igitenda ch' imikondo) spécial dans lequel on transportait le sorgho ou l'éleusine. On mettait la corbeille sur une litière (ingobyi). Ceux qui faisaient partie du cortège jouissaient du privilège de dépouiller et de piller ceux qu'ils rencontraient en cours de route.

L'histoire raconte qu'ils ne se firent pas faute d'en user autrefois, mais qu'ils étaient de meilleure composition depuis quelque temps et pour cause. Les chefs, sur le territoire desquels ils passaient, la nuit, avaient le devoir de les traiter honorablement, en tenant compte de leur qualité d'hommes du roi. Inutile d'ajouter que les gens de cette catégorie étaient toujours prêts à faire ripaille, quand cela leur était loisible. Une fois arrivés à la capitale, la coutume leur permettait, paraît-il, d'y maltraiter les Batutsi et de leur jeter à la tête des os de vaches. Il n'en est plus de même aujourd'hui, les temps ont évolué. L'évolution des idées sous l'influence européenne a fait son chemin. Leur personne n'étant plus inviolable, leurs mœurs se sont forcément radoucies.

Ils étaient immédiatement reçus par le roi, qui les introduisait dans sa case, à l'exclusion de son entourage habituel. Le grand chef du Bumbogo (umutware w' intebe), du clan des Batsobe, pénétrait seul à sa suite. C'est lui qui présentait officiellement au souverain les prémices. Des précautions étaient prises pour que personne ne put approcher des graines destinées au roi. Des esclaves ou servantes triées sur le volet battaient les épis de nuit, loin de tout regard profane. Elles avaient ensuite pour tâche d'écraser le grain sous les yeux du monarque; elles travaillaient avec la propreté la plus méticuleuse, c'est-à-dire sans cracher dans leurs mains, ni toucher à la farine de leurs doigts profanes.

Les princes et les grands vivent toujours dans la crainte du poison ou des sortilèges, d'où les multiples mesures

et la surveillance étroite dont ils s'entourent dans ces circonstances. Après avoir obtenu la farine suffisante pour faire un pain (umutsima), une autre esclave s'en emparait pour l'apprêter à l'instant même.

La pâte était alors apportée cérémonieusement au roi qui en détachait un morceau avec les doigts. Il le portait d'abord à son front, puis à la poitrine et le mettait ensuite à la bouche. Le chef présent faisait de même. La cérémonie s'accomplissait en silence. Les porteurs des prémices offraient aussi au monarque des tiges d'issogi, qui comptent, on l'a déjà vu, parmi les plantes les plus importantes (imbuto nkuru).

Il faut se rappeler que les Banyarwanda ne peuvent pas manger seul le pain de sorgho ou d'éleusine, parce que trop sec.

Aussi l'accompagnent-ils habituellement d'une bouchée de haricots qu'ils font cuire avec cette sorte d'épinard. Celui-ci donne aux haricots une saveur très estimée des indigènes. C'est ce qui a valu à cette plante une place de choix parmi les autres mets.

Il est d'habitude que les gens qui ont fait partie du cortège soient payés de retour. Un baquet (umuvule) est rempli de lait; dans un autre on verse des haricots à moitié cuits seulement.

On jette par-dessus du beurre rance comme pour un régal de choix.

Le but recherché est de gaver les porteurs des prémices.

Cette nourriture mal cuite se digère plus lentement et pendant ce temps-là les mangeurs prouvent aux spectateurs, par la forme arrondie de leur ventre, qu'ils ont été traités royalement (ngo n' ishimo).

On raconte que les convives ne pouvaient autrefois quitter l'enceinte royale sans avoir achevé leur pantagruélique repas; ils mangeaient sous les yeux amusés d'une foule en délire qui les poursuivait de ses lazzis et de ses quolibets. Il ne leur était pas davantage permis de se

retirer à l'écart pour satisfaire aux nécessités naturelles. « Aussi, ajoutent les narrateurs, la Cour ressemblait-elle davantage à une litière d'animaux. »

Bienheureux encore s'estimaient les invités quand on n'ajoutait pas les coups pour aiguiser leur appétit. Il semble qu'à l'heure actuelle ces coutumes aient perdu de leur grotesque et de leur brutalité.

A ces réjouissances prennent part non seulement les habitués de la Cour, les habitants du voisinage, mais encore les grands chefs et leur suite. Les sacrifices y succèdent aux danses et aux spectacles donnés par les pitres et les charmeurs de serpent.

On y fait aussi l'exhibition des vaches sacrées (inyambo), ce qui est pour beaucoup de gens la partie importante de la fête. Pour qui connaît les Batutsi, pasteurs de métier, cette partie du programme n'a pas de quoi étonner.

II. — Existence et exhibition des troupeaux sacrés.

Notre étude serait incomplète si, en parlant des vaches sacrées, nous ne disions quelques mots sur l'attachement que les Banyarwanda, Bahutu et Hamites ont pour les bovidés.

La vache est choyée de tous sans exception; on l'entoure de soins méticuleux et souvent ridicules. Les Noirs du Rwanda ne reculent devant rien pour s'en procurer. Un Muhutu fera la cour à son chef, de longues années s'il le faut, pour en obtenir une; il supportera les intempéries du climat, s'imposera de longs voyages, s'astreindra à nombre de corvées, fera le sacrifice de ses récoltes pour arriver à ce résultat. La perte d'une vache est considérée à l'égal d'une perte de famille. Nombreux sont les suicides de la part des Batutsi qui ne croient pas pouvoir survivre à une disgrâce royale ou à une épizootie qui leur enlève leurs troupeaux.

Tout ce qui vient de la vache est également très appré-

cié, sa chair, sa peau, son lait et même la bouse que l'on emploie à maints usages.

Une femme qui se respecte et qui en a les moyens, ne peut avoir pour habillement qu'une peau de vache. Cette jupe fait partie du trousseau à l'occasion du mariage et se lègue de mère en fille, aussi longtemps que le permet l'usure du temps. Pour ce qui est du lait, il est la nourriture presque exclusive des fils de chefs. Il est considéré comme une gourmandise par les pauvres, qui ne peuvent que l'envier aux riches. Il se boit surtout caillé; le lait frais n'est pas digne des hommes, il est tout au plus bon pour les enfants.

Avant la pénétration européenne les Banyarwanda n'auraient jamais pu penser qu'on pût le faire bouillir et ce fut une véritable révolution dans les idées du pays quand ils virent les Blancs le faire cuire avant de le boire. L'énigme suivante montre le cas que font les indigènes du lait et en quelle estime on l'a. Donc : quelle est la chose inconvenante par excellence et qui met le plus dans la gêne et l'embarras ? On répond : une mouche noyée dans du lait ou posée sur le front du Roi. La parité d'inconvenance est la même dans les deux cas. Ce serait inévitablement la mort pour le serviteur qui s'oublierait jusqu'à présenter à Sa Majesté noire du lait où se trouve une impureté quelconque, si légère fût-elle. Les gens de service, chargés d'offrir cérémonieusement au Roi les sept ou huit petites jarres qu'il doit porter successivement à ses lèvres, en savent quelque chose... Combien de ces malheureux n'ont-ils pas, jadis, payé de leur vie un simple soupçon d'impureté ! Il est vrai que la crainte du poison motivait le plus souvent ces rigueurs draconiennes.

La viande de vache est un morceau de choix, une vraie gourmandise pour les pauvres gens, surtout qui n'en ont que rarement à se mettre sous la dent. C'est aussi à peu près la seule viande permise aux femmes; les autres leur sont tabou. Il n'est pas jusqu'à l'urine de vache qui n'ait son emploi journalier et courant.

Elle sert à laver les pots ou jarres à lait. Quant à la bouse, on la consacre à maints usages : à boucher les trous et les fentes des ustensiles en bois qui forment la batterie de cuisine, à enduire les parois des cases pour se préserver du vent ou du froid, à s'en frotter le corps dans certaines maladies de la peau, etc.

Expressions pastorales.

Le vocabulaire riche et varié dont se servent les Banyarwanda montre l'intérêt qu'ils portent à leur bétail.

Ils ont des termes spéciaux pour désigner la vache de couleur noire (inka y' umukara), la vache de couleur chocolat (igitare), la grise (ikijuju), la violette (issine), la rouge (umusengo), les vaches tachetées de blanc, de noir ou de jaune, sur un fond roux ou gris (ubugondo) la cendrée (rwirungu), la jaune foncée (inumba), inka y' inyombya, la vache couleur de merle dont les Batutsi ont une crainte superstitieuse.

Un berger se dit umushumba ou umwungeri.

Les vaches du roi, autres que les vaches sacrées, s'appellent « insanga », c'est-à-dire les trouvées, du mot gusanga, qui veut dire trouver, parce que c'est un des premiers rois du Rwanda, Gihanga, qui les découvrit. On les désigne encore sous le nom d'« ibigarama », du mot kugarama, s'étendre, parce qu'elles ont de longues cornes, etc.

« Inka » est le nom générique de toutes les bêtes à cornes, vaches ou taureaux. Inkungu = vache sans cornes; inkungu z' amalegelege = vache dont les cornes sont branlantes.

La forme des cornes, leur direction et l'arc de cercle qu'elles forment donnent lieu aux noms suivants : inkondogoro, inyabulegelege, ibibinda, impotore. Certains pasteurs Batutsi brûlent au fer rouge les cornes de leurs bêtes, quand celles-ci sont encore jeunes, pour obtenir la forme voulue.

Inka y' imbata (kwihata, faire des efforts), vache acquise ou achetée grâce au fruit d'un travail personnel. C'est une vache inaliénable sur laquelle les chefs n'ont aucun droit.

Inka y' igiti, vache de la propriété (de la colline) reçue du chef.

Inka y' impetano (guheta, ... pour la deuxième fois). Deuxième vache obtenue du chef.

Inka y' ubuntu, vache de générosité ou inka y' ineza, vache de bienfaisance dont se font cadeau entre eux les parents ou les frères de sang.

Inka y' ingwate (kugwatiriza), vache qui doit se racheter (irichungura). Le propriétaire d'un taurassin passe avec le possesseur d'une vache un contrat d'après lequel il lui cède sa bête moyennant promesse de donation du premier veau femelle qui naîtra de la vache en question. Il peut même emmener cette dernière et la garder jusqu'au jour où le premier veau sera sevré, quitte à partager durant ce temps le lait avec le maître de la bête.

Le terme umukangara sert à désigner la première génisse qui fait l'objet de ce pacte.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, échanger), vache achetée. L'échange se fait moyennant une vache stérile ou deux taurassins, une vingtaine de chèvres ou une trentaine de paniers de haricots.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, acheter une fiancée), vache donnée en dot pour l'acquisition d'une épouse.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, aider à entrer en ménage). Ce terme sert à désigner la bête que les parents aisés donnent à leur fille, le jour de son mariage. Ils lui fournissent en même temps son trousseau, qui consiste en une peau de vache tannée et beurrée, enfermée dans une corbeille, avec des anneaux en fibre végétale, deux nattes pour le lit, une provision de beurre, etc., pour subvenir aux premiers besoins du jeune couple.

Inka y' ichari (umwari, jeune mariée). Cette expression

désigne la vache donnée par les beaux-parents à l'occasion de la naissance de leur premier petit-fils. Le gendre doit présenter aux parents de sa femme, en même temps que son fils, quelques cruches de bière. Il reçoit en retour une vache ou une génisse.

Le beau-père tient habituellement compte de ce qu'il a reçu au moment du mariage de sa fille. Si son état de fortune est modeste, comme c'est le cas pour la plupart des Bahutu, il ne donne qu'un taurassin ou quelques pioches ([1]).

Inka y' indundu (kurundura, donner sans condition) sert à désigner une vache donnée sans condition, par opposition à inka y' ingwate.

Inka y' ilembo veut dire la vache d'entrée (en ménage), parce que la nouvelle mariée la reçoit en cadeau de ses beaux-parents, quand elle pénètre pour la première fois sous le toit conjugal.

Inka y' indabukirano (kurabuka, kurabukir' umutware, payer un don d'avènement au nouveau chef) signifie la vache donnée au chef à l'occasion de son entrée en charge.

Inka y' inyiturano (kwitura, kwiturana, payer une dette de reconnaissance) indique la vache cédée en remercîment d'un bienfait.

Inka y' inturano (gutura, faire un cadeau, offrir un présent) sert à désigner la vache que les administrés doivent donner aux chefs, par manière d'impôt.

Inka y' intundano signifie vache de commerce. Le verbe gutunda veut dire faire le commerce ou acheter par un échange de marchandises, d'où l'expression de vache de commerce.

Inka y' ingororano (kugororera, récompenser) veut dire

([1]) Le taurassin est alors désigné sous le nom d'igishito ou uluhanderw' inka, le côté (c'est-à-dire la moitié) d'une vache.

Le cadeau donné dans ces circonstances revient de droit à la jeune mère qui a enduré les douleurs de l'enfantement (umuruho w' umuhyeyi). Ses parents la dédommagent de ses peines et de ses souffrances.

une vache donnée en récompense à l'occasion d'un service rendu.

Inka y' inyibano (kwiba, voler) vache volée.

Inka y' ibihembo, vache donnée en paiement par manière de salaire, par exemple, pour payer un travail consécutif de deux ans.

Inka y' amahugu (guhuguza, tromper) vache obtenue par la ruse.

Inka y' umuheto (arc) vache obtenue par la violence.

Inka y' isaso (balle de fusil) sert à désigner *in genere* les vaches des Européens qui se sont introduits en maîtres dans le pays.

Inka z' indemano (kulema, créer) vaches données par le roi ou un grand chef à celui qu'ils veulent honorer ou élever au-dessus des autres, en lui constituant un troupeau qui le met à l'abri du besoin.

Inka z' inkuke (gukuka = sortir de ... venir de) sert à désigner les vaches dont on a la garde seulement.

Les vaches laitières sont toujours mises à la disposition du chef, qui ne manque jamais de lait.

Inka z' intarama (terme propre au Bugoyi), vaches que l'on trait tard dans la matinée et dans la soirée.

Inka z' imigogoro (imiruho), vaches (qui sont cause d'ennui) parce qu'elles crèvent souvent ou occasionnent d'autres soucis au propriétaire taxé pour leur lait.

Inka z' inyambo (indende), vaches de taille imposante.

Inka z' ingegene, vaches ordinaires.

Inka z' inyagisanze, vaches qui paissent dans des pâturages toujours verts.

Inka z' intahira (gu-ta-hira ou gu-ta-gemura), vaches dont le propriétaire a la jouissance complète et ne subit aucune servitude de la part du chef, du fait de leur possession.

Inka z' imilizo, vaches à (courte) queue. Les Batutsi raccourcissent quelquefois la queue de leurs génisses pour raison de beauté.

Inka z' inkuku, vaches de petite taille.

Ikimasa = bœuf; impfizi = taureau; ubukombe = taureau dans toute la force de l'âge ou dont les services sont appréciés, d'où le souhait et l'expression : Ukagir' ubukombe ! Puissiez-vous avoir un beau taureau !

Inyana = veau; ishashi = génisse; imbyeyi = vache mère; inka y' issave ou urubereri = vache qui n'a jamais vêlé; ingumba = vache devenue stérile; inka y' issugi = vache qui n'a jamais perdu de veau; iliza = vache qui a vêlé au moins une fois; ijigija = vache qui a vêlé maintes fois; inka y' ubusuri = vache qui a perdu son veau; insindirano = vache à laquelle on a fait accepter le veau d'une autre; amabuguma = vieilles bêtes, etc.

Lait frais se dit amata y' inshyushyu; lait caillé = ikivuguto; lait d'une vache qui vient de mettre bas = umuhondo; lait d'une vache redevenue pleine = amasitu; lait frais mélangé d'eau = umwerera; lait d'une nuit = umubanji; petit-lait = amachunde, amenda, etc.

Des vaches sacrées.

On fait remonter jusqu'à Ruganzu l'idée de cette sélection. Ces troupeaux spéciaux sont connus sous le nom d' « inyambo » ou vaches à longues cornes, toujours choisies parmi les plus belles du pays. Leur couleur n'est pas uniforme.

Entre autres teintes, on y distingue surtout la rousse cendrée (ibihogo by' issine), la rousse-violette (ibihogo by' igaju), la rousse tachetée de blanc (ibihogo by' imyeru) et la noire et blanche, qui sont les pelages que préfèrent les Batutsi.

Des vachers propres sont préposés à la garde de ces troupeaux, qui paissent habituellement dans le Buganza.

On les conduit à la capitale à l'occasion des fêtes ou des réjouissances publiques. Les plus belles d'entre elles, désignées sous le nom d' « inyamibga » ou « indatwa »

(du mot kurata, faire admirer), sont mises en avant du troupeau.

Il n'y en a qu'une ou deux généralement pour chacun des troupeaux et elles sont habituées à marcher en tête des autres. On garnit leurs cornes, leur front et leur cou de rangées de perles et de petites cornes d'antilopes en guise d'ornements (imitako n' imiheha). On n'a garde d'oublier les tiges de l'herbe sacro-sainte « umwishwa » que les vachers aussi portent sur la poitrine et sur la tête dans nombre de circonstances. C'est alors qu'ont lieu les danses spéciales organisées par les gardiens du troupeau ou même par les Batwa et auxquelles s'associent les bêtes par leurs mugissements.

Assez familiarisées avec ces sortes de jeux, ces dernières semblent s'y intéresser et suivent les évolutions des danseurs. Pour les exciter davantage, ceux-ci poussent en même temps des cris gutturaux particuliers.

Ces sortes d'exhibitions sont très estimées des Banyarwanda et attirent beaucoup de monde.

Après la fête, les vaches sacrées retournent dans les pâturages du Buganza. Leurs pasteurs les entourent de beaucoup de soins et sont les seuls à pouvoir les traire, tout comme ils sont les seuls à boire leur lait.

Les veaux gorgés de lait ne sont sevrés qu'assez tard.

Alors que les Banyarwanda sont excessivement friands de viande et mangent même les bêtes crevées, il leur est absolument interdit de goûter à la chair des ndatwa ou vaches à longues cornes, qui marchent en tête du troupeau sacré (inyambo).

L'exception à la règle que l'on vient d'énoncer montre le cas que l'on fait des bovidés de cette catégorie.

Afin de maintenir cette prohibition, les gardiens laissent courir le bruit que l'on se sert de sang de crocodile (ingona), qui est considéré comme un poison violent, pour en frotter les vaches préférées (indatwa).

III. — De l'exposition des objets du trésor royal.

Notons encore qu'à l'occasion de ces deux importantes solennités, on fait l'exposition des objets du trésor (intore) royal. Celui-ci comprend des perles de toutes variétés, des colliers, des bracelets, des étoffes, des petits osselets (intimba) ouvragés et des peaux de colobus (inkomo) finement travaillées. Il paraît qu'avant le désastre de Ruchunchu (1896), où disparurent dans l'incendie nombre de pièces composant le fameux trésor, on n'arrivait presque pas à le dénombrer, tellement il se distinguait par sa richesse (toute locale) et sa variété. Il a fallu le renouveler pièce par pièce.

Seules quelques peaux de colobus et quelques pièces d'étoffes ont survécu au sinistre. Les plus anciens « pagnes » remontaient au roi Gahindiro dont le règne s'est terminé peut-être entre 1840 et 1850 ! On les avait toujours conservés avec un soin jaloux, comme représentant une grande valeur pour l'époque.

Ils furent alors désignés sous le nom d'« impwijima » à cause de la qualité de l'étoffe rayée et bigarrée.

Les rois du Rwanda les avaient eus par l'intermédiaire des princes du Karagwe et de ceux de l'Usui, avec lesquels ils entretenaient des relations amicales depuis un temps immémorial.

Des échanges fréquents de fiancées de Cour à Cour ne contribuaient pas peu à entretenir une certaine amitié entre eux. On se souvient que Ruganzu s'enfuit chez sa tante paternelle, Nyirabunyana, mariée au potentat du Karagwe, qui s'appelait alors Ndagara et avait succédé à un certain Luhinda. Les rois du Karagwe et surtout ceux de l'Usui furent des premiers, à cause du voisinage du lac Victoria, à entrer en rapports avec les Arabes et à en recevoir des étoffes. Ils en firent profiter leurs amis du Rwanda. Comme ces pièces d'habillement étaient rares, ils furent les seuls à les porter et on leur donna aussi le

nom d' « imyambarabami », les vêtements de roi. A la mort du monarque ses habits étaient remisés et faisaient partie du trésor. Tout en portant des étoffes à partir de cette époque, les rois du Rwanda ne délaissèrent pourtant pas le costume national désigné sous le nom d' « inkindi », fait d'une ou deux peaux de « colobe » (inkomo), bien tannées et finement travaillées. Ces peaux étaient recueillies et confiées aux gardiens du trésor (abanyabyuma), gens de confiance choisis de préférence parmi les chefs ou les favoris du prince; ces employés devaient veiller à l'entretien de ce qui avait appartenu aux défunts rois. Ces accoutrements commençaient à s'accumuler dans la garde-robe, quand survint la révolution qui renversa le roi Mibambge-Rutalindwa, successeur nommé de Lwabugiri-Kigeri.

L'incendie, qui dévora les huttes où avait été entassé l'ameublement royal, consuma presque tout.

On a tenté depuis lors de reconstituer un nouveau trésor en choisissant, ce qui était désormais facile, de nouvelles pièces d'étoffes achetées chez les commerçants.

Des peaux de colobe ont été tannées pour remplacer les premières. Le roi actuel s'est procuré de nombreuses variétés de perles, bracelets, colliers, etc., qu'on ne manque pas d'exposer solennellement, à l'occasion des deux grandes fêtes, devant la case royale, qui occupe le fond de la première cour d'entrée.

Qu'on se garde bien de croire à une simple ostension, à un simple étalage de richesses.

Sans doute les rois sont loin de rester insensibles à cette vaniteuse exhibition de friperie et de verroterie désuète, qui, pour eux, représentaient le summum de la richesse en fait d'objets d'art. Il y a autre chose encore. Cet étalage a encore pour but de se concilier les bonnes grâces des princes défunts. Dans ce but on choisit quelques individus parmi l'assistance pour commémorer leur souvenir. On leur fait revêtir les peaux de colobe anciennes et nouvelles

ayant appartenu ou qui sont censées appartenir aux monarques décédés. Ils parcourent alors la place qui s'étend devant la maison du roi et dansent en l'honneur des « mânes » royaux. Tout en évoluant, ils répètent en chœur et à l'unisson : « Ce sont vos trésors (intore), ceux qui vous ont appartenu. Ils sont bien à vous, ces habits, ces étoffes, ces armes, ces perles, etc. C'est en votre nom que nous organisons ces réjouissances. Nous restons toujours vos sujets, vos hommes-liges, vos serviteurs »...

(Tor' ibintu byawe, intore zawe; n' ibirori byawe, n' abagaragu bawe...) La cérémonie terminée, les gardiens du trésor remisent les objets jusqu'à la fête suivante [1].

Les fêtes et les réjouissances sont presque toujours à caractère sacrificatoire, dans ce sens qu'on y fait mémoire des « mânes » et qu'on leur offre des présents d'une façon fictive ou même réelle, comme nous allons le voir dans les pages qui suivent. On y traite des coutumes funéraires, de celles seulement qui concernent la mort du roi, puisque dans ce travail restreint nous devons essayer de nous en tenir autant que possible aux us de la capitale. Le contraste ne laisse pas que d'être un peu piquant à cause du rapprochement purement matériel entre les réjouissances que l'on vient de décrire et les rites funéraires observés à la mort du souverain. Mais pour les Noirs il n'en est pas ainsi, vu les relations constantes qu'ils entretiennent avec

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[1] Parmi les pièces originales que contient le musée royal figure le vêtement (inkindi) du roi de l'Urundi, Mutaga, tué dans un combat, près de la colline de Mwurire, dans la province du Bwana-Mkali. Il s'agit d'une peau, car on ne portait pas d'autres habits en ce temps-là, presque méconnaissable, malgré le beurre rance dont on le frotte constamment pour la conserver. C'est un des rares trophées de victoire qui a survécu à l'incendie qui suivit le désastre de Ruchunchu. On le désigne sous le nom de « ntizihishw' amabuno », c'est-à-dire « celui (l'habit) qui est trop court (pour la taille) ». L'expression indigène est plus forte et montre que l'esprit des Banyarwanda n'est jamais en défaut dans les situations tragiques ou comiques.

leurs morts et la place qu'ils leur donnent dans la vie du foyer [1].

CHAPITRE VII.

Rites funéraires. — Tombes royales et bosquets sacrés. — Momification des cadavres sous l'action du feu. — Honneurs rendus aux mânes. — Hiérogamies. — Institution d'un jour de repos en souvenir d'un prince royal.

I. — Coutumes spéciales suivies a l'occasion des funérailles royales.

Le décès d'un roi dans le Rwanda donne lieu à un cérémonial compliqué comprenant de nombreuses prescriptions qui paraissent remonter très haut dans le passé. Il semble que les monarques Batutsi aient emprunté aux anciens princes autochtones (abahinza) la plupart de leurs rites funéraires, tout particulièrement la momification ou « boucanage », car, en réalité, c'est de cette opération qu'il s'agit, ainsi que le choix de la sépulture et le soin jaloux avec lequel on veille sur les cimetières royaux [2].

Voici donc le court aperçu que donnent les profanes sur ces matières, car les employés spéciaux des pompes funèbres royales (abanyamugogo) gardent un silence jaloux sur ce sujet.

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(1) Les cérémonies funéraires sont très compliquées, même pour les autres membres de la société, et varient selon l'âge, le sexe, la qualité de l'individu et les circonstances de sa mort.

Elles sont une preuve du souci qu'ont les Banyarwanda de rester en contact avec leurs défunts, souci inspiré « par le sentiment du pouvoir de ces esprits, de qui dépendent la santé, la prospérité et la vie même »... (Levy Bruhl, *La Mentalité primitive*, p. 76.)

(2) Les cimetières royaux où furent ensevelis les rois aborigènes Bahutu sont encore apparents dans maintes provinces du Rwanda et spécialement dans le Kingogo. Les Hamites ont fait d'autres emprunts aux autochtones vaincus et soumis. On a vu que les tambours de la capitale rappellent le souvenir des principautés minuscules soumises par les Hamites, qu'ils sont considérés comme trophées de victoire et comme gages de la conservation du royaume actuel. Ces mêmes instruments ont conservé leur rôle et leur importance chez les Batutsi.

1° *Comment, d'après la tradition populaire, meurt un roi.*

Un monarque, dans le Rwanda, est un être tellement supérieur et à tel point respecté qu'il ne peut, dans la pensée de maints Bahutu, naître, vivre et mourir comme le commun des humains.

D'où les croyances suivantes auxquelles le bas peuple avait jusqu'ici ajouté foi.

En principe, autrefois, le Souverain ne pouvait voir son héritier. L'enfant, confié à la garde d'hommes sûrs, était élevé loin de son père, auquel on apportait de temps à autre des cordelettes qui avaient servi à mesurer la taille et le tour de ceinture du futur successeur. Pour juger de la croissance et des forces du jeune prince, le roi mettait l'empreinte de son pied dans un panier de farine de sorgho. Celle-ci était portée au « dauphin », qui devait y imprimer le sien. La corbeille retournait au roi, qui ne cessait de s'intéresser au développement physique de l'enfant.

Des arcs lui étaient ensuite envoyés pour lui permettre d'essayer ses forces. Le jour où l'héritier réussissait à rompre le propre arc du monarque, il était dès lors jugé digne du trône, puisqu'il était devenu aussi fort que son père.

On faisait les dernières constatations. Il fallait s'assurer que l'habit du monarque lui convenait à merveille, que l'empreinte de ses pieds correspondait exactement à celle de l'auteur de ses jours. D'autre part, celui-ci devenu vieux, s'apercevant que sa barbe et ses cheveux avaient grisonné (yamez' imvi), estimait lui-même que son temps était fini. Appelant aussitôt ses confidents, il leur faisait connaître ses dernières dispositions : « Je vais partir (gutabara), il ne me reste plus que quelques instants; vous ferez régner (kwimika) mon fils à ma place. Vous lui obéirez en tout »...

Dès le soir, les sorciers attitrés lui présentaient de

l'hydromel (inkangaza) dans lequel ils avaient au préalable versé un violent poison, acheté, croit-on, sur les bords du lac Victoria, où on le prépare avec des chairs putréfiées de crocodile.

Le roi s'endormait et ne se réveillait plus. « Il a bu » (yanyoye), disait-on en style officiel, ou encore : « il est parti » (yatabaye), il a rejoint ses ancêtres, les Libérateurs, qui ont sauvé le pays. « Il a cédé le trône » (yatanze), « le ciel est tombé » (ijuru ryaguye), car telles sont encore les expressions consacrées par l'usage et dont on se sert pour annoncer un aussi grave événement.

Rares ont dû être les monarques qui ont bénévolement quitté la vie d'eux-mêmes.

La crédulité populaire a accepté de trop nombreuses fables sur ce sujet. On racontait encore récemment que la reine-mère Nyiramavugo, grand'mère du roi Lwabugiri, morte peut-être en 1860, aurait été la première à refuser, aux approches de la vieillesse, de boire le poison, bien qu'elle y fût obligée par les coutumes et les traditions. « Depuis ce jour, disent les gens du peuple, les Abiru ou gardiens des coutumes qui sont chargés de cette commission et de cet office, n'osent plus en parler aux rois et aux reines. »

2° *Le corps du royal défunt est « boucané ».*

« Un roi vient-il à mourir, racontent les mêmes narrateurs, on prend deux Batutsi de grande famille qui sont égorgés séance tenante à côté du cadavre. »

C'est ce qui s'appelle « faire l'oreiller du roi » (gusegurir' umwami). Ces gens lui sont donnés pour l'accompagner et le servir dans le monde des esprits.

Un sujet ne compte pas, tandis que le roi est tout. Aussi est-il de bon ton de lui en expédier au moins deux choisis dans le milieu social le plus élevé.

« On n'a pas osé, ajoutent les conteurs, accomplir ce rite à la mort du dernier roi Lwabugiri († 1895). »

A l'occasion du trépas de la reine-mère on immolait deux grandes dames de même race (Mututsi). Ce sont les « Banyamugogo » ou hommes à la grande bûche (de deuil), qui sont chargés des cérémonies funèbres. Ils forment la corporation royale des ensevelisseurs, mais sans en porter crûment le nom et le titre. Ils sont appelés « Hommes à la grande bûche » (de deuil), à cause de la coutume qui exige qu'on fasse brûler une souche de bois et cela durant trois ou quatre jours, après le décès d'un individu. On choisit à dessein pour cela une bûche verte d'érythrina à fleurs rouges (umuko), arbre symbolique qui rappelle la mort de Ryangombe, le fondateur présumé de la fameuse société secrète des initiés (imandwa).

Le corps du royal défunt est transporté de son dernier domicile, qui désormais s'appellera « Gisozi » (grosse colline) (1), dans l'un des bois sacrés (2) réservés par l'usage ou par la tradition aux sépultures royales. Les Banyamugogo, devenus les maîtres de l'heure et du pays, font bâtir une grande case, pour la construction de laquelle ils mettent à contribution les voisins du lieu funèbre.

On y abrite les restes du souverain que l'on dépose sur une claie installée au milieu de la hutte, à environ un mètre cinquante au-dessus du sol. Les membres de la corporation font du feu durant de longs jours, sous la couche pour dessécher le cadavre et l'empêcher de se putréfier.

Le corps, placé sur un lit de peaux, est sans cesse retourné pour que la chaleur du foyer en atteigne toutes les parties.

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(1) Cette expression de « grosse colline » est parfaitement comprise des indigènes, parce qu'elle sert à désigner l'endroit où un prince régnant a rendu le dernier soupir.

(2) L'expression de « bois » ou « bosquet sacré » devant revenir souvent sous notre plume, nous devons une explication au lecteur. Le mot sacré est pris ici dans un sens large et tout à fait spécial, pour dire que ces bosquets sont réservés et interdits aux profanes, qui ne peuvent y pénétrer. Leur surveillance est confiée à des gardiens attitrés, qui font respecter leurs domaines.

Les gardiens de la hutte se relaient sans cesse, nuit et jour, auprès du feu qu'ils doivent entretenir. Durant ce temps, nul profane ne peut, sous peine de mort, approcher de l'endroit.

Les employés des pompes funèbres continuent leur travail jusqu'au moment où, d'après la crédulité populaire, le cadavre donne naissance à un léopard, qui n'est au début qu'un petit ver (1). On creuse alors une fosse dans la même case. Ce qui reste de la dépouille royale est déposé au fond de la tombe sur un nouveau lit d'herbes recouvertes de peaux précieuses, peaux de lion, de léopard, d'antilope.

Le corps est complètement isolé de la terre, qui ne doit pas le souiller. Le tout est encore recouvert de nattes spéciales (ibirago by' ibisunyu) faites d'herbes lacustres. La fosse est, enfin, comblée (2).

3° *Croyances populaires sur la survivance du roi.*

« Les fossoyeurs, continue le narrateur, ne peuvent encore s'éloigner du lieu de la sépulture.

» Il ne leur est pas permis de le quitter avant la fin du deuil, qui dure au moins quatre mois. Le ver, dont on a

(1) On voudra bien nous permettre de répéter encore une fois que nous nous mettons à la place de l'indigène. On ne fait que citer ses dires et ses croyances.

(2) D'après une autre croyance populaire quand un « Yuhi » vient à monter sur le trône, les employés des pompes funèbres ont à remplir, en plus de ce qui a été déjà dit sur ce sujet, un autre devoir vis-à-vis du roi défunt.

Après avoir été boucané, le corps (umwite), entièrement desséché, est porté dans le bois sacré de Muhima, en dessous de Kigali. Les porteurs creusent à l'endroit dit de Nyamvura (l'endroit de la pluie), où se trouvait autrefois une source également sacrée, et y déposent le cadavre un instant.

C'est ce qu'on appelle faire boire (guhira) le roi.

Le corps est ensuite ramené au cimetière royal. Son successeur peut désormais vivre en paix, l'abondance régnera dans le royaume, les diverses formalités de l'accomplissement desquelles dépend la prospérité du pays ont été remplies.

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parlé précédemment, « doit » sortir au bout de quelque temps de la main droite du cadavre. Il est aussitôt recueilli par les gardiens, qui le mettent dans un vase rempli de lait.

» L'ustensile devenant trop étroit pour sa taille, l'animal est ensuite logé dans une grande jarre où l'on verse du lait tous les jours. Le ver ne tarde pas à « pousser des jambes », il va bientôt se transformer; la jarre ne lui suffit plus, on lui procure un bassin (umuvule) que l'on remplit également de lait. Il devient léopard. On continue à le nourrir de lait jusqu'au jour où ses instincts sanguinaires se réveillant il se met à griffer. On lui donne alors de la viande fraîche. Il faut le lier, car il est devenu « méchant » (irakaliha). L'animal réussit à briser ses premiers liens tressés avec des écorces de bananiers. Il est attaché avec de nouvelles cordes de ficus, qui sont bientôt rompues à leur tour.

» De la Cour royale (ibgami), où les messagers ne cessent d'aller rendre compte de leur mission, est apporté un fil de fer (umukwege) pour enchaîner la bête.

» Arrive le jour où le fauve blesse un des gardiens. Un deuxième ne tarde pas à avoir le même sort, un troisième meurt de ses blessures.

» La situation est devenue intenable, elle ne peut plus se prolonger.

» Le léopard, impatient de conquérir sa liberté, devient furieux. Arrive, enfin, l'autorisation de lui donner la clef des champs, délivrant ainsi les Banyamugogo d'une garde impossible.

» Un homme de bon sens, ajoutait le narrateur, qui terminait son récit, ne peut croire à de pareilles choses. Pour ma part, je ne fais que répéter ce que j'ai entendu dire autour de moi. »

Les « bois sacrés » servent souvent de repaire aux léopards, qui profitent de la saison des pluies, au moment où le sorgho est déjà haut, pour parcourir le pays, en

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quête de proies à dévorer. De plus, le léopard est le totem du roi, qui pour ce motif s'en réservait autrefois toutes les peaux pour son usage personnel. Aussi parmi les gens du peuple s'en trouvent-ils beaucoup qui ajoutent créance à ces fables. A la capitale, où personne n'est dupe de ces enfantillages, on ne fait rien pour détromper le public. Les employés des pompes funèbres, qui gardent le silence absolu sur ce qui fait l'objet de leurs fonctions, ont plutôt intérêt à exagérer le côté merveilleux de la chose pour se donner une plus grande importance aux yeux de leurs compatriotes. On devine le prestige qui environne la personne du roi, prestige auquel se mêle beaucoup de superstition et qui le fait vénérer à l'égal d'un demi-dieu par nombre de ses sujets.

4° *Obligations et privilèges des employés des pompes funèbres.*

Le soin d'inhumer ou mieux de momifier (gwosa, gwosereza) le souverain est réservé, avons-nous dit, à une corporation spéciale désignée sous le nom de Banyamugogo, c'est-à-dire les hommes à la grande bûche (de deuil) et qui font partie du clan des Abiru, le clan par excellence dont les membres sont chargés de conserver le souvenir des coutumes et des traditions. Les ensevelisseurs royaux n'ont pas d'autre fonction que celle-là et ils jouissent de précieux privilèges. Nul chef ne peut les attaquer ou les piller, la protection royale s'étend sur eux.

Ils ne sont astreints à aucune corvée et ne paient pas d'impôt. Par contre, il leur est rigoureusement interdit de se présenter à la Cour et de paraître en présence du prince. S'ils ont affaire à lui pour un procès, tout au plus peuvent-ils se rendre sur le chemin de la capitale, mais en s'arrêtant à une bonne distance. Arrivés là, ils allument un grand feu dans lequel ils jettent de la bouse de vache encore fraîche pour faire monter des tourbillons de

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fumée, afin d'attirer l'attention. Ils députent en même temps des gens pour exposer leurs plaintes et leurs griefs.

Le roi désigne alors un ou deux chefs pour aller trancher leurs difficultés.

Ces mêmes fossoyeurs ne pouvaient autrefois fréquenter leurs semblables, ni boire, ni manger avec eux. Même encore aujourd'hui, invités à festoyer chez les voisins, ils doivent emporter avec eux leur propre chalumeau. On assure qu'ils ne mangent pas avec leurs enfants. Et si le cas se présentait que ceux-ci, à leur tour, enterrassent un nouveau roi, ils devraient se séparer de leurs parents et ne plus le voir.

Quand on veut parler du monarque et de certains de ses actes, on se sert d'un vocabulaire spécial. Il serait on ne peut plus irrespectueux de dire que le roi dort, boit, mange, etc., comme tout le monde. Nous avons vu plus haut comment il faut s'exprimer pour parler de ses maladies et de sa mort (yaberamye, yanyoye, yatabaye, etc.).

C'est pour la même raison que les ensevelisseurs royaux portent un nom qui ne rappelle leur fonction que d'une façon très indirecte. De même qu'il est absolument interdit à ceux-ci de se présenter à la capitale, la coutume ne permet pas davantage au roi de passer ou de camper dans les pays habités par des membres de cette corporation. Il doit éviter les bois sacrés où reposent les mânes de ses ancêtres, comme si le souvenir de la mort pouvait abréger la vie du souverain. Il est de règle autour de lui d'écarter cette image et cette pensée de ses yeux et de ses oreilles qui sont celles d'un demi-dieu bien au-dessus des profanes.

Il faut qu'il puisse jouir en paix de cette vie et de toutes les jouissances qui en découlent.

5° *Deuil suivi à la mort du prince.*

Le deuil du roi est porté durant quatre mois, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à l'avènement officiel de son successeur. En prin-

cipe, durant ce temps, la cohabitation entre époux est interdite. On sépare aussi les taureaux des troupeaux, à l'occasion de ce malheur sans pareil, qui fait dire aux Banyarwanda que « le ciel est tombé » (ijuru ryaguye). Les hommes et même les enfants se rasent la tête en signe de deuil.

Tout travail de culture est rigoureusement défendu; les chefs y avaient la main et n'auraient pas hésité pour faire du zèle, de tuer séance tenante le malheureux qui se serait laissé aller à enfreindre la coutume. Tout au plus pouvait-on, si les champs étaient déjà préparés, y piquer les graines ou les plants, mais sans le secours de la houe.

Il fallait se servir d'un bâton pour arracher les patates douces du sol. Il n'est pas inouï d'entendre dire que la famine ait été quelquefois, dans le passé, la conséquence de ce chômage forcé.

II. — Tombes royales et bois sacrés.
(Cimetières et anciennes capitales.)

1° *Composition et formation des bois sacrés.*

Lors du décès d'un roi son cadavre, avons-nous dit, est porté dans un des bois sacrés, où l'on bâtit une grande hutte en vue d'y abriter sa dépouille et de la momifier par dessiccation avant de l'inhumer.

On construit aussi une cour fermée par des branches de ficus, qui prennent bientôt racine et donneront plus tard naissance à un vrai bosquet. Le travail de boucanage une fois terminé, les gardiens de la case donnent la sépulture à ce qui reste du cadavre, dans l'intérieur même de l'habitation.

Ils y séjournent encore quelque temps pour empêcher une profanation qu'ils croient toujours possible. Les quatre mois de deuil écoulés, la maison est abandonnée et la porte soigneusement barricadée à l'extérieur.

Elle pourra résister trois, quatre et même cinq années

et finira par tomber de vétusté sans qu'on s'en préoccupe autrement. Avant de s'éloigner, les ensevelisseurs royaux plantent dans l'intérieur de la cour une branche d'érythrina (umwuko) en l'honneur de Ryangombe, le fondateur supposé de la société secrète des initiés (imandwa), et une branche de ficus (umuvumu), qui, par l'élévation de son tronc, l'étendue de ses branches et de son feuillage, rappelle la majesté royale (ngo n' umwami). Le bosquet funèbre est dès lors créé ou s'il existait déjà, il s'augmente d'une nouvelle unité, qui ne tardera pas avec le temps à faire corps avec les autres.

Nombreux sont les bois sacrés que l'on n'est pas peu étonné de rencontrer un peu partout et même dans les endroits les plus déserts.

Les cimetières et les anciennes résidences royales sont légion. Il n'est pas une province du Rwanda qui n'en possède au moins plusieurs.

On en trouve jusque dans les pays limitrophes qui furent plus d'une fois envahis par les Banyarwanda. Leur multiplicité s'explique quand on se rappelle la vie errante des rois guerriers, qui, comme Ruganzu et Lwabugiri, ne couchaient pas souvent sous le même toit. Il suffisait que le souverain eût passé la nuit dans une case en cours de route, pour que l'emplacement devint désormais sacré. Les propriétaires devaient dès lors abandonner leur demeure, se retirer ailleurs ou bâtir à côté. Les branches de ficus qui formaient l'enceinte de la cour continuaient à pousser et formaient un nouveau bois sacré (ikigabiro).

Ces bosquets se composent de différentes essences d'arbres où dominent généralement les ficus dont on connaît plusieurs espèces : les « imigobge », les « imilehe », les « imikobe », les « imitabataba », etc.

L'écorce des deux derniers arbres sert à faire une sorte d'étoffe qui s'use rapidement (impuzu). La présence de ces bouquets d'arbres, presque toujours verts, qui émergent çà et là, contraste avec le déboisement de la contrée,

surtout dans le Nduga, et lui donne un certain cachet qui ne manque pas de pittoresque.

Parmi les bois sacrés, dont les uns s'élèvent sur les plus hautes collines, on n'en connaît que huit ou neuf tout au plus qui aient servi aux sépultures royales. Les autres marquent les emplacements des anciennes capitales royales et rappellent les déplacements successifs auxquels donnèrent lieu les nombreuses expéditions qui se firent sous quelques règnes. Ils sont désignés sous le nom générique d' « ibigabiro » ou « lieux de distribution », du mot kugabira, qui signifie distribuer ou donner en cadeau. Comme on le voit, le terme d'ibigabiro ou lieux de distribution convient fort bien de par son étymologie aux bouquets d'arbres qui déterminent la place des anciennes habitations royales dont les possesseurs, en vertu de leur domaine et de leur pouvoir absolu, pouvaient dispenser à leurs sujets toutes sortes de faveurs. Ce n'est que par extension que le même nom a été appliqué fort improprement aux cimetières royaux. L'usage, en effet, ne permet pas qu'on se serve pour désigner ces lieux funèbres des appellations vulgaires et communes d' « ikibira », cimetière, « imva » et « igituro », tombe. Dans certaines parties du Rwanda, les Noirs emploient un autre terme, beaucoup plus juste que le précédent, en raison du respect qui entoure la personne du roi et de la crainte révérentielle qu'on a pour lui. On les entend souvent parler de musezero (au pluriel misezero), c'est-à-dire l'endroit où le monarque « a pris congé » définitivement de ses sujets, du verbe « gusezera », qui veut dire prendre congé.

Le mot « umusezero » est désormais employé couramment dans le sens de « lieu réservé », « lieu préservé », parce qu'en été, au moment où les gens mettent le feu aux hautes herbes, on commence par nettoyer les abords des cimetières, en les débarrassant de la brousse, pour préserver de l'incendie les tombes royales.

2° *Principaux cimetières royaux.*

C'est à Gasseke, dans le Nduga, à environ quatre heures de la mission de Kabgayi, au Nord-Est, qu'on rencontre un de ces premiers bosquets « tumulaires », où fut enterré un prince du nom de Chyilima.

On en connaît deux de ce nom. C'est sous le règne du plus récent qu'eut lieu la célèbre immigration dans le Rwanda, des Muets ou Hommes étrangers au langage incompréhensible. Celui dont on parle ici est, d'après la tradition, le frère et le successeur immédiat de Ruganzu I, surnommé Bwimba [1], de beaucoup antérieur à son illustre homonyme.

Pour le distinguer de l'autre Chyilima, la postérité a donné à celui qui est inhumé à Gasseke, le surnom de « Rugwe », qui veut dire « le léopard », parce que le léopard dans le corps duquel il a transmigré après sa mort, passe pour résider encore dans l'épais fourré qui a poussé autour de son tombeau. Aussi les sacrifices s'y font-ils presque continuellement et le gardien attitré de l'endroit y frappe souvent le tambour. Ce même roi Chyilima n'aurait régné que quelques mois, disent les uns, quelques jours seulement assurent les autres, d'où les honneurs qu'on ne cesse de lui rendre pour apaiser son esprit... et son vorace *alter ego*.

D'aucuns ajoutent que c'est à cause de sa fin malheureuse qu'on agit ainsi vis-à-vis de lui pour calmer sa colère et son chagrin (agahinda gashire).

Refoulé de l'Ouest, où il avait été faire la guerre, ses ennemis le poursuivirent jusqu'à Gasseke.

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[1] La mère de ce Ruganzu, disent les indigènes, avait épousé sur le tard un de ses courtisans, nommé Chenge, d'où naquit Chyilima-Rugwe. Elle le fit au plus grand mécontentement de son fils aîné, Ruganzu I; c'était aller à l'encontre des usages qui exigent que la reine-mère vive uniquement auprès du prince régnant.

La même légende ajoute que Ruganzu-Bwimba se jugeant déshonoré, profita d'une guerre, à l'Urundi, pour se jeter au milieu des ennemis. Il y trouva la mort.

Blessé par eux d'un coup de lance et atteint mortellement, il réussit à se cacher dans les broussailles, où il ne tarda pas à succomber des suites de ses blessures, abandonné des siens. De longs mois s'écoulèrent sans qu'on entendit parler de lui.

Un beau jour des pasteurs découvrirent son cadavre (umurangara) complètement desséché. Ils annoncèrent la nouvelle à la capitale et réclamèrent une récompense.

Pressés de faire connaître leurs désirs, ils obtinrent le privilège de pouvoir désormais faire paître impunément leurs troupeaux dans les récoltes des gens, en été, quand l'herbe fait défaut. Quoi qu'il en soit de l'origine d'une si curieuse faveur, toujours est-il que les Batutsi et leurs vachers ne se firent pas faute d'en user et d'en abuser jusqu'à la pénétration européenne, aux dépens des pauvres Bahutu, qui n'en pouvaient, mais...

Au cimetière royal de Luhanga, qui occupe le sommet du plateau de ce nom, les habitants du pays s'accordent à dire qu'on y enterra sinon le roi Gihanga lui-même, c'est-à-dire le Créateur par excellence, ou au moins sa femme, Nyirakabogo. Il est probable que maints autres monarques y dorment de leur dernier sommeil à côté de la reine, mais les gens ne s'entendent plus très bien sur leur nom.

Ils ne s'accordent pas davantage sur les noms de ceux qui ont été inhumés sur le plateau voisin de Kayenzi-Bussigi, où l'on compte quatre de ces cimetières.

On connaît mieux les noms des princes enterrés dans celui des cimetières qui est situé le plus au Nord. Les habitants du pays sont presque unanimes à désigner Kigeri-Mibambge et Nyiramavugo comme y ayant été inhumés. Lors de la dernière guerre européenne, qui eut son contrecoup dans le pays, les indigènes, apeurés et pour cause, élevèrent des huttes (indaro) sur leurs tombeaux et y offrirent de nombreux sacrifices. Pour ce qui est de la reine Nyiramavugo, les vieux se souviennent d'avoir, durant leur première enfance, vu porter son cadavre, qui

passa la nuit au pied du plateau, avant d'être transporté sur le sommet, où il fut enseveli. C'était la mère de Lwogera-Mutara, c'est-à-dire l'aïeule du roi actuel.

Malembo, fille de Nyamajinya et mère de Yuhi-Mazimpaka, a été inhumée sur l'un ou l'autre des deux plateaux, on ne sait au juste lequel. On parle encore de Yuhi-Mazimpaka lui-même et d'une sœur de Ruganzu, Nyirangabo, que les indigènes disent avoir été ensevelis dans l'un des cimetières nommés. Ce qui est sûr, c'est que le bosquet, qui fait suite au premier en partant du Nord, possède les restes de Kilongoro, fille d'un certain Magoma et mère de Chyilima-Ludjugira, qui succéda à Yuhi-Mazimpaka.

Les bois sacrés de Luhanga et de Kayenzi-Bussigi sont, d'après l'opinion actuelle, réservés exclusivement à la sépulture des reines-mères (abanyambuto, celles aux grains), c'est-à-dire celles qui ont donné l'héritier du trône et ont régné avec lui.

Le plus connu des cimetières royaux est celui de Rutare, dans le pays montagneux du Buyaga, non loin du lac Mohazi, presque sur les confins du Rwanda.

On fait remonter l'existence de ce lieu de repos à tort ou à raison jusqu'à Ruganzu II, qui y aurait été le premier enterré.

D'après une tradition, c'est lui-même qui avait désigné l'emplacement de son tombeau sur cette hauteur, pour y être encore, après sa mort, un obstacle infranchissable aux ennemis du Rwanda. Cette tradition est gravement contestée par les habitants de la province centrale du Nduga [1]. Les deux derniers rois qui y ont été ensevelis et dont on se souvient le plus volontiers sont Lwogera et Lwabugiri, les prédécesseurs immédiats du prince actuellement régnant.

Il est assez difficile de dire à combien de monarques le bois tumulaire de Rutare a servi de dernière demeure.

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[1] Cf. Livre troisième, Le Règne de Ruganzu II.

Les arbres des bosquets, dont quelques-uns sont déjà anciens, autrefois juxtaposés, se sont plus ou moins entremêlés à la longue. De-ci de-là de vieux troncs marquant l'emplacement des cours dans lesquelles avaient été bâties les huttes ont disparu, ce qui fait qu'on ne peut compter les enceintes funéraires d'une façon exacte. Il ne semble pas qu'il y en ait plus de huit à dix.

Trois autres cimetières royaux se trouvent à Musenyi, dans le Nduga, au Sud de la mission de Kabgayi, à une distance d'environ deux heures. Le premier occupe le versant d'une colline désignée sous le nom de Mayebe. Il se compose d'un petit bois d'acacias à épines, dont les arbres ont atteint leur plus grande croissance et entremêlent leurs longues branches, donnant un air mystérieux au bosquet où pénètre à peine un demi-jour. Quelques autres arbres au feuillage plus compact dépassent la futaie. Ce sont des « inganzamarombo » (1).

Un village indigène dont les bananeries touchent au bois est à proximité. Les gens qui l'habitent sont chargés de veiller sur le cimetière, qui, d'après l'opinion des Banya-Nduga (habitants de la province du Nduga), renferme le tombeau de Ruganzu II Ndori. Ceux qui prétendent que son corps a été enterré à Rutare, maintiennent leur opinion en soutenant qu'il n'aurait été que boucané à Mayebe. Les habitants de ce dernier pays assurent, de leur côté, qu'après avoir été momifié il a été bel et bien inhumé sur place, comme cela se pratique, ajoutent-ils, habituellement. On désigne assez communément l'endroit sous le nom de cimetière de Ruganzu.

D'après la même interprétation ce prince aurait été le seul à y être enterré.

Non loin de Mayebe s'élèvent deux autres petits bosquets que séparent à peine 300 mètres et où l'on distingue

(1) On les appelle ainsi de kuganza, dépasser et marombo, essaims d'abeilles, parce que les indigènes aiment à s'en servir pour y placer leurs ruches.

surtout des ficus. D'après les uns, on y aurait momifié les cadavres de plusieurs reines ayant porté le nom de Nyirakigeri et de Nyirayuhi. Les autres, et ce sont les gens de l'endroit qui affirment qu'on les y a aussi enterrés et ils appuient leur dire en ajoutant que le lieu où l'on boucane un roi ou une reine est également celui où ils sont inhumés. Les deux futaies ne formaient autrefois qu'un seul et même bois sacré, ce qui fait que les indigènes ne les désignent que sous une même dénomination.

Le dernier de ces cimetières se trouve à 2 kilomètres plus loin. Il est formé de beaux ficus, mais l'emploi qui a été fait de ce lieu funèbre donne lieu aux mêmes controverses que précédemment. On l'appelle le cimetière des reines ayant porté le nom de Nyiramavugo.

Il n'est pas facile de donner des précisions sur ce sujet. Les gardiens des bosquets, les employés des pompes funèbres (abanyamugogo) et les annalistes officiels (Abachur' ubgenge) ne sont pas encore disposés à livrer tout ce qu'ils connaissent sur ce chapitre. Les dires des autres sont sujets à caution.

On rencontre encore dans le pays des enceintes funéraires désignées sous le nom de ilaro (au pluriel amalaro), c'est-à-dire haltes de nuit.

Elles marquent l'emplacement des huttes qui servirent d'abri aux restes mortels des rois et des reines, lors de leur transfert dans les cimetières.

Après leur passage les habitations devaient être abandonnées, comme lors du séjour d'un prince voyageant à travers son royaume.

« Gisozi » (grosse colline) sert, on l'a déjà dit, à désigner la résidence où meurt un roi.

C'est l'augmentatif du mot « musozi », qui veut dire colline et par extension village. Ce terme appartient à la classe dont le préfixe est la consonne ki.

Cette classe est réservée aux mots auxquels on attache une idée de grandeur, de crainte, etc.

Nombreux sont les bosquets de cette catégorie, tels que ceux de Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

Pour prouver la vérité d'un jugement ou d'une assertion quelconque, les indigènes se servent de la formule suivante, dans laquelle ils font allusion en termes métaphoriques, à la mort de l'un ou de l'autre de leurs souverains : « Mb' ali jye wakuye Lwogera i Kaganza ! ».

« Que ce soit moi (sous-entendu, si je ne dis pas la vérité) qui aie arraché (le roi) Lwogera de Kaganza (nom de la résidence où mourut ce souverain) ! »

On a remarqué dans les pages précédentes qu'il n'a été question que des rois et des reines-mères. Les simples épouses n'ont droit à aucun honneur spécial après leur mort. Elles sont enterrées comme le commun des mortels. Les reines-mères, c'est-à-dire celles qui ont donné l'héritier du trône et régné ensuite avec lui, partagent les mêmes honneurs funèbres que les souverains.

Outre les bosquets dont nous venons de parler, on cite encore celui de Bugarama-Ntare (i Buhurura), non loin de Rukoma; il passe pour être l'endroit où les employés des pompes funèbres se livrèrent à leurs occupations habituelles à l'occasion de la mort d'une reine de nom Nyirakigeri. Le bois sacré de Butare, qui ne comprend plus que quelques arbres fort vieux, est, croit-on, l'endroit ou mourut Nyagihaga, la fille de Ruyenzi et mère d'un Chyilima ou d'un Mutara [1].

La colline de Kaganza, non loin de Musenyi, passe pour avoir été le théâtre de la mort de Nyiramavugo, mère de Lwogera-Mutara.

Ayant refusé de boire, à la première apparition de ses

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[1] Les annalistes officiels donnent bien une liste généalogique des rois du Rwanda, avec le nom de la mère et du clan auquel appartenait cette dernière, mais il faut bien se garder de l'accepter dans toute sa teneur. On a vu que les noms des premiers étaient des créations de pure fantaisie. L'ordre chronologique manque pour plusieurs autres et les chroniqueurs ne s'entendent plus très bien entre eux pour indiquer la filiation de ces princes.

cheveux blancs, le poison qui devait, d'après la coutume, mettre fin à ses jours, le roi Lwogera-Mutara en référa à son oncle maternel, Nyamushanja, qui la fit étrangler. Elle fut momifiée à Musenyi pour être ensuite inhumée sur le plateau de Kayenzi.

3° *La garde des cimetières et les honneurs rendus aux mânes royaux.*

a) *La garde des cimetières royaux.* — L'entrée des cimetières était rigoureusement interdite aux profanes, qui ne pouvaient même pas en approcher, comme si leur présence était une souillure ou une profanation.

Il n'y a pas bien longtemps encore qu'à Rutare, les gardiens chargés de la surveillance des tombes royales, trouvaient avantageux de piller et même de tuer les voyageurs qui avaient le malheur de s'aventurer dans leur voisinage.

Les fonctions de gardien des cimetières royaux sont presque toujours exercées par des membres de la tribu des Abiru ou des Abatsobe, avec lesquels on les confond. En été, au moment où l'on met le feu aux hautes herbes, ils doivent veiller à ce que les flammes ne puissent atteindre l'enceinte réservée.

En principe, il est rigoureusement interdit d'y aller couper du bois et l'on ne doit jamais y pénétrer avec la hache.

Depuis quelques années les gardiens et les voisins semblent s'être relâchés un peu sur ce point. Le bois mort dont ils pouvaient user, ne suffisant plus à leurs besoins, ils s'en prennent aux arbres et aux branches vertes. La conscience des humains s'accommode à tout. Les surveillants, qui en profitent largement, ferment les yeux. Aussi parents et amis usent largement de leur permission tacite en faisant des coupes discrètes à travers les bosquets.

b) *Honneurs généraux rendus aux mânes royaux.* — Les morts ne sont pas oubliés ni abandonnés. La crainte superstitieuse n'est pas étrangère au culte des défunts. La

peur qu'en éprouve le Noir les rappelle constamment au souvenir des vivants [1]. De temps à autre et dans les grandes circonstances, à l'approche de calamités réelles ou supposées, on frappe le tambour en leur honneur.

On élève sur leurs tombes des huttes (indaro) plus ou moins considérables dans lesquelles se font des sacrifices pour apaiser leurs mânes et se les rendre favorables.

A certaines époques, on expédie de la capitale de jeunes taureaux que les sacrificateurs immolent avec pompe et solennité.

Ce que l'on envoie plus volontiers, ce sont de petits vases en terre cuite de forme arrondie et assez gracieuse (uruherezo, imperezo) remplis de vin de bananes que les gardiens offrent en libation aux rois défunts en vue de se concilier leur appui.

Pareils sacrifices se faisaient et se font encore de temps à autre sur maints emplacements des anciennes demeures royales, à Lwamaraba près de la mission de Kabgayi, à Mwurire près de la mission de Save, à Lussagara près de Nyaluhengeri, en l'honneur de Lwabugiri, de Lwogera et d'un autre Mutara, fils de Ruganzu II, pour n'en citer que quelques-uns [2].

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(1) Le muzimu conserve « les passions, les goûts, les tendances, les rancunes qui le caractérisaient lors de la vie matérielle de l'être qu'il continue moralement au delà du trépas ». (MAURICE DELAFOSSE.) Cette croyance explique et justifie chez l'indigène le culte des esprits.

(2) Bon nombre de ces anciennes résidences royales rappellent des faits historiques qui se déroulèrent sur leur emplacement ou dans leur voisinage.

C'est à Mwurire, que Mutara I, fils de Ruganzu II, vainquit le roi de l'Urundi, un Mutaga, dont les possessions s'étendaient alors jusque-là.

Sur la colline de Ruchunchu, non loin d'une ancienne résidence de Lwabugiri, à Rubugurizo, c'est-à-dire d'après le sens étymologique du mot, à l'endroit où les fils du roi jouaient au tric-trac, les indigènes montrent la place où l'héritier nommé de Lwabugiri, Mibambge-Rutalindwa, se brûla, en 1896, avec les siens, dans des huttes d'emprunt quand il se vit sur le point d'être pris par les partisans de la puissante famille des Bega, qui s'étaient révoltés contre lui. Dans le Bumbogo, aux endroits nommés Mbilima et Matovu, de grands ficus indiquent l'emplacement

Le roi entoure des mêmes égards les autres membres défunts de sa famille; il suit cette ligne de conduite vis-à-vis des individus qui lui sont parfaitement étrangers, mais dont il craint le courroux. Musinga a déjà fait offrir, à plusieurs reprises, des victimes de propitiation à Kabale, son oncle maternel, décédé en 1912. Pour apaiser plus facilement son esprit, les sacrifices ont eu lieu à Mbuye, dans une des anciennes demeures favorites du puissant ministre. Karara, un des nombreux frères consanguins du roi actuel, mort à Ruchunchu, ayant donné des signes de mécontentement, a obtenu les mêmes honneurs.

A la suite de cette croyance, à savoir que les morts peuvent nuire aux vivants, il s'est formé une catégorie de sorciers, auxquels le roi fait appel, quand un condamné politique de marque est exécuté. Ces sorciers sont appelés « exhumeurs » ou mutilateurs de cadavres (ababūzi), qui dérive du verbe kwabūra, exhumer un cadavre parce qu'aussitôt après le supplice du condamné, ils coupent à celui-ci le petit doigt de la main (umuhèra) et du pied droit (akajanja). Ils enlèvent des lambeaux de chair sur le corps de la victime, qui désormais ne peut plus nuire. Ce qui fait l'objet de cette mutilation posthume est appelé « urukagiro », c'est-à-dire l'obstacle, l'empêchement (du verbe gukagira, empêcher).

Les sorciers de cette catégorie manipulent longuement ces lambeaux humains et finissent par les enfouir dans un trou de fourmilier (umulerajuru).

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d'une demeure occupée autrefois par un chef important du clan des Baisobe, qui avait épousé la propre mère du roi Lwabugiri.

Celui-ci, devénu grand, voulut tirer vengeance de ce qu'il considérait non seulement comme un grave manquement aux coutumes de la Cour, mais aussi comme un crime de lèse-majesté.

Ses guerriers entourèrent la colline un beau jour.

Dans l'impossibilité de s'échapper, le chef Seruteganya se brûla (aritwika) avec la reine-mère et ses deux fils, Mulangire et Sebugigi.

Une autre tradition ajoute que Lwabugiri aurait voulu épargner sa mère, mais qu'au moment où celle-ci réussissait à s'enfuir, elle fut égorgée par l'un des fils de son second mari.

c) *Honneurs spéciaux rendus aux rois défunts ou hiérogamies.* — Les Noirs sont persuadés que les esprits d'outre-tombe conservent leurs haines et leurs passions. Les vivants ont donc intérêt à se les ménager. Les moyens employés à cet effet sont naturellement analogues à ceux par lesquels on se concilie les hommes avec lesquels on a des rapports. On leur présente des offrandes agréables, on les nourrit, on a des façons ingénieuses de gagner leurs bonnes grâces.

En un mot, on les considère, après leur mort, comme des humains ayant conservé leurs facultés de jouissance.

Nous avons déjà vu que pour s'attirer leurs faveurs on leur fait des libations, on leur offre des sacrifices, on bat le tambour, afin de leur rappeler leur royauté et leur prouver en même temps qu'on les considère toujours comme rois. Cela se fait non seulement sur leurs tombes, dans les grands cimetières, mais aussi sur l'emplacement de leurs anciennes résidences favorites. Par ce dernier choix, on pense leur être plus agréable.

Par motif de crainte et de respect les Banyarwanda évitent en général de bâtir trop près des anciennes capitales et se tiennent à distance. Dans le Bwana-Mukali, au village de Lussagara, pour ne pas souiller le sol qu'avaient souvent foulé Lwogera et Lwabugiri, les habitants de la colline vont enterrer leurs morts au loin, dans la forêt.

En plus de ces précautions et de ces attentions, les princes régnants voulant honorer leurs prédécesseurs défunts et s'attirer leur protection ont constitué à chacun d'eux, un vrai home familial, avec une épouse et des serviteurs, sans oublier le petit troupeau traditionnel.

On se souvient que Chyilima-Rugwe passe pour n'avoir régné que peu de temps. Aussi est-il réputé avoir conservé un mauvais souvenir de son passage sur le trône.

Il a de plus refusé de quitter le pays (yanze kuva mu Rwanda) et y continue son existence dans le corps d'un léopard souvent visible, disent les indigènes. Pour calmer

son esprit, toujours mécontent (yarushije abandi gukaliha), on lui a élevé une grande hutte, à l'endroit même où il a été enterré. Un gardien l'entretient et veille à la conservation du troupeau de vaches qui est censé appartenir en propre à Chyilima. Une femme est à son service.

De temps à autre, une jeune fille est désignée par les sorciers-devins pour devenir sa nouvelle épouse. C'est le gardien qui prend la place du roi défunt.

Les jeunes filles sont ordinairement renvoyées dans leur famille après un court séjour dans la hutte de l'esprit, mais une femme attitrée doit toujours rester sur place. A Idjuru, à peu près à mi-chemin sur la route qui va de la mission de Kabgayi à Kigali, s'élève un bouquet d'arbres qui indique l'emplacement de l'ancienne résidence du roi Yuhi-Mazimpaka. Ce lieu, raconte la légende, devint le théâtre d'un prodige, après la mort du prince. Il venait à peine d'être momifié et enterré au cimetière de Rutare que la terre se mit aussitôt à trembler à Idjuru. Pendant que tombait une forte pluie, des bruits de cornes qui s'entre-choquent (amahembe arakomangana) se firent entendre distinctement. Yuhi-Mazimpaka faisait savoir par là qu'il tenait à ce qu'on s'occupât de lui et qu'on entretînt son habitation. Ses volontés furent exécutées. En plus d'une grande case, on lui a constitué sur place un petit troupeau de vaches dites « indoha », parce qu'elles ont des mugissements harmonieux; une femme y demeure en permanence à sa disposition, sans parler des épouses d'occasion.

A la capitale, dans l'intérieur de l'enceinte royale, nombreuses sont les huttes dédiées aux mânes des anciens rois. Bien qu'affectées aux différents services que suppose le train de vie royal, ces cases sont en même temps consacrées au souvenir de chacun des monarques défunts. Les femmes qui les occupent, tout en faisant partie du harem, sont considérées comme les épouses des souverains dont elles habitent la hutte. Pour les moins connus d'entre les

princes décédés, on se contente d'élever à la Cour des fillettes que l'on fait entrer de temps à autre dans les huttes (indaro) dédiées aux esprits. Les petites y sont aspergées d'eau lustrale (ingwa, eau crayeuse). Les royaux époux (défunts) se contentent de cette cérémonie.

Dans la grande hutte qui est consacrée au roi Gihanga, un feu est entretenu nuit et jour, dans une immense cruche (intango) en terre cuite, qui est remplacée au fur et à mesure de son usure.

Le roi Gihanga, inventeur ou créateur supposé du feu, l'avait légué à son fils Kanyarwanda. En souvenir de cet inappréciable bienfait, on continue à faire du feu dans sa case. Nul autre que le roi ne peut, en principe, y aller chercher des tisons pour allumer sa pipe.

Il y avait autrefois péril de mort à le laisser s'éteindre ou à le laisser dérober par des mains profanes. Une équipe d'individus choisis dans le clan des Abiru est chargée de la garde de ce foyer.

d) *Culte de Kibogo et observance d'un jour de repos.* — Quant à Kibogo, frère de Ruganzu II et fils du roi Ndahiro, bien qu'il ne soit pas monté sur le trône, il est honoré d'une façon spéciale à cause de son rôle de Libérateur. On se rappelle qu'il fut désigné par les devins pour sauver le pays et faire cesser une sécheresse. Il fut emporté au ciel, enveloppé dans un nuage et son ascension eut d'heureuses conséquences pour le Rwanda. Chaque prince nouvellement élu lui élève une demeure distincte et en dehors de l'enceinte royale, pour que Kibogo soit vraiment « chez lui ». La hutte qui lui est consacrée est entourée d'une grande et belle cour. Une femme l'habite et prend soin avec ses serviteurs du troupeau traditionnel de vaches affecté aux « besoins » purement théoriques des esprits.

Le monarque actuel s'est conformé à la coutume en lui constituant, comme l'avaient fait ses prédécesseurs, un

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home entièrement séparé des autres habitations et que l'on désigne toujours sous le nom de « chez Kibogo ». Il a même un tambour spécial, ce qui souligne encore l'importance du rôle qu'il a joué dans le passé.

On rattache à l'épisode de Kibogo l'origine d'une curieuse observance, qui se pratique encore aujourd'hui dans quelques provinces. Elle consiste à s'abstenir de cultiver une fois tous les cinq jours, mais durant la matinée seulement. De cette pratique est venu le nom si connu de « chumweru », qui inclue le sens de blanc et de blancheur, et que les chrétiens ont adopté aujourd'hui pour désigner le dimanche.

A quelle occasion, à quelle époque les Banyarwanda ont-ils choisi ce jour? Les uns font remonter la coutume jusqu'à Gihanga le Créateur. Il n'est pas rare, en effet, d'entendre sur les lèvres des païens ce mot de « Chumweru cha Gihanga », le jour blanc de Gihanga.

D'autres font de chumweru un homme de la suite de Kibogo. Il appartenait au clan des Basindi, ajoutent-ils, et il habitait à Ruhina, non loin de la mission actuelle de Kabgayi. Il était attaché au service de Kibogo, dont il surveillait les cultures (guhingishiriza). Il accompagna son maître, au jour de son « ascension », portant suspendu au cou le sachet (uruhago) en fibres de bananier qui contenait le tabac et la pipe de son chef.

Le nuage les prit tous ensemble.

Les origines de cette observance sont obscures, comme on le voit. N'y aurait-il pas là une réminiscence du repos sabbatique ou dominical?

La supposition serait assez plausible, surtout si l'on admet que les Batutsi sont originaires d'Égypte ou d'Abyssinie.

Quoi qu'il en soit des commencements de cette pratique, elle était fidèlement observée autrefois. Nombre de païens, éloignés des stations européennes, en tiennent compte encore aujourd'hui; ils y attachent, comme leurs aïeux,

un sens superstitieux. Si la grêle vient à tomber ce jour-là, ils ne manqueront pas de l'attribuer à un châtiment surnaturel et d'en rejeter la responsabilité sur ceux qui sont surpris à enfreindre la défense. « On ne se faisait pas faute, racontent les anciens, d'insulter les délinquants, de les piller ou même de les frapper au besoin, et il n'était pas rare de se voir rappeler à l'ordre tant était reçue cette coutume. »

Ce que fait le roi pour ses ancêtres, les grands chefs le font aussi, proportions gardées, pour les membres défunts de leur famille [1]. Chacune des huttes dont se composent leurs habitations, car ils en ont habituellement plusieurs, est consacrée à un esprit en l'honneur duquel ils épousent une femme, qu'ils gardent ou délaissent ensuite au gré de leurs caprices et de leurs fantaisies.

Les Bahutu aisés essaient d'imiter les grands, mais le nombre de leurs cases est généralement restreint. Pour ne pas rester inférieurs à leurs émules en superstition, ils bâtissent autour de leur demeure des huttes minuscules (indaro) consistant souvent en deux où trois bouts de bois *fichés en terre et réunis à peine au sommet par un petit* lien.

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[1] Les Baga portent leurs morts de préférence dans la région du Budaha, qui est un de leurs fiefs. Le régent Kabale et une de ses épouses favorites, Kirumwero, ont été enterrés au village de Ngoma, près de la colline de Gatare. Son père Lwagara avait été inhumé à Gieunru, non loin de Munzanga, et son frère Lwibéshengo à Nyamutukura. Son fils Nyantabana et l'un de ses petits-fils ont été ensevelis à Lwasankuba.

Les Banyiginya choisissent leur lieu de sépulture en pays ennemi, pour arrêter les invasions et porter malheur aux étrangers (Abanyamuhanga).

L'île d'Idjwi, avant d'être réunie à la Couronne, servit de dernière demeure à quelques membres influents de ce clan.

D'autres Banyiginya ont été enterrés à l'Urundi et dans la province du Bugesera, qui touche à ce pays. Les fils de Musinga qui sont décédés, au nombre d'au moins cinq ou six, y dorment de leur dernier sommeil.

Le défunt est enterré d'ordinaire dans une hutte. Au Budaha, le propriétaire de la case qui a servi de tombeau à un Mwega, ne peut quitter son habitation qu'après une année environ. On l'oblige à y rester pour empêcher que les ensorceleurs ne viennent exhumer le cadavre.

4° Deuil annuel qui dure quinze jours, pendant le mois de juin, et qui se termine par une grande fête.

Durant la deuxième quinzaine du mois lunaire désigné sous le nom indigène de Gichurassi et qui correspond à peu près à notre mois de juin, a lieu le célèbre deuil annuel qui dure quinze jours. Le roi seul est en principe obligé de porter le deuil; toute la Cour s'y associe par esprit de solidarité. Le prince, à cette occasion, doit se dépouiller de ses ornements et ne conserver que des vêtements ordinaires. Nulle cérémonie de mariage ne peut avoir lieu. Les jeux et les danses sont interdits. Des tambours on n'entend que le « Ndamutsa », vers les neuf heures du matin.

Lorsque le deuil est sur le point de prendre fin, les chefs font venir de la bière des différents points du Rwanda, en vue de la fête de clôture (gukur' igichurassi, faire partir le mois de deuil). La veille du jour fixé pour les réjouissances, le tambourin (ishako) se fait entendre à quatre reprises durant la nuit pour annoncer la grande solennité. Dès le matin les autres instruments se mettent de la partie. Des cris joyeux s'élèvent de toutes parts, la foule se précipite sur l'immense esplanade où va se dérouler la fête.

Ce sont des danses ininterrompues, où prennent part les pages et d'autres spécialistes. Les initiés qui font partie de la société secrète de Ryangombe, le visage gribouillé de blanc, se livrent à leurs cérémonies habituelles. Des sacrifices ont lieu.

Les vaches sacrées font leur apparition sur la place et ne contribuent pas peu à donner à la fête une physionomie originale. Inutile d'ajouter que la bière coule à flots.

Quant à la question de savoir en l'honneur de qui se fait le deuil, il n'est pas facile d'y répondre clairement. Les chroniqueurs ne s'entendent pas sur ce point.

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Les uns disent qu'il a lieu pour honorer tous les rois; d'autres ajoutent qu'il se fait en l'honneur d'une reine dont on a oublié le nom. Les plus nombreux assurent que le deuil est pris en souvenir de Ndahiro.

La mort de ce dernier aurait eu lieu précisément durant le mois de Gichurassi et dans les circonstances que l'on connaît. Nous laissons aux gens mieux informés le soin de trancher ces nœuds gordiens.

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Les *Épisodes et les légendes à sens historique* forment la suite logique des quatre livres précédents. En d'autres termes, ils servent de complément à ce que nous avons intitulé *Histoire d'un Règne* et à *Fondation du Royaume hamite du Rwanda*. De fréquentes allusions y ont été faites dans ces dernières études, où il en a été donné un résumé par trop imparfait. Il convenait donc de les exposer plus au long à cause de leur importance au point de vue historique et ethnologique. Tout en relevant de temps à autre quelques détails, on n'a fait que suivre textuellement la légende et la tradition, sans s'inquiéter des inconséquences et des contradictions inhérentes à ces sortes de récits.

Ce sont pour la plupart des « morceaux littéraires » très goûtés des Banyarwanda, qui s'y reconnaissent avec les qualités et les défauts de leur race. Aussi ne se lassent-ils pas de les écouter. Les deux épisodes qui relatent l'*Invasion et la défaite des Banyoro*, puis le *Dévoûment et la mort du Libérateur Gihana* sur les frontières de l'Urundi, sont de beaucoup les plus populaires. La légende s'en est emparée et en les défigurant, les a agrémentés de nombreux prodiges extraordinaires.

Les bardes ou aèdes qui s'accompagnent de l'instrument à cordes (abachuranzi b' inanga), les jouteurs littéraires (abasizi) et les historiens officiels de la capitale (abachurabgenge) en ont fait leur thème favori. Les autres récits, quoique bien imparfaits et fort incomplets, aident à comprendre un peu l'histoire de l'époque où se déroulèrent les événements qu'ils racontent.

Nous donnons en appendice l'histoire de la province du Bugoyi. On verra ce qu'est l'organisation familiale, sociale, administrative et militaire d'une province sous le gouvernement des chefs et princes hamites.

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CHAPITRE PREMIER

Existence d'une peuplade primitive connue sous le nom d'Abarenge ou Abagereka.

I. — L'ÉPISODE LUI-MÊME TEL QU'IL EST RAPPORTÉ PAR LA TRADITION.

Dans le pays de Save, qui fait partie de la province du Bwana-Mkali, il y avait autrefois, disent les vieux, un peuple qu'on appelait les « Barenge ». Ces derniers étaient très nombreux.

On ne sait d'où étaient venus leurs ancêtres et l'on ignorait tout de leur passé. Ils avaient pour chef un certain Kimari, fils de Rulenge, d'où le nom de Barenge ou gens de Rulenge donné à ses sujets. Or, il arriva qu'à cette même époque, une grande famine s'abattit sur la contrée. Les pluies firent défaut (imvura yari yarahangamye); les récoltes, qui n'avaient pas eu le temps de mûrir, séchèrent sur pied. Les hommes, après avoir épuisé leurs dernières provisions, mouraient en foule, faute de nourriture. Les survivants allèrent trouver Mashira, le célèbre roi-sorcier, qui régnait dans le Nduga et le Ndiza, sur le peuple des Ababanda. Le roi-sorcier consulta le sort, d'après les méthodes en honneur chez les magiciens et les devins de ce temps-là [1], pour savoir comment on ferait cesser la sécheresse.

Pour l'intelligence de la chose, il faut se rappeler que les Banyarwanda attribuent tous les malheurs qui fondent sur eux ou sur le pays, aux esprits des défunts (abazimu) ou aux maléfices des ensorceleurs. Les fléaux peuvent être aussi la conséquence d'un crime volontaire ou même non volontaire (ishyano).

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[1] Cf. « La Divination au Rwanda », *Anthropos*, XII-XIII, par le P. ALEXIS ARBOUX.

L'inobservance des rites (imihango, imiziro) est également considérée comme pouvant déchaîner des maux sans nombre. La présence d'ennemis ou d'étrangers sur le territoire national donnent lieu aux mêmes suites désastreuses. D'où l'habitude qu'ont les Noirs de consulter les sorciers et les devins pour savoir ce qu'il y faut faire en pareille circonstance. D'où aussi le choix que font ces derniers de « Libérateurs » (abatabazi) pour délivrer le pays et ramener l'abondance. Dans l'*Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu* et dans la *Fondation du Royaume hamite du Rwanda* il a été parlé de plusieurs de ces Libérateurs.

Nous reviendrons longuement sur l'un de ceux-ci dans l'un des récits suivants.

Mashira, ayant affaire à un peuple rival, s'y prit un peu autrement que d'habitude. Après avoir longuement consulté les entrailles des poussins, il fit dire au chef des Barenge qu'il devait creuser profondément dans le sol jusqu'à ce qu'il rencontre une source. C'était, d'après lui, le seul moyen de provoquer la pluie, qui ne manquerait pas de tomber, s'ils venaient à trouver de l'eau.

Kimari rassembla ses hommes, qui vinrent avec des pioches, et leur désigna, d'après les conseils du sorcier, l'endroit où ils devaient commencer leurs recherches.

Ils passèrent de longs mois, assurent les chroniqueurs, à faire ce travail et quand il fut terminé, le trou était devenu tellement profond qu'il fut impossible de trouver une échelle assez longue pour en sortir. C'est alors que le magicien, — car, d'après quelques-uns, il se serait rendu lui-même sur les lieux, — fit couler d'un récipient, qu'il avait apporté avec lui, une eau lustrale dont il aspergea les Barenge, pour les conduire à leur perte. Il entendait par là sauver son propre pays et se débarrasser de ses rivaux qui étaient en même temps ses ennemis. C'était tout à la fois un « sortilège de salut » (urutsiro) pour lui et les siens et un « sortilège de défaite » (intsinzi) pour les Barenge.

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De fait, au même instant, apparurent de tous côtés des nuages qui crevèrent et la pluie se répandit en abondance dans le pays. Quant aux Barenge, ils étaient restés au fond de leur excavation. Ne pouvant en sortir, ils y furent surpris par les eaux qui s'y précipitaient de toutes parts; ils y périrent tous.

Le chef Kimari, qui était resté chez lui, disparut avec les quelques rares compagnons qui formaient son entourage sans qu'on sut où il trouva un refuge. D'autres conteurs ajoutent qu'ayant survécu au désastre avec sa mère, il resta sur place avec les survivants. On était alors à l'époque où les Hamites n'avaient pas encore pénétré dans la province centrale du Nduga. Leur roi Mibambge I, surnommé Mutabazi (le Libérateur), habitait le pays du Bumbogo, sur le fleuve de la Nyabarongo.

Apprenant la catastrophe que venaient d'éprouver les Barenge, il résolut aussitôt la perte de leur chef. Pour ce faire, il appelle une de ses jeunes esclaves : « Va-t'en, lui dit-il, chez Kimari; fais-toi accepter comme servante dans sa famille et quand l'occasion s'en présentera tu lui feras boire, à son insu, du lait impur. »

Les Barenge, comme les Basinga d'aujourd'hui, auraient cru s'exposer aux plus grands malheurs en buvant le lait des vaches qui ont la peau roussâtre et noirâtre tout à la fois. Ces dernières sont désignées sous le nom d'un oiseau (inyombya) qui a cette couleur et qui ressemble un peu au rossignol.

La jeune fille fut agréée sans aucune difficulté et se rendit utile aux gens de la maison. Il arriva un jour que la domestique qui s'occupait de la laiterie tomba malade. La nouvelle arrivée fut chargée de la remplacer dans ses fonctions. L'attente n'avait pas été longue.. L'esclave de Mibambge prend aussitôt du lait de vache « tabou » (umuziro) et le sert à Kimari, à son heure accoutumée. Celui-ci est aussitôt pris de vomissements. Sa mère, attirée par les efforts qu'il fait, accourt à son secours et ne trouve plus

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qu'un cadavre. Sa surprise et sa douleur sont tellement grandes qu'elle en meurt à l'instant.

Mashira, le roi-sorcier, qui avait présidé à la première phase de la tragédie, s'empara du pays qu'il ajouta à ses autres possessions. Il régna jusqu'au jour où Mibambge réussit, à son tour, à se débarrasser de lui.

II. — Nombreuses variantes du même épisode.

Le court épisode tel qu'il vient d'être raconté comporte de nombreuses variantes selon les conteurs et selon les pays. Le fond reste le même, mais les détails sont différents.

D'après une première interprétation, la sécheresse s'était étendue sur la majeure partie du Rwanda actuel. Les Barenge en furent considérés comme les auteurs présumés, par leurs maléfices. Le temps et les choses ne reprirent leur cours normal qu'après leur châtiment et leur disparition.

Le sorcier, disent les autres, aurait adressé aux Barenge victimes de la famine le langage suivant : « Si vous voulez avoir la pluie, réunissez-vous sur le sommet de la colline, grimpez les uns sur les autres et allez vous-mêmes dans les nuages. Vous l'y prendrez de vive force. » Ce sont les gens qui habitent sur les plateaux de Luhanga et de Bussigi qui prêtent au sorcier ce petit discours. Au lieu de situer l'événement dans la province du Bwana-Mkali, ils le placent à Ilemera, c'est-à-dire dans leur propre pays.

« Les Barenge, ajoutent les mêmes, se mirent donc en devoir de grimper les uns sur les autres, ainsi que cela leur avait été conseillé. Ils étaient déjà arrivés à une certaine hauteur quand ceux qui formaient la base de la pyramide vivante faiblirent sous le poids. La grappe humaine s'écroula et tous s'écrasèrent dans leur chute. Nul n'en réchappa. »

Les gens du Bugoyi, au Nord-Est du lac Kivu, racontent

le fait un peu différemment. Comme les riverains du lac sont assez éloignés du pays qu'habitait cette peuplade primitive, ils ont conçu autrement le récit qui leur en a été fait, mais dont ils ont conservé les grandes lignes. « Un roi du Rwanda, disent-ils, poursuivait les Barenge d'une haine violente qui se traduisait par des massacres fréquents. Les sujets du tyran se concertèrent un jour en vue de se soustraire à cette sanglante inimitié. Ils ne trouvèrent rien de mieux que de faire la courte échelle pour s'élever dans le ciel et y aller chercher un lieu plus sûr. »

Ce moyen tourna malheureusement à leur perte.

Les Bagoyi, ainsi que les gens de Bussigi ont donné aux héros de la catastrophe un nom très significatif, celui d'« Abagereka », c'est-à-dire ceux qui s'élèvent, du mot kugereka, kugerekerana, qui a le même sens.

Pour se dérober aux atteintes du despote les Barenge, d'après une autre variante, se mirent à construire un abri en bois très élevé, dans le genre des greniers à provision (ikigega) à forme ronde que les Noirs aiment à bâtir auprès de leurs habitations. Ils entassèrent bois sur bois, arbres sur arbres. On était arrivé à peu près à mi-chemin, entre ciel et terre, quand soudain les matériaux, mal agencés, s'écroulèrent et les ouvriers moururent dans leur chute et sous les décombres.

On insinue ailleurs que ce fut un grand vent qui fit chanceler l'édifice que de hardis ouvriers avaient construit pour aller piller les richesses entassées, d'après ce qu'ils avaient entendu dire, dans le pays d'en haut où habitait un roi opulent. Les tenants de cette dernière version placent la scène de l'événement à Kabagare, sur le deuxième bras de la Nyabarongo, en face du pays de Munyambiriri. Peut-être faut-il voir dans ce dernier détail une indication à savoir que les Barenge étaient assez répandus dans le pays et qu'ils habitaient ailleurs encore que dans la province du Bwana-Mkali.

Pour donner une idée de la transformation que subis-

sent peu à peu les faits à base historique en passant d'un pays ou d'une bouche à l'autre, nous présenterons au lecteur un exemple typique. Il s'agit du même épisode précédent auquel ont été ajoutés des détails empruntés à d'autres récits : « Les Barenge — c'est un vieux à barbe grise qui parle — étaient répandus dans tout le pays. Il arriva un jour (igihe kimwe) que la pluie fit défaut. Les Barenge eurent beau descendre dans les vallées, l'eau en avait complètement disparu. S'emparant aussitôt de leurs marteaux et de leurs houes, qui étaient très solides à cette époque, ils se mirent à faire sauter les roches et à creuser, mais en vain. Ils forment alors le projet de faire la « courte échelle » (kugerekana) en vue de monter en haut (mw' idjuru) et de percer (kupfumura) la voûte du ciel. Ils se rassemblent; les plus forts offrent leurs épaules pour former la base de la pyramide; les autres, s'aidant des pieds et des mains, grimpent en haut. Le dernier était à peine arrivé dans les nuages qu'il touchait et étreignait à pleines mains (kukabakaba) que la terre céda et s'entr'ouvrit subitement sous le poids de cette multitude d'hommes entassés sur un aussi petit espace. Celui qui était monté le dernier eut tout juste le temps de sauter dans le ciel. Ses compagnons disparurent dans le gouffre qui s'était formé sous leurs pieds et il n'en survécut pas un seul.

» Quant à l'heureux survivant, il est resté dans le pays d'en haut et l'on croit que c'est lui qui commande à la foudre. L'abîme où furent engloutis ses compatriotes n'est autre que le fameux « trou » (urwobo) du Bugessera, que l'on désigne communément sous le nom de gouffre de Bayanga; il se trouve non loin d'une ancienne habitation du roi Lwabugiri. C'est un lieu maudit où l'on jette les criminels. L'eau n'y fait jamais défaut, mais nul ne peut en boire sans en mourir à l'instant. Il en est de même pour les oiseaux et les animaux.

» Toutes les nuits il s'en dégage, continue le narrateur,

de la fumée et des flammes dont on aperçoit de loin la lueur rougeâtre.

» Chaque fois qu'on y conduit un condamné, le niveau des eaux s'élève subitement comme pour venir happer la victime.

» Dans leur agitation les eaux produisent un bruit qui ressemble à des plaintes et à des rugissements (akaboroga, agater' induru). »

Le drame se déroula, d'après une dernière version, dans le trou que les Barenge avaient creusé eux-mêmes, sous l'inspiration du terrible magicien. C'est pour essayer d'en sortir qu'ils firent la courte échelle. La profondeur était telle que ceux d'en bas ne purent supporter l'énorme poids qui ne faisait que croître à chaque instant. Il ne resta que des cadavres.

III. — Raisons qui expliquent la multiplicité des versions ; le fond historique de l'épisode des Barenge.

A) *Raisons qui expliquent les nombreuses variantes d'un même récit.* — Il ne faut pas s'étonner de trouver tant de versions différentes sur le même sujet. Elles sont inévitables chez les Noirs, où les faits du passé ne se transmettent que par le seul moyen de la transmission orale.

Les légendes, les épisodes historiques et les autres récits ne sont légués aux générations suivantes que par cette unique voie. Avec un pareil mode de transmission purement traditionnelle on comprend aisément que les faits réels qui en forment la base historique aient perdu peu à peu de leur intégrité première. Il se fait alors simultanément des additions, des soustractions et des multiplications pour parler le langage de l'arithmétique. Les récits primitifs subissent de vraies déformations dont il n'est pas toujours facile de tirer parti pour l'histoire.

Dans une précédente étude [1] on a déjà eu l'occasion de

[1] « Légendes et Récits » (Au Rwanda, sur les bords du lac Kivu). *Anthropos* (1919-1920).

parler de la tendance qui porte les Banyarwanda à s'approprier les récits étrangers ou les événements qui se sont déroulés ailleurs. Ils sont très ingénieux à les adapter à leur propre milieu, en y ajoutant de nouveaux personnages, ou en y insérant des détails empruntés aux coutumes locales et à l'histoire ancestrale. C'est pour cela que les habitants de la province du Bugoyi, au Nord-Est du lac Kivu, font intervenir dans le récit de la création des premiers hommes un quatrième individu du nom de Gahunde, dont la création, d'après eux, aurait suivi celle de Gatwa.

Ils le représentent comme ayant été l'objet de la même malédiction que Gatwa et pour la même faute.

Étant donnée la présence au Bugoyi d'une quatrième race dite des « Bahunde », originaires du Nord et du Nord-Ouest du lac, il fallait bien leur trouver un ancêtre dans le passé comme pour les trois autres groupes ethniques. S'ils lui ont fait partager le sort de Gatwa et des Négrilles qui en descendent, c'est que les Bahunde, dont il est censé être le père, sont méprisés à l'égal et à peu près au même titre que les Batwa. Rien de plus facile à un cerveau nègre que de trouver une explication à tous les grands problèmes de l'humanité. Disons encore que leurs concepts, tout primitifs soient-ils, n'excluent pas la finesse et le « grain de sel » dont ils sont coutumiers.

Un autre motif de la multiplicité des versions et des détails, c'est que les conteurs sont souvent des vieux à barbe grise, quand ce ne sont pas les bardes attitrés ou les chroniqueurs officiels (abachurabgenge). Or, les chansons de gestes se chantent ou se débitent dans les grandes occasions, les jours de noces ou de réjouissances. En pays noir, comme partout du reste, une fête ne se comprend pas sans bière ou vin indigène. « Le ventre doit y avoir sa part », pour employer une de leurs expressions favorites. Sous le coup de la boisson fermentée les têtes s'échauffent, les esprits s'exaltent, les langues se délient. Les libations

succèdent aux libations. Les débits récitatifs finissent par s'en ressentir. Les troubadours subissent l'influence des rasades, d'où le mélange des faits, la confusion des dates et des personnages et quelquefois le manque de logique. De plus, pour faire plaisir au chef ou à ceux qui paient largement à boire, les trouvères ne manqueront pas aussi d'intercaler dans les légendes ou d'y mêler à propos des détails de pure circonstance. Les choses se passent fréquemment de cette manière chez les grands chefs (abatware b' intebbe), dont l'opulence peut se payer une petite Cour et qui, dans leurs nombreux déplacements, car ils ont toujours plusieurs habitations, font une large part aux réjouissances qui durent fort avant dans la nuit.

Dans ces conditions, il devient on ne peut plus difficile de faire la part du vrai et du faux et de démêler parmi les enchevêtrements et la broussaille de ces produits de l'imagination, le fait historique qui a servi de base au récit ou à la légende.

Il serait impossible de citer les différentes interprétations de tel ou tel récit. Ce serait on ne peut plus fastidieux. Il peut arriver parfois que l'une ou l'autre des variantes ait son utilité propre et présente quelque intérêt, par l'apport d'un détail qui jette exceptionnellement plus de lumière sur l'épisode en question. Il peut aussi faire connaître des usages ou un concept particulier à un clan. C'est ainsi que pour ce qui est de l'épisode des Barenge, on est amené à croire qu'il s'agissait d'une peuplade assez répandue dans le pays. La désignation de plusieurs localités données par les versions précédentes semble autoriser cette déduction. Le détail fourni par une autre de ces variantes et qui parle d'un travail de construction gigantesque, où les troncs d'arbre s'amoncellent les uns sur les autres, est tout à fait significatif. Les Noirs n'ont trouvé rien de mieux que de le comparer à un grenier à provisions (ikigega), dans le genre de ceux qu'ils utilisent pour leurs récoltes. Ce détail nous révèle l'idée que se font les indi-

gènes d'une construction inusitée. L'image qu'ils s'en font est la même; seules les proportions diffèrent.

Ils ne pouvaient se représenter autrement l'ouvrage édifié par les Barenge. Quant à cette haute et massive bâtisse elle-même, on est presque tenté d'évoquer à son occasion le souvenir de la tour de Babel, tant le détail d'une construction de ce genre paraît inédit parmi les Noirs et étranger à leur mentalité. N'y aurait-il pas là comme un écho lointain du fait biblique défiguré dans les traditions indigènes?

Si l'on admet que les Batutsi sont originaires de l'Égypte ou de l'Abyssinie et que leur arrivée dans le Rwanda est de date relativement récente, la supposition n'aurait rien d'absurde. Qu'en est-il au juste? Comment faut-il interpréter le détail de l'ouvrage élevé par les Barenge? La porte reste largement ouverte aux hypothèses.

B) *Fond historique de l'épisode des Barenge.* — Il n'a pas été possible malheureusement d'obtenir jusqu'ici plus de précision au sujet de cette tradition si intéressante sous plus d'un rapport. Il semble toutefois qu'on puisse en conclure à l'existence d'un groupe qui vivait à part et jouissait de l'indépendance. Les récits, malgré leurs embellissements et leurs obscurités, disent assez clairement qu'ils étaient nombreux et qu'ils occupaient le Bwana-Mkali et les districts d'alentour.

Il est facile de lire entre les lignes du récit qu'on s'en débarrassa, en les exterminant, pour prendre leur place. Mibambge I, le roi des Hamites, qui n'avait pas encore pénétré dans le Nduga, fit, dit-on d'après une autre version sur ce sujet, mourir Kimari, le chef des Barenge, lequel avait pu échapper au désastre précédemment raconté.

La défaite des Barenge, en tous cas, est attribuée aux sortilèges de Mashira, le roi-sorcier du Nduga. Agissait-il pour son propre compte ou sous l'instigation du roi hamite, dont il devint l'allié, ainsi que nous allons le voir

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dans le récit suivant? Les deux hypothèses peuvent se soutenir. Ce qui est sûr, c'est que Mashira fut, dans la suite, vaincu à son tour par Mibambge, qui vint s'installer dans la province centrale du Nduga, au milieu des Babanda ou habitants du pays.

La colline de Mara, située près de la mission de Save, passe pour avoir été le théâtre de la catastrophe. On y montre une crevasse appelée la « Source du Sorcier », dans le massif rocailleux dit de « Luhasha ». C'est donc là que dût se jouer la partie décisive. Le chef Kimari, après le drame sanglant, se serait, d'après la légende précédente, enfui dans le Nduga, où il aurait habité à Gihogwe et à Mussambira près de la rivière de la Kayumbo. Il ne devait pas y séjourner longtemps, sa mort ayant été résolue.

Les indigènes, en creusant le sol ou en travaillant la terre, ont souvent mis à jour des débris de poteries et des fragments grossiers de pipes qu'ils attribuent, on ne sait pourquoi, aux Barenge. « Ibibindi byarakómeraga ». Leurs cruches étaient solides, plus solides que celles de l'époque actuelle, ajoutent-ils. Les Banyarwanda croient encore reconnaître certaines pierres qui auraient servi, autrefois, aux mêmes individus, à écraser le grain. Pareille origine est prêtée à de vieux morceaux de houes. Ces dernières offrent la particularité d'être un peu plus petites que les pioches actuelles, mais, par contre, elles sont plus longues du côté de la pointe qui s'engage dans le manche. Pour ce qui est de ces dernières, disons tout de suite qu'il paraît difficile de les faire remonter jusqu'aux Barenge. Comment, en effet, auraient-elles pu résister si longtemps, étant donnée la mauvaise qualité du minerai, à la rouille qui n'aurait pas manqué de les ronger durant les quelques centaines d'années qui se sont écoulées depuis cette époque [1]. Le sol du Rwanda est autrement humide

[1] Les Banyarwanda rencontrent souvent, au moment des cultures, dans le sol, les scories (inkumba z' ibyuma) des anciennes forges des Barenge.

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que celui de l'Égypte; l'hypothèse de la destruction des objets de fer par l'oxydation n'est pas dénuée de tout fondement. Il est donc bien malaisé avec le peu de renseignements que l'on possède de porter un jugement précis sur cet événement. Quoi qu'il en soit des problèmes qui peuvent se poser à cette occasion, il n'en reste pas moins assuré qu'il y avait autrefois une peuplade politiquement distincte des populations voisines [1].

Dans quelques récits, on donne Kimari comme l'oncle de Mashira. Ce nom de « Kimari », c'est-à-dire l'Exterminateur (de kumara = achever), ajoutent les conteurs, lui fut donné, parce qu'une maladie contagieuse décima la population et que la peste bovine ravagea les troupeaux de son pays. Aussi pour le punir, lui la cause de tous ces maux, les Batutsi ou d'autres chefs, ses voisins et ses compatriotes, lui crevèrent les yeux.

Des légendes à base historique, c'est peut-être la plus difficile à interpréter avec celle de Ryangombe, roitelet du pays de Kibingo et fondateur supposé de la société secrète dite des imandwa.

CHAPITRE II

Incursion des Banyoro dans le Rwanda.

I. — État politique de l'époque.

On a vu dans le récit précédent que Mashira joua le rôle principal dans le drame des Barenge que la légende a fort amplifié. Le fit-il de sa propre initiative ou sous

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[1] Dans le récit suivant on verra que la province du Nduga était habitée, avant l'arrivée des Batutsi, par une population autochtone connue sous le nom d'Ababanda, que gouvernait le fameux Mashira.

Aujourd'hui, en plus de leurs descendants, on y trouve un grand nombre d'autres clans, parmi lesquels les Bazigaba et les Bagessera sont les plus connus. Ils sont répandus un peu partout dans le Rwanda et la tradition veut que les premiers soient originaires du Ndorwa et les seconds du Bugessera, d'où ils émigrèrent dans l'intérieur du Rwanda.

l'instigation du roi hamite, avec lequel il entretenait, au début, des relations de bon voisinage?

On ne peut le savoir au juste. Quelques-uns des narrateurs se contentent de dire que le chef des Barenge, Kimari, — ainsi qu'on vient de le dire, — après avoir échappé au désastre, périt ensuite sous les machinations du prince mututsi Mibambge I Mutabazi, qui devait se rendre si célèbre par la victoire qu'il remporta sur les Banyoro, avec l'aide du même Mashira.

Il semble que le désastre que subirent les Barenge eut lieu quelques années avant ce dernier événement, sous le règne de Kigero I Mukobanya, père de Mibambge. Les Hamites ou Batutsi venus par le Nord-Est, c'est-à-dire le Ndorwa et Mutara, où ils séjournèrent assez longtemps, n'avaient pas encore conquis tout le Rwanda actuel. Il s'en fallait de beaucoup.

La province du Mulera échappait à leur influence. Les habitants de ce pays, montagnards fiers et belliqueux, leur avaient résisté victorieusement.

Tout au plus la plaine du Muko, qui longe la rivière de la Mukungwa, paraît-elle avoir été occupée de bonne heure par les Batutsi.

C'est dans cette plaine que se trouve le pays sacré du Buhanga, considéré comme le berceau et la première résidence du roi Gihanga. A l'époque dont nous parlons, les Batutsi occupaient le pays du Bumbogo, le Buliza, le Buyaga, le Buganza, puis le Gissaka, qui devait former un petit royaume indépendant de celui du Rwanda, le Bugessera et, enfin, le Bwana-Chambge.

L'émigration hamite se faisait sur deux voies parallèles. Pendant que les uns se dirigeaient par le Gissaka et le Bugessera sur l'Urundi, les autres s'avançaient sur le seuil de la province centrale du Nduga, par le Bumbogo et le Bwana-Chambge. Nous ne nous occupons ici que de ces derniers. Le chef et le roi de ce deuxième groupe s'appelait alors Kigeri I Mukobanya et avait pour fils

Mibambge I. Sa résidence principale était à Mwurire, près de Kigali, non loin du fleuve de la Nyabarongo.

Le reste du Rwanda, au Sud, à l'Est et à l'Ouest, était gouverné par des roitelets autochtones, indépendants les uns des autres. Le plus puissant de tous était le fameux Mashira, qui régnait sur la province centrale du Nduga et du Ndiza habitées par une peuplade que l'on désigne encore aujourd'hui sous le nom d'Ababanda. Au Nord-Ouest du Nduga vivait un autre prince indépendant dont les possessions formaient le petit royaume de Marangara et qui devait survivre à celui de Mashira, son puissant voisin. A ce moment-là il n'était question que du roi du Nduga, qui avait aussi la réputation d'être le plus grand sorcier de l'époque. Les princes aborigènes, en effet, exerçaient en même temps, et en vertu de leur royauté, les fonctions de sorcier, magicien, devin, etc. Mashira, d'après la tradition, était passé maître en fait de magie et de sorcellerie. Les Noirs recouraient à lui de tous côtés.

On connaît de ce prince au moins quatre habitations principales, à Nyanza, à Gisali et à Kibanda, au sommet de la chaîne du Muhanga, et, enfin, à Chubbi, dans le Ndiza. Au sommet de la butte de Gahogo, près de la mission de Kabgayi, les habitants du pays montrent l'endroit où il chercha en vain de l'eau, pour y abreuver ses troupeaux. Les relations qu'il entretenait avec le roitelet de Marangara, un certain Nkondogoro, devaient être excellentes. Peut-être étaient-ils parents. Il est possible aussi que Nkondogoro se considérât comme le vassal de Mashira.

Des ancêtres de Mashira l'histoire n'a retenu que le nom de deux d'entre eux, Nkuba et Sabugabo. Depuis combien de temps leur famille régnait-elle sur le Nduga? La tradition n'en dit absolument rien.

Les récits légendaires qui courent sur la personne de Mashira sont nombreux, mais l'histoire ne peut en retenir grand'chose tellement les faits y sont défigurés. Nous n'en citons qu'un pour l'exemple.

« Kimari, dit la légende en question, était le roi du pays situé au Sud du Nduga. Mashira alla le trouver pour lui faire la cour (kumuhakwaho). Il fut agréé du monarque; peu de temps après ils se brouillèrent.

» Mashira se rendit alors chez Nsoro, le roi du Bugessera. A peine arrivé dans ce dernier pays, le nouveau venu empêcha la pluie de tomber (yich' imvura). Pour ce faire, il s'était mis à téter (yonk' umugore we) comme un nourrisson et à porter des joujoux enfantins (inkondo). Assis à la manière d'un rameur dans une petite barque, il tenait à la main des tiges de papyrus (imifunzo). La pluie fit complètement défaut. Intrigué, le roi Nsoro s'adressa à un devin célèbre du nom de Rubambo. Celui-ci, après avoir consulté les entrailles de poulets, répondit, enfin : « C'est un bébé qui a « tué » la pluie. Il est à la » mamelle et s'amuse comme un enfant. Il s'assied dans » une barque à la mode des rameurs et porte à la main » des tiges de papyrus. » — « Comment pourrons-nous le » retrouver? » s'écria le prince. « Fais appeler les fem- » mes, reprit le devin, ordonne-leur de s'aimer et de se » fréquenter (ni bwuzure, bagenderane), plus qu'elles ne » l'ont fait jusqu'ici. » Les femmes obéirent à l'ordre du roi; elles entretinrent bientôt les meilleures relations. C'étaient des causettes à n'en plus finir... Un beau jour, la femme de Mashira, qui trouvait que son mari avait des habitudes bizarres et singulières, confia son chagrin à une amie : « Est-ce que ton mari ressemble au mien? » Curieuse, la voisine lui demande des explications et l'autre de lui raconter que Mashira prend le sein comme un nouveau-né, etc. Or, Mashira, au même instant, consultait l'avenir et il apprit à son tour que les femmes possédaient son secret... Il n'y avait pas de temps à perdre. Il y allait de sa vie. Il appelle son épouse : « Fuyons, nous sommes trahis; retournons dans le Nduga, chez nous, à Gisari. » C'était au moment où les Barenge souffraient de la famine et de la sécheresse. La catastrophe racontée plus

haut ne tarda pas à se produire, sous l'instigation de Mashira. »

Il est facile de le constater, les faits concernant le séjour du célèbre roi-sorcier dans le Bugesera ont été forgés après coup. Ce qui est sûr, c'est que Mashira régnait en maître sur le Nduga et le Ndiza, où il avait succédé à ses ancêtres.

II. — DESCRIPTION DES BANYORO, RAVAGES QU'ILS FONT DANS LE PAYS ; CRAINTE QU'ILS INSPIRENT AUX BATUTSI.

Kigeri I, le roi des Batutsi, d'une part; Mashira, le roi autochtone du Nduga, de l'autre, vivaient dans un état de paix relatif.

C'est alors que se produisit un grave événement qui les rapprocha. Surpris et débordés par l'invasion des Banyoro, les Batutsi firent appel à leurs voisins du Nduga, les Babanda. La légende ne parle que de Mashira, de sa qualité de sorcier et des sortilèges ou manières de vaincre qu'il indiqua à l'envoyé de Kigeri I.

Les choses durent se passer un peu différemment sans doute. Les Babanda du Nduga se réunirent aux Batutsi et à leurs gens et c'est ainsi que les Banyoro furent repoussés. D'après la chanson de geste que nous allons reproduire dans ses moindres détails, la victoire fut le résultat des sortilèges de Mashira.

Les Banyoro, venus du Nord, envahirent le Rwanda par le Nord-Est, en détruisant tout sur leur passage [1].

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[1] On ne sait pourquoi ce nom de Banyoro a été donné aux envahisseurs. Il ne peut être question, en effet, que d'une expédition muganda ou d'une sorte de razzia faite par les habitants de l'un des petits royaumes tributaires de l'Uganda. Le Nkole est celui dont la frontière est commune aux deux pays.

Les Batutsi des deux régions ont de tout temps entretenu quelques relations. Il est plus vraisemblable que ce soient les Banya-Nkole qui, de leur propre mouvement ou sous l'impulsion des Baganda, aient tenté de s'emparer du Rwanda.

Les Banyoro (ou gens de l'Unyoro) sont à plus de 220 kilomètres au Nord et auraient dû soumettre au préalable les principautés qui se trouvaient sur leur passage, ce qui aurait demandé de longs mois et de forts contingents militaires.

C'étaient de puissants guerriers (bar' abantu b' amaboko). Ils avaient déjà vaincu les peuplades qui s'étaient rencontrées sur leur route quand ils firent irruption dans le pays. Ils étaient si nombreux, dit la légende, qu'il aurait été plus facile de compter les grains de mil ou d'éleusine après une bonne récolte que de vouloir essayer de les dénombrer.

Leurs lances en fer étaient d'une seule pièce, ainsi que leurs boucliers, sur lesquels les flèches n'avaient aucune prise et ne faisaient que rebondir du côté où elles avaient été lancées.

Partout, sur leur passage, les Banyoro se montrèrent d'une rapacité extrême, emportant ou ravageant tout. Ils mangèrent les grains et les tiges d'éleusine. Les patates ne suffirent pas à apaiser leur faim, ils en dévorèrent jusqu'aux feuilles. Il en fut de même du sorgho et des feuilles qui croissent sur sa tige.

Les fruits insipides et indigestes des arbustes épineux ne suffirent pas davantage à les rassasier. Après les derniers régimes de bananes, les Banyoro s'en prirent aux troncs eux-mêmes. « Leur voracité était telle, ajoutent les narrateurs, qui, pour « brosser le tableau », ne dédaignent pas les hyperboles, qu'ils mangèrent jusqu'au bois vert. Le bois sec seul était respecté, parce qu'ils en avaient besoin pour cuire leur nourriture et se chauffer (barya uburo ni mihekenya; bararya ibijumba ni mijumbajumba, amasaka n' ibishakashaka; bararya ubuhoko, ubuhanga (imbuto z' iminyonza), insina n' ibitoke; bararya agati kabissi, akumye baragachana. »

Certains conteurs affirment que les Banyoro faisaient leur pâture de feuilles de bananiers. Le détail peut avoir sa valeur. On sait que les Baganda, les Baziba, les Bahaya et leurs voisins sont excessivement propres pour ce qui touche de près à la nourriture. Ils font un fréquent usage des feuilles de bananiers en guise de plats ou d'assiettes pour y déposer les mets.

D'où l'exagération des Banyarwanda, qui, dans leur haine contre les envahisseurs, ont tout interprété dans un sens qui ne pouvait être que défavorable aux Banyoro et n'ont pas voulu comprendre autrement l'emploi que faisaient ceux-ci des feuilles de bananiers.

« Les vaches, continue le narrateur, ne trouvèrent pas grâce à leurs yeux. Ils s'étaient d'abord réservé les plus belles; ils furent bientôt obligés de les abattre pour satisfaire leur gloutonnerie. Inutile d'ajouter qu'ils firent un grand carnage de celles qui n'avaient pu se sauver à temps. Ils allaient en poussant devant eux une cohue de femmes et d'enfants qu'ils avaient réduit en esclavage. C'étaient de vrais hommes de guerre, acharnés au combat (bar' intwari zikabije kurwana). Ils ne laissaient partout que des ruines. C'était le comble de la désolation; le pays qu'ils traversaient ne respirait (sentait) que l'odeur de la désolation (igihugu bachagamo basigaga kinuk' ubutsindwa). Nul n'osait les affronter; c'était une fuite éperdue à leur approche, tant on les redoutait. Chacun prenait « ses jambes à son cou » (amaguru bayata mù nzira) [1], ajoutent les chroniqueurs, qui ont à peu près la même expression dans leur langue. Les Banyoro ne rencontraient presque aucune résistance. Ils étaient venus à travers le Ndorwa, par le chemin de Mutara. Ils avaient déjà parcouru et ravagé les villages de Ntete, Ntende, Runda, Gasetsa, Urwara, Migongo (Gissaka), Ngungu, Munyaga, Jugujugu, Jugamirambo, d'où la faim les faisait partir. Les chefs du Buganza et de Mutara, Lugendababiri et Ruganintwari, avaient bien essayé de s'opposer à leur marche victorieuse; ils essuyèrent une défaite complète. Les Banyoro étaient arrivés au seuil de la province du Bwana-Chambge (baj' uturambi twa Bwana-Chambge) et, ô abomination sans nom! ils étaient sur le point d'aller

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(1) Le sens littéral est le suivant : ils jettent leurs jambes dans le chemin.

boire à la fontaine sacrée de Muhima (près de Kigali) (baraniganira mu maliba ya Muhima — ishyano — litabaye)!

III. — Appel fait au sorcier Mashira. Ses incantations et ses maléfices ; insouciance et légèreté du premier envoyé.

Dans une si grande calamité, le roi Kigeri se mit en devoir de réunir de son côté les chances de succès pour s'opposer à l'avance des ennemis.

Recours aux aruspices, sacrifices aux esprits, tout fut mis en œuvre. C'est en vain encore qu'il s'adressa aux sorciers de son entourage; les sorts ne lui étaient pas propices. En désespoir de cause, il se résolut à consulter Mashira, dont la réputation était arrivée jusqu'à lui.

Il appelle un de ses gens, connu sous le nom d'Ituragara. C'était le fils de Nyankaka et appartenait au clan des Baturagara, qui passaient pour bien manger et bien dormir (bakundaga kurya no kuryama) : « Un pays, lui dit le roi, ne peut être sauvé que par celui qui le gouverne (ingoma isanzwe itabarira beneyo). Va donc chez Mashira, le magicien, fils de Nkuba (le tonnerre), et demande-lui le succès (urutsiro ou insinzi) de notre entreprise. Raconte-lui les malheurs qui ont fondu sur le royaume. Les ennemis ne cessent d'avancer. Dis-lui que les Banyoro ont déjà ravagé les collines de Ntete, Ntende, Runda, etc. Qu'il vienne donc au secours de celui qui est en danger, qu'il assiste celui qui se défend. Rappelle-lui que les Banyoro ont tout dévoré. Ils ont mangé les poules et leurs poussins, les sauterelles et leurs œufs, les troncs de bananiers, ainsi que le bois vert. Qu'il se hâte de nous venir en aide. S'il nous refuse le secours de son art, dis-lui que l'Homme aux couteaux de sorcier (Lunukamishyo), celui qui est originaire du pays du Butumbi, d'où sortent les meilleurs sorciers, nous donnera ce qu'il faut pour remporter la vic-

toire. S'il se dérobe à nos sollicitations, cela ne lui portera pas bonheur (niba atarumuhaye urutsinzi, Lunukamishyo wi Butumbi (Ndorwa) azarumuha, kandi nawe ntibizamugwa ubuhoro). ».

Ituragara, le fils de ceux qui ont la réputation de savoir bien manger et bien dormir, se mit aussitôt en route. Il trouva Mashira à Bulima de Nyakabungo, non loin des pays chauds (ku Mayaga) qui se trouvent au Nord-Est du Nduga. Arrivé à l'entrée de la cour qui précède la hutte du sorcier, il salue et s'annonce comme l'exige la politesse indigène. On lui dit d'entrer :

« D'où viens-tu, ô homme? » demande le roi-devin.

L'autre de répondre : « J'arrive du pays de Gassabo (colline longtemps habitée par les premiers rois Batutsi). Kigeri m'envoie te demander le moyen de vaincre les Banyoro. Ils ont déjà parcouru le Ndorwa, le Buganza et le Gissaka. Ils viennent à marches forcées et ne tarderont pas à venir boire, ce qui ne s'était encore jamais vu, à la source sacrée de Muhima (none bagiye guhira Muhima, ntaho lyabaye). C'est au nom de mon souverain que je viens te demander des charmes et des sortilèges pour ensorceler l'ennemi et le réduire à néant. Si tu refuses, j'irai chez Lunukamishyo (l'homme aux couteaux de sorcier), qui ne manquera pas d'agréer ma demande. »

Le sorcier, voulant faire honneur à son hôte, l'accueille avec distinction et lui offre sa case pour y passer la nuit. Une vache grasse est amenée séance tenante; il s'agit de régaler le royal messager. On la frappe entre les deux cornes et la bête roule sur le sol, les quatre pieds en l'air (amaguru ab' amahembe, nay' amahembe ab' amaguru). Elle est égorgée et dépecée à l'instant.

Les meilleurs morceaux en sont offerts à l'envoyé et à ses compagnons, qui les font griller sur les charbons ardents. Le maître de la maison fait ensuite apporter les meilleures bières de la contrée. On leur sert en premier lieu une boisson faite avec du miel recueilli sur l'arbre aux

fleurs de senteur (umukepfu) très estimées des abeilles. On leur présente ensuite de l'hydromel fabriqué avec un miel de choix qui « colore les dents » (umuziga ryinyo), « la boisson par excellence des hommes mûrs » (mushoka bagabo). Ils eurent encore à discrétion la liqueur dans la fabrication de laquelle entrait le suc que les abeilles avaient puisé sur leurs fleurs préférées (nkuruba) du pays de Mugamba, où l'on récolte un miel délicieux. Tout était de la meilleure qualité, vivres et boissons. Le messager du prince hamite, qui ne reculait pas devant la bonne chère, puisqu'il appartenait à un clan où elle était de tradition, fut le meilleur convive du festin. Mashira lui « prêta » aussi des esclaves, pour faire les honneurs de sa maison « gaiement et grandement », selon les coutumes de l'hospitalité [1].

Il était près de minuit quand le magicien congédia ses familiers. Resté seul avec l'envoyé, il se met en devoir de consulter le sort, en jetant les osselets sur sa planchette à sorcier [2], sous les regards plus ou moins distraits de l'unique témoin fortement échauffé par l'hydromel. Mashira dut s'y reprendre à plusieurs reprises, car une force secrète, invisible et malfaisante, semblait s'opposer au succès de la consultation. Le sorcier devait comprendre plus tard l'hostilité des osselets, qui, forcés pour ainsi dire par lui de présager la défaite des Banyoro en faveur des Batutsi, ne le firent pour ainsi dire que malgré eux.

On verra, en effet, plus loin que les Hamites, victorieux des Banyoro, tourneront ensuite leurs efforts contre Mashira lui-même, qui perdra la vie avec le trône.

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(1) Comme au temps des Romains. Plaute, Mercator I, I, 100 (*hilare atque ampliter*).

(2) C'est une sorte de planchette à bords arrondis, légèrement creuse sur une de ses faces. Le devin s'en sert en y jetant de la main droite un certain nombre de dés. Les multiples dispositions que prennent ces dés sur la palette permettent au sorcier de prédire l'avenir et de répondre aux questions posées par les clients. C'est surtout en cas de maladie et de décès qu'on vient les consulter pour en connaître la cause ou l'auteur.

C'est sous forme d'oracles à forme elliptique que le magicien communiqua le résultat de ses opérations divinatoires et indiqua les différents moyens (insinzi) de vaincre les Banyoro :

1° « Coupure sur blessure vaincront les Banyoro (igisale na gasale bizatsinda Abanyoro) », annonça-t-il solennellement.

2° « Jumeaux de Nyirassuna, nés avant terme (impanga, ibyenda), vaincront les Banyoro ».

3° « Nyiragasi de Nsoro, la fille aux seins non développés (umukobga w' impenebere), vaincra les Banyoro ».

4° « Ensorcellement de poule (urutunda rw' inkoko ikab' isake) vaincra les Banyoro. »

5° « Vieilles nattes, paille pourrie de hutte, veuve de son propriétaire (imisambi n' isamburiro n' akasamburiro) vaincront les Banyoro. »

6° « Serpent et petit serpent (Mpiri na ruhiri rwayo) vaincront les Banyoro. »

7° « Vache blanche et taureau blanc (igitare na rutare) vaincront les Banyoro. »

8° « L'ami de la paix (le mouton) de Mibambge, le bélier à couleur rouge que l'on a caché dans la fosse à bananes, en dessous de l'habitation du propriétaire, vaincra les Banyoro. »

9° « La pluie qui coule à torrents (imvura y' imivumbi) vaincra les Banyoro. »

10° « Mibambge-Mutabazi (le Sauveur) vaincra les Banyoro. »

« Tels sont, dit le sorcier quand il eut fini de les énumérer, les moyens (insinzi) qui permettront à Kigeri de se défaire de ses ennemis. » Comme on le voit, il les avait donnés sous une forme brève et imprécise qui demandait une explication. Ituragara, qui avait bien bu, bien mangé et bien dormi, fidèle en cela aux traditions de sa race, n'en demande pas davantage. Par suite de l'insouciance de son âge, de la légèreté de son caractère et aussi des effets de

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la bonne chère, il ne se préoccupe pas autrement de l'objet de sa mission. Ses yeux et son esprit sont plus qu'appesantis par le vin de bananes et le sommeil. Il retombe sur sa couche et s'endort profondément.

IV. — Envoi d'un deuxième messager plus sérieux; explication des oracles maléfiques.

Croyant en être quitte avec le message qui lui avait été confié, le joyeux compagnon qu'était notre homme prend congé de Mashira. Celui-ci ne peut s'empêcher de rire intérieurement de l'étourderie de son client, qui s'en va avec des formules vides de sens, incompréhensibles aux profanes.

Content de lui-même, Ituragara reprend le chemin de la capitale, pour rendre compte au roi de l'heureux résultat de son voyage. Il détaille par le menu ce qu'il croit devoir intéresser son souverain, l'accueil qu'il a reçu auprès de Mashira et les oracles qu'il a rendus.

Quand le monarque demande l'explication de ces formules magiques, pour savoir comment on pourra les utiliser contre les Banyoro, le messager avoue ingénument qu'il n'a pas du tout songé à en demander l'interprétation. Kigeri reconnaît aussitôt qu'il a eu tort de se servir pour une si importante mission d'un individu aussi peu sérieux. La réputation de joyeux viveurs, méritée à juste titre par les membres de la tribu des Baturagara, « qui aiment à bien manger et à bien dormir », aurait dû le mettre en garde contre ce premier choix.

Sans perdre de temps, car les Banyoro ne cessent de s'avancer, Kigeri fait appeler sur-le-champ Muguruka, un homme dont il est sûr. C'était le fils d'un certain Nkona, Umwenemugunga (nom du clan). Le roi lui explique ce dont il s'agit et l'invite à se hâter. Muguruka eut bien vite parcouru la distance qui séparait les deux capitales. Mashira le reçut avec honneur, comme il l'avait fait pour le premier messager.

Conscient de l'importance de sa démarche, Muguruka goûte à peine à ce qu'on lui offre. Il désire connaître au plus vite le sens qu'il faut attacher aux formules magiques. Le sorcier répond qu'il le lui dira à minuit, que c'est l'heure à laquelle il se livre habituellement à l'exercice de son art.

Tous allèrent se coucher. Le messager seul, repoussant le sommeil, s'assied, préoccupé de l'objet de sa mission. Voyant que Mashira s'était endormi profondément, il prend une poignée d'herbe qui servait de litière aux vaches [1] et la jette intentionnellement sur le feu. Comme elle était fortement imprégnée de purin, il s'en dégage aussitôt une odeur nauséabonde et une épaisse fumée qui réveillent le sorcier : « Qui est-ce donc, s'écria-t-il, qui m'empoisonne ? » Et l'autre de répondre : « C'est moi, Muguruka, ton hôte; lève-toi et donne-moi bien vite l'explication des oracles maléfiques dont l'accomplissement doit nous délivrer des Banyoro. Le royaume (ingoma) de Kigeri est en danger. Hâte-toi de nous venir en aide. »

Bien que maugréant, Mashira se met sur son séant, reprend ses esprits et se met en devoir d'expliquer au nouvel envoyé, qui était tout yeux et tout oreilles, le sens caché des formules magiques :

1° « Coupure sur blessure », tel est le premier moyen de vaincre les Banyoro. Pour cela, cherchez une femme stérile (igichambyaro), faites-lui sur le corps une piqûre et mêlez son sang avec celui d'une vache noire. De ce sang ainsi mélangé aspergez les ennemis quand ils viendront

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[1] Les Banyarwanda quand ils n'ont qu'une ou deux vaches, les logent dans leur hutte pendant la nuit. Ils font de même pour les vaches malades et les petits veaux. Quand les bêtes sont nombreuses, elles restent en plein air dans la cour, qui est clôturée de toutes parts, sous la garde des vachers, qui passent la nuit dans une case ouverte sur le parc à bestiaux. Chez les grands chefs, les gardiens jouent de la flûte, pour se tenir éveillés et se garder des nombreux voleurs de vaches.

vous attaquer; dès lors ils seront incapables de brandir leurs lances contre vous. »

2° « Pour ce qui est du deuxième sortilège, faites venir les deux enfants jumeaux de Nyirassuna, l'esclave du prince. Exposez-les avec leur mère, de façon qu'ils soient tués par les envahisseurs. Cela fait, ces hommes étrangers ne pourront plus vous vaincre. »

3° « Nyiragasi de chez Nsoro, la fille aux seins non développés, vaincra les Banyoro. Demandez à son père de vous la livrer. S'il refuse, emparez-vous de sa personne. Au moyen d'une flèche, blessez-la légèrement au sein gauche.

» Quelle prenne ensuite elle-même de son propre sang pour le répandre sur les Banyoro (ngo muzater' akambi mw' ibere y' ibumoso, akore mul' ayo marasso, ayatere mu Banyoro). »

4° « Prenez un coq, égorgez-le. Ses entrailles ne « blanchiront pas » (iteze neza). C'est alors qu'il deviendra bon pour ensorceler (yabay' urutunda). Mettez-le dans un pot à lait. Versez-y en même temps de l'eau lustrale blanchie par le moyen d'une poignée de craie (ingwa).

» Mélangez le tout avec quelques feuilles à propriétés magiques [1]. Faites-vous précéder de ce vase en bois et vous êtes sûrs de la victoire. »

5° « Vieilles nattes et vieux débris de paille vaincront les Banyoro. » Il s'agit ici d'une maison abandonnée et qui tombe en ruines, parce que son propriétaire est décédé. « Mettez-y le feu, continue le devin, et arrangez-vous de façon que la fumée arrive jusqu'aux ennemis. »

6° « Serpent et petit serpent vaincront les Banyoro. » « Emparez-vous d'un serpent et de son petit. Tuez-les et

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[1] Ce sont, pour n'en citer que quelques-unes, des feuilles de plusieurs variétés de ficus, de l'érythrina à fleurs rouges, puis les plantes, tel que l' « ishoza », qui sont fréquemment employées par les indigènes. Elles passent pour exercer une grande influence dans presque tous les actes de la vie.

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coupez-les en tranches. Mettez-en les morceaux dans une cruche neuve qui n'a encore jamais servi (inyagura) et faites cuire. Vous exposerez la cruche sur le chemin.

» Quand les Banyoro la découvriront, ils croiront que c'est de la bonne viande et en mangeront. Par le fait même, ils seront ensorcelés. »

7° « Vache blanche et taureau blanc vaincront les Banyoro. » « Choisissez dans les troupeaux qui vous restent une vache et un taureau de cette couleur. Conduisez-les sur le sommet d'une montagne, bien en vue de ces pilleurs, qui vous ont fait tant de mal. Abattez les deux bêtes sur place et retirez-vous ensuite. Les vautours, les éperviers et les corbeaux ne tarderont pas d'être attirés par l'odeur de la viande. Tout en se posant à terre pour dévorer les cadavres, ils planeront souvent dans les airs. Les Banyoro, à leur vue, seront frappés de stupeur et d'étonnement. Ils craindront ces nouveaux guerriers venus du ciel et inconnus d'eux : « Nous savons combattre, diront-ils, avec les habitants qui foulent le sol, mais comment nous y prendre pour lutter contre ceux qui volent dans les airs au-dessus de nos têtes ? Nos flèches peuvent atteindre les premiers. Comment ferons-nous pour tirer sur les autres qui voltigent et tourbillonnent en tous sens au-dessus de nous? »

8° « L'ami de la paix [1] de Mibambge, en d'autres termes, le bélier de couleur noire, que son propriétaire (qui n'est autre que le propre fils du roi) a caché dans la fosse à bananes [2] en dessous de la hutte de Mibambge (Nyabuhoro ya Mibambge, rugina rw' intama ili mu rwina musi y' ulugo rwa Mutabazi) vaincra les Banyoro.

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[1] Le mouton est ainsi appelé parce qu'on s'en sert chez les Batutsi, dans les sacrifices, pour calmer les esprits et disposer en sa faveur les événements futurs.

[2] Tout indigène creuse auprès de sa hutte une fosse dans laquelle il dépose, durant un jour ou une nuit, les régimes de bananes en vue de hâter leur fermentation pour faire la bière.

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» Vous l'égorgerez, ses entrailles blanchiront [1] (izera), vous le déposerez ensuite sur le lieu du combat, près du fils de Kigeri et vous remporterez la victoire. »

9° « La pluie à torrents vaincra les Banyoro. » Au moment où vous aurez fini d'accomplir ces prescriptions magiques, la pluie tombera à flots, rendant inutilisables les arcs des Banyoro. Vous pourrez alors vous servir avantageusement de vos lances contre un ennemi désarmé.

10° « Mibambge-Mutabazi, le fils de Kigeri, vaincra les Banyoro. » C'est ma dernière prédiction et voici comment vous devez l'entendre : Le fils du roi doit aller se mesurer avec l'ennemi. C'est lui qui deviendra le libérateur de son pays. Il sera légèrement atteint d'une flèche au front. Qu'il prenne alors du sang de sa blessure pour le répandre dans la direction des Banyoro. Et tout se terminera en votre faveur. »

Comme on peut le constater par les détails qui précèdent, les Noirs sont passés maîtres en fait de magie et de charlatanisme. Les sorciers et les devins du moyen âge ont leurs émules et leurs rivaux chez les primitifs dans la race africaine, et la célèbre pièce de Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, n'est pas la seule dans son genre où il soit question de chaudrons et de sorcières.

V. — Retour du second envoyé; emploi des sortilèges. Défaite et massacre des Banyoro; théâtre de leur arrêt final.

Muguruka remercia chaleureusement le devin-magicien qui l'avait si bien renseigné. Il ne perdit pas de temps en cours de route, car le roi, impatient, guettait chaque jour

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[1] Quand le sacrifice est agréé par les esprits, c'est-à-dire quand le devin-sacrificateur croit reconnaître aux entrailles une certaine couleur blanche qui atteste que les esprits sont contents ou que le malheur redouté n'arrivera pas, on dit alors que la victime du sacrifice a « blanchi » (yera).

le retour de son messager. Sa confiance avait été bien placée. Il recueillit bientôt de sa bouche ce qu'il importait de savoir. Sûr de vaincre, Kigeri fit commencer aussitôt la campagne par ses troupes.

Dès le début de l'action, ils mêlèrent le sang d'une vieille femme à celui d'une vache de couleur noire et le répandirent dans la direction des agresseurs. Vint ensuite l'accomplissement du deuxième acte. Le sorcier avait parlé de jumeaux nés avant terme qui appartenaient à une esclave du roi. Les gens de Kigeri reconnaissaient bien là l'habileté du devin qui avait la réputation de tout savoir et de tout connaître, hommes et choses, personnes libres et esclaves. Les malheureux furent exposés, comme cela avait été recommandé par le magicien, et ils succombèrent sous les coups des terribles pillards. On fit une légère blessure à la jeune fille aux seins non développés qui leur avait été nommément désignée.

Prenant un peu de son sang dans les mains, elle en aspergea elle-même les Banyoro. Les guerriers se procurent ensuite un jeune coq et font comme Mashira leur avait dit.

Les entrailles du coq « devinrent noires » (yirabura) et aptes, par conséquent, à ensorceler (yabaye urutunda) les ennemis. Ce genre d'opération est un maléfice fréquemment employé par les indigènes, qui lui attribuent une efficacité et une nocivité sans pareille. Quand ils ont une vengeance à exercer, c'est dans la cour de leur ennemi ou même dans la hutte que l'opérateur ira en cachette déposer la victime. C'est ce qu'ils appellent « l'ensorcellement du poussin dont les entrailles consultées n'ont présagé que des malheurs (inkoko y' impuhe) ». Les gens de Kigeri s'y prirent d'une façon plus originale et qui, dans leur pensée, devait avoir beaucoup plus d'effet.

Restait à trouver une maison veuve de son propriétaire (umusaka) et pour ce tombant en ruines, ce que le devin avait recommandé quand il avait dit : « Vieilles nattes,

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paille pourrie de hutte abandonnée vaincront les Banyoro. »

Les Banyarwanda eurent vite fait d'en découvrir une, par ce temps de désolation. Elle fut portée sur le sommet d'une colline et l'on y mit le feu, dont la fumée fut dirigée par le vent du côté des ennemis.

D'autres narrateurs racontent qu'un oracle différent de celui-ci avait été donné par le sorcier. Ils l'interprétèrent comme il suit.

On découvrit les cases de la paille qui leur sert de couverture pour la transporter sur la plus haute montagne, bien en vue des Banyoro. Les bottes d'herbes pourries furent rangées en plusieurs tas, afin de faire croire aux ennemis qu'il s'agissait de nombreuses troupes réunies en cet endroit et prêtes à combattre. Les miliciens se mirent ensuite en quête d'un serpent et d'un de ses petits, de l'espèce connue sous le nom de « mpiri ». Une fois découverts, ils les découpèrent en morceaux pour pouvoir les mettre au fond d'une cruche à cuire (inkon' iteka). On installe la marmite sur un foyer ardent. Ce pot-au-feu d'un nouveau genre est abandonné sur la route par où doivent déboucher les assaillants. Les Banyoro ne tardent pas à venir, trouvent la marmite encore fumante et entendent les cris de ceux qu'ils croient avoir mis en fuite par leur approche. Heureux d'une si bonne aubaine, ils ne se font pas prier et mangent d'un bon appétit.

Presque en même temps les opprimés égorgent non loin de là, sur le sommet de la montagne, un taureau et une vache de couleur blanche, et se retirent pour laisser la place aux oiseaux carnivores. De fait, éperviers, vautours, corbeaux, etc., arrivent de toutes parts pour prendre part à la curée, à la grande terreur des Banyoro, qui, à distance, croient avoir affaire à une nouvelle espèce de gens inconnus d'eux.

Ils n'osent plus avancer. On égorge le bélier noir, qui fut trouvé à l'endroit désigné, et la pluie se met à tomber

à torrents, rendant inutilisables les arcs des ennemis. Mibambge, le fils du roi Kigeri, que le sorcier avait désigné pour sauver le pays, se met à la tête de ses fidèles et va hardiment au-devant des pillards, qui sous l'influence des opérations magiques précédentes, hésitaient à combattre et tremblaient de tous leurs membres. Le fils de Kigeri est légèrement frappé au front, au moment où il entre en contact avec les troupes des Banyoro. Il porte aussitôt la main à sa blessure d'où coule un peu de sang; il le recueille et en asperge les ennemis. C'était le dernier acte de la tragédie.

Le dénoûment approchait. Les Banyoro annihilés, sans courage, ne savent reculer ni avancer. Ils sont cernés et perdent la tête. Les Banyarwanda avec leurs lances les pressent de tous les côtés à la fois et en font une boucherie. Mibambge, au premier rang, se distingue par les coups qu'il leur porte. C'est une véritable émulation parmi ses hommes, c'est à qui immolera le plus d'ennemis à sa haine. Les quelques Banyoro qui ont survécu, hébétés, éperdus, essaient de s'enfuir. De quelque côté que leurs regards se tournent, ils n'aperçoivent que vautours et éperviers aux ailes déployées, noircissant l'horizon et planant au-dessus de leurs têtes : « Nous sommes perdus, s'écrient-ils dans leur désespoir. Nous ne pouvons pas combattre dans le ciel et sur la terre. Est-il possible d'échapper aux traits qui sont lancés d'en haut? » Ils tentent de se jeter dans la forêt de Rugaryi qui commence près de Nyarugenge (Kigali); les guerriers de Mibambge les y poursuivent. Ceux qui avaient échappé au massacre furent faits prisonniers. Les oracles prophétiques et les opérations magiques prêtés à Mashira par la légende varient à l'infini [1]. Les conteurs sont intarissables grâce

[1] Dans le Livre quatrième, le lecteur a vu le rôle important que joua dans l'expédition le fameux marteau symbolique et mystique dit « Nyarushyara ».
Le roi hamite ne peut pas s'en séparer.
Le « précieux » instrument doit le suivre dans ses déplacements.
On le met dans le lit du monarque, sous le traversin.

à leur imagination et à leur verve; ils s'en donnent à cœur joie sur la chanson de gestes des Banyoro, qui est un de leurs sujets favoris. Le peuple ne se lasse pas de les écouter.

Les cœurs vibrent à l'unisson. Ils se reconnaissent tous dans leurs héros.

Il est difficile de donner des précisions historiques touchant l'arrêt final des Banyoro et le théâtre de leur défaite. Les uns assurent qu'ils traversèrent le fleuve de la Nyabarongo, en dessous de Nyarugenge (Kigali), qu'ils pénétrèrent dans la province du Nduga et parvinrent jusqu'aux collines (villages) de Kanyundo, Munzenze, etc., c'est-à-dire à peu près à mi-chemin entre la mission catholique de Kabgayi et la résidence de Kigali. Il semble bien que, d'après l'opinion la plus probable, il furent vaincus avant d'avoir pu franchir le fleuve, à Nyamirambo même, tout près de Kigali, ou auprès du bois sacré dit de Muhima, qui passe pour être le berceau de la famille princière des Banyiginya d'où sont sortis les rois Batutsi du Rwanda. A entendre les récits qui sont sur les lèvres des Banyarwanda, on pourrait croire que les Banyoro ont parcouru le Rwanda dans toute son étendue actuelle. Ce n'est là qu'une croyance basée uniquement sur le retentissement qu'eurent leur invasion et leur défaite dans les petites principautés indépendantes qui couvraient alors le sol du Rwanda.

VI. — Soumission et transformation des survivants. Popularité du roi et de son fils.

Pendant que les troupes luttaient avec tant de succès, un héraut des armes (imvuzi y' amacchumu), c'est-à-dire un messager de la bonne nouvelle, est envoyé au roi qui attendait, au loin, anxieux de l'issue du combat.

Il se fait répéter les phases et les détails de l'action engagée. Le courrier est harcelé de questions. On lui laisse à

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peine le temps de respirer et de répondre. C'est ainsi qu'on apprend les actes de bravoure de Mibambge et de ses compagnons. Les Banyoro sont, enfin, vaincus. Les Banyarwanda les ont taillés en pièces. Il y a des monceaux (imigina) de cadavres. Quant aux fuyards, le chemin du retour leur a été complètement fermé. L'entourage de Kigeri se livre à une joie délirante. Ce ne sont plus des cris, mais des acclamations enthousiastes que pousse la foule exubérante. Les échos (nyiramubande) d'alentour en ont vite transmis la nouvelle, qui se répand comme l'éclair jusque dans les coins les plus reculés, où s'étaient réfugiés les vieillards, les femmes et le enfants. Les réjouissances succèdent au deuil et à la tristesse. Kigeri fait aussitôt dire à son fils, qui n'avait été que légèrement blessé, de cesser le massacre. Il revint (aratabaruka), suivi de ses guerriers, qui firent une entrée triomphale, brandissant leurs lances sur lesquelles ils avaient fixé les dépouilles sanglantes de leurs ennemis. Les jours suivants se passèrent dans l'allégresse et la bière coula à flots au milieu des danses et des chants.

Le vieux prince Kigeri fit grâce de la vie aux survivants que les vainqueurs avaient traqués dans les bois et ramenés prisonniers. Il leur confia même la défense des frontières du Rwanda. Ils en devinrent les défenseurs et les gardiens attitrés (abanyankiko b' abatassi). On leur fixa comme lieu de séjour le pays connu sous le nom de « Campement » (Ndala), de Rukugera, du nom, croit-on, d'un de leurs chefs capturé avec eux. Le lieu qui leur fut fixé s'appelle Campement, parce qu'ils furent tout d'abord obligés de se bâtir des huttes de branchages, comme le font les voyageurs surpris par la nuit en pays désert ou inhabité. Le roi leur fit épouser des jeunes filles prises dans la population du Rwanda. Leur nombre s'accrut rapidement et ils devinrent bientôt un clan puissant. Ils devinrent membres de la grande famille des Banyarwanda au même titre que les aborigènes. Leurs descen-

dants perdirent avec le temps le souvenir du pays d'où leurs pères étaient venus et adoptèrent à tel point la langue et les coutumes de leur nouvelle patrie qu'on ne les distingua plus des autres; on ne sait même pas exactement le lieu qui fut assigné à leurs ancêtres. Ce dont on se souvient seulement, c'est qu'ils méritèrent la confiance de Kigeri et de ses successeurs et qu'ils se distinguèrent d'entre les plus braves pour la défense des frontières du royaume.

Quel pourrait être au juste le pays désigné sous le nom de Ndala (Campement) de Rukugera selon les uns, de Rukungira, selon les autres? On pense que c'est au Sud du Nduga, dans le pays du « Burwe », connu aussi sous le nom de « Ndala », lequel sert à désigner le corps d'armée qui s'y recrute.

D'après un deuxième sentiment, on croit qu'il s'agit de la région située non loin de l'endroit où l'Akanyaru prend sa source. Les tenants de cette opinion ajoutent que les descendants des Banyoro ne s'y trouvent plus, mais qu'ils se sont mêlés à la longue à la population du Nduga. On fait encore remarquer que dans le 'Kinyaga, il y a un village appelé Rukunguri, mais nul n'ose affirmer avec certitude l'endroit qui leur fut originairement assigné.

Comme on peut le constater aisément, au fond historique ci-dessus relaté, les narrateurs et les historiens officiels (Abachurabgenge) ont mêlé nombre de détails fataisistes, non exempts d'anachronismes et d'inexactitudes, reflétant bien leur mentalité crédule et superstitieuse. Les épisodes guerriers sont presque tous racontés de cette manière; une âme de Noir ne les conçoit pas autrement. Le sens de la critique est dans ces récits une chose totalement inconnue et qui n'a pas encore fait son apparition. Il arrive quelquefois que les gardiens des traditions et les annalistes de la Cour ne s'entendent plus sur l'exactitude de tel ou tel détail oublié ou contesté. On fait alors des sacrifices divinatoires pour savoir ce qu'il

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faut dire au roi. Leurs épopées, cependant, malgré ces défauts et ces imperfections, ne manquent pas d'intérêt, ni de charme. Grâce à elles il est possible de saisir sur le vif leurs pensées et leurs sentiments, le concept qu'ils se font de la vie, l'amour du sol natal, l'attachement aux traditions et aux souvenirs du passé. On y trouve l'expression pathétique des tristesses causées par les invasions étrangères et l'enthousiasme inspiré par le triomphe final.

Les Banyarwanda n'ont pas encore perdu la mémoire des exactions et des cruautés commises par les Banyoro. Ils racontent à ce sujet qu'un chef, dont ils ont oublié le nom, avait voulu leur résister au début de l'invasion. Mal lui en prit, il fut battu et fait prisonnier. Ses vainqueurs lui firent subir un traitement barbare. Ils lui enlevèrent sur le dos et sur la poitrine une lanière de peau continue, c'est-à-dire deux bandes sanglantes, chacune tout d'une pièce, et le renvoyèrent ensuite dans cet état chez les siens.

Depuis ce temps le nom de Kigeri I Mukobanya est resté populaire. Son souvenir reste mêlé à celui des Banyoro, qui furent écrasés sous son règne, grâce aux sortilèges du puissant sorcier qu'était Mashira. Mibambge I, son fils, qui se distingua à la tête des troupes, n'est pas moins en faveur. La postérité lui a conservé en plus de son nom de naissance, le glorieux titre de Libérateur (Umutabazi) qu'il partagè avec quelques autres princes.

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CHAPITRE III

La conquête du Nduga, épilogue de l'épisode précédent.

LE VAINQUEUR DES BANYORO, MIBAMBGE I MUTABAZI, RÉUSSIT A SE DÉBARRASSER DU SORCIER MASHIRA ET A S'EMPARER DE SES POSSESSIONS.

Kigeri I mourut quelque temps après cet heureux événement. Son fils, Mibambge, qui, depuis longtemps, avait atteint l'âge d'homme, lui succéda sur le trône. Son influence et son pouvoir s'arrêtaient sur le fleuve de la Nyabarongo. Il ne laissait pas de jeter des regards d'envie sur les possessions de Mashira, qui, outre la province du Nduga et celle du Ndiza, gouvernait encore quelques districts un peu au delà à l'Est et au Sud. Du désir au projet il n'y eut qu'un pas. Il semble que Mibambge l'emporta sans difficulté sur son rival. Voici, d'après la légende, comment les Noirs ont expliqué et interprété les faits :

a) *Une première version.* — Mibambge-Mutabazi se prit à réfléchir : « Comment vais-je m'y prendre pour vaincre Mashira? Il s'y entend plus que moi en matière de sorcellerie ». Après avoir demandé conseil aux vieux et aux sorciers de son entourage, le roi eut une idée géniale : « Nous sommes sauvés, s'écria-t-il. Je vais lui envoyer sur-le-champ une de mes filles pour qu'il la prenne en mariage. Devenue son épouse, ma fille me mettra au courant des faits et gestes de son mari. Qu'elle me fasse surtout connaître les sortilèges que le sorcier pourrait utiliser contre moi. Nous déjouerons ainsi tous ses pièges ». Il lui fit aussitôt porter en hamac (ingobyi) celle des princesses dont le nom « Ntobge », c'est-à-dire La Souillure (du mot indigène gutoba-souiller), était un présage à lui tout seul. C'était de plus une de ces malheureuses que l'on désigne dans le pays sous le sobriquet

injurieux d' « impenebere », c'est-à-dire « les vierges aux seins non développés » (1). Mashira n'y vit qu'une marque de déférence de la part du roi hamite, dont il ne soupçonnait pas encore les noirs desseins. Il la reçut sans aucune défiance et en fit son épouse. Sa perte était dès lors certaine. Le magicien, en effet, faisait ses sorcelleries au grand jour, ne songeant pas à se cacher de la nouvelle venue. Un jour que Mashira avait pris la palette de sorcier (impinga) pour connaître l'avenir, sa femme l'entendit s'écrier : « Je triompherai de Mibambge dès le jour où je m'installerai à la « Capitale des Charmes » (Murwa w'inzaratsi) ». Le roi en fut averti sur-le-champ par sa fille, qui lui conseilla d'aller s'y établir le premier : « Vous retournerez ainsi, fit-elle ajouter par le messager, les sortilèges contre le sorcier, qui sera pris dans ses propres embûches ». Mibambge se fait aussitôt porter à l'endroit désigné. Parvenus sur le terrain convoité, ses gens se mettent à l'œuvre. On nettoie la colline pour y construire la résidence royale, pendant que les tambours qui accompagnent le roi annoncent aux échos d'alentour la nouvelle de son arrivée et sa prise de possession. Le sorcier s'était également mis en route, quand du sommet d'une colline (à Kabere de Gihinira) le bruit des instruments arriva jusqu'à lui : « Mais n'est-ce pas, s'écria-t-il soudainement, le tambour de la capitale (umulishyo w'ibgami) ? » « Non, lui répondent ses porteurs, ce ne sont

(1) Pour l'intelligence du récit, il faut se rappeler qu'une jeune fille qui arrive à l'âge nubile avec cette particularité physique est considérée comme un malheur est un danger pour la contrée qu'elle habite. Avant l'arrivée des Européens, ces pauvres jeunes filles, que l'on assimilait aux monstres (ibimara), bien qu'elles n'eussent aucune ressemblance avec ces derniers, étaient invariablement vouées à la mort. Le peu de développement de leurs seins (ibere, amabere) leur était imputé à crime, comme pouvant avoir une répercussion dans la région. Le « trou » du Bugesera doit sa réputation tragique à ces sortes d'exécutions. Pour ensorceler leurs ennemis, les Banyarwanda estimaient aussi pouvoir s'en servir dans ce but, en exposant aux coups des assaillants ces infortunées victimes.

probablement que les fabricants de ces instruments (abiru), qui travaillent à leur métier dans la forêt, où ils ont été chercher les troncs d'arbre pour en faire des caisses de tambour ». Mashira n'était pas rassuré. Après un bout de chemin, le doute n'est plus possible : « J'en suis sûr, dit-il, ce sont les tambours du roi Mibambge qui m'a devancé à la « Capitale des Sortilèges ».

Il fait aussitôt entr'ouvrir la terre sous ses pieds et il y disparaît (aligitira) à jamais. Restaient encore son fils et sa femme Ntobga ou La Souillure, qui l'accompagnaient : « En avant! » cria aux gens cette dernière, qui voulait jouer son rôle jusqu'au bout. « Continuons notre chemin ». On venait d'atteindre Nyagisenyi. Le fils du sorcier, jouant, lui aussi de malheur, glisse par mégarde sur une de ces... « horreurs sans nom » (amabyi) que l'on rencontre quelquefois le long des sentiers. « Donnez-moi une serpe », hurla-t-il. Et sans hésiter un instant, il se coupe le malencontreux pied, préférant le perdre plutôt que de le garder contaminé.

Il expire sur-le-champ et les oiseaux de proie eurent vite fait de dévorer son cadavre. L'épouse au nom à mauvais présage, voyant que tout réussissait à souhait, se réjouissait dans son cœur, escomptant un accueil chaleureux de la part de son père. Elle n'avait plus qu'une rivière à traverser et elle allait se trouver en présence de celui dont elle avait si bien rempli les recommandations et sauvegardé les intérêts.

Elle ne se doutait pas que son nom, son infirmité et l'intimité qu'elle avait eue avec le sorcier, en partageant sa vie, l'avaient déjà depuis longtemps rayée du nombre des vivants. Les envoyés du roi se trouvaient au passage de la rivière en question: « Mibambge-Mutabazi, s'écrient-ils, te défend de mettre les pieds dans le Rwanda. Il est absolument interdit de boire au lait des vaches du pays, pour qu'il n'arrive pas malheur à ces dernières. Ne souille pas l'eau et l'air du pays par ta présence ». Ils font en

même temps signe à ses gens de la ramener ailleurs que dans le Rwanda. Il fallut rebrousser chemin au grand désappointement de l'infortunée princesse. C'est en vain qu'elle s'adressa à la pitié de ceux dont elle traversait le pays. On connaissait partout la malédiction qui pesait sur sa tête. Non seulement les habitants lui refusaient l'hospitalité, mais on allait jusqu'à lui refuser de l'eau pour apaiser sa soif. Repoussée de tous les côtés, elle atteignit la province du Buganza, où elle supplia les gens de lui donner à boire. Elle était presque mourante.

Touché de compassion, un habitant du pays lui présenta sa cruche. C'est pour cela, ajoutent les gens, que le Buganza est devenu si sec et qu'on n'y trouve presque plus d'eau. La princesse fut ensuite conduite sur les frontières de l'Urundi, où elle tomba d'inanition.

b) *Deuxième version.* — Les faits se passèrent un peu autrement, d'après les tenants d'une deuxième interprétation de la légende. Ce qui perdit Mashira, ce fut la querelle qui s'éleva entre lui et un de ses neveux (mwishwa), qui s'appelait Munyanya. Ce dernier était sorcier comme son oncle. Leur dispute naquit à propos d'un détail infime. Ils étaient en voyage, Munyanya vient à heurter un caillou (arasitara) et montre son pied blessé à Mashira, qui répond : « C'est n'est rien : il n'en est sorti que quelques gouttes de sang; il t'arrivera sans doute plus tard de te blesser plus grièvement ». Le neveu se fâche : « Comment, s'écria-t-il, tu me réponds ainsi! Eh bien, moi aussi, je te prédis d'avance qu'on te détrônera (bazakuzungura) ».

Quittant aussitôt son oncle, il se rend à la Cour de Mibambge, qui résidait au Bumbogo. Il met celui-ci au courant de ses démêlés avec Mashira et lui demande son aide et sa protection pour pouvoir le renverser. Quelque temps après, Mibambge se mit à la tête de ses hommes et vint attaquer le puissant devin.

Celui-ci avait un chien terrible (Mugina = couleur de sang) qui mit en pièces nombre de gens.

Munyanya réussit à le tuer, mais il tomba à son tour, frappé d'une flèche. Ses compagnons l'enterrèrent à Kiburazina (la colline qui n'a pas de nom), non loin de Mukunguri. Mashira ayant consulté les sorts, reconnut aussitôt l'endroit où il avait été inhumé : « C'est ici la tombe de mon neveu, dit-il à ses hommes, exhumez son corps et emportez-le à Gichikira, dans le Bumbogo, où réside Mibambge ». Ses ordres furent exécutés; le roi hamite l'apprit presque à l'instant : « Prenez-le, s'écria-t-il, et rapportez-le dans le Nduga, chez Mashira, à Mashora ». Le sorcier est averti à son tour; le cadavre fut pour une deuxième fois reconduit par delà la frontière au Bumbogo.

Mibambge le fait encore reprendre par ses gens et porter au Ndiza que gouvernait Mashira. Le lieu où furent déposés les restes de Munyanya était une termitière (umugina). Il en sortit une antilope (uzamo impongo). Le fait prodigieux arriva à la connaissance du sorcier : « Ne chassez plus, à cet endroit, dit-il à ses fils, et ne mettez pas le feu aux hautes herbes, car il nous arriverait malheur si l'antilope qui est sortie du tombeau de Munyanya venait à être égorgée ou périssait dans les flammes par notre faute ». Du Ndiza, où il était allé, Mashira revint dans le Nduga à sa résidence préférée. Ses enfants, après son départ, ne tinrent aucun compte de ses recommandations. Emportés par la passion de la chasse, ils partirent dans la montagne et réussirent à tuer deux antilopes. Pensant faire plaisir à leur père, ils voulurent le rejoindre dans le Nduga, pour lui remettre les deux peaux. Or, au moment où les deux antilopes tombaient sous les coups des chasseurs, Mashira, qui était en voyage, glissa sur une de ces... horreurs dont il a été précédemment parlé. Affolé par ce nouveau malheur, il prend une serpette (umuhoro) et se coupe le pied. Arrivés aux deux villages appelés

Gichuri et Mbeba, les malencontreux chasseurs apprirent la mort de l'auteur de leurs jours. Le Nduga et le Ndiza passèrent dès lors aux mains de Mibambge.

c) *Troisième version.* — Mashira, d'après une troisième légende, possédait plusieurs habitations sur la Butte (Kigina), dans le Ndiza, près de Sabusaro, puis à Muhanga, non loin des sources où l'on abreuve les troupeaux.

Celle qu'il fréquentait le plus était à Kivumu de Nyarenga.

Il y faisait de longs séjours parce qu'il y retrouvait son épouse préférée. Ce fut la fille de cette femme qui devint la cause de tous ses malheurs.

On l'appelait Bgiza, c'est-à-dire la Beauté par excellence. Elle avait été demandée par un prince autochtone, Rugayi, du pays de Buzi (au Nord du lac Kivu) : « Donne-moi ta fille en mariage, avait dit le prince à Mashira, puisque nous régnons de concert dans le Rwanda, où nos sujets vivent en paix! » Les noces devaient bientôt se célébrer.

Un jour que Bgiza était allée avec ses compagnes faire la cueillette d'herbes fines pour tresser des nattes, elle fit la rencontre de Mibambge-Mutabazi, le roi hamite dont les possessions étaient limitrophes de celles de son père.

A la vue de la jeune fille, il éprouva le violent désir de la posséder (aramulola aramubengukwa). Incapable de continuer sa chasse, Mutabazi repasse le fleuve avec sa suite et rentre au Bumbogo. Faisant aussitôt couper dans ses bananeries les régimes les plus mûrs, il ordonne qu'on lui prépare de nombreuses cruches de bière : « Qu'on m'avertisse aussitôt qu'elles seront prêtes! » avait ajouté Mutabazi. Les serviteurs avaient reçu la recommandation expresse de ne pas y verser une goutte d'eau. Quant le pombe eut atteint la fermentation voulue, le roi hamite se mit en route avec ses gens pour aller trouver Mashira.

Parvenu à son habitation de Kivumu, il se fit annon-

cer (baravunyisha). « Qui est là? » demande le prince-magicien. On lui répond que le personnage qui demande à le voir n'est autre que « Celui en l'honneur duquel on bat le tambour royal » (Semubambuzu'ishakwe) et qu'il vient du Bumbogo. Mashira lui fait dire aussitôt qu'il est le bienvenu. Mutabazi entre avec les porteurs de bière. On lui offre un siège. Les saluts s'échangent... Mutabazi enjoint à ses compagnons d'enlever les écorces et les feuilles de bananes dont les cruches ont été enveloppées et en fait goûter, selon la coutume, à l'un de ses serviteurs : « La bière est à point », affirme celui-ci. Mutabazi en prend à son tour et invite Mashira : « C'est une boisson vraiment royale », répond le sorcier, qui remet le chalumeau au roi hamite. « Il ne faut pas, reprend ce dernier, que j'oublie de te dire le but de mon voyage. Je désire me marier et c'est dans ta famille que je veux me choisir une épouse ». Je suis à ta disposition, répond Mashira, mais il me faut à mon tour des vaches (comme prix d'achat de la fiancée).

« Sois sans crainte, reprend Mutabazi. Je te prie de ne pas avoir d'autre souci, je t'en donnerai. Mais la femme que je désire, ce n'est pas telle ou telle d'entre tes filles, c'est Bgiza que je demande. » « Hélas! Elle ne m'appartient plus, ajoute le sorcier, son mari est déjà choisi. » A ces mots « le vent du matin souffle avec violence, les deux bouts de l'arc de Mutabazi se rejoignent, la colère le prend dans le dos » [1]. Le roi hamite jette au loin le chalumeau dans lequel il venait de boire. Mashira essaie de le calmer. « Ne te fâche pas, je t'en supplie, ô toi le maître du pays où coule le lait frais! (mwami wo mu butemb' inshyushyu...) » « Comment, réplique celui-ci, paurrais-je conserver la paix, puisque Bgiza ne peut plus m'appartenir et que c'est elle seule qui a pris mon cœur ».

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[1] Umuvumbi uvumbira mw' ivumbiro, uburake abukubira mu mugara... Le conteur emploie une métaphore pour dire la surprise et la déception du roi.

Le prince-sorcier revient à la charge : « Ne te mets pas en colère, j'ai d'autres filles. Je vais les faire venir, tu feras ton choix parmi elles ». « Je les connais, riposte Mutabazi, elles sont plus âgées que Bgiza. Je n'en veux pas d'autre qu'elle... »

Et sur ce il sort de la case de Mashira, bondit par-dessus la marche d'escalier (gitabo) et ordonne à ses gens de le suivre. Mashira les engage par politesse à reprendre les cruches de bière, pour qu'ils les remportent chez eux. « Nous avons d'autres potiers chez nous », s'écrie Mutabazi, irrité. Les serviteurs du sorcier veulent lui faire un pas de conduite, le roi hamite se dérobe à tout essai de conciliation. Il traverse au pas de course les villages de Nyarenge, Mpushi, Gasseke, passe le fleuve de la Nyabarongo et arrive en fou furieux dans le Bumbogo...

Le chagrin de n'avoir pu décider Mashira à lui donner sa fille Bgiza, fut cause qu'il rompit les relations qu'il entretenait avec le sorcier. La guerre éclata entre les deux princes. Mashira, vaincu, se donna la mort pour ne pas tomber entre les mains de son ennemi.

Les choses durent se passer beaucoup plus simplement.

Le roi Mututsi, se sentant plus fort, ayant peut-être déjà un pied dans la place où il s'était fait des amis, profita probablement d'une occasion favorable pour faire la conquête du Nduga et l'ajouter à ses possessions du Nord-Est.

Fait significatif montrant l'importance que les Banyarwanda ont attachée au rôle de Mashira.

Les faits et gestes attribués par la légende à Mashira, considéré comme le plus grand des sorciers-devins, lui ont valu une place de choix dans les récits et les traditions. On y rencontre souvent son nom. On l'honore pour ce motif dans la société secrète de Ryangombe [1]; il en

[1] On pense que ce culte original est d'origine hamite et qu'il a été importé par les Batutsi dans le Rwanda. Une tradition indigène ajoute qu'il serait venu des pays d'au delà du Ndorwa (Nord), de chez les Bach-

est considéré comme l'un des fondateurs, et non des moindres, parmi les compagnons de Ryangombe.

Celui qui représente et joue le rôle de Mashira, durant les cérémonies qui se célèbrent en son honneur, tient à la main une sorte de baguette en fer (igihosho), qui rappelle son pouvoir de sorcier. La pointe de cette baguette ressemble vaguement à un sabot de vache (imbâri). On dépose auprès de lui une cruche à bière, ayant deux ouvertures, avec un chalumeau à chacune de celles-ci. La cruche du sorcier ne doit contenir que de l'hydromel. A quels souvenirs du passé veut-on faire allusion? Peut-être est-il vaguement question dans ces figures symboliques de la demande en mariage de Mibambge-Mutabazi, qui apporte à Mashira de la bière du meilleur cru et lui promet des vaches. Celui qui veut honorer Mashira doit faire shi! shi! shi! comme s'il tremblait de froid ou de peur. On a oublié le sens de ce geste. C'est peut-être dans la fin malheureuse du roitelet qu'il faut en chercher l'inspiration et l'interprétation.

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wezi. Il est vraisemblable que ces Bachwezi, que l'on croit avoir habité le Nkole ou l'Unyoro, ne soient autres que les premiers Hamites de l'Ugandè. Ajoutons que les Banyarwanda se sont appropriés la société secrète des initiés.

Des fondateurs et des grands personnages honorés par les adeptes, ils ont fait des êtres réels et vivants, qui auraient vécu dans le Rwanda même. C'est ainsi que Ryangombe passe pour avoir été tué par un buffle dans le Rwana-Mkali, un peu au Sud de la mission de Nyaluhengeri. L'endroit est désigné sous le nom de Nyabikenke de Kavumu; on y trouve encore un énorme « ficus » que les indigènes croient être l'arbre sous lequel Ryangombe mourant se serait appuyé quelques instants. Personne n'habite sur cette colline, qui est considérée comme un lieu maudit. Le pays a la réputation de porter malheur à ceux qui s'y aventurent. Il est absolument interdit aux initiés de s'y livrer à leurs cérémonies habituelles.

Au bas de la colline coule un petit ruisseau appelé « Mbur' amazi » (je n'ai pas d'eau), qu'il n'est pas permis à ces mêmes initiés de traverser, sinon quand ils reprennent leur condition d'hommes ordinaires et qu'ils rentrent dans la vie commune. (Cf. Livre quatrième.)

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CHAPITRE IV

Un épisode de la guerre contre l'Urundi.
La mort de Gihana, fils du roi Chyilima II Ludjugira.

L'événement eut lieu sous le règne de Chyilima II Ludjugira, il y a à peu près deux cents ans. Ce n'est là qu'un des multiples épisodes de la guerre contre l'Urundi. Les rois hamites des deux royaumes furent presque toujours ennemis et ne cessèrent de se disputer la possession des provinces limitrophes du fleuve de l'Akanyaru. Il ne se passa presque pas de règne sans que Barundi et Banyarwanda n'en vinssent aux mains. Dans le récit en question, Gihana, le fils du roi Chyilima II, qui était à la tête des troupes, est vaincu et tué dans le combat. La légende s'est emparée du fait et a embelli le héros. Nous ne changerons rien aux lignes suivantes qui relatent le dévouement du jeune prince.

I. — Une première version.

1° *La famine; consultation des devins. Choix d'un Libérateur. Longue attente et nombreux préparatifs.*

Chyilima II Ludjugira régnait sur le Rwanda depuis de longues années. Il avait quatre fils, Kigeri-Ndabarassa, qui devait lui succéder, Gihana, Binama et Sharangabo. On les avait surnommés « Abatangana » (ceux qui ne se détestent pas), tant la chose était rare dans les familles royales.

Or, il y eut une grande sécheresse, la famine sévit sur le pays avec son cortège de maux. Bêtes et gens mouraient en foule...

Le roi fit appel aux sorciers-devins, pour savoir quelle était la cause d'une si grande calamité. Après avoir con-

sulté les sorts (kulaguza), les sorciers découvrirent que c'était Ntare, le roi de l'Urundi, qui avait déchaîné tous ces malheurs sur le Rwanda : « Il faut aller l'attaquer et le vaincre, disent-ils; l'abondance reviendra dans le pays. » Les augures désignent Gihana, le fils du roi, comme devant être le Libérateur (Umutabazi).

La mère de ce dernier vient aussitôt trouver le roi : « Je t'en prie, lui dit-elle, ne laisse pas encore partir Gihana. Il est trop jeune. Qu'il fonde d'abord une famille et nous laisse des petits-fils, qui resteront auprès de nous. Chyilima se laisse toucher. Quatre jeunes filles sont présentées de sa part au jeune homme pour qu'il fasse choix parmi elles d'une épouse. Aucune de ces dernières n'est agréée. On lui en amène quatre autres qu'il accepte. Deux d'entre elles ne tardent pas à donner des signes de maternité. Pour hâter leur délivrance, Gihana leur fait porter des amulettes et elles mettent au monde deux fillettes, dont l'une fut appelée Nyiraminoga (la fille au gros nez).

A cette nouvelle, le roi fait dire à son fils qu'il est temps de partir en guerre. La mère intervient encore et supplie Chyilima-Ludjugira de lui donner un peu de répit. Ses brus n'ont que des filles et elle voudrait bien des garçons. Chyilima ne reste pas sourd à ses supplications. Quelque temps après les deux autres jeunes femmes donnent le jour à deux garçons, Munana et Sebishabure (ou Selembo). Le monarque insiste de nouveau auprès de Gihana et l'engage à se mettre en route. « Mais, reprend la grand'maman, ce ne sont que de nouveaux-nés, permets à leur père de rester jusqu'au jour où leurs dents commenceront à pousser (bamer'amenyo). » Chyilima, pour en finir au plus vite, se procure des charmes et les fait porter chez son fils, en lui recommandant de s'en servir sur-le-champ pour que ses enfants ne tardent pas trop à avoir leurs dents. Les philtres sont utilisés et les dents apparaissent à l'instant.

Un messager vient annoncer l'heureuse nouvelle au roi.

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qui pense que son fils va dès lors se mettre à la tête des troupes et commencer l'expédition. Gihana n'est pas prêt, il lui faut des armes et de bonnes armes. Son père lui envoie son propre arc avec des flèches, des lances et son sabre (inkota). Le jeune général veut essayer l'arc et le tend (arayifora), la corde se brise. Il brandit (gutigissa) les lances à tour de rôle, elles se brisent entre ses mains, ainsi que le sabre. Il fait savoir la chose à Chyilima, en le priant de vouloir bien lui expédier des armes plus solides que les précédentes. Le prince s'adressa alors à des forgerons réputés habiles dans leur métier pour qu'ils lui procurent au plus tôt des armes de bonne trempe. Ils forgèrent un arc tout en fer, y compris la corde (injishi) et les flèches (ibigembe ni nti). Serpe, lances, bouclier avec la poignée toute en fer, furent remis sans tarder au souverain, qui les fit porter chez Gihana. Celui-ci en recommence l'essai comme précédemment. L'arc est tendu si violemment que les deux extrémités se touchent (impembe zirakomana), mais ne se rompent pas : « Voilà ce qu'il me faut, s'écria-t-il d'un ton joyeux, c'est l'arme d'un guerrier ». Les lances à hampe en fer forgées d'une seule pièce lui donnent la même satisfaction. Il prend la serpe et passe la main sur le tranchant (ubugi) : « Le fer est bon, mais on ne l'a pas aiguisé ». Il renvoie la serpe à son père. Il ne fallut pas longtemps pour le contenter. L'instrument revint aiguisé à fond, comme savent le faire les forgerons habiles. Tout était prêt. Il n'y avait plus de raison pour retarder l'entrée en campagne dont dépendait le salut du Rwanda.

2° *Le départ de Gihana. Sa rencontre avec le roi de l'Urundi. Un duel est engagé. Le dénouement et la mort du Libérateur.*

Gihana réunit une dernière fois sa famille. Une vache grasse (ingumba) est égorgée; on boit force cruches de bière, non sans les avoir offertes d'avance aux esprits,

afin de se les rendre favorables. Le Libérateur quitte les siens et se met à la tête de ses troupes, pour partir vers l'Urundi.

Arrivés dans la forêt qui avoisine le fleuve de l'Akanyaru et qui les sépare du pays ennemi, les Banyarwanda s'y bâtissent des huttes de branchages (bach' ibilaro), en vue d'y passer la nuit. Ntare, le roi de l'Urundi, avait juré que nul Munyarwanda ne passerait la frontière sans qu'il lui en coûtât. Dès le lendemain, les hommes du général munyarwanda traversent le fleuve et vont incendier les villages qui étaient à proximité. Mis au courant de l'envahissement de son teritoire, Ntare accourt et demande à parler au chef ennemi. Il apprend qu'il a affaire au fils de Chyilima. Gihana tout d'abord ne veut pas se présenter. Il envoie un de ses familiers auquel il prête ses vêtements royaux, afin de donner le change à Ntare. Celui-ci découvre la supercherie et refuse de discuter avec lui. Un deuxième personnage se présente; Ntare l'oblige à confesser qu'il n'est que l'oncle de Gihana. Le cousin (mubyara) de ce dernier vient ensuite se donner comme étant le prince royal en personne. Il est impossible de surprendre la bonne foi du roi de l'Urundi, qui, lui aussi, a ses devins et ses sorciers pour le renseigner et le mettre en garde contre les agissements et les embûches de ses ennemis.

A bout d'expédients, Gihana traverse le fleuve à son tour et vient au-devant de Ntare, qui lui propose un combat singulier, c'est-à-dire un duel à deux : « Tu es jeune, lui dit le roi de l'Urundi, engage la lutte, je te laisse porter les premiers coups (simbanz'umwana) ». Gihana décline l'offre qui lui est faite : « Non, commence donc toi-même ». Ntare prend sa lance, la brandit au-dessus de son épaule et vise son partenaire qui l'évite en bondissant sur le côté (arayizibukira). Une deuxième lance n'a pas plus de succès que la première. Gihana, moqueur, l'évite avec la même dextérité : « Regarde donc comment un vrai guerrier sait se garer. Quant à toi, Ntare, place-toi

bien, afin que je ne te manque pas (umere neza, nguhe). » Et ce disant, il brandit à son tour sa lance, qui frappe en plein Ntare. Celui-ci s'écroule à terre, en gardant toute sa connaissance. Gihana s'approche de lui pour l'achever : « Attends donc un peu, lui dit le blessé. Deux combattants après la bataille ne sont-ils pas comme des frères (abavuye mw' itabaro, bavuy' ind' imwe) ». D'après les uns, il lui lègue sa femme et ses enfants, afin qu'il les prenne sous sa protection après sa mort. Les autres lui prêtent le langage suivant : « Avant de me tuer, montre-moi ton sabre, afin que je voie comment on forge les armes dans ton pays ». Le vainqueur, sans aucune défiance, lui présente son arme en demandant au blessé de lui offrir la sienne, afin qu'il l'examine pareillement : « La tienne est bien forgée, ajoute Ntare, mais son tranchant n'est pas des plus effilés ». « On ne forge pas mal chez vous autres, répond Gihana, ton sabre est mieux travaillé que le mien. Allons, mets-toi comme il faut (mera neza) que je te coupe les bras. » « Rends-moi mon sabre, reprend Ntare, et sers-toi du tien. » Le prince munyarwanda venait de se pencher pour amputer le bras droit de son ennemi quand celui-ci soudain, jouant de son arme, lui transperce la poitrine. Gihana tombe à son tour à la renverse. Avant de mourir il porte la main à sa blessure et en prenant du sang il le répand du côté de l'Urundi : « J'ai vaincu ce pays, s'écrie-t-il et je le maudis ». Une deuxième fois il fait le même geste de puiser à sa blessure. Il en sort alors du lait qu'il verse du côté du Rwanda : « Que le lait coule à flots dans le Rwanda! », voulant par là attirer les bénédictions sur sa patrie. Il meurt en prononçant ces dernières paroles.

La sécheresse prend aussitôt fin dans le Rwanda. Les nuages réapparaissent répandant sur le pays leurs ondes bienfaisantes... Les récoltes furent abondantes, les pâturages reverdirent et les habitants se reprirent à vivre. Le Libérateur Gihana avait sauvé le pays.

L'Urundi pâtit de la mort vengeresse du prince ennemi. Des maux sans nombre l'assaillirent après la malédiction de Gihana. Celui-ci, en effet, s'était transformé en buisson (igihuru). Les Barundi, furieux, y mettent le feu. L'incendie se propage à l'instant dans toute la contrée, consumant les récoltes et anéantissant les pâturages. Gihana se change alors en bâton (inkoni). Les Barundi le brisent, le bâton résiste à leurs efforts, en remplissant la contrée de ses clameurs (ikavuz' induru). Se croyant attaqués par des ennemis imaginaires, les Barundi se jettent sur leurs armes, se précipitent dans toutes les directions et s'entr'égorgent sans se reconnaître. Gihana, enfin, se change en vache. Les Barundi la tuent et en mangent les chairs; ils en meurent jusqu'au dernier.

D'après une autre version, Gihana, au lieu de mourir de sa blessure, disparut soudain aux yeux de ses compagnons (aralìgita), qui ne virent devant eux qu'une sorte de tumulus (umugina) comparable aux nids de fourmis blanches que l'on rencontre dans la région.

Bref, la mort du Libérateur remplit d'effroi les Barundi. Aussi pour calmer son esprit ses ennemis lui élevèrent-ils une habitation sur le lieu du combat, à Muharuro. Pour gagner ses bonnes grâces, ils lui constituèrent sur place un petit troupeau de vaches avec des serviteurs chargés de garder l'habitation. Le nom de Muyange, son village natal dans le Rwanda, fut donné à sa nouvelle demeure. La légende ajoute qu'on n'a pas cessé jusqu'à ces dernières années d'entretenir sa résidence et d'y offrir des sacrifices en son honneur, tant il était redouté des Barundi.

Ses compatriotes ne l'ont pas davantage oublié. Tous les Banyarwanda connaissent, au moins de nom, l'emplacement de sa demeure à Muyange, non loin de Butare, sur la route qui va de Kabgayi à Nyanza. Ses descendants, Ndibyaliye et Nturo, qui appartiennent au clan des Banyiginya, lui ont élevé chacun une demeure, le pre-

mier à Mututu, dans le Mayaga (pays chaud, situé à l'Est du Nduga), et l'autre à Mukingo, où l'on ne cesse de lui offrir des sacrifices à l'heure actuelle.

II. — Deuxième version.

Cette deuxième interprétation du dévouement et de la mort du même Gihana est aussi populaire que l'autre. Nous la donnons telle que nous l'avons entendu raconter.

1° *Les préliminaires.*

Ludjugira venait de faire son testament (kuraga). Il avait partagé ses biens entre les trois aînés de ses enfants et semblait avoir oublié le plus jeune, Ndabarassa. « Comment se fait-il, demande Gihana à son père, que vous n'ayez rien donné à Ndabarassa, alors que nous avons tous reçu quelque chose? » « Chacun de vous, répond le roi n'aura qu'à lui offrir une vache. » « A quoi pourront-elles bien lui servir, reprend Gihana, s'il ne possède en même temps aucune colline, aucun pâturage? » « Eh bien! chacun de vous lui donnera un village. »

Gihana quitte son père. En rentrant chez lui il trébuche (arasitara) sur le tas de fumier desséché (ku gitabo) entassé devant la cour.

Son faux pas lui fait retourner la tête en arrière (akebuka), ce qui lui permet de voir le roi en tête à tête avec Ndabarassa.

Ludjugira, aussitôt après le départ de ses fils aînés, avait pris à part le plus jeune et l'avait fait asseoir auprès de lui. Prenant le tambour palladium : « Voici, mon enfant, le tambour royal, je te le lègue, tu me succéderas sur le trône. Pour ce qui est de ton frère Gihana, c'est lui qui doit se dévouer pour le bien du royaume (gutabara), en allant faire la guerre à l'Urundi. Ce sera à toi de l'avertir, le jour où il comptera quatre garçons dans sa famille ». Ils se quittèrent après ce colloque.

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Gihana ayant vu que son plus jeune frère avait eu une entrevue secrète avec le roi, vient le trouver. « Que t'a-t-il raconté? » Ndamurassa veut se taire; l'autre menace de se tuer sous ses yeux à l'instant s'il ne rompt pas le silence. Effrayé, le jeune homme explique que Ludjugira a déposé le tambour-palladium sur ses genoux (ibibéro). « Il m'a annoncé de plus, ajoute-t-il, qu'il t'a désigné pour aller combattre les Barundi, le jour où tes enfants seront au nombre de quatre. » Sous le coup de cette nouvelle, Gihana s'approche du tambour sacré et en frappe trois fois. Étonné de ce bruit, le roi Ludjugira accourt s'informer : « Quel est donc l'homme assez téméraire qui a fait résonner le tambour royal? » « C'est moi, répond Gihana; je donne le signal du combat, je veux aller à l'Urundi combattre nos ennemis héréditaires. »

Ludjugira, qui aurait voulu garder le secret de l'expédition, se montre irrité : « Le moment n'est pas encore venu ». Le fils ne veut rien entendre et insiste tellement que son père finit par lui accorder la permission : « C'est bien, tu peux partir ».

Gihana fait ses préparatifs. On lui apporte ses vêtements et ses armes de guerre, avec les charmes et les amulettes employées en pareil cas. Les gens qui font partie de son armée appartiennent au clan des Abalima.

Le Libérateur (umutabazi) se met en route avec eux et se dirige vers le territoire ennemi.

De son côté, Ntare, le roi de l'Urundi, avait fait le choix d'un Libérateur pour combattre celui du Rwanda. Il s'appelait Rulinda, fils de Gakanda. Ntare lui donne l'ordre de se mettre en marche : « Je viens à peine de me marier, dit Rulinda, je ne puis pas encore partir ». Quelque temps après, le roi le presse de nouveau. Rulinda répond qu'il est prêt. Il fait part de son dessein à sa femme. Celle-ci le supplie de n'en rien faire. Sans se laisser émouvoir, Rulinda prend ses armes et son bouclier et quitte la maison : « Je vais me battre ». Il venait juste

de sortir quand son épouse lui demande en grâce de ne pas la laisser, sans avoir dansé (kwiyereka) au moins une dernière fois devant elle. Le mari ne se fait pas prier; il s'exécute de bonne grâce. « Attends encore un peu, lui crie-t-elle, moi aussi je vais danser comme savent le faire les jeunes femmes (nkwiyereke gikobga) ». Tout en parlant ainsi elle se donne la mort d'un coup de sabre. Voyant cela, la mère de Rulinda se pend à son tour (yiyahuj' umugozi) de désespoir. Devant ce spectacle navrant, près de ces cadavres inanimés gisant à ses pieds, Rulinda s'écrie : « L'homme fort ne recule pas devant le malheur » (Urugombye umugabo ruramujana). Et il part au-devant de l'ennemi.

2° *La lutte et le dénouement.*

Les deux Libérateurs se trouvèrent bientôt en face l'un de l'autre : « Commence donc, lui crie aussitôt Gihana, et frappe-moi de ta lance (uter' icchumu, umbanze) ». « A toi de porter les premiers coups », répond l'antagoniste. Gihana prend son arme et la brandit dans la direction de Rulinda, qui roule à terre. Mais il n'est nullement blessé, il n'a été atteint que par le choc du bois de lance.

C'est la violence du choc qui l'a renversé. On était sur le soir, la nuit commençait à tomber et le combat touchait à sa fin. Rulinda, en effet, se relève et jette sa lance sur Gihana qui tombe, la poitrine transpercée.

Il ne lui reste que quelques instants à vivre. Mourant, il a encore la force de recueillir (ayora) le sang de sa blessure qu'il répand du côté de l'Urundi. Son cadavre disparaît soudainement sous un tumulus (intumbi y' iraligita, hahinduk' umugina). Rulinda n'ayant plus d'adversaire avec qui il puisse lutter, se donne la mort parce qu'il avait été choisi, lui aussi, pour se dévouer et délivrer son pays (ariyicha kw' ar' umutabazi atari bugarukeyo).

Gihana n'avait pas répandu son sang en vain. La famine

se répandit dans l'Urundi, y causant des ravages (amapfa arahatsemba, c'est-à-dire la famine détruit tout). Le roi fait aussitôt consulter les devins pour savoir ce qui mettra fin à pareille calamité. Les sorciers se mettent en devoir de questionner l'« esprit » de Gihana et le font parler par le moyen de la petite courge aux osselets révélateurs (bashor' umuzimu we, baramushika mu kinyege) [1]. « C'est moi, répond l'esprit de Gihana, qui ai déchaîné la famine et fais mourir vos bêtes. » « Que veux-tu donc, reprennent les sorciers, pour que tu restes en paix? » « J'exige que vous me bâtissiez une demeure à l'endroit où je suis tombé. Cherchez-moi aussi une épouse, ainsi que des serviteurs et constituez-moi un troupeau de vaches qui m'appartiendront en propre (Nshak' ulugo rwanje i Muyange, n'inka zanje Nyamumpe, n'ingabo zanje Abalima, nuko mundongolera). » Le roi de l'Urundi fit exécuter ses volontés. On lui constitua sur place un home familial comme il l'avait demandé. L'endroit fut appelé Muyange, du nom de son pays natal; ses serviteurs se nommèrent Abalima, du nom des gens qui l'avaient accompagné, et les vaches Nyamumpe, c'est-à-dire « celles qui m'appartiennent en propre ». A l'instant les fléaux cessèrent, l'abondance revint dans l'Urundi.

Le roi du Rwanda, ayant appris que le calme et la paix régnaient dans l'Urundi, appela à son tour les gardiens des traditions (Abiru) et leur demanda ce qu'il fallait faire pour ramener le désordre et la famine chez les ennemis. L'un d'entre eux, qui appartenait au clan des Abatsobe, répondit : « Je vais me dévouer et me faire tuer. Mon sang me vengera et mon esprit ne cessera de leur attirer des malheurs (Ndatabaye, amarasso yanje azampōra, n'iy' azatsind' Uburundi n' umuzimu wanje). Le roi consentit à son sacrifice. L'homme s'appelait Rubona.

Il pénétra dans l'Urundi, sans être suivi d'aucun guer-

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[1] Voir la *Divination au Rwanda*, par le P. Arnoux.

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rier. Dans la forêt il rencontra un Murundi qui l'égorge, sans qu'il oppose aucune résistance. Son esprit rencontra aussitôt celui de Gihana, qui lui demande le motif qui l'a amené dans le pays : « Je suis venu déchaîner tous les maux », répond-il. Réunissant leurs efforts, ils réussissent à attirer sur leurs ennemis des fléaux sans nombre.

La famine, en effet, revint avec son cortège d'épidémies. O malheur sans pareil et chose qu'on n'avait jamais vue! « les bergeronnettes vinrent en foule percher sur les cornes des vaches » (inyamanza nyinshi zija ku mahembe y' inka). Les Barundi recoururent aux aruspices et aux magiciens. L'esprit de Rubona se découvre : « C'est moi le maître de vos villages (Ni nje Nyamihana), c'est moi qui parcours vos villages ». Les Barundi ne purent absolument rien sur lui, il ne cessa de leur faire du mal (ababera mubi). On essaya de choisir d'autres Libérateurs; leur sang fut répandu inutilement. Le mal était sans remède. A bout de ressources, les sorciers avouent au roi Ntare que c'est lui-même qui doit offrir sa vie : « Le royaume a besoin de toi, de ton sang (ingoma yakugombye) ». Le prince n'hésita pas. Il passa la frontière et s'avança au milieu des Banyarwanda, qui le tuèrent. Son cadavre fut abandonné sur place par les siens. Les Banyarwanda, qui en redoutaient les conséquences désastreuses pour leur propre pays (ngo itazabater' amarasso mabi), le portèrent de l'autre côté. Les Barundi le ramenèrent secrètement pendant la nuit et pour le dérober aux recherches de leurs ennemis, ils le suspendirent à un acacia à épines (umunyinya), au plus épais de la forêt.

C'est ainsi que son sang vengea l'Urundi et que les habitants de ce dernier pays purent vivre en paix durant des « milliers de règnes » (ingoma ibihumbi!) sans être inquiétés par les Banyarwanda.

CHAPITRE V

Immigration dans le Bugoyi d'une peuplade étrangère connue sous le nom significatif de « Muets » et de « Couvreurs de toits en terre » (1).

Les Muets (Ibiragi), c'est ainsi qu'ils furent appelés parce qu'ils parlaient une langue inconnue à laquelle les Banyarwanda n'entendaient absolument rien.

On les désigna encore sous le nom de Couvreurs de toits en terre (Abaśakaza-taka, en langue indigène), parce que les nouveaux venus avaient une façon spéciale de couvrir le toit de leurs cases (2).

Ces détails, ainsi que celui du prétendu teint blanc de leur visage, de l'habitude qu'ils avaient de fumer dans de grosses pipes d'argile et d'autres particularités remarquées chez cette étrange peuplade, frappèrent vivement l'attention et l'imagination des contemporains. Aussi le souvenir des curieux immigrants est-il resté vivace dans le pays.

Les missionnaires ne furent mis au courant de cet épisode que quelques années après leur arrivée. Les habitants de la contrée, croyant voir en eux, bien à tort, les descendants de ces étrangers, s'étaient tout d'abord abstenus de tout retour et de toute allusion sur ce passé sanglant. Ils redoutaient ces nouveaux Blancs, qui, pensaient-ils, ne manqueraient pas de se venger, s'ils venaient à apprendre que leurs ancêtres avaient été autrefois massacrés dans la région.

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(1) La province du Bugoyi s'étend au Nord-Est du Kivu. Elle est en majeure partie volcanique et renferme de nombreux cratères. Elle se subdivise en districts : Rwerere, Byahi, Masizi, Gahondo, etc. Lors du partage de l'Afrique et de la dernière délimitation belgo-allemande, le Bugoyi avait été amputé du Kibati, dont les habitants étaient d'origine « muhunde » et avaient été soumis, il y a à peine deux siècles, par les princes hamites du Rwanda.

(2) Le Bugoyi, à cause de ce détail, est quelquefois désigné sous le nom de « Pays où l'on couvre les toits en terre » (i Busakaza-taka). C'est le terme qui lui est consacré dans les récits et les légendes.

I. — Arrivée des « Muets » dans la province du Bugoyi. Leurs singularités et leurs démêlés avec les habitants de la contrée.

L'événement se déroula au Nord-Est du lac Kivu, dans la petite petite province du Bugoyi, où se trouve la mission de Nyundo, fondée en 1901.

Les premiers Bayarwanda qui vinrent s'y établir au milieu des rares habitants installés dans la plaine, étaient orignaires de Suti (de Banega), village situé dans le Munyambiriri. Ils avaient comme chef de famille Macchumu (l'Homme aux lances) que l'histoire locale a surnommé Magoyi (l'homme par excellence du Bugoyi). Leurs descendants forment un clan encore puissant et s'appellent Abagwabiro, du nom du père de Macchumu, Migwabiro.

Les ancêtres de Macchumu, du clan des Basinga, étaient venus du Ndorwa [1], à une époque reculée. Ils se fixèrent à Suti, en qualité de « pluviateurs » ou faiseurs de pluie et préservateurs des récoltes. Ils prirent le nom ou plutôt les Banyarwanda leur décernèrent le titre de « abahinza », à cause de leur pouvoir sur les saisons, considéré par les indigènes comme un privilège et un attribut de la royauté des princes autochtones [2]. Les titulaires du « tambour » de Suti prennent, comme le font les rois hamites de

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(1) Le Ndorwa, comme le Nkole qui lui fait suite, est connu sous le nom de « Buhima », c'est-à-dire le pays par excellence des Bahima (ou Batutsi).

Un autre membre de ce même clan des « Basinga » du Ndorwa, appelé Rugabo, s'était égaré à la chasse, au pied du Mikeno, dans la région aujourd'hui appelée Bgisha, alors déserte et couverte d'arbres. Le pays lui plut, il quitta son village natal et vint s'y installer avec les membres de sa famille, à une époque reculée, où il n'était pas encore question, croit-on, des Batutsi, qui ne vinrent en prendre possession que plus tard.

(2) Tous les bahinza, nous en avons là un exemple, ne sont pas des descendants authentiques des roitelets Bahutu. Il en est qui se déclarèrent eux-mêmes « créateurs ou dispensateurs de la pluie », prirent de l'influence sur leurs voisins et formèrent officiellement souche avec l'approbation ou la tolérance des rois ou chefs hamites.

l'Urundi et la plupart des autres bahinza du Rwanda, un des quatre noms suivants : Gisulera, Tegera, Lukambura, Batsinda-Gisulera, le dernier titulaire de ce nom fut tué d'un coup de pioche par Ruganzu II, à Suti même, sur le champ où il surveillait les travailleurs.

Le prince avait pris ombrage de son influence [1]. Les Bahutu en foule venaient lui faire la cour et lui apportaient des cadeaux.

En d'autres termes, il avait trop de clients (abagaragu). Le Rwanda était devenu trop étroit pour le sorcier et son souverain. L'un devait laisser la place à l'autre. Kigeri IV se débarrassa pour le même motif de Lukambura [2], le père du muhinza actuel, Batsinda. Les Bagwabiro du Bugoyi, descendants des bahinza de Suti, font partie de la grande tribu muhutu des Basinga, tous originaires du Ndorwa.

Il ne reste à l'heure actuelle à Suti que trois ou quatre familles de ce groupement indigène, mais le possesseur du « tambour » y exerce toujours ses fonctions lucratives de « pluviator » et entretient des relations confiantes avec ses proches du Bugoyi.

On ignore les motifs qui poussèrent Macchumu et ses compagnons à venir se fixer au Nord-Est du Kivu.

Étaient-ils sous la menace d'une vendetta? Trouvaient-ils le Munyambiriri peu fertile ou trop peuplé? Leur esprit aventureux les poussait-il à la conquête de nouvelles terres ou avaient-ils entendu parler de la richesse du sol du Bugoyi et de la bonté exceptionnelle du climat? Nous en sommes réduits aux hypothèses. Quoi qu'il en soit, Macchumu, accompagné de parents et d'amis, s'installa au Bugoyi.

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(1) Les « coups de pioche » mortels donnés par le fougueux prince dépassent l'invraisemblance. Le fait a pu se produire une fois, deux fois tout au plus

(2) La Cour était alors à Gashirabgoba, près de Kamonyi, dans le Nduga. Lukambura y avait répondu à l'appel du potentat qui le fit exécuter séance tenante.

Le pays était alors en partie à l'Est couvert par la forêt de bambous, qui se continuait sans interruption sur la côte orientale du lac, et dont il reste encore un fort tronçon, en dépit des incendies volontaires et des coups de hache que ne cessent de lui porter les indigènes, toujours en quête de champs plus productifs. Pour permettre de situer l'événement dans le temps, les narrateurs racontent qu'il s'est écoulé sept générations depuis ce jour et citent pour appuyer leurs dires les noms des sept chefs de famille qui se sont succédé à la tête du clan des Bagwabiro. Ce sont Macchumu, l'émigré du Bugoyi, Makombe, Rugaba, Mukiza, Muhumuza, Ngamije et Lubanzabigwi.

Quand Macchumu arriva au Bugoyi, il trouva dans la plaine de laves et dans la bande de terre déjà déboisée, les meilleurs coins occupés par des étrangers venus d'on ne sait où. Ils parlaient un langage incompréhensible, construisaient en terre et fumaient dans de curieuses pipes, assurent les conteurs. Dans la chaleur du récit on entend même dire que les pipes étaient en cuivre. Les historiens, trop diserts, ont confondu sans nul doute avec les bracelets que ces individus portaient aux bras. L'abondance de ce métal a fait prendre un objet pour l'autre chez leurs dénigreurs, qui en possédaient peu eux-mêmes et en avaient vu rarement. Leurs houes ne ressemblaient pas à celles des Banyarwanda. Elles étaient mieux forgées, plus grandes et différaient des autres quant à la forme [1]. Macchumu et ses gens ne furent pas sans remarquer qu'elles étaient plus solides et défiaient les pierres de lave éparses sur le sol.

Ce qui frappa le plus de la part des étrangers, ce fut la couleur de leur visage.

On n'avait jamais vu rien de pareil sous le rapport du

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[1] Les houes du Rwanda ont la forme d'un cœur et s'adaptent au manche par la partie la plus longue et la plus effilée que l'on enfonce à l'extrémité du dit manche, troué à cet effet. Les houes, forgées sur place, sont mal travaillées, s'usent et cassent facilement.

teint. Pour cette raison on les appela encore « Hommes rouges » (Ibituku) et « Hommes blancs » (Abera), désignations dont se servent fréquemment les Noirs, aujourd'hui pour désigner les Européens.

Les Muets étaient nombreux; ils s'étaient divisés en plusieurs groupes, qui occupaient les collines de Rubavu, Nkama, Kinigi, Ilemera, Murambi (Kizi), Mahoko, Nyundo, etc., assez éloignées les unes des autres. Comme on le voit, l'une de leurs colonies s'était installée à l'emplacement de la mission actuelle et avait pour chef un individu que les Bagoyi, on ne sait pourquoi, surnommèrent Kayumbu.

D'où venaient ces émigrés? Très vraisemblablement de l'intérieur du Congo. Ils fuyaient sans doute les Warega (abaryoko), ces terribles anthropophages qui mirent à feu et à sang, durant plusieurs siècles, les régions situées au Nord et à l'Ouest du Kivu. Les ancêtres des Bagoyi, à quelques exceptions près, sont presque tous originaires de ces malheureuses contrées, qu'ils abandonnèrent pour fuir les mangeurs d'hommes [1].

Les Muets furent les premiers immigrants, ou tout au moins venaient de plus loin que les autres, mais leur nombre fit peur aux nouveaux arrivés de l'intérieur, qui ne virent en eux que des ennemis. L'ignorance de leur

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[1] Au Nord-Ouest du Kivu s'étendent à perte de vue de vastes espaces au décor féerique, d'une végétation luxuriante, riches en essences forestières et en pâturages, coupés et traversés par des ruisseaux limpides, où l'homme est presque une exception. Les Warega en avaient fait un désert.

M. Kandt les rencontra dans ces parages en 1900.

Ils furent mis à la raison, en 1911, par le capitaine Brossard, qui s'installa à demeure chez eux pour les empêcher de nuire à leurs voisins et de recommencer leurs tristes exploits. Les rares Bahunde qui ont survécu à la broche ou à la marmite, ont gardé le souvenir de l'officier dont ils respectent la mémoire et qu'ils ont surnommé Angalia, du mot kiswahili kuangalia, qui veut dire observer, examiner.

Les terribles anthropophages poussèrent une ou deux randonnées sur les frontières du Rwanda, avant 1900. Ils essayèrent de pénétrer dans la province du Bgisha, puis dans celle du Bugoyi (à Ngoma et Kibati), d'où ils furent heureusement refoulés par les Batutsi.

langue et leur supériorité accrurent la défiance à leur égard.

L'imagination des Banyarwanda s'est donnée toute license sur le thème des Congolais. La réalité est plus simple.

Pour pénétrer dans le Bugoyi, les Muets qu'accompagnaient des femmes et des enfants, suivirent la voie de terre et traversèrent le Buyungu, où se trouve la mission de Pélichy Saint-Joseph, le Kamuronsa et le Nsuro, qui leur fait suite au Nord du lac. Ils étaient de haute taille et portaient des bracelets aux bras et aux jambes.

On peut supposer que leur pays d'origine était riche en minerai, car ils apportaient avec eux de nombreux instruments et outils en fer. Les Bagoyi ont conservé le souvenir de leurs grandes houes, de coutelas énormes et de lances tout d'une pièce en fer forgé (1), ainsi que de longs bâtons aiguisés en pointe (ibiti bisongoye) qu'ils avaient en mains. Les matrones étaient chargées de grosses cruches (ibikono) en terre cuite.

Les Bagwabiro ont certainement exagéré en comparant les Muets aux Blancs.

Ils les ont confondus après coup avec ces derniers à cause de leur teint légèrement bronzé ou rouge. Les types de ce genre (inzobe) sont nombreux parmi les Bahutu et surtout parmi les Hamites. L'existence de toits en terre ne mérite pas plus de créance. Là encore les Banyarwanda ont dépassé la mesure et se sont trompés quand ils ont

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(1) Les termes kigoyi dont se servent les indigènes pour désigner ces armes qui leur firent impression sont : ibiriga, ibichumu by' imishito (au lieu des mots ordinaires, amacchumu, indiga). Ils marquaient par là l'idée qu'ils se faisaient de leur grandeur ou du mépris qu'ils y attachaient, par le fait qu'elles appartenaient à des étrangers.

En plus de cette façon de parler peu littéraire qui est fréquemment usitée parmi les Bagoyi, on rencontre chez eux des tournures, des formes verbales et des termes étrangers au kinyarwanda *vg.* mwira = fiancé, gusamba = plaider, gukalagira = cultiver ou nettoyer les bananeries, etc., qui décèlent une origine étrangère et leur parenté avec les Bahunde du Nord-Ouest du Kivu.

vu dans les « tembe » arabes un souvenir des anciennes constructions des Muets [1].

Il est probable que ceux-ci pour couvrir leurs huttes se servirent exceptionnellement ou d'une façon habituelle de légères « mottes de terre » (ibisinde), ainsi que semblent le dire les Bagoyi dans leur idiome vernaculaire. De là est sortie l'interprétation erronée qui s'est répandue peu à peu dans le Rwanda et a pris place dans les légendes et les traditions.

Quant à Macchumu, il ne fut pas peu surpris et mécontent de trouver la place déjà prise. Il avait quitté son pays natal faute de place peut-être. Il s'établit tout de même dans la contrée, mais il n'eut pas à se féliciter du voisinage des Congolais. Des démêlés s'élevèrent entre ces derniers, ses propres gens et les rares autochtones de la contrée, surtout au ruisseau de la Sebeya, où l'on allait puiser de part et d'autre. Les Muets en profitèrent même pour enlever des femmes.

Se disputer à la fontaine ou à l'abreuvoir et faire des rapts sont des détails typiques qui entrent bien dans les mœurs des peuples primitifs. L'enlèvement des Sabines par les premiers Romains, à l'époque de Remus et de Romulus, est un de ces mille faits communs que l'on retrouve un peu partout.

Ce dernier a eu toutefois la bonne fortune, si fortune il y a, d'être mis en vers par un poète.

Il n'en fallait pas davantage pour mettre le feu aux poudres. De pareils affronts ne pouvaient rester impunis. Deux individus, Lugenge et Mabanga, furent aussitôt députés par Macchumu, pour aller se plaindre au roi Chyilima II.

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(1) Le « tembe » est une sorte de petit hangar dont toute l'ossature est en bois. Les parois sont enduites de boue. Le toit lui-même est recouvert d'une forte couche de terre souvent ravinée par la pluie et que l'on renouvelle après chaque orage. Les Arabes semblent avoir été les premiers à utiliser ce mode de construction.

En plus des griefs déjà cités qui avaient soulevé les esprits au Bugoyi, les envoyés firent observer au monarque que les rebelles dont il s'agissait étaient des sauvages (abanyamahanga, abashi), donc des êtres méprisables, les derniers de l'espèce humaine, et qu'ils parlaient non la langue nationale, mais un idiome inintelligible.

Ces immigrants, par leur présence, souillaient le sol, l'eau et l'air du Rwanda et pouvaient d'un jour à l'autre devenir un danger pour le reste du royaume.

L'argument ultime dont se servirent les messagers pour indisposer Sa Majesté Noire contre les Muets était que ceux-ci ne payaient aucun impôt et qu'ils refusaient de se soumettre à l'autorité royale.

Aussi le prince hamite adressa-t-il aux émissaires ses encouragements et ses plus chaudes recommandations : « Rentrez vite dans vos foyers, leur dit-il en les congédiant, et dites à Macchumu qu'il n'ait pas de repos avant d'avoir exterminé ces dangereux ennemis ».

II. — Déclaration de guerre et différentes phases de la lutte. Les Muets sont définitivement vaincus. Honneur qui en rejaillit sur le clan des Bagwabiro; influence de ces derniers.

On attaqua donc les étrangers. Les débuts ne furent pas heureux pour Macchumu, qui avait trop compté sur lui-même. Les forces en hommes dont il disposait étaient insuffisantes, il avait à lutter contre des gens valeureux. Il laissa dans la mêlée beaucoup de monde, y compris un de ses principaux serviteurs dont la bravoure était connue. Sans perdre courage il fit appel à ses voisins et à ses amis.

Ses parents de Suti répondirent à son appel. Il lui vint de l'aide de tous côtés, tant paraissait odieuse aux Banyarwanda l'intrusion des Muets. Un certain Kibogora, fils de Matambo, dont le pays d'origine était le Gissaka, croit-

on, lui offrit ses services, ainsi qu'un autre personnage du Nduga, un nommé Serutarira, fils de Maguru.

Les petits chefs des environs se mirent dans les rangs. Parmi eux, les Bagoyi d'aujourd'hui citent avec orgueil Gasigabuguma, venu du Gishari et installé depuis peu dans la plaine volcanique, puis les nommés Lugenge, fils de Nkuba, Nteranya, son père et bien d'autres.

Les membres du clan des Bakora se réunirent aux combattants.

Les noms des individus, précieux pour l'histoire locale, se suivent à n'en plus finir, tant il est vrai que « la bouche parle de l'abondance du cœur ».

Les habitants du pays, qui comptent à l'heure actuelle une centaine de clans ou sous-clans, en parlent avec fierté, parce qu'ils se donnent comme les descendants des guerriers qui prirent part à cette lutte. Macchumu, en homme avisé, s'était mis à la tête des troupes composées d'éléments divers et dirigeait les opérations. Il fut vaillamment secondé dans sa tâche par deux de ses serviteurs (abagaragu), qui s'étaient attachés à la fortune de leur maître. Le premier, du clan des Bayovu et qui avait émigré avec lui, s'appelait Gashiha; l'autre, du clan des Bagasha, avait quitté le Munyambiriri en même temps que son compagnon et se nommait Gashi.

Ainsi appuyé, Macchumu reprit l'offensive. On ne se souvient plus des péripéties de la nouvelle lutte engagée entre les deux parties, sinon que les Bagwabiro, habiles chasseurs de tout temps, avaient des chiens qu'on lâcha au combat.

Les Muets furent, enfin, vaincus. Il en périt un si grand nombre, car tel est le refrain qui revient dans tous les épisodes, qu'il fut impossible de les compter (ntibabarika). Les survivants quittèrent définitivement le pays et s'en fuirent vers le Nord-Ouest du lac, par le même chemin qu'ils avaient pris à l'aller, dans une direction inconnue.

On n'en a plus entendu parler. Leur séjour dans le

Bugoyi avait été de cinq années. Le triomphe fut exploité et le bruit s'en répandit dans les provinces du Rwanda. Les aèdes et les bardes en consacrèrent le souvenir dans des chants et des récits arrivés jusqu'à nous. Le nom de Macchumu devint inséparable de celui des Muets et de leur défaite. Cette brillante action valut au chef victorieux et à ses descendants, les Bagwabiro, un grand crédit à la Cour des princes hamites.

On profita de cette circonstance pour nommer le premier gouverneur du Bugoyi dans la personne de Macchumu.

Le Rwanda, avons-nous dit, avait été divisé en provinces ou fiefs de mouvance octroyés le plus souvent à des Hamites qui vivaient habituellement à la Cour et se faisaient représenter sur place par des intendants ou mandataires (ibisonga) [1]. Nommé par le prince et révocable par lui, le gouverneur ne relevait que de sa juridiction. Tel un préfet romain, il groupait en son pouvoir la direction des affaires administratives, judiciaires et fiscales. Il levait ou faisait lever sur ses gens les impôts en nature, grains, miel, bières, nattes, chèvres, vaches, etc., pour les présenter lui-même au roi, après en avoir prélevé au moins un dizième, comme le veut la coutume indigène. Possesseurs d'un large territoire, il fut loisible aux Bagwabiro d'occuper les meilleurs champs et de s'enrichir. Ils n'y manquèrent pas.

Migwabiro, le grand-père de Macchumu, et Kajugiri, son père, avaient été tout d'abord chercher fortune dans le Kinyaga. N'ayant pas trouvé ce qu'ils souhaitaient, ils rejoignirent leur descendance au Bugoyi.

Migwabiro reçut en partage le pays de Masizi (près des

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[1] On connait des étrangers, des roturiers et des gens de condition moindre encore auxquels fut confié le gouvernement de provinces.

Bien que fiefs de mouvance en principe, il est telle province ou tel ancien royaume annexé dont le gouvernement était en fait devenu héréditaire entre les mains des titulaires.

sources d'eaux chaudes) et y mourut à l'endroit dit de Butsiro, près du village de Lwenga. Kajugiri fut installé par son fils à Ruvumbu, près de Kizi. Après y avoir vécu quelques années, il mourut et on l'enterra sur place.

A partir de ce moment les habitants de cette région éloignée firent officiellement partie de la grande famille des Banyarwanda. Les Bagwabiro groupèrent sous leur autorité les familles éparses venues de tous côtés se tailler un coin dans le sol si fertile, parce que volcanique, de la plaine basse du Bugoyi. On vit dès lors affluer de nouveaux immigrants qui s'adressaient à eux pour obtenir la permission de tailler dans la brousse et s'y créer un domaine familial ([1]).

Les clients et partisans de Macchumu devinrent nombreux et formèrent un monde à part où le vainqueur des Muets régnait sans conteste, n'ayant de comptes à rendre qu'au roi.

La victoire de Macchumu lui valut un tel renom de popularité que le roi Chyilima, croyant à l'étoile de ce vaillant guerrier, l'envoya à l'Urundi, où il fut surpris et tué par les Barundi.

Les Banyarwanda, qui aiment à idéaliser leurs grands hommes, ajoutent que le vainqueur des Muets, après avoir été grièvement blessé, disparut subitement sous terre (yiligita) et échappa ainsi aux ennemis héréditaires qui lui auraient fait subir d'ignominieux traitements.

Makombe, fils et successeur de Macchumu, tua un fils d'Yuhi II Mazimpaka, Gichuko. Le prince était venu avec ses gens s'établir au Bugoyi et avait fait choix de deux collines, Bgiza et Murambi, où il éleva des huttes, sans rien dire à Makombe. Ce dernier, craignant pour son influence, vint attaquer le nouvel arrivé. Gichuko n'ayant qu'une poignée de gens, tomba accablé sous le nombre. Pris de remords, le meutrier se rendit aussitôt

([1]) Gusab' umuhoro, demander (la permission de se servir de) la serpe, tel était le terme consacré par l'usage.

à la capitale pour se disculper et s'excuser avant que la nouvelle du crime ne fût colportée par les envieux. Le roi écouta ses explications et lui donna gain de cause (1).

Les Hamites profitèrent de cet événement pour faire nommer l'un des leurs comme gouverneur de la province à la place des Bagwabiro, qui conservèrent toutefois une large bande de territoire entre la rivière Sebeya, le mont Rubavu et même au delà. On choisit le premier gouverneur parmi les princes du sang. Ce fut à Sharangabo, le propre fils de Chyilima II Ludjugira, qu'échut le fief du Bugoyi (2).

Les Bagwabiro réussirent toutefois à se faire concéder les immunités et les franchises auxquelles ont droit ceux qui obtiennent l'octroi du pilier (igikingi) (3).

L'autorité du gouverneur hamite ne pouvait s'exercer sur leurs terres que sur un point particulier et limité. Ils restaient, en effet, soumis à l'impôt dit de l'arc (umuheto), en leur qualité de réservistes (ingabo) susceptibles d'être mobilisés dans le corps d'armée (umutwe) que doit fournir

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(1) Les Batutsi, surtout quand ils sont de haute lignée, pardonnent difficilement. Les parents et alliés de la victime, les Banyigiginya, ne cessèrent d'intriguer à la Cour, pour demander vengeance. Yuhi III Gahindiro leur donna, enfin, satisfaction en leur livrant le petit-fils de Makombe, Mukiza, qui paya de sa vie pour son aïeul.

(2) Le Bugoyi est devenu depuis cette date un fief des Batutsi-Banyiginya. Des neuf gouverneurs qui se sont succédé dans l'administration de la province, un seul, Bissangwa fait partie du clan des Basigari, alliés des Bega.

(3) Le mot « igikingi » est une sorte de substantif d'augmentation, dérivé du terme inkingi, qui veut dire pilier et sert à désigner les colonnes en bois qui supportent le toit des cases.

Le rapport que voient les indigènes entre ces deux choses est assez subtil. Ils veulent dire que le bénéficiaire d'un igikingi est maître de son district, tout petit soit-il, autant qu'un propriétaire l'est à son tour de sa case et de ce qu'elle contient.

Ces petites enclaves étaient nombreuses et formaient de vrais îlots dans l'intérieur des provinces. Les princes hamites, auxquels la possession du sol conférait tout pouvoir, usaient largement de leurs prérogatives de souverains absolus et ne cessaient de distribuer des terres « franches » à leurs favoris et à leurs serviteurs. Les Bahigo et les Batembe du Bugoyi obtiendront plus tard le même privilège.

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chaque province et dont le chef est souvent lui-même le commandant (umugabe).

Les descendants de Macchumu réussirent à briser ce dernier lien de vassalité.

Les habitants du Bugoyi fournissaient originairement un corps de troupes appelé « Abakemba », dont faisaient partie les Bagwabiro et leurs partisans.

Les Bagwabiro ayant eu à se plaindre gravement de l'un de ces gouverneurs, réussirent à se soustraire à son obédience et obtinrent de former avec leurs fermiers et leurs alliés un autre corps dit des « Abashakamba », auquel le prince hamite donna comme chef militaire un autre Mututsi étranger au pays, Rugaju, fils de Mutimbo.

L'occasion de cette division naquit d'une dispute, qui se termina comme toujours par un combat où il y eut des morts et des blessés.

Un Mututsi, nommé Rugenge, demeurait au village de Nyakabungo. Se sentant le plus fort, il prit des vaches aux Banyago, parents et amis des Bagwabiro, et tenta de les chasser eux-mêmes de la colline voisine de Rubavu, où ils habitaient. Les Bagwabiro prirent fait et cause pour leurs proches. L'offenseur fut tué par Gishungwa, un fils de Makombe. Nyirandaganji, la veuve du mort, porta plainte au gouverneur de province, Nkusi, un Hamite de descendance royale, qui était en mauvais termes avec les Bagwabiro, et leur donna tort.

On croit même que Gishungwa fut immolé par ordre de Nkusi. Irrités de ce déni de justice, les Bagwabiro s'adressèrent à Yuhi III Gahindiro, qui, pour les affranchir de l'obédience militaire du gouverneur, leur donna provisoirement un autre Hamite comme commandant.

L'étoile des Bagwabiro commença à pâlir sous le règne de Kigeri IV Lwabugiri, surtout à partir du jour où Muhumuza, leur chef, fut précipité, après avoir eu les mains et les pieds coupés, du haut du rocher de Nkuri, dans la plaine de Lwankeri. Le drame dut se passer à la fin de 1894

ou au commencement de 1895, quelque temps après le passage du comte von Götzen. Cette sentence barbare fut exécutée sous les yeux mêmes du monarque, qui n'en était pas à son coup d'essai, mais à la suite de dénonciations graves et fondées qui justifiaient le châtiment.

Muhumuza était cruel. Il avait fait dévorer pour son amusement, par ses chiens de chasse, des gens qu'il avait rencontrés en cours de route. Un certain Sebinyenzi l'accusa auprès de Kabale, qui poussa le roi à agir contre le coupable (1).

L'influence des Bagwabiro ne cessa dès lors de décliner. Voyant tomber leur crédit à la capitale, ils se montrèrent moins zélés à soutenir les intérêts des princes hamites.

A la mort de Mibambge-Rutalindwa (1896), il y eut même une période de désordre et de confusion. Un certain vent d'indépendance soufflait aussi sur les habitants du Bugoyi, dont la plupart étaient originaires des contrées limitrophes et ne s'étaient pas encore complètement fondues dans la grande famille munyarwanda (2).

Frondeurs et têtus, réfléchissant peu aux conséquences de leurs actes, les Bagoyi cessèrent de payer les impôts et de fournir les prestations à la capitale. A l'avènement d'Yuhi IV-Musinga, durant la régence de sa mère et de son oncle Kabale, aux environs de l'année 1898, il fallut organiser une expédition pour mettre les montagnards à la raison. Les Bagoyi, loin de se mettre d'accord et d'opposer un semblant de résistance qui eût fait réfléchir les enva-

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(1) Après la mort du gouverneur Bissangwa (1896), quand il fut question à la Cour de lui trouver un successeur, les Bagwabiro, qui avaient gardé un mauvais souvenir des agissements de Kabale, protestèrent contre le choix qui avait été fait de sa personne et firent nommer Bushako, un Munyiginya.

(2) Les clans Bahutu du Bugoyi comme ceux du Mulera et de tout le pays situé au Nord-Est du Kivu, sont restés juxtaposés sans se mêler beaucoup entre eux. Les vendetta y sont terribles et tenaces entre les différents groupes. N'eût été la pénétration européenne, il ne se serait pas passé de jour où le sang n'eût coulé.

hisseurs et les eût peut-être engagés à parlementer, n'eurent rien de plus pressé que de se cacher ou de s'enfuir. Les Batutsi, sous la conduite de Rwidegembya, eurent beau jeu. La répression fut sévère et sanglante:

Le gouverneur du Bugoyi, qui est presque toujours à Nyanza, continue à y exercer son autorité par des mandataires (ibisonga), qui administrent le pays en son nom.

Les Bagwabiro y forment encore un clan puissant et riche.

Les Batutsi ne dédaignent pas de s'unir à eux par des relations matrimoniales, ce qui ne contribue pas peu à maintenir leur prestige. Aussi il n'est pas rare de rencontrer parmi eux des vrais types hamites.

Il est facile aujourd'hui de connaître, au moins dans les grandes lignes, les divers éléments dont se composent la littérature orale et les quelques bribes d'histoire conservées par la tradition. Il n'en fut pas ainsi dès le début et tout particulièrement en ce qui concerne l'épisode qui vient d'être raconté.

Les Bagwabiro éprouvèrent les plus vives craintes quand ils aperçurent les missionnaires (Pères Blancs) pour la première fois, le 29 avril 1901 : « Voilà, se dirent-ils, les Blancs qui viennent venger leurs frères (bene wabo), les Muets, dont nos pères ont jadis répandu le sang ».

Ils étaient les jouets d'une étrange aberration; c'était aussi l'indication que leur conscience n'était pas à l'aise.

La stupeur des gens monta à son comble quand les nouveaux venus se mirent à construire sur la colline de Nyundo, d'où leurs ancêtres avaient expulsé les étrangers. Pour des gens superstitieux comme les Noirs, il y avait là plus qu'une coïncidence; c'était de plus un présage de mauvais augure. L'avenir leur paraissait sombre. Quelques années plus tard, en 1911, les Pères apprirent fortuitement le fait qui s'était déroulé d'une façon tragique et que l'on tenait à cacher soigneusement.

Ayant réussi à découvrir le malencontreux conteur, les Bagwabiro, peu rassurés, le chargèrent de malédictions, tant ils craignaient des représailles... qui ne sont jamais venues du côté où ils les attendaient.

CHAPITRE VI

Le petit royaume hamite du Gissaka. — Court résumé d'histoire. Conquête du Gissaka par les Hamites du Rwanda.

Pas plus que pour le Rwanda, on ne connaît l'époque exacte où commença le petit royaume hamite du Gissaka. Bien que les deux monarchies semblent avoir débuté à peu près en même temps, nous ignorons tout des premiers rois du Gissaka. Les onze derniers de la série seuls sont connus.

En plus du Gissaka proprement dit, divisé en trois districts, le Mirenge, le Gihumya et le Migongo, compris entre le fleuve de la Kagera à l'Est et le lac Mugessera à l'Ouest, cette principauté hamite renferma encore dans ses limites, pendant assez longtemps, la province du Buganza au Nord et une bonne partie du Bwana-Chambge à l'Ouest.

La plupart des villages et des collines situés dans le Buganza et un peu au delà portent encore aujourd'hui le nom des chefs Banyagissaka qui en furent autrefois les possesseurs.

Tel est le cas pour les villages de Kamuzizi (Intsinda), Nyamahunde (Iruhunda), Igichacha, Igikomero, Bitsibo, Janjagiro, Lwamagana (de Nyamagana), Inyarusange (de Lusange), Kalitutu, Gikaya, Fumbgwe, Nyarubira (de Rubira), Sasabirago (de Birago), Sovu, Sibagire, Munyaga, Rubona, Mabare, Shenga, etc. Les deux personnages suivants : Gakira, fils de Kimenyi I, et Kirenga, fils de Kimenyi II, ont donné leur nom aux villages qu'ils ont habité autrefois et qui se trouvent près d'Ikawangire et Kalange. On n'en finirait pas, ajoutent les Banyagissaka, qui parlent

du passé avec orgueil, à vouloir citer tous les autres. Le petit royaume avait débordé au delà de ses frontières et s'était étendu même jusqu'aux rives Nord-Ouest du lac Mohazi.

Les lignes suivantes ne sont que la traduction d'un petit travail fait sur ce sujet par Joseph Lukamba, de la mission de Zaza, dans le Gissaka. C'est l'arrière-petit-fils de Bazimya, un des anciens rois du Gissaka et contemporain de Kigeri II Ndabarassa, qui gouvernait le Rwanda.

I. — Le règne de Kimenyi II Getula.

Des huit premiers rois de cette série dont les noms sont arrivés jusqu'à nous, l'histoire n'a rien conservé. Le premier d'entre eux, Kimenyi, régnait à la même époque que Ndahiro, le père du célèbre Ruganzu II. On ne se souvient pas d'aucun fait notable de leur vie et de leur règne. Il faut en arriver à Kimenyi II dit Getula pour avoir quelques précisions.

Le silence de l'histoire au sujet de ces monarques peut fort bien s'expliquer par le fait que rien de saillant n'est venu troubler leur repos habituel.

Son contemporain au Rwanda était à ce moment-là Mibambge III Sentabyo. Un des parents de celui-ci, Lwamaherwa, petit-fils, croit-on, du roi Ludjugira, réunit une armée pour aller attaquer le Gissaka. Il s'était fait donner la charge de général « porte-bonheur » (umugaba), ayant et réunissant en lui tout ce qu'il fallait, c'est-à-dire amulettes, charmes, sortilèges, pour vaincre les ennemis. Ses troupes étaient à peine arrivées à Rundu et à Gasetsa qu'il tomba subitement foudroyé (akubitwa n' inkuba arapfa).

Les Banyarwanda, y voyant un mauvais présage, rebroussèrent chemin et rentrèrent chez eux sans aucun butin. Quelque temps après, Mibambge III fait lever de nouvelles troupes, se met lui-même à leur tête et se dirige

vers le Gissaka, pour venger la mort de son général et parent. Il accuse Kimenyi II de l'avoir ensorcelé et d'avoir ainsi provoqué la foudre. Kimenyi fut vaincu, mais il put échapper à la mort et le roi du Rwanda dut se retirer sans avoir savouré sa vengeance. Il s'empara toutefois de la province du Buganza. La frontière du Gissaka était alors au Nord du lac Mugessera, à Kabirizi, dont les habitants furent chargés de veiller à la sécurité du royaume.

Les Banyarwanda s'étaient à peine retirés que Kimenyi fit aussitôt irruption dans le Buganza et s'empara d'un grand nombre de troupeaux qu'il ramena chez lui. A cette nouvelle, les Banyarwanda se rassemblèrent de nouveau et marchèrent sur le Gissaka. Craignant pour lui et pour son pays, Kimenyi fit appeler Muhutu, le général qu'il avait mis à la tête de ses troupes, et lui dit de se faire tuer (ngo atabare) pour sauver le royaume. Muhutu se met en route avec son fils Sekamana et gagne Kabirizi où il avait donné rendez-vous aux guerriers. On en vint aux mains avec les Banyarwanda. Muhutu se jette au milieu des ennemis et tomba percé de coups, avec son fils, qui avait voulu le suivre. Leur sacrifice toutefois demeura stérile, car les Banyarwanda furent vainqueurs. Kimenyi dut s'enfuir à Nyamuganda. De là il envoya dire à Mibambge : « Tu m'as vaincu, tu m'as réduit à un état tel que tu ne m'as laissé en toute propriété que des singes, dont j'ai pourtant une crainte superstitieuse comme tous les Bagessera (clan de la famille royale du Gissaka). Je suis ton oncle maternel, tu m'as dépouillé de tout, ne crains-tu pas qu'il ne t'arrive malheur? » (Ko wantsinze, ukaba wanyangiriye, ukangabiz' inkende zikanyarira, kandi nzizira, nd' Umugessera. Ndi nyokorume, ko wanyaze, ntibizakugwa nabi?) Mibambge lui fit tenir la réponse suivante : « Si tu veux que désormais nous vivions en bons termes, consens à ce que je conserve le Buganza et le Bwana-Chambge. C'est entendu finissons-en et réconcilions-nous, puisque nous sommes parents; considère les

provinces que je t'ai prises comme la valeur représentant l'habillement et les ornements que tu devais donner à ta sœur (ma mère) quand tu l'as fiancée » [1]. Kimenyi accepta ses conditions. Les Banyarwanda quittèrent le Gissaka et le roi, qui avait dû passer de longues journées dans la petite forêt de Nyamuganda, put réintégrer son royaume.

Les derniers jours de Kimenyi furent remplis de chagrin. Ses enfants le firent grandement souffrir. De ses nombreuses femmes il eut beaucoup d'enfants. Celle qui lui en donna le plus s'appelait Nyabarega; c'était son épouse préférée (inkundwakazi). Or, cette dernière ne cessait de lui dire : « Désigne-donc ton successeur pour qu'on le connaisse (Utang' umwami, amenyekane) ». Le roi choisit enfin celui de ses fils qui se nommait Lwanjara. Mais la reine n'en voulait pas, bien qu'elle fut sa propre mère. Elle haïssait souverainement la femme de son fils : « Prends un autre successeur, disait-elle à Kimenyi, parmi tes nombreux enfants et laisse Lwanjara ». Le roi s'y refusa, il tenait au choix qu'il avait fait. Quelques jours après, Nyabarega prépare deux petites cruches (inywero) de bière, dont l'une était légèrement ébréchée (luhongotse) et l'autre toute neuve. La première contenait du poison mélangé au vin de bananes. Appelant un de ses serviteurs, elle lui confie les deux cruches pour qu'il les porte de sa part à son fils Lwanjara et à sa bru. « La cruche ébréchée, lui dit-elle, est pour ma belle-fille, l'autre est pour son mari. » Le domestique remplit la commission, arrive chez Lwanjara, qui était allé surveiller la culture d'un champ. Il remet son dépôt à la jeune

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[1] Mibambge fait ici allusion à la coutume des Banyarwanda qui veut que toute jeune fille reçoive à l'occasion de son mariage, soit de ses parents, soit de son frère aîné (musaza), un habillement convenable, c'est-à-dire une jupe faite de peau de vache, de nombreux bracelets et autres ornements (imilinga, imihama, ubutega). C'est ce qu'on appelle (gutang' uluhande rw' inka chang ukuboko) « donner un côté ou une épaule de vache », ce qui représente à peu près la valeur d'un taurassin, prix habituel de ce que coûte une toilette de jeune mariée.

femme : « Ta belle-mère m'a chargé de te dire que la cruche ébréchée est pour toi et l'autre pour son fils », ajoute l'homme qui se retire aussitôt. « C'est après tout la même bière, se dit la femme, peu importe que je boive de l'une ou de l'autre. » Et mettant de côté la cruche qui lui était destinée, elle se met à boire de l'autre. Au retour de son mari, elle lui présente la cruche qu'elle avait mise de côté : « Voici de la bière qui vient de chez ta mère ». Lwanjara la prend entre ses mains et boit. Mais à peine a-t-il fini qu'il se sent très mal. Les vomissements ne lui laissent aucun repos. Le roi Kimenyi est mandé en toute hâte. Il arrive et s'informe auprès des personnes présentes de la cause qui avait provoqué un aussi grave malaise. On lui répond : « C'est après avoir bu de la bière envoyée par Nyabarega que ton fils a éprouvé cette violente indisposition ».

« Je comprends maintenant, s'écrie le prince. Je connais l'antipathie de la reine et je sais ce qu'elle a machiné. » Sur-le-champ il fait donner des médicaments au malade qui fut bientôt sur pied tout en ayant perdu pour la vie l'usage de la parole et de l'ouïe (agoby' ururimi, apfuy' amatwi). Pour punir sa femme, Kimenyi la maudit et la voua à tous les malheurs, ainsi que les enfants qu'il en avait eus. Les guerriers vinrent entourer la demeure qu'elle habitait et mirent à mort tous ceux qu'ils rencontrèrent sur leurs pas. Les fils de Nyabalega purent s'enfuir pour la plupart et se révoltèrent contre leur père. Ils revinrent bientôt le narguer et se vantaient publiquement qu'ils n'avaient rien à craindre de lui, qu'il était vieux (ngo ntachyo azabatwara, arashaje). Dans son malheur le souverain manda un de ses neveux, Sebakara, un des fils de Muhutu qui avait donné sa vie pour le pays : « Venge-moi, lui dit-il, mes fils se sont révoltés; ils m'ont dépouillé de tout ce qui m'appartenait ».

Sebakara était le chef du district connu sous le nom de Mirenge. Il avait pour voisin Lwamigongo, son protégé,

auquel il avait fait donner autrefois par le roi le pays de Rubago et le Bgiriri, au Sud du lac Mugessera. Les deux chefs amis s'entendirent pour subvenir aux besoins du malheureux roi. Ils lui fournissaient des vaches et du miel, pendant que les autres chefs du pays se désintéressaient complètement du vieux monarque.

Les fils du prince infortuné s'en aperçurent bien vite. Ils firent garder les chemins qui menaient à la capitale et leurs gens s'emparèrent des vivres et des cadeaux adressés au souverain. Ils ne cherchaient rien moins qu'à le faire mourir de faim. Sebakara dut envoyer désormais de nuit, pour dépister les pillards apostés sur la route. Cette situation se prolongeait depuis longtemps, quand le roi Kimenyi prit la résolution d'envoyer à l'Urundi l'autre reine Nyiramagwegwe, qui était sur le point de donner le jour à l'héritier du trône, celui qui devait s'appeler Rugeyo dit Zigama. Le jeune prince passa donc dans l'exil son enfance et sa jeunesse. Quant à Kimenyi, se voyant prêt à mourir, il manda son fidèle sujet Sebakara et lui adressa ses dernières recommandations : « Mon successeur viendra bientôt. Reste-lui soumis et offre-lui le secours de ton bras, afin que lui aussi puisse me venger ».

Le vieux roi disparut bientôt dans la tombe. Ses fils se proclamèrent aussitôt rois et se partagèrent le pays. Lugeyo-Zigama, l'héritier nommé, quitte à son tour l'Urundi, où il avait été élevé, et vient réclamer le trône de son père.

Lwamigongo, du Bgiriri, l'ami de Sebakara, alla à sa rencontre à Mazane. Sebakara les rejoignit à Musumba, près de Munege. Ils se rendirent ensemble à Kabale, la capitale du petit royaume du Gissaka. Le jeune roi fut ensuite conduit à Rugazi, à la fontaine sacrée, pour y puiser neuf fois, selon la coutume. De là il alla se faire proclamer à Murarama. Ses sujets ne tardèrent pas à faire leur soumission (baramuyoboka). Le roi qui régnait à cette époque sur le Rwanda était Yuhi III Gahindiro. Les

deux princes vécurent en paix. Le jeune souverain n'eut donc aucune difficulté de ce côté-là. Par contre, ses frères consanguins, ceux qui avaient créé tant d'ennuis à leur père, n'avaient pas voulu le reconnaître. Lugeyo leur déclara la guerre et se mit à leur poursuite. Quelques-uns d'entre eux furent atteints et tués; les autres durent s'enfuir avec leurs partisans à l'étranger, ce qui rendit Lugeyo seul maître dans son royaume.

Arrivé à un âge avancé, il connut quelques-uns des déboires qui avaient attristé la vieillesse de son père. Devenu malade, Mushongore, un de ses neveux, qui était sorcier-devin, s'offrit pour consulter les sorts (kumulaguriza) et trouver un remède à ses infirmités. Voyant que son oncle n'en reviendrait pas, il profita de son crédit à la Cour pour s'emparer de deux grands troupeaux de vaches et s'enfuit au Migongo d'où il était venu.

Un autre neveu du roi, Ntamwete, apprenant le fait, prit ce qui restait. Lugeyo mourut sans avoir désigné officiellement l'héritier.

Les membres de sa famille, méprisés et abandonnés de tous, durent quitter le royaume et l'on ignore ce qu'ils sont devenus.

II. — Le règne de Ntamwete, le dernier roi du Gissaka. La fin du petit royaume.

Après la mort du roi Lugeyo, les habitants des deux districts, dits de Gihumya et de Migongo, se donnèrent pour roi Ntamwete.

Il était le petit-fils de la fameuse Nyabarega que Kimenvi avait livrée aux bourreaux pour la punir d'avoir tenté d'empoisonner l'héritier du trône. Mushongore, son cousin germain, refusa de le reconnaître et une guerre acharnée s'éleva entre les deux partis (bashyamerana). Cette lutte fratricide (les princes étaient cousins germains) n'eut d'autre résultat que d'ouvrir le pays à l'invasion des Banyarwanda.

Ntamwete avait trois favoris : Nshikiri, Ntamavuga et Gasabo. Les deux premiers étaient originaires du Gissaka et le troisième venait du Rwanda. Ils en voulaient à Rushènyi, le chef du district de Mirenge, qu'ils jalousaient. Aussi poussaient-ils le roi à le dépouiller à leur profit. « Tu vois bien, lui disaient-ils, qu'à Gatare (un village) le chef Rushènyi trouve une bière sans eau (inzoga y' impanga) que lui prépare un nommé Bangababo et toi tu n'en as pas. Tu n'as pas davantage de ce fameux tabac de Chyizihira que cultive Rukeri (un autre indigène). Et la bière de chez Nduzi et toutes les autres bonnes choses dont Rushènyi dispose et dont il ne te laisse pas profiter! »

Gagné par leurs discours insidieux, le roi Ntamwete fit appeler Rushènyi, qui vint le trouver au village de Birenga : « Je t'ai appelé, lui dit le prince, pour te signifier que je veux prendre possession de ton pays, le Mirenge ». Des hommes étaient postés à l'entrée de la case pour s'emparer de Rushènyi dans le cas où il refuserait de se soumettre. Se voyant victime des intrigues des conseillers intimes du prince, le chef du pays de Mirenge répondit par les paroles suivantes: « Laisse-moi chercher un arbitre pour faire un partage à l'amiable ». « Je désigne Nshikiri, ici présent, reprend le roi, pour aller en mon nom choisir parmi tes villages ».

Nshikiri était l'ennemi personnel de Rushènyi. Il prit ce qu'il y avait de plus avantageux dans le pays, c'est-à-dire les villages de Gatare, Kibare, Nyaminaga, Zaza, Chyizihira, Bare, Sangaza. De plus, il soustrait à l'autorité du malheureux chef les détenteurs de ruches (abavumvu) du Mirenge : « Ce ne sont pas quelques collines que tu m'as prises, vint dire au roi Rushènyi, tu m'as dépouillé de tout ». « Telle est ma volonté, répondit le monarque, va-t'en, tu n'as qu'à faire ton deuil des villages qui ont été choisis (genda, ahongaho utowe uhahebe) ». Il ne restait au plaignant qu'à se soumettre. Il prit congé du prince et se retira.

La mère du souverain, ayant appris ce qui se passait, mande son fils et essaie vainement de le faire revenir sur sa décision.

Elle eut beau se servir des arguments les plus frappants, le roi n'en fut pas ébranlé : « Si c'est pour cela que tu m'as appelé, c'est inutile ». « Laisse donc, reprend la mère, Rushènyi en paix, ne t'attire point son inimitié ». Ntamwete ne voulut rien entendre, il resta sourd aux supplications de Gishagira, la reine-mère ([1]). Et sans perdre de temps il envoya une armée au Mirenge pour en prendre définitivement possession.

Les hommes vinrent camper dans les villages de Zaza, Sangaza, Gatare, Kibare, Chyizihira, Nyaminaga et Bare. Leurs chefs allèrent trouver Rushènyi, à Ntaga, pour se faire donner des logements (ngo abachumbikire). Rushènyi désigne son frère Gwiza et un autre homme nommé Kirangwa, pour les conduire sur les collines de Kibare, Bare et Kalemba. Arrivés aux villages de Ruhira, Mafubo, Ruhabùra, les chefs de l'armée refusent d'aller plus loin : « Nous sommes libres de camper où nous voulons », s'écrient-ils. Et sur-le-champ, la lutte commence entre les deux partis. Ce furent les Barassa, c'est-à-dire les gens de Ntamwete qui furent vaincus, ce jour-là, par les Badahigwa ou habitants du Mirenge.

Les vaincus font aussitôt demander du secours au roi qui les avait envoyé : « Tout va mal, lui mandent-ils, viens vite à notre aide ». Ntamwete se mit en route avec sa suite et vint passer la nuit à Mpembge, près de la frontière du Mirenge. Il commence par s'emparer des troupeaux de vaches que Rushènyi possédait non loin de là, dans le

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([1]) Nyina amubgira ati : « Ngwino turyamane ».

Ntamwete aratangara, ati « Umpamagaliye kuntuka'. Hal' ubgo wabony' umwana ulala na nyina ? » Nyina Gishagira aramubgira ati : « Utinye kulala nanje ? »

Ntamwete ati : « Iyaba wasaze ! Ibyo ntawundi wabigize ».

Maze Gishagira amubgir' ati : « Uk' untinye, ukanga kulala nanje, ab' aliko utinya Rushènyi' ».

Bgiriri. Il établit ensuite son camp à Kalemba, puis à Sangaza et, enfin, à Zaza. L'habitation que Rushènyi avait à Chyizihira fut brûlée. Le demi-frère du précédent, qui s'appelait Muhoza, vit aussi détruire la sienne.

Rushènyi, comprenant qu'il n'y avait plus de salut (nta makiriroye) pour lui dans son pays, alla réclamer la protection du roi du Rwanda. Il traversa le lac du Mugessera au passage de chez Rugaju et se fit conduire par deux grands chefs Banyarwanda (Nyakahinga et Rwihimba) à la Cour de Lwogera-Mutara.

Admis en sa présence, après l'avoir salué : « Viens à mon secours, on m'a dépouillé de tout », lui dit-il. Il raconte longuement au prince ce qui s'est passé entre lui et Ntamwete.

Lwogera l'écouta avec beaucoup d'intérêt et désigna un de ses hommes, Giharamagara, pour aller lui faire rendre son pays; il retint auprès de lui Rushènyi. Les Barassa ou gens de Ntamwete, ne voulant pas en venir aux mains avec l'envoyé du roi Mutara, se retirèrent du Mirenge.

Quelque temps après Lwogera fit partir une armée qu'accompagnait Gwiza, frère de Rushènyi, que suivaient quelques-uns de ses gens, Lwamuhumuza, Kirangwa, etc.

Ils vinrent par le village de Karwimo.

Ntamwete, le roi du Gissaka, apprenant que les Banyarwanda approchaient, s'enfuit de sa capitale et se rendit au Sud, à Murwa. Il avait l'intention d'aller à l'Urundi, mais en cours de route il rencontre un éléphant. Cet animal lui inspira une telle frayeur qu'il revint sur ses pas. L'idée le prend d'aller, lui aussi, trouver le roi du Rwanda, pour lui faire la cour et en obtenir sa protection. Il était déjà arrivé à Kirwa, au Nord du lac Mugessera, quand il se trouva en présence de l'armée des Barnyarwanda. La bataille s'engage aussitôt entre les deux troupes et Ntamwete fut tué durant le combat, avec beaucoup de ses gens.

Rushènyi revint aussitôt pour reprendre l'administration de son pays, sous l'autorité du roi du Rwanda.

Un mois après, les Banyarwanda continuèrent leur marche en avant et pénétrèrent dans le pays dit de Migongo, que le cousin de Ntamwete, Mushongore, gouvernait en son propre nom. Mushongore n'attendit pas l'ennemi et s'enfuit a l'Usui, où il ne vécut que quelques mois.

Ses fils revinrent dans la suite et allèrent faire leur soumission à la capitale du Rwanda, chez le prince Lwogera-Mutara.

Ainsi finit le petit royaume du Gissaka. Le roi Lwogera, après s'être emparé de tout le pays, n'évinça nullement de parti pris les chefs Banyagissaka, qui continuèrent à administrer le pays sous la haute surveillance des hauts commissaires Banyarwanda auxquels ils payaient les impôts en nature. Lwogera ne vint jamais au Gissaka (1).

Un des nombreux petits-fils de Kimenyi II, appelé Lukura, essaya à deux reprises, entre 1900 et 1903, de gagner à sa cause les Banyagissaka. Ses efforts échouèrent complètement et il dut retourner dans le Kiziba, non loin du lac Victoria, où il avait trouvé un refuge.

LISTE GÉNÉALOGIQUE DES ONZE DERNIERS ROIS DU GISSAKA.

Rois du Gissaka (2).	Rois du Rwanda contemporains.
Kimenyi I Kimenyi (3).	Ndahiro.

(1) On ne sait pas exactement l'année où se fit la conquête du nouveau fief. D'après les données obtenues, on estime qu'elle eut lieu entre 1840 et 1850.

La mère de Mutara-Lwogera était encore en vie, le roi hamite, qui était atteint de la tuberculose, n'eut pas le temps de visister le domaine que la division de ses maîtres venait de lui donner. Il mourut après un règne assez court.

(2) On ne connaît pas les premiers rois de la dynastie.

(3) Kimenyi-Kimenyi. On redouble son nom pour attirer l'attention sur lui et le distinguer des autres de même nom.

C'était le « roi » par excellence, célèbre par son savoir et son habileté. Kimenyi vient du verbe kumenya, savoir.

Mukanya.
Mutwa.
Mutuminka.
Kwezi.
Lulegeya.
Muhoza [1].
Bazimya.
Kimenyi II Getula.
Lugeyo-Zigama.
Ntamwete.

Chyilima II Ludjugira.
Kigeri II Ndabarassa.
Mibambge III Sentabyo.
Yuhi III Gahindiro.
Mutara II Lwogera.
Kigeri III Lwabugiri.
Mibambge Rutalindwa.
Yuhi IV Musinga.

NOMS DES CHEFS BANYARWANDA QUI SE SONT SUCCÉDÉ AU GISSAKA DEPUIS LA CONQUÊTE JUSQU'A NOS JOURS.

I. — *Dans le Mirenge.*

1. Gatchinya, petit-fils du roi Gahindiro. Très populaire et d'un physique agréable, il fut en butte à la jalousie de Lwabugiri, son cousin, qui lui perça la poitrine.

Rushenyi administrait la province au nom de Gatchinya.

2. Nkundakozera fut simultanément chef du Migongo. Il fut tué, lui aussi, par Lwabugiri.

3. Sharangabo, fils de Lwabugiri et demi-frère de Musinga, le roi actuel. Il ne conserva que quelques mois le gouvernement de cette province.

4. Gihana, fils de Gatchinya, fut dépossédé. Il vit retiré à Idjari.

5. Lunyange, simple Muhutu que sa bravoure à la guerre avait fait élever à cette dignité. Mort depuis.

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[1] Muhoza donna sa fille en mariage au roi du Rwanda, Chyilima II Ludjugira.

6. Mugugu, se voyant disgracié, se brûle dans sa hutte.

7. Lukagirashamba, mort à un âge avancé.

8. Gashamura, fils du précédent, vivait tantôt au Bumbogo, tantôt à Nyanza. Il faisait administrer sa province par un subalterne. Il dut être déporté à cause de ses agissements, à Gitega (Urundi), où il mourut d'hydropisie, en 1927.

9. Kagango, fils du précédent.

II. — *Dans le Gihumya.*

1. Nyamwesa, fils de Mutara-Lwogera, demi-frère de Lwabugiri, qui le fit tuer, craignant qu'on ne le fît roi à sa place. Balema, fils de Lwamigongo, un Munyagissaka, administrait au nom de Nyamwesa.

2. Kabaka fut une autre victime de Lwabugiri. Ses deux fils, Muyogoma et Murunganwa, vivent à Rukoma, près du lac Sake.

3. Mugugu administrait également le Mirenge. Dépossédé par Mibambge-Rutalindwa, il se suicida à Bulima, dans le Nduga.

4. Lutishyereka fut inhumainement tué à Mukingo avec son fils Rutalindagira et son neveu Luzindaza, lors de l'avènement du roi actuel.

5. Luhinangiko, oncle de Musinga et frère de Kabale, qui le déposséda. Il vit aujourd'hui (1929) à Rubona, sur un petit terrain.

6. Kanuma, le chef actuel, qui administre par l'intermédiaire de son fils Lukara.

III. — *Dans le Migongo.*

1. Nkoronko, fils du roi Gahindiro, fut tué par son cousin Lwabugiri.

2. Nkundakozera, le même que nous avons vu au Mirenge.

3. Nzigiye, fils d'un certain Lwishura, des Bashambo, mourut de mort naturelle. Son sous-chef fut Sheramanzi.

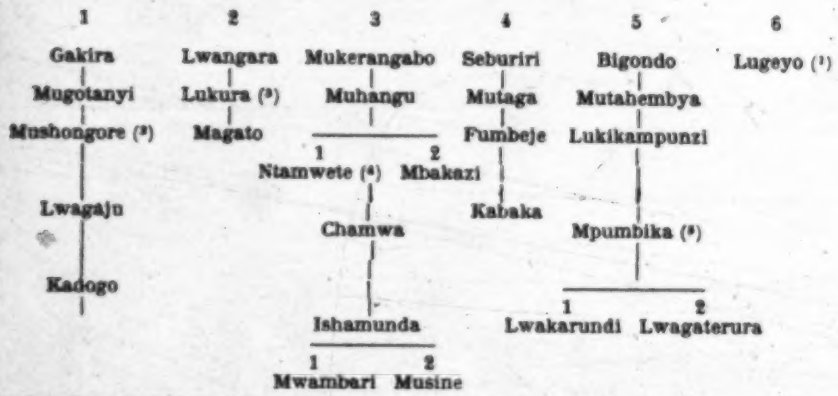
4. Lwatangabo, fils du précédent, mourut en 1917, comme son père de mort naturelle. Mpiga a succédé à Sheramanzi, son père, comme chef subalterne.

5. Mpetamacchumu, des Bega, est mort en 1918.

6. Mulingo, son fils, ne fut chef que peu de temps. Révolté contre Musinga, il est passé au Karagwe.

7. Lukarakamba a pris la succession en 1923.

DESCENDANCE CONNUE DE KIMENYI II GETULA.



(1) Lugeyo est celui qui succéda à son père Kimenyi et qui mourut sans avoir désigné de successeur.

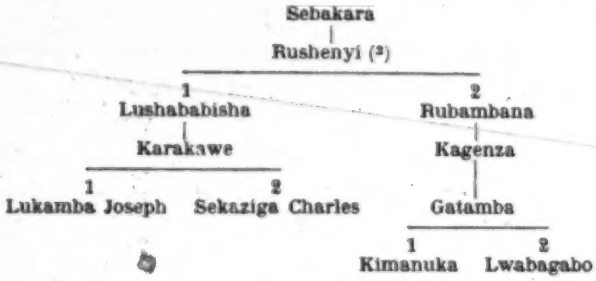
(2) Mushongore se posa en rival de Ntamwete et garda le Migongo. L'un et l'autre furent vaincus successivement par les Banyarwanda. Ntamwete fut tué à la bataille de Kirwa; Mushongore s'enfuit dans l'Uswi. Chamwa, fils de Ntamwete, fut tué par Lwabugiri. Ses deux petits-fils, Mwambari et Musine, habitent, le premier à Birenga, le second à Kibare.

(3) Lukura a essayé, en 1900 et 1903, de reprendre le Gissaka; ses sujets, instruits par les leçons du passé, ont préféré demeurer sous la domination des Banyarwanda. Son fils Magato reçut, en 1921, l'administration du petit pays de Mutara.

(4) Ntamwete se fit élire par les habitants de Gihumya et du Mirenge dont il devint roi.

(5) Mpumbika, qui vient de mourir, s'était enfui à l'Urundi, chez Busokoza, ainsi que Lwakarundi, le premier de ses fils. Le second, Lwagaterura, végète à Nyaminaga dans le Mirenge.

DESCENDANCE DE MUHUTU [1], FRÈRE DE KIMENYI II.



CHAPITRE VII

Légende de Ryangombe.

Ryangombe, fils de Babinga et petit-fils de Nyundo, avait pris sous sa protection un muhutu de nom Ntamutimuchunyi, qu'il avait comblé de biens en lui donnant des vaches et des collines. Il invita un jour son protégé à jouer avec lui, à cette sorte de jeu de tric-trac, un des amusements préférés des indigènes, dit « ikibuguzo » ou « igisoro », si répandu dans toute l'Afrique.

Ryangombe perdit la première partie.

Ils eurent beau recommencer, Ryamgombe avait toujours le dessous.

L'enjeu consistait en vaches et en collines. Le roitelet se sentait profondément humilié d'être vaincu par un muhutu. Il s'appauvrissait de plus en plus en jouant ses biens. Dans sa tristesse il se mit à chasser pour dissiper son humeur noire. Suivi de huit chiens, il tua gazelles, antilopes, chats-tigres, etc.

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(1) Muhutu fut désigné par Kimenyi pour arrêter les Banyarwarda qui marchaient sur le Gissaka. La bataille eut lieu à Kabirizi. Muhutu, accompagné de son fils Kamana, se jeta au milieu des ennemis et mourut en brave.

(2) Lushenyi, était chef du Mirenge quand Ntamwete, poussé par un mauvais conseiller, lui enleva la plus grande partie de son domaine. Mécontent, il alla trouver Lwogera, qui fit la conquête du Gissaka.

Il arriva ainsi dans le pays de « Buragur' abana », où, selon l'étymologie du mot, tous disaient la bonne aventure, hommes, femmes et enfants. C'était à Gikoro, près de Save. L'individu auquel il s'adressa consulta les sorts et lui dit : « Écoute, Ryangombe, je vais t'indiquer le moyen de faire cesser tes humiliations et tes malheurs ».

D'après une variante, un étranger qu'il avait arrêté et interrogé lui dit : « Je ne suis pas devin, mais continue ta route, coupe huit bâtons dans la forêt, tu rencontreras plus loin quatre jeunes gens qui t'adresseront la parole : « Donne-nous tes bâtons, te diront-ils, et nous te prédirons l'avenir ». Tout se réalisa comme le lui avait dit le voyageur. Voici ce que ces jeunes devins lui annoncèrent :

« Quand tu arriveras à la rivière de Limuza [1], tu apercevras quatre jeunes puiseuses d'eau. Demande-leur à boire.

» Quant à celle qui te présentera de l'eau, suis-la dans sa famille. On t'offrira des cadeaux et des vivres; refuse-les jusqu'au moment où ils te seront offerts par la main de l'adolescente.

» Quand elle s'avancera avec la jarre de lait, invite-la à s'asseoir; tu prendras une gorgée de lait, tu la lui cracheras sur la poitrine.

» Elle deviendra ainsi ta femme [2]; tu lui donneras le nom de Kajumba et l'enfant qu'elle aura de toi devra s'appeler Binego. »

Ryangombe se remit en route, arriva à la rivière désignée et rencontra effectivement quatre jeunes filles. Il leur demanda à boire. Ayant apaisé sa soif, il suivit la puiseuse d'eau et vint demander l'hospitalité aux parents

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(1) Limuza est une localité de la province du Bgishaza où se trouve une source d'eau minérale à laquelle on conduit les troupeaux du pays.

(2) C'est une des cérémonies usitées au jour du mariage. Le jeune homme se met à danser et à prononcer une sorte d'épithalame, dans laquelle il chante ses exploits ou ceux de sa famille, et dit sa joie aux échos d'alentour.

de cette dernière. Le père et la mère de l'intéressante personne le prièrent de s'asseoir auprès du foyer et lui firent offrir des vivres par les garçons. Ryangombe, suivant de tout point la ligne de conduite qui lui avait été tracée, restait debout à la porte, refusant d'entrer. Les parents députent alors leur fille pour inviter l'étranger [1].

Ryangombe, prenant la main que lui tendait son hôtesse, la suivit aussitôt sans difficulté.

La jeune fille lui ayant ensuite présenté du lait, Ryangombe lui demande de s'asseoir, prend une gorgée de ce liquide et la rejette sur son introductrice. C'était d'après les coutumes du pays en faire sa femme. Celle-ci se met aussitôt à pleurer.

Ses frères entrent en colère et veulent faire un mauvais parti à Ryangombe, qui grimpe sur un arbre. Les efforts des assaillants n'eurent aucun résultat. Ryangombe descendait et remontait sur son perchoir avec une célérité qui surprenait les habitants de la hutte. La poursuite tournait au comique.

De guerre lasse, on scella la paix avec lui; il fut accepté pour gendre. Il vécut pendant quelque temps sous leur toit. L'envie le prit un jour de retourner chez sa mère. Avant de quitter le pays il fit ses recommandations à son beau-père et à sa femme Kajumba, par rapport à l'enfant qui devait bientôt naître : « Vous l'appellerez Binego, je le veux ».

De retour à la hutte maternelle, Ryangombe se remet à jouer avec Ntamutimuchunyi, pensant être plus heureux que par le passé.

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[1] Les Banyarwanda sont fidèles à exercer les lois de l'hospitalité, surtout quand ils croient avoir affaire à un homme riche.

Quel rapprochement avec le passage de la Genèse (XXIV, 12 à 29; 42 à 54) ! Eliézer, chargé par Abraham d'aller en Mésopotamie chercher une femme pour son fils Isaac, prie Dieu dans son embarras : « Fais, je t'en prie, que la jeune fille à laquelle je dirai : « Incline ta cruche pour que je boive... soit précisément celle que tu as destinée à ton serviteur Isaac. »

Il fut encore vaincu par lui et perdit tous les enjeux. Il ne lui resta bientôt plus que quatre vaches et le panache qui indiquait sa qualité de chef des initiés.

Sa mère, Nyiraryangombe, était au désespoir...

Kajumba, son épouse, venait de mettre au monde un fils. Celui-ci grandit vite. Au bout de quelques années, bien que fort jeune encore, il devint suffisamment fort pour garder les vaches.

Il y avait un jour à peine qu'on lui avait confié le soin de faire paître les veaux qu'il en assomme trois. Ses oncles maternels se contentèrent de le gronder. Le deuxième jour, deux autres veaux perdirent la vie, à la suite des mauvais traitements infligés par le jeune vacher. On le mit sous la surveillance d'un de ses cousins. Il se prit de querelle avec ce dernier, qui voulait l'empêcher de maltraiter une des bêtes. D'un fort coup de bâton, l'irascible jeune homme lui brisa une jambe. D'autres assurent qu'il alla jusqu'à tuer son parent. « C'est un vaurien (ikirara), dirent les oncles. » Voyant qu'il ne s'amendait pas, ils cherchèrent le moyen de se débarrasser de leur neveu. Ils l'invitèrent à l'accompagner dans un voyage qu'ils firent aux eaux minérales pour y abreuver le bétail. Le taureau du troupeau était d'une force démesurée et s'attaquait aux gardiens et aux passants. Ils résolurent d'exposer le jeune homme à ses coups.

Binego et ses oncles se rendirent, au jour désigné, à l'abreuvoir... Pendant que le fils de Ryangombe s'occupe de faire boire les vaches, le taureau se précipite sur lui; sans s'effrayer, le jeune vacher lui donne de la main un fort coup sur la nuque, la bête roula inanimée sur le sol, à la grande surprise des oncles, qui s'écrient : « Cet avorton fait périr tous nos bestiaux. Il faut en finir avec lui une fois pour toutes. Tuons-le, à son tour! »

Devant cette menace, Binego prend une lance, égorge ses oncles, leurs gens et transperce toutes les bêtes. Il regagne la demeure maternelle, met à mort ses tantes et ses grands-parents. Appelant ensuite sa mère, il l'engage à prendre ses quelques effets, qu'elle met dans un panier : « Allons, dit-il, à la recherche de mon père ».

Arrivé près d'une bananerie, il voit un homme en train de la nettoyer : « Donne-moi, lui dit-il, quelques bananes, pour ma mère et pour moi ». Le propriétaire refuse et lui adresse des insultes : « Ohé! fils de chien, as-tu donc quelque droit sur mes bananeries? » Binego lui fracasse la tête d'un coup de massue. Il continue sa route et aperçoit plus loin un individu qui tirait des patates : « Donne-moi quelques patates pour ma mère », lui dit-il. « Je n'en ai pas », lui répond le piocheur.

Binego prend sa lance et en transperce le malheureux. Il demande ensuite à plusieurs autres indigènes qu'il rencontre en route, la demeure de Ryangombe. Blessé par les réponses peu séantes qu'il reçoit, il s'en venge par autant de coups de lance. Il se trouve, enfin, en présence d'une troupe de gens qui sarclaient dans un champ. Questionnés par lui, ils lui montrent l'habitation de Ryangombe.

S'y rendant aussitôt, il trouve sa grand'mère paternelle assise sur le devant de la case : « Eh donc! la vieille, lui dit-il sans la connaître, nous avons faim, donne-nous à manger, nous venons d'un long voyage. » — « Crois-tu donc, répond la mère de Ryangombe, qu'il reste ici de quoi apaiser sa faim; le maître du logis est devenu le plus pauvre des hommes. »

« Mais qui donc, reprend Binego, l'a dépouillé de ses biens? » — « Un de ses gens, qu'il a tiré de la misère, est cause de ses maux, reprend l'interlocutrice. Il a tout perdu, ses troupeaux, ses collines et même son habitation. Ce misérable, qui s'appelle Ntamutimuchunyi, l'a vaincu

à tel point au jeu qu'il est en train en ce moment de lui gagner son panache même (insigne de sa dignité de roi des initiés). » « Où sont-ils donc? » Craignant d'être maltraitée, elle ajoute : « Ne me tue pas, je vais te les montrer. » Elle indique à Binego la cour intérieure où se tenaient les joueurs. Ntamutimuchunyi allait gagner une nouvelle partie. Binego, qui avait deux lances à la main, s'approche de Ryangombe et lui indique la façon de placer les dés. « Ton partenaire ne sait pas jouer, lui dit-il, jette tes dés à cet endroit-ci, au troisième rang, et tu vaincras ton adversaire. » Ryangombe ne savait pas que c'était son fils; il suit néanmoins ses indications et arrive à l'emporter sur Ntamutimuchunyi.

Ils continuèrent à miser; Binego, de son côté, ne cessa d'aider Ryangombe.

Vaincu, Ntamutimuchunyi s'emporte contre Binego sur qui il jette des regards courroucés : « D'où vient donc ce vaurien de Mututsi? Qui est-ce qui t'a conduit ici? Je ne t'ai pas appelé, va-t-en. » Binego se rejette en arrière, brandit une de ses lances et en frappe Ntamutimuchunyi, qui tombe à la renverse, blessé à mort. La mère de ce dernier subit le même sort. « Ohé! ohé! ohé! s'écrie alors Binego en pirouettant sur lui-même, je suis vraiment un homme, je m'appelle Binego; ma mère se nomme Kajumba; j'ai tué mes oncles et mes tantes, j'ai égorgé mes grands-parents et je n'ai aucune crainte des représailles; j'ai assommé le propriétaire d'une bananerie et je suis sûr que désormais il ne pourra plus la cultiver.

» J'ai mis à mort le maître d'un champ de patates et j'ai la certitude que ces tubercules ne lui seront d'aucune utilité.

» Je suis l'espion de l'avant-garde du Libérateur, qui s'avance pour s'occuper de sa propre défense (et de celle de son père) sans l'aide de personne, pour tuer et faire du butin.

» Je suis l'homme qui travaille par lui-même, pour son

compte et sans aucune crainte avec tout son courage de Libérateur [1]. »

Ryangombe comprend alors que c'est son fils qui est venu le sauver de la honte et de la ruine...

Le roi des initiés rentra en possession de ses biens et n'eut désormais pas d'autre préoccupation que celle de la chasse, qui était son sport favori. Il se livrait à ces plaisirs cynégétiques en la compagnie habituelle de ses fils, de ses gendres et de ses familiers. On connaît les circonstances de sa mort tragique [2]. Le buffle avait une encolure puissante et de fortes cornes. Les chiens l'entourent et le mordent à belles dents.

L'animal, les yeux injectés de sang et fasciné par la présence de Ryangombe, fonce sur lui. Les compagnons de celui-ci, craignant pour la vie de leur maître, veulent attirer l'attention de la bête sur eux et le couvrent de traits. Le bœuf sauvage des forêts, que rien ne détourne, atteint le roitelet, se jette sur lui et lui transperce la poitrine de ses deux cornes. Le buffle tombe à son tour sous les coups de ses adversaires qui s'acharnent sur lui.

Ryangombe est relevé mourant. On le dépose au pied de l'érythrina à fleurs rouges qui s'élevait sur le lieu de l'accident. Le pays est dès lors devenu célèbre dans les chants et les récits. On le désigne sous le nom de Nyabikenke de Kavumu, c'est-à-dire la colline du ficus, parce qu'il s'y trouve un de ces arbres. Les bardes ne parlent de l'endroit que pour regretter l'événement et dire qu'il fut le théâtre du plus grand malheur qui pouvait arriver au pays. Nyabikenke est situé près de Kansi, dans la province du Bwana-Mkali.

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(1) Alivug' ati : Ninjye Binego bya Kajumba ! Nishe marume, nishe mukaka sinahorwa; nishe nyiragatoke kabura gikalagira, nishe nyirakajumba kabura gikura.

Ndi Bitati bya Mutabazi bitabalira kwicha, kunyaga no kuronka. Nd' umugabo witatiye agatera atatutwa, n' umutima wa Mutabazi.

(2) Livre quatrième, chap. I.

La colline est de moyenne grandeur et n'a rien qui attire spécialement les regards. Il est de bon ton parmi les indigènes de l'éviter sur leur passage. Les pâtres et les bergers n'osaient pas autrefois y conduire leurs troupeaux. Les enfants, à la recherche de brindilles et de bois sec, fuyaient l'endroit maudit.

L'érytrina y a, par contre, gagné sa gloire et son renom à cette tragique circonstance.

Les cérémonies d'initiation en l'honneur de Ryangombe et de ses compagnons doivent se faire sous son feuillage, en souvenir de la mort du maître, qui expira sous un de ces troncs.

Les dernières paroles du roitelet avaient été celles-ci : « Je m'adresse à tous, Batutsi, Bahutu et Batwa.

» Qu'ils s'engagent dans ma corporation! Je n'exclue personne. »

Les volontés suprêmes du mourant furent recueillies et le message transmis à travers le royaume.

Il est dit dans la légende que les fils, les gendres et les familiers ne voulurent pas survivre à la douleur d'avoir perdu leur père et leur maître. N'ayant pu le disputer au trépas, ils se jetèrent l'un après l'autre sur les cornes du buffle dont le cadavre gisait à côté de celui de sa victime.

Après avoir partagé durant la vie les peines et les joies de leur maître, ils voulurent encore à la fin s'associer à sa mauvaise fortune et choisirent à l'instant le même genre de mort que lui, pour l'accompagner dans ses nouvelles pérégrinations d'outre-tombe.

Seule, manquant de courage, l'esclave-servante Nkonjo ne suivit pas l'exemple des suivants du roitelet.

Elle se détourna des cornes meurtrières et ensanglantées, mais s'empara des trophées que les Primitifs ont l'habitude de prendre sur un ennemi vaincu [1].

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[1] Les Noirs emploient d'ordinaire un euphémisme pour désigner ce genre de butin. Dans le cas présent le terme consacré par l'usage est « ichebe », c'est-à-dire l'appareil glanduleux pour la sécrétion du lait.

Munie de ces dépouilles, fruit d'une victoire facile, Nkonjo regagna le logis familial. Elle se présenta à la mère de Ryangombe pour lui annoncer la triste nouvelle. Quelle ne fut la douleur de la pauvre mère. La servante eut beau brandir son trophée. Ce spectacle ne servit qu'à déchaîner la colère de sa maîtresse. Le cœur rempli de dégoût, elle jeta son mépris à la face de l'esclave lâche : « Je te maudis, misérable servante, lui cria-t-elle, ne t'expose plus à mes regards, cache aux humains ta bassesse, fuis loin de nous. Puisses-tu être réduite à ne manger désormais que des patates et à ne grignoter que du sorgho, comme les enfants sans raison ». Cette sentence prononcée, la mère de Ryangombe saisit un coutelas et s'en perça le sein.

Le récit, on a pu le constater, ne contient que d'assez médiocres détails dont l'historien puisse tirer profit. Nous le donnons tel que nous l'avons entendu raconter par les habitants du Bugoyi et ceux de Kansi. Ce sont ces derniers qui ont localisé dans leur province le détail de la fin tragique du prince. On peut classer la légende de Ryangombe parmi les plus difficiles à interpréter.

APPENDICE

Histoire de la province du Bugoyi. — Vie et marche d'une province sous le gouvernement des chefs et princes hamites.

PREMIERE PARTIE

Origines du Bugoyi. Immigration dans le pays, sous le règne de Chyilima II Ludjugira, d'une peuplade étrangère connue sous le nom significatif de « Muets » et de « Couvreurs de toits en terre ». Leurs singularités et leurs démêlés avec les habitants de la contrée.

Importance que se donnèrent à cette occasion les membres du clan des Bagwabiro [1].

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[1] Voir plus haut l'épisode dit des « Muets » ou « Couvreurs de toits en terre », sub. V.

5: Pages FO42 Rundi

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

ORGANISATION FAMILIALE, SOCIALE, ADMINISTRATIVE, MILITAIRE ET FISCALE DU BUGOYI.

Les pages qui suivent sont consacrées à des listes, à des tableaux généalogiques et à de brèves explications sur l'origine des clans, les fonctions de leurs membres à la Cour et les mœurs ancestrales qu'ils ont importées de leur pays d'origine.

Ces renseignements, qui font suite aux lignes qui précèdent, permettront, nous l'espérons, au lecteur de se faire une idée de la fondation d'une province, des circonstances qui ont présidé à son organisation et de la marche du système administratif, sous le gouvernement des chefs et princes hamites. Peut-être y percevra-t-on aussi, malgré le décousu des tableaux et des notices, la vie que mènent, les relations qu'ont entre eux et avec la capitale les habitants d'une province éloignée.

Une province a environ la superficie d'un canton français et possède des limites géographiques naturelles ou purement idéales. Le gouverneur est nommé directement par la Cour, mais n'est pas tenu à la résidence. En recevant le gouvernement d'une province, le titulaire peut trouver des « servitudes » qu'il ne lui est pas permis d'écarter : le « droit de pacage », exercé par le chef du district voisin, et l'existence au sein de son territoire de « terres franches » (ibikingi), où il ne peut pénétrer et faire valoir son autorité, sinon en sa seule qualité de capitaine de la milice provinciale, ce qui lui vaut le droit de lever une contribution annuelle sur les hommes valides.

Il arrive aussi que ce pouvoir de commander le contingent militaire de la région et d'imposer une redevance spéciale aux réservistes soit exercé par un autre chef.

Les habitants du Bugoyi, dont il est ici question, vinrent de pays différents par les mœurs et la langue et ne frayèrent jamais beaucoup entre eux, surtout au début.

Ils formèrent des clans juxtaposés, qui s'administraient eux-mêmes sous la responsabilité d'un ancien, qui répondait de l'ordre devant le chef hamite ou son mandataire et levait les impôts en son nom. Cette façon de vivre à part des autres groupes explique le maintien des coutumes curieuses au sein des clans et la sauvagerie des querelles qu'éternisait l'atroce vendetta. Les Bashobyo comptent parmi ceux qui ont conservé le plus de particularités ethniques et ethnologiques de leur pays d'origine.

Quelques familles réussirent par leur savoir-faire et leur habileté à obtenir la faveur de relever directement du roi, tout en vivant au milieu des autres. Bagwabiro, Batembe et Bahigo furent de ces heureux privilégiés.

Les gouverneurs, libres de disposer de leurs collines et des habitants, en profitaient pour caser leurs parents et amis.

Aux uns ils confiaient l'administration d'un ou de plusieurs villages. Les autres recevaient des travailleurs Bahutu (abahinzi), qui devaient en principe autrefois cultiver pour leur maître quatre jours par semaine. Ce mode de servage était assez commun. Le roi lui-même usait de ses prérogatives de souverain pour imposer cette servitude à nombre de gouverneurs auxquels il confiait ses protégés pour être entretenus de cette manière.

Les changements de gouverneur avaient des conséquences heureuses pour les uns, malheureuses pour les autres. Les mandataires pouvaient être congédiés sans forme de procès et remplacés par les créatures du nouveau titulaire.

Caractères généraux des habitants du Bugoyi.

Le Mugoyi d'avant-guerre était relativement sédentaire et vivait du produit de ses cultures. Il s'est depuis lors livré au commerce du tabac et on le rencontre sur toutes les routes du Rwanda et bien au delà avec une charge de ce précieux produit sur la tête.

L'esprit mercantile se développe de plus en plus. La facilité avec laquelle s'écoule le tabac en feuilles et les cigares, dont l'arome est prisé des connaisseurs, n'a fait que pousser les Bagoyi dans cette voie.

Ils se sont aussi transformés en marchands d'anneaux de femmes. Ces ornements, très estimés des dames noires, sont tressés avec des fibres végétales et se fabriquent au Nord-Ouest du Kivu, chez les Bahunde, qui les cèdent moyennant finance aux Bagoyi. Ceux-ci vont ensuite les troquer à l'intérieur contre des chèvres et des taurassins.

Le commerce, entre autres désavantages, a cet inconvénient que les marchands ne cultivent pas et font augmenter peu à peu les vivres sur le marché. Ils ne se privent habituellement de rien et achètent à n'importe quel prix bière, viande, miel et autres « délicatesses » de leur goût.

Les jeunes gens et même les hommes faits avaient durant ces dernières années une tendance à aller chercher fortune en territoire anglais, où les salaires sont plus élevés à cause de la valeur du shelling.

Ils reviennent généralement avec des économies très modestes, car ils dépensent sur place presque tous leurs gains en nourriture et en habillement. On cite de pauvres diables qui sont rentrés au logis familial plus pauvres qu'ils ne l'étaient au départ.

La population du Bugoyi est disséminée à travers le pays. On ne rencontre de villages que dans les endroits dépourvus de bananeries, sur les limites de la forêt, où la crainte des fauves groupe les membres de la famille ou du clan, et dans la vaste plaine du Rwerere, où le bananier ne réussit pas beaucoup à cause du vent et du froid. Partout ailleurs l'indigène a une tendance à construire au centre de sa propriété pour être à même de la surveiller. Les régimes de bananes représentent une valeur appréciable en nourriture et en bière.

La population du Bugoyi était estimée à un chiffre d'environ 120,000 âmes avant la guerre.

Peut-être arriverait-on à l'heure actuelle (1930) à en compter 70,000. Nous avons des raisons de croire que le taux de la natalité est relativement élevé. Les indigènes tiennent à avoir beaucoup d'enfants. Les vides de la famine seront bientôt comblés.

Les Batutsi sont peu nombreux, ils forment peut-être à peine un quinzième de la population. Ils appartiennent à des familles obscures, venues depuis peu chercher fortune dans le pays. Lwakadigi, l'avant-dernier chef (mandataire de Bushako), y avait attiré les membres de sa parenté pour leur confier l'administration des collines et des villages. Le népotisme est loin d'être une importation européenne. On le retrouve et on le constate sous tous les cieux.

Les Bagoyi de race muhutu, c'est-à-dire bantu, sont presque tous originaires du Nord-Ouest du lac Kivu. Les régions qui fournirent le plus fort contingent d'émigrés sont le Kamuronsa, le Bunyungu, Shari, Gishari, Masisi et Bwito, pays divers dont les habitants portent le nom générique de Bahunde.

L'arrivée des premiers immigrants, on l'a déjà dit, ne remonte pas au delà de deux cents ans. Ce fut sous la poussée des terribles Warega anthropophages que les ancêtres des Bagoyi déferlèrent sous forme de vagues successives sur la rive Est du Kivu. Les nouveaux venus s'installèrent sur les terres inoccupées et se mirent aussitôt à travailler le sol pour vivre.

Ils furent rejoints dans leur solitude par les Batutsi, envoyés par le roi du Rwanda pour les fondre et les amalgamer dans le giron de la grande famille munyarwanda.

La population du Bugoyi est relativement saine, si l'on s'en tient à une vue superficielle. On y rencontre toutefois, et le fait est commun à tout le Rwanda, un grand nombre de malheureux atteints et quelquefois même couverts de plaies. Cela s'explique aisément par la méconnaissance absolue sinon le mépris total des lois de l'hygiène. Pian,

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fièvres, bronchites, une sorte de diphtérie (gapfura) et la dysenterie comptent parmi les maladies ou affections les plus fréquentes.

La lèpre y exerce aussi ses ravages. Peut-être ne s'agit-il pour la plupart des cas que d'une lèpre bénigne, car les infortunés qui en sont affectés ne présentent pas les caractères répugnants qu'on remarque dans d'autres régions. De temps à autre l'influenza et la coqueluche font leur apparition dans le pays.

Tout en étant bons enfants, les Bagoyi sont terriblement terre à terre.

Ils ont, pour nous servir de l'expression populaire, le gosier fort en pente. Pas n'est besoin pour satisfaire cette passion de lever le coude. Le chalumeau dont se servent les Noirs leur permet de boire à même la cruche le précieux liquide, sans se déranger, sans même faire un geste. On leur reproche, à tort ou à raison, dans le reste du Rwanda, d'avoir bon appétit. Cette qualité, car ce n'est pas un défaut pour qui sait travailler, ils la partagent avec leurs voisins, les Balera, les Bashiru et autres montagnards.

Les Bagoyi ont habituellement le verbe haut; un sourd pourrait les entendre à distance. Les gens du pays ne savent pas dire les choses à demi-voix.

On racontait d'eux autrefois qu'ils étaient querelleurs et batailleurs. L'établissement d'un poste administratif et la crainte du bras séculier (européen) les a fait profondément réfléchir.

En règle générale les Noirs sont plus préoccupés de leurs intérêts matériels et ont une tendance légitime d'ailleurs à se soustraire aux anciennes corvées que le Gouvernement lui-même laisse tomber peu à peu.

On a dit des Négro-Africains qu'ils sont de grands enfants. Il faudra de longues années pour transformer ces natures frustes.

Ajoutons toutefois que malgré leur manque de disci-

pline, on rencontre chez eux beaucoup de docilité. Avec un peu de patience et de douceur, il est possible d'obtenir d'eux à peu près tout.

Le centre administratif de la province se trouve à Gisenyi, sur le bord du lac. Il s'y tient un marché quotidien, qui a remplacé les deux autres qui existaient autrefois dans l'intérieur des terres, à Nyundo et à Muhanda, dans le Rwerere. Les luttes meurtrières qui éclataient fréquemment à l'occasion de ces foires publiques obligèrent les autorités à supprimer les marchés indigènes et à les transférer à Gisenyi, sous l'œil vigilant de la police.

Du droit de pacage.

Les provinces, avons-nous dit, renferment des collines ou enclaves dites « ibikingi », administrées par des chefs qui n'ont aucun ordre à recevoir du gouverneur et dépendent directement du roi.

En plus de ce morcellement des fiefs dans un même territoire, on trouve d'autres servitudes qui limitent le pouvoir du grand chef. Celui-ci ne gouverne souvent que les Bahutu en vertu de son droit sur les terres et les cultures (ubutaka) [1], ce qui lui permet de leur imposer des corvées et des impôts en nature. Il y a quelquefois, en dehors du gouverneur, un « commandant » (umugabe), qui exerce son autorité sur le groupement d'indigènes, qui forme, de par la coutume, le contingent mobilisable en temps de guerre et qui comprend tous les hommes valides de la province. Nous en reparlerons plus loin.

Un troisième chef peut encore disposer de l'autorité sur les Batutsi et les pâturages.

Ce droit de pacage les Abega l'ont exercé en vertu d'un ancien privilège, au Bugoyi et à la périphérie.

Les Bega ont exercé un double droit de pacage dit

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[1] Ubutaka signifie impôt de la terre et vient du mot igitaka, qui veut dire terre.

(ubgatsi bg'inzogera) l'herbe de la clochette ou encore (ubgatsi bg'uruyange) l'herbe du corps d'armée dit uruyange et (ubgatsi bg'umukende) le droit de pacage sur la grosse plante d'été.

Ce terme de mukenke sert à désigner une plante qui résiste au soleil, d'où le nom de droit de pacage concédé en été seulement sur les pâturages de la province du Bugoyi. On croit que ce privilège fut concédé, du temps de Chyilima II Ludjugira, tout d'abord à un Munyiginya, Lugaju, fils de Lwamutimbo.

L'heureux bénéficiaire de cette faveur était possesseur de grands troupeaux.

Après sa mort le monopole de l'herbe échut au Nwega Lwakagara, qui exerça en outre son droit de pacage dans les plaines verdoyantes de Lwankeri et sur tout le versant oriental du Karissimbi.

Quant au droit de pacage dit « ubgatsi bg'inzogera », il s'étendait sur le Bigogo et ses environs.

Les habitants du Bigogo expliquent l'étymologie de ce terme et l'origine du privilège de la façon suivante :

Un Munyiginya pauvre, mais de descendance royale, d'un Ndahiro, croit-on, s'était installé au Bigogo. Il y vivait surtout de chasse et possédait une meute de beaux chiens.

Sur le point de mourir, il appelle son dernier-né, Lugerâmanywa, celui qu'il préférait à ses autres fils : « Je te lègue mes chiens, lui dit-il, ils t'ouvriront le chemin de la capitale et te conduiront à la fortune » (1). Le jeune héritier était aussi bon chasseur que son père. Il ne rentrait jamais au logis les mains vides.

Lugeramanywa (2) fut bientôt à même d'offrir au prince hamite de riches présents consistant en défenses d'élé-

(1) Zizakugez' ibgami, zizakwubakira.

(2) Lugeramanywa a fait souche au Bigogo et compte par ordre de descendance son petit-fils Lwabigembe, Nyiringango et Lugenera encore en vie à l'heure actuelle (1929).

phant et en peaux de léopard. Le roi Gahindiro, qui régnait à l'époque, en fut si satisfait qu'il le prit parmi ses chasseurs attitrés et le mit à la tête des autres Batutsi du Bigogo.

Les grands de la Cour ne cessaient d'admirer les riches dépouilles qui venaient de ce pays fortuné.

Ils en vinrent bientôt à les désirer et à importuner le monarque pour obtenir de sa bienveillance le gouvernement du Bigogo. Lwakagara, du clan des Abega, l'emporta sur les autres dans l'esprit du roi et devint le maître de l'habile chasseur et du territoire convoité, si riche en gibier.

Ces explications données, il est facile de comprendre la signification originelle de ce droit de pacage appelé « herbe de la clochette », allusion évidente aux chiens de chasse auxquels on attachait des grelots, pour poursuivre les fauves et le gibier.

Les Bega, possesseurs du Bigogo, vivaient à la Cour et déléguaient leurs pouvoirs à un mandataire qui ne cessait de correspondre avec eux. Chigenza, le père de Rwidegembya, y plaça Sebugirigri [1].

Les Batutsi, installés sur le petit plateau du Bigogo (ou Bigogwe) en qualité de pasteurs, échappaient aux impôts dits de la terre (ubutaka) et aux prestations ou corvées

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[1] Sebugirigri avait sauvé la vie à Chigenza, lors d'une campagne dans le Buyungu. C'est pour lui témoigner sa reconnaissance que Chigenza le choisit pour mandataire.

Le chef ou le délégué du Bigogo devait annuellement fournir à la Cour des jeunes filles (intore), qui vivaient sous la garde de la reine-mère et lui rendaient toutes sortes d'offices.

Cette contribution est restée toujours odieuse.

Les parents consentaient difficilement à livrer leurs enfants et n'obéissaient qu'à la force. Ils réussissaient quelquefois à se soustraire à cet impôt en payant au chef une ou plusieurs vaches.

Le mandataire abusait de son droit en imposant uniquement ses ennemis ou en leur soutirant plusieurs bêtes.

Les habitants du Bigogo fournissaient encore à leurs chefs du bois de senteur (imibavu), des chiens de chasse, des peaux de léopard et de chat-tigre.

(ubuletwa). Ils faisaient partie de droit et de fait du contingent militaire ou corps d'armée appelé « uruyange », sous le commandement des Hamites-Bega. Les limites entre le Bugoyi et le Bigogo, qui lui fait suite au Nord-Est, n'ont jamais été bien définies et ont donné lieu à de fréquents litiges.

Les pasteurs Batutsi du Bigongo avaient à leur service des Bahutu, qui, peu à peu, se mirent à cultiver. Des étrangers vinrent habiter à leur tour chez les Batutsi et parmi leurs gens. Les cultures s'étendirent et il se forma des villages nouveaux.

Arriva un temps où les Blancs de passage réclamèrent des vivres pour leurs porteurs au camp de la Mutura et où les administrateurs du poste de Gisenyi exigèrent des travailleurs. Les gouverneurs du Bugoyi voulurent alors étendre leur juridiction sur les Bahutu en leur qualité de chef de la « terre » et des « prestations ». Les chefs Bega, bénéficiaires du droit de pacage, s'y opposèrent en soutenant que les champs cultivés faisaient partie du territoire du Bigogo, parce que y attenant et habités par des gens qui s'étaient mis à leur service ou subissaient leur influence.

Tout chef hamite n'a qu'un but et un désir, celui d'arrondir par n'importe quel moyen son district et le chiffre des habitants. De là les procès que seule peut trancher l'administration européenne.

Le roi habitait au loin. Les explications qu'on lui donnait sur les litiges n'étaient pas toujours concordantes. Il fallait aussi quelquefois « ménager la chèvre et le chou ». Pour ne pas blesser les susceptibilités des chefs puissants et bien en cour, les princes hamites répondaient par des paroles équivoques ou renvoyaient les affaires souvent aux... calendes grecques. Aussi ne faut-il pas s'étonner si certains procès remontent à une ou deux générations.

Clans et sous-clans Bahutu du Bugoyi
(Vraie mosaïque de groupes familiaux juxtaposés).

Noms des clans.	Villages.	Lieu d'origine.
Abagessera.	Munanira et Rwerere [1].	Gissaka et Kingogo.
Abasigari (abasindi).	Nyakiliba.	Mulera.
Abazigaba (abagessera).	Luzibira.	Kanage.
Ababanda.	Rwerere.	Mulera.
Abanyambo.	Luhengeri, Mwari.	Ndorwa, Mulera.
Abassigi (abasindi).	Byiniro, Mukondo.	Mulera, Bumbogo.
Abahanda.	Nyundo.	Bwisha.
Abayovu.	Lusongati.	Gishari.
Abatembe (abalihira).	Munanira.	»
Abahigo (abungura).	Mukondo.	Bwito.
Abashobyo (abagessera).	Nyundo.	Gishari.
Abahuma.	Lunande, Keya.	»
Abahoma (ababanda).	Karambo, Rwerere.	Mulera.
Abahindi (ababanda).	Shonyi, Kanyamisuku.	»
Abakora (abalihira).	Kanama, Lumbati.	Gikore (Ndorwa).
Abalevu (ababanda).	Gatyazo.	Gishari.
Abayago (abega).	Rwerere (Muhanda).	»
Abalindwa (abassigi).	Gatovu.	»
Abatabo.	Shonyi.	»
Abambari (abanyunjo).	Cbanzarwa.	»
Abashama (abambari).	Mukondo, Nkama, Rukingo.	»
Abaziko (abahoma).	Mahoko.	Mulera.
Abagwabiro (abasinga).	Gitebe, Gatebe, etc.	Suti, Mpembge.
Abakara (abungura).	Kayanza, Nengo et Byahi.	Kime, Gatana.
Abondo (abalihira).	Shonyi, Kazo et Gishoha.	Gishari.
Abanyunjo.	Kigarama, Kivumu, Murambi.	»
Abasongo (abungura).	Gahondo.	»
Abachira (ababanda).	Kiraga.	Nduga.
Abakwa (abassigi).	Nguri.	Rutare (Bgishaza).
Abanyoni (abagwabiro, abasinga).	Nyamyumba et Gasonga.	Suti.
Abahanda (ababanda).	Nyundo.	Bgisha.
Abungura.	Gisa.	Bwito (Rutchuru).
Abalimba (abagwabiro).	Nkama.	Suti.
Abakananda.	Lumbati.	Vumbi.
Abahuku (abalihira).	Huye.	Gikore (Ndorwa).
Abanyago (abasindi).	Rubavu.	Nyangoma.
Abatembo (abambari).	Rwaza.	Kamuronsa, Gishari.
Abagongo (abasaso).	Kanyamisuku.	Gissaka et Bushiru.

[1] Les Bagessera du Rwerere forment un groupe assez important. Leurs ancêtres sont originaires du village de Kanogo, dans la province du Kingogo.

Noms des clans.	Villages.	Lieu d'origine.
Abahangara (abahenyi).	Mukondo.	Bulembo.
Abahacha (abahanda).	Nyundo.	Bgisha.
Abozi.	Byahi, Luhengeri.	Kinyaga.
Abakyaba (abanyambo).	Mwari.	Ndorwa.
Abavuna.	Lumbati.	Mulera.
Abakōko.	Lugerero.	Gishari.
Abaherege (abahoma).	Lumbati.	Mulera.
Abazogera.	Lunande.	Bgisha.
Abasagara (abahoma).	Kizi.	Mulera.
Abarashi (abatchaba).	Muhato, Byahi.	»
Abasinga.	Rwerere.	Mulera (Bugarura).
Abanengene.	Byahi.	Kime (Buyungu).
Abaziranyama.	Lugerero.	Bwito (Rutchuru).
Abungura (abakara).	Gisa, Bgitereke.	Gishari.
Abassogo (abakara).	Muhwewhe.	Kime (Gatana).
Abahango (abambari).	Bisizi.	Kamuronsa.
Abaguyane.	Mugara (Rwerere).	Nguri (Mulera).
Abateme (abaguyane).	Ruvunda.	» »
Abasindi (abanyiginya) (1).	Nyakiliba, Luhengeri.	Bumbogo (Rwanda).

Les Noirs ont de l'humour et savent s'exprimer d'une façon ingénieuse quand il s'agit de faire valoir leur force ou leurs mérites respectifs.

Les Banyoni et les Banyunju eurent de fréquents démêlés dans le passé. Ils se firent souvent la guerre. Il y eut de part et d'autre des actes de bravoure. Le nombre de combattants étant le même, nul d'entre les deux groupes ne réussit à l'emporter. On en resta au *statu quo*. Il en

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(1) La liste est incomplète. Nous n'avons pas la prétention d'épuiser la série.

Ajoutons que les indigènes sont à même de citer les noms de leurs ancêtres depuis leur premier établissement au Bugoyi. Bon nombre de ces fondateurs de clan sont les contemporains de Machumu, l'ancêtre des Bagwabiro.

Presque chaque groupe a son histoire particulière, souvent précieuse pour l'histoire locale et même générale. Nous n'infligeons pas à ceux qui parcourent ces lignes la lecture d'annales fastidieuses.

Ab uno disce omnes. La description des faits et gestes des Bagwabiro, le récit que nous allons faire de l'établissement au Bugoyi des Batembe, des Bahigo, des Bashobyo, etc., de leur bonne fortune et de leurs mœurs particulières nous renseigneront amplement sur le contenu des autres chroniques.

résulta une rivalité de bon ton, qui s'est muée à la longue en amitié, ce qui a donné lieu au récit suivant :

« L'arbre protecteur (1) des Banyoni et celui des Banyunju descendirent dans la plaine pour un combat singulier. La lutte fut longue et acharnée. Les deux champions étaient d'égale force. Ils se retirèrent sans avoir pu s'entretuer. L'arbre des Banyoni reprit sa place, celui des Banyunju fit de même. Tout en est resté là. Je vous ai narré ce que j'ai entendu, ajoute le conteur, mais je n'y étais pas (sous-entendu, quand le combat eut lieu; en d'autres termes, je ne l'ai pas vu) » (2).

La finale est charmante, le narrateur tient à faire remarquer qu'il s'agit d'une fable ou d'un apologue.

Les Bagoyi se servent de la même image que précédemment pour dire que les Bambari formaient une famille puissante.

Ils racontent que l'arbre protecteur (imana) des membres de ce clan va boire régulièrement toutes les nuits à la rivière de la Sebeya et remonte à sa place par ses propres moyens (chigarura).

Il s'agit d'un grand ficus planté par l'ancêtre de la tribu, un nommé Shagwete, originaire du Kamuronsa. L'arbre est situé près de la colline de Rwaza, au-dessus du poste de Gisenyi (3).

C'est à cause de cette tournure d'esprit que les Noirs ont de propos délibéré et par manière de plaisanterie personnifié les forces de la nature, les rochers, les cours d'eau, etc.

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(1) Chaque village possède un de ces grands arbres, ordinairement un ficus, planté par le fondateur du clan.

(2) Niko nabyumvise, aliko sinari mpari.

(3) Les habitants du village de Lusagara, dans le Bwana-Mkali, disent la même chose du grand arbre, un autre ficus, qui s'élève sur l'emplacement d'une ancienne résidence du roi Mutara. Le ficus prend une forme animale, se transforme en taureau et va de nuit se désaltérer à la Migina, qui baigne le pied de la colline. Le prince avait laissé dans le pays la réputation d'un grand roi.

Les Bagoyi ayant remarqué que les deux ruisseaux, la Pfunda et la Sebeya, qui arrosent une partie de leur région, forment à leur confluent, durant la saison des pluies, un courant rapide, ont imaginé la fiction suivante :

« Un jour, racontent-ils, les deux rivières entrèrent en conflit et se disputèrent avec acharnement. Un buveur de bière attardé passait en ce moment. Il s'appelait Kibiribiri et appartenait au clan des Abaherege (ou Abasindi). D'un commun accord, les deux cours d'eau le prirent pour arbitre. Il s'agissait de déterminer la préséance de l'un sur l'autre et de décider lequel d'entre eux laisserait son nom à la rivière à partir de son confluent.

» Kibiribiri donna la préférence à la Sebeya : « C'est » la plus forte, prononça-t-il, elle doit donner son nom à » la rivière formée par les deux cours d'eau. »

» La Sebeya manifesta sa reconnaissance au juge bienveillant en lui concédant le privilège de lever désormais une sorte de dîme (ubulenganzira) sur les récoltes. »

Clans qui avaient des morts a venger (vendetta) en 1910.

Abalevu	contre	Abatabo.
Abalindwa	»	Abayago.
Abahindi	»	Abakora.
Abahigo	»	Abalindwa.
Abahindi	»	Abahuma.
Abatembe	»	Abahigo.
Abambari	»	Abakora.
Abaziko	»	Abambari.
Abagwabiro	»	Bambari.
Abashobyo	»	Abagwabiro.
»	»	Abambari
Abagwabiro	»	Abahuma.
Abakara	»	Abagwabiro.
Abondo	»	Abahoma.
Abanyunjo	»	»
Abasongo	»	Abananira.
Abachira	»	Abalindwa.
Abakwa	»	Abahindi.

Abanyoni	contre	Abungura.
Abalimba	»	Abahindi.
Abalemeri [1]	»	Abarassano [1].
Abahoma	»	Abazogera.
Abashobyo	»	Abasigari.
Abazizi	»	Abashobyo.
Abaziranyama	»	Abaharara.
»	»	Abashobyo.
Abahindi	»	Abalimba.
Abahango	»	Abaguyane.
Abasigari	»	Abagwabiro
Abagambo	»	Abambari.
»	»	Abasegi.
Abaligira	»	Abahindi.
Abadaha	»	»
»	»	Abahoma.
Abalevu	»	»
Abumva	»	Abakora.
Abanyago	»	Abungura.
Etc.	»	Etc.

La vengeance était un droit reconnu aux particuliers, qui se faisaient justice eux-mêmes, sans que les rois ou les chefs eussent à intervenir d'une façon habituelle. L'exercice de la vendetta se pratiquait quelquefois d'une manière atroce.

L'objet de la vendetta ne s'étendait pas au meurtrier tout seul. A défaut de sa personne, les vengeurs de la victime jetaient leur dévolu sur n'importe quel membre mâle de la famille, même les enfants à peine arrivés à l'âge de raison. Heureux encore quand l'individu poursuivi mortellement atteint, tombait durant le combat. Fait prisonnier, on savourait et l'on épuisait sur lui les plaisirs de la vengeance.

Il était gardé à vue, fortement lié de façon que les cordes entrent dans les chairs et cela jusqu'au jour où les membres du clan et de la parenté eussent le temps de se rassembler.

La plume se refuse à décrire ces scènes d'horreur. La décence n'était pas respectée.

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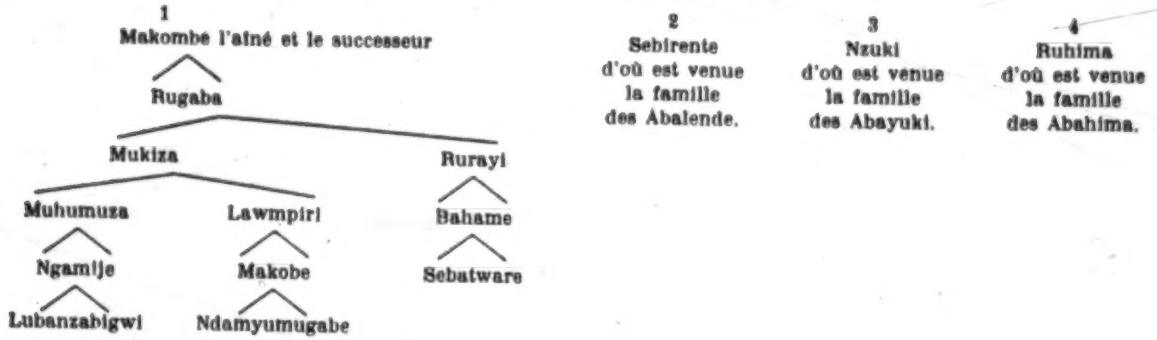
[1] Il s'agit de deux branches (ibitsina) du même clan des Bashobyo.

5: Pages F042 Rundi

Généalogie des Bagwabiro.

Machumu l'émigré eut quatre fils :



Parents et alliés des Bagwabiro :

1
Gakuru
(oncle paternel de Macchumu)
est l'ancêtre des aBakurukuru.

2
Kalimba
(frère de Macchumu) est
l'ancêtre des aBalimba.

3
Kabeja (oncle maternel de Macchumu) est l'ancêtre
des Abishaza (1).

Bakeri
Gatutsi
Mukuli

(1) Kabeja avait accompagné son neveu. Il quitta, pour le suivre, son village de Mpembe (près de Suti).
L'ancêtre s'appelait Gishaza, d'où le nom d'Abishaza donné à sa descendance.
Les membres de clan habitent à Gitebe et à Bulehe (Masizi).

Le malheureux se voyait déchiqueté ou coupé en morceaux, au milieu des cris et des insultes. Chacun des spectateurs armé d'un coutelas, d'une serpe ou d'une lance, apaisait sur la victime sa soif de vengeance, sans aucune pitié pour ses plaintes ou ses hurlements déchirants. Un bras et une jambe étaient ensuite détachés du tronc du supplicié. Les assistants les brandissaient ou en usaient en guise de baguettes pour frapper les tambours... Ces cas n'étaient malheureusement pas une exception autrefois. Le don de sept ou huit vaches et l'apport d'une fiancée pouvait payer le prix du sang, mais ce compromis était rarement accepté.

Les natures farouches se calment difficilement. « Le sang appelle le sang. » On connaît des exemples de vendetta pour l'exercice desquelles les parents lésés durent attendre plus de vingt ans, faute d'avoir trouvé une occasion plus tôt.

Gouverneurs hamites de la province voisine dite du Bgisha ou Gisigari.

1. Lugaju, fils de Mutimbo.
2. Gaga (umwega).
3. Lwakagara, son fils.
4. Nyamushanja, fils de Lwakagara.
5. Sekarubera [1].
6. Muhigirwa, fils de Lwabugiri.
7. Lubega, fils de Nkusi, fut dépouillé de ses biens.
8. Bayibayi, fils de Buki et petit-fils de Muhabga, du clan des Basinga.
9. Segore [2], fils de Nshizirungu (du Nduga), fut évincé.

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[1] Sekarubera était l'épouse du roi Mutara-Lwogera, qui lui donna la province en apanage. Elle prit comme mandataire, pour administrer la région, un Muhutu, Lutamo, père de Ntamuhanga.

[2] Le fils de Segore, Munyanshongore, obtint par la suite un petit gouvernement dans la province du Bufundu.

10. Chaka [1], fils de Bihutu, petit-fils de Nkusi et arrière-petit-fils d'Yuhi Gahindiro.
11. Lwabusisi, fils de Chigenza, du clan des aBega.

La province du Bgisha a été cédée au Congo belge lors de la délimitation belgo-allemande, en 1912.

Elle comprenait autrefois quatre petits districts : Gisigari (Ntamuhanga) [2], Mugora (Boshwenda), Rugari (Rulenga) et Kibumba (Burunga).

Chacun de ces districts était gouverné par un mandataire du grand chef.

Gouverneurs hamites du Kamuronsa [3].

Le Kamuronsa est situé au Nord du lac Kivu; il est couvert de laves sur presque toute sa superficie. La population, clairsemée, cultive des terres à laves désagrégées d'une grande fertilité.

1. Munana, fils du prince Gihana [4].
2. Marara, fils du précédent.
3. Nyirimigabo, fils du précédent.
4. Nturo, fils du précédent.

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(1) Après avoir détrôné Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, les aBega dépouillèrent les Banyiginya de leurs possessions. Chaka dut quitter le Bgisha. Accompagné de Sebuharara, de Chabukombe et de quelques autres parents, il s'enfuit au Ndorwa. Ses ennemis l'y poursuivirent.

Pour ne pas tomber vivant entre leurs mains, Chaka mit le feu à la hutte qu'il habitait et s'y brûla avec les membres de sa suite.

(2) Les mandataires connus pour le Gisigari appartenaient au clan muhutu des Abungura et s'y succédèrent durant six générations. Ce sont :

1. Nkunzinduga.
2. Chibukiro.
3. Nyamwanga, né au Gishari.
4. Maheshi, le mandataire de Lugaju.
5. Lutamo.
6. Ntamuhanga, qui fut dépossédé en 1923 par le Gouvernement à cause de son incapacité et de son mauvais vouloir.

(3) On désigne encore cette petite province sous le nom d'Ubgambari, c'est-à-dire le pays des Bambari.

(4) Gihana est le libérateur dont on célèbre le dévouement et la mort dans une légende fameuse.

5. Ruhunga [1], un muhutu, mandataire de Nturo.
6. Bazungu, fils de Ruhunga.

GOUVERNEURS HAMITES DE LA PROVINCE DU BUGOYI.

1. Sharangabo, fils de Chyilima II Ludjugira, alors régnant.
2. Biyange, fils de Ngomiraronga.
3. Nkusi, fils d'Yuhi III Gahindiro.
4. Kabaka, fils de Gavotwa.
5. Lwihimba, fils de Kabaka.
6. Lutebuka, fils de Lwihimba.
7. Ndagiyihango, frère du précédent. (Il eut pour mandataire Buki, fils de Muhabga.)
8. Bissangwa, tué à Ishangi, en 1896 [2].
9. Bushako dont l'ascendance généalogique arrive jusqu'à Sharangabo, par Lutambuka, Semugeshi et Ntunda, propre fils de Sharangabo. Il eut pour mandataires Lwakadigi et Mbishibishi, fils du précédent.

GOUVERNEURS HAMITES DE LA PROVINCE DE JOMBA ET DU DISTRICT DU BUSANZA.

1. Shongoka, fils de Gahindiro.
2. Mvuningoma.
3. Bigandura.

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(1) Luhunga (ou Ruhunga) n'était tout d'abord que le mandataire du chef hamite Nturo.

Lors de la délimitation belgo-allemande le gouverneur mututsi fut évincé et remplacé par un de ses mandataires, Ruhunga, auquel a succédé son fils, Bazungu.

Ruhunga était le fils de Chambari et le petit-fils de Bikali. Ces deux derniers étaient à leur époque au service des chefs hamites.

(2) Bissangwa appartenait à l'humble clan hamite des Basigaři.

Il fut pris en affection par Lwabugiri, qui le traita comme un de ses fils.

Bissangwa a reçu les surnoms de « Rugomb' ituri » et de « Rugomb' amashashi », c'est-à-dire Celui auquel il faut la plante par excellence, ituri ou issogi, et Celui pour lequel les génisses ont été créées; en d'autres termes, l'homme qui peut se nourrir grassement et possède de nombreux troupeaux, allusions évidentes à la faveur royale.

4. Milimo (umwega), fils de Mparayi.
5. Rwidegembya, qui eut pour sous-chef Mahame, père de Ntabyera.
6. Nshizirungu (Umwuha), qui fut d'abord mandataire du précédent. Il mourut à la Rutchuru en 1920 (1).

Chefs hamites de la province du Bufumbiro (2).

Muraganshyuro, fils du roi Yuhi.
Buki.
Kabale (3), décédé en 1912.
Nyindo, décédé en 1926.

N. B. — Le district du Bukamba, qui faisait autrefois partie du Bufumbiro, a été réuni, depuis l'occupation anglaise de ce dernier pays, à la province du Mulera.

Origine des Batembe.

Ntembe et son frère Byondo quittèrent le Gishari pour le Bugoyi et vinrent tout d'abord s'établir à Kayove, après en avoir obtenu l'autorisation des Bagwabiro.

Ils avaient déjà bâti des huttes provisoires (ibilaro) quand une grue couronnée se posa sur le toit de la case principale pour s'envoler de là à Munanira, qui a pris depuis lors le nom du clan Butembe, parce que Ntembe, confiant dans les présages, alla aussitôt s'y installer avec les siens.

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(1) Le gouverneur actuel des deux provinces du Bgisha et de Jomba est Daniel Ndeze, du clan muhutu des Basinga. Il a été intronisé officiellement en 1920 et porte le titre de roi.

Son pouvoir s'étend sur le territoire de la Rutchuru, qui comprend ces deux régions, et le pays de Shari, situé au Nord-Ouest.

(2) Le Bufumbiro comprenait encore autrefois les districts suivants Busanza et Rutchuru, administrés par le même titulaire.

(3) Kabale, l'oncle du roi Musinga et l'auteur du coup d'État de Ruchunchu, était trop grand seigneur pour prendre l'administration directe de cette région éloignée. Il délégua, pour le remplacer à la tête de la province, Nyirinkwaya, un de ses partisans, qui vit encore à l'heure actuelle (1930), au village de Zivu, dans le Bwana-Mkali.

Les émigrés, qui avaient suivi des yeux le vol de l'oiseau, y virent, en effet, une indication précieuse.

Recueillant leurs nippes et leur modeste matériel de cuisine, ils vinrent se fixer à l'endroit désigné par le sort.

Au début de leur établissement, Ntembe, pour faire vivre sa famille, fabriquait des blagues à tabac qu'il échangeait contre des vivres. Byondo, moins habile, devint jaloux de l'aisance relative de son frère. Un jour que ce dernier était parti à la recherche de la nourriture nécessaire aux siens, il coupa les pieds de toutes les lianes (imise) qui servaient à la confection des blagues. Ntembe, ayant découvert le coupable, le congédia sans retour. Byondo dut prendre ses pénates et alla chercher fortune ailleurs.

Fidèle à une habitude de son pays, Ntembe fixa en terre une branche de ficus (umuvumu) et d'erythrina (umuko) qui grandirent et devinrent les « protecteurs » (imana) du village et du clan [1]. C'étaient les deux montants de la porte d'entrée qui donne passage dans la cour intérieure. Un Mututsi, Muchankunda, de passage dans la région, demande à Ntembe, quelles sont ses occupations. « Je suis, lui répond-il, un étranger (umunyamahanga), je viens du pays de Gishari. On m'a appris à faire des blagues à tabac (impago). Je sais de plus prédire l'avenir, je suis devin. » « Fais-moi le plaisir, reprend le voyageur, de me dire ce qui m'attend à tel endroit et dans tant de temps. » Le sorcier s'exécute et se livre à ses opérations divinatoires.

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[1] Cet acte est connu sous le nom de planter les piliers à l'entrée de la cour (gushing' igikingi ch' ilembo). On donne à ces arbres le nom d' « imana », c'est-à-dire dieux ou protecteurs.

Chaque groupe familial vénère, au village où s'installèrent les ancêtres, deux ou trois de ces arbres protecteurs, dont quelques spécimens sont devenus immenses. C'est au pied de ces arbres entourés de respect que s'élèvent les huttes dédiées aux « esprits » (indaro z' abazimu) et que se font les sacrifices (intelekerano).

Il n'est pas rare de rencontrer de gros erythrina à fleurs rouges (umuko) auprès de chaque village. Ils sont pour la plupart consacrés au culte et au souvenir de Ryangombe.

Les événements se réalisèrent à la lettre, comme l'avait prédit l'immigré.

Muchankunda ayant dû se rendre à la capitale, fait part au roi Yuhi III Gahindiro de la découverte qu'il a faite d'un devin habile et puissant dans son art.

Le prince hamite mande l'individu. « Je suis trop vieux, répond-il au messager, je suis de plus un Sauvage (umushi) et j'ai mangé de la chair de poule [1]. Je ne puis me présenter devant le roi, mais puisque Sa Majesté le veut, je lui enverrai un de mes fils. »

Ces derniers étaient au nombre de cinq, Gasindikira, Bigirimana, Byatsi, Kwama, Mwambutsa. Ntembe fait appel à sa science de devin pour connaître parmi ses enfants celui qui sera l'élu du sort et qui exercera le premier à la Cour le métier paternel.

Il dut s'y reprendre à trois fois... Ce fut Byatsi qui se trouva désigné.

Yuhi III Gahindiro mit aussitôt à l'épreuve les dons et les talents de Byatsi. Le jeune devin se montra au-dessus de sa tâche.

Le prince, pour le récompenser, lui donna les collines voisines de Munanira avec la permission d'étendre les cultures du côté de la forêt (Nord-Ouest de Munanira).

La faveur dont jouissaient les Batembe à la Cour, engagea nombre de nouveaux immigrés à se mettre à leur service et à leur demander des terres moyennant la promesse d'un tribut annuel.

A l'époque de leur plus grand crédit leurs possessions s'étendirent sur les collines de Lunande, Lumbati, Kayanza, Nyundo, Kanyamisuku, Murambi, Ilemera, Mwari, Kinigi, etc. Ils comptaient parmi leur clientèle les clans des Abakora, aBagongo, aBasagara, Abahindi, Aba-

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[1] Manger de la poule était considéré par les Banyarwanda comme une infamie, une horreur sans nom, une souillure pouvant avoir des conséquences désastreuses pour la santé de l'individu et même pour ceux qui le fréquentaient.

zogera, Abavuna, Abahoma, Abaherege, Abakananda, Abatara, Abaragi, Abanyunjo, etc. Ces gens n'avaient aucune redevance à payer au gouverneur, tout en vivant sur des terres dont les autres habitants, leurs voisins ou amis, étaient soumis aux redevances et corvées habituelles.

On juge du désordre d'un tel état de choses.

Les Batembe ont reçu de plus la colline de Vumbi, près du Gishwati, et dans le Nduga le village de Bihana, près Maza. Sengabo, fils de Tabaro le sorcier-devin, en résidence à la Cour, a l'administration du petit village de Bihana. Son frère Mugabombga gouverne la colline de Vumbi.

Lors de la cession d'une « terre franche » aux Batembe, le roi spécifia bien au chef-sorcier le genre de tribut que ses parents et administrés devraient lui présenter annuellement à la capitale : « Les autres clans, lui dit-il, me fournissent des haricots, du sorgho, du miel, des cruches en terre cuite, des pioches, des lances, des couteaux, des boucliers, des clochettes (pour pages et chiens de chasse).

» Tes fils et tes petits-fils fileront pour moi des blagues à tabac (impago).

» Je vous impose désormais l'impôt annuel sous cette forme » [1].

Les deux arbres plantés par Ntembe existent encore. Les Batembe avaient autrefois l'habitude de se réunir sous leur feuillage et de sacrifier aux mânes de l'ancêtre.

Les descendants de Byondo, connus sous le nom d'Abondo, occupent quelques parcelles de terrain sur les collines de Shonyi, Kazo et Gishoha. Les Bondo sont restés solidaires des Batembe. Les deux groupes se prêtaient une assistance mutuelle.

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[1] Les impositions en nature étaient soigneusement déterminées pour chaque clan.

Dans leur répartition sur le Rwanda, on tenait évidemment compte du chiffre de la population, de la spécialité des gens, des cultures et autres conditions locales. Le chef ou gouverneur retirait d'abord sa part, une part de lion quelquefois. On offrait le reste au souverain, qui avait les membres de sa Cour à nourrir.

Ancêtres des Batembe.

Munyori.
Bgangoma.
Butati.
Gishugunda.
Ntembe, celui qui, avec son frère Bondo, vint s'établir au Bugoyi et devint le fondateur du clan des Batembe, auxquels il a laissé son nom.

Sorciers-devins de la capitale :

Byatsi et Bigirimana [1], tous deux fils de Ntembe.
Kayego.
Kwezi.
Tabaro.
Sengabo, qui est au service de Yuhi IV Musinga.

Origine des Bahigo.

Mihigo, leur ancêtre, vint de Bwito et s'installa à Mukondo, qui a pris le nom de Buhigo.

Les premiers Bahigo avaient des relations de voisinage avec les Batembe.

Mahuge, le petit-fils de Mihigo, fit la connaissance de Bijana, fille de Ntembe et sœur utérine de Bigirimana, et l'épousa.

Un fils naquit de cette union. On l'appela Bugenda.

Celui-ci, devenu grand, demanda à son oncle maternel Bigirimana, qui allait prendre le service (gukuranwa) de devin à la Cour, de vouloir bien le prendre avec lui et qu'il se chargerait de sa blague à tabac (uruhago) en cours de route.

Le jeune homme eut de fréquentes occasions d'assister aux scènes de divinations.

Une fois qu'il était seul à la hutte, un client de haut lignage se présenta.

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[1] Bigirimana eut un autre fils, Marongo, dont la fille épousa le sorcier-devin Bugenda, du clan des Bahigo, dont nous allons parler.

Bugenda se mit à sa disposition et fit jouer les os de mâchoire, comme il l'avait vu si souvent.

Il interpréta leur placement... Les événements se réalisèrent comme il l'avait prédit.

Le chef hamite en parla au roi, qui voulut faire la connaissance du nouveau devin.

« Pourquoi, dit le roi à Byatsi et Bigirimana, me cachez-vous la présence de l'autre sorcier ? »

« Nous n'en connaissons pas d'autre », firent-ils. « Il habite pourtant sous votre toit. »

« Mais c'est alors notre neveu », répondent-ils avec étonnement. L'affaire s'expliqua. Le monarque se fit présenter l'heureux élève et le prit à son service [1]...

Les princes hamites comblèrent de leurs faveurs, comme ils l'avaient fait pour les Batembe, leurs voisins et alliés les Bahigo, et leur donnèrent des terres, en les soustrayant à l'autorité des gouverneurs de la province.

Pendant qu'ils étaient en grand crédit à la capitale, les Bahigo étendirent leur influence sur les collines de Mukondo, Kigarama, une partie de Lumbati, Lusongati, Buhundu près de Nkuna et Lwamigega près de Nkuri. Leurs parents, alliés ou partisans, qui habitaient ces villages, étaient considérés comme membres du clan et n'avaient rien à payer au chef de la province.

Lwakadigi, le représentant et le mandataire de Bushako pour le Bugoyi, profita de la pénétration européenne pour s'emparer de ces villages à l'exception de Mukondo et de Kagarama.

Bihutu, le sorcier-devin, entreprit vainement un voyage en 1911 pour venir réclamer ses anciennes possessions auprès des Allemands, qui occupaient alors la plage célèbre de Gisenyi.

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(1) Bugenda, à son tour, épousa une de ses cousines, Batembe, la fille de Marongo (une petite-fille de Bigirimana), qu'il aimait. On ne lui demanda aucune dot. Il en eut un fils, Bihutu, qui lui succéda comme devin à la capitale et ne mourut qu'en 1960, à un âge avancé.

Bihutu était venu de concert avec son parent et allié Sengabo, qui revendiquait pareillement le vieil héritage des Batembe.

En plus des terres et des privilèges que les devins Bahigo obtinrent au Bugoyi, ils reçurent encore le gouvernement des collines suivantes : Nkore, Musange, Charatsi, Chabugomba, dans le Munyambiriri, et Gihara, dans le Bgishaza. Munyagishari, le devin actuel, en résidence à la Cour, administre les quatre premières; Majangwa, le propre fils de Bihutu, gouverne la dernière.

Ancêtres des Bahigo et sorciers-devins qui se sont succédé a la Cour des Hamites, a partir de Mahuge.

Mihigo [1].
Ntamugaya.
Mahuge, celui qui épousa Bijana, la sœur du Mutembe Bigirimana.
Bugenda, qui suivit son oncle maternel à la capitale, gagna comme sorcier les faveurs du roi et épousa une de ses cousines Batembe.
Bihutu et son frère consanguin, qui lui succéda.
Burumbuke.
Munyagishari.

Coutumes ethniques et cérémonies superstitieuses du clan des Bahigo.

Une hutte spéciale, et cette particularité leur est commune avec d'autres clans, est dédiée aux esprits des ancêtres. On l'appelle la hutte de Nyakirama, du nom de l'un de leurs aïeux; elle est toujours habitée par l'un de ses descendants (Ndabereye en est le propriétaire actuel).

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[1] Mihigo avait pour ascendants dans le Gishari : Mungungu, Mishungwe et Nyakirama.

A l'occasion d'une famine, d'une maladie contagieuse, d'un malheur quelconque, d'un départ pour la capitale, dans le but d'obtenir des faveurs ou la réussite d'un procès, les Bahigo se rassemblent à un jour fixé à l'avance autour de la case.

Les descendants de Nyakirama font le sacrifice d'une chèvre, don de la communauté.

La viande de la bête est partagée entre les trois groupes qui composent le clan des Bahigo, Abagenda, Mvurinka et Nyamudigi.

Les nombreuses cruches de bière qui ont été apportées sont rangées autour de la hutte.

Le propriétaire en fait tout d'abord l'oblation aux mânes des ancêtres, puis les Bahigo s'attroupent autour du précieux liquide.

La journée se termine par des danses et des cris de joie.

Dans la plupart des clans, les sacrifices se font au pied des grands arbres qui furent plantés jadis par les ancêtres. Ces souvenirs laissés par les aïeux existent encore.

Ce sont presque toujours des ficus (imivumu); la grosseur de leur tronc et leur feuillage épais attirent l'attention du voyageur européen.

Les indigènes se rendent sous ces arbres vénérables, y font l'oblation d'une chèvre, boivent le pombe apporté, frappent du tambour et se livrent aux danses habituelles.

Si les esprits invoqués accordent ce que les sacrificateurs désiraient, les membres du clan immolent une autre chèvre et offrent aux mânes de nouvelles cruches de bière que l'on boit en commun et dont on ne laisse perdre aucune goutte [1].

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[1] Les Bakora, qui se subdivisent en deux groupes, Abenga et Abahene (ou Abanyenzi), honorent et implorent leurs aïeux, les premiers au pied de l'arbre dit de Lwenga, dans la plaine de Kanama, et les autres à l'ombre d'un grand ficus, qui s'élève sur la colline de Lumbati

Mode de divination propre aux Bahigo et aux Batembe.

Au lieu de dés ou osselets ordinaires les sorciers de cette catégorie utilisent trois paires de mâchoires ayant appartenu l'une à un taurassin, l'autre à une antilope (impongo) et la troisième à un mouton.

Les mâchoires sont désignées sous le nom d'imishari ou imihundwa.

Le devin étend à terre une peau de bête; ses aides lui déposent sur les mains les six mâchoires avec au milieu d'elles une baguette spéciale de 20 centimètres environ (igichumbi) garnie de perles sur un côté et à une des extrémités. L'opérateur laisse tomber le contenu de ses mains [1], l'arrangement et la dispersion des os par rapport à la baguette magique donne la réponse... à toutes les questions.

Les devins appartenant à ces deux clans sont désignés sous le nom de « devins aux os de mâchoire » (abanyamihundwa).

Cette façon de prédire l'avenir est très probablement d'origine « gihunde », c'est-à-dire qu'elle a été importée des régions sises au Nord-Ouest du lac Kivu.

Coutumes religieuses des Bashobyo et des Bahuma.

Gashobyo, leur ancêtre, quitta le Gishari avec son frère Gahuma. Le premier s'installa à Nyundo et l'autre à Lunande.

Les descendants du premier, plus nombreux, ont essaimé à Muhira et à Kabere, mais le gros du clan occupe la colline de Nyundo.

En plus de leur manière de parler, qui dénote leur ori-

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[1] On ajoute aux osselets deux petites chevilles provenant de l'arbuste à propriétés magiques appelé mwifuzo, ce qui monte le nombre des dés à jouer au chiffre sacré de neuf.

gine « gihunde », ils ont conservé des coutumes fort curieuses qui détonnent parmi celles des Banyarwanda.

Gashobyo, en quittant son pays natal, emporta avec lui une corne d'antilope (mibungo), que ses descendants ont précieusement conservée, ainsi qu'une autre, plus petite, dite « kadende », considérée comme la fille de la première (umwana wayo), et dont on ignore la raison d'être. La grande corne renferme dans sa partie creuse des plantes à propriétés magiques et... une dent... de la foudre ! ajoutent ses crédules adorateurs.

Mirassano, l'un des anciens chefs de la tribu et gardien du précieux dépôt, eut l'occasion de s'en servir, lors d'une lutte meurtrière avec ses voisins. Il sortit vainqueur du combat.

L'attachement des Bashobyo pour leur idole n'en devint que plus profond.

L'idole a son temple, une case ordinaire qui possède deux entrées, dont le gardien est de la descendance directe de Mirassano [1].

Un jour de fête est consacré annuellement au culte de la corne. On convoque les membres du clan, qui, au jour fixé, quittent leurs villages respectifs et se réunissent à Nyundo, l'apanage le plus important du clan.

Les Bashobyo se sont cotisés à l'avance pour pouvoir offrir aux mânes des ancêtres une chèvre et de nombreuses cruches de bière, qui doivent être dégustées en leur honneur.

Le sacrificateur fait couler le sang de la bête dans un vase en bois (imbehe), nettoyé avec le plus grand soin. Le dieu lare est plongé dans ce bain fumant pour lui permettre de s'y laver et de s'y désaltérer (boza mibungo, bakayisiga, bakayishiramo ya marasso ngw' iyanywe). On fait couler goutte à goutte le liquide rouge dans la petite

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[1] La hutte consacrée au souvenir des anciens porte le nom d' « urwushu », un terme de l'idiome ruhunde.

embouchure du fétiche disposée en forme de trompe. Il faut le rassasier.

L'animal est ensuite dépouillé; de chacun des organes intérieurs : cœur, foie, poumons, reins, rate, intestins, etc., on détache un petit morceau (intonorano). Ces lambeaux sont rôtis sur un feu de braise à l'intérieur de l'édicule et distribués aux personnages marquants de la tribu. C'est un repas rituel. Chacun des respectables invités prend sa modeste part et la manige séance tenante.

Le reste de la chèvre est débité en parts raisonnables, qui sont remises aux principaux représentants des groupes familiaux. On peut emporter chez soi cette viande. La peau de la bête devient la propriété du grand-prêtre de circonstance.

Le conservateur de l'idole, qui joue en même temps le rôle de grand-prêtre, est assis sur une chaise indigène, un rondin à peine dégrossi, et tient la corne sur ses genoux.

Le hiérophante noir a la tête recouverte d'une peau de mpimbi (sorte de grande civette) qui lui retombe sur le cou.

Les assistants lui présentent une pipe, une lance et une gourde de bière, pour lui donner l'occasion d'imiter les gestes et l'attitude de son aïeul, qui agissait ainsi à cette même occasion.

Le représentant de la tribu serre dans une de ses mains une touffe d'herbes douces au toucher et appelées ikori.

Il s'en sert comme de serviette à la mode indigène et s'essuie longuement le visage et le buste. C'est faire honneur à l'ancêtre Mirassano, que l'on respecte à l'égal d'un personnage d'importance, d'un vrai noble (Mututsi), qui tient scrupuleusement à la propreté de sa personne. On lui prête toutes les qualités de bienséance.

Le digne continuateur des traditions du clan se penche et souffle sur la corne pour la vénérer et lui offrir ses hommages. Les autres s'approchent et font de même.

On se présente et l'on se retire en frappant les mains l'une contre l'autre, comme pour le salut au roi.

Le pombe est versé dans deux énormes cruches (intango), placées dans l'intérieur de la hutte, où nul profane ne peut entrer. Les fidèles se tiennent à l'extérieur devant les deux entrées.

On présente au gardien de l'idole, resté immobile sur son siège, un des longs chalumeaux qui plongent par l'autre bout dans les foudres... en terre cuite.

L'interprète des esprits aspire une gorgée qu'il rejette aussitôt d'après un usage traditionnel, suivi même dans les circonstances ordinaires. Les premières gouttes du liquide entraînent, en effet, avec elles des grains de poussière et des débris de farine ou de son (ferment de la bière), qui obstruent le tuyau de paille; personne ne tient à avaler ces impuretés.

Une deuxième lampée est humée et répandue sur l'assistance, qui la reçoit comme une bénédiction. « Grâces t'en soient rendues! » (Ukagir Imana!) s'écient d'une voix commune les heureux privilégiés, qui témoignent bruyamment leur reconnaissance en frappant des mains et en faisant des pirouettes.

L'intermédiaire des vivants et des morts de la tribu remet le chalumeau à ses suivants. Ceux-ci le portent à leurs lèvres avides et boivent à longs traits la précieuse liqueur. La foule en fait autant; on se bouscule autour de la case pour s'emparer des chalumeaux et prendre part à la fête matérielle. L'odeur de bière se répand dans l'atmosphère. Tout ce monde piétine sur place, se dispute auprès des cruches, crie et se réjouit.

A un moment donné, l'un des buveurs essuie de ses mains le chalumeau qui lui a permis de se désaltérer au bienfaisant liquide et le remet à l'interprète des esprits de la tribu, au représentant attitré auprès des mânes des aïeux.

L'homme prend alors un air inspiré, implore les ancê-

tres et fondateurs du clan, les appelle par leur nom, leur demande aide et protection pour chacun des membres présents à la cérémonie : « Si vous nous aidez à échapper à la vendetta, si vous nous donnez la victoire, si nous gagnons tel procès, si notre voyage à la capitale se fait sans difficulté, etc., nous reviendrons vous remercier et vous offrir un nouveau sacrifice.

» Nous nous réunirons de retour sur l'emplacement de votre ancienne habitation. »

Les assistants peuvent exprimer à haute voix ce qui fait l'objet de leurs vœux ou de leurs désirs : « Donne-nous des récoltes; fais que nos cultures réussissent; donne la fécondité à nos familles et à nos troupeaux; guéris-nous de nos maux, etc. » (1).

Puis, contrefaisant sa voix, le suppliant officiel ajoute : « Ne craignez pas, mes enfants, je vous exaucerai, je ne vous abandonnerai pas, je serai avec vous, je vous défendrai contre vos ennemis. »

Suivent les chants et les danses, les hommes d'un côté, simulant des combats et des exploits imaginaires, et les femmes de l'autre, foulant le sol en cadence et invoquant le nom du dieu lare protecteur de la tribu.

Les Bashobyo ont des chants spéciaux en l'honneur de leur idole :

Nous sommes des guerriers virils,
Des guerriers virils, qui avons tué sept fois (souvent).
Nous sommes des guerriers virils,
Ihii, ihii.
O notre idole !
Ceux qui s'enfuient (au combat), ce sont les autres :
O notre idole !
Ceux qui s'enfuient (au combat), ce sont les autres.

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(1) Utuh' imyaka; utuh' ukwezi. Tuhinge, tweze. Utukiz' ibigwagwa (indwara), etc.

Eh bien ! nous autres, les Bashobyo, est-ce que nous fuyons ? Nous autres, nous ne fuyons pas.

O notre idole ! etc. (1).

Les Bashobyo, autrefois, se procuraient aux frais de la communauté des poules et des moutons que les mandataires de la tribu conduisaient au Gishari, au berceau de leurs ancêtres éloignés, pour les y offrir en sacrifice.

La présence du dieu lare dans le village inspirait une telle confiance qu'aux jours d'orage quand la grêle menaçait de compromettre les récoltes, le gardien, de lui-même, sans y être invité par ses compatriotes, sortait l'idole, la promenait à l'extérieur et ... lui soufflait sur le corps.

En cas de guerre on déposait sur une natte la corne dont la pointe était tournée du côté de l'ennemi et on la couvrait d'un van (urutaro). Chaque homme devait prendre son élan à une certaine distance et bondir par-dessus l'idole. Cet acte était considéré comme un gage de victoire.

Une chute malencontreuse passait pour être un signe défavorable. L'individu auquel ce malheur arrivait ne devait pas prendre part au combat, parce qu'il était marqué par la fatalité (2).

Pour obtenir sa guérison, le malade faisait remettre une chèvre et de la bière au gardien de la corne pour que celui-ci les offrît en sacrifice à sa place... Le prêtre de l'idole, à son tour, venait avec des branches de « mutobo-

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(1) Tul' inyana (intwari).
Nyana y' umudende.
Tul' inyana.
Mibungo we ! Habûng' abo !
Mibungo we ! Habung' abo !
Mbe Bashobyo mwe ye tutangabunga !
Yee tutangabunga !
Mibungo we ! Habung' abo !

(2) Lors d'un voyage qui s'imposait, au loin, en dehors de la province, à travers un territoire ennemi, à l'occasion d'une demande en mariage ou pour aller porter le tribut au roi, on faisait une nouvelle ostension du fétiche. Les personnages intéressés lui demandaient par les mêmes sauts révélateurs la conduite à suivre.

tobo » et d'érythrina, les trempait dans un vase d'eau lustrale et en aspergeait le corps du patient, pour obliger les esprits à déguerpir.

« Honneur oblige. » On ne pouvait faire de l'huile de ricin [1] dans la case où se trouvait la corne-palladium. La maîtresse du logis se serait exposée à voir le dieu lare... boire son huile. Aussi devait-elle se rendre ailleurs, en dehors des atteintes du protecteur de la tribu, pour exprimer le jus des graines de cet arbuste.

Les Bahuma, parents et voisins des Bashobyo, suivent des usages analogues à ceux de leurs frères de race; leur dieu lare est une corne d'éléphant qu'ils désignent sous le nom étrange d' « urumaka ».

Comme celle de leurs alliés, elle est d'un âge respectable et a été apportée dans les bagages du fondateur, il y a environ cent quatre-vingts ans.

Elle a une particularité, à savoir qu'elle est percée près de la pointe d'un petit orifice, ce qui permet à son gardien d'en tirer des sons puissants, le jour qui est consacré à honorer le fétiche. A cette même occasion, les membres de la tribu faisaient résonner toutes les autres trompes en leur possession, pour ajouter une note de plus à la fête.

L'instrument que nous avons eu l'occasion de voir est recouvert d'une couche de suie noirâtre, preuve d'un long séjour dans les huttes enfumées. Fendue dans le sens de la longueur, la corne fut recousue par une main d'artiste. Les détenteurs de l'objet vénéré ajoutent qu'il fut apporté, ainsi réparé, au Bugoyi, par les ancêtres de la tribu.

Lors de la grande guerre (1914-1918), le village ayant été abandonné momentanément, le fétiche fut oublié. On le retrouva brisé. De larges plaques font défaut sur les parois qui entourent l'embouchure de la trompe.

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[1] Dans la province du Bugoyi, où l'arbre à ricin pousse avec facilité, les femmes expriment le jus de sa graine et en obtiennent une huile épaisse qui leur sert de pommade et de cosmétique. Se couvrir le corps d'huile de ricin ou de beurre rance est une marque de beauté et un signe de richesse. Ajoutons que cette façon de faire entretient la finesse de la peau, empêche les gerçures et préserve des chiques (*pulex penetrans*).

Chefs du clan des Bashobyo et gardiens successifs de la précieuse corne d'antilope.

Gashobyo.
Mwongera.
Birusha.
Bazindazi.
Mirassano.
Lutabura.
Bachinchuro (frère du précédent).
Byavu.
Bihama (démissionnaire).
Sekabungo.

Les Bashobyo se subdivisent en trois groupes : Abarassano, Abamanuka et Abalemeri.

Coutumes des Bakora et des Bahuku.

Les Bakora sont une fraction du clan des Balihira, qui habitent le pays de Gikore, dans le Ndorwa.

Quelques familles émigrèrent de ce dernier pays à Bwito, près de la Rutchuru. Elles essaimèrent ensuite au Bugoyi, à Muti, près du cratère de Bunyogwe, puis à Lumbati et à Kanama.

Les membres de cette tribu, disposés à travers la région des volcans, avaient, eux aussi, pris l'habitude de se réunir annuellement, à un jour fixé d'avance, à Muti même. On se cotisait pour l'achat de cinq ou six chèvres dont l'une était offerte en sacrifice aux ancêtres du clan, sur le lieu du rassemblement. Les autres étaient conduites à Bwito et étaient égorgées dans le village des Balihira, d'où étaient partis ceux qui vinrent s'installer au Bugoyi.

Les Bahuku, qui se sont détachés à leur tour de la famille des Bakora, vivent disséminés à travers les villages de Huye, de Bukanda (Kanombe), de Shonyi et de Kinigi. Ils ne comptent que quelques unités. Ceux de Huye possèdent une pierre de quartz qui rappelle par son volume

et sa forme le galet arrondi (ingasire) dont se servent les Noirs pour écraser le grain.

Ce caillou passe pour être la demeure d'un esprit et jouit de propriétés merveilleuses. Il est placé sur un coussinet d'herbe (ingata), dans la cour, à l'extérieur de la hutte d'un des membres de cette famille. On dit qu'il descend toutes les nuits au ruisseau pour apaiser sa soif.

Volée par des gens malintentionnés ou emportée au loin par des gens qui s'amusent, la pierre revient d'elle-même reprendre sa place habituelle. On craint beaucoup l'esprit qui s'est incorporé à elle.

Les habitants du village se croient, grâce à sa vertu bienfaisante, à l'abri des maux communs aux mortels.

On attribue le même rôle de sauvegarde à une spatule faite de bois d'érythrina. Ce vulgaire ustensile de cuisine est désigné à cause de sa forme sous le nom de rame (ingashya). Les ascendants des Bahuku (Abalihira) habitaient peut-être dans le Ndorwa, sur le bord d'une rivière ou d'un étang. L'emploi de la rame, symbolisée par une spatule, paraît se rapporter à un souvenir de ce genre.

Toujours est-il que les membres de ce groupe ont l'habitude de laisser une cuiller de ménage dans le petit marais qui s'étend au bas du village, en dessous de la grande bananerie dont les propriétaires retirent de nombreux régimes à pombe.

La présence de cet ustensile les garantit de tout vol. Le malandrin assez osé qui se risquerait dans la bananerie serait aussitôt arrêté et empoigné par les esprits incorporés à la spatule.

Les Bahuku, qui ajoutent foi à la puissance des « bazimu » et aux propriétés merveilleuses de la rame symbolique, descendent de temps à autre au marais pour élever, près de la spatule, une hutte aux esprits et leur offrir des sacrifices.

Une explication du culte rendu à la pierre de quartz paraît plausible.

Il ne serait pas impossible qu'un muhuku, ayant rencontré sur son chemin le galet, ait été frappé d'étonnement à cause de la forme arrondie et de la couleur jaunâtre du caillou. Le prendre et l'emporter devint l'affaire d'un instant. On le déposa à l'entrée de la case; il y resta et fit causer. L'imagination aidant et les années survenant, les fils et les petits-fils de l'individu constituèrent peu à peu à la pierre roulée une généalogie fictive et une histoire romantique. Il ne restait plus qu'un pas à faire pour lui attribuer une origine mystique et des vertus magiques. Nous donnons l'interprétation pour ce qu'elle vaut.

Coutumes des Basindi et des Bungura.

Les Basindi se rattachent à la tribu mère des Banyiginya (de race muhutu) [1]. Leurs ancêtres quittèrent le district du Bumbogo, il y a cent cinquante ans environ, et vinrent s'établir au Bugoyi, sur la colline de Nyakiliba. De là ils essaimèrent peu à peu à Luhengeri, à Kanembge, à Mukingo, etc.

Nyakiliba était considéré comme le berceau du clan. Les Basindi du Bugoyi prirent l'habitude de se réunir, en été, une fois par an, pour offrir un sacrifice aux ancêtres de la famille, le chef muhutu du village en question.

Celui qui était à la tête des Basindi de Nyakiliba faisait fonction de grand-prêtre et fabriquait une bière indigène dans la composition de laquelle entraient du jus de bananes, du miel et des grains de sorgho en fermentation (amamera). Cette liqueur prenait le nom d'indimburo ou isemburo.

La cruche de pombe était déposée un instant dans la

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[1] Il ne faut pas confondre les Banyiginya de race muhutu avec les Banyiginya de race mututsi. Il est probable que les premiers se mirent dès le début de l'émigration hamite au service des conquérants et reçurent en retour de leur obédience et de leur soumission la permission de porter le nom du clan des vainqueurs.

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hutte des esprits. A ceux-ci on offrait quelques gouttes versées sur le sol de l'édicule; puis tous les assistants s'approchaient et aspiraient une gorgée de liquide pour participer à l'oblation.

Le reste de la journée était consacré aux beuveries et aux danses conduites au son des tambours et des trompes.

La souche mère du Bumbogo n'était pas oubliée. Les Basindi du Bugoyi réunissaient des clochettes, des couteaux, des étuis à flèches, des pioches et des anneaux de femme et députaient quelques-uns des leurs pour offrir ces présents en hommage au chef des Banyiginya (de race muhutu) restés dans le Bumbogo.

Quand un Musindi du Bugoyi est de passage au pays de ses ancêtres, il est sûr d'être bien accueilli par ses compatriotes. Les habitants de l'endroit lui font subir d'abord l'épreuve dite de la « pénétration » dans la hutte consacrée aux esprits. On l'engage à s'accroupir un moment dans l'édicule à côté du tambour du village. Il s'agit, en effet, de savoir si l'étranger qui se présente est véritablement un membre du clan.

Si l'hôte accepte bénévolement et ne manifeste aucune émotion dans ce contact supposé avec les ancêtres de la tribu, il est reconnu comme membre authentique de la famille et traité comme tel en parent. On accomplit à son égard les lois de l'hospitalité [1].

Les premiers Bungura (Abungura) qui vinrent habiter au Bugoyi étaient frères. Ils s'appelaient Gase, Kaziranyama et Senyabucha. Leur père les accompagnait; il se nommait Shabunyeri. Quelques proches et amis les avaient suivis. Leur pays d'origine était Bwito au Nord-Ouest du Kivu.

Shabunyeri mourut à Ruhondo, sur les bords du lac, où il s'était fixé. Gase, l'aîné des fils, qui avait choisi

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[1] Les Basinga sont apparentés aux Basindi et comme ces derniers appartiennent au groupe des Banyiginya dont ils sont dérivés.

Nyakiliba, y fut enterré sur place. Les autres s'étaient établis à Luhengeri et à Lugerero et y firent souche.

Gase ayant joué un rôle important dans la communauté naissante, les Bungura le considéraient comme le fondateur du clan et ne cessèrent pas de sacrifier à ses mânes, jusqu'à la veille de la grande guerre.

Les représentants des quatre groupes se réunissaient annuellement au village de Nyakiliba, auprès de l'édicule consacré au souvenir de Gase, et lui offraient chacun deux cruches de bière au nom de leurs concitoyens.

L'arrière-petit-fils du défunt jouait le rôle de grand-prêtre, se couvrait la tête d'une peau de civette et accomplissait le sacrifice habituel. La matière de l'offrande était un mouton, parce que l'ancêtre avait, de son vivant, une préférence pour la chair de cet animal. Deux cruches de pombe étaient réservées à l'aristocratie de la tribu. Les autres membres de la famille se partageaient le reste. On dansait au son des trompes et des tambourins.

Rendez-vous était ensuite donné à Ruhondo, sur la tombe de Shabunyeri. Les chefs de groupe prélevaient encore sur leurs compatriotes huit nouvelles cruches de bière qu'on buvait comme précédemment en suivant le même cérémonial.

Coutumes et sacrifices.

Clan des Basinga.

Les Basinga, on vient de le dire, se rattachent à la grande famille des Banyiginya.

Les Basinga du Bugoyi tirent leur origine immédiate des Basinga du Bugarura (Mulera). Les membres qui composaient ce nouvel essaim se fixèrent dans la petite plaine de Rwanyakayaga, au Rwerere, puis à Bisizi, où ils se développèrent peu à peu.

Les Basinga de Bisizi avaient l'habitude de se réunir.

à un jour fixé d'avance, chez le patriarche de la petite communauté.

Le représentant de la tribu offrait aux ancêtres, au nom de ses concitoyens, une chèvre et une cruche de bière, fournies par les habitants du village.

Les dons étaient déposés un instant dans la hutte des esprits. La formule sacrificatoire récitée, on immolait la bête. Les assistants aspiraient une gorgée de la liqueur présentée aux âmes des ancêtres et se partageaient, au cours d'agapes fraternelles, les morceaux de la chèvre. On buvait et l'on dansait, au son du tambour, le reste de la journée.

Les Basinga de Bisizi députaient ensuite quelques-uns des leurs au village de Rwanyakayaga, chez leurs compatriotes et leurs voisins, pour participer à un sacrifice semblable auquel étaient convoqués les habitants de la localité. Les ambassadeurs conduisaient avec eux un taurassin, acheté en commun par les membres de leur groupe. Les habitants de l'autre agglomération se procuraient à leur tour deux jeunes bovidés que des messagers, choisis dans le sein de la tribu, devaient emmener avec la bête précédente au Bugarura, au pays de leurs ancêtres immédiats.

L'un de ces trois animaux était abattu en face de l'édicule dédié aux mânes. Les pèlerins du Bugoyi participaient avec leurs concitoyens du Bugarura au repas sacré et se livraient aux réjouissaces traditionnelles.

Les deux autres taurassins étaient offerts en hommage aux Basinga du Bugarura, qui en disposaient en toute propriété.

Ces fêtes et ces cérémonies rituelles avaient lieu, autrefois, une fois par an.

La fréquentation des Blancs et la pénétration de la civilisation européenne ont porté un coup mortel à la célébration publique des rites ancestraux.

Le clan des Bahanda.
(Crédulité indigène.)

Le clan qui fournit des membres au monde des esprits, connus sous le nom de « Mpatcha » et dont la demeure est le volcan de Nyamulagira, est celui des Bahanda.

Quand l'un de ceux-ci vient à décéder, on recouvre la tombe d'un petit toit en paille (uruhiza). Le défunt désincarné se relève presque aussitôt avec les vêtements et les ornements laissés sur son cadavre et va rejoindre la foule des esprits. Il prend avec lui quelques-uns de ses nouveaux compagnons et rapporte à sa famille les objets qui avaient été déposés avec son corps dans la fosse. Le voyage se fait de nuit, pour ne pas porter malheur aux membres de la parenté, car le spectre des Mpatcha fait mourir les vivants.

Les proches ou enfants de celui qui est entré récemment dans le monde de Mpatcha placent une cruche de bière dans la hutte consacrée aux esprits. Ceux-ci profitent des ténèbres pour venir boire et se réjouir. Leurs cris et leurs danses retentissent au loin; les habitants de l'endroit gardent et pour cause un profond silence.

Quand un membre du clan meurt, on entend les esprits gémir et pleurer montrant par là la part qu'ils prennent au deuil de la famille.

On croit que ces sortes d'esprits se nourrissent des troncs de bananier que les indigènes abattent après avoir cueilli leur régime.

Lorsqu'un Muhanda veut s'asseoir dans l'intérieur de sa hutte, il doit s'appuyer sur les paravents (insika) qui partagent l'habitation en deux compartiments, pour que nul ne puisse passer avec du feu entre la cloison et lui, ce qui l'exposerait à mourir.

Par contre, désire-t-il cultiver un champ, il prépare plusieurs cruches de bière qu'il dépose sur le terrain choisi à cet effet. Les esprits viendront eux-mêmes piocher de

nuit... et videront les cruches. Le propriétaire de la pièce défrichée et ensemencée s'y prend de même pour le sarclage. Le travail terminé, les esprits organisent des rondes autour du pombe [1]. Dans la tribu des Bahanda, les vivants et les morts se rendent des services réciproques.

Les Bahanda inspiraient autrefois autour d'eux une crainte superstitieuse et pratiquaient l'endogomie. Leurs fils et leurs filles ne trouvaient pas à se marier en dehors du clan, par crainte des Mpatcha dont on redoutait les méfaits. Depuis qu'ils ont noué des relations matrimonales avec les Bagessera (qui exercent une grande influence sur les esprits), on n'entend plus parler, disent les Bagoyi, de ces étranges choses.

Influence des esprits des ancêtres sur la vie journalière des Noirs.

Cette influence des esprits est continuelle. Bien des actes de la vie quotidienne sont inspirés par le sentiment de leur présence et le danger qu'il y aurait à ne pas les traiter conformément aux usages en vigueur dans le pays ou dans le clan.

On ne se préoccupe habituellement pas beaucoup des enfants morts en bas-âge, des femmes du commun, des individus de médiocre importance. Les chefs, les pères de famille, les vieillards ayant joué un certain rôle dans le groupe familial conservent après la mort la même importance.

Ils occupent une grande place dans les préoccupations de leurs descendants.

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(1) On leur prête le chant et les paroles suivants :
Frappez les mains en cadence ! Que les enfants se livrent à la danse !
Frappez les mains en cadence ! Que les enfants se livrent à la danse !
Frappez les mains en cadence !...
Chulira ! Abana babyine !
Chulira ! Abana babyine !
Chulira !

L'un d'entre ces derniers, on l'a constaté dans les pages précédentes, est chargé de représenter le mort, de « jouer son rôle en chair et en os », de l'imiter en tout, de le continuer au milieu des siens, durant les cérémonies rituelles, lors des sacrifices publics ou privés.

Celui qui prend la place du mort s'inspire autant que faire se peut des habitudes et des goûts du personnage qu'il fait revivre. Il doit le figurer avec ses défauts physiques, ses passions mêmes et avoir son attitude extérieure.

Le fils d'un chasseur, voulant se rendre favorable l'esprit de son père, s'affuble du même costume que l'auteur de ses jours. Il se jette sur la tête une peau de civette, d'après un usage emprunté, semble-t-il, aux gens du Buhunde (Nord-Ouest du lac Kivu).

Le jeune homme se présente devant l'édicule, ainsi affublé, armé d'une lance, d'un arc et d'une massue, comme en portait son père.

Il est entouré de chiens auxquels on a suspendu de nombreux grelots. Si le fils est dépourvu de meute, il peut à cette occasion emprunter à ses voisins ou à ses amis les animaux dont il a besoin :

« Père, crie-t-il à haute voix, tu aimais le gibier. Je vais comme toi à la chasse. Regarde, je suis armé, les chiens me suivent. Fasse que ma course dans la forêt ne soit pas inutile. Si je suis heureux à la chasse, je t'offrirai ma venaison en cadeau. » Au retour de la battue cynégétique, le cadavre de l'animal est déposé à l'entrée de la hutte de l'esprit; le fils en fait don à son père. S'il s'agit d'une bête dont la chair ne se mange pas, on va la dépouiller plus loin. La peau est ensuite suspendue dans l'édicule.

Dans le cas où le gibier tué à la chasse est une viande comestible et ne fait pas l'objet d'un tabou, le jeune chasseur l'offre en sacrifice à l'auteur de ses jours, en suivant les rites habituels. On fait griller sur place quelques lambeaux de chair, comme on l'a déjà dit. Le reste de la bête

est emporté à la maison pour être préparé comme une viande ordinaire. Il faut déposer la peau un instant dans la hutte de l'esprit. Le propriétaire l'utilise ensuite comme il l'entend.

Le fils d'un propriétaire de vaches agira en pasteur pour se concilier les faveurs de son père défunt.

Le troupeau est amené devant l'édicule. Prenant la parole, l'héritier dit : « Père, voici les vaches qui t'appartiennent toujours. Je te les présente. Aucune n'a été vendue. Fais qu'elles se développent et que nous ayons de nouvelles génisses. Écarte d'elles les épizooties ». La plus belle du troupeau, c'est-à-dire celle qui a vêlé le plus souvent (urusugi) et à laquelle l'ancien propriétaire attachait un grand prix, est mise en avant comme pour réjouir le cœur du possesseur décédé et lui rappeler l'attachement qu'il portait à la bête.

Le pasteur asperge les animaux d'eau lustrale (eau de craie) au moyen d'une poignée de branches douées, d'après la crédulité publique, de propriétés magiques.

Les aides traient les vaches sur place au nom et pour le profit supposé du défunt. Quelques gouttes de lait sont en réalité versées dans un récipient hors d'usage et abandonnées dans l'édicule. L'autre quantité du liquide est employée comme d'habitude pour les besoins du ménage et chacune des personnes présentes va vaquer à ses occupations journalières.

Le fils d'un forgeron décédé « forge » en l'honneur de son père.

S'avançant devant l'édicule construit en souvenir du défunt, il frappe l'un contre l'autre les deux marteaux de l'atelier. Le son de ces outils ne peut être qu'agréable aux oreilles de celui qui a disparu d'entre les vivants.

A défaut de marteaux personnels, le fils peut en emprunter ailleurs ou se procurer de vieilles haches dont il fait le même usage que précédemment.

Si l'affection qu'il porte a son père est profonde et s'il

se trouve dans un besoin pressant, il transporte l'enclume lui-même, c'est-à-dire la grosse pierre qui en fait office, à l'entrée de l'édicule et se met à forger d'une façon sérieuse ou imaginaire. L'auteur de ses jours, d'après les croyances indigènes, n'y voit aucune différence et prend un extrême plaisir à écouter le bruit des marteaux. C'est un travail fait en son honneur, qui lui rappelle ses anciennes occupations. Les quémandeurs et les suppliants offrent toujours, dans ces circonstances, aux esprits de leurs ancêtres, les mets : viande, pain de sorgho, etc., ou les liquides : lait, vin de bananes, pombe de sorgho ou d'éleusine, hydromel, etc., qui avaient leur préférence durant leur vie mortelle.

Pas n'est besoin d'en mettre beaucoup dans l'édicule. Quelques gouttes de bière ou de lait, quelques bouchées de viande ou de nourriture suffisent à apaiser les mânes. Les vivants font ensuite bombance en leur honneur.

Les esprits ne peuvent que s'en réjouir.

La guérison d'un malade, la naissance d'un enfant, la réussite d'un procès, etc., dépendent de cette conduite, variable d'après les états et les situations qu'occupaient les morts de la tribu.

KARENGE, LE VOLEUR DE GRANDS CHEMINS.

Karenge était de race muhutu et appartenait au clan des Banyoni. Il avait établi son domicile dans la forêt du Kanage, non loin de la rivière Pfunda.

Aidé de ses fils et des quelques gens qui s'étaient mis à son service, il razziait les passants et vivait du produit de ses fructueuses rapines.

On le craignait partout à la ronde; nul ne songeait à le déloger de son repaire, situé en plein carrefour et d'où il était facile de surveiller les abords.

Karenge dépouilla un jour un individu qui lui avait rendu service et croyait pouvoir compter sur sa bienveillance.

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Blessé au plus intime de son être, l'ami lésé refoula dans son cœur le juste ressentiment de l'injustice commise à son égard et attendit une occasion favorable. Quelques mois s'écoulèrent. Karenge fut un beau jour invité à un repas de noces par son ancienne victime.

Accompagné d'un de ses fils, il se rendit sans aucune défiance à la demeure de celui qui l'avait appelé.

Les bières étaient du meilleur cru, abondantes et sans eau. L'amphitryon avait d'excellentes raisons pour bien traiter ses hôtes. Karenge fit honneur au festin. Il n'avait plus tous ses esprits quand il quitta le logis hospitalier. Le maître de la hutte voulut, selon l'usage, lui faire un pas de conduite.

L'ami n'avait rien oublié, les circonstances étaient propices. Il prend sa lance, en perce le voleur redouté et celui des fils qui l'avait accompagné. Leurs cadavres restèrent sur le chemin.

Les membres de la famille de Karenge, ne voyant pas revenir leur maître, allèrent aux nouvelles. Ils furent bientôt instruits de ce qui s'était passé.

Craignant de subir le même sort, ils abandonnèrent leur retraite et allèrent se fixer au loin. On n'entendit plus parler d'eux.

Il reste encore quelques arbres, des ficus, qui indiquent l'emplacement de la demeure du brigand. C'est un lieu de halte connu sous le nom devenu historique d'« ancienne place de la Hutte de Karenge » (rya Karenge).

Histoire de Sentama et du clan des Bashongo.

Sentama était de race mututsi et faisait partie du clan des Bega. Il habitait l'Urundi.

Sa sœur Myariro, d'une grande beauté, plut au roi de l'Urundi, qui l'épousa.

Les relations entre beaux-frères furent d'abord excellentes. Les courtisans les brouillèrent dans la suite.

Mutaga conçut à la longue une si vive inimitié qu'il résolut de mettre à mort son ancien favori.

Myariro eut vent de ce projet. Son frère étant venu à la Cour comme d'habitude, le roi, qui cachait son dessein, lui fit servir à boire. La jeune femme était réputée bonne joueuse de cithare. Elle entonna un chant pour prévenir son frère du sort qui l'attendait : « Bois (avec modération); si tu perds la raison, je te maudis; garde-toi bien de refuser la liqueur. Bois, mais ne finis pas la cruche » (1). Sentama comprend le langage de sa sœur, se tient sur le qui vive? et rentre chez lui avec tous ses esprits.

Myariro lui députe aussitôt un serviteur de son entourage chargé d'un petit panier dans lequel se trouvent deux fleurs de bananes transpercées chacune d'une alène et de l'herbe couleur de sang dite « umwisheke », pour rendre le message plus expressif : « Si l'on te demande, dit-elle au mutwa porteur de ces fruits-fleurs, ce que contient la corbeille, réponds qu'il s'agit de poussins pour la divination ». L'homme arrive avec son singulier dépôt. Sentama voit qu'il n'y pas de temps à perdre. Il s'enfuit sur-le-champ, traverse la frontière qui sépare l'Urundi du Rwanda et vient s'installer dans la province du Gisigari, où il ne resta que peu de temps.

C'était sous le règne de Chyilima, auquel l'émigré murundi avait dû tout d'abord demander l'autorisation de vivre dans son royaume.

A la suite d'une querelle avec les chefs du Gisigari, Sentama transporta ses pénates à Gahondo, au Nord-Est du Kivu.

Il réussit peu à peu à étendre son influence sur les habitants de la contrée. On ne sait plus au juste si le roi du

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(1) Usome, uyisinde, nkugaye. Kandi nuyanga, nkugaye. Ntunywe ng' ushiriire mu kibindi.

Le sens de cette dernière phrase est le suivant : Que la cruche ne soit pas pour toi l'occasion qu'on cherche de te tuer.

(2) Uti, umulorer' iyo nkoko.

Rwanda lui avait donné le pays ou si c'est Sentama lui-même qui prit de l'ascendant sur ses voisins et se mit à les gouverner. Les gens lui obéirent docilement.

Il avait pris comme aide un indigène de la région, nommé Gikuni.

Celui-ci ayant de petites rancunes à satisfaire, imposa un lourd tribut à un de ses compatriotes, Mushongo, pêcheur de son métier. Les cultivateurs devaient fournir des pois et des haricots pour la capitale. Mushongo fut invité à remplir un grenier (ikigega) du produit de ses pêches.

Le gros panier de roseaux était rempli à moitié quand Mushongo, lassé et irrité des mauvais procédés dont on usait à son égard, se vengea d'une façon originale. Un de ses aides se rendit de nuit dans la cour de Gikuni, s'installa sur la provision de poissons et... les souilla.

Mushongo, jouant au personnage lésé et insulté, se posa en victime. « On a souillé les provisions du roi! »

Il alla dénoncer le crime à Chyilima lui-même, qui envoya un de ses hommes constater le méfait.

Il y eut une deuxième ambassade pour aller aux informations. Mushongo et ses fils qui l'accompagnaient, ne se sentant pas la conscience à l'aise et craignant une enquête approfondie, jetèrent les messagers dans le lac. Les envoyés du prince étaient au nombre de deux.

Le hardi pêcheur revint sur ses pas, retourna à la capitale et s'excusa auprès du monarque : « Tes gens m'avaient insulté gravement, je les ai noyés ». Il ne fut pas inquiété autrement, regagna sa demeure et continua à se livrer à ses travaux de pêche.

Les descendants, connus sous le nom d'Abashongo (ou gens de Mushongo), ont peuplé le pays de Gahondo que les fils de Sentama gouvernèrent jusqu'à ces dernières années [1].

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[1] On connaît la descendance de Sentama : Sebitangi, Nyabulari, Burunga et Gafulengwa.

Histoire de Bushimina.

Bushimina était de race muhutu et appartenait au clan des Banyunju originaires des pays situés au Nord-Ouest du Kivu. Les ancêtres de la tribu étaient venus se fixer au Bugoyi pour échapper aux coups et à la marmite des Walega anthropophages.

Les Banyunju se sont développés avec rapidité et occupent aujourd'hui un grand nombre de villages.

Bushimina avait de l'audace et du savoir-faire. Il se fit accepter de ses compatriotes, qui lui payèrent régulièrement l'impôt comme au chef légitime de la contrée. Les cruches de bière et du miel affluaient au logis de l'élu du sort.

Bushimina ne sortait jamais sans se faire porter en litière; il s'était constitué une petite cour, tranchait les procès et se conduisait en roi. Les jours se succédaient sans peines et sans soucis, notre homme faisait bombance et vivait largement, quand survinrent les troupes dites des Nkemba, sous le commandement de Rwidegembya [1]. On était en 1898.

Les Batutsi de la Cour de Nyanza, mécontents des Bagoyi, qui avaient cessé de payer les impôts, voulaient leur donner une leçon.

Les Nkemba venaient d'arriver dans le Gishwati, à trois heures environ de Nyamwenda, village de Bushimina. Le voisinage était peu rassurant.

Notre homme, pris de scrupules, se rend au-devant des envahisseurs. Il rencontre au village de Vumbi, Rwidegembya, auquel il se présente.

Il s'excuse auprès de lui d'avoir assumé l'administration de la localité.

Il fallait, assure-t-il, maintenir l'ordre. Les Bahutu ne voulaient plus obéir à leurs anciens chefs Batutsi. Ils attendaient de nouveaux ordres de la Cour.

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(1) Livre deuxième, chap. VI.

Quant à lui, il était prêt à faire tout ce qu'on voudrait, il se mettait à leur disposition.

Les guerriers l'encouragent dans ses bonnes résolutions : « Prépare-nous des logements, lui répond Rwidegembya, procure-nous des vivres. Nous irons camper demain chez toi. Tout le reste s'arrangera sans difficulté ».

Bushimina se retire, croyant avoir gagné sa cause. Il fait appel à ses compatriotes et sujets. On réunit de nombreux paniers de vivres; il s'agit de bien traiter les arrivants. Cruches de miel, pots de bière s'entassent à l'entrée du village. On constitue un petit troupeau de chèvres comme viande de boucherie.

Les troupes se présentent à l'heure de midi. Bushimina va au-devant d'elles.

Il est reçu à coups de lances... Son cadavre abandonné devint la proie des hyènes.

Les Bagoyi l'ont surnommé dans les récits : « La grosse porte qui fermait le village de Nyamwenda » (1). On veut dire par là que nul ne pouvait traverser sans son autorisation le pays qu'il habitait.

Histoire de Négrilles.

Elle est racontée par les Bahutu, qui ne nourrissent pas habituellement de sentiments très tendres à l'égard des hommes des bois. Nous donnons le récit tel que nous l'avons entendu.

Deux Négrilles avaient aperçu un nid d'abeilles sur les flancs raides et escarpés du mont Ihembe (ou Ibere) (2). Bien que fort habiles à se servir de leurs doigts des mains et des pieds, leurs efforts ne furent couronnés d'aucun succès. Ils tinrent conseil : « Cherchons une liane, se

(1) Chugi chugariraga Nyamwenda.

(2) Ce pic porte le nom de Corne (en runyarwanda Ihembe) à cause de sa forme escarpée.

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dirent-ils, et nous arriverons à mettre la main sur la réserve de miel ». La forêt était proche, on n'eut pas de peine à se procurer le lien.

Aidé par son compagnon, qui soutenait la corde, l'autre descendit. Il parvint aisément à l'endroit. Les minutes paraissaient longues au Négrille, qui, debout au sommet du pic, tenait le bout de la liane : « Vas-tu me laisser quelque chose ? » cria-t-il à son compère. « Ne crains rien, mon ami, je suis en train de recueillir la provision de miel, j'ai presque fini », répond l'autre. Lassé d'attendre et se doutant bien que son camarade ne lui laissera rien, le premier Mutwa l'interpelle plus vivement. Le compère tout entier à son repas de gourmet ne répond pas, pour ne pas perdre une bouchée. Furieux, notre homme lâche la corde; le mangeur de miel roule dans le vide et se rompt le cou.

Justice royale.

Kigeri IV Lwabugiri était, on le sait, un redoutable justicier. Il laissait partout où il passait des traces sanglantes. Les Bagoyi se souviennent encore des malheureux qui perdirent la vie lors des différents séjours que fit le prince dans la région.

Le Hamite était attiré au Bugoyi par le voisinage du Buhunde, pays situé au Nord-Est du lac, où il entreprit plusieurs expéditions. Le monarque habitait à Gisenyi même, sur les bords du lac, où l'on voit encore l'un des ficus qui servait à clôturer l'enceinte royale.

Le prince à l'humeur batailleuse et voyageuse ne pouvait s'accoutumer à un repos prolongé; il parcourait lui-même les villages de la contrée. On lui avait signalé un muhutu de la colline de Busoro, Mvuriyinka, qui rançonnait tous les voyageurs qui passaient à proximité de sa case. Le roi se rendit chez le voleur de grands chemins et lui fit couper séance tenante les pieds et les mains par les bourreaux de sa suite.

Au village voisin de Nyamyumba résidait un autre malfaiteur, Sebichuma, qui, lui aussi, arrêtait les passants. Il eut le même sort que le précédent.

Nkunzi, du clan des Bahuma, vivait également du produit de ses vols. Lwabugiri alla le trouver à son domicile du Kibumba et le fit mettre à mort comme ses compères.

Nyamunonoka, le chef muhutu des Bayungu, qui habitent à Ntsuro, au Nord du lac, fut abattu à coups de sabre, à Rubona, près de Gisenyi. Chargé de ravitailler la Cour, il avait eu le malheur d'arriver en retard et d'avoir fait attendre le prince. On rendit responsables de ce même crime de lèse-majesté, Mulinga et Nyamulinga, femmes de la victime. Elles furent brûlées vives dans leur hutte.

Sebissogo, du clan des Bambari et voleur de profession, avait réussi à soustraire une défense d'éléphant du trésor royal qui suivait le roi dans ses déplacements. Lwabugiri le surprit chez lui, au village de la Mutura, et le fit assommer à coups de massue.

Karongano, du clan des Bahorwa, est accusé, le même jour, auprès du prince, de fournir des renseignements aux détrousseurs de métier et d'écouler les produits de leur rapine. L'homme habite à Kilerama, près du ruisseau de la Mutura. Les Batwa vont s'emparer de sa personne et reçoivent l'ordre de le tuer à coups de bâton, à Nkuri.

Biche, de la tribu des Bambari et du village de la Mutura, est dénoncé pour crime d'ensorcellement. Le souverain le livre aux exécuteurs, qui lui font subir la même peine qu'aux deux autres.

Muhakwa, du village de Kayove et chef des Batembe, descend à Gisenyi, à un moment où les serviteurs du prince se plaignent du manque de vivres. Le lait et la bière vont faire défaut sur la table royale.

Bulahanda, qui, lui aussi, est chargé du service de ravitaillement, craint pour ses jours. Il profite de la présence de Muhakwa et de ses gens, qui arrivent avec des provisions pour détourner de sa personne la colère du

souverain. « Muhakwa est en faute, s'écrie-t-il, on l'avait averti, il y a plusieurs jours, il faut faire un exemple, pour que pareil retard ne se renouvelle pas. »

Les courtisans, à leur tour, engageaient le monarque à prononcer une sentence capitale.

Muhakwa a heureusement pour parent un sorcier-devin, Kwezi, qui exerce une grande influence auprès du roi. Cette circonstance lui sauva la vie. Le prince se contenta de lui faire couper les oreilles parce que, ajouta-t-il, il fallait donner une leçon au pays. Bulahanda, chargé d'appliquer la peine, ajoutant la dérision à la délation, ne sépara pas complètement les deux organes de la tête du malheureux. Les oreilles, retenues légèrement par l'extrémité inférieure, retombaient comme deux loques sur les épaules de Muhakwa, qui, pour se retirer, dut traverser les rangs des courtisans, au milieu des rires et des moqueries. Il fallut qu'à sa prière l'un des gens qui le suivaient trancha le dernier lambeau de chair qui retenait les deux pavillons.

Muhakwa dut encore livrer dix vaches au roi.

Mulamira, du clan des Bahara, subit le même sort pour avoir usé de réticence envers le prince. Un jour que celui-ci traversait la petite chaîne de Nkama, ayant affaire avec le chef Mihana, il demanda à un individu qu'il rencontra au village de Rukumbo, où se trouvait le représentant de la tribu. Lwabugiri estima que la réponse donnée par l'homme était dénuée de toute vraisemblance, il le fit punir de la façon que nous venons d'indiquer.

Un autre Mugoyi, Tabaro, du clan des Batembe, mourut victime des caprices de Lwabugiri.

Tabaro était sorcier-devin. Il partageait ce métier avec un autre de ses parents, Matabaro, qui avait passé toute sa vie à la Cour. L'intimité de ce dernier avec la famille du monarque et son dévouement à la cause royale l'avait fait choisir autrefois comme tuteur du jeune Lwabugiri, qui avait gardé un bon souvenir de son ancien maître.

Le pupille devenu grand, causait avec son favori quand vint à passer le cousin de celui-ci, Tabaro. Prenant prétexte d'une conversation ancienne ou supposée avec ce dernier, le roi le prend à partie à haute voix : « ce que tu m'as dit au sujet des relations coupables de Matabaro avec la reine est bien vrai, n'est-ce pas ? »

La stupéfaction de l'interpellé est grande : « Prince, répond-il, je ne t'ai jamais dit rien de semblable, tu veux plaisanter sans doute ? » Lwabugiri insiste, veut lui faire répéter les termes d'une dénonciation qu'il assure être venue de sa part. L'autre, fort de son innocence, veut se retirer en lui disant : « Sire, tu radotes comme une vieille femme ».

Lwabugiri le retient et ordonne à Rutalindwa, son fils présent à la scène, de le punir pour s'être rétracté.

L'héritier du trône avait une massue entre les mains. Il mania son arme de telle sorte que Tabaro fut assommé du coup et tomba à la renverse. Les chiens dévorèrent le cadavre sur place [1].

Le roi précédent avait été un prince pacifique (umwami w'inteko). Les coutumes en vigueur ne lui permettaient pas de franchir les fleuves et lui interdisaient tout déplacement de longue durée. Aussi les gens du Bugoyi, qui n'eurent jamais l'occasion de voir le souverain dans leur province, n'eurent pas trop à souffrir de sa justice et de son omnipotence.

On ne connaît de ce prince que deux jugements prononcés par lui et suivis d'une sentence capitale dont furent victimes des Bagoyi.

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[1] Les parents de la victime croient que Lwabugiri agit ainsi à l'égard de Tabaro par indulgence et en vertu d'un reste d'amitié. Au lieu d'appeler les Batwa pour faire tuer le sorcier de la Cour, il se servit de l'intermédiaire de son propre fils, qui fit office de bourreau. La mort à coup de massue passe chez les indigènes pour être la peine la plus douce. L'exécution eut lieu loin de tout regard profane, à l'intérieur du palais royal, sous les yeux du roi, de l'exécuteur et de Matabaro, devenu la cause indirecte de la mort de son parent. Singulière indulgence ! dirons-nous. Il ne faisait pas bon d'être l'ami du roi à cette époque.

Lujanga, un Mukora (nom du clan) du village de Muchondo, dans la vallée de Kanama, avait été accusé par les siens du crime d'ensorcellement. Conduit à Ruchunchu auprès du souverain, celui-ci le condamna à avoir les pieds et les mains coupés.

Byunga, un Muhuma de Lunande, fut dénoncé au roi pour le même grief que précédemment par ses voisins, les Batembe, qui jouissaient d'un grand crédit auprès du roi. Ses ennemis réussirent à l'entraîner à la Cour, qui se trouvait alors à Muganza, dans le Nduga. Il eut beau essayer de se disculper. Les inculpations de ce genre permettaient difficilement aux infortunés qui étaient sous le coup de cette dénonciation de trouver grâce devant leurs juges.

Byunga fut condamné à subir le supplice de l'empalement. Il resta, dit-on, trois jours sur son pal et ne mourut qu'après d'atroces souffrances.

Organisation militaire. Corps d'armée, milices provinciales.

En cas de guerre la mobilisation est réglée suivant un plan déterminé. La milice provinciale comprend tous les adultes aptes à porter les armes. Les Bagwabiro et leurs clients, pour échapper aux vexations du gouverneur hamite Nkusi, obtinrent de la Cour la faveur et le privilège de former un corps d'armée sous le commandement d'un autre chef désigné par le roi. On donna à leur milice le nom d'Abashakamba. Les circonstances ayant changé, ils reprirent rang dans la milice des Abakemba, sous l'administration de Bissangwa. Le gouverneur de la province est le commandant (umugabe) de la milice (umutwe) et a le droit de lever sur les membres qui en font théoriquement partie une petite contribution annuelle appelée impôt de l'arc (ikoro ry' umuheto).

Cette redevance varie avec les provinces [1]. Au Bugoyi

[1] Dans la province du Bwana-Mkali, tout individu apte à porter les armes et faisant partie de la milice dite du Mvejuru, doit fournir annuellement à son commandant un panier de sorgho (urutete rw' amasaka)

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les « ngabo » ou miliciens livrent des anneaux (ubutega) de femme. Chaque groupe familial (igitsina) est taxé selon le nombre d'adultes pour cent, mille ou deux mille de ces ornements féminins. Les membres du clan doivent fournir en même temps des lances, des flèches, des carquois, des haches, des couteaux, des clochettes (pour les pages et... les chiens), des alênes qui servent d'aiguille (impindu), des cruches de miel, des nattes, etc. Le gouverneur désigne quelquefois des Batutsi autres que ses mandataires habituels pour recueillir à leur profit cette même redevance. Le Bugoyi a été divisé en districts répartis par le commandant en chef entre plusieurs protégés, qui profitaient de l'aubaine pour en retirer leur subsistance.

Les Banyago payèrent l'impôt militaire à Mulangire, puis à Mafrumba et prirent le nom de milice dite de Nyagamutsindo; les Bahindi et les Babanda relevaient de Lwandilima et s'appelaient Akaraba.

Les redevances ne faisaient qu'augmenter avec le temps et donnèrent lieu à des abus criants.

On cite le cas de malheureux individus qui, après avoir changé de domicile, payaient l'impôt militaire à deux chefs de milice.

Système fiscal.

Le système fiscal en vigueur au Bugoyi était originairement peu compliqué et ne pesait pas lourdement sur la population.

Les charges de l'impôt ayant augmenté sous le règne de Lwabugiri (Kigeri IV), les habitants du pays durent désormais fournir en plus de l'ancienne contribution, des paniers de haricots, des cruches de miel et des journées de prestation [1].

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[1] Les journées de prestation étaient pour les Bagoyi un lourd tribut, parce qu'ils devaient quitter leurs montagnes et se rendre à la capitale pour y exécuter à la Cour les travaux de bâtisse qu'on exigeait d'eux. Les frais de nourriture et de séjour étaient à leur charge.

Nous ne donnons ici dans le tableau que ce qui faisait l'objet de l'impôt primitif offert directement au roi sans aucun intermédiaire.

Clans :	*Impositions :*
1. Les Bagwabiro et leurs alliés les Bishaza et les Bavuna donnaient	Des anneaux de femme dits ibikaka et deux ou trois jeunes pages (1).
2. Les Bahigo, les Batembe et leurs partisans les Badaha et les Bakananda.	Des blagues à tabac, des serpes et des couteaux (2).
3. Les Bahuma du village de Kanombe.	Du miel, à cause du voisinage de la forêt.
4. Les Bashobyo (3).	De la bière de miel dite Rugina.
5. Les Batabu.	Du miel.
6. Les Bahindi.	Du miel.
7. Les Bondo.	Du miel.
8. Les Babaji.	Des chaises indigènes faites de rondins et des plats en bois (imbehe).
9. Les Bachuchu.	Des nattes.
10. Les Bageri.	De la bière de miel dite insengamihigo et des pioches.
11. Les Basaba.	Du miel.
12. Les Balimba.	Du miel.

(1) Les pages de la Cour se recrutent annuellement à travers le Rwanda. Ils passent près de cinq ou six ans à la Cour, où ils sont exercés aux danses et aux sports pour l'amusement du roi.

(2) Les Bahigo comptaient parmi leurs alliés et leurs partisans des forgerons (Abadaha), c'est pour ce motif qu'ils étaient imposés pour des serpes et des couteaux. Les blagues à tabac font en plus de leur usage naturel partie de l'attirail des sorciers-devins.

Ceux-ci se servent de ces sachets pour y remiser les instruments divinatoires et les os de mâchoires.

(3) Les Bashobyo sont, depuis le règne de Lwabugiri, taxés pour quatre cruches de miel et vingt-sept pioches que les forgerons de la capitale utilisent comme minerai afin d'en retirer les grelots dont se servent les pages aux jours de danse et de réjouissance.

Clans :	*Impositions :*
13. Les Baloto.	Des pots à lait.
14. Les Bagasha.	Des lances.
15. Les Bahuma de Lunande	De la bière de miel.
16. Les Banyambo et leurs alliés les Bakwa.	Une bière de miel appelée Musigivu.
17. Bakangara.	Du miel.
18. Bagessera.	Des anneaux faits de fil de fer léger et qui se mettent aux jambes.
19. Les Batana.	Des carquois pour flèches.
20. Les Bashama.	Des courroies et des lanières de sanglier pour le port des sabres (1).
21. Les Banyoni.	Du miel (2).

Impôts et corvées de nature diverse communs aux Banyarwanda.

I. L'impôt annuel payé au roi se compose de haricots, petits pois, sorgho, éleusine, etc.

Les membres de chaque clan étaient taxés selon leur importance pour un ou plusieurs paniers de ce genre de nourriture.

Ces redevances portent le nom d' « impôt de la terre » (ikoro ry' ubutaka) ou de « vivres qui peuvent s'emmagasiner », c'est-à-dire se conserver (ibihunikwa).

II. Le prince a droit à quelques têtes de bétail que les propriétaires lui présentent habituellement une fois par an, sous forme d'une vache et de son veau. On se sert du terme « inkuke » (du verbe gukuka, sortir de, venir de), qui signifie produit (3).

III. On prélevait autrefois dans quelques familles des

(1) Ces courroies et ces lanières se nomment « imigara ».

(2) Les Bagoyi fournissaient du miel, à cause du voisinage de la forêt et des vastes espaces broussailleux où les habitants placent leurs ruches d'abeilles.

(3) Offrir au roi ou à un personnage de marque une belle vache et son petit taurassin est la plus grande marque d'estime qu'on puisse lui donner.

pages (intore) pour la Cour. Ces enfants séjournaient plusieurs années auprès du souverain et réussissaient quelquefois à gagner ses faveurs, quand ils arrivaient à se faire remarquer par leur assiduité auprès de lui ou par leur habileté dans les danses et les sports.

D'autres fournissaient des fillettes qui vivaient dans l'entourage de la reine-mère et vaquaient à différents services domestiques. Elles faisaient partie de la maison de la souveraine, qui s'occupait ensuite de leur mariage.

Les malheureuses qu'un mariage bien assorti ne retirait pas du milieu de la Cour, sont désignées sous le nom d'esclaves (abaja) et mènent une existence misérable.

IV. Les gouverneurs et les chefs de village, en vertu de leurs droits sur le sol, exigeaient de la part de leurs administrés des journées de travail.

Ces prestations pouvaient être réclamées, en théorie, cinq jours par semaine. En pratique, les Bahutu n'avaient pas à fournir hebdomadairement plus de seize heures de travaux, qui consistaient surtout à construire des huttes, à cultiver, à sarcler et à accompagner le seigneur en voyage.

Ce genre de corvée s'appelle buletwa ou butaka, c'est-à-dire impôts de la terre.

V. Les Bahutu fournissent encore, en leur qualité de sujets, des redevances en nature, un panier de sorgho (dit urutete) et quelques poignées de pois ou de haricots, enveloppés dans des feuilles de bananier, d'où leur nom traditionnel d' « enveloppes » (imfukire). Cette sorte de dîme prélevée sur les récoltes sert à l'entretien des Batutsi et de leurs familles.

VI. La corvée dite de la « veille de nuit » (okulalira) était de toutes la plus détestée.

Les gens étaient tenus de passer la nuit à tour de rôle, deux par deux, chez le chef de la colline, pour écarter les voleurs. Les hommes de garde devaient rester éveillés et

entretenir le feu dans la hutte où dort le seigneur lui-même. C'est à eux qu'incombait le soin de se procurer le bois de chauffage nécessaire pour entretenir le foyer de nuit.

VII. Les sacrifices divinatoires chers aux Hamites étaient pour les Bahutu l'occasion d'une autre taxe. Les administrés en faisaient les frais.

Un chef pouvait, en effet, d'après la coutume choisir parmi les troupeaux de ses sujets la matière du sacrifice, d'où l'appellation de choses d'Imana [1] (Dieu) donnée aux moutons prélevés à ces fins.

Les devins lisant l'avenir dans les entrailles des poussins, il s'en faisait chez les Batutsi de fréquentes hécatombes, ce qui était loin de permettre aux paysans indigènes de développer l'importance de leur poulailler.

Ajoutons que les volatiles de cette sorte n'étaient élevés que dans cet unique but.

La chair de poule est considérée par les Banyarwanda comme la viande la plus indigeste et la plus grossière qui puisse se concevoir.

VIII. La pénétration européenne a apporté dans le système fiscal indigène des changements notables dont les Bahutu n'ont eu qu'à se louer. Deux nouvelles charges toutefois dues à cette circonstance de l'arrivée des Blancs ont pris la place des anciennes. Les Banyarwanda les désignent sous le nom de « travail forcé » et « de nourriture de nuit », c'est-à-dire les vivres nécessaires aux Européens et aux membres de leur caravane, quand ils sont de passage dans une région [2].

Bien que les travaux auxquels sont soumis les indigènes soient largement rétribués, le nom de « travail forcé » (ubunetsi) est passé dans la langue pour signifier qu'il s'agit d'occupations créées et imposées par les Blancs.

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(1) Amamana.

(2) Ubunetsi de kuneka, travailler de force, et amalali du verbe kulala, passer la nuit.

MANDATAIRE ET SOUS-CHEFS DE BISSANGWA, 1880 à 1898.

Pour administrer les districts et les villages qui divisent et subdivisent la province, le gouverneur nomme, avons-nous dit, habituellement un représentant pour le remplacer et des sous-chefs qu'il prend d'ordinaire parmi ses proches et ses amis.

Bissangwa choisit pour le représenter au Bugoyi, son propre frère Nyamukobga, qui fixa sa résidence à Muhato.

Sous-chefs :	*Villages et collines :*
1. Luzimya. Sa résidence était à Nganzu. Il fut congédié par Bushako, le successeur de Bissangwa.	Kigarama, Gahondo, Gashashi et Kanama.
2. Bulahanda. Il habitait à Gashashi et fut congédié par Bushako.	Nyakiliba.
3. Bizirakuzama. Il s'était installé à Keya. Lwakadigi, le mandataire de Bushako, lui enleva ses possessions. Quelques années plus tard, en 1927, le malheureux se suicida à Bugina sur la Gako (Kanage).	Keya, Gakora, Kizi, Bassa, Gitebe, Gatebe, Lugarika, Muhira, Nyarushaki.
4. Biguma. Son fils Gatorano a hérité de ses possessions.	Kiroji, Nkama, Chyanzarwe, Luhangiro, Bisizi, 'Kabirizi, Mukingo.
5. Luhamankiko.	Lukengeri, 'Kinyanzovu, Muti, Rukingo.
6. Kabgana. Son fils Nyarubanga lui a succédé.	Murambi.
7. Luniga.	Lugerero, Kabere, Ruvumbu, Kizi et Rukingo.

Sous-chefs :	*Villages et collines :*
8. Segachuruzi. Son fils Sebunywero lui a succédé.	Une partie de Nkama et une autre de Kinigi et Bgitereke.
9. Kiromba, frère de Lwakadigi. Son fils aîné Gashabe a hérité de toutes ses possessions (1).	Munanira, Nyamiko, Nyamyumba, Kiraga, Bushagi, Gatobo, Busanamana, Busoro et une partie de Ngabo.
10. Kajuri.	Rubavu, Rwaza, Gisa, une partie de Kabere, Gasayo et la majeure partie de Nyabutwa.
11. Lwakadigi, frère de Kiromba. Ce chef reçut son petit fief par l'intermédiaire de Kiromba, qui avait du crédit auprès de Bissangwa.	Mwufe.
12. Lumenyamilera.	Byahi.
13. Ndeziryayo.	Rwerere (2).
14. Kamugisha.	Rwerere.
15. Sagatwa.	Rwerere.
16. Sekaziga.	Muhanda, Chanzarwe.
17. Burunga (d'origine murundi).	Kabuga (Gahondo).

MANDATAIRES ET SOUS-CHEFS DE BUSHAKO, 1898 à 1929.

Mandataires successifs.

1. Mulangire, propre fils de Bushako.
2. Kiromba, qui se désista en faveur du suivant.
3. Lwakadigi, frère du précédent. On dut l'écarter, en 1926, à cause de son incapacité et de ses exactions.

(1) Les fils de Kiromba sont : Gashabe, Sebakara et Lwagasore.

(2) Le Rwerere est une plaine située au pied des volcans Mikeno et Karissimbi.

4. Mbishibishi, fils aîné du précédent [1].

Sous-chefs :	*Villages et collines :*
1. Mwumvaneza, qui s'est jeté de désespoir dans le Kivu, en 1928. Il était le neveu de Bushako. Son fils Ngarambe lui a succédé.	Kanembge et une petite partie de Nyabutwa.
2. Mvuye, dont le grand-père est originaire du Bunyabungu (côte occidentale du Kivu).	Une partie du Byahi et Gikombe.
3. Lunigababisha.	Rubavu, Rwaza, Gisa, une partie de Kabere, de Nyabutwa, Nganza et Gihinga (Kanage).
4. Ntwari.	Rubona.
5. Gatorano.	'Kiroji, une partie de Nkama, Chyanzarwe, Luhangiro, Bisizi, Kabirizi, Mukingo.
6. Nyarubanga.	Murambi.
7. Gache, fils de Lwakadigi.	Kinyanzovu, Bulere, Muhanda.
8. Sebunywero.	Une partie de Nkama et de Kinigi, Bugasha et Busheke.
9. Gashabi (cousin germain de Mbishibishi).	Munanira, Nyamiko, Nyamyumba, Kiraga, Bushagi, Gatobo, Busanamana, Busoro et une partie de Ngabo.
10. Mafrumba, fils de Mulangire et petit-fils de Bushako.	Kigarama, Byiniro, Lusongati, Nguri, Ngiryi, Kabuga, Rubari, une partie de Lumbati, de Kanama et de Gahondo.

[1] Les fils de Lwakadigi sont : Mbishibishi, Gache, Sebahutu, Sebachogoza, Semabenga et Kibuji.

Sous-chefs :	*Villages et collines :*
11. Sebakara, Lwagasore et Yakaronge, tous trois frères de Gashabi.	Busoro.
12. Sekubumba.	Buhoko, Nyundo (Gahondo), Kibirago.
13. Kalumuhinzi.	Luhengeri, Shonyi, Boneza et une partie de Gashashi.
14. Lwamigabo.	Gihinga.
15. Sebachogoza, fils de Lwakadigi et dont la mère s'appelle Nyiranturo.	Mwufe et une partie de Nyamwenda.
16. Lwagitare.	Une partie de Ngabo et de Gashashi.
17. Luhago, neveu de Lwakadigi.	Gihumba, Lugamba, Buhonongo, Kanyamasiga.
18. Butare.	Syiki ou Bunyari, Nyabishongo.
19. Nkundiye.	Murambi (Kanage).
20. Mfuruta, neveu de Lwakadigi	Murambi (Kanombe), Ngoma (Kanombe), Luzibira, Muhingo.
21. Kibuji, fils de Lwakadigi et dont la mère s'appelle Nyiranshuti.	Nkora, Muhwewhe (ou Busogo), Rambura, Byiniro et une partie de Mukondo.
22. Lutabana (1).	Gasovu (Kanage).
23. Kanyarubira.	Marabuye (Kanage).
24. Gasherebuka (2).	Gasasa (Kanage) (3).
25. Lwego, cousin germain de Lwakadigi.	Gatovu, Kanombe, Kigarama (une partie).

(1) Lutabana reçut, en 1926, de Mugemanshuro, fils de Bushako, ce village que gouvernait autrefois un Muhunde, Tamo, mort en 1928.

(2) Kanyarubira a pris la succession d'un chef décédé (Kampayana).

(3) Le Kanage n'a jamais été érigé en province. C'est un coin de forêt défriché depuis une centaine d'années.

Une partie de la région est rattachée au Bugoyi et l'autre au Bgishaza. La rivière de la Koko sépare les deux districts.

Sous-chefs :	*Villages et collines :*
26. Lwandilima.	Nyakiliba, Kayove, une partie de Ngabo.
27. Sebahutu, fils de Lwakadigi et dont la mère s'appelle Nyiranturo.	Muhato, Keya, Bassa, Lugarika, Nyarushaki, Muhira, Gitebe, Gatebe, Lunande, Kayanza, Kagano.
28. Muvunandinda.	Lugerero, Kizi, Ruvumbu, une partie de Kabere.
29. Gashonga a remplacé un chef muhutu, Sebikolera.	Une partie de Kanama; de Lusongati, de Busheke; Karambo, Gashasho, Lwankomo, Nombe.
30. Sengorore.	Rwerere (Abasaho).
31. Luvuzandekwe.	Rwerere (Abasinga).
32. Lwangeyo administré par l'intermédiaire de Lubumbabigondo, fils de Kamugisha [1].	Rwerere (Abatinwa et Abahizi).
33. Kafunengwa.	Kabuga (Gahondo).

Il peut arriver qu'un village ou une colline soient partagés entre plusieurs chefs. Le cas est fréquent. Citons quelques exemples :

1° Le petit massif de Kinigi est divisé en quatre parties qu'administrent Sebunywero, Gashabi, Lukaburandekwe et Sebachuzi;

2° Le district de Gashashi est gouverné par les Batutsi dont les noms suivent : Lwagitare, Kalumuhinzi, Lutebezambuga, Rubandaho;

3° La modeste colline de Ngabo est administrée par quatre sous-mandataires : Yakaronge, Lwagitare, Kalumuhinzi et Lwandilima.

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[1] Ces trois chefs administrent chacun une partie de la grande plaine du Rwerere. Lubumbabigondo n'était que le mandataire de son oncle Kamugisha, qui possédait dans le Bgishaza la colline de Bubazi, où il résidait habituellement. Le fils de Kamugisha s'appelle Lwangeyo et habite au Bgishaza.

Remarque importante. En donnant la liste des sous-chefs et de leurs domaines respectifs, nous ne nous faisons pas juge et nous ne nous portons pas garant de la légitimité de leurs droits sur les villages qu'ils gouvernent *de facto* ou qu'ils ont gouverné dans le passé.

Nombreux sont, en effet, les litiges qui divisent profondément entre eux les Batutsi pour la possession des collines et des villages. Il faudrait tout d'abord un examen approfondi de chaque cas pour trancher ces différends épineux et ensuite un acte d'autorité pour appuyer la solution définitive qui serait prise.

On ne doit pas s'étonner du nombre et de la pérennité des procès de ce genre parmi les Hamites. Pour la plupart d'entre eux c'était autrefois une question de gagne-pain et d'avenir. L'issue malheureuse d'un procès de ce genre a eu pour corollaire et comme conséquence plus d'un suicide.

Enclaves et terres franches.

Il existe au Bugoyi deux sortes d'enclaves.

I. Ce sont d'abord celles qui ont été concédées directement par le roi à des favoris, Batutsi ou Bahutu, qui ne relèvent que de lui. On compte trois de ces « terres franches » dans la province du Bugoyi :

1° Le clan des Bahigo jouit de ce privilège sur son territoire, qui ne comprend plus à l'heure actuelle que deux collines de médiocre grandeur, une partie de Mukondo et Kagarama.

Le chef actuel se nomme Kalerangabo.

2° Les Batembe et leurs alliés conservèrent longtemps cette même indépendance à Munanira et sur les collines voisines;

3° Un autre chef, Mugabombga, de ce même clan des Batembe, administre dans des conditions identiques le village de Vumbi et les terres qui en dépendent.

II. Les deux autres terres franches dites du Bigogo et du Gishwati appartiennent l'une et l'autre à deux grands chefs Batutsi, Rwidegembya et Lwabusisi, qui s'y font représenter par des mandataires.

Le Bigogo est un plateau situé à la périphérie du Bugoyi, au pied du Karissimbi.

Il est habité surtout par des Hamites pasteurs, qui vivent presque uniquement de leurs troupeaux.

Le Gishwati est une autre enclave en plein Bugoyi, située au Sud-Ouest de la province et adossée à la forêt, aux dépens de laquelle elle s'est formée.

Il existe une servitude dans le district du Bigogo. Quatre chefs hamites du Nduga et du Bwana-Mukali y exercent le « droit de l'arc », c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont le privilège de lever annuellement une redevance militaire sur les membres du clan mututsi des Bakono, qui habitaient autrefois le pays de Lwankeri (au pied du Karissimbi) et émigrèrent au Bigogo, au début du règne de Kigeri IV Lwabugiri. Ce sont les Hamites suivants : Sezikeya, un Munyiginya, gouverneur du Nyakale, et dont le père Nturo obtint cette faveur du roi précédent; Bunyereri, chef du corps d'armée des Intalindwa et qui habite Ruyanza sur la Kayombo; Nubyaliye, un personnage de moindre envergure, qui vient de mourir et dont le fils Murashi a pris la succession et, enfin, Chyitatire, fils de Lwangeyo, qui vit dans le Nduga.

Les sujets de ce dernier comprennent avec les Bakono quelques Babanda, établis à Kilerama et Bunjuri. On compte chez eux une vingtaine de huttes. Les « miliciens » de Murashi, au nombre d'une quarantaine, occupent les villages de Nyampanika et de Nyaruteme. Ceux de Bunyerere, les moins nombreux, puisqu'on n'en connaît qu'une dizaine, sont établis à Kazenze. Les réservistes de Sezikeya atteignent le chiffre de deux cents environ. On les trouve sur les collines suivantes : Ndoranyi, Nyampanika et Kanzenze.

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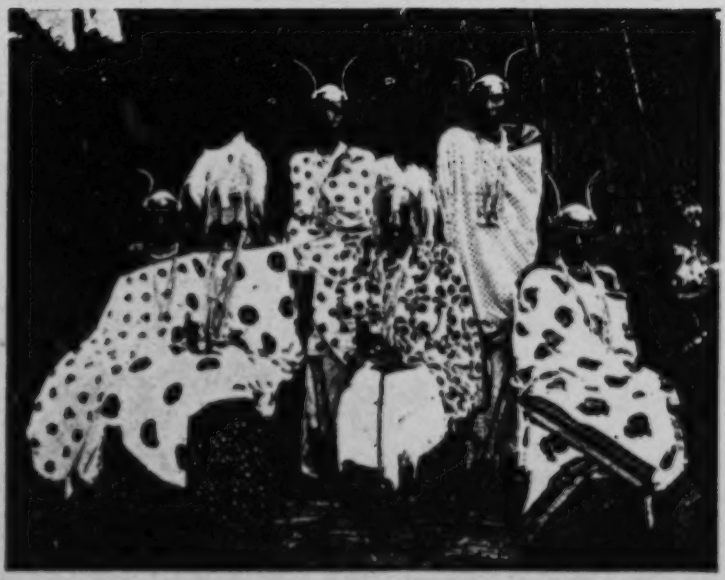
Le roi Musinga devant la grande hutte qui lui sert de salon de réception. Il a, à sa droite, son oncle maternel Kabale, l'auteur du coup d'Etat de Ruchunchu.



Le roi Musinga avec sa mère, à droite, et quelques grandes Dames de la Cour.

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Le Roi à l'un de ses amusements favoris.

Le roi Musinga et quelques gens de son entourage.

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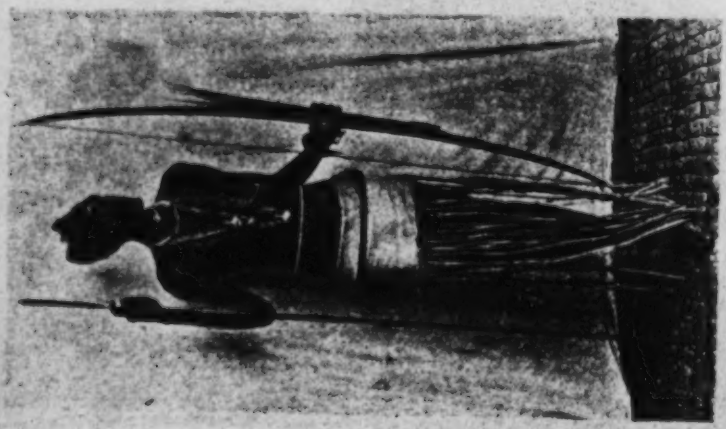
Pl. III

Nkusi, fils de Niuro, en costume de danse.



Guerrier mututsi en costume de danse.

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Guerriers en costume de fête.

Les danseurs de Kayondo.

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La danse des Pages.

Réjouissances populaires. — Danse indigène.

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Cliché du R. P. Van den Houdt.
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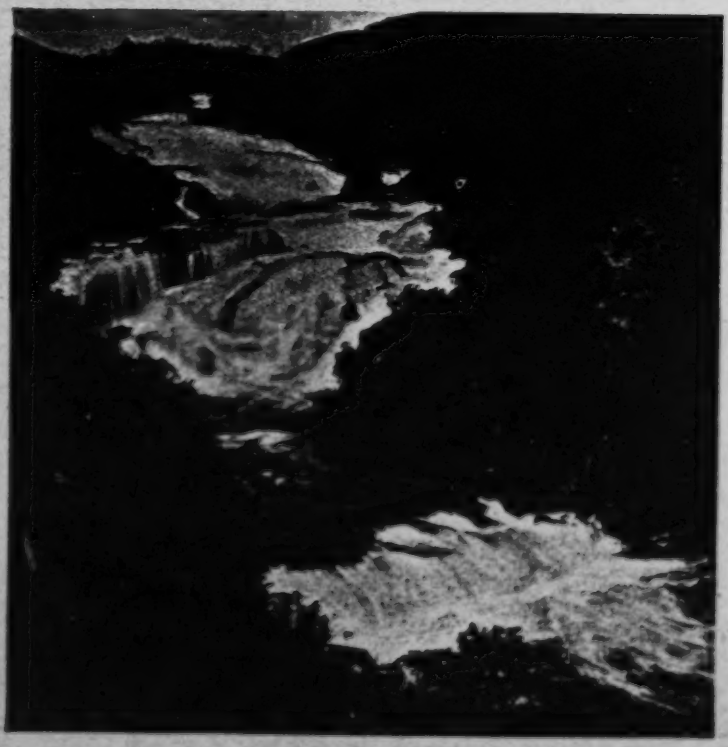
Un bras du lac Mugessera.



Les rapides de la Mokungwa dans la région du Mulera.

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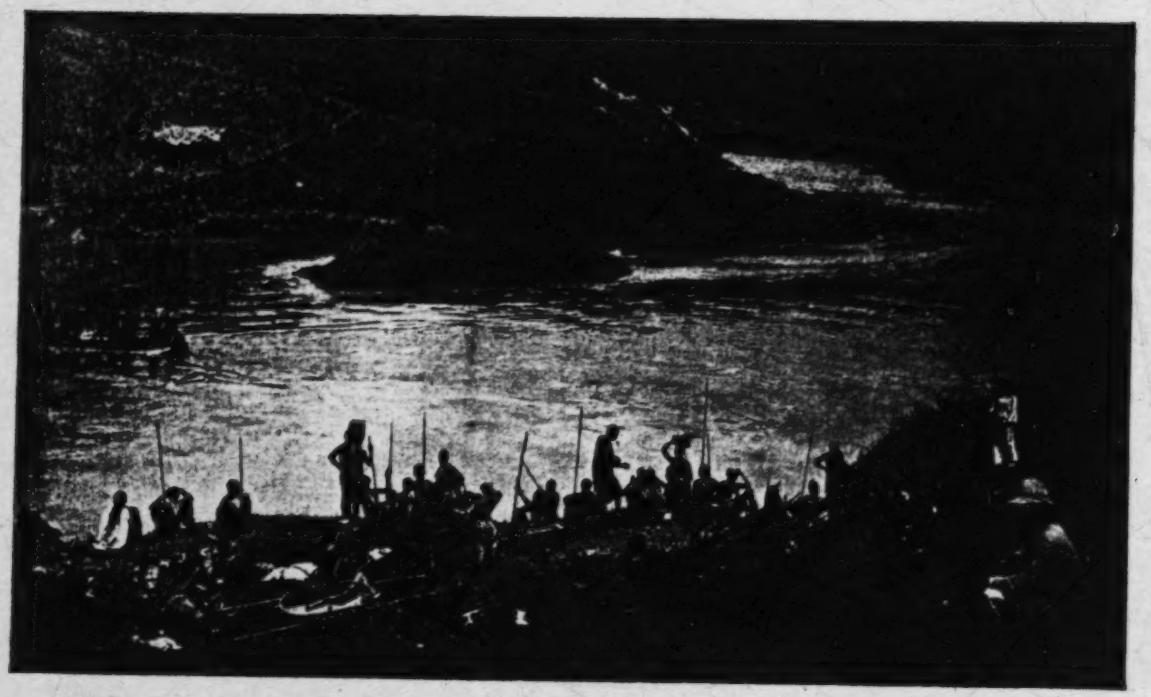
Pl. VIII.



Sur les bords de la Nzabarongo.

.5: Pages FO42 Rundi

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Une cascade dans la montagne.

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Lac Ruhondo et types Bahutu. — Région du Mulera.

Un passage en barque.

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Un paysage volcanique. Le Nyiragongo et son panache de fumée.

Cliché du R. P. Van den Heudt.

Le Muchaburs et le Gahinga.

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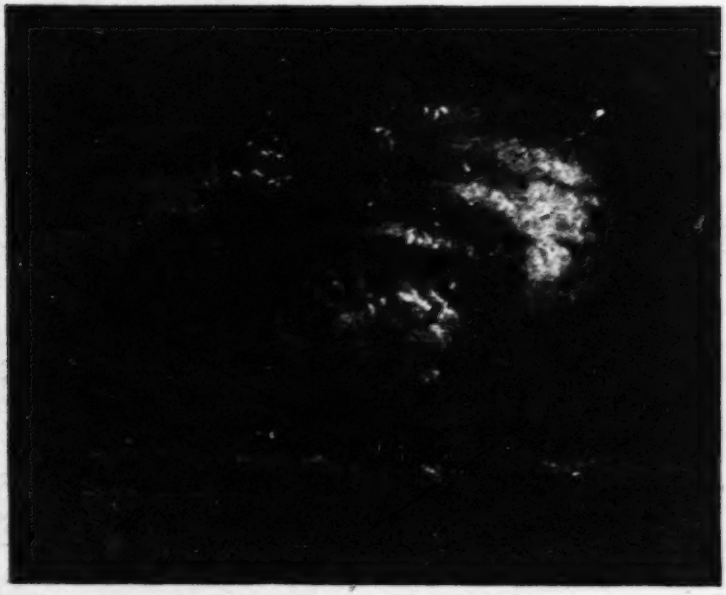

Éruption volcanique du Nyamulagira.
La photo fut prise la nuit, en 1907, à la Mission de Nyundo.

Paysage volcanique. — Laves de la dernière éruption qui eut lieu sur les bords du Kivu (décembre 1912, janvier 1913).

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Panorama de Rulindo. — On aperçoit sur les hauteurs les deux bosquets qui ont servi de dernière demeure aux reines-mères.

A la frontière du Rwanda et du Karagwe.

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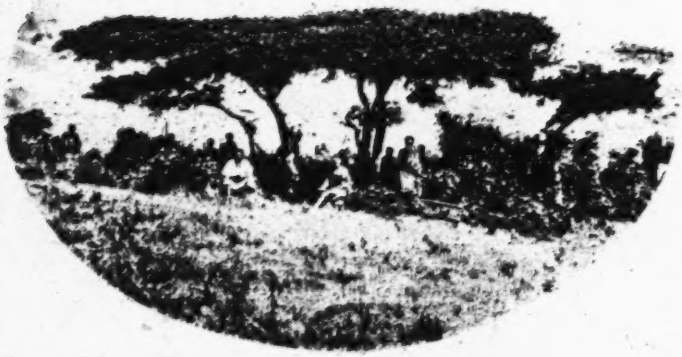

Acacia *Spirocarpa.*

Campement indigène en plein air au pied d'un grand ficus.

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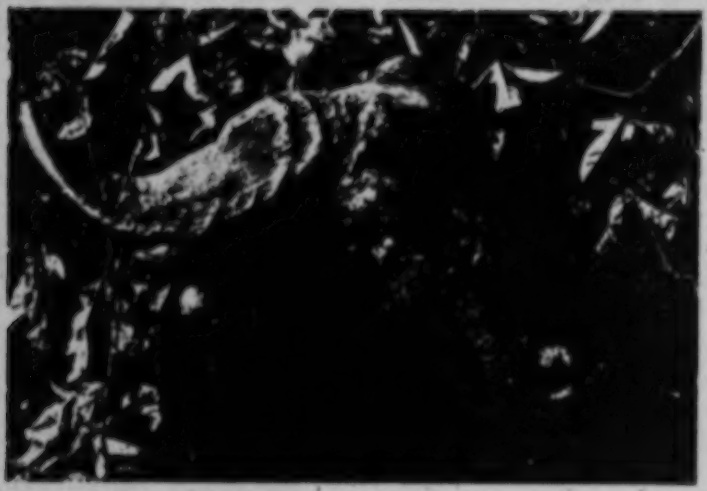

Buffon.

Les caméléons à cornes.
On ne les trouve que dans la région du Bugesi.

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Dans la plaine du Mulèra, au milieu d'un champ de Sorgho.
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Vaches à longues cornes.

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Une scène de divination.

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Rwagataraka, chef du Kinyaga.

Chefs des environs de Kabgayi.

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Batutsi de Nyanza.

Les grands chefs du Rwanda.

[p. 724]

Cliché du R. P. Provoost, de Rulenga.
Jeune femme mututsi,
portant son bébé sur le dos.

Cliché du R. P. Provoost, de Rulenga.
Type mututsi
avec ses longs toupets de cheveux.

Type mututsi.

Type Mututsi.

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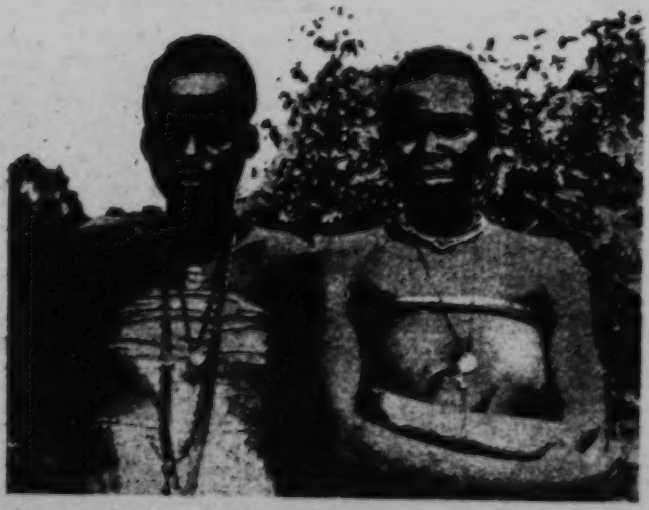
Dame mututsi entourée de ses enfants et de son personnel féminin.

Enfants du type Muhutu.

[p. 726]

Fillettes de la province centrale du Ndugu, avec leurs costumes d'enfants.



Deux jeunes filles bahutu.

[p. 727]

Enfants du type Muhutu.
Le costume à longues franges qu'ils portent est fait de fibres de bananier qu'ils ont tissées eux-mêmes

Femmes du type Muhutu.

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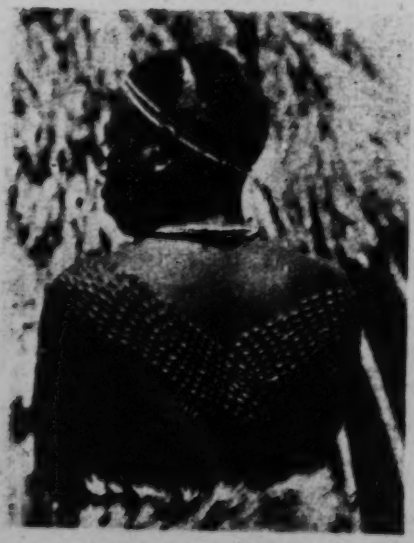
Un lépreux.



Cliché du R. P. Provoost, de Rulènga.
Jeune fille muhutu portant des tatouages sur le dos.

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Pl. XXV.

Feuille de bananier servant de parapluie.

La feuille du bananier couvre la tête du bébé.

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Van servant de parapluie.

Parapluie des vachers Isinde.

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Le parapluie de famille.

Un demi-civilisé.

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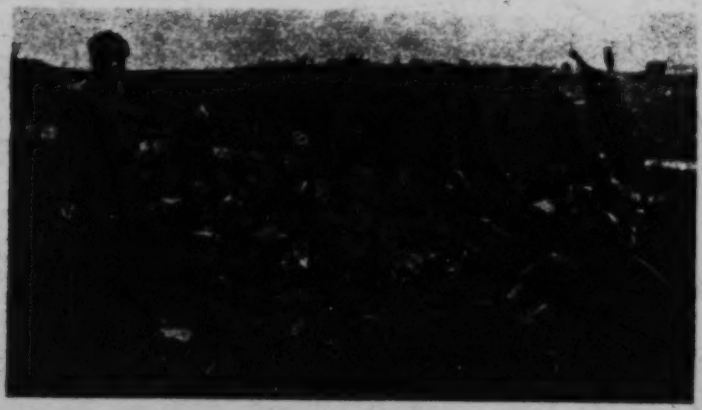
Forgerons au travail en plein air.
Le minerai de fer est entassé au-dessus du foyer. Les fondeurs activent le feu au moyen de soufflets très primitifs.



Forgerons autour de leur haut fourneau.

[p.733]

Empalement d'un voleur de vaches, avant la pénétration européenne.

Soufflet et attirail de forge primitive.

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000 Investigations in the Area between the Nile and the Congo [Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet]

By Jan Czekanowski

Leipzig: 1917

Klinkhardt and Biermann

Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files

1959

[Title page]

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End Map. Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region . 280-285

Key to End Plates

Plate I Ruanda Decorations

(a) amatana, quiver; (b) imirindi, arm ring; (c) ingabo, shields; (d) imirindi, arm ring; (e) imikako, string of beads; (f) the same, (g) rhomboid motif; (h) amasaro, string; (i), (j), (k) amakota, knife; (l) arrowhead-motif; (m) the same; (n), (o), (p) shield mat pattern of mushongole motifs. 276

Plate II Ruanda Decorations

(a), (b), (c) uduhuda, spear ferrules; (d), (e), (f), (g) swallow wings; (h) imirindi, arm ring; (i), (j) large swallow wings; (k), (l) shield mat pattern of ikirizo motifs; (m) basket decoration of ikirizo motifs; (n) imiambi, arrows 277

Plate III Ruanda Decorations

(a) basket decoration; (b) amatana, quiver; (c) ingabo, shields; (d) masaka, millet; (e), (f) uduhuda, spear ferrules; (g), (h), (i) basket decorations; (j), (k) imirindi, arm rings 278

Plate IV. Ruanda Decorations

(a), (b) shield mat patterns; (c), (d) knife sheath patterns; (e), (f), (g), (h) basket bowl patterns . . 279

Chapter 6

Population Elements

563 The population of Ruanda is made up of three elements which anthropologically and culturally are very different, although they speak the same language.

The ruling group are the Batutsi [Tussi] herdsman who are anthropologically quite close to the Bahima [Hima] of Mpororo. There is a great gap between them and their subjects.

The Bahutu [Hutu] farmers make up the bulk of the population.

The Batwa [Twa], an outcast hunting tribe who also engage in rainmaking and pottery, form the third element.

197 Batutsi. The language of the Batutsi is identical with that of their Bahutu subjects except for certain phonetic dialect differences as yet unexplained by scholars. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, as well as the Bahima, must be linked with the Nilotic-Hamitic pastoral tribes on the eastern edge of the Nile Basin as well as those on the bank of the Nile to the south of the great Nile swamps. The Batutsi form the main part of an older migrating group which was wedged in between Lake Victoria and the forests of the Congo Basin. The Bari and their relatives probably broke out later in a northwesterly direction towards the Uele Basin. The Massai [Masai] group apparently poured into the regions to the east of Lake Victoria.

101 174

197 If we consider the word "Hamite" as a purely linguistic designation, the Batutsi are not Hamites at all, and even less Semites, as they are called by Rehse (1) and Kandt (2). They simply belong

[113]

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 110.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili [The Head of the Nile] (Berlin, 1904), p. 339.

the interlacustrine group of the Bantu language family.

144 The word "Hamite" is, however, also used in a different sense. We speak of a "Hamitic anthropological type." This designation refers to the anthropological element so characteristic of the tribes who have mixed relatively little and who speak Hamitic languages, the Somal [Somali] and Galla, for example. In this sense [123] one may count the Batutsi among the Hamites. The Hamitic anthropological type is more obvious in them than in the Massai to the east and the Bari and Kakwa in the northwest. They are less "Negroized."

173 131 According to their traditions, the Batutsi come from the north, which, however, refers essentially to the Bugansa district south of Lake Mohasi, not to the distant lands on the other side of the Victoria-Nile, the Bukedi, traditional homeland of the Babito. This might mean that the Batutsi have been in their present country long enough for the other, older traditions to have faded, leaving only those concerning the founding of the Ruanda state.

Karagwe, however, is also mentioned in these traditions. Perhaps this has something to do with the older migration of the Ruanda Batutsi. Presumably this migration took place along an axis extending from the steppes in the northeast, along the Karagwe border, and across Lake Mohasi to Nduga and Mukinjaga. It is along this axis that one finds the strongest concentration of Batutsi.

131 Dr. Kandt states that the original homeland of the Batutsi is the Mhogo Basin (districts of the upper Nyawarongo). Kissaka also has a large percentage of Batutsi. Baumann (1) mentions

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1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 204.

isolated groups of Batutsi in the mountains in the northwestern part of Tanganyika. Only in the Muwissi Mountains, in the southwestern part of Issawi, are there reputedly very few Batutsi. (2)

2. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer

131

on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 348.

In the northwestern part of the above-mentioned axis the Batutsi are less numerous. Only in Bwischascha and above all in the district of Lubengera do they appear in larger numbers. (3)

3. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin), p. 505.

The Batutsi of Bugoye settled there only a few generations ago. They came there from Mukinjaga. The few Batutsi in Mulera came there a short time ago from Nduga.

101 167 The Batutsi have also migrated to the west across the eastern edge of the graben [Rift Valley]. Dr. Kandt (4) says the following about the Batutsi in Kishari:

4. Ibid., p. 456.

"Here (Tshove, Kishari) many Watussi visited us, simple, friendly people but less handsome and aristocratic than those of Urundi and Ruanda; they have to work. Here they are not the rulers of the country, but cattle breeders living in villages isolated from the original inhabitants who are agriculturalists. (It is indeed strange how sharp a boundary the Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu form in this respect: to the east whole groups of Watussi live as kings and chiefs of subject peoples; to the west they appear sporadically or, as in Kishari, in larger numbers, but in neither case as rulers.)... Later I heard that Kishari is the refuge for all Watussi who for some reason have had to flee from their homeland." [124]

241 558 Despite the fact that conditions are very favorable for agriculture, the Batutsi have remained herdsmen, and only seldom have poverty-stricken Batutsi taken up agriculture. This happened to a family of Bagwabiro in Bugoye. Those Batutsi who till the

241 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribes-
558 men, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She domi-
576 nates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title, "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576 Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior
554 first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

516 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is cus-
554 tomary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

231 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the
805 words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

231 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their
192 herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[556] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruanda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[557] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[502] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

181 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule
563 of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu
[578] are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi
[163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He
[48] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different
563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and
191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

563 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recog-
191 nize members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation. This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because of their privileged position. They are closely united and give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 They make up the conservative element which supports the
178 entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established order. However, they have little capability for independently organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found where individual provinces have given up their independent political existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state.
[184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the
[101] Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu. It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants in general, and here memories of the state that united Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not
[101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than
142 the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable,
[144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important
101 role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's
103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelèmy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the
101 Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

[113] 2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

167 Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use
101 in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu, Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly
[194] alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect. In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area. The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with the Batutsi.

563 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the
144 population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that

[113] 2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.

Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

563 "The Batwa at Musinga's court and in the Issawi region, as well
144 as those in northwestern Urundi, are not very different from the Wahutu, and there is doubtless considerable blood relationship."

Baumann (4) goes still farther and maintains that the Batwa

4. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle (Berlin, 1894), p. 215.

are no smaller than the Barundi.

The latter opinion is also erroneous. Anthropological analysis (5) proved that the Batwa do have a Pygmy element as

[113] 5. Czekanowski, J., "Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen der zentral-afrikanischen Pygmäen [Aspects of Kinship of the Pygmies of Central Africa]," Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1910, pp. 101-109.

one of their components. Although other, subsequent mixtures have lessened the importance of this element, nevertheless it accounts for many characteristic features of the Batwa.

The Batwa are strikingly similar to the Forest Bantu and stand midway between the latter and the Bahutu. This conclusion, unexpected at first glance, is simply explained if we assume that the more isolated Batwa were less open to outside influences and that anthropologically they are relicts of an older order in Ruanda. If we assume that formerly the population of Ruanda was more closely related to the Forest Bantu, then the Batwa, from whom we may learn about former conditions, must also be similar to the Forest Bantu. This is, in fact, the case. Apart from their anthropologi-
563 cal relationship, the Batwa are also said to resemble the Forest
266 Bantu in a very characteristic custom. They are cannibals, at least in northwestern Ruanda among the western group of volcanoes. Nonconflicting rumors about this custom have been reported by both Count Von Götzen (6) and Von Parisch (7).

[113] 6. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch

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Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are

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1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Eléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language
197 seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kissukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the interlacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelèmy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
563 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about
186 his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the

563 destruction of the forest their independence is at an end, and they
311 become pariahs.

When guerrilla warfare can no longer stem the flood of farmers driven toward the forest because of the land shortage, there is nothing left for the Batwa but to complain of the new state of affairs. This is the story with which Kahima greeted me when I paid him a visit with Father L. Delmas. Originally Kahima's Batwa lived in the primeval forest, but constant clearing had so shifted the forest border that eight huts were already outside the forest, while the rest were still scattered within it. The Batwa, however, do not yet till their own fields. At most their women help the Bahutu in the fields and obtain food in payment.

563 In Ruanda one does, however, find cases where Batwa turn
[591] to agriculture out of dire necessity. Thus, in the vicinity of Ruasa there is a Mutwa rainmaker who is a leper. When his trade became less profitable because of the growing missionary influence, he began tilling a field. In one respect, however, he remained a true Mutwa: he was unable to keep any small livestock; in no time it had all been killed and eaten.

The relationship between the Forest Batwa and the Banyaruanda is the same as that between the Pygmies and the full-sized Negroes. Each Batwa group recognizes a Ruanda chief as its head, to whom they bring the yield from hunting in exchange for agricultural produce. This vassal relationship existed between Kahima and Chuma.

We must, however, point out a difference. The Batwa acknowledge the sovereignty of the ruler of Ruanda. From time to time they bring the king presents. These are presented to the king through the mediation of their Muhutu patron, Chuma, who is said to be the king's client (mugaragu).

Anthropologically, the contrast between Batutsi and Batwa is even greater than between the farmers and the herdsman aristocracy, but even so we cannot overlook the strong political solidarity of the privileged and the pariahs. If a Mututsi sacrifices sheep, the Mutwa eats the meat. When he slaughters anything, he does not forget the Mutwa. Between these two minority elements there is

563 always an understanding, and they often live side by side. In spite of all their prejudices, they [133] are obliged to stick together in order to assert themselves against the farmers who are a large majority in the country.

361 There are far fewer Batwa than Batutsi. The extensive na-
624 ture of their livelihood makes a concentrated Batwa population impossible. Larger, purely Batwa settlements are to be found only in the primeval forest and in Nyanza near Musinga. Otherwise the Batwa are widely scattered amidst the Bahutu population.

I am acquainted with the following Batwa groups:

1. Batwa under Kahima of Kazu. Kahima is the subordinate of the Muhutu, Chuma, who lives three hours south of Nyundo. Together with his petty subchief, Sebuleza, he has under him up to 150 Batwa, including women and children.

2. Batwa under Ngunzu. Ngunzu is subordinate to the Muhutu chief, Mutubula. His village is situated on a mountain near Kahama and can be seen from the third forest clearing on the way from Ruasa to Kisenyi. This group is said to be at least as strong as the other, even though one can see only seven huts from the road.

3. Batwa under Lukara are settled on the pass between Muhawura and Mgahinga. They are probably not much fewer in number. From Lukara's kraal we could see only two or three Batwa huts, and Lukara brought me only a dozen adults to be measured, but the fact that they had to be driven out of Belgian territory by military force shows that there must be a larger number. Mgahinga owes the name "Kirunga ya Batwa" to them.

4. Batwa of Mikeno. Dr. Kandt (1) visited this group. He

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1894), pp. 300, 301, 304.

mentions two groups of huts. The first has two huts; the second is four hours distant and contains six to eight huts. The latter are situated around a clearing. There are from 15 to 20 Batwa here.

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[113]

Dr. Kandt (2) mentions, however, that there are also Batwa

2. Kandt, R., "Bericht über meine Reisen und gesamte Tätigkeit in Deutsch-Ostafrika [Report on my Journeys and Entire Work in German East Africa]," Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1900 [Reports on the German Protectorates 1900], p. 246.

living in the forests of Sabinio.

In Ndorwa the following influential Batwa chiefs were mentioned.

5 and 6. Ngurube and Katulenge. Ngurube's Batwa are called Puniu. (3)

3. Parisch, F.R. Von "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 to 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

7. The Batwa on Idjwi Island were visited by Dr. J. Mildbraed and Dr. H. Schubotz and are supposed to be more similar to the Pygmies than the rest of the Batwa.

8. Batwa of southern Ruanda. There are large colonies of Batwa in the Rugege Forest and in the forests in the southwestern part of the province of Nduga. This [134] group is called Mashami or Machaba. Their forest belongs to the Njaruguru country which was formerly under the jurisdiction of Chief Kaizuka (1).

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

9. Batwa from Kabgaye. Apart from these larger groups, I met a colony of 20 to 25 who lived in the vicinity of the Kabgaye Mission (Marangara) and were potters.

10. Finally there are Batwa in Nyanza who live there in order to serve the king. From time to time they are relieved by fellow tribesmen.

000 fellow-tribesmen.

162 I constantly inquired about the Batwa, and since I gained no further information, I think I can assume that I have herewith listed the most important groups. Accordingly, the number of Batwa in Ruanda does not exceed 3,000, although there are individuals scattered in many different places. There were two or three in Issawi and a rainmaker in Ruasa.

614 The Batwa belong to the same clans as the rest of the Banyaruanda. Thus, the Batwa of Kahima belong to the Mugessera clan, and Kahima seems to be their clan elder, a man of little authority. The Batwa of Kabgaye, as well as those of Muhawura, belonged to various clans and may perhaps be regarded as remnants of clan groups which have been broken up.

[135]

Chapter 7

Occupations

241 Agriculture. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the Bahutu. It is carried on quite intensively and with care, reaching its maximum in the vicinity of Lake Kivu. The chief products are: millet (masaka), sweet potatoes (bidjumba), peas (bishimbo), and bananas (bitoke). The following are also grown in large quantities: corn (kigori), peanuts (ichiema), eleusine [a kind of millet] (buro), gourds (mungu), tobacco (itabi), and a little manioc (mukembe).

In Mulera and Bugoye peas are the staple whereas in Kissaka, Nduga, in the northeast territory, and especially in Bgisha, millet is the principal food.

The following methods used in Ruanda agriculture bespeak its high level of development: the use of fertilizer, unknown in eastern Europe; artificial irrigation; and terraced fields on the steep mountainsides.

The care that goes into farming is shown primarily by the way the farmer covers the ground of the banana groves with leaves and rotting banana stalks, so that the moisture necessary to the

241 plants is conserved. Cow manure is reportedly used as fertilizer in the banana groves as well as in the fields, and especially on the gourd plantations in certain parts of Ruanda. In Bugoye, however, where the soil is very rich, fertilizer is not used. Here, it is said, there is danger that the growth of millet become too lush and fall down. The farmers try to avert this by binding the stalks into tiny bundles during the growing season.

312 One sees a great many irrigation systems north of Lake
241 Mohasi. In Mulera, on the other hand, where there seems to be more rain, I did not see any. Frequently the water is brought in through narrow canals from dammed-up streams. For example, on the northern slope of Mount Ndisa near the Nyawarongo River I saw a water system two kilometers long [136] which descended gently to the plantations on the foothills and could be heard along its course. The main line had a number of outlets stuffed with sod, which could carry the necessary water to the pastures on the mountain slopes. The water is conducted through deep furrows separating the rectangular beds. It was only in Bgisha near Rutshuru that I saw a marshy lowland in which earth was thrown into mounds almost a meter high. These peculiar beds were sown to peas.

242 The first terraced fields which I had an opportunity to see were in the country north of Lake Mohasi, but they occur throughout the rest of northwestern Ruanda. In many cases they seem to be unintentional and were probably formed naturally when the slope was tilled. The terraces are two to three meters high.

In Ruanda there seems to be a certain crop rotation. In Itambi beans and peas are first planted on the cleared land and, after that, millet. In Mulera I was told that this rotation is also adhered to in fields that have been planted for some time. After the millet harvest, however, the ground is allowed to lie fallow. This order of rotation is not always maintained. One often sees millet planted along with beans. This occurs even in cases where there is no lack of space. I was told that beans can be harvested earlier without harming the millet.

Letting the fields lie fallow, it would seem, is also not a regular practice. In several cases I found that it was due to the

242 impossibility of planting the field at the proper time. For example, the Bahutu told me that near the farm of Lwakadygi several fields had to remain uncultivated because it was too late when the Batutsi moved their cattle into the forest.

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The soil is cultivated with a clumsy iron hoe (issuka). It has a long, heavy handle which is thicker at the top. The blade is fastened to the handle by means of a point at the back. [137] The point is driven into a hole burned into the handle. This method of hafting is used in the Bahinda states and throughout Buhaya. In Toro, Bunyoro, Buganda, and Nkole (at least in the north where I had a chance to observe this), the hoe is fastened somewhat differently. Here the handle consists of a forked branch cut from the trunk a little below the fork. The two parts of the fork are cut to an uneven length, the longer one being the handle and the shorter one, cut diagonally, bears the blade. The upper, protruding part of the blade is tied to the handle. This type of hoe is very awkward and a great strain to use, because the short handle forces the workers to bend over very low.

Fig. 25. Field Hoe from Julera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13108. Length of handle: 113 centimeters; length of blade: 31 centimeters; width 19.5 centimeters.)

The short hoe seems to be an older type which is dying out. My Wassukuma [Sukuma] porters told me that among their people the short-handled, bound hoe was commonly used in ancient

241 times, but that later it was replaced by a long-handled one
412 with a hole bored at one end. They also said that at present it differs from the Ruanda hoe only in the fact that it is ligher.

The very primitive wooden hoe, less frequently used in Ruanda, is somewhat similar to the older form. It, too, consists of an unevenly forked branch, but in this case the shorter end is pointed and used as the hoe. The few samples which I saw in the region had an iron tip on the pointed end. The people I questioned about it said that formerly this tip had not
[171] been used. Later I saw identical hoes among the Niloto-Hamitic Kakwa; these were without the iron tip. I was told that they were used exclusively for clearing.

In Ruanda the women as well as the men use the hoe. In this respect Ruanda is very different from the other regions of the northwest where hoe culture is practiced.

311 There are large aggregates of tilled fields only in the north and the west and along the northern shore of Lake Mohasi. Otherwise the fields are merly oases in large sections of pasture-

[412]

Fig. 26. Wooden Hoe with Iron Tip from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. L15061.)

land and bush.

311 The banana groves usually occupy the ridges of hills; at
245 least this is the case in Kissaka, Nduga, and Mulera. In Bugoye and in southern Bgisha where the settlements were very high, the groves are somewhat lower. In Bugoye where the lava is very much decomposed, there are large [138] banana plantations on the lava plains themselves. In Bgisha they are somewhat higher along the edges of these plains. Bananas bear almost all year round except in the driest season. The plants are hoed, but otherwise they require little care. The banana crop is used chiefly to make beer (nzoga).

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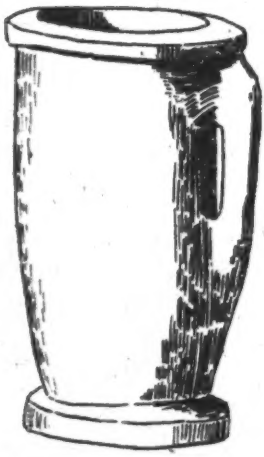

Fig. 27. Mortar from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13095. 44 centimeters high.)

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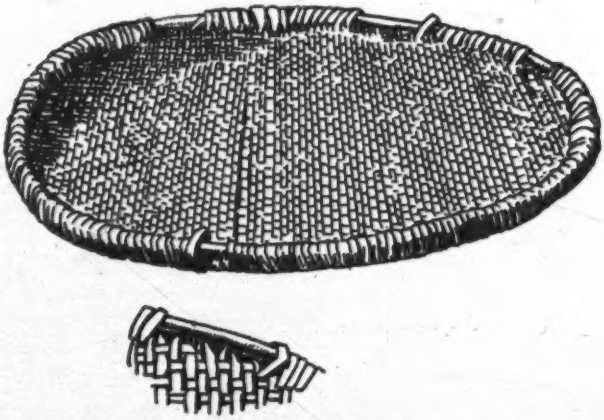

Fig. 28. Woven Shield for Winnowing Millet, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size, III E 13678. 75 x 61 centimeters.)

243 The millet fields lie chiefly on the slopes of the hills.
311 They are hoed and seeded after the first rain. Some time later they are weeded. The main harvest takes place in the middle of the dry season. I saw a harvest in Kissaka during the latter half of July. In Nduga it was already over in August. In Mulera the harvest is said to be at the end of February and in Bgisha at the end of November and the beginning of December.

244 Sweet potatoes are planted in marshy lowlands and irrigated
311 fields. They are the staple during the dry season when other supplies are exhausted and the millet is not yet ripe.

The land at the highest altitude is used for peas, although one often finds fields of peas at a lower altitude than banana groves. The highest fields I saw were on Mount Ndisa, high above the settlements, probably extending up to 2,000 meters. I could not discover the reason for the high location of these fields. [139] To judge from the surrounding country, I did not have the impression that it was so densely populated that the people were forced to lay out their fields so inconveniently. Peas and beans are harvested at the end of the rainy season.

251 Field crops, with the exception of bananas and sweet potatoes, are kept in storehouses (kigega). Millet is cut off short and left lying unthreshed until it is needed. Only then is it threshed in small quantities in mortars and winnowed by the wind on large woven shields. Bananas and sweet potatoes are brought from the plantations as needed. The bunches to be used for making beer are kept in the huts to continue ripening. Here considerable stores of other crops, especially beans and peas, are kept in large baskets (umuhiri) made air tight with cow dung.

314 Forestry. In Ruanda we can hardly speak of forest cultivation, despite intensive farming and the widespread cultivation of the land in densely populated areas where forests have shrunk to a minimum. The Muhutu is the worst enemy of the forest. He uses wood to build his huts and storehouses, his boats and tools, and to cook his food, but he does not husband it, and in this respect he is no better than the peasant of eastern Europe.

311 According to unanimous reports by the natives, the country of Ruanda is undergoing a rapid change, and deforestation is making great advances. Formerly the country is said to have been covered

311 with extensive forests which were destroyed by farmers, so that at the present time in northern Nduga, for example, there are no forests to be found. Quite recently the forest boundary has receded in Mulera and Bugoye as a result of colonization. When I visited

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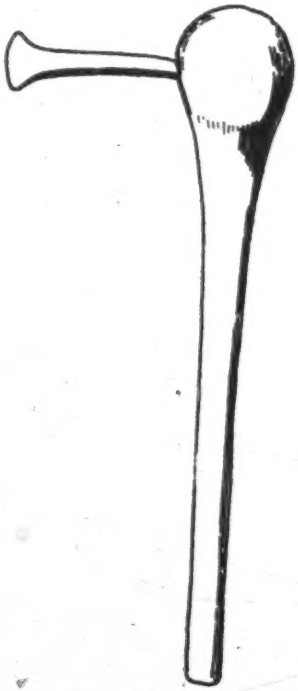

Fig. 29. Axe from Mulera: (1/6 actual size. III E 13111. Handle: 68 centimeters long.)

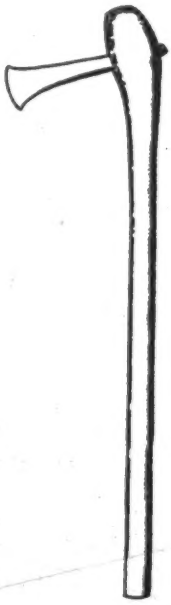

Fig. 30. Axe from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13060. Handle: 80 centimeters.)

Fig. 31. Bush Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L 15036.)

the Batwa of Chief Chuma, I saw that half their huts were already surrounded by Bahutu fields; the others were still hidden in the forest. In only a few years the farmers have penetrated this far; the Batwa could all still remember the time when their village lay deep in the forest.

412 The larger trees are felled with axes; smaller ones and the brush are cut with sickle-shaped bush knives. The axes (intolezo)

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber short-
372 age is a very important economic problem. In some places wood must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

2445 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have
197 begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation
554 a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C.T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

234 Although the large-horned Batutsi cow is used almost exclusively for its milk, it is not a good milk producer. The annual milk production of a medium-sized cow, according to the reports of missionaries, does not exceed 400 to 500 liters. Dr. Kandt (2) says that an excellent cow gives three liters of milk daily.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 283.

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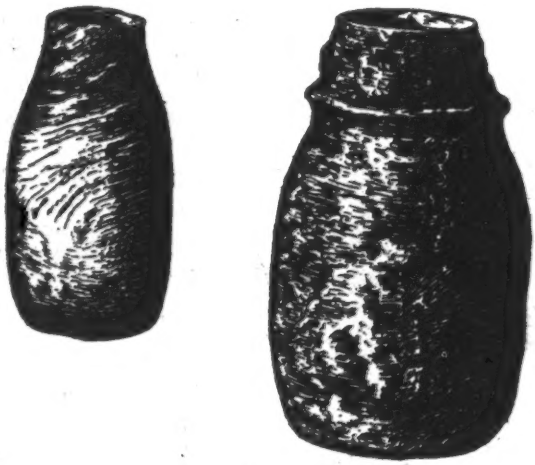

Fig. 32. Wooden Vessels for Storing Milk, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L 15167. 33 1/2 centimeters high. L 15165 . 45 centimeters high.)

The cow is milked only in the presence of its calf. The Banyakissaka told me that only then would a cow give milk. If the calf is accidentally killed, they deceive her with the calf's hide for the first few days, giving it to her to lick during milking so she will not hold back the milk. Only after some time can she be milked without the hide. The calves are brought to such before the animals are let out in the morning and after they return at night. After the calf has drunk for a while, it is taken away from the cow and held while the cow is milked by the cowherd. When the milking is finished, the calf is returned to the cow and allowed to suck until it stops of its own accord.

234 [142] While the cow is being milked, a fire of cow dung is kept burning beside her. The smoke keeps off the troublesome stable flies, and the animals can stand quietly.

Young calves are kept in special small huts or in closed-off portions of the entrance room of the dwellings (umuliango).

415 The milk is stored in cylindrical vessels (kianzi) crudely carved out of wood. The vessels are washed with cow urine, and from time to time they are fumigated. A cone-shaped lid

272 is made from a bundle of straw sewed to form a spiral. The milk is drunk chiefly when it is curdled (kivugutu); it is beaten with a small stick to change this consistency. Fresh milk (amata) and buttermilk (amachunde) are also drunk.

[413]

Fig. 33. Arrow for Bloodletting, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13744. 58 1/2 centimeters long.)

Besides milk, the blood of cattle is also drunk. For this purpose the bulls are bled from time to time by shooting a special arrow into the neck vein at close range. The short iron tip of the arrow is set into a wooden shaft. The upper part of the shaft is bound, to prevent the wood from splitting and also to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply into the vein. The lower end of the arrow has a notch into which the bowstring fits. When the blood is drawn off, a tourniquet of rope is tied around the neck below the wound.

The blood is drunk either fresh or cooked. It is sometimes [846] also mixed with milk, and in this form it is given to women after childbirth "to replace the lost blood."

232 Bloodletting is also practiced on sick animals by specialists. It is said that the animals are given the drawn blood as a reward.

262 Meat is eaten only on special occasions. Beef cattle have a very great value, and beef, therefore, is regarded as the greatest delicacy.

234 Butter is not eaten. It is used to anoint the body and to
302 smear on clothes. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter; they are held at the neck with one hand and rocked back and forth on the ground. Butter is stored in small clay [143] and
415 wooden vessels (akachendo). The latter often have looped handles and are then called uchende yo mukondo.

The local form of intensive agriculture on very fertile soil
233 is not easy to combine with the extremely extensive cattle raising. Barn feeding is unknown. The animals graze all day in the open and are locked into the kraal (lugo) at night. Thus, even in the densely populated and highly agricultural regions, it is very difficult to keep even the milch cows near the settlements. The rest of the animals are driven out to more remote pastures. For example, the Bagoye drive their cows eastward into the primeval
233 forest on the watershed. The animals are cared for by special
465 Batutsi caretakers who are paid to do this. For his service the herdsman gets the milk the first two months, since the cow is not returned to the owner until her calf is two months old. The herdsman also gets a jug of beer worth one hoe. He is, however, held accountable for the cow and must replace animals which are killed or stolen.

246 Pastures receive no special attention. On the northern slope of Mount Ndisa, however, I saw an irrigation system that watered the mountain meadows. Otherwise the steppes are merely burned off at the end of the dry season; this removes the withered grass and the young grass comes up abundantly after the first rain, the ground having been fertilized by the ashes. Needless to say, grass fires have greatly contributed to the deforestation of Ruanda, especially in the less populated areas. Granted that the forests have been destroyed by the farmers, nevertheless it is the herdsmen who make a second growth impossible. Grass fires rage throughout the country. In Mulera and Bugoye where everything is under cultivation, one sees fires only on the volcanic plains.

233 Since no fodder is stored, the cattle become very thin during
661 the dry season. It is not uncommon for Batutsi chiefs to have their herds driven into the sweet potato plantations of their farmers, where great damage is done. No matter how great their loss, the Bahutu cannot drive the cows out nor resist in any way.

231 In the herdsman aristocracy of Ruanda the Muhutu must always yield to the cow. Cows have crowded out the Bahutu in certain parts of Ufumbiro, and they definitely eliminated the farmers from Mulera's lava plain. They depopulated the region around Nyanza. We can say, therefore, that cows are a powerful factor in shaping the landscape of Ruanda.

231 Transactions involving the cow play a very important part
43] in economic life and judicial practices in Ruanda. These transactions take many forms.

[144] There is the simple sale where the price is paid at once or in installments (in goats). I also learned of another type of sale. The owner of two young bulls exchanges them for the unborn calf of a certain cow. If the calf is born a male, they wait for the next one. This transaction is known as kwatiriza. In kwatiriza, the milk, after the first two months during which the herdsman gets it, is divided between the buyer of the calf and the owner of the cow. However, there are often arrangements whereby half or even all the milk is simply bought up by someone.

Cows are for sale only in Mulera where they belong to Bahutu. Batutsi sell only young bulls. Calving cows are under no circumstances disposed of; they are only granted in feudal tenure. Even large bulls (mfizi) are not sold. I was repeatedly told that they cannot even be granted.

231 Goats are raised everywhere by the Bahutu. In the northwest sheep are raised in large numbers. I was presented with my first sheep on the route between Nyanza and Mulera, at the Nyawarongo ferry. One sees individual sheep everywhere. They are used for sacrificial purposes.

232 In this discussion of animal husbandry we must say a word about castration. This operation is familiar to the people of Ruanda and is performed chiefly on goats. It is said that the castration of cattle is forbidden by the king, but it is rumored that the cows one is forced to return are secretly cauterized in revenge. Hunting dogs are also castrated. It is said, too, that enemies of
[304] the king are castrated.

224 Hunting. Hunting as the chief means of obtaining food is practiced only by the Batwa. They live on the yield of the hunt,

224 just as the Bahutu live by agriculture and the Batutsi by animal husbandry. The agricultural produce they require is obtained only by bartering game or by stealing.

The Batwa are most skillful hunters. Accompanied by their dogs, they pursue the game with bow and spear in hand. They are very skillful bowmen and can even shoot down birds. The king of Ruanda has received most of his ivory from them. In former times, before elephants became so scarce in the country, ivory is said to have been obtained in great quantities. The Batwa hunting grounds are the forests of the Congo watershed east of Lake Kivu and Ruzizi and the forests on the chain of volcanoes.

The other Banyaruanda also hunt a great deal, especially in Kissaka because of the wealth of game on the steppes. In the northeastern part of this province hunting plays an important role in the economy; here we find professional hunters (abahigi) and even elephant hunters (abayovu).

[145] Hunters usually work in groups. On hunting drives there are a large number of participants. They are organized by the head of the district who assembles the farmers equipped with spears and bows and arrows and accompanied by numerous dogs. Because of the extensive nature of the hunting grounds, signals are given with a cow horn. Nets are also used to mark off certain regions. The hunter who delivers the first blow gets the skin and a piece of meat; the others get only portions of meat. Valuable skins are given to the

[41]

Fig. 34. Harpoon Spear from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13769. 190 centimeters long.)

mutware [official], and the hunters share only in the meat. Hunting drives usually take place in the dry season, but sometimes they

224 are organized at the beginning of the rainy season.

Elephant hunters work in small groups and use a spear. The following is the procedure when an elephant herd or a single old bull is sighted. At a carefully chosen place the spears are planted obliquely into the ground, their points directed toward the elephants. The hunters conceal themselves, with the exception of one who must go after a certain elephant. If the irritated animal attacks the hunter, the latter flees in the direction of the spears, so that the charging elephant will ram into one of them. The wounded animal is then attacked from the rear by the hunters in ambush. Elephant meat is said to be eaten in Kissaka. The mutware gets a tusk. Elephants are found chiefly in Bugansa, north of Kissaka.

Aside from drives and the use of decoys, wild game is also hunted with traps and trap pits. The traps consist of a snare lying on the ground and fastened at one end to a young tree bent to the ground. When the animal runs against the snare, the tree straightens out, draws the snare taut, and lifts the animal by its neck or a leg. The pits are carefully covered with foliage, and the captured animals are killed with spears and then divided up.

223 Birds are caught with slings, but they are also shot with bird arrows which are dull or have four points. Partridges are said to be pursued on foot and killed with a stick after the birds are exhausted.

In Mulera where hunters are very skillful, probably due to
224 Batwa influence, [146] a great many otters are speared. They use a spear with a barbed head and a broadened end, which is said to be used also in hunting hippopotamuses. The hippopotamus hunters try to creep up on their prey in small boats, a very dangerous but also very much admired sport.

231 Hunting dogs are greatly loved in Ruanda and kept in great numbers. Every chief has a rather large number of them. The
[552] dogs are called by special names. I realized how fond they were of their dogs once when the porters of our returning supply caravan stole a small dog. Its owner did not hesitate to follow my column on its westerly march for three or four hours and across two lakes, hoping that the porters would run into my column and that, with the help of a European, he would get back his property. This

231 proved to be the case. I was told that work ceases for a day after a
[628] dog's death, and that on occasion blood revenge is exacted for the killing of a dog. The Banyaruanda maintain that a person kills a dog because he would really like to kill its master but does not dare.

The number of dogs kept in Ruanda is very large, and for this reason the porters returning to Lake Victoria took a number of dogs with them. A returning caravan of 200 porters which I met in Kissaka had at least 60 dogs. Several of them were quite young and had to be carried on the porters' backs for the two to three weeks' trip. One can scarcely show greater proof of affection.

231 Since the dogs generally do not bark, they are not often used as
534 watch dogs. They usually wear small wooden or iron bells around their necks, dedicated to Ryangombe [a supernatural being] (insogera ya Ryangombe). Similar bells are tied around the necks of sheep and goats.

The iron bells commonly consist of two small, thin sheets of metal bent together, with a narrow, rounded slit at each end. Between the two sheets is a hollow space containing a small pellet large enough so that it cannot fall out through the slit. A string [147] is threaded

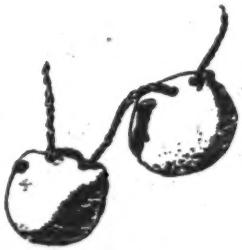

Fig. 35. Dog Bell from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13704. 6 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 36. Dog Bell from Ufumbiro, Batwa. 1/4 actual size. III E 6897. 10 1/2 centimeters long.)

through two small holes in the bell and tied to the collar. Captain W. Von Grawert found an entirely different bell among the Batwa of Ufumbiro. It consists of a narrow, triangular piece of sheet iron, the two lower ends of which are bent to form a cylinder. The tip is hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

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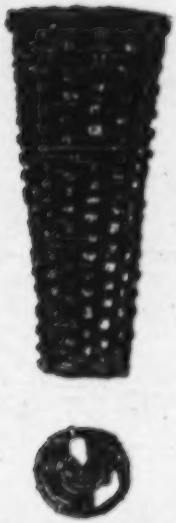

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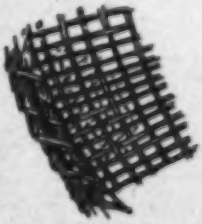
Fig. 37. Beehive from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13680. 80 centimeters long.)

Fig. 38. Honey Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13738. 28 centimeters long.)



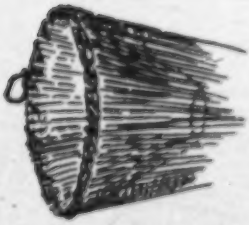


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Fig. 39. Fish Traps from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13743. 65 centimeters long.)

000 hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

231 Beekeeping. Bee culture plays a considerable role in Ruanda
[272] life. A great deal of honey is drunk; it is used as an additive to beer and is also mixed with water.

Bees are kept in baskets that are nearly cylindrical (imbutiba) and daubed with clay. At the bottom there are two small exits for the bees. The wider end provides an entrance for lifting out the honey, but otherwise it is closed off. Special long-handled
[443] knives (ulukezo) with short, wide blades are used to cut out the combs. The baskets are generally set up in large numbers on tall trees where they will be dry, but they are also set horizontally on special frames that have crossed legs. These frames are placed on the ground near the huts. There are also many wild bees in the country.

The province of Mulera has the greatest number of bees. In
[435] Bgisha a great deal of honey is sold. The price was two yards of material for two pots of about three liters each.

226 Fishing. The population near the lakes of Ruanda are fisherfolk. Net fishing is called kuteguza ifi. The various nets are called ujegwi, chera, and amahinda. The fish traps are called birumbi. They consist of a long cone into which is placed a second shorter one with its point cut off. The two are fastened together at their thicker basal ends. [148] There is little line fishing, but the fishhook is not unknown, although one does not see it very often.

501 The boats are simple dugouts about five meters long and 50 centimeters wide. They are very irregularly shaped, since the natural curve of the tree trunk is retained. The dugouts used on Lake Kivu are considerably larger. In Ruanda the sides of the boat are not built up by the addition of planks as is the case, for example, in Kiziba and Buganda. The boat's board formed by the edges of the hollowed-out trunk is higher or lower depending on the width or narrowness of the slit.

The oars (ngashi) are often carefully carved, and the blade (ulubega) is reinforced with a center rib (mugongo). The oars are free and held in the hand by the shaft (ulati).

501 In rowing, the oarsmen sit on the edges of the boat. Only the large Kivu canoes had seats which were fastened on either side with ropes passing through holes in the rim of the boat. The holes are made

[227]

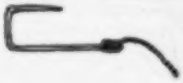


Fig. 40. Fishhook from Mukinjaga. (Actual size. III E 6896. 17 centimeters long.)

with a percussion drill (umutwero).

463 [113]

Industry. In Ruanda, as Dr. R. Kandt's (1)

1. Cf. the monograph "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 329-372.

studies have already pointed out, industry has the character of handicraft or hired work. There are few branches of industry on the level of home industry where at times surplus goods not used in the household are sold. This is true, for example, of basketry which generally is produced by the women.

Beer which is brewed in every household seldom figures in business transactions and then

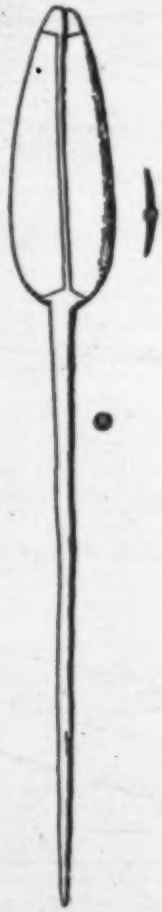


Fig. 41. Oar from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13731. 181 centimeters long.)

only between friends, in exchange for the care of cows and for rented fields.

Potters and woodworkers are craftsmen who produce for the market, whereas metalworkers are wage earners who work on order. Wiredrawers [149], as well as the producers of barkcloth, reputedly work at the home of their employers.

273 Preparation of Beer. The production of beer plays an important part in the economic life of Ruanda. In fact, most of the bananas are planted solely for this purpose. Everybody drinks. [556] Indeed, everyone who cares about his reputation must get drunk occasionally in order to parade his wealth. However, only the very wealthy can afford beer drinking on a large scale, which is the reason that the consumption of beer carries with it the notion of a privileged social position.

I had no opportunity to hear about cases of delirium tremens, but the chiefs always go to bed drunk and are never up and about before 10 o'clock in the morning.

The Banyaruanda call beer poetically a blessing of God (Imana). Without beer a person can neither be born nor buried. Without beer a man does not get a wife, and without beer he cannot be consecrated to the spirits.

Drinking bouts sometimes last a long time and are not confined to the evening hours. Repeatedly during morning trips I passed noisy settlements where the perservering were still at the glorious task.

273 674 The consequences of over-indulgence in beer are of very great social significance in Mulera. They cause murder which in turn results in blood revenge. One constantly hears of murder, and the people are very proud of it. Even those whom a man kills while drunk are counted among his slain enemies and are symbolized by cone-shaped iron pendants worn on the back of his headband (see Fig. 62).

At the time of my visit, a Batwa colony of potters in Kabgaye broke up because two drunken men killed a third man and thereupon had to flee with all their relatives to escape vengeance.

273 Not only the men, but also the women of the well-to-do, especially the Batutsi, are said to devote themselves not infrequently to drink. Since their physical beauty is combined with a rather brutal disposition, one often hears of servants of a chief's wife who were soundly thrashed by their intoxicated mistress.

In Ruanda there are several entirely different kinds of beer. Banana beer is commonly called nzoga; millet beer, marwa.

273 The various kinds have the following names.

1. Nzoga, ordinary banana beer.
2. Marwa ya massaka, millet beer.
3. Marwa ya buro, eleusine beer.
4. Rwagwa, banana beer fermented with millet malt. [150]
5. Nkangaza, banana beer fermented with honey.
6. Uruki, boiled, fermented honey water.

Nzoga is prepared with green bananas which are left to ripen in the hut, above the hearth or in special pits. If they are placed in a pit, a fire is kindled beside it and the heat conducted into the pit by the skillful manipulation of a lid. After four or five days the bananas are quite yellow. They are then peeled and thrown into a wooden trough. Here they are mashed to a thin paste (see detailed description of this process in the explanation of Plate 15, Vol. III, p. 11). This is how the sweet type of nzoga, called ndamu is prepared. Millet malt or honey is added to obtain a more pungent brew. In Buganza and Bgisha the bananas are said to be mashed in cold, unboiled water.

In order to get the nzoga to ferment, it is covered with straw and placed in a pit warmed by a fire, or it is kept inside the hut near the hearth, or it may be wrapped in banana leaves and kept in a corner.

To prepare millet beer, the grain is mixed with ashes, wrapped in grass, put in a basket which is dipped in water for a certain length of time, and then set aside until the grain germinates. After the grain has sprouted sufficiently to become malt, it is dried in the sun. The dried malt is ground into flour and is then ready for use. The flour is dissolved in boiling water, and, after cooling, it can quickly be brought to a state of fermentation by the addition of banana beer. If no banana beer is available, the thin flour porridge is heated and cooled several times. To prepare the ferment, a quantity of flour is dissolved in cooled water and set aside. After five or six days the ferment is ready and is added to the beer, and in two or three days the marwa is ready to be drunk. Unfermented marwa is called nsururu.

273 Aged banana beer is more potent than millet beer.

In Ruanda and Bgisha beer is drunk through a tube (muheha). These tubes are kept in cases resembling quivers, but they are considerably smaller.

276 Preparation of Tobacco. In connection with beer we must mention the other luxury, tobacco, even though the latter undergoes no treatment except drying. Dried tobacco is an important product of Bugoye where highly prized kinds of tobacco flourish and where it is very carefully tended.

[151] Tobacco is smoked in clay pipes (inkono yi tabi), but it is said that in Nduga old women also partake of it in a liquid state. An infusion is prepared, and this is snuffed up the nose. To prevent its running out, they clamp a split twig on the nose and in this way plug it.

This method of enjoying tobacco is also said to be familiar to the people southwest of Lake Victoria, where it is called kirangi. Since they are obliged to hold their noses very high in order to keep the liquid from running out, Europeans who carry themselves very erect are given the nickname Kirangi.

Hashish is unknown in Ruanda, as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine area with the exception of Buganda. The hashish smokers of Bukoba were chiefly members of the local Baganda colony.

285 Plaiting. In Ruanda the technique of plaiting by no means attains the level of the work in Kiziba, although it does not differ from the latter in principle. The Ruanda products, however, are less skillfully executed.

Since this subject has been discussed in detail (1) I shall

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 349-359.

speak only briefly of the types of weaving.

In mat weaving which poses the simplest problems (pattern and weave are executed on a flat surface), the results are superb,

285 and mats are among the most richly decorated objects.

There are four different types.

The stiff shield mats, which are stuffed between the supporting beams of the roof and used for interior partitions, are of two types. The first type consists of interwoven bamboo strips that cross at right angles. Variations arise, depending on whether the horizontal strips are separated from successive or alternate vertical strips. In the other type, a second layer is tied to the vertical strips. The strips of this layer can intersect the vertical strips at various angles, which diversifies the ornamentation.

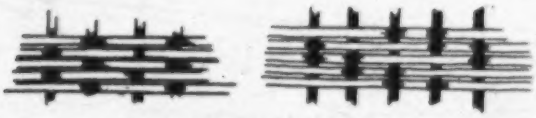


Fig. 42. Weaving Pattern of Shield Mats, Ruanda.

The stick mats consist of stiff sticks laid parallel to each other and fastened together. In Toro the mat used to serve cooked eleusine is held together by four narrow rows of fastening, while the stick mat of Ruanda has very narrow rows of fastening only along the edges. The [152] inner part between the fastenings usually has a pattern of plaited fibers, except for a narrow border which is left plain on both sides. These mats are used as curtains, which may be rolled up, in front of the bed. The ordinary reed mats are made like the mats just described, except that bunches of reed and papyrus are used instead of stiff sticks. The bundles are held together with longitudinal fastenings. In some places the bundles of reed are bound with black banana leaf sheaths, producing simple ornamentation.

The same types of plaiting are used for baskets. The weaving pattern of Type I (see Fig. 42) is used for larger baskets employed in the household for storing and carrying food supplies, for the shields on which millet is winnowed and on which flour is caught as it falls from the millstone, for beehives, for the

285

Fig. 43. Weaving Pattern of Stick Mats, Ruanda.

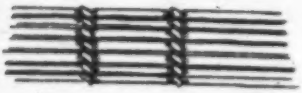


Fig. 44. Weaving Pattern of Reed Mats, Ruanda.

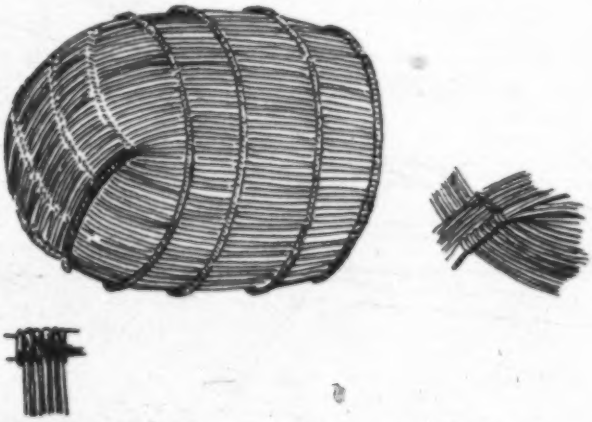


Fig. 45. Basket of Woven Sticks, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13683. Height: 33 centimeters.)

[43]

Fig. 46. Needle Used in Basketry. (1/3 actual size, 18 1/2 centimeters long.)

285 wrapper around beer jugs, for some of the woven quivers, and for mats to place under dishes. I remember having seen the pattern of Type II, in which the vertical strips are held together on the outside by a spiral, only on quivers (see Fig. 153).

Baskets used for traveling, in which toilet articles and small items are kept, are made of two stick mats [153] placed together vertically, bent to form a cylinder, and fastened together with several (usually four) horizontally attached hoops (see Fig. 45).

The sewn baskets are made from slender bundles of fine straw which are coiled and bound with bast. The bast binding is drawn through the previously bound coil of straw and sewn in this manner. The attachment of one coil to another makes the basket. The hole for the thread drawn through the coils is made with an iron needle (mhindu) which is also used to remove sand fleas. The needle has a flat head which is used to smooth out the bound bundle and make it more pliable. The patterns on the baskets are made with black banana leaf sheaths tied around certain parts of the coils.

The finest plaiting of this type is found in Ruanda on the covers of milk containers. Nevertheless, they cannot be compared with those of Kiziba and Kyanja. The small storage baskets (chibo) represent somewhat coarser work.

As may be seen from the above description, household equipment is mostly plaited objects, and their production takes up a large share of the women's time in every household. The best work is done by the Batutsi women who regard it as our women do their needlework.

323 Pottery. Objects of pottery stand second in the inventory of household furnishings. Pottery is produced by professional artisans who work exclusively for the market. In Ruanda most of the potters are Batwa men, but there are also Bahutu men and women who work as potters. In Kissaka I saw only women working at the trade.

Pots are not made on a wheel. However, traces of this tool are evident in the sherds which are used to shape the pot.

The clay which has been mixed with water is dampened slightly by the worker. She takes a lump of this and by hand shapes a cylindrical roll, 30 centimeters long and two to three centimeters thick. This roll is wound spirally like the straw coils used in

323 making baskets, thus forming the lower part of the pot. The rolls of clay are pressed together inside and out, and when the lower part of the pot is formed, additional spirals are added and pressed together. The procedure is continued to the upper edge of the pot or the neck of the jug, the spiral rolls still being recognizable. When it is finished thus far, [154] the pot is dipped in water and smoothed out with a piece of gourd until the rolls disappear. The upper edges are worked over with special care. They are carefully smoothed with a wet leaf (Acanthus arboreus) while the pot is rotated on the sherd. The ornamentation is also added while the pot is rotated, though much more slowly. A cylinder of plaited grass is rolled against the sides of the pot to make the primitive
[531] decorations. Geometrical designs are also applied.

The pots made in this way are allowed to dry for a few days and are then fired. It is said that they are fired in the pits used to warm the unripe, unfermented beer. Pots are also fired in the open where they are stacked in pyramids, packed with firewood and grass on the sides and banana stalks on top, and thus fired. The high moisture content of the banana stalks slows the burning of the wood and prolongs the entire process, which should help to keep the pots from cracking. Nevertheless, there is always a considerable residue of useless pots.

To increase the quality of the goods, it is said that crushed sherds are added to the clay.

Potters are found on every hill. In Kissaka where there are no markets, they work only to supply the needs of the immediate vicinity.

[832] A secondary branch of pottery is the manufacture of pipes and "little love pots," tiny vessels in which the women carry their amulets which are said to guarantee them the love of their husbands. These objects are made of kneaded clay and hollowed out with special small spatulas. These two classes of objects, if
[531] they are decorated at all, primarily have only linear geometrical ornamentation.

322 463 Wood Carving. Woodwork in Ruanda is done by highly specialized craftsmen. Most of them carve jugs or other vessels. They are called babazi in the vicinity of Mount Ndisa where there are great numbers of them. The persons who make bows and arrows and also

[412]

Fig. 47. Percussion Drill from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 9884. 34 centimeters long.)

live near there are called batanazi. Dr. Kandt (1), who in the

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 335-348.

monograph cited above discusses the wood industry of Ruanda in great detail, says with regard to the various types of workers: "Thus, the arrow makers also make bows, other workers make salt troughs for animals and drums, still others specialize in grain mortars, chairs, and beehives. There are also specialists engaged in making dishes, spoons for stirring, ladles, and clubs. Specialists in only one object make containers for milk, quivers, and ornamental boxes for pombe [beer] tubes. Workers who make milk vessels sometimes also make troughs for pombe. (2)

2. Ibid., p. 342.

322 [155] In spite of this extensive specialization, the products by and large are very crude and much poorer than the objects made around Lake Victoria. The smaller containers, especially the dishes for butter, are the most carefully and elegantly carved.

322 412 The tools used for this work are the ax (Figs. 29, 30), the bush knife (Fig. 31), the percussion drill, the hollow hatchet in various sizes with diagonal cutting edges, and the rasp for scraping the interior and surface of objects.

325 316 439 Metal Industry. The two types of metalwork in Ruanda are the ordinary blacksmith's art and wire drawing. Iron mining is of no importance; the inhabitants are dependent almost entirely on imported metal. Iron is imported from Busindja and from the Congo state in the form of hoes. I saw a few abandoned mines on Mount Ndisa, and there is some iron in Kissaka. Dr. Kandt (1) even reports a blast furnace with 16 bellows. Bgisha

1. Ibid., p. 360.

is said to be considerably richer in iron, but it seems to me that it chiefly mediates the importation of Congo iron.

326 The smiths form a sort of guild in Nduga. They are all Bahutu, but they belong to different clans even though their occupation is generally hereditary.

Smiths are very much feared throughout the country, although one cannot deny that their trade is regarded with a certain scorn. Among the Bahutu the smiths enjoy their wealth because of an undeniable influence. Women, for example, seem to regard smiths as great cavaliers and men of the world who always drink beer to excess. In general, however, they are regarded as restless spirits and eternal rebels, nor are they especially praised for their honesty. In view of this, they are carefully watched at their work when, as is usually the case, they are furnished with raw materials by the customers. It is said that they filch iron whenever they can and have a very bad reputation in this respect.

[847] Aside from their regular trade, the smiths also practice gynecology, and they are noted for their skill in performing abortions. They also play a prominent part in the cult. The head of the royal smiths is said to have a high position and to play an important role in court ceremonies.

325 [156] A smith's tools consist of bellows, iron hammers, and a stone anvil, besides lesser tools such as an earthen pot for water, a brush to sprinkle the coals when the surface begins to glow, and pieces of wood to clamp together the red-hot iron.

In Kissaka the bellows (see Plate 12, Vol. III) is a clay vessel, the bottom of which is elongated to form a rather long horizontal pipe. The upper opening of the pot is covered with a goat skin in such a way that a stick at the center can either

Fig. 48. Diagram of Air Circulation between Bellows and Funnel.

raise it or lower it in the pot. The resulting change in size of the area covered causes a shifting current of air in the horizontal pipe leading out of the bottom. Two bellows form one unit operated by one man and adequate for ordinary forging work. Dr. Kandt (1) shows an illustration of a double wooden bellows which

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 362.

I repeatedly saw only in north Ruanda and among the Bakondjo [Konjo]. A clay funnel sunk into the hearth is laid in front of the openings of the two bellows. Puffs of air produced by rapidly pressing down the skin-membrane are directed into the funnel alternately from the two openings. According to the pressure thus produced, the draft reaches the center of the hearth by way of the funnel, whereas the air sucked into the bellows comes through the space between the funnel and the bellows. In this manner primitive bellows without valves direct air through a funnel to the center of the hearth.

[412] The hammers, including the handle, are made from one piece of iron. The handle is round in cross section, whereas the hammer has four ribs for pounding, producing an X-shape in cross section.

325 The anvil is a flat stone. The smiths sit on similarly shaped stones beside the anvil while they work.

They do not use tongs. The red-hot iron is set into banana stalks which have a high moisture content, and thus the iron can be held in the hand while being forged. If the object being forged happens to have a point, the latter is driven into a piece of wood, and with this improvised handle it can be held quite comfortably.

To cut off a piece of iron, they bend it in both directions until it breaks and falls apart. The edges and the rough surfaces of the anvil are also used in forging. For example, if the iron is to be cut in two at a certain point, that portion is hammered thin, repeatedly [157] bent in both directions, and finally laid over a hollow portion of the anvil and separated with a few light blows.

[306] The rather highly developed jewelry industry requires a considerable production of very thin iron and copper wire. This is wound around bracelets and anklets.

The piece of metal is first forged into a thick, uneven piece of wire, and later this is drawn out to the desired thinness.

The actual wire drawing is done without heat. Forged wire is repeatedly drawn through a cone-shaped hole in an iron bolt. The narrower outlet of the bolt is gradually made smaller as the soft metal is hammered. As the wire is pulled through, the edges of the bolt yield more and more, so that the wire is thicker at the end than at the beginning. To counteract this, the wire is alternately pulled through the bolt in the reverse direction.

After the opening of the bolt has been narrowed by hammering, first of all the uneven edges must be smoothed. For this purpose a well-sharpened needle set into a wooden handle is used. The needle is put into the opening of the bolt from both sides and twisted around. Then the end of the wire is filed so that it can be threaded into the bolt. Thereupon the protruding end of the wire is clamped down with a special device. The wire is drawn without the use of pincers.

The clamp used in place of pincers consists of a V-shaped piece of iron. The protruding bit of wire is placed between the two branches of this V-shaped piece and clamped by means of an iron ring set on the V. The clamp must then be drawn slightly away from the bolt. After this, while the wire is still sufficiently

325 thick and strong, the bolt is supported against a forked tree trunk set in the ground. This is why the outer edges of the bolt are cut to shape at both ends. This preparation prevents slipping because these parts can fit more exactly in the notches on the wooden fork.

The clamp is grasped, for the sake of comfort, with a loop made of banana leaf sheaths, and it is drawn the length of a meter. Afterwards a loop is wound around the wire itself. This loop is knotted in such a way that in pulling back with the hand closed it grasps the wire and pulls it, but at the same time it slides easily in the direction of the bolt. Drawing the wire close to the bolt prevents it from breaking. In the case of fine, weak, thin wire, the clamp is supported against the wooden fork and the bolt drawn along the wire by hand. If any section of the wire offers resistance, the wire is slid back and forth.

[287]
[413]

Fig. 49. Barkcloth Beater, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 9964.

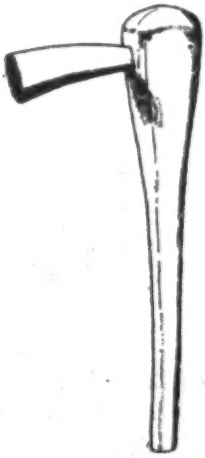


Fig. 50. Barkcloth Beater, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13105. 34.5 centimeters long.)

[158] Thick wire is heated for drawing; but the temperature is very low since the main operations, such as filing the point and clamping, are done by hand. Thick wire is rubbed with stones as it is being drawn; the worker takes a handful of stones and repeatedly rubs them along the wire. This is reputedly done to impede the movement of the wire and thus draw it out more. Thin wire is smeared with fat to keep it from getting stuck, which might cause it to break.

The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

000 The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

28 [178] Preparation of Barkcloth. The making of barkcloth (mpuzu) seems to be falling off in Ruanda. For example, I had only one occasion in Ruasa to see a piece of barkcloth, and this was made into a bag. Because of the large number of barkcloth beaters which were offered me for sale in Ruasa, I am forced to conclude that this branch of native industry is dying out, at least in Mulera.

In Nduga where the population is considerably poorer, one sees a great deal of barkcloth, but since it is worn in the same manner as expensive clothing made of skins, one might assume that in this locality it is at present only a substitute for skins. There are, however, reasons for assuming that the original clothing was made of barkcloth. In Mulera in the area of the Ruasa Mission it was observed that with the increase of wealth barkcloth was replaced by clothing of skins.

The bark of a species of fig is soaked in water, laid on a tree trunk, and beaten out thin with a hammer. The hammers [413] (imango) have two shapes. One looks like a cylinder with circular grooves on the end used for beating, and it has a tapered handle. The other kind is a conical beater which, as in the case of the axes and hoes, is fastened to a handle. Here, too, the beating surface is grooved but in crisscross fashion.

In Ruanda the barkcloth is very crude and cannot be compared to that of Kiziba.

281 [159] Dressing Skins. Preparing a cow hide for an article of clothing is a laborious task. The skin must be made soft and pliable; otherwise it is useless.

The skin stripped off the animal is first of all dried in the sun and then soaked in water. When it has become soft, it is hung up to allow the water to drip off. It is then stretched on the ground with the fur side downward, held with small wooden pegs which are stuck through the edge of the skin and, after the skin is stretched, are driven into the ground with a stone. Then the skin is cleaned with a scraper (mbaro). This process is known as kuhara. The first layer that is removed is called imishishwa; the second imiharamuro; the third, inkuru. After that the pierced edge is

281 cut off, the skin is rubbed with cow dung and it is put aside for two or three days. Later it is combed and smoothed out with minyonza. This process is known as kubiutsa inshundo zinganda. The skin is then rubbed thoroughly with butter and sprinkled with red earth which has been soaked in water (kitaka ch'inkanda). The particles remaining after this has dried are mixed with butter. When the skin has been prepared thus far, patterns are sewn on it with an iron needle. Cattle tendons are used as thread. This work is called kukana nganda. Originally the needle had no eye; it was a sort of awl of the type which is also used to remove sand fleas (mafunza). At

[443]

Fig. 51. Awl from Mulera. (1/3 actual size. III E 13732. 24 1/2 centimeters long.)

its opposite end it has a knife to cut the skins. Finally, the skin must be perfumed. For this purpose the sweet-scented wood called imibavu ihumura is used. This wood is burned in a sherd (luggio) on red-hot coals. Above the fire a wide-meshed plaited basket (lutete) is placed upside down, like a dome. The skin is stretched over the basket and thus exposed to the smoke. This completes the dressing. The skins of goats and sheep are dressed with less care but along the same lines.

463 Trade. The division of labor in Ruanda is on a comparatively high level. The socio-political situation itself produces a diversity of occupations among the subjugated Bahutu and the ruling Batutsi, but we must not forget that agriculture among the Bahutu and cattle raising among the Batutsi are basically independent and have little relation to each other economically.

[160] The division of labor is not sufficiently advanced in Ruanda to give rise to any great economic independence, with the exception of the king who has large holdings in land and cattle. Most articles are made for home consumption.

438 Exchange of goods has little importance in itself, and a financial system which reveals the relationship of individual goods to each other has not been developed.

With the exception of foodstuffs, objects of trade are iron hoes, tobacco, cotton cloth, skins, salt, brass and copper wire, glass beads, various housewares, weapons, and, with certain restrictions, women and cattle.

436 Of these goods, especially iron hoes, beads, and cattle have become the standards of value. Individual standards, however, are applied according to the goods appraised, and there is as yet no fixed relationship of the different units of value to each other.

The hoe is the general unit of value for larger objects. Thus, they speak of a good goat for two to four hoes, or of the rental for cultivating a field for two seasons as equivalent to one hoe, etc.

At the time of my visit gilded glass beads the size of a pea were used as a small unit of value. These substitute for the cowrie shells common around Lake Victoria and are about equal to them in value. Other kinds of beads were also accepted in payment. The small red sam-sam, so popular in Urundi, were not accepted in Ruanda. Somewhat larger blue beads and white ones of the same diameter but twice as long come from Kisenyi. They are considerably lower in value (about one half) than the gilded pea-sized beads. In Kissaka and Nduga I was able to carry out transactions using small white beads, two to three millimeters in diameter. On the other hand, the round bluish-green beads eight millimeters in diameter were not accepted anywhere. Formerly they were said to have been highly prized throughout the country.

The gilded, pea-sized beads, like the cowrie shells which have about the same value, are strung, 50 to 100 on a string and serve as units for counting. The long strings are called runigi rulerule, "large necklace"; the small ones, runigi rugwisi, "small necklace."

Pieces of brass or copper wire are sometimes also used as measurements of value. The unit of measure for copper wire is ntamba, the maximum distance between the tips of the first and third fingers.

436 With the advent of trade in skins a new unit of value has come into the country. This is the rupee (1/15 of an English pound) which here takes the form of white cotton material (Amerikani) two fathoms in length, called doti by the traders along the coast. [161] A length of this material can be divided only into two pieces of one fathom (upande) each. The doti is the equivalent of about 1,000 to 1,200 gilded, pea-sized glass beads.

When the Batutsi buy women, they use cows and beer jugs as units of value. The Bahutu of south Ruands use iron hoes as units of value (spade money), whereas the Bahutu of the north, especially those from Mulera, measure the value of women in cows.

435 Prices. Prices differ greatly throughout the country and are subject to great fluctuations. The value of European goods is rapidly depreciating. In order to give an idea of the relative value of individual objects, I shall list a few prices as expressed in equivalent units:

Small hut	one large goat.
Large jug of beer	one hoe.
Sword (ngota)	one small hoe.
Pot for water or for cooking	1/8 to 1/15 of a hoe.
Hoe	150 to 250 gilded glass beads in the year 1907. Great fluctuation in price according to the fashion.
Mat	1/3 to 1/4 of a hoe.
Day's wage of a man	1/5 of a hoe.
Tobacco leaf	1/250 of a hoe.
One fathom of material (upande Amerikani)	two hoes.
A load of tobacco, 400 to 600 leaves	one upande.

Tobacco from Bugoye and Bushiru is sold in packages of 50 leaves. About ten packages comprise a load. Ordinary kinds of tobacco such as are grown everywhere have no commercial significance.

435

Elephant's tusk	up to 100 goats.
Goat	two to four hoes.
Sheep.	two to three hoes.
Young bull	eight to eleven hoes.
Calf	two to five hoes.
Young cow	15 to 20 goats or two bulls: one the same size as the cow, the other somewhat larger.

439 Trade. In considering trade in Ruanda we must make a sharp distinction between trade in hides and other forms of trading.

In the cattle-rich lands of the African interior the trade in hides takes on the character of pure export, indeed of piracy. Imported [162] European and Indian cotton goods, glass beads, brass and copper wire, and other consumer goods are paid for in hides.

The government has forbidden traders to cross the borders of Ruanda and Urundi because it was afraid that livestock might be decimated due to the relatively high prices of skins. Smugglers [687] who were caught had to forfeit their wares and, temporarily, their freedom, but despite the risk, native traders, lured by the great profits, came from Karagwe to Kissaka to buy skins. These they sold to Indian shopkeepers in Kafuro.

South of Lake Mohasi I met a trading caravan of ten men. They drove a few cows and goats, and on their heads they carried rolls of hides. They carried a passport from Bukoba to Kafuro and continued their journey at their own risk. They talked a great deal about the high prices they paid for the livestock, in order to clear themselves of any suspicion that they had stolen them. They said they had paid ten doti Amerikani for one bull and one doti for a goat.

Near the Nsasa Mission there is a Muganda trader who has been there so long that he is a permanent resident.

Smuggling must be rather extensive, since all the Batutsi were dressed in cotton. It is not probable that this material came primarily from the military and trading stations on Lake Kivu (Kisenyi and Ischangi).

439 Aside from trade in hides, there is an old, respectable foreign trade. Iron hoes are imported from the Congo state and salt from Lake Edward. These are paid for chiefly in goats. Goats are also used to pay for ivory and rubber smuggled out of the Congo.

438 Internal trade consists above all in the exchange of local products between producer and consumer. Barter is carried on in food, iron, clay products, sheep and goats, salt, etc.

The people of Issawi get their salt from Njaruguru. It is brought there from Urundi. They buy their hoes in Mukinjaga. This province does not manufacture them; they are imported from Bunyabungu. The northern provinces get their iron from Bgisha and their salt from Katana on Lake Edward where salt from Kagwe is sold in large quantities. Salt is also prepared within the country, in Mulera, and, according to Dr. Kandt (1), in a

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 513.

southern bay of Lake Kivu. I do not know whether Busindja salt (2)

[113]

2. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha and Urundi [A Missionary Journey to Uha and Urundi,]," Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, p. 185.

which is obtained in Kigoma west of [163] Mumurumba on the southern border of Ujungu, reaches Ruanda.

Copper is imported in small amounts from Urundi and in larger amounts from Busindja in payment for ivory. Goats are exported from Mulera, Kissaka, and Njaruguru. Sheep are exported from Mulera. Mukinjaga produces the prettiest mats. The colored mats of the Batutsi are made in Nduga. Bamboo baskets are made in Bwischascha, Bugoye, and Mulera. Ndorwa exports otter skins. The most beautiful spears and the best arrows are made at Mount Ndisa. All these goods are also traded within the country.

438 484 This trade is conducted by native middlemen who, in contrast to foreign traders (bachuruzi), are known as bagenza. They

often set out on journeys lasting several days to visit customers and distant markets. They handle the trade between Mulera, Nduga, and Katana on Lake Edward, and their chief items of exchange are sheep and goats, iron, salt, and tobacco. The Bagoye handle trade between Bugoye and Bunyabungu and exchange large quantities of hoes for goats from Mulera.

The Bagoye are unprejudiced traders. For example, when they saw me collecting skulls there, they brought me some to buy. However, no one had the courage to touch a skull. They carried it either on a stick or wrapped in a banana leaf. It was a boy of eleven who first had the idea of demanding payment for skulls. Others followed, even adults, when they saw that the boy was well paid. In a short time they brought in over 200 skulls.

We must point out, however, that not everyone was enthusiastic about these transactions. After more careful investigation, it was discovered that all the skull collectors were people of the lower classes. They were bagaragu (1) of the others and orphans

1. Clients.

who had been taken into individual households as semi-slaves. After a few days, however, skull collecting stopped altogether, since the boys of the mission refused to eat with anyone who had collected skulls. When this news spread, I could not get any more skulls, and the last collector was thrashed.

The people were very much interested in knowing how much was paid for skulls in Europe.

Even today it is said that human beings are exported from Ruanda, not as voluntary emigrants and transient workers, but as slaves. I could find out little about this obscure problem. Since wives [164] are bought, it is very difficult to draw the line between a purchased slave and a purchased wife. In Kissaka the story goes that the Bassuwi come in large numbers to buy women and that they stay in Lukira. They are also said to re-sell the women in Tabora.

Dr. Kandt (1) says that there is a regular slave trade in the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 435.

567 northwestern part of the country. "The Wahunde [Hunde] annually sell hundreds of their children as slaves to Ruanda because their country is too small for their large families, and they do not have enough food."

443 Markets. Markets where people gather at certain hours of the day in order to exchange their goods are common only in the north and west. They seem to be entirely absent in the east. Dr. Kandt sees Western influence in the institution. (2) To me this does not

2. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 332.

seem quite correct. In the first place, it also exists in Nduga, as I discovered for myself. Secondly, we have adequate reason to assume that Bahutu-Ruanda, before it was influenced by Batutsi, was very similar to the territories on the other side of the great African trough [Rift Valley]. It is possible that markets are a very old institution that survived only in the west and north. In the Batutsi provinces markets may have disappeared with the conquest, just as they vanished in the vicinity of the Belgian stations, especially in Uele, or, at any rate, they are hidden from the eyes of the conquerors. The latter have not infrequently confiscated market goods because no taxes were paid on them.

In Nduga I saw two markets offering iron hoes (iguliro lyi byuma). One was half an hour from Kwa Rutagungira in Bulamba, the other was located between Nyanza and Kabgaye on a hill three hours from the latter settlement. When I passed through, the market near Kwa Rutagungira was patronized by a great many smiths from Mount Ndisa. Below Marangara, on the Nyawarongo in Bukonya, there is a charcoal market. Charcoal is burned in the Tschingogo Forest and traded by the people of Chief Niamakwa of Bushiru for millet and old hoes.

Since olden times there has been a food market, open daily, in Nyundo on the Mission Bridge between Katebe Hill and the Ssebeya. The people gather early in the morning and leave between 11 and 12 o'clock. There is another market town in the northwestern part of Kisenyi.

443 In Mulera there is a market place a few hours from Ruasa. Luhanga, the representative of Nshohozamigo, tried to move the market to the neighborhood of the Ruasa Mission. He thought that he could thereby make the missionaries [165] obligated to him and, on the other hand, increase his profits. It was to be assumed that the highway over the Mission Bridge which everyone takes to Ruweruka and Bugoye would attract even more customers than the old site. However, the expectation was not fulfilled. At first people came out of curiosity, but they soon went back to the old site. This example proves that we are dealing here with old, firmly established traditions.

In the west markets occur three to four hours apart, as Dr. Kandt (1) has already pointed out.

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 294.

[443]

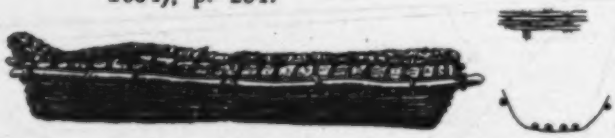


Fig. 52. Litter from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III 13685. 128 centimeters long.)

In Nyundo the market attracted several hundred people daily between eight and ten in the morning. There were also several middlemen taking part, who collected commissions. To avoid the market tax people also carried on transactions along the roadsides near the market. We observed such small auxiliary markets at the crossroads.

487 Communication. The Munyaruanda travels on foot. When several people travel together they move in single file on the well-trodden paths which have been used for centuries. The paths avoid straight lines. They carefully circumvent every obstacle, every stone, every fallen tree trunk. Despite these minor deviations, the course of the path is definitely fixed and determined by the ferries. Nothing could be more incorrect than the assertion heard not infrequently that on a trip any path can be used as long as

487 the general direction is maintained. One must often make considerable detours in order to keep to the more frequented, convenient main arteries. This struck me particularly when, in Njakagungu on the way from Lake Mohasi to Nsasa, I crossed the road that led from Ruanda to Karagwe. The paths hug the ridges of the hills, since travel in the valleys is very difficult because of the many swamps. The constant ascent and descent from one ridge to another makes travel very troublesome.

493 The important people of the country are carried in basket litters (ngobi) on their journeys. The litter is like a woven trough. It is made [166] of bamboo sticks (migano) which run lengthwise and are fastened to each other with strips of rattan. The trough has at least three handles on each side through which are inserted two strong bamboo sticks. The bearers carry these sticks on their heads on round cushions. They move at a gentle trot. The occupant of the litter is in a half-reclining position.

484 The chiefs travel with all the comfort of home; they are, for example, accompanied by two cows (nzishwa) which are milked en route.

[492] Only Europeans ride animals.

491 Until recently bridges were entirely unknown in Ruanda. Now one has been built on land belonging to the Ruasa Mission over the rapids of the Mukungwa which were difficult to cross. Another connects the Issawi Mission with the neighboring hills. It stretches across a swamp.

501 Since ancient times river crossings have been provided with dugouts to ferry travelers. At the Akanjaru ferry near Kihinga, I had an opportunity to see a raft made of reeds and papyrus tied together. The raft was pulled from one shore to the other by means of a rope made out of plaited papyrus. The raft was three meters square and was strong enough to carry seven porters with their loads.

491 The Akanjaru which is one kilometer wide did not have an open surface of water as much as 20 meters wide on which a raft could move. It was a thick papyrus swamp through which we would have had to wade up to our hips at that time if a comfortable crossing had not been built with reeds and papyrus stalks laid next to each other. Small dams are often constructed in the swamps to make a watering place for the cows. If the swamp has a considerable 312

312 gradient, a deeper free surface of water is formed above the dam, which serves as a watering place for cattle.

482 In Ruanda all goods are transported by porters. Lake Kivu
501 is the only waterway that is used. It is navigated with large, primitive dugouts which are not sea-worthy but can carry very considerable loads. Otherwise boats are used only to ferry travelers across the rivers on main thoroughfares.

133

Fig. 53. Cushions for Carrying Loads, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13093. 21 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

The rivers of Ruanda, however, have navigable stretches which in the future, with the development of transportation, will undoubtedly be used. [167] Thus, for example, I am convinced that the Nyawarongo is navigable from Mount Ndisa to the confluence of the Mukungwa and even farther. On the Kissaka border, also, I confirmed the navigability of the Kagera. Likewise, the Kagera can be navigated from the mouth of the Ruvuvu to the bend of the Mpororo.

492 Beasts of burden are not as yet used in Ruanda, although the 20 to 25 donkeys in the country, used by Europeans, are very serviceable and thrive well.

The use of waterways and beasts of burden, however, takes for granted an increase in porters' wages and a development in trade which the porters now available will no longer be able to handle.

482 In contrast to the custom in the northwest Congo areas, burdens are carried on the head in Ruanda. It is only among the Bahunde in the west that we begin to see people carry burdens on their backs. It seems that the eastern boundary of this method of carrying packs entends from Lake Kivu across to the Rutshuru River and north, along the eastern boundary of the Bakondjo territory, to the east of Lake Edward.

482 415 286 In the north high, cone-shaped bamboo baskets are used to carry food and charcoal. They are carried on the head on a cushion. Small packages are also often made of banana leaves. These packages are generally wedged between three branches, bamboo stalks, or small bunches of millet straw. In this way they can be held with one hand. Packages are more often used in the south. There, small items and toilet articles are packed for traveling in wide, low baskets made of small sticks, with cone-shaped lids. These are simply placed on the head.

Beer and water are carried in earthen pots with plaited wrappers and covered with banana leaves.

202 In a discussion of the means of communication in Ruanda we must not forget to mention the native telegraph. Drum signals are used to a moderate extent. The king summons his warriors with drums when there is impending danger, but general information is shouted from hill to hill in a particular way, so that Nyanza is always well informed about what goes on in the country. There is news [168] of every European traveler of every cattle theft at the border, and of every sign of unrest throughout the country. The news travels quickly from hill to hill until it reaches the capital. The news service is so good that one could assume there are special persons who are obliged to carry out their duties of signaling promptly.

Fig. 54. Pack Basket for Carrying and Storing Food. (1/12 actual size. III E 13688. 140 centimeters high.)

487 438 Arteries of Communication. In conclusion we shall list briefly the chief traffic and trade routes of Ruanda.

1. The path from Bukoba, via Kafuro, Kissaka, and Bugessera, to Nduga is the route along which hides are transported from Ruanda

to the Uganda railway. It seems that most of the cotton cloth and beads that one sees in Ruanda are also brought this way. Trade along this route is carried on chiefly by Indians from Kafuro, assisted by

Fig. 55. Traveling Basket from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 6986. 84 centimeters high.)

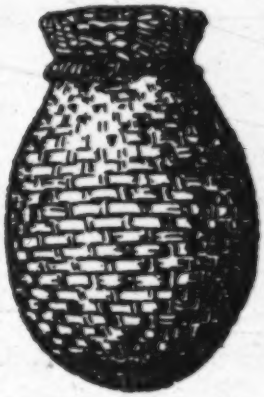


Fig. 56. Pot with Woven Wrapper, Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III 13746. 50 centimeters high.)

people of Kahigi. I reached this route on my trip from Nyanza by Lake Mohasi to Nsasa in Njakagungu, a day's journey south of the lake. On the way I met a trading caravan that exchanged cattle for its ten loads of cheap cotton material. This new traffic artery was formed to make a connection with the Uganda Railway.

2. The above route has cut off the old way from Tabora, via Ussuwi and Kissaka, to Nduga and robbed it of its former importance. It is said that now this route has a branch along which the Bassuwi trade in women flourishes. It was along this route that uCount Von Götzen entered the country, the first European to do so.

[169] 3. The route from Nduga via Mukinjaga to Bunyabungu is the export route for sheep and goats which are exchanged for iron. Along this route are traded the Mukinjaga mats, well-known throughout Ruanda.

487 4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to
438 Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye,
[439] Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170] Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

171 Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of
291 Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and
301 characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus,
411 we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

291 In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

291 dress, the Mututsi does not use barkcloth. This leads us to associate barkcloth with the [171] Bahutu substratum. An argument in favor of this view may also be seen in the fact that barkcloth technique reaches its height in Buganda, but there the influence of the herdsmen aristocracy is at a minimum.

292 The festive garb of the Batutsi consists of a narrow piece of cowhide (mukane) with a fringe of about 20 strips (ndengera) of cowhide or, as in the case of the fringe on tobacco pouches, of otter skin. The cutting of these strips is called kutera indengera. The hide is light gray, worn with the fur side out, and fastened at the loins by being turned down at the edge.

291 The mukane must not be confused with the nshavure. The latter is an ordinary narrow skin without a fringe, which is worn by

[292]

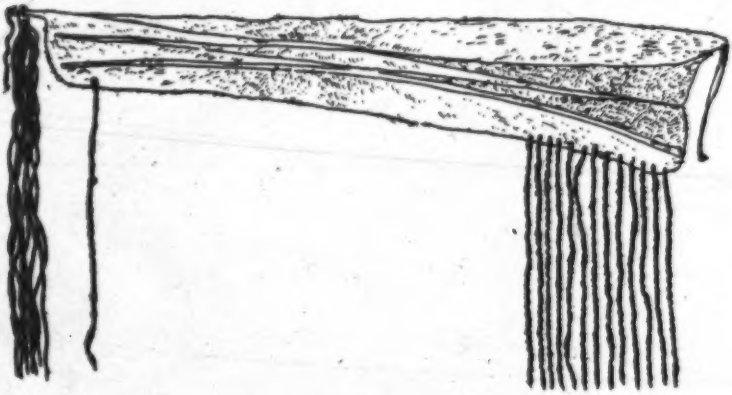


Fig. 57. Festive Garb of Batutsi in Ruanda. (1/12 actual size. III 10911. 125 centimeters wide.)

children, young girls, and even adult herdsmen when they go out to their animals early in the morning.

Children and unmarried girls also wear an apron (nduyongo) made of braided banana fibers, resembling the grass clothing of the Baziba [Haya].

The everyday dress of the Batutsi is made of cotton cloth. It consists of two pieces of material, each two yards long and one yard

wide. One piece is wrapped around the loins (kukenyara), the other is thrown over the shoulder (kuitera). For the shoulder pieces red prints are popular, but the colors are not gawdy. The cotton materials, like the skins, are smeared with butter. 291

The Bahutu for the most part wear barkcloth a great deal and, near the missions, cotton clothing also. Cloth and skins are worn in the same manner as the cotton material of the Batutsi.

Fig. 58. Braided Apron for Young Women and Children, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III 9923. 33 centimeters wide.)

291
171

The Bahunde, who are physically and linguistically closely related to the Bahutu, draw a piece of barkcloth between their legs, like their western neighbors of the Congo Basin, instead of wrapping it around their hips, as the Banyaruanda do with the kukenyara. We may presume that the West African method of drawing it between the legs is the original custom, even among the Bahutu. This is confirmed by the fact that the Banyaruanda also wear waist bands, often decorated with glass beads, under their cotton clothing. At one time these probably served to fasten the barkcloth drawn between the legs. Wrapping the clothing around the hips makes these bands superfluous. The wrapped lengths of material seem to be the result of [172] a later East African influence, which could also have come from the Batutsi. The people cling to this principle of dress in their old costumes which they now wear only for rituals and festive occasions.

Fig. 59. Waistband of Strung Pieces of Porcupine Quills, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 3954. 161 centimeters long.)

Married women wrap a soft piece of cowhide (inkanda) around their hips. It reaches to their ankles and is held and fastened with a 291

291 cord or thong. The free end of this thong is usually cut into several strands and strung with beads of glass or iron (ngimbi). The braided bast cord is called indjishi.

Dressed cowhide has a relatively high value and is worn for several years. When torn, it is mended and carefully sewn together. Not all women, however, can obtain this costly, though

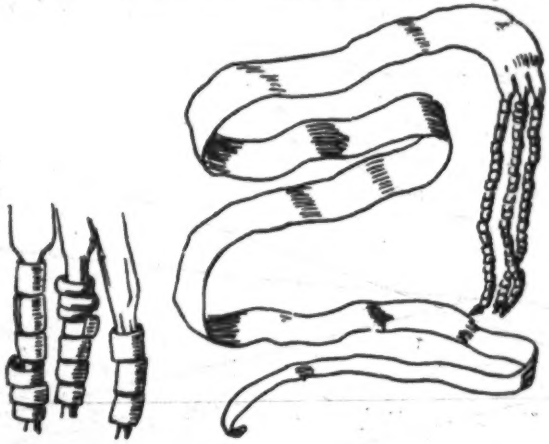


Fig. 60. Woman's Belt from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13701. 145 centimeters long.)

serviceable article of clothing and must wear goat skins and barkcloth (mpuzu), as do the grown girls. Near the missions where work is paid in cloth, they also wear cotton materials in place of cowhides.

To complete a woman's costume, a goat skin is thrown over the shoulders. However, when this article is omitted, the costume is not regarded as incomplete.

[854] Small children are always wrapped in sheepskin and carried on the back. The skin is tied together above and below the mother's breasts with two strips of barkcloth or two pieces of bark from a banana tree. These strips are tied to the leg parts of the skin.

[515] [173] Women who are carrying children usually also carry leaves in their left hand. The leaves are carefully laid together and used to wipe their backs and the child if necessary.

Batwa wear the same clothing as the Bahutu, except that cotton material is very rare among them. Dr. Kandt, however, observed differences in women's clothing. He says (1) about the 29/

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 302.

Batwa women: "They wore aprons of slashed banana leaves to cover their genitals. As ornaments they wore on their withered bodies only a few chains tightly strung with bluish opalescent glass discs made of snail shells." On the Muhawura and in Kabgaye I had an opportunity to see and to measure Batwa women. They wore the ordinary clothing of Ruanda and the common type of ornaments. I saw Batwa women from Ngunzu's village only

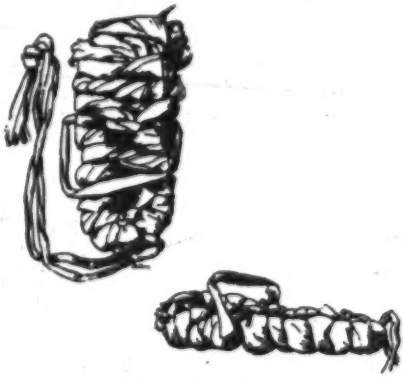


Fig. 61. Sandals from Bgisha. (1/6 actual size. III 10947. 25 centimeters long.)

in the primeval forest as they took flight, alarmed by our caravan.

Only in the patterns of European printed materials and the different kinds of glass beads can one see a predominant fashion in Ruanda. In the northwest Belgian materials were specially favored, but they were actually of better quality than those offered on the east coast.

Clothing worn temporarily during the rains consists of banana leaves tied around the hips. Fishermen wading in water wear the

291 same type of clothing.

293 The Munyaruanda is familiar with the native umbrella. In its simplest form the improvised umbrella consists of a large banana leaf worn on the head. An actual umbrella is made of the bark of a banana tree stretched on a bowl-shaped frame. It is worn on the head and supported by the back (cf. Vol. III, Plate 23).

291 I saw sandals only near the lava plain in Rulenge (Bgisha). They are made of banana leaves and, like the shoes used in Europe for mountain climbing, have a sole made of flat braid. They wear out very easily on the rough earth, so that on a journey several pairs must be taken along. [174] The natives wear them only when the footing is positively dangerous, otherwise they go barefoot wherever possible. Dr. Kandt (1) mentions the use of

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 478.

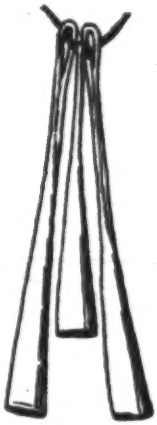
sandals among the Batundwe who, it seems, are a northern branch of the Bahunde and live near the southern shore of Lake Albert.

291 Ornaments. In Ruanda only the king wears a head covering;
301 he dons a cap on festive occasions. This cap is cylindrical, 20
554 centimeters high, and embroidered with beads. From it hang strings of beads ending in little embroidered rods. The strings are of two different lengths, so that there are two rows of little rods, one above the other, which form a beaded veil. There are no strings at the back or over the nose, but here there is an embroidered band hanging down below the root of the nose. On this band are three small embroidered rods that rest on the nose and extend to the mouth. A colobus [monkey] skin is fastened to the beaded band. This adjunct deserves special attention, since the priest of Wamara in Nkole adorns his head with a colobus skin, and the animal is the umuziru [prohibited object] of the Bahinda who rule the eastern and northern part of Ruanda.

291 I was not able to determine whether the wearing of the cap
554 by the ruler has any connection with the customs of the people in the Uele Basin where the cap is the privilege of the free man.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.



301 703 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.

291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

[531]

Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. 413 (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Marangara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a 531 322 triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

is rectangular in outline and has an elongated handle. The combs, as I observed, are almost always very crudely carved and decorated. On the other hand, Dr. Kandt (1) says of the combs of the Bahunde terri- 413 531 322

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

tory: "I frequently saw combs worn on a string, with three to six teeth, some with very pretty wood carvings. I also saw pins to smooth the

Fig. 64

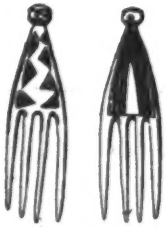


Fig. 65

Fig. 66

Fig. 67

Fig. 64. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13035. 27 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 65. Front and Back of Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13700. 14 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 66. Comb from Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13036. 21 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 67. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13697. 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

hair, made of wood, horn, bone, and other material. These were usually stuck into their curly hair."

The hairpins which Dr. Kandt collected west of Kivu deserve special attention, for they are identical with the hairpins of the Momvu. 301

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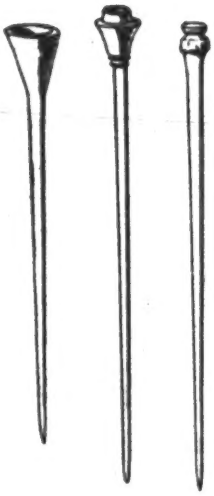

Fig. 68. Hair Pins from western Kivu Districts. (1/2 actual size. III E 10263, III E 10262, and III E 10266. 14, 16, and 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

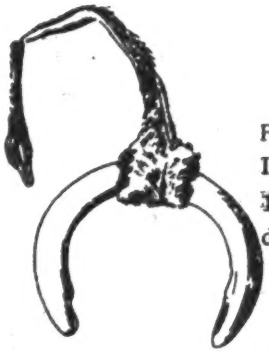

Fig. 69. Head Ornament from Itambi. (1/2 actual size. III 10182. 7 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

301 The word for them, kassokodso, which we know from Dr. Kandt's research, sounds very much like the Momvu language in which kasso or kosse means "hair of the head." It is not impossible that we have here a trace of the Momvu who have been forced to move south by the Mangbetu of the Uele Basin. [176] Now, since the Mangbetu tribe of the Barumbi [Rumbi] has penetrated almost as far as Lake Edward, it is not improbable that a number of Momvu has been driven by them to the vicinity of Lake Kivu.

Dr. Kandt (1) also says of these regions: "Boars' teeth are

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 443.

also used as ornaments, usually for the head. They are either placed flat on the frontal part of the skull or on the middle of the head so that the thin, sharp part points up and forward. In Ujungu crescents were also worn, à la Diana. They consisted of two boar's teeth, the thick ends of which were hinged together with leather." I saw ornaments of this kind among the Bakondjo; however, they were worn on the chest.

301 554 In general, the personal adornment of the Banyaruanda is neither rich nor manifold. It is not differentiated according to social position. Here persons of higher rank do not wear show-pieces like the king's cap. Outside of Mulera personal adornment does not distinguish the brave man from the coward. There is a difference only in the amount of jewelry worn, for example, on the limbs of women and of the more privileged.

301 Actual body adornment consists of necklaces and bands.

The most common and popular neck ornaments are chains and glass beads strung on bast, if one disregards the numerous amulets which are worn chiefly by the Batutsi. Sometimes one or, less frequently, several cowrie shells are worn in front between the glass beads. One also sees necklaces made of the bones of goats and sheep. These are strung on bast and interspersed with only a few glass beads. Necklaces made of polished shell discs (kissanga) are rare. Sometimes the neckband is a strip of leather with an ivory pendant.

301 Of the regions west of Lake Kivu Dr. Kandt (2) says: "Neck

2. Ibid., p. 443.

and chest ornaments [177] of baby elephants' teeth decorated with black circles like dominoes are also common." I saw none of these in Ruanda proper.

Hip bands are also decorated with beads. It is very striking that for their festivals and religious ceremonies the Batutsi wear a string of beads or several finely plaited straw bands decorated with individual glass beads a hand's breadth above their loincloths (mukane). The fact that these bands are separate from the loincloths shows that they have nothing to do with the latter. It is probable, therefore, that they have been borrowed from the Bahutu who in the region west of Lake Kivu still use them to fasten the article of clothing made of barkcloth which they draw between their legs.

Numerous bracelets and anklets are worn on the limbs. It is very probable that formerly, as among the Bakondjo, ornaments were worn around the calves and the biceps. Even now the men often wear armbands around the biceps, to which are fastened tiny daggers in wooden sheaths. At dances bells are worn around the calves, and west of Kivu people wear "rings made of iron wire decorated with little brass tubes around their calves" (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

[178] The most common form of bracelet consists of a bundle of fine fibers wound so tightly with a spiral of thin wire that the fibers are not visible. This bracelet is usually decorated with a large white or blue glass bead. The bead slides freely along the spiral and is usually worn on the back of the hand. The materials used are brass, copper, and iron. Brass and copper are regarded here as precious metals.

Simple bracelets (ibimiamasuru) made of a bent piece of wire are also worn around the wrist, more in Mulera than in the

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Fig. 71. Neck Ornament of Polished Shell Discs, from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 5231a. 44 centimeters long.)

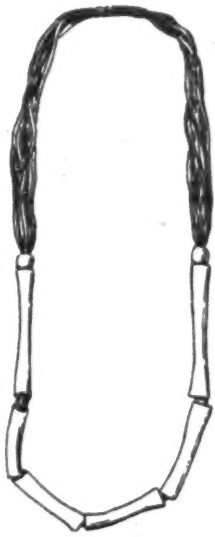

Fig. 70. Necklace of Sheep Bones, Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13038. 2 x 41 centimeters long.)

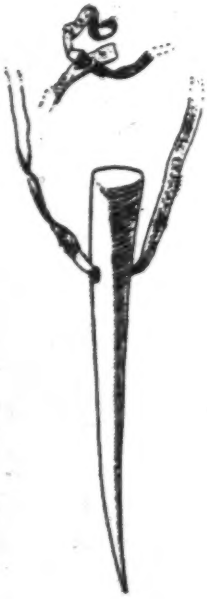

Fig. 72. Neck Ornament from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 3958. 14 centimeters long.)

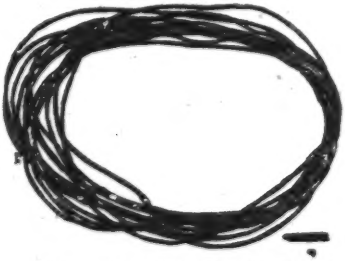

Fig. 73. Hip Bands of Straw, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 9909.)

301 southeast, it would seem. Sometimes the relatively thick wire is flattened so that the bracelet takes the form of a shallow cylinder.

Often several bracelets are worn. Sometimes we also find several thin wires welded together with their ends trimmed, forming a wide bracelet.

Captain W. Von Grawert presented the Berlin Museum of Ethnology with a bracelet which had the edges of the flattened piece of wire bent outward. The groove thus formed was filled with resin in which were imbedded bits of bone. I had an opportunity to see a quite similar bracelet of leather; the grooves contained small glass beads. Dr. Kandt has already described these forms. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

I had no opportunity to see ivory bracelets in Ruanda proper. At any rate, my attention was not drawn to them. On this subject Dr. Kandt says (2): "North of Bunyabungu ivory bands [179] for

2. Ibid., p. 443.

wrists and upper arms become common. In Itambi they are even more frequent, and in Ujungu every third man wears them."

Rings for the legs are, as we have said, worn around the ankles and differ only in size from the bracelets made of wire spirals and worn by the men. Copper is the chief material used for anklets worn every day. On festive occasions, however, the only anklets worn by the Batutsi are made of fine iron wire spirals. So many are worn, one on top of the other, that they weigh several kilograms.

The women of eastern and central Ruanda wear a large number of anklets made of braided grass (butega). These rings placed one on top of the other form a cylinder that reaches almost up to the knees. They weigh so much that they cause the Banyaruanda women to walk with a characteristic dragging gait. [48]

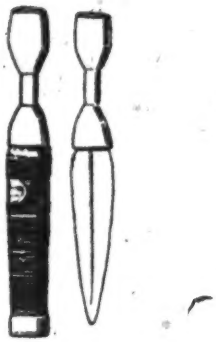

Fig. 74. Dagger Worn on Bracelet, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 9896.)

Fig. 75. Bracelet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 6881.)

Fig. 76

Fig. 77

Fig. 78

Fig. 76. Woman's Bracelet from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. III 13708. 6 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 77. Bracelet of Wire Bands, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L 14964. 7 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 78. Bracelet from Mukinjaga. (1/2 actual size. III E 6895. 7 centimeters in diameter.)

301 In Mulera the women also wear iron ankets seven to eight millimeters thick, and this I saw neither in Nduga nor in Kissaka. However, the number of butega worn by them was much smaller.

In Bugoye the women wear the same kind of anklets as the men.

276 415 Smoking Equipment. In connection with ornaments we must also discuss pipes and tobacco pouches.

The most commonly used tobacco pouches do not differ from those of the Bakondio. People of distinction have pouches decorated with a fringe of otter skin; on the cheaper ones this is replaced by cords. The pouches are made of braided bast and worn on the chest. However, sometimes they can be seen folded and carried on the head (cf. Vol. III, Plates 4 and 22).

[180] The pouches contain a small supply of tobacco and a [312] pipe. Sometimes they also contain a fire drill and other small items. I had no opportunity to observe tobacco pouches made of goatskin, like the ones used in Kiziba, but occasionally one sees a pouch made of a cow bladder. These are usually tied around the head and worn on the forehead.

276 The Ruanda pipe is very different from the Bahima pipes in the northern part of the interlacustrine region. Whereas the latter have round [181] bowls, the Ruanda pipe has a long, pointed, cone-shaped bowl, into which the cylindrical stem (muhela) fits, attached at a sharp angle. The flaring lip of the bowl (inkono) is sometimes thickened. The pipes used by the Bahutu are usually less slim and graceful, and one not infrequently sees types in which the bowls converge a little at the top, suggesting the somewhat convex Kiziba form. This type usually has an elongated pipe stem.

302 Body Treatment. The actual head ornament of the Banyaruanda is the masunzu, or hair shaved to form patterns. The masunzu are the pride of the male and are sometimes several centimeters long, which of course makes head covering impossible. Although the shaved patterns assume the most beautiful and well-groomed forms among the Batutsi, nevertheless they must, in all probability, be linked with the Bahutu substratum. They extend uninterruptedly beyond the Batutsi sphere of influence toward the west where they seem to be indigenous. On the other hand, in the east among the Bahima this form of decoration is gradually declining and disappearing.

302 I saw masunzu for the first time in Ishenye, on the eastern border of Mpororo.

In Buhaya shaved patterns are seen only on children. Among adults they are no longer customary. In Rufua they were worn by less than half the men, and it is only in southern Bushara that they have become common. On our travels they appeared in conjunction with the bow. Their southern boundary coincides with the southern and eastern border of Uha (Uiungu). (1)

1. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha und Urundi [A Mission Journey to Uha and Urundi]," Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1898, p. 124.

Since the shaved patterns have been fully documented by

[301]

Fig. 79. Woman's Leg Ring of Grass, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E5233. 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 80. Cluster of Leg Rings, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13709. 9 centimeters in diameter.)

Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (2). I can

2. Van der Brugt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with

6: Czekanowski--77 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 81. Tobacco Pouch Made of a Cow Bladder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E6998. 31 centimeters long.)

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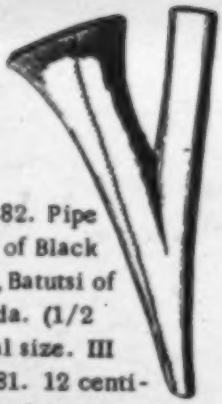

Fig. 82. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Batutsi of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13081. 12 centimeters long.)

Fig. 84. Pipe Bowls of the Bahutu, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 83. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 13080. 9 centimeters long.)

Fig. 85. Pipe Bowl of White Clay, Bahutu of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 86. Pipe Bowl from Bgisha. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 87. Pipe from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. III 13715. 5 1/2 centimeters long.)

Short Definitions in Swahili and German] (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 256.

limit myself to a brief discussion of the most common forms.

[182] In Kissaka the patterns reproduced here are the most common. Every pattern has a name. Thus the patterns of Figure 88 have the following names: (a), (b), and (c), mabangure or maagaleka; (d) amakike or bihome; (e) amazingure or amakube; and (f) mikaka.

The little tufts of hair are called induba.

The first examples are simple variations of the same basic pattern. The design (e) is worn primarily by girls, although I also saw them on men. In Mulera, pattern (e)

Fig. 88. Shaving Patterns from Kissaka.

is commonly worn by men and girls. In Bugoye this pattern is less common but was worn by old men, whereas in Kissaka it was the ornament of young girls. In Bugoye it is called kiziguzo.

The diagonal strips of hair are called imirara; the cross strips, intambiki. There may be two or three in number. If the imirara hair is very long, as I noted among the Batutsi, it is called inkanguralugo. The double spiral is called injerenge. I observed it in Bugoye and once in Bugessera. A ring of hair on top of the skull is called imikako. Married women shave their heads smooth. The completely shaven head of a woman is called imbalanguze. It is only in Bugoye that they leave a ring of hair around their heads. This is called ikikingo. Recently married women keep their mamnzu until the first menstruation after marriage. To distinguish themselves from girls they wear two small crossed

302 strings of white beads on their heads.

Both men and women shave the patterns. They use a small razor which is honed on their own skin, especially on the soles of their feet. The hair is moistened with water and scraped off with a knife.

Beards are very seldom worn in Kissaka. Throughout the rest of Ruanda the sparse beards and mustaches, as well as the hair of the armpits, are not shaved as a rule. A beard is more prized than a mustache. They are particularly proud of the hair [826] on the belly around the navel, because it is valued as a highly prized beauty mark.

304 In Ruanda people do not purposely deform their bodies in any way. They desist from piercing their ears or disfiguring their teeth. The only thing that could be regarded as a disfigurement is unintentional and comes from the fact that women wear grass rings on their legs. They not infrequently develop serious wounds and badly impair their shanks.

Tatooing of chest and arms is frequently seen among the Batutsi. [183] The Bahutu also use this type of ornament. In Kissaka not many persons were tatooed, but in Mulera I had the impression that considerably more people were.

Since the patterns of tatooing were also discussed by Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (1), I

1. Van der Burgt, Father J. M. M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 560.

shall merely mention here that the most frequent pattern consists of two rows of curved lines. The concave parts of these lines face each other in such a way that the two ends of adjacent curves fall within the concavity of the opposite curve. One also sees small squares arranged rectangularly in groups of 9, 12, and 16.

The operation is performed with an ordinary knife or a razor. First the pattern to be tatooed is lightly scratched on the

304 body with the point of the knife. Later, when the design stands out due to the skin injury, short, deeper incisions are made with the razor. The incisions, or rather the punctures, are made while the skin is pinched and lifted with two fingers. The skillful artist does not draw blood, and the punctures close with the appearance of lymph. After a few days the scabs are scraped off and rubbed with butter and cow dung (kisheshe). No pigment is used. After the wounds have healed, the thickened skin at each incision forms a raised design.

If the tatooing is done clumsily, keloids form where the incisions have been made. This condition is quite common in Mulera where tatooing is done chiefly by Batwa. Keloids are a sign of the Lake Edward region, for among the Bakondjo living there very large keloid formations are intentionally produced, particularly on the back. In Nduga, the country of tatoo artists, and among the Batutsi, the designs are very delicate. The price of the operation is a goat. A person gradually builds up a collection of designs during a lifetime.

Fig. 89. Tattooing Patterns from Ruanda.

Tatooing, in Kissaka at any rate, seems to have no religious meaning and is performed without any kind of ceremony.

Circumcision is not practiced in Ruanda, but it is not unknown. This is proved by the proverb: "In the compound through which many people pass, circumcised children are born."

At initiation ceremonies and, according to Father
302 Schumacher (2), at [184] weddings, people are painted with kaolin

[113] 2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 878.

(runoni). However, the practice does not seem to be limited to these occasions, for twice I saw painted children. One child was completely covered with a mixture of clay and ocher. The other had only an oblique line drawn across its forehead over the eyes. There was no question of initiation in this case, for the children were only five and seven years old.

6:Czekanowski--81E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 90 Fig. 91 Fig. 92

Fig. 90. Batutsi Spear from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13776. 209 centimeters long.)

Fig. 91. Bahutu Spear from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13772. 241 centimeters long.)

Fig. 92. Bahima Spear from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13778. 215 centimeters long.)

302 We must mention that the children love to paint themselves on all occasions, or rather, smear themselves with white paint. I noticed that when there was plastering going on, for example, the children who were present painted each other. Similarly, in Issawi, children who carried bricks out of the swamp were intentionally painted with light clay.

302 714 It is said that in war the opponents paint themselves with different patterns so that they can distinguish each other. Dr. Kandt (1), however, speaks of another distinguishing mark:

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 427.

"All of them (Bahunde [Hunde]) had tied a wilted banana leaf around their foreheads, so that later we would be able to distinguish them as friends if, as they hoped, we were to engage in hand-to-hand fighting with the Wanjaitambi."

The Munyaruanda anoints his body with butter. In Bugoye, however, which is already under the cultural influence of the Forest Bantu, they use the cheaper castor oil (mbarika, wono) which is also used by the people of the Congo forest. The same custom prevails in the entire graben territory [Rift Valley] as far down as Tanganyika.

411 Spears. The chief weapons of the Banyaruanda are spears (ichumu), bows (muheto), arrows (muhambi), and bush knives (muhoro). Furthermore, swords (ngota), shields (ngabo), and clubs are used.

[185] The spear is the most common and widely used weapon. In the north, where conditions are less safe, no one leaves his homestead without taking along a spear, so in this region we must regard the weapon as an essential part of a man's dress and ornament. In the central part of Ruanda, on the other hand, where stable conditions prevail, especially among the Batutsi, one often sees the long shepherd-staff instead of the spear.

The spear is one and a half to two and a half meters long, and its shaft is encased with iron sockets at both ends. The spear heads are usually grooved to allow the blood to run off, but they vary a great deal in shape. Sometimes the widest part of the blade

41 is placed more towards the back, sometimes, toward the front. The length of the head also varies.

The typical Batutsi spear is more than two meters long and has a very characteristic lance-shaped head. The head flares out at the base, the first third of it tapers, then it gradually widens, but very little, to the final quarter and ends in a rounded point.

The Bahutu spears differ first of all in that they are less carefully made,but they also have spears which are simply drop forged without grooving and which have very simple forms. Among [177] the Bahutu I also observed many spears strikingly similar in shape to those used in neighboring territories, and these were either brought back by the Bahutu or made by them from foreign models. They usually knew the origin of these spears. Thus the one shown in Figure 92 was called ichumu ryo Rutshuga lwa Ruhima. This means a Bahima spear from Rutshuga. As is well known, these forms are commonly used by the Bahima in Nkole and Karagwe.

The models shown in Figures 93 and 94 suggest either Bahima country or perhaps Toro, where I saw them in large numbers. I was not convinced, however, that these were indigenous and had not been brought from Nkole. There I saw spears with barbs as well as some with two blades, one above the other either on one plane or at right angles to each other. Figure 93 was called ichimu lyo Lugobe and Figure 94, ichumu lya Mugaanne. The spear shown in Figure 95 strongly resembles the Buganda spears, but the model for this illustration was forged in Kihinga and was called ichumu lyi Kihinga. The types in Figures 96 and 97 suggest the neighboring Congo Basin. The first was called ichumu lyi Nyunga, the latter, ichumu lyi Lilera. In Bugoye and Mulera spears from Barega are not uncommon. They are [186] preferred there by elephant hunters. They have thick shafts and strong heads, and, in form, they remind one of the spear shown in Figure 96.

[187] In those drop-forged spears having a groove, the lower portions of the blade are left black, and only the middle rib and the edges of the blade, three to five millimeters wide, or sometimes the upper half, are smoothly polished. The sharpness of the contrast between black and white is the criterion for its beauty and elegance.

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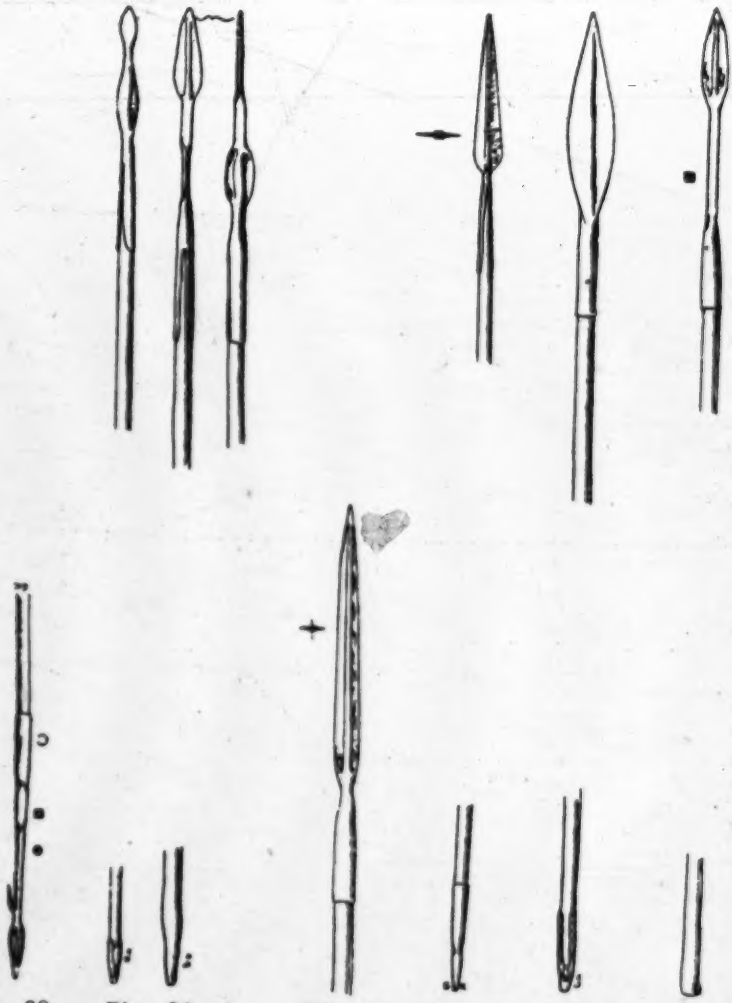

Fig. 93 Fig. 94. Fig. 95 Fig. 96 Fig. 97 Fig. 98

(Captions on following page)

Captions for Figures on preceding page.

Fig. 93. Spear With Barbed Hook, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13783. 153 centimeters long.)

Fig. 94. Double-bladed Spears from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13795 and 13787. 166 and 126 centimeters long.)

Fig. 95. Mulera Spear. (1/6 actual size. III E13785. 175 centimeters long.)

Fig. 96. Mulera Spear. (1/6 actual size. III E 13782. 177 centimeters long.)

Fig. 97. Mulera Spear. (1/6 actual size. III E 13796. 192 centimeters long.)

Fig. 98. Spear Without Shoe from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13793. 214 centimeters long.)

The shoe of the spear is very seldom lacking. Its form is that of a sharply-pointed cone into which is wedged the end of the spear shaft. 411

We mentioned above that the spear is a part of a man's adornment. Nevertheless, it is still a very dangerous weapon, and they know how to use it up to a distance of 20 meters. At this distance I saw a banana stalk, 15 centimeters in diameter and as tall as a man, hit two out of every three times. The force of the blow was so great that the spears pierced the stalk and protruded 20 centimeters on the other side. The spears that had missed the target penetrated 10 centimeters into the solidly trampled path and stuck fast, even at an angle of less than 45 degrees.

Even though the spear in Ruanda is used as a missile, only one spear is carried. According to Dr. Kandt (1), however, the Banyabungu in the south usually carry two spears with wide blades.

1. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only

[485]
[531]

Fig. 100. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10070. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 99. Women's Canes from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13779 and III E 13789. 143 and 150 centimeters long.) [481]

411 Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only
[524] as children's toys.

In this connection we must also mention the women's canes
411 (miterere), because they are not infrequently also used as weapons.
481 The shoe of the spear is here replaced by an iron ferrule 40 centimeters long, the lower three-fourths of which forms a square point in cross section. The upper fourth forms a socket into which the end of the cane is driven. The ferrule of the upper end of the stick is very similar to the shoe of the spear and ends in a knob. [188] Finally it should be pointed out that Ruanda spears are in many respects identical with those of Abyssinia, while the cane used by the women occurs in the Sudan, for example, among the Maka.

411 Braided grass rings are tied to the uprights of the huts for hanging the spears inside. The spears are stuck vertically into these rings, much as we stand up our umbrellas. The rings (rutagara) that hold the spears are no different from the rings placed under containers.

Bow, Arrow, and Quiver. Bows are not seen as frequently as spears in Ruanda, probably because they are carried only on journeys, on hunts, at offerings and ceremonies, and on war expeditions. The bow is a very important and much used weapons which also fits the character of the people. The Munyaruanda is
[726] not enthusiastic about hand-to-hand combat in closed ranks with spear and shield, in the manner of the Nilotes, although he does not actually avoid this type of warfare.

In Ruanda we can observe two entirely different types of bows. The Batwa bows are completely different from those of the rest of the inhabitants.

The bow used throughout the country by both Batutsi and Bahutu is a typical example of the so-called East African form, and, like Dr. Kandt, I shall simply refer to it as the Ruanda bow. This bow is more than one and a half meters long, is round in cross section, has long points but gradually tapers off at both ends, has no notches, and is strung [189] with a cord made of animal tendons or of fibers of the nimisse plant. The bow is curved so much that it can be used without a guard against the recoil of the bowstring. It does not differ from the Mpororo bow.

Fig. 102. Batwa Bow from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. P. 1850-68. 141 centimeters long.)

Fig. 101. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10072. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 103. Child's Bow, Mulera. (1/8 actual size.)

411 The Batwa carry a reinforced bamboo bow. It consists of a split bamboo staff, the hollow of which is reinforced with a stick of wood. The bow is more than one and a half meters tall and more than half of it is reinforced. The finished bow is bound with grass along its entire length, so the reinforcement does not show. The accompanying illustration of a child'w bow which I saw in Mulera clearly shows the manner of this reinforcement. This bow, however, is not made of bamboo, and therefore the reinforcement is not fitted into the natural groove, but it is in the proper position, namely, on the outside, away from the archer as he pulls the bowstring.

In Ruanda the string of the Batwa bow is made of a strip of bamboo braided at either end before it is strung. (1) The rattan

[113] 1. Luschan, F. Von, "Bogen und Pfeile der Watwa vom Kiwu-See [Bows and Arrows of the Watwa of Lake Kivu]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Verhandlungen, 1899, pp. 634-640.

string is wound with grass for protection against wear.

Lieutenant Bischoff discovered that the Urundi Batwa used a forehead bow [Stirnbogen]. These forms are not familiar to me in Ruanda, but they are said to occur in Butembo.

Arrows, like bows, can be divided into two groups. The first group includes the arrows for Ruanda bows. They have a [190] notch into which the twisted bowstring fits. The second group includes arrows that correspond to the Batwa bows, and these are characterized by smooth, often bulbous ends, similar to the head of a drumstick.

The arrows of the first group have inserted iron points and three radial segments of clipped feathers. The split feathers are laid along the shaft and bound securely to it. The two ends of the shaft are also bound to protect against splitting. At the nock end the binding is narrow, while at the point it is about five centimeters wide. The arrows are made of wood. The points of the arrows usually have the form of sharply tapered, long pyramids

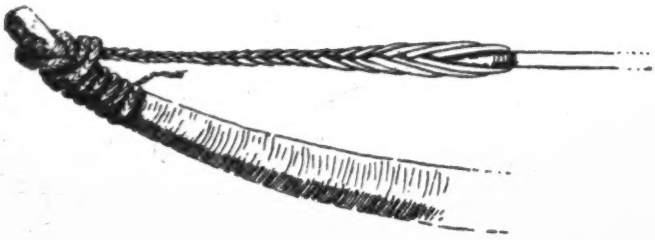

Fig. 104. Tendon Fastening on Batwa Bow from Kivu. (1/3 actual size. P. 1850-68.)

Fig. 105. Forehead Bow of the Urundi Batwa. (1/8 actual size. III E 8982. 68 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 106. Tendon Fastening on Forehead Bow (1/3 actual size. III E 8982.)

411 which in cross section are rectangular, but not infrequently I saw points with two flared barbs, as well as drop-forged points in the shape of a leaf. I could not find out whether the points with barbs were local in origin or imitations of the Busindja design. It is said that in Busindja these forms predominate.

In Ruanda, however, I also saw reed arrows. They had round wooden points set into the shaft and were nocked at the rear end. They were not fletched. I could not find out more about their origin. It is not impossible that they had originally come from Bunyabungu. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

Dr. Kandt's (2) description of Buyungu arrows fits the Batwa arrows exactly. They are "made entirely of wood, 80 to 100 centimeters in length, that is, extremely long, and they consist of two sections fitted together. The upper section [191] has one, two, or three lateral barbs — all made out of one piece of wood, it should be noted. It is curious, moreover, that the arrows are not fletched but have a slit on the lower end into which, before battle, the warrior inserts fresh fig leaves so that they jut out on either side."

Besides the above-mentioned devices for guiding the trajectory of the arrow, which are so characteristic of the neighboring Congo forest and the Pygmies, the Batwa arrows often have tangential fletching which consists of three clipped feathers, not split but tied to the shaft at their two ends. Radially feathered arrows are not common among the Batwa, but I repeatedly saw arrows without feathers. However, I found it impossible to determine whether or not these were meant to have slits for leaf or feather which had simply not yet been added.

The wooden arrowheads are said to be no less effective than the iron heads, and they often cause splinters and bad infections in the wounds. Bird arrows have three or four slightly flaring points which are carefully bound to the shaft. Iron arrowheads are used a great deal by the Batwa.

6: Czekanowski--91 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

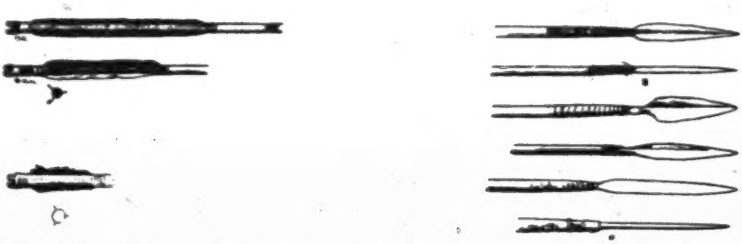

Fig. 107. Arrows from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13763 and III E 13077. About 70 centimeters long.)

Fig. 108. Arrow With Barbed Hook, from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. L. 15348c.)

Fig. 109. Bamboo Arrow With Wooden Point, North Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 13077. 35 centimeters long.)

411 In Ruanda arrows are not as a rule poisoned. However, Lieutenant Bischoff was able to collect specimens of poisoned arrows among the Urundi Batwa.

In shooting, the bow is held perpendicular. In the case of the ordinary stick bow [Stabbogen], the end which has the lapped bowstring is at the top.

The string is drawn with the second and third finger of the right hand. The left hand is extended and the string is drawn back to the right shoulder. The tension which I measured with a manometer amounts to 25 to 45 kilograms.

To protect the left hand from the recoil of the string special wooden arm rings (kigomero) are used. They have a small opening through which the hand is wedged. [192] In the huts

In the huts the bows stand in or are suspended from special racks on the uprights.

As for actual marksmanship, I observed that a banana stalk the height of a man which was used as a target at a distance of 40 meters was hit three-fourths of the time. The shot is very powerful. The arrow passed straight through the 15-centimeter stalk and protruded 10 centimeters on the other side. The maximum target distance was 170 meters. At this distance the arrows dug into the hard, dry ground up to 12 centimeters and stuck fast at a 30-degree angle. At this great distance the dispersion amounted to 40 meters. When the archers were making a tremendous effort they almost dropped on their right knee, but otherwise they simply thrust their left foot forward after the shot.

As may be seen from the above account, there is a great diversity of bows in the territory under discussion. Within the confines of the Kirundi language area, I saw stick bows, reinforced bows, and forehead bows side by side. Moreover, if we include the entire interlacustrine area as well as the neighboring countries, we must also note that we do not find the bow everywhere.

In the Kirundi language area which includes Ruanda, the bow is used almost everywhere. Dr. Kandt (1) confirmed this for

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 441.

Fig. 110. Wooden Arrowhead with Barb, Kivu Batwa. (1/4 actual size. P. 1850-70b. Length of arrow, 97 centimeters.)

Fig. 111. Arrow Slit with Feather, Kivu Batwa. (1/4 actual size. P. 1850-70.)

Fig. 112. Arrowhead for Shooting Birds, Kivu Batwa. (1/4 actual size. L 15026c. 84 centimeters long.)

Fig. 113. Poisoned Arrows of the Urundi Batwa. (1/4 actual size. III E 8982. About 49 centimeters long.)

41 Itambi and says that of the bows used in Buyungu 30 percent were Ruanda bows and 70 percent Batwa bows. On the other hand, with regard to the southern part of Bunyabungu, Dr. Kandt says (2):

2. Ibid., p. 378.

"I seldom saw bows and arrows and of the latter only a small number with iron heads. Most of them were very primitive and consisted of a reed shaft into which was set a spindle-shaped piece of wood, almost like a child's toy and yet meant for serious use."

In west Ussuwi no bows are used, whereas they are the principal weapon in Busindja. (3) The Banyoro [Nyoro] of the

3. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur

Fig. 114. Archer's Guard-Ring, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 13043. 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 115. Archer's Guard-Ring, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 9906. 11 centimeters in diameter.)

Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), pp. 211, 218.

north fight only with spear and shield. In Toro I could get only bows that had been captured on war expeditions against the Baamba [Amba]. The Baganda also do not have bows. The Bahima of Nkole are archers and have the same bows and arrows as the Basindja. In Kiziba I was constantly referred to Busindja when I asked about examples I saw there.

[193] We can easily explain the absence of bows in the northern part of the interlacustrine region as a consequence of Nilotic influence which must be regarded as historical fact. However, we cannot at present explain the absence of the bow

6: Czekanowski--95 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 116. Quiver for Arrows, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 13074. 84 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 117. Gourd Quiver, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. L 17270a. 39 centimeters long.)

Fig. 118. Woven Bag Quiver from Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III E 13764. 70 centimeters long.)

411 in west Ussuwi or its scarcity in southern Bunyabungu.

In Ruanda we see quivers much more rarely than bows. If a person of distinction is accompanied by a man who carries his bow, the latter holds in his right hand one to four arrows along with the bow.

[194] At home arrows are kept in cylindrical quivers carved of wood and painted, with lids at both ends. In the field, on the other hand, I saw only woven quivers and some made of gourds. The woven ones are either cylindrical or wider at the bottom. They are usually closed with a lid and slung over the shoulder by a strap or braided cord. The lid slides along this cord.

Cutting Weapons. Besides spears and bows. cutting weapons play a very important part in Ruanda, but they are not sharply differentiated from tools on the one hand and daggers on the other.

The bush knife, already mentioned as a tool, is the most important cutting weapon. It is used not only to cut dry branches for firewood, to clear brush, and to widen a path in the underbrush, but also as a dangerous weapon in hand-to-hand combat.

The second cutting weapon, the sword (ngota), cannot be sharply distinguished from the dagger. Both have the same shape and differ only in size. There are also intermediate shapes. They are carried in a wooden sheath on the back, suspended from a neckband of hide or string. The blade is usually 40 to 50 centimeters long and 2 to 3 centimeters wide. It has a median ridge, so that in cross section it is rhomboid. The sword blade, like the blade of the spear, is left black. Only the two edges and the ridge [195] in the middle are polished. The wooden haft is carved, and, like the haft of the West African sword, it often has three joined parts. Sometimes the center piece is lacking, and the haft consists of two truncated pyramids facing each other, the upper one being smaller than the lower. The scabbard consists of two thin pieces of wood rounded on the edges and fastened together with braided straw. On the upper edge of the front part of the scabbard is a small pyramid with a horizontal opening. The neckband that serves to carry the sword passes through this opening.

6: Czekanowski--97 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 119. Woven Cylindrical Quiver from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L17270b. 76 centimeters long.)

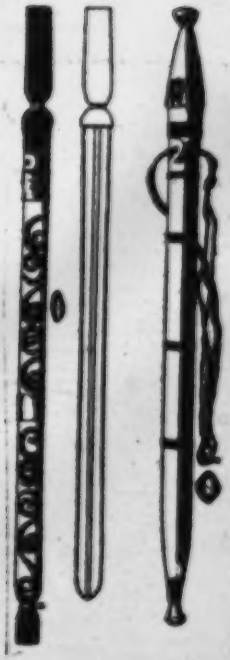

Fig. 120. Swords from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13071 and III E 13072. About 63 centimeters long.)

6: Czekanowski--98 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 123. Typical Ruanda Shield. (1/6 actual size. III E13761. 68 centimeters high.)

Fig. 121. Dagger from Ruanda. (1/3 actual size. III 13736. 19 centimeters long.)

Fig. 122. Ruanda Club. (1/8 actual size. III E6879. 95 1/2 centimeters long.)

411 I was repeatedly told that the sword was a Batutsi weapon, but it is doubtful that the present form of the haft and the scabbard with all their details can be credited to the Bututsi. We must not forget that swords are also used by the Batwa and occur in the countries west of Ruanda, especially in the primeval forest.

[196] The sword plays an important part in religious ceremonies. It is used, for example, at birth festivities.

Clubs are found in Ruanda, but they are not very important. It seems that they are used more by the herdsmen than by the rest of the population. Simple smooth clubs are also said to be badges of distinction. Occasionally I saw a club, the end of which was decorated with four brass nails. The thick end is often faceted.

[197] Shields. Shields are very rare in Ruanda proper and in Kissaka. They consist of a slightly concave oval piece of wood with a protruding portion in the center. Behind the protruding part a braided strap-handle is tied to the shield. The
[531] shield is painted black, white, and red. It is carved out of one piece of wood and is 40 to 50 centimeters high, 20 to 30 centimeters wide, and 10 to 20 centimeters deep.

The shield is common in Mulera. Here it has the Ndorwa shape, although it is usually not so wide. These shields are covered in front with rattan and are not painted. Thus they are essentially similar to the Uganda shield.

Of the shields west of Lake Kivu Dr. Kandt (1) says: "...as

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), pp. 442, 443.

in the east (Ruanda), they are oval or rectangular with rounded
[285] corners, made of wood which in front is covered with wicker running horizontally or diagonally. [198] It is very popular to put bits of mica between the wicker strands. In the center of the outside is the navel, that is to say, a bulge, which in Ruanda is pointed, in the west usually flat. The Wahunde also had other shields that were carried by the chiefs. They are very tall and
[285] wide, rectangular, painted red, bordered with strips of skin, and very skilfully woven of reeds, therefore very elastic. On the

6: Czekanowski--100 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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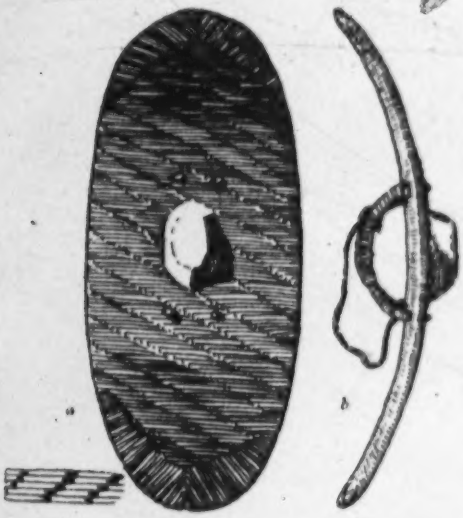

Fig. 124. Mulera Shield: (a) Front; (b) Side. (1/6 actual size. III E8969. 52 centimeters long.)

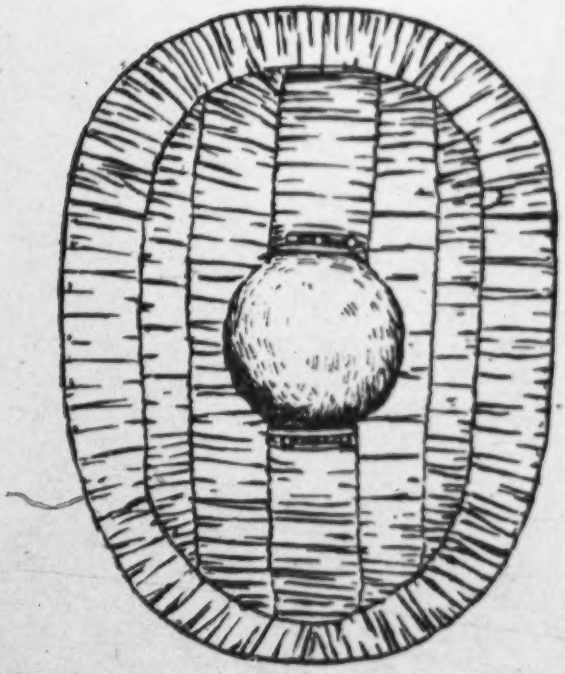

Fig. 125a. Shield from East Mulera, Front View. (1/6 actual size. L15032. 65 centimeters long.)

411 underside is an ornamented oval piece of wood that also serves as the handle."

Near Lake Luhondo on the border of Ndorwa I once saw a very primitive shield. It consisted of a piece of thick tree bark, in the center of which was attached a handle consisting of two bound, crossed twigs.

[285]

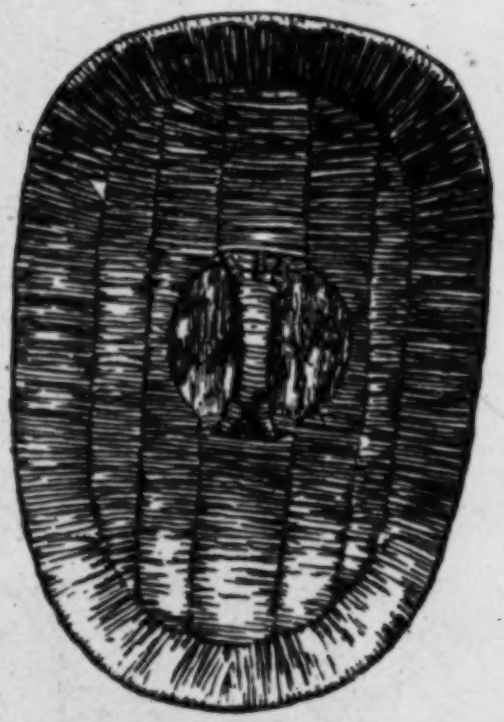

Fig. 125b. Shield from East Mulera, Inner Side.

The shield plays an important part in ritual.

Chapter 9

Settlements and the Household

361 Settlements. There is considerable difference in the types of settlements to be found in individual parts of Ruanda. The typical form of settlement is the compound in which the

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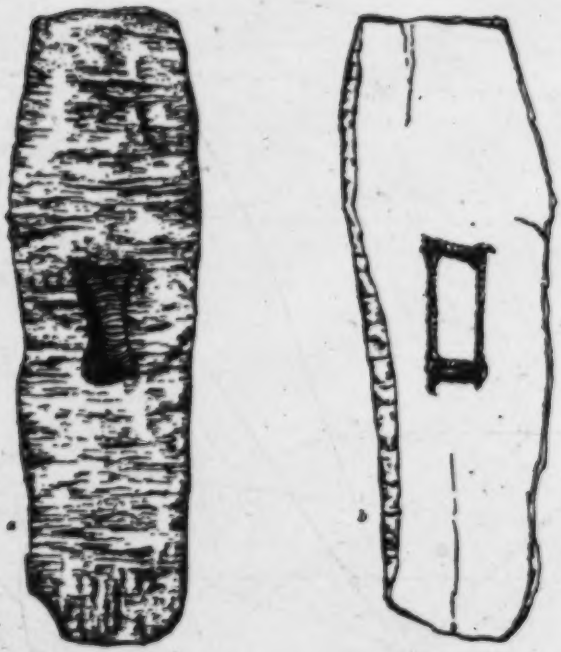

Fig. 126. Shield of Bark, Mulera: (a) Outer Side; (b) Inner Side. (1/6 actual size. L 15034. 61 centimeters long.)

independent man lives with his women, children, and servants (bagaragu). The establishments of the well-to-do are quite large and often embrace a dozen or more huts. Poor people have only one or two huts. The large settlements of the Batutsi, with the exception of those in the northwestern provinces, are all widely scattered in the grasslands and are conspicuous by the tall euphorbia hedges and trees which surround them.

In eastern Mpororo scattered huts occur only in the cultivated areas; they occur somewhat more frequently near large Bahima kraals, as, for example, that of Kitaraya. South of Kitaraya, Batutsi settlements hidden behind their euphorbia hedges predominate. On Lake Mohasi the scattered Bahutu settlements and their banana groves again appear. Here Batutsi kraals are rarer.

In Kissaka and Nduga there are Bahutu settlements on the edges of the banana groves, but since bananas are confined to specific regions because of soil conditions, a certain concentration of settlements has come about.

Around Nyanza, the residence of Musinga [king of Ruanda], we find few and widely scattered settlements, because the land is reserved as pasture for the king's cows.

In Mulera where the entire country is under cultivation, there is again a regular distribution of farm settlements. However, we also note a tendency for relatives to move closer together for safety.

In Bugoye, which shows influences of the Forest Bantu, we find many compact groups of huts almost resembling villages, although these settlements vary a great deal in their structure. Here the hill dwellers, from whom their mugabo [clan elder] collects taxes which he hands over to the proper mutware (ku butaka, ku muheto, etc.), have all joined together in a single settlement. [200] In Bugoye we find settlements of over 100 inhabitants. The largest settlements are in Bgisha, north of the chain of volcanoes. They sometimes have over 100 huts.

The Banyabungu also live in large villages which are very well kept and have high fences. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 377.

447 On the subject of the fences of the settlements northwest of
712 Kivu, Dr. Kandt (2) says: "All villages have a very curious wall

2. Ibid., p. 460.

surrounding them. It consists of thousands of forked branches and split roots, 10 layers wide and 20 high. For natives this is an almost impenetrable obstacle. The villages can be reached only by way of narrow passes or very steep approaches, and on two sides there are gates that can be quickly and securely closed with trees."

I observed such fences among the Baamba on the Ruwenzori. In Ruanda one does not see them. Here the dwelling is, as a rule, situated on the edge of the courtyard and is, together with the courtyard, surrounded by a euphorbia hedge. The hedges of the individual homesteads intertwine and form a labyrinth that is impenetrable even with the aid of a bush knife, for if one cuts the branches an exceedingly caustic juice squirts out which is very dangerous for the eyes. On the inside these hedges are usually supported by a fence made of sticks bound together. At night the outer approaches, usually opposite the huts, are closed with tree trunks, the branches of which are turned toward the outside. This primitive closure cannot be removed from the outside and, along with the euphorbia hedge, makes a very effective though not at all conspicuous fortification.

On poor Bahutu farms there are sometimes no fences at all.

592 The Compound. The compound or homestead where one
351 family lives with all its relatives and servants usually consists of several huts that form a self-contained unit.

In front of the main entrance there is generally a cleared
351 place, free of grass. In the mountainous parts of Ruanda one often has a superb view from this spot, for the settlements are frequently located on mountain tops. This is especially true of the Batutsi settlements north of Lake Mohasi. On the edge of this cleared spot
[372] are kept large supplies of dried cow dung which is used for fuel in the parts of the country where wood is scarce.

In the well-built settlements the main entrance, which is closed at night, is flanked by two columns of tied bundles of

351 elephant grass. In the compounds of wealthy persons, consisting of at least three huts, this entrance leads into the front courtyard.

[201] In this courtyard, opposite the entrance, is the kambele, the house occupied by the head of the family. On the side, usually to the left of this house, is the entrance to the inner courts. The front court as well as the inner courts are kept clean and free of grass. Here the clients and subordinates of the head of the establishment assemble to learn his wishes, commands, and de-
[574] cisions. Here he receives his guests who are conducted no farther than into the kambele. Sacrifices also take place here. In Musinga's compound I saw two carefully tended sacrificial trees between the entrance gate and his house on both sides of and at a

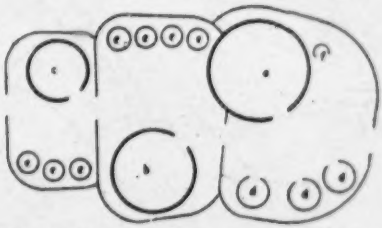

Fig. 127. Compound, Nyanza on Lake Mohasi: (a) kambele, (b) kagondo, (c) mubahutu, (d) stalls for calves, (e) storehouses, (f) spirit hut.

certain distance from the line connecting the two. In the front court near the house one also sees small spirit huts.

In many compounds the front court also contains huts for small calves, and animals are kept here at night. In one single instance I saw a hut for larger calves outside the enclosure. It was explained to me that the whole herd was kept near this hut overnight.

592 In the inner court is the house for the women, known as kagondo. Here the master's wife spends the day with her women servants. It is only in the evening that she is brought to the
[644] kambele in a litter. The husband eats with his wife in the kagondo.

592 Usually there is only one wife living in the compound (lugo), and she has absolute authority within her sphere. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the king, many women live in one compound and are brought to the kambele in turn. In this case there are several inner courts with houses for the women.

Beyond the inner court is the rear court with the cookhouse, called mubahutu, where the servants live. Near it are the storehouses with supplies of grain. These, however, I also found in the inner court. In Nyanza on Lake Mohasi I asked why a strange Muhutu lived in the cookhouse of the compound, and the answer was: "It is his duty to fill the granaries." Since the man also had to take care of the kitchen, I think this reply must be taken literally; in other words, he had to store the produce brought as tribute by the Bahutu and not home-grown products.

The Bahutu compounds, as a rule, have one court in which we often find several huts.

341 [202] Buildings. In Ruanda there are four distinct types of buildings: dwellings, huts for calves, spirit huts, and storehouses.

The first three are constructed on the same principle and are distinguished from one another only by their size and the care with 346 which they are constructed. The spirit huts are the smallest and least carefully built. They consist of a simple framework of 343 branches stuck into the ground and covered with grass. The storehouses, on the other hand, differ quite radically in form, though not in the principle of construction.

342 The dwelling in Ruanda, as in other parts of the interlacustrine 171 area, has the shape of a beehive. This type has also penetrated the western edges of the great African trench [Rift Valley] and even seems to predominate in Butembo (1), although there club huts

1. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 261.

with four doors mark the center of the village, and the doors are made of boards. In that region the buildings seem to be identical with the ones I observed among the Baamba.

343 171 On the way from Nyanza to Mulera, at the southern foot of Mount Ndisa in the compound of Rwabakika, I saw a round hut with a cone-shaped roof. It was a small hut for calves with a roof that clearly projected beyond the cylindrical walls.

342 171 Moreover, in the southern part of Bugoye at an altitude of 2,000 meters, I saw huts that gave the impression of being round with conical roofs, but on closer observation they turned out to be ordinary beehive-shaped huts. They were simply surrounded by a layer of reeds on the outside, and above this rose the straw thatch, giving the impression of a projecting roof. The natives explained that the walls of the huts are reinforced in this way in order to protect the occupants from strong, cold winds. Dr. Kandt likewise mentions this precaution, saying (2) that the huts are "protected

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 298.

by a sort of rampart of grasses."

We must also mention the fact that Baumann (3) saw huts

3. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 218.

with a cylindrical base of bamboo near the source of the Kagera. Is it possible that these are remnants of the round huts which formerly extended farther east and which were superseded by the beehive huts of the Batutsi? At any rate the beehive hut is more suitable for the treeless areas, for in an emergency it can be constructed without timber, merely of elephant grass or millet straw.

342 [556] [203] The size of the Ruanda house fluctuates considerably according to the wealth of the owner. It is usually four to eight meters high, and one and a half times that in diameter.

The house of sticks is tied together with papyrus; nails are not used.

The house wall consists of three layers. The middle layer is constructed of vertical sticks supported on the inside by hoops

342 made of bundles of sticks solidly packed together and fastened horizontally. On the outside the vertical layer is likewise held together by horizontal hoops made of bundles of sticks. This close-meshed lattice is carefully thatched with straw. The walls rise to a truncated point, capped with straw, from which rises a pole more than a meter high.

The entrance to the hut is framed with thick bundles of sticks and protected by an arched projecting roof, an extension of the wall of the hut. In contrast to the building method in Kiziba, this projection and the wall are a single unit, and the horizontal hoops run through it, so that from the interior of the hut one sees the entire roof of the anteroom. In Kiziba one can see only the doorframe to which the anteroom is added from the outside.

Northwest of Lake Kivu the huts have two entrances, probably in order to facilitate flight in case of a surprise attack. In Kishari, according to Dr. Kandt (1), the entrances are opposite each other;

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 477.

in Mushari, at right angles to one another. This arrangement must have been borrowed from the Babira [Bira] (Barega), for among the Babira at the headwaters of the Ituri Ksaw entrances facing each other. However, this arrangement can also be seen in Uele among the Mangbele of Gumbari.

The roof of the Ruanda hut is supported in the center above the entrance by a short, thin pole which is driven into the middle of the threshold at the edge which is ω-shaped, ten centimeters high and equally wide.

On the inside the frame of the hut is supported by a number of tree trunks, about ten to fifteen centimeters thick, with forks cut into the top to grasp the horizontal hoops.

The interior supports are placed very irregularly, and there is no central upright that would serve as the axis of the building. The pole at the peak of the hut has no relation to the supporting posts. Almost in the center of the hut are the four posts that surround the hearth. If the hut is smaller, there are fewer supports. They are

342 the largest pieces of wood used for the hut. No larger timbers are needed for the entire construction, and in the case of smaller huts millet straw and elephant grass can be used.

[204] Here, as in Kiziba, the supporting posts seem to have a ritualistic significance, but I could not find out anything further about this. I only succeeded in observing again and again that one of the uprights had a white band painted on it with kaolin (runoni), which supposedly meant that the owner of the hut had performed a ceremony. I was not able to find out, however, whether this had something to do perhaps with initiation into a secret society.

A rectangular woven shield is used to close the door opening, which is supported by posts driven into the ground on either side of the entrance. Sometimes there are two posts on either side and the door shield is slid between them. The woven door shields are used throughout the interlacustrine region. In the west, however, for example, among the Baamba, they are replaced by door shields made of boards , three of which are usually tied together.

The Batwa huts do not differ in principle from those of the rest of the Banyaruanda. They are merely smaller and much more carelessly built. However, according to Lieutenant A. Couche, who told me this personally, the Batwa in the vicinity of Uvira live in trees. It seems to me, however, that my informant did not have an opportunity to observe this himself.

If a person wants to build a house, the site he chooses is tested with butter. The choice is a happy one only if the piece of butter placed there at night is still there the next morning (1), which

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 425.

probably indicates that there are no termites. The king is said to make this test with a piece of intobotobo yi mivembe.

If the test is successful, the future owner of the house prepares beer and sees that food is on hand. When all the preparations have

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

[768] After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. How-
125 ever, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has
787 settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega)
251 which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist
285 of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held
251 together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

251 being stored in an empty hut. This must have been a temporary arrangement to counter the danger of termites.

In Ruanda some of the supplies are kept in the hut. Here, however, they do not use banana leaves but baskets sealed with cow dung. The baskets hold up to 50 kilograms.

In northern and western Ruanda there are often pits in the immediate neighborhood of the huts, where bananas are kept to ripen and fresh beer is kept until it ferments. The pits are heated before the bananas are stored there. To do this the smoke from the adjacent fire is directed into the pit. Dr. Kandt (1) is

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

undoubtedly referring to these pits when he says that the cellars of the Banyabungu are: "...caves in the shape of butter molds, the walls of which are supported by bent branches and hoops. The hoops starting at the bottom form diminishing concentric circles up to the opening which is wide enough for a man to enter."

[514] Privies seem to be completely unknown in Ruanda.

[206] Interior of the Hut. The interiors of the huts in Kissaka 342 differ from those in Kiziba in that there are no fixed, woven par- 352 titions. When you enter the hut, you seem to be confronted by a finely woven wall, but on closer observation this turns out to be a row of uprights. Stiff rectangular mats are wedged in between them and bent outward. The mats are woven somewhat like the baskets; they are 2 meters long and 40 centimeters wide and usually sealed with cow dung. This wall separates the anteroom (umuriango) from the hearth section. On the left side is an opening which forms a narrow entrance to the interior of the hut. The position of this opening seems to be reminiscent of the arrangement in the Bakondjo huts. However, this opening can also be directly opposite the entrance, as is generally the case among the Batutsi.

352 Along the wall of the hearth section, usually to one side of the entrance, is the bench for the milk vessels. This is about 40 centimeters wide, 40 centimeters high, and up to 2 meters long

352 and is covered on top and in front with mats. On this bench stand several simple vessels carved out of wood and covered with not very artistically woven straw lids. Above these vessels, on a beam placed across two uprights, large calabashes used in making butter hang in nets. In Kissaka these hanging nets are not as neatly and carefully made as in Kiziba. Small calabashes are used to close the openings of the butter calabashes.

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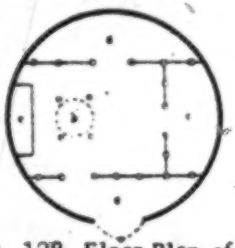

Fig. 128. Floor Plan of Kissaka Hut: (a) anteroom, (b) hearth, (c) bedroom, (d) back room, (e) milk bench.

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The hearth is situated somewhat to the left of center. It is shaped like a round clay slab with two concentric circles, one centimeter high and ten centimeters wide, to prevent fire and ashes from falling out. Well-to-do people who have a separate cookhouse do not keep a fire in the hut during the day. Their hearthstone is always [207] swept clean, and they light a fire only in the evening. Above the fire is a grill, that is, a slab set on four high posts. The bunches of bananas to be used for making beer are placed on this grill to ripen.

[415 285]

Fig. 129. Hanging Net with Basket. (1/6 actual size. III 13100.)

On the other side of the hearth, opposite the milk bench, is the spacious bed. This is surrounded by posts, and here again we find mats or plaited work wedged between them in order to close off the room. There is a separate approach to the bed, which can be clossed off with a rollable stick mat, like a blind.

342 In Mulera I had an opportunity to see a different arrangement of the hut. Here there was no partition between the anteroom and the hearth section, and the whole thing was called a cow stall (rubumbiro). The hearth (isiko) was in the middle of the hut. This is also said to be the usual arrangement in Bunyabungu (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

In Mulera, behind the hearth is the women's rooms (mbele) which leads to the niche dedicated to Biheko (ruhimbi). To the right of the entrance is the room for the calves (ruhongoro). The bedroom is between the Biheko niche and the calf stall.

352 In Ruanda the bed is made of wooden sticks. Four supports forked at the top, are driven into the ground, and on these rest two horizontal rods that support a platform made of wooden sticks. The frame is covered with several mats which make a relatively soft padding.

513 The sleeper wraps himself up in a mat, so that only the masunzu (2) and the toes stick out, which are not infrequently

2. Unshaven stripes of hair which ornament the heads of men, children, and young people.

gnawed by rats, the worst plague of the dwellings.

415 On the side of the bed facing the wall I saw tall round baskets with lids (ichibo) filled with grain for sowing.

352 Beds are found in all the huts of Mpororo, central and southern Ruanda, and Mulera, but in Bugoye I saw huts without them. There were very few in Nyundo, whereas in Ruagari which is only four hours north [208] on the Bgisha border, people commonly slept on mats without bedsteads in a special portion of the hut closed off by a partition. This was also the arrangement among the Batwa of Chuma. Among the Bakondjo and the inhabitants of Toro there are beds in all the huts. There are none in Kiziba.

The Batwa west of the Kagera do not use beds nor do the inhabitants of Bgisha and north Bugoye, who are obviously influenced

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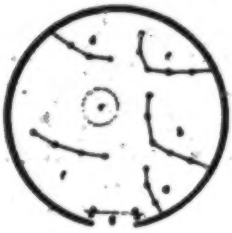

Fig. 130. Floor Plan of a Mulera Hut: (a) stall for calves, (b) bedroom, (c) sacred niche, (d) women's part, (e) hearth, (f) cow stall, (g) entrance.

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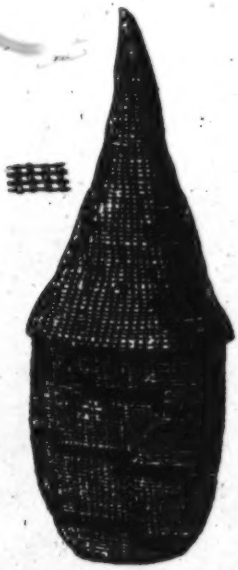

Fig. 131. Lidded Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 6890. 25 centimeters high.)

352 by the Batwa. The Pygmies also do not use beds. If we also remember that the people west of the Kagera make their bowstrings of rattan (bamboo) and use the wooden arrowhead, we may venture to surmise that the absence of the bed in north Ruanda is connected with the Batwa, that is, the Pygmies.

In the interior of the Batutsi huts I occasionally also saw a special room for children and guests. Usually the larger children and the guests sleep in the anteroom (umuriango).

The floor of the huts is covered with mats and not strewn with grass as in Kiziba and Mpororo. On the floor there is usually also a low wooden stool to sit on.

412 Household Utensils. In Ruanda household utensils are very crudely constructed, especially the mortar and pestle. The latter is a simple uncarved stick with a bulbous end. The gourd bottles, 415 too, are not as smooth and regular as those in Kiziba where we find all forms highly developed and perfected.

The most important household utensils are storage baskets, millstones, and various dishes for cooking and eating.

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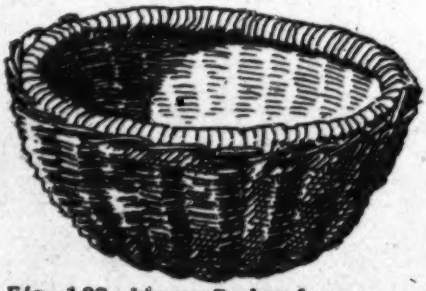

Fig. 132. Woven Basket from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13103. 39 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 133. Shield Basket for Flour from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10922. 27 x 23 centimeters.)

We have already briefly referred to baskets. We mentioned the conical storage baskets of bamboo (Fig. 54), the smaller straw baskets that are sewn together (ichibo, Fig. 131), the shield baskets for winnowing grain (Fig. 28), and the traveling baskets made of

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Fig. 134. Stick Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10032. 48 centimeters in diameter.)

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Fig. 135. Cooking Pot from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15172.)

Fig. 136. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15264.)

Fig. 137. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L14755.)

Fig. 138. Supporting Ring from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13726. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

415 sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are
285 the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

[209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape
412 and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back
252 and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer.
415 The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger
323 opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

[210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in
372 Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

415 Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets.
415 The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked
285 patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

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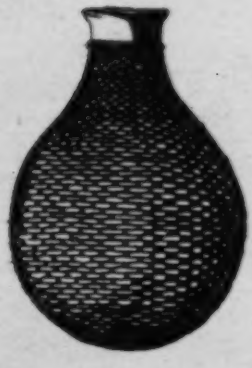

[372]

Fig. 139. Pot With Woven Wrapping from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E5246. 33 1/2 centimeters high.)

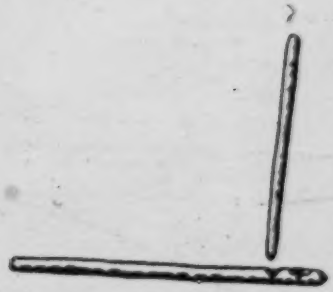

Fig. 140. Fire Drill of the Kivu-Batwa.

Fig. 141. Storage Basket of a Mulera Herdsman. (1/4 actual size. III E13681. 18 centimeters high.)

Fig. 142. Fanning Shield from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13675. Diameter, 21 centimeters.)

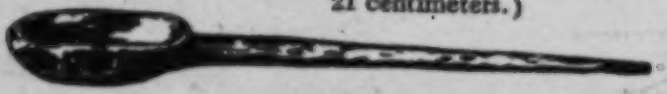

Fig. 143. Cooking Spoon from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15081. 65 centimeters long.)

445 [211] The wooden bowls are usually elliptical, but sometimes they are quite long and have a handle, so that they resemble a very short-handled spoon. Twin vessels are also not uncommon and I collected a number of them in Mulera. They hold less than other vessels. These twin vessels have a common longitudinal axis, are carved from one piece of wood, and used to serve different foods at one time. The part that joins them serves as a handle. On the outer rim there is often the suggestion of a handle in the form of a knob or a loop. Simple bowls sometimes also have loops.

[212] Gourds are used to hold beer and water. In Mulera, as in the Congo Basin, large bowls (ulukiza) made of calabashes cut in half lengthwise are used for drinking. Usually, however, in Ruanda, beer is sipped through straws from calabashes with narrow necks. The necks of these jugs are not as narrow as those in Kiziba. The straws are kept in the huts in small woven or carved wooden containers (ikitembo) resembling quivers.

Beer is poured into the small openings of the calabashes with funnels. [213] However, we also find vessels used for pouring. These were collected and illustrated by Dr. Kandt. (1)

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," Zeitscheift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 346.

Milk is stored in the house in the wooden vessels (kianzi) we have already discussed. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter. There are special small vessels for storing butter. They are made either of fired clay or carved out of wood. The latter are shaped like tiny dishes, but the edges are more convergent, and they usually have a loop handle.

352 Small, one-legged stools complete the furniture, but not every household has these.

462 The Household. The women do the housework which consists of fetching water and preparing food.

312 Fetching the water needed for the household is probably the most onerous task, particularly in the lava district south of the

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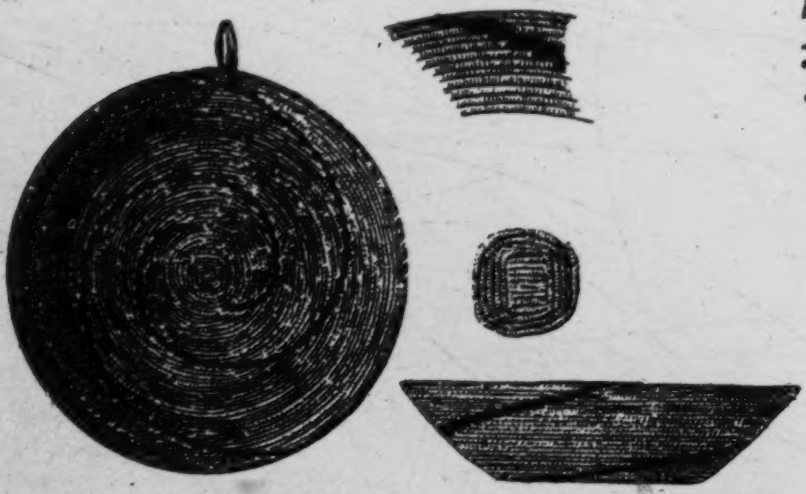

Fig. 144. Basket for Serving Food from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13670. 38 centimeters in diameter.)

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Fig. 145. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15094.)

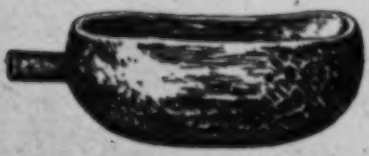

Fig. 146. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L1561.)

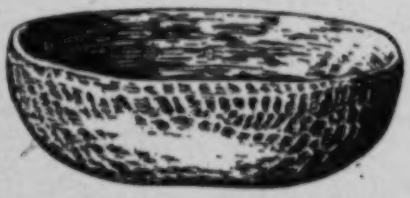

Fig. 147. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15156.)

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Fig. 148.

Fig. 149.

Fig. 150.

Fig. 151.

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Fig. 152.

Fig. 153.

Fig. 154

Fig. 155.

(Captions on following page.)

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Captions for Figures on Preceding Page

415 Fig. 148. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15160.)

Fig. 149. Twin Bowls from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III 9976. 37 centimeters long.)

Fig. 150. Twin Bowls from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III9977. 49 centimeters long.)

Fig. 151. Drinking Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13097. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 152. Beer Gourd from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 13045. 17 centimeters high.)

Fig. 153. Woven Drinking-Straw Container from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10060. 65 centimeters long.)

[531] Fig. 154. Carved Drinking-Straw Container from Ruanda. (1/3 actual size. III E13048. 32 centimeters long.)

Fig. 155. Clay Funnel of the Batwa. (1/4 actual size. IIIE6628. 16 centimeters high.)

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Fig. 158

Fig. 156.

Fig. 159.

Fig. 157.

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Fig. 156. Pouring Vessel from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III9983. 14 1/2 centimeters high.)

Fig. 157. Clay Butter Dish, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. IIIE9995, IIIE9992. 10 1/2 and 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 158. Wooden Butter Dish. (1/4 actual size. IIIE9971. 13 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 159. Wooden Stool from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13745. 22 centimeters high.)

312 volcanoes. There the rivers run underground and open water holes are sometimes a great distance away, even several hours. In these regions rain water and the bitter juice of the banana stalks are used primarily, but a certain amount of water has to be fetched even in these regions. The collected rain water is very impure, for [214] it is gathered in small depressions in the ground from which it is dipped with gourds into larger vessels for storage. In Buhumba, along the route from Nyundo to Rutshuru, I saw that after a heavy rain waste matter from the dirty courtyards was washed into the water holes.

312 578 In spite of these difficulties in obtaining water, the Bahutu filled in a spring on the Karisimbi in order to get rid of the Batutsi who watered their stock there and devastated the fields. This example shows how peacefully herdsmen and farmers live together.

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Fig. 160. Woman's Knife with Single Cutting Edge, from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13734. 20 centimeters long.)

Fig. 161. Woman's Knife from West Kivu. (1/4 actual size. III E10172. 32.5 centimeters long.)

515 That the women have to fetch the water may account for their greater cleanliness. It struck me in Nyundo that one always saw women washing themselves along the Ssebeya, but one seldom saw men bathing.

462 The entire process of preparing food also falls to the women, and this is not limited to cooking. They must also thresh the grain, grind it into flour, peel the produce of the fields, in most cases fetch firewood, and in Kissaka even make the pots.

412 In their work women use small, crudely constructed knives. Only in the west do we find large, double-edged, sword-like knives used by the women. They closely resemble the knife used by Babira women.

000 the knives used by Babira women.

251 Boiled food forms the basis of the diet; however, corn, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are also baked.

262 The Batutsi's favorite dish is beaten sour milk, kivuguto. The Batutsi maintain that they live exclusively on beer, milk, and meat, but sureptitiously they also eat peas (maharagi), beans, millet mush (umutsima), eleusine (buro), gourds, and bananas. On the other hand, they seem to scorn sweet potatoes. This may not be altogether true, however. The Batutsi repeatedly tried to convince me that their diet was entirely different from that of the Bahutu, but this does not seem to be the case.

The diet of the Bahutu, as one would expect among the poorer people, is more monotonous, with less milk and meat and more umutsima, peas, and sweet potatoes. Fish is a very important part of the diet of north Ruanda.

264 [215] The Batutsi eat solid food only once a day, in the evening. They eat with their women, whereas they drink only with men of their own social position.

The Bahutu eat twice a day, between one and two in the afternoon and between eight and nine in the evening. In Mulera people also eat in the morning. This applies only to the men, since women and children eat all day long. The Batwa, too, are constantly eating, whenever they have a chance. It is said of them: balandwa uk imga, "they hunt like dogs."

Chapter 10

Family Affairs

595 The Family. The number of persons in a family, in the narrower sense of the term, varies a great deal in Ruanda. It includes the father, his wives, and children.

Since the woman represents a worker primarily, the number of women in a man's household may be regarded as the measure of his wealth. The poor cannot keep a wife, those of limited means only one, and the wealthy minority two or even several wives. This is why the Batutsi have more wives than the Bahutu.

595 Although a wife feeds herself and the market price for a woman is trifling the Bahutu, nevertheless the man must build and maintain a house for each woman. The amount of work this entails, considering the perishability of the straw buildings, seems to be an important factor in curtailing polygamy. In some cases, it is true, several wives get along with each other in one house, but the lack of a separate hut is considered a great disadvantage and usually results in a woman's departure.

612 The family in the wider sense of the term includes the more distant relatives.

If the child is regarded as the center of the family, only the ancestors in the male line of the father as well as of the mother are considered. The ancestors in the female line are disregarded. Of the various branches of the family only uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces are to be mentioned, as well as the corresponding relatives of the husband or wife.

601 In the Kinyaruanda language there is a word, basekuru, for the abstract concept "ancestor," but there is no word for the concept "father," and one must always say "my father," "your father," "his father." For "grandfather," too, there is no special designation; sekuru really means "his grandfather," and the concept "your grandfather" must be expressed by sokuru.

[217] In the following table we list the expressions for the closer relatives. (See following pages.)

Older close relatives are simply called uncle, data wachu. More distant relatives are referred to as mwene wachu.

The term wachu used so much in the table of relatives is really a possessive pronoun and means "our," just as wanyu means "your" and wabo, "their."

The stepfather is referred to simply as the husband of the mother or brother of the father. [218] The latter designation refers to the fact that a husband's brother falls heir to his widow.

It should be noted that in kinship terms the father's brothers and the mother's sister are treated as two parallel groups, the members of which can intermarry.

562 264 Position of Women. In Ruanda the woman is regarded, in principle, as a lower creature, and married couples never eat together in public. In private, I have repeatedly observed that they usually do eat together.

	Father's Side	Mother's Side
Ancestors	basekuru	
Great-grandfather, great-grandmother	sekuruza, nyinakuruza	sengeneza, nyinangeneza
Grandfather, grandmother	sekuru, nyinakuru	senge, nyinange
My (our) father, my (our) mother	data, mama	
Your (sing. and pl.) father, mother	so, nyoko	
His [or her] (their) father, mother	se, nyina	
My husband	mugabo wanye	
My wife	mugore wanye	
Son, daughter	umwana	
Grandchild	musukuru	
Great-grandchild	musukuruza	
Brother of my father, brother of my mother	data wachu	marumi
Brother of your father, brother of your mother	so wanyu	nyoko rumi
Brother of his [or her] father, brother of his mother	se wabo	nyina rumi
Sister of father, sister of my mother	nyina senge	mama wachu
Sister of your mother		nyoko wanya
Sister of his [or her] mother		nyina wabo

(continued)

	Father's Side	Mother's Side
A boy says, "my sister"	mushiki wanje	
A boy says, "my brother"	mwene data	mwene nyina
A girl says, "my sister"	mwene data	mwene nyina
A girl says, "my brother"	musaza wanje	

The children of two brothers call each other: mwene data wachu.
The children of the mother's brother are called: mwene marumi.
The children of the father's sister are called: babyara (singular: mubyara).
More distant cousins are also called: babyara.
The brother's son is called: umushungu wabo.
The brother's daughter is called: umugore wabo or umukobga wabo.
The uncle calls his sister's child: muishwa.
The grandfather calls his daughter's child: akamumuishwa.
The wife of my son is called: umukazana.
The father of my husband is called: sebukwe.
My wife's brother is called: umuramu.
My wife's sister is called: umuramukazi.

562 Despite this disadvantage, the position of the woman in Ruanda must be regarded as relatively good. True, she does bear the burden of the housework and field work, at least in the poorer households, but the husband helps her with the field work in emergencies and always does all the heavy work. It is his duty to clear brush, build huts and storehouses, and help with the hoeing.

The well-to-do women spend their time at handiwork, such as making small, artistic baskets. It is said that while doing this work they consume large quantities of beer. They spend the day in the kagondo, the women's house, and, therefore, one has little opportunity to see Batutsi women. If you arrive unexpectedly in a compound, you see nothing but a few figures in flight, whom you can recognize as women by the rings on their legs (butega).

While the expedition was in Nyanza, Dr. Schubotz tried in vain to get Musinga's permission to photograph his wives. Musinga made promises but did not keep them.

There were, in fact, no women to be seen in Nyanza. During the entire three weeks of my stay, I met only two not very young women on the last day.

In Ruanda one often hears complaints about the dominance of women. The farmers especially complain about the wives of their chiefs who are said to be very disagreeable, above all when their husbands are away. A couple of times I heard about Bahutu who were beaten with sticks and badly wounded by Batutsi women.

It is as a mother that the woman takes on an important and esteemed position. The best example of this is the influence enjoyed by the queen mother. A king's son who has lost his mother can not ascend the throne. Sterile women are despised, and the only attention paid to unmarried women is that they can be married off, that is to say, sold, so that connections with other families may be established.

581 [219] Marriage. Marriage does not have the same social significance in all parts of Ruanda, but throughout the country a man can improve his status through marriage and even more so through the marriage of his children.

In the northern part of Ruanda, however, where the Bahutu are still almost entirely free, marriage is a political act of

581 great importance because it unites two families and is a step in the direction of social integration. In Nduga where farmers have no political importance, marriages also have no significance.
[583] This probably also explains the difference in the purchase prices of brides. In the north these prices are very high; in Nduga they are very low. Hence, marriages in the north are much more stable.

583 The price paid for the bride, which must be returned in case
562 of a separation, is the economic guarantee of the permanence of a union. In the words of the natives, a marriage in Mulera is an act of exchange between two clans. One clan furnishes the horned cow, ntuku, which is the bride price, the other clan provides the unhorned cown, nkunge, that is, the bride. The woman, like the cow, is family property. After the death of her husband she is inherited, so her purchase price and her progeny do not have to be returned. This inheritance is called kutshura.

584 In Kissaka a bride is wooed when she is still a small child. The suitor sends banana beer to the parents of the bride. If the parents approve, they accept the gift. Then, when there is an opportunity, the bride price is agreed upon. The presents of beer are repeated from time to time until the girl comes of age. These presents are supposed to call attention to the suitor and further the marriage settlement. As many as 20 to 50 jugs of beer
585 are sent. When the girl is mature, that is, when she is about 15 years old and her breasts are the size of a fist, she is brought to the house of her husband on the appointed day by the sister of her father, her brothers, and her attendants (bagaragu). They stay the whole evening, drink banana beer, and converse. While the bride sits with her aunt in the inner part of the house, the rest of the party is in the section facing the door (mulìango). After the entire supply of beer has been drunk, they all return to their houses, and the newly married couple is left alone.

It often happens that the bride runs home to her parents and does not wish to return to her husband. In this case the husband must send more presents of beer to the parents-in-law. If he happens to be out of beer, he must send a man, who promises to send more beer, to fetch his wife.

583 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is pri-
556 marily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[643] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a
584 girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

584 the first present of beer, even though he intends to withdraw his approval later. The refusal to accept the first gift is considered a bad insult and evokes bitter enmity. The visits accompanying the presents of beer are repeated from time to time. If the father of the girl does not discourage these visits, the price of the bride is discussed during the drinking bouts. In most cases it is a cow and two jugs of beer. The latter, however, can also be replaced by hoes. [221] The cow wears the vine around its neck known as mushishwa, and to it are fastened one of the two beer jugs or the hoe. The name for all these things is bukwe, "bride price." The mushishwa plant is added to make the agreement binding, to prevent the parents from changing their minds and giving the girl to another youth. Gifts are given to the nearest relatives of the girl as well as to the father. The father's brother gets three jugs of beer, and the mother's brother, two. The girl's mother gets three hoes, the maternal grandmother and the brothers, one hoe each. Payments are delivered a few days after the first negotiations. If the marriage does not take place, the bride price and, above all, the hoe with the mushishwa must be returned.

As the date of the marriage draws near, the visits with the obligatory presents of beer become more frequent. After a specified amount of beer has been drunk, the day of the ceremony is agreed upon.

585 The relatives of the bridegroom prepare a large amount of beer. The father of the girl or, if he is no longer living, her older brother invites relatives and women friends to bring the girl to the house of her future husband, along with a large retinue.

The girl is wrapped in a mat and either led or, if the roads are bad, carried. If during this journey anyone succeeds in catching a glimpse of the bride's face, the marriage will be of short duration. The retinue also carries an empty gourd, which is supposed to assure the girl of progeny, and the gifts from her relatives. In one of the baskets is the cowhide which she will wear after she is married; the other contains her jewelry. The procession sings along the entire way. The girl is received at the entrance to the courtyard of the bridegroom, who comes to meet her holding a gourd.

585 He hands it to her, lifts the skin in which he is dressed, and exposes his thigh with the words: "ndakuhaye omurundi, uzachukura inka yo kukuhaliki (I give you my leg, it will become a bull for you, that will mount you)."

The gourd which the man hands over is a symbol for the belly of a pregnant woman, and the ceremony symbolically expresses the wish of the man that she bear him children. The bride walks through the courtyard and enters the house where the marriage ceremony is to be continued. There she gives her future mother-in-law the gourd, kisabo, for safekeeping. She also leaves her the gourd she brought along and the two baskets of presents. The [182] second gourd is very carefully preserved, for in it the young wife [222], after the birth of her child, brings beer to the home of her parents to sacrifice to the manes. In this way she requests the manes not to harm her child. Little children are given liquids from the same gourd. It must be quite new and must not have been used previously, even for water.

Afterwards the guests separate within the house. The women go to their section of the house, the mbele, opposite the entrance; the men remain in the ikirambi, the middle of the house. The basangwa, guests of the bridegroom, sit on one side; the bahelekeza, members of the bridal procession, sit on the other. The uninvited guests remain in the courtyard outside the hut.

After everyone has drunk copiously of the beer, they ask for food. One of those present suggests that they begin with the marriage ceremony, since it is getting late. The bridegroom gets up, takes a container of milk, and goes to the women's section. The women resist and do not let him get near the bride. The bridegroom violently drives them away and strides toward the girl who is sitting on the ground with her legs spread apart. He kneels in front of her, spits milk on her breasts, and says as he rises: "mumpe impundu, ndalongoye (give me shouts of joy, I have married)."

This is the core of the entire marriage ceremony. Unmarried girls may not be present when this takes place. The parents of the girl and the brothers of her father are not present at the wedding. They celebrate the daughter's marriage with beer in their own home.

585 842 After this ceremony one of the young husband's sisters grinds flour, makes millet mush, and distributes it among the small children. This is done in order to guarantee the young couple numerous progeny. The same girl prepares food for the young wife on the following day.

585 782 The marriage ceremonies are concluded with the sacrifice of a goat. After the children have eaten their millet mush, the head of the family says: "We are going to eat." The guest reply that the women would like to wash their hands. The women do not agree with this and say: "We shall eat after the men have finished." Then the head of the family has a goat brought to him. After this is done, the guests look at the goat critically and say that it is not beautiful enough. Then another is fetched. This, also, does not satisfy the demands of those present. Then a third one is brought. This can be accepted if it is beautiful. After the goat has been accepted, it is beaten with a stick while being driven to the bridegroom's house. It is killed near his bed with kicks and blows, not with a knife in the usual way.

This ceremony supposedly indicates how the wife would have been treated if this sacrifice had not been made. According to another version [223], it means that the woman should be as soft and yielding as the goat that had all its bones broken. The meat must be divided among those present, otherwise the marriage would be childless. The men eat it on the same day; the women take it home for the children, because in Mulera they themselves may not eat goat's meat.

585 The men eat the meat along with millet mush. After everyone has eaten and drunk his fill, the guests disperse in the morning. The guests of the bridegroom accompany the guests of the bride for a short distance and honor them in this way.

The young husband soon returns, takes the firewood that has been prepared, and lights two fires at the places where the women and the men were seated. The bride goes out with the guests but immediately returns to her mother-in-law, where she remains. The mother-in-law prepares a meal, but the young bride refuses to eat it. The husband must persuade his hungry wife to do so by giving her presents.

In the evening the mother-in-law tries to prevail upon the wife to go to her husband's hut. The wife stubbornly resists yielding to

585 her husband, and there is a quarrel. It is proper for the man to show marks on his body which indicate to everyone that his wife bravely defended herself and did not yield like a hussy. However, the man may not be strong enough to break the wife's resistance with force, and he must then persuade her with presents to eat and to yield to him.

After the marriage, the woman must remain hidden for a time, that is, until her relatives come with gifts of beer, food, and bracelets. This visit usually takes place on the third day. On this occasion mats are brought along which the young wife made at home. She may chat with her relatives, the young girls who brought the mats. On this day there is dancing, singing, and much drinking.

Some time afterwards the parents again send their daughter presents. Among these, besides food, is a brand new hoe with a new handle. On this day the wife dances with her husband and the new hoe while the rest of the relatives sing an accompaniment. The wife then goes to the field for the first time and works a little. Until this day, called kushishura, the man has no sexual intercourse with his other wives. After the hoeing, grains of millet
[142] are brought to the young woman. A handful is scattered on a mat, and she must pick them up with one sweep of her hand. If she fails, the prospects of numerous progeny are poor. She and her husband together grind these grains and use the flour to make beer which they give to small children in order that they themselves will have children.

841 [224] During the first menstrual period after her marriage,
291 the woman is given the cowhide which constitutes the dress of
302 married women, and her head is shaved. However, since girls are
585 not infrequently married before they are mature, it often happens that the wife goes about with her masunzu (shaved pattern) for a long time, waiting for the cowhide. Father F. Dufays told me that he knows of a case where a wife waited eight months for her cowhide, but it is said that the wife sometimes waits as long as two years.

841 Thus, a superstitition has arisen about the shaved pattern on
302 the head. According to it, if a wife does not give up her maiden
585

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[142] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

58[illegible] In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in
[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

585 Extramarital Relations. Not all women who share a house-
567 hold with a man are his regular wives (basumba kazi) with whom
578 he has entered into a formal purchase marriage. Concubines
588 and slaves (baja) are also kept in Ruanda. The concubines are [225] usually childless widows and abandoned or fugitive women. They settle wherever they find a relatively good refuge. The baja are sold by their parents when they are children, usually in exchange for food during a famine. They are simply women without ties, but who are otherwise very much like the other women and usually also have their own huts. Their children are likewise said to belong to the father's family, although they are not regarded as equal. Such children of Batutsi men, for example, are said not to be regarded as Batutsi although they have the same family name.

588 The chiefs grant baja to their clients, a practice which is
567 even more clearly defined among the Azande and Mangbetu, for example. The baja, along with the cow, are the means whereby the powerful one binds his clients to himself and thus strengthens his power.

567 Just as a man can grant a cow to a client and also demand it
574 back, so he can likewise put a muja at the temporary disposal of
837 a favorite. Under these circumstances the entertainment of guests with women "who are to warm his bed for him" is quite understandable. The less esteemed guests are given baja; the highly respected guests, on the other hand, are honored by being offered regular wives.

574 In general, a man on a journey has at his disposal the wives
837 of his blood brothers. Dr. Kandt (1) says that from certain social

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

aspects this arrangement has its positive points: "Alternating connubium, that is, the interchangeable pairing of several male blood relatives with all their wives, as is permitted in Ruanda, prevents the loss of the female element in the preservation of the race, should the male element prove unfit."

574 This custom seems to be widespread particularly among the
837 Batutsi as well as among the Bahima. Father Achte sees in it the reason why polygamy is relatively undeveloped among the Bahima.

578 In spite of polygamy and the fact that it is easy to enter into marriage in Ruanda, there is a sort of prostitute. These are widows or older women, as well as girls who have not found a husband. They give themselves in exchange for presents, thereby earning their living. They are called inzorezi. Young men have sexual intercourse with them before marriage. The word is derived from the verb kuzerera, "to run about."

586 Prostitutes and concubines are distinguished from nyamuraza, roving girls who enter into a sort of trial marriage and have intercourse in this way. They hope [226] by this means to persuade a man who would otherwise not have given them any consideration to make the conventional payment and thus make a proper marriage. This attempt may be repeated several times.

586 Divorce. If a man is not satisfied with his wife he may, without further ado, send her back home. If the woman was at fault, if she was unfaithful or sterile, a demand may be made for the return of the payment given for her.

In Mulera the cow which was paid for the woman, as well as all the animal's young, are returned in this type of divorce if the woman has had no children. If the woman has lived for some time with her husband, the cows may be replaced by calves. While I was in Rusa the whole countryside was in a state of excitement over an unusual divorce suit. A man named Lwamakuba paid for his wife with a cow which in the course of time gave his father-in-law ten calves. When the wife grew old, her husband sent her back home indicating that she was sterile. He demanded the return of his payment which had meanwhile increased to a whole herd of cattle. After many negotiations the wife returned with an excellent cow which was supposed to make up for her beauty defects. The husband took his wife back, and the matter was settled. After a time, the wife was sent back again. Five times the woman returned, always with another cow. At the time of my visit the woman was being sent back for the sixth time.

586 However, since this time another cow was denied, the man entered a suit for the return of the illegally retained cow.

If a woman no longer wishes to live with her husband, she 586 first goes back to her parents. She does not have a comfortable 587 existence there, however, for she is regarded solely as a beast of burden and as something unclean besides. Her father, above all, has visions of having to return the payments which he cannot refuse the husband. For this reason the woman usually does not stay long in her parents' home. After a certain time she moves away and settles with a man who does not shy away because of the dispute with her husband and her father. Once the woman has left her proper husband, she does not usually stay long anywhere and travels about according to her moods and the advantages she may gain. Thus a woman may change husbands several times within a few years.

586 In Mulera disputes between man and wife are said to be tried before a specially selected tribunal of older women and men. If public opinion is in favor of the wife who has left, the husband loses his right to be paid and must persuade her to return by offering her gifts. In this case, as a rule, the bribed relatives of the wife become the man's most vehement antagonists, for they do not like to see her wandering about in any case.

[227] The divorced wife retains her personal possessions and the dowry she brought to her husband's house.

578 The vagabond existence of women causes much disorder in 857 the life of small communities. Most quarrels, in Kissaka, for example, arise on account of the children. Here the Muhutu woman does not have a high purchase price, and consequently the children are more important than the wife herself. The children belong to the father's clan. The clan regards the children as reciprocity for the payment received by the wife's parents. If a man has impregnated a woman for whom he has not paid, his right to the child is apparently lost. The woman stays with him, however, and the child, at least as long as it is small, cannot be taken away from the mother. This involves a legal question which the batware [officials] must decide. If the man is powerful and has many followers, the question becomes very complicated. In this

578 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the
851 child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to
562 be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when
578 their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

[228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section
844 occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

844 in a kneeling position. Only women and girls may be present; men are not allowed.

845 If the mother dies during labor in Ussuwi and Bukumbi, a Caesarean operation is performed in order to save the child. It is said that in Kissaka and Mulera people do not dare to perform this operation.

844 After delivery the woman is nourished with a mixture of milk and cow's blood. Later, beer (nzoga) is added to this diet, as well as a mixture of peas and bananas of the nkamba variety.

The navel cord is cut with a reed splinter. On the fourth day, it is said, the navel is finally trimmed. After this the mother 846 sweeps out the hut and places the rubbish in two baskets (ntaro) which she carries out with the help of her neighbors. The women go in a row, one next to the other, and in this way they accompany the young mother to a previously chosen spot where the contents of the baskets are scattered. After the women return, the husband serves banana beer to the midwife, but before that he performs a libation.

846 On this day the neighbors call and bring presents in honor of the child's birth. The presents consist of food and drink, for ex- 431 ample, bananas, peas, sweet potatoes, beer, and, among the 852 Batutsi, milk. This ceremony is known as bihembo.

In Kissaka the guests kneel in honor of the father. He accepts 852 the honors standing, holding a wooden spear (muko) in his hand and with a sword (ngota) behind his back. He calls upon Binego and Mugasha and expresses his gratitude for the honor by spitting nzoga (banana beer) upon the visitors. If the newborn child is a boy, the father puts a small spear, a small bow, a nail upon which to hang the bow, and a small shield woven of grass into his hand. When he gives the bow to the child, the father spits and says: "akavuna muheto kandi ntaka uvune (if he breaks the bow, may he not break it again)." When he presents the spear, he says: "arakagua mukicho kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he is attacked in ambush, may it not happen again)." When the shield is presented: "kiliho arakagua mungabo kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he should fall upon his shield, may he [229] not fall again)." Finally, turning to the nail on which the bow is to be hung, he says: "arakavuna ingaugo kandi ntaka uvune (if the nail breaks, may it no longer do so later)."

852 If the child is a girl, the mother gives her: lugori, a head band of corn straw which is a symbol of motherhood; luhindu, a needle; and ntamyi, a papyrus thread.

In describing this ceremony, Father P. Schumacher (1) says

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 901.

that the child, be it boy or girl, is also presented with hoes with which invited children cultivate a piece of land one square meter in size at the spot where the child's uncleanliness is buried. This ceremony is called kusohora and takes place on the eighth day after birth. Present at the ceremony are the child and the mother, shaved for the first time since her confinement.

553 The next day the child is given a name. In Kissaka it is said that children are not named until they are three or four months old. The grandfather names the son, and the grandmother names the daughter. At this ceremony the child is laid on the ground before sunrise and called by its name. If a child has not been born
551 within the house, it is given a special name. In that case a boy is called Maira, and a girl, Nanzira. Besides these names, children are given other names, even those of strangers. Some of these are nicknames and often replace the regular names.

We must also mention that everyone has not only his personal name and the name of his clan, but also the name of his umuzimu, that is, of the ancestral spirit which remains in contact with him. I could not find out any details about this. It seems that the name of the spirit to which the child must make offerings and build a spirit hut (ndaro) is used as the child's second name.

Besides these names people also have boastful names. Father Schumacher (2) says: "Every Munyaruanda, or at least every warrior,

2. Ibid., p. 895.

has a kivugo, that is, a nickname that extols his outstanding characteristics, especially the warlike ones. The byivugo (plural)

are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

842 It is obvious that if a large number of children brings the father influence and possessions and insures the existence of the whole group, there is no reason for the use of devices which limit the number of children. However, contraceptives are known. Father Schumacher (2) says: "The juice of the muhoko bush,

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 894.

mixed with a small amount of water, is taken as a contraceptive; strong doses are taken to commit suicide. As a superstitious but 'infallible' remedy, the mother who wishes to prevent her daughter's disgrace uses the latter's first menstrual blood. She catches this and allows it to dry on any kind of material. She keeps it, or, for example, she may tie the rag on her foot (the numerous butega hide it). After this is done, conception is impossible, no matter what the girl manages to do."

847 If a nursing mother becomes pregnant, she has an abortion out of consideration for the child. The operation is performed by a smith and is said to be done mechanically and not with internal remedies.

[231] The same thing happens when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant. If the abortion is unsuccessful and the girl has the child, it is often killed by being allowed to starve.

844 Death. If a person dies in a house, the nearest relatives are assembled, and a pole is provided on which the body is tied when it is transported to the grave. The body must not be kept very long in the hut.

The women mourn the deceased, and all clothing, bracelets, and leg rings are removed from the corpse. The body is put in a crouching position with arms and legs bent, rubbed with butter, and wrapped in mats (virago) with no gifts added. Moreover, the Batutsi shave the head of the body, but the Bahutu do not do this.

In Kissaka the deceased is either buried in the banana grove or thrown into a papyrus swamp, according to his wishes. In Nduga bodies are usually thrown into the swamps. In places where there are no papyrus swamps, they are covered with a layer of earth. In Mulera it is a common custom to bury the Bahutu. The

764 grave is dug so deep that the gravedigger's head is not visible when he is standing in it. Only those who have been killed are laid to rest in caves. In Bugoye people who have died at home of an illness or of old age are buried near the house. People who have died suddenly or have been killed are simply abandoned or thrown into the bushes. People who have died in an epidemic or of starvation are also abandoned.

The corpses left in swamps are devoured by animals. In contrast to this, care is taken that buried corpses are not dug up, and to prevent this, the grave is covered with banana stalks and thorns.
765 The deceased is mourned for four days. On the fourth day the members of his family remove their bracelets and shave their heads for four moons. If a wife dies, only the girls remove their jewelry; the men merely shave their heads. After four months the masunzu, the shaved patterns, are allowed to grow again.

In Bugoye and Nduga, it is said that a stick (kasongera) is broken above the hut of a woman who has become a widow. This probably symbolizes the absent phallus.

764 The abandonment of the corpse which is customary in Nduga is probably related to the Batutsi element. The Bahutu of Mulera bury their dead, like the Bantu of the neighboring Congo Basin. There is an inexplicable contrast between the neglect of the dead and the death cult. Could this neglect perhaps facilitate the
[765] transformation into an animal? The members of royal families of Ruanda and Urundi are [232] said to turn into leopards after their death, just as the ruling family of Kiziba, like the Massai, turn into snakes.

766 643 According to Father Van der Burgt (1), the corpse of the king

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German.] (Boisle-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 204.

766 of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be
643 worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites
and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at
[782] the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies
of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, whereupon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan. As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the
[597] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his relatives.

614 842 Since the groups involved in this arrangement are small and conditions simple and clear, no one can forget that the welfare of the individual is directly dependent on the welfare of the clan. Hence everyone is very much concerned that the clan appear powerful to the outside world. It must be as large as possible and always ready for war. No effort must be spared to achieve this; otherwise the members of the clan have no protection against plunder, impoverishment, and even complete extinction. The man as well as the woman must be considered from this point of view, and producing children is, therefore, the most important duty of the individual. This explains the completely unenviable position of the childless woman. For the same reason, sons whose descendants will augment the number of clan members are preferred to a daughter, even though one can always trade her for a cow.

614 563 The importance of the clan's strength and fighting fitness, even today in Bugoye, was convincingly demonstrated to me by the fate of my Muhutu informant's father. Several years ago their clan was scattered by advancing Batutsi. Only his father remained on the old clan property, along with the [234] children and his uncle. Since there were only a few men in both families and they were too weak to defend themselves, the Batutsi simply settled on the land and indulged in all kinds of suppressive measures against the weaker farmers. At the time of my visit, for example, they took away a whole hut and carried it to their settlement, instead of building a new one for themselves.

614 628 Every individual is under the protection of the clan. This makes it possible for a person to lead a more or less secure existence. Clan organization represents a sort of social guarantee which is directed primarily against the misdeeds of fellow tribesmen who do not belong to the clan.

614 627 Moreover, the clan exercises control over its members, and, if serious offenses are committed by individuals who endanger the interests of the clan, they can even be exiled.

614 627 428 The clan may also interfere in family matters and, above all, in disputes about inheritances. Although the father can dispose of his property as he sees fit, nevertheless his decisions presuppose the tacit approval of the clan. If the interests of the clan are

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
428 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
423 property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy, it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
651 taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

The protection of female clan members does not extend to
614 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
591 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
760 happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
614 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

614 671 178 finds protection even outside the clan, which formerly was not possible.

614 Ruanda Clans. We have already listed the clans of Ruanda in Chapter 2 [not translated]. However, in view of the significance which the distribution of individual clans in the various provinces has for the history of Ruanda settlements, the list must be supplemented by further data. Here we shall also give the names of the provinces in which the individual clans were observed. (Chart on following pages)

It is said that the Baanzira clan is not represented in Kissaka, but the name is familiar, and strangely enough, it is used by the women in vows. When they wish to affirm something very positively, they say: "Aha Baanzira batshu."

Father Schumacher (1) uses the designation "Base" or "Abase" for the Bagessera and Bazigaba who play a special role in the Ryangombe cult.

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 896.

628 614 [237] Blood Revenge. Clans practice blood vengeance (kuhora) for their members. If an outsider kills or wounds a clan member, his fellow members take revenge on the members of the criminal's clan.

The clan's revenge, however, is not always a simple settlement on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In Kissaka, for example, the people are satisfied if they kill a member of the murderer's clan, whereas in Mulera the vengeance is always greater than the crime. The severity of the vengeance by the injured clan depends on the number of its able-bodied men. The powerful and spirited clan of the Barashi who are settled in Mulera on Muhawura is aware of its strength and takes bitter revenge. For a murdered clansman, the Barashi kill six to eight men from the murderer's clan. The other less powerful Mulera clans content themselves with three or four. The Batutsi, on the other hand, demand as many as ten to twelve heads. The same number is exacted by the greatly feared Batwa clans.

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Baasigu 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Babadji 1)	.....	–
.....	Babanda 2)	.....	Babandi 1)2)3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	Babusi 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Babwari 1)	.....	from Ndorwa
Rugumvu, chameleon	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bachacha 1)	.....	branch of Baloye
Rutoni, weasel	.....	.....	.....	Bachakohogo 1)	.....	.....	branch of Baloye
.....	.....	.....	Batsiaba 3)	Bachaba 1)3)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Badahe 1)	Badoha 1)	.....	branch of Basinga
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Badjadja 1)	–
.....	Badogo 2)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	Bega 2)	Bega 1)2)3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagaba 1)	–
.....	Bagai 1)2)	Bagahe 1)2)	Bagai 3)	Bagai 3)	Bagai	Bagai 1)	–
Infundi, small red bird	.....	.....	.....	Bagaya 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagambira 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagara 1)	Bagara 1)	branch of Batsiaba
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bageni	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
Niamanza, wag-tail	Bagessera 1)	.....	Bagessera 1)2)3)	Bagessera 1)3)	Bagessera 1)3)	Bagessera	branch of Batsiaba
.....	Bagiri 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagirima 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga
.....	.....	.....	Bagoboko 1)	.....	.....	.....	–
Ingwe, leopard	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagwabiro 2)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahachi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bahungura 3)	Bahangura 1)	Bahangara 1)	Bakungura 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahanuka	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bahene 1)	.....	.....	.....	branch of Batsiaba
Infundi, small red bird.....	Bahigo 2)	.....	Bahigo 2)	.....	Bahigo 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahinga 1)	–
Rutoni, Weasel	.....	.....	.....	Bahoma 1)	Bahoma 1)	Bahoma 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahotso 1)	.....	.....	–
Niamanza, Bachstelze	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahuma 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahumba 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahunde 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahungudu	.....	.....	–
.....	Bahuzi 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Baichozi 1)	Baichozi 1)	.....	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bairuntu 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Baisha 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Baishaza 1)	Baishaza	.....	–
.....	Baitera 2)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	Bakango 1)	.....	Bakango 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakanyara 1)	–
.....	Bakiaba 1)	.....	.....	.....	Bakara 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakima 1)	Bakima 1)	.....	–
.....	Bakimbiri 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bakobga 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	Bakono 2)	.....	Bakono 2)	Bakono 2)	.....	Bakono 1)	–
Rugumvu, chameleon	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakora 1)	.....	–
.....	Bakumangari 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakundi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakungura	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakwa 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Balesi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Balihira 1)	Balihira 1)	Balihira 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Baloye 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Balyolyo 1)	.....	branch of Bahoma
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bambari 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banegitore 1)	.....	.....	.....	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kisaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bangona 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga called Raven
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bangoto 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bangura 1)	Bangula 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banie-ginia 1)2)3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banyabeneki 3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Banyabgisha 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Banyabgoye 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	Banyabyinshi 3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banyakarama 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Banyambo 1)	Banyambo 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Barashi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Barunu 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Basale 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Basemera 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga
Impereri, rock badger	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bashama 1)	.....	–
.....	Bashambo 2)	Bashambo 2)	Bashambo 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bashobio 1)	.....	–
Niamanza, wag-tail	.....	.....	.....	Bashoke 1)	.....	.....	branch of Bahoma

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan (continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
Liver.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Basigali 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Basigi 1)	.....	Basigi 1)	–
nda, antelope	.....	.....	Basindi 1)3)	Basindi 1)3)	Basindi 1)	Basindi 1)	–
Nsere, black cow with white stripes	Basinga 1)2)3)	Basinga 1)	Basinga 1)2)	Basinga 1)3)	Basinga 1)	Basinga 1)	–
.....	.....	Basita 1)	Basita 2)1)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Basubahu 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	Basungu 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Baswaga 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	Basweri 1)	.....	Baswera 1)3)	Baswera 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Batekamogi	–
Ntama, sheep	.....	.....	.....	.....	Batembe 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Batita 1)	.....	.....	branch of Bahoma
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Batogi 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	Batsiaba 1)	Batsiaba 1)	Batsiaba 1)	.....	.....	in Mulera the branches Bagara and Behene
.....	.....	.....	.....	Batsilege 1)	.....	.....	

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan (continued)

[Probably should read Inganda; cf. text page 159, line 24.-Analyst]

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Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	Batsove 1)	Batsove 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Batwa 2)	.....	.....	Batundu 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bavuna 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bayovu 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bayumbo 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bayungo 1)	–
Amara, entrails of every animal	Bazigaba 1)	Bazigaba 1)	Bazigaba 1)2)3)	Bazigaba 1)3)	.....	.....	–
Rutoni, weasel	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bazogera 1)	.....	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

In Mulera, in contrast to Kissaka, the female members of the clan are also avenged, but in Ruanda I heard nothing about women being killed in revenge.

The clan which has avenged its dead casts off mourning and celebrates the happy event with dancing and beer drinking. This announces to the others that they have nothing more to fear.

In exacting vengeance, the injured clan is primarily bent on laying its hands on members of the criminal's clan, but the murderer himself also receives special attention.

During my stay in Mulera a man with a pot of beer on his head went to a neighboring settlement. On the way he met a stranger who expressed the wish to taste his beer. When the man refused, the stranger retaliated by stabbing him in the back. The wounded man fell to the ground and began to scream. The stranger fled, but the injured man's clansmen pursued him, inflicted arm and head wounds with a bush knife, bound him, and brought him to their settlement. There he had to await the outcome of his victim's illness, and if the man had died, he would have had to pay with his life for his fit of temper.

Revenge is the factor that most strongly binds the clan together and contributes most to the development of a feeling of solidarity among clan members.

A clan that refused to take revenge would become extinct in a short time, since neighbors could plunder its members without punishment.

[238] The practice of blood revenge in Ruanda and, above all, in Nduga where clan members are scattered among outsiders takes the form of secret, occasional murders. In the northwest, for example, in Itambi where clans have settled in larger units, revenge is said to take on the nature of a regular war. This difference is decidedly an adjustment of the same institution to the particular conditions prevailing in the two regions.

Unsettled and pending cases of revenge constitute an ever-present danger for the clan members, and at the same time they involve many unexpected and unpleasant situations. The clans are settled in different places far apart from one another, and the individual member is not always informed about the relation of his clan to others in distant regions. For this reason the Munyaruanda

614 keeps his clan a secret and discloses it only when he has confi-
628 dence in his questioner. That is why it was so difficult at first to find out the names of the clans, especially before we learned the word for clan, namely, umuryangu or umuliangu.

For its own safety, the clan is forced to watch over its members and, in case of an emergency, oust certain individuals whose actions endanger the community. This applies chiefly to those who, through careless murder, burden their clan with the revenge of the injured. The banished member loses the right of protection and property and will not be avenged. This expulsion is called kilenga ngoma and seems to occur more frequently than adoption.

These imperfect security measures aimed at guaranteeing the safety of the individual cause eternal petty wars. The whole society is split up into a number of warring camps, which weakens its resistance against outside enemies. This applies primarily to the Bahutu, and this will be one of the chief reasons why the better organized herdsmen minority will be able to conquer them.

Clan feuds are by no means limited to the Bahutu. My anthropological studies among the Batwa in the region around Marangara were very much curtailed because a few days before, during an evening of beer drinking, a drunken man committed a murder. The murderer and his clansmen were obliged to leave the region of Marangara in great haste.

614 Abaziru. Although blood revenge unites the clan more con-
262 spicuously than any other factor, nevertheless in peaceful times one is only occasionally aware of the sharp demarcation of clans. [239] In quiet everyday life the clans are differentiated much more by their food taboos. The adult members of individual clans are forbidden to eat certain foods. For example, the Bagessera and Bashambo, like some Massai tribes, do not eat liver; the Bagahe and Bazigaba do not eat entrails, etc. Each clan may have more than one food taboo. Thus, the Bashambo, for example, eat neither liver nor the meat of foreign spotted cows.

The members of different clans may not eat together because of their dietary laws. Consequently, they also regard each other

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different clements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
609 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[71] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J.M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

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609

Neighbors]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

614 [240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few
262 clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

262 Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no
858 means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of
562 Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

262 The food taboos which play such an important role in the
614 life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos,
784 abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

614 The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are
784 taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

614 Nevertheless, the individual's freedom of action with regard
784 to his umuziru is limited. For this reason one is closer to the actual meaning of the word when one translates it as "prohibition."

I was told that the following were abaziru: mammals, the various parts of their bodies, birds, fish, grasshoppers, the milk of particular cows, and inanimate objects, such as an empty basket, for example, but not plants, with the exception of a blade of straw.

784 [241] The meaning of abaziru involves the vague idea that
775 after death everyone takes the form of an umuziru. For example,
614 they believe that the clansmen of the ruler of Kiziba turn into snakes, the family of the kings of Ruanda into leopards, and various Azande clans into all kinds of animals.

I had no opportunity to find out the derivation of abaziru, not even in cases where the transformation into animals after death was positively maintained. Thus, we can hardly link the various prohibitions with remnants of these ideas.

On the other hand, I learned about traditions which make
784 it seem likely that the prohibitions arose from experiences of
614 clan members or their protoplasts. Thus, in Kifumbiro I was told that one of the clans there (the Abazirambogo) does not eat buffalo meat because one of its ancestors was killed on a buffalo hunt many, many years ago.

The prohibition on wearing the skin of the inganda, antelope, shows how the taboos of a single clan spread to larger groups, even to a whole country. Inganda is an umuziru of the Basindi clan. Its members were not permitted to hunt the animal, eat its meat, or use its skin for clothing. Two wives of a king of Ruanda once quarreled over this beautiful skin, and one stabbed the other with a knife. Thereupon the wise king, in order to eliminate discord from the world once and for all, declared the animal to be an umuziru for the entire country. This has also been the case with dogs, monkeys, and birds.

The Banyaruanda, who generally like to dismiss a questioner with the phrase, "our fathers did it this way," cite traditions about the origin of their taboos, and this we can regard as an argument in favor of the view that the taboos developed along with clan organization.

714 628 614 It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

614 582 Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Batutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

614 581 [242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

563 582 614 In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu,

563 562 614 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

572 608 [243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

572 608 628 There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is connected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 608 628 is divided into zones settled by different clans which are often hostile to each other, the individual can depend only on his clansmen. When he goes abroad, outside his clan's sphere of influence, he must look for personal friends and secure their pledge of protection, thus making possible his sojourn in strange parts of the land. This is the reason why traders enter into the greatest number of brotherhood pacts. People who never leave their hillsides do not make this pact, and pacts between the inhabitants of the same hillside also are not common.

572 608 Brotherhood is sealed by special ceremonies. On the day of the pact the one who wants to enter into brotherhood goes to the house of his future blood brother, accompanied by a witness. He is received there also in the presence of a witness. All four men sit down on a mat on the hut floor. The articles necessary for the ceremony are placed beside them: mutsima, stiff millet mush; a knife; and a hoe.

The witness of the guest takes the knife and makes a scratch to the right of the latter's navel. He catches the blood on a piece of mutsima and hands the knife to the witness of the houseowner, who repeats the same ceremony with his candidate. The two blood brothers then eat each other's blood along with the mutsima. Then the first witness takes the knife, begins to sharpen it on his skin, and says:

[244] Mwumwe! Ntuza yaniwanye na ntuza.
Harken! This one enters into blood brotherhood with that one.

Elmwa kanaka uramuka umutatiye iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Hear you (this one), if you dare betray him, this vow will kill you.

Akomerekera mw' itawalo wanga kumuheka, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
If he is wounded in battle, you refuse to carry (him), this vow will kill you.

Umushigisha amata iwawe, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you him milk yours, this vow will kill you.

Wanga kumuheka, yarwaliye mw' itawalo, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you to carry, when he falls in battle, this vow will kill you.

572 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiche.
608 (If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rise, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood
608 brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new
431 friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to
608 attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood
614 brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed
628 by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its
608 significance. This may be considered a result of state organiza-
614 tion which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organiza-
178 tion. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

572 608 614 178 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship between blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 608 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 608 582 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously observed. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 608 837 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 608 563 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the Batwa.

614 621 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

614 621 In the north the members of individual clans have large areas wholly to themselves. In view of the not very strictly organized political situation, these autonomous territorial communities can sometimes play a very important role because of their solidarity and their often rather large numbers. In Nduga, on the other hand, the power of the state has broken up the clans, scattered them, and robbed them of any possibility of forming political or territorial clan unions. The representatives [246] of the various warring factions were incorporated into territorial groups and placed under chiefs appointed by the state. If you travel from Mulera to Nduga via Bugoye, you can observe the successive phases in this process of the formation of a state. You see how the independent, undifferentiated clans are first drawn into all kinds of dependent relationships and are then gradually absorbed.

In taking possession of Bugoye, members of the same clans have settled in various places. As a result, the whole country represents a mosaic of properties occupied by different members of the same clans who are physically separated from one another, yet still aware of their historical connection. This is most clearly evident in the institution of blood revenge, as well as in the prohibitions regarding food and marriage. This awareness, however, is not sufficient to bring about the formation of larger, independent, well-disciplined political unions. Every individual settlement is an entirely independent community with its own elder at the head.

614 622 In clan communities that have been unaffected by conquest, the head of the community has little authority. He represents the clan community in external affairs and settles internal disputes. The latter are one of the most important reasons why clan members emigrate. The headman is known as mugabo, and his position is hereditary, usually devolving upon the eldest son. In the list given below, the bagabo are given first place.

After the subjugation of clan communities by outside conquerors, the mugabo occupies a special place. His duty is to collect taxes and to deliver them to the official commissioned by the king. However, this official position gives him a certain

622 614 influence which can increase along with that of the outside conquerors, especially if he knows how to make himself useful to them. Since the privilege of collecting taxes is hereditary, it bears a seed that can grow to the level of a regular high chief, as was demonstrated in the case of the Muhutu, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, who became known even in Europe for the murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias.

The leadership of the Barashi under Lukara lwa Bishingwe is an example of a clan whose elder, through the influence of the Batutsi, was elevated to chief according to the concepts of the conquerors. This development has not, however, come to an end. The entire process is too new, too little strengthened by tradition.

The privileged position of the Barashi clan elder goes back only two generations. Lukara's father, Bishingwe, was a very skillful hunter and [247] knew how to use a Batwa group for his ends. He knew how to furnish Lwabugiri, the king of Ruanda and father of Musinga, with plenty of ivory, and the king rewarded him for it. The king treated him as his immediate vassal (mugaragu) and made him chief over his own clan, in which he is said to have formerly held the position of mugabo.

622 614 578 The promotion of the powerless clan elder to chief was not recognized by the clan members, and among them Lukara had little power, according to my observations at the time of my journey. He tried to remedy this disadvantage by attracting exiled riffraff and foreign elements from dispersed clans and settling them on free land. He selected his followers from among this unorganized group who, as strangers, were at the mercy of everyone and could expect protection only from Lukara. With them he held his fellow clansmen in check. The latter, however, in their hatred, drove the outsiders to Lukara, and in this way there arose that compact, strictly organized structure which made Lukara so dangerous to his opponents. The Mututsi, Luhanga, his chief opponent, did not have such a well-disciplined following.

I had an opportunity, on the basis of a minor incident, to observe how great the constant internal friction of this social structure must be. I requested Lukara to have water fetched for my men. After negotiations that lasted almost two hours, Lukara announced that he was willing to do this and told his men who were assembled

in the courtyard to fetch water. No one was in a hurry to make the half an hour trip to the water hole. Lukara grew angry at this delay, seized a few people by their hands, and pushed them aside to have them get the water. One of them rebuffed Lukara with the words, "I am no Murashi," and would not let himself be singled out. Lukara began to scold and asked the name of the man's father, but did not molest him further. The water had to be fetched by newcomers. Lukara has allowed these newcomers to settle, and therefore he can, of course, also drive them out again. He cannot treat his fellow tribesmen so arbitrarily.

In spite of the friction between the clan elder and the clan members, the Barashi support Lukara. They know that his downfall will mean their subjugation to outsiders. That is why Lukara is so strong in the face of his opponents, even though he has not as many men to put into the field. His Batutsi opponents must depend on Bahutu who have no such interest in Batutsi successes.

Lukara, whose father became a mugaragu only through the demagogic Lwabugiri, now passes himself off as a Mututsi. His men, too, say that he is a Mututsi. His fellow clansmen, however, merely say [248] that whenever he can, he tries to oppress his own people with newcomers, as an outsider, a Mututsi, would do.

In this manner the peasant aristocracy made up of clan elders merges with the Batutsi. We are, therefore, justified in asking outselves whether this gradual rise to nobility, sealed by the forgetting of ones origins is not the chief reason why Bahutu clan names occur among the Batutsi.

The size of the autonomous clan communities, which roughly correspond to our villages, varies a great deal. In many cases they have a population of about 100, while some have a few thousand inhabitants. In the Barashi territory, for example, there are 6,000 to 8,000 people. The fertile area is bounded on the north by primeval forests covering the volcanoes, on the east by Lake Bolero, and on the south by the lava steppes. The population was pushed out of the lava plain by the Barashi. The Batwa, however, remained on Muhawura.

As we have seen, the population of these communities does not consist entirely of clan members. There are also outsiders who

621 settle among the clan members as clients (bagaragu) who perform
614 services for them for which they get their food and from time to time a sheep or goat. They are poor devils who in this way must scrape together the means to buy a wife. There are others in the densely populated areas where there is no free land who rent acreage and even own houses on rented land. Others rent only as much land as is necessary for their hut and a small courtyard, and they make their living as day laborers.

We must point out that settling on the land of a strange clan presupposes a certain calm and stability and signalizes the impending deterioration of the clan community. Under more primitive conditions where clan organization is at its height, we seldom find cases of people settling on the land of a strange clan. Life among strangers would be too dangerous because feuds involving blood revenge might break out. There is no security against feuds between the clan of the host and that of the settler, and then the isolated person is the first victim because one can most easily get at him.

614 Property. The clans of Bugoye and Mulera occupy regions
423 which were taken over and cleared by their ancestors several generations ago.

In Ruanda the clearing of the primeval forest plays a very important role in the conception of ownership. In Bugoye, despite the recent Batutsi conquest, land is regarded as the property of those whose ancestors [249] took possession of and cleared the corresponding sections of primeval forest. This comes out in legal cases involving property, when they cite as a witness the stone on which the bush knife (muhoro) was sharpened when the land under dispute was cleared. The party claiming the land says: "I shall bring the whetstone (uzakuha ulutsiaga) that my ancestor used when he cleared this piece." In view of this, the clan members may also be regarded as the owners of the land occupied by them.

However, although the huts, the animals, and all the furnish-
[422] ings are absolutely private possessions which one can dispose of as he sees fit, the possession of land is not entirely free of restrictions. The clan members really have only the use of the common property given them. The land, like its possessor, is the property of

614 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest
623 has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession
[643] of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

556 The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of
231 the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and
621 the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma,
592 and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.
423 [251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the
231 clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

6:Czekanowski--170 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
			Baishaza of Katebe											
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	—	2	—	1	—	1/2	—	—	2	—	
	Nikora	"	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	„mugabo"
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	—	1	2	—	3 4/5	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	"	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semivombi	"	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
3.	Ndereye	"	1	2	2	—	1	—	1/2	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	"	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semilyangu	Muvuna	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ndegeya	Mwichozi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Banitogeya	Mukora	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Mukuri	Mwishaza	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	
	Kolombani	"	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Otto	"	1	—	—	—	1	—	1/2	2	—	2	—	
5.	Mpabuka	"	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	3	2	outside		
	Sebichikira	"	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Matayo	Muhuma	1	—	—	—	1	—	1 1/2	7	12	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 9.
	Bisaga	Mushobio	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhuma	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Kimonjo	Mukara	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8.	Marobi	"	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	4	4	1	—	Day laborer for board
	Ndamwete	"	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9.	Sebutama	"	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	2	2	4	1	
10.	Gafene	"	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11.	Senguri	"	1	1	—	1	1	—	1/2	1.	—	4	2	Field of No.1
12.	Mafara	Munyabgisha	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	2	2	—	Son-in-law
	Birere	"	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	Brother of No.12
13.	Ndungutsi	Mwishaza	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	Field of No.1
14.	Bukara	"	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	
	Antigoni	"	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Pilipo	"	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	
15.	Segihobi	"	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	
	— · —		1	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	Children of vagrant wife
16.	Nderiwamunda	"	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
17.	Bikwehwe	"	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	
18.	Gihigwa	"	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	3	—	2	1	
			1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	9 5/10	41	28	45	12	104 persons 1)

midwives

1) Among them 47 male clan members and two sons-in-law.

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No	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows plus	Bulls	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
		Bahoma of Kitebe (Balyolyo Branch)													
1.	Rugira	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	$2^3/_4+1$	3	4	3	1		„mugabo"
	Sebishimbo	Mudahe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
2.	Dominiko	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	1	—	$^1/_8$	2	2	2	—		
	Budjodjwe	Mugai	—	—	—	—	—	1	$3^1/_2+1$	—	—	—	—		
3.	Rukara	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1		
	Muchuchu	Murashi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Birikunzira	Munyakaru	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Rusigari	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
4.	Faro	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—		
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Rudjanju	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	$2^3/_4+1$	4	4	4	1		
	Mabgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Karbagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
6.	Sedigi	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	$2+^1/_2$	2	2	4	1		
7.	Bihire	„	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1		
8.	Bashaki	„	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	—		
9.	Ishaho	„	1	1	—	1	2	—	$2+^1/_8$	3	—	3	1		
	Mwiza	„	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
10.	Patris	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1		
			10	11	6	14	17	9	$12^3/_4+4$	22	12	30	7	61	persons 1)
		Bagwabiro of Kitebe													
1.	Mwuyekure	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	$^1/_8$	5	2	4	1		„mugabo"
2.	Maliro	„	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1		
3.	Semitesa	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1		
4.	Mahembe	„	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1		
	Karisti	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Kichondo	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Bidjari	„	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1		
6.	Sekini	„	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1		
7.	Sebihumira	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	$^1/_8$	—	4	1		
			7	14	3	4	14	2	$6^1/_8$	$25^1/_2$	7	36	7	41	persons 2)

1) Among them 21 male clan members.

2) Among them 21 male clan members.

grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical with the number of women. It is very important to note that the head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

during my journey. He controlled the largest country and boasted the largest number of subjects. At the beginning of our acquaintance he certainly did not give the impression of being the most intelligent ruler. Later, however, I was repeatedly convinced that he always made an effort to appear stupid [253] when the wishes of the Europeans were troublesome to him. He tried to gain time by toying with German words whose meaning he pretended to want to know. Thus, he would draw out a visit in order to tire the guest and in the end evade the whole matter under consideration.

On August 10, 1907, I had my first opportunity to see His Black Majesty. At noon I caught up with the main part of the expedition, and around three o'clock Musinga arrived in order to pay a return visit to His Highness the Duke. He was a slender, delicately built young man, 197 centimeters tall, with somewhat squinting, myopic eyes and protruding teeth. He wore a length of red cloth (bendera) over his shoulders and a white loincloth. The latter was held together with a belt to which was fastened the hunting knife which His Highness the Duke had given him the day before. The splendid figures of his retinue made a much more aristocratic and elegant impression than the king himself.

Musinga's ceremonious visit on the next day made an entirely different impression on me. He appeared wearing a diadem, his face veiled, and he was borne in a ngobi, surrounded by the members of his court who were formally dressed in their mukane. He was accompanied by the melodious, albeit wild singing of the Batwa. The entire picture was devoid of European influence and gave the impression of fantastic, indescribable beauty, everything was so perfect, aristocratic, and elegant. The ceremony had great style and was carried out with admirable exactness and distinction. It represented the complete negation of ordinary Negro style as I had observed it among my porters who paraded around in frock coats without pants.

It was not quite clear to me to what extent Musinga has adjusted himself to the new situation brought about by European conquest. He knows that his freedom of action has been somewhat curtailed, but he also knows that he can use government soldiers to suppress small, local revolts and to dun taxpayers who are in arrears. Best of all he knows that Mpumbika, the leader of the

643 followers of the Kissaka pretender, was exiled from the country
648 only with the help of government troops.

Moreover, he hopes that his powerful friend, Tiki-Tiki (Captain W. Von Grawert, the erstwhile imperial resident of Ruanda and Urundi), who has already presented him with cows from Mpororo, will also one day drive the Belgians out of Ufumbiro and Bunyabungu and that he himself, like his father, Lwabugiri, will have sovereign power there.

Musinga, like every Mututsi, hates the Belgians particularly, indeed, much more than all the other disgusting egg-eaters put together. They shot down a great many of Rudegambia's people who tried to thwart their efforts to settle on Lake Kivu. Furthermore, [254] the guiding policy of the Belgians was to exclude the unproductive aristocracy. They wanted to exploit the natives all by themselves, without letting the Batutsi take part. They were even obliged to grant the Bahutu a certain amount of protection as recompense for the heavy burden of provisioning the large occupation forces which were needed to prevent too great an emigration from the Ruzizi-Kivu border territory.

German policy pursues basically the same goals, but the preservation of the old forms of social and political organization and the gradual development of new conditions gave Musinga no opportunity to comprehend the whole nature of the approaching danger, against which he was, of course, completely helpless. Instinctively, however, he foresaw the perilous situation. He ignored the opportunity to enlarge his territorial possessions by unconditional and eager support of the Europeans, as Kahigi from Kyanja had done, nor did he know what to do with Mpororo which had been given to him.

Although government troops have always supported Musinga, it is said that he cannot sleep as long as there is even one Askari in Nyanza. This will suffice to characterize his mental attitude toward the new situation.

Musinga is very vain and susceptible to flattery. For instance, he insists that his court dancers perform better than the most skillful dancers of his chiefs. That is why, after the performances, his first question to His Highness the Duke was which troupe had danced the best. The Duke, who had been tipped off by Father

643 L. Classe, was able to give him the desired pleasure by telling
648 him that his dancers were the best, although the dances of Kanuma's people from Kissaka had made the greatest impression on His Highness as well as on the others present. Musinga, it seems, shared this general opinion, but in order to assure himself that he had correctly understood the Duke, he asked him to have small gifts of glass beads given to his ntore, so that everyone would believe they had actually done the best dancing. Only after this request was carried out, was he content and scornfully looked down on his bagaragu as defeated rivals. With His Majesty's height of two meters and his squinting, myopic eyes, this was a very funny spectacle.

643 This childish, petty vanity, however, is also linked with a considerable degree of mischief. For example, Musinga twice refused the request of Father L. Classe who wanted to take to Issawi the old, broken-down barrel organ that Father Brard had given to the king. In Nyanza it stood in the rain and had become a playground for rats. Musinga maintained that one does not give away something that has been given one as a gift. This was no
[431] excuse, for in Ruanda gifts are always passed on, and a watch that had been given to Musinga came back to the giver through a third person at one-twentieth of its market value.

[255] There was another reason why he refused to give back the organ. The instrument was broken, and the missionaries wanted to repair it. Musinga knew that. An object that refused to play for the king should serve the missionaries! Musinga did not care a fig for the organ itself. He did not even express the wish to have it repaired, although he usually plagued his visitors with all kinds of requests in order to tire them.

His attitude toward the phonograph was very interesting. Quite apart from the pleasure which this trick of modern technology gave him, he enjoyed hearing Ruanda songs, even though they were badly reproduced. The European pieces, which were technically much better, did not give him any pleasure and soon disappeared from the repertoire of phonograph concerts. There was only one piece with infantry commands, drums, and flutes which he asked for occasionally. The barrel organ ground out pieces which he did not understand, and that is probably why he paid so little attention to it.

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
[775] with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be
643 the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the
578 successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

There are, however, some regulations which eliminate cer-
643 tain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

643 of the king who are recognized and fully qualified. The moment a
644 king has a son whom he recognizes, the queen mother is said to be sent away. For this reason she brings all her influence to bear (and this influence is, as a rule, very great) to prevent the king, as long as possible, from recognizing any of his children as fully qualified.

643 Bagaragu. The king is the owner of all the land and all the
423 cows in the country. He exercises his power by granting these lands and recalling them when he is displeased. In this manner the king appoints his officials who as such can be regarded as temporary large landowners. The king keeps them in office and on their land, but he can drive them out or increase their holdings at any time.

643 The king is omnipotent. The only thing that does not yield to him is the physically impossible. Thus, for example, he can find no one who is inclined to settle as chief in Ndorwa, for this would be too dangerous in spite of the eventual help of the king.

661 An individual's power and possessions depend chiefly on the
643 favor of the king. This is the case to such an extent that even the privileged must always remain in contact with the king or
558 even live at his court, otherwise they cannot hold on to their success or their possessions. No matter how wealthy a man is, he can lose everything if he has no allies and if someone more fortunate succeeds in getting the king to withdraw his favor.

643 Every fortune hunter is surrounded by a number of clients who
644 dog his footsteps in the hope of participating in the successes of their patron. One can judge the importance and the prospects of the master by the number of these second-class fortune hunters who often have to content themselves with nothing more than gifts of milk from the king.

644 When I lived in Nyanza, I had an opportunity at eleven o'clock every morning to see the mighty ones, with a following of 50 to 60 men, march up to the king to give him a morning greeting. Among these were also completely impoverished [257] devils who, although they were marching up to the king as his bagaragu, had only one Muhutu in their retinue.

The most intimate associates of the king are his high chiefs. They are his clients (bagaragu). At the time of my visit in Nyanza

644 the following high chiefs were mentioned:

1. Nshohozamigo (Luhanga is his mugaragu in Mulera);
2. Kanuma from Kissaka;
3. Niamutezi from Kissaka;
4. Lutangabo from Kissaka;
5. Rwamanwa from Niaruguru;
6. Rudegambia;
7. Kabare from Bugessera, Nduga, Kifumbiro, Bugansa, Kissaka, etc.;
8. Lukara lwa Bishingwe (Muhutu) from Mulera;
9. Ndazihiwe (Muhutu);
10. Ishirangabo;
11. Runiga (Muhutu of the Bahenyi clan);
12. Bushakwe (Lwakadygi is his mugaragu in Bugoye);
13. Niamuhanga from Bgisha;
14. Lwabilinda from Mukinjaga, brother of Lwabugiri Kigeri;
15. Ruenankiko from Bulembo south of Mount Ndisa;
16. Nigensi from Mukinjaga.

644 361 These clients live in the huts that surround the large kraal of the king. Their "villas" (bilaro) looked to me like an encampment that had been set up a few days before, probably because they may not have trees planted around them, as is customary, because this might detract from the beauty of the trees surrounding the royal kraal. The only ornamentations in the entire vicinity were the trees of an old abandoned settlement on a neighboring hill.

644 The bagaragu of the king do not have any definitely appointed periods of service at court, as do the musicians, for example. Their periods of uninterrupted sojourn fluctuate between weeks and years. If you ask a high chief when he expects to go home, you always get the same answer: "When the king permits it." Besides 644 the favored, it is especially the feared who are kept at court for 661 a long time so that, removed from their own people and surrounded by a lot of envious, covetous rivals, they become innocuous. If they are absent too long, they gradually lose all contact with their followers. Time and distance have their effect, here as everywhere. For example, a rebellious chief from Mukinjaga was retained at court for the length of time it would take him to fill a

644 traveling basket with small white beads. For two years his peo-
661 ple had to gather these beads, [258] a ransom which was designed not to increase the delight of the subjects with their master. When he saw that the basket was being filled too quickly, the king decided that the cure for the man's attitude was not sufficiently complete and made him fill a storehouse (kigega) with hoes. Only then did Musinga permit him to go home.

644 Thus, next to the splitting up of property, the sojourn at
662 court is the most important factor in the organization and stabilization of the Ruanda state. To a certain extent this ensures against all eventualities. As long as the chief, the most important person in his territory, remains at court, the king holds all the chief's lands in his own hands to a certain extent.

651 The local taxation system is also closely connected with the
644 sojourn of the bagaragu at court. The high chiefs must give the king gifts as large as possible in order not to lose favor. On the other hand, they must not demand too much of their people who might otherwise move away. This restricts them in two directions. It is left to them to strike a balance between these two factors, and the result is that the individual personality of the chief plays a much greater role than is the case in corresponding positions in our modern state.

644 The Royal Court. The court of the king consists of the representatives of the aristocracy, who make up a large majority of his bagaragu and hold various offices, and all kinds of minor officials who serve the ruler. The feudal lords and their retinues make up the bulk of the population of Nyanza, but they come and then go back again to their holdings when the king gives his permission. Thus, the size of the court fluctuates considerably. During the visit of His Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg there was great excitement at Musinga's court, and the whole courtyard in front of the house was always full of people. Taps were postponed accordingly, and one usually did not hear them until around two o'clock in the morning, sometimes even later.

This, however, was not the usual picture of life at court. Everyone was so worn out by all the festivities that after the departure of His Highness the courtyard was quite empty. When I came to call the day after the expedition had departed, I did not find a single chief paying court to the king.

644 Just as the high chiefs pay court to the king, so their women are said to keep the queen mother company and remain in her service. For instance, Kahama told Dr. Schubotz that his second wife was with Musinga (probably with his mother), and when she returned, another woman had to take her place.

The court of the queen mother has nothing to do with the king's harem. [259] Thus, the queen mother, Kanzogera, went on a journey when the news came that our expedition was arriving, but the wives of Musinga remained with him, although they were not visible the whole time. When Father Felix Dufays and I made recordings of their songs and played them back to Musinga, the wives of the king were gathered behind a wall of shield matting in the same hut. They listened to the sounds of the imperfect but nevertheless quite supernatural instrument and occasionally betrayed their presence with laughter that they could not suppress.

The court of the queen mother seems to be the center of the women's life in Ruanda.

Besides the high chiefs, the ntore also are among the privileged members of the king's court. The ntore form the bodyguard of the chiefs. They accompany them everywhere, in the capital and on the battlefield. They are recruited from the sons of the lesser chiefs. They are bodyguards, court dancers, and hostages at the same time, since they are responsible for the deeds of their fathers. The ntore of the king are the sons of the highest dignitaries and are known as danga baganisi.

644 535 When His Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg asked Musinga what danga baganisi meant, he answered, "askari wangu (my soldiers)." However, they perform no military duty and merely compete in the dances. Naturally, they occupy the highest position of all.

644 Besides these privileged members of the court there are others who perform special services, for example, the royal smiths, musicians, Batwa bodyguards, etc. The eldest of the royal smiths is said to enjoy great influence, but apparently the king has given him no lands. The eldest of the court Batwa, the Mutwa, Muhenehene, was pointed out to me as the royal executioner. He is also a very influential man.

644 The court orchestra is made up of Bahutu and Batwa. The
533 singers are Batwa; the drummers are Bahutu. The musicians are a closed corporation and relieve one another every month. After this interval they return home and are replaced by new ones. The arrival of the new musical guard is announced on the evening of the new moon with a particularly solemn drumbeat. The drummers are exempt from certain duties. Among them there was also a Christian from Issawi.

644 Etiquette. The king always eats alone, for it is proper to eat only with people of the same class.

The king's food and drink are prepared by Bahutu. He seems to have more confidence in the subjugated Bahutu than in the ruling Batutsi. Such elaborate precautions are taken to lessen the possibility of poisoning that the drinks are made in the king's compound from products brought there. The cookhouse in the king's kraal is called mubahutu.

[260] It is said that the king sleeps very late. During my three weeks' visit I never succeeded in seeing him before eleven o'clock in the morning, and only once did I have an opportunity to meet him between eleven and twelve o'clock. I had taken the measurements of a person and started to compare his blue eyes with my Martin color chart. When the people present saw the artificial glass eyes, they were so impressed that they immediately sent for Musinga. Musinga promptly dispatched a courier requesting that I send them to him to look at. I offered to bring him the eye chart in the afternoon when I was to pay him a visit, but the king's curiosity was too great; he couldn't wait until then, and that very morning he came into my camp, something he had never done before. On this occasion I observed that when his bagaragu came out of their huts to join the king's retinue, they greeted him by clapping their hands. In Ruanda this greeting is reserved for the king, whereas in Kiziba it is bestowed on important persons generally.

Musinga receives visitors toward four o'clock in the afternoon in the muliango (front part) of his main hut (kambele).

The kambele is on the edge of an enclosed elliptical court about 100 meters wide, at the focal points of which are two

444 ceremonial trees. These were fenced in with straw and encircled with clay. The inner circle was neatly covered with grass. In front of the kambele is a podium ten meters wide, four meters deep, and one-half meter high. On it, to the right of the entrance, were cattle horns and a plant on which libations were made.

When he receives Europeans, Musinga is acutely aware of his lofty position. The king sits on a stool that is somewhat larger than those one sees in the natives' huts. Count Von Götzen (1) says that Kigeri sat on a chair embroidered with pink

1. Götzen, Count G.A. Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 178.

and white beads. Musinga's chair was devoid of this decoration. The king does not offer his guests a chair, and if one did not carry along his own chair, he would have to squat on the floor, like the king's lords. In this connection we must point out that in Ruanda the right to use a stool in public is linked with the idea of privileged position. This explains the polite phrase, "urakagira intebe (may you have a stool)."

[354]

The king is said to pass his evenings drinking beer. On these occasions legends are told about his illustrious ancestors.

The musicians are obliged to keep watch throughout the night. Taps, which are actually a very heavy drum beat, were never heard before two o'clock, [261] sometimes even later. The king is said to stay awake until this late hour. That is why ndamutsu, the heavy drumbeat that greets the king in the morning, never occurs until between eleven and twelve. Early in the morning, between four and five, the drums are also sounded, but only to show the king that the watch is on duty and that he can sleep peacefully. In the hut where he sleeps the king is said to keep an elephant tusk which always lies near his bed.

493 It is said that on his journeys a troop of Batwa carry the king in a small hut. This hut, kitabashwa, is supposedly kept in a

493 [578] courtyard at the king's compound, guarded by Batwa. A consecrated elephant tusk is also supposed to be kept there.

During the visit in Nyanza by His Highness the Duke, Musinga climbed into a ngobi at the request of Captain W. Von Grawert. This is the conveyance in which the chiefs are carried on journeys. The king was reluctant to do this, perhaps because he was afraid or because this form of conveyance did not seem to him appropriate to his rank.

643 484 While the king is on a journey, his Batwa bearers may get food wherever they wish, for everything is the king's property. That is why Lwabugiri, who was always traveling about, became such a burden to the country. Only the Batwa speak longingly of those days. They accompanied his expeditions, and I often heard them say: "In those days there was a lot of meat. Now Batwa have no standing."

Dr. Hans Meyer says: (1) "...since a sacred tradition forbids

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 347.

him (Musinga) to travel beyond the borders of his central province, he is very limited in his outlook." This statement must be based on a misunderstanding, since the rulers of Ruanda formerly traveled a great deal, and this is spoken of in detail in the legends. In all probability a native told Professor Meyer how much he disliked the troublesome journeys of the king, hoping, perhaps, that by misleading an influential European he might make the king's journeys impossible in the future.

565 Social Organization. We can distinguish four classes among the population of Ruanda. The privileged class consists of the royal officials. It includes the feudal lords of the king (bagaragu) and their subchiefs with their retinues, as well as the rest of the dignitaries at court. Most of the court officials are also feudal lords; some, however, like the head of the royal smiths, are said to hold no lands.

Among the elect, the highest rank is, of course, held by the family of the king, the Banieginia, and that of the queen mother, the Bega.

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

565 701 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi conquest they were not driven from their land, and the king recog-
[657] nizes their privileges. They pay only the ordinary taxes, but they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is herediitary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police
[693] and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

567 baja who were sold by their parents when they were children in exchange for food during the not infrequent famines. I was unable to find out anything in detail about the social position of boys who are sold in this way. I believe that when they grow up they are absorbed into the bagaragu stratum.

Every district that has periodic famines, for example, Ufumbiro [263], furnishes slaves who, unprotected by their relatives in a strange region, remain in an inferior position, dependent on the protection of their master. In every mission one can see a number of little slaves who have settled there to get away from their masters. On the whole, however, the position of slaves is not at all bad. I never heard of maltreatment.

565 [482] Loads are carried chiefly by the biletwa.[1] The Bahutu of this category have personal freedom. They may abandon their house and fields and change masters, as long as they do not leave the state. The batware on the border must see to it that people do not leave the country.

661 565 Actually, however, the existence of the common man is of no consequence, and he is tolerated only on the condition that he satisfies all the demands of the rulers. Often a native cannot simply give up his field and his hut without further ado. He must put up with minor depredations, ostensibly as punishment for alleged crimes. He must pay his taxes and provide food for travelers if the king requests it, although the mutware himself pockets the amount given.

In this primitive, undifferentiated society, however, the possibilities of exploitation are extremely limited. As long as it is simply a question of furnishing food for the relatively small number of rulers, the latter can be satisfied, no matter how large their appetites. Thus, the slight possibility of exploitation lays the foundation of a social equilibrium without legally established norms. Also, if we take into consideration the constant internal struggle of an unsettled state which is very much dependent on the support of the subject masses, we discover the second factor which sharply curbs tyranny. The rulers must consider their subjects, otherwise they run the risk of being abandoned by their followers and subjects and defeated by their rival. Political

[1] [i.e. Free farmers without land of their own—Analyst]

661 wisdom consists in not letting oneself be governed too much by
565 caprice and not becoming relatively the worst tyrant.

Even now when there is peace in the land, petty wars among
669 Musinga's bagaragu and brawls among the bagaragu of the bagaragu
642 of the king are by no means rare, but they occur chiefly in the border regions where the power of the king is not so strongly felt. At the time of my visit, for example, Lukara was fighting with Luhanga in Mulera. In cases like this it often happens that the king is unable to find a man who would not be too afraid to manage and tax the warlike farmers if they were assigned to him. In this way the Bahutu gain their independence and can be subjugated anew only by a punitive expedition.

[264] Under these circumstances, petty internal strife is a natural function of the state and does not result merely in brutality and devastation. In this way, even though it is uneconomical, poor administrators are weeded out, and the power of the strong is curtailed. This principle may at first glance seem paradoxical, but it corresponds very well to the facts. When it comes to the formation of a state under unlimited rule which on principle admits no protest, limitations must arise spontaneously if large masses of people are to live together.

661 The situation changes, however, the moment there is pacifi-
642 cation and the country is opened up and organized by Europeans.
178 The old, natural, albeit uneconomical forms which, after all,
648 regulated conditions are now done away with by force of arms and the rulers, weakened by emigration, overcome. On the other hand, the opening up of export trade creates countless possibilities for exploiting subjects in a hitherto unknown way. The situation of the natives is getting worse, for the new judicial norms, despite their humane phraseology, are less protection to them than the old regulations upon which the organization of the state was built. In Kissaka one can see many natives from Ussuwi who have taken refuge there from the blessings of humane European civilization. Under these new conditions, the only weapon in the hands of the subjects is economic injury to the chief, and this can be achieved by the emigration of the labor force.

The situation of the natives is worst of all where Europeans have put a stop to freedom of movement in order to make police

661 control easier. The moment this happens the native no longer
642 has any protection against his chief. As a result, the need for
178 serious intervention by the European administration becomes an
648 urgent necessity. With increased possibilities of exploitation certain norms must now be set up which will protect the interests of the common man and permit him some freedom, in other words, give him back everything that was formerly guaranteed him by means of a less perfect, less compact and oppressive social organization and without any kind of pact. Under these conditions, further intervention by the European administration becomes a necessity, because there is as yet no guarantee that the new order will do more than contribute to a "more complete exploitation of the lazy Negro" and perhaps also to a decline in the population.

642 By comparing conditions in Ndorwa, Mulera, Bugoye, and
64 Nduga, we can easily determine the direction in which conditions
178 have developed in Ruanda.

In Ndorwa we find independent clans living apart from one another.

[265] In Mulera the clans have been subjugated by the king and pay taxes. The Batutsi have driven the natives from some of the hills and permit homeless members of disrupted clans to settle there. These dregs must support their masters and perform compulsory services for the protection they get. These are the new communities which really should be spoken of as analogous to large estates. Some of the clan elders, such as Bishingwe, father of Lukara, are joining the conquerors and are supported by them. With this support they settle immigrants on the uncultivated land, and the latter must perform compulsory services, just as they do for the Batutsi.

In Bugoye the distinction between conquerors and peasant aristocracy is gradually being effaced and along with it the difference between impoverished clan members and immigrants who are domiciled on the remaining free land by the clan elder and become his bondsmen. In Bugoye this process is not yet completed.

The Bambari clan have already put their buletwa to work in the field of the chief, who is also a Mumbari and who must be regarded as a former clan elder. Here the land is already regarded as his property, as land granted by the king.

642 However, the Bagwabiro, an impoverished Batutsi clan, main-
614 tain that the king gave them the bush knife (muhoro) for Bugoye.
178 They occupied large areas, defended them, in some parts successfully, against the encroaching self-contained clans, and settled them with exiles, refugees, and vagabonds, who make up the biletwa of the Bagwabiro. Here the community headmen are officials of the king, which is in contrast to the situation among the rest of their clansmen where bagabo only collect taxes for the Bagwabiro. However, there seems to be a tendency to blot out the difference between Bagwabiro and tax collectors (clan elders) and to make serfs of the clan members, as is already the case with the Bambari.

In Nduga the population on the various hills is very mixed. It belongs to different clans. Most of the land belongs to the chiefs (the large landowners), and only occasionally do we find ngabo (fighting farmers) who are exempt from compulsory service (buletwa), that is to say, who live on their own land (granted to them by the king).

In this way clan organization in Ruanda is broken up by the rule of the herdsmen and the resultant development of a peasant aristocracy. The factors that remain to uphold clan organization are the food taboos, exogamy, and blood revenge.

The effect of royal power on the homogeneous clans has resulted in the differentiation of the population.

In Urundi the tendency towards centralized state organization [266] does not seem to have made much progress as yet. Here there are still feudal masters who are unrestricted rulers of entire provinces, while in Ruanda the chiefs have nowhere near the same independence on their lands. Here too, however, the land is regarded as the king's property.

635 Political Organization. Ruanda consists of a number of provinces with geographic names but without administrative units. We have already mentioned Nduga, Mukinjaga, Bugessera, Bugoye, Bwischascha, Mulera, Bgisha, Ruweruka, Ndorwa, and Kissaka.

The individual provinces have no central administration and
634 no governor. The provinces are divided into a number of communities, most of which are assigned to clients staying at the

court of the king. The feudal lord, the manangwa, has the duty of keeping his subjects in check, straightening out their affairs, and supporting his master with arms and retainers. In payment he has the right to be cared for by the inhabitants of the holdings entrusted to him. They must perform compulsory services to recompense him for the land given them to cultivate. Besides that, chiefs also enjoy a profit from the other taxes collected for the king.

The clients of the king administer their holdings with the help of subchiefs, and in each province they have a greater or lesser number of scattered possessions.

The representative of the manangwa is called kissonga and usually belongs to his master's family. He is appointed by his master, just as the king appoints the manangwa. The sons of high chiefs often hold this office. Thus, Nigensi's son, Kassasi, is on the Kwischara Peninsula in northern Mukinjaga (1);

1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer des Kiwu [A March along the Eastern Shore of Lake Kivu]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 249.

Bushakwe's son, Mulangira, lives in Kawagali (2) with his grand-

2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda 1902-1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 73, 74.

mother, Kiramato; Von Parisch also mentions the mutware, Sebitana, son of Bushakwe, in Bwischascha; and Dr. Kandt (3)

3. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 505.

speaks of Semirigamba in southern Lubengera. In the Bahutu chieftainships of Bgisha, ruled by Sebikoko, Mogalule, Kati, Mutweki, Sebingiri, Chunga Ngombe, and others, conditions are

634 somewhat different. The most important personality after the chief is his brother. He represents him in all matters. Both of them have their houses in the individual villages in which they live during their journeys. The son ranks just below the brother of his father and is granted a village after he has grown up. He is not entitled to gifts in the other villages of his father, and only if he has [267] no uncle does he get an uncle's rank. In spite of this preference, the brother of the chief is not his heir; all his possessions go to the son after the burial of the father.

622 563 Below the kissonga are the quite unimportant subchiefs who supervise the communities on the separate hills. Among them there are everywhere, especially in Bugoye, many Bahutu, whereas the higher positions are almost always held by Batutsi. It is only in Mulera and Bgisha that one sees Bahutu also occupying the highest positions.

The Bahutu officials are very much praised by their superiors, for no one can be more merciless and servile than an upstart who is hated by his clansmen. This characterization does not, of course, apply to the clan elders who occupy this position in the free farm communities. The subchiefs are the only cattle-owning Bahutu outside of Mulera, Bgisha, and Bugoye.

642 631 There is no doubt that with the extensive interweaving of property belonging to individual high chiefs (in this respect the whole country resembles a village with a community system of planting [Flurzwang]) an influential stratum is created which has vital interests in the most diverse parts of the country. This counteracts the centrifugal, particularistic tendencies of the individual provinces.

642 631 643 These conditions seem to be the result of a conscious aim on the part of the crown. In this direction much seems to have been accomplished by Lwabugiri Kigeri, the father of the present ruler, Musinga. Kigeri is reputed to have centralized the state and partitioned, scattered, and interwoven the holdings of the chiefs in order to destroy the centrifugal tendencies of the feudal lords. This involved him in bitter struggles with the lords, among them his brother-in-law, Kabare, but he managed to crown his efforts with success.

631 The modern European who is accustomed to sharply demar-
642 cated administrative districts and has no idea of social equilibrium based on the interweaving of economic interests finds this principle of administration absurd. That is how Captain Göring (1)

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1. Captain Göring, "Zu den Unruhen in Urundi [On the Unrest in Urundi]," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1911, p. 552.

judged conditions in Urundi. He says: "The division of the country is entirely without system. One often finds watuale who own various lands widely separated from each other."

I was told that Lwabugiri's policy is being followed by Musinga. He is said to prefer appointing chiefs who are directly responsible to him and to give them lands. These unimportant, free persons, mindful of the king's protection, form an element [268] independent of and even hostile to the high chiefs. They guard their own interests and resist the particularistic tendencies of the powerful.

This policy tends to erase the boundaries of individual provinces, and one encounters great difficulties if he asks about the political division of the country.

After this brief discussion of the central organization of the state which is made up of the king and a dozen and a half powerful feudal lords, we shall now touch on the political conditions in the individual sections.

The organization of Kissaka has the following pattern. The largest part of the country is divided among three large feudal lords, Kanuma, Niamutezi, and Lutangabo. Their lands are interspersed in such a way that no separate provinces can be formed. This increases their opposition to each other. Hence the dignitaries check on one another and fight one another with accusations and intrigues. In this way mutual control, which is very useful to the state, is established, as well as a quite stable equilibrium.

These three high chiefs of Kissaka live almost constantly at the court of Musinga in Nyanza, and when they obtain permission to visit their holdings, their sons remain behind as valuable hostages, a guarantee against possible separatistic

631 642 tendencies of their fathers. Count Von Götzen (1) mentions

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), pp. 156, 159.

only one governor of Kissaka, namely, Kavahigi, but he also speaks of Kaware (Kabare) in the northern part of the country.

621 631 The hill (kashozi) is the smallest political unit in Kissaka, as well as in all the rest of Ruanda. The inhabitants of a hill belong to different clans, and the factor uniting them is purely [622] political. It is primarily the chief, to whom compulsory service (buletwa) must be paid. This official is likewise appointed by the high chief. However, the very large hills are not infrequently divided into subgroups with different subchiefs. Thus, the hill known as Bare in Nsasa is divided into the communities of Bare, Ishua, Kibare, and some others.

621 614 In Mulera where there are very few Batutsi and these have no great power, much more primitive conditions have been preserved. Here too, however, political units are represented by hills, but each hill has a homogeneous population, consisting of the members of the clan. These communities are directly sub- [65] ordinate to the king and, through their elders, pay taxes to the king's deputies. Here the mutware, the integrating factor, is absent. On the few hills [269] in Mulera belonging to Batutsi, however, we find conditions similar to those in Kissaka. Here, [651] also, taxes are paid to the chiefs and not to the king's deputies. I believe that the Bahutu on these hills must also render compulsory service.

Ndorwa is a country that is only under nominal rule and does not pay taxes to Musinga. We find here the same clan communities, but they are completely independent, small political units.

Besides the two extreme forms, the community settled on alien land granted to the chief by the king, which the chief represents at court, and the free clan community settled on its own land and paying taxes to the king's deputy but having no

621 representative at court, we find clans that do have their repre-
614 sentatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the
202 help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hill-top to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

The population hates the police agents. I had an opportuni-
625 ty to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to
578 join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

159 of the king and his favorites, upon whom state affairs and interests are centered.

151 Tax System. The interweaving of landed property is not the only means of paralyzing local, particularistic aims. The system of taxation accomplishes this too. The tax burden of the farmers is divided into several units which are usually collected by different chiefs. In this instance the chiefs are only intermediaries, but they retain part of the taxes.

The taxes of the farmers consist of food, hoes, beer, animals, and work in natura.

The tax to be paid to the king is determined by the king himself. Special conditions in individual communities sometimes exempt them from transporting their produce to the capital city. Thus, for example, Issawi Hill was exempt from food deliveries to the capital because Europeans were staying there.

The tax to be paid to the chief is determined by the chief himself, but he may not overburden his people; otherwise his work force may threaten to move away. Taxes in the form of food are collected during the harvest. There is considerable local variation in the amount of taxation in Ruanda. It varies also among individual high chiefs. Thus, in Marangara, for example, the people of Nshohozamigo work two days out of a five-day week in the fields of their chiefs. The people of Rudegambia and Kabare only perform services in the capital, for example, build huts and deliver food supplies. The fields of the subchiefs are cultivated by their clients who have become subject to compulsory labor through the granting of cows, as well as by wageworkers who are paid in milk and butter. In Issawi clients do not work in the fields of their patrons.

In Ruanda there are different categories of taxes, and the people are taxed very differently.

The greatest burden is buletwa, work that must be performed in natura on the fields of the chief, a primitive great landowner. The people work [271] two to three days out of a five- to six-day week on the land of the mutware. This work is the Muhutu's payment for the land on which he has settled and is not performed by the free farmers (ngabo) who have their own land which was cleared

651 by their ancestors and from which they were not driven away during the conquest.

The second ancient burden is butaka. It is paid primarily in food and tobacco and only to a minor extent in cash hoe-money. The king's capital does not have any fields of its own. The court is fed by supplies delivered by subjects from near and distant provinces. Only cattle are pastured in the environs of the capital; there are no farmers who till land.

644 651 All the potentates living at court are fed from home. Bringing food for the chief residing at court is called kugemurira mutware. Food supplies are brought almost daily. As a result, any stoppage of this traffic means a food scarcity among the dignitaries thus affected. There are no markets where provisions could be obtained. Because of this primitive arrangement, food in the capital is always rather scarce, and everyone to whom I spoke about this told me that no one lives in the lap of luxury at court during his stay which is usually involuntary. The Batwa bodyguards even maintain that they actually starve and would very much like to return to their poor settlements.

To these two ancient tax burdens Lwabugiri added the war tax (umuheto) and Musinga the food supply tax (ilali) for visiting Europeans.

651 661 Among the Bahutu the furnishing of food supplies for visiting Europeans is merely an additional tax for the benefit of their chief. He regards the presents of the European as his property and not infrequently takes for himself part of the supplies brought by his people for the Europeans. I saw an example of this in Kwa Rutagungira. The requisition for my presence brought the chief three goats and four pots of beer, but I received only two pots and two goats. The larger pots and the best goats were put aside by the chief, but this was done too close to my camp to escape the notice of the people who were excited by the approaching pots of beer.

651 635 The collection of butaka and muheto, which are paid, theoretically at least, throughout the country, is distributed among various chiefs, as has already been reported by Von

651 Parisch. (1) He mentions: [272]
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1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 74, 78.

Province or Region	Chief (mutware)	
	Ku butaka	Ku muheto
Bugoye	Bushakwe	Bushakwe
Mukinoni	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Bwischascha	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Mukinjaga	Lubilinda	Rudegambia
Niantungu . . . . . (between Bwischascha and Nduga)	Bushakwe	Kabare
Munjaga . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Lujondo	Kanuma
Kawagali . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Bushakwe	Bushakwe

Von Parisch also mentions the mutware ku muheto Balahanda who led the attack on Count Von Götzen.

651 The butaka, it seems, is always collected by the chief to whom the land is granted. The muheto tax, on the other hand, goes to the chief who is entrusted with the king's cattle in the district. He has the right to pasture cows on the harvested fields of the farmers, which is a very considerable burden to the population. Thus, for example, the grass on many hills in Bugoye belongs to Rudegambia, although Bushakwe is the high chief of the region. On my way to Kisenyi I saw many uncultivated fields that had to lie fallow because the Batutsi removed their cattle too late for planting.

Dr. Kandt (1) also speaks of two chiefs in the provinces. He

[113] 1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer

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[113]

des Kiwu [A March along the Eastern Shore of Lake Kivu]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 213.

calls one the chief of the people and the other the chief of the cattle.

The ilali tax seems to be collected by special officials who at the same time are entrusted with the supervision of the Europeans who travel about the country. In some cases this office is carried out by batware ku muheto or batware ku butaka.

The amount accruing to the chiefs when they collect the taxes is called musogongero and is fixed for the butaka and muheto. For the ilali this does not seem to be the case. The amount varies from one situation to another, in proportion to the size of the caravan of Europeans that has to be provided for.

In order to describe the taxes somewhat more in detail, we herewith give the tax burden carried by the three communities on Katebe and Kitebe which we have discussed before.

[273] Taxes for the Communities on Katebe and Kitebe

	Baishaza	Balyolyo	Bagwabiro
Population (including bagaragu)	104	61	41
Male clan members among these	47 + 2[1)]	21	21
Butaka for Musinga	9 Kaniki = 27 hoes	10 hoes	6 hoes
Musogongero for Chief Bizira Kuzama	6 hoes	?	?
Muheto	3000 butega	1000 butega	1000 butega
Musogongero	3 hoes to Makobi	Goat for 5 hoes to Murahangubo	
Ilali (through Gamidji)	1 package of beans	Small pot of beer, basket of sweet potatoes, basket of beans	1 load of beans
Buletwa	none	none	none

1) Two sons-in-law.

651 The bagaragu of Chief Makobi do hoeing as recompense for rented fields, or this may be done by paid day laborers (mubizi). The clan communities under discussion, however, are free of this burden, since they live on their own land.

There are also taxes that are paid by particular families or communities. The furnishing of objects whose manufacture presupposes a certain skill falls in this category. Among these objects are salt that is made from swamp grass, grass rings for women's legs (butega), otter skins, wildcat skins, cowhides, barkcloth, weapons, etc. The people who furnish these items are exempt from part of the normal taxes that represent the share of the ordinary farmer. Thus, Mulera furnishes a rather large number of butega.

651 614 The duty of the Bahenyi, a privileged Bahutu clan, is to build royal houses. They also play a part in the cult, offering special sacrifices, and they may not eat with members of other clans.

Special taxation on individual clans seems to be a remnant of an older form of taxation, the clan tax. This has been very nicely preserved in Kiziba where individual clans have special duties toward the king. This is the nature of the taxes borne by free, landowning farmers (ngabo) in Mulera. Here the tax is the concern of the clan community. It is paid by the clan elder, and apportioning the tax is an internal matter for the community. All its members, however, have joint responsibility for paying the tax.

The ngabo pay their taxes in honey and also give the king annually every twentieth cow. If the number of cows owned is less than 20, a goat is given for each cow. In figuring taxes, one cow is equal to 20 goats.

651 661 [274] In Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are collected by special deputies of the king. We need not emphasize the self-evident fact that the officials entrusted with the collection of taxes increase the amount to their advantage and do not shrink from shameful plunder. If, as is generally the case, a high chief is not present when the taxes are collected, the Balera will not stand for this oppression. For their part, they seek every opportunity to get out of paying taxes altogether. That is why there are big rows

651 and not infrequently open battles whenever collection takes place.
661 On the way to Mulera, at Kwa Rutagungira, I saw several wounded Batutsi who had to pay for their zeal as officials with holes in their hides. The business efficiency of the tax collectors is well characterized if we note their habit of substituting some of their poorer stock for the better cows that are delivered as the king's taxes. In view of its chronic character, this misuse and plunder must be regarded as a form of official remuneration.

651 We must emphasize the fact that in Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are linked to the community, the people, and not to the land they cultivate. That is why the outsider who has settled on alien soil with the approval of the residents does not participate in community taxes. He continues to pay the taxes of his own clan, and only if he is adopted by the resident clan does he pay taxes where he has settled.

651 This principle of family tax becomes complicated the mo-
178 ment pacification makes possible the disruption of clans which under the most primitive conditions have been held together by blood revenge. I saw the consequences of this complication of social conditions in Mulera in the form of a punitive expedition which reduced to ashes the settlement on Mount Kisseke. A few outsiders had bought with gifts permission to settle on Kisseke from the established residents. A few weeks after they were settled, some Batutsi arrived who had the right to collect taxes from the community of new settlers but who were complete strangers to the old established population. The new settlers
[687] promised the old ones a bull, and the latter drove off the Batutsi with weapons, killing a few and wounding several. A punitive expedition of government troops, undertaken because of Musinga's complaint, was the sequel.

651 The ferry toll is a special tax that affects traders particularly.
491 It is collected by batware who are stationed at the ferries and whose people run the boats. The toll is very high. For a traveler with his pack, it is ten large beads, that is to say, a third of a day's wages. Twenty men with a herd of goats paid a piece of cloth (nguo).

[275] The batware who collect the ferry toll must also keep watch over the traffic. At the border ferries, for example, on

651 the Akanjaru which can be crossed at only a few places because
491 of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes increased very considerably.

651 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu.
443 In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle disputes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the belief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda rulers become leopards.

721 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning
643 war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last expedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each expedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

701 expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life [687] for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war

2. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

726 791 In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

727 The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns consist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up [661] their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies, the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

721 Declarations of war are not made, at least not in Mulera. If a military expedition is to be undertaken, everyone knows about it long beforehand. It is hard to keep a secret. The actual declaration of war is the sound of the antelope horn calling the warriors together.

727 Baumann (1) mentions that spades wrapped with leaves are

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 84.

a sign of peace.

[277] Chapter 13

Administration of Justice

671 Law. Ruanda has no codified laws. The administration of justice is the business of the government which takes into consideration long-established customs. This is the only kind of law one can speak of in Ruanda.

Criminal law is not developed here to such an extent that the various types of crimes must be atoned for with specific punishments. We can only indicate approximately the severity of individual punishment, since uncodified law leaves so much to the personal opinion of the judge.

628 178 The basis of justice within the clan is the institution of blood revenge. With the development of the state, this is gradually being pushed into the background, but in Ruanda the process is still in its initial stages. In Kissaka, on the other hand, it is said that before revenge is taken, the chief is notified, and he can forbid taking vengeance for a man killed for robbery.

682 685 Aside from murder, which in Ruanda proper is still punished with blood revenge, the theft of cows is very severely punished, in accordance with the role the cow has in the life of Ruanda.

674 Since people are constantly passing goods received from
686 another person to their clients (bagaragu), affairs of indebtedness become so complicated that it is difficult to keep the whole matter straight. Since the Batutsi are primarily the ones who grant and collect, however, it is customary to speak of theft (kwiba) only in connection with the Bahutu. In the case of the Batutsi one speaks of plundering, of collecting (kuambura). Nevertheless, if a Mututsi steals from another Mututsi and cannot prove that he is merely collecting his own property, he is treated like a thief.

685 When a thief is caught, his arms are tied so that the elbows are as close together as possible, [278] which is very painful. He is kept waiting thus until his relatives ransom him. The amount they must pay for his release is, as a rule, double the value of the stolen article. Sometimes this is increased to five times the value. Half of this goes to the injured party, the other half to those who helped him catch the thief. This portion usually consists of beer (nzoga). Since the injured person frequently retrieves his goods with the help of the chief, the latter keeps the second half of the ransom. This always happens in the case of stolen cows, for example. These cases border on out-and-out brigandage and can only be tracked down with the help of the chiefs. If the ransom is not paid, the thief himself is punished. He can even be slain. If the thief belongs to a powerful clan, however, there is no rush to murder him, especially because of the fear blood revenge. If there is no fear of the thief's family, however, various punishments are given. Sometimes the criminal is tied to two posts and left to starve to death and to be consumed by birds of prey or even impaled. Ordinary thieves who have not stolen cows are not so severely punished. If the death penalty is to be administered, the criminal's arms are tied, and he is thrown into the water. Ordinarily it is enough to cut off the criminal's ears. This punishment is said to have been the favorite one of Musinga's father, the great Lwabugiri Kigeri. In former times this was not considered enough, and one hand was also cut off.

A captured Mututsi who is not ransomed by his family can allegedly be killed only with the consent of the mutware, who in this manner takes the responsibility upon himself. In fact, the Bahutu are reluctant to punish the Batutsi of southern Ruanda.

685 except through the mediation of the chiefs. They try to pay
[367] them back by thievery. Parents try to teach their children not to steal by burning their fingers.

684 Crimes against established morals are also severely punished in Ruanda, although it is commonly maintained that these punishments are being mitigated. Formerly seduced girls of Kissaka, as well as their seducers had to pay with their lives. They were either thrown into the water or hanged from the roof of the hut above the burning hearth. At the present time the severest punishment is to banish the girl.

681 The official death penalty in Ruanda is to break the criminal's neck (kuhotora) or to impale him. In Lwabugiri's day, when the death penalty was more frequently administered, it is said that criminals were also thrown into the swamp with their arms and legs cut off. However, among the skulls collected by my men in Nyanza, in the swamp into which executed criminals were thrown, [279] there were some that showed traces of blows from a bush knife.

In the kuhotora type of execution, the head is put between two pieces of wood and twisted back with this leverage device.

The royal executioner, the Mutwa Muhenehene, is said to kill the king's victims with a spear.

The bodies of those executed in Nyanza are allegedly given to the king's dogs to devour.

The impaled criminal whom Dr. A. Römer had an opportunity to observe was tied between two bamboo sticks running the length of the body, one in front, the other behind. His hands were tied together in front. A stake three or four centimeters thick ran through his body from the perineum to the cranium, without injuring the neck externally. The corpse had no lower leg bones. It was already so decomposed that one could not tell whether these bones had been picked off by hyenas or chopped off by the executioner. The natives who were questioned were not in agreement about this. Dr. Kandt (1) gives the word kuvamba for impaling.

[113] 1. Kandt, R., "an account of his travels and research in Ruanda in Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 120.

681 Punishment by whipping seems to be done less in Ruanda than in Bgisha where the chief ties people to trees and has them punished with up to 100 strokes of the whip on their backs. This [177] custom is said to have been borrowed from the English Askari who were stationed there.

On the subject of property rights we wish to make only a 423 few general remarks. The entire country is the private property 428 of the king and is regarded as either entrusted to the chiefs or granted to the clans. All the farmers and herdsmen are merely tenants or have the use of the land. As a consequence, the chief and clan community have the final word in matters dealing with the inheritance of usufruct of so-called crown property, that is, fields and cattle.

Only household goods, with the exception of cows, are private 422 property in our sense, and here the wish of the person disposing of 428 the property is decisive, although certain time-honored customs cannot be circumvented. In Bugoye, for example, the oldest son gets the spear and the stool of his father, whereas the shield belongs to the youngest son. (2) Lieutenant Spiltoire told me that in

2. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 439.

Bunyabungu, the principal heir seems to be the son of the sister, but because of his brief visit, he could not verify this.

692 Administration of Justice. In Ruanda the administration of 695 justice is in the hands of the chiefs and the king.

Pronouncing judgment is only of secondary importance, but [280] the chiefs regard it as a sure means of gaining influence. The two parties regard the trial as an attempt to interest a powerful one -- a chief -- in their affairs, that is to say, to make their affairs the affairs of the mighty. The one who wins a case is simply the one who was more highly regarded by the chief and with whom, from now on, it is dangerous to quarrel. In Ruanda it is a long process from the pronouncement of justice to the execution of it.

692 The verdict means that the judge, not the state, has taken a cer-
695 tain stand. The state, even in principle, does not represent abstract justice. In order to carry out the verdict, one must have sufficient power, either in his own right or through his allies; otherwise it would be impossible to take any action that would be unpleasant for others.

692 In the communities the administration of justice is in the hands of the subchiefs. A person who is dissatisfied with their verdict may consult his high chief. I have heard that the common man may appeal to the king, but from other reports this seems to me quite improbable. This right can have no practical significance for the common man, if indeed it exists. He could not incur the displeasure of the nearest small potentates with whom he has primarily to deal. Going directly to the king means not only a demonstration of distrust toward one's nearest superior, but it also represents an attempt to free oneself from the hierarchy of subordination and make oneself directly subordinate to the king.

692 For the clients (bagaragu) of the king, the royal court is the first and also the final authority. There is no other recourse, ex-
431 cept to the force of arms, provided one dares to revolt. Hence higher authority always takes action, but it also takes into account general peace and order and is not guided by abstract principles of justice. Moreover, gifts to the judge play an important part and are not regarded as something punishable or even inappropriate. The parties regard these gifts as court fees, even though larger gifts are usually combined with greater hopes for the favorable outcome of the trial. The size of the gifts does not seem to be fixed. In important cases large presents are given. Not infrequently the judge is even presented with a cow.

692 Although trials before the king do not often occur, nevertheless all over Ruanda one hears that someone has gone to Musinga regarding judicial matters. This expression stems from the fact that people go to their high chiefs who are staying at the court of Musinga in Nyanza. The trials take place in Nyanza at the compound (bilaro) of the chief concerned. For example, I met a band of people from Njaruguru who were on their way "to Musinga." On more careful investigation [281] it turned out that

692 "to Musinga" simply meant the place of his residence. The judge to whom these people were going was Rwamanwa, high chief of Njaruguru.

If the two parties have different chiefs, the trial is conducted at the compound of the more powerful one, since otherwise, because of injured vanity, he could make it impossible to carry out the verdict. If the two chiefs cannot reach an agreement, they go to a third party or to the king, who usually appoints a judge. [643] The king personally handles only the most important affairs of his bagaragu, but even that he does unwillingly.

695 The Trial. Certain forms are observed at trials. The two parties squat on the ground in front of the judge and greet him by clapping their hands. Otherwise only the king is greeted in this way. Then each in turn tells about the matter under dispute.

After the verdict of the judge, the winner immediately rises, takes some grass, and lays it at the feet of the judge in gratitude and as a token of his subservience. He then sings a song of praise in which (in Mulera, for example) he boasts about the number of enemies he has killed.

People sometimes wait in Nyanza two or three months for a trial, and finally the hearing is postponed until the next year. The chiefs do this also. They are afraid of endangering themselves by a sentence of incalculable scope.

696 Executing a sentence is the weak side of primitive justice. There is no organ of the government that would attend to the execution of the decree. Even the decisions of the king are by no means always carried out.

Sometimes, to ensure the execution of the sentence, the guilty party is held prisoner by the winning party until he has fulfilled his obligations.

The sentence is said to be carried out at the place of residence of the two parties. For this purpose the king sends a special messenger. He must inform the population of the decision, in disputes about land he must mark out the sections, and in cases involving cattle, divide up the herds.

Because of the long duration of these cases, which gives all the court schemers an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, the winning party sometimes leaves the capital before the king's

696 messenger has been dispatched. In that case the other party travels with the messenger in order to bribe him. It is not uncommon for the messenger to accept large gifts from both parties and then not do anything. The high chiefs use this opportunity to visit their lands. The case is adjourned; new, important circumstances are discovered that have not yet been considered; and the proceedings begin all over again.

691 [282] At the time of my visit in Mulera the legal dispute between the Barashi chief, Lukara Iwa Bishingwe, and Luhanga, the client of Nshohozamigo, was in its fourth year. Each year sentence was pronounced; each year the court messenger was sent off; and each year the two parties returned. In the end Musinga grew tired of the whole affair and kept Lukara at court. After Lukara had obtained permission from Musinga to return home, on the pretense of conducting me to Mulera, he decided to resort to the final argument, to warfare. He attacked Luhanga's people and engaged in a skirmish with the column of my expedition colleague, the geologist E.F. Kirschstein, whose presence the Batutsi tried to use for their protection.

In the end, in its seventh year, the dispute was settled in Luhanga's favor when Lukara was obliged to flee from the German sphere of influence for his murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias. Later he was captured and hanged.

A considerable number of trials deal with the withdrawing of grants and the practice of blood revenge (kuhora enzigo) for slain clan members.

If A is granted a cow by B, B has a certain power over A. He can exert pressure on A by threatening to take back the cow. If A, however, also gets cows from C, who is more powerful than B, the latter's influence diminishes. In some cases A becomes so dependent on C that B loses his influence and moreover his cattle in favor of C. These property shifts give rise to vastly complicated suits over cattle that last for decades and become more and more complicated by small compromises, the legality of which is later challenged.

691 In civil cases we find the institution of kugombeka. If A is
426 indebted to B and does not pay him or refuses to return something
686 granted him and now demanded back, A can be distrained. If

691 debtor A owns something that is being used by C, a cow, for ex-
426 ample, then B can bring C a present and, with C's permission,
686 declare the object belonging to A as kugombeka. In this case A loses all rights to the object he has deposited with C until he has settled his debt, and the object is now regarded as B's property. If A is powerful, the kugombeka of his property is declared void. If he is not influential, this becomes a very profitable business. In view of the duration of the suits, C always has the prospect of being able to appropriate the thing that has been put in his charge or at least of using it without incurring obligation. But under the rules of kugombeka he is responsible to B for the object. If he gives it back to its original owner A, he must replace its value to B or [283] owe it to him, and this starts a second suit between B and C which is separate from that between A and B.

426 If the users of A's property refuse to accept kugombeka, the
686 creditor can only resort to kufatira.

Kufatira is the confiscation of part of the property of an individual whom one wishes to force to defray his debt or to meet his responsibilities. Kufatira is also used to force someone to appear at a trial. The use of force is conceded in the case of kufatira, but otherwise infringement of property rights and the use of violence are basically regarded as punishable offenses.

Kufatira can be used successfully only against weaker debtors. If the debtor is very weak, he can even be plundered and bound with a rope until his family takes mercy on him and ransoms him. If, however, the debtor is powerful, kufatira can have all the consequences of a lost war, and there is no recourse but to make one's concern the concern of stronger protectors.

685 In cases of theft, the procedure is considerably simpler, and the judge receives no presents.

695 Evidence. The testimony of witnesses is very important in court trials in Ruanda. The accused has the right to demand witnesses to prove his guilt, but he also has the right to eliminate the testimony of certain witnesses if he has convincing reasons. Such witnesses are, for example, relatives, blood brothers, and clients (bagaragu) of the accuser. The accuser is obliged to comply

695 with this and to secure witnesses who are not dependent on him.

695 A witness may refuse to testify. In order to dissuade him from
431 making use of this right, he is given presents by the one who wishes him to testify.

Gifts to witnesses are no secret. They are regarded as something quite natural, a sort of compensation for the unpleasantness that may result from testifying. That is why one often hears of a witness delaying his testimony for a few days in order to give people a chance to bring him presents or saying that he will testify after he has received his nzoga. In this case nzoga does not mean merely beer, but all kinds of presents, such as goats, hoes, or even cows, depending on the importance of the case.

695 In spite of the custom of giving presents to witnesses, false
687 testimony is punishable. Thus, it is said that Lwabugiri Kigeri, for example, who was strict but just, simply had false witnesses killed.

695 [284] Court procedure in Ruanda allows the accused and the witness to swear oaths. At trials the following form of oath is used. The person taking the oath sticks his spear into the ground and says: "May this spear kill me if I did this." This way of taking an oath is called kuchulika ichuma. This form of oath is feared.
[687] Perjury was punished with death in Lwabugiri's time.

In this connection we must also mention the forms of allegation which are used, for example, when witnesses testify. The one corresponding to the form of oath given above consists of pointing to one's spear and saying, "dakolitera Musinga." This brief statement means "if that is not true, I shall pierce the king with this spear." Connected to this is another form: "bandoga Musinga (I shall poison Musinga if this is not true)." This form is also used if one wishes to assure the king that what one has said is true. Thus, for example, Musinga asked a man whether he had seen Kabare, "wabonye Kabare?" The man answered in the affirmative, "yee." The king did not believe it and wanted to make sure, "nukuli." The man thereupon answered, "bandoga Musinga," and the matter was settled. If one doubts the truth of a person's statement, he may also say, "lahira (swear)." The person then answers, "bandoga Musinga."

695 The last two allegations imply that sad consequences could result if a person expresses intentions that are hostile to the king. The person making the statement publicly announces that if he told a lie he would willingly suffer persecution for threatening the sacred person of the king. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, who could probably set a record for lying, use this phrase constantly.

In doubtful cases where the testimony of witnesses is not at hand or is not sufficiently credible, as well as in cases where the use of sorcery is suspected, the poison test (kihango) is resorted to. The poison test is conducted by the babandwa [members of secret societies who conduct ceremonies].

In Kissaka the poison is dissolved in water and handed to both parties in two cow horns. This gives the mubandwa an opportunity to influence the outcome directly and to use his own judgment in determining the guilty one. Although this makes it very easy for a person to misuse the poison test, the people of Kissaka be-
[797] lieve in it. Even the Christians do, in spite of the otherwise very great influence of the mission. The poison test seldom results in death in Ruanda, for the person taking it can immediately spit and vomit. The poison is not always drunk, for not infrequently the mubandwa is satisfied to dip his thumb into the poison and stick it into the mouth of the person, who may immediately expectorate. In such cases the effect is purely a psychological one. [285] Father L. Classe, who lived in the country seven years, never heard of a death caused by the poison test.

Another very important form of evidence is testimony from the entrails of chickens killed for this purpose. We shall discuss this somewhat more fully below in connection with religious practices.

Quite independent of the chicken oracle, there is a chick oracle that is conducted in the following way. The accused takes a very small chick and carries it in his hand a whole day. If
[822] the chick dies, the man is guilty, yiera bura (he is black). If the chick does not die, the man is innocent, yeira [sic] bwera (he is white). A very strange color association for the Negro world (see page 145).

All forms of evidence and allegation, such as the poison test, the chicken oracle, the spear oath, and the Musinga oath, are

695 referred to simply as kushoko, "drinking." This fact indicates that the poison test was the oldest form. To give a person this test is called kushora which simply means "to give a drink." Thus they say: "Umututsi ashora inka ze (the Mututsi gives his cows a drink)," as well as "kushora ikihango (to drink poison)" and "kushora (literally, to drink a chicken)."

[286] Chapter 14

History and Chronology

173 Ruanda. I had great difficulty in obtaining data about the history of Ruanda. Oral tradition in the interlacustrine region is limited chiefly to the genealogy of the rulers. This basic skeleton is also generally supplemented by a few statements about the chief events of the corresponding epochs. My informants, however, knew little about the history of the dynasty, since most of them were Bahutu.

124 Musinga gave Captain W. Von Grawert, who introduced me to him, his royal promise that he would have reports made to me on the history of the country or even tell me about it himself. [187] The chicken oracle, however, said that the king would suffer harm if I were initiated in the history of the country. The next time I visited Musinga and tried to have certain contradictions in my notes on the Ruanda rulers cleared up by this authoritative source, I was kept dangling for two and a half hours and was unsuccessful. His Black Majesty was very pleasant, but during the whole time he kept practicing, in German, the meaningless sentence, "Little spear is pretty."

Musinga wanted to please me by demonstrating his zeal in learning the German language and in this way divert my attention from interviewing him.

173 It seems that in Ruanda as well as In Nkole one may not speak [715] about deceased kings with the uninitiated, for the spirits, disturbed in their rest, might avenge themselves. However, people [02] talk about olden times in the evening when the nobility gather with the king, pay court to him, and drink beer. They know

173 their history, but they regard it as a hallowed secret of the Batutsi which belongs to the category of ibanga [secrets].

Father F. Dufays and Father P. Loupias succeeded in learning 173 about one of the traditions of ancient times from a Mututsi whom 174 I personally know very well but whose name I must withhold out of consideration for his own safety. The man clashed with his fellow tribesmen [287] and told his story to the missionaries to express his gratitude for their protection.

According to this story, human beings in former times lived 173 in heaven as well as on the earth. The children of Nyina Kigwa, 173 Kigwa, Lututsi, and their sister, Nyina Batutsi, were cast out from heaven as a punishment for their mother's loquacity. They fell to earth in Bugansa, Ruanda, and discovered the following Bahutu families in the country: the Basinga, Bagessera, and Bazigaba. In the forest they found the Batwa. The Bahutu and Batwa had been expelled from heaven before them. The new immigrants brought fire, agriculture (hoe culture), cattle raising, and industry (iron technique). In this way they gained influence, and Kigwa became the ruler of Ruanda. Kigwa married his sister, Nyina Batutsi, and became the protoplast of the Banieginia who are descended from his three sons and still rule Ruanda. Lututsi emigrated to Karagwe and married one of Kigwa's three daughters. He became the protoplast of the Bega who supply the kings of Ruanda with wives and mothers who are their peers. Kigwa and his descendants kept in touch with heaven through Batabazi redeemers, who came to their aid in times of great need. There are three chief Batabazi mentioned. The first protected the children of Nyina Batutsi and brought animals to Ruanda; the second was Kihana, son of King Ndahiro; and the third, Kyamweru, was the son of King Luzugira Iwijuru.

[117] This tradition contains some details of Christian legends, which we shall not go into here. Its origin will probably be determined some day, but at present it is a mystery. However, the statement that the children of Nyina Kigwa (referring doubtless to the Batutsi) brought fire and hoe culture into the country can be written off as historically incorrect. In any case, it is certain that this story tells us about the settling of the Batutsi in Ruanda and the establishment of their rule in Bugansa, and that at this time Bagessera,

173 Basinga, and Bazigaba were already settled in the land and
173 Batwa were roaming the forests. In other words, conditions then were much the same as they are now in Mulera.

Dr. Kandt's report (1) about the ancient history of the country

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 302.

is somewhat different. "When the first human being lived in Ruanda with his five sons, Kitussi, Kitwa, Kinjabungu, etc., Kitwa killed one of his brothers out of jealousy. At first the father wanted to kill him for this, but hesitated because he was his own flesh and blood. So he sent him into the wilderness with the curse that all his descendants were to dwell among the descendants of the other sons as pariahs."

Here, in contrast to the tradition mentioned earlier, we find no references to the fact that the Batutsi immigrated at a later time. [288] Moreover, the representatives of all the tribes are referred to as descendants of the same ancestors. This is probably the best proof that the account has little historical significance.

173 Let us now turn to more accurate accounts about the Ruanda state. In my inquiries into the history of the state I succeeded in getting data that may be summarized in the following list of rulers. However, we must admit that the individual sources were sometimes very contradictory. For this reason further investigation is needed before a definite genealogy can be given. There is always the possibility that some of the succession of rulers listed here may be brothers, but usually collateral descendants of former times are forgotten.

The rulers of Ruanda are:

1. Kigwa.
2. Nyeranda.
3. Kadji.
4. Muntu.
5. Kihanga.
6. Ndoba.
7. Ndore I.
8. Ndahiro I or Dabarasa.
9. Ruganzu or Luzugira. (Kihana).

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10. Lumazimpaka. (Kyamweru).
11. Mibambwe I.
12. Juhi I.
13. Lugazu, son of Nyina Bachuzi.
14. Mibambwe II.
15. Chilima I.
16. Ruganzurwa, son of Nyina Bunyana.
17. Kigeri I.
18. Mibambwe III.
19. Juhi II.
20. Chilima II or Rugwe.
21. Ndahiro II.
22. Ruganzu.
23. Chilima cha Kasseke.
24. Ndore II. Kahindiro Mibambwe IV.
25. Mutara Lwogera.
26. Lwabugiri Kigeri II.
27. Mibambwe V. Juhi III or Musinga.

174 [289] Aside from this list of rulers, I was able to find out little about the history, but if we consider the large number of rulers, as well as the fact that among the revered spirits of the country the kin group Ndaula plays a subordinate role, we come to the probable conclusion that Ruanda has no connection with the states in the southern half of the Runyoro territory. After all, only Kissaka (not Ruanda) is mentioned in connection with the expedition of Ruhinda. On the other hand, the fact that Kagoro, Mugasha, and Wamara are mentioned in the religion of Ruanda, leads us to conclude that there are connections with the old Bunyoro state and the Bachwezi dynasty. According to the number of rulers Ruanda has had, we may trace the founding of the dynasty back to the fifteenth century. We therefore ask ourselves whether the founding of the Ruanda state does not stand in the same relation to the immigration of the Baganda into the interlacustrine region as the founding of Busindja, Karagwe, and Buhaya stands to the immigration of the Babito into Bunyoro. For it is not impossible that the rulers in the northern part of the interlacustrine region, whose peace was disturbed by the Baganda, in turn founded new states in the south.

174 Ruanda, which originally covered the district of Bugansa south of Lake Mohasi, was later, in the course of a long period of time, limited to the province of Nduga. It must have been a long time ago, however, since Ruanda outgrew these circumscribed boundaries, for Mukinjaga and Mulera as well have traditions that go back to the rule of Ruganzu, and these provinces certainly did not belong to the original ones. The last Ruganzu is Musinga's fifth ancestor and probably ruled in the first years of the last century. This leads us to assume that the large kingdom of Ruanda is not a newly formed state of the last century, but has a long history.

The legend referring to this is somewhat as follows.

173 Once upon a time Ruganzu came to the Muhawura volcano to hunt elephants. Suddenly the news comes to him that the Barundi have crossed the southern border of his kingdom. He abandons the hunt and goes forth to meet the enemy. On the way he stops on a hill to rest. After a brief interval he continues the journey in his litter (ngobi). After the company had got under way, someone noticed that the king had left his spear on the hill. They shouted back to the hill, asking the people to return the spear that had been left behind. The Balera replied that the king had left them the spear, and if he wanted it back, he should come to get it himself. Whereupon the king answered: "If you had stolen food, I should have believed that you are hungry; if you had stolen cows, I should assume that you want to own them. But to steal a spear, [290] what can it bring you? Let it remain with you, multiply, and strike you dead." That is why there is always fighting in Mulera. The royal curse is upon the land.

In Mukinjaga they say about Ruganzu that he put the bimara tax on the region of Bukunzi as a punishment for the theft of his cows.

173 Ruganzu Iwa Ndahiro (Ruganzu, son of Ndahiro) is the king
443 about whom there are the most legends in Ruanda. He is said to have had supernatural power, and people believe that he might one day return. When, in the year 1904, the news spread that the imperial resident at Usumbura had been murdered, the natives said that Ruganzu had killed him.

175 Mutara Lwogera was also a successful warrior. He conquered
643 Bugoye and in 1876 added Kissaka to Ruanda by force of arms.

Lwabugiri Kigeri who was visited by Count Von Götzen, the first European to do so, was also a very belligerent ruler. He increased Ruanda's possessions in the Rutshuru Basin as far as Lake Edward.

175 In order to characterize the personality of Lwabugiri some-
643 what more exactly, we must mention that one of his chief delights
661 was stealing cows. If the owner of the cattle resisted, he was punished with confiscation for having the boldness to act against the muami [ruler]. If he did not resist, his cows, which he had learned to conceal, were simply taken away from him. These cow thefts with which Lwabugiri consciously promoted the splitting up of feudal possessions, as well as the constant wars, made him very troublesome to the Batutsi.

175 Without doubt the rule of Lwabugiri was a period of great
643 expansion and glory for Ruanda. The state enjoyed such a high reputation that neither the Arabs nor Stanley and Emin Pasha ventured to enter it. Lwabugiri undertook numerous campaigns, among them an unsuccessful one to Nkole (1891?). He wanted to get King Ntare's cows in order to supplement his own herds which had been very much decimated by disease. He waged war three times with Urundi, twice with Idjwi Island, three times against Bunyabungu, and twice with Kissaka. Moreover, he laid waste the country of Mulera three times in order to punish rebellious subjects, and he pillaged the Gana Mukari (1) three times in his

[113] 1. Brard, A., "Skizzen aus Ruanda [Ruanda Sketches]," Afrikabote, 1900-1901, p. 99.

ancestral province because of the revolt which was supposed to have taken place there. He was unsuccessful in his expeditions against Urundi. The two kings, Lwabugiri and Mwezi Kisabo (?), made peace with each other and built their settlements on the border between the two states, on the Akanjaru. The wars with the inhabitants of Idjwi Island were also only temporarily successful.

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[291] Dr. Kandt (1) says that Idjwi belongs to the Ruanda

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), pp. 517-518.

sphere of influence. Its inhabitants deny that they were former subjects of Ruanda, as the Banyaruanda maintain. Mihiggo's grandfather, Mwendo, had to pay tribute to Ruanda. His son, Kaweggo, tried to make himself independent, but Lwabugiri fought him (1886) and he had to flee to the island of Ugishushu. He was betrayed by his son, Nkudie, and fell into the hands of Kigeri who had him executed. After the king returned (1888), having been called back by unrest in Ruanda, the independent party formed around Mihiggo, another son, for Nkudie was executed by the king because he had betrayed his father. After a few years (1892 or 1893) Lwabugiri undertook a second expedition against Idjwi. The island was again conquered, and Mihiggo fled to Bunyabungu. In order to punish Bunyabungu for sheltering Mihiggo, Kigeri set out on an expedition against this country, but he became ill and died. With his death, the hour of liberation came for Idjwi, and Mihiggo returned as an independent ruler (1894).

The dying King Lwabugiri was brought back to Ruanda and died en route in Mukinjaga. It is said that he was poisoned by his courtiers who were tired of the endless wars. Not all of them were like the Batwa who were devoted to the king and regarded the wars as the best opportunity to consume a great deal of meat. Some accounts have it that the poison was prepared by his wife, Kanzogera, the mother of Musinga.

Lwabugiri pursued centralistic tendencies in his internal policy. It is said that he was credited with having broken up the large hereditary chieftainships and interspersed them territorially. This was probably the cause of the war with the later regent, Kabare, who allegedly was castrated, as well as the death of Kigeri. According to one version, Kabare was castrated by Lwabugiri in order to make it impossible for this ambitious man to try to become king. Another version has it that the young Kabare was caught with the favorite wife of the king and was punished for this. In revenge

175 Kabare is said to have killed all of Lwabugiri's sons except Musinga,
643 the son of his sister Kanzogera, after their mighty father died.
These accounts agree with a note by Von Beringe (2) referring to

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2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 39.

Mumusa, the queen of Mururwa in Mpororo: "Mhumse claimed that she was a wife of the deceased Sultan Lwabugiri of Ruanda and that she was sent here by him to escape the persecution of Chief Kawalle who [292] killed four of his sons. However, there is no longer any connection between Mhumse and Ruanda."

Mibambwe who was temporarily proclaimed king after the death of Lwabugiri was burned to death in his hut along with his entire family (1). Most of his brothers died also. Only

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 263.

Ishirangabo, however, was not considered for the rulership because he was a man dedicated to the spirit Ryangombe. Bilegea, a son of Lwabugiri, was missing from the time of his youth and was always regarded as a possible, dangerous pretender to the throne. His return to the country was very much feared by the rulers. (2)

Ibid., p. 264.

Musinga, whose father had cast him out, was taken in by a Muhutu and reared by him. It was only because no other son of Lwabugiri came to be considered that the neglected son of Kanzogera was appointed king. He ascended the throne as Juhi Musinga. As a result of his plebeian upbringing, the king had learned to eat goat's meat. This custom is said to have been adopted by the court Batutsi out of courtesy.

175 This fact would probably have caused the young ruler great
643 difficulties if it had not happened that three years after the death
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175 of Lwabugiri Captain Ramsay came to the country in 1897.
643 Musinga was recognized as the ruler. Captain Ramsay entered
648 into a special pact of blood brotherhood with him or at least with the man that was introduced to him as Musinga. (3) He reports:

[113] 3. Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 315.

"Thereupon I had to tie a string around Juhi, and he tied several strings around me; then we shook hands vigorously, and the king of Ruanda and I became blood brothers."

Since that time Musinga has been energetically supported by the government, which, through him, again has the entire country in hand. Musinga has at his disposal the Askari of the guard troops who in an emergency can teach his rebels a lesson. I had occasion to observe this in 1907 in Mulera. With the intervention of this new factor, the country has become orderly to an extent that formerly did not seem possible.

173 Kissaka. The history of Kissaka cannot be traced as far back as that of Ruanda.

Banyakissaka traditions about ancient times say that they, like the Banyoro and Baganda, came from the north, not from the south, like the Wasukuma.

[293] Kissaka has been a state since very ancient times. According to Busindja (1) tradition, the Kissaka rulers were Basinga.

[113] 1. Van Thiele, Father H., "Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda [Businza under the Bahinda Dynasty]," Anthropos, 1911, p. 499.

One of these rulers was married to Nyakachende, the daughter of Ruhinda, and she bore him a successor. From then on the rulers of Kissaka were referred to as Bayango of Ruhinda.

173 This family must have lost its possessions later on, since the last Kissaka rulers, I was told, were Bagessera, in other words, not true Batutsi either.

I was told that Kimeni Ruahasha was the first ruler of Kissaka. I was unable to find out who his immediate successors were and how many there were. Except for this gap, we have been able to determine the following list of successive rulers.

Kimeni Ruahasha
?
Vunengoma
|
Mutaga
|
Kwezi
|
Luregeya
|
Bazimye
|
Kimeni II
|
Lugeyyo } Pretenders
|
Lukura } Lukura lives with Kahigi

Kimeni II with his son, Msongole, was defeated and murdered by Musinga's grandfather, Lwogera, about the year 1876. Since that time Kissaka has been a part of Ruanda. Msongole's son, Wagazo, however, remained in the country as a subchief of the new king and was still in office 20 years later at the time of Ramsay's expedition (2).

Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 310.

173 The Banyakissaka would not yield to their fate, and the entire country, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, strove for independence. Lwabugiri Kigeri, Musinga's father, undertook two expeditions to Kissaka in order to strengthen Ruanda rule. In 1901 Kissaka made a final effort to win independence from Ruanda by force.

[294] Lukura, grandson of the defeated Kimeni II, son of Lugeyyo (according to Dr. Kandt, son of Wantschurra (1)),

1. Kandt, R., a report on his research in Ruanda, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 122.

decided to take advantage of Kissaka's discontent with the Ruanda regime. He came to Kissaka from Kyanja where he had been the guest of Kahigi. The people and the Batutsi declared him their ruler, but he soon had to flee because Musinga undertook a military campaign, supported by the [military] station in Usumbura. The leader of Lukura's followers, Mpumbika, was exiled to Urundi where he was still living with Chief Muhini in 1907. Mpumbika, like Lukura, belongs to the Bagessera clan.

After this revolt, the old batware (subchiefs) were dismissed, and the country was put under the administration of three Ruanda chiefs, Kanuma, Niamutezi, and Lutangabo. The gradual replacement of the subchiefs by Banyaruanda (people from Ruanda) did not contribute to a lessening of discontent with the Ruanda regime.

Bugoye. Unlike Kissaka, Bugoye has no history. People only know that the country was conquered by Mutara Lwogera (2), who

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 34.

drove the chief of the country, Mvunye, to Bunyabungu. It is also known that the country was settled only a few generations ago. The very old people maintain that it was their grandfathers who cleared the wooded country which was unpopulated except for

173 some Batwa living there. The Batwa were in part driven out, in part assimilated. The latter are known as Batwa bikyugu "Batwa of the inhabited land." Very many colonists came from Kishari and Kameronse, regions north of Lake Kivu. They were driven out of their homes by raids of the cannibalistic Balioko, probably Manyema, or perhaps also of the Babira who were driven out by the Manyema. To this emigration we can probably attribute latent traces of Bakondjo in Bugoye. Besides this wave, the Bambari clan from Ndorwa came to Bugoye, as well as the Bagwabiro from the region of Ischangi on the southern shore of Lake Kivu. The latter are impoverished Batutsi who till fields and own but few cows.

805 Chronology. Time in Ruanda is divided into years, seasons, months (moons), and weeks. The weeks have only five or six days. Thanks to the kindness of Father Buisson, I can herewith give the names of the months used in Kissaka and Ussuwi, opposite the Mulera calendar. The data on Nkole have been taken from Meldon (3). [295]

[113] 3. Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Nkole," Journal of the African Society, 1907, p. 137.

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
I. Kwakira, pea harvest, begin hoeing for millet	Kimguru	Kashantare	Biruru
II. Mutarama, millet sowing	Kakire	Werurwe	Kata
III. Werurwe, weeding millet fields	Mahingo	Kichurasi	Katumba
IV. Mata, sowing green peas (nyagasha)	Ruwoza	Kamena	Ikoma
V. Kichurasi, sowing peas	Muhiranguzu	Nyakanga	Chabahezi
VI. Kamena, one hopes to have plenty to eat soon	Rweru	Katumba	Nyerurue

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
VII. Nyakanga, begin millet harvest	Nyamatarugara	Itumba	Kichurasi
VIII. Itumba, main harvest	Nyairira	Nsenene	Kamena
IX. Katumba, begin hoeing for peas	Mumereze	Nkereza	Nyakanga
X. Nseri, hoeing peas	Kisua	Kushingwo	Kashua
XI. Kushingwo, weeding peas	Nsenene	Kwakira	Musenene
XII. Kaboza, planting gourds	Kibuika	Kuwoza	Itumba

The Mulera calendar is about two months behind the Kissaka calendar because the names of the months are bound up with the activities of the farmers and weather and pasture conditions. The various field chores are done two months later in the more northerly mountains of Mulera. Similarly, the Nkole calendar is two months behind Mulera because it is still farther north.

For the various proper and common names given the individual months, I succeeded in obtaining the following explanations.

Itumba nyakime: itumba of the possessor of dew.

Katumba kanama: kanama is derived from the verb kwanama, meaning "to stay in one place"; this month is very warm and one hates to move.

Nyakanga mabuguma: the one hating old cows (mabuguma); the pastures are dried up and old cows die in this month.

Kaboza kabozabihaza: gourds rot because of too much precipitation.

Mata: literally, "milk," or really, "milk month"; the pastures are lush, and there is a great abundance of milk.

During the months of ntumba, katumba, and nseri, huts are built. The millet straw is ripe, and the grass is at its tallest. At the end of nseri everything must be finished, for the rainy season begins.

805 In katumba the people begin burning off the grass on the
221 hills.

Most of the weddings take place in nseri, because much beer can be brewed in this month. For the same reason, most fights occur then.

132 There are three seasons in Kissaka.

805 [296] I. Itumba, the great rainy season extending from March to May.

II. Ichanda, the great dry season from June to October.

III. Ruhira, the secondary rainy season from November to January and sometimes February.

The secondary dry season in February does not seem to have a special name.

805 Father C. Lecoindre told me that he had the impression that there were 13 months in the Ruanda year and pointed out that on my list the month of kashantare between mutarama and werurwe was not shown.

The art of chronology is only slightly developed in Ruanda, and the Bahutu seem essentially to know only the periods for certain field chores, to which they give special names, for example:

Itumba ya massaka (in the autumn),
Itumba lyi bishimbo,

or solar time:

Rugaryi (little sun),
Itsi (big sun).

644 On the other hand, life in Musinga's royal residence, at
805 least the arrival of fresh drum guards with the new moon, is regulated by the lunar division of the year, and Father C. Lecoindre's observation seems to have many points in its favor. For example, it is said that at the court of the king there is mourning during the first half of the month kichurasi. During this time men allegedly
[834] have no sexual intercourse with women. The drums at the king's court are beaten only once around 11 o'clock to greet (ndamutsu) the king; they are said to be tied up (kuzirika). The Batwa do not entertain the king with their songs during the evening gatherings. The king pronounces no sentences and accepts no presents. At ordinary law proceedings the victorious party neither sings his song

644 of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies
805 he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is re-
[783] garded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon.
[533] They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great
771 feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called
644 kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

805 The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298] Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

771 Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

769 Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda
17 as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

769 The bazimu, the spirits of the dead, are feared. They are not good. They are responsible for the misfortunes and torments that plague one. In Mulera, at any rate, this may be related to the well-known unfortunate position of old men.

Every father of a family offers sacrifices to his ancestors and his deceased relatives in the ndaro, the small grass huts near his compound and the place where the spirits dwell. Ndaro means "sleeping place," "resting place," and, according to Father Buisson, is derived from the verb kurara "to sleep." I should like to point out, however, the similarity between this word and ndako which in the Bangala and Ababua [Babua] dialects simply means "house." Sacrifices are also made in the sacred niche of every hut.

782 769 For sacrifices to the manes, a fire is built in front of the huts and around it sticks are placed in the ground, to which are fastened small bits of meat, lumps of umutsima, etc. Small vessels (imperezo) of beer are also set out. These offerings are taken from the meat and umutsima (stiff millet mush) which the sacrificer brought with him. The rest he eats himself.

[299] Offerings are also placed inside the huts. Frequently the more valuable offerings are only temporarily exposed. Later they are eaten by the family of the sacrificer. This is said to be the case when, in accordance with custom, the foreleg of a slain animal is offered for a deceased girl. This is not always true, however, for I repeatedly saw rotting forelegs of goats hanging in the ndaro. "To offer to the spirits" is called kutonora bazimu. To the spirits of one's parents the ribs and entrails of slain animals are usually offered.

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775 823 Fig. 162. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13096. 8 centimeters ~~high.~~)

Underworld. Not all the spirits of the dead remain in the vicinity of their ndaro to be taken care of by their families and to lead a peaceful existence. Many spirits, after death, live in the volcanoes, and the activity of these fire mountains is connected with them.

According to the Balera, Ryangombe is said to live in Muhawura with the souls of those who were dedicated to him in life. They constitute his court and his retinue.

At the court of Ryangombe there are not infrequently angry disputes among his retinue. Then they usually throw stones, and

775 823 sometimes large quantities of these reach the outside world. I repeatedly heard this explanation of volcanic activity. It sometimes happens, however, that Ryangombe drives spirits into the outer world as a punishment. Then they torment the living, who must make sacrifices so that Ryangombe will take the spirits back and thus free the living from molestation by these homeless.

[103] People from the region of Bobandana, whom I met on the way to Rutshuru, called Mount Nyiragongo Kilima ya Mungu, "Mountain of the Gods."

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) also says that Ryangombe allegedly

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-03]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

lived in Muhawura with his court which consists of the souls of the babandwa dedicated to him. Only the souls of the nsigo, that is, the profane and those initiated into other cults, go to Nyiragongo after death. However, he concedes that, according to other accounts, Ryangombe lives in Nyiragongo.

The volcanoes play a very important role in the supernatural world of Ruanda. Captain Von Beringe (2) mentions that the birunga

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, pp. 36, 37.

(plural of kirunga, "volcano") are named after the spirits which are said to live in them, such as Sabinio, Karisimbi, Mikeno, Nyamlagira, and Gonga. The last is the oldest among them. Formerly Nyamlagira, who was later exiled, was said to have lived with him. The later event is perhaps an allusion to the recent origin of the youngest volcano in this group.

[532] [300] Memorial Trees. There are no pictorial representations of the dead in Ruanda. I saw no sculpture or wood carvings that referred to them.

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There are trees, however, that are associated with remembrance of the dead. These trees were planted either by them or in connection with them, usually in the settlements. Thus, at the birth of a child a fig tree is planted, which is later associated with the person, even after his death. It seems that in these trees, as on the hedges of abandoned settlements, spirits of the dead abide.

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Trees are also planted in memory of historical events. Thus, Dr. Kandt (1) says: "At the end of the bridge (cliff bridge of the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 365.

Ruzizi) there is still standing a young fig tree, an immana, a soul tree, which was planted by Luabugiri, the former king of Ruanda, when he set out to fight against Bunjabungu which is on the right bank. There is a steep, almost perpendicular path of a few hundred meters, down which he and his warriors set out to their destruction. On the tree hang straw and metal rings, the offerings of pious wanderers, and on the bridge people point out the footprint of the king's favorite dog in the cliff and tell a legend similar to the one about the Rosstrappe [Tr., a rock in the Harz Mountains]."

With reference to another type of memorial tree which is only indirectly connected with historical personages, Dr. Kandt (2)

2. Ibid., p. 504.

says: "They (trees on the eastern point of the lake) are sacred because King Luabugiri camped on this spot when he set out on his campaign against Bunjabungu (1894), from which he returned to Ruanda a dying man.... The boat that carried the ruler into the war is still lying under the trees, half buried in the ground. It was hollowed out from a giant tree of the primeval forest, but now it is split down the middle, partly rotted, and disintegrating more and more each year. As I remember, it is about 18 meters long and one and a quarter meters wide."

The memorial trees looming up on the heights are very characteristic of the Ruanda landscape. They are conspicuous because they form such a contrast to the bare hilltops. Their

778 religious character was already known through Captain Hermann,
824 and they are referred to simply as Imana trees.
211 It seems to be chiefly the Batutsi who venerate the memorial trees. The fig trees on the heights are most numerous and most beautiful in places where the Batutsi have the greatest power. On the other hand, it is said that sometimes at night Bahutu secretly take wood from the sacred trees. The Batwa, who fear no one and who have also preserved their independence in spiritual matters, do [301] this quite openly in the daytime, but there are not enough of them to destroy the trees and change the landscape.

776 Imana and Batabazi. In our general discussion of the interlacustrine region [not translated], we pointed out that the spirits of dead kings and rulers have a special place among the manes. They are distinguished from the undifferentiated mass of bazimu by their greater power. They are known and feared in larger circles. This is the case, for example, with the spirit of Kimeni in Kissaka. It is not impossible that from this we shall be able to explain the contrast between the rule of Ryangombe in the underworld, which seems to be patterned after the organization of Batutsi states, and the familial anarchy of the ordinary manes. However, it is doubtful whether the central figure of the Ruanda pantheon, the creator of the world, Imana, can be associated with the spirits of the dead. He probably must be considered as derived from foreign influence. Perhaps this also explains the underworld residence of the court of Ryangombe, whereas the rest of the bazimu remain with their living relatives.

776 Imana is the lord of lightning, thunder, and rain. One ad-
782 dresses him with the words: "Nabone Imana yandemie ikalema tata, na sokururu, na sokuruza, na mukaka, na mukakuruzu, na mama. Ikankina, nkuko yabakidjidji! (Favor me, Imana, who created my father, and my grandfather, and the father of my grandfather, and my grandmother, and the mother of my grandmother, and my mother. He has healed me, how he has healed me!)"

No sacrifices are made to Imana. Thus, he plays no part in the cult and satisfies only, if we may so express it, a philosophical need.

776 Even though Imana is supposedly the creator, there are no
773 special tales about his relation to the other powerful spirits, for example, Ryangombe. The Banyaruanda seem to have an altogether vague and indefinite idea of him. The strangest thing is the story of his appearance on earth in the form of a child who was even whiter than kaolin (runoni). The child had supernatural power. Among other things, he changed water into milk. Imana created the first human beings. The first man married his sister, but neither of them had a father or a mother. Imana gave them fire.

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) listed Lugira, Lulema, and

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

Kihanga as synonyms for Imana.

The myths about Imana seem to be less known or kept more secret, at least in Kissaka, than the stories about other spirits.

778 [302] Every Mututsi is said to revere a particularly sacred
825 bull in his herd, which has a secret connection with Imana. The sacred bull of Musinga was allegedly very fierce and attacked many people. It is maintained that those who were attacked by the bull were recognized by the animal as enemies of the king. If they came through alive, they were in former times punished with death. This custom has been given up in the last three or four years, probably as the result of greater contact with Europeans, but the unfortunate ones are still in very bad repute.

778 We must not forget that the vessels containing remnants of chickens and the fat of sacrificed sheep, which the Batutsi wear around their necks, are also called "Imana."

776 Even more puzzling than Imana are the batabazi in the
773 Ruanda pantheon. I have already mentioned them in the chapter on the history of Ruanda. Father L. Classe told me that the myth of the flood as well as the idea of the sacrifice of an individual life to save mankind appear in the batabazi legends. The people survive the flood in a hut made watertight with earth.

176 The batabazi are Batutsi because they are associated with
173 the reigning family.

Ryangombe and his Bagaragu. Ryangombe with his bagaragu (clients) and relatives plays the most important role in the Ruanda cult.

We have already expressed the opinion that in the traditions
176 about Ryangombe there is a memory of an historical hero. In
173 favor of this view we have the story (umugani) given below (which does not say much), and in addition, the fact that Kakuku, Mugasha, Kagoro, and Rubaga are mentioned among his retinue. The latter three are semihistorical personalities and, according to our research, belong to the family that ruled in Bunyoro before the Babito, whereas Kakuku is probably identical with Bukuku from the older Bunyoro dynasty.

Ryangombe's nearest relatives do not seem to play any special role and are mentioned only in reference to the hero. Hence we shall only list them. His father was Ndema, and his grandfather, Migongo. Babinga was his mother, and Nyundo, his grandmother. His wife, Nyakisha, presented him with a child called kachumu kato kato kavira imyuna mumbuga, "a small, small spear stained with blood up to the hilt." According to other accounts, his wife was Kadjumba, and their son, Binego.

In other accounts we find somewhat different statements. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) calls Ryangombe's wife Njawirungu

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 10.

and his father Bawinda which [303] he has probably confused with the name of the mother, Babinga.

Captain Von Beringe (1), on the other hand, calls

1. Beringe, Captain Von, an account of his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 37.

776 Ryangombe's grandfather Nyundo, his father Bavinga, and his wife
173 Nina Ryangombe. The last name, however, simply means "mother of Ryangombe."

The most important bagaragu (clients) of Ryangombe are Binego, Kavuna, Mugasha, Kakuku, Kagoro, Senyakazana, and Rubaga.

Their subordination to Ryangombe is always strongly emphasized. We can see this also in the fact that before sacrifices can be made to them sacrifices must be made to Ryangombe. Rubaga is the only exception. One can bring him gifts without first having made offerings to Ryangombe.

782 Special forms and ceremonies are observed in offerings
776 made to these individual spirits.

In sacrificing to Binego the person stands with lowered head and murmurs: "Binego bya Kadjumba nyamunega amafizi amabuguma akapfa numulindu. Lukaraba nkaba n'inkuba yadjandja. Ulwamba lw'impiri namaganya y'inkuba aseseka ntanyobwe umushaidja mukanya." I could not find out what this means.

[346] Small straw huts are built to Kavuna. He is offered banana beer with added honey in twin-necked pots. Formerly the sacrificer covered himself with a leopard skin. As he makes the sacrifice, he stretches out his hands and sings: "Kavuna ushime ntango yawe (Kavuna, accept my offering)."

If a person makes a sacrifice to Mugasha, he winds the bark of banana stalks around his legs, arms, and neck. He holds the thin end of a stick in his right hand, stamps his feet, beats the ground with the stick, and repeats: "Mugasha akatema katoke niribiriri, niribirimbo."

Kakuku was an old paralyzed slave. If a person wishes to address him, he first smears his arms with ashes, then he scratches his skin, weeps, and sighs. Peas which are sacrificed are held with the finger bent, because the paralytic could eat only in this manner.

Kagoro is offered small arrows of wood or iron with the words, "busenda bwa Kagoro."

Senyakazana is offered peas and lentils, called inkore.

Rubaga is the greatest after Ryangombe, and he is also offered cows.

782 [304] Umugani rwa Ryangombe. To Ryangombe is dedi-
716 cated the muku or mulinzi, a tree he once climbed to save himself from a buffalo that attacked him on the hunt. The Banyakissaka have the following story about it.

539 Umugani rwa Ryangombe
Story of Ryangombe

Ngoni Ryangombe lya Babinga, ba Nyundo, ngoni Nyamuniga,
That is Ryangombe the Babinga of Nyundo, who is Nyamuniga,

amafizi nayo awabuguma akapfan nimirindo.
? ? ? ? ?

Ryangombe yaliafite nyina, akanga kumumwira. Ryangombe
Ryangombe has mother refused to obey Ryangombe

ashaka kuja kuhiga mwishamba. Nyina nyiwa Ryangombe:
wants to go hunting on the plain. Mother says[to] Ryangombe:

ati mwana wanje leka kuja kuhiga; ati nalose
so child [of] mine let go hunting; so I dreamed

umugezi, utemba uja luguru; ati uzawambuka, ngenda,
a river, which flows upward; so you cross it, you go,

ntuzagaruka. Ati kandi nalose ulukwavu lutagira ishira,
do not come back. So later I dream a rabbit without tail,

uzalwicha, ntuzalubamba. Ati kandi nalose
you will kill it, without obeying. So later I dream

Nyakisha Chimepenebere au Nyakitindi, ati azakulemutsa,
Nyakisha Chimpenebere or Nyakitindi, so she will greet,

atazakulekula Ryangombe. Ati kandi nalose imbogo
she will not leave Ryangombe. So later I dream a buffalo

539 nyaki gumbu. Ati uzaivumbura. Utuzaikira
black very. So you will raise it. You will not protect yourself,

Ryangombe. Ryangombe, ngo hoshi alagenda, aja kuhiga,
Ryangombe. Ryangombe, who then goes away, goes hunting,

abanza kwambuka umugezi, utemba uja luguru. Abagaragu be
begins to cross river, which flows upward. Followers are

bati. Indagu ya Nyira Ryangombe ilasohohye. Bongera
two. The prophecy of mother Ryangombe comes true. They start

kugenda, bavumbura ulukwavu lutagiri ishira, baralwicha,
to go, raise a rabbit without tail, kill it,

baraluleka. Abagaragu be bati. Indagu ya Nyira Ryangombe
leave it. Followers are two. The prophecy of mother [of] Ryangombe

ilageze. Barongeye, barahiga, bavumbura Nyakisha
comes true. They continue, they hunt, they meet Nyakisha

Chimpenebere, kihetse umwana imbebe.
Chimpenebere, she carries a child naked (without a hide).

Baramufata Nyakisha. Ati mutangirira mabi, nimubanze kunshira
They seize Nyakisha. So does nothing bad, begins me to lead to

Ryangombe Barayanye Chimpenebere, ilamukidje Ryangombe.
Ryangombe. They bring Chimpenebere, she bewitched Ryangombe.

Ichara hasi. Ati mpe ingobi yokwihekeka umwana.
He sits on the ground. So give me a hide to carry the child.

Ryangombe icha inzobe. Alaiha au ilamuhati. Ati
Ryangombe kills a marsh buck. He gave him or he gave her. So

iyi ntikwiye, umwana wanje amuhe uluhu rwi
this one does not suffice, child mine it is larger than

539 impongo. Ati iyi ntikwiye umwana,
the antelope. Since this does not suffice for the child,

akokanya, batongera kuhiga. Avumbuka imbogo nyaki gumbu.
it is small, they begin to hunt. He meets a buffalo black very.

Nyakisha Chimpenebere ati: "ndashaka iyo." Ryangombe
Nyakisha Chimpenebere thus: "I want this one." Ryangombe

afata ichumu na ingota, aja kuyitera. Imbogo
seizes spear and sword, goes to throw (to spear). The buffalo

ilahinduka. [305] Imuchumito ihembe. Ryangombe alapfa.
turns around. Gores with horns. Ryangombe dies.

Nyakisha Chimpenebere alishima. Ryangombe agiye kupfa, atuma
Nyakisha Chimpenebere is glad. Ryangombe goes to die, he notifies

yuko apfuye. Babwira umwana we Binego. Alaza
that he will die. They tell child his Binego. He comes

n'impiri ye y'ichuma. Aikubita Nyakisha Chimpenebere.
with scepter of iron. He hits with it Nyakisha Chimpenebere.

Binego alaicha n'umwana wayo ni imbogo nyaki bumbu.
Binego kills with it and child her and the buffalo black very.

Binego amaze kubyicha, abwira abagaragu be, ko aka bamaze.
Binego he ends killing, he says followers his, that he has ended.

Binego achamba Ryangombe. Alataha, asanga nyina
Binego buries Ryangombe. He returns, he visits (his) mother

Nyira Kadjumba. Binego alima mubwani bwa Ryangombe.
Nyira Kadjumba. Binego inherits the kingdom of Ryangombe.

[115] I am indebted to Father Buisson for the translation of this manuscript which was written by a pupil of the mission in Nsasa.

794 575 Secret Societies. The cult of Ryangombe is practiced by the secret societies of babandwa. These societies unite men and women, Batutsi and Bahutu.

In Nduga, above all, the secret societies of babandwa embrace a considerable part of the population. There, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, they seem not only to represent well-organized religious groups, but also to play a role in politics.

This is said to be especially true of the Biheko cult, for example. It is blamed for many a disturbance in the northern part of Ruanda. Biheko was apparently a woman consecrated to Binego, the disciple of Ryangombe. She was killed by Lwabugiri who, it seems, in doing this fought the particularistic tendencies of the north. In order to escape the revenge of her spirit, Lwabugiri permitted his subjects to be initiated into the cult she represented. Since that time, the Biheko cult is said to have made great progress in Mulera and Bugoye.

According to Father L. Classe (1) Biheko was a man from

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 440.

Ndorwa whose brothers were Lutindangezi, Gahaya, and Maloli.

[778] In Mulera the iron rods known as ikrosho are connected with the Biheko cult. They were already described in Mpororo by Stuhlmann (2) and associated with the Nyawingi cult.

2. Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika [Into the Heart of Africa with Emin Pasha] (Berlin, 1894), p. 253.

794 575 782 753 The dogma is somewhat as follows. Only those consecrated to Ryangombe may contact him, but it is necessary to establish contact with him. It is only through sacrifices that one can persuade Ryangombe to let the spirits that have been driven out return to the birunga (volcanoes) [306] and free the living from

794 them. This is of very great importance, especially in cases of
575 illness, for illness is, of course, caused by the spirits. That is
782 why sick people are often initiated into the secret societies of
753 babandwa. Sometimes this is done when they are already so ill that they are not quite conscious during the ceremonies, but the hope is that through the initiation the sick person will gain such a powerful protector that the latter will make possible the recovery of the new member. Despite these expectations, people do not omit the sacrifices to the manes of the sick person in order to receive their favor.

794 The existence of the [secret] society divides the population
575 into two classes: the consecrated and the profane. The consecrated ones, in turn, are divided into two subgroups, the babandwa who conduct the ceremonies and the rusingo, ordinary initiates of the lower grade. This creates a hierarchy in which discipline is exercised through fear of the supernatural power of the chosen ones. Hence the secret societies are powerful factors in social integration.

The hierarchy of secret societies does not correspond to the territorial division into chieftainships and exogamous clans. It creates dependencies that bridge these divisions, and the social structure is strengthened by the addition of these "supernatural powers."

794 It would be futile to speculate whether the states of the
575 interlacustrine region could exist without secret societies. It is
563 very probable, however, that the rule of the Batutsi and Bahima minorities is contingent on the organization of these societies. The ruling element seems to be disproportionately stronger among the babandwa, whose sons inherit their rank, than among the rest of the population, probably because the Ryangombe cult was allegedly a Batutsi cult originally. This view was expressed to me repeatedly in one way or another by missionaries and natives. It is supported by Rehse (1) who says that Ryangombe is regarded

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 134.

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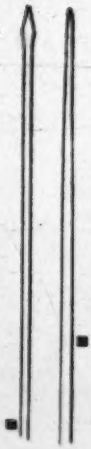

in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions
[643] that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[578] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

300 which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

794 The importance of the dog among babandwa[3] merits special
575 attention. I was assured that the dog is the cow, that is, the
825 most important and sacred animal, of the babandwa. I was unable to find out anything more specific about its role in the cult. The adherents of the theory that the states of central
[177] Africa represent vestiges of Egyptian culture might see in the relationship of the dog to the cult of the "lord of departed souls" a reflection of Anubis who had the head of a dog.

794 The babandwa exert their power as medicine men, sacri-
575 ficers, and soothsayers. These three functions are very closely related to each other and can hardly be separated. Besides the babandwa and the worshippers of Biheko, the balozi [poisoners] are also said to constitute a secret society.

Initiation. Initiation into a secret society is bound up with long and complicated ceremonies. There are two categories of consecrated ones, those who are fully consecrated and those who have undergone only the preliminary tests.

[308] I should now like to try to give a picture of the babandwa initiation ceremonies in Ruanda, which are very strictly kept secret.

The picture, pieced together by means of painstaking questions, shows a resemblance in the main with the description by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi, although the arrangement of the whole ceremony seems to bring out some differences.

If a person who is to be accepted into the secret society of babandwa, for example, a sick person, as generally happens, has been told by the chicken oracle that he can be cured by initiation, he must bring gifts to the consecrated to make them favorably disposed toward him.

First of all an influential member is visited, one who might agree to act as guardian (godfather). The guardian, who is also called "father," invites the rest of the initiated into the house of the candidate for initiation.

Certain preparations must be made and a number of objects assembled before the initiation ceremony can take place. The candidate provides a sword, a bell, a torch, a large quantity of beer, and food supplies.

3 [i.e. Secret society members—Analyst]

794 On the appointed evening the members assemble in large
575 numbers in the hut of the candidate and begin with the inevitable
293 beer drinking. The individual babandwa act as various bagaragu of Ryangombe, and this is shown by their insignia. Thus, the

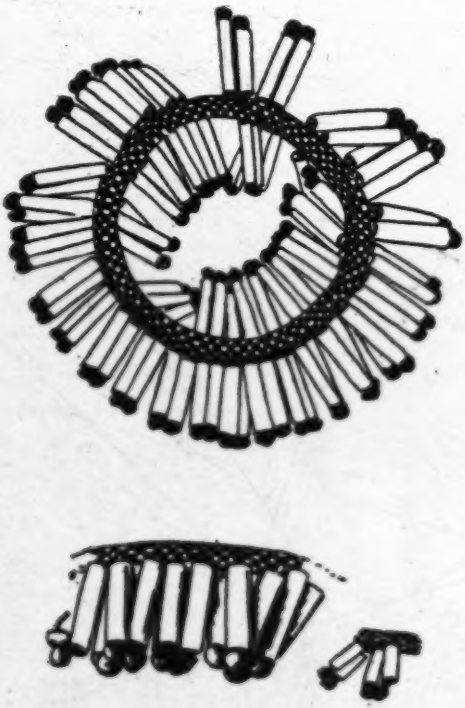

Fig. 164. Crown of Mugasha, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13033. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

representative of Mugasha is said to appear wearing a crown and carrying a scepter. The crown consists of a woven ring, similar to the ones placed under vessels, on which hang two rows of strings. On each string is a small reed cylinder [309] secured at the end with a seed of the wild banana. In Ruanda, as in the
794 other countries of the interlacustrine region, the banana is
575 associated with Mugasha. Similarly, Kagoro is here represented as a brave youth carrying a spear and a stick. In view of this, we expect that the cult of the lance (of Ikiranga), as described

6: Czekanowski--242 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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by Father Van der Burgt (1), is connected with Binego.

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German] (Bois-le-Duc, Hollande, 1903), p. 516.

The uninitiated may not be present at the ceremony, and they are driven away from the vicinity of the hut with such brutal blows from a stick that they must often pay for their curiosity with severe injuries, sometimes even with their lives.

When the ceremony is about to begin, the "father" and his "child" sit down on stools facing each other, with their legs spread apart. The members ask them what they are doing here. Candidate and guardian answer that they would like to be initiated into the society. The members refuse, and sometimes they even try to drive out the candidate with blows. It sometimes happens that the candidate with blows. It sometimes happens that the candidate loses his nerve and runs away, which ends the ceremonies. If he does not run away and the others agree to accept him, he is subjected to various tests which are supposed to prove that he is worthy of joining the society. The first tests are purely playful. He is requested to fetch a star and is told that whoever fails to do this is unworthy of being taken into the secret society. Thereupon the members take glowing embers from the hearth, toss them into the air repeatedly, and catch them in their hands. After this ceremony they again try to drive away the candidate with blows.

He is then given consecrated beer to drink through a straw that is plugged, and the same words are spoken: "If you do not succeed, you are unworthy of joining the order of babandwa." The initiated ones thereupon show that this is easy for them, and they drink beer with perfectly good straws. The candidate again does not succeed. After this comes the last test. The candidate is given stones to eat. Again he fails. The members pretend it is easy to eat stones and partake of bananas.

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575 The candidate then asks his guardian very timidly how one is to do all this. The guardian takes consecrated beer (buahoro) into his mouth and squirts it on the candidate. Later he rubs the candidate's face with kaolin (runoni) and utters unintelligible, mysterious words. This ceremony is known as kurawa ingwa. After this is done, the consecrator takes [310] a live coal from the hearth, tosses it into the air, and the candidate catches it. Later he gives him beer to drink through a good straw and hands him a banana which the "child" eats. Then it is announced that the candidate can be accepted. At this moment the songs begin. During the singing the candidate is sent by his "father" to steal bananas. If he succeeds in doing this without being seen, he is congratulated when he returns to the gathering. They praise his cunning and greet him with the name which henceforth is his in the society. After this interlude, the songs are resumed, and the "father" proceeds with the initiation, using unintelligible words.

With his guardian the candidate sets out for the muku or mulinzi, the tree consecrated to Ryangombe. Here the consecrating mubandwa's helper, known as muhiruka, joins him. No one else is allowed in the vicinity of the tree. After making certain of this, the candidate is stretched out on his back on the ground, and the consecrator and his helper perform a wild dance. They repeatedly threaten to stab the candidate's chest with a sword. This ceremony is supposed to make the candidate realize what would happen to him if he should decide to commit an indiscretion against the society. At the same time it represents the oath of the consecrator that he will carry out the punishment.

When the dance is over, all three of them return to the hut where the members are assembled; the muhiruka leads the procession, followed by the candidate, while the mubandwa brings up the rear. The other members (babandwa) come to meet them. Among these is one known as kishego. Kishego carries a burning torch (lumuri) and a small bell which he rings. All of them together return to the hut of the candidate.

After their return, the candidate and the consecrating mubandwa sit on stools facing each other. Between them stands a pot of marwa (millet beer), and beside the pot sits an old woman with a forehead ornament that has a rabbit tail. She holds a piece

794 of muku wood in her hand. (Muku wood is consecrated to
595 Ryangombe.) All those present squat with their hands stretched out in front of them and call upon Ryangombe.

After the marwa has been sacrificed in this manner to Ryangombe, the candidate lies down on the floor in front of the old woman who, with the muku wood in her hand, is supposed to represent Ryangombe. The candidate says to the woman: "Unkize, undinde, muli uyu muaka umbesheho (Let me be restored to health, protect me this year)." The woman moves her head as though she agreed, mutters unintelligibly — mmmmm — and says: [311] "Nzakubesho, ntanga yewe (I shall protect you, I shall let you live, my child)"; later she adds: "Chwaga, chwagura Ryangombe," which is said to mean "Goodness in abundance, thou Ryangombe." Thereupon she takes beer into her mouth and spits it on the candidate. This is the core of the ceremony. After this everyone takes a small torch and roams about the hut as though he were looking for something. After this hunt, the peas (maharagi) and stiff millet mush (mutsima) previously prepared especially for this ceremony are eaten. The Batutsi on this occasion also drink milk. This concludes the ceremony for this day.

After the common meal, the one newly initiated joins in the singing and is ostentatiously honored by those present. He wears a crown of grass, joins in the beer drinking, and eats the sacrificial meat. After he is through eating, he is told that Ryangombe and above all the spirit whose name he bears will protect him, that he will have many children, and that he may attend the secret meetings. He is also taught the sacrificial formulas.

After these ceremonies they drink beer until morning. Shortly before sunrise everyone present, except the one newly initiated, goes to visit the huts in the neighboring banana groves. This ceremony is called simply kusega. Everywhere the visitors are served marwa and nzoga, depending on what the host has on hand, and given bananas as presents. After the visits the members return to the hut where the ceremony has taken place to drink up the remaining beer. Then they go home. On the next evening or a few days later the mubandwa and the muhiruka go to the new

194 initiate, eat with him, and warm some water which is poured
515 into the pot that contained the beer sacrificed to Ryangombe during the initiation. The water is drunk by the family of the new initiate. Afterward the bananas collected on the early morn-
[25] ing visits (kusega) are put in the underground warming place in order to ripen. After a few days, when the beer made from these bananas is ready, acquaintances come for a visit, and they are all served this beer (nzoga).

In this manner the candidate achieves the lower stage of initiation. He has become rusingu. Many remain here and do not go any higher.

In Batutsi initiation ceremonies, a cow is killed on this occasion. When the cow has fallen, the mubandwa, the muhiruka, and the candidate --these are always the three active persons -- place themselves on the fallen cow, one after the other. This ceremony is known as kwitonda gira. Only after that is the animal cut up and the meat divided among those present.

If a person who has been initiated wishes to rise higher in the hierarchy, if he wants to be a mubandwa instead of a rusingu, he goes to the "father" who initiated him [312] and asks for further initiation. If the "father" approves, a meeting is called for this purpose. The candidate, as on the first occasion, provides beer and food. Again, of course, the profane are excluded. Similar ceremonies are carried out, and the candidate is squirted with beer. This time, however, the tests are hard, and since only reliable and chosen people are admitted to the higher initiation, these ceremonies are still more mysterious. The candidates are always refused several times and admitted only at the third or fourth meeting. The one newly initiated must swear that he will not betray the secrets of the association nor in any way misuse the confidence placed in him. In taking the oath, the candidate touches the objects consecrated to Ryangombe, such as the crown, the bell, and others. After the ceremony the newly initiated member is accompanied home by the older members. All participants in this festive procession carry branches of the fig tree in their hands. From then on the newly initiated member has the right to sacrifice to Ryangombe, to introduce candidates to the secret society, and to be present at all the ceremonies. Having

794 been born anew as a result of the initiation, he is above the law
515 of the profane and belongs to the ranks of the chosen. He must not forget, however, to offer sacrifices to his patron spirit and to Ryangombe from time to time.

A somewhat different and much more detailed description of an initiation into the society of babandwa is given by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi. This description, it seems, refers to a higher grade of initiation, about which I could find out little in Ruanda. I give a summary of it here, obtained from data placed at my disposal by Father L. Classe.

For the initiation two babandwa are necessary, a man and a woman. The man is called mugogo saidja, and the woman, mugogo kazi. Another name for the man is musego, "the [male] consecrator," and for the woman, muchwezi, "the [female] consecrator." Both together are known as "parents," baishebuhemba. They also have helpers known as bihale. The candidate is regarded as their "child" in the ceremony. The "child" is usually ill. The ceremony is performed at the instigation of the soothsayer who has been previously consulted. A number of objects are necessary for the ceremony: a knife; an axe; fire; a stool; calabashes; two kinds of beer; a spoon; a stick; a large needle; a tobacco root; a small stick of musinge wood wound with hair from the tail of an animal (mbwisi) and sprinkled with white snuff (ntendere), the whole thing known as kimwanda; an arrow; a hoe; two small pieces of wood from the mulinzi tree, slightly hollowed out to make them look like boats and known as bilimbe; and finally the bisingo, that is, skins decorated with cowrie shells.

[313] After their arrival in the house of the candidate, the baishebuhemba, wearing their crowns, sit down on their stools. They represent the spirits taking part in the ceremony. The woman slides her hands alternately up and down the stick. The beer stands in front of them. The sick person lies at their feet and is given snuff. If he sneezes, it means that he qualifies for the initiation. If he does not sneeze, the initiation ceremony does not take place. A member of the family asks that the spirits have mercy on the person, heal him, accept him as one of them, and take possession of him. After that the mugogo puts the tobacco

794 575 root in the mouth of the sick man and keeps it there until the man collapses, unconscious. Then a fire is lighted, and the hoe, arrow, and kimwanda are deposited beside it. Two spirits are invoked, for example, Ryangombe and Mugasha. The woman who represents Ryangombe is addressed by the man with the words: [782] "Come, oh Ryangombe! Heal and receive your man!" This prayer is called kwentongeza, that is, to let oneself be received, to be consecrated, consecration. With her mouth closed, the woman who represents Ryangombe imitates the mooing of a cow. This is called kutangana and is supposed to mean that the spirit is present. Then one of the members says: "I was kutanganirwa through the spirit N.N.," and the man hands the woman a drinking straw. "Ryangombe" takes beer into her mouth and squirts it on the sick person. This millet beer is kept in an earthen jug; it is made from the variety called endimasi which is dedicated to Ryangombe. Then the woman repeats the same prayer as she turns to the man. He replies with a sigh which is supposed to indicate the presence of Mugasha. The spirit also drinks through a straw which is handed to him by the woman. He drinks banana beer (luhagwa) from a calabash and spits it out on the sick person. Then the mugogo takes some ntendere from his kimwanda, gives the sick person a second portion of the white snuff in order to make him return to consciousness, hits him on the head with the kimwanda, and the sick person wakes up. This concludes the ceremonies of the first day. The baishebuhemba remain overnight in the house of the sick person. They live there for the four days that the ceremony lasts.

On the next evening the assembly goes into the bush a considerable distance from the huts to a place known as kagondo kato. The spirits are invoked in the same way as on the previous evening. The members drink beer and spit it on the sick person who, if he recovers, belongs to the spirits. Then the mugogo takes the knife and the axe and says threateningly to the sick person: "I shall kill you if you tell others what I am doing with you." The woman takes the stick, places it on the neck of the sick man, and threatens him in the same way. Then a few dances are performed, and they go home. This ceremony is known as mutalongo or kumeramera.

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[314] The major tests come on the third day. This time the ceremony lasts longer and breaks up around noon. Besides the above-mentioned articles, food and a bow with arrows are added. The party goes to kagondo kakuru, which is known as "big" because this place is not in the bush but at the foot of a large tree. The ceremony begins with laying the fire. The sick man lies stretched out on leaves at the foot of the tree. The mugogo climbs up on a little knoll and calls together the members in the neighborhood with the words: "Esaire, Esaire," that the consecrated ones. The babisi, the new ones or the non-consecrated, are not permitted and do not dare to come. Only those who were once initiated come. They approach as though they were going to a solemn festival. When all are assembled (sometimes 50 or more), amulets and medicines are burned so that the babisi, the profane or uninitiated, cannot harm their sacred wood.

Later the head of the sick person, who lies stretched out, is placed on the knee of someone present. He is told to put out his tongue, whereupon medicine is placed upon it. The mugogo takes a small flat piece of wood, shoves it under the man's tongue, and with his other hand takes a large needle smeared with medicine and sticks it into the tongue of the sick man so that the point of the needle penetrates the piece of wood. If blood flows, the ceremony is worthless, for it proves that the spirit rejects the person. The helpers hold the man by his arms and legs, his head still resting on the lap of another man who supports him. The needle is kept in the tongue for an indefinite period, depending on the age and strength of the person. Sometimes it is left for 20 to 30 minutes. During the entire time the people present are dancing. The women beat on the hides they are wearing, and the men shake the gourds containing beer. They sing two words alternately: wabo meaning "they [or she; Ger., sie]" and bagaburi meaning "they deny me." At the same time they place their arm rings in front of the mugogo to ransom the sick one. When there are enough arm rings, the mugogo pulls the needle out. The dancing ceases, and they eat. After the meal they call upon the spirit, and the sick person is threatened as on the two previous days.

794 515 Everything is repeated but much more madly. In the end all are invited to assemble early the next morning for the final ceremonies. The sick person is accompanied home, and there is dancing along the way. Sometimes for the rest of the night they stay out in the open, kulala alukome. The body of the sick person is rubbed with earth or sand so he will be all the more beautiful at the ablutions the next day.

On the fourth and last day the ceremony of mulwesero, "ablutions," takes place. Early in the morning all who have been invited go to a certain river, dressed in festive garb. A youth is held under water by the baishebuhemba; an adult dives [315] in after him. They hold their noses and ears shut with their fingers. The baishebuhemba pour water into the small boats made of mulinzi wood. After the diving, the trunk of the sick person is painted white with kaolin (runoni). Everyone present admires his beauty with the words: "You shine like a leopard; you are another person." There is celebrating and drinking on the shore of the rives. Then, as on the previous days, the spirits are invoked. In the evening all the participants return, singing and dancing like maniacs. When they arrive in the courtyard of the house, they are given a hoe and four seeds: millet, manioc, gourd, and pea. The initiate buries them in the presence of his baishebuhemba and the others attending. They are placed on the two boats of mulinzi wood. Then he is given the name of a spirit and a crown with two cowrie shells. Not until later may the number of shells be increased. Then the initiate begins to act like one possessed. He goes so far as to abuse his relatives with indecent words. The baishebuhemba order him to lie down on the ground, and after a while the mugogo calls him by his ordinary name in order to remind him of his everyday life. The initiate pretends to be waking from a deep sleep. He looks at everyone present and greets them all quietly in the usual way. This is called "to take away the luchwezi." Then the initiation fees are paid, and the ceremony is over.

794 515 184 The two descriptions of the initiation ceremonies are somewhat different, but this probably indicates local differences in the cult.[1]

1. [i.e. the Bahandwa cult—Analyst]

794 575 184 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences. We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 575 198 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

[601] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 575 782 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom everyone may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to Ryangombe and his disciples and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253 – Analyst]

Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Amulet	ngisha	–	mihasira	–
Arms	amaboko	–	mikolantambara	–
Bracelet (copper)	imiringa	imihone	–	–
Eyes	amaso	–	agaweza	–
Axe	–	–	nsenya	–
Banana	ekitoke	–	bihuni	–
Bananenenhain	indoke	–	bihungatete	–
Sweet potato	–	–	ebizibizi	–
To build	kubaka	–	kizizimba	–
Farmer	umuhutu	umunutu	–	–
Tree	ikiti	–	kisale	–
Legs	–	–	malibasa	–
Beer	nzoga	ruhunga	mayanza	–
To drink beer (nzoga)	–	–	–	kutshwaga hwagura
Bow	umuheto	umuneto	bulega	–
Archery	kurasa	kurasha	–	–
Firewood	ntushari	–	nsali	–
Dagger	umusenyi	umusenyi	–	–
Peas	maharage	–	ebihurugu	–
To eat	kulia	kutanyira	–	–
European	–	–	Bazubu	–
Meat	nyama	–	migasi	–
Fire	umuriro	umwoto	muto	–
Woman	umugore	umukari	mukankazi	–
To give birth	kubiara	kubuta	–	–
To go	kugenda	kuzenga	–	–
Face	amasso	amashongo	–	–
God	Imana	Imende	–	–
Grass	ubwatsi	–	bunyamurwa	–
Hair	imitsatsi	–	ichoke	–
Chief	umutware	chirima	–	–
House	inzu	inzakaru	enzakaru	–

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Dog	imga	kakungu	–	kakungu
Kahindiro (king)	Kahindiro	Kamindiro	–	–
Calabash	kisabo	–	ensweina	–
Child	umwana	umuhere	–	ibikende
Client	umugaragu	umugarama	–	–
Cooking pot	nyungu	–	ntwerwa	–
Queen mother	–	–	muyarami	–
Head	umutwe	–	muyara	–
Herbs	imboga	iziboze	–	–
Cow	inka	ihangi	–	–
Cowhide	inkanda	inkabara	–	–
Lwabugiri (king)	Lwabugiri	Rwabuguru	–	–
Girl	mukobga	musundi, ntara-komereke	–	–
Man	umugabo	umulabo	umulenzi	–
Mat	ikirago	–	mukabali	–
Mush	umutsima	umubonania	–	–
My child	umwana wanye	–	umwere wane	–
[317] To milk	kukama	kukoroga	–	–
Milk	amata	ameza	masugumu	amafuro
Ears	amatwi	–	mahuliru	–
Arrows	umuambi	–	milasa	–
Rain	–	–	nfonyi	–
Salt	umunyu	umusenyi	–	–
To suckle	–	–	kunuka	–
Sheep	ntama	–	mbwana	nyabuhoro
Stool	–	–	kisunta	–
Spear	ichumo	ishongoro	masongola	–
To die	kupfa	–	kuyiruma	–
Cloth	–	–	migonzi, mikorokozi	–

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Tobacco	–	–	ihukula	–
Forest	ishamba	–	kichaka	–
Water	amazi	–	matingi	–
Way	inzira	–	muhura	–
Teeth	–	–	manono	–
Goat	ihene	inguruka	uzwika	kianwa
Tongue	urulimi	–	lurigizi	–

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blood of the animal and placed on the chests, the foreheads, and, last of all, the backs of those present. Then the mubandwa spreads out small bundles of green twigs, muyambo, on the animal. When he has given the order to disperse, everyone begins to move. One person after another walks over the sacrificial animal and goes home without looking back; otherwise the sacrifice would lose all its meaning. In this procession the father goes first, then the sons, then the chief wife, followed by the other wives and their daughters. The mubandwa and his attendants remain at the place of sacrifice. [318] If someone passes in the vicinity of the sacrificial remains, he takes care to pick up a leaf, spit on it, and throw it in the direction of the remains, saying: "Do not pursue me (spirit, umuzimu, misfortune, or illness)." This refers to the fact that the evil, the spirit, or whatever has been cast off through the sacrifice might attack a passer-by at the crossroads.

The Batutsi sacrifice cows, sheep, and chickens, whereas the sacrificial animal of the Bahutu is the goat and, more rarely, sheep.

As far as I could ascertain, the meat of sacrificed cows is distributed to all present if the prophecy is favorable. If the entrails prophesy unfavorably, the meat is given to the Batwa. The family of the donor does not eat the meat of sacrificed sheep, but gives it to the mubandwa and his helpers who have performed the sacrifice. The ceremony described by Father Van Thiele thus undoubtedly refers to the sacrifice of a sheep, which he forgot to mention. The meat of sacrificial goats is eaten by the Bahutu who

have made the sacrifice and by their friends.

The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails, is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cow-hide known as mukane.

791 Soothsayers, Sorcerers, and Medicine Men. Besides the
789 babandwa, there are several categories of people in Mulem who know how to exercise power over the living and over spirits in supernatural ways. We shall speak here of bapfumu, bahuzi, balozi, bachunyi, bahinza, and bawubyi.

[319] Bapfumu have the task of communicating with the spirits of the dead (bazimu). They are visited when a death has occurred in the family, and a present of food, sometimes even a goat, is brought to them. They then tell the family where it would be most suitable to build the spirit hut of the deceased (ndaro). Since the mupfumu remains in contact with the spirits of the dead and since these spirits cause illness, he is asked whether a sick person will recover. The mupfumu gives answers with the help of the little board oracle.

The special duty of the bahuzi is to discover poisoners who are known here as balozi and in the Runyoro territory was balogu. If many deaths occur, poisoning is immediately suspected. The muhuzi is summoned to handle this, and it is his task to determine
[682] who the poisoner is. If discovered, the criminal can be killed, and the evil can, at least for the future, be remedied. The muhuzi goes from one compound to another with his enchanted antelope horn. Everywhere he is most hospitably received by the head of the family who gives him gifts. All are afraid that if he were displeased he might point to them as poisoners, and this always means death. On his rounds the muhuzi is told by the horn where the poison is to be found and who the poisoner is.

Persons struck by lightning are also treated by the muhuzi.
791 If lightning strikes a herd of cattle, the owner utters a cry of joy
821 which consists of a long drawn-out "hoo..." as he strikes his lips
232 with his hand. This call is supplemented by the news that the king is taking back his cattle. This is done in order to save the animals that have been stunned. The maganga huzi is then fetched and tries to heal the animals with herbs. For his efforts he is presented with the jaws of the dead animals and the meat on them. The horns of the dead animals are buried at the spot where they
[789] were stricken. Another task of the bahuzi is to prophesy to the sick the outcome of their illness.

674 754 Balozi, poisoners, are said to kill their victims with a poison which they carry hidden under their fingernails. The poison is given to the victim on his own tobacco pipe which the poisoner treacherously borrows for a bit in order to take a few puffs. All sudden [761] deaths are regarded as poisonings. This idea is based on the fact that poisoning is a widespread crime. Father F. Dufays told me that he once succeeded in saving a person poisoned by a balozi by giving him milk and an emetic. It looks as though there actually had been a poisoning in that case. During my stay in Ruasa I had an opportunity to see an alleged attempt at poisoning. When Captain W. Von Grawert took a guide from Ruasa on his punitive expedition, [320] the wronged ones brought us a pot of honey that was said to be poisoned. The suspicious Mututsi, Lwakazina, who had always accompanied me when I was there in order to enhance his standing through friendship with a European, discovered a small piece of fat wrapped in banana fiber in the honeypot. He maintained that it was the flesh of a native killed by the soldiers, and this was generally believed by all present. The manner in which the donors of the honey retreated, in proud awareness of a duty accomplished and with much abuse, made me inclined to believe that Lwakazina was perhaps right.

Poisoning and bewitching are known by the same word, kuloga. For this reason it is very difficult to distinguish the two in the reports one hears. It is especially difficult to find out whether sorcerers or poisoners are sought.

I could not find out whether poisoners have a secret society here. I repeatedly heard, but always in a very vague and contradictory manner, that they have nocturnal sessions around a fire (in masks?) and that they devour human flesh, even corpses, and prepare poisons.

791 Bachunyi are manufacturers of amulets. A person who wants an amulet (mpigi) to protect himself from some evil or to aid him in some manner goes to see the muchunyi. The latter hides and prepares the remedy in secret with the help of incantations.

In Ussuwi, according to Father Van Thiele, the bakoni, who are probably identical with the bachunyi of Ruanda, have the task of combatting the poison of the greatly feared and mysterious balogu.

791 The bahinza have to do with matters relating to farming,
789 above all with crops and grasshoppers. A good harvest is due to their cooperation. That is why, after the harvest, bahinza go about collecting donations. People like to give them gifts. The curse of the muhinza can "dry up" human beings as well as animals, so that they lose their sexual powers.

The Balera fear the curse of the muhinza very much, for if he merely pronounces his curse and spits upon the ground, the effect is automatic.

Father F. Dufays told me that he saw a man die of fright
[152] soon after he had been cursed by a muhinza. The bahinza are always Bahutu.

791 Bawubyi are rainmakers. They appear in the transition period between the rainy season and the dry season and demand gifts for making rain or for making it stop. Bawubyi are always pariah Batwa.

Since there are very few Batutsi in Mulera and they have little influence, we may assume that [321] the various categories of soothsayers and sorcerers mentioned here and familiar to me from my stay in Mulera and the practice of poisoning are phenomena basic to Bahutu culture and not borrowed from the Batutsi.

588 In Ruanda, as in Kiziba and Mpororo, women are consecrated to the spirits. They must provide for the needs of the spirits, and their children are said to be regarded as the children of the spirit and to belong to his family, for these women are allegedly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with others. I was told quite frankly, however, about a case where a Mututsi chief consecrated Bahutu women to a spirit and had sexual intercourse with them.

Dreams and Soothsaying. In Ruanda various methods of
787 soothsaying are practiced. First we must speak of the chicken oracle because of its great importance.

In order to obtain information about a certain matter through the chicken oracle, it is necessary for the person to come to the soothsayer (mupfumu) with a chicken. When he arrives, he spits into the beak of the chicken and hands it to the soothsayer. The latter first places the chicken on the visitor's head and then calls his helper, a young boy. The boy grasps the chicken under its

787 wings and lays it on its back on the ground. The mupfumu slits open the chicken from the beak down, so the tongue remains attached to the lower jaw. He lifts out the entrails, which are placed in an improvised basin and washed. The basin is a depression in the ground lined with a banana leaf. The soothsayer spreads the washed entrails on his hand and looks for excrescences known as nkebe. If there are not more than two or three nkebe, 787 the prediction is favorable or in the affirmative. In this case, a 789 few bones are taken from the chicken and placed in a small vessel of barkcloth. Sometimes the entrails with the nkebe are added. This vessel is dried in the smoke from the hearth and worn around the neck as an amulet against the evil eye. If the number of nkebe is larger, the chicken is thrown away, and the operation is repeated on another chicken.

A few days after the soothsaying has taken place, the amulet 787 made of a bit of barkcloth and containing chicken bones and fat is handed over with a certain solemnity. It takes a few days for the contents to dry out. Early in the morning the mupfumu comes into the hut of the person fortunate enough to have a favorable prediction. The soothsayer is received by the man who sits on a stool and his wife who sits beside him on the ground. The soothsayer sits down opposite them and smears the man's forehead, back, and chest with some kaolin. [322] Later he hands the man a necklace of bast from which hang the vessels containing the bones of the chicken sacrificed for the soothsaying. In payment, the soothsayer gets a hoe and some beer if there is any to be had at the time.

The chicken oracle is a Batutsi (or Bahima) custom. This is evident from the fact that the soothsayers belong to the aristocracy of herdsmen and that the amulets containing chicken bones are worn primarily by Batutsi.

The entrails of cows and sheep are used in the same manner as chicken entrails for soothsaying. Because of their costliness, however, this is evidently done only by the king and the aristocracy. Goats are used for sacrifices, but never for soothsaying.

The fact that the goat, which is associated more with the lower-class Bahutu, is not used for soothsaying probably shows that in general soothsaying from the entrails of sacrificial animals is associated with the ruling Batutsi class.

[Text continues in p. 260]

6: Czekanowski--259 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 167. Amulet of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)
Fig. 168. Twin Amulets on a Necklace of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

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Fig. 169. Container with Tokens for the Little Board Oracle, Mulera: (a) gourd token, (b) iron tokens, (c) bone tokens. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13117. 22 centimeters long.)

181 In Kissaka soothsaying with calabashes is also said to be practiced. Father Van Thiele describes it as follows. The soothsayer has two calabashes filled with seed kernels. He sits on a small stool, dressed in the hide of a jackal in such a way that the head of the animal lies on the head of the soothsayer and the tail hangs down behind. He shakes the two gourds and makes the kernels rattle. After a while he stops, puts the gourds aside, takes off the skin, and lies down on the floor. After a period of concentration the soothsayer announces his oracle and is paid.

Another type of soothsaying is that of the speaking calabash and the speaking goatskin, nyabukobwa. This was supposed to have prophesied the arrival of Europeans from the east at the time of the last independent king of Kissaka (Kimeni II). Father Van Thiele reports that he found a reed flute in the nyabukobwa which played when the bag was squeezed and air escaped.

[323] In Mulera the little board oracle is common. The soothsayer grasps the handle of a small, hollowed out, trough-shaped board 40 centimeters long, 15 centimeters wide, and one to two centimeters deep. With his other hand he tosses into the air a few times several seeds, some little metal discs, small sheep bones, and a piece of gourd. The piece of gourd is called umwami (king). The iron discs represent the bazimu (spirits) of men, and the sheep bones, those of women. They are always skillfully caught. After they have been sufficiently mixed, they are thrown on the little board. The answer is found in the way they are spread out.

The natives of Ruanda tell about prophecies several years back that foretold the coming of the Europeans.

181 173

Thus, years ago the then mighty father of Kaizuka was said to have known that a conqueror, different from all men known up to that time and one having power over thunder, would come from the east and would change the internal conditions of Ruanda. This prophecy was generally known and induced Monseigneur Hirth to choose the route via Usumbura and Urundi for the mission to avoid possible difficulties that might result from this prophecy. In 1905 when the king became aware of changed conditions, it is said that Kaizuka, the son of the prophet of doom, was robbed of his possessions and had his eyes gouged out.

787 There is a story of a similar prophecy for Ruasa. Formerly
173 the hill on which the mission is now located had a quite unintelligible name, busakaza itaka, allegedly, "land where earth is used to cover." About 15 years ago a man prophesied that "red men" would come and that their house would be covered with earth. When the missionaries came and covered their buildings with bricks, the words made sense, and the prophecy was fulfilled. There is a similar story about Bugoye.

I could not understand the Banyaruanda views about dreams.
787 What one sees in a dream is a matter pertaining to the past
775 or the future if it is contrary to the present. If one has seen deceased persons in a dream, it is said that the spirits of the dead came visiting. Such a dream is usually followed by a sacrifice, for it is assumed that the spirits are suffering and that they appear in order to beg for help. If a person disregards this he might suffer evil consequences, for the neglected spirits would avenge themselves.

787 If a youth sees his bride in a dream, he does not marry her. The dream warns him against a marriage in which the partners would not get along.

Father F. Dufays once dreamed that one of his black friends burst because he drank too much beer. When he told this to the man in question on the next morning, [324] the man was frightened and began to cry. When he was asked the reason for his tears, he said that whatever one sees in a dream comes to pass.

755 The Practice of Medicine. A special form of medical treatment, cure through initiation into a secret society, has already been described. This is not all there is to medical practice, however, and it is not always employed. Not all sorcerers, soothsayers, and medicine men belong to the secret societies of babandwa. The act of appeasing the spirits with eleusine (buro) seems to be carried out by ordinary soothsayers (bapfumu) in order to free patients from afflictions caused by troublesome spirits.

In Kissaka where I was told a great deal about the "appeasement of spirits" with eleusine, the procedure is somewhat as follows.

The mupfumu takes a small calabash known as ntendere and fills it with eleusine. He adds nzuzi seeds, kaolin powder, and a bone from the forefoot of a cow. The soothsayer rubs the palm of

755 his hand with kaolin, places the nzuzi seeds and the bone on his hand, spits on them, and says: "ngira amagara (I am strong)." He shakes his hand and tosses the contents into a small basket, ntaro. Then he pours eleusine from the gourd into the basket. He spits on the eleusine and hands the basket to the person for whom he is performing the ceremony, who likewise spits into the basket. For the second time the mupfumu takes the bone and the nzuzi seeds out with the words, "ngira amagara." He shakes them in his hand as though mixing them. He tosses the contents of his hand into a round basket with the words, "ngira amagara," and puts the basket to one side. Then he hands the basket containing the eleusine to the man, who spits into it and says: "n'dapfa (I am dying)." Thereupon the soothsayer spits into it with the words, "ngira amagara." The tormented one says: "n'ziranyu muzimu (I am suffering at the hands of this spirit)," and gives its name. The individual spirits are named in this manner, the soothsayer and the man alternately going through the ritual of spitting. This performance is known as kushora umuzimu, "appeasing the spirits." When this is finished, the soothsayer takes the small basket that has been set aside with the cow bone, the nzuzi seeds, and a few eleusine seeds, and he hands it to the tormented one, who spits into it and says: "ngira ubuhoro (I am at peace)." The soothsayer moves the basket with the words: "agira ubuhoro (he is at peace)"; "atapfa (he will not die)"; "atafushe (he would not like to be killed)"; "azaturaho (he will remain)." After these words the sorcerer tosses everything into the calabash, and the ceremony is ended.

In payment for his services the mupfumu gets peas, sweet potatoes, etc.

[325] I was unable to find out anything about true medical
755 treatment and the methods of cure, since this involves a knowledge
757 of the local flora. The natives themselves know far less about this than about the impressive ceremonies of auto-suggestive cures. I should merely like to say that the remedies are taken internally and applied externally and are also worn on the body in small horns
757 and vessels as amulets. The amulets containing medicine are tied

[Text continues on p. 264]

6: Czekanowski--263 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 170. Head Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 6978. Length, 1.8 centimeters.

Fig. 171. Head Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 10153.)

Fig. 172. Neck Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10153.)

Fig. 173. Neck Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 10147.)

755 to the afflicted parts of the body. Since the amulets are very specialized in their effects, every illness requires a different amulet, sometimes even a different medicine man. That is why one constantly sees individuals with a dozen amulets.

There are many different types of amulets. There are, first of all, small pieces of wood decorated with little glass beads. One or two of these are worn on the bast headband. Sometimes several thin wooden cylinders with glass beads are worn on a necklace. One also sees quite a number of larger pieces of wood on a necklace. Occasionally amulets have the shape of tiny clay vessels filled with long-distance medicine. Similarly shaped are
832 the little love pots (ingondo) which are [326] worn in large numbers by the women on their belts. They are said to guarantee the love of their husbands. The small gourds called bunuli serve the same purpose. Vessels of this kind are filled with the medicine known as isarazi.

752 Sometimes the sick person is branded with a hot iron. One often sees scars of burns on the forehead, which indicate headache treatments. In other cases incisions and bloodletting are performed.

Bloodletting (kurasha) is common in Ruanda medical practice. A vein in the forehead is chosen and blocked by means of pressure (bandaging the neck). The vein is then opened. This is done by placing an arrow or a knife on the vein and pushing it into the vein with the index finger.

When a sufficient amount of blood has been drawn off, the ligature is removed. The bleeding usually stops automatically. If it does not, the opening is stopped up with clay.

Cupping is also a favorite treatment. An antelope horn with a small opening at the point serves as a cupping glass. Air is sucked out through the opening, and the cup is sealed with fig leaves. The cupping horn is placed on the neck in the case of a headache. To increase its effectiveness, the skin is often lacerated with a knife. The cupping horn is kept on the spot until it falls off by itself. The cupping horns do not differ from those of the Dinka.

In fractures of arms or legs the bones are skillfully set and immobilized with splints (busenge).

[Text continues on p.266]

6: Czekanowski--265 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 174. Clay Containers for Amulets, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10147.)

Fig. 175. Little Love Pots, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13087a, III E13088c, III E13086a, III E13084b.)

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Fig. 176. Love Gourd from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13119. 12 centimeters high.)

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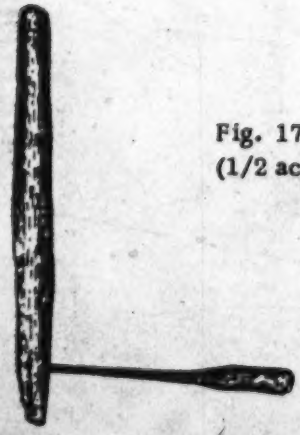

Fig. 177. Instrument for Bleeding, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L15066.)

Among medicine men Father Van Thiele distinguishes two different professional secret societies, the bakoni and the bageiye, who are initiated with the banga ceremony. Bageiye heal persons suffering from snake bite.

I had no opportunity to see a bageiye perform in Ruanda. When a man was bitten by a snake on the way to the Muhawura

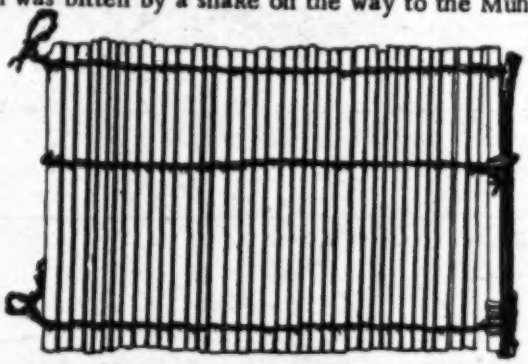

Fig. 178. Splints for Immobilizing Broken Bones, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13742. 26 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide.)

volcano, [327] the natives wanted to tie the head of the dead snake on the wound as an antidote.

The following account by Father Van Thiele about a preventive treatment for the greatly feared disease of smallpox (bushita) is very interesting.

The medicine man first provides everyone with amulets consisting of gourd seeds. Even the water jug gets its amulet. Then he gives a preventive medicine which he boils. After the boiling he blows air into it through a straw so as to make foam which is rubbed all over the body. The efficacy of the medicine is increased by making incisions in five different places: three incisions over the right eye and one incision each on the right shoulder, the back, the right hand, and above the right foot. The medicine man spits on his little finger and rubs the incisions with it.

Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice. The problem of cannibalism and human sacrifice in the interlacustrine region is the most obscure and difficult of all. For example, in Ruanda the bimara,

266 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago.
782 The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King
651 Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a muia (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[643] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in
575 the north and by poisoners (balozi). Koch (1) confirms its occurence
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1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

266 794 575 guards near corpses. They believe that if a person eats corpses he is imbued with weird, magical power and can turn into wild animals, as in our legend of the werewolf."

According to Johnston (2), the secret society of basezi in

[13] 2. Johnston, H., The Uganda Protectorate (London, 1902), p. 692.

Buddu and on the Sese Islands assembles at night and devours corpses. Johnston (3) characterizes the inhabitants of the Sese

3. Ibid., p. 693.

Islands as notorious cannibals who gave up this passion only when they were forced to by the Baganda.

Ruanda's western neighbors, the Bahunde, are likewise cannibals, as Dr. Kandt (4) has determined. He reports the

4. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 449.

following discovery: "Here lay the head of a human being that had been slaughtered not more than two days ago. The ears, the lips, and the flesh of cheeks, neck, and chin had been cut away, and the large hollow bones had been broken, apparently to suck out the marrow and the blood. The place where the fire had been, marked by ashes, was still visible; the blood-soaked apron of barkcloth and the straw and wire rings of the slaughtered person lay strewn about in the grass. I called the guides. They knew the man and said that if we wanted to look around we could find many other remnants of this kind, but I had no desire to do so."

From these facts we may conclude that formerly cannibalism was common in the entire interlacustrine region from the western lakes to the Sese Islands. Only recently suppressed, it has left definite traces in the cult and in secret societies.

[329] Chapter 16

Decoration and Play

63| Decoration. We have mentioned a few widespread patterns of ornamentation in our discussion of shaving and tattooing patterns. We illustrated a number of them on baskets, mats, quivers, spear holders, rings to be put under vessels, knife sheaths, and scabbards. The data will now be supplemented and summarized.

Ruanda ornamentation is purely geometrical and chiefly rectilinear, lines being used mainly to outline the larger, monochrome fields. Sometimes, however, entire fields are uniformly decorated with parallel lines, which may also form squares. Curved lines are used, but they are rare. They are sometimes found on knife sheaths. It is only in the painting of shields and in shaving and tattooing patterns that they are used exclusively.

In Kissaka I also saw partitions in the Bahutu huts painted in this manner.

Ruanda ornamentation is very simple, without variety in form or color. The forms are usually combinations of triangles and straight lines. Coloration is usually restricted to a contrast between black and white. Quite rarely red is added and then only on shields, room partitions, and small, woven luxury articles. Other colors are merely various shades of white. Pure white cannot be obtained because of the nature of the materials to be decorated (mats, wood); black decorations are painted on them.

In view of the simplicity of Ruanda ornamentation, we can easily classify it. The chief elements have already been described and named by Dr. Kandt (1). We shall list them herewith: amatana,

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 343.

"quiver"; ngabo, "shield"; masaka, "millet"; amakota, "knife, arrowhead"; [330] mushongole, "friendly person"; uduhuda, "spear ferrule," "swallow's wing," "large swallow's wing";

53| ikirizo, "large tail"; imiambi, "arrows." The last three may be regarded as composite forms. The pentagon is in a very special class. It is quite isolated. All these elements are rectilinear. Curved lines appear as segments, crescents, spirals, and circles. Large circles are called imikako, "upper arm ring," while small circles are called imirindi, "wrist ring."

The triangle is the principal element of Ruanda ornamentation. It is called "quiver" (amatana) and is most frequently found on the quivers where they are placed in rows forming wide bands. A band of tiny triangles on quivers is called imirindi, "arm ring."

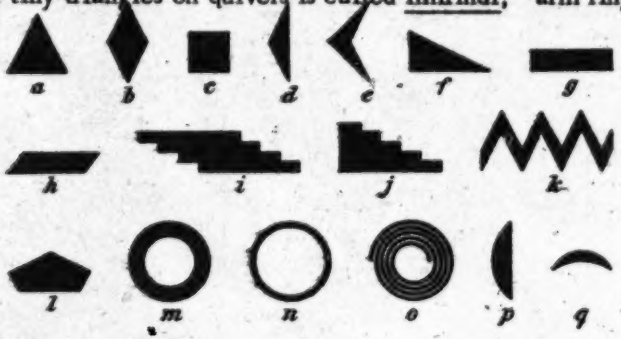


Fig. 179. Elements of Ruanda Ornamentation: (a) amatana, quiver; (b) ngabo, shield; (c) masaka, millet; (d) amakota, knife; (e) arrowheads; (f) mushongolé, polite person; (g) uduhuda, spear ferrule; (h) swallow's wing; (i) large swallow's wing; (j) ikirizo, large tail; (k) imiambi, arrows' (l) pentagon; (m) imikako, upper arm ring; (n) imirindi, (o) spirals; (p) segment; (q) crescent.

Sometimes the amatana cover large areas.

Rhomboids, formed by placing the bases of two triangles together, are, as we have said, called ngabo, "shield." They are also seen on quivers and, like the amatana decoration, are usually in the form of bands and less often placed longitudinally.

The row of squares must be regarded as the next variation in this series. It occurs when rhomboids are flattened, becoming squares. This motif is called imikako, "string of beads," although the individual square is called masaka, "millet." A rare variation of the same motif is the longitudinal rhomboid. Horizontal

53| rhomboids produce the motif known as amasaro, "string."

When the triangles meet at their tips, forming hourglass figures, the knife pattern (amakota) is produced. [331] These figures are often used in columns on the soft shield mats, separated from one another at irregular intervals. Rarely, the hourglass figures are used in horizontal patterns.

The arrowhead motif is sometimes used in plant-like configurations, but these forms are relatively rare.

The mushongole motif is usually combined in perpendicular symmetrical or alternating columns, with the individual elements joined together or separate.

The uduhuda, the spear ferrule element, is usually arranged in free rows, one element above the other, forming unenclosed columns or sometimes step-like rows.

The swallow wing motif is arranged in oblique and horizontal bands. The former seem to be the original ones; the variations appearing in horizontal bands are far removed from the original pattern of homogeneous elements, for example, perpendicular elements have been introduced. However, even in the "large swallow wing ornament," besides the simple form there is a more complicated one with intermediate elements.

The ikirizo motif is combined for ornamentation in much the same way as the above-mentioned mushongole motif, but with the difference that the parts can be placed diagonally as well as perpendicularly.

The arrow motif (imiambi) is used in rows, one above the other, to cover large areas. Often there are only a few rows, placed horizontally or diagonally.

Besides the arrow motif, the quiver motif (amatana) is used to cover large surfaces, as are the shield motif (ngabo), the millet motif (masaka), and the spear ferrule motif (uduhuda). In the last motif, elements of various sizes are combined.

Pentagons are very seldom used in Ruanda ornamentation. I recall having seen them only once (III E 13644). In this case the longitudinal pentagons were placed next to each other.

However, more complicated forms are achieved in Ruanda ornamentation by a combination of two or three motifs.

531 The simplest composite forms occur when decorative elements, such as amatana or ikirizo, are arranged along a diagonal edge. Equally simple in its construction is the muhiga pattern made up of a combination of long and narrow elements with short and wide swallow wing motifs. The ornamentation combining uduhuda and mushongole motifs is not any more complicated, whereas that made of a combination of uduhuda and incomplete swallow wing motifs is somewhat strange

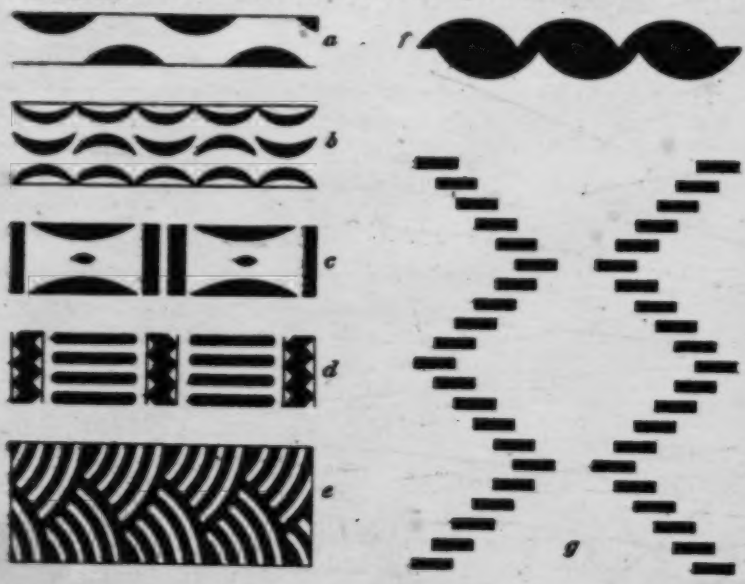


Fig. 180. Ruanda Ornamentation: (a), (b), (c), (d) patterns for knife sheaths; (e) pattern for shield mats; (f) pattern for little love pets; (g) amagwe, leopard, pattern for mats.

looking. [332] Not infrequently we also find swallow wing motifs enclosed in horizontal bands (imirindi) and a diagonal band of ngabo with several lines of imiambi running parallel to the sides of the triangles.

More complicated forms are usually obtained by repetitions of two motifs. On knife sheaths we often find a combination of uduhuda and imirariko.

531 Circles or spirals are used only on round objects and especially on the bottoms of baskets made by sewing together spirals of straw, on plates, and lids. This shows that the above-mentioned rectilinear forms are simply modified to conform to the material.

Large numbers of unjoined segments and crescents are placed in rows on knife sheaths. They are sometimes also combined with uduhudu or imiambi which separate the individual segments of the ornamentation from each other. On small clay vessels, however, they often flow together to make large units, and on the shield mats we can also see fragments of the three-strand weave.

We may regard the simplicity of Ruanda ornamentation as the result of an adjustment to the material, chiefly the basket sewn together in spiral coils, which is the principal article ornamented. It is not [333] impossible that we have here a secondary simplification dictated by the technique of ornamentation, which consists chiefly of black banana sheaths wound around the coils. The names of the decorative elements lead us to assume that in the past there were probably attempts at realistic portrayal. In support of this view we could point to the amagwe decoration which often appears on the mats. Amagwe means "leopard," and in the drawing we can see a stylization of a four-legged, spotted creature.

535 The Dance. During the festitivies which Musinga arranged in honor of His Highness Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, I had an opportunity to see several very different types of dances (kwamiriza). They were performed in such rapid succession that I was unable to grasp the fundamental differences, hence I must limit myself chiefly to listing them by name.

The first four dances were performed by the danga baganlsi, the chosen ones of the king. The first was called imbunduza, the second, rukatsa; the third, tubagendane; and the fourth, kuboko.

The second dance troupe was made up of inkwaya za Kabure. They danced the muganguza, each with an arrow in his hand. The dance is shown on Plate 18 of Volume III.

The third group of dancers were Kamuma's ntore from Kissaka. They danced kuhyereka rushara and a crane dance (1). The small

535
[13]

1. Adolf Friedrich, Duke of Mecklenburg, Ins imerste Afrika [Into the Interior of Africa] (Leipzig, 1909), p. 118.

boys of Kanuma performed another dance of the same type (2).

Ibid., p. 119.

The dances are divided into two distinct groups, the kwamiriza and the kuhyereka. In the first group the dancers hold a spear or an arrow in their hands and swing them rhythmically. The martial bearing of the dancers indicates that this is a war dance. In these dances the dancers wear iron bells on their ankles and move in a closed circle or in a line from left to right. This type seems to be representative of all true Batutsi dances.

The second group is the kuhyereka. This is danced by one or two dancers, very rarely by three. In this dance the dancer rocks back and forth with his arms outstretched and often bent backward. This position is called kutega amaboko. For the kuhyereka the bells, if they are used, are fastened under the knee. It is very characteristic that in these dances, which were probably originally Bahutu, the bells are worn in the place where the Bakondjo, who are not influenced by the Batutsi, wear their leg rings.

[334] The dances which I had an opportunity to observe in Mulera belonged altogether to the kuhyereka group. The dance was performed by two soloists, and the passive participants accompanied their movements with singing and hand clapping to maintain the rhythm. The dance was sometimes also accompanied by the playing of the inanga. That only the kuhyereka type of dance appears in Mulera shows very definitely that it belongs to the lower Bantu stratum.

Play. Rattles are the common toys for children. Bigger boys like to play with small bows. A discus game is played with bow and arrow. There are two teams, with seven boys on each side. One team throws soft discuses cut out of a banana stalk;

534 the other team shoots arrows at them to stop their course. When all the discuses have been thrown, the archers become pitchers and vice versa. This game can go on indefinitely. It usually stops when there are not enough arrows left, because not all the arrows that are shot can be recovered.

Adults are passionately fond of kishoro, but this seems to be less widespread than in the eastern regions of the Runyoro language area. The game is played on a board that has 32 hollows in four rows. There are 64 wild banana seeds and at the beginning of the game these are deposited in the hollows of two rows, taking the seeds of one hollow and distributing them, one each, in the four successive hollows. The contents of the hollows are again picked up and distributed in the next hollows. When one row has been filled, the game continues in the next row, and this process is repeated until the player has only one seed left and arrives at an empty hollow.

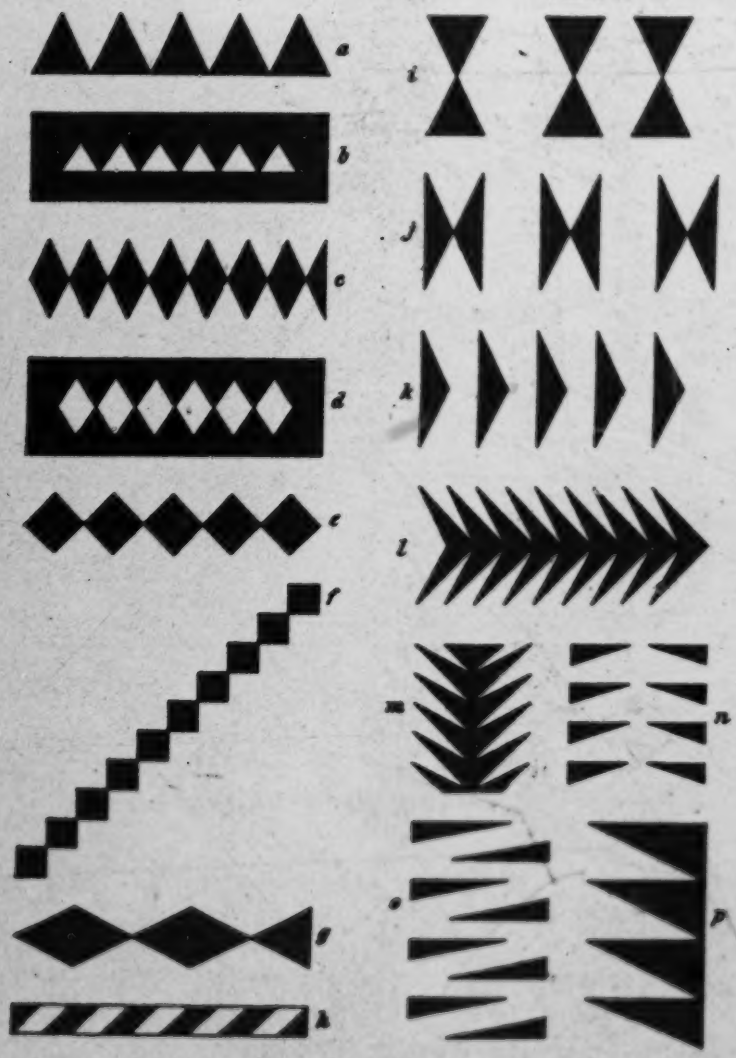
By a skillful selection of the initial hollow, the player aims to have the last seed, which he holds in his hand, be the fourth seed in the hollow into which it is placed. He has then won these. If the player arrives at an empty hollow with the last seed he holds in his hand, the opponent gets a turn.

535 Betting is known in Ruanda. I had occasion to confirm this when Musinga made a bet with one of the Askari (Tingi-Tingi) accompanying me, of whom he was very fond, as to whether he could drink two jugs of beer in one sitting.

6: Czekanowski--276 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundl FO42

531

Plate I



Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

6: Czekanowski--277 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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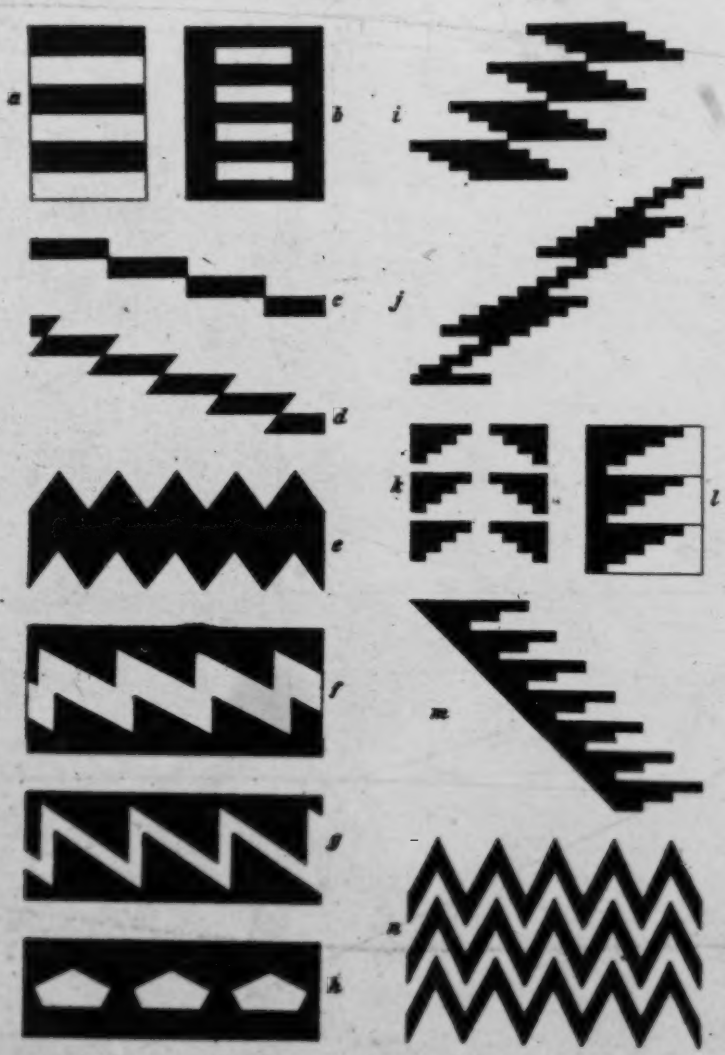
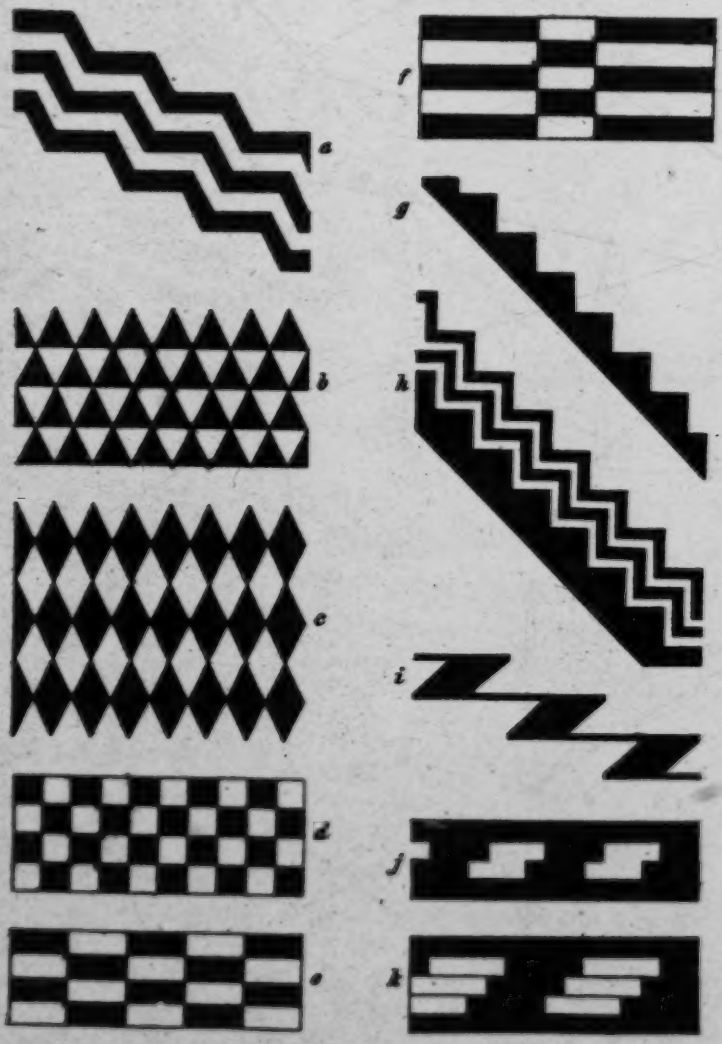


Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

6: Czekanowski--278 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

531

Plate III



Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

6: Czekanowski--279 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate IV

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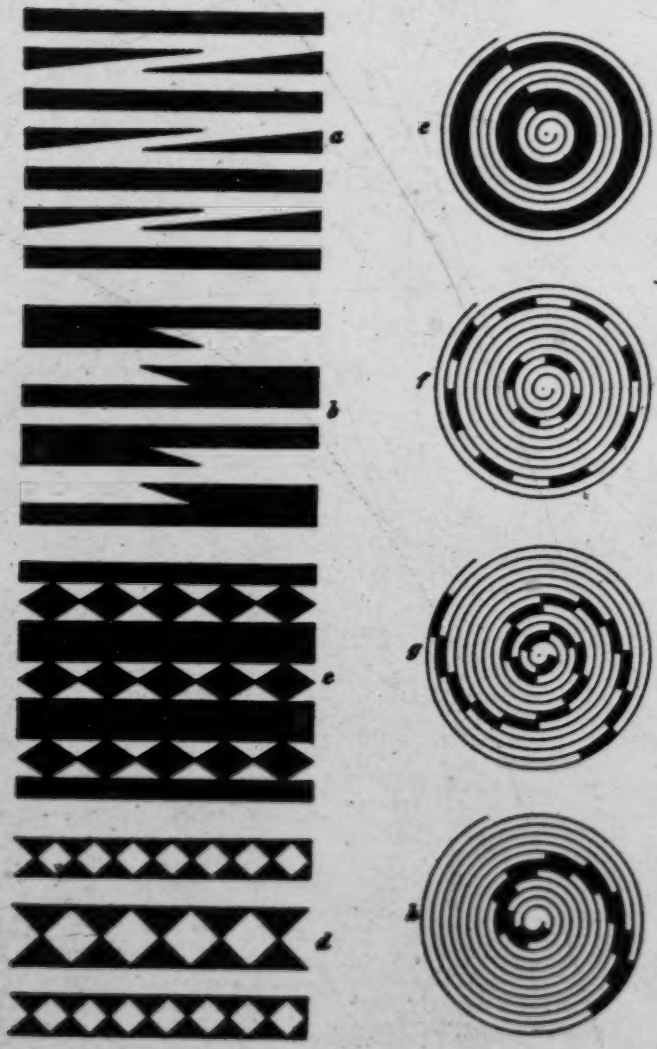
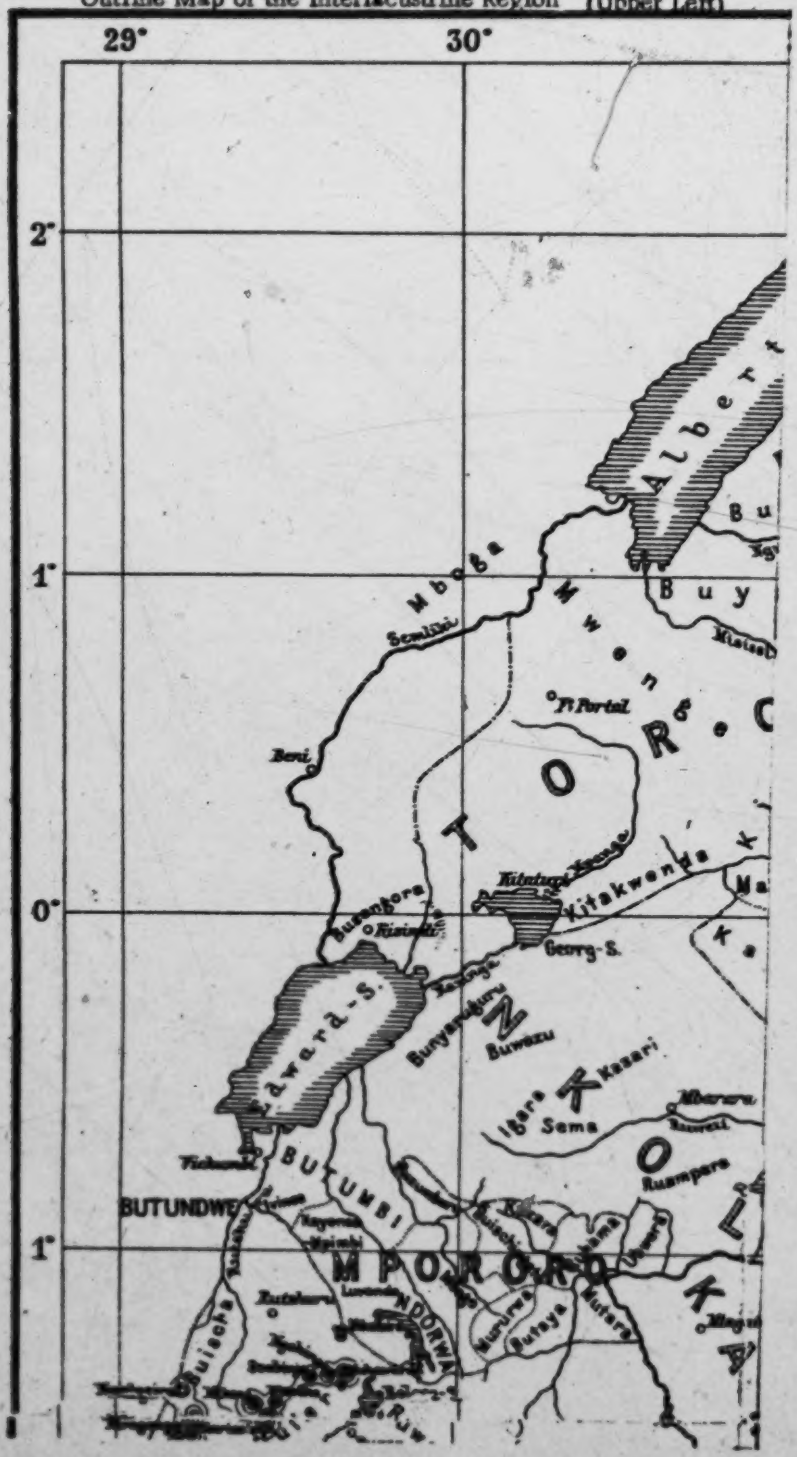


Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

6: Czekanowski--280 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Upper Left)

102



6: Czekanowski--281 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

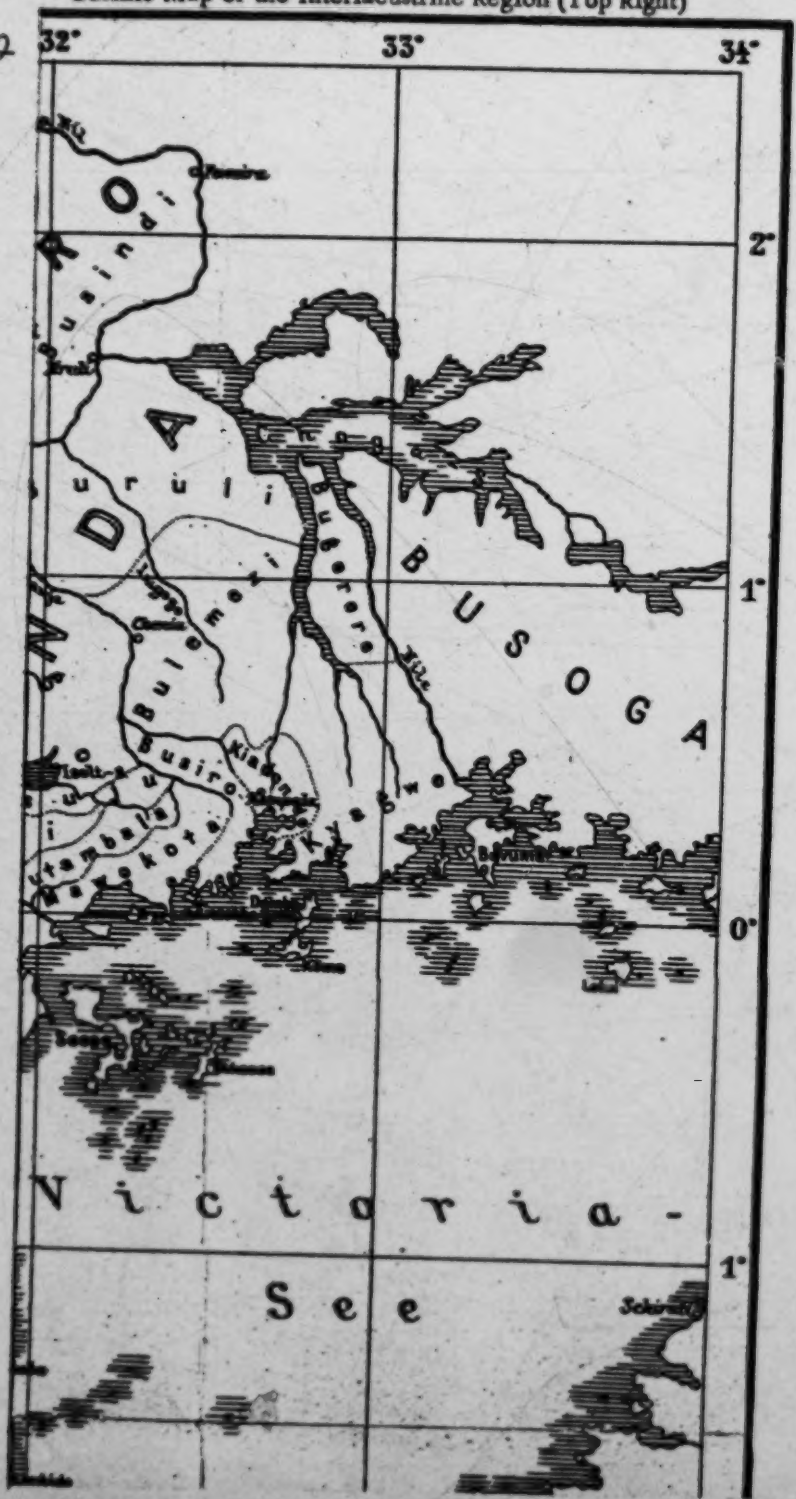
Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Top Center)

102

31°
32°
Albert See
Kibero
Masindi
Hoima
Bugoma
Bugahisobeire
Kafu
Buyaga
Buganbezi
Bwekula
Isolt-s
Busu
Sutunsi
Mahogoro
Bwera
Kabula
Kabula
Masaka
Seese
Rukungiri
Rukungiri
Rukungiri

6: Czekanowski--282 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42
Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Top Right)

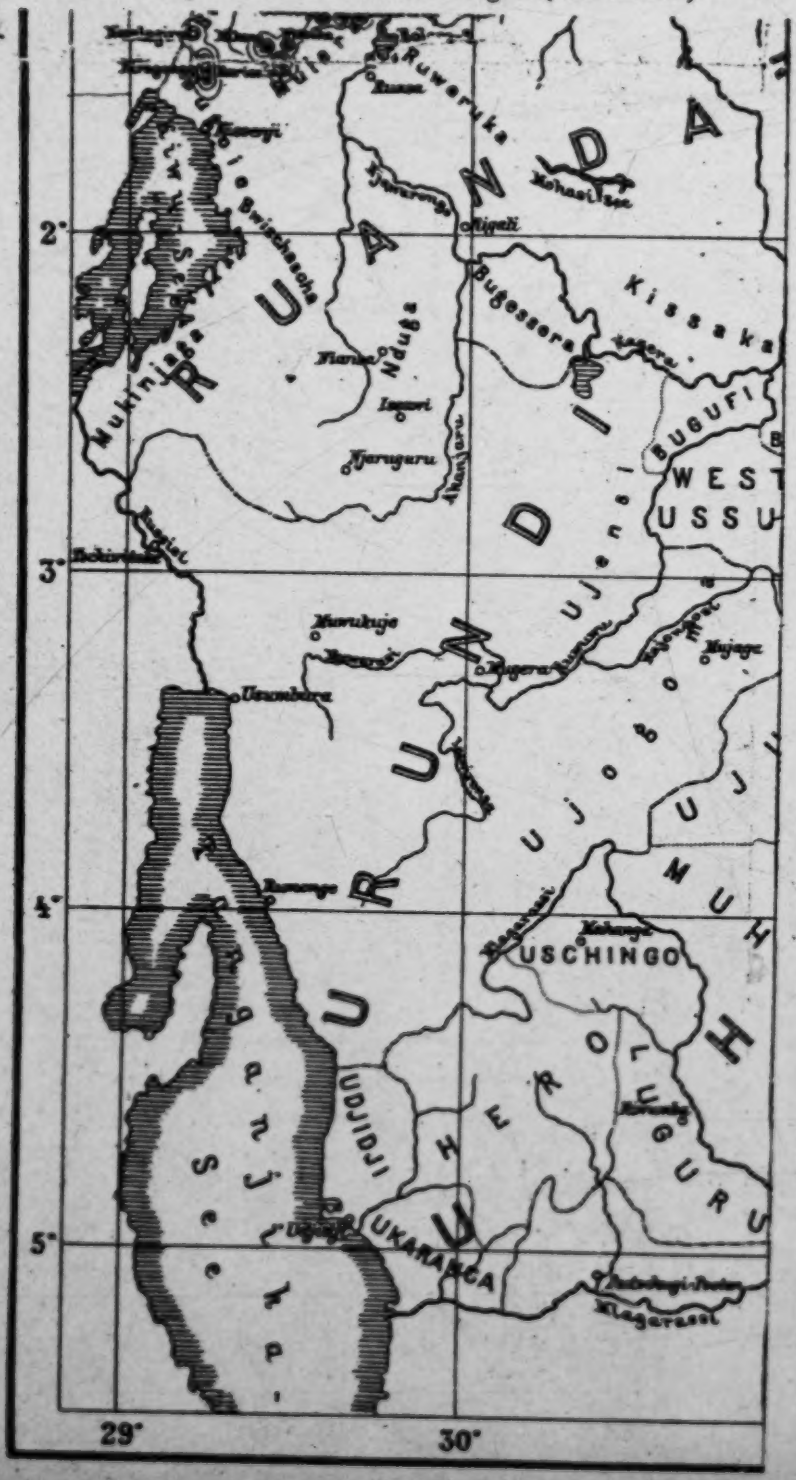
102



6: Czekanowski--283 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Left Bottom)

102



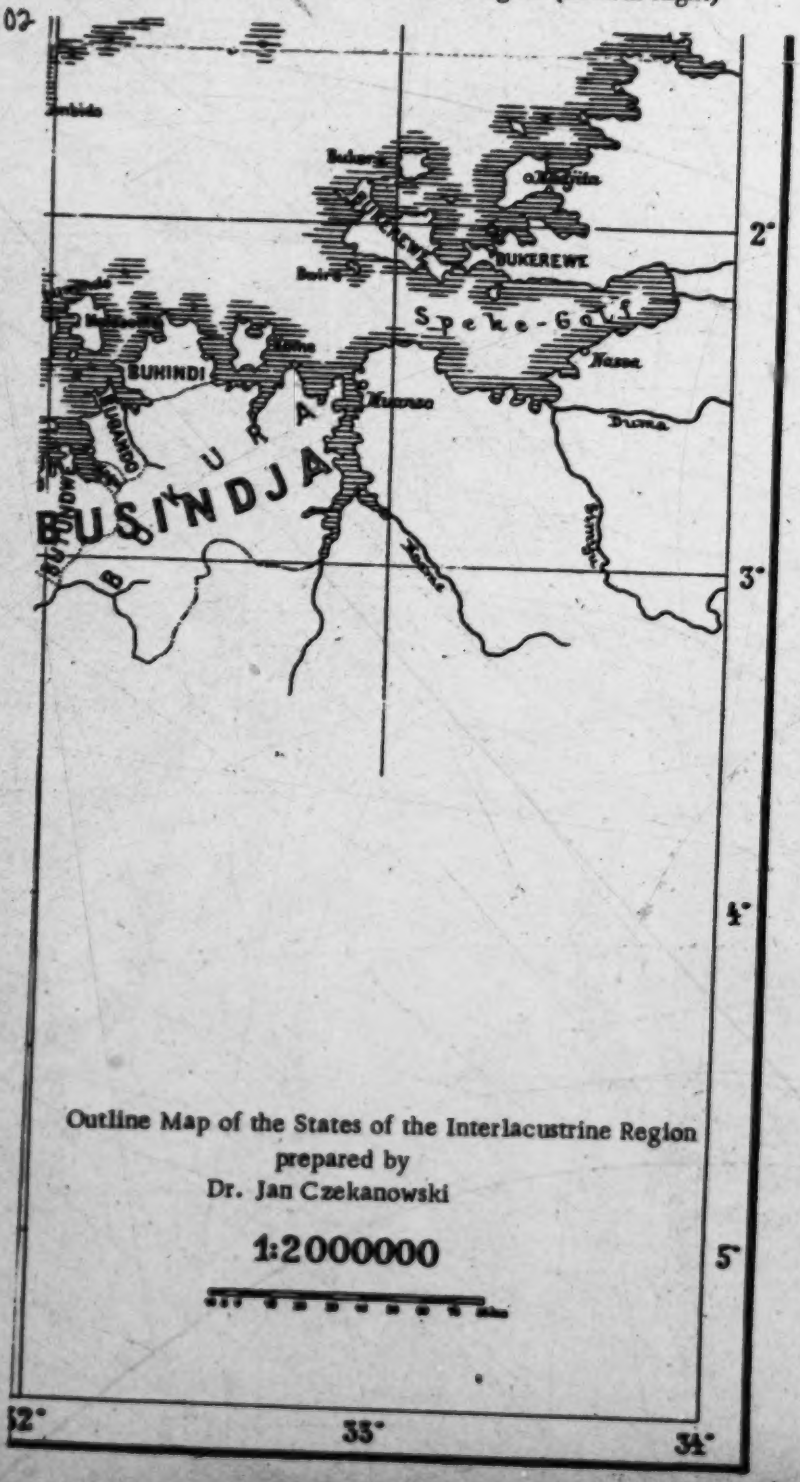
6: Czekanowski--284 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

102

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Bottom Center)

6: Czekanowski--285 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Bottom Right)



6: Czekanowski FO 42 Rundi

WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ERGEBNISSE

DER

DEUTSCHEN ZENTRAL-AFRIKA-EXPEDITION 1907–1908

UNTER FÜHRUNG

ADOLF FRIEDRICHS, HERZOGS ZU MECKLENBURG

BAND VI

ERSTER TEIL

ETHNOGRAPHIE — ANTHROPOLOGIE I

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON DR. JAN CZEKANOWSKI

LEIPZIG
KLINKHARDT & BIERMANN
1917

p. II
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6: Czekanowski FO 42 Rundi

FORSCHUNGEN
IM
NIL-KONGO-ZWISCHENGEBIET

VON

DR. JAN CZEKANOWSKI
PROFESSOR FÜR ANTHROPOLOGIE UND ETHNOLOGIE
AN DER K. K. UNIVERSITÄT IN LEMBERG

ERSTER BAND
ETHNOGRAPHIE

ZWISCHENSEENGEBIET
MPORORO :: RUANDA

MIT EINEM MUSIKALISCHEN ANHANG
VON E. M. v. HORNBOSTEL

LEIPZIG
KLINKHARDT & BIERMANN
1917

[p. III]

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6: Czekanowski FO 42 Rundi

Vorwort.

Die vorliegende Veröffentlichung bildet das Ergebnis der anthropologischen und ethnographischen Untersuchungen, die in den Jahren 1907—1909 am südwestlichen Rande des Nil-Beckens und in den anstoßenden Teilen des Uele-, Ituri- und Tanganjika-Beckens (Kiwu) ausgeführt wurden.

Die Beschaffenheit des Materials nötigte uns, den Text auf zwei Bände zu verteilen, einen anthropologischen und einen ethnographischen, und diesen noch zwei mit ausführlichen Erläuterungen versehene Atlasbände anzuschließen. Nachträglich mußte man aber noch den ethnographischen Textband in zwei getrennt paginierte Teile zergliedern und in der anthropologischen Publikation den Text von der Beobachtungsmaterialveröffentlichung trennen, so daß der Umfang der „Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet" auf sechs Bände angewachsen ist. Mit Rücksicht auf ihren allgemeineren Inhalt müssen die ethnographischen Teile als erste erscheinen, wenn man auch aus Gründen der Systematik die Anthropologie der Ethnographie voransetzen müßte. Der Index des ganzen Werkes wird am Schlusse getrennt erscheinen, falls er sich aus technischen Gründen dem letzten Textbande nicht anheften läßt.

Die Möglichkeit, das ethnographische und vor allem das anthropologische Material im vorliegenden Umfange zu sammeln und zu publizieren, verdanke ich Seiner Hoheit dem Herzog Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg, der in seinem Interesse für diese Arbeiten so weit gegangen ist, daß er, um das Messen zu beschleunigen und die Beobachtungsserien zu vergrößern, persönlich einen bedeutenden Teil der langwierigen Zahlenregistration ausgeführt hat.

Für die Publikation des vierten Bandes, der über den vorausgesehenen Rahmen hinausgewachsen ist, bin ich dem Kuratorium der Baessler-Stiftung zu Dank verpflichtet.

Dem Vorsitzenden des Publikationskomitees, Herrn Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer, und Seiner Exzellenz Herrn Gouverneur Ebermaier verdanke ich die Möglichkeit, die Bände durch große Übersichtskarten, die ursprünglich nicht vorgesehen waren, ergänzen zu können.

Auch möchte ich bei dieser Gelegenheit nicht unterlassen, den Herren Prof. Dr. Felix von Luschan und Prof. Dr. Bernhard Ankermann meinen wärmsten Dank abzustatten. Durch Herrn Prof. von Luschan kam zunächst

meine Reise zustande; ihm habe ich auch die Vorbereitung zum wissenschaftlichen Beobachten auf Reisen zu verdanken. Herr Prof. ANKERMANN führte mich in die afrikanische Ethnographie ein und unterstützte mich später bei der Vorbereitung der Publikation.

Die Herren Prof. Dr. K. WEULE und Exzellenz W. W. v. RADLOW gestatteten mir in freundlicher Weise die Gegenstände aus den Museen in Leipzig und Petersburg abzubilden. Diese Abbildungen sind vor den unten angegebenen Katalognummern mit den Buchstaben „L" resp. „P" versehen. Die übrigen Signaturen beziehen sich auf die Gegenstände des königlichen Museums für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

Meinem Freunde, Herrn Dr. HANS SCHMIDT, Bibliothekar der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in St. Petersburg, verdanke ich die Sorge für den redaktionellen Teil der Arbeit.

* * *

Beim Reisen und Ausführen meiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten habe ich im großen Umfange das freundliche Entgegenkommen der landeskundigen Europäer ausgenutzt und von ihnen viele wertvolle Beiträge erhalten. Deshalb möchte ich nicht unterlassen, auch an dieser Stelle meinen afrikanischen Freunden und Gönnern für die erwiesene Hilfe den gebührenden Dank auszusprechen.

Zum größten Danke bin ich Seiner Hochwürden dem Herrn Bischof HIRTH, Apostolischem Vikar von Süd-Nyanza, verpflichtet. Auf seine Empfehlung hin fand ich in allen bereisten Missionsstationen nicht nur die übliche gastfreundliche Aufnahme, sondern auch weitgehende Unterstützung, die mir gleich am Anfange, als ich noch im Reisen keine Erfahrung hatte, das Sammeln von Beobachtungen ermöglicht hat.

Herrn Hauptmann W. v. STUMER, dem Kaiserlichen Residenten des Bezirkes Bukoba, verdanke ich meinen ersten anthropologischen Erfolg. Durch seine Unterstützung konnte ich das Knochenmaterial der Toteninsel Busira für die Wissenschaft sichern und mit den später zu solchem Umfange gelangten anthropologischen Sammlungen beginnen, zu denen dann noch einige sehr wertvolle Batutsi-Schädel bestimmter Provenienz, ein Geschenk des Herrn Hauptmann W. v. GRAWERT, und mehrere durch meine Expeditionskollegen gesammelte Stücke hinzukamen.

Herrn Missionar R. P. BERNHARD HAUTMANN verdanke ich die ersten Ergebnisse auf ethnographischem Gebiete. Herrn Generalvikar von Ruanda R. P. LÉON CLASSE und den Herren Missionären R. P. PAUL BARTHELÉMY, R. P. LAUREANO EMBIL, R. P. WEKERLE, R. P. LÉON DELMAS, R. P. CHARLES LECOINDRE und meinem verunglückten Freunde R. P. PAUL LOUPIAS verdanke ich sowohl die Möglichkeit, mit den pygmoiden Batwa in näheren Kontakt getreten zu haben, wie auch eine Fülle von Informationen über Ruanda und

Hilfe bei der Zusammenstellung der ethnographischen und anthropologischen Sammlungen. Meinem Freunde R. P. FELIX DUFAYS verdanke ich außerdem noch die phonographische Liederregistration in Mulera und eine Anzahl Bilderaufnahmen. R. P. LÉON DELMAS hat mir viel Zeit bei der Zusammenstellung des Ruhunde-Vokabulars geopfert. Herrn ALFRED LEVENDECKER verdanke ich einige Bilderaufnahmen und wertvolle Informationen über Nord-Ruanda.

Für tatkräftige Unterstützung meiner Arbeiten, die während des zweiten Reisejahres ausgeführt wurden, muß ich mich vor allem bei den Herren Offizieren und Beamten der belgischen Congo-Kolonie[1]) bedanken. Die Hilfe der Herren Kommandanten Dr. ENGH und Leutnant BOYTON verschaffte mir wichtige Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Topographie des Ituri-Beckens. Die Herren Kommandanten VERSLUYS, GOEBEL, LANDEGHEM, Hauptleute LEMMENS und HUYGEN, Leutnant CORTET, die Herren SEGERS, COENS, ATHANASOFF, COUSMENT, BRUGGER, die Herren Verwaltungsoberbeamten MOOR und HINQIN und Directeur General VAN DEN PLAS haben meine Kenntnisse des Uele- und Ituri-Beckens wesentlich ergänzt. Sie haben mir die Möglichkeit gegeben die ethnographische Karte mit vielen Einzelheiten über die entlegeneren Gebiete versehen zu können.

R. P. CUSTERS aus Amadi-Uele verdanke ich eine Anzahl anthropologischer und ethnographischer Objekte.

Mein Expeditionskollege EGON FR. KIRSCHSTEIN lieferte mir wertvolle Angaben über die auf seiner Route Avakubi—Stanleyville angetroffenen Stämme.

Die Angaben über die ethnischen Verhältnisse in der englischen Nil-Provinz, in der ich mich nur kurze Zeit aufhalten konnte, verdanke ich den Herren Distriktkommissaren C. W. EDEN und E. B. HADDON, die mir in freundlicher Weise ihre Kartenskizzen zur Verfügung stellten.

---

[1]) Es wird hier geschrieben Congo-Kolonie und Congo-Staat im Gegensatz zu Kongo-Becken und Kongo-Strom.

Lemberg, Dezember 1913. JAN CZEKANOWSKI.

Karten.

Ethnographische Übersichtskarte des Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebietes. 1:1500000.
Übersichtskarte der Staaten des Zwischenseengebietes. 1:2000000.

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1. Kapitel.

Reisebericht.

Die Expedition. — Organisation der Expedition. — Zugangstraßen des zentralen Afrika. — Die Verkehrstraßen des Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebietes. — Reiseübersicht. — Reiseverhältnisse. — Ergänzung der Vorräte und Versendung der Sammlungen. — Die Tauschwaren. — Sicherheitsverhältnisse.

Die Expedition. Am 1. Mai 1907 verließ ich Berlin, um an der Deutschen Zentral-Afrika-Expedition unter Führung Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs ADOLF FRIEDRICH ZU MECKLENBURG teilzunehmen. Auf die Empfehlung meines Vorgesetzten Herrn Professors FELIX VON LUSCHAN, des Direktors am Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, wurde ich mit der Stellung des Anthropologen und Ethnologen der Expedition betraut.

Außer Seiner Hoheit, dem Herzog ADOLF FRIEDRICH, der das ganze Unternehmen leitete, beteiligten sich an der Expedition: E. FR. KIRSCHSTEIN vom Geologischen Museum in Berlin als Geologe, Dr. J. MILDBRAED vom Botanischen Museum in Dahlem (Berlin) als Botaniker, Dr. H. SCHUBOTZ vom Zoologischen Institut der Universität Berlin als Zoologe, Hauptmann (damals Oberleutnant) des Eisenbahnregiments Dr. MAX WEISS als Topograph, Dr. W. VON RAVEN vom Institut für Infektionskrankheiten in Berlin als Arzt und Bakteriologe und Oberleutnant (damals Leutnant) WALTER VON WIESE UND KAISERSWALDAU von der Kompagnie 7 (Bukoba) der Deutsch-Ost-Afrikanischen Schutztruppe als Führer. Der Marschall Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs, FR. WEIDEMANN, der das Depot der Expedition führte, und Unteroffizier der Schutztruppe, CZECZATKA, der die Bedeckung von 35 Askari unter sich hatte, vervollständigten die Teilnehmerzahl.

Oberleutnant VON WIESE UND KAISERSWALDAU und der Unteroffizier CZECZATKA erwarteten die Expedition in Bukoba.

Die Aufgabe der Expedition bildete die Erforschung des Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebietes.

Wir folgten dem kürzesten Wege über Neapel, Suez, Aden nach Mombassa. Von Mombassa siedelten wir nach zweitägigem Aufenthalt, der freundlichen Einladung des Herrn Direktors R. F. P. HÜBNER folgend, nach Voi an der Uganda-Bahn über. Dieser Aufenthalt gab Gelegenheit, das Hinterland der Küstenzone etwas näher kennen zu lernen, die Wataita zu besuchen, eine Reihe anthropologischer Messungen vorzunehmen und überhaupt die Zeit des Wartens auf

[p. 1]

den Dampferanschluß fruchtbar auszunutzen. Von Voi fuhren wir nach Kisumu am Victoria-See um von dort, über Entebbe, Bukoba mit dem englischen Dampfer zu erreichen.

Hier in dem erst seit wenigen Jahren zugänglich gewordenen Inneren des Landes sollte die eigentliche Expedition beginnen. Bukoba war auf unserem Wege der letzte Punkt, den man mit vervollkommneten Verkehrsmitteln erreichen konnte, und mußte infolgedessen zum Ausgangspunkt der Karawanenreise erwählt werden.

Organisation der Expedition. In Bukoba wurden die Karawanen zusammengestellt. Jedes Expeditionsmitglied bekam 25—40 Träger, 3 Diener und 2 bis 4 Askari, die das ständige Personal seiner Kolonne bildeten. Die Organisierung kleiner Karawanen, die sich jederzeit voneinander trennen konnten, machte die einzelnen Expeditionsmitglieder voneinander unabhängig und erleichterte sowohl das Verfolgen spezieller wissenschaftlicher Interessen, wie auch die Verpflegung des Personals in den schwachbevölkerten, weglosen Gegenden.

Außer diesen kleinen Karawanen bewegte sich unter der Leitung des Unteroffiziers eine allgemeine Depotkolonne, von der aus die kleinen Karawanen versorgt wurden. Die auf dem Wege organisierten Magazine gestatteten die Stärke dieser Reservekolonne auf 150 beladene Träger zu reduzieren. Trotzdem erreichte die Gesamtzahl der für die Expedition benötigten ständigen Träger die Höhe von 500 Mann.

Die vor dem Eintreffen der Expedition aus Europa durch Oberleutnant von Wiese und Kaiserswaldau organisierten Magazine enthielten hauptsächlich den Proviant für das schwarze Expeditionspersonal. Es befanden sich in den Lagern:

Rufua	200	Lasten
am Mohasi-See	100	„
Kissenji	500	„
Kazindi	600	„
Beni	230	„
Irumu	600	„
In Summa	2230	Lasten

Diese Magazine dienten der Expedition als Operationsbasen, Feldpostämter und Etappenpunkte. Hier wurden die nach Europa bestimmten Sammlungen konzentriert und durch die zurückkehrenden Träger nach Bukoba und Entebbe befördert. Dank dieser Einrichtung konnte das gesammelte und erledigte Material von den kleinen Karawanen abgestoßen werden und vergrößerte nicht unnützerweise den Troß.

Zugangsstraßen des zentralen Afrika. Die Erfahrung hat zwar gelehrt, daß man im zentralen Afrika mit einer kleinen Karawane fast überall durchkommen

kann; die Schwierigkeiten aber, die mit dem Verpflegen zahlreicherer Menschenmassen verknüpft sind, zwingen doch größere Expeditionen sich an gewisse Verkehrsstraßen zu halten. In der afrikanischen Geschichte des letzten Jahrhunderts spielten die Hauptrolle die drei großen Verkehrsadern: Nil, Kongo-Strom und die Zanzibar-Straße, welche die Küste des Indischen Ozeans mit Kongo und Nil verbindet.

Die Zanzibar-Straße beginnt in Bagamoyo und teilt sich in Tabora, dem kontinentalen Handelszentrum der arabischen Einflußsphäre. Der wichtigere Zweig der Zanzibar-Straße geht von Tabora nach Udjidji am Tanganjika und verbindet, im Westen des Sees, Mtoa mit Kasongo und Nyangwe am Kongo-Fluß. Der nördliche Zweig verbindet Tabora mit dem Victoria-See resp. mit dem Nil-Becken. Unabhängig von dem Wasserwege führen noch auf dem Westufer des Sees weniger benutzte Landwege über Kafuro und Kiaka (Kifumbiro) nach Bunyoro und Buganda[1]).

Der Nil wird im Osten von der Nubischen Straße begleitet. Diese führt von Dar-Fur über Shakka zum Bahr-el-Ghazal und Bahr-el-Gebel (Lado). Der Westzweig dieser Straße reicht bis zum Uele und Kongo, während der Ostzweig sich in der Richtung des Victoria-Sees hinzieht. Der Verkehr auf dieser Straße hat sich aber erst nach der Eröffnung der Schiffahrt auf dem Oberen Nil bis Meshra-el-Rjek und Lado stärker entwickelt. Hiedurch wurde Dar-Fur ausgeschaltet und Chartum zum Mittelpunkte des Verkehrs gemacht.

Im Laufe der letzten Jahre wurde zu den hier besprochenen Verkehrsstraßen die Uganda-Bahn hinzugefügt. Sie verknüpft den Victoria-See mit der Küste des Indischen Ozeans und ist infolgedessen eine Erbin der Zanzibar-Straße, die in der nächsten Zukunft wiederum durch den Ausbau der Deutsch-Ost-Afrikanischen Zentralbahn den modernen Verhältnissen angepaßt werden soll.

Diesen historischen Verkehrswegen folgend, drangen die Eroberer im Laufe des XIX. Jahrhunderts ins Innere des Landes vor. Auf der Zanzibar-Straße die Maskat-Araber, auf der Nubischen Straße die Dongolaner, auf dem Nil die Ägypter und auf dem Kongo die Europäer. Jetzt, mit Hilfe der Uganda-Bahn, dringen vor allem die Inder ein.

Diesen Handelsstraßen folgten auch die Forscher ins Innere des unbekannten Kontinentes. Durch SCHWEINFURTH wurde die Nubische Straße erforscht. SPEKE bereiste die Zanzibar-Straße und kehrte auf dem Nil-Wege zurück. JUNKER ging nach der Bereisung der südlichen Strecken der Nubischen Straße auf dem Zanzibar-Wege zurück. Auch STANLEY hielt sich auf seinen Reisen in Ost-Afrika an die Straßen der Zanzibariten. Wie schwer das Reisen außerhalb der benutzten Handelsstraßen ist, illustriert am besten das Martyrium der

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[1]) Die Aussprache Unyoro und Uganda wird nur von den Küstenleuten angewendet. Man pflegt in den neuen Arbeiten, im Gegensatze zum Königreich Buganda, mit Uganda das englische Uganda-Protektorat zu bezeichnen, das außer Buganda noch die Staaten Bunyoro, Toro und Nkole umfaßt.

Karawane STANLEYs auf dem Aruwimi-Ituri-Wege. Auch jetzt, auf meinen Reisen im Urwald, konnten noch einige Schädel der unterwegs verhungerten Eingeborenen gesammelt werden. Nur durch Mitführung einer Proviantreserve ist es mir gelungen, meine Leute vor diesem Lose zu bewahren.

Die Verkehrsstraßen des Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebietes. Das Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet wird nur durch die Nebenzweige des eben besprochenen Verkehrsnetzes berührt. Als die wichtigsten aus ihrer Zahl wären hier zu erwähnen:

1. Die Nil-Kongo-Straße. Sie beginnt in Bumba am Kongo und führt über Ibembo, Bondo, Bambili, Niangara, Dungu, Yei nach Redjaf. Dieser Verkehrsweg kommt zustande durch Ausnutzung des Flusses Itimbiri, der bis Ibembo mit einem kleinen Dampfer befahren wird, und ebenso des Flusses Uele, auf dem zwischen Djabir (Bondo) und Dungu ein Ruderbootdienst eingerichtet werden konnte. Die vorhandenen Stromschnellen lassen dort einen Dampferverkehr nicht zu. Die Länge des Weges beträgt 60 Reisetage. In der letzten Zeit wurde eine Automobilstraße zwischen Bambili und Buta eingerichtet, um den Weg zu verkürzen und den Rubi-Fluß auszunützen. Nominell bestand auch eine Automobilstraße zwischen Niangara und Redjaf, sie funktionierte aber nicht, und die beiden Automobile, die bis zum Nil heraufgeschleppt wurden, verunglückten.

Von Bambili läuft ein Nebenweg dem Bomokandi entlang und führt über Poko, Nala, Rungu, Duru nach Gumbari und Arebi. Der untere Teil dieses Weges kann durch den Bootverkehr auf dem Bomokandi und Poko entlastet werden.

2. Die Ituri-Straße zwischen dem Kongo und den Großen Seen. Sie beginnt in Stanleyville und führt über Bafwaboli, Bafwasende, Avakubi, Mawambi, Irumu nach Mahagi am Albert-See. Die vom Kongo in dieser Richtung beförderten Lasten können, wenn auch mit Mühe, auf dem Wasserwege von Basoko bis nach Avakubi gebracht werden. Der Weg zwischen Avakubi und Yambuya ist aber infolge der zahlreichen Stromschnellen für die Boote so unsicher, daß das Elfenbein vorschriftsmäßig durch Träger auf dem Wege Avakubi—Stanleyville fortgeschafft wird, und auf dem Wasserwege hauptsächlich Kautschuk und Proviant verfrachtet werden. Die Länge der Stanleyville-Irumu-Straße beträgt 55 Marschtage.

Von Irumu zweigt sich die Straße nach Entebbe ab. Die Strecke Toro—Entebbe sollte im Jahre 1910 für den Automobilverkehr fertiggestellt worden sein. Die Länge der ganzen Straße beträgt 21 Marschtage. Der Abschnitt Irumu-Toro macht annähernd ein Drittel aus.

3. Die Straße der Großen Seen. Sie verbindet Mtoa (Albertville) am Tanganjika mit Uvira, Nya-Lukemba, Bobandana, Rutshuru, Kazindi, Beni, Irumu und Mahagi. Diese Straße nutzt für den Lastenverkehr die Seen Tanganjika, Kiwu und den Edward-See aus. Auch auf den beiden letzten gibt es schon

große Stahlboote, die auf dem tiefen Kiwu mit Rudern und Segeln und auf dem seichten Edward-See dagegen hauptsächlich durch Stoßstangen fortbewegt werden. Die Länge der Straße beträgt ca. 50 Marschtage.

Von der Straße zweigen ab: von Kazindi — die Straße nach Toro und von Beni — der wenig begangene Pfad nach Mawambi. Die erste Strecke ist 7, die zweite 11 Tagemärsche lang.

4. Die Nil-Straße, zwischen Victoria-See und Gondokoro, dem Anfangspunkte der Nil-Schiffahrt nach Chartum. Die Alte Straße führt von Entebbe über Masindi, Fadjao, Wadelai, Nimule; die Neue Straße wurde gebaut von Entebbe über Hoima nach Butiaba und kann mit Wagen befahren werden. Die Strecke Butiaba—Nimule wird mit einem kleinen Dampfer oder mit einem Segelboot zurückgelegt. Die letzte Strecke Nimule—Gondokoro geht wieder auf dem Landwege, der für Wagenverkehr eingerichtet ist, aber im Jahre 1909 noch keine Brücken hatte. Der letzte Teil, Redjaf—Gondokoro, kann wieder im Boot zurückgelegt werden.

Ruanda ist bis in die letzten Jahre hinein ganz abgeschlossen geblieben und wird von den hier besprochenen Straßen beiseite gelassen. An ihrer Westgrenze wird seit der deutschen Besitzergreifung ein der belgischen Seenstraße parallel verlaufender Weg durch Regierungskarawanen und Händler benutzt. Er führt auf dem linken Russisi-Ufer und den Ostufern des Kiwu entlang und berührt Usumbura, Tschivitoke, Ischangi und Kissenji. In der allerletzten Zeit hat der Fußweg zwischen Kissenji, Kissaka und Bukoba resp. Tabora einige Bedeutung gewonnen. Die beiden letzten Wege können aber nicht mit den vorher besprochenen organisierten, mit Rasthäusern versehenen Fußwegen verglichen werden. Sie waren einfache Eingeborenenpfade, die manchmal, aber doch sehr selten, von Karawanen begangen wurden. Sie müssen aber trotzdem als Straßen bezeichnet werden, weil man auf ihnen immer Verpflegung für zwei Dutzend Leute und Boote an den Flußübergängen findet.

Zur allgemeinen Charakterisierung der hier besprochenen Wege muß erwähnt werden, daß die vom Kongo-Flusse führenden Verkehrsadern nur für die Beförderung von Kautschuk und Elfenbein zum Flußdampfer und die Versorgung der Militärstationen mit Lebensmitteln für Europäer, Handelsartikeln zu Zahlzwecken, Militäreffekten und Munition berechnet sind.

Die Straße der Großen Seen und die Nil-Straße sind ausschließlich Militärstraßen. Die erstere bewacht die Ostgrenze des Congo-Staates und hat zur Hauptaufgabe den Schmuggel von Kautschuk und Elfenbein zu verhindern. Die zweite eröffnet den Engländern den Zugang zum Sudan von Süden aus.

In den letzten Jahren, bereits nach meiner Reise, soll, im Zusammenhange mit den Reformen im Congo, die Kissenji-Tabora-Straße an Bedeutung gewonnen haben. Auf diesem Wege umgeht das aus dem nordöstlichen Congo kommende Elfenbein weiblicher Elefanten die englische Zollsperre. Durch englische Be-

sitzungen darf nämlich, um die Elefantenbestände zu schützen, nur das Elfenbein männlicher Elefanten geführt werden.

Zum Zwecke meiner Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet und bei der Bewegungsrichtung von Südost nach Nordwest konnten die hier besprochenen Wege nur teilweise ausgenutzt werden. Für den ersten Teil der Arbeiten kam in Frage das noch nicht organisierte Ruanda, für das zweite Jahr — der Hungerpfad zwischen Irumu und Gumbari. Auf diesem, durch ein kleines Verpflegungsdepot bei Kabunga gangbar gemachten Wege, mußten sowohl die Vorräte und die Post nachgeschickt, wie auch die Sammlungen nach Irumu befördert werden.

Reiseübersicht. Das Sammeln anthropologischer und ethnologischer Beobachtungen setzte einen Aufenthalt in den bevölkerten Landstrichen voraus, während die übrigen Expeditionsmitglieder durch den Charakter ihrer wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten häufig, wenn nicht vorwiegend, in den menschenärmeren Gebieten aufgehalten wurden. Aus diesem Grunde mußte meine Kolonne von Anfang an ganz selbständig arbeiten und sich nur von Zeit zu Zeit, um ihre Vorräte zu vervollständigen und das Personal zu wechseln, bei der Hauptkolonne für kurze Zeit einfinden.

Von Bukoba aus marschierte ich im Juni mit 28 Mann über die Missionen Kashozi und Bwanja und vereinigte mich mit der Hauptkolonne in Kifumbiro Von hier ging die Expedition geschlossen bis zum ersten Verpflegungsmagazin im verlassenen Militärposten Rufua in Mpororo. Nach einem kurzen Aufenthalt marschierte ich mit dem Botaniker und dem Unteroffizier, der die Depotkolonne nach dem Mohasi-See führte, in die Nähe des zweiten Verpflegungsmagazins. An der Westecke des Mohasi-Sees trennte ich mich von der Kolonne und ging über die Missionen Nsasa und Issawi nach Niansa, der Residenz Juhi Musinga's, des Königs von Ruanda. Hier holte ich die wieder vereinigte Hauptkolonne der Expedition ein, die bald darauf, in zwei Kolonnen getrennt, weiter marschierte. Nach einem längeren Aufenthalt in Niansa ging ich mit R. P. Felix Dupays nach Mulera, wo ich mich wieder länger aufgehalten habe. Von dort besuchte ich den durch Ermordung des R. P. P. Loupias bekannt gewordenen Häuptling Lukara und sammelte Beobachtungen an den Batwa vom Muhawura. Im Oktober reiste ich auf 10 Tage nach Kissenji, unserem dritten Magazin, und untersuchte dort die Expeditionsträger. Von hier kehrte ein Teil unserer alten Leute zurück und nahm die nach Europa bestimmten Sammlungen mit.

Nach der Zusammenstellung meiner kleinen, jetzt schon 36 Mann starken Kolonne, siedelte ich nach der Mission in Njundo über, um mich dort dem Studium der Besitzverhältnisse und der Gemeindeorganisation der Eingeborenen zu widmen; von dort schickte ich den Rest der Sammlungen durch die freundliche Vermittelung der Mission nach Bukoba und marschierte Anfang Dezember zum Edward-See. Im belgischen Posten Rutshuru begegnete ich Dr. Mildbraed und Oberleutnant Weiss und holte in Vichumbi Dr. Schubotz ein, mit dem

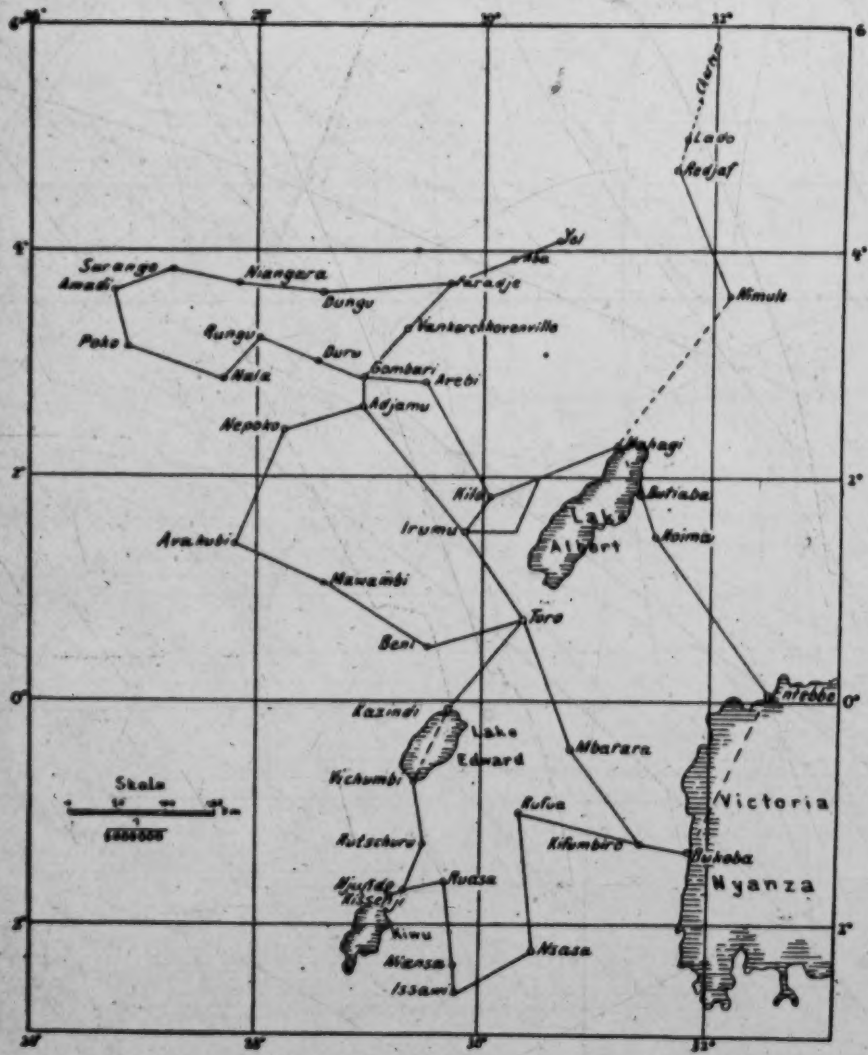

Abb. 1. Schematische Routenübersicht.
——— Karawanenstrecken - - - - - Bootstrecken.

[p. 7]

wir zusammen im Boot am Westufer des Edward-Sees nach Kazindi herüberfuhren. Die ganze Expedition, bis auf den Geologen, der bei den Vulkanen durch seine Arbeiten festgehalten wurde, versammelte sich für die Weihnachtszeit dort. Nach einer Woche Aufenthaltes trennte ich mich zum vorletztenmal von der Expedition und marschierte am Ostrande des Ruwenzori nach Toro, um nach 6 Wochen erst den belgischen Posten Beni zu erreichen. Dort fand ich die Reservekolonne, bei der sich auch der kranke Oberleutnant WEISS befand.

Mit ergänzten Vorräten marschierte ich auf dem wenig begangenen Pfade nach Mawambi und von dort auf der Stanleyville-Straße nach Avakubi. Von Avakubi ging ich durch die revoltierten Gebiete nach Nepoko. Von hier schon, auf sehr wenig begangenen Pfaden, setzte ich die Reise zum verlassenen Posten Adjamu fort, und von dort durch den ganz menschenarmen Wald nach Irumu, um von der nach Europa zurückkehrenden Expedition Abschied zu nehmen. In Irumu wurden die Vorräte für meine kleine Kolonne deponiert, und am 31. März marschierte ich mit 46 Leuten ab, um über das Quellengebiet des Ituri das Quellengebiet des Bomokandi zu erreichen. Nach einem mißlungenen Versuche kehrte ich aber von Salambongo auf dem früher begangenen Wege nach Adjamu zurück und erreichte von dort die Station Gumbari am Bomokandi.

In Gumbari wurden einige Lasten deponiert, die freigewordenen Träger entlassen und mit ihnen die geordneten Sammlungen nach Toro zurückgeschickt. Durch Entlassung der Träger vor Ablauf der ausgemachten Zeit konnten die Lasten über die sonst nicht begangene Strecke Gumbari—Irumu hinaus befördert werden. Die durch schwere Strapazen im Urwalde stark mitgenommenen Träger waren sehr erfreut über die Aussicht, ihre Heimat mit bedeutenden Ersparnissen früher zu erreichen, als sie es gedacht hatten, und nahmen die Lasten vergnügt mit. Sie mußten aber bis Irumu durch Askari eskortiert werden, mit Rücksicht auf die Unsicherheit des Weges. Die Askari legten den Weg zwischen Irumu und der Kolonne wiederholt, während meiner Reisen im Uele-Becken, zurück, um die Europa-Post, die von der letzten Poststation in Toro nach Irumu privat zugeschickt wurde, abzuholen und die Vorräte in Gumbari, aus den in Irumu deponierten, zu ergänzen.

Während der ganzen Reise im Uele-Becken diente Gumbari als Basis. Von hier wurde die Kolonne versorgt. Hier wurden auch die Sammlungen konzentriert, die über den Waldstreifen Gumbari—Irumu durch die zurückkehrenden Träger und die Begleiter der Postaskari nicht hinübergeschafft werden konnten. Am 1. Mai verließ ich Gumbari und reiste über Vankerckhovenville (Nzoro), Faradje, Aba nach Yei. Von hier kehrte ich nach Faradje zurück und reiste dann nach Dungu; von dort wurde die zweite Trägergruppe, darunter auch Schlafkranke, nach Hause entlassen. Denn hier traf meine Kolonne auf den ersten Arzt im Congo-Staate. Dieser hatte Sorge zu tragen, daß Schlafkranke in das noch nicht infizierte, wenn auch durch *Glossina palpalis* gefährdete Obere Uele-Gebiet

nicht hereinkämen. Auch diese Trägerkarawane nahm Sammlungen nach Toro mit. Von Dungu reiste ich über Niangara, Surango nach Amadi, dem am meisten nach Westen vorgeschobenen Punkte der ganzen Reise. Von Amadi kehrte ich über Poko, Nala, Rungu und Duru nach Gumbari zurück. Von Gumbari wurden die Sammlungen zu Kabunga in der Mitte der Strecke Gumbari—Irumu geschickt, damit man sie später von Irumu aus abholen konnte, und unter Aufsicht meines Vertrauensmannes Balima, eines alten congolesischen, aufständischen Askari, gelassen. Nach einem längeren Aufenthalt in Gumbari reiste ich nach Arebi, und von dort gelang es mir, mit sehr großen Schwierigkeiten durch das Quellengebiet des Ituri die Goldminen von Kilo und die Militärstation Irumu zu erreichen. In dieser Weise wurde der Mißerfolg, den ich beim vergeblichen Versuche, von Süden denselben Weg zurückzulegen, erlitten hatte, ausgeglichen.

In Irumu wurden die letzten Träger entlassen, und ich reiste weiter mit eingeborenen Trägern. Gleichzeitig wurde ein Askari mit eingeborenen Trägern geschickt, um die Lasten von Kabunga nach Irumu zu schaffen. Um die Wartezeit auszunützen, reiste ich durch das ewig unruhige Lendu-Plateau und Lur-Gebiet nach Mahagi und kehrte über Kilo nach Irumu zurück. Hier wurden unbelastet nach Entebbe zurückkehrende Baganda gemietet, und mit ihnen reiste ich nach Toro. Von hier wurden die Baganda-Träger mit den Sammlungen nach Entebbe geschickt, und ich kehrte mit den Askari und Dienern über Mbarara, Kifumbiro, Bwanja nach Bukoba zurück, das am 29. Januar 1909 erreicht wurde.

Von Bukoba aus besuchte ich noch die Mission in Rubia und Kahigi, den Herrscher von Kyanja, und fuhr mit dem Dampfer nach Entebbe. Von dort besuchte ich Kampala und reiste mit Trägern über Hoima nach Butiaba, um von dort mit einem Segelboot Nimule zu erreichen. Von Nimule ging es wieder mit den Trägern, die die Strecke Butiaba—Nimule zu Fuß gemacht hatten, nach Redjaf und von dort nach Gondokoro, wo ich am 1. April vom Chartum-Dampfer an Bord genommen wurde.

Die Länge des gesamten Weges, der seit der Abreise von Bukoba im Juni 1907 bis zur Abreise von Gondokoro am 1. April 1909 zurückgelegt wurde, beträgt gegen 7000 km. Beim schlechten Zustande der Wege und der Versumpfung der Flußtäler und des Urwaldes kostete die Zurücklegung dieser Strecken sehr große Anstrengungen. Wie auch aus der unten hinzugefügten Zusammenstellung ersichtlich ist, schwankte die durchschnittliche tägliche Marschlänge zwischen 20 und 30 km. Nur selten wurden diese Grenzen überschritten. Größere Anstrengungen hätten die Karawane desorganisiert und das wissenschaftliche Arbeiten unmöglich gemacht. Nur im Urwalde, unter dem Drucke des Nahrungsmangels, legten die Träger 35 km und sogar noch mehr täglich zurück.

Die Entfernungen zwischen den Hauptetappen der Reise betragen:

Bukoba—Kashozi (Marienberg)—Kifumbiro	3	Tagemärsche	13½	Stunden
Kifumbiro—Rufua	7	„	30½	„
Rufua—Njansa am Mohasi-See	7	„	34½	„
Njansa am Mohasi-See—Nsasa	3	„	11½	„
Nsasa—Issawi	5	„	33	„
Issawi—Njansa (Musinga's Residenz)	1	„	6	„
Niansa—Ruasa (Mulera)	6	„	35	„
Ruasa (Mulera)—Lukara	1	„	3½	„
Lukara—Ruasa (Mulera)	1	„	3½	„
Ruasa (Mulera)—Kissenji	2	„	14	„
Kissenji—Njundo	1	„	2	„
Njundo—Rutshuru	3	„	18	„
Rutshuru—Kazindi	7	„	38	„
Kazindi—Katwe	1	„	7	„
Katwe—Kazindi	1	„	7	„
Kazindi—Toro	7	„	28	.
Toro—Beni	9	„	39½	„
Beni—Mawambi	11	„	60	„
Mawambi—Avakubi	6	„	30	„
Avakubi—Nepoko	8	„	41½	„
Nepoko—Irumu	13	„	88½	„
Irumu—Salambongo	2	„	8	„
Salambongo—Irumu	2	„	8	„
Irumu—Gumbari	13	„	69	„
Gumbari—Vankerckhovenville	5	„	19½	„
Vankerckhovenville—Faradje	4	„	14	„
Faradje—Aba	4	„	14	„
Aba—Yei	4	„	13	„
Yei—Aba	4	„	13	„
Aba—Faradje	4	„	14	„
Faradje—Dungu	11	„	27	„
Dungu—Niangara	4	„	17	„
Niangara—Surango	4	„	16½	„
Surango—Amadi	5	„	15½	„
Amadi—Poko	4	„	14	„
Poko—Nala	5	„	23	„
Nala—Rungu	2	„	12	„
Rungu—Duru	4	„	18	„
Duru—Gumbari	4	„	16	„
Gumbari—Arebi	5	„	20	„
Arebi—Kilo	13	„	58½	„
	206	Tagemärsche	954½	Stunden

Übertrag	206	Tagemärsche	954½	Stunden
Kilo—Irumu	3	„	12	„
Irumu—Mahagi	11	„	48½	„
Mahagi—Kilo	7	„	37	„
Kilo—Irumu	2	„	12	„
Irumu—Toro	5	„	28	„
Toro—Mbarara	7	„	35½	„
Mbarara—Bukoba	8	„	43½	„
Bukoba—Kanazi	1	„	3½	„
Kanazi—Rubia	2	„	10	„
Rubia—Kanazi	2	„	10	„
Kanazi—Bukoba	1	„	3½	„
Entebbe—Hoima	7	„	44	„
Hoima—Butiaba	2	„	10	„
Butiaba—Nimule	6	„	48	„
Nimule—Redjaf	7	„	23½	„
Redjaf—Gondokoro	1	„	4½	„
	278	Tagemärsche	1328	Stunden

Reiseverhältnisse. Bezüglich der Reiseverhältnisse in meinem Forschungsgebiete, vor allem in seinem nördlichen Teile, ist recht wenig bekannt. Deshalb dürften auch die Angaben über die technische Durchführung der Reise selbst ein gewisses Interesse beanspruchen.

Als einziges Transportmittel dienten im ganzen Forschungsgebiete Träger. Diese für das Reisen unentbehrlichen Leute sind in der Hauptmasse Eingeborene, die ihre Heimat verlassen, um sich das zur Bezahlung der Hüttensteuer notwendige Geld zu verschaffen. Sonst müßten sie die Steuer auf den Militärstationen abarbeiten. Diese Naturalleistungen werden aber, mit Rücksicht auf die Notwendigkeit eines Aufenthaltes auf den Stationen, von den Leuten sehr ungern getragen. Mit den Stationen verknüpfen sich die noch frischen Erinnerungen an die Eroberungszeit. Deshalb gibt es auch immer in den besteuerten Gebieten arbeitswillige Leute.

Abgesehen von der in der ersten Woche passierten Bukoba-Residentur und dem, am Schluß der Expedition bereisten, Uganda-Protektorat, wo die Eingeborenen der Regierung 3 Rupien und dem Landesherrn 2 Rupien pro Hütte zahlen mußten, gab es im durchquerten Gebiete keine Geldsteuer. Die Einwohner der Residenturen Ruanda und Urundi hatten den deutschen Behörden überhaupt keine Steuern zu zahlen, und im Congo-Staate gab es nur Abgaben *in natura*. Im Prinzip mußten die Eingeborenen dem Staate für den gewährten Schutz und die hergestellte Sicherheit 40 Stunden Arbeit im Monate leisten. Diese Arbeit wurde in den Formen des Trägerdienstes, der Nahrungslieferung für Militärposten und durchreisende Beamte und des Kautschuk-

schneidens geleistet. Die letzteren Leistungen wurden aber auch in Arbeitszeit umgerechnet. So kam es, daß die Eingeborenen im reichen Urwalde bei Avakubi bis 6 kg Kautschuk monatlich schneiden mußten, während es im Uele-Becken stellenweise nur Bruchstücke eines Kilogramms waren. Es wurden im Jahre 1908, als entsprechend dem Sammeln eines Kilos Kautschuk, in Niangara 100 Arbeitsstunden, in Amadi 72 Arbeitsstunden und in Gumbari, in der Nähe des Urwaldes, 28 Arbeitsstunden bestimmt. Ein Tag Trägerdienst wurde, unabhängig von der Länge der zurückgelegten Strecke, als 5 Arbeitsstunden und die Rückkehr ohne Lasten als die Hälfte der Hinreise berechnet.

Es darf dabei nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß im Prinzip alle Leistungen bezahlt wurden, wenn auch sehr billig. In dem Distrikt des Oberen Ituri wurde, wohl mit Rücksicht auf die Nähe von Uganda, die Stunde Trägerdienst mit 10 Centimes und im Uele-Becken nur mit 5 Centimes berechnet. Die letzte Zahl zerfiel dabei in Lohn 1,875 Centimes und in Geschenk 3,125 Centimes, die getrennt gebucht wurden. Die übrigen Leistungen wurden nach einer ganz anderen Taxe berechnet, und zwar 1 Stunde Arbeit = 1 Cent. So bekam man die für Uele bei der Steuerberechnung gültige Äquivalenztafel:

1 Ration vegetabiler Lebensmittel, ca. 5 kg schwer . .	5 Cent.	=	5	Stunden
1 Liter Palmenöl	10 „	=	10	„
1 Ration Fleisch, ca. 1 kg	5 „	=	5	„
1 kg Kautschuk	25 „	=	25	„
1 Stunde öffentlicher Arbeit (Wegebau, Regierungspflanzungen)	1 „	=	1	„
1 Tag Trägerdienst	25 „	=	5	„
Für den als Steuer abgegebenen einen Zahn des erlegten Elefanten pro Kilo	50 „			
Gesamtbesteuerung	6,60 Fr.	=	480	„

Die Belohnung wurde ausgeteilt in europäischen Artikeln, wie Stoffen, Kleidungsstücken, Messern, Glasperlen usw., wie auch in 12 cm langen Stücken Messingdraht, die als Münzen im Werte von 6 Centimes (mitako) im Umlauf waren.

Um die Häuptlinge an den Steuerleistungen ihrer Untertanen zu interessieren, wurden ihnen noch Geschenke im Verhältnisse zum Verdienste ihrer Leute gemacht. Außer diesen „Prozenten", die bei jeder Steuerleistung ausgehändigt werden mußten, bekamen sie noch als Extrageschenk ein oder zwei Vorderlader für jede Tonne gelieferten Kautschuks.

Wenn auch diese Zahlungen sehr niedrig waren, so deckten sie doch im großen Maße den damals vorhandenen Bedarf an europäischen Importwaren, und es gab wenig Leute, die bereit gewesen wären, auf Reisen zu gehen und den sich damit verknüpften Unbequemlichkeiten auszusetzen, um einen für sie unbrauch-

baren europäischen Gegenstand, ein Stück Stoff oder etwas Ähnliches zu erwerben, womit sie sich von der lästigen Steuerleistung nicht frei kaufen konnten.

Die Verwendung der im Lande gemieteten Träger, die hier kurz als Hilfsträger bezeichnet werden, war infolgedessen mit mancherlei Unbequemlichkeiten verknüpft. Die wichtigsten waren:

1. Auf die Träger mußte man oft tagelang warten. Sie betrachteten ihre Arbeit doch im Grunde genommen als einen Frondienst, trotzdem sie dafür bezahlt wurden. Die sonst sehr entgegenkommenden Behörden konnten in dieser Hinsicht wenig helfen. Sogar Regierungstransporte kamen immer mit mehreren Monaten Verspätung am Orte ihrer Benutzung an, und den Stationen fehlten nicht selten die allernotwendigsten Verpflegungsmittel, wie Salz, Zucker usw.

2. Die Hilfsträger gingen nicht über die Grenzen des ihnen bekannten Bezirkes hinaus. Sie gingen in keinem Falle weiter als bis zur nächsten Militärstation. So konnte ich zum Beispiel die Leute von Gumbari nicht bewegen, meine Lasten nach Irumu zu bringen. Sie gingen zwar mit meinen Leuten, an die sie sich schon gewöhnt hatten, in den Urwald hinein, aber doch nicht weiter als bis zu den Grenzen des beim Kautschuksuchen durchstreiften Teiles.

Aus diesem Grunde wurde es notwendig, um die Bewegungsfreiheit nicht einzubüßen, am Anfange ausschließlich mit den Kontraktträgern aus Deutsch-Ost-Afrika zu reisen. Erst später, beim tieferen Eindringen in die lokalen Verhältnisse, konnten diese Leute auf ein Minimum reduziert werden und durch die lokalen, billigeren und in ethnographischer Beziehung interessanteren, Arbeitskräfte ersetzt werden. Dieses hatte den Vorteil, daß man die Hilfsträger bei jedem Aufenthalt nach Hause entlassen konnte und nur die reduzierte Zahl des ständigen Personals zu verpflegen brauchte. Die Kontraktträger waren auf ein Jahr verpflichtet und bekamen monatlich 8—10 Rupien[1]) und die Verpflegung. In Kampala aber mieteten die Händler Träger etwas schlechterer Qualität für 6 Rupien monatlich und ohne die Verpflichtung, sie zu verpflegen.

Die Zusammensetzung der Karawane ist gegen den Schluß der Reise recht großen Schwankungen unterworfen gewesen, in dem Maße, als man die Sammlungen allmählich in der Richtung von Entebbe wegschaffen mußte. Nach dem Abmarsche der Expedition zum Kongo-Fluß wurde nämlich die Verbindung zwischen unserem Magazin in Irumu und dem Dampfer der Uganda-Bahn unterbrochen, und die Sammlungen konnten nicht mehr fortlaufend nach Europa transportiert werden.

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[1]) 1 Rupie = $^1/_{15}$ £ = 1,33 M.

Zusammensetzung der Karawane[1]).

	Reisestrecke	Träger	Hilfsträger	Diener	Askari und Aufseher	Zusammen
15. VI. —15. VII. 1907	Bukoba—Njansa am Mohazi-See	23	—	4	1	28
15. VII. —15. VIII. „	Njansa am Mohazi-See—Nianza (Musinga's)	28	—	4	2+(2)	36
15. VIII.—15. X. „	Nianza (Musinga's Residenz)—Kisenji	29	—	3	3+(1)	36
15. X. —15. XII. „	Kisenji—Kazindi	29	—	4	3	36
15. XII. —15. I. 1908	Kazindi-Toro	29	—	4	3	36
15. I. — 1. II. „	Toro—Beni	29	—	4	3+(4)	40
1. II. —15. III. „	Beni—Nepoko—Kabunga	33	—	4	4	41
15. III. — 1. IV. „	Kabunga—Irumu	43	—	4	5	52
1. IV. — 1. VI. „	Irumu—Gumbari	39	5	2	5	51
1. VI. — 1. VII. „	Gumbari—Faradje-Vei-Faradje	23	—	2	4	31
1. VII. — 1. VIII. „	Faradje—Amadi	23	11—22	3	4	41—52
1. VIII. — 1. IX. „	Amadi—Poko	18	18	3	4	43
1. IX. — 1. X. „	Poko—Nala	12	12—25	3	4	31—44
1. X. — 1. I. 1909	Nala—Irumu	12	25—7	2	4	43—25
15. XII. — 1. I. „	Irumu—Mabagi—Irumu	—	14	2	3+(4)	23
1. I. — 1. II. „	Irumu—Toro	49	25	2	3	79
— 1. II. „	Toro—Bukoba (resp. Entebbe)	72	—	3	3	78
1. II. —15. II. „	Bukoba—Ruhia—Bukoba	13	—	3	—	16
1. III. — 1. IV. „	Entebbe—Gondokoro	18	—	2	1	21

Meine Karawane zählte am Anfange der Expedition 28 Mann und erreichte am Schlusse der Congo-Reise die Stärke von 79 Mann. Diese, durch die Zahl der zu befördernden Sammlungen und Vorräte bedingten Schwankungen werden am besten aus der Zusammenstellung der mitgeführten Lasten verständlich.

Die umstehende Tabelle gewährt einen Einblick in die Bewegungen der Kolonne, die Versorgung mit Vorräten und das Abschieben der Lasten mit wissenschaftlichen Sammlungen.

Ergänzung der Vorräte und Versendung der Sammlungen. Während der Arbeiten im Uele-Becken wurden, wie ich schon oben erwähnte, bei jeder Gelegenheit Sammlungen nach Toro oder wenigstens nach Irumu abgeschoben. Das wurde zum größten Teil durch die zurückkehrenden, entlassenen Träger bewerkstelligt. Einige Lasten wurden herübergetragen durch die Begleiter der Postaskari, die, um Vorräte aus Irumu zu holen, mitgeschickt wurden. Während meines Aufenthaltes in Gumbari konnten die übriggebliebenen 21 Lasten mit Sammlungen auf den halben Weg in der Irumu-Richtung, nach Kabunga, geschickt werden. Da die eigenen Träger (damals 12) nicht ausreichten, mußten in Gumbari Hilfsträger gemietet werden, und diese wollten für keinen Preis

[1]) In Klammern ist die Zahl der begleitenden Regierungsaskari (deutschen, englischen oder congolesischen) angegeben.

weiter gehen. Sie fürchteten die Menschenfresser des Urwaldes so sehr, trotzdem auch bei ihnen selbst das Menschenfleisch nicht verschmäht wurde, und bei der mitgegebenen Eskorte von einer Gefahr des Gefressenwerdens kaum die Rede sein konnte.

Verzeichnis der mitgeführten Lasten.

Reisestrecken	Lagergerät		Gepäck				Verpflegung		Wissenschaftliche Hilfsmittel				Sammlungen		Post	Gesamtzahl der Lasten	Trägerzahl
	Zelt, Bett, Tisch	Küche	persönliches	des Personals	Tauschwaren	Apotheke, Munition	persönliche	des Personals	Photographische Ausrüstung	Phonographische Ausrüstung	Gips	Bücher u. Papier	mitgeführte	evakuierte	mitgeschickte Träger		
Bukoba—Njanza am Mohazi-See	5	1	4	2	—	1	3	—	3	2	1	1	—	—	—	23	23
Njanza am Mohazi-See—Nianza (Musinga's Residenz)	5	1	4	3	1	1	6	—	3	2	1	1	—	—	—	28	28
Nianza—Kissenji	6	1	4	4	1	1	6	—	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	29	29
Kissenji—Toro	6	2	4	4	1	1	3	3	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	29	29
Toro—Bezi	6	1	1	4	1	—	1	6	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	22	29
Bezi—Mawambi	6	2	1	4	1	—	2	15	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	33	33
Mawambi—Avakubi—Kabunga	6	2	1	4	1	—	4	7	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	27	33
Kabunga—Irumu	6	2	1	6	—	—	—	3	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	20	43
Irumu—Gumbari	6	2	1	6	6	1	11	6	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	41	44
Gumbari—Faradje	6	1	1	5	4	1	4	—	2	—	—	—	3	14	3	44	44
Faradje—Yei—Faradje	6	2	1	5	2	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	3	24	25
Faradje—Dungu	6	2	1	5	2	1	4	—	3	—	—	—	—	4	2	30	40
Dungu—Niangara	3	1	1	5	1	1	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	11	4	33	34
Niangara—Surango	3	1	1	6	1	1	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	11	4	34	38
Surango—Amadi	3	1	1	6	1	1	3	—	2	—	—	—	5	17	4	44	45
Amadi—Poko	3	1	1	6	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	14	—	4	35	36
Poko—Nala	3	2	1	5	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	5	—	2	24	24
Nala—Rungu	3	2	1	5	1	1	2	4	2	—	—	—	6	—	2	29	29
Rungu—Gumbari	3	2	1	6	1	1	2	4	2	—	—	—	12	—	2	36	27
Gumbari—Kilo	6	1	1	5	1	1	1	5	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	23	28
Kilo—Irumu	6	1	1	5	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	18	19
Irumu—Mahagi—Irumu	3	1	1	3	2	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	14
Irumu—Toro	6	1	4	5	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	22	—	—	43	74
Toro—Bukoba	6	1	4	5	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	45	—	66	72
Bukoba—Rubio—Bukoba	6	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	12	13
Entebbe—Gondokoro	6	1	4	2	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	18	18

Berücksichtigt man, daß die Entfernung des Postens Amadi von Irumu 42 Marschtage, und von der eigentlichen Basis Entebbe sogar 63 Marschtage beträgt, so muß das geringe Quantum der bei der Kolonne geführten Vorräte, und die dadurch bedingte geringe Anzahl von Trägern auffallen. Diese geringe Trägerzahl, die so viel Mühe und Sorgen gespart hat, reichte nur dank den eingerichteten Expeditionsmagazinen und der Gefälligkeit der Congo-Behörden

aus, die das Abheben der notwendigen Vorräte aus den Staatsmagazinen gegen Quittungen gestatteten. Wäre das Letztere nicht der Fall gewesen, so hätte meine Kolonne mit 25—30 Tauschlasten mehr nach dem Uele hineingehen, und für diese Reise die entsprechende Anzahl von Trägern mehr haben müssen, was die Verpflegungsschwierigkeiten noch wesentlich gesteigert hätte. Außerdem sind die in den verschiedenen Teilen des Landes herrschenden Moden und auch infolgedessen die begehrten Waren verschieden. In den Regierungsmagazinen fanden sich aber in den meisten Fällen die in den betreffenden Gebieten am stärksten begehrten Sachen. Mit unseren Sachen war das nicht immer der Fall, da die Congo-Moden oft erst, als sie dort schon vorüber waren, am Victoria-See bekannt wurden.

In dem ganzen bereisten Teile des Congo-Staates gab es keine Faktoreien, wo man für Geld etwas kaufen konnte. Handelsniederlassungen wurden nicht zugelassen. Nur die Eingeborenen konnten, wenn die Staatsmagazine gut versehen waren, die Sachen, mit denen sie nicht zufrieden waren, und vor allem die Messingdrahtstücke (mitako), gegen andere Sachen, mit Verlust von 15%, eintauschen. Diese Geschäftsgelegenheiten wurden aber, soweit mir bekannt ist, nicht ausgenutzt.

Im Uele arbeiteten zwar 17 wandernde Elfenbeinhandelsunternehmungen, die mit 27 Griechen, 9 Indern, 51 Belutschen, 17 Arabern und 12 Wanyamwezi als Handelstreibenden und mit 3220 Baganda-Trägern im Jahre 1908 ca. 50 Tonnen Elfenbein exportierten. Sie kauften die zweiten Zähne der Elefanten, die den Anteil der Häuptlinge bildeten, zahlten aber pro Kilo mit Sachen, die in Chartum einen Wert von 2 bis 3 Fr. haben konnten. Unter diesen Umständen war es selbstverständlich ganz unmöglich die eigenen Vorräte bei den Händlern zu vervollständigen. Sie nahmen dabei eine andere Zahlung als Elfenbein und Sachen, die sie gegen dieses austauschen konnten, sehr ungern an.

Im bereisten Teile von Deutsch-Ost-Afrika, abgesehen von Bukoba, gab es an der Grenze von Ruanda zwei Handelsdörfer, Kissenji und Ischangi, die hauptsächlich vom Schmuggel aus dem Congo-Staate lebten. Diese Händler aber durften nach Ruanda nicht hinein. Erst in Uganda hatte man Läden, in Toro und Mbarara, wo man sich mit dem Notwendigsten versehen konnte, wenn auch nicht zu billigem Preise.

Man war also ausschließlich auf die eigenen Vorräte und die Magazine des Congo-Staates angewiesen.

Um das vorige Verzeichnis zu vervollständigen, soll hier noch eine Tabelle (S. 17) über die Ergänzung der Vorräte und Versendung der Sammlungslasten hinzugefügt werden. Diese beiden Listen geben den besten Einblick in die Schwierigkeiten, die mit dem Reisen verknüpft waren.

Mit den wenigen Leuten mußten 481 Lasten in Bewegung gesetzt und viele über 1000 km auf dem Rücken geschleppt werden. Nur etwa ein Viertel, in der Hauptsache Lebensmittelvorräte, konnte man an Ort und Stelle erwerben und brauchte sie nicht weit zu schleppen. Diese Lasten wurden auf unserer Tafel in Klammern gesetzt.

Tabelle über die Ergänzung der Vorräte und Versendung der Sammlungen.

	Tauschwaren	Wissenschaftliche Hilfsmittel			Verpflegung					Nach Irumu (Toro) und Gumbari vorausgeschickte Lasten	Abgesandte Sammlungen
		Photographische Ausrüstung	Phonographische Ausrüstung	Gipe	Reis	Erbsen u. Bohnen	Konserven und Getränke	Mehl	Petroleum		
Bukoba	—	3	2	1	—	—	2	1	1	—	8
Rufua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Njansa am Mohasi-See	1	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	—	—
Isawi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13
Niansa (Musinga's Residenz)	1	1	—	—	5	5	2	1	—	1	—
Marangara	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29
Ruasa	2+(3)	1	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	3
Njundo	(1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Kisenji	1	—	—	1	—	(20)	2	1	—	—	62
Kazindi	1	1	—	—	10	—	2	1	—	6	—
Beni	1	—	—	—	10	(12)	2	—	—	—	—
Mawambi	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Kabunga	—	—	—	—	5	5	—	—	—	—	—
Irumu	6½	4	—	1	6	24	26	11	1	—	2
Gumbari	(5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(14)	—
Vankerckhovenville	(1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Faradje	(1)	—	—	—	—	(44)	—	—	—	(4)	—
Aba	—	—	—	—	—	(14)	—	—	—	—	—
Yei	(3)	—	—	—	—	(6)	—	—	—	—	—
Dungu	(2)	—	—	—	—	(4)	—	—	—	(7)	—
Niangara	(1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Surango	(1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(6)	—
Amadi	(1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Poko	(4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nala	(1)	—	—	—	(4)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rungu	(1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Duru	(1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arebi	(1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Toro	(5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	45
Mubbe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Zusammen	45½	10	3	4	40	134	44	17	2	38	168

Die eingeklammerten ( ) Lasten wurden an Ort und Stelle erworben.

Die Tauschwaren. Die Auswahl der für Zahlungszwecke notwendigen Waren bildet die wichtigste Frage bei der Organisierung der Reise. Aus diesem Grunde wird es angebracht sein, die in dieser Richtung gemachten Erfahrungen kurz zur Sprache zu bringen. Die besten Tauschwaren in unserem Gebiete sind Stoffe und Salz. Die blauen starken Baumwollstoffe, wie sie von den europäischen Arbeitern zu Blusen benutzt werden (Kaniki oder Indigo drill), werden am meisten

begehrt. Weiße Baumwollstoffe sind auch sehr beliebt, die roten, dünnen, wenig widerstandsfähigen dagegen weniger. Die Glasperlen sind ein sehr kapriziöser Tauschartikel, da sie am stärksten den Schwankungen der Mode unterworfen sind. So wurden z. B. die kleinen roten Glasperlen im Nepoko-Becken sehr gern angenommen. Sie lockten viele Leute an, die sich ihretwegen messen ließen. In der Erwartung, daß es in dem nicht weit entfernten Uele ähnlich sein würde, versah ich mich mit 100 kg dieses Artikels. Im Uele aber war diese Mode schon vorüber, und ich konnte während der 10 Monate meines Aufenthaltes nur 3 Lasten loswerden, so daß die letzten 20 kg Bukoba erreichten, wo sie von den Händlern, als eine in Urundi beliebte Ware, gekauft wurden.

Verzeichnis der zu Zahlzwecken verwendeten Waren. 1. IV. bis 1. XII. 1908.

Erhalten aus den Magazinen und Läden in:	Stoffe in Stücken à 15 Yard						Kleidungsstücke						Eisenwaren			Schmucksachen		Genußmittel usw.			Diverses	
	Vichy	Indigo drill (Kanikl)	Bleu-prints	Madapolam (Amerikani)	Flanell	Decken	Anzüge	Hemden	Gürtel	Mützen	Hüte	Schuhe	Messer in Scheiden	Rasiermesser	Teller	Glasperlen kg	Messingdrahtrollen	Salz kg	Tabak kg	Tabakspfeifen	Seife kg	Nähfaden
Irumu	—	14	2	8	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	100	6	25	—	—	—	—
Gumbari	—	12	2	2	1½	—	—	10	10	—	1	—	10	—	—	—	—	46	—	—	—	—
Vankerckhovenville	—	5	2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Faradje	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Yei	—	7	2	2	4	8	—	8	10	—	—	1	24	—	—	—	1	—	4¼	20	—	12
Dungu	—	4	8	—	2	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	33	—	—	—	—
Niangara	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Surango	—	1	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Amadi	—	2	3	—	—	—	2	9	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Poko	—	4	5⅛	—	4¾	5	—	—	2	3	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	63	—	—	—	6
Nala	—	5¾	2	—	—	2	—	—	5	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
Rungu	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	1	—	1	28	—	—	—	—
Duru	—	¼	5	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—
Arebi	1	1	5	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
Toro	—	10½	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	84	—	—	—	—
	1	75½	45⅛	22	14¼	17	2	28	32	6	12	3	38	10	5	106	14	279	4¼	21	1	18

Glasperlen und Salz sind infolge ihrer Teilbarkeit ein sehr bequemer Tauschartikel. Sie ersetzen hier die Scheidemünze. Die Stoffe können nämlich nicht in kleinere als Zweiyardstücke getrennt werden. Sie stellen infolgedessen den Wert von 1—2 Fr. vor und entsprechen unserer Silbermünze. Die von den Elfenbeinhändlern aus Chartum eingeführten Sachen werden, von den Stoffen abgesehen, durch die Eingeborenen mehr geschätzt und verdienen infolgedessen besondere Beachtung. Sie gehören teilweise zu den Prunk- und Luxussachen, die sich nur die Allervornehmsten im Lande leisten können.

Im Jahre 1908 wurden durch die Elfenbeinhändler eingeführt: Reittiere, Blechkoffer, Anzüge, Schuhe, lederne Gamaschen, Stühle, Tische, Grammophone, Zelte, Spieldosen, Uhren, Parfüms, Militäruniformen, Spiegel, Teller, Kochgeschirr, Becher, Gurte, Hüte, Seife, Trompeten, Trommeln, Hemden, Stoffe, Teppiche, Harmonikas, Mützen, Tropenhelme, Ketten, Bijouterien, Feldbetten, Moskitonetze.

Den größten Wert hatten selbstverständlich die Reittiere. Ihr Einführen war auch mit dem größten Risiko verknüpft, da sehr viele an Krankheiten und infolge der verständnislosen Behandlung eingingen. Die für das Jahr 1908 gültigen, bei den Händlern gesammelten Angaben über die eingeführten Tiere stelle ich in der folgenden Liste zusammen:

Zahl	Reittiere	Preis in Lado	Kaufkraft kg Elfenbein	Abgang durch Tod
20	Pferde	500 Fr.	120—150	3/4
50	Maultiere	400 „	100—120	1/2
60	Esel	100 „	40— 50	1/4

Während meiner Reise im Uele habe ich zu Zahlzwecken die in der Tabelle auf Seite 18 zusammengestellten Waren benutzt. Diese Liste ist mit Angaben versehen, wo die betreffenden Tauschlasten erworben wurden; das gestattet, die Ausgaben während der Reise zu überschauen, und gibt ein genaueres Bild des täglichen Bedarfes.

Um diese Tabelle zu ergänzen, soll hier noch die Zusammenstellung der Preise in Toro und in den Magazinen des Congo-Staates beigefügt werden:

Preise in Toro.

1 große Gora (30 Yard) Amerikani (weißer Baumwollstoff) .	12 Rp.
1 Paket (4 Yard) Kaniki (Indigo drill)	2 „
1 Sack (60 Pfd.) Salz aus Katwe am Edward-See	8 „
1 Decke	2 „
1 Khakey-Anzug	15 „

Preise in den Congo-Magazinen.

1 Stück (15 Yard) Kaniki (Indigo drill) oder Bangala	14,96	Fr.
1 „ (15 „) Bleu prints oder Croisette indigo	12—13	„
1 „ (15 „) Madapolam oder Amerikani . . .	12—13	„
1 „ (15 „) Flanell	9—10	„
1 Decke	8—12	„
1 Anzug	ca. 10	„
1 Hemd	3	„
1 Gurt	2,36—3,88	„
1 Hut oder Mütze	1,40—2,88	„

1 Paar Schuhe	13	Fr.
1 Messer in Scheide (Coutelas)	3,30—3,73	„
1 emaillierter Teller	1,40	„
1 kg Glasperlen	5—8	„
1 m Messingdraht	0,50	„
1 kg raffiniertes Salz	2,00	„
1 „ Tabak	5,60	„
1 Tabakspfeife	0,82	„
1 kg Seife	4,64	„
1 Rolle Nähfaden	0,52	„

Sicherheitsverhältnisse. Für die Sicherheit im Lande ist durch eine Anzahl zerstreuter Militärstationen gesorgt. Diese Stationen dienen zugleich als Verwaltungszentren, von denen aus, im Prinzip wenigstens, die Verhältnisse im Lande geordnet und die Steuern eingezogen werden.

Der Nordwesten von Deutsch-Ost-Afrika zerfällt in drei Residenturen: Bukoba, Urundi und Ruanda. Im Hauptorte der Residentur Bukoba, in der Stadt desselben Namens, ist der Resident mit der Kompagnie Nr. 7 stationiert, und von dort aus werden zwei Nebenposten in Ussuwi und Kifumbiro besetzt. Im Innern von Urundi befanden sich zur Zeit meiner Reise noch keine Garnisonen. Der Resident wohnte an der Grenze in Usumbura, und dort waren auch die Kompagnien Nr. 9 und Nr. 11 stationiert. Der kleine Posten Tschivitoke lag ebenfalls an der Grenze im Russisi-Tale. In Ruanda wurde die Residentur schon nach meiner Abreise organisiert. Damals wurden nur von Usumbura aus die Posten von Kissenji und Ischangi besetzt, mit je zwanzig Askari von der Kompagnie Nr. 11. Jetzt ist eine Station in Kigali eingerichtet. Dort wohnt der Resident mit Polizeiaskari.

Der bereiste Westen des Uganda-Protektorates war eingeteilt in: Uganda-Provinz, West-Provinz und Nil-Provinz. In der Uganda-Provinz, in Entebbe, wohnte der Gouverneur, und in der benachbarten Stadt Kampala, die eine Befestigung besaß, war auch die Hauptmasse der Truppen konzentriert. Die West-Provinz zerfällt in die Distrikte Nkole, Toro und Bunyoro mit den Stationen Mbarara, Fort Portal und Hoima. In allen diesen Stationen war je eine Kompagnie Polizeitruppen stationiert. Die von Fort Portal wurde durch einen Schwarzen, einem alten Sergeant-Major aus der Emins-Truppe, befehligt, der allein für ihre militärische Ausbildung sorgte, da schon seit längerer Zeit keine weißen Instruktoren hingeschickt worden waren. In Mbarara waren zur Zeit meiner Anwesenheit noch zwei Kompagnien des regulären Uganda-Schützenbataillons. Die Nil-Provinz zerfiel in drei Distrikte: Koba, Nimule und Gondokoro.

Der bereiste Teil des Congo-Staates war eingeteilt in: Territoire de la Russisi-Kiwu, Zône Haut-Ituri, Zône Bomokandi, Zône Gurba-Dungu und

Enclave de Lado. Schon nach meiner Reise wurde eine gleichmäßigere Einteilung in Distrikte durchgeführt, wobei die hier besprochenen Provinzen als Distrikte verblieben sind und nur Zône Bomokandi und Zône Gurba-Dungu zum Distrikt des Haut-Uele zusammengefaßt wurden. Enclave de Lado bildete den lebenslänglichen Besitz des Königs Leopold II. und wurde nach seinem Tode evakuiert und durch die Sudan-Truppen besetzt. Diese großen Zônes zerfielen in Secteurs und die Secteurs in Posten-Bezirke. So z. B. die Zône Bomokandi in die drei Secteurs: de l'Est, mit den Stationen Gumbari, Arebi, Duru, Vankerckhovenville; du Sud mit den Stationen Poko, Niapu, Nala, Rungu; du Nord mit den Stationen Niangara, Surango, Amadi. Der mir bekannte Norden des Territoire de la Russisi-Kiwu zerfiel in die drei Secteurs: Bobandana mit dem Nebenposten Goma, Rutshuru, und Beni mit dem Nebenposten Kazindi. In den kleinen Posten waren Abteilungen aus 25 Askari, mit wenigstens einem Europäer, stationiert, in den Zentralstellen der Secteurs kam noch das 50 Mann starke Pelleton des Chef de Secteur hinzu. In den Zentralstellen der Bezirke (Zône) lag das Depot der Kompagnie. So wurde die Truppenmacht des Bezirkes (Zône) bezeichnet, trotzdem sie meistens, ihrer Stärke nach, einem Bataillon gleichkam. Nur die Truppen im Territoire de la Russisi-Kiwu und in der Enclave de Lado waren in 2 oder 3 Kompagnien gegliedert und wurden in großen Massen zusammengehalten, um den Ansprüchen auf die strittigen Gebiete mehr Nachdruck zu verleihen. Die Stärke dieser Besatzungen war im Jahre 1906:

Kompagnien	Russisi-Kiwu	2000	Askari
Kompagnie	Haut-Ituri	500	„
„	Bomokandi	470	„
„	Gurba-Dungu	400	„
Kompagnien in Enclave de Lado		1800	„

Die Sicherheit der Wege war im bereisten Gebiete sehr verschieden und wohl in den englischen Besitzungen am größten und in den strittigen Gebieten am geringsten. Während meines Aufenthaltes beim König von Ruanda wurde unsere Postkarawane überfallen und die Lasten mit Stoffen geplündert. Die Absendung zweier Askari genügte aber um alles zurückzubekommen. Während meines Aufenthaltes in Mulera habe ich mit R. P. P. Loupias, nur von zwei Askari begleitet, den Häuptling Lukara am Muhawura-Vulkan besucht. Zwei Monate später griff Lukara unseren Geologen Herrn Egon Fr. Kirschstein an, und dieser konnte sich bei der Übermacht der Gegner nur mit großer Not zurückziehen, nachdem der Tod des Bruders von Lukara, der durch eine Kugel getroffen wurde, eine Panik hervorgerufen hatte. Zwei Jahre darauf wurde mein Reisegefährte R. P. Paul Loupias durch denselben Lukara ermordet.

Während der Forschungen im Aruwimi-Becken passierte ich wiederholt die revoltierenden Gegenden. Das Wesen der Revolte bestand darin, daß die

Eingeborenen in den Urwald flüchteten, um sich dem „Arbeiten für die Europäer" zu entziehen. Zu Feindseligkeiten kommt es gewöhnlich erst, wenn man versucht sie mit Gewalt zur Rückkehr in die alten Sitze in der Nähe der Stationen zu bewegen. Die Reputation eines Fremden und die in Khakey gekleideten Askari schützten mich vor Verwechslung mit den Congo-Beamten. Nur einmal, auf dem Wege von Nepoko nach Adjamu, beim Passieren der Gebiete revoltierender Momvu wurden die Askari der Nachhut mit Pfeilen angegriffen, worauf sie mit Schüssen antworteten. Auch auf dem Wege zwischen Gumbari und Irumu ließ die Sicherheit zu wünschen übrig. Die Sammlungen konnten aber, auch ohne meine Begleitung, diesen Weg passieren. Einmal kam es zwar in meiner Abwesenheit sogar zu einem „Kriege" bei Kabunga. Die Wangwana hatten die vor der Karawane eingetroffenen eingeborenen Träger angegriffen und wurden durch die Schüsse der Askari, die mit den langsamer marschierenden Kontraktträgern nachkamen, aus ihrem Dorfe verjagt. Später wurde aber zwischen den Parteien Friede geschlossen und die Lasten blieben ein paar Wochen im Dorfe liegen, durch meinen Vertrauensmann Balima beaufsichtigt. Sehr schlimm war es an den Ituri-Quellen. Die Leute aus dem Uele-Gebiete kamen hierher, um Kautschuk zu schneiden. Da aber die Gegend durch keine Militärstation beaufsichtigt wurde, so hatten die Besucher ganz freie Hand. Sie plünderten die Elfenbeinvorräte, raubten Weiber und sollen sogar von Zeit zu Zeit einen oder den anderen verspeist haben. Ich konnte dieses Land nur dank der Unterstützung des Herrn Substitut (Staatsanwalt) Smets besuchen. Er betraute mich mit der Rückbegleitung der, durch den Häuptling Alimasi geraubten, Weiber und Kinder und vor allem der Gewehre. Dadurch wurde ich gut empfohlen und konnte ungestört die Reise außerhalb der Einflußsphäre der Stationen fortsetzen.

Am schlimmsten waren die Verhältnisse auf dem Lendu-Plateau zwischen Irumu und Mahagi. Die kriegerischen Eingeborenen duldeten die Europäer nur auf der Verkehrsstraße. Ein Verlassen dieser betrachteten sie als eine Vergewaltigung der eingebürgerten Ordnung. Auf meiner Hinreise konnte ich die Gegend nicht nur friedlich passieren, sondern auch sehr viele Leute messen. Kommandant Dr. Engh wurde aber angegriffen und gezwungen, vor meinem Eintreffen in unser gemeinsames Nachtlager, auf die Einwohner der nächsten Nachbarschaft zu schießen. Trotzdem gelang es mir, am nächsten Tage, dort Träger zu bekommen und weiter zu ziehen.

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2. Kapitel.

Das Zwischenseengebiet.

Allgemeine Übersicht. — Staaten. — Bevölkerungsdichte. — Sprachverhältnisse. — Clans.

Allgemeine Übersicht. Auf dem afrikanischen Kontinent, wo alles in einem so großen Maßstabe geboten wird, gibt es nicht viele Gebiete, die sich, bei geringer Ausdehnung, durch eine scharf ausgesprochene Physiognomie auszeichnen. Zur Zahl dieser wenig ausgedehnten und doch unleugbaren geographischen Einheiten gehört das Zwischenseengebiet.

Die Grenzen des Zwischenseengebietes werden durch natürliche Verkehrshemmnisse gebildet und können infolgedessen recht genau angegeben werden. Die Ostgrenze bespült der Victoria-See von der Muansa-Bucht im Süden bis zu den Ripon-Fällen im Norden und der Victoria-Nil. Der letztere bildet zugleich auch die Nordgrenze. Die Westgrenze folgt den Seen Albert-Nyanza, Edward-Nyanza, Kiwu und dem nördlichen Teile des Tanganjika. Die, im Gegensatze zu den übrigen, im Osten schwach markierte Südgrenze geht vom Mlagarassi auf dessen Zufluß Ulindi-Mutundu über und führt dann nach Osten, im Süden von den Wäldern und Steppen am Rande des Victoria-Seebeckens, zur Muansa-Bucht (Smith-Sund).

Das Zwischenseengebiet stellt ein Hochplateau dar, das im Osten vom Kiwu und im Norden vom Edward-See sich am stärksten erhebt und in allen vier Himmelsrichtungen abfällt. Die Ostabhänge entwässern die in den Victoria-See fließenden Ströme Katonga, Bukora, Kagera und Ost-Ruiga. Die Westabhänge des Zwischenseengebietes gehören nur teilweise zum Nil-System, da nur ihre nördliche Hälfte durch die Zuflüsse des Edward-Nyanza (Rutshuru, Ishasha, Ntungwe, Ruampuno usw.) und des Semliki entwässert wird. Der südliche Teil der Westabhänge, der durch die Zuflüsse des Kiwu, des Russisi-Stromes und des Tanganjika entwässert wird, gehört zum Kongo-Becken. Hierher gehört auch die südliche Böschung, die durch das Mlagarassi-System ihre Niederschläge ableitet. Der Nordabhang hat keine bedeutenderen Ströme, vom Kafu abgesehen. Sonst wären nur noch die unbedeutenden Zuflüsse des Albert-Sees zu erwähnen.

Es scheint, als ob in nicht sehr weit zurückliegenden Zeiten hochstämmige Urwälder das ganze Zwischenseengebiet bedeckt hätten. Die Wälder im Osten vom Albert-See (Bugoma und Budonga), der Buddu-Wald in der Nähe des

[p. 23]

Kagera-Unterlaufes, die Wälder im Südwesten vom Victoria-See, wie auch die Urwälder Ruanda's und Urundi's, des Ruwenzori-Massivs und des Semliki-Tales sind als ihre Überreste anzusehen. Diese Wälder werden aber mehr und mehr vernichtet, und das Land bedeckt sich, soweit es nicht bebaut wird, mit Grasweiden, Steppen und Busch. Das Zwischenseengebiet gehört nämlich zu den am dichtesten bevölkerten Teilen des afrikanischen Kontinentes, und die Zunahme der durch eine verhältnismäßig hohe soziale Organisation geschützten Bevölkerung bedeutet einen mächtigen Faktor bei der Umgestaltung der Landschaft und der Verdrängung des Urwaldes.

Die Bevölkerung des Zwischenseengebietes besteht aus drei kulturell und anthropologisch stark verschiedenen Elementen. Die Hauptmasse der Einwohner bilden Ackerbauer, die man mit den Namen Bahiru im Nordosten und Bahutu im Südwesten zu bezeichnen pflegt. Neben den Ackerbauern findet man fast überall zerstreute Teile der Hirtenstämme, welche Bahima bzw. Batutsi genannt werden. In den Wäldern im Südwesten haben sich noch die Überreste einer Jägerbevölkerung, die Batwa, erhalten. Diese werden aber immer mehr verdrängt.

Das Auftreten heterogener Elemente in einem von Nordosten her leicht zugänglichen Gebiete genügt schon, um hier Einwanderungen aus dem Norden zu vermuten. Diese Vermutung wurde auch von dem ersten Forscher[1]), der das Land bereist hat, ausgesprochen und durch die lokalen Überlieferungen bestätigt. Über die Zahl der Einwanderungen, ihre zeitliche Aufeinanderfolge, die kulturelle Ausstattung und ethnische Zugehörigkeit der einzelnen Wellen, ließ sich bis jetzt noch keine Klarheit gewinnen, und diese Fragen werden wohl noch lange den Mittelpunkt der Forschungen im Zwischenseengebiete bilden.

Staaten. Die Bevölkerung des Zwischenseengebietes ist in eine Anzahl Staaten organisiert, die man gewöhnlich, mit Rücksicht auf die Hirtenaristokratie des Runyoro-Sprachgebietes, als Bahima-Staaten zu bezeichnen pflegt.

Die Staaten des Zwischenseengebietes müssen, nach der Sprache ihrer Einwohner, in drei Hauptgruppen gegliedert werden:

1. Buganda[2]),
2. Banyoro-Staaten,
3. Barundi-Staaten.

BUGANDA[3]) umfaßt gegenwärtig (seit 1897) die Gebiete zwischen Victoria-See, Victoria-Nil, Kafu, Ngussi, Mizizi, Nabutari, Kachira-See und der Grenze

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[1]) SPEKE, J. H., Die Entdeckung der Nilquellen. Leipzig 1864, S. 271.

[2]) Es ist üblich geworden, Buganda von Uganda zu unterscheiden. Den eingeborenen Namen Buganda bezieht man auf den Eingeborenenstaat der Baganda, während Uganda das englische „Uganda-Protectorate" bezeichnet und die Gebiete zwischen Deutsch-Ost-Afrika, Victoria-See, Rudolph-See, Nil und Congo-Staat umfaßt.

[3]) Vgl. die Karten in den Werken: JOHNSTON, H. H., The Uganda Protectorate. London 1902. ROSCOE, J., The Baganda. Their Customs and Beliefs. London 1911.

von Deutsch-Ost-Afrika. Dahin gehören auch die durch Schlafkrankheit entvölkerten Sese-Inseln.

Zur Zahl der Banyoro-Staaten gehören im englischen Teile des Zwischenseengebietes:

1. Bunyoro,
2. Toro,
3. Nkole (inkl. Bukanga) und
4. Koki,

und im deutschen Teile des Zwischenseengebietes die Staatenkomplexe:

1. Mpororo,
2. Karagwe,
3. Buhaya,
4. Busindja (inkl. Ussuwi) und
5. Buddu.

Die Staaten Koki und Buddu sind im Laufe des vorigen Jahrhunderts an Buganda gefallen, wobei der erste eine gewisse Autonomie und eigenen Fürsten behalten hat. Der Herrscher von Koki ist freilich dem eingeborenen Gouverneur der Buganda-Provinz Buddu, dem „pokino", untergestellt; die inneren Freiheiten von Koki sind aber so groß, daß mir Kassagama, der Herrscher von Toro, Koki als einen unabhängigen, durch Babito beherrschten Staat bezeichnen konnte, trotzdem er dort in jungen Jahren als Verbannter mehrere Jahre mit seiner Mutter gewohnt hatte. Seine Angabe über das in Koki herrschende Geschlecht scheint aber auch nicht zuzutreffen. RICHTER[1]) bezeichnet nämlich Koki als eine Bahinda-Herrschaft.

KOKI dehnt sich auf den Höhen zwischen Kachira-See und der Senkung des Namdigani-Beckens aus. Im Süden vom Shilala (Bukora) reicht es bis zum Rande des zum Kagera abfallenden Plateaus.

BUDDU. Aus dem Deutsch-Ost-Afrika zufallenden Teile von Buddu, zwischen Kagera, dem ersten Grade südlicher Breite und den Höhen im Osten vom Magarsi-Fluß, wurde die unabhängige Herrschaft Deutsch-Buddu gebildet und dem Häuptling Rukika als „Sultan" verliehen[2]).

BUNYORO umfaßt gegenwärtig die Gebiete zwischen Albert-Nyanza, Victoria-Nil, Kafu und Ngussi. Bis zur letzten anglo-belgischen Grenzregulierung gehörte nominell zu Bunyoro auch noch das Westufer des Albert-Sees im Norden von der Naabe-Bucht bis zu der Grenze des Congo-Staates.

TORO, das, neben Buganda, für seine Helfersdienste bei der englischen Besitzergreifung durch die Verwaltung stark favorisiert wird, ist von seinem Mutterlande Bunyoro durch die gegenwärtig zu Buganda gehörende Provinz Buyaga

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[1]) RICHTER, Oberleutnant, Der Bezirk Bukoba. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1899, S. 69.

[2]) Vgl. Großer Deutscher Kolonialatlas. Blatt Usumbura. Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen). Berlin 1908.

getrennt. Seine Ostgrenze bilden Mizizzi und Nabutari, während die Südgrenze sich vom Oberlaufe der Katonga zum Südufer des Georg-Sees hinstreckt. Sie erreicht den letzteren an der Dulindaji-Mündung. In dieser Weise kommt zu Toro, die, zwischen Katonga, Mpanga und Georg-See eingeschlossene, Provinz Kitakwenda, die, ihrer Bevölkerung nach, schon zu Nkole gehört. Die Westgrenze von Toro fällt mit der Grenze des Congo-Staates zusammen, die vom Edward-See, über die Gipfel des Ruwenzori, zum Semliki geht. Die Nordgrenze von Toro bildet der Semliki, von 30° östlicher Länge bis zu seiner Mündung, und von dieser Stelle an der Albert-See bis zur Mizizzi-Mündung.

Vor der letzten anglo-belgischen Grenzregulierung gehörte zu Toro noch die Provinz Mboga mit ihren Nachbargebieten. Dieser Besitz wurde begrenzt durch die Nil-Kongo-Wasserscheide, den Albert-See, den Semliki-Fluß und den Meridian 30° östlicher Länge.

NKOLE. Die Grenzen von Nkole fallen im Süden und Westen mit der Grenze des „Uganda Protectorate" zusammen, während der Norden von Toro, Buganda und Koki begrenzt wird. Nach der letzten Grenzregulierung wird die Westgrenze durch den Georg-See, westlich der Dulindaji-Mündung, den Kazinga-Kanal, den Edward-See und den Ishasha-Fluß gebildet, während die Südgrenze vorläufig durch den 1° südlicher Breite bestimmt bleibt. In dieser Weise werden hier zu Nkole die kleinen unabhängigen Herrschaften: Kazara, Ruzumburu und Butumbi (Ostteil), wie auch der Nordteil von Ruhama, Ubwera und Bukanga hinzugerechnet. Sieht man von ihnen ab und beschränkt man sich auf den Besitz Kahaya's, so wird die Südgrenze von Nkole durch den Kachira-Mazingo-See, das Ruampara-Gebirge und den Ntungwe-Fluß gebildet.

BUKANGA, die kleine, unabhängige, durch den Muganda-Mann Abdul Efendi regierte Herrschaft, wird durch Koki, Buddu, den Kagera-Fluß und den Bigasha-Bach begrenzt[1]).

MPORORO. Das sich im Süden an Nkole anschließende Mpororo bildet eine recht unbestimmte, politisch stark zerfahrene Einheit, die durch das Zusammentreffen der deutschen, englischen und belgischen Grenzen endgültig desorganisiert worden ist. Da wir uns mit diesem Gebiete später etwas eingehender beschäftigen werden, so sollen hier nur einige wenige Worte über die äußeren Grenzen dieses mehrere unabhängige Staaten umfassenden Komplexes gesagt werden. Im Norden wird Mpororo durch das eigentliche Nkole des Kahaya begrenzt, die Westgrenze bildet das Kagera-Knie, während die Südgrenze vom Kagera sich über die menschenleere Steppe zum Lulenge resp. Mwumba-Bach hinzieht und über die Südufer des großen Ngesi-Sees zum Ngesi ya Mutanda und dem Iwi fortläuft. Die Westgrenze von Mpororo bildet die unbewohnte Rutshuru-Ebene und der Edward-See.

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[1]) MELDOS, J. A., Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. I. Journal of the African Society 1907, Bd. VI, S. 139.

KARAGWE wird im Norden und Westen durch den Kagera bespült. Seine Ostgrenze folgt dem Unterlaufe der West-Ruiga und geht von seiner Mündung über den Burigi-See und die Ngoma-Sümpfe bis zum Kamakara-See, springt von dort auf das Quellengebiet des Muissa-Flusses über und von dort unmittelbar auf dessen Unterlauf, so daß der ganze Mittellauf, westlich der Grenze, in Karagwe fließt. Die Südgrenze verlangt eine etwas eingehendere Besprechung. Nach den Angaben des Kolonialatlas[1]) gehören zu Karagwe noch die Gebiete im Süden vom Burigi-See (Luero lo Urigi), zwischen dem Unterlaufe der West-Ruiga und den Bergen am Ostrande ihres Beckens, sowie auch die tributpflichtige Herrschaft Buhimba, die zwischen Kagera, Kitembe, West-Ruiga und den Msumba-Bergen liegt und mit ihrem Südzipfel auf das linke Ufer des Lohungati, des Oberlaufes der Ost-Ruiga, herübergreift. Der Burigi-See liegt in dieser Weise zwischen Karagwe und Ihangiro. GRANT, der mit den Leuten von Karagwe viel zu tun hatte, erwähnt dagegen, daß Karagwe von Ussuwi durch den Burigi-See getrennt wird[2]), und SPEKE[3]) verzeichnet das, auf dem linken West-Ruiga-Ufer gelegene, Wigura als die zu Karagwe gehörende Grenzniederlassung. Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER geht noch weiter und rechnet die während der letzten Reise besuchten Gebiete im Süden und das menschenleere Plateau im WSW vom Burigi-See zu Ussuwi. Er sagt nämlich[4]): „Von dem SW des Burigi-Sees wanderten wir in zwei Tagen durch das unbewohnte, mit Baumsteppe bestandene, ziemlich stark zerschnittene, aber jetzt wasserlose Plateauland von Nord-Ussuwi westwärts nach der östlichen hohen Randstufe von Karagwe, die wir bei den Bananenschamben von Mpihi erreichten. Sehr mühsam ist der steile Aufstieg auf das Karagwe-Plateau." v. TROTHA spricht[5]) vom Sultan Matzika von Uhimba in der Nähe des Ruwuwu, dem auch das Dorf Ruakahanda gehören soll. Endlich berichtete man mir vom Muhima Karugiraki, welcher Kasussura, dem Herrscher von Ost-Ussuwi, unterstehen soll. Diese scheinbaren Widersprüche werden dadurch aufgelöst, daß es sich hier um ein durch Karagwe und Ussuwi bestrittenes Gebiet handelt. Es ist ganz verständlich, daß die mit Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER von Osten kommenden Träger die Grenze von Karagwe in die unmittelbare Nähe der ersten Karagwe-Siedelung verlegt und die menschenleeren Jagdgründe für sich beansprucht haben. Die Angaben des Kolonialatlas stammen wohl von Bukoba und konnten, in ähnlicher Weise, durch die Vertreter der Interessen von Karagwe, das früher mit der Station in Kontakt gekommen ist, beeinflußt werden. Die eigentliche Grenze scheint, mit den Angaben von GRANT und SPEKE übereinstimmend,

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[1]) Großer Deutscher Kolonialatlas. Blatt Usumbura. Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen). Berlin 1908.

[2]) GRANT, J. A., A Walk across Africa. London 1864, S. 147.

[3]) SPEKE, J. H., Die Entdeckung der Nilquellen. Kartenbeilage zum ersten Teil. Leipzig 1864.

[4]) Reiseberichte von Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER aus Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, S. 230.

[5]) v. TROTHA, L., Meine Bereisung von Deutsch-Ostafrika. Berlin 1897, S. 59.

dem Ost-Ruiga-Fluß und dem Burigi-See zu folgen. Die tributäre Herrschaft Buhimba wurde in den ersten Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts von Karagwe abgetrennt und dem Herrscher von Ost-Ussuwi verliehen. Die Südgrenze von Karagwe rückte nach Norden hinauf und folgt jetzt, wie es scheint, dem Kitembe-Fluß.

BUHAYA[1]) ist die, bei den westlichen und südlichen Nachbarn übliche, zusammenfassende Bezeichnung für die Staaten, die in dem Gebiet zwischen Karagwe, Kagera, Victoria-See und Busindja verteilt sind. Wir wollen sie alle der Reihe nach aufzählen:

1. Kiziba,
2. Kyanja,
3. Ihangiro (inkl. Ngoti),
4. Kiamtwara und
5. Bugabo.

KIZIBA erstreckt sich von dem Kagera im Norden bis zum Fusso-Fluß und Uschungaisi-See im Süden, und vom Unterlaufe der Muissa im Westen bis zu den, in die Kibindi-Bucht mündenden, Sümpfen im Osten.

KYANJA stößt im Norden an Kiziba. Die Ostgrenze geht vom Ngono-Fluß, durch den Sumpf des Uschungaisi-Sees, auf den Ngogo-Bach, erreicht das Seeufer in der Kaschokero-Bucht und folgt diesem weiter nach Süden. Die konventionelle Südgrenze hält sich ungefähr auf 1° 43′ südlicher Breite und wendet sich später nach Norden, um die Berge im Osten vom Muissa-Oberlaufe zu erreichen. In dieser Weise wird der nördliche Teil der Westgrenze durch Karagwe gebildet.

IHANGIRO wird im Norden und Westen durch Kyanja und Karagwe begrenzt, während die Ostgrenze durch den Victoria-See und den Ost-Ruiga-Fluß gebildet wird. Die wenig ausgedehnte Südgrenze geht durch unbewohnte Wildnisse. Sie führt vom Ost-Ruiga-Fluß zunächst nach Ost, auf der Breite ca. 2° 17′, und biegt später zum Burigi-See nach Nordost um.

Den südlichen Teil von Ihangiro bildet die tributäre Bahinda-Herrschaft Ngoti[2]). Sie umfaßt die Gebiete zwischen Burigi-See und Ost-Ruiga.

KIAMTWARA und BUGABO, die winzigen, zwischen Kyanja, Kiziba und dem Victoria-See eingeschlossenen Herrschaften, werden voneinander getrennt durch die Linie, die von dem in die Kabindi-Bucht mündenden Sumpfe, über Marienberg (Kashozi), die Seeküste etwas nördlicher von Bukoba erreicht.

BUKARA. Im Zusammenhange mit Buhaya wäre noch die unabhängige Insel Bukara zu erwähnen, da ihre Einwohner von Auswanderern aus Buhaya abstammen sollen[3]).

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[1]) RICHTER, Oberleutnant, Der Bezirk Bukoba. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1899, S. 67.

[2]) Ebenda S. 69.

[3]) SCHLOBACH, Hauptmann, Die Völkerstämme der deutschen Ostküste des Victoria-Nyanza. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, S. 187.

Busindja, das einst ein großes, einheitliches Königreich gebildet hat, zerfällt in eine größere Anzahl von Herrschaften, die sich in zwei Gruppen zusammenfassen lassen und als Ussuwi und eigentliches Busindja (Usindja), zu dem früher noch Usambiro[1]) hinzukam, bezeichnet werden können.

Busindja im engeren Sinne umfaßt das Küstengebiet des Victoria-Sees vom Ost-Ruiga-Fluß im Westen bis zum Smith-Sund im Osten und dehnt sich im Süden bis zur Wasserscheide des Nil-Beckens und den linksufrigen Zuflüssen der Ikunga aus.

Das Land zerfällt in die Herrschaften:

1. Kimoani,
2. Buina,
3. Bukome,
4. Butundwe,
5. Bugando,
6. Buhindi,
7. Bukura,
8. Kome,
9. Bukerewe,
10. Bwiro.

Kimoani erstreckt sich vom Ost-Ruiga-Fluß bis zum Hinterlande der Halbinsel Buina. Labunienge, der Herrscher von Kimoani, soll[2]) jetzt Kasussura, dem Herrscher von Ost-Ussuwi, untergestellt sein.

Buina. Das, durch den Sultan Magala beherrschte und vor wenigen Jahren durch die Regierung[3]) an Kasussura verliehene, Bwina oder Buina[4]) umfaßt die gleichnamige Halbinsel mit dem entsprechenden Hinterlande.

Bukome, Herrschaft des Sultans Rwoga, den im Jahre 1907 Kasussura ersetzte, wird durch die Landschaften im Westen vom Emin-Pascha-Golf und seinem Zufluß, dem Kafunso-Bach, gebildet.

Butundwe[5]), das durch Manangwa beherrscht wird, dehnt sich aus zwischen den beiden Kafunso-Bächen, die in den Emin-Pascha-Golf und den Bugando-Golf münden.

Bugando dehnt sich zwischen der Bugando-Bucht und dem Masandsandse-Fluß aus. Zu Bugando gehören[6]) noch die Inseln Lupwondo und Meissome. Die kleine Herrschaft Kagu an der Südwestecke der Bugando-Bucht ist dagegen autonom.

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[1]) Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle. Berlin 1894, S. 203.

[2]) Chirapkowski, Reg.-Rat., Bericht über seine Expedition von Victoria-Nyansa zum Tanganjika. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1905, S. 599.

[3]) van Thiele, H. R. P., Buinza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 510.

[4]) v. Trotha, L., Meine Bereisung von Deutsch-Ostafrika. Berlin 1897, S. 49.

[5]) Kollmann, P., Der Nordwesten unserer Ostafrikanischen Kolonie. Eine Beschreibung von Land und Leuten am Victoria-Nyanza nebst Aufzeichnungen der dort gesprochenen Dialekte. Berlin 1898, S. 77.

[6]) v. Trotha, L., Meine Bereisung von Deutsch-Ostafrika. Berlin 1897, S. 55.

Buhindi. Das Land, dessen politische Verhältnisse recht verwickelt sind, beschränkt sich auf die gleichnamige Halbinsel. Buhindi zerfällt in drei Herrschaften:

1. Buhindi im engeren Sinne,
2. Kadsudsu und
3. Nyangaramira (Jangalamira).

Die beiden letztgenannten beschränken sich auf die gleichnamigen Halbinseln.

Bukura, das man mit einem gewissen Recht als Busindja im engsten Sinne bezeichnen könnte, wird im Großen Kolonialatlas als Rwoma's Gebiet bezeichnet und umfaßt die Länder zwischen Victoria-See, Smith-Sund, Bugando und Buhindi, und dehnt sich im Süden von der Ikunga im Tanganjika-Becken aus. Dieses, jetzt durch Rugingiza beherrschte Land, bildet den Überrest des Königreichs Busindja, das, durch die Watuta desorganisiert, von den Europäern den letzten Schlag erhielt, als sein alter Herrscher Rwoma, im Kampfe gegen die Regierung (Leutnant v. Kalben), gefallen war, und der im Lande nicht anerkannte Ruotakwa eingesetzt wurde.

Zum Schlusse bleiben noch die beiden Inselherrschaften Kome und Bukerewe (Ukerewe) zu besprechen.

Kome bildet eine politische Einheit für sich, während das Sultanat

Bukerewe nicht die ganze Insel umfaßt, dafür aber auf das benachbarte Festland hinübergreift. Gabriel Mutahengerwa, so heißt der christliche Herrscher von Bukerewe, gehört nämlich die Halbinsel Kiruirui zwischen Baumann-Golf und Speke-Golf. Der Südwesten der Insel ist dagegen unabhängig und bildet zusammen mit der Insel

Bwiro, die gleichnamige Herrschaft.

Ussuwi wurde früher durch, die zu Karagwe gehörende, Herrschaft Buhimba (Uhimba) in zwei, territorial nicht zusammenhängende, Teile: West- und Ost-Ussuwi, getrennt. Das erste wird durch Kinanira, das zweite durch Kasussura beherrscht.

West-Ussuwi liegt im Ruwuwu-Bogen, erstreckt sich im Südwesten bis zum Kajongosi-Knie, umfaßt den oberen Teil des Luhungati-Beckens und wird im Nordosten durch Buhimba begrenzt.

Ost-Ussuwi, das noch unlängst im Westen und Norden nur von Karagwe begrenzt wurde und im Osten nur bis zu den schwach bevölkerten Terrassen über den Uferlandschaften des Victoria-Sees reichte, wurde seit dem Anfange unseres Jahrhunderts durch die Regierung wesentlich vergrößert. Nach der Verleihung der Herrschaften Buhimba, Kimoani, Buina und Bukome an Kasussura dehnt sich dessen Reich aus: vom Victoria-See und dem Kafunso-Fluß im Osten bis zum Ruwuwu und den Grenzen von West-Ussuwi im Westen, und von den Flüssen Kitembe und West-Ruiga, dem Burigi-See und der Ihan-

giro-Grenze im Norden bis zum Südabhange der Wasserscheide zwischen Tanganjika und Victoria-See.

Im Gegensatze zu den Banyoro-Staaten der deutschen Einflußsphäre, sind die Barundi-Staaten sehr groß. Das wesentlich größere Barundi-Gebiet ist eigentlich nur in drei Staaten organisiert:

1. Ruanda,
2. Urundi und
3. Uha.

Es darf aber nicht übersehen werden, daß der Zusammenhang der einzelnen Teile von Urundi ein sehr lockerer ist, so daß dieses nur nominell eine „politische Einheit" vorstellt, während Uha aus mehreren Fürstentümern besteht, die sich nur historisch zusammenfassen lassen.

RUANDA umfaßt gegenwärtig die Gebiete zwischen der Grenze des belgischen Congo, Mpororo, den Strömen Kagera und Akanjaru, der Nil-Kongo-Wasserscheide und dem Luha-Fluß. Dazu gehört noch das Gebiet im Akanjaru-Kagera-Knie bis zu den Seen Tschohoha und Rugwero. Früher gehörte zu Ruanda noch die durch die Congo-Grenze abgeschnittene Nordwestecke, die durch die Lavaebene des Namlagira, die Flüsse Mlindi und Iwi und die Vulkankette begrenzt wird.

URUNDI erstreckt sich von der Ruanda-Grenze im Norden bis zum Mlagarassi-Fluß, Musenga-Plateau, Kanjamansa-Bergen, Kajongosi-Knie, Njakarugwa-Bach und dem Ruwuwu-Fluß, im Süden und Osten. Die Westgrenze bilden Tanganjika und Russisi. Über das Verhältnis der einzelnen Teile von Urundi zum nominellen König Mutaga, dem unmündigen Sohn des verstorbenen Mwezi Kisabo, kann, mit Rücksicht auf die dort gegenwärtig herrschende politische Krise, nicht viel Exaktes gesagt werden. Schon zu Lebzeiten des Kisabo hatte der König von Urundi keine bedeutende politische Macht gegenüber den einzelnen Teilen seines Reiches. Dr. KANDT[1]) sagt nämlich: „Der noch bestehende Rest von Zusammenhängen scheint allein dadurch sich zu erhalten, daß dem Mnesi irgendeine Art religiöser Bedeutung innewohnt." Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand berichtet aber Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER[2]), daß die Herrschaft des Mutaga über ganz Zentral-Urundi reicht. Wir finden im Reisebericht die Angaben, daß, „während im Süd-Urundi zwar auch lauter Watualen[3]) aus der Waganua-Sippe[4]) sitzen, diese aber in ihren Provinzen tun können, was sie wollen, wenn sie nur regelmäßig ihre Abgaben an Mutaga entrichten. Auch die Watualen an der Tanganjikaküste und im Russisigebiet erkennen den Mutaga als ihr Oberhaupt, als ‚Mami', an. Ganz selb-

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 340.

[2]) Reiseberichte von Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER aus Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, S. 355.

[3]) Häuptlinge.

[4]) Sippe des Mutaga.

ständig hingegen sind in Nordwest-Urundi der Häuptling Kilima, der, wie im früheren Bericht erwähnt, kein Mtussi[1]) ist, und in Nordost-Urundi die Watussi-Häuptlinge Lusokosa[2]), Bansabugabo, Kisliwami und Lusengo, in Ujogoma und in Bujansi die Häuptlinge Kiraranganja und Senjawarungu. Auch sie entrichten dem Mutagu Tribut, halten sich aber unabhängig von der Waganua-Sippe und unterstehen direkt der Residentur in Usumbura". Der von Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER erwähnte Lusengo aus Ujogoma ist wohl mit dem Herrscher von Bugufi identisch[3]), da dieses Land, zusammen mit West-Ussuwi, zu Ujogoma gezählt werden kann. Das Land Bugufi ist zwischen Kagera und Ruwuwu eingeschlossen und wird im Westen durch die Bäche Kissango und Niabugugu begrenzt. Seine Einwohner werden Bahangasi genannt. R. P. CAPUS[4]) erwähnt noch aus früherer Zeit den Emporkömmling Rumonge als den Großhäuptling von Ujogoma, und Hauptmann RAMSAY[5]) spricht vom Sultan Lussabiko, dem Schwiegersohn des Kisabo, aus Ujensi (Bujansi); ob einer der hier zitierten Häuptlinge als Nachfolger der zuletzt genannten zu bezeichnen ist, läßt sich nicht feststellen. Über den am meisten nach Nordwesten vorgeschobenen Teil von Urundi berichtet Dr. KANDT[6]): „In politischer Beziehung zerfällt das Gebiet zwischen dem Ostrande des zentralafrikanischen Grabens und dem Russisi in zehn bis zwölf kleinere Sultanate, von denen die meisten ca. 150 bis 200 Geviertkilometer bedecken mögen. Nominell sind sie unselbständig, und ihre Herrscher, die alle dem semitischen, aus den Gallaländern südlich von Abessinien stammenden Geschlecht der Watussi angehören, sind ursprünglich Vasallen des Fürsten von Urundi, des ‚Muesi', wie sein Titel lautet, gewesen." Es werden hier erwähnt die Herrschaften Ramata, zwischen Russisi und Kadscheke, Uwjuko mit seiner Provinz Kundamwa, Wehenusa, das im Nordwesten davon gelegene Gebiet des Ssekissanga und das Gebiet des Wasasa an der Grenze von Ruanda, dessen Hauptteil zwischen den Flüssen Luha und Njakagunda gelegen ist, zu dem aber auch die Landschaften auf dem linken Ufer des letzteren gehören. Die Gebiete auf dem rechten Russisi-Ufer von der Felsenbrücke im Norden bis zum Tanganjika im Süden und dem Grabenrande im Westen wurden durch Kinoni beherrscht. Nach der belgischen Besitzergreifung bekam Kinoni noch die Gebiete im Osten vom Russisi, zwischen Muhira und Njakagunda-Fluß, wurde aber von dort durch die deutschen Behörden vertrieben. Kinoni hat seinerzeit den belgischen Leutnant

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[1]) Mtussi — zum Hirtenadel gehörende, vgl. Kapitel 6.

[2]) v. TROTHA (Meine Bereisung von Deutsch-Ostafrika. Berlin 1897, S. 61) spricht von Lukobosa.

[3]) RAMSAY, H., Über die Expeditionen nach Ruanda und Rikwa-See. Verhandlung der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin 1898, Band 25, S. 309.

[4]) CAPUS, R. P., Eine Missionsreise nach Uha und Urundi. Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, S. 185.

[5]) RAMSAY, H., Uha, Urundi und Ruanda. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1897, S. 177.

[6]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 339.

DUBOIS den Rebellen ausgeliefert, als dieser bei ihm, nach einem verlorenen Gefecht mit den Meuterern, Zuflucht suchte[1]). Zum Schlusse wäre noch hervorzuheben die Feststellung Dr. KANDTs über den Häuptling von Kundamwa in Uwjuko[2]): „Muhambasi war merkwürdigerweise kein Landeskind, sondern ein aus Uganda stammender Mohammedáner, der zu Rumalisa's Zeiten auf irgendeine dunkle Weise Chef des Distrikts Kundamwa in Uwjuko geworden war."

UHA breitet sich im Süden und Osten von Urundi aus und reicht bis zu den Flüssen Utindi und Mlagarassi. Das Land zerfällt in die Herrschaften:

1. Heru,
2. Luguru,
3. Uschingo,
4. Udjidji,
5. Ukaranga,
6. Ujungu und
7. Muhambwe.

HERU[3]), die Herrschaft des Luassa, den RAMSAY[4]) als den mächtigsten Sultan von Uha bezeichnet, wird im Norden durch Mlagarassi, seine Zuflüsse Mugogo und Makäre[5]) oder Mgera, im Westen durch die Flüsse Mtungurusi und Luitsche und im Süden durch Lubundugi, Mkute und Masungwe begrenzt. Die Ostgrenze geht durch die Berge im Osten vom Mlagarassi.

LUGURU, die Herrschaft des Tale, die zwischen Heru, dem Mlagarassi und dessen Zuflusse Makäre eingeschlossen ist, wird im Süden durch die Buschsteppe des rechten Mlagarassi-Ufers (ca. 4° 57′ südlicher Breite) und die Höhen im Osten vom Mittellauf des Rutschugi begrenzt.

USCHINGO dehnt sich im Mlagarassi-Bogen aus und wird im Süden durch seine Zuflüsse Mugogo und Makäre begrenzt. Nach RAMSAY[5]) soll Uschingo ebenfalls durch Tale beherrscht werden.

UDJIDJI, die Herrschaft des Lussimbi[6]), dehnt sich zwischen den Grenzen von Heru und dem Tanganjika-See aus und hat den Luitsche-Fluß zur Südgrenze.

UKARANGA wird im Süden, Westen und Norden durch Mlagarassi, Tanganjika-See und die Heru-Herrschaft begrenzt. Die Ostgrenze folgt dem Luguwu-Oberlauf, und geht durch die Berge, im Westen von seinem Unterlaufe, zum Mlagarassi.

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 342.

[2]) Ebenda S. 348.

[3]) VAN DER BURGT, J. M. M., R. P., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande. Kartenbeilage. Société „l'Illustration Catholique". Bois-le-Duc (Hollande) 1903.

[4]) RAMSAY, H., Uha, Urundi und Ruanda. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1897, S. 177.

[5]) RAMSAY, H., Über die Expeditionen nach Ruanda und Rikwa-See. Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin 1898, Band XXV, S. 307.

[6]) Ebenda S. 305.

UJUNGU, das durch Kihumbi, den Sohn Kanza's, beherrscht wird[1]), erstreckt sich von der Ussuwi-Grenze im Norden bis zum Musenga-Plateau, den Ugongo-Bergen und den Sümpfen im Westen vom Utindi-Mittellauf, und von der Urundi- und Ussuwi-Grenze im Westen bis zum Lukoke-Utindi im Osten. Das linke Lukoke-Ufer gehört ebenfalls zu Ujungu.

MUHAMBWE ist bis jetzt noch ganz unerforscht und wird durch die Flüsse Utindi und Mlagarassi begrenzt. Im Norden stößt es an Ujungu.

Bevölkerungsdichte. Das Zwischenseengebiet gehört, wie schon erwähnt wurde, zu den am dichtesten bevölkerten Teilen des afrikanischen Kontinentes, wenn man auch die Bevölkerungszahl von Ruanda, und wohl auch von Urundi, etwas überschätzt hat.

Die Hauptmasse der Bevölkerung ist zu beiden Seiten der Nil-Kongo-Wasserscheide zusammengedrängt; außerdem befindet sich noch eine sehr dichte Bevölkerung auf den Terrassen über dem Victoria-See, auf der Ost- und Westseite des Ruwenzori und auf dem flachen Rücken von Bunyoro. In dieser Weise bilden die dicht bevölkerten Teile zwei lange und breite Säume, die am West- und Ostrande des Zwischenseengebietes hinlaufen. Der östliche Saum ist zusammenhängend und biegt sich an beiden Enden nach Osten um. Der westliche schrumpft im Osten vom Edward-See stark zusammen, reicht aber sehr weit nach dem Süden hinunter und wird zwischen Edward-See und Tanganjika sehr breit. Zwischen diesen beiden Säumen liegt eine schwach bevölkerte Zone, die in der Kagera-Steppe ganz menschenleer ist und dann, wie es scheint, etwas besser bevölkert, sich bis Buhimba fortsetzt. Deshalb finden wir auch bei Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER[2]) die Beobachtung: „Durch ganz Urundi und Uha nimmt die Bevölkerung von Westen nach Osten ab. Am dichtesten bewohnt und am besten bebaut sind die Täler und Kuppen des Randgebirges, wo deshalb vom ursprünglichen Wald fast nichts mehr zu finden ist, sehr gering dagegen viele Quarzitgebiete der östlichen Landstriche."

Man sollte meinen, daß die Einführung der Hüttensteuer in den nordöstlichen Teilen des Zwischenseengebietes die Möglichkeit gegeben hat, die Bevölkerungsverhältnisse genauer zu beurteilen. Die Angaben sind aber noch immer voll von Widersprüchen.

Auf Grund englischer Daten wurde für das Uganda-Protektorat eine Karte der Bevölkerungsdichte durch JOHNSTON[3]) entworfen. Diese Skizze bezieht sich freilich auf die letzten Jahre des vorigen Jahrhunderts, aber seit dieser Zeit wird kaum eine bedeutende Veränderung stattgefunden haben. Man muß

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[1]) CAPUS, R. P., Eine Missionsreise nach Uha und Urundi. Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, Band 44, S. 123.

[2]) Reiseberichte von Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER aus Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, S. 354.

[3]) JOHNSTON, H., The Uganda-Protectorate. Kartenbeilage. London 1904, S. 248.

natürlich von den Schlafkrankheitsherden Busoga und den Sesse-Inseln absehen. In Busoga ist die Bevölkerung stark zurückgegangen. Auf den Sesse-Inseln ging sogar der größere Teil der Einwohner zugrunde, und die übrigen zerstreuten sich.

Wir können aber dieser Karte noch die folgenden, auf amtlichen Schätzungen basierten Einwohnerzahlen und, auf Grund vorhandener Karten, approximativ gemessene Flächengrößen einzelner Staaten beifügen:

Staaten	Einwohnerzahl	Fläche qkm	Bevölkerungsdichte
Buganda	1 000 000[1])	28 700	35
Koki	80 000 ?	2 000	40 ?
Bunyoro	110 000[2])	13 800	8
Toro	180 000	12 000	15
Bukanga	10 000[3])	1 100	9
Nkole (ohne Mpororo)	400 000[3])	9 200	45 ?

Die Angaben der Karte und der Tabelle widersprechen sich sehr stark bezüglich Bunyoro und Nkole. JOHNSTON erwähnt für Bunyoro die Zahl von 110 000 Einwohnern und verzeichnet auf der Karte eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 45—60 Einwohnern pro Quadratmeile (2,6 qkm), die, für 13 800 qkm berechnet, mehr als das Doppelte der obigen Schätzung von JOHNSTON ausmacht. Die Zahlen von MELDON geben für Nkole eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 45 Einwohnern pro qkm, während JOHNSTON eine fünfmal kleinere Dichte auf seiner Karte angibt.

Auf Grund eigener Beobachtungen habe ich den Eindruck gewonnen, daß Bunyoro wesentlich schwächer bevölkert ist als Toro, und die von JOHNSTON angegebene Zahl wird daher eher als die Angaben seiner Karte dem faktischen Verhältnisse entsprechen. Die Zahlen von MELDON sind ganz unwahrscheinlich hoch, und die Angaben von JOHNSTON werden für Nkole ganz sicher der Wahrheit näher kommen.

Für den Bezirk Bukoba, im deutschen Teile des Zwischenseengebietes, können wir viel genauere Zahlen angeben. Diese wurden im Jahre 1906 durch den kaiserlichen Residenten, Hauptmann W. VON STUEMER, gesammelt. Ich stelle sie zusammen mit den, auf Grund des Kolonialatlas geschätzten Flächengrößen der entsprechenden Gebiete:

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[1]) ROSCOE, J., The Baganda. Their Customs and Beliefs. London 1911, S. 6.
[2]) JOHNSTON, H., The Uganda-Protectorate. London 1902, S. 591.
[3]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, Band VI, S. 139.

	Einwohner		Männer		Frauen		Kinder		Hütten	Fläche in qkm	Bevölkerungsdichte Einwohner pro qkm
	absolut	pro Hütte	absolut	pro Hütte	absolut	pro Hütte	absolut	pro Hütte			
Kiziba	31 982	4,21	7 150	0,94	14 180	1,87	10 652	1,40	7 601	1 100	29
Karagwe	26 910	3,04	8 900	1,01	10 050	1,14	7 960	0,90	8 850	8 700	3
dazu Ischango.	719	2,50	288	1,00	221	0,77	210	0,72	288	?	?
Kyanja	37 472	3,04	10 909	0,88	14 911	1,21	11 652	0,95	12 330	2 200	17
Ihangiro	27 866	2,34	11 156	0,94	9 610	0,81	7 100	0,60	11 886	3 000	9
Kiamtwara . . .	20 652	3,47	5 520	0,93	8 050	1,35	7 082	1,19	5 950	350	59
Bugabo	16 690	3,44	4 600	0,95	6 340	1,31	5 750	1,19	4 850	250	67
Deutsch-Buddu .	7 077	3,18	?	?	?	?	?	?	2 224	950	7
Insel Bumbire (Kronland) . .	2 097	2,91	666	0,93	918	1,28	513	0,71	720	?	?
Ost-Ussuwi . . .	300 000	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	7 800	38
Stadt Bukoba . .	685	3,16	206	0,95	348	1,60	131	0,60	217	?	?
Missionsschulen .	858	2,96	278	0,96	333	1,15	247	0,85	290	—	—
Bezirk Bukoba .	473 000	3,13	?	0,94	?	1,23	?	0,97	?	24 500	19

Aber auch diese Zahlen sind bei weitem nicht exakt. Die Angaben über Ihangiro und Ischango sind ganz gewiß unrichtig, denn eine so große Anzahl von Hütten ohne erwachsene Frauen ist ganz undenkbar. Auch die Bestimmung der Hüttenzahl, die man am einfachsten gewinnen kann, konnte nicht genau gemacht werden, da die Eingeborenen, um der Steuer zu entgehen, eine Anzahl ihrer Hütten verheimlicht hatten. REHSE[1]) stellte für Kiziba 8413 Hütten fest. Die verheimlichten machen also nach dieser Angabe 10% aus. Trotzdem bleibt diese Zusammenstellung das Beste, was wir über die Bevölkerungsverhältnisse im Zwischenseengebiete besitzen.

Der auffällige Frauenüberschuß ist rechnerisch dadurch entstanden, daß die Kinder getrennt und ohne Geschlechtsangabe gezählt wurden. Die schneller wachsenden Mädchen scheiden früher aus der Kinderkategorie aus und vergrößern die Anzahl der Frauen, während die Knaben in diesem Alter immer noch zu den Kindern gezählt werden. Die Abwanderung der Saisonarbeiter nach Uganda und die größere Männersterblichkeit sind erst in zweiter Linie für den großen Frauenüberschuß in Rechnung zu setzen.

Auf Grund der vorhandenen Daten ist es sehr schwer zu sagen, ob man es im Bukoba-Bezirk mit einer Bevölkerungszunahme zu tun hat. Auf einen Mann kommt 1,3 Frau und ein Kind. Würde die Lebensdauer einer Frau viermal so lang wie die Dauer des Kindesalters sein, so müßte man auf eine Frau zum mindesten 3—4 Geburten rechnen. Über die Sterblichkeit fehlen aber Anhaltspunkte.

Sprachverhältnisse. Die Bevölkerung des Zwischenseengebietes ist in sprachlicher Beziehung eng miteinander verwandt, wenn man vom kleinen Gebiet der Shifalu, die einen Teil des linken Victoria-Nil-Ufers im Norden besiedeln,

[1]) REHSE, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 1.

absieht. Shifalu sind Sudan-Neger der Acholi-Gruppe, während die übrige Bevölkerung die Gruppe der Zwischenseen-Bantu bildet.

Die Zwischenseen-Bantu gehören sprachlich zu drei Gruppen:

Luganda,
Runyoro,
Kirundi,

zu denen man noch das von jenseits der Seenlinie auf den Ruwenzori herübergreifende Lukondjo hinzurechnen muß.

Das Luganda wurde am Anfange des vorigen Jahrhunderts vom Oberlaufe des Victoria-Nils bis zum Unterlaufe des Katonga gesprochen. Die Ostgrenze dieses Sprachgebietes bildete der Victoria-See, während die Westgrenze durch die menschenleere neutrale Zone ca. 100 km landeinwärts vom Seeufer hinlief. Im Laufe des XIX. Jahrhunderts hat sich das Luganda-Sprachgebiet wesentlich vergrößert. Zunächst wurde der Runyoro-Dialekt, der in Buddu noch vor 40—50 Jahren gesprochen wurde, verdrängt. In dieser Weise erreichte das Luganda den Bukara-Fluß. Jetzt wird Luganda auch in Deutsch-Buddu gesprochen, und die Südgrenze seiner Ausdehnung bildet der Kagera. Auch die Westgrenze verschiebt sich zuungunsten des Runyoro in der Richtung der seit 1897 durch die Engländer stark nach Westen vorgeschobenen Grenze des Buganda-Staates. Die Sprachgrenze ist aber mit dieser noch nicht identisch, wenn man auch auf dem ganzen Gebiete Baganda findet, und entspricht, wie es scheint, ungefähr der politischen Grenze vom Jahre 1893. In dieser Weise umfaßt der Buganda-Staat, in seiner neuen Ausdehnung, an der Westgrenze, Runyoro-Sprachgebiete. Gegenwärtig werden in Buganda Runyoro-Dialekte in folgenden Gegenden gesprochen: in den Provinzen Koki, Kabula, Mowogola, Buyaga, Bugangezi, Buruli, im Nordteile von Usingo und auf den Inseln Sesse. Das Runyoro wird hier aber wohl bald verschwinden, ebenso wie es im Buddu verschwunden ist. So haben zum Beispiel die Baganda den SO von Buruli besiedelt, den Choga-See erreicht und das Runyoro-Sprachgebiet von dem auf dem Ostufer des Victoria-Nil gelegenen Busoga getrennt.

Das Runyoro, das jetzt mit soviel Erfolg durch das Luganda verdrängt wird, dehnt sich über sehr große Gebiete aus. Seine zahlreichen, wie es scheint, nur wenig verschiedenen Dialekte nehmen für sich fast die Hälfte des Zwischenseengebietes in Anspruch. Die Nordgrenze dieses Sprachgebietes bildet der Victoria-Nil vom Choga-See bis zum Albert-See, mit Ausnahme des durch Shifalu besetzten Teiles seines linken Ufers, zwischen dem Foweira-Knie und dem Oberlaufe der Waiga-Kiswata. Die Ostgrenze des Runyoro-Sprachgebietes bildet im Norden — die oben besprochene Westgrenze des Luganda-Sprachgebietes, und im Süden vom Kagera — der Victoria-See bis zum Smith-Sund. Die Südgrenze machen die Wälder und Höhen, auf der Wasserscheide zwischen den Becken des Victoria-Sees und des Tanganjika, aus. Von der Wasserscheide springt die Sprachgrenze auf den Kagera über, folgt ihm nach Norden und geht

dann von ihm, noch etwas oberhalb des großen Knies, auf das Südufer des Ngesi-Sees (Buyondo) und von dort auf den Ngesi ya Mutanda (Mutscha-See) über; folgt dann dem Iwi-Flusse (Nyievu) und dem Rutshuru; von da geht die Grenze auf den Terrassenrand über dem Edward-See, dem Kazinga-Kanal und dem Georg-See hinüber. In den Dörfern am Seeufer, wie Katana, Katanda und Kazinga, an der Mündung des Kazinga-Kanals in den Edward-See, wird schon Lukondjo gesprochen. Vom Georg-See geht die Sprachgrenze die Sümpfe des Wimi-Flusses hinauf, läuft dann am Fuße des Westabhanges des Ruwenzori nach Norden, geht auf den Sipaya-Bach hinüber, kreuzt den Semliki, erreicht die Höhen der Kongo-Wasserscheide, folgt ihr nach Norden, greift, etwa in der Mitte des Westufers des Albert-Sees, etwas in das Kongo-Becken hinüber und kehrt dann zum Ufer des Albert-Sees zurück.

Außerhalb der hier angegebenen Grenzen findet man im Westen in größerer Zahl runyorosprechende Bahima in den Steppen im Süden vom Ruwenzori zwischen Kazinga und dem Ausflusse des Semliki, also vor allem in Katwe und Kazindi, wie auch in der Steppe zwischen dem linken Ufer des Semliki, dem Edward-See und dem Abhange der Kongo-Wasserscheide.

Im Osten, vom Runyoro-Gebiet durch die Baganda getrennt, haben wir noch Busoga mit den Grenzen Victoria-Nil, Choga-See, Mpologoma-See, Mündung des Siyo-Flusses und Victoria-See[1]).

Von den Runyoro-Dialekten, die ihre Namen in der Hauptsache den Staaten verdanken, in denen sie gesprochen werden, sollen hier nur die wichtigsten erwähnt werden:

a) Eigentliches Runyoro, das in Bunyoro und Toro gesprochen wird[2]),

b) Runyankole, die Sprache von Nkole[3]),

c) Runyambo, das in Karagwe und Mpororo gesprochen wird,

d) Ruhaya oder Ruziba, die Sprache von Buhaya, die Kiziba, Kiamtwara, Kyanja, Bugabo und Ihangiro umfaßt,

e) Rusindja, das in Busindja, mit Ost-Ussuwi und der östlichen Hälfte von West-Ussuwi, gesprochen wird[4]),

f) Lusoga, die Sprache von Busoga.

Das Kirundi-Sprachgebiet wird im Westen durch das Runyoro-Gebiet und weiter im Süden etwa durch die Flüsse Lukoki, Utindi und das Sumpfgebiet des letzteren begrenzt. Die Südgrenze soll ungefähr durch den Mlagarassi

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[1]) CONDON, F. M. A., Contribution to the Ethnography of the Basoga-Batamba. Uganda-Protectorate. Br. E. Africa. Anthropos 1910, S. 934—956.

[2]) MADDOX, H. E., Lunyoro Grammar. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. London, Northumberland Avenue, W. C. 1902.

[3]) GORJU, P. J., Essai de Grammaire Comparée du Ruganda au Runyoro et au Runyankole. Imprimerie des Missionnaires d'Afrique. Maison-Carrée (Alger) 1906.

[4]) In der Arbeit: „STRUCK, B., Begleitworte zur Dialektkarte von Unjamwesi. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1910, S. 101—110." werden die Bezeichnungen „Kinambu" und „Tjizindza" benutzt.

gebildet werden. Die Westgrenze des Kirundi-Sprachgebietes läuft ungefähr auf dem Westrande des Großen Afrikanischen Grabens, greift aber an mehreren Stellen tiefer nach Westen hinein.

Als Hauptdialekte sind hier zu erwähnen:

a) Kiha, das in Uha gesprochen wird,

b) Eigentliches Kirundi, die Sprache von Urundi,

c) Kinyaruanda, die Sprache von Ruanda,

d) Kitwa. Nach R. P. VAN DER BURGT sollen nämlich die Batwa einen besonderen archaistischen Dialekt — das Kitwa — sprechen.

Am Westrande des Großen Afrikanischen Grabens unterscheidet man die Dialekte:

e) Ruhunde, das vom Edward-See, dem Ruende (Mombo-Fluß) und seinem Zufluß Lula im Norden bis zum Tshigasi-Bach, einem kleinen Zufluß des Kiwu, im Süden, und von der Rutshuru-Steppe, der Lavaebene des Namlagira und dem Kiwu-See im Osten bis jenseits der Kongo-Wasserscheide reicht.

f) Kinyabungu, das auf der Westhälfte der Insel Kwidschwi (Idshwi), auf dem Westufer des Russisi-Oberlaufes und dem südlichen Teile des westlichen Kiwu-Ufers gesprochen wird und ebenfalls über den Westrand des Großen Afrikanischen Grabens hinübergreift.

Den vierten Bantu-Stamm der Zwischenseengruppe bilden die Bakondjo. Die Ostgrenze ihres Sprachgebietes wurde schon bei der Besprechung der Westgrenze des Runyoro-Gebietes erwähnt. Die Westgrenze folgt dem Fuße der Abhänge des Ruwenzori, geht dann auf den Semliki hinüber, folgt ihm ein wenig in nördlicher Richtung und springt dann auf die Höhen des Grabenrandes hinüber, denen sie bis zur geographischen Breite des Südufers des Edward-Sees folgt, und steigt dann bis zum See hinunter. Infolgedessen ist dieser See von allen Seiten durch Bakondjo umgeben. Nur im Süden ist der Sprachsaum sehr schmal; er beschränkt sich auf die Fischerdörfer am Ufer.

Clans. Die Bevölkerung des Zwischenseengebietes zerfällt in eine Anzahl exogamer, totemistischer, patriarchaler Clans, die durch „abaziru"[1]), meistens Eßverbote, welche sich direkt oder indirekt auf die Totemtiere beziehen, voneinander geschieden sind.

Man findet die Angehörigen derselben Clans an verschiedenen Stellen und in verschiedenen Staaten des Zwischenseengebietes verstreut. In dieser Weise besteht die ganze Bevölkerung aus den miteinander räumlich durchflochtenen Clans. Diese Durchflechtung läßt auf wiederholte Wanderungen im Zwischenseengebiete schließen, denen wohl die so weit vorgeschrittene territoriale Homogenisierung zu verdanken ist.

Als ein sehr auffallendes wissenschaftliches Ergebnis muß die Tatsache betrachtet werden, daß viele Clans dasselbe „umuziru" haben. Auf sechs „abaziru":

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[1]) Im Singular „umuziru".

Ngabi — Zwergantilope,
Umutima resp. Muganya — Herz,
Itimba — schwarze, weißgefleckte Kuh,
Obrusito — Milch frisch gedeckter Kuh,
Rutoni — Wiesel,
Mbazi — ?

entfallen zwei Fünftel der mir mit „umuziru"-Angaben bekannten Clans. Diese Tatsache hängt wohl mit der Differenzierung der Clans in Untergruppen zusammen. Infolge der Tatsache, daß die Clans sich an verschiedenen Stellen in Unterclans differenziert haben und unter neuen Namen uns entgegentreten, wobei die Ermittlung der eigentlichen Clannamen oft mit großen Schwierigkeiten verbunden ist, wird die Systematisierung der Clanverteilung noch längere Arbeit erfordern. Mit Rücksicht auf das schon Bekannte kann man aber erwarten, daß noch viele der jetzt unter verschiedenen Namen in den einzelnen Teilen des Zwischenseengebiets vorkommenden Clans sich als Teile derselben Verbände erweisen werden. Dann wird die, schon jetzt wahrnehmbare, Durchflechtung der Clanbesitze noch viel auffälliger werden.

Abgesehen von den unmittelbaren Angaben über Clandifferenzierung, finden sich noch Spuren dieses Prozesses in den sozialen Einrichtungen und Sitten des Zwischenseengebietes. Das von R. P. H. VAN THIELE [1]) erwähnte „bugurwe" Busindja's gehört, wie es scheint, zu dieser Kategorie. Nach der Überlieferung von Busindja zur Zeit Karakaza's, fallen alle unverheirateten Männer im Kampfe gegen Uha. Es wird beschlossen, daß die wenigen, die im Lande zum Schutz zurückgeblieben, das Land durchwandern und für Nachkommenschaft sorgen sollen. „Daher soll auch der Brauch des sog. *bugurwe* stammen, d. h. das Verhältnis der Zusammengehörigkeit zwischen mehreren Familien, das auch ein Ehehindernis darstellt. Das bugurwe besteht indes nicht in allen Familien. Es gehören zusammen z. B. die Basita und Bafunda, ferner die Batongere und Batundu: diese heiraten untereinander, jene dagegen nicht. Von den zusammengehörigen Familien bezeichnet die eine die andere als *ekigurwe kyeitu*."

Die Differenzierung bildet, wie es scheint, aber nicht die einzige Ursache des Vorkommens verschiedener Clans mit gleichen „abaziru". Kassagama, der Herrscher von Toro, vertritt den Standpunkt, daß nicht alle Clans, die in Bunyoro und Toro „ngabi" zum „umuziru" haben, Babito sind. Diese dunkle und doch sehr wichtige Frage aufzuklären, ist mir, trotz aller Bemühungen, nicht gelungen.

Mit Rücksicht auf die große Bedeutung der Angaben über die Verbreitung der einzelnen Clans für die Kolonisationsgeschichte des Zwischenseengebietes, stelle ich in der folgenden Tabelle die mir in Bunyoro, Toro, Nkole, Mpororo,

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[1]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 506.

Kiamtwara, Kiziba und Ruanda bekannten Clans zusammen. Die hier verzeichneten Toro-Clans entnehme ich zum größten Teil dem Notizbuch des Toro-Königs Kassagama, der mir diese Daten in freundlicher Weise zur Verfügung gestellt hat, und die ich mit denjenigen ergänzt habe, auf die ich, hauptsächlich bei den Messungen (vgl. Anthropologischer Band, Meßtabellen), von selbst gestoßen bin.

Die weiter unten besonders verzeichneten Babito-Clans wurden in die allgemeine Tabelle nur in den wenigen Fällen (3) eingetragen, wo sich diese auch außerhalb von Bunyoro und Toro feststellen ließen.

Umuiru	Bunyoro	Toro	Nkole Mpororo	Kiamtwara	Kiziba	Ruanda	Bemerkung (von wo eingewandert: ohne Zeichen nach Kiziba, + nach Kiamtwara, für die autochthone Bevölkerung das ursprüngliche Ansiedlungszentrum)
		Baasuira	Baasuira				—
						Baasigu	—
						Babadji	—
Ngabi-Zwergantilope					Babago		—
	Babanda	Babanda		Babagwe			+ aus Kitendugu
Amara, Gedärme jedes Tieres						Babanda	—
		Babango		Babango	Babango		—
	Babiaai						—
	Babidjwa						—
	Babinga						—
		Babingo					—
							{Autochthonen Kiziba's
				Babini			+ aus Kiaka
Butiza	Babuopi	Babopi					+ aus Igombe
				Babuta			—
		Babwongu		Babwongu			+ aus Kashangati
							+ aus Kinyagireko
						Babusi	—
	Babyeda					Babwari	—
Rigaurva, Kamelkuh Rutosi, Wiesel							—
						Bachacha	Zweig der Baloye
						Bachakohogo	Zweig der Bahoma
Ngabi-Zwergantilope	Bachwa	Bachwa				Bachoba	—
Kanyamukungu	Bachwamba	Bachwamba					—
Ohuuiu, Milch frisch gedeckter Kuh							—
	Bachwezi	Bachwezi					—
						Badjadja	—
			Badjema				—
			Badjerra				—
						Badogo	—
Nzeru, schwarze weißgestreifte Kuh						Badobe	Zweig der Basinga
	Badwa-zimuyu						
						Buga	
Ngabi-Zwergantilope				Baembe			+ aus Kiziru
	Baere			Baende	Baende		+ aus Bwembe
		Bafumambogo					—
Itimba, weißgefleckte Kuh							—
		Bafunjo		{Bafunda (Buindja)}			—
Nkira	Bagabu	Bagabu					—
Ngabi-Zwergantilope		Bagabo		Bagabe	Bagabe	Bagabe	—
Nzeru, schwarze weißgestreifte Kuh							+ aus Bwembe
		Bagabe			Bagabe		—
			Bagai	Bagai	Bagai	Bagai	—
Mumbo-Milchfluch		Bagaya		Bagaya	Bagaiya		{aus Buganda,
Ngabi-Zwergantilope		Bagaiya	Bagahiya		Bagaiya		+aus Rugasi
Motima, Herz jedes Tieres							—
		Bagahi	Bagahi		Bagahai		aus Karagwe
						Bagambira	—
Ngonge, Flechter				Baganga	Baganga		{aus Kiamtwara
							+ aus Muisi
Akapel karwasi				Bagarai		Bagara	{Bagara-Zweig des Batsiaba
					Bagaraba		+aus Itawa

Umuziru	Busyoro	Toro	Nholo Mpororo	Kiamtwara	Kisiba	Ruanda	Bemerkung (von wo eingewandert: ohne Zeichen nach Kisiba, + nach Kiamtwara, für die autochthone Bevölkerung das ursprüngliche Ansiedlungscentrum)
Amara, Gedärme jedes Tieres					Bagesho		aus Kiamtwara
Niamanza, Bachsteine			Bagesera			Bagesera	—
Mbasi	Bagima	Bagima					—
Buirtu		Baginu					—
		Bagina	Bagina				—
Mutima, Herz jedes Tieres		Bagiri		Bagiri	Bagiri	Bagiri	aus Kiamtwara + aus Kitwe
						Bagirima	Zweig der Basinga
						Bagoboko	—
Obusito, Milch frisch gedeckter Kuh		Bagumbe					—
Ngabi - Zwergantilope		Bagumba		Bagombe	Bagombe		aus Karagwe + aus Bibanja
					Bagomzaike Lugomzaike		—
	Baguru	Baguru					—
Ingwe, Leopard						Bagwabiro	—
	Bahambi	Bahambo					—
						Bahangara	—
Obusito, Milch frisch gedeckter Kuh		Bahati				Bahachi	—
						Bahese	—
					Bahenge		Zweig der Batsiaba
			Bahiana				—
Infundi, kleiner roter Vogel						Bahigo	
Nkende, Meerkatze	Bahinda	Bahinda	Bahinda	Bahinda			+ aus Bukare
					Bahoani		Autochthonen-Kisiba's
Rutoni, Wiesel						Bahoma	Batita, Beshoke, Bachakobogo
Akarai karwasi		Bahoromo		Bahoromo	Bahoromo		aus Kiamtwara, + aus Makongo
						Bahotso	—
Niamanza, Bachsteine						Bahuma	—
			Bahumbo			Bahumba	—
						Bahunde	—
Ente ya ngobe, bunt gestreifte Kuh		Bahunga		Bahunga (u. in Busindja)	Baunga		aus Karagwe
						Bahungudu	—
		Bahungura				Bahunguia	—
					Bahutu		aus Karagwe
						Bahuzi	—
						Baichosi	—
Itimba, weißgefleckte Kuh		Baikaranzi					—
Mutima, Herz jedes Tieres					Baimi		—
Itimba, weißgefleckte Kuh		Baisanan					—
		Baishumba					—
Mbasi	Bairuntu	Bairuntu	Bairuntu			Bairuntu	—
Mbasi		Baitera	Baitera			Baitera	—
Njubu, Flußpferd		Bajubu		Bajubu	Bajubu		+ aus Ihoma
						Baisha	—
Amara, Eingeweide jedes Tieres und nwasha gwe kitoke	Bakango	Bakango		Bakango	Bakango	Bakango	+ aus Kabare
Infundi, kl. roter Vogel						Bakasyam	—
						Bakara	—
		Bakengere					—
		Bakiereyya					—
						Bakiaba	—
			Bakigoma			Bakima	—
		Bakimbiri	Bakimbiri			Bakimbiri	—
					Bakioga		aus Kitara
Ngabi - Zwergantilope		Bakirembo		Bakirembo			aus Itawa
Akarai karwasi		Bakoba		Bakoba			+ aus Katoma
						Bakobga	—
		Bakonago					—
		Bakono				Bakono	—
Rugunyu, Kameleon						Bakora	—
					Bakuma		Autochthonen Kisiba's
		Bakumangari				Bakumangari	—
						Bakundi	—
	Bakurumba						—
Itimba, weißgefleckte Kuh	Bakurunga	Bakurungu					—

Umuóra	Bunyoro	Toro	Nkole Mpororo	Kiamtwara	Kiziba	Ruanda	Bemerkung (von wo eingewandert: ohne Zeichen nach Kiziba, + nach Kiamtwara, für die autochthone Bevölkerung d. ursprüngl. Ansiedlungscentrum)
Ngabi - Zwergantilope		Bakurwa		Bakurwa	Bakurwa		+ aus Ihanda
Ngabi - Zwergantilope	Bakwanga	Bakwanga					—
Magnaya, Herz jedes Tieres				Bakyaija			+ aus Bwanja
					Bakyungo		—
					Bale		—
Ngabi - Zwergantilope	Balebeki	Balebeki			Balebeki		aus Kitara
	Balogo						—
			Balende				—
Ngabi-Zwergantilope		Balenge		Balenge	Balenge		aus Mpororo u. Karagwe + aus Kyasa.
	Balesi					Balesi	—
	Balkhira					Balkhira	—
			Balindi				—
Ilimba, weißgefleckte Kuh		Balim					—
					Balongo		aus Karagwe
						Baloye	Bachacha
				Balyahuma (Buzindja)			—
						Balyolyo	—
Ngabi - Zwergantilope	Bamambogo	Bamali					—
							—
		Bambari				Bambar.	aus Ndorwa nach Mulera
Erste yu ngobe s'amati, buntgestreifte Kuh u. ihre Milch		Bamiro			Bamiro		Aus Kitara
	Bamori	Bamori					—
Mbazi		Bana					—
		Banbui			Banbui		—
		Banda					—
		Bango		Bange			+ aus Kihiye
						Banegitare	—
						Bangona	—
						Bangota	—
		Bangura				Bangura	—
		Baniegimia				Baniegimia	—
						Banyabeneki	—
						Banyabyinshi	—
Nzere, schwarz weißgestreifte Kuh		Banyabembe					—
		Banyaidewi			Banyaidewi		—
		Banyakarama				Banyakarama	—
Ngabi - Zwergantilope	Banyakwa	Banyakwa					—
		Banyakosi					—
		Banyamangi					—
						Banyambo	—
		Banyampaka					—
		Banyamakamba					—
		Banyamurwa					—
		Banyamutwa					—
		Banyanwega					—
		Banyandago					—
		Banyapara					—
Ilimba, weißgefleckte Kuh		Banyara					—
Ngabi-Zwergantilope		Banyawagi					—
		Banyazizi					Teil der Bachwamba
Obusuto, Milch frischgedechter Kuh		Banyegera					—
Ilimba, weißgefleckte Kuh	Banyoma	Banyoma					—
Magnaya, Herz		Banyuma		Banyuma			+ aus Katoma
			Bazaira				—
Mimba, Mädchen				Barama			+ aus Maruka
	Barazi	Barazi			Barazi		aus Kitara
						Barazi	—
	Barendi					Barejura	—
				Bazizi			—
		Barimo			Barimo		+ aus Kibeta
Nkuru, Fische					Bartudo		—
	Barubugumbogo			Barungika			+ aus Minazi
		Barungu					—
						Barura	—
	Barwambogo						—
Erste yu ngobe s'amati, buntgestreifte Kuh und deren Milch		Barwazi		Barwazi	Barwazi		+ aus Mahungura
	Barwazikima						—

Umuziru	Bunyoro	Toro	Nkole Mpororo	Kiamtwara	Kisiba	Runda	Bemerkung (von wo eingewandert: ohne Zeichen nach Kisiba, + nach Kiamtwara, für die autochthone Bevölkerung d. ursprüngl. Ansiedlungscentrum)
Nkira		Basigi	Basigi				—
Ngabi - Zwergantilope	Bassisi			Bassisi	Bassisi		+ aus Kanazi, aus Uganda u. Kiamtwara
						Basale	—
Obrusito, Milch frischgedeckter Kuh		Basekera					—
Mboge				Basengia			+ aus Maruku
Ngabi-Zwergantilope u. Nsenene, Heuschrecke, Imperori, Klippschlieder		Bashagai		Bashagai	Bashagai	Basezera	— aus Karagwe, + aus Kiba
Ngabi-Zwergantilope	Bashambo	Bashambo	Bashambo			Bashama	—
Muganya, Herz jedes Tieres		Bashasha		Bashasha	Bashasha	Bashambo	— aus Mpororo u. Karagwe + aus Ntaho
		Basheigi					—
Nfuru, Fische		Bashengya			Bashengya		Autochthonen Kisiba's
	Bashikoto					Bashiobio	—
Nismanza, Bachetelse						Bashoke	—
Rutoni, Wiesel							
Kisisi, Strohhalm zum Leuchten		Bashonde		Bashonde	Bashonde		Zweig der Bahoma aus Kiamtwara, + aus Makondo
		Bashonga					—
Ngabi - Zwergantilope				Bashosi			+ aus Kigakama
						Basigali	—
		Basigi	Basigi			Basigi	Zweig der Basindi
		Basigisiti					—
			Basikatwa				—
Ngabi - Zwergantilope				Basimba	Basimba		+ aus Kyamgosi
Inganda-Antilope		Basindi		Basindi	Basindia	Basindi	+ aus Ruija
Neere, schwarze weißgestreifte Kuh	Basinga	Basinga	Basinga	Basinga [1] (auch in Busindja)	Basinga	Basinga	aus Karagwe, + aus Kyasha
			Basioba				—
	Basira						—
Obrusito, Milch frischgedeckter Kuh	Basita	Basita	Basita	Basita (Busindja)		Basita	—
Itimba, weiß gefleckte Kuh		Basonde		Basonde			+ aus Makondo
		Basorotó					—
						Basubaku	—
Itimba, weiß gefleckte Kuh	Basudia						—
		Basumbi					—
						Basungu	—
Ngabi - Zwergantilope		Baswera				Baswaga	—
Ebitguju embusi eisirue empisi, Überreste einer vom Leoparden geschlagenen Ziege				Batabasa	Batabasa	Baswera	—
		Bataka					—
		Batangi					—
					Batamuma		aus Karagwe
		Batasara			Batarara		aus Uganda
Ntama, Schaf						Batekamogi	—
						Batembe	—
Rutoni, Wiesel				Bateneita			+ aus Ruanga
						Batita	Zweig der Bahoma
					Batogi		aus Karagwe
		Bateirwa					—
		Batokoro		Batokoro			—
				Batongere (Busindja)			—
Ngabi - Zwergantilope		Batorogo	Batorogo				—
			Batsiaba			Batsiaba	Bagara, Bahese
						Batsilege	—
		Batsove				Batsove	—
Ebitguju embusi eisirue empisi, Überreste einer vom Leoparden geschlagenen Ziege		Batundu		Batundu [2] (Kiamtwara u. Busindja)	Batundu	Batundu	Autochthonen Kiamtwara's und Kisiba's

[1] in Kiamtwara angeblich ist sein „umuziru" — „nfuru", Fische.
[2] Nach R. P. L. Embil „umuziru" der Batundo in Kiamtwara ist die „nkende"-Meerkatze, nach Rehse (Kisiba S. 6) in Kisiba das oben angegebene, das, wie es scheint, das eigentliche ist.

Umuziru	Bunyoro	Toro	Nkole Mpororo	Kiamtwara	Kiziba	Ruanda	Bemerkung (von wo eingewandert: ohne Zeichen nach Kiziba, + nach Kiamtwara, für die autochthone Bevölkerung d. ursprüngl. Ansiedlungszentrum)
Obrunito, Milch frisch gedeckter Kuh		Batwa	Batwa	Batwa	Batwa [1]	Batwa	aus Karagwe
Ngabi-Zwergantilope		Batwairwe					+ aus Kabanga
Kkira		Batyoka					—
			Bavinika			Bavambari	—
						Bavuna	—
					Bawende		—
Kanyamukonge	Bayaga	Bayabara			Bayabara		aus Karagwe
		Bayaga					—
Nkunde, Meerkatze	von hier ausgewandert nach dem Süden [2]	Bayangi	Bayango	Bayango	Bayango		—
Mata yi mbogo, Büffelmilch							aus Karagwe + aus Kyaya—Kisindi und Kyanyonyi—Buembe
		Bayego		Bayego	Bayego		+ aus Kisendi
		Bayondo			Bayondo	Bayogu	—
	Bayonzu						—
							—
						Bayovu	—
						Bayumbo	Zweig der Basinga
Mugaya, Herz				Bayusi	Bayosi		aus Uganda + aus Katoma
Ngabi-Zwergantilope				Basiba	Basiba		+ aus Kisiru
			Barigaba	Barigaba		Basigaba	+ aus Maruku
					Basinba		aus Karagwe
Nkungu		Bazira		Bazira	Bazira		+ aus Iygama
Mbogo, Büffel	Bazirambogo	Bazirambogo		Bazirambogo	Bazirambogo		—
Rutoni, Wiesel						Basogera	Kiamtwara
		Basyubu			Basyubu		—

Die Angaben über die Kiziba-Clans verdanke ich R. P. B. HAUTMANN und diejenigen über die Kiamtwara-Clans R. P. L. EMBIL.

Dem Herrscher Kassagama verdanke ich die folgende Liste:

Clans der Babito. „umuziru" — Ngabi-Zwergantilope.

1. Batwara
2. Bagumba
3. Bachaki
4. Bagamwoyo
5. Bategwa
6. Batorogo
7. Bahaguzi
8. Bakomezi
9. Babedi
10. Basweramahinda
11. Bapanyarwa
12. Baposhisha
13. Babombara
14. Balyantama
15. Bajuka
16. Bataganyo
17. Basoko (Bashoka)
18. Bagaiya
19. Batagatina
20. Bagweri
21. Bachwamba
22. Bachwabugingo
23. Banyaihangwe
24. Bajogora
25. Baswera
26. Banyemera
27. Bagimbá
28. Bagundura

[1] In Kiziba (Rehse S. 6) „umuziru" ist „kukama este" — Melken der Rinder, in Toro „burango" — Zwillinge.

[2] Bei Emin Pascha (Zur Ethnologie der Gebiete um den Albert-See. Ausland 1891, S. 353.) finden wir die Angabe: „An der Nordostecke des Albert-Sees wohnt aus noch heute im Distrikt Magungo Missa ein jetzt kleiner Stamm reiner Wanyoro, die Wahinda, die behaupteten aus Nordosten eingewandert zu sein; sie sprachen eine eigene Sprache, die von der in der Nachbarschaft gesprochenen abwich, waren aber auch des Kinyoro mächtig geworden und erwarben bald großes Ansehen". Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß hier nicht die Bahinda sondern die Bayango gemeint sind.

29. Batahigwa
30. Bapina
31. Baharambingo
32. Bayogara
33. Batehimbwa
34. Bakoko
35. Bakangara
36. Bayenjo
37. Bamanya
38. Babyabutore
39. Basobyo
40. Bagodya
41. Barasa
42. Bandikosa

Unsere unvollständige Zusammenstellung zeigt schon, daß fast die Hälfte, der hier erwähnten Clans, wenigstens in zwei Staaten bereits beobachtet werden konnten.

In einem scharfen Gegensatze dazu steht die Tatsache, daß kaum drei der 42 Geschlechter, die zusammen die Babito bilden, sich außerhalb von Bunyoro und Toro beobachten ließen. Diese Feststellung befindet sich in Übereinstimmung mit der Tatsache, daß die Babito, ihrer Überlieferung gemäß, zuletzt (im XVI. Jahrhundert) ins Zwischenseengebiet eingewandert sind und noch nicht Zeit und Gelegenheit hatten, sich außerhalb von Bunyoro und Toro zu verbreiten.

Diese Tatsache zeigt uns, daß es unter Umständen auch möglich ist, aus der Zerstreuung der einzelnen Clans, resp. der Clangruppen, in einem Gebiet auf die Zeit ihrer Einwanderung oder Entstehung durch Differenzierung zu schließen.

Es verdient Beachtung, daß man unter den Clannamen auch Namen der Stämme, die entferntere Gebiete besiedeln, findet. So sehen wir in Toro, Mpororo, Kiamtwara, Kiziba und Ruanda den Clan der Batwa, in Toro und Kiziba die Clans der Bamiro und Banyaidshwi, die mit ihren Namen auf das Land in NO vom Victoria-Nil und auf die Insel des Kiwu-Sees Bezug nehmen, und in Ruanda die Banda, Banyambo und Butembe. Diese Koinzidenzen werden wohl nicht immer reine Zufälligkeit sein. Mitunter wird darum auf kleinere, eingewanderte, abgesprengte Teile fremder Stämme geschlossen werden können.

3. Kapitel.

Zur Geschichte des Zwischenseengebietes.

Geschichtsprobleme. — Die Urbevölkerung. — Einwanderungen aus dem Norden. — Groß-Bunyoro. — Das Babito-Reich. — Der Buganda-Staat. — Alte Staaten des Süd-Runyoro-Gebietes. — Bahinda-Genealogie. — Das Bahinda-Reich. — Bukerewe. — Bakango-Herrschaften. — Buddu. — Urundi und Uha. — Heroenkultus im Zwischenseengebiete.

Geschichtsprobleme. Obgleich schon mehrere Eingeborene und Europäer über die Staaten des Zwischenseengebietes geschrieben haben, sind unsere Kenntnisse über ihre ältere Geschichte immer noch sehr ungenügend, da in diesen Schriften meistens nur über die Genealogie der Herrscher, die inneren Streitigkeiten und die Raubzüge gegen die Nachbargebiete gehandelt wird. Die Namen der Herrscher der benachbarten Staaten werden dabei nur für die späteren Zeiten erwähnt, so daß eine Zusammenfassung der lückenhaften Berichte über die einzelnen Gebiete zu einer Gesamtdarstellung sehr schwierig ist.

In allen Überlieferungen des Zwischenseengebietes wird stets auf Einwanderungen fremder Eroberer aus dem Norden hingewiesen, die dem Lande die herrschenden Stände gebracht haben. Von diesen Einwanderungen wird wiederholt berichtet, so daß es sich ohne Zweifel um aufeinander folgende Wellen handelt. Auch ist die Übereinstimmung der einzelnen Berichte für das ganze Überlieferungsmaterial sehr charakteristisch und bürgt für die Richtigkeit der mitgeteilten historischen Tatsachen.

Unter diesen Umständen müssen sich die historischen Untersuchungen im Zwischenseengebiete als erste Hauptaufgabe die Bestimmung der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit der Urbevölkerung und der auf sie einwirkenden Invasionen fremder Stämme stellen. Die Überlieferung gibt aber dafür recht ungenügende Anhaltspunkte, die nur kritisch gesichtet und durch die Ergebnisse der anthropologischen und ethnologischen Forschung kontrolliert, benutzt werden können.

Die Urbevölkerung. EMIN PASCHA[1]) bezeichnet als Urbevölkerung von Bunyoro die sagenhaften Witschwesi. Über ihre ethnische Zugehörigkeit äußert er sich, daß „die am Südwest-Ufer des Albert-Sees mit den umliegenden Eingeborenen stets im Streite liegenden Walegga oder Bulegga mit den Witschwesi identisch sind und in historischer Zeit — ich meine afrikanisch-historische — über den See getrieben wurden."

[1]) EMIN PASCHA, Zur Ethnologie der Gebiete um den Albert-See. Ausland 1891, Bd. 64, S. 352, 353.

[p. 47]

Nach dieser Ansicht wären also die Ureinwohner von Bunyoro — Lendu, ein Madi-Stamm. Die Madi-Stämme sind jedoch im Besitze großer Gebiete im Norden von Bunyoro und haben eine südliche Wanderungsrichtung. Aus diesem Grunde ist es viel wahrscheinlicher, daß sie bei ihrer großen Kriegstüchtigkeit eher als Eroberer, in der Art der Bayango-Bahinda, aufgetreten sind und nicht als die Urbevölkerung von Bunyoro in Frage kommen können. Der Name Witschwesi allein gibt schon viel zu denken. Mit dem Namen „bachwezi" pflegt man die Geister der Verstorbenen, die Manen, zu bezeichnen. Der Name „bachwezi" wird aber in Bunyoro auch als Synonym zur Bezeichnung der Bahima- oder Bahinda-Dynasten, die nach dem Süden verdrängt wurden, benutzt. Diese alten Herrscher leben bis jetzt im Gedächtnis des Volkes, und ihre Geister (bachwezi) werden verehrt.

In Kiziba bezeichnet man als das älteste, durch die späteren Einwanderer zuerst im Lande vorgefundene, Geschlecht die Bakuma. Dieser Name macht uns auf die etwas westlicher im Kongo-Becken sitzenden Stämme aufmerksam, wenn man auch auf die Namenkoinzidenz allein nicht viel bauen darf. Diese Überlieferung wird aber durch anthropologische Tatsachen gestützt. Die im Verschwinden begriffene Urbevölkerung von Ruanda und Urundi, die Pygmoiden Batwa, werden in der Hauptmasse durch Elemente gebildet, die erst bei den Wald-Bantu verhältnismäßig rein zum Vorschein kommen. Läßt man dabei nicht außer acht, daß in früherer Zeit das Zwischenseengebiet, wie es scheint, bewaldet war und einen Teil des Kongo-Waldes gebildet hat, so wird es auch durchaus wahrscheinlich, daß seine Bevölkerung mit den mittelgroßen Negern des östlichen Kongo-Waldes identisch gewesen sein konnte, und dieser ganze Wald, auch in anthropologischer und ethnographischer Hinsicht, eine einheitliche Provinz gebildet hat.

Bei den Batwa haben sich aber noch Pygmäen-Spuren erhalten. Dieser Umstand macht uns auf die Möglichkeit einer noch älteren Bevölkerungsschicht im Zwischenseengebiete aufmerksam. Das Vorkommen einer primären Pygmäen-Schicht im Zwischenseengebiete wurde bekanntlich durch JOHNSTON verteidigt[1]).

Die Spuren der beiden hier besprochenen alten Bevölkerungsschichten sind im Norden und Osten des Zwischenseengebietes schon verschwunden. Dort pflegt man auch als Urbevölkerung, im Gegensatze zu den später eingewanderten Hirten, die Ackerbauer zu bezeichnen. Diese sind, wie es schon durch STUHLMANN[2]) erkannt wurde, mit den Bakondjo enge verwandt. Er machte dabei darauf aufmerksam, daß die vorhandenen Unterschiede auf die differenzierende Wirkung der Einwanderungen aus dem Norden zurückzuführen seien.

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[1]) JOHNSTON, H., The Uganda Protectorate. London 1902, S. 523.
[2]) STUHLMANN, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1894, S. 842.

Einwanderungen aus dem Norden. Gehen wir nunmehr zu den Einwanderungen aus dem Norden über, die hier eine so große Rolle gespielt haben, da alle Staatenbildungen, die über das Niveau einer patriarchalischen Sippe hinausragen, mit ihnen in Zusammenhang gebracht werden müssen.

Eine der ältesten Einwanderungen brachte dem Zwischenseengebiet die Bahima-Batutsi. Diese können, wohl mit Recht, mit den hamitischen Galla in Zusammenhang gebracht werden, wenn auch diese Ansicht bis jetzt immer noch nicht definitiv begründet werden konnte. Man darf nämlich dabei nicht außer Acht lassen, daß die Tatsache der Batutsi-Einwanderung selbst nur auf Vermutungen anthropologischen und ethnologischen Charakters beruht, historisch aber nicht fest begründet ist. Über diese Einwanderung sind bis jetzt noch keine unmittelbaren Überlieferungen bekannt. LANGHELD[1]) bemerkt nur kurz, daß die Bahima für ihre Heimat ein Land im Nordosten angeben, „wo große Berge seien und wo der Mond aus deren Spitzen neue Kraft und sein schönes weißes Licht schöpft." Die meisten Bahima-Überlieferungen nehmen Bezug auf die Gründung der gegenwärtigen Staaten, die vor 15 bis 18 Generationen stattgefunden hat. Man kann jedoch auf Grund des vorhandenen Materials ohne Mühe nachweisen, daß die Bahima schon seit viel längerer Zeit ihre Rinder im Zwischenseengebiet weiden.

Als die Baganda vor 23 Generationen, unter der Führung von Kintu, aus dem Norden in ihre gegenwärtigen Sitze eingewandert waren, traten sie in ein Nachbarschaftsverhältnis zu den Banyoro, die in Bunyoro den Boden bebauten, und zu den Bahima, die in Nkole ihre Rinder weideten[2]). Kintu's Enkel Kalemera, der zu Lebzeiten seines Vaters Chwa in Bunyoro starb, war mit der Muhima-Frau Wanyana verheiratet. Diese schenkte ihm den Sohn Kimera, der nach dem Tode seines Großvaters in Buganda regierte. Diese Tatsachen beweisen, daß die Einwanderung der Bahima aus dem Norden weiter zurückliegt als die Baganda-Einwanderung. Infolgedessen kann sie auch nicht mit dem Anfange der gegenwärtigen, in den Staaten des Runyoro-Sprachgebietes seit 15 bis 18 Generationen herrschenden Dynastien in Zusammenhang gebracht werden.

Die Zeit der Baganda-Einwanderung kann annähernd bestimmt werden. Das Ableben von 22 Herrschergenerationen erlaubt diesen Zeitpunkt in den Anfang des XV. Jahrhunderts zu verlegen. Die Bahima-Einwanderung konnte infolgedessen nicht später als in den ersten Jahrhunderten unseres Milleniums stattgefunden haben. MORIÉ[3]) spricht in seinem unkritischen Buche sogar vom VII. Jahrhundert. Diese chronologische Angabe stimmt sehr gut mit unseren übrigen Kenntnissen überein. Leider konnte ich ihre Quelle nicht ermitteln. MORIÉ zitiert die benutzte Quelle nicht.

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[1]) LANGHELD, W., Über einen Zug nach Ruhanda. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1895, S. 73.
[2]) Aus dem Manuskript des R. P. ACHTE.
[3]) MORIÉ, L. J., Histoire de l'Éthiopie. Paris 1904, S. 247.

Das weitere Vordringen der Batutsi nach dem Süden dauerte bis zur Gegenwart fort. Sie gingen über die Grenzen des Zwischenseengebietes hinaus, und man findet Batutsi als Hirten, wenn auch nicht in herrschender Stellung, in Urambo, Unyanyembe und in anderen Teilen von Unyamwezi[1]). Über die Batutsi von Urambo ist überdies noch bekannt, daß sie durch Yavigimba von West-Ussuwi vertrieben wurden. Das Hirtenvolk von Ussukuma stammt aus dem Runyoro-Sprachgebiete und ist zu den Bahima zu zählen.

Als letzte Invasion aus dem Norden wäre die Babito-Einwanderung zu bezeichnen. Sie kamen in der Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts (vor 18 Generationen) von Bukedi nach Bunyoro.

Die Baganda- und Babito-Invasionen vernichteten die Bahima-Herrschaft im Norden des Zwischenseengebietes. Dies erklärt uns auch den Umstand, weshalb dort die Bahima keine privilegierte Stellung einnehmen. Sie sind dort bloß Kuhhirten. In den übrigen südlicheren Staaten bilden sie den Adelstand.

Faßt man das Ergebnis unserer Betrachtungen über die Reihenfolge der, im Zwischenseengebiet aufeinander liegenden, ethnischen und anthropologischen Schichten zusammen, so erhält man die folgende schematische Tabelle:

Babito,
Baganda,
Bahima-Batutsi,
Bahutu-Bahiru (Bakondjo),
Batwa (Pygmoide),
Pygmäen (?).

Groß-Bunyoro. Die älteste Staatenbildung des Zwischenseengebietes ist, wie es scheint, Bunyoro. Dieser Staat allein wird in den ältesten Überlieferungen erwähnt.

In den Überlieferungen von Busoga[2]) wird schon über Könige von Bunyoro aus alter Zeit, vor der Baganda-Einwanderung, berichtet. Nach diesen Angaben soll Busoga, auf Veranlassung des Mukama (König) von Bunyoro, von der Metropole aus besiedelt worden sein und blieb seine Provinz. Erst später, nach der Einwanderung Kintu's, am Anfange des XV. Jahrhunderts, ist Busoga in die Einflußsphäre von Buganda gefallen.

Bunyoro wurde ursprünglich durch das Geschlecht der Basita bevölkert und beherrscht. Die erste bekannte Königin ist nach JOHNSTON[3]) Nyamwengi, die aus Mwengi (Muenge) in Toro stammen und über Bunyoro, Toro, Nord-Nkole und Nord-Buganda geherrscht haben soll. Mit Saza, dem Sohne Nyamwengi's, der ohne Nachkommen starb, endigte die Basita-Herrschaft. Ihr folgte die Dynastie der Barantsi (Baranzi), die durch Saza's Koch, namens Mukondo, gegründet wurde. JOHNSTON verzeichnet hier vier Herrscher:

[1]) BAUMANN, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle. Berlin 1894, S. 204, 209.

[2]) CONDON, F. M. A., Contribution to the Ethnography of the Basoga-Batamba. Uganda Protectorate. Br. E. Africa. Anthropos 1910, SS. 934—956.

[3]) JOHNSTON, H., The Uganda Protectorate. London 1902, S. 594.

Mukondo,
Hangi,
Ira,
Bukuku.

Der letzte Herrscher dieser Dynastie wurde von seinem Enkel Ndaula, dem Sohn seiner Tochter Nyinamiru und ihres Verführers Isimbwa, totgeschlagen.

Mit Ndaula beginnt die Bachwezi-Herrschaft in Bunyoro. Nach WILSON, dem JOHNSTON in der Hauptsache folgt, soll sie von sehr kurzer Dauer gewesen sein, da nur eine Herrschergeneration erwähnt wird. Das sind die Brüder Ndaula's, unter die das Reich aufgeteilt wurde.

Bei der Teilung kam:

das Land Bwera an Wamara,
das Land Buruli an Lubanga,
das Land Mwengi an Mugeni,
das Land Kiaka an Ibona,
das Land Bunyara in Nord-Uganda an Mugarra,
ein Teil von Buganda an Chumya,
das Land Bugoma an Nsinga,
das Land Burega an Mulindwa, der im Kampfe mit Basinga und Bagahe, die kein Fleisch weißgefleckter Kühe essen durften, gefallen ist[1]),
das Land Toro an Kahauka,
die Länder Bugaya, Bugungu (Magungu) und Chiope an Kilo.

Abgesehen von den Brüdern bekam noch Ndaula's weiterer Verwandter Mugasha (Mukasa) die Inseln Sese. Nur Kagoro, ein Bruder Ndaula's, bekam keinen Anteil, da er nach ersten großen Kriegserfolgen im Kampfe gegen die Bakedi, im Nordosten des Landes, unterlag.

Nach der mir in Kiziba erzählten Überlieferung soll aber Kagoro ein Sohn Kyomya's und Enkel Wamara's gewesen sein. In Kiziba jedoch, wie das durch REHSE bestätigt wurde, wird Kagoro als tapferer Mann bezeichnet, was wohl mit seinen Kämpfen gegen die Bakedi in Beziehung steht.

Nach ihrem Tode wurden die Brüder und Mugasha zu großen Geistern, den größten des Landes. Man verehrt sie jetzt in den entlegensten Ecken des Zwischenseegebietes, und sie sind ein Gegenstand des religiösen Kultes. Diese Tatsachen könnten für eine längere Dauer der Bachwezi-Herrschaft sprechen. Dafür spricht auch die ältere Geschichte Kiziba's. REHSE[2]) berichtet nämlich: „Unter Wamara's Oberhoheit standen auch alle kleineren Geister, die bei Lebzeiten regierende Fürsten waren. Der eine von diesen hieß Kiziba. Er hatte seine Festung im Dorfe Bukuari. Als er starb, benannte man nach ihm das Land, das bis heute den Namen Kiziba führt." Etwas weiter sagt REHSE: „Die Untertanen des Königs nannten sich Baziba, Leute des Kiziba. Kiziba's

[1]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Kiole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 144.
[2]) REHSE, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 153.

Nachkommen regierten lange das Land. Der letzte dieses Stammes war Ntumua, sein Bruder hieß Kanyamuishna." Dieser alliiert sich verräterisch mit Kibi, der mit seiner Hilfe die Trommel (den Thron von Kiziba) an sich reißt, und nach dem jetzt die sechzehnte Generation seiner Nachkommen herrscht. Diese Angabe rückt den Anfang der Bachwezi-Herrschaft in sehr ferne Zeiten, die wesentlich weiter als eine siebzehnte Ahnengeneration zurückliegen.

Es wird übereinstimmend überliefert, daß die Bachwezi durch die Babito verdrängt wurden. Jenen ausweichend gingen sie zunächst über Bugoma auf das andere Ufer des Albert-Sees und kehrten dann nach Bwera zurück[1]). Als Zeitpunkt dieser Verschiebung kann annähernd die Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts bestimmt werden.

Anderthalb Jahrhundert nach der Einwanderung der Baganda, vor sechzehn Generationen, also in der Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts, drangen die Babito aus Bukedi, im Nordosten vom Victoria-Nil und Choga-See, nach Bunyoro ein. In derselben Zeit werden in Karagwe, Busindja und Nkole Dynastien gegründet, die sich von den Söhnen des Bunyoro-Königs Nyamugira oder Rugaba herleiten. Rugaba Nyamugira ist aber kein Mubito. Er soll zum Geschlecht der Bayango gehört haben, aber seine Nachkommen werden nach dem Namen seines Sohnes, des Helden Ruhinda, ganz allgemein Bahinda genannt. Berücksichtigt man das zeitliche Zusammenfallen der Babito-Invasion, des Exodus der Bunyoro-Fürsten und der Gründung der Bahinda-Dynastien durch Bunyoro-Prinzen, so darf man den wohl begründeten Schluß ziehen, daß die durch Babito aus Bunyoro verdrängten Bachwezi mit den Gründern der Bahinda-Dynastien identisch sind.

Diese Feststellung gestattet uns, die indirekten Angaben über die längere Dauer der Bachwezi-Dynastie noch durch ein weiteres Argument zu vermehren. Emin Pascha[2]) berichtet nämlich, daß Ruhinda II. Runjunaki (Sohn der Njunaki) nach dem Süden zog und Kiamtwara, Ihangiro und Busindja erobert hat. Der Vermerk über Ruhinda II. macht uns darauf aufmerksam, daß es noch einen anderen Ruhinda vor ihm gegeben hat, der zur Bachwezi-Dynastie gehörte. Auch diese Angabe veranlaßt uns, den Zeitraum zwischen Anfang und Ende der Bachwezi-Dynastie über die Lebezeit einer Generation auseinanderzuschieben.

Roscoe[3]) erwähnt, wohl aus dieser Dynastie, auf Grund der Überlieferungen der Baganda den König Wunyi von Bunyoro. Dieser war ein Zeitgenosse des Kalemera von Buganda, dem sein Sohn Kimera gefolgt ist. Nach derselben Überlieferung war Kimera's Mutter Wanyana ursprünglich eine Frau von Wunyi und wurde von Kalemera verführt. Sie hatte zum „umuziru" die Heuschrecke (nsenene).

Im scheinbaren Gegensatze zu diesen Angaben steht die von Meldon[4]) übermittelte Nachricht von Wamara. Dieser sollte von Bwera aus Nkole für

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[1]) Johnston, H., The Uganda Protectorate. London 1902, S. 596.
[2]) Emin Pascha, Zur Ethnologie der Gebiete um den Albert-See. Ausland 1891, S. 353.
[3]) Roscoe, J., The Baganda. Their Customs and Beliefs. London 1911, S. 215.
[4]) Meldon, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 241.

seinen Sohn Ruhinda erobert haben, wobei die Bachwezi bis auf den Letztgenannten das Land verlassen haben. Diese Nachricht würde den Exodus der Bunyoro-Fürsten in die Zeit Wamara's setzen. Nun wird aber andrerseits von MELDON[1]) außer Rugaba noch dessen Vater Ruhanga erwähnt. Diese beiden müssen wieder sicher zwischen Wamara, Ndaula's Bruder, und Ruhinda placiert werden. Dieser Widerspruch läßt sich aufklären durch die Annahme, daß mit der Bezeichnung „Sohn Wamara's" nur ein Hinweis auf den berühmten Ahnen Wamara gemeint ist.

Wir finden also auch hier eine Angabe, die zugunsten einer längeren Dauer der Bachwezi-Dynastie spricht. Die scheinbaren Widersprüche sind ohne weiteres erklärlich, wenn man berücksichtigt, daß die geschichtlichen Überlieferungen in Nkole als Staatsgeheimnis betrachtet und meistens nur durch schlechte Gewährsmänner an Europäer verraten werden.

Nur die Überlieferung von Busindja[2]) enthält wesentlich abweichende Angaben. Dort wird als Ruhinda's Vater ein gewisser Kayango bezeichnet. Das widerspricht noch nicht direkt den anderen Überlieferungen, da dort Ruhinda's Vater zum Bayango-Clan gerechnet wird[3]). Nach obiger Überlieferung soll aber Kayango ein aus Busindja stammender und in Buganda tätiger Schmied gewesen sein. Mit Rücksicht darauf wird berichtet, daß Ruhinda seinen Zug von Buganda, mit Einwilligung des dortigen Herrschers, unternommen und von ihm auch seine Begleiter bekommen hat.

Das waren zunächst drei Bahima:

1. Rubanda ya Nsoke aus der Familie der Basenge,
2. Katambi wa Kanuki aus der Familie der Bahira,
3. Kikondama aus der Familie der Bahira.

Dazu zwei Regenmacher: Karangara aus der Familie der Bakyamba (später in Ikuza wohnhaft) und ein zweiter aus der Familie der Barungu. Die übrigen waren gewöhnliche Leute aus dem Volke:

1. Rutale nyeikumbagaza aus der Familie der Bagara und
2. Kisaho aus der Familie der Baligi.

Auch hier also, trotzdem Ruhinda von Buganda kommt, ist sein Zug ein Zug der Banyoro. Die Bahima von Buganda sollen auch jetzt noch das Runyoro unter sich sprechen. Vielleicht sind diese Abweichungen nur spätere Veränderungen der Überlieferung, die dadurch entstanden sind, daß alle letzten Invasionen vom Norden nach Busindja aus Buganda gekommen sind, und daß man, im Wetteifer mit Karagwe und Nkole, das Geschlecht des großen Helden für Busindja allein beanspruchen wollte. Bekanntlich wurde um die Leiche Ruhinda's gekämpft und man mußte sie aufteilen, um Frieden zu stiften.

[1]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 144.

[2]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Busiaza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 498.

[3]) Oberleutnant RICHTER (Bezirk Bukoba, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1899, S. 69) stellte fest, daß Bayango und Bahinda untereinander nicht heiraten dürfen, und daß sie infolgedessen demselben Clan bilden.

Den vorhandenen Widersprüchen kommt keine große Bedeutung zu, und wir dürfen mit einer starken Wahrscheinlichkeit den Schluß ziehen, daß die Bachwezi mit den Ahnen der Bahinda identisch sind, und daß sie früher einen bedeutenden Zeitraum in Bunyoro geherrscht haben, wenn wir auch darüber keine direkten Angaben besitzen. Dafür spricht wenigstens die Tatsache, daß die Herrschaft Bwera, der Anteil Wamara's, nicht in der Zahl der durch Ruhinda eroberten Fürstentümer erwähnt wird. Nach der Auswanderung der Bachwezi von Bunyoro bleibt Bwera im Besitze der Letzteren und wird durch Buganda den Bahinda entrissen. Es bleibt noch die Frage der Beziehung zwischen Bahima und Bachwezi übrig.

In den durch MELDON[1]) ermittelten Angaben über die Geschichte von Nkole wird ausdrücklich gesagt, daß die Bahima schon in Bwera waren, als die Bachwezi, durch Wamara geführt, ins Land kamen. EMIN PASCHA[2]) betrachtet die Bahinda als einen besonderen Stamm, also eine besondere Invasionswelle, die jedenfalls vor den Babito im Zwischenseengebiet eingebrochen ist. Ich konnte überdies wiederholt beobachten, daß man zwischen den Bahinda und Bahima eine scharfe Grenze zieht. Nach einigen Angaben sollen die Bahinda zusammen mit Babito vom sagenhaften Bukedi-Mann Isimbwa abstammen. Diese Angabe scheint mir doch ganz unwahrscheinlich zu sein, da Bahinda und Babito verschiedene Totemtiere haben. Nach der Busindja-Überlieferung[3]) war Ruhinda's Mutter Nzunaki (Njunaki) eine Muhima-Sklavin aus Koki und gehörte zum Babogo-Clan. Sein Vater, Kayango, ist kein Muhima und gehörte, wie es schon erwähnt wurde, zum Bayango-Clan. Ein Zusammenhang zwischen Bahima und Bahinda läßt sich jetzt freilich nicht leugnen. Ob er aber nur durch die Mutter Ruhinda's und die späteren Heiraten mit Bahima-Frauen angeknüpft worden ist, läßt sich einstweilen nicht sagen.

Mit Rücksicht auf die hohe soziale Stellung, die von den Bahima in den Bahinda-Staaten eingenommen wird, wäre es aber auch möglich, daß die Bahinda ein bevorzugtes Bahima-Geschlecht sind. Eine ähnliche Erscheinung können wir in Mpororo beobachten, wo die Bashambo einen privilegierten Bahima-Clan darstellen. Zugunsten dieser Ansicht läßt sich der folgende indirekte Hinweis anführen. Die Herrscher von Nkole werden im Orte Isanji beerdigt. Dieser liegt aber auf einer Halbinsel des Kachira-Sees in der Provinz Bukanga, die als alter Sitz der Bahima von Nkole angesehen wird.

Das Babito-Reich. Mpuga Lukedi Nyabongo, der Gründer der Babito-Dynastie, ist nach Bunyoro von Bukedi, im Nordosten vom Choga-See, eingewandert. Dieses historische Ereignis fällt also zusammen mit dem Vorwärtsdringen der Bakedi nach dem Südwesten.

Überschaut man die Sprachenkarte des Zwischenseengebietes, so sieht man, daß die Shuli in ihrem Vorstoße nach dem Süden über die Linie Albert-See

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[1]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 241.
[2]) EMIN PASCHA, Zur Ethnologie der Gebiete um den Albert-See. Ausland 1891, S. 353.
[3]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Busiuza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 498.

—Victoria-See mit kleinen Vorsprüngen hinausgekommen sind. Auf dem Westufer des Albert-Sees sind es die Lur, im Osten vom Victoria-See die Wagaya und Kavirondo-Jaluo, und zwischen den beiden Seen, im Bereiche des Bunyoro-Staates, die Shifalu und in Bukedi die ihnen verwandten Lango.

Berücksichtigen wir dann noch das für die Shuli-Stämme so charakteristische Ausbrechen der 4—6 unteren Vorderzähne, so können zum Shuli-Gebiet noch die durch Babito beherrschten Länder Bunyoro und Toro hinzugefügt werden. Es verdient besonderer Beachtung, daß diese Verunstaltung nicht im ganzen Runyoro-Sprachgebiete verbreitet und nur auf die Babito-Einflußsphäre beschränkt ist. Sämtlichen Nachbarn, die Shuli-Neger ausgenommen, fehlt sie. So auch dem Madi-Stamm der Lendu im Westen. Die angeblichen „Witschwesi" von EMIN-PASCHA können also für die Sitte des Zähneausbrechens nicht verantwortlich gemacht werden, und diese Verunstaltung muß mit den Babito in Zusammenhang gebracht werden. Deshalb dürfen wir auch den Schluß wagen, daß die Gründung der Babito-Dynastie durch Lukedi mit einem Vorstoß der Shuli in das Gebiet zwischen Albert-Nyanza und Victoria-See zusammenfällt.

Die letzten Völkerbewegungen (also nicht die Einwanderung der Bahima, die viel früher stattgefunden haben mußte) wird man wohl mit den ungefähr gleichzeitigen, abessinischen Eroberungen des Mohammed Achmed Grandj (1525—1544), und den darauffolgenden Galla-Bewegungen in Zusammenhang bringen können. Diese konnten Anlaß zu Völkerverschiebungen geben, die bis zum Albert-See gereicht haben. Insofern scheint es mir notwendig, den von R. P. VAN DER BURGT[1]) ausgesprochenen Gedanken zu vervollständigen.

Während meines Aufenthaltes in Toro stellte mir der gegenwärtige Toro-Herrscher Dawdi Kassagama seine Notizen zur Geschichte von Bunyoro zur Verfügung. Ich entnehme ihnen in der Hauptsache die Genealogie der Babito-Herrscher, die 17 Generationen verzeichnet. Diese Liste wurde ergänzt durch den Namen Luwaga's, des Bruders von Winyi Kyebambi und des Vaters von Olimi Sansa. Dieser Fürst herrschte, wie es scheint, nicht und wurde, wohl aus diesem Grunde, durch Kassagama vernachlässigt.

Zur allgemeinen Charakterisierung der Geschichte von Bunyoro, die wohl bald den Gegenstand einer ausführlichen Behandlung bilden wird, möchte ich nur erwähnen, daß nach dem Eindringen der Babito in Bunyoro daselbst eine Glanzperiode eintrat, die bis zum XVIII. Jahrhundert gedauert hat. Bis zu dieser Zeit behielt Bunyoro seine Hegemonie im Zwischenseengebiet, trotz des Dynastiewechsels im XVI. Jahrhundert, der alle alten Bande stark aufrütteln mußte. Erst im XVIII. Jahrhundert wurde Bunyoro durch das heranwachsende Buganda überholt und in der Vorherrschaft abgelöst.

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[1]) VAN DER BURGT, J. M. M., R. P., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'indication succincte de la signification Swahili et Allemande. Bois-Le-Duc (Hollande) 1903, S. 180.

Könige von Bunyoro und Toro.

1. Mpuga Lukedi Nyabongo.
2. Ocali Nyimba.
3. Oyo Kabamgaiguru.
4. Winyi Rubangirasega.
5. Nyarwa.
6. Chwa.
7. Winyi Rugaruka.
8. Olimi Sansa Mutakiaro.
9. Winyi Kyebambi. — Luwaga.
10. Olimi Sansa.
11. Chwa Luhaga (Rukada).
12. Kasoma Olimi.
13. Winyi Nyamutukura Kyebambi.
14. Nyabongo Mugeni. — Kaboyo
15. Dwakabale Muragwa. Winyi Kyebambi Kamurasi. Ruhaga Kazana. Nyeika Kasinga. Kato Lukedi.
16. Chwa Kabarega (verbannt 1899[1]). Dawdi Chwa Kamagama (seit 1892[2]).
17. Andrea Lahaga.

Ursprünglich erkannte aber auch Buganda die Oberhoheit von Bunyoro an. Das kommt in dem Umstande zum Ausdruck, daß die Buganda-Prinzen am Hofe des Königs von Bunyoro geweilt haben. So ist z. B. der Enkel von Kintu, der Erbprinz Kelemera, zu Lebzeiten seines Vaters, Königs Chwa I., in Bunyoro gestorben, und auf Chwa folgte Kalemera's Sohn Kimera.

Die südlichen Staaten des Runyoro-Sprachgebietes blieben auch im Abhängigkeitsverhältnis von Bunyoro. Kiziba z. B. hat die Oberhoheit der neuen Bunyoro-Herrscher, der Babito, ebenfalls bis zum XVIII. Jahrhundert anerkannt. Die Prinzen Kiziba's wurden an den Hof von Bunyoro geschickt. So weilten dort Ishamula bis zum Tode seines Vaters Kibi, und Mwigala bis zum Tode von Musinga. Sie setzten sich später in Kiziba, mit Hilfe von Bunyoro, durch.

Nkole bleibt in diesem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis bis zur Zeit Kyebambi's. Die Unbotmäßigkeit von Nkole hatte, wie es scheint, den Kriegszug des Luwaga, eines Bruders des Königs Winyi Kyebambi (Tshevambe) von Bunyoro zur Folge, der aber durch Ntare Kitabanyoro von Nkole zurückgeschlagen wurde[3]).

[1]) JOHNSTON, H., The Uganda Protectorate. London 1902, S. 593.

[2]) Ebenda S. 233.

[3]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 242. — RICHTER, Oblt., Der Bezirk Bukoba. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1899, S. 78.

Im Laufe des XIX. Jahrhunderts wird Bunyoro durch das Schicksal buchstäblich verfolgt. Ein Unglück folgt dem anderen. In der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts revoltierte Kaboyo, Sohn des Bunyoro-Herrschers Winyi Nyamutukura Kyebambi. Der Vater hatte ihm in Mwenge den Besitz Myeri zugewiesen. Der unzufriedene Sohn zog mit seinen Anhängern nach Toro und machte sich dort unabhängig. Sein Vater versuchte ihn mit Waffengewalt zur Botmäßigkeit zu bringen, wurde aber vertrieben. Mit dieser mißlungenen Kriegsexpedition beginnen die Kämpfe zwischen Bunyoro und Toro, in denen Kaboyo's Sohn nur wenig Erfolge zu verzeichnen hat. Kyebambi's Enkel Kabarega verdrängt ihn endlich. Nach der englischen Okkupation nahmen die Engländer die Partei der Toro-Herrscher, um das ihnen feindliche Bunyoro zu schwächen. Captain LUGARD führte den in Koki mit seiner Mutter wohnenden Dawdi Chwa Kassagama, einen Enkel Kaboyo's, im Jahre 1892 in Toro ein und sicherte dem Lande damit seine Unabhängigkeit.

Zu dieser neuen politischen Gründung wurden dann noch hinzugefügt:
die von Bunyoro abgetrennte Provinz Mwenge,
die von Nkole abgerissene Provinz Kitakwenda und
Ost-Busongora mit dem Salzsee Katwe.

Diese Teile sind mit Toro immer noch nicht ganz verschmolzen. Die Leute von Kitakwenda bezeichnen sich auch jetzt noch als Banyankole und die von Mwenge als Banyamwenge oder Banyoro, und lehnen es ab, Batoro zu sein. Es darf jedoch nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß die Batoro selbst von ihren Nachbarn stets als Banyoro, und ihre Sprache als Runyoro, bezeichnet werden.

Bunyoro wurde durch die Engländer für seine islamfreundliche und europäerfeindliche, ungeschickte Politik schwer bestraft. Abgesehen vom Verlust des unabhängig gewordenen Toro, kamen noch die südöstlichen Provinzen Buruli, Bugangazi und Buyaga zu Buganda. In den so eingeengten Grenzen muß sich der alte Staat, die bête noire der englischen Administration, dem neuen schweren Schicksale fügen.

Die Gliederung der Babito-Herrschaft in Bunyoro und Toro kommt am besten in der auf S. 56 stehenden genealogischen Liste der Herrscher zum Ausdruck.

JOHNSTON führt in seinem Werke[1]) zwei verschiedene Listen der Bunyoro-Herrscher an, die durch Rev. A. B. FISHER und Mr. WILSON ermittelt wurden. Diese Daten sind S. 58 oben, mit Angabe unserer Ordnungsnummer der Herrschergenerationen (in Klammern) versehen, wiedergegeben. Dadurch wird das Vergleichen der drei widerspruchsvollen Angaben erleichtert.

Der erste Blick schon verrät, daß diese beiden sich gegenseitig widersprechenden Listen unvollständig sind. Die Liste von Rev. A. B. FISHER stimmt aber bei weitem besser mit der Kassagama's überein, als die von WILSON. Nimmt

[1]) JOHNSTON, H., The Uganda Protectorate. London 1902, S. 596—598.

Nach Rev. A. B. FISCHER.		Nach Mr. WILSON.
1. (1.) Lukedi.		1. (1.) Lukedi.
2. (?) Lukedi Lwagamaki.		2. (8.) Olimi.
3. (9.) Kyebambe.	Luwaga.	3. (10.) Sansa.
4. (10.)	Sansa.	4. (9?) Luhaga I.
5. (11.)	Chwa.	5. (6.) Chwa
6. (?)	Luwanga.	6. (7.) Wingi.
7. (13.)	Namutukula.	7. (11.) Luhaga II.
8. (14.)	Mugenyi.	8. (12.) Kasoma.
9. (15.) Kamulasi.	Kaboyo.	9. (13.) Kyebambe (oder Nyamutukuru).
10. (16.) Kabarega.		10. (14.) Nyabongo (oder Mugeni).
11. (17.) Andrea Luhaga.		11. (15.) Kamurasi.
		12. (16.) Kabarega.

man an, daß FISHERs Luwanga mit Kasoma Olimi Kassagama's identisch ist, so decken sich die beiden Quellen gänzlich bezüglich der letzten 9 Herrschergenerationen. Die Liste Kassagama's wird dabei durch Rev. A. B. FISHER ergänzt. Er sagt nämlich, daß der verstorbene Kyebambi durch Luwaga ersetzt wurde und diesem sein Sohn Sansa gefolgt ist. Aus diesen Worten kann man schließen, daß, der durch Kassagama vernachlässigte, Luwaga ein Bruder Kyebambi's war und, nach dieser Quelle, als Herrscher oder wenigstens Regent angesehen wurde. Luwaga wird auch in der Nkole-Überlieferung[1]) als ein Zeitgenosse des Ntare Kitabanyoro erwähnt. Der Letztere gehört zur achten Ahnengeneration des gegenwärtig in Nkole herrschenden Kahaya. Luwaga würde, als Bruder des Kyebambi, ebenfalls zur achten Ahnengeneration des gegenwärtigen Bunyoro-Herrschers gehören.

Die ersten acht Generationen sind bei Rev. A. B. FISHER zu kurz gekommen. Er erwähnt nur den Gründer der Dynastie und dessen Sohn Lukedi Lwagamaki, der zugleich der Vater des Kyebambi gewesen sein soll. Bei Kassagama werden dagegen zwischen Lukedi und Winyi Kyebambi sieben Generationen eingeschaltet. Welchem von diesen Herrschern Lukedi Lwagamaki entsprechen kann, läßt sich nicht ermitteln. Ferner wird in der von Rev. A. B. FISHER ermittelten Überlieferung erwähnt, daß Sansa mit dem Buganda-König Semakokiro gekämpft hat, daß der Letztere im Kampfe gefallen ist, Sansa aber bald darauf durch seinen Diener getötet wurde. Die Buganda-Überlieferung sagt dagegen[2]), daß Semakokiro im späten Alter gestorben ist: „So *Kinyoro* drowned the medicine-man, but soon afterwards the ghost tormented the murderer; his legs swelled, and he died. The King too died within a short time from the same disease." An einer anderen Stelle wird gesagt: „Semakokiro lived to an advanced age."[3]) Dieser Widerspruch läßt sich nicht dadurch erklären, daß die Baganda einen Mißerfolg vertuschen wollten. Die Angabe von Rev. A. B. FISHER ist viel eher unrichtig, und zwar aus dem Grunde, weil es unwahrscheinlich ist, daß Sema-

[1]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, Bd. VI. S. 242.

[2]) ROSCOE, J., The Baganda. Their Customs and Beliefs. London 1911, S. 226.

[3]) Ebenda S. 225.

kokiro und Sansa Zeitgenossen sein konnten. Bis zum Anfange der sechziger Jahre, d. h. bis zur Zeit der Reise SPEKEs, die in den ersten Jahren der Herrschaft Mutesa's stattgefunden hat, herrschten und starben in Buganda, seit dem Tode von Semakokiro, zwei Herrscher, Kamanya und sein Sohn Suna II., die zusammen gegen 50 Jahre regierten. Sollten denn in Bunyoro in einer kürzeren Zeit vier Herrschergenerationen vorübergezogen sein? Der Tod Sansa's ist doch nach dieser Angabe in eine spätere Zeit als das Ableben von Semakokiro zu verlegen, und Kamurasi trat seine Herrschaft wesentlich früher als Mutesa von Buganda an. Außerdem ist es noch bekannt, daß Sansa's Vater Luwaga[1]) in Nkole den Ntare Kitabanyoro überfallen hat. Der Ururenkel des Letzteren aber, Lwabusengi, war ein Zeitgenosse des Semakokiro von Buganda. Es handelt sich hier also offenbar um einen Fehler bei Rev. A. B. FISHER.

Während die Liste des Rev. A. B. FISHER der Liste Kassagama's gegenüber nur unvollständig ist, enthält die von WILSON überdies noch gewisse Widersprüche. Hier stimmen, den gegenwärtigen Herrscher Andrea Luhaga eingerechnet, nur die letzten sieben Herrscher überein. Kassagama erwähnt zwischen Lukedi und Chwa Luhaga neun Herrscher, bei WILSON sind es nur fünf. Gleich nach Lukedi kommen dort, der Reihe nach, Olimi und Sansa, während bei Kassagama in der VIII. Generation Olimi Sansa Mutakiaro und in der X. Olimi Sansa erwähnt werden. Wem Luhaga I. der WILSONschen Liste entspricht, läßt sich nicht bestimmt ermitteln. Es wird sich hier wohl um Luwaga aus der IX. Generation handeln. Diesem folgen aber, wieder der Reihe nach, Chwa und Winyi, die bei Kassagama als VI. resp. VII. Generation verzeichnet werden.

Diese Liste enthält aber noch einen anderen Widerspruch. In der vierten Zeile unter der Liste sagt JOHNSTON nämlich: „In the case of Kyebambi, otherwise called Nyamutukuru, son of Sansa, he lived etc." Nun ist aber Kyebambi Nyamutukuru der Sohn Kasoma's und nicht Sansa's. Kyebambi, Sohn des Sansa (Olimi Sansa Mutakiaro), wird bei Kassagama erwähnt. Er fehlt aber bei WILSON. Die Angaben von JOHNSTON weisen also auf die Liste Kassagama's, als die vollständigere, hin.

Diese kritischen Betrachtungen gestatten uns also, die Angaben des Kassagama als die beste und zuverlässigste Herrscherliste von Bunyoro anzusehen. Die anderen Quellen erlauben uns aber, in diese Liste nach Kyebambi noch seinen Bruder Luwaga, als Vater des Olimi Sansa, einzuschalten.

Der Baganda-Staat. Die Baganda wanderten in das Zwischenseengebiet von Norden aus vor 23 Generationen ein. Die ethnische Identifizierung der Eroberer, die gegenwärtig ein Bantu-Idiom der Zwischenseengruppe sprechen, das sie, wie es scheint, den Autochthonen entlehnt haben, ist bis jetzt noch nicht gelungen. Man darf aber aus der Verbreitung der Sudan-Stämme im Norden vom Zwischenseengebiete schließen, daß dem Vorstoße der Shuli (Acholi) nach dem

[1]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, Bd. VI, S. 242.

Süden die Wanderungen der Madi-Stämme vorangegangen sind. Im Gegensatze zur Gründung der Babito-Dynastie und dem Vorstoß der Bakedi, die mit den Wanderungen der Shuli direkt in Zusammenhang gebracht oder gar identifiziert werden können, darf die Frage des Zusammenhanges der Baganda-Einwanderung mit den Bewegungen der südlichen Madi-Stämme, der Lendu-Balega, zunächst nur als eine noch unbegründete Vermutung, ausgesprochen werden. Man muß dabei auch die Möglichkeit eines Zusammenhanges mit den Bewegungen der Dinka, deren östliche Zweige, wie es scheint, bei den Massai-Migrationen stark in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wurden, im Auge behalten. Darauf deuten wenigstens die anthropologischen Tatsachen hin. Es ist jedenfalls ganz sicher, daß die Baganda und ihre Dynastie durchaus keine Bahima sind. Die schon durch STUHLMANN[1]) angezweifelte Ansicht von STANLEY[2]) und JOHNSTON[3]) darf jetzt als ganz unzutreffend bezeichnet werden.

Könige von Buganda.

1.	Kintu.			
2.	Chwa I.			
3.	(Kalemera[4]).			
4.	Kimera.			
5.	(Lumansi).			
6.	Tembo.			
7.	Kigala.			
8.	Kimba.	(Wapamba).		
9.		Kaima.		
10.		Nikibinge.		
11.	Mulondo.	Tembe.	Suna I.	
12.		Sekamanga.	Kimbugwe.	
13.		Katarega.		
14.	Mutebi.	(Juko).	(Kayemba).	
15.	Tubuteka.	Nboura.		
16.	Kaguru.	(Musanja).	Mawanda.	Kikurwe.
17.	Mwanga I.	Namugara.	Kyabagu.	
18.	Junju.	Semakokiro (1800—1810).		
19.		Kamanya (1810—1825).		
20.		Suna II. (1825—1857).		
21.		Mutesa (1857—1884).		
22.	Mwanga (1884—1888, 1889—1897).		Kiwewa (1888).	Karema (1888—1889).
23.	Dawdi Chwa II. (1897—19..).			

[1]) STUHLMANN, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1894, S. 192.

[2]) STANLEY, H. M., Through the Dark Continent. London 1878, Band I, S. 345.

[3]) JOHNSTON, H., The Uganda Protectorate. London 1902, S. 682.

[4]) Die Namen der Prinzen, die nicht geherrscht haben, trotzdem aber für die Geschichte von Bedeutung sind, wurden eingeklammert.

Über die ältere Geschichte von Buganda ist nichts bekannt. Die Einwanderung der Baganda soll im Lande den Herrscher Ntege beseitigt haben. Über dessen Reich und seine Zugehörigkeit ist aber bis jetzt nichts bekannt.

Die Ahnentafel der Buganda-Könige beginnt mit Kintu, der ebenso wie Kigwa, der Protoplast der Ruanda-Herrscher, vom Himmel gefallen sein soll und infolgedessen keine Ahnen besitze.

Ich habe hier (S. 60) die genealogische Tafel der herrschenden Linie seiner Nachkommen beigefügt. Diese Liste bildet das Untersuchungsergebnis des R. P. ACHTE, der im Jahre 1903 in Toro gestorben ist, und dessen Notizen mir durch R. P. VAN DAILLE zur Verfügung gestellt wurden, wofür ich ihnen meinen Dank an dieser Stelle aussprechen möchte.[1])

Mit Rücksicht auf das Buch von Rev. ROSCOE[2]) sollen zu der obigen Herrscherliste nur wenige Bemerkungen gemacht werden.

Der durch Kintu gegründete Buganda-Staat beschränkte sich ursprünglich auf ein kleines Gebiet zwischen Victoria-Nil im Osten und dem Victoria-Nyanza im Süden, und entsprach, wie es scheint, der gegenwärtigen Busiro-Provinz; dort werden auch die Buganda-Herrscher beigesetzt.

Kalemera stirbt zu Lebzeiten seines Vaters am Hofe in Bunyoro.

Lumansi stirbt zu Lebzeiten seines Vaters während einer Expedition in Busoga.

Kaima fällt beim erfolglosen Einfall nach Buddu.

Kimbugwe herrscht nach Sekamanga und vor Katarega.

Mawanda erobert den größten Teil von Busoga und herrscht über Bulemezi.

Kyabagu setzt die Kämpfe in Busoga fort. Während seiner Herrschaft kommen die ersten Glaswaren nach Buganda.

In der zweiten Hälfte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts wird Buganda zum mächtigsten Staate im nördlichen Teile des Zwischenseengebietes.

Junju erobert Buddu und macht es zu einer Buganda-Provinz.

Semakokiro führt einen bedeutenden Handel mit den Südufern des Victoria-Sees und importiert von dort Kauri-Muscheln (*Cypraea moneta*) und Baumwollstoffe in Buganda, die mit Elfenbein bezahlt werden. Das Tragen der Baumwollstoffe wird aber als ein Privilegium der Prinzen erklärt.

Suna II. gestattet den Arabern, sich im Lande zu Handelszwecken niederzulassen.

Mutesa erobert definitiv die Länder Busoga und Koki und dehnt seinen

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[1]) Diese Herrscherliste wurde vor dem Erscheinen des Buches: „ROSCOE, J., The Baganda Their Customs and Beliefs. London 1911." veröffentlicht im Reisebericht: „CZEKANOWSKI, J., Badania w Międzyrzeczu Nilu i Kongo. Rozprawy Wydziału Matematyczno-przyrodniczego Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie 1910, Ser. B, Band L, S. 665".

[2]) ROSCOE, J., The Baganda. Their Customs and Beliefs. London 1911.

Einfluß in ganz Buhaya[1]), in Busindja und sogar in Ussuwi aus, das zum ersten Male im Jahre 1875 überfallen wird[2]). Es ist aus der Nkole-Überlieferung[3]) bekannt, daß nach dem erfolgreichen Einfall des Nkole-Herrschers, Mutambuka, nach Koki, der bei dieser Gelegenheit den Koki-Herrscher, Sansa, den Vater Kamswaga's, ermordete, Nkole einen Racherzug der Baganda zurückschlagen mußte. Diese Notiz stellt fest, daß sich Koki schon am Anfange der Regierung Mutesa's in der Einflußsphäre von Buganda befunden hat. Auch Rumanika, der Herrscher von Karagwe, zahlte Buganda Tribut.

Die sämtlichen, durch Mutesa eroberten, Länder behalten ihre legitimen Herrscher. Das Verbot der allgemeinen Benutzung der Baumwollstoffe wird aufgehoben, und die Missionäre werden ins Land zugelassen.

Zur Zeit Mwanga's wird das Zwischenseengebiet zwischen England und Deutschland aufgeteilt. Durch Fixierung der deutsch-englischen Grenze geht für Buganda das Gebiet im Süden vom 1° südlicher Breite verloren. Busoga wird zu einem besonderen Verwaltungsbezirk, und Mwang aselbst muß, durch die Engländer abgesetzt, aus dem Lande gehen. Buganda wird aber zur Basis des englischen Einflusses im Zwischenseengebiet und hat einen bedeutenden territoriellen Erwerb im Norden und Westen zu verzeichnen. Die Kämpfe der Engländer mit Kabarega, König von Bunyoro, der sich mit der europäischen Eroberung nicht versöhnen konnte, brachten Buganda die Provinzen: Buruli, Bugangezi und Buyaga ein. Die Unbotmäßigkeit des Königs von Nkole führte Buganda die Provinz Kabula zu. Auch der kleine Vasallenstaat Koki wurde als Provinz einverleibt.

Die Geschichte der gegenwärtigen Buganda-Dynastie ist jetzt also schon in ihren Hauptzügen bekannt. Die Übereinstimmung der vorhandenen Angaben darüber gestattet diesen Vertrauen zu schenken. Von den mir bekannten sechs Herrscherlisten stimmen die von STANLEY[4]), WILSON[7]), ACHTE[5]) und ROSCOE[6]) fast ganz überein. Nur die von STUHLMANN[7]) und JOHNSTON[8]) weichen beträchtlich ab und stimmen nur für das letzte Herrscherdrittel überein. Ich stelle hier die Listen von STUHLMANN und JOHNSTON, mit Angabe der Herrschergeneration zusammen, ebenso wie die Listen der Bunyoro-Herrscher, nach den Angaben von Rev. A. B. FISCHER und WILSON auf S. 58 zusammengestellt wurden.

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[1]) ROSCOE spricht, auf der S. 229 seines Buches, nur von Kiziba, das erklärt sich aber dadurch, daß man in Uganda ganz Buhaya mit dem Namen Kiziba zu bezeichnen pflegt.

[2]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 509.

[3]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 242.

[4]) STANLEY, Durch den dunklen Erdteil. Leipzig 1878, S. 414.

[5]) Nach dem Manuskript im Besitze des R. P. VAN DAILLE.

[6]) ROSCOE, J., The Baganda. Their Customs and Beliefs. London 1911, S. 231.

[7]) STUHLMANN, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1894, S. 192—193.

[8]) JOHNSTON, H., The Uganda Protectorate. London 1902, S. 681—682.

Nach STUHLMANN:

1. (1.) Kintu.
2. (8?) Buganda.
3. (2.) Tshua.
4. (4.) Kimera.
5. (6.) Tembo.
6. (7.) Kigalla.
7. (8?) Nikibingo.
8. (14.) Matebbi.
9. (12.) Ssekamanya.
10. (11.) Ssunna I.
11. (11.) Yemba.
12. (12.) Kimbugwe.
13. (9.) Kaima.
14. (10.) Nakiwinge.
15. (11.) Mlondo.
16. (15.) Tewandeke.
17. (14.) Djuko.
18. (14.) Kahemba.
19. (3.) Kalemera.
20. (15.) Daula.
21. (16.) Kagula.
22. (16.) Mahanda.
23. (17.) Mwanga.
24. (13.) Katerega.
25. (17.) Mugala.
26. (17.) Tshawagu.
27. (18.) Junya.
28. (18.) Ssemakokiro.
29. (19.) Kamanya.
30. (20.) Ssunna II.
31. (21.) Mtessa.
32. (22.) Kiwewa.
33. (22.) Karema.
34. (22.) Mwanga.

Nach JOHNSTON:

1. (4.) Kimera.
2. (6.) Tembo.
3. (7.) Kigala.
4. (8?) Nikibingo I.
5. (8—14) Wampamba oder Matebe.
6. (12.) Kamanya I.
7. (11.) Suna I.
8. (11.) Zemba.
9. (12.) Kimbugwe.
10. (9.) Kaima.
11. (10.) Nikibingo II.
12. (11.) Mulondo.
13. (15.) Tewandike.
14. (14.) Juko.
15. (14.) Kaemba.
16. (3.) Kalemera.
17. (15.) Ndaula.
18. (16.) Kagala.
19. (16.) Mawanda.
20. (17.) Mwanga.
21. (13.) Katerega.
22. (17.) Namugara.
23. (17.) Kiawago.
24. (18.) Junju.
25. (18.) Semakokiro.
26. (19.) Kamanya II.
27. (20.) Suna II.
28. (21.) Mutesa.
29. (22.) Mwanga II.
30. (22.) Kiwewa.
31. (22.) Karema.
32. (22.) Mwanga II.
33. (23.) Dawdi Chwa.

Am exaktesten sind die Listen der beiden Missionäre R. P. ACHTE und Rev. ROSCOE. Sie stimmen auch miteinander gut überein. Es sind hier nur die folgenden Unterschiede festzustellen:

1. R. P. ACHTE bezeichnet Tembe (Yemba) als Vater des Sekamanga. Bei Rev. ROSCOE ist es nicht Tembe (Yemba), sondern sein Bruder Mulondo.

2. Nach R. P. ACHTE herrschten die Söhne des Nboura (Ndaula) in der

Ordnung Kaguru, Mawanda, Kikurwe. Bei Rev. ROSCOE wird angegeben, daß Kikurwe vor Mawanda geherrscht hat.

3. R. P. ACHTE erwähnt, daß Juko und Kayemba nicht geherrscht haben, während Rev. ROSCOE Angaben über ihre Regierungszeiten liefert.

4. Rev. ROSCOE spricht von einer langen Regierung des Semakokiro und R. P. ACHTE nur von 10 Jahren dieser Regierung.

Am besten ist die Übereinstimmung der Listen von STANLEY und WILSON. Sie weichen nur in ihrer Orthographie recht stark voneinander ab. Lumansi z. B. wird bei WILSON Rumaanssi und bei STANLEY Almass genannt. Von der Liste des Rev. ROSCOE weichen sie in den folgenden Punkten ab:

1. R. P. ACHTE und Rev. ROSCOE geben an, daß nach Nikibinge zunächst der Reihe nach seine drei Söhne und später zwei Enkel geherrscht haben. Bei STANLEY und WILSON wird der erste Enkel nach dem ersten Sohn und vor seinem Vater, und der dritte Enkel nach der Regierungszeit des dritten Sohnes erwähnt.

2. STANLEY und WILSON erwähnen in der Herrscherliste Musanja (Mssanyi, Mssangi) und sprechen nicht von Mwanga I. Nach R. P. ACHTE und Rev. ROSCOE herrschte Musanja überhaupt nicht. Sein Sohn Mwanga I. folgte unmittelbar einem Oheim. (Nach Rev. ROSCOE war es Mawanda, nach R. P ACHTE — Kikurwe.)

3. STANLEY und WILSON sprechen statt von Semakokiro von Wasaya resp. Wassedshe.

4. STANLEY und WILSON erwähnen statt Kimba seinen Bruder Wanpamba (Wapamba). Dieser sollte, nach R. P. ACHTE und Rev. ROSCOE nicht herrschen, da, ihren Angaben gemäß, Kimba Wapamba's Sohn Kaima gefolgt ist.

Die Listen von STANLEY und WILSON stimmen besser mit der Liste von Rev. ROSCOE, als mit der des R. P. ACHTE, überein. So wird dort erstens Sekamanga nach Mulondo und vor Tembe (Yemba) erwähnt. Das spricht zugunsten der Ansicht des Rev. ROSCOE, nach welchem Sekamanga ein Sohn von Mulondo ist. Zweitens werden die Söhne des Ndaula in der, durch Rev. ROSCOE angegebenen, Ordnung durchgezählt.

Die Listen von STUHLMANN und JOHNSTON sind ebenfalls identisch und weisen nur orthographische Unterschiede auf. Sie weichen von den vorher besprochenen ganz beträchtlich ab. Identifiziert man Kimba mit Nikibingo I. und Wapamba mit STUHLMANNs Buganda, so finden wir hier alle Namen unserer Liste, bis auf Lumansi und Musanja, die nicht geherrscht haben, in unserer Liste aber, als Väter der Könige, mitverzeichnet werden. Man darf also annehmen, daß STUHLMANN, bei seinen Nachforschungen der Buganda-Geschichte, auf Gewährsmänner gestoßen ist, welche die Namen der Herrscher, aber nicht ihre Reihenfolge, angaben. JOHNSTON wiederholt die Liste STUHLMANNs nur in verbesserter Orthographie und unter Weglassen der Vorgänger Kimera's.

Trotz aller Abweichungen finden wir auch in der Liste von STUHLMANN einen Hinweis zugunsten der Listen von Rev. ROSCOE und R. P. ACHTE. Es wird hier als Herrscher nicht Musanja, sondern sein Sohn Mwanga erwähnt.

Der Vergleich des ganzen Materials gestattet also die Liste von Rev. ROSCOE als die beste und seine Angaben als die zuverlässigsten anzusehen.

Alte Staaten des Süd-Runyoro-Gebietes. Wie schon oben erwähnt wurde, werden die Staaten des Runyoro-Sprachgebietes, außerhalb von Bunyoro und Toro, vom königlichen Geschlecht der Bahinda beherrscht, welches, ursprünglich aus Bunyoro stammend, über die benachbarten Gebiete seine Macht ausdehnte und den einzelnen Staaten die, gegenwärtig herrschenden, Dynastien gegeben hat. Diese Dynastien, die der Überlieferung gemäß ältere eingeborene Herrscherfamilien abgelöst haben, verzeichnen für die Dauer ihrer Herrschaft 15—18 Generationen.

Die Nachrichten über die eingeborenen Dynastien, welche von den, nach dem Süden durch die Babito verdrängten, Nachfolgern Nyamugira's oder Rubaga's abgelöst wurden, sind äußerst spärlich. Es werden nur die Namen der letzten Herrscher und, in den besten Fällen, die Umstände, unter denen sie verdrängt wurden, berichtet. Über die Form der, dort vor der Festsetzung der gegenwärtigen Dynastien herrschenden, politischen Organisation können wir uns keine genauere Vorstellung machen. Der Umstand aber, daß Herrschernamen genannt werden, gibt Anlaß zur Vermutung, daß diese sozialen Gebilde schon etwas über den Zustand der patriarchalen Clananarchie, wie wir sie in Mulera und bei den Bakondjo sehen werden, hinausgewachsen waren.

In Kiamtwara erwähnt REHSE[1]), als den ältesten namentlich bekannten König, Kashare, der in Gashani wohnte und zum Geschlecht der Baango gehörte. In der Busindja-Überlieferung[2]) wird er Kashare Kanyango genannt. Der Gewährsmann von REHSE erwähnt noch, daß nach Kashare Rusembo, aus dem Geschlechte der Batundu, geherrscht und in Maruku gewohnt hätte. Die Tatsachen aber, daß die Könige zu verschiedenen Clans gehören, und daß nach der Busindja-Überlieferung Kashare Kanyango durch Ruhinda abgelöst wurde, gestatten anzunehmen, daß es sich hier eher um Clanälteste handelt, die sich im Lande gleichzeitig eines Einflusses erfreut haben.

In Ihangiro herrschte zur gleichen Zeit Nkombya und in Bugabo Kiteite.

In Busindja erwähnt EMIN PASCHA[3]) den, durch Ruhinda's Sohn Katovaha vom Throne verdrängten Samsama, den mein Gewährsmann als Nshanohamye bezeichnet hat. Nach R. P. VAN THIELE[2]) soll Samsama zur Familie

[1]) REHSE, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 285.

[2]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 499.

[3]) EMIN PASCHA, Zur Ethnologie der Gebiete um den Albert-See. Ausland 1891, Bd. 64, S. 353.

der Baheta gehört haben. Katovaha wird in dieser Überlieferung nicht erwähnt; an seiner Stelle finden wir hier Ntare, ebenfalls einen Sohn Ruhinda's. Vielleicht handelt es sich hier um zwei verschiedene Namen desselben Individuums.

Auch in Karagwe gab es eine alte Dynastie[1]). Zu ihr gehörte, der durch Ruhinda abgelöste, Nono.

Nkole soll[2]) zu dieser Zeit aus den folgenden Fürstentümern bestanden haben:

Sema	unter	Katuku,
Kasari	„	Lwanzigami,
Nabusosi	„	Kalala,
Kabula	„	Mutenzi,
Nsongi	„	Semulinda,
Bukanga	„	Nyawela,
Mitoma	„	Lukukwe,
Buzimba	„	Maliza.

Katuku hatte dabei, bezüglich der anderen, eine Art Oberhoheit, und nachdem er durch Ruhinda bezwungen war, kam auch Nkole unter die Bahinda-Herrschaft.

Die Geschichte von Kiziba geht bis in die ersten Zeiten der Bachwezi-Herrschaft in Bunyoro zurück. Bekanntlich bekam damals Wamara, von seinem Bruder Ndaula, die Provinz Bwera im Süden vom Katonga-Fluß. Wamara ist aber für Kiziba sowohl ein allmächtiger Geist, wie auch der Herr seines Landesfürsten Kiziba, nach welchem das Land benannt wurde und dessen Leute den Namen Baziba bekamen. Damals gehörte also Kiziba schon zu Bunyoro.

Es bleibt unaufgeklärt, weshalb das gegenwärtige Herrschergeschlecht von Kiziba zum Clan der Baziba gehört, da sein Protoplast Kibi I. aus Bunyoro eingewandert ist, den alten Herrscher Ntumua ermordet und die Staatsgewalt an sich gerissen hat. Sollte denn Kibi[3]) ein am Hofe von Bunyoro weilender Kiziba-Prinz gewesen sein? Diese Erklärung hat die meisten Gründe für sich. Sie entspricht auch den Angaben, auf die ich stets im Lande gestoßen bin. Diese stimmen nämlich in der Behauptung überein, daß Kiziba, im Gegensatze zu allen anderen Staaten, die alte Dynastie behalten hat.

REHSE[4]) sagt zwar ausdrücklich: „Das Herrscherhaus leitet seine Abstammung von Muhinda, dem ersten Bunyoro-Herrscher in Karagwe, her." Diese Angabe kann aber nur auf die weibliche Linie Bezug haben, wie das schon durch RICHTER[5]) festgestellt wurde.

[1]) SPEKE, J. H., Die Entdeckung der Nilquellen. Leipzig 1864, Band I, S. 275.

[2]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 241.

[3]) REHSE, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 154.

[4]) Ebenda S. 110.

[5]) RICHTER, Oblt., Der Bezirk Bukoba. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1899, S. 69.

Es ist sehr bezeichnend, daß, in dem, von REHSE übersetzten, Texte des eingeborenen Geschichtschreibers Ruamagira nur vom Zuge des Kibi von Bunyoro berichtet wird. Von einer Verwandtschaft des Kibi mit den Bahinda oder mit den Bunyoro-Herrschern überhaupt wird dort gar nicht gesprochen. Die unzutreffende Ansicht von REHSE findet ihre Erklärung in dem, bis zur letzten Zeit sehr verbreiteten, Zusammenwerfen aller Züge aus dem Norden mit dem Eroberungszug der Bahinda.

In Kiziba ragt, wie es scheint, ein Überrest der alten Prä-Bahinda-Zeit des südlichen Runyoro-Gebietes in die Gegenwart hinein.

Zum Schlusse soll hier noch die Liste der Kiziba-Herrscher nach den Angaben des R. P. B. HAUTMANN, die mit denen von REHSE übereinstimmen, hinzugefügt werden.

Herrscher von Kiziba.

Kibi I.
|
Ishamula.
|
Wanumi.
|
Bwanamba. Matui. Kabanda.
|
Magembe I.
|
Musinga.
|
Mwigala.
|
Burungu I.
|
Magem be II. — Zeitgenosse des Nkuerge von Kiamtwara.
|
Mboneko.
|
Nyalwanga.
|
Ruhangarazi I.
|
Rutajdjua. (Ruyobia).
|
Burungu II. Kibi II.
|
Ruhangarazi II.
|
Mutatembwa (1857—1903).
|
Mutahangarua (1903—19..).

Zur allgemeinen Charakterisierung der Kiziba-Geschichte, muß erwähnt werden, daß die älteren Zeiten in Abhängigkeit von Bunyoro verflossen sind. Das letzte Jahrhundert zieht Kiziba in die Einflußsphäre von Buganda hinein, die sich um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts in eine direkte Abhängigkeit umwandelte. Die gegenwärtige scheinbare Unabhängigkeit, wodurch das Land in den gleichen Rang mit Karagwe und Ruanda, wenigstens nominell, gestellt wurde, beginnt erst mit der deutschen Besitzergreifung.

Bahinda-Genealogie. Die Geschichte der Staaten des südlichen Runyoro-Gebietes läßt sich am besten an der Hand der genealogischen Listen ihrer, mit-

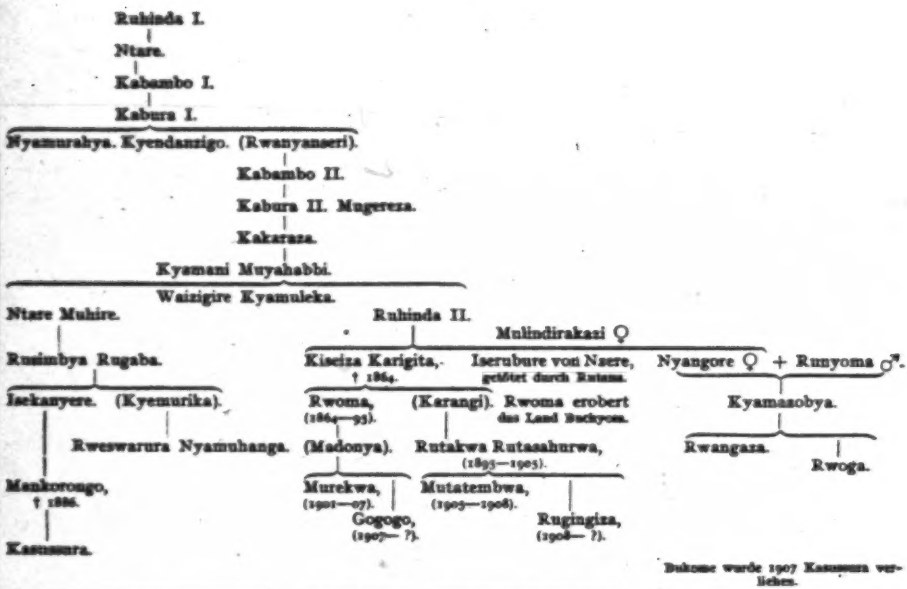
einander verwandten, Herrscher verfolgen. Wir haben es hier nämlich in der Hauptsache mit dem Zersetzungsprozeß des, durch Ruhinda gegründeten, Reiches zu tun.

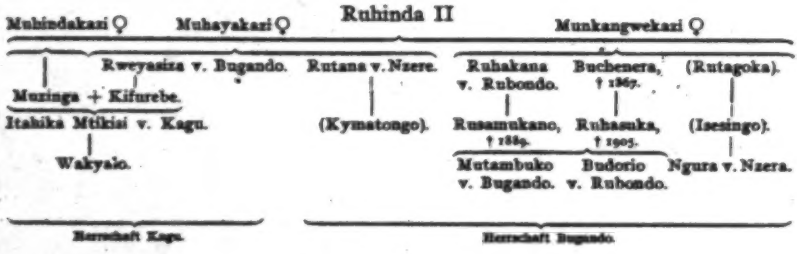
Die Liste der Karagwe-Herrscher mußte in erster Linie auf die unbefriedigenden Angaben von SPEKE[1]) gestützt werden. Sie ist im Verhältnis zu den Stammbäumen anderer Bahinda-Linien zu lang, als daß in ihr nur Väter und Söhne verzeichnet sein könnten. Sie ist zu lang auch für den Fall, daß man annimmt, daß die abwechselnde Reihenfolge von Ruhinda und Ntare mit Ruhinda V. aufhört. Dazu aber wird man gezwungen, wenn man berücksichtigt, daß der Vater Ndagara's Ruhinda VI. war. Es gab hier sicherlich auch Brüder, die geherrscht haben und in der allgemeinen Herrscherreihe ohne Angabe mitverzeichnet wurden.

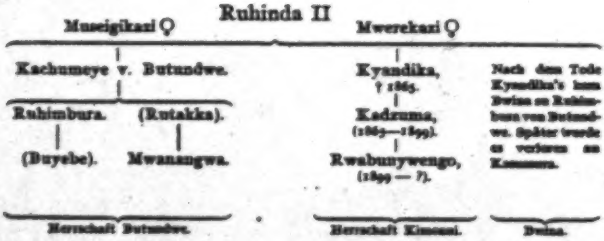
Rubaga Nyamugira, König von Bunyoro.

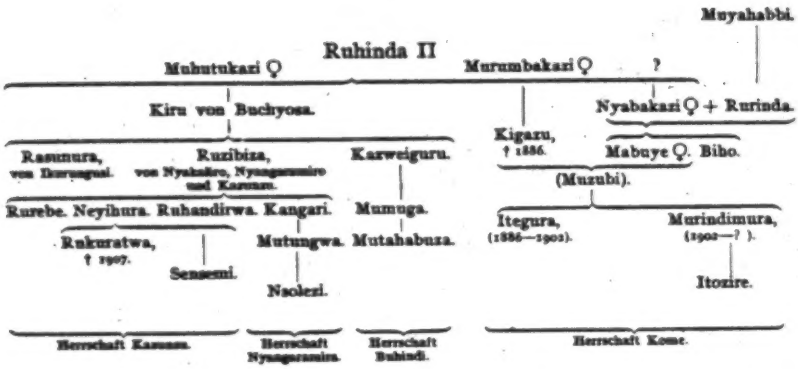
Ntare von Nkole.	Ruhinda rwa Nyunaki, König von Karagwe.			
Kasasira.	Ntare I.		Bwogi von Kiamtwara.	Warusimbi.
Lugumba.	Ruhinda II.		Nyamigera.	
Rugombe.	Ntare II.		Kikuba.	
Ntare (Kagoragiten Mbango).	Ruhinda III.	Kayango v. Ihangiro.	Kalemera v. Kiamtwara.	
Nkabya Rurama.	Ntare III.	Ntare I.	Rukambisi Bwogi.	
Mirindi.	Ruhinda IV.	Muramira.	Mahe Rugomora.	
Ntare Kitabanyoro.	Ntare IV.	Mugombe.	Kasita Kahigi.	
Ntare.	Ruhinda V.	Buto.	Nkuenge. Zeitgenosse des Magombe II. von Kisiba.[2])	
Machuwa.	Rusatira.	Mugunda.	Karumuna Rugomora.	
Kahaya.	Mehinga.	Nyarubamba I.	Mpangukano Bwogi.	
Lwabusengi.	Kalemera.	Ruhinda.	Muiru Kalemera.	
Gasonga.	Ntare V.	Ntare II.	Kairunga von Buhaya.	Kinyoni von Kyanja.
Mutambuka.	Ruhinda VI.	Nyarubamba II.	Bwogi (? —1894).	Muganguzi Rugomora.
Ntali, † 1894.	Ndagara I.		Kishebuka.	Mpinzire Kahigi.
Kahaya.	Rumanika. (1853—1885)[3])			
	Kanyenye. (1885—1885)	Ruhagira.		
	Ndagara II. (1885—1889)	Ruakataki von Buhimba.		
	Ntare, (1889—19...)			
Nkole.	Karagwe mit Buhimba.	Ihangiro.	Kiamtwara.	Kyanja[2]).

[1]) SPEKE, J. H., Die Entdeckung der Nilquellen. Leipzig 1864, S. 275.
[2]) GRANT, J. A., A Walk across Africa. London 1864, S. 137.
[3]) REHSE, H., Kisiba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 275.


Ruhinda I.
Ntare.
Kabambo I.
Kabura I.
Nyamurahya. Kyendanzigo. (Rwanyanseri).
Kabambo II.
Kabura II. Mugereza.
Kakaraza.
Kyamani Muyahabbi.
Waizigire Kyamuleka.
Ntare Muhire.
Rusimbya Rugaba.
Isekanyere. (Kyemurika).
Rweswarura Nyamuhanga.
Mankorongo, † 1886.
Kasusura.
Ruhinda II.
Mulindirakazi ♀
Kiseiza Karigita, † 1864.
Iseruburе von Nzere, getötet durch Rutana.
Nyangore ♀ + Runyoma ♂.
Rwoma, (1864—95).
(Karangi). Rwoma erobert das Land Buhyoma.
Kyamasobya.
(Madonya).
Rutakwa Rutasahurwa, (1895—1905).
Rwangaza.
Rwoga.
Murekwa, (1901—07).
Mutatembwa, (1905—1908).
Gogogo, (1907— ?).
Rugingiza, (1908— ?).
Bukome wurde 1907 Kasusura verliehen.
Herrschaft Ost-Usuwi.
Herrschaft Nyamuterera nur Strafe von Bukura abgespalten.
Herrschaft Bukura.
Herrschaft Bukome.


Ruhinda II
Muhindakazi ♀
Muhayakazi ♀
Munkangwekazi ♀
Rweyasiza v. Bugando.
Rutana v. Nzere.
Ruhakana v. Rubondo.
Bucbenera, † 1867.
(Rutagoka).
Muzinga + Kifurebe.
Itahika Mtikisi v. Kagu.
Wakyalo.
(Kymatongo).
Rusamukano, † 1889.
Ruhasuka, † 1905.
(Isesingo).
Mutambuko v. Bugando.
Budorio v. Rubondo.
Ngura v. Nzera.
Herrschaft Kagu.
Herrschaft Bugando.


Ruhinda II
Museigikazi ♀
Mwerekazi ♀
Kachumeye v. Butundwe.
Ruhimbura.
(Rutakka).
(Buyebe).
Mwanangwa.
Kyandika, † 1865.
Kadruma, (1865—1899).
Rwabunywengo, (1899 — ?).
Nach dem Tode Kyandika's kam Bwisa an Ruhimbura von Butundwe. Später wurde es verloren an Kasusura.
Herrschaft Butundwe.
Herrschaft Kimosai.
Bwisa.



Die Namen der Nkole-Herrscher wurden der Liste von MELDON[1]) entnommen und durch das Einbuchen von Ntare, des Bruders Ruhinda's, ergänzt[2]). Die unvollständige Liste von Rev. ROSCOE[3]), der in Nkole nur kurz geweilt hat, blieb unberücksichtigt. Sie unterscheidet sich von den Angaben MELDONS nur dadurch, daß zwischen Kasasira und Machuwa nur zwei Herrscher, Mirimai und Lumongi angeführt werden,

Die Genealogie der Herrscher von Ihangiro, Kiamtwara und Kyanja ist nach REHSE[4]) angegeben.

Die dynastischen Verhältnisse von Busindja und Ost-Ussuwi sind nach R. P. VAN THIELE[5]) geschildert. Die Angaben KOLLMANNS[6]) widersprechen diesen in einigen Details. KOLLMANN sagt z. B., daß Rusamukano Vater von Ruhasuka war. Als Mtikisi's Vater wird auf derselben Seite einmal Rutana, einmal Dujange bezeichnet. Diese Unstimmigkeiten müssen, mit Rücksicht auf die Schwierigkeit und Kompliziertheit der Geschichte Busindja's, durch die ungenügenden Angaben der Eingeborenen, die zur Zeit KOLLMANNS weniger zutraulich und mitteilsam waren, erklärt werden. Auf unserer genealogischen Tafel, die R. P. VAN THIELE[5]) entnommen ist, sind Rusamukano und Ruhasuka Vettern. KOLLMANNS Angabe, daß Rusamukano 1893 gestorben ist, verdient dagegen Beachtung. Nach R. P. VAN THIELE soll das im Jahre 1889 geschehen sein.

Das Bahinda-Reich. Das Bahinda-Reich umfaßte Nkole, Karagwe, Busindja mit Ost-Ussuwi und Buhaya, im Süden von Kiziba.

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[1]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 242.

[2]) REHSE, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 285.

[3]) ROSCOE, J., The Bahima: A Cow Tribe of Enkole in the Uganda Protectorate. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 1907, S. 97.

[4]) REHSE, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 290.

[5]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911.

[6]) KOLLMANN, P., Der Nordwesten unserer Ostafrikanischen Kolonie. Berlin 1898, S. 77.

EMIN PASCHA [1]) erwähnt, daß Ruhinda II. Runyunaki, auf seinem Zuge nach Süden, Kiamtwara, Ihangiro und Busindja erobert, und in dem Letzteren seinen Sohn Katovaha eingesetzt hat, selber aber im Kampfe getötet wurde. Seinen Kopf beerdigte man in Karagwe, seine Beine in Ihangiro und seine Brust in Busindja. So ist er zum Symbol der Einheit dieser Staaten geworden.

REHSE [2]) berichtet übereinstimmend, den Angaben Kishebuka's, des abgesetzten Herrschers von Kiamtwara, folgend: „Der Vater des Königs Ruhinda war Rugaba, König von Bunyoro. Als dieser im Begriffe war zu sterben, sprach er zu Ruhinda: ‚Gehe und erobere Kiamutuara, Kiziba, Karagwe und Buzinja'. Und er gab ihm drei Trommeln; die eine hieß Nyabatamba, eine andere Muigazigu.

Als Ruhinda auf dem Wege nach Karagwe war, gab er seinem Bruder Ntare eine Trommel, daß er in das Reich Nkore (Nkole) gehen und sich zum Herrscher machen möge. —"

Im Gegensatz dazu bezeichnet MELDON [3]), als den ersten Herrscher von Nkole, den Ruhinda, Sohn Wamara's. Sollte hier Wamara ein Synonym Rubaga's sein oder ist es eine Anspielung auf den Muchwezi Wamara, den Herrscher von Bwera? Dann wäre dies ein direkter Beweis, daß Ruhinda zum Geschlecht der Bachwezi gehörte. Das Letztere ist am wahrscheinlichsten.

Alle Nachrichten stimmen darin überein, daß Ruhinda über Nkole, Karagwe, Buhaya und Busindja Macht ausgeübt hat.

In der nächsten Generation trennte sich das Reich Ruhinda's in seine ursprünglichen Bestandteile auf. Karagwe behielt aber, mit Rücksicht auf den Hauptanteil an der Leiche Ruhinda's, die höchste Stelle in den Bahinda-Staaten.

Die Angaben über die Namen der Söhne Ruhinda's, welche die einzelnen Teile seines Reiches erhielten, enthalten mehrere Widersprüche. Das wird sich wohl als Folge der Bezeichnung derselben Individuen mit verschiedenen Namen, wie auch der, nach seinem Tode eingetretenen, Wirren erklären lassen Den besten Hinweis auf die Letzteren enthält die Überlieferung von der Aufteilung der Leiche Ruhinda's nach einem Kampfe.

R. P. VAN THIELE berichtet [4]) z. B.: „Nach dem Hinscheiden Ruhinda's ergriffen dreizehn von seinen Kindern mit Ndagara an der Spitze von Karagwe Besitz." Bei SPEKE [5]) finden wir dagegen die Angabe, daß Ruhinda in Karagwe Ntare I. gefolgt ist.

In Busindja soll nach R. P. H. VAN THIELE [6]) nach Ruhinda Ntare geherrscht haben, während EMIN PASCHA von Katovaha spricht.

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[1]) EMIN PASCHA, Zur Ethnologie der Gebiete um den Albert-See. Ausland 1891, S. 353.
[2]) REHSE, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 285.
[3]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 242.
[4]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 500.
[5]) SPEKE, J. H., Die Entdeckung der Nilquellen. Leipzig 1864, Band I, S. 275.
[6]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 500.

In derselben Busindja-Überlieferung wird Ihangiro als eine besondere Herrschaft unter Ntare, dem Sohn Ruhinda's, erwähnt. Nach der von REHSE[1]) übermittelten Überlieferung soll sich dagegen in Buhaya das Kiamtwara-Reich unter Ruhinda's Sohn Bwogi gebildet haben. Erst Bwogi's Großenkel Kayango, Sohn des Kiamtwara-Herrschers Kikuba, reißt in der zweiten Hälfte des XVII. Jahrhunderts Ihangiro an sich und macht sich dort gänzlich unabhängig. In der ersten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts trennt sich Kyanja unter Ausnützung der inneren Wirren von Kiamtwara.

Nach dieser kurzen Besprechung der Nachrichten über die Gliederung des Ruhinda-Reiches sollen hier noch einige Angaben zur späteren Geschichte dieser Teile gemacht werden.

NKOLE. Fassen wir zunächst die Berichte MELDONs[2]) für Nkole zusammen. In der Zeit von Ntare Kitabanyoro fallen die Banyoro, unter Luwaga und Kabwobwe, in Nkole ein. Luwaga ist, nach der Liste des Rev. A. B. FISHER[3]) der Vater Sansa's und der achte Ahne des gegenwärtigen Herrschers von Bunyoro. Ebenso ist Ntare Kitabanyoro der achte Ahne des gegenwärtigen Herrschers von Nkole. Diese Angaben stimmen also gut überein. Wie es scheint, bleibt Nkole bis zu dieser Zeit in einer gewissen Abhängigkeit von Bunyoro.

Zur Zeit von Lwabusengi, der 40 Jahre regiert hat, kommen die Baganda vom Banyampaka-Geschlecht[4]), die Parteigänger der Bakunta, welche den Buganda-König Junju ermordet hatten, nach Nkole. Sie siedeln sich dort in Bunyaruguru an, um der Strafe zu entgehen. Sie fürchteten nämlich, daß ihr Anstifter und Führer, der von ihnen eingesetzte König Semakokiro, sie für die große Sünde der Befleckung mit dem heiligen Königsblute verfolgen würde. In Toro wurden mir ihre Niederlassungen als in der Provinz Buyango am Edward-See liegend bezeichnet. Dieses Ereignis hat um das Jahr 1800 stattgefunden. Die Baganda sollen aber trotz des ganzen inzwischen verflossenen Jahrhunderts dort ihre Eigenart nicht eingebüßt haben.

Zur Zeit Gasonga's, des Zeitgenossen Suna's II. von Buganda, fanden vier Einfälle der Baganda statt. Dieser Fürst herrschte nur zwölf Jahre. In Karagwe regierte zu dieser Zeit Ndagara.

BUSINDJA, der am stärksten zersplitterte Teil des Ruhinda-Reiches, bildete im Laufe der ersten acht Generationen nach Ruhinda ein einheitliches Reich, wenn auch nach dem Tode des Kabura II. Mugereza Zwistigkeiten entstanden sind, und die „Balaturu", welche Kikabuzi, einen Enkel Kabura's, unterstützten, im Lande wüteten.

Diese Angabe gestattet uns, den Zeitpunkt des Vorstoßes der Wataturu

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[1]) REHSE, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 290.
[2]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1897, S. 242.
[3]) JOHNSTON, H., The Uganda Protectorate. London 1902, S. 596—598.
[4]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 140

nach Busindja (mit diesen sind ohne Zweifel die Balaturu identisch) in die Mitte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts zu verlegen.

Nach dem Tode des Kyamani Muyahabbi trennte sich von Busindja Ost-Ussuwi, das von da ab seine Staatseinheit bewahrt hat. Busindja zersplitterte sich dagegen, wie das durch die genealogische Liste seiner Fürsten näher beleuchtet wird. Seit dem Kriegszuge der Baganda unter Kitunzi im Jahre 1875 geriet Busindja in Abhängigkeit von Buganda, die bis zu der deutschen Besitzergreifung gedauert hat. Die Einfälle der Watuta fingen noch früher an. Über die neueste Geschichte von Busindja soll nur wiederholt werden, daß, am Anfange dieses Jahrhunderts schon, Bukome, Bwina und Kimoani, ebenso wie der Südzipfel von Karagwe, das Land Buhimba, zu Ost-Ussuwi gekommen sind[1]).

Der historische Zusammenhang von West-Ussuwi mit Ost-Ussuwi und Busindja ist noch ganz unerforscht. Zur Geschichte dieses Landes soll nur erwähnt werden, daß in der Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts sein Herrscher Kibogora durch Rweswarura (Suworora) von Ost-Ussuwi angegriffen wurde[2]). In den achtziger Jahren herrschte dort Yavigimba, der die Batutsi aus dem Lande nach Uramba vertrieben haben soll[3]). Gegenwärtig wird West-Ussuwi durch Kinanira beherrscht.

Bukerewe. Im Zusammenhange mit Busindja ist noch die Herrschaft Bukerewe zu erwähnen. Bukerewe wird durch das Geschlecht der Basiranga beherrscht, das sich von der Bahinda-Dynastie in weiblicher Linie herleitet. Am Anfange der überlieferten Geschichte bestanden hier drei kleine Herrschaften oder wohl vielmehr drei Clangemeinden. Im Nordwesten der Insel, in Massonga, saßen die Bazigu, im Nordosten das Geschlecht der Bahira und auf der Insel Bwiro die dort bis jetzt herrschenden Bakura.

Nach der Überlieferung der Bakerewe[4]), die ihrem Charakter nach der von Busindja ganz analog ist, wurde Bukerewe durch Kyanbombya erobert. Dieser war der Sohn Musanga's, eines Emigranten von der Insel, welcher in Ihangiro, mit einer Musiranga-Muhinda verheiratet, wohnte und dort auch gestorben ist.

Kyanbombya folgte sein Sohn Katobaha. Dieser siedelte vom Festlande auf die Insel über, wie es scheint, dem Andrange der Massai weichend. Sein Vater soll im Kampfe gegen sie gefallen sein.

Die Busindja-Überlieferung berichtet dagegen über diese Vorgänge[5]):

Kabambo I. von Busindja „zog ferner gegen Bukerewe in den Krieg und setzte seinen Sklaven Katobaha daselbst als Häuptling ein. Er war es auch, der zuerst Sklaven aus Bukerewe importierte."

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[1]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 510.
[2]) Ebenda S. 508.
[3]) BAUMANN, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle. Berlin 1894, S. 209.
[4]) HURZI, E., R. P., Religion et vie domestique des Bakerewe. Anthropos 1911, S. 65—68.
[5]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 503.

Die letzte Angabe findet ihre Bestätigung durch die Zeremonie, die auch jetzt bei der Einsetzung des Königs stattfindet. Vor dem König setzt sich der Clanälteste der Bayango hin und schweigt. Um ihn zum Sprechen zu bewegen, schenkt ihm der neue König Kühe, Sklaven und Rinder. Der Clanälteste der Bayango spricht dann den Namen des Königs aus und begrüßt kniend als erster den neuen Herrscher. Der König antwortet mit dem üblichen: „mmm". Darauf setzt er sich, gibt dem König Ratschläge hinsichtlich seiner künftigen Stellung und entfernt sich dann. Der König wird erst darauf von den Untertanen begrüßt.

Da aber Ruhinda, der Gründer der Dynastie von Busindja, zum Bayango-Clan gehörte, so bildet diese Zeremonie eine symbolische Erinnerung an das Einsetzen Katobaha's durch Kabambo I. von Busindja, was in der Bukerewe-Überlieferung verschwiegen wird.

Gegenwärtig herrscht, aus der mit Katobaha beginnenden Dynastie, der siebzehnte König Gabriel Mutahengerwa[1]). Seine am häufigsten erwähnten Vorgänger sind Mihigo, Nago, Machunda, Lukonge, der im Jahre 1895 durch die Regierung abgesetzt wurde, und Mukaka (1895—1907).

Die von STANLEY[2]) angeführte Herrscherliste stimmt mit den obigen Daten nur bezüglich der Fürstenzahl überein. Es werden die folgenden Herrscher verzeichnet:

1. Ruhinda,
2. Kasessa,
3. Kytawa,
4. Kahana,
5. Gurta I.,
6. Nagu,
7. Mehigo I.,
8. Mehigo II.,
9. Kahana II.,
10. Gurta II.,
11. Ruhinda II.,
12. Kahana III.,
13. Iwanda,
14. Machunda,
15. Lukonge.

Wir besitzen also über den Ursprung der Dynastie von Bukerewe drei verschiedene Angaben. Die Ableitung des herrschenden Geschlechtes in männlicher Linie von Ruhinda findet aber in den späteren Untersuchungen nicht nur keine Bestätigung; sie erweist sich sogar als ganz unmöglich mit Rücksicht auf die Zugehörigkeit der Bukerewe-Herrscher zum Basiranga-Clan. Die vorhandenen Angaben lassen aber die Annahme zu, daß Kytawa von STANLEY mit dem Katobaha von R. P. HUREL und R. P. VAN THIELE identisch ist, während Kasessa von STANLEY vielleicht die Tochter Ruhinda's ist, mit Rücksicht worauf wohl Katobaha, ihr Sohn, von Kabambo I. Bukerewe bekommen hat. Der letztere wird wohl in Frage kommen, wenn R. P. HUREL von Kyanbombya, dem Vater (resp. dem Herrn) Katobaha's spricht.

Lukonge war der erste Herrscher von Bukerewe, der mit Europäern in

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[1]) HUREL, E., R. P., Religion et vie domestique des Bakerewe. Anthropos 1911, S. 65, 68.
[2]) STANLEY, H. M., Through the Dark Continent. London 1878, Band I, S. 250.

Kontakt gekommen ist. Zu seiner Zeit fand ein Angriff der Massai auf die Insel statt. Das geschah im Jahre 1888[1]).

Bakango-Herrschaften. Die Bakango-Herrschaften von Bugabo und Kiamtwara reichen mit ihrer Geschichte nicht weit zurück. Die Bakango wanderten zur Zeit des Kiamtwara-Herrschers Kasita-Kahigi von Busindja ein. Sie wurden durch die Brüder Karamagi und Mutashaba geführt und ließen sich mit der Einwilligung des Kiamtwara-Herrschers im Lande nieder. Ihre Nachfolger gewannen bald einen großen Einfluß auf die Geschichte des Landes, und Ruamugira[2]), der Geschichtsschreiber Kiziba's, bezeichnet Kitekere und Kaitaba aus der Linie des Mutashaba als Könige von Kiamtwara, wenn auch dort nominell bis zum Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts die Bahinda (Linie des Bwogi) geherrscht haben und erst durch ungeschickte Europäer-Politik um ihren Besitz kamen.

Die Linie des Karamagi machte sich in der Person Kayoza's durch geschickte Ausnützung der europäischen Besitzergreifung des Landes in Bugabo unabhängig. Die Linie des Mutashaba erreichte in der Person Muntu's die Herrschaft im übrigen Kiamtwara, als der legitime Herrscher Kishebuka durch die Europäer abgesetzt wurde.

Die Anhänger der alten Dynastie erzählen über dieses Ereignis folgende Einzelheiten: Als Emin Pascha nach Bukoba kam, fürchtete sich Bwogi, der Herrscher von Kiamtwara, beim Europäer zu erscheinen. An seiner Stelle wurde ein Muhima, namens Mukotani, geschickt, und dieser trat als der Herrscher auf. Dasselbe wurde später auch in Ruanda gemacht, wo der Herrscher Juhi Musinga durch den Priester Pambarugamba vertreten wurde. Diese Ängstlichkeit von Bwogi hatte aber traurige Folgen für seine Nachfolger. Nach seinem Tode 1894 wurde Kiamtwara zwischen seinem Sohn Kishebuka und Mukotani geteilt. Mukotani wollte jedoch die Autorität von Kishebuka nicht mehr anerkennen. Im nächsten Jahre aber wurde er zur Strafe abgesetzt, angeblich weil er gestohlene Gewehre nicht ausliefern wollte. Das ganze Land kam an Kishebuka. Im Jahre 1901 wurde aber auch dieser abgesetzt infolge einer gegen ihn angezettelten Intrige, in der wieder Gewehre die Hauptrolle spielten. Kiamtwara kam dann an Muntu, einen Bruder Mukotani's.

Der abgesetzte Kishebuka wird von den Eingeborenen bis jetzt als Herrscher von Kiamtwara angesehen, wenn er auch in der, ihm durch die Regierung zugewiesenen Besitzung Maruku am Seeufer im Süden von Bukoba zurückgezogen lebt.

Zum Schlusse soll hier noch die Genealogie der Herrscher dieser beiden Länder nach REHSE[3]) angeführt werden.

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[1]) SPRING, Kapitän, Eine Reise nach Bukindo auf der Insel Ukerewe. Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 1893, S. 48.

[2]) REHSE, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 259—262.

[3]) Ebenda S. 285.

Brüder:

1710.	Mutashaba.	Karamagi.
1720.	Riangombe.	Mugosha.
1760.	Muimbira.	Buyenje.
1790.	Rukamba.	Rugambua.
1820.	Rusuma.	Bugimbi.
1840.	Kitekere.	Kangaragua.
		Nkuere.
1860.	Kaitaba.	Kayoza, † 1895.
1900.	Buahama. Mukotani. Muntu.	Rutaigua, † 1899. Ruakiendera.

Buddu. Die älteste Geschichte von Buddu verknüpft sich mit der Geschichte von Nkole. Bis zur Zeit des Kyebambi von Bunyoro, der die Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen von Nkole nicht anerkennen wollte, bildete Buddu einen Bestandteil des letzteren Staates. Wenn auch Nkole in diesem Kampfe gesiegt zu haben scheint, so kam doch damals Deutsch-Buddu oder eigentlich Kivumbiro an den Muhima Kakoko, der von dem gegenwärtigen Buddu-Herrscher Rukika als ein unabhängiger Herr angesehen wird. Oberleutnant RICHTER erwähnt aber[1]), daß ein anderer Teil von Buddu, das Minsiro, zur gleichen Zeit an einen Muhiru verliehen wurde. Diese Angaben gestatten den Schluß zu ziehen, daß es sich hier eigentlich um kleine Häuptlingschaften und nicht um Staaten handeln kann. Damit wird auch bewiesen, daß die Ahnenliste des Rukika:

Kakoko.
|
Araki.
|
Mtutura.
|
Wonye.
|
Rukika I.
|
Kagoro.
|
Nyamtura.
|
Tshamkuma.
|
Rukika II.

nur auf die Häuptlingschaft Kivumbiro und nicht die ganze große Buddu-Provinz bezogen werden kann.

Über die Geschichte des ganzen Buddu wissen wir nur, daß es in den letzten Jahren des vorletzten Jahrhunderts, als in Kivumbiro Nyamtura regierte, durch

[1]) RICHTER, Oblt., Der Bezirk Bukoba. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1899, S. 78.

den König Junju von Buganda erobert wurde. Auch Kivumbiro kam damals in Abhängigkeit von Buganda.

Erst nach der Fixierung der deutsch-englischen Grenze wurde aus dem Deutschland zugefallenen Teile von Buddu eine unabhängige Herrschaft unter dem alten Rukika gebildet.

Urundi und Uha. Über die Geschichte der Südhälfte des Zwischenseengebietes ist ganz wenig bekannt.

R. P. VAN DER BURGT[1]) gibt für Urundi eine Liste von 13 Herrschern, die hier wiederholt wird:

Ruhinda.	(1500—1570).
Mwambutsa I.	(1570—1595).
Mudaga I.	(1595—1615).
Ntare I.	(1615—1640).
Mwezi I.	(1640—1670).
Mwambutsa II.	(1670—1690).
Mudaga II.	(1690—1710).
Ntare II.	(1710—1735).
Mwezi II.	(1735—1760).
Mwambutsa III.	(1760—1790).
Mudaga III.	(1790—1820).
Ntare III.	(1820—1860).
Mwezi Kisabo III.	(1860—1908).[2])

Im Widerspruch zu diesen Angaben steht die Mitteilung des Hauptmanns FONCK, daß der Nachfolger von Mwezi Kisabo, der vierzehnjährige Mwikidzje, den Namen Mutago (Mudaga) III. angenommen hat. In Übereinstimmung mit der obigen Liste müßte er den Namen Mutago IV. annehmen. Den Angaben des R. P. VAN DER BURGT widerspricht noch Hauptmann GÖRING. R. P. VAN DER BURGT erklärte die Dynastie von Urundi als das Geschlecht der Bahinda. Hauptmann GÖRING[3]) bezeichnet dagegen das Geschlecht des Kisabo als die Waganua-Sippe. Die letzte Angabe wurde durch Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER bestätigt[4]).

Es ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, daß hier nicht der Name des herrschenden Clans, sondern das verstümmelte Wort „Manangwa" (Statthalter) angeführt wird. Lusokosa und Bansabugabo aus Nordost-Urundi sind Enkel und Urenkel des Ndabyerye, der von seinem jüngeren Bruder Mwezi Kisabo bei der Thronbesteigung ermordet wurde[5]).

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[1]) VAN DER BURGT, J. M. M., R. P., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication Succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande. Bois-Le-Duc (Hollande) 1903, S. 180.

[2]) Notiz von Hptm. FONCK im Deutschen Kolonialblatt 1909, S. 25.

[3]) GÖRING, Hptm., Zu den Unruhen in Urundi. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1911, S. 552.

[4]) Reise-Berichte von Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, S. 355.

[5]) VAN DER BURGT, J. M. M., R. P., Land und Leute von Nordurundi (Deutsch-Ostafrika). Petermanns Mitteilungen 1912, S. 326.

Nach den Angaben des R. P. CAPUS[1]) soll Urundi oder wenigstens sein Osten früher einen Bestandteil von Uha gebildet haben. Er berichtet nämlich für Ujungu, das von ihm, wie es scheint, für das Stammland des Uha-Reiches angesehen wird: „Einstmals hatte das Reich Uha eine weit größere Ausdehnung (als Ujungu); es grenzte im Westen an den Ruvuvu, im Norden an den Usubi, im Osten an den Msalala, im Süden an den Tanganika. Erst unter Luhaga, dem Urgroßvater des jetzigen Herrschers (Kihumbi), war das Reich in seinem Bestande gelockert worden durch den Abfall der Barundi, welche unter Ntare ein eigenes Reich errichteten. Gegen Lunkengeresa, den Sohn desselben, zog Kihumbi's Vater Nkansu zu Felde, um die alten Grenzen von Uha wiederherzustellen; aber trotz des Beistandes von Mirambo, welcher mit seinen mit Feuerwaffen ausgerüsteten Ruga-Ruga herbeieilte, erlitt er eine schwere Niederlage. Später haben sich noch mehrere Basumbwa-Staaten unabhängig gemacht, und alle Versuche Kihumbi's, die Macht seiner Vorfahren wiederzuerlangen, sind vergeblich gewesen."

Der hier genannte Lukengeresa wird wohl mit Mwezi Kisabo oder mit einem seiner Brüder identisch sein. Die Ansprüche der Uha-Herrscher auf die Gebiete im Südwesten vom Victoria-See sind uns schon aus der Busindja-Überlieferung bekannt, ob aber Busindja und Urundi dauernde Bestandteile des Uha-Reiches gebildet haben, ist fraglich. Andererseits ist es aber auch nicht ausgeschlossen, daß das in Einzelherrschaften ganz aufgelöste Uha ein älteres politisches Gebilde als Urundi darstellt.

Heroen-Kultus im Zwischenseegebiete. Im Zusammenhange mit diesen historischen Betrachtungen muß noch die Religion des Zwischenseengebietes kurz besprochen werden.

Die Grundlage der religiösen Anschauungen des Zwischenseengebietes bildet bekanntlich die Verehrung der Geister der Verstorbenen. Da aber die Geister der Verstorbenen ihren Zusammenhang mit den Lebenden nicht aufgeben, so überragen auch die Geister der einstigen Machthaber die große Masse der Geister gewöhnlicher Leute. Sie erfreuen sich eines größeren Ansehens, man erinnert sich ihrer besser, und die Zahl ihrer Verehrer geht über den Kreis der Familienangehörigen hinaus. Sie bleiben in der Geschichte und werden mit dem Namen „bachwezi" bezeichnet.

So finden wir unter ihnen zwei Kinder des Königs Kalemera von Kiamtwara, der vor zehn Generationen geherrscht hat; nämlich seinen Sohn Kimuli und die durch ihre Boshaftigkeit in Erinnerung gebliebene Tochter Nyabuleza. Außerdem finden wir dort noch den König Bwogi und den Vater Ruhinda's, Rubaga rwa Mwiru.

Das Bestreben, die Unzufriedenheit dieser Geister zu vermeiden, hat zur

[1]) CAPUS, R. P., Eine Missionsreise nach Uha und Urundi. Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, S. 124.

Folge, daß den hervorragenderen sogar Leute angewiesen werden, die für ihre Bedürfnisse zu sorgen haben. Infolgedessen lebt auch die Erinnerung an die hervorragenden Persönlichkeiten, durch viele Generationen weiter.

Mit Rücksicht darauf, daß es sich hier um historische Persönlichkeiten handelt, die bei der Erforschung der Landesgeschichte Anhaltspunkte abgeben können, erscheint es mir wichtig, die, in der Hauptsache durch R. P. L. Embil und R. P. B. Hautmann, mir bekanntgewordenen „bachwezi" in extenso anzugeben.

„Bachwezi" von Kiziba.

1. Kiziba kya Ntumwa.
2. Bwera bwa Butema.
3. Buyango bwa Jubwai.
4. Mbare mwa Kashure.
5. Kamango ka Burungu.
6. Bugandika bwa Mukobe.
7. Ketandaguro ka Nshaka.
8. Bukabuye bwa Kiyonzai.
9. Kigarama kya Ntai.
10. Rushasha rwa Marwaire.
11. Rusinga rwa Nyamunai.
12. Bwanja bwa Nshenyirai.
13. Kitobo kya Nyamuhinda.
14. Lubumbu lwa Mwenda.
15. Kibumbiro kya Mulinda.
16. Rukurungu rwa Bona.
17. Ishozi lya Nsharazi.
18. Ishozi lya Rubungu.
19. Bukuli bwa Nyamanya.

„Bachwezi" von Kiamtwara.

1. Kashozi ka Lukoina.
2. Kasinga ka Lubota.
3. Kangoma ka Kabairi.
4. Igombe lya Byina.
5. Muyaba mwa Kibanda.
6. Bwanja bwa Nkulo.
7. Buembe bwa Mbeho.
8. Kyasha kya Bagambi.
9. Nahambya ya Kahanya.
10. Kissindi kya Nyarubwa.
11. Mafumbo mwa Kawe.
12. Kitendagura kya Nyalwera.
13. Kibeta kya Nyamutenge.
14. Bussimbe bwa Mwema.
15. Bukoba bwa Kamanyire.
16. Kibuye kya Ikobe.
17. Idjuganyondo lya Nyakanta.
18. Kabare ka Munyigi.
19. Kagondo ka Ilemba.
20. Kitwe kya Igambe.
21. Katoma ka Mirego.
22. Nyanga ya Hinda.
23. Maruku mwa Kibuye (Kibungo).
24. Itawa lya Balinda.
25. Kiniga kya Igoba.
26. Ibarazisibu lya Katamba.
27. Kilerire kya Nkora.
28. Kimuli kya Kalemera.
29. Nyabuleza ya Kalemera.
30. Rubaga rwa Mwira.
31. Bwogi.
32. Lukungu rwa Nshare.
33. Nyakashana ya Byoto.
34. Kashassira.
35. Mujubu.
36. Gayoire wa Muzelandai.
37. Mulissa mwa Igongora.
38. Kahigi ka Mkwanoi.
39. Igara lya Kabure.
40. Lwebembera lwa Kayango.

„Bachwezi" von Bugabo.

1. Bugabo bwa Kateite.
2. Lubafu lwa Kahenge.
3. Lwina lya Bulondo.
4. Butakanjana bwa Nyanshenye.

5. Itongo lya Kabengwa.
6. Katare ka Nkomera.
7. Lushasha lwa Mulisa.
8. Buma bwa Nkazi.
9. Lwangono lwa Mishango.
10. Bushasha bwa Katenge.
11. Kishanye kya Karasha.
12. Bweza bwa Muongo.
13. Bishaka bya Mugarura.
14. Kaggya ka Mwagiro.
15. Kilimirire kya Butenga
16. Katangarara ka Nyana
17. Bwende bwa Katereko
18. Byonga bya Kibaruka
19. Kato ka Kijubi
20. Mishozi mwa Ngombe

Kaguya

21. Kibare kya Katwenge.
22. Buzi bwa Kyango.
23. Kayongwe ka Mussinja.
24. Banyonya bwa Lwangwe.
25. Kigarika kya Bitwiha.
26. Lushaka lwa Ishekabone.
27. Irangara lya Magambo.
28. Kamulebi.
29. Kaija ka Nyenye
30. Kyato kya Nyakitungo
31. Karema ka Nkone
32. Mwemage mwa Nyakitungo
33. Mulongo mwa Kissimbasi
34. Katembe ka Myogo
35. Bweigiro bwa Kakungu
36. Butungiro bwa Eyamansi

Bushagara

37. Mwizi mwa Kabanda.
38. Itare lya Kibungu.
39. Ibossa lya Maisho.
40. Kashangati ka Mugombwai.
41. Ihanda lya Katyamo.
42. Burogo bwa Marwa.
43. Kahororo ka Ndorage.
44. Makongo mwa Rubugu (oder Kilema).
45. Kyaya kya Ileba.
46. Kilema kya Babusha.
47. Bukalanga bwa Ndai.

„Bachwezi" von Kyanja.

1. Kashondo ka Lugoye.
2. Mahiga mwa Mbale.
3. Kiiwa kya Mitwire.
4. Kishogo kya Bugingo.
5. Bugengere bwa Nyaweya.
6. Bwara bwa Lureya.
7. Kanasi ka Buita.
8. Kyanguye kya Mashaija.
9. Ngisha mwa Kibanda.
10. Lurongo lwa Karimbe.
11. Ibwera lya Kahigi.
12. Nyanga ya Ihere.
13. Ntobora mwa Mabi.
14. Kashere ka Matinde.
15. Kitundu kya Bakaikai.
16. Ngarama ya Kabi.
17. Kayoro ka Lugonse.
18. Kibona kya Kayango.
19. Kasharu ka Mabare.
20. Kagabiro ka Balehora.
21. Rwongu rwa Mukinda.
22. Butainamwa bwa Mubebi.
23. Bikiga bwa Michuma.
24. Nyanga ya Mushasha.
25. Lukaka lwa Balika.
26. Kanyoni ka Mugwa.
27. Kihirya kya Biretwa.
28. Matembwe mwa Igufa.
29. Minasi mwa Kataira.
30. Bituntu bwa Munyika.
31. Kirere kya Ngora.
32. Burira bwa Mubenge.
33. Bugawantora bwa Lugira.
34. Kigarama kya Ntai.
35. Rwageti rwa Mukama.
36. Mubembe mwa Meti.
37. Nyakibanga ya Shagama.
38. Kirima kya Barakulira.

39. Kanyangireko ka Kituntu.
40. Mishenye mwa Kabaruka.
41. Kirimi kya Myeshi.
42. Rwasi rwa Maimba.
43. Katembe ka Byogo.
44. Katwe ka Jochenda.
45. Kigusha kya Mpambo.

Über den Wirkungskreis der hier aufgezählten Geister, die vorwiegend in beschränkten Bezirken verehrt werden, wachsen einige weit hinaus und werden zum Gegenstande des Kultes großer Landkomplexe. Zu diesen großen Geistern, die auch mit dem Namen „bachwezi" bezeichnet werden, sind, wie schon oben erwähnt wurde, die Angehörigen von Ndaula, des Gründers der vorletzten Bunyoro-Dynastie, zu zählen. In Bunyoro und Toro stehen trotz des stattgefundenen Dynastiewechsels im Mittelpunkte der Verehrung Ndaula, seine Brüder: Wamara, Lubanga, Mugeni, Ibona, Mugarra, Chumya (Kyomya), Nsinga, Mulindwa, Kahauka und Kilo, sein Verwandter Mugasha, Kagoro, über den die Berichte auseinandergehen, ob er ein Bruder Ndaula's oder Enkel Wamara's und Sohn Chumya's gewesen ist, und die Tochter der Mutter Wamara's, Kaigana wa Nyante.

Rev. A. B. Fisher[1]) nennt die „Toro-Teufel" Nyabuzana, Kyomya, Kagolo, Mulindwa, Ndaura, Ebona, Mugenye, Mukasa, Lubanga und Namutali.

Mir wurde dort noch außerdem Kaikara genannt.

Meldon[2]) erwähnt für Nkole: Ndahura, Wamara, Simbua (Nsinga ?), Mugasha, Kagoro, Nyakaruru und Ryangombe. Er führt auch die für die Priester der einzelnen Geister charakteristischen Insignien[3]) an:

Der Priester des Ndahura trägt zwei Speere.

Der Priester des Wamara hat einen mit Kauri geschmückten Kuhschweif.

Der Priester des Simbua (Nsinga?) schmückt sich mit Kaurischnüren.

Der Priester des Mugasha trägt Perlenschnüre aus Körnern der wilden Banane.

Der Priester des Kagoro bewaffnet sich mit einem hölzernen Köcher.

Der Priester des Ryangombe bedeckt sich mit einem Leopardenfell.

Der Priester des Rubaga, gegenwärtig ein Mann namens Babisibiremu, trägt den Titel Omusasaza und schmückt sein Haupt mit einem Kolobusfell. Das letztere wohl mit Rücksicht auf die Zugehörigkeit des Rubaga zum Bayango-Clan, da dieser den Kolobus zum „umuziru" hat. Der Omusasaza soll im Zölibat leben. In Insigiro in der Nähe des Ruwezi-Flusses und der Kagarama-Berge ist die mittlere der dortigen drei Höhlen Rubaga geweiht.

In den Staaten der Südhälfte des Runyoro-Sprachgebietes, die seinerzeit durch den Fürsten Wamara von Bwera beherrscht wurden, treten alle Geister vor Wamara zurück. So z. B. erwähnt Rehse[4]): Wamara, seine Frau Rutabono

[1]) Fisher, A. B., Western Uganda. Geographical Journal 1904, Band 24, S. 258.
[2]) Meldon, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 142.
[3]) Ebenda S. 144, 145.
[4]) Rehse, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 133, 134.

deren Söhne Kyomya, Rukungu, Rutona und Ruzini, ferner Wamara's Mutter Nyante und Wamara's Schwester Neibungu. Wamara sind unterstellt Mugasha, Sohn der Nyambubi, Kazoba, Sohn der Nyaindiri, Irungu, Sohn der Nyakabari, und Ishuanga, Sohn der Mpabuka. Kashare Kaniango murimiakondo war Wamara ebenbürtig. Dessen Reich fiel aber nach seinem Tode, nachdem seine Tochter Kirungi Kibi abgesetzt worden war, Wamara zu. Wamara herrschte aber zu dieser Zeit schon als Geist. Er lebte nicht mehr. Es handet sich in diesem Falle wohl um Kashare Kanyango, den ältesten im Kiamtwara namentlich bekannten Herrscher, der durch Ruhinda bezwungen wurde. Wir finden hier also noch einen weiteren Beweis, daß die Bahinda identisch sind mit den Nachfolgern Wamara's.

REHSE erwähnt noch aus der Verwandtschaft Mugasha's: seine Frau Nyakarembe, die Göttin des Ackerbaues; die Söhne: Kaiura enkuba, den Geist des Gewitters, Rukajangai, Mushoke, den Geist des Windes, Rwebembera, den Geist des Regens, und Nyatende, die Schwester seiner Mutter. Aus der Verwandtschaft Irungu's werden dort genannt, dessen Söhne Karisa und Nosherenguzi, und aus der Verwandtschaft Kazoba's sein Sohn Hangi, der Geist der Sterne. Außerdem erwähnt REHSE noch den von den Bahima in Kiziba verehrten Ryangombe. Dieser wird von ihm als Geist der Rinder bezeichnet. Kazoba wird von REHSE als Sonnen- und Irungu als Erdgeist angeführt.

Über die Art und Weise, in welcher die Verknüpfung der Geister der Verstorbenen mit den Naturerscheinungen zustandegekommen ist, finden wir dort keine Angaben. Vielleicht liegt hier das Ergebnis einer Assimilation von Anschauungen einer anderen Kulturschicht vor.

In Kiamtwara werden dieselben Geister wie in Kiziba verehrt. Man bezeichnet dort aber Mugasha als Sohn des Nyampongo, Kazoba als Sohn des Nyamuhanga, Irungu als Sohn des Bwekera und Ishuanga als Sohn des Mpabuka. In Kiziba nannte sie REHSE mit Angabe der Namen ihrer Mütter. Es wird hier auch die Frau Mugasha's, als Nyakarembe ya Baudami, bezeichnet. Außer den Durchgezählten bleibt hier noch zu erwähnen: der Freund Wamara's, Luboa lwa Kabongombo, sein Diener Itwara lya Bugingo, der ihm die Geister der Verstorbenen zuführen soll, und Irimamabuye, die Frau des Kitekere.

Die Tatsache, daß die Götterwelt der Banyoro sich aus historischen Helden nicht zu weit zurückliegender Zeiten gebildet hat, hat zur Folge, daß man bei den benachbarten und nahe verwandten Barundi, deren Geschichte unabhängig von Bunyoro abgelaufen ist, nur wenige in Bunyoro bekannte „Götter" wiederfindet. In der von R. P. VAN DER BURGT[1]) angegebenen Liste der Urundi-Geister sind es nur Mugasha, Kagoro, Rugaba (Rubaga), Wamara und Ryangombe.

Die höchste Entwickelungsstufe der Geister des Zwischenseengebietes bildet der „Schöpfer". Man nennt ihn im Runyoro-Gebiete Rugaba und Nyamuhanga

[1]) VAN DER BURGT, J. M. M., R. P., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succinte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande. Bois-Le-Duc (Hollande) 1903, S. 214.

und bei den Barundi Imana. Er nimmt eine besondere Stellung ein, da ihm nicht geopfert wird. Seine Persönlichkeit ist nicht scharf ausgeprägt und er berührt den Forscher in dieser Umgebung fremdartig. Die Tatsache aber, daß er in den Schöpfungsmythen, in Kiziba z. B., hinter Wamara, einer halbhistorischen Persönlichkeit, zurücktritt, läßt die Möglichkeit einer analogen Entwickelung nicht ausschalten. Es verdient Beachtung, daß der Vater Ruhinda's, des Organisators des südlichen Runyoro-Gebietes, denselben Namen getragen hat.

Zum Schlusse wäre noch die Endogamie des herrschenden Geschlechtes im Zwischenseengebiet zu erwähnen. Schon durch SPEKE[1]) wurde es bekannt, daß der König von Buganda seine Schwester heiratet. R. P. H. VAN THIELE erwähnt über Busindja[2]): Nachdem Kabambo II. durch Gahohirro, die ihr blinder Bruder Rwanyanseri beschlief, geboren wurde, „wurde es bei den Bahinda Brauch, ihre Frauen ausschließlich innerhalb der eigenen Sippe zu wählen. Kabambo's Geburt erschien als so unehrenhaft, daß man das Kind auf einen Düngerhaufen *(orubangu)* warf. Allein ein Vogel, wie man bis dahin noch nie einen gesehen, erschien plötzlich bei dem Kinde. Man eilte hinzu, hob das Kind auf, und sieh, riesige Ameisen, wie man sie bis jetzt noch nie gekannt, zeigten sich an der Stelle, wo das Kind gelegen hatte. Der Vogel heißt *kanyamunya* (Bachstelze), die Ameise war eine *enyango* (eine große schwarze Art, deren Biß sehr schmerzhaft ist). Beide Tiere gelten den Bahinda als unverletzlich, der Muhinda tötet niemals eines."

Die endogamen Ehen werden hier ausdrücklich als eine spätere Einrichtung bezeichnet. Ob man aber der Überlieferung in diesem Punkte vollen Glauben schenken kann, erscheint mir sehr zweifelhaft. Die endogamen Ehen der Herrscher sind im zentralen Afrika eine nicht seltene Erscheinung. Wir haben sie auch bei den Azande.

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[1]) SPEKE, H. J., Die Entdeckung der Nilquellen. Leipzig 1864, Band I, S. 279.

[2]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 504.

4. Kapitel.

Mpororo.

Herrschaften. — Bevölkerung. — Clans. — Politische Organisation. — Bevölkerungsdichte. — Familienverhältnisse. — Kleidung. — Siedelungen und Gebäude. — Hausgerät. — Waffen. — Kultus.

Herrschaften. Mit dem Namen Mpororo pflegt man, wie es schon oben erwähnt wurde, den Saum zwischen Ruanda und Nkole zu bezeichnen. STUHLMANN[1]) faßt z. B. unter Mpororo die vorwiegend durch Bashambo beherrschten Landschaften zusammen. Diese erstrecken sich vom Kagera-Knie bis zu den Südufern des Edward-Sees im Nordwesten und der Vulkankette im Südwesten. Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER[2]) beschränkt den Begriff von Mpororo auf das Banyambo-Gebiet außerhalb von Karagwe. Diese ethnographische Provinz bekommt infolgedessen als Grenze im Südwesten eine Linie, die über die Südufer des Großen Ngesi-Sees zum Ngesi ya Mutanda geht, und später dem Iwi-Flusse folgt. In diesem Sinne wurde auch hier Mpororo bei der allgemeinen Besprechung des Zwischenseengebietes begrenzt.

Mpororo bildet keine politische Einheit. Das Land besteht aus einer Anzahl kleiner Bahima-Herrschaften im Norden und Osten und aus freien Bauerngemeinden im Südwesten.

Aus der Zahl der unabhängigen Mpororo-Herrschaften sollen hier erwähnt werden:

1. Ubwera,
2. Ruhama,
3. Butaya,
4. Mururwa,
5. Buischingato oder Buischigatta oder auch Luizigatu,
6. Ruzumburu oder Lusumbura,
7. Mutara.

UBWERA, die Herrschaft des Ruengumia, dehnt sich im Norden vom Kagera und im Osten vom Kabobo-Fluß aus und bildet den am stärksten in dieser Richtung vorgeschobenen Teil von Mpororo.

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[1]) STUHLMANN, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1894.

[2]) MEYER, H., Das Deutsche Kolonialreich. Leipzig 1909, Band I, S. 309.

[p. 84]

RUHAMA. Häuptling Kislivombo von Ruhama beherrscht die Hügel im Norden von den Flüssen Kakura und Kakitumba, im Westen vom Kassanda, und im Osten vom Rubirisu. Kislivombo ist Enkel des Kagurgunju, und Sohn von Rutwe, dem STUHLMANN[1]) dort auf seinem Rückmarsche vom Edward-See in der Nähe vom Kagera begegnet ist.

Rutwe's jüngerer Sohn, Kiselirobo, herrscht in Ost-Ruhama. Ihm gehören die Gebiete zwischen den Bächen Kassanda und Kabobo, deren Bevölkerung nur 200—300 Köpfe betragen soll.

BUTAYA, das Land des Kitaraya, dehnt sich vom Kakura-Fluß im Norden bis zum Lulenge-Fluß im Süden, dem Mugarma-Kakitumba im Osten und deren Wasserscheide im Westen. Hauptmann v. BERINGE[2]) bezeichnet die Besitzungen Kitaraya's mit dem Namen Nyetindo.

MURURWA. Der weibliche Häuptling Mumusa aus Mururwa beherrscht die Gebiete im Westen von Butaya, und ihr Gebiet reicht nach Westen etwas über den Birambira und den Oberlauf des Karusha hinaus. v. BERINGE[2]) benützt zur Bezeichnung dieser Herrschaft den Namen Nyavugando, der wohl von der Landschaft Nyakahanga in Mururwa hergenommen und für das ganze Land verallgemeinert ist.

BUISCHINGATO, die Herrschaft des Rugarama, umfaßt die Nordabhänge der Mpororo-Berge bis zum Karenge-See und dem Rufua. Im Norden von dieser Grenze bis zu den Abhängen der Ruampara-Berge dehnt sich das ebenfalls zu Rugarama gehörende Kazara[3]) aus.

RUZUMBURU, die Osthälfte des durch Makovore, angeblich einen Sohn oder Enkel Kiteimbua's, beherrschten Landes dehnt sich auf dem Westabhange des Nkole-Plateau's aus und wird durch den Kahenji-Berarara im Süden und Westen begrenzt. Seine Nordgrenze erreicht den Rusaiya nicht. Die Westhälfte seines Landes — das BUTUMBI — dehnt sich von den Flüssen Berarara und Ntungwe im Osten bis zur Rutshuru-Ebene im Westen und vom Edward-See im Norden bis zur Linie, die vom Iwi-Fluß über den Nkabwe-Berg zum Biruruma und Ishasha geht, diesen Fluß eine Strecke nach oben verfolgt, und ca. 1° südl. Br., zunächst einem Zuflusse folgend, später über die Berge nach Nordosten zum Zusammenflusse des Lulindi (Kangabo) mit dem Kahenji, dem westlichen Abflusse der Sümpfe am Karenge-See, führt. Früher wurde die Herrschaft des Makovore kurzweg als Butumbi bezeichnet[4]), jetzt, nachdem die Gebiete im Westen von der Ishasha dem Congo-Staate zugefallen sind und von der Herrschaft getrennt wurden, pflegt man nur von Ruzumburu zu sprechen.

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[1]) STUHLMANN, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1894, S. 660.

[2]) v. BERINGE, Hptm., Berichte über seine Reisen im Gebiet der Kirungavulkane. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, S. 21.

[3]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 139.

[4]) STUHLMANN, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1904, S. 250.

Im Süden von Butumbi, zwischen den Oberläufen von Iwi und Ishasha, erwähnt STUHLMANN[1]) die Landschaften Kayonsa und Mpimbi. Kayonsa, die nördlichere, war zur Zeit seiner Reise von Nyakavass, der wohl mit dem Kalassi LANGHELDs[2]) identisch ist, beherrscht. Mpimbi, die südlichere, beherrschten Rugadjo und Ihango. Diese drei Häuptlinge sollten damals noch die Oberhoheit der berühmten Nyawingi anerkennen. Während meines Aufenthaltes in Rutshuru konnte ich aber dort von ihnen nichts erfahren. Die Postenkarten verzeichneten ihr Gebiet als das der Bakiga, woraus man schließen darf, daß hier aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die Bahima ihren Bakiga-Untertanen unterlagen.

NDORWA, das Land am Oberlaufe der Ishasha, die hier Kitumbi genannt wird, dehnt sich aus vom Ngesi-See im Westen bis zur Mururwa-Grenze und dem Nimparu-Bach im Osten. Das Land zerfällt in freie, sich gegenseitig befehdende Bauerngemeinden. So erwähnt z. B. v. BERINGE[3]) die Landschaft Luvanda, die zur Zeit seines Besuches mit allen Nachbarn im Kriege lag. Ähnliche Verhältnisse werden wohl auch im Gebiete zwischen dem Lulindi-Fluß und den Grenzen von Buischingato herrschen. Im Gebiete zwischen Lulindi und Nimparu erwähnt v. BERINGE die Herrschaft Mbogo[4]) des Katogua.

Das Gebiet zwischen dem Großen Ngesi-See und dem Ngesi ya Mutanda zerfällt ebenfalls in Bauernherrschaften. Es werden hier erwähnt Mikamiro[5]) und Kasebya. Das durch Kanyaihamba beherrschte Mikamiro bilden die Landschaften im Südwesten vom Nordzipfel des Großen Ngesi-Sees. Es darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß LANGHELD[6]) vom „Sultan Mulamila" spricht. Dieser Name ist vielleicht durch eine Verwechslung mit der Landschaft Mikamiro hervorgerufen.

Das zusammen mit der Landschaft Kishanye durch den Muhutu Luhara[7]) beherrschte Kasebya liegt südlicher zwischen dem Großen Ngesi-See und dem kleinen Ngesi ya Mugisha.

Außer diesen Gebieten gehört zu Mpororo noch der nördliche Teil der Steppe zwischen Kakitumba und Kagera. Hauptmann v. BERINGE[7]) erwähnt dort den Sultan Tschaka aus MUTARA. Über die dortigen politischen Verhältnisse wissen wir durch Dr. M. WEISS, daß das schwachbevölkerte Gebiet durch die Leute von Ruanda geplündert wird. WEISS[8]) berichtet nämlich, daß zur Zeit seiner Reise Sultan Rutangaboa dort 2000 Rinder rauben sollte. Der angebliche

[1]) STUHLMANN, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1904, S. 262.

[2]) LANGHELD, W., Hptm., Über einen Zug nach Ruhanda. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1895, S. 71.

[3]) v. BERINGE, Hptm., Berichte über seine Reisen im Gebiet der Kirungavulkane. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, S. 30.

[4]) Ebenda S. 22.

[5]) Ebenda S. 30.

[6]) LANGHELD, W., Hptm., Über einen Zug nach Ruhanda. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1895, S. 71.

[7]) v. BERINGE, Hptm., Berichte über seine Reisen im Gebiet der Kirungavulkane. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, S. 39.

[8]) WEISS, M., Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch-Ostafrikas. Berlin 1910, S. 51.

Sultan ist der Unterhäuptling Lutangabo aus Kissaka, der dort durch den König von Ruanda eingesetzt wurde und in dieser aggressiven Weise die Nordmarken schützt.

Diese kurze Aufzählung der Mpororo-Herrschaften genügt schon allein, um die politische Desorganisation des Landes zu charakterisieren. Im Laufe der letzten zwanzig Jahre haben sich infolge der Grenzstreitigkeiten zwischen Deutschland, England und dem Congo-Staate die Verhältnisse noch mehr verschlimmert.

In der zweiten Hälfte des letzten Jahrhunderts war es in Mpororo anders. Rokay oder Rokari[1]) verfügte damals über eine große Macht und unterwarf die Stämme bis zum Albert-See und den Vulkanen. Ihm folgte aber nicht sein Sohn Ruembusi, sondern eine Tochter, die dem Landesgeiste Nyawingi geweiht war. Die Hand der Priester war nicht stark genug, um die Vasallen in Zucht halten zu können, und das Reich zerfiel in mehrere Herrschaften, von denen nur einige ganz kleine, wie Mpimbi, Kayonsa und Kasebya z. B., die Oberhoheit der Tochter Rokari's nominell wenigstens zur Zeit der Reise von STUHLMANN anerkannten. WEISS[2]) erwähnt noch, daß Rugarama von Buischingato ihr einen Tribut zahlen sollte. Über die ältere Geschichte von Mpororo ist so gut wie nichts bekannt. Es lassen sich darüber nur gewisse indirekte Schlüsse folgern.

Das ganze Land verehrt den Geist Nyawingi und seine Priesterinnen haben einen großen politischen Einfluß. Die Vorherrschaft eines einzelnen Kultes darf aber als Beweis einer früheren, jetzt schon zersetzten politischen Organisation aufgefaßt werden. Die Tatsache wieder, daß im Mittelpunkte der Geist Nyawingi steht, und daß die ihm Geweihten Frauen sind, läßt annehmen, daß hier die erste bekannte Bunyoro-Königin Nyamwengi verehrt wird. Diese Tatsache gestattet weiter zu vermuten, daß Mpororo ein Überrest des alten Bunyoro-Reiches ist, das zum Mittelpunkte Mwenge im gegenwärtigen Toro hatte. Dafür spricht auch die Notiz KLINGHARDTs[3]). Nach seinen Worten soll der Nyawingi-Kultus vom Edward-See stammen, und in dieser Gegend sollte eine einflußreiche Priesterin ihren Hof haben.

Bevölkerung. Die Bevölkerung von Mpororó besteht, wie im ganzen Nordosten des Zwischenseengebietes, aus den beiden schon besprochenen Elementen: den ackerbautreibenden Banyambo und den Bahima-Hirten. Die Bahima bilden in den besprochenen Herrschaften die Adelschicht. Nur im Südwesten, im Gebiete der freien Bauerngemeinden, fehlen sie gänzlich. Dort sollen nur noch vereinzelt Batwa-Jäger wohnen. Banyambo bilden den Kern der Bevölkerung. Sie bezeichnen sich, wie alle Ackerbauer des Runyoro-Gebietes, als Bahiru und sind mit den Banyambo von Karagwe am engsten verwandt.

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[1]) STUHLMANN, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1894, S. 252.

[2]) WEISS, M., Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch-Ostafrikas. Berlin 1910, S. 60.

[3]) KLINGHARDT, Ltn., Beobachtungen aus Deutsch-Mpororo. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1905, S. 207.

Die Sprache der Banyambo, das Runyambo, ist ein Runyoro- (Kinyoro-) Dialekt. Es verdient hervorgehoben zu werden, daß die übrigen Runyoro-Dialekte vom Kirundi durch den Bogen der Runyambo-Zone getrennt werden. Die Bahima von Mpororo sprechen ebenfalls das Runyambo. Ihre Aussprache weicht aber von der der Bahiru ab. Trotzdem darf man doch von einem besonderen Bahima-Idiom nicht sprechen. Die Behauptung von WEISS[1]), die auf seine Existenz Bezug nimmt, ist ohne Zweifel durch ein Mißverständnis verursacht. Daß ein Mututsi aus Ruanda sich mit einem Muhima aus Mpororo unterhalten kann, ohne von den Banyambo verstanden zu werden, beweist die Existenz einer besonderen Bahima-Sprache noch nicht. Beide konnten das in Mpororo nicht allgemein bekannte Kinyaruanda (Kirundi) sprechen.

Clans. Sowohl Bahima wie auch Banyambo zerfallen, wie es schon früher erwähnt wurde, in eine Anzahl, durch Blutrache zusammengehaltener und durch Eßverbote voneinander geschiedener exogamer Clans. Den höchsten Rang nimmt der Clan der Bashambo ein. Zu ihm gehören die Häuptlinge der oben besprochenen Bahima-Herrschaften mit Ausnahme von Kayonsa und Butaja. Nyakavass war ein Mugaya-Muhima[2]) und Kitaraya ist ein Mugina.

In Ruhama, bei Kislivombo, habe ich bei den Bahima begegnet die Angehörigen der folgenden Clans:

Bagai,
Baitera,
Bashambo und
Basioba.

STUHLMANN[3]) nennt noch die Bahiana, welche außer Kayonsa noch in Busongora, der Semliki-Ebene und Butuku wohnen sollen, und die Bairuntu von Butumbi. KLINGHARDT[4]) erwähnt Badjena und Bahinda.

Bei den Bahiru von Ruhama konnte ich feststellen die Clans:

Baanzira,
Bagai,
Baitera,
Bakimbiri,
Bakigoma,
Basinga,
Batorogo,
Batsiaba,
Bavinika,
Bayango,
Bazigaba.

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[1]) WEISS, M., Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch-Ostafrikas. Berlin 1910, S. 70.
[2]) STUHLMANN, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1904, S. 658.
[3]) Ebenda S. 262 u. 658.
[4]) KLINGHARDT, Ltn., Beobachtungen aus Deutsch-Mpororo. Deutsch. Kolonialbl. 1905, S. 208.

KLINGHARDT erwähnt noch in Rukiga:

Balindi (Walindi), und
Basigi (Wassigi).

STUHLMANN[1]) spricht von den Clans der „Ureinwohner":

Bagahe (Wagahe) in Butumbi,
Bahumbo (Wahumbo) in Butumbi,
Bazigaba (Wasigaba) in Uwinsa,
Balindi (Walende) in Mpimbi und Kiruwe,
Balenge (Walenge) in Kayonsa,
Badjerra (Wadjerra) in Nyakavungo,
Basigi (Wasigi) in Rukiga.

Die letzten vier Clans darf man aber kaum zu den eigentlichen Banyambo zählen. Sie sitzen nämlich an der Sprachgrenze und ihre Namen weisen viel mehr auf die durch Bakondjo stark beeinflußten Barundi (Barondo) des Nordabhanges der Vulkankette hin.

Politische Organisation. Die Angehörigen der einzelnen Clans besiedeln in Mpororo zusammenhängende Landparzellen und bilden autonome Gemeinden. Deshalb bekommt man auch bei der Frage nach irgendeinem Clan die Antwort mit dem Hinweis auf die Richtung, in der sich seine Sitze befinden. So sagte man mir z. B. in Ruhama, daß die Basinga jenseits der neuen deutsch-englischen Grenze sitzen. Es darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß jeder Clan mehrere räumlich getrennte und durch Kolonisation entstandene Gemeinden bildet. So findet man z. B. die Bazigaba nicht nur in Mpororo, sondern auch an verschiedenen Stellen in Ruanda.

Die Bahima-Herrschaften bestehen aus einer Anzahl Bahiru-Gemeinden, die durch eine Bahima-Minorität in Abhängigkeit gehalten werden. Der Muhima-Häuptling ist ein reicher Mann, der viele Kühe hat und sie den Ärmeren in Lehen geben kann. Durch das Verleihen der Kühe an Ergebene, und durch das Wegnehmen derselben den Unbotmäßigen, werden Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse geschaffen, durch welche die wenig zahlreichen Bahima in eine wohldisziplinierte und infolgedessen starke Gruppe organisiert werden. Deshalb ist auch in Mpororo der Kampf um die Kuh der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft. Kislivombo erzählt von seinem Vater Rutwe, daß er viele Kühe hatte und sie in seiner Güte anderen zum Weiden gab. Diese Erzählung gibt nur an, daß Rutwe durch Küheverleihungen andere sich botmäßig machte. Die Kunst zu regieren besteht unter diesen Umständen in einem so geschickten Ausspielen der einen gegen die anderen, daß man immer eine genügende Anzahl Menschen bei der Hand hat, die mit Rücksicht auf die künftigen Verleihungen das Einziehen alter Lehen zu unterstützen bereit sind. Ist das nicht der Fall, läßt sich der Besitz

[1]) STUHLMANN, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1894, S. 262, 657, 658.

eines Vasallen nicht mehr einziehen, so schwindet auch das Hoheitsrecht und der politische Verband lockert und zersetzt sich. An die Bahiru wurden dort, soweit ich das feststellen konnte, keine Kühe verliehen, und man hielt sie durch Verleihen anbaufähiger Landparzellen und durch physische Gewalt im Gehorsam. Gegen übermäßige Strenge schützte sie aber ihre Freizügigkeit. Man konnte sie kaum hindern, unter Verzicht auf ihre Hütte und Habe, wegzuziehen und in den Bergen des Westens eine neue Heimat oder unter den Nebenbuhlern ihres alten Herrn einen neuen Herrn zu suchen. Der Wegzug der Bauern ist aber eine schwere Schädigung des Häuptlings. Er verliert nicht nur die Arbeitskräfte und Steuerzahler, sondern auch Kombattanten, die unter Umständen zu Gegnern werden. In dieser Weise ist seiner Machtvollkommenheit von selbst eine Schranke geboten.

Zur Zeit meines Besuches herrschte in Mpororo eine Krise. Die alte Ordnung, welche trotz aller ihrer Mängel doch das Leben zu regeln vermochte, wurde ganz wesentlich gestört. Die europäische Besetzung und vor allem das Zerschneiden von Mpororo in organisch nicht gegliederte Teile hat eine Anarchie verursacht.

Wenn auch einzelne Häuptlinge Züge unternahmen, um die unbotmäßigen Hörigen zum Gehorsam zu bringen, so konnte das doch nicht in der alten wirksamen Weise durchgeführt werden.

Die europäischen Machthaber waren stets geneigt, diese mit Einziehen des Lehens verbundenen Züge als einfache Räubereien anzusehen. Die Nutznießer der eingezogenen Lehen kannten schon den Weg zu den europäischen Stationen zu gut, um zu versäumen ihre Sache im günstigen Lichte darzustellen.

Andererseits waren die europäischen Stationen zu weit, um den Gang der Dinge genau zu verfolgen und die Eingeborenen zur Botmäßigkeit ihren Häuptlingen gegenüber zu zwingen. Das Land zersetzte sich so in undifferenzierte Bauerngemeinden.

Die alte, auf dem Kuhlehen und der Hörigkeit der Bauern aufgebaute Ordnung war im Verfall. Die neuen, durch die europäische Besatzung vertretenen, ökonomischen Abhängigkeiten hatten aber noch keine Zeit, um das Leben auf einer anderen Basis zu ordnen. Deshalb hörte man auch von allen Seiten das Gejammer über die Untertanen, die nicht mehr gehorchen wollen.

Bevölkerungsdichte. Das Bahima-Regime bietet keine günstigen Bedingungen für das Zusammenleben größerer Menschenmassen. Die Viehzucht nimmt große Flächen in Anspruch und nutzt sie äußerst extensiv aus. Infolgedessen kann die Hirtenbevölkerung wenig zahlreich sein. Andererseits müssen bei der privilegierten Stellung der Hirten die Bauern den Kühen stets weichen, und die Zahl der Felder und der sie bebauenden Familien bleibt immer auf ein Minimum beschränkt. Eine schöne Illustration dieser Tatsache bildet der Gegensatz zwischen den dicht bevölkerten Bergen des Westens und den menschenarmen

Hügeln des östlichen Mpororo. Im Westen haben wir unabhängige Bauerngemeinden, im Osten die Bahima-Herrschaften.

Die Beurteilung der Bevölkerungsdichte von Mpororo bietet sehr große Schwierigkeiten, da man keine befriedigenden Anhaltspunkte für diese Berechnungen hat und sich mit dem Schätzen, auf Grund gesehener Hütten, befriedigen muß. Auf dem Wege Bukoba-Rufua erreicht man die Mpororo-Grenze 2 Stunden westlich von der Mrongo-Fähre. An der Fähre gab es keine Siedelungen, da die Bootsleute von dem Häuptling Kislivombo (aus Ruhama) verjagt und die Boote vernichtet wurden. Eine Stunde weiter auf dem Wege nach Rufua befand sich die erste kleine Siedelung aus 5 Hütten. 3 Stunden weiter lag die, zur Landschaft Ubwera gehörende, Siedelung Ishenye. Hier gab es 30—40 Hütten. 3 Stunden weiter, als der Weg das Kagera-Tal verließ, kamen mehrere Siedelungskomplexe in Sicht. Sie lagen aber vereinzelt auf den Hügeln und schienen nur kleine Oasen auf dem Fond ausgedörrter Gräser zu bilden. Zur gleichen Zeit sah man nicht mehr als 12—15 Hütten. Erst in der nächsten Umgebung des verlassenen Postens Rufua schlossen sich die bebauten Felder zusammen. Im Süden von Rufua erreichte man, abgesehen vom Viehkral Kislivombo's, die ersten Siedelungen nach $2^1/_2$ Stunden im Kakura-Tale. Die Gesamtzahl der Hütten machte hier ein Dutzend aus. 2 Stunden weiter liegt Ruoshamba mit 16 Hütten. Von Ruoshamba erreicht man in einer halben Stunde Nyakahanda mit seinem gut bebauten Talboden. Hier sieht man zum erstenmal zusammenhängende Felder ohne unbebaute Zwischenstreifen. Nach der Durchquerung des Tales, wobei in der Nähe ca. 50 Hütten passiert werden, sieht man noch ein halbes Dutzend zerstreuter Gehöfte mit meistens 2 Wohnhütten und erreicht die aus 20 Hütten bestehende Siedelung von Kitaraya. Nimmt man an, daß bei der Reise durch ein offenes Land nur die Hütten auf einem kilometerbreiten Streifen berücksichtigt werden, so würde man, für den ca. 25 km langen Wegstreifen Rufua-Kitaraya mit ca. 100 Hütten, bei einem Durchschnitt von 4 Einwohnern pro Hütte, eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 16 Einwohnern pro 1 Quadratkilometer bekommen. Der Durchschnitt von 4 Einwohnern pro Hütte stammt aus den Zählungen in der Umgebung des Postens Rufua, und man hat keinen Grund anzunehmen, daß er zu klein wäre. Andererseits sieht man im offenen Lande einen über 1 km breiten Wegstreifen. Aus diesem Grunde wird man die Bewohner unserer 100 Hütten für die Bewohner von mehr als 25 qkm ansehen müssen. Unsere Bestimmung der Bevölkerungsdichte gibt infolgedessen eher zu hohe als zu niedrige Resultate.

Die Landschaften im Süden vom Dorfe Kitaraya's bis Bushara, sind kaum dichter bevölkert als das Gebiet zwischen Rufua und dem Kral von Kitaraya.

JOHNSTON[1]) gibt auf Grund englischer Berechnungen und Schätzungen für das nördliche Mpororo eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 20—30 Einwohnern

[1]) JOHNSTON, H., The Uganda Protectorate. London 1904, S. 248.

pro englische Quadratmeile an. Das entspricht einer Bevölkerungsdichte von 8—12 Einwohnern pro 1 qkm. Die englischen Ergebnisse kommen unserer Zahl sehr nahe, sie sind aber noch etwas niedriger. Auf Grund dieser Tatsachen kann man annehmen, daß die Bevölkerungsdichte der Bahima-Herrschaften mit 16 Einwohnern pro 1 Quadratkilometer nicht zu niedrig eingeschätzt ist.

Würde man für das stark zerklüftete Gebirgsland von Ndorwa dieselbe Bevölkerungsdichte wie für Mulera, also 100 Einwohner pro 1 Quadratkilometer, annehmen, und berücksichtigt man noch, daß die sehr menschenarme Steppe zwischen Kakitumba und Kagera ganz sicher weniger als 4 Einwohner pro 1 Quadratkilometer hat, wie das in Karagwe der Fall ist, so bekommt man einige Anhaltspunkte für die Abschätzung der Bevölkerungszahl. Bestimmt man auf Grund der vorhandenen Karten die Oberfläche von Mpororo, so erhält man:

Bahima-Herrschaften . .	2500 qkm	16 Einw.	pro 1 qkm	40 000	Köpfe.
Ndorwa	1000 „	100 „	„ 1 „	100 000	„
Steppe zwischen Kagera und Kakitumba . . .	500 „	4 „	„ 1 „	2 000	„
	4000 qkm	35 Einw.	pro 1 qkm	142 000	Köpfe.

Diese Zahlen dürften der Wahrheit recht nahe kommen und sind eher zu hoch als zu niedrig. Auf Grund dieser Zahlen kann man für den 2000 qkm großen, durch 1° südlicher Breite und 30° östlicher Länge abgegrenzten, deutschen Teil von Mpororo eine Bevölkerungszahl von 60 000—70 000 Köpfen erwarten. Die Bevölkerung von Mpororo wurde sehr stark überschätzt. So geben Hauptmann v. BERINGE[1]) und Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER[2]), für Deutsch-Mpororo allein, eine Bevölkerung von 250 000 Köpfen an, was eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 125 Einwohnern pro 1 Quadratkilometer bedeutet. Solche Bevölkerungsdichte kann man zwar auf einzelnen Hügeln in Ruanda, und wohl auch in Ndorwa, feststellen, doch darf man nicht vergessen, daß so dicht bevölkerte Striche kaum $^1/_4$—$^1/_3$ der Gesamtoberfläche Ruanda's ausmachen.

Familienverhältnisse. Trotz der recht ungünstigen Verhältnisse von Ost-Mpororo hat man, wie es scheint, überall mit einer Bevölkerungszunahme zu tun, die im Westen sehr bedeutend sein und angeblich der von Ruanda nicht nachstehen soll.

Die Bahima haben 2—3 Frauen, die verhältnismäßig teuer bezahlt werden. Der Kaufpreis beträgt nämlich zwei Rinder, ein Schaf und eine Hacke[3]). Ein Rind bekommt die Frau aber als Mitgift, und mit diesem zieht sie in das neue Heim. WEISS spricht von einem Brautpreis von 3—10 Rindern, einigen Ziegen

[1]) v. BERINGE, Hptm., Berichte über seine Reisen im Gebiet der Kirungavulkane. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, S. 39.

[2]) MEYER, H., Das Deutsche Kolonialreich. Leipzig 1909, Band I, S. 309.

[3]) KLINGHARDT, Ltn., Beobachtungen aus Deutsch-Mpororo. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1905, S. 208.

und Schafen und mehreren Hacken. Er berichtet auch, daß in Fällen, wo es sich herausstellt, daß die junge Gattin keine Jungfrau war, ein Teil der Zahlung dem Manne zurückerstattet wird. Der Ehebrecher soll das Vergehen mit seinem Leben und dem Einzuge seines Vermögens büßen[1]). Bei der Scheidung wird die Zahlung zurückerstattet.

Die Bahiru leben aus Not meistens in Monogamie und zahlen für ihre Frauen geringere Sätze, die gegen 20 Ziegen betragen.

Bei der Geburt, die in einer Hockestellung stattfinden soll, sind nur Frauen zugegen. Nachdem die Nabelschnur mit einem Rohrsplitter durchschnitten ist, wird erst der Vater gerufen. „Er muß[2]) vor der Hütte einiges Gras (eine harte, langstielige Art) ausraufen und die Stielenden dicht über der Wurzel zerkauen. Dann führt ihn eine Frau, indem sie ihm die Augen zuhält, in die Hütte und an das Lager des Kindes, über das er die Grashalme ausspuckt. Ohne zu reden verläßt er dann die Hütte und darf erst draußen die Augen öffnen. Nun bringt eine der Frauen das Kind an die Tür und zeigt es dem Vater, der hat pflichtschuldigst sehr erfreut zu sein und zu rufen: ‚E, e, da hat sie mir ja aber ein ganz besonders prächtiges Kind geboren.'" Der Vater kann die Mutter erst 5 Tage nach Geburt des Kindes sehen.

Das Leben eines Mannes wird wesentlich höher als der Kaufpreis einer Frau eingeschätzt. Nach KLINGHARDT wird ein Mord mit 8 Rindern gebüßt. Sonst übt der Clan des Ermordeten Blutrache.

Bahima werden nach dem Tode in ihren Hütten beerdigt, die man dann zu verlassen pflegt. WEISS[3]) erwähnt, daß diese Hütten dann angezündet werden. Ich hatte aber Gelegenheit das Grab eines erwachsenen Mannes in einem bewohnten Gehöfte zu sehen.

Kleidung. Wie schon hervorgehoben wurde, gehört Mporo zur Übergangszone, die zwischen dem Runyoro- und dem Kirundi-Gebiete liegt, wenn seine Sprache auch ein Runyoro-Dialekt ist. Der Übergangscharakter des Gebietes kommt wohl am schärfsten in der materiellen Kultur zum Vorschein. Während viele Gegenstände mit denen von Nkole und Bunyoro identisch sind, zeigen die anderen eine Annäherung an die in Ruanda vorkommenden Formen.

Die Kleidung (vgl. Bd. III, Taf. 42, 43 und 44) der Männer wird durch zwei Stoffstücke gebildet. Das eine umhüllt den ganzen Körper und wird über der rechten Schulter verknotet. Den linken Arm pflegt man dabei bald über, bald unter dem Stoff zu tragen. Das zweite Stück umhüllt die Lenden. In Mpororo fehlt das Lendentuch, ebenso wie in Nkole recht häufig. In Ruanda dagegen fehlt das Lendentuch nie, die Brust bleibt dagegen häufig unbedeckt. Die Füße werden manchmal durch Sandalen geschützt.

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[1]) WEISS, M., Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch-Ostafrikas. Berlin 1910, S. 70, 72.

[2]) KLINGHARDT, Lin., Beobachtungen aus Deutsch-Mpororo. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1905, S. 229.

[3]) WEISS, M., Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch-Ostafrikas. Berlin 1910, S. 74.

Die wohlhabenden Frauen kleiden sich auch in Baumwollstoffe, die ärmeren ausschließlich in Felle. Die Fellkleidung besteht aus einem großen Lendenfell und einem kleinen Brustfell, das auf der rechten Schulter verknotet wird. Bei der Baumwollkleidung wird das Brustfell durch ein großes Laken ersetzt, das den ganzen Oberkörper und den Kopf umhüllt (vgl. Bd. III, Taf. 43 und 45).

Der Schmuck wird in der Hauptsache durch zahlreiche Arm- und Beinringe (nierere) gebildet. Die Armringe bestehen gewöhnlich aus einem dicken Stück Draht. Man kann aber auch die Kiziba-Formen recht oft sehen. Die letzteren bestehen aus einem Grasring, der durch Umwicklung mit Kupferdraht ganz verdeckt ist. Diese Armringe werden von den Baziba auf ihren Reisen zum Salzmarkte am Edward-See ins Land gebracht. Die Beinringe werden von den Frauen in ähnlicher Weise wie in Ruanda in sehr großen Mengen getragen. Im Gegensatze zu Ruanda sind die Beinringe aus Draht und nicht aus Gras allein. Die Männer tragen im Westen noch manchmal massive Eisenringe am Halse.

Abb. 2. Armring aus Eisen. Ruhama. (III E 13363.)

Das Haupthaar wird von Zeit zu Zeit rasiert und kurz gehalten. Man läßt aber auch sehr häufig gewisse Teile unrasiert, so daß Muster entstehen. Diese hatte ich nur sehr selten Gelegenheit bei verheirateten Frauen zu beobachten. Bei jungen Mädchen sieht man recht oft kleine, mit Kaurimuscheln geschmückte Locken.

Siedelungen und Gebäude. Die Bewohner von Ost-Mpororo wohnen in zerstreuten Gehöften. Man sieht nicht selten, daß den zu zwei und drei zusammengeschlossenen Hütten jede Spur von Umzäunung fehlt. Das ist aber nur bei sehr armen Bahiru der Fall. Bei wohlhabenderen werden die Niederlassungen mit Hecken umgeben.

Die Krals der Bahima vereinigen eine bedeutendere Anzahl von Hütten, in denen sie mit ihren Frauen und Gesinde wohnen. Der geräumige Innenhof ist dabei so groß, daß dort die ganze Herde, die bei Kisivombo einige hundert Köpfe zählt, untergebracht werden kann.

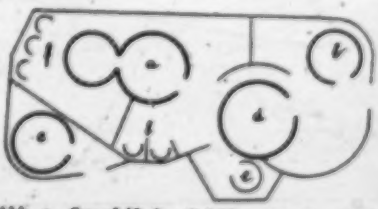

Abb. 3. Grundriß des Gehöftes der Nyawingi-Priesterin von Rufua in Ruhama.
a Hütte der Priesterin. *b* Hütte des Torwächters. *c* Hütte des Hauptdieners. *d* Hütte des Gesindes. *e* Grabhütte eines Mannes namens Kahuti. *f* Geisterhütten.

In der Umzäunung der Siedelung hat man stets einige Geisterhütten, in denen den Verstorbenen geopfert wird. Ihre Zahl ist in den einzelnen Gehöften sehr verschieden.

Im westlichen Mpororo und in Butaya findet man dort auch Vorratshütten, die in ihrer Form denen von Ruanda gleich sind. Man könnte bezüglich der Vor-

ratshäuser den folgenden Satz formulieren: sie fehlen dort, wo die Hauptnahrung durch allmählich reifende und ständig auf den Stauden aufbewahrte Bananen gebildet wird. Mit dem Vorherrschen von Hirse und Erbsen wird die Hütte durch die unentbehrlichen Vorratshäuser begleitet. Der bedeutende Vorrat an Hirse und Erbsen läßt sich eben nicht mehr in der Hütte in Körben und Paketen aus Bananenblättern aufbewahren.

Die Hütten von Mpororo unterscheiden sich im Prinzip von den übrigen Hütten des Zwischenseengebietes nicht. Sie gehören nämlich zum Typus der dreischichtig gebauten Bienenkorbhütten. WEISS[1]) berichtet noch über längliche Hütten mit seitlichem Eingang, die in ihrer Bauart der Massai-Hütte ähnlich sein sollen. Diese Hüttenform hatte ich keine Gelegenheit zu beobachten. Ich habe von ihrem Vorkommen auch nichts gehört. Die einzigen mir bekannten Abweichungen von der Bienenkorbform bildeten die unter dem Einfluß der Küstenleute entstandenen Giebeldachhütten des Postens Rufua. Vielleicht wurde die Angabe über längliche Hütten durch die eigentümlichen Doppelhütten, die man gelegentlich in Mpororo sehen kann, verursacht. Sie bestehen aus zwei nebeneinander gebauten Bienenkorbhütten, bei denen die aneinander stoßenden Wandteile ausgeschnitten werden und den Verbindungsgang bilden. Die so entstandene Doppelhütte hat einen Ausgang, der sich gewöhnlich gegenüber dem Zugang zur zweiten und nicht an der Seite befindet.

Abb. 4. Grundriß der Doppelhütte der Nyawingi-Priesterin aus Rufua in Ruhama.
a Herdraum. *b* Bettraum. *c* Milchgestell. *d* Hinterraum. * Stützpfosten.

Die aus Sorgostroh gebauten Hütten sind sehr klein und unbequem. Die Höhe erreicht in der Mitte kaum 3 Meter, und der Durchmesser schwankt zwischen 3 und 4 Meter.

Die Hütten werden sehr nachlässig mit trockenem Grase bedeckt, so daß das Ganze den Eindruck eines Grashaufens macht. Manchmal wird das Gras auf der Hütte durch horizontal verlaufende Strohseile festgehalten. Das Prinzip, das Deckstroh durch äußere Befestigung festzuhalten, erinnert an das Netz der Bambuba und Momvu, mit dem das Dachstroh überdeckt wird. Das Anbringen von horizontalen Strohseilen habe ich nirgends außerhalb von Mpororo im Zwischenseengebiete beobachten können.

Das gewölbte, bis zum Boden reichende Hüttendach heißt „rukange", und die es stützenden horizontalen Reifen werden „mbazi" genannt. Gegen diese stemmt man die Stützpfosten (nyomyo).

Das Hütteninnere wird durch 1,50 m hohe, geflochtene, mit Kuhmist gedichtete Wände (bitero) in getrennte Räume eingeteilt. Durch die Tür tritt man in den Herdraum „muliangu". Die Feuerstelle liegt exzentrisch, nach links

[1]) WEISS, M., Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch-Ostafrikas. Berlin 1910, S. 52.

verschoben, und wird durch vier Stützpfeiler umgeben. In ihrer Mitte liegen die zum Aufstellen der Töpfe notwendigen drei Herdsteine (mahega). In der steinarmen Kagera-Ebene werden sie nicht selten durch Erde von Termitenhügeln ersetzt. An der dem Eingange gegenüberliegenden Wand werden Milchgefäße aufbewahrt. Ein Teil derselben wird auf einem niedrigen Podium (rudjedji) aufgestellt, die anderen hängen über diesem in Netzen (kiteko). Etwas rechts vom Eingange befindet sich das 30—40 cm hohe Pfahlbett (butande). Das Bett ist ebenfalls mit Wandschilden abgegrenzt, und sein Zugang liegt hinter der Wand mit Milchgefäßen. Zwischen dem Betttraum und dem Eingange befindet sich ein Raum, in dem kleine Kälber gehalten werden.

Abb. 5. Grundriß einer Hütte aus Ubwera.
a Herdraum. *b* Herd. *c* Bettraum. *d* Bett. *e* Stützpfosten.

Abb. 6. Grundriß der Gesindehütte aus dem Gehöft der Nyawingi-Priesterin von Rufua.
a Herdraum. *b* Herd. *c* Milchgestell. *d* Schlafstelle eines Dieners. *e* Schlafstelle der Dienstmägde. *f* Schlafstelle der Kinder. *g* Kälberstall.

In ärmeren Hütten wird das Innere durch eine dem Eingange gegenüberstehende Wand nur in zwei Teile, den Herdraum und den Bettraum, getrennt. Der Zugang zum Bettraum liegt dann ebenfalls links vom Eingange

Im Gehöft der Nyawingi-Priesterin, die in der Nähe von Rufua wohnte, befand sich eine ganz abweichend eingeteilte Hütte, in der ihr Gesinde wohnte. Die Wand mit Milchgestellen war hier nicht mehr gerade, und im Herdraum befanden sich zwei, von Wandschirmen umgebene, Betten.

Hausgerät. Das Hausgerät der Mpororo-Hütten ist sehr roh gearbeitet. Es sollen hier genannt werden: große, irdene Kochtöpfe, in denen der steife Hirsebrei bereitet wird, Kochpaddeln (muhiko) zum Mischen des Breies beim

Abb. 7. Kochpaddel aus Ubwera. ($^1/_{12}$ d. w. Gr. III E 13377. 128 cm lang.)

Kochen, ca. 40 cm lange und 10 cm breite, flache, trogartige Holzschalen (rubehi) zum Servieren des Essens, flache, demselben Zwecke dienende, aus einer Strohspirale zusammengenähte Körbe (ruhungo), kleine irdene Schüsseln (kabia) für Milch, geschnitzte Holzgefäße zum Milchaufbewahren (kianzi), große Vorratskörbe (kitente), sehr roh geschnitzte Mörser (nsekuro), die auch zum Dreschen der Hirse verwendet werden, Steine zum Zerreiben des Hirsemehls, Trinkkürbisse, Kürbisse zum Wasserschleppen, Vorratskörbe (kibo),

Kürbisse zum Buttermachen (kisabo) und Holzgefäße zum Rindertränken (chuba).

Abb. 8. Hölzernes Milchgefäß. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13148. 24½ cm hoch.)

Als einzige Möbel sollen nur kleine, einbeinige Schemel und Pfahlbetten erwähnt werden. Die letzteren stellen Platten aus Stäben dar, die auf den, in den Boden eingetriebenen, Stützpfeilern ruhen und infolgedessen kaum zum Mobiliar gerechnet werden können. Mit demselben Rechte kann man hier noch das Gestell für Milchgefäße anführen. Das Bett ist mit Matten (kirago) und der Boden mit trockenem Gras bedeckt.

Abb. 9. Mörser aus Ubwera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13373. 37 cm hoch.)

Die allgemein verbreiteten Toilettengegenstände bestehen aus kleinen Kürbissen und Gefäßen aus Ton und Holz, die zum Aufbewahren der ranzigen Butter, die zum Einsalben der Haut benutzt wird,

Abb. 10. Schemel aus Ubwera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13374. 22 cm hoch.)

Abb. 11. Tongefäß zum Wasserwärmen. (III E 13372.)

Abb. 12. Räucherbecken aus Ubwera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13370. 10 cm hoch.)

dienen. Kleine Töpfe (ngemeku) zum Wärmen des Wassers, das von den Frauen bei ihren Abwaschungen gebraucht wird, und kleine Becken aus Ton (kiswa), die beim Einräuchern (Parfümieren) der weiblichen Genitalien benutzt werden. Bei der letzteren Operation sollen die Frauen hocken und das „kiswa" mit glühenden Kohlen unter ihre Kleider stellen.

In den Bahiru-Hütten findet man außerdem noch Hacken (mfuka) zum Bestellen der Felder.

Kürbisse zum Aufbewahren von Schnupftabak werden „nohasi" genannt, und Schröpfköpfe aus kleinen Kürbissen pflegt man als „kirum iko" zu bezeichnen.

Waffen. Die Waffen der Banyambo und Bahima von Mpororo sind identisch, wenn man auch gewisse Unterschiede zwischen dem Osten und Westen nicht verkennen kann. Im Osten herrscht bekanntlich der Bahima-Einfluß, im Gegensatze zu den Bahiru-Gebieten des Westens, vor. Die Waffen bestehen hier und dort aus Speeren, Bogen und Pfeilen, Buschmessern und Schilden.

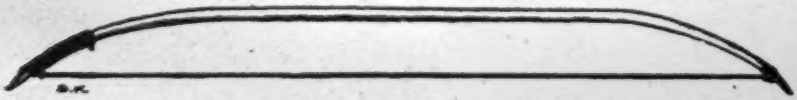

Abb. 13. Bogen aus Rufua in Ruhama. ($^1/_{12}$ d. w. Gr. III E 13386. 151 cm lang.)

Der Bogen ist gewöhnlich etwas über 150 cm lang, im Querschnitte rund, gegen die Enden verjüngt und mit einer, aus Bast gedrehten, Schnur bespannt. Das Bogenholz wird „mata" und die Bogensehne „nke" genannt. Der befiederte Pfeil hat eine eingelassene Eisenspitze. Das, durch Einlassen der Eisenspitze geschwächte, vordere Pfeilende wird durch Umwicklung mit Bast verstärkt. Der Baststrang wird zu diesem Zwecke mit klebrigem Ficussaft getränkt.

Die Speere haben, mit Hilfe von Tüllen aufgesetzte eiserne Spitzen. Diese sind im Osten durchweg mit Blutrinnen versehen. Im Westen dagegen fehlen die Blutrinnen häufig. Das untere Ende des Speerschaftes steckt gewöhnlich in einem eisernen Schuh. Die etwas kürzeren, ca. 120 cm langen Wurfspeere unterscheiden sich nur durch die Länge ihres Schaftes, lassen aber die Blutrinnen nur sehr selten vermissen. Bei freundschaftlichen Besuchen wird der Speer meistens durch einen sehr langen Stock ersetzt.

Abb. 15. Speerschuh aus Ruhama. ($^1/_4$ d. w. Gr. III E 13384. 7 cm lang.)

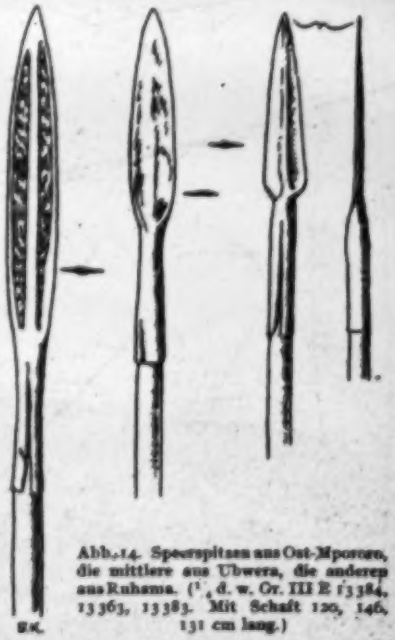

Abb. 14. Speerspitzen aus Ost-Mpororo, die mittlere aus Ubwera, die anderen aus Ruhama. ($^1/_4$ d. w. Gr. III E 13384, 13363, 13383. Mit Schaft 120, 146, 131 cm lang.)

Die Köcher bestehen entweder aus langen Kalebassen mit geringem Durchmesser oder aus geschnitzten Holzzylindern. Die letzteren dienen ausschließlich zur Aufbewahrung der Pfeile in der Hütte.

Der Schild wird im Osten aus einem gebogenen Stück Brett geschnitzt und mit einem schwarz-weiß-roten Muster bemalt. Er unterscheidet sich vom

Ruanda-Schilde nicht. Im Westen treten in den Vordergrund nach der Nkole-Art mit Rotang überflochtene Schilde. Die letzteren sind etwas breiter. Beide Formen haben in der Mitte einen, an die Faustschilde der Bari erinnernden, aus Holz geschnitzten, vorspringenden Höcker. Der geflochtene Griff wird in seiner Nähe angebunden, und seine durchgreifenden Endteile sind auch von vorne sichtbar.

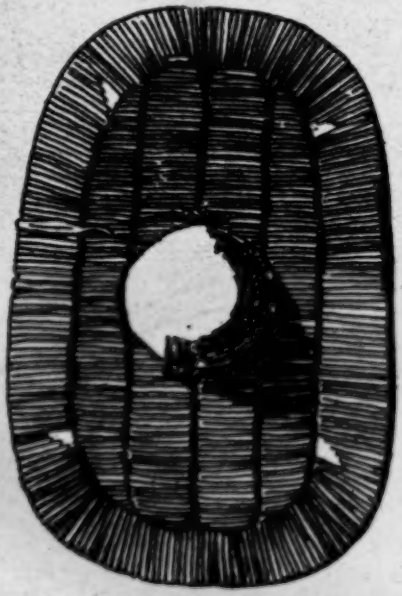

Abb. 16. Schild aus West-Mpororo. (1/9 d. w. Gr. III E 9880. 60 cm hoch.)

Abb. 17. Buschmesser aus Mpororo. (1/9 d. w. Gr. III E 4540. 56 cm lang.)

Das Buschmesser (ngondo) von Mpororo hat auch im Osten die Ruanda-Form und unterscheidet sich nur durch einen längeren, mit Leder benähten, hölzernen Griff. Kiziba-Formen kommen vereinzelt nur in der Nähe der Kagera vor. Übergangsformen sind dagegen häufig; die eiserne Klinge ist aber stets gekrümmt und wird mit einem wesentlich kürzeren Holzstiel als in Kiziba versehen.

Auf der Jagd pflegt man außer den hier besprochenen Waffen noch große Netze (mukuha) zu gebrauchen. Man benutzt auch Fallgruben und Fallen.

Kultus. Eine Eigentümlichkeit von Mpororo bildet die Verbreitung des Nyawingi-Kultes und die einflußreiche Stellung seiner Priesterinnen.

Wenn auch in Kiziba und den übrigen Teilen des Runyoro-Gebietes Frauen den Geistern geweiht werden, so kommen doch diese Priesterinnen nicht zur politischen Macht. Ihre Pflichten bestehen dort im Bedienen des Geistes, dem die Betreffende geweiht ist. Sie opfern Nahrungsmittel und haben dafür Sorge zu tragen, daß der Vergessene und Vernachlässigte an seine Bedürfnisse nicht in einer den Lebenden unliebsamen Weise erinnern braucht. Das Wahrsagen, d. h. das Ausfragen des mächtigen Geistes, bildet dabei eine sehr wichtige und einflußverschaffende Betätigung.

Die dem Geiste Nyawingi geweihten Priesterinnen, wie Mumusa (Muhumusa), Kiakatuma u. a., die man kurzweg Nyawingi zu bezeichnen pflegt,

scheinen in ihrem Wesen mit den oben besprochenen Priesterinnen Kiziba's identisch zu sein. Trotzdem darf man hier gewisse Unterschiede nicht übersehen. Die am stärksten auffallenden sind: die Vorherrschaft eines einzelnen Kultes in Mpororo und die politische Macht der Priesterinnen.

Die verehrten Geister Kiziba's sind Seelen verstorbener Fürsten, deren Macht auf das Gemüt des Volkes auch nach ihrem Tode nicht aufhörte einzuwirken. Bezüglich des Geistes Nyawingi konnte ich von den Eingeborenen, bei der Abneigung auf diese Probleme einzugehen, nur wenig Positives erfahren. Trotzdem scheint hier dasselbe, wie es schon oben erwähnt wurde, der Fall zu sein.

Daß sich der Nyawingi-Kult auf der Basis des Ahnenkultes entwickelt hat, darf als eine feste Tatsache angesehen werden. Dafür sprechen auch die unverhältnismäßig zahlreichen Geisterhütten, die ich im Gehöfte seiner Priesterin, in Rufua, beobachten konnte. Dafür spricht auch die allgemeine Verbreitung des Ahnenkultes in Mpororo. Der Munyambo befindet sich in einem ständigen Verkehr mit den Seelen seiner Ahnen, die er in einer geheimnisvollen Weise, mit Hilfe von Antilopenhörnern (mahembe), zu beeinflussen versteht.

Abb. 19. Amulett gegen Fieber. Ruhama. (½ d. w. Gr. III E 13381 a.)

Abb. 18. Netzknoten aus Ubwera. (III E 13375. Länge des Netzes 460 cm.)

Der Nyawingi- oder Nyabingi-Kult von Mpororo scheint aber auch mit dem Kult des Binego, des Jüngers Ryangombe's, von Mulera identisch zu sein, und die, dort bei den Kultushandlungen als Ryangombe auftretende Frau wird wohl der Nyawingi-Priesterin entsprechen.

Nyawingi ist sehr mächtig. Er ist der mächtigste unter den Geistern. Wenn er jemandem in den Kopf steigt, so wird der Betreffende besessen. „Hat ein Mensch viel Vieh, so sagt man: er ist Nyawingi. Hat er nicht so viel, so sagt man: er wäre nur ‚mukama' (Herrscher)". So erzählte mir Kislivombo und erklärte damit die gegenwärtigen Mpororo-Herrscher, die für sich den Titel „mukama" beanspruchen, für schwächer als Nyawingi. Dieser Vergleich ist ohne Zweifel eine Anspielung auf das einstige Herrschen von Nyawingi in Mpororo.

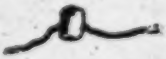

Abb. 20. Amulett gegen Leibschmerzen. Ruhama. (½ d. w. Gr. III E 13380.)

Nyawingi wird an vielen Stätten geopfert. Abgesehen von den bedeutendsten Priesterinnen, wie Kiakatuma aus Ruboko in Buischingato, die seinerzeit von STUHLMANN besucht wurde, und Mumusa, die Herrscherin von Mururwa, gibt es noch eine bedeutende Anzahl weniger einflußreichen Priesterinnen. Die Eingeborenen gaben mir an, daß in Ruhama drei und in Butaya zwei Priesterinnen des Geistes Nyawingi wohnen.

Zum Schlusse sollen hier noch fünf Amulette kurz besprochen werden:

1. Amulett (ngisha) gegen Fieber, aus 2 kleinen, 1 cm hohen, transversal

durchbohrten, Holzzylindern vom „msekera"-Baum zum Tragen auf einer Bastschnur (Abb. 19).

2. Amulett (ngisha) gegen Leibschmerzen, aus einem 1,3 cm hohen, transversal durchbohrtem, Holzzylinder, ebenfalls an einer Bastschnur zum Tragen. (Abb. 20). Beide sollen auf keinen bestimmten Geist (umuzimu) Bezug nehmen.

3. Amulett (ngisha) zum Beeinflussen des „umuzimu" Biashoba (Abb. 21). Aus einem 4 cm langen, an beiden Enden geschnitzten, transversal durchbohrten Holzzylinder vom „mhungo"-Baume.

4. Amulett (ngisha) zum Schutze vor verschiedenen Krankheiten

Abb. 21. Amulett des „umuzimu" Biashoba. Ruhama. (½ d. w. Gr. III E 13380.)

Abb. 22. Amulett gegen verschiedene Krankheiten. Ruhama. (½ d. w. Gr. III E 13379.)

Abb. 23. Amulett mit Zauberhörnern. Ubwera. (½ d. w. Gr. III E 13366).

(Abb. 22). Besteht aus einer Frucht und einem transversal durchbohrten, 2 cm langen Holzzylinder vom „mkoni"-Baum, die auf einer Bastschnur getragen werden.

5. Amulett (mahembe) aus 7 Hörnern mit Fernmedizin und 4 Holzzylindern (Abb. 23). Die Hörner sind 10—22 cm und die Holzzylinder 4—7 cm lang. Das Amulett scheint den Besitz eines Eingeweihten in den Nyawingi-Kult darzustellen und soll eine große Zauberkraft besitzen.

Besondere Amulette (rugisha) werden kleinen Kälbern an den Hals gebunden.

5. Kapitel.

Ruanda.

Allgemeine Übersicht. — Politische Gliederung. — Westliche Nachbarländer. — Bevölkerungsdichte. — Bevölkerungsbewegung. — Gesundheitsverhältnisse.

Allgemeine Übersicht. Das Reich Ruanda umfaßt den nördlichen Teil der im Zwischenseengebiet gelegenen Kirundi-Sprachenzone.

Ruanda erstreckt sich von 28° 50′ bis 30° 55′ östlicher Länge, und von 1° 20′ bis 2° 50′ südlicher Breite, und hat die Form eines Trapezes mit der gegen NNW. gerichteten kürzeren Parallelseite. Im Süden grenzt Ruanda an Urundi; im Osten an Karagwe; im Norden an Nkole, wenn man Mpororo, das keine einheitliche Staatsorganisation hat, für ein Übergangsgebiet zwischen Ruanda und Nkole ansieht. Im Westen hat Ruanda keinen wohlorganisierten Staat zum Nachbarn, sondern kleine Häuptlingschaften mit einer sprachlich nahe verwandten Bevölkerung.

Ruanda stellt ein stark abgeschlossenes Gebiet dar. Die Süd- und Ostgrenze des Staates bilden die Flüsse Akanjaru und Kagera; zu Ruanda gehört aber auch die zwischen den beiden Strömen, auf ihren rechten Ufern, gelegene Landschaft Bugessera, die im Südosten bis zum Rugwero-See reicht. Die Westgrenze bildet der große afrikanische Graben mit der Lavaebene des tätigen Vulkans Namlagira, dem Kiwu-See und dem Russisi-Strom.

Im Norden fehlt es Ruanda an einer scharf ausgesprochenen, durchgehenden natürlichen Grenze. Die Nordabhänge der Vulkankette gehören zu Ruanda, und die neue politische Grenze zwischen Deutsch-Ost-Afrika und dem belgischen Congo schneidet vom Lande seine früheren Nordmarken ab, die bis zum Iwi-Fluß reichten. Im Osten von den Mulera- und Ndorwa-Seen wird als Nordgrenze der Lulenge-Bach angesehen. Von seiner Mündung springt die Grenze in der menschenleeren Steppe auf den Kagera herüber.

In diesen Grenzen umfaßt Ruanda ein Areal von ca. 29 000 qkm.

Die Einflußsphäre der Ruanda-Herrscher hat aber die soeben angegebenen Grenzen zu verschiedenen Zeiten im Norden und vor allem im Westen wesentlich überschritten.

Lwabugiri Kigeri herrschte bis zum Edward-See. Das Buhunde oder Butundwe bildete einen temporären Bestandteil seines Reiches. Zu Ruanda gehörten auch die Gebiete der den Banyaruanda nahe verwandten Einwohner der westlichen Kiwu-Ufer.

[p. 102]

Ruanda stellt ein stark zerklüftetes Gebirgsland dar, das von Osten nach Westen, von den Steppen der Kagera-Ebene bis zum Rande des Ostafrikanischen Grabens, in Terrassen ansteigt und dann steil zur Grabensohle abstürzt. Infolgedessen liegt die Nil-Kongo-Wasserscheide ganz im Westen von Ruanda. Das Gebirgsland von Ruanda steigt aber auch noch nach Norden und nach Süden von seiner zentralen Achse — dem Njawarongo-Kagera-System — an. Während aber die nördliche, gegen Süden gerichtete und durch die Vulkane abgeschlossene Böschung zu Ruanda gehört, fällt die südliche, gegen Norden gerichtete Böschung bis auf den nordwestlichen, zu Ruanda gehörenden Teil den Staaten Urundi und West-Ussuwi zu. Infolgedessen hat man in Ruanda die höchsten Erhebungen auf der Westseite und vor allem auf der Vulkanlinie des Nordrückens der Wasserscheide.

Über vier Fünftel des Landes werden durch den Kagera mit seinen Zuflüssen entwässert und gehören zum Becken des Victoria-Sees. Unter den Zuflüssen des Njawarongo-Kagera-Stromes verdienen eine besondere Beachtung die Mkunga oder Mukungwa, die die Südostabhänge der Vulkane entwässert, und der südöstliche Grenzfluß Ruanda's, der Akanjaru. Der Hauptzufluß des Kagera — der Ruwuwu — berührt Ruanda nicht. Der Ruwuwu ist der Hauptstrom von Urundi. Die Nordabhänge der Vulkane werden durch den Rutshuru entwässert und gehören infolgedessen zum Becken des Edward-Sees. Der schmale Saum dem Kiwu-See und dem Russisi entlang gehört schon zum Kongo-Becken. Die Ruanda-Flüsse des Kiwu- und des Edward-Seebeckens sind kleine, kurze Gebirgsbäche, die für den Verkehr keine Bedeutung haben. Sie haben ein zu starkes Gefälle um den Verkehr zu fördern, sie sind zu klein um ihn zu hindern.

Die Flüsse des Kagera-Beckens, der Mukungwa ausgenommen, haben ein geringes Gefälle und fließen in breiten, versumpften, mit Papyrus bewachsenen, Tälern dahin. Somit bilden die bedeutenderen Ströme, wie z. B. der Akanjaru und der Kagera, sehr große Verkehrshindernisse. Sie sind nur an gewissen, sehr vereinzelten, Punkten passierbar. Die große Bedeutung dieses Umstandes kommt eben darin zum Ausdruck, daß die Hälfte der Grenzen von Ruanda durch den Akanjaru und den Kagera gebildet wird. Die Flüsse des Kagera-Beckens werden ebensowenig, wie die des Kiwu-Systems, als Verkehrswege benutzt, trotzdem sie auf großen Strecken schiffbar sind und nur durch wenige Stromschnellen unterbrochen werden. Die Vernachlässigung der Flüsse ist aber wohl nicht durch die Stromschnellen verursacht, da der durch seine Stürme viel gefährlichere Kiwu stark befahren wird. Sie hat viel eher dieselbe Ursache, wie die Ausschaltung der Flußtäler durch die auf den Bergrücken geführten Wege. Die Täler sind versumpft und die Flüsse haben zu wenig bequeme Anlegepunkte, wo man aus dem Boot auf festen Boden steigen könnte, ohne ganze Kilometer im Sumpfe waten zu müssen.

Die Versumpfung der Flußtäler und die Steilheit ihrer Abhänge bilden einen sehr wichtigen geographischen Faktor in der Entwicklung von Ruanda. Sie

drängen die Bevölkerung auf die Hügel und schließen sie in territoriale politische Gruppen ab. Dieser Umstand spielt in der Organisation des Staates eine sehr große Rolle, indem er die Abgrenzung des Besitzes und der Verpflichtungen vereinfacht und viele Reibungen erspart. Für Ruanda ist infolgedessen in seiner geographischen Konfiguration die höhere, auf der territorialen Gliederung aufgebaute Staatsorganisation gegeben, die in der Entwicklung nur mit Mühe die Clanorganisation ablöst. Dieser rein geographische Faktor hat sicherlich in bedeutendem Umfange zur Entwickelung eines so ungewöhnlich großen und stabilen Reiches des schriftlosen, schwarzen Afrika beigetragen.

Nicht alle Flußtäler sind aber versumpft und unbewohnt. Das Njawarongo-Tal z. B. ist, oberhalb der Mkunga- (Mukungwa-) Mündung, bis zum Flusse bewohnt. Ebenso sind auch die Berge nicht überall bewohnt. Die Berge der Kagera-Kiwu-Wasserscheide sind mit hochstämmigem Urwald bewachsen, in dem es keine ackerbautreibende Bevölkerung gibt. Ebenso sind die Vulkankegel unbewohnt. Die Gebirgswälder zwischen Akanjaru und Kagera, welche die Südgrenzen von Bugessera bilden, sind sehr menschenarm. Schwach bevölkert ist auch die bewaldete Anhöhe von Bugessera selbst.

Politische Gliederung. In ähnlicher Weise wie Ruanda, durch das unbewohnte Akanjaru-Tal im Süden von Urundi und durch die menschenleere Kagera-Steppe im Osten von Karagwe, abgeschlossen ist, wird das ganze Land, durch die unbewohnten und verkehrstörenden Zonen, in eine Anzahl natürlicher Provinzen zergliedert.

Man spricht in Ruanda von den folgenden Hauptprovinzen:

1. Mukinjaga,
2. Bwischascha,
3. Bugoye (Bugoie),
4. Nduga,
5. Bugessera,
6. Mulera,
7. Ruweruka,
8. Kissaka,
9. Buischa oder Bgisha.

Die Provinzen Mukinjaga, Bwischascha und Bugoye liegen im Kiwu-Becken und bilden seine Küstenzone. Sie werden vom übrigen Ruanda durch die Gebirgsurwälder der Nil-Kongo-Wasserscheide getrennt. Das im Norden durch die Vulkanlinie und die Berge des südwestlichen Abhanges des Karissimbi begrenzte Bugoye wurde, wie es scheint, erst im letzten Jahrhundert durch Zuzügler aus Ruanda und vom Westufer des Kiwu-Sees (Kameronse), welche die Urwälder rodeten, stärker besiedelt.

Das Zentrum von Ruanda liegt im Kagera-Becken. Hier haben wir die Hauptprovinz Nduga mit der Königsresidenz. Dort werden an seinem Hofe

die Vertreter der ganzen herrschenden Schicht vereinigt. Nduga umfaßt die Gebiete vom Akanjaru bis zu den bewaldeten Bergen der Nil-Kongo-Wasserscheide und dem Njawarongo. Zu Nduga scheint man auch die Tschingogo-Unterprovinz auf dem westlichen Ufer des Njawarongo-Mittellaufes zu zählen.

Bugessera umfaßt das zwischen Akanjaru, Kagera und der Urundi-Grenze eingeschlossene Gebiet. Es verdient Beachtung, daß in Busongora die Einwohner von Nkole mit dem Namen Bagessera bezeichnet werden.

Als Mulera bezeichnet man den, durch den Mkunga (oder Mukungwa) entwässerten Teil des Südabhanges der Vulkankette. Nach der Ansicht der Leute aus Nduga soll Mulera im Süden bis zum Njawarongo-Knie reichen und sowohl die Landschaft Bugarula wie auch Ukonja umfassen. Zu Mulera wird gewöhnlich noch die auf den Nordabhängen des Muhawura und Mgahinga gelegene Landschaft Ufumbiro gezählt.

Das stark versumpfte Plateau, welches im Nordosten von dem Mukungwa und dem Njawarongo bis zu den Seen von Mulera und dem Mohasi-See, reicht, wird als Ruweruka bezeichnet.

Die Provinz Kissaka, noch unlängst ein unabhängiger Staat, bildet die am stärksten nach Osten vorgeschobene Provinz Ruanda's. Die Grenzen von Kissaka werden im Süden, Osten und Südwesten durch den Kagera, im Westen und Nordwesten durch den Mugessera-See, den die Eingeborenen mit dem Namen Lugazu bezeichnen, gebildet. Die Nordgrenze des Landes führt durch das Tal am Nordabhange des Kabirizi-Berges. Im Großen Deutschen Kolonialatlas[1]) liegt der erste Buchstabe der Aufschrift „Kissaka" schon außerhalb des Landes, und der Buchstabe I befindet sich genau auf seiner Grenze.

Das zum Edward-Seebecken gehörende Gebiet auf dem Nordabhange der Vulkankette wird durch die Lavaebene des Namlagira und das Tal des Ihondo im Westen und Nordwesten und den Rutshuru im Norden begrenzt und bildet die Provinz Buischa oder Bgisha. Zu Bgisha müssen aber noch die mit Banyaruanda bevölkerten Landschaften Bukoma, zwischen Rutshuru und Nkendua und Butaka, zwischen Nkendua und Iwi, gerechnet werden. Von Bugoye wird Bgisha durch einen Waldstreifen auf der Wasserscheide getrennt. Auf der von mir zurückgelegten Route Njundo—Rutshuru ist dieser $^3/_4$ Stunden breit, und trennt die Bugoye-Landschaft Buhumba von der Bgisha-Landschaft Kivumba.

Dr. KANDT[2]) verlegt Buischa, auf seiner Karte, nach dem Südwesten des Edward-Sees, außerhalb seines Reiseweges. Diese unerklärliche Angabe muß auf irgendeinem Mißverständnis beruhen. Der Zusammenhang zwischen Ruanda und Buischa wurde durch die belgische Besitzergreifung sehr stark gelockert; so spricht v. BERINGE[3]) z. B. von einem Muhutu-Sultan Mtamuhanga von

[1]) Großer Deutscher Kolonialatlas. Blatt Usumbura. Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen). Berlin 1908.

[2]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904.

[3]) v. BERINGE, Hptm., Berichte über seine Reisen im Gebiet der Kirungavulkane. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, S. 27.

Bgisha. Ich konnte nur von Namuhanga, einem Klienten Musinga's, der zur Zeit meiner Reise in Niansa weilte, erfahren. Die Eingeborenen betrachten also Bgisha immer noch für einen Teil Ruanda's.

Den Namen der Provinz, die zwischen dem Mohasi-See, dem Kagera und dem Bugessera-See (Lugazu) liegt, hatte ich keine Gelegenheit zu ermitteln. Die von mir bereiste Landschaft wird vom Südufer des Mohasi-Sees im Norden bis zum Kishaya-Tal im Süden als Bugansa, das heilige Land des Hirtenadels, bezeichnet. Das Land vom Kishaya-Tal bis zum Bugessera-See (Lugazu) wurde als eigentliches Ruanda bezeichnet. Ob das aber die Landschaft oder die Provinz ist, welcher das ganze Land seinen Namen verdankt, konnte ich nicht erfahren. Es ist mir ebenfalls nicht gelungen zu ermitteln, ob das Gebiet im Norden vom Mohasi-See einen zusammenfassenden Namen hat.

Die Ermittelung der Namen der Provinzen ist immer mit bedeutenden Schwierigkeiten verbunden. Der Eingeborene kennt in Ruanda zunächst das natürliche geographische Element — den „Hügel" (kashozi) und belegt ihn mit einem bestimmten Namen. Er kennt auch die Zusammenfassung einer Anzahl von Hügeln zu einer Einheit höherer Ordnung, zur Landschaft. Hier beginnt aber schon die Schwierigkeit mit der Namengebung. Es wird, soweit ich das beobachten konnte, der Name eines gewissen Hügels, der für die Bevölkerung von besonderer Bedeutung ist, auf die ganze Landschaft übertragen. Diesen allgemeinen Namen verdankt aber gewöhnlich die Bevölkerung der Landschaft ihren Nachbarn. Einen ähnlichen Prozeß macht die Zusammenfassung der Landschaften zu einer Provinz durch. Deshalb ist es auch schwer den Gültigkeitsbereich eines allgemeinen Namens, z. B. Nduga, festzustellen, wenn auch eine Provinz mit recht scharf ausgesprochenen natürlichen Grenzen gegeben ist. Die Provinz Nduga verdankt, wie es scheint, ihren Namen der kleinen Landschaft Induga am Njawarongo. Von der letzteren wurde der Name über die benachbarten Landschaften verbreitet. Dieser Prozeß ist aber noch nicht abgeschlossen. Der Name hat, wie es scheint, noch nicht ganz die natürlichen Grenzen der Provinz erreicht, und ich konnte bezüglich der Zugehörigkeit von Tschingogo zu Nduga keine bestimmte Antwort bekommen. Daß die Zusammenfassung der einzelnen Hügel zu Landschaften und der Landschaften zu Provinzen durch die Nachbarn besorgt wird, konnte ich am Namen Mulera beobachten. In Nduga sprach man von Mulera als vom Lande, das vom Njawarongo bis zu den Vulkanen reicht. Die Bootsleute auf der Njawarongo-Fähre unterhalb der Mukungwa-Mündung erklärten, daß Mulera, jenseits des Mukungwa die Südabhänge der Vulkane umfaßt. In Ruasa an den Mukungwa-Fällen schrumpfte Mulera auf eine kleine Landschaft am Südabhange des Muhawura zusammen.

Westliche Nachbarländer. Bei der Besprechung der Provinzen von Ruanda muß man mit einigen Worten auch auf die Häuptlingschaften jenseits der West- und Nordwestgrenze von Ruanda eingehen. Sie haben eine verwandte

Bevölkerung, befinden sich in der Einflußsphäre von Ruanda und bildeten auch vorübergehend das Besitztum der Ruanda-Herrscher, die dorthin Expeditionen unternahmen, um sich diese Länder dienstbar zu machen. Mit anderen Worten, ihre Verhältnisse drängten sie dahin, mit der Zeit gewöhnliche Provinzen von Ruanda zu werden. Betrachtet man den Abhängigkeitsgrad der einzelnen Ruanda-Provinzen und vergleicht sie mit den Beziehungen der Ruanda-Herrscher zu diesen westlichen Ländern, so findet man, daß hier keine prinzipiellen, sondern nur quantitative und dazu noch nicht allzugroße Unterschiede des Abhängigkeitsgrades vorliegen.

In der Zahl der Nachbarländer der westlichen Einflußsphäre Ruanda's werden am häufigsten genannt:

1. Kwidschwi,
2. Bunyabungu,
3. Itambi,
4. Buyungu,
5. Kishari,
6. Buitwa,
7. Butundwe,
8. Butembo.

Die Insel Kwidschwi, oder eigentlich Idshwi, bildete wiederholt einen Bestandteil von Ruanda. Lwabugiri Kigeri, der Vater des gegenwärtigen Herrschers von Ruanda, unternahm zwei Kriegszüge auf die Insel, um dort seinen Einfluß zu sichern. Er erkrankte aber während des Feldzuges und starb auf dem Rückmarsche. Nach seinem Tode erlangte die Insel ihre Unabhängigkeit wieder. Sie bildet jetzt einen kleinen Staat, der durch den Häuptling Mihigo, der kein Mututsi ist, regiert wird.

Die Insel zerfällt[1]) von Süden nach Norden in drei große Provinzen: Agatongo, Nyamushishe und Amarambo. Zu dieser Herrschaft gehören noch die Inseln im Norden (Kitanga, Mkondo u. a.), im Osten (Wau), im Süden (Nyamisi, Muhembe u. a.) und Westen (Igitenda, Ugishushu u. a.) und die Halbinsel Kwishungwe.

Bunyabungu ist das Land im Südwesten vom Kiwu. Zu Bunyabungu gehört ein Drittel des Westufers des Kiwu-Sees und das rechte Ufer des Russisi-Oberlaufes bis zu der natürlichen Felsenbrücke über dem Strome. Der südliche, zwischen Russisi und der Wasserscheide im Westen eingeschlossene Teil des Landes steht unter Gweshe[2]). Der nördliche, zwischen der Wasserscheide und dem Kiwu im Osten, wird durch Kaware, der mit Kaware von Ruanda nicht zu verwechseln ist, beherrscht. Die dritte Banyabungu-Herrschaft ist das eben besprochene Kwidschwi.

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[1]) Kandt, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 517.
[2]) Ebenda S. 448.

Zu Itambi gehört der mittlere Teil des westlichen Kiwu-Ufers von der künstlichen Wildnis in der Nähe des Tshigasi-Baches im Süden bis zur Wildnis auf dem linken Ufer des Muwimbi-Flusses, der im Süden von der Halbinsel Peni-Mbusi in den See mündet. Der Herrscher von Itambi wird von KANDT[1]) als Sultan Kilimimwumba bezeichnet.

Die nordwestliche Ecke des Kiwu bespült die Landschaft Buyungu. Sie reicht im Osten bis zum Gihirä (Kalimssomba) und dehnt sich weiter nach Norden und, wie es scheint, auch über die Berge des westlichen Grabenrandes aus. Sie wird durch Mwunye beherrscht.

Im Zusammenhange mit Buyungu soll noch Kameronse, der Besitz Lohunga's, erwähnt werden, der im Osten vom Gihirä-Bach lag und im Westen bis zur Lavaebene reichte. Diese Herrschaft wurde am Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts aufgerieben und von ihren Einwohnern, die vorwiegend nach Bugoye auswanderten, verlassen[2]). Lohunga soll sich damals mit den ihm treu gebliebenen Leuten im großen Busch am Fuße des Niragongo aufgehalten haben.

Zwischen der Lavaebene und dem westlichen Grabenrande liegt das kleine Land Kishari. Sein Häuptling Mulisi ist unabhängig, pflegt aber alte Beziehungen zu Ruanda. Vor zehn Jahren ungefähr, während der großen Revolte im Congo, als Kishari durch die Barega stark bedrängt wurde, flüchtete sich Mulisi nach Ruanda, und der König gab ihm als Ersatz für den verlorenen Besitz die Landschaft Kanage. Dort starb seine Mutter. Später nach der Zurückdrängung der Barega durch die Belgier kehrte Mulisi nach Kishari heim. Die Leute von Kanage blieben aber in einem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zum Kishari-Herrscher, und sie tragen ihm bis jetzt ihre Steuern nach Kishari. Mulisi flüchtete nach Ruanda mit Rücksicht auf die alten Beziehungen, die Kishari mit Ruanda verbunden hatten. Seit altersher soll der Herrscher von Kishari dem Herrscher von Ruanda eine Frau aus seiner Familie liefern.

Dr. KANDT[3]) unterscheidet von Kishari die Landschaft Mushari auf dem Nordabhange des Namlagira, die von der ersteren durch einen Wald getrennt wird.

Die Landschaften Buitwa und Butundwe liegen auf den Bergrücken, die im Norden vom Vulkan Namlagira sich vom Westrande des Grabens abtrennen und in das Rutshuru-Tal hineinragen. Der südliche Rücken gehört, wie es scheint, zur Landschaft Buitwa, der nördliche zu Butundwe. Manchmal tritt aber der Name Buitwa hinter Butundwe zurück, und das an Mushari angrenzende Mitongo wird als Südbezirk von Butundwe bezeichnet.

STUHLMANN[4]) spricht von Buitwa als einem Lande im Süden vom Edward-See, das durch den Häuptling Nsungu beherrscht und durch das Bagessera-Geschlecht (Mukessere) bewohnt wird. Außerdem sollen dort noch Babinga, Bayaga

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 395.
[2]) Ebenda S. 437.
[3]) Ebenda S. 472.
[4]) STUHLMANN, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1894, S. 265, 657.

und Babito (Wanyawito) wohnen. Die Eingeborenen sollen seinen Erkundigungen nach eine fremde (für die Banyoro) Sprache sprechen und viele Rinder besitzen. Nach meinen Erkundigungen wird dort ein Kirundi-Dialekt gesprochen.

Butembo liegt schon ganz unmittelbar im Kongo-Becken. In dieser Weise reicht der Einfluß der Ruanda-Herrscher tief ins Kongo-Becken hinein.

Bevölkerungsdichte. Ruanda gehört zu den am dichtesten bevölkerten Ländern des afrikanischen Kontinentes. Trotzdem steht seine durchschnittliche Bevölkerungsdichte derjenigen des westlichen Europa bei weitem nach. Bei der Beurteilung der Bevölkerungszahl von Ruanda muß man nämlich stets im Auge behalten, daß die bevölkerten Gebiete, wie z. B. die Umgebung der Mission Ruasa, mit einer Bevölkerungsdichte von 120 Einwohnern pro 1 Quadratkilometer nur kleine Bruchstücke des ganzen Landes ausmachen, und daß man, auf so dicht bevölkerte Gebiete stoßend, zu Überschätzungen geneigt war.

Die Bevölkerung von Ruanda beträgt kaum über $1^1/_2$ Millionen Einwohner. Sie ist dabei eher niedriger als höher einzuschätzen.

Hauptmann Bethe[1]) spricht zwar von 2000000 Menschen. Diese Zahl ist jedoch zu hoch; auch dann, wenn man die dem Congo-Staate zugefallenen Nordgebiete hinzurechnet.

Um meine niedrigeren Schätzungen zu rechtfertigen, werde ich hier kurz die in dieser Richtung gemachten Beobachtungen zusammenstellen.

Die Bevölkerungszahl des ca. 2300 qkm großen Kissaka beträgt wohl 160 000—170 000 Köpfe. Kissaka hat zwar im großen und ganzen eine sehr dichte Bevölkerung; es kommen aber auch ganz schwach bevölkerte Striche mit Viehweiden vor, und vor allem sind die Grenzmarken ganz menschenleer. Die durchschnittliche Bevölkerungsdichte kann man, ohne einen großen Fehler zu begehen, auf 70—80 Köpfe pro 1 Quadratkilometer schätzen. Auf meinem Marsche durch Kissaka, abgesehen von den kleinen Exkursionen, legte ich zwei Wegstrecken im Westen des Landes zurück, zwischen der Fähre auf dem Mugessera-See (Kinio) und der Mission Nsasa, wie auch zwischen der Mission und der Kagera-Fähre in der Richtung von Niansa.

Der erste dieser beiden Märsche führte auf der ganzen $2^1/_2$ Wegstunden langen Strecke durch ein sehr dicht bevölkertes Land. Die Bananenhaine bildeten einen zusammenhängenden Komplex, was nur in sehr dicht bevölkerten Gegenden vorkommt. Auf dem zweiten Marsche kam man nach einer Stunde aus dem Bereiche der Siedelungen heraus und marschierte dann auf den Hügelzügen zwischen den Seen und dem Kagera durch ganz menschenleere Wildnis. Erst in der Nähe der Fähre begegneten wir 5 Hütten. Das Vorkommen solcher Gegensätze spricht gegen eine sehr hohe durchschnittliche Bevölkerungsdichte.

Bugessera, angeblich der alte Stammsitz des Bagessera-Geschlechts, das jetzt im ganzen Lande zerstreut ist und auch einen bedeutenden Teil der Jäger-

[1]) Bethe, Hptm., Bericht über einen Zug nach Ruanda. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1899, S. 11.

bevölkerung ausmacht, ist äußerst spärlich bevölkert. Das besiedelte Areal bildet einen schmalen Streifen um das menschenleere Massiv, von dem das Innere des Landes eingenommen wird.

Auf dem zweitägigen Marsche durch Bugessera fand ich nur an der Kagera-Fähre im trockenen Teile der Flußebene eine dichte Bevölkerung. Diese bildet dort zwei Gemeinden, die verschiedenen Gemeindevorstehern (batware) unterstellt waren. Diese Niederlassungen zählten zusammen gegen 100 Hütten. Weiter sah ich noch 5 Hütten auf dem Ufer des Mitei-Sees. Auf diese folgte eine drei Wegstunden lange unbewohnte Strecke, welche durch eine Siedelung aus 20—30 Hütten an dem auf der Karte nicht verzeichneten langen, schmalen oberen Tschohoha-See unterbrochen wurde. Am Nordwestende des Sees war eine zweite ebenso große Siedelung mit ganz kleinen Bananenhainen. Am nächsten Morgen passierte die Karawane das versumpfte Ende des Obersees und stieg auf den Abhang des Kihinga-Berges. Der Hügelrücken war ganz menschenleer. Auf dem Abhange, während des Steigens, kamen wir aber in der Nähe von 25 vereinzelten Gehöften vorbei. Der zweite, dem Akanjaru zugewandte Abhang war dichter bevölkert. Es saß hier ein Mutware, der wohl über 40 Hütten unter sich hatte und die Fähre bewachte. Berücksichtigt man, daß der Weg durch Bugessera eine weite Schleife nach dem Süden in der Richtung der Urundi-Grenze macht, um den menschenleeren Urwald des Zentralmassivs zu umgehen, so darf angenommen werden, daß die Strecke von 50 km mit 220 Hütten bezüglich ihrer Bevölkerungsdichte bei weitem die Durchschnittsdichte des ganzen Landes übertrifft. Nimmt man an, daß der beobachtete Wegstreifen nur 1 km breit ist, und daß pro Hütte 4 Köpfe zu zählen sind, so wird man für diesen Weg eine Bevölkerungsdichte von ca. 17 Einwohnern pro Quadratkilometer annehmen können. Für das ganze Land kann man mit Rücksicht darauf von einer Bevölkerungsdichte von höchstens 15—20 Einwohnern pro Quadratkilometer sprechen. Aus diesem Grunde muß die Bevölkerungszahl des ca. 1300 qkm großen Bugessera auf 20 000—25 000 Köpfe geschätzt werden.

Die Provinz Nduga ist wesentlich schwächer bevölkert als Kissaka. Der Unterschied wird besonders groß, wenn man zu Nduga die menschenleeren Urwälder des Südwestens zuzählt, die ein Drittel der Oberfläche der ganzen Provinz ausmachen. Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER[1]) sagt zwar: „Das Gebirge (Muwissi, südwestlich von Issawi) ist nicht, wie die Karte sagt, unbewohnt, sondern größtenteils gut besiedelt und bebaut." Er sagt aber auch auf der nächsten Seite, daß der Wald um den Gaharo-Gipfel ganz unbewohnt ist und daß es dort sogar keine Batwa gibt.

Dr. KANDT schätzt die Bevölkerung, einer der am dichtesten bevölkerten Gegenden Nduga's, der Umgebung der Mission Issawi, im Radius von 2 Stunden,

[1]) Reiseberichte von Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER aus Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, S. 348.

mit mehr als 200 Berggemeinden auf 80 000—100 000 Menschen. Bei einer Oberfläche des Kreises von ca. 300 qkm würde man auf eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 300 Einwohnern pro Quadratkilometer kommen. Diese Zahl scheint mir sogar für den Issawi-Hügel selbst recht unwahrscheinlich zu sein. In Kissaka befinden sich auf dem ganz besiedelten, über 200 Hektar großen Missionsbesitz 80 Hütten. Rechnet man pro Hütte 4 Köpfe, so kommt man auf eine Bevölkerungsdichte von weniger als 160 Köpfen pro Quadratkilometer. Mit Rücksicht darauf glaube ich, daß man für die ganze Umgebung von Issawi kaum auf eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 150 Köpfen schließen kann.

Bei der Beurteilung der Bevölkerungszahl der ganzen Provinz darf man nicht vergessen, daß die Issawi-Gegend durch ihre zusammengedrängte Bevölkerung so auffiel, daß hier unmittelbar nach der Gründung der Mission in Kissaka die zweite Mission gegründet wurde. Von diesem Zentrum aus nimmt aber die Bevölkerungsdichte sowohl in der Akanjaru-Richtung, wie auch in der Richtung von Niansa, der Residenz Musinga's, recht rasch ab. Die Umgebung von Niansa hat im Umkreis von drei bis vier Marschstunden nur sehr wenige Siedelungen, da das ganze Land für die Kühe des Königs reserviert ist. Entfernt man sich von Niansa in der Nordrichtung, so wird die Bevölkerung wieder dichter. Sie erreicht aber in Kabgaye (Marangara), dem sieben Stunden entfernten, am dichtesten bevölkerten Punkt in der Nordrichtung noch nicht die Dichte von Issawi. Erst am Njawarongo im Flußbogen etwas oberhalb des Zusammenflusses mit dem Akanjaru soll die Bevölkerung wieder sehr dicht werden. Auch im Westen des Ndisa-Berges sind die Anhöhen über dem Njawarongo-Tal gut bevölkert, während das Tal selbst als Viehweide dient. Tschingogo soll ebenfalls einige stark besiedelte Landschaften aufweisen.

Nimmt man in der ca. 7600 qkm großen Nduga für das bewaldete Drittel dieselbe Bevölkerungsdichte wie für Bugessera, für das am stärksten besiedelte Drittel dieselbe Bevölkerungsdichte wie für Kissaka und für das mitteldicht bevölkerte Weidengebiet eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 30—50 Einwohnern pro Quadratkilometer an, die aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach eher zu hoch als zu niedrig sein wird, so kommt man auf eine Bevölkerungszahl von 325 000 Köpfen.

Mulera gehört zu den am dichtesten bevölkerten Provinzen Ruanda's. Die Hauptmasse ihrer Bevölkerung ist auf den bebauten Höhen im Süden von der Lavaebene konzentriert. So haben wir z. B. im Südwesten vom Bolero-See eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 120 Einwohnern pro Quadratkilometer. Die unteren Teile der Vulkanböschungen haben aber auch eine sehr dichte Bevölkerung. So finden wir z. B. am Fuße des Muhawura auf dem südlichen und südöstlichen Abhange zwischen dem bewaldeten Vulkankegel im Norden, dem Bolero-See im Osten und der Lavasteppe im Süden eine Bevölkerung von 6000—8000 Köpfen.

Der Weg, von der Mission Ruasa nach dem Militärposten Kissenji am Kiwu-See führt die ersten 2½ Stunden durch ein dicht bevölkertes Gebiet, das ein zusammenhängendes, mit Hirse und Erbsen bebautes Ackerland darstellt. Dann

geht man eine Stunde lang durch ein noch nicht unter Kultur genommenes mit Busch bewachsenes Lavafeld, um später in ein reich bebautes Tal zu kommen, das wieder durch eine Weide mit zahlreichen Rindern abgelöst wird. Die Anhöhen über der Weide sind jedoch unter Kultur.

Bei der recht gleichmäßigen Verteilung der Bevölkerung auf dem bebauten Lande und bei der geringen Ausdehnung der unbewohnten Vulkankegel und der zum größten Teile als Weide benutzten Lavaebene ist die durchschnittliche Bevölkerungsdichte, verglichen mit der ganzen Provinz, relativ hoch und wird wohl gegen hundert Einwohner pro Quadratkilometer betragen. Bei einer Oberfläche von ca. 1700 qkm gestattet diese Zahl auf eine Bevölkerung von 170 000 Köpfen zu schließen. Durch die letzte Grenzregulierung hat Mulera ca. 300 qkm mit ungefähr 30 000 Einwohnern eingebüßt, die als Ufumbiro dem Congo-Staate zugefallen sind.

Die stark versumpfte Ruweruka-Provinz soll auch beinahe ebenso dicht wie Mulera bevölkert sein. Das würde für die 2700 qkm große Provinz 270000 Köpfe geben.

Bugoye ist nicht schwächer bevölkert als Mulera. Der bevölkerte Teil ist im Süden durch den Urwald der Wasserscheide auf einen schmalen Saum zusammengedrängt; im Norden in der Vulkanebene dehnt er sich aber fächerförmig weit aus.

Auf dem Wege zum Häuptling Chuma, den ich mit R. P. L. Delmas von Njundo aus besucht habe, konnte ich feststellen, daß die ersten anderthalb Stunden des Weges durch ein Gebiet führten, das ebenso dicht wie die Vulkanebene besiedelt war. Überall lagen die dorfartig zusammengeschlossenen Siedelungen der Clans Bahombo, Bahindi, Bahuma usw. Später aber begannen die Anzeichen sich zu mehren, daß wir uns auf frischen Rodungen befanden. Zuerst vereinzelte große Bäume, später Gebüsch, das durch immer seltenere Bohnenfelder unterbrochen wurde. Am Schlusse der dritten Stunde erreichten wird das Dorf Chuma's, das nur 15 Minuten vom geschlossenen Urwalde entfernt war.

Auf dem Wege von Njundo nach Rutshuru erreichte die Karawane in vier Stunden, bei ständigem, aber ganz allmählichem Anstieg auf der verwitterten Lavaebene den Ort Rugari, eine Siedelung, die durch zwei Komplexe aus 6 und 8 Hütten gebildet wurde. Die ersten 2 Stunden des Weges ging man durch zusammenhängende Bananenhaine und Erbsenfelder. Die dritte Stunde führte schon durch ein schwächer bevölkertes Gebiet. Die Felder wurden allmählich seltener und waren durch immer größere Zwischenräume getrennt. Die vierte Stunde ging es schon durch eine sehr reiche Weide bis zur Niederlassung.

Am nächsten Tage erreichte ich, nach einer Stunde Marsch, die Landschaft Buzizi, in der ohne Mühe 57 Hütten in 9 Komplexen gezählt werden konnten, und eine Viertelstunde später erblickte ich die Landschaft Buhumba mit 40 Hütten in 3 Komplexen. Das waren die letzten Bugoye-Niederlassungen an der Grenze von Bgisha.

Nach Dr. Kandt soll die Einwohnerzahl von Bugoye über 100000 Köpfe

betragen[1]), und wird durch Einwanderung aus Bgisha noch immer vergrößert. Diese Zahl entspricht den Tatsachen, soweit ich das kontrollieren konnte, und gibt für die ca. 1000 qkm große Provinz eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 100 Einwohnern pro Quadratkilometer, die derjenigen von Mulera gleich ist. Hauptmann v. BERINGE[2]) schätzt die Bevölkerung von Bugoye auf 150 000—200 000 Köpfe.

Nach den Aussagen der Missionäre ist das Land sehr stark übervölkert, und den Einwohnern soll es an Ackerland fehlen. Es ist daher auch unverständlich, weshalb der Urwald nicht energischer gerodet wird.

Nimmt man auch für die zwei anderen Provinzen des Kiwu-Beckens dieselbe Bevölkerungsdichte wie für Mulera und Bugoye an, so kommt man für Bwischascha mit einer Oberfläche von ca. 1000 qkm und Mukinjaga mit ca. 1500 qkm, auf die Bevölkerungszahlen von 100 000 und 150 000 Köpfen. Es darf aber nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß Dr. KANDT[3]) den durchreisten Teil von Bwischascha als „nicht sehr menschenreich" bezeichnet, und daß in Mukinjaga viele Batutsi sitzen. Mit Rücksicht darauf müssen unsere Schätzungen zu groß sein.

Das Gebiet zwischen Mohasi-See, Njawarongo und Kagera wird wohl in seiner durchschnittlichen Bevölkerungsdichte die Grasländer der Nduga etwas übertreffen und gegen 50 Einwohner pro Quadratkilometer haben. Unter dieser Voraussetzung kann man dort mit einer Bevölkerung von 70 000 Köpfen, bei einem Areale von 1400 qkm, rechnen.

Die Grasländer im Norden und Osten vom Mohasi-See haben eine sehr spärliche Bevölkerung bis auf die Gebiete am Nordrande des Mohasi-Sees, die eine bedeutende Zusammendrängung der Ackerbauer aufweisen. Man kann sagen, daß, während der südwestliche Teil der Nduga an Bevölkerungsdichte nicht nachsteht, sich die nördlichen Teile bezüglich ihrer Bevölkerungsdichte nicht von den Mpororo-Steppen unterscheiden. Nimmt man für das ca. 1000 qkm große, dichter bevölkerte Gebiet im Norden des Mohasi-Sees die Bevölkerungsdichte der Nduga und für den übrigen Teil, wie auch für die Steppen im Nordosten von Kissaka, die Bevölkerungsdichte der Mpororo-Steppe an, so kommt man, bei einer Oberfläche von ca. 5800 qkm auf eine Bevölkerungszahl von 120 000 Köpfen.

Bgisha hat in den letzten Jahrzehnten am stärksten von allen Provinzen Ruanda's gelitten und bildet ein Auswanderungsgebiet. Seine mehr geschützten, gebirgigen Teile, welche die Hauptmasse des Landes bilden, haben aber bis jetzt noch eine sehr dichte Bevölkerung und stehen in dieser Beziehung Mulera nur wenig nach.

Auf dem Wege von Bugoye nach Rutshuru passierte ich in Bgisha zunächst die Landschaften Kivumba und Rulenge. In der ersten konnten, in der Nähe des Weges, 150, in der zweiten 300 Hütten gezählt werden. Berücksichtigt

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 482.

[2]) v. BERINGE, Hptm., Bericht über eine Expedition nach Ruanda. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1903, S. 295.

[3]) KANDT, R., Ein Marsch am Ostufer des Kiwu. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 213.

man, daß beim ersten Marsch durch das Bgisha-Gebiet nur $2^1/_2$ Wegstunden zurückgelegt wurden, daß bei der hohen Lage des Weges wohl ein 2 km breiter Streifen beobachtet werden konnte, und ferner, daß man 4 Köpfe pro Hütte zählen kann, so bekommt man annähernd 1800 Köpfe auf 24 qkm. Das ergibt eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 75 Einwohnern pro Quadratkilometer.

Am nächsten Tage ging man noch anderthalb Stunden durch den nicht schwächer bevölkerten nördlichen Teil von Rulenge. Später zeigte sich das Land immer schwächer bevölkert. Die letzten bedeutenderen Agglomerationen waren Kamuhanga und Busingizi, etwas mehr als 2 Stunden vom Rulenge-Lager entfernt. Weiter lagen die Siedelungen schon ganz zerstreut. In der Entfernung von $4^3/_4$ Stunden vom Rulenge-Lager trat man für 10 Minuten, und in der Entfernung von 5 Stunden für 15 Minuten, in zusammengeschlossene Bananenhaine ein. Die letzte Marschstunde ging man wieder durch eine Wildnis.

Auf dem Wege von Rutshuru nach Vichumbi konnte man während der ersten Stunde stets 40—50 Hütten im Umkreise zählen. Berücksichtigt man, daß in der Ebene bei recht niedrigem Grase der Radius des Gesehenen nicht kleiner als 2 km war, so bekommt man 150—200 Einwohner auf $12^1/_2$ qkm und dementsprechend eine Bevölkerungsdichte von 12—16 Einwohnern pro Quadratkilometer. Während der nächsten Wegstunde wurden die Siedelungen seltener und die Bananenhaine krochen immer mehr in die Talmulden herunter, was wohl durch den Mangel an Feuchtigkeit verursacht war. Weiter gab es, von den Wächtern der Rasthäuser Mainakwenda und Mainamoto abgesehen, schon keine Siedelungen bis zum See. Nur auf den fernen Bergen im Osten konnte man eine sehr dichte Bevölkerung konstatieren. Aus diesem Grunde wird man für die ganze Provinz Bgisha eine Bevölkerungsdichte von höchstens 70—80 Einwohnern pro Quadratkilometer annehmen können. In dieser Weise bekommt man bei 2600 qkm 200 000 Einwohner.

Stellt man die hier besprochenen Zahlen zusammen, so bekommt man für ganz Ruanda die folgende Tabelle:

1. Kissaka	2300	qkm	mit	180000	Einwohnern.
2. Bugessera	1300	„	„	25000	„
3. Nduga	7600	„	„	325000	„
4. Mulera	1700	„	„	170000	„
(davon Ufumbiro	300	„	„	30000	„)
5. Bugoye	1000	„	„	100000	„
6. Bwischasha	1000	„	„	100000	„
7. Mukinjaga	1500	„	„	150000	„
8. Ruweruka	2700	„	„	270000	„
9. Gebiet zwischen Mohasi und Kagera	1400	„	„	70000	„
10. Steppengebiete im Nordosten	5800	„	„	120000	„
11. Bgisha	2600	„	„	200000	„
	28900	qkm	mit	1710000	Einwohnern.

Davon entfallen auf das gegenwärtige (deutsche) Sultanat Ruanda 26 000 qkm mit 1 480 000 Einwohnern.

Die Bevölkerung von Kwidschwi, die in der Hauptmasse durch Banyabungu gebildet wird, schätzt Dr. KANDT[1]) auf 20 000 Köpfe. Bei einer Oberfläche von ca. 300 qkm ist das, mit Rücksicht auf das mit Urwald bewachsene und nur durch eine spärliche Jägerbevölkerung bewohnte Innere der Insel, eine respektable und wohl nicht zu niedrig geschätzte Bevölkerungsdichte. 10 Jahre später schätzte Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER[2]) die Bevölkerung auf 40 000 Köpfe. Dieser Unterschied wird sich sicher durch Bevölkerungszunahme nicht erklären lassen. Ein Schätzungsfehler ist hier viel wahrscheinlicher.

Bevölkerungsbewegung. Die Bevölkerungsbewegung läßt sich noch schwerer als die Bevölkerungsdichte beurteilen.

Die Geburtenzahl ist recht bedeutend. Auf eine erwachsene Frau kann man 3—4 lebende Kinder rechnen. Es darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß die Zahl steriler Frauen in Ruanda geringer als in den benachbarten Banyoro-Gebieten ist. Es ist mir in dieser Beziehung ein Unterschied zwischen Kissaka und Kiziba direkt aufgefallen. Ich hatte in dieser Ostprovinz Ruanda's wiederholt Gelegenheit gehabt Frauen mit 6 und 7 lebenden Kindern zu konstatieren.

In Nduga scheint die Kinderzahl beinahe noch größer als in Kissaka zu sein. Es kommen dort Fälle vor, daß eine Mutter 8 und sogar 10 Kinder hat. Die große Kinderzahl hat zur Folge, daß man diese weniger schätzt. Dieser Umstand erklärt die geringere Fürsorge und das Vorkommen nicht allzuseltener Fälle von Kindermord. In Mulera, wo diese Erscheinung häufiger ist, werden, besonders während der Hungersnot die kleinen Kinder einfach weggeworfen. Das letztere geht zusammen mit dem Verkaufen größerer Kinder an Fremde. Es darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß der Kindermord in Mulera mit der schlechteren Behandlung der Greise zusammengeht. Die letzteren werden nicht selten aus den Hütten ihrer Kinder verjagt.

Der großen Geburtenzahl steht in Ruanda eine starke Kindersterblichkeit gegenüber, die in der Hauptsache durch mangelhafte Pflege verursacht wird. Über die Größe dieser Sterblichkeit äußert sich Dr. KANDT[3]) folgendermaßen: „Hier in Ruanda ist das zum Teil leicht nachzuprüfen. Um die Hütten der Eingeborenen erheben sich nämlich andere en miniature, entweder ganz kleine oder mittelgroße, gleichsam die Denksteine gestorbener Verwandter. Die größeren für Erwachsene, die kleineren für Kinder. Und da ist kaum ein Gehöft, in dem nicht eine, zwei, drei solcher Kinderhütten wären, bestimmt, die dem Geist des Toten dargebrachten Opfer aufzunehmen. Aber ich habe deren auch schon 8 und 9, in der Provinz Mganamukari sogar einmal 11 gezählt."

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 518.

[2]) Reiseberichte von Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER aus Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, S. 346.

[3]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 177.

Auf Grund der Beobachtungen von R. P. BUISSON darf man bezüglich der christlichen Kissaka-Gemeinde von einem sehr bedeutenden Geburtenüberschuß sprechen.

Zu identischen Ergebnissen kam ich bei der Durchsicht der sorgfältig geführten mätrischen Bücher der Njundo-Mission, die mir in freundlicher Weise der R. P. Superior P. BARTHÉLEMY zur Verfügung stellte.

Es ließen sich dort die folgenden Zahlen gewinnen:

Jahr	Christenzahl	Einschleusungen	Geburten	Todesfälle
1903	15	—	—	—
1904	162	11	4	—
1905	430	69	17	8
1906	717	68	43	14
1907[1])	959	52	71	17
Zusammen	998[2])	200	135	39

Das gegenseitige Verhältnis der einzelnen Altersklassen wird aus der folgenden Zusammenstellung[3]) ersichtlich:

Alter in vollendeten Jahren	Absolute Christenzahl	in ‰	Alter in vollendeten Jahren	Absolute Christenzahl	in ‰
0	63	65,69	24	37	38,58
1	34	35,45	25	35	36,50
2	21	21,90	26	30	31,28
3	27	28,15	27	14	14,60
4	25	26,07	28	21	21,90
5	12	12,51	29	13	13,56
6	10	10,43	30	16	16,68
7	3	3,13	31	10	10,43
8	3	3,13	32	9	9,38
9	1	1,04	33	5	5,21
10	2	2,09	34	2	2,09
11	8	8,34	35	2	2,09
12	15	15,64	36	3	3,13
13	15	15,64	37	3	3,13
14	19	19,81	38	2	2,09
15	32	32,33	39	2	2,09
16	55	57,35	40	1	1,04
17	63	65,69	41	—	—
18	59	61,52	42	—	—
19	75	78,21	43	—	—
20	74	77,16	44	—	—
21	55	57,35	45	1	1,04
22	34	35,45	46	4	4,17
23	35	36,50	47	2	2,09

[1]) Bis zum 13. November 1907.

[2]) Die Verstorbenen miteingerechnet.

[3]) Stand am Schlusse des Jahres 1907, berechnet ohne Berücksichtigung der, nach dem 13. November 1907, Getauften und Geborenen.

Alter in vollendeten Jahren	Absolute Christenzahl	in ‰	Alter in vollendeten Jahren	Absolute Christenzahl	in ‰
48	1	1,04	53	—	—
49	—	—	54	—	—
50	1	1,04	55	—	—
51	5	5,21	56	1	1,04
52	—	—	Zusammen	959	1000,0

Bei den verschiedenen Altersklassen haben wir die folgende Sterblichkeitsstatistik:

Alter in vollendeten Jahren	Jahre			Zusammen
	1905	1906	1907 [1]	
0	2	8	9	19
1	—	1	3	4
2	—	—	1	1
3	1	—	1	2
16	1	—	—	1
19	1	—	1	2
20	—	1	1	2
22	1	2	—	3
23	1	—	—	1
27	1	—	—	1
28	—	1	—	1
29	—	1	—	1
30	—	—	1	1
Zusammen	8	14	17	39

Auf Grund der obigen Zahlen ist ein bedeutender Bevölkerungszuwachs während der epidemiefreien Jahre gar nicht zu bezweifeln. Über den Koeffizient des Bevölkerungszuwachses im Lande dürfen aber aus unseren Zahlen keine Schlüsse gezogen werden. Sie beziehen sich auf soziale Neubildungen, in welchen die Altersklassen zwischen 15 und 30 Jahren unverhältnismäßig stark vertreten sind. Diese Kategorien weisen aber eine geringe Sterblichkeit und sehr große Geburtenzahlen auf.

Während der Epidemiejahre geht die Bevölkerung sehr stark zurück, so daß man es, wie es scheint, in der Hauptsache nur mit großen Schwankungen zu tun hat. In Kissaka z. B. erinnert man sich, daß manche gegenwärtig öden Landstriche vor der letzten Pockenepidemie dicht bevölkert gewesen waren.

Außer dem natürlichen Bevölkerungszuwachs kommt für den Nordwesten Ruanda's noch ein mächtiger Faktor — die Zuwanderung aus dem Congo-Staate — hinzu. Die geordneten Verhältnisse Ruanda's besaßen in den letzten uns bekannten Dezennien eine große Anziehungskraft, und die Hauptmasse der Bevölkerung von Kameronse wanderte nach Bugoye hinüber. Diese Bewegung

[1] Bis zum 13. November 1907

bildete aber nur eine Episode eines größeren historischen Prozesses, den das Drängen aus dem Kongo-Becken nach dem Nordosten darstellt. „Ich glaube", sagt Dr. R. KANDT[1]), „daß hier die Wellen einer größeren Völkerwanderung schlagen, die, aus den Waldgebieten des oberen Congo kommend, nach Osten hin flutet. Es sind hauptsächlich Waregga, mit ihrem Schmähnamen ‚abariabantu' oder ‚buljoko', d. h. Menschenfresser genannt, die immer mehr Terrain diesseits des Grabenrandes zu gewinnen suchen und die dort ansässigen Stämme ostwärts drängen. Westlicher Einfluß zeigt sich infolgedessen auch sehr stark in Sitte und Sprache, in Ackerbau und Gewerbe, in Charakter und Erscheinung — kurz, in jeder Beziehung bei den Wagoie und daher der Gegensatz zu dem übrigen Ruanda."

Gesundheitsverhältnisse. Das Klima des Landes muß im allgemeinen als gesund bezeichnet werden. Das kommt auch in dem Umstande zum Ausdruck, daß die Einwohner Ruanda's beim Abstiege zu den Seen Victoria, Edward-Nyanza und Tanganjika sehr großen Gesundheitsgefahren ausgesetzt sind und nicht selten dort sterben. Die Missionen sahen sich gezwungen ihre Träger nur bis zur nächsten niedriger gelegenen Mission zu schicken. So gehen die Leute von Muyaga nur bis Issawi, die Banyaissawi nur bis Kissaka, und erst die Banyakissaka zum See.

Die gefährlichste Krankheit Ruanda's sind die Pocken, „bushita". Während der letzten großen Epidemie, die angeblich um das Jahr 1897 gewütet hat, wurden viele Hügel menschenleer. Das Tal zwischen Bare und Karemba in der Nähe von Kissaka war nach den Angaben der Eingeborenen vor dieser Epidemie dicht bevölkert. Jetzt gibt es dort keine Siedelungen. Die vorletzte große Pockenepidemie soll nur wenige Jahre vor der Rinderpest[2]) im Lande gewütet haben. Sie wird wohl mit der Epidemie des Jahres 1889, die in Karagwe die Einwohner dezimiert hat, identisch sein. Die Leute von Kissaka wußten insgesamt von drei sehr großen Pockenepidemien zu erzählen. Über die Zeit der ersten konnte ich nichts Näheres erfahren.

Als die zweite für Ruanda verhängnisvolle Krankheit wäre die „masseke"-Pest zu verzeichnen. Sie ist in Nduga recht häufig, und ihr fallen vor allem die in Staats- und Geschäftsangelegenheiten aus ihren Bergen absteigenden Balera anheim. Die „masseke"-Krankheit ist von einem Schwellen und Verhärten der Drüsen in der Achsel- und Inguinalgegend begleitet (Bubonen). Der Tod soll meistens am 2. oder 3. Tage eintreten. Die 2 Fälle, die ich bei meinen Wassukuma-Trägern in Niansa beobachten konnte, verliefen ganz milde, trotzdem sich die ganze medizinische Behandlung auf Anwendung von Abführungsmitteln beschränken mußte. Die „masseke"-Krankheit soll der „kaumpuli" von Buganda

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 483.

[2]) Sie wütete in Ruanda in den Jahren 1890—1892 und wird „muliama" genannt.

und der „lisimba" von Kiziba ähnlich sein. Die letzteren würden als endemische Bubonenpest identifiziert.

In Mulera und am Edward-See ist eine andere Krankheit — die „impfura" — stark verbreitet. Sie stellt eine Anginaform dar, die von starken Verschwellungen und Geschwüren des Rachens begleitet wird. Diese Krankheit behandeln die Eingeborenen durch Ausschaben des Rachens, durch den Finger eines geschickten Operateurs. In dieser Weise werden die eintretenden Atembeschwerden beseitigt. Zu diesem Zwecke wird ein Stück Rohrrinde dünn geschabt, so daß eine elastische Platte, 7 cm lang und 4 mm breit, entsteht. Diese wird dann um die Spitze des Zeigefingers der rechten Hand gebogen, an seine beiden Seiten, die laterale und mediale, angelegt und mit einem Bastfaden angebunden, so daß ein Schaber entsteht. Der so bewaffnete Finger wird in den Rachen des Kranken eingeführt. Mit der an seinem Ende angebrachten senkrechten schneidenden Fläche aus Rohrrinde wird die Schleimhaut bis zum starken Bluten geschabt. Am nächsten Tage soll gewöhnlich eine Besserung eintreten. Die Kur darf aber nicht zu spät angewendet werden.

Abb. 24. Rachenschaber.

Die hier beschriebene Operation soll früher im Zwischenseengebiete unbekannt gewesen sein. Die Wassukuma brachten sie angeblich nach Buhaya, und von dort kam sie mit den Missionären nach Ruanda. Am Edward-See war sie, wie ich mich überzeugen konnte, unbekannt. Leutnant BULATOWICZ[1]), der spätere Mönch und Urheber der Unruhen in den russischen Klöstern des Berges Athos im Jahre 1913, berichtet, daß ein etwas abweichendes Verfahren in der Abessinischen Armee, die im Jahre 1898 zum Rudolph-See geschickt wurde, der Krieger Lydj-Ababa mit Erfolg angewendet hat. Diese, den Abessyniern unbekannte Behandlungsmethode bestand im Ausdrücken des Eiters durch einen in den Rachen eingeführten Finger. Die Kranken mußten nach dieser Operation den Rachen spülen und ausgedörrtes Brot mit rotem Pfeffer essen. Lydj-Ababa lernte diese Kunst von den Kassala-Arabern. Mit Rücksicht darauf ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß unsere Behandlungsmethode in den Küstenländern des Victoria-See durch die Araber bekannt wurde.

Der Verlauf der Krankheit ist sehr schnell. Am vierten Tage meiner Bootsfahrt auf dem Edward-See erlag einer der Bakondjo-Bootsleute der Krankheit. Vier Tage vorher, beim Verlassen von Vichumbi, waren alle gesund. Da sich die Krankheit auf den einzigen Mann beschränkt hatte, und alle auf dem Boote stark zusammengedrängt waren, so muß die Ansteckungskraft nicht sehr groß sein.

Diese Krankheit hat manchmal lokale Lähmungen, z. B. der Zunge oder der Extremitäten einer Körperseite, zur Folge. Sie soll auch ein Ausfallen des Haupthaares verursachen. Der letzteren Folgeerscheinung verdankt sie angeblich ihren Namen, der von „kupfure" (ausrupfen) abgeleitet wird.

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[1]) Булатовичъ, А. К., Съ войсками Менелика II. St. Petersburg 1900, S. 358.

Wenn auch die beiden zuletzt besprochenen Krankheiten stark verbreitet sind und viele Opfer heischen, bleiben die Pocken doch die am stärksten gefürchtete Krankheit. Keine verursacht so große, schnell um sich greifende Verheerungen wie die Pocken. Deshalb hört man auch beim Schimpfen und Verwünschen des lieben Nächsten, wenn die Sache ernst wird, ihren schrecklichen Namen „bushita".

Im Laufe der allerletzten Jahre soll die „*Glossina palpalis*" am Kiwu erschienen sein. In der Zeit meiner Anwesenheit gab es noch keine Schlafkrankheit in Ruanda.

Lepra ist in Ruanda selten. Ich hatte keine Gelegenheit, dort auffällige vorgeschrittene Stadien des Leidens zu beobachten. In Mulera sah ich nur einige Leute, darunter den Mutwa-Regenmacher aus Ruasa, mit den charakteristischen rötlichen Flecken auf dem Körper, die das Anfangsstadium der Krankheit kennzeichnen. In Issawi sollten auf dem Missionshügel zwei Kranke in vorgeschritteneren Stadien wohnen, und auf dem Hügel Umuriri, nicht weit davon, soll es noch mehrere Kranke geben. Dr. KANDT[1]) erwähnt zwei Leprafälle in Itambi.

Lepra wird in Ruanda sehr gefürchtet, und man isoliert die Kranken in besonderen Hütten, die nicht selten den durchreisenden Europäern zur Verfügung gestellt werden sollen.

Ein stark verbreitetes und vor allem für die Kinder sehr lästiges Leiden ist „binioro", das, wie es scheint, mit Framboesie identisch ist[2]). Der Körper bedeckt sich mit kleinen, warzenförmigen Verdickungen, deren Spitzen später zerfallen und kleine, seltener zu größeren Komplexen zusammenfließende flache Wunden bilden. Diese Krankheit war in meinem ganzen Reisegebiete stark verbreitet. Die schlimmsten Fälle sah ich bei den Lendu im Nordwesten vom Albert-See. Meine Manyema-Träger vom Westen des Tanganjika behaupteten, sie alle in ihrer Jugend durchgemacht zu haben. Sie brachten damit das oft vorkommende Platzen der Haut auf der Fußsohle in Zusammenhang und betrachteten es als eine Folge der in der Jugend durchgemachten Krankheit. Im Kiswaheli wird dieses Leiden „mbuba" genannt. Die Missionäre bezeichneten es als „unechte Syphilis", da die Wunden auf Quecksilber günstig reagieren sollen. Die Waswaheli haben für Syphilis das Wort „kaswente" und unterscheiden „mbuba" und „kaswente" scharf. Die „mbuba"-Wunden lassen sich mit Erfolg mit „*Cuprum sulfuricum*" behandeln. Dieses Mittel ist den Eingeborenen bekannt und bildet infolgedessen einen sehr begehrten Gegenstand, der auch als ein guter Tauschartikel dienen kann.

Einen nicht so harmlosen Fall hat man vor sich, wenn es zur Wundenbildung im Rachen und in der Nase kommt. Man spricht dann von „binura mu muhogo".

Elephantiasis ist in Ruanda selten. Während des ersten Monats meines Aufenthaltes in Ruanda habe ich nur drei auffallende Kranke beobachten können.

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili, Berlin 1904, S. 408.

[2]) KANDT, R., Ein Marsch am Ostufer des Kiwu. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 213.

Ebenso spielen dort auch die Dysenterie und Malaria keine Rolle. Es ist mir kein Fall von Schwarzwasserfieber bekannt geworden.

Eine große Plage des Landes bilden dagegen die an sich ungefährlichen Sandflöhe, die hier sehr häufig sind. Nach den Erzählungen der Eingeborenen sollen sie bei ihrem Einzuge ins Land am Anfange der neunziger Jahre (1892 bis 1893), als man die Ursache der Krankheit noch nicht kannte, auch mehrere Menschenleben vernichtet haben. Dr. KANDT bezweifelt sehr stark diese Möglichkeit. Die Eingeborenen stimmen aber in ihren Erzählungen überein. Die Eingeborenen der Kiwu-Ufer behaupten auch, daß man durch stundenlanges Stehen im Seewasser die Sandflöhe zum Absterben bringt[1]).

[1]) KANDT, R., Ein Marsch am Ostufer des Kiwu. Globus, 1904, Bd. 86, S. 213

6. Kapitel.

Bevölkerungselemente.

Batutsi. — Bahutu. — Batwa.

Die Bevölkerung von Ruanda wird durch drei anthropologisch und kulturell sehr stark verschiedene Elemente gebildet, die sich aber derselben Sprache bedienen.

Die herrschende Schicht besteht aus den Batutsi-Hirten, die den Bahima von Mpororo anthropologisch sehr nahe kommen und von ihren Untertanen durch eine große Kluft geschieden sind.

Die Hauptmasse der Bevölkerung bilden die Bahutu-Ackerbauer.

Das dritte Element bildet der Pariajägerstamm der Batwa, die sich außerdem noch mit der Töpferei und dem Regenmachen beschäftigen.

Batutsi. Trotz der mit ihren Bahutu-Untertanen identischen Sprache, welche nur gewisse, unerforschte, phonetische Dialektunterschiede aufweist, müssen die Batutsi, ebenso wie die Bahima, mit den niloto-hamitischen Hirtenstämmen am Ostrande des Nil-Beckens, wie auch auf dem linken Nil-Ufer im Süden von den großen Nil-Sümpfen in Zusammenhang gebracht werden. Die Batutsi bilden den zentralen Teil einer zwischen dem Victoria-See und den Wäldern des Kongo-Beckens eingekeilten, älteren Völkerwelle. Die Bari und ihre Verwandten sind wohl später im Nordwesten in der Richtung des Uele-Beckens vorgedrungen, während die Massai-Welle, wie es scheint, zuletzt sich über die Gebiete im Osten vom Victoria-See ergossen hat.

Betrachtet man das Wort „Hamite" als die Bezeichnung eines rein linguistischen Begriffes, so sind die Batutsi durchaus keine Hamiten, und noch weniger Semiten, wie das durch REHSE[1]) und Dr. KANDT[2]) behauptet wurde. Sie gehören dann einfach zur Zwischenseengruppe der Bantu-Sprachenfamilie.

Das Wort Hamite wird aber auch in einem anderen Sinne benutzt. Man pflegt nämlich noch von einem „hamitischen anthropologischen Typus" zu sprechen. Dann wird darunter das anthropologische Element verstanden, welches für die relativ weniger vermischten Stämme mit hamitischen Sprachen, wie Somal und Galla z. B., so charakteristisch ist. Im letzteren Sinne können die

[1]) REHSE, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1900, S. 110.
[2]) KANDT, R, Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 339.

[p. 122]

Batutsi zu den Hamiten gezählt werden. Der hamitische anthropologische Typus tritt bei ihnen besser hervor, als bei den Massai im Osten und den Bari und Kakwa im Nordwesten. Sie sind weniger „vernegert".

Die Überlieferungen der Batutsi weisen auf den Norden hin. Das sind aber in der Hauptsache nicht mehr die fernen Länder jenseits des Victoria-Nil, das Bukedi, wie bei den Babito z. B., sondern die Landschaft Bugansa im Süden vom Mohasi-See. Diese Tatsache könnte man vielleicht so deuten, daß ihr Aufenthalt im Lande ein sehr langer ist und die Überlieferung über die Gründung des Ruanda-Staates die anderen älteren Überlieferungen überwuchert hat.

In diesen Überlieferungen wird aber auch Karagwe erwähnt. Vielleicht befindet sich das im Zusammenhange mit der älteren Wanderung der Ruanda-Batutsi. Diese ist wohl entlang der Achse vor sich gegangen, welche von den Steppen im Nordosten, an der Karagwe-Grenze, über den Mohasi-See nach der Nduga und Mukinjaga sich erstreckt. Entlang dieser Achse findet man die stärkste Anhäufung von Batutsi.

Dr. KANDT bezeichnet als das Stammland der Batutsi das Mhogo-Becken (Gebiete des oberen Njawarongo). Kissaka hat ebenfalls einen starken Prozentsatz der Batutsi-Bevölkerung. BAUMANN[1]) erwähnt geschlossene Massen von Batutsi im Gebirge, im Nordosten vom Tanganjika. Nur im Muwissi-Gebirge, im Südwesten von Issawi, soll es wenige Batutsi geben[2]).

Im Nordwesten von der oben besprochenen Achse, sind die Batutsi wenig zahlreich. Nur in Bwischascha und vor allem in der Landschaft Lubengera treten sie in größerer Zahl auf[3]). Die Batutsi von Bugoye siedelten sich dort erst vor einigen Generationen an. Sie kamen ins Land von Mukinjaga. Die wenigen Batutsi Mulera's kamen dagegen noch unlängst aus der Nduga.

Die Batutsi sind aber nach dem Westen auch über den Ostrand des Grabens vorgedrungen. Dr. KANDT[4]) erwähnt über die Batutsi von Kishari:

„Hier (Tshove, Kishari) besuchten uns viele Watussi, freundliche einfache Menschen, aber weder so schön noch so vornehm, wie die von Urundi und Ruanda; das macht, sie müssen arbeiten. Denn hier sind sie nicht die Herrscher des Landes, sondern leben in isolierten Dörfern als Viehzüchter neben den ackerbauenden Ureinwohnern. (Es ist überhaupt merkwürdig, eine wie scharfe Grenze der Russisi und Kiwu in dieser Beziehung bilden; östlich leben die Watussi in Mengen als Könige und Häuptlinge der unterworfenen Völker, westlich — nur vereinzelt oder wie in Kishari in größerer Zahl, aber so oder so nicht als Herrscher.)" „Später hörte ich, daß Kischari das Asyl aller Watussi sei, die aus ihrer Heimat aus irgend einem Grunde fliehen mußten."

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[1]) BAUMANN, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle. Berlin 1894, S. 204.

[2]) Reiseberichte von Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER aus Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, S. 348.

[3]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 505.

[4]) Ebenda S. 456.

Trotz der für den Ackerbau sehr günstigen Bedingungen sind die Batutsi Hirten geblieben, und nur sehr selten kann man sehen, daß verarmte Batutsi zum Ackerbau übergehen. Das ist z. B. mit dem Geschlecht der Bagwabiro in Bugoye der Fall. Die aus bitterster Not den Boden bebauenden Batutsi werden von ihren Stammesgenossen verachtet, und sie gehen auch infolgedessen in der Masse der andersstämmigen Bauern auf.

Im Mittelpunkt der Batutsi-Interessen steht die Kuh. Sie beherrscht ihr ganzes inneres und äußeres Leben, ihre Gefühle und ihr Denken. Sie bildet den Impuls überlegter und unbesonnener Handlungen. Die Kuh ist bei ihnen der kostbarste, schönste und am meisten geliebte Gegenstand. Deshalb kommt sie auch bei allen Komplimenten und Höflichkeitsphrasen in Erwähnung.

Wenn man eines Mannes Kraft und Schönheit rühmen will, so sagt man ihm: „uli mfizi" — du bist ein Stier. Mit dieser Bezeichnung wurde z. B. S. H. der Herzog Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg durch den Hof Musinga's geehrt. Die übrigen Expeditionsmitglieder kamen, ihrem Rang entsprechend, mit dem nach unseren europäischen Begriffen weniger schmeichelhaften Titel der Kinder des großen Stieres weg. Von einem jungen Mann sagt man sehr oft, um seiner Schönheit zu schmeicheln: „ufite amaso nki yi nyana" — du hast Augen wie ein Kalb. Den Europäern sagt man nicht selten in derselben Absicht, daß ihr Bart wie ein Kuhschweif, ihr Haupthaar wie ein Kuhfell usw. seien.

Ebenso wie die Höflichkeitsphrasen ist auch der Gruß des Mututsi mit der Kuh verknüpft. Er grüßt mit dem Worte „amasho", das Herde bedeutet und, wie es scheint, eine Abkürzung der Phrase „Herde dir" darstellt. Man antwortet ihm „amasho ngore" — „Weibliche Herde dir"; mit anderen Worten: „Du sollst Kühe haben, die dir Kälber bringen werden." Dieser Gruß ist in ganz Ruanda üblich. Als Nordgrenze seiner Verbreitung konnte ich den Rutshuru feststellen. Jenseits dieses Flusses, als ich ihn auf dem Wege von Bugoye nach dem Posten Rutshuru passierte, antworteten die Leute auf „amasho" nicht mehr.

Nur der Abschied bildet eine Ausnahme. Zum Abschied sagt der Mututsi: „Kumana" — Mit Gott.

In ähnlicher Weise sagt man, um sich für ein Geschenk zu bedanken: „ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana" — lebe, begegne Imana.

In Mulera hat sich, wie es scheint, eine ältere Abschiedsform erhalten, welche in der Nduga nur in Liedern vorkommen soll. Der Mulera sagt nämlich: „Mahoro" — Pax tibi. In ähnlicher Weise wird ein, nach Hause zurückkehrender Reisender begrüßt. Man sagt ihm: „Waje mahoro" — Du kommst mit Frieden.

Es bleibt noch zu erwähnen, daß der höher Situierte immer den niedriger Stehenden grüßt, um ihm zu zeigen, daß er ihn bemerkt hat und ihm diese Aufmerksamkeit schenkt. In demselben Gegensatze zu unseren Höflichkeitsbegriffen steht auch der Brauch, daß der Einschenker eines Getränkes, sei es Milch, Bier oder sogar Wasser, immer zuerst selber trinkt, trotzdem er gewöhnlich eine

niedrigere soziale Stellung als der Beschenkte einnimmt. Dieser Brauch läßt sich leicht erklären: Der Einschenkende muß beweisen, daß das Getränk gut, d. h. nicht vergiftet, ist.

Auch in der Einteilung des Tages und in der Bezeichnung des Standes der Sonne, nimmt der Mututsi auf die Kuh die größte Rücksicht. Den frühen Morgen bezeichnet er mit den Worten: „inka zili munama" — Die Kühe sind heraus aus dem Kral. Um ca. „8 Uhr früh" zu bezeichnen, sagt man: „inka zahahutse" — die Kühe sind weiden gegangen. In ähnlicher Weise bedeutet „inka zishooka" „die Kühe sind trinken gegangen", daß es gegen Mittag ist. „Inka zitaha" — die Kühe kehren zurück, bezeichnet die Zeit gegen 6 Uhr nachmittags. „Inka zikamwa" — die Kühe werden gemolken, bedeutet endlich, daß es zwischen 7 und 8 Uhr abends ist.

Die Batutsi benutzen besondere konventionelle Bezeichnungen, um die Größe ihres Viehbesitzes anzugeben.

„Mfite kanyana" — habe eine Kalbe — bedeutet, daß der Betreffende eine kleine Herde hat, die nicht über 10 Stück zählt.

„Mfite akaka" — habe eine kleine Kuh — bedeutet den Besitz einer Herde von 30—60 Stück.

„Mfite inka imwe" oder „mfite inka" — habe eine Kuh — bedeutet, daß der Betreffende mehrere Herden hat.

Wenn man von jemandem sagt, er hat viel Kühe, so bedeutet das ganz allgemein, daß er sehr mächtig und reich an Einfluß und Besitz ist.

Alle Interessen des Mututsi verknüpfen sich mit der Kuh. Ishirangabo, der Bruder des gegenwärtigen Königs, der seinerzeit den Grafen v. Götzen durch Ruanda geführt hat, sagte bei Gelegenheit eines Besuches, den er R. P. L. Classe und mir machte: „Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose" — Mit Ausnahme des Königs, überragen die Kühe alles.

Die Hoffnung, eine Kuh vom König, vom Häuptling oder von einem wohlhabenden Manne überhaupt zu bekommen, macht den Mututsi zum willigen Klienten, der alle Wünsche des persönlich gewählten Herrn ablauscht.

Der kleinste Mann, der sich in die Dienste eines ein wenig einflußreicheren stellt, hofft, daß sein Herr ihn nicht vergessen wird, wenn man diesem einmal eine Kuh verleihen wird.

In der Hoffnung ihre Herden zu vergrößern, machen auch die Großhäuptlinge dem König den Hof. Sie wiederholen bei jeder Gelegenheit die sakramentale Phrase: „Wenn es sich um Kühe handelt, so kann man nie genug haben", der in unserer kapitalistischen Gesellschaft ganz exakt der recht gebräuchliche Satz: „Geld hat man nie genug" entspricht.

Wenn ein Mann zu einem anderen kommt, um sich in dessen Dienste zu stellen, so benutzt er als Einführungsformel die einfache Erklärung: „naje kukusaba amata" — komme Milch holen, oder auch: „umpe amata, unkize" — gib mir Milch, heile mich.

In den Höflichkeitsphrasen ist es üblich den Angesprochenen als den Viehschenker zu bezeichnen oder ihn als dankbarer Mensch an die früher geschenkten Kühe zu erinnern.

Wenn ein Mann in höherer sozialer Position unterwegs stolpert, so sagt ihm sein Gefolge: „humura, wampaye inka" — beruhige dich, du, der mir eine Kuh geschenkt hat. Der Betreffende braucht dabei durchaus nicht der Schenker zu sein. Nur seine höhere Stellung wird in dieser Weise hervorgehoben.

Die Batutsi nennen die Europäer unter sich „gituku" — die Roten. Es dürfte von einigem Interesse sein, daß die Abessinier, im Gegensatze zu den nicht allzuhochgeschätzten weißen Europäern und den schwarzen Negern, sich als die Roten zu bezeichnen pflegen[1]).

Das Wort „bazungu" wird in Ruanda vielmehr auf das farbige Gefolge der Europäer, auf die Diener und Soldaten, bezogen. So sagte man einst zu mir, als mein Eselboy auf einem unterhalb führenden Wege den Hügel mit unserem Lager umging: „muzungu aise epfo", d. h. „muzungu" ist unten passiert.

Die Batutsi haben durchaus keinen Grund die Europäer mit Sympathie und Begeisterung aufzunehmen. Sie werden durch die Eindringlinge zum mindesten in ihrer Gemütlichkeit gestört. Deshalb kann man auch von ihnen gelegentlich durchaus nicht schmeichelhafte, auf die Europäer bezugnehmende Äußerungen hören. Den größten Anstoß erregen die Europäer durch ihre nach den Landesbegriffen nicht wählerische Kost. Sie essen alles; sie verschmähen, ebenso wie die verachteten Batwa, sogar die für den Mututsi so ekelhaften Eier und Hühner nicht. Man nennt auch mit Rücksicht darauf die Europäer und ihr Gefolge mit den verächtlichen Namen „mpyesi" — Hyäne — und „bikoko" oder „bisumba" — wilde Tiere.

Wenn sich ein Mututsi einem Europäer nähert, so verdeckt er Mund und Nase mit der Hand. Durch diese Haltung kann man die Batutsi ohne weiteres von ihren Untertanen unterscheiden. Die Bahutu und Batwa tun das nicht. Es ist schwer zu sagen, was den Grund dieser Haltung bildet. Das Hauptmotiv dabei wird wohl Angst vor dem Vergiften sein. Ich hatte wiederholt Gelegenheit zu beobachten, daß die Pfeifen, die ich in die Hand nahm, um die Ornamentierung genauer anzusehen, nicht weiter geraucht wurden. Einen anderen Grund des Verdeckens des Mundes bildet die Eitelkeit. Die Batutsi scheinen ihre starke Prognathie als einen Schönheitsfehler zu betrachten. So war es z. B. sehr schwer, Musinga zu bewegen, sich ohne verdeckten Mund photographieren zu lassen. Einen weiteren Grund des Verdeckens des Mundes bildet vielleicht auch der ihnen unangenehme Europäergeruch. Den, mit ranziger Butter pomadisierten und parfümierten, Batutsi sollen die mit Seife gewaschenen Europäer nach Leichen riechen.

Während meines Aufenthaltes in Niansa, nach dem Abmarsch unserer

[1]) Nach einer mündlichen Mitteilung des russischen Gesandtschaftsarztes in Addis-Abeba Dr. A. Kochanowski.

Expedition, welche die Zahl der anwesenden Europäer auf zehn Köpfe gebracht hatte, war Musinga der Fremden recht müde. Dies äußerte sich unter anderem auch durch einen komischen Zwischenfall. Er stellte fest, daß der widrige Europäergeruch auch in sein Haus eingedrungen war und ließ die ihm früher geschenkte und in seiner königlichen Schatzkammer aufbewahrte Schachtel mit Toilettenseife in den Sumpf werfen.

Es ist klar, daß die Europäer mit ihren eckigen, nervösen Bewegungen und mit ihrem plumpen, kurzen, breiten Körperbau, der der Gestalt der verachteten Bahutu viel näher kommt, als den vornehmen Batutsi, den Gegenstand heimlichen Spottes bilden. Ich hörte auch z. B. die Äußerung, daß Europäer Schuhe tragen, um die Hufe, welche sie mit ihren Eseln gemein haben, zu verdecken.

Ein Munyaruanda, der sich den Europäern anschließt, bekommt den Namen „inyanga Ruanda", Apostat, Renegat. Wörtlich bedeutet das Wort: Ruandahasser, und ist vom Worte „kuhanga" — hassen — abgeleitet. Diese Bezeichnung gilt für eine sehr schwere Beleidigung.

Die Batutsi sind sehr exklusiv. In ihrer Verachtung der anderen gehen sie so weit, daß sogar von dem Aneignen der Frauen und Kinder der unterjochten Bahutu Abstand genommen wird. Sie beschränken sich auf die Frauen des eigenen Stammes, die sehr frei und für die Männer ihrer Rasse leicht zugänglich sind.

Die Batutsi werden von allen Europäern, die mit ihnen zu tun hatten, für feig erklärt. Im Gegensatze dazu hebt man die kriegerischen Tugenden der Bahutu hervor, welche die Masse des Ruanda-Aufgebotes bilden. Unter diesen Verhältnissen ist das Herrschen der Batutsi-Minorität ein Rätsel. Man wird zur Annahme gezwungen, daß entweder die Hirtenaristokratie nach der Bildung der großen Staaten eine lange Friedensperiode genossen hat, und diese genügte zur so weit gehenden psychischen Umgestaltung, oder auch, daß die privilegierte Stellung der Batutsi als das Resultat einer geistigen Superiorität anzusehen ist.

Die Batutsi verdanken ihre gegenwärtige Macht dem geschickten Ausspielen der Bahutu gegeneinander. Diese sind, infolge ihrer inneren Fehden, ganz machtlos nach außen. Die Batutsi treten dagegen stets solidarisch auf und schlagen sie durch diese ihre innere Organisation. Die Bahutu halten sie infolgedessen für große Zauberer und fürchten sie sehr.

Über die Verhältnisse der südlicheren Gebiete finden wir bei Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer die folgende Angabe:

„In der Öffentlichkeit und im Verkehr mit den Europäern treten im Urundireich und in Uha die Watussi sehr viel weniger hervor, als in Ruanda. Man sieht ihrer immer nur wenige in den Dörfern, oft nur einen einzigen in jeder Dorfschaft, und zwar den Mtualen des abseits der Verkehrswege wohnenden Häuptlings, und ihre Herrschaft über die Wahutu erscheint lange nicht so absolut wie in Ruanda."[1])

[1]) Reiseberichte von Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer aus Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, S. 355.

Die Batutsi machen kaum ein Zehntel der Ruanda-Bevölkerung aus. Und wenn sie in Kissaka und Nduga stärker vertreten sind, so ist dagegen ihre Anzahl im Nordwesten sehr gering und ihre Zahl wird wohl 120 000 kaum erreichen. Die Batutsi sollen weniger fruchtbar sein als die Bahutu. Ob das aber vielleicht durch die geringere Kindersterblichkeit kompensiert wird, ist mir nicht bekannt.

Der Mututsi unterscheidet sich in seinem ganzen Wesen vom Muhutu, auch wenn man von den in die Augen springenden anthropologischen Unterschieden absieht. Er bewegt sich anders und trägt seinen Speer ganz anders, indem er ihn am Ende des unteren Achtels hält und auf die Schulter stützt. Er akzentuiert beim Sprechen auch ganz anders, so daß man, bei einer gewissen Übung, die Angehörigen des Hirtenadels an der Art der Aussprache erkennen kann. Dieser Umstand läßt vermuten, daß die Batutsi-Aussprache sich durch besondere phonetische Eigenschaften auszeichnet, die vielleicht Aufschlüsse über ihr früheres Idiom geben werden.

Bahutu. Der Unterschied zwischen den Batutsi und ihren Untertanen ist so groß, daß demgegenüber alle lokalen Unterschiede der einzelnen Provinzen verschwinden, und das Land als ein homogenes Ganzes erscheint. Die Hirtenminorität, die infolge ihrer privilegierten Stellung am meisten auffällt, erscheint sehr einheitlich und sie verleiht dem Lande sein einheitliches Gepräge.

Die Batwa sind numerisch zu schwach, sie sind auch zu wenig sichtbar, als daß ihr häufigeres Auftreten im Westen und noch weniger ihre lokalen Unterschiede auffallen könnten. Die territorielle Differenzierung des Landes kommt infolgedessen in der Hauptsache nur im zweiten Bevölkerungselement, in den Bahutu-Ackerbauern, zum Vorschein.

Sie bilden das konservative Element, das das ganze Staatsgebäude auf seinen Schultern trägt und die Stabilität der einmal geschaffenen Ordnung, sichert, wenn sie auch zum selbständigen Organisieren größerer Staaten wenig befähigt sind. Sie beharren aber bei den einmal geschaffenen Formen und wahren auch die Traditionen der bereits überwundenen politischen Organisation. Und wenn die einzelnen Provinzen schon aufgehört haben ihr unabhängiges politisches Leben zu führen und in einem stark zentralisierten Staate aufgegangen sind, — in ihnen haben sich noch Spuren der alten Verhältnisse erhalten. Die Bahutu der einzelnen Provinzen weisen bedeutende Unterschiede auf und sind sich dessen bewußt. Deshalb werden auch immer die Bahutu gemeint, wenn man von den Bagoye, Balera, Banyanduga spricht. Nur in Kissaka, wo die Erinnerungen an den Staat, der sowohl Bahutu wie auch Batutsi vereinigte, noch zu lebendig sind, versteht man unter Banyakissaka überhaupt die Einwohner von Kissaka. Es darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß die Bahutu von Bgisha, im Süden von Rutshuru, sich als Barundu oder Barondo zu bezeichnen pflegen. Deshalb scheint es mir auch, daß die Namen der Länder Urundi und Ruanda mit der dort wohnenden Bahutu-Unterschicht in Zusammenhang zu bringen sind.

Die Bahutu sind wesentlich heterogener als die Batutsi, trotzdem sie im ganzen Lande auch viele gemeinsame Züge haben. Ihr niedrigerer Wuchs, gedrungenerer Körperbau, die kürzeren unteren Extremitäten unterscheiden sie in einer auffallenden Weise von der Hirtenaristokratie. Der Unterschied wird am stärksten in Mulera und in Bugoye, wo die Bahutu allmählich Übergänge zu den Bantu des Kongo-Waldes aufweisen. Im zentralen Ruanda zeigen die Bahutu, trotz allem, eine, nicht unbedeutende, Beeinflussung durch die Batutsi. Ihre Gesichtszüge sind dort regelmäßiger und feiner geschnitten, ihr Körperbau ist nicht so untersetzt, und ihre Köpfe sind länger. Infolgedessen ist es auch wahrscheinlich, daß der Muhutu seine Eigenart, die ihn von den Bantu des Kongo-Waldes trennt, in der Hauptsache der „hamitischen" Beeinflussung durch die Batutsi verdankt. Die Möglichkeit einer mit dieser zusammengehenden nilotischen Beeinflussung, die bei den Massai und Bari so scharf zum Ausdruck kommt, darf dabei nicht aus dem Auge gelassen werden.

An der Besiedelung von Mulera und Bugoye haben sich die Auswanderer aus dem Congo-Staate in bedeutendem Umfange beteiligt. Dr. KANDT[1]) beansprucht für die Eingewanderten den Namen Bakiga (Wakiga). Er übersetzt den Namen mit den Worten „Bewohner des Pori". Nach meinen Erkundigungen ist „Bakiga" die allgemeine Bezeichnung für die Bewohner des Gebirges, im Gegensatze zu den „Banyamuyaga" — den Einwohnern der Ebene. Leutnant SCHWARZ bezeichnet, auf seinem Meßtischblatt der Mpororo-Karte, als „Rukiga" das Land im Südwesten von Buischingato (Luizigatu), das man sonst als Gebirgsland Ndorwa zu bezeichnen pflegt. Rukiga nennt man auch das Land im Südwesten von Njundo. Der landes- und sprachkundige R. P. P. BARTHELÈMY ist der Ansicht, daß der Name des Rugege-Waldes im Südosten vom Kiwu eine Ableitung von Rukiga ist.

Die Imigranten aus dem Congo sind den Banyaruanda sehr nahe verwandt. Die belgische Karte[2]) bezeichnet die Einwohner des westlichen Grabenrandes einfach als Barundi. Die Bagoye bezeichnen die Leute aus Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu, Kishari, Butundwe und sogar Bgisha, mit denen sie sich gut verständigen können, mit dem Namen Bashi oder Bahunde. Die erste Bezeichnung soll eine Anspielung auf das stärkere Hervortreten der Zischlaute in ihrem Dialekt sein. Die Bashi zeigen in ihrer Kultur auch mannigfache Annäherungen an die Kongo-Bantu. In dieser Weise vollzieht sich der Übergang zu den Wald-Bantu in anthropologischer und kultureller Beziehung innerhalb des Kirundi-Sprachgebietes. Die Annäherung der durch die Batutsi nicht beeinflußten Bahutu an die Wald-Bantu bildet ein Argument zugunsten der Ansicht, daß die Bevölkerung von Ruanda das Resultat einer durch die Batutsi verursachten Kontaktmetamorphose darstellt.

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nil. Berlin 1904, S. 290.

[2]) Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo. Échelle 1 : 100000. 1907. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha

Batwa. Das dritte Bevölkerungselement von Ruanda — die Batwa — fallen durch ihre relativ geringe Körpergröße auf. Ihr Gegensatz zu den sehr hochgewachsenen Batutsi ist so auffallend, daß die durchaus unzutreffende Identifizierung der Batwa mit Pygmäen sogar bei so hervorragenden Kennern des Landes, wie Dr. KANDT[1]) Glauben gefunden hat. Meine, im großen Maßstabe durchgeführten, Messungen zwingen mich, diese Ansicht als unstichhaltig zurückzuweisen und die Beobachtung des Leutnants v. PARISCH[2]), welcher die Batwa nur ein wenig kleiner als die Bahutu gefunden hat, zu bestätigen.

Dasselbe beobachtete Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER[3]). Er sagt nämlich: „Wie die Batua beim Musinga und in der Gegend von Issawi, unterscheiden sich auch die in Nordwest-Urundi nur wenig von den Wahutu, haben wohl auch viel Blut von diesen:"

BAUMANN[4]) geht noch weiter und vertritt sogar die Ansicht, daß die Batwa nicht kleiner als die Barundi sind.

Die letztere Ansicht ist auch nicht zutreffend. Bei anthropologischer Analyse[5]) kann man nämlich bei den Batwa das Pygmäen-Element als eines ihrer Bestandteile nachweisen. Dieses Element wurde zwar durch andere, wohl spätere Infusionen in den Hintergrund gedrängt, trotzdem verleiht es den Batwa manchen charakteristischen Zug.

Die Batwa nähern sich in einer sehr auffallenden Weise den Wald-Bantu und nehmen eine Mittelstellung zwischen diesen und den Bahutu ein. Dieses im ersten Augenblick unerwartete Ergebnis findet eine einfache Interpretation bei der einfachen Annahme, daß die stärker abgeschlossenen und den fremden Beeinflussungen weniger zugänglichen Batwa auch in anthropologischer Beziehung Relikte älterer Verhältnisse Ruanda's darstellen. Nimmt man an, daß Ruanda früher eine den Wald-Bantu näherstehende Bevölkerung gehabt hat, so müssen auch die Batwa, die über die älteren Verhältnisse Aufschluß geben, den Wald-Bantu näherkommen, was auch tatsächlich der Fall ist. Abgesehen von der anthropologischen Verwandtschaft, sollen die Batwa den Wald-Bantu noch in einer sehr charakteristischen Sitte nahekommen. Sie sind, wenigstens im Nordwesten von Ruanda, in den Vulkanen der Westgruppe, Anthropophagen. In dieser Beziehung übereinstimmende Gerüchte sind schon durch Graf v. GÖTZEN[6]) und v. PARISCH[7]) bekannt geworden.

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 303.

[2]) PARISCH, F. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 76.

[3]) Reiseberichte von Prof. Dr. HANS MEYER aus Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, S. 349.

[4]) BAUMANN, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle. Berlin 1894, S. 215.

[5]) CZEKANOWSKI, J., Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen der zentralafrikanischen Pygmäen. Korrespondenz-blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte. 1910, S. 101—109.

[6]) GÖTZEN, G. A., Graf v., Durch Afrika von Ost nach West. Berlin 1899, S. 233.

[7]) PARISCH, F. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 77.

Meine Erkundigungen haben ebenfalls dasselbe Resultat ergeben. Die Pygmäen des Ituri-Waldes sind bekanntlich keine Anthropophagen und unterscheiden sich in dieser Beziehung prinzipiell von allen ihren Nachbarn.

Die Batwa sollen ebenso wie die Wald-Bantu ihre Pfade mit Fallen und giftigen Dornen versehen und mit vergifteten Pfeilen in der Hand bewachen. Sie haben auch einen Bogen mit Rotangsehne. Sonst unterscheiden sich die Batwa von den Banyaruanda in ihrer materiellen Kultur nur wenig. Darauf werden wir noch später genauer eingehen.

Die Frage, ob die Batwa eine besondere Sprache besitzen, muß ganz offen gelassen werden. Die von R. P. J. v. d. Burgt[1]) gesammelten Kitwa-Wörter sollen einem archaischen Lokaldialekt des Kirundi angehören und sind in Ruanda bekannt.

R. P. L. Classe[2]) hebt hervor, daß den Batwa die Aussprache des Lautes s Schwierigkeiten macht, und daß ihr Gespräch stärker aspiriert wird. Dieses aber ist mir nicht nur bei den Batwa, sondern auch bei den echten Pygmäen am Ituri aufgefallen. R. P. L. Classe erwähnt aber, daß ihre Sprache eine Mittelstellung zwischen Kigwe (Kissukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba und Luganda einzunehmen scheint; mit anderen Worten, daß es sich hier jedenfalls um einen Dialekt der Zwischenseengruppe handelt.

R. P. P. Barthelèmy sagte mir aber, daß die Batwa, die ihn bei seiner Vulkanbesteigung begleiteten, unter sich ein ihm unverständliches Idiom sprachen. Ob das aber ein Norddialekt in der Art des Ruhunde oder eine besondere Sprache war, konnte er nicht ermitteln.

Wenn sich auch jedermann ekelt mit dem Mutwa zusammen zu essen, verachtet dieser seinerseits den Muhutu, welcher mit gebücktem Rücken sein Feld bebauen und den Alltagssorgen nachgehen muß. Der freie Mutwa-Jäger aus dem Walde verachtet aber auch seinerseits die in den Dörfern vorwiegend als Töpfer ansässigen Batwa und nennt sie verächtlich „banyamikenke" — Söhne des Grases[3]).

Der Wald-Mutwa ist auf sein ungebundenes Dasein und auf seine Unabhängigkeit sehr stolz. Er betrachtet den Wald als seinen Besitz, in dem er ganz unbeschränkt walten kann, und sieht das Ausplündern der Eindringlinge, welche die Waldgrenzen überschreiten, für sein heiliges Recht an. Er verteidigt den Wald ebenso, wie sich der Muhutu gegen das Betreten seiner Felder wehrt.

Dieses Recht der Batwa wird sogar von den Bahutu in einer gewissen Beziehung anerkannt. Sie lassen sich im Urwalde ausplündern, ohne den geringsten Widerstand zu leisten. Sie behaupten nämlich, daß man ohne Ein-

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[1]) van der Burgt, J. M. M., R. P., Éléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902. Dritte Abteilung. Afrikanische Studien, S. [illegible]—108.

[2]) Classe, R. P., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye. Les Missions Catholiques 1905, S. 414.

[3]) Parisch, P. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 76.

willigung der Batwa aus dem Urwald überhaupt nicht herauskommen könne. Das ist durchaus möglich, da die im Walde sehr gut orientierten Jäger genügende Gelegenheiten finden können, die Verfolgten aus einem Hinterhalt zu erschießen.

Trotz dieser Vorteile ist der Kampf gegen die vorwärtsdringenden Bahutu für die Batwa ganz aussichtslos. Die gefürchteten Jäger werden überall durch die Ackerbauer verdrängt. Mit der Vernichtung des Waldes hört ihre Unabhängigkeit auf, und sie werden zu Parias.

Mit dem Augenblick, als der Kleinkrieg die Flutwelle der durch Bodenmangel dem Walde zugetriebenen Ackerbauer nicht mehr aufhalten kann, bleibt den Batwa nichts anderes übrig, als über die neuen Verhältnisse zu klagen. Damit begrüßte mich auch Kahima, als ich ihn mit R. P. L. DELMAS besuchte. Die Batwa des Kahima saßen ursprünglich im Urwalde; das ständige Roden hatte aber die Waldgrenze so stark verschoben, daß sich etwa 8 Hütten schon außerhalb des Waldes befanden, während die übrigen noch im Urwald zerstreut waren. Die Batwa bebauen aber auch dort bis jetzt noch keine eigenen Felder. Ihre Frauen leisten höchstens den Bahutu in ihren Feldarbeiten Hilfe, um sich als Belohnung Nahrungsmittel zu verschaffen.

Man hat doch in Ruanda Gelegenheit, Fälle zu beobachten, wo Batwa, durch Not gezwungen, zum Ackerbau übergehen. So sitzt z. B. in der Nähe von Ruasa ein leproser Mutwa-Regenmacher. Als das Regenmachen mit der Entwicklung des Einflusses der Missionäre weniger einträglich geworden ist, fing er an, ein Feld zu bestellen. In einer Beziehung war er aber ein richtiger Mutwa geblieben — er konnte kein Kleinvieh halten, alles wurde in kürzester Zeit geschlachtet und aufgegessen.

Die Urwald-Batwa bleiben in demselben Verhältnis zu den Banyaruanda, wie die Pygmäen zu den großwüchsigen Negern. Jede Batwa-Gruppe erkennt einen Ruanda-Häuptling als Oberhaupt an, bei dem sie die Erzeugnisse der Jagd gegen Ackerbauprodukte eintauscht. In diesem Vasallenverhältnis stand Kahima zu Chuma.

Es muß aber auch ein Unterschied hervorgehoben werden. Die Batwa erkennen die Hoheit des Herrschers von Ruanda an. Sie tragen dem König von Zeit zu Zeit Geschenke zu, die durch Vermittelung ihres Muhutu-Patrons Chuma, der ein Klient (mugaragu) des Königs sein soll, diesem überreicht werden.

Wenn auch der anthropologische Gegensatz zwischen Batutsi und Batwa noch schärfer, als der zwischen den Ackerbauern und dem Hirtenadel, ist, so kann man doch eine stärkere politische Solidarität der Privilegierten und der Parias auch hier nicht übersehen. Wenn ein Mututsi Schafe opfert, so ißt der Mutwa das Fleisch. Schlachtet er etwas, so vergißt er den Mutwa auch nicht. Zwischen den beiden in Minderzahl auftretenden Elementen herrscht stets ein gutes Einvernehmen. Sie wohnen auch oft nebeneinander. Sie müssen, trotz

aller Vorurteile, zusammenhalten, um sich neben der starken Majorität der Ackerbauer im Lande zu behaupten.

Die Zahl der Batwa ist unvergleichlich geringer als die der Batutsi. Ihre extensive Erwerbsweise läßt die Existenz einer dichteren Batwa-Bevölkerung nicht zu. Geschlossene, größere Batwa-Niederlassungen gibt es nur im Urwalde und in Niansa bei Musinga. Sonst leben die Batwa ganz zerstreut inmitten der Bahutu-Bevölkerung.

Es sind mir die folgenden Batwa-Gruppen bekannt geworden:

1. Batwa des Kahima aus Kazu. Kahima ist dem Muhutu Chuma, der drei Stunden südlich von Njundo wohnt, unterstellt. Zusammen mit seinem kleinen Unterhäuptling Sebuleza, beträgt die Zahl seiner Batwa inkl. Frauen und Kinder bis 150 Köpfe.

2. Batwa des Ngunzu. Ngunzu ist dem Muhutu-Häuptling Mutubula unterstellt. Sein Dorf befindet sich auf einem Berge in der Nähe von Kahama, und kann, auf dem Wege von Ruasa nach Kissenji von der dritten Urwaldlichtung aus, gesehen werden. Diese Gruppe soll zum mindesten ebenso stark sein, wenn man auch vom Wege aus nur sieben Hütten sehen kann.

3. Batwa des Lukara sitzen auf dem Paß zwischen Muhawura und Mgahinga. Sie sind wohl nicht viel schwächer an Zahl. Man konnte von Lukara's Kral aus nur 2—3 Batwa-Hütten sehen, und Lukara brachte mir nur ein Dutzend Erwachsener zum Messen, aber der Umstand, daß man sie mit Militärgewalt aus dem belgischen Gebiet vertreiben mußte, spricht für eine größere Zahl. Ihnen verdankt der Mgahinga den Namen „Kirunga ya Batwa".

4. Batwa vom Mikeno. Diese Gruppe wurde seinerzeit durch Dr. KANDT[1]) besucht. Der Forscher erwähnt zwei Hüttenkomplexe. Der erste wird durch 2, der andere, in einer Entfernung von 4 Stunden, durch 6—8 Hütten gebildet. Die letzten stehen um eine Lichtung herum. Die Zahl der Batwa beträgt hier 15—20 Mann.

Dr. KANDT[2]) erwähnt aber, daß es auch in den Wäldern des Ssabinjo Batwa gibt.

In Ndorwa spricht man von den einflußreichen Batwa-Häuptlingen:

5. Ngurube und 6. Katulenge. Die Batwa des Ngurube werden Puniu genannt[3]).

7. Batwa der Insel Kwidschwi wurden durch Dr. J. MILDBRAED und Dr. H. SCHUBOTZ besucht und sollen den Pygmäen näher, von den übrigen Batwa kommen.

8. Batwa von Süd-Ruanda. Große Batwa-Kolonien findet man im Rugege-Wald und in den Wäldern im Südwesten der Provinz Nduga. Diese

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1894, S. 300, 301, 304.

[2]) KANDT, R., Bericht über meine Reisen und gesamte Tätigkeit in Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1900, S. 246.

[3]) PARISCH, F. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 76.

Gruppe wird Mashami oder Machaba genannt. Ihr Wald gehört zur Landschaft Njaruguru, die früher unter dem Häuptling Kaizuka gestanden hat[1]).

9. Batwa aus Kabgaye. Abgesehen von diesen größeren Gruppen begegnete mir eine 20—25 Köpfe starke Batwa-Kolonie, die als Töpfer in der Nachbarschaft der Mission Kabgaye (Marangara) saßen.

Zum Schlusse sind noch

10. Batwa aus Niansa zu erwähnen, die sich dort aufhalten, um dem König Dienste zu leisten, und von Zeit zu Zeit durch andere Stammesgenossen abgelöst werden.

Da ich mich stets nach den Batwa erkundigt habe und keine weiteren Nachrichten bekam, so glaube ich annehmen zu dürfen, daß die wichtigsten Gruppen hier aufgezählt sind, und die Zahl der Batwa in Ruanda 3000 nicht übersteigt, wenn auch vereinzelte an vielen Orten sitzen. So waren zwei oder drei in Issawi und ein Regenmacher in Ruasa.

Batwa gehören zu denselben Clans, wie die übrigen Banyaruanda. So gehören z. B. die Batwa des Kahima zum Mugessera-Clan, und Kahima scheint ihr Clanältester mit geringer Autorität zu sein. Die Batwa aus Kabgaye, wie auch die vom Muhawura, bildeten ein Gemisch verschiedener Clans und sind vielleicht als Überreste zersprengter Clangruppen anzusehen.

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[1]) Parisch, F. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 76.

7. Kapitel.

Beschäftigung der Bevölkerung.

Ackerbau. — Forstwirtschaft. — Viehzucht. — Jagd. — Bienenzucht. — Fischerei. — Gewerbe. — Bierbereitung. — Tabakbereitung. — Flechtarbeiten. — Töpferei. — Holzgewerbe. — Metallgewerbe. — Rindenstoffbearbeitung. — Fellbearbeitung. — Güteraustausch. — Preise. — Handel. — Märkte. — Verkehrsverhältnisse. — Verkehrsarterien.

Ackerbau. Die Hauptbeschäftigung der Bahutu bildet der Ackerbau. Er wird in einer recht intensiven Weise und mit Sorgfalt betrieben, die ihren höchsten Grad in der Nähe des Kiwu-Sees erreicht. Die wichtigsten angebauten Pflanzen sind: Hirse (masaka), Bataten (bidjumba), Erbsen (bishimbo) und Bananen (bitoke). Außerdem baut man noch in großen Mengen Mais (kigori), Erdnüsse (ichiema), Eleusine (buro), Kürbisse (mungu), Tabak (itabi) und ein wenig Maniok (mukembe) an.

In Mulera und Bugoye bilden die Erbsen die Grundlage der Ernährung, in Kissaka, Nduga, in dem Nordostgebiet und vor allem in Bgisha steht dagegen die Hirse im Vordergrunde.

Das hohe Niveau des Ruanda-Ackerbaues charakterisieren am besten: die Anwendung der im europäischen Osten unbekannten Düngung, die künstliche Bewässerung und die Terrassenanlagen auf den steilen Bergabhängen.

Die Sorgfalt des Bauern äußert sich zunächst darin, daß er den Boden der Bananenhaine mit den faulenden Bananenstämmen und mit Laub bedeckt, um so den Pflanzen die notwendige Feuchtigkeit zu sichern. Man soll aber auch dort, ebenso wie auf den Feldern und vor allem in den Kürbisplantagen gewisser Teile Ruanda's noch Kuhmist als Dünger verwenden. In Bugoye jedoch, wo der Boden sehr reich ist, wird die Düngung nicht angewendet. Dort soll oft die Gefahr vorhanden sein, daß die zu üppig wachsende Hirse sich legt, und man sucht dieser Gefahr durch das Zusammenbinden der Halme während des Wachstums in winzige Bündel zuvorzukommen.

Viele Bewässerungsanlagen sieht man im Norden vom Mohasi-See. In Mulera dagegen, wo es, wie es scheint, mehr Regen gibt, hatte ich keine Gelegenheit eine solche zu finden. Das Wasser wird nicht selten durch sehr lange, aber enge Kanäle aus gestauten Bächen zugeführt. Auf dem Nordabhange des Ndiza-Berges in der Nähe des Njawarungo-Flusses sah ich z. B. eine zwei km lange Wasser-

[p. 135]

leitung, die mit einem leichten Gefälle zu den Pflanzungen auf den Vorbergen herabsteigt und ihre Anwesenheit durch das Rauschen verrät. Die Hauptleitung hatte eine Anzahl von Seitenöffnungen, mit Rasen verstopft, die das mangelnde Wasser auf die Weiden der Bergabhänge ergießen konnten. Das Wasser wird durch tiefe Furchen, welche die rechteckigen Beete voneinander trennen, zugeleitet. Nur in Bgisha in der Nähe von Rutshuru sah ich eine sumpfige Niederung, in der die Erde in fast meterhohe Haufen zusammengeworfen war. Diese eigenartigen Beete waren mit Erbsen bewachsen.

Abb 83. Feldhacke aus Mulera. (1/10 d. w. Gr. III E 13108. Stielfänge 113 cm, Hackenblattlänge 31 cm, Breite 19,5 cm.)

Die Terrassenanlagen hatte ich zum ersten Male Gelegenheit in den Landschaften im Norden vom Mohasi-See zu beobachten, sie sind aber auch in dem übrigen nordwestlichen Ruanda vorhanden und scheinen, in vielen Fällen nicht beabsichtigt, durch das Behacken des Abhanges verursacht zu sein. Die Höhe der Terrassen beträgt zwei bis drei Meter.

Die Benutzung des Bodens wird in Ruanda, wie es scheint, durch einen gewissen Fruchtwechsel geregelt. In Itambi werden auf den frischen Roden zunächst Bohnen und Erbsen und erst dann Hirse gesät. In Mulera erzählte man mir, daß man dieselbe Reihenfolge auch in den seit längerer Zeit bebauten Feldern wahrt, nach der Hirse aber das Feld brach liegen läßt. An dieser Reihenfolge der Feldfrüchte wird jedoch nicht immer festgehalten: man sieht nämlich oft, daß die Hirse zusammen mit den Bohnen angepflanzt wird. Dies kommt auch in denjenigen Fällen vor, wo man den Bodenmangel dafür nicht verantwortlich machen kann. Man sagte mir, daß die Bohnen früher weggeerntet würden, und daß so die Hirse dadurch keinen Schaden erleide.

Das Brachliegenlassen des Ackers ist ebenfalls, wie es scheint, keine regelmäßig angewendete Maßnahme. Ich konnte in einigen Fällen feststellen, daß sie durch die Unmöglichkeit, das Feld zur richtigen Zeit zu bestellen, verursacht worden ist. In der Nähe des Gehöftes von Lwakadygi erzählten mir z. B. die Bahutu, daß einige Felder unbestellt bleiben mußten, weil die Batutsi mit ihren Rindern zu spät in den Wald gezogen seien.

Der Boden wird mit einer plumpen, eisernen Hacke (isuka) bestellt. Die Hacke hat einen langen, schweren, am Ende verdickten Stiel. Das Hackeneisen wird am Stiele mittels seiner hinteren Spitze befestigt. Man treibt nämlich

diese in das am Stielende ausgebrannte Loch ein. Diese Befestigungsweise wird in den Bahinda-Staaten und in ganz Buhaya benutzt. In Toro, in Bunyoro, in Buganda und in Nkole, wenigstens in seinem Norden, wo ich dies zu beobachten Gelegenheit hatte, wird das Problem der Hackenbefestigung in einer etwas abweichenden Form gelöst. Der Stiel besteht dort aus einem verzweigten Aste, der ein wenig unterhalb seiner Gabelung vom Stamme abgetrennt wird, und die beiden divergierenden Teile werden ungleich lang zugeschnitten. Der wesentlich längere Teil dient als Stiel und der kürzere, schräg zugeschnittene, als Hackenträger. An diesem wird das Hackeneisen befestigt und zwar mittels seines oberen Vorsprunges, der angebunden wird. Die hier besprochene Hackenform ist sehr unbequem, da der kurze Stiel die Arbeitenden beim Hacken zu sehr tiefem Bücken zwingt und sie deshalb sehr anstrengt.

Diese kurze Hacke stellt, wie es scheint, die ältere, im Rückgange begriffene Form dar. Meine Wassukuma-Träger erzählten mir, daß bei ihnen früher, in weit zurückliegenden Zeiten, die kurzstielige, angebundene Hackenform allgemein verbreitet gewesen wäre, später aber hätte sie der langstieligen, mit durchbohrtem Holze, weichen müssen. Sie unterscheide sich gegenwärtig von der Ruanda-Hacke nur durch ihr geringeres Gewicht.

Eine gewisse Annäherung an die ältere Hackenform stellt die in Ruanda schon seltener gebrauchte, ganz primitive Holzhacke dar. Sie besteht ebenfalls aus einer ungleich lang zugeschnittenen Astengabel. Das kürzere Ende wird jedoch zugespitzt und zur Hackarbeit benutzt. Die wenigen Stücke, welche ich im Lande sehen konnte, waren am spitzen Ende mit einem Beschlag versehen; die befragten Leute erzählten aber, daß dies früher nicht der Fall gewesen wäre. Ganz gleiche Hacken sah ich später bei den niloto-hamitischen Kakwa; der Eisenbeschlag fehlte dort. Diese Hacken werden nach den Aussagen der Leute ausschließlich beim Roden verwendet.

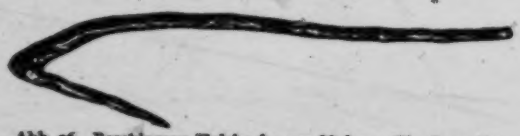

Abb. 26. Beschlagene Holzhacke aus Mulera. ($^1/_{12}$ d. w. Gr. L. 15061.)

Mit der Hacke arbeiten in Ruanda sowohl die Männer wie auch die Frauen. In dieser Beziehung unterscheidet sich Ruanda sehr scharf von den anderen Hackbauländern im Nordwesten.

Die bebauten Felder schließen sich zu großen Komplexen nur im Norden, und im Westen des Landes und am Nordufer des Mohasi-Sees zusammen; sonst bilden sie nur Oasen in den weiten Weide- und Buschgebieten.

Die Bananenhaine kommen meistens auf den Hügelrücken vor; so ist es wenigstens in Kissaka, in Nduga und in Mulera der Fall. In Bugoye und im südlichen Bgisha, wo die Siedelungen sehr hoch liegen, befinden sich die Haine etwas tiefer. In Bugoye, wo die Lava schon stark verwittert ist, hat man große

Bananenplantagen in der Lavaebene selbst und in Bgisha etwas höher an ihrem Rande. Die Bananen tragen Früchte fast das ganze Jahr, mit Ausnahme der trockensten Zeit. Die Pflanzen werden behackt, verlangen aber sonst wenig Pflege. Die Bananenfrucht wird hauptsächlich zur Bierbereitung (nzoga) verwendet.

Abb. 27. Mörser aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13095. 44 cm hoch.)

Die Hirsefelder liegen vorwiegend auf den Hügelabhängen. Sie werden nach dem Eintritte des ersten Regens gehackt und besät. Einige Zeit später jätet man das Unkraut aus. Die Haupternte findet in der Mitte der Trockenzeit statt. Ich habe Gelegenheit gehabt, sie in der zweiten Julihälfte in Kissaka zu sehen. In Nduga war sie schon im August vorbei. In Mulera soll Ende Februar und in Bgisha Ende November und Anfang Dezember geerntet werden.

Die Batatenplantagen werden in den sumpfigen Niederungen und auf den bewässerten Feldern angelegt. Bataten bilden die Grundlage der Ernährung während der Trockenzeit, wenn es keine Vorräte mehr gibt, und die Hirse noch nicht reif geworden ist.

Die höchstgelegenen Äcker werden zum Erbsenbau benutzt, wenn man auch

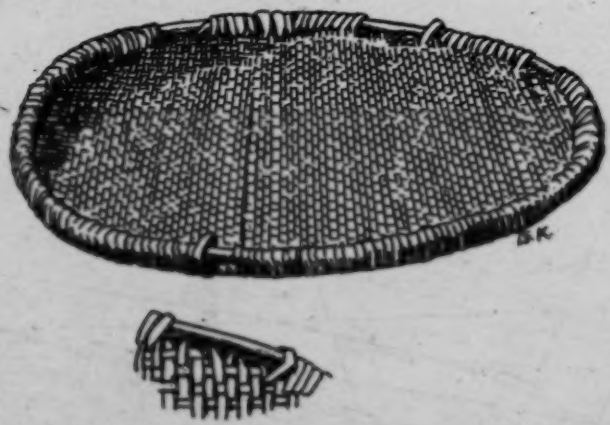

Abb. 28. Schildkorb zum Hirseputzen aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13678. 73 × 61 cm.)

sehr viele Erbsenfelder tiefer gelagert als die Bananenhaine antreffen kann. Die höchstgelegenen Äcker sah ich auf dem Ndiza-Berge hoch über den Siedlungen, die dort wohl bis zu 2000 m hinauf reichen. Was die Ursache des An-

baues der so hochgelegenen Felder bildet, konnte ich nicht ermitteln. Die Umgebung machte jedenfalls nicht den Eindruck einer so dicht bevölkerten Landschaft, daß man annehmen könnte, man sei zur Ausnützung der so unbequem gelegenen Felder gezwungen worden. Die Erbsen und Bohnen werden am Ende der Regenzeit geerntet.

Mit Ausnahme von Bananen und Bataten, werden die Feldfrüchte in Speichern (kigega) aufbewahrt. Die Hirse schneidet man kurz ab und läßt sie ungedroschen liegen bis zum Bedarfsfalle. Dann erst wird sie in kleinen Mengen im Mörser gedroschen und auf großen, geflochtenen Schilden durch den Wind gereinigt. Bananen und Bataten werden nach Bedarf aus der Plantage geholt. Die für die Bierbereitung bestimmten Trauben pflegt man zum Nachreifen in der Hütte aufzubewahren; dort werden auch bedeutende Vorräte von anderen Feldfrüchten, vor allem von Bohnen und Erbsen, in größeren, durch Kuhmist gedichteten, Körben (umuhiri) deponiert.

Forstwirtschaft. Trotz des intensiven Ackerbaues und der großen Ausdehnung des bebauten Bodens in den dichtbevölkerten Landesteilen, wo die Waldungen auf ein Minimum zusammengeschrumpft sind, kann man in Ruanda von einer Forstwirtschaft kaum sprechen. Der Muhutu ist der schlimmste Feind des Waldes; er braucht ihn, um seine Hütten und Speicher zu bauen, seine Boote und Geräte herzustellen und sein Essen zu kochen; er schont ihn aber nicht und steht in dieser Beziehung dem osteuropäischen Bauern nicht nach.

Nach den übereinstimmenden Aussagen der Eingeborenen ist die Ruanda-Landschaft im raschen Wandel begriffen, und die Abforstung macht sehr große Fortschritte. Das Land soll früher überall ausgedehnte Wälder, welche durch die Ackerbauer vernichtet wurden, gehabt haben, so daß man jetzt in der nördlichen Nduga z. B. keine Wälder mehr antreffen kann. Ein ganz junges, durch die Kolonisation hervorgerufenes Zurückweichen der Waldgrenze kann man jetzt im Mulera und in Bugoye konstatieren. Als ich die Batwa des Häuptlings Chuma besuchte, konnte ich feststellen, daß die Hälfte ihrer Hütten schon von den Bahutu-Äckern umgeben waren, nur eine Hälfte war noch im Urwald verborgen; so weit sind die Ackerbauer seit wenigen Jahren vorgedrungen. Alle erinnerten sich noch der Zeiten, als das Dorf tief im Urwalde versteckt lag.

Die größeren Bäume werden mit Äxten gefällt, das Gebüsch und die kleineren Stämme mit sichelförmigen Buschmessern gejätet. Die Äxte (intolezo) haben eine meißelartige, am schneidenden Ende verbreiterte, scharf zugeschliffene Klinge (igembe), die mit ihrem hinteren verdünnten Teile (intereri) in das Loch (intoboro) am verdickten Ende (impumo) des Stieles (omuhini) eingestellt wird. Das Buschmesser ist in seiner ganzen Länge aus Eisen geschmiedet. Das oberste Drittel ist breit und einschneidig scharf zugeschliffen (lulimi), in der oberen Hälfte (isatuliro) sichelförmig gebogen und läuft in eine Spitze aus; die übrigen zwei Drittel sind rund. Das unterste Drittel ist in einen hölzernen, durch Um-

wickelung mit Draht oder plattgeschmiedetem Eisen verstärkten und am unteren Ende etwas verdickten, Griff (kilindi) eingetrieben.

Infolge der starken Abholzung des Landes bildet der Holzmangel eine sehr wichtige Frage des wirtschaftlichen Lebens, da das Holz stellenweise aus sehr weiten Entfernungen hergeholt werden muß. Im Nordosten, wo das Holz

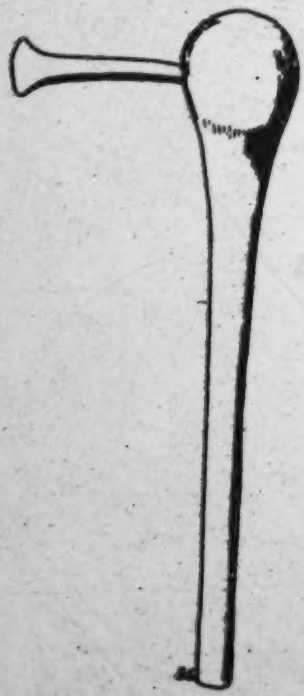

Abb. 29. Axt aus Mukera (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13111. Stiel 68 cm lang.)

Abb. 30. Axt aus Mukera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. EIII 13060. Stiel 60 cm lang.)

Abb. 31. Buschmesser aus Mukera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. L 15036.)

am schwersten zu beschaffen ist, wird getrockneter Kuhmist zu Feuerungszwecken verwendet.

Unter dem Einflusse der katholischen Missionen haben die Eingeborenen angefangen Bäume zu pflanzen. Ich hatte übrigens auch Gelegenheit, außerhalb des unmittelbaren Wirkungskreises der Mission in der Entfernung von 4½ Marschstunden von Ruasa in Ruangeri auf dem Wege nach Kissenji eine Anpflanzung der „mussavi"-Bäume zu sehen.

Viehzucht. In Ruanda werden Rinder, Ziegen, Schafe, Hühner und Hunde gehalten. Die Viehzucht spielt dort im wirtschaftlichen und politischen Leben eine sehr wichtige Rolle. Die Zucht des Rindes bildet die fast ausschließliche

Beschäftigung der herrschenden Batutsi-Schicht. Die Schafe und vor allem die Ziegen werden dagegen hauptsächlich von den, den Ackerbau treibenden Bahutu gezüchtet. Nur in Mulera und Bugoye besitzen die Bahutu ganz allgemein Kühe. Die Tiere werden vom Manne gepflegt. Gelegentlich kann man aber auf der Weide auch ein Mädchen, mit der Bewachung einer Kuh oder einer kleinen Ziegenherde betraut, erblicken.

Die Rinderzucht wird für die vornehmste Beschäftigung eines Mannes gehalten. Diese Erscheinung ist durch die hohe soziale Stellung der Batutsi bedingt. „Infolgedessen ist es in Uganda, wo man sie verachtet, fast unmöglich, einen Waganda zur Rindviehzucht zu bewegen.“ [1])

Abb. 32. Holzgefäße zum Milchaufbewahren aus Mulera. ($^1/_6$ d. w. Gr. L 15167. $33^1/_2$ cm hoch. L 15165. 45 cm hoch.)

Das großhörnige Batutsi-Rind eignet sich nur wenig zur Milchproduktion, wenn auch der Nutzen des Tieres fast ausschließlich in der gelieferten Milch besteht. Die jährliche Milchproduktion einer mittleren Kuh soll, nach den Mitteilungen der Missionäre, 400—500 l nicht überschreiten. Dr. Kandt [2]) erwähnt, daß eine ausgezeichnete Kuh drei Liter Milch täglich liefere.

Die Kuh wird nur in der Gegenwart des Kalbes gemolken. Die Banyakissaka erzählten mir, daß nur dann von der Kuh die Milch gegeben werde. Verunglückt das Kalb, so wird die Kuh während der ersten Tage mit dem Kalbsfell getäuscht. Man gibt es ihr beim Melken zu lecken, um sie vom Zurückhalten der Milch abzubringen. Nur später kann sie ohne die Anwendung des Kalbsfelles gemolken werden. Die Kälber pflegt man vor dem Austreiben des Viehes am Morgen und nach seiner Rückkehr am Abend zuzuführen; nachdem das Kalb einige Zeit gesogen hat, wird es abgesetzt und nebenbei gehalten. Während dieser Zeit wird die Kuh durch den Hirten gemolken. Ist das Melken beendigt, so wird das Kalb wieder angesetzt, und man läßt es so lange saugen bis es von selbst aufhört.

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[1]) Wilson, C. T., und Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan. Stuttgart 1883, Bd. I, S. 67.

[2]) Kandt, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 183.

Während des Melkens pflegt man neben der Kuh ein Feuer zu brennen, und zwar ist es Kuhmist, der als Brennmaterial verwendet wird. Der Rauch verscheucht die lästigen Stechfliegen, und die Tiere können so ruhig stehen bleiben.

Junge Kälber werden in besonderen kleinen Hütten oder auch in den abgeschlossenen Teilen des Wohnhüttenvorraumes (umuliango) gehalten.

Die Milch bewahrt man in zylindrischen, roh aus Holz geschnitzten Gefäßen (kianzi) auf. Die Gefäße werden mit Kuhurin gewaschen, von Zeit zu Zeit eingeräuchert und durch einen konischen Deckel, aus einem spiralig zusammengenähten Strohbündel, verschlossen.

Die Milch pflegt man hauptsächlich im geronnenen Zustande (kivugutu) zu genießen; zu diesem Zwecke verändert man ihre Konsistenz durch Schlagen mit einem Stäbchen. Es wird aber auch frische Milch (amata) und Buttermilch (amachunde) getrunken.

Außer der Milch wird noch das Blut des Rindes genossen. Man zapft dieses von Zeit zu Zeit den Stieren ab. Zu diesem Zwecke bedient man sich eines besonderen Pfeiles, welcher dem Tiere aus der nächsten Nähe in eine Halsvene eingeschossen wird; die kurze, eiserne Pfeilspitze ist in einen hölzernen Schaft eingestellt. Dieser ist im oberen Teile mit einer Umwickelung versehen, die sowohl das Spalten des Holzes, wie auch das zu tiefe Eindringen des Pfeiles beim Öffnen des Blutgefäßes verhindert. Das untere Ende des Pfeiles besitzt eine Kerbe zum Aufnehmen der Bogensehne. Beim Abziehen des Blutes wird die Vene gestaut, zu welchem Zwecke man den Hals unterhalb der Wunde mit einem Strick zusammenpressen muß.

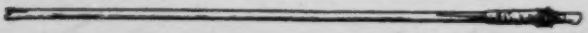

Abb. 33. Pfeil zum Aderlaß. Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13744. 58½ cm lang.)

Das Blut pflegt man entweder frisch zu trinken oder im gekochten Zustande zu genießen. Manchmal vermengt man es auch mit Milch. In der letzteren Form reicht man es den Wöchnerinnen nach der Niederkunft, um der Mutter „das verlorene Blut zu ersetzen".

Abgesehen vom Abzapfen des Blutes bei gesunden Tieren wird der Aderlaß auch zu Heilzwecken bei kranken Tieren durch besondere Fachleute ausgeführt. Diese sollen dann das abgezapfte Blut für sich als Belohnung behalten dürfen.

Das Fleisch wird nur ausnahmsweise bei besonderen Gelegenheiten gegessen; die Rinder stellen einen sehr großen Wert dar, und das Rinderfleisch gilt infolgedessen auch für den größten Leckerbissen.

Die Butter wird nicht gegessen; man benutzt sie nur zum Einsalben des Körpers und zum Schmieren der Kleider. Zum Buttermachen werden große Kürbisse (kisabo) verwendet, die, am Halse mit der Hand gehalten, auf dem Boden geschaukelt werden. Die Butter pflegt man in kleinen Gefäßen aus Ton

und Holz (akachendo) aufzubewahren. Die letzteren haben oft Ösengriffe und werden dann „uchende yo mukondo" genannt.

Die hiesige Form des intensiven Ackerbaues auf sehr fruchtbarem Boden läßt sich mit der äußerst extensiven Form der Rinderzucht nicht gut vereinigen. Die Stallfütterung ist unbekannt. Das Vieh weidet den ganzen Tag im Freien, nur nachts wird es im Kral (lugo) eingesperrt. Infolgedessen kann man auch in den dicht bevölkerten und stark angebauten Gegenden nur die Milchkühe mit Not in der Nähe der Siedelungen halten; das übrige Vieh wird auf die entfernteren Weiden hinausgeschickt. Die Bagoye schicken z. B. ihre Kühe in den Urwald im Osten, auf der Wasserscheide. Die Rinder werden besonderen Batutsi-Unternehmern anvertraut. Diese pflegen sie und werden dafür entschädigt. Der Hirt bekommt als Entgelt für seine Arbeit die Milch der ersten zwei Monate, da die Kuh erst mit dem zwei Monate alten Kalbe in das Gehöft ihres Besitzers zurückkehrt. Außerdem bekommt er noch einen Topf Bier im Werte einer Hacke. Der Hirt ist aber für die anvertraute Kuh haftbar und muß die verunglückten und die gestohlenen Stücke durch andere ersetzen.

Die Weiden werden nicht besonders gepflegt. Auf dem Nordabhange des Ndisa-Berges sah ich jedoch eine Bewässerungsanlage, die das Wasser über die Bergwiesen sich ergießen ließ. Sonst beschränkt man sich auf das Abbrennen der Steppe am Ende der Trockenzeit, wodurch das ausgedörrte Gras entfernt wird, und das junge Grün wächst nach dem ersten Regen auf dem mit der Asche gedüngten Boden desto üppiger. Es braucht nicht besonders hervorgehoben werden, daß die Steppenbrände zur Abholzung von Ruanda, vor allem in den weniger dichtbevölkerten Gebieten, sehr stark beigetragen haben. Und wenn auch der Wald durch den Ackerbauer vernichtet wurde, so sind es doch die Hirten, die sein Nachwachsen unmöglich machen. Die Grasbrände wüten im ganzen Lande umher. In Mulera und Bugoye, wo alles kultiviert ist, kann man sie nur in der Vulkanebene sehen.

Da keine Futtervorräte angelegt werden, so magert das Vieh während der Trockenzeit sehr stark ab. Die Herden der Batutsi-Häuptlinge werden dann nicht selten in die Batatenpflanzungen ihrer Bauern eingetrieben und richten dort großen Schaden an. Die Bahutu dürfen, wenn der Schaden noch so groß ist, die Kühe nicht wegjagen oder irgendwelchen Widerstand leisten.

In der Hirtenaristokratie von Ruanda muß der Muhutu dem Rinde stets weichen. Die Kühe haben die Bahutu aus gewissen Teilen von Ufumbiro verdrängt, sie rotteten auch definitiv die Bauern aus der Lavaebene in Mulera aus. Sie verödeten die Umgebung von Niansa. Man kann infolgedessen sagen, daß die Kühe einen mächtigen Faktor in der Gestaltung der Ruanda-Landschaft darstellen.

Die **Kuhtransaktionen** spielen eine sehr große Rolle im ökonomischen Leben und in der Gerichtspraxis von Ruanda. Diese Abschlüsse haben mannigfaltige Formen.

Neben dem einfachen Kaufe, wo der Preis auf einmal oder ratenweise (in Ziegen) geleistet wird, ist mir noch eine andere Kaufform bekannt geworden. Der Besitzer zweier jungen Stiere tauscht sie für ein noch nicht geborenes Kalb einer bestimmten Kuh ein. Ist das Kalb männlich, so wird bis zum nächsten gewartet. Solche Transaktion wird „kwatiriza" genannt. Bei dieser „kwatiriza" wird die Milch nach dem Ablaufe der ersten zwei Monate, die dem Hirten gehören, zwischen dem Käufer des Kalbes und dem Besitzer der Kuh geteilt. Es kommen jedoch häufig auch Abschlüsse vor, wo die halbe oder sogar die ganze Milch von irgendjemand einfach abgekauft wird.

Kühe sind nur in Mulera käuflich. Sie gehören dort den Bahutu. Batutsi verkaufen nur junge Stiere. Kalbende Kühe werden unter keinen Umständen veräußert, man gibt sie nur in Lehen. Auch große Stiere (mfizi) werden nicht verkauft. Ich hörte wiederholt, daß sie sogar nicht verliehen werden können.

Die Ziegen werden überall von den Bahutu gezüchtet. Schafe treten in größeren Mengen im Nordwesten auf. Das erste Schaf wurde mir auf der Route Niansa—Mulera, an der Njawarongo-Fähre geschenkt. Vereinzelte kann man überall sehen. Sie werden zum Opfer verwendet.

Im Zusammenhange mit der Viehzucht müssen einige Worte der Kastration gewidmet werden. Dieser operative Eingriff ist in Ruanda bekannt und kommt in erster Linie bei Böcken in Anwendung. Das Kastrieren der Rinder soll durch den König verboten sein, man erzählt aber, daß es im Geheimen aus Rache an Kühen, die man zurückzugeben gezwungen wird, durch Anbrennen ausgeführt wird. Die Jagdhunde werden ebenfalls kastriert. Die Kastration soll man auch an den Feinden des Königs ausüben.

Jagd. Nur bei den Batwa bildet die Jagd die Hauptbeschäftigung, durch welche die zum Leben notwendigen Mittel beschafft werden. Diese leben von den Erträgen der Jagd, ebenso wie die Bahutu durch den Ackerbau und die Batutsi durch die Viehzucht ernährt werden. Die notwendigen Ackerbauprodukte werden nur durch Tausch gegen Jagdergebnisse oder durch Diebstahl erhalten.

Batwa sind die geschicktesten Jäger. Sie gehen dem Wilde nach, von ihren Hunden begleitet, mit Bogen und Speer in der Hand. Sie sind die geschicktesten Schützen, die auch auf Vögel mit Erfolg zu schießen verstehen. Ihnen verdankt der König von Ruanda in der Hauptsache sein Elfenbein. Dieses sollte früher, als die Elefanten noch nicht so selten im Lande waren, in großen Mengen erbeutet worden sein. Den Jagdgrund der Batwa bilden die Wälder der Kongo-Wasserscheide im Osten vom Kiwu-See und Russisi und die Wälder der Vulkanlinie.

Auch bei den anderen Banyaruanda wird viel gejagt, vor allem in Kissaka, infolge des großen Wildreichtums der Steppe. Im Nordosten dieser Provinz spielt die Jagd auch wirtschaftlich eine bedeutende Rolle; es gibt hier Berufsjäger (abahigi) und sogar Elefantenjäger (abayovu).

6: Czekanowski FO 42 Rundi

Die Jäger arbeiten gewöhnlich gruppenweise. Bei den Treibjagden pflegt die Zahl der Teilnehmer, die durch die Bezirksvorsteher organisiert werden, sehr groß zu sein. Die Bezirksvorsteher versammeln nämlich ihre, mit Speer, Pfeil und Bogen bewaffneten und von zahlreichen Hunden begleiteten Bauern. Wegen der großen Entfernungen, zwischen den Grenzen der belegten Gründe werden die Signale mit einem Kuhhorn übermittelt. Zum Absperren gewisser Teile werden auch Netze verwendet. Der Jäger, welcher dem Wild den ersten Schlag versetzt, bekommt das Fell und ein Stück Fleisch, die übrigen bekommen nur Fleischanteile. Bei wertvolleren Fellen wird dieses jedoch dem Mutware überlassen, und die Jäger nehmen nur am Fleische teil. Die Treibjagden finden vorwiegend in der Trockenzeit statt, manchmal werden sie aber noch am Anfange der Regenzeit veranstaltet.

Die Elefantenjäger arbeiten in kleinen Gruppen und bedienen sich dabei des Speeres. Ist eine Elefantenherde oder ein einsamer alter Bulle gefunden worden, so soll folgendermaßen verfahren werden. Auf einem sorgfältig gewählten Platze werden die Speere schräg in den Boden, die Spitzen gegen die Elefanten gerichtet, eingepflanzt. Die Jäger verbergen sich bis auf einen, der auf einen bestimmten Elefanten losgehen muß. Nimmt das gereizte Tier den Jäger an, so flieht dieser in der Richtung nach den Speeren, damit sich der angreifende Elefant einen von diesen in den Leib einrenne. Das verwundete Tier wird dann durch die versteckten Genossen von hinten angegriffen. Das Elefantenfleisch soll in Kissaka gegessen werden. Ein Zahn wird dem Mutware abgegeben. Die Elefanten halten sich hauptsächlich im Norden von Kissaka in Bugansa auf.

Abgesehen von den Treib- und Lockjagden wird der Wildreichtum noch mit Hilfe von Fallen und Fallgruben ausgebeutet. Die Fallen bestehen aus einer Schlinge, die auf dem Boden liegt und deren Ende an einen jungen, zum Boden gebogenen Baum befestigt wird. Läuft ein Tier die Schlingen an, so hebt sich der Baum, zieht die Schlinge zu und hebt das Tier am Halse oder am Beine in die Höhe. Die Fallgruben werden sorgfältig mit dem Laube verdeckt. Die eingefangenen Tiere werden gespeert und dann verteilt.

Abb. 34. Harpunenspeer aus Mulera. (1/10 d. w. Gr. III E 13769. 190 cm lang.)

Die Vögel werden mit Schlingen gefangen, man schießt auf sie auch mit stumpfen oder vierspitzigen Vogelpfeilen. Die Rebhühner soll man aber auch zu Fuße verfolgen und nach der Ermüdung mit Stöcken totschlagen.

In Mulera, wo man, wohl infolge des Batwa-Einflusses, sehr geschickt jagt,

werden auch viele Ottern gestochen. Man benutzt dazu besondere, mit einem Widerhaken versehene Harpunspeere mit verdicktem Griffende. Diese Harpunen sollen auch bei der Flußpferdjagd benutzt werden. Die Flußpferdjäger suchen an ihr Wild in kleinen Booten heranzuschleichen, was einen sehr gefährlichen, aber sehr hoch angesehenen Sport bildet.

Die für die Jagd so wichtigen Hunde werden in Ruanda sehr geliebt und in großen Mengen gehalten. Jeder Häuptling hat davon eine größere Anzahl. Die Hunde haben besondere Namen, bei denen sie gerufen werden. Wie sehr man an den Hunden hängt, konnte ich bei der Gelegenheit eines Hundediebstahles beobachten. Die Träger unserer zurückkehrenden Verpflegungskarawane hatten einen kleinen Hund gestohlen. Der geschädigte Hundebesitzer scheute sich nicht, drei oder vier Stunden der Kolonne nachzulaufen und übersetzte zwei Seen, hoffend, daß die Träger auf meine nach Westen marschierende Kolonne stoßen würden, und daß er mit Hilfe des Europäers sein Eigentum zurückbekommen würde, was auch tatsächlich geschah. Es wurde mir erzählt, daß der Tod eines Hundes durch ein eintägiges Aufgeben der Arbeit betrauert wird. Es soll jedoch auch vorkommen, daß man für das Totschlagen eines Hundes Blutrache übt. Banyaruanda behaupten nämlich, daß man den Hund dann totschlägt, wenn man dies seinem Besitzer antun will, es jedoch nicht auszuführen wagt.

Die Zahl der in Ruanda gehaltenen Hunde ist sehr groß, deshalb nahmen auch die nach dem Victoria-See zurückkehrenden Träger eine Anzahl Hunde mit. Bei der von mir in Kissaka getroffenen zurückkehrenden Trägerkarawane aus 200 Mann habe ich wenigstens sechzig Stück gesehen. Mehrere waren noch ganz klein und mußten während der zwei bis drei Wochen dauernden Reise auf dem Rücken getragen werden. Einen größeren Beweis der Hundeliebe kann man kaum erbringen.

Abb. 35. Hundeschelle aus Mulera. (1/1 d. w. Gr. III E 13704. 6 cm im Durchm.)

Da die Hunde gewöhnlich nicht bellen, so kommen sie infolgedessen als Wächter weniger in Betracht. Am Halse tragen sie gewöhnlich hölzerne und eiserne Schellen, die Ryangombe geweiht sind (insogera ya Ryangombe). Gleiche Schellen werden auch dem Kleinvieh um den Hals gebunden.

Abb. 36. Hundeschelle aus Ufumbiro. Batwa. (1/1 d. w. Gr. III E 6897. 10 1/2 cm lang.)

Die eisernen Schellen bestehen ganz allgemein aus zwei aneinandergebogenen Metallblättchen, zwischen denen ein schmaler, an seinen beiden Enden abgerundeter Schlitz offen bleibt. Zwischen den beiden Blättern befindet sich ein Hohlraum, in welchem eine kleine Kugel liegt. Ihr Durchmesser ist groß genug, um durch den Schlitz nicht hindurchfallen zu können. Die Schellen werden

mit Hilfe von zwei kleinen Löchern am Halsbande befestigt. Eine Schelle von ganz abweichender Form wurde durch Hauptmann W. v. GRAWERT in Ufumbiro bei den Batwa gefunden. Sie besteht aus einem schmalen, dreieckigen Stücke Eisenblech, dessen untere Enden zueinander zylindrisch gebogen sind. Die Spitze ist dünn geschmiedet und nach unten gebogen, an ihr hängt der Stöckel.

Bienenzucht. Die Bienenzucht spielt in Ruanda eine recht bedeutende Rolle, da viel Honig zur Bereitung von Getränken als Zusatz zum Bier benutzt und in der Form von Honigwasser getrunken wird.

Die Bienen werden in fast zylindrischen, mit Lehm beworfenen Körben (imbutiba) gehalten. Die Bienenkörbe haben am Boden zwei kleine Ausgangsöffnungen für die Bienen. Das breitere Ende des Korbes bildet die, beim Ausheben des Honigs benutzte, Zugangsöffnung und bleibt sonst abgeschlossen. Beim Ausschneiden des Honigs werden besondere langgestielte Messer (ulukezo), mit kurzen, breiten Klingen, benutzt. Die Bienenkörbe werden meistens auf trockenen hohen Bäumen in größeren Mengen angebracht; man stellt sie aber auch auf dem Boden in der Nähe der Hütten auf besonderen kreuzbeinigen Gestellen immer horizontal auf. Es gibt im Lande auch viel wilde Bienen.

Abb. 37. Bienenkorb aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13680. 80 cm lang.)

Abb. 38. Honigmesser aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13738. 28 cm lang.)

Die bienenreichste Provinz ist Mulera. In Bgisha wird viel Honig auch zum Verkauf angeboten. Der Preis betrug zwei Yard Stoff für zwei Töpfe zu ca. drei Liter jeder.

Fischerei. An den Seen von Ruanda kommt auch eine Fischerbevölkerung vor. Das Arbeiten mit dem Netz wird „kuteguza ifi" genannt. Die Netze werden je nach ihrer Sorte mit den Namen „ujegwi", „chera" und „amahinda" belegt. Die Reusen nennt man „birumbi". Sie bestehen aus einem längeren Konus, in dem ein zweiter stumpferer mit abgeschnittener Spitze eingelegt ist. Beide werden mit ihren verdickten basalen Rändern anein-

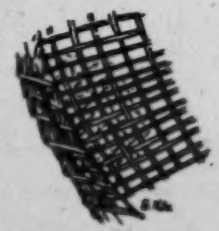

Abb. 39. Fischreusen aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13743. 65 cm lang.)

ander befestigt. Das Angeln wird weniger ausgeübt; der Angelhaken ist jedoch bekannt, wenn man ihn auch nicht sehr häufig sehen kann.

Abb. 40. Angelhaken aus Mukinjaga. (1/1 d. w. Gr. III E 6896. 17 cm lang.)

Die Boote sind einfache Einbäume. Sie haben eine Länge von ca. fünf Metern bei einer Breite von ca. fünfzig Zentimetern und besitzen sehr unregelmäßige Formen, da man die natürlichen Krümmungen des Baumstammes nicht zu beseitigen pflegt. Der Kiwu-See wird mit wesentlich größeren Einbäumen befahren. Die Seiten des Bootes werden in Ruanda nicht durch das Aufsetzen von Planken, wie in Kiziba und Buganda z. B., erhöht. Der durch die Ränder des ausgehöhlten Stammes gebildete Bord ist höher oder niedriger, je nachdem, ob der Schlitz breiter oder enger ist.

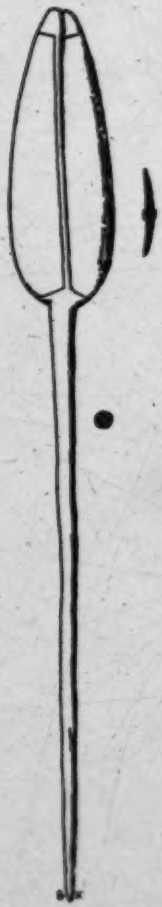

Abb. 41. Ruder aus Mulera. (1/11 d. w. Gr. III E 13731. 181 cm lang.)

Die Ruder (ngashi) werden oft sorgfältig geschnitzt und mit einer Verstärkungsrippe (mugongo) auf dem Blatte (ulubega) versehen. Man hält sie frei in der Hand beim Stiele (ulati).

Die Ruderer sitzen bei der Arbeit auf den Bordkanten. Nur auf den großen Kiwu-Einbäumen gab es hängende Bänke, die an ihren beiden Enden mit Stricken in den Löchern des Bootrandes befestigt waren. Die letzteren werden mit dem Schlagbohrer (umutwero) hergestellt.

Gewerbe. Das Gewerbe hat in Ruanda, wie das durch die Untersuchungen von Dr. R. KANDT[1]) schon festgestellt worden ist, den Charakter des Handwerkes oder des Lohnwerkes. Nur wenige Zweige des Gewerbes bleiben auf der Stufe des Hausfleißes stecken, wo nur gelegentlich der im Haushalte erzeugte Überschuß veräußert wird. Das letztere trifft z. B. für die Flechterzeugnisse, die vorwiegend von den Frauen überall hergestellt werden, zu.

Das Bier, das in jedem Haushalte gebraut wird, kommt nur in den seltenen Fällen an befreundete Konsumenten, wo es als Belohnung für das Pflegen der Kühe und für die gepachteten Felder figuriert, zur Verausgabung.

Die Töpferei und die Holzindustrie haben den Charakter eines Handwerkes, das für den Marktbedarf arbeitet, wogegen die Metalltechnik den Charakter eines Lohnwerkes hat, das auf bestimmte Besteller berechnet ist. Die Draht-

[1]) Vgl. die Monographie: Gewerbe in Ruanda. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1904, S. 329—372.

zieher sollen dabei manchmal, ebenso wie die Rindenstoffschlaps ihre Arbeit auch bei den Auftraggebern verrichten.

Bierbereitung. Die Herstellung des Bieres spielt in dem wirtschaftlichen Leben von Ruanda eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle, ja die Hauptmasse der Bananen wird nur zu diesem Zwecke angebaut. Trinken tut jedermann, ja jeder, der für sein Ansehen sorgt, muß sich von Zeit zu Zeit betrinken und in dieser Weise seinen Wohlstand zur Schau bringen. Den Biergenuß im größeren Maßstabe können sich jedoch nur die sehr Wohlhabenden leisten, deshalb knüpft sich an den Biergenuß die Vorstellung einer privilegierten sozialen Stellung.

Vom Säuferdelirium habe ich keine Gelegenheit zu hören gehabt, wenn auch die Häuptlinge immer betrunken schlafen gehen und nicht vor 10 Uhr früh auf den Beinen sind.

Die Banyaruanda bezeichnen das Bier poetisch als den Segen des Gottes (Imana's). Ohne Bier kann man weder geboren noch beerdigt werden. Ohne Bier bekommt man keine Frau, und man wird ohne Bier den Geistern nicht geweiht.

Die Saufereien dauern manchmal sehr lange und beschränken sich nicht auf die Abende. Ich hatte wiederholt Gelegenheit, während der Morgenmärsche, lärmende Siedelungen zu passieren, wo Ausdauernde immer noch beim rühmlichen Werke waren.

Die Folgen des Bierübergenusses haben in Mulera eine sehr große soziale Bedeutung, sie verursachen Totschläge, die wieder Akte der Blutrache nach sich ziehen. Deshalb hört man dort auch ständig vom Totschlagen, mit dem sich die Leute sehr rühmen. Auch die im Rausche Erschlagenen werden zur Zahl der erlegten Feinde gerechnet und durch eiserne konusförmige, am Kopfbande hinten getragene Anhängsel versinnbildlicht (vgl. Abb. 62).

Die Batwa-Töpferkolonie in Kabgaye wurde zur Zeit meiner Anwesenheit daselbst zersprengt, weil zwei Besoffene einen dritten totgeschlagen hatten und später mit sämtlichen Angehörigen vor der Blutrache flüchten mußten.

Es sind nicht die Männer allein, die sich betrinken, auch die Frauen der Wohlhabenden, vor allem die der Batutsi, sollen nicht selten dem Trunke huldigen. Da sie jedoch mit der körperlichen Schönheit auch eine ziemliche Rohheit vereinigen, so hört man nicht selten, daß dieser oder jener Hörige von einer Häuptlingsfrau im unnüchternen Zustande stark verprügelt worden sei.

Man unterscheidet in Ruanda mehrere, recht stark verschiedene Biersorten. Das Bananenbier wird allgemein „nzoga" und das Hirsebier „marwa" genannt. Die einzelnen Sorten werden mit folgenden Namen bezeichnet:

1. „Nzoga" (gewöhnliches Bananenbier).
2. „Marwa ya massaka" (Hirsebier).
3. „Marwa ya buro" (Eleusinbier).
4. „Rwagwa" (Bananenbier mit Hirsemalz gegoren).

5. „Nkangaza" (Bananenbier mit Honigzusatz gegoren).

6. „Uruki" (gekochtes, gegorenes Honigwasser).

Um „nzoga" zu bereiten, werden die noch nicht ganz ausgereiften, grünen, Bananen gepflückt und in der Hütte über den Herd gelegt, oder in einer besonderen Grube zum Nachreifen gebracht. Wenn man eine Grube zum Nachreifen verwendet, so wird neben ihr ein Feuer angezündet, und die Hitze durch geschicktes Hantieren mit einem Deckel in das Loch eingeführt. Nach vier oder fünf Tagen werden die Bananen ganz gelb. Man holt sie dann heraus, schält sie ab und wirft sie in einen hölzernen Trog. Dort werden sie in eine dünnflüssige Lösung aufgearbeitet (vgl. die eingehende Beschreibung dieses Prozesses in der Erklärung zur Tafel 15 im III. Bande, S. 11). In dieser Weise wird die süße, „ndamu" genannte, Sorte der „nzoga" hergestellt. Um eine schärfere Sorte zu erhalten, wird Hirsemalz oder Honig hinzugefügt. In Bugansa und Bgisha sollen die Bananen im kalten, ungekochten Wasser aufgerieben werden.

Um die „nzoga" zur Gärung zu bringen, pflegt man sie entweder in eine durch Feuer erwärmte Grube zu stellen und mit Stroh zu verdecken, oder auch in der Hütte in der Nähe des Herdes oder in einem Winkel, in Bananenblätter eingewickelt, unterzubringen.

Um das Hirsebier zu bereiten, wird das Korn mit einem Aschezusatz vermischt, in Gras eingewickelt, in einen Korb gelegt und in diesem für eine gewisse Zeit ins Wasser eingetaucht und darauf beiseite gestellt. Das Korn keimt auf. Nachdem die Keime genügend entwickelt sind, trocknet man das, zu Malz gewordene, Korn auf der Sonne. Das trockene Malz muß zum Mehle zerrieben werden und ist dann so zur Verwendung bereit. Das Mehl wird im kochenden Wasser aufgemacht und kann, nach der Abkühlung, durch einen Zusatz von Bananenbier, zur schnellen Gärung gebracht werden. Hat man kein Bananenbier, so wird das dünnflüssige Mehlbrei einigemal erhitzt und abgekühlt. Um den Gärstoff herzustellen, wird ein Quantum Mehl in abgekühltem Wasser aufgemacht und beiseite gestellt. Nach fünf bis sechs Tagen ist der Gärstoff fertig und wird dem Bierbrei beigefügt. Nach zwei, drei Tagen kann man anfangen die Marwa zu trinken. Die ungegorene Marwa wird „nsururu" genannt.

Altes Bananenbier ist stärker als das Hirsebier.

Das Bier wird in Ruanda und Bgisha mit Hilfe des Saugrohres (muheha) getrunken. Diese werden in besonderen köcherähnlichen, nur wesentlich kleineren Behältern aufbewahrt

Tabakbereitung. Im Zusammenhange mit dem Bier muß noch das andere Genußmittel, der Tabak, erwähnt werden, wenn er auch keiner anderen Bearbeitung außer dem Trocknen unterzogen wird. Der getrocknete Tabak bildet ein wichtiges Erzeugnis von Bugoye, wo sehr hochgeschätzte Tabaksorten gedeihen, und wo er besonders sorgfältig gepflegt wird.

Der Tabak wird in Tonpfeifen (inkono yi tabi) geraucht. Die alten Frauen sollen aber in Nduga den Tabak auch im flüssigen Zustande genießen. Es wird ein Aufguß hergestellt, und diesen zieht man in die Nase ein. Um das Herausfließen des Genußmittels zu verhüten, wird die Nase in einen gespalteten Zweig eingeklemmt und in dieser Weise verstopft.

Diese Form des Tabakgenusses soll auch im Südwesten des Victoria-Sees bekannt sein und „kirangi" genannt werden. Da man die mit der Flüssigkeit gefüllte Nase in die Höhe gerichtet zu tragen pflegt, so bekommen manchmal die sich stramm haltenden Europäer den Beinamen „Kirangi".

Haschisch ist in Ruanda, wie auch in den übrigen Teilen des Zwischenseengebietes, abgesehen von Buganda, unbekannt. Die Haschischraucher von Bukoba rekrutieren sich hauptsächlich aus der dort ansässigen Baganda-Kolonie.

Flechtarbeiten. Die Flechttechnik erreicht in Ruanda bei weitem nicht das Niveau der Kiziba-Arbeiten. Sie unterscheidet sich nicht von der letzteren im Prinzip; die Ruanda-Erzeugnisse fallen aber durch die weniger geschickte Ausführung auf.

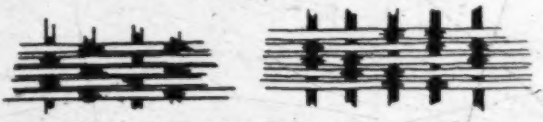

Abb. 42. Schildmattengeflechtmuster aus Ruanda.

Da dieser Gegenstand schon einer eingehenden Behandlung[1]) unterzogen worden ist, sollen hier nur die Typen der Geflechte ganz kurz besprochen werden.

Im Mattenflechten, das die einfachsten Probleme zu lösen hat, — die Geflechte und die Muster brauchen sich an keine Raumformen anzupassen — wird auch hier Vorzügliches geleistet, und die Matten gehören zu den am reichsten ornamentierten Gegenständen.

Es müssen vier verschiedene Typen unterschieden werden:

Die steifen Schildmatten, welche zwischen die Stützbalken des Daches eingeklemmt und zur Herstellung der inneren Scheidewände benutzt werden, gehören zwei verschiedenen Typen an. Der erste besteht aus miteinander durchflochtenen Bambusstreifen, die sich gegenseitig unter geradem Winkel durchkreuzen. Es entstehen dabei Varianten, je nachdem die Horizontalstreifen jeden einzelnen senkrechten Streifen oder jede zwei Streifen voneinander trennen. Beim zweiten Typus wird an die senkrechten Streifen eine Vorderschicht angebunden. Die Streifen der letzteren können die senkrechten Streifen unter verschiedenen Winkeln schneiden, was die Ornamente vermannigfacht.

Die Stäbchenmatten bestehen aus nebeneinander gelegten, aneinander gebundenen steifen Stäbchen. Wenn aber die zum Servieren der gekochten Eleusine in Toro verwendete Matte durch 4 schmale Nähte zusammengehalten wird, hat die Stäbchenmatte in Ruanda nur an den Rändern ganz schmale Nähte. Der

[1]) Kandt, R., Gewerbe in Ruanda. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1904, SS. 349—359.

innere Teil zwischen den Nähten ist meistens bis auf einen schmalen Saum, der auf beiden Seiten frei bleibt, mit Fasern in Muster durchflochten. Diese Matten werden als aufrollbare Vorhänge der Betteingänge verwendet. Die gewöhnlichen Schilfmatten werden in ähnlicher Weise, wie die eben besprochenen, hergestellt, mit dem Unterschiede jedoch, daß die steifen Stäbchen durch Schilf- und Papyrusbündel ersetzt werden. Die Bündel halten längsläufige Nähte zusammen. Die Schilfbündel pflegt man an einzelnen Stellen mit schwarzen Bananenblattscheiden zu umwickeln, wodurch einfache Ornamente entstehen.

Abb. 43. Stäbchenmattengeflechtmuster aus Ruanda.

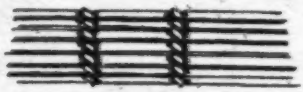

Abb. 44. Schilfmattengeflechtmuster aus Ruanda.

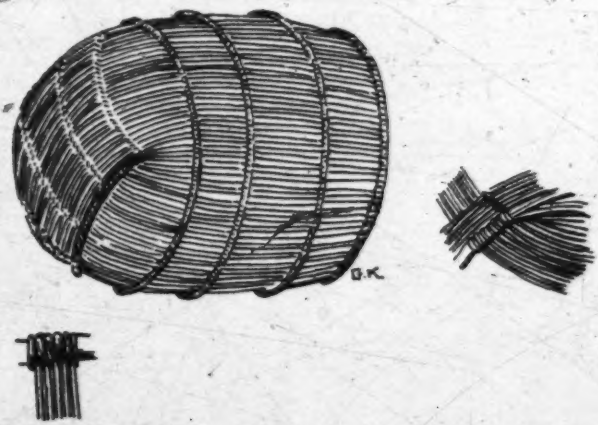

Abb. 45. Stäbchenkorb aus Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13683. Höhe 33 cm.)

Bei den Körben wiederholen sich dieselben Geflechtstypen. Die größeren Körbe, die im Haushalte zum Aufbewahren und zum Transporte der Lebensmittel dienen, wie auch die Schilde zum Putzen der Hirse und zur Aufnahme des Mehles vom Mahlsteine, die Bienenkörbe, die Umflechtungen der Biertöpfe, ein Teil der geflochtenen Köcher und die Untersatzungen der Gefäße, werden aus dem Geflechte des Typus I hergestellt (vgl. Abb. 42). Den Typus II, wo die senkrechten Streifen durch eine außen verlaufende, angebundene Spirale zusammengefaßt werden, erinnere ich mich nur bei Köchern beobachtet zu haben (vgl. Abb. 153).

Abb. 46. Flechtnadel. (1/3 d. w. Gr. 18 1/2 cm lang.)

Die Reisekörbe zum Aufbewahren der Toilettegegenstände und der Kleinigkeiten werden hergestellt aus zwei Stäbchenmatten, die senkrecht aufeinander

gelegt, zylindrisch zusammengebogen und durch mehrere (gewöhnlich vier), horizontal angebundene, Reifen zusammengehalten werden (vgl. Abb. 45).

Die genähten Körbe bestehen aus aneinandergefügten Windungen eines dünnen Bündels aus feinem Stroh. Das Strohbündel wird mit Bastfäden umwickelt. Diese Umwickelung wird durch die nächste, schon befestigte Windung durchgezogen und in dieser Weise angenäht. Durch das Anfügen einer Windung an die andere entsteht der Korb. Das Loch zum Durchstecken des Fadens durch das Bündel der Windung wird mit einer eisernen Nadel (mhindu), die auch zum Entfernen von Sandflöhen dient, hergestellt. Die Nadel ist am anderen Ende mit einer Platte versehen. Die Platte der Nadel dient zum Anschmiegen und Ausglätten der Umwickelung. Die Muster werden auf dem Korbe, durch Umwickelung gewisser Teile der Windungen mit schwarzen Bananenblattscheiden, hergestellt.

Die feinsten Flechtereien dieser Art findet man auch in Ruanda auf den Deckeln der Milchgefäße. Sie können aber mit denen von Kiziba und Kyanja doch nicht verglichen werden. Etwas gröber werden die kleinen Vorratskörbe (chibo) geflochten.

Wie schon aus den obigen Zusammenstellungen zu ersehen ist, bilden die geflochtenen Gegenstände den Hauptbestandteil der Hausgeräte, und ihre Herstellung nimmt die Frauen sehr stark in Anspruch. Sie werden nämlich hauptsächlich durch Frauen verfertigt, die sich damit in jedem Haushalte beschäftigen. Die feinsten Arbeiten werden durch die Batutsi-Frauen ausgeführt; bei ihnen ersetzen sie unsere Handarbeiten.

Töpferei. Die Töpferwaren stehen ihrer Zahl nach im Mobiliar erst an zweiter Stelle. Sie werden handwerksmäßig durch besondere Fachleute erzeugt, die ausschließlich für fremde Konsumenten arbeiten. Die Hauptmasse der Töpfer im eigentlichen Ruanda bilden die Batwa-Männer. Es gibt dort aber auch Bahutu-Töpfer und -Töpferinnen. In Kissaka habe ich nur Töpferinnen gesehen.

Der Topf wird ohne Drehscheibe gemacht. Die Spuren dieses Hilfswerkzeuges lassen sich jedoch nicht verkennen, da man den Topf auf einer Tonscherbe formt und sie je nach dem Bedürfnis dreht.

Der mit Wasser angemachte Ton ist sehr wenig durchfeuchtet. Die Arbeiterin nimmt von dem Vorrat einen Klumpen und formt mit der Hand aus ihm einen 30 cm langen und zwei bis drei cm dicken Zylinder. Dieser Zylinder wird spiralig nach der Art der, aus Strohbündeln zusammengenähten, Körbe zusammengerollt, und man erhält so den unteren Teil des herzustellenden Gefäßes. Die anschließenden Wülste werden durch das Zusammendrücken von der Innen- und von der Außenseite zusammengeschweißt. Auf die auf diese Weise hergestellten unteren Teile werden weitere Spiralen aufgelegt und festgemacht. So fährt man bis zum Oberrande oder dem Gefäßhalse weiter fort. Wenn der, aus aneinandergefügten und noch gut erkennbaren Spiralen gemachte Topf bis zu Ende fertig-

gestellt ist, wird er in Wasser eingetaucht und mit einem Kürbisstück so lange geglättet, bis die Spuren der Wülste verschwinden. Mit besonderer Sorgfalt werden die oberen Ränder gearbeitet. Man schleift sie mit einem nassen Blatt (von *Acanthus arboreus*) sorgfältig zu, wobei der Topf auf der Scherbe rotiert wird. Auch bei Rotation, diesmal aber ganz langsamer, werden die Verzierungen aufgetragen. Ein aus Gras geflochtener Zylinder wird auf der Gefäßwand abgerollt. In dieser Weise entstehen die primitiven Ausschmückungen. Es werden aber auch geometrische Muster aufgetragen.

Die, in dieser Weise hergestellten, Töpfe werden einige Tage getrocknet und dann erst gebrannt. Zum Brennen sollen die zum Wärmen des unreifen, ungegorenen Bieres verwendeten Löcher benutzt werden. Man brennt die Töpfe jedoch auch im Freien. Die rohen Tonwaren werden dann zu Pyramiden zusammengelegt, mit Brennholz und Gras von Seiten und mit Bananenstämmen von oben belegt und so gebrannt. Die stark wasserhaltigen Bananenstämme behindern das Holz am Brennen, verlangsamen den ganzen Prozeß und sollen infolgedessen dem Springen der Wände der Tonwaren entgegenwirken. Trotzdem hat man stets einen bedeutenden Satz unbrauchbarer Gefäße.

Um die Qualität der Ware zu heben, werden angeblich zum Ton zerstampfte Tonscherben hinzugefügt.

Die Töpfer findet man auf jedem Hügel. In Kissaka, wo es keine Märkte gibt, arbeiten sie nur, um die Bedürfnisse der allernächsten Umgebung zu decken.

Einen Nebenzweig der Töpferei bildet die Herstellung der Pfeifen und der „Liebestöpfchen", winziger Gefäße, in denen die Frauen ihre Amulette, welche ihnen die Liebe ihrer Gatten sichern sollen, tragen. Diese Gegenstände werden aus geknetetem Lehm, durch Aushöhlen mit besonderen kleinen Spaten, hergestellt. Diese beiden Kategorien von Gegenständen tragen, wenn sie verziert werden, vorwiegend nur geradlinige geometrische Ornamente.

Holzgewerbe. Das Holz wird in Ruanda durch stark spezialisierte Handwerker bearbeitet. Am zahlreichsten sind die Gefäßschnitzer vertreten. Sie werden „babazi" in der Nähe des Ndisa-Berges, wo sie in großer Zahl vorkommen, genannt. Die ebenfalls dort ansässigen Pfeil- und Bogenmacher werden „batanazi" geheißen. Dr. KANDT[1]), der in seiner oben zitierten Monographie die Holzindustrie Ruanda's sehr eingehend behandelt, sagt bezüglich ihrer Differenzierung: „So pflegen die Pfeilarbeiter auch Bogen zu machen, andere Arbeiter auch Salztröge für Vieh und Trommeln, andere wieder haben als Spezialität Getreidemörser, Stühle und Bienenkörbe. Ferner bilden oft Speiseschalen, Rührlöffel, Schöpflöffel und Keulen zusammen das Arbeitsgebiet besonderer Spezialisten. Spezialisten für nur einen Gegenstand sind diejenigen, die Milchgefäße, Köcher und Zierbüchsen für Pomberöhrchen herstellen. Die Arbeiter von Milchgefäßen machen bisweilen auch Pombetröge[2]).“

[1]) KANDT, R., Gewerbe in Ruanda. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1904, S. 335—348.
[2]) Ebenda S. 342.

Trotz der so weitgehenden Spezialisierung sind die Erzeugnisse im großen und ganzen recht roh und unterscheiden sich sehr ungünstig von den am Victoria-See hergestellten Gegenständen. Am zierlichsten und sorgfältigsten werden noch die kleineren Gefäße und vor allem die Dosen für Butter geschnitzt.

Beim Ausführen der Arbeiten werden außer der Axt (Abb. 29, 30), dem Buschmesser (Abb. 31) und dem Schlagbohrer, auch Hohlbeile von verschiedener Größe, mit quergestellten Schneiden, und Raspelmesser, zum Ausschaben des Innern und der Außenseite der Gegenstände, angewendet.

Abb. 47. Schlagbohrer aus Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 9884 34 cm lang.)

Metallgewerbe. Das Metallgewerbe hat sich in Ruanda in die gewöhnliche Schmiedekunst und in die Drahtzieherei differenziert. Die Eisengewinnung spielt keine Rolle. Man ist fast ausschließlich auf importiertes Metall angewiesen. Es wird vor allem Eisen aus Busindja und aus dem Congo-Staate, das in der Form von Hacken eingeführt wird, bearbeitet. Ein paar verlassene Erzgruben habe ich auf dem Ndisa-Berge gesehen. Etwas Eisen wird in Kissaka gewonnen. Dr. KANDT[1]) berichtet sogar von einem Schmelzofen mit 16 Blasebälgen. Wesentlich reicher am Eisen soll Bgisha sein. Doch scheint sie mir in der Hauptsache den Import des Congo-Eisens zu vermitteln.

Die Schmiede bilden in Nduga eine Art Korporation. Sie sind durchwegs Bahutu, gehören aber zu verschiedenen Clans, wenn auch ihre Beschäftigung im allgemeinen erblich ist.

Die Schmiede werden im Lande sehr gefürchtet, wenn man auch eine gewisse Verachtung ihres Handwerks nicht verleugnen kann. Unter den Bahutu erfreuen sich die Schmiede ihres Reichtums wegen eines unleugbaren Einflusses. Die Frauen z. B. halten die Schmiede, wie es scheint, für große Kavaliere und Lebemänner, die stets im Bier schwelgen. Im allgemeinen werden sie jedoch für Geister des Unfriedens und für ewige Rebellen gehalten. Auch ihre Ehrlichkeit wird nicht besonders gerühmt. Man überwacht sie daher mit größter Sorgfalt während der ganzen Arbeit, wenn man ihnen, wie das meistens der Fall ist, mitgebrachte eigene Rohstoffe zum Bearbeiten überläßt. Bei jeder Gelegenheit sollen sie Eisen stehlen. In dieser Beziehung erfreuen sie sich eines sehr schlechten Rufes.

Abgesehen von ihrem eigentlichen Gewerbe betätigen sich die Schmiede noch anderweitig, so z. B. in der gynäkologischen Praxis, und sind durch ihre Fertigkeit im Fruchtabtreiben bekannt. Sie spielen auch im Kultus eine hervorragende Rolle. Der Vorgesetzte der königlichen Leibschmiede soll eine hohe Stellung einnehmen und im Hofzeremonial eine wichtige Rolle spielen.

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[1]) Ebenda S. 360.

Das Schmiedewerkzeug bilden die Blasebälge, die eisernen Hämmer und ein Amboß aus Stein, von solchen Kleinigkeiten, wie einer Scherbe mit Wasser, einen Pinsel zum Bespritzen der Kohlen, wenn die Oberfläche zu glühen anfängt, und endlich Holzstücken zum Einklemmen des bearbeiteten glühenden Eisenstückes abgesehen.

Der Blasebalg (vgl. Taf. 12, Band III) besteht in Kissaka aus einem Tongefäß, dessen Becken unten in eine längere horizontale Röhre ausläuft. Die obere Öffnung des Beckens wird mit einem Ziegenfell zugebunden. Dieses kann mittels eines, in ihrem Zentrum befestigten Stockes, nach oben gehoben, wie auch in das Becken hineingestoßen werden. Die schwankende Größe des mit dem Ziegenfell abgeschlossenen Raumes erzeugt einen wechselnden Luftstrom in der horizontalen Ausgangsröhre des Blasebalgbeckens. Zwei Blasebälge bilden ein Ganzes, das von einem Manne bedient wird und zur gewöhnlichen Schmiedearbeit ausreicht. Dr. KANDT[1]) bildet einen doppelten hölzernen Blasebalg, wie ich ihn nur in Nord-Ruanda und bei den Bakondjo wiederholt gesehen habe, ab. Vor die zwei Blasebalgöffnungen wird ein, im Herde vertiefter Tontrichter hingelegt. In ihn schlagen abwechselnd aus den beiden Öffnungen Luftstöße, die durch das schnelle Hineinpressen der Fellmembranen erzeugt werden. Diese erreichen infolge ihrer Wucht mit Hilfe des Trichters die Mitte des Herdes. Die durch den Blasebalg eingesogene Luft kommt dagegen aus dem Spalt zwischen dem Blasebalg und dem Trichter. Auf diese Weise wird die Luft mit den primitiven Blasebälgen ohne Klappen in einer Richtung durch den Trichter in die Mitte des Herdes eingeführt.

Abb. 48. Schema der Luftbewegung zwischen Blasebalg und Trichter.

Die Hämmer bestehen samt dem Stiel aus einem Stück Eisen. Der Stiel ist im Querschnitte rund, während der Hammer selbst mit vier zum Schlagen bestimmten Rippen ausgestattet ist und infolgedessen einen x-förmigen Querschnitt aufweist.

Der Amboß wird durch einen flachen Stein gebildet. Auf ähnlich geformten Steinen sitzen die Schmiede neben dem Amboß während der Arbeit.

Zangen sind nicht vorhanden. Das glühende Eisen wird in ein sehr wasserreiches Bananenstammstück eingefaßt und in dieser Weise beim Schmieden in der Hand gehalten. Wenn der bearbeitete Gegenstand eine Spitze hat, so wird diese in ein Holzstück eingetrieben, und er kann mit Hilfe des improvisierten Griffes ganz bequem in der Hand gehalten werden.

Um ein Stück Eisen abzuschneiden, biegt man es so lange nach beiden Richtungen hin, bis es bricht und entzwei fällt. Zum Schmieden werden auch die Kanten und die Unebenheiten des Amboßsteines benutzt. So wird z. B. das Eisen auf der zu schneidenden Stelle dünner geschmiedet, dann wiederholt in

[1]) KANDT, R., Gewerbe in Ruanda. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1904, S. 362.

beiden Richtungen gebogen und zum Schlusse über eine Vertiefung des Ambosses gelegt und durch einige schwache Stöße getrennt.

Die recht hoch entwickelte Schmuckindustrie ruft eine bedeutende Produktion des sehr dünnen Eisen- und Kupferdrahtes hervor. Mit diesen werden die Arm- und Beinringe umwickelt.

Das bearbeitete Metallstück wird zunächst zu einem recht dicken, unebenen Drahtstück geschmiedet, und dieses wird später durch Ziehen beliebig dünn gemacht.

Das eigentliche Drahtziehen wird in kaltem Zustande besorgt. Den geschmiedeten Draht zieht man wiederholt durch ein konisches Loch in einem eisernen Bolzen. Die schmälere Ausgangsöffnung des Bolzens wird allmählich durch Zuklopfen des weichen Metalls verengt. Da beim Durchziehen des Drahtes durch den Bolzen seine Ränder immer mehr nachgeben, so ist der Draht am hinteren Ende dicker als am vorderen. Um diesen Fehler auszubessern, wird der Draht abwechselnd mit einem und dem anderen Ende in die Öffnung des Bolzens eingesteckt und durchgezogen.

Hat man die Öffnung im Bolzen durch kaltes Klopfen verengt, so muß man zunächst ihre unebenen Ränder in Ordnung bringen. Zu diesem Zwecke dient eine scharf zugeschliffene, in einen hölzernen Griff gefaßte Nadel. Die Nadel wird von beiden Seiten in die Öffnung eingesteckt und gedreht. Dann wird das Ende des Drahtes zugeschliffen, damit es durch die Öffnung im Bolzen durchgesteckt werden kann. Ist dies geschehen, so kann man das herausragende Ende mit Hilfe einer besonderen Vorrichtung festklemmen. Der Draht wird nämlich ohne Zange gezogen.

Der Klemmer, durch welchen die Zange ersetzt wird, besteht aus einem V-förmigen Stück Eisen. Das vorstehende Drahtstück wird zwischen seine beiden Äste gesteckt und eingeklemmt. Zu diesem Zwecke wird auf diese ein Eisenring aufgetrieben. Der Klemmer muß dann vom Bolzen ein wenig abgezogen werden. Ist das geschehen, so wird der Bolzen, solange der Draht noch genügend dick und stark ist, gegen einen vergabelten, in den Boden eingegrabenen Baumstamm gestützt. Deshalb hat auch der Bolzen zugeschnittene hintere Ränder an den beiden Enden. Diese Vorrichtung verhindert das Gleiten, da sich diese Teile genauer den Einschnitten auf der Holzgabel anpassen können.

Den Klemmer greift man, der Bequemlichkeit halber, mit einer Schlinge aus Bananenblattscheiden fest und zieht einen Meter weit ab. Nachher wird um den Draht selbst eine Schlinge gewickelt. Diese Umwickelung ist so angelegt, daß sie ungehindert in der Richtung des Bolzens gleiten kann, beim Zurückziehen, in zugedrückter Hand, aber den Draht faßt und ihn lang zieht. Das Abziehen des Drahtes dicht am Bolzen schützt gegen Riß. Beim feinen, schwachen, dünnen Draht wird der Klemmer gegen die Holzgabel gestützt, und der Bolzen mit der Hand auf dem Drahte abgezogen. Dabei läßt man den Draht hin und her gleiten, wenn irgendeine Stelle einen größeren Widerstand leistet.

Dicker Draht wird beim Ziehen erwärmt. Doch die Temperatur ist hier eine ganz niedrige, da die Hauptoperationen, wie das Zuschleifen der Spitze und das Klemmen, mit der Hand besorgt werden. Dicker Draht wird beim Ziehen mit Steinen abgerieben, und der Arbeiter läßt auf ihm wiederholt die, mit Steinen gefüllte, Hand gleiten. Das geschieht angeblich deswegen, um ein stärkeres Steckenbleiben des Drahtes, also ein stärkeres Ausziehen des Drahtes, herbeizuführen. Dünner Draht wird mit Fett eingerieben, um das Steckenbleiben, welches ein Reißen des Drahtes zur Folge haben könnte, zu vermindern.

Der fertige Draht wird in größere Rollen zusammengewunden.

Rindenstoffbereitung. Die Herstellung des Rindenstoffes (mpuzu) ist in Ruanda, wie es scheint, im Rückgange begriffen. In Ruasa z. B. hatte ich nur einmal Gelegenheit, ein Stück Rindenstoff zu sehen, und zwar zu einem Sack verarbeitet. Wegen der großen Zahl der mir dort zum Kaufe angebotenen Rindenstoffschläger, bin ich eben gezwungen anzunehmen, daß dieser Zweig der einheimischen Industrie, wenigstens in Mulera, stark zurückgeht.

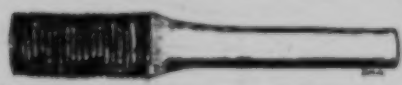

Abb. 49. Rindenstoffschläger aus Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 9964. 30 1/4 cm lang.)

Abb. 50. Rindenstoffschläger aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III 13105. 34,5 cm lang.)

In der Nduga, wo die Bevölkerung wesentlich ärmer ist, sieht man viel Rindenstoff. Da aber der Rindenstoff nach der Art der teueren Fellkleidung getragen wird, so könnte man annehmen, daß er hier gegenwärtig nur ein Surrogat des Felles darstellt. Andere Gründe sprechen doch zugunsten der Ansicht, daß die ursprüngliche Bekleidung durch Rindenstoffe gebildet wurde. In Mulera hat man mit dem Steigen des Wohlstandes, welchen man im Wirkungskreise der Mission Ruasa beobachten konnte, auf Rindenstoffe verzichtet und die Fellkleidung angelegt.

Die im Wasser aufgeweichte Rinde besonderer Fikusarten wird auf einem, als Unterlage dienenden Stamme dünn und breit mit einem Hammer geschlagen. Die Hämmer (imango) haben zwei Formen. Der Hammer der einen Sorte sieht wie ein Zylinder mit Kreisfurchen am schlagenden Ende aus und weist einen verdünnten Griff auf. Bei der anderen Art ist der Schläger konisch und wird, wie bei den Äxten und Hacken, in einem Stiele befestigt. Die Schlagfläche ist hier ebenfalls gefurcht, die Furchen kreuzen sich aber.

Die Rindenstoffe werden in Ruanda sehr roh gearbeitet und unterscheiden sich sehr ungünstig von den Erzeugnissen Kiziba's.

Fellbearbeitung. Um eine Kuhhaut als Kleidungsstück verwenden zu können, muß man sie einer mühsamen Bearbeitung unterziehen. Sie muß weich und geschmeidig gemacht werden, sonst ist sie unverwendbar.

Das dem Tiere abgeschundene Fell wird zunächst an der Sonne getrocknet und darauf im Wasser aufgeweicht. Ist das Fell weich geworden, so muß es aufgehängt werden, damit es abtropfen kann; nachher wird es auf dem Boden ausgespannt, und zwar mit den Haaren nach unten. Die Haut pflegt man mittels kleiner Holzpflöcke zu befestigen, die durch den Fellrand durchgesteckt und, nachdem das Fell gespannt worden ist, in den Boden mit einem Stein eingetrieben werden. Dann wird das Fell mit einem Schaber (mbaro) gesäubert. Dieser Prozeß wird als „kuhara" bezeichnet. Die erste Schicht, die sich ablöst, wird „imishishwa" genannt. Das beim zweiten Schaben Abgehende heißt „imiharamuro", das beim dritten abgelöste — „inkuru". Daraufhin wird der durchlöcherte Rand abgeschnitten, das Fell mit Kuhmist eingerieben und so zwei bis drei Tage liegen gelassen. Später wird das Fell mit „minyonza" gekämmt und geglättet, um die Haare in Ordnung zu bringen. Diese Operation heißt „kubiutsa inshundo zinganda". Das so vorbereitete Fell wird mit Butter eingeschmiert und mit, im Wasser aufgeweichter, roter Erde (kitaka ch'inkanda) begossen. Die nach der Austrocknung haften gebliebenen Partikeln werden mit Butter vermischt. Auf dem so fertiggestellten Fell werden noch Muster mit Rindersehnen mittels einer Eisennadel aufgenäht. Diese Arbeit wird „kukana nganda" genannt. Die dazu verwendete eiserne Nadel besaß ursprünglich kein Nadelloch. Sie bildete infolgedessen eine Art Pfriem, der auch zum Entfernen der Sandflöhe (mafunza) verwendet wird und mit einem Messer zum Schneiden der Felle am anderen Ende versehen ist. Das Fell muß noch parfümiert werden. Dazu verwendet man das wohlriechende Holz „imibavu ihumura". Das Holz pflegt man auf glühenden Kohlen in einer Scherbe (luggio) zu brennen. Über dem Feuer wird ein weitmaschig geflochtener Korb (lutete) wie eine Kuppel, den Boden nach oben, gelegt. Auf dem Korbe breitet man das bearbeitete Fell, das in dieser Weise eingeräuchert wird, aus. Damit ist die Bearbeitung zu Ende gebracht. Ziegen- und Schaffelle werden weniger sorgfältig bearbeitet, doch nach demselben Prinzip.

Abb. 51. Pfriem aus Mulera. (1/2 d. w. Gr. III E 13732. 24 1/2 cm lang.)

Güteraustausch. Die Arbeitsteilung befindet sich in Ruanda auf einer verhältnismäßig hohen Stufe. Schon die sozialpolitischen Momente erzeugen eine Verschiedenheit der Beschäftigungen bei den unterjochten Bahutu und den herrschenden Batutsi. Man darf aber nicht vergessen, daß der Ackerbau der Bahutu und die Rinderzucht der Batutsi hier als innerlich unabhängige und wirtschaftlich nur wenig miteinander verknüpfte Erscheinungen auftreten.

Die Arbeitsteilung ist hier nicht genügend weit vorgeschritten, daß in Ruanda die ökonomische Abhängigkeit eine Rolle spielen könnte, von der Konzentration des Vieh- und Bodenbesitzes in den Händen des Königs abgesehen. Das meiste wird für den eigenen Gebrauch zu Hause verfertigt. Der Güteraustausch ist, absolut genommen, nicht besonders bedeutend, und man ist in der Ausbildung des Geldwesens, das die gegenseitigen Verhältnisse der einzelnen Güter zueinander zum Vorschein bringt, nicht weit gekommen.

Die Gegenstände des Austausches bilden, abgesehen von den Nahrungsmitteln, Eisenhacken, Tabak, Baumwollstoffe, Felle, Salz, Messing- und Kupferdraht, Glasperlen, diverses Hausgerät, Waffen und mit gewissen Einschränkungen auch Frauen und Vieh.

Von diesen Gütern haben sich vor allem die Eisenhacken, Perlen und Vieh als Wertmesser entwickelt. Die einzelnen Wertmesser werden aber je nach dem einzuschätzenden Gute angewendet, und man ist zur Bestimmung und Fixierung des relativen Verhältnisses der verschiedenen Werteinheiten noch nicht gekommen.

Für größere Gegenstände gilt als allgemeine Werteinheit die Hacke. So spricht man von einer guten Ziege für zwei bis vier Hacken, von einem Feld, dessen Pachtpreis für zwei Kulturen eine Hacke beträgt usw.

Als kleinere Werteinheiten dienten zur Zeit meiner Anwesenheit erbsengroße, vergoldete Glasperlen. Diese ersetzten die am Victoria-See verbreiteten Kauri-Muscheln und hatten ungefähr denselben Wert. Man nahm aber bei Zahlungen auch andere Perlensorten an. Die kleinen roten, in Urundi sehr beliebten „sam-sam" pflegt man dagegen in Ruanda nicht anzunehmen. Von Kissenji aus werden noch etwas größere, blaue und ebensogroße, aber zweimal längere, weiße Perlen vertrieben. Ihr Wert ist wesentlich (zweimal ca.) niedriger, als der der vergoldeten Erbsenperlen. In Kissaka und Nduga konnte ich zu Kaufzwecken kleine weiße Perlen (mit einem Durchmesser von zwei bis drei mm) verwenden. Die blaugrünlichen runden Perlen (mit einem Durchmesser von acht mm) wurden dagegen nirgends angenommen. Früher sollten sie sich im Land hoher Schätzung erfreut haben.

Die vergoldeten, erbsengroßen Perlen werden, ebenso wie die Kauri-Muscheln, denen sie im Werte nahe kommen, zu 50 oder 100 auf eine Schnur angereiht. Diese Schnüre gelten als Zähleinheiten. Die großen werden als „runigi rulerule", großes Halsband, die kleinen als „runigi rugwisi", kleines Halsband, bezeichnet.

Gelegentlich benutzt man noch als Wertmesser Stücke von Messing- und Kupferdraht. Als Maßeinheit für Kupferdraht dient „ntamba", die maximale Entfernung zwischen den Spitzen des ersten und dritten Fingers.

Mit dem Fellhandel dringt in das Land eine neue Werteinheit, das ist die Rupie ($^1/_{15}$ £), die hier die Form des weißen Baumwollstoffes (Amerikani) im Ausmaß von zwei Klaftern hat, von den Küstenhändlern „doti" genannt wird

und nur in zwei Stücke zu einem Klafter (upande) getrennt werden kann. 1000—1200 vergoldeter erbsengroßer Glasperlen kommen dem „doti" ungefähr gleich.

Bei den Frauenkäufen der Batutsi dienen Kühe und Biertöpfe als Zähleinheiten. Bei den Frauenkäufen der Bahutu Süd-Ruanda's werden als Wertmesser Eisenhacken (Spatengeld) benutzt, während die Bahutu des Nordens, vor allem die von Mulera, den Wert der Frauen nach Kühen messen.

Preise. Die Preise zeigen im Lande bedeutende Unterschiede und sind großen Schwankungen unterworfen. Der Wert der europäischen Gegenstände ist im starken Sinken begriffen. Um der relativen Wert der einzelnen Gegenstände kurz zu charakterisieren, werde ich einige Preise, in den entsprechenden Einheiten ausgedrückt, zusammenstellen:

Kleine Hütte	1 große Ziege.
Großer Topf Bier	1 Hacke.
Schwert (ngota)	1 kleine Hacke.
Wasser- oder Kochtopf	$^1/_8$—$^1/_{12}$ einer Hacke.
Hacke	150—250 vergoldete Perlen im Jahre 1907. Die letzteren schwanken im Preise sehr, je nach der Mode.
Matte	$^1/_3$—$^1/_4$ einer Hacke.
Tagelohn eines Mannes	$^1/_8$ einer Hacke.
Blatt Tabak	$^1/_{250}$ einer Hacke.
Klafter Stoff (upande amerikani)	2 Hacken.
Last Tabak aus 400—600 Blättern.	1 „upande".

Der Tabak von Bugoye und Bushiru kommt in den Handel in Paketen zu 50 Blatt. Gegen 10 Pakete werden zu einer Last vereinigt. Gewöhnliche Tabaksorten, die man überall anbaut, spielen im Handel keine Rolle.

Elefantenzahn	bis 100 Ziegen.
Ziege	2—4 Hacken.
Schaf	2—3 Hacken.
Junger Stier	8—11 Hacken.
Kalb	2—5 Hacken.
Junge Kuh	15—20 Ziegen oder 2 Stiere. Einer von derselben Größe, der andere etwas größer.

Handel. Bei der Betrachtung des Handels von Ruanda muß man scharf zwischen dem Fellhandel und den übrigen Formen des Güteraustausches unterscheiden.

Der Fellhandel hat in den viehreichen Ländern von Innerafrika den Charakter eines reinen Exportes, ja eines Raubhandels. Mit Fellen werden die eingeführten

europäischen und indischen Baumwollstoffe, Glasperlen, Messing- und Kupferdraht und die anderen fast durchwegs unproduktiven Dinge bezahlt.

Besorgt, daß die Viehbestände den verhältnismäßig hohen Fellpreisen zum Opfer fallen könnten, hat die Regierung den Händlern verboten die Grenzen von Ruanda und Urundi zu überschreiten. Trotz dem großen Risiko, da gefaßte Schmuggler mit der Konfiskation ihrer Waren und mit dem temporären Freiheitsverlust ihr Vergehen büßen müssen, kamen doch, durch die großen Gewinne angelockt, aus Karagwe nach Kissaka eingeborene Händler, um Felle einzukaufen. Diese wurden den indischen Ladenbesitzern in Kafuro weiter verkauft.

Ich begegnete im Süden vom Mohasi-See einer Händlerkarawane aus 10 Mann. Sie trieben einige Rinder und Ziegen und schleppten auf den Köpfen Ballen zusammengerollter Felle. Die Leute waren mit einem Paß von Bukoba nach Kafuro ausgerüstet und setzten die weitere Reise auf eigenes Risiko fort. Um sich vom Verdacht, Vieh gestohlen zu haben, zu reinigen, erzählten sie viel von den hohen gezahlten Viehpreisen. Diese betrugen 10 „doti" Amerikani für einen Stier und 1 „doti" für eine Ziege.

In der Nähe von der Mission Nsasa hält sich auch ein Muganda-Händler sogar ständig auf. Er hat sich durch seinen langen Aufenthalt daselbst eingebürgert.

Der Umfang dieses Schmuggelhandels muß recht bedeutend sein, da alle Batutsi mit Baumwollstoffen bekleidet waren. Daß diese Stoffe in der Hauptsache aus den Militär- und Handelsstationen am Kiwu-See (Kissenji und Ischangi) stammen könnten, ist unwahrscheinlich.

Abgesehen von dem Fellhandel gibt es noch einen alten, bodenständigen, auswärtigen Handel. Es werden Eisenhacken aus dem Congo-Staate und Salz vom Edward-See bezogen; dafür wird vorwiegend mit Ziegen gezahlt. Mit Ziegen zahlt man auch für das aus dem Congo-Staate geschmuggelte Elfenbein und Kautschuk.

Der innere Handel besteht vor allem im Austausche der Landeserzeugnisse zwischen den Produzenten und Konsumenten. Man treibt Tauschhandel mit Nahrungsmitteln, Eisen, Tonwaren, Kleinvieh, Salz u. a.

Die Leute von Issawi beziehen ihr Salz aus Njaruguru, wohin es aus Urundi gebracht wird. Ihre Hacken werden in Mukinjaga gekauft. Diese Provinz bildet eine Zwischenhandelsstelle, da die Ware aus Bunyabungu importiert wird. Die Nordprovinzen beziehen das Eisen aus Bgisha und das Salz aus Katana am Edward-See, wo große Märkte mit Salz von Katwe abgehalten werden. Es wird aber auch im Lande Salz gebrannt und zwar in Mulera und nach Dr. KANDT[1]) in einer Südbucht des Kiwu. Ob Busindja-Salz[2]), das in Kigoma im Westen

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 513.

[2]) CAPUS, J. P., Eine Missionsreise nach Uha und Urundi. Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, S. 285.

von Mumurumba an der Südgrenze von Ujungu gewonnen wird, nach Ruanda kommt, ist mir unbekannt.

Kupfer wird in geringen Mengen aus Urundi und in größeren aus Busindja als Zahlung für Elfenbein eingeführt. Ziegen werden aus Mulera, Kissaka und Njaruguru exportiert. Die letzteren stammen aus Urundi. Die besten Tabaksorten exportiert lastenweise Bugoye. Schafe werden aus Mulera ausgeführt. Die schönsten Matten liefert Mukinjaga. Die farbigen Matten der Batutsi werden in Nduga gemacht. Die Bambuskörbe erzeugt man in Bwischascha, Bugoye und Mulera. Die Otterfelle exportiert Ndorwa. Die schönsten Speere und die besten Pfeile werden am Ndisa-Berge verfertigt. Alle diese Waren bilden den Gegenstand des inneren Handelsverkehrs.

Diesen Handel besorgen die einheimischen Zwischenhändler, die im Gegensatze zu den fremden Händlern (bachuruzi) mit dem Worte „bagenza" bezeichnet werden. Sie unternehmen oft mehrtägige Reisen, um ihre Kunden und weit entfernte Märkte zu besuchen. Sie vermitteln den Austausch zwischen Mulera, Nduga und Katana am Edward-See und tauschen hauptsächlich Kleinvieh, Eisen, Salz und Tabak aus. Die Bagoye vermitteln den Handel zwischen Bugoye und Bunyabungu und tauschen im großen Umfange Hacken gegen Mulera-Ziegen ein.

Die Bagoye sind vorurteilsfreie Kaufleute. Sie brachten mir z. B. zum Verkauf Schädel, als sie mich dort mit Schädelsammeln beschäftigt gesehen haben. Es traute sich allerdings niemand den Schädel anzufassen. Man trug ihn entweder auf einem Stocke oder in einem Bananenblatte. Auf den Gedanken, für Schädel Bezahlung zu verlangen, kam zwar zuerst ein elfjähriger Junge. Diesem folgten andere, auch Erwachsene waren darunter, als sie sahen, daß der Junge gut bezahlt wurde. In kurzer Zeit wurden über 200 Schädel eingeliefert.

Es muß aber hervorgehoben werden, daß es durchaus nicht alle waren, die sich für diesen Handel begeistert haben. Nach genauerer Untersuchung stellte es sich heraus, daß sämtliche Schädelsammler Leute sehr niedriger Schichten waren. Es waren „bagaragu"[1]) der anderen und Weisen, die als Halbeklaven in den einzelnen Haushalten eine Unterkunft fanden. Nach einigen wenigen Tagen hörte jedoch das Schädelsammeln ganz auf. Die Jungen der Mission wollten nämlich mit einem, der Schädel gesammelt hatte, nicht zusammen essen. Als sich diese Nachricht verbreitet hatte, konnte ich bald keine Schädel mehr bekommen, und der letzte Sammler wurde verprügelt.

Die Leute interessierten sich sehr zu erfahren, wie teuer die Schädel in Europa bezahlt werden.

Noch jetzt sollen aus Ruanda Menschen exportiert werden, und zwar nicht als freiwillige Emigranten und vorübergehende Arbeiter, sondern als Sklaven. Über diese dunkle Frage konnte ich nur weniges erfahren. Bei der Institution

[1]) Klienten.

der Kaufehe ist es sehr schwer, die Grenze zwischen einer gekauften Sklavin und einer gekauften Frau zu ziehen. Es wird in Kissaka erzählt, daß die Bassuwi in größerer Zahl Frauen zu kaufen kommen und sich in der Landschaft Lukira aufhalten. Die Frauen sollen von ihnen weiter nach Tabora verkauft werden.

Dr. KANDT erwähnt [1]), daß es im Nordwesten des Landes einen regelrechten Sklavenimport gibt. „Alljährlich verkaufen die Wahunde, weil ihr Land zu klein für ihre großen Familien ist, aus Nahrungsmangel Hunderte ihrer Kinder als Sklaven nach Ruanda".

Märkte. Die Märkte, wo sich die Leute zu gewissen Tagesstunden versammeln, um ihre Güter auszutauschen, bilden eine nur im Norden und Westen stark verbreitete Einrichtung. Im Osten dagegen scheinen sie ganz zu fehlen. Dr. KANDT will in der Märkteinstitution einen Effekt des westlichen Einflusses sehen [2]). Das scheint mir nicht ganz zuzutreffen. Erstens ist sie auch in Nduga vorhanden, wie ich das persönlich feststellen konnte, zweitens haben wir genügend ausreichende Gründe, um annehmen zu können, daß das ursprüngliche, durch Batutsi noch nicht beeinflußte Bahutu-Ruanda den Gebieten jenseits des Großen Afrikanischen Grabens ganz ähnlich war. Die Märkte können eine sehr alte Einrichtung darstellen, die sich nur im Norden und Westen erhalten hat. In den Batutsi-Provinzen konnten die Märkte mit der Eroberung verschwinden, ebenso wie sie in der Umgebung der belgischen Stationen und vor allem im Uele verschwunden sind oder wenigstens vor den Augen der Eroberer verborgen werden. Diese haben nicht selten die Marktwaren mit Rücksicht auf die unbezahlten Steuern beschlagnahmt.

In Nduga habe ich zwei Märkte mit Eisenhacken (iguliro lyi byuma) gesehen. Der eine fand eine halbe Stunde von Kwa Rutagungira in Bulamba statt, der andere Marktplatz lag zwischen Niansa und Kabgaye auf einem Hügel, drei Stunden von dem letzteren Orte entfernt. Der Markt in der Nähe von Kwa Rutagungira war zur Zeit meines Durchmarsches von den Schmieden vom Ndisa-Berge stark besucht. Unterhalb von Marangara, am Njawarongo, in Bukonya befindet sich ein Kohlenmarkt. Die Kohlen werden im Tschingogo-Wald gebrannt und durch die Leute des Häuptlings Niamakwa aus Bushiru gegen Hirse und alte Hacken eingetauscht.

In Njundo, zwischen dem Hügel Katebe und der Ssebeja, an der Missionsbrücke findet alltäglich seit alten Zeiten ein Nahrungsmittelmarkt statt. Die Leute kommen früh zusammen und gehen zwischen 11 und 12 Uhr auseinander. Ein anderer Marktflecken liegt im Nordwesten von Kissenji.

In Mulera ist ein Marktplatz einige Stunden von Ruasa entfernt. Luhanga, der Stellvertreter von Nshohozamigo, versuchte den Markt in die Nähe der Mission Ruasa zu verlegen. Er dachte, er werde sich dadurch einerseits die Missionäre

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 435.
[2]) KANDT, R., Gewerbe in Ruanda. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1904, S. 332.

verpflichten und andererseits seine Einkünfte durch den Markt steigern. Es war nämlich zu erwarten, daß der große Weg, der über die Missionsbrücke führt und von allen nach Ruweruka und Bugoye Reisenden begangen wird, noch zahlreichere Marktbesucher als der alte Fleck versammeln würde. Die Erwartung hat sich aber nicht erfüllt. Die Leute kamen zwar ein paarmal aus Neugierde, zogen sich aber bald auf die alte Stelle zurück. Dieses Beispiel beweist, daß wir es hier mit alten, durch Tradition gefestigten Erscheinungen zu tun haben.

Die Märkte sind im Westen 3—4 Stunden voneinander entfernt, wie das schon durch Dr. KANDT[1]) bekannt geworden ist.

Der Markt in Njundo versammelte alltäglich zwischen 8 und 10 Uhr früh einige hundert Menschen. Beim Austausche waren auch mehrere Vermittler, die Kommissionen bezogen, beschäftigt. Um die Marktabgaben zu ersparen, wurden in der Nähe des Marktes auf den Wegen Abmachungen getroffen, so daß man auf den Scheidewegen kleine Nebenmärkte beobachten konnte.

Verkehrsverhältnisse. Der Munyaruanda reist zu Fuß. Wenn mehrere Menschen zusammen reisen, so bewegen sie sich im Gänsemarsch auf den jahrhunderte-

Abb. 52. Sänfte aus Mulera. ($^1/_{12}$ d. w. Gr. III 13685. 128 cm lang.)

lang benutzten, festgetrampelten Pfaden. Die Pfade meiden gerade Linien. Sie umgehen sorgfältig jedes Hindernis, jeden Stein, jeden gefallenen Baumstamm. Trotz dieser kleinen Schwankungen ist der Verlauf der Wege doch ganz genau festgelegt und durch die Fähren bestimmt. Nichts ist unrichtiger, als die nicht selten zu findende Behauptung, daß man auf den Märschen die beliebigen Pfade benutzen kann, wenn nur die Marschrichtung aufrecht erhalten bleibt. Man muß nicht selten bedeutende Umwege machen, um sich auf den stärker begangenen, bequemen Arterien bewegen zu können. Das fiel mir besonders auf, als ich in Njakagungu, auf dem Marsch vom Mohasi-See nach Nsasa, den Weg, der von Ruanda nach Karagwe führt, kreuzte. Die Wege halten sich an die Hügelrücken, da das Reisen in den Tälern wegen der zahlreichen Sümpfe in den Niederungen mit großen Schwierigkeiten verbunden ist. Das ständige Auf- und Absteigen, um von einem Hügelrücken auf den andern zu kommen, macht das Reisen recht beschwerlich.

Die Großen des Landes werden auf ihren Reisen in Sänften (ngobi) getragen. Die Sänfte stellt einen geflochtenen Trog dar. Dieser wird gebildet

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 294.

durch die, in der Längsrichtung verlaufenden, Bambusstäbe (migano), die miteinander durch Rotangstreifen verbunden werden. Der Trog hat an jeder Seite wenigstens drei Henkel, durch die zwei starke Bambusstäbe durchgeschoben werden. Diese Stäbe pflegen die Träger auf dem Kopfe mit Hilfe von runden Tragkissen zu halten. Die Träger bewegen sich im leichten Laufschritt. Der Getragene befindet sich in halb liegender Stellung.

Abb. 53. Tragkissen aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III 13093. 21 1/2 cm. Dm.)

Die Häuptlinge reisen mit dem ganzen einheimischen Komfort; so werden sie z. B. durch zwei Milchkühe (nzishwa), die unterwegs gemolken werden, begleitet.

Reittiere benutzen nur die Europäer.

Brücken waren in Ruanda bis unlängst ganz unbekannt. Jetzt hat man eine auf dem Gelände der Mission Ruasa über die schwer passierbaren Stromschnellen der Mukungwa angelegt. Eine andere verbindet die Mission Issawi mit den benachbarten Hügeln. Sie ist über einen Sumpf geworfen.

Die Flußübergänge sind seit altersher mit Einbäumen, die zum Übersetzen der Reisenden dienen, versehen. Auf der Akanjaru-Fähre, in der Nähe von Kihinga, hatte ich Gelegenheit ein aus Schilf und Papyrus zusammengebundenes Floß zu sehen. Das Floß wurde von einem Ufer zum anderen mit Hilfe eines aus Papyrus geflochtenen Strickes gezogen. Das 3 × 3 m große, quadratische Floß war stark genug um sieben Träger mit ihren Lasten zu tragen.

Der über einen km breite Akanjaru hatte nicht einmal eine zwanzig Meter breite freie Wasserfläche, auf der man sich mit dem Floß bewegen konnte. Das übrige war ein dicht bewachsener Papyrussumpf, in dem man, wohl bis über die Hüften eingesunken, waten müßte, wenn der Weg zu dieser Zeit nicht durch die nebeneinander gelegten Schilf- und Papyrusmassen bequem gangbar gemacht worden wäre. Kleinere Dämme werden vielfach in den Sümpfen mit Rücksicht auf die Kühe angelegt. Wenn der Sumpf ein bedeutendes Gefälle hat, so wird oberhalb des Dammes eine freie, tiefere Wasserfläche hergestellt, die als Viehtränke dient.

Der ganze Güterverkehr wird in Ruanda durch Träger besorgt. Die einzige benutzte Wasserstraße ist der Kiwu. Er wird mit großen, primitiven, seeuntüchtigen Einbäumen befahren, die recht bedeutende Lasten tragen können. Sonst dienen die Boote nur zum Übersetzen der Reisenden über die Flüsse auf den Verkehrsstraßen.

Die Flüsse Ruanda's haben aber bedeutende schiffbare Strecken, die in der Zukunft mit der Entwickelung des Verkehrs sicher ausgenutzt werden.

So ist z. B., wie ich mich überzeugen konnte, der Njawarongo schiffbar vom Ndisa-Berge bis zum Zusammenflusse mit der Mukungwa, und weiter darüber hinaus. Auch an der Kissaka-Grenze konnte ich die Schiffbarkeit des Kagera feststellen. Ebenfalls soll der Kagera von der Ruwuwu-Mündung bis zum Mpororo-Knie für die Schiffe zugänglich sein.

Lasttiere benutzt man in Ruanda bis jetzt noch nicht, wenn auch die im Lande lebenden 20—25 Reitesel vortrefflich gedeihen und den dort weilenden Europäern gute Dienste leisten.

Das Ausnützen der Wasserwege und der Lasttiere setzt jedoch ein Steigen der Trägerlöhne und eine Entwickelung des Handels, für den die vorhandenen Träger nicht mehr ausreichen werden, voraus.

Die Lasten werden in Ruanda, im Gegensatze zu den nordwestlichen Congo-Gebieten, auf dem Kopfe getragen. Erst bei den Bahunde, im Westen, beginnt das Tragen auf dem Rücken. Die Ostgrenze dieser Art des Tragens geht, wie es scheint, vom Kiwu zum Rutshuru-Fluß herüber und folgt weiter nach Norden, im Osten des Edward-Sees, der Ostgrenze des Bakondjo-Gebietes entlang.

Zum Lebensmittel- und Kohlentransport dienen im Norden hohe konische Bambuskörbe, die in ihrer Mitte durch ein Tragkissen gestützt, auf dem Kopfe balancieren. Nicht selten werden auch kleine Pakete aus Bananenblättern gemacht. Die Pakete pflegt man in der Regel zwischen drei Ästen, Bambusstämmen oder auch zwischen kleineren Bündeln von Hirsestroh einzuklemmen. Mit Hilfe dieser Vorrichtung können sie beim Tragen mit der Hand gehalten werden. Die Pakete herrschen im Süden vor. Für Kleinigkeiten und für Toilettegegenstände werden dort auf Reisen vorwiegend breite, niedrige Stäbchenkörbe mit konischen Deckeln verwendet. Man setzt sie einfach auf den Kopf.

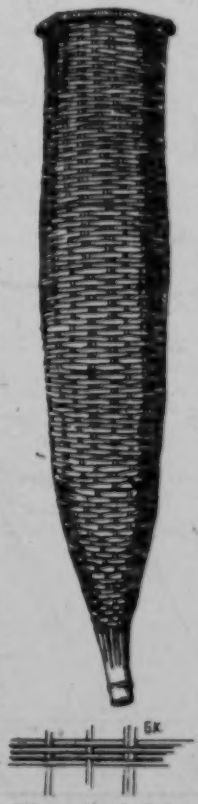

Abb. 54. Lastkorb für Transport u. zum Aufbewahren der Lebensmittel. ($^1/_{10}$ d. w. Gr. III E 13688. 140 cm hoch.)

Bier und Wasser werden in irdenen, mit Bananenblättern zugebundenen und mit Umflechtungen versehenen, Töpfen getragen.

Bei der Betrachtung der Verkehrsmittel darf in Ruanda der einheimische Telegraph nicht vergessen werden. Trommelsignalisation wird hier im bescheidenen Umfange angewendet. Der König trommelt die Krieger bei der herannahenden Gefahr zusammen. Die Nachrichten aber werden von Hügel zu Hügel auf eine besondere Weise herübergerufen, so daß man in Niansa stets darüber wohl unterrichtet ist, was im Lande vorgeht. Man hat Kunde von

jedem reisenden Europäer, von jedem Küheraub an der Grenze und von jeder Unruhe im Lande. Die Nachricht wandert rasch von Hügel zu Hügel nach der Hauptstadt. Der Nachrichtendienst ist so gut, daß man annehmen könnte, daß besondere Signalisten ihren Dienst pünktlich ausführen müssen.

Abb. 55. Reisekorb aus Ruanda. (1/8 d. w. Gr. III E 6986. 84 cm hoch.)

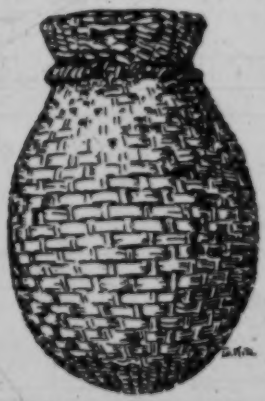

Abb. 56. Umflochtener Topf aus Mulera. (1/8 d. w. Gr. III 13746. 50 cm hoch.)

Verkehrsarterien. Zum Schlusse sollen noch die Hauptverkehrs- und Handelsrouten von Ruanda kurz zusammengestellt werden.

1. Der Pfad Bukoba—Kafuro—Kissaka—Bugessera—Nduga ist der Weg, auf dem Felle von Ruanda zu der Uganda-Bahn befördert werden. Ihn benutzt, wie es scheint, auch die Hauptmasse der Baumwollstoffe und Perlen, die man in Ruanda sieht. Der Handel auf dieser Route wird hauptsächlich von den Indern aus Kafuro mit Hilfe der Leute von Kahigi getrieben. Ich erreichte diese Route auf dem Marsche von Njansa am Mohasi-See nach Nsasa in Njakagungu, einen Tag südlicher vom See. Auf dem Wege begegnete ich einer Händlerkarawane, die Vieh gegen ihre 10 Lasten billigen Baumwollstoffes eintauschte. Diese neue, durch die Uganda-Bahn veranlaßte Verkehrsader hat

2. die alte Route Tabora—Ussuwi—Kissaka—Nduga abgeschnitten und ihrer früheren Bedeutung beraubt. Jetzt soll die letztere noch einen Weg, auf dem der Frauenhandel der Bassuwi gedeiht, abgeben. Auf diesem Wege drang Graf v. Götzen als erster Europäer in das Land ein.

3. Die Route Nduga—Mukinjaga—Bunyabungu ist der Exportweg für das Kleinvieh, womit der Eisenimport gedeckt wird. Auf diesem Wege kommen die in ganz Ruanda bekannten Mukinjaga-Matten in den Verkehr.

4. Die Route Nduga—Mulera—Ufumbiro—Katana ist der Salzweg, auf dem Salz nach Süden und Kleinvieh nach Norden befördert wird. Von der Siedelung Lukara's am Muhawura erreichen die Händler Katana ohne Lasten in vier Tagen und kehren mit Salz beladen in sechs Tagen zurück. Eine Nebenlinie in dieser Arterie bildet die Route

5. Nduga—Bugoye—Kishari—Edward-See, auf der Salz vom Edward-See und Eisen aus dem Congo-Staate eingeführt werden.

6. Eine weitere, für Eisenhacken recht wichtige Linie ist der Weg Kishari—Bugoye—Mulera—Ruweruka, von der sich der Weg Bugoye—Kissaka abzweigt. Die Brücke der Mission Ruasa bildet eine sehr bequeme Stelle zum Beobachten des Verkehrs mit Ruweruka.

7. Für den Schmuggel aus dem Congo-Staate hat die größte Bedeutung die Rusisi-Route, die Kissenji und Ischangi mit dem Tanganjika (Usumbura) verbindet. Auf diesem Umwege erreicht das Elfenbein und der Kautschuk Tabora und die Eisenbahn.

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8. Kapitel.

Kleidung, Schmuck und Waffen.

Kleidung. — Schmuck. — Rauchgerät. — Körperbehandlung. — Speer. — Bogen, Pfeil und Köcher. — Hiebwaffen. — Schild.

Kleidung. In Kleidung, Schmuck und Waffen läßt sich in Ruanda eine Vermischung der den Wald-Bantu eigenen Formen mit den für die östlichen Steppengebiete charakteristischen Elementen nicht verkennen. So trifft hier der Rindenstoff mit der Fellkleidung zusammen. Beinringe aus Gras sieht man neben

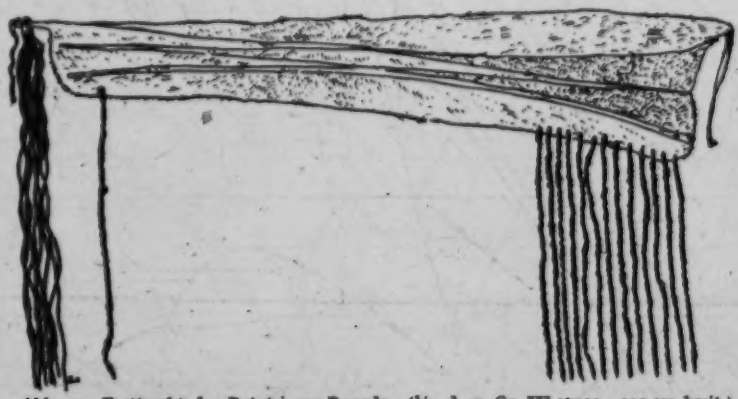

Abb. 57. Festtracht der Batutsi aus Ruanda. ($^1/_{12}$ d. w. Gr. III 16911. 125 cm breit.)

Drahtspiralen. Ostafrikanische runde Bogen mit Schnursehne erblickt man neben zusammengesetzten Bogen mit einer Sehne aus Bambusstreifen. Die ostafrikanischen Elemente stehen dabei im Vordergrunde und fallen zunächst auf, die westlichen Elemente sind dagegen mehr oder weniger zurückgedrängt. In der materiellen Kultur spiegeln sich die historischen Ereignisse, deren Tatsächlichkeit auch durch anthropologische Beweise belegt werden kann, ganz treu ab.

Mit Rücksicht auf das eben Erwähnte ist es auch leicht verständlich, warum in der Kleidung der Banyaruanda Felle die erste Rolle spielen. Rindenstoffe, die man nicht so gut wie in Kiziba oder in Buganda z. B. herzustellen versteht, kommen erst in zweiter Linie in Betracht. Der Mututsi kennt in seiner Festtracht keinen Rindenstoff. Dieses veranlaßt uns den Rindenstoff mit der

[p. 170]

Bahutu-Unterschicht in Zusammenhang zu bringen. Ein Argument zugunsten dieser Auffassung ist auch in der Tatsache zu erblicken, daß die Höhe der Rindenstofftechnik in Buganda erreicht wird. Dort ist aber der Einfluß des Hirtenadels auch am geringsten.

Die Festtracht der Batutsi bildet ein schmales Stück Kuhfell (mukane), mit ca. 20 langen, schmalen, herunterhängenden Streifen (ndengera). Die Streifen bestehen meistens aus Kuhfell, sie können aber auch, wie die Streifen an den Tabaksbeuteln, aus Otterfell hergestellt sein. Das Schneiden dieser Streifen wird „kutera indengera" genannt. Das Fell ist hellgrau, wird mit dem Haar nach außen getragen und durch Umkrämpung des Randes an den Lenden befestigt.

Abb. 58. Geflochtener Schurz für Jungfrauen und Kinder. Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III 9923. 33 cm breit.)

Mit dem „mukane" darf nicht das „nshavure" verwechselt werden. Dieses ist ein gewöhnliches, schmales Fell ohne Fransen, das von den Kindern, jungen Mädchen und sogar von erwachsenen Hirten, wenn sie am frühen Morgen zum Vieh hinausgehen, getragen wird.

Kinder und Jungfrauen tragen noch aus Bananenfasern geflochtene Schurze (nduyongo), in der Art der Graskleider der Baziba.

Im Alltagsleben kleiden sich die Batutsi ganz allgemein in Baumwollstoffe. Diese Kleidung besteht aus zwei Stücken Stoff, jedes zwei Yard lang und ein Yard breit. Das eine Stück wird um die Lenden geschlagen (kukenyara), das andere auf die Schulter geworfen (kuitera). Als Schulterstücke sind dabei rotgedruckte, aber doch nicht grelle Tücher besonders beliebt. Die Baumwollstoffe werden ebenso wie die Felle mit Butter eingeschmiert.

Abb. 59. Unterleibschnur mit aufgereihten Stücken von Stachelschweinborsten. Ruanda. (1/8 d. w. Gr. III E 3954. 161 cm lang.)

Bahutu kleiden sich überwiegend in Ziegen- und Schaffelle. Sie tragen jedoch noch viel Rindenstoff und in der Nähe von Missionen auch Baumwollzeug. Die Felle und Stoffe werden von den Bahutu in derselben Weise, wie das Baumwollzeug von den Batutsi getragen.

Die den Bahutu körperlich und sprachlich nahe verwandten Bahunde ziehen ein Stück Rindenstoff zwischen den Beinen, wie ihre westlichen Nachbarn aus dem Kongo-Becken, durch, statt es, wie die Banyaruanda das „kukenyara", um die Lenden zu schlagen. Man darf vermuten, daß das westafrikanische Durchziehen zwischen den Beinen das Ursprüngliche auch bei den Bahutu sei. Dafür spricht auch die Tatsache, daß bei den Banyaruanda auch unter der Stoffkleidung Unterleibschnüre, oft mit Glasperlen geschmückt, getragen werden. Diese dienten seinerzeit wohl zur Befestigung des zwischen den Beinen durchgezogenen Rindenstoffes. Die umgeschlagenen Kleidungsstücke bedürfen ihrer nicht. Die letzteren bilden, wie es scheint, das Ergebnis

einer späteren ostafrikanischen Beeinflussung, die auch durch die Batutsi verursacht sein kann. An diesem Bekleidungsprinzip wird nämlich bei ihrer alten, jetzt nur bei festlichen Gelegenheiten und kultuellen Handlungen benutzten Tracht festgehalten.

Die verheirateten Frauen umwickeln ihre Hüften mit einem weichen, bis zu den Knöcheln herunterreichenden Kuhfell (inkanda), das mit Hilfe einer Schnur oder eines Riemens geschlossen und befestigt wird. Dieser Riemen

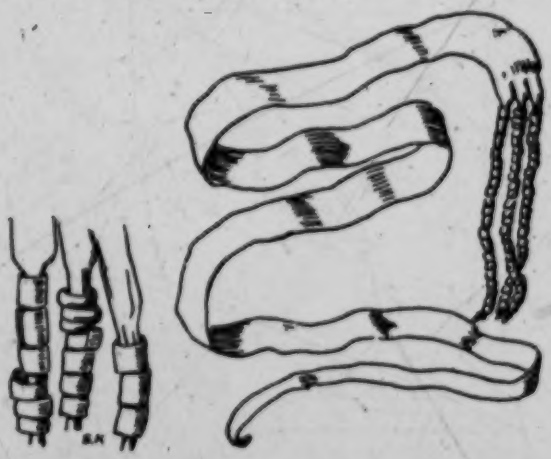

Abb. 60. Weibergurt aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13701. 145 cm lang.)

ist gewöhnlich am freien Ende in einige Stränge zerschnitten, die durch mehrere aufgereihte Glas- oder Eisenperlen (ngimbi) geschmückt sind. Die geflochtene Bastschnur wird „indjishi" genannt.

Das bearbeitete Kuhfell stellt einen relativ sehr hohen Wert dar und wird mehrere Jahre hindurch getragen. Bei der Abnutzung flickt man es und näht es sorgfältig zusammen. Nicht alle Frauen jedoch können sich diese kostspielige, wenn auch dauerhafte Kleidung verschaffen und müssen, wie erwachsene Mädchen, Ziegenfelle und Rindenstoffe (mpuzu) tragen. In der Nähe von Missionen, wo für Arbeitsleistungen mit Stoffen gezahlt wird, tragen sie als Ersatz für das Kuhfell auch Baumwollstoffe.

Die Frauenkleidung ergänzt ein Ziegenfell, das über die Schultern geworfen wird. Dieses Kleidungsstück kann jedoch auch fehlen, ohne daß die Kleidung deswegen für unvollständig angesehen wird.

Das Kind wird immer in einem Schaffell auf dem Rücken mitgetragen. Das Fell pflegt man mittels zweier Streifen Rindenstoff oder zweier Stücke Bananenstammrinde über und unter den Brüsten der Mutter zusammenzubinden. Diese Stücke werden an die Beinvorsprünge des Felles angebunden.

Die kindertragenden Frauen halten gewöhnlich in der linken Hand sorgfältig zusammengelegte Blätter, um im Notfalle ihren Rücken und das Kind abzuwischen.

Batwa benutzen dieselbe Kleidung wie die Bahutu, mit dem Unterschiede nur, daß bei ihnen Baumwollstoffe sehr selten sind. Dr. KANDT jedoch hat Unterschiede in der Frauenkleidung beobachten können. Er sagt nämlich[1]) über die Batwa-Weiber: „Ein Schurz aus zerschlissenen Bananenblättern deckte ihre Scham; als Schmuck trugen die welken Körper nur ein paar Ketten von eng aneinandergereihten bläulichen Milchglasscheibchen, die aus einem Schneckengehäuse angefertigt waren." Ich hatte Gelegenheit, am Muhawura und in Kabgaye Batwa-Frauen aus der Nähe zu sehen und zu messen. Diese trugen die in Ruanda übliche Kleidung und den allgemein benutzten Schmuck. Die Batwa-Frauen aus dem Dorfe Ngunzu's sah ich nur im Urwald, nachdem sie, durch die Karawane überrascht, die Flucht ergriffen hatten.

Das Herrschen der Mode konnte ich in Ruanda nur an den Mustern der europäischen bedruckten Stoffe und den Sorten der Glasperlen konstatieren. Im Nordwesten von Ruanda erregten besondere Freude die belgischen Stoffe, die aber auch von besserer Qualität als die von der Ostküste aus vertriebenen Sorten waren.

Als zeitweilige Kleidung während des Regens werden Bananenblätter um die Lenden geschlagen. Die im Wasser watenden Fischer bedienen sich derselben Kleidung.

Der Munyaruanda kennt aber den Gebrauch des heimischen Regenschirmes. Im einfachsten Falle besteht dieser improvisierte Regenschirm aus einem großen Bananenblatt, das man über dem Kopfe trägt. Der eigentliche Regenschirm ist aus Bananenstammrinde gemacht, die auf einem Rahmen muldenförmig gespannt wird. Man trägt ihn auf dem Kopfe und stützt mit dem Rücken (vgl. Bd. III, Taf. 23).

Abb. 61. Sandalen aus Bgisha.
(1/8 d. w. Gr. III 10947. 25 cm lang.)

Sandalen konnte ich nur in der Nähe der Lavaebene in Rulenge (Bgisha) beobachten. Sie werden aus Bananenblättern angefertigt und haben, wie es bei den europäischen Kletterschuhen der Fall ist, eine Sohle aus platt zusammengefügtem Geflecht; sie nutzen sich aber sehr schnell auf dem scharfen Boden ab, so daß auf eine Wanderung mehrere Paare mitgenommen werden müssen.

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 302.

Die Leute benutzen sie nur auf den für die Füße direkt gefährlichen Strecken und laufen sonst, wo es nur einigermaßen möglich ist, barfuß. Dr. KANDT[1]) erwähnt das Vorkommen der Sandalen bei den Batündwe, die, wie es scheint, ein Nordzweig der Bahunde bilden und in der Nähe des Südufers des Albert-Sees sitzen.

Schmuck. Eine Kopfbedeckung wird in Ruanda nur vom König getragen, der bei festlichen Angelegenheiten eine Mütze benutzt. Diese Mütze besteht aus einem 20 cm hohen, mit Glasperlen gestickten Zylinder, von dem Perlenschnüre, die in bestickte Stäbchen enden, herunterhängen. Die Schnüre haben zwei verschiedene Längen, so daß die Stäbchen in zwei Schichten übereinander hängen und einen Perlenschleier bilden. Die Schnüre fehlen hinten und über der Nase. Dort fällt ein besticktes Band, das bis unterhalb der Nasenwurzel reicht, herunter. An ihm hängen drei bestickte Stäbchen, die auf der Nase liegen und bis zum Munde reichen. Am Perlenbande ist ein Colobusfell befestigt. Diese Beigabe verdient besondere Beachtung, da der Priester des Wamara in Nkole seinen Kopf mit einem Colobusfell schmückt, und das Tier den „umuziru" der Bahinda bildet, die im Osten und Norden von Ruanda herrschen.

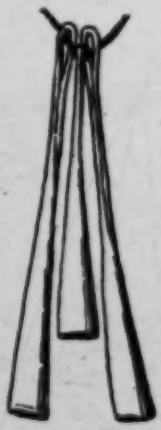

Abb. 62. Tapferkeitsabzeichen aus Mulera. (Ungefähr in natürlicher Gr.)

Es läßt sich nicht feststellen, ob das Tragen der Mütze durch den Herrscher in irgendeinem Zusammenhange mit den Sitten des Uele-Beckens steht, wo die Mütze das Vorrecht des Freien bildet. Sonst wird der Kopfschmuck in Ruanda nur durch einen Fellstreifen oder eine Perlschnur gebildet.

Im Kopfschmuck läßt sich zwischen den Bahutu und Batutsi ein, wie es scheint, wichtiger, wenn auch nicht stets durchgehender Unterschied feststellen. Die Batutsi schieben den Kopfschmuck auf die Stirn bis zu den Augenbrauen herunter, während ihn die Bahutu vorn bis zum Haarrande heben und hinten auf dem Hinterhaupt tief herunterlassen.

Abb. 63. Mütterkopfschmuck aus Mulera. (1/3 d. w. Gr. L 14044. Dm. 18 cm)

Den Kopfschmuck ergänzen die zahlreichen Amulettbehälter aus Antilopenhörnern, Wildschweinzähnen u. a. In Mulera sieht man außer diesen noch häufig dünne, lange, konische Anhängsel aus Eisen, die auf ihren Spitzen in Ösen endigen und mittels dieser auf dem Hinterhaupte am Kopfbande hängen. Man soll das Recht, je eines dieser Schmuckstücke anlegen zu dürfen, durch je einen erlegten Feind erwerben.

Die säugenden Mütter tragen den „lugori" genannten Kopfschmuck. Er besteht aus einem drei bis vier cm breiten Streifen aus Maisstroh. Der Streifen

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 478.

wird zu einem geschlossenen Bande, zu einer Krone, zusammengenäht. Der „lugori" ist am Rande mit ausgenähten Verzierungen versehen. In Marangara sah ich auch bei einer Mutwa-Frau ein „lugori" aus Maisstroh.

Im Zusammenhange mit dem Schmucke muß noch der Kamm (rusokozo) erwähnt werden, wenn man ihn auch in Ruanda im Gegensatze zu den Gebieten im Westen nicht in den Haaren zu tragen pflegt und nur zum Kämmen benutzt.

Die Kämme werden in Ruanda aus einem Stück Holz geschnitzt und haben drei bis acht Zinken. Die Zinken ragen in der Regel aus der Basis eines Dreieckes hervor, der an seiner Spitze eine durchbohrte Verdickung trägt. Manchmal ist die Einfassung rechteckig und mit einem längeren Griff versehen. Die Kämme sind, wie ich beobach-

Abb. 64. Kamm aus Mulera. (3/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13035. 27 1/2 cm lang.)

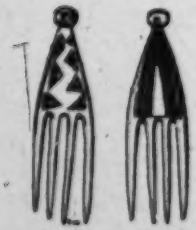

Abb. 65. Vorder- und Hinterseite eines Mulera-Kammes. (3/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13700. 14 1/2 cm lang.)

Abb. 66. Kamm aus Ndúga. (1/2 d. w. Gr. III E 13036. 21 1/2 cm lang.)

Abb. 67. Kamm aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13697. 15 1/2 cm lang.)

ten konnte, fast immer sehr roh geschnitzt und ornamentiert. Über die Kämme des Bahunde-Gebietes dagegen sagt Dr. KANDT[1]): „Vielfach sah ich Kämme, die an einer Schnur getragen werden, mit drei bis sechs Zinken, zum Teil sehr hübsche Holzschnitzereien, und Nadeln zum Schlichten des Haares aus Holz, Horn, Knochen und anderem Material; diese meist zwischen das krause Gelock gesteckt."

Die, von Dr. KANDT im Westen von Kiwu gesammelten, Haarnadeln verdienen besondere Beachtung, da sie nicht nur ihrer Form nach mit den Haarnadeln der Momvu identisch sind. Der für sie durch Dr. KANDT ermittelte Namen „kassokodso" klingt auch an das Momvu sehr stark an. Im Momvu bedeutet „kasso" oder „kosse" das Haupthaar. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß wir hier eine Spur der nach dem Süden versprengten Momvu vor uns haben. Da die Momvu durch die Mangbetu im Uele-Becken nach dem Süden getrieben

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput XIII. Berlin 1904, S. 444.

werden, und der Mangbetu-Stamm der Barumbi bis in die Nähe des Edward-Sees vorgedrungen ist, so ist es auch nicht ganz unwahrscheinlich, daß eine Anzahl Momvu von ihnen bis in die Nähe des Kiwu gedrängt worden ist.

Abb. 68. Haarnadeln aus dem westlichen Kiwu-Ländern. (1/2 d. w. Gr. III E 10263, III E 10263 und III E 10266. 14, 16 und 15 1/2 cm lang.)

Ferner sagt über diese Gebiete Dr. KANDT[1]): „Auch Wildschweinzähne dienen als Zierden, meist für den Kopf. Sie werden entweder flach auf den vorderen Teil des Schädeldachs gelegt oder sagittal, so daß der dünne, spitze Teil nach vorn und oben ragt. In Ujungu trug man auch Halbmonde à la Diana; sie bestanden aus zwei Eberzähnen, deren dicke Enden aneinandergelegt und mit einem Lederscharnier verbunden waren." Schmuckstücke dieser Art, wenn auch auf der Brust getragen, habe ich bei den Balondjo zu beobachten Gelegenheit gehabt.

Der Körperschmuck der Banyaruanda ist im allgemeinen weder reich noch mannigfaltig. Er ist nicht differenziert nach der sozialen Stellung der Geschmückten. Man hat hier bei den Vornehmen solche Prachtstücke, wie die Königsmütze, nicht. Außerhalb von Mulera unterscheidet er nicht den Tapferen vom Feigen und wirkt nur durch Anhäufung großer Mengen von Schmuckstücken, z. B. auf den Extremitäten der Privilegierten und Frauen.

Abb. 69. Kopfschmuck aus Itambi. (1/2 d. w. Gr. III 10182. Dm. 7 1/2 cm.)

Der eigentliche Körperschmuck besteht aus Hals- und Leibschnüren.

Den gewöhnlichen, am stärksten verbreiteten Halsschmuck bilden, auf Bastfäden aufgereihte, Glasperlen und Ketten, von den zahlreichen Amuletten, die vor allem von den Batutsi getragen werden, abgesehen. Manchmal wird vorn zwischen den Glasperlen eine oder seltener mehrere Kaurimuscheln getragen. Man sieht aber auch Halsbänder aus Ziegen- und Schafknochen, die auf Bastschnüren aufgereiht und nur mit wenigen Glasperlen geschmückt sind. Halsbänder aus zugeschliffenen Muschelscheiben (kissanga) sind dagegen selten. Manchmal besteht das Halsband aus einem Lederstreifen, an dem ein Stück Elfenbein hängt.

Über die Gebiete im Westen vom Kiwu sagt Dr. KANDT[2]): „Häufig ist

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 443.
[2]) Ebenda S. 443.

ferner ein Hals- und Brustschmuck aus kurzen Elefantenbabyzähnen, die wie Dominosteine mit schwarzen Kreisen ornamentiert werden." Im eigentlichen Ruanda hatte ich keine Gelegenheit, dieselben zu beobachten.

Abb. 71. Halsschmuck aus geschliffenen Muschelschalen aus Ruanda. (1/8 d. w. Gr. III E 32310. 44 cm lang.)

Hüftenschnüre werden ebenfalls mit Perlen geschmückt. Es ist sehr auffällig, daß die Batutsi eine Perlenschnur oder mehrere mit vereinzelten Glasperlen geschmückte, fein geflochtene Strohringe eine Handbreit über der Lendenumhüllung (mukane) bei ihrer Fest- und Kultustracht anlegen. Die Unabhängigkeit der Leibschnüre von der Umhüllung zeigt, daß die ersteren mit dem Lendenumschlag nichts zu tun haben. Es ist daher wahrscheinlich, daß man hier wohl mit einer Entlehnung von den Bahutu zu tun hat, bei denen sie noch im Westen vom Kiwu zur Befestigung des zwischen den Beinen durchgezogenen Kleidungsstückes (Rindenstoffes) benutzt wird.

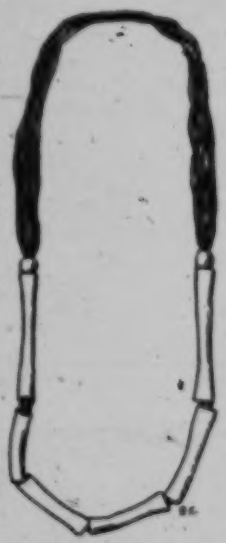

Abb. 70. Halsschmuck aus Schafknochen. Ndugu. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13038. 2 × 41 cm lang.)

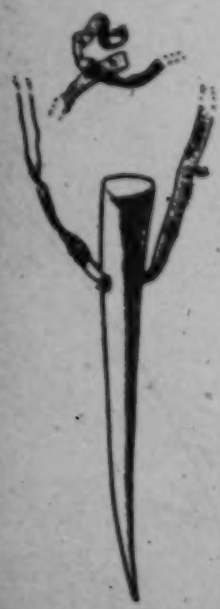

Abb. 72. Halsschmuck aus Ruanda. (1/8 d. w. Gr. III E 3958. 14 cm lang.)

Die Extremitäten werden durch zahlreiche Arm- und Fußbänder geschmückt, die am Handgelenk und am Knöchel der beiden Körperseiten getragen werden. Es ist doch sehr wahrscheinlich, daß früher, wie bei den Bakondjo, Schmuckstücke über den Waden und über dem Biceps getragen wurden. Die Männer tragen oft jetzt noch Armringe über dem Biceps, an welchen ganz kleine Dolche in hölzernen Scheiden befestigt sind. Bei Tinnea werden über den Waden Schellen angelegt, und im Westen vom Kiwu trägt man „Wadenringe aus Eisendraht mit Messingröhrchen verziert"[1]).

Abb. 73. Hüftenringe aus Stroh. Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 9909.)

[1]) J. Kandt, R., Caput Nilli. Berlin 1904, S. 444.

Die am meisten verbreitete Armringform besteht aus einem feinen Faserbündel, das mit einer Spirale von dünnem Draht so dicht umwickelt ist, daß man die Fasern gar nicht mehr sehen kann. Dieses Armband wird gewöhnlich mit einer großen, weißen oder blauen Glasperle geschmückt. Die Perle gleitet frei auf der Spirale und wird gewöhnlich auf dem Handrücken getragen. Als Material dienen Messing, Kupfer und Eisen. Die beiden ersten spielen hier die Rolle der Edelmetalle.

Abb. 74. Armringdolch aus Ruanda. (1/3 d. w. Gr. III E 9896.)

Abb. 75. Armring aus Ruanda. (1/3 d. w. Gr. III E 6881.)

Einfache Armringe (ibimiamasuru) aus einem zusammengebogenen Stück Draht, das das Handgelenk umfaßt, werden ebenfalls getragen und, wie es scheint, in Mulera mehr als im Südosten benutzt. Manchmal wird der relativ dicke Draht plattgeschmiedet, so daß das Armband die Form eines niedrigen Zylinders annimmt.

Die Armringe pflegt man in größerer Zahl zu tragen. Manchmal kann man auch zusammengesetzte Armringe finden; sie bestehen aus mehreren dünneren Drähten, die an ihren Enden stark eingefaßt sind und ein breites Armband bilden.

Abb. 76. Frauenarmring aus Mulera. (1/3 d. w. Gr. III 13708. Dm. 6 cm.)

Abb. 77. Zusammengesetztes Armband aus Ruanda. (1/3 d. w. Gr. L 14964. 7 cm Durchmesser.)

Abb. 78. Armring aus Mukinjaga. (1/3 d. w. Gr. III E 6895. Dm. 7 cm.)

Hauptmann W. v. Grawert schenkte dem Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde einen Armring, wo die Ränder des ursprünglich plattgeschmiedeten Drahtstückes nach außen gebogen sind, und die dadurch entstandene Rinne mit einer Harzmasse gefüllt ist. In dieser sind kleine Knochenstücke eingebettet. Ich hatte Gelegenheit, ein ganz ähnliches Armband aus Leder zu sehen. In der Rinne waren kleine Glasperlen. Diese Formen wurden schon von Dr. Kandt beschrieben[1]).

Elfenbeinarmringe — hatte ich keine Gelegenheit, im eigentlichen Ruanda, zu beobachten. Sie sind mir wenigstens nicht aufgefallen. Dr. Kandt sagt[2]) diesbezüglich: „Im Norden von Bunyabungu beginnen Ringe aus Elfenbein

[1]) Kandt, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1894. S. 444.

[2]) Ebenda S. 445.

für Handgelenk und Oberarm häufig zu werden; in Itambi treten sie noch vermehrter auf, und in Ujungu trägt sie jeder dritte Mann".

Die Beinringe werden, wie schon gesagt, über den Knöcheln getragen und unterscheiden sich von den aus Drahtspiralen hergestellten Armringen bei den Männern nur durch ihre Größe. Bei den alltäglich benutzten Beinringen wiegt als Herstellungsmaterial Kupfer vor. Bei feierlichen Anlässen legen aber die Batutsi nur Beinringe aus feinen eisernen Drahtspiralen an. Man belastet dabei die Füße mit einer so großen Zahl von aufeinanderliegenden Schmuckstücken, daß die ganze Belastung mehrere Kilo beträgt.

Die Frauen von Ost- und Zentral-Ruanda tragen über den Knöcheln eine sehr große Anzahl aus Gras geflochtener Ringe (butega). Die Ringe liegen auf-

Abb. 79. Frauenbeinring aus Gras. Ruanda. (1/3 d. w. Gr. III E 5233. Dm. 10 cm.)

Abb. 80. Beinringbündel aus Ruanda. (1/3 d. w. Gr. III E 13709. Dm. 9 cm.)

einander und bilden einen fast bis zum Knie reichenden Zylinder, der die Füße stark belastet und den charakteristischen schleppenden Gang der Banyaruanda-Frauen nach sich zieht.

In Mulera tragen die Frauen noch sieben bis acht mm dicke eiserne Beinringe, was ich weder in Nduga noch in Kissaka beobachten konnte. Dafür war aber die Zahl der von ihnen getragenen „butega" wesentlich kleiner.

In Bugoye werden von den Frauen dieselben Beinringe wie von den Männern getragen.

Rauchgerät. Im Zusammenhange mit dem Schmucke müssen auch die Tabaksbeutel und die Tabakspfeifen besprochen werden.

Die am häufigsten benutzten Tabaksbeutel unterscheiden sich von den Tabaksbeuteln der Bakondjo nicht. Sie sind bei den Vornehmen durch Fransen aus Otterfell geschmückt, die bei billigen Stücken durch Schnüre ersetzt werden. Man flechtet die Beutel aus Bast und trägt sie auf der Brust. Man kann sie aber auch gelegentlich auf dem Kopfe zusammengelegt sehen (vgl. bd. III, Taf. 4 und 22).

Ein kleiner Tabakvorrat und eine Pfeife bilden ihren Inhalt. Manchmal werden in den Tabaksbeuteln auch ein Feuerbohrer und andere Kleinigkeiten getragen. Tabaksbeutel aus Ziegenfell, in der Art der in Kiziba benutzten, hatte ich keine Gelegenheit zu beobachten. Man kann aber hie und da einen Tabaksbeutel aus Rinderblase sehen. Diese werden gewöhnlich um den Kopf gebunden und auf der Stirn getragen.

Abb. 81. Tabaksbeutel aus Rinderblase. Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 6998. 31 cm lang.)

Die Ruanda-Pfeife unterscheidet sich scharf von den Bahima-Pfeifen aus dem Norden des Zwischenseengebietes. Während die letzteren kugelförmige

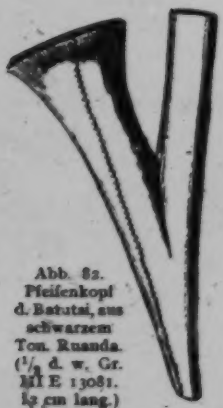

Abb. 82. Pfeifenkopf d. Batutsi, aus schwarzem Ton. Ruanda. (1/2 d. w. Gr. III E 13081. 12 cm lang.)

Abb. 84. Pfeifenköpfe der Bahutu aus Ruanda. (1/2 d. w. Gr.)

Abb. 83. Pfeifenkopf aus schwarzem Ton. Ruanda. (1/2 d. w. Gr. III E 13080. 9 cm lang.)

Abb. 85. Pfeifenkopf aus weißem Ton. Bahutu aus Ruanda. (1/2 d. w. Gr.)

Abb. 86. Pfeifenkopf aus Bgisha. (1/2 d. w. Gr.)

Abb. 87. Pfeife aus Mulera. (1/2 d. w. Gr. III 13715. 5 1/2 cm lang.)

Behälter haben, stellt die Ruanda-Pfeife einen langen, spitzen Konus dar, in dem unter einem sehr scharfen Winkel die zylindrische Einfassung des Pfeifenrohres (muheha) mündet. Die divergierenden Ränder des Behälters (inkono) sind manchmal verdickt. Die von den Bahutu benutzten Pfeifen sind gewöhnlich weniger schlank und zierlich, und man kann auch nicht selten Formen antreffen, bei welchen die Behälter ein wenig nach oben konvergieren, so daß sich in ihnen die etwas bäuchige Kiziba-Form andeutet. Diese Abweichung wird ebenfalls gewöhnlich von einer Verlängerung des Pfeifenstieles begleitet.

Körperbehandlung. Den eigentlichen Kopfschmuck der Banyaruanda bilden die „masunzu", das in Mustern ausrasierte Haar. Die „masunzu" bilden den Stolz des Mannes und sind manchmal mehrere Zentimeter lang, wodurch selbstverständlich eine Kopfbedeckung unmöglich gemacht wird. Und wenn die Rasiermuster auch bei den Batutsi die schönsten und sehr wohlgepflegten Formen erreichen, so muß man sie doch mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit mit der Bahutu-Unterschicht in Zusammenhang bringen. Sie dehnen sich nämlich

Abb. 88. Rasiermuster aus Kissaka.

ununterbrochen über die Batutsi-Einflußzone hinweg im Westen aus und scheinen dort bodenständig zu sein, während sie dagegen im Osten bei den Bahima allmählich verkümmern und verschwinden.

Die „masunzu" habe ich zum ersten Male in Ishenye, auf der östlichen Grenze von Mpororo, gesehen.

In Buhaya sieht man Rasiermuster nur bei den Kindern. Bei Erwachsenen sind sie schon nicht mehr Sitte. In Rufua waren sie noch bei weniger als einer Hälfte der Männer vorhanden. Erst im Süden von Bushara sind sie ganz allgemein geworden. Sie traten auf unserem Marsche zusammen mit dem Bogen auf. Im Süden scheint ihre Grenze mit der Süd- und Ostgrenze von Uha (Ujungu) zusammenzufallen[1]).

Da die Rasiermuster durch Lt. FONCK sehr vollständig publiziert und durch R. P. VAN DER BURGT[2]) reproduziert worden sind, so kann ich mich nur auf eine kurze Besprechung, der am stärksten verbreiteten Formen, beschränken.

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[1]) CAPUS, R. P., Eine Missionsreise nach Uha und Urundi. Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, S. 124.

[2]) VAN DER BURGT, J. M. M., R. P., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande. Bois-le-Duc (Hollande) 1903, S. 256.

In Kissaka werden am häufigsten die hier abgebildeten Muster benutzt. Jedes Rasiermuster hat seinen Namen. So werden dort die Muster (vgl. Abb. 88)

a), b) und c) „mabangure" oder „maagaleka",

d) „amakike" oder „bihome",

e) „amazingure" oder „amakube" und

f) „mikake" genannt.

Die kleinen Haartupfen pflegt man „induba" zu bezeichnen.

Die ersten sind einfache Varianten derselben Grundform. Die Form (e) wird dabei vorwiegend von den Mädchen getragen, wenn ich auch Gelegenheit hatte, sie auf Männerköpfen zu sehen. In Mulera wird das Muster (e) ganz allgemein von den Männern und von den Mädchen getragen. In Bugoye ist dieses Muster seltener, war aber auch bei alten Männern üblich, wogegen es in Kissaka den Schmuck junger Mädchen bildete. In Bugoye nennt man es „kiziguzo".

Die schrägen Haarstreifen werden „imirara" genannt, die Querstreifen — „intambiki". Sie können in der Zahl von zwei oder drei vorkommen. Wenn das Haar des „imirara" sehr lang ist, wie man das bei den Batutsi beobachten kann, nennt man es — „inkanguralugo". Die doppelte Spirale wird „injerenge" genannt. Ich habe sie außer in Bugoye einmal auch in Bugessera zu beobachten Gelegenheit gehabt. Ein Haarring auf dem Schädeldache wird „imikako" genannt. Verheiratete Frauen rasieren ihre Köpfe glatt. Der ganz rasierte Frauenkopf wird „imbalanguze" genannt. Nur in Bugoye lassen sie einen Haarkranz um den Kopf herum stehen. Diese Form wird „ikikingo" geheißen. Die jungverheirateten Frauen behalten ihre „masunzu" bis zur ersten Menstruation nach der Heirat bei. Sie tragen, um sich von den Mädchen zu unterscheiden, auf dem Kopfe zwei gekreuzte kleine Ketten weißer Perlen.

Das Ausrasieren der Muster besorgen sowohl Frauen wie Männer. Dazu dient ein kleines Rasiermesser, das auf der eigenen Haut und vor allem auf der Fußsohle nach Bedürfnis gewetzt wird. Das Haar wird beim Rasieren mit Wasser angefeuchtet und mit einem Messer abgeschabt.

Bärte werden in Kissaka sehr selten getragen. Im übrigen Ruanda rasiert man die spärlich wachsenden Bärte und Schnurrbärte in der Regel, ebenso wie die Achselhaare, nicht. Den Bart schätzt man dabei wesentlich mehr als den Schnurrbart. Auf die auf dem Bauche um den Nabel herum wachsenden Haare ist man besonders stolz, da sie für ein sehr geschätztes Schönheitszeichen gelten.

Der Körper wird in Ruanda in keiner Weise absichtlich deformiert. Man nimmt hier Abstand vor dem Durchbohren der Ohren und dem Verunstalten des Gebisses. Als die einzige, wenn auch nicht absichtlich verursachte Verunstaltung des Körpers könnte man die Folgen des Tragens von Grasringen an den Beinen (bei den Frauen) betrachten. Es entstehen nicht selten schlimme Wunden, welche die Unterschenkel stark schädigen.

Die Tätowierungsmuster sieht man bei den Batutsi sehr häufig auf Brüsten

und Armen. Bei den Bahutu ist das Anbringen dieser Verzierungen ebenfalls üblich. Die Zahl der Tätowierten war in Kissaka nicht bedeutend. In Mulera bekam ich den Eindruck, daß es dort wesentlich mehr Tätowierte gebe.

Da die Tätowierungsmuster ebenfalls schon durch Lt. FONCK publiziert und durch R. P. VAN DER BURGT[1]) reproduziert worden sind, soll hier nur erwähnt werden, daß das häufigste Tätowierungsmuster aus zwei Reihen von Bogenlinien besteht. Diese wenden sich die konkaven Teilen gegenseitig zu, und zwar so, daß die Verkuppelung von zwei Bogenlinien sich in der Konkavität eines Bogens der gegenüberliegenden Linie befindet. Man sieht aber auch kleine Quadrate, die zu 9, 12 und 16 in Rechtecken angeordnet werden.

Die Operation wird mit einem gewöhnlichen Messer oder mit einem Rasiermesser ausgeführt. Zunächst trägt man die zu tätowierende Zeichnung mit der Messerspitze durch Ritzen leicht auf. Erst nachher, da die Zeichnung infolge der Beschädigung der Epidermis hell absticht, werden kurze tiefere Einschnitte mit einem Rasiermesser ausgeführt. Die Einschnitte oder eigentlich die Einstiche macht man in der mit zwei Fingern zusammengepreßten und gehobenen Haut. Der geschickte Künstler ruft dabei kein Bluten hervor und die Einstiche verschließen sich durch heraustretende Lymphe. Nach einigen Tagen werden die Schörfe abgekratzt und mit Butter und Kuhmist (kishesho), ohne Anwendung von Pigment, eingerieben. Nach der Heilung bildet sich an der Stelle eines jeden Einschnittes eine kleine Hautverdickung, so daß man ein vorspringendes Muster bekommt.

Abb. 89. Tätowierungsmuster aus Ruanda.

Bei ungeschickter Tätowierung bilden sich an den Stellen der blutenden Einschnitte Keloide. In Mulera, wo das Tätowieren hauptsächlich durch Batwa ausgeführt wird, sind diese Bildungen recht häufig. Die Nähe des Edward-Sees kommt in dieser Weise zum Ausdrucke. Bei den dort wohnenden Bakondjo werden sehr große Keloide absichtlich, vor allem auf dem Rücken erzeugt. In Nduga, dem Lande der Tätowierkünstler, und bei den Batutsi, sind die Muster von großer Feinheit. Den Preis der Operation bildet eine Ziege. Die Muster sammeln sich allmählich im Laufe des Lebens an.

Das Tätowieren scheint, in Kissaka wenigstens, keine kultuelle Bedeutung zu haben und wird ohne irgendwelche Zeremonien vorgenommen.

Beschneidung übt man in Ruanda nicht, man kennt sie jedoch. Das beweist das Sprichwort: „Im Gehöft, durch welches viele passieren, werden beschnittene Kinder geboren."

Die Bemalung mit Kaolin (runoni) wird im Zusammenhange mit der Einweihung in den Geheimbund und nach R. P. SCHUMACHER[2]) auch bei der

[1]) VAN DER BURGT, J. M. M., R. P., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande. Bois-le-Duc (Hollande) 1903, S. 560.

[2]) SCHUMACHER, P., R. P. Die Ehe in Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S 878.

Abb. 90. Batutsi-Speer aus Ruanda. (1/9 d. w. Gr. III E 13776. 209 cm lang.)

Abb. 91. Bahutu-Speer aus Ruanda. (1/9 d. w. Gr. III E 13772. 241 cm lang.)

Abb. 92. Bahima-Speer aus Mulera. (1/9 d. w. Gr. III 13778. 215 cm lang.)

Hochzeit vorgenommen. Die Bemalung scheint sich jedoch nicht auf diese Gelegenheiten allein zu beschränken. Ich hatte nämlich zweimal Gelegenheit bemalte Kinder zu sehen. Ein Kind war durch und durch mit einer Mischung von Lehm und Ocker bestrichen. Das andere war nur mit einem Striche durch die Stirn, quer über den Augen, versehen. Wegen des niedrigen Alters der Kinder (fünf und sieben Jahre) war hier eine Einweihung ganz ausgeschlossen.

Es muß erwähnt werden, daß sich die Kinder bei jeder Gelegenheit mit Vergnügen bemalen oder, besser gesagt, mit weißer Farbe beschmutzen. Es fiel mir auf, daß beim Gipsen z. B. die anwesenden Kinder sich gegenseitig bemalten. Ebenso waren die Kinder, die in Issawi Ziegel aus dem Sumpfe trugen, absichtlich mit hellem Ton bemalt.

Im Kriege sollen sich die beiden Parteien zu Unterscheidungszwecken mit verschiedenen Mustern bemalen. Dr. KANDT[1]) notiert jedoch ein anderes Unterscheidungszeichen: „Alle (Bahunde) hatten sich ein welkes Bananenblatt um die Stirn gebunden, damit wir sie später als Freunde unterscheiden könnten, für den von ihnen erhofften Fall, daß wir mit den Wanjaitambi handgemein werden sollten."

Der Munyaruanda salbt sich den Körper mit Butter ein. In Bugoye aber, wo man schon unter dem kulturellen Einflusse der Wald-Bantu steht, salbt man sich mit dem billigeren Ricinusöl (mbarika, wono) ein, wie dies im Kongo-Walde der Fall ist. Dieselbe Sitte herrscht im ganzen Grabengebiet bis zum Tanganjika herunter.

Speer. Die Hauptwaffen der Banyaruanda sind Speere (ichumu), Bogen (muheto), Pfeile (muhambi) und Buschmesser (muhoro). Außerdem benutzt man noch Schwerter (ngota), Schilde (ngabo) und Keulen.

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 427.

Der Speer ist die verbreitetste und gebräuchlichste Waffe. Im Norden, wo die Verhältnisse weniger sicher sind, verläßt niemand sein Gehöft, ohne einen Speer mitzunehmen, so daß man dort diese Waffe für einen wesentlichen Bestandteil der Bekleidung und Ausschmückung eines Mannes ansehen muß. In den zentralen Teilen von Ruanda, wo geordnete Verhältnisse herrschen, sieht man dagegen oft, vor allem bei den Batutsi, daß Speere durch lange Hirtenstöcke ersetzt werden.

Der Speer hat eine Länge von $1^1/_2$—$2^1/_2$ m, und sein Schaft wird an beiden Enden von Eisen eingefaßt. Das sind die Tüllen der Spitze und des Schuhes. Die Speerspitzen sind gewöhnlich mit einer Blutrinne versehen, variieren aber recht stark in ihrer Form, je nachdem die breiteste Stelle des Blattes mehr nach vorne oder nach hinten verlegt ist und sich mit einer größeren oder geringeren Längenausdehnung verknüpft.

Der typische Batutsi-Speer ist über zwei Meter lang und besitzt ein sehr charakteristisches, lanzettförmiges Speereisen. Dieses divergiert an seiner Basis, verjüngt sich im ersten Drittel, verbreitet sich allmählich, aber doch äußerst wenig bis zum letzten Viertel und läuft dann in eine abgerundete Spitze aus.

Die Bahutu-Speere unterscheiden sich in erster Linie durch weniger sorgfältige Ausführung. Es kommen aber unter ihnen auch einfach gesenkt geschmiedete, ohne die Blutrinne, und ganz einfache Formen vor. Bei den Bahutu konnte ich außerdem viele Speere beobachten, die eine auffallende Übereinstimmung mit den in den Nachbargebieten benutzten Formen zeigten und entweder von dort verschleppt oder auch an Ort und Stelle nach den dortigen Vorbildern gearbeitet worden sind. Man war sich dabei ihres Ursprunges meistens bewußt. So wurde z. B. der, auf Abb. 92 wiedergegebene, Speer als „ichumu ryo Rutshuga lwa Ruhima" bezeichnet. Das bedeutet ein Bahima-Speer aus Rutshuga. Bekanntlich werden diese Formen ganz allgemein von den Bahima in Nkole und Karagwe benutzt.

Die auf den Abb. 93 und 94 dargestellten Formen weisen entweder auf die Bahima-Länder oder vielleicht auf Toro hin. Dort hatte ich Gelegenheit dieselben in größerer Zahl zu beobachten. Es ist mir aber nicht gelungen mich zu überzeugen, daß diese bodenständig und nicht aus Nkole verschleppt wären. Dort sah ich sowohl Speere mit Widerhaken, wie auch Speere mit zwei übereinanderliegenden Schneiden, die sich entweder in einer Ebene befanden oder im rechten Winkel zueinander gestellt waren. Die Speere wurden mir bezeichnet: Abb. 93 — „ichimu lyo Lugobe", Abb. 94 — „ichumu lya Mugaanne". Die auf der Abb. 95 dargestellte Form erinnert stark an Buganda-Speere. Das vorliegende Stück ist aber in Kihinga geschmiedet worden und wurde mir nur als „ichumu lyi Kihinga" bezeichnet. Die Formen Abb. 96 und 97 weisen auf das benachbarte Kongo-Becken hin. Der erste Speer wurde als „ichumu lyi Nyunga", der letztere als „ichumu lyi Lilera" bezeichnet. In Bugoye und Mulera sind außerdem noch Barega-Speere nicht selten; sie werden dort mit

Vorliebe von den Elefantenjägern benutzt. Sie haben dicke Schäfte, starke Spitzen und erinnern in ihrer Form an den auf Abb. 96 dargestellten Speer.

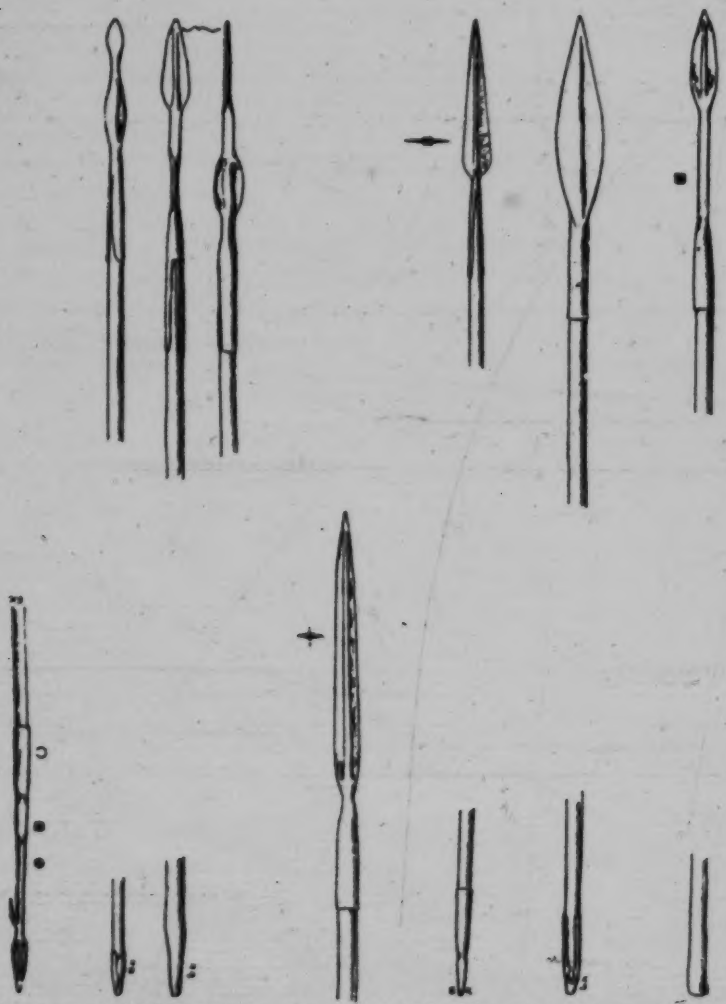

Abb. 93. Speer mit Widerhaken aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13783. 153 cm lang.)

Abb. 94. Zweischneidige Speere aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13795 und 13787. 166 und 126 cm lang.)

Abb. 95. Speer aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13785. 175 cm lang.)

Abb. 96. Speer aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13782. 177 cm lang.)

Abb. 97. Speer aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13796. 192 cm lang.)

Abb. 98. Speer ohne Schuh aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13793. 214 cm lang.)

Bei den mit Blutrinnen versehenen und gesenkt geschmiedeten Speeren werden die tiefer gelegenen Teile des Blattes schwarz gelassen, und nur die mediane Rippe und die drei bis fünf mm breiten Ränder der Schneide, resp. die vorstehende Hälfte blank zugeschliffen. Die Schärfe der Kontraste zwischen Schwarz und Weiß wird als Maß der Schönheit und Eleganz aufgefaßt.

Der Schuh fehlt den Speeren nur sehr selten. Er stellt einen scharf zugespitzten Konus dar, in den das zugeschnittene Ende des Speerschaftes eingezwängt wird.

Schon oben wurde erwähnt, daß der Speer zum Schmucke des Mannes zu zählen ist; trotzdem bleibt er doch eine sehr gefährliche Waffe, da man ihn bis zur Entfernung von zwanzig Meter sicher zu handhaben versteht. Auf diese Entfernung wurde, wie ich das beobachten konnte, ein mannesgroßer Bananenstamm mit einem Durchmesser von fünfzehn cm in zwei Drittel der Fälle getroffen. Die Wucht des Schlages war dabei so groß, daß die Speere den Stamm durchschlugen und man die zwanzig cm herausragende Speerspitze auf der anderen Seite messen konnte. Die vorbeigeschleuderten Speere schlugen in den festgetrampelten Boden des Steges zehn cm tief ein und blieben, trotz des Einschlagwinkels von weniger als 45°, stecken.

Wenn auch der Speer in Ruanda als Wurfwaffe benutzt wird, so führt man doch nur einen Speer mit. Die Banyabungu im Süden sollen nach Dr. KANDT[1]) aber meistens zwei Speere mit breiten Blättern führen.

Holzspeere werden in Ruanda nur von den Kindern als Spielzeug benutzt.

Im Zusammenhang mit den Speeren müssen noch die Frauenstöcke (muterere) besprochen werden, da sie nicht selten ebenfalls als Waffe benutzt werden. Den Speerschuh ersetzt hier ein bis vierzig cm langer Eisenbeschlag, dessen untere drei Viertel eine im Querschnitt quadratische Spitze bilden. Das obere Viertel bildet eine Tülle, in die das Ende des Stockes eingetrieben wird. Der Beschlag des oberen Stockendes ist dagegen dem Speerschuh sehr ähnlich und endigt in einen Knopf.

Abb. 100. Speerhalter aus Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 10070. Dm. 23 cm.)

Abb. 99. Frauenstöcke aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13779 und III E 13789. 143 u. 150 cm lang.)

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 378.

Zum Schluß soll noch darauf hingewiesen werden, daß die Ruanda-Speere in mancher Beziehung mit den abessinischen übereinstimmen, während der Frauenstock im Sudan, in ganz identischer Form z. B. bei den Maka, vorkommt.

Abb. 101. Speerhalter aus Ruanda. (1/8 d. w. Gr. III E 10072. Dm. 20 cm.)

Um die Speere in der Hütte aufzustellen, werden geflochtene Grasringe an die Stützpfeiler der Hütten angebunden. Die Speere pflegt man, wie bei uns die Regenschirme, durchzustecken und in senkrechter Stellung aufzubewahren. Die Speerhalter (rutagara) unterscheiden sich von den Gefäßuntersatzringen nicht.

Bogen, Pfeil und Köcher. Den Bogen sieht man in Ruanda nicht so oft wie den Speer. Das hängt aber wohl damit zusammen, daß man ihn nur auf Reisen, bei Jagd, Opfern, Zeremonien und Kriegszügen mitzuführen pflegt. Der Bogen bildet eine sehr wichtige und viel benutzte Waffe, die auch dem Charakter der Bevölkerung entspricht. Der Munyaruanda begeistert sich nicht für den Nahkampf in geschlossenen Reihen mit Speer und Schild in der Hand, nach Art der Niloten, wenn er ihn auch nicht direkt meidet.

In Ruanda kann man das Zusammentreffen zweier ganz verschiedener Bogenformen beobachten. Die Batwa führen eine ganz andere Bogenform, als die übrige Bevölkerung.

Der im ganzen Lande, bei den Batutsi und Bahutu, verbreitete Bogen ist ein typischer Vertreter der sogenannten ostafrikanischen Form, und ich werde ihn hier in Übereinstimmung mit Dr. KANDT kurzweg als Ruanda-Bogen bezeichnen. Der Ruanda-Bogen ist über anderthalb Meter lang, hat einen runden Querschnitt, besitzt lange Spitzen, verjüngt sich aber an beiden Enden allmählich, ohne Einkerbungen aufzuweisen, und wird

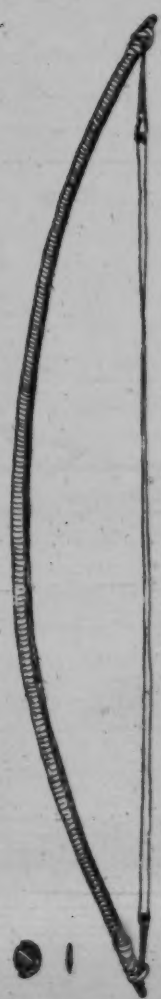

Abb. 102. Batwa-Bogen aus Ruanda. (1/8 d. w. Gr. P. 1850 bis 68. 141 cm lang.)

Abb. 103. Kinderbogen aus Malera. (1/8 d. w. Gr.)

mit einer Schnur aus Tiersehnen oder aus Fasern der „nimisse"-Pflanze bespannt. Der Bogen ist dabei so stark gekrümmt, daß man ihn ohne Schutzvorrichtung gegen die zurückschnellende Sehne benutzen kann. Er unterscheidet sich vom Mpororo-Bogen nicht.

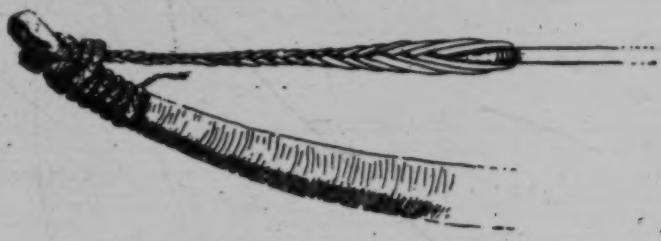

Abb. 104. Sehnenbefestigung des Batwa-Bogens vom Kiwu. (1/8 d. w. Gr. P. 1850—68.)

Batwa führen einen verstärkten Bambusbogen. Der Bogen besteht aus einem der Länge nach halbierten Bambusstabe, der durch das Einlegen eines Holzstabes, der die Mulde im Bambusrohr ausfüllt, verstärkt wird. Der Bogen ist über anderthalb Meter hoch und die Verstärkung erstreckt sich fast auf die Hälfte seiner Länge; bei einem fertigen Bogen ist sie durch die Grasumwickelung, von der der ganze Stab umgeben ist, verdeckt. Die Art und Weise dieser Verstärkung ist an dem hier abgebildeten Kinderbogen, den ich in Mulera beobachten konnte, gut zu übersehen. Dieser Bogen ist zwar nicht aus Bambus, und infolgedessen konnte hier die Verstärkung auch nicht in der natürlichen Mulde untergebracht werden, doch befindet sie sich an der richtigen vorderen, dem Schützen beim Spannen abgewendeten Stelle.

Abb. 105. Stirnbogen der Urundi-Batwa. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 8982. 68½ cm lang.)

Die Sehne des Batwa-Bogens wird in Ruanda aus einem Streifen Bambus hergestellt, und man hängt sie mit Hilfe zweier Zöpfe, mit denen ihre beiden Enden eingefaßt werden, ein[1]). Die Rotangsehne wird gegen die Abnutzung durch eine Umwickelung aus Gras geschützt.

Lt. BISCHOFF konnte bei den Urundi-Batwa einen Stirnbogen feststellen. Diese Formen sind mir aus Ruanda nicht bekannt, sie sollen jedoch in Butembo vorkommen.

Abb. 106. Sehnenbefestigung des Stirnbogens. (1/8 d. w. Gr. III E 8982.)

Die Pfeile müssen den Bogen entsprechend in zwei Gruppen eingeteilt werden. Die erste umfaßt die Pfeile der Bogen vom Ruanda-Typus: sie sind mit einer

[1]) LUSCHAN, F. v., Bogen und Pfeile der Watwa vom Kiwu-See. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Verhandlungen 1899, S. 634—640.

Kerbe versehen, die zur Aufnahme der gedrehten Bogensehne bestimmt ist; zur zweiten gehören die Pfeile der Batwa-Bogen und sind durch glatte, oft trommelschlägelartig verdickte Endteile charakterisiert.

Die Pfeile der ersten Kategorie sind mit eingelassenen Eisenspitzen und mit radiärer Befiederung aus drei kurzbeschnittenen Federhälften versehen.

Abb. 107. Pfeile aus Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13763 und III E 13077. Ca. 70 cm lang.)

Die gespaltenen Federkeile sind an den Pfeilstamm angelegt und durch Umwickelung befestigt. Die beiden Enden des Schaftes sind durch Umwickelung gegen das Spalten gesichert. Die Umwickelung des Kerbenendes ist dabei schmal und die der Spitzeneinfassung ungefähr fünf cm breit. Die Pfeile werden

Abb. 108. Pfeil mit Widerhaken aus Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. L. 15348c.)

aus Holz hergestellt. Die Pfeilspitzen haben gewöhnlich die Form scharf auslaufender, langer, im Querschnitte quadratischer Pyramiden. Ich konnte aber nicht selten sowohl Spitzen mit zwei weit abstehenden Widerhaken, wie auch blattförmige, gesenkt geschmiedete Spitzen sehen. Ob die Spitzen mit Widerhaken an Ort und Stelle hergestellt werden und keine Nachahmungen der Busindja-Muster darstellen, konnte ich nicht ermitteln. In Busindja sollen nämlich diese Formen vorherrschen.

Ich habe in Ruanda aber auch Rohrpfeile gesehen. Diese hatten runde, in den Schaft eingelassene, Holzspitzen und waren mit Kerben am hinteren Ende versehen. Die Befiederung fehlte ihnen. Ich konnte über ihre Herkunft nichts Näheres erfahren. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß es aus Bunyabungu verschlagene Stücke waren[1]).

Abb. 109. Rohrpfeil mit Holzspitze aus Nord-Ruandá. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13077. 35 cm lang.)

Für die Batwa-Pfeile paßt gänzlich die von Dr. KANDT[2]) gegebene Charakteristik der Pfeile aus Buyungu. Sie sind „ganz aus Holz, 80 cm bis 1 m, also enorm lang und bestehen aus zwei ineinandersteckenden Teilen. Der obere trägt unter

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 378.
[2]) Ebenda S. 442.

der Spitze einen oder zwei oder drei seitliche Widerhaken — alles aus einem Stücke Holz notabene. — Merkwürdig ist ferner, daß sie nicht befiedert sind, sondern am unteren Ende einen Spalt haben, durch den der Kämpfer vor dem

Abb. 110. Hölzerne Pfeilspitze mit Widerhaken. Kiwu-Batwa. (1/4 d. w. Gr. P. 1850—70b. Pfeillänge 97 cm.)

Kriege frische Feigenblätter hindurchschiebt, so daß je eine Hälfte nach beiden Seiten herausschaut".

Neben der hier besprochenen, für den benachbarten Kongo-Wald und die Pygmäen so charakteristischen Flugsicherung sieht man an den Batwa-Pfeilen häufig die tangentiale Befiederung, bei der die kurz beschnittenen, aber nicht gespaltenen drei Federn an den Schaft an ihren beiden Enden angebunden werden. Radiär befiederte Pfeile sind bei ihnen selten; unbefiederte hatte ich dagegen wiederholt Gelegenheit zu sehen. Ich konnte aber nicht mit Sicherheit feststellen, ob das nicht für Spaltflugsicherung bestimmte Exemplare waren, bei denen der zum Einklemmen des Blattes oder der Feder dienende Schlitz noch fehlte.

Abb. 111. Spaltflugsicherung mit eingeklemmter Feder. Kiwu-Batwa. (1/4 d. w. Gr. P. 1850—70.)

Die hölzernen Pfeilspitzen sollen nicht schlechter als die Eisenspitzen wirken und sich oft in den Wunden zersplittern, was schlimme Entzündungen verursacht. Die Vögelpfeile haben vier oder drei leicht divergierende Spitzen, die an den Schaft sorgfältig angebunden werden. Eiserne Pfeilspitzen werden von den Batwa viel benutzt.

Die Pfeile pflegt man in Ruanda nicht zu vergiften, l.t. BISCHOFF hat aber bei den Urundi-Batwa vergiftete Pfeile sammeln können.

Abb. 112. Vogelpfeilspitze der Kiwu-Batwa. (1/4 d. w. Gr. L 15026c. 84 cm lang.)

Der Bogen wird beim Schießen senkrecht gehalten. Beim gewöhnlichen Stabbogen pflegt man dabei das mit gedrehter Sehne umwickelte Ende nach oben zu nehmen.

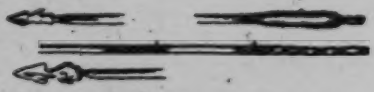

Abb. 113. Vergiftete Pfeile der Urundi-Batwa. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 8982. Ca. 49 cm lang.)

Die Sehne wird mit dem zweiten und dritten Finger der rechten Hand gespannt. Man zieht sie bei vorgestreckter linker Hand bis an die nach hinten zurückgeschobene rechte Schulter. Die Spannkraft beträgt dabei, wie ich das mit einem Manometer messen konnte, 25—45 kg.

Um die linke Hand vor der zurückschnellenden Sehne zu schützen, werden besondere Armringe (kigomero) aus Holz benutzt. Diese Armringe weisen eine kleine Öffnung auf, so daß die Hand nur durch einen seitlichen Ausschnitt durchgezwängt werden kann.

In den Hütten werden die Bogen mit Hilfe besonderer Bogenhalter an den Stützpfeilern aufgestellt oder aufgehängt.

Was die Schußleistung anbetrifft, soll hier nur so viel erwähnt werden, daß ich bei einer Entfernung von vierzig Meter und einem mannesgroßen Bananenstamm drei Viertel Treffer beobachtet habe. Die Wirkung des Schusses ist sehr groß. Der fünfzehn cm dicke Bananenstamm wurde ganz durchbohrt, und es kam noch zehn cm des Pfeiles auf der anderen Seite heraus. Die maximale Entfernung, auf die geschossen wurde, betrug hundertsiebzig Meter. Die Pfeile bohrten sich bei dieser Entfernung in den harten, trockenen Boden bis zwölf cm tief ein und blieben mit der Neigung von 30° stecken. Bei dieser großen Entfernung betrug die Streuung vierzig Meter. Bei sehr anstrengendem Schießen warfen sich die Schützen beinahe auf das rechte Knie, während sie sich sonst mit dem Vorschieben des linken Fußes nach dem Schuße begnügten.

Wie wir das schon aus den obigen Zeilen entnehmen können, ist im besprochenen Gebiete eine große Heterogenie bezüglich der Schußwaffen zu konstatieren. Wir sahen im beschränkten Kirundi-Sprachgebiete Stabbogen, verstärkte Bogen und Stirnbogen nebeneinander. Faßt man das ganze Zwischenseengebiet und die nächsten Nachbarländer ins Auge, so muß man überdies noch feststellen, daß die Verbreitung des Bogens nicht lückenlos ist.

Abb. 114. Schutzring eines Bogenschützen aus Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13043. Dm. 10 cm.)

Abb. 115. Schutzring eines Bogenschützen aus Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 9906. Dm. 11 cm.)

Im Kirundi-Sprachgebiete inklusive Ruanda ist der Bogen fast überall verbreitet. Dr. KANDT[1]) bestätigt dasselbe für Itambi und sagt, daß in Buyungu die Ruanda-Bogen 30% und die Batwa-Bogen 70% ausmachten. Über das südliche Bunyabungu sagt Dr. KANDT[2]) dagegen: „Bogen und Pfeile sah ich nur selten; letztere nur zum kleinen Teil mit Eisenspitzen, die meisten waren sehr primitiv und bestanden aus einem Rohrschaft, in den ein spindelförmig gewalztes Holz eingelassen war, fast wie Kinderspielzeug wirkend, aber doch für den ernsthaften Gebrauch bestimmt."

In West-Ussuwi werden dagegen keine Bogen benutzt, während sie in Busindja die Hauptwaffe bilden[3]). Die Banyoro des Nordens kämpfen nur mit Speer und Schild. Ich konnte in Toro nur die in den Kriegszügen gegen die Baamba erbeutete Bogen bekommen. Die Baganda handhaben ebenfalls keine Bogen. Bahima von Nkole sind Bogenschützen und haben dieselben Bogen und Pfeile wie die Basindja. In Kiziba hat man mich wiederholt beim Ausfragen über die dort gesehenen Exemplare auf Busindja hingewiesen.

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 441.

[2]) Ebenda S. 378.

[3]) BAUMANN, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle. Berlin 1894, S. 211, 218.

Das Fehlen des Bogens im Norden des Zwischenseengebietes kann als Folge nilotischer Beeinflussungen, die als historische Tatsache angesehen werden müssen, leicht erklärt werden. Das Fehlen des Bogens in West-Ussuwi und seine Seltenheit im südlichen Bunyabungu läßt sich dagegen einstweilen nicht deuten.

Abb. 116. Köcher zum Aufbewahren der Pfeile. Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13074. 84½ cm lang.)

Abb. 117. Kalebassenköcher aus Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. L 17270a. 39 cm lang.)

Abb. 118. Ausgesackter, geflochtener Köcher aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13764. 70 cm lang.)

Köcher sieht man in Ruanda wesentlich seltener als Bogen. Wenn ein Vornehmer auf der Reise von einem Bogenträger begleitet wird, so hält dieser in der rechten Hand zugleich mit dem Bogen auch einen bis vier Pfeile.

Zu Hause werden zur Aufbewahrung der Pfeile aus Holz geschnitzte, zylindrische, bemalte, an beiden Enden mit Deckeln verschlossene Köcher benützt. Im Felde habe ich dagegen nur geflochtene und aus Kalebassen hergestellte Stücke gesehen. Die geflochtenen Köcher sind entweder zylindrisch, oder sie verdicken sich unten. Sie werden gewöhnlich mit einem Deckel verschlossen und, mit Hilfe eines Riemens oder einer geflochtenen Tragschnur, auf die Schulter gehängt. Auf dieser Tragschnur gleitet bei den geflochtenen Köchern der Deckel.

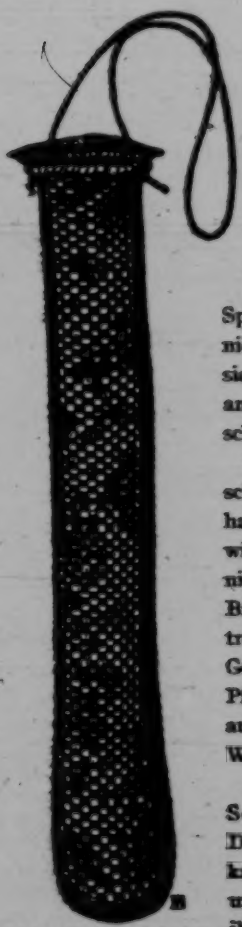

Abb. 119. Zylindrischer, geflochtener Köcher aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. I. 17270b. 76 cm lang.)

Hiebwaffen. Die Hiebwaffen spielen in Ruanda neben Speer und Bogen eine sehr wichtige Rolle. Sie sind aber nicht scharf differenziert und lassen sich einerseits von den Werkzeugen, andererseits von den Dolchen nicht scharf abgrenzen.

Das Buschmesser, das wir schon als Werkzeug kennen gelernt haben, spielt als Hiebwaffe die wichtigste Rolle. Man benützt es nicht allein beim Sammeln des Brennmaterials zum Abhauen trockener Äste, zum Roden von Gebüsch und zum Erweitern des Pfades im Dickicht, man führt es auch im Nahkampf als gefährliche Waffe mit.

Die zweite Hiebwaffe ist das Schwert (ngota), das man vom Dolch nicht scharf unterscheiden kann. Beide haben dieselbe Form und unterscheiden sich nur in ihrer Größe. Es gibt dabei Zwischenformen. Sie werden in einer hölzernen Scheide an einem Halsbande aus Fell oder Schnur auf dem Rücken getragen. Die Klinge ist gewöhnlich 40 bis 50 cm lang und 2—3 cm breit. Sie hat einen medianen Grat, so daß der Querschnitt rhombisch ist. Die Schwertklinge wird ebenso wie das Speerblatt schwarz gelassen. Nur die beiden Ränder und der Grat

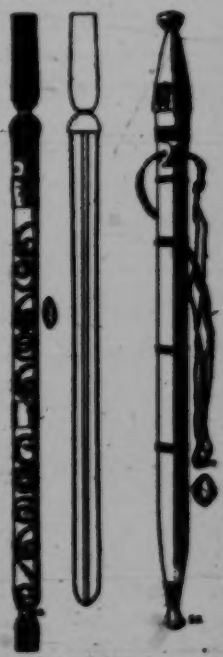

Abb. 120. Schwerter aus Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13071 und III E 13072. Ca. 63 cm lang.)

in der Mitte sind blank zugeschliffen. Der hölzerne Griff ist geschnitzt, und wir können an ihm oft, ebenso wie an dem Griffe des westafrikanischen Schwertes drei aneinandergefügte Teile unterscheiden. Manchmal fehlt aber das Mittelstück, und der Griff besteht aus zwei gestutzten, einander zugekehrten Pyramiden, wobei die obere kleiner als die untere ist. Die Scheide besteht aus zwei dünnen, an den Rändern abgerundeten Brettern, die mit Strohgeflecht zusammengebunden werden. Auf der vorderen Fläche der Scheide am oberen Rande erhebt sich eine kleine Pyramide mit einem horizontalen

Abb. 123. Typischer Ruanda-Schild. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13761. 68 cm hoch.)

Abb. 121. Dolch aus Ruanda. (1/9 d. w. Gr. III 13736. 19 cm lang.)

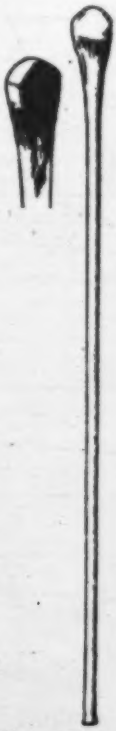

Abb. 122. Keule aus Ruanda. (1/9 d. w. Gr. III E 6879. 95 1/2 cm lang.)

Loche. Durch dieses Loch wird das als Tragriemen dienende Halsband durchgezogen.

Das Schwert wurde mir wiederholt als eine Batutsi-Waffe bezeichnet. Man darf aber Bedenken haben, ob der Griff und die Scheide mit allen ihren Details in ihrer gegenwärtigen Form den Batutsi zugeschrieben werden können. Man darf nicht vergessen, daß Schwerter auch von den Batwa benützt werden und daß in den im Westen von Ruanda gelegenen Ländern, vor allem im Urwalde, Schwerter vorkommen.

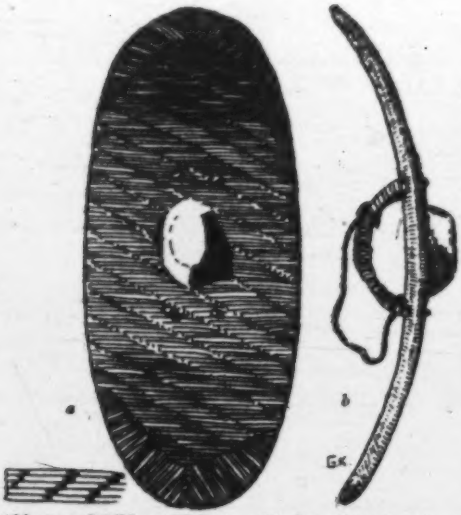

Abb. 124. Schild aus Mulera. *a* Vorderansicht, *b* Seitenansicht. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 8969. 52 cm lang.)

Das Schwert spielt bei den Kultushandlungen eine wichtige Rolle. Es wird z. B. bei der Geburtsfeier benutzt.

Keulen kommen in Ruanda vor, sie spielen aber keine große Rolle. Sie werden, wie es scheint, mehr von den Hirten als von der übrigen Bevölkerung benützt. Ganz glatte, einfache Keulen sollen auch als Rangabzeichen verwendet werden. Ich konnte gelegentlich eine mit vier an der Spitze eingeschlagenen Messingnägeln verzierte Keule sehen. Der verdickte Teil ist oft fazettiert.

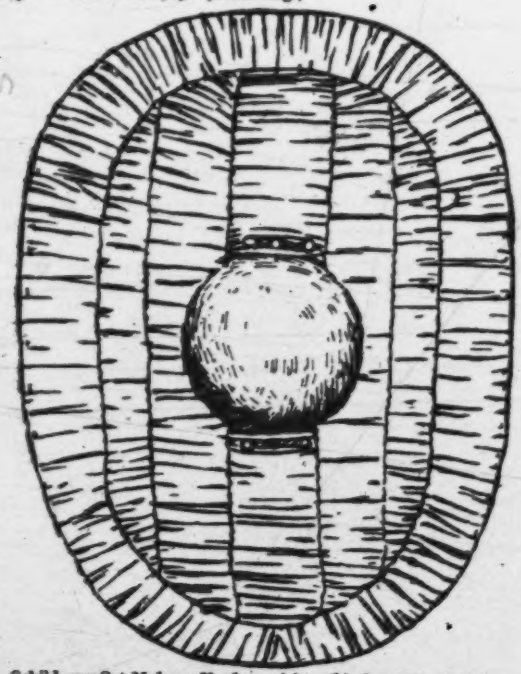

Abb. 125*a*. Schild aus Ost-Mulera. Vorderansicht. (1/6 d. w. Gr. L 15032. 65 cm lang.)

Schild. Schilde sind im eigentlichen Ruanda und in Kissaka sehr selten. Sie stellen ein muldenförmig gebogenes, ovales Brett mit einer vorstehenden Spitze in der Mitte dar. Hinter der Spitze wird an das Brett ein geflochtener bügelförmiger Griff angebunden. Der Schild wird von vorn mit schwarzer, weißer und roter Farbe bemalt. Er wird aus einem Stück Holz geschnitzt und ist 40—50 cm hoch, 20—30 cm breit und 10—20 cm tief.

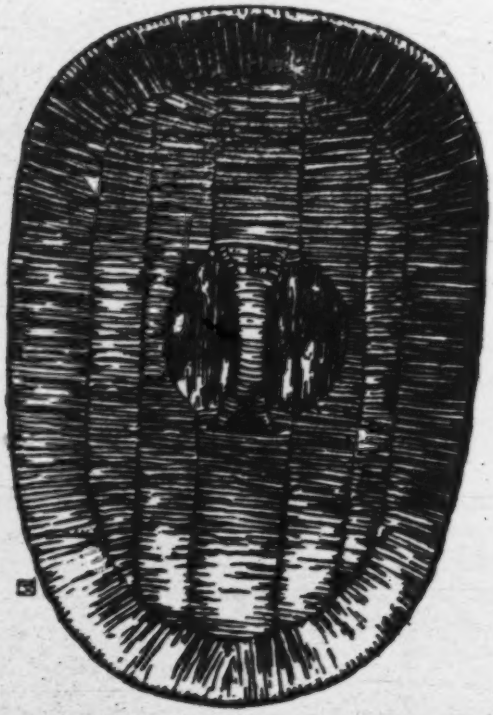

Abb. 125b. Schild aus Ost-Mulera. Innenansicht.

In Mulera wird der Schild ganz allgemein benutzt. Er hat hier die Ndorwa-Form, wenn er auch gewöhnlich nicht so breit ist. Diese Schilde werden vorn mit Rotang beflochten und sind nicht bemalt. Sie zeigen also eine wesentliche Annäherung an den Uganda-Schild.

Die Schilde im Westen vom Kiwu, sagt Dr. KANDT[1]), „sind wie die im Osten (Ruanda) oval oder viereckig, mit abgerundeten Ecken, aus Holz, das auf der Vorderseite mit Weiden überflochten ist, die horizontal oder schräg laufen.

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 442, 443.

Sehr beliebt ist es, Glimmerplättchen zwischen die Flechten zu stecken. In der Mitte der Vorderseite befindet sich der Nabel, d. h. ein Buckel, der in Ruanda spitz, im Westen meist flach ist. Bei den Wahunde fanden sich noch andere Schilde, die die Häuptlinge trugen. Sie sind sehr hoch und breit, viereckig,

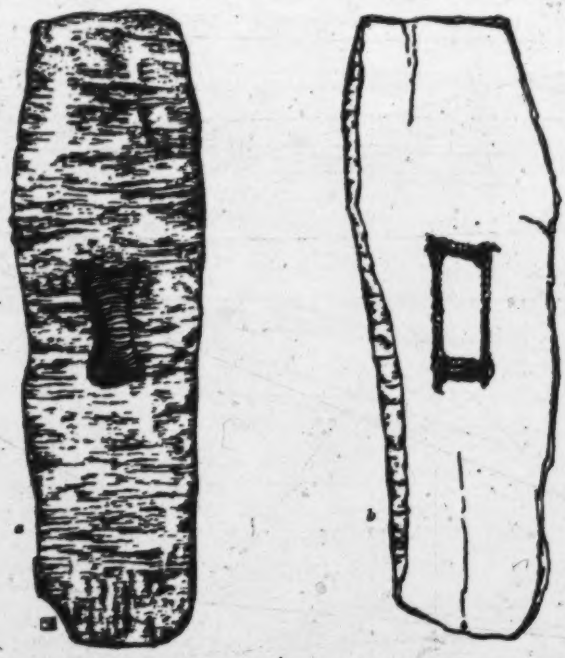

Abb. 126. Schild aus Baumrinde. Mulera. *a* Vorderansicht. *b* Innenansicht. (1/6 d. w. Gr. L 15034. 61 cm lang.)

rot bemalt, mit Fellstreifen eingefaßt, eminent geschickt aus Rohr geflochten und daher sehr elastisch; nur auf der Rückseite, gleichzeitig als Griff dienend, befindet sich eine ovale, ornamentierte Holzplatte."

In der Nähe des Luhondo-Sees an der Grenze von Ndorwa sah ich gelegentlich einen ganz primitiven Schild. Er bestand aus einem Stück dicker Baumrinde, an der in der Mitte ein Griff aus zwei beflochtenen, gekreuzten Zweigen befestigt war.

Der Schild spielt eine wichtige Rolle in den Kultushandlungen.

9. Kapitel.

Siedelung und Haushalt.

Siedelungsverhältnisse. — Gehöft. — Gebäude. — Hütteninneres. — Hausgerät. — Haushalt.

Siedelungsverhältnisse. Die Siedelungsformen weisen in den einzelnen Teilen von Ruanda bedeutende Unterschiede auf. Die typische Form der Siedelung stellt der Weiler, in dem ein unabhängiger Mann mit seinen Frauen, Kindern und Gesinde (bagaragu) wohnt, dar. Die Niederlassungen der wohlhabenden Leute haben einen bedeutenden Umfang und vereinigen oft ein Dutzend Hütten und noch mehr in sich. Die Armen zählen nur 1—2 Hütten eigen. Die großen Siedelungen der Batutsi sind überall, abgesehen von den nordwestlichen Provinzen, weit im Graslande zerstreut und fallen durch die hohen Euforbienhecken und Bäume ihrer Umzäunungen auf.

In Ost-Mpororo kommen nur in den Kulturen zerstreute Hütten, die in der Nähe der großen Bahima-Krals, wie z. B. des Kitaraya, etwas dichter werden, vor. Südlich von Kitaraya herrschen die in Euforbienumzäunungen verschwindenden Batutsi-Siedelungen vor. Am Mohasi-See dagegen treten wieder die zerstreuten Bahutu-Siedelungen und ihre Bananenhaine in den Vordergrund. Die Batutsi-Krals werden dort seltener.

In Kissaka und Nduga befinden sich die Bahutu-Siedelungen am Rande der Bananenhaine. Da aber diese durch die Bodenverhältnisse auf bestimmte Gebiete beschränkt sind, so ist dadurch auch eine gewisse Konzentration der Siedelungen zustande gekommen.

In der Umgebung von Niansa, der Residenz Musinga's, trifft man dagegen nur wenige und dazu stark zerstreute Siedelungen an, da das Land als Weide für die Kühe des Königs reserviert ist.

In Mulera, wo das ganze Land unter Kultur steht, hat man wieder eine recht gleichmäßige Zerstreuung der Bauernsiedelungen. Überdies läßt sich hier trotzdem die Tendenz der Verwandten, aus Sicherheitsrücksichten sich näher aneinander zusammenzuschließen, nicht verkennen.

In Bugoye, das manche Beeinflussung seitens der Wald-Bantu aufweist, sieht man schon viel enge, beinahe dorfartig zusammengeschlossene Hüttenkomplexe, wenn auch diese Agglomerationen einen sehr unregelmäßigen Aufbau zeigen. Hier schließen sich die Hügelbewohner, von denen ihr „mugabo" Steuern erhebt, um sie dem entsprechenden „mutware" (ku butaka, ku muheto usw.) auszuhändigen, schon zu einer ganzen Siedelung zusammen. Man kann

[p. 199]

in Bugoye Niederlassungen finden, die über 100 Einwohner zählen. Im Norden von der Vulkankette, in Bgisha, werden die Siedelungen am größten und weisen manchmal über 100 Hütten auf.

Die Banyabungu wohnen ebenfalls in großen, sehr sauber gehaltenen und mit hohen Umzäunungen versehenen Dörfern[1]).

Über die Umzäunungen der Siedelungen im Nordwesten des Kiwu sagt Dr. KANDT[2]): „Rings herum läuft, wie bei allen Dörfern, eine sehr merkwürdige Mauer, die aus Tausenden von Astgabeln und gespaltenen Wurzeln besteht und 10 Lagen in die Breite, 20 in die Höhe bildet, also ein für die Eingeborenen fast undurchdringliches Hindernis. Auf zwei Seiten der Dörfer, die nur durch Hohlwege oder ganz steile Zugänge zu erreichen sind, befinden sich die Tore, die durch Bäume rasch und sicher geschlossen werden können."

Ich konnte solche Umzäunung bei den Baamba am Ruwenzori beobachten. In Ruanda kommen sie in dieser Form nicht vor. Hier liegt das Wohnhaus in der Regel am Rande des Hofes und wird samt diesem von einer Euphorbienhecke umgeben. Die Hecken der einzelnen Gehöfte ranken sich ineinander ein und bilden ein Labyrinth, durch dessen Wände man sogar mit einem Buschmesser in der Hand nicht durchdringen kann, da aus den Ästen beim Schneiden ein stark ätzender und für die Augen sehr gefährlicher Saft spritzt. Diese Hecken werden an der Innenseite gewöhnlich durch einen Zaun aus zusammengebundenen Stäben gestützt. Nachts schließt man die äußeren Zugänge, die gewöhnlich den Hütten gegenüber liegen, durch Baumstämme, die mit ihren Verzweigungen nach außen gelegt werden, ab. Dieser primitive Verschluß läßt sich von der Außenseite aus nicht entfernen und bildet samt der Euphorbienhecke eine sehr wirksame, wenn auch nicht im geringsten auffallende Befestigungsform.

In armen Bahutu-Gehöften bleibt die Umzäunung manchmal ganz aus.

Gehöft. Der Weiler oder das Gehöft, in dem eine Familie mit ihren Angehörigen und Gesinde wohnt, besteht gewöhnlich aus mehreren Hütten, die zusammen eine geschlossene Einheit bilden.

Vor dem Haupteingange wird gewöhnlich ein sauberer, frei von Gras gehaltener, Platz frei gelassen. In den gebirgigen Teilen Ruanda's kann man von dort aus häufig eine recht prächtige Aussicht genießen, da die Siedelungen oft auf den Bergspitzen gelegen sind. Das trifft vor allem für die Batutsi-Siedelungen im Norden vom Mohasi-See zu. Am Rande dieses Platzes werden in den holzarmen Landesteilen große Vorräte getrockneter Kuhexkremente, welche zu Feuerungszwecken verwendet werden, aufgespeichert.

Der nachts verschlossene Haupteingang wird in den sorgfältig hergestellten Siedelungen von zwei, aus Elefantengras zusammengebundenen, Kolonnen umfaßt. In den Gehöften der wohlhabenden Leute, die mindestens aus drei Hütten bestehen, tritt man durch sie in den Vorderhof hinein.

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 377.
[2]) Ebenda S. 460.

Im Vorderhof, dem Eingange gegenüber, liegt das „kambele" genannte Haus, das vom Familienoberhaupte bewohnt wird. Seitlich, gewöhnlich links von diesem, befindet sich der Zugang zu den inneren Höfen. Der Vorderhof, ebenso wie die inneren Höfe, wird sauber und frei von Gras gehalten. Hier versammeln sich die Klienten und die Untergebenen des Hausherrn, um seine Wünsche, Befehle und Entscheidungen entgegenzunehmen. Hier empfängt er seine Gäste, die nicht weiter als bis in das „kambele" geführt werden. Hier wird auch geopfert. Im Gehöfte Musinga's sah ich zwischen dem Eingangstore und seinem Hause auf beiden Seiten der sie verbindenden Linie und zwar in einer gewissen Entfernung von ihr, zwei sorgfältig gepflegte Opferbäume. In den Vorderhöfen sieht man in der Nähe des Hauses auch kleine Geisterhütten.

In vielen Gehöften befinden sich im Vorderhofe überdies Hütten für kleine Kälber, auch das Vieh wird dort die Nacht über gehalten. In einem einzigen Falle allein sah ich aber eine Hütte für größere Kälber außerhalb der Umzäunung; man erklärte mir dies dadurch, daß die ganze Herde in ihrer Nähe die Nacht über gehalten werde.

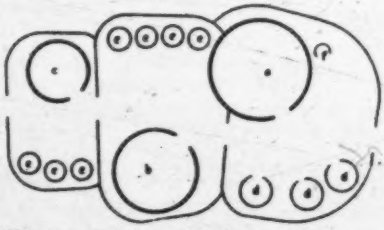

Abb. 127. Gehöft aus Njansa am Mohasi-See. *a* „kambele", *b* „kagondo", *c* „mubahutu", *d* Kälberställe, *e* Speicher, *f* Geisterhütte.

Im Innenhofe liegt das „kagondo" genannte Frauenhaus, in welchem sich den Tag über die Gattin des Herrn mit ihren Dienstfrauen aufhält. Sie wird nur abends in einer Sänfte in das „kambele" gebracht. Im „kagondo" ißt der Mann bei seiner Frau. Gewöhnlich wohnt im Gehöfte (lugo) nur eine Gattin, und sie wirkt als unbeschränkte Herrin in den inneren Angelegenheiten. Es kann jedoch vorkommen, wie z. B. dies bei dem König der Fall ist, daß viele Frauen in einem Gehöfte wohnen und abwechselnd ins „kambele" gebracht werden. In diesem Falle gibt es mehrere innere Höfe mit Frauenhäusern.

Dem Innenhofe folgt der Hinterhof mit dem „mubahutu" genannten Kochhause, wo die Dienstleute wohnen. In seiner Nähe befinden sich Speicher mit Getreidevorräten. Ich habe sie aber auch im Innenhofe angetroffen. Auf meine Frage, weshalb ein fremder Muhutu im Gehöfte selbst im Kochhause wohne, bekam ich in Njansa am Mohasi-See zur Antwort: „Er hat zur Aufgabe, die Getreidespeicher zu füllen." Da er aber zugleich für die Küche sorgen mußte, so glaube ich, daß diese Antwort wörtlich verstanden werden muß, daß er also die von den Bahutu gebrachten Abgaben und nicht eigenhändig Produziertes in dem Speicher zu verwahren hatte.

Die Bahutu-Gehöfte weisen in der Regel einen Hof, in dem sich oft mehrere Hütten befinden, auf.

Gebäude. In Ruanda muß man vier Gebäudearten unterscheiden:

Wohnhütten,
Kälberhütten,
Geisterhütten und
Speicher.

Die drei ersten sind nach demselben Prinzip gebaut und unterscheiden sich voneinander bloß durch ihre Größe und durch die Sorgfalt, mit der sie ausgeführt werden. Am kleinsten sind die Geisterhütten, sie werden auch am nachlässigsten gebaut und stellen ein einfaches, mit Gras bedecktes Gerüst von in den Boden gesteckten Ästen dar. Die Speicher dagegen weichen ganz wesentlich in ihrer Form, wenn auch nicht im Konstruktionsprinzip ab.

Die Wohnhütte hat in Ruanda, wie auch in den übrigen Teilen des Zwischenseengebietes, die Bienenkorbform. Dieser Typus greift auch auf die Westränder des großen afrikanischen Grabens herüber und scheint gar in Butembo vorzuherrschen[1]), wenn auch daselbst Klubhütten mit vier Türen den Mittelpunkt des Dorfes bilden, und der Türverschluß aus Brettern hergestellt wird. Die dortigen Bauten scheinen mit denen, die ich bei den Baamba beobachten konnte, völlig übereinzustimmen.

Auf dem Wege von Niansa nach Mulera konnte ich am Südfuße des Ndisa-Berges, im Gehöft des Rwabakika, eine Rundhütte mit konischem Dach beobachten. Es war dies eine kleine Kälberhütte mit einem, deutlich über den zylindrischen Wänden vorspringenden, Dache.

Im Süden von Bugoye, und zwar in der Höhe von 2000 m, sah ich überdies Hütten, die den Eindruck von Rundhütten mit konischem Dache hervorriefen; bei genauerer Betrachtung stellte es sich jedoch heraus, daß es ganz gewöhnliche Bienenkorbhütten waren. Sie waren nur von außen mit einer Schicht Schilf umstellt. Über diese ragte die Hüttenbenähung aus Stroh herüber und erweckte den Eindruck eines vorstehenden Daches. Die Eingeborenen erklärten, daß die Hüttenwände in dieser Weise verdickt werden, um die Einwohner vor den starken, kalten Winden zu sichern. Dr. KANDT erwähnt ebenfalls diese Maßregel, indem er sagt[2]), daß die Hütten „durch eine Art Schutzmauer aus Gräsern geschirmt werden."

Es darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß BAUMANN[3]) im Kagera-Quellengebiete Hütten mit zylindrischem Unterbau aus Bambus beobachtet hat. Sollte es sich hier vielleicht um die Überreste der früher weiter nach Osten vordringenden Rundhütten handeln, die später durch die Bienenkorbhütten der Batutsi verdrängt wurden? Jedenfalls ist die Bienenkorbhütte den waldlosen Gebieten besser angepaßt, denn sie kann im Notfalle ohne jedwedes Holz aus Elefantengras oder Hirsestroh aufgeführt werden.

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[1]) GÖTZEN, G. A., Gr. v., Durch Afrika von Ost nach West. Berlin 1899, S. 261.
[2]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 298.
[3]) BAUMANN, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle. Berlin 1894, S. 218.

Das Ruanda-Haus schwankt in seiner Größe sehr, je nach dem Wohlstand seines Besitzers. Die Höhe beträgt gewöhnlich vier bis acht M[illegible]. Der Durchmesser ist ungefähr anderthalbmal so groß.

Das Haus wird mit Papyrus aus Stäben zusammengebunden; Nägel kommen dabei nicht zur Anwendung.

Die Hauswand besteht aus drei übereinandergelegten Schichten: die mittlere Schicht wird gebildet durch senkrechte Stäbe, die von innen durch dicht aneinanderliegende, wagerecht befestigte Reifen aus Bündeln von Stäben gestützt werden; von außen wird die senkrechte Schicht ebenso durch horizontale Reifen, ebenfalls aus Stabbündeln, zusammengefaßt. Das so gebaute, engmaschige Gitterwerk wird mit Stroh sorgfältig benäht. Die Wände laufen oben in eine stumpfe Spitze zusammen. Diese wird mit einer besonderen Strohkappe, aus deren Spitze ein über einen Meter langer Stock in die Höhe ragt, bedeckt.

Der Hütteneingang ist von dicken Bündeln aus Stäben eingefaßt und durch ein vorgewölbtes Dach, eine Ausstülpung der Hüttenwand, geschützt. Diese Ausstülpung bildet hier im Gegensatze zu Kiziba ein Ganzes mit der übrigen Wand, und die horizontalen Reifen gehen hier durch, so daß man das ganze Dach des Vorraumes vom Inneren der Hütte sieht. In Kiziba sieht man nur den Ausschnitt der Türöffnung, an die von außen der Eingangsteil angefügt ist.

Im Nordwesten vom Kiwu haben die Hütten zwei Eingänge, wohl um den Einwohnern die Flucht bei Überfällen zu erleichtern. In Kishari liegen die Eingänge, nach Dr. KANDT[1]), einander gegenüber, in Mushari dagegen rechtwinklig zueinander. Diese Einrichtung muß den Babira (Barega) entlehnt sein, da ich die gegenüberliegenden Eingänge bei den Babira an den Ituri-Quellen beobachten konnte. Sie waren aber auch im Uele, bei den Mangbele des Gumbari, vorhanden.

Das Dach der Ruanda-Hütte wird über dem Eingange in der Mitte durch einen niedrigen, dünnen Pfeiler, der in der Mitte des ca. zehn cm hohen und ebenso breiten, ω-förmigen Randes der Schwelle eingetrieben ist, gestützt.

Von innen wird das Hausgerüst durch eine Anzahl ca. zehn bis fünfzehn cm dicker Baumstämme, die mit ihren gabelförmig eingeschnittenen oberen Enden unter die horizontalen Kreise greifen, gestützt.

Die Stützpfosten stehen im Innern recht unregelmäßig beieinander, und es gibt in der Mitte keinen zentralen Balken, der die Achse des Gebäudes bilden würde. Der Stock auf der Hüttenspitze hat nämlich mit den Stützpfosten nichts gemein. Beinahe in der Mitte des Hauses stehen die vier Pfosten, die den Herd umgeben. Bei den etwas geringeren Dimensionen der Hütte ist die Zahl der Stützpfosten kleiner. Sie sind die größten Holzstücke, die man für die Hütte braucht. Der ganze Bau erfordert sonst kein größeres Holz und kann bei kleinen Dimensionen aus Sorghostroh oder Elefantengras ausgeführt werden.

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 477.

Die Stützpfosten scheinen hier, ebenso wie in Kiziba, eine kultuelle Bedeutung zu haben, ich konnte jedoch darüber nichts Näheres ermitteln. Es gelang mir nur wiederholt beobachten zu können, daß einer von den Stützpfosten mit einem weißen, mit Kaolin (runoni) aufgemalten Bande versehen war, was bedeuten sollte, daß der Hausbesitzer eine Zeremonie ausgeführt hat. Ob dahinter vielleicht eine Einweihung in einen Geheimbund stack, konnte ich jedoch nicht erfahren.

Die Türöffnung wird durch das Vorschieben eines rechteckigen geflochtenen Schildes verschlossen, der durch zwei auf beiden Seiten des Einganges in den Boden eingetriebene Pfähle gestützt wird. Manchmal befinden sich auf beiden Seiten je zwei Pfähle, und der Türschild wird zwischen ihnen durchgezogen. Die geflochtenen Türschilde sind im ganzen Zwischenseengebiet allgemein. Im Westen jedoch, z. B. bei den Baamba, werden sie durch Türschilde aus Planken, die meistens in der Zahl von drei aufeinandergebunden werden, ersetzt.

Die Batwa-Hütten unterscheiden sich im Prinzip nicht von den Hütten der übrigen Banyaruanda. Sie sind nur kleiner und werden viel nachlässiger ausgeführt. Es darf aber nicht verschwiegen werden, daß nach Leutnant A. Couche, wie er mir das mündlich mitgeteilt hat, die Batwa aus der Umgebung von Uvira auf Bäumen wohnen sollen. Es scheint mir jedoch, daß mein Gewährsmann keine Gelegenheit hatte, das persönlich zu beobachten.

Wenn man ein Haus bauen will, so wird die ausgewählte Stelle mittels Butter geprüft. Die Wahl des Ortes ist nur dann eine glückliche, wenn das dort am Abend hingelegte Stück bis zum nächsten Morgen liegen bleibt[1]), was wohl auf das Fehlen von Termiten zu schließen gestattet. Der König soll diese Prüfung mit einem Stück „intobotobo yi mivembe" vornehmen.

Ist die Prüfung günstig ausgefallen, so wird von dem künftigen Hausbesitzer Bier bereitet und für Nahrung vorgesorgt. Sind diese Vorbereitungen getroffen worden, so werden die Nachbarn eingeladen. Diese kommen und bauen die Hütte auf, während der Hausbesitzer mit dem Bewirten der Arbeitenden allein beschäftigt ist. Einige Zeit später wird in derselben Weise die Tür hergestellt.

Die Hütten halten in den meisten Fällen nur zwei bis drei Jahre aus und müssen dann wieder neu aufgeführt werden.

Nach dem Tode des Hausbesitzers bewohnt die Hütte seine Witwe, wenn sie nicht zum Bruder des Verstorbenen herübersiedelt. Verlassen wird dagegen ein Wohnhaus, wenn sich auf ihm ein Ibis oder ein Kronenkranich niedergelassen hat. Im Falle, daß der Unglücksvogel ein Kranich war, verfolgt man ihn und baut das Haus, wenn das nur irgendwie möglich ist, dort, wo er sich nach dem Verlassen des Hüttendaches zum ersten Male niedergelassen hat, auf.

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[1]) Classe, R. P., Mœurs et Coutumes des Bagoye. Les Missions Catholiques 1905, S. 425.

Der Ibis wird nicht verfolgt. In Mulera fürchten sich vor beiden Vögeln sowohl die Bahutu wie auch die Batutsi.

Gehen wir jetzt zu einer kurzen Besprechung der für das Ruanda-Gehöft so charakteristischen Vorratshäuser (kigega) über.

In Kiziba, wo die Basis der Ernährung die immer vorhandenen und nicht aufbewahrbaren Bananen bilden, kommen keine Vorratshäuser vor. Der geringe Vorrat an Bohnen und Hirse wird, in Bananenblättern eingewickelt, in großen Paketen an den Stützpfeilern der Hütte aufgehängt und so aufbewahrt. In Kissaka, wie auch in den übrigen Teilen von Ruanda, wo die Hauptnahrung Hirsemehl und Erbsen bilden, und die kleineren Bananenvorräte hauptsächlich verbraut werden, muß man Vorratshäuser bauen, um die reiche Ernte aufzuspeichern.

Die Vorratshäuser sind große zylindrische Körbe. Diese bestehen aus einer Schicht in der Länge des Korbes verlaufender Stäbe, welche durch eine Anzahl von Reifen aus Stabbündeln zusammengefaßt werden. Der so hergestellte Korb wird von unten durch mehrere in den Boden eingesteckte Holzgabeln, die unter die äußeren Reifen des Korbbodens greifen, gestützt.

Die Wände des Korbes pflegt man mit einer Mischung von Lehm und Kuhmist zu verdichten. Unter dem Korbe wird Asche als Schutzmittel gegen die alles verheerenden Termiten aufgehäuft.

Dieser große, zwei Meter hohe und ein bis anderthalb Meter breite Korb wird von oben durch eine Strohkappe, die an ein konisches Gitter aus Stäben angenäht ist, abgeschlossen. In Kissaka hat das Vorratshaus keine Zugangsöffnung, deshalb muß man beim Herausholen oder Hereinlegen der Vorräte die Dachkappe abnehmen.

In den Speichern wird die Hirse meistens in kurz abgeschnittenen Ähren aufbewahrt. Einmal jedoch konnte ich in Kissaka sogar den ungewöhnlichen Fall, daß ungedroschene Hirse in einer leeren Hütte aufbewahrt wurde, beobachten. Das kann aber wegen der Termitengefahr nur vorübergehend geschehen sein.

In Ruanda wird auch ein Teil der Vorräte in der Hütte aufbewahrt. Das geschieht aber nicht in Paketen aus Bananenblättern, sondern in mit Kuhmist gedichteten Körben. Die Körbe fassen bis zu einem Zentner (50 kg).

In der unmittelbaren Nähe der Hütten gibt es oft in Nord- und West-Ruanda Gruben zum Nachreifen der Bananen und zur Aufbewahrung des jungen Bieres bis zur Gärung. Die Gruben werden vor dem Einlegen der Bananen geheizt, und zwar durch das Hineintreiben des heißen Rauches von dem nebenan brennenden Feuer. Dieselben Gruben meint wohl auch Dr. KANDT[1]), wenn er von den Kellern der Banyabungu sagt: „Höhlen von Butterglockenform, deren Wände durch gebogene Äste und durch Reifen gestützt werden, die, von unten anfangend, in konzentrischen, immer kleiner werdenden Ringen bis zur mannsbreiten Öffnung laufen."

Aborte scheinen in Ruanda ganz unbekannt zu sein.

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 390.

Hütteninneres. Bei der Betrachtung des Hausinneren fällt in Kissaka als Unterschied gegen Kiziba das Fehlen fester, geflochtener Innenwände auf. Wenn man in die Hütte hereintritt, so stößt man scheinbar auf eine fein geflochtene Wand an; bei genauerer Betrachtung stellt es sich jedoch heraus, daß man nur eine Reihe Stützpfosten vor sich hat. Zwischen diesen Pfosten sind nach vorne ausgebogene, rechteckige, steife Matten eingeklemmt. Die Matten sind korbartig geflochten, haben eine Länge von zwei Meter bei einer Breite von vierzig cm und werden meistens durch Beschmieren mit Kuhmist gedichtet. Diese Wand trennt den Vorraum (umuriango) von dem Herdteile ab. Seitlich, und zwar links, ist die Wand unterbrochen, und man erhält so einen schmalen Zugang zum Hütteninneren. Seine Lage ist, wie es scheint, eine Reminiszenz der Bakondjo-Hütteneinteilung. Der Zugang kann aber, was meistens bei den Batutsi der Fall ist, auch gegenüber dem Eingange liegen.

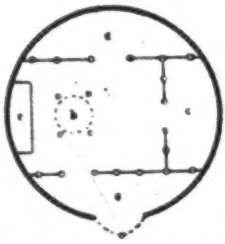

Abb. 128. Grundriß einer Kissaka-Hütte. *a* Vorraum, *b* Herd, *c* Bettraum, *d* Hinterkammer, *e* Milchgestell.

Abb. 129. Hängenetz mit Korb. (1/8 d. w.Gr. III. 13100)

Im Herdteile an der Wand, meistens seitlich vom Eingange, befindet sich das Gestell für die Milchgefäße, eine ca. vierzig cm breite, ebenso hohe und bis zwei Meter lange, mit Matten oben und von vorne belegte Bank. Auf diesem Gestell stehen mehrere einfache, aus Holz geschnitzte Milchgefäße, die mit nicht sehr kunstvoll geflochtenen Strohdeckeln geschmückt und zugedeckt werden. Über diesen Gefäßen, an einem Querbalken, der auf zwei senkrechten Trägern liegt, hängen in Netzen große, zum Buttern verwendete Kalebassen. Die Hängenetze werden in wissaka nicht so sorgfältig und sauber wie in Kiziba ausgearbeitet. Die Butterkalebassen pflegt man durch das Einstecken kleiner Kalebassen in ihre Öffnungen, zu schließen.

Etwas links von der Mitte der Hütte befindet sich der Herd. Er hat die Form einer runden Tonplatte mit zwei konzentrischen, einen cm hohen und zehn cm breiten Kreisen, die das Verschleppen von Feuer und Herunterfallen von Asche verhindern. Bei den Wohlhabenden, die ein besonderes Kochhaus eigen nennen, findet man am Tage kein Feuer in der Hütte, sondern nur die sauber

ausgefegte Herdplatte. Feuer wird nur nachts angezündet. Über dem Feuer befindet sich ein Rost, eine auf vier hohen Pfosten aufgestellte Platte. Hierauf werden die zur Bierbereitung bestimmten Bananentrauben zum Nachreifen gelegt.

Gegenüber dem Milchgestelle, auf der anderen Seite des Herdes, liegt das geräumige Bett. Das Bett ist von Pfeilern umstellt, zwischen die ebenfalls steife Matten oder Flechtwerke eingeklemmt werden und in dieser Weise den ganzen Raum abschließen. Zum Bette führt ein Zugang. Dieser Zugang kann durch eine aufrollbare, jalousienartige Stäbchenmatte abgeschlossen werden.

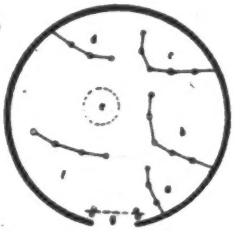

Abb. 130. Grundriß einer Mulera-Hütte. *a* Kälberstall, *b* Bettraum, *c* Tempelecke, *d* Frauenteil, *e* Herd, *f* Kuhstall, *g* Eingang.

In Mulera hatte ich aber Gelegenheit abweichende Hütteneinteilung zu beobachten. Es fehlte dort die Abgrenzung zwischen dem Herdraum und dem Vorraum, und das Ganze wurde mir als Kühestall (rubumbiro) bezeichnet. Der Herd (isiko) lag in der Mitte der Hütte. Dasselbe soll meistens auch in Bunyabungu der Fall sein[1]). Hinter ihm befindet sich in Mulera der Frauenraum (mbele), von dem aus man die Biheko geweihte Ecke (ruhimbi) erreichen kann. Rechts vom Eingange hat man den Kälberraum (ruhongoro). Der Bettraum liegt zwischen der Biheko-Ecke und dem Kälberstall.

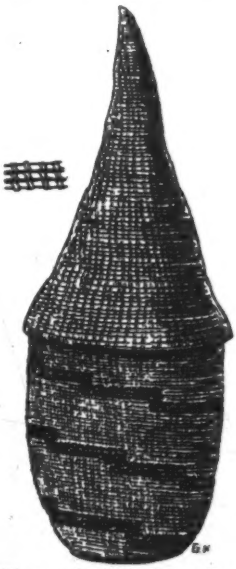

Abb. 131. Deckelkorb aus Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III 6890. 25 cm hoch.)

Das Bett besteht in Ruanda aus einem Gestell aus Holzstäben. Auf vier in den Boden gepflanzten, oben verzweigten Trägern liegen zwei horizontale Stäbe, die eine Platte tragen. Die Platte besteht aus nebeneinandergelegten Holzstäben. Das Gestell wird mit mehreren Schlafmatten bedeckt, so daß eine relativ weiche Polsterung zustande gebracht wird.

Der Schlafende wickelt sich in eine Matte ein, so daß nur die „masunzu"[2]) und die Zehen herausragen, und nicht selten durch Ratten, die schlimmste Plage der Wohnhütten, angenagt werden.

Auf dem der Wand zugewendeten Bettrande habe ich hohe, runde Deckelkörbe (ichibo) mit Körnerfrüchten (zur Aussaat) gesehen.

Während das Bett in Mpororo, im zentralen und südlichen Ruanda und in Mulera in allen Hütten vorkommt, konnte ich in Bugoye Hütten ohne Bett beobachten. In Njundo waren es noch ganz wenige, in Ruagari aber, das nur vier Stunden nördlich an

[1]) Kandt, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 390.

[2]) Nicht wegrasierte Haarstreifen, die den Schmuck der Männer, Kinder und Jugend bilden.

der Grenze von Bgisha liegt, schlief man schon ganz allgemein auf Matten ohne Bettgestell in einem durch eine Scheidewand abgetrennten, Hüttenteile, wie das auch bei den Batwa des Chuma der Fall war. Bei den Bakondjo und bei den Einwohnern von Toro sind Betten in allen Hütten vorhanden, in Kiziba dagegen fehlen sie.

Im Westen vom Kagera fehlt das Bett bei den Batwa, weiter bei den augenscheinlich von ihnen beeinflußten Einwohnern von Bgisha und Nord-Bugoye und dann weiter bei den Pygmäen. Berücksichtigt man noch den Umstand, daß im Westen vom Kagera das Bett mit der Bogensehne aus Rotang (Bambus) und den hölzernen Pfeilspitzen vikariert, so darf man die Vermutung aussprechen, daß das Fehlen des Bettes in Nord-Ruanda mit den Batwa, resp. Pygmäen, in Zusammenhang zu bringen ist.

Im Inneren der Batutsi-Hütten sah ich gelegentlich noch einen besonderen, für Kinder und Gäste bestimmten Raum. Gewöhnlich schlafen die größeren Kinder und die Fremden im Vorraum (umuriango).

Der Boden der Hütte wird mit Matten bedeckt und nicht mit Gras bestreut, wie das in Kiziba und Mpororo der Fall ist. Auf dem Boden findet man gewöhnlich noch einen hölzernen Hockschemel.

Hausgerät. Das Hausgerät ist in Ruanda sehr roh gearbeitet, so vor allem die Mörser und die Mörserkeulen. Die letzteren sind ganz einfache, nach unten verdickte, ungeschnitzte Stöcke. Auch die Kürbisflaschen sind hier nicht so glatt und regelmäßig wie in Kiziba, wo alle Formen in der vollkommensten abgeschlossensten Entwicklung vorliegen.

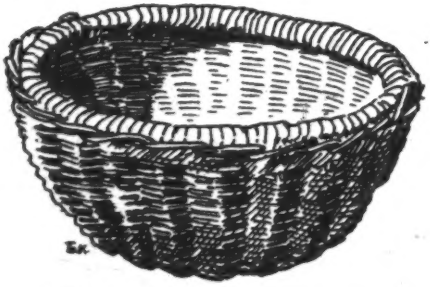

Abb. 132. Geflochtener Korb aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13103. Dm. 39 cm.)

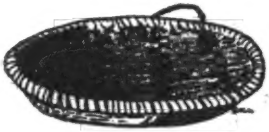

Abb. 133. Schildkorb für Mehl aus Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 10922. 27 × 23 cm.)

Das wichtigste Hausgerät bilden Vorratskörbe, Mahlsteine und diverses Koch- und Eßgeschirr.

Körbe wurden schon früher kurz besprochen. Wir erwähnten die konischen Vorratskörbe aus Bambus (Abb. 54), die kleineren genähten Strohkörbe (ichibo, Abb. 131), die Schildkörbe zum Getreideputzen (Abb. 28) und die Reisekörbe aus Stäbchen (Abb. 45, 55). Es bleiben hier nur noch die niedrigeren, breiten, bei Haushaltarbeiten benutzten, meistens geflochtenen, manchmal aber auch aus Stäbchen zusammengebundenen Körbe (Abb. 134) zu erwähnen übrig.

Die Mahlsteine haben in Ruanda die übliche afrikanische Form und bestehen aus einer Steinplatte, auf der ein kleiner, von einer knienden Frau in der Hand gehaltener Stein hin und her bewegt wird. In dieser Weise werden die zwei sich reibenden Flächen, zwischen denen das am Feuer ausgetrocknete Korn zerkleinert wird, geschaffen. Das Mehl fällt vom Steine in einen flachen Schildkorb (Abb. 133).

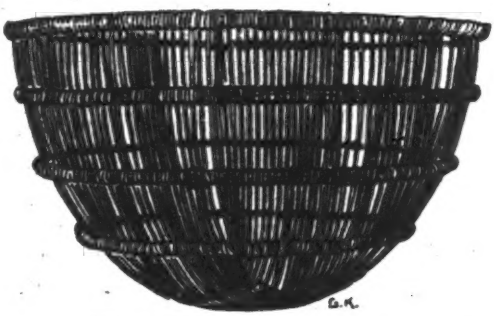

Abb. 134. Stäbchenkorb aus Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 10032. Dm. 48 cm.)

Tongefäße werden zum Kochen und Aufbewahren von Wasser und Bier verwendet. Die Kochtöpfe unterscheiden sich von den übrigen durch größere Öffnungen. Sie haben, ebenso wie die übrigen Tongefäße, einen ausgebogenen

Abb. 135. Kochtopf aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. L 15172.)

Abb. 136. Wassertopf aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. L 15264.)

Abb. 137. Wassertopf aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. L 14755.)

Rand, bei dem sie angefaßt werden können. Zum Kochen stellt man sie mit Hilfe von drei Herdsteinen auf. Die Wassertöpfe werden oft von besonderen geflochtenen Untersatzringen (ingata yo kubereka) gestützt. Fehlen diese, so stellt man im Boden eine kleine Vertiefung her und stellt die Gefäße hinein, um sie so gegen das Umkippen sicherzustellen. Der Boden des Topfes ist nämlich immer sphärisch. Die Biertöpfe von größeren Dimensionen werden oft mit einer Umflechtung, die das Tongefäß widerstandsfähiger gegen Stöße macht, versehen.

Abb. 138. Untersatzring aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13726. Dm. 23 cm.)

Das zum Kochen notwendige Feuer pflegt man in Ruanda mit einem Feuerbohrer zu erzeugen. Im Urwalde, zwischen Kahama und Njundo, begegnete ich zweien Batutsi, die dort ihre Kühe weideten. Sie waren spärlich bekleidet und trugen Feuerbohrer am Halse auf einer Schnur. In Mulera habe ich einen Feuerbohrer, aus dem Vorratskorb (isaho) eines Hirten hervorragend, gesehen. In Bgisha tragen fast alle Leute im Tabaksbeutel neben der Pfeife auch einen Feuerbohrer. In den Dörfern der stark besiedelten Teile Ruanda's, wie in Mulera z. B., wird diese Kunst dagegen fast gar nicht mehr ausgeübt, und man holt sich das Feuer von den Nachbarn, denen man in dieser Weise seine freundschaftliche Gesinnung kundgibt. Das Feuer wird in der Asche sorgfältig aufbewahrt, und man zündet das Brennmaterial an den kleinen glühenden Kohlen an, wobei mit einem kleinen geflochtenen Schild (kakoko) gefächelt wird.

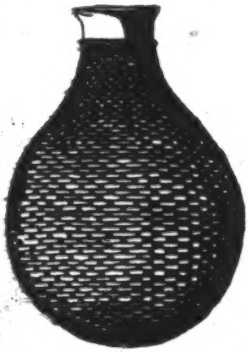

Abb. 139. Geflochtener Topf aus Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 5246. Höhe 33 1/2 cm.)

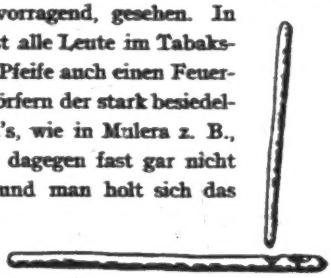

Abb. 140. Feuerbohrer der Kiwu-Batwa.

Beim Kochen werden roh geschnitzte Kochpaddeln und langgestielte Löffel zum Mischen, vor allem bei der Herstellung des steifen Hirsebreies (umutsima), benützt.

Das Essen wird in hölzernen, geschnitzten, kleinen Schüsseln und in Körben serviert.

Abb. 141. Vorratskorb eines Hirten aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13681. Höhe 18 cm.)

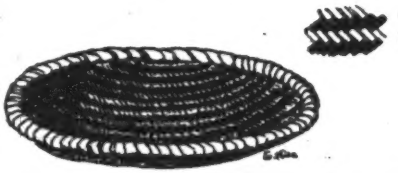

Abb. 142. Fächelschild aus Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13675. Dm. 21 cm.)

Die Körbe sind flach und breit und werden sorgfältig, wenn auch nur schwarz, gemustert. Sie unterscheiden sich in ihrer Form und Technik von den schön gemusterten nubischen Körben nicht, da sie ebenfalls aus einem spiralig zusammengenähten Strohbündel hergestellt werden.

Abb. 143. Kochlöffel aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. L 13081. 65 cm Länge.)

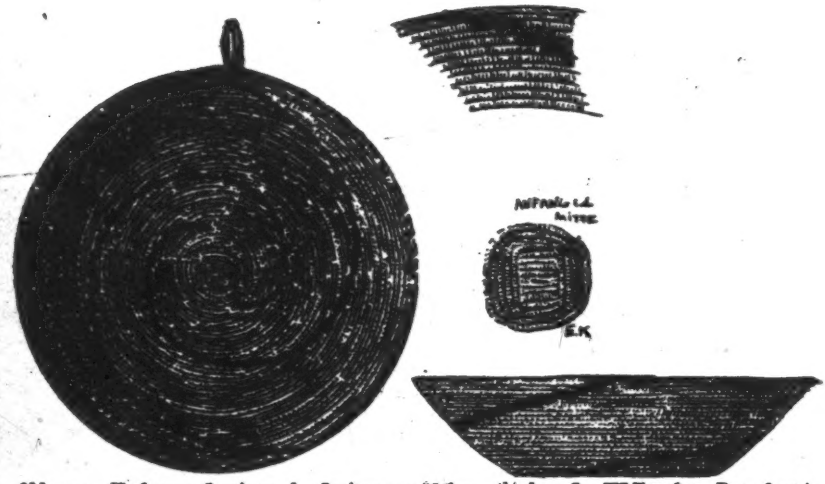

Abb. 144. Korb zum Servieren der Speisen aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13670. Dm. 38 cm.)

Die Holzschüsseln sind gewöhnlich elliptisch, manchmal aber auch sehr stark in die Länge gezogen und oft mit einem Griff versehen, so daß sie einem sehr kurzstieligen Löffel gleichen. Es kommen nicht selten auch Doppelgefäße, die ich in größerer Zahl in Mulera sammeln konnte, vor. Bei diesen sind die

Abb. 145. Holzschüssel aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. L 15094.)

Abb. 146. Holzschüssel aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. L 1561.)

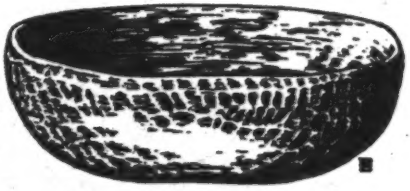

Abb. 147. Holzschüssel aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. L 15156.)

Hohlräume kleiner und haben eine gemeinsame Längsachse. Bei den aus einem Stück Holz geschnitzten Doppelschalen, die zum gleichzeitigen Servieren verschiedener Speisen verwendet werden, dient als Griff die Verkuppelung der beiden Schüsseln. Am Außenrande trifft man oft auch die Andeutung eines Griffes in der Form eines Knopfes oder einer Öse an. Ösen kommen aber auch bei einfachen Schüsseln vor.

Abb. 148. Holzschüssel aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. I. 15160.)

Abb. 149. Doppelschüssel aus Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III 9976. 37 cm lang.)

Abb. 150. Doppelschüssel aus Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III 9977. 49 cm lang.)

Abb. 151. Trinkschale aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13097. Dm. 20 cm.)

Für Bier und Wasser werden Kürbisschalen benützt. In Mulera verwendet man zum Trinken, ebenso wie im Kongo-Becken, vielfach große Schalen (nlukiza) der ihrer Längsachse nach durchschnittenen, Kalebassen. Gewöhnlich pflegt man jedoch in Ruanda das Bier aus einer Kalebasse mit dünnem Halse mittels eines Strohhalmes zu saugen. Der Hals ist hier nicht so lang wie in Kiziba. Die Halme werden in den Hütten in kleinen geflochtenen, oder auch aus Holz geschnitzten Behältern (ikitembo), die Köchermodellen ähneln, aufbewahrt.

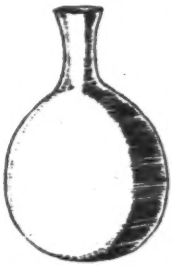

Abb. 152. Bierkalebasse aus Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13045. 17 cm hoch.)

Das Bier wird mit Hilfe von Trichtern in die kleinen Öffnungen der Bierkalebassen eingegossen.

Abb. 153. Geflochtener Saugrohrbehälter aus Ruanda. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 10060. 65 cm lang.)

Abb. 154. Geschnitzter Saugrohrbehälter aus Ruanda. (1/3 d. w. Gr. III E 13048. 32 cm lang.)

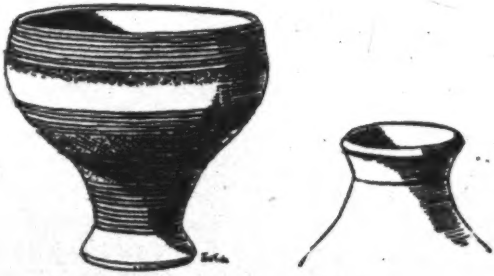

Abb. 155. Tontrichter der Batwa. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 6628. 16 cm hoch.)

Es kommen aber in Ruanda auch Ausgußgefäße vor. Diese wurden schon durch Dr. KANDT[1]) gesammelt und publiziert.

Milch wird in den schon besprochenen Holzgefäßen (kianzi) im Hause aufbewahrt. Zum Buttern werden große Kürbisse (kisabo) verwendet. Zum

Abb. 158. Hölzernes Buttergefäß. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 9971. Dm. 13 cm.)

Abb. 156. Ausgußgefäß aus Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III 9983. 14 1/2 cm hoch.)

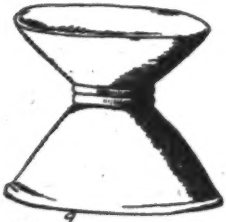

Abb. 159. Holzschemel aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13745. 22 cm hoch.)

Abb. 157. Buttergefäß aus Ton, Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 9995, III E 9992. Dm. 10 1/2 und 10 cm.)

Aufbewahren von Butter dienen besondere kleine Gefäße, die entweder aus gebranntem Ton hergestellt oder aus Holz geschnitzt werden. Die letzteren haben die Form winziger Eßschüsseln, aber mit stärker konvergierenden Rändern, und sind meistens mit einem Ösengriff versehen.

Das Hüttenmobiliar ergänzen die jedoch nicht in allen Haushälten vorhandenen kleinen einbeinigen Schemel.

Haushalt. Die Haushaltarbeiten fallen den Frauen zur Last. Sie bestehen in der Besorgung des notwendigen Wassers und in der Zubereitung der Nahrung.

Das Beschaffen des im Haushalte notwendigen Wassers bildet wohl den schwersten Teil der Frauenarbeit. Diese Last ist besonders groß im Lavagebiet, südlich von den Vulkanen. Die Flüsse verlaufen dort unterirdisch, und freie Wasserstellen sind manchmal sehr weit entlegen, ja sogar einige Stunden entfernt. Man behilft sich zwar dort in erster Linie mit dem Regenwasser und dem bitteren Saft der Bananenstämme, aber ein gewisses Quantum Wasser muß trotzdem auch in diesen Gegenden hergeschleppt werden. Das gesammelte Regenwasser ist sehr stark verunreinigt. Man fängt das Regenwasser nämlich

[1]) KANDT, R., Gewerbe in Ruanda. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. 1904, S. 346.

in kleinen Bodenvertiefungen ein und schöpft es von dort mit Kürbisschalen in größere Töpfe, in denen es aufbewahrt wird. In Buhumba, wo ich dies beim starken Regen auf dem Wege von Njundo nach Rutshuru beobachten konnte, befanden sich diese Wasserbecken in den unsauberen Höfen, und zusammen mit dem Wasser wurde in die Gruben auch Unrat geschwemmt.

Trotz dieser Schwierigkeiten in der Wasserbeschaffung verschütteten die Bahutu eine Quelle am Karissimbi, um die Batutsi, die dort mit ihrem Vieh zur Tränke kamen und ihnen die Felder verwüsteten, los zu werden. Dieses Beispiel eignet sich besonders zur Charakterisierung des friedlichen Zusammenlebens der Hirten und der Ackerbauer.

Mit dem Wasserschleppen der Frauen hängt vielleicht auch ihre größere Reinlichkeit zusammen. Es ist mir in Njundo aufgefallen, daß man an der Ssebeya stets sich waschende Frauen, aber nur selten badende Männer antreffen konnte.

Die Herstellung der Nahrung fällt ebenfalls im ganzen Umfange der Frau zur Last und beschränkt sich nicht allein auf das Kochen. Sie müssen überdies das Getreide dreschen, das Korn zu Mehl zerreiben, Feldfrüchte schälen, in den meisten Fällen auch Brennholz beschaffen und in Kissaka sogar die Töpfe herstellen.

Abb. 160. Einschneidiges Frauenmesser aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13734. 20 cm lang.)

Bei der Ausführung ihrer Arbeiten bedienen sich die Frauen kleiner, roh gearbeiteter Messer. Nur im Westen kommen große, zweischneidige, schwertähnliche Frauenmesser, die ihrer Form nach den Messern der Babira-Frauen sehr nahe kommen, vor.

Abb. 161. Frauenmesser vom West-Kiwu. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 10172. 32,5 cm lang.)

Die Basis der Ernährung bilden gekochte Gerichte; Mais, Bataten und Erdnüsse werden aber auch geröstet.

Die Lieblingsspeise der Batutsi bildet geschlagene saure Milch — „kivuguto". Die Batutsi behaupten, nur von Bier, Milch und Fleisch zu leben. Sie essen aber im Geheimen auch Erbsen (maharagi), Bohnen, Mehlbrei aus Hirse (umutsima), Eleusine (buro), Kürbisse und Bananen. Bataten scheinen sie dagegen zu verschmähen. Vielleicht ist das letzte jedoch nicht den Tatsachen entsprechend. Die Batutsi gaben sich wiederholt Mühe mich zu überzeugen, daß ihre Nahrung von der der Bahutu ganz verschieden sei. Das scheint doch nicht zuzutreffen.

Die Nahrung der Bahutu ist, wie es von der ärmeren Bevölkerung zu erwarten ist, nur eintöniger, an Milch und Fleisch ärmer und in der Hauptsache auf „umutsima", Erbsen und Bataten konzentriert. Bei den Bahutu von Nord-Ruanda spielt eine als Nahrungsmittel sehr bedeutende Rolle der Fisch.

Feste Nahrung nehmen die Batutsi nur einmal, und zwar abends zu sich. Sie essen zusammen mit ihren Frauen, trinken tun sie dagegen nur mit Männern derselben sozialen Stellung.

Die Bahutu essen dagegen zweimal: einmal zwischen 1 und 2 am Nachmittage und das andere Mal abends zwischen 8 und 9. In Mulera ißt man auch am Morgen. Das gilt nur für Männer, da Frauen und Kinder den ganzen Tag hindurch essen. Auch die Batwa essen in einem fort, wenn sich nur eine Gelegenheit dazu bietet — „balandwa uk imga" —, „sie suchen wie die Hunde", sagt man von ihnen.

10. Kapitel.

Familienangelegenheiten.

Familie. — Stellung der Frau. — Ehe. — Außerehelicher Verkehr. — Scheidung. — Geburt. — Tod.

Familie. Die Zahl der in einer Familie im engeren Sinne vereinigten Personen weist in Ruanda große Unterschiede auf. Sie umfaßt den Familienvater mit seinen Frauen und ihren Kindern.

Da die Frau vor allem eine Arbeitskraft darstellt, so kann die Zahl der Frauen in einem Haushalte für den Maßstab seines Wohlstandes angesehen werden. Ebenso wie sich die Armen keine Frau halten können, haben die wenig Bemittelten nur eine, und die Minorität der Wohlhabenderen zwei und sogar mehrere Frauen. Deshalb besitzen auch die Batutsi mehr Frauen als die Bahutu.

Wenn auch eine Frau sich selbst ernährt, und der Kaufpreis einer Frau eine unbeträchtliche Summe bei den Bahutu beträgt, so muß doch der Mann jeder Frau ein Haus bauen und es erhalten. Die Menge der dabei notwendigen Arbeit scheint bei der geringen Dauerhaftigkeit der Strohbauten einen wichtigen, die Polygamie stark einschränkenden Umstand zu bilden. Es kommt zwar vor, daß mehrere Frauen sich in einem Hause vertragen können, doch wird der Mangel einer besonderen Hütte als eine gar große Benachteiligung empfunden, die meistens das Weggehen der Frau zur Folge hat.

Zur Familie im weiteren Sinne müssen noch die entfernteren Verwandten hinzugefügt werden.

Betrachtet man das Kind als den Mittelpunkt, so kommen zunächst sowohl bei dem Vater, wie auch bei der Mutter nur die Ahnen in der männlichen Linie in Betracht. Die Ahnen in der weiblichen Linie werden nicht berücksichtigt. Von den seitlichen Verwandten sind nur Onkel, Tanten, Vettern, Basen, Neffen und Nichten zu erwähnen. Außerdem dürfen die entsprechenden Verwandten des Gatten resp. der Gattin nicht vergessen werden.

Obwohl man für den sehr abstrakten Begriff des Ahnen im Kinyaruanda ein besonderes Wort — „basekuru" — hat, besitzt man doch kein Wort zur Bezeichnung des Begriffs Vater, und man muß immer „mein Vater, dein Vater, sein Vater" sagen. Auch für den Großvater hat man keine besondere Bezeichnung, da „sekuru" im Grunde genommen „sein Großvater" bedeutet, und der Begriff „dein Großvater" eigentlich durch „sokuru" ausgedrückt werden müßte.

[p. 216]

Es sollen hier in der folgenden Tabelle die Bezeichnungen der näheren Verwandten zusammengestellt werden:

	Väterliche Seite	Mütterliche Seite
Ahnen	basekuru	
Urgroßvater, Urgroßmutter	sekuruza, nyinakuruza	sengeneza, nyinangeneza
Großvater, Großmutter	sekuru, nyinakuru	senge, nyinange
Mein (unser) Vater, meine (unsere) Mutter	data, mama	
Dein (euer) Vater, deine (eure) Mutter	so, nyoko	
Sein (ihr) Vater, seine (ihre) Mutter	se, nyina	
Mein Mann	mugabo wanye	
Meine Frau	mugore wanye	
Sohn, Tochter	umwana	
Enkel	musukuru	
Großenkel	musukuruza	
Bruder meines Vaters, Bruder meiner Mutter	data wachu	marumi
Bruder deines Vaters, Bruder deiner Mutter	so wanyu	nyoko rumi
Bruder seines Vaters, Bruder seiner Mutter	se wabo	nyina rumi
Schwester des Vaters, Schwester meiner Mutter	nyina senge	mama wachu
Schwester deiner Mutter		nyoko wanya
Schwester seiner Mutter		nyina wabo
Der Knabe sagt „meine Schwester"	mushiki wanje	
Der Knabe sagt „mein Bruder"	mwene data	mwene nyina
Das Mädchen sagt „meine Schwester"	mwene data	mwene nyina
Das Mädchen sagt „mein Bruder"	musaza wanje	

Kinder zweier Brüder nennen sich gegenseitig: „mwene data wachu".
Kinder des Bruders der Mutter werden genannt: „mwene marumi".
Kinder der Schwester des Vaters werden genannt: „babyara" (sing. mubyara).
Die Vettern weiteren Grades werden ebenfalls genannt: „babyara".
Der Sohn des Bruders wird genannt: „umushungu wabo".
Die Tochter des Bruders wird genannt: „umugore wabo" oder „umukobga wabo".
Das Kind der Schwester wird von seinem Onkel genannt: „muishwa".
Das Kind der Tochter wird von seinem Großvater „akamumuishwa" genannt.
Die Frau meines Sohnes wird genannt: „umukazana".
Der Vater meines Mannes wird genannt: „sebukwe".
Der Bruder meiner Frau wird genannt: „umuramu".
Die Schwester meiner Frau wird genannt: „umuramukazi".

Die älteren nahen Verwandten werden einfach als Oheime — „data wachu" usw. — bezeichnet. Die entfernteren Verwandten nennt man kurz „mwene wachu".

Das in der Verwandtschaftstafel viel genannte „wachu" ist eigentlich das Possesivpronomen und bedeutet unser, ebenso wie „wanyu" euer und „wabo" ihr bedeutet.

Der Stiefvater wird einfach als Mann der Mutter oder Bruder des Vaters

bezeichnet. Das letztere hängt damit zusammen, daß die verwitwete Frau dem Bruder ihres Mannes als Erbe zufällt.

Es verdient beachtet zu werden, daß in den Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen die Brüder des Vaters und die Schwester der Mutter als zwei parallele Gruppen gegenübergestellt werden, deren Angehörige untereinander Ehen abschließen dürfen.

Stellung der Frau. Die Frau gilt in Ruanda, im Prinzip wenigstens, für ein niedrigeres Wesen, und die Eheleute essen in der Öffentlichkeit nie zusammen, wenn sie auch unter vier Augen gewöhnlich zusammen speisen, wie ich das wiederholt beobachten konnte.

Trotz dieser Benachteiligung muß die Stellung der Frau in Ruanda für relativ gut gehalten werden. Auf ihr lasten zwar in den armen Haushalten die Hausarbeiten und die Bestellung des Feldes. Bei der letzteren Arbeit hilft ihr jedoch der Mann in dringenden Fällen und verrichtet dabei immer alle schwereren Arbeiten. Dem Mann liegt die Pflicht ob, Gebüsch auszuroden, Hütten und Speicher zu bauen und beim Hacken zu helfen.

Die wohlhabenden Frauen verbringen ihre Zeit mit kleinen Handarbeiten, wie z. B. dem Flechten kleiner, kunstvoller Körbe und sollen dabei dem Biertrinken eine übermäßige Aufmerksamkeit zuwenden. Sie verbleiben den ganzen Tag über im Frauenhause (kagondo), und man hat daher sehr selten Gelegenheit Batutsi-Frauen zu sehen. Überrascht man ein Gehöft mit einem unerwarteten Besuche, so erblickt man höchstens ein paar fliehende Gestalten, die man nach den Beinringen aus Gras (butega) als Frauen erkennen kann.

Während des Aufenthaltes der Expedition in Niansa, hatte Dr. Schubotz vergeblich versucht, von Musinga die Erlaubnis zu bekommen, seine Frauen zu photographieren. Musinga machte zwar Versprechungen, hielt aber sein Wort nicht.

In Niansa konnte man überhaupt keine Frauen sehen. Während meines ganzen dreiwöchentlichen Aufenthaltes begegnete ich nur am letzten Tage zwei nicht ganz jungen Frauen.

In Ruanda hört man nicht selten Klagen über das Weiberregiment. Vor allem beschweren sich die Bauern über die Frauen ihrer Häuptlinge, die sich ihnen, besonders in der Abwesenheit ihrer Gatten, sehr unangenehm bemerkbar machen sollen. Ich hörte ein paarmal von Bahutu, die durch Batutsi-Frauen verprügelt und durch Stockhiebe stark verletzt worden waren.

Die Frau nimmt eine hohe und geschätzte Stellung erst als Mutter ein. Das kommt am schönsten zum Ausdruck im Einflusse, dessen sich die Königin-Mutter erfreut. Ein Königssohn, der seine Mutter verloren hat, kann nicht mehr den Thron besteigen. Sterile Frauen werden verachtet, den unverheirateten Frauen wird nur insofern Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, daß man sie verheiraten, d. h. verkaufen kann, und daß dadurch Verbindungen mit anderen Familien angeknüpft werden können.

Ehe. Die Heirat besitzt in Ruanda nicht überall dieselbe soziale Bedeutung, wenn auch im ganzen Lande der Mann durch seine Heirat und noch viel mehr durch Heiraten seiner Kinder in die Höhe kommen kann.

Im Norden von Ruanda aber, wo die Bahutu bis jetzt noch fast ganz frei sind, ist die Heirat ein politischer Akt von großer Wichtigkeit, da er zwei Geschlechter zusammenschließt und einen Schritt in der Richtung der sozialen Integration darstellt. In Nduga, wo die Bauern keine politische Bedeutung besitzen, haben auch ihre Heiraten keine Bedeutung. Mit diesem Umstande werden wohl auch die Unterschiede in den Kaufpreisen der Bräute zusammenhängen. Diese sind sehr hoch im Norden und sehr niedrig in der Nduga. Die Stabilität der geschlossenen Verbindungen ist im Norden daher auch bedeutend größer.

Die Höhe des Brautpreises, den man bei der Scheidung zurückerstatten muß, bildet die ökonomische Garantie für die Beständigkeit der geschlossenen Verbindung. In Mulera ist eine Heirat nach den Worten der Eingeborenen ein Austauschakt zwischen zwei Clans. Ein Clan liefert die gehörnte Kuh — „ntuku", die den Brautpreis bildet, der andere Clan gibt die ungehörnte Kuh — „nkunge", d. h. die Braut. Die Frau ist, ebenso wie die Kuh, ein Familiengut. Man läßt sie nach dem Tode ihres Mannes vererben, um ihren Brautpreis samt der Nachkommenschaft nicht zurückerstatten zu müssen. Das Vererben der Witwe wird „kutshura" genannt.

Um die Braut wird in Kissaka schon geworben, wenn sie noch ein kleines Kind ist. Der Werber schickt den Eltern der Braut Bananenbier. Sind die Eltern einverstanden, so nehmen sie das Geschenk an. Dann wird auch gelegentlich der Preis der Braut verabredet. In Erwartung der Mannbarkeit des Mädchens werden die Biergeschenke von Zeit zu Zeit wiederholt. Die Biersendungen, die hauptsächlich an den Werber erinnern und die Heiratsbesprechungen fördern sollen, erreichen die Höhe von zwanzig bis fünfzig Töpfen. Ist das Mädchen erwachsen (hat sie das Alter von ca. fünfzehn Jahren erreicht), d. h. sind ihre Brüste faustgroß geworden, so wird sie an einem der verabredeten Tage von der Schwester ihres Vaters, ihren Brüdern und ihrem Gefolge (bagaragu) in das Haus ihres Mannes gebracht. Die Gesellschaft bleibt den ganzen Abend zusammen, trinkt Bananenbier und unterhält sich. Die Braut sitzt inzwischen mit ihrer Tante im inneren Teile des Hauses, während sich die übrigen in dem der Tür zugewandten Teile (muliango) aufhalten. Nachdem der ganze Biervorrat aufgezehrt ist, ziehen sich alle nach ihren Häusern zurück, und die Neuvermählten bleiben allein.

Es kommt sehr oft vor, daß die Neuvermählte zu ihren Eltern entflieht und zum Manne nicht zurückkehren will. In diesem Falle muß der Mann den Schwiegereltern weitere Biergeschenke machen. Hat er vorübergehend kein Bier zur Verfügung, so muß er die Frau durch einen Mann, der Biersendungen verspricht, abholen lassen.

Der vom Bräutigam für die Frau bezahlte Satz ist in erster Linie eine Manifestation seines Wohlstandes und nicht der Kaufpreis der Frau. Deshalb zahlen auch die Reichen unverhältnismäßig mehr als die Ärmeren. So gibt ein großer Häuptling in Kissaka für eine Frau zwei Milchkühe samt ihren Kälbern. Ein kleiner Häuptling zahlt für eine Frau eine Milchkuh mit einem Kalbe; ein gewöhnlicher Mututsi dagegen gibt nur eine Kuh. Die Zahlung des Bräutigams wird „inkwano" genannt. Andererseits bekommt aber auch die Frau eine Mitgift, die „indongovanyo" (Hochzeitsgeschenk) genannt wird. Die Mitgift der Frau wird von ihrem Vater und seiner Schwester gegeben. Jedes von ihnen gibt je ein Kalb, das nur in den seltensten Fällen durch eine Kuh ersetzt wird.

Wenn der König eine Frau heiraten will, so schickt er einen seiner Männer mit einem gabelförmig verzweigten Holzstabe, der „isando" genannt wird, aus. Der König bezahlt für eine Frau viel Kühe, er nimmt aber keine Mitgift entgegen, weil ja ohnehin ihm alles gehört.

Bei den Bahutu von Kissaka sind die Zahlungen und Geschenke nicht so groß. Der Bräutigam zahlt z. B. für die Frau sechs bis acht Hacken oder oft auch ein „doti" (vier Yard) Stoff und ein Schaf. Der Vater der Braut gibt als Mitgift eine Hacke und seine Schwester ein Schaf mit. Die Quantitäten des bei diesen Anlässen vertilgten Bieres sind dagegen sehr beträchtlich.

In Bugoye, wo man für das Mädchen häufig eine Kuh gibt, kann die Braut auch abgedient werden. Diesem Kaufwerte verdanken die Mädchen auch die Komplimente, in denen sie von den eleganten Kavalieren mit Kühen verglichen werden. In Mulera, wo der Preis der Frau bei größerem Wohlstand der Bahutu höher ist, erhält man ohne Kuh keine Frau.

Das junge, unverheiratete Mädchen wird „inkumi" genannt. Von den alten Jungfern sagt man, daß sie in den Herd gefallen sind: „baguye kuziko" oder „akapfa nimulindo" — sie ist in Jungfräulichkeit gestorben.

Ehen mit Mädchen, die schon geschlechtlichen Umgang hatten, kommen vor, jedenfalls soll aber der schlechte Ruf, in Mulera wenigstens, Schwierigkeiten bei dem sonst leichten Auffinden eines Mannes verursachen.

Wenn ein Mulera seinen Sohn verheiraten will, so sieht er sich nach einem Mädchen, das ihm wichtige Alianten aus den Reihen ihrer Verwandten sichern würde, um. Ist die Wahl entschieden, und hat das angefragte Orakel günstig ausgesagt, so wird ein Biergeschenk den Eltern des Mädchens geschickt. Das Geschenk wird angenommen, wenn man die Zufriedenheit mit der Werbung ausdrücken will. Bei der ersten Biersendung muß der Vater des Mädchens zusagen, wenn er sich auch später zurückziehen will. Die Absage bei der ersten Sendung wird als eine schwere Beleidigung aufgefaßt und erzeugt bittere Feindschaft. Die Besuche mit Biergeschenken werden von Zeit zu Zeit wiederholt. Winkt der Vater des Mädchens nicht ab, so wird beim Biergelage die Höhe des Brautpreises gelegentlich festgesetzt. Er besteht in den meisten Fällen aus einer Kuh und zwei Töpfen Bier. Das Bier kann aber durch Hacken ersetzt

werden. Die Kuh trägt auf dem Halse die „mushishwa" genannte Schlingpflanze. Mit derselben ist auch einer der beiden Biertöpfe oder die ihn ersetzende Hacke umgebunden. Alles zusammen wird „bukwe" — Brautpreis — genannt. Die „mushishwa"-Pflanze wird hinzugefügt, um den Vertrag zu festigen. Sie soll die Abänderung des Beschlusses der Eltern verhüten und die Abgabe des Mädchens an einen anderen Jüngling verhindern. Außer dem Vater bekommen noch die anderen nächsten Verwandten des Mädchens Geschenke. Der Brüder des Vaters bekommt drei und der Bruder der Mutter zwei Töpfe Bier. Die Mutter des Mädchens bekommt drei Hacken, die Großmutter (von der mütterlichen Seite) und die Brüder je eine Hacke. Die Lieferung der Zahlung findet statt an einem der nächsten Tage nach der ersten Besprechung. Wenn die Heirat nicht zustande kommt, so muß der Brautpreis und vor allem die Hacke mit „mushishwa" zurückerstattet werden.

Steht der Termin der Heirat schon ganz nahe vor den Türen, so werden die Besuche mit den unentbehrlichen Biergeschenken in kleinen Abständen wiederholt. Nachdem ein angegebenes Quantum Bier ausgetrunken ist, wird der Tag der Zeremonie festgesetzt.

Die Angehörigen des Bräutigams bereiten eine größere Menge Bier vor. Der Vater des Mädchens oder, wenn dieser nicht mehr lebt, ihr älterer Bruder ladet Verwandte und Freundinnen ein, das Mädchen nach dem Hause ihres künftigen Gatten unter großem Gefolge zu bringen.

Das Mädchen wird, in eine Matte eingewickelt, geführt oder, wenn die Wege schlecht sind, getragen. Wenn es jemandem gelingt das Gesicht der Braut während dieses Ganges zu erblicken, so wird die Ehe von kurzer Dauer sein. Zugleich mit diesem Zuge wird auch ein leerer Kürbis, der dem Mädchen die Nachkommenschaft sichern soll, wie auch die Geschenke ihrer Verwandten gebracht. In einem der Körbe liegt das Kuhfell, mit dem sich die Verheiratete bekleiden wird, der andere enthält ihren Schmuck. Während des ganzen Weges wird gesungen. Das Mädchen wird am Eingange zum Hofe vom Bräutigam empfangen. Er geht ihr mit einem Kürbisse in der Hand entgegen, überreicht ihr diesen, hebt das Fell, mit dem er bekleidet ist, in die Höhe und zeigt den Oberschenkel mit den Worten: „ndakuhaye omurundi, uzachukura inka yo kukuhaliki" — Ich gebe dir das Bein, es wird dir ein Stier, um dich zu besteigen.

Der vom Manne überreichte Kürbis ist ein Symbol des Bauches der geschwängerten Frau, und die Zeremonie soll den Wunsch des Mannes, sie möchte ihm Kinder gebären, in symbolischer Form ausdrücken. Die Braut durchschreitet den Hof und begibt sich nach dem Hausgebäude, wo die Heiratszeremonie fortgesetzt werden soll. Dort gibt sie der künftigen Schwiegermutter ihr „kisabo" (den Kürbis) zur Aufbewahrung. Bei ihr werden auch: der im Zuge mitgebrachte Kürbis und die zwei Körbe mit Geschenken hinterlegt. Der zweite Kürbis wird sehr sorgfältig aufbewahrt. In ihm bringt die junge Frau

nach der Geburt des Kindes Bier nach dem Elternhause, um dort ihren Manen ein Opfer zu veranstalten. Die Manen werden in dieser Weise ersucht, dem Kinde nichts Böses anzutun. Aus demselben Kürbis gibt man kleinen Kindern zu trinken. Er muß ganz neu sein und darf vorher sogar nicht für Wasser benutzt werden.

Nachher verteilen sich die Gäste im Hause. Die Frauen begeben sich nach dem Frauenteil (mbele) vis-à-vis des Einganges, die Männer bleiben im „ikirambi", in der Mitte des Hauses. Die „basangwa", Gäste des Bräutigams, sitzen auf einer Seite, die „bahelekeza", die Mitglieder des Brautzuges, auf der anderen. Die Nichteingeladenen stehen vor der Hütte im Hofe.

Nachdem man dem Bier reichlich zugesprochen hat, wird nach dem Essen gefragt. Einer der Anwesenden macht den Vorschlag mit der Heirat zu beginnen, da es schon spät sei. Der Bräutigam steht auf, nimmt ein Gefäß mit Milch und begibt sich zu den Frauen. Die Frauen leisten ihm Widerstand und lassen ihn nicht zur Braut heran. Der Bräutigam verjagt sie mit Feuer und tritt auf das Mädchen, das auf dem Boden mit gespreizten Beinen sitzt, heran, kniet vor ihr nieder, speit aus dem Munde Milch auf ihre Brüste und sagt, sich erhebend: „mumpe impundu, ndalongoye" — Gebt mir den Freudenruf, ich habe geheiratet.

Das ist der Mittelpunkt der ganzen Heiratszeremonie. Dieser Handlung dürfen unverheiratete Mädchen nicht beiwohnen. Die Eltern des Mädchens und die Brüder ihres Vaters wohnen der Heiratszeremonie überhaupt nicht bei. Sie feiern die Hochzeit der Tochter beim Bier im eigenen Hause.

Um den Neuvermählten eine zahlreiche Nachkommenschaft zu sichern, zerreibt nach dieser Zeremonie eine der Schwestern des jungen Ehemannes Mehl, macht Hirsebrei und verteilt es an kleine Kinder. Dasselbe Mädchen bereitet am nächsten Tage auch das Essen für die junge Frau.

Die Heiratszeremonien werden durch das Opfern einer Ziege abgeschlossen. Nachdem die Kinder den Hirsebrei aufgegessen haben, sagt der Familienvater: „Wir gehen essen." Die Gäste antworten, die Frauen möchten sich die Hände waschen. Die Frauen erklären sich damit nicht einverstanden und sagen: „Wir werden essen, nachdem die Männer beendigt haben." Der Familienvater läßt dann eine Ziege holen. Nachdem die Ziege gebracht worden ist, wird diese von den Gästen prüfend angesehen und für nicht schön genug befunden. Man geht dann eine andere zu holen. Diese genügt auch noch nicht den Ansprüchen der Anwesenden. Dann wird die dritte geholt. Die dritte erst kann unter Umständen, wenn sie schön ist, angenommen werden. Ist die Ziege angenommen worden, so treibt man sie mit Stockhieben nach dem Hause des Bräutigams. Dort wird sie in der Nähe seines Bettes durch Keilhiebe und Fußtritte und nicht wie gewöhnlich mit einem Messer getötet.

Diese Zeremonie soll angeblich andeuten, wie die Frau behandelt würde, wenn dieses Opfer nicht gebracht worden wäre. Nach einer anderen Version

soll die Frau so nachgiebig und weich sein wie die Ziege, der man alle Knochen zerbrochen hat. Das Fleisch muß an die Anwesenden verteilt werden, sonst würde die Ehe kinderlos bleiben. Die Männer essen es an demselben Tage, die Frauen nehmen es nach Hause für die Kinder mit, da sie in Mulera kein Ziegenfleisch essen dürfen.

Die Männer essen das Fleisch mit Hirsebrei. Nachdem man zum Genüge gegessen und getrunken hat, gehen am Morgen alle auseinander. Die Gäste des Bräutigams begleiten dabei die Gäste der Braut eine Strecke weit, um sie in dieser Weise zu ehren.

Der junge Ehemann kehrt aber bald zurück, nimmt das vorbereitete Brennholz und zündet an den Stellen, wo die Frauen und die Männer saßen, zwei Feuer an. Die Braut geht mit allen übrigen hinaus, begibt sich aber zur Schwiegermutter und bleibt dort. Die Schwiegermutter bereitet das Essen vor, die Neuvermählte weigert sich jedoch es zu sich zu nehmen. Der Mann muß die hungrige Frau erst durch Geschenke dazu bewegen.

Am Abend wird die Frau von der Schwiegermutter eingeredet, sich nach der Hütte des Mannes zu begeben. Die Frau sträubt sich hartnäckig, sich dem Manne hinzugeben, und es kommt zu einem Streit. Es gehört sich, daß der Mann am Körper Spuren aufweise, die allen zeigen, daß sich die Frau heftig verteidigt und sich nicht wie eine Dirne hingegeben hat. Es kommt aber vor, daß der nicht genügend starke Mann den Widerstand der Frau mit Gewalt nicht brechen kann und sie zur Hingabe, wie auch zum Essen, durch Geschenke bewegen muß.

Nach der Heirat muß die Frau eine Zeitlang verborgen bleiben. Das dauert, bis ihre Angehörigen mit Geschenken aus Bier, Lebensmitteln und Armringen kommen. Dieser Besuch findet gewöhnlich am dritten Tage statt. Bei dieser Gelegenheit werden Matten mitgebracht, die von der jungen Frau im Elternhause gemacht wurden. Die junge Frau darf sich mit ihren Verwandten, mit den Mädchen, die die Matten gebracht haben, unterhalten. An diesem Tage wird getanzt, gesungen und viel getrunken.

Einige Zeit darauf schicken die Eltern ihrer Tochter wieder Geschenke. Unter diesen befindet sich, abgesehen von den Lebensmitteln, auch eine ganz neue Hacke mit neuem Stiel. An diesem Tage tanzt die Frau mit ihrem Manne und der neuen Hacke, unter Gesangbegleitung der übrigen Angehörigen, geht dann zum ersten Mal auf das Feld und arbeitet dort ein wenig. Bis zu diesem Tage übt der Mann keinen Geschlechtsverkehr mit den anderen Frauen aus. Dieser Tag wird „kushishura" genannt. Nach dem Hacken werden der jungen Frau Hirsekörner gebracht, eine Handvoll auf einer Matte zerstreut, und die junge Frau muß sie mit einer Handbewegung auflesen. Gelingt ihr das nicht, so sind die Aussichten auf eine zahlreiche Nachkommenschaft schlecht. Diese Körner werden von ihr, mit dem Manne zusammen, gemahlen. Das dabei erhaltene Mehl dient zur Bereitung von Bier, das kleinen Kindern gegeben wird, um selbst Kinder zu bekommen.

Während der ersten Menstruation nach der Hochzeit erhält die Frau das Kuhfell, das die Kleidung der Verheirateten bildet, und ihr Kopf wird abrasiert. Da aber die Mädchen nicht selten vor dem Eintritte der Geschlechtsreife verheiratet werden, so kommt es vor, daß die Verheiratete lange mit ihrem „masunzu" (Rasiermuster) herumgeht und auf das Kuhfell wartet. R. P. F. DUFAYS erzählte mir, daß er einen Fall kennt, wo die Frau acht Monate auf ihr Kuhfell gewartet hat. Es soll aber auch vorkommen, daß die Frau sogar zwei Jahre warten muß.

An die Rasiermuster auf dem Kopfe knüpft sich dabei der Aberglaube, daß, wenn die Frau auf ihren Mädchenschmuck zur gebührenden Zeit (erste Menstruation nach der Hochzeit) nicht verzichtet, so wird einer der Vermählten jung sterben. Nach dem Abrasieren des Kopfes bekommt die Frau vom Manne Geschenke.

Hat die Frau ihr Kuhfell angezogen, so geht sie ihre Eltern besuchen. Es kommt vor, daß bei früher Menstruation dieser Besuch vor dem ersten Hacken stattfindet. Sie ist auf dem Wege mit dem Kopfe ins Fell eingehüllt und hat den besten Schmuck an. Bei den Eltern reibt sie Mehl und füllt damit einen Korb. Vom überfüllten Korbe wird das überstehende Mehl heruntergenommen. Dieses bringt sie ihrem Manne. Das Mehl wird dort zum steifen Brei gekocht und mit dem Manne zusammen gegessen. Auch diese Zeremonie steht im Zusammenhange mit der Sicherung einer zahlreichen Nachkommenschaft.

Wenn auch die Kinder in der Familie im Vordergrunde stehen, von den Eltern zart geliebt und gut behandelt werden, und die Innigkeit der Beziehung zwischen Mutter und Kind den Vater etwas beiseite schiebt, so zeigen doch auch die Beziehungen zwischen den Gatten einen gewissen Grad von Anhänglichkeit und Zärtlichkeit. Das soll vor allem bei den Batutsi der Fall sein.

Wenn in Mulera ein Mann auf Reisen geht, so gießt die Frau von jedem hergestellten Bier ein wenig ab, stellt dieses beiseite und bewahrt es auf. Findet der Mann nach der Rückkehr kein Bier vor, so schließt er daraus, daß die Frau an ihn nicht gedacht hat und ihm untreu geworden ist.

Vor allem in Nduga scheinen die Ehen von mäßiger Dauer zu sein, wie das schon oben erwähnt wurde.

Die Hochzeit in Mulera wurde schön und eingehend durch R. P. FELIX DUFAYS[1]) geschildert, die Hochzeitsbräuche der anderen Teile Ruanda's hat R. P. P. SCHUMACHER[2]) behandelt.

Außerehelicher Verkehr. Nicht alle Frauen, die mit einem Manne eine wirtschaftliche Einheit bilden, sind seine regelrechte Gattinnen (basumba kazi), mit denen die formelle Kaufehe geschlossen worden ist. In Ruanda hält man sich überdies Konkubinen und Sklavinnen (baja). Die Konkubinen bestehen

[1]) DUFAYS, P., R. P., Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda. Anthropos 1909, S. 847—878.

[2]) SCHUMACHER, P. R. P., Die Ehe in Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S. 870—906.

meistens aus kinderlosen Witwen und verlassenen oder flüchtigen Frauen. Diese lassen sich dort nieder, wo sie eine verhältnismäßig gute Unterkunft finden. Die „baja" werden von ihren Eltern als kleine Kinder, meistens während der Hungerszeiten gegen Lebensmittel, verkauft. Sie sind eben Frauen ohne Verbindungen, die aber sonst den anderen Frauen recht nahe kommen und meistens auch eigene Hütten haben. Ihre Kinder gehören angeblich ebenfalls zum Geschlecht ihres Vaters, wenn sie auch nicht als vollbürtig angesehen werden. Solche Kinder der Batutsi-Männer sollen z. B. nicht als Batutsi gelten, wenn sie auch dieselben Geschlechtsnamen tragen.

Die „baja" werden von den Häuptlingen ihren Klienten verliehen, wie man das z. B. bei den Azande und Mangbetu in einer noch viel übersichtlicheren Form sehen kann. Sie gehören zusammen mit der Kuh zu den Mitteln, mit denen der Mächtige seine Klienten an sich fesselt und sich die Grundlagen seiner Macht sichert.

Ebenso wie man einem Klienten eine Kuh verleihen und infolgedessen auch zurückziehen kann, kann man auch eine „muja" dem Begünstigten vorübergehend zur Verfügung stellen. Unter diesen Verhältnissen ist aber auch das Bewirten der Gäste mit Frauen, „die ihm das Bett erwärmen sollen", etwas ganz nahe Liegendes. Den weniger geschätzten Gästen werden „baja" gegeben. Die hoch angesehenen Gäste sollen dagegen durch die Anbietung regelrechter Gattinen beehrt werden.

Überhaupt stehen jedem, der sich auf Reisen befindet, die Frauen seiner Blutsbrüder zur Verfügung. Über die in mancher sozialen Beziehung positiven Seiten dieser Einrichtung sagt Dr. KANDT[1]): „Wo, wie in Ruanda, alternierendes Connubium, d. h. wechselseitige Paarung mehrerer blutsbefreundeter Männer mit allen ihren Frauen stattfindet, wird verhindert, daß durch die Untauglichkeit eines männlichen Teils auch der weibliche Teil der Ehe für die Erhaltung der Art verloren geht".

Diese Sitte scheint vor allem bei den Batutsi, wie auch bei den Bahima, verbreitet zu sein. R. P. ACHTE sucht darin den Grund der relativ geringeren Ausbildung der Polygamie bei den Bahima.

Trotz der Leichtigkeit des Eheschließens und der Polygamie, gibt es in Ruanda auch noch eine Art von Prostituierte. Sie rekrutieren sich aus der Zahl der verwitweten und älteren Frauen, wie auch der Mädchen, die keinen Mann gefunden haben. Sie geben sich den Männern für Geschenke hin, wodurch sie sich ihren Lebensunterhalt erwerben. Man nennt sie „inzorezi". Mit ihnen üben die jungen Leute den Geschlechtsverkehr vor der Heirat aus. Dies Wort ist vom Verbum „kuzerera" — herumlaufen — gebildet.

Von den Prostituierten und Konkubinen muß man unterscheiden die „nyamuraza", die herumlaufenden Mädchen, die eine Art Ehe auf Probe eingehen und sich dadurch den geschlechtlichen Umgang verschaffen. Sie hoffen

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 177.

in dieser Weise den Mann, der sie sonst nicht berücksichtigt hätte, zur Leistung der konventionellen Zahlung, und dadurch zur regelrechten Ehe, zu gewinnen. Dieser Versuch kann einige Male wiederholt werden.

Scheidung. Ist ein Mann mit seiner Frau nicht zufrieden, so darf er sie ohne weiteres nach Hause zurückschicken. War die Frau schuldig, ist sie untreu oder unfruchtbar gewesen, so kann dabei die geleistete Zahlung zurückverlangt werden.

In Mulera wird bei dieser Ehescheidung die für die Frau bezahlte Kuh samt der Nachkommenschaft zurückerstattet, wenn die Frau keine Kinder hatte. Wenn die Frau längere Zeit mit ihrem Manne gelebt hat, so können die Kühe durch Kälber ersetzt werden. Während meines Aufenthaltes in Ruasa ist die ganze Landschaft in Aufregung gebracht worden durch einen nicht alltäglichen Ehescheidungsprozeß. Ein Mann, namens Lwamakuba, bezahlte für seine Frau mit einer Kuh, die dem Schwiegervater im Laufe der Zeit zehn Kälber gegeben hat. Als die Frau alt wurde, schickte sie der Mann nach Hause zurück mit Hinweis auf ihre Unfruchtbarkeit und verlangte seine Zahlung zurück, die inzwischen zu einer Rinderherde angewachsen war. Nach vielen Unterhandlungen kehrte die Frau mit einer vorzüglichen Kuh zurück, die ihre Schönheitsdefekte ausbessern sollte. Der Mann nahm die Frau an, und die Angelegenheit wurde so geregelt. Nach einer Zeit wurde die Frau wieder zurückgeschickt. Fünfmal kehrte die Frau jedesmal mit einer neuen Kuh zurück. Zur Zeit meiner Anwesenheit wurde die Frau zum sechstenmal zurückgeschickt. Da man aber diesmal eine neue Kuh verweigert hatte, so leitete der Mann einen Prozeß zur Rückgabe der rechtswidrig zurückgehaltenen Kühe ein.

Wenn eine Frau mit ihrem Manne nicht mehr zusammenleben will, so geht sie zunächst zu ihren Eltern zurück. Dort hat sie aber kein angenehmes Dasein, da man sie ausschließlich als ein Arbeitstier und noch dazu als etwas Unreines betrachtet. Dem Vater schwebt vor allem die Rückgabe der erhaltenen Zahlungen vor, die er dem Manne nicht verweigern kann. Deshalb bleibt auch die Frau meistens nicht lange im Elternhause zurück. Nach einer gewissen Zeit zieht sie weg und läßt sich bei einem Manne, der vor den Differenzen mit ihrem Manne und Vater nicht zurückscheut, nieder. Ist die Frau einmal von ihrem richtigen Manne weg, so bleibt sie meistens nirgends längere Zeit und zieht herum, von ihren Vorteilen und Launen geleitet. So kommt es vor, daß eine Frau in wenigen Jahren mehrere Männer wechselt.

Die Streitigkeiten zwischen Mann und Frau sollen in Mulera vor einem extra gewählten Gericht aus älteren Frauen und Männern verhandelt werden. Erklärt sich die öffentliche Meinung zugunsten der weggezogenen Frau, so verliert der Mann das Recht auf seine Zahlung und muß sie durch Geschenke zur Rückkehr veranlassen. Dabei werden in der Regel die bestochenen Angehörigen der Frau zu seinen eifrigsten Widersachern, die auch ohnehin das Herumziehen sehr ungern sehen.

Die geschiedene Frau behält ihr persönliches Eigentum und die Mitgift, die sie in das Haus des Gatten gebracht hat.

Das Herumziehen der Frauen verursacht viel Unordnung im Leben der kleinen Gemeinden. Die meisten Streitigkeiten entstehen, in Kissaka z. B., wegen der Kinder. Die Muhutu-Frau hat dort einen geringen Kaufwert, und die Kinder sind infolgedessen wichtiger als die Frau selbst. Die Kinder gehören zum Clan des Vaters. Der Clan betrachtet die Kinder als eine Gegenleistung für die Zahlung, die die Eltern der Frau erhalten haben. Hat ein Mann eine nicht bezahlte Frau geschwängert, so geht das Recht auf das Kind, wie es scheint, verloren. Die Frau bleibt aber bei ihm, und das Kind kann, solange es wenigstens klein ist, der Mutter nicht weggenommen werden. Es entsteht hieraus eine Gerichtsfrage, in der die „batware" zu entscheiden haben. Ist der Mann mächtig, hat er viele Anhänger, so wird die Frage ganz wesentlich kompliziert. Ein schematisches Entscheiden wird dann nicht gut möglich, wenn auch das Kind einer nicht bezahlten Frau, wie es scheint, im Prinzip nicht zum Clan seines Vaters gehört.

Da die weggezogenen Frauen durch Staatsgewalt nicht zurückgeführt werden, so wird der Frau in dieser Weise eine gewisse persönliche Freiheit gesichert. Und wenn auch die Frau keine hohe soziale Stellung einnimmt, so kann sie doch durch die Drohungen, sie werde wegziehen, einen nicht unbedeutenden Druck ausüben. Daß diese Drohungen nicht leere Worte sind, das beweist zur Genüge die sehr häufige Anwendung dieses Mittels. Trotz der privilegierten Stellung des Mannes ist die Frau die Herrin der Hütte, sogar dann, wenn sie diese nur vorübergehend bewohnt. Sie ernährt doch das Haus mit ihrer Arbeit im Garten und Felde.

Geburt. Wenn auch Kinder von allen Frauen sehr gewünscht werden, so fürchtet man doch die Niederkunft sehr. Die Zahl der schweren Geburtsfälle ist in Ruanda nicht gering. Sie sollen besonders häufig im Norden, in Mulera und in Bugoye, vorkommen. Die Fälle, wo die Gebärenden sterben, sind in Mulera nicht selten. Man hat mir von Geburten, die eine Woche gedauert haben, erzählt. Diese Tatsache wird wohl mit der dort zu beobachtenden, ganz rezenten Vermischung anthropologisch stark verschiedener Elemente — der waldbantu-ähnlichen mit den batutsi-ähnlichen — zusammenhängen.

Die schwangere Frau legt, um sich eine leichte Geburt zu sichern, das „ibiheko"-Amulett an. Das Amulett besteht aus zwei kleinen, zusammengebundenen Holzstücken und wird auf der Brust getragen. Oft trägt man ein zweites auf dem Rücken. Nach der Geburt wird das Amulett nicht abgelegt. Die Frau behält es, bis das Kind das Alter von zwei bis vier Jahren erreicht hat.

Gegenüber den Schwangeren werden gewisse Rücksichten beobachtet, sogar dann, wenn sie von dem jähzornigen Gatten geprügelt werden. Er hütet sich, sie auf den Leib zu schlagen. Er ohrfeigt sie dann gewöhnlich. Greift er aber in seiner Wut zum Stock, so schlägt er sie nur auf die Schultern.

Die Geburt findet meistens in der Wohnhütte, und zwar in dem von den Frauen bewohnten Teile (mbele yinzu), statt. Doch ist das nicht immer der Fall. Die Bestimmung des Ortes der günstigen Geburt muß von einem Wahrsager getroffen werden. Soll die Geburt außerhalb der Hütte stattfinden, so wird ein Platz in der Nähe des Pfades gewählt, sauber mit Gras bedeckt, und die Schwangere begibt sich dorthin beim Beginn der Wehen, von einer Geburtshelferin begleitet. Ihre Hilfe soll sich aber nur auf das Herausziehen des Kindes beschränken. Die Niederkunft geschieht in kniender Stellung. Nur Frauen und Mädchen können bei der Geburt zugegen sein. Männer dürfen ihr nicht beiwohnen.

Stirbt die Mutter bei der Geburt, so wird in Ussuwi und Bukumbi, um das Kind zu retten, der Kaiserschnitt ausgeführt. In Kissaka und Mulera soll man diese Operation nicht auszuführen wagen.

Nach der Geburt wird die Wöchnerin mit einer Mischung von Milch und Rinderblut gestärkt. Später bekommt sie außer dieser Mischung noch Bier (nzoga). Als Nahrung dient ihr eine Mischung aus Erbsen und Bananen von der „nkamba"-Varietät.

Der Nabelstrang wird mit einem Rohrsplitter durchschnitten. Am vierten Tage soll eine definitive Beschneidung des Nabels stattfinden. Nach der Beschneidung des Nabels fegt die Wöchnerin die Hütte aus und legt den Unrat in zwei Körbe (ntaro), die sie mit Hilfe der Nachbarinnen herausträgt. Die Frauen gehen in einer Reihe, eine neben der anderen, und begleiten so die Wöchnerin nach einer vorher gewählten Stelle, wo der Inhalt der Körbe zerstreut wird. Nach der Rückkehr der Frauen bewirtet der Mann die Geburtshelferin mit Bananenbier, vorher macht er aber eine Libation.

Um die Geburt des Kindes zu ehren, machen die Nachbarn an diesem Tag Besuche und bringen Geschenke. Die Geschenke bestehen aus Speisen und Getränken, so bringt man z. B. Bananen, Erbsen, Bataten, Bier, und bei den Batutsi Milch. Diese Zeremonie wird „bihembo" genannt.

Der Vater wird in Kissaka von den Besuchern durch das Niederknien geehrt. Die Ehrungen empfängt er stehend, mit einem hölzernen Speer (muko) in der Hand und mit einem Schwert (ngota) hinter dem Rücken. Er ruft Binego und Mugasha an und bedankt sich für die Ehrungen, indem er auf die Besucher „nzoga" (Bananenbier) ausspuckt. Wenn das geborene Kind ein Knabe ist, so erhält es vom Vater einen kleinen Speer, kleinen Bogen, einen Nagel zum Aufhängen des Bogens und einen kleinen, aus Gras geflochtenen Schild in die Hand. Beim Schenken des Bogens an das Kind sagt der Vater spuckend: „akavuna muheto kandi ntaka uvune" — wenn er den Bogen bricht, so möchte er doch nicht mehr brechen. Beim Schenken des Speeres: „arakagua mukicho kandi ntaka kigwemo" — wenn er aus dem Hinterhalt angegriffen wird, er möchte es nicht mehr werden. Beim Schenken des Schildes: „kiliho arakagua mungabo kandi ntaka kigwemo" — wenn er auf seinen Schild fällt, er möchte

nicht mehr fallen. Zum Schlusse, sich dem Nagel zum Aufhängen des Bogens zuwendend, spricht er: „arakavuna ingaugo kandi ntaka uvune" — wenn der Nagel bricht, er möchte es später nicht mehr machen.

Ist das Kind ein Mädchen, so schenkt ihr die Mutter: „lugori" — ein Kopfband aus Maisstroh, das ein Symbol der Mutterschaft bedeutet, „luhindu" — eine Nadel und „ntamyi" — einen Papyrusfaden.

R. P. P. SCHUMACHER[1]) erwähnt bei der Beschreibung dieser Zeremonie, daß dem Kinde, sei es Knabe oder Mädchen, noch Hacken geschenkt werden, mit denen von eingeladenen Kindern ein einen Quadratmeter großer Acker bestellt wird, und zwar an der Stelle, wo die Unreinlichkeiten des Kindes eingescharrt worden sind. Diese Zeremonie wird „kusohora" genannt und findet am achten Tage nach der Geburt statt. Ihr wohnen die Mutter und das Kind, zum erstenmal seit der Niederkunft rasiert, bei.

Am nächsten Tage findet die Namengebung statt. In Kissaka soll man den Kindern erst im Alter von drei bis vier Monaten Namen geben. Dem Sohne gibt den Namen der Großvater und der Tochter die Großmutter. Bei dieser Zeremonie wird das Kind vor Sonnenaufgang auf den Boden gelegt und bei seinem Namen gerufen. Wenn ein Kind nicht im Hause geboren wurde, so bekommt es einen besonderen Namen. Einen Knaben nennt man dann Maira und ein Mädchen Nanzira. Abgesehen von diesen Namen werden den Kindern noch andere Namen, sogar von Fremden gegeben, die zum Teil Spitznamen sind und oft die eigentlichen Namen verdrängen.

Es muß noch erwähnt werden, daß mit jedermann nicht nur sein persönlicher Name und der Name seines Clans, sondern auch der Name seines „umuzimu", d. h. des mit ihm im Kontakte bleibenden Ahnengeistes, verknüpft ist. Über den letzteren Zusammenhang konnte ich nichts Näheres ermitteln. Es scheint, daß der Name des Geistes, dem ein Kind zu opfern und eine Geisterhütte (ndaro) zu bauen hat, als sein zweiter Name verwendet wird.

Außer diesen Namen führt man noch Prahlnamen. R. P. P. SCHUMACHER[2]) sagt: „Jeder Munyarwanda oder doch wenigstens jeder Krieger hat ein *kivugo*, d. h. einen Zunamen, der seine hervorragenden Eigenschaften, speziell kriegerische, feiert. Die *byivugo* (pl.), oft so lang, daß sie noch gerade in einem Atemzug abgesprochen werden können, werden stets ungeheuer schnell, singend, mit Tanzbewegung und in einem Atem vorgetragen."

Wenn eine Witwe zur Geburt kommt, so sagt man, daß das Kind im Blute seit dem Tode des Mannes geblieben und erst jetzt auf die Welt gekommen sei. Dieser Glaube hängt zusammen mit der Vorstellung von der mehrjährigen Schwangerschaft. Diese wird wohl durch Leiden der Geschlechtsteile (Tumoren), die Vergrößerungen des Unterleibes verursachen, hervorgerufen sein. Und wenn

[1]) SCHUMACHER, P., R. P., Die Ehe in Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S. 901.
[2]) Ebenda S. 895.

eine Frau mehrere Jahre schwanger sein kann, so kann sie doch das Kind mehrere Jahre im Blute tragen.

Die Kinder werden inbrünstig erwartet und geliebt. Während aber im Südosten in Kissaka die Zwillinge für einen Segen betrachtet werden, was auch in der doppelten Beschenkung der Mutter zum Ausdruck kommt, die dann „nina babili" genannt wird, so ist dies im Bereiche der Einflüsse der Wald-Bantu im Nordwesten ganz anders. Dort ist der Kindermord überhaupt nichts Ungewöhnliches und kommt vor allem bei Zwillingsgeburten in Anwendung. Während meines Aufenthaltes in Mulera, wurden in der Nähe der Mission Ruasa Zwillinge geboren. Die Missionäre kostete es sehr viel Mühe, die Leute vom Kindermord abzuhalten. Die Eingeborenen antworteten am Anfange auf die Ausführungen der Missionäre, daß eine Frau zwei Kinder auf dem Rücken doch nicht tragen könne.

Die Kinder werden sehr lange, wie es scheint drei Jahre, gestillt. Man kann Fälle beobachten, wo Kinder, die schon ganz munter herumspringen und sogar Vieh weiden, ihre Mütter saugen kommen.

Den Kindern wird wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Das kommt auch in ihrer großen Sterblichkeit zum Ausdrucke. Um die moralische Erziehung wird beinahe noch weniger gesorgt. Und wenn sie auch im Gegensatze zu den Europäern nicht geprügelt werden, so kommen doch manchmal, vor allem für Diebstahl, sehr schwere Strafen in Anwendung. Eine sehr beliebte Strafe, die auf das Erwecken hemmender Assoziationen beim Greifen nach fremden Sachen berechnet ist, bildet das Anbrennen der Finger. Die Hände der kleinen Diebe pflegt man zu umwickeln mit Grashalmen oder mit Fetzen alter Matten, die angezündet werden, und die Finger mit Brandwunden bedecken[1]).

Es ist klar, daß unter diesen Verhältnissen, wo der Kinderreichtum dem Vater Einfluß und Besitz verschafft und dem ganzen Geschlechte seine Existenz sichert, die Bedingungen zur Entwicklung der Kunstgriffe, welche die Kinderzahl in der Ehe vermindern, durchaus nicht gegeben sind. Doch kennt man antikonzeptionelle Mittel. R. P. SCHUMACHER[2]) sagt: „Als Antikonzeptionsmittel wird der Saft des *muhoko*-Strauches in leichter Wassertinktur eingenommen; stärkere Dosis dient zum Selbstmord. Als abergläubisches, aber ‚unfehlbares' Mittel benutzt die Mutter des Mädchens, um entehrenden Konzeptionen vorzubeugen, das erste Menstruationsblut. Auf ein beliebiges Zeug aufgefangen und eingetrocknet, bewahrt sie es auf oder bindet sich den Lappen z. B. an den Fuß (die massenhaft vorhandenen *butega* verdecken die List). Konzeption ist von da ab unmöglich, was das Mädchen auch anstellen mag."

Wenn eine säugende Frau schwanger wird, so treibt man die Frucht mit Rücksicht auf das kleine Kind ab. Die Abtreibung wird von einem Schmiede ausgeführt und soll auf mechanischem Wege und nicht durch innere Mittel besorgt werden.

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[1]) CLASSE, R.P., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye. Les Missions Catholiques 1905, S. 428.
[2]) SCHUMACHER, P., R.P., Die Ehe in Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S. 894.

Dasselbe geschieht auch, wenn ein unverheiratetes Mädchen schwanger wird. Hilft das nicht, und kommt es zur Entbindung, so wird oft Kindermord begangen. Man läßt das Kind verhungern.

Tod. Hat man einen Sterbenden im Hause, so werden die nächsten Verwandten versammelt, und man besorgt auch gleichzeitig eine Stange, an die der Körper beim Transporte nach der Ruhestätte angebunden wird. Die Leiche darf nämlich nicht lange in der Hütte bleiben.

Der Tote wird von den Frauen beweint, und man nimmt ihm sämtliche Kleiderstoffe, Arm- und Beinringe weg. Die Leiche wird durch Zusammenbiegen der Arme und Beine in hockende Stellung gebracht, mit Butter eingerieben und in Matten (virago) ohne Beigaben eingewickelt. Der Batutsi-Leiche rasiert man überdies den Kopf, was bei den Bahutu nicht stattfindet.

In Kissaka wird der Tote, seinem Wunsche entsprechend, entweder im Bananenhain beerdigt oder in einen Papyrussumpf geworfen. In Nduga pflegt man die Leichen vorwiegend in die Sümpfe zu werfen. Nur dort, wo es keine Papyrussümpfe gibt, werden sie durch eine Schicht Erde bedeckt. In Mulera ist es allgemeiner Brauch, die Bahutu zu beerdigen. Das Grab hat dabei eine so große Tiefe, daß der Leichengräber darinnen mit dem Kopfe verschwindet. Nur die Erschlagenen pflegt man in Höhlen zur Ruhe zu legen. In Bugoye werden die zu Hause infolge einer Krankheit oder an Altersschwäche Gestorbenen in der Nähe des Hauses beerdigt. Die plötzlich Verstorbenen und die Totgeschlagenen läßt man einfach liegen oder wirft sie in das Gebüsch. Die, infolge einer Epidemie oder durch den Hungertod, Verendeten läßt man ebenfalls liegen.

Die im Sumpfe gelassenen Leichen werden den Tieren preisgegeben. Im Gegensatze dazu trägt man Sorge dafür, daß die Beerdigten nicht ausgewühlt werden. Man belegt zu diesem Zwecke das Grab mit Bananenstämmen und Dornen. Der Tote wird vier Tage gefeiert. Am vierten Tage legen seine Angehörigen die Armringe ab und rasieren sich von da an die Köpfe durch vier Mondmonate. Beim Tode der Frau legen den Schmuck nur die Mädchen ab, der Mann beschränkt sich auf das Rasieren des Kopfes. Nach vier Monaten läßt man die „masunzu", die in Mustern ausrasierten Haare, wieder wachsen.

In Bugoye und Nduga soll über der Hütte der verwitweten Frau ein Stock (kasongera) gebrochen werden. Dieser wird wohl den in der Hütte fehlenden Phalus symbolisch andeuten.

Das Wegwerfen der Toten, das vor allem in Nduga vorherrscht, wird man wohl mit dem Batutsi-Element in Zusammenhang bringen müssen. Die Bahutu von Mulera beerdigen ihre Toten, ebenso wie die Bantu des benachbarten Kongo-Beckens. Die Vernachlässigung der Toten steht im unerklärlichen Gegensatze zum Totenkulte. Sollte dies vielleicht die Umwandlung in ein Tier erleichtern? Die Angehörigen der Königsgeschlechter von Ruanda und Urundi sollen

sich doch nach dem Tode in Leoparden verwandeln, ebenso wie das Herrschergeschlecht aus Kiziba nach dem Tode, ähnlich den Massai, zu Schlangen wird.

Die Leiche des Königs von Urundi soll nach R. P. VAN DER BURGT[1]) ausgetrocknet, auf einem vierbeinigen Gestell ausgestreckt, so lange zum Anbeten exponiert bleiben, bis das von den Termiten angefressene Gestell zusammenbricht. Dann erst wird die Leiche eingewickelt und an derselben Stelle beerdigt, wobei viele Menschen geopfert werden. Die Leichen der Könige von Ruanda sollen dagegen auf dem Gestell durch Feuer ausgetrocknet und samt der Hütte eingeäschert werden. Der Feuertod in der niederbrennenden Hütte samt der ganzen Familie soll eine bei den Batutsi beliebte Form des Selbstmordes sein.

Es darf noch eine durch Dr. KANDT gemachte Beobachtung[2]) nicht unerwähnt bleiben: „Die Wanjaruanda — also ein Stamm tief im Innern ohne jede Beziehung zu abendländischen Anschauungen — nennen ‚Trauer haben' ‚ukwirabura', d. h. schwarz sein, und ‚die Trauerzeit hinter sich haben' ‚ukwera', d. h. weiß sein. Das ist um so sonderbarer, da die beiden Farben in keiner Beziehung, weder in Kleidung, noch in Bemalung usw., zur Kennzeichnung ihrer Trauer, beziehungsweise ‚Enttrauerung' in Erscheinung treten."

[1]) VAN DER BURGT, J. M. M., R. P., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande. Bois-le Duc (Hollande) 1903, S. 204.

[2]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 476.

11. Kapitel.

Clan.

Schutz des Individuums. — Ruanda-Clans. — Blutrache. — „Abaziru". — Heiratsverbote. — Blutbrüderschaft. — Clangemeinde. — Besitzverhältnisse.

Schutz des Individuums. Die Grundlage der sozialen Organisation in Ruanda, ebenso wie in den übrigen Teilen des Zwischenseengebietes bildet die Sippe oder der Clan. Man nennt ihn hier „umuryango".

Der Clan stellt einen Verband dar, der seine Mitglieder durch natürlichen Zuwachs ergänzt, indem jedes Kind zum Clan seines Vaters gehört. Infolgedessen ist auch ein jeder Clan tatsächlich eine Vereinigung nächst oder entfernter in männlicher Linie miteinander verwandter Familien. Fremde werden in den Clan nur in Ausnahmsfällen aufgenommen. Das kommt z. B. in Mulera vor, wenn in einer Familie nur Töchter und keine Söhne vorhanden sind. Im Hinblick auf die Gefahr, daß das Fehlen des männlichen Nachwuchses die Streitkraft des Clanes schwächen würde, sucht man dem Übel durch Adoption der Schwiegersöhne zuvorzukommen. In solchen Fällen sollen die Kinder dem Clan ihrer Mutter und nicht dem ihres Vaters, welcher auf diese Weise die Interessen seiner Angehörigen aufgebe, angehören.

Die hier in Frage kommenden Gruppen sind zu klein, die Verhältnisse zu einfach und zu übersichtlich, um vergessen zu können, daß das Wohlergehen des Einzelnen von dem des Clanes direkt abhängig ist. Es muß daher auch die größte Sorge getragen werden, daß der Clan nach außen mächtig erscheine. Er muß möglichst zahlreich und schlagfertig sein. Dies zu erreichen — darauf muß alles Streben gerichtet sein; sonst droht den Clangenossen die Gefahr, daß sie gegen Ausplünderung, Aussaugung und gar gegen gänzliche Ausrottung nicht geschützt sind. Von diesem Standpunkte aus muß Mann wie Weib betrachtet werden, und die Kindererzeugung bildet daher die wichtigste Pflicht des Individuums. Deshalb auch die durchaus nicht beneidenswerte Stellung der kinderlosen Frau. Aus demselben Grunde zieht man die Söhne, die durch ihre Nachkommen die Zahl der Clangenossen vermehren werden, einer Tochter vor, wenn man diese auch sogar gegen eine Kuh eintauschen kann.

Wie wichtig die Stärke und Schlagfertigkeit eines Clanes sogar in Bugoye noch ist, davon überzeugte mich das Schicksal des Vaters meines dortigen Muhutu-Gewährsmannes. Ihr Clan wurde vor einigen Jahren durch die vordringenden Batutsi zersprengt. Auf dem alten Clanbesitz blieb nur sein Vater mit den

Kindern und sein Oheim übrig. Da die beiden Familien nur wenige Männer zählten und zu schwach waren, um sich zur Wehr setzen zu können, so ließen sich die Batutsi auf ihrem Grund und Boden nieder und erlaubten sich allerlei Unterdrückungen der schwächeren Bauern. Zur Zeit meines Aufenthaltes nahmen sie ihnen z. B. eine ganze Hütte weg und brachten sie in ihre Niederlassung, statt sich selbst eine neue zu bauen.

Jeder Einzelne steht unter dem Schutze des Clanes. Dieser verschafft ihm die Möglichkeit, ein mehr oder weniger gesichertes Dasein zu führen. Die Clanorganisation stellt eine Art sozialer Rückversicherung, welche in erster Linie gegen die Mißgriffe der clanfremden Stammesangehörigen gerichtet ist, dar.

Der Clan übt überdies auch Kontrolle über seine Genossen aus und wendet, bei schweren Vergehen einzelner Individuen, wenn durch sie die Interessen der Gemeinschaft gefährdet werden, sogar die Verbannung als Strafe an.

Der Clan kann sich auch in Familienangelegenheiten und vor allem in Erbschaftszwistigkeiten einmischen. Obwohl der Vater mit seinem Besitz nach seinem Gutdünken umgehen kann, so setzen doch seine Entscheidungen eine stillschweigende Genehmigung des Clanes voraus. Wenn durch die von ihm vorgenommene Aufteilung seines Besitzes die Interessen des Clanes gefährdet werden, z. B. durch Proletarisierung mehrerer Söhne, so schreitet der Clan gar manchmal ein, stößt seinen Beschluß um und nimmt eine ihm zweckmäßig erscheinende Teilung des Besitzes vor. Mit der Zersetzung des Clanes und Stärkung der Häuptlingsmacht geht diese Kompetenz auf den Häuptling über, der dann das letzte Wort zu sagen hat.

Die Rechte des Einzelnen werden stets den Interessen des Clanes geopfert. In Bugoye hörte ich sogar davon, daß der ganze Clanbesitz wieder aufgeteilt wird, wenn die Felder in den Händen einer Minorität konzentriert worden sind. Diese Neuaufteilung wurde mir „kutshura hasi" genannt.

Es soll jedoch jetzt mit den Fortschritten der Besteuerung und der Batutsi-Herrschaft vorkommen, daß die Clangenossen, die die Steuer nicht bezahlen können, verjagt und sogar durch Fremde ersetzt werden. Diese partizipieren sodann an der gemeinschaftlich gezahlten Steuer. Solche Erscheinungen sind selbstverständlich erst bei der Zersetzung der Clanorganisation möglich.

Der Clan schützt auch seine Frauen. Gibt es in einem Haushalt Töchter, die keinen Beschützer finden, so bleiben sie nach dem Tode ihres Vaters als väterliche Tanten im Hause ihres Bruders weiter.

Der den Clangenossinnen zukommende Schutz erstreckt sich jedoch auf ihre Männer nicht. Lassen sich diese, ohne adoptiert zu sein, bei den Clangenossen ihrer Frauen nieder, so werden sie nicht als vollwertig betrachtet. Dies trifft vor allem in den Fällen zu, wo sich eine Witwe, die mit ihren Kindern bei den Clangenossen ihres Mannes geblieben ist, einen Mann ins Haus nimmt. Der Letztere kann nach dem Tode der Frau ohne weiteres fortgejagt werden.

Die Gesellschaft schützt in Bahutu-Ruanda den Schwachen nicht. Das

auf sich angewiesene, durch keine Gruppe geschützte Individuum ist vogelfrei und kann durch jedermann bedrückt und sogar erschlagen werden. Solche Übergriffe werden hier nicht bestraft. In der Bedrückung der Schutzlosen erblickt man dort nichts Antisoziales, da diese im Grunde genommen sogar organisatorisch wirke. Sie ist die Haupttriebfeder, die das Zusammenschließen der spröden Menschenmasse in wohlorganisierte Gruppen erwirkt. Man kann hier den Zusammenhang, zwischen der Ausbildung der Clanordnung und dem Fehlen der allgemeinen rechtlichen Normen, nicht verkennen. Deshalb ist die durch die Batutsi verursachte Zersetzung der Clanorganisation trotz der ganzen Willkürherrschaft, die mit der Eroberung zusammengeht, von der Ausbildung allgemeiner Normen begleitet. Jetzt findet der Einzelne schon Schutz auch außerhalb der Clans, was früher nicht möglich war.

Ruanda-Clans. Schon im Kapitel 2 wurden die Clans von Ruanda aufgezählt. Im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung jedoch, welche die Verbreitung der einzelnen Clans in den verschiedenen Provinzen für die Besiedelungsgeschichte von Ruanda hat, muß man diese Liste noch durch weitere Angaben ergänzen. Es sollen hier nämlich zugleich die Namen der Provinzen, in denen die einzelnen Clans beobachtet wurden, angeführt werden.

Abasiru	Nordost-Ruanda	Kisaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Bemerkungen
						Basigu [1]	—
					Babadji [1]		—
	Babanda [2]		Babandi [1] [2] [3]				—
	Babusi [2]						—
					Babwuri [1]		aus Ndorwa
Bagaowa, Kanadema					Bachacha [1]		Zweig der Baloye
Batusi, Wiesel				Bachakabago [1]			Zweig der Baloye
			Batsiaba [2]	Bachaba [1] [2]			—
				Badaba [1]	Badaba [1]		Zweig der Basinga
						Badjadja [1]	—
	Badago [2]						—
		Baga [2]	Baga [1] [2] [3]				—
						Bagaba [1]	—
	Bagai [1] [2]	Bagaba [1] [2]	Bagai [2]	Bagai [2]	Bagai	Bagai [1]	—
Inkondi, kl. roter Vogel				Bagaya [1]			—
				Bagambira [1]			—
					Bagara [1]	Bagara [1]	Zweig der Batsiaba
						Bagasi	—
Nkamana, Bachabo	Bagamana [2]		Bagamana [1] [2] [3]	Bagamana [1] [2]	Bagamana [1] [2]	Bagamana	—
	Bagiri [1]						—
				Bagirima [1]			Zweig der Basinga
Ingwe, Leopard			Bagabaka [1]				—
					Bagwabiro [2]		—
				Bahachi [1]			—
			Bahangura [2]	Bahangura [1]	Bahangura [1]	Bahangura [1]	—
					Bahangira		—
Inkondi, kl. roter Vogel	Bahigo [2]		Bahaba [1]				Zweig der Batsiaba
			Bahigo [2]		Bahigo [1]		—
						Bahinga [1]	—
Batusi, Wiesel				Bahama [1]	Bahama [1]	Bahama [1]	—
				Bahatso [1]			—
Nkamana, Bachabo					Bahama [1]		—
						Bahamba [1]	—
					Bahamde [1]		—
				Bahangada			—
	Bahasi [1]						—
				Baichasi [1]	Baichasi [1]		—
				Bahamba [1]			—
						Basaba [1]	—
				Bahama [1]	Bahama		—
	Batusi [2]						—

[1] Bahutu-Clan. [2] Batutsi-Clan. [3] Batwa-Clan.

Abaziro	Nordost-Ruanda	Kissaka	Ndaga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgaba	Bemerkungen
		Bakango [1].		Bakango [1].			—
						Bakanyam [1].	—
	Bakinko [1].				Bakinn [1].		—
	Bakinkini [1].			Bakinn [1].	Bakinn [1].		—
			Bakidga [1].				—
Bagoyera, Kanadera	Bakanno [1].		Bakanno [1].	Bakanno [1].		Bakanno [1].	—
					Bakanno [1].		—
	Bakanno-gani [1].						
				Bakunali [1].			—
						Bakungum.	—
					Bakrno [1].		—
				Bakini [1].			—
				Bakikino [1].	Bakikino [1].	Bakikino [1].	—
					Bakoyo [1].		—
					Bakyoyo [1].		Zweig der Bakonno
					Bazubani [1].		—
			Bazugbano [1].				—
				Bazugano [1].			(Zweig der Bazinga, Kabon gemeinl
				Bazugain [1].			—
			Bazugano [1].	Bazugain [1].			—
			Bazugain [1] [1] [1].				—
			Bazugabani [1].				—
					Bazugabgaba [1].		—
						Bazugabgaya [1].	—
			Bazugabani [1].				—
			Bazugabanno [1].				—
					Bazugambo [1].	Bazugambo [1].	—
				Bazuali [1].			—
						Barara [1].	—
				Bazaki [1].			—
Bagoyni, Klippenkläder				Bazuzuno [1].			Zweig der Bazinga
	Bakinkabo [1].	Bakinkabo [1].	Bakinkabo [1].		Bakinno [1].		—
Nilsumpen, Bachstelzer					Bazikabo [1].		—
Leber				Bazikabo [1].			Zweig der Bakonno
					Bazugali [1].		—
				Bazugali [1].		Bazugi [1].	—
ndu, Antilope			Bazuali [1] [1].	Bazuali [1] [1].	Bazuali [1].	Bazuali [1].	—
Nasen, schwarzen, weiß-gestreifte Kuh	Bazinga [1] [1] [1].	Bazinga [1].	Bazinga [1] [1].	Bazinga [1] [1].	Bazinga [1].	Bazinga [1].	—
		Bazikia [1].	Bazikia [1] [1].				—
						Bazubaka [1].	—
			Bazuzuga [1].				—
			Bazuzuga [1].				—
	Bazuzuli [1].		Bazuzuzi [1] [1].	Bazuzuno [1].			—
Nasen, dicke						Batabuzugi	—
					Batabu [1].		—
				Batiln [1].			Zweig der Bakonno
					Batugi [1].		—
		Batinkabo [1].	Batinkabo [1].	Batinkabo [1].			(In Mulera d. Zweige Bagaza u. Bakonno
				Batulinga [1].			
			Bakanno [1].	Bakanno [1].			—
			Bakrno [1].			Batumbo [1].	—
					Bavuma [1].		—
					Bayoyo [1].		—
				Bayumbo [1].			Zweig der Bazinga
Ankole, Gedämmer jahn Tiere						Bayungo [1].	—
Rehen, Wiesel	Bazigaba [1].	Bazigaba	Bazigaba [1] [1] [1].	Bazigaba [1] [1].			—
					Bazugano [1].		—

[1]) Bakonno-Clan. [1]) Bakinkó-Clan. [1]) Bakano-Clan.

Der Clan der Baanzira soll in Kissaka nicht vertreten sein. Sein Name ist aber bekannt, merkwürdigerweise wird er beim Schwören der Frauen verwendet. So sagen die Frauen, wenn sie etwas ganz stark bejahen wollen: „Aha Baanzira batshu".

R. P. SCHUMACHER [1]) erwähnt für Bagessera und Barigaba, die im Ryangombe-Kult eine besondere Rolle spielen, die Bezeichnung Base oder Abase.

[1]) SCHUMACHER, P., R. P., Die Ehe in Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S. 896.

Blutrache. Die Clans üben für ihre Genossen Blutrache (kuhora) aus. Wenn ein Fremder einen Clangenossen erschlägt oder verwundet, so rächen sich seine Genossen an den Clangenossen des Übeltäters.

Die Rache des Clanes bildet jedoch nicht überall eine einfache Abrechnung nach dem Prinzip Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn. In Kissaka z. B. befriedigt man sich noch mit dem Erschlagen eines Angehörigen des Clanes des Mörders, in Mulera aber ist die Rache stets größer als der Übergriff. Die Größe der Rache des geschädigten Clanes hängt von seiner Kopfstärke, von der Zahl der kampffähigen Männer ab. Der mächtige und schneidige Clan der Barashi, die in Mulera am Muhawura sitzen, rächt sich, seiner Stärke bewußt, sehr bitter. Die Barashi schlagen nämlich für einen ermordeten Clangenossen sechs bis acht Männer aus dem Clan des Mörders tot. Die anderen, nicht so mächtigen Clans von Mulera begnügen sich mit drei bis vier Toten. Die Batutsi dagegen verlangen sogar zehn bis zwölf Köpfe. Dieselbe Höhe erreicht die Rache der so sehr gefürchteten Batwa-Clans.

In Mulera sollen, im Gegensatze zu Kissaka, auch die weiblichen Angehörigen des Clanes gerächt werden. Von einem Totschlagen der Frauen dagegen aus Rache habe ich in Ruanda nichts gehört.

Der Clan, der seinen Toten gerächt hat, legt die Trauer ab und feiert das glückliche Ereignis mit Tanz und Biergelage. Dadurch wird den anderen bekanntgegeben, daß sie nichts mehr zu fürchten haben.

Wenn es auch beim Ausüben der Blutrache dem Clan des geschädigten in erster Linie darauf ankommt, die Angehörigen des Clanes des Übeltäters in die Hände zu bekommen, so wird doch auch dem Mörder selbst eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt.

Während meines Aufenthaltes in Mulera ging ein Mann mit einem Topfe Bier auf dem Kopfe in eine benachbarte Siedelung. Unterwegs begegnete ihm ein Fremder und äußerte den Wunsch, von seinem Bier zu kosten. Auf eine ablehnende Antwort des Bierträgers erwiderte der Fremde mit einem Speerstich in den Rücken. Der Verletzte sank zu Boden und fing an zu schreien. Der Fremde ergriff die Flucht. Die Angehörigen des Geschädigten gingen jedoch dem Übeltäter nach, verwundeten ihn mit dem Buschmesser am Arme und am Kopfe und nahmen ihn gefesselt in ihre Siedelung mit. Dort mußte er den Ausgang der Krankheit seines Opfers abwarten, um im Todesfalle mit eigenem Leben seinen jähzornigen Leichtsinn zu büßen.

Die Blutrache bildet den Faktor, durch den der Clan am stärksten zusammengehalten wird und der zur Ausbildung des Solidaritätsgefühles bei den Clangenossen am meisten beiträgt.

Ein Clan, der sich nicht rächen wollte, würde in kurzer Zeit ausgerottet sein, da die Nachbarn seine Angehörigen ungestraft ausplündern könnten.

Das Ausüben der Blutrache in Ruanda und vor allem in Nduga, wo die Clangenossen am stärksten unter den Fremden zerstreut sitzen, hat die Form des geheimen Gelegenheitsmordes. In den nordwestlichen Gebieten, in Itambi z. B., wo die Clans größere geschlossene Zonen besiedeln, soll die Blutrache die Form eines regelrechten Krieges annehmen. Diese Verschiedenheit bildet ganz entschieden eine Anpassung derselben Institution an die besonderen Verhältnisse der beiden Gebiete.

Die schwebenden unerledigten Blutrachefälle der Clans bilden eine ständige Gefahr für die Clanangehörigen, zugleich bergen sie auch viele unerwartete, unangenehme Situationen in sich. Die Clans sitzen an verschiedenen, weit auseinanderliegenden Stellen, und der Einzelne ist nicht immer orientiert über die Verhältnisse seines Clanes zu den übrigen in den ferneren Gegenden. Aus diesem Grund verheimlicht der Munyaruanda seinen Clan und bezeichnet ihn nur dann, wenn er zum Fragenden Vertrauen gewonnen hat. Deshalb bot auch das Feststellen der Clannamen anfangs, und vor allem so lange, bis man nicht das, den Clan bezeichnende, Wort — „umuryangu" oder „umuliangu" — ermittelt hatte, so viele Schwierigkeiten.

Eigener Sicherheit wegen ist der Clan gezwungen, seine Angehörigen zu überwachen und im Notfalle zum Ausstoßen einzelner Individuen, welche die Gemeinschaft durch ihre Handlungen gefährden, zu schreiten. Das trifft meistens bei denjenigen zu, die durch leichtsinnige Morde ihrem Clan die Blutrache der Geschädigten auf den Hals laden. Der Ausgestoßene verliert das Anrecht auf Besitz und Schutz und wird infolgedessen nicht gerächt. Das Ausstoßen wird „kilenga ngoma" genannt und scheint häufiger als die Adoption vorzukommen.

Diese unvollkommenen Sicherheitsvorkehrungen verursachen in ihrem Streben, die Sicherheit des Einzelnen zu garantieren, einen ewigen Kleinkrieg. Die ganze Gesellschaft wird in eine Anzahl miteinander kämpfender Lager aufgelöst, wodurch die Widerstandsfähigkeit gegen die äußeren Feinde geschmälert wird. Das trifft vor allem für die Bahutu zu und wird eine der Hauptursachen bilden, warum sie von einer besser organisierten Hirtenminorität beherrscht werden können.

Die Clanfehden beschränken sich durchaus nicht auf die Bahutu. Meine anthropologischen Untersuchungen an den Batwa aus der Umgebung von Marangara wurden dadurch stark in ihrem Umfange verkleinert, daß einige Tage vorher gelegentlich eines Bierabends ein Mord durch einen Betrunkenen verübt wurde. Der Mörder und seine Clangenossen mußten schleunigst die Umgebung von Marangara verlassen.

„Abaziru". Wenn auch die Blutrache den Clan auffälliger als alle anderen Faktoren zusammenhält, so kommt doch die Abgrenzung des einen Clanes den anderen Clans gegenüber in dieser Form bei friedlichen Verhältnissen nur ge-

legentlich zum Bewußtsein. Im ruhigen Alltagsleben werden die einzelnen Clans viel mehr durch ihre Eßverbote voneinander geschieden. Die erwachsenen Angehörigen der einzelnen Clans dürfen nämlich verschiedene Speisen nicht genießen. So z. B. essen die Bagessera und Bashambo, ebenso wie einige Massai-Geschlechter, keine Leber, Bagahe und Bazigaba — keine Eingeweide usw. Jeder Clan kann dabei mehr als ein Eßverbot haben. So verschmähen z. B. die Bashambo außer der Leber noch das Fleisch fremder, gefleckter Rinder.

Die Angehörigen verschiedener Clans dürfen im Hinblick auf ihre Eßverbote nicht miteinander essen. Infolgedessen betrachten sie sich auch gegenseitig als unrein und verabscheuen es, im Grunde genommen aus Ekel, in näheren Kontakt miteinander zu treten.

Abgesehen von den Eßverboten der einzelnen Clans, die auf den SS. 235, 236 als „abaziru" verzeichnet sind, gibt es noch allgemeinere Eßverbote, welche größere Clangruppen umfassen und sogar die einzelnen Bevölkerungselemente voneinander scheiden. Diese allgemeineren Eßverbote werden zu den Eßverboten der einzelnen Clans hinzugefügt.

Bahutu können mit den Batwa nicht zusammenessen, weil die letzteren keine Eßverbote respektieren und sogar Hühner und Eier essen. Der Mututsi darf wieder nicht mit Bahutu zusammenessen, weil diese Ziegen und Schaffleisch genießen. Die letzteren Eßverbote sind, wie es scheint, gegenwärtig im Rückgang begriffen. Das das Ziegenfleisch verbietende Eßverbot wird nicht mehr scharf respektiert. Man erklärt diese Tatsache als eine Folge des Umstandes, daß der gegenwärtige Herrscher, Juhi Musinga, als Kind von seinem Vater Lwabugiri verstoßen, durch einen Muhutu erzogen worden sei und in seinem Hause sich das Ziegenfleisch angewöhnt und so das Verbot aufgehoben habe. Bezüglich des Genusses von Schaffleisch liegen die Sachen etwas anders vor. Die Bahutu von Mulera essen es im Gegensatze zu den Bahutu des Südens, die es höchstens im Geheimen genießen. Vielleicht ist das dadurch herbeigeführt worden, daß die Bahutu des Südens, wo der Batutsi-Einfluß stärker ist, durch diese beeinflußt auf das Schaffleisch verzichtet haben, um nicht als unrein zu gelten.

Am ekelhaftesten für Batutsi und Bahutu, wie auch für alle übrigen Einwohner des Zwischenseengebietes, die Batwa ausgenommen, sind Hühner und vor allem Eier. Deshalb werden auch die Europäer und ihr schwarzes Personal, die in dieser Beziehung den Batwa gleichen, verachtet. Die Banyaruanda-Hilfsträger wollten weder mit den Wassukuma-Trägern zusammen essen, noch die ihnen zur Verfügung gestellten Töpfe benutzen. Batutsi und Bahutu kommen in diesem Eßverbote den Galla, Somal, Wakamba, Wataita, Wakikuyu und Wadjagga, d. h. den Hamiten und den durch sie metamorphosierten Bantu, nahe[1]).

[1]) HILDEBRANDT, J. M., Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1878, S. 378.

Die weniger allgemeinen, nur einige Clans umfassenden Eßverbote sind wohl als Spuren der früheren größeren Clansverbände aufzufassen, welche sich später differenziert haben und in besondere, sich ihrer Zusammengehörigkeit nicht immer bewußte, Untergruppen zerfallen sind. Dieser Prozeß schreitet auch in der Gegenwart noch weiter fort. Die Mulera-Clans der Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, Badahe sollen Untergruppen des Basinga-Clanes darstellen. Man darf also wohl mit Rücksicht darauf erwarten, daß es in der Zukunft, durch weitere Untersuchungen der Eßverbote, gelingen wird den Differenzierungsprozeß der einzelnen Clans genau zu ermitteln.

Auf die Kinder erstrecken sich die Eßverbote nicht. Bei den Frauen ist dies aber durchaus nicht der Fall. Sie sind ebenfalls durch besondere Verpflichtungen in dieser Beziehung gebunden. Die Bahutu-Frauen von Kissaka und Mulera dürfen z. B. kein Ziegenfleisch genießen, trotzdem das den Männern gestattet ist.

Die im Leben von Ruanda so wichtigen Eßverbote sind jedoch nur eine Erscheinungsform der allgemeinen Verbote „abaziru" (sing. umuziru), die sich auf die einzelnen Clans beziehen.

Der Basinga-Clan hat zum „umuziru" eine schwarze, weißgestreifte Kuh. Die Clanangehörigen trinken die Milch solcher Kühe nicht und essen auch ihr Fleisch nicht. Sie fürchten sehr, sich mit den Kuhexkrementen zu beschmutzen, da diese von einer solchen Kuh herrühren könnten. Sie kaufen jedoch die Butter auf dem Markte, wenn sie nicht genau wissen, daß sie von solchen Kühen herrührt. Da solche Kühe für sie keinen ökonomischen Wert haben, so suchen sie dieselben immer zu veräußern und durch andere zu ersetzen.

Dieses Beispiel zeigt, daß die Enthaltung vom Genusse des Fleisches des „umuziru" allein nicht ausreicht. Man muß überhaupt jeden Kontakt mit ihm meiden. Dabei wird jedoch auf die wirtschaftlichen Interessen eine gewisse Rücksicht genommen. Das unnütze „umuziru"-Rind wird verkauft, und man fürchtet sich mehr vor seinen Exkrementen als vor seiner Butter. Die letztere wird nämlich benutzt, falls man ihrer Herkunft nicht ganz sicher ist.

Mit dem Begriffe „umuziru" faßt man die Gesamtheit der Erscheinungen, die einem Clan unantastbar (Tabu) sind, zusammen. Heilig sind sie eigentlich nicht, da das Moment der Verehrung fehlt. Man sucht nämlich die wirtschaftlich unnützen „abaziru", falls es sich um Haustiere handelt, an Fremde zu veräußern.

Die Handlungsfreiheit des Einzelnen, seinem „umuziru" gegenüber, ist jedoch eingeschränkt. Deshalb kommt man auch dem eigentlichen Sinne am nächsten, wenn man das Wort „umuziru" durch das Wort „Verbot" übersetzt.

Als „abaziru" wurden mir Säugetiere, ihre Körperteile, Vögel, Fische, Heuschrecken, Milch besonderer Kühe und andere leblose Gegenstände, wie ein leerer Korb z. B., aber keine Pflanzen, ein Strohhalm ausgenommen, bezeichnet.

Die Bedeutung der „abaziru" ist durch die unklare Vorstellung bedingt, daß jedermann nach seinem Tode die Gestalt eines „umuziru" annimmt. Man glaubt z. B., daß die Clangenossen der Herrscher von Kiziba in Schlangen, das Geschlecht der Könige von Ruanda in Leoparden und verschiedene Azande-Clans in alle möglichen Tiere verwandelt werden.

Ich hatte nirgends Gelegenheit, Angaben über die Abstammung von „abaziru" zu hören. Auch dann nicht, wenn die Umwandlung in Tiere nach dem Tode mit Bestimmtheit behauptet wurde. Die Verbote können daher kaum mit den Überbleibseln dieser Anschauungen in Zusammenhang gebracht werden.

Man bekommt dagegen Überlieferungen zu Gehör, die das Entstehen der Verbote aus den Erlebnissen der Clanangehörigen oder ihrer Protoplasten wahrscheinlich machen. So erzählte man mir in Kifumbiro, daß einer der dortigen Clans (Abazirambogo) kein Büffelfleisch esse, da einer seiner Angehörigen vor vielen, vielen Jahren auf der Büffeljagd verunglückt sei.

Wie Verbote eines einzigen Clanes auf größere Komplexe, auf ein ganzes Land verbreitet werden können, illustriert das Verbot Felle der „inganda"-Antilope zu tragen. „Inganda" ist „umuziru" des Basindi-Clanes. Seinen Angehörigen war es nicht gestattet, das Tier zu jagen, sein Fleisch zu essen und sein Fell zur Bekleidung zu gebrauchen. Zwei Frauen eines Königs von Ruanda stritten einst um dieses schöne Fell, und die eine durchstach die andere mit einem Messer. Der weise König erklärte darauf, um den Unfrieden ganz aus der Welt zu schaffen, daß das „inganda" zu einem allgemeinen „umuziru" für das ganze Land werden soll, ebenso wie es mit den Hunden, Affen und Vögeln geschehen ist.

Auch die Tatsache, daß die Banyaruanda, die sonst so gern den Fragenden mit der Phrase abfertigen: „unsere Väter haben es ebenso gemacht", bei den Verboten Überlieferungen über ihre Entstehung anführen, darf als ein Argument zugunsten der Ansicht, sie seien allmählich auf der Grundlage der Clanorganisation emporgewachsen, angeführt werden.

Die Tötung eines „umuziru" soll durch besondere Zeremonien gebüßt werden, und ein, absichtlich durch einen Clanfremden erschlagenes, „umuziru" kann unter Umständen sogar die Rache des dadurch betroffenen Clanes nach sich ziehen.

Heiratsverbote. Die Clanorganisation wird dem Bewußtsein des Einzelnen noch durch das Heiratsverbot nahe gebracht. Die Angehörigen desselben Clanes dürfen nicht untereinander heiraten. Der Clan ist streng exogam. Bei den Batutsi sind aber, wie es scheint, noch Spuren einer früheren Endogamie vorhanden. In ihrer Sage über Kigwa, den ersten Herrscher von Ruanda, erzählen sie z. B., daß alle Batutsi die Nachkommen der Geschwister Nyina Batutsi und Kigwa seien.

Die Exogamie bildet in Ruanda einen wichtigen Faktor der sozialen Integration. In Mulera, wo sich die alte Clanorganisation am besten erhalten hat, besteht der Eheschließungsakt im Austausch einer Frau gegen eine Kuh. Es wird in dieser Weise eine Interessengemeinschaft zwischen zwei verschiedenen Clans geschaffen. Der eine Clan hilft dem anderen seine unmittelbare Kopfstärke zu heben. Dieser wieder arbeitet darauf hin seinen Besitz, seinen Reichtum zu vergrößern. Diese Verknüpfung zwingt weiter zur Rücksichtnahme auch in anderen Angelegenheiten und fördert in dieser Weise das Zusammenleben von größeren Menschenmassen.

Im Gegensatze zur Exogamie der einzelnen Clans steht das Ausbleiben vollwertiger Mischehen zwischen Batutsi, Bahutu und Batwa. Der anthropologische und soziale Gegensatz dieser Bevölkerungselemente ist viel schärfer und noch auffälliger, als die Gegensätze zwischen Bahima und Bahiru im Runyoro-Sprachgebiete. Und wenn man dort zwischen Bahima und Bahiru-Clans zu unterscheiden versteht, so muß desto befremdender die Tatsache auffallen, daß man in Ruanda, wie es scheint, in den meisten Clans Bahutu nachweisen kann. Beim Nachfragen ergaben sich in vielen Fällen bei Batutsi und Bahutu dieselben Clannamen, und besondere Batutsi-Clans ohne Bahutu-Angehörige konnten kaum in der Hälfte der beobachteten Fälle festgestellt werden.

Das Auftreten der Batutsi-Clannamen bei den Bahutu läßt sich wohl auf folgende zwei Ursachen zurückführen. Die erste Ursache besteht in der Tatsache, daß die Nachkommenschaft der Sklavinnen — der „baja" — zum Clan des Vaters gehört, aber trotz der Batutsi-Väter nicht mehr zu den Batutsi gezählt wird. So gibt es Bahutu-Familien, die ihre Abstammung von den Ruanda-Herrschern herleiten. Die zweite Ursache bilden Ehen verarmter Batutsi mit den Bahutu-Frauen, die das Zurechnen der Verarmten zur Zahl der Bahutu noch mehr beschleunigen, trotzdem das Kind eines Mututsi, wenn es von seiner gesetzlichen Muhutu-Gattin geboren wurde, de jure ein Mututsi ist. Solche Kinder sind aber durch ihre Mütter aller Verbindungen beraubt, und dies beschleunigt ihr Aufgehen in der Masse der Bahutu.

In ähnlicher Weise kann es jedoch auch vorkommen, daß hervorragende Bahutu, wenn sie Häuptlingsstellen bekleiden, durch Mischehen mit den Batutsi verschmolzen werden. Das war z. B. mit dem Barashi-Häuptling Lukara lwa Bishingwe vom Muhawura-Vulkan der Fall. In dieser Weise werden sich wohl die, zu den Clans der Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, Basita gehörenden, „Batutsi" erklären lassen.

Die Mischehen zwischen Batutsi-Männern und Bahutu-Frauen sind häufiger, als die Ehen zwischen Bahutu-Männern und Batutsi-Frauen. Mischehen mit Batwa sollen gar nicht vorkommen. Diese Abneigung bleibt auch in den christlichen Gemeinden bestehen, und ich hatte sogar Gelegenheit zu hören, daß der einzige getaufte Mutwa keine Frau in der christlichen Gemeinde finden konnte.

Blutbrüderschaft. Bei der Besprechung der Exogamie wurde diese als der erste Faktor sozialer Integration in der in gegenseitig sich bekämpfende Clans zergliederten Gesellschaft bezeichnet. Jetzt soll der zweite Faktor — die Institution der Blutbrüderschaft — besprochen werden.

Wenn man jemandem in Mulera zeigen will, daß man seine Freundschaft schätzt, so geht man zu ihm, um sich dort Feuer zu holen. Um sich jedoch die Freundschaft zu sichern, muß man mit dem Freunde Blutbrüderschaft abschließen (kunywana).

Die einfache Freundschaft unterscheidet man in Ruanda sehr scharf von der sozialen Institution der Blutbrüderschaft. Als Bezeichnung für Freundschaft verwendet man das Wort „kwuzulu", das wörtlich „gefüllt", „voll" sein bedeutet. Für Freunde gelten die, welche „miteinander durchdrungen sind" und infolgedessen aufeinander Rücksicht nehmen müssen.

Freunde gibt es auf allen Stufen der sozialen Organisation. Die Institution der Blutbrüderschaft knüpft sich jedoch in Ruanda, wie es scheint, an die undifferenzierte Clanorganisation des Nordens. Dies rührt wohl daher, daß der Einzelne in den Gebieten mit wohlorganisierter Häuptlingsmacht, wie in der Nduga-Provinz z. B., auf einen gewissen Grad des Schutzes seitens der Vertreter der Staatsorganisation rechnen kann. In den Gebieten jedoch, wo das ganze Land in Zonen verteilt ist, die durch verschiedene, oft einander feindliche Clans besiedelt sind, bleibt der Einzelne nur auf seine Clanangehörigen angewiesen. Geht er aber in die Fremde, außerhalb der Einflußsphäre seines Clans, so muß er sich persönliche Freunde suchen und sie zum Schutze seiner Person durch gegenseitige Dienstleistung verpflichten, um sich dadurch einen Aufenthalt in den fremden Landschaften zu ermöglichen. Deshalb sind es auch vor allem Händler, bei welchen die zahlreichsten Blutbrüderschaften abgeschlossen werden. Leute, die ihren Hügel nie verlassen, gehen dieses Bündnis nicht ein. Bündnisse zwischen den Einwohnern desselben Hügels sind auch nicht häufig.

Der Abschluß der Blutbrüderschaft wird von besonderen Zeremonien begleitet.

Am Tage des Abschlusses geht der, welcher die Blutbrüderschaft eingehen möchte, von einem Zeugen begleitet, in das Haus seines künftigen Blutbruders. Dieser empfängt ihn ebenfalls in Gegenwart eines Zeugen. Alle vier setzen sich in der Hütte auf einer Matte auf dem Boden nieder. Neben ihnen liegen die zu der Zeremonie notwendige „mutsima" (steifer Hirsebrei), ein Messer und eine Hacke.

Der Zeuge des Gastes macht ihm mit dem Messer rechts vom Nabel Ritze, fängt das Blut auf einem Stück „mutsima" auf und überreicht das Messer dem Zeugen des Hausbesitzers. Der wiederholt denselben Akt an seinem Kandidaten. Die beiden Blutbrüder essen nachher ihr Blut mit der „mutsima" gegenseitig auf. Der erste Zeuge nimmt dann das Messer zurück, fängt es an auf seiner Haut zu schleifen und sagt:

Mwumwe! Ntuza yaniwanye na ntuza. Elmwa kanaka uramuka umutatiye
Hört! Dieser schließt Blutbrüderschaft mit jenem. Höre du (dieser), wenn du ihn zu verraten [dich unterstehst,
iki k ihanga kikakwicha. Akomerekera mw' itawalo wanga kumuheka, iki
dieses Gelübde wird dich töten. Wenn er verwundet ist im Kampfe, verweigerst zu tragen (ihn), dieses
kihanga kikakwicha. Umushigisha amata iwawe, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Gelübde wird dich töten. Verweigerst du ihm Milch deine, dieses Gelübde wird dich töten.
Wanga kumuheka, yarwaliye mw'itawalo, iki kihanga kikakwicha. Umugore
Verweigerst zu tragen, wenn er fällt im Kampfe, dieses Gelübde wird dich töten. (Falls) Frau
wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiche.
deine ihm verweigern wird Bananenbier (wenn) du nicht bist da, dieses Gelübde wird dich nicht töten.

Nach diesem Fluche überreicht er das Messer dem zweiten Zeugen, der das Eisen gegen den Handteller reibt und den Fluch wiederholt. Dann stehen die beiden Zeugen auf, heben die beiden gebogenen Arme bis zu der Höhe der Augen und schlagen damit auf die Knie hinunter mit den Worten: „Ndateranya sinkiza" (Ich vereinige, ich behüte nicht). Darauf antwortend strecken sich die beiden Blutbrüder auf dem Boden aus und umarmen einander. Man bedeckt sie dann mit einer Matte, worauf einer der beiden Zeugen zweimal auf die Matte mit einem Stock schlägt und dabei folgendes sagt: „ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda" (ich vereinige, ich behüte nicht, Pöbel). Die Blutbrüder antworten darauf, indem sie sich gegenseitig Schläge austeilen. Später, einander helfend, erheben sie sich in die Hockstellung. Diese Zeremonie bedeutet, daß die Blutbrüder auch miteinander streiten, doch ist dies eine innere Angelegenheit, die unter sich, im Geheimen (unter der Matte) ausgetragen werden muß. Außen vor der Welt dürfen sich die Blutbrüder nur unterstützen.

Nach dieser Zeremonie werden die Geschenke ausgetauscht. Ein Blutbruder nimmt sein Geschenk, in der Regel eine Hacke, und reicht sie seinem neuen Freunde mit den Worten: „End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago" (Empfange die Hacke, sie möchte dir helfen von der Matte aufzustehen). Der andere nimmt sein Geschenk, reicht es dem ersten und wiederholt dieselben Worte. Darauf erheben sie sich beide, und jeder gibt seinem Zeugen einen Armring als Geschenk.

Der Blutbruder (munywana) scheint durch die Zeremonie eine Art persönlicher Zugehörigkeit zum Clan des anderen Blutbruders zu erlangen, ohne aus seinem Clan auszutreten. Im Einklange damit steht die Tatsache, daß Blutbrüderschaft unter Clangenossen nicht abgeschlossen wird. Gelegentlich hörte ich, daß früher in unbestimmbaren „alten Zeiten" für Blutbrüder wie für Clangenossen Blutrache geübt wurde.

Die Blutbrüderschaft hat, wie es scheint, sehr stark an Bedeutung verloren. Das kann wohl als Folge der durch Staatsorganisation verursachten fortschreitenden Zersetzung der Clanorganisation angesehen werden. Daß dieser Prozeß aber nicht erst in der allerletzten Zeit eingetreten ist, beweist das Vorhandensein eines darauf Bezug nehmenden Sprichwortes in Ruanda. Das Sprichwort

sagt nämlich: „umwuzulu uluta umunywano" — Freundschaft ist besser als Blutbrüderschaft. Zugunsten der Ansicht, daß sich die Blutbrüderschaft an die Bantu-Unterschicht oder wenigstens an die Clanorganisation knüpft, lassen sich in Ruanda zwei Tatsachen anführen. Die Verwendung von Bananenbier und Hackengeld bei der Zeremonie und die Verknüpfung der Blutbrüderschaft mit dem System der Heiratsverbote.

Bei den ausschließlich mit den Batutsi verknüpften Kulten soll nur, wie es scheint, Hirsebier zur Anwendung kommen. Hier haben wir Bananenbier, das in der sicher alten Fluchformel erwähnt wird. Sehr merkwürdig ist aber, daß neben Bier auch Milch erwähnt wird. Der letztere Umstand mahnt zur Vorsicht.

Viel wichtiger ist dagegen das auch gegenwärtig peinlich berücksichtigte Heiratsverbot. Die Kinder der Blutbrüder halten sich für miteinander verwandt. Diese Verwandtschaft wird „bapfasoni" genannt. Die Angabe, daß sich das Heiratsverbot auch auf andere Verwandte des Blutbruders des Vaters erstrecke, wurde mir nicht bestimmt verneint. Sie scheint mir doch ganz unwahrscheinlich zu sein. Ebenso ist es mir nicht bekannt geworden, ob ein Mann Frauen aus dem Clan seines Blutbruders heiraten darf.

Der Geschlechtsverkehr mit der Frau des Blutbruders soll nach einigen Angaben als eine schwere Beleidigung aufgefaßt werden. Nach anderen Aussagen sollen die Frauen dem besuchenden Blutbruder zur Verfügung stehen[1]). Volle Klarheit über diesen Punkt konnte aber auch nicht erzielt werden, da sich die Freunde bei den Batutsi mit ihren Frauen ganz allgemein zu bewirten pflegen.

Batutsi und Bahutu schließen miteinander Blutbrüderschaft. Weder die einen, noch die anderen gehen dagegen ein solches Bündnis mit den Batwa ein.

Clangemeinde. Die politische Bedeutung des Clanes ist in den einzelnen Teilen von Ruanda sehr verschieden. Der Clan steht im Vordergrunde dort, wo der Batutsi-Staat noch nicht genügend Fuß gefaßt hat, wie das z. B. in Bugoye und vor allem in Mulera der Fall ist. In der Nduga dagegen haben die Clans eine geringe politische Bedeutung. Die letztere ist direkt proporzional dem Grade der räumlichen Konzentration der Clangehoesen.

Im Norden besiedeln die Angehörigen der einzelnen Clans größere geschlossene Gebiete. Diese autonomen territorialen Gemeinden können manchmal infolge ihrer inneren Solidarität und der häufig recht bedeutenden Kopfstärke bei den nicht besonders stramm organisierten politischen Verhältnissen eine sehr bedeutende Rolle spielen. In der Nduga dagegen wurden die Clans durch die Staatsgewalt zersprengt, zerstreut und der Möglichkeit, sich in politische, territoriale Clanverbände zusammenzuschließen, beraubt. Die Vertreter der ver-

[1]) Kandt, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 177.

schiedenen, sich gegenseitig bekämpfenden Korporationen wurden hier dann in territoriale Gemeinden zusammengefaßt und den vom Staate eingesetzten Häuptlingen unterstellt. Wenn man von Mulera über Bugoye nach Nduga geht, so kann man nacheinander die einzelnen Phasen der Staatsbildung beobachten. Man sieht hier, wie die unabhängigen, undifferenzierten Clans zunächst in das Bereich der mannigfachen Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse hineingezogen und dann allmählich absorbiert werden.

Die Angehörigen derselben Clans haben sich bei der Besitzergreifung von Bugoye an verschiedenen Stellen festgesetzt. Infolgedessen stellt auch das ganze Land ein Mosaik von Besitzungen dar, in welchen verschiedene, räumlich voneinander getrennte Teile derselben Clans wohnen und immer noch ihres historischen Zusammenhanges bewußt sind. Das kommt am schärfsten in der Institution der Blutrache, wie auch in den Eß- und Heiratsverboten, zum Ausdruck. Dieses Bewußtsein reicht jedoch nicht aus zur Bildung von selbständigen, größeren, wohldisziplinierten politischen Verbänden. Schon jede einzelne Niederlassung bildet eine ganz unabhängige Gemeinde mit ihrem Ältesten an der Spitze.

Der Schulze besitzt in den durch Eroberer unbeeinflußten Clangemeinden nur eine geringe Autorität. Er vertritt die Clangemeinde nach außen und schlichtet die inneren Streitigkeiten. Diese bilden eine der wichtigsten Emigrationsursachen für die Clangenossen. Er wird „mugabo" genannt. Seine Stellung ist erblich und geht gewöhnlich auf den ältesten Sohn über. Auf der weiter (S. 250, 251) folgenden Liste wurden die „bagabo" an erster Stelle verzeichnet.

Mit der Unterwerfung der Clangemeinden durch fremde Eroberer nimmt der „mugabo" eine besondere Stellung ein. Seine Obliegenheit ist es Steuern einzuziehen und dem durch den König beauftragten Beamten auszuliefern. Diese offizielle Stellung verschafft ihm aber einen gewissen Einfluß, der zusammen mit dem der fremden Eroberer, wenn er diesen dienstbar zu werden versteht, wächst. Da aber das Privilegium, Steuern einzuziehen, erblich ist, so birgt diese besondere Stellung einen Keim, der unter Umständen zu einer regelrechten Großhäuptlingswürde auswachsen kann, wie das durch den Fall mit dem Muhutu Lukara lwa Bishingwe, der durch die Ermordung des Missionars R. P. Paul Loupias auch in Europa bekannt geworden ist, bewiesen wird.

Die Häuptlingschaft der Barashi unter Lukara lwa Bishingwe stellt einen Clanverband dar, dessen Ältester durch den Einfluß der Batutsi zu einem Häuptling nach den Begriffen der Eroberer erhoben worden ist, wenn auch diese Entwickelung ihren Abschluß noch nicht erreicht hat. Der ganze Vorgang ist zu neu, zu wenig durch die Tradition gefestigt.

Die privilegierte Stellung des Barashi-Clanältesten datiert erst seit zwei Generationen. Lukara's Vater Bishingwe war ein sehr geschickter Jäger und hat

verstanden, eine Batwa-Gruppe sich dienstbar zu machen. Lwabugiri, der König von Ruanda und Vater Musinga's, dem er viel Elfenbein zu liefern verstanden hatte, begünstigte ihn dafür. Er behandelte ihn als seinen unmittelbaren Vasallen (mugaragu) und überließ ihm die Häuptlingschaft über seinen eigenen Clan, in dem er angeblich auch früher die Stelle des „mugabo" eingenommen hatte.

Diese Erhebung des machtlosen Clanältesten zum Häuptling wurde durch die Clangenossen nicht anerkannt, und bei ihnen besaß Lukara auch zur Zeit meiner Reise, wie ich das beobachten konnte, nur eine geringe Machtfülle. Um diesem Übelstande abzuhelfen, suchte er fremde Elemente aus zersprengten Clans und ausgestoßenes Gesindel anzulocken und diese auf dem freien Boden anzusiedeln. Aus dieser unorganisierten, als fremde jedem preisgegebenen Gruppe, die nur von Lukara Schutz erwarten konnte, bildete er seine Anhänger. Mit ihnen hielt er seine Clangenossen im Zaume. Diese drängten wieder die Fremden durch ihren Haß zu ihm hin, und in dieser Weise entstand jenes geschlossene, straff organisierte Gebilde, das Lukara seinen Gegnern so gefährlich machte. So gut diszipliniertes Gefolge wie Lukara besaß sein Hauptgegner, der Mututsi Luhanga, nicht.

Wie groß die ständigen inneren Reibungen dieses sozialen Gebildes sein müssen, hatte ich Gelegenheit an einem ganz kleinen Beispiele zu betrachten. Ich ersuchte Lukara, für meine Leute Wasser holen zu lassen. Nach beinahe zweistündigen Verhandlungen erklärte sich Lukara bereit, das zu tun und sagte seinen Leuten, die im Hofe versammelt waren, sie möchten das Wasser besorgen. Niemand beeilte sich den halbstündigen Weg zur Wasserstelle zu machen. Lukara erzürnte ob dieser Langsamkeit, ergriff ein paar Leute bei der Hand und zog sie beiseite, um sie das Wasser holen zu lassen. Einer der Gefaßten stieß Lukara's Hand zurück mit den Worten: „Bin ich denn kein Murashi" und ließ sich nicht an die Seite bringen. Lukara fing an zu schimpfen, fragte nach dem Namen seines Vaters, ließ ihn aber sonst ruhig gewähren. Das Wasser mußte durch die fremden Zuzügler geholt werden. Diese sind von ihm angesiedelt und können infolgedessen von ihm auch verjagt werden. Mit seinen Clangenossen kann er nicht so rücksichtslos umgehen.

Trotz der Reibungen zwischen dem Clanältesten und den Clangenossen halten die Barashi straff an Lukara. Sie wissen, daß sein Sturz ihre Unterwerfung durch Fremde bedeutet. Deshalb ist auch Lukara so stark seinen Gegnern gegenüber, wenn er auch nicht soviel Leute in das Feld stellen kann. Seine Batutsi-Gegner müssen sich auf Bahutu stützen, die durchaus kein so großes Interesse an ihren Erfolgen haben.

Lukara, dessen Vater erst zum „mugaragu" durch den demagogischen Lwabugiri gemacht wurde, gibt sich jetzt stets für einen Mututsi aus. Auch seine Leute behaupten, daß er ein Mututsi ist. Seine Clangenossen sagen zwar nur,

daß er seine Angehörigen wie ein Fremder, ein Mututsi, durch zugezogene Ansiedler bei Gelegenheit zu drücken versucht.

In dieser Weise verschmilzt der aus den Clanältesten gebildete Bauernadel mit den Batutsi. Man darf sich also wohl mit Recht fragen, ob diese allmählich durch das Vergessen der ursprünglichen Herkunft besiegelte Nobilitierung die Hauptursache des Vorkommens der Bahutu-Clannamen bei den Batutsi bildet.

Die Größe der autonomen Clangemeinden, die ungefähr unseren Dörfern entsprechen, ist sehr verschieden. In vielen Fällen beträgt ihre Bevölkerungszahl gegen hundert Köpfe, in einzelnen sogar einige tausend. Im Barashi-Gebiet wohnen z. B. 6000—8000 Menschen. Das fruchtbare Gebiet wird im Norden durch den Urwald auf den Vulkanen, im Osten durch den Bolero-See und im Süden durch die Lavasteppe begrenzt. Die Bevölkerung wurde aus der Lavaebene durch die Barashi verdrängt. Auf dem Muhawura sind jedoch die Batwa geblieben.

Die Bevölkerung dieser Gemeinden besteht aber, wie wir es gesehen haben, nicht ausschließlich aus Clangenossen. Es gibt darunter auch Fremde, die sich als Klienten (bagaragu) bei den Clangenossen niederlassen, ihnen Dienste erweisen, wofür sie verpflegt und von Zeit zu Zeit mit einem Stück Kleinvieh belohnt werden. Das sind arme Teufel, die sich in dieser Weise Mittel zum Ankauf einer Frau verschaffen müssen. Es sind aber auch solche, die in den stark besiedelten Gegenden, wo es an freiem Land fehlt, Äcker pachten und sogar auf dem gepachteten Boden eigene Häuser besitzen. Andere pachten nur soviel Land, wie für die Hütte und den kleinen Hof nötig ist und erwerben sich ihren Unterhalt als Tagelöhner.

Es muß noch bemerkt werden, daß das Sich-Niederlassen auf dem Boden eines fremden Clans schon eine gewisse Pazifikation und Stabilisierung der Verhältnisse voraussetzt und die nahe Zersetzung der Clangemeinde signalisiert. In den primitiveren Verhältnissen, wo die Clanorganisation ihre höchste Blüte erreicht, kommen Fälle des Sich-Niederlassens auf dem Boden eines fremden Clans seltener vor. Das Wohnen unter den Fremden ist dort zu gefährlich, wegen der eventuell ausbrechenden Blutrachenfehde. Es fehlt nämlich die Sicherheit, ob es nicht zur Fehde zwischen dem Clan der Gastgeber und dem der Ansiedler kommt, und dann fällt der Isolierte als das erste Opfer, da man ihn am leichtesten erreichen kann.

Besitzverhältnisse. Die Clans von Bugoye und Mulera besiedeln Gebiete, die vor einigen Generationen durch ihre Ahnen in Besitz genommen und gerodet worden sind.

Das Roden des Urwaldes spielt in den Eigentumsvorstellungen von Ruanda überhaupt eine sehr große Rolle. In Bugoye sieht man trotz der frischen Batutsi-Eroberung noch jetzt den Boden als Eigentum derjenigen an, deren Ahnen

die entsprechenden Urwaldparzellen in Besitz genommen und gerodet haben. Das kommt in den Gerichtsprozessen wegen des Grundbesitzes in dieser Form zum Ausdruck, daß der Stein, auf dem das „muhoro" (Buschmesser) beim Roden des strittigen Gebietes gewetzt wurde, als Zeuge zitiert wird. Die Anspruch erhebende Partei erklärt: „Ich werde den Wetzstein bringen (uzakuha ulutsiaga), den mein Ahne beim Roden dieses Stückes benutzt hat." Mit Rücksicht darauf können auch die Clangenossen als Besitzer des von ihnen belegten Bodens angesehen werden.

Während aber die Hütten, das Vieh und das ganze Mobiliar den unbeschränkten individuellen Besitz bilden, über den jedermann nach seinem Dafürhalten verfügen kann, ist der Bodenbesitz nicht ganz frei. Die Clangenossen sind eigentlich nur Nutznießer, die aus dem ihnen überlassenen Gemeindeboden Nutzen ziehen. Der Boden bildet aber, ebenso wie sein Besitzer, das Eigentum des Clanes, über welches nur mit Berücksichtigung der Gemeinschaftsinteressen verfügt werden kann. So liegen die Verhältnisse dort, wo die Clans nicht unterjocht und durch die Eroberer enteignet worden sind.

Durch die Eroberung geht der Boden in den Besitz des Königs über und wird den Untertanen in seinem Namen durch die von ihm eingesetzten Häuptlinge überlassen. Von einer freiwilligen Veräußerung des Bodens kann unter diesen Verhältnissen ebenfalls keine Rede sein.

Der Wohlstand des Einzelnen wird nicht an der Größe der von ihm beanspruchten Feldoberfläche gemessen. Das Maß des Reichtumes bildet ausschließlich die Zahl des in seinem Besitze bleibenden Viehes. Bei der wenig differenzierten sozialen Organisation und den schlechten Verkehrswegen ist der freie Absatz von Ackerbauprodukten, die hier fast ausschließlich die Bedürfnisse des Produzenten zu befriedigen haben, sehr gering. Es gibt außerdem noch in vielen Teilen von Ruanda eine genügend große Reserve von freiem Boden, so daß sein Wert verhältnismäßig gering ist, und die Monopolisierung dieser Form des Besitzes durch die privilegierte Schicht nur in zweiter Linie als Machtmittel sozialer Disziplin in Frage kommt.

Durch die Monopolisierung des Viehbesitzes kann die Macht in Ruanda viel einfacher ausgeübt werden. Deshalb streben auch die Batutsi danach, den ganzen Rinderbesitz in ihren Händen zu konzentrieren und die Einzelnen durch Küheverleihungen, die am Milchgenusse zu partizipieren gestatten, sich dienstbar zu machen.

Infolge der Durchführung dieses den Hirten am nächsten liegenden Beherrschungsprinzips wurden die Bauernrügen in Bugoye bei der Besitzergreifung durch die Batutsi nur in geringem Maße vorgenommen, und die Clans wurden nur mit den Steuern belegt. Seine Kühe muß der Mugoye dagegen in den Wald schicken und sie dort behüten lassen, wenn sie keine Milch mehr haben und für den Haushalt entbehrlich werden. Er unterzieht sich lieber dem Risiko, daß der Hirt mit seinem Besitze durchbrennen kann, trotzdem er die Kuh auch

in der Nähe seiner Wohnung ernähren könnte. Er fürchtet zu sehr die Begehrlichkeit der Mächtigen zu reizen, da das zu einer gelegentlichen Expropriation führen kann.

Zum Schluß sollen hier noch einige Angaben über die Angehörigen und den Besitz der drei Clangemeinden der Baishaza, Bahoma und Bagwabiro, auf den Hügeln Katebe und Kitebe in der Nähe von Njundo, gemacht werden. Diese Zahlen habe ich an Ort und Stelle durch Zählung gewonnen.

Nr.	Namen	Clan	Clangenossen	Söhne	Töchter (verheiratet)	Töchter (unverheiratet)	Frauen	Bagaraga	Kühe	Ziegen	Schafe	Felder	Bananenpflanzen	
			Baishaza von Katebe.											
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	—	2	—	1	—	$^1/_2$	—	—	2	—	„mugabo"
	Nikora	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	—	1	2	—	$3^4/_5$	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semivombi	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
3.	Ndereye	„	1	2	2	—	1	—	$^1/_2$	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semilyangu	Muvuna	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ndegeya	Mwichosi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Basitogega	Mukora	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Mukuri	Mwishaza	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	
	Kolombani	„	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Otto	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	$^1/_2$	2	—	2	—	
5.	Mpabuka	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	3	2	unpwärts		
	Sebichikira	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Matayo	Muhuma	1	—	—	—	1	—	$1^1/_2$	7	12	1	1	Schwiegersohn [von Nr. 9
	Bisaga	Mushobio	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhuma	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Kimonjo	Mukara	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8.	Marobi	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	4	4	1	—	Tagelöhner für [Verpflegung
	Ndamwete	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9.	Sebutama	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	2	2	4	1	
10.	Gafene	„	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11.	Senguri	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	$^1/_2$	1	—	4	2	Feld des Nr. 1
12.	Mafara	Munyabgisha	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	2	2	—	Schwiegersohn
	Birere	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	{Bruder des Nr. 12) {Feld des Nr. 1
13.	Ndungutsi	Mwishaza	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	
14.	Bukara	„	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Antigoni	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	
	Filipo	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	
15.	Segihobi	„	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	
	— · —		—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kinder d. zugelaufenen Frau.
16.	Nderiwamunda	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	
17.	Bihwehwe	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	3	—	2	1	
18.	Gihigwa	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	$9^3/_{10}$	41	28	45	12	104 Köpfe[1])

[1]) darunter 47 männliche Clangenossen und 2 Schwiegersöhne.

Nr.	Namen	Clan	Clangenossen	Söhne	Töchter (verheiratet)	Töchter (unverheiratet)	Frauen	Begräbnisse	Kühe, an zweiter Stelle + Bläse	Ziegen	Schafe	Felder	Bananenparzellen	
			Bahoma von Kitebe (Zweig Balyolyo).											
1.	Rugira	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	$2^1/_4+1$	3	4	3	1	„mugabo"
	Sebishimbo	Mudabe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Dominiko	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	1	—	$^1/_6$	2	2	2	—	
	Budjodjwe	Mugai	—	—	—	—	—	1	$3^1/_2+1$	—	—	—	—	
3.	Rukara	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1	
	Muchucku	Murashi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Birikunzira	Munyakaru	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Rusigari	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Faro	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—	
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
5.	Rudjanju	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	$2^3/_4+1$	4	4	4	1	
	Mabgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Karbagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Sedigi	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	$2+^1/_2$	2	2	4	1	
7.	Bihire	„	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1	
8.	Bashaki	„	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
9.	Ishaho	„	1	1	—	1	2	—	$2+^1/_2$	3	—	3	1	
	Mwiza	„	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	
10.	Patris	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1	
			10	11	6	14	17	9	$12^3/_2+4$	22	12	30	7	61 Köpfe[1])
			Bagwabiro von Kitebe.											
1.	Mwuyekure	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	$^1/_2$	5	2	4	1	„mugabo"
2.	Maliro	„	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1	
3.	Semiteza	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1	
4.	Mahembe	„	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1	
	Karisti	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Kichondo	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
5.	Bidjari	„	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1	
6.	Sekini	„	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1	
7.	Sebihumira	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	$^1/_2$	—	4	1	
			7	14	3	4	14	2	$6^1/_2$	$25^1/_2$	7	36	7	41 Köpfe[2])

Diese kurze Zusammenstellung gewährt uns schon einen guten Einblick und orientiert über die Zusammensetzung und den Besitz der kleinen Clangemeinden. In dieser Liste wurden nur die Familienväter mit laufenden Nummern versehen, ihre erwachsenen Söhne sind nach ihnen verzeichnet, und wir können feststellen, daß die durchschnittliche Größe einer Familie samt Gesinde ungefähr sechs Köpfe beträgt, und auf eine Hütte drei bis vier Köpfe entfallen, da die Zahl der Hütten der Zahl der Frauen fast gleich ist. Sehr wichtig ist auch die Feststellung, daß der Schulze der Baishaza-Clangemeinde, der „mugabo" Ndiramiye, zur Zahl der ärmsten Bauern auf Katebe gehört.

[1]) darunter 21 männliche Clangenossen,
[2]) darunter 21 männliche Clangenossen.

12. Kapitel.

König und Staat.

König. — „Bagaragu". — Hof. — Etikette. — Soziale Organisation. — Politische Organisation. — Polizei. — Steuerwesen. — Kriegswesen.

König. Der aktive Faktor, der bei der Staatsbildung in Ruanda auf den passiven Faktor, die Clanorganisation eingewirkt hat, ist die Königsmacht. Der ganze Staat bildet eigentlich nur den ausgewachsenen Haushalt des Königs, in welchen alle Batutsi-Clans zunächst einbezogen und dann zersetzt wurden. Bei dem weiteren Auswachsen des königlichen Haushaltes wurden die Bahutu-Clans ebenfalls in seinen Wirkungskreis hereingezogen, zersprengt und differenziert, ein Prozeß, welcher bis jetzt seinen Abschluß noch nicht gefunden hat. Im Norden von Ruanda befindet er sich sogar erst im Anfangsstadium.

Bei der Betrachtung der Clangemeinden von Xatebe und Kitebe in Bugoye wurden schon erwähnt die „bagaragu" (Klienten), welche aus der Ferne kommen und sich den Besitzenden anschließen, um ihnen Dienste zu leisten, wofür sie verpflegt und versorgt werden. Es waren dárunter solche, die auf die Verleihung einer Ziege oder sogar einer Kuh gehofft haben. Bei den Clanältesten, wie z. B. bei Lukara, der sich eines großen Einflusses in seinem Clan erfreute, war die Zahl der Klienten eine große. Er verlieh ihnen Landparzellen, auf denen sie sich unter seinem Schutz niederlassen konnten. Am Hofe des Königs wiederholt sich dasselbe, nur etwas modifiziert und in einem viel, viel größeren Maßstabe. Den König umgeben als Klienten nicht etwa arme, ausgestoßene Teufel, sondern einflußreiche Leute, die ein zahlreiches Gefolge eigen nennen, und deren Klienten wieder Klienten unter sich haben. In dieser Weise stellt der Ruanda-Staat eine Pyramide mit dem König an der Spitze und der freien Bauernbevölkerung ohne Bodenbesitz als Basis, dar. Zwischen diese schieben sich die großen Häuptlinge mit ihren Unterhäuptlingen als organisierendes Element, das die Bevölkerung im Zaume hält, herein.

Juhi Musinga, der Herrscher von Ruanda, war entschieden der mächtigste der eingeborenen Potentaten, den ich auf der Reise zu sehen Gelegenheit gehabt habe. Er verfügte über das größte Land und konnte die größte Zahl von Untertanen aufweisen; den Eindruck des intelligentesten Herrschers machte er am Anfange unserer Bekanntschaft durchaus nicht. Später jedoch konnte ich mich wiederholt überzeugen, daß er sich stets Mühe gab dämlich zu erscheinen,

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wenn ihm die Wünsche der Europäer unbequem zu sein schienen. Durch Spielereien mit deutschen Wörtern, deren Inhalt er angeblich erfahren wollte, suchte er Zeit zu gewinnen, den Besuch in die Länge zu ziehen, den Gast zu ermüden, um sich auf diese Weise um die ganze Angelegenheit drücken zu können.

Am 10. August 1907 hatte ich zum ersten Male die Gelegenheit die schwarze Majestät zu sehen. Am Mittag traf ich bei der Hauptexpedition ein, und gegen drei Uhr kam Musinga, Seiner Hoheit dem Herzog den Gegenbesuch abzustatten. Ein schlanker, fein gebauter, 197 cm hoher junger Mann mit etwas schielenden, kurzsichtigen Augen und vorstehenden Zähnen, das war Musinga. Er hatte ein Stück roten Stoffes (bendera) auf den Schultern und ein weißes Tuch um die Lenden geschlagen. Das letztere wurde durch einen Gurt zusammengehalten, an dem man den am Tage zuvor geschenkten Hirschfänger Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs erblicken konnte. Die Prachtgestalten seines Gefolges machten einen viel vornehmeren und feineren Eindruck, als der König selbst.

Ganz anders wirkte auf mich der feierliche Besuch, den Musinga am nächsten Tage machte, wie er mit Diadem auf dem Kopfe, mit verdecktem Gesicht, in einer „ngobi" getragen, von dem feierlich mit „mukane" bekleideten Hofe umkreist, erschienen ist und von melodischen, wenn auch wilden Gesängen der Batwa begleitet wurde. Das ganze, der europäischen Beeinflussung bare Bild machte den Eindruck einer märchenhaften, unbeschreiblichen Schönheit: alles war so vollkommen und fein, so vornehm und elegant. Die stilvolle Zeremonie wurde mit einer bewunderungswürdigen Exaktheit und Eleganz eingehalten und ausgeführt. Man sah die vollständigste Negation des gewöhnlichen Negerstils, wie ich ihn bei meinen Trägern beobachten konnte, die im Frack unter Verzicht auf Hosen paradierten.

Es ist mir nicht klar geworden, inwiefern sich Musinga in der neuen, durch die europäische Eroberung geschaffenen Lage zurecht gefunden hat. Er weiß zwar, daß seine Aktionsfreiheit eine gewisse Einschränkung erfahren hat; er weiß es aber ebensogut, daß er die Regierungssoldaten zum Niederwerfen der kleinen, lokalen Revolten und zu einer nachdrücklichen Mahnung der rückständigen Steuerzahler benutzen kann. Noch besser hat er begriffen, daß Mpumbika, das Haupt der Anhänger des Kissaka-Prätendenten, nur mit Hilfe der Regierungstruppen aus dem Lande verbannt wurde.

Er hofft überdies, daß sein mächtiger Freund Tiki-Tiki (Hauptmann W. v. Grawert, der damalige kaiserliche Resident von Ruanda und Urundi) ebenso, wie er ihm schon Kühe von Mpororo geschenkt hat, einmal auch die Belgier aus Ufumbiro und Bunyabungu verjagen wird, und er selbst dort, wie sein Vater Lwabugiri, die königlichen Hoheitsrechte werde ausüben können.

Die Belgier haßt Musinga, wie jeder Mututsi überhaupt, ganz besonders; ja viel mehr als alle übrigen ekelhaften Eieresser zusammen. Sie knallten nämlich eine Menge Leute des Rudegambia nieder, als diese ihren Versuch, am Kiwu sich festzusetzen, vereiteln wollten. Dazu kommt noch der Umstand, daß sich

die Belgier zur Richtschnur ihrer Eingeborenenpolitik die Ausschaltung des unproduktiven Adels stellten, da sie die Eingeborenen allein, ohne die Batutsi daran teilnehmen zu lassen, exploatieren wollten. Sie mußten den Bahutu sogar einen gewissen Schutz gewähren, als Entgelt für die hohen Verpflegungslasten, die für die zahlreiche Besatzung des Russisi-Kiwu-Grenzgebietes notwendig waren, um dadurch eine zu starke Auswanderung hinzuhalten.

Die deutsche Politik verfolgt, im Grunde genommen, dieselben Ziele. Das Wahren der alten Formen sozialer und politischer Organisation und die langsame Entwickelung der neuen Verhältnisse gab jedoch Musinga keine Gelegenheit, das ganze Wesen der heranrückenden Gefahr, der gegenüber er doch ganz ohnmächtig war, zu begreifen. Er ahnte nur instinktiv die gefährliche Lage voraus. Die Gelegenheit, durch bedingungslose und eifrige Unterstützung der Europäer seinen Besitz territorial zu vergrößern, wie das Kahigi aus Kyanja gemacht hatte, ließ Musinga unbenützt. Ebenso hat er es nicht verstanden, sich in dem ihm zugewiesenen Mpororo zurecht zu finden.

Um das innere Verhältnis Musinga's zur neuen Lage zu charakterisieren, genügt es zu sagen, daß er, obwohl die Regierungstruppen ihn stets nur unterstützt haben, angeblich nicht schlafen könne, wenn auch nur ein Askari in Niansa weile.

Musinga ist sehr eitel und den Komplimenten zugänglich. Er besteht z. B. darauf, daß seine Leibtänzer besser als die geschicktesten Tänzer seiner Häuptlinge tanzen. Deshalb war auch die erste Frage, die er nach den Tanzvorführungen an Seine Hoheit den Herzog stellte, welcher Trupp am besten getanzt habe. Der durch R. P. L. Classe informierte Herzog konnte ihm das ersehnte Vergnügen bereiten und bezeichnete seine Tänzer als die besten, trotzdem sowohl auf Seine Hoheit, wie auch auf alle übrigen Anwesenden, die Tänze der Leute Kanuma's aus Kissaka den größten Eindruck gemacht haben. Musinga teilte wie es scheint, das allgemeine Empfinden; um sich jedoch zu vergewissern, daß er den Herzog gut verstanden habe, bat er ihn, seinen „ntore" kleine Geschenke aus Glasperlen überreichen zu lassen, damit alle glauben, daß sie tatsächlich am besten getanzt haben. Erst als dies geschehen war, beruhigte er sich und schaute seine „bagaragu" als besiegte Nebenbuhler verachtend von oben herunter an. Bei den schielenden, kurzsichtigen Augen der zwei Meter langen Majestät rief das einen sehr komischen Eindruck hervor.

Mit dieser kindisch kleinlichen Eitelkeit ist aber auch ein bedeutender Grad von Nichtsnutzigkeit verknüpft. So wies z. B. Musinga zweimal die Bitte des R. P. L. Classe ab, der die alte, verdorbene, von R. P. Brard dem Könige geschenkte, Drehorgel nach Issawi mitnehmen wollte. Sie stand hier in Niansa im Regen und ist zu einem Tummelplatz für Ratten geworden. Die abschlägige Antwort begründete Musinga damit, daß man Geschenke nicht weitergeben dürfe. Diese Begründung ist für Ruanda durchaus nicht stichhaltig, da man hier alles weitergibt, und eine dem Musinga geschenkte Uhr zum Schenker für ein Zwanzigstel ihres Kaufpreises durch eine dritte Person zurückgekehrt ist.

Der Grund der Absage, die Orgel zurückzugeben, war in einem anderen Umstande zu suchen. Das Instrument war verdorben, und die Missionäre wollten es ausbessern. Das wußte Musinga. Ein Ding, das dem König nicht spielen wollte, sollte den Missionären dienen! An der Drehorgel selbst war Musinga gar nicht gelegen. Er äußerte nicht einmal den Wunsch, sie reparieren zu lassen, trotzdem er gewöhnlich seine Besucher mit allerlei Bitten quälte, um sie zu ermüden.

Sehr interessant war sein Verhältnis zum Phonographen. Ganz abgesehen von der Freude, die ihm das Kunststück der modernen Technik bereitete, hörte er gern der, übrigens sehr mangelhaften Wiedergabe der Ruanda-Lieder zu. Die wesentlich besser aufgezeichneten europäischen Stücke machten ihm keinen Spaß und sind bald vom Repertoir der Phonographvorführungen verschwunden. Nur nach einem Stücke mit Militärkommando, Trommeln und Flöten der Infanterie fragte er manchmal nach. Wohl deshalb kümmerte er sich auch um die Drehorgel so wenig, auf der nur ihm unverständliche Stücke abgeleiert werden konnten.

Der König genießt eine kultuelle Autorität. Er verbot z. B. im Jahre 1906 den alten Frauen das Tabakrauchen, welchem Befehle sorgfältig Folge geleistet wurde, da man befürchtete, die Hartnäckigen werden sterben müssen. Die Pfeifen wurden auf den Hügelgipfeln niedergelegt, wo man sie noch zur Zeit meiner Reise (1907) sehen konnte.

Am Hofe des Königs wird ein ständiges Feuer durch Batwa unterhalten. Acht oder neun Monate vor meiner Ankunft in Niansa ist das Feuer durch die Nachlässigkeit der Wächter erloschen, was diese mit ihrem Leben büßen mußten. Das heilige Feuer soll auch in Kiziba gebrannt werden, nur muß es jedes Jahr frisch von den Sesse-Inseln geholt werden.

Das gewöhnliche Wort „sterben" kann auf den König nicht angewendet werden. Nach dem Tode wird der König nicht beerdigt, man mumifiziert seinen Körper über dem Feuer, und wenn dieser schon durch und durch ausgedörrt ist, so wird er samt seiner Hütte eingeäschert, so daß keine Spuren hinterbleiben. Nach dem Tode sollen die Könige ihr Dasein als Leoparden weiterfristen.

Zum König wird ein Sohn des verstorbenen Königs bestimmt. Er braucht nicht der Älteste zu sein, und ist es auch in der Regel nicht. Die Unbestimmtheit in der Thronfolge bildet auch in Ruanda die Ursache innerer Kämpfe, die zwischen dem Tode des alten Königs und dem Sich-Festsetzen des neuen Herrschers stattfinden und den Staat äußeren Überfällen preisgeben.

Es gibt jedoch einige Bestimmungen, die gewisse Kategorien von Königssöhnen aus der Zahl der Prätendenten ausschalten. So soll ein Ryangombe geweihter Mann unfähig sein, die „Trommel zu essen" (König zu werden). Dies sollte z. B. mit Ishirangabo, dem Bruder Musinga's, der seinerzeit Lt. Graf von Götzen geführt hatte, der Fall gewesen sein. Auch die Prinzen, deren Mütter schon gestorben sind, sollen nicht mehr die „Trommel essen" können

Dieser letzte Umstand hat zur Folge, daß sehr oft als Könige Kinder eingesetzt werden, denen als Regent ein Oheim oder Bruder der Königin-Mutter zur Seite steht. Das gilt z. B. von Musinga, in dessen Namen einige Zeit sein Onkel Kabare regiert hat.

Mit dem Regierungsantritte wechselt sowohl der neue König, wie auch seine Mutter den Namen. So wurde Musinga zum Juhi Musinga, und seine Mutter Kanzogera zur Nyina Juhi. Die Königin-Mutter und der Regent empfangen, solange der König noch unausgewachsen ist, alle Ehren eines Königs.

Eine weitere Maßnahme zur Herabsetzung der Zahl der Prätendenten, dieser schwächsten Seite des afrikanischen Staatswesens, ist die geringe Zahl der als vollberechtigt anerkannten Königssöhne. In dem Augenblicke, als der König einen anerkannten Sohn erhalten hat, soll die Königin-Mutter entfernt werden. Deshalb wirkt sie angeblich durch ihren ganzen, in der Regel sehr großen Einfluß darauf hin, daß der König solange wie möglich keines seiner Kinder als vollberechtigt anerkennt.

„Bagaragu." Der König ist der Besitzer des ganzen Bodens und der sämtlichen Kühe im ganzen Lande. Durch das Verleihen dieser Güter und durch das Zurückziehen derselben in Fällen seiner Unzufriedenheit übt er seine Macht aus. In dieser Weise setzt der König die Beamten, die in dieser Stellung als vorübergehende Großgrundbesitzer zu betrachten sind, ein. Der König hält sie in ihrem Amt und Besitze, er kann sie aber auch in jedem Augenblicke verjagen, ebenso wie er ihnen noch andere Ländereien verleihen kann.

Der König ist allmächtig, nur das physisch Unmögliche fügt sich ihm nicht. So kann er z. B. niemanden finden, der geneigt wäre sich in Ndorwa als Häuptling niederzulassen, da dieses Unternehmen trotz der eventuellen Hilfe des Königs zu gefährlich ist.

Die Macht und der Besitz des Einzelnen hängt hauptsächlich von der Gunst des Königs ab, und zwar in einem so hohen Grade, daß auch die Privilegierten stets im Kontakte mit dem König bleiben, oder sogar an seinem Hofe verweilen müssen; sonst können sie weder für ihre Erfolge sorgen, noch ihren Besitz bewahren. Ein Mann, mag er noch so reich sein, kann doch alles verlieren, wenn er keine Alianten hat, und ein Glücklicher die Gunst des Königs von ihm abzuwenden versteht.

Jeder Glücksfischer ist von einer Anzahl von Klienten umkreist, die, in der Hoffnung an den Erfolgen ihres Patrones partizipieren zu können, ihn überall im Gänsemarsch begleiten. Nach der Zahl dieser Glücksfischer zweiten Grades, die sich nicht selten mit den Milchspenden des Königs allein befriedigen müssen, kann man die Bedeutung und die Aussichten ihres Herrn bemessen.

Als ich in Niansa wohnte, hatte ich jeden Tag gegen 11 Uhr die Gelegenheit zu schauen, wie die Mächtigen mit einem Gefolge aus 50—60 Mann zum Morgengruß des Königs marschierten. Es gab aber auch gänzlich verarmte

Teufel, die, trotzdem sie zum König als seine „bagaragu" zogen, in ihrem Gefolge nur einen Muhutu zählten.

Die nächste Umgebung des Königs setzt sich aus den Großhäuptlingen zusammen, aus ihnen besteht seine Klientenschar (bagaragu). Zur Zeit meiner Anwesenheit in Niansa wurde vorwiegend von den folgenden Großhäuptlingen gesprochen:

1. Nshobozamigo; Luhanga ist sein „mugaragu" in Mulera;
2. Kanuma aus Kissaka;
3. Niamutezi aus Kissaka;
4. Lutangabo aus Kissaka;
5. Rwamanwa aus Niaruguru;
6. Rudegambia;
7. Kabare aus Bugessera, Nduga, Kifumbiro, Bugansa, Kissaka u. a.;
8. Lukara lwa Bishingwe (Muhutu) aus Mulera;
9. Ndazihiwe (Muhutu);
10. Ishirangabo;
11. Runiga (Muhutu vom Bahenyi-Clan);
12. Bushakwe; Lwakadygi ist sein „mugaragu" in Bugoye;
13. Niamuhanga aus Bgisha;
14. Lwabilinda aus Mukinjaga; Bruder des Lwabugiri Kigeri;
15. Ruemankiko aus Bulembo im Süden vom Ndisa-Berge;
16. Nigenzi aus Mukinjaga.

Diese Klienten wohnen in den Hütten, die den großen Kral des Königs umgeben. Die „Villen" (bilaro) machten auf mich den Eindruck eines vor wenigen Tagen aufgeschlagenen Lagers. Das rührte wohl daher, daß man sie nicht, wie es sonst üblich ist, mit Bäumen bepflanzen durfte, damit sie die Pracht der Bäume des königlichen Krals nicht schmälern. Der einzige Schmuck der ganzen Umgebung waren die auf einem benachbarten Hügel wachsenden Bäume einer alten, verlassenen Siedelung.

Die „bagaragu" des Königs haben keine bestimmten Dienstperioden am Hofe zugewiesen, wie dies mit den Musikanten z. B. der Fall ist. Die Zeit ihres ununterbrochenen Aufenthaltes schwankt zwischen Wochen und Jahren. Wenn man einen Großhäuptling fragt, wann er nach Hause zurückziehen werde, bekommt man immer zur Antwort: „Wenn der König es gestattet." Es werden am Hofe nicht nur die besonders beliebten, sondern vor allem die gefürchteten Fürsten lange hingehalten, damit sie so, von den eigenen Leuten ferne, durch eine Menge neidischer, habgieriger Nebenbuhler umgeben, ungefährlich werden. Infolge der allzulangen Abwesenheit verlieren sie allmählich jeden Kontakt mit ihren Anhängern. Die Zeit und die Entfernung läßt hier, wie übrigens überall, ihre Wirkung nicht verfehlen. So wurde z. B. ein rebellischer Häuptling von Mukinjaga so lange am Hofe zurückgehalten, bis er einen Reisekorb mit weißen, kleinen Perlen vollgefüllt hat. Zwei Jahre lang mußten seine Leute diese Perlen

zusammensochen, welches Lösegeld gewiß nicht darnach angetan war, den Untertanen die Freude an ihrem Herrn zu steigern. Als der Korb zu schnell gefüllt wurde, hielt der König die Kur seiner Gesinnung am Hofe noch nicht für genügend und ließ ihn noch ein Vorratshaus (kigega) mit Hacken vollfüllen. Erst darnach gestattete ihm Musinga nach Hause zu ziehen.

So spielt der Aufenthalt am Hofe neben der Sprengung des Besitzes die wichtigste Rolle in der Organisation und in der Stabilisierung des Ruanda-Staates, den er gewissermaßen gegen alle Eventualitäten sichert. Solange der Häuptling, der einflußreichste Mensch in seinen Besitzungen, am Hofe verbleibt, hält der König im gewissen Grade durch seine Person sein ganzes Landstück in der Hand.

Mit dem Aufhalten der „bagaragu" am Hofe des Königs ist enge verbunden auch die hiesige Besteuerungsweise. Die Großhäuptlinge müssen dem Könige möglichst große Geschenke machen, um nicht seiner Gunst verloren zu gehen; andererseits dürfen sie von ihren Leuten ja nicht zu viel verlangen, da diese fortziehen könnten. Das sind die zwei Punkte, durch die die Königsbeamten von oben und von unten eingeschränkt werden. Einen Ausgleich zwischen diesen beiden Faktoren zu schaffen, ist ihrer Individualität überlassen, und diese spielt infolgedessen eine unvergleichlich größere Rolle, als dies in den entsprechenden Stellungen unseres modernen Staatswesens der Fall ist.

Hof. Der Hof des Königs besteht aus Vertretern der Aristokratie, die unter seinen „bagaragu" stark überwiegen und verschiedene Ämter bekleiden, und aus verschiedenen Angestellten, die den Herrscher bedienen. Die Lehnsherren mit ihrem Gefolge bilden wohl die Hauptmasse der in Niansa anwesenden Bevölkerung. Sie kommen jedoch und gehen wieder zu ihren Besitzungen zurück, wenn dies der König gestattet. Aus diesem Grunde ist auch die Größe des Hofes sehr großen Schwankungen unterworfen. Während der Anwesenheit Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs zu Mecklenburg herrschte bei Musinga eine recht große Aufregung, und der ganze Hof vor dem Hause war immer voll Menschen. Auch der Zapfenstreich war entsprechend verschoben, man hörte ihn gewöhnlich erst gegen 2 Uhr nach Mitternacht, manchmal noch später.

Dies ist aber nicht das gewöhnliche Bild des Lebens am Hofe gewesen. Von den Festlichkeiten wurden alle so müde, daß der Hof nach dem Abzuge Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs ganz menschenleer wurde. Als ich am nächsten Tage nach dem Abmarsche der Expedition einen Besuch machte, fand ich beim Könige keinen Häuptling, der ihm den Hof gemacht hätte.

In ähnlicher Weise, wie die Großhäuptlinge dem Könige den Hof machen, sollen ihre Frauen der Königin-Mutter Gesellschaft leisten und bei ihr im Dienste bleiben. So erzählte Kahama Dr. Schubotz, daß seine zweite Frau bei Musinga (wohl bei seiner Mutter) sei, und wenn diese zurückkehre, so müßte sich dort eine andere Frau einstellen.

Der Hof der Königin-Mutter hat nichts mit dem Harem des Königs zu tun.

So reiste die Königin-Mutter Kanzogera weg, als die Nachricht kam, daß unsere Expedition heranrücke; die Frauen Musinga's blieben jedoch bei ihm, obwohl sie während der ganzen Zeit unsichtbar geblieben sind. Als ich mit R. P. Felix Dufays Gesänge mit dem Phonographen aufnahm und sie zur Probe bei Musinga wiedergab, waren die Frauen des Königs im Inneren derselben Hütte hinter der Wand aus Schildmatten versammelt. Sie lauschten den Geräuschen des unvollkommenen, aber trotzdem doch ganz übernatürlichen Instrumentes und verrieten von Zeit zu Zeit ihre Anwesenheit durch Lachen, das sie nicht mehr hinhalten vermochten.

Der Hof der Königin-Mutter scheint den Mittelpunkt des Frauenlebens in Ruanda zu bilden.

Neben den Großhäuptlingen gehören zum privilegierten Teil des Königshofes die „ntore". „Ntore" bilden die Leibgarde der Häuptlinge. Sie begleiten sie überall hin, in der Hauptstadt und auf dem Schlachtfelde. Die „ntore" der Häuptlinge rekrutieren sich aus den Söhnen ihrer Unterhäuptlinge. Sie sind Leibgardisten, Leibtänzer und Geißel zugleich, die für die Handlungen ihrer Väter verantwortlich sind. Die „ntore" des Königs sind die Söhne der allerhöchsten Würdenträger und werden „danga baganisi" genannt.

Musinga antwortete Seiner Hoheit dem Herzog zu Mecklenburg auf seine Frage, was die „danga baganisi" bedeuten, „askari wangu" (meine Soldaten). Sie halten aber keine Militärübungen ab und wetteifern nur im Tanz. Sie nehmen selbstverständlich unter Allen die höchste Stellung ein.

Außer diesen privilegierten Hofangehörigen gibt es noch andere, die besondere Dienstobliegenheiten am Hofe innehaben, wie z. B. Hofschmiede, Musikanten, Batwa-Leibwächter usw. Der Älteste der Hofschmiede soll sich eines großen Einflusses erfreuen, besitzt aber angeblich keine vom König zugewiesenen Ländereien. Als Ältester der Leib-Batwa wurde mir der Leibscharfrichter, der Mutwa Muhenehene, ebenfalls ein sehr einflußreicher Mann, bezeichnet.

Das Hoforchester besteht aus Bahutu und Batwa. Die Sänger sind Batwa, die Trommelschläger Bahutu. Die Musikanten bilden eine geschlossene Korporation und wechseln jeden Monat ab. Nach dieser Frist kehren sie nach Hause zurück und werden durch neue ersetzt. Der Einzug der neuen Musikwache wird am Neumondabend durch ein besonders feierliches Trommelschlagen signalisiert. Die Trommelschläger sind von gewissen Pflichten befreit. Unter ihnen befand sich auch ein Christ aus Isawi.

Etikette. Der König ißt immer allein, da man nur mit Menschen gleichen Standes zusammen essen kann.

Das Essen und die Getränke des Königs werden von Bahutu bereitet. Es scheint, als ob der König zu den beherrschten Bahutu mehr Vertrauen, als zu den herrschenden Batutsi hätte. Die Vorsicht geht soweit, daß die Getränke, um die Möglichkeit der Vergiftung zu verringern, in dem Gehöft des Königs aus den dorthin gebrachten Produkten hergestellt werden. Auch im Kral des Königs wird das Kochhaus „mubahutu" genannt.

Der König soll sehr lange schlafen. Es ist mir während des dreiwöchentlichen Aufenthaltes bei ihm nie gelungen ihn vor 11 Uhr früh zu sehen. Nur einmal hatte ich Gelegenheit ihn zwischen 11 und 12 zu treffen. Ich fing an, bei einem Individuum, das ich schon gemessen hatte, seine blauen Augen mit der Martinschen Farbentafel zu bestimmen. Als man die künstlichen Glasaugen sah, machte das auf die Anwesenden einen solchen Eindruck, daß man darüber sofort Musinga benachrichtigte. Musinga schickte sogleich einen Eilboten mit dem Wunsche, ich möchte sie ihm zum Ansehen senden. Ich erklärte meine Bereitwilligkeit, die Augentafel bei Gelegenheit des Besuches, den ich am Nachmittag machen sollte, mitzubringen. Die Neugier des Königs war zu groß, er konnte nicht bis zum Nachmittag aushalten und kam zu mir am Vormittag ins Lager, was er sonst nie tat. Bei dieser Gelegenheit konnte ich beobachten, wie er von seinen Gefolgsherren (bagaragu), die allmählich aus ihren Hütten ausrückten und sich dem Gefolge des Königs anschlossen, durch Händeklatschen begrüßt wurde. Dieser Gruß gebührt in Ruanda nur dem König, während er in Kiziba den Höhersituierten allgemein gezollt wird.

Von Musinga wird man gegen vier Uhr am Nachmittag in dem „muliango" (Vorderteil) seiner ersten Hütte (kambele) empfangen.

Das „kambele" befindet sich am Rande eines umzäunten, ca. hundert Meter breiten, elliptischen Hofes, in dessen beiden Brennpunkten sich zwei Kultusbäume befinden. Sie waren mit Stroh umzäunt und von Kreisen aus Ton umgeben. Das Innere der Kreise war sauber mit Gras ausgelegt. Vor dem „kambele" befindet sich ein zehn Meter breites, vier Meter tiefes und einen halben Meter hohes Podium. Auf ihm, rechts vom Eingange, befanden sich Rinderhörner und eine Pflanze, auf der Libationen vorgenommen wurden.

Bei dem Empfangen der Europäer ist Musinga von dem Bewußtsein seiner hohen Stellung durchdrungen. Der König sitzt auf einem Schemel von etwas größerer Dimension als die, die man in den Hütten der Eingeborenen sieht. Graf v. Götzen[1]) erwähnt, daß Kigeri auf einem mit weißen und rosa Perlen bestickten Stuhl saß. Der Stuhl Musinga's entbehrte diesen Schmuck. Der König bietet seinen Gästen keinen Sessel an, und man würde gezwungen sein, auf dem Boden wie seine Hofherren hocken zu müssen, wenn man seinen eigenen Stuhl nicht mithätte. Es darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß im Zusammenhange damit in Ruanda mit dem Rechte, einen Schemel öffentlich benutzen zu dürfen, die Vorstellung einer privilegierten Stellung verknüpft ist. In diesem Sinne ist die Höflichkeitsformel „urakagira intebe" — du möchtest einen Schemel haben — zu verstehen.

Die Abende soll der König beim Biertopf zubringen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit werden die Überlieferungen über seine ruhmreichen Ahnen erzählt.

Die Musikanten müssen die ganze Nacht hindurch wachen. Den Zapfenstreich, eigentlich ein sehr heftiges Schlagen, habe ich nie vor 2 Uhr gehört,

[1]) Götzen, G. A., Graf v., Durch Afrika von Ost nach West. Berlin, 1899 S. 178.

manchmal sogar später. Bis zu dieser späten Stunde soll der König wach bleiben. Deshalb auch findet „ndamutsu", die Begrüßung des Königs, erst zwischen 11 und 12 am Vormittag durch heftiges Schlagen statt. Am frühen Morgen zwischen 4 und 5 Uhr werden ebenfalls die Trommeln geschlagen; diesmal aber nur um dem König zu zeigen, daß man Wache hält, und daß er ruhig schlafen kann. In der Schlafhütte soll der König einen Elefantenzahn haben, der immer in der Nähe seines Bettes liegt.

Auf seinen Reisen wird angeblich der König in einer kleinen Hütte von einer Schar Batwa getragen. Diese Hütte — „kitabashwa" — soll, von Batwa bewacht, in einem Hofe der Niederlassung des Königs stehen. Dort wird angeblich auch ein geweihter Elefantenzahn aufbewahrt.

Während der Anwesenheit Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs in Niansa bestieg Musinga auf Wunsch des Hauptmanns W. von Grawert hin auch die „ngobi", in der sich die Häuptlinge auf Reisen tragen lassen. Doch tat er das ungern, vielleicht aus Angst, vielleicht erschien ihm dieses Transportmittel nicht standesgemäß.

Während der Reise des Königs dürfen die ihn tragenden Batwa sich überallher die Nahrung holen, da alles doch als Eigentum des Königs anzusehen ist. Deshalb fiel auch Lwabugiri, der sich stets unterwegs befand, dem Lande so lästig. Nur die Batwa erzählen mit Sehnsucht von den Zeiten Lwabugiri's. Sie machten seine Züge mit. „Damals gab es viel Fleisch. Jetzt bedeuten die Batwa nichts", habe ich von ihnen wiederholt gehört.

Die Angabe von Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer[1]): „da eine geheiligte Tradition ihm (Musinga) verbietet, die Grenzen seiner zentralen Provinz zu überschreiten, ist er in seinem Gesichtskreise sehr beschränkt", muß auf einem Mißverständnis beruhen, da früher die Herrscher von Ruanda viel gereist sind, was auch in den Überlieferungen eingehend besprochen wird. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach teilte der Eingeborene Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer seine Abneigung gegen die sehr lästigen Reisen des Königs mit und glaubte vielleicht, durch die Irreführung des einflußreichen Europäers in Zukunft die Reisen des Königs unmöglich machen zu können.

Soziale Organisation. In der Bevölkerung von Ruanda kann man vier Stände unterscheiden. Den privilegierten Stand bilden die königlichen Beamten. Hierher sind sowohl die Lehnsherren des Königs (bagaragu), ihre Unterhäuptlinge samt dem Gefolge, wie auch die übrigen Würdenträger am Hofe des Königs zu zählen. Die meisten Hofbeamten sind zugleich Lehnsherren, einige jedoch, wie der Häuptling der Hofschmiede, sollen keine Ländereien besitzen.

Unter diesen Ausgewählten nimmt selbstverständlich die höchste Stellung das Geschlecht des Königs, die Banieginia, und das Geschlecht der Königin-Mutter, die Bega, ein.

[1]) Reiseberichte von Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer aus Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, S. 347.

Der privilegierte Stand besteht in der oberen Schicht fast ausschließlich aus Batutsi. In der Zahl der niedrigsten Beamten, welche die Gemeindevorsteher abgeben, gibt es, vor allem in Bugoye, recht viele Bahutu. In Mulera und in Bgisha treten Bahutu sogar als Hofherren des Königs auf. Die Beamten werden allgemein als „batware" (pl.) bezeichnet.

Den zweiten Stand bilden die Krieger, „ngabo". Sie sind besonderen Häuptlingen unterstellt und haben keine Arbeiten auf den Feldern der Häuptlinge zu leisten. Mit anderen Worten, sie sitzen auf eigenem Boden, der vor Generationen von ihren Ahnen in Besitz genommen und gerodet worden ist. Sie wurden von diesem bei der Eroberung des Landes durch die Batutsi nicht verjagt, und der König anerkennt ihre Freiheiten. Sie haben dafür nur die gewöhnlichen Steuern zu zahlen, müssen aber immer zum Kriege bereit sein. Auf ihnen liegt die Last der Blutsteuer, von der die gewöhnlichen Bauern (biletwa), theoretisch wenigstens, befreit sind.

Die Zugehörigkeit zum Korps der „ngabo" ist erblich. Man kann aber zur Strafe aus diesem privilegierten Stande ausgestoßen werden. Ob es aber auch vorkommt, daß gewöhnliche Bauern zum Stande der „ngabo" erhoben werden, ist mir dagegen nicht bekannt.

Die „ngabo" tragen als Abzeichen das „kigomero", den hölzernen Ring zum Auffangen der, beim Schießen zurückschnellenden, Bogensehne.

Im Innern des Landes, in der Nduga z. B., sind die „ngabo" weniger zahlreich und sitzen zwischen der übrigen Bevölkerung auf den Hügeln zerstreut. In den Grenzmarken sind sie dagegen viel zahlreicher und bilden in Mulera z. B. fast die ganze Bevölkerung.

Den dritten Stand bilden die „biletwa" — freie Bauern ohne Grundbesitz. Sie bebauen den Boden der Krone und entrichten dem Häuptlinge einen zwei- bis dreitägigen Frondienst während der fünf- bis sechstägigen Woche. Sie haben aber außerdem noch die Pflicht Steuern zu zahlen.

Den vierten Stand bildet der Pariastamm der Batwa. Sie sind Jäger, Töpfer, Regenmacher. Aus ihnen besteht die Polizei. Sie geben auch die Henker ab. Der Häuptling Songore, dessen Hauptbeschäftigung am Hofe das Peinigen der Delinquenten bildet, und der sie mit großer Kunst mit zwei kleinen Stöcken zu prügeln versteht, soll auch ein Mutwa sein.

Es gibt auch Sklaven in Ruanda. Die Institution der Sklaverei spielt hier aber keine Rolle, wenn auch die Zahl der Sklaven in Bugoye und bei den Batutsi von Nduga recht bedeutend sein soll. Sklaven werden hier, soweit es mir bekannt ist, vorwiegend durch Frauen „baja" gebildet, die als kleine Kinder während der nicht seltenen Hungerszeiten gegen Lebensmittel von ihren Eltern verkauft worden sind. Über die soziale Stellung der gegen Lebensmittel eingetauschten Knaben konnte ich nichts Genaueres ermitteln. Es scheint mir, daß sie mit dem Auswachsen in der Masse der Klienten (bagaragu) aufgehen.

Jedes Land, das von Zeit zu Zeit Hungersnöte hat, wie Ufumbiro z. B.,

liefert Sklaven, die im fremden Gebiete, durch ihre Angehörigen nicht geschützt, in einer untergeordneten Stellung bleiben und auf den Schutz ihres Herrn angewiesen sind. In jeder Mission kann man zwar mehrere kleine Sklaven sehen, die vor ihrem Herrn Schutz suchend, sich dort niedergelassen haben. Trotzdem aber muß die Lage der Sklaven im großen und ganzen als durchaus nicht schlecht bezeichnet werden. Von Mißhandlungen habe ich nirgends gehört.

Die Lasten werden in der Hauptsache von den „biletwa" getragen. Die Bahutu dieser Kategorie verfügen über persönliche Freiheit. Sie dürfen und können unter Verzicht auf Haus und Acker ihren Herrn wechseln. Sie dürfen nur nicht den Staat verlassen. Die „batware" an den Grenzen haben zur Pflicht aufzupassen, daß die Leute nicht aus dem Lande fliehen.

Tatsächlich ist aber die Existenz des kleinen Mannes etwas ganz Nebensächliches, das man nur unter der Bedingung, alle Ansprüche der Herrschenden befriedigen zu wollen, fristen darf. Der Eingeborene kann doch nicht oft ohne weiteres auf sein Feld und Hütte verzichten. Er muß sich kleine Ausplünderungen, die mit Vorliebe als Strafe für angebliche Vergehen angewendet werden, gefallen lassen. Er muß die Abgaben liefern, er muß die Reisenden, die auf Veranlassung des Königs verpflegt werden, mit Nahrungsmitteln versorgen, trotzdem der „mutware" selbst die Zahlgeschenke einsteckt.

In der primitiven, nicht differenzierten Gesellschaft sind jedoch die Ausbeutungsmöglichkeiten sehr beschränkt. Solange es sich nur um die unmittelbare Nahrungsmittellieferung für die relativ geringe Zahl der Herrschenden handelt, so lange können diese, auch bei dem größten Appetit, zufrieden gestellt werden. Es ist also durch die geringe Ausbeutungsmöglichkeit die Grundlage des sozialen Gleichgewichtes ohne juristisch festgesetzte Normen gegeben. Berücksichtigt man noch die ständigen inneren Kämpfe eines ungeordneten Staatswesens, wo es sehr auf die Unterstützung der Masse der Untertanen ankommt, so bekommt man das zweite, die Willkürherrschaft sehr stark einschränkende Moment. Die Machthaber müssen auf ihre Untertanen Rücksicht nehmen, sonst laufen sie Gefahr, daß sie, von ihren Anhängern und Untertanen verlassen, ihren Nebenbuhlern unterliegen werden. Die politische Weisheit besteht darin, daß man sich von den Launen nicht allzusehr leiten läßt und daß man nicht der relativ Schlimmste wird.

Die kleinen Kriege unter den „bagaragu" Musinga's und Schlägereien unter den „bagaragu" der „bagaragu" des Königs sind durchaus nichts Seltenes, auch jetzt, wo der Frieden im Lande herrscht. Sie kommen aber hauptsächlich an den Grenzmarken vor, wo die Macht des Königs nicht so stark empfunden wird. So z. B. kämpfte zur Zeit meiner Anwesenheit Lukara mit Luhanga in Mulera. Hier kommt es dabei nicht selten vor, daß der König keinen Mann findet, der sich nicht scheuen würde, die ihm überlassenen kriegerischen Bauern zu verwalten und zu besteuern. Die Bahutu erreichen in dieser Weise ihre Unabhängigkeit und werden erst durch eine Strafexpedition von neuem unterworfen.

Die inneren kleinen Kämpfe sind unter diesen Verhältnissen eine natürliche Funktion des Staates, die nicht Robeiten und Verheerungen allein zur Folge hat. In dieser, wenn auch unökonomischen Weise werden sowohl die schlechten Verwalter ausgemerzt, wie auch die Macht der Starken eingeschränkt. Dieser Satz scheint im ersten Augenblick paradox zu klingen, er entspricht aber sehr gut den Tatsachen. Bei der unbeschränkten Herrschaft, wo kein Protest im Prinzip zulässig ist, müssen doch dort, wo es zur Staatenbildung kommt, von selbst Schranken auftauchen, die das Zusammenleben großer Menschenmassen möglich machen.

Anders wird es aber mit dem Augenblicke der Pazifikation, des Aufschließens und der Organisierung des Landes durch die Europäer. Die natürlichen, alten, wenn auch unökonomischen Formen, die doch die Verhältnisse ordneten, durch das Überrennen der durch Emigration geschwächten Herrschaften, werden mit Waffengewalt abgeschafft. Andererseits gibt das Eröffnen des Exporthandels ungezählte Möglichkeiten, die Untertanen in einer früher unbekannten Weise auszubeuten. Die Lage der Eingeborenen verschlimmert sich, da die neuen juristischen Normen trotz ihrer humanen Phraseologie sie weniger schützen können, als die alten Regulative, auf denen die Staatsorganisation aufgebaut war. Man kann in Kissaka viele Eingeborene aus Ussuwi sehen, die sich dorthin vor dem Segen der europäischen, humanen Zivilisation geflüchtet haben. Unter diesen neuen Verhältnissen bleibt, als die einzige Waffe in der Hand der Untertanen, die ökonomische Schädigung des Häuptlings durch Abwanderung der Arbeitskräfte.

Am schlimmsten wird die Lage der Eingeborenen dort, wo die Europäer aus Rücksichten polizeilicher Bequemlichkeit die Zugfreiheit aufheben. Mit diesem Augenblick hören alle, den Eingeborenen gegen seinen Häuptling schützenden Momente auf. Infolgedessen wird dort auch das Bedürfnis eines tiefen Eingreifens der europäischen Verwaltung zu einer dringenden Notwendigkeit. Bei den gesteigerten Ausbeutungsmöglichkeiten müssen jetzt gewisse Normen durchgesetzt werden, welche die Interessen des kleinen Mannes schützen und ihm eine gewisse Freiheit gewährleisten. Mit anderen Worten, ihm alles das zurückgeben, was ihm früher durch die weniger vollkommene, weniger dicht schließende und drückende soziale Organisation, ohne jeglichen Vertrag, garantiert war. Das weitere Eingreifen der europäischen Verwaltung wird unter diesen Verhältnissen zu einer Notwendigkeit, da man doch noch nicht die Sicherheit hat, daß die neue Ordnung nur zur „vollkommeneren Ausnützung des faulen Negers" und nicht vielleicht auch zum Rückgange der Bevölkerungszahl beitragen wird.

Das Vergleichen der Verhältnisse in Ndorwa, Mulera, Bugoye und Nduga, läßt ohne Mühe die Richtung, in der sich die Verhältnisse in Ruanda entwickelt haben, feststellen.

In Ndorwa haben wir unabhängige Clans, die voneinander getrennt sitzen.

In Mulera sind die Clans vom König unterworfen und zahlen Steuern. Von einigen Hügeln haben die Batutsi die Autochthonen verjagt und gestatten den obdachlosen Angehörigen zersprengter Clans sich daselbst niederzulassen. Dieser Abschaum muß für den gewährten Schutz Frondienste verrichten und ihre Herren unterstützen. Das sind die neuen Gemeinden, die man eigentlich für analog mit den Gutsbezirken erklären müßte. Einige Clanältesten, wie der Bishingwe, Vater des Lukara, schließen sich den Eroberern an und werden von diesen unterstützt. Mit Hilfe dieser Unterstützung siedeln sie auf dem nicht bebauten Terrain Zuzügler an, die in das Frondienstverhältnis eintreten, ebenso wie dies bei den Batutsi der Fall ist.

In Bugoye verwischt sich allmählich die Grenze zwischen den Eroberern und dem Bauernadel. Im Zusammenhange damit verwischt sich auch der Unterschied zwischen den verarmten Clangenossen und den Zuzüglern, die vom Clanältesten auf dem freigebliebenen Boden angesiedelt werden, und aus denen seine Hörigen entstanden sind. Dieser Prozeß ist aber in Bugoye noch nicht vollendet.

Der Clan der Bambari arbeitet schon die „buletwa" auf dem Felde des Häuptlings, der ebenfalls ein Mumbari ist und als ehemaliger Clanältester aufgefaßt werden muß. Der Boden wird hier schon als sein Eigentum, als ein vom König verliehenes Gut, angesehen.

Die Bagwabiro, ein verarmter Batutsi-Clan, behaupten aber, daß sie das Buschmesser (muhoro) für Bugoye vom König bekommen haben. Sie besetzten größere Gebiete, verteidigten sie stellenweise mit Erfolg gegen die vorwärtsdringenden, geschlossenen Clans und besetzten sie durch Ausgestoßene, Obdachlose und Vagabunden. Aus diesen bildeten sich die „biletwa" der Bagwabiro. Im Gegensatze zu den übrigen Clangenossen, bei den die „bagabo" für die Bagwabiro nur Steuern einziehen, sind hier die Gemeindevorsteher Beamte des Königs. Es scheint aber die Tendenz vorhanden zu sein, den Unterschied zwischen Bagwabiro und den Steuereinziehern (Clanältesten) zu verwischen, und die Clangenossen, wie das bei den Bambari schon geschehen ist, zu Hörigen herunterzudrücken.

In Nduga ist die Bevölkerung auf den einzelnen Hügeln sehr gemischt. Sie gehört verschiedenen Clans an. Die Hauptmasse des Bodens gehört den Häuptlingen (den Großgrundbesitzern), und nur hie und da gibt es Kriegsbauern — „ngabo", die vom Frondienst (buletwa) frei sind, also auf dem eigenen (vom König verliehenen) Boden sitzen.

In dieser Weise wird die Clanorganisation in Ruanda durch die Hirtenherrschaft und durch die dadurch verursachte Entwickelung des Bauernadels gesprengt. Als Momente, die die Clanorganisation zusammenhalten, bleiben noch die Eßverbote, die Exogamie und die Blutrache.

Das Resultat der Einwirkung der Königsmacht auf die homogenen Clans ist die Differenzierung der Bevölkerung.

In Urundi scheint die zentralisierende Richtung der Staatsorganisation

noch keine allzugroßen Fortschritte gemacht zu haben. Wir haben nämlich hier noch Feudale, die unbeschränkte Herren in ganzen Provinzen sind, während sich in Ruanda die Häuptlinge keineswegs derselben Unabhängigkeit in ihren Ländereien erfreuen. Der Boden wird jedoch auch hier als das Eigentum des Königs betrachtet.

Politische Organisation. Ruanda besteht aus einer Anzahl von Provinzen, deren Namen geographische Begriffe, nicht aber administrative Einheiten bezeichnen. Es wurden oben erwähnt: Nduga, Mukinjaga, Bugessera, Bugoye, Bwischascha, Mulera, Bgisha, Ruweruka, Ndorwa und Kissaka.

Die einzelnen Provinzen weisen keine zentralisierte Verwaltung auf und haben keine Statthalter. Die Provinzen zerfallen in eine Anzahl von Gemeinden, wovon die meisten an die am Hofe des Königs weilenden Klienten vergeben werden. Dem Lehnsherrn, dem „manangwa", liegt die Pflicht ob seine Untertanen im Zaum zu halten, ihre Angelegenheiten zu ordnen und seinem Herrn, mit Waffen in der Hand und mit Gefolge, zur Seite zu stehen. Als Belohnung dafür bekommt er das Recht, sich durch die Einwohner der ihm anvertrauten Bestizungen versorgen zu lassen. Diese haben ihm als Entgelt für den ihnen zur Bebauung überlassenen Boden Frondienst zu leisten. Außerdem ziehen die Häuptlinge auch Nutzen von den anderen für den König eingezogenen Steuern.

Die Klienten des Königs verwalten ihre Besitzungen durch Unterhäuptlinge und haben in jeder Provinz eine größere oder geringere Zahl von zerstreuten Besitzungen.

Der Vertreter des „manangwa" wird „kissonga" genannt und gehört gewöhnlich zur Sippe seines Herrn. Er wird von ihm, ebenso wie der „manangwa" vom König, eingesetzt. Diesen Posten bekleiden häufig die Söhne der Großhäuptlinge. So sitzt Nigensi's Sohn Kassasi auf der Halbinsel Kwischara im nördlichen Mukinjaga[1]), Bushakwe's Sohn Mulangira mit seiner Großmutter Kiramato weilt in Kawagali[2]). Außerdem erwähnt v. PARISCH in Bwischascha noch den „mutware" Sebitana, Sohn des Bushakwe, und Dr. KANDT[3]) Semirigamba in Süd-Lubengera. In den Bahutu-Häuptlingschaften von Bgisha, die durch Sebikoko, Mogalule, Kati, Mutweki, Sebingiri, Chunga ngombe u. a. beherrscht werden, liegen die Verhältnisse etwas anders. Die wichtigste Persönlichkeit nach dem Häuptling ist sein Bruder. Er vertritt ihn in allen Angelegenheiten. Beide haben in den einzelnen Dörfern ihre Häuser, in denen sie während ihrer Reisen wohnen. Der Sohn rangiert erst nach dem Bruder seines Vaters, und ihm wird, nachdem er groß geworden ist, ein Dorf verliehen. Er hat kein Anrecht auf Geschenke in den anderen Dörfern seines Vaters. Nur in dem Falle, wenn er

[1]) KANDT, R., Ein Marsch am Ostufer des Kiwu. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 249.
[2]) PARISCH, F. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 73, 74
[3]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 505.

keinen Oheim hat, wird dieser durch ihn ersetzt. Trotz dieser Bevorzugung des Bruders des Häuptlings kommt dieser als Erbe doch nicht in Betracht, da der ganze Besitz an den Sohn nach der Beerdigung des Vaters übergeht.

Den „kissonga" unterstehen wieder ganz kleine Unterhäuptlinge, die auf den einzelnen Hügeln in den Gemeinden Aufsicht führen. In der Zahl der letzteren gibt es überall, vor allem in Bugoye, viele Bahutu, während die höheren Stellen fast durchweg mit Batutsi besetzt sind. Nur in Mulera und Bgisha sieht man Bahutu auch in den höchsten Stellen.

Die Bahutu-Beamten werden von ihren Vorgesetzten sehr gelobt, weil niemand so rücksichtslos und ergeben wie ein von seinen Stammesgenossen gehaßter Emporkömmling sein kann. Diese Charakteristik bezieht sich selbstverständlich auf die Clanältesten nicht, die in den freien Bauerngemeinden an ihre Stelle treten. Außerhalb von Mulera, Bgisha und Bugoye sind die Unterhäuptlinge die einzigen viehbesitzenden Bahutu.

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß bei der starken Durchflechtung des Besitzes der einzelnen Großhäuptlinge — das ganze Land gleicht in dieser Beziehung einem Dorfe mit Flurzwang — eine einflußreiche Schicht geschaffen wird, die vitale Interessen in den verschiedensten Teilen des Landes hat und den zentrifugalen, partikularistischen Tendenzen der einzelnen Provinzen entgegenwirkt.

Diese Verhältnisse scheinen das Resultat eines bewußten Strebens der Krone zu sein. Viel wurde, wie es scheint, in dieser Richtung durch Lwabugiri Kigeri, den Vater des gegenwärtig herrschenden Musinga, erreicht. Kigeri hat angeblich den Staat zentralisiert und die Besitzungen der Häuptlinge stark zerstückelt, zerstreut und miteinander durchflochten, um die zentrifugalen Tendenzen der feudalen Herren zu vernichten. Das verwickelte ihn in große Kämpfe mit den Lehnsherren, darunter mit seinem Schwager Kabare, die er aber mit Erfolg zu krönen verstanden hat.

Dem modernen Europäer, der an genau abgegrenzte Administrationsbezirke gewöhnt ist, und dem das auf der Durchflechtung ökonomischer Interessen basierte Gleichgewicht des Lebens seiner Gesellschaft nicht zum Bewußtsein kommt, erscheint dieses Verwaltungsprinzip absurd. So beurteilt z. B. Hauptmann GÖRING[1]) die Verhältnisse in Urundi: „Die Einteilung des Landes ist gänzlich systemlos; häufig findet man Watuale, die verschiedene räumlich weit getrennte Landschaften im Besitze haben."

Es wurde mir erzählt, daß die Politik des Lwabugiri durch Musinga fortgesetzt wird. Er soll mit Vorliebe kleine, von ihm unmittelbar abhängige Häuptlinge einsetzen und mit Ländereien beschenken. Diese kleinen, freien Leute bilden mit Rücksicht auf den Schutz des Königs ein von den Großen unab-

[1]) GÖRING, Hptm., Zu den Unruhen in Urundi. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1911, S. 552.

hängiges und ihnen sogar feindliches Element. Ihre eigenen Interessen schützend, widerstreben sie den partikularistischen Tendenzen der Großen.

Diese Politik hat die Tendenz, die Grenzen der einzelnen Provinzen zu verwischen, und man stößt daher beim Ausfragen über die politische Gliederung des Landes auf sehr große Schwierigkeiten.

Nach dieser kurzen Besprechung der zentralen Staatsorganisation, die durch den König und anderthalb Dutzend großer Lehnsherren gebildet wird, sollen jetzt die politischen Verhältnisse in den einzelnen Teilen gestreift werden.

Die Organisation von Kissaka hat in schematischer Zeichnung folgende Gestalt: der größte Teil des ganzen Landes ist unter drei große Lehnsherren, Kanuma, Niamutezi und Lutangabo, verteilt. Ihre Ländereien durchsetzen sich in der Weise, daß keine abgeschlossene Provinzen gebildet werden können. Dieser Umstand verschärft die Gegensätze ihrer Interessen. Die Würdenträger überwachen infolgedessen einander und suchen sich durch Angeberei und Intriguen zu bekämpfen. Auf diese Weise wird eine, dem Staate sehr nützliche, gegenseitige Kontrolle, wie auch ein recht stabiler Gleichgewichtszustand geschaffen.

Diese drei Großhäuptlinge Kissaka's weilen fast immer am Hofe des Musinga in Niansa, und wenn sie die Erlaubnis ihre Ländereien aufzusuchen bekommen, bleiben ihre Söhne als wertvolle Geißeln, die gegen die eventuellen separatistischen Neigungen ihrer Väter eine Garantie bieten, übrig. Graf v. GOTZEN[1]) erwähnt nur einen Statthalter von Kissaka, den Kavahigi; er spricht aber überdies von Kaware (Kabare) im Norden des Landes.

Die kleinste politische Einheit bildet in Kissaka, wie auch im ganzen übrigen Ruanda, der Hügel (kashozi). Die auf dem Hügel angesiedelten Einwohner gehören zu verschiedenen Clans, und das vereinigende Moment ist ein rein politisches. Es wird in erster Linie durch den Häuptling, dem der Frondienst (buletwa) zu leisten ist, gebildet. Dieser Beamte wird ebenfalls durch den Großhäuptling eingesetzt. Die sehr großen Hügeln zerfallen aber nicht selten in Untergemeinden, die verschiedene Unterhäuptlinge haben. So zerfällt in Nsasa der Hügel Bare in die Gemeinden Bare, Ishua, Kibare und noch einige andere.

In Mulera, wo es nur sehr wenige Batutsi gibt und diese keine große Macht besitzen, haben sich wesentlich primitivere Verhältnisse erhalten. Die politischen Einheiten werden zwar auch hier durch Hügel dargestellt. Der Hügel hat aber eine homogene Bevölkerung, die aus den Angehörigen der Clans besteht. Diese Gemeinden unterstehen unmittelbar dem König und zahlen durch die Vermittlung ihrer Ältesten die Steuern an die Abgesandten des Königs. Es fehlt hier als integrierender Faktor der „mutware". Auf den wenigen Hügeln aber,

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[1]) GOTZEN, G. A., Graf v., Durch Afrika von Ost nach West. Berlin 1899, S. 136, 139.

die in Mulera den Batutsi gehören, findet man doch ähnliche Verhältnisse wie in Kissaka. Die Abgaben werden auch hier den Häuptlingen und nicht den Abgesandten des Königs gezahlt. Es scheint mir, daß die Bahutu auf diesen Hügeln auch mit Frondienst belastet sind.

Ndorwa bildet ein nur nominell beherrschtes Land und zahlt keine Abgaben an Musinga. Man hat hier dieselben Clangemeinden, die jedoch völlig unabhängige, kleine politische Einheiten bilden.

Außer diesen zwei extremen Formen: der Gemeinde, die auf fremdem, durch den König dem Häuptling verliehenen Boden sitzt und durch die Person des Häuptlings beim König vertreten wird, und der freien Clangemeinde, die auf eigenem Boden sitzt, ihre Steuern den Abgesandten des Königs zahlt und beim König keinen Vertreter hat, gibt es noch Clans, die beim König ihre Vertreter haben. Einen solchen Bahutu-Clan bilden die Bahenyi, die im Gegensatze zu den Batutsi-Geschlechtern ein Oberhaupt haben. Zur Zeit meines Besuches war es Runiga.

Unter den Angehörigen der Clans gibt es aber auch Großhäuptlinge. So soll z. B. Kakawandi ein Muhenyi sein. Er herrscht im Njawarongo-Tale weit bis nach Mulera hinein, ob er aber in einem Teile des ursprünglichen Clanbesitzes herrscht, ist mir unbekannt.

Einen anderen Bahutu-Clan, der am Hofe von Musinga durch seinen Ältesten vertreten war, bilden die Barashi, die wir schon im vorigen Kapitel besprochen haben.

Die Verhältnisse von Bugoye nehmen ebenfalls eine Mittelstellung ein. Hier hat man neben der Gebiete der freien Bauern auch den an Häuptlinge verliehenen und durch „biletwa" bebauten Boden. Diese Ländereien stehen hauptsächlich unter Bushakwe, der im Lande durch Lwakadygi vertreten ist.

Polizei. Der König beaufsichtigt das ganze Land mit Hilfe einer sehr straff organisierten Polizei. Jede wichtige Persönlichkeit, jeder durchreisende Europäer werden peinlich überwacht. Jede Kleinigkeit wird dem Könige berichtet. Es ist durchaus nicht leicht verständlich, wie man eine so große Exaktheit ohne Schreibekunst erreichen kann. Der Polizeidienst wird von Ortshäuptlingen geleitet, und von ihnen werden die Nachrichten an ihre am Königshofe weilenden Großhäuptlinge weiter gegeben. Die Nachrichten werden doch nur von Hügel zu Hügel herübergerufen. Die Häuptlinge berichten dem König und suchen sich gegenseitig durch die Exaktheit und Schnelligkeit ihres Nachrichtendienstes zu übertreffen.

Die Polizeiagenten werden von der Bevölkerung sehr gehaßt. Das hatte ich Gelegenheit am Mututsi Lwakazina zu beobachten, der sich meiner Kolonne in Mulera anschließen wollte, um Schutz zu finden. Durch diesen gefährlichen Dienst hatte er die Leute so stark gegen sich aufgebracht, daß er seines Lebens und seiner Habe nicht mehr sicher war.

Graf v. Götzen[1]) erwähnt, daß die Batwa-Polizisten eine besondere Auszeichnung, ein Stirnband mit Affenfellhaaren, tragen sollen.

Öffentliche Bedürfnisse gibt es in Ruanda nicht, wenn man vom Fährendienste und von der Polizeiordnung, wenn dieser Ausdruck erlaubt ist, absieht. Das eine wie das andere dient doch in der ersten Linie nur zur Befriedigung der Bedürfnisse des Königs und seiner Günstlinge, die den Mittelpunkt der Staatsinteressen bilden.

Steuerwesen. Die Durchflechtung des Bodenbesitzes bildet nicht das einzige Mittel, das angewendet wird, um die lokalen, partikularistischen Bestrebungen zu paralysieren. In derselben Richtung arbeitet auch das Steuersystem, da die von den Bauern getragenen Lasten in mehrere Steuern eingeteilt sind und meistens von verschiedenen Häuptlingen eingezogen werden. Die Häuptlinge wirken hier eigentlich nur als Vermittler, in ihren Händen bleibt aber ein Teil der Abgaben.

Die Steuern der Bauern bestehen in Nahrungsmitteln, Hacken, Bier, Vieh und der Arbeit in natura.

Die Höhe der Belastung zugunsten des Königs wird durch ihn selbst festgestellt. Mit Rücksicht auf die besonderen Verhältnisse, in denen sich die einzelnen Gemeinden befinden, werden diese unter Umständen vom Tragen der Nahrung nach der Hauptstadt befreit. So wurde z. B. der Hügel von Issawi wegen der dort sich oft aufhaltenden Europäer von den Verpflegungslieferungen nach der Residenz befreit.

Die Höhe der Lasten zugunsten des Häuptlings wird durch diesen selbst festgesetzt. Er darf seine Leute aber nicht überlasten, da ihm sonst der Wegzug der Arbeitskräfte droht. Die Abgaben in Nahrungsmitteln werden während der Ernte eingezogen. Die Belastung zeigt in Ruanda bedeutende lokale Unterschiede. Sie ist auch bei den einzelnen Großhäuptlingen nicht dieselbe. So arbeiten z. B. in Marangara die Leute von Nshobozamigo 2 Tage während der fünftägigen Woche auf den Feldern ihrer Häuptlinge. Die Leute von Rudegambia und Kabare haben nur in der Residenz Dienste zu verrichten: z. B. Hütten zu bauen und Nahrungsmittel zu liefern. Die Felder der Unterhäuptlinge werden durch ihre Klienten bestellt, die sie sich durch Verleihen von Kühen dienstbar gemacht haben, wie auch durch Lohnarbeiter, die mit Butter und Milch entlohnt werden. In Issawi arbeiten die Klienten nicht auf den Feldern ihrer Gönner.

Man unterscheidet in Ruanda verschiedene Kategorien von Steuern, mit denen die Untertanen recht verschieden belastet werden.

Die größte Last ist „buletwa" — die Arbeit, die auf dem Felde des Häuptlings, des primitiven Großgrundbesitzers, in natura zu leisten ist. Auf dem

[1]) Götzen, G. A., Graf v., Durch Afrika von Ost nach West. Berlin 1899, S. 161.

Acker des „mutware" wird, zwei bis drei Tage der fünf- bis sechstägigen Woche, gearbeitet. Diese Arbeit bildet den Entgelt des Muhutu für den Boden, auf dem er sich niedergelassen hat, und wird nicht geleistet von den freien Bauern (ngabo), die auf eigenem, durch ihre Ahnen gerodetem Boden sitzen, von dem sie bei der Eroberung nicht verjagt wurden.

Die zweite uralte Last ist „butaka". Sie wird vorwiegend in Nahrungsmitteln und in Tabak, und nur zum geringen Teile in barem Hackengeld geleistet. Die Residenz des Königs besitzt keine eigenen Pflanzungen. Der Hof wird durch die Abgaben der Untertanen der nahen und entlegenen Provinzen ernährt. In der Umgebung der Residenz weiden nur Rinder. Es gibt dort keine ackerbautreibenden Bauern.

Alle am Königshofe weilenden Potentaten bekommen ihre Verpflegung vom Hause. Dieses Tragen der Nahrung für den in der Residenz weilenden Häuptling wird „kugemurira mutware" genannt. Die Lebensmittel werden fast alltäglich nachgeliefert. Infolgedessen ruft jede Stockung des Verkehrs bei den davon getroffenen Würdenträgern einen Proviantmangel hervor. Einen Markt, wo man sich versorgen könnte, gibt es nicht. Infolge dieser primitiven Einrichtung sind die Lebensmittel in der Hauptstadt stets recht knapp, und alle, mit denen ich darüber gesprochen habe, erzählten mir, daß man während der im Grunde genommen meistens unfreiwilligen Aufenthalte am Hofe nicht im Überflusse schwelge. Die Leib-Batwa behaupteten sogar, daß sie am Hofe einfach hungern müssen, und sie zögen daher auch sehr gerne nach ihren ärmlichen Siedelungen zurück.

Zu diesen zwei alten Lasten fügte Lwabugiri die Kriegssteuer (umuheto) und Musinga die Nahrungslieferungssteuer für die durchreisenden Europäer (ilali) hinzu.

Bei den Bahutu ist das Liefern der Nahrungsmittel für die durchreisenden Europäer nur eine Extrasteuer zugunsten ihres Häuptlings. Dieser betrachtet nämlich die Geschenke des Europäers als sein Eigentum und unterschlägt nicht selten einen Teil der von seinen Leuten für den Europäer gebrachten Verpflegung. Das letztere hatte ich in Kwa Ratagungira die Gelegenheit zu beobachten. Die durch meine Anwesenheit veranlaßte Requirierung ergab dem Häuptling drei Ziegen und vier Töpfe Bier. Ich erhielt aber nur zwei Töpfe und zwei Ziegen. Die größeren Töpfe und die schönste Ziege wurden vom Häuptling zur Seite gestellt. Dies wurde aber zu nahe von meinem Lager gemacht, um der Aufmerksamkeit der durch die herannahenden Biertöpfe aufgeregten Leute entgehen zu können.

Das Einziehen der Abgaben „butaka" und „muheto", die wenigstens theoretisch im ganzen Lande gezahlt werden, ist unter verschiedene Häuptlinge verteilt, wie das schon durch v. Parisch[1]) erkannt worden ist. Er erwähnt:

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[1]) Parisch, F. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 74, 78.

Provinz oder Landschaft	Häuptling (mutware)	
	Ku butaka	Ku muheto
Bugoye	Bushakwe	Bushakwe
Mukinoni	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Bwischascha	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Mukinjaga	Lubilinda	Rudegambia
Niantungu (zwischen Bwischascha u. Nduga)	Bushakwe	Kabare
Munjaga (zu Nduga)	Lujondo	Kanuma
Kawagali (zu Nduga)	Bushakwe	Bushakwe

Außerdem wird durch v. PARISCH noch der „Mutware ku muheto" Balahanda genannt, der den Angriff auf Graf v. GÖTZEN geleitet hat.

Die „butaka" wird, wie es scheint, überall durch diesen Häuptling eingezogen, an welchen auch das Land verliehen ist. Die Sammlung der „muheto"-Abgabe bildet dagegen den Anteil des Häuptlings, dem das Vieh des Königs in diesem Bezirke anvertraut ist. Er hat das Recht, auf den abgeernteten Bauernfeldern Rinder zu weiden, was für die Bevölkerung eine sehr empfindliche Last darstellt. So gehört z. B. Rudegambia auf vielen Hügeln in Bugoye das Gras, wenn auch Bushakwe der Großhäuptling dieser Gebiete ist. Auf meinem Wege nach Kissenji hatte ich Gelegenheit, viele unbestellte Felder zu sehen, die brach liegen mußten, da die Batutsi mit ihrem Vieh zu spät sich zurückgezogen haben.

Dr. KANDT[1]) spricht ebenfalls von zwei Häuptlingen in den Provinzen. Er bezeichnet den einen als den Leute- und den anderen als den Rinderhäuptling.

Die „ilali"-Steuer wird, wie es scheint, durch besondere Beamten eingezogen, die zugleich mit der Beaufsichtigung der im Lande herumreisenden Europäer betraut sind. In manchen Fällen wird dieses Amt entweder durch die „batware ku muheto", oder die „batware ku butaka" ausgeübt.

Der von den Häuptlingen beim Einziehen der Steuern zu ihren Gunsten erhobene Satz wird „musogongero" genannt und ist für die Abgaben „butaka" und „muheto" fixiert. Für „ilali" scheint das nicht der Fall zu sein; die Größe der Abgabe ist von Fall zu Fall verschieden, je nach der Größe der zu verpflegenden Europäer-Karawane.

Um die Abgaben etwas näher zu charakterisieren, sollen hier die Lasten der drei Gemeinden auf Katebe und Kitebe, die wir schon früher eingehender besprochen haben, zusammengestellt werden:

[1]) KANDT, R., Ein Marsch am Ostufer des Kivu. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 213.

Lasten der Gemeinden auf Katebe und Kitebe.

	Baidaza	Bulyelyo	Bagwahiro
Köpfe (mit „bagaragu")	104	61	41
Darunter männliche Clanangehörigen	47 + 2[1])	21	21
„Butaka" für Musinga	9 Stück Kaniki = 27 Hacken	10 Hacken	6 Hacken
„Musogongero" für den Häuptling Bizira Kuzama	6 Hacken	?	?
„Muheto"	3000 „butega"	1000 „butega"	1000 „butega"
„Musogongero"	3 Hacken an Makobi	Ziege für 5 Hacken an Murahangubo	?
„Ilali" (durch Gamidji)	1 Paket Bohnen	Kl. Topf Bier, Korb Bataten, Korb Bohnen	1 Last Bohnen
„Buletwa"	keine	keine	keine

Beim Häuptling Makobi hacken seine „bagaragu" als Entgelt für die gepachteten Felder oder auch bezahlte Tagelöhner (mubizi). Die hier besprochenen Clangemeinden sind aber von dieser Last frei, da sie auf ihrem eigenen Boden sitzen.

Es gibt auch Lasten, die von besonderen Geschlechtern oder Gemeinden getragen werden. Zu dieser Kategorie gehört das Liefern von Gegenständen, deren Herstellung eine besondere Fertigkeit voraussetzt. Hierher sind zu rechnen: Salz, das aus dem Sumpfgrase gebrannt wird, Weiberbeinringe aus Gras (butega), Otterfelle, Wildkatzenfelle, Kuhfelle, Rindenstoff, Waffen u. a. Die Träger dieser Lasten werden von einem Teile der normalen Leistung, die den Anteil des gewöhnlichen Ackerbauers bildet, befreit. So liefert Mulera eine größere Menge von „butega".

Bahenyi, die einen privilegierten Bahutu-Clan bilden, haben zur Pflicht, königliche Häuser zu bauen. Sie spielen aber auch im Kultus eine Rolle, sie bringen besondere Opfer dar und dürfen mit den Angehörigen anderer Clans nicht zusammen essen.

Die besondere Besteuerung der einzelnen Clans bildet, wie es scheint, ein Überbleibsel einer älteren Besteuerungsform, der Clansteuer, die sich in Kiziba, wo einzelne Clans dem König gegenüber besondere Pflichten haben, so schön erhalten hat. Solchen Charakter haben die in Mulera durch die besitzenden freien Bauern (ngabo) getragenen Lasten. Die Steuer bildet dort die Angelegenheit der Clangemeinde. Die Abgaben werden dabei durch den Clanältesten gezahlt, und die Verteilung der Belastung bildet eine innere Angelegenheit der Gemeinde. Alle ihre Angehörigen sind aber für die Steuerleistung solidarisch verantwortlich.

Die „ngabo" leisten ihre Steuern in Honig und geben jährlich dem König jedes zwanzigste Rind. Wenn der Viehbesitz weniger als zwanzig Rinder beträgt, so wird für jedes Rind eine Ziege als Steuer gegeben. Bei den Steuerrechnungen wird ein Rind 20 Ziegen gleich gesetzt.

[1]) Zwei Schwiegersöhne.

Die Steuern der „ngabo" werden in Mulera durch besondere Abgesandte des Königs eingezogen. Man braucht nicht die selbstverständliche Tatsache zu betonen, daß die mit dem Eintreiben der Steuer betrauten Beamten, wenn es nur geht, die Lasten zu ihrem Vorteile vergrößern und vor ganz gemeinen Plündereien nicht zurückschrecken. Wenn kein Großhäuptling, was meistens der Fall ist, dem Steuereinziehen beiwohnt, lassen sich die Balera diese Unterdrückungen nicht gefallen. Sie versuchen auch ihrerseits bei jeder Gelegenheit, der Steuerleistung gänzlich zu entschlüpfen. Deshalb entstehen bei jedem Eintreiben große Prügeleien, und es finden auch nicht selten offene Kämpfe statt. Auf dem Wege nach Mulera sah ich in Kwa Rutagungira mehrere verwundete Batutsi, die ihren Beamteneifer mit Löchern im Felle bezahlen mußten. Um die Geschäftstüchtigkeit der Steuereinzieher zu charakterisieren, muß erwähnt werden, daß sie die besseren, als Abgaben für den König gelieferten Rinder durch eigene schlechte Stücke zu ersetzen pflegen. Diese Mißbräuche und Plünderungen müssen bei ihrem chronischen Charakter als eine Form der Beamtenbesoldung angesehen werden.

Es muß hervorgehoben werden, daß die Steuern der „ngabo" in Mulera an die Gemeinde, an die Menschen, und nicht an den von ihnen bebauten Boden, gebunden sind. Deshalb partizipiert auch der Fremde, der sich mit Einwilligung der Ansässigen auf einem fremden Boden niederläßt, an den Steuern der Gemeinde nicht. Er hört aber nicht auf, die Steuern mit den Seinigen zu zahlen. Der Fremde zahlt nur dann die Steuern an seinem Ansiedlungsorte mit, wenn er dort durch den ansässigen Clan adoptiert wird.

Dieses Prinzip der Familiensteuer ruft sehr komplizierte Verhältnisse in dem Augenblicke hervor, wo die Pazifikation das Auseinanderfallen der Clans, die in den primitivsten Verhältnissen durch die Blutrache zusammengehalten werden, ermöglicht. Die Folgen dieser Komplikation der sozialen Verhältnisse konnte ich in Mulera in der Form einer Strafexpedition beobachten, wobei die Siedelungen des Kisseke-Berges eingeäschert wurden. Auf dem Kisseke siedelten sich einige fremde Leute an, die die Erlaubnis dazu von den Ansässigen durch Geschenke erkauft hatten. Einige Wochen nach ihrer Ansiedelung kamen Batutsi, die das Recht hatten, von der Gemeinde der Ansiedler Steuern einzuziehen und der altansässigen Bevölkerung ganz fremd waren. Die Ansiedler versprachen den Ansässigen einen Stier, und diese verjagten die Batutsi mit Waffengewalt, wobei einige getötet und mehrere verwundet wurden. Eine Strafexpedition der Regierungstruppen, die auf die Beschwerde Musinga's vorgenommen wurde, bildete das Nachspiel.

Eine besondere Last, von der vor allem die Händler getroffen werden, bildet die Fährgebühr, die von den „batware", die an den Fähren sitzen und deren Leute die Boote bedienen, eingezogen wird. Die Gebühr ist sehr hoch und beträgt pro Reisenden mit seiner Last 10 große Perlen, d. h. ein Drittel des Taglohnes. 20 Mann mit einer Ziegenherde zahlten ein Stück (nguo) Stoff.

Die die Fährengebühr einnehmenden „batware" haben auch den Verkehr zu überwachen. Auf den Grenzfähren, so z. B. auf dem Akanjaru, der nur an einigen wenigen Stellen infolge der Versumpfung seines Flußtales passierbar ist, haben sie zur Pflicht, die Eingeborenen daran zu hindern, daß diese Ruanda ohne Einwilligung des Königs verlassen. Es ist klar, daß unter diesen Verhältnissen die Fährengebühren gelegentlich sehr stark in die Höhe getrieben werden.

Eine weitere Last, die den Händler trifft, ist die Marktgebühr „indamu". Sie war in Njundo sehr hoch und machte bis 10—15% des Wertes des vertauschten Gegenstandes aus. Die Steuer zogen dort abwechselnd Lwakadygi, Gamidji und Makobi ein.

Die Höhe der Abgabe hatte zur Folge, daß sich auf den Wegen in der Nähe des Marktes kleine Nebenmärkte bildeten, auf denen die Transaktionen spesenfrei abgeschlossen wurden. Die das „indamu" einziehenden Häuptlinge schlichten auch die Marktstreitigkeiten.

Das Elfenbein der erlegten Elefanten und die Leopardenfelle bilden das Eigentum des Königs und müssen nach Niansa abgeliefert werden. Der Zwang, die Leopardenfelle abzuliefern, scheint sich an den Glauben zu knüpfen, daß das Geschlecht der Ruanda-Herrscher nach dem Tode in Leoparden verwandelt wird.

Kriegswesen. Der König entscheidet über Krieg und Frieden. Er führt den Krieg, um unbotmäßige Vasallen zu bestrafen, oder auch um die Vasallen der anderen Könige in die Zahl der Seinigen zu überführen.

Die Mannschaft bilden die „ngabo". Sie sind in Kontingente gegliedert, deren Namen sowohl von der Provinzeinteilung, wie auch von den Namen der zurzeit befehlenden Chefs unabhängig sind. Leutnant v. PARISCH[1]) erwähnt das Kontingent Bangogo unter Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) und das Kontingent Lujango unter Kabare.

Für die Kriegszüge werden gewöhnlich nur einige Kontingente aufgeboten. So war es z. B. bei der letzten Expedition gegen den Mutwa Bassebia im Jahre 1906, die mit einem Mißerfolg geendigt hat, der Fall.

Der Feldherr wird vom König für jede Expedition eigens bestimmt. Gegen Bassebia, einen Unterhäuptling von Ngurube, des Mutwa aus Ndorwa, wurde zum Oberbefehlshaber des Expeditionskorps Ruhara Aramanzi ernannt. Der militärische Mißerfolg wird in der Regel durch das Leben des Führers gebüßt.

Graf v. GÖTZEN[2]) erwähnt, daß die Männer, von ihren Frauen begleitet, in den Krieg ziehen sollen. Die letzteren beteiligen sich aber am Kampfe nicht.

Im Kriegsfalle muß sich immer ein Muhenyi bei der Truppe befinden. Er selbst ist unverletzbar und hat zur Pflicht, die Feinde zu beschimpfen und ihre Waffen unschädlich zu machen. Eine durch einen Muhenyi begleitete

[1]) PARISCH, P. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 77.
[2]) GÖTZEN, G. A., Graf v., Durch Afrika von Ost nach West. Berlin 1899, S. 166.

Abteilung muß immer siegreich bleiben. Dieser Glaube wird jedoch durch die Tatsachen gar zu oft zuschanden gemacht. Die Expedition gegen Bassebia wurde geschlagen, und der Muhenyi, der die Kolonne begleitete, kam um das Leben. Dieser unerwartete Ausgang wurde durch die Feststellung erklärt, daß der Mutwa-Häuptling Bassebia über noch stärkere Zauberer verfügte, und die „unverletzbaren" Bahenyi werden auch noch jetzt von jedermann sehr gefürchtet und dürfen Gewalttaten begehen, die man seitens der Anderen nicht dulden würde.

Trophäen, die dem König von den Feldzügen heimgebracht werden, bestehen aus Köpfen und Geschlechtsteilen der gefallenen Feinde. Auf dem letzten erfolglosen Zuge gegen den Mutwa-Häuptling Bassebia wurden keine Batwa-Köpfe und -Geschlechtsteile erbeutet. Um den Mißerfolg zu verdecken und um nicht wegen der fehlenden Trophäen verhöhnt zu werden, töteten die zurückkehrenden Krieger eine Anzahl friedlicher Bauern, die ihre Köpfe und Geschlechtsteile hergeben mußten, um den Einmarsch der Truppen nach der Hauptstadt zu verherrlichen.

Mit Rücksicht auf die Art der Trophäen, bemüht man sich im Kampfe, die Gegner totzuschlagen und keine Gefangene zu machen, was wohl auch mit der sozialen Organisation zusammenhängt, die kein Bedürfnis nach den Arbeitshänden der Sklaven aufkommen läßt.

Kriegserklärungen gibt es, in Mulera wenigstens, nicht. Wenn ein Kriegszug vorgenommen werden soll, so wissen es schon alle lange vorher. Ein Geheimnis läßt sich nicht wahren. Die eigentliche Kriegserklärung bilden die Töne des Antilopenhornes, durch welche die Krieger gesammelt werden.

Als Friedenszeichen erwähnt BAUMANN[1]) mit Laub umwickelte Spaten.

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[1]) BAUMANN, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle. Berlin 1894, S. 84.

13. Kapitel.

Rechtspflege.

Recht. — Rechtspflege. — Prozeß. — Beweisverfahren.

Recht. Ruanda besitzt kein kodifiziertes Recht. Die Rechtspflege bildet eine Angelegenheit der Landesverwaltung, wobei auf die seit altersher eingebürgerten Sitten Rücksicht genommen wird. In diesem Sinne einzig und allein kann man vom Recht in Ruanda sprechen.

Das Strafrecht ist hier nicht so hoch entwickelt, daß die verschiedenen Kategorien des Verbrechens mit ganz bestimmten Strafen gebüßt werden müßten. Man kann nur annähernd die Höhen der einzelnen Strafen bestimmen, da das unkodifizierte Recht dem persönlichen Gutdünken des Richters doch einen so großen Spielraum überläßt.

Die Grundlage der Clanjustiz bildet die Institution der Blutrache, die mit der Entwickelung der Staatsordnung allmählich zurückgedrängt wird. Dieser Prozeß befindet sich in Ruanda erst in seinen Anfangsstadien. In Kissaka dagegen soll man vor dem Ausüben der Rache den Häuptling davon in Kenntnis setzen. Die Blutrache für einen wegen Diebstahl erschlagenen Mann kann dabei angeblich durch den Häuptling verboten werden.

Abgesehen vom Mord, der auch im eigentlichen Ruanda noch durch Blutrache verfolgt wird, bestraft man auch die Kuhdiebstähle mit Rücksicht auf die Rolle, die das Rind im Leben von Ruanda spielt, besonders hart.

Beim ständigen Weitergeben der von dritten Personen erhaltenen Güter an seine Klienten (bagaragu) werden so komplizierte Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse geschaffen, daß man das Ganze nicht übersehen kann. Da aber die Batutsi die vorwiegend Verleihenden und Einziehenden sind, so pflegt man vom Stehlen (kwiba) nur bei den Bahutu zu sprechen. Bei den Batutsi spricht man dagegen vom Plündern, Einziehen (kuambura). Trotzdem, wenn beim Diebstahl bei einem anderen Mututsi der stehlende Mututsi nicht nachweisen kann, daß es sich um das Einziehen seines Eigentums handelt, verfährt man mit ihm wie mit einem Dieb.

Dem gefaßten Diebe werden die Arme zusammengebunden, und zwar in der Weise, daß eine Elle möglichst nahe an die andere kommt, was mit sehr

[p. 277]

großen Schmerzen verknüpft ist. So läßt man ihn warten, bis er durch seine Angehörigen ausgelöst wird. Die Höhe des Satzes, der durch seine Angehörigen bei der Auslösung bezahlt werden muß, bildet in der Regel das Zweifache des Wertes des Gestohlenen. Manchmal erhebt sich der Betrag bis zum Fünffachen. Eine Hälfte dieses Betrages bekommt der Geschädigte, die zweite diejenigen, die ihm beim Einfangen des Diebes geholfen hatten. Dieser Teil besteht gewöhnlich aus Bier (nzoga). Da der Geschädigte häufig die gestohlenen Sachen mit Hilfe des Häuptlings bekommt, so behält dieser die zweite Hälfte des Lösegeldes. Das ist z. B. immer bei Diebstählen von Kühen der Fall. Diese grenzen an offene Räubereien und können nur bei Einmischung der Häuptlinge verfolgt werden. Bleibt das Lösegeld aus, so bestraft man den Dieb selbst. Er kann sogar erschlagen werden. Gehört der Dieb aber zu einem mächtigen Clan, so beeilt man sich mit der Ermordung nicht, besonders aus Furcht vor der Blutrache. Fürchtet man die Angehörigen des Diebes nicht, so kommen verschiedene Strafen zur Anwendung. Manchmal wird der Verbrecher an zwei Pfähle angebunden und dem Hungertode und den Raubvögeln preisgegeben oder sogar gepfählt. Gewöhnliche Diebe, die keine Kühe gestohlen haben, bestraft man nicht so hart. Entschließt man sich, die Todesstrafe anzuwenden, so geschieht das dadurch, daß man den Verbrecher mit zusammengebundenen Armen ins Wasser wirft. Meistens begnügt man sich mit dem Abschneiden der Ohren. Diese Strafe soll durch den Vater des Musinga, den großen Lwabugiri Kigeri, mit Vorliebe angewendet worden sein. In weiter zurückliegenden Zeiten hat man sich damit nicht begnügt und schnitt dem Verbrecher noch eine Hand ab.

Einen eingefangenen Mututsi, der von seinen Angehörigen nicht ausgelöst wird, kann man angeblich nur mit der Erlaubnis des „mutware", der in dieser Weise die Verantwortung auf sich übernimmt, erschlagen. Gegen die Batutsi aus Süd-Ruanda scheuen sich die Bahutu überhaupt, anders, als durch die Vermittelung der Häuptlinge vorzugehen und suchen sich vor allem durch Diebstähle zu revanchieren. Die Eltern bemühen sich, ihre Kinder durch Brennen der Hände vom Stehlen abzuhalten.

Die Verbrechen gegen gute Sitten werden in Ruanda ebenfalls sehr streng bestraft, wenn auch eine Milderung dieser Strafen allgemein behauptet wird. Früher mußte in Kissaka das verführte Mädchen mit ihrem Verführer das Vergehen mit dem Leben büßen. Die Todesstrafe wurde dabei entweder durch Einwerfen ins Wasser oder durch Aufhängen am Hüttendach über dem brennenden Herd ausgeführt. Gegenwärtig beschränkt man sich, im schlimmsten Falle, auf das Ausstoßen des Mädchens.

Als die offizielle Todesstrafe für schwere Verbrechen gilt in Ruanda das Genickbrechen (kuhotora) und das Pfählen. Zu Lwabugiri's Zeiten, als die Todesstrafe häufiger angewendet wurde, soll man auch die Delinquenten mit abgeschnittenen Armen und Beinen in den Sumpf geworfen haben. Unter den Schädeln, die meine Leute in Niansa in dem Sumpfe, in den die Hingerichteten ge-

worfen werden, gesammelt haben, fanden sich aber auch solche, die Spuren der Buschmesserhiebe zeigten.

Bei der „kuhotora"-Exekution wird der Kopf zwischen zwei Hölzer gefaßt und mit dieser Hebelvorrichtung nach hinten gedreht.

Der Leibscharfrichter des Königs, der Mutwa Muhenehene, soll seine Opfer mit einem Speere töten.

Die Leichen der Hingerichteten werden in Niansa angeblich den großen Hunden des Königs zum Verzehren überlassen.

Der gepfählte Verbrecher, den Dr. A. Römer zu beobachten Gelegenheit hatte, war zwischen zwei Bambusstäben eingebunden, die dem Körper entlang, einer von vorne, der andere von hinten, gingen. Die Hände waren vorne zusammengebunden. Ein drei bis vier cm dicker Pfahl durchstach den Körper vom Perineum bis zum Schädeldach, ohne den Hals äußerlich zu verletzen. Der Leiche fehlten die Unterschenkelknochen. Wegen der stark vorgeschrittenen Verwesung, ließ sich nicht feststellen, ob sie von den Hyänen abgefressen oder vom Scharfrichter abgehackt wurden. Die Eingeborenen, die befragt wurden, waren darüber nicht einig. Dr. Kandt[1]) gibt für das Pfählen das Wort, „kuvamba".

Die Prügelstrafe scheint in Ruanda weniger als in Bgisha angewendet zu werden, wo der Häuptling die zu Bestrafenden an Bäume anbindet und sie durch bis 100 Peitschenhiebe auf den Rücken ihre Strafe abbüßen läßt. Dieser Brauch soll den englischen Askari, die dort stationiert waren, entlehnt sein.

Mit Rücksicht auf das Vermögensrecht sollen hier nur einige allgemeine Bemerkungen gemacht werden. Das ganze Land bildet das Privateigentum des Königs und wird entweder den Häuptlingen überlassen oder als an die Clans verliehen betrachtet. Alle Ackerbauer und Hirten sind dabei nur Nutznießer und Pächter. Infolgedessen haben auch bei der Vererbung des Benutzungsrechtes des sozusagen Kroneigentums, d. h. der Äcker und der Rinder, die Häuptlinge und die Clangemeinden das letzte Wort.

Nur das Mobiliar, die Rinder ausgenommen, bildet das Privateigentum in unserem Sinne, und hier ist der Wille des Aufteilenden ausschließlich maßgebend, wenn sich hier auch gewisse durch Sitte geheiligte Bräuche nicht leugnen lassen. So kriegt z. B. in Bugoye der älteste Sohn den Speer und den Schemel des Vaters, während der Schild den Anteil des jüngsten bildet[2]). Leutnant Spiltoirr erzählte mir, daß im Bunyabungu, wie es scheint, der Haupterbe der Sohn der Schwester ist, doch konnte er sich bei seinem kurzen Aufenthalte keine Gewißheit verschaffen.

Rechtspflege. Die Rechtspflege liegt in Ruanda in den Händen der Häuptlinge und des Königs.

Das Rechtssprechen wird zwar nur nebenbei ausgeübt, jedoch betrachten

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[1]) Kandt, R., Bericht über seine Forschungsreisen in Ruanda. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten. 1901, S. 120.

[2]) Classe, R.P., Mœurs et Coutumes des Bagoye. Les Missions Catholiques 1905, S. 439.

es die Häuptlinge als ein sicheres Mittel, das Einfluß verschafft. Die Parteien sehen in dem Prozeß einen Versuch, einen Starken — einen Häuptling — für ihre Angelegenheiten zu interessieren, d. h. ihre Angelegenheit zur Angelegenheit der Starken zu machen. Der Gewinnende im Prozeß ist einfach der, der vom Häuptling höher eingeschätzt wurde, und mit dem es von jetzt an gefährlicher wird, zu streiten. Vom Rechtsspruch bis zu der Exekution ist in Ruanda sehr weit. Das Urteil stellt nur eine gewisse Stellungnahme des Richters und nicht des Staates dar, der hier die abstrakte Gerechtigkeit auch im Prinzip nicht vertritt. Um das Urteil zu vollstrecken, muß man eine genügende Macht haben, sei es selbst, sei es dank seinen Alianten, sonst kann man doch nicht eine Handlung vornehmen, die den Anderen wenig Freude bereitet.

In den Gemeinden liegt die Rechtspflege in den Händen der kleinen Häuptlinge. Wer mit ihrem Spruch unzufrieden ist, kann sich an seinen Großhäuptling wenden. Ob sich der kleine Mann in seinen Angelegenheiten an den König wenden darf, wie ich das auch gehört habe, scheint mir nach den anderen Aussagen ganz unwahrscheinlich zu sein. Für den kleinen Mann kann dieses Recht, wenn es überhaupt besteht, keine praktische Bedeutung haben. Er darf es doch nicht mit den nächsten kleinen Potentaten, die für ihn in erster Linie in Frage kommen, verderben. Sich direkt an den König zu wenden, dies muß nicht allein für eine Demonstration des Mißtrauens den unmittelbaren Vorgesetzten gegenüber angesehen werden, es bildet zugleich einen Versuch, sich von der Hierarchie der Abhängigkeiten frei zu machen und sich dem König unmittelbar unterzuordnen.

Für die Klienten (bagaragu) des Königs ist sein Gericht die erste und zugleich auch die letzte Instanz, von der man nur noch zur Waffengewalt rekurrieren kann, vorausgesetzt, daß man eine Revolte wagt. Die höhere Gewalt greift daher zwar auch stets ein, berücksichtigt aber immer die allgemeine Ruhe und Ordnung und wird nicht durch abstrakte Prinzipien der Gerechtigkeit geleitet. Außerdem spielen Geschenke, die dem Richter gemacht werden, eine große Rolle und werden nicht für etwas Strafbares oder sogar Unpassendes angesehen. Die Parteien fassen sie als Gerichtsspesen auf, wenn man auch mit größeren Geschenken größere Hoffnungen auf den günstigen Ausgang der Verhandlung zu verknüpfen pflegt. Die Höhe der Geschenke scheint nicht festgesetzt zu sein. In wichtigen Prozessen kommt es zu großen Geschenken. Nicht selten wird dem Richter sogar eine Kuh geschenkt.

Trotzdem die Gerichtsverhandlungen vor dem König nicht häufig vorkommen, so hört man doch überall in Ruanda, daß jemand in Gerichtsangelegenheiten zu Musinga gegangen ist. Diese Äußerung rührt daher, daß die Leute zu ihren Großhäuptlingen gehen, die am Hofe von Musinga in Niansa weilen. Die Angelegenheiten werden in Niansa im Gehöft (bilaro) des entsprechenden Häuptlings verhandelt. So begegnete ich z. B. einem Trupp Leute, die „zu Musinga" aus Njaruguru unterwegs waren. Bei genauerer Untersuchung stellte

sich aber heraus, daß „zu Musinga" nur als Bezeichnung des Ortes seiner Residenz gemeint war. Der Richter, zu dem die Leute eilten, war Rwamanwa, Großhäuptling aus Njaruguru.

Wenn die beiden Parteien Leute verschiedener Häuptlinge sind, so wird die Angelegenheit beim mächtigeren verhandelt, da dieser aus gekränkter Eitelkeit die Vollstreckung des Urteils unmöglich machen könnte. Wenn die beiden Häuptlinge sich nicht einigen können, so gehen sie zu einem dritten oder zum König, der meistens von seiner Seite ihnen einen Richter bestimmt. Der König behandelt persönlich nur die wichtigsten Angelegenheiten seiner „bagaragu". Aber auch das tut er nicht gern.

Prozeß. Bei den Gerichtsverhandlungen werden gewisse Formen gewahrt. Die beiden Parteien hocken auf dem Boden vor dem Richter und begrüßen ihn mit Händeklatschen. Dieser Gruß gebührt sonst nur dem König. Sie tragen nacheinander über die Streitangelegenheit vor.

Nach dem Spruche des Richters erhebt sich der Sieger sofort und bringt etwas Gras, das er als Dank und zum Zeichen seiner Unterwürfigkeit zu den Füßen des Richters legt. Er singt dann sein Loblied, indem er in Mulera z. B. mit der Zahl der getöteten Feinde prahlt.

Es kommt vor, daß Leute zwei bis drei Monate in Niansa auf eine Verhandlung warten, und schließlich die Verhandlung der Angelegenheit bis zum nächsten Jahre vertagt wird. Die Häuptlinge tun das ebenfalls. Man fürchtet, durch einen Spruch von unberechneter Tragweite sich selbst zu gefährden.

Die Vollstreckung des Urteils bildet überhaupt die schwache Seite der primitiven Justiz. Es gibt keine Staatsorgane, die um die Ausführung der Beschlüsse Sorge tragen würden. Sogar die Sprüche des Königs werden bei weitem nicht immer zur Ausführung gebracht.

Um die Vollstreckung des Urteils zu sichern, wird manchmal der Verurteilte von der gewinnenden Partei bis zur Erfüllung seiner Verpflichtungen gefangen gehalten.

Das Urteil soll im Aufenthaltsorte der beiden Parteien vollstreckt werden. Zu diesem Zwecke schickt der König einen besonderen Boten. Dieser hat die Bevölkerung über den Spruch zu orientieren, bei territorialen Streitigkeiten die Ländereien abzugrenzen und bei Viehprozessen die Herden aufzuteilen.

Bei der langen Dauer der Prozesse, die allen Hofintriganten Gelegenheit geben, im trüben Wasser zu fischen, kommt es vor, daß die siegreiche Partei die Hauptstadt vor der Absendung des Königsboten verläßt. Dann benützt die andere Partei die gemeinschaftliche Reise dazu, um den Boten zu bestechen. Nicht selten nimmt der Bote große Geschenke von beiden Parteien und richtet nichts aus, und die Großhäuptlinge benutzen diese Gelegenheit, um ihre Ländereien zu besuchen. Der Prozeß wird vertagt, man entdeckt neue, wichtige, bis daher noch nicht berücksichtigte Umstände, und man beginnt wieder von Anfang.

Zur Zeit meines Besuches in Mulera dauerte der Gerichtsstreit zwischen dem Barashi-Häuptling Lukara lwa Bishingwe und Luhanga, dem Klienten von Nshobozamigo schon das vierte Jahr. Jedes Jahr wurde der Spruch gefällt, jedes Jahr wurde der Gerichtsbote abgesandt, und jedes Jahr kehrten die beiden Parteien wieder zurück. Zum Schlusse wurde Musinga der ganzen Angelegenheit müde und behielt Lukara beim Hofe. Nachdem sich Lukara unter dem Vorwande, mich nach Mulera führen zu wollen, von Musinga die Erlaubnis nach Hause zurückzukehren bekommen hatte, beschloß er zum letzten Argument, zu den Waffen zu greifen. Er überrannte die Leute von Lahanga und focht ein Scharmützel mit der Kolonne meines Expeditionskollegen, des Geologen E. Fr. Kirschstein, dessen Anwesenheit die Batutsi zu ihrem Schutz benützen wollten, aus.

Zum Schlusse, im siebenten Jahre, wurde der Streit endgültig zugunsten von Luhanga entschieden, als Lukara nach der Ermordung des Missionars R. P. Paul Loupias aus der deutschen Einflußsphäre flüchten mußte und später erfaßt und gehängt wurde.

Ein bedeutender Teil der Gerichtsverhandlungen knüpft sich an das Zurückziehen der Lehen und an das Ausüben der Blutrache (kuhora enzigo) für erschlagene Clangenossen.

Wenn A von B Kühe als Lehen bekommen hat, so besitzt B infolgedessen über A eine gewisse Macht. Er kann durch Drohen mit dem Zurückziehen der Kühe auf ihn einen Druck ausüben. Bekommt aber A noch Kühe von C, der mächtiger ist als B, so wird der Einfluß des letzteren geschmälert. Unter Umständen kann A in einen solchen Grad von Abhängigkeit von C geraten, daß B seinen Einfluß und damit zusammen auch sein Vieh zugunsten von C verliert. Diese Besitzverschiebungen geben Anlaß zu ungeheuer komplizierten Viehprozessen, die Jahrzehnte dauern und durch kleine Kompromisse, deren Rechtskräftigkeit nachher beanstandet wird, immer weiter kompliziert werden.

Bei den Zivilprozessen kennt die juristische Praxis die Einrichtung des „kugombeka". Wenn A dem Individuum B schuldig ist und nicht zahlt, oder den zurückgeforderten Lehen nicht zurückgeben will, so kann A unter Umständen gepfändet werden. Besitzt der Schuldner A bei C irgend etwas, eine Kuh z. B., so kann B dem am Besitz des A nutznießenden C ein Geschenk bringen und mit seinem Einverständnisse den Gegenstand des A für „kugombeka" erklären. In diesem Falle verliert A bis zur Erledigung seiner Angelegenheit mit B alle Rechte auf den bei C deponierten Gegenstand, der jetzt als Eigentum von B angesehen wird. Wenn A mächtig ist, so wird das „kugombeka" seines Eigentumes für nichtig erklärt, das sonst ein sehr gutes Geschäft bildet. Bei der langen Dauer der Prozesse hat C immer Aussicht, das in Verwahrung Gehaltene sich anzueignen, oder wenigstens ohne irgendwelche Lasten zu benützen. Er ist aber B gegenüber für das Gut unter „kugombeka" verantwortlich. Gibt er es dem ursprünglichen Besitzer A zurück, so muß er B seinen Wert ersetzen,

oder er bleibt ihn ihm schuldig, und es beginnt ein zweiter Prozeß zwischen B und C, der unabhängig von dem zwischen A und B geführt wird.

Lehnen die Nutznießer des Besitzes des A das „kugombeka" ab, so bleibt dem Gläubiger nichts anderes übrig, als zum „kufatira" zu schreiten.

Die Einrichtung des „kufatira" besteht in gewaltsamer Besitzergreifung eines Teiles des Besitzes des Individuums, das man zur Tilgung der Schuld oder zum Nachkommen seinen Verpflichtungen zwingen will. „Kufatira" wendet man auch an, um jemanden zu zwingen, zur Verhandlung eines Prozesses zu erscheinen. Die Anwendung der Gewalt ist im Falle der „kufatira" anerkannt, wenn auch sonst die Verletzungen des Eigentumsrechtes und die Gewalttaten im Grunde genommen als strafbare Übergriffe angesehen werden.

Das „kufatira" kann mit Erfolg nur den schwächeren Schuldnern gegenüber angewendet werden. Ist der Schuldner ganz schwach, so kann man ihn sogar einfach plündern und fesseln, und so lange am Strick halten, bis sich die Familie seiner erbarmt und ihn loskauft. Ist aber der Schuldner mächtig, so kann das „kufatira" die Folgen eines verlorenen Krieges haben, und es bleibt nichts anderes übrig, als seine Angelegenheit zur Angelegenheit der stärkeren Vormünde zu machen.

Bei Diebstählen vereinfacht sich das Verfahren ganz wesentlich, und die Geschenke an den Richter bleiben meistens aus.

Beweisverfahren. Die Zeugenaussage spielt bei der Gerichtsverhandlung in Ruanda eine große Rolle. Der Beschuldigte hat das Recht Zeugen zu verlangen, die seine Schuld nachweisen würden. Er hat aber auch das Recht, die Aussagen gewisser Zeugen unter Angabe triftiger Gründe auszuschalten. Als solche gelten z. B. die Verwandten, die Blutsbrüder und die Klienten (bagaragu) des Beschuldigenden. Der Beschuldigende ist verpflichtet, sich Zeugen zu verschaffen, die von ihm unabhängig sind und so diesen Ansprüchen genügen.

Der Zeuge darf die Aussage verweigern. Damit er aber von diesem Rechte keinen Gebrauch mache, bekommt er Geschenke von dem, der ihn zum Aussagen bewegen will.

Die Geschenke an die Zeugen bilden kein Geheimnis. Sie gelten als etwas ganz Natürliches, als eine Art Entschädigung für die Unannehmlichkeiten, die man sich durch die Aussagen bereiten kann. Deshalb kann man auch oft hören, daß ein Zeuge seine Aussagen auf paar Tage verschoben hat, um Zeit zu geben, ihm Geschenke zu bringen, oder auch, daß jemand gesagt hat, er würde aussagen, nachdem man ihm seine „nzoga" gebracht hat. In diesem Falle muß man unter „nzoga" nicht das Bier allein, sondern auch allerlei Geschenke, darunter Ziegen, Hacken oder sogar Rinder, je nach Bedeutung der betreffenden Angelegenheit, verstehen.

Trotz der Sitte die Zeugen zu beschenken, sind falsche Zeugenaussagen strafbar. So sollte der harte, aber gerechte Lwabugiri Kigeri z. B. falsche Zeugen einfach töten lassen.

Das Gerichtsverfahren läßt in Ruanda den Schwur des Beschuldigten und des Zeugen zu. Bei den Gerichtsverhandlungen wird nach der folgenden Formel geschworen: Der Schwörende steckt den Speer in den Boden und sagt: „Dieser Speer möchte mich töten, wenn ich das getan habe." Diese Art des Schwörens wird „kuchulika ichuma" genannt. Man fürchtet diese Schwurformel. Der Meineid wurde zu Lwabugiri's Zeiten immer mit dem Tode bestraft.

Im Zusammenhange mit den Schwurformeln sind noch die Versicherungsformeln zu erwähnen, die für die Zeugenaussagen z. B. in Anwendung kommen. Die der obigen Schwurformel entsprechende Versicherung besteht im Zeigen des Speeres mit den Worten: „dakolitera Musinga". Dieser kurze Satz hat den folgenden Sinn: „wenn das nicht wahr ist, so werde ich den König mit diesem Speer durchstechen". An diese Versicherungsformel schließt sich noch eine andere an. Sie lautet „bandoga Musinga" — „ich werde Musinga vergiften, wenn das nicht wahr ist". Diese Formel benützt man auch, wenn man den König versichern will, daß das Gesagte wahr ist. So fragte z. B. Musinga einen, ob er Kabare gesehen habe — „wabonye Kabare?". Dieser antwortete bejahend — „yee". Der König glaubte es nicht und wollte sich vergewissern — „nukuli". Der Gefragte antwortete dann — „bandoga Musinga" — und die Angelegenheit war damit erledigt. Wenn man an der Wahrheit der Worte des Gefragten zweifelt, so sagt man auch — „lahira" — schwöre. Dieser antwortet dann ebenfalls — „bandoga Musinga".

Die beiden letzten Versicherungen schöpfen ihre Bedeutung aus den traurigen Konsequenzen, die für einen das Äußern der dem König feindlichen Absichten haben könnte. Der Versichernde gibt öffentlich die Möglichkeit zu, im Falle einer Lüge sich wegen Bedrohung der heiligen Person des Königs verfolgen lassen zu wollen. Trotzdem haben die Batutsi, die im Lügen wohl einen Rekord aufstellen könnten, diese Phrase stets im Munde.

In den zweifelhaften Fällen, wo die Zeugenaussagen nicht vorhanden oder nicht genügend glaubwürdig sind, wie auch in den Fällen, wo ein Verdacht der Zauberei vorliegt, wird zur Giftprobe (kihango) geschritten. Die Giftprobe wird von den „babandwa" ausgeführt.

Das im Wasser gelöste Gift wird in Kissaka den beiden Parteien in zweien Kuhhörnern gereicht. Dieser Umstand gibt dem „mubandwa" die Möglichkeit, die Ergebnisse unmittelbar zu beeinflussen und nach seinem Dafürhalten den Schuldigen zu bestimmen. Trotz dieser Leichtigkeit des Mißbrauches glaubt man in Kissaka an die Giftprobe. Das tun sogar die Christen, trotz des sonst sehr großen Einflusses der Mission. Die Giftprobe hat in Ruanda nur selten Todesfälle zur Folge, da man nach der Einnahme des Giftes sofort spucken und erbrechen darf. Das Gift wird aber nicht immer getrunken, denn nicht selten befriedigt sich der „mubandwa" mit dem Einführen des im Gift eingetauchten Daumens in den Mund der Partei. Da der Untersuchte dabei sofort spucken darf, so kommt es in diesen Fällen ausschließlich auf den psychischen Effekt an.

Der im Lande seit sieben Jahren anwesende R. P. L. CLASSE hat von den durch Giftprobe verursachten Todesfällen nie etwas erfahren können.

Neben der Giftprobe spielt im Beweisverfahren eine sehr wichtige Rolle noch das Aussagen aus den Eingeweiden der zu diesem Zwecke geschlachteten Hühner, was weiter unten etwas eingehender im Zusammenhange mit den religiösen Erscheinungen behandelt werden wird.

Ganz unabhängig vom Hühnerorakel hat man noch ein Hühnchenorakel, das in folgender Weise gehandhabt wird: Der Beschuldigte nimmt ein ganz kleines Hühnchen und trägt es im Laufe des ganzen Tages in der Hand. Geht das Hühnchen ein, so ist der Mann schuldig, „yiera bura" (er ist schwarz). Bleibt das Hühnchen am Leben, so ist der Mann unschuldig, „yeira bwera" (er ist weiß). Für die Negerwelt eine sehr merkwürdige Farbenassoziation (vgl. S. 232).

Alle Beweis- und Versicherungsformeln, wie Giftprobe, Hühnerorakel, Speer- und Musinga-Schwur, werden ganz allgemein „kushoko" — das Trinken — genannt. Dieser Umstand darf als ein Hinweis darauf angesehen werden, daß die älteste Form in der Giftprobe stecke. Jemanden dieser Prüfung zu unterziehen, heißt „kushora". Das heißt einfach: „zu trinken geben". So sagt man z. B. sowohl: „Umututsi ashora inka ze" — „der Mututsi tränkt seine Kühe", wie auch „kushora ikihango — „Gift trinken", und „kushora inkoko"— wörtlich „ein Huhn trinken".

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14. Kapitel.

Geschichte und Zeitrechnung.

Ruanda. — Kimaka. — Bugoye. — Zeitrechnung.

Ruanda. Über die Geschichte von Ruanda konnte ich nur mit großer Mühe Nachrichten erhalten. Die mündliche Überlieferung beschränkt sich im Zwischenseengebiete in der Hauptsache auf die Genealogie der Herrscher. Dieses feste Skelett wird noch gewöhnlich durch einige Angaben über die Hauptereignisse der entsprechenden Epoche ergänzt. Die Geschichte der Dynastie war aber meinen Gewährsmännern nur wenig bekannt. Sie waren eben vorwiegend Bahutu.

Musinga gab zwar Hauptmann W. v. Grawert, der mich bei ihm einführte, das königliche Versprechen, mir über die Vergangenheit des Landes berichten zu lassen oder sogar selbst zu erzählen. Das Hühnerorakel sagte aber aus, daß das Einweihen meiner Persönlichkeit in die Geschichte des Landes dem König Unheil bringen würde. Als ich das nächstemal Musinga aufsuchte und an dieser autoritativen Stelle die Widersprüche in meinen Aufzeichnungen der Ruanda-Herrscher aufklären wollte, wurde ich zwei und einhalb Stunden hingehalten, ohne zu einem Resultate zu kommen. Die schwarze Majestät war sehr freundlich, sie übte aber während der ganzen Zeit den wenig sagenden Satz: „kleine Speer ist schön", in deutscher Sprache ein.

Musinga wollte mir ein Vergnügen durch den demonstrierten Eifer in der Erlernung der deutschen Sprache verschaffen und mich in dieser Weise von dem Ausfragen ablenken.

Es scheint, daß man überhaupt in Ruanda, ebenso wie in Nkole, über die verstorbenen Könige mit Uneingeweihten nicht sprechen darf, da die in der Ruhe gestörten Geister sich rächen könnten. Man unterhält sich aber über die alten Zeiten während der Abende, wenn sich die Vornehmen beim König versammeln, um ihm Hof zu machen und Bier zu trinken. Diese kennen die Geschichte. Sie betrachten sie aber als ein heiliges Geheimnis der Batutsi, das zur Kategorie der „ibanga" gehört.

Über die älteste Geschichte ist es dem R. P. F. Dupays und R. P. P. Loupias gelungen, von einem mir persönlich gut bekannten Mututsi, dessen Name mit Rücksicht auf seine Sicherheit unerwähnt bleiben muß, eine Überlieferung zu erfahren. Der Mann ist in eine Kollision mit seinen Stammesgenossen geraten

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und wollte in dieser Weise den Missionären seine Dankbarkeit für den gewährten Schutz zum Ausdruck bringen.

Nach dieser Überlieferung wohnten die Menschen früher sowohl im Himmel, wie auch auf der Erde. Die Kinder der Nyina Kigwa: Kigwa, Lututsi und ihre Schwester Nyina Batutsi wurden zur Strafe für die Geschwätzigkeit ihrer Mutter vom Himmel auf die Erde verstoßen. Sie fielen nach Ruanda in Bugansa herunter und fanden im Lande die Bahutu-Geschlechter: die Basinga, Bagessera und Bazigaba und im Walde die Batwa. Die Bahutu und Batwa wurden vor ihnen aus dem Himmel verstoßen. Die neuen Einwanderer brachten den im Lande Ansässigen das Feuer, den Ackerbau (Hackbau), die Rinderzucht und das Gewerbe (Eisentechnik). Dadurch gewannen sie Einfluß, und Kigwa wurde zum Herrscher von Ruanda. Kigwa heiratete seine Schwester Nyina Batutsi und wurde zum Protoplasten der Banieginia, die von seinen drei Söhnen stammen und bis jetzt in Ruanda herrschen. Lututsi wanderte nach Karagwe aus, heiratete eine der drei Töchter Kigwa's und wurde zum Protoplasten der Bega, die den Königen von Ruanda ihre ebenbürtigen Frauen und Mütter ihrer Nachfolger geben. Kigwa und seine Nachkommen unterhielten einen Verkehr mit dem Himmel durch Batabazi-Erlöser, die ihnen in schwerer Not halfen. Es werden drei Haupt-Batabazi erwähnt. Der erste beschützte die Kinder der Nyina Batutsi und brachte die Tiere nach Ruanda, der zweite war Kihana, Sohn des Königs Ndahiro, und der dritte, Kyamweru, war Sohn des Königs Luzugira Iwijuru.

Diese Überlieferung weist einige Details christlicher Legenden auf, auf die wir hier aber nicht eingehen werden. Ihre Herkunft wird sich später wohl aufklären lassen, bildet aber vorläufig ein Rätsel. Die Angabe dagegen, daß die Kinder der Nyina Kigwa, damit sind außer Zweifel die Batutsi gemeint, ins Land das Feuer und den Hackbau gebracht haben, kann wohl ohne weiteres als historisch unzutreffend bezeichnet werden. Als sicher darf jedenfalls angesehen werden, daß uns hier über die Niederlassung der Batutsi in Ruanda, die in Bugansa ihre Herrschaft gegründet haben, berichtet wird, und daß zu dieser Zeit schon Bagessera, Basinga und Bazigaba im Lande saßen, und die Batwa im Walde herumstreiften. Mit anderen Worten, sie fanden Verhältnisse, die denen, die noch gegenwärtig in Mulera herrschen, sehr ähnlich waren.

Dr. KANDT[1]) berichtet etwas abweichend über die älteste Geschichte des Landes. „Als der erste Mensch in Ruanda lebte, mit seinen fünf Söhnen Kitussi, Kitwa, Kinjabungu u. a., erschlug Kitwa aus Neid einen seiner Brüder. Der Vater wollte ihn zuerst töten, stand aber davon ab, weil es sein eigen Fleisch und Blut war. Doch schickte er ihn mit dem Fluche, daß alle seine Nachkommen als Paria unter den Nachkommen der anderen Söhne leben sollen, in die Wildnis."

Hier finden wir, im Gegensatze zu der vorher besprochenen Überlieferung, keine Andeutungen darauf, daß die Batutsi später eingewandert seien, und die

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 302.

Vertreter sämtlicher Stämme werden als Nachkommen desselben Ahnen bezeichnet, was wohl am besten die geringe historische Bedeutung dieser Angaben charakterisiert.

Gehen wir jetzt zu den exakteren Angaben über den Ruanda-Staat herüber. Beim Ausfragen über die Geschichte des Staates ist es mir gelungen, eine Anzahl Angaben zu bekommen, die sich in der folgenden Herrscherliste zusammenfassen lassen. Es darf aber nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß sich die einzelnen Quellen manchmal stark widersprachen; daher wird auch die definitive Fixierung der Genealogie noch weiterer Untersuchungen bedürfen. Man muß immer im Auge die Möglichkeit behalten, daß sich einzelne der hier der Reihe nach angegebenen Herrscher als Brüder erweisen können, wenn auch meistens die Seitenlinien der früheren Zeiten vergessen werden.

Die Herrscher von Ruanda:

1. Kigwa.
2. Nyeranda.
3. Kadji.
4. Muntu.
5. Kihanga.
6. Ndoba.
7. Ndore I.
8. Ndahiro I. oder Dabarasa.

9. Ruganzu oder Luzugira. (Kihana).

10. Lumazimpaka. (Kyamweru).
11. Mibambwe I.
12. Juhi I.
13. Lugazu, Sohn der Nyina Bachuzi.
14. Mibambwe II.
15. Chilima I.
16. Ruganzurwa, Sohn der Nyina Bunyana.
17. Kigeri I.
18. Mibambwe III.
19. Juhi II.
20. Chilima II. oder Rugwe.
21. Ndahiro II.
22. Ruganzu.
23. Chilima cha Kasseke.

24. Ndore II. Kahindiro Mibambwe IV.
25. Mutara Lwogera.
26. Lwabugiri Kigeri II.

27. Mibambwe V. Juhi III. oder Musinga.

Abgesehen von der Herrscherliste, konnte ich über die Geschichte nur wenig erfahren. Berücksichtigt man aber sowohl die große Zahl der Herrscher, wie auch die Tatsache, daß unter den verehrten Geistern des Landes die Sippe des Ndaula eine untergeordnete Rolle spielt, so darf man den sehr wahrscheinlichen Schluß ziehen, daß Ruanda mit den Staaten der Südhälfte des Runyoro-Gebietes nicht zusammenhängt. Schließlich wird auch im Zusammenhange mit dem Zuge Ruhinda's nur Kissaka und nicht Ruanda erwähnt. Andererseits kann man wohl aus der Tatsache, daß Kagoro, Mugasha und Wamara in der Religion Ruanda's erwähnt werden, auf Beziehungen zum alten Bunyoro-Staat und der Bachwezi-Dynastie schließen. Berücksichtigt man dazu noch die Zahl der Herrscher Ruanda's, welche die Zeiten der Gründung der Dynastie in das XV. Jahrhundert zu verlegen veranlassen, so darf man sich fragen, ob die Gründung des Ruanda-Staates nicht in demselben Verhältnis zu der Einwanderung der Baganda in das Zwischenseengebiet steht, wie sich die von Busindja, Karagwe und Buhaya zur Einwanderung der Babito nach Bunyoro verhält. Es ist doch nicht ausgeschlossen, daß die, durch die Baganda in ihrer Ruhe gestörten, Herrscher des nördlichen Teiles des Zwischenseengebietes im Süden wieder neue Staaten gegründet haben.

Ruanda, das zu allererst durch den Bezirk Bugansa im Süden vom Mohasi-See gebildet wurde, beschränkte sich später im Laufe längerer Zeiträume auf die Provinz Nduga. Die Zeiten aber, als Ruanda über diese beschränkten Grenzen hinausgewachsen ist, müssen recht weit zurückliegen, da man nicht nur in Mukinjaga, sondern auch in Mulera, die sicher nicht zu den älteren Stammprovinzen gehört, Überlieferungen über die Herrschaft von Ruganzu hat. Der letzte Ruganzu ist der fünfte Ahne von Musinga und herrschte wohl in den ersten Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts. Dieser Umstand veranlaßt zur Annahme, daß das große Ruanda-Reich keine Neubildung des letzten Jahrhunderts ist und eine lange Entwickelung hinter sich hat.

Die hier in Frage kommende Überlieferung hat ungefähr den folgenden Inhalt:

Einst kam Ruganzu, um im Walde des Vulkans Muhawura Elefanten zu jagen. Plötzlich wird ihm die Nachricht gebracht, daß die Barundi die Südgrenze seines Reiches überschritten haben. Er gibt die Jagd auf und geht, dem Feind zu begegnen. Unterwegs hielt er sich auf einem Hügel auf, um etwas auszuruhen. Nach einer kurzen Rast setzte er die Reise in seiner Sänfte (ngobi) weiter fort. Erst unterwegs wurde es bemerkt, daß der König auf dem Hügel seinen Speer vergessen hatte. Man rief sofort auf den Hügel herüber, man möchte den vergessenen Speer zurückerstatten. Die Balera erwiderten, der König hätte ihnen den Speer gelassen, und wenn er ihn zurückhaben wolle, so möchte er ihn doch selber abholen. Der König sagte darauf: „Wenn ihr Lebensmittel gestohlen hättet, so würde ich glauben, daß ihr Hunger habt, hättet ihr Kühe geraubt, so würde ich annehmen, daß ihr sie besitzen wollet. Aber einen Speer zu stehlen,

was bringt er euch. Er mag bei euch bleiben, sich vermehren und euch totschlagen." Deshalb gibt es auch immer Kämpfe in Mulera. Das königliche Wort lastet über dem Lande.

In Mukinjaga wird über Ruganzu berichtet, daß er zur Strafe für den Raub seiner Rinder die Landschaft Bukunzi mit der „bimara"-Steuer belegt hat.

Ruganzu lwa Ndahiro (Ruganzu, Sohn des Ndahiro) ist der König, von dem man in Ruanda am meisten zu erzählen versteht. Man schreibt ihm eine übernatürliche Gewalt zu und meint, er könne wieder einmal zurückkehren. Als sich im Jahre 1904 die Nachricht verbreitete, daß der kaiserliche Resident von Usumbura ermordet wurde, so erzählten die Eingeborenen, Ruganzu hätte ihn getötet.

Mutara Lwogera war auch ein erfolgreicher Krieger. Er eroberte Bugoye und fügte im Jahre 1876 das mit Waffengewalt bezwungene Kissaka zu Ruanda hinzu.

Lwabugiri Kigeri, den als erster Europäer Graf v. GÖTZEN besucht hatte, war ebenfalls ein sehr streitsüchtiger Herrscher. Er dehnte die Besitzungen Ruanda's im Rutshuru-Becken bis zum Edward-See aus.

Um die Persönlichkeit des Lwabugiri etwas näher zu charakterisieren, muß noch erwähnt werden, daß das Kühestehlen eines seiner Hauptvergnügen war. Der vom König ins Auge gefaßte Viehbesitzer wurde mit Konfiskation bestraft, wenn er sich wehrte, da er in diesem Falle doch dem „muami" zuwiderzuhandeln sich erkühnt hat. Leistete er keinen Widerstand, so nahm man ihm die Kühe, die er nicht verstanden hat zu verbergen, einfach weg. Die Kuhdiebstähle, mit denen er das Werk der Zersplitterung des feudalen Besitzes absichtlich gefördert hat, wie auch die ewigen Kriege, machten ihn den Batutsi sehr lästig.

Die Herrschaft von Lwabugiri bildete ohne jeden Zweifel eine Periode großer Machtentfaltung und großen Glanzes Ruanda's. Der Staat erfreute sich eines so großen Ansehens, daß sich weder die Araber noch STANLEY und EMIN PASCHA dort hineinwagten. Lwabugiri unternahm zahlreiche Kriegszüge, darunter auch einen erfolglosen nach Nkole (1891?). Er wollte von dorther die Rinder des Königs Ntare holen und in dieser Weise seine durch die Seuche stark dezimierten Herden ergänzen. Er zog in den Krieg dreimal gegen Urundi, zweimal nach der Insel Kwidschwi, dreimal gegen Bunyabungu und zweimal nach Kissaka. Außerdem verwüstete er dreimal Mulera, um dort die rebellischen Untertanen zu züchtigen, und plünderte in seiner Stammprovinz dreimal das Gana Mukari[1]) wegen des Aufruhres, der dort stattfinden sollte. Bei den Zügen gegen Urundi blieb der Erfolg aus. Die beiden Könige, Lwabugiri und Mwezi Kisabo (?), schlossen Freundschaft ab und bauten ihre Niederlassungen an der Grenze der beiden Staaten, am Akanjaru. Auch die Kämpfe mit den Einwohnern der Insel Kwidschwi wurden nur vom vorübergehenden Erfolge begleitet.

[1]) BRARD, A., Skizzen aus Ruanda. Afrikabote 1900—01, S. 99.

Kwidschwi, sagt Dr. KANDT[1]), gehört zur Einflußsphäre von Ruanda, ihre Einwohner bestreiten, früher Untertanen von Ruanda gewesen zu sein, was von den Banyaruanda behauptet wird. Mihiggo's Großvater, namens Mwendo, war Ruanda tributär. Sein Sohn Kaweggo versuchte sich unabhängig zu machen, wurde aber bekriegt durch Lwabugiri (1886) und mußte auf der Insel Ugishushu Zuflucht suchen. Durch seinen Sohn Nkudie verraten, fiel er in die Hände des Kigeri und wurde hingerichtet. Nach der Rückkehr des Königs (1888), der durch Unruhen in Ruanda zurückgerufen wurde, gruppierte sich die Unabhängigkeitspartei um Mihiggo, einen anderen Sohn, da Nkudie durch den König als Verräter seines Vaters hingerichtet wurde. Nach einigen Jahren (1892 oder 1893) unternahm Lwabugiri einen zweiten Kriegszug gegen Kwidschwi. Die Insel wurde wieder erobert, und Mihiggo floh nach Bunyabungu. Um Bunyabungu für das gewährte Asyl zu bestrafen, unternahm Kigeri einen Kriegszug gegen dieses Land, wurde aber krank und starb. Mit seinem Tode schlägt für Kwidschwi die Stunde der Befreiung, und Mihiggo kehrt als unabhängiger Herrscher zurück (1894).

Der sterbende König Lwabugiri wurde nach Ruanda zurückgebracht und verendete in Mukinjaga auf der Reise. Man erzählt, daß er von seinem Hofe vergiftet wurde, der der ewigen Kriege müde geworden war. Nicht alle betrachteten nämlich die Kriege, wie dies die dem Könige sehr ergebenen Batwa taten, nur für die beste Gelegenheit, um viel Fleisch essen zu können. Nach einigen Angaben sollte das Gift durch seine Frau Kanzogera, die Mutter Musinga's, bereitet worden sein.

In der inneren Politik verfolgte Lwabugiri zentralistische Tendenzen. Ihm fällt, wie es scheint, der Verdienst zu, die großen, erblichen Häuptlingschaften zersprengt und miteinander territorial durchsetzt zu haben. Der Kampf mit dem späteren Regenten Kabare, der angeblich kastriert wurde, steht wohl damit, wie auch mit dem Tode Kigeri's, im Zusammenhange. Nach einer Version nämlich wurde Kabare durch Lwabugiri kastriert, um dem ehrgeizigen Manne den Versuch, König zu werden, unmöglich zu machen. Nach einer anderen Version wurde der junge Kabare mit der Lieblingsfrau des Königs überrascht und dafür entsprechend bestraft. Kabare sollte wieder aus Rache alle Söhne des Lwabugiri bis auf Musinga, den Sohn seiner Schwester Kanzogera, nach dem Ableben ihres mächtigen Vaters, getötet haben. Diese Angaben stimmen überein mit der Notiz v. BERINGES[2]), die auf Mumusa, die Herrscherin von Mururwa in Mpororo, Bezug nimmt: „Die Mhumse behauptete, eine Frau des verstorbenen Sultans Lwabugiri von Ruanda zu sein und von diesem hierher gesandt zu sein, um den Nachstellungen des Häuptlings Kawalle, welcher

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 517—518.

[2]) BERINGE, v., Hptm., Bericht über seine Reisen im Gebiet der Kirungavulkane. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, S. 39.

vier seiner Söhne getötet hatte, zu entgehen. Eine Verbindung der Mhumse mit Ruanda existiert indessen nicht mehr".

Mibambwe, den man nach dem Tode Lwabugiri's vorübergehend als König ausgerufen hatte, wurde mit allen Angehörigen in seiner Hütte verbrannt[1]). Die meisten seiner Brüder folgten ihm im Tode. Nur Ishirangabo, Kitetire und Musinga wurden geschont. Ishirangabo aber, als ein dem Geiste Ryangombe geweihter Mann, kam für die Herrschaft nicht in Betracht. Bilegea, ein Sohn Lwabugiri's, war seit seiner Jugend verschollen und wurde bis jetzt für einen möglichen, gefährlichen Prätendenten betrachtet. Seine Rückkehr ins Land wurde von den Herrschenden sehr gefürchtet[2]).

Musinga, der vom Vater verstoßen war, wurde durch einen Muhutu in sein Haus genommen und erzogen. Erst als kein anderer Sohn Lwabugiri's in Frage kam, wurde der vernachlässigte Sohn Kanzogera's zum König ernannt und bestieg den Thron als Juhi Musinga. Infolge seiner plebejischen Erziehung lernte der König Ziegenfleisch essen. Diese Sitte sollten aus Gefälligkeit auch die Hof-Batutsi angenommen haben.

Dieser Umstand würde dem jungen Herrscher wohl große Schwierigkeiten bereitet haben, wenn nicht drei Jahre nach dem Tode Lwabugiri's Hauptmann RAMSAY im Jahre 1897 ins Land gekommen wäre. Musinga wurde als Herrscher anerkannt. Hauptmann RAMSAY schloß mit ihm, oder wenigstens mit dem ihm als Musinga vorgestellten Manne[3]), eine besondere Art Blutsbrüderschaft. Er berichtet nämlich: „Ich mußte darauf einen Faden Juhi um den Leib binden, und er band mir einige Faden um; dann schüttelten wir uns energisch die Hände und die Blutsfreundschaft zwischen dem König von Ruanda und mir wurde geschlossen."

Seit dieser Zeit wird Musinga energisch durch die Regierung unterstützt, die wieder durch seine Person das ganze Land in der Hand hat. Musinga stehen zur Verfügung die Askaris der Schutztruppe, die im Notfalle seine Unbotsmäßigen eines Besseren belehren können, wie ich das im Jahre 1907 in Mulera zu beobachten Gelegenheit hatte. Mit dem Eingreifen dieses neuen Faktors hat die Ordnung im Lande wohl eine früher nicht gut denkbare Stufe erreicht.

Kissaka. Die Geschichte von Kissaka läßt sich nicht so weit, wie die von Ruanda, zurückverfolgen.

Über die ältesten Zeiten haben die Banyakissaka Überlieferungen, daß sie, ebenso wie die Banyoro und Baganda, vom Norden gekommen seien und nicht, wie die Wasukuma, aus dem Süden stammen.

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[1]) KANDT, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 263.

[2]) Ebenda S. 264.

[3]) RAMSAY, Hptm., Über seine Expeditionen nach Ruanda und Rikwa-See. Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin 1898, Band 25, S. 315.

Kissaka bildete schon seit sehr weit zurückliegenden Zeiten einen Staat. In der Überlieferung von Busindja[1]) wird berichtet, daß die Kissaka-Herrscher Basinga waren. Einer dieser Herrscher war mit Nyakachende, der Tochter Ruhinda's, vermählt, die ihm auch den Nachfolger gegeben hat. Mit Rücksicht darauf wurden, von diesem Zeitpunkte ab, die Herrscher von Kissaka, als Bayango Ruhinda's, bezeichnet.

Dieses Geschlecht mußte aber später um seinen Besitz gekommen sein, da mir die letzten Kissaka-Herrscher als Bagessera, also auch keine echten Batutsi, bezeichnet wurden.

Als erster Herrscher von Kissaka wurde mir Kimeni Ruahasha genannt; dessen unmittelbare Nachfolger, wie auch ihre Zahl, konnte ich jedoch nicht ermitteln. Abgesehen von dieser Lücke, ließ sich folgende kontinuierliche Herrscherliste feststellen:

Kimeni Ruahasha.
?
Vunengoma.
|
Mutaga.
|
Kwezi.
|
Luregeya.
|
Bazimye.
|
Kimeni II.
|
Lugeyyo } Prätendenten.
|
Lukura } Lukura wohnt bei Kahigi.

Kimeni II. wurde mit seinem Sohn Msongole im Jahre 1876 ca. durch Musinga's Großvater Lwogera besiegt und ermordet. Seit dieser Zeit bildet Kissaka einen Bestandteil von Ruanda. Msongole's Sohn, Wagazo, ist aber im Lande als Unterhäuptling des neuen Königs geblieben und war dort noch 20 Jahre später zur Zeit der Reise RAMSAYs[2]) im Amte.

Die Banyakissaka wollten sich ihrem Schicksal nicht fügen, und das ganze Land, sowohl die Batutsi wie auch die Bahutu, strebte nach Unabhängigkeit. Um die Ruanda-Herrschaft zu sichern, unternahm Lwabugiri Kigeri, Musinga's Vater, zwei Züge nach Kissaka. Im Jahre 1901 machte Kissaka den letzten Versuch, seine Unabhängigkeit von Ruanda zu erkämpfen.

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[1]) VAN THIELE, H., R. P., Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda. Anthropos 1911, S. 499.

[2]) RAMSAY, Hptm., Über seine Expeditionen nach Ruanda und Rikwa-See. Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin 1898, Bd. 25, S. 310.

Lukura, Enkel des besiegten Kimeni II., Sohn des Lugeyyo (nach Dr. KANDT Sohn des Wantschurra[1]), beschloß, die in Kissaka herrschende Unzufriedenheit mit dem Ruanda-Regime zu seinen Gunsten auszunützen. Er kam von Kyanja, wo er bei Kahigi die Gastfreundschaft genossen hatte, nach Kissaka. Das Volk und die Batutsi erklärten ihn für ihren Herrscher. Er mußte aber bald fliehen, da Musinga, durch die Station in Usumbura unterstützt, einen Kriegszug unternahm. Der Führer der Lukura-Adhärenten, Mpumbika, wurde nach Urundi verbannt, wo er noch im Jahre 1907 beim Häuptling Muhini weilte. Mpumbika gehört ebenso wie Lukura zum Clan der Bagessera.

Nach dieser Revolte wurden die alten „batware" (Unterhäuptlinge) abgesetzt, und das Land den drei Ruanda-Häuptlingen, Kanuma, Niamutezi und Lutangabo, unterstellt. Das allmähliche Ersetzen auch der kleineren Häuptlinge durch Banyaruanda (Leute aus Ruanda) hat zur Abflauung der Unzufriedenheit mit dem Ruanda-Regime nicht beigetragen.

Bugoye. Bugoye hat im Gegensatze zu Kissaka keine Geschichte. Man weiß nur zu erzählen, daß das Land durch Mutara Lwogera erobert wurde[2]), der den Landeshäuptling Mvunye nach Bunyabungu vertrieben hatte. Man weiß außerdem noch, daß das Land erst vor wenigen Generationen besiedelt wurde. Die sehr alten Leute behaupten dabei, daß es ihre Großväter waren, die das fast nur von Batwa bewohnte menschenarme, waldige Land gerodet haben. Die Batwa wurden zum Teil verdrängt und zum Teil assimiliert. Die letzteren werden als „Batwa bikyugu" — Batwa des bewohnten Landes — bezeichnet. Sehr viele Kolonisten kamen aus Kishari und Kameronse, Landschaften im Norden vom Kiwu. Sie wurden aus ihrer Heimat durch die Razzias der menschenfressenden Balioko, wohl Manyema, oder vielleicht auch der, durch die Manyema getriebenen, Babira verdrängt. Dieser Emigration sind wahrscheinlich die rezenten Bakondjo-Spuren in Bugoye zuzuschreiben. Abgesehen von dieser Welle, kam nach Bugoye noch der Clan der Bambari aus Ndorwa und die Bagwabiro aus der Umgebung von Ischangi am Südufer des Kiwu. Die letzteren sind ackerbautreibende, verarmte Batutsi, die nur wenige Rinder besitzen.

Zeitrechnung. Die Zeit wird in Ruanda nach Jahren, Jahreszeiten, Monaten (Monden) und Wochen, die hier nur fünf oder sechs Tage haben, gerechnet. Dank der Freundlichkeit des R. P. BUISSON kann ich die Monatsnamen aus Kissaka und Ussuwi dem Kalender von Mulera und den Daten über Nkole von MELDON[3]) gegenüberstellen:

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[1]) KANDT, R., Bericht über seine Forschungen in Ruanda. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, S. 122.

[2]) BERINGE, V., Hptm., Bericht über seine Reisen im Gebiet der Kirungavulkane. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, S. 34.

[3]) MELDON, Notes on the Bahima of Nkole. Journal of the African Society 1907, S. 137.

Mulera	Umuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
I. Kwakira — Erbsenernte, Anfang des Hackens für Hirse	Kimguru	Kashantare	Biruru
II. Mutarama — Hirseaussaat	Kakire	Werurwe	Kata
III. Werurwe — Ausjäten der Hirsefelder	Mahingo	Kichurasi	Katumba
IV. Mata — Aussaat der grünen Erbsen (nyagasha)	Ruwoza	Kamena	Ikoma
V. Kichurasi — Aussaat der Erbsen .	Muhirangusu	Nyakanga	Chabahezi
VI. Kamena — Man hofft bald viel zu essen	Rweru	Katumba	Nyerurue
VII. Nyakanga — Anfang der Hirseernte	Nyamatarugara	Itumba	Kichurasi
VIII. Itumba — Große Ernte	Nyairira	Nsenene	Kamena
IX. Katumba — Anfang des Hackens für Erbsen	Muhereze	Nkereza	Nyakanga
X. Nseri — Hacken für Erbsen	Kisua	Kushingwo	Kashna
XI. Kushingwo — Ausjäten der Erbsen	Nsenene	Kwakira	Musenene
XII. Kaboza — Pflanzen der Kürbisse . .	Kibuika	Kuwoza	Itumba

Der Kalender von Mulera bleibt hinter dem von Kissaka ca. zwei Monate zurück. Diese Verspätung ist durch den Umstand bedingt, daß die Namen der Monate im Zusammenhange mit den Beschäftigungen der Ackerbauer und den Weide- und Witterungsverhältnissen bleiben, und die einzelnen Feldarbeiten werden in den nördlicher gelegenen Bergen Mulera's zwei Monate später ausgeführt. In ähnlicher Weise bleibt der Kalender des, noch weiter im Norden gelegenen, Nkole zwei Monate hinter dem von Mulera zurück.

Für die Namen und Beinamen der einzelnen Monate ist es mir gelungen folgende Erklärungen zu bekommen:

„Itumba nyakime" — „itumba" der Besitzer des Taus.

„Katumba kanama" — „kanama" ist vom Verbum „kwanama" abgeleitet. Dies bedeutet „auf der Stelle bleiben". Der Monat ist sehr warm, und man bewegt sich ungern.

„Nyakanga mabuguma" — Hasser der alten Kühe (mabuguma) — die Weiden sind ausgedörrt und die alten Kühe gehen in diesem Monat ein.

„Kaboza kabozabihaza" — Wegen der zu starken Niederschläge faulen die Kürbisse.

„Mata" — wörtlich Milch, eigentlich Milchmonat — die Weiden sind sehr saftig, und man schwelgt in Milch.

In den Monaten „ntumba", „katumba" und „nseri" werden die Hütten gebaut. Das Hirsestroh ist reif und die Gräser sind am längsten. Am Ende des „nseri" muß alles fertig sein, da in dieser Zeit die Regen anfangen.

Im „katumba" fängt man an die Gräser auf den Bergen abzubrennen.

Die meisten Hochzeiten finden im „nseri" statt, da man in diesem Monat viel Bier brauen kann. Dieselbe Ursache hat auch zur Folge, daß in diesem Monat die meisten Schlägereien stattfinden.

Man unterscheidet in Kissaka drei Jahreszeiten:

I. „Itumba", die große Regenzeit, die die Monate März bis Mai umfaßt.

II. „Ichanda", die große Trockenzeit in den Monaten Juni bis Oktober.

III. „Ruhira" — die kleine Regenzeit, während der Monate November bis Januar und manchmal auch während des Februars.

Die kleine Trockenzeit im Februar scheint keinen besonderen Namen zu haben.

R. P. Ch. Lecoindre teilte mir mit, daß er den Eindruck gewonnen hat, daß es im Ruanda-Jahre dreizehn Monate gibt, und machte mich aufmerksam, daß auf meiner Liste der Monat „kashantare" zwischen „mutarama" und „werurwe" nicht verzeichnet ist.

Die Kunst der Zeitrechnung ist in Ruanda wenig entwickelt, und die Bahutu scheinen, im Grunde genommen, nur die Perioden der bestimmten Feldarbeiten zu kennen, die sie mit besonderen Namen belegen, wie z. B.:

„Itumba ya massaka" (im Herbst),

„Itumba lyi bishimbo",

oder auch die Sonnenzeiten:

„Rugaryi" — kleine Sonne.

„Itsi" — große Sonne.

Andererseits wird aber das Leben in der Residenz Musinga's, wenigstens das Einziehen der frischen Trommelwachen mit dem neuen Mond, durch die lunare Einteilung des Jahres geregelt, und die Beobachtung von R. P. Ch. Lecoindre scheint deshalb viele Gründe für sich zu haben. Am Hofe des Königs soll z. B. die erste Hälfte des Monats „kichurasi" getrauert werden. Während dieser Zeit haben die Männer angeblich keinen geschlechtlichen Umgang mit Frauen. Die Trommeln werden am Königshofe nur einmal gegen 11 Uhr zur Begrüßung (ndamutsu) des Herrschers geschlagen, man sagt, sie sind angebunden (kuzirika). Die Batwa unterhalten den König während der Abendversammlungen durch ihre Gesänge nicht. Der König fällt keine Gerichtssprüche und empfängt keine Geschenke. Bei den gewöhnlichen Gerichtsverhandlungen singt die siegende Partei weder ihren Lobgesang, noch prahlt sie mit den eigenen Taten und der Zahl der getöteten Feinde. Im „kichurasi" befriedigen sie sich mit einfachem Händeklatschen (kukoma mukono). Man legt bessere Kleidung und besseren Schmuck nicht an. Sogar die Stiere werden von den Herden entfernt. Jedes in dieser Zeit begonnene Leben wird als unrein angesehen und getötet.

Mit dem „kichurasi"-Vollmond endigt die Trauerzeit. Man fängt an die Trommeln zu schlagen. Am ersten Tage ganz schwach und wenig, am zweiten etwas mehr, und erst am dritten Tage wird das übliche Schlagen wieder aufgenommen. Am elften Tage bringen die Häuptlinge Geschenke dem König, betrinken sich mit Bier und opfern sterile Kühe.

Das Ende des Monats „kichurasi" wird mit einer großen Feier begangen, zu der sich die „ntore" am Hofe versammeln. Das Fest heißt „kukura kichurasi".

Ob dieses Fest in einem Zusammenhange mit dem Mythus vom Erlöser (mutabazi) steht, konnte ich nicht erfahren.

Das ist die Zeit der großen Zeremonien der „babandwa", wie auch der Opfer (kuterekera).

Der Mondmonat wird geteilt je nach der Phase des Mondes. So spricht man von:

„imboneko" — erscheinender Mond,
„kwezi" — wachsender Mond,
„inzoro" — Vollmond,
„mizima" — abnehmender Mond,
„imfunda" — verschwindender Mond.

Diese Bezeichnungen entsprechen aber den Wochen nicht. Die Wochen haben fünf bis sechs Tage und sind durch das Verhältnis der freien und Frondiensttage bestimmt.

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15. Kapitel.

Religion und Verwandtes.

Ahnenkultus. — Unterirdische Welt. — Gedächtnisbäume. — Imana und „batabazi". — Ryangombe und seine „bagaragu". — „Umugani rwa Ryangombe". — Geheimbünde. — Initiation. — Geheimsprache. — Opfer. — Wahrsager, Zauberer und Medizinmänner. — Wahrsagen und Träume. — Medizinische Praxis. — Anthropophagie und Menschenopfer.

Ahnenkultus. Die religiösen Anschauungen der Banyaruanda lassen sich nicht in ein geschlossenes, harmonisches System bringen. Diese Tatsache hängt wohl nicht nur mit der niedrigen Entwickelungsstufe der Religion, sondern auch mit der Verschiedenheit der aufeinander wirkenden Kulturen der Batutsi und Bahutu zusammen.

Die Basis der religiösen Anschauungen in Ruanda, wie auch in den übrigen Teilen des Zwischenseengebietes, bildet der Ahnenkultus.

Die Geister der Verstorbenen, die „bazimu", werden gefürchtet. Sie sind nicht gut. Man erklärt sie der Mißgeschicke und Plagen, die einen quälen, schuldig. Man könnte das vielleicht, wenigstens in Mulera, mit der bekannten schlechten Lage der Greise in Zusammenhang bringen.

Abb. 162. Opfertopf für Bier aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13 096. Höhe 8 cm.)

Jeder Familienvater opfert seinen Ahnen und verstorbenen Angehörigen in den „ndaro", kleinen Grashütten, die sich in der nächsten Umgebung seines Gehöftes befinden und den Aufenthaltsort der Geister bilden. „Ndaro" bedeutet „Schlafstelle", „Ruhestätte" und soll nach R. P. Buisson vom Verbum „kurara" — schlafen — abgeleitet sein. Ich möchte aber noch die Ähnlichkeit dieses Wortes mit „ndako" betonen. Das letztere bedeutet im Bangala und den Ababua-Dialekten einfach — „Haus". Abgesehen von den „ndaro" wird noch im heiligen Winkel, der sich in jeder Hütte befindet, geopfert.

Den Manen wird das Opfer in der Weise dargebracht, daß vor ihren Hütten um ein Feuer herum auf den in den Boden gesteckten Stäben kleine Fleischstücke, „umutsima"-Klumpen u. a. aufgesteckt und kleine Gefäße (imperezo) mit Bier aufgestellt werden. Diese Opfergaben werden durch den Opfernden vom mitgebrachten Fleisch und „umutsima" (steifer Hirsebrei) abgeteilt. Das übrige ißt der Opfernde auf.

[p. 298]

Die Opfergaben werden auch in die Hütten hineingelegt. Wertvollere Opfer pflegt man dabei nicht selten vorübergehend zu exponieren. Sie werden später durch die Angehörigen des Opfernden verspeist. Das soll vor allem der Fall sein, wenn man einem verstorbenen Mädchen der Sitte gemäß das Vorderbein eines erlegten Tieres opfert. Doch trifft das nicht immer zu, da ich wiederholt Gelegenheit hatte in den „ndaro" verwesende Ziegenvorderbeine hängen zu sehen. Das Den-Geistern-Opfern wird „kutonora bazimu" genannt. Den Geistern der Eltern opfert man gewöhnlich Rippen und Eingeweide der erlegten Tiere.

Unterirdische Welt. Nicht alle Geister der Verstorbenen bleiben in der Nähe ihrer „ndaro", um dort, von den Angehörigen versorgt, ein ruhiges Dasein zu führen. Viele Geister wohnen nach ihrem Hinscheiden in den Vulkanen, und die Tätigkeit der Feuerberge wird mit ihnen in Zusammenhang gebracht.

Im Muhawura soll, nach den Angaben der Balera, Ryangombe mit den Seelen der ihm zu Lebzeiten Geweihten wohnen. Sie bilden seinen Hof und sein Gefolge.

Am Hofe des Ryangombe kommt es nicht selten zu scharfen Auseinandersetzungen unter seinem Gefolge. Dann wird gewöhnlich zu Steinen gegriffen, die manchmal in großen Mengen in die Außenwelt gelangen. Diese Erklärungen der vulkanischen Erscheinungen hatte ich wiederholt Gelegenheit zu hören. Es kommt aber vor, daß die Geister durch Ryangombe zur Strafe in die Außenwelt verjagt werden. Die Verjagten quälen dann die Lebenden. Diese müssen opfern, damit Ryangombe die Geister wieder zu sich nimmt und sie selbst von den Belästigungen der Obdachlosen befreit.

Die Leute aus der Umgebung von Bobandana, denen ich auf dem Wege nach Rutahuru begegnete, bezeichneten den Niragongo als „Kilima ya Mungu" oder „Götterberg".

Auch nach Leutnant v. Parisch[1]) soll Ryangombe mit seinem aus den Seelen der ihm geweihten „babandwa" gebildeten Hofe im Muhawura wohnen. Nur die Seelen der „nsigo", d. h. der Profanen und in andere Kulte Eingeweihten, begeben sich nach dem Tode in den Niragongo. Er gibt aber zu, daß nach den anderen Angaben Ryangombe im Niragongo wohnt.

Die Vulkane spielen in der übernatürlichen Welt Ruanda's überhaupt eine sehr große Rolle. Hauptmann v. Beerecz[2]) erwähnt, daß die „birunga" (*pl.* von „kirunga" — Vulkan) nach den in ihnen angeblich wohnenden Geistern Sabinjo, Karisimbi, Mikeno, Namlagira und Gonga benannt werden. Der letztere ist der älteste von ihnen. Früher sollte mit ihm zusammen auch der später vertriebene Namlagira gewohnt haben. Die letztere Angabe bildet vielleicht eine Anspielung auf die rezente Entstehung des jüngsten Vulkans dieser Gruppe.

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[1]) Parisch, P. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1900 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 78.
[2]) Beerecz, v., Hptm., Berichte über seine Reisen im Gebiet der Kirungavulkane. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, S. 36, 37.

Gedächtnisbäume. Bildliche Darstellungen der Verschiedenen kommen in Ruanda nicht vor. Ich hatte keine Gelegenheit darauf bezugnehmende Skulpturen und Schnitzereien zu beobachten.

Mit dem Gedächtnis der Verstorbenen verknüpfen sich aber Bäume, die von ihnen oder im Zusammenhange mit ihnen, meistens in den Siedelungen, angepflanzt werden. So pflegt man bei der Geburt eines Kindes eine Ficus anzupflanzen, die später mit ihm, auch nach seinem Tode, im Zusammenhange bleibt. Es scheint, daß sich auf diesen Bäumen, wie auch auf den Hecken verlassener Siedelungen, Geister der Verstorbenen aufzuhalten pflegen.

Es werden aber auch Bäume zur Erinnerung an historische Ereignisse angepflanzt. So erwähnt Dr. KANDT[1]) z. B.: „Am Ende der Brücke (Felsenbrücke des Russisi) steht noch eine junge Ficus, eine „immana", ein Seelenbaum, den Luabugiri, der frühere König von Ruanda, gepflanzt hat, als er gegen Bunjabungu, das auf dem rechten Ufer liegt, in den Kampf zog. Steil, fast senkrecht steigt ein paar hundert Meter tief der Weg hinab, den er, in sein Verderben ziehend, mit seinen Kriegern kam. Am Baum hängen Stroh- und Metallringe, Opfergaben frommer Wanderer, und auf der Brücke zeigt man in den Fels gegraben die Fußspur des königlichen Leibhundes und erzählt eine der Roßtrappe ähnliche Sage."

Über eine andere Art der Gedächtnisbäume, die nur im indirekten Zusammenhange mit den historischen Persönlichkeiten bleiben, erwähnt Dr. KANDT[2]) an einer anderen Stelle: „Sie (Bäume am östlichsten Punkte des Sees) sind geheiligt, weil König Luabugiri an diesem Platze ein Lager hatte, als er den Feldzug gegen Bunjabungu (1894) antrat, aus dem er sterbend nach Ruanda zurückkehrte." „Unter den Bäumen liegt noch, halb in der Erde vergraben, in der Mitte gespalten, zum Teil verrottet und jährlich mehr zerfallend, das aus einem Urwaldriesen gehöhlte Boot, das den Herrscher in den Krieg trug; nach meiner Erinnerung ist es etwa 18 m lang und $^3/_4$ m breit."

Die auf den Anhöhen emporwachsenden Gedächtnisbäume sind für die Ruanda-Landschaft sehr charakteristisch und sie fallen auch durch ihren schroffen Gegensatz, in den sie sich zu baumarmen Hügeln stellen, auf. Ihr kultueller Charakter wurde schon durch Hauptmann HERRMANN erkannt, und man pflegt sie kurzweg als „Imana"-Bäume zu bezeichnen.

Die Verehrung der Gedächtnisbäume scheint in der Hauptsache mit der Batutsi-Schicht verknüpft zu sein. Dort, wo die Batutsi die größte Macht besitzen, sind die Ficusbäume auf den Anhöhen am zahlreichsten und am schönsten. Es soll dagegen vorkommen, daß sich Bahutu nachts im Geheimen Holz von den heiligen Bäumen holen. Batwa, die niemanden fürchten und auch in geistiger Beziehung ihre Unabhängigkeit zu wahren verstanden haben, tun

[1]) KANDT, R., Caput XIII. Berlin 1904. S. 365.
[2]) Ebenda S. 304.

das ganz offen auch am Tage. Doch sind sie nicht zahlreich genug um die Bäume zu vernichten und die Landschaft verändern zu können.

Imana und „batabazi." Schon bei der allgemeinen Besprechung des Zwischenseegebietes wurde es hervorgehoben, daß die Geister der verstorbenen Könige und Machthaber eine besondere Stelle unter den Manen einnehmen. Sie unterscheiden sich von der undifferenzierten Masse der „bazimu" durch bedeutendere Macht. Sie sind in größeren Kreisen bekannt und gefürchtet. Das trifft z. B. für den Geist des Kimeni in Kissaka zu. Es ist auch nicht ausgeschlossen, daß sich in dieser Weise der Gegensatz zwischen der unterirdischen, wie es scheint, nach dem Vorbilde der Batutsi-Staaten organisierten Herrschaft des Ryangombe und der Familienanarchie der gewöhnlichen Manen erklären lassen wird. Fraglich bleibt es dagegen, ob sich auch die zentrale Figur des Ruanda-Pantheons, der Schöpfer der Welt, Imana, mit den Geistern der Verstorbenen in Zusammenhang bringen läßt und nicht als Ergebnis einer fremden Beeinflussung anzusehen ist. Vielleicht läßt sich auch die unterirdische Residenz des Hofes von Ryangombe dadurch erklären. Die übrigen „bazimu" bleiben doch mit den lebenden Angehörigen.

Imana ist der Herr des Blitzes, Donners und Regens. Man wendet sich an ihn mit den Worten: „Nabone Imana yandemie ikalema tata, na sokokuru, na sokuruza, na mukaka, na mukakuruza, na mama. Ikankiza, nkuko yabakidjidji!" (Begünstige mich, Imana, der mich geschaffen hat, der meinen Vater geschaffen hat, und meinen Großvater, und den Vater meines Großvaters, und meine Großmutter, und die Mutter meiner Großmutter und meine Mutter. Er hat mich geheilt, wie hat er mich geheilt!)

Imana wird nicht geopfert. Er spielt infolgedessen im Kulte keine Rolle und befriedigt nur, wenn man so sagen darf, das philosophische Bedürfnis.

Wenn auch Imana der angebliche Schöpfer ist, so weiß man doch nichts Bestimmtes über sein Verhältnis zu den übrigen mächtigen Geistern, wie Ryangombe z. B., zu erzählen. Die Banyaruanda scheinen von ihm eine ganz vage und unbestimmte Vorstellung zu haben. Das Merkwürdigste ist die Erzählung von seinem Erscheinen auf der Erde in der Gestalt eines Kindes, das noch weißer als Kaolin (rumoni) war. Das Kind hatte eine übernatürliche Macht. Es hat unter anderem auch Wasser in Milch umgewandelt. Imana hat die ersten Menschen geschaffen. Der erste Mann heiratete seine Schwester. Beide hatten aber weder Vater noch Mutter. Imana gab ihnen das Feuer.

Leutnant v. Parmen[7]) verzeichnete für Imana die Synonymen Lugira, Lulema und Kihanga.

Die Mythen über Imana scheinen, in Kissaka wenigstens, weniger bekannt zu sein oder geheimer gehalten zu werden, als die Erzählungen über andere Geister.

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[7]) Parmen, F. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 78.

Jeder Mututsi soll einen besonderen heiligen Stier aus seiner Herde verehren, der in einem geheimnisvollen Zusammenhange mit Imana steht. Der heilige Stier Musinga's war angeblich sehr böse und hatte manchen angegriffen. Es wird behauptet, daß die vom Stier Angegriffenen die durch das Tier erkannten Feinde des Königs sind. Sie wurden auch früher in den Fällen, wo sie mit ihrem Leben davonkamen, mit dem Tode bestraft. Im Laufe der letzten drei, vier Jahre, wohl infolge des intensiveren Kontaktes mit den Europäern, hörte dies auf, wenn auch die Unglücklichen sehr schlecht angesehen werden.

Man darf auch nicht vergessen, daß die von den Batutsi am Halse getragenen Gefäße mit Hühnerresten und Fett der geopferten Schafe ebenfalls kurzweg als „Imana" bezeichnet werden.

Noch rätselhafter als Imana sind im Ruanda-Pantheon die „batabazi". Sie wurden im Kapitel über die Geschichte Ruanda's schon erwähnt. R. P. L. Classe erzählte mir, daß in den „batabazi"-Legenden sowohl der Sintflutmythus wie auch der Gedanke von der Aufopferung des individuellen Lebens, um die Menschen zu retten, auftritt. Die Menschen überstehen die Flut in einer mit Erde gedichteten Hütte.

Die „batabazi" sind Batutsi, da man sie mit dem Herrschergeschlecht in Zusammenhang bringt.

Ryangombe und seine „bagaragu." Die Hauptrolle im Ruanda-Kultus spielt Ryangombe mit seinen „bagaragu" (Klienten) und Verwandten.

Es wurde hier schon die Vermutung ausgesprochen, daß in den Überlieferungen über Ryangombe die Erinnerung an einen historischen Helden lebt. Zugunsten dieser Ansicht könnte man außer der wenig sagenden, hier unten angeführten „umugani" (Erzählung), noch die Tatsache hervorheben, daß in der Zahl seiner Gefolgsherren Kakuku, Mugasha, Kagoro und Rubaga erwähnt werden. Die drei letzteren sind halbhistorische Persönlichkeiten und gehören nach unseren Feststellungen zum Geschlecht, das vor den Babito in Bunyoro geherrscht hat, während Kakuku wohl mit Bukuku aus der älteren Bunyoro-Dynastie identisch sein wird.

Die nächsten Verwandten von Ryangombe scheinen keine besondere Rolle zu spielen und werden nur mit Rücksicht auf den Helden erwähnt. Wir wollen sie auch nur den Namen nach aufzählen. Sein Vater hieß Ndema und sein Großvater Migongo. Babinga war seine Mutter und Nyundo seine Großmutter. Seine Frau Nyakisha schenkte ihm ein Kind, das genannt wird: „kachumu kato kato kavira imyuna mumbuga" (ein kleiner, kleiner Speer, der bis zum Stiel mit Blut befleckt ist). Nach anderen Angaben soll seine Frau Kadjumba und ihr Sohn Binego sein.

In der Literatur finden wir etwas abweichende Angaben. Leutnant v. Parisch[1]) nennt Ryangombe's Frau Njawirungu und seinen Vater Bawinda, was

[1]) Parisch, F. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 10.

wohl eine Verwechselung mit dem Namen seiner Mutter, Babinga, darstellen wird.

Hauptmann v. Beringe[1]) nennt dagegen Ryangombe's Großvater Nyundo, seinen Vater Bavinga und seine Frau Nina Ryangombe. Der letztere Name bedeutet aber einfach Mutter des Ryangombe.

Die wichtigsten „bagaragu" (Klienten) des Ryangombe sind: Binego, Kavuna, Mugasha, Kakuku, Kagoro, Senyakazana und Rubaga.

Die Unterordnung dieser Geister Ryangombe gegenüber wird stets sehr scharf betont. Das kommt auch darin zum Ausdruck, daß, um ihnen opfern zu können, vorher Ryangombe geopfert werden muß. Nur Rubaga bildet eine Ausnahme. Man darf sich an ihn mit Gaben wenden, ohne vorher Ryangombe geopfert zu haben.

Beim Opfern für die einzelnen dieser Geister werden bestimmte Formen berücksichtigt, und besondere Zeremonien eingehalten.

Beim Opfern für Binego steht der Opfernde mit gesenktem Haupte und murmelt: „Binego bya Kadjumba nyamunega amafizi amabuguma akapfa numulindu. Lukaraba nkaba n'inkuba yadjandja. Ulwamba lw'impiri namaganya y'inkuba aseseka ntanyobwe umushaidja mukanya." Den Inhalt und den Sinn dieser Formel konnte ich nicht ermitteln.

Kavuna werden kleine Strohhütten gebaut. Man opfert ihm Bananenbier mit Honigzusatz in doppelhalsigen Töpfen. Früher bedeckte sich der Opfernde mit einem Leopardenfell. Beim Opfern wird mit nach vorn gestreckten Händen gesungen: „Kavuna ushime ntango yawe" — Kavuna empfange mein Opfern.

Wendet man sich an Mugasha, so umwickelt man sich Beine, Hände und Hals mit Rinde des Bananenstammes. In der Rechten wird ein Stock am dünnen Ende gehalten. Der Betende trampelt mit den Füßen, schlägt mit dem Stock auf den Boden und wiederholt: „Mugasha akatema katoke niribiriri, niribirimbo."

Kakuku war ein alter, paralysierter Sklave. Will man sich an ihn wenden, so werden zunächst die Arme mit Asche eingeschmiert, und der Opfernde kratzt sich die Haut, weint und seufzt. Die geopferten Erbsen werden in verbogenen Fingern gehalten, weil der Paralysierte nicht anders essen konnte.

Kagoro werden kleine Pfeile aus Holz oder Eisen mit den Worten „busenda bwa Kagoro" geopfert.

Senyakazana opfert man „inkore" genannte Erbsen und Linsen.

Rubaga ist der Größte nach Ryangombe, und ihm werden auch Rinder geopfert.

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[1]) Beringe, v., Hptm., Berichte über seine Reisen im Gebiet der Kirungavulkane. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, S. 37.

„Umugani rwa Ryangombe." Ryangombe ist der „muku" oder „mulinzi", ein Baum, auf den er sich einst auf der Jagd, durch einen Büffel angegriffen, gerettet hat, geweiht. Darüber verstehen die Banyakissaka folgendes zu erzählen:

Umugani rwa Ryangombe.
Geschichte des Ryangombe.

Ngoni Ryangombe lya Babinga, ba Nyundo, ngoni Nyamuniga, amafizi
Das ist Ryangombe der Babinga der Nyundo, die ist Nyamuniga, ?
nayo awabuguma akapfan nimirindo.
? ? ? ?

Ryangombe yaliafite nyina, akanga kumumwira. Ryangombe ashaka kuja
Ryangombe hat Mutter, weigert gehorchen. Ryangombe will gehen
kuhiga mwishamba. Nyina nyiwa Ryangombe: ati mwana wanje leka kuja
jagen in der Ebene. Mutter sagt Ryangombe: so Kind mein lasse gehen
kuhiga; ati nalose umugezi, utemba uja luguru; ati uzawambuka, ngenda,
jagen; so träumte ich einen Fluß, der fließt nach oben; so passierst du ihn, gehst,
ntuzagaruka. Ati kandi nalose ulukwavu lutagira ishira, uzalwicha,
kehrst nicht zurück. So weiter träume ich einen Hasen ohne Schwanz, du wirst ihn töten,
ntuzalubamba. Ati kandi nalose Nyakisha Chimepenebere au Nyakitindi, ati
ohne zu gehorchen. So später träume ich Nyakisha Chimpenebere oder Nyakitindi, so
azakulemutsa, atazakulekula Ryangombe. Ati kandi nalose imbogo nyaki
wird sie grüßen, sie wird nicht lassen Ryangombe. So später träume ich einen Büffel schwarzen
gumbu. Ati uzaivumbura. Utuzaikira Ryangombe. Ryangombe,
sehr. So wirst du ihn heben. Du wirst dich nicht behüten Ryangombe. Ryangombe,
ngo hoshi alagenda, aja kuhiga, abanza kwambuka umugezi, utemba uja luguru.
der dann weggeht, geht jagen, beginnt passieren Fluß, der fließt nach oben.
Abagaragu be bati. Indagu ya Nyira Ryangombe ilasohohye. Bongera
Gefolgsmänner sind zwei. Die Verkündigung der Mutter Ryangombe erfüllt sich. Sie setzen
kugenda, bavumbura ulukwavu lutagiri ishira, baralwicha, baraluleka.
fort zu gehen, heben einen Hasen ohne Schwanz, töten ihn, lassen ihn.
Abagaragu be bati. Indagu ya Nyira Ryangombe ilageze. Barongeye,
Gefolgsmänner sind zwei. Die Verkündigung der Mutter Ryangombe's erfüllt sich. Sie setzen fort,
barahiga, bavumbura Nyakisha Chimpenebere, kihetse umwana imbebe.
sie jagen, sie begegnen Nyakisha Chimpenebere, sie trägt ein Kind nackt (ohne Fell).
Baramufata Nyakisha. Ati mutangirira mabi, nimubanze kunshira Ryan-
Sie fassen Nyakisha. So tut nichts Böses, beginnt mich führen zu Ryan-
gombe. Barayanye Chimpenebere, ilamukidje Ryangombe. Ichara hasi.
gombe. Sie bringen Chimpenebere, sie hat bezaubert Ryangombe. Er sitzt auf dem Boden.
Ati ¡ mpe ingobi yokwihekeka umwana. Ryangombe icha inzobe.
So gib mir ein Fell zum Tragen des Kindes. Ryangombe tötet einen Sumpfbock.
Alaiha au ilamuhati. Ati iyi ntikwiye, umwana wanje amuhe uluhu rwi im-
Er gab ihn oder er gab ihr. So dieser genügt nicht, Kind mein es ist größer als die
pongo. Ati iyi ntikwiye umwana, akokanya, batongera kuhiga. Avum-
Antilope. Da dieses nicht genügt dem Kinde, es ist klein, sie beginnen jagen. Er
buka imbogo nyaki gumbu. Nyakisha Chimpenebere ati: „ndashaka iyo".
begegnet einen Büffel schwarzen sehr. Nyakisha Chimpenebere so: „ich will diesen".
Ryangombe afata ichumu na ingota, aja kuyitera. Imbogo ilahinduka.
Ryangombe greift Speer und Schwert, geht werfen (speeren). Der Büffel kehrt um.

Imuchumito ihembe. Ryangombe alapfa. Nyakisha Chimpenebere alishima.
Durchsticht mit Hörnern. Ryangombe stirbt. Nyakisha Chimpenebere freut sich.
Ryangombe agiye kupfa, atuma, yuko apfuye. Babwira umwana we
Ryangombe geht sterben, er benachrichtigt, daß er stirbt. Sie sagen Kind seinem
Binego. Alaza n'impiri ye y'ichuma. Aikubita Nyakisha Chimpenebere.
Binego. Er kommt mit Scepter aus Eisen. Er schlägt damit Nyakisha Chimpenebere.
Binego alaicha n'umwana wayo ni imbogo nyaki gumbu. Binego amaze
Binego tötet damit und Kind ihr und den Büffel schwarzen sehr. Binego er endet
kubyicha, abwira abagaragu be, ko aka bamaze. Binego achamba Ryan-
totzuschlagen, er sagt Gefolgsmännern seinen, daß er hat beendigt. Binego beendigt Ryan-
gombe. Alataha, asanga nyina Nyira Kadjumba. Binego alima
gombe. Er kehrt zurück, er besucht (seine) Mutter Nyira Kadjumba. Binego erbt
mubwani bwa Ryangombe.
das Königstum des Ryangombe.

Die Übersetzung dieses, durch einen Missionsschüler in Nsasa geschriebenen, Manuskriptes verdanke ich R. P. Buisson.

Geheimbünde. Der Ryangombe-Kultus wird durch die Geheimbünde der „babandwa" gepflegt. Diese Verbände vereinigen sowohl Männer und Frauen, wie auch Batutsi und Bahutu.

Die Geheimbünde der „babandwa" umfassen in der Nduga vor allem einen bedeutenden Teil der Bevölkerung und scheinen dort, wie auch im übrigen Ruanda, nicht nur wohlorganisierte Kultusgemeinschaften darzustellen, sondern auch eine politische Rolle zu spielen.

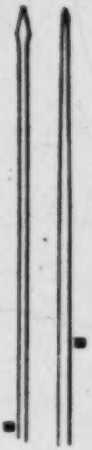
Das soll z. B. mit dem Biheko-Kultus in großem Umfange der Fall sein. Man macht ihn für manche Unruhe im Norden von Ruanda verantwortlich. Biheko war angeblich eine Binego, dem Jünger Ryangombe's, geweihte Frau. Sie wurde durch Lwabugiri, der, wie es scheint, in ihrer Person die partikularistischen Tendenzen des Nordens bekämpfte, totgeschlagen. Um der Rache ihres Geistes zu entgehen, gestattete Lwabugiri seinen Untertanen sich dem durch sie vertretenen Kulte einzuweihen. Seit dieser Zeit soll der Biheko-Kultus in Mulera und Bugoye große Fortschritte gemacht haben.

Nach R. P. L. Classe[1]) war Biheko ein Mann aus Ndorwa, der die Brüder Lutindangezi, Gahaya und Maloli hatte.

Mit dem Biheko-Kultus werden in Mulera die „ikrosho" genannten Eisenstäbe in Zusammenhang gebracht. Sie wurden schon durch Stuhlmann[2]) aus Mpororo beschrieben und mit dem Nyawingi-Kultus verknüpft.

Die dogmatische Seite dieser Erscheinungen hat ungefähr folgende Gestalt. Mit Ryangombe dürfen nur die ihm Geweihten verkehren; mit Ryangombe muß man aber verkehren. Nur durch Opfer kann man Ryangombe bewegen, den verjagten Geistern die Rückkehr in die „birunga" (Vulkane)

[1]) Classe, R. P., Mœurs et Coutumes des Bugoye. Les Missions Catholiques 1903, S. 440.
[2]) Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika. Berlin 1894, S. 233.



zu gestatten und die Lebenden von ihnen zu befreien. Dies ist vor allem bei Krankheitsfällen von großer Bedeutung, da die Krankheiten doch durch Geister verursacht werden. Deshalb pflegt man auch sehr oft Kranke in die Geheimbünde der „babandwa" einzuweihen, und zwar manchmal in so schweren Stadien, daß sie den Zeremonien nicht ganz bewußt beiwohnen können. Man hofft aber, dem Kranken durch die Einweihung einen so mächtigen Beschützer zu erwerben, daß er imstande sein wird die Genesung des neuen Bundesmitgliedes zu erwirken. Trotz der so basierten Erwartungen unterläßt man aber nicht auch den Manen zu opfern, um die Stimmung der Geister, welche für den Kranken in Frage kommen könnten, günstig zu gestalten.

Die Existenz des Bundes teilt die Bevölkerung in zwei Klassen: die Eingeweihten und die Profanen. Die Eingeweihten zerfallen wieder in zwei Unterklassen, die „babandwa", die die Zeremonien ausführen, und die „rusingo", gewöhnliche Eingeweihte der unteren Stufe. Es wird in dieser Weise eine Hierarchie geschaffen, in der die Angst vor der übernatürlichen Macht der Auserlesenen Disziplin übt. So sind die Geheimbünde mächtige Faktoren sozialer Integration.

Die Hierarchie der Geheimbünde entspricht nicht der territorialen Gliederung in Häuptlingschaften und der Gliederung in exogame Clans. Sie schafft Abhängigkeiten, welche die eben erwähnten Gliederungen überbrücken, und festigt in dieser Weise unter Heranziehung der „übernatürlichen Mächte" das soziale Gefüge.

Abb. 163. Bibeko-Eisenstäbe aus Mulera. (1/6 d. w. Gr. III E 13770 u. III E 13727. Länge 130 u. 111 cm.)

Es wäre müßig zu diskutieren, ob die Staaten des Zwischenseengebietes ohne Geheimbünde existieren könnten. Es ist aber sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Herrschaft der Batutsi- und Bahima-Minoritäten durch die Organisation der Geheimbünde bedingt ist. Unter den „babandwa", die ihre Würde auf einen ihrer Söhne vererben, scheint das herrschende Element unverhältnismäßig stärker, als in der übrigen Bevölkerung vertreten zu sein. Diese Tatsache hängt wohl mit dem Umstande zusammen, daß der Ryangombe-Kultus ursprünglich ein Batutsi-Kultus sein sollte. Diese Ansicht wurde mir wiederholt in einer wenig bestimmten Form durch Missionäre und Eingeborene geäußert. Sie findet Unterstützung in der Feststellung von Rehse[1]), daß Ryangombe in Kiziba als ein Bahima-Geist angesehen wird. Dafür spricht auch die Tatsache, daß während der Einweihung die Vertreterin von Ryangombe

[1]) Rehse, H., Kiziba. Land und Leute. Stuttgart 1910, S. 134.

ausschließlich Hirsebier trinkt. Die ausschließliche Verwendung von Hirsebier bildet einen Hinweis auf die Steppen im Nordosten vom Victoria-Nil, von woher, den Überlieferungen gemäß, die Batutsi-Bahima einst eingewandert sind.

Am anschaulichsten wird der Zusammenhang des geheimen Kultes mit der Batutsi-Schicht durch die Tatsache charakterisiert, daß man in Kissaka, wie auch im übrigen Ruanda, viele Bahutu- und fast keine Batutsi-Christen hat. Die hohe soziale Organisation des Landes gibt die Möglichkeit, das Christentum zu verbreiten. Das beweisen auch die vielen bekehrten Bahutu. Bei den Batutsi stößt aber das Christentum auf einen anderen wohlorganisierten Kult, der seine Fortschritte zu annulieren imstande ist.

R. P. Paul Loupias vertritt die Ansicht, daß der Ryangombe-Kultus ein Bahutu-Kultus ist, und führt zugunsten dieser Ansicht die Tatsache an, daß der dem Ryangombe geweihte Königssohn, wie Ishirangabo, Bruder Musinga's z. B., das Anrecht König zu werden verliert.

Die Konzeption des Seelenreiches der Verschiedenen und die große Macht des Ryangombe, dessen Namen man ohne Schaudern nicht auszusprechen wagt, und dem nur Eingeweihte opfern dürfen, steht in großem Gegensatze zu den Geistern der verstorbenen Ahnen, die mit den lebenden Bahutu in engem Kontakt bleiben, mit ihnen wohnen und von ihnen verpflegt und versorgt werden. Dieser Gegensatz gestattet die Annahme, daß hier eine Vermischung stark verschiedener Anschauungen vorliegt. Außer Zweifel haben wir hier auf dem Religionsgebiete die Verschiedenheit der beiden aufeinanderwirkenden Kulturen: der Batutsi und Bahutu, vor uns.

Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient die Bedeutung des Hundes bei den „babandwa". Man hat mich versichert, daß der Hund die Kuh, d. h. das wichtigste, das heilige Tier der „babandwa" ist. Etwas Genaueres über seine Rolle im Kulte ist mir nicht gelungen zu erfahren. Die Anhänger der Ansicht, daß die Staaten Zentral-Afrika's Überbleibsel der Ausstrahlungen ägyptischer Kultur sind, könnten vielleicht in der Verknüpfung des Hundes mit dem Kulte des „Herrn der abgeschiedenen Seelen" eine Abspiegelung des hundsköpfigen Anubis sehen.

Die „babandwa" üben ihre Macht als Medizinmänner, Opferer und Wahrsager aus. Diese drei Funktionen sind sehr enge miteinander verknüpft, so daß eine Scheidung zwischen ihnen kaum möglich ist. Abgesehen von den „babandwa" und den Verehrern Biheko's, sollen noch die „balozi" einen Geheimbund bilden.

Initiation. Die Einweihung in einen Geheimbund ist mit langen und umständlichen Zeremonien verbunden. Man unterscheidet dabei zwei verschiedene Kategorien der Eingeweihten: die ganz Eingeweihten und die teilweise Eingeweihten, die nur die ersten Vorprüfungen überstanden haben.

Ich möchte jetzt versuchen, ein Bild der als sehr strenges Geheimnis gehaltenen „babandwa"-Einweihung in Ruanda zu geben.

Das Bild, das durch mühsames Ausfragen gewonnen wurde, zeigt uns wesentliche Übereinstimmungen mit der Beschreibung des R. P. VAN THIELE aus Ussuwi, wenn auch die Disposition der ganzen Zeremonie gewisse Unterschiede aufzuweisen scheint.

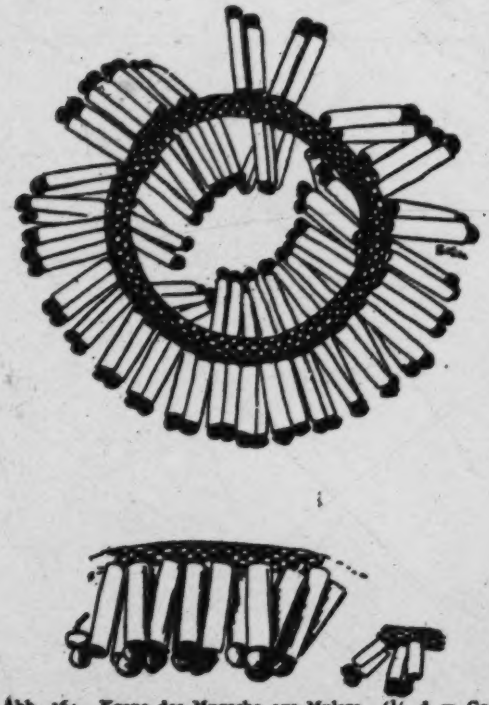


Abb. 164. Krone des Mugasha aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 13033. Dm. 20 cm.)

Soll jemand in den Geheimbund der „babandwa" aufgenommen werden, hat man z. B. einen Kranken, wie das meistens geschieht, dem das Hühnerorakel ausgesagt hat, daß er durch die Einweihung geheilt werden könne, so muß man die Eingeweihten durch Geschenke zur Aufnahme des Betreffenden veranlassen.

Man sucht zunächst einen einflußreichen Eingeweihten auf, der sich einverstanden erklären würde, als Vormund (Pate) aufzutreten. Der Vormund, den man auch „Vater" nennt, ladet die übrigen Eingeweihten in das Haus des Einzuweihenden ein.

Damit die Zeremonie der Einweihung stattfinden könnte, müssen gewisse Vorbereitungen getroffen und einige Gegenstände gesammelt werden; darunter befinden sich ein Schwert, eine Glocke, eine Fackel, ein größeres Quantum Bier und Lebensmittel, die vom Einzuweihenden besorgt werden.

Am verabredeten Abend versammeln sich die Eingeweihten in größerer Zahl in der Hütte des Einzuweihenden und fangen mit dem unvermeidlichen Biertrinken an. Die einzelnen „babandwa" treten dabei als die verschiedenen „bagaragu" des Ryangombe auf, was auch in ihren Insignien zum Ausdruck kommt. So soll der Vertreter Mugasha's mit einem Scepter in der Hand und mit einer Krone auf dem Haupte auftreten. Die Krone besteht aus einem nach der Art der Topfuntersätze geflochtenen Ring, an dem in zwei Reihen Schnüre hängen. Auf jede Schnur ist je ein kleiner Rohrzylinder aufgezogen und wird

durch den an dem Schnurende angebundenen Fruchtkern der wilden Banane festgehalten. Auch in Ruanda, ebenso wie in den übrigen Ländern des Zwischenseengebietes, verknüpft sich Mugasha mit der Banane. In ähnlicher Weise tritt uns hier Kagoro als tapferer Jüngling, mit Speer und Stock in der Hand, entgegen. Mit Rücksicht darauf kann man erwarten, daß der von R. P. van der Burgt[1]) beschriebene Kultus der Lanze (des Ikiranga) mit Binego im Zusammenhange stehe.

Die Uneingeweihten dürfen der Zeremonie nicht beiwohnen, und man pflegt sie aus der Nähe der Hütte des Einzuweihenden durch Stockhiebe in einer so rohen Weise zu vertreiben, daß sie ihre Neugierde oft mit schweren Verletzungen und manchmal sogar mit dem Leben büßen müssen.

Soll die Zeremonie anfangen, so setzen sich der „Vater" und das „Kind" auf den Schemeln einander gegenüber mit gespreizten Beinen. Die anwesenden Eingeweihten fragen, was sie hier eigentlich wollen. Der Einführende und der Kandidat antworten, sie möchten in den Bund eingeführt werden. Die Eingeweihten verweigern es und suchen manchmal den Kandidaten durch Prügel zu verjagen. Es kommt vor, daß der Einzuweihende den Mut verliert und davonläuft, womit auch die ganze Zeremonie ihr Ende findet. Flüchtet der Kandidat nicht, und ist man einverstanden ihn aufzunehmen, so unterwirft man ihn verschiedenen Prüfungen, durch welche er beweisen soll, daß er würdig ist dem Bunde beizutreten. Die ersten Prüfungen sind einfache Spielereien. Man gibt ihm den Auftrag einen Stern zu holen, mit dem Vermerk, daß der, der das nicht ausrichten kann, unwürdig ist, in den Geheimbund aufgenommen zu werden. Darauf nehmen die Eingeweihten glühende Kohlen vom Herde, werfen sie wiederholt in die Luft und fangen mit den Händen. Nach dieser Zeremonie versucht man wieder den Kandidaten mit Hieben zu verjagen.

Dann gibt man ihm geweihtes Bier durch einen verstopften Halm zu trinken mit denselben Worten: „Wenn das dir nicht gelingt, bist du unwürdig dem Bunde der ‚babandwa' beizutreten". Die Eingeweihten zeigen dabei, daß ihnen dieses keine Schwierigkeiten bietet und trinken Bier mit ihren guten Saugröhren. Dem Geprüften gelingt es wieder nicht. Nach dieser Prüfung geht man zur letzten über; man läßt den Kandidaten Steine essen. Auch dieser Versuch mißlingt ihm. Die Eingeweihten machen dabei vor, als ob sie Steine mit Leichtigkeit genießen könnten und essen Bananen.

Der Einzuweihende fragt dann seinen Vormund ganz schüchtern, wie solle man das alles machen. Dieser nimmt geweihtes Bier (buahoro) in den Mund und bespritzt ihn damit. Später schmiert er ihm das Gesicht mit Kaolin (runoni) ein, und spricht unverständliche, geheimnisvolle Worte. Diese Zeremonie wird „kurawa ingwa" genannt. Nachdem dies gemacht ist, nimmt der Einweihende

[1]) Van der Burgt, J. M. M., R. P., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande. Bois-le-Duc (Hollande) 1903. S. 516.

eine Kohle vom Herde, wirft sie in die Luft, und der Einzuweihende fängt sie, später gibt er ihm Bier durch ein gutes Saugrohr zu trinken und reicht ihm eine Banane, die durch das „Kind" aufgegessen wird. Darauf erklärt man, daß der Kandidat aufgenommen werden könne. Mit diesem Augenblick fangen die Gesänge an. Während der Gesänge wird der Kandidat durch seinen „Vater" geschickt, Bananen zu stehlen. Ist ihm das, ohne erblickt zu werden, gelungen, so wird er nach der Rückkehr in die Versammlung beglückwünscht. Man rühmt seine Schlauheit und begrüßt ihn mit dem Namen, den er von diesem Augenblick an im Bunde trägt. Nach dieser Unterbrechung werden die Gesänge fortgesetzt, und der „Vater" geht zum Einweihen, wobei unverständliche Worte gebraucht werden, über.

Der Einzuweihende begibt sich mit seinem Vormunde zum „muku" oder „mulinzi", dem Baum, der Ryangombe geweiht ist. Hier schließt sich dem einweihenden „mubandwa" sein „muhiruka" genannter Gehilfe an. Außer ihnen darf in der Nähe des Baumes niemand zugegen sein. Nachdem man sich darüber vergewissert hat, streckt man den Einzuweihenden auf dem Boden auf dem Rücken aus, und der Einweihende führt mit seinem Gehilfen einen leidenschaftlichen Tanz aus, wobei dem Kandidaten wiederholt gedroht wird, seine Brust mit einem Schwerte zu durchstechen. Diese Zeremonie soll dem Kandidaten zum Bewußtsein bringen, was mit ihm passieren würde, falls er sich entschließen sollte, dem Bunde gegenüber eine Indiskretion zu begehen. Sie bildet auch zugleich den Schwur des Einweihenden, daß er die Strafe vollstrecken wird.

Nachdem der Tanz zu Ende ist, kehren alle drei in einem Zuge nach der Hütte, wo die Eingeweihten versammelt sind, zurück; der „muhiruka" geht vorn, der Einzuweihende in der Mitte und der „mubandwa" schließt den Zug. Andere Eingeweihte (babandwa) kommen ihnen entgegen. Unter ihnen befindet sich einer, der „kishego" genannt wird. „Kishego" trägt eine brennende Fackel (lumuri) und eine kleine Glocke, die von ihm geläutet wird. Alle zusammen kehren in die Hütte des Einzuweihenden zurück.

Nach der Rückkehr setzen sich der Einzuweihende und der einweihende „mubandwa" auf Schemeln einander gegenüber. Zwischen ihnen steht ein Topf mit „marwa" (Hirsebier), und neben dem Topfe sitzt eine alte Frau im Stirnschmuck, der einen Hasenschwanz trägt, und mit einem Stück „muku"-Holz in der Hand. (Das „muku"-Holz ist bekanntlich Ryangombe geweiht.) Alle Anwesenden hocken mit nach vorn gestreckten Händen und rufen Ryangombe an.

Ist die „marwa" Ryangombe in dieser Weise geopfert, so legt sich der Einzuweihende vor der alten Frau, die mit dem „muku"-Holz in der Hand Ryangombe vorstellen soll, auf den Boden. Der Einzuweihende sagt der Frau: „Unkize, undinde, muli uyu muaka umbesheho" (Lasse mich genesen, hüte mich dieses Jahr). Die Frau macht mit dem Kopfe eine Bewegung, als ob sie einverstanden wäre, stößt ein unverständliches Brummen — mmm — aus und sagt:

„Nzakubesho, ntanga yewe" (ich werde dich hüten, ich werde dich leben lassen, mein Kind); später fügt sie hinzu: „Chwaga, chwagura Ryangombe", was angeblich bedeuten soll: „Güte in Fülle, Du Ryangombe". Darauf nimmt sie Bier in den Mund und spuckt es auf den Einzuweihenden. Das ist der Mittelpunkt der Zeremonie. Ist dies geschehen, so nehmen alle kleine Fackeln und irren in der Hütte herum, als ob sie etwas suchten. Nach dem Suchen werden die, vorher zu dieser Zeremonie speziell vorbereiteten, Erbsen (maharagi) und steifer Hirsebrei (mutsima) gegessen. Bei den Batutsi genießt man bei dieser Gelegenheit außerdem noch Milch. Damit ist die Zeremonie dieses Tages abgeschlossen.

Nach dem gemeinsamen Essen singt der frisch Eingeweihte schon mit und wird durch die Anwesenden ostentativ geehrt. Er hat auf dem Kopfe eine Graskrone, trinkt Bier mit und genießt das geopferte Fleisch. Nachdem er aufgehört hat zu essen, erzählt man ihm, daß Ryangombe und vor allem der Geist, dessen Namen er trägt, ihn schützen werden, daß er viele Kinder haben wird, daß er den geheimen Versammlungen beiwohnen darf, und belehrt ihn über die Opferformeln.

Nach diesen Zeremonien wird noch Bier bis zum Morgen getrunken. Kurz vor Sonnenaufgang gehen die Anwesenden, den frisch Eingeweihten ausgenommen, die Hütten in den benachbarten Bananenhainen zu besuchen. Diese Zeremonie nennt man einfach „kusega". Die Besucher werden überall mit „marwa" und „nzoga", je nachdem was man hat, bewirtet und mit Bananen beschenkt. Nach dem Besuche kehrt man nach der Hütte, wo die Zeremonie stattgefunden hat, zurück, um das übriggebliebene Bier auszutrinken, und geht darauf nach Hause. Am nächsten Abend oder nach einigen Tagen kommt der „mubandwa" mit dem „muhiruka" zum frisch Eingeweihten, ißt mit ihm zusammen und erwärmt Wasser, das in den Topf geschüttet wird, welcher während der Einweihung das dem Ryangombe geopferte Bier enthalten hat. Das Wasser wird durch die Angehörigen des frisch Eingeweihten getrunken. Nachher werden die während des Morgenbesuches (kusega) eingesammelten Bananen in den unterirdischen Wärmer zum Ausreifen gelegt. Nach einigen Tagen, wenn das Bier aus diesen Bananen schon fertig ist, kommen Bekannte zu Besuch, und sie werden alle mit diesem Biere (nzoga) bewirtet.

In dieser Weise hat der Kandidat die untere Stufe der Einweihung erwirkt. Er ist „rusingu" geworden. Auf ihr bleiben sehr viele, ohne höher zu steigen.

Beim Einweihen der Batutsi schlachtet man bei dieser Gelegenheit ein Rind. Nachdem das Rind gefallen ist, legt sich der „mubandwa", der „muhiruka" und der Einzuweihende — es sind immer die drei tätigen Personen — auf das liegende Rind, einer nach dem anderen, hin. Diese Zeremonie heißt „kwitonda gira". Erst nach ihr wird das Tier zerlegt, und das Fleisch an die Anwesenden verteilt.

Will ein Eingeweihter in der Hierarchie höher steigen, will er statt „rusingu" ein „mubandwa" werden, so geht er zum „Vater", der ihn eingeweiht hat,

und bittet um weitere Einweihung. Ist dieser damit einverstanden, so wird eine Versammlung zu diesem Zwecke einberufen. Der Kandidat verschafft, ebenfalls wie zum ersten Male, Bier und Lebensmittel. Die Profanen werden wieder selbstverständlich ausgeschlossen. Es werden ähnliche Zeremonien vorgenommen, wobei der Kandidat mit Bier bespritzt wird; die Prüfungen sind jetzt aber hart. Und da man nur sichere und ausgewählte Leute zu der höheren Einweihung zuläßt, so sind diese Zeremonien in ein noch größeres Dunkel gehüllt. Die Kandidaten werden immer mehrere Male abgewiesen und erst in der dritten oder vierten Versammlung aufgenommen. Der neu Eingeweihte muß schwören, daß er weder die Geheimnisse der Vereinigung verraten noch in irgendeiner Weise das ihm geschenkte Vertrauen mißbrauchen wird. Bei dem Schwur berührt der Kandidat die Ryangombe geweihten Gegenstände, wie die Krone, die Glocke und andere. Nach der Zeremonie wird der frisch Eingeweihte durch die älteren Bundesgenossen nach Hause begleitet. Alle Teilnehmer dieses Festzuges tragen Äste des Ficusbaumes in den Händen. Von jetzt an hat der eben Eingeweihte das Recht, Ryangombe zu opfern, Kandidaten in den Geheimbund einzuführen und allen Zeremonien beizuwohnen. Der durch die Einweihung Neugeborene steht nun schon über dem Rechte der Profanen und gehört zur Zahl der Ausgewählten. Er darf nur nicht vergessen, seinem Schutzgeiste und Ryangombe von Zeit zu Zeit zu opfern.

Eine etwas abweichende und viel eingehendere Beschreibung der Einweihung in den Bund der „babandwa" gibt R. P. van Thiele aus Ussuwi. Diese Beschreibung bezieht sich, wie es scheint, auf die höhere Stufe der Einweihung, über die ich in Ruanda nur weniges erfahren konnte. Ich gebe sie hier in einem Auszuge, der nach der mir durch R. P. L. Classe zur Verfügung gestellten Notiz gemacht wurde.

Zur Einweihung sind zwei „babandwa" notwendig, ein Mann und eine Frau. Der Mann wird genannt „mugogo saidja" und die Frau „mugogo kazi". Man nennt auch den Mann „musego" — der Einweihende — und die Frau „muchwezi" — die Einweihende. Beide zusammen sind Eltern „baishebuhemba". Sie haben bei sich noch Gehilfen, die „bihale" genannt werden. Der Einzuweihende wird in der Zeremonie als ihr „Kind" angesehen. Das „Kind" ist gewöhnlich krank. Die Zeremonie wird vorgenommen auf Veranlassung des vorher herangezogenen Wahrsagers. Zur Zeremonie ist eine Anzahl verschiedener Gegenstände notwendig. Das sind ein Messer, eine Axt, Feuer, Schemel, Kalebassen, zwei Arten Bier, ein Löffel, ein Stock, eine große Nadel, eine Tabakwurzel, ein mit Haaren vom Schwanze eines Tieres (mbwisi) umwickeltes Stäbchen aus „musinge"-Holz, mit weißem Schnupfpulver (ntendere) bestreut, was zusammen „kimwanda" genannt wird, ein Pfeil, eine Hacke und zwei kleine Stücke Holz vom „mulinzi"-Baume, die man etwas aushöhlt, um ihnen die Bootform zu geben, das sind die „bilimbe", und zuletzt die „bisingo", d. h. mit Kaurimuscheln geschmückte Felle.

Nach der Ankunft in das Haus des Einzuweihenden setzen sich die „baishebuhemba" gekrönt auf ihre Schemel. Sie vertreten die an der Zeremonie teilnehmenden Geister. Die Frau läßt ihre Hände abwechselnd auf dem Stocke von oben nach unten gleiten. Vor ihnen steht das Bier. Der Kranke liegt zu ihren Füßen. Man gibt ihm Schnupfpulver. Nießt der Geprüfte, so beweist das, daß er sich zur Einweihung eignet. Wenn das Nießen ausbleibt, so findet die Zeremonie der Einweihung nicht statt. Einer der Angehörigen bittet die Geister Mitleid mit ihrem Menschen zu haben, ihn zu heilen, ihn als den ihrigen aufzunehmen und von ihm Besitz zu ergreifen. Nachdem steckt der „mugogo" dem Kranken die Tabakwurzel in den Mund und hält sie dort so lange, bis der Betreffende ohne Besinnung zusammenbricht. Dann wird ein Feuer gemacht, und an ihm „kimwanda", Pfeil und Hacke deponiert. Es werden zwei Geister angerufen, z. B. Ryangombe und Mugasha. Die Frau, die den Ryangombe darstellt, wird von dem Manne mit den Worten gebeten: „Komme, o Ryangombe! Heile und empfange deinen Mann!" Dieses Gebet wird genannt „kwentongeza", d. h. sich aufnehmen lassen, sich einweihen, Einweihung. Die den Ryangombe darstellende Frau ahmt mit geschlossenem Munde das Rinderbrüllen nach, was die Anwesenheit des Geistes bedeuten soll; das wird „kutangana" genannt. Dann sagt ein Eingeweihter: „Ich war ‚kutanganirwa' durch den Geist N. N.", und der Mann reicht der Frau einen Trinkstrohhalm. „Ryangombe" nimmt Bier in den Mund und wirft es zerstäubt auf den Kranken. Dieses Hirsebier wird in einem irdenen Topfe gehalten; es ist von der „endimasi"-Sorte zubereitet, die Ryangombe geweiht ist. Nun wiederholt die Frau dasselbe Gebet, sich an den Mann wendend, der auch mit einem Seufzer antwortet, was die Anwesenheit von Mugasha bezeugen soll. Der Geist trinkt auch durch einen Halm, der ihm von der Frau angeboten wird. Er trinkt aus einer Kalebasse Bananenbier „luhagwa" und spuckt es auch auf den Kranken. Dann nimmt der „mugogo" von seiner „kimwanda" etwas „ntendere", gibt dem Kranken die zweite Portion des weißen Nießpulvers, um ihn zum Bewußtsein zu bringen, schlägt ihn auf den Kopf mit der „kimwanda", und der Kranke erwacht. Damit endigen die Zeremonien des ersten Tages. Die „baishebuhemba" bleiben nachtsüber im Hause des Kranken. Sie wohnen dort während der vier Tage, die die Zeremonie in Anspruch nimmt.

Am nächsten Abend geht man ins Gebüsch, recht weit von den Hütten, nach einer Stelle, die „kagondo kato" genannt wird. Die Geister werden in derselben Weise wie am letzten Abend angerufen. Die Anwesenden trinken Bier, das auf den Kranken gespuckt wird, welcher im Falle einer Genesung den Geistern gehört. Dann nimmt der „mugogo" das Messer und die Axt und sagt dem Kranken drohend: „Ich werde dich totschlagen, wenn du Anderen sagst, was ich mit dir mache." Die Frau nimmt den Stock, legt ihn auf den Nacken des Kranken und bedroht ihn in derselben Weise. Man führt einige Tänze aus und kehrt nach Hause zurück. Diese Zeremonie heißt „mutalongo" oder „kumeramera."

Der dritte Tag ist der große Tag der Prüfungen. Diesmal dauert die Zeremonie länger, und man bricht bereits gegen Mittag auf. Zu den oben erwähnten Gegenständen kommen noch Lebensmittel und ein Bogen mit Pfeilen hinzu. Man geht nach „kagondo kakuru", das groß genannt wird infolge des Platzes, der nicht im Gebüsch liegt, sondern am Fuße eines großen Baumes. Man beginnt mit dem Anlegen eines Feuers. Der Kranke liegt ausgestreckt auf Blättern am Fuße des Baumes. Der „mugogo" steigt auf eine kleine Erhöhung und ruft die Eingeweihten aus der Umgebung zusammen mit den Worten: „Esaire, Esaire", d. h. Eingeweihte. Die „babisi", d. h. die Frischen oder Nichteingeweihten, wagen nicht und dürfen nicht kommen. Es kommen nur die, die einst eingeweiht wurden. Man geht wie zu einer Feier. Wenn alle da sind (es sind manchmal fünfzig und mehr), werden Amulette und Arzneien verbrannt, damit die „babisi", die Profanen, ihr heiliges Holz nicht schädigen könnten.

Später legt man den Kopf des ausgestreckten Kranken auf die Knie eines Anwesenden. Man läßt ihn die Zunge ausstrecken und legt eine Arznei darauf. Der „mugogo" nimmt ein kleines Brettchen, schiebt es unter die Zunge, nimmt in die andere Hand eine große, mit Arznei bestrichene Nadel und durchsticht mit ihr die Zunge des Kranken in der Weise, daß die Spitze in dem Brettchen stecken bleibt. Wenn das Blut rinnt, hat die Zeremonie keinen Wert: das beweist, daß der Geist den Betreffenden nicht will. Der Kranke wird durch die Gehilfen ausgestreckt gehalten, die ihm Arme und Beine fixieren. Sein Kopf ruht immer noch im Schoße eines anderen, der ihn unterstützt. Die Nadel bleibt in der Zunge eine kürzere oder längere Zeit, je nach dem Alter und der Kraft des Einzuweihenden, stecken. Manchmal läßt man sie 20—30 Minuten darin. Während der ganzen Zeit führen die Anwesenden Tänze aus. Die Frauen schlagen dabei auf die Felle, mit denen sie bekleidet sind, und die Männer bewegen ihre Bierkürbisse. Sie singen abwechselnd die zwei Worte „wabo", was bedeutet „sie", und „bagaburi", was bedeutet „sie verleumden mich". Dabei legen sie ihre Armringe vor den „mugogo", um den Kranken auszukaufen. Hat ihre Zahl die genügende Höhe erreicht, zieht der „mugogo" die Nadel heraus. Der Tanz hört auf, und es wird gegessen. Nach der Mahlzeit wird der Geist angerufen, und man bedroht den Kranken, wie an den beiden vorigen Tagen. Alles wird nur mit mehr Tobsucht gemacht. Man endigt mit der Einladung der Anwesenden, sich am nächsten Tage früh am Morgen zum Schlusse einzufinden und begleitet den Kranken tanzend bis nach Hause. Manchmal bleibt man noch die Nacht hindurch im Freien, „kulala alukome". Der Körper des Kranken wird mit Erde oder Sand eingerieben, damit er schöner zu den Ablutionen des nächsten Tages wird.

Am vierten und letzten Tage findet die Zeremonie des „mulwesero", was Ablution bedeutet, statt. Am frühen Morgen begeben sich alle Eingeladenen in Festgewändern zu einem bestimmten Flusse. Ein Junge wird durch die „baishebuhemba" unter dem Wasser gehalten, ein Erwachsener folgt ihm

tauchend. Sie schließen sich mit Fingern Nase und Ohren. Die „baishebuhemba" schütten Wasser in die kleinen Boote aus „mulinzi"-Holz. Nach den Tauchereien wird der Oberkörper des Kranken weiß gemacht durch Auftragen von Zeichnungen mit Kaolin (runoni). Die Anwesenden bewundern seine Schönheit mit den Worten: „Du glänzst wie ein Leopard", „Du bist ein anderer Mensch." Am Ufer des Flusses wird gefeiert und getrunken. Dann werden noch die Geister wie an vorhergehenden Tagen angerufen. Am Abend kehren alle singend und tanzend wie Besessene zurück. Im Hofe vor dem Hause angekommen, erhalten sie eine Hacke und vier Samenkörner von Hirse, Maniok, Kürbis und Erbsen. Der Eingeweihte vergräbt sie mit seinen „baishebuhemba" und anderen Anwesenden, wobei die Körner auf die beiden Boote aus „mulinzi"-Holz gelegt werden. Dann bekommt er den Namen eines Geistes und eine Krone mit zwei Kauris. Erst später darf die Zahl der Muscheln vergrößert werden. Darauf beginnt der Eingeweihte sich wie ein Besessener zu betragen. Er geht bis zum Beschimpfen seiner Angehörigen mit unanständigen Worten. Die „baishebuhemba" befehlen ihm sich auf den Boden zu legen, und nach einer Weile ruft ihn der „mugogo" mit seinem gewöhnlichen Namen, um ihn an das Alltagsleben zu erinnern. Der Eingeweihte macht vor, als ob er aus einem tiefen Schlafe erwachte, beschaut die Anwesenden und grüßt alle ruhig in der gewöhnlichen Weise. Das heißt wegnehmen den „luchwezi". Dann werden die Einweihungsspesen gezahlt und die Zeremonie ist beendigt.

Beide Einweihungsbeschreibungen zeigen einige Unterschiede, die wohl auch auf die lokalen Kultusunterschiede hinweisen.

Die allgemeinen Übereinstimmungen sind im Gegensatz zu den kleinen Unterschieden sehr groß. Es sollen hier nur erwähnt werden die Kaolineinschmierung, die Bespritzung mit Bier, das Anzünden des Feuers bei den Zeremonien, das Liegen des Kandidaten auf dem Boden, die Tänze am „mulinzi"-Baum, die Prüfungen, die Bedrohungen des Einzuweihenden, die weibliche Vertreterin des Ryangombe, der Zusammenhang des Ryangombe mit dem, in den Steppen des Nordens ausschließlich verwendeten, Hirsebier, und endlich die kultuelle Geheimsprache der Eingeweihten.

Sehr wichtig ist auch die Tatsache, daß der Vertreter von Mugasha, dem Geiste der Gewässer und Bananenhaine, Bananenbier aus einem Kürbis, im Gegensatze zur Vertreterin von Ryangombe, trinkt.

Geheimsprache. Die „babandwa" bedienen sich bei ihren Handlungen einer besonderen Sprache, die der übrigen Bevölkerung unbekannt ist und zur Gesamtheit der „babandwa"-Geheimnisse — „ibanga lyi bandwa" — gehört. R. P. van Thiele nennt sie „luchwezi" in Ussuwi, und mir wurde sie in Kissaka und Nduga (Marangara) als „lubandwa" bezeichnet. Es sollen hier nur die, durch R. P. van Thiele gesammelten „luchwezi"-Wörter den „lubandwa"-Wörtern, die R. P. Ch. Lecoindre gesammelt hat, gegenübergestellt werden. Andere Angaben über die Geheimsprache zu erhalten, ist mir nicht gelungen.

Deutsch	Kinyaruanda	„Lubandwa" (Marangara)	„Luchwezi" (Ussuwi)	„Lubandwa" (Kissaka)
Amulett	ngisha	—	mihasira	—
Arme	amaboko	—	mikolantambara	—
Armring (Kupfer)	imiringa	imihone	—	—
Augen	amaso	—	agaweza	—
Axt	—	—	nsenya	—
Banane	ekitoke	—	bihuni	—
Bananenenhain	indoke	—	bihungatete	—
Bataten	—	—	ebizibizi	—
Bauen	kubaka	—	kizizimba	—
Bauer	umuhutu	umunutu	—	—
Baum	ikiti	—	kisale	—
Beine	—	—	malibasa	—
Bier	nzoga	ruhunga	mayanza	—
Bier (nzoga) trinken	—	—	—	kutshwagu hwagura
Bogen	umuheto	umuneto	bulega	—
Bogenschießen	kurasa	kurasha	—	—
Brennholz	ntushari	—	nsali	—
Dolch	umusenyi	umusenyi	—	—
Erbsen	maharagē	—	ebihurugu	—
Essen	kulia	kutanyira	—	—
Europäer	—	—	Bazubu	—
Fleisch	nyama	—	migasi	—
Feuer	umuriro	umwoto	muto	—
Frau	umugore	umukari	mukankazi	—
Gebären	kubiara	kubuta	—	—
Gehen	kugenda	kuzenga	—	—
Gesicht	amasso	amashongo	—	—
Gott	Imana	Imende	—	—
Gras	ubwatsi	—	bunyamurwa	—
Haare	imitsatsi	—	ichoke	—
Häuptling	umutware	chirima	—	—
Haus	inzu	inzakaru	enzakaru	—
Hund	imga	kakungu	—	kakungu
Kahindiro (König)	Kahindiro	Kamindiro	—	—
Kalebasse	kisabo	—	ensweina	—
Kind	umwana	umubefe	—	ibikende
Klient	umugaragu	umugarama	—	—
Kochtopf	nyungu	—	ntwerwa	—
Königin-Mutter	—	—	muyarami	—
Kopf	umutwe	—	muyara	—
Kraut	imboga	izibose	—	—
Kuh	inka	ihangi	—	—
Kuhfell	inkanda	inkabara	—	—
Lwabugiri (König)	Lwabugiri	Rwabuguru	—	—
Mädchen	mukobga	musundi, ntarakomereke	—	—
Mann	umugabo	umulabo	umulenzi	—
Matte	ikirago	—	mukabali	—
Mehlbrei	umutsima	umubonania	—	—
Mein Kind	umwana wanye	—	umwere wane	—

Deutsch	Kinyaruanda	„Lubandwa" (Marangara)	„Luchwezi" (Ussuwi)	„Lubandwa" (Kissaka)
Melken	kukama	kukoroga	—	—
Milch	amata	amera	masugunu	amafuro
Ohren	amatwi	—	mahuliru	—
Pfeil	umuambi	—	milasa	—
Regen	—	—	nfonyi	—
Salz	umunyu	umusenyi	—	—
Säugen	—	—	kununka	—
Schaf	ntama	—	mbwana	inyabuhoro
Schemel	—	—	kisunta	—
Speer	ichumo	ishongoro	masongola	—
Sterben	kupfa	—	kuyiruma	—
Stoff	—	—	migonzi, mikorokozi	—
Tabak	—	—	ihukula	—
Wald	ishamba	—	kichaka	—
Wasser	amazi	—	matingi	—
Weg	inzira	—	muhura	—
Zähne	—	—	manono	—
Ziege	ihene	inguruka	uzwika	kianwa
Zunge	urulimi	—	lurigizi	—

In Kissaka wird von den „babandwa" der Name des Schwiegervaters nie genannt, und man bezeichnet ihn „ikitari lwa hurawaa".

Opfer. Wenn auch jedermann opfern darf, so bezieht sich das nur, wie es scheint, auf die Manen. Die wichtigsten Opfer werden aber Ryangombe und seinen Jüngern gebracht. Diese Handlungen dürfen doch, wie es schon erwähnt wurde, nur Eingeweihte (babandwa) vornehmen.

Über diese Zeremonien berichtet R. P. VAN THIELE folgendes: Der zum Opfern aufgeforderte „mubandwa" begibt sich am Vorabend zum Spender und trifft in seinem Hause die notwendigen Vorbereitungen.

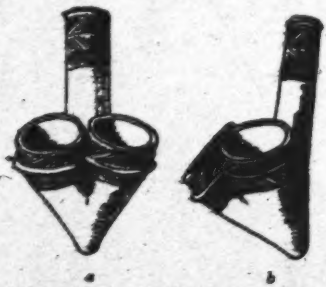
Am Morgen vor Sonnenaufgang begleitet die ganze Familie mit ihren Hörigen den „mubandwa" mit seinen Gehilfen nach dem Opferorte, der an einer Straßenkreuzung liegt. Der Vater geht mit Pfeil und Bogen. Das gefesselte Opfertier wird dort durch die Gehilfen des Zauberers festgehalten. Der „mubandwa" tötet es. Die vorher vorbereiteten Geheimmittel werden in das Blut des Opfers eingetan und den Anwesenden zuerst auf der Brust, dann auf der Stirn und zuletzt auf dem Rücken aufgelegt. Der „mubandwa" streckt dann auf dem Opfer kleine Bündel grüner Zweige, die „muyambo" genannt werden, aus. Nachdem er den Befehl zum Aufbrechen gegeben hat, machen sich alle auf den Weg; einer nach dem anderen überschreitet das Opfertier und begibt sich nach Hause, ohne sich nach hinten umsehen zu dürfen, weil sonst das Opfer seine ganze Bedeutung verlieren würde. In dieser Prozession geht der Familienvater als erster; ihm folgen die Söhne, diesen die Hauptfrau und nach ihr die übrigen Frauen und ihre Töchter. Der „mubandwa" bleibt mit seinen Gehilfen an der Opfer-

stelle. Wenn jemand in der Nähe der Opferreste vorübergeht, so bemüht er sich, ein Blatt aufzuheben, spuckt darauf und wirft es in der Richtung der Reste mit den Worten: Verfolge mich nicht (Geist, „umuzimu", Unglück oder Krankheit). Die letztere Handlung hängt mit dem Umstande zusammen, daß das Übel, der Geist, dessen man durch das Opfer losgeworden ist, an der Wegkreuzung den Vorübergehenden überfallen kann.

Abb. 165. Opfertopf für Bier aus Mulera. (1/4 d. w. Gr. L 15 173. Höhe 21 cm.)

Die Batutsi opfern Rinder, Schafe und Hühner, während das Opfertier der Bahutu die Ziege und in selteneren Fällen das Schaf ist.

Soweit ich mich erkundigen konnte, wird das Fleisch der geopferten Rinder bei günstigen Aussagen an alle Anwesenden verteilt. Sagen die Eingeweide ungünstig aus, so überläßt man es den Batwa. Das Fleisch der geopferten Schafe wird von den Angehörigen des Spenders nicht gegessen, und man überläßt es dem opfernden „inubandwa" und seinem Gehilfen. Die von R. P. van Thiele beschriebene Zeremonie bezieht sich deshalb ganz sicher auf das Opfern eines Schafes, was er zu erwähnen vergessen hat. Das Fleisch der geopferten Ziegen essen die opfernden Bahutu mit ihren Freunden auf.



a b

Abb. 166. Doppelte Tabakspfeife aus Ruanda. (1/2 d. w. Gr. III E 6595. Länge 9 cm.)

Die Batutsi tragen Fett und Knochen der geopferten Schafe als Amulette am Halse. Das Fett wird in kleinen Gefäßen, wie die Hühnereingeweide, auf Bastschnuren auf der Brust getragen.

Das Bier wird Ryangombe in Töpfen mit zwei Öffnungen geopfert. Aus einer Öffnung trinkt der Opfernde, aus der anderen Ryangombe. Demselben Zwecke scheinen die doppelten Tabakspfeifen zu dienen.

Beim Opfern dürfen die Batutsi keine Baumwollstoffe anhaben und müssen mit dem gefransten Kuhfell, „mukane", bekleidet sein.

Wahrsager, Zauberer und Medizinmänner. Abgesehen von den „babandwa", unterscheidet man in Mulera noch mehrere Kategorien Leute, die auf übernatürlichem Wege ihre Macht auf Lebende und Geister auszuüben verstehen. Es sollen hier genannt werden: „bapfumu", „bahuzi", „balozi", „bachunyi", „bahinza" und „bawubyi".

„Bapfumu" haben zur Aufgabe den Verkehr mit den Geistern der Verstorbenen (bazimu) zu besorgen. Man besucht sie nach einem Todesfalle in der Familie mit einem Geschenk aus Nahrungsmitteln und manchmal auch einer Ziege. Von ihnen erfährt man dann, wo es am zweckmäßigsten ist, die Geisterhütte des Verstorbenen (ndaro) zu bauen. Da der „mupfumu" im Kontakte mit den Geistern der Verstorbenen bleibt, und da diese Krankheiten verursachen, so fragt man ihn, ob der Kranke genesen wird. Der „mupfumu" gibt Antworten mit Hilfe des Brettchenorakels.

„Bahuzi" haben zur speziellen Aufgabe das Entdecken der Vergifter, die hier „balozi", im Runyoro-Gebiet „balogu" genannt werden. Wenn viele Todesfälle eintreten, wird sofort eine Vergiftung vermutet. Um dem Übel abzuhelfen, wird der „muhuzi" zitiert. Dessen Aufgabe besteht in der Feststellung, wer der Vergifter ist. Weiß man das, so kann man den Unheilsstifter totschlagen und dem Übel in dieser radikalen Weise Abhilfe, wenigstens für die Zukunft, leisten. Der „muhuzi" geht mit seinem verzauberten Antilopenhorn von Gehöft zu Gehöft. Überall wird er in der entgegenkommendsten Weise durch das Familienoberhaupt empfangen und beschenkt. Alle fürchten, daß der Unzufriedene auf sie als Vergifter zeigen könnte. Das hat immer den Tod zur Folge. Das Horn sagt während des Rundganges dem „muhuzi", wo sich das Gift befindet, und wer der Vergifter ist.

Die vom Blitzschlag Getroffenen werden ebenfalls durch den „muhuzi" behandelt. Schlägt der Blitz in eine Viehherde ein, so stößt der Herdenbesitzer ein Freudengeschrei aus, das in lange ausgestoßenem Hu.. besteht, wobei mit der Hand auf die Lippen geschlagen wird. Dieser Ruf wird durch die Nachricht ergänzt, daß der König seine Kühe zurücknimmt. Dies wird gemacht, um die betäubten Stücke zu retten. Der darauf geholte „maganga huzi" sucht diese unter Anwendung von Kräutern zu heilen und bekommt für seine Bemühungen als Honorar die Kiefer der erschlagenen Tiere mit anschließenden Fleischteilen. Die Hörner der gefallenen Stücke werden an der Unglücksstätte eingegraben. Die „bahuzi" haben auch die Aufgabe, den Kranken den Ausgang ihrer Leiden zu prophezeien.

„Balozi" — Vergifter — sollen ihre Opfer ums Leben bringen mit Hilfe eines Giftes, das sie unter dem Fingernagel verborgen tragen. Das Gift wird dem Opfer auf seiner eigenen Tabakspfeife gegeben, die der Vergifter verräterisch für eine Weile, um ein paar Züge zu machen, leiht. Alle plötzlichen Todesfälle werden als Vergiftung aufgefaßt. Diese Ansicht stützt sich auf der Tatsache, daß die Giftmischerei ein weit verbreitetes Verbrechen ist. R. P. F. Dufays erzählte mir, daß es ihm gelungen ist, einen durch „balozi" Vergifteten durch Brechmittel und Milch zu retten. Das läßt vermuten, daß es sich tatsächlich in diesem Falle um eine Vergiftung gehandelt hat. Während meines Aufenthaltes in Ruasa hatte ich Gelegenheit einen angeblichen Vergiftungsversuch zu sehen. Da Hauptmann W. v. Grawert für seine Strafkolonne den Führer

von Ruasa nahm, so brachten die Geschädigten uns einen angeblich vergifteten Topf Honig zum Geschenk. Der mißtrauische Mututsi, Lwakazina, der mich dort stets begleitet hatte, um durch Freundschaft mit einem Europäer sein Ansehen zu heben, entdeckte im Topfe ein in Bananenbast eingewickeltes Stückchen Fett. Er erklärte das als Leichenfleisch der von den Soldaten erschossenen Eingeborenen, was auch bei den Anwesenden allgemeinen Glauben fand. Die Art und Weise, wie sich die Schenker mit stolzem Bewußtsein verrichteter Pflicht und großem Schimpfen zurückgezogen hatten, veranlaßt mich anzunehmen, daß Lwakazina vielleicht recht hatte.

Vergiften und bezaubern wird mit demselben Wort „kuloga" bezeichnet. Deshalb ist es sehr schwer, in den Berichten die beiden Sachen auseinander zu halten. Vor allem ist es schwer festzustellen, ob nach Zauberern oder Vergiftern gesucht wird.

Ob die Vergifter hier einen Geheimbund bilden, konnte ich nicht erfahren. Sie sollen, wie ich wiederholt, aber immer in einer sehr unbestimmten und widerspruchsvollen Form, gehört habe, nachts am Feuer ihre Sitzungen (in Masken?) abhalten, Menschenfleisch oder sogar Leichen verzehren und Gifte bereiten.

„Bachunyi" sind Amulettfabrikanten. Wer sich mit einem Amulett (mpigi) versehen will, das ihn vor einem Übel schützen oder ihm in einer gewissen Beziehung helfen soll, begibt sich zum „muchunyi". Dieser versteckt sich und bereitet geheim das gewünschte Mittel mit Hilfe von Zaubersprüchen.

In Usuwi, nach R. P. VAN THIELE, haben die „bakoni", die wohl mit den „bachunyi" Ruanda's identisch sind, die Pflicht, das Gift der sagenhaft gefürchteten, geheimnisvollen „balogu" zu bekämpfen.

„Bahinza" beschäftigen sich mit den Angelegenheiten des Ackerbaues, vor allem also mit den Feldfrüchten und den Heuschrecken. Ihrer Mitwirkung verdankt man die gute Ernte. Deshalb gehen auch die „bahinza" nach der Ernte herum und sammeln für sich Spenden ein. Man beschenkt sie gern. Der „muhinza" kann durch seinen Fluch sowohl Menschen wie Tiere „austrocknen", so daß sie das Vermögen, Geschlechtsverkehr auszuüben, verlieren.

Die Baleta fürchten den Fluch des „muhinza" sehr, da er nur den Fluchspruch auszusagen und auf den Boden zu spucken braucht, und die Wirkung tritt von selbst ein.

R. P. F. DUVAYS erzählte mir, daß er Gelegenheit hatte zu beobachten, wie ein vom „muhinza" Verfluchter binnen kurzer Zeit aus Angst gestorben ist. Die „bahinza" sind immer Bahutu.

„Bawubyi" sind Regenmacher. Sie erscheinen in der Übergangszeit zwischen der Regen- und Trockenzeit und verlangen Geschenke für Regenmachen oder für Aufhören des Regens. „Bawubyi" sind immer vom Pariastamm der Batwa.

Mit Rücksicht auf die Tatsache, daß es nur sehr wenige Batutsi in Mulera gibt, und ihr Einfluß sehr gering ist, darf man annehmen, daß die hier besprochenen

und mir aus Mulera bekannten Kategorien der Wahrsager und Zauberer, wie auch die ganze Giftmischerei, Erscheinungen sind, die in der Bahutu-Kultur wurzeln und nicht als Entlehnungen von den Batutsi angesehen werden müssen.

In Ruanda werden, ebenso wie in Kiziba und Mpororo, Frauen den Geistern geweiht. Diese haben für die Bedürfnisse der Geister zu sorgen und ihre Kinder sollen als Kinder des Geistes angesehen und zu seinem Geschlecht gezählt werden, da den Frauen der Geschlechtsverkehr mit anderen angeblich verboten ist. Man erzählte mir aber ganz offen von einem Falle, wo ein Mututsi-Häuptling einem Geiste Bahutu-Frauen geweiht hatte und mit ihnen den Geschlechtsverkehr ausübte.

Wahrsagen und Träume. In Ruanda sind verschiedene Methoden des Wahrsagens im Gebrauch. An erster Stelle muß seiner großen Bedeutung wegen das Hühnerorakel genannt werden.

Um sich über eine Angelegenheit durch das Hühnerorakel orientieren zu können, muß der Fragende mit einem Huhn zum Auguren (mupfumu) gehen. Bei der Ankunft spuckt er dem Huhn in den Schnabel und überreicht es dem Wahrsager. Der Wahrsager legt zunächst das Huhn auf den Kopf des Besuchers und ruft darauf seinen Gehilfen, einen jungen Burschen. Der Junge faßt das Huhn unter die Flügel und legt es mit dem Rücken auf den Boden. Der „mupfumu" schlitzt das Huhn von der Mundspalte an auf, so daß die Zunge mit dem Unterkiefer bleibt, und hebt die Eingeweide heraus. Diese werden in ein improvisiertes Becken gelegt und gewaschen. Das Becken besteht aus einer Vertiefung im Boden, die mit einem Bananenblatt ausgelegt ist. Die gewaschenen Eingeweide werden auf der Hand ausgebreitet, und der Wahrsager sucht die „nkebe" genannten Wucherungen. Wenn die Anzahl der „nkebe" 2—3 nicht übersteigt, so ist die Aussage günstig oder bejahend. Ist die Aussage für den Fragenden ausgefallen, so werden einige Knochen vom Huhn genommen und in ein kleines Gefäß aus Rindenstoff gelegt. Zu den Knochen pflegt man noch manchmal die Eingeweide mit den „nkebe" hinzuzufügen. Dieses Gefäß wird nach der Austrocknung im Rauche des Hausherdes am Halse als Amulett gegen bösen Blick getragen. Ist die Zahl der gefundenen „nkebe" größer, so wird das Huhn weggeworfen, und die Operation wird an einem anderen wiederholt.

Das Überreichen des Amuletts aus einem Stückchen Rindenstoff mit Hühnerknochen und Fett geschieht mit gewisser Feierlichkeit in einigen Tagen nach dem Wahrsagen. Soviel Zeit ist zum Austrocknen des Inhaltes erforderlich. Der „mupfumu" kommt früh am Morgen in die Hütte des durch günstige Aussage Beglückten. Er wird sitzend empfangen. Der Mann sitzt auf einem Schemel, seine Frau neben ihm auf dem Boden. Der Wahrsager setzt sich ihnen gegenüber und streicht dem Manne etwas Kaolin auf die Stirn, auf den Rücken und

auf die Brust. Später reicht er dem Manne das Halsband aus Bast mit den daran hängenden Gefäßen, welche die Knochen des für Wahrsagen geopferten Huhnes enthalten. Als Bezahlung bekommt der Wahrsager eine Hacke und Bier, wenn es zu dieser Zeit vorhanden ist.

Abb. 167. Amulett aus Rindenstoff. Ruanda. (1/3 d. w. Gr.)

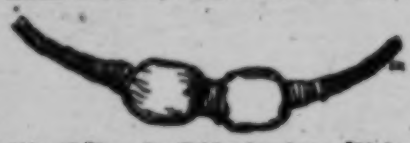


Abb. 168. Doppeltes Halsbandamulett aus Rindenstoff. Ruanda. (1/3 d. w. Gr.)

Das Hühnerorakel ist eine Batutsi- (resp. Bahima-) Sitte. Das kommt darin zum Ausdruck, daß sowohl die Auguren zur Hirtenoberschicht gehören, wie auch die Amulette mit Hühnerknochen vorwiegend durch Batutsi getragen werden.

In ähnlicher Weise wie Hühner, werden auch Rinder und Schafe zum Wahrsagen aus ihren Eingeweiden verwendet. Das scheint, wohl infolge seiner Kostspieligkeit, auf den König und die Vornehmen beschränkt zu sein. Die Ziegen werden wohl als Opfer, nie aber zum Wahrsagen verwendet.

Die Tatsache, daß das mit der Bahutu-Unterschicht enger verknüpfte Tier — die Ziege — zum Wahrsagen nicht verwendet wird, deutet wohl darauf hin, daß überhaupt die Sprüche auf Grund der Eingeweide der Opfertiere mit der herrschenden Batutsi-Schicht zusammengehören.

In Kissaka soll auch das Wahrsagen mit Kalebassen angewendet werden. R. P. van Theele beschreibt es folgendermaßen: Der Wahrsager hat zwei mit Körnern gefüllte Kalebassen. Er sitzt auf einem kleinen Schemel, mit dem Felle einer Schakalart bekleidet, und zwar in dieser Weise, daß der Kopf des Tieres auf dem Kopfe des Zauberers liegt und der Schwanz hinten herunterfällt. Der Wahrsager schüttelt mit den Händen die beiden Kürbisse und erzeugt mit den Körnern ein Geräusch. Nach einiger Zeit hört er auf, legt die Kürbisse beiseite, legt das Fell ab und streckt sich auf dem Boden aus. Nach einer Weile solcher Konzentration verkündet der Wahrsager seinen Spruch und wird bezahlt.

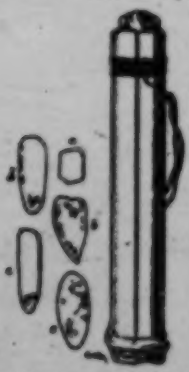


Abb. 169. Behälter mit Marken zum Rettichorakel aus Mulera. a) Kürbismarke, b) Eisenmarken, c) Knochenmarken. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III B 13 117. Länge 22 cm.)

Eine abweichende Form stellt das Wahrsagen mit der sprechenden Kalebasse und mit dem sprechenden Ziegenfell „nyabukobwa" dar. Mit diesem Hilfsmittel soll man zur Zeit des letzten unabhängigen Königs von Kissaka (Kimeni II.) die Ankunft der Europäer von Osten prophezeit haben. R. P. van Theele berichtet, daß er im „nyabukobwa" eine Rohrflöte gefunden hat, die beim Zusammenpressen des Sackes, durch die ausströmende Luft gespielt wurde.

In Muleira wird allgemein das Brettchenorakel angewandt. Der Wahrsager nimmt an einem Griff das 40 cm lange, 15 cm breite und 1—2 cm tiefe, muldenförmig ausgehöhlte Brettchen. Mit der anderen Hand wirft er ein paarmal einige Fruchtkörner, Metallplättchen, kleine Schafsknochen und ein Kürbisstück in die Luft. Das Kürbisstück wird „umwami" (König) genannt. Die Eisenplättchen bedeuten die „bazimu" (Geister) der Männer und die Schafsknochen — die der Frauen. Sie werden immer geschickt aufgefangen. Haben sie sich genügend vermischt, so kann man sie mit einem Schub auf dem Brettchen ausbreiten. Aus der Art ihrer Verbreitung wird die Antwort abgelesen.

Die Eingeborenen erzählen in Ruanda von Prophezeiungen, die schon vor mehreren Jahren auf die künftige Einwanderung der Europäer Bezug genommen haben.

So sollte vor Jahren der damals mächtige Vater Kaizuka's erkannt haben, daß ein Eroberer, der von allen bis jetzt bekannten Menschen verschieden ist und über den Donner Macht hat, von Osten ins Land kommen und die inneren Verhältnisse Ruanda's verändern wird. Diese Prophezeiung wurde allgemein bekannt und veranlaßte Monseigneur Hirth für die Mission den Weg über Usumbura und Urundi zu wählen, um die infolge dieser Prophezeiung möglichen Schwierigkeiten aus dem Wege zu schaffen. Im Jahre 1905, als der König der veränderten Lage bewußt wurde, ließ man angeblich Kaizuka, dem Sohne des Unglückspropheten, die Augen ausstechen und den Besitz rauben.

Eine ähnliche Prophezeiung erzählt man für Ruasa. Der Hügel, wo jetzt die Mission aufgebaut ist, führte einen früher ganz unverständlichen Namen „busakaza itaka", angeblich Land, wo mit Erde gedeckt wird. Vor ca. fünfzehn Jahren prophezeite ein Mann, daß „rote Männer" kommen werden, und ihr Haus mit Erde gedeckt wird. Als die Missionäre kamen und ihre Gebäude mit Backstein deckten, bekamen die Worte einen Sinn, und die Prophezeiung hat sich erfüllt. Etwas ähnliches soll es auch in Bugoye geben.

Das Wesen der Banyaruanda-Ansichten über Träume ist mir nicht gelungen zu erfassen.

Das, was man im Traume sieht, ist eine Angelegenheit der Vergangenheit oder der Zukunft, soweit es sich mit der Gegenwart nicht verträgt. Wenn man Verstorbene im Traume gesehen hat, so wird gesagt, daß die Geister der Toten zu Besuch waren. So ein Traum hat gewöhnlich Opfer zur Folge, da man annimmt, daß die Geister Not leiden und erschienen sind, um sich Hilfe zu erbitten. Eine Unaufmerksamkeit könnte für den Betreffenden sehr schlimme Folgen haben, da sich die Vernachlässigten rächen würden.

Sieht ein Jüngling seine Braut im Traume, so heiratet er sie nicht. Der Traum warnt ihn vor der Ehe, in der sich die beiden Gatten nicht vertragen würden.

R. P. F. Dufays träumte einst, daß einer seiner schwarzen Freunde nach übermäßigem Biergenuß geplatzt sei. Als er dies dem Betreffenden am nächsten

Morgen gesagt hatte, erschrack dieser sehr und fing an zu weinen. Als man ihn nach dem Grunde seiner Tränen fragte, erklärte er, daß das, was man im Traume gesehen hat, doch passieren werde.

Medizinische Praxis. Eine spezielle Form der medizinischen Behandlung, die Heilung durch Einweihung in einen Geheimbund, haben wir bereits kennen gelernt. Sie erschöpft aber nicht die ganze medizinische Praxis und wird auch nicht immer angewendet. Nicht alle Zauberer, Wahrsager und Medizinmänner gehören nämlich zu den Geheimbünden der „babandwa". Das Besänftigen der Geister mit Eleusine (buro) wird, wie es scheint, von den gewöhnlichen Wahrsagern (bapfumu) ausgeführt, um die Patienten von ihren Leiden, die durch plagende Geister verursacht sind, zu befreien.

In Kissaka, wo man mir über das „Besänftigen der Geister" mit Eleusine viel zu erzählen verstanden hat, zeigt dieses Verfahren ungefähr den folgenden Verlauf.

Der „mupfumu" nimmt eine kleine, „ntendere" genannte Kalebasse und füllt sie mit Eleusine. Hierzu werden Kaolinpulver, „nzuzi"-Körner und ein Knochen aus dem Vorderfuß eines Rindes hinzugefügt. Der Wahrsager reibt sich den Handteller mit Kaolin ein, legt auf die Hand die „nzuzi"-Körner und den Knochen, spuckt auf sie und sagt: „ngira amagara" — Ich bin stark. Die Hand wird bewegt, und der Inhalt in einen kleinen Korb „ntaro" geworfen. Darauf wird Eleusine aus dem Kürbis in den Korb geschüttet. Der „mupfumu" spuckt in die Eleusine und reicht den Korb dem Veranlasser der Handlung. Dieser spuckt ebenfalls in den Korb. Der „mupfumu" nimmt zum zweitenmal den Knochen und die „nzuzi"-Körner heraus mit den Worten: „ngira amagara" und schüttelt sie wiederholt in der Hand, als ob er sie mischen wollte. Der Inhalt der Hand wird mit den Worten „ngira amagara" in einen runden Korb geworfen und beiseite gestellt. Der „mupfumu" reicht dann den Korb mit Eleusine dem Manne, der mit den Worten „n'dapfa" — ich sterbe — dort hineinspuckt. Daraufhin spuckt der Wahrsager mit den Worten „ngira amagara". Der Geplagte sagt: „n'ziranyu muzimu" — ich leide von diesem Geiste — und sagt seinen Namen. Unter abwechselndem Spucken werden die einzelnen, in Frage kommenden Geister mit Innehaltung dieser Form durchgezählt. Diese Operation heißt „kushora umuzimu" (Geister besänftigen). Ist das geschehen, so nimmt der Wahrsager den kleinen beiseite gestellten Korb mit dem Rinderknochen, „nzuzi"-Körnern und nur wenigen Eleusinekörnern und reicht ihn dem Geplagten. Der Geplagte spuckt hinein und sagt: „ngira ubuhoro" — ich habe Frieden. Der Wahrsager bewegt den Korb mit den Worten: „agira ubuhoro" — er hat Frieden; „atapfa" — er stirbt nicht; „atafushe" — er möchte nicht totgeschlagen werden; „azaturaho" — er wird bleiben. Nach diesen Worten wirft der Zauberer alles in die Kalebasse, und die Zeremonie ist beendigt.

Als Belohnung für die Behandlung bekommt der „mupfumu" Erbsen, Bataten u. a.

In die eigentliche medizinische Behandlung und die angewendeten Heilverfahren konnte ich keinen Einblick bekommen, da das die Kenntnis der lokalen Flora voraussetzt. Darüber wissen die Eingeborenen auch wesentlich weniger, als über die eindrucksvollen Handlungen der autosuggestiven Kuren zu erzählen. Ich möchte mich nur auf die Bemerkung beschränken, daß die Heilmittel nicht nur gegessen und eingerieben, sondern auch am Körper in Hörnern und kleinen Gefäßen als Amulette getragen werden. Die Amulette mit Arzneien werden auf die kranken Körperteile angebunden. Da die Amulette eine stark spezialisierte Wirkung haben, so muß man gegen jedes Leiden ein besonderes Amulett, oft eines besonderen Medizinmannes, haben. Deshalb sieht man wiederholt auf einem Individuum ein Dutzend Amulette.

Abb. 170. Kopfamulett aus Ruanda. (1/2 d. w. Gr. III E 6978. Länge 1,8 cm.)

Abb. 171. Kopfamulett aus Ruanda. (1/2 d. w. Gr. III E 10133.)

Abb. 172. Halsamulett aus Ruanda. (1/4 d. w. Gr. III E 10153.)

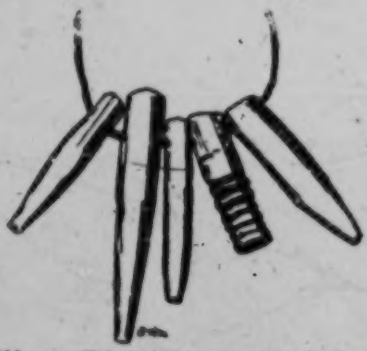


Abb. 173. Halsamulett aus Ruanda. (1/2 d. w. Gr. III E 10147.)

Die Amulette weisen sehr verschiedene Formen auf. Zunächst sind es mit kleinen Glasperlen bestickte Holzstäbchen, die in der Zahl von eins bis zwei am Kopfbande aus Bast getragen werden. Manchmal werden am Halsbande mehrere dünne Holzzylinder mit Glasperlen zusammen getragen. Man kann aber auch größere Holzstücke in bedeutender Zahl am Halsbande sehen. Gelegentlich sieht man Amulette in der Form winziger, mit Fernmedizin gefüllter Tongefäße. Ähnliche Form besitzen die Liebestöpfchen (ingondo), die von den

Frauen in größerer Zahl auf der Leibschnur getragen werden und ihnen die Liebe ihrer Gatten sichern sollen. Zu demselben Zwecke dienen auch kleine, „bunuli"

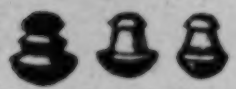


Abb. 174. Amulettbehälter aus Ton. Ruanda. (1/3 d. w. Gr. III E 10 147.)

Abb. 175. Liebestöpfchen aus Ruanda. (1/3 d. w. Gr. III E 13087a, III E 13088c, III E 13086a, III E 13084b.)

genannte Kürbisse. Die Gefäße dieser Art werden mit der „isarazi"-Medizin gefüllt.

Manchmal wird der Kranke mit glühendem Eisen angebrannt. Man sieht sehr oft Brandspuren auf der Stirn, die auf eine Behandlung der Kopfschmerzen hindeuten. In anderen Fällen werden Einschnitte und Aderlaß angewendet.

Abb. 176. Liebeskürbis aus Ruanda. (1/3 d. w. Gr. III E 13119. Höhe 22 cm.)

Der Aderlaß (kurasha) ist in der Ruanda-Medizin im allgemeinen Gebrauch. Eine Vene wird auf der Stirn gewählt und durch Druck (Umwickelung des Halses) gestaut. Die gestaute Vene wird dann geöffnet. Zu diesem Zweck stellt man einen Pfeil oder ein Messer auf die Vene und führt es mit einem Stoß des Zeigefingers in das Gefäß hinein.

Ist ein genügendes Quantum Blut abgezapft, so wird die Ligatur abgenommen. Das Bluten hört gewöhnlich von selbst auf. Ist das nicht der Fall, so wird die Öffnung mit Ton verklebt.

Die Schröpfköpfe bilden ebenfalls ein beliebtes Mittel. Als Schröpfkopf dient ein Antilopenhorn, das mit einer kleinen Öffnung auf der Spitze versehen ist. Durch diese wird die Luft ausgesogen, und der Schröpfkopf mit Ficusblättern verschlossen. Die Schröpfköpfe werden bei Kopfschmerzen auf den Nacken gestellt. Um ihren Effekt zu steigern, wird nicht selten die Haut mit einem Messer durchschnitten. Den Schröpfkopf läßt man solange stehen, bis er von selbst abfällt. Die Schröpfköpfe unterscheiden sich nicht von denen der Dinka.

Bei Extremitätenbrüchen werden die Knochen geschickt zusammengelegt und in Schienen (busenge) fixiert.

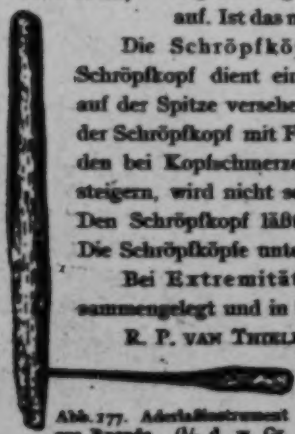


Abb. 177. Aderlaßinstrument aus Ruanda. (2/3 d. w. Gr. I. 15066.)

R. P. van Thiele unterscheidet unter den Medizinmännern zwei besondere professionelle Geheimbünde: die „bakoni" und die „bageiye", die durch die „banga"-Zeremonie eingeweiht werden. „Bageiye" heilen die durch Schlangen Gebissenen.

Ich hatte in Ruanda keine Gelegenheit einen heilenden „bageiye" zu sehen. Als unterwegs zum Muhawura-Vulkan ein Mann durch eine Schlange gebissen

wurde, wollte man dem Verletzten als Mittel gegen das Schlangengift den Kopf des totgeschlagenen Tieres auf die Wunde binden.

Sehr interessant ist die Angabe des R. P. VAN THIELE über die folgende präventive Behandlung der so sehr gefürchteten Pocken (bushita).

Der Medizinmann versieht zunächst alle mit Amuletten, die aus Kürbiskörnern bestehen. Auch der Wassertopf bekommt sein Amulett. Dann gibt er ein Präventivmedikament, das er kochen läßt. Nach dem Kochen bläst er Luft durch einen Halm hinein, um es zum Schäumen zu bringen. Mit dem Schaum wird der ganze Körper eingerieben. Die Wirksamkeit des Medikamentes wird durch Inzisionen an fünf verschiedenen Stellen gestärkt. 1. Über dem rechten Auge drei Einschnitte, 2. auf der rechten Schulter, 3. auf dem Rücken, 4. über der rechten Hand, und 5. über dem rechten Fuß je ein Einschnitt. Die Einschnitte reibt der Medizinmann mit dem bespuckten kleinen Finger ein.

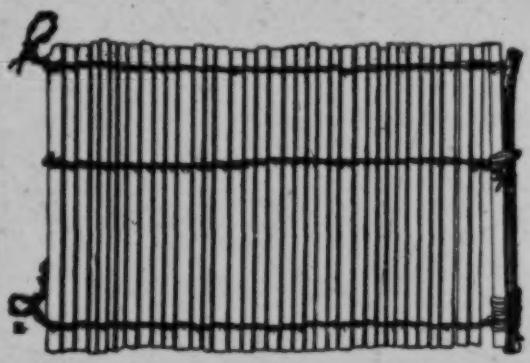


Abb. 178. Schienen zum Fixieren der gebrochenen Glieder. Ruanda. (¼ d. w. Gr. III E 13742. Länge 26 cm, Breite 20 cm.)

Anthropophagie und Menschenopfer. Das Problem der Anthropophagie und der Menschenopfer im Zwischenseengebiet gehört zu den dunkelsten und schwierigsten. In Ruanda soll z. B. die „bimara" — Blutsteuer — noch vor wenigen Jahren existiert haben. Die Bahutu von Bukunzi in Mukinjaga haben einst die Rinder des Königs Ruganzu geraubt und aufgegessen. Am nächsten Morgen fanden die Hirten auf Speeren hängende Fleischstücke, die den ganzen Überrest darstellten. An den Speeren wurden die Übeltäter erkannt. Zur Strafe hat man ihre Landschaft mit einer besonderen Steuer belastet. Sie mußte jedes Jahr eine Jungfrau und einen Jüngling liefern. Der Jüngling wurde unterwegs totgeschlagen und sein Blut dem König gebracht, die Jungfrau wurde eine „muja" (Sklavin) des Königs. Ich hörte, daß dieses Opfer zum letztenmal vor drei Jahren (1904) stattgefunden hatte und von Musinga aufgehoben wurde.

Außerdem sollen bei der Thronbesteigung ein Knabe und ein Mädchen geopfert und eine Trommel mit einem Menschenschenkelknochen geschlagen werden[1]). Man darf nicht vergessen, daß in Buganda[2]) Menschen in großem Umfange geopfert wurden.

[1]) PARISCH, F. R. v., Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903. Globus 1904, Bd. 86, S. 77

[2]) ROSCOE, J., The Baganda. Their Customs and Beliefs. London 1911, S. 331.

Anthropophagie soll in Ruanda, abgesehen von den Batwa im Norden, noch bei den Vergiftern (baloei) ausgeübt werden. Koch[1]) bestätigt ihr Vorkommen bei den „balogu" der westlichen Uferlandschaften des Viktoria-Sees: „Es ist eine Tatsache, daß es augenblicklich dort noch eine geheime Sekte gibt, welche Leichen ausgräbt und auffrißt, und deshalb werden jetzt von den Angehörigen bei den Leichen Wachen aufgestellt. Sie glauben, wenn Jemand von Leichen ißt, so bekommt er unheimliche, zauberhafte Kräfte und kann sich in wilde Tiere verwandeln, wie in der Sage von unserem Wärwolff."

Nach Johnston[2]) soll das Verzehren der Leichen in Buddu und auf den Sesse-Inseln vom Geheimbund der „basezi", die sich nachts versammeln, ausgeübt werden. Johnston[3]) bezeichnet die Einwohner der Sesse-Inseln als berüchtigte Menschenfresser, die nur unter dem Drucke der Baganda diese Leidenschaft aufgegeben haben.

Die westlichen Nachbarn von Ruanda, die Bahunde, sind ebenfalls Menschenfresser, wie das auch durch Dr. Kandt[4]) festgestellt wurde. Er berichtet nämlich über folgenden Fund: „Da lag der Kopf eines höchstens vor 2 Tagen geschlachteten Menschen. Die Ohren, Lippen und das Fleisch von Wangen, Hals und Kinn waren weggeschnitten, die großen Röhrenknochen hatte man zerschlagen, offenbar um Blut und Mark auszusaugen. Die Feuerstelle mit Asche war noch vorhanden, der blutige Schurz aus Rindenstoff, die Stroh- und Drahtringe des Geschlachteten lagen rings zerstreut im Grase. Ich rief die Führer; sie kannten den Mann und sagten, wenn wir suchen wollten, würden wir noch viel andere solcher Reste finden, aber ich verspürte keine Lust dazu."

Aus diesen Tatsachen darf man den Schluß ziehen, daß früher die Anthropophagie im ganzen Zwischenseengebiete von den westlichen Seen bis zu den Sesse-Inseln allgemein verbreitet gewesen und erst nachträglich verdrängt, im Kultus, in den Geheimbünden ihre deutlichen Spuren hinterlassen hat.

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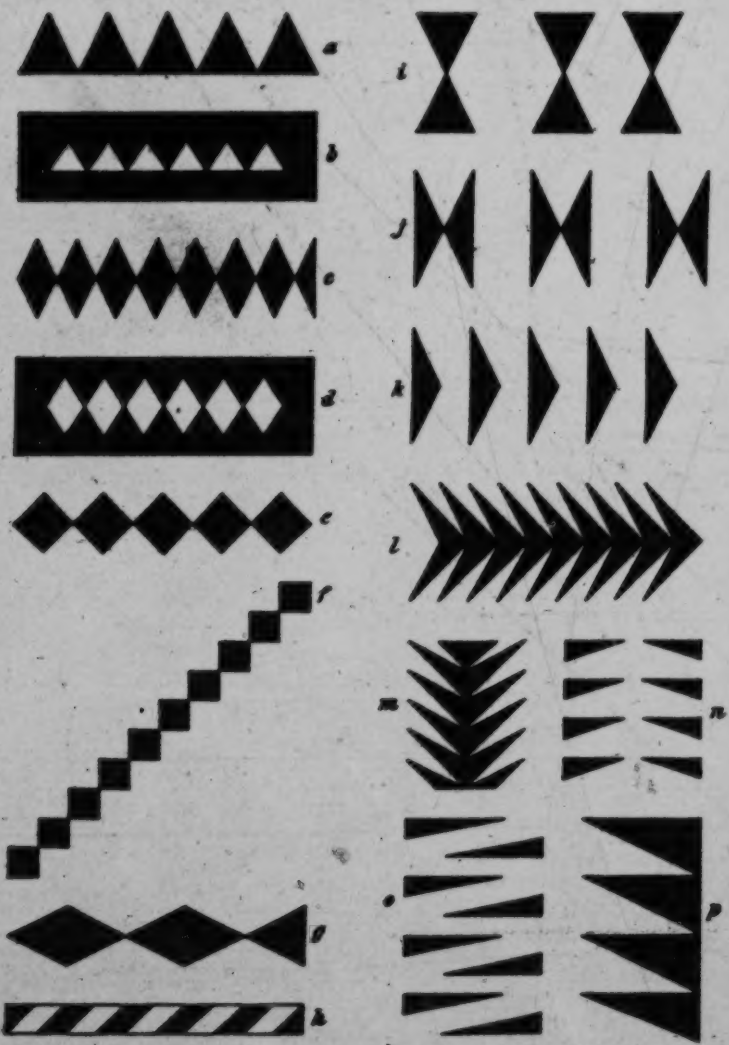
[1]) Koch, R., Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1908, S. 465.

[2]) Johnston, H., The Uganda Protectorate. London 1902, S. 692.

[3]) Ebenda S. 693.

[4]) Kandt, R., Caput Nili. Berlin 1904, S. 449.

Wiss. Ergebn. der Deutschen Zentral-Afrika-Exp. 1907/08. Bd. VI. Tafel I.



Czekanowski.

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Druck von Alex. Wiedemann, Leipzig

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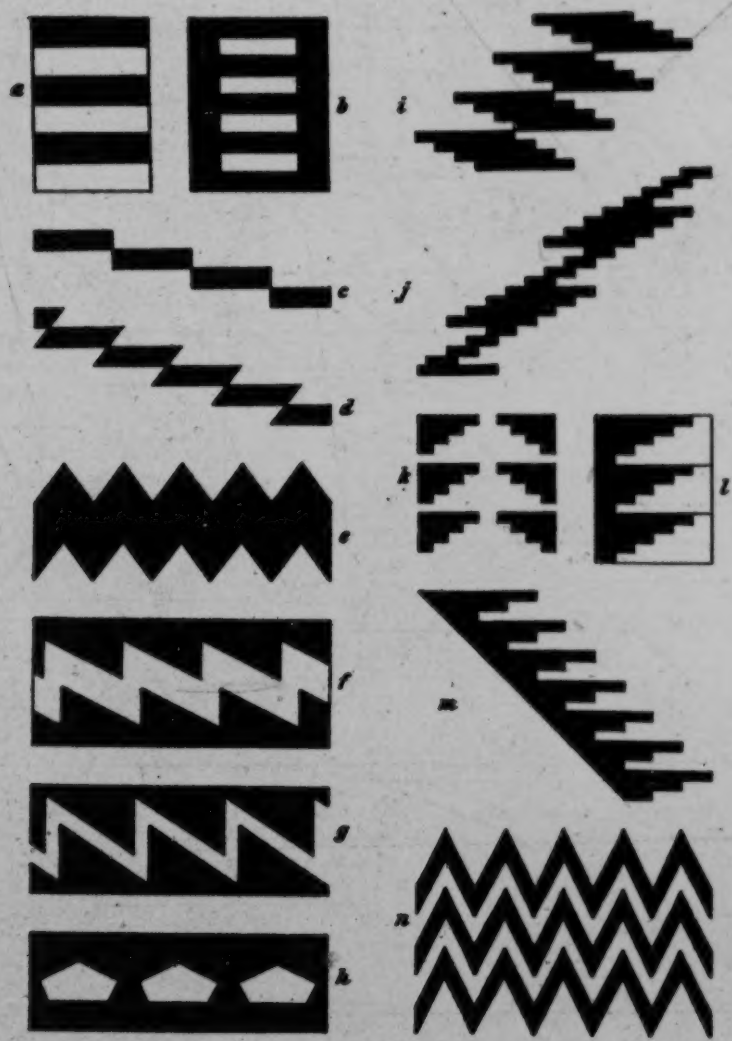
Wiss. Ergebn. der Deutschen Zentral-Afrika-Exp. 1907/08. Bd. VI. Tafel X.



Czekanowski.

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Wiss. Ergebn. der Deutschen Zentral-Afrika-Exp. 1907/08. Bd. VI. Tafel II.

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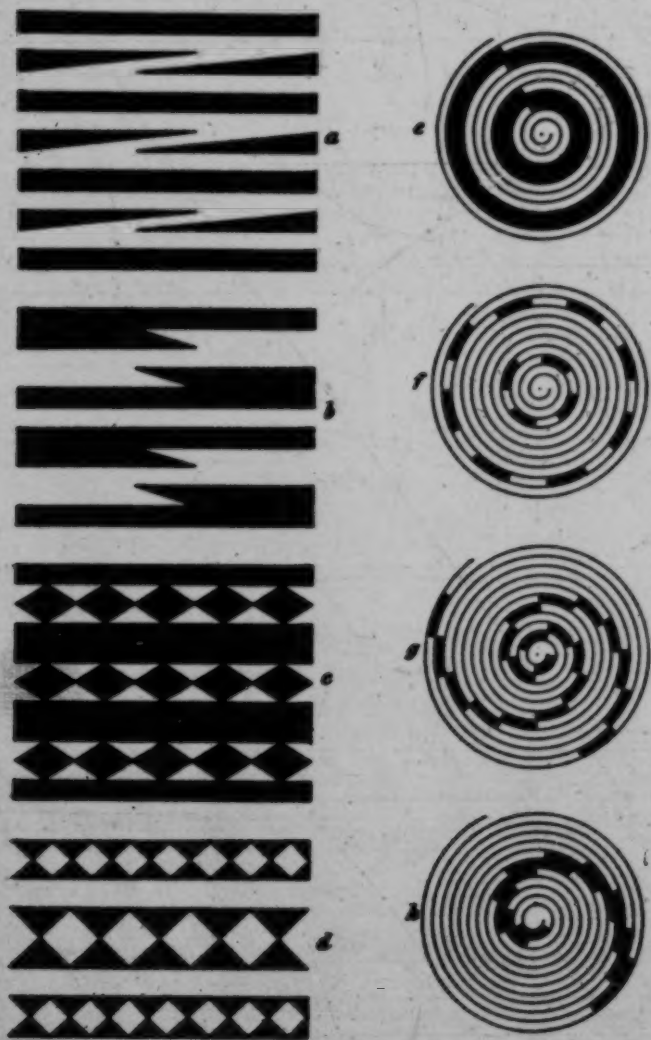
Wiss. Ergebn. der Deutschen Zentral-Afrika-Exp. 1907/08. Bd. VI. Tafel IV.



Czekanowski. Photodruck: Max Hüttenrauch, Leipzig.

Verlag von Klinkhardt & Biermann, Leipzig.

[p. 328 D]

16. Kapitel.

Ornamentik und Spiel.

Ornamentik. — Tanz. — Spiel. — Zeichenerklärungen.

Ornamentik. Schon bei der Besprechung der Rasier- und Tätowiermuster wurden einige sehr verbreitete Ornamentformen erwähnt; mehrere wurden auf den Körben, Matten, Köchern, Speerhaltern, Gefäßuntersatzringen, Schwert- und Messerscheiden abgebildet. Jetzt sollen diese Angaben noch ergänzt und zusammenfassend besprochen werden.

Das Ruanda-Ornament ist rein geometrisch und vorwiegend geradlinig, wobei die Linien hauptsächlich nur als Grenzen größerer, einheitlich gefärbter Felder in Frage kommen. Manchmal werden aber ganze Felder einheitlich mit Parallelstrichen, die auch Quadratennetze bilden können, bedeckt. Gekrümmte Linien kommen zwar auch vor, sie sind aber recht selten. Man begegnet ihnen gelegentlich auf den Messerscheiden. Nur in der Bemalung der Schilde und in den Tätowierungs- und Rasiermustern herrschen sie ganz ausschließlich.

In Kissaka hatte ich auch Gelegenheit in dieser Weise bemalte Scheidewände in den Bahutu-Hütten zu sehen.

Das Ornament ist in Ruanda sehr einfach und sowohl formen- wie auch farbenarm. Die Formen sind meistens Kombinationen von Dreiecken und geraden Linien. In der Ausstattung mit Farben handelt es sich in der Hauptsache um die Kontrastierung der schwarzen und weißen Farbe. Die rote kommt recht selten hinzu. Man sieht sie nur auf den Schilden und auf den Scheidewänden in den Hütten, von den kleinen Luxusflechtereien abgesehen. Die anderen Farben kommen in Frage nur als Nuance der weißen, die man rein infolge der Beschaffenheit des verzierten Materials (Matten, Holz) nicht bekommen konnte, worauf das Ornament durch Auftragen schwarzer Zeichnungen hergestellt wird.

Bei der Einfachheit des Aufbaues des Ruanda-Ornamentes läßt sich dieses ohne Schwierigkeiten in seine Bestandelemente gliedern. Die wichtigsten von ihnen wurden schon durch Dr. Kandt[1]) unter Angabe ihrer Namen beschrieben. Wir wollen sie hier zunächst ihren Namen nach aufzählen: „amatana" — Köcher, „ngabo" — Schild, „masaka" — Hirse, „amakota" — Messer, Pfeilspitze,

[1]) Kandt, R., Gewerbe in Ruanda. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1904, S. 343.

[p. 329]

„mushongole" — freundlicher Mensch, „nduhuda" — Speerzwinge, Schwalbenflügel, große Schwalbenflügel, „ikirizo" — großer Schweif und „imiambi" — Pfeile. Die drei letzteren könnten dabei schon als zusammengesetzte Formen aufgefaßt werden. Das Fünfeck nimmt eine ganz besondere Stellung ein. Es ist ganz isoliert. Alle diese Elemente sind geradlinig. Krummlinien treten in der Form von Segmenten, Halbmonden, Spiralen und Kreisen auf. Breite Kreise werden dabei „imikako" — Oberarmring und schmale Kreise „imirindi" — Handgelenkring genannt.

Das Hauptelement der Ruanda-Ornamentik ist das Dreieck. Es führt den Namen Köcher (amatana). Dieses Schmuckmotiv findet man auch am häufigsten

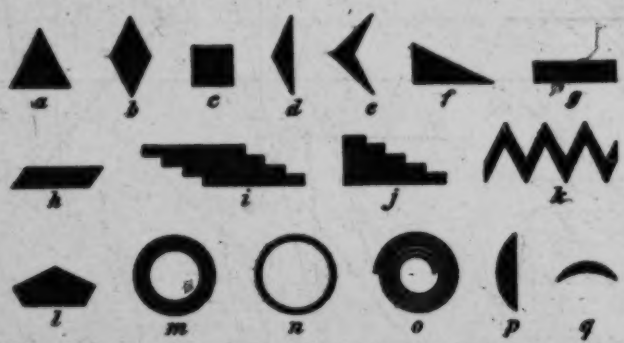


Abb. 179. Elemente des Ruanda-Ornamentes. a) „Amatana" — Köcher, b) „ngabo" — Schild, c) „masaka" — Hirse, d) „amakota" — Messer, e) Pfeilspitzen, f) „mushongole" — höflicher Mensch, g) „nduhuda" — Speerzwinge, h) Schwalbenflügel, i) große Schwalbenflügel, j) „ikirizo" — großer Schweif, k) „imiambi" — Pfeile, l) Fünfeck, m) „imikako" — Oberarmring, n) „imirindi" — Handgelenkring, o) Spirale, p) Segment, q) Halbmond.

auf den Köchern, wo sie in Reihen nebeneinander gestellt, die Wände als breite Ringe umgeben. Ein Ring aus ganz kleinen Dreiecken auf den Köchern trägt aber den Namen „imirindi" — Armring. Manchmal bedecken die „amatana" größere Flächen.

Die Rhomben, die durch Zusammenlegen zweier Dreiecke mit ihrer Basis entstehen, werden, wie schon erwähnt wurde, „ngabo" — Schilde genannt. Sie treten ebenfalls auf Köchern auf und werden, wie das „amatana"-Ornament, meistens als Ringe und seltener als Längsstreifen angebracht.

Als nächste Variante dieser Schildreihe muß die Quadratenreihe angesehen werden. Sie ergibt sich, wenn die Rhomben entsprechend erniedrigt werden, so daß sie sich in Quadrate umwandeln. Man nennt dieses Motiv „imikako" — Perlschnurband, wenn auch das einzelne Quadrat „masaka" — Hirse genannt wird. Als eine seltene Variante desselben Motives müssen längsgezogene Rhomben bezeichnet werden. Liegende Rhomben geben das „amasaro"-Motiv (Schnur).

Stehen aber die Dreiecke mit ihren Spitzen aufeinander, so daß sanduhrförmige Figuren entstehen, so bekommt man das Messermuster (amakota).

Diese Figuren bilden auf den weichen Schildmatten oft Kolonnenreihen, die durch unregelmäßige Abstände getrennt werden. Seltener werden die niedrigen, sanduhrförmigen Figuren liegend nebeneinander angebracht.

Die Pfeilspitzenmotive kommen manchmal zu pflanzenähnlichen Komplexen vereinigt vor, doch kann man diese Formen verhältnismäßig selten sehen.

Die „mushongole"-Motive werden gewöhnlich in senkrechten, symmetrischen oder alternierenden Kolonnen zusammengestellt, wobei die Elemente frei oder ganz geschlossen aneinandergefügt werden.

Die „uduhuda" — Speerzwingenelemente — pflegt man gewöhnlich in freien Reihen übereinander zu ordnen, so daß sie nicht umrandete Kolonnen, manchmal auch Treppenreihen bilden.

Die Schwalbenflügelmotive werden in schrägen und horizontalen Streifen angeordnet. Die erstere Disposition scheint die ursprüngliche zu sein; die Veränderungen, die in den horizontalen Streifen auftreten, entfernen sich sehr von dem ursprünglichen Aufbau aus homogenen Elementen. So haben sich im Muster senkrechte Stücke eingeschaltet. Es darf aber nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß es auch beim „großen Schwalbenflügelornament" neben der einfachen Form zur Ausbildung einer komplizierteren mit eingeschaltenen Zwischenstücken kommt.

Das „ikirizo"-Motiv kombiniert sich zu Ornamenten im großen Ganzen in derselben Weise, wie das schon oben besprochene „mushongole"-Motiv, mit dem Unterschiede aber, daß die Elemente nicht allein an einer senkrechten, sondern auch an einer schrägen Linie angebracht werden können.

Das Pfeilmotiv (imiambi) wird in mehreren Reihen übereinander angebracht, so daß man in dieser Weise größere Flächen decken kann. Oft werden nur wenige Reihen horizontal oder auch schräg angebracht.

Zum Bedecken größerer Flächen werden außer dem Pfeilmotiv noch das Köchermotiv (amatana), Schildmotiv (ngabo), Hirsemotiv (masaka) und Speerzwingenmotiv (uduhuda) oft verwendet. Beim letzteren werden dabei manchmal Elemente verschiedener Größe kombiniert.

Fünfecke bilden eine sehr seltene Erscheinung in der Ruanda-Ornamentik. Ich erinnere mich, sie nur einmal (III E 13 644) beobachtet zu haben. Die längsgezogenen Fünfecke waren da nebeneinander angebracht.

Die Ruanda-Ornamentik kennt aber auch wesentlich kompliziertere Formen, die durch Kombinierung von zwei oder auch drei Motiven zustande kommen.

Die einfachsten zusammengesetzten Formen entstehen, wenn an einem schrägen Rande Ornamentelemente, wie „amatana" oder „ikirizo" angeordnet werden. Ebenso einfach in seinem Aufbaue ist das „muhiga"-Muster, das eine Kombination langer und schmaler mit kurzen und breiten Schwalbenflügelelementen darstellt. Nicht komplizierter ist das aus „uduhuda" und „mushongole" aufgebaute Ornament, wogegen das aus „uduhuda" und unvollständigen „Schwalbenflügeln" zusammengesetzte, etwas eigenartig aussieht.

Nicht selten kann man auch zwischen horizontalen Streifen (imirindi) eingeschlossene Schwalbenflügelmotive beobachten und in einem Komplex außer der neben einem schrägen Streifen angebrachten „ngabo" noch mehrere Linien von „imiambi" sehen, die den Dreieckenseiten parallel verlaufen.

Höher komplizierte Ornamentformen werden gewöhnlich durch mehrfache Wiederholung von zwei Motiven gebildet. Auf den Messerscheiden steht dabei sehr häufig die Vereinigung von „nduhuda" mit „imirariko".

Kreise und Spiralen kommen nur auf runden Gegenständen und vor allem auf den Böden der aus einer Strohspirale zusammengenähten Körbe, Teller

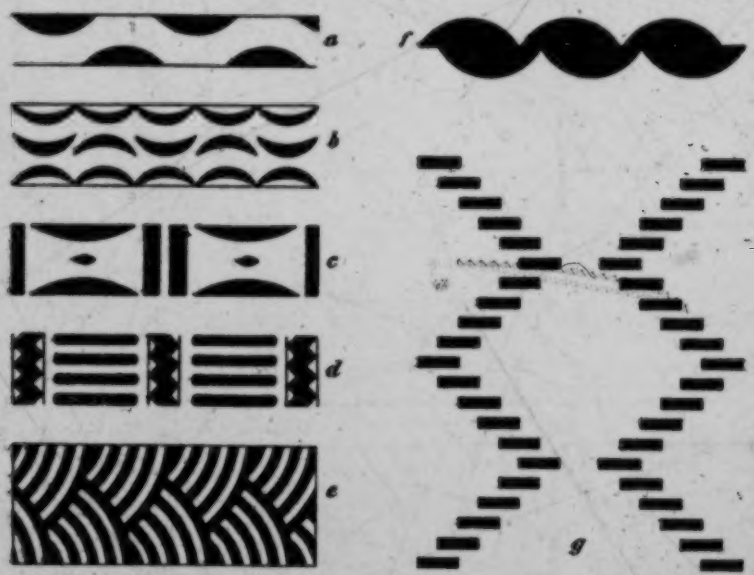


Abb. 180. Ruanda-Ornament. *a*) *b*) *c*) *d*) Messerscheidenmuster, *e*) Schildmattenmuster, *f*) Liebestöpfchenmuster, *g*) „Amagwe" — Leopard, Mattenmuster.

und Deckel vor. Dieser Umstand beweist, daß wir hier nur eine Anpassung der oben besprochenen geradlinigen Formen an das Material vor uns haben.

Segmente und Halbmonde werden in größerer Zahl isoliert nebeneinander auf Messerscheiden angebracht. Man kombiniert sie auch manchmal mit „nduhudu" oder „imiambi", durch welche die einzelnen Ornamentsegmente voneinander getrennt werden. Auf den kleinen Tongefäßen fließen sie auch häufig zu großen Komplexen zusammen und auf den Schildmatten kann man auch Fragmente des dreiträhmigen Geflechtes sehen.

Die Einfachheit der Ruanda-Ornamentik darf für ein Ergebnis der Anpassung an das Material, den aus einem spiralen Wulste zusammengenähten Korb, der in der Hauptsache ornamentiert wird, aufgefaßt werden. Es ist nicht aus-

geschlossen, daß wir hier mit einer sekundären Vereinfachung zu tun haben, die durch die Technik des Ornamentierens, welche vorwiegend im Umwickeln der Teile einzelner Windungen mit schwarzen Bananenblattscheiden besteht, verursacht ist. Die Namen der Ornamentelemente gestatten schon zu vermuten, daß man für die Vergangenheit mit der Möglichkeit realistischer Darstellungen rechnen muß. Zugunsten dieser Ansicht könnte das auf den Matten oft auftretende „amagwe"-Ornament angeführt werden. „Amagwe" bedeutet Leopard, und in der Zeichnung könnte man die Stilisierung eines vierbeinigen, gescheckten Wesens sehen.

Tanz. Während der Festlichkeiten, die Musinga zu Ehren Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg veranstaltete, hatte ich Gelegenheit, mehrere Tänze (kwamiriza), die sehr große Verschiedenheiten einander gegenüber aufwiesen, zu sehen. Bei der schnellen Abwechselung der aufgeführten Tänze konnte ich die wesentlichen Unterschiede nicht erfassen und ich muß mich in der Hauptsache auf das Durchzählen der Namen beschränken.

Die ersten vier Tänze wurden durch die „danga baganisi", die Ausgewählten des Königs", ausgeführt. Der erste war „imbunduza", der zweite — „rukatsa", der dritte — „tubagendane" und der vierte — „kuboko".

Den zweiten Tänzertrupp bildeten die „inkwaya za Kabure". Sie tanzten den „muganguza", jeder mit einem Pfeil in der Hand. Der Tanz ist auf der Taf. 18 Bd. III abgebildet.

Als dritter Tänzertrupp kamen die „ntore" des Kanuma aus Kissaka. Sie tanzten „kuhyereka rushara" und führten einen Kranichtanz auf[1]). Die kleinen Knaben des Kanuma führten einen anderen Tanz desselben Typus aus[2]).

Die Tänze zerfallen in zwei scharf gesonderte Gruppen: die „kwamiriza" und die „kuhyereka". Die ersten werden mit Speer oder Pfeil in der Hand, die man rhythmisch schwingt, getanzt. Das kriegerische Dekorum weist darauf hin, daß wir hier einen Kriegstanz vor uns haben. Die Tänzer haben bei diesen Tänzen eiserne Schellen am Knöchel und bewegen sich in einem geschlossenen Kreise oder in einer Linie von links nach rechts. Diesen Typus scheinen alle eigentlichen Batutsi-Tänze vorzustellen.

Die zweite Gruppe bilden die „kuhyereka". Hier führen den Tanz gewöhnlich ein bis zwei, und ganz selten drei Tänzer auf. Bei diesem Tanze wiegt sich der Tänzer mit ausgestreckten, oft nach hinten gebogenen Armen. Diese Handhaltung wird „kutega amaboko" genannt. Zum „kuhyereka" werden die Schellen, wenn sie überhaupt zur Anwendung kommen, unter dem Knie befestigt. Es ist sehr charakteristisch, daß bei diesen ursprünglich wohl Bahutu-Tänzen die Schellen an dieser Stelle angebracht werden, wo die durch Batutsi nicht beeinflußten Bakondjo ihre Beinringe anbringen.

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[1]) Adolf Friedrich Herzog zu Mecklenburg, Im innersten Afrika. Leipzig 1909, S. 118.
[2]) Ebenda S. 119.

Die Tänze, die ich in Mulera zu beobachten Gelegenheit hatte, gehörten ausschließlich zur „kuhyereka"-Gruppe. Die passiven Teilnehmer des Tanzes, der durch zwei Solisten ausgeführt wurde, begleiteten ihre Bewegungen mit Gesang und klatschen dabei in die Hände, um den Rhythmus zu wahren. Der Tanz wurde manchmal auch durch „inanga"-Spiel begleitet. Dieses ausschließliche Vorkommen des „kuhyereka" in Mulera spricht ganz entschieden zugunsten seiner Zugehörigkeit zu der unteren Bantu-Schicht.

Spiele. Das gewöhnliche Kinderspielzeug bilden Rasseln. Größere Jungen spielen mit Vorliebe mit kleinen Bogen. Mit Bogen und Pfeil in der Hand, wird auch mit dem Diskus gespielt. Es bilden sich zwei Parteien, jede aus zwei bis sieben Jungen. Eine Partei wirft aus Bananenstämmen ausgeschnittene, weiche Disken, die andere schießt mit Pfeilen auf die rollenden Disken und sucht sie in dieser Weise zum Stillstand zu bringen. Sind alle Disken geworfen, so wird die Spielordnung umgekehrt; die Schützen werden zu Werfern, und die Werfer zu Schützen. Das Spiel kann in dieser Weise eine unbeschränkte Zeit fortgesetzt werden. Es hört meistens auf, wenn man nicht mehr genügend viel Pfeile hat, da nicht alle abgeschossenen Pfeile wieder gefunden werden.

Die Erwachsenen spielen leidenschaftlich „kishoro", das hier aber weniger verbreitet zu sein scheint als in den östlichen Ländern des Runyoro-Sprachgebietes. Gespielt wird auf einem Brett mit 32 Vertiefungen, die in vier Reihen angebracht sind. Man spielt mit 64 Körnern der wilden Banane, die am Anfang in den Löchern zweier Reihen deponiert werden, und zwar in der Weise, daß man die Körner einer Vertiefung in die Hand nimmt und auf die vier folgenden zu je einem verteilt. Der Inhalt der Vertiefung wird wieder in die Hand genommen und auf die folgenden Vertiefungen verteilt. Man wiederholt diesen Prozeß, bis man mit dem letzten Kern in eine leere Vertiefung kommt, da nach dem Durchgehen der gefüllten Reihe das Spiel in der leeren fortgesetzt wird.

Man muß durch geschickte Auswahl der Anfangsvertiefung dazu kommen, daß der letzte Kern, den man in der Hand hält, den Inhalt der Vertiefung, in die er gelegt wird, zu vier ergänzt; diese sind dann gewonnen. Trifft man mit dem letzten in der Hand gehaltenen Kern in eine leere Vertiefung, so spielt der Gegner.

Wetten sind in Ruanda bekannt; davon hatte ich Gelegenheit mich zu überzeugen, als Musinga mit einem der mich begleitenden Askari (Tingi-Tingi), den er sehr gern hatte, eine Wette abschloß, ob es diesem gelingen werde zwei Töpfe Bier, ohne aufzustehen, auszutrinken oder nicht.

Zeichenerklärungen.

Tafel I. Ruanda-Ornamente.

a) „Amatana" — Köcher.
b) „Imirindi" — Armring.
c) „Ingabo" — Schilde.
d) „Imirindi" — Armring.
e) „Imikako" — Perlschnurband.
f) Ebenfalls, nur schräg gestellt.
g) Rhombenmotiv.
h) „Amasuro" — Schnur.
i) f) h) „Amakota" — Messer.
l) Pfeilspitzenmotiv.
m) Ebenfalls.
n) o) p) Schildmattenmuster aus „mushongole"-Motiven aufgebaut.

Tafel II. Ruanda-Ornamente.

a) b) c) „Udubuda" — Speerwingen.
d) e) f) g) Schwalbenflügel.
h) „Imirindi" — Armring.
i) f) Große Schwalbenflügel.
k) l) Schildmattenmuster aus „Ikiriso"-Motiven aufgebaut.
m) Korbornament aus „Ikiriso"-Motiven.
n) „Imiambi" — Pfeile.

Tafel III. Ruanda-Ornamente.

a) Korbornament.
b) „Amatana" — Köcher.
c) „Ingabo" — Schilde.
d) „Masaka" — Hirse.
e) f) „Udubuda" — Speerwingen.
g) h) i) Korbornamente.
f) k) „Imirindi" — Armringe.

Tafel IV. Ruanda-Ornamente.

a) b) Schildmattenmuster.
c) d) Messerschildmuster.
e) f) g) h) Korbschalenmotiv.

17. Kapitel.

Sprachenaufnahmen des Ruhunde- und Bugoye-Dialektes.

Vokabularien. — Texte.

Während meines Aufenthaltes in Njundo (November 1907) benutzte ich die Anwesenheit der Eingeborenen aus Itambi, um über ihre Sprache Erkundigungen einzuziehen. Das Ergebnis dieser Erkundigungen bildet das vorliegende Material, das mit Unterstützung des R. P. L. Delmas gesammelt und mit der nebenstehenden Übersetzung im Bugoye-Dialekt versehen wurde.

Vokabularien.

Deutsch	Ruhunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
	A.	
Abend	mwigoro	kumogoroba
aber	—	aliko
abhauen	kutema	kutema
abreisen	kugenda	kugenda
abschneiden	kilashura	kilashibuka
abwischen	kuhanagula	kuhanagula
Achselhöhle	umushakwa	umukwaha
Adler	—	inkongoro
Ahne	umukuluza	umusukuruza
alle	boshi, bioshi, zoshi	bose, biose, zose
als	lialio	liali
alt	—	musaza
Ameise, schwarze	imbazi	ntozi
—, weiße	umushwa	umushwa
andere *pl.*	abandi	abandi
anderer	undi	undi
anfangen	kutangira	kubanza, kutangira
Angelhaken	ururobo	ururobo
anklopfen	kuhumba	kukubita

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Deutsch	Rundi	Kinyarwanda (Bugoyo-Dialekt)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Arbeit	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Arm	[illegible]	[illegible]
Armband aus feinem Draht	[illegible]	[illegible]
— aus dickem Messingdraht	[illegible]	[illegible]
Armut	[illegible]	[illegible]
Asche	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ast	[illegible] (ensatsi)	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] (Sonne)	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Augen	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

B.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
— aus Rohrmark	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible], grün	[illegible]	[illegible]
—, trocken	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Deutsch	Rundi	Kinyarwanda (Bugoyo-Dialekt)
Berg	kitwa	kiwsi, rwosi
Berliner	kanzanda	kakababa
Beule	ubiso	ubiso
Beulenmutter	—	kabisoboso
Beutelbar	—	kanobutsa
Beton	—	kuingiga
betrinken sich	kutamira	kunindu
betrügen	kukonga	kubonda
Bett	ibitogo (umubitogo)	ubuliri (umubiri)
Bewegen	kuzungura	kunigunira
Biegen	kubeta	kubeta
Biene	inshuki	inzuki
Bienenschwarm	ikanba	irumbu
Bier, Pombe	umufu	umuga
Bieb (von Löwe oder Raubtierinbe)	umuhiki	umugwi
binden	kubiza	kwumbira
Bi	—	kugera
Bison	kabumagira	kabubagira
Blatt	akababi	akababi
blaßen	kutura	kutura
Blitz	murumo	murabio
Blume	umuno (buno)	uburabio (ururabio)
Blut	ibigwa	amaraso
Blutbruder	umunywani	umunywani
Blutschande	—	ndgwe
Bogen	—	umuheto
Bohrer	umutwero	umutwero
Boot	igato	igato
Brache, Wüste	ikigunda	ikigunda
brechen	kupfima	kuvuna
breit	rutambike	rutambike
brennen	kuzibia	kuzba
— (Hitze)	kutera	—
Brennholz, trockene kleine Äste	ikoti	utuboti
Brust	umuberuki	umugwi
Krippen	kaleta	kazera
Bruder	mukuruma, umuggale	murumuna, umuzana
Bruder mein	umuvuna wa mama	nzwene mama
" dein	— wa nyoko	— nyoko
" sein	— wa nyina	— nyina
Brust	kipfuba	kipfuna
Büchse	mubere	mubere

C.

Clan	ubugunda	umuhanga
Cousine, Kinder zweier Brüder	nzwene kata wayta	nzwene data
—, Kinder zweier Schwestern	— mama	— mama

D.

danach	nyira	hera
danken	kuzima	kuzbima

Deutsch	Rundi	Kinyarwanda (Bugoyo-Dialekt)
Darm	ikira (ibira)	ikira (ibira)
dein	wawe	wawe
denken	kutekereza	kutekereza
dick	nene	nyinyi
dienen	—	kubereza
dieser	huyu	huyu
Ding	ikintu (ibintu)	ikintu (ibintu)
dokumentieren	—	kwiganza
Donner	ingabo	inkuba
Dorf (Hügel)	ikitwa (ibitwa)	umusozi (imisozi)
Dorn	ikwa (amakwa)	ikwa
dort	haliro	hilia
drei	ma	ma
du	iwe	wewe
Dunkelheit	nwiziniya	nuyizine
durch	na	na
durchbohren	kutobora	kutobora
dursten	kugiri nyota	kugiri nyota
	E.	
Ebene	—	umuyaga
eben	kutinia	kutinia
Ei	igi (amagi)	igi (amagi)
einbringen	kuzobera	kuzocka
Eingeweide	ebiando	amara
einzeichnen	kwibira	kwibira
eintreten	kuingira	kwindjila
einwickeln	kufuka	kupfuka
Eisen	ibibanda	icbuma
Elenantilope	nutare	nutare
Elenantilopen	—	kukaro ibyuma
Elenantilopen	—	kuchala ibyuma
Enkel	umutakiraku	umuzukuru
Erlaubnisgrund	amakungubaka	imiteka
er	we	we
Erlaubnis	ubutaka buistengana	ibitengerana
Erde	ubutaka, ikitaka	ibumba
Erdgeist	umwami	umuteka
erhalten	kubaiga	kubaiga
erkennen	kwibukira	kwibuka
erwachen	kubika	kuzobera
ertrinken	kwiroha	kwiroha
erwachen	kuzoibuka	kubioka
essen	kuliya	kuliya
euer	wanya	wanya
	F.	
Fackel	umuzuri	umuzuri
falsch	kutoga	kugwa, kutoga
fangen	kukwata	kufata
Feder	ikiyoya	ibyoya

Deutsch	Rukunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
fegen	kubiza	kukoondora
fehlen	kushiba	kuaiba
Feind	—	umubisha
Feld	ishwa	umulima
Fell	obgoya	obwoya
Fels	rutare	kitare
Felsland	intare	—
fern	kulekale	kule
Ferse	akashinshiro	akatzintziro
Feuer	umuliro	umuliro
finden	kushanga	kusanga
Finger	iminue	intoke
Fisch	ifi	ifi
fischen	kuioba	kuroba
flechten	kuluka	kuboha
fliehen	kunganira	kugiriri
Fliege	—	isazi
Fleisch	nyama	nyama
fliegen	kukuba	kuahera
fliehen	kushaga	kuhunga
fließen	kukima	kutemba
Floh	inguku	imbaragasa
Flosse	ndana	—
fluchen	kutuka	kutuka
Flügel	ibibaba	ibaba (amababa)
flüstern	kuboberana	kongoberana
folgen	kulikira	kulikira, kukilikira
fragen	kubaza	kubaza
freuen, sich	kwisima	kwishima
Freund	umunywani	ishuti, umutoni
Friede	flagano	isezerano
fühlen	kumamata	kukabakaba
führen	kurongora	kashoreza
füllen	kwichula	kuzuza
Funke	ibibula	bushashi
fürchten	kubaha	kutinya
Fuß	ikishandu (ibishandu)	ikirenge (ibirenge)
füttern	kugabira	kugabulira

G.

Gast	umugeni	umushizi
Gatte, mein	umurume wetu	umugabo wanye
Gattin, meine	umukazi wetu	umugore wanye
gähnen	kwagula	kuhayura
gebären	kubuta	kubiara
geben	kugenda	kugenda
Geist	umuzimu (abazimu)	umuzimu (abazimu)
Gemüse	imini	imboga
genug	lekera	lekka
Geräßbacken	intungu (amatungu)	itako (amatako)
gestern	nuya	eyo

Deutsch	Ruhunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
Gestrüpp	ikishaka	ikihura
gießen	kushesha	kusuka, kusesa
glänzen	kuhaka	kuhaka
glauben	kuhikiriza	kuhikiriza
Gott	(wie Geist)	Imana
Grab	isinda (amasinda)	ichoba (ibioba)
graben	kutima	kuchukura
Graben	muhapfu	muhare
Gras, hohes	ubukere	ubwatsi
—, kleines	akakere	akatsi
Greis	munguma	mukangwe
Grenze	—	rubibi
— des Feldes	luhati (imbati)	imbago
— des Urwaldes	mberera	ingiko
groß	mulemule	kilekile
Großvater	shekulu	sukuru
grüßen	kukeza	kulamutsa
Gurt	umukoba	umukoba

H.

Haare	imfiri	imitsatsi
haben	kupfuga	kutunga
Hacke	ifuka	isuka
Haku	impagazi	issaki
Hals	ngosi (magosi)	kidjosi
handeln	—	kudiriga
Handteller	ikigandja	ikiganza
hängen	kuhanika	kumanika
hassen	kwanga	kuzira
hauchen	kuhumagi a	kuhahagira
hauen	kutema	kutema
Häuptling	umutambo	umutware
Hauspfahl	inguliro	ingigi
Haustier	ikivuganua	ikitungwa
Haut	uluhu	uruhu
heben	kubatula	kuterula
heilen	kukira	kukira
heiraten	kushwera	kulongora
helfen	kugwatisa	kufasha
Herd	umuliko	umuziko
Herdstein	ishiga (amashiga)	ishiga (amahiga)
heruntersteigen	kukima	kumanuka
Herz	umutima	umutima
heulen	kuhuma	kuhuma
Heuschrecke	emikuku	msanasi
heute	monobgire	none
hier	hano	hino
Himmel	ifuguba	idjuru
Hirtenstock	ingoni	ingenegene
hoch (konkret)	mukulu	mukuru
— (abstrakt)	luimuki	lihagalike

Deutsch	Rukunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
hochgelegen	halugulu	halugulu
hoffen	—	kutegeriza
Höhle	mivuma	mivuma
Hohlmaß	indengo	indengo
Holz	ishoti	inkwi
hören	kumwa	kumwa
Hügel	katwa	umusozi, kasozi
Huhn	inkuko[1])	inkoko
Hülse	ekishugu	ikishishwa
Hund	imbga	imbga
hungern	kufirisyara	kushonya
Husagan	inubusi	ingubiri
husten	kukohora	kukorora
hüten	kulagera	kulagira
Hütte	inyumba	inzu
	I.	
ich	nyeweni	nyewe
— selbst	yewe yewene	yewe yenine
ihr *sing.*	wabo	wabo
— *pl.*	mwe	mwebge
immer	mishi yosho	mishi yose
in, im	mu	mu
Insekt	akabuka	akasimba
Insel	kirimba	kirwa
irren	kukola nabi	kukola nabi
	J.	
ja	ye, ego	ye, ego
Jahr	umuaka	umuaka
jene *pl.*	balira	baliya
jener	ulira	uliya
jenseits	eshiria	hakulia
jetzt	gazenà ha	nuna ha
Jüngling (13—15 J.)	umuzana	umuhungu
— (heiratsfähig)	umutabana	umusore
	K.	
Kamm	urushokoza	urusokoso
kaneu	kushubia	kuhuza
kaufen	kugula	kugula
kennen	kumenya	kumenya
Kern	umutima	umutima
Keule	umuhiri	umuhiri
Kind	umwana	umwana
— abgestillt	inshuke	inshuke
Kinn	akalipfuru	akalipfuru
kitzeln	kukeregania	kukirigita
Klafter	inkalamo ya maboko	intamko ya maboko
Klauen	niala	nzara

[1]) Im Kisuaeli-Dialekt — ingwaki.

Deutsch	Ruhunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
kleben	kuhakat'a	kuboma
Kleid	miamboro	miambaro
klein	mufi, mulere	mugufi, mutoya
klettern	kuhiruka	kutarama
Klient	umushigi	umugaragu
klopfen	kukunguta	kuhungura, kukengemura
knarren	kunyagira	kunigira
kneifen	kunyosha	kunosha
Knie	ipfi (amapfi)	ipfi (amapfi)
Knöchel	akagombo mbuli	akagomba mbali
Knochen	ipfuha (amapfuha)	igufa (amagufa)
kochen	kuteka	kutega
Köcher	ikitembo	umutana
kommen	kwidja	kuza
klemen	kubasha	kushobora, kubasha
Korb, groß mit Deckel	ikitiri	inkangara
—, klein mit Deckel	indonga	akaseke
—, klein ohne Deckel	ikitonga	ikitukuru
Körper	umubile	umubili
Kot, Straßenschmutz	ibiondo	ichondo
Kopf	umutwe	umutwe
kosten (Nahrung)	kugeza	kugeza
kratzen	kuyavula	kwishina
Kraut	inini	imboga
Krieg	bararwa (sie schlagen sich)	indwano
Krieger	umuragi	indwari
Kürbis	itegete (amategete), kishya	ekihaza, kisabo, kichuma
—, kleiner	akasali	akachende

L.

Land	ikihugo	ikihugu
Längenmaß	inkalamo	intambo
langsam	buhoro	buhoro
lärmen	kwama, kikaya	kuhabira, kuyomba
lassen	kukiera, kuleka	kuleka
lauern	kutega	kutega
laufen	kulibita	kuhiruka
Laus	inda	inda
leben	kubahu	kube
Leber	urutika	ikirima
lecken	kukomba	kuligata
legen, sich	kulambika	kulambika
lehren	kwigisha	kwigisha
Leiche	indundwe	ntumbi
leiden	kuluma	kubabara
leugnen	kugana	kuhakana
Licht	—	mutaga
lieben	kutsigira	kukunda
Linie, Reihe	umulongo, mugoba	umurongo (imirongo)
links	ku rutandi	ku bumuso
Lippen	ubuza	minwa

Deutsch	Rubunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
Hochen	kuzima	kuzima
Husten	kucha	kucha
Husten	kubiha	kubeaha
Lungen	urukinga (amakinga)	uluhaha (amahaha)
	M.	
machen	kukola, kugira	kukola, kugira
Mädchen	umunyere	umukobga
mahlen	kusia	kusia
Mais	amahembe	ikigoli
Mann	umuhume	umugabo
Markt	iguliro	iguliro
Maß	uragira	uragiro
—, für Erbsen	nakagira	nakagiro
Matte	ikirago (ibirago)	ikirago (ibirago)
Maus	mushushu	mushushwe
mehr	kukira	kuluta
mein	wani	wanye
Mensch	umuntu (abantu)	umuntu (abantu)
messen	kugera	kugera
Messer	ulubazi	ndiga
Milch	amata	amata
mischen	—	kuvanga
mit	na	na
Mittag	hamanina	humanina
Mond	umwezi	ukwezi
Morgen	makierakiera	kitondo
morgen (nächster Tag)	muya	eyo
Motte	nyenshi	nyenzi
Mücke	umuvu	umuvu
Mund	ubunu	akanwa
Mutter, meine	mama	mama
—, deine	nyoko	nyoko
—, seine	nyina	nyina
—, meiner Frau	mazala	nyirabukwe
	N.	
Nabel (mit Bruch)	umukundi	ichondo
— (normal)	akakundi	akachondo
Nächste	umunyukietu	umugenzi
Nacht	makiro	idjoro
Nacken	ingoto	ikikano
Nagel	niala	nzara
nähen	kulanda	kudoda
nähren	kugabira	kugabulira
Nahrung	ibilio	ibilio
Name	izina	izina
Nase	nyindo	izuru
Nasenlöcher	—	amazuru
Nebel	inhohe	igishwa
neben	hafi	hafi

Deutsch	Ruhunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
nehmen	—	kuntwala, kupfata
Nefie	umuishwa	umuishwa
—, Kind des Bruders	umwishengeshana	umwisengeneza
—, meines Bruders	umwana wetu	umwana wanye
nein	hayi	oya
Nest	ulutu	ichari
Netz	ulukonge	urukenge
Neuheit	umwasi	amateka
niesen	kwitshamura	kwitsamura
noch	—	cho
nur	kusha	kusa
	O.	
oben	heguln	idjuru
Oberschenkel	ikirumbo (ibirumbo)	ikibero (ibibero)
oder	changwa	nangwa
Ödland, Öde	umulala	imirara
öffnen	kukingura	kukingura
Oheim, mein	tatamulere	data wachu
—, dein	isho wenyu	iso wanyu
—, sein	ishe wabo	ise wabo
Ohr	ukutwi (amatwi)	ukutwi (amatwi)
Onkel	marume	—
Ort	ahantu	ahantu
	P.	
Papagei	ingushu	kasuku
Papyrus	iminoka	urufunzu
parieren	kukinga	kukinga
pfeifen	kunyagira	kunigira
Pfeil	umuambi (imiambi)	umuambi (imiambi)
Pfeife (Werkzeug)	—	umusene
Pflanze	imbuto	imbuto
Prostituierte	ikibukura	amashakamata
Pupille	imboni	imboni
	Q.	
quälen	—	kubabaza
Quelle	ishoko	isoko (amasoko)
	R.	
Rachen	umumero	umuhogo
rächen	kutaira	kuhora
Ratte	imbeba	imbeba
Rauch	amayotsi	umuotsi
rechts	ku bulio	ku bulio
reden	kubisonora	kuganira
reiben	kubakaba	kusiga
retten	kukiza	kukiza
Rizinusöl	amaboneza	amagerya
richten	kutshulabandja	kuchurubaza
riechen	kubeberesa	kunokiriza

Deutsch	Rukunde	Kinyarwanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
Rindenstoff	urukimba	urukuza
Rippen	lubapfu	urubava
rösten	kwokia	kwatsa
Rücken	umugongo	umugongo
Ruder	ingasi	ingasha
rudern	kuvugama	kuvugama
rufen	kubilangira	kuhamagara
ruhen	kukuzuula	kuruhuka
	S.	
Sack	ishaho	umufuku
sägen	kubiara imbutu	kutere imbutu
sagen	kubusa	kubgira
Salz	umunyu	umunyu
Sand	mushege	musenyi
satt sein	kwiguta	kuhaga, kwidjuta
Säugling	indjoryama	akahindja
Schale	ekiekugu	ikishishwa
schicken	kutuma	kutuma
schießen (mit Bogen)	kuiesha	kurasa
Schild	impense	ingabo
schlafen	kusondjira	kusinzira
schlagen	kukumba	kukubita
Schlange	inshoka	inzoka
schleifen	kutiaza	kuchaza
Schmetterling	ikinyamururu, akanyamururu	ikinyugunyugu, akanyugunyugu
Schmerzen dulden	kuluzua	kubabara
Schmuck	ulumoga	umulimba
Schnecke	kinyashongo	kinyamushongo
schneiden	—	kutema
Schulter	ikitigo	urutuga
Schuppe	bikamba	bishishwa
Schüssel	imbare	urufungu, imbehe
schütteln	kukungumura	kukungumura
Schwager (Bruder der Frau)	umuramu	umuramu
Schwägerin (Schwester der Frau)	umuramukazi	umuramukazi
Schwangerschaft	akulehira	afitinda
Schwanz	umukira	umuliso, umukira
schwatzen	kuhaya	kwaakuza
Schwein	ingulube	ingurube
Schwester	mali	umushiki
schweigen	kwiziriza	kwikolera
Schweiß	intubanu	intuta
schwellen	kuzimba	kubimba
schwimmen	kuoga	kuoga
schwitzen	kutubana	kutubana
See	nyanza, rwidji	nyanza, uruzi, umugezi
sehen	kuzota	kuleba, kulora
Sehne	umulia (imilia)	umutsi (imitsi)

Deutsch	Ruhunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
sehr	kizubu	chane
sein (ihr)	wabo	wabo
senken	kusimba	kutaka
singen	kwimba	kuliimba
sitzen	kwichara	kwikara
Sklavin	umudja	umudja
so	otio	otio, nuko
Sohle	umubula bi bishandu	munda ibirenge
Sonne	umwishi	izuba
sorgen	kwitondeka	kwitonda
spät	mwigolo	ku mugoroba
Speer	isinga	ichumu
spielen	kushata	kukima
— (ein Instrument)	kupfuya	kuvuza
Spinne	urutagangulirwa	urutagangulirwa
Spitze	umuguta	akasongero
sprechen	kusagana	kuruga
springen	kugulaka	kusimbuka
stampfen	kasherekura	kasekura
stark	magala	magara
Staub	mutaka	muchuchu
stechen	kushinga	kushinga
stehen	kuhimana	kwagalala
stehlen	kwiba	kwiba
steigen	kwiruka	kuzamuka
Stein	ibari (amabari)	ibuye (amabuye)
stellen	kutura	kushira
Stern	inyenyezi	inyereri
Stimme	umulenge	idjwi
Stirn	ubusu	akahanga
Stock	ingoni	inkoni
—, dick, zum Abbiegen des Grases beim Schneiden	ikifumboro	arkabantu
stoßen	kusgumira	kusuniks
strafen	kukabita	kuhana
strecken	kubangana	kutongana
Strick	imbungu	ingoyi
Stück	ikiche	ikiche
Sumpf	—	kishanga
Sumpfgras	ulushasha	urukangaga
Sumpfhut	amaalba	ikishaga

T.

Tag	umwishi	umusi
Tal	ikisiya	kubande
Tante, mütterliche, meine	amalimalere	mama wachu
—, —, deine	nyoko wanyu	nyoko wanyu
—, —, seine	nyina wabo	nyina wabo
—, väterliche	amasenge	nyina senge
tanzen	kusina	kubina
tätowieren	kushaki bigabo	kuchimana

Deutsch	Ruhunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
Ton	lume	ikime
Taube	igutu	iguma
tauschen	kugulana	kugulana
täuschen	kukanga	kubenda
teilen	kugaba	kugaba
Termite	umuhwa	umuhwa
Tier	ikihuka	mamswa
Ton für Töpfe	ibumba	ibumba
Topf	nyungu	inkono
Tor (des Gehöftes)	ikiaahwa	ikembo
töten	kwita	kwitsha
tragen (auf dem Rücken)	kubeka	—
— (auf dem Kopfe)	—	kwikdera
trauern	kwiniga	kushavura
träumen	kukota	kukota
treffen	kufata	kufata
treiben	—	kushorera
Trinkhalm	mashoka	umuheha (imiheha)
Trinkkürbis	lwata	uruho
Trommel	ngoma	ngoma
tröpfeln	kutoga	kutura
Tür	urusi (inzusi)	urugi (inzugi)

U.

umarmen	kukerana	kukerana
umkehren	—	kugaruka
und	na	na
unser	wetu	wachu
unten	ashi	hasi
Unterschenkel	kuguln (amaguln)	kuguru (amaguru)
Usurpation	kunyaga	kunyaga

V.

Vater, mein	tata	data
—, dein	isho	iso
—, sein	ishe	ise
—, meiner Frau	isezala	sebukwe
verachten	kuvuma	kuvuma
verbergen	kubisha	kubisha
verbieten	kumahangira	kubuza
vereinigen	kukwatania	kufatania
verfolgen	kulonda	kulonda
vergeben	kuganira	kugirira
vergeblich	ubusha	ubusa
vergelten	kutsira	kuhora
vergessen	kwibilira	kwibagirwa
verkaufen	kutunda	kutunda
verkündigen	kubuza	kubgira
verlassen	kuleka	kuleka
verlieren	kubera	kubera, kuzimira

Deutsch	Rukunde	Kinyarwanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
Verbote	imbirakazi	umbirakazi
Verbotter	mubira	mubira
verraten	kulega	kulega
verschlecken	kukinga	kukinga
verteilen	kumula	kutimira
Vertrag	—	ilagano
Verwandter	umuzara	umubiara
verweigern	kugana	kuhanga
verwisten	kuhaba	kuzahura
viel	mengi	menshi
vielleicht	kuti	nshiti
Vogel	inyoni	inyoni
Volk	urubaga	urabanda
Vollmond	kigoma	kigoma
W.		
wachen	kwishuka	kukura
wach sein	kulanga	kulinda
Wade	—	intwaro
wählen	kuyeshoge	kwitamu
während	na	na
Wald	amafuta	ishamba
Wangen	imisaya	imisaya
Wasse	kirondwe	kirondwe
warten	kulanga	kulinda
Warzen	amabgabga	amabgabga
waschen (Gesicht)	kaoga	kuyobagira
— (Hände)	kukaraba	kukaraba
Wasser	amatshi	amazi
Wasserloch	ilibe	ilibe
Wasserteyf	ikibandi	ikibindi
Weg	inkira	inzira
— (zwischen Zäunen)	—	umuhora
Weide, Bruche	ikiguada	ikiguada
weben	kuffra	kuffra
Welle	umulaba	umulaba
wenden	kukebuka	kukebuka
Weltall	kibaga, ubutaka	—
wenig	akanyoci	akanyoci
wenn	kaffo	kali
wer	nde, ki	nde, ki
werfen	kukebuka	kuta
werfeln	kutanire niki	kutana niki
Wespe	ekirundi	kwambuzi
weissen	kutiana	kutiana
wie	te	te
Wild	ikibuka	nzamawa
Wildsau	kinkondaro	kinkondaro
Wimpern	ingabe	ingabe
Wind	umuyaga	umuyaga
winden	kukaza	kuffura

Deutsch	Rukunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
winen	kumenya	kumenya
wir	twe	twebge
Witwe	mukumbakazi	mupfakazi
wo	hai	ehe
wohnen	kutura	kutura
Wollen	kipfu (bipfu)	kichu (bichu)
wollen	kushaka	kushaka
Wort	ikizua (ibizua)	idjambo, ikigambo
Wunde	ikizyohu (ibizyohu), infula	ikisebe (ibisebe), infura
wundern, sich	kuindera	kutangara
wünschen	kwifuza	kwifuza
Wurzel einer kleineren Pflanze	imiria	imizi
— eines Baumes	ibishiki	ibishitshi

Z.

Zählen	kugunya	kubala
Zahlwörter:		
1	kiguma	umwe
2	bibili	ibili
3	biahatu	itatu
4	bisne	ine
5	bitanu	itanu
6	datu	ifandatu
7	bilinda	ilindwi
8	munane	munane
9	nwenda	chenda
10	ikumi	chumi
11	ikumi na muguma	ichumi numwe
12	ikumi na babili	ichumi nibili
13	ikumi na beahatu	ichumi nitatu
14	ikumi na banne	icliumi ninne
15	ikumi na batanu	ichumi nitanu
20	makumi abili	machumi abili, mirongo ibili
21	makumi abili na muguma	machumi abili numwe
22	makumi abili na babili	machumi abili nibili
30	makumi ashatu	machumi atatu
40	makumi anne	machuminne
100	igana	iyana
101	igana na muguma	iyana numwe
110	igana nikumi	iyana na ichumi
111	igana nikumi na muguma	iyana na ichuminumwe
200	magana abili	magana abili
1000	magana ikumi, kihumbi	kihumbi
2000	bihumbi bibali	bihumbi ibili
Zähne	lino (meno)	linio (menio)
Zecke	kirondwe	—
zeichnen	—	kwandika
zeigen	kwereka	kwereka
zerreißen	kubevuga	kusatura
zerstreuen	kuhasabanda	kusandaguza
sieben	kukulula	kukulula

Deutsch	Ruhunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)
sitzen	kuhito mushitsi	kuhito mushiki
zu	kwa	kwa
Zuckerrohr	ikisheke	—
zuerst	ilubere	imbele
zählen	inyuma	inyuma
Zunge	urulimi	urulimi
zürnen	kuzibuka	kulakara
zusammen	haguma	hamve
zwischen	hagati	hagati

Texte.

Ruhunde	Kinyaruanda (Bugoye-Dialekt)	Deutsch
Ulugano wa nakakekulu.	Umugani lwa nyakakeichuru.	Märchen von der alten Frau.
Habaye ha muluume,	Habaye umugabo,	Es war ein Mann,
yagendile kutunda,	yagiye kutunda,	er ist gegangen zu verkaufen,
yagendile amala	yagiye amala	er ist gegangen, er hat beendigt
mu nzhira ifólo	mu nzira imisi	unterwegs Tage
makumi abili na	mirongo ibili na	zwanzig und
bitanu.	bitanu.	fünf.
Ahéra mu mutsi	Agera mu rugo	Er kommt ins Gehöft
wa nakakekulu,	lwa nyakakeichuru,	der alten Frau,
aloramu ubukere	aloramu ubgatsi	er sieht drin Gras
n'amahembe ge nshopfu.	n'amahembe y'inzovu.	und Zähne der Elefanten.
Ingati n'amahembe	Imiganda n'amahembe	Die Wände sind aus Zähnen
ge nshopfu, ikipfumbi	y'inzovu, intebe	der Elefanten, die Stühle
n'amahembe ge nshopfu,	n'amahembe y'inzovu,	aus Zähnen der Elefanten,
amashiga n'amahembe	amashiga n'amahembe	die Herdsteine aus Zähnen
ge nshopfu.	y'inzovu.	der Elefanten.
Umutsanzi ashube,	Umutsanzi alaschoka,	Der Verkäufer geht heraus,
kugenda n'agenda,	alaguruka n'agenda,	kommt zurück und geht,
apfullago mwami	abalira umwami	er erzählt dem König
wabo. Amapfullago,	wabo. Alamubalira,	ihrem. Er erzählt,
ati umwan'ugu,	ati inkuri iyi,	er sagt die Neuheiten diese,
ati: nahfile mu mutsi	ati: nagesa mu lugo	er sagt: ich bin gekommen ins Gehöft
wa nakakekulu,	lwa nyakakeichuru,	der alten Frau,
nda kindi kintu kilimu	nda kindi kintu kilimu	keine andern Sachen sind drin
kileka amano ki nshopfu.	kiletse amenyo y'inzovu.	außer der Zähne der Elefanten.
Umwami atuma	Umwami alatuma	Der König schickt
makumi ashatu.	mirongo itatu.	dreißig.
Bakagenda mu mutsi	Bakagenda mu lugo	Sie gehen ins Gehöft
wa nakakekulu.	lwa nyakakeichuru.	der alten Frau.
Bati: bakinguliwe.	Bati: bakinguliwe.	Sie sagen: öffne uns.
Ati: mudeti lekimo?	Ati: muzanay' iki?	Sie sagt: ihr bringt was?
Bati: twatumiwe	Bati: twatumwe	Sie sagen: wir sind geschickt

Ruhunde	Kinyarusada (Bugoye-Dialekt)	Deutsch
n'umwami, umuhe	n'umwami, umuhe	durch den König, du gib ihm
amahembe ge nshopfu.	amahembe y'inzovu.	die Zähne der Elefanten.
Ntimuhego kileka	Sindamuha kiletse	Ich gebe nicht angenommen
mwichile kwinyagila.	muje kwinyagira.	ihr kommt mich plündern.
Nutagamuha,	Nutagamuha,	Wenn du sie ihm nicht gibst,
tuzabijana biose.	tuzabijana biose.	wir werden sie alle mitnehmen.
Balabinyaga byo,	Balabinyaga ibye,	Sie plündern alle diese Sachen,
biose balagenda.	biose balagenda.	alle gehen weg.
Nakakekulu	Nyakakeichuru	Die alte Frau
ndalindile kubanguna.	utiyagomba kwitonganya.	gibt sich nicht die Mühe zu streiten.
Ubutuku bulahumana,	Umusi gulira,	Der Tag endigt,
balagonshira mu mutsi	balalyama mu lugo	sie schlafen im Gehöft
nakakekulu.	nyakakeichuru.	der alten Frau.
Nakakekulu ati:	Nyakakeichuru ati:	Die alte Frau sagt:
mumbe bintu byani.	mumbe ibintu byanje.	gibt mir meine Sachen.
Bati: titikube byo,	Bati: ntitulabikuha,	Sie sagen: wir geben sie dir nicht,
umwami yatutumile byo.	mwami yatutumiye byo.	der König schickte uns deshalb.
Nakakekulu ati: nimugende.	Nyakakeichuru ati: mugende.	Die alte Frau sagt: geht.
Bati: lwagendile, balagenda.	Bati: tulagiye, balagenda.	Sie sagen: wir gehen, sie gehen.
Bulahumana, balagonshira	Bulira, balalyama	Es wird Nacht, sie schlafen
mu mutsi wa nakakekulu.	mu lugo lwa nyakakeichuru.	im Gehöft der alten Frau.
Balagayana, bati:	Balagayana, bati:	Sie bedauern es, sie sagen:
uyu muntu na mukupi,	uyu muntu n'umuchuloguzi,	dieser Mensch ist ein Vergifter,
tumuhe bintu bye,	tumuhe ibintu bye,	geben wir ihr die Güter,
twamulemirwe.	twamunaniwe.	wir haben sie belästigt.
Bamunegenera, bati:	Balamubgira, bati:	Sie sagen ihr, sie sagen:
leba bintu byawe.	leba ibintu byawe.	siehe Güter deine.
Nakakekulu ati: nimugende,	Nyakakeichuru ati: mugende,	Die alte Frau sagt: geht,
mutwale amahembe,	mutwale amahembe,	nehmet die Zähne,
ni nyewe, nabahayego,	ni nyewe, nayabahaye,	das bin ich, die euch sie gibt,
mutwalire mwami.	mujanire mwami.	überreicht sie dem König.
Ntimugonjile mu nzira.	Ntimulyame mu nzira.	Schlafet nicht unterwegs.
Balagenda, bagera kwa	Balagenda, bagera ku	Sie gehen, sie kommen zum
mwami. Bati:	mwami. Bati:	König. Sie sagen:
awawy'ile tukupfulilego	awaje tuknbalire	wir kommen dir zu erzählen
umwazi wa nakakekuru.	akuru lwa nyakakeichuru.	Nachrichten von der alten Frau.
Twamulemilwe,	Twamunaniwe,	Wir haben sie zur Verzweiflung gebracht,
yatulogile,	yatulone,	sie hat uns verzaubert,
twalemilwe kumunyaga,	twananiwe kumunyaga,	wir sind müde sie zu plündern,
atuha aga mahembe	atuha aya mahembe	sie gibt uns ihre Zähne
ge nshopfu, twali,	y'inzovu, twali,	der Elefanten, wir waren,
twamunyagilego	twamunyaze	wir haben sie geplündert
makumi atano n'amenco	mirongo itano na mahembe	fünfzig und Zähne
anne.	anne.	vier.
Umwami ati: nani	Umwami ati: nanye	Der König sagt: und ich
ngagendeyo kulola ku asha	nzagendayo kuleba ku asa	ich werde gehen sehen was ist.
Alagila abantu	Alagira abantu	Er verabredet mit Menschen
makumi abile n'agenda n'abo.	mirongo ibili balahaguruka n'abo.	zwanzig und diese begeben sich.

Rukunde	Kinyarusanda	Deutsch
Bamala ibilo makumi abili	Bamala imisi mirongo ibili	Es vergehen Tage zwanzig
mu nzira, balika kwa	mu nzira, bagera kwa	auf dem Wege, sie kommen zur
nakakekulu.	nyakakeichuru.	alten Frau.
Nakakekulu	Nyakakeichuru	Die alte Frau
amubgira ati: abashigi	amubgira ati: abagaragu	sagt ihm, sie sagt: Klienten
bawe banduksangile	bawe balantutse	deine haben mich beleidigt
nana, ndashonda kubahumba.	nanye, ndashaka kubakubita.	und ich, ich wollte sie prügeln.
Umwami ati, hokuhumba:	Umwami ati, haho kukubita:	Der König sagt, im Augenblick zu schlagen:
bantu bani, nani	abantu banye, nanye	Menschen meine, das ist mich zu
wombumba haguma n'abo.	wankubita hamwe n'abo.	schlagen zusammen mit ihnen.
Nuba alashonda kulwana,	Niba ulashaka kurwana,	Wenn du willst Krieg machen,
tulalwana.	tuzarwana.	wir werden uns schlagen.
Umwami ahumba nakakekulu,	Umwami akubita nyakakeichuru,	Der König schlägt die alte Frau,
alamnshinga umwishe	amuter' umugeri	er schlägt sie mit dem Fuße
na nakakekulu ati: uli	na nyakakeichuru ati: uli	und die alte Frau sagt: du bist
umwami ndashobora nani	umwami nanye n'indashobora	König und ich kann nicht
kukuhumba, aliko abashigi	kukubita, aliko abagaragu	dich schlagen, aber Klienten
bawe nani ndabatoborange.	bawe nanye ndabateragula.	deine und ich werde sie schlagen.
Umwami ati: leta isinga	Umwami ati: zana ichumu	Der König sagt: bringe Speer
lyawe tulole. Lyo,	lyawe tulebe. Lyo,	deinen wir werden sehen. Sie,
ati: isinga lyani leka	ati: ichumu lyange leka	sie sagt: Speer meinen lasse
batoborange, yita bantu	nbateragule, yicha bantu	daß ich sie schlage, er tötet Leute
makumi abili.	mirongo ibili.	zwanzig.
Umwami alamutakiru, ati:	Umwami alamwinginga, ati:	Der König bittet sie, er sagt:
wokalamawe inchira ni ndende.	wakalamawe inzira ni ndende.	daß du lebst, der Weg ist lang.
Nakakekulu ati: mwamaliremu	Nyakakeichuru ati: mwamazemu	Die alte Frau sagt: ihr waret unterwegs
biro bingahe?	imisi ingahe?	Tage wie viele?
Wagonjilemu biro	Walijamyemu imisi	Wir haben geschlafen Tage
makumi abili.	mirongo ibili.	zwanzig.
Nyewe nakakekulu	Nyewe nyakakeichuru	Und ich, die alte Frau,
nyaknsohoza	nzaknsohoza	werde machen, daß ihr kommt
ikilo kiguma n'abantu bawe,	mu musi umwe n'abantu bawe,	in einem Tage mit Mannen deinen,
nzabakamurira umuloka,	nzabakamurira umuti,	ich werde ihnen bereiten ein Mittel,
aliko nzabakohereza	aliko nzabohereza	aber ich werde sie schicken wenn
wahikile iwawe.	wasohoye iwawe.	du ankommen wirst zu dir.
Ulakalama, balagenda	Wakalama, bagenda	Daß du lebst (sagt der König), sie gehen
n'amenyo makumi atanu,	n'amahembe mirongo itano,	mit Zähnen fünfzig,
n'amenyo bahika mu mutsi	n'amahembe basohora mu lugo	und mit den Zähnen kommen sie ins Gehöft
ikilo kiguma kuha,	mu musi umwe musa,	am Tage einem einzigen,
kandi bali bamase mu	kandi bali bamaze mu	wenn sie geblieben sind (dort früher)
ibilo makumi abili.	imisi mirongo ibili.	Tage zwanzig.

Ruhunde	Kisyarusanda	Deutsch
Nagenda, kuya kuhunda babantu bawe mbakuhereza.	Nagenda, nakuseseryekuhaka babantu nbohereze.	Ja gehe, ich grüße dich will Männer deine um sie zu schicken.
Umwami ati: ndakuha inka	Umwami ati: ndakuha inka	Der König sagt: ich gebe dir Kühe
makumi abili, nilwa lukembo lwawe, nani ndagendile.	mirongo ibili, nirwo urubembo lwawe, nanye ndagiye.	zwanzig, das ist die Belohnung deine, und ich gehe (sagt die Alte).
Alagenda, alakika mu mutsi alohereza babaguragu[1]) b'umwami. Ungushaziraze.	Alagenda, alashora mu lugo alohereza abagaragu b'umwami. Unsigaleho.	Sie geht, sie kommt ins Gehöft sie schickt die Klienten des Königs. Bleibt (sagt die Alte),
Bati: buchage nawe. Bamala ikilo kigama mu nzira, babgira umwami, bati: twaikile.	Bati: nawe unsigaleho. Bamala umusi umwe mu nzira, babgira umwami, bati: twaje.	Sie sagen: und du bleib auch. Sie bleiben Tag einen unterwegs, sie sagen dem König, sie sagen: wir kommen.
Umwami ati: nukagusha-nilwa, mwaije ndarwo uzasubitse kwa nakakeku,	Umwami ati: mwakalama mwaje ntaw' uzasubirayo kwa nyakakeichuru,	Der König sagt: lebt, ihr seit gekommen, keiner kehrt zurück zur alten Frau,
uzasubayo bazahumba, nukashanilawe, muje, kulya ubuntu, babachumbile.	uzasubirayo bazamukubita, mwakalama, mugende, kulya umutsima, babavagiye.	wer zurückkehrt wird geprügelt, lebet, gehet, esset Sorghobrot, das man euch bereitet hat.

[1]) Lehnwort aus dem Kisyarusanda.

18. Kapitel.

Phonogrammtexte.

Festlieder. — Kriegslieder. — Rätsel.

Die Texte dieses Kapitels verdanke ich meinem Freunde R. P. Felix Dupays. Die Worte wurden nach den Phonogrammen, ein Satz nach dem anderen, von Eingeborenen diktiert. Ohne Hilfe des Phonographen waren unsere Gewährsmänner nicht imstande, die Lieder in solchem Tempo vorzutragen, daß man sie aufschreiben könnte. Die Phonogramme wurden aufgenommen während meines Aufenthaltes in Mulera, im Oktober 1907. Die Phonogramme befinden sich im Besitze des Phonogrammarchivs in Berlin.

Festlieder.

Hangandur' ibano.

Hier schlägt in die Flucht der Pfeil.

(Phon. 38.)

Die Pfeile am Buhuga.	Emiambi muli Buhuga.
Hier schlägt in die Flucht der Pfeil, hier siegt der Speer.	Hangandur'ibano, hatsimbur'indekwe.
Die Speere fallen auf die Spitzen.	Amachumu aragw'emigembe.
Hier schlägt in die Flucht der Pfeil, hier siegt der Speer.	Hangandur'ibano, hatsimbur'indekwe.
Ja, Jungens, ich hab' sie gesehen.	Yego, bahungu, narababonye.
Hier schlägt in die Flucht der Pfeil, hier siegt der Speer.	Hangandur'ibano, hatsimbur'indekwe.
Sie kamen bis auf die Höhe von Mutanda.	Ligeze mu mpinga ya Mutanda.
Hier schlägt in die Flucht der Pfeil, hier siegt der Speer.	Hangandur'ibano, hatsimbur'indekwe.
Jungens, ich hab' sie gesehen.	Bahungu, narababonye.
Hier schlägt in die Flucht der Pfeil, hier siegt der Speer.	Hangandur'ibano, hatsimbur'indekwe.

[p. 355]

Kanyamanza.

Bachstelze.

(Phon. 68.)

Ach, die Bachstelze kam in die Umgebung.	Yo aï, kanyamanza yaje malaba.
Die Bachstelze Mabera.	Kanyamanza ki Mabera.
Kam aus Maberanyi.	Katurutse Emaberanyi.
Oh, sei still, oh du.	Ye, hora, yewe.
Der Reiche sieht sie,	Emuhire arakabona,
Der Arme vermißt sie.	Umutindi arakabura.
Die Bachstelze sieht aus wie?	Kanyamanza kasa gate?
Am Schwanz ähnlich einem Leoparden,	Ku mulizo kasa n'ingwe,
Auf dem Rücken ist sie vielfarbig.	Mu ku mugongo karatonye.

Umulambi wabyay'inka.

Der Hügel hat geboren eine Kuh.[1])

(Phon. 47.)

Ach Vater, ach Vater, ach du!	Aï baba, aï baba, aï we!
Der Hügel hat geboren eine Kuh.	Umulambi wabyay'inka.
Ich freue mich, ich werde den Hügel entlanggehen.	Nzalamba, ndalambagira.
Der Hügel hat geboren eine Kuh.	Umulambi wabyay'inka.
Ich freue mich auf ein kleines Kind.	Nzalambir'akana kato.
Der Hügel hat geboren eine Kuh.	Umulambi wabyay'inka.
Er hat nicht das Brennholz, ich werde nur hinterher aufraffen.	Arasenya, ndasonzorozo.
Der Hügel hat geboren eine Kuh.	Umulambi wabyay'inka.
Er bebaut, ich pflanze nur.	Arahinga, ndatera gusa.
Der Hügel hat geboren eine Kuh.	Umulambi wabyay'inka.
Der Hügel des Bgana[2]).	Umulambi kwa Bgana.
Der Hügel hat geboren eine Kuh,	Umulambi wabyay'inka,

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[1]) Man sagt, daß ein Hügel eine Kuh geboren hat, wenn der Hügel von einem Reichen, Mächtigen in Besitz ergriffen ist.

[2]) Bgana ist der eingeborene Eigenname des R. P. P. Loupias, des Pater-Superiors der Mission Ruasa. Der Sinn des ganzen folgenden Abschnittes ist ungefähr der folgende: „Der Hügel Kabushinge, auf dem sich die Mission Ruasa befindet, ist nicht sehr steil; andere Berge sind steiler. Um auf jenen, wie auf diese zu klettern, schwitzt man, aber dies ist nichts im Vergleich zur Mühe, die der haben wird, der mich meines Haarschmuckes berauben will." Hier wird Bezug genommen auf das Abrasieren des Kopfes der Jungverheirateten, nach der ersten Menstruation im Hause des Mannes. Die Frau leistet dem Manne beim Wegrasieren der Haarzierde einen starken Widerstand, so daß es zu Schlägereien kommt, und der Mann die Frau durch das Schenken eines Schafes gewinnen muß.

Der Hügel, von anderswo ermüdet.	Umulambi na handi guralamba.
Der Hügel hat geboren eine Kuh.	Umulambi wabyay'inka.
Ermüdet wird auch der, der mich rasiert.	Uzulambirwa, wa nkokoye.
Der Hügel hat geboren eine Kuh.	Umulambi wabyay'inka.

Klagelied der Mädchen.

(Phon. 77.)

Will klettern, will klettern, herunterzupflücken den Kürbis, der da hängt.	Nulire, nulire, manure akungu kimanitse.
Du glaubst zu klettern,	Wagira ngowulire,
Zu klettern, herunterzupflücken den Kürbis, der da hängt.	Wulire, manure akungu kimanitse.
O laß, der Vater ist gegangen zum König.	A leka, data yagiye bgami.
Ob er zurück ist, weiß ich nicht.	Niba alatashe, sinz'aho.
Sie auch, die Mutter, ist gegangen heim.	Mawe mama yali yaragiye wabo.
Ob sie zurück ist, weiß ich nicht.	Niba alatashe, sinz'aho.
Bruder mein ist weiden gegangen die Kühe.	Musaza wanye yali aralagiriye inte.
Ob er sie zurückgeführt hat, weiß ich nicht.	Niba arachuye, sinz'aho.
Kälber unsere hab' ich gelassen am Berge.	Inyana zachu nazisize ku kalambi.
Ob sie zurück sind, weiß ich nicht.	Niba zaratashe, sinz'aho.
Stock meinen hab' ich gelassen am Haufen Steine.	Akakoni kenye nakasize kukashinga.
Der Gebärer, der ihn gefunden, ist sein Brotherr[1]).	Umubyeyi we kabonye niwe muhatse.
Ich war, kann beraubt werden um neunzig[2]).	Yewe niberaga nyamunyagwa urwenda.
Jetzt bin ich Sklavin aus Burundi.	None nti nyirakaja ki Burundi.
Ich trank (Milch) einer Kuh mit langen Hörnern,	Yewe ninweraga ntenderi ya ntege,
Ob sie noch (Milch) gibt, weiß ich nicht.	Niba iratetse, sinz'aho.
O du, der mir gibst Milch gute,	Nya kump'amata meza,
Sieh, wo meine Herrin eingefallen ist.	Ndora aho mabuja yatebereye.
O du, der mir gibst Sorghobrot warmes,	Nya kumpa mutsima ushushe,
Sieh, wo meine Herrin eingefallen ist.	Ndora aho mabuja yatebereye.
O du, der mir gibst Bohnen gute,	Nya kumpa bishimbo byiza,

[1]) Soll bedeuten: der Glückliche, der ihn gefunden, soll ihn nur geliehen haben.
[2]) Soll bedeuten: Ich war reich.

Sieh, wo meine Herrin eingefallen ist.	Ndora aho mabuja yatebereye.
Bist du, bist du, bist du da, Mutter des Königs von Masagwe?	Ula, ula, ulaho mwami kazi wi Masagwe?
Ich bin da, ich bin da, ich bin da, kleine Sklavin aus Bungu.	Ndaho, ndaho, ndaho, nyakaja wi Bungu.
Moral: Der sich lobt, lobt sich Wie er sich stets lobt.	Abivuzi, balivugá Nkuko bivugaga.

Rugindiri.

(Phon. 62.)

Du, ach du!	Yewe, aï yewe!
Kind sei still, du.	Mama wiholere yewe.
Nun Tränen aus Nyundo.	Amaze malira ya Nyundo[1]).
Nun, wer weint, der kriegt.	Amaze yalira, yahabga.
Die Mutter ist gegangen heim.	Manir'agiye walio.
Und Kitundwa zu den Bazigaba.	Na Kitundwa mu Bazigaba.
Kind sei still.	Mam' wiholere.
Nun denn flohen die Weißen.	Be lwahungiye abera.
Dann wird er schwarz und nahm es ihnen.	Amaze lwirabula lubake.
Ich werde dich (deinetwegen) fragen deinen Vater, er gebe dich mir.	Nzakusaba so akumpe.
Dann, wenn er nicht will, nehm' ich dich.	Amaze nakunyirwa kwiche.
Die sich lieben, gehen zusammen.	Ebikundanyi birajana.
Morgen die Liebe nicht weggeht aus dem Brande.	Eyo mukundo lutawa mu nda.

Nyiranzanira.[2])

Die Läuferin.

(Phon. 46.)

Mädchenchor.

Wenn die Läuferin, wenn sie weint,	Aho nyiranzanira, aho yalira,
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma[3]).
Kind, schweig.	Mama wiholere.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Schweige, Kanyarutse, es war die Schwester.	Yaliye Kanyarutse, yali mwene nyina.

[1]) Kosename.

[2]) Erste und dritte Zeile publiziert im Aufsatz: Dufays, P., R. P., Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S. 847.

[3]) „ma" ist eine Abkürzung von „mama".

Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
O Jammer, Kind, wenn du doch still wärest.	Nyabuna mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Dann beweint sie die Jünglinge des Ndizihiwe.	Aho yalize mishana ya Ndizihiwe.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Dann die Läuferin im Frieden.	Aho nyiranzanira wa buhoro.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Gaben sie ihr einen Kürbis, um zu schlagen Milch.	Bamuhaye akasabo nko'achunde mate.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Sie will einen Stock, um spazieren zu gehen.	Alend'akabando ngw'achumbagira.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Nun denn, Kind meiner Mutter, komm, daß ich dich beruhige.	Aho mwana wa mama uze ukwiholeze.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Sie beweint die Raben[1]), die herumwandeln.	Yaliz' ebikona bikonagira.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.

[1]) Bedeutet den Clan der Raben.

Sie beweint die Raben, die ihre Mutter erworben.	Yaliz'ebikona bikoye nyina.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Sie will die Reiher von Mubona[1]).	Alend' ebikongoro bya Mubona.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Sie beweint die Reste, die die Hunde haben gelassen.	Aliz'emikongo imga zeshegashe.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Sie weint über die Quellen, die bei Mubona.	Aliliy'amaliba ya muli Mubona.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Sie beweint die Balekezi[2]), ihre Schwäger.	Aliz'Abalekezi bal'obakwe be.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Sie will Nyirankwayo, ist ihre Schwester.	Alenda Nyirankwayo ni mwene nyina.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.
Sie weint Bigaruka des Lukara,	Alize Bigaruka bya Lukara.
Wenn sie weint, Kind.	Aho yalira, ma.
Wärest du still, Kind, wärest du still.	Iyo wiholeye mama iyo wiholeye.
Wenn sie weint, Kind, ihre Mutter beruhigt sie.	Aho yalira mama nyina aramuhoza.

[1]) Mubona, Landschaft an den Sodaquellen in Mulera.
[2]) Balekezi ist ein Clan von Mulera.

Nyiranzanira.

Die Läuferin.

(Phon. 54.)

Männerchor.

Als ich noch nicht wollte das schlechte Bier.	Aho nkyanga madandi[1]) kyankubilo
Wenn du still wärest.	Iyo wiholeye.
Sie beweinte den Kayonde (Sohn) des Mbanzabigwe.	Yalize Kayonde wa Mbanzabigwe.
Wenn du still wärest.	Iyo wiholeye.
Nyabiwugwa des Bumanza des Butiyuhizu.	Nyabiwugwa wa Bumanza wa Butiyuhizu.
Wenn du still wärest.	Iyo wiholeye.

Mwan wachu we.

(Phon. 45.)

Hochzeitslied der Mädchen.

Kind unser, o!	Mwana wachu we!
Schweige, Bevorzugte, ach!	Wiholere buganura aï[2])
Schweige, Kind einziges, ach!	Wiholere mwan'umwe aï!
Schweige, sie betrügen dich, ach!	Wiholere barakuhenda we aï!
Sie haben dich fortgeschleppt, ach!	Barakujana we aï!
Schweige, Kind[3]), ach!	Wiholere mama[3]) we aï!
In die geheimnisvolle Fremde dich, ach!	Ekihugu nama[4]) we aï!
Kind unser, ach!	Mwana wachu we aï!
Willst nicht des vollen[5]) Maßes, ach!	Uzir'ubugereranya we aï!
Wie das der Kaufleute, ach!	Bwa mu bagenza we aï!
Kind unser, ach!	Mwana wachu we aï!
Willst nicht geschlagen sein, ach!	Uzira kukuleitwa we aï!
Schweige, Kind, ach!	Wiholere mama[3]) we aï!
Kind unser, ach!	Mwana wachu we aï!
Willst nicht bebauen, ach!	Uzira kuhinga we aï!

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[1]) Madandi ist junges Bier. Nyiranzanira ist das herumstreichende Mädchen, das von einem Manne zum andern geht und sich hingibt. Hier singen die Männer, daß seit der Zeit, als das Bier noch zu jung zum Trinken war, d. h. seit einigen Tagen, das Mädchen schon mehrere Männer zu beweinen (zu wechseln) Zeit gehabt hat. Diese werden der Reihe nach durchgezählt.

[2]) Aï, das einen schweren Seufzer bedeutet, bildet zugleich den von allen nach jedem Verse gesungenen Refrain.

[3]) Bedeutet Mutter, wird aber von den Mädchen als Kosename benutzt.

[4]) Im „ekihugu nama" bedeutet „ekihugu" — Land und „nama" — Geheimnis. Zusammen bedeuten die beiden Worte soviel wie die Fremde, die Ferne.

[5]) Ein Mann, der nicht will, daß sein Weib vom Proviantkorb sich etwas holt, hält diesen immer ganz voll. Dann kann er leicht merken, ob die Frau davon etwas genommen hat.

Bebauen ganz allein, ach!	Kuhinga wenyene aï!
Schweige, Kind unser, ach!	Wiholere mama we aï!
Schweige „nyambele" (die Vorderste), ach!	Wiholere nyambele aï!
Schweige, Bevorzugte, ach!	Wiholere buganura aï!
Kind unser, du, ach!	Mwana wachu we aï!
Willst nicht beschimpft werden du, ach!	Uzira kutotwa we aï!
Soll es zum Schimpfen (kommen), ach!	Aho kumutola we aï!
(So) führe man es nach Hause, ach!	Bamutotagize aï!
Man gebe es zurück dem Vater, ach!	Bazamushile se aï!
Seinem Vater, der es gezeugt hat, ach!	Ise wamubyaye we aï!
Schweige Kind, ach!	Wiholere mama we aï!
Schweige, „nyambele", ach!	Wiholere nyambele aï!
Kleine Jugendverwerferin du, ach!	Karabushesha[1]) we aï!

Aho lero mama[2]).

Ja, gewiß Kind.

(Phon. 48a.)

O Jammer, Kind, schweig, schweig jetzt.	Nyabuna mama uhore uholere naho.
Ja, gewiß Kind.	Aho lero mama.
O Jammer, Kind, sie betrügen dich jetzt.	Nyabuna mama barakuhenda naho.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.
Sie betrügen dich, sie entführen dich jetzt.	Barakuhenda, barakujana naho.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.
Sie entführen dich jenseits des Waldes.	Barakujanye inyuma y'ishamba.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.
Jenseits des Waldes, gibt es nicht Leute.	Inyuma y'ishamba ntihab'ishanga.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.
O Jammer, Kind, sei bereit.	Nyabuna mama utegutegura.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.
O du Mädchen, hoffe, es kommt (was man dir versprochen).	Yewe mukobga utegerez'izaza.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.
O Jammer, Kind, du weißt nicht, ob es reif wird (das Sorgho).	Nyabuna mama ntuz'ilizera.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.

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[1]) Wörtlich: Die kleine (ka), die die Jugend (bu relativ auf „buto" — die Jugend) verwirft (kusesa — zerstreuen, verwerfen).

[2]) Die erste Hälfte ist publiziert im Aufsatz: F. Dufays, Lied und Gesang bei der Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S. 855.

Du weißt nicht, ob es reifen wird oder vor der Zeit stirbt.	Ntuz'ilizera ni lizalumba naho.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.
Ach, Mädchen, was macht ihr?	Yemwe bakobga murakoli ki?
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.
Du, Mulundi, bist du gegangen.	Yewe Mulundi se wajanye.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.
Du hast mitgenommen kleine Felle der Wildkatze.	Wajanye utoho twi mondo.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.
Jenes Kind dort verschwindet (hinter dem Berg).	Kaliya kana kalengalenga.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama.
O Jammer, ein wildes Tier hat es gefressen.	Nyabuna ekisimba kyarakaliye.
Ja, gewiß, Kind.	Aho lero mama

Nyirabahutu.[1])

(Phon. 65 a.)

Jetzt und o ihr.	Amaze na yemwe.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
O du, Malagane.	Yewe Malagane.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
O du, Malagane.	Yewe Malagane.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Jetzt, Kind, der Nyirabalenzi.	Amaze mwene Nyirabalenzi.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
O du, Musanganyi.	Yewe Musanganyi.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Den Korb mit schönem Rand hat geflochten Wisize.	Akebo kisozore kaboshe Wisize
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Sieh da, ein Bohnenmahl.	Gako amaberere.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Bohnen und Erbsen aus Mulera.	Amahengeri y'Imulera.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Ich geh' nicht nach Rukiga, ich will nicht.	Sinj'Irukiga ndanze.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.

[1]) Fragment einer, wie es scheint, stark verschiedenen Variante. Vgl. P. Dufays, Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S. 855.

Da ich soll anziehen (die Haut der) Affen von dort.	Amaze nambale inkima zaho.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
O ja und ihr.	Yego na yewe.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Sekeresha kam.	Sekeresha alaje.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Der Freund Sekeresha, der Mututsi.	Mugenzi Sekeresh'Umututsi.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Meine Mutter sagte mir.	Mama yaramgiye.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Nun, Kind, sei still jetzt.	Amaze mam'wiholere none.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Geh, kenne, gewöhne dich.	Genda menye menyere.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Freundin, und ich widersetze ihr.	Mugenzi, nanye naramushubije.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.
Das Übel wird nicht angewöhnt.	Akabi ntikamenyawa.
Ach, Jammer heute.	Aï yemwe none.

Wigir'ingwe.[1])

Ähnele dem Leoparden.

Hochzeitslied.

(Phon. 65.)

O Kind, ähnele dem Leoparden.	Ye mama wigir'ingwe.
Ähnele dem Leoparden.	Wigir'ingwe.
Ähnele dem Leoparden im Mondschein.	Wigir'ingwe yu mwezi.
Ähnele dem Leoparden.	Wigir'ingwe.
Der im Dunklen beißt.	Yu mwijima iralyana.
Ähnele dem Leoparden.	Wigir'ingwe.
Deine mütterliche Tante hat geähnelt dem Leoparden.	Nyokosenge yigir'ingwe.
Ähnele dem Leoparden.	Wigir'ingwe.
Deine Schwester hat geähnelt dem Leoparden.	Mwene so yigir'ingwe.
Ähnele dem Leoparden.	Wigir'ingwe.
O Kind, ähnele dem Leoparden.	Wa mama wigir'ingwe.
Ähnele dem Leoparden.	Wigir'ingwe.
Fang an zu ähneln dem Leoparden.	Uzamanz'igir' ingwe.
Ähnele dem Leoparden.	Wigir'ingwe.

[1]) Fast identisch im Aufsatz: P. Dufays, Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S. 857.

Deine Mutter hat geähnelt dem Leoparden.	Nyokulya wigir'ingwe
Ähnele dem Leoparden.	Wigir'ingwe.

Ewanyu nih'ugiye.[1])

Nach Hause, dahin bist du gegangen.

(Phon. 44.)

Hochzeitslied der Mädchen.

Nach Hause, dahin bist du gegangen.	Ewanyu nih' ugiye.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.
Nach Hause, dahin bist du gegangen.	Ewanyu nih' ugiye.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.
Das Kind, das einzige, ist gegangen.	Umwan' umwe yagiye.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.
Nach Hause, dahin bist du gegangen.	Ewanyu nih' ugiye.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.
Geh, kenne, gewöhne dich.	Genda menye menyere.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.
Nach Hause, dahin bist du gegangen.	Ewanyu nih' ugiye.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.
Geh, kenne den Hirten.	Genda menye mushumba.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.
Nach Hause, dahin bist du gegangen.	Ewanyu nih' ugiye.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.
Geh, kenne den Arbeiter.	Genda menye muhinzi.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.
Nach Hause, dahin bist du gegangen.	Ewanyu nih' ugiye.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.
Geh, Jugendvergeuderin.	Genda karabushesha.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.
Nach Hause, dahin bist du gegangen.	Ewanyu nih' ugiye.
Geh, sei still, Kind.	Genda wiholere mama.

Mama wahoro.[2])

Kind sei still.

(Phon. 70.)

O Kind, sei still.	Wa mama wahoro.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.

[1]) Dufays, F., Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S. 860.

[2]) Fast identisch wie im Aufsatz: Dufays, F., Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S. 869.

Soll ich schweigen, was ich hab' bekommen.	Nahora mpaw ki
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
O Kind, sei still.	Wa mama wahoro.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
Ein Armband geb' man ihr.	Kalinga bamuhe.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
O Kind, sei still.	Wa mama wahoro.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
Eine Perlschnur bring' man.	Akakako nazane.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
O Kind, sei still.	Wa mama wahoro.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
Das Armband ist gebrochen.	Kalinga nakavune.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
O Kind, sei still.	Wa mama wahoro.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
Dein Schwiegervater ist arm.	Sebukwe nu mukene.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
O Kind, sei still.	Wa mama wahoro.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
Dein Schwiegervater ist ein Geizhals.	Sebukwe n'ingumya.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
O Kind, sei still.	Wa mama wahoro.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
Deine Schwiegermutter ist eine Wortbrecherin.	Nyirabukwe n'inderu.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
O Kind, sei still.	Wa mama wahoro.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.
Verlassene, sei still.	Kitero wahoro.
O schweig.	Ewahoro.

Mama nsezere ngende.

Mutter, laß mich gehen.

Hochzeitslied der Mädchen.

(Phon. 43.)

Ach schweige, Kind, ach Kind, schweige, sei still.	Ye hora mama, ye mama hora holere.
Mutter, laß mich gehen.	Mama nsezere ngende.
Kind der Mutter laß gehen.	Mwana wa mama nsezere ngende.
Mutter, laß mich gehen.	Mama nsezere ngende.

Kind der Mutter, du schwatze nicht.	Mwana wa mama we ntuhogora.
Mutter, laß mich gehen.	Mama nsezere ngende.
Du schwatze nicht, Schreihals.	We ntuhogora nyamihogo.
Mutter, laß mich gehen.	Mama nsezere ngende.
Schönes Mädchen ...	Kayogoyogo ki'muyogonia.
Mutter, laß mich gehen.	Mama nsezere ngende.
Kind der Mutter, kenne, gewöhne dich.	Mwana wa mama menye menyere.
Mutter, laß mich gehen.	Mama nsezere ngende.
Ach schweige, Kind, laß den Schmerz.	Ye hora mama, ushira gahinda.
Mutter, laß mich gehen.	Mama nsezere ngende.
Jammer! Kind, du gehst unter Andere (Menschen).	Nyabuna mama ugiy' iho bandi.
Mutter, laß mich gehen.	Mama nsezere ngende.

Iy'agenda.

Wenn sie geht.

(Phon. 64.)

Wenn sie geht, Mutter, wenn sie geht.	Iy'agenda maye yagenda.
Sie geht, sie geht.	Yagenda, yagenda.
Wenn sie geht, Nyiramiruhu, werde ich ermüden.	Nagenda Nyiramiruhu nziruhira.
Sie geht, sie geht.	Yagenda, yagenda.
Wenn sie geht, Nyiramikeno, werde ich verarmen.	Nagenda Nyiramikeno nzikenera.
Sie geht, sie geht.	Yagenda, yagenda.
Sie geht, Mutter, sie geht.	Yagenda maye, yagenda.
Sie geht, sie geht.	Yagenda, yagenda.
Sie geht, Kanyenyeri des Ruguru.	Yagenda Kanyenyeri ka Ruguru.
Sie geht, sie geht.	Yagenda, yagenda.
Sie geht, wie soll ich machen.	Yagenda nzagira nte.
Sie geht, sie geht.	Yagenda, yagenda.
Sie geht zum „muhinzi"[1]) der Anderen.	Yagenda ku muhinzi wa rubanda.
Sie geht, sie geht.	Yagenda, yagenda.
Sie geht, Nyirakaje, sie geht.	Yagenda Nyirakaje yagenda.
Sie geht, sie geht.	Yagenda, yagenda.
Sie geht, ich werde mir selbst (Holz) hauen, kein Buschmesser.	Yagenda nzitemera nta muhoro.
Sie geht, sie geht.	Yagenda, yagenda.
Sie geht zum Knecht der Anderen.	Yagenda ku musoromyi wa rubanda.
Sie geht, sie geht.	Yagenda, yagenda.

[1]) Zauberer, der zur Spezialaufgabe die Pflege der Felder hat.

Kein Buschmesser zum Hauen.	Ntamuhoro nzatemera.
Sie geht, sie geht.	Yagenda, yagenda.

Amahoro.

Friede (Pax Tibi).

(Phon. 69.)

Kind (gehe) im Frieden.	Mama mahoro.
Friede.	Amahoro.
Das Armband hast du vergessen.	Kalinga wasize.
Friede.	Amahoro.
Die Perlschnur hast du vergessen.	Kagako wasize.
Friede.	Amahoro.
Du wirst zurückkommen es holen.	Uzagaruk'ukende.
Friede.	Amahoro.
Du Kind (gehe) im Frieden.	Wa mama mahoro.
Friede.	Amahoro.
Da, wo du gehst, (sei im) Frieden.	Ih'ugiy'amahoro.
Friede.	Amahoro.
Wenn du zurückkommst, (sei im) Frieden.	Iy'uvuye amahoro.
Friede.	Amahoro.
Du Kind (gehe im) Frieden.	Wa mama mahoro.
Friede.	Amahoro.
Verlassen (sei im) Frieden.	Kitero mahoro.
Friede.	Amahoro.

Mama ndare.

Mutter, ich will schlafen.

(Phon. 78.)

(Schmerzensruf.)	Yololo, yololo!
	Yololo, yololo!
Mutter, ich will schlafen.	Mama ndare.
Der Wille hat seine Ursache.	Ubgende bugir'imvano.
Das Wort hat seinen Anfang.	Ijambo ligir'interulo.
Des Yuhi und Mibambge	Hya Yuhi na Mibambge
Güte hat, wer will.	Ubuntu bugir'uwenda.
Wer nicht will, der laß sie sein.	Utenz'akabulolera.
(Schmerzensruf.)	Aï we yelele, yelele.
Ich habe geträumt, man vertreibe mich.	Narose bantamagize.
Ach, ich habe geträumt, ich laufe durch hohes Gras.	Yewe, ndose mal'emikenke.

Durch hohes Gras, das schneidet die Beine.	Mikenke imal' ibirenge.
Wenn du mich schickst, gehe ich.	Wantuma nkagenda.
Aber du rufst mich, komme ich.	Aliko wampamagara nkaza.

Lwimanuye.

Spottgesang zur Hochzeit der Obengenannten.

(Phon. 80.)

He, Mutter, sie ist gekommen mit Bohnenhülsen.	Ye mama lwaje na nshimyemurwa.
He, Lwimanuye, je nun denn.	Ye Ulwimanuye yemwe none.
Je denn, Lwimanuye ist da.	Yemwe Ulwimanuye lwalaje.
Sieh herunter durch ein Feld in Brach.	Lwimanutse mu kateme.
Das Häuschen des Bilahire,	Indaro ya Bilahire,
Mutter, ist gedeckt mit Erbsenhülsen.	Maye ishakaje amajeri.
Das Häuschen des Ndabonye	Indaro ya Ndabonye
Ist gedeckt mit Erbsenhülsen.	Ishakaje nshimyemurwa.
Als Wandbekleidung dient Gras.	Itegulo ni mugyai.

Aï we ndaraye.[1])

Ach, ich habe geschlafen.

(Phon. 74.)

Ach, ich habe geschlafen.	Aï we ndaraye.
Ach, sei still.	Aï we ye hora.
Ach, schweig, ach schweig, ja.	Aï we hora ye hora nyene.
Ach, ich habe geschlafen.	Aï we ndaraye.
Hast du gesehen Kalire?	Wabonye Kalire?
Ach, sie ist geworden wie ein Kalb.	Aï we kabaye nk'inyana.
Ach, Kaguliro.	Aï we Kaguliro.
Er ist geworden wie ein Hackenmarkt.	Kabaye aka masuka[2]).
Willst du einen Riemen?	Ulenda kashumi?
O Elend, der schließt Blutbrüderschaft mit den Knochen.	Nyabuna kanywanye n'igufa[3]).
Willst Sorgho in Wasser?	Ulend' utukoma?
Ach, sei still, o schweig ja.	Aï we hora ye hora nyene.

[1]) Etwas abweichend im Aufsatz: Dufays, P., Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda. Anthropos 1909, S. 875.

[2]) Eine Wortspielerei auf den Eigennamen Bezug nehmend. „Kaguliro" heißt auch ein kleiner Hackenmarkt. Da der Besungene sehr mager geworden ist, und seine Knochen infolgedessen wie Hacken aneinander stoßend klappern, so bedeutet: „Kaguliro sei geworden wie ein Eisenmarkt" — so tönen (klappern) seine Gerippe.

[3]) Soll bedeuten: ein Riemen, der sich seiner Magerheit wegen bis in die Knochen verliert.

Sie hat geschlafen ein Sorghobrot.	Aray 'akatsima[1]).
Ach, so sagen sie.	Aï we nuko bagira.
Sie will eine Wohnung.	Alenda lwubake.
O Elend, sie ist geworden zusagend.	Nyabuna yabaye mwemezi[2]).
Lasset, ich will hinauf.	Muleke nterere.
O Elend, seit gestern Morgen.	Nyabuna naho bukereye.
Seit gestern Abend.	Naho bwiriye.
O Elend, hab' ich noch nicht gegessen heute.	Nyabuna sinali nalaya no.
Du hast mir gegeben Sorghomehl mit Wasser.	Wampaye utukoma.
O Dank (?), das hat gegeben Herz (Kräfte).	Nyabona kahaye katima.

Bgahih'ende?

Hat's geschnitten (das Gras) wer?

(Phon. 48.)

Hat's geschnitten, wer, ach, hat's geschnitten, wer?	Bgahih'ende we, bgahih'ende?
Hat's geschnitten, wer, ach, hat's geschnitten, wer?	Bgahih'ende we, bgahih'ende?
Haben's geschnitten Kinder im Rudel?	Bgahih'abana be manzabigwe?
Hat's geschnitten, wer, ach, hat's geschnitten, wer?	Bgahih'ende we, bgahih'ende?
Hat's geschnitten eine Frau und ein Mann?	Bgahih'umugore na mugabo?
Hat's geschnitten, wer, ach, hat's geschnitten, wer?	Bgahih'ende we, bgahih'ende?
Nyiramukunzi[3]) ist eine Liebhaberin der Trommel[4]).	Nyiramukunzi n'inkunzingoma.
Hat's geschnitten, wer, ach, hat's geschnitten, wer?	Bgahih'ende we, bgahih'ende?
Nyiramubyeyi[3]) hat mir geboren einen Schild[5]).	Nyiramubyeyi wambyay'ingabo.
Hat's geschnitten, wer, ach, hat's geschnitten, wer?	Bgahih'ende we, bgahih'ende?

[1]) Soll bedeuten: sie hat ein Stück Sorghobrot vor dem Schlafe gegessen.
[2]) Soll bedeuten: hat auf das Heiratsangebot zugesagt.
[3]) Frauenname.
[4]) Bedeutet: ist die Liebhaberin des Häuptlings.
[5]) Wörtlich Schild, bedeutet aber einen Jungen.

Kriegslieder.

Hediha.

Ruf.

(Phon. 63.)

Ach du, Mutter.	Aï yewe, maye.
Kam Kilinda,	Yalaye Kilinda yewe,
Kilinda mit Muluhuye.	Kilinda nu Muluhuye.
Kam Nyamusama.	Yalaye Nyamusama.
Diese Biere gingen wohin?	Izom'zoga zilaye he?
Sie gingen zu den Feinden,	Zilaye mu abangana,
Den Feinden der Trommel.	Abangana b'ingoma[1]).
Kam Musinga.	Halaye Musinga ye.
Er kam mit Musama.	Yalaye na Musama.
Drüben dort,	Hakulya haliya we,
Ging vorüber ein Häuptling,	Hanyuze mutwale,
Hatte kein Gefolge,	Utagir'umugarago,
Trug selber seine Schlafmatte.	Yitwajije akarago.
Kam Kilinda.	Yalaje Kilinda.

Karame ndaje.

Hier! ich komm.

Von Männern gesungen.

(Phon. 72.)

Hör' Sekidende, hör' Sekidende,	Umwa Sekidende, umwa Sekidende,
Sohn des Sekisabo.	Mwana wa Sekisabo ye.
Hier! ich komm.	Karame ndaje.
Er ging ins Belgische, er ging ins Belgische,	Igeze ku Mubiliga, igeze ku Mubiliga,
Er nahm weg einen belgischen (Stoff).	Ichuze umubiligihaï.
Hör' Mikaeli[2]), auch du des Lebeza.	Umwa Mikaeli, nawe wa Lebeza.
Hier! ich komm.	Karame ndaje.
Ein Elefant? ein Elefant?	Inzovu yi milindi? inzovu yi milindi?
Ist heruntergekommen von Chuve.	Amanutse Chuve[3]).
Hör' Bahinirangabo des Sekidende.	Umwa Bahinirangabo wa Sekidende.
Hier! ich komm.	Karame ndaje.

[1]) Feind der Trommel bedeutet: „Feind des Königs", da die Trommel das Symbol der Königsmacht ist.

[2]) Christlicher Name Michael.

[3]) Landschaft in Nord-Mulera.

Karame ndaje.

Hier! ich komm.

Von Mädchen gesungen.

(Phon. 73.)

Hör' du gehst.	Umwa ug'wagenda.
Er geht nach Niansa.	Yagir'iniansa ye.
Hier! ich komm.	Karame ndaje.
Hör' Ntibukunze,	Umwa Ntibukunze,
Sohn des Kibaba.	Mwana wa Kibaba.
Hier! ich komm.	Karame ndaje.
Also Nyabuyumbo.	Be Nyabuyumbo.
(Unser) Schwarzes (Huhn) ist fortgegangen.	Mukara iragiye.
Du trägst das Fell um die Lenden (und) hast noch kein Weib gefreit.	Nku kenyera utakoye.
Du vergeudest dein kleines Fell.	Nukucha kahu kawe.
Hahn der weiße hat das Fell um die Lenden.	Inkoko yu mweru ikenyer'itakoye.
Und Marseli, auch du Sohn des Lukira.	Na Marseli nawe mwana wa Lukira.
Hör', was ich dir erzähle,	Umwa nko ndakubalira,
(und dann) erzählst du den Anderen.	Ukabalir' abandi.

Ekichinya mudende.[1])

(Phon. 33.)

Du, du, hola, hola.	Yewe, yewe, hola, hola.
Nyagir'abahunde[2]), bist du fertig, so komm.	Nyagir'abahunde[2]) waramaze ulaze.
Ach du schweig.	Eh yewe yahola.
Du, du, hola, hola.	Yewe, yewe, hola, hola.
Ich war in Kalenzi mit Lwibishanga.	Nali Kalenzi na Lwibishanga.
Ich war in Musambira mit Kawale.	Nali Musambira na Kawale.
Du, du schweig.	Yewe ye yahola.
Nyagir'abahunde, du bist ein Fußring[3]).	Nyagir'abahunde ul'akasanyaza.
Nyagir'abahunde.	Nyagir'abahunde.
Ich schlief in Kitarama bei Kiruhura.	Ndaye Kitarama mwa Kiruhura.

[1]) „Ekichinya mudende" ist der Name der Frau, die am Fuße des Muhawura wohnte und das Lied in Mulera gedichtet oder auch nur eingeführt hat.

[2]) Angeblich ein unbekannter Eigenname.

[3]) Soll bedeuten: „Du bist ein schöner Mann".

Rulenge.

(Phon. 52.)

Du hast geschlafen zu Hunga bei Mutahunga.	Waraye Hunga mwa Mutahunga.
Seid vorsichtig, daß ihr nicht vertrieben werdet durch Kahunga.	Mwa mutahungirwa na Kahunga[1]).
Ich gehe zu meinem Wohltäter.	Nsanze muhire yesa muhinza.
O, ihr Mädchen, die Jugend ist schön.	Yemwe bakobga ubutobulosha.
O ja, o ja, gewiß.	Yemwe, yemwe lero.
O Jammer, das Volk.	Yemwe, rubanda lulangirana.
Du bist etwas geworden,	Kamwali muli bukende,
Du bist etwas geworden durch Kühe.	Kamwali ntiwali mwiza wagizwe n'inka.

Murashamula.

Greifet hin.

(Phon. 66.)

Ntunganye ist (Sohn) des Mulembo.	Ntunganye ni ya Mulembo.
Ach o ?	Aï we nyo.
Ekishingwe ist des Ndizihiwe.	Ekishingwe ni kya Ndizihiwe.
Ach o ?	Aï we nyo.
Ekitonga des Ntamuheza.	Ekitonga kya Ntamuheza.
Ach o ?	Aï we nyo.
Balindu, (Clan der) Balindu.	Balindu, Balindu.
Wartet.	Muralinda.
Batigula, (Clan der) Batigula.	Batigula, Batigula.
?	Mutigule.
Balekezi, (Clan der) Balekezi.	Balekezi, Balekezi.
Werfet die Speere.	Muralekere.
Greifet hin, greifet hin.	Murashamula, murashamula.
Ihr habt festgenommen?	Murafashe?
Jawohl, Kind, wir haben festgenommen, so wie wir sind.	Ego mama turafashe nikotungane.

Ebyuma biralima.

Die Eisen brechen durch.

(Phon. 71.)

Ich fand, die sich bereden.	Nsanze balaj'inama.
Die Eisen brechen durch.	Ebyuma biralima.
Bereden sich zu kämpfen.	Inama yu kutawala.
Die Eisen brechen durch.	Ebyuma biralima.

[1]) Landstrich der Barashi am Muhawura, die sehr gefürchtet werden als Räuber.

Die Eisen trafen die Stutzigen.	Byuma bihan'ingaba.
Die Eisen brechen durch.	Ebyuma biralima.
Eisen, Eisen, o.	Byuma, byuma we.
Die Eisen brechen durch.	Ebyuma biralima.
Eisen der Schlacht.	Byuma byu rubaga.
Die Eisen brechen durch.	Ebyuma biralima.
Ich weiß nicht, was mich beißt.	Sinz'akansegeta.
Die Eisen brechen durch.	Ebyuma biralima.
Auf der Dicke der Lenden.	Mu ngata mu mugongo.
Die Eisen brechen durch.	Ebyuma biralima.

Mpunga barungu.[1])

Ich fliehe die Askari.

(Phon. 76.)

O Jammer, Mutter.	Yalolo mama.
Kommst du zu fliehen, flieh' die Askari.	Nuja kuhunga, hunga barungu.
Flieh' die Askari.	Hunga barungu.
Bwana Mudogo war in Kasukuza.	Bwana Mudogo[2]) yali mu Kasukuza[3]).
Flieh' die Askari in Reih und Glied.	Hunga barungu ba kinihira.
Und Dr. R. Kandt war in Kasukuza.	Na Kanayoge yali mu Kasukuza.
Flieh' die Askari.	Hunga barungu.
Ich war in Njundo bei Barthélemy.	Nali ku Njundo kwa Baytelemi[4]).
Flieh' die Askari.	Hunga barungu.
Bei Barthélemy, König der Bagoye.	Kwa Baytelemi, mwami wa Bagoyi.
Flieh' die Askari.	Hunga barungu.
Eine Masse (Bier), die löschet.	Haliko akateko kamal' emyota.
Flieh' die Askari.	Hunga barungu.
Ich fliehe die Askari, ich fliehe Hauptmann W. v. Grawert.	Mpunga barungu, mpunga Tiki-Tiki.
Flieh' die Askari.	Hunga barungu.
Ihn und den Herrn von Kabushinge.	Nawe na Bwana ya Kabushinge.
Flieh' die Askari.	Hunga barungu.
Ihn Nyagasaza, Sohn des Mukemba.	Nawe Nyagasaza, mwene Mukemba[5]).
Flieh' die Askari.	Hunga barungu.

[1]) Eine Variante im Aufsatz: Dufays, F., Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda. Anthropos 1910, S. 867.

[2]) Eingeborener Name eines belgischen Offiziers.

[3]) Lager der Deutsch-Belgischen Grenzkommission.

[4]) Superior der katholischen Mission in Njundo.

[5]) Ein Eingeborener, der sich in Dienste der Europäer stellte und ihnen als Führer während der Okkupation gedient hat.

Sohn des Mukemba hat sich verstellt „boy".	Mwene Mukemba yaigize boy[1]).
Flieh' die Askari.	Hunga barungu.
Er hat sich verstellt „boy", als wäre der Europäer.	Yigize boy ngo mu Muzungu.
Flieh' die Askari.	Hunga barungu.

Lilaye.

Sie kamen (vom Krieg).

(Phon. 39.)

Sie kamen gekleidet in Federn (Pfeile).	Lilaye zambaye amabono.
Spute dich, daß man dich sendet.	Utebuke bakutume.
Sie kämpften in Bugarula.	Bateye Bugarula.
Sie brachten von da Beute.	Bahazany'umunyago.
Sie kämpften in Bugoye.	Bateye kwa Mbogoye.
Sie kämpften, sie beraubten mich.	Bateye ziranyaga.
Sie kämpften am See.	Bateye ku ngezi.
Ich sah die Schlacht der Männer.	Mbonye urugamba lwa bagabo.

Gahindiro.

(Phon. 58.)

Rezitativ.

Er schweigt Gahindiro (Sohn) des Mibamge.	Ali holera Gahindiro ka Mibamge.
Dann blieb er da.	Maze yiberaho.
Dann jagt, und fertig zu jagen mit Ntangazi	Maz'arahiga, n'amala kuhigana Ntangazi
des Gitara, er trug auf dem Kopf das „kambele"[2]), er trug	ya Gitara, yikoleye akambele[2]), aga-
auf den Händen das „kagondo"[3]), er sputet sich	tengat'akagondo, akabashika
zu gehen.	kugenda.
Dann kommt er (und) sagt: Ihr sagt, daß Bgiza	Maz'alaza ati: Mwagize nko Bgiza
ist gefragt worden, von wem? Die Anderen sagen:	yasabge, nande? Abandi bati:
Sie ist gefragt worden von Rugayi des Buzi,	Yasabge na Rugayi lwa Buzi,
König von Bugessera.	umwami wa Bugessera.

[1]) Er wurde für Vertrauensmißbrauch seiner offiziellen Stellung und seinen Landsleuten gegenüber begangene Übergriffe für längere Zeit an die Kette gelegt.

[2]) „Kambele" ist das Wohnhaus des Häuptlings.

[3]) „Kagondo" — das Haus zum Essen und Unterhalten.

Wer fragt ein Mädchen schönes, er soll	Wasabg'umukobga mwiza, araka
sterben sehen sein Kind,	pfusha umwana,
das versorgt ein Anderer.	arwaj'undi.
Er geht, als er ankommt, weiter	Aragenda, ngo aragera, hilya
sagt er: Vielleicht Bgiza ist gefragt worden, von wem?	ati: Halya Bgiza yasabge, nande?
Die anderen sagen: sie ist gefragt worden von Rugayi	Abandi bati: yasabge na Rugayi
des Buzi, König von Bugessera.	lwa Buzi, umwami wa Bugessera.
Wer fragt ein Mädchen schönes, er soll sterben sehen	Wasabge umukobga mwiza, arakapfu-
seine Frau, die als Kopfkissen legt ihr altes Fell[1]).	sha umugore yisegur'amahururo.
Dann geht er, als er fertig zu gehen,	Amaze aragenda, ngw'amaze kugenda,
trifft er Shumba des Rulezi am See.	arasanga Shumba lya Rulezi ku ngezi.
Fertig zu treffen Shumba des Rulezi am	Yamala kusanga Shumba lya Rulezi ku
Wege, dann die Frau des Shumba des	nzila, amaze umugore wa Shumba lya
Rulezi, sagt: Was denn, Shumba des Rulezi,	Rulezi, ati: Besi, Shumba lya Rulezi,
du hast geschlafen mit seiner Frau, sie soll schlafen	uryamye nu mugore we, yokararana
mit ihrem Vater, diese Liebesfrau. Sie sagt: Was denn, dieser	se, w'inkunswakazi. Ati: be si, nwo si
ist nicht Gahindiro des Mibamge?	Gahindiro ka Mibamge?
Dann Shumba des Rulezi steht auf.	Amaze Shumba lya Rulezi arahaguruka.
Dann fertig aufzustehen, setzt er ihn hinüber.	Amaze kuhaguruka, aramwambuka.
Fertig, ihn hinüberzusetzen, setzt er ihn	Yamala kumwambutso amutera
auf die andere Seite. Dann am Morgen	hakulya. Maze mu kitondo Ga-
Gahindiro hat (besitzt einen) Rindenstoff der Liebe,	hindiro agira impuzo yu mkundo,
schickt ihn Bgiza. Bgiza ist entführt durch	ahorerereza Bgiza. Bgiza yajanwe na
Rugayi des Buzi, König von Bugessera.	Rugayi lwa Buzi, umwami wa Bugessera.
Dann ihr denselben übergebend, sagt: Sieh dieser Rindenstoff	Amala kumwihorerereza, ati: Dore iyo mpuzo
ist die Liebe. Bgiza sagt: Nun denn jetzt,	nu mkundo. Bgiz'ati: Besi none,
da du mich liebst sehr, wir werden uns sehen wo?	nk'imkuze chane, kuzabonamrohe?

[1]) Soll heißen: die erste Frau.

Rätsel.

Meine Mutter und deine Mutter bestreiten was?	Mama na nyoko bapfuye ki?
Einen kleinen Kürbis an der Grenze.	Akayuzi ku mu rubibi.
Schnelläufer und ... gingen hier durch?	Nyirambilima na Mwimanyi banyu zaho?
Milch und Hirsebrot.	Amata na mutsima.
Das Kleine, das langsam geht?	Kachura bucheche?
Die Euter des Schafes.	Akachebe k'intama.
Bohr hinein, beide gehen in die Tiefe?	Pfukuza tuje ku zimu?
Pisse mit Hirsestaub?	Inkale mu mulama?
Das Kleine, das die Erde sticht?	Kashond'itaka?
Lanzenspitze.	Akahonda.
Ich gehe von hier, fliehe über die Äcker und komme, wohin ich will?	Naraha ndachir'amayogi, nkagero, iho ushaka?
Gras vor der Hütte.	Isakumbuli y'inzu
Ich stand auf dem Berge und sagte: Arbeiten da drunten?	Mpagabye ku mpinga nti: Bahinzibaho?
Ähre der Hirse.	Intuku lya masaka.
Das Ausgestreckte auf dem Wege?	Kagarami'y'inzila?
Abfälle der Sorghostengel.	Akako ngo lerwa.
Ich ging begraben, sie kamen und folgen mir?	Ngiye kuhamba, baza bankolikiye?
Die Asche.	Ivu.

Wenn man nicht erraten kann, sagt man: „Gicho" (nimm hin).

Trocken brenne ich im Rücken?	Nyirabyuma ndash'umugongo?
Holz über dem Herd.	Rusenge.
.... hinter dem Bambus?	Nyiramaganwa inyuma yu rugano?
Ratten, die pissen auf Hacken, ohne Geräusch zu machen.	Imbeba inyara mu masuka ntako mangana.
Mutter (Ausruf)!	Mama hein!
Die ihre Bedürfnisse tun, treffen sich da, wo man dieselben tut.	Abanyi bahuliye mu runero.
Furchtlos?	Kashiramanga?
Eine Mücke geflogen auf die Schneide der Lanze.	Isazi lyaguye mu bugi bw'ichumu.

Respektlos?	Kashiramanga?
Das Loch, das gebrochen hat (das Bein) einer Kuh.	Ikyoba kivim'imbyeyi.
Ich schlage dich, du siehst mich?	Natukukubita wandora?
Gleitender Weg.	Ubunyerere.
Ach?	Af?
Ein Mädchen sieht, daß es zu Hause brennt.	Umukobga aralera nko wabo halasha.
Hast du's gesehen?	Waralibonye?
Hast du gesehen die Hörner des Hundes?	Wabony'amahembe y'imga?
Ich begegnete einem Mädchen, das vom Hause kam und sagt:	Mpuye nu mukobga, aduye wabo, ati:
Wenn ich je zurück dahin, (lieber) berauben den Vater.	nkazasubira iho, ndokambura data.
Ein Blatt.	Akabi.

Das Antworten auf die Rätsel und das Rätselspiel besteht in einer raschen Abwechselung der Fragen und Antworten. Die Anwesenden wohnen recht gleichgültig dem Spiele bei. Nur in den Fällen, wo ganz unerwartete Antworten improvisiert werden, wird herzlich gelacht, und der Antwortende wird mit Bewunderung angesehen. Das war z. B. hier mit den Hörnern des Hundes der Fall.

Gesänge aus Ruanda

Von

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Vorbemerkungen

Auf der ersten Expedition ADOLF FRIEDRICHS, Herzogs ZU MECKLENBURG, hat Herr Dr. J. CZEKANOWSKI in Ruanda 84 phonographische Aufnahmen gemacht und nach seiner Rückreise freundlichst dem Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv überlassen. Es ist damit zum ersten Male ein einwandfreies Material musikalischer Dokumente aus dem äußersten Nordwesten Deutsch-Ostafrikas wissenschaftlicher Bearbeitung zugänglich geworden. Denn die Beispiele von Ruanda-Gesängen, die R. P. A. ARNOUX[1]) und R. P. F. DUFAYS[2]) ihren ethnographischen Abhandlungen eingefügt haben, sind — wenn auch von einem musikalisch begabten und sorgfältigen Beobachter — direkt nach dem Gehör aufgezeichnet und daher musikwissenschaftlich leider von eingeschränkter Verwendbarkeit[3]).

Von den CZEKANOWSKIschen Phonogrammen blieben nach Ausscheidung der beschädigten und allzu schwachen, sowie der Sprachaufnahmen, 57 für die musikwissenschaftliche Untersuchung. Ein Gesang der Wasukuma (Phon. 83) ist schon früher veröffentlicht worden[4]). Das einzige Instrumentalstück der Sammlung, eine Flötenmelodie der Banyambo (Phon. 36), bietet wenig Charakte-

[1]) Le Culte de la Société Secrète des Imandwa au Ruanda. Anthropos VII, S. 273—295, 529—558, 840—875 (1912); VIII, S. 110—134, 754—774 (1913). Vgl. unten S. 410, Zusatz.

[2]) Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda. Anthropos IV, S. 847—878 (1909).

[3]) Die Schwierigkeiten, die die tonalen und rhythmischen Verhältnisse in exotischer Musik der Auffassung des Europäers bieten, und die Gefahr der Angleichung an das Gewohnte, lassen sich ohne mechanische Hilfsmittel selbst dann kaum überwinden, wenn geduldige Einzelsänger zu endlosen Wiederholungen bereit sind; vollends unmöglich wird eine adäquate Wiedergabe, wenn mehrstimmige Chöre während der aktuellen Aufführung notiert werden sollen. Es ist schwer zu begreifen, warum so Viele, die Gelegenheit und Lust haben, die musikalischen Äußerungen sogenannter Naturvölker zu sammeln, dies auf mühsame, zeitraubende und wissenschaftlich ganz unzulängliche Weise tun, während seit einem Menschenalter bereits eine so bequeme und zuverlässige Methode, wie die phonographische, zur Verfügung steht und die größeren Phonogramm-Archive heute jedem Sammler bereitwillig unterstützen.

[4]) Bull. de l'Academie des Sciences de Cracovie, Sc. naturelles. 1910, S. 711—713.

[p. 379]

ristisches und konnte hier füglich wegbleiben. Leider waren noch mehrere der übrigen Aufnahmen (5 Batwa-, 5 Batutsi-, 4 Bahutu-Chöre) zu undeutlich, um in allen Einzelheiten gehört werden zu können; ich habe sie zwar, so gut es ging, transkribiert, könnte aber nur eine Skizze in Noten geben und ziehe es daher vor, meine Aufzeichnungen nur bei der Gesamtcharakteristik der Gesänge mitzuverwenden. Für die Korrektheit der hier abgedruckten 43 Notenbeispiele[1]) glaube ich aber einstehen zu können. Manche Stücke stellen durch ihre Polyphonie und ihre komplizierte Rhythmik ganz ungewöhnliche Anforderungen an die Geduld des Bearbeiters. Um sicher zu gehen, wurden sie mehrmals zu verschiedenen Zeiten abgeschrieben und die unabhängig voneinander entstandenen Niederschriften konfrontiert und nochmals am Phonogramm überprüft. Auch wurden stets alle auf der Walze festgehaltenen Strophen einer Melodie in extenso notiert, um durch Vergleichung der Parallelstellen undeutlichere Partien zu ergänzen oder zu verbessern, Variables und Konstantes zu scheiden und einen Überblick über die Gesamtform zu gewinnen. Für die Publikation wurde dann immer nur eine besonders charakteristische Strophe ausgewählt. (Die Ordnungszahl der abgedruckten Strophe ist im Notenbild, wo nötig, angegeben.)

Abb. 181. Eiserne Schellen, nat. Gr.

Das Notenmaterial ist zunächst nach den drei Völkerstämmen von Ruanda, deren Gesänge es wiedergibt, den **Bahutu**, **Batutsi** und **Batwa**, geordnet. Die zahlreichste Gruppe, die der Bahutu-Gesänge, ist dann nach dem Wohnsitz der Sänger, den Dörfern (Hügeln) **Ruasa** (Mulera) und **Kabgaye** (Marangara) und weiter nach dem Geschlecht der Sänger untergeteilt[2]).

Der Besitz der Banyaruanda an Musikinstrumenten ist sehr bescheiden. Kürbisrasseln (Abb. 182) finden sich in verschiedenen Formen[3]), ebenso eiserne Schellen, die außer zur rhythmischen Tanzbegleitung[4]) (Abb. 181, 183) als Halsbehang für Kühe[5]) und Jagdhunde[6]) verwendet,

[1]) Auf den Walzen 53 und 77 sind je zwei Gesänge aufgenommen.

[2]) Die Hochzeits- und Klagelieder der Bakera-Frauen sind am Schluß der betreffenden Gruppe zusammengestellt. Auch No. 9 gehört zu den Hochzeitsliedern und ist nur versehentlich von ihnen getrennt.

[3]) Vgl. CZEKANOWSKI in diesem Werke Bd. III, Tafel 58 oben (Batwa); P. ARNOUX l. c. VII, S. 553; Berlin, Mus. f. Völkerkunde III, E. 10 140 (zwei Kürbisse an einem langen Stock), P. ARNOUX S. 546. (Stab mit 3, Gabel mit 6 Früchten.) Ähnliche, an gegabelten Stöcken aufgereihte Rasselfrüchte auch in Urundi: III, E. 6511 (zweizackig, mit 8 Früchten, beim Speerkult gebraucht), 12741 (dreizackig, mit 16 Früchten). Man beachte die kreuzförmigen Einschnitte in den Kürbisschalen, die auch bei den Schalenzithern dieses Gebiets üblich sind.

[4]) Auch Berlin III, E. 13 706; P. ARNOUX S. 547.

[5]) III, E. 5289, ANKERMANN, B., Afrikanische Musikinstrumente, Ethnol. Notizblatt III. 1. (1901). S. 29, Abb. 43; III, E. 10 138.

[6]) III, E. 13 704 (Mulera).

neben andern Dingen wohl auch an menschlichem Halsschmuck getragen werden. Die Trommeln (Abb. 184) gleichen in Form und Bespannung („Fellschnurfellspannung") denen der Nachbarlandschaften Uganda und Kiziba[1]); die Batwa am Hofe des Königs Musinga stimmen sie zu einem mehrtönigen Orchester[2]). Saiteninstrumente sind nur durch die 7- oder 8saitige Schalenzither[3]) (Abb. 185) vertreten, deren Saiten mit der Linken verkürzt, mit der Rechten mit Hilfe eines Plektrons angerissen werden; die Sese ist, wo sie auftritt, Suaheli-Import[4]). Von Blasinstrumenten finden sich außer Signal-(?)Pfeifen (Abb. 186) kunstlose Längsflöten aus Rohr mit vier Grifflöchern[5]) und Trompeten aus Antilopenhörnern mit seitlichem Blasloch und einem Griffloch an der abgekappten Spitze, das mit dem Zeigefinger gedeckt wird[6]). Flöten und Trompeten werden anscheinend nur als Soloinstrumente, die Schalenzithern auch zur Tanzbegleitung gebraucht. Der Mangel namentlich an melodietragenden Instrumenten ist bemerkenswert im Hinblick auf die hohe Entwicklung der Polyphonie (s. u.).

Abb. 182. Kürbisrassel der Batwa aus Niansa. 1/6 d. nat. Gr.

Abb. 183. Eiserne Schelle der Batwa-Musikanten. 1/6 der nat. Gr.

Abb. 184. Trommel aus Bugoye. 1/10 der nat. Gr.

Abb. 185. Schalenzither aus Ruanda. 1/6 der nat. Gr.

Abb. 186. Signalpfeife der Batwa. 1/6 der nat. Gr.

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[1]) Vgl. CZEKANOWSKI, T. 40 m. und S. 20 (Mulera); WEISS, M., Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch-Ostafrikas. Berlin 1910, S. 112. [2]) WEISS S. 54.

[3]) Vgl. CZEKANOWSKI, T. 37 unten, T. 38 oben (Mulera); III, E. 13 114/15/16 (Mulera); III, E. 5280 (Urundi); ANKERMANN S. 29, Abb. 43. Die achtsaitige Schalenzither (inanga) findet sich nach R. KANDT (Caput Nili, Berlin 1904, S. 422) auch bei den Bahunde.

[4]) III, E. 13 149 (Bahutu).

[5]) III, E. 5377 (Karagwe); KOLLMANN, P., Der Nordwesten unserer ostafrikanischen Kolonie (Berlin 1898), S. 42, Fig. 74; WEISS S. 112 (Bahutu). [6]) KOLLMANN S. 42 (Karagwe).

Bei der Transkription sind von diakritischen, in unserer Notenschrift nicht üblichen, Zeichen[1]) nur die wenigen folgenden verwendet:

+ und — über der Note für geringe Erhöhung oder Vertiefung;

( ) für Varianten;

[ ] für Konjekturen aus Parallelstellen;

⌒ vor der Note (in Nr. 44) für Aufwärtsglissando;

⌣ zwischen zwei Noten für pulsationslose Verbindung (Synkope);

· für Luftpausen:

ᵕ (in Nr. 14) für geringe, den Gesamtrhythmus nicht tangierende Verkürzung.

Chornoten sind nach abwärts gestrichen, besonders wenn sie mit der Solostimme in gleicher Zeile stehen. Die absolute Tonhöhe des Originals ist bei jedem Stück für den Anfangston der Notation angegeben: so bedeutet $c^2 = a^0$: Original eine kleine Dezime tiefer.

Es war nicht möglich, die Verteilung der von Herrn Dr. Czekanowski aufgezeichneten Textworte (vgl. S. 355 u. f.) auf die Gesangnoten festzustellen. Nur wo der Text des Refrains ganz eindeutig zu verstehen war, habe ich dies bei den Analysen angemerkt. Als Titel werden meistens — aber nicht immer — die Worte des Chorrefrains angegeben.

Die musikwissenschaftliche Besprechung folgt dem tatsächlichen Gang der Untersuchung. Es werden zuerst Beispiele, jedes für sich, analysiert, dann die einzelnen musikalischen Momente: Melos, Polyphonie und Rhythmus zusammenfassend charakterisiert und ihre theoretische Bedeutung hervorgehoben. Aus äußeren Gründen empfahl es sich nicht, schon hierbei die Gesänge der drei Stämme zu sondern. Der Versuch, sie stilistisch gegeneinander abzugrenzen, wurde daher für die Schlußbemerkungen aufgehoben, die die Ergebnisse noch einmal kurz resumieren.

Notenbeispiele und Analysen

A. Bahutu-Gesänge

1. Männergesänge aus Ruasa (Mulera)

1. (Phon. 39).

Von den zahlreichen Versen sind nur der fünfte bis achte notiert. Bei den späteren Wiederholungen wird das Solo schwächer und schließlich unhörbar, so daß der Chor deutlicher hervortritt; danach würde der Chorrefrain („Lilaye zambay' usw."), der sich offenbar das ganze Stück hindurch absolut gleich bleibt, in den ersten Versen ergänzt. Die Struktur des Gesangs wird aus Vers 7 klar: hier ist das Solo eine wenig variierte Transposition der drei ersten Chor-

[1]) Vgl. O. Abraham und E. M. v. Hornbostel, Vorschläge für die Transkription exotischer Melodien. Sammelbände der Internat. Mus.-Ges. IX, 1909.

takte um eine Quarte in die Höhe. Das Hauptmotiv benutzt das Tetrachord *c — ag* im Chor, *f — d c* im Solo, die Töne *h* und *e* — die Terzen der Grundtöne — kommen nur gelegentlich als Wechselnoten vor. Durch die Konjunktion der beiden Tetrachorde entsteht eine „fünfstufige Skala". Der letzte Solotakt führt gegen den Hauptton *g* hinunter, meist ohne ihn wirklich zu erreichen; der dritte und vierte Chortakt bekräftigen den Abschluß auf dem Hauptton. Der Choreinsatz ist daher nicht als melodischer Anfang, sondern als Fortführung der Solomelodie anzusehen. Es ergibt sich das Schema: $a^1b^1c^1/a^2b^2c^2/d\ e$ —, also wahrscheinlich 3 × 3 Takte mit Verkürzung der letzten Gruppe. Indem sich das Solo ganz über den Chorrefrain schiebt, entsteht eine fünftaktige Periode, und der Schluß bildet einen Bordun für den Anfang. Die Umfangsverengerung des Motivs in manchen Solovarianten (Vers 5, 6 u. a.) ist vielleicht durch Bevorzugung der simultanen Quarte (und Quinte) vor der Septime bedingt.

2. (Phon. 54).

Einfacher Wechselgesang, auch der Chor stets unison. Geringfügige Varianten treten in a häufiger auf. Von der Transposition des ersten Teils in die Unterquarte, die in c genau ist, weicht d erheblich ab; einige Wiederholungen, in denen *g* zu hoch oder statt des ersten *f* im letzten Takt *e* gesungen wird, zeigen, daß d dennoch als Variante von b gelten kann. Indem dieser Teil allemal zum Schlußton (Hauptton?) *f* zurückkehrt, wahrt er die tonale Einheitlichkeit des Ganzen; und indem er das *a* vermeidet, folgt er der Tendenz, die Oberterz des Grundtons zurücktreten zu lassen. So ergibt sich eine fünfstufige Leiter von der weitverbreiteten Form *d c — (a) g f*. (Man vergleiche mit dieser Melodie die gleichnamigen Gesänge der Bahutu-Frauen Nr. 10 und der Batwa Nr. 42.)

3. (Phon. 55).

Die Oberterz des Haupttons (*c*) wird vom Chor sehr tief — als „neutrale", zwischen *es* und *e* — genommen; dagegen ist in manchen Varianten des Solos das *e* am Schluß (Abton des zweiten Haupttons *g*) stark erhöht. Das Solo bringt eine Art Umkehrung des ersten Chortaktes; jedenfalls sind beide Motive rhythmisch verwandt. Der Rhythmus des ganzen Stücks ist ungeheuer merkwürdig: das Motiv des Solisten ist gegen das des Chors um ein Achtel verschoben, so daß die akzentuierenden Schläge hier auf die „schwachen", dort auf die „starken" Achtel fallen. Die Chormelodie ist zudem in sich synkopiert und für unsere (europäische) Auffassung ist das zweite Viertel des $^5/_8$-Taktes am stärksten betont, während das erste (*d*) als Auftakt wirkt. Man mag die Takteinteilung machen, wie man will, die rhythmischen Verhältnisse, die durch die Schläge und die vielfachen Wiederholungen absolut sicher gestellt sind, bleiben davon unberührt. Das Händeklatschen setzt erst in der Mitte des Phonogramms ein und zerstört die rhythmische Einstellung, die der Europäer durch die erste, unbegleitete Hälfte gewinnt.

4. (Phon. 60).

Sehr merkwürdig ist die auf den Tritonus *h* — *f* aufgebaute Tonalität. Sieht man von dem *c* in c^1 — das nur in einigen Wiederholungen und immer nur an dieser Stelle, als Wechselnote zu *h* vorkommt — ab, so ergibt sich eine obere Oktavhälfte, die in drei Ganztöne, und eine untere, die in zwei kleine Terzen gegliedert ist; wie die ganze Oktave, so ist also jede ihrer Hälften wieder distanzgleich geteilt. Vergleicht man die vorliegende Fassung mit dem gleichnamigen Frauengesang Nr. 14, so bemerkt man eine auffallende Ähnlichkeit des abschließenden Chormotivs. Auf gleiche Tonhöhe transponiert würde es in 14 die Töne *g f* — *d c* benützen. Danach wäre das *h* in 4 als vertieftes *c* und der Tritonus *f* — *h* als eine übermäßig große Quarte zu verstehen. — Als Zusammenklänge ergeben sich am Schluß der Motive a und c große Sekunden. Obwohl die Verteilung der Töne auf die beiden Stimmen aus dem Phonogramm nicht ganz sicher zu entnehmen ist, möchte ich die im Notentext wiedergegebene für die wahrscheinlichste halten. Denn sie läßt erstens die Verwandtschaft der Motive a^1a^2 und c^1c^2 hervortreten; zweitens stellt sich die zweistimmige Form als eine Art Kanon dar und die Zweiklänge würden sich aus dem Übereinandergreifen der Stimmen erklären — zu beidem finden sich Analoga in manchen anderen Melodien. Auch die rhythmische Struktur ist am einfachsten durch Gruppen von 3 × $^5/_4$ darzustellen, mit einer Verkürzung der dritten Gruppe in a um ein Viertel. Für den motivischen Aufbau ist offenbar nicht die einzelne Stimme, sondern das Ganze maßgebend, das in zwei analog gebaute Hälften zerfällt: $a^1a^2b^1$; $c^1c^2b^2$, und hieraus erklärt sich auch die Abweichung vom strengen Kanon, der durch das Abschlußmotiv b unterbrochen wird.

5. (Phon. 66).

Als Haupttöne sind wohl *d* und *g* anzusehen. Die Intonation der zwischenliegenden Stufen ist schwankend: *h* in a klingt in manchen Wiederholungen eher wie *c*, *c* in b wie *h*; der Ton in c liegt stets in der Mitte zwischen *a* und *b*, auch in d wird *a* manchmal sehr hoch genommen. Die Teilung der Quinte nähert sich also der distanzgleichen (nach javanischem Salendrotypus) an. Auch der Rhythmus ist ziemlich lax. Vermutlich sind 6teilige Gruppen gemeint, die aber vielfach — durch die Beschleunigung des Zeitmaßes innerhalb des Motivs — zu $^5/_4$, ja zu $^4/_4$ verkürzt erscheinen. So dürfte a als $^6/_8$ + $^3/_4$ intendiert sein, auch wo es, wie in der notierten Variante, objektiv $^2/_4$ (mit Triolen) + $^3/_4$ sind. Für uns sehr widerhaarig ist die Akzentverteilung in d, die, unbekümmert um die rhythmische Verschiebung, den zweiten Chorrefrain („muralinda") zu einer $^6/_8$-Gruppe zusammenschließt. Die rhythmische Freiheit ist um so erstaunlicher, als es sich um einen Gesang beim Lastentragen handelt.

6. (Phon. 72).

Abgesehen von der Wechselnote *f* liegt dem Gesang eine fünfstufige Leiter mit den Haupttönen *a* und *c* zugrunde. Für uns entsteht durch den kleinen

Terzenschritt *c* — *a* Molleindruck. — Die Einleitung zeigt den Aufbau in seiner einfachsten Gestalt: die Periode besteht aus sechs Motiven, die im Wechselgesang vorgetragen werden; im Schlußmotiv d („karame ndaje") erscheint der Normaltakt von $^3/_2$ auf die Hälfte verkürzt und zugleich in einer dem regelmäßigen Schlagrhythmus entgegengesetzten Akzentverteilung ($^6/_8$ gegen $^3/_4$). Das erste Motiv gibt den Chorrefrain (a) an; das zweite Motiv (b) tritt zunächst nur als eine einfache, den Umfang erweiternde Variante des ersten auf (b^1), entwickelt sich dann im Hauptteil weiter durch Anfangsreduplikation und reichere Gliederung (b^2, b^3). Das dritte Motiv c^1 ist eine freie Transposition des zweiten in die Tiefe: die disjunkten Tetrachorde *a* — *e*, *d* — *a* werden zu konjunkten *d* — *a*, *a* — *e*; im Hauptteil wird dieses Motiv durch Reduplikation metrisch erweitert, zugleich aber im Tonumfang eingeengt, indem entweder der Anfangston um eine Quarte heruntertransponiert, aus der absteigenden Quarte also eine Prim wird, oder der ganze Quartschritt wird um einen Ganzton nach abwärts gerückt (*c g* statt *d a*). Die erste (häufigere) Variante ist vielleicht eine Vorausnahme des Abschlußtaktes d. — Durch den vorzeitigen Einsatz von b^3 entsteht eine Verkürzung um ein Viertel, das aber durch die Erweiterung in der Reduplikation von c^2 wieder eingebracht wird. Die Berechtigung, den Aufbau des Hauptteils so zu interpretieren, ergibt sich aus der Analogie mit der Einleitung[1]).

2. Frauengesänge aus Ruasa (Mulera)

7. (Phon. 27).

Der Wechselgesang zwischen der Vorsängerin und Chor II wird durch ein stereotypes Motiv (Chor I) begleitet, das als rhythmisierter Bordun oder auch, mit Rücksicht auf die (seltene) Variante von b, als sehr einfacher Ostinato bezeichnet werden kann. In der Oberstimme, für sich betrachtet, sind zweifellos *d* und *a* die Haupttöne; nur in einer einzigen Variante wird das Solomotiv bis zum *g* hinuntergeführt. Doch muß man wohl den Bordun des ersten Chors als motivischen Abschluß des Solos und des Refrains des zweiten Chors auffassen. So ergibt sich ein durch beständiges Übereinandergreifen geschlossener Zirkel. Eigentümlich ist der Einschluß der Hauptquinte *d* — *g* in die Oktave e^2 — e^1, die den Ambitus bezeichnet: in manchen Varianten setzt das Solo ausnahmsweise auf e^2 ein, und in manchen (andern!) sinkt das Motiv des ersten Chors zum (merklich erhöhten) e^1 herab. Hierdurch tritt doch wieder *a* gegenüber *g* hervor. — Die rhythmischen Schläge betonen die Außenglieder der Dreiachtel-Gruppen, eine Akzentuierung, die auch uns geläufig ist („betonter Auftakt").

8. (Phon. 33).

Die Tonalität ist der von Nr. 7 ähnlich: wieder tritt in der Oberstimme die Quinte *d* — *g* hervor, während sich der Gesamtumfang von e^2 bis e^1 erstreckt;

[1]) Eine Variante dieses Gesangs ist unter Nr. 22 mitgeteilt.

das Ostinato-Motiv des Chors läßt hier aber die Quinte *h* des tiefsten Tons hervortreten, während *a* nur als Durchgangsnote vorkommt. Die tonale Struktur ruht also auf den beiden verschränkten Pentachorden *d* — *g* und *h* — *e*.

Die Melodie baut sich aus zwei voneinander nur wenig unterschiedenen Perioden von je vier $^3/_4$-Takten auf; durch vorzeitigen Einsatz der Solostimme entstehen Verkürzungen im Beginn der Wiederholungen. Als Hauptmotiv kann man die durch kurze Striche über dem System eingeschlossene Phrase auffassen; das Vorausgehende wäre dann ein (variabler) Auftakt, das Folgende eine verkürzte Wiederholung und die Chormelodie bestünde aus der zweimaligen Wiederholung des — vereinfachten und im Umfang eingeengten — Hauptmotivs mit angefügter Koda. (Für diese Auffassung sprechen u. a. die Atempausen.)

Auf jedes Viertel kommen ein oder zwei rhythmische Schläge, doch scheint das Auftreten von Achteln (statt Vierteln) an keine Regel gebunden.

9. (Phon. 45).

Die Motive dieses Wechselgesangs beginnen mit dem Chorrefrain, dem das Solo antwortet. Als Hauptton erster Ordnung (Tonika) erscheint daher der hohe Anfangston (*c*), als Hauptton zweiter Ordnung (Dominante) seine Unterquarte, die Finalis (*g*). Von dieser scheint die Solostimme in einigen Wiederholungen noch um eine kleine Terz abwärts zu gleiten („Abton" *e*), so wie der Chor von der Tonika (nach *a*) in einer Variante (a^2), die erst am Schluß des Phonogramms auftritt; hier erscheint auch — als Abschluß? — ein neues Motiv (c), das von der Oberquinte zur Tonika herabsinkt. Zusammenklänge durch Übereinandergreifen der Stimmen kommen auch erst in diesem Schlußteil regelmäßig vor.

10. (Phon. 46).

Die Tonalität ist ähnlich wie im vorigen Stück: der eine Hauptton *c* ist zugleich Anfangs-, der andere *g* Schlußton, das obere Pentachord g^2 — c^2 wird nur in einer kurzen Überleitung gebraucht; die Leiter ist fünfstufig ohne Halbtöne. Durch Übereinandergreifen entsteht an den Motivschlüssen ein Quartenzusammenklang (Tonika + Dominante), in dem die Stimmenverteilung regelmäßig abwechselt (Zirkelform). — Der Rhythmus, dessen Auffassung für uns durch die gehäuften Synkopen erschwert ist, ist durch die regelmäßigen Schläge auf jeder Halben sichergestellt. Die ganze Periode, die ohne bemerkenswerte Varianten immer wiederholt wird, besteht aus drei $^4/_2$-Gruppen, wenn man sich nach den Chormotiven richtet; gliedert man dagegen die Solomelodie in vier $^3/_2$-Gruppen — nach den Strichen über dem System —, so erscheint die dritte (b^2) als Variation der zweiten Gruppe (b^1), die erste (a) als monotone Einleitung[1]).

11. (Phon. 47).

Innerhalb der vorwiegend auf der Quinte *d* — *g* aufgebauten Tonalität befremdet das *f:s* am Anfang. Mit Rücksicht auf die transponierte Wiederholung

[1]) Vgl. die gleichnamigen Gesänge 2 und 42.

des ersten (synkopierten oder punktierten) Motivs ist es vielleicht als ein *f* zu verstehen, das zu hoch intoniert wird, weil der Sängerin die Oktave des Grundtons vorschwebt. Es ist auch möglich, daß wirklich g^2 intendiert, aber von der Stimme der Solistin nicht erreicht worden ist. An einen zerlegten „Terzquartakkord" darf man aber keinesfalls denken, den hört nur unser europäisches Ohr in die Melodie hinein. — Wieder klingen die beiden Haupttöne am Gruppenschluß in der Quinte zusammen infolge des Übereinandergreifens der Stimmen. Das Motiv b ist eine erweiterte Variante des Chorrefrains („umulambi etc.") und schließt sich mit diesem zum Zirkel. Ob der Ablösung der beiden Motive a und b eine Regel zugrunde liegt, läßt sich aus dem Phonogramm, von dem nur ein Teil deutlich ist, nicht entnehmen.

12. (Phon. 48).

Die Melodie gehört zum gleichen Typus wie Nr. 7. Eine Chorgruppe gibt einen rhythmisierten Bordun, der sich melodisch an das variable Solomotiv und den stereotypen Refrain der zweiten Chorgruppe anschließt. Durch Überschneidung von Anfang und Schluß dieser Motive ergibt sich die durch die Haupttöne (*d* — *g*) gebildete Quinte auch simultan (Zirkelform). Noch durchsichtiger wird die Struktur, wenn man die Melodie nach vier $^4/_4$-Takten gliedert, beginnend mit Chor II; dessen Motiv würde vom Solo — mit Auftakt — variiert wiederholt und durch das Bordunmotiv von Chor I beschlossen, das bei der Wiederholung sein erstes Viertel verliert. Die neue Strophe setzt dann bereits auf der ersten langen Note des Borduns ein, was eine Überschneidung von 6 Vierteln ergibt. (Vgl. die kleinen Gruppenstriche.) Manche Varianten des Solomotivs greifen weiter aus, eine — ziemlich häufige — bis zur Oktave des Grundtons, beschränken sich aber (von seltenen Durchgangsnoten abgesehen) auf die Töne der fünfstufigen Leiter. Die Reihenfolge der Varianten scheint willkürlich zu wechseln — nur drei besonders typische sind notiert. Die rhythmischen Schläge fallen auf jedes Viertel und sind gelegentlich in Achtel aufgelöst; sie erleichterten die Feststellung der Synkopen des Chorrefrains (und der einen Solovariante).

13. (Phon. 49).

Das Solomotiv, dessen Länge mit dem Text wechselt, fällt durch die Hauptquinte *g* — *c*, selten wird noch *a* (Dominantleitton) als Wechselnote hinzugenommen. Die Ausfüllung der Quarte *g* — *d* ist variabel, öfters tritt *e* an die Stelle von *f*; in der kurzen Phrase des ersten Takts, die mehrmals wiederkehrt, erscheint immer *e* (Leitton zur Nebentonika *d*?). Die Verteilung der Stimmen ist im Phonogramm nicht ganz klar, doch scheint sich der Chor auf einen einzigen Ton zu beschränken (rhythmisierter Bordun). Dieser ist die Obersekunde der „Tonika", und beide klingen in vielen Varianten zusammen — eine für unser Ohr besonders fremdartige und auch in den Bahutu-Gesängen singuläre Erscheinung. — Der Rhythmus ist durch den regelmäßigen Einsatz des Borduns und das Händeklatschen eindeutig als $^4/_4$ bestimmt.

14. (Phon. 52).

Die Notierung, die etwas kompliziert aussieht, versucht, den motivischen und rhythmischen Bau der Melodie möglichst klar hervortreten zu lassen. Die Melodie des Solos zerfällt in zwei analog gebaute Gruppen mit identischem Schluß; die 8 Viertel jeder Gruppe lassen sich wieder in einen Vortakt von 3 und einen den Hauptton (*d*) umspielenden Haupttakt von 5 Vierteln gliedern; eine Pausengruppe von $^4/_4$ trennt die Wiederholungen. Analog ist der Aufbau der Chormelodie, die zwei Viertel vor dem Abschluß der ersten Sologruppe, zugleich mit dem Schlußton des ersten Motivs, einsetzt. Die Motive des Solos sind tonal durch den Abstieg in der Quarte *g* — *d* charakterisiert, der vom Chor am Schluß der ganzen Melodie durch den Abstieg in der konjunkten Quarte *d* — *a* beantwortet wird. Dieser wird durch die lang ausgesponnene Umspielung des Haupttons verzögert. Der Schlagrhythmus kontrapunktiert die — schon untereinander rhythmisch verschobenen — Gesangstimmen mit einem neuen, regelmäßig wiederholten Motiv von 5 Vierteln. Läßt man es mit dem stark akzentuierten Viertel schließen (betonter Auftakt, vgl. Nr. 7), so fällt der Anfang mit dem des zweiten Chortaktes (und dem Schlußton der Solomelodie) zusammen: und hier, aber auch nur hier, bleiben Schlag- und Gesangrhythmus durch 5 Viertel konform[1]).

15. (Phon. 53a).

Die Hauptquinte *a* — *d* ist nur durch eine Zwischenstufe geteilt. Das Solomotiv geht immer bis zum „Abton" der Tonika (*c*) herunter, der Chorrefrain schließt das Motiv auf dem Hauptton. Das eintaktige Motiv wird ohne wesentliche Veränderungen beständig wiederholt; eine durch vorzeitigen Einsatz des Solos entstandene Verschiebung wird durch zeitliche Dehnung („Vergrößerung") ausgeglichen, so daß der Rhythmus konstant bleibt.

16. (Phon. 53b).

Der Chorrefrain, der sich dem Solomotiv (a) anschließt, transponiert dieses um eine Quart herunter, unter Weglassung des Auftakts (*a*) und geringfügiger tonaler Variation (Angleichung der Dreiachtelnote an die vorhergehenden Hauptton-Achtel, Erhöhung des Durchgangstons). Das zweite Solomotiv (b) entsteht durch Zusammenziehung des ersten (a) mit dem Chormotiv. — Der $^7/_4$-Takt ist vermutlich zu erklären aus dem Übergreifen von 5 Vierteln, bei einer Motivlänge von 12 (= 4 × 3) Vierteln (vgl. die kleinen Gruppenstriche!). Wenn man die Pausen nicht mitrechnet, so ergibt sich das Motiv zu 3 × 3 = 9 Vierteln mit 2 übergreifenden Vierteln. In jedem Fall kommt hier zur Überdeckung noch eine rhythmische Verschiebung hinzu.

17. (Phon. 62).

Der Melodie liegt die „fünfstufige Leiter" *a g* — *e d c* zugrunde, ganz selten tritt *f* als Zwischenton auf. Wesentlich ist für das Solomotiv der Schritt *a* — *g*.

[1]) Vgl. den gleichnamigen — und auch melodisch verwandten — Männergesang Nr. 4.

für den Chorrefrain der Schritt *d* — *c*, die Verbindung zwischen beiden stellt die Legatofigur am Anfang des Chormotivs her. Die geringere Bedeutung des *c* (absteigender Leitton zu *d*?) würde auch seine (im Chor) stark vertiefte Intonation (fast *es*) erklären. Sehr auffällig ist aber die Übereinstimmung der Intonation in dieser und der oben (Nr. 3) mitgeteilten Variante des Liedes. Die neutrale Terz ist also sicher kein Zufallsprodukt. — Der für uns äußerst widerhaarige Rhythmus wäre ohne die rhythmischen Schläge kaum sicher zu stellen gewesen, trotz der zahlreichen, ganz identischen Wiederholungen. Jedes für sich genommen, ist sowohl das Solo- als das Chormotiv einfach genug, auch für europäische Auffassung; aber wir würden den Chor um ein Achtel später beginnen lassen. Gegenüber dem Solo erscheint der Chorrefrain synkopiert, allein diese Deutung ist fragwürdig; nach Analogie anderer Beispiele ist wohl eher der scharfakzentuierte Schlag (im Klatschrhythmus) als letzter der Periode (betonter Auftakt) zu fassen und demgemäß für den Chor Betonung der (für uns) schwachen Zeiten — die auch sonst in außereuropäischer Musik gang und gebe ist — anzunehmen. Auch der Rhythmus ist dem von Nr. 3 analog. (Näheres s. S. 409).

18. (Phon. 63).

Von den 48 Wiederholungen des eintaktigen Motivs, die das Phonogramm enthält, sind nur einige besonders typische Varianten wiedergegeben. Das Motiv besteht aus zwei $^3/_4$-Gruppen ($^3/_4$ Solo + $^3/_4$ Chor), verkürzt sich aber durch Übereinandergreifen der Stimmen zu $^5/_4$; der Chorrefrain wird regelmäßig um ein Viertel, das Solomotiv gelegentlich auch um ein Achtel verlängert (Fermate). Die Variante (30) zeigt, daß ein Ton durch seine (Unter-)Quinte vertreten werden kann. Durch die Betonung des vierten Achtels (im Gesang, in zwei Varianten auch durch den Schlagrhythmus) verändert das Solomotiv seine $^3/_4$ fast in jedem zweiten Takt in $^6/_8$. Durch den starken Akzent ist wohl auch das (erhöhte) *g* in der 16. Wiederholung bedingt; es ist dies die einzige Abweichung von der fünfstufigen Leiter.

19. (Phon. 64).

Die Chormelodie besteht aus zwei fast gleichlautenden Gruppen, deren zweite sich durch den antizipierten Einsatz des kurzen Motivs, das die Vorsängerin dazwischen wirft, um ein Viertel verkürzt. Die Auffassung der Bahutu verrät sich in dem begleitenden Trommelrhythmus, der beim Einsatz des Solos plötzlich abbricht und von neuem beginnt. Die Wucht des Anfangs treibt offenbar auch die Intonation in die Höhe (*h* statt *b*!). Das Solomotiv setzt sich in der Chormelodie in natürlicher Weise fort, und die hier als erste notierte Gruppe erscheint so als (variierte) Wiederholung der andern.

20. (Phon. 68).

Die Hauptquinte *e* — *a* ist durch zwei Zwischenstufen, unter Vermeidung der Terz der Tonika, geteilt, und durch den Abton *g* erweitert. So entsteht hier eine fünfstufige Leiter mit dem Hauptgewicht auf dem zweittiefsten Ton. Für

die ersten drei Motive (a bis c) ist das Pentachord *e* (*d*) — *h a*, für das letzte (d) das Pentachord *d* — (*h*) *a g*, mit stark vertieftem *g*, wesentlich; der Wechsel der beiden entspricht innerhalb des Reinmelodischen etwa unsrer Modulation Tonika — Dominante. Das erste Solomotiv (a) faßt beide Pentachorde zusammen und exponiert so die Gesamttonalität. — Die Melodie besteht aus vier $^6/_4$-Motiven, deren jedes wieder in zwei Gruppen von $^3/_4$ zerfällt; die erste wird vom Solisten, im 4. Motiv (d) vom Chor (II?) gesungen, während die zweite Gruppe als (variierte) Chorwiederholung der ersten gelten kann. — Nur die beiden ersten Takte verkürzen sich durch Übereinandergreifen der Stimmen um je ein Viertel. Durch Händeklatschen wird jedes Viertel markiert.

21. (Phon. 69).

Bemerkenswert ist der Wechsel der Tonalität in den beiden Solomotiven, deren (vermutlich regellose) Wiederholung sich durch den ganzen Gesang fortsetzt: das eine (a) verwendet die große Oberterz des Haupttons, das andere (b) vermeidet sie. Der Leitton zur Tonika wird im Chor merklich vertieft. — Der $^5/_4$-Takt entsteht aus den $^6/_4$-Motiven (mit Schlußfermate) durch Übereinandergreifen der Stimmen.

22. (Phon. 73).

Das Hauptpentachord (*a* — *d*) ist nach oben durch einen Anfangsakzent (*c*) erweitert. Sehr merkwürdig ist die Erweiterung nach unten am Schluß (in b), die zwei Ganztöne unter dem Hauptton (*d* — *c* — *b*) bringt. Die Analogie mit dem gleichnamigen Männerchor Nr. 6 lehrt, daß das *b* als erhöhtes *a* aufzufassen ist. Es entstehn so zwei zur Hauptquinte symmetrisch gelegene Quinten *c*—*f* und *f*—*b*, die dem Mittelton *f* größere Bedeutung verleihen. — Sehr eigentümlich ist auch die Rhythmik des Schlußmotivs b: wir wären geneigt, hier $^5/_4 + {}^4/_4 + {}^6/_4$ zu zählen. Der regelmäßige Aufbau von $2 \times {}^4/_4$ läßt aber vermuten, daß auch die letzten 8 Viertel als eine Gruppe gemeint sind. Allenfalls könnte man alle Gruppen als nach 5 + 3 gegliedert annehmen. Man vergleiche damit, wie sich das $^6/_8$-Motiv („karame ndaje") an die aus $^3/_8$-Gruppen aufgebaute Variante in Nr. 6 anfügt. — Die neue Strophe setzt allemal um $^1/_8$ verfrüht ein.

23. (Phon. 74).

Das Hauptmotiv erscheint als Ostinato des Chors zweimal in jeder Periode. Hier ist es über die Tonika (*d*) nach der Tiefe erweitert. Als erstes Solomotiv (a) durchläuft es dagegen das obere Pentachord (*a* — *d*) und setzt um eine Halbe verzögert ein; den Abschluß des Solos bildet dasselbe Motiv in seiner einfachsten Gestalt (c). Im späteren Verlauf des Gesangs tritt eine Variante mit erhöhtem Anfang (Einsatzakzent, *h* statt *a*) auf. Die fünfstufige Leiter besteht also hier aus den verschränkten Pentachorden *a* — *d* und *fis* — *h*. — Die Synkopen und Triolen mit ausgehaltener Schlußnote erschweren die rhythmische Auffassung sehr; sie wird erst beim Eintritt der Schläge (auf jeder Halben) — etwa in der Mitte des Phonogramms — ganz sicher.

24. (Phon. 78).

Das von der Solistin vorgetragene Solomotiv (6 Halbe) zerfällt in einen variablen Teil (4 Halbe) und einen konstanten Refrain (2 Halbe). Der erste Chor fällt in den Refrain unison ein und leitet dann entweder durch den Abton (*fis*) und die Obersekunde (*h*) der Tonika zum nächsten Vers über, oder er wiederholt die Tonika als Schlußfermate (*a*). Der zweite Chor gibt ein Echo des Refrains auf der Dominante, von der er ebenfalls zur Obersekunde abgleitet. Für das Hauptmotiv ist wesentlich der Abfall durch die Hauptquinte *e* — *a*; dieser ist im variablen Anfang meist bis *h* geführt; eine Variante (13) kehrt noch einmal zum *d* zurück; eine andere (18) antizipiert den Refrain, indem sie das ganze Motiv auf 4 Halbe zusammenzieht; eine dritte (11) benützt nur das obere Tetrachord *a* — *fis* — *e* und nimmt das Chorecho voraus. (Die hier nicht notierten Verse sind unwesentliche Veränderungen dieser vier Typen. Der Periodenbau ist nicht klar, vielleicht schließen sich 6 Verse zu einer Strophe zusammen.) Bemerkenswert ist die tonale Struktur durch die Gegensätzlichkeit der beiden Tongruppen *e* — *a* und (*d*) — *h* — *fis*, durch deren Übereinandergreifen sich die simultane Sept fis^1 e^2 ergibt. Die Sängerinnen intonieren den Hauptton in der Qualität (Oktave) des Trommeltons. In manchen Versen (wie 10, 18) entspricht der Rhythmus des Solos dem 2. Takt des Trommelmotivs.

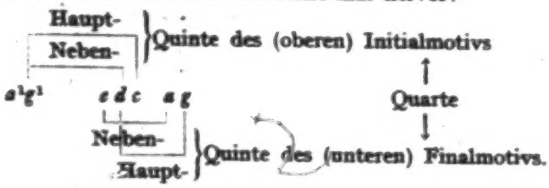
25. (Phon. 80).

Die Melodie baut sich auf dem Tetrachord *d* — *a* auf, das durch einen oberen Beiton der Tonika *d* erweitert ist. Das *cis* ist nicht als Leitton — als solcher kommt es nie vor —, sondern wahrscheinlich als distanzgleiche Halbierung des ganzen Motivraums (*f* — *a*) („ye Ulwimanuye") aufzufassen. — Der erste, invariable, Solotakt ist wohl als (unvollständige) Antizipation des Chorrefrains zu verstehen; der zweite bringt unwesentliche, vermutlich textbedingte Varianten. Durch Übereinandergreifen der Stimmen verkürzt sich die nach dem Schema 2 × (4 + 4) gebaute Melodie zweimal um zwei Viertel.

26. (Phon. 44).

Die Melodie zerfällt in analog gebaute Hälften, jede wieder in ein exponierendes und ein antwortendes Motiv. Das erste Solo-Motiv (a) benützt das Pentachord *g* — *e d c*, das zweite (b^1) das Pentachord *d c* — *a g* (Verschränkung). Hier erscheint die absteigende Achtelfigur des ersten Motivs in Verkürzung, die durch Reduplikation der Schlußfigur ausgeglichen wird (vgl. Nr. 24, Vers 181). Der hierdurch bedingten (vorhaltartigen) Betonung der Obersekunde der Finalis analog ist der langausgedehnte Vorhalt, der das erste Chormotiv c („ewanyu nih' ugiye") beherrscht; das zweite Chormotiv b^2 („genda wiholere mama") wiederholt das zweite Solomotiv, aber ohne Verkürzung und erweist sich als (nur wenig veränderte) Transposition des Anfangsmotivs auf die Unterquarte. Die Struktur der „fünfstufigen halbtonlosen Leiter", für die nur die

Quinten-, Quarten- und Sekundenbeziehungen wesentlich sind, nicht die Terzen, tritt in dieser Melodie besonders klar hervor:



27. (Phon. 67).

Der Chor beschränkt sich auf einen rhythmisierten Bordun auf dem Hauptton. Auch das eintaktige Solomotiv wird ohne wesentliche Veränderungen wiederholt. Die Zwischenstufe, die die Quarte *g* — *d* teilt, ist der melodisch schwächste Ton: sie fällt entweder ganz weg oder variiert je nach dem Zusammenhang (*e* als Abton von *g*, *f* als Wechselton von *d*). — Die Quartole auf den ersten drei Vierteln ist in vielen Wiederholungen deutlich.

28. (Phon. 70).

Die Melodie gibt ein besonders instruktives Beispiel für die typische Struktur der Bahutu-Gesänge: das Thema dehnt sich über vier Halbe aus, von denen aber das Solo nur die ersten drei übernimmt; während der auf der dritten Halben einfallende Chor das Thema zu Ende führt, beginnt das Solo bereits mit dem nächsten Vers. Das Solomotiv bringt den Abfall durch die Hauptquinte, der Chorrefrain („ewahoro") sinkt noch vom Hauptton um eine Stufe weiter hinunter. Im späteren Verlauf des Gesangs tritt eine Variante von stärker abschließendem Charakter ein: der Chorrefrain bleibt auf dem Hauptton, und die Vorsängerin fügt noch eine verkürzte Wiederholung des Hauptmotivs als Kadenz an. Natürlich fällt hier das Übereinandergreifen der Stimmen — das ja ein Mittel lebendigen Fortschreitens ist — weg, und so ergibt sich die zeitliche Vergrößerung des Themas auf $3 \times {}^{2}/_{3}$.

29. (Phon. 77 a).

Das Stück wird, wie unbegleitete Sololieder meist, rhythmisch ziemlich frei vorgetragen; die Notierung kann daher die zeitlichen Verhältnisse nur approximativ wiedergeben. Die Melodie beginnt mit einer Einleitung (a^1 bis d^1), in der jedes Motiv auf dem Hauptton (?) *a* schließt. Der folgende Hauptteil besteht aus einem variablen Vortakt (e) und einem in allen Wiederholungen konstanten Refrain (a^2 d^2), der auf der Obersekunde des tiefsten Tones (*h*) schließt. Die Leiter ist fünfstufig: im oberen Tetrachord (a^2 — *e*) wird die Oberterz der Dominante, im unteren (*d* — *a*) die Terz des Haupttons vermieden.

30. (Phon. 77 b).

Das erste Thema (A^1) wird viermal, mit unwesentlichen Varianten, wiederholt, dann vom zweiten Thema (B) abgeschlossen; die darauffolgende Variante

verändert das erste Thema ziemlich stark und erweitert es um einen kurzen Vortakt (vgl. auch Nr. 29). Rhythmisch ist vielleicht ein $^4/_4$-Takt intendiert, mit Erweiterungen durch den Auftakt; doch wäre auch eine Gruppierung nach $^3/_4$, wie die Striche über dem System sie andeuten, denkbar. Infolge der Freiheit des unbegleiteten Solos ist eine Entscheidung unmöglich. Das Stück ist übrigens vielleicht nur eine stark variierte Fortsetzung des vorigen, dem es nach einer kleinen Pause auf derselben Walze folgt; doch tritt in 30 auch im Text ein neuer Refrain auf.

3. Männergesänge aus Kabgaye

31. (Phon. 32).

Der Rhythmus, namentlich der Soloteile, ist sehr frei; die Notierung kann daher nur das allgemeine Schema skizzieren. Das am stärksten variable Motiv c erscheint als Erweiterung von a; in einer Variante wird das Schlußmotiv (Abfall durch das *d* — *g*-Pentachord) antizipiert, dem sonst immer nur das Vormotiv (Abfall durch das *e* — *a*-Pentachord) vorangeht. Die Gegensätzlichkeit der Tonalitäten der beiden Motive begründet vermutlich ein ähnliches Verhältnis von Spannung und Lösung im Reinmelodischen, wie es zwischen Konkordanz und Diskordanz („Auflösung") im Harmonischen besteht. — Quinten- oder Quartenzusammenklänge (durch Übergreifen) kommen nur gelegentlich vor.

32. (Phon. 34).

Die Melodie baut sich aus 5 Fünfviertelgruppen auf: in den ersten drei wird das erste Motiv (im Pentachord *d* — *g*) im Wechselgesang wiederholt, mit Verkürzung um 2 Viertel durch Übergreifen; bemerkenswert ist die Verschiebung der Sechszehntelfigur in a^2. Von den Schlußmotiven (Pentachord *c* — *f*) zerfällt das erste (b) in zwei Untergruppen von 5 Achteln, das zweite (c) ist eine Variante (Umfangsverengerung) von a.

33. (Phon. 37).

Der Rhythmus des Sologesangs hat für unsere Auffassung die Freiheit rezitativischer Deklamation. Die fünfteilige Gruppierung geht indes mit Sicherheit aus der Trommelbegleitung hervor, deren rhythmisches Motiv sich ganz regelmäßig wiederholt. Nur wie die Gruppen zu begrenzen sind, kann zweifelhaft sein. Der Einteilung, wie sie die ausgezogenen Taktstriche angeben — und die besonders durch Takt 6 nahegelegt wird — ist vielleicht die durch die kleinen Gruppenstriche angedeutete vorzuziehen. Der Chor, der erst im späteren Verlauf des Phonogramms deutlicher zu hören ist (vgl. den Schluß der Notierung), scheint einen konstanten Zweiton-Bordun von 5 Achteln durch das ganze Stück regelmäßig zu wiederholen. (Das erste, allein hörbare Achtel des Chormotivs ist in den Trommelnoten mit doppelter Cauda angedeutet.) Nur in

Takt 1 und 6 tritt eine Verschiebung ein. — Tonal baut sich der Gesang auf die Terzenreihe *c — a — fis — d* auf (vgl. Nr. 4).

34. (Phon. 59).

Das Phonogramm ist sehr undeutlich, namentlich die tiefsten Töne sind kaum zu hören; trotzdem glaube ich durch wiederholte, unabhängig voneinander vorgenommene Transkription und sorgfältige Vergleichung der Parallelstellen eine wenigstens in den Umrissen korrekte Notierung geben zu können. An dem Gesang sind außer dem Vorsänger wahrscheinlich zwei Chorgruppen beteiligt, von denen die eine das erste Solomotiv ergänzt und das zweite (variiert) wiederholt, während die andere nur das Schlußmotiv bringt. Die Melodie zerfällt in zwei Hälften von je 9 Vierteln, die durch Verkürzung aus den $^5/_6$-Motiven entstehen, indem die Stimmen am Schluß übereinandergreifen. — Soweit sich dies feststellen läßt, scheint sich die Melodie auf einer fünfstufigen Leiter aufzubauen, die im zweiten Motiv (b) vollständig durchlaufen wird, während das erste (a) nur das obere Tetrachord *c — a g*, das letzte Motiv (c) das untere Pentachord *g f — d c* benützt.

4. Frauengesänge aus Kabgaye

35. (Phon. 31).

Der Chor vollendet das erste Motiv und gibt so dem Solo Gelegenheit, mit dem zweiten vorzeitig einzusetzen; hierdurch verkürzt sich der erste Teil der Strophe um 2 Viertel. Der zweite Strophenteil bringt die beiden Motive unverkürzt im Chor, mit Veränderungen durch Transpositionen um eine Quarte abwärts. Der Abfall durch die Hauptquinte *d — g* wird in a^1, unter Betonung der Dominantsekunde *e*, stark verzögert (Spannung im Anfang!), in b^2 erscheint das Motiv in Umfangsverengerung (Verebben der Melodiebewegung am Schluß!). Die Leiter ist fünfstufig, die Oberterz des Grundtons (*h*) muß als Unterquart der Dominantsekunde verstanden werden.

36. (Phon. 35).

Der Chorrefrain bringt den melodischen Abschluß der Solomotive und schließt selbst mit derselben Formel, während die nächste Strophe schon einsetzt. Wir Europäer verfallen leicht in $^6/_8$-Takt-Auffassung, die sich aber nicht durchführen läßt. Für die Tonalität charakteristisch ist der Wechsel zwischen *e* und *f*, für die oft ein Mittelton ($\overline{f} = \overset{+}{e}$) eintritt. Es ist, als ob zwischen der Unterquarte von *a* und der Oberquarte des Haupttons (*c*) ein Kompromiß gebildet würde.[1])

[1]) Mit dem „Amahoro" aus Ruasa (21) hat das vorliegende Stück so wenig Ähnlichkeit, daß es fraglich scheint, ob die beiden überhaupt etwas miteinander zu tun haben.

B. Batutsi-Gesänge

(am Hofe des Königs Musinga)

37. (Phon. 12).

Die tonalen Verhältnisse sind lehrreich für das Verständnis der in Afrika häufigen „Terzen"Struktur. Das Hauptmotiv, das von der Dominante zur Tonika abfällt (in b, c), erscheint im Solo (a) oft (aber nicht immer) in Umfangsbeschränkung; der Refrain (d) umspielt die Tonika mit Benützung ihres Abtons (*e* = Unterquarte der Sekunde *a*), zu dem er am Schluß meist (aber auch nicht immer) noch einmal abgleitet (vgl. Nr. 7, 24). — In einer Strophe wird a dreimal und b zweimal wiederholt vor dem Eintritt von c, in einer anderen wird a zu einem längeren Rezitativ, hauptsächlich auf *h*, erweitert. — Der $^7/_8$-Takt ist wahrscheinlich als Erweiterung eines $^3/_4$-Takts zu verstehen, der in c (durch die Triole) öfters wirklich auftritt. — Die Verteilung der Stimmen ist nicht ganz klar; in manchen Strophen scheint der Refrain dem Solisten zuzufallen (?).

38. (Phon. 13).

Die Melodie baut sich auf den beiden (verschränkten) Pentachorden *d* — *g* und *a* — *d* auf; *h* und *e* sind, als absteigende Leittöne zur Dominante und Tonika des untern Pentachords, oft vertieft. Die Strophe zerfällt in zwei analog gebaute Teile, jeder von diesen in ein Solomotiv (a, d), dessen verkürzte Chorwiederholung (b, c), und eine Koda (e, f) mit Fermatendehnung am Strophenschluß. Eine Verkürzung um $^1/_8$ und ein Oktavenzweiklang entstehen durch Übereinandergreifen der beiden Teile. Bemerkenswert ist das Motiv d, das die beiden vorhergehenden (b, c) zusammenfaßt, den Abfall aber nicht durch die ganze Oktave, sondern nur bis zur Obersekunde des Grundtons (*e*) durchführt, mit der die Obersekunde der Dominante (*h*) im Chorauftakt zusammenklingt. (Man vergleiche mit dieser Bildung die tonale Struktur des vorigen Stückes!) — Wenn man rhythmisch-melodische Verschiebungen zuläßt, so kann man die rhythmische Struktur vereinfachen zu einem $^6/_4$-Takt, mit einer Verlängerung um $^1/_8$, die durch nicht vollständiges Übergreifen des Auftaktes (bei d) über den Chorschluß entsteht (vgl. die kurzen Gruppenstriche).

39. (Phon. 14).

Die fünfstufige Leiter entsteht in dieser Melodie besonders klar aus den Strukturverhältnissen: die Chormelodie (b^1) fällt vom Hauptton (*d*) durch eine Oktave, bei der Wiederholung (b^2) schränkt sich der Umfang auf eine Quarte ein; als Dominante fungiert die Unterquinte des Haupttons. Die obere Quinte *d'* — *g* wird im Solo (a) durch *h*, die Unterquarte der vorbereitenden Sekunde *e*, geteilt. Das Quartenmotiv des Anfangs bestimmt auch die Teilung der Oktave des Chorteils in zwei disjunkte Tetrachorde *d'* — *a* und *g* — *d*. Die Dominantsekunde *a* verzögert den Eintritt des Haupttons zweiter Ordnung (*g*), wie die

Sekunde *e* den der Tonika. Zugleich ist *a*, als Unterquarte (= Oberquinte) des Haupttons eine Art Nebendominante, die die Spannungstonalität ($e^1 — h\ a — e$) mit der Lösungstonalität ($d^1 — a\ g — d$) verbindet. — Auf dem 4. Viertel des ersten Chortaktes tritt regelmäßig eine heterophone Simultanquarte auf. — Der Soloteil unterliegt bei den Wiederholungen mannigfachen rhythmischen und tonalen Variationen, deren Einzelheiten das Phonogramm leider nicht deutlich wiedergibt. Der Chorteil bleibt stets unverändert. Für uns wirken alle ersten Viertel als Auftakte, doch stimmt die gewählte Einteilung besser mit der Phrasierung und dem motivischen Aufbau.

40. (Phon. 21).

Dem stereotypen Chorteil, der die Hauptmelodie bringt, geht ein frei variables Rezitativ des Solisten voraus, das aber stets mit derselben Kadenz (r) schließt. Die von den beiden Haupttönen *a* und *e* gebildete Quarte ist durch eine Zwischenstufe ($\bar{g} = fis$) distanzgleich geteilt. Die ziemlich schwankende Intonation dieser Stufe deutet darauf hin, daß sie die doppelte Funktion der Oberquinte (Unterquarte) von *h* (= Obersekunde der Dominante) und der Oberquarte (Unterquinte) von *d* (= Untersekunde der Tonika) zu erfüllen hat. Das Haupttetrachord ist nach oben und unten durch symmetrisch gebaute konjunkte Nebentetrachorde erweitert. — Das hier wiedergegebene Solorezitativ zerfällt in drei $^6/_8$-($^{10}/_8$-)Gruppen; rechnet man die ersten beiden Chorviertel als Auftakt noch zu r, so erscheinen auch die Chormotive fünfteilig, mit einer Dehnung in b^1 (Viertel statt Achtel am Anfang).

41. (Phon. 25).

Das erste Motiv (a) durchläuft die Hauptquinte von der Dominante (*a*) zur Tonika (*d*) und schließt mit dem Zusammenklang beider Haupttöne. Das zweite Motiv (b) setzt dem ersten das Pentachord zwischen *g* und *c* (Spannungstonalität) entgegen, schließt aber wieder auf der Tonika. Der Abschluß wird verzögert durch eine verkürzte Wiederholung des Motivs a (α) und eine erneute Spannung durch die ausgehaltene Untersekunde der Tonika (β). Die Melodie wird ohne bemerkenswerte Varianten fortgesetzt wiederholt.

C. Batwa-Gesänge

(Hofsänger des Königs Musinga)

42. (Phon. 1).

Die Stimmenverteilung ist nach dem Phonogramm nicht sicher festzustellen. In der ersten Gruppe (a) wechseln Solo und Chor, in den beiden folgenden singen entweder Chor und Vorsänger zusammen oder der Chor singt geteilt, so daß der einen Gruppe ein rhythmisierter Bordun auf *a* zufällt. Möglicherweise liegt aber auch hier ein Ostinato vor, wie im folgenden Stück, indem die Unterstimme an den Gruppenschlüssen nach *c* hinaufgeht. Die drei Gruppen sind analog gebaut:

jede besteht aus einem vorbereitenden ruhenden und einem zum Schlußton *c* abfallenden Motiv. Die tonale Struktur scheint wesentlich durch die Haupttöne (*c*, *g*) und deren Obersekunden (*d*, *a*) gegeben; mit dem starken Hervortreten der letzteren in a und c hängt vielleicht die ungewöhnliche Auszeichnung des *e* (als Unterquarte bzw. Oberquinte von *a*, nicht als Terz von *c*!) zusammen. — Die Wiederholungen bringen keine bemerkenswerten Varianten.

Im Aufbau und der melodischen Struktur (der Gruppen b und c) erinnert diese Melodie an den gleichnamigen Bahutu-Gesang 2 von dem sie aber rhythmisch verschieden ist.[1])

43. (Phon. 6).

Über einem Ostinato (Chor I), das vom Grundton (*a*) erst am Schluß aufsteigt, baut sich eine Gegenmelodie auf, die teils dem Solisten, teils einer zweiten Chorgruppe zufällt. Diese Melodie benützt fast ausschließlich die (Ober-)Quinte und Quarte des Grundtons, läuft aber am Schluß[2]) mit der Begleitungsstimme im Unisono (auf *c*) zusammen. Wie aus der (häufigen) Variante von a hervorgeht, ist *e*, nicht *d*, der Hauptton der Oberstimme. Dieses Zusammentreten der beiden Stimmen aus der Quinte in den Einklang auf der Mese erinnert an mehrstimmige Gesänge von den Salomonen[3]).

44. (Phon. 3).

Das sehr undeutliche Phonogramm gestattet nur eine flüchtige Umrißzeichnung, die hier mit allem Vorbehalt wiedergegeben wird. Die Melodie bleibt, von geringen Varianten abgesehen, in allen Wiederholungen gleich; sie wird abwechselnd vom Vorsänger und der einen Chorgruppe vorgetragen, während die andere Chorgruppe anscheinend eine Ostinatobegleitung gibt, die sich auf zwei Töne (Grundton und Obersekunde) beschränkt, ähnlich wie in 42 und 43. — Das erste Motiv (a) bleibt nach dem Abfall durch das obere Pentachord (*d c — a — g*) auf der Dominante, das zweite (b) betont die Sekunden der Haupttöne (*a*, *d*), das letzte (c) kadenziert durch das untere Pentachord (*g f — d c*).

Zusammenfassende Charakteristik

I. Melos.

Für die Beschreibung und Vergleichung von Melodien ist es zweckmäßig, sie in Typen zu ordnen. Unerläßliche Bedingung für jeden solchen Gruppierungsversuch ist, daß die Charakteristika der Typen den Melodien selbst entnommen, nicht auf Grund theoretischer Vorurteile in sie hineingetragen werden.

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[1]) Vgl. auch den gleichnamigen Bahutu-Gesang 10.

[2]) Der Schluß von c ist maßgebend; das Solomotiv d ist unsicher.

[3]) Vgl. meine Untersuchung: Die Musik auf den nord-westlichen Salomo-Inseln in: R. THURNWALD, Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel, Bd. III, Berlin (D. Reimer) 1912.

Vor allem muß man sich hüten, nichtharmonische Melodien im Sinne der neuzeitlichen europäischen Musik zu deuten: man würde sich damit von vornherein jede Möglichkeit des Verständnisses nehmen. Manche landläufigen Begriffe unsrer Musiktheorie — wie namentlich „Dur" und „Moll" — sind auf reinmelodische Musik schlechterdings unanwendbar und sollten überhaupt vermieden werden[1]). Andere — wie „Tonalität", „Tonika", „Dominante", „Leitton" usw. — lassen sich eher auf Analoges übertragen, wenn ihre Bedeutung entsprechend modifiziert und so bestimmt wird, daß dem tatsächlich Vorgefundenen kein Zwang angetan wird. Außerdem werden sie durch neue Begriffe ergänzt werden müssen. Die Aufstellung tonaler Typen kann gewiß helfen, eine Theorie des reinen Melos anzubahnen. Um der Gefahr eines starren Schematismus zu entgehen, werden die Begriffe nicht zu eng gefaßt, die Zahl der Typen nicht zu sehr beschränkt werden dürfen. Schon die Abstraktion von Rhythmus, Phrasierung, formalem Aufbau, Vortragsweise (und Text) bringt eine Entfernung vom lebendigen Melos mit sich, die um so größer sein wird, je wesentlicher die vernachlässigten Seiten in der Auffassung der Musizierenden sind. In der Musik der Kulturvölker, und besonders der Europäer, verschiebt sich das Gewicht — durch den Einfluß von Instrumenten, Notenschrift und Harmonie — zugunsten des tonalen Moments, und wir sind infolgedessen leicht geneigt, dieses in rein melodischer Gesangmusik zu überschätzen[2]). Und noch innerhalb des Tonalen selbst muß das Schema von den Einzelheiten der Melodiebewegung — dem wichtigsten gestaltbildenden Faktor neben dem Rhythmus — absehen.

Durch bloße Ordnung der Melodietöne nach der Höhe zu „Skalen" wäre wenig oder gar nichts gewonnen. Mindestens muß noch die melodische Funktion der Töne berücksichtigt werden. Ganz frei von subjektiver Auffassung läßt sich das Gewicht der Töne wohl nicht bestimmen. Aber die Kriterien können nachträglich ihre Rechtfertigung finden, wenn die Typen Gesetzmäßigkeiten der tonalen Struktur hervortreten lassen, die den Melodien selbst nicht ohne weiteres anzusehen sind.

Die Hauptrichtung der Bewegung in den Ruanda-Melodien ist durchwegs absteigend. (Wir beginnen deshalb die Tonreihen in der Typenübersicht — Notentafel S. 402 — mit dem höchsten Ton.)

Das Hauptmotiv fällt meist durch eine Quinte oder Quarte (Hauptquinte, Hauptquarte). Zwei Töne, die in einem dieser Verhältnisse stehen, treten als Haupttöne erster Ordnung hervor. Man kann in manchen Fällen zweifeln, welcher der beiden Töne der bedeutendere sei; meist aber wirkt doch der tiefere, dem die Bewegung zustrebt, als Basis des Melos sowohl, wie der

[1]) F. Densmore (Chippewa Music, Bureau of Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 45, Washington 1913 und 53, 1910) verfällt in diesen Fehler bei der Klassifikation der von ihr bearbeiteten Indianergesänge.

[2]) Dieser Gedanke ist näher ausgeführt in meinem Aufsatz über „Melodie und Skala", Jahrbuch d. Musikbibliothek Peters 19, Leipzig 1913.

Mehrstimmigkeit (s. u.).[1]) Ihn wollen wir darum als Tonika, den mit ihm durch die Quarten- oder Quintenbeziehung verknüpften oberen Hauptton als Dominante bezeichnen. [Die Tonreihen in der Übersichtstafel sind so transponiert, daß sie sich, wenn irgend möglich, ohne Versetzungszeichen schreiben lassen. Für diatonische siebenstufige Leitern wäre nach diesem Prinzip die Lage der Tonika durch die der Halbtonschritte eindeutig bestimmt. Bei stufenärmeren Reihen hat man dagegen die Wahl zwischen verschiedenen Oktavausschnitten; so ließe sich 27 mit *c* (statt *g*), 22 mit *d* (statt *a*) als Tonika darstellen. Als zweites Prinzip für eine übersichtliche Zusammenstellung hat dann zu gelten: Die Leitern werden so transponiert, daß bei möglichst vielen die Tonika höhengleich wird. Danach wird *g* Tonika in der ersten Hauptgruppe, um 20 und 32, *a* Tonika in der zweiten Hauptgruppe, um 6 ohne Versetzungszeichen schreiben zu können[2]).]

Nach den beiden Haupttönen erster Ordnung lassen sich die Typen zunächst in Modi gruppieren, die durch die Lage der Tonika in der Gesamttonreihe — oder, was auf dasselbe hinauskommt, durch die Lage der Halbtonintervalle zur Tonika — bestimmt sind; nach dem Hauptintervall kann man dann innerhalb des Modus eine Quintengattung und eine Quartengattung unterscheiden. Von den Bahutu-Melodien gehören weitaus die meisten (26[3])) zum Sol-Modus (Tonika *g*), dem sich auch die Melodien der Batutsi und Batwa fast ausnahmslos zuordnen lassen; sicher zu belegen ist ferner der La-Modus (Tonika *a*) durch 5 Melodien. Drei weitere Melodien — denen auch noch die Batwa-Melodie 44 zugefügt werden kann — sind vielleicht als Repräsentanten des Do-Modus aufzufassen. Ganz vereinzelt tritt der Si- (oder Fa-) Modus auf, dessen Tonalität, mit dem Tritonus als Hauptintervall, eine Sonderstellung einnimmt.[4]) Nr. 40 ist als Re-Modus notiert, um den Zusammenhang mit den übrigen Batutsi-Melodien klarer hervortreten zu lassen, könnte aber ebensogut als Quartengattung des La-Modus gelten.

Eine weitere Unterteilung der Modi ergibt sich aus dem Verhältnis der Haupttöne zweiter Ordnung zu denen erster Ordnung. In absteigender Melodik haben die höheren Nachbarn der Haupttöne die Funktion von Leittönen: die Gravitationskraft nimmt mit der Annäherung zu. So wird zunächst die Obersekunde der Tonika (*a* im Sol-Modus), die zugleich als Unterquarte mit der Dominante verwandt ist, zur Nebentonika; und diese ist wieder durch die Quintenbeziehung mit dem Leitton der Dominante verbunden, der nun zugleich als Nebendominante fungiert (*e* im Sol-Modus). Diese erste Unter-

[1]) Diese Auffassung wird bestätigt durch die Intonation des Haupttons als Oktave des Trommeltons in 24.

[2]) Es versteht sich wohl von selbst, daß die Notenzeichen und Tonnamen in einem Strukturschema zur Stufen, nicht absolute Tonhöhen bezeichnen.

[3]) 27 mit Nr. 33.

[4]) Es ist übrigens fraglich, ob Nr. 4 wirklich als Beispiel dieser Tonart gelten darf (vgl. oben S. 384). Vielleicht gehört aber 33 hierher.

gruppe, die man „Tonika-Leittonart" nennen könnte, ist durch 6 Bahutu-Melodien (35—24) vertreten. In andern Fällen (17—8) gewinnt der Leitton der Dominante (*e*) das Übergewicht und mit ihm seine Oberquinte oder Unterquarte (*h* im Sol-Modus). So ergibt sich als zweite Untergruppe die „Dominant-Leittonart".

Nicht nur die oberen, auch die unteren Nachbarn von Tonika und Dominante können als Haupttöne zweiter Ordnung auftreten. Die Melodiebewegung schießt sozusagen übers Ziel hinaus, die Tonika wird vorübergehend selbst Leitton, es entsteht eine „Ausweichung" in die gegensätzliche Tonalität der Subtoniumquinte. Von der „Tonika-Leittonart" unterscheidet sich die „Tonika-subtonart" wesentlich durch das Gewichtsverhältnis der beiden benachbarten Hauptquinten: dort ist die untere, hier die obere überlegen. Diese verhältnismäßig seltene Spezies kommt außer im Sol-Modus (20, 32) auch im La-Modus (22, 6) vor.

Der untere Nachbar der Dominante (*c* im Sol-Modus) tritt schon in dieser dritten Tonart — als Nebendominante — stärker hervor, als in den beiden ersten. In einer vierten Untergruppe — „Dominantsubtonart" — wird er zum bedeutendsten Ton neben den Haupttönen. Als Quart der Tonika ist er zugleich dieser zugeordnet, und nur das Übergewicht der Quinte unterscheidet die Dominantsubtonart der Quintengattung (34—26) von der Quartengattung (36—10).

Schon hier wird eine strenge Systematik durch die fließenden Übergänge unmöglich. Aber auch innerhalb der einzelnen „Tonarten" erscheinen die Charakteristika in sehr verschiedener Ausprägung. (Die Tonreihen der Tabelle sind nach steigendem Gewicht der Haupttöne zweiten Ranges geordnet; mehr zurücktretende Strukturintervalle sind durch punktierte Klammern bezeichnet.) In den beiden ersten Beispielen (27, 21) tritt neben der Hauptquinte überhaupt kein Strukturintervall hervor. (Die Zuordnung zur ersten Gruppe läßt sich aber durch die funktionelle Äquivalenz von *c* und *h* — vgl. 5 und 7 — rechtfertigen.) Das Intervall *d* — *a* (Dominante — Tonikaleitton in der Quintengattung) ist in allen Gruppen gelegentlich neben dem charakteristischen ausgezeichnet (13, 12, 7, 17, 29, 9); in der Quartengattung verbindet es die beiden Leittöne (1, 18)[1]) und wird dadurch gegensätzlich zur Hauptquarte („Leittonart"). In 26 erscheinen *g* — *c* und *d* — *g* als Hauptquinten, deren jede von ihrer Leittonquinte begleitet ist: es sind also eigentlich zwei Leittonarten zu einer Dominantsubtonart zusammengeschlossen. In 36 ist die Tonikaleittonart der Quintengattung mit der Quartengattung kombiniert. Es können, wie die letzten Beispiele zeigen, auch mehr als zwei Intervalle für die Struktur einer Melodie bedeutsam sein, und daher auch Haupttöne dritter (und eventuell noch höherer) Ordnung auftreten. (Für eine einheitliche Terminologie dürfte es zweckmäßig sein, stets den Ausgangston der Bewegung als „Dominante", den Zielton als „Tonika"

[1]) 1 und 18 sind de facto von gleicher Struktur; durch die konjunkten Quarten erlangt der höchste Ton (als Dominante der Dominante) eine Bedeutung, die ihm als Septime der Tonika nie zukommt.

zu bezeichnen; nur wo ein Hauptton in mehreren Oktaven auftritt, mag, wie der Tonname, auch die Funktionsbezeichnung der Einfachheit halber gleichbleiben, falls nicht die Struktur hierdurch geradezu verschleiert wird. So wird man in 12 auch das höhere *g* „Tonika" nennen dürfen, obwohl es, streng genommen, als (Neben-)Dominante der Dominante *d*, die ja zugleich (Neben-)Tonika der höheren Motive ist, fungiert; und ebenso kann in 9 das tiefere *d* „Dominante" heißen, obwohl es den tieferen Motiven als Tonika dient — in beiden Fällen ist eben die Beziehung der Tonqualitäten 𝔇𝔊[1]) die Hauptgrundlage der Tonalität. Dagegen ist in 26 das höhere *g* (Neben-)Dominante der Nebentonika *c*, und eben dieses Verhältnis ist wesentlich für die Charakteristik der Tonart, während das Oktavenverhältnis zur Tonika zurücktritt.) — Es ergibt sich ferner, daß ein Ton Dominante sein kann für zwei Toniken; ebenso wie eine Tonika mehrere Dominanten haben kann. So ist in 12 das *d* (Haupt-)Dominante der (Haupt-)Tonika *g* und zugleich (Neben-)Dominante der (Neben-)Tonika *a*, die außerdem noch *e* zur (Neben-)Dominante hat.

Zwischen die strukturbildenden Haupttöne sind Durchgangstöne eingeschaltet, deren geringere Bedeutung sich schon durch die Variabilität ihrer Lage verrät. So wird in den Melodien der ersten Gruppe (Tonika-Leittonart) die Quarte *d* — *a* (Dominante — Leitton) bald durch *c* (Untersekunde der Dominante), bald durch *h* (Obersekunde des Leittons) überbrückt, nie aber kommen beide zugleich vor. Da die Untersekunde der Tonika, *f*, hier — wie in allen Melodien außer denen der dritten Gruppe — fehlt, ergeben sich „fünfstufige halbtonlose Leitern"; wie man sieht, wäre es aber sinnlos, diese in der üblichen Weise danach einzuteilen, ob die (Ober-)Terz oder die (Ober-)Quarte des Grundtons fehlt. Der Ausfall von *h* in den beiden Subtonarten und in der Quartengattung erklärt sich von selbst; interessant ist aber, daß das *h* auch im La-Modus in seiner Leittonfunktion durch *c* vertreten werden kann. Im Do-Modus scheint dagegen das Subsemitonium die Rolle der Nebentonika zu übernehmen, zu der die Oberterz der Tonika als Nebendominante gehört. (Auch hier ist der absteigende Leitton schwach.) Vergleicht man hiermit die fakultative Erhöhung der Untersekunde im La-Modus ($\frac{+}{g}$), so liegt es nahe, in diesen Strukturen Ansätze zu den Tonalitäten zu sehen, die in Europa unter dem Einfluß der Simultanharmonie zur Alleinherrschaft gelangt sind (Dur und Moll).

In der folgenden Tabelle sind die tonalen Typen noch einmal übersichtlich zusammengestellt. Die Stufen sind nach dem Quintenzirkel angeordnet, um zu zeigen, wie „fünfstufige Leitern" sich einfach aus dem Vorherrschen der Quinten- und Quartenbeziehungen ergeben.

[1]) Die neuere Tonpsychologie hat den Begriff der Tonhöhe in mehrere Komponenten aufgelöst und versteht unter „Tonqualität" diejenige Eigenschaft, die einem Ton mit allen seinen Oktaven gemeinsam ist, die also beim Durchlaufen der Tonreihe periodisch wiederkehrt. Die von der Höhenlage („Helligkeit") abstrakte Tonqualität wird nach einem Vorschlage STUMPFs mit Frakturbuchstaben bezeichnet. Vgl. G. RÉVÉSZ, Zur Grundlegung der Tonpsychologie, Leipzig (Barth) 1913.

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THE BAGESU

AND OTHER TRIBES OF THE UGANDA PROTECTORATE

THE THIRD PART OF THE REPORT OF THE MACKIE ETHNOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL AFRICA

BY

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THE BATUSE OR BALYANWANDA OF RUANDA

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TRIBE AND ITS GOVERNMENT

The clans—government—powers of the chiefs—taxation—murder—homicide—death in battle—suicide—the chief priest

115 THOUGH much of the Ruanda country became Belgian after the war, there is still a large part of Kigezi which is British Ruanda. My information with regard to these people was derived from two chiefs who were political prisoners in Mbarara. One of them was a prince of Ruanda who had fought against the British during the war and had been captured, and both were exiles from their own country because their king regarded them as dangerous to him and wished to kill them.

THE CLANS

614 The tribe was divided into clans which were totemic, having both primary and secondary totems. Sub-divisions of several clans were mentioned, but the information given was so imperfect as to be of little value. The names given were the same as some of the main clans and details as to the totems were lacking. The list, however, is given to show the existence of such sub-divisions:

1. Abanyiginya, totem, *mpekhi* or *epu* and *efuti*, a calf born feet foremost?

This was the royal clan and had three sub-divisions with the same totems:

(a) Abasindi.
(b) Nabaganzo.
(c) Abene, which had also a third totem, an unmarried girl with child.

2. Abega, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.

Sub-divisions with the same totems:

(a) Abakono.
(b) Abaha.

[p. 184]

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PLATE XXXI

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Chief of the Batuse, Ruanda

[facing p. 184]

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614 3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamanzi*, wagtail.
Sub-divisions:
(*a*) Abasinga, totems, *enyamanzi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
(*b*) Abazigaba, " "
(*c*) Abatyaba, " "
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamanzi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

GOVERNMENT

643 692 The head of the country was the king, whose title was *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not 634 appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were [428] hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district; —693 but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court [203] of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

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634 the district chiefs formed the council of the king. The court
[693] was under the direction of a special man, a kind of steward or *inhebe*.

The district chiefs were also responsible for building and other work for the king and the state; they had to find the necessary workmen and appoint overseers to direct them. Another man of the king acted as a kind of household steward to see that the buildings were kept in repair and properly attended to.

Each district chief appointed chiefs of the second rank or *Ibisonga* in his own district, and they in their turn appointed the chiefs of the third grade or *Abafragizu*. Each district chief also appointed a steward or *inhebe* who acted in his place when he had to be absent from his district. This man always possessed land near his chief so that he might be at hand when he was wanted. His special duty was to take charge of any building for the chief.

Taxation

634 Every year a district chief had to bring two or three
651 hundred large pots of honey, each holding some two gallons, and a supply of millet, peas, and beans to the king. This was brought to the district chief by the people on his estate, and he took a portion for himself before passing the required amount on to the king.

Twice in the year each person with cattle gave to the king
[231] a cow and a calf to supply him with milk and a fat animal to be killed for his meat. Milk was also sent daily to the court for the use of the king and his household.

Murder

It was the duty of the relatives of a murdered man to hunt
682 down and capture the murderer and put him to death; they
628 rarely accepted any other settlement. If a murder was committed before witnesses, they would seize the murderer and hand him over to the relatives of the dead man. If, however, one man abused another before witnesses, the offended man

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might put the other to death without fear of punishment, for 682
the witnesses would state the reason for his action and he 628
would not suffer for it.

When a murder was committed secretly and the body was found without any trace of the murderer, it caused much difficulty. The relatives had to inform the chief of anything they knew concerning the relations of the dead man with the people of the district. Any person with whom the dead man had had a quarrel or disagreement was captured, and a priest killed a fowl and took an augury in order to find out whether [695] he was guilty or not. Should the augury be in the suspected man's favour he was released, and some other magical means of finding the murderer were tried.

Sometimes a murderer would confess his deed to the king or chiefs and notify his desire to atone. The family of the murdered man were called to a meeting and the murderer had to supply a sheep. The king was present at the meeting and ordered the animal to be killed and cut open, after which the murderer and the head-man of the murdered man's clan placed their hands on the entrails. Portions of every kind of food used by the people were brought and placed in the sheep with purificatory herbs, and again the two men placed their hands in it. The sheep was then called *Maana* or god and was the pledge of peace. Some clans, however, refused to make peace with a murderer and awaited an opportunity of killing either the criminal or some member of his clan.

When a man killed another accidentally and succeeded in proving that there was no malice or intention about the act, he paid fourteen cows to the family of the dead man, with whom he remained on friendly terms. If a man wounded [683] another he paid him eight cows as compensation.

When a warrior killed a man in battle, the king and chiefs 727
honoured him and gave him presents of land and cattle. Sometimes when the king was specially pleased, he would give a warrior a princess to wife. The warrior had to be purified on his return from the battle, but observed no other taboo.

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762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

Religion

773 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 The list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

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and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated over the country. There was no rule against naming the king after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died.

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

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643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

FOOD

262 THE Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

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Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

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233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange 437 them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Agriculture

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

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Among the better classes the 241
wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants [565]
and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband [462]
and wife worked in the field.

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the 243
common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to [252]
a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people.

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten 534
morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month [782]
a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

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534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells.
[535] The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

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PLATE XXXII

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Wife of a Prince of the Batuse of Ruanda

[Facing page 194]

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567 kind of service. They could not be sold and might leave service and marry when they wished.

(3) Slaves who had been purchased or captured during wars or raids. These were also women and were seldom sold; when once a slave entered a family she remained there for life. Such slaves were often taken by their owners to wife, and their sons were regarded as legitimate and might inherit property.

CHAPTER XXXI

MARRIAGE, ILLNESS, AND DEATH

Forbidden relationships—initiation—arranging marriages—marriage ceremonies—taking home a bride—polygamy—entertainment of visitors—treatment of illness—death—burial—mourning—the heir—the widows

582 MARRIAGE between the descendants of a brother and sister was forbidden until they reached the fourth generation, that is, the great-grandchildren of a brother and sister might marry.

[881] There were no initiation ceremonies, but before the sons of princes or chiefs were considered to be of marriageable age, they had to prove that they were capable of settling some quarrel or lawsuit between men. The chief instruction given [869] to a youth was how to manage cattle, but he was also taught to cultivate the land.

584 Infant betrothals were common, and the parents of a boy might agree with those of a baby girl for their children to marry when of a suitable age. The boy's parents gave the others a cow as a pledge of the betrothal, and as long as they kept the cow the engagement was binding. If, however, the parents of the girl discovered any cause for breaking the pledge, they returned the cow with a message that the engagement was at an end. When a boy thus engaged came to a reasonable age, he was told of the arrangement and took presents of beer to his prospective father-in-law. When a boy

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584 grew up without anything being arranged for his marriage, he asked his father's brother to find a wife for him.

585 When the day of the marriage came, the bridegroom took a cow and, accompanied by some friends, went to the kraal of the bride's parents, timing his visit to arrive at sunset when the cattle returned from pasture. The friends and relatives of the bride received the young man outside the kraal and they drank beer together. Then a sister of the bride came, and conducted the young man, leaving his friends outside, to a hut in the kraal where the bride was sitting. The bridegroom carried with him a runner of wild gourd which he twisted into a wreath and put on the bride's head. A pot of milk was given to him and he drank a mouthful which he puffed over the bride. He and the bride then placed their hands on the stones of the fire-place on which the pots stood while cooking; they churned a little butter together; a pot with water was put on the fire and together they sprinkled in flour, stirred it with one stick, and made porridge. Then the bridegroom returned to his friends outside the kraal gate and there they danced and drank beer all night, for none of them might sleep.

In the morning a mat was spread outside the kraal gate and the bride's father and some friends sat on it with the bridegroom. A cow was given to the friends of the bridegroom when they left to go home, and later in the day, after the bride's friends had discussed matters, the bridegroom also went home to prepare things for his bride's arrival.

The party which conducted the bride to her new home included her father, her brother's wife, her sister, and her young brother. The bride was carried in a litter and veiled, and the party arrived at the bridegroom's kraal when the cows were returning from the pasture. The bride was received by women relatives of the bridegroom, who took her into a house which they had prepared for her.

In the evening the bride joined her husband, but her young brother slept between her husband and herself that night and sometimes for two or three nights and the marriage might not

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be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [765]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

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428 his heir, the king or his clan appointed someone to inherit his property.

764 When a man died, all ornaments and clothing, with the exception of a loin-cloth, were removed, his legs were bent up into the squatting posture, and his head was shaved. A cow was brought to the bedside, a little hair from it was put in the right hand of the dead man and a little milk milked over it. This hand with the hair in it was then placed under the head.

In the case of an ordinary man, the grave was dug by the relatives or servants in the garden near, or, should he have no land, in some secluded spot, and the body was buried there.

766 Should he, however, be a wealthy man, the grave was dug big enough for a bedstead to be placed in it. This was covered with skins, on which the body, wrapped in mats, was laid and covered with skins of wild animals and cows. A second bedstead was placed on top of the first to keep the earth from the body, and the grave was filled up with earth, which was piled into a mound over it. The weapons of a dead man were put on his grave, and in the case of a woman her flour basket was buried with her.

764 A hut without any doorway was built over the grave and a growing fence planted round it. There was always the fear that someone might disturb the dead by digging up the body for the purpose of working magic, and the heir was therefore responsible for keeping this fence in repair until it had grown big enough to keep off people and cattle, after which no further attention was paid to it. After the burial all the people who took part in it were given hot water to wash their hands before leaving for their own homes.

765 A cow was brought and killed by the grave after the burial and was cooked and eaten by the mourners. The skin was dressed and worn as mourning by the heir, or by some favourite child of the dead man, for two months, during which time he might not come into the presence of the king. The mourners might neither wash nor shave. They lived together in one house, avoided all other people, and had to be strictly chaste lest they should incur the ghost's displeasure.

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After the mourning the heir was purified by an elder of the clan, and he then took the mourning garment and buried it in some secret place. The mourners shaved their heads and hid the hair. A medicine-man decided whether the house of the dead man might still be inhabited or not. If the people were permitted to remain there, they, the place, and the pots had to be purified; but if they had to go they gave the pots and furniture away and left the house to fall down. 765 [783]

The heir was purified again by an elder of the clan and then went to buy a cow, which he took to the king, whom he was not on this occasion allowed to see. The next day he visited the king, taking a present of a young bull, and informed him of the death. This reception constituted his acknowledgment by the king as the dead man's heir, but if he proved unsatisfactory he might later be dismissed from the chieftainship. 768 [643] [431] [428]

The heir took all his father's widows except old women and his own mother. He even took widows with children, and the children regarded him as their father. [587]

When a married man lost his father he lived apart from his wife for two months, and on the death of his mother he avoided his wife for one month.

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The red line indicates the route taken by the expedition—The places visited i
people Bakyiga—Bakunta on shore of L. Edward—Katwe and Fort Portal people
and L. Salisbury people Bateso—Mt Elgon people Bagusu and Bazabei—Bunaga

[End plate - Section A]

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-The places visited for investigation were: Ankole people Banyankole—Kigezi and Fort Portal people Bambwa and Bakonjo—Bunyoro people Banyoro—Soroti and Bazabei—Busoga people Basoga.

[End plate - Section B]

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[Title page]

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THE STUDY OF NATIVE COURT RECORDS AS A METHOD OF ETHNOLOGICAL INQUIRY

R. DE Z. HALL

217 WHEREVER native courts have been established and maintain records of their proceedings, there is available a mass of material concerning native law and custom which, properly regarded, may be of great value to the ethnographer as well as to the administrator. In Tanganyika Territory, from one portion of which the material for the present paper is derived, the making of elaborate records of evidence and judgements is deprecated at the present stage of development, as likely to interfere with the smooth working of the courts. A minimum is required of the names of parties, a brief statement of the subject-matter, and a short judgement signed by the holder of the court, be he chief, headman, or chairman of a council. Under such
121 circumstances, a study of records will show, at the least, the types of
217 social maladjustment which bring people to court, with the relative frequency of different kinds of case: the manner in which different types of case are viewed by the court, whether as offences against society or as affecting only families or individuals: and probably some general indication of the tone of the society. From this type of record there will be an upward range to the most valuable of all for the student, those containing a précis of evidence and a full reasoned judgement.

Whatever the amount of material available, it can only provide a limited picture of native law. In most, possibly all, areas, large numbers of disputes never reach the courts at all, but are dealt with in family council or by village elders. Further, the courts are only resorted to when disequilibrium has come about, and it can seldom be safe to argue the positive from the negative. Nevertheless, generalizations should emerge, and even where they do not, lines of inquiry should be indicated and facts brought to light and explained, which might otherwise have remained obscured or not understood. Most important, it is likely that evidence of change will be found, either clearly stated or in the form of indications which will offer material for further study.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

An instance which shows a number of these possibilities comes 217
from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west of
Tanganyika Territory. A custom which might or might not be noted 233
by the ethnographer—something must escape the most meticulous of 643
observers, and this one is not recorded by Meyer for the Barundi, of 423
whom the people of Bugufi are ethnologically part—is the right of the
chief to pasture his cattle among the millet-stalks after the harvest,
before the peasant may put in his own cattle or any which he is
herding for some one else. The court book records eight peasants
coming to court to complain against a Tusi who has driven off their [694]
cattle. The Tusi replies that the men had pastured their cattle in their
millet before the chief had had access. Asked by the court whether
he was instructed to drive off the cattle, the Tusi replies that he acted
as he was bound to do in accordance with ancient custom and his
obligations to the chief. New concepts have, however, found their
way into the court, which gives judgement for the plaintiffs on the [178]
grounds that the land and the cattle were theirs. This case is exceptional in the wealth of statement and suggestion which it offers, but there are many others helpful in lesser degree.

The value of native court records in this way was brought home to 127
me while stationed in this area, Bugufi, during the years 1929–31, 217
when I went through the available material with a view to seeing what
were the normal causes of litigation and getting a general idea of the
law administered. Starting with the year 1924, the series was examined
up to the end of 1930. For these seven years, 850 cases were found
where judgement issued, there being a further 225 which had been
settled out of court or dismissed for want of prosecution or by reason
of limitation. Of these 850 cases, almost one-quarter concerned con-
tracts where cattle were involved, nearly one-sixth were marital cases, [673]
and another sixth were over administrative matters, including offences
against the Native Authority Ordinance: only one-seventh were of
offences against person and property, and the remainder concerned
debts, land, inheritance, damage to property and a few miscellaneous
matters.

The fullest records were those of the numerous marital cases, and 127
these have been fully collated with a view to giving an idea of how 217
much information can be gleaned and what gaps remain, and what

127 217 suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before 105 563 going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, [178] that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be 563 briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu 178 is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded 557 to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change [182] has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the [578] economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This 648 conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the 645 distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged [671] with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—[177] subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

up, partly on the personality of the administrative officer of the day, 645
and partly on his own judgement. In any event, conflict with the 648
indigenous system at some points was to be expected, together with permanent modifications to give expression to the alteration of the status of the Hutu.

THE SYSTEM OF MARRIAGE IN BUGUFI

(as disclosed by Native Court records)

The normal precedent to marriage is formal betrothal, which must 584
be effected by members of a woman's family, and a contract which she makes herself or through unauthorized persons is void.

Instances: A girl goes to a neighbour, who takes her to the man of her 584
choice and offers her in marriage, the offer being accepted and bride- 684
wealth being paid. Her father is sued for refusing to give the girl in marriage and wins the case, the neighbour who received the bride-wealth being ordered to refund it.

A man sues another for seducing his sister. The defence is that he and she agreed to marry. The Court finds that there could be no agreement since there were no witnesses of any kind, much less the woman's mother or brother who ought to have been present.

But there is a case of this rule being overridden by a wealthy man.

A man, brought to Court by a woman's guardian for seducing her, says that he wishes to marry her and considered himself wealthy enough to dispense with the usual preliminaries, and in any case did not know who her relatives were. He is fined, but is permitted to pay bride-wealth and marry the woman. The Court adds that the fine would have been larger had not the woman expressed her desire to marry the man.

The neighbour cited above who acted as the woman's agent had only to refund the bride-wealth which he had received: but in another case a man was imprisoned for enticing away a woman and giving her in marriage without her father's knowledge or consent.

Betrothal is only binding for a reasonable time.

Instances: A woman having been betrothed and the man having delayed to come to complete the marriage, her father marries her off to another man and refunds the bride-wealth.

A woman is betrothed to one man and married off to another. It is found that the former has been looking for bride-wealth for eight years, and he is held to have no justification for claiming the woman.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

584 In certain circumstances a woman is at the disposal of the Chief or his headmen and not her relatives. Thus, in one case the Chief had brought a girl up and successfully sued her father for giving her in marriage: there is no record of why the girl was in the Chief's hands. In another, it is specifically stated that a man having died with only female issue, the daughters were taken over by the village headman: in a suit brought by her relatives, claiming the right to give her in marriage, they were successful, though it is stated in the record that this was contrary to ancient tribal custom.

583 686 Bride-wealth is normally handed over before marriage, but not necessarily. Instances of exceptions are:

> A man is sued for payment of bride-wealth by his wife's brother, who has seen that his sister is being ill-treated. The man cannot pay, so the Court dissolves the marriage and returns the woman to her brother.
>
> A woman's relatives are sued for return of bride-wealth, she having run away: and it is found in evidence that, in fact, it has never been paid.

If it has not been paid, there are limits to the right of the woman's relatives to sue for it.

> A man has married a woman and had two male children by her and then sent her home. Her relatives claim that he had no justification for sending her away and ask that he be made to take her back and to pay bride-wealth, which he had not previously done. The Court finds that the suit should have been brought at least ten years before, and the relatives lose.

It is not held exclusively by the senior member of the woman's family. Thus, in a case where two sisters were married, their elder brother (their father being dead) retained both payments, but the Court ordered that he should hold only one and his younger brother the other. There is nothing to show whether in general the bride-wealth is held by an individual or shared out among several members of a family.

581 583 There are indications that marriage is regarded by a woman's relatives as a commercial transaction to some extent.

> *Instances*: A woman's brother successfully asserts his right to sell a cow received as bride-wealth, stating, as his justification, that exchange of

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

the woman for the cow completed the transaction between him and the husband. 581 583

A man promises his daughter to another man in marriage in consideration of the annulment of a debt of 10*s.* and 6 hoes.

And, in two cases, suits arise because a woman, having returned to her parents ill, has been sent to a doctor for treatment: payment has not been forthcoming, and the woman has been handed over to the doctor. (In one case he has married her himself, in the other he has given her in marriage and kept the resulting bride-wealth in lieu of his fee.)

But this is not necessarily the view of the woman herself. In one of several cases where a woman has returned to her relatives, consequent on the removal of the bride-wealth by her husband, she states that she went away on account of the slight put upon her.

In a considerable proportion of the marital causes brought before the Court, the record mentions the amount of bride-wealth involved, and these display a remarkable range of variation, both in the nature of the property handed over and in the value. The categories comprise cattle, goats, cash, hoes, beer, cloth, and copper bracelets: and the value ranges from 9 cows to 1 hoe. Tabulating these in rough order of value, according to equivalents disclosed by the records themselves (1 cow is worth 2 bulls and is worth more than a calf: a bull worth 10*s.* or 11*s.* and also equalling 2 goats and 2*s.*: a goat worth 4*s.* or 5*s.*: a hoe equalling a pot of beer and also 1*s.*), the result is: 583 435

9 cows.
3 cows (twice).
2 cows, 3 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
2 cows (three times).
9 hoes, 46 pots of beer.
1 cow, 23 pots of beer, 4*s.*
1 cow, 1 calf, 3 hoes.
1 cow, 3 hoes, 18 pots of beer.
1 cow, 15 hoes.
20*s.*, 20 pots of beer.
8 goats, 1 copper bracelet.
1 cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer.
1 cow, 11 hoes, 1 pot of beer.
1 cow, 5 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
1 cow, 1 bull.
1 cow, 2 hoes, 6 pots of beer.
26 hoes (claimed, though only 8 admitted).
7 hoes, 27 pots of beer.
11*s.*, 14 pots of beer.
1 bull, 3*s.*, 2 pots of beer.
10*s.*, 6 pots of beer.
1 goat, 6 hoes, 2*s.*
13 hoes.
8 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
12 hoes.
8*s.*, cloth value 3*s.*
10*s.*
10 hoes.
9 hoes.
4 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
1 goat, 2 hoes, 1 pot of beer.

583 1 cow, 7 hoes (twice).	7 hoes.
435 1 cow, 6 hoes, 1 pot of beer.	4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
1 cow, 4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.	1 hoe, 5 pots of beer.
1 cow, 6 hoes (twice).	2 hoes, 3/50 worth of cloth.
1 cow, 5 hoes (four times).	5 hoes (twice).
1 cow, 5 pots of beer.	4 hoes (twice).
1 cow (thirteen times).	1 hoe.

The analysis of this list reveals 42 cases where bride-wealth is paid in cattle, alone or accompanied by hoes, beer, cash, or a combination of these latter. Thence, with a few exceptions, there is an abrupt drop to a standard where hoes alone or with beer are paid in bride-wealth, three of the exceptions being where cash is paid with beer: there are 27 cases in this second main class. The quantitative relation of the number of bride-wealths in media other than cattle to those where cattle are a constituent is unlikely to be of importance. There is a [694] standard fee of 2*s*. in marital causes in the Native Court, and a man who can only command sufficient property to pay a bride-wealth of a few hoes is not to be expected readily to raise a court fee.

583 A summary of the analysis shows:

20 cases of payment in cattle alone.
10 " " of cattle with hoes.
1 " " " " beer.
8 " " " " hoes and beer.
2 " " " " beer and cash.

11 cases of payment in hoes alone.
6 " " of hoes with beer.
3 " " of cash with beer.
1 " " of cash with cloth.
1 " " of cash alone.
1 " " of hoes and cloth.
3 " " of goats, once with a bracelet, once with hoes and beer, and once with hoes and cash.

There are evident norms of payment in cattle alone and of payment in hoes alone, but further investigation is needed to discover how far these correspond with the symbiotic social system of pastoral Tusi and agricultural Hutu. A wide field of suggestion is opened up. For instance, are there any cases of wealthy Hutu paying bride-wealth in

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cattle alone? and if so, are they marrying into Tusi families, bridging 583
the social gulf? or are they only marrying into other rich Hutu families, adopting the Tusi standard of wealth? And what is the meaning of the mixed payments in cattle and hoes? Are Tusi marrying into Hutu families, and being expected to utilize the Hutu standard as well as their own? or are wealthy Hutu, again, adopting Tusi standards? It would seem to be almost certain that change of some form or another is going on. The records are not helpful, save for one case where payments of the unusual number of three cows are mentioned as being as in respect of members of the Chief's clan: and another, where a woman's father, suing for payment of bride-wealth of a cow, finds that no cow is available and accepts, *faute de mieux*, 11 hoes—this must surely be a Hutu.

There are seven instances where payment in cash is a constituent of 436
the bride-wealth and one where cash alone is involved. This cash 583
element only appears in the years 1928–30, the last of the series, and is exactly paralleled in the suits for recovery of debts, where hoes are the normal subject-matter in the years 1924–6, are being replaced by cash in 1927, and virtually disappear in the later years. In five of the seven cases it is the hoe which has been replaced by cash in the bride-wealth payment, and that this change may be making marriage more of a commercial transaction, even if it was not before, is instanced by the case already cited, where a father was ready to part with his daughter in return for the extinguishment of a debt of 10*s*. and 6 pots of beer. And one would like to know whether the cattle standard has also been attacked in the case where the large amount of 20*s*. appears.

The function of the perishable article, beer, as an element in bride-wealth, does not appear from the records. There is nothing to show whether its appearance in only one-third of the cases reviewed means that it has not been a constituent on other occasions, and if so, why it is in issue sometimes and not at other times.

Bride-wealth in the possession of a woman's family need not neces- 583
sarily be maintained intact. 691

Instances: Where a woman's brother has lost a cow paid in bride-wealth and is brought to Court by her husband, the Court makes no order: it finds that the woman is still with her husband, that no grounds for

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583 691 divorce have arisen between the married pair, and that there is therefore no cause of action.

And, a case already cited, a man hears that his wife's brother has sold the cow paid in bride-wealth, and thereupon drives away his wife and sues for his bride-wealth. The sale is admitted, but the plaintiff fails in his suit, as no grounds for divorce have arisen between his wife and himself: he is therefore to take his wife back.

586 691 On the termination of a marriage, bride-wealth, with rare exceptions, is returnable in full: and where cattle are involved, the increase is also to be returned (three cases in the records): but a man who sued for three bulls, the progeny of a cow paid in bride-wealth, was unsuccessful when it was established that the bulls were dead.

Circumstances under which the bride-wealth is not returnable in full are:

(*a*) when the wife has borne children or is pregnant at the time of the dissolution of marriage.

Instances: A claim is made for the repayment of bride-wealth of 4 hoes. Three only are awarded by the Court, as a child has been born of the marriage.

In a claim for repayment of bride-wealth of a cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer and some fat, the Court only awards the cow and the hoes, as the woman was pregnant at the time of divorce.

(*b*) when the wife dies in pregnancy.

In such a case, a woman's father was sued for the return of bride-wealth, but pleaded, to the satisfaction of the Court, that her death in pregnancy amounted to her having been killed by her husband. No bride-wealth was to be repaid.

(*c*) when the wife dies after an illness, unless she has come to her husband ill or otherwise unsound at the time of marriage, or has returned home without cause given by him, and there fallen ill and died.

Instances: A widower sues for the return of his bride-wealth on the ground that the woman was unsound when he married her. Her father shows to the satisfaction of the Court that the husband did not disclose the defect at the time of marriage, and that the woman died at her husband's home: and the widower loses and is further ordered to return the clothes and ornaments of his dead wife to her father.

A man marries but does not build a home and remains at his brother-in-law's. Later, he quarrels with the brother-in-law and removes, with his wife. She falls ill and goes home to her brother, and there dies. The Court decides that her husband has no justification for reclaiming

his bride-wealth, since his brother-in-law did not take her away, she 586
went home when ill because she had no home. In any case, the Court 691
adds, bride-wealth is not to be returned as a matter of course just because a woman dies.

In a third case a woman has died after bearing one child; the circumstances of death are not stated. The widower, reclaiming his bride-wealth, a cow, which by increase has become 8 head, in a village meeting, has been awarded 5 head and the woman's father 3. The widower has later taken one of his father-in-law's share to provide milk for the child, and now claims his right to retain it and receive the balance. The Court confirms the decision of the village meeting, on the grounds that although the widower has lost a wife, her father has lost a child.

(*d*) when a husband drives away his wife without due cause, or abandons her.

Instances: A man takes his cow, paid as bride-wealth, away, then drives his wife out of the house, and now reclaims the balance, 11 hoes. He is adjudged to have forfeited these.

A man reclaims 7 hoes, balance of bride-wealth of a cow and 7 hoes, from his brother-in-law, who has taken the woman when ill to a doctor and has not returned her. The husband is found to have seized the opportunity to take back his cow and to have abandoned his wife, and he is held to have no claim to his hoes.

A man claims 6 cows, the increase of one, paid as bride-wealth. It is established that after the woman had borne him 5 children, he emigrated, leaving her, and that she is still unmarried and willing to return to him. He admits in cross-examination that he wants the cattle, not his wife—and loses both.

Bride-wealth is also returnable when a woman, left a widow, 587
declines to remain under the custody of her late husband's heirs, and 768
goes to her relatives. But custody must be claimed at the time of the 851
husband's death: in a case where this was not done, and the woman had gone away and remarried, the new marriage was allowed to stand, subject to the proviso that the child of the marriage would be a member of the family of the first husband when it grew up, if it desired. In one case, a man waives his claim to the bride-wealth in respect of the widow of his dead son, she having returned to her relatives.

On the termination of a marriage, the custody of children is always 586
the right of the husband. If he dies, the right passes to his heirs: there 768
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586 is, however, an exception recorded, where, on a man dying leaving
851 only female children, these were taken charge of by the village head-
768 man. The right to custody sometimes involves investigation of paternity, the nature of which is fully understood.

[691] *Instances*: A man sues his wife's new husband, after divorce, for payment of bride-wealth or else for custody of a child of which he claims she was pregnant when she left him. A count of months establishes the paternity of the new husband.

The son of a man deceased sues the man to whom the widow has gone, she then having a four-months' old child, for the first offspring of the new union as well as the other child, on the grounds that she was pregnant at the time of her husband's death. The Court finds that no woman has ever been heard of suckling a four months' child and pregnant of another, and therefore awards the eldest child only.

In a third case, it is necessary to establish paternity as between three possible fathers.

[862] An unweaned child will remain with its mother till weaned. If not claimed then, her relatives or new husband may claim recompense for the cost of bringing the child up: in one case a goat is to be paid, in another, half the milk of a cow, and 3 hoes.

As a corollary to the right to the custody of a child, the heir of a
768 man who has died has the right to the bride-wealth in respect of a
428 girl-child, when the widow has returned to her relatives and the child has not been claimed before she reaches marriageable age, subject to a deduction for the cost of bringing her up.

[691] *Instances*: In the case just cited, the milk and three hoes represented a deduction from the total bride-wealth of a cow and five hoes.

In another case, the woman's relations resist such a claim on the ground that when she left the heir, her son, and went home, he claimed only her clothes but not the child. Their case fails.

In one case, a man lost his reason, and his wife went off to another man with her three children, of whom two were females. This other man married off one child and betrothed the other. Both contracts
[681] were dissolved, the man was fined and in addition was made to refund to their father 14 hoes which had been handed over for maintenance of the children.

586 Dissolution of marriage is found to take place on numerous grounds. The records disclose causes of offence by the husband as follows:

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Impotence.
Loss of reason.
Failure to clothe the wife.
Failure to cultivate.
Failure to provide food.
Wandering habits.
Measuring out food to the wife (instead of giving her free access to the store).
Refusal to eat food.
Accusation of witchcraft.
Continued insult and beating.
Removal of bride-wealth from the relations-in-law.

There are three marital causes where dissolution is threatened, one, because the cow paid in bride-wealth has died, in another because it has gone blind, and in a third because it has borne twin-calves: such a cow is taboo for this purpose, presumably on account of the danger [845] of sympathetic influence on the wife—the advent of twins is not hailed with joy, witness a case where a cow is in issue, the fee of a doctor for removing the curse of twins.

Grounds for divorce of the wife include:

Refusal to work and to cook.
Continued sickness.
Desertion, subdivided into cases where she has gone to her relations, and where she has gone off to another man.

Adultery as such is never cited as a reason for divorce. There is but one case of adultery on record in the Court, the offending man being [837] punished and the woman returned to her husband.

It is but rarely that a woman or her relatives come to Court to sue for a divorce. Normally, if she feels that she has reason for dissatisfaction, she returns to the home of her father or brother, whose duty it is [691] to endeavour to reach an amicable settlement. If this is not done, she remains and abides the issue, or, not infrequently, is married to another man, this precipitating proceedings by the husband. But in a fair number of instances, she goes straight off to another man.

The Court will try to compose matters and to maintain the marriage wherever possible.

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Instances: A runaway wife, sued by her husband, complains that he does not give her clothes and is stingy with food to the extent of measuring

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

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it out. The Court awards him his wife on condition of his paying her two barkcloths for clothing, and a sleeping mat.

A man has removed his two cows, paid in bride-wealth, and his wife has gone away and has been married off elsewhere. He may recover his wife by immediate payment of the cows, when the second union will be declared invalid.

A woman has left her husband on account of his cruelty, and her father has married her again. She agrees to return to her husband if he will guarantee to clothe her.

The cases of a husband resuming possession of cattle paid in bride-wealth are fairly frequent, but the marriage is never *ipso facto* dissolved on this account: the position would rather seem to be that the relation of the man and the woman reverts to one of betrothal.

The Court discourages recourse to it when it appears that full recourse to conciliation has not been made or that action is otherwise premature.

Instances: A wife admits running away, and her father admits marrying her to another man. The husband gets his bride-wealth back, but loses his costs because he did not try to arrange matters with his father-in-law before coming to Court.

A woman's father has returned the cow paid in bride-wealth, as being of poor quality, and his daughter has left her husband on this account. He sues for payment of a sound cow and wins, but costs are given against him for his manner of action.

A man sues his father-in-law for taking his daughter away. The reply is that she came home ill, and stayed, with his concurrence, because her husband gave her no clothes. This the husband admits, but costs are given against the father because he took no steps to bring about a reconciliation.

A man claims his wife from his mother-in-law, to whom she has gone. He wins, but loses his costs because he did not ask his mother-in-law for his wife before bringing a case.

A man sues his mother-in-law for marrying off his wife to another man while he was absent in Uganda. It is found that she had merely returned home to await his return, and he loses his costs.

It has been mentioned above that a husband who tries to get rid of his wife without sufficient cause is liable to forfeit part of his bride-wealth. Nor does the runaway wife who cannot back her action by sufficient reason for discontent get any sympathy from the Court.

Instances: A wife has left her husband and maintains that she went because

her husband gave her no clothes. She is ordered to return to him, as she had made no complaint to her father. 586

A wife who went back to her relatives because her husband walked out of the house, saying it smelt, is ordered to return to him. 691

So with a wife who left her husband on account of his deafness.

And another who said that her husband was impotent, but could not satisfy the Court of this.

Another runaway wife is returned to her husband and told to sue before the Court at a later date if she has any concrete reason for disagreement with him, such as his failure to produce clothes or to work on the land.

The seducer of an unmarried woman is always punished and may have to pay compensation to her father. In one such case compensation is ordered on account of the girl being 'destroyed'. In the case, however, of the man who has enticed away a married woman or has willingly accepted a wife who has deserted her husband, there is no such uniformity of practice, and much depends on the circumstances of the case. Usually the man is punished or at any rate cautioned. 684

Instances: A wife leaves her husband and offers herself to another man. She is returned, much against her will, to her husband, and the third party is fined and informed that he will be imprisoned if he accepts the woman again.

An enticer offers the defence that he is willing to pay bride-wealth to the woman's father. She is returned to her husband, whom the enticer, as well as being fined, has to compensate.

A wife, having run away, is reclaimed by her husband, and the man to whom she has gone is punished.

But in four cases, he is only cautioned.

Sometimes the woman is returned without her unlawful partner being punished.

Instance: A runaway wife, pregnant by another man, is returned to her husband, in spite of her alleging against him that he deprives her of food and clothes, is always wandering, and has accused her of witchcraft. (The Court was probably sceptical of the veracity of so formidable an indictment.) The child, when born, is to belong to the original husband; but there is no further mention of the other man.

On other occasions, presumably when the husband has been at fault, the second partner is allowed to refund the amount of his bride-wealth and to retain the woman as his lawful wife. [586] [587]

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

586 691 587 837 *Instances*: A man has beaten his wife and driven away her relatives when they came to see him. She leaves him for another man, who is ordered to refund the bride-wealth.

A wife has left her husband and is now pregnant by another man. The husband will be satisfied either with the child or his bride-wealth. The paternity of the second man is established, and bride-wealth is to be paid over.

In several cases a woman's relatives are found to have married her to another man in her husband's absence, or after she has left him and returned home. Here again circumstances determine whether the first or the second union shall be dissolved. In considering these, the voice of the woman is not disregarded, and in one case, after judgement has issued in the original husband's favour, it is amended there and then owing to his wife's refusal to return to him.

586 661 Several marriages are found to be broken up on account of the Chief's seizing cattle paid in bride-wealth.

Instances: A wife goes off to her father's because the Chief has taken the bride-wealth cow.

A man from Urundi pays a cow in bride-wealth, which is seized by the Chief in order to recoup himself after some of his cattle have been stolen by Urundi natives: and the woman's father therefore takes her back.

In a third case, this right or propensity is deliberately made use of by a husband who wishes to shuffle off his wife. He arranges for the Chief to seize the bride-wealth cow with its two calves, and then sends his wife home. But the stratagem fails.

595 578 586 Finally, the existence of polygyny is to be referred to. That it may lead to disharmony in the home appears from two cases, in the former of which the first wife is so aggravated by her husband taking another spouse that she has assaulted him, while in the other a husband is brought to Court for tying up his second wife on suspicion of her having bewitched the first one, with a threat that he would kill her if the first one died. And a third husband finds himself heavily fined for being influenced by the predilections of his first wife. He had paid bride-wealth for a second: the first wife did not approve of the newcomer: her sister coming soon afterwards with a gift of beer, he kept her instead; she had already been promised in marriage, however, and he has to face an indignant betrothed as well as her father, in Court.

R. DE Z. HALL.

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[Information on the Biru, a body of ranked dignitaries in the Ruanda central government, will be found in category 645.]

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Tutsi lord and Hutu client

[Frontispiece]

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THE PREMISE OF INEQUALITY IN RUANDA

A STUDY OF POLITICAL RELATIONS IN A CENTRAL AFRICAN KINGDOM

000

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[Title Page]

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INTRODUCTION

THE greater part of this work is directly concerned with the description and analysis of the political organization of Ruanda. The first chapters, however, are devoted to other aspects of the social system: kinship and affinity, marriage and family. As the whole system of social relations in Ruanda constituted a closely knit fabric, it was thought that an understanding of the political institutions necessitates also some treatment of the other structures of human relations. Moreover, a brief account of the physical environment, the quest for food, shelter, and health, and some demographic data have been included because these elements, if external to the pattern of political relations, set the limits within which the Ruanda system of domination grew. 121

This study refers to the period immediately preceding the time when Ruanda was submitted to the influence of Western culture through its European agents. That is to say, in the continuously moving historical stream, we have chosen to study the particular configuration of the Ruanda political organization at the moment when it had been moulded by the action of many forces, but not by the full impact of European contacts. For reasons mentioned later, the 'zero point' of direct European influence on Ruanda society is not difficult to assess. It is in the first decade of this century. Ruanda social structure did not undergo any significant modification due to European influence until roughly 1910. This date is fortunately not very distant, and around 1950 it was still possible to interview many people who had been young when the old régime was still a working concern. As far as we know, there had been also no direct and continuous contact between Arabs and Ruanda prior to that time. 121 114 [177] [177]

To remind the reader that we are describing structures and institutions which no longer exist, at least in their entirety, my account is given in the past tense even when it refers to features which are still functioning today. The expressions 'today', 'now', 'at the present time', &c., refer to the period 1950–1 during which basic research was carried out in Ruanda. 128

As a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale*, I carried out field work in Ruanda 114

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114 for two years, from December 1949 to November 1951. During that period information was secured by continuous observation and by informal interviews with Africans and Europeans. Some administrative officers and missionaries, keenly interested in the society and culture of the Ruanda, have contributed much information and stimulating opinions.

In addition to this work, three systematic inquiries on specific [121] subjects have been completed: political organization, kinship and family structures, and cosmological and ethical systems. Each of these inquiries was prepared by a preliminary survey on the subject, on the basis of which schedules of topics and specific questions were framed.

125 The preliminary survey of political organization enabled me to 114 collect a considerable amount of information on that subject. Consequently, a later inquiry could aim primarily at checking and making more precise what was already known. To achieve this purpose a hundred-question schedule was devised. It was the object of each question that it should fulfil as adequately as possible the following conditions: to be neutral (formulated in such a way as not to suggest that the investigator preferred one answer rather than another), significant (likely to clarify obscure or controversial issues), concrete (such as 'Were there more or less people in group A than in group B?') rather than abstract (such as 'Give a definition of the administrative organization'), and simple (to be answered by 'yes', 'no', or one word). This last requirement was particularly important as it made possible a summing up of the answers. A translation of this questionnaire is given as Appendix One.

124 The choice of informants was made according to the following procedure. About a dozen persons, Africans and Europeans, who had been living for many years in Ruanda and had been in close contact with many members of the African community, were asked to give a list of Ruanda (Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa) who, in their opinion, would be familiar with the pre-European political structure, particularly from direct experience. The importance of listing people living in all the different regions of the country was stressed. By collating the various lists I finally obtained a set of about 350 names of men scattered everywhere in the country.

In order to interview them, I had to move between seventy-four different places which were about evenly distributed through the

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whole area of Ruanda. This took several months. With the help of two assistants, Messrs. G. Sebyeza and M. Sekanyambo, to whom I had given some training in interviewing and recording data, 326 informants were eventually interviewed. The aim of the inquiry was explained to them in small groups, but each interview was privately held to prevent informants from influencing each other's answers. In order to make sure that answers could be accurately recorded, the questionnaire had been printed and the answers of each informant were written on a separate copy. 124

As might have been expected, the more competent persons on political organization were Tutsi and in fact more than ninety per cent. of our informants were Tutsi. Since the number of Hutu and Twa was too small to be of any significance (there was, in fact, only one Twa!) their interviews were not taken into account in the computation of the results. A few more interviews were discarded on other grounds (such as suspicion about the sincerity or the mental ability of the informant). In the end the number of interviews used in the summing up was reduced to 300. 115 124

To count up the answers, some questions had to be modified. For instance, the question, 'Give the name of your patrilineage head', was replaced by, 'Do they know the name of their patrilineage head?' The computation of answers for the whole of Ruanda is given as Appendix Two.

Obviously, this class of 300 informants does not constitute a random sample representative of the total Ruanda population: the informants are practically all Tutsi and have been chosen according to certain criteria. This does not invalidate our procedure, however, as our aim was not to assess the opinions and knowledge of the whole of the Ruanda population on their past political organization, but to discover as accurately as possible what that organization was. This is why we attempted to interview only the most informed persons on the subject and to take into account the divergence of their views.

On kinship, family, and related subjects, the preliminary survey did not give as much information as the preliminary political survey revealed. Consequently, another procedure had to be adopted. A very comprehensive schedule of topics to be brought into the interview was elaborated. There were 542 items distributed under sixty-two headings to be covered with each

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informant. Sixteen Hutu and twenty Tutsi informants were interviewed. Two junior administrative officers, Messrs. E. Finoulst and G. De Clercq, who were taking a six-month course of training in anthropology, participated in the different stages of this inquiry, as did Mr. S. Naigisiki, who acted as assistant and interpreter.

The inquiry into the cosmological and ethical systems was carried out on similar lines. A schedule of thirty-five headings, under each of which several points were listed, was used in several collective and individual interviews.

This research from 1949 to 1951 forms the main basis for my *Système des relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, published in 1954. But I have spent two other research periods in Ruanda (December 1952–December 1955 and September 1956–September 1957) on more specific topics. What was observed in these later periods, however, bearing on the topic of the earlier study, has been taken into account in the present volume.

Secondarily, the present study of Ruanda is based on literary sources published both before and after 1954. These are fully listed in the Bibliography.

• • •

All my field work in Ruanda was sponsored by the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.) for which I am deeply grateful. At the same time I assumed the functions of Head of the Scientific Research Centre of I.R.S.A.C. in Astrida. I wish to extend my thanks particularly to Professor L. van den Berghe, Director of I.R.S.A.C. The late Professor F. Olbrechts, when he was Chairman of the *Commission des Sciences de l'Homme* of I.R.S.A.C., also greatly encouraged my research.

For guidance in planning the research project on Ruanda and for supervision of all its later stages, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Daryll Forde.

I should also like to thank Miss Barbara Pym, of the International African Institute, London, who very kindly corrected the first typescript, and Dr. R. J. Apthorpe, of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, Lusaka, for his patient and invaluable help in preparing this edition of my book.

• • •

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I have given Ruanda words in the orthography now customary in Ruanda-Urundi. Articles and prefixes have been omitted wherever possible, as for instance in the words *hutu*, *tutsi*, *twa*, *ruanda*, *garagu*. The prefix has been kept in words widely used and which, if reduced to their radicals, might not be easily recognized. This is the case with the words *mwami* and *buhake*, whose roots are *-ami* and *-hake*.

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CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

1. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE Kingdom of Ruanda lies within latitudes 1° 20′ to 2° 50′ south and longitudes 28° 50′ to 30° 55′ east. Physically it is a part of the elongated highland zone extending at varying elevations from the Red Sea to Lake Nyasa. This East African highland zone is characterized by large blocks of upland and the giant cracks of the rift valley system. 131 133

Ruanda is situated on the western border of the central region of this zone. It is a high plateau in which numerous rivers cut deep valleys separating a multitude of hills. The main feature of Ruanda orography is the chain of mountains with an elevation from 2,250 to 3,000 metres (6,750 to 9,000 feet) which separates the Congo and Nile drainage basins. This has a north-south trend approximately fifteen to twenty-five miles east of Lake Kivu (elevation: 1,460 metres or 4,380 feet) and forms, with the northern part of the Ruzizi river, the western boundary of Ruanda. From this mountainous chain to the east, elevations fall gradually to the Kagera River Valley, the eastern limit of Ruanda. The greater part of the Kagera here consists of swamps which may be as much as sixteen miles broad. The elevation of the region along the Kagera is from 1,300 to 1,500 metres (3,900 to 4,500 feet).

The northern boundaries of the country are not as clearly defined by physical factors, except in the west by the Virunga volcanic massif including eight peaks, the highest of which, Karisimbi, reaches 4,507 metres (14,873 feet). The Akanyaru and Lua rivers—which form part of the southern border of the kingdom, separating it from its Burundi neighbour—cannot be considered as natural frontiers, as they are not difficult to cross.[1] Ruanda's relief, together with its central situation in Africa 131

[1] The present-day political boundaries of Ruanda do not include the whole territory which was politically and culturally part of the kingdom in the past. There are Ruanda populations in the north, in the Kivu Province of the Belgian Congo (between the actual border and Ryashuru), and in the Kigezi District of Uganda (along the actual border). [162]

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131 (about 1,000 miles from the two nearest sea-ports, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam), probably accounts for the country's long isolation from Arab and European contacts, in spite of its easily accessible [50] frontiers in the north and south. Although slaves were occasionally sold to the African middlemen in touch with Arab traders operating in the neighbourhood of Ruanda, it seems that the traders themselves never penetrated the country. At all events Ruanda was never a regular place of supply. The first European reported 648 to have been in the country was Count G. A. von Götzen, a German officer leading a scientific and military expedition across Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. He stayed in Ruanda only for a few weeks, in 1894.

133 The interior highlands, which have been compared to the massif of Abyssinia and to the mountains of Bohemia, or even to Switzerland and Tibet, are not very large. Their longest north-south extent in a straight line is about 100 miles, the extent from west to east being about 140 miles. The area of present-day Ruanda 131 is 26,338 square kilometres (10,166 square miles). In 1907 Professor Jan Czekanowski, a member of the Duke of Mecklenburg's expedition to Central Africa, estimated it to cover about 28,900 square kilometres.[1]

132 The climatic effects of equatorial latitude are mitigated by the elevation. In the Congo-Nile mountain chain the temperature may drop to freezing point, but the greater part of Ruanda enjoys a temperate climate. The average is about 20° C. (68° F.), and the maximal variations (which are greater between day and night than between the seasons) rarely exceed 10° C. (18° F.) above or under the average. In the eastern lower part the temperature is, of course, higher.

Similar distinctions must be made for rainfall in the high mountains of the west, the highlands of the middle country, and the Kagera lower region of the east. In the first region rainfall averages 1,250 mm. a year (50 inches), in the second it is between 1,250 and 1,000 mm. (50 and 40 inches) and in the third less than 1,000 mm. (40 inches).[2] These figures alone do not have very much bearing on soil fertility, as the significance of rainfall depends on other factors, such as volume and intensity of precipitations, declivity of ground, type of vegetation, and characteristics of the soil.

[1] Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114. [2] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 89.

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There is as much as a one-month range of variations in the dates of the rainy and dry seasons each year. The precipitations are very irregular. Sometimes for a few weeks there is heavy rainfall lasting ten or twelve hours followed by a few dry days, at other times there is a 2- or 3-hour shower every day. Besides this fundamental irregularity there is no uniformity throughout the country. Owing to the very uneven relief, neighbouring regions or even neighbouring groups of hills and valleys, may have quite dissimilar climates. 132

Although it is believed that the country was covered with forest in the remote past, now only three per cent. of the surface of Ruanda is woodland; even if savannah with trees is taken into account the figure is not brought up to more than 6·5 per cent.[4] At the beginning of the century the figures were almost certainly not higher, and very likely lower. Indeed, the policy of the Administration has been to attempt to protect by regulation the forests which were left and to promote the replanting of trees. The present-day typical Ruanda landscape, eucalyptus-covered hills and roads bordered by three or four lines of trees, is new. Fifty years ago the country had an even more denuded appearance than it has today. 311 [656] 134

The result of the scarcity of trees in a country of steep hills has been erosion. Torrential rainfall has washed off the more fertile top soil. The deterioration of the ground has been a long process which has not yet been reversed. The north-western part of Ruanda provides an exception to the general poverty. Here the soil is of volcanic origin, formed from recent lava, and rich. The land at the bottom of valleys everywhere is, of course, notably better than on the slopes.

A good top-soil is important not only for cultivation: allowing a slow infiltration of water, it helps to form subterranean watersheds situated not too deeply underground. A decrease in this top-soil has had the effect that some of these practically superficial water reserves which feed sources have drained away. I have been told more than once by old people that in such or such a place there was a water source when they were young. When digging a well now one has to go very deep. 133 134

These phenomena, erosion, impoverishment of soil, and drying up of sub-soil, are not to be attributed only to the action of the purely natural factors mentioned (the heavy rainfalls and the 134

[4] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 331.

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orography of the country). They are due to the conjunction of these physical circumstances with the particular way in which the human occupation of the land has taken place.

2. HUMAN OCCUPATION

Several hypotheses have been advanced in attempts to reconstruct the history of the human occupations of Ruanda. We are not concerned with them here. Let us summarize only those features which are of significance for our purpose and which have a high degree of probability.

The present population of Ruanda is clearly composed of three groups: Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi. These groups are very unequal numerically. In the middle of 1956, according to a Government demographic survey, the Twa constituted 0·67 per cent. of the total Ruanda population, the Hutu 82·74 per cent., and the Tutsi 16·59 per cent.[5] Differences that are immediately noticeable between these groups concern their activities, their social statuses, and their physical types. The Twa are hunters, potters and ironworkers. Twa hunters are not numerous, as game is rare in most parts of Ruanda owing to the scarcity of forest. Some of them make a living as singers, dancers, and buffoons. The Hutu are agriculturists and the Tutsi pastoralists. The statuses of the three groups are hierarchically ranked. The Tutsi group constitutes an aristocracy, the Hutu are commoners, and the Twa are said, half jokingly, by most of the other Ruanda, to be more akin to monkeys than to human beings. A definite physical appearance is considered typical of each group. According to the socially accepted descriptions of the three stereotypes the typical Twa is short, pygmoid rather than pigmy, with a head low in the crown, face and nose flat, cheek-bones prominent, forehead bulging, eyes narrow and slightly oblique. Hutu characteristics are woolly hair, flat broad nose, thick lips often everted, and middle stature. Tutsi are very slender and tall. They often have a straight nose and a light brown skin colour. The objective measurements of Professor Jean Hiernaux do not entirely coincide with these stereotypes.[6]

[5] These figures have been kindly communicated by Mr. J. Revelard who was at that time in charge of the Ruanda-Urundi Demographic Surveys (Endemoru).

[6] Hiernaux, 1956b, pp. 34-53. Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 122-34. See the interesting photographs in Czekanowski, 1911, plates 1-41 and in Hiernaux, 1956b, plates VI-VII.

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The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this processs.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 213-23. [8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

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174 Ruanda, Burundi, Ha, Karagwe). It is not known where these
101 pastoralists came from.

Because of cultural and physical similarities the Galla or Somali country of Southern Abyssinia has been advanced as their possible place of origin. As the invaders have completely adopted the Bantu language of the agriculturists, the lack of linguistic clues so important in such questions is a great setback to any historical reconstruction. It should be noted in this connexion that the use of
[119] the linguistic term 'Hamites' to denote Tutsi, who do not speak a Hamitic language at all, is unfortunate and misleading. Dr. Meinhard's suggestion of using a term not burdened with linguistic connotations such as 'Ethiopians' or 'Ethiopoids' should be considered.[11] The population movement which brought the
174 invaders to Ruanda is probably at least four centuries old. The
643 present ruler is traditionally the fortieth king of Ruanda. We know the names of thirty-nine predecessors, but it is possible that the list is incomplete. On the other hand it seems that the first nineteen are legendary figures. Taking account of this and assuming that a reign lasts about twenty years, we go back to the sixteenth century.[12]

174 As the Tutsi migration seems to have been gradual and peaceful, an infiltration rather than a conquest, it is probable that at the beginning their cattle grazed on the unoccupied grasslands. But the population increased as more Tutsi kept on entering the country and more land had to be tilled to feed them. Cattle were also increasing and the Hutu had to move from the most fertile soil, in the bottom of valleys, because during the dry season these places were the only ones where cattle could find fresh grass. This process must have been in operation for a few centuries to produce the situation as we know it now.

161 Statistics are not available for the 1900–10 period, with which this study is concerned, but we may from the present figures (with
[174] some modifications) get a fairly good idea of the situation at the beginning of this century. The population was estimated on 31 December 1949, to be 1,870,410 souls: in 1956, 2,374,136, which

[11] Cf. Meinhard, 1947a, p. 3.

[12] According to Meyer, 1913, the pastoral invasion took place in two ways. The first, at the beginning of this millenium reached the north-east of the Province; the second, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought them farther southward. According to Kagame and Delmas, the first Hamitic populations invaded the country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (Gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi), (1956), p. 9.

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gives a density of 235·8 per square mile or 91·9 per square kilometre.[13] This density is among the highest in Africa, south of the Sahara.[14] What may we infer from these figures as regards the population at the beginning of this century? According to the available statistics for the last fifteen years, when the circumstances are favourable the yearly increase of Ruanda population may reach three per cent. This increased ratio could hardly have been maintained over the whole of the last fifty years, mainly because the 'favourable circumstances' refer to medical amenities, new hygienic practices and the reduction of famine. Such conditions were by no means prevalent when the Europeans occupied the country in 1899.[15] Even since 1935, however, events have not always been favourable, as for three years (1941–2–3) there was a decrease of population due to a severe scarcity of food. Consequently it seems safe to assume that during the decades preceding the European occupation, the population was already very dense. According to Captain Bethe, it numbered about 2,000,000 in 1899.[16] In 1907, Czekanowski estimated the Ruanda population at approximately 1,710,000.[17]

According to a detailed survey made by the Department of Agriculture, there are about 60,000 to 70,000 families (out of a total of about 380,000 families) more than can be adequately fed by the country.[18] There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there

[13] There is a census for the male and able-bodied adults who are taxpayers. To obtain the total number of the population (females, old people, and children) the number of taxpayers in each administrative district is multiplied by a certain coefficient which is determined in each case by a sample-census of a few hills.

[14] For comparative purposes, there are a few density figures for some African territories according to present political boundaries: Uganda: 52·8 per square mile; Tanganyika: 20·7; Belgian Congo: 12·9; Nigeria: 92·0; Sierra Leone: 66·5. All these figures, taken from Hailey, 1957, p. 143, refer to the years 1948–52.

[15] Captain Bethe, a German officer, obtained from the king in 1899 Ruanda's acceptance of the Imperial Government's protection. There was no treaty, only an oral agreement which was followed by a permanent occupation by the German authorities. The first Christian mission was established in 1900, at Issavi, by the White Fathers. Belgian troops took possession of Ruanda during the First World War in 1916. The Belgian occupation of Ruanda-Urundi was confirmed by the Orts-Milner Agreement in 1919. In 1924, Belgium agreed to administer Ruanda-Urundi under the supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Ruanda-Urundi became a United Nations Organization Trusteeship Territory administered by Belgium. Cf. Jentgen, 1947, pp. 9–11, 83–9

[16] Quoted by Czekanowski, 1917, p. 109n. [17] See Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114.

[18] This study is based on an estimate of the optimum cultivated area needed by a family, the quality of the soil being taken into account. A similar method has been used in the case of cattle. Cf. Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, pp. 343–7.

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There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there
233 were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid,
433 but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

168 This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is in-
433 creasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an
511 ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

433 It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

224 Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only
[262] the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate
[186] game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing
[237] and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

226 Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when
262 very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42.

tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

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April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[30]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[30] See Schumacher, 1942 and Everaerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

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later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46–59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

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Fermented beverages were popular in Ruanda. There were three varieties: those with a sorghum base, those with a banana base, and hydromel. As these drinks were made in each household, their alcoholic content varied greatly. According to the experts, however, their nutritive value was generally considerable. The Tutsi did not drink sorghum-beer (*amarwa*) which they thought was fit only for children and Hutu. It is not as strong as banana-beer (*urwagwa*) and hydromel (*ubwuki*), which may contain 11.5° of alcohol.[23] Hydromel results from the fermentation of a must which is an aqueous solution of honey.

The Tutsi diet was based mainly on dairy products and was more liquid than solid. When still lying on his bed a Tutsi began his day with a pot of curdled milk (about 1½ pints). At noon, before his siesta, he again took about the same amount. Around six p.m. when talking with his friends and clients, he drank, and offered, hydromel or banana-beer. At about half past eight or nine p.m. everybody left his hut and he took his evening meal with his wife (or one of his wives), his young children of both sexes and his daughters even after puberty. A usual menu was sweet bananas (or beans) cooked in water, cut in small pieces which were eaten with hot salted butter, and some sort of 'bread' made with a sorghum flour paste and, of course, milk was drunk. On the rare occasions when they had meat it was boiled, cut in small pieces, and eaten with hot salted butter. After that, when the women had left, the evening was spent with friends and clients, in long, subtle, and witty conversations, while beer and hydromel were served again.

The Hutu ate more food, but it was less refined. They consumed much less milk and butter, if any. They took two main meals a day, one in the beginning of the afternoon and one in the evening. They made a kind of porridge with beans, peas, or maize. Sweet potatoes, regarded as too common to eat by the Tutsi, were consumed in large quantities by the Hutu. A present day evaluation is about seven pounds a day per adult. In the morning, while working in the fields, they ate one or two snacks made of the remains of the preceding evening meal. They drank mainly banana and sorghum beer.

The Twa apparently enjoyed eating much meat and drinking much beer when and where they could get it. Their diet was very

[23] Ministère des Colonies, 1941b, pp. 32 f.

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irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing. 262 264

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned. 261 [574] [484] 261 186

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather. 291 [164]

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

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291 On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of
[854] cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their
[482] backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders
[439] coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

302 Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu
[301] and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments.
304 There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went
[291] barefooted.

592 The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at
361 least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the
349 interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a
[171] 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c.
857 were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls
513 under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut
393 devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus
346 hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined
351 circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a
[231] kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the
361 year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

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and Tutsi compounds. Only the size and number of huts and enclosures were different.[24] 361

These compounds, usually surrounded and more or less hidden by banana groves, were scattered throughout the country. They were on the top or on the slopes of hills, never in the valleys which were flooded every year at the end of the rainy season. They were usually rather isolated but even when they were not far from each other (and they were never so near together as to have two adjacent hedges) they did not constitute villages in the sense of concentrated clusters of dwellings situated near the centre of the territory worked by the inhabitants. There was, however, some grouping on a predominantly local basis of people who were all personally acquainted with each other. They could be described, following Murdock's terminology, as *neighbourhoods*.[25] These neighbourhoods were made up of a certain number of compounds (from twenty to sixty) situated on a hill (*umusozi*) or a part of a hill (*umurenge*). The people living there had a few common activities: mutual aid in the building of huts and in the performance of certain agricultural tasks, and recreational gatherings (such as dancing, jumping competitions, arrow shooting, &c.). They showed a certain *esprit de corps* in taking the side of one of their members in a dispute against a member of another similar community. The word used to designate the members of such groups expressed this idea of neighbourhood. They were called *abazimya muriro*, 'those who put out the fire', people very often needed. One important person in the group such as a lineage-head, was appointed as neighbourhood-head (*umukoresha*) by the traditional administrative authority to take charge of the collection of dues and tribute-labour of a hill or, more frequently, of a group of hills (*umutware w'umusozi*). He acted as an intermediary between his neighbours and the hill chief. The group could refuse the appointment of a certain person and another would be chosen. These neighbourhoods had no communal place for meeting, exchanging goods, or worshipping. 621 [476] 622 621

The same pattern of local grouping was to be found throughout Rwanda.

[24] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, p. 200 ff; Pauwels, 1953; Vincent, 1954, pp. 12-15.

[25] Murdock, 1949, p. 80. The definition of village given in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 64. ('a territorially separate collection of homesteads, which is regarded as a distinct unit and of such a size that its inhabitants can all be personally acquainted') cannot be applied to the Rwanda type of local community. [119]

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PLATE I

133
137

The Virunga volcanoes

[Facing P. 22]

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000 Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court
361 happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century
644 the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

443 Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through
[437] other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from
[439] abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

121 The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the
[174] situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet.
146 The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[26] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as
[433] high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[26] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.

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PLATE 2

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535
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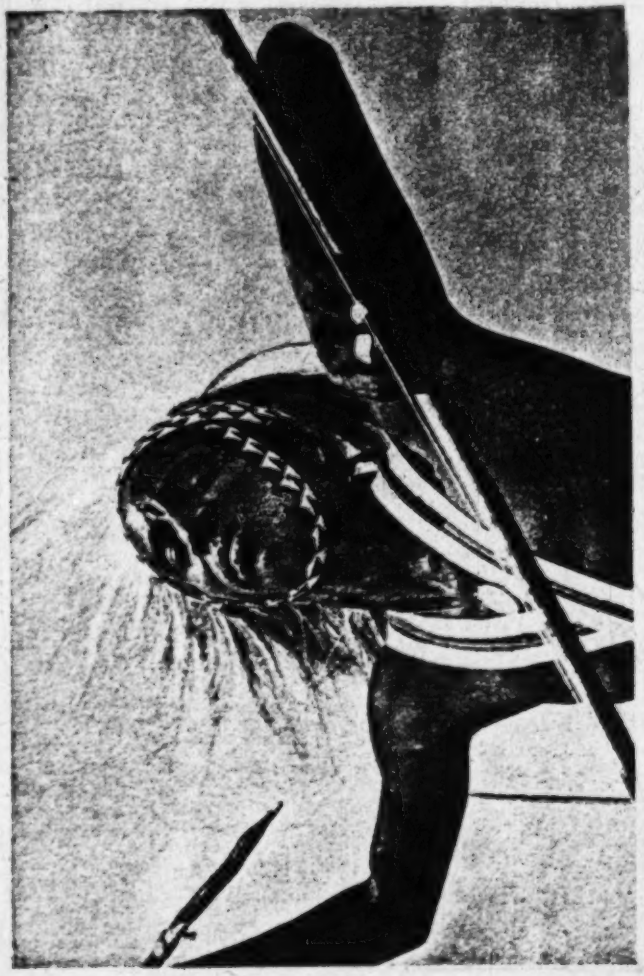

Intore warrior dancing

[Facing P. 23]

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It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

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from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *muroxi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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The conditions favouring contamination by different diseases and the very limited defences against them permit us to assume that illness and mortality through these diseases must have been very high and a constant threat to everybody. 164

These brief notes on health conditions in Ruanda would be incomplete without a mention of mental health. We are not attempting here an assessment of the neuroses and psychoses which can be found in Ruanda or to the number of people affected by them and who, in the Western world, would be considered in need of psychiatric treatment. There is not sufficient information on these matters at present. But we would like to consider very briefly conditions which are likely to result in psychological tensions. 121

We have already mentioned the circumstances which make life objectively hard (a barely sufficient diet, starvation periods, and diseases). In addition it was often dangerous. When informants were asked what sort of reputation they particularly wished to avoid, they did not usually answer by listing the opposites of those particular qualities which they would like to have attributed to them, but by pointing to some definite reputation in which danger might be inherent. Above all, a Tutsi feared to be regarded as an enemy of the king. It was no doubt partly because he felt a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be thought of as an enemy of the king was extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of everything, the severance of all social relations, exile, or even death. He also feared to be considered a traitor to his chief. This was a dangerous reputation, although it entailed sanctions: if a client had been disloyal to his lord the latter might take back from him all the cattle he had previously given him and eventually all his cattle. The Hutu said that they feared an accusation of witchcraft, for such an accusation could certainly mean immediate death. There was little that could be done actively to avoid such a danger except to be a good neighbour, to be envied by nobody, to have no enemies, and especially to have a powerful protector. The Hutu were also afraid of acquiring any reputation which could result in their losing the protection of the lord to whom they owed allegiance and consequently leaving them exposed and defenceless against the arbitrary actions of the powerful.[21] 152 626 681 571 181

[21] Cf. Maquet, 1954a, or Maquet, 1958.

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Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[22] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[23] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[22] Maquet, 1958, pp. 326-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[23] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

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agents instead of being comforting were always potential enemies. There appear to have been certain defences, however. Firstly, there was a belief in the immutability of natural and social order; consequently this order and its frustrations were accepted as a matter of course. Secondly, there was always a means, whatever its efficacy, of coping with dangers and consequently people were able to hope that they would not be defenceless against them. We may thus conclude that social and natural conditions in Ruanda did not seem to prevent the bulk of people from enjoying the amount of psychological security necessary to go on living without tensions and anxieties such as disturb mental balance.

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CHAPTER II

THE SYSTEM OF KINSHIP AND AFFINITY[1]

1. DESCENT GROUPS

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AMONG the Ruanda people, Tutsi as well as Hutu, the social principle of descent was agnatic. When any informant is asked who are his ascendants, he always answers by giving the names of his father, his paternal grandfather, his paternal great grandfather up to some male ancestor beyond whom he is unable to go. He does not mention his mother nor any of her ascendants.

61. 178

Questions on the actual groupings founded on this principle and their functions elicit less unanimous and clear answers. The reason is that kinship groups have undoubtedly undergone a slow process of change in several respects during the Tutsi occupation of the country. What we know of its history[2] is quite sufficient to convince us that there has been a progressive territorial expansion under one dynasty of rulers together with an intensification of the

[642]

[1] In order to make clear the connotations of the main concepts used in this chapter, here are a few definitions:

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Ego's *kin* are his socially recognised relatives to whom he is connected through parent-child and-or sibling links. *Consanguineal* and *cognatic* relatives are used as synonyms for kin.

Ego's *affines* are his socially recognised relatives to whom he is connected through a marriage link. This link may be the first traced from Ego (the affines are then Ego's spouse's kin) or the kinship link may be the first one traced (the affines are then Ego's kin's spouse).

Ego's *patrilineal* or *agnatic* relatives are those of his kin who descend by male links from the same male ancestor as Ego.

Ego's *matrilineal* or *uterine* relatives are those of his kin who descend by female links from the same ancestress as Ego.

Ego's *cross-line* relatives are those of his kin who are neither patrilineally nor matrilineally related to him.

Ego's *paternal* or *patrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his father.

Ego's *maternal* or *matrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his mother.

To sum up:

Relatives:
- are *kin* (or consanguineal relatives or cognates) who can be distinguished as
  1. patrilineal (or agnatic)
  2. matrilineal (or uterine)
  3. cross-line
- or as
  1. paternal (or patrilateral)
  2. maternal (or matrilateral)
- and *affines* who can be distinguished as
  1. kin of Ego's spouse
  2. spouses of Ego's kin.

[2] See for instance, Pagès, 1933.

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61 degrees of control exerted by that central authority on the territory.
178 These processes have necessarily had an impact on the autonomy
642 and social significance of Hutu and Tutsi kinship groups, on their connexion with a particular tract of land, and on their functions.
121 We shall not be concerned here with any reconstruction of these processes but only with them as they existed in the immediate pre-European days. It should be borne in mind, however, that this was the period of an evolution. This explains the sometimes confused picture given by some informants.

(a) *Inzu, ubwoko, umulyango*

613 Hutu and Tutsi recognised a patrilineal kin group (*inzu*)[3] which included all who could actually trace their agnatic relationship through usually no more than four or five ascendent genealogical links to an ancestor recognised as the original ancestor of the group.

Members of the inzu of a male Ego were: Br, Si, Fa, FaSi, FaBr, FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaFa, FaFaBr, FaFaSi, FaFaBrSo, FaFaBrDa, FaFaBrSoSo, FaFaBrSoDa.[4]

Ego's sororal nephews and nieces (SiSo, SiDa) and his paternal cross-cousins (FaSiSo and FaSiDa) did not belong to his *inzu*. However they participated in some of its activities if they lived
[591] with their maternal uncle (Ego), which happened when the bride-wealth for their mother (Ego's Si) had not been entirely paid.

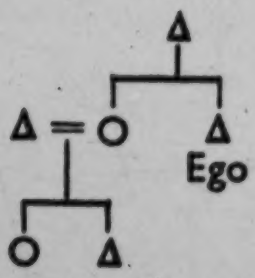

Diagram A.

Other generations above Ego's (that of FaFaFa, &c.) or under his (that of SoSoSo, &c.), were not necessarily included in Ego's

[3] *Inzu* means also hut.
[4] I follow the symbolisation system used by Murdock, 1949.

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inzu. Their inclusion depended on the situation of Ego's generation with regard to the ancestor recognized as the originator of the group. Suppose a new inzu had begun with F (Diagram B), in the sense that F's descendants referred to themselves as 'people of F' rather than as 'people of A' (as F referred to himself). In that case, Ego would not consider E (FaFaFaFa) as of his inzu although he knew that he was the father of his great-grandfather.

Or suppose that D was considered as the origin of the inzu. In that case Ego's son, J, was separated from D by five links. It was quite possible that if, for instance, G had had many children and had been a man of standing and repute, J and K (and all G's descendants in their generations) would some day refer to themselves as 'people of G'. As long as Ego was living, however, J would consider himself as a member of the same inzu as his father and Ego would not think of his son as belonging to another inzu. One informant, Kayijuka, told us that one of his great-grandchildren will probably take the initiative in forming the new inzu of 'people of Kayijuka'.[8]

Although the inzu was a transitory group about six generations deep, it must be understood that the formation of a new inzu was not rigidly determined and did not automatically happen at the birth of the first child in the seventh generation. The operative factors were mainly the fast growing number of inzu members after a few generations (in genealogies collected, the sixth

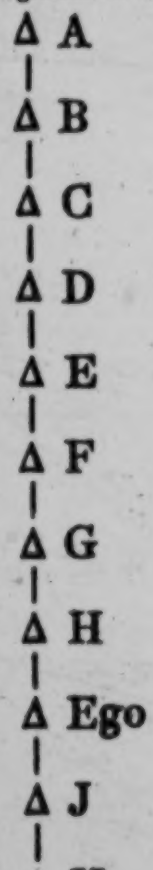

Diagram B.

[8] This was no boast as Kayijuka is now a very important political personality in Ruanda. It may be of interest to mention that Kayijuka was at the court, as a young nobleman, when the first Europeans entered the country. At that time there was a considerable amount of suspicion on both sides. A missionary asked him to point out the queen-mother among the women who were present at the Court. This was prohibited as it was feared that the White Fathers could harm her by magic. Kayijuka did it, however, and for that reason, when the visitors had gone, he was blinded with a red hot iron. But as on the following day he addressed somebody by name after having recognized the voice, it was believed that the operation had not been a success and it was performed a second time. Kayijuka is now a loyal courtier of the king.

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generation alone seems to comprise about 100 persons), the existence of a man prominent (by wealth, political functions, &c.) among the ascendants closer than the fifth, or a change of residence. The first two factors were usually realized in the span of six generations. If they were not, and if the inzu remained a small group of, say, a dozen people, these and their descendants went on referring to themselves as 'people of' an ancestor of the seventh, eighth, or ninth generation. One informant told us that his own inzu, already six generations deep, was not yet numerous enough to be split into new ones though it probably would be after two more generations. The fact that the ancestor of a new inzu was chosen, and was not simply the son of the ancestor of the former inzu, shows that there was a definite emphasis on the personal prominence of the ancestor.

Among the Tutsi, it seems that inzu tended to grow rather large before segmenting. In their intrigues for power, it was an advantage [557] to be connected by agnatic links to many and important people. Consequently, before initiating the formation of a new inzu, the Tutsi were very cautious: they did not want to diminish their social power by severing their connexions with the members of their present inzu. Besides, a change of residence was a less compelling reason for the Tutsi to split the inzu: they were not attached to a particular region to the same extent as the Hutu; when appointed to different offices, they often had to move from one part of the country to another and they frequently travelled to the court.

The formation of a new inzu was not necessarily a segmentation resulting in the concomitant formation of two new units of the same age and importance. It could happen that among the inzu 'people of A', those of the sixth generation who were the descendants of B preferred to think of themselves as 'people of B' because B was a famous warrior and they were numerous enough to constitute an inzu of their own. This did not compel those of the sixth generation who were descendants of C and D to do the same. They would go on considering themselves 'people of A'. After a couple more generations, when the number of the descendants of F had increased, they would refer to themselves as 'people of F' who was a rich owner of cows, and the descendants of G as 'people of G' because he had been an important province chief, whereas the descendants of C would some day take the name of 'people of E' if they moved into another region.

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The ubwoko was the largest kin group of the patrilineal type. 614
Its members recognized a traditional bond of common descent in the paternal line, but were definitely unable to trace their

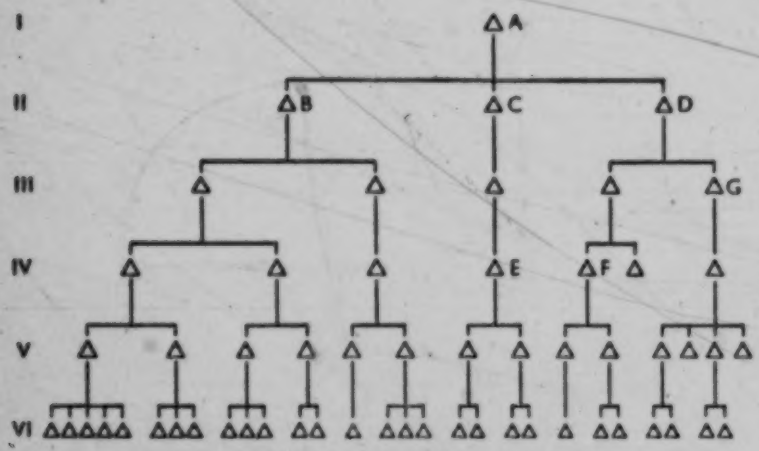

Diagram C.

relationship to the ancestor who was, perhaps, mythical. Two members of the same ubwoko have an idea of a certain kinship tie between them, but nothing more. Ubwoko were geographically dispersed.

There were thirteen such groupings in Ruanda: Abanyiginya (the royal ubwoko), Abega (the ubwoko from which the queens usually came), Abatsoba, Abacyaba, Abasinga, Abatira, Abakono, Abaniakarama, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Ababanda, Abaha, Abashambo. This number was consistent for a very long time. Ubwoko were permanent groups.[8]

Larger in membership than inzu and smaller than ubwoko, a 613
third kinship group called *umulyango* existed in Ruanda. What it was is not quite clear in the mind of most of our informants. This is due, I think, to the fact that umulyango varied considerably in their degree of organization, corporateness, and functions. But also there was some uncertainty in terminology: the same group, say the Abahindiro, has been referred to by our informants sometimes as inzu, and sometimes as umulyango.

[8] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 41-45 and 235 f.

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613 Umulyango appears to have been the group of living people
5T/1 who would have belonged to the same inzu if that primitive inzu had not split into new ones. This explains the fluidity of the use of the term. For instance the word 'Abareganshuro' (people of Mureganshuro) has meant first 'the members of the inzu of Mureganshuro'; then, after the splitting of that inzu, 'the members of the umulyango of Mureganshuro'. When an inzu divided into different new ones, the ancestor of the former one became the ancestor of the umulyango. Thus the umulyango link existed between members of different inzu having the same origin.

As may be expected, the strength of these links was quite different at the time of the splitting and a few generations afterwards. This accounts for the fact that in some cases the umulyango appears almost as a corporate group very similar to an inzu, and in other cases as a purely nominal group.

The span of life of an umulyango seems less defined than that of an inzu. It is doubtful, however, whether it was longer. Suppose inzu A splits into B and C and becomes umulyango A. Six generations later inzu B splits into inzu D and E and becomes umulyango B. At that time it is very likely that the primitive ancestor being twelve generations past will not be clearly remembered and that, except for some extraordinary reason, he will be superseded by the ancestor of umulyango B.

614 Descent groups in Ruanda were thus of two different types
613 A permanent group, the ubwoko which fulfilled the definition of patriclan (if exogamy be excluded from that definition) and two temporary groups, inzu and umulyango, the second being rather the surviving shadow of the first. The latter were both patrilineages. As they were not segments in the same sense as among, e.g.
613 the Nuer, it would be misleading to differentiate them according
128 to the terminology of Evans-Pritchard.[7] We would suggest calling inzu a primary and umulyango a secondary patrilineage in order to convey the idea that the umulyango originated from the inzu and that the inzu's functions were more important for the individual and society at large than those of the umulyango.[8]

[7] Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-4.

[8] Members of the inzu were called *bavandimwe* (which primarily means sibling), agnatic relatives, *bamwaca* and relatives, affines included, *abaca*.

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(b) *Organization and activities of the inzu*

The primary patrilineage had a head who was usually called *umutware w'inzu* (chief of the inzu). Sometimes he was designated *umutware w'umulyango* (chief of the umulyango) even when his group was clearly an inzu. Among the Hutu, particularly in the north (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), he was often called *umukungu*.

The man who first formed a new inzu did not necessarily become its head: he could choose its chief from among his uncles, brothers, cousins, or sons. Then the lineage head chose his successor. He was usually the eldest son but he could be any son or a nephew. If the person chosen seemed unacceptable to the Ruanda administrative authority, a meeting of the inzu was held and the political chief asked them to choose another inzu head. If the objections came from the group itself, they could resort to the umulyango head—if the umulyango concerned was still a strong group—or to the administrative authority, or in the case of an Hutu inzu which depended on only one lord for its cattle (*shebuja*), to him.

In addition to presiding over the collective activities of his lineage, the head had some power of his own. He was a judge in disputes between the members of his inzu; he also had the right to punish a member of his inzu who had wronged another, except in the case of murder, when the political authority was responsible for the punishment. Anyway, those who were dissatisfied with the decisions of the lineage head could always appeal to the political chief. Sometimes the lineage head legislated for the members of the inzu. A Hutu informant told us that his grandfather, who was the inzu head, had prohibited cross-cousin marriage in his inzu. The lineage head also detailed members for military service and assigned individual contributions to the tax required by the authorities. Officially and towards individual outsiders, he acted as the representative of the inzu. When a girl of his inzu ran away from her husband, he tried to settle the dispute with the head of the husband's inzu. He was responsible for the inzu's tax contribution and for handing over to the political authority any member of the lineage who had committed a crime against an outsider.

The significance of the inzu as a collective body was apparent in ritual, marriage, mutual aid, and blood-feud. In the ritual

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613 sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the
199 Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during
[173] his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

613 A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to
769 honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a
[062] goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

613 Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of
623 councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the
[554] opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

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marriage coming from another inzu or to be made to another inzu, and whether the council thought that a connexion with such or such lineage was to be accepted, sought, or avoided. A certain number of disputes that the lineage head could not or would not settle alone were submitted to the council. When somebody had lost his cattle and was ruined, the council could determine and apportion a collective contribution to help him out of his difficulties. Finally, blood-feuds were discussed. When a member of the group had been killed by a member of another all the kinsmen of the victim attempted to retaliate by taking of the life of a kinsman of the offender. Compensation was not usual. I was told, however, by the Hutu of Bugoyi that there the murderer's group could prevent the taking of vengeance by handing over a beautiful girl. Political authority kept the feuds under strict control. Permission to retaliate had to be obtained from the king and when it was granted and vengeance had been achieved, the feud was at an end. No further vengeance could be taken. Sometimes the king made representatives of the two lineages share a meal.

As the preceding paragraphs suggest, there was no clear-cut division between the powers of the head and of the council. It was a question of the particular traditions in each inzu and of the individual characters of the persons concerned. Usually, however, the inzu was an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. The head could not rule in opposition to the men of standing in his lineage; they had the means to put pressure on him and then there was the possibility of recourse to the political chiefs, always glad to interfere in a domain which was not completely under their control.

The obligations and rights of the individual members of a primary patrilineage were many. There was first a prohibition on sexual intercourse within the group, which applied to relations whether in or out of wedlock. It was feared that the mating of descendants from the same inzu ancestor would produce sickly and malformed children. A few informants add that exogamy was necessary to promote connexions between descent-groups, these connexions being thought of as beneficial in a vague way. The Rusnda did not distinguish incestuous relations from prohibited relations because of consanguinity. For them all the latter were incestuous. But they recognized order in the degrees of gravity in

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613 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be
835 between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any
476 of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied
[692] by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's
764 hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a
613 man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a
765 prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again.
[833] There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as

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for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

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interactions of Ego and Alter once an organized system of interaction between themselves has become stabilized. 'Alter expects Ego to behave in given situational conditions in certain relatively specific ways, or at least within relatively specific limits.'[10]

Members of an inzu were supposed to have more confidence in each other and to be readier to help and sympathize with each other than with outsiders. Within the inzu itself, each member was expected to assume a certain role which defined, within narrow limits, expected behaviour towards other lineage members. Before these intra-inzu roles are described, a list of kinship terms used within the inzu to address or designate members, will be given. Some characteristics of these behaviour patterns are reflected in the terminology, as, for instance, the predominance within the lineage of the horizontal or generation principle of grouping over the vertical grouping by branches of the lineage.

Data will be presented first and implications analysed at a later stage. Our point of reference will be the conventional Ego. All the terms and their symbolizations are to be understood as relating to Ego who is a male (Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa). The same terms are used by a male as by a female, except where otherwise indicated: f.s. (female speaking) and m.s. (male speaking).

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's father		
Fa	Data	Data
FaBr	Data	Datawacu (father-our)
FaSi	Mama	Masenge (mother through father)
FaFaBrSo	Data	Datawacu
FaFaBrDa	Mama	Masenge
FaFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Datawacu
FaFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Masenge
II. The generation of Ego's grandfather		
FaFa	Sogokuru (kuru = great)	Sogokuru
FaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
FaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
FaFaFaBrSo	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
FaFaFaBrDa	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's great-grandfather		
FaFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
FaFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
FaFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

[10] Parsons and Shils, 1951, p. 19.

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
IV. The other generations above		
Ancestor		Igisokuru
V. Ego's generation		
Br, ♀ pat Br	Muvandinwe (from same womb)	Mwenedata (child of father)
YoBr, ♀ YoBr (pat)	Muvandimwe	Murumunawanjye (murumu = little)
ElBr, ♀ pat ElBr	Muvandimwe	Mukutuwahjye (mukuru = great)
Br (f.s.)	Muvandimwe	Musazawanjye (wanjye = my)
Si, ♀ pat Si	Muvandimwe	Mwenedata
YoSi, ♀ pat YoSi	Muvandimwe	Murumunawanjye
ElSi, ♀ pat ElSi	Muvandimwe	Mukurumwanjye (Mukuru = great)
Si (m.s.)		Mushikiwanjye
FaBrSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu (child of our Fa)
FaBrSo (f.s.)		Musazawacu
FaBrDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu
FaBrDa (m.s.)		Mushikiwacu
FaFaBrSoSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu
FaFaBrSoDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu
FaFaFaBrSoSoSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu
FaFaFaBrSoSoDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu
VI. The generation of Ego's son		
So	Mwana (child)	Muhunguwanjye (boy-my)
Da	Mwana (child)	Mukobwawanjye (girl-my)
BrSo (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muhunguwacu (boy-our)
BrSo (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Musengenezawanjye
BrDa (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Mukobwawacu (girl-our)
BrDa (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Musengenezawanjye
FaBrSoSo (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muhunguwacu
FaBrSoSo (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muzengenezawacu
FaBrSoDa (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Mukobwawacu
FaBrSoDa (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Musengenezawacu
FaFaBrSoSoSo (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muhunguwacu
FaFaBrSoSoSo (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muzengenezawacu
FaFaBrSoSoDa (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Mukobwawacu
FaFaBrSoSoDa (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muzengenezawacu
VII. The generation of Ego's grandchildren		
SoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruwanjye
SoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruwanjye
BrSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruwacu
BrSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruwacu
FaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruwacu
FaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruwacu

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren		
SoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruza
SoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruza
IX. The other generations under		
Descendant		Ubuvivi[11]

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

593 During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was [881] initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could [882] not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not [883] have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in 593 different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the 868 Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

593 When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as [583] Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, [681] which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating [606] his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

[11] Compare with Vanhove, 1942, pp. 11-16.

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the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law 593
and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to [606]
punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[18]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. [883]
They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the [583]
bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's [613]
inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father).

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. 604
He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful.

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her [582]
nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent [584]

[18] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

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obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezawanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

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to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the 593
importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among
brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there [607]
was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's [835]
husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood. After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as [428]
they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his 605
brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin, Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of [589]
his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging [835]
obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts were severely tabooed.

(d) *Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko*

The two other descent groups may be described much more 613
briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually 613
these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu 571
and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally disappeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics 613
or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

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613 When the umulyango had a head (chosen in a similar way to the inzu head), he is said to have had the power to give orders to the heads of the component inzu and to draw up general rules for all the umulyango members. I was told, for instance, that the chief of a certain umulyango had ruled that the members should not marry girls of the ubwoko of the Abacyaba. This prohibition about 150 years old is still observed. When the secondary lineage had a head, he fulfilled very much the same function as an 'appeal court' for all decisions taken within the inzu. Such an umulyango organization existed among Hutu and Tutsi, but seems to have been more common in the important Tutsi lineages.

614 The patriclan (ubwoko) had no head and no collective activities. It was usually agamous, although there may have been an exogamy rule in one particular clan. An animal species was associated with [778] each clan. Its members were not allowed to kill any of them and were even obliged to protect them. The animal was not thought of as a reincarnation of the ancestor's spirit but probably only as a living symbol of the clan.[14]

614 563 Unlike the inzu and the umulyango, any ubwoko could have both Tutsi and Hutu among its members. There was no purely Hutu or purely Tutsi patriclan. When asked if this meant that Tutsi and Hutu of the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered that it did not. They explain it by the relationships which have linked Hutu to Tutsi as clients or servants. After some time the Hutu were identified with the group of their master. Such identification was particularly easy since Tutsi frequently emigrated from one region of Ruanda to another with their Hutu clients and servants. Some Hutu told me that as Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa (mythical figures who, as their names indicate, were supposed to be ancestors of the three groups) were brothers, it is not impossible that Tutsi and Hutu of one clan could have had the same ancestor. At all events clansmen who were of different socio-'racial' groups did not exhibit any solidarity at all and behaved towards each other as complete strangers.

613 562 As has been said, Ego's wife belonged to her own patrilineage for ever. This is why the social role of Ego's wife has not been mentioned in this section. But as she took part in many of the

[14] Some examples of the totemic animals of patriclans are: Abazigaba, the leopard (*ingwe*), Abasinga, the hawk (*sakabaka*), Abega, the frog (*igikeli*), Abagesera, the wagtail (*nyamasaza*), Abacyaba, the hyena (*impyisi*).

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activities of her husband's inzu and was not bound by all the obligations common to the members of her own inzu, a few words should be added about her behaviour in this connexion. 613 562

She participated in the cult of Ego's (= her husband's) ancestor and of her own ancestor, but she was not allowed to build a shrine in honour of her ancestor in Ego's enclosure. She gave the ritual gifts at the birth of a child in her own inzu as well as in Ego's inzu, and did the same at marriage ceremonies. In times of mourning, Ego's inzu was predominant: his wife had to practise sexual abstention for two or three months when Ego's parents died. For her own parents she was not bound by any such observances. She received protection from her husband's group, but from [illegible] only when she had disputes with Ego's lineage [465]

2. THE DESCENT GROUP OF EGO'S MOTHER

A man (or a woman) was not a member of his mother's patrilineage, which is why in the preceding section only his agnates were considered. But the picture of Ego's position in kinship relations would be incomplete if it were limited to that. Ego's mother's agnates were not complete strangers to him. In everyday life, he met them often and his culture provided him with roles to assume in these circumstances. In some cases Ego's behaviour to 'maternal' kin was very similar to that which he was expected to observe towards the agnatic counterpart of that kin. 602

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's mother		
Mo	Mama	Mama
MoBr	Data	Marume
MoSi	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaBrSo	Data	Marume
MoFaBrDa	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Marume
MoFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Mamawacu
II. The generation of Ego's maternal grandfather		
MoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's maternal great-grandfather		
MoFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
601 *IV. Ego's generation*		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[15]

593 Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old [589] widower frequently lived alone.

604 The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants. The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have [836] intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody [584] else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his [582] brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[15] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Muvandimwe* (child of mother).

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Why did they not operate in the case of FaSi? As mother of Ego's paternal cross-cousins, with whom Ego could enjoy the same familiarities, she could have reacted in the same way. We have seen that, on the contrary, she was extremely cordial to her nephews. The only reason seems to be that her nephews belonged to her own lineage, whereas her daughters did not. Consequently she was less interested in bride-wealths, &c. Her husband (FaSiHu) probably reacted in the same way as MoBr. 604

The relations of Ego with his maternal aunt (MoSi) were supposed to be similar to his relations with his mother, but in fact great trust and affection did not often exist between them because of the usually tense relations of the aunt with Ego's mother, her sister. If, for instance, Ego's aunt's husband (MoSiHu) neglected his wife and preferred his sister-in-law (Ego's Mo), with whom intercourse was not taboo, the relations between the two sisters became tense. The incest taboo applied to the relations between Ego and MoSi (as an extension of the incest prohibition between Ego and his Mo) and also MoSiDa (although she did not belong to Mo's inzu). In the latter case, the reason was that for Ego, his maternal parallel cousins were assimilated to his paternal parallel cousins. He had consequently to consider her as his sister. In the next generation this incest taboo still existed (between So and MoSiDaDa, i.e. between any male and his FaMoSiDaDa). The incest between Ego's male descendants and his MoSi's female descendants through females lasted, I was told, as long as the original sibling relation (between Mo and MoSi) was remembered. 604 835 [593] 605 835

Between Ego and his maternal grandfather, the relations were very similar to those between him and his paternal grandfather. As we may expect, the fact that his maternal grandmother did not belong to the maternal patrilineage did not prevent her from being considered as a grandmother and not only as MoFaWi. 603

As has just been indicated, Ego could enjoy with his female maternal cross-cousins great familiarity expressed in practical jokes, pleasant talk, and erotic games. But as long as the girls were unmarried anything more than caressing and petting (erotic kissing seems to have been unknown among Ruanda) was prohibited. It was only after the female cross-cousins' marriages that sexual intercourse with them was tolerated. This behaviour was extended to wives of male cross-cousins (MoBrSoWi). 605 [832] [835]

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3. EGO'S CROSS-LINE RELATIVES

602 The cross-line relatives of Ego are people who are socially recognized as related to him although they do not belong either to his parents' descent groups or to the category of his relatives by affinity.

[605] In Ruanda, the category of cross-line relatives was limited to Ego's paternal cross-cousins, his maternal parallel cousins, their [604] descendants, his sororal nephews and nieces, and their descendants.

Paternal cross-cousins did not belong to Ego's father's patrilineage since they were members of their own father's (FaSiHu of Ego) lineage. It could be said that they were agnates of FaSiHu who was himself an affine of Ego. It seems, however, that the link between Ego and his paternal cross-cousins was their mother (FaSi) and not their father (FaSiHu). This is why I do not include Ego's paternal cross-cousins among Ego's affines.

Maternal cross-cousins were not Ego's cross-line relatives because they were related to Ego as agnates of Ego's mother. On the contrary maternal parallel cousins of Ego were cross-line relatives of Ego's mother: her sororal nephews and nieces. Ego was not related to them through his MoSiHu but through his MoSi as the term of reference used by Ego indicates: child-of-my-maternal-aunt (*mwenemamawacu*). This is why I regard them as Ego's cross-line relatives.

604 Ego was related to his sororal nephews and nieces through his sister in spite of the fact that her children belonged to her husband's agnatic group.

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
FaSiSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
FaSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoSiSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
MoSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
SiSo	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye
SiDa	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye

605 Familiarity, jesting, erotic games without actual intercourse before marriage, were the relations of paternal cross-cousins (as well as maternal cross-cousins) of the opposite sex. The difference was that paternal cross-cousins had to assist each other and often fought together in blood-feuds although, as they did not belong [613] to the same inzu, they could not be killed in retaliation.

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This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour

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604 was expected to be protective, but he had no authority over his sister's children unless bride-wealth had not been paid for her.

4. EGO'S AFFINES

128 Following *Notes and Queries*, I shall distinguish two classes among the relatives by marriage. First, those in which the affinal link is the first traced from Ego, i.e. kin of the spouse; secondly, those in which the kinship link is the first one traced, i.e. persons who have married kinsmen and kinswomen.[16]

602 I shall begin with the second class: spouses of members of Ego's patrilineage, of Ego's mother's patrilineage and their own agnatic relatives. Not all of these spouses were considered by Ruanda to be significantly related to Ego. They say, for instance, that the wife of the maternal uncle (MoBrWi) is just a stranger, whereas there was a particular code of behaviour laid down towards the wife of the paternal uncle (FaBrWi). Among affines I include, besides these spouses of Ego's consanguineal relatives, the consanguineal relatives of these spouses, such as DaHuFa, SoWiFa, &c.

601 *(a) The Spouses of Ego's Kin*

This is the nomenclature of the second class of Ego's affines.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's father		
FaWi	Mama	Mukadata (wife of Fa)
FaBrWi	Mama	Mukadatawacu (wife of FaBr)
FaSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa masenge (husband of FaSi)
MoSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa mamawacu (husband of MoSi)
II. The generation of Ego's grandfather		
FaFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
MoFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. Ego's generation		
BrWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu (wife-our)
BrWi (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramukazi wanjye
SiHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabowacu (husband-our)
SiHu (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramu wanjye

[16] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 87.

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
FaBrDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
FaBrSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaSiSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaSiDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoSiSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
MoSiDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoBrDaHu (f.s.)	Name, Nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoBrSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaFaBrSoSoWi (m.s.) &c.	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
DaHuFa, DaHuMo, SoWiFa, SoWiMo		Muwana wanjye
IV. The generation of Ego's son.		
SoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawanjye (female-mine-through-marriage)
DaHu	Mwana	Mukwewanjye (. . . male . . .)
BrSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu (. . . our)
SiSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu (. . . our)
BrDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu (. . . our)
SiDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu (. . . our)
FaBrSoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
FaBrSoDaHu &c.	Mwana	Mukwewacu
V. The generation of Ego's grandchildren		
SoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
SoDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu
DaDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu
DaSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
BrSoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
SiSoSoWi &c.	Mwana	Mukazanawacu

603 Grandparents by affinity were regarded in the same way as grandparents by consanguinity. Relations with them were symmetrically playful and familiar.

604 The two uncles by affinity (FaSiHu and MoSiHu) were treated with respect because they were older than their nephews and with sympathy in so far as their wives got along well with them. If they did not, the nephews tended to side with their aunts. The ideal behaviour, however, was to act towards the aunts' husband with rather more confidence than towards mere outsiders.

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604 The paternal uncle's wife (FaBrWi) was more deeply connected with Ego's inzu. She bore children who were Ego's parallel cousins; there was no incest taboo between her and Ego's father and if her husband died, she might become a wife of Ego's father. For all these reasons, respectful and almost filial behaviour towards her was expected from Ego.

835 For the affinal relatives of Ego's generation, the rule was quite simple. There was no incest taboo; there was on the contrary a privileged sexual partnership (as described earlier in connexion with the paternal cross-cousins) between a male Ego on the one hand and on the other the wives of his brothers, parallel cousins, and cross-cousins. And the same *mutatis mutandis* when Ego is female.

606 Between Ego and his daughter-in-law (SoWi) there was no incest prohibition, although there was between a female Ego and her son-in-law (her DaHu). This was rationalized by saying that the SoWi is for Ego a little spouse and not a daughter, whereas for the son-in-law, his wife's mother is his mother. As may be imagined the role of SoWi, 'daughter' and rival of her HuMo, was not an easy one as regards Ego and Ego's wife. Her ambivalent situation was reflected in her traditionally expected behaviour. She had to behave respectfully, obediently, and affectionately, as a daughter, towards her parents-in-law, and at the same time she was expected to assume almost an avoidance attitude: she was not allowed to pronounce their names nor even words which sounded similar.

Ego's daughter's husband was expected to conform to the same verbal taboos as regards his father-in-law (Ego) and his mother-in-law (Ego's wife). He was not allowed to eat at his parents-in-law's until his wife had had a child. Even then he never spoke if not invited to. After a certain period of time, however, when the marriage was stable and had produced a few children, relations eventually became freer, though they remained always rather reserved.

601 All other affines of generations following that of Ego were designated by the same term, even if they were not connected through his patrilineal descendents, DaDaHu for instance.

(*b*) *The kin of Ego's wife*

602 Let us now consider the other class of affines, that in which the affinal link is first traced from Ego. These are the consanguineal

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relatives of Ego's spouse among whom we have included the patrilineal kin of the spouse's mother. More exactly, in this total class of potential affines, the Ruanda chose a few of them who they considered as relatives of Ego because for one reason or another they had a certain role to play in his social or cultural life. The others had been neglected. It has been necessary in this case to distinguish between a male and a female Ego.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The first generation above Ego: Male speaking		
WiFa	Sogokuru	Databukwe (father through marriage)
WiMo	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
WiFaBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
WiFaSi	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
WiMoBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
WiFaFaBrSoSo	Sogokuru	Databukwe
&c.		
Female speaking		
HuFa	Sogokuru	Databukwe
HuMo	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
HuFaBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
HuFaSi	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
HuMoBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
HuFaFaBrSoSo	Sogokuru	Databukwe
II. The second generation above Ego: Male speaking		
WiFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
WiFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
WiFaMo	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
WiMoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
&c.		
Female speaking		
HuFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
HuFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
HuMoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
HuFaMo	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
&c.		
III. Ego's generation: Male speaking		
WiSi	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
WiFaBrDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
WiMoSiDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
WiSiHu	Name	Musanzirewanjye
WiFaBrDaHu	Name	Musanzirewacu
WiMoSiDaHu	Name	Musanzirewacu
WiBr	Name	Muramuwanjye
WiBrWi	Name	Muramuwanjye

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
WiFaBrSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoSiSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiFaSiSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiFaSiDa	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoBrSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoBrDa	Name	Muramuwacu
Female speaking		
HuBr	Name	Mugabowacu
HuSi	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuFaBrSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuMoSiSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuFaSiSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuFaSiDa	Name	Mukebawanjye (my rival)
HuMoBrSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuMoBrDa	Name	Mukebawanjye
HuMoSiDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuFaBrDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuWi	Name	Mukebawanjye
HuBrWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)
HuFaBrSoWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)
HuMoSiSoWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)

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601 As has just been mentioned in connexion with the SoWi and the DaHu roles, Ego and his wife were expected to behave respectfully, with restraint as well as with affection towards their parents-in-law. This was reflected in the terminology. WiFa, WiMo, HuFa, HuMo were addressed by the term used for the grandparents. We know that Ego's conduct towards his grandparents was extremely familiar. He had to use the same term for in-laws and was not allowed to pronounce their name. As the preceding nomenclature indicates, the use of the same term of address was extended to all in-laws of the generation above Ego's one. There was again no distinction between the grandparents and great-grandparents who were patrilineal ascendents of the spouse and those who were only in the maternal line.

607 Ego's conduct towards his wife's relatives of the same generation depended mainly on the privileged sex partnership. The determination of those who could be partners was conditioned by the simple principle which assimilates a person to his siblings and parallel cousins. According to this, Ego could have sex relations with those who were assimilated to his wife: her sisters and her parallel cousins. The same applied to a female Ego: her privileged partners are thus her husband's brothers and parallel cousins.

We have indicated what was meant by a sexual privileged

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partnership among cross-cousins and that this was only one aspect of wider behaviour patterns of familiarity and joking. The relations between Ego and certain of his affines should be understood in the same sense. 607 [602]

These relations were reciprocal in the sense that the husband of Ego's partner was also the privileged partner of Ego's wife, as the two husbands had the same relationships of affinity with each other's wives. This reciprocity seemed essential to the working of the system, which otherwise would have been probably too frustrating. The case of the wife of Ego's wife's brother (WiBrWi) confirms this interpretation. Although she was quite unrelated to Ego, there was a kind of 'incest' taboo concerning any relation with her. There was a strict avoidance (Ego was not allowed to stay alone with his WiBrWi) and such a relation was considered to bring ill-luck not only to the partners but to the lineages concerned. The reason for that prohibition, I was told, was that the husband of WiBrWi, being the brother of Ego's wife, was prevented by the incest-taboo from having any reciprocal relations with her. It appears, however, that the common resentment of Ego and his WiBrWi against their common in-laws may have been such that these sanctions were not a sufficient deterrent.

These different patterns of behaviour were expressed in terminology. Ego referred by the same term to his wife's female parallel cousins and by another to her cross-cousins and male parallel cousins. There was also a special term to designate those who are husbands of privileged partners. A female Ego used terms in which similar distinctions appeared. 601

5. SOME COMMENTS ON KINSHIP PRINCIPLES IN RUANDA

(a) *Analytical table of kinship terms*

The attention I have given and have still to give to kinship terminology rests on the assumption that the use of kinship terms indicates what aspects, among the many that could be stressed in a kinship system, have been actually emphasized in a particular society. Terminology indicates first the principles according to which, among the almost unlimited mass of possible relationships some have been given a name and are thus considered as social roles. Secondly, terminology shows the lines of cleavage according to which the totality of relationships have been separated in different classes. 121 601

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128 To investigate systematically the social significance of kinship terminology, some procedure should be adopted whereby every term is analysed from a set of relevant viewpoints. In order to do this we are setting them in the following table. The table recapitulates the sixty-one kinship terms mentioned in the preceding sections and for each of them gives eleven characteristics. In this [113] choice I have followed closely the chapter 'Analysis of Kinship' in Murdock's *Social Structure*.[17]

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		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
[18]Sogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
[18]Sogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Sogo-kuru-za	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru-za	r	dr	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Isogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	d
Data	a	e	+	+	–	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Data	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mama	a	e	+	+	+	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Mama	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mama-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-rume	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Maku-data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-gabo-wa-ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wa-mama-wacu	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Data-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-vandimwe	a	dr	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mw-ene-data	r	ds	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-rumuna-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-saza-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-kuru-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-shiki-wanjye	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mw-ene-datu-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-shiki-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-byara-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-byara-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-gore-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gore-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-ramu-kazi-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gabo-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-ramu-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-saza-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
M-wana-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-mwana-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-ramu-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-sanzire-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	d

[17] Murdock, 1949, pp. 91-112. Quotations in the following paragraphs come from p. 98.

[18] *a* means address; *r* reference.

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		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Mu-sanzire-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	c
Mu-keba-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-keba-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	c
Mw-ana	a	e	–	–	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mu-hungu-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mu-kobwa-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mu-kobwa-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-hungu-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-sengeneza-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-sengeneza-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-kazana-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-kwe-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-kazana-wacu	r	dr	–	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mu-kwe-wacu	r	dr	–	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-za	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ubuvivi	r	e	–	–	–	–	+	+	o	–	–	c
Mw-ene-mama	r	ds	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-ka-data	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	d

1. Linguistic structure.
2. Denotes generation.
3. Denotes sex.
4. Denotes affinity and consanguinity.
5. Denotes lineality and collaterality.
6. Denotes bifurcation.
7. Denotes polarity.
8. Denotes age in generation.
9. Denotes speaker's sex.
10. Denotes decendence of link.
11. Range of application.

In the first vertical line the linguistic structure of the term is given. An elementary term (symbolized by 'e' in the table) is 'an irreducible word which cannot be analysed into component lexical elements with kinship meanings', a derivative term (symbolized by 'dr') is 'compounded from an elementary term and some other lexical element which does not have primarily a kinship meaning' and a descriptive term (symbolized by 'ds') 'combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative'.

In the second line a cross (+) indicates that the term is never applied to two individuals to different generations. The dash (–) points out that it can be so used.

The third characteristic is the sex of the person designated by the term. Again (+) indicates that the term is only applicable to males or females and (–) that it may be applied to persons of either sex.

A cross in the fourth line shows that the term may indicate certain individuals among both affinal and consanguineal relatives of Ego; a hyphen denotes that the term can be applied only either to affines or only to consanguineal kinsfolk. In the assessment of this characteristic, the patrilineal descent group of Ego's mother has been considered as a group of consanguineal relatives of Ego.

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In the following column (—) indicates that the term may be applied only to individuals who belong to the same direct line (people who either descend from one another or have all the same ascendants) or only to persons who are collaterals. For instance if the term A may be applied only to Ego's paternal uncle, Ego's paternal uncle's son, and Ego's paternal uncle's grandson, we say that it denotes only people of the same line. If the term B may be applied to Ego's paternal uncle and to Ego's paternal uncle's cousins, we may say that it denotes only collaterals. A (+) means that the term may be applied to a class of individuals, some of whom are collaterals and some belonging to the same line.

In the sixth line there is a cross for the terms which indicate the sex of the relative who is the link between Ego and the role designated by the term, and there is a hyphen for terms which do not denote the sex of the link. The symbol (o) means that there is no link. When there are several links, only the person directly connected to Ego has been considered. For instance if the same term denotes MoBrSo and MoSiSo but not FaBrSo and FaSiSo, only the direct link to Ego, i.e. Mo has been considered. Consequently in this case the term is bifurcate although it does neglect the sex of the second link: Br or Si.

There is polarity when the two participants in a relationship do not refer to each other by the same term. Consequently a (—) means that the term is used reciprocally by the two participants and a (+) that it is not.

The eighth characteristic concerns distinctions of age within the same generation. A hyphen indicates that the term may be used for the complete range of age variations within one generation; a cross means that it applies only to people of a definite age, absolute or relative, within the generation. The symbol (o) means that a term by definition could not denote age differences within a generation as it applies to different generations.

Next, the speaker's sex is considered. There is a dash for terms which may be used by males and females alike and a cross when they are used only by one of the sexes.

The tenth characteristic, as the sixth, is concerned with the person through whom kinship is traced. A dash indicates that the term applies as well if the link is deceased or living and a cross that it applies only when the connecting person is either alive or dead.

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The last column of the table indicates the range of application of the term: is it classificatory or denotative? Although the nine preceding characteristics are criteria of the range of application, I have considered as denotative not only the terms which have these nine characteristics, but those which show only characteristics 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, i.e. generation, sex, distinction between affinity and consanguinity, lineality and collaterality, bifurcation by sex of connecting relative.

If we sum up the different symbols in the vertical lines, we obtain for the sixty-one terms of the table (fifty-five terms of reference and six of address) the following results:

1. Linguistic structure: 6 elementary terms, 48 derivative, 7 descriptive.
2. 54 denote generation, 7 do not.
3. 43 denote sex of the relative, 18 do not.
4. 54 do not cover both affinal and consanguineal relative together and 7 do.
5. 45 do not denote a class of people including lineal and collateral relatives, 16 do.
6. 34 indicate the sex of the person through whom kinship is traced, 19 do not and in 8 cases the question does not arise as there is no link.
7. 50 terms indicate polarity, 11 do not.
8. 59 do not denote age within generation, 2 do, and in 7 cases they ignore age differences by definition.
9. The speaker's sex is indicated in 16 cases, it is not in 45.
10. There is no case in which it is indicated whether the link is living or dead. Thus, except for the 8 cases in which there is no connecting relative, 53 terms ignore that characteristic.
11. 41 terms are classificatory and 20 are denotative.

(b) *Concluding remarks*

Let me conclude this chapter with a few remarks on the Ruanda system of kinship and affinity. They are suggested by the previous description of kinship roles or by the table.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally and a lineage is a corporate group of agnates. But Ego does not feel that all others are strangers. He lives, as it were, in a cognatic as well as an agnatic world. For help in important questions, when it is necessary for him to assert his rights to be assisted, he turns to his patrilineal kinsmen, but in

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everyday life, when he needs only some slight service, some advice and sympathy, he asks for and receives it from his maternal relatives as easily as from his paternal ones. Moreover, in matters very important to him concerning playmates, sex partners, and marriageable girls, the two groups stand equal: taboo and tolerance apply to maternal as well as to agnatic cousins. Kinship terms, even terms of reference, used to denote the grandparents are the same in both lines.

If the descent groups tend, in many respects, to merge in a kind of cognatic structure, the distinction between affinity and consanguinity is more clearly maintained. Affines are often identified with their spouses who are Ego's kin, and in a situation subordinate to the latter's from the point of view of Ego (as for instance FaSiHu and MoSiHu), or they are considered only in connexion with privileged sexual access. The distinction between affinal and consanguineal relations is emphasized in terminology as only seven terms out of sixty-one denote both affinity and consanguinity relationships. Among the seven, there are five terms of address.

Generation is another focal point of attention in Ruanda kinship relationships. There are broad behaviour patterns expected from people in their relationships simply because they belong to the same or to different generations. Respect should be shown to the members of the generation immediately above, domination and protection are correct behaviour towards people of the generation immediately under Ego, a certain equality tends to prevail between people belonging to the same generation, and there is a great familiarity among those who belong to alternate generations. This is again clearly supported by kinship terminology: fifty-four terms apply only to people of the same generation, whereas only seven fail to denote the generation of the relative. On the other hand, very little attention is paid to age differences within one generation: two terms only denote them, whereas fifty-two do not (in the seven cases left the question does not arise).

In spite of the principle of assimilation of parallel cousins to siblings the distinction in terminology between lineal and collateral relatives is observed more often than would be expected. In forty-five terms, there is no merging and out of the sixteen cases of merging, it should be mentioned that there are six terms of address in which the failure to distinguish is less

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significant because terms of address are more likely to be classificatory. 602 601

Another important principle of cleavage among relatives is sex. Very rarely, as the preceding brief survey of the different kinship roles shows, is kinship behaviour the same towards relatives of both sexes. Out of our list of sixty-one terms, forty-three denote the sex of the relative. Further analysis indicates that what is important is sex in connexion with privileged relations. Terminologically, male parallel cousins of Ego's wife are lumped together with her cross-cousins, whereas her female parallel cousins are designated by another word. This is a case in which the principle of sexual privileged partnership has been more operative than other principles such as descent, &c. The eighteen terms ignoring sex denote relatives with whom Ego could not have sexual relations, either because they would be incestuous or because the difference of age would be too great. It could be argued that sex is not such an important principle in kinship as there are only sixteen terms which denote the speaker's sex and forty-five which do not. I do not think that this objection is a valid one, however, because when terms are not written by an anthropologist but are spoken—as they are meant to be when they are used in everyday life—it is clear to anybody whether the speaker is a man or a woman.

To sum up, the Ruanda kinship system seems to have evolved according to principles stressing the importance of generation and the predominance of an almost cognatic system over affinity, keeping a very clear distinction between lineal and collateral relatives and emphasizing sex especially when connected with privileged sexual access. 601

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CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

I. MARRIAGE

121 59 THE family, the social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction[1] had in Ruanda a conjugal basis[2] that we shall consider in this section.

Married life will not be dealt with here but only the ways and conditions of the establishment of that 'union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are then recogized legitimate offspring of both partners'.[3]

(a) *The choice of a spouse*

582 In a primary marriage (the first that an individual contracts) there were few positive socially recognized criteria of choice and none of them indicated one or a few individuals as preferential partners. Among close kin cross-cousins were possible spouses, but it was generally an unfortunate circumstance that obliged a man to marry his cross-cousin. It was usually either because he was not able to pay bride-wealth immediately, or because his cross-cousin had become pregnant by him. We should add that there was no restricted or generalized exchange among the [114] Ruanda in Lévi-Strauss's sense. On the contrary I was told that because they limited connexions, exchanges were not in favour except in some special circumstances.[4]

In the preceding chapter we have mentioned persons whom Ego was prohibited from marrying because of his relations of kinship or affinity with them. Let me sum up the different categories of these persons.

We may start with that which seems fundamental in the sense

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 1.
[2] Linton, 1936, p. 159.
[3] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 110.
[4] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, pp. 189, 322. There is restricted exchange if, when a man of group A gets a woman from group B, it results in a man of group B claiming a woman from group A. Exchange is generalized if when a woman of group A is given to a man of group B, a woman of B must be given to a man of C and a woman of C may be claimed by a man of A.

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that in questions of exogamy, informants mention it first and attempt to relate other categories to it: I refer to the primary patrilineage (inzu). People descending in the paternal line from a common ancestor did not intermarry because they were of the same blood. The same principle was logically extended to the secondary patrilineage (umulyango). 582 [613]

A second extension of the taboo concerned the maternal kinship group and had a double basis. First the idea that it would be unnatural and horrible to conceive a marriage between Ego and his mother and consequently between him and any person assimilated to her (her sisters and female parallel cousins). Second, because of the tendency to recognize the cognatic principle, some matrilateral relatives were tabooed because their paternal counterparts were tabooed. This applied to the maternal parallel cousins. [835]

Only when Ego was a male was there a third extension to his in-laws. The explanation given is that it seemed distasteful that a man could have intercourse with a girl and her mother. Consequently the wife's mother and all the relatives assimilated to the mother were in the prohibited class.

The same taboo included also sororal nieces and grand-nieces of Ego because he had to assume an avuncular attitude towards them, although they belonged to another patrilineage.

A further extension included the spouses of uncles and aunts. The spouse of an aunt was regarded rather as an uncle, and the spouse of an uncle was regarded rather as an aunt.

Ruanda were so eager to form new connexions with unrelated kinship groups that they were very keenly aware of any factor favouring them. Some informants stressed the function of exogamy rules from that point of view. Increase of social communication by marriage does not explain all the particular prohibitions, however, since some of them were concerned with people of a different patrilineage. Taboos on marriage and sex relations (they were co-extensive) had, it appears, in some cases the function of keeping a certain cohesion within the large group of relatives by kinship and affinity by preventing rivalry. Prohibition of relations between Ego and his WiBrWi could not favour social communication, but it certainly made possible harmonious relations between Ego and his WiBr.

Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and 000

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Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
580 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi
often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed
a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the
sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much
lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a
Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was
particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[562] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems
to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater
than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a
Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his
Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to
informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it
with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are
anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and
Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting inter-
marriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then
had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
582 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
698 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had
lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda
girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important
positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not
travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage
affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom
and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and par-
ticularly those of importance, were less localised than Hutu.
They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to admini-
strative charges in one part of the country, then in another one.
Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully
extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi. 581 [184]

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation. 582

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found to be virgin. 831 [585] [431]

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the 584

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584 girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

583 To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the [834] girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain [585] herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they [784] obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the [684] girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[5]

595 In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the [583] husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[5] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 126–9.

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herself. A widow became the wife of one of her late husband's siblings or agnates designated by the inzu head. Usually an older brother of the husband was chosen. Among the Tutsi this resulted in a levirate: the first husband was still the pater of the children whose genitor was the second husband. Among the Hutu, in similar cases, the genitor was pater. A widower often married a younger sister of his late wife if he was on good terms with his parents-in-law, and if they did not require bride-wealth for the deceased wife's younger sister. This marriage was favoured because it was thought that it was appropriate that the children of the first wife should be brought up by her sister.

(*b*) *The bride-wealth*

Bride-wealth had to be paid before the wedding ritual, but payment could sometimes be delayed. In that case more jugs of beer had to be given.

There were some regional variations in the amount of the bride-wealth, but within one region it did not vary very much within each caste. Among Tutsi it was usually one cow plus some jugs of beverage, and one hoe. The bride-wealth proper was the cow, as the beverages were rather contributions to the different celebrations taking place at the wedding. Among Hutu it was one heifer or cow (which could be replaced by about one dozen goats) and a number of jugs of banana-beer. The following table indicates the average bride-wealth paid by Tutsi and Hutu in the central region of Ruanda. Among Twa bride-wealth was composed of a certain number of pots of beverages.

TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA

A. HUTU

Groom's inzu		*Bride's inzu*
1. Father	one hoe, one jug of beer after agreement →	Father
2. Father	one heifer or twelve to fourteen goats (bride-wealth) from one to three weeks after 1. (*gutenbutsa*) →	Father
3. Groom	household equipment on wedding day (*ibirongoranywa*) ←	Father
4. Groom	one hoe or one sheep or one goat + jugs of beer at the end of seclusion period ←	Father

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583 184 TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA—*cont.*

A. HUTU

Groom's inzu		*Bride's inzu*
5.	one hoe or one sheep or one goat (even one heifer) a week after each birth	
Groom	←	Kinsfolk
6.	counter-bride-wealth (stock increase of the bride-wealth) two or three years after marriage	
Father	←	Father

B. TUTSI

1.	one jug of hydromel, one hoe, one *isando* (forked branch of ficas tree)	
Father	→	Father
2.	one cow (bride-wealth) (*inkwano*) a few days later	
Father	→	Father
3.	one cow (counter-bride-wealth) when the bride leaves her father's homestead	
Father	←	Father
4.	household equipment on wedding day (*indogoranyo*)	
Groom	←	Father
5.	one heifer (*izimano*) on the day following wedding	
Father	→	Male abashyitsi
6.	one steer (*izimano*) on the day following wedding	
Father	→	Female abashyitsi
7.	jugs of beer, pots of milk, sorghum flour (*imitwa*) at the end of seclusion period	
Groom	←	Father
8.	one cow, jugs of beer, pots of milk at each birth (*ibihembo*)	
Groom	←	Kinsfolk

583 All our informants agree that bride-wealth was not considered very expensive. Moreover, counter-gifts were about as high. The girl's father had to provide the young couple with household equipment and to give the husband's father a counter-bride-wealth approximately equivalent to the bride-wealth itself. Among Tutsi it was proper to give the counter-gift before the wedding. Hutu gave back another heifer not later than after the third calving of the bride-wealth cow. In addition valuable gifts were given by the wife's kinsfolk after each birth.

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Bride-wealth was definitely not a compensation for the economic loss entailed by the girl's departure from her patrilineage. Her departure was not an impoverishment of her group because it provided it with a new alliance with another descent group; all informants agree on that. Bride-wealth was the socially recognized symbol of the legitimate transfer of fertility from one descent group to another. As long as bride-wealth had not been given, children borne by the woman were considered as belonging to her inzu (they are called *nkuli*). The husband was only their genitor, not their pater. 583 583 851

Bride-wealth received by the girl's father was not to be used only to provide the bride's brother with a wife. There was no direct relation between a man's possibility of getting a wife and his sister's marriage. 583

(c) *The wedding ceremonies*

Wedding ceremonies (*ubukwe*) taking place at the groom's father's were very long and complicated. The central rite constituting the wedding was the spitting on the bride's head of chewed herbs mixed with milk, and the placing on her head of a garland made of the leaves of a certain plant (*umuwishywa*). Other rites symbolized the dominance of the patrilineages' interests in the marriage. Both inzu were represented by two groups, the *abashyitsi*, the agnatic relatives of the bride, and *abasangwa*, agnatic relatives of the groom. When the rite was accomplished, *abashyitsi* had to express sorrow by their laments and *abasangwa* to rejoice loudly. Another rite stressed the concern of the kin-groups in the intimate relations between the spouses. A younger brother or paternal parallel cousin of the bride had to lie between the new spouses during some part of their first night together (*gucahagati*). The groom had to beg him to leave. I was told that this signified that it was the bride's patrilineage which had to give permission for the first intercourse. Moreover, after the central rite and before the first intercourse, the father and mother of the groom and the father and mother of the bride had to have sexual relations. If the girl's parents (who did not attend the wedding party) were living far away, the young couple sometimes had to wait for a couple of days before having intercourse.[6] 585 [824] [613]

The high value of virginity was also symbolically stressed.

[6] On wedding celebration, see Kagame, 1954, pp. 143-72.

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585 Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have [693] been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his [428] share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their 591 own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

(*d*) *Polygynous unions*

595 Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, [556] as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which [842] were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[114] [7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

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connexions with several inzu. These important chiefs sometimes had more than four wives. 595

Our informants were aware of these different functions of polygyny, but it did not seem necessary for them to look for reasons why people are polygynous. It appeared obvious to them that everybody wanted to have several wives.

(*e*) *Divorce*

Marriage could be ended by divorce (*gutana*). The parents of both spouses and their patrilineage heads usually took part in the various preparatory steps. Nevertheless, divorce was not decided by them, but resulted from the will of the spouses or even from the will of one of them. 586

Divorce itself was usually preceded by one or several temporary separations (*kwahukana*), although these separations did not necessarily lead to divorce. The wife left her husband and went to her parents', or to her husband's parents', or to her husband's brother's home. She complained that her husband had insulted her, beaten her, neglected her, was lazy, &c. The fathers of both spouses then met, talked to the husband, and tried to persuade him to take his wife back, and her to return to him. Very often it was difficult to convince them because the spouse who initiated the separation merely wanted it to be temporary in order to exert a certain pressure on the other. So married life was resumed.

It is to be noted that whoever felt wronged, it was always the wife who left and that among well-to-do people she was never expelled by her husband. He merely showed her by his behaviour (not spending the night with her, &c.) that she was unwanted, and then she left.

For a divorce the procedure was essentially similar to that of a temporary separation. The wife left when either she or her husband definitely wanted to end the marriage. Of course there was very strong pressure from both kin-groups to keep the marriage going, in order not to break the alliance between the two patrilineages. Consequently, the spouse who wanted divorce had to try to convince both inzu and public opinion at large that he (or she) was in one of the cases socially recognized as providing legitimate grounds for divorce. These grounds were for a wife: repeated ill-treatment by her husband, his failure to support her, and his refusal to cohabit with her. Impotence was not regarded as

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586 sufficient grounds, as in that case the wife had the right of cohabitation with one of her husband's agnates. Socially accepted grounds of divorce for a husband were his wife's neglect of domestic duties, or repeated adultery with a non-privileged partner. Sterility was not a reason for divorce as the man could always take another wife.

The divorced woman left with her only belongings—her clothes. Usually the husband gave her new clothes on that occasion. If bride-wealth and counter-gifts had been exchanged, nothing had to be given by either father. If bride-wealth had been paid, but not the counter-gifts, bride-wealth had to be returned except either where children had been born or where there were other marriage links between the two lineages concerned. If bride-wealth had not been paid, children went to live with their mother's kinsfolk unless their father paid the bride-wealth later. If bride-wealth was not returned and there were no children, the children borne by the wife in a following marriage could be claimed by the former husband.

Young children stayed with their divorced mother till they were seven or eight years old. They were then sent to their father's home where they were taken care of by another of his wives. Later on these children could visit their mother whenever they wished.

587 Divorced women usually married again easily. Their bride-wealth was lower and its payment was delayed till after marriage. But if it was felt that they were responsible for the failure of their previous marriage, then they did not always find another husband.

(f) *Celibacy*

589 Voluntary celibacy was unknown in Ruanda. Every man wanted to be married, to have children and a place of his own. Every girl wanted to be a mother. Those who were impotent (*ibirumba*) usually did not marry. Lepers (*ababembe*), the insane (*abatazi*), [582] and people ill with tuberculosis (*abanyagitundu*) were forbidden to [734] marry. Girls who had refused a husband often remained unmarried, as few men wanted to take the chance of being refused also. Single people lived with their kinsmen. Sometimes Tutsi bachelors were given a homestead and servants by their fathers.

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2. THE FAMILY

Two basic types of family were to be found in Ruanda: the 594
nuclear family which was the most widespread, and the poly- 595
gynous family. The Ruanda polygynous family constituted a type
of organization fundamentally different from the nuclear family. 595
It was not just a nuclear family with a few more persons, the
secondary wives and their children, but a structure composed of
several elements, each of them constituting almost a nuclear family
from the sexual, economic, procreational, and educational points
of view. On the other hand, the polygynous family was not an
aggregate of nuclear families because the uniqueness of the
husband gave to the various elements a type of integration different
from that merely of a sum of nuclear families.

A nuclear family (*rugo*) was composed of a man, his wife, and 594
their children. It could happen that some additional persons lived 592
with them, such as the widowed mother of one of the spouses or an
old female relative (old men usually lived by themselves, with the
help of a grandson). There could also be a child, a son, or a
daughter of the husband's brother or even of the husband's sister
(if the bride-wealth had not been given for his sister), or a child
of the wife's brother.

Adopted children were also included in the rugo. These could 597
only be children who had no lineage relatives left. Tutsi children,
when adopted by Tutsi, were treated, while they were young, as if
they were the adopter's own children; Hutu children if adopted by
Tutsi were considered as clients. But adoption did not confer the
full status enjoyed by an offspring of the adopter: the ward could
marry a descendant of his foster-father. Cases of adoption seem
to have been frequent and people appear to have been so eager to
adopt that we may suspect that all the advantages were not for the
child. The Ruanda highly appreciated all children, and this attitude
accounts for the fact that a child was as such always welcomed in a
family. Moreover, the man adopting a child expected more
material advantages: a girl's marriage brought him the benefit
of a new family connexion and boys could be as useful as his
sons without having a right to inheritance. Our informants say
that most of the boys when grown up fled away, hoping to find
some distant relative of their own.

The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called 000

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The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called
594 by the same name, rugo. I have described earlier this complex dwelling place composed of intersecting circular enclosures. In
[592] the case of rich people, their clients during their time of service
[559] and their servants had huts in the compound.

The compound, surrounded by fields and banana-groves, and not far from pastures, was situated on that part of the paternal homestead given by the father to his son at the latter's wedding. If the father's homestead was not large enough to provide all his sons with areas to live on, the young couple either had to ask the political authority to allocate them a plot, or they had to rent one belonging either to a relative or an unrelated person.

595 The ideal type of residence of a polygynous family was a compound for each wife surrounded by its own cultivated area. These rugo could be on the same homestead or on several homesteads. The latter arrangement was more frequent with Tutsi than with Hutu. None of these compounds was more important than the others, except occasionally. The husband had no rugo regarded as being more his residence than the others.

Between these two sharply different types of family organization, there were intermediate kinds. If it happened that a Ruanda wanted a second wife, he looked for one even if he could not afford a second compound. She lived then in the same compound as the first wife, in a separate hut. But such an arrangement was regarded as unfortunate, and should be assimilated to that of a nuclear family notwithstanding the plurality of wives.

121 We will now consider whether and how these types of organization fulfilled the functions that might be expected of any type of family, for some of these functions seem to be fulfilled by all the family structures known, and the others by most of them. The points to be considered are: sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, socialization, and ritual.

(a) *Sexual relations*

581 The Ruanda distinguish the sexual from the procreational function of marriage. Neither the husband, nor apparently the wife, ever feared (except in very unhappy circumstances of poverty) that pregnancy might result from any particular act of
[842] intercourse; on the contrary such an event was usually longed for. As some informants said, why have relations with a sterile woman? Sexuality, however, had for them a value in itself.

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For husband and wife, sex was not only that pleasurable 831
activity in which tensions are released, but it was also linked with feelings of affection and sympathy. Moreover, as some cases of prohibition and obligation make it clear, it was a means of participating in collective feelings and of relating oneself to natural processes and rhythms.

For men, marriage was not the only socially approved means of 836
obtaining sexual gratification. Before marriage young Tutsi were often given Hutu temporary concubines, wives or daughters of their father's clients. Moreover, they, as well as young Hutu, had privileged partners: married cross-cousins, brothers', and parallel cousins' wives. If they had affairs with unrelated women or even related or unrelated girls, the blame and the risk were for the latter more than for themselves. But as these affairs were occasional and had to be kept secret, marriage brought to men stability, continuity, and quietness in their sexual life. Homosexuality was [838]
widespread among Tutsi and Hutu young men. For girls, any heterosexual activity before marriage was strictly prohibited and severely sanctioned. After marriage, their sexual needs could be satisfied not only with their husbands but with their privileged partners.

Cohabitation was an obligation for each spouse. Refusal over a 833
certain time—one, two or three weeks according to different in- [586]
formants—was a cause of temporary separation or even of divorce (of course this does not refer to a refusal based on culturally accepted reasons such as illness or menstruation). Frequency of intercourse is said to have been up to three times a day for Tutsi when they were newly married, then once a day for young people, and about once every other day later on. Hutu accounts suggest that the average frequency was not as high in their group (once a day for newly married, every other day for young people, and twice or once a week later on). The difference was attributed to the more leisurely life of Tutsi. 'They were not tired by work in the fields.' Women were said to be more eager than men but I was told by some informants that men thought this 'because they never refused intercourse'. Women, however, had to behave in a restrained way and to leave the initiative to men. It was very improper for a wife to manifest pleasure or to be other than purely passive during love-play and intercourse. Both partners sat or lay on their sides. Coitus with the woman lying on her back

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833 under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family
[595] the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some
864 parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and
838 flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

831 Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not
837 available, it was socially permitted to have another partner
835 (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when
[843] she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a
[833] minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his
[593] travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with
[484] them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few
548 Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

831 The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

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physiological aspect of sexuality. They do not seem to have thought 831
of sexual relations as the fulfilment of a romantic love between two
individuals meant to mate with each other and nobody else. The
way spouses were chosen by the two patrilineages prevented any [581]
such ideas, for the choosing of spouses rested on the assumption
that any boy and any girl of the right age and reasonably attractive
could be good partners in marriage and sexuality. But feelings of
sympathy and affection developed later as a result of their life
together rather than as its basis. According to our informants,
love, in the sense of attractiveness based on individual characteristics, was greater in non-marital relations. 'One slept with a
certain woman to make her happy because one liked her,' I was
told.

Various prohibitions and obligations indicate how sexuality 834
in marriage was related to events concerning the community and 765
the patrilineage. During the mourning period for the husband's
father and mother, which lasted one, two or three months according to the region, intercourse was prohibited for both husband
and wife. It was also prohibited for one moon after the death of the
wife's child, and for two or three moons for the surviving spouse
when one of the spouses died. The meaning of this taboo was not 765
only that one had to refrain from enjoying oneself when one 831
should have been in sorrow. It meant also a certain symbolic
participation in death or in the diminution of life affecting the
patrilineage. This is, I think, what informants have in mind when
they say in this connexion that sex is a sacred activity. This
interpretation seems to be supported by what happened when a
king died. Not only had all Ruanda to be continent for a certain
period (some informants said two moons, others one year),
but the bulls were separated from cows and rams from sheep. The
king (*mwami*) was identified with Ruanda. If he was strong, Ruanda
was strong, if he was getting old and weak, he had to commit [643]
suicide because he endangered the country's life. In that context, [762]
if animals were prevented from mating it was to express symbolically the idea of the death of the community rather than, it
seems, to deny them pleasure.

On the other hand, intercourse was obligatory when events 833
fortunate for the patrilineage or the community at large occurred.
For instance when a new hut was occupied, when six days had
passed after the birth of a child, when the first teeth of the baby

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833 were growing, when a child had his hair cut in tufts for the first time, at the initiation into the Ryangombe sect, when a daughter was asked to marry, on the wedding day of a son or a daughter, on the accession of a new king, at sowing time, and at the celebration for July harvesting. All these events were happy and joyful because they were growths or increases in life. Intercourse was also obligatory at the end of the mourning periods when life had to go on and start again after that period of abeyance.

This obligatory intercourse took place between husband and wife. When it was impossible because one of the spouses was absent or dead, one had to rely upon a privileged partner, or, if this was impossible, had to get medicine prepared from certain herbs by a diviner.

There was no prohibition of intercourse between the spouses [853] during the suckling months (the first eighteen to twenty-four).

(*b*) *Economic co-operation*

595 The nuclear family and, to a large extent each wife's compound [594] in polygamous cases, was a self-sufficient unit of economic co-operation. Among rich Tutsi who could afford separate homesteads for their wives, each wife was in fact the superintendent of her own. She had to command her husband's clients, servants, cultivators, and herdsmen. It was no wonder that women who could be entrusted with such responsibilities were respected within their family and in society at large. If the homestead was small, as among ordinary Tutsi, or consisted only of a small cultivated plot, as among most Hutu polygamists, each of these wives had, nevertheless, some economic responsibility, even if it was only that of working by herself in the fields. This important participation of polygynous wives in the management of a small unit of production and consumption, should be studied in relation to the 562 status of women in Ruanda.[9] This status was by no means equal to that of men but it was far from being one of slavery. Tutsi [593] husbands and wives ate together, the wife was consulted by her husband on many problems, and she was treated with much politeness. The Hutu were ruder and more temperamental, but they followed a more or less similar pattern. Under the present administration there are two or three women, widows of Tutsi chiefs, who act as sub-chiefs. The mere fact that it is taken for

[9] See Naigiziki, 1959.

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granted that a woman may fulfil these functions emphasizes the high status that women have enjoyed in Ruanda society. It is tempting to regard their status as a consequence of the economic responsibilities of the polygynous wives when replacing their husbands. 562

Besides this form of economic collaboration, wives, in nuclear as well as in polygynous families, had to perform certain economic tasks within the rugo. The activities which belonged exclusively to the wife, though she was sometimes helped by her daughters and certain other females were, for women of any caste: cleaning and brushing the hut and the enclosure, milk churning, and basket-making. In addition to these, Tutsi women made particular objects in basket-work (such as screens used in the hut, very finely woven plates, &c.), butter perfumed with the wood of a certain tree *umubavu* (such butter was used as a cosmetic), and garments in bead work. Hutu women had to cook and to apportion food. In agriculture their particular tasks were to sow and plant, to grind sorghum, and to sift peas. Twa women simply cooked. 462 84 [285] [303]

The husband's contributions to the economic activities of the compound were, among the Tutsi, cattle-rearing and hunting (for the hides and skins); among the Hutu, hut-building, minding cattle (if they had any), felling the bush, and usually all the agricultural tasks requiring considerable physical strength. Moreover, they prepared bark-cloth and skins and forged iron implements. Among the Twa, husbands hunted and made bows and iron weapons.

The principles underlying this division of economic tasks exclusively performed by males or females were according to informants that men should carry out tasks which either were particularly hard, or required intelligence, had to be performed far from the compound, or were thought 'noble'.

Most other duties could be performed by men or women and were shared between husband and wife according to individual arrangements. Such activities were, for instance, in the case of the Tutsi: watching labourers working in the fields, and supervising them, doing menial tasks such as mending the enclosure, milking the cows or looking after the herds. For the Hutu they were: harvesting, brewing beer, drawing water, cutting and collecting wood, lighting and maintaining fires, making mats and baskets, &c. For the Twa: pot-making and brewing beer.

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592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(c) *Procreational function*

181 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and 554 cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children 557 was almost indispensible for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, 858 extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby reinforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained [556] later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one [571] party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

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Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10]

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1955, pp. 85-86.

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cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

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woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child. 851 586

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother. 842 [935] [853] 847 824

(d) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place. 854 [885]

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization. 855 593 604

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to 857 [862] 868 857 000

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Boys from Twelve To

883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several
[22A] days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place
869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage
[603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grandfather. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of
867 behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed
[868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to
[869] be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she
[428] was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

595 The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been
593 mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favour-
183 ite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But
[152] according to all out informants, the modal and covert behaviour was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amihali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and
COD one wife used to refer to another as her *muheba*, rival. In these

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conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(*e*) *Ritual function*

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

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769 not injure the living. Consequently the cult addressed to the *bazimu* (spirits of the dead) was essentially aimed at appeasing them. When an unfortunate event was ascribed to a dead relative's [182] ire by the diviner, the spirit had to be placated by the immolation of a goat or even a bull.

These practices were symbolic. It was not implied that the *bazimu* really drank the milk, ate the meat, or slept with the girl. [262] When a goat or a steer was offered, most of it was eaten by members of the family. Other practices are more difficult to interpret. It sometimes happened that water was given to the spirits and at the same time they were told very loudly that it was milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* were regarded as rather stupid and that these mock offerings were not given to the ancestors who were respected but only to the collaterals who, as *bazimu*, were hated. To have feared powerful *bazimu*, however, [183] and at the same time to have deceived them so grossly does not appear very coherent and requires, I think, further explanation.

Every fourth reign, there was an important ritual connected with the final burial of the fourth predecessor of the king. As all *bazimu* were thought to accompany the spirit of the king long ago deceased, their cult was abolished. The inzu heads, however, continued to be remembered.[18]

[18] Kagame, 1947, pp. 377-86.

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[p. 89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production. 433

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production? 592 [438]

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce. 463 [184] 412

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view. 471

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased 423

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim 421

1. [rugo: The basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 30 -- analyst]

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421 different uses of the same thing. For instance, one person could have the right to sow a plot and to collect the harvest and another to use it for grazing purposes at another time of the year. Neither of them was considered as the owner letting somebody else use his property as a pasture or as a ground for cultivation.

423 643 On each pasture, cultivated plot or forest area, the king had a right very similar to the *dominion eminens* of Roman law, the kind of public ownership that a State has over the land within the borders. But he had also the right to prevent, if he chose to do so, somebody from using a particular tract of land in any way at all, which amounts to saying that the mwami had over land a right potentially superior to that of anybody else. The mwami's rights could be opposed to 'private rights'. In fact, the king very rarely insisted on this use of his rights and then only when he wanted to punish somebody who was guilty of disobedience or of some other crime.

423 651 The land chief's and cattle chief's rights to fields and pastures will be considered later in the section dealing with the administration. Suffice it to say here that these tax-collectors had the right to evict people for certain offences and to allocate land to newcomers in their districts.

423 The person endowed with rights on land for cultivation purposes was the head of a family (*rugo*). Mostly these rights came 425 to him from his father's inheritance. Sometimes, however, it was a [428] part of the bush that he had himself cleared. If he had not received enough from his father to support his family, he extended his plot in this way with the agreement of the political authority. If, because of a dispute with his brothers, he wanted to move elsewhere and the land chief could not allocate him a field already prepared at the place where he wanted to settle, he did the same. Such a plot was called *buhonde* as long as it was occupied either by the man who had cleared it or by his descendants. A third source of cultivation rights was the assignment by the land chief of a plot already prepared (*inhangu*). The former user of it had either to be evicted by the authority, or had left, or had died without heirs.

In the same way the family head had the right to use a certain area as pasture for his cattle either by inheritance, or by felling the trees of a tract of forest or by having it conceded by the cattle chief.

000 At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective

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At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective rights over certain areas except in the north of Ruanda (Mulera, Rwankeri, Bushiru, Bigogwe) where the Tutsi occupation had been more superficial. I have been told that there the soil belonged to the patrilineage and that there was no land or cattle chief. From the point of view of the individual, however, the situation was very similar: he inherited a share of his father's tract. The difference was that, if the part were insufficient, he had to apply for more to the lineage head instead of to the land-chief, and a plot left without heirs returned to the patrilineage instead of the political authority. 613 423 [425]

The person entitled to the use of a plot could not sell his right but could let the tract. The rent was about one hoe every other year plus a jug of beer each harvest. The tenant was not permitted to settle by building a hut or planting banana trees. 423 427

The Twa resented very much the expansion of fields and pastures in the forests they regarded as their possession. The authority was not concerned with the way they divided it into hunting areas.[1] 311

2. RIGHTS OVER CATTLE

The rights over each head of cattle were also manifold. Property in the Western sense was split up into different aspects. 422

A global right existed over all Ruanda cattle, even sheep and goats, by which the king could claim actual possession of any of them. The mwami used this right more frequently, it seems, over cattle than over land. An important chief indulging in intrigues regarded as dangerous by the king might find himself dispossessed of all his cattle. The king's right over all the cattle of Ruanda was a constant threat which seems to have very effectively deterred the Tutsi of the ruling set from becoming too independent. 422 643 [662]

Another right was very similar to our bare ownership. The person who had it was not in possession of the cow but could at any time claim possession of the animal and the heifers and cows produced by that beast since the time when the possession had been transferred. This was the right of the lord (*shebuja*). 422

In contrast there was the usufruct right with respect to cattle. The person endowed with it could dispose of the milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the dead cows. This was the typical right of the client (*garagu*).

[1] For a more extended account of the land tenure system in traditional Ruanda, see Maquet and Naigiziki, 1957.

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422 Sometimes these rights (bare ownership and usufruct) were possessed by the same person. The cattle concerned were then called *imbata*.[8]

3. INHERITANCE RULES

768 When the father died, the family unit of which he had been the head did not disappear as well. Some of the family functions had still to be carried on for some time: the younger sons had to be given a wife and the bride-wealth paid for them, the younger daughters had to be married, and perhaps young children had still to be taken care of by their mother for several years. In order that the family unit should be able to perform its tasks before its breakdown, it was necessary that the duties of the rugo head should continue to be fulfilled. Consequently the father chose one of his
592 sons who could be trusted with that role (*umutware w'urugo rwa se:* head of his father's family). He was often, but not always, the eldest son of the first wife. The father could even choose a brother or one of his parallel cousins if he thought none of his sons was capable. The father's choice could always be reversed by the lineage head or the political chief or even the lord, if it appeared unwise to these authorities or if it was the cause of complaints from the other members of the family.

593 It was the father who was endowed, as we have just seen, with
421 rights to land and cattle. The totality of these rights plus goods such as trees, huts, and household implements, constituted his patrimony.

If there was no declaration of will, custom determined the
428 division of the patrimony according to the following rules.

The first heirs were the sons of the deceased, or, failing these, his brothers, then his paternal male parallel cousins, his grandsons, the sons of his brothers and their male paternal parallel cousins, his paternal uncles. Then any male in the inzu or the umulyango. If there was no known kinsman left, the political authority (land or cattle chief) or the lord was the heir. In that case the patrimony might be divided according to the kind of rights left, for instance those over cattle went to the lord, those over land to the land chief. Or the more powerful authority was able to secure for himself the whole of the inheritance.

[8] See Vanhove, 1941, pp. 48-59, for still other, but less important, rights over cattle.

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Nothing was definitely left to the wife, the daughters or the affines. But the wife had the usufruct of the rugo in which she had been living while she still had young children to care for. Even when all the children were married, it happened frequently among Tutsi that the wife remained in the rugo till her death. This was usual when the widow married one of her husband's consanguineal relatives, or did not marry again. If she married a man completely alien to her former husband's patrilineage, usually she had to leave the rugo.

The father, before he died, had already given a share of the inheritance to each of his married sons, at the time of the wedding. Consequently, what was left at the father's death had to be divided among the sons who had not yet received anything. In principle rights to cattle as well as to land were equally shared. When bare ownership of cattle was divided between the sons of a lord, the clients of the father became clients of the son to whom the bare ownership of a particular cow or herd of cattle had been ascribed. When usufruct on cattle had to be inherited, the successors became clients of the people who had the bare ownership of the same cattle. But the lord had to agree on the choice of his new client.

In a polygynous family the principle of equality of shares held good for each rugo. Consequently the shares of the sons of the same father could vary considerably if the number of sons of each wife was very dissimilar.

The son chosen as head of the rugo had a supplementary share (*ingarigari*) as he had more economic responsibilities. Normally he received it before his father's death. This was called *gukubita itoko*, to stroke the thigh, meaning to give a favour.

Debts owed by the deceased were divided between his heirs, but the family head had to meet a greater part than the others. Judiciary fines were cancelled by the death of the debtor. When the deceased was creditor, the debt had to be paid by the rugo head who shared it with his co-heirs.

The father could also make a will and usually did. He could alter the traditional procedure within rather narrow limits, and for reasons regarded as valid by the patrilineage head or sometimes the political chief or the lord. A son who had been cursed was *ipso facto* disinherited. A son could be punished in the same way

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without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

4. LABOUR

Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.

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Servants' labour belonged completely to their masters. These servants (*abatindi* for men, *abaja* for women) were either war captives or simply very poor people (this is the first meaning of the word *abatindi*). Their payment consisted in receiving food, shelter, and clothing from their masters. Sometimes it was agreed that after a certain period of time (such as three years) the master would either pay the bride-wealth to provide the servant with a wife or would even give him his own daughter. 357 461 [727]

Family heads were the only persons who could dispose of their own labour resources, with the exception of that part required by the lord and the political authority. 593

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Almost any Ruanda family head could command enough rights to capital goods and labour to make his rugo self-supporting, with a certain surplus for his chief and his overlord. But these rights were not finally his. The ultimate control of the factors of production was not his. Labour, land, and cattle, in that order, were increasingly slipping away from his control. Command of the factors of production and political power was so interwoven in Ruanda social structure that they are to be analysed together in the following chapter devoted to the political organization. 491 [182]

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[P.96]

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

I. DEFINITIONS

121 POLITICAL organization is a sector of the social structure not easy to define.

The phrase, widely used in everyday speech, immediately evokes the idea of government and rulers. That is to say, persons who deal with matters which are important because they concern the group as a whole and consequently the commonweal. Moreover, these persons are authorities, and are powerful; what they have decided will be carried out. Often they enjoy many privileges which they usually attempt to justify and which they try in any event to keep and to increase. Finally, they have relations with their counterparts in other groups: they discuss with them on an equal footing, sometimes they threaten them or are threatened by them and by opposing the forces of their groups they try to settle the dispute to their advantage.

The term 'political' thus suggests to us persons (chiefs, governing bodies), abstract ideas (authority, power), certain kinds of activities (which are called 'public'), a value which should be the aim of the action of the chiefs (the commonweal), the private interests of the rulers, diplomacy, and war. These elements are too numerous and varied for all of them to be included in a useful definition at the beginning of an inquiry.

A distinction must be made between the use of 'political' in an intragroup or intergroup context. Political relations between two groups have a completely different meaning from those existing between people belonging to the same group. Let us begin by an intragroup definition to use in the present inquiry.

(a) *Intragroup political organization*

A political organization is the totality of culturally patterned relationships between certain individuals who possess the legitimate use of physical force and all the others who inhabit a certain territory at a certain time.

The first words of this definition, *a totality of relationships*,

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indicate the level of reality we are dealing with. As any social system, political organization is a reality composed of relationships between men. What differentiates each system is how the human actors in the relationship are defined. A kinship system, for instance, is made of relationships between persons defined in terms of descent and siblinghood.

These relationships are *culturally patterned*. Political behaviour is not to be invented. Any well-socialized member of the group knows what is expected of him.

The two actors in a political relation are members of the *same group* which has a *territorial* basis. We follow here the majority of sociologists for whom a political organization must be linked to a territory. This certainly seems a necessary condition for the use of physical force, an essential part of the definition. As men are situated in space, it would not be possible for their rulers to inflict on them a physical coercion, or at least to threaten them effectively with it, if the rulers had not the control of a certain area where those who are to be submitted to pressure live. The *time* dimension is added. Indeed it is not necessary that the group inhabits always the same territory. For instance, nomads moving each season to new grazing land do not have a constant territorial basis, but they have a territory in the sense that their group has at any time the ultimate control of a certain area, even if that area is different every day.

Among members of the same group, what distinguishes the political relationship from others is that one of the actors possesses the legitimate use of *physical force*. This element of coercion has been stressed by many sociologists and anthropologists. For Oppenheimer, the origin of the state lies in the force used in conquest.[1] Max Weber speaks of 'that human association which within a definite sphere . . . successfully claims the monopoly of legitimate physical force'.[2] Lowie writes that 'the state embraces the inhabitants of a definite area who acknowledge the legitimacy of force when applied by individuals whom they accept as rulers or governors'.[3] Radcliffe-Brown, too, emphasizes the physical force component of a political organization: '. . . the organized exercise of coercive authority through the use, or the possibility of use, of physical force'.[4] MacIver and Page regard coercion or

[1] See Oppenheimer, 1922. [2] Quoted by Lowie, 1948, p. 156.
[3] Lowie, 1948, p. 317.
[4] Radcliffe-Brown in Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. xiv.

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121 the threat of it as characteristic of the political law.[5] Such quotations can be easily multiplied.

It could be objected that some of the authors quoted above deal with the state rather than with political organization in general. The two terms are used here almost as synonyms. The only difference is that the word 'state' implies a greater emphasis on the stability and the permanence of the group which has the capacity to exert physical coercion.

Those in the dominant situation will be called rulers, superiors; the others, subjects, inferiors.

It is not necessary that compulsion be applied; it is sufficient that it could be made effective.

The term *legitimate* has no Western moral connotation here. It only means that the group regards physical coercion as a proper reaction when coming from some individuals. If it is admitted in a particular society that the chief has the right of life and death over all his subjects whether they have committed an offence or not, the suppression of anybody when ordered by the chief is legitimate. But when a thief steals valuables from somebody under the threat of harming him, the victim, in our society and probably in any other, is regarded as having been submitted to illegitimate coercion.

The preceding definition mentions neither the explicit aim nor the function of that totality of culturally patterned relationships. In his definition, Radcliffe-Brown includes the function of political organization which is, according to him, 'the maintenance or the establishment of social order'.[6] Herskovits mentions 'the regulation of affairs that concern the group as a whole'.[7] Indeed a functional definition is intellectually more satisfactory. But it should follow an analysis and not precede it. It is true that in any society certain social functions must be fulfilled if the group is to subsist and perpetuate itself (there must be a means to collect food, to distribute it, to obtain the security necessary to raise and educate children, &c.), and other functions may be fulfilled (such as the provision of the individual with certain comforts in the difficulties of life, with a world-view, &c.). But in spite of several attempts,[8] no satisfactory exclusive connexions have been established between these different functions and particular institutions

[5] Cf. MacIver and Page, 1949, p. 456.
[6] Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. xiv. [7] Herskovits, 1948, p. 327.
[8] For instance, Malinowski, 1931, p. 645; 1944, pp. 91 f, pp. 125 f.

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which fulfil them. As we have seen previously, the Ruanda family organization had several functions (sexual, economic, reproductive, educational, ritual), some of which also belong elsewhere to other institutions. The same institution, religion for instance, may be a factor of social cohesion in one society, yet it may break the unity of another. Moreover, the same structure may have functions varying with time as the modern state which directly takes care of the welfare and health of the people living in its territory.

Consequently it seems better to distinguish clearly a social structure from the functions it may fulfil. By analysing an institution in a particular social context, we shall be able to determine what are its functions in the particular society studied.

(*b*) *Power*

Frequently what is political is identified with what concerns power. Lasswell has listed a series of social values and a series of institutions through which these values are formalized and shared among the members of a group. He indicates 'government' as the institution corresponding to 'power'.[9] This means that the political organization is the network through which power is distributed within a group. This conception does not seem to fit with Lasswell's own notion of power (which I entirely accept)—an interpersonal situation in which a severe deprivation may be inflicted by one person on another[10]—according to which power relations should be considered a *genus* of which a political relation is a *species*. Political relation is indeed power relation: to exert physical coercion against somebody, even if it is legitimate, is surely a way of inflicting severe deprivation on him. But all power relations are not necessarily political. An employer may threaten his employee to dispossess him of his livelihood. This is a power relation but it is not political.

(*c*) *Social power*

Another sort of power to be distinguished from political power is *social power*. It is an interpersonal relationship in which each of the human actors belongs to a different group or stratum of the same society; because of these different affiliations only, one person is able to exert pressure on the other.

[9] Lasswell, 1948, p. 17.
[10] Lasswell, 1948, pp. 10-14. See also Russell, 1938, pp. 35 f.

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(*d*) *Intergroup political relations*

121 Intergroup political relations are essentially different. They do not imply inferiority and superiority. The opposite assumption is made: the two groups are supposed to be independent and equal. If by diplomacy or by war one succeeds in subduing the other, the subsequent unequal relations will be more similar to intragroup than to intergroup political relations.

If our definition of intragroup political organization be accepted, the word 'political' when applied to intergroup relations conveys a different and derivative meaning. Those who control legitimate coercion within a social structure are also those who are qualified to enter into intergroup relations. Subjects do not represent their own group, only rulers do. The ability to deal with intergroup relations results from a superior situation in internal political relations. In that sense, the political external relations may be said to be secondary. In the following account of Ruanda political organization the emphasis will be on the primary political relations, the internal ones.

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642 571 In Ruanda, there were two types of relationships sanctioned by legitimate coercion on the part of the superior. Consequently we may distinguish within the political organization two structures which may be termed administrative and military. Another system of social relations was the clientage structure or the feudal organization. It occupied an intermediate position between the political and the private spheres. It was not purely political, but it was much more than a private agreement such as a loan. Consequently the feudal relations in Ruanda will be considered in close connexion with the administrative and military ones.

[183] 641 The three structures were interwoven and interconnected at each level. This was particularly the case at the top and at the bottom. The mwami held the supreme position in the three systems and the commoners were taxpayers, members of an army, and clients. In the intermediate levels it happened, too, that a superior and an inferior were linked by several ties: one could be at the same time the lord and the cattle-chief of an individual, and the client of one's army chief.

I shall describe and analyse each structure separately.

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2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

(a) *Districts, hills, and neighbourhoods*

From the point of view of territorial administration, the border zones were distinguished from the rest of the country. Border zones which were permanently threatened by foreign attack were administered by the chief of the army, the headquarters, and camp of which situated in the region. The centre of Ruanda and the regions which were close to a foreign territory not regarded as dangerous were divided into what we shall call administrative districts. There is an almost complete unanimity of informants (97 per cent.) on this.[11] 631

Unfortunately, there is confusion about the names applied to these areas. Five names were given by informants, with the following percentages: *igikingi* (3 per cent.); *igiti* (19 per cent.), *urugo* (12 per cent.); *umurwa* (7 per cent.); *ubukebe* (24 per cent.). Moreover, the three terms *igikingi*, *igiti*, *urugo* were all used, according to 2 per cent.; *igiti* and *urugo* according to 4 per cent.; *igikingi* and *igiti* according to 6 per cent.; *igiti* and *ubukebe* according to 8 per cent.; *igikingi*, *igiti*, and *ubukebe* according to 1 per cent. Finally, to add to the confusion, the same word was used to mean different but related units. For instance *igikingi* could mean a subdivision of a hill—according to 97 per cent.—and a hill was itself part of a district to which, as we have just indicated, 12 per cent. applied the term *igikingi*.

At all events the whole country was divided into administrative locations that may be designated as districts. Each of them was ruled by two chiefs, neither of them dependent on the other. Their authority extended over the same territory but from different points of view. The land-chief (*umunyabutaka*) took care of the dues from agriculture and the cattle-chief (*umunyamukenke*) of the dues from stock. According to 60 per cent. of our informants, the same person could not have the two charges. It was possible, however, according to 36 per cent. of the Tutsi asked. But the usual situation was to have two chiefs and not a single one. 634 [622]

The district was divided into hills (*umusozi*). At that level the ooo

[11] As has been explained in the introduction, a hundred questions on the political organisation have been put to three hundred informants chosen from all the regions of Ruanda (the interviews took place in seventy-four different places). The percentages to be found in that chapter refer to this sample. When the percentages included decimal fractions, the figures have been brought to the nearest unit. [125]

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TANGANYIKA TERRITORY
Mubari
Mugongo
GISAKA
Kuleryi
Kivuge
Gisaya
URUNDI
HUTURA
Byuyo
Bukayu
BUSANZA
Bumbogo
Bulira
Bugesera
BUGESERA
Ndora
Bukoro
Nyamugo
Bugarama
Nyamugo
Nyabugoro
Nyakoro
USUMBURA
Bukoro
Kiori
Bukoro
Bukoro
Bugoyo
Bukoko
Nyamugo
Nyakagori
Bukoro
Bukoro
Bukoro

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The district was divided into hills (umusozi). At that level the
622 cattle- and land-chiefs had only one subordinate, the hill-chief, *umutware w'umusozi*, whose counterpart in the present administrative organization is called sub-chief or *ibisonga*.

621 On each hill, there were usually several neighbourhoods. In
622 each, one of the family heads living there was chosen as its head by the hill-chief. He was called *umukoresha*.

(*b*) *Taxes*

651 Tributes and dues for which the land-chief was responsible
647 were: any kind of labour, usually agricultural; *uguhuniha* (putting into the granary), which consisted of a certain number of baskets of beans, peas, and sorghum to be delivered at harvest time; *amavu* (bananas to be used for brewing beer). These tributes were due from Hutu. The person who provided these things was the family head who was considered as the individual producer of the rugo. But between him and the land-chief, there was a hierarchy of persons responsible for the carrying out of the levies: sometimes the lineage head (if he was living in the same neighbourhood), then the neighbourhood head, and finally the hill-chief.

[622] Through the hill-chief, too (according to 68 per cent. of the informants), the cattle-chief obtained jars of milk from the Tutsi. Moreover, the latter had to provide (according to 88 per cent.) *inkuke*, cows kept by the beneficiary in order that milk could be consumed fresh.

These tributes were centralized in the royal residence of the district which was occupied by the king when he was travelling in the district. This residence was called *rugo*, the ordinary word meaning a compound dwelling. 95 per cent. of our informants remembered several names of royal district residences and 86 per cent. had not forgotten the name of the residence in the district where they used to live as children.

Revenues of a district were either reserved to the king himself or were granted to one of the king's wives. In the first case, the [647] residence was called *ingaligali* and was administered by a king's concubine (*umuja*, girl-servant).

Administrative officers collecting tributes, had the right to keep a part for their own benefit. According to 95 per cent. of our informants, the hill-chiefs had the right to deduct some agricultural produce, of which they could keep about a third. Then the land-chief—according to 99 per cent.—could also keep a part of it,

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probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

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128 be negative or positive. It is to be distinguished from the aim explicitly stated in the charter (written or not) of the institution or the purpose of the association consciously conceived by its members.

Take, for instance, some of the religious ceremonies of a particular group. Their aim as known and admitted by every member of the group may be to honour the ancestral spirits, whereas their function, of which perhaps nobody in the group is completely aware, is to manifest and reinforce the *esprit de corps* of the group. Or an association whose explicit purpose is some philanthropic activity may have as its function the giving of certain political control to a particular set of people. Aim and function are not necessarily different. It may happen that the aim expresses one of the ways in which the institution is significant from the viewpoint of the perpetuation of the particular organization existing in that society.[12]

(*a*) *Fiscal function*

649 It is not difficult to determine the main social function of the administrative structure of Ruanda. It was identical indeed with its explicitly recognized aim in that society. Aim and function were fiscal: the country had to provide its rulers with consumption goods.

651 634 Tribute collecting was very methodically organized. Because of the division of the country into about seventy to ninety districts, the amount to be supplied was distributed in a way which did not favour one region more than another. Even parts of Ruanda which were far from the royal court had to provide dues for the local royal residence. The timing of the levies was also fortunate as the agricultural products were not demanded when the rulers needed them but at harvesting time. Tribute labour seems also to have been regularly required during the year.

641 Were these impositions heavy? It is very difficult to assess the proportion of foodstuff and labour required from each family head. I gathered from different informants that about a third of the labour of one individual was required from each family. It is important to stress the fact that only one person in each rugo had to fulfil this demand whereas there were usually several men able to give that tribute in each family.

[12] See Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, p. ix; 1940, p. 10; 1952, pp. 200 f; Maquet 1950a; 1954c, p. 63.

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It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not over-exploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence. 651 661

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups. 641 [162]

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of 661 [643] [622] 554 622 184

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554 Ndarwubatse, Kanyonyomba, and Segore were exceptional and
622 that, in fact, Hutu were not very numerous among land-chiefs.
184 The share of Hutu in political power was probably symbolic rather than quantitatively great. Hutu could also be hill-chiefs and sixty-nine per cent. of our informants were able to mention a few names. According to ninety-nine per cent. a Twa could be neither land-chief nor cattle-chief, unless he were ennobled. But in that case, he was not socially a Twa any more, but assimilated to a Tutsi. Twa could be hill-chiefs; sixty-five per cent. of our Tutsi informants mentioned the names of such Twa. Neighbourhood heads were frequently Hutu, but the advantages they drew from their office were minimal, if any.

(*b*) *Maintenance of the central rulers in power*

661 One may conclude that the very great majority of the beneficiaries of the fiscal function of the administrative structure were people of the Tutsi group.

A second function of the administrative structure was to enable
661 those who enjoyed political power to keep it. The mwami and his
634 wives centralized the means necessary to afford an important court.
641 Moreover, by granting the profitable offices of land-, cattle-,
622 and hill-chiefs, the mwami increased the number of his faithful dependents. For these chiefs of the administrative structure were appointed by the king. To the question 'who appointed the land- and the cattle-chiefs?' ten different answers were given, but if one adds up all the answers which named the mwami as the person or one of the persons who granted these official appointments, a majority of sixty-five is reached. The confusion in the answers seems due to the fact that different principles operated together in the nomination of such a chief. Firstly, one of the sons of the former office holder usually succeeded to his father, and the latter could often indicate his preferences, but this did not mean that the office was hereditary. Merely, it happened fairly frequently that the mwami liked to strengthen a man's loyalty on the understanding that if he was a good chief, the office could remain in his family. Secondly, the appointment could be made by the mwami following presentation of the candidate by an important chief, such as the army-chief. Consequently, it could appear that the latter was the one who gave the appointment. But the third principle remained: the king kept a complete control of these offices in the sense

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that no other authority had the final say in such appointments. 661

The danger of having some chiefs becoming more and more 634
independent of the central government was avoided by the 699
mwami's power to dismiss anybody and also by the curious duality 622
of chiefs in each district. Increasing the control of the central government over its subordinates seems to have been the function of that duality. Tensions arose between these two chiefs who were neighbours and who exerted their prerogatives in the same territory yet were independent of each other. The mwami was always kept well informed by each of these chiefs of the exactions or suspicious activities of the other. Moreover, both chiefs had the same subordinate, the hill-chief. Consequently the mwami could be sure that if by chance the two chiefs were in agreement, it was very likely that if their common subordinate had some difficulty with one of his superiors, he would attempt and often succeed in getting the other on to his side: *duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens.* In addition, as conflicts of power were unavoidable in such a situation, the chief had to resort to the mwami as judge. In that way the links of the dependence of both of them on the mwami were tightened.

In this analysis it is not suggested that the duality of chiefs was conceived and put into being by a certain mwami in order to fulfil what we regard here as its function. It is possible that it happened in that way. But even if nobody ever thought of reinforcing the royal power by this dual organization, it was nevertheless its function in Ruanda society.

(c) *Social cohesion*

I have mentioned that the hill-chief required dues and tributes 651
not from the individual taxpayer but from the lineage head when 602
possible, and the latter demanded it from the family head. This 571
way of reaching the individual through his kin group and family group enhanced the importance of the descent principle of of kin solidarity. Even in Ruanda where the political organization had taken over so many functions from descent groups, the individual as such was not yet recognised in very important matters like the contributions to the maintenance of the rulers. In this interpretation, the kinship and the administrative structures promote the social cohesion of the group as a whole.

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to 000

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To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954c, p. 63. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

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of coercion at their disposal. If a mwami attempted to go beyond his effective power even without exceeding the limits of his divine rights, he exposed himself to the chance of meeting some obstacles. Nevertheless, he had sovereign as well as divine rights and his subjects were constantly reminded of these by the tributes they had to pay. 643 183

4. DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

Every Ruanda, Twa, Hutu as well as Tutsi, was affiliated to an army (*ingabo*). This is stated by ninety-nine per cent. of our informants. Although this military organization is obsolete at the present day—indeed it no longer exists—ninety-eight per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed can still give the name of the army of their paternal ascendants. 701 [198]

There were several armies. The name of each one had a military meaning. It was a challenge, a boast, the memory of a dynastic or historical event: for instance 'the tough ones' (*abashakamba*), 'the first to be praised' (*imbanzamihigo*), 'the fearless ones' (*inzirabwoba*), &c. At the beginning of each reign a new army was organized by the king. Moreover, a very important chief could be authorized by the mwami to raise an army.

(a) *Recruitment*

An army was recruited in the following way. The mwami asked his Tutsi clients to bring to the court their sons who had not yet had any military training. When about 150 to 200 young men were gathered, they constituted what we may call a company (*itorero*). During the reign, four or five companies were recruited in the same way and were added to the first one. According to ninety-six per cent. of our informants a man had to stay all his life in the company he had first entered. The young men (*intore*, the chosen ones) lived at the court of the king or of the chief who had been allowed to recruit an army. Under the direction of an officer called the chief of the king's residence (*umutware w'urugo rw'umwami*) or of its counterpart at a chief's court, they were trained for several years in military skills such as bow and arrow shooting, the use of the sword, spear, and javelin. They learned warlike dances, and to memorize and to recite the poems in which the high deeds of extraordinary bravery and boldness of the past warriors were exalted.[10] They were also taught how to compose poems in imitation of these great models. 702 704 702 [411] [538]

[10] See Kagame, 1949b; 1951.

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000 702 poems in imitation of these great models. They attended evening sessions near the fire, in the kraal, where by sarcasm and humiliation, their capacity for self control was put to the test.

704 These few companies constituted the nucleus of a new army. It was completed by detaching a certain number of people from other armies to incorporate them in the new one. Except for this, armies existed indefinitely. When a king died and when a new army was formed, the previous army founded by him did not disappear. Only some members of the former armies joined the new one. These people were not incorporated individually but [613] with their patrilineages, primary (*inzu*) or even secondary (*umulyango*).

704 613 Except for the *intore*, it seems more accurate to say that an army was made up of patrilineages rather than of individuals. Indeed 100 per cent. of our informants affirm that a man was not affiliated alone to an army but that he was in it together with his sons, married or not, his brothers and their sons, and his paternal uncles. It was a group of agnates indeed, as the sister's sons were not included in the group according to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants. In the army, the patrilineage remained a closed group under its inzu head. Our informants were unanimous (100 per cent.) that dues and services to which the army chief was entitled had to be asked for from members through the lineage chiefs. This rule did not apply to the *intore*. They entered alone into the army, although later their children would also join. According to 100 per cent. of the informants a man belonged only to one army. The army chief was called *umugabe* or *umutware w'ingabo*.

(*b*) *The warriors' section*

704 In any army, according to eighty-four per cent. of our informants, there were two sections—the warrior's section and the herdsmen's section (warrior: *ingabo*, herdsman: *umushumba*). The warriors' section was made up of the few companies of men who had received the *intore* training to whom were added their personal dependents who were also fighting. Warriors did not wear a uniform but had some special badges.

723 As mentioned in a preceding section, a certain number of warriors of an army camped near the borders threatened by neighbouring enemies. If an attack occurred, they called the other [721] warriors who lived nearby and, while waiting for their aid, held
The aggressors at bay

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the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country. 723

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death. 708 [641]

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agateroshuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight. 721 [787] [726]

Some of the warriors (*abakoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems. 727

(*c*) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*). 705

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief, 705 422

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705 422

a member of the warriors' section, and a member of the herdsmen's section.

The mwami could effectively dispose of the *nyambo* and *mabara*. *Nyambo* were cows which had some marked physical characteristics (as for instance long horns). The mere fact that beasts had such characteristics gave the king exclusive rights of disposal of them whatever may have been the previous rights of other people over them. Many lyrical poems were devoted to the praise of *nyambo* in which they are divided into two 'clans', the brown one (*ibihogo*) and the red-brown (*amagaju*) which were supposed to be in a permanent state of war.[17] A herd of *nyambo* numbered about fifty cows. There were not *nyambo* with every army. *Mabara* were ordinary cows, not fulfilling the *nyambo* qualifications, and of which the mwami had the effective disposal. One or several herds of *nyambo* and *mabara* were entrusted by the king only to certain armies.

[43] [825]

The cows over which the army-chief had the rights of effective disposal were also considered, according to ninety-six per cent. of our informants, as army cattle and were tended by the army herdsmen.

Cattle at the effective disposal of each member of the herdsmen's section of the army were also regarded as army cattle. Here we have to distinguish between cattle possessed as a client and cattle not obtained from a lord (ninety-two per cent. of our informants said that one could have cattle which were not received from a lord). The former kind of cattle were linked to the lord's army and not to the client's army although the client had the right of usufruct and of effective disposal (as defined here) over that cattle. The latter kind of cattle was composed of cows obtained by exchange (*impahano*) which were regarded as army cows according to ninety-five per cent. of our informants; of cows given by the prospective husband to his father-in-law (*indogoranyo*) also according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as reward for brave conduct in war (*ingororano mu ntambara*) again according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as gifts (*inka z'ubuntu*) according to ninety-six per cent. Cows not kept by somebody as a client were called by the generic name of *imbata*, or, according to sixty-two per cent. of our informants, the mwami's cows (*inka z'umwami*), which is confusing.

[17] Kagame, 1947b, p. 792.

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Finally, the cattle that the warriors of an army could personally effectively dispose of were also considered as army cattle. There was a distinction between cows obtained from an overlord and *imbata*. Warriors' cattle, however, were linked to the army differently from herdsmen's: only the cattle of the latter were submitted to the different taxes I am going to examine now.

Each army had its own grazing grounds, particularly for the *nyambo*, *mabara*, and the chief's cattle as the other kinds were usually kept by those who had usufruct rights over them.[18]

(*d*) *Tribute due by the army*

Besides the personal services mentioned earlier (training, watching at the border, defending the country, foreign expeditions), each army had to provide the king, the court, and its chief with other benefits.

On a new king's accession, each patrilineage of the army had to give him a cow. This gift (*indabukirano*) showed the recognition of the authority of the person to whom it was offered. At the beginning of each reign there was also a ceremony called *murundo*, during which all the cattle of an army were numbered and presented to the king. A certain proportion was retained by him. Cattle raided by the stick-bearers (*abakoni*) of the army belonged to the king, according to eighty-seven per cent. of our informants.

Warriors and herdsmen of each army had the duty of keeping in order a part of the royal residence (*incyubagaba inkike*), according to ninety-three per cent. of our informants.

Each army was obliged to keep at the court a few cows to provide the king with fresh milk (*inkuke*). This herd was called *intamara* and was looked after by an officer, *umutware w'intamara*. According to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants, to provide *inkuke* was the duty of the herdsmen's section only. Besides they had to deliver daily to the court a certain number of milk jars (*igicuba*), according to ninety-nine per cent. A very important majority of Tutsi interviewed (eighty-nine per cent.) said that herdsmen had to supply the court with the necessary slaughter animals (*indwanyi*). Finally, each army had to provide the court with young steers used for divination purposes (*amamana*). According to fifty-five per cent. of our informants these had to be

[18] On this section, see Kagame, 1952.

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701 provided by both sections of the army, according to forty-one
651 per cent. by the herdsmen only.

All these services or dues were required only from Tutsi and from Hutu possessing cattle. Other Hutu replaced them by tributes consisting of agricultural produce (said ninety-two per cent. of our informants) and Twa by products from pottery or hunting.

701 The army-chief, too, could claim several dues from the army to his profit. When appointed to his charge, he was offered a cow (*indabukirano*) as a present recognizing his authority. According to a few informants, that present could consist of hoes or sheep for those who had no cattle, but ninety-two per cent. said such a present was necessarily a cow. As the king, the army-chief, when he was nominated to his office, had the right to have the cattle of his army numbered, presented to him, and a certain percentage offered to him (*murundo*). Ninety-six per cent. of our informants say that the presentation was always made at the same time as the recognition was offered. But certain informants indicate that the army-chief could not require the numbering to be done before a certain time had elapsed since the numbering for his predecessor. Moreover, according to eighty-three per cent. of our informants, the army-chief had to obtain the mwami's permission before summoning a numbering meeting. The cows kept by the army-chief were put at his effective disposal according to all informants. They were entrusted to the army herdsmen (according to eighty-eight per cent.), to army herdsmen only (according to thirty-five per cent.), and to them and *to inkomamashyi*, herdsmen alien to the army (according to fifty-three per cent.).

An army member, on certain occasions, principally when wanting to obtain a favour, used to give his chief a cow called *ituro*.

Finally, the army-chief could claim a certain part of the loot
[721] collected during an expedition in which his army had participated (*intorano*: cattle raided). Moreover, if the expedition had been a brilliant success, he received as a reward from the mwami a gift of several dozen cows.

(*e*) *Advantages for the members*

701 When in difficulty army members could ask for their chief's
703 protection which could not be refused unless they had previously been disloyal to their chief. A chief could prevent a member of his

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army from being submitted to judiciary torture; he could be his surety if the member was unable to repay a debt. When one desired to obtain a favour, such as to be judged by the mwami, it was very useful to be accompanied by one's army-chief, said twenty-seven per cent. of informants. (Thirty-nine per cent., however, would have preferred to be accompanied by their lord and eighteen per cent. would have wished to have both of them.)

A client wanting to lodge a complaint against his lord requested his army-chief's intervention, according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants. (However seven per cent. thought that it was better to address the complaint to the lord's army-chief and eleven per cent. to the mwami.) A lord dissatisfied with his client could raise the question before his own army-chief according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants (thirteen per cent. would rather have gone to the client's army-chief and 9.3 per cent. to the mwami).

When a dispute concerning cattle arose between two Tutsi of the same army, it was judged by the army-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. of the informants. If the two litigants belonged to different armies, the case was settled by both army-chiefs, according to eighty-two per cent. of the informants.

The army-chief was chosen by the king and could be dismissed by him. Army members had the right to bring a charge against him at the mwami's, according to eighty-three per cent. In that case they sent delegates from the army to the court, said seventy-two per cent.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

We are accustomed to regard an army as first 'the instrument of force in external relations'. It must defend the territory of the community against external threats and eventually attempt to expand the territory or to subdue alien groups. In Ruanda armies had other functions besides this.

(a) *Warlike function*

Permanent encampments established not far from the borders were defensive indeed, but they were also bases for expeditions into neighbouring territories. Whatever their frequency, it is certain that they were foci for strong feelings of admiration, pride, and emulation. Many features of these events exalted the spirit of

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conquest: the procession of the victorious warriors, and the recitation of poems telling of the achievements of heroes. The whole country was mystically committed in the expedition through the king, the country's personification, who was magically taking part in it. The king and the queen-mother had (as the expedition leader) to sit motionless during the day of the battle (the army-chief in the field when deciding when to attack had to take into account the space of time necessary for a messenger to reach the court). The secrecy about the expeditions stressed their importance. Even after the battle was over, a messenger was sent to the court who could not tell anything about the expedition except that it was over. Then a few warriors were chosen by the army-chief to go and tell the king—and the king only—the story of the battle.

Ruanda was an aggressive neighbour. Its history, as it appears in the old traditions collected by Father Pagès for instance, is made up of numerous wars of annexation. The Abanyiginia dynasty started from about the centre of the present day Ruanda and expanded their domination progressively.

They were never permanently at peace with their neighbours, and when they had an alliance with some of them it was in order only to be free to concentrate their forces on others. They used any means that could ensure domination. In addition to direct attacks, they interfered in quarrels between smaller neighbours, helping one against the other and then overcoming both; they even murdered the chiefs and kings of small states.[19] Besides the territorial annexations they raided neighbouring countries for captives and cattle.

From the Ruanda point of view this policy of imperialism and looting did not require any rationalization. Their ethical obligations were limited to in-group relationships. One could not kill, steal from, or harm another Ruanda, but a foreigner was fair game. Ruanda people thought themselves to be quite different from people of other tribes, their land was the most important in the world and the country where Imana (the high god) came home every evening and spent the night. It was consistent with these beliefs to use out-group people for one's own purposes without the need for further justification.

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its

[19] See for instance Pagès, 1933, pp. 121 f.; pp. 298 ff.; pp. 554 ff.

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The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

701 703 173 [198] [182]

(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'encultural-izing'[20] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture. 121

In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military 86 868 000

[20] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

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PLATE 3

643
292
301
142

The late king, Charles Mutara Rudahigwa

[Facing P. 118]

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The great traditions of military

867 courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*,
577 *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were pre-
[571] dominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose
[152] one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There
867 was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control.
152 By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

86 Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The
702 Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority
186 of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

564 This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities
184 required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become
86 warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

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PLATE 4

649
292
301
142
531

The queen-mother, Radegonde Nyiramavugo

[Facing P. 119]

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services. 564 184 86

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such. 701 613 571

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting 703 613 642

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642 their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

701 From the point of view of social cohesion between the different
564 strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi,
571 Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(*d*) *Redistribution of wealth*

701 Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that
651 it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

556 A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel
422 of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi
[558] but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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The emphasis put on the social prestige bestowed by cattle ownership has sometimes led to the underestimation of a second meaning of their possession. Effective disposal of cattle was the main institutionalized means of achieving power. It certainly enables a person to secure labour and agricultural produce through the clientage structure. And at the present time, the disposal of cows gives more advantages than could be obtained by their counterpart in money.

Consequently, the redistribution of cattle operated through the army was extremely important and had much wider social implications than the dues paid in commodities.

Here, again, the mwami was the main beneficiary of the bovine tributes concentrated through the army. On his accession he received one cow as a recognition gift from every lineage, and a certain proportion of the cows presented at the numbering; after a successful campaign, the 'bow of the army' (cattle seized upon by the *abakoni*) was his. The king usually kept only the bare ownership of that cattle and granted its usufruct to important chiefs who then became his clients.

The army-chief was also much favoured in army cattle dues. He received a recognition gift on entering his office, a part from the herds presented and numbered, a certain proportion of the private booty of the warriors, rewards extended by the king after a victorious expedition, and gifts offered by army members. He had the effective disposal of these cows as long as he was in charge, that is to say, up to his death if he was not dismissed. He thus controlled a considerable amount of cattle, symbols of prestige and instruments of power. He could build up a wide clientage among army herdsmen as it was particularly among them that he chose his clients. But he could also grant his cows to non-army members (*inkomamashyi*), who then became army members.

In what measure was the ordinary army member affected by cattle? Firstly, whether warrior or herdsman, he was deprived of some of his own cows by the different payments to the king and the army-chief. Secondly, a member of the herdsmen's section could receive some cows as a client of the army-chief. Was it a real advantage? The question may be raised as the herdsman had to give cows to the chief. Obviously, there was an advantage only if he received the usufruct of more cows than he had given. This means that only a certain number of army members were very likely to

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701 651 422 be favoured. This was a kind of redistribution of wealth among the lineages of the army made according to the preferences of the army-chief. Thirdly, the warriors as such did not receive cows from the army-chief (but they could be at the same time warriors and herdsmen). Their only privilege as warriors was to loot privately after the *abakoni* had laid hold on the 'bow of the army'. Moreover, if they had shown any particular gallantry, the mwami or the army-chief rewarded them with a gift of a few cows.

(*e*) *Protection*

701 571 When compared with the considerable benefits in cattle that the king and the army-chief derived from the military structure, the advantages of ordinary army members, particularly the warriors, seem to have been very meagre. The army tribute in goods and services were compensated for in a different way by the protection extended to his subordinates by the army-chief.

This protection could be asked for and received in all the difficult circumstances of life without being limited to any particular kind of circumstances. An instance frequently mentioned by our informants was the army-chief's support to one of his subordinates who was a party in a lawsuit. If the protection of a man of high standing appeared useful or necessary in such a situation one must suppose that judicial decisions were not taken only on the case's own merits, but that the respective power of the two protectors was weighed by the judge.

The army-chief's protection was diffuse and general, not limited to a few cases clearly defined. We have already come across such a characteristic of the superior's protection in respect of the chiefs of the administrative hierarchy. This suggests that power relations were emphasized in Ruanda and that the rights and properties of isolated men, that is to say those not identified in any respect with a powerful one, were insecure.

[692] The judicial role of the army-chief must be related to his function of protection. In the disputes between two members of his army, he exercised a kind of paternal jurisdiction, as did any Ruanda authority. In contentions between members of different armies, the fact that the question was settled by the army-chiefs concerned suggests more a compromise in which each chief acted as a representative of one of the litigants, than a judgement based on pre-established norms.

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The army-chief's protection was not unconditionally granted to any army member. The chief could refuse to give support to one of his subordinates if he had been disobedient or disloyal. It was up to the chief himself to decide if his warrior or herdsman had an objectionable attitude. The fact that the chief was the only judge of the attitude did not, of course, give the subordinate the assurance of a fair treatment; however, the chief could not indulge often in arbitrary refusals of help because a member could always leave the army and join another if allowed to do so by the chief of this other army. Moreover, the principle of recourse to a superior authority against an intermediate authority was operative here also. If discontent was widespread in an army, the chief could be dismissed by the mwami. Consequently the chief had to take into account public opinion to some extent and could not be indifferent to his popularity. It is clear, however, that the means of pressure that a chief did have on his subordinates were more efficient than the ones subordinates had on him. They had thus to assume a submissive attitude and to gain the chief's favour by gifts and proper behaviour.

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The different functions of the military structure of Ruanda were profitable mainly to the rulers: they contributed to the maintenance in power positions of those who were occupying them. Through that structure, the king secured, in addition to what he received from his tax collectors, an important amount of commodities (necessary for the upkeep of a numerous court), more cattle (consequently the possibility to increase the number of people personally bound to him), and a more complete control of all the chiefs under him (by the possibility of a direct recourse of the subordinates to the royal supreme authority). The ruling position of the army-chiefs was also consolidated by their increase of control on cattle.

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The preceding analysis has also disclosed how the army was an important instrument of domination for the Tutsi caste. Warriors being recruited only among Tutsi, organized physical force was exclusively theirs. They alone had in their hands the ultimate basis of political power. Moreover, by the serious training of the future, the aristocratic values and virtues so well adapted for domination were inculcated into the new generations.

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The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the

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The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the
701 social order by the protective function of the army-chiefs. A minimum of individual security must be granted to every member of a society. The support of the army-chief secured partly that minimum of security. The protection against incursions of enemies was also provided by the army as such. Finally, the participation of
[564] Hutu and Twa in foreign expeditions, although extremely re-
[186] stricted, certainly contributed to the formation of a Ruanda 'national' feeling.

6. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

642 In the administrative and military structures, the king was the supreme political authority of Ruanda. Very closely associated with him was the queen-mother, who had an official role in the political sphere. Next, the highest dignitaries of the kingdom were the *biru*, guardians of traditions concerning the important events of the collective life of Ruanda. Finally, there was the council of the great chiefs. These four institutions may be regarded as having constituted the main element of the central government of Ruanda.

(a) *The king*

643 The theory of the Ruanda kingship was that the mwami was an absolute monarch in the fullest sense. There was no stated limit to his powers over the inhabitants, cattle, land, and even commodities of his country. His powers were not delegated by any authority and thus he had not to render an account of them to anybody. He was the supreme judge: his sentences were without appeal. He was the legislator having the right to change customs.

This theory of the king's powers was founded on their divine origin as mentioned earlier. The bami (plural of mwami) were very careful not to let their subjects forget their heavenly origin. Many rites stressed that they did not participate in the common nature of other men. This was also the reason why special words were used to indicate their common activities and the everyday objects they used (as for 'to get up', 'it is raining on the king's hut', 'his bed', 'his house', etc.). It was thus emphasized that in spite of their appearances, these activities and objects were fundamentally different from what they were for ordinary people.[22]

In fact the king's powers were of course limited. He had to respect the vested interests of important Tutsi lineages, he had to

[22] Pagès, 1933, pp. 491 f.

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refrain from decisions which could have impaired the economic 643
production of the country, such as requiring tributes which were too heavy, or which could have lowered the level of personal security to such an extent that people would have preferred to flee abroad.[33] Moreover, profound legislative modifications would have roused the resistance of the *biru*. Nevertheless, his powers were still extremely great. A fact which reinforced and consolidated 643
them was the tradition of the long past of the dynasty. The present 173
mwami, Mutara III Rudahigwa is regarded as the fortieth king of Ruanda. Even if the first twenty names are considered as legendary, three or four centuries is a considerable past for a dynasty. The Abanyiginya clan has indeed been able to keep the kingship of Ruanda as long as kings are remembered.

The mwami was not only of divine origin but he was Ruanda 643
personified. This mystical identification with the country resulted in numerous avoidances and a very careful behaviour was expected from the mwami. What happened to him would reverberate, as it were, over the country. He should not bend his knees, for instance, lest Ruanda's territory would shrink.

Royal succession was not completely fixed by custom. The heir was chosen by the king from among his sons. He was generally one of the youngest because the strength of Ruanda was magically connected with the king's strength. The name of the chosen one was kept secret. Even the future mwami did not know it. It was revealed only after the king's death by the three most important biru whom the mwami had entrusted with his decision. The other sons and their mothers generally did not agree willingly to the choice and there was often a period of unrest, even of civil war, [669]
before the new mwami became an effective ruler.[34]

A new name was given to the new king, one of the five royal 643
names which were chosen according to the same sequence: 553
Cyilima, Kigeli, Nibambwe, Yuhi, Mutara. The kings named Cyilima, Yuhi, and Mutara were called 'peaceful bami'. They were not allowed to cross the Nyabarongo, a river which runs in the centre of the country, not far from Nyanza, the capital, and this symbolised the fact that they should not send their armies abroad. This rule very wisely allowed the country to recuperate and to assimilate new territories conquered during a preceding warlike reign.

[33] Maquet, 1953. [34] See Gluckman, 1954, p. 8.

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643 The symbol of kingship was Kalinga, the sacred drum. To possess
534 this drum meant to be king. Kalinga was regularly sprinkled with the blood of the animals used for divination. Around Kalinga were hung the genitals of Ruanda enemies killed by the bami. Kalinga was never beaten but other drums were beaten in its honour as they were beaten for the king.[35]

(*b*) *The queen-mother*

644 It was essential that the role of queen-mother (*umugabekasi*) should always be fulfilled. If the mwami's mother's death occurred when her son was still living, he had to be given another 'mother'. The queen-mother had no special task, but she shared the royal prerogatives. She lived at the king's capital where she had her own court, and her protection was eagerly sought. She had herds of cattle and clients. But her role should not be regarded as independent of that of the king.

It can be said that the same kingship was realized by two persons at the same time, without any division of responsibilities or privileges. This was expressed by the term often used to designate together the mwami and his mother: the kings (*abami*). In that partnership the king, however, kept a predominant position: when he died, his mother completely lost her powers.

(*c*) *The biru*

645 The *biru* did not constitute a council or a board. They were
[193] dignitaries with different tasks and very strictly ranked in a fixed hierarchy. Their activities, however, in common were concerned
[196] with the preservation of ritual knowledge and the accomplishment of ceremonies essential to the existence of Ruanda and its government. This knowledge and activities were kept secret from everybody who was not a *muniru* (singular of *biru*).

[243] *Biru* were under the king's authority in the sense that he could create new offices of *muniru* and he could dismiss one of them who had been disloyal. The royal control was limited to this. It was really the minimum without which *biru* would have been completely independent of the mwami. The offices were hereditary and even when a *muniru* had been dismissed one of his sons succeeded him. As we have seen previously, their domains were exempt from any interference of the land- or cattle-chief.

[35] Vanhove, 1941, pp. 88 f. See the series of photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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The most important *biru* were the three to whom the king communicated the name of his successor and the recommendations he wanted them to transmit to the new king later. There were about a dozen main *biru* offices. These important *biru* had assistants from their lineages, prospective successors whom they gradually trained in order that the oral traditions should not be lost. 645 61

Biru had to memorize secret rules, governing for instance the order according to which queens would be chosen from different descent groups, the ritual to observe in case of spreading of cattle disease, lack of abundance of rain, warlike ceremonies, celebrations of the sorghum harvests, &c. [196]

The *biru* institution safeguarded the interests of the great Tutsi descent groups. This function appears clearly in the determination made for several reigns in advance of the secondary lineages and clans from which the queens should be successively chosen. The *biru*, as representatives of their kinship groups had, as it were, established the order in which the interests of different clans and lineages would be favoured in turn.

No one *mwiru* knew the entire body of customs. That knowledge was divided into parts, the remembering of each being entrusted to a *mwiru*, that is to say a descent group, as the office was hereditary. In this way it may be said that the exclusive knowledge of a part of the most important Ruanda ritual had become almost the property of each great Tutsi descent group.

A second function of the *biru* institution was to secure the continuity and the prevalence of the tradition which could have been endangered by the very considerable powers of the king. That traditional body was not unlike a constitution in a modern state and the *biru* institution could be said to have had a role similar to that of a supreme court judging whether a new rule is compatible with the fundamental charter of the country. Of course they had explicitly neither such a task nor such institutionalized means to prevent the mwami from establishing new rules, but the disapproval of an innovation by the *biru* was not to be taken lightly as they represented the great Tutsi kinship groups. [642]

To assess more exactly the function of this institution, one should know more about it. The present day *biru* are still very reluctant to provide information and still less to let it be published, in spite of the encouragement to do so that they receive from the king.[36]

[36] See Kagame, 1947a.

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(*d*) *The council of the high chiefs*

645 The most important chiefs were called *batware w'intebe*, which means chiefs with a stool. Sometimes, especially in times of crisis, the king summoned them and they were consulted on the situation.[27]

645 643 It seems that the patterns of behaviour in the face-to-face relationships with an authority, particularly the supreme one, were such that an opinion opposed to that of the mwami was very unlikely to be voiced. Consequently, the main use of that council appears to have been for the king to explain what he wanted to do and to elicit suggestions on the means of carrying it out.

One of these chiefs was called the 'favourite counsellor' and acted as a sort of prime minister to the king. Besides the tasks he fulfilled by helping the mwami in administering the kingdom, the favoured counsellor's role included the most useful function of taking the blame for what the mwami did wrong. As the king was divine and essentially good, he could never be criticized even by those who suffered from one of his decisions. To relieve the tensions raised by an arbitrary action of the king, however, it was better that the responsibility for it could be imputed to somebody else. The favourite counsellor was that scapegoat: the victims of a royal decision and their friends could go on saying that the king was good but that his favourite counsellor was very bad and cruel and responsible for what they had suffered. This aspect of the favourite counsellor's role was no small contribution to the feelings of trust that Ruanda had for their ruler.

[27] Maquet and Hertefelt, 1959, chap. 1.

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[P.129]

CHAPTER VI

THE CLIENTAGE STRUCTURE

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE *BUHAKE* INSTITUTION

THE *buhake* is an institution to which anthropologists who have studied Ruanda social structure have devoted a great part of their attention, if not the greatest. The name is not easily translated. *Buhake* comes from *guhakwa*, a verb meaning 'to pay one's respects to a superior in his court'.[1] It has been called cattle-lease (*bail à cheptel*),[2] recommendation (in the sense of the mediaeval latin *recommendatio*),[3] and contract of pastoral servitude.[4] 571 675

The *buhake* denoted the relation which existed between a person called *garagu* and another called *shebuja*. That relationship was created when an individual, Hutu or Tutsi, who had an inferior social prestige and who was less well provided with cattle, offered his services to and asked protection from a person whose status was higher and whose wealth was greater. The following sentences were usually, but not ritually said by the man offering his services, after he had given a jug of beer or hydromel to the other: *urampe amata* (I ask you milk), *urankize* (make me rich), *uramenye* (always think of me), *urambere umubyeyi* (be my father), *n'ange nzakubere umwana* (I shall be your child). [273]

If the offer was accepted, the man in the superior position bestowed on the other one or several cows. From that time on, they were in the institutionalized relation of *shebuja* (which I translate 'lord' or 'patron') and *garagu* ('client').

(a) *The client's rights*

The rights the client enjoyed over the cattle granted to him were those of usufruct: he had full rights of ownership over milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the meat and skin of a cow which had died or had had to be slaughtered. The female increase of the cattle remained at his disposal under the same conditions as the original cows given to him by the *shebuja*. Cows received

[1] Baudrart, 1930, p. 151.
[2] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 43.
[3] Vanhove, 1951, p. 48; Bourgeois, 1958.
[4] Kagame, 1952, p. 18.

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from a patron could be granted by the client to somebody else by another *buhake* agreement in which the original client became a lord. The protection granted by the patron included support in lawsuits (*kulengera*): according to thirty-nine per cent. of our informants, it was usual and very useful to be accompanied by one's *shebuja* if one wanted to be judged by the mwami. Moreover the patron extended help to his client if the latter was in a state of poverty. For instance, he gave milk for the *garagu*'s children if their father's cows did not yield enough; he contributed to the payment of the bride-wealth if the client and his lineage could not meet the expenses; he provided his Hutu *garagu* with a hoe when it was needed; he granted meat and hides to his client if, on certain occasions, they were badly needed. When the *garagu* committed an offence, his lord had to help him out of his predicament by paying the fine or the compensation to the victim (*kugura*).[5] If the client was murdered and his lineage was too weak to do anything about it, the *shebuja* had to demand justice from the mwami or even avenge his death by blood feud (*kumuhorera*). Finally, if, after the *garagu*'s death, his widow and children could not be taken care of by his brothers or parallel cousins, the lord had to help them (*kumuremera*).

(*b*) *The client's obligations*

On the other hand, the client had to go and pay his respects to his lord. This included personal service which required the presence of the client at the patron's rugo for a certain time. Some obligations were common to Hutu and Tutsi *garagu*. They were: to accompany the *shebuja* when he was travelling, for instance when he went to the king's court or participated in a military expedition (*kumutabaraho*); to carry the lord's messages (*gutumwa*); to build or repair a part of the *shebuja*'s rugo (*kubak' inkike*). It was advisable also for clients, Hutu as well as Tutsi, to offer from time to time to their patron, some presents such as jugs of beer. If the lord happened to lose his herds, the *garagu* had to provide him with cattle and jars of milk. Some services were imposed only on Hutu clients, such as working in the *shebuja's* fields (*kutanga imibyizi*), or joining the night watch in the lord's enclosure (*kurarira*).[6]

[5] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, p. 77s.
[6] Cf. Bandrart, 1930, p. 152; Vanhove, 1941, p. 75s.

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The measure of the different obligatory gifts and services (number of days, &c.), was not fixed. It depended on the *shebuja*'s temper, his requirements, the number of cows granted to the *garagu*, and on the client's expectations. Moreover, each client was usually not requested to fulfil all the obligations we have just mentioned. The patron, particularly if he had many *garagu*, frequently gave to each of them a precise task in which the client was particularly competent (to brew beer, to cook, to mind the cattle, &c.). Even now, in spite of the limitations added by the native courts to the clients' obligations (for instance the building and repairing of the enclosure cannot be claimed by the lord more than once a year; not more than a month a year may be required by the patron for all the household services, &c.), we are still far from having a list of precisely defined duties and claims standard for the whole of Ruanda.

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(c) *End of the* buhake *relation*

The *buhake* relationship was perpetuated even after the death of both parties. The *shebuja*'s heirs inherited their father's relations of *buhake*, *vis-à-vis* his clients and the client's heirs kept the cows (and/or their progeny) granted to their father. But the *shebuja* had the right to refuse to recognize as a successor of his client a person without the proper qualities to be a good *garagu*. The lord could then designate another heir of his client, or end the relationship and take back the cows. The person receiving an important number of clients by inheritance (several dozen, for instance) could require them to present him with all the cows which were then numbered, as in the case of the army-chief's *murundo*; he could then choose a certain number of them, usually the best ones, which he took away from his clients either to keep the usufruct himself or to endow other people with them.

The *buhake* relation could be ended when both client and patron or only one of them wanted this. But the person who initiated the breaking off usually gave some reason for it, such as the non-fulfilment of a particular obligation by the other party. At all events the *shebuja* could not oblige his client to stay in his service and the client could not prevent his patron from dismissing him.

What happened to the cows in such a case? As mentioned earlier, all the cows a client effectively controlled were not necessarily received from a patron, that is to say they were not all *inhazibii* [927]

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when the client was Hutu and *ingabane* when he was Tutsi. A *garagu* could have cows from another source (called *imbata*) such as those received as bride-wealth, as a reward for bravery or acquired by exchanging other goods. In the case of a Hutu client, who possessed both *inkazibiti* and *imbata* at the time when his relation with a *shebuja* was broken off, there are two opinions with regard to the cows' ownership. According to the first, the *imbata* possessed by the client before he entered in the *buhake* relation were regarded as *inkazibiti* and consequently the lord had the same rights over them as over those he had given to the client as cows of *buhake*. Moreover, the cows which the client eventually acquired when he was already *garagu*, and which in other circumstances would have been regarded as *imbata*, were also added to the cows received from the lord. The result was that at the breaking off of the *buhake* relation, the patron could take all his client's cows, *imbata* as well as *inkazibiti*. The other opinion is that the *imbata* acquired by the client before or after the *buhake* relation began, remained definitely *imbata* and that the lord had no claim on them.

It seems that both opinions are accurate, but that they refer to different periods. The second probably expresses the most ancient rule which had been prevalent up to about 1920. The practice of merging *imbata* and *inkazibiti* (or *ingabane*) in favour of the lord is likely to have been introduced only during the last forty years. This would be due to the fact that the chiefs of the administrative divisions (recognized by the Belgian authority under the names of *chefferies* and *sous-chefferies*) assumed at the end of the reign of king Yuhi Musinga (who was dismissed from his royal charge by the Belgian Administration in 1931) an undue importance, because their powers were no longer counterbalanced by those of the chiefs of the other hierarchies. Army chiefs did not enjoy their former authority, as the military structure had received no official recognition; Musinga, isolated in an attitude of indifference and hostility towards Europeans, was left without much effective power. Administrative chiefs who were important lords are said to have taken advantage of this situation, and to have modified the custom to their own advantage by establishing the principle of the merging of the cows received from the lord with those acquired independently of any *shebuja*.

It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of

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It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of more than one lord, I was told. Firstly, the services required were such that it was not easy for the same person to perform them twofold. Secondly, a lord did not like to enter into *buhake* relations with somebody who was already the client of another *shebuja*, because such an arrangement was very likely to result in a considerable lessening of each lord's control on his client. 571 675

2. ANALYSIS OF THE CLIENTAGE STRUCTURE

(a) *Notion of feudality*

If the term 'feudal' is to be legitimately applied to the social structure described in the preceding section, it must be understood as a notion covering more than the historical sense of that term as used when referring to the Western Middle Ages. Feudality is here an 'ideal-type' in the Weberian sense. 114 642

Feudality is a particular ordering of certain human relations. This organization is based on an agreement between two individuals who unequally partake in the symbols of wealth and power culturally recognized in their society. The person who, in that respect, is inferior to the other, asks the other for his patronage, and, as a counterpart, offers his services. This is the essence of the feudal régime which must be found in any social system qualified by that term. Feudality is manifold in its modalities. The latter differ in many respects. For instance, obligations of each party may vary and be more or less definite in measure; the symbols and proofs of the feudal relation may be very dissimilar. Thus, in the European Middle Ages, the symbol and the proof of the feudal agreement was the tenure of a tract of land granted by the man in the superior position to the other. That piece of land was called a fief and the parties concerned became suzerain and vassal as soon as the tenure had been granted and accepted.

It seems that the qualification 'feudal' may be applied to the organization of social relations between a *shebuja* and a *garagu* described in the preceding section. At the root of that relation, there are two individuals having a different social status. From one of these individuals, there is a demand for aid and protection, and from the other a promise of assistance in counterpart of services. Granting the usufruct of a few cows to the man of inferior status is the symbol and proof of the agreement. 571 675

The word 'agreement' is employed here rather than 'contract' which is more frequently used in this connexion. I do not consider

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PLATE 5

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The dynastic drums, with enemies' trophies

[Facing P. 134]

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that the kind of covenant in which the bond *shebuja-garagu* originated can be said to be a contract in the sense given to that term of Roman law and legal systems which are derived from it. There are three main differences between a contract and the *buhake* agreement.

Firstly, the freedom not to enter into such an agreement was socially illusory. In a society such as that of Ruanda, it was most inadvisable to be found without a patron. As a proverb put it, 'a dog is not feared for his fangs, but for his lord'. To live without a lord was to invite trouble.

Secondly, the lord and the client faced very different situations when *buhake* relationships had to be ended. When he wanted to break off the relation, the *shebuja* either did not give any reason or more frequently accused the *garagu* of a breach of the agreement because in that case, even if there was no merging of *imbata* and *inkazibiti* cows, he could take one or two more cows as a sort of fine. Then he recovered the cows that he himself or one of his ascendents had granted to the client. Sometimes a client accused of a breach could manage to obtain protection elsewhere, and to bring the case before a court, whereas the *shebuja* was under no obligation to present the proof of his client's misdemeanour before punishing him by seizing the cows. He was thus in a very favourable situation if, for one reason or another, he coveted some of his client's cows, or if he merely wanted to harm him. Nevertheless, informants say that a lord could not take too much advantage of his capacity to punish and despoil his clients without incurring implicit social sanctions. If he got the reputation of being a bad *shebuja*, people who were considering a *buhake* agreement were led to choose another lord.

In the reverse situation, when a client wanted to terminate the *buhake* relation with his lord, he certainly could do so, but he incurred the risk of being deprived of some of his *imbata* and if he had grievances against his lord, it was certainly not easy for him to obtain redress. Here again, however, the situation could be corrected by the interplay of the safeguards that an able and cunning man did not fail to secure. Supported by his army-chief, his lineage head or his cattle-chief, he could obtain more favourable results. But even if these counterbalances had some efficacy, it remains that the lord and the client, because of these very different conditions, did not enjoy that equal freedom to end the

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PLATE 6

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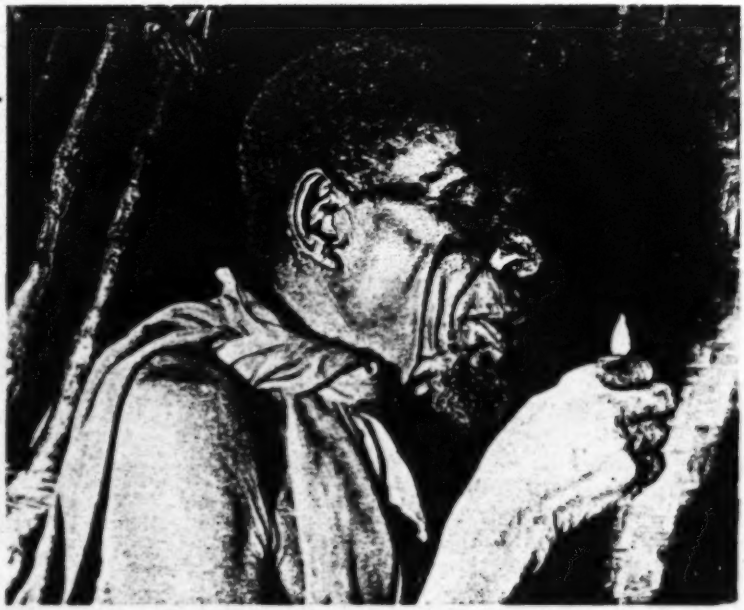

A Hutu diviner

[Facing P. 135]

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relationship which should be enjoyed by both parties according to the classical definition of contract. 571

A third way in which *buhake* was different from the Western conception of contract lay in the vagueness and uncertainty in the measure of the reciprocal obligations. The patron could be more or less generous in the number of cows he granted, more or less exacting in the services he required; the client could be more or less prompt and zealous in his service. If there was a dispute about these differences in the execution of the agreement, there was no charter one could refer to for an assessment of rights and duties. 675

(*b*) *Caste structure*

To understand the functions of the feudal system in Ruanda society, one must first clarify some important features of that society. 121

As our descriptions and analysis of Ruanda proceed, it becomes more and more certain that there was there a caste structure or something very similar to it. Sociologists usually define a caste society as one composed of several graded groups, each of which is endogamous and practising an hereditary occupation, membership of which can be obtained only by birth.[7] [564]

Birth was, indeed, the usual way in which one became a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. This does not mean that the three strata were 'racial' units, but that an individual was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa when his father was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. In the same way was his father a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. But in order to avoid such expressions, which could go on *ad infinitum*, a definition other than an hereditary one should be found. But it does not seem that there is any other than that a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa is a person who regarded himself, and was regarded by all those who knew him, as a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa, the usual way for a person to fulfil this social definition being to realise the hereditary one. In some cases, however, it was possible to be socially recognized as a Tutsi without having been begotten by a Tutsi father. For instance a Twa who had been ennobled or the son of a rich Hutu cattle owner and of a Tutsi woman, was sometimes regarded as a Tutsi. But these were exceptional cases and we may say that the caste criterion of membership by birth held in general for all the three Ruanda groups. 564 [554]

The same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw

[7] Cf. Lowie, 1948, pp. 10, 273.

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the same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw
564 previously that marriages between Hutu and Tutsi were not
[580] banned but that they were neither favoured nor frequent. Marriages between Twa and the two other groups were prohibited.

Since cattle rearing, agriculture, and hunting, with pot making, were the main activities characteristic of our three strata, the criterion of hereditary occupation was certainly realized in Ruanda.

The fourth criterion, the hierarchy of the groups within the society, was certainly to be seen in Ruanda. We must, however, consider more closely what kind of ranking existed between the castes.

121 Social power has been previously defined as an interpersonal relation in which each of the human actors, because he belongs to a different group or stratum of the same society, is able to exert pressure on the other. One occupies a postition of power over somebody, not because of personal qualities or the specific social role one fulfils or one's wealth, but only because one is a member of a certain group. The two human terms of the relation do not stand on their own personal merits but as representatives of their groups. Personal characteristics do not matter, only the identification with a group.

This notion of social power which operates in interpersonal relations is based on social power regarded from the collective point of view. Collectively, social power is the intergroup relation in which one of the two groups may inflict on the other a severe loss. It is the pressure exerted by one group as such on another.

564 The three Ruanda castes were in a hierarchic order, then, from the standpoint of social power, both collective and individual. The Tutsi caste could as a group inflict severe deprivations on the Hutu or Twa castes, and any individual Tutsi could exert strong pressure on any Hutu or Twa irrespective of their personal qualities and possessions.

Let us now turn to the function of the feudal system in Ruanda.

(c) *Protection by identification*

121 To live in a society where several castes very unequal in their social power coexist, frequently puts the individuals of the weaker groups in a very difficult position. Indeed, anybody may be at any time confronted with an exacting demand made on him by somebody possessing higher social power. To be protected against such

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a demand, it is indispensable for the person submitted to it to increase his own social power. It is impossible to do this directly as he cannot, except very rarely, enter into the upper caste, but he may obtain it indirectly by succeeding in identifying himself with a person endowed with great social power. Feudality is an institutionalization of that identification of an individual socially weak, with another, socially powerful, who secures for the former the necessary protection against other socially powerful individuals.

Is it not possible, in a caste society, to protect the persons enjoying little social power by other means than a clientage system?

The political power of the superior group could be limited by preventing that group from using the pressure of legitimate physical force. For instance, it could be made illegal for a person of the upper group to force somebody to work for him under the threat of having him imprisoned or beaten if he refused. This solution was aimed at in the nineteenth-century Western liberal state. There the groups were not castes but classes, defined both by amount of wealth and the type of its usage (capital investment versus consumer goods buying). The difference between classes and castes is irrelevant at this stage of our argument. According to its Marxist critics, that solution has not succeeded in preventing the domination of the economically weak group by the economically powerful one. If, they said, a rich man is not allowed to force another one to work for him under the threat of police, he may force him as effectively by the threat of taking his livelihood from him. Consequently, the Marxists proposed another solution to make the economic power of all individuals equal.

It is clear that both solutions attempt to solve the problem of the protection of socially weak individuals by changing the hierarchic structure of the society. In the liberal solution the dominant group is stripped of its political privileges, which makes it weaker as a superior group; in the Marxist solution, it is deprived of its preponderant social power, and completely disappears. It seems that a clientage institution is the only means permitting the protection of socially weak individuals without destroying the unequal participation of the groups in social power. In that system the groups continue to be endowed with an unequal collective social power, whereas the range of variability in individual social power

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121 is made narrower in order to give everybody the opportunity of obtaining sufficient personal security.

Such was, it appears, the first function of the *buhake* system in Ruanda. In that society where it was advisable to go into court 675 accompanied by socially powerful persons, and when a Hutu 564 possessing some wealth but no protector was risking the loss of his 642 possessions, the feudal organization, by institutionalizing the identification of the Hutu client with the Tutsi lord, secured the necessary protection and security for the socially weak. With a few exceptions, the Twa were outside that feudal system. Their caste occupations were not compatible with cattle-rearing and made available to them other means of obtaining the personal protection of upper caste people. On the other hand, their small number made that kind of protection very effective.

(*d*) *Social cohesion*

A second function of the feudality in Ruanda was its contribution to the cohesion of the society.

In this respect we have to distinguish the feudal agreements in which clients were Hutu from those in which they were Tutsi. Let us first take the former. In order that two castes whose interests were so often divergent or opposed could constitute a stable unitary structure, it was necessary that they should not remain merely juxtaposed but should show some solidarity. Through the feudal relations economic currents flowed between Hutu and Tutsi: the land tillers had at their disposal some cattle; the pastoralists consumed agricultural produce and had fields cultivated by their servants and clients. In this way the economic system of production in Ruanda was mixed, made up of techniques, abilities, and wealth brought by the two groups. Through *buhake*, Hutu participated in the Tutsi values. They valued cattle very highly and entered the prestige system based on bovine [177] possession. They assimilated some Tutsi alimentary habits, such as drinking milk. Feudality proved a very effective instrument for [184] the constitution of a culture common to all Ruanda.

When there was a feudal agreement between two Tutsi, the *buhake* had another relevance to social cohesion. It may be said that any Tutsi client was also a lord and any Tutsi lord was also a client. The mwami was the only patron who was nobody's client. His *garagu* were the great Tutsi chiefs, the lords of less important

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Tutsi, who themselves were patrons of still less important Tutsi, and so on. In this way the Tutsi consituted a homogeneous unit of individuals linked to one another by bonds of fidelity and protection. From that point of view, *buhake* contributed to the unity and the solidarity of the aristocratic caste. 675 564 642

(*e*) *Maintenance of caste privileges*

Besides the protection of socially weak individuals and the promotion of social cohesion, a third function was fulfilled by the feudal system: the maintenance of the social *status quo* and the perpetuation of Tutsi privileges. This function seems somewhat opposed to the first two. Let us see how all these functions have been combined by the *buhake* system. 675 564 642 178

In a stratified society where control of a category of goods or a type of ownership is characteristic of the superior layer, the access of the members of other groups to these goods or to the particular rights of ownership constitutes an active factor of social mobility. It is the reason why the aristocracy frequently keeps exclusively for itself these goods and these rights. Thus in Ankole the Hima pastoralists bar Iru cultivators from the ownership of productive cows. They may possess only barren cows and bull calves.[8] [121]

Ruanda Tutsi did not impose such severe rules but by the *buhake* system they obtained very much the same results. They allowed Hutu to have cattle at their disposal—which in exchange provided Tutsi with labour and agricultural produce—but at the same time prevented them from gaining independent ownership rights over these cattle. Those who had the final control of cattle were always Tutsi. As the Hutu had been granted only usufruct rights over cattle which were different from those enjoyed by the lords who were Tutsi, there was no chance that the group of cattle owners could be invaded by Hutu. [922]

By definition the client's possession was precarious. This uncertainty in the duration of the disposal of cattle was further emphasized by the circumstances mentioned above. The breaking off of the *buhake* relation was almost always favourable mainly to the lord and could often be disastrous for the client. It may even be said that when the practice of merging the *buhake* cows (*inkatibiti*) with the cows not received from a lord (*inbata*) was regarded as customary, all the Hutu cattle were precariously held and under

[8] Oberg, 1940, p. 130.

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[P. 140]

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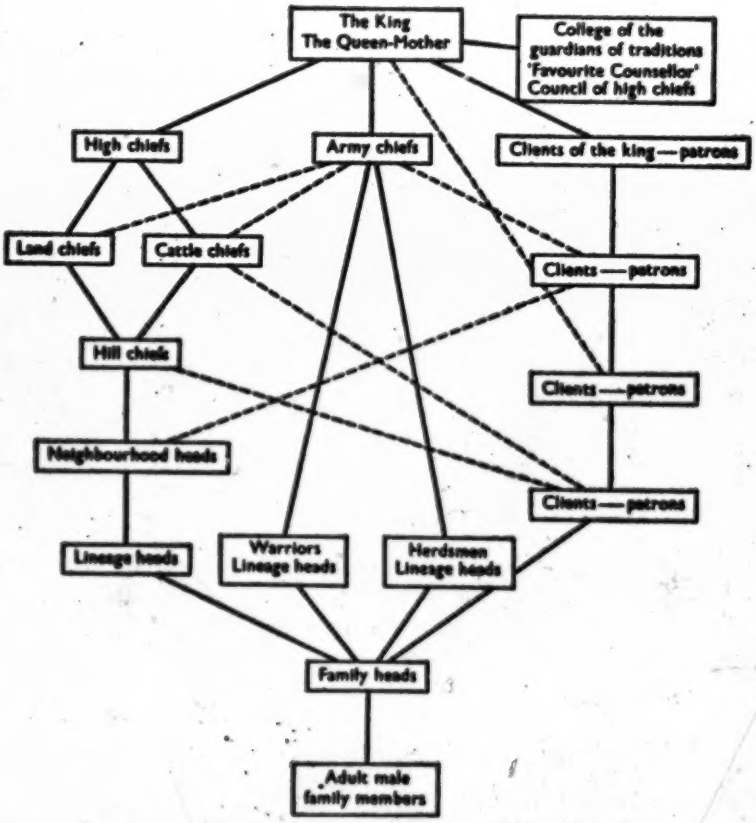

Diagram D.

This diagram suggests the complexity of Ruanda social relations if it is remembered that an individual generally has several political roles. Thus a high chief was very often also an army chief as well as a client of the king, and all the chiefs of the two premier hierarchies had their places in the system of feudal relations as clients and patrons. The broken lines indicate some of these possible pluralities of relationships.

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Tutsi control. A Hutu who in exchange for labour or agricultural goods had been able to acquire a few cows had necessarily to ask for the protection of a lord in order that his cows should not be seized upon under some pretence by a socially powerful neighbour. Then he received cows from his lord and they were merged with his own *imbata*. Consequently, if the agreement had to be ended, the lord could take away besides the cows he had granted, those which had previously belonged to the client. 675 564 692 178

The two political structures benefited most–those among the Tutsi who were rulers. The feudal structure, by granting only a precarious possession of cattle to the clients, left in the hands of the Tutsi the ultimate control of cattle, symbol of social prestige and instrument of power. On the other hand, by the same *buhake*, Tutsi were obtaining the advantages of being provided with labour and agricultural produce. From that standpoint, the Ruanda feudal system granted a minority the means to live—and to live better than the bulk of the population—without having to participate in the manual labour of economic production, by the moderate and clever exploitation of the majority. 564 661 692

In order that an aristocratic structure may perpetuate itself without change as long as it is profitable to the superior caste, it is not sufficient to prevent an invasion or even an infiltration of members of inferior groups who, by modifying the proportion between exploiters and exploited, would completely disturb the smooth working of the system. It is also necessary that all those who are by birth members of the upper caste should live according to the standards of their group. It is most unusual for an upper caste to regard the falling off of some of its members without uneasiness and dismay. This is particularly true when the group position of power is rationalized in terms of innate superiority. Some modern governments in Africa, for example, are much concerned about the 'poor whites' because their decadence threatens the myth of the white racial superiority. 564

The Tutsi had a similar pretence to a natural superiority as has been pointed out already. Consequently, if one of them was unable to support himself in a way becoming to his caste and seemed on the point of slipping down into the group of those who work manually, it was regarded as a shocking situation that should at once be put right. The remedy was to become the client of a richer Tutsi. The cows thus received, allowed him to subsist in [186] [558]

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such a way that he could become the patron of a few Hutu who would work for him and cultivate his fields. On the other hand, while the lord of such a Tutsi would not get many material advantages from him, his social prestige was enhanced by an increase in his following, and by being advised by a trusty Tutsi he was able to exert a greater influence in the different intrigues which played such an important part in his life.

(f) *Feudal and political structures*

We have said earlier that the Ruanda clientage system occupied an intermediate position between the public and private spheres. It must now appear more clearly why *buhake* was not just a private agreement between two persons, such as a loan. The element of pressure, although not going usually as far as the use of physical force, was certainly an important aspect of that relationship. There was also a constant interplay of the feudal structure of the two political ones (administrative and military). When, as frequently happened, one was at the same time administratively subjected to and a client of one's hill-chief, a client's obligations were not merely added to a subject's tribute: the total amount was reduced. This was a very favourable situation for the subject-client. All the great political chiefs were also rich lords. Their political offices helped them to increase their clientage, as is particularly evident in the case of the army-chief who could require cows from the army members merely in order to be able to gain more clients. On the other hand their wealth helped them to obtain important offices and to keep them.

It would be impossible, for these reasons, to describe adequately the working of the two political structures in Ruanda without describing the feudal system as well. It might even be said that the *buhake* is more fundamental in the sense that many political relations have been patterned on the client—lord relation. For instance, the army chief was really a lord for the members of the herdsmen's section of his army.

In spite of the psychological and perhaps historical precedence of the feudal system, it has been described after political organization because, as I wish to focus attention on the political organization, it seemed that the role of the feudal system in that respect would emerge more clearly.

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[p. 143]

CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM OF TUTSI DOMINATION

At the beginning of this century, after an historical development of which we can at the most have only a glimpse, Ruanda society appeared to be composed of two main strata, the Hutu and Tutsi castes. The latter was dominant in social power and used it to exploit economically the former and to retain political power exclusively. 564 661

This system of the social domination of a caste and of the political domination of a group within that caste seemed to be successful and stable at the beginning of the twentieth century. How did the Tutsi achieve the difficult task of keeping such a large caste kingdom a working concern? Before considering the social structural factors which were operative one must take into account the frame in which and the background against which the problem of domination had to be solved. By frame and background, is understood here the totality of circumstances which appeared to the Tutsi, and were for them, unalterable. Tutsi had to adapt their pattern of domination to these circumstances as they were in any event beyond their control. These circumstances were very numerous, pertaining to physical environment (ecological), to human biology, and even to the culture of the group. What these very various elements had in common was that, at the time referred to in this study, they set limits to the action and ways of life of the group. Some of these limits were not immutable in themselves but they were so none the less for the Tutsi at the beginning of the twentieth century. 21 178

From this vast congeries of natural, biological, and cultural factors, I shall review only a few which appear most significant from the present point of view: that of the conditions of domination.

1. FRAME AND BACKGROUND OF THE DOMINATION SYSTEM 178

A first relevant background fact was that, apart from the ultimate control of a most valuable resource, namely, cattle (a subject which will be discussed later), the difference between the equipment of Tutsi and Hutu was not very considerable. It is 564

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178 possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference
564 was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of
114 the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the
554 maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

554 Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them
564 to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of
178 their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds,
184 they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer, and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to
[162] know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to
[171] comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

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One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

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184 it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical
564 stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as
826 significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light
178 skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

114 Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

178 The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type
564 differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both
826 ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority
184 endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the
[554] physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark
[531] (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

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of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(a) Caste society and social cohesion

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions. 554 564 186 867

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils. 564 675 [558]

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here. 564 182 184

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the [614] [701] [594]

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

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564 ceremonies. We may say that clan, army, and sect were 'national'
182 only nominally and superficially. Notwithstanding, these associa-
184 tions between Hutu and Tutsi had probably some limited significance from the standpoint of social cohesion.

In that connexion, *buhake* is a much more important factor. By that agreement, almost any Hutu was linked to a Tutsi, and [675] partook in the social power of the upper caste by identifying himself with a protector who was a member of the dominant group. He obtained for his disposal some cattle, the symbol of artistic values, and he entered into exchange relationships with the nobility. Through the clientage institution, Ruanda constituted a unified economic system which distributed agricultural and pastoral products among the totality of the population. The personal bond with a privileged caste member and access to possession, however precarious, of cattle, seem to have been essential from the point of view of national solidarity.

A third integrative factor was social mobility, even as limited as [554] it was in Ruanda. It is certain that the number of Hutu and Twa assimilated to Tutsi because of their holding of political offices or because of their wealth, has always been tiny.

The possibility of being accepted into the superior group even if it is illusory for almost all the members of the inferior group has had in many societies a very great integrative influence. It is well 000 known that in the United States, during the first quarter of this century, the fact that a few men among the wealthiest of the country had been born poor, greatly contributed to the psychological solace of a considerable mass of men and women who had personally no opportunity to achieve such brilliant successes. In addition to individual comfort, the belief that there was no intrinsically insuperable obstacle (such as having been born outside a closed hereditary group) helped Americans to feel that they were all members of the same nation regarded as not significantly stratified.

564 I do not imply that the social ascent of a few Hutu has played a
178 similar part in Ruanda. Firstly, there was no egalitarian ideology
554 which makes almost unbearable the fact that one is obliged by
184 birth to live in an inferior social group; secondly, cases of intercaste mobility were extremely rare in Ruanda. Nevertheless, these cases were a proof for Hutu that, although not belonging to the upper stratum, they were members of the Ruanda nation as well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

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well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

A fourth factor which counterbalanced the socially disintegrative influence of the caste system was the plurality of the structures in which any Ruanda was affiliated.

Through several structures, subjects were much more efficiently bound among themselves and to their rulers than in a unique hierarchy. In the latter case, indeed, if the individual can extricate himself from that hierarchy, he becomes absolutely unattached. In Ruanda, even if one link was broken, the subject did not escape from his superior chiefs. Indeed, he was linked to them, particularly to the mwami, by more than one tie. Almost any Ruanda was dependent on the king through two hierarchical channels: *via* his hill-chief (who himself was subordinated to the cattle- and land-chief) and *via* his army-chief. In addition, the feudal system integrated him into a set of personal loyalty relations such that the person occupying the superior position in one of these relations is himself an inferior in another relation.

It should be mentioned also that any Ruanda was a member of three kin groups: primary and secondary patrilineages and clan. Of course kinship affiliations as such did not cut across caste lines (except for the clan name), but as many of these kinship groups had been for so long established in Ruanda territory, they were certainly a supplementary link between the individual and his country.

The network of relations woven by the political and clientage systems was particularly important in a country where there were no clear-cut groupings based on co-residence. This has led some observers to believe that Ruanda were living in a kind of social vacuum. On the contrary, a Ruanda was never isolated: his social links connected him with the authorities and were ramified, if not in the whole territory, at least in a large area of it.

The last factor of social cohesion to be mentioned here was the ideology developed around the monarchic institution. The mwami was regarded as the king of all Ruanda and not only of the Tutsi. His divine origin keeping him separate from men, bestowed on him an authority which no commoner thought to question. He was closely connected with Imana, conceived as a supreme god rather remote but benevolent. The mwami, representative of Imana, was the father and protector of all Ruanda. Was it not enough to assume towards him a filial attitude and to feel one's

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571 dependency upon him? As in many cultures in which a king is a
564 paternal and divine image, the Ruanda monarch certainly con-
184 tributed towards the creation in Ruanda individuals of a feeling of
643 belonging to a unit which presented some similarities to a family.

This was, it seems, how the Ruanda political and feudal struc-
564 tures, by their complexity, succeeded in keeping an equilibrium
182 between, on one hand, the tendencies towards social disintegra-
184 tion that a caste system necessarily produces and, on the other, the minimal cohesion necessary to the maintenance of a social unit such as a nation.

(*b*) *Exploitation and protection of Hutu*

728 The Tutsi were confronted with the dilemma that all conquerors must solve when they settle on a new territory with the intention of staying permanently: are they going to draw upon the natural resources of the country themselves, using their own labour and equipment, and to remove from the area the aboriginal inhabitants by pushing them further on and even by exterminating them as a people, or are they to let them stay and use them by having them working for their benefit? Europeans who settled in North America adopted the first solution, they did not [171] attempt to use Indian labour and they expelled the native population from their hunting areas and began to cultivate their country. The second method has been chosen in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara where Europeans have settled.

564 Whether Tutsi have explicitly considered this problem is
661 immaterial here. In fact they have adopted the solution which was most advantageous to them. Being pastoralists and not numerous (in comparison with the Hutu peasants), they had no interest in expelling them. If this had been done, they would have had either to till the land themselves or to dispense with beer, peas, sorghum, &c. It was preferable for Tutsi to adopt what Oppenheimer calls the bee-keeper's policy (as opposed to the bear's policy who for the purpose of robbing the beehive, destroys it),[4] that is to say, to keep in the country peasants in order permanently to exploit their productive work. Those who control territory are not a dominant group; it is upon men that power is exerted.

We have seen how, through the political and feudal structures, the country's surplus resources were drained and concentrated in

[4] Oppenheimer, 1922, pp. 65 ff.

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Tutsi hands. From that point of view, we have to distinguish here 564
two categories. In the first, we put the mwami, the court, the 661
intermediary military and administrative chiefs, whom we call the rulers; in the second, the ordinary Tutsi. The rulers received tributes and labour through the military and administrative channels; the second got fewer consumption goods directly, but mainly labour by the *buhake*. Thus the satisfaction of the needs of the superior caste was not obtained by economic means but by social pressure.

Were these services in labour and in kind heavy for the Hutu caste? It seems that it was not a too painful obligation for about nine-tenths of the population to secure the whole of the agricultural produce of the country. But we should not forget that it was an [433]
economy based on rudimentary techniques and which did not yield a considerable surplus. Moreover, the standard of life of the dominant group was much higher than that of the inferior [511]
castes; one may thus safely assume that Tutsi consumed much more than a tenth of the total production. Such an assessment is not very precise but it does not seem possible to obtain a more accurate one.

What is certain is that the social power enjoyed collectively by 564
the Tutsi caste was so great that it must have been a permanent 661
temptation for them to increase their demands on the Hutu group. 554
Such a situation was indeed at the same time both advantageous 182
and dangerous as it carried in itself the seeds of its own destruction. For if the measures of the impositions were exceeded (and the technological and environmental circumstances made the margin very narrow), the subordinate group would be weakened and its productivity would diminish. Eventually, it might be led to leave the territory. To prevent such detrimental occurrences was all the more difficult as each Tutsi was endowed with so much individual social power that he might be inclined to misuse it.

How did the Tutsi deal with this threat? Firstly, by a universal distribution of the levies obtained through the military and administrative structures. Every familial unit of production was obliged to contribute—certainly not equally, but the mere fact of having universal impositions tended to prevent very considerable differences, because a sufficient return was secured and rules were established. These rules were not as fixed and publicized as the fiscal laws in a Western society, yet the mere fact of their existence

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564 made for certain guarantees. For the *buhake* services, what each
661 client had to give or do was less clearly determined and depended
559 more on the *shebuja*'s wishes. There were also in that sphere,
182 however, some traditionally admitted limits.

Universality and regulation of dues as such do not prevent the exactions committed by socially powerful individuals and those who required payment of taxes were powerful. Another more efficient obstacle to an exaggerated exploitation was the fact that the political and clientage structures gave to any individual of ability the opportunity to secure for himself a defender and a protector. This opportunity resulted from the plural character of the Ruanda hierarchy.

When one belongs to a single structure, there is only one immediate superior. Consequently, everything must be obtained from
[642] him and is owed to him. In a plural system, there are several immediate superiors of approximately equal rank and who are not interdependent. Consequently, it is possible to have the support of one chief (or his complicity even) when resisting another.

564 This is what happened in Ruanda. An example will show how
662 the plurality of chiefs could be used. Suppose a Hutu had in-
182 herited cattle granted by a lord to his grandfather who had also received cows from his army-chief, and who had acquired other cattle by exchange of goods (*imbata*), and because his present lord was too exacting, our Hutu wanted to change and become the client of another important man. He knew that his lord would try to seize all his *imbata* and to choose the best cows among his other cattle. By some gifts, he obtained the support of his army-chief. Before entering into discussion with his lord, he and his army-chief had agreed that all the best cows he had at his disposal and all his *imbata* would be said to have been received from the military chief. They were removed and put on grazing grounds directly protected by the army-chief. Then when the lord claimed more cows than his client wanted to return to him, he had to settle the matter not with a man of very limited power but with the army-chief.

Of course this required clever handling of the situation, but when it succeeded it secured efficient protection against extortion.

It should be added that the recourse of a subject to a higher authority within the same hierarchy was approved and even encouraged in Ruanda. This was another means of putting a check on the exorbitant demands of immediate superiors. This, however,

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did not play an important part in the feudal system because there were no socially recognized ties between a client and his lord's lord. Feudality was not a ranking system in the same sense as were the political structures. Each lord had his personal following; he was not as such the representative of a higher authority.

To sum up, the political and clientage structures at the same time secured the economic exploitation of the Hutu and protected them against an exaggerated pressure which could have led to disaster for the upper caste.

(c) *Delegation and centralization of political power*

Before the European occupation the kingdom's population was already numerous, probably around 1,700,000 inhabitants. The orographic configuration of the country made communications rather difficult. In that non-literate culture, an efficient collection of tributes required almost a face to face acquaintance between the subject and his ruler. These circumstances necessitated a delegation of authority to many intermediary chiefs who would be the local representatives of the rulers.

But such an unavoidable system was very dangerous for the central government. Its subordinated agents having frequently authority over a rather numerous population which could provide them with abundant supplies (if nothing was sent to the court) could be tempted to isolate themselves completely from the capital and become independent. Such a course of action would have been facilitated by the military structure and the feudal system.

Some important chiefs were, indeed, authorized to raise an army. Moreover, any military chief whose army was encamped near the border, in a district far from the capital, could gain such ascendancy over his warriors as to win over their allegiance to himself.

The *buhake* was perhaps still more dangerous because, as in any feudal system, it created personal bonds of allegiance between the client and his lord. As such, that bond of loyalty did not extend beyond the lord. One had to obey one's lord because he was one's lord and not because he was a mwami's representative. This is why any feudal system has always been so dangerous for a central government. Independence and revolt against the king have been recurring events in the areas where a feudal system existed.

Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies

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Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies
640 towards the fragmentation of the political unity of their country,
643 first, by the ritual character of the royal power.
182 To revolt against the king, identified with Ruanda and supported by Imana, was a sacrilege and a profanation. It is not claimed that such a theory was sufficient to secure the kings with effective power indefinitely. Elsewhere similar ideologies of absolute and divine power of the monarchs have not prevented some of them from being stripped of their real authority, whereas their divine prerogatives were still respected. The ritual sanction does not seem to have had a primary importance in the maintenance of submission to the Ruanda kingship. In 1896 or 1897, a young
[669] mwami, Mibambwe IV Rutalindwa, was assailed and eventually lost his life in a revolt instigated by the brother of the queen-mother. That queen-mother was not the mother of the mwami but another wife of his father. Her clan, the Abega, wanted a son of hers as mwami.[8] This shows that when the king lost effective control of power, ritual sanctions were not an effective safeguard for his prerogatives, or even for his life. This is why it has not been thought necessary to expand on the ritual aspect of the Ruanda kingship. But it certainly was a factor which contributed to the obedience of the Ruanda nobles.

Another check was that the king kept at his disposal the
[701] coercive force of the armies. Even if the rebel had the support of one or two armies, the king had all the others.

But the main factor which I think prevented local authorities
640 from asserting their independence from the central government,
578 was the plural character of the political and feudal organization.
182 In connexion with the maintenance of the effective power of the central government, this plurality of structure was a very effective means of maintaining misunderstanding, hostility, and jealousy among the subordinate chiefs. It is certain that the *shebuja* of our example in the preceding section, would have been only too glad to denounce to the mwami the army-chief if the latter was indulging in suspicious manœuvres. The co-existence of chiefs of almost the same rank who were constantly induced by their subjects to take sides in disputes was sufficient to create mistrust among themselves. Moreover, conflicts were numerous, particularly when two chiefs had the same territorial power (as in the case of the cattle- and land-chiefs). To settle conflicts they had to resort to the

[8] Pagès, 1933, pp. 195-206.

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superior authority's judgement and this increased the ruler's power over his subordinates.

This applied not only to the political organization but also to the feudal structure, which had potentially the most disruptive action on a centralized government. Indeed, the subject-client had often to ask protection and support from his political chief against his lord and from his lord against his political chief. Consequently, between the important lords, even those who were not themselves prominent in the political hierarchies, and the political chiefs, relations were often very tense. Moreover, as the very important lords who could have attempted to resist the central government held at the same time political offices, they were directly enmeshed in rivalries and jealousies.

Engendered by the hierarchic plurality, the mistrust which prevented the subordinate chiefs from uniting against the central government, which led them to spy on each other and to inform the king of anything suspect, was the main check against tendencies towards local autonomy in Ruanda. Even if that hostility between important Tutsi happened to express itself openly and violently, the central government was not very anxious to restore peace as long as troubles remained localized and did not threaten the regular collection of taxes and the authority of the king.

3. THE FUNCTION OF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN RUANDA

At the beginning of this study, in order to delimit the social phenomena we wished to study, political organization in an intragroup context was defined as 'the totality of culturally patterned relationships between certain individuals who possess the legitimate use of physical force and all the others who inhabit at a certain time a certain territory'. This definition did not include the function of a system of political relationships because, it was stated, it is only through analysis that the function fulfilled by a set of institutions in a particular social context, may be ascertained.

In the preceding chapters, the different political structures have been analysed from a functional point of view. It will be sufficient to summarize what has been said to grasp the function of the Ruanda political organization as a whole. Here we shall consider together the feudal as well as the administrative and military systems.

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642 178 At the beginning of this century, Ruanda political organization was an instrument of social immobility. It was not a force of expansion meant to increase the Tutsi dominion over the country, but a machinery which succeeded in maintaining a difficult equilibrium between the antinomic tendencies I have reviewed. Any institution in which divergent tendencies meet and are kept balanced bears in itself the principle of its own disintegration. But in Ruanda the equilibrium problem had been so efficiently solved that it seems that an optimum point had been reached. The political organization that sustained the domination system could have been perpetuated as long as forces external and internal to the system itself remained constant. The external influence which modified the political organization has been the contact with the [648] Europeans, another conquest group entering Ruanda history around 1900. But apart from such a consequential event, internal phenomena such as a modification in the demographic ratio, the introduction of new agricultural techniques, the impoverishment of the soil, &c., could have been sufficient to destroy the equilibrium maintained by the Tutsi political organization.

642 178 564 661 What was 'immobilized' by the political organization was the Tutsi's caste's and rulers' almost exclusive control of power. They used it for exploitation, by which is meant here the satisfaction of needs not by economic production but by pressure. I follow here closely Oppenheimer's distinction between economic and political means. Both have the same end, he writes, the satisfaction of needs. But when this end is obtained by one's labour and the equivalent exchange of one's own labour for the labour of others, one may speak of 'economic means' while the unrequited appropriation of the labour of others is 'political means'.[8] This should, however, be qualified in the *buhake* where the client received the usufruct of cattle.

642 564 571 It would, of course, be completely misleading to assume that Ruanda political organization had for its only function the preservation of Tutsi exploitation. Through the political structure, as has been shown, the inferior castes enjoyed security. Collectively, peasants were protected against raiding expeditions of neighbours and against an unlimited and too arbitrary exploitation. Individually, in the difficult or dangerous events of life, a Hutu could rely upon the protection of his lord, of his army-chief, and

[8] Oppenheimer, 1922, p. 25.

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of his administrative chiefs if he could not or did not wish to ask his lineage's aid. 692 569 571

Should one, then, speak of a counterpart and interpret the Tutsi privileges as a retribution for the care of the commonweal and public order? No, political organization in Ruanda fulfilled different functions. It cannot be said that one function is the counterpart of the other merely because it benefited different groups. It just so happened that two different functions were fulfilled by the same set of institutions.

To sum up, this political system was a means of maintaining a certain social order in which the group of rulers and their caste appropriated to their consumption a considerable part of the country's goods without having to use their labour in the productive processes. [661]

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[P.160]

CHAPTER VIII

THE PREMISE OF INEQUALITY

I. DEFINITIONS

121 114 THERE is in a culture much more than can be observed (artifracts, behaviour) or known by direct questions (myths, religious beliefs, &c.). There are conceptions concerning the place of man in the world, his destiny, his main values, his attitudes to his fellow men, the meaning of the invisible world, &c. That covert part of a culture is partly or totally implicit in the sense that these fundamental conceptions and values remain for the culture bearers unexpressed or even unconscious. They are thus reached by induction, some by immediate inference from observation, some by a process encompassing several states of abstraction.

Some elements of the covert culture are particularly fundamental because they underline different cultural phenomena which hitherto might have appeared unrelated. They act as a principle in the logical order from which a set of conclusions may be deduced. This is why the word 'premise' has been preferred here to others such as 'configuration',[1] 'sanction',[2] and 'theme'.[3]

On the other hand, the word 'premise' should not be thought to imply that the relationships between the cultural principle and its cultural consequences obey the strictest laws of rational logic. This relationship may be said to be logical only in a very broad sense. Or more accurately, we must clearly distinguish between 'logical' and 'rational'. There are relationships which are meaningful although they express a sequence which is emotional or 'psychological' or even unconscious rather than rational. Such relationships, however, may be said to be 'logical' in the sense in which we speak of a logic of sentiments or emotions. This simply means that we expect them, 'understand' them.[4]

114 To make the point clear, let us take an example of a logical but not rational relationship between two social phenomena. In the past, a positive correlation has been noted between low economic

[1] Kluckhohn, 1941, 1943.
[2] Opler, 1945.
[3] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 222 f.
[4] Maquet, 1951, p. 165.

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indices and the lynching of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union. There is evidently no rational means for the whites of the south to impute the responsibility for the lack of rain—which was then the cause of the poor cotton crops—to Negroes. This typically irrational behaviour, however, becomes comprehensible if we accept the frustration-aggression sequence. In this sense, it can be said that the relation between the two phenomena, economic crises and lynching, is a logical relation.[5]

Ruanda political relations disclose one of the premises of that culture. Underlying the political and feudal structures there was a general assumption about human relations. In order to formulate it as accurately as may be possible, I shall first consider more closely the social roles of the superior and inferior in the field of political and feudal relations. In the following section the words 'ruler' and 'subject' refer to superiors and inferiors in the administrative, military, and clientage structures.

2. THE RULER'S AND SUBJECT'S SOCIAL ROLES

The analysis of the political organization of Ruanda indicates that the ruler was expected to assume a complex role towards his subject. The two poles of it were protection and profit. The subordinate was somebody whom one protected: he was also a resource from which it was normal to draw some advantage.

Protection was not restricted to a certain field of action, but potentially encompassed the whole of the subject's life. When the inferior needed some help, any help, he was expected to apply to his ruler even if the issue was completely alien to the sphere of the main relations between the ruler and the subject. A client could ask his *shebuja* for aid in matters not pertaining to cattle and *buhake* services. It was even thought proper for the ruler to interfere in difficulties which his subject through his own misdemeanour had run into as, for instance, when an inferior had been caught stealing from somebody. When protection was refused, it was not because the question was not the ruler's concern, but on other grounds, such as disloyalty.

The extent of that protection was not strictly defined. It did not constitute for the ruler a set of particular and fixed obligations. The subordinate had a general right to be protected but very few claims to particular advantages. In *buhake*, when one offered one's

[5] Dollard, 1939, p. 44 (quoted by Maquet, 1951, p. 166).

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571 829 156 641 services to a lord in order to become his client, one was entitled to receive usufruct of his cattle. But the number of cows was not determined. It could be one or twenty or fifty or even more.

It was up to the ruler to decide if any protection was to be granted and to what extent. Of course the pressure of public opinion obliged him not to refuse aid to his subordinate unless he had some socially accepted reason to do so (such as the subordinate's disobedience), but the measure of the protection depended on his own will and pleasure.

These characteristics of the protective attitude (care of the whole of the subordinate's life, its very variable extent being left to the superior's judgement) allow us to apply to it the qualification of 128 114 'paternalistic'. Paternalism is understood here as 'the principle of acting in a way like that of a father towards his children. Because of the total dependency of the human offspring, during their first years, on those who nurse and educate them—and they are usually their parents—the latter's authority ranges over the whole of the life of the child. In everything he needs his parents, in everything they have to direct and control him. Moreover, parents sovereignly judge what they are going to give their children. Undoubtedly, their social groups force them to secure for their children the protection they need to live and develop but the children may not require such or such a particular service. Parents decide without further ado what is suitable for the child and think that better than he they know what is 'best for him'.

571 829 156 641 A paternal relation does not exclude profit. In describing the Ruanda's father's role towards his sons, I mentioned that the father's interests were usually thought to be predominant in respect of the children's interests. When inferiors were not the superior's children but his subjects or clients, that aspect of profit was much more emphasized. All those who occupied the inferior position in the relations of the political and feudal structures had dues to give and tribute labour to perform for the profit of their superiors, and some of these obligations were heavy. It did not appear at all unusual to Ruanda that power brought many privileges to those who had it. If one is a chief, is it not fitting to draw advantages from one's situation? Here, again, the extent of the subject's obligations was left within very broad limits to the superior's discretion.

The ruler's role seems to have been that paternalistic blend of

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protection and profit. Of course, that role was not always perfectly 571
fulfilled. Chiefs who have been more exploiters than protectors 829
are remembered. It was by comparison with that ideal picture 156
that their behaviour was judged and blamed. 641

The subject was expected to have a role complementary to the one we have just described. He was supposed to assume an attitude of dependency. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a well delimited field. Dependence is inferiority in the whole of life. When the ruler gives an order, he has to be obeyed, not because his order falls within the field over which he has authority, but because he is a ruler.

It could be objected that in Ruanda this attitude of dependence was not in principle unlimited. We saw that cattle- and land-chiefs could not require as many dues as they liked, that subjects could resort to higher authorities against their immediate chiefs, and that it was possible to oppose one chief against another. This does not change the fact that the dependent attitude was the only one socially expected of the subject. Indeed it was impossible to be considered a 'good' subject if one asserted independence of one's superior. A claim of independence, even limited, obliged one to leave the superior, to ask for the support of another and to assume towards the latter an attitude of complete compliance. This appeared clearly in the feudal relation. A lord could not be refused what he asked (even at the present time a shop assistant who is obliged by the law to sell only for cash, will find it very difficult not to sell on credit to his lord). He could only be deserted for another.

3. FORMULATION OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

When paternalism and dependence define the permanent roles 571
expected from two persons, much more is implied than when they 829
express the transitory roles of a father and his young son. In the latter case it is known that the son will grow up and one day, even if he has to wait till after his father's death, will be equal to what his father was when the latter was young. But when paternalism and dependence are linked in permanent reciprocal roles, the assumption is that there is a fundamental inequality between the two persons. The subject will never grow up, he will never 'reach his majority'. It is implied without any doubt that there is between the ruler and his subject a difference so fundamental that it never 181
can be suppressed. This fundamental inequality of men is the

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181 cultural premise underlying the social roles of the ruler and the subject.

564 We have seen that Ruanda society is made up of three hereditary
829 groups with a very different participation in social power and that these differences were explained in terms of innate qualities. On the other hand, in a very great proportion of the political and feudal relations, the superior and the inferior belong to different castes. This indicates in what sense Ruanda feel men to be unequal.

This was not an inequality founded on differences in individual qualities or possessions. Of course, a very clever and artful man, a very wealthy possessor of great herds of cattle, could exert much greater influence, could have access to many more amenities of life and would command much more respect than a not very intelligent or a not very wealthy man. But these differences were not regarded as entailing such a significant inequality between them if they belonged to the same caste. Caste affiliation was mainly what made men unequal.

564 Several stories expressed the differences between the three
186 castes and the qualities which were thought characteristic of them.[6] I mentioned above physical stereotypes. To them, moral qualities were added. Tutsi were said to be intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), capable of command, refined, courageous, and cruel; Hutu, hardworking, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong; Twa, gluttonous, loyal to their Tutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, without any restraint. These stereotypes, admitted with only minor qualifications and slight differences and emphases by all Ruanda, Hutu and Twa as well as Tutsi, were thought to be essentially linked to caste affiliation. When asked if a Hutu brought up with Tutsi, and as a Tutsi boy, could not develop the Tutsi qualities, Hutu and Tutsi informants answer that such a training
[608] could change the boy to some extent, but not completely; the differences pertain to nature.

Caste status was, of course, not founded on a difference of
564 qualities, objective or assumed, in the sense that if a particular Hutu was recognised as intelligent and courageous as a Tutsi, his status remained nevertheless unaffected. What mattered primarily indeed was not to have the qualifications of the upper caste, but to have been born in it. This was sufficient to determine a very

[6] Cf. for instance Baudrot, 1930, p. 139; Hurel, 1922.

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different share in social power and fundamentally different rights. 564

The Ruanda principle of inequality could be expressed in the following terms: people born in different castes are unequal in inborn endowment, physical as well as psychological and have consequently fundamentally different rights. [181]

That premise, closely connected with the caste structure, is suggested by the analysis of the political and feudal structures. Indeed, when a principle of inequality exists in a society with respect to a certain type of relations, it does not fail to spread to other relations more or less similar. In Ruanda, the inegalitarian premise of inter-caste relations has permeated the intricate relations which could be regarded as analogous in certain respects. A Tutsi who was lord over another Tutsi was thought to be superior over his client in a way comparable to the manner in which he was superior over his Hutu clients. Of course significant differences remained between inter- and intra-caste relationships of superiority, but the latter tended to be patterned on the former ones. 181 571 564

The extension to intricate relations of the premise of inter-caste inequality made it a principle of integration with a very wide bearing as it could, and did, in fact, pervade all the human relations in which a superiority of one actor over the other was implied. It could be the relation between a mother and her young child, a father and his son, a man and his wife, an old man and a youngster, a craftsman and an apprentice, &c. These relations constituting the texture of social life, the impact on collective living of the premise of fundamental inequality, cannot be over-estimated.

4. THE THEOREMS

In order to understand better how the inequality premise influenced the whole of Ruanda social life, the different aspects of that influence must be made explicit. They will be expressed as a set of theorems, by which is meant general propositions or statements which are not self-evident. 128

Theorem One

When two persons are involved in any kind of social relation, it is their mutual hierarchical situation which is regarded as the most relevant element of the relation. 571 156

Superiority and inferiority were *faci* of the Ruanda social structure to such an extent that as soon as they entered as a 554

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571 156 554 component in the content of a social intercourse, other components were regarded as less important and were coloured by the hierarchical situation of the two actors. In Euro-American culture, relationships of inferiority are defined not only as regards the people taking part in them but also as regards the matters concerned. A business executive may give orders to one of his employees only within very well-defined limits of competence and time, but he cannot oblige him to accept his views on for instance artistic or political questions. In Ruanda, on the contrary, when one of the persons involved in a dyad was superior to the other from a certain point of view, the superiority was diffused, as it were, through the whole relation. For his subject, a chief was always a chief in whatever matter.

This first theorem is a consequence of inequality conceived as essential. When two persons are considered unequal by nature, the [829] superiority of one over the other cannot be limited to a certain sphere. Obedience in everything must be required: there is no field in which a father could be wrong and his son right.

Theorem Two

As in almost any human relation there is some superiority of one actor over the other, as that aspect is always stressed and as inferiority relations are patterned on inter-caste relations, paternalistic, and dependent attitudes were to be found in almost every human relation in Ruanda.

The only exceptions were relations between people who were equal from any point of view, as for instance young men of about the same age, belonging to the same caste and whose families were about at the same level of wealth.

This is very noticeable today, even in relations with Europeans. A clerk usually assumes towards the European he assists, a dependent attitude different from the behaviour of a European employee. The clerk expects from his employer a behaviour similar to the paternalistic attitude of the Ruanda superiors and he is puzzled and disappointed if the employer does not assume such an attitude.

Theorem Three

There is no private sector in the life of the inferior *vis-à-vis* his superior. The superior has the right to control the whole of his

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subordinate's activities. This is not resented by the inferior as unbearable meddling. On the contrary, it is expected by the inferior who feels that such interference is a proof of the interest his superior extends to him. When a European employer avoids intruding into the privacy of a Ruanda subordinate, the latter not infrequently tends to interpret it as a withdrawal from the protective role expected from any superior. 571 156 554

If a subordinate were to refuse his Ruanda superior's interference on the grounds that he should not be concerned with his private affairs, such a pretension would be regarded as at least a definite lack of respect. [577]

Theorem Four

Strictly contractual relations are not possible. To enter into a contract implies that the intended parties are previously independent of one another. If one is submitted to the other for the whole of his life, how could he freely commit himself to give the other certain services? And how could the other promise to secure his inferior a counterpart that the latter can legally claim? When entering into contractual relations, it is necessary that each prospective partner should be a person independent of and equal to the other in that context. In the Western world, admittedly, it frequently happens that an agreement which verifies the juridical forms of a contract is entered into by persons who are not independent and equal. Circumstances may exert such a pressure that freedom to accept or refuse a particular obligation is purely illusory. Conditions of independence and equality, however, are often realised. In ancient Ruanda such a situation could almost never have happened as it was rare for two persons who might otherwise be related by a contract, not to be already involved in paternalistic and dependent relations. 571 675 554

Moreover, after the contract has been concluded it is necessary that each partner should be able to defend himself against any demand of the other which would exceed the terms of the covenant, and that he should have the means to oblige the other to fulfil what the latter has agreed to give or to do. This implies again that one part is not completely dependent on the other. Now, as I mentioned earlier, the extent of the superior's obligations is left, in Ruanda, to his will and pleasure. Consequently, it was unthinkable for the party who was at the same time in a position

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571 inferior to the other to claim some particular fulfilment of the
675 agreed promises from the other.

554 This appears clearly in the difficulties Ruanda often meet when they have to adjust themselves to European labour contracts.
[177] They are sometimes confused by the fact that the employer requires from them at the same time less and more than they
[829] expect. Less because the employer does not ask for more services, for longer office hours for instance, than what has been stipulated, and more because he is very exacting in the execution of what has been undertaken, for instance in matters of punctuality.

Theorem Five

571 With such socially accepted conceptions about inequality, those who occupy the superior positions in most of the social relations
156 in which they are involved, tend to develop a permanent authori-
554 tarian behaviour. This is characterized by a propensity to command, to be self-assertive, arrogant, protective, and compassionate.

Chiefs, rulers, and other superiors try to extend not only the size or range of their power (the number of people controlled) but its density (the degree of control of the subordinates).[7] Any independence manifested by the inferior will be resented as rebellious.

This leads to intolerance. The superior's opinions should never
[829] be opposed by the inferior who is always and everywhere expected to manifest his dependence by attitudes of compliance. Even today this conduct tends to prevail. Some years ago a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. After the most important person present there had given his opinion, everybody voted for his proposal. But after the meeting many expressed privately their divergent opinions. At the time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with the superior.

Theorem Six

571 Even if the caste system and political and feudal institutions
156 have succeeded to a large extent in moulding personalities in such a way as to make inferiors self-effacing, submissive, compliant,
[181] and dependent, the conditioning has not been perfect. Often the inferior wants to disagree with his superior's opinions, to avoid executing an order or obeying his commands. A straight refusal

[7] Cf. Russell, 1938, pp. 185 f.

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being regarded as insulting, disrespect or revolt, the only way out for the inferior is to appear to behave always as expected: to fall in with any desire of his superior while concealing his own opinion, never to say no to any order but to find clever excuses for not doing it. Consequently dissimulation is very highly thought of and a skill necessary to master for someone wanting to live more or less securely under such a political régime. 571 156

Many stories and proverbs give evidence of the frequency of covert disobedience to the rulers and of the appreciation in which an astute excuse and a 'good lie' were held. This was the only way to adapt oneself to such a situation. [538]

Theorem Seven

It is commonly accepted in the Western tradition that truth has a high value and that language is the medium used to express 'truth', that is to say, 'what reality appears to be to the person who speaks'. Undoubtedly, in Western practice, language is used, even in the cognitive sphere, for many other purposes than to express what the speaker thinks. Moreover, most of the scholars who, in recent years, have studied the problem of the origin and function of language, bring qualifications to the traditional view. In the almost unanimous opinion of the carriers of Western culture, however, the ideal verbal behaviour must express 'truth' and not what is useful to the speaker. This is, for example, what is inculcated into children in schools. 000

In a society in which human relations are imbued with some cultural premises as the one being considered in this chapter, 'truth' cannot be recognised as a dominant value. Indeed, one is supposed to use language not to say what is thought to conform to reality but what is thought to conform to the ruler's opinion. Nobody, the ruler included, entertains many illusions on the sincerity of what is said, but submission has been expressed at the right time and this is felt to be most important. 181 829 577

This theorem could be formulated in this way: the verbal behaviour towards a superior must express dependence rather than 'truth'.

Theorem Eight 554

Once it is taken for granted that in hierarchical relations, behaviour must conform to the superior's expectations even to the 181 571

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point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is useful to the speaker or expected from him and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a utilitarian usage of language.

5. ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

We have read the premise, as it were, into the Ruanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Ruanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question that we are not likely ever to know, such as a good knowledge of the Tutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Ruanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

Tutsi came into Ruanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into the country inhabited by Hutu looked rather like a peaceful infiltration, it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Hutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalization of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Ruanda inequality premise. It is possible that Tutsi had previously to their arrival in Ruanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they

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shaped the new Ruanda situation according to their ideology. Again, it is possible that some themes and types of organization of the Hutu cultivators were particularly capable of being used in the formation of the Ruanda ethos as I have described it. But a conquest evolving into a caste structure is sufficient to account for an inegalitarian premise. Even if prior to the conquest each of the two groups concerned has an egalitarian ideology, the establishment of hereditary groups, whereby the status of vanquishers and vanquished is perpetuated, suffices to give birth to a theory of inequality.

I am of the opinion that such a theory is a necessary 'superstructure' (in the Marxist sense) of a caste system. Undoubtedly, a body of inheritance laws, opportunities for a certain kind of education restricted to the wealthiest, a difference in languages, &c., may maintain for some time a high social power in the hands of the conquerors' descendents, even if the cultural ideology is that all men are born equal. But such a lack of internal coherence ('all men are born equal' versus 'political and economic power is restricted to those who are descendants of the conquerors') is very likely to result rapidly in an evolution from a caste system to a class society. A 'racial' theory seems the only ideology perfectly consistent with a caste structure. It is very probable that conquerors adopt it not only for consistency's sake, but because it is more efficient, more easily understood and accepted, particularly when different physical traits are characteristic of each caste.

It should be understood that when we speak of 'the adoption of an ideology by the conquerors', it is not meant that one day the conquerors made a conscious choice among various possible ideologies. Rather, once a caste system operates, the patterns of political domination and of economic exploitation require people to behave as if the upper caste members were by nature different from that of the lower caste members. When the 'idea behind' these behaviours is made more or less explicit, as in tales and proverbs, it is rationalized in terms of fundamental and inborn inequality.

If there is such a necessary link between caste systems and the premise of inequality, then to know whether the conqueror's ideology, prior to the conquest, was egalitarian or not is only an historical question; when the vanquisher settles and establishes a caste system, the inegalitarian ideology is produced, as its corollary.

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121 The question of the previous premise of the conquerors' culture,
114 however, remains very important in another connexion: to what extent does an anterior egalitarian ideology deter the conquerors from establishing a caste system? Is the conqueror, if imbued with an ethos of egalitarianism, inclined to admit that his principles are valid also in his relations with the vanquished group? Or does he think that obviously the conquered groups are different people? Because of our ignorance of the Tutsi cultural premises before they entered into Ruanda, these questions have to be left unanswered in the case of ancient Ruanda.

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APPENDIX 1

Translation from Ruanda of the questionnaire on political organization. 125

1. (*a*) Name of informant.
   (*b*) Son of . . . .
   (*c*) Is he a Tutsi, a Hutu, a Twa?
   (*d*) What is or was his occupation, office, title?[1]
   (*e*) What is your 'territoire' (Belgian administrative division)?
   (*f*) What is your 'chefferie' (*igihugu*)?
   (*g*) What is your 'sous-chefferie' (*umosozi*)?
   (*h*) Give the name of your patrilineage (*umulyango*).
   (*i*) Give the name of your clan (*ubwoko*).
2. Give the name of your patrilineage head.
3. Where are people more numerous, in the *inzu* or in the *umulyango*?
4. Were all the members of your *umulyango* under the command of a single army-chief or were you scattered in different armies?
5. Give the name of the chronologically first army to which your *inzu* was affiliated.
6. Has your *inzu* been affiliated to armies other than the first one?
7. Have you been trained as an *intore*?
8. Was every Ruanda (whether Tutsi, Hutu or Twa) a member of an army?
9. Was a man ever under the command of two army-chiefs?
10. When an army-chief wanted to recruit *intore* or to require services, could he request it from any individual directly or had he to ask the patrilineage head?
11. Could a young man be incorporated into two *intore* companies?
12. Do you know anybody who has been in that situation? Give his name.
13. When somebody was a member of an army, was he usually the only person of his kin group in that army?
14. Or was he with his married sons?
15. With his unmarried sons?
16. With his brothers?
17. With his brothers' children?
18. With his sisters' children?
19. With his paternal uncles?
20. With his clients?
21. Was it possible for somebody who had never received any cows from a lord to have cows that belonged to him and did not depend on any lord?
22. Were the cows acquired by somebody's independent economic activity regarded as army cows?

[1] The preceding questions were usually answered by the investigator, not directly by the informant. To the following the informant's reply was recorded.

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23. Was a married man who was left without any living member of his *inzu*, regarded as an *inzu* head and had he the same obligation towards his army-chief?
24. Was it the same or was it different to be a client and to be commanded by an army-chief?
25. Were the cows called 'cows of the king' received from a lord?
26. Could all the members of an army be required to perform services concerning cows and war or were they divided into two groups, one of warriors and one of herdsmen?
27. When a new army-chief was appointed, had all the army members the obligation of numbering the cows (*murundo*) and of giving him a cow as recognition of his authority (*indabukirano*)?
28. Was the army member who had no cows obliged to give another recognition gift?
29. Had the army-chief an effective disposal of the cows taken by him during the *murundo*?
30. Could the army-chief order the numbering by himself?
31. Who minded the cows taken during the numbering?
32. When two Tutsi members of the same army and living on the same hill had a dispute about cattle, who had to judge the case?
33. If the two Tutsi were members of different armies, who had to judge the case?
34. When a client wanted to complain about his lord, to whom did he bring the case?
35. When a lord wanted to complain about his client, to whom did he bring the case?
36. When somebody wanted his litigation to be judged by the king, by whom was it advisable to be accompanied?
37. Could anybody, whether Tutsi, Hutu or Twa, appeal to the king if he did not want to accept the previous judgement of another authority?
38. If somebody wanted to appeal to the king and was prevented from doing so by some pressure, what happened if the king knew of it?
39. Could army members who were dissatisfied with their chief do anything to have him dismissed?
40. If it was possible, what did they do?
41. What section of the army had to give to the court the cows supplying fresh milk (*inkuke*)?
42. The service of jugs of milk (*igicuba*)?
43. The foodstuffs (*amahovo*)?
44. The bulls to be slaughtered (*indwanyi*)?
45. The steers for divination purposes (*amamana*)?
46. The service of the maintenance of the enclosure?
47. Were all these services and dues given by the patrilineage head or severally by every member of the army?
48. Did the king command the whole country directly or was it divided into several districts?

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49. What was the name of these districts?
50. What was the name of the royal residence of the place where you lived? 125
51. Do you remember the names of other royal residences or districts?
52. What is the meaning of *umunyamukenke*?
53. What is the meaning of *umynyabutaha*?
54. Who collected the sorghum tribute (*urutete*) for the court?
55. In addition to the judgs of milk and other *inkuks* sent by the royal residences to the court, were there other jugs of milk and other *inkuke* requested by the tax collectors and sent to the residence?
56. Who required these additional jugs of milk from the hill chief?
57. Which cattle provided the milk?
58. What is the meaning of the word *abakoni*?
59. For the benefit of whom were the cattle seized during military expeditions?
60. What is the meaning of the word *umudende*?
61. Could you give the names of five persons who had *umudende*?
62. What is the meaning of the word *impotore*?
63. Could you give the name of five persons who had *impotore*?
64. What is the meaning of the words *gucana uruti*?
65. Could you give the name of five persons for whom the *gucana uruti* ritual has been performed?
66. Who granted the *umudende* badge?
67. Who granted the *impotore* badge?
68. Who performed the ritual of *gucana uruti*?
69. Did the army cattle include only *nyambo*?
70. Were the army-chief's herds regarded as army cattle?
71. Were the cows given as rewards to the warriors for bravery regarded as army cattle?
72. Were the cows received as bride-wealth regarded as army cattle?
73. Were the cows given to an army member regarded as army cows?
74. Were the cows received by exchange by army members regarded as army cattle?
75. Who granted the hill-chief his office?
76. Who was the superior of the hill-chief?
77. What was the difference between *ibikingi* and *umusozi*?
78. Was any *ibikingi* depending directly on the royal court?
79. Who appointed the heads of these royal *ibikingi*?
80. Had the cattle-chief authority over them?
81. Could the land-chief require tribute labour from the people living on these royal *ibikingi*?
82. Were those who had received these *ibikingi* from the king under the authority of the army-chief?
83. Was the cattle-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the court?
84. Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the cattle-chief?

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85. Was the land-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the court?
86. Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the land-chief?
87. Give the name, if you can remember it, of a hill on which there was a royal cemetery.
88. Were the people living on such hills obliged to pay taxes (in agricultural produce) to the court?
89. Do you remember the name of a place under the authority of a *mwiru*?
90. Was such a place submitted to the authority of the cattle- and the land-chiefs?
91. Was it possible for the same person to be at the same time land-chief and cattle-chief?
92. Was the office of the cattle-chief granted only to Tutsi or to Hutu as well?
93. Was the office of land-chief granted only to Tutsi or to Hutu as well?
94. Give the names of Hutu you know, who have been land-chiefs or cattle-chiefs.
95. Give the names of Hutu who have been hill-chiefs.
96. Give the names of Hutu who have been army-chiefs.
97. Could a Twa be appointed hill-chief?
98. Give the names of Twa who have been hill-chiefs.
99. Without being ennobled, could a Twa be appointed cattle-chief or land-chief?
100. When a Twa or Hutu was appointed chief, did the Tutsi living under his authority have to obey him?

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APPENDIX 2

Computation of answers given to the Questionnaire by a sample of 300 Tutsi.

128
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		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
1. Is there a difference between *umulyango* and *uwoko*?	yes	274	91·3
	no	26	8·6
2. Do they know the name of their *umulyango* head?	yes	278	92·6
	no	22	7·3
3. Is there a difference between *inzu* and *umulyango*?	yes	295	98·3
	no	5	1·6
4. Was your family under the authority of one or several army-chiefs?	one	248	82·6
	several	52	17·3
5. Do they know the name of the first army to which their *inzu* belonged?	yes	295	98·3
	no	5	1·6
6. Has your *inzu* belonged to other armies?	yes	90	30·0
	no	210	70·0
7. Have you been *intore*?	yes	187	62·3
	no	113	37·6
8. Was any Ruanda a member of an army?	yes	298	99·3
	no	2	0·6
9. Was it possible to be a member of two armies?	yes	1	0·3
	no	299	99·6
10. Could the army-chief require dues directly from anybody or only through the lineage head?	direct	0	0·0
	lineage head	300	100·0
11. Could a man be incorporated into two *intore* companies?	yes	13	4·3
	no	287	95·6
12. Do they give the name of somebody who has been in such a situation?	yes	13	4·3
	no	287	95·6
13. Was an army member usually the only person of his kin group in the army?	yes	0	0·0
	no	300	100·0
14. Or was he with his married sons?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
15. With his unmarried sons?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
16. With his brothers?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
17. With his brothers' children?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0

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		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
128 18. With his sisters' children?	yes	5	1·6
	no	295	98·3
125 19. With his paternal uncles?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
20. With his clients?	yes	22	7·3
	no	277	92·3
	DK[1]	1	0·3
21. Was it possible to have cows not granted by a lord?	yes	277	92·3
	no	17	5·6
	DK	6	2·0
22. Were the cows acquired by independent economic activity regarded as army cows?	yes	256	85·3
	no	42	14·0
	DK	2	0·6
23. Was a married man, the only member left of his *inzu*, regarded as a lineage head from the army point of view?	yes	293	97·6
	no	0	0·0
	DK	7	2·3
24. Was it the same to be a client and to be commanded by an army-chief?	yes	3	1·0
	no	297	99·0
25. Were the 'king's cows' *imbata*?	yes	185	61·6
	no	4	1·3
	DK	111	37·0
26. Did they distinguish in any army two sections (warriors and herdsmen)?	yes	251	83·6
	no	1	0·3
	DK	48	16·0
27. When a new army-chief was appointed, were *murundo* and/or *indabukirano* obligatory?	*mur.* only	0	0·0
	ind. only	10	3·3
	both	288	96·0
	DK	2	0·6
28. If one had no cows, was one obliged to give a recognition gift?	yes	24	8·0
	no	275	91·6
	DK	1	0·3
29. Had the army-chief the effective disposal of the *murundo* cows?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
30. Could the army-chief order the numbering by himself?	yes	14	4·6
	no	269	89·6
	DK	17	5·6

[1] The symbol DK denotes not only the avowed ignorance of the informants. It has been used also when an answer had to be discarded for other reasons such as its irrelevance indicating that the informant did not understand it, or when it appeared clearly in the interview that the informant was giving any answer for answer's sake, or was answering what he thought the anthropologist wanted.

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		Absolute figures	Percentages
31. Who minded the cattle taken in the *murundo*?	*abashumba* only	106	35·3
	inkomamas only	0	0·0
	both	158	52·6
	a warrior	1	0·3
	DK	35	11·6
32. A dispute between two Tutsi of the same army and the same hill was judged by:	their army-chief	274	91·3
	their land-chief	6	2·0
	DK	20	6·6
33. A dispute between two Tutsi from different armies was judged by:	one army-chief	19	6·3
	both army-chiefs	245	81·6
	their land-chiefs	7	2·3
	DK	29	9·6
34. With whom had a client to lodge a complaint against his lord?	client's army-chief	158	52·6
	lord's army-chief	20	6·6
	king	34	11·3
	DK	88	29·3
35. With whom had a lord to lodge a complaint against his client?	client's army-chief	39	13·0
	lord's army-chief	159	53·0
	land-chief of both	1	0·3
	king	28	9·3
	DK	73	24·3
36. If one wanted one's litigation to be judged by the king, it was advisable to be accompanied by:	one's lord	117	39·0
	one's army-chief	82	27·3
	both of them	54	18·0
	DK	47	15·6
37. Could everybody appeal to the king?	yes	266	88·6
	no	26	8·6
	DK	8	2·6
38. Were those who prevented somebody from appealing to the king punished?	yes	149	49·6
	no	82	27·3
	DK	69	23·0
39. Could army members have their army-chief dismissed?	yes	248	82·6
	no	44	14·6
	DK	8	2·6
40. Who brought the case to the *mwami*?	all army mem.	5	1·6
	a delegation	215	71·6
	DK	80	26·6
41. What section of the army had to provide the court with *ishake*?	*abashumba*	295	98·3
	warriors	1	0·3
	DK	4	1·3

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		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
128 125 42. What section of the army had to provide the court with jugs of milk?	*abashumba*	296	98·6
	warriors	0	0·0
	DK	4	1·3
43. With foodstuffs?	*abashumba*	3	1·0
	warriors	11	3·6
	Hutu army mem.	277	92·3
	DK	9	3·0
44. With bulls to be slaughtered?	*abashumba*	268	89·3
	warriors	2	0·6
	both sections	8	2·6
	DK	22	7·3
45. With steers for divination purposes?	*abashumba*	123	41·0
	warriors	2	2·6
	both sections	166	55·3
	DK	9	3·0
46. What section of the army had to maintain the enclosure?	*abashumba*	11	3·6
	warriors	2	0·6
	Hutu army mem.	4	1·3
	all army mem.	278	92·6
	DK	5	1·6
47. All these services and dues were given by:	lineage head	294	98·0
	each member	2	0·6
	DK	4	1·3
48. Was the country divided into several districts?	yes	290	96·6
	no	7	2·3
	DK	3	1·0
49. What were the names of these districts?	*igikingi*	10	3·3
	igiti	58	19·3
	urugo	36	12·0
	umurwa	22	7·3
	ubukebe	72	24·0
	igikingi, igiti, rugo	5	1·6
	igiti, rugo	11	3·6
	igikingi, igiti	17	5·6
	igiti, ubukebe	25	8·3
	igikingi, igiti, ubukebe	3	1·0
	DK	41	13·6
50. Do they know the name of the royal residence in the place where they lived?	yes	258	86·0
	no	28	9·3
	DK	14	4·6

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		Absolute figures	Percentages
51. Do they remember the names of other such residences?	yes	283	94·3
	no	16	5·3
	DK	1	0·3
52. Do they understand *umunyamukenke* in the sense of cattle-chief?	yes	277	92·3
	no	7	2·6
	DK	16	5·3
53. Do they understand *umunyabutaka* in the sense of land-chief?	yes	283	94·3
	no	6	2·0
	DK	11	3·6
54. Who collected the *urutete* for the court?	land-chief	267	89·0
	army-chief	11	3·6
	both of them	3	1·0
	another person	6	2·0
	DK	13	4·3
55. In addition to milk and *inkuke*, which other cattle dues were sent to the residence?	milk only	0	0·0
	inkuke only	30	10·0
	both	233	77·3
	neither of them	32	10·6
	DK	5	1·6
56. Who required these additional jugs of milk from the hill-chief?	cattle-chief	204	68·0
	another person	70	23·3
	DK	26	8·6
57. Which cows provided that milk?	indep. acquired	1	0·3
	abashumba's cows	247	82·3
	others' cows	33	11·0
	DK	19	6·3
58. Do they understand *abakoni* in the sense of those who seized cattle in expeditions?	yes	203	67·6
	another meaning	49	16·3
	DK	48	16·0
59. For whose benefit were the cattle seized by *abakoni*?	army-chief	6	2·0
	mwami	261	87·0
	DK	33	11·0
60. *Umudende* means:			
badge for having killed 7 men		206	68·6
badge		74	24·6
something else or DK		20	6·6
61. How many names do they remember of warriors having worn *umudende*?	five or more	114	38·0
	less than 5	140	46·0
	none	46	15·3
62. *Impodore* means:			
badge for having killed 14 men		42	14·0
badge		133	44·3
something else or DK		125	41·6

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		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
128 125 63. How many names do they remember of warriors having worn *impotore*?	five or more	12	4·0
	less than five	78	26·0
	none	210	70·0
64. *Gucana uruti* means:			
ritual after having killed 21 men		32	10·6
a military honour		213	71·0
something else or DK		55	18·3
65. How many names do they remember of warriors having received that honour?	five or more	5	1·6
	less than five	108	36·0
	none	187	62·3
66. Who granted the *umudende* badge?	oneself	16	5·3
	army-chief	2	0·6
	king	245	81·6
	DK	37	12·6
67. Who granted the *impotore* badge?	oneself	5	1·6
	king	164	54·6
	DK	131	43·6
68. Who performed the ritual of *gucana uruti*?	oneself	146	48·6
	army-chief	1	0·3
	lord	2	0·6
	king	89	29·6
	DK	62	20·6
69. Did the cattle army include only *nyambo*?	yes	23	7·6
	no	267	89·0
	DK	10	3·3
70. Did the army cattle include the army-chief's herds?	yes	287	95·6
	no	3	1·0
	DK	10	3·3
71. Did the army cattle include the cows given to the army warriors as rewards for bravery?	yes	284	94·6
	no	5	1·6
	DK	10	3·3
72. Did the army cattle include the cows received as bride-wealth by army members?	yes	286	95·3
	no	4	1·3
	DK	10	3·3
73. Did the army cattle include the cows received as gifts by the army members?	yes	287	95·6
	no	3	1·0
	DK	10	3·3
74. Did the army cattle include the cows received in exchange with the army members?	yes	286	95·3
	no	4	1·3
	DK	10	3·3

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		Absolute figures	Percentages
75. The hill-chief received his office from:	land-chief	5	1·6
	cattle-chief	8	2·6
	army-chief	26	8·6
	king	97	32·3
	cattle-chief, army-chief	17	5·6
	land-, army-c., king	1	0·3
	army-c., king	68	22·6
	cattle-c., army-c., king	21	7·0
	land-c., king	1	0·3
	cattle-c., king	9	3·0
	DK	47	15·6
76. The superior of the hill-chief was:	land-chief	7	2·3
	cattle-chief	30	10·0
	army-chief	77	25·6
	lord	1	0·3
	another person	63	21·0
	cattle-c., army-c.	38	12·6
	cattle-c., king	2	0·6
	army-c., king	7	2·3
	DK	75	25·0
77. The area of the *umuzozi*, when compared to that of the *ibihingi* was:	larger	290	96·6
	the same	8	2·6
	DK	2	0·6
78. Were there *ibihingi* depending directly on the royal court?	yes	294	98·0
	no	4	1·3
	DK	2	0·6
79. Who appointed the heads of these *ibihingi*?	king	296	98·6
	somebody else	1	0·3
	DK	3	1·0
80. Had the cattle-chief authority over them?	yes	101	33·6
	no	192	64·0
	DK	7	2·3
81. Could the land-chief require labour from those living on these royal *ibihingi*?	yes	64	21·3
	no	232	77·3
	DK	4	1·3
82. Were those who had received these *ibihingi* from the king under the army-chief's authority?	yes	171	57·0
	no	128	42·6
	DK	1	0·3

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		Absolute Figures	Percentages
83. Was the cattle-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the court?	yes	18	6·0
	no	273	91·0
	DK	9	3·0
84. Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the cattle-chief?	yes	16	5·3
	no	276	92·0
	DK	8	2·6
85. Was the land-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the court?	yes	296	98·6
	no	0	0·0
	DK	4	1·3
86. Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the land-chief?	yes	285	95·0
	no	8	2·6
	DK	7	2·3
87. Do they know the name of a hill on which there was a royal cemetery?	yes	263	87·6
	Rutare	214	71·6
	no	30	10·0
	DK	7	2·3
88. Were the people living on such hills obliged to pay agricultural dues to the court?	yes	13	4·3
	no	251	83·6
	DK	36	12·0
89. Do they know the name of a *musiru's* place?	yes	229	76·3
	no	55	18·3
	DK	16	5·3
90. Was such a place submitted to the authority of the cattle- and land-chiefs?	yes	3	1·0
	no	237	79·0
	DK	60	20·0
91. Could the same person be at the same time cattle- and land-chief?	yes	107	35·6
	no	180	60·0
	DK	13	4·3
92. Could a Hutu be cattle-chief?	yes	18	6·0
	no	273	91·0
	DK	9	3·0
93. Could a Hutu be land-chief?	yes	275	91·6
	no	21	7·0
	DK	4	1·3
94. Do they know the names of Hutu cattle-chiefs?	yes	14	4·6
	no	286	95·3
95. Do they know the names of Hutu land-chiefs?	yes	258	86·0
	no	42	14·0
Do they know the names of Hutu hill-chiefs?	yes	207	69·0
	no	83	27·3
	DK	10	3·3

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		Absolute figures	Percentages
96. Do they know the names of Hutu army-chiefs?	yes	167	55·6
	no	130	43·3
	DK	3	1·0
97. Could a Twa be appointed hill-chief?	yes	201	67·0
	no	96	32·0
	DK	3	1·0
98. Do they know the names of Twa who have been hill-chiefs?	yes	195	65·0
	no	101	33·6
	DK	4	1·3
99. Could a Twa be appointed cattle-chief or land-chief without being ennobled?	yes	0	0·0
	no	297	99·0
	DK	3	1·0
100. When Tutsi lived under the authority of a Twa or Hutu chief, did they have to obey him?	yes	284	94·6
	no	7	2·3
	DK	9	3·0

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APPENDIX 3

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WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

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SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

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562 that of Burundi, are by definition socially inferior to men. Political power, judicial rights, inheritance of cows and lands, and, indeed, the right to independent action outside the walls of the house, are traditionally accorded to men only.[3] Yet, in point of fact, there are [556] women who enjoy considerable authority and who own or control cows, lands and other forms of wealth. What a Rundikazi—a woman of Burundi—cannot do as a woman, she manages very well to do as a Rundi. The life-history of an individual is limited but not fully determined by the formal structures of the society. The dynamics of the social system make provision for political and economic mobility by which all but the most wretched Rundi know how to profit.

562 The social status of a Rundi is established by the caste and class 557 inherited from the father. A woman is inferior to the men of her own social level and to her husband, but not to men of lower castes [564 and classes than her own. The opportunities of a princess or of a 565] woman of the aristocracy to acquire wealth are fewer than her father's or brother's but much greater than those of an ordinary herder or, certainly, of a poor farmer or serf. Moreover, women use the same techniques that make it possible for some farmers to own herds of cattle, or for some ordinary herders to become wealthier than some nobles. To advance from his official inherited status as far as possible towards happiness, a Rundi needs the favour of a superior in the social hierarchy. All good things come from the superior. The greater the power of the superior—whether the feudal master, the father, or the husband—the greater the ambition of the inferior—whether a herder, a serf or a woman. For the latter, it is sometimes enough to have a father who is impulsive and generous, or a husband who is docile or too stupid to distinguish the truth from a lie or true affection from flattery. Women attain their goals by means of men. There are always a good many of them available for use in projects both large and small.

562 Although caste and character rather than the simple fact of 577 being male or female determine the lot of a Rundi, the mode of life and the behaviour patterns of women are decidedly different from those of men. Unlike a man, a Rundikazi in public does not speak, nor does she look you in the eyes. To each question, she answers: *Ndabizi?*—How should I know? In public, she lets it be thought that she knows nothing about politics, or where her husband is today, or even the wedding date of her daughter. She is the modest and obedient wife of her husband, the mother of her children, the conscientious mistress of her house, who is always working. What-

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ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

182 its own rules, if each infraction were punished strictly according
183 to prescribed sanctions and if all the formal norms were always respected. To be a part of a society is to know which of its rules prescribe or prohibit absolutely or conditionally; whether a particular action which is not forbidden is nevertheless something that is simply "not done"; whether human beings, always imperfect, must in any particular case actually be punished or whether the offence should blinked. Exceptions to the formal rules are not haphazard. Rather, they are ordered by what may be called implicit norms, or secondary or functional norms. These are as well known and as well established as norms which are explicit and formal. Taken together, the explicit, primary norms and the implicit, secondary norms form the "active norms" of the society. By means of secondary norms, society can come to terms with the social and psychological impossibility of a perfect correspondence between the formal norms of the social structure, invented by men in the interest of social order, and the actions of men confronted by the empirical realities of human existence.

183 Each society has its own calculus of values by which it establishes its active norms, the norms to be respected verbally but understood to be neither practical nor practised, and the rules of punishment which are to be taken seriously. It will not be possible to understand the life of the women of Burundi without knowing both the formal norms of the social structure and the secondary, functional norms. The life of a Rundikazi is made up of various
183 elements. To reconstruct it, we shall begin with a description of
562 women as members of Rundi society, of which they form an integral part. We shall then describe women in the specifically feminine roles, and we shall conclude with an account of the devices used by women to realize the values of their patriarchal society.

* * *

631 The Rundi describe their society as a hierarchy ordered by
643 *Imana*, the Supreme Being, who is at its summit. Among human beings, it is the *mwami*, the king, who is superior to all. In the past,
[795] there was also Kiranga, the legendary head of a possession cult. He was said to be of approximately the same rank as the *mwami*.[5] Immediately below the king are the *baganwa*, the princes—four
631 generations of the descendents of a king. The *mwami* and the
635 *baganwa* are the rulers of the Rundi. In the traditional system, the power of the *mwami* was defined by his inheritence of absolute
643 royal power and of the entire country, together with all its goods,

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as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the

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564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
644 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
582 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases). 562 582 613

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child. 562 557 [582] [558] [85] 848

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives. 557 562 564 583 [851] [842]

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the 142 564 826

N2 same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This
564 makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to dis-
826 tinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that
564 the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least, cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the
827 Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving
829 anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

564 It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are,
827 to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour.
564 True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose character and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and
[262] their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even
[186] those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Other-
[461] wise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

[826 It is necessary to stay in Burundi for a long time to see behind
827] the stereotypes of the castes. In brief, it is assumed that the Tutsi

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and
562 women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors. 554 557 578 [595]

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart. 554 264 554 [858]

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to changes in social role according to age. The changes of social status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role. 554 561 562 [885]

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not 431 554

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431 he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has
554 already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle
431 measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any
554 alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior. Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows
626 or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father
[564] if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will
[593] return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For,
554 physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to
681 instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take
[861] out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their
566 parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a
[593] woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

431 In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always
554 combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors
928 and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no
[162] doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer. It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation. The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate differences among the various castes and of much the same content. Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonetheless believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.

Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. 562
He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. 593
For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an 152
imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity 593
to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by 837
this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information [557]
from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. [831]
Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep [833]
with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a [601]
highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to [578]
quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a poly- 152
gamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every 595
other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to [832]
quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

152 diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look
595 for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with
[832] other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his
152 wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from
564 each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself
595 that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

562 The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

562 Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with
868 maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around
[29] her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting
[867 among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work
858] and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[18] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

583 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are [357] the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will 342 live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home [184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

585 [613 578] [607 606]

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please

584 [586] [835] 593 776

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593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
716 by *Imana*.

564 The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
583 hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[718] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very
585 well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cow-herds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

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Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food [251] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the [574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her 517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for [264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her [313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw 415 water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her 482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on [356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava, [252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house. [606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need [574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15] 462 564 593

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [581 557]

000 never have to do menial tasks. Young girls are taught, so that they
867 will be refined, to command and to correct inferiors gently but firmly; to weave pretty baskets; to rub red and yellow ochre on the wooden milk pots which are lined up on a long shelf to display the herder's wealth; to offer beer and food to visitors and to sing and dance, breasts bared, to entertain them. Later, a young woman must learn to cover her face with her scarf, to so arrange her
[574] numerous diaphanous white and yellow robes that her entire body is covered, and to engage visitors in conversation while shielded from view by a screen. She must learn how to listen and to understand. If a young girl has noticed that her mother is a good conversationalist, she takes into account the fact that her mother is discreet, intelligent and older than she.

577 The more closely a woman approximates to the feminine ideal
593 for her caste, the greater her hope for the rewards due to a married
564 woman. A good wife should receive from her husband a quantity of clothes and jewels proportionate to his wealth, permission to go out and to visit where she wishes, permission to drink her husband's beer and to take snuff. In addition she will be praised wherever her husband travels. If the husband has cows, he will give her several so that she and the children will have milk, and he may give her one or more as gifts. If he likes her very much, he will plan in advance the means by which she can remain on his property if he predeceases her. To be a good wife means first of all to execute wifely tasks efficiently. Then, towards her husband and parents-in-law, a good wife is always obedient and respectful, at least while there are outsiders present. Intelligence is a highly desirable characteristic and is indeed indispensable in anyone who will be the wife of a prince. A capable woman will be consulted by her husband, especially if he knows that she is cleverer than he. Among the Hutu, the husband asks advice of an intelligent wife before he goes to ask a cow of a Tutsi, before choosing a wife for their son, before he does anything. Among the Tutsi, a husband who takes pride in his wife's intelligence will consult her before he chooses a serf, goes to his superior to ask for another cow. He does nothing without her advice and boasts about her intelligence and loyalty to his friends. Among the princes, family and economic affairs are hardly distinguishable from affairs of state. Thus, intelligent women come to have a voice in matters of the first importance.

[574] A good hostess who provides food and drink for her husband's visitors need never fear his anger. Just as women speak a great deal of the importance of receiving clothing from their husbands, so men speak a great deal of the importance of a warm welcome for

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without per-
[857] mission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered
586 perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is con-
593 sistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors
[754] while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be
[842 retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price
583] to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

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the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen 586
that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a 593
loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another [833]
girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is
impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the [826]
dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son.
The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal 755
of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the [835]
house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order 833
to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has
not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success
of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain
together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the bride-price, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept [583]
more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry, [587]

586 she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with
593 her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but
[587] abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of
[564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside,
[567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

606 In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her
592 daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The
607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority
592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking
578 sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same
595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of
564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced
[586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

586 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their
855 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends
[587] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

858 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the
862 typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very
593 tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege
858 and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and
593 mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in
[556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit
593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys
[861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A
[603] young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the

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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

Towards her grand-

Ethel M. Albert

603 554 children, a grandmother may at last dare to indulge openly in revealing her sentiments, without, however, neglecting practical considerations. Grandparents joke with their grandchildren, spoil them, protect them against their parents' anger, and, if they are [769] not believing Christians, they expect their grandchildren will in due course perform the ceremonies in honour of the *imizimu*, the spirits of dead grandparents.

* * *

577 829 The most direct route to happiness is conformity to the norms and rules of society. Most Rundi have some roles in which they are superior and others in which they are inferior and the accompanying obligations and compensations. A good wife of a generous and reasonable husband, a good mother of numerous and good children, a good mother-in-law of obedient and industrious daughters-in-law and of respectful sons-in-law, will be a happy woman. Unfortunately, it is necessary to take into account the ever-present and infamous "bad characters", the numberless misfortunes sent by *Imana* when he is in a bad humour, the truth that *Imana*—or, if one prefers, Nature, biology, or genetics—does not always pay attention to social norms. Thus, it can happen that a man is not qualified for the role of patriarch, that he suffers all his life the oppression of a nagging shrew. It can happen that a woman is born too weak for manual labour. If she does not find a kind husband who will carry the burden of the work of the household or a rich one who can provide her with workers, she will die very miserable and very young. It can also happen that a woman is more intelligent and more enterprising than her father, her husband, or her son. A woman of this kind is ordinarily encouraged to make use of her gifts—intelligence must not be wasted—but sometimes an energetic woman is tied to a husband who is cruel and stupid and can do nothing with her good-for-nothing sons. In the social life of Burundi, the motto is, everyone for himself. Each must do what he can with whatever *Imana* has given him.

There are many Rundikazi who are unfortunate and wretched— [562] orphans, the daughters of avaricious and cruel fathers, the wives of bad husbands, childless widows, the poor and the sick—in brief, those who do not have the favour of *Imana*. Let us pass in sad silence from their pathetic lot to the more fortunate women, those who have succeeded, despite the inevitable woes of life, in obtain- 562 ing at least some measure of happiness, and to the true favourites 554 of *Imana*, the well-born women who are at maturity true matriarchs. The absolute quantity of power and wealth depends upon birth. A

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mwamikazi and a wealthy Tutsikazi are matriarchs on a much grander scale than is possible for any Hutukazi. Nevertheless, the character model and the methods for success as a matriarch are quite the same. Furthermore, although the methods employed by women are not in every detail like those of men, there is only one character model for the matriarch and the patriarch, that of the superior. By the same token, there is only one character model for those in the roles of inferiors. The latter are always alert to opportunities for asking some good thing of a superior. If one road is closed, it is necessary to find another. If a husband is not generous, a woman will ask one of her brothers for gifts, or she will wait until her sons are grown. When fortunate people have received gifts, they obviously have something to give, and they thus may expect petitioners to come to them for gifts. Yet again, if a man is muddled by drink, his wife or his vassal or someone who wants his favour will make a request of a gift in the presence of others; a promise given, drunk or sober, before witnesses must be respected at the risk of losing one's fair name. The rules of society provide only for a minimum of happiness. One must rely upon intelligence to point the way to supplementary means and to profit from every favourable circumstance.

Like any normal citizen of Burundi, a Rundikazi desires as much power and authority as possible, which is to say, numerous inferiors, including children, workers, feudal followers; wealth, which is to say, for women who can inherit nothing, many gifts from men and from wealthier women; respect and love, which amounts to having many inferiors; elegance, which is again to say many gifts, but also education in the home of a princess; many children, which depends on the will of *Imana;* protection against one's enemies, that is, against one's rivals and one's mother-in-law; and the good luck to retain what has been received from *Imana* and from human beings, which again depends on *Imana* and also on one's own intelligence, courage and strength of character. There is decidedly no psychological conflict in women of strong character, nor is there any conflict between feminine ambitions and social norms. Everything is taken care of by the functional norms of the society.

A woman starts very young to calculate what she needs in order to be happy. From her father she expects little more than that he will find her a husband who is wealthy and reasonable, or better yet, tractable; that he will allow her to return home if she is not satisfied with a husband and will find her a better one; that he will from time to time give her gifts. If a father has a tendency to turn

554 a deaf ear to his daughter's wishes in the matter of changing a
562 husband, she will perhaps make the necessary arrangements on
593 her own initiative with the husband she prefers, and the father will have no choice but to accept the new arrangements. From her husband, a woman expects to receive gifts in proportion to his wealth—clothing, copper bracelets, beads, cows, money. She also wishes workmen and servants, so that she will not have to perform the menial tasks of inferiors; so that she will have a great many inferiors to supervise; so that she will enjoy sufficient energy and leisure for the planning and plotting necessary to increase her wealth and her influence in family affairs, economic matters and politics. As her husband's business partner, an intelligent woman will be consulted at every turn or she may not even wait for her husband to ask her advice. She decides what must be done, and her decisions must be respected. A wife who is well-established will almost certainly be the preferred intermediary of those who seek the favour of her husband. As an intermediary, she receives gifts, particularly pots of beer, to persuade her to intervene with the superior. An intelligent woman who finds herself with more beer than she needs will send a servant to sell it and keep the money
[556] for herself. For women in the lower castes, there are various optional roles through which they can earn money. They may sell the excess baskets they weave; they may be midwives; they may be
562 *bapfumu*, physician-pharmacists who sell medicines and amulets;
556 they may be governesses or ladies-in-waiting for good families. A
554 husband takes great pride in a wife who becomes wealthy. Her wealth advertises her cleverness and is at all events obtained at
593 no cost to him. Some women, it is said, are so intelligent that a prince will make them *abashingantahe*, judges and councillors. Women who have this honoured position receive cows, clothing, jewellery and serfs. On occasion, a woman of this kind may be wealthier than her husband, but he has every reason to be pleased to have such a wife. A wealthy woman will keep some of her cows for herself for milk and butter. Others she will give to those who come and ask of her, and these will become her feudal followers who will work for her, respect her, and go about in quest of information for her.

554 The frequent absences of the husband are opportunities for a
562 woman to show herself capable of managing the property. Work
593 is for inferiors and is not a source of honour. It nevertheless establishes the realistic dependence of the superior upon his
[461] inferior, and it forms the solid basis, sometimes explicitly recognized, of the relationship between superior and inferior. A good

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manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father.

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save him, since his downfall will also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires.

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly

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554 displaying in public the respect and obedience due them. An
562 intelligent woman makes herself liked or feared, according to the
513 character of the men with whom she is dealing. Occasionally, it is said of a Rundi that "his house is burning", that is to say, despite
[195] the show of respect, his wife rules the roost. He is afraid of her, she nags him, she criticizes him, she wants to decide everything, and one fine day she will put poison in his beer, or she will calumniate him. However, a woman need not dominate her husband in so heavy-handed a fashion to earn her laurels as matriarch. She has her own inferiors to dominate, and there are other ways to become the *umutoni* of her husband and the other men. Apart from her ability as the mistress of her house and her generosity as a hostess, apart from all her obligations, a woman as an inferior is likely to understand very well the uses of flattery and subservience. She knows how to be an informant, to calumniate her superior's enemies as well as her own hated rivals, to show herself always loyal and devoted, to make the welfare of her superior her primary concern. She also knows how to satisfy sexual desires, the need for alcohol, and other demands of the body and the spirit. Superiors, apart from their economic dependence upon their inferiors, seem to seek them also for the satisfaction of what appear to be exceedingly urgent needs for love, respect, and loyalty and for entertainment that will take their minds off their troubles. It is to have these needs satisfied that they make presents, that they give what is asked of them. An intelligent woman busies herself with satisfying the desires of her superiors and thereby making herself indispensable to their happiness. Neither the Sophists, nor Machiavelli, nor the courtiers of Louis XIV have anything to teach the Rundi. An intelligent Rundikazi, like any
[557] intelligent social inferior, knows that to obtain happiness it is necessary only to say yes—to play along with the internal weaknesses and needs by which the superior is enslaved.

NOTES

193 [1]*Linguistic note:* Bantu prefixes have been dropped from words that refer to the inhabitants of Burundi. They are referred to as "Rundi" and by their caste-names, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Other words of the language retain their Bantu form, e.g., *mwami*, king; *mwamikazi*, queen-mother or princess, *bamikazi* in the plural; *muganwa*, prince, *baganwa* in the plural. The suffix, *-kazi*, designates the feminine. For "Rundi woman," "Tutsi woman," "Hutu woman," or "Twa woman," the Rundi forms will be used, i.e., "Rundikazi," "Tutsikazi," "Hutukazi," and "Twakazi."

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[2]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dons le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954. 184 113

[3]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi. 184

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help. 564 323

[16]It has been suggest : that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

142
291
302
564
516

XIII. A Tutsikazi.

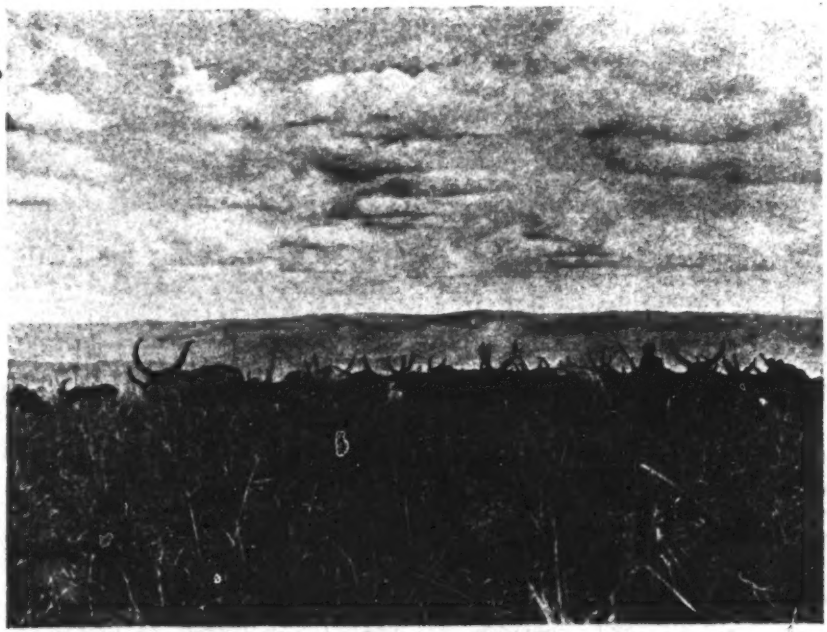
[854
301]

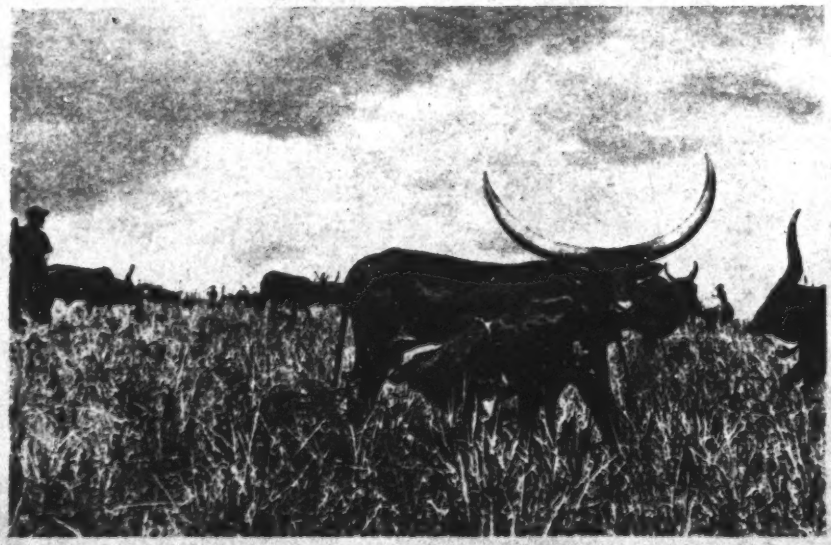
XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

133
233





XV and XVI. Burundi landscapes.

[Following p. 215, B]

177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous
671 population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
184 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over
563 the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the
114 members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pagès, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

● 121 Nevertheless, we do not believe that a more or less complete account of the customs of private and public law of Ruanda has ever been prepared. This is what we have modestly attempted to do in the
[125] present work by inserting observations gathered in a questionnaire set up especially to facilitate [6] the study of native law (1). We have

1. J. Vanhove, Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique, Brussels, printer Lesigne, 1939.

not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

124 of the complex customs of Ruanda. The value of our information,
[115] emanating from the principal abiru, guardians of the customs of the Court of Nyanza, and from the seminarists, sons of the great provincial chiefs, as well as the cross-checking we have done, make us hope that we will present an essay from which all fantasy has been eliminated.

We hope that it will be possible for all those, both clerical
121 and lay, who work in the "country of the cow and the drum," as well as ethnologists needing a basis for research, to have a clear picture of an organization, of a mechanism both complicated and precise, that takes us back mutatis mutandis both to the atmosphere of the ancient City and to that of the medieval world. [7]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

THE KINGDOM OF RUANDA

By J. J. MAQUET

121 THE world-view of a people refers to a kind of reality which is not directly observable. We can observe things and behaviour, but not ideas or mental attitudes. These have to be inferred. Furthermore, although the concepts and propositions which make up the world-view of the Banyarwanda[1] are all arrived at by induction, they do not possess the same logical status. They are located, so to speak, on different levels of abstraction. Some are arrived at by immediate inference from observation, as when we say, for instance, that for Banyarwanda 'the invisible world is a fearful reality'. This statement may be immediately inferred from the behaviour of the Ruanda people: their words, when they tell us their beliefs about the action of the spirits of the dead, and their behaviour if they are threatened by them. On the other hand, a statement such as 'strictly contractual relationships are inconceivable for a Munyarwanda' is much more abstract because it is reached by successive stages from an analysis of the political organization of Ruanda. The validity of the two kinds of statement is not necessarily affected by their degree of abstraction. Even a proposition which seems very far removed from its factual foundation may be checked by the observation of other relevant facts.

Ideas concerning the place of man in the world, his destiny, his main values, his attitudes in relation to his fellow men, the rules of his behaviour, and the meaning of the invisible world, may find expression in many kinds of social phenomena. However, as might be expected, some of these phenomena are particularly significant, as, for instance, folk-tales concerning the creation of the world and the arrival of the Batutsi in the country, proverbs, and forms of cult. To these special attention has been given.

The validity of an unstated cultural premiss will, of course, be established with more certainty if it is found implied in several and very different cultural phenomena. For instance, an analysis of the political structure may lead to the discovery of the principle of the fundamental inequality of the three castes of ancient Ruanda. The same principle is also implied in tales explaining the origin of the three groups and the sources of their social roles.

121 This study refers to the period when the Ruanda cult had not yet been
177 subjected to the impact of Western culture. This is not very far back in time, for it seems that the first white man to be seen in Ruanda was Count von Götzen, who travelled through the country with a German scientific-military expedition in 1894. The first permanent occupation of the country was not more than fifty years ago, and important changes in the culture have

[1] The inhabitants of Ruanda.

[p. 164]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

been brought only during the past thirty years. The present Ruanda culture has lost the coherence that existed in pre-European days. Those who have become more closely associated with alien activity, and have therefore felt its influence more constantly, now share a culture made up in part of their ancestral way of life and in part of their interpretation of the Belgian variety of Western culture as it operates in a colonial situation. Even those who have not been brought into direct contact with whites feel that their old patterns of life are losing their validity. But that more or less hidden part of the old culture, consisting of basic assumptions on the relationships of man with the world and with other men, has suffered the least change. To be sure, the legends of the descent of the first Batutsi meet with more scepticism than in the past, but the fundamental beliefs that this story reflects are still profoundly embedded in the Ruanda ethos. Even when new institutions, based on assumptions conflicting with the earlier ones, are imposed under external pressure and adopted, the principles shaping the older institutions will subsist and, if participation in the new institutions is unchecked, these will be completely reinterpreted in accordance with the former premises. Some manifestations of the continuing existence of the ancient assumptions in the contemporary context will be considered here, but we shall be mainly concerned with the Ruanda world-view as it was at the beginning of this century.[1]

Ruanda is a highland country in East Africa lying in the region delimited by lakes Kivu, Victoria, and Tanganyika. Its area is 24,500 square kilometres; its population amounts to almost 2 million inhabitants, the highest density in Africa south of the Sahara. Three socio-'racial' castes are to be

[1] Much of the material used in this study was collected by the author during two years' work (1950–1) in Ruanda as a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.). The author was very much helped in his field research by Dr. E. Fineulat and Dr. G. De Clercq during their six-month course of training under his direction. Extensive and valuable information has been found in the published literature on Ruanda, especially studies by Father A. Arnoux, Abbé L. de Lacger, Abbé Alexis Kagame, the late Father A. Pagès, Mr. G. Sandrart, Father Schumacher, and Mr. J. Vanhove. The author is also grateful to the Abbé Kagame for having placed at his disposal some of his manuscripts. In formulating the conceptual and theoretical scheme used in this paper, the author has relied considerably on the teaching and works of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn of Harvard University. He is immensely indebted for his fundamental training in anthropology to the teaching staff of London University and particularly to Professor Daryll Forde. Mr. Lawrence Oschinsky has kindly corrected the manuscript. A short bibliography is given at the end, but it has not been felt necessary to document this study at every point, nor indeed was this possible, since it was written in the field with the use of a very restricted library.

This is an essay in the etymological meaning of the word. If the underlying configurations of a culture constitute its most important part, since they provide a key to the interrelatedness of apparently unconnected phenomena and to the meaning of apparently incomprehensible behaviour, they are also the most elusive realities. They evade direct observation and, often, direct interrogation. The anthropologist, therefore, must be sure that his inferences are logically acceptable not only to his own mind but also to the minds of the participants in the culture he studies. All this requires a thorough knowledge of the overt aspects of a culture and a long familiarity with them. The author is painfully aware that he has not gone very deeply into the ethos of Ruanda. This is only an attempt at a synthesis of the results so far obtained in researches which are still proceeding.

000 "Herodotus," the same author goes on to say, "tells us that the Nasamon who lived in Tripolitania buried their dead in a crouching position. They took good care /58/ that a dying person, when about to give up the ghost, should be made to sit up and prevented from lying down...." (1)

1. Dr. Weisgerber, Les Blancs d'Afrique /The Whites of Africa/, pp. 309 and 310.

●121 Déchelette says that it is not possible to explain the origin of this custom of folding up the corpse. Several conjectures have been offered about it.

1. Identification of the corpse with a fetus (symbolic embryonic position). The deceased returns to the womb of the mother, who will bring him back to life (belief of the Peruvians and Hottentots).

2. Practice performed for practical reasons, so as to reduce the dimensions of the funeral container (or grave).

3. Feeling of terror which the dead inspired in the living (possible origin of the tying process) (2).

2. Joseph Déchelette, Manuel d'Archéologie prehistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine /Handbook of Prehistoric, Celtic, and Gallo-Roman Archeology/, Vol. 1, p. 473.

764 In some parts of Ruanda the relatives of the deceased, after preparing the grave, dig to one side and at the bottom of the pit a sort of chamber where the body is laid. They are obviously moved by respect for the dead whose body, thus placed, is not crushed by the weight of the earth.

Others cover the mortal remains with a layer of grass to prevent direct contact with the soil and to allay the weight [of the earth].

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

THE STUDY OF NATIVE COURT RECORDS AS A METHOD OF ETHNOLOGICAL INQUIRY

R. DE Z. HALL

217 WHEREVER native courts have been established and maintain records of their proceedings, there is available a mass of material concerning native law and custom which, properly regarded, may be of great value to the ethnographer as well as to the administrator. In Tanganyika Territory, from one portion of which the material for the present paper is derived, the making of elaborate records of evidence and judgements is deprecated at the present stage of development, as likely to interfere with the smooth working of the courts. A minimum is required of the names of parties, a brief statement of the subject-matter, and a short judgement signed by the holder of the court, be he chief, headman, or chairman of a council. Under such circumstances, a study of records will show, at the least, the types of social maladjustment which bring people to court, with the relative frequency of different kinds of case: the manner in which different types of case are viewed by the court, whether as offences against society or as affecting only families or individuals: and probably some general indication of the tone of the society. From this type of record there will be an upward range to the most valuable of all for the student, those containing a précis of evidence and a full reasoned judgement.

121 217

Whatever the amount of material available, it can only provide a limited picture of native law. In most, possibly all, areas, large numbers of disputes never reach the courts at all, but are dealt with in family council or by village elders. Further, the courts are only resorted to when disequilibrium has come about, and it can seldom be safe to argue the positive from the negative. Nevertheless, generalizations should emerge, and even where they do not, lines of inquiry should be indicated and facts brought to light and explained, which might otherwise have remained obscured or not understood. Most important, it is likely that evidence of change will be found, either clearly stated or in the form of indications which will offer material for further study.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

INTRODUCTION

THE greater part of this work is directly concerned with the description and analysis of the political organization of Ruanda. The first chapters, however, are devoted to other aspects of the social system: kinship and affinity, marriage and family. As the whole system of social relations in Ruanda constituted a closely knit fabric, it was thought that an understanding of the political institutions necessitates also some treatment of the other structures of human relations. Moreover, a brief account of the physical environment, the quest for food, shelter, and health, and some demographic data have been included because these elements, if external to the pattern of political relations, set the limits within which the Ruanda system of domination grew.

This study refers to the period immediately preceding the time when Ruanda was submitted to the influence of Western culture through its European agents. That is to say, in the continuously moving historical stream, we have chosen to study the particular configuration of the Ruanda political organization at the moment when it had been moulded by the action of many forces, but not by the full impact of European contacts. For reasons mentioned later, the 'zero point' of direct European influence on Ruanda society is not difficult to assess. It is in the first decade of this century. Ruanda social structure did not undergo any significant modification due to European influence until roughly 1910. This date is fortunately not very distant, and around 1950 it was still possible to interview many people who had been young when the old régime was still a working concern. As far as we know, there had been also no direct and continuous contact between Arabs and Ruanda prior to that time.

To remind the reader that we are describing structures and institutions which no longer exist, at least in their entirety, my account is given in the past tense even when it refers to features which are still functioning today. The expressions 'today', 'now', 'at the present time', &c., refer to the period 1950–1 during which basic research was carried out in Ruanda.

As a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale*, I carried out field work in Ruanda

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

114 for two years, from December 1949 to November 1951. During that period information was secured by continuous observation and by informal interviews with Africans and Europeans. Some administrative officers and missionaries, keenly interested in the society and culture of the Ruanda, have contributed much information and stimulating opinions.

In addition to this work, three systematic inquiries on specific [121] subjects have been completed: political organization, kinship and family structures, and cosmological and ethical systems. Each of these inquiries was prepared by a preliminary survey on the subject, on the basis of which schedules of topics and specific questions were framed.

125 The preliminary survey of political organization enabled me to collect a considerable amount of information on that subject. 114 Consequently, a later inquiry could aim primarily at checking and making more precise what was already known. To achieve this purpose a hundred-question schedule was devised. It was the object of each question that it should fulfil as adequately as possible the following conditions: to be neutral (formulated in such a way as not to suggest that the investigator preferred one answer rather than another), significant (likely to clarify obscure or controversial issues), concrete (such as 'Were there more or less people in group A than in group B?') rather than abstract (such as 'Give a definition of the administrative organization'), and simple (to be answered by 'yes', 'no', or one word). This last requirement was particularly important as it made possible a summing up of the answers. A translation of this questionnaire is given as Appendix One.

124 The choice of informants was made according to the following procedure. About a dozen persons, Africans and Europeans, who had been living for many years in Ruanda and had been in close contact with many members of the African community, were asked to give a list of Ruanda (Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa) who, in their opinion, would be familiar with the pre-European political structure, particularly from direct experience. The importance of listing people living in all the different regions of the country was stressed. By collating the various lists I finally obtained a set of about 350 names of men scattered everywhere in the country.

In order to interview them, I had to move between seventy-four different places which were about evenly distributed through the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

orography of the country). They are due to the conjunction of these physical circumstances with the particular way in which the human occupation of the land has taken place.

2. HUMAN OCCUPATION

Several hypotheses have been advanced in attempts to reconstruct the history of the human occupations of Ruanda. We are not concerned with them here. Let us summarize only those features which are of significance for our purpose and which have a high degree of probability.

The present population of Ruanda is clearly composed of three groups: Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi. These groups are very unequal numerically. In the middle of 1956, according to a Government demographic survey, the Twa constituted 0·67 per cent. of the total Ruanda population, the Hutu 82·74 per cent., and the Tutsi 16·59 per cent.[5] Differences that are immediately noticeable between these groups concern their activities, their social statuses, and their physical types. The Twa are hunters, potters and ironworkers. Twa hunters are not numerous, as game is rare in most parts of Ruanda owing to the scarcity of forest. Some of them make a living as singers, dancers, and buffoons. The Hutu are agriculturists and the Tutsi pastoralists. The statuses of the three groups are hierarchically ranked. The Tutsi group constitutes an aristocracy, the Hutu are commoners, and the Twa are said, half jokingly, by most of the other Ruanda, to be more akin to monkeys than to human beings. A definite physical appearance is considered typical of each group. According to the socially accepted descriptions of the three stereotypes the typical Twa is short, pygmoid rather than pigmy, with a head low in the crown, face and nose flat, cheek-bones prominent, forehead bulging, eyes narrow and slightly oblique. Hutu characteristics are woolly hair, flat broad nose, thick lips often everted, and middle stature. Tutsi are very slender and tall. They often have a straight nose and a light brown skin colour. The objective measurements of Professor Jean Hiernaux do not entirely coincide with these stereotypes.[6]

[5] These figures have been kindly communicated by Mr. J. Revelard who was at that time in charge of the Ruanda-Urundi Demographic Surveys (Endemoru).

[6] Hiernaux, 1956b, pp. 34-53. Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 122-34. See the interesting photographs in Czekanowski, 1911, plates 1-61 and in Hiernaux, 1956b, plates VI-VII.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet. The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[28] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[28] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The conditions favouring contamination by different diseases and the very limited defences against them permit us to assume that illness and mortality through these diseases must have been very high and a constant threat to everybody. 164

These brief notes on health conditions in Ruanda would be incomplete without a mention of mental health. We are not attempting here an assessment of the neuroses and psychoses which can be found in Ruanda or to the number of people affected by them and who, in the Western world, would be considered in need of psychiatric treatment. There is not sufficient information on these matters at present. But we would like to consider very briefly conditions which are likely to result in psychological tensions. 121

We have already mentioned the circumstances which make life objectively hard (a barely sufficient diet, starvation periods, and diseases). In addition it was often dangerous. When informants were asked what sort of reputation they particularly wished to avoid, they did not usually answer by listing the opposites of those particular qualities which they would like to have attributed to them, but by pointing to some definite reputation in which danger might be inherent. Above all, a Tutsi feared to be regarded as an enemy of the king. It was no doubt partly because he felt a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be thought of as an enemy of the king was extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of everything, the severance of all social relations, exile, or even death. He also feared to be considered a traitor to his chief. This was a less dangerous reputation, although it entailed sanctions: if a client had been disloyal to his lord the latter might take back from him all the cattle he had previously given him and eventually all his cattle. The Hutu said that they feared an accusation of witchcraft, for such an accusation could certainly mean immediate death. There was little that could be done actively to avoid such a danger except to be a good neighbour, to be envied by nobody, to have no enemies, and especially to have a powerful protector. The Hutu were also afraid of acquiring any reputation which could result in their losing the protection of the lord to whom they owed allegiance and consequently leaving them exposed and defenceless against the arbitrary actions of the powerful.[21] 152 626 681 591 181

[21] Cf. Maquet, 1954a, or Maquet, 1958.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

61 degrees of control exerted by that central authority on the territory.
178 These processes have necessarily had an impact on the autonomy
642 and social significance of Hutu and Tutsi kinship groups, on their connexion with a particular tract of land, and on their functions.
●121 We shall not be concerned here with any reconstruction of these processes but only with them as they existed in the immediate pre-European days. It should be borne in mind, however, that this was the period of an evolution. This explains the sometimes confused picture given by some informants.

(*a*) *Inzu, ubwoko, umulyango*

613 Hutu and Tutsi recognized a patrilineal kin group (*inzu*)[3] which included all who could actually trace their agnatic relationship through usually no more than four or five ascendent genealogical links to an ancestor recognized as the original ancestor of the group.

Members of the inzu of a male Ego were: Br, Si, Fa, FaSi, FaBr, FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaFa, FaFaBr, FaFaSi, FaFaBrSo, FaFaBrDa, FaFaBrSoSo, FaFaBrSoDa.[4]

Ego's sororal nephews and nieces (SiSo, SiDa) and his paternal cross-cousins (FaSiSo and FaSiDa) did not belong to his *inzu*. However they participated in some of its activities if they lived
[591] with their maternal uncle (Ego), which happened when the bride-wealth for their mother (Ego's Si) had not been entirely paid.

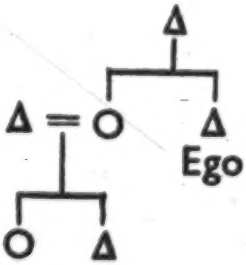


Diagram A.

Other generations above Ego's (that of FaFaFa, &c.) or under his (that of SoSoSo, &c.), were not necessarily included in Ego's

[3] *Inzu* means also hut.
[4] I follow the symbolization system used by Murdock, 1949.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

121 interactions of Ego and Alter once an organized system of interaction between themselves has become stabilized. 'Alter expects Ego to behave in given situational conditions in certain relatively specific ways, or at least within relatively specific limits.'[10]

613 Members of an inzu were supposed to have more confidence in each other and to be readier to help and sympathize with each other than with outsiders. Within the inzu itself, each member was expected to assume a certain role which defined, within narrow limits, expected behaviour towards other lineage members.

613 601 Before these intra-inzu roles are described, a list of kinship terms used within the inzu to address or designate members, will be given. Some characteristics of these behaviour patterns are reflected in the terminology, as, for instance, the predominance within the lineage of the horizontal or generation principle of grouping over the vertical grouping by branches of the lineage.

601 Data will be presented first and implications analysed at a later stage. Our point of reference will be the conventional Ego. All the terms and their symbolizations are to be understood as relating to Ego who is a male (Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa). The same terms are used by a male as by a female, except where otherwise indicated: f.s. (female speaking) and m.s. (male speaking).

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's father		
Fa	Data	Data
FaBr	Data	Datawacu (father-our)
FaSi	Mama	Masenge (mother through father)
FaFaBrSo	Data	Datawacu
FaFaBrDa	Mama	Masenge
FaFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Datawacu
FaFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Masenge
II. The generation of Ego's grandfather		
FaFa	Sogokuru (kuru = great)	Sogokuru
FaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
FaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
FaFaFaBrSo	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
FaFaFaBrDa	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's great-grandfather		
FaFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
FaFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
FaFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

[10] Parsons and Shils, 1951, p. 19.

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partnership among cross-cousins and that this was only one aspect of wider behaviour patterns of familiarity and joking. The relations between Ego and certain of his affines should be understood in the same sense. 607 [602]

These relations were reciprocal in the sense that the husband of Ego's partner was also the privileged partner of Ego's wife, as the two husbands had the same relationships of affinity with each other's wives. This reciprocity seemed essential to the working of the system, which otherwise would have been probably too frustrating. The case of the wife of Ego's wife's brother (WiBrWi) confirms this interpretation. Although she was quite unrelated to Ego, there was a kind of 'incest' taboo concerning any relation with her. There was a strict avoidance (Ego was not allowed to stay alone with his WiBrWi) and such a relation was considered to bring ill-luck not only to the partners but to the lineages concerned. The reason for that prohibition, I was told, was that the husband of WiBrWi, being the brother of Ego's wife, was prevented by the incest-taboo from having any reciprocal relations with her. It appears, however, that the common resentment of Ego and his WiBrWi against their common in-laws may have been such that these sanctions were not a sufficient deterrent.

These different patterns of behaviour were expressed in terminology. Ego referred by the same term to his wife's female parallel cousins and by another to her cross-cousins and male parallel cousins. There was also a special term to designate those who are husbands of privileged partners. A female Ego used terms in which similar distinctions appeared. 601

5. SOME COMMENTS ON KINSHIP PRINCIPLES IN RUANDA

(a) *Analytical table of kinship terms*

The attention I have given and have still to give to kinship terminology rests on the assumption that the use of kinship terms indicates what aspects, among the many that could be stressed in a kinship system, have been actually emphasized in a particular society. Terminology indicates first the principles according to which, among the almost unlimited mass of possible relationships some have been given a name and are thus considered as social roles. Secondly, terminology shows the lines of cleavage according to which the totality of relationships have been separated in different classes. 121 601

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CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

1. MARRIAGE

121 59 THE family, the social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction[1] had in Ruanda a conjugal basis[2] that we shall consider in this section.

Married life will not be dealt with here but only the ways and conditions of the establishment of that 'union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are then recogized legitimate offspring of both partners'.[3]

(a) *The choice of a spouse*

582 In a primary marriage (the first that an individual contracts) there were few positive socially recognized criteria of choice and none of them indicated one or a few individuals as preferential partners. Among close kin cross-cousins were possible spouses, but it was generally an unfortunate circumstance that obliged a man to marry his cross-cousin. It was usually either because he was not able to pay bride-wealth immediately, or because his cross-cousin had become pregnant by him. We should add that there was no restricted or generalized exchange among the [114] Ruanda in Lévi-Strauss's sense. On the contrary I was told that because they limited connexions, exchanges were not in favour except in some special circumstances.[4]

In the preceding chapter we have mentioned persons whom Ego was prohibited from marrying because of his relations of kinship or affinity with them. Let me sum up the different categories of these persons.

We may start with that which seems fundamental in the sense

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 1.
[2] Linton, 1936, p. 159.
[3] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 110.
[4] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, pp. 189, 322. There is restricted exchange if, when a man of group A gets a woman from group B, it results in a man of group B claiming a woman from group A. Exchange is generalized if when a woman of group A is given to a man of group B, a woman of B must be given to a man of C and a woman of C may be claimed by a man of A.

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The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called
594 by the same name, rugo. I have described earlier this complex dwelling place composed of intersecting circular enclosures. In
[592] the case of rich people, their clients during their time of service
[554] and their servants had huts in the compound.

The compound, surrounded by fields and banana-groves, and not far from pastures, was situated on that part of the paternal homestead given by the father to his son at the latter's wedding. If the father's homestead was not large enough to provide all his sons with areas to live on, the young couple either had to ask the political authority to allocate them a plot, or they had to rent one belonging either to a relative or an unrelated person.

595 The ideal type of residence of a polygynous family was a compound for each wife surrounded by its own cultivated area. These rugo could be on the same homestead or on several homesteads. The latter arrangement was more frequent with Tutsi than with Hutu. None of these compounds was more important than the others, except occasionally. The husband had no rugo regarded as being more his residence than the others.

Between these two sharply different types of family organization, there were intermediate kinds. If it happened that a Ruanda wanted a second wife, he looked for one even if he could not afford a second compound. She lived then in the same compound as the first wife, in a separate hut. But such an arrangement was regarded as unfortunate, and should be assimilated to that of a nuclear family notwithstanding the plurality of wives.

●121 We will now consider whether and how these types of organization fulfilled the functions that might be expected of any type of family, for some of these functions seem to be fulfilled by all the family structures known, and the others by most of them. The points to be considered are: sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, socialization, and ritual.

(a) *Sexual relations*

581 The Ruanda distinguish the sexual from the procreational function of marriage. Neither the husband, nor apparently the wife, ever feared (except in very unhappy circumstances of poverty) that pregnancy might result from any particular act of
[842] intercourse; on the contrary such an event was usually longed for. As some informants said, why have relations with a sterile woman? Sexuality, however, had for them a value in itself.

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CHAPTER V

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

I. DEFINITIONS

121 POLITICAL organization is a sector of the social structure not easy to define.

The phrase, widely used in everyday speech, immediately evokes the idea of government and rulers. That is to say, persons who deal with matters which are important because they concern the group as a whole and consequently the commonweal. Moreover, these persons are authorities, and are powerful; what they have decided will be carried out. Often they enjoy many privileges which they usually attempt to justify and which they try in any event to keep and to increase. Finally, they have relations with their counterparts in other groups: they discuss with them on an equal footing, sometimes they threaten them or are threatened by them and by opposing the forces of their groups they try to settle the dispute to their advantage.

The term 'political' thus suggests to us persons (chiefs, governing bodies), abstract ideas (authority, power), certain kinds of activities (which are called 'public'), a value which should be the aim of the action of the chiefs (the commonweal), the private interests of the rulers, diplomacy, and war. These elements are too numerous and varied for all of them to be included in a useful definition at the beginning of an inquiry.

A distinction must be made between the use of 'political' in an intragroup or intergroup context. Political relations between two groups have a completely different meaning from those existing between people belonging to the same group. Let us begin by an intragroup definition to use in the present inquiry.

(a) *Intragroup political organization*

A political organization is the totality of culturally patterned relationships between certain individuals who possess the legitimate use of physical force and all the others who inhabit a certain territory at a certain time.

The first words of this definition, *a totality of relationships*,

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indicate the level of reality we are dealing with. As any social /21 system, political organization is a reality composed of relationships between men. What differentiates each system is how the human actors in the relationship are defined. A kinship system, for instance, is made of relationships between persons defined in terms of descent and siblinghood.

These relationships are *culturally patterned*. Political behaviour is not to be invented. Any well-socialized member of the group knows what is expected of him.

The two actors in a political relation are members of the *same group* which has a *territorial* basis. We follow here the majority of sociologists for whom a political organization must be linked to a territory. This certainly seems a necessary condition for the use of physical force, an essential part of the definition. As men are situated in space, it would not be possible for their rulers to inflict on them a physical coercion, or at least to threaten them effectively with it, if the rulers had not the control of a certain area where those who are to be submitted to pressure live. The *time* dimension is added. Indeed it is not necessary that the group inhabits always the same territory. For instance, nomads moving each season to new grazing land do not have a constant territorial basis, but they have a territory in the sense that their group has at any time the ultimate control of a certain area, even if that area is different every day.

Among members of the same group, what distinguishes the political relationship from others is that one of the actors possesses the legitimate use of *physical force*. This element of coercion has been stressed by many sociologists and anthropologists. For Oppenheimer, the origin of the state lies in the force used in conquest.[1] Max Weber speaks of 'that human association which within a definite sphere . . . successfully claims the monopoly of legitimate physical force'.[2] Lowie writes that 'the state embraces the inhabitants of a definite area who acknowledge the legitimacy of force when applied by individuals whom they accept as rulers or governors'.[3] Radcliffe-Brown, too, emphasizes the physical force component of a political organization: '. . . the organized exercise of coercive authority through the use, or the possibility of use, of physical force'.[4] MacIver and Page regard coercion or

[1] See Oppenheimer, 1922. [2] Quoted by Lowie, 1948, p. 156.
[3] Lowie, 1948, p. 327.
[4] Radcliffe-Brown in Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. xiv.

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the threat of it as characteristic of the political law.[5] Such quotations can be easily multiplied.

It could be objected that some of the authors quoted above deal with the state rather than with political organization in general. The two terms are used here almost as synonyms. The only difference is that the word 'state' implies a greater emphasis on the stability and the permanence of the group which has the capacity to exert physical coercion.

Those in the dominant situation will be called rulers, superiors; the others, subjects, inferiors.

It is not necessary that compulsion be applied; it is sufficient that it could be made effective.

The term *legitimate* has no Western moral connotation here. It only means that the group regards physical coercion as a proper reaction when coming from some individuals. If it is admitted in a particular society that the chief has the right of life and death over all his subjects whether they have committed an offence or not, the suppression of anybody when ordered by the chief is legitimate. But when a thief steals valuables from somebody under the threat of harming him, the victim, in our society and probably in any other, is regarded as having been submitted to illegitimate coercion.

The preceding definition mentions neither the explicit aim nor the function of that totality of culturally patterned relationships. In his definition, Radcliffe-Brown includes the function of political organization which is, according to him, 'the maintenance or the establishment of social order'.[6] Herskovits mentions 'the regulation of affairs that concern the group as a whole'.[7] Indeed a functional definition is intellectually more satisfactory. But it should follow an analysis and not precede it. It is true that in any society certain social functions must be fulfilled if the group is to subsist and perpetuate itself (there must be a means to collect food, to distribute it, to obtain the security necessary to raise and educate children, &c.), and other functions may be fulfilled (such as the provision of the individual with certain comforts in the difficulties of life, with a world-view, &c.). But in spite of several attempts,[8] no satisfactory exclusive connexions have been established between these different functions and particular institutions

[5] Cf. MacIver and Page, 1949, p. 456.
[6] Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. xiv. [7] Herskovits, 1948, p. 327.
[8] For instance, Malinowski, 1931, p. 645; 1944, pp. 91 f, pp. 125 f.

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which fulfil them. As we have seen previously, the Ruanda family 121
organization had several functions (sexual, economic, reproductive, educational, ritual), some of which also belong elsewhere to other institutions. The same institution, religion for instance, may be a factor of social cohesion in one society, yet it may break the unity of another. Moreover, the same structure may have functions varying with time as the modern state which directly takes care of the welfare and health of the people living in its territory.

Consequently it seems better to distinguish clearly a social structure from the functions it may fulfil. By analysing an institution in a particular social context, we shall be able to determine what are its functions in the particular society studied.

(*b*) *Power*

Frequently what is political is identified with what concerns power. Lasswell has listed a series of social values and a series of institutions through which these values are formalized and shared among the members of a group. He indicates 'government' as the institution corresponding to 'power'.[9] This means that the political organization is the network through which power is distributed within a group. This conception does not seem to fit with Lasswell's own notion of power (which I entirely accept)—an interpersonal situation in which a severe deprivation may be inflicted by one person on another[10]—according to which power relations should be considered a *genus* of which a political relation is a *species*. Political relation is indeed power relation: to exert physical coercion against somebody, even if it is legitimate, is surely a way of inflicting severe deprivation on him. But all power relations are not necessarily political. An employer may threaten his employee to dispossess him of his livelihood. This is a power relation but it is not political.

(*c*) *Social power*

Another sort of power to be distinguished from political power is *social power*. It is an interpersonal relationship in which each of the human actors belongs to a different group or stratum of the same society; because of these different affiliations only, one person is able to exert pressure on the other.

[9] Lasswell, 1948, p. 17.
[10] Lasswell, 1948, pp. 10-14. See also Russell, 1938, pp. 35 f.

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(*d*) *Intergroup political relations*

121 Intergroup political relations are essentially different. They do not imply inferiority and superiority. The opposite assumption is made: the two groups are supposed to be independent and equal. If by diplomacy or by war one succeeds in subduing the other, the subsequent unequal relations will be more similar to intragroup than to intergroup political relations.

If our definition of intragroup political organization be accepted, the word 'political' when applied to intergroup relations conveys a different and derivative meaning. Those who control legitimate coercion within a social structure are also those who are qualified to enter into intergroup relations. Subjects do not represent their own group, only rulers do. The ability to deal with intergroup relations results from a superior situation in internal political relations. In that sense, the political external relations may be said to be secondary. In the following account of Ruanda political organization the emphasis will be on the primary political relations, the internal ones.

• • •

642 571 In Ruanda, there were two types of relationships sanctioned by legitimate coercion on the part of the superior. Consequently we may distinguish within the political organization two structures which may be termed administrative and military. Another system of social relations was the clientage structure or the feudal organization. It occupied an intermediate position between the political and the private spheres. It was not purely political, but it was much more than a private agreement such as a loan. Consequently the feudal relations in Ruanda will be considered in close connexion with the administrative and military ones.

[183] The three structures were interwoven and interconnected at each level. This was particularly the case at the top and at the 641 bottom. The mwami held the supreme position in the three systems and the commoners were taxpayers, members of an army, and clients. In the intermediate levels it happened, too, that a superior and an inferior were linked by several ties: one could be at the same time the lord and the cattle-chief of an individual, and the client of one's army chief.

I shall describe and analyse each structure separately.

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180 To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour [197] social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge 634 in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, 622 however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

121 Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

643 In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. [193] The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the [619] Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

643 This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives 183 more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954c, p. 65. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

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The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[20] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture.

In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military

[20] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

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relationship which should be enjoyed by both parties according to the classical definition of contract. 571 675

A third way in which *buhake* was different from the Western conception of contract lay in the vagueness and uncertainty in the measure of the reciprocal obligations. The patron could be more or less generous in the number of cows he granted, more or less exacting in the services he required; the client could be more or less prompt and zealous in his service. If there was a dispute about these differences in the execution of the agreement, there was no charter one could refer to for an assessment of rights and duties.

(*b*) *Caste structure*

To understand the functions of the feudal system in Ruanda society, one must first clarify some important features of that society. 121 ●

As our descriptions and analysis of Ruanda proceed, it becomes more and more certain that there was there a caste structure or something very similar to it. Sociologists usually define a caste society as one composed of several graded groups, each of which is endogamous and practising an hereditary occupation, membership of which can be obtained only by birth.[7] [564]

Birth was, indeed, the usual way in which one became a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. This does not mean that the three strata were 'racial' units, but that an individual was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa when his father was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. In the same way was his father a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. But in order to avoid such expressions, which could go on *ad infinitum*, a definition other than an hereditary one should be found. But it does not seem that there is any other than that a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa is a person who regarded himself, and was regarded by all those who knew him, as a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa, the usual way for a person to fulfil this social definition being to realize the hereditary one. In some cases, however, it was possible to be socially recognized as a Tutsi without having been begotten by a Tutsi father. For instance a Twa who had been ennobled or the son of a rich Hutu cattle owner and of a Tutsi woman, was sometimes regarded as a Tutsi. But these were exceptional cases and we may say that the caste criterion of membership by birth held in general for all the three Ruanda groups. 564 [554]

The same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw

[7] Cf. Lowie, 1948, pp. 10, 273.

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The same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw
564 previously that marriages between Hutu and Tutsi were not
[587] banned but that they were neither favoured nor frequent. Marriages between Twa and the two other groups were prohibited.

Since cattle rearing, agriculture, and hunting, with pot making, were the main activities characteristic of our three strata, the criterion of hereditary occupation was certainly realized in Ruanda.

The fourth criterion, the hierarchy of the groups within the society, was certainly to be seen in Ruanda. We must, however, consider more closely what kind of ranking existed between the castes.

121 Social power has been previously defined as an interpersonal relation in which each of the human actors, because he belongs to a different group or stratum of the same society, is able to exert pressure on the other. One occupies a postition of power over somebody, not because of personal qualities or the specific social role one fulfils or one's wealth, but only because one is a member of a certain group. The two human terms of the relation do not stand on their own personal merits but as representatives of their groups. Personal characteristics do not matter, only the identification with a group.

This notion of social power which operates in interpersonal relations is based on social power regarded from the collective point of view. Collectively, social power is the intergroup relation in which one of the two groups may inflict on the other a severe loss. It is the pressure exerted by one group as such on another.

564 The three Ruanda castes were in a hierarchic order, then, from the standpoint of social power, both collective and individual. The Tutsi caste could as a group inflict severe deprivations on the Hutu or Twa castes, and any individual Tutsi could exert strong pressure on any Hutu or Twa irrespective of their personal qualities and possessions.

Let us now turn to the function of the feudal system in Ruanda.

(c) *Protection by identification*

121 To live in a society where several castes very unequal in their social power coexist, frequently puts the individuals of the weaker groups in a very difficult position. Indeed, anybody may be at any time confronted with an exacting demand made on him by somebody possessing higher social power. To be protected against such

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a demand, it is indispensable for the person submitted to it to increase his own social power. It is impossible to do this directly as he cannot, except very rarely, enter into the upper caste, but he may obtain it indirectly by succeeding in identifying himself with a person endowed with great social power. Feudality is an institutionalization of that identification of an individual socially weak, with another, socially powerful, who secures for the former the necessary protection against other socially powerful individuals.

Is it not possible, in a caste society, to protect the persons enjoying little social power by other means than a clientage system?

The political power of the superior group could be limited by preventing that group from using the pressure of legitimate physical force. For instance, it could be made illegal for a person of the upper group to force somebody to work for him under the threat of having him imprisoned or beaten if he refused. This solution was aimed at in the nineteenth-century Western liberal state. There the groups were not castes but classes, defined both by amount of wealth and the type of its usage (capital investment versus consumer goods buying). The difference between classes and castes is irrelevant at this stage of our argument. According to its Marxist critics, that solution has not succeeded in preventing the domination of the economically weak group by the economically powerful one. If, they said, a rich man is not allowed to force another one to work for him under the threat of police, he may force him as effectively by the threat of taking his livelihood from him. Consequently, the Marxists proposed another solution to make the economic power of all individuals equal.

It is clear that both solutions attempt to solve the problem of the protection of socially weak individuals by changing the hierarchic structure of the society. In the liberal solution the dominant group is stripped of its political privileges, which makes it weaker as a superior group; in the Marxist solution, it is deprived of its preponderant social power, and completely disappears. It seems that a clientage institution is the only means permitting the protection of socially weak individuals without destroying the unequal participation of the groups in social power. In that system the groups continue to be endowed with an unequal collective social power, whereas the range of variability in individual social power

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is made narrower in order to give everybody the opportunity of obtaining sufficient personal security.

Such was, it appears, the first function of the *buhake* system in Ruanda. In that society where it was advisable to go into court accompanied by socially powerful persons, and when a Hutu possessing some wealth but no protector was risking the loss of his possessions, the feudal organization, by institutionalizing the identification of the Hutu client with the Tutsi lord, secured the necessary protection and security for the socially weak. With a few exceptions, the Twa were outside that feudal system. Their caste occupations were not compatible with cattle-rearing and made available to them other means of obtaining the personal protection of upper caste people. On the other hand, their small number made that kind of protection very effective.

(*d*) *Social cohesion*

A second function of the feudality in Ruanda was its contribution to the cohesion of the society.

In this respect we have to distinguish the feudal agreements in which clients were Hutu from those in which they were Tutsi. Let us first take the former. In order that two castes whose interests were so often divergent or opposed could constitute a stable unitary structure, it was necessary that they should not remain merely juxtaposed but should show some solidarity. Through the feudal relations economic currents flowed between Hutu and Tutsi: the land tillers had at their disposal some cattle; the pastoralists consumed agricultural produce and had fields cultivated by their servants and clients. In this way the economic system of production in Ruanda was mixed, made up of techniques, abilities, and wealth brought by the two groups. Through *buhake*, Hutu participated in the Tutsi values. They valued cattle very highly and entered the prestige system based on bovine possession. They assimilated some Tutsi alimentary habits, such as drinking milk. Feudality proved a very effective instrument for the constitution of a culture common to all Ruanda.

When there was a feudal agreement between two Tutsi, the *buhake* had another relevance to social cohesion. It may be said that any Tutsi client was also a lord and any Tutsi lord was also a client. The mwami was the only patron who was nobody's client. His *garagu* were the great Tutsi chiefs, the lords of less important

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Tutsi, who themselves were patrons of still less important Tutsi, and so on. In this way the Tutsi consituted a homogeneous unit of individuals linked to one another by bonds of fidelity and protection. From that point of view, *buhake* contributed to the unity and the solidarity of the aristocratic caste.

675 564 692

(*e*) *Maintenance of caste privileges*

Besides the protection of socially weak individuals and the promotion of social cohesion, a third function was fulfilled by the feudal system: the maintenance of the social *status quo* and the perpetuation of Tutsi privileges. This function seems somewhat opposed to the first two. Let us see how all these functions have been combined by the *buhake* system.

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In a stratified society where control of a category of goods or a type of ownership is characteristic of the superior layer, the access of the members of other groups to these goods or to the particular rights of ownership constitutes an active factor of social mobility. It is the reason why the aristocracy frequently keeps exclusively for itself these goods and these rights. Thus in Ankole the Hima pastoralists bar Iru cultivators from the ownership of productive cows. They may possess only barren cows and bull calves.[8]

[121]

Ruanda Tutsi did not impose such severe rules but by the *buhake* system they obtained very much the same results. They allowed Hutu to have cattle at their disposal—which in exchange provided Tutsi with labour and agricultural produce—but at the same time prevented them from gaining independent ownership rights over these cattle. Those who had the final control of cattle were always Tutsi. As the Hutu had been granted only usufruct rights over cattle which were different from those enjoyed by the lords who were Tutsi, there was no chance that the group of cattle owners could be invaded by Hutu.

[422]

By definition the client's possession was precarious. This uncertainty in the duration of the disposal of cattle was further emphasized by the circumstances mentioned above. The breaking off of the *buhake* relation was almost always favourable mainly to the lord and could often be disastrous for the client. It may even be said that when the practice of merging the *buhake* cows (*inkazibiti*) with the cows not received from a lord (*imbata*) was regarded as customary, all the Hutu cattle were precariously held and under

[8] Oberg, 1940, p. 130.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[p. 143]

CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM OF TUTSI DOMINATION

At the beginning of this century, after an historical development of which we can at the most have only a glimpse, Ruanda society appeared to be composed of two main strata, the Hutu and Tutsi castes. The latter was dominant in social power and used it to exploit economically the former and to retain political power exclusively. 564 661

This system of the social domination of a caste and of the political domination of a group within that caste seemed to be successful and stable at the beginning of the twentieth century. How did the Tutsi achieve the difficult task of keeping such a large caste kingdom a working concern? Before considering the social structural factors which were operative one must take into account the frame in which and the background against which the problem of domination had to be solved. By frame and background, is understood here the totality of circumstances which appeared to the Tutsi, and were for them, unalterable. Tutsi had to adapt their pattern of domination to these circumstances as they were in any event beyond their control. These circumstances were very numerous, pertaining to physical environment (ecological), to human biology, and even to the culture of the group. What these very various elements had in common was that, at the time referred to in this study, they set limits to the action and ways of life of the group. Some of these limits were not immutable in themselves but they were so none the less for the Tutsi at the beginning of the twentieth century. 121 178

From this vast congeries of natural, biological, and cultural factors, I shall review only a few which appear most significant from the present point of view: that of the conditions of domination.

1. FRAME AND BACKGROUND OF THE DOMINATION SYSTEM 178

A first relevant background fact was that, apart from the ultimate control of a most valuable resource, namely, cattle (a subject which will be discussed later), the difference between the equipment of Tutsi and Hutu was not very considerable. It is 564

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[P.160]

CHAPTER VIII

THE PREMISE OF INEQUALITY

1. DEFINITIONS

121 114 THERE is in a culture much more than can be observed (artifacts, behaviour) or known by direct questions (myths, religious beliefs, &c.). There are conceptions concerning the place of man in the world, his destiny, his main values, his attitudes to his fellow men, the meaning of the invisible world, &c. That covert part of a culture is partly or totally implicit in the sense that these fundamental conceptions and values remain for the culture bearers unexpressed or even unconscious. They are thus reached by induction, some by immediate inference from observation, some by a process encompassing several states of abstraction.

Some elements of the covert culture are particularly fundamental because they underline different cultural phenomena which hitherto might have appeared unrelated. They act as a principle in the logical order from which a set of conclusions may be deduced. This is why the word 'premise' has been preferred here to others such as 'configuration',[1] 'sanction',[2] and 'theme'.[3]

On the other hand, the word 'premise' should not be thought to imply that the relationships between the cultural principle and its cultural consequences obey the strictest laws of rational logic. This relationship may be said to be logical only in a very broad sense. Or more accurately, we must clearly distinguish between 'logical' and 'rational'. There are relationships which are meaningful although they express a sequence which is emotional or 'psychological' or even unconscious rather than rational. Such relationships, however, may be said to be 'logical' in the sense in which we speak of a logic of sentiments or emotions. This simply means that we expect them, 'understand' them.[4]

114 To make the point clear, let us take an example of a logical but not rational relationship between two social phenomena. In the past, a positive correlation has been noted between low economic

[1] Kluckhohn, 1941, 1943.
[2] Opler, 1945.
[3] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 222 f.
[4] Maquet, 1951, p. 165.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

indices and the lynching of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union. There is evidently no rational means for the whites of the south to impute the responsibility for the lack of rain—which was then the cause of the poor cotton crops—to Negroes. This typically irrational behaviour, however, becomes comprehensible if we accept the frustration-aggression sequence. In this sense, it can be said that the relation between the two phenomena, economic crises and lynching, is a logical relation.[5]

Ruanda political relations disclose one of the premises of that culture. Underlying the political and feudal structures there was a general assumption about human relations. In order to formulate it as accurately as may be possible, I shall first consider more closely the social roles of the superior and inferior in the field of political and feudal relations. In the following section the words 'ruler' and 'subject' refer to superiors and inferiors in the administrative, military, and clientage structures.

2. THE RULER'S AND SUBJECT'S SOCIAL ROLES

The analysis of the political organization of Ruanda indicates that the ruler was expected to assume a complex role towards his subject. The two poles of it were protection and profit. The subordinate was somebody whom one protected: he was also a resource from which it was normal to draw some advantage.

Protection was not restricted to a certain field of action, but potentially encompassed the whole of the subject's life. When the inferior needed some help, any help, he was expected to apply to his ruler even if the issue was completely alien to the sphere of the main relations between the ruler and the subject. A client could ask his *shebuja* for aid in matters not pertaining to cattle and *buhake* services. It was even thought proper for the ruler to interfere in difficulties which his subject through his own misdemeanour had run into as, for instance, when an inferior had been caught stealing from somebody. When protection was refused, it was not because the question was not the ruler's concern, but on other grounds, such as disloyalty.

The extent of that protection was not strictly defined. It did not constitute for the ruler a set of particular and fixed obligations. The subordinate had a general right to be protected but very few claims to particular advantages. In *buhake*, when one offered one's

[5] Dollard, 1939, p. 44 (quoted by Maquet, 1951, p. 166).

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is useful to the speaker or expected from him and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a utilitarian usage of language.

5. ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

We have read the premise, as it were, into the Ruanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Ruanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question that we are not likely ever to know, such as a good knowledge of the Tutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Ruanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

Tutsi came into Ruanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into the country inhabited by Hutu looked rather like a peaceful infiltration, it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Hutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalization of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Ruanda inequality premise. It is possible that Tutsi had previously to their arrival in Ruanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

shaped the new Ruanda situation according to their ideology. Again, it is possible that some themes and types of organization of the Hutu cultivators were particularly capable of being used in the formation of the Ruanda ethos as I have described it. But a conquest evolving into a caste structure is sufficient to account for an inegalitarian premise. Even if prior to the conquest each of the two groups concerned has an egalitarian ideology, the establishment of hereditary groups, whereby the status of vanquishers and vanquished is perpetuated, suffices to give birth to a theory of inequality.

I am of the opinion that such a theory is a necessary 'superstructure' (in the Marxist sense) of a caste system. Undoubtedly, a body of inheritance laws, opportunities for a certain kind of education restricted to the wealthiest, a difference in languages, &c., may maintain for some time a high social power in the hands of the conquerors' descendents, even if the cultural ideology is that all men are born equal. But such a lack of internal coherence ('all men are born equal' versus 'political and economic power is restricted to those who are descendants of the conquerors') is very likely to result rapidly in an evolution from a caste system to a class society. A 'racial' theory seems the only ideology perfectly consistent with a caste structure. It is very probable that conquerors adopt it not only for consistency's sake, but because it is more efficient, more easily understood and accepted, particularly when different physical traits are characteristic of each caste.

It should be understood that when we speak of 'the adoption of an ideology by the conquerors', it is not meant that one day the conquerors made a conscious choice among various possible ideologies. Rather, once a caste system operates, the patterns of political domination and of economic exploitation require people to behave as if the upper caste members were by nature different from that of the lower caste members. When the 'idea behind' these behaviours is made more or less explicit, as in tales and proverbs, it is rationalized in terms of fundamental and inborn inequality.

If there is such a necessary link between caste systems and the premise of inequality, then to know whether the conqueror's ideology, prior to the conquest, was egalitarian or not is only an historical question; when the vanquisher settles and establishes a caste system, the inegalitarian ideology is produced, as its corollary.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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The question of the previous premise of the conquerors' culture, however, remains very important in another connexion: to what extent does an anterior egalitarian ideology deter the conquerors from establishing a caste system? Is the conqueror, if imbued with an ethos of egalitarianism, inclined to admit that his principles are valid also in his relations with the vanquished group? Or does he think that obviously the conquered groups are different people? Because of our ignorance of the Tutsi cultural premises before they entered into Ruanda, these questions have to be left unanswered in the case of ancient Ruanda.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)196
FO42 Rundi FO42

[2]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954. 184 113

[3]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

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[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121 ●

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

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[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

●122 **6** *Sources*

The subject of this address is Urundi rural life and, broadly speaking, Urundi social structure. Thanks to the Jacques Cassel Foundation, which was established to enable the teaching or scientific staff of the University of Brussels to carry on research in the colonies, I have had the opportunity of staying eight months of the year 1935 in the tropical African

[p. 12 (B)]

122 country that I shall attempt to describe to you in a few words.

800 On the other hand, I gratefully acknowledge my debt towards some former students of Barundi customs (viz. J. M. M. van der Burgt, *French and Kirundi Dictionary*, 1903—Hans Meyer, *Die Barundi*, 1916—and the author of an anonymous monograph inserted in the Belgian Government *Report on Ruanda-*

[p. 12 (c)]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

been brought only during the past thirty years. The present Ruanda culture has lost the coherence that existed in pre-European days. Those who have become more closely associated with alien activity, and have therefore felt its influence more constantly, now share a culture made up in part of their ancestral way of life and in part of their interpretation of the Belgian variety of Western culture as it operates in a colonial situation. Even those who have not been brought into direct contact with whites feel that their old patterns of life are losing their validity. But that more or less hidden part of the old culture, consisting of basic assumptions on the relationships of man with the world and with other men, has suffered the least change. To be sure, the legends of the descent of the first Batutsi meet with more scepticism than in the past, but the fundamental beliefs that this story reflects are still profoundly embedded in the Ruanda ethos. Even when new institutions, based on assumptions conflicting with the earlier ones, are imposed under external pressure and adopted, the principles shaping the older institutions will subsist and, if participation in the new institutions is unchecked, these will be completely reinterpreted in accordance with the former premises. Some manifestations of the continuing existence of the ancient assumptions in the contemporary context will be considered here, but we shall be mainly concerned with the Ruanda world-view as it was at the beginning of this century.[1]

Ruanda is a highland country in East Africa lying in the region delimited by lakes Kivu, Victoria, and Tanganyika. Its area is 24,500 square kilometres; its population amounts to almost 2 million inhabitants, the highest density in Africa south of the Sahara. Three socio-'racial' castes are to be

[1] Much of the material used in this study was collected by the author during two years' work (1950–1) in Ruanda as a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.). The author was very much helped in his field research by Dr. E. Finoulst and Dr. G. De Clercq during their six-month course of training under his direction. Extensive and valuable information has been found in the published literature on Ruanda, especially studies by Father A. Arnoux, Abbé L. de Lacger, Abbé Alexis Kagame, the late Father A. Pagès, Mr. G. Sandrart, Father Schumacher, and Mr. J. Vanhove. The author is also grateful to the Abbé Kagame for having placed at his disposal some of his manuscripts. In formulating the conceptual and theoretical scheme used in this paper, the author has relied considerably on the teaching and works of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn of Harvard University. He is immensely indebted for his fundamental training in anthropology to the teaching staff of London University and particularly to Professor Daryll Forde. Mr. Lawrence Oschinsky has kindly corrected the manuscript. A short bibliography is given at the end, but it has not been felt necessary to document this study at every point, nor indeed was this possible, since it was written in the field with the use of a very restricted library.

This is an essay in the etymological meaning of the word. If the underlying configurations of a culture constitute its most important part, since they provide a key to the interrelatedness of apparently unconnected phenomena and to the meaning of apparently incomprehensible behaviour, they are also the most elusive realities. They evade direct observation and, often, direct interrogation. The anthropologist, therefore, must be sure that his inferences are logically acceptable not only to his own mind but also to the minds of the participants in the culture he studies. All this requires a thorough knowledge of the overt aspects of a culture and a long familiarity with them. The author is painfully aware that he has not gone very deeply into the ethos of Ruanda. This is only an attempt at a synthesis of the results so far obtained in researches which are still proceeding.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

124 [115] informant. Sixteen Hutu and twenty Tutsi informants were interviewed. Two junior administrative officers, Messrs. E. Finoulst and G. De Clercq, who were taking a six-month course of training in anthropology, participated in the different stages of this inquiry, as did Mr. S. Naigisiki, who acted as assistant and interpreter.

The inquiry into the cosmological and ethical systems was carried out on similar lines. A schedule of thirty-five headings, under each of which several points were listed, was used in several collective and individual interviews.

114 This research from 1949 to 1951 forms the main basis for my *Système des relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, published in 1954. But I have spent two other research periods in Ruanda (December 1952–December 1955 and September 1956–September 1957) on more specific topics. What was observed in these later periods, however, bearing on the topic of the earlier study, has been taken into account in the present volume.

127 Secondarily, the present study of Ruanda is based on literary sources published both before and after 1954. These are fully listed in the Bibliography.

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122 All my field work in Ruanda was sponsored by the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.) for which I am deeply grateful. At the same time I assumed the 114 functions of Head of the Scientific Research Centre of I.R.S.A.C. in Astrida. I wish to extend my thanks particularly to Professor L. van den Berghe, Director of I.R.S.A.C. The late Professor 000 F. Olbrechts, when he was Chairman of the *Commission des Sciences de l'Homme* of I.R.S.A.C., also greatly encouraged my research.

For guidance in planning the research project on Ruanda and for supervision of all its later stages, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Daryll Forde.

I should also like to thank Miss Barbara Pym, of the International African Institute, London, who very kindly corrected the first typescript, and Dr. R. J. Apthorpe, of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, Lusaka, for his patient and invaluable help in preparing this edition of my book.

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10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

*Author's translation.

†The research upon which this paper is based was supported by a Fellowship from the Ford Foundation, African Program (1955-1957). The field work was done between March, 1956 and July, 1957. Thanks are due also to I.R.S.A.C. (Instut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale) for having granted me the privilege of *Chercheur Associé*. Changes since the period of the research render the present tense historical.

173 643 766 778 A native village stands nearby, its banana groves bordering on the thickets. Its occupants are in charge of watching over the cemetery, which according to the opinion of the Banya-Nduga (inhabitants of the Nduga province) includes the tomb of Ruganzu II Ndori. Those who claim that his body was buried at Rutare cling to their opinion and insist that he was merely "smoked" at Mayebe. The inhabitants of the latter area, on the other hand, claim in turn that after having been mummified he was indeed buried right there, and add that this is the usual procedure. The place is quite commonly *known by the name of "Ruganzu's cemetery."*

According to the same interpretation, this prince alone was buried there.

Not far from Mayebe, two other small groves made up chiefly of ficus trees stand barely 300 meters apart. /529/ According to some, the corpses of several queens by the name of Nyirakigeri and Nyirayuhi were mummified there. Local people insist that they were also buried there, and support their claim by adding that the place where a king or queen is smoked is also the place where they are buried. The two clumps of trees formerly made up a single sacred grove, and this is why the natives call them by the same name.

The last of those cemeteries stands two kilometers farther. It is made up of handsome ficus trees, but the same controversies arise concerning the use to which this funeral site was put. It is called "the cemetery of the queens who bore the name of Nyiramavugo."

It is not easy to give precise information on this subject. The [123] keepers of the groves, the undertakers (abanyamugogo), and the official chroniclers (Abachur' ubgenge) are not willing to surrender all their information on the subject. The statements of other people are unreliable.

Funerary enclosures called ilaro (amalaro in the plural), or "night stopping places," are also found in the area.

They mark the sites of huts which served as shelters for the mortal remains of kings and queens in transit to the cemeteries.

The dwellings had to be abandoned after their visit, just as happens when a prince travelling through his realm stops for the night.

438 often set out on journeys lasting several days to visit customers
484 and distant markets. They handle the trade between Mulera, Nduga, and Katana on Lake Edward, and their chief items of exchange are sheep and goats, iron, salt, and tobacco. The Bagoye handle trade between Bugoye and Bunyabungu and exchange large quantities of hoes for goats from Mulera.

The Bagoye are unprejudiced traders. For example, when
● 123 they saw me collecting skulls there, they brought me some to buy. However, no one had the courage to touch a skull. They carried it either on a stick or wrapped in a banana leaf. It was a boy of eleven who first had the idea of demanding payment for skulls. Others followed, even adults, when they saw that the boy was well paid. In a short time they brought in over 200 skulls.

We must point out, however, that not everyone was enthusiastic about these transactions. After more careful investigation, it was discovered that all the skull collectors were people of the lower classes. They were bagaragu (1) of the others and orphans

1. Clients.

who had been taken into individual households as semi-slaves.
[626] After a few days, however, skull collecting stopped altogether, since the boys of the mission refused to eat with anyone who had collected skulls. When this news spread, I could not get any more skulls, and the last collector was thrashed.

The people were very much interested in knowing how much was paid for skulls in Europe.

567 Even today it is said that human beings are exported from Ruanda, not as voluntary emigrants and transient workers, but as slaves. I could find out little about this obscure problem. Since wives [164] are bought, it is very difficult to draw the line between a purchased slave and a purchased wife. In Kissaka the story goes that the Bassuwi come in large numbers to buy women and that they stay in Lukira. They are also said to re-sell the women in Tabora.

Dr. Kandt (1) says that there is a regular slave trade in the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 435.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

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WTA 19

177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous
671 population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
184 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over
563 the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the
114 members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pagès, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

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not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

●124 of the complex customs of Ruanda. The value of our information,
[115] emanating from the principal abiru, guardians of the customs of the Court of Nyanza, and from the seminarists, sons of the great provincial chiefs, as well as the cross-checking we have done, make us hope that we will present an essay from which all fantasy has been eliminated.

121 We hope that it will be possible for all those, both clerical and lay, who work in the "country of the cow and the drum," as well as ethnologists needing a basis for research, to have a clear picture of an organization, of a mechanism both complicated and precise, that takes us back mutatis mutandis both to the atmosphere of the ancient City and to that of the medieval world. [7]

685 referred to simply as kushoko, "drinking." This fact indicates that the poison test was the oldest form. To give a person this test is called kushora which simply means "to give a drink." Thus they say: "Umututsi ashora inka ze (the Mututsi gives his cows a drink)," as well as "kushora ikihango (to drink poison)" and "kushora (literally, to drink a chicken)."

[286] Chapter 14

History and Chronology

173 Ruanda. I had great difficulty in obtaining data about the history of Ruanda. Oral tradition in the interlacustrine region is limited chiefly to the genealogy of the rulers. This basic skeleton is also generally supplemented by a few statements about the chief events of the corresponding epochs. My informants, however, knew little about the history of the dynasty, since most of them were Bahutu.

124 Musinga gave Captain W. Von Grawert, who introduced me to him, his royal promise that he would have reports made to me on the history of the country or even tell me about it himself. [187] The chicken oracle, however, said that the king would suffer harm if I were initiated in the history of the country. The next time I visited Musinga and tried to have certain contradictions in my notes on the Ruanda rulers cleared up by this authoritative source, I was kept dangling for two and a half hours and was unsuccessful. His Black Majesty was very pleasant, but during the whole time he kept practicing, in German, the meaningless sentence, "Little spear is pretty."

Musinga wanted to please me by demonstrating his zeal in learning the German language and in this way divert my attention from interviewing him.

173 It seems that in Ruanda as well as In Nkole one may not speak about deceased kings with the uninitiated, for the spirits, disturbed in their rest, might avenge themselves. However, people talk about olden times in the evening when the nobility gather with the king, pay court to him, and drink beer. They know

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

for two years, from December 1949 to November 1951. During that period information was secured by continuous observation and by informal interviews with Africans and Europeans. Some administrative officers and missionaries, keenly interested in the society and culture of the Ruanda, have contributed much information and stimulating opinions.

In addition to this work, three systematic inquiries on specific subjects have been completed: political organization, kinship and family structures, and cosmological and ethical systems. Each of these inquiries was prepared by a preliminary survey on the subject, on the basis of which schedules of topics and specific questions were framed.

The preliminary survey of political organization enabled me to collect a considerable amount of information on that subject. Consequently, a later inquiry could aim primarily at checking and making more precise what was already known. To achieve this purpose a hundred-question schedule was devised. It was the object of each question that it should fulfil as adequately as possible the following conditions: to be neutral (formulated in such a way as not to suggest that the investigator preferred one answer rather than another), significant (likely to clarify obscure or controversial issues), concrete (such as 'Were there more or less people in group A than in group B?') rather than abstract (such as 'Give a definition of the administrative organization'), and simple (to be answered by 'yes', 'no', or one word). This last requirement was particularly important as it made possible a summing up of the answers. A translation of this questionnaire is given as Appendix One.

The choice of informants was made according to the following procedure. About a dozen persons, Africans and Europeans, who had been living for many years in Ruanda and had been in close contact with many members of the African community, were asked to give a list of Ruanda (Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa) who, in their opinion, would be familiar with the pre-European political structure, particularly from direct experience. The importance of listing people living in all the different regions of the country was stressed. By collating the various lists I finally obtained a set of about 350 names of men scattered everywhere in the country.

In order to interview them, I had to move between seventy-four different places which were about evenly distributed through the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

whole area of Ruanda. This took several months. With the help of two assistants, Messrs. G. Sebyeza and M. Sekanyambo, to whom I had given some training in interviewing and recording data, 326 informants were eventually interviewed. The aim of the inquiry was explained to them in small groups, but each interview was privately held to prevent informants from influencing each other's answers. In order to make sure that answers could be accurately recorded, the questionnaire had been printed and the answers of each informant were written on a separate copy. 124

As might have been expected, the more competent persons on political organization were Tutsi and in fact more than ninety per cent. of our informants were Tutsi. Since the number of Hutu and Twa was too small to be of any significance (there was, in fact, only one Twa!) their interviews were not taken into account in the computation of the results. A few more interviews were discarded on other grounds (such as suspicion about the sincerity or the mental ability of the informant). In the end the number of interviews used in the summing up was reduced to 300. 115 124

To count up the answers, some questions had to be modified. For instance, the question, 'Give the name of your patrilineage head', was replaced by, 'Do they know the name of their patrilineage head?' The computation of answers for the whole of Ruanda is given as Appendix Two.

Obviously, this class of 300 informants does not constitute a random sample representative of the total Ruanda population: the informants are practically all Tutsi and have been chosen according to certain criteria. This does not invalidate our procedure, however, as our aim was not to assess the opinions and knowledge of the whole of the Ruanda population on their past political organization, but to discover as accurately as possible what that organization was. This is why we attempted to interview only the most informed persons on the subject and to take into account the divergence of their views.

On kinship, family, and related subjects, the preliminary survey did not give as much information as the preliminary political survey revealed. Consequently, another procedure had to be adopted. A very comprehensive schedule of topics to be brought into the interview was elaborated. There were 542 items distributed under sixty-two headings to be covered with each

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124 [115] informant. Sixteen Hutu and twenty Tutsi informants were interviewed. Two junior administrative officers, Messrs. E. Finoulst and G. De Clercq, who were taking a six-month course of training in anthropology, participated in the different stages of this inquiry, as did Mr. S. Naigisiki, who acted as assistant and interpreter.

The inquiry into the cosmological and ethical systems was carried out on similar lines. A schedule of thirty-five headings, under each of which several points were listed, was used in several collective and individual interviews.

114 This research from 1949 to 1951 forms the main basis for my *Système des relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, published in 1954. But I have spent two other research periods in Ruanda (December 1952–December 1955 and September 1956–September 1957) on more specific topics. What was observed in these later periods, however, bearing on the topic of the earlier study, has been taken into account in the present volume.

Secondarily, the present study of Ruanda is based on literary 127 sources published both before and after 1954. These are fully listed in the Bibliography.

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122 All my field work in Ruanda was sponsored by the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.) for which I am deeply grateful. At the same time I assumed the 114 functions of Head of the Scientific Research Centre of I.R.S.A.C. in Astrida. I wish to extend my thanks particularly to Professor 000 L. van den Berghe, Director of I.R.S.A.C. The late Professor F. Olbrechts, when he was Chairman of the *Commission des Sciences de l'Homme* of I.R.S.A.C., also greatly encouraged my research.

For guidance in planning the research project on Ruanda and for supervision of all its later stages, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Daryll Forde.

I should also like to thank Miss Barbara Pym, of the International African Institute, London, who very kindly corrected the first typescript, and Dr. R. J. Apthorpe, of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, Lusaka, for his patient and invaluable help in preparing this edition of my book.

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177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous
671 population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
184 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over
563 the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

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2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

(a) *Districts, hills, and neighbourhoods*

From the point of view of territorial administration, the border 631
zones were distinguished from the rest of the country. Border zones which were permanently threatened by foreign attack were administered by the chief of the army, the headquarters, and camp of which situated in the region. The centre of Ruanda and the regions which were close to a foreign territory not regarded as dangerous were divided into what we shall call administrative districts. There is an almost complete unanimity of informants (97 per cent.) on this.[11]

Unfortunately, there is confusion about the names applied to these areas. Five names were given by informants, with the following percentages: *igikingi* (3 per cent.); *igiti* (19 per cent.), *urugo* (12 per cent.); *umurwa* (7 per cent.); *ubukebe* (24 per cent.). Moreover, the three terms *igikingi*, *igiti*, *urugo* were all used, according to 2 per cent.; *igiti* and *urugo* according to 4 per cent.; *igikingi* and *igiti* according to 6 per cent.; *igiti* and *ubukebe* according to 8 per cent.; *igikingi*, *igiti*, and *ubukebe* according to 1 per cent. Finally, to add to the confusion, the same word was used to mean different but related units. For instance *igikingi* could mean a subdivision of a hill—according to 97 per cent.—and a hill was itself part of a district to which, as we have just indicated, 12 per cent. applied the term *igikingi*.

At all events the whole country was divided into administrative 634
locations that may be designated as districts. Each of them was ruled by two chiefs, neither of them dependent on the other. Their authority extended over the same territory but from different points of view. The land-chief (*umunyabutaka*) took care of the [622]
dues from agriculture and the cattle-chief (*umunyamukenke*) of the dues from stock. According to 60 per cent. of our informants, the same person could not have the two charges. It was possible, however, according to 36 per cent. of the Tutsi asked. But the usual situation was to have two chiefs and not a single one.

The district was divided into hills (*umusozi*). At that level the 000

[11] As has been explained in the introduction, a hundred questions on the political organisation have been put to three hundred informants chosen from all the regions of Ruanda (the interviews took place in seventy-four different places). The percentages to be found in that chapter refer to this sample. When the percentages included decimal fractions, the figures have been brought to the nearest unit. [125]

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APPENDIX 1

Translation from Ruanda of the questionnaire on political organization. 125

1. (*a*) Name of informant.
   (*b*) Son of . . . .
   (*c*) Is he a Tutsi, a Hutu, a Twa?
   (*d*) What is or was his occupation, office, title?[1]
   (*e*) What is your 'territoire' (Belgian administrative division)?
   (*f*) What is your 'chefferie' (*igihugu*)?
   (*g*) What is your 'sous-chefferie' (*umosozi*)?
   (*h*) Give the name of your patrilineage (*umulyango*).
   (*i*) Give the name of your clan (*ubwoko*).
2. Give the name of your patrilineage head.
3. Where are people more numerous, in the *inzu* or in the *umulyango*?
4. Were all the members of your *umulyango* under the command of a single army-chief or were you scattered in different armies?
5. Give the name of the chronologically first army to which your *inzu* was affiliated.
6. Has your *inzu* been affiliated to armies other than the first one?
7. Have you been trained as an *intore*?
8. Was every Ruanda (whether Tutsi, Hutu or Twa) a member of an army?
9. Was a man ever under the command of two army-chiefs?
10. When an army-chief wanted to recruit *intore* or to require services, could he request it from any individual directly or had he to ask the patrilineage head?
11. Could a young man be incorporated into two *intore* companies?
12. Do you know anybody who has been in that situation? Give his name.
13. When somebody was a member of an army, was he usually the only person of his kin group in that army?
14. Or was he with his married sons?
15. With his unmarried sons?
16. With his brothers?
17. With his brothers' children?
18. With his sisters' children?
19. With his paternal uncles?
20. With his clients?
21. Was it possible for somebody who had never received any cows from a lord to have cows that belonged to him and did not depend on any lord?
22. Were the cows acquired by somebody's independent economic activity regarded as army cows?

[1] The preceding questions were usually answered by the investigator, not directly by the informant. To the following the informant's reply was recorded.

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23. Was a married man who was left without any living member of his *inzu*, regarded as an *inzu* head and had he the same obligation towards his army-chief?
24. Was it the same or was it different to be a client and to be commanded by an army-chief?
25. Were the cows called 'cows of the king' received from a lord?
26. Could all the members of an army be required to perform services concerning cows and war or were they divided into two groups, one of warriors and one of herdsmen?
27. When a new army-chief was appointed, had all the army members the obligation of numbering the cows (*murundo*) and of giving him a cow as recognition of his authority (*indabukirano*)?
28. Was the army member who had no cows obliged to give another recognition gift?
29. Had the army-chief an effective disposal of the cows taken by him during the *murundo*?
30. Could the army-chief order the numbering by himself?
31. Who minded the cows taken during the numbering?
32. When two Tutsi members of the same army and living on the same hill had a dispute about cattle, who had to judge the case?
33. If the two Tutsi were members of different armies, who had to judge the case?
34. When a client wanted to complain about his lord, to whom did he bring the case?
35. When a lord wanted to complain about his client, to whom did he bring the case?
36. When somebody wanted his litigation to be judged by the king, by whom was it advisable to be accompanied?
37. Could anybody, whether Tutsi, Hutu or Twa, appeal to the king if he did not want to accept the previous judgement of another authority?
38. If somebody wanted to appeal to the king and was prevented from doing so by some pressure, what happened if the king knew of it?
39. Could army members who were dissatisfied with their chief do anything to have him dismissed?
40. If it was possible, what did they do?
41. What section of the army had to give to the court the cows supplying fresh milk (*inkuke*)?
42. The service of jugs of milk (*igicuba*)?
43. The foodstuffs (*amakoro*)?
44. The bulls to be slaughtered (*indwanyi*)?
45. The steers for divination purposes (*amamana*)?
46. The service of the maintenance of the enclosure?
47. Were all these services and dues given by the patrilineage head or severally by every member of the army?
48. Did the king command the whole country directly or was it divided into several districts?

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49. What was the name of these districts?
50. What was the name of the royal residence of the place where you lived? 125
51. Do you remember the names of other royal residences or districts?
52. What is the meaning of *umunyamukenke*?
53. What is the meaning of *umynyabutaka*?
54. Who collected the sorghum tribute (*urutete*) for the court?
55. In addition to the judgs of milk and other *inkuke* sent by the royal residences to the court, were there other jugs of milk and other *inkuke* requested by the tax collectors and sent to the residence?
56. Who required these additional jugs of milk from the hill chief?
57. Which cattle provided the milk?
58. What is the meaning of the word *abakoni*?
59. For the benefit of whom were the cattle seized during military expeditions?
60. What is the meaning of the word *umudende*?
61. Could you give the names of five persons who had *umudende*?
62. What is the meaning of the word *impotore*?
63. Could you give the name of five persons who had *impotore*?
64. What is the meaning of the words *gucana uruti*?
65. Could you give the name of five persons for whom the *gucana uruti* ritual has been performed?
66. Who granted the *umudende* badge?
67. Who granted the *impotore* badge?
68. Who performed the ritual of *gucana uruti*?
69. Did the army cattle include only *nyambo*?
70. Were the army-chief's herds regarded as army cattle?
71. Were the cows given as rewards to the warriors for bravery regarded as army cattle?
72. Were the cows received as bride-wealth regarded as army cattle?
73. Were the cows given to an army member regarded as army cows?
74. Were the cows received by exchange by army members regarded as army cattle?
75. Who granted the hill-chief his office?
76. Who was the superior of the hill-chief?
77. What was the difference between *ibikingi* and *umusozi*?
78. Was any *ibikingi* depending directly on the royal court?
79. Who appointed the heads of these royal *ibikingi*?
80. Had the cattle-chief authority over them?
81. Could the land-chief require tribute labour from the people living on these royal *ibikingi*?
82. Were those who had received these *ibikingi* from the king under the authority of the army-chief?
83. Was the cattle-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the court?
84. Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the cattle-chief?

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85. Was the land-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the court?
86. Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the land-chief?
87. Give the name, if you can remember it, of a hill on which there was a royal cemetery.
88. Were the people living on such hills obliged to pay taxes (in agricultural produce) to the court?
89. Do you remember the name of a place under the authority of a *mwiru*?
90. Was such a place submitted to the authority of the cattle- and the land-chiefs?
91. Was it possible for the same person to be at the same time land-chief and cattle-chief?
92. Was the office of the cattle-chief granted only to Tutsi or to Hutu as well?
93. Was the office of land-chief granted only to Tutsi or to Hutu as well?
94. Give the names of Hutu you know, who have been land-chiefs or cattle-chiefs.
95. Give the names of Hutu who have been hill-chiefs.
96. Give the names of Hutu who have been army-chiefs.
97. Could a Twa be appointed hill-chief?
98. Give the names of Twa who have been hill-chiefs.
99. Without being ennobled, could a Twa be appointed cattle-chief or land-chief?
100. When a Twa or Hutu was appointed chief, did the Tutsi living under his authority have to obey him?

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[P.177]

APPENDIX 2

Computation of answers given to the Questionnaire by a sample of 300 Tutsi.

128
125

		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
1. Is there a difference between *umulyango* and *uwoko*?	yes	274	91·3
	no	26	8·6
2. Do they know the name of their *umulyango* head?	yes	278	92·6
	no	22	7·3
3. Is there a difference between *inzu* and *umulyango*?	yes	295	98·3
	no	5	1·6
4. Was your family under the authority of one or several army-chiefs?	one	248	82·6
	several	52	17·3
5. Do they know the name of the first army to which their *inzu* belonged?	yes	295	98·3
	no	5	1·6
6. Has your *inzu* belonged to other armies?	yes	90	30·0
	no	210	70·0
7. Have you been *intore*?	yes	187	62·3
	no	113	37·6
8. Was any Ruanda a member of an army?	yes	298	99·3
	no	2	0·6
9. Was it possible to be a member of two armies?	yes	1	0·3
	no	299	99·6
10. Could the army-chief require dues directly from anybody or only through the lineage head?	direct	0	0·0
	lineage head	300	100·0
11. Could a man be incorporated into two *intore* companies?	yes	13	4·3
	no	287	95·6
12. Do they give the name of somebody who has been in such a situation?	yes	13	4·3
	no	287	95·6
13. Was an army member usually the only person of his kin group in the army?	yes	0	0·0
	no	300	100·0
14. Or was he with his married sons?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
15. With his unmarried sons?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
16. With his brothers?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
17. With his brothers' children?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0

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		Absolute figures	Percentages
128 18. With his sisters' children?	yes	5	1·6
	no	295	98·3
125 19. With his paternal uncles?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
20. With his clients?	yes	22	7·3
	no	277	92·3
	DK[1]	1	0·3
21. Was it possible to have cows not granted by a lord?	yes	277	92·3
	no	17	5·6
	DK	6	2·0
22. Were the cows acquired by independent economic activity regarded as army cows?	yes	256	85·3
	no	42	14·0
	DK	2	0·6
23. Was a married man, the only member left of his *inzu*, regarded as a lineage head from the army point of view?	yes	293	97·6
	no	0	0·0
	DK	7	2·3
24. Was it the same to be a client and to be commanded by an army-chief?	yes	3	1·0
	no	297	99·0
25. Were the 'king's cows' *imbata*?	yes	185	61·6
	no	4	1·3
	DK	111	37·0
26. Did they distinguish in any army two sections (warriors and herdsmen)?	yes	251	83·6
	no	1	0·3
	DK	48	16·0
27. When a new army-chief was appointed, were *murundo* and/or *indabukirano* obligatory?	*mur.* only	0	0·0
	ind. only	10	3·3
	both	288	96·0
	DK	2	0·6
28. If one had no cows, was one obliged to give a recognition gift?	yes	24	8·0
	no	275	91·6
	DK	1	0·3
29. Had the army-chief the effective disposal of the *murundo* cows?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
30. Could the army-chief order the numbering by himself?	yes	14	4·6
	no	269	89·6
	DK	17	5·6

[1] The symbol DK denotes not only the avowed ignorance of the informants. It has been used also when an answer had to be discarded for other reasons such as its irrelevance indicating that the informant did not understand it, or when it appeared clearly in the interview that the informant was giving any answer for answer's sake, or was answering what he thought the anthropologist wanted.

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		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
31. Who minded the cattle taken in the *muramba*?	*abashumba* only	106	35·3
	ishomamas only	0	0·0
	both	158	52·6
	a warrior	1	0·3
	DK	35	11·6
32. A dispute between two Tutsi of the same army and the same hill was judged by:	their army-chief	274	91·3
	their land-chief	6	2·0
	DK	20	6·6
33. A dispute between two Tutsi from different armies was judged by:	one army-chief	19	6·3
	both army-chiefs	245	81·6
	their land-chiefs	7	2·3
	DK	29	9·6
34. With whom had a client to lodge a complaint against his lord?	client's army-chief	158	52·6
	lord's army-chief	20	6·6
	king	34	11·3
	DK	88	29·3
35. With whom had a lord to lodge a complaint against his client?	client's army-chief	39	13·0
	lord's army-chief	159	53·0
	land-chief of both	1	0·3
	king	28	9·3
	DK	73	24·3
36. If one wanted one's litigation to be judged by the king, it was advisable to be accompanied by:	one's lord	117	39·0
	one's army-chief	82	27·3
	both of them	54	18·0
	DK	47	15·6
37. Could everybody appeal to the king?	yes	266	88·6
	no	26	8·6
	DK	8	2·6
38. Were those who prevented somebody from appealing to the king punished?	yes	149	49·6
	no	82	27·3
	DK	69	23·0
39. Could army members have their army-chief dismissed?	yes	248	82·6
	no	44	14·6
	DK	8	2·6
40. Who brought the case to the *mwami*?	all army mem.	5	1·6
	a delegation	215	71·6
	DK	80	26·6
41. What section of the army had to provide the court with *ishako*?	*abashumba*	295	98·3
	warriors	1	0·3
	DK	4	1·3

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
128 125 42. What section of the army had to provide the court with jugs of milk?	*abashumba*	296	98·6
	warriors	0	0·0
	DK	4	1·3
43. With foodstuffs?	*abashumba*	3	1·0
	warriors	11	3·6
	Hutu army mem.	277	92·3
	DK	9	3·0
44. With bulls to be slaughtered?	*abashumba*	268	89·3
	warriors	2	0·6
	both sections	8	2·6
	DK	22	7·3
45. With steers for divination purposes?	*abashumba*	123	41·0
	warriors	2	2·6
	both sections	166	55·3
	DK	9	3·0
46. What section of the army had to maintain the enclosure?	*abashumba*	11	3·6
	warriors	2	0·6
	Hutu army mem.	4	1·3
	all army mem.	278	92·6
	DK	5	1·6
47. All these services and dues were given by:	lineage head	294	98·0
	each member	2	0·6
	DK	4	1·3
48. Was the country divided into several districts?	yes	290	96·6
	no	7	2·3
	DK	3	1·0
49. What were the names of these districts?	*igihingi*	10	3·3
	igiti	58	19·3
	urugo	36	12·0
	umworwa	22	7·3
	ubukebe	72	24·0
	igihingi, igiti, rugo	5	1·6
	igiti, rugo	11	3·6
	igihingi, igiti	17	5·6
	igiti, ubukebe	25	8·3
	igihingi, igiti, ubukebe	3	1·0
	DK	41	13·6
50. Do they know the name of the royal residence in the place where they lived?	yes	258	86·0
	no	28	9·3
	DK	14	4·6

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	Percentages
51. Do they remember the names of other such residences?	yes	283	94·3
	no	16	5·3
	DK	1	0·3
52. Do they understand *umuryamukenke* in the sense of cattle-chief?	yes	277	92·3
	no	7	2·6
	DK	16	5·3
53. Do they understand *umuryabutaka* in the sense of land-chief?	yes	283	94·3
	no	6	2·0
	DK	11	3·6
54. Who collected the *urutete* for the court?	land-chief	267	89·0
	army-chief	11	3·6
	both of them	3	1·0
	another person	6	2·0
	DK	13	4·3
55. In addition to milk and *inkuke*, which other cattle dues were sent to the residence?	milk only	0	0·0
	inkuke only	30	10·0
	both	233	77·3
	neither of them	32	10·6
	DK	5	1·6
56. Who required these additional jugs of milk from the hill-chief?	cattle-chief	204	68·0
	another person	70	23·3
	DK	26	8·6
57. Which cows provided that milk?	indep. acquired	1	0·3
	abashumba's cows	247	82·3
	others' cows	33	11·0
	DK	19	6·3
58. Do they understand *abakomi* in the sense of those who seized cattle in expeditions?	yes	203	67·6
	another meaning	49	16·3
	DK	48	16·0
59. For whose benefit were the cattle seized by *abakomi*?	army-chief	6	2·0
	mwami	261	87·0
	DK	33	11·0
60. *Umudende* means:			
badge for having killed 7 men		206	68·6
badge		74	24·6
something else or DK		20	6·6
61. How many names do they remember of warriors having worn *umudende*?	five or more	114	38·0
	less than 5	140	46·0
	none	46	15·3
62. *Impetore* means:			
badge for having killed 14 men		42	14·0
badge		133	44·3
something else or DK		125	41·6

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
128 125 63. How many names do they remember of warriors having worn *impotore*?	five or more	12	4·0
	less than five	78	26·0
	none	210	70·0
64. *Gucana uruti* means:			
ritual after having killed 21 men		32	10·6
a military honour		213	71·0
something else or DK		55	18·3
65. How many names do they remember of warriors having received that honour?	five or more	5	1·6
	less than five	108	36·0
	none	187	62·3
66. Who granted the *umudende* badge?	oneself	16	5·3
	army-chief	2	0·6
	king	245	81·6
	DK	37	12·6
67. Who granted the *impotore* badge?	oneself	5	1·6
	king	164	54·6
	DK	131	43·6
68. Who performed the ritual of *gucana uruti*?	oneself	146	48·6
	army-chief	1	0·3
	lord	2	0·6
	king	89	29·6
	DK	62	20·6
69. Did the cattle army include only *nyambo*?	yes	23	7·6
	no	267	89·0
	DK	10	3·3
70. Did the army cattle include the army-chief's herds?	yes	287	95·6
	no	3	1·0
	DK	10	3·3
71. Did the army cattle include the cows given to the army warriors as rewards for bravery?	yes	284	94·6
	no	5	1·6
	DK	10	3·3
72. Did the army cattle include the cows received as bride-wealth by army members?	yes	286	95·3
	no	4	1·3
	DK	10	3·3
73. Did the army cattle include the cows received as gifts by the army members?	yes	287	95·6
	no	3	1·0
	DK	10	3·3
74. Did the army cattle include the cows received in exchange with the army members?	yes	286	95·3
	no	4	1·3
	DK	10	3·3

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	Percentages
75. The hill-chief received his office from:	land-chief	5	1·6
	cattle-chief	8	2·6
	army-chief	26	8·6
	king	97	32·3
	cattle-chief, army-chief	17	5·6
	land-, army-c., king	1	0·3
	army-c., king	68	22·6
	cattle-c., army-c., king	21	7·0
	land-c., king	1	0·3
	cattle-c., king	9	3·0
	DK	47	15·6
76. The superior of the hill-chief was:	land-chief	7	2·3
	cattle-chief	30	10·0
	army-chief	77	25·6
	lord	1	0·3
	another person	63	21·0
	cattle-c., army-c.	38	12·6
	cattle-c., king	2	0·6
	army-c., king	7	2·3
	DK	75	25·0
77. The area of the *umuzozi*, when compared to that of the *ibikingi* was:	larger	290	96·6
	the same	8	2·6
	DK	2	0·6
78. Were there *ibikingi* depending directly on the royal court?	yes	294	98·0
	no	4	1·3
	DK	2	0·6
79. Who appointed the heads of these *ibikingi*?	king	296	98·6
	somebody else	1	0·3
	DK	3	1·0
80. Had the cattle-chief authority over them?	yes	101	33·6
	no	192	64·0
	DK	7	2·3
81. Could the land-chief require labour from those living on these royal *ibikingi*?	yes	64	21·3
	no	232	77·3
	DK	4	1·3
82. Were those who had received these *ibikingi* from the king under the army-chief's authority?	yes	171	57·0
	no	128	42·6
	DK	1	0·3

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9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	Percentages
128 125 83. Was the cattle-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the court?	yes	18	6·0
	no	273	91·0
	DK	9	3·0
84. Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the cattle-chief?	yes	16	5·3
	no	276	92·0
	DK	8	2·6
85. Was the land-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the court?	yes	296	98·6
	no	0	0·0
	DK	4	1·3
86. Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the land-chief?	yes	285	95·0
	no	8	2·6
	DK	7	2·3
87. Do they know the name of a hill on which there was a royal cemetery?	yes	263	87·6
	Rutare	214	71·6
	no	30	10·0
	DK	7	2·3
88. Were the people living on such hills obliged to pay agricultural dues to the court?	yes	13	4·3
	no	251	83·6
	DK	36	12·0
89. Do they know the name of a *mwiru's* place?	yes	229	76·3
	no	55	18·3
	DK	16	5·3
90. Was such a place submitted to the authority of the cattle- and land-chiefs?	yes	3	1·0
	no	237	79·0
	DK	60	20·0
91. Could the same person be at the same time cattle- and land-chief?	yes	107	35·6
	no	180	60·0
	DK	13	4·3
92. Could a Hutu be cattle-chief?	yes	18	6·0
	no	273	91·0
	DK	9	3·0
93. Could a Hutu be land-chief?	yes	275	91·6
	no	21	7·0
	DK	4	1·3
94. Do they know the names of Hutu cattle-chiefs?	yes	14	4·6
	no	286	95·3
95. Do they know the names of Hutu land-chiefs?	yes	258	86·0
	no	42	14·0
Do they know the names of Hutu hill-chiefs?	yes	207	69·0
	no	83	27·3
	DK	10	3·3

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	Percentages
96. Do they know the names of Hutu army-chiefs?	yes	167	55·6
	no	130	43·3
	DK	3	1·0
97. Could a Twa be appointed hill-chief?	yes	201	67·0
	no	96	32·0
	DK	3	1·0
98. Do they know the names of Twa who have been hill-chiefs?	yes	195	65·0
	no	101	33·6
	DK	4	1·3
99. Could a Twa be appointed cattle-chief or land-chief without being ennobled?	yes	0	0·0
	no	297	99·0
	DK	3	1·0
100. When Tutsi lived under the authority of a Twa or Hutu chief, did they have to obey him?	yes	284	94·6
	no	7	2·3
	DK	9	3·0

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8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

An instance which shows a number of these possibilities comes 217
from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west of
Tanganyika Territory. A custom which might or might not be noted
by the ethnographer—something must escape the most meticulous of 233
observers, and this one is not recorded by Meyer for the Barundi, of 643
whom the people of Bugufi are ethnologically part—is the right of the 423
chief to pasture his cattle among the millet-stalks after the harvest,
before the peasant may put in his own cattle or any which he is
herding for some one else. The court book records eight peasants
coming to court to complain against a Tusi who has driven off their [694]
cattle. The Tusi replies that the men had pastured their cattle in their
millet before the chief had had access. Asked by the court whether
he was instructed to drive off the cattle, the Tusi replies that he acted
as he was bound to do in accordance with ancient custom and his
obligations to the chief. New concepts have, however, found their
way into the court, which gives judgement for the plaintiffs on the [178]
grounds that the land and the cattle were theirs. This case is exceptional in the wealth of statement and suggestion which it offers, but there are many others helpful in lesser degree.

The value of native court records in this way was brought home to 127
me while stationed in this area, Bugufi, during the years 1929–31, 217
when I went through the available material with a view to seeing what
were the normal causes of litigation and getting a general idea of the
law administered. Starting with the year 1924, the series was examined
up to the end of 1930. For these seven years, 850 cases were found
where judgement issued, there being a further 225 which had been
settled out of court or dismissed for want of prosecution or by reason
of limitation. Of these 850 cases, almost one-quarter concerned con-
tracts where cattle were involved, nearly one-sixth were marital cases, [673]
and another sixth were over administrative matters, including offences
against the Native Authority Ordinance: only one-seventh were of
offences against person and property, and the remainder concerned
debts, land, inheritance, damage to property and a few miscellaneous
matters.

The fullest records were those of the numerous marital cases, and 127
these have been fully collated with a view to giving an idea of how 217
much information can be gleaned and what gaps remain, and what

suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

124 [115] informant. Sixteen Hutu and twenty Tutsi informants were interviewed. Two junior administrative officers, Messrs. E. Finoulst and G. De Clercq, who were taking a six-month course of training in anthropology, participated in the different stages of this inquiry, as did Mr. S. Naigisiki, who acted as assistant and interpreter.

The inquiry into the cosmological and ethical systems was carried out on similar lines. A schedule of thirty-five headings, under each of which several points were listed, was used in several collective and individual interviews.

114 This research from 1949 to 1951 forms the main basis for my *Système des relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, published in 1954. But I have spent two other research periods in Ruanda (December 1952–December 1955 and September 1956–September 1957) on more specific topics. What was observed in these later periods, however, bearing on the topic of the earlier study, has been taken into account in the present volume.

127 Secondarily, the present study of Ruanda is based on literary sources published both before and after 1954. These are fully listed in the Bibliography.

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122 All my field work in Ruanda was sponsored by the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.) for which I am deeply grateful. At the same time I assumed the 114 functions of Head of the Scientific Research Centre of I.R.S.A.C. in Astrida. I wish to extend my thanks particularly to Professor 000 L. van den Berghe, Director of I.R.S.A.C. The late Professor F. Olbrechts, when he was Chairman of the *Commission des Sciences de l'Homme* of I.R.S.A.C., also greatly encouraged my research.

For guidance in planning the research project on Ruanda and for supervision of all its later stages, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Daryll Forde.

I should also like to thank Miss Barbara Pym, of the International African Institute, London, who very kindly corrected the first typescript, and Dr. R. J. Apthorpe, of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, Lusaka, for his patient and invaluable help in preparing this edition of my book.

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644 appointed bards (abachurabgenge), as well as literary jousters or men
538 of choice language called Abasizi, whose only role is to refresh the king's memory or to beguile his leisure with tasteful improvisations. Even the commoners are not insensitive to literature. There is not a single Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ who is not keenly interested in the legends, narratives, fables, moral or humorous tales, riddles, plays on words, jokes, etc., belonging to the oral literature.

644 Every post at the capital has its own traditions which must be scrupulously observed. We shall attempt to provide a short description of the duties and regulations connected with those offices, and of the practices and formalities to which the king must submit on the one hand and his subjects on the other.

The reader should not be surprised to hear that there is etiquette and ceremonial at court.

It is easy to imagine the oddity of a circle such as that of the court, where such varied figures rub shoulders within such a relatively small space: lords, courtiers, disciples of Aesculapius and vulgar charlatans, servants, sorcerers and diviners of various sorts, caterers, stewards, dancers, pages, keepers of the traditions, official chroniclers, literary men, etc., to list but a few. /353/ This whole world exists, thinks, and acts for the sake of the king alone. It is a true medieval court with, moreover, pagan mores where the element of sorcery predominates.

●128 Laymen unfamiliar with Africa will be able to form an idea of what a king and his court represent in a Black land. What we shall say of the former political situation, the royal mores that prevailed, the human tributes and bloody bondage, will not only describe the
[643] ancient times but also demonstrate the respect that surrounded the person of the king, who was regarded by his subjects as a demigod. When viewed in the past, his bloody whims, far from being injurious to his reputation, only served to strengthen his power and his majesty. Primitive souls are awed by displays of brute force.

Among other interesting details, one will find in these pages the more or less rational origin, derived from legend or history, of many a practice and custom that still exists today.

•128 Among those customs, let us mention the preservation and upkeep of a dog-faced baboon at the capital, the watch over the sacred fire bequeathed by one of the dynastic forebears, the worship of the royal drum which is regarded as the "palladium" of the realm, the existence of sacred cows and their presentation at important [527] ceremonies, the yearly celebration of the festival called the "first-fruits festival," and the observance of a day of rest every five days. No less interesting, from an ethnological standpoint, are the passages describing the funeral customs observed at the death of a king and those referring to cemeteries, royal groves, and the royal ancestral spirits, including the annual June mourning observed at court in memory of an ancient prince. The reader will hear of the special franchises and immunities accorded to certain tribes, and of the prerogatives, privileges, and varied duties of the other groups. Some of those large families have /354/ the special function of supplying His Black Majesty with sorcerers, keepers of the traditions, rain makers, royal undertakers (who form a closed corporation), etc. (1). In order

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1. The political and social organization of the Banyarwanda is slightly reminiscent of the caste system which is found in the early history of many groups, whether political, religious, or even mere professional castes are involved.

Thus among the Hebrews, the tribe of Levi had a monopoly on sacerdotal functions. Among the Greeks the Asclepiades, who claimed to descend from Aesculapius, transmitted the secrets of medicine to one another from generation to generation. In Rome there were the two great political castes of patricians and plebeians. Even at the present

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time India is the classical land of castes, where various classes of people remain completely separated.

●128 to clarify the pages that follow, we shall use the following outline to describe the duties and privileges at court.

The few details given in the short list of posts and dignities will provide an initial understanding of the mores and customs which may prevail at a court of this sort.

In order to round out the picture we wish to convey, it will then suffice to mention, among other things, the safeguards which the king feels he must demand from his employees, the dangers to which the latter were exposed by the nature of their functions, and a few other practices and formalities which the sovereign and his subjects are compelled to observe.

The last two chapters will bear on the two great festivals at court and the strange funeral rites observed at the death of a king. Our data are far from complete: there is too much to be told, and the sources of information are too inadequate. European penetration into those lands is hardly 25 years old. Up to the time of the Great European War, the natives and especially the "great ones" (Abatutsi) remained on their guard. Tongues are just beginning to loosen a little. The historical and ethnological harvest in Ruanda is barely beginning. For these reasons, /355/ the following pages will provide only a short account.

It is nevertheless to be feared that the numerous and strange practices that still largely govern the present life of the court may soon disappear one by one and make room for progress and modern civilization. We believe, therefore, that we did well in presenting to the reader a brief and concise survey of these practices before they sink into oblivion.

While giving choice place to the customs of the court and the mores of the Hamites, we shall not hesitate, whenever the opportunity arises, to wander from the rather narrow boundaries indicated and defined by the title of Book IV. Whenever suitable, and without leaving the subject at hand, we shall broaden its scope to include customs

●128 common to the three ethnic groups which make up the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ nation, or peculiar to one group or another.

Chapter 1.

644 I. Posts and Offices of a Historical and Superstitious Nature.
231 The Keepers of the Customs and Traditions.
778 The "King" of the First Fruits and the "King" of the Imandwa.

1. Maintenance at court of a dog-faced baboon and a sacred bull.

It will be recalled that according to legend, when the enemies of Ruganzu II the Victorious attempted to smoke him out of a cave, /356/ he was saved by dog-faced baboons (inguge), who led him through subterranean tunnels to another exit. One of those animals is kept at the capital in order to commemorate this fantastic legend.

The clan in charge of caring for the animal is known under the name of Abanyamuheno, that is to say, "Men of the Cave, " in memory of the event.

The monkey, tied with a chain, is fed by his keepers with sweet potatoes, beans, grains, sorghum stalks, etc.

When he gets old he is released in the forest where he was captured when young, and another monkey is sought out to replace him.

Is not this custom reminiscent of honored practices at the court of the Pharaohs, where dog-faced baboons were also raised?

[233] Ruanda is a land of pastures. The Batutsi possess numerous herds of cattle which are, rightly enough, the pride and joy of their owners.

It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that aside from the sacred herds that will be mentioned in the last chapter but one of this book there is a bull at court that is the object of special care and attentions.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

INTRODUCTION

THE greater part of this work is directly concerned with the description and analysis of the political organization of Ruanda. The first chapters, however, are devoted to other aspects of the social system: kinship and affinity, marriage and family. As the whole system of social relations in Ruanda constituted a closely knit fabric, it was thought that an understanding of the political institutions necessitates also some treatment of the other structures of human relations. Moreover, a brief account of the physical environment, the quest for food, shelter, and health, and some demographic data have been included because these elements, if external to the pattern of political relations, set the limits within which the Ruanda system of domination grew. 121

This study refers to the period immediately preceding the time when Ruanda was submitted to the influence of Western culture through its European agents. That is to say, in the continuously moving historical stream, we have chosen to study the particular configuration of the Ruanda political organization at the moment when it had been moulded by the action of many forces, but not by the full impact of European contacts. For reasons mentioned later, the 'zero point' of direct European influence on Ruanda society is not difficult to assess. It is in the first decade of this century. Ruanda social structure did not undergo any significant modification due to European influence until roughly 1910. This date is fortunately not very distant, and around 1950 it was still possible to interview many people who had been young when the old régime was still a working concern. As far as we know, there had been also no direct and continuous contact between Arabs and Ruanda prior to that time. 121 114 [177] [177]

To remind the reader that we are describing structures and institutions which no longer exist, at least in their entirety, my account is given in the past tense even when it refers to features which are still functioning today. The expressions 'today', 'now', 'at the present time', &c., refer to the period 1950–1 during which basic research was carried out in Ruanda. 128

As a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale*, I carried out field work in Ruanda 114

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

CHAPTER II

THE SYSTEM OF KINSHIP AND AFFINITY[1]

1. DESCENT GROUPS

AMONG the Ruanda people, Tutsi as well as Hutu, the social principle of descent was agnatic. When any informant is asked who are his ascendants, he always answers by giving the names of his father, his paternal grandfather, his paternal great grandfather up to some male ancestor beyond whom he is unable to go. He does not mention his mother nor any of her ascendants. 611

Questions on the actual groupings founded on this principle and their functions elicit less unanimous and clear answers. The reason is that kinship groups have undoubtedly undergone a slow process of change in several respects during the Tutsi occupation of the country. What we know of its history[2] is quite sufficient to convince us that there has been a progressive territorial expansion under one dynasty of rulers together with an intensification of the 61. 178 [642]

[1] In order to make clear the connotations of the main concepts used in this chapter, here are a few definitions: 128 602

Ego's *kin* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through parent-child and-or sibling links. *Consanguineal* and *cognatic* relatives are used as synonyms for kin.

Ego's *affines* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through a marriage link. This link may be the first traced from Ego (the affines are then Ego's spouse's kin) or the kinship link may be the first one traced (the affines are then Ego's kin's spouse).

Ego's *patrilineal* or *agnatic* relatives are those of his kin who descend by male links from the same male ancestor as Ego.

Ego's *matrilineal* or *uterine* relatives are those of his kin who descend by female links from the same ancestress as Ego.

Ego's *cross-line* relatives are those of his kin who are neither patrilineally nor matrilineally related to him.

Ego's *paternal* or *patrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his father.

Ego's *maternal* or *matrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his mother.

To sum up:

Relatives
- are *kin* (or consanguineal relatives or cognates) who can be distinguished as
  - 1. patrilineal (or agnatic)
  - 2. matrilineal (or uterine)
  - 3. cross-line
- of as
  - 1. paternal (or patrilateral)
  - 2. maternal (or matrilateral)
- and *affines* who can be distinguished as
  - 1. kin of Ego's spouse
  - 2. spouses of Ego's kin.

[2] See for instances, Pagès, 1933.

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613 Umulyango appears to have been the group of living people
5171 who would have belonged to the same inzu if that primitive inzu had not split into new ones. This explains the fluidity of the use of the term. For instance the word 'Abareganshuro' (people of Mureganshuro) has meant first 'the members of the inzu of Mureganshuro'; then, after the splitting of that inzu, 'the members of the umulyango of Mureganshuro'. When an inzu divided into different new ones, the ancestor of the former one became the ancestor of the umulyango. Thus the umulyango link existed between members of different inzu having the same origin.

As may be expected, the strength of these links was quite different at the time of the splitting and a few generations afterwards. This accounts for the fact that in some cases the umulyango appears almost as a corporate group very similar to an inzu, and in other cases as a purely nominal group.

The span of life of an umulyango seems less defined than that of an inzu. It is doubtful, however, whether it was longer. Suppose inzu A splits into B and C and becomes umulyango A. Six generations later inzu B splits into inzu D and E and becomes umulyango B. At that time it is very likely that the primitive ancestor being twelve generations past will not be clearly remembered and that, except for some extraordinary reason, he will be superseded by the ancestor of umulyango B.

614 Descent groups in Ruanda were thus of two different types
613 A permanent group, the ubwoko which fulfilled the definition of patriclan (if exogamy be excluded from that definition) and two temporary groups, inzu and umulyango, the second being rather
613 the surviving shadow of the first. The latter were both patrilineages. As they were not segments in the same sense as among, e.g.
128 the Nuer, it would be misleading to differentiate them according to the terminology of Evans-Pritchard.[7] We would suggest calling inzu a primary and umulyango a secondary patrilineage in order to convey the idea that the umulyango originated from the inzu and that the inzu's functions were more important for the individual and society at large than those of the umulyango.[8]

[7] Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-4.

[8] Members of the inzu were called *bavandimwe* (which primarily means sibling), agnatic relatives, *bamwacu* and relatives, affines included, *abacu*.

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604 was expected to be protective, but he had no authority over his sister's children unless bride-wealth had not been paid for her.

4. EGO'S AFFINES

128 Following *Notes and Queries*, I shall distinguish two classes among the relatives by marriage. First, those in which the affinal link is the first traced from Ego, i.e. kin of the spouse; secondly, those in which the kinship link is the first one traced, i.e. persons who have married kinsmen and kinswomen.[10]

602 I shall begin with the second class: spouses of members of Ego's patrilineage, of Ego's mother's patrilineage and their own agnatic relatives. Not all of these spouses were considered by Ruanda to be significantly related to Ego. They say, for instance, that the wife of the maternal uncle (MoBrWi) is just a stranger, whereas there was a particular code of behaviour laid down towards the wife of the paternal uncle (FaBrWi). Among affines I include, besides these spouses of Ego's consanguineal relatives, the consanguineal relatives of these spouses, such as DaHuFa, SoWiFa, &c.

601 *(a) The Spouses of Ego's Kin*

This is the nomenclature of the second class of Ego's affines.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's father		
FaWi	Mama	Mukadata (wife of Fa)
FaBrWi	Mama	Mukadatawacu (wife of FaBr)
FaSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa masenge (husband of FaSi)
MoSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa mamawacu (husband of MoSi)
II. The generation of Ego's grandfather		
FaFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
MoFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. Ego's generation		
BrWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu (wife-our)
BrWi (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramukazi wanjye
SiHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabowacu (husband-our)
SiHu (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramu wanjye

[10] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 87.

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128 To investigate systematically the social significance of kinship terminology, some procedure should be adopted whereby every term is analysed from a set of relevant viewpoints. In order to do this we are setting them in the following table. The table recapitulates the sixty-one kinship terms mentioned in the preceding sections and for each of them gives eleven characteristics. In this choice I have followed closely the chapter 'Analysis of Kinship' [113] in Murdock's *Social Structure*.[17]

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		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
[18]Sogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
[18]Sogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Sogo-kuru-za	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru-za	r	dr	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Isogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	d
Data	a	e	+	+	–	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Data	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mama	a	e	+	+	+	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Mama	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mama-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-lume	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Maku-data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-gabo-wa-ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wa-mama-wacu	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Data-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-vandimwe	a	dr	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mw-ene-data	r	ds	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-rumuna-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-saza-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-kuru-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-shiki-wanjye	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mw-ene-datu-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-shiki-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-byara-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-byara-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-gore-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gore-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-ramu-kazi-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gabo-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-ramu-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-saza-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
M-wena-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ba-mwana-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-ramu-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-sanzire-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	d

[17] Murdock, 1949, pp. 91-112. Quotations in the following paragraphs come from p. 98.

[18] *a* means address; *r* reference.

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		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Mu-sanire-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	c
Mu-kuba-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-kuba-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	c
M[illegible]-ana	a	e	–	–	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mu-hungu-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mu-kobwa-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mu-kobwa-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-hungu-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-sengeneza-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-sengeneza-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-kazana-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-kwe-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-kazana-wacu	r	dr	–	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mu-kwe-wacu	r	dr	–	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-za	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ubuvivi	r	e	–	–	–	–	+	+	o	–	–	c
Mw-ene-mama	r	ds	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-ka-data	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	d

1. Linguistic structure.
2. Denotes generation.
3. Denotes sex.
4. Denotes affinity and consanguinity.
5. Denotes lineality and collaterality.
6. Denotes bifurcation.
7. Denotes polarity.
8. Denotes age in generation.
9. Denotes speaker's sex.
10. Denotes decendence of link.
11. Range of application.

In the first vertical line the linguistic structure of the term is given. An elementary term (symbolized by 'e' in the table) is 'an irreducible word which cannot be analysed into component lexical elements with kinship meanings', a derivative term (symbolized by 'dr') is 'compounded from an elementary term and some other lexical element which does not have primarily a kinship meaning' and a descriptive term (symbolized by 'ds') 'combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative'.

In the second line a cross (+) indicates that the term is never applied to two individuals to different generations. The dash (–) points out that it can be so used.

The third characteristic is the sex of the person designated by the term. Again (+) indicates that the term is only applicable to males or females and (–) that it may be applied to persons of either sex.

A cross in the fourth line shows that the term may indicate certain individuals among both affinal and consanguineal relatives of Ego; a hyphen denotes that the term can be applied only either to affines or only to consanguineal kinsfolk. In the assessment of this characteristic, the patrilineal descent group of Ego's mother has been considered as a group of consanguineal relatives of Ego.

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In the following column (—) indicates that the term may be applied only to individuals who belong to the same direct line (people who either descend from one another or have all the same ascendants) or only to persons who are collaterals. For instance if the term A may be applied only to Ego's paternal uncle, Ego's paternal uncle's son, and Ego's paternal uncle's grandson, we say that it denotes only people of the same line. If the term B may be applied to Ego's paternal uncle and to Ego's paternal uncle's cousins, we may say that it denotes only collaterals. A (+) means that the term may be applied to a class of individuals, some of whom are collaterals and some belonging to the same line.

In the sixth line there is a cross for the terms which indicate the sex of the relative who is the link between Ego and the role designated by the term, and there is a hyphen for terms which do not denote the sex of the link. The symbol (o) means that there is no link. When there are several links, only the person directly connected to Ego has been considered. For instance if the same term denotes MoBrSo and MoSiSo but not FaBrSo and FaSiSo, only the direct link to Ego, i.e. Mo has been considered. Consequently in this case the term is bifurcate although it does neglect the sex of the second link: Br or Si.

There is polarity when the two participants in a relationship do not refer to each other by the same term. Consequently a (—) means that the term is used reciprocally by the two participants and a (+) that it is not.

The eighth characteristic concerns distinctions of age within the same generation. A hyphen indicates that the term may be used for the complete range of age variations within one generation; a cross means that it applies only to people of a definite age, absolute or relative, within the generation. The symbol (o) means that a term by definition could not denote age differences within a generation as it applies to different generations.

Next, the speaker's sex is considered. There is a dash for terms which may be used by males and females alike and a cross when they are used only by one of the sexes.

The tenth characteristic, as the sixth, is concerned with the person through whom kinship is traced. A dash indicates that the term applies as well if the link is deceased or living and a cross that it applies only when the connecting person is either alive or dead.

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The last column of the table indicates the range of application of the term: is it classificatory or denotative? Although the nine preceding characteristics are criteria of the range of application, I have considered as denotative not only the terms which have these nine characteristics, but those which show only characteristics 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, i.e. generation, sex, distinction between affinity and consanguinity, lineality and collaterality, bifurcation by sex of connecting relative.

If we sum up the different symbols in the vertical lines, we obtain for the sixty-one terms of the table (fifty-five terms of reference and six of address) the following results:

1. Linguistic structure: 6 elementary terms, 48 derivative, 7 descriptive.
2. 54 denote generation, 7 do not.
3. 43 denote sex of the relative, 18 do not.
4. 54 do not cover both affinal and consanguineal relative together and 7 do.
5. 45 do not denote a class of people including lineal and collateral relatives, 16 do.
6. 34 indicate the sex of the person through whom kinship is traced, 19 do not and in 8 cases the question does not arise as there is no link.
7. 50 terms indicate polarity, 11 do not.
8. 59 do not denote age within generation, 2 do, and in 7 cases they ignore age differences by definition.
9. The speaker's sex is indicated in 16 cases, it is not in 45.
10. There is no case in which it is indicated whether the link is living or dead. Thus, except for the 8 cases in which there is no connecting relative, 53 terms ignore that characteristic.
11. 41 terms are classificatory and 20 are denotative.

(b) *Concluding remarks*

Let me conclude this chapter with a few remarks on the Ruanda system of kinship and affinity. They are suggested by the previous description of kinship roles or by the table.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally and a lineage is a corporate group of agnates. But Ego does not feel that all others are strangers. He lives, as it were, in a cognatic as well as an agnatic world. For help in important questions, when it is necessary for him to assert his rights to be assisted, he turns to his patrilineal kinsmen, but in

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probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

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128 be negative or positive. It is to be distinguished from the aim explicitly stated in the charter (written or not) of the institution or the purpose of the association consciously conceived by its members.

Take, for instance, some of the religious ceremonies of a particular group. Their aim as known and admitted by every member of the group may be to honour the ancestral spirits, whereas their function, of which perhaps nobody in the group is completely aware, is to manifest and reinforce the *esprit de corps* of the group. Or an association whose explicit purpose is some philanthropic activity may have as its function the giving of certain political control to a particular set of people. Aim and function are not necessarily different. It may happen that the aim expresses one of the ways in which the institution is significant from the viewpoint of the perpetuation of the particular organization existing in that society.[13]

(*a*) *Fiscal function*

649 It is not difficult to determine the main social function of the administrative structure of Ruanda. It was identical indeed with its explicitly recognized aim in that society. Aim and function were fiscal: the country had to provide its rulers with consumption goods.

651 634 Tribute collecting was very methodically organized. Because of the division of the country into about seventy to ninety districts, the amount to be supplied was distributed in a way which did not favour one region more than another. Even parts of Ruanda which were far from the royal court had to provide dues for the local royal residence. The timing of the levies was also fortunate as the agricultural products were not demanded when the rulers needed them but at harvesting time. Tribute labour seems also to have been regularly required during the year.

641 Were these impositions heavy? It is very difficult to assess the proportion of foodstuff and labour required from each family head. I gathered from different informants that about a third of the labour of one individual was required from each family. It is important to stress the fact that only one person in each rugo had to fulfil this demand whereas there were usually several men able to give that tribute in each family.

[13] See Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, p. ix; 1940, p. 10; 1952, pp. 200 f; Maquet 1949a; 1954c, p. 63.

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superior authority's judgement and this increased the ruler's power over his subordinates.

This applied not only to the political organization but also to the feudal structure, which had potentially the most disruptive action on a centralized government. Indeed, the subject-client had often to ask protection and support from his political chief against his lord and from his lord against his political chief. Consequently, between the important lords, even those who were not themselves prominent in the political hierarchies, and the political chiefs, relations were often very tense. Moreover, as the very important lords who could have attempted to resist the central government held at the same time political offices, they were directly enmeshed in rivalries and jealousies.

Engendered by the hierarchic plurality, the mistrust which prevented the subordinate chiefs from uniting against the central government, which led them to spy on each other and to inform the king of anything suspect, was the main check against tendencies towards local autonomy in Ruanda. Even if that hostility between important Tutsi happened to express itself openly and violently, the central government was not very anxious to restore peace as long as troubles remained localized and did not threaten the regular collection of taxes and the authority of the king.

3. THE FUNCTION OF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN RUANDA

At the beginning of this study, in order to delimit the social phenomena we wished to study, political organization in an intragroup context was defined as 'the totality of culturally patterned relationships between certain individuals who possess the legitimate use of physical force and all the others who inhabit at a certain time a certain territory'. This definition did not include the function of a system of political relationships because, it was stated, it is only through analysis that the function fulfilled by a set of institutions in a particular social context, may be ascertained.

In the preceding chapters, the different political structures have been analysed from a functional point of view. It will be sufficient to summarize what has been said to grasp the function of the Ruanda political organization as a whole. Here we shall consider together the feudal as well as the administrative and military systems.

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571 829 156 641 services to a lord in order to become his client, one was entitled to receive usufruct of his cattle. But the number of cows was not determined. It could be one or twenty or fifty or even more.

It was up to the ruler to decide if any protection was to be granted and to what extent. Of course the pressure of public opinion obliged him not to refuse aid to his subordinate unless he had some socially accepted reason to do so (such as the subordinate's disobedience), but the measure of the protection depended on his own will and pleasure.

These characteristics of the protective attitude (care of the whole of the subordinate's life, its very variable extent being left to the superior's judgement) allow us to apply to it the qualification of 128 114 'paternalistic'. Paternalism is understood here as 'the principle of acting in a way like that of a father towards his children. Because of the total dependency of the human offspring, during their first years, on those who nurse and educate them—and they are usually their parents—the latter's authority ranges over the whole of the life of the child. In everything he needs his parents, in everything they have to direct and control him. Moreover, parents sovereignly judge what they are going to give their children. Undoubtedly, their social groups force them to secure for their children the protection they need to live and develop but the children may not require such or such a particular service. Parents decide without further ado what is suitable for the child and think that better than he they know what is 'best for him'.

571 829 156 641 A paternal relation does not exclude profit. In describing the Ruanda's father's role towards his sons, I mentioned that the father's interests were usually thought to be predominant in respect of the children's interests. When inferiors were not the superior's children but his subjects or clients, that aspect of profit was much more emphasized. All those who occupied the inferior position in the relations of the political and feudal structures had dues to give and tribute labour to perform for the profit of their superiors, and some of these obligations were heavy. It did not appear at all unusual to Ruanda that power brought many privileges to those who had it. If one is a chief, is it not fitting to draw advantages from one's situation? Here, again, the extent of the subject's obligations was left within very broad limits to the superior's discretion.

The ruler's role seems to have been that paternalistic blend of

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different share in social power and fundamentally different rights. 564

The Ruanda principle of inequality could be expressed in the following terms: people born in different castes are unequal in inborn endowment, physical as well as psychological and have consequently fundamentally different rights. [181]

That premise, closely connected with the caste structure, is suggested by the analysis of the political and feudal structures. Indeed, when a principle of inequality exists in a society with respect to a certain type of relations, it does not fail to spread to other relations more or less similar. In Ruanda, the inegalitarian premise of inter-caste relations has permeated the intricate relations which could be regarded as analogous in certain respects. A Tutsi who was lord over another Tutsi was thought to be superior over his client in a way comparable to the manner in which he was superior over his Hutu clients. Of course significant differences remained between inter- and intra-caste relationships of superiority, but the latter tended to be patterned on the former ones. 181 571 564

The extension to intricate relations of the premise of inter-caste inequality made it a principle of integration with a very wide bearing as it could, and did, in fact, pervade all the human relations in which a superiority of one actor over the other was implied. It could be the relation between a mother and her young child, a father and his son, a man and his wife, an old man and a youngster, a craftsman and an apprentice, &c. These relations constituting the texture of social life, the impact on collective living of the premise of fundamental inequality, cannot be over-estimated.

4. THE THEOREMS

In order to understand better how the inequality premise influenced the whole of Ruanda social life, the different aspects of that influence must be made explicit. They will be expressed as a set of theorems, by which is meant general propositions or statements which are not self-evident. 128

Theorem One

When two persons are involved in any kind of social relation, it is their mutual hierarchical situation which is regarded as the most relevant element of the relation. 571 156

Superiority and inferiority were *foci* of the Ruanda social structure to such an extent that as soon as they entered as a 559

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[P.177]

APPENDIX 2

Computation of answers given to the Questionnaire by a sample of 300 Tutsi.

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		Absolute figures	Percentages
1. Is there a difference between *umulyango* and *umoko*?	yes	274	91·3
	no	26	8·6
2. Do they know the name of their *umulyango* head?	yes	278	92·6
	no	22	7·3
3. Is there a difference between *inzu* and *umulyango*?	yes	295	98·3
	no	5	1·6
4. Was your family under the authority of one or several army-chiefs?	one	248	82·6
	several	52	17·3
5. Do they know the name of the first army to which their *inzu* belonged?	yes	295	98·3
	no	5	1·6
6. Has your *inzu* belonged to other armies?	yes	90	30·0
	no	210	70·0
7. Have you been *intore*?	yes	187	62·3
	no	113	37·6
8. Was any Ruanda a member of an army?	yes	298	99·3
	no	2	0·6
9. Was it possible to be a member of two armies?	yes	1	0·3
	no	299	99·6
10. Could the army-chief require dues directly from anybody or only through the lineage head?	direct	0	0·0
	lineage head	300	100·0
11. Could a man be incorporated into two *intore* companies?	yes	13	4·3
	no	287	95·6
12. Do they give the name of somebody who has been in such a situation?	yes	13	4·3
	no	287	95·6
13. Was an army member usually the only person of his kin group in the army?	yes	0	0·0
	no	300	100·0
14. Or was he with his married sons?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
15. With his unmarried sons?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
16. With his brothers?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
17. With his brothers' children?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	Percentages
128 18. With his sisters' children?	yes	5	1·6
	no	295	98·3
125 19. With his paternal uncles?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
20. With his clients?	yes	22	7·3
	no	277	92·3
	DK[1]	1	0·3
21. Was it possible to have cows not granted by a lord?	yes	277	92·3
	no	17	5·6
	DK	6	2·0
22. Were the cows acquired by independent economic activity regarded as army cows?	yes	256	85·3
	no	42	14·0
	DK	2	0·6
23. Was a married man, the only member left of his *inzu*, regarded as a lineage head from the army point of view?	yes	293	97·6
	no	0	0·0
	DK	7	2·3
24. Was it the same to be a client and to be commanded by an army-chief?	yes	3	1·0
	no	297	99·0
25. Were the 'king's cows' *imbata*?	yes	185	61·6
	no	4	1·3
	DK	111	37·0
26. Did they distinguish in any army two sections (warriors and herdsmen)?	yes	251	83·6
	no	1	0·3
	DK	48	16·0
27. When a new army-chief was appointed, were *murundo* and/or *indabukirano* obligatory?	*mur.* only	0	0·0
	ind. only	10	3·3
	both	288	96·0
	DK	2	0·6
28. If one had no cows, was one obliged to give a recognition gift?	yes	24	8·0
	no	275	91·6
	DK	1	0·3
29. Had the army-chief the effective disposal of the *murundo* cows?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
30. Could the army-chief order the numbering by himself?	yes	14	4·6
	no	269	89·6
	DK	17	5·6

[1] The symbol DK denotes not only the avowed ignorance of the informants. It has been used also when an answer had to be discarded for other reasons such as its irrelevance indicating that the informant did not understand it, or when it appeared clearly in the interview that the informant was giving any answer for answer's sake, or was answering what he thought the anthropologist wanted.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	Percentages
31. Who minded the cattle taken in the *murundo*?	*abashumba* only	106	35·3
	inkomamas only	0	0·0
	both	158	52·6
	a warrior	1	0·3
	DK	35	11·6
32. A dispute between two Tutsi of the same army and the same hill was judged by:	their army-chief	274	91·3
	their land-chief	6	2·0
	DK	20	6·6
33. A dispute between two Tutsi from different armies was judged by:	one army-chief	19	6·3
	both army-chiefs	245	81·6
	their land-chiefs	7	2·3
	DK	29	9·6
34. With whom had a client to lodge a complaint against his lord?	client's army-chief	158	52·6
	lord's army-chief	20	6·6
	king	34	11·3
	DK	88	29·3
35. With whom had a lord to lodge a complaint against his client?	client's army-chief	39	13·0
	lord's army-chief	159	53·0
	land-chief of both	1	0·3
	king	28	9·3
	DK	73	24·3
36. If one wanted one's litigation to be judged by the king, it was advisable to be accompanied by:	one's lord	117	39·0
	one's army-chief	82	27·3
	both of them	54	18·0
	DK	47	15·6
37. Could everybody appeal to the king?	yes	266	88·6
	no	26	8·6
	DK	8	2·6
38. Were those who prevented somebody from appealing to the king punished?	yes	149	49·6
	no	82	27·3
	DK	69	23·0
39. Could army members have their army-chief dismissed?	yes	248	82·6
	no	44	14·6
	DK	8	2·6
40. Who brought the case to the mwami?	all army mem.	5	1·6
	a delegation	215	71·6
	DK	80	26·6
41. What section of the army had to provide the court with *inkuke*?	*abashumba*	295	98·3
	warriors	1	0·3
	DK	4	1·3

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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		Absolute figures	Percentages
42. What section of the army had to provide the court with jugs of milk?	*abashumba*	296	98·6
	warriors	0	0·0
	DK	4	1·3
43. With foodstuffs?	*abashumba*	3	1·0
	warriors	11	3·6
	Hutu army mem.	277	92·3
	DK	9	3·0
44. With bulls to be slaughtered?	*abashumba*	268	89·3
	warriors	2	0·6
	both sections	8	2·6
	DK	22	7·3
45. With steers for divination purposes?	*abashumba*	123	41·0
	warriors	2	2·6
	both sections	166	55·3
	DK	9	3·0
46. What section of the army had to maintain the enclosure?	*abashumba*	11	3·6
	warriors	2	0·6
	Hutu army mem.	4	1·3
	all army mem.	278	92·6
	DK	5	1·6
47. All these services and dues were given by:	lineage head	294	98·0
	each member	2	0·6
	DK	4	1·3
48. Was the country divided into several districts?	yes	290	96·6
	no	7	2·3
	DK	3	1·0
49. What were the names of these districts?	*igikingi*	10	3·3
	igiti	58	19·3
	urugo	36	12·0
	umurwa	22	7·3
	ubukebe	72	24·0
	igikingi, igiti, rugo	5	1·6
	igiti, rugo	11	3·6
	igikingi, igiti	17	5·6
	igiti, ubukebe	25	8·3
	igikingi, igiti, ubukebe	3	1·0
	DK	41	13·6
50. Do they know the name of the royal residence in the place where they lived?	yes	258	86·0
	no	28	9·3
	DK	14	4·6

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	Percentages
51. Do they remember the names of other such residences?	yes	283	94·3
	no	16	5·3
	DK	1	0·3
52. Do they understand *umunyamukenke* in the sense of cattle-chief?	yes	277	92·3
	no	7	2·6
	DK	16	5·3
53. Do they understand *umunyabutaka* in the sense of land-chief?	yes	283	94·3
	no	6	2·0
	DK	11	3·6
54. Who collected the *urutete* for the court?	land-chief	267	89·0
	army-chief	11	3·6
	both of them	3	1·0
	another person	6	2·0
	DK	13	4·3
55. In addition to milk and *inkuke*, which other cattle dues were sent to the residence?	milk only	0	0·0
	inkuke only	30	10·0
	both	233	77·3
	neither of them	32	10·6
	DK	5	1·6
56. Who required these additional jugs of milk from the hill-chief?	cattle-chief	204	68·0
	another person	70	23·3
	DK	26	8·6
57. Which cows provided that milk?	indep. acquired	1	0·3
	abashumba's cows	247	82·3
	others' cows	33	11·0
	DK	19	6·3
58. Do they understand *abakoni* in the sense of those who seized cattle in expeditions?	yes	203	67·6
	another meaning	49	16·3
	DK	48	16·0
59. For whose benefit were the cattle seized by *abakoni*?	army-chief	6	2·0
	mwami	261	87·0
	DK	33	11·0
60. *Umudende* means:			
badge for having killed 7 men		206	68·6
badge		74	24·6
something else or DK		20	6·6
61. How many names do they remember of warriors having worn *umudende*?	five or more	114	38·0
	less than 5	140	46·0
	none	46	15·3
62. *Impotore* means:			
badge for having killed 14 men		42	14·0
badge		133	44·3
something else or DK		125	41·6

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125

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	Percentages
128 125 63. How many names do they remember of warriors having worn *impotore*?	five or more	12	4·0
	less than five	78	26·0
	none	210	70·0
64. *Gucana uruti* means:			
ritual after having killed 21 men		32	10·6
a military honour		213	71·0
something else or DK		55	18·3
65. How many names do they remember of warriors having received that honour?	five or more	5	1·6
	less than five	108	36·0
	none	187	62·3
66. Who granted the *umudende* badge?	oneself	16	5·3
	army-chief	2	0·6
	king	245	81·6
	DK	37	12·6
67. Who granted the *impotore* badge?	oneself	5	1·6
	king	164	54·6
	DK	131	43·6
68. Who performed the ritual of *gucana uruti*?	oneself	146	48·6
	army-chief	1	0·3
	lord	2	0·6
	king	89	29·6
	DK	62	20·6
69. Did the cattle army include only *nyambo*?	yes	23	7·6
	no	267	89·0
	DK	10	3·3
70. Did the army cattle include the army-chief's herds?	yes	287	95·6
	no	3	1·0
	DK	10	3·3
71. Did the army cattle include the cows given to the army warriors as rewards for bravery?	yes	284	94·6
	no	5	1·6
	DK	10	3·3
72. Did the army cattle include the cows received as bride-wealth by army members?	yes	286	95·3
	no	4	1·3
	DK	10	3·3
73. Did the army cattle include the cows received as gifts by the army members?	yes	287	95·6
	no	3	1·0
	DK	10	3·3
74. Did the army cattle include the cows received in exchange with the army members?	yes	286	95·3
	no	4	1·3
	DK	10	3·3

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	Percentages
75. The hill-chief received his office from:	land-chief	5	1·6
	cattle-chief	8	2·6
	army-chief	26	8·6
	king	97	32·3
	cattle-chief, army-chief	17	5·6
	land-, army-c., king	1	0·3
	army-c., king	68	22·6
	cattle-c., army-c., king	21	7·0
	land-c., king	1	0·3
	cattle-c., king	9	3·0
	DK	47	15·6
76. The superior of the hill-chief was:	land-chief	7	2·3
	cattle-chief	30	10·0
	army-chief	77	25·6
	lord	1	0·3
	another person	63	21·0
	cattle-c., army-c.	38	12·6
	cattle-c., king	2	0·6
	army-c., king	7	2·3
	DK	75	25·0
77. The area of the *umusozi*, when compared to that of the *ibihingi* was:	larger	290	96·6
	the same	8	2·6
	DK	2	0·6
78. Were there *ibihingi* depending directly on the royal court?	yes	294	98·0
	no	4	1·3
	DK	2	0·6
79. Who appointed the heads of these *ibihingi*?	king	296	98·6
	somebody else	1	0·3
	DK	3	1·0
80. Had the cattle-chief authority over them?	yes	101	33·6
	no	192	64·0
	DK	7	2·3
81. Could the land-chief require labour from those living on these royal *ibihingi*?	yes	64	21·3
	no	232	77·3
	DK	4	1·3
82. Were those who had received these *ibihingi* from the king under the army-chief's authority?	yes	171	57·0
	no	128	42·6
	DK	1	0·3

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	Percentages
128 125 83. Was the cattle-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the court?	yes	18	6·0
	no	273	91·0
	DK	9	3·0
84. Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the cattle-chief?	yes	16	5·3
	no	276	92·0
	DK	8	2·6
85. Was the land-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the court?	yes	296	98·6
	no	0	0·0
	DK	4	1·3
86. Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the land-chief?	yes	285	95·0
	no	8	2·6
	DK	7	2·3
87. Do they know the name of a hill on which there was a royal cemetery?	yes	263	87·6
	Rutare	214	71·6
	no	30	10·0
	DK	7	2·3
88. Were the people living on such hills obliged to pay agricultural dues to the court?	yes	13	4·3
	no	251	83·6
	DK	36	12·0
89. Do they know the name of a *mwiru's* place?	yes	229	76·3
	no	55	18·3
	DK	16	5·3
90. Was such a place submitted to the authority of the cattle- and land-chiefs?	yes	3	1·0
	no	237	79·0
	DK	60	20·0
91. Could the same person be at the same time cattle- and land-chief?	yes	107	35·6
	no	180	60·0
	DK	13	4·3
92. Could a Hutu be cattle-chief?	yes	18	6·0
	no	273	91·0
	DK	9	3·0
93. Could a Hutu be land-chief?	yes	275	91·6
	no	21	7·0
	DK	4	1·3
94. Do they know the names of Hutu cattle-chiefs?	yes	14	4·6
	no	286	95·3
95. Do they know the names of Hutu land-chiefs?	yes	258	86·0
	no	42	14·0
Do they know the names of Hutu hill-chiefs?	yes	207	69·0
	no	83	27·3
	DK	10	3·3

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

		Absolute figures	Percentages
96. Do they know the names of Hutu army-chiefs?	yes	167	55·6
	no	130	43·3
	DK	3	1·0
97. Could a Twa be appointed hill-chief?	yes	201	67·0
	no	96	32·0
	DK	3	1·0
98. Do they know the names of Twa who have been hill-chiefs?	yes	195	65·0
	no	101	33·6
	DK	4	1·3
99. Could a Twa be appointed cattle-chief or land-chief without being ennobled?	yes	0	0·0
	no	297	99·0
	DK	3	1·0
100. When Tutsi lived under the authority of a Twa or Hutu chief, did they have to obey him?	yes	284	94·6
	no	7	2·3
	DK	9	3·0

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1:Vanhove--vi G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

Political and Administrative Map of Ruanda

[Following Title Page]

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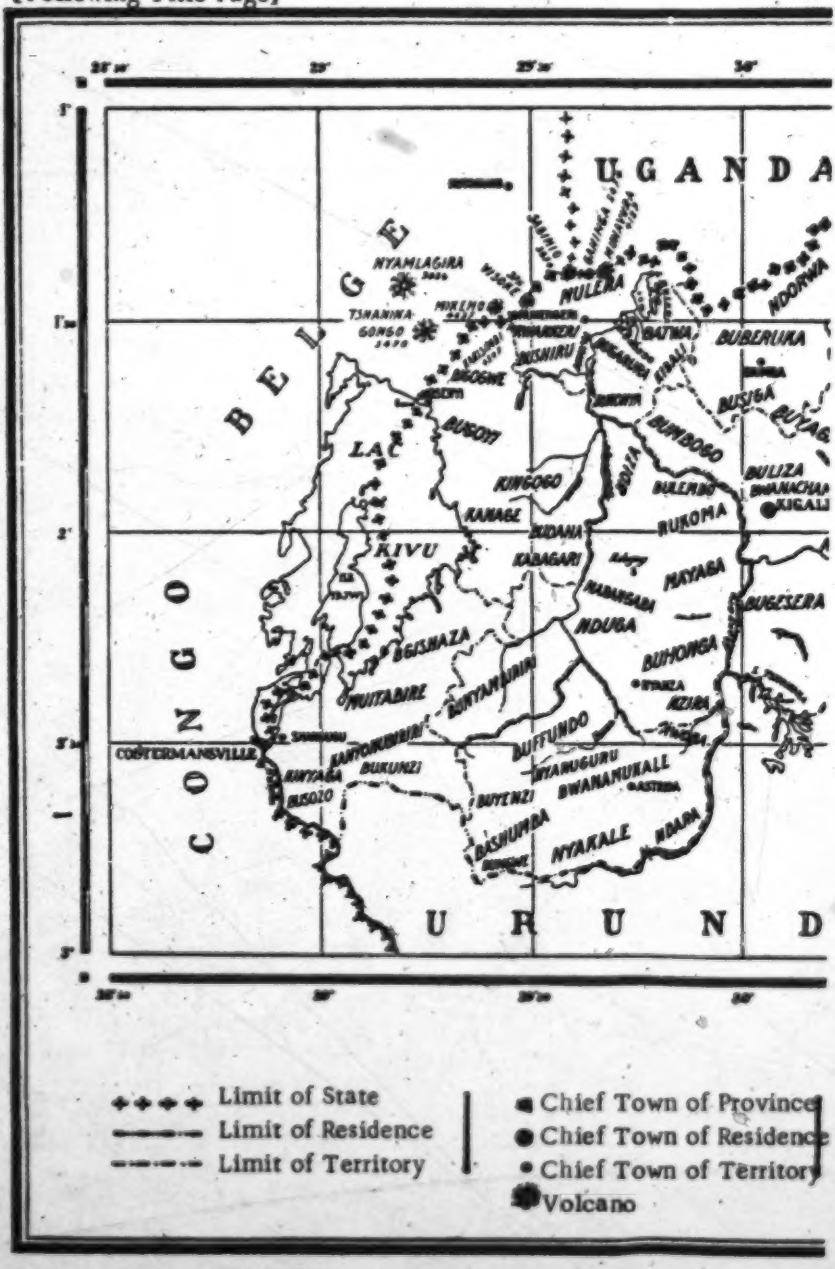

1: Vanhove--vii G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Second half of map]

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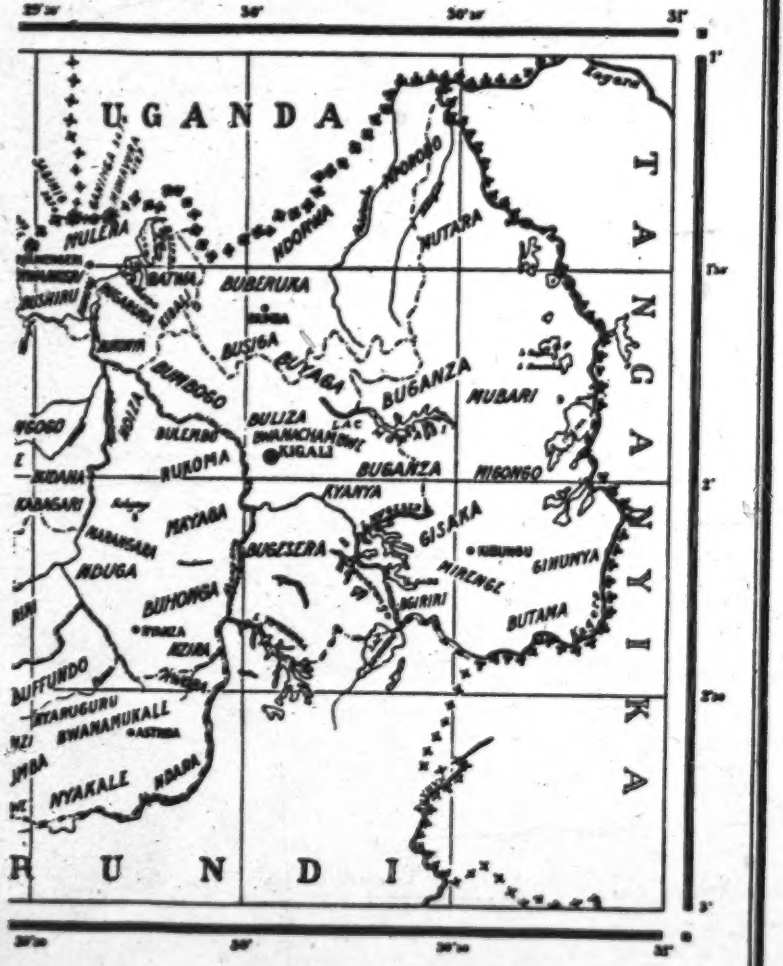

MULERA: Native Province.

- Chief Town of Province
- Chief Town of Residence
- Chief Town of Territory
- Volcano

Scale

0 10 20 30 40

Chapter 1

Survey of Land People (1)

(Cf. the map [colored in the original] at the end of the book.)

114 1. Part of this chapter is taken from a lecture which I gave at the 19th German Geographers' Conference in Strasbourg in the spring of 1914.

1. The Land Urundi

131 In the extreme west of German East Africa lies one of the regions of Africa least known until now: Urundi. To the north it borders on Ruanda, to the east on Ussuwi and Uha, to the south also on Uha, to the west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Since Urundi has an area of almost 29,000 square kilometers, i.e., approximately twice that of the Kingdom of [161] Saxony, and since it has over one and a half million inhabitants (according to van der Burgt, around two and a half million), it deserves attention for this reason alone. However, although 648 it has been German territory for over 25 years, we know little about it. Because of the recalcitrance of its population, the government had almost completely closed off the area to travel from the outside, and until 1911 political influence was limited to the establishment of a station with a resident and a company of colonial troops in Usumbura on Lake Tanganyika. It was not until 1912 that the seat of government was moved on a trial basis to Gitega in the interior of the region.

648 797 Oskar Baumann in 1812 was the first European who traveled through northern Urundi to the source of the Nile on the upper Ruvuvu. There followed then between 1896 and 1898 several military expeditions by colonial army officers, Ramsay, von Trotha, Langheld, von Langenn-Steinkeller, Fonck, and Dr. Kandt; and between 1896 and 1899 the Catholic Mission of

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

been brought only during the past thirty years. The present Ruanda culture has lost the coherence that existed in pre-European days. Those who have become more closely associated with alien activity, and have therefore felt its influence more constantly, now share a culture made up in part of their ancestral way of life and in part of their interpretation of the Belgian variety of Western culture as it operates in a colonial situation. Even those who have not been brought into direct contact with whites feel that their old patterns of life are losing their validity. But that more or less hidden part of the old culture, consisting of basic assumptions on the relationships of man with the world and with other men, has suffered the least change. To be sure, the legends of the descent of the first Batutsi meet with more scepticism than in the past, but the fundamental beliefs that this story reflects are still profoundly embedded in the Ruanda ethos. Even when new institutions, based on assumptions conflicting with the earlier ones, are imposed under external pressure and adopted, the principles shaping the older institutions will subsist and, if participation in the new institutions is unchecked, these will be completely reinterpreted in accordance with the former premises. Some manifestations of the continuing existence of the ancient assumptions in the contemporary context will be considered here, but we shall be mainly concerned with the Ruanda world-view as it was at the beginning of this century.[1]

Ruanda is a highland country in East Africa lying in the region delimited by lakes Kivu, Victoria, and Tanganyika. Its area is 24,500 square kilometres; its population amounts to almost 2 million inhabitants, the highest density in Africa south of the Sahara. Three socio-'racial' castes are to be

[1] Much of the material used in this study was collected by the author during two years' work (1950–1) in Ruanda as a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.). The author was very much helped in his field research by Dr. E. Pinoulat and Dr. G. De Clercq during their six-month course of training under his direction. Extensive and valuable information has been found in the published literature on Ruanda, especially studies by Father A. Arnoux, Abbé L. de Lacger, Abbé Alexis Kagame, the late Father A. Pagès, Mr. G. Sandrart, Father Schumacher, and Mr. J. Vanhove. The author is also grateful to the Abbé Kagame for having placed at his disposal some of his manuscripts. In formulating the conceptual and theoretical scheme used in this paper, the author has relied considerably on the teaching and works of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn of Harvard University. He is immensely indebted for his fundamental training in anthropology to the teaching staff of London University and particularly to Professor Daryll Forde. Mr. Lawrence Onchinsky has kindly corrected the manuscript. A short bibliography is given at the end, but it has not been felt necessary to document this study at every point, nor indeed was this possible, since it was written in the field with the use of a very restricted library.

This is an essay in the etymological meaning of the word. If the underlying configurations of a culture constitute its most important part, since they provide a key to the interrelatedness of apparently unconnected phenomena and to the meaning of apparently incomprehensible behaviour, they are also the most elusive realities. They evade direct observation and, often, direct interrogation. The anthropologist, therefore, must be sure that his inferences are logically acceptable not only to his own mind but also to the minds of the participants in the culture he studies. All this requires a thorough knowledge of the overt aspects of a culture and a long familiarity with them. The author is painfully aware that he has not gone very deeply into the ethos of Ruanda. This is only an attempt at a synthesis of the results so far obtained in researches which are still proceeding.

S: Pages--iii M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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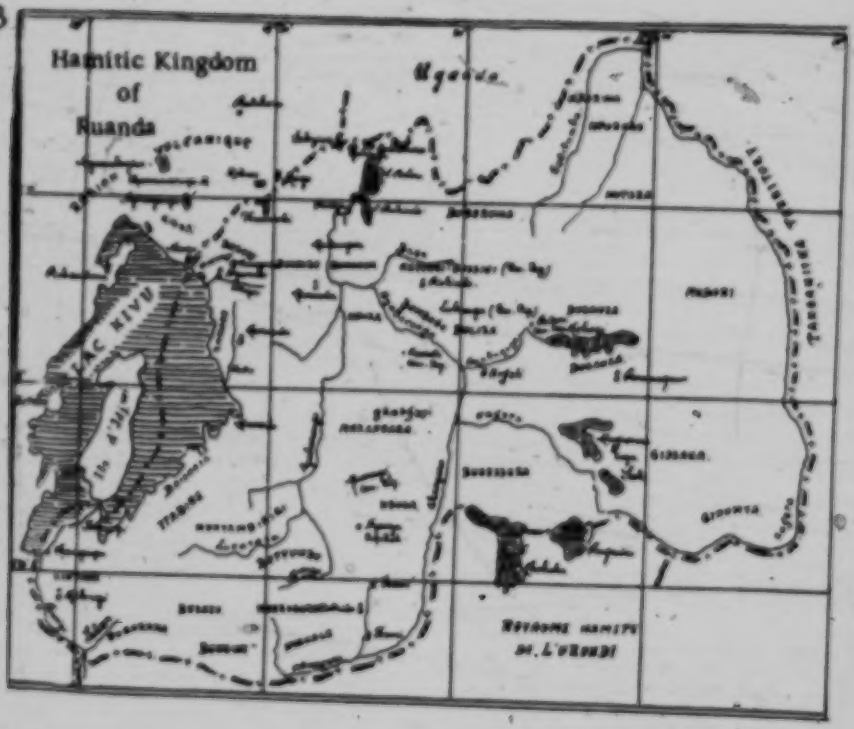

/21/ A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa

Book I

A Summary Outline of Ruanda and Its Inhabitants

Chapter 1

Physical and Ethnological Make-up of Ruanda. Political, Familial, and Social Organization of Its Inhabitants.

●[3] Ruanda is bound to the north by the Protectorate of Uganda which encloses the Bufumbiro, separated from Ruanda in 1912 by the Anglo-Belgian Commission of Delimitation. /22/

To the northeast it is bound by the Kagera, which runs into Lake Victoria.

The Akanyaru River, which delimits Ruanda to the south and southeast does not enclose the Bugessera. That province, situated at the angle formed by the junction of the Akanyaru and the Kagera, was separated from Urundi, to which it used to belong. It is now divided from it by an artificial line. Nor is the Bungwe enclosed by the southern river, which leaves it to the right.

To the west, Ruanda is separated from the Belgian Congo by Lake Kivu along a length of 120 kilometers. To the northwest the volcanic chain forms a natural boundary beyond which are situated, however, two small provinces, the Bgisha, or Gisigari, and the Jomba, which were joined to Belgian Kivu in 1912.

484 [317] [825] Such are the approximate boundaries of Ruanda. This does not prevent its inhabitants from extending their contacts well beyond the circle of their own land. They go as far as Lake Edward to fetch salt, which is collected in the marshes near the lake. There they also

133 These two torrents have their source in the southwestern part of Ruanda. Their headwaters flow impetuously on a bed littered with rocks and pebbles.

Among the many subsidiaries of the Nyabarongo, let us mention in alphabetic order: the Base, Mukungwa (which comes out of Lake Ruhondo), Nyabugogo, which serves as an outlet for Lake Mohazi, etc.

The Akanyaru, whose basin is less extensive, also originates in the southwest and combines its waters with those of the Nyabarongo at the level of theBugessera. /28/

After they join, these two rivers change their name to Kagera (1). Under this new name they enter the Victoria into which they

[103] 1. Kagera. This word comes from the verb kugera, "to deepen."

The Kagera slowly wanders through the plain, and its lazy waters overflow

[136] into large ponds and marshes infested with crocodiles and mosquitoes.

pour their yellow waters loaded with silt.

Lake Kivu receives only a small part of the waters of Ruanda. Its outlet is the Ruzizi River, which flows into /Lake/ Tanganyika after a tumultuous course of about 120 kilometers.

131 Ruanda, whose surface may be estimated at 30, 000 to 35, 000 square kilometers boasts a population that is believed to reach two 161 million souls.

It is made up of three quite distinct ethnic groups: the Batutsi, 563 or Hamites, the Bahutu of the Bantu group, and the Batwa, or Negrillos (Pygmies).

The Batutsi, who are thought to be of Egyptian or Abyssinian 141 origin, (2) are tall in stature. Some measure as much as 2 or even

000 2. From an ethnological point of view the physical appearance of the Ethiopian people is an exception in

144 The word "Hamite" is, however, also used in a different sense. We speak of a "Hamitic anthropological type." This designation refers to the anthropological element so characteristic of the tribes who have mixed relatively little and who speak Hamitic languages, the Somal [Somali] and Galla, for example. In this sense [123] one may count the Batutsi among the Hamites. The Hamitic anthropological type is more obvious in them than in the Massai to the east and the Bari and Kakwa in the northwest. They are less "Negroized."

173 According to their traditions, the Batutsi come from the
●131 north, which, however, refers essentially to the Bugansa district south of Lake Mohasi, not to the distant lands on the other side of the Victoria-Nile, the Bukedi, traditional homeland of the Babito. This might mean that the Batutsi have been in their present country long enough for the other, older traditions to have faded, leaving only those concerning the founding of the Ruanda state.

Karagwe, however, is also mentioned in these traditions. Perhaps this has something to do with the older migration of the Ruanda Batutsi. Presumably this migration took place along an axis extending from the steppes in the northeast, along the Karagwe border, and across Lake Mohasi to Nduga and Mukinjaga. It is along this axis that one finds the strongest concentration of Batutsi.

131 Dr. Kandt states that the original homeland of the Batutsi is the Mhogo Basin (districts of the upper Nyawarongo). Kissaka also has a large percentage of Batutsi. Baumann (1) mentions

[113]

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 204.

isolated groups of Batutsi in the mountains in the northwestern part of Tanganyika. Only in the Muwissi Mountains, in the southwestern part of Issawi, are there reputedly very few Batutsi. (2)

2. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer

●131

on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 348.

In the northwestern part of the above-mentioned axis the Batutsi are less numerous. Only in Bwischascha and above all in the district of Lubengera do they appear in larger numbers. (3)

3. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin), p. 505.

The Batutsi of Bugoye settled there only a few generations ago. They came there from Mukinjaga. The few Batutsi in Mulera came there a short time ago from Nduga.

101 167 The Batutsi have also migrated to the west across the eastern edge of the graben [Rift Valley]. Dr. Kandt (4) says the following about the Batutsi in Kishari:

4. Ibid., p. 456.

"Here (Tshove, Kishari) many Watussi visited us, simple, friendly people but less handsome and aristocratic than those of Urundi and Ruanda; they have to work. Here they are not the rulers of the country, but cattle breeders living in villages isolated from the original inhabitants who are agriculturalists. (It is indeed strange how sharp a boundary the Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu form in this respect: to the east whole groups of Watussi live as kings and chiefs of subject peoples; to the west they appear sporadically or, as in Kishari, in larger numbers, but in neither case as rulers.)... Later I heard that Kishari is the refuge for all Watussi who for some reason have had to flee from their homeland." [124]

241 558 Despite the fact that conditions are very favorable for agriculture, the Batutsi have remained herdsmen, and only seldom have poverty-stricken Batutsi taken up agriculture. This happened to a family of Bagwabiro in Bugoye. Those Batutsi who till the

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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The red line indicates the route taken by the expedition—The places visited fo
people Bakyiga—Bakunta on shore of L. Edward—Katwe and Fort Portal people
and L. Salisbury people Bateso—Mt Elgon people Bagesu and Basabei—Busoga

[End plate - Section A]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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-The places visited for investigation were: Ankole people Banyankole—Kigezi and Fort Portal people Bambwa and Bakonjo—Bunyoro people Banyoro—Soroti and Bambei—Busoga people Basoga.

[End plate - Section B]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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[P.6]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

1. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE Kingdom of Ruanda lies within latitudes 1° 20′ to 2° 50′ south and longitudes 28° 50′ to 30° 55′ east. Physically it is a part of the elongated highland zone extending at varying elevations from the Red Sea to Lake Nyasa. This East African highland zone is characterized by large blocks of upland and the giant cracks of the rift valley system. 131 133

Ruanda is situated on the western border of the central region of this zone. It is a high plateau in which numerous rivers cut deep valleys separating a multitude of hills. The main feature of Ruanda orography is the chain of mountains with an elevation from 2,250 to 3,000 metres (6,750 to 9,000 feet) which separates the Congo and Nile drainage basins. This has a north-south trend approximately fifteen to twenty-five miles east of Lake Kivu (elevation: 1,460 metres or 4,380 feet) and forms, with the northern part of the Ruzizi river, the western boundary of Ruanda. From this mountainous chain to the east, elevations fall gradually to the Kagera River Valley, the eastern limit of Ruanda. The greater part of the Kagera here consists of swamps which may be as much as sixteen miles broad. The elevation of the region along the Kagera is from 1,300 to 1,500 metres (3,900 to 4,500 feet).

The northern boundaries of the country are not as clearly defined by physical factors, except in the west by the Virunga volcanic massif including eight peaks, the highest of which, Karisimbi, reaches 4,507 metres (14,873 feet). The Akanyaru and Lua rivers—which form part of the southern border of the kingdom, separating it from its Burundi neighbour—cannot be considered as natural frontiers, as they are not difficult to cross.[1] Ruanda's relief, together with its central situation in Africa 131

[1] The present-day political boundaries of Ruanda do not include the whole territory which was politically and culturally part of the kingdom in the past. There are Ruanda populations in the north, in the Kivu Province of the Belgian Congo (between the actual border and Rutshuru), and in the Kigezi District of Uganda (along the actual border). [162]

[P. 7]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

(about 1,000 miles from the two nearest sea-ports, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam), probably accounts for the country's long isolation from Arab and European contacts, in spite of its easily accessible frontiers in the north and south. Although slaves were occasionally sold to the African middlemen in touch with Arab traders operating in the neighbourhood of Ruanda, it seems that the traders themselves never penetrated the country. At all events Ruanda was never a regular place of supply. The first European reported to have been in the country was Count G. A. von Götzen, a German officer leading a scientific and military expedition across Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. He stayed in Ruanda only for a few weeks, in 1894.

The interior highlands, which have been compared to the massif of Abyssinia and to the mountains of Bohemia, or even to Switzerland and Tibet, are not very large. Their longest north-south extent in a straight line is about 100 miles, the extent from west to east being about 140 miles. The area of present-day Ruanda is 26,338 square kilometres (10,166 square miles). In 1907 Professor Jan Czekanowski, a member of the Duke of Mecklenburg's expedition to Central Africa, estimated it to cover about 28,900 square kilometres.[2]

The climatic effects of equatorial latitude are mitigated by the elevation. In the Congo-Nile mountain chain the temperature may drop to freezing point, but the greater part of Ruanda enjoys a temperate climate. The average is about 20° C. (68° F.), and the maximal variations (which are greater between day and night than between the seasons) rarely exceed 10° C. (18° F.) above or under the average. In the eastern lower part the temperature is, of course, higher.

Similar distinctions must be made for rainfall in the high mountains of the west, the highlands of the middle country, and the Kagera lower region of the east. In the first region rainfall averages 1,250 mm. a year (50 inches), in the second it is between 1,250 and 1,000 mm. (50 and 40 inches) and in the third less than 1,000 mm. (40 inches).[3] These figures alone do not have very much bearing on soil fertility, as the significance of rainfall depends on other factors, such as volume and intensity of precipitations, declivity of ground, type of vegetation, and characteristics of the soil.

[2] Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114. [3] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 85.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Districts of Ancient Ruanda

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[Facing P. 102]

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

133 everywhere only sluggish waters run in the relatively recent valleys. To all appearances a general damming up of waters has taken place due to recent block movements which have caused an enormous growth of swamps in the valleys in Urundi, especially in the north and northeast, and in the entire interlacustrine region. Its main cause is insufficient drainage in the network of streams of the Kagera River on the one hand and in that of the Malagarasi on the other, since their level of erosion has apparently been raised by more recent block movements in both areas.

The two big rivers mentioned above divide Urundi into two hydrographic systems: the larger northern system drains into the Kagera, Lake Victoria, the Nile, and, therefore, into the Mediterranean; the smaller southern one into the Malagarasi, Lake Tanganyika, the Congo River, and, therefore, into the Atlantic Ocean.

●132 Since Urundi is between 2 1/2 and 4 1/2 degrees south latitude, it has, like Ruanda, an equatorial uclimate with two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The rains occur soon after the sun has reached its zenith in April and October. The amount of precipitation, approximately 1,250 millimeters in the north and less than 1,000 millimeters in the south, is not great for a tropical region, yet it is still plentiful and evenly distributed. The average annual temperature fluctuates about 20 degrees Centigrade. It is higher in the east, and in the mountains of the west the thermometer almost approaches zero in July. Day after day a vigorous east wind blows across the highlands. In the mornings there are often dense mists in the valleys.

The warm temperature, the amount of precipitation, and 137 the distribution of rain would lead one to expect extended forest growth in Urundi, but this is not the case. Urundi is quite predominantly grassland (Plate 1a), pasture land at high altitude, like Ruanda. This is because the natives cut down the forest [311] to make fields and pastures. Toward the east in the direction of Uha where the country is lower, the grassland gradually turns into a tree and tussock grass steppe (Plate 3b). The grass grows higher and wilder in Urundi than in Ruanda since the grassy plains

2: Meyer--291 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Precipitation Map
according to H. Maurer, P. Heidke and W. Pietsch.

1 2 3 4 5

Annual Rainfall in Millimeters:

1. 500-750
2. 750-1000
3. 1000-1500
4. 1500-2000
5. over 2000

The annual totals and stations (x) given in centimeters.

[End map, upper right, in color]

133 a chimney opening at the bottom (1), has a diameter of about 400 meters.

1. In 1912 there were two juxtaposed chimneys. The wall that divided them disappeared in 1915.

The column of smoke, which was rather light between the years 1908 and 1926, thickened in January, 1927 and may be seen from afar.

Its neighbor to the right, the Nyamlagira (3, 056 meters), is more active. The mouth of the volcano is nearly 2, 000 meters in diameter.

Lava in fusion is constantly boiling in four or five small chimneys scattered along part of the old crater. It exudes fumaroles /sic/ and sulphurous vapors. The volcano called Mugunga or Ntsuro, not far from Lake Kivu, still emits some occasional vapors. Its eruption is of recent date, since it revived at the end of December, 1912.

Let us still mention the Bwana-Mahalage, which is nearly lost among blocks of lava. It erupted twice between 1903 and 1905, and since then has given no signs of life.

Its crater is now almost completely obstructed, and its diameter is insignificant.

In places where lava has begun to desintegrate, as happened [134] in the Bugoyi plain, which extends northeast of Lake Kivu, the soil is quite fertile.

The aspect of the land is imposing and pleasant to gaze at. The lake with its islands, the high peaks that block the horizon to the north, the plain strewn with craters, and the active volcanoes [132] make it an area unsurpassed in scenic value. The climate is temperate and the soil rich. It is volcanic soil that keeps disintegrating without ever being exhausted. One finds in the fields sorghum, peas, beans, sweet potatoes, and eleusine. Edible arum is rare and so is manioc, but potatoes and wheat are becoming increasingly widespread. The soils of Byahi and Riverere are most propitious to the

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791 The dangers which formerly threatened them in times of drought were such as to keep them away from the capital.

Before mentioning their duties, we deem it useful to list the names of the native months and seasons with a short explanation of their meaning. This will make it easier to understand the importance of these men to their compatriots, whom they fleece shamelessly.

Part One

Months, Seasons, and Principal Rains

I. Native Months

1.	Nzeri	October	7.	Werurgwe	April
2.	Okwakira	November	8.	Mata	May
3.	Ogushingo	December	9.	Gichurassi	June
4.	Okuboza	January	10.	Kamena	July
5.	Mutarama	February	11.	Nyakanga	August
6.	Gashantare	March	12.	Gatumba gatoya	September
				Gatumba kanama	"

Nzeri, October, is the first on the list (imfura y' amezi). The Banyarwanda, indeed, count from October onward and regard this month as the most important because the cultivation of beans begins at this time.

Okwakira, November, comes from the verb kwaka (or kwakira), which means "to shine" because the sun is quite strong. /426/

Ogushingo, December, is reputed to be a very rainy month.

Okuboza, January, comes from the word kuboza, "to rot." It often happens, indeed, that the rains of the preceding month persist and seriously damage the crops.

The word Mutarama, which comes from the verb gutarama, "to nibble" (like the verb guhekenya, with which it is synonymous) was given to the month of February because it is at that time that one finds in certain parts of Ruanda, here and there, a few ears of ripe sorghum which children do not hesitate to cut off and eat.

221 805 [539] Werurgwe, April. This word designates microscopic insects which occasionally prey on sorghum and quickly destroy it. Hence the expression, "Go and see whether the (above-mentioned) insects have attacked (the sorghum)" (Mulebe ngo Werurgwe itayajamo).

Gichurassi. This is the baleful month (ukwezi kubi) during which the annual mourning which lasts 15 days takes place at court. It is also the time of colds and bronchitis, hence the common expression, "He who lies down with a cold will be carried away (made [539] to die) by the month of June" (Uryamye ibichurane, igichurassi kizamutwara).

Kamena, July. This month is thus called from the word kumena, "to shatter" or "to tear out," because in those provinces of Ruanda where sorghum is cultivated only once a year people harvest the ripe ears in order to crush the grain and make bread (umutsima), which they have not tasted for a long time.

Nyakanga, August, comes from the word gukanga "to frighten." It is called thus because it is often fatal to old cows (amabuguma, ibibuguma), hence the common expression, Nyakanga ikanga amabuguma, [551] "The month of August frightens old animals," that is to say, causes them to die.

The two terms Gatumba gatoya and Gatumba /427/ kanama formerly served to designate two months, that is, August and September, prior to the creation of the month of Mata, May. Today they indicate the two fortnights in September, thus named from the word gutumba, [132] "to swell," because the clouds begin to gather in the sky and the rains begin to fall.

As for the month of Mata, it was created at the instigation of the sorcerers under the reign of Lwabugiri.

Mata literally means "milk," and in a figurative sense it means "abundance." It is also the name of a hill at Marangara, where as already mentioned Mutara and his son Lwabugiri established their residence because this area is reputed to bring good fortune to those who inhabit it. It is said that once for several years the rains failed to come and the crops did not ripen. In order to cope with this grave difficulty, it was resolved that henceforth a new month would be added to the year, and that this month would precede the month of

221 805 mourning (gichurassi) so as to give the crops time to ripen. And thus it was done. The name of the hill, a name of good omen, was given to the new month.

132 805 The native months correspond more or less to those of our solar year, owing to the elasticity with which the Banyarwanda endow their lunar divisions. They take the short rainy season, indeed, as their point of reference for cultivation and sowing. This rainy period bears the name of Nzeri and corresponds roughly to our month of October (1).

1. In some areas of vast Central Africa, the Blacks use the word masika, which means "rainy season" and belongs to the Kiswahili vocabulary. This term is preceded by the qualifiers "little" or "big" to denote the two rainy seasons. The little masika begins in October and usually ends in December. The big masika covers the months of February, March, April, and part of May.

We have heard it said that the Batutsi, herders living in the open air, acquired a practical knowledge of time from the plants and flowers that grow /428/ at regular intervals, and that they imparted this knowledge to the cultivators.

II. Seasons

221 805 The Banyarwanda also distinguish four seasons.

1. Uruhira, from the verb gushya, after its applicative /sic/ guhira, "to burn," designates the end of summer because this is the time when grass is burned everywhere. Another synonymous term is used, ku (1) Muyonga (ivu), which means "the time of ashes." One

805 In katumba the people begin burning off the grass on the
221 hills.

Most of the weddings take place in nseri, because much beer can be brewed in this month. For the same reason, most fights occur then.

132 There are three seasons in Kissaka.
805 [296] I. Itumba, the great rainy season extending from March to May.

II. Ichanda, the great dry season from June to October.

III. Ruhira, the secondary rainy season from November to January and sometimes February.

The secondary dry season in February does not seem to have a special name.

805 Father C. Lecoindre told me that he had the impression there were 13 months in the Ruanda year and pointed out that on my list the month of kashantare between mutarama and werurwe was not shown.

The art of chronology is only slightly developed in Ruanda, and the Bahutu seem essentially to know only the periods for certain field chores, to which they give special names, for example:

Itumba ya massaka (in the autumn),
Itumba lyi bishimbo,

or solar time:

Rugaryi (little sun),
Itsi (big sun).

644 On the other hand, life in Musinga's royal residence, at
805 least the arrival of fresh drum guards with the new moon, is regulated by the lunar division of the year, and Father C. Lecoindre's observation seems to have many points in its favor. For example, it is said that at the court of the king there is mourning during the first half of the month kichurasi. During this time men allegedly
[834] have no sexual intercourse with women. The drums at the king's court are beaten only once around 11 o'clock to greet (ndamutsu) the king; they are said to be tied up (kuzirika). The Batwa do not entertain the king with their songs during the evening gatherings. The king pronounces no sentences and accepts no presents. At ordinary law proceedings the victorious party neither sings his song

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

131 (about 1,000 miles from the two nearest sea-ports, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam), probably accounts for the country's long isolation from Arab and European contacts, in spite of its easily accessible [567] frontiers in the north and south. Although slaves were occasionally sold to the African middlemen in touch with Arab traders operating in the neighbourhood of Ruanda, it seems that the traders themselves never penetrated the country. At all events Ruanda was never a regular place of supply. The first European reported 648 to have been in the country was Count G. A. von Götzen, a German officer leading a scientific and military expedition across Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. He stayed in Ruanda only for a few weeks, in 1894.

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Similar distinctions must be made for rainfall in the high mountains of the west, the highlands of the middle country, and the Kagera lower region of the east. In the first region rainfall averages 1,250 mm. a year (50 inches), in the second it is between 1,250 and 1,000 mm. (50 and 40 inches) and in the third less than 1,000 mm. (40 inches).[3] These figures alone do not have very much bearing on soil fertility, as the significance of rainfall depends on other factors, such as volume and intensity of precipitations, declivity of ground, type of vegetation, and characteristics of the soil.

[2] Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114. [3] Ministère des Colonies, 1931b, p. 63.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is as much as a one-month range of variations in the dates of the rainy and dry seasons each year. The precipitations are very irregular. Sometimes for a few weeks there is heavy rainfall lasting ten or twelve hours followed by a few dry days, at other times there is a 2- or 3-hour shower every day. Besides this fundamental irregularity there is no uniformity throughout the country. Owing to the very uneven relief, neighbouring regions or even neighbouring groups of hills and valleys, may have quite dissimilar climates. 132

Although it is believed that the country was covered with forest in the remote past, now only three per cent. of the surface of Ruanda is woodland; even if savannah with trees is taken into account the figure is not brought up to more than 6·5 per cent.[4] At the beginning of the century the figures were almost certainly not higher, and very likely lower. Indeed, the policy of the Administration has been to attempt to protect by regulation the forests which were left and to promote the replanting of trees. The present-day typical Ruanda landscape, eucalyptus-covered hills and roads bordered by three or four lines of trees, is new. Fifty years ago the country had an even more denuded appearance than it has today. 311 [656]

The result of the scarcity of trees in a country of steep hills has been erosion. Torrential rainfall has washed off the more fertile top soil. The deterioration of the ground has been a long process which has not yet been reversed. The north-western part of Ruanda provides an exception to the general poverty. Here the soil is of volcanic origin, formed from recent lava, and rich. The land at the bottom of valleys everywhere is, of course, notably better than on the slopes. 134

A good top-soil is important not only for cultivation: allowing a slow infiltration of water, it helps to form subterranean watersheds situated not too deeply underground. A decrease in this top-soil has had the effect that some of these practically superficial water reserves which feed sources have drained away. I have been told more than once by old people that in such or such a place there was a water source when they were young. When digging a well now one has to go very deep. 133 134

These phenomena, erosion, impoverishment of soil, and drying up of sub-soil, are not to be attributed only to the action of the purely natural factors mentioned (the heavy rainfalls and the 134

[4] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 331.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Evereerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

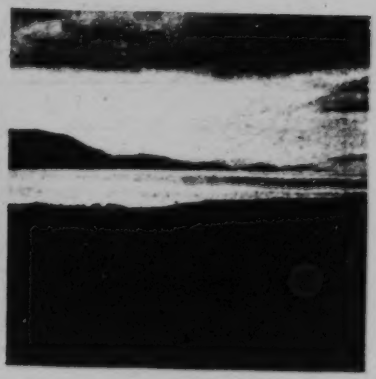
1: Vanhove--v G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

133

[Facing p. 3]

Two aspects of Central Ruanda.

Lake Mohasi in Buganza.



Lake Mulera.
In the foreground, field of lava.
In the background, the Muhavura volcano.

(All taken by Author)

1:Vanhove--33A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 40]

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Type of cattle in Ruanda.

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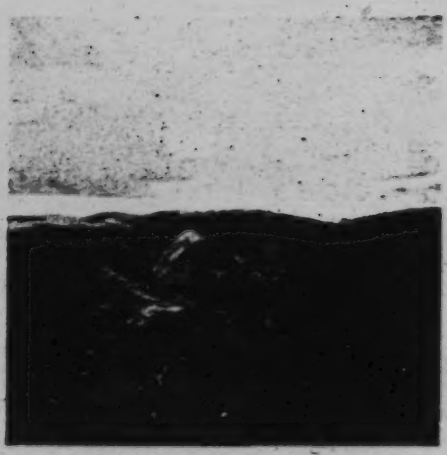


Vicinity of Kigali.
Crops covering the spurs of the hills and the valleys can be seen.

(Photo taken by Author)

133 When I now attempt to describe the inhabitants of Urundi, the Barundi (1), the following question must first be briefly

[104]
[194]

1. In the spelling of Barundi, Bahima, Batussi, Bahutu, Batwa, Baganda, Banjoro, Banjaruanda, Banjankole, etc., I am following the example of J. Czekanowski (Nos. 38 and 48). In this connection, it should be noted that the phonetic value of this b is often close to our w i.e., an English v and in correct phonetic terms might be more clearly transcribed by a v specially marked, but for the purpose of my study the common b corresponds more closely to the orthography of the tribes between the lakes. On the other hand, one must write Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, Waschaschi, etc., since these tribes pronounce the w in all clarity.

answered: What does the country look like, the soil which supports and nourishes the people and upon which its economic, social, and political life takes place? Urundi is a mountainous country, the southern part of the interlacustrine region to which belong Ruanda in the north, the Kisiba states and Uha in the east, and in the south also Uha and part of Ujiji. On all sides Urundi has good natural boundaries: in the north the rivers Akanjaru and Kagera, in the east the long plateau sloping down toward Uha, in the south the upper course of the Malagarasi, in the west Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. To the north the region has a broad front toward Ruanda, while to the south it tapers off in wedge-shaped form to Lake Tanganyika.

In its geological structure Urundi is divided into two large regions whose landscapes differ. The larger eastern part is a section of the Paleozoic slate and quartzite plateau (Plate 26) probably belonging to the Cape formation. This plateau covers almost the entire interlacustrine region. The narrower, tapering

133 western part is the tail end of a range of Archeozoic folded mountains; it consists of crystalline slate with many granite intrusions and outcrops. The boundary between the two formations is a sharp threshold or drop in the terrain running north to south approximately at the longitude of the Mugera missionary station. Toward the east the slate-quartzite plateau also slopes down in an extended gradient at high altitude toward the gneiss and granite plateau of Unjamwesi which I consider an eroded escarpment. A huge tectonic fault scarp is found in the steep western slope of the highland toward the central African graben and toward Lake Tanganyika. Smaller fault depressions in several places extend over the country of Urundi; in fact, the entire interlacustrine region is rich in such tectonic faults. (Cf. the map on opposite page.)

[648] [4] Only a few times have determined enemies invaded Urundi across the high ridges and escarpments in the west and southeast, but this has happened more often from the flatter, more open fronts in the north and northeast. In the north are [101] the proud, warlike neighbors, the Ruanda, in the northeast the restless tribes of the Lake Victoria region: the Bassuwi, Basindja [Linza], Wassumbwa [Sumbwa], and others.

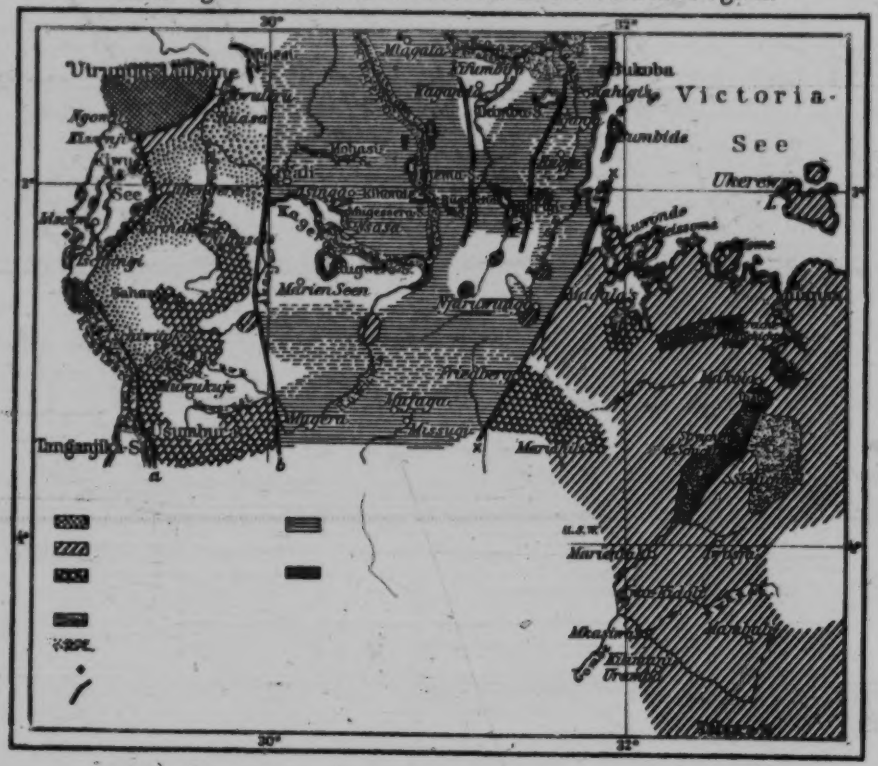
The slate-quartzite plateau of eastern Urundi has been leveled by erosion from meteorological forces over many thousands of years into a large peneplain with long, broad, low ridges (Plate 1a), while in the west the older mountain periphery still rises to a considerable altitude although it has also been worn down and rounded for the most part. The plateau region has an average altitude of 1,600-1,800 meters; the peripheral mountains rise to as high as 3,000 meters. More recent block movements renewed again the process of erosion which had been slowing down, so that in many regions the streams have carved recent, deep valleys into the plateau and the mountain ranges which then divided the region into a great number of large blocks and bastions. However, in still more recent times this process of erosion was again considerably slowed down by other developments. This is apparent from the fact that at present there are rapid streams only in the mountains of the west (Plate 1b), while in the plateau region of the east almost

2: Meyer--4A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rurdi FO42

● 133

[3]

Geological Sketch of the Middle Interlacustrine Region.



(Caption on following page.)

[3] Caption to Map on Preceding Page.

133

Legend

Based on personal observations and collections (revised by K. Schlossmacher; cf. Hans Meyer, Ergebnisse einer Reise durch das Zwischenseengebiet Ostafrikas 1911 [Results of a Journey Through the Interlacustrine Region of East Africa in 1911], Berlin, 1913) and taking into account earlier publications by Stuhlmann, Baumann, Count von Goetzen, Kandt, Herrmann, Dantz, Stromer von Reichenbach, Gagel, Koert, and others.

Primary formation.

Granite rock.

Primary formation in combination with granites.

Loose and more recent surface layers (alluvia of rivers).

Probable extent of layers.

Hot springs (occurring on fissures).

Fissure lines (a) or fault scarps (b?); probably eroded escarpment.

Horizontal quartzes, slate, etc. Perhaps Cape formation.

Granites, covered by recent volcanic rock.

133 everywhere only sluggish waters run in the relatively recent valleys. To all appearances a general damming up of waters has taken place due to recent block movements which have caused an enormous growth of swamps in the valleys in Urundi, especially in the north and northeast, and in the entire interlacustrine region. Its main cause is insufficient drainage in the network of streams of the Kagera River on the one hand and in that of the Malagarasi on the other, since their level of erosion has apparently been raised by more recent block movements in both areas.

The two big rivers mentioned above divide Urundi into two hydrographic systems: the larger northern system drains into the Kagera, Lake Victoria, the Nile, and, therefore, into the Mediterranean; the smaller southern one into the Malagarasi, Lake Tanganyika, the Congo River, and, therefore, into the Atlantic Ocean.

132 Since Urundi is between 2 1/2 and 4 1/2 degrees south latitude, it has, like Ruanda, an equatorial climate with two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The rains occur soon after the sun has reached its zenith in April and October. The amount of precipitation, approximately 1,250 millimeters in the north and less than 1,000 millimeters in the south, is not great for a tropical region, yet it is still plentiful and evenly distributed. The average annual temperature fluctuates about 20 degrees Centigrade. It is higher in the east, and in the mountains of the west the thermometer almost approaches zero in July. Day after day a vigorous east wind blows across the highlands. In the mornings there are often dense mists in the valleys.

The warm temperature, the amount of precipitation, and 137 the distribution of rain would lead one to expect extended forest growth in Urundi, but this is not the case. Urundi is quite predominantly grassland (Plate 1a), pasture land at high altitude, like Ruanda. This is because the natives cut down the forest [311] to make fields and pastures. Toward the east in the direction of Uha where the country is lower, the grassland gradually turns into a tree and tussock grass steppe (Plate 3b). The grass grows higher and wilder in Urundi than in Ruanda since the grassy plains

133 361 By far the largest part of the country is a tableland which powerful erosion has dissected into innumerable long and short ridges with flattened tops and chains of hills with frequently deep and rather steep valley escarpments. The majority of the valleys are filled by papyrus swamps which can only be crossed in a few places. Hence it is not the valleys, as in our part of the world, but the high places that provide the most suitable settlement sites. The marshes in the valley bottoms, the hot stagnant air in the lowlands, the myriads of mosquitoes and gnats, and the valley slopes which in many places are very steep cause the people with their roads and settlements to resort to the free, airy plateaus and hill tops, while in most valleys the only fields are of such crops as require much moisture. In most areas of Urundi and Ruanda the valleys serve not to unite people but to separate them. In both regions the division of the people and the state into small communities is, therefore, determined by natural causes (see p. 89). For this reason also, the future opening up of the country by means of roads or railroads is rendered unusually difficult. The valleys in many parts of the eastern drier quartzite regions are much less swampy and less steep. There also, the surfaces of the plateau ridges and of the hill ranges are everywhere so stony and sterile due to weathered quartzite fragments (see Plate 2b) that the people avoid the high land and prefer to settle on the sides of valleys where the springs break out below the crevassed quartzite on the upper line of stratification of the almost impermeable argillite and where the argillaceous residual soil is more fertile and easier to till than the quartzite lying above.

This natural diversity among the areas is in itself an ex-
161 planation of why the population is rather unevenly distributed over the country.

The government estimates the number of natives in Urundi at one and a half to two million ("Die deutschen Schutzgebiete 1912-13," Amtliche Jahresberichte ["The German Protectorates 1912-13," Official Annual Reports], pp. 8-9). This large margin is an indication that official censuses in the individual areas have so far not been possible. Both here and in Ruanda only the drawing up of tax registers will some day

161 furnish more accurate figures. According to my own and other recent estimates, the figure of two million is too high; one and a half million is probably closer to the truth. However, a few missionaries, among them Father van der Burgt, have estimated even more than two million. [18] There are relatively fewer Batussi in Urundi than in Ruanda; they constitute 162 hardly five per cent and probably only two or three per cent 563 of the total population, i.e., 40,000-50,000 in Urundi. For them, too, van der Burgt assumes a much higher percentage: 15-20 per cent as against only five per cent for the Batwa. Apart from the mass of native Bahutu, there were in 1912-13 still about 2,500 other Negroes (Wasuaheli, Wanjamwesi, Manjema, and others) in the country, and, in addition, one or two dozen Arabs, two or three dozen Indians, and approximately five dozen Whites, half of them Germans and about 20 Frenchmen and Frenchwomen (missionaries).

On the whole Urundi and Uha are not by any means as 161 densely populated as Ruanda which has 72 inhabitants per square kilometer. [Fig. 1 appears here in original text.] The official estimate for 1912-13 gives an average of 51 inhabitants per square kilometer for Urundi (or 68, if one puts the total population at two million). On the whole the density of population increases from east to west. In the west the valleys and the broad ridges of the peripheral mountains are most densely populated; hence they are almost entirely cleared of timber. There, there are an estimated 50 to 60 people per square kilometer or, in other words, a density of population approximately equal to that of Portugal. Any comparison with Germany with its 120 inhabitants per square kilometer would be inappropriate since the area of utilizable land is relatively much smaller in Urundi than in Germany due to the many swampy valleys and quartzite wastes. The most densely populated parts are the 161 areas of granite, crystalline schist, mica schist, amphibolites, 133 diabases, etc., which comprise the more elevated western portion of Urundi where the rainfall is higher and which form fertile residual soils. Of the less elevated, large slate and

[Text continues on page 29]

161 quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more
[133] sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19]
One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more
[311] humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations
cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense
population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in
them.

The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in chil-
592 dren, as in Ruanda. Individually the Batussi women are less
[842] fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom
fewer than three children in each family and in many cases
(among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly
more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married
couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if
[595] there are many children or several wives, each mother lives
in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and
unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there
are often between two and four residential huts and several huts
for grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential
huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see
Fig. 1).

361 The settlement pattern is that of individual establish-
ments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (lugo, urugo).
Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and
its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates
18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals
belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each
other within calling distance so that village-like clusters
(ikisagara) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside ex-
tend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the
settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the
poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or
clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are
scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and sur-
rounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without
banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

Plate 1

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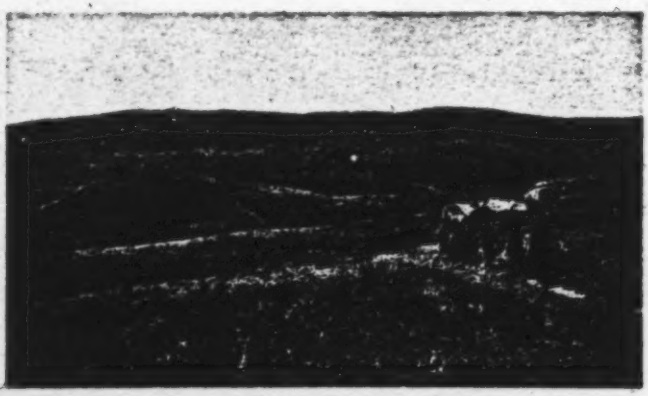

Highland Pasture in Southwest Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

133

Waterfall in the Eastern Peripheral Mountains of
Lake Tanganyika, West Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

Plate 2

137
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Valley Filled with Papyrus Swamp in Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

133

Quartzite Ridge East of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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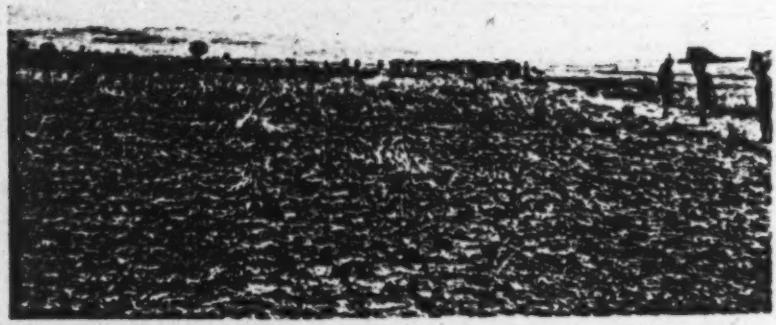
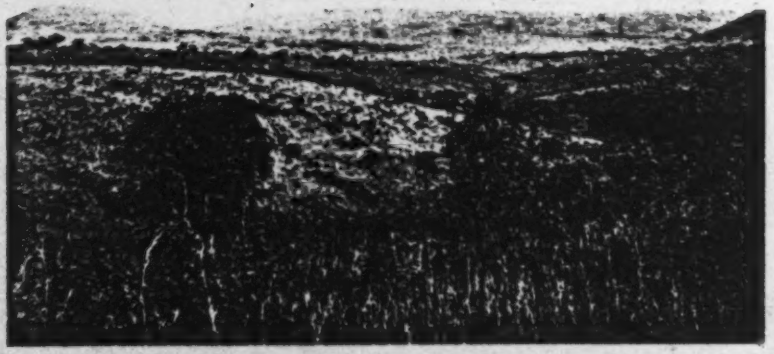
[482]



Grass Steppe in the Lower Ruzizi Valley, District of Bulinga
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Tree and Grass Steppe on the Kojongo River, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 5

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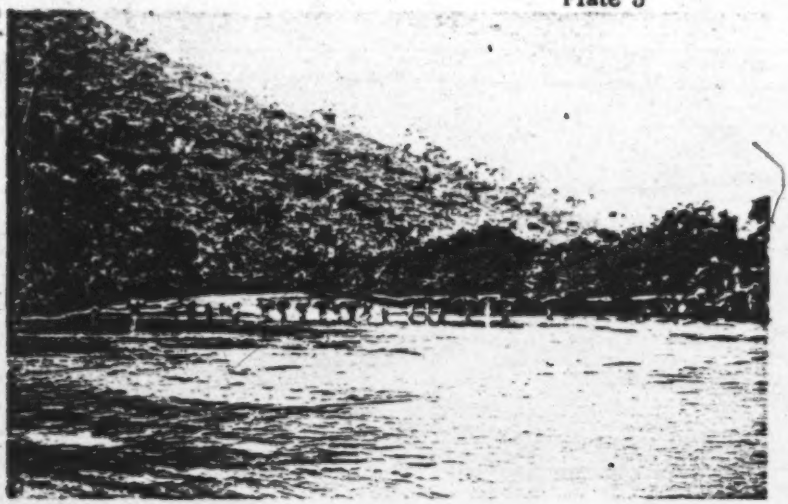

Ford in the Ruvuvu River East of Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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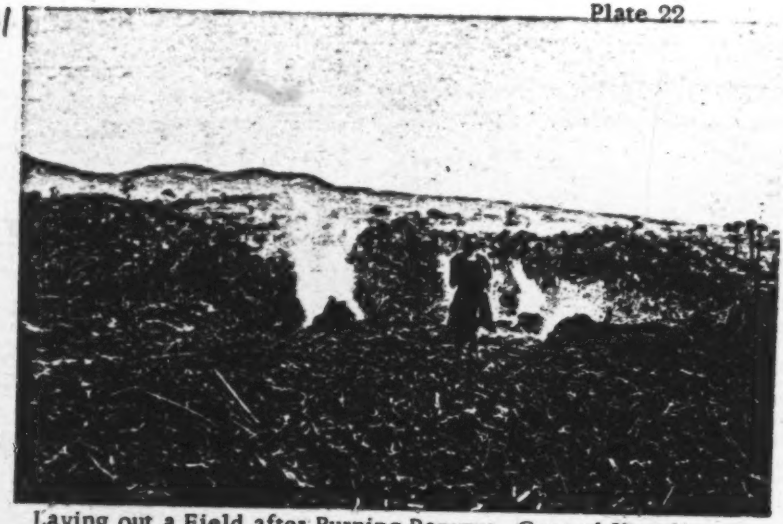
Crossing the Ruvuvu River near Kihansa
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--256 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

241

Plate 22



Laying out a Field after Burning Papyrus, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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241

Sweet Potatoes Fields in a Swamp Valley, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

501
●133

Punts on the North Shore of Lake Tanganyika
(Photo. by Hans Meyer; 1911)

Papyrus Raft on the Central Ruvuvu
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--290 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Maps of the Central Interlacustrine Regions of East Africa

133

Oro-hydrographic Map

1 3 5

2 4 6

1. under 1,000 meters
2. 2,000 - 3,000 meters
3. 1,000 - 1,500 meters
4. 3,000 - 4,000 meters
5. 1,500 - 2,000 meters
6. 4,000 - 5,000 meters

[End map, upper left, in color]

2: Meyer--292 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundl FO42

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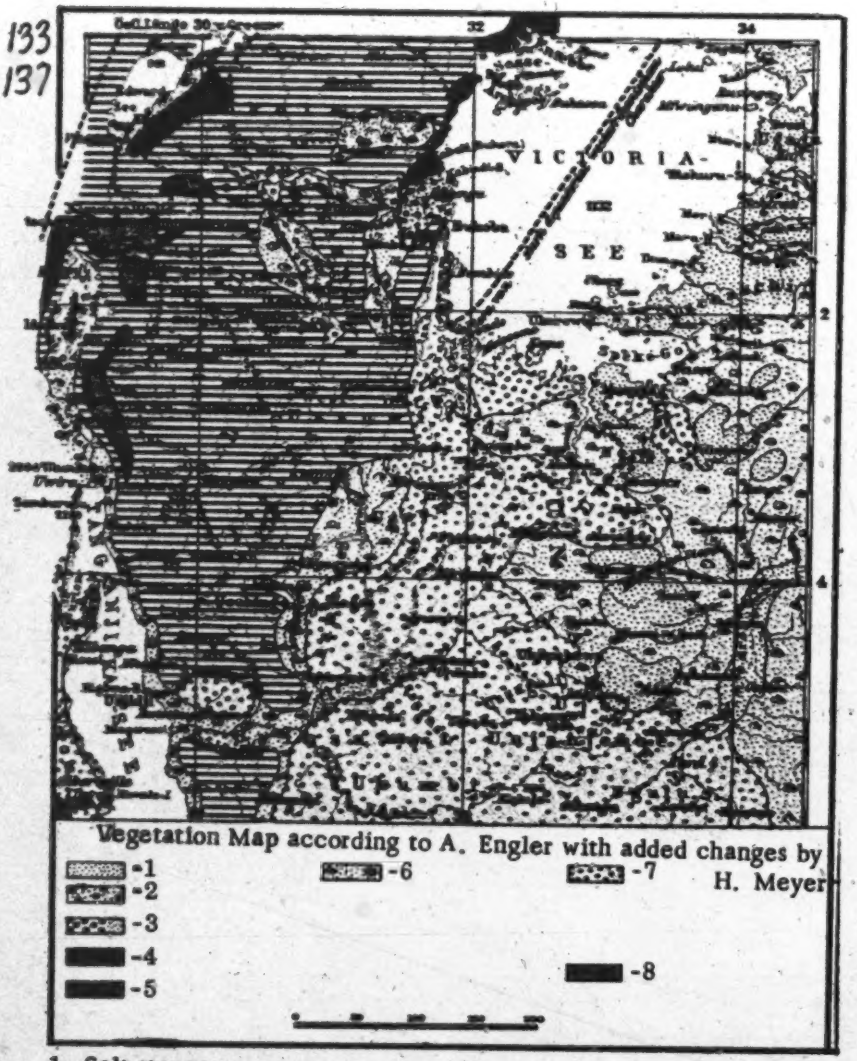

1. Salt steppe.
2. Alluvial plain with West African forms.
3. Alluvial plain, region with little rain, frequently parklike.
4. Tropical rain forest of plains and mountains.
5. Forest and high altitudes, or forest where fog is common.
6. Dry brushland, also mountain brush, partly non-deciduous forms, in some places with trees, and frequently turning into bush and bush and tree steppe.

[End map, lower left, in color]

(continued)

133
137.

7. Dry forest (steppe forest, Miombo forest) or tree steppe with sparse grass; a few types of trees predominate, the individual types often in clusters.

8. Grazing plateau and mountain steppe; besides mountain bushes, rock and loose rock vegetation of the highest regions.

800 *Urundi Administration* 1925—and Bishop (?) Gorju in several works dealing with Urundi, where he has been Vicar Apostolic. It lies N.E. of Tang. lake, 2 to 4 degrees S. of the Equator.

Ethnical conditions

563 The Urundi as well as the two neighbouring sultanates of Ruanda and Buha consist of three ethnical groups: (1) the tall, fine-featured, cattle-grazing Batutsi, of Hamitic stock, who constitute a ruling class of some fifty thousand; (2) the middle-sized, rough-featured, land-tilling Bahutu, the largest and main body of a population of over one and a half million; (3) the Pygmy hunting and pot-making Batwa, a mere handful of some thousands of outcasts.

I am reasonably satisfied that these three ethnical groups mix together more than one is generally inclined to believe: they rather seem to become social strata. At any rate there are impoverished Batutsi who till the land, Bahutu who possess cattle, and landless Batwa are not a frequent occurrence to-day. Many impoverished Batutsi have been considered as Bahutu, rich Bahutu as Batutsi. The reasons and theory I brought home were elaborated by Dr. Gerkens and seem to prove that each of the groups is of mingled stock.

Geographical conditions

133 The Urundi is a high country. The region between mountain to the west and the steppe to the east is a plateau, 5,000 feet high, often more, and almost completely without ligneous vegetation, except in the near proximity of habitations. Rivers and brooks have dug themselves deep into this plateau and their valleys have made it a country of more or less important hills, each of them with its own name. The bottom of the valleys is covered with swamps where papyrus grows unchecked (for native agriculture had not been successful there). The stony, grassy hill-tops are merely meadow-land. The cultivated belt [311] normally spreads on the hill-side, with the fenced cabins of the land-tillers in the middle of fields and banana-plantations. Only persons of rank dwell in the higher region.

311 Typical of Urundi scenery as seen from a favourable observation point are the three belts running along one another: below, the ashy green of the papyrus; above, brownish stones and light-coloured grass, sometimes with the rugo of a chief or of his deputy; in between the deep shining green of the banana-trees. [161] Though the population often reaches 350 per square mile, the habitations of most land-tillers remain invisible amidst the banana-trees where they are hidden, and only at the time when meals are prepared does the peacefully ascending smoke betray their presence there.

[p. 13 (A)]

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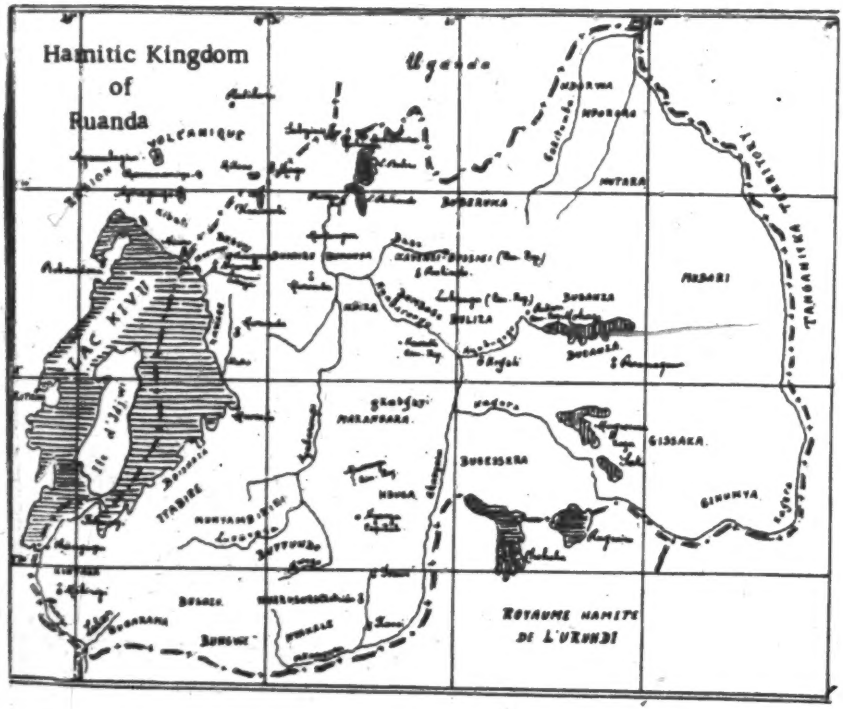
Hamitic Kingdom
of
Ruanda
Uganda
LAC KIVU
ROYAUME HAMITE
DE L'URUNDI
TANGANIKA
TERRITOIRE

648 The kings of Ruanda also headed numerous expeditions into the Congo with no definite results other than pillage.

133 As a whole, Ruanda is a high, rolling plateau. It was deforested [137] to get rid of wild beasts and to supply pastures and fields for cultivation.

The northwest is a broken, picturesque, wooded region. There stands the chain of volcanoes, practically all of which are extinct today. /24/

The highest peaks are the Karisimbi (1), which is 4, 506 meters

[103 301]

1. Karisimbi, from the word amassimbi, a kind of white shell which the Batutsi of Urundi and Ruanda wear at the neck as an ornament. Because of its color it served to designate the snow that covers the summits, and by extension the highest mountain.

high; the Mikeno (2), or Mukuru mubi (3), which is 4, 380 meters high;

[103]

2. Mikeno, from the verb gukena, "to be bare."

[103]

3. Mukuru mubi, "a peak of difficult access."

the Muhabura (4), which is 4, 127 meters high; the Sabyinyo (5), which

[103 487]

4. Muhabura, from the verb guhabura, "to set on the right path," because this mountain serves as a landmark for travelers.

[103]

5. Sabyinyo, "big-toothed father," owing to its volcanic ridges.

133 is 3, 647 meters high; the Mago (6), which is 3, 711 meters high; the
103

6. It is found wrongfully designated under the name of Visoke on some maps. /Visoke/ is a derivation of the term Bisoko, which is the name of the region itself.

Gahinga (7), which is 3, 474 meters high; etc.

7. Gahinga, "the little summit."

Father Paul Barthélemy, the founder of the Nyundo mission in the Bugoyi, was the first to climb the Karisimbi. This is why the name of Barthelemy peak is given on some maps to the highest peak.

The Mikeno, which had until now been regarded as inaccessi-
133 ble, has had its impregnability violated by daring explorers (8). Each

8. During the summer of 1927, on July 25, Fathers Van Hoef and Depluet and Mr. and Mrs. Leonard succeeded in surmounting all obstacles by using a rope and a small ladder. They reached the southern peak, which is separated from the other by an abyss. The summit forms a sloping esplanade covered with volcanic gravel.

of its two slender points ends in an immense and nearly vertical rock, from 300 to 400 meters high.

The so-called "Plain of the Volcanoes" extends between the Rutchuru and Lake Kivu. It is strewn with blocks of lava and hundreds of craters of varying size.

Among the active volcanoes, let us mention the Nyiragongo (3, 496 meters) of perfectly classic shape. The /25/ main crater, with

133 a chimney opening at the bottom (1), has a diameter of about 400 meters.

1. In 1912 there were two juxtaposed chimneys. The wall that divided them disappeared in 1915.
The column of smoke, which was rather light between the years 1908 and 1926, thickened in January, 1927 and may be seen from afar.

Its neighbor to the right, the Nyamlagira (3, 056 meters), is more active. The mouth of the volcano is nearly 2, 000 meters in diameter.

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The aspect of the land is imposing and pleasant to gaze at. The lake with its islands, the high peaks that block the horizon to the north, the plain strewn with craters, and the active volcanoes
[132] make it an area unsurpassed in scenic value. The climate is temper-
134 ate and the soil rich. It is volcanic soil that keeps disintegrating with-
241 out ever being exhausted. One finds in the fields sorghum, peas, beans, sweet potatoes, and eleusine. Edible arum is rare and so is manioc, but potatoes and wheat are becoming increasingly widespread. The soils of Byahi and Riverere are most propitious to the

134 cultivation of the famous plante médicée /Tr.: "Medici plant"/
241 (tobacco), the sale of which provides a living for a number of families. /26/

The vast Rwrere plain covers nearly half of the Bugoyi province.
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The Buliza, Bussigi, and Luhanga are long plateaus where numerous herds of goats, sheep, and cows graze. These areas lie at an altitude of about 2,200 meters. /27/

Ruanda also has lakes, the most important of which is Kivu, which is 120 kilometers long and from 40 to 50 kilometers wide.

133 Then there are in order of size: Mohazi in the Buganza, Mugessera and Sake in the Gissaka, Ruhondo (at an altitude of 1, 750 meters) and Bolero (at 1, 065 meters) in Mulera, and Karago in Lwankeri plain.

In the Bugessera there are several ponds: Murago, Mirayi, Kagomasi, Chohoha, Gaharwa, Kilimbi, etc. The small land of Bgiriri, which is adjacent to Gissaka toward the south, includes Birira /pond/.

The two rivers that wind through Ruanda are: the Nyabarongo /Nyawarongo/ (1) and the Akanyaru (2). The former, to which

[103] 1. Nyabarongo, from the verb kulongora, kulongoroka, "to go far away." This river was called thus because it flows throughout Ruanda.

[103] 2. Akanyaru, from the verb kunyaruka, "to rush." The speed of its flow gave rise to this name.

Mr. Kandt, the last German resident, gave the name of Caput Nili ("Source of the Nile") in a well-known book, is formed by the junction of two rivers, the Mwogo (3) and the Lukarara.

[823] 3. The violence of its flow and the volume of its waters during the rainy season occasion numerous tragic accidents, hence the expression: "Mwogo! Thou doth not kill men, thou only taketh away those who come (of their own accord) to meet death," Mwogo! ntiwich' abantu, wicha abakwizaniye.

[539]

●133 These two torrents have their source in the southwestern part of Ruanda. Their headwaters flow impetuously on a bed littered with rocks and pebbles.

Among the many subsidiaries of the Nyabarongo, let us mention in alphabetic order: the Base, Mukungwa (which comes out of Lake Ruhondo), Nyabugogo, which serves as an outlet for Lake Mohazi, etc.

The Akanyaru, whose basin is less extensive, also originates in the southwest and combines its waters with those of the Nyabarongo at the level of theBugessera. /28/

After they join, these two rivers change their name to Kagera (1). Under this new name they enter the Victoria into which they

[103] 1. Kagera. This word comes from the verb kugera, "to deepen."

The Kagera slowly wanders through the plain, and its lazy waters overflow

[136] into large ponds and marshes infested with crocodiles and mosquitoes.

pour their yellow waters loaded with silt.

Lake Kivu receives only a small part of the waters of Ruanda. Its outlet is the Ruzizi River, which flows into /Lake/ Tanganyika after a tumultuous course of about 120 kilometers.

131 Ruanda, whose surface may be estimated at 30, 000 to 35, 000
161 square kilometers boasts a population that is believed to reach two million souls.

563 It is made up of three quite distinct ethnic groups: the Batutsi, or Hamites, the Bahutu of the Bantu group, and the Batwa, or Negrillos (Pygmies).

141 The Batutsi, who are thought to be of Egyptian or Abyssinian origin, (2) are tall in stature. Some measure as much as 2 or even

000 2. From an ethnological point of view the physical appearance of the Ethiopian people is an exception in

671 theft, arson, and destruction of crops caused to a neighbor, grazing rights, the levying of taille /head tax/ and forced labor, etc. Culprits [696] of high lineage and wealthy people often extricated themselves with money and innocent people sometimes payed for offenders, especially when false witnesses were suborned.

The Pit of the Bugessera

133 Among the various torture spots such as the swamp, called 823 Nkonde in the Buberuka, the Nshimbo swamp near Lukaza, the Ruboneye swamp near Nyanza, the place called "Ficus-tree spot" 681 (ku Kivumu), certain rapids of the Akanyaru and Nyabarongo rivers, 696 etc., it was the pit of the Bugessera that left the most evil memory. Its reputation is highly sinister, owing to the illustrious offenders who were tossed into it and also to the legends that circulate about this accursed place.

The pit is located in the Bugessera region, not far from one of Lwabugiri's ancient residences, which it is surprising to find in the middle of this deserted region.

The landscape is stark, even wild, and darkened by the memory of the tragic executions it witnessed. /382/

The pit is a sort of depression in a rocky area (ibuye ryasamye), 681 about three or four meters deep. It is more or less filled with stagnant 696 rain water according to the time of year, and it is half choked with 823 mud (1). Clumps of trees of various kinds make islets of greenery and

1. The Blacks like to account for the peculiarities of rocks and boulders, whose shapes and cavities invite comparisons. They tend to attribute these formations to the influence of men or demigods. They gave the name of "Bayanga's little beer boat" (umuvule) to another depression located near the preceding one and which to their eyes had that appearance. All around

5: Pages--270 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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High jump. Popular sport among the Batutsi.

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R. P. Van den Houdt

Lake Kivu, near Gisenyi.

5: Pages--271 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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An arm of Lake Mugessera.

Rapids in the Mukungwu in the Mulera region.

5. Pages--272 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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On the shores of the Nzabarongo.

5. Pages--274 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Lake Ruhondo and Bahutu types. Region of the Mulera.

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A crossing by boat.

5: Pages--275 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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A volcanic landscape. The Nyiragongo and its plume of smoke.

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Muchabura and Gahinga.

5: Pages--276 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Volcanic eruption of Nyamulagira. The photo was taken at night in 1907 at Nyundo mission.

Volcanic landscape. Lava from the last eruption which took place on the shores of Kivu (December 1912, January 1913).

5: Pages--277 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Panorama of Rulindo. The two groves which served as the last resting place for queen mothers can be seen on the heights.

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On the border between Ruanda and the Karagwe.

312 gradient, a deeper free surface of water is formed above the dam, which serves as a watering place for cattle.

482 In Ruanda all goods are transported by porters. Lake Kivu
501 is the only waterway that is used. It is navigated with large, primitive dugouts which are not sea-worthy but can carry very considerable loads. Otherwise boats are used only to ferry travelers across the rivers on main thoroughfares.

● 133

Fig. 53. Cushions for Carrying Loads, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13093. 21 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

The rivers of Ruanda, however, have navigable stretches which in the future, with the development of transportation, will undoubtedly be used. [167] Thus, for example, I am convinced that the Nyawarongo is navigable from Mount Ndisa to the confluence of the Mukungwa and even farther. On the Kissaka border, also, I confirmed the navigability of the Kagera. Likewise, the Kagera can be navigated from the mouth of the Ruvuvu to the bend of the Mpororo.

492 Beasts of burden are not as yet used in Ruanda, although the 20 to 25 donkeys in the country, used by Europeans, are very serviceable and thrive well.

The use of waterways and beasts of burden, however, takes for granted an increase in porters' wages and a development in trade which the porters now available will no longer be able to handle.

482 In contrast to the custom in the northwest Congo areas, burdens are carried on the head in Ruanda. It is only among the Bahunde in the west that we begin to see people carry burdens on their backs. It seems that the eastern boundary of this method of carrying packs entends from Lake Kivu across to the Rutshuru River and north, along the eastern boundary of the Bakondjo territory, to the east of Lake Edward.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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The red line indicates the route taken by the expedition—The places visited fo
people Bakyiga—Bakunta on shore of L. Edward—Katwe and Fort Portal people
and L. Salisbury people Bateso—Mt Elgon people Bagesu and Basabei—Busoga

End plate - Section A

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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-The places visited for investigation were: Ankole people Banyankole—Kigezi and Fort Portal people Bambwa and Bakonjo—Bunyoro people Banyoro—Soroti and Basabei—Busoga people Basoga.

[End plate - Section B]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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[P.6]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

1. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE Kingdom of Ruanda lies within latitudes 1° 20′ to 2° 50′ south and longitudes 28° 50′ to 30° 55′ east. Physically it is a part of the elongated highland zone extending at varying elevations from the Red Sea to Lake Nyasa. This East African highland zone is characterized by large blocks of upland and the giant cracks of the rift valley system. 131 133

Ruanda is situated on the western border of the central region of this zone. It is a high plateau in which numerous rivers cut deep valleys separating a multitude of hills. The main feature of Ruanda orography is the chain of mountains with an elevation from 2,250 to 3,000 metres (6,750 to 9,000 feet) which separates the Congo and Nile drainage basins. This has a north-south trend approximately fifteen to twenty-five miles east of Lake Kivu (elevation: 1,460 metres or 4,380 feet) and forms, with the northern part of the Ruzizi river, the western boundary of Ruanda. From this mountainous chain to the east, elevations fall gradually to the Kagera River Valley, the eastern limit of Ruanda. The greater part of the Kagera here consists of swamps which may be as much as sixteen miles broad. The elevation of the region along the Kagera is from 1,300 to 1,500 metres (3,900 to 4,500 feet).

The northern boundaries of the country are not as clearly defined by physical factors, except in the west by the Virunga volcanic massif including eight peaks, the highest of which, Karisimbi, reaches 4,507 metres (14,873 feet). The Akanyaru and Lua rivers—which form part of the southern border of the kingdom, separating it from its Burundi neighbour—cannot be considered as natural frontiers, as they are not difficult to cross.[1] Ruanda's relief, together with its central situation in Africa 131

[1] The present-day political boundaries of Ruanda do not include the whole territory which was politically and culturally part of the kingdom in the past. There are Ruanda populations in the north, in the Kivu Province of the Belgian Congo (between the actual border and Rutshuru), and in the Kigezi District of Uganda (along the actual border). [162]

[P. 7]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

131 (about 1,000 miles from the two nearest sea-ports, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam), probably accounts for the country's long isolation from Arab and European contacts, in spite of its easily accessible [567] frontiers in the north and south. Although slaves were occasionally sold to the African middlemen in touch with Arab traders operating in the neighbourhood of Ruanda, it seems that the traders themselves never penetrated the country. At all events Ruanda was never a regular place of supply. The first European reported 648 to have been in the country was Count G. A. von Götzen, a German officer leading a scientific and military expedition across Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. He stayed in Ruanda only for a few weeks, in 1894.

133 The interior highlands, which have been compared to the massif of Abyssinia and to the mountains of Bohemia, or even to Switzerland and Tibet, are not very large. Their longest north-south extent in a straight line is about 100 miles, the extent from west to east being about 140 miles. The area of present-day Ruanda 131 is 26,338 square kilometres (10,166 square miles). In 1907 Professor Jan Czekanowski, a member of the Duke of Mecklenburg's expedition to Central Africa, estimated it to cover about 28,900 square kilometres.[2]

132 The climatic effects of equatorial latitude are mitigated by the elevation. In the Congo-Nile mountain chain the temperature may drop to freezing point, but the greater part of Ruanda enjoys a temperate climate. The average is about 20° C. (68° F.), and the maximal variations (which are greater between day and night than between the seasons) rarely exceed 10° C. (18° F.) above or under the average. In the eastern lower part the temperature is, of course, higher.

Similar distinctions must be made for rainfall in the high mountains of the west, the highlands of the middle country, and the Kagera lower region of the east. In the first region rainfall averages 1,250 mm. a year (50 inches), in the second it is between 1,250 and 1,000 mm. (50 and 40 inches) and in the third less than 1,000 mm. (40 inches).[3] These figures alone do not have very much bearing on soil fertility, as the significance of rainfall depends on other factors, such as volume and intensity of precipitations, declivity of ground, type of vegetation, and characteristics of the soil.

[2] Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114. [3] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 65.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is as much as a one-month range of variations in the dates of the rainy and dry seasons each year. The precipitations are very irregular. Sometimes for a few weeks there is heavy rainfall lasting ten or twelve hours followed by a few dry days, at other times there is a 2- or 3-hour shower every day. Besides this fundamental irregularity there is no uniformity throughout the country. Owing to the very uneven relief, neighbouring regions or even neighbouring groups of hills and valleys, may have quite dissimilar climates. 132

Although it is believed that the country was covered with forest in the remote past, now only three per cent. of the surface of Ruanda is woodland; even if savannah with trees is taken into account the figure is not brought up to more than 6·5 per cent.[4] At the beginning of the century the figures were almost certainly not higher, and very likely lower. Indeed, the policy of the Administration has been to attempt to protect by regulation the forests which were left and to promote the replanting of trees. The present-day typical Ruanda landscape, eucalyptus-covered hills and roads bordered by three or four lines of trees, is new. Fifty years ago the country had an even more denuded appearance than it has today. 311 [656]

The result of the scarcity of trees in a country of steep hills has been erosion. Torrential rainfall has washed off the more fertile top soil. The deterioration of the ground has been a long process which has not yet been reversed. The north-western part of Ruanda provides an exception to the general poverty. Here the soil is of volcanic origin, formed from recent lava, and rich. The land at the bottom of valleys everywhere is, of course, notably better than on the slopes. 134

A good top-soil is important not only for cultivation: allowing a slow infiltration of water, it helps to form subterranean watersheds situated not too deeply underground. A decrease in this top-soil has had the effect that some of these practically superficial water reserves which feed sources have drained away. I have been told more than once by old people that in such or such a place there was a water source when they were young. When digging a well now one has to go very deep. 133 134

These phenomena, erosion, impoverishment of soil, and drying up of sub-soil, are not to be attributed only to the action of the purely natural factors mentioned (the heavy rainfalls and the 134

[4] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 331.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 1

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The Virunga volcanoes

[Facing p. 22]

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

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XV and XVI. Burundi landscapes.

[Following p. 215, B]

241 In spite of all this, the Barundi do not grow more crops
433 than they need for their subsistence during the year. The soil
[134] is, for the most part, fertile red earth and, in the valley plains, dark gray alluvial soil or humus, except in the sterile and stony quartzite regions of the east. With or without artificial irrigation, this soil could produce much more if a larger area were cultivated. This is prevented mainly by the absence of trade. [56] Since there are neither markets nor organized trade in the large area of central Urundi -- only the Tanganyika region possesses both -- the Murundi could do nothing with what he produced beyond his own needs. Moreover, the Murundi does not anticipate bad harvests. Like nearly all Negroes, he never
731 worries about the future. Since not even the hardy manioc (which, even in the driest years when everything else withers, still furnishes a good yield) is grown in large quantities, extensive areas are plagued by famine in poor harvest years. This is especially true of the arid quartzite regions of eastern Urundi.
[797] Then the missionary stations (Mugera, Mujaga, and others) and the government try to help by importing grain (sorghum) from Uha and Usámbiro, but they still cannot prevent many people, particularly children, from starving to death.

Another important reason that prevents further expansion
241 of agriculture can be found in the way land is owned, in the
423 overruling power of the Batussi who claim, above all, grazing land for their herds of cattle. We shall discuss this problem later (p. 57).

Various efforts are made to protect the growing crops
241 against pests. Weeds are cleared away; caterpillars, beetles,
136 and snails are picked off; birds are frightened away by scarecrows which, for example, are made of gallows-shaped sorghum stalks tied one upon the other with dry, rattling fruit suspended from them. Large animals, however, like the wild boars and baboons in the mountains of western Urundi, are either kept out by fences or chased away by watchmen who walk around in the daytime and at night take up their positions in small huts perched on high posts. From there the guards from time to time set up a loud shouting or rattle with sticks. In the valleys of western

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423 are least fortunate or most enterprising get together to sell or exchange
[311] their plots and go to the edge of the forest to buy a piece of land or to develop the one they owned there.

From then on, the clan to which they belong includes an additional village.

As in Europe the sale and lease of fields and banana groves is made in the presence of witnesses. Land boundaries are marked with stones and other conventional signs.

A felled tree, a displaced stone, some ground which has been broken in a neighbor's field over the dividing line, such things cause frequent litigations that give rise to disunity within families and among tribes over long periods of time.

The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ remains attached
361 to his native village, to his plot of land. He does not feel the need to move elsewhere, to change his domicile, as do the Blacks settled east and west of Tanganyika.

Ruanda soil is richer by far and sustains numerous and varied
[134] crops.

In addition to the banana grove, which is the most important
245 part of his property, the Munyarwanda has begun to plant trees and to cultivate coffee, which brings in large profits to which he was not
[231] accustomed. Ownership of a small herd of cattle or sheep makes his home even dearer to him.

It may be said that his home life is more stable than in neigh-
593 boring areas, and that he leaves it only rarely (1).

[166]

1. The Blacks, too, are familiar with nostalgia and home sickness. The fear of a vendetta or the attraction of large salaries may temporarily induce the natives to expatriate themselves. Sooner or later, however, they return to the cradle of their ancestors. The Banyarwanda cite characteristic instances of this.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is as much as a one-month range of variations in the dates of the rainy and dry seasons each year. The precipitations are very irregular. Sometimes for a few weeks there is heavy rainfall lasting ten or twelve hours followed by a few dry days, at other times there is a 2- or 3-hour shower every day. Besides this fundamental irregularity there is no uniformity throughout the country. Owing to the very uneven relief, neighbouring regions or even neighbouring groups of hills and valleys, may have quite dissimilar climates. 132

Although it is believed that the country was covered with forest in the remote past, now only three per cent. of the surface of Ruanda is woodland; even if savannah with trees is taken into account the figure is not brought up to more than 6·5 per cent.[4] At the beginning of the century the figures were almost certainly not higher, and very likely lower. Indeed, the policy of the Administration has been to attempt to protect by regulation the forests which were left and to promote the replanting of trees. The present-day typical Ruanda landscape, eucalyptus-covered hills and roads bordered by three or four lines of trees, is new. Fifty years ago the country had an even more denuded appearance than it has today. 311 656

The result of the scarcity of trees in a country of steep hills has been erosion. Torrential rainfall has washed off the more fertile top soil. The deterioration of the ground has been a long process which has not yet been reversed. The north-western part of Ruanda provides an exception to the general poverty. Here the soil is of volcanic origin, formed from recent lava, and rich. The land at the bottom of valleys everywhere is, of course, notably better than on the slopes. 134

A good top-soil is important not only for cultivation: allowing a slow infiltration of water, it helps to form subterranean watersheds situated not too deeply underground. A decrease in this top-soil has had the effect that some of these practically superficial water reserves which feed sources have drained away. I have been told more than once by old people that in such or such a place there was a water source when they were young. When digging a well now one has to go very deep. 133 134

These phenomena, erosion, impoverishment of soil, and drying up of sub-soil, are not to be attributed only to the action of the purely natural factors mentioned (the heavy rainfalls and the 134

[4] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 331.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

orography of the country). They are due to the conjunction of these physical circumstances with the particular way in which the human occupation of the land has taken place.

2. HUMAN OCCUPATION

Several hypotheses have been advanced in attempts to reconstruct the history of the human occupations of Ruanda. We are not concerned with them here. Let us summarize only those features which are of significance for our purpose and which have a high degree of probability.

The present population of Ruanda is clearly composed of three groups: Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi. These groups are very unequal numerically. In the middle of 1956, according to a Government demographic survey, the Twa constituted 0·67 per cent. of the total Ruanda population, the Hutu 82·74 per cent., and the Tutsi 16·59 per cent.[8] Differences that are immediately noticeable between these groups concern their activities, their social statuses, and their physical types. The Twa are hunters, potters and ironworkers. Twa hunters are not numerous, as game is rare in most parts of Ruanda owing to the scarcity of forest. Some of them make a living as singers, dancers, and buffoons. The Hutu are agriculturists and the Tutsi pastoralists. The statuses of the three groups are hierarchically ranked. The Tutsi group constitutes an aristocracy, the Hutu are commoners, and the Twa are said, half jokingly, by most of the other Ruanda, to be more akin to monkeys than to human beings. A definite physical appearance is considered typical of each group. According to the socially accepted descriptions of the three stereotypes the typical Twa is short, pygmoid rather than pigmy, with a head low in the crown, face and nose flat, cheek-bones prominent, forehead bulging, eyes narrow and slightly oblique. Hutu characteristics are woolly hair, flat broad nose, thick lips often everted, and middle stature. Tutsi are very slender and tall. They often have a straight nose and a light brown skin colour. The objective measurements of Professor Jean Hiernaux do not entirely coincide with these stereotypes.[9]

[8] These figures have been kindly communicated by Mr. J. Revelard who was at that time in charge of the Ruanda-Urundi Demographic Surveys (Endemoru).

[9] Hiernaux, 1956b, pp. 34-53. Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 122-34. See the interesting photographs in Czekanowski, 1911, plates 1-61 and in Hiernaux, 1956b, plates VI-VII.

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

326 177 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe. [412] [411] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that 135 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained 316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19, 325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The 326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas. [439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

137 better resists the periodic grass fires and adds a peculiar feature to the scenery of the mountains (Plate 4b). The growth of grass and trees in the hot, dry plain of the Ruzizi lowland (Plate 3a) is, however, very much like a steppe.

As a result of the expansion of the population and the
● 136 destruction of the forest, free wildlife also has been considerably reduced. In the grassland there remain only very few antelope (Jimela, tuft antelope, gazelles), and of large birds only crowned cranes which because of their great numbers might be called the heraldic animal of Urundi and Ruanda, further bustards, herons, ibises, francolins, Nile geese, etc. In the forests on the riverbanks one still finds bushbucks (Tragelaphus), swamp antelopes, and duikers. In the water itself there are numerous hippopotamuses, crocodiles, and otters. In the remaining parts of forest on the highland periphery and in the tree steppe of the Ruzizi lowland, there still live quite a number of elephants, buffalo, baboons, etc. Everywhere leopards are quite frequent. Especially interesting is the mixture of East African and West African forms in this area which in terms of plant and animal geography is a border region. Just as num-
[137] erous plants, flora of the West African forest, have penetrated into this region and in part even as far as Lake Victoria, so also have many small and large representatives of West African fauna; I shall mention only the gray parrot, the giant touraco, the hornbill, and, of the mammals, the red buffalo, the chimpanzee, and the gorilla. Because of this mixture of East and West African forms, the plant and animal collections of this bio-geographical border zone which extends through western Urundi and western Ruanda are very interesting.

2. The Population

563 Even more interesting than the mixture of flora and fauna is the population mixture, both in Urundi and in Ruanda. There are three anthropologically and culturally distinct elements which are quite sharply separated but exist side by side or one above the

164 Since then the Lake Barundi have not changed much as
regards their physical and mental constitution, but the individ-
165 ual tribes were struck by a terrible epidemic of sleeping sick-
ness and were reduced to scarcely a third of their original num-
bers, so that in 1911 I found most of the formerly flourishing
settlements deserted and laid waste. Fortunately the stinging
[196] fly, Glossina palpalis, which carries the infection, has not
penetrated into cool, windy, upper Urundi, and it probably
never will since it does not find favorable conditions there.

4. Mental Traits

000 At this point little will be said about the mental traits
of the Barundi since they can be adequately inferred from the
detailed descriptions of their life and of their material and in-
tellectual culture which will follow. Therefore, I shall give
only a few data about the disposition, temperament, and
character of these three large population groups which differ
so considerably from each other.

Of the Batwa, the more primitive, freer Forest Batwa
151 are also much freer mentally than those who have settled
among the Bahutu and Batussi. Like all hunting tribes, they
are characterized by their extraordinarily sharp senses, the
superiority of which is very often experienced and still feared
by the Bahutu as they advance against the forest in search of
563 arable land. As long as he can still hunt and live, freely
roaming the forest, the Mutwa is very proud of his independence
and looks with contempt upon the Muhutu wretched and bent
low tilling his field, and also on the Village Mutwa living
outside the forests who has to earn his living painfully either
by working in the fields or as a potter or blacksmith. Toward
609 a European the Mutwa is in most cases, if not hostile, at any
rate shy and ostensibly indolent, for even in peaceful inter-
course he is afraid of the sorcery and formidable powers of the
Whites.

563 [13] The Village Batwa are in all circumstances shy and
157 cringing as a result of their social position as pariahs, of which

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

241 In spite of all this, the Barundi do not grow more crops
433 than they need for their subsistence during the year. The soil
[134] is, for the most part, fertile red earth and, in the valley plains, dark gray alluvial soil or humus, except in the sterile and stony quartzite regions of the east. With or without artificial irrigation, this soil could produce much more if a larger area were cultivated. This is prevented mainly by the absence of trade. [56] Since there are neither markets nor organized trade in the large area of central Urundi -- only the Tanganyika region possesses both -- the Murundi could do nothing with what he produced beyond his own needs. Moreover, the Murundi does not anticipate bad harvests. Like nearly all Negroes, he never worries about the future. Since not even the hardy manioc
731 (which, even in the driest years when everything else withers, still furnishes a good yield) is grown in large quantities, extensive areas are plagued by famine in poor harvest years. This is especially true of the arid quartzite regions of eastern Urundi.
[797] Then the missionary stations (Mugera, Mujaga, and others) and the government try to help by importing grain (sorghum) from Uha and Usámbiro, but they still cannot prevent many people, particularly children, from starving to death.

Another important reason that prevents further expansion
241 of agriculture can be found in the way land is owned, in the
423 overruling power of the Batussi who claim, above all, grazing land for their herds of cattle. We shall discuss this problem later (p. 57).

Various efforts are made to protect the growing crops
241 against pests. Weeds are cleared away; caterpillars, beetles,
● 136 and snails are picked off; birds are frightened away by scarecrows which, for example, are made of gallows-shaped sorghum stalks tied one upon the other with dry, rattling fruit suspended from them. Large animals, however, like the wild boars and baboons in the mountains of western Urundi, are either kept out by fences or chased away by watchmen who walk around in the daytime and at night take up their positions in small huts perched on high posts. From there the guards from time to time set up a loud shouting or rattle with sticks. In the valleys of western

241 Urundi and Ruanda where water is abundant, crowned cranes,
136 spore geese, and Nile geese are the worst enemies of the crops since they eat the young budding sprouts of beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, millet, etc. The Bahutu try to frighten them away by rattles and shouting. Ibises, herons, and golden plovers also abound in the swamp valleys, but they do not attack the green crops and prefer to fish for frogs, worms, and snails in the drainage ditches. In the dry quartzite regions of eastern Urundi there are only a few such swamp valleys, and consequently there are only a few of the noxious birds mentioned above.

251 Harvested produce is partly kept in baskets and sacks in the huts, but most of it is put in the basket-shaped storage huts mentioned above (p.22) which are located near the living huts. Particularly beans, sorghum, and corn are stored in these basket-like huts. However, during the dry period ears of corn are suspended in large bundles from the fig trees surrounding the homestead. The tuberous fruit, namely, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and arrowroot, are usually not piled up but are left in the ground until they are needed. This is another reason why the quantity grown is never large, since it would spoil otherwise.

423 I mentioned before that further expansion of agriculture in Urundi is blocked by the peculiar conditions of ownership. The situation here is quite similar to that in Ruanda. None of the agricultural Bahutu owns the land that he cultivates. All the land is the property of the king who vests his high batwale with it, who in turn vest the lower Batussi batwale (see p. 134). The mutwale distributes the individual lots of land to the Bahutu he rules, who hold it in fee. [57] The Bahutu must ask his per-
423 mission whenever they intend to work a plot of land, build a hut,
651 or clear new ground for fields. They pay him a tribute of natural products which is done only once. In addition, they pay him an
[427] annual "tithe" as a ground rent. If the annual rent is not paid at harvest time, the mutwale may punish this tardiness by evicting the person from the land. The mutwale may also demand extraordinary tributes from the Bahutu without compensating them, for example, presents for the head chief, provisions for the caravan of a European passing through, etc. The gifts or payments made

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the [136] dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

484 The provisions for such trips lasting several days are generally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

481 The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

439 In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited 438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

443 In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

164 ikinutsi, amosi, ikivimba) are also very widespread but less dangerous. They can presumably be identified with frambesia and are contracted especially by children. The afflicted persons suffer less from pain than from being immobilized. Since they do not keep the sores clean, the healing process is very slow. These skin sores should not be confused with those caused by syphilis (ikikatschji) which is fortunately still very rare in Urundi and in Ruanda. Sores caused by the sand flea (infunsa) are also rather rare in Urundi, except in the area around Lake Tanganyika which has been very much affected by trade. This affliction is far more common in Ruanda. Still more seldom have I seen persons suffering from leprosy (umuwembe) in Urundi, only two cases near Lake Tanganyika and a few cases near the Mugera missionary station where a small isolation hut has been built for lepers. During my entire trip through Urundi I observed elephantiasis only two or three times, and it is equally rare in Ruanda. [143] According to van der Burgt, phthisis can be found in a few districts, but I doubt whether the disease which he calls ikihaha is identical with our European tuberculosis. The bubonic plague, which is endemic in the area around Lake Victoria, in Uganda, Kavirondo, the Mwanza district, and Kisiba, does not seem to occur in Urundi at all, but it is reported that it occurs quite frequently in Ruanda and is known as masseke sickness.

Many Barundi suffer from intestinal worms, and children in particular often die of them. Acute diarrhea is also frequent, and the dangerous dysentery sometimes develops into an epidemic, for example, in 1908. According to the reports given by the missionaries, gonorrhea and fluor albus have been imported here from the East, but they are not very widespread. Eye diseases are rare, except that small children are afflicted by them, and their eyes are often covered by large numbers of the infectious flies.

As in Ruanda, malaria (injonko, indurwe) occurs everywhere in the warm, swampy lowlands which abound in these countries. I have caught the anopheles mosquito in the swampy mountain valleys of southern Ruanda and northwestern Urundi at

164 136

164 altitudes as high as 1,600 to 1,700 meters, once even at
[136] 2,140 meters east of Usumbura. There I saw natives suffering from malaria, and I treated them with quinine. Some of the members of my caravan were also infected. However, it appears that blackwater fever occurs not at all or only very rarely. The highland Barundi are particularly afraid of being infected with malaria in the lowlands of the Akanjaru and the Ruvuvu in the north, in the swampy lakes in the northeast, and in the low, warm coastal area of Lake Tanganyika with the adjoining valley of the Ruzizi River, but the relatively few Barundi who live there permanently appear to be immune for the most part.

The highland Barundi are extremely sensitive to changes
164 in climate when traveling or when changing their residence.
147 In former times when the neighboring areas, for example, Ussumbwa, were still importing female slaves from Urundi, they calculated that eight out of ten slaves would perish because they could not live in the climate (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 178). The missionaries in Mariahilf in Uschirombo report that in their missionary orphanage they always have quite a number of children from Urundi and Ruanda who are unable to get used to the climate of Uschirombo (which is not particularly bad) and who are almost always sick. The women who go there from Urundi and Ruanda have the same difficulty. Quite a few of them die or lose so much weight that they look like skeletons. Many of them recover after about a year, but they remain weak (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 288). I would like to add that, ac-
[146] cording to my own observations, it is not merely the change of climate which is responsible for these cases of sickness but also the change in food, for example, lack of milk and poor water. In any case, it has been confirmed by experience that in the whole of East Africa the inhabitants of the cool mountainous areas and the highlands, such as Ruanda, Urundi, Uhehe, Usambara, etc., cannot live for any length of time in the lower, warmer regions, as, for example, in Unjamwesi, Ugogo, Useguha, and the coastal areas. This should be a serious warning to us not to import great numbers of people for work in the plantations of the lowlands, or, as the slogan goes, to open the gates of

164 these large "human reservoirs" of the highlands in order to
147 supply the plantations suffering from a chronic lack of labor. An attempt to do so would lead to results which would differ little from mass murder.

[144] The spread of sleeping sickness from the eastern
164 Congo to the western, lower regions of Urundi has had terrible
●136 results. The carrier of the sleeping sickness, the stinging fly
731 Glossina palpalis, has infected the Ruzizi valley up to the vicinity of Lake Kivu, which is still safe, and the entire basin of Lake Tanganyika almost to the border formed by the surrounding mountains, and it also has spread to the stream and river valleys facing the lake as far as the eastern highland, for example, the valley of the Malagarasi. According to official reports on the development of our protectorate in 1912-13, the situation on Lake Tanganyika is such that, as a result of the considerable expansion of the infected area, the inaccessibility of the population, and also the difficulty of controlling the traffic with the infected areas of the Congo colony, the fight against sleeping sickness will continue for a long time to come. According to official sources, 3,303 new cases were observed in 1913, as compared with 3,560 cases in 1912. In the area of Lake Tanganyika there are probably a total of 200,000 persons suffering from sleeping sickness.

164 In 1911 I traveled through the infected areas of the lower
731 Ruzizi valley and in northeastern Tanganyika. I was horrified by the devastation that the disease had caused among the population which formerly had been so dense and had been so cheerful. Entire villages have ceased to exist, and the population of extensive areas have moved away or have been relocated by the government. The sick who have been collected in well-guarded camps by the government are slowly dying, and none of the remedies applied (Atoxyl, Salvarsan, and others) seem to have any beneficial effect. All economic activity has ceased, traffic and commerce have stopped, and the European firms which were active there have either gone bankrupt or moved away except for a few. After the railroad has been built to Lake Tanganyika, it will be possible to combat the spreading of the sleeping sickness

164 in the Tanganyika region with much better means and prospects
791 for success, but it will take decades before the damage is repaired to any extent.

Fortunately the disease has not yet spread to the large
164 area of Urundi proper east of Lake Tanganyika, and it probably
● 136 will not spread there in the future since the highlands of Urundi, Ruanda, and Uha are too cool for the Glossina palpalis to thrive and also because the conditions necessary for the existence of the fly, flowing water and shady bushes near the water, exist only in certain places of the highlands which are predominantly covered with grass. On the other hand, it seems to me that the great danger still approaching is that after the completion of the Tanganyika railroad the disease may also spread to the central areas of East Africa. Disease-carrying specimens of the Glossina palpalis, which at present is unable to fly across the dry steppes east of Lake Tanganyika, might be disseminated passively by being carried in railroad trains, as has happened in other countries with so many other epidemic or endemic diseases that were spread by means of railroads and ships. Then, if these infected flies find favorable conditions of existence at the eastern end of the railroad line, new nidi for sleeping sickness will be created. The situation may become even more dangerous if Glossina morsitans, the tsetse fly which is very common in the eastern regions, contracts the infection from Glossina palpalis and carries it farther. It has already been definitely proved in the southern part of our colony that Glossina morsitans may become a carrier of true sleeping sickness. If now, by [145] means of the railroad, the immensely large area where Glossina morsitans is common were infected from the direction of Lake Tanganyika, the consequences for the population of German East Africa would be incalculable. It is advisable to face up in time to this danger which is threatening us from western Urundi and the region of Lake Tanganyika. Otherwise reality might prove too much of a shock for us someday.

133 These two torrents have their source in the southwestern part of Ruanda. Their headwaters flow impetuously on a bed littered with rocks and pebbles.

Among the many subsidiaries of the Nyabarongo, let us mention in alphabetic order: the Base, Mukungwa (which comes out of Lake Ruhondo), Nyabugogo, which serves as an outlet for Lake Mohazi, etc.

The Akanyaru, whose basin is less extensive, also originates in the southwest and combines its waters with those of the Nyabarongo at the level of theBugessera. /28/

After they join, these two rivers change their name to Kagera (1). Under this new name they enter the Victoria into which they

[103]

1. Kagera. This word comes from the verb kugera, "to deepen."

The Kagera slowly wanders through the plain, and its lazy waters overflow into large ponds and marshes infested with crocodiles and mosquitoes.

[136]

pour their yellow waters loaded with silt.

Lake Kivu receives only a small part of the waters of Ruanda. Its outlet is the Ruzizi River, which flows into /Lake/ Tanganyika after a tumultuous course of about 120 kilometers.

131 Ruanda, whose surface may be estimated at 30, 000 to 35, 000
161 square kilometers boasts a population that is believed to reach two million souls.

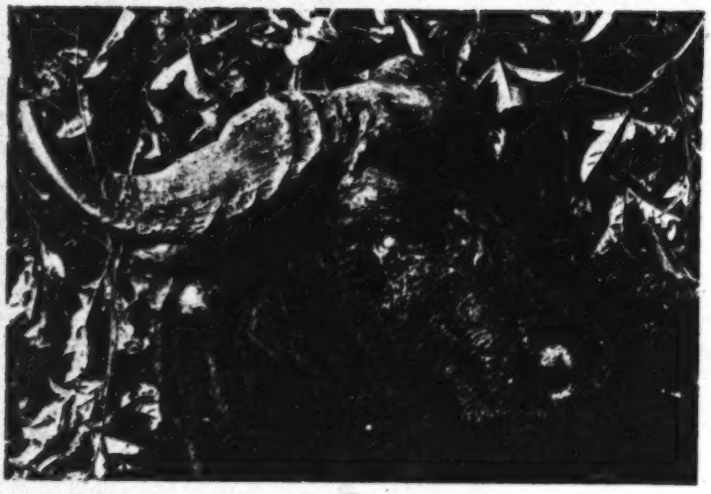
It is made up of three quite distinct ethnic groups: the Batutsi,
563 or Hamites, the Bahutu of the Bantu group, and the Batwa, or Negrillos (Pygmies).

The Batutsi, who are thought to be of Egyptian or Abyssinian
141 origin, (2) are tall in stature. Some measure as much as 2 or even

000

2. From an ethnological point of view the physical appearance of the Ethiopian people is an exception in

Buffalo.



136
[231]

Horned chameleons. They are found in the region of the Bugoyi.

On the plain of the Mulèra in the middle of a field of sorghum. After an elephant hunt.

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224
516

Longhorn cows.

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9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

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2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organisation in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

133 everywhere only sluggish waters run in the relatively recent valleys. To all appearances a general damming up of waters has taken place due to recent block movements which have caused an enormous growth of swamps in the valleys in Urundi, especially in the north and northeast, and in the entire interlacustrine region. Its main cause is insufficient drainage in the network of streams of the Kagera River on the one hand and in that of the Malagarasi on the other, since their level of erosion has apparently been raised by more recent block movements in both areas.

The two big rivers mentioned above divide Urundi into two hydrographic systems: the larger northern system drains into the Kagera, Lake Victoria, the Nile, and, therefore, into the Mediterranean; the smaller southern one into the Malagarasi, Lake Tanganyika, the Congo River, and, therefore, into the Atlantic Ocean.

132 Since Urundi is between 2 1/2 and 4 1/2 degrees south latitude, it has, like Ruanda, an equatorial climate with two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The rains occur soon after the sun has reached its zenith in April and October. The amount of precipitation, approximately 1,250 millimeters in the north and less than 1,000 millimeters in the south, is not great for a tropical region, yet it is still plentiful and evenly distributed. The average annual temperature fluctuates about 20 degrees Centigrade. It is higher in the east, and in the mountains of the west the thermometer almost approaches zero in July. Day after day a vigorous east wind blows across the highlands. In the mornings there are often dense mists in the valleys.

The warm temperature, the amount of precipitation, and 137 the distribution of rain would lead one to expect extended forest growth in Urundi, but this is not the case. Urundi is quite predominantly grassland (Plate 1a), pasture land at high altitude, like Ruanda. This is because the natives cut down the forest [311] to make fields and pastures. Toward the east in the direction of Uha where the country is lower, the grassland gradually turns into a tree and tussock grass steppe (Plate 3b). The grass grows higher and wilder in Urundi than in Ruanda since the grassy plains

•137 are not burned down so regularly, and Urundi is not as completely treeless as Ruanda because next to each kraal a few fig trees are maintained for the use of their bark. Also, [5] the larger rivers, such as the Ruvuvu or the Malagarasi, are bordered for some stretches with a rather dense forest on the banks (Plate 5). The great majority of the valleys, however, is swampy and filled with dense papyrus thickets which can be penetrated only in a few places (Plate 2a). While in our part of the world valleys are the natural arteries of traffic and the most suitable places for settlement, they can never serve this purpose in most of Urundi. The swamp covered valleys and [361] their often very steep slopes force the population and their roads and settlements to the upland plateaus and upper slopes. For this reason all farmsteads are on mountain ridges and the higher slopes of the valleys. In the valleys the only fields are of crops [241] that, like sweet potatoes, need considerable moisture. This character of the valleys will make it extremely difficult to open up the country by means of roads or even railroads. The papyrus swamps are, next to the grassy hills across which one can see for miles, the most characteristic feature in the landscape of Urundi, as well as of Uha and Ruanda, that is, of most of the interlacustrine region.

Richard Kandt, the poet among the travelers to East Africa, devotes the following impressionistic description to them.

"From the time we entered the region of Urundi and also during the last days in Uha, papyrus swamps formed the characteristic feature of the landscape. Often streams hardly more than two meters wide lie in a valley of papyrus several hundred meters wide. It fills not only the main valleys but extends also into all tributary valleys and even climbs up the ravines and gorges so that, seen from a height, the country looks like a gigantic network of green ribbons in whose meshes the mountains lie like islands. I have seen many a strange and beautiful landscape in Africa. I have experienced the indescribable melancholy hovering over burned, trembling-hot steppes when the rays of the sinking sun, in a bloody red, break through the glittering haze. In the territory of the Congo State I have tasted

137 to the full the splendors and terrors of the jungle. I have taken delight in the serene gracefulness of the central African lakes, and I have admired the grandiose miracle world of the volcanos. I know the harsh grandeur of the rivers which flow silently through the shadow of the forest galleries and the tragic mood inspired by the lava wilderness deserted by all good spirits. Yet I must say that scarcely any of these scenic moods has impressed itself on my mind more deeply than the picture of such a papyrus landscape. It is constantly changing, not only with the season but almost with every hour of day, depending on the angle of the rays of the sun; it is different in clear and in overcast weather, in the morning and in the evening. For hours I used to gaze down on it from the height of a mountain and never tired of observing the violet shadows of the wandering clouds moving across the green plains or the wind playing with them in such a way that only a mild disturbance would arise among them, as in a tightly crowded herd, but then it would swell up to a storm and plow long deep furrows between them which would repeatedly close up and open and close up again." (No. 22, page 246.)

Only on the highest mountain ridges of the west (Plate 4a) are there any virgin forests with tall trees in Urundi, but even here there are only relatively small remnants, as in Ruanda and in a few corners of Lake Victoria. Everywhere they have been pushed back and destroyed by the expanding population. Most probably the entire interlacustrine region was still covered by virgin forest only a few centuries ago, since the altitude as well as the temperature and rainfall in the interlacustrine region favor the growth of forests, but the rapid increase in population of the agricultural Bantu demanded more space, and the forest had to give way. The devastation of forests became even greater when the cattle-raising Batussi [Tussi] invaded the interlacustrine region and claimed larger and larger areas as pasture for their herds of cattle. Replacing the burnt forest, bamboo (Arundinaria alpina) has grown in many places in the upland valleys [6]; it

137 better resists the periodic grass fires and adds a peculiar feature to the scenery of the mountains (Plate 4b). The growth of grass and trees in the hot, dry plain of the Ruzizi lowland (Plate 3a) is, however, very much like a steppe.

As a result of the expansion of the population and the 136 destruction of the forest, free wildlife also has been considerably reduced. In the grassland there remain only very few antelope (Jimela, tuft antelope, gazelles), and of large birds only crowned cranes which because of their great numbers might be called the heraldic animal of Urundi and Ruanda, further bustards, herons, ibises, francolins, Nile geese, etc. In the forests on the riverbanks one still finds bushbucks (Tragelaphus), swamp antelopes, and duikers. In the water itself there are numerous hippopotamuses, crocodiles, and otters. In the remaining parts of forest on the highland periphery and in the tree steppe of the Ruzizi lowland, there still live quite a number of elephants, buffalo, baboons, etc. Everywhere leopards are quite frequent. Especially interesting is the mixture of East African and West African forms in this area which in terms of plant and animal geography is a border region. Just as num- [137] erous plants, flora of the West African forest, have penetrated into this region and in part even as far as Lake Victoria, so also have many small and large representatives of West African fauna; I shall mention only the gray parrot, the giant touraco, the hornbill, and, of the mammals, the red buffalo, the chimpanzee, and the gorilla. Because of this mixture of East and West African forms, the plant and animal collections of this bio-geographical border zone which extends through western Urundi and western Ruanda are very interesting.

2. The Population

~~83~~ Even more interesting than the mixture of flora and fauna is the population mixture, both in Urundi and in Ruanda. There are three anthropologically and culturally distinct elements which are quite sharply separated but exist side by side or one above the

233 troughs of clay are constructed near the water holds into which
[312] the drinking water is scooped. As in our Alps, the hill slopes bear the imprint of the hooves of the cattle in the form of innumerable little steps and paths since the grazing cattle will usually move along the slope in a horizontal direction which is more comfortable for grazing.

In the months after the rains the cattle can gorge themselves on green grass and they then look quite attractive, but during the dry months when all the grass is parched to a gray-brown color, the cattle become so lean that one can count all their ribs. In Urundi during the months of September and October I have seen, almost without exception, cattle which were very emaciated. Only the herds of the chiefs preserve their healthy appearance in the dry period since the best grazing land is reserved for them. The general impression is that both
[137] in Urundi and Ruanda, which are both almost exclusively grasslands, good nourishing pastures are not very extensive. It is possible to wander for days over chains of hills and plains in the sterile, thinly populated quartzite areas of the east where the growth of grass is so poor that it is not worthwhile for the natives to burn it. Since the hill ridges and the valleys in the
[311] populated areas of central and western Urundi are covered with homesteads and fields, insofar as the valleys are not filled with papyrus swamps, in general only the hill slopes for pastures. However, since every year the dry expanse of grass on them is burned off in order to obtain a new growth of green grass as soon as possible and to destroy the vermin noxious to cattle, the quality, the food value, of the grass [43] cannot improve. Also, if the herds multiply greatly, as in the northwestern areas of Urundi and in most of Ruanda, the pastures are soon over-
[246] stocked. The Batussi and Bahutu do not grow any fodder with a high food value which could compensate for the lack of good grazing land. As a result most cattle suffer from malnutrition, and if then a contagious disease is brought into the country or if it is caused in the area itself through infectious vermin, etc., the animals with low resistance succumb to it in great numbers. The available grazing land is then sufficient for the

Plate 2

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Valley Filled with Papyrus Swamp in Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Quartzite Ridge East of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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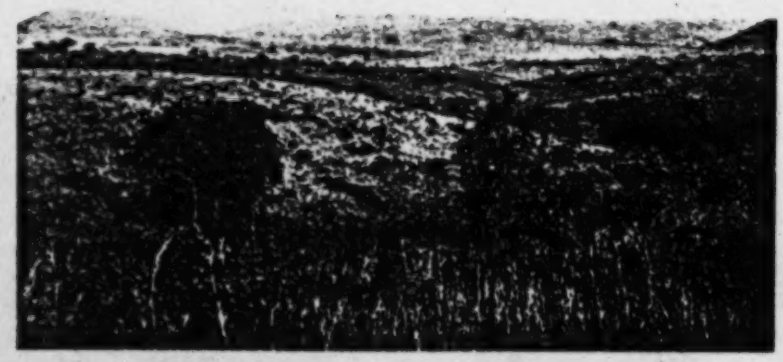
Grass Steppe in the Lower Ruzizi Valley, District of Bulinga
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Tree and Grass Steppe on the Kajongo River, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 4

●137

Primeval Forest in the Peripheral Mountains of Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by R. Grauer)

Bamboo Forest in the Peripheral Mountains East of Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--253 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 19

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Barundi Village near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi Homestead East of the Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 20

361
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Village with Euphorbia Fence in the Hyphaene Steppe
of the Lower Ruzizi River
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Euphorbia Hedges to Protect the Fields, near Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--255 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 21

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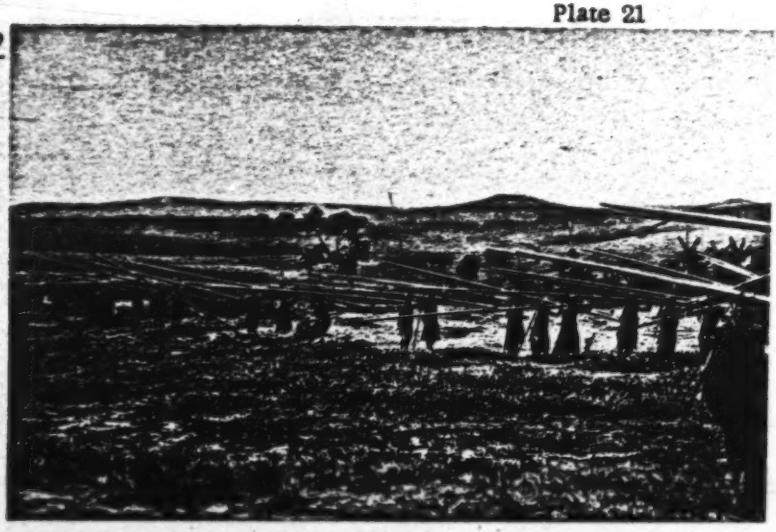

Barundi Carrying Bamboo Poles for House Construction, near Gitega, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

137

Homestead with Fig Trees for Barkcloth, East of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 23

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•137

Cattle Near Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Cattle with Bitterns in the Ruzizi Valley, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Sacred Grove (Imana) in Central Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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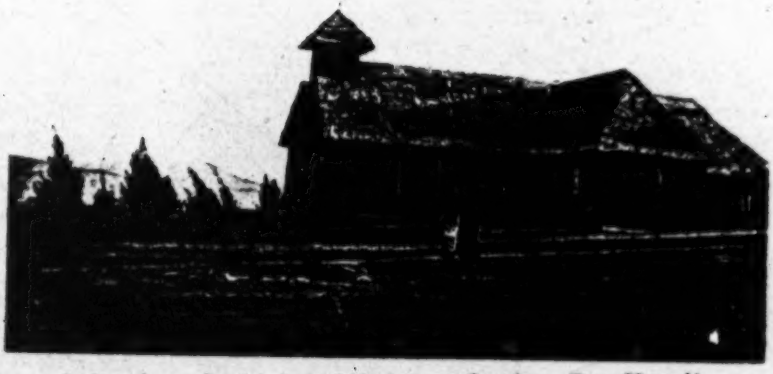

Church at the Mujaga Missionary Station, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--292 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rumdi FO42

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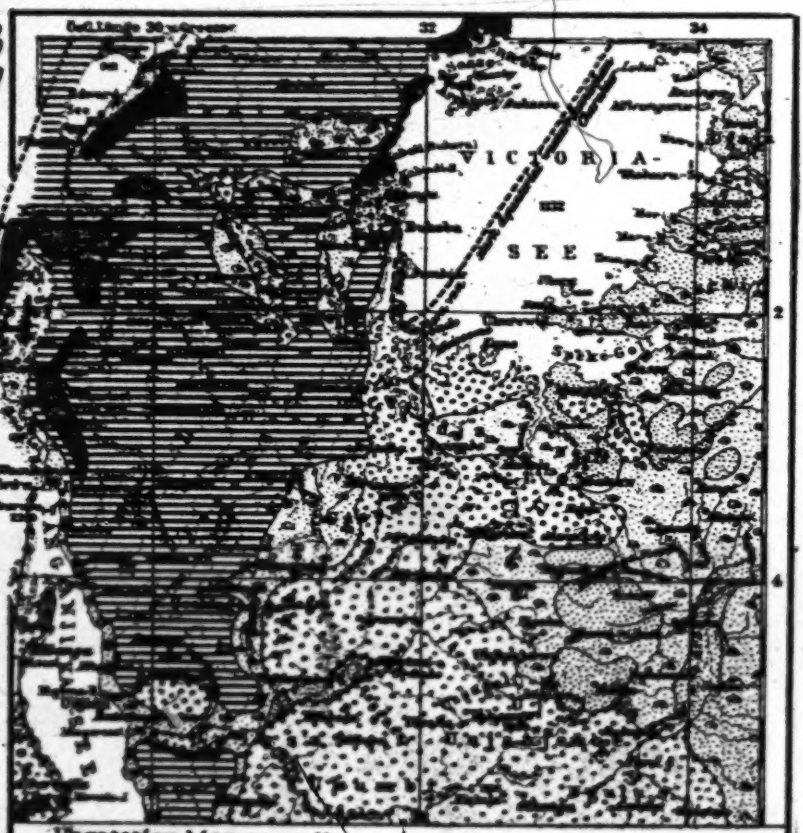

Vegetation Map according to A. Engler with added changes by H. Meyer

-1 -2 -3 -4 -5 -6 -7 -8

1. Salt steppe.
2. Alluvial plain with West African forms.
3. Alluvial plain, region with little rain, frequently parklike.
4. Tropical rain forest of plains and mountains.
5. Forest and high altitudes, or forest where fog is common.
6. Dry brushland, also mountain brush, partly non-deciduous forms, in some places with trees, and frequently turning into bush and bush and tree steppe.

[End map, lower left, in color] (continued)

133
●137

7. Dry forest (steppe forest, Miombo forest) or tree steppe with sparse grass; a few types of trees predominate, the individual types often in clusters.

8. Grazing plateau and mountain steppe; besides mountain bushes, rock and loose rock vegetation of the highest regions.

648 The kings of Ruanda also headed numerous expeditions into the Congo with no definite results other than pillage.

133 As a whole, Ruanda is a high, rolling plateau. It was deforested [137] to get rid of wild beasts and to supply pastures and fields for cultivation.

The northwest is a broken, picturesque, wooded region. There stands the chain of volcanoes, practically all of which are extinct today. /24/

The highest peaks are the Karisimbi (1), which is 4, 506 meters

[103 301]

1. Karisimbi, from the word amassimbi, a kind of white shell which the Batutsi of Urundi and Ruanda wear at the neck as an ornament. Because of its color it served to designate the snow that covers the summits, and by extension the highest mountain.

high; the Mikeno (2), or Mukuru mubi (3), which is 4, 380 meters high;

[103]

2. Mikeno, from the verb gukena, "to be bare."

[103]

3. Mukuru mubi, "a peak of difficult access."

the Muhabura (4), which is 4, 127 meters high; the Sabyinyo (5), which

[103 487]

4. Muhabura, from the verb guhabura, "to set on the right path," because this mountain serves as a landmark for travelers.

[103]

5. Sabyinyo, "big-toothed father," owing to its volcanic ridges.

134 cultivation of the famous plante médicée /Tr.: "Medici plant"/
241 (tobacco), the sale of which provides a living for a number of families. /26/

The vast Rwrere plain covers nearly half of the Bugoyi province.
133 Not a spring or brook is to be found there. The rain water immediately
312 drains beneath the lava, which is covered by a mere 50 or 60 centimeters of arable soil. The inhabitants are compelled to cover distances varying between 10 and 20 kilometers, round trip to draw water from the brooks of the Sebeya or the Mutura. During the rainy season, they carefully save the water that collects in the crags of rocks or in small moats dug by each person around his dwelling. The owners of banana groves use the water held by the thicker husks of the banana trees. These are split lengthwise with a knife, and produce water lightly mixed with potash. The natives get used to drinking this liquid without any repugnance.

The Bagoyi who live in the mountainous area are better off than the plains people as far as water is concerned.

The northern area, called Bigogo, consists entirely of pastures.
133 It is inhabited by the herding Batutsi, who own numerous herds of cattle, the wealth of the country.

These same lands of volcanic origin, gave birth to a beautiful
[137] forest where bamboo grows along with some rare species of trees. It spreads east of Kivu in a north-south direction.

[311] The natives, ever in search of fertile fields and charcoal, have made terrible inroads into it. This is why large gaps are to be found in it.

The central and eastern provinces, the Nduga, Bwana-Mkali, Gissaka, Buganza, etc., are made up of long rolling hills, nearly always separated by small valleys which are often transformed into
[311] marshes and which are very useful for summer planting.

The Buliza, Bussigi, and Luhanga are long plateaus where numerous herds of goats, sheep, and cows graze. These areas lie at an altitude of about 2,200 meters. /27/

Ruanda also has lakes, the most important of which is Kivu, which is 120 kilometers long and from 40 to 50 kilometers wide.

5: Pages--278 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Acacia Spirocarpa.

137

Native encampment outdoors at the foot of a large ficus.

5: Pages--292 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Blacksmiths at work outdoors. The iron ore is piled up over the hearth. The founders stir up the fire with primitive bellows.

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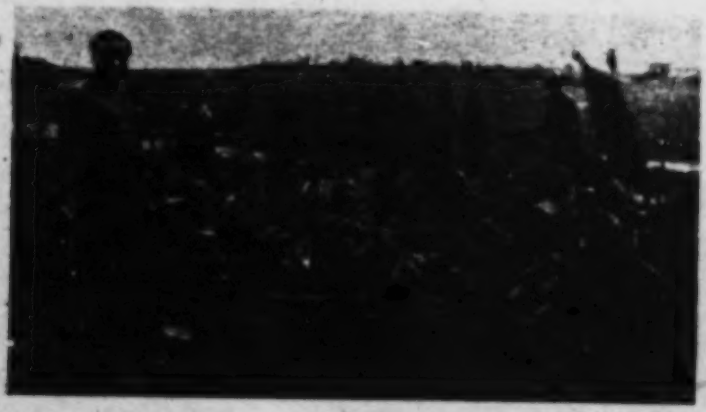
516



Blacksmiths around their blast furnace.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE I

133
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The Virunga volcanoes

[Facing p. 22]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

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Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

3. Physical Characteristics

114 I have not undertaken anthropological measurements of the Barundi since I was completely occupied by my geographical and ethnographical tasks. My medical companion, Dr. R. Houy (unfortunately murdered in the Cameroons in 1913), whose own field was anthropology but who was at the same time very interested in zoology, found such a rich field in collecting and observing the peculiar fauna of this country that he, too, abstained from the time-consuming anthropological measurements. Thus I had to limit myself to the occasional use of the tape measure and the color scale, and for the rest I can only report general somatic observations.

[8] The most impressive of the Barundi people are naturally 144 the ruling tall Batussi (Plates 11, 12, 14). Aside from their heads which in most cases are smoothly shaven, they physically very much resemble their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. At first glance their Hamitic origin is apparent. On my earlier travels I had often been among the Somali and Galla, and when I was among the Batussi of Urundi and Ruanda it seemed that I had been transported again into the midst of the former, especially the Galla. ●141 In one trait, however, the Batussi have an advantage over the Hamites of northern East Africa: they are, on the average, much taller. The most convenient yardstick I carry with me is provided by my own height, and against this I could easily make approximate measurements of the many hundreds of Batussi whom I met. I did not find any adult smaller than 1.77 meters (measured by a tape), few below 1.80 meters, the majority between 1.80 and 1.90 meters, many (about 10 per cent) between 1.90 and 1.95 meters, some few between 1.95 and 2 meters, and a very small number over 2 meters up to an upper limit of 2.08 meters (measured by tape). In spite of their extraordinary 142 height, their body parts are exactly proportioned in relation to each other; not merely are their legs and arms very long but also their torsos which are often so narrow and extended that one can hardly imagine how the internal organs are distributed inside. The impression of abnormal height is further increased by the

142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the [411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this. [301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aris- [554] tocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since [302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base [141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

142 the other type has a [9] straight or pug nose, a broader nose tip, and a larger, thicker mouth u(Plate 17b). Both types are conspicuously the oval form of the face; the small but pronounced chin, and the complete absence of Negroid prognathism. Yet, frequently, the noble impression of the face is reduced by the fact that the upper front teeth jut out (buck teeth). For this reason the mouth of these individuals mostly remains half open, and one can see the upper four incisors. These crooked teeth, it seems to me, are especially of frequent occurrence among the members of the most distinguished families, both here and in Ruanda; these people are also tallest. Perhaps these two features are special characteristics and result from the long inbreeding of these families, for they marry only among themselves and are severely restricted in their choice (p. 100-106), while the common Batussi are allowed a wider choice in selecting a mate, and the lowest, poorest class enters into marriages, although not entirely legitimate ones, with the Bahutu as well.

If the hair of the head is left unshaven, it is seen to be curly and woolly like that of the Batussi in Ruanda. One also sees at the temples and above the forehead that it does not grow even but in tufts; this is the most Negroid physical feature of the Batussi who, apart from this, do not look like Negroes at all.

The second large population group among the Barundi, the Bahutu, who are ruled by the Batussi nobility, have the well-known Bantu physical type, just like all the inhabitants of the interlacustrine area, that is, Ruanda, Mpororô, Ankole, Karagwe, Kisiba, etc. (Plate 6, 8, 9, 10). The differences between them and the Batussi are immediately visible in their short figures, [141] varying between 1.62 and 1.70 meters, and especially in their shorter legs, their thick-set muscular physique which admittedly often looks frail from undernourishment, and in their genuinely prognathous Negroid skull. Somatically they differ very little from the central Bantu of Unjamwesi and Usukuma, although in some respects they resemble the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region who formerly probably extended farther toward the east (see p. 152 [not translated]). Their eastern branches

142 in Urundi might be compared to the Bakiga [Chiga] in Ruanda.
144 The latter are a tough, strongly built, mountain people who have cleared the forests and differ from the remaining Bantu in the same manner as the Forest Bantu who live in the western mountains of Urundi differ from the other Bantu of Urundi (cf. also No. 47a, p. 272).

Very often, however, among the Bantu of the inter-lacustrine region are to be seen finer, narrower faces with noses and mouths less broad and with jaws less strongly pronounced than among the others. This is probably caused by the centuries-old admixture of Bahima [Hima] blood, for the Hamitic rulers of the Bantu do in fact often associate with Bantu women but never, or only very exceptionally, do Bantu men associate with Bahima women (p. 101). These individuals among the Bahutu with an admixture of Batussi blood are for the most part taller
[141] than the ordinary Muhutu. All Bahutu are rather dolichocephalic. The hair is curly and tufted, but not of the "peppercorn" type.

The difference between these two racial elements is also
142 apparent in their skin color. The large majority of the Bahutu has the color of dark café-au-lait with violet reflections, approximately Number 28 and 29 of Luschan's color scale. For many persons, however, the color of the skin resembles the reddish tinge of the South American highland Indians whom I know well from former travels [10], which may be ascribed to the admixture of Batussi blood in some of them, but among the others to the customary rubdown with red earth and butter. They then come close to Number 32 of the scale, but only as far as color value is concerned, not in the intensity of the shade. The Batussi, on the other hand, are in most cases light chocolate brown, between Number 26 and 28 of the scale or copper brown like many Indian tribes. Many show lighter gradations depending on the effects of the sun, but always with a predominantly reddish tone, never a yellow-brown or a black one. Batussi women (Plate 15, 17a) are supposed to be in all cases lighter than the men -- I have only seen very few -- because they stay within the homesteads most of the time whereas the Bahutu women, who while working in the fields expose themselves to

142 the sun as much as the men, are the same color as the men (Plate 14b, 16b). Small children are always considerably lighter in skin color.

142 144 The third population group, the Batwa (Plate 7), also have almost the same somatic character in Urundi as their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. The latter are somewhat better known to us through the work of J. Czekanowski. In Ruanda, especially in the forest areas of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes, they have preserved much of their original Pygmy character, for they are still able to lead a withdrawn life of hunting in the forests. Even in Ruanda, however, the majority of them already live as agriculturalists and craftsmen (potters, blacksmiths) dispersed in small communities among the Bahutu and have already received from them a strong admixture of Bantu blood, partly from the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region and partly from the central Bantu of the interlacustrine region. This has also happened to the majority of the Batwa of Urundi since, after the expansion of the Bantu and the disappearance of the forests, they too have been forced to settle among the Bahutu and into agriculture (see p. 152 [not translated]). However, we still meet many among them in whom we can recognize, either at first glance or on closer inspection, the pygmoid characteristics familiar to us from the more northern, racially pure Pygmies of the primeval forest (Wambutti [Bambuti]) of the Ruwenzori and of the upper Ituri.

141 Primarily their stature and the form of their limbs are striking in the case of the Mutwa, but whereas the racially pure Batwa of the Ituri are only between 1.30 and 1.40 meters tall, only among the hunting Batwa of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes are there individuals between 1.40 and 1.55 meters tall. On the other hand, among those engaged in agriculture among the Bahutu, there are few less than 1.60 meters tall, and many are taller. Without exception the women are shorter than the men. Czekanowski lists an average size of 1.53 meters for the Batwa men of Muhawura and for the women of Muhawura, 1.40 meters; for the Batwa men of the agricultural tribes, however, 1,61 meters, and for the women, 1.54 meters.

[141] The latter measurements are in general applicable to the Batwa of Urundi also. All of them have relatively short trunk and
142 limbs. The legs, however, are short in relation to the upper part of the body, but all limbs are well-proportioned and very muscular. The hands and especially the feet are relatively broad and clumsy; the fingers and toes are very short in relation to the back of the hand and the foot. The heel juts out so far in the back that, seen from the side, the lower leg appears to be placed more toward the middle of the foot.

[141] Upon a short neck is set a head which in most cases is fairly round and decidedly brachycephalic, with a short face and broad cheek bones. However, dolichocephalic individuals are not exactly rare. The frontal bone and the arch of the brows usually extend noticeably beyond the face. [11] The nose almost always is indented at the root which causes the forehead to jut out even more; the nose is flat and broad and has a broad, turned-up tip so that one looks into the nostrils. The mouth is of medium size, but the lips are, in most cases, rather thin, and the upper lip often is scarcely arched. The chin is small and somewhat receding. The ears usually have a very small lobe or none at all. The hair is curly, matted, and, whenever closely cropped, stands up in small "peppercorn" tufts, as among the Bushmen of South Africa. Old people have in many cases a very morose or unhappy facial expression due to three or four peculiar wrinkled furrows that run across the forehead, and one or two thick skin folds stretch from each corner of the nose across to the corners of the mouth. They often look almost like swollen scars (see Plate 7).

The skin color of the Batwa is darker than that of the Bahutu, often with a violet tinge even when the skin has been washed clean. In the colored picture in the travelogue of Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, in which a Mutussi, a Muhutu, and a Mutwa are standing side by side, the color of the Muhutu is most faithfully rendered while the Mutussi is too red and the Mutwa too brown.

144 Czekanowski conbines the results of his measurements and his comparisons of the Batwa with the pure Pygmies of the

133 These two torrents have their source in the southwestern part of Ruanda. Their headwaters flow impetuously on a bed littered with rocks and pebbles.

Among the many subsidiaries of the Nyabarongo, let us mention in alphabetic order: the Base, Mukungwa (which comes out of Lake Ruhondo), Nyabugogo, which serves as an outlet for Lake Mohazi, etc.

The Akanyaru, whose basin is less extensive, also originates in the southwest and combines its waters with those of the Nyabarongo at the level of theBugessera. /28/

After they join, these two rivers change their name to Kagera (1). Under this new name they enter the Victoria into which they

[103] 1. Kagera. This word comes from the verb kugera, "to deepen."

The Kagera slowly wanders through the plain, and its lazy waters overflow into large ponds and marshes infested with crocodiles and mosquitoes.

[136]

pour their yellow waters loaded with silt.

Lake Kivu receives only a small part of the waters of Ruanda. Its outlet is the Ruzizi River, which flows into /Lake/ Tanganyika after a tumultuous course of about 120 kilometers.

131 Ruanda, whose surface may be estimated at 30, 000 to 35, 000 square kilometers boasts a population that is believed to reach two
161 million souls.

It is made up of three quite distinct ethnic groups: the Batutsi,
563 or Hamites, the Bahutu of the Bantu group, and the Batwa, or Negrillos (Pygmies).

141 The Batutsi, who are thought to be of Egyptian or Abyssinian origin, (2) are tall in stature. Some measure as much as 2 or even

000 2. From an ethnological point of view the physical appearance of the Ethiopian people is an exception in

000

800 years before our era. To him is attributed the erection of the lotus column in the Temple of Karnak.

[141] 2.10 meters. /29/

142 They have well-proportioned limbs, regular features, a straight nose, thin lips, and they present striking resemblances to the Egyptian Pharaohs. Like Ethiopians, the Batutsi are characterized by a brown complexion with reddish undertones, at least in some types, and by a somewhat elongated oval face.

157 Usually gay, they are easily approachable and impress others with their noble, slightly haughty but polite manner.

141 While the average stature of the Batutsi is estimated at 1.79 meters, that of the Bahutu is 1.67 meters. The latter are stockier and shorter, with less regular features. Their muscular strength is 147 greater than that of their masters, no doubt because of the heavy work they perform.

152 As a whole, the Bahutu are less appealing, less polite, and shier than the Batutsi. When angry they cannot control themselves 577 as well as the latter, but on the other hand they are simpler and have more rigid mores (1).

515 181

1. Most of the great chiefs are polygamous or keep concubines in their many domains. The simpler Hamitic herders, who are in the majority, are usually monogamous and of a sterling moral character equaling that of the Bahutu. One might even add that those who lead a pastoral life could give the Bahutu advice in matters of decency.

h [i.e., the Batutsi - Analyst]

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as. Mutwa, ~~Gatwa~~, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
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1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets. The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

144

2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

142 lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs,' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies,' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, [141] while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'." (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them 233 than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a 556 sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, 181 a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart," they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!, "May you come to own many cows!"

1:Vanhove--70A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 82]

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Muhutu type.
(Official Photograph, Colonial Office.)

1: Vanhove--71A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 83]

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Batutsi of northern Ruanda. Their less pure type results from marriages with Bahutu women.
(Official photo, Colonial Office.)

2: Meyer--11 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42
Batussi

3. Physical Characteristics

114 I have not undertaken anthropological measurements of the Barundi since I was completely occupied by my geographical and ethnographical tasks. My medical companion, Dr. R. Houy (unfortunately murdered in the Cameroons in 1913), whose own field was anthropology but who was at the same time very interested in zoology, found such a rich field in collecting and observing the peculiar fauna of this country that he, too, abstained from the time-consuming anthropological measurements. Thus I had to limit myself to the occasional use of the tape measure and the color scale, and for the rest I can only report general somatic observations.

[8] The most impressive of the Barundi people are naturally
144 the ruling tall Batussi (Plates 11, 12, 14). Aside from their heads which in most cases are smoothly shaven, they physically very much resemble their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. At first glance their Hamitic origin is apparent. On my earlier travels I had often been among the Somali and Galla, and when I was among the Batussi of Urundi and Ruanda it seemed that I had been transported again into the midst of the former, especially the Galla.
141 In one trait, however, the Batussi have an advantage over the Hamites of northern East Africa: they are, on the average, much taller. The most convenient yardstick I carry with me is provided by my own height, and against this I could easily make approximate measurements of the many hundreds of Batussi whom I met. I did not find any adult smaller than 1.77 meters (measured by a tape), few below 1.80 meters, the majority between 1.80 and 1.90 meters, many (about 10 per cent) between 1.90 and 1.95 meters, some few between 1.95 and 2 meters, and a very small number over 2 meters up to an upper limit of 2.08 meters (measured by tape). In spite of their extraordinary
● 142 height, their body parts are exactly proportioned in relation to each other; not merely are their legs and arms very long but also their torsos which are often so narrow and extended that one can hardly imagine how the internal organs are distributed inside. The impression of abnormal height is further increased by the

•142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the [411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this. [301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aris- [554] tocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since [302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base [141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

142 the other type has a [9] straight or pug nose, Batussi Bahutu a broader nose tip, and a larger, thicker mouth u(Plate 17b). Both types are conspicuously the oval form of the face, the small but pronounced chin, and the complete absence of Negroid prognathism. Yet, 142 frequently, the noble impression of the face is reduced by the 143 fact that the upper front teeth jut out (buck teeth). For this 582 reason the mouth of these individuals mostly remains half open, and one can see the upper four incisors. These crooked teeth, it seems to me, are especially of frequent occurrence among the members of the most distinguished families, both here and in Ruanda; these people are also tallest. Perhaps these two features are special characteristics and result from the long inbreeding of these families, for they marry only among themselves and are severely restricted in their choice (p. 1004-106), while the common Batussi are allowed a wider choice in selecting a mate, and the lowest, poorest class enters into marriages, although not entirely legitimate ones, with the Bahutu as well.

142 If the hair of the head is left unshaven, it is seen to be curly and woolly like that of the Batussi in Ruanda. One also sees at the temples and above the forehead that it does not grow even but in tufts; this is the most Negroid physical feature of the Batussi who, apart from this, do not look like Negroes at all.

142 The second large population group among the Barundi, 144 the Bahutu, who are ruled by the Batussi nobility, have the well-known Bantu physical type, just like all the inhabitants of the interlacustrine area, that is, Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, Karagwe, Kisiba, etc. (Plate 6, 8, 9, 10). The differences between them and the Batussi are immediately visible in their short figures, [141] varying between 1.62 and 1.70 meters, and especially in their shorter legs, their thick-set muscular physique which admittedly often looks frail from undernourishment, and in their genuinely prognathous Negroid skull. Somatically they differ very little from the central Bantu of Unjamwesi and Usukuma, although in some respects they resemble the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region who formerly probably extended farther toward the east (see p. 152 [not translated]). Their eastern branches

●142 in Urundi might be compared to the Bakiga [Chiga] in Ruanda.
144 The latter are a tough, strongly built, mountain people who have cleared the forests and differ from the remaining Bantu in the same manner as the Forest Bantu who live in the western mountains of Urundi differ from the other Bantu of Urundi (cf. also No. 47a, p. 272).

Very often, however, among the Bantu of the interlacustrine region are to be seen finer, narrower faces with noses and mouths less broad and with jaws less strongly pronounced than among the others. This is probably caused by the centuries-old admixture of Bahima [Hima] blood, for the Hamitic rulers of the Bantu do in fact often associate with Bantu women but never, or only very exceptionally, do Bantu men associate with Bahima women (p. 101). These individuals among the Bahutu with an admixture of Batussi blood are for the most part taller
[141] than the ordinary Muhutu. All Bahutu are rather dolichocephalic. The hair is curly and tufted, but not of the "peppercorn" type.

The difference between these two racial elements is also
142 apparent in their skin color. The large majority of the Bahutu has the color of dark café-au-lait with violet reflections, approximately Number 28 and 29 of Luschan's color scale. For many persons, however, the color of the skin resembles the reddish tinge of the South American highland Indians whom I know well from former travels [10], which may be ascribed to the admixture of Batussi blood in some of them, but among the others to the customary rubdown with red earth and butter. They then come close to Number 32 of the scale, but only as far as color value is concerned, not in the intensity of the shade. The Batussi, on the other hand, are in most cases light chocolate brown, between Number 26 and 28 of the scale or copper brown like many Indian tribes. Many show lighter gradations depending on the effects of the sun, but always with a predominantly reddish tone, never a yellow-brown or a black one. Batussi women (Plate 15, 17a) are supposed to be in all cases lighter than the men -- I have only seen very few -- because they stay within the homesteads most of the time whereas the Bahutu women, who while working in the fields expose themselves to

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Plate 7

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Batwa near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Batwa Making Pottery near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--243 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 9

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Barundi from the Upper Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi from Migeni, West of Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--244 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 10

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Women with Sleeping Sickness, Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Chain Gang in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--245 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 11

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Batussi Delegation of King Mutaga in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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King Mutaga (*) of Urundi with Batussi Entourage
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--246 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate 12

Entourage of the Muganwa Lusokosa in front of Gitega Station, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Young Batussi, Central Urundi
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

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Barundi Christian Barundi Girls, North Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

Plate 14

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Muganwa Seruschanja (right) with Two Brothers
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

2: Meyer--249 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate 15

Mutussi Girl, Urundi

Muhutu Woman, Urundi

Christian Mutussi Girl, Urundi

(Photos. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

Plate 16

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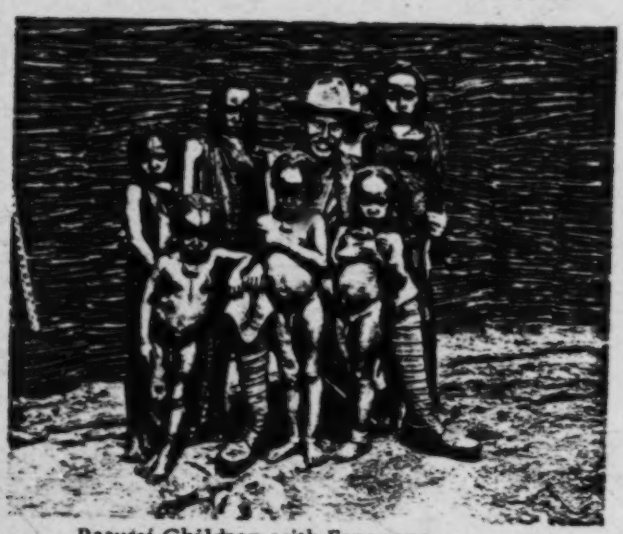

Batussi Children with European
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Bahutu Women and Children, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 17

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Mother of King Mutaga

Chief Kilima, Northwest Urundi

Muganwa Sindiwironga

Muganwa Kambi

(Photos, by Captain von Langenn)

Plate 25

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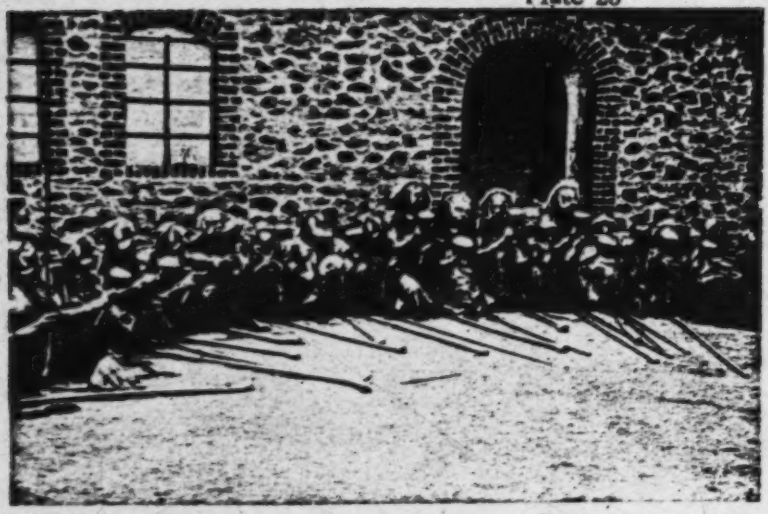

"Cattle Doctors" of King Mutaga During the Exorcizing Ceremony.
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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Murundi Woman with Woven Beehives
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Plate 28

Murundi Taking Snuff with Nose Clip
(Photo. By Captain Kraut)

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Barundi Taking Snuff by Drawing Tobacco Juice into the Nose
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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800 years before our era. To him is attributed the erection of the lotus column in the Temple of Karnak.

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1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets. The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

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2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

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lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs,' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies,' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'." (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

[141]

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them 233 556 than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a 181 sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart," they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!, "May you come to own many cows!"

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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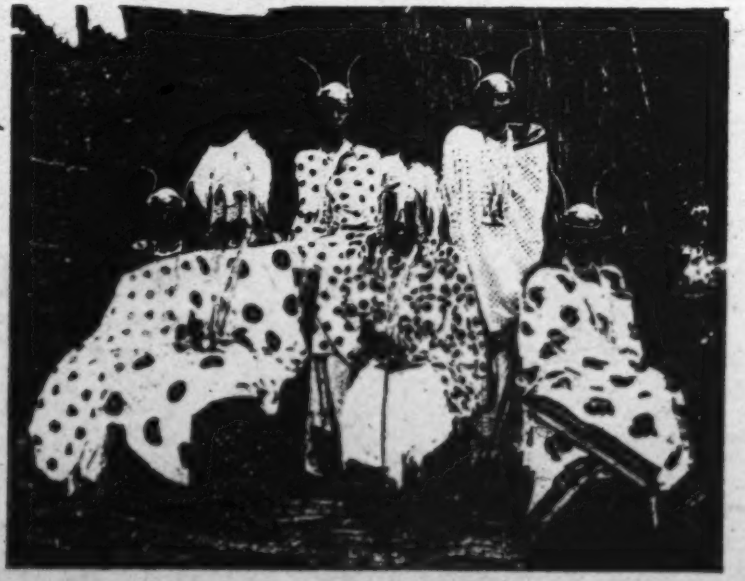

King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

5: Pages--267 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi (Batutsi) warrior in dance costume.

Nkusi, Nturo's son, in dance costume.

5: Pages--268 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Warriors in festival dress.

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Kayondo dancers.

5: Pages--284 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Young Mututsi (Batutsi) woman carrying her baby on the back.

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Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type with long tufts of hair.

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type.

Mututsi type.

5; Pages--285 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her feminine attendants.

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Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type.

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5: Pages--286 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Little girls in children's dress, from the central province of Nduga.

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Two young Bahutu girls.

5; Pages--287 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type. The long fringed costume they wear is made of banana fibers which they have woven themselves.

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Women of the Muhutu type.

5: Pages--288 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A leper.

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Young Muhutu girl with tattooing on the back.

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R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

5: Pages--290 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi
FO42

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Winnowing basket serving as an umbrella.

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Umbrella of Isinde cowherds.

5: Pages--291 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Family umbrella.

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A semicivilized (person).

[177]

5: Pages--293 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Impalement of a cattle thief before European penetration.

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Bellows and apparatus of a primitive forge.

563 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recog-
191 nize members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation. This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because of their privileged position. They are closely united and give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 They make up the conservative element which supports the
178 entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established order. However, they have little capability for independently organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found where individual provinces have given up their independent political existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state.
[184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences
[101] and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu. It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants in general, and here memories of the state that united Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not
[101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than
● 142 the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable, [144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 101 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's 103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelèmy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 101 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

[113] 2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE XXXI

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Chief of the Batuse, Ruanda

[facing p. 184]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE XXXII

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Wife of a Prince of the Batuse of Ruanda

[Facing page 194]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Tutsi lord and Hutu client

[Frontispiece]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

134 orography of the country). They are due to the conjunction of these physical circumstances with the particular way in which the human occupation of the land has taken place.

2. HUMAN OCCUPATION

121 Several hypotheses have been advanced in attempts to reconstruct the history of the human occupations of Ruanda. We are not concerned with them here. Let us summarize only those features which are of significance for our purpose and which have a high degree of probability.

162 The present population of Ruanda is clearly composed of three groups: Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi. These groups are very unequal numerically. In the middle of 1956, according to a Government demographic survey, the Twa constituted 0·67 per cent. of the total Ruanda population, the Hutu 82·74 per cent., and the Tutsi 16·59 per cent.[8] Differences that are immediately noticeable 563 between these groups concern their activities, their social statuses, and their physical types. The Twa are hunters, potters and iron-workers. Twa hunters are not numerous, as game is rare in most parts of Ruanda owing to the scarcity of forest. Some of them make a living as singers, dancers, and buffoons. The Hutu are agriculturists and the Tutsi pastoralists. The statuses of the three groups are hierarchically ranked. The Tutsi group constitutes an aristocracy, the Hutu are commoners, and the Twa are said, half jokingly, by most of the other Ruanda, to be more akin to monkeys than to human beings. A definite physical appearance is considered typical of each group. According to the 142 socially accepted descriptions of the three stereotypes the typical Twa is short, pygmoid rather than pigmy, with a head low in the crown, face and nose flat, cheek-bones prominent, forehead bulging, eyes narrow and slightly oblique. Hutu characteristics are woolly hair, flat broad nose, thick lips often everted, and middle stature. Tutsi are very slender and tall. They often have a straight nose and a light brown skin colour. The objective measurements of Professor Jean Hiernaux do not entirely coincide with these stereotypes.[9]

[8] These figures have been kindly communicated by Mr. J. Revelard who was at that time in charge of the Ruanda-Urundi Demographic Surveys (Endemoru).

[9] Hiernaux, 1956b, pp. 34-53. Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 122-34. See the interesting photographs in Czekanowski, 1911, plates 1-61 and in Hiernaux, 1956b, plates VI-VII.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rund FO42

PLATE 2

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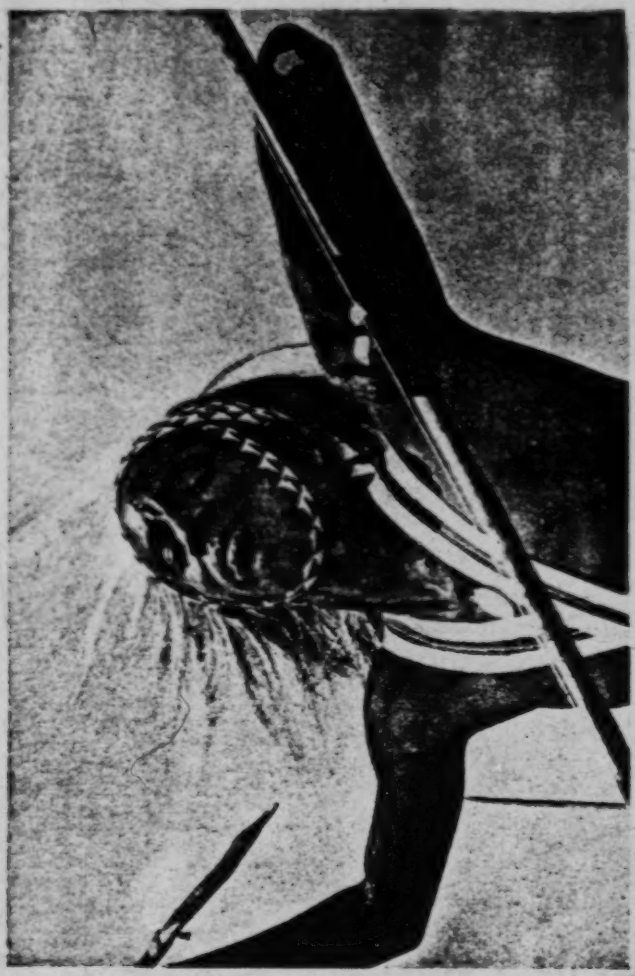

Intore warrior dancing

[Facing P. 23]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 3

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The late king, Charles Mutara Rudahigwa

[Facing p 118]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 4

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The queen-mother, Radegonde Nyiramavugo

[Facing P. 119]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 6

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A Hutu diviner

[Facing P. 135]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases). 562 582 613

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child. 562 557 [582] [558] [851] 848

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi; his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives. 557 562 564 583 [851] [842]

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the 142 564 826

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

N2 same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This
564 makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to dis-
826 tinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least,
564 cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the
827 Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving
829 anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

564 It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically
827 more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are, to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour.
564 True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose character and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and
[162] their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even
[186] those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Other-
[361] wise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

[826 It is necessary to stay in Burundi for a long time to see behind
827] the stereotypes of the castes. In brief, it is assumed that the Tutsi

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

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XIII. A Tutsikazi.

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XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]

Batussi
Bahutu

142 the other type has a [9] straight or pug nose, a broader nose tip, and a larger, thicker mouth u(Plate 17b). Both types are conspicuously the oval form of the face, the small but pronounced chin, and the complete absence of Negroid prognathism. Yet, frequently, the noble impression of the face is reduced by the fact that the upper front teeth jut out (buck teeth). For this reason the mouth of these individuals mostly remains half open, and one can see the upper four incisors. These crooked teeth, it seems to me, are especially of frequent occurrence among the members of the most distinguished families, both here and in Ruanda; these people are also tallest. Perhaps these two features are special characteristics and result from the long inbreeding of these families, for they marry only among themselves and are severely restricted in their choice (p. 100-106), while the common Batussi are allowed a wider choice in selecting a mate, and the lowest, poorest class enters into marriages, although not entirely legitimate ones, with the Bahutu as well.

142 143 582

If the hair of the head is left unshaven, it is seen to be curly and woolly like that of the Batussi in Ruanda. One also sees at the temples and above the forehead that it does not grow even but in tufts; this is the most Negroid physical feature of the Batussi who, apart from this, do not look like Negroes at all.

142

The second large population group among the Barundi, the Bahutu, who are ruled by the Batussi nobility, have the well-known Bantu physical type, just like all the inhabitants of the interlacustrine area, that is, Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, Karagwe, Kiziba, etc. (Plate 6, 8, 9, 10). The differences between them and the Batussi are immediately visible in their short figures, [141] varying between 1.62 and 1.70 meters, and especially in their shorter legs, their thick-set muscular physique which admittedly often looks frail from undernourishment, and in their genuinely prognathous Negroid skull. Somatically they differ very little from the central Bantu of Unjamwesi and Usukuma, although in some respects they resemble the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region who formerly probably extended farther toward the east (see p. 152 [not translated]). Their eastern branches

142 144

563 other, and which in the course of centuries in this grouping have crystallized into a strong social and political community.

563 162 144 The great mass of the population consists of the agriculturalists, the Bahutu [Hutu], belonging to the Bantu race, more specifically to the so-called basic Bantu. In Urundi their number is approximately one and a half million. Above them, as the ruling caste, stands the Hamitic pastoral Batussi, who invaded Urundi from the north about 400 years ago and who, both here and in the entire interlacustrine region, subjugated the agricultural Bahutu. They are proud, tall figures, often over two meters in height, with sharp profiles and stately posture, so that at first they even impress the well-traveled European. According to official estimates, they number from 40,000 to 50,000 in the whole of Urundi. Besides these giants, the country also shelters the remnants of an original, short, pygmoid population, the Batwa [Twa], who lived here in the forests even before the Bantu and who, together with the forests, were partly destroyed, partly pushed back into remote corners by the other stronger elements. At present there are only a few thousand of them in Urundi and the same number in Ruanda. Their stature ranges mostly between 1.50 meters and 1.60 meters, but they are [463] strongly built and make a living as hunters, as blacksmiths and potters in the service of others, or as bodyguards of important people and of the king.

563 Undoubtedly the Batwa are the oldest stratum of population in the entire interlacustrine region. Dispersed in small tribal groups over the country, [7] they lack any kind of social cohesion; nor do they seem to have any traditions about their past. The [144] Urundi Batwa resemble the Batwa in the forests, but in Urundi they apparently have more Bantu blood in their veins. They are, therefore, somewhat taller and not as pure a type as the Batwa of Ruanda. Both in Urundi and Ruanda and in the northeastern Congo region, the Batwa are in the process of disappearing. Regarded as pariahs both by the Batussi and the Bahutu, they are everywhere treated badly but are at the same time thoroughly exploited. They always look profoundly melancholic and are

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148.) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

2: Meyer--11 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42
Batussi

3. Physical Characteristics

114 I have not undertaken anthropological measurements of the Barundi since I was completely occupied by my geographical and ethnographical tasks. My medical companion, Dr. R. Houy (unfortunately murdered in the Cameroons in 1913), whose own field was anthropology but who was at the same time very interested in zoology, found such a rich field in collecting and observing the peculiar fauna of this country that he, too, abstained from the time-consuming anthropological measurements. Thus I had to limit myself to the occasional use of the tape measure and the color scale, and for the rest I can only report general somatic observations.

[8] The most impressive of the Barundi people are naturally
144 the ruling tall Batussi (Plates 11, 12, 14). Aside from their heads which in most cases are smoothly shaven, they physically very much resemble their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. At first glance their Hamitic origin is apparent. On my earlier travels I had often been among the Somali and Galla, and when I was among the Batussi of Urundi and Ruanda it seemed that I had been transported again into the midst of the former, especially the Galla.
141 In one trait, however, the Batussi have an advantage over the Hamites of northern East Africa: they are, on the average, much taller. The most convenient yardstick I carry with me is provided by my own height, and against this I could easily make approximate measurements of the many hundreds of Batussi whom I met. I did not find any adult smaller than 1.77 meters (measured by a tape), few below 1.80 meters, the majority between 1.80 and 1.90 meters, many (about 10 per cent) between 1.90 and 1.95 meters, some few between 1.95 and 2 meters, and a very small number over 2 meters up to an upper limit of 2.08 meters (measured by tape). In spite of their extraordinary
142 height, their body parts are exactly proportioned in relation to each other; not merely are their legs and arms very long but also their torsos which are often so narrow and extended that one can hardly imagine how the internal organs are distributed inside. The impression of abnormal height is further increased by the

Batussi
Bahutu

142 the other type has a [9] straight or pug nose, a broader nose tip, and a larger, thicker mouth u(Plate 17b). Both types are conspicuously the oval form of the face, the small but pronounced chin, and the complete absence of Negroid prognathism. Yet, 142 frequently, the noble impression of the face is reduced by the 143 fact that the upper front teeth jut out (buck teeth). For this 582 reason the mouth of these individuals mostly remains half open, and one can see the upper four incisors. These crooked teeth, it seems to me, are especially of frequent occurrence among the members of the most distinguished families, both here and in Ruanda; these people are also tallest. Perhaps these two features are special characteristics and result from the long inbreeding of these families, for they marry only among themselves and are severely restricted in their choice (p. 100+ 106), while the common Batussi are allowed a wider choice in selecting a mate, and the lowest, poorest class enters into marriages, although not entirely legitimate ones, with the Bahutu as well.

If the hair of the head is left unshaven, it is seen to be 142 curly and woolly like that of the Batussi in Ruanda. One also sees at the temples and above the forehead that it does not grow even but in tufts; this is the most Negroid physical feature of the Batussi who, apart from this, do not look like Negroes at all.

The second large population group among the Barundi, 142 the Bahutu, who are ruled by the Batussi nobility, have the well- 144 known Bantu physical type, just like all the inhabitants of the interlacustrine area, that is, Ruanda, Mpororo, Ankole, Karagwe, Kisiba, etc. (Plate 6, 8, 9, 10). The differences between them and the Batussi are immediately visible in their short figures, [141] varying between 1.62 and 1.70 meters, and especially in their shorter legs, their thick-set muscular physique which admittedly often looks frail from undernourishment, and in their genuinely prognathous Negroid skull. Somatically they differ very little from the central Bantu of Unjamwesi and Usukuma, although in some respects they resemble the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region who formerly probably extended farther toward the east (see p. 152 [not translated]). Their eastern branches

142 in Urundi might be compared to the Bakiga [Chiga] in Ruanda.
144 The latter are a tough, strongly built, mountain people who have cleared the forests and differ from the remaining Bantu in the same manner as the Forest Bantu who live in the western mountains of Urundi differ from the other Bantu of Urundi (cf. also No. 47a, p. 272).

Very often, however, among the Bantu of the inter-lacustrine region are to be seen finer, narrower faces with noses and mouths less broad and with jaws less strongly pronounced than among the others. This is probably caused by the centuries-old admixture of Bahima [Hima] blood, for the Hamitic rulers of the Bantu do in fact often associate with Bantu women but never, or only very exceptionally, do Bantu men associate with Bahima women (p. 101). These individuals among the Bahutu with an admixture of Batussi blood are for the most part taller
[141] than the ordinary Muhutu. All Bahutu are rather dolichocephalic. The hair is curly and tufted, but not of the "peppercorn" type.

The difference between these two racial elements is also
142 apparent in their skin color. The large majority of the Bahutu has the color of dark café-au-lait with violet reflections, approximately Number 28 and 29 of Luschan's color scale. For many persons, however, the color of the skin resembles the reddish tinge of the South American highland Indians whom I know well from former travels [10], which may be ascribed to the admixture of Batussi blood in some of them, but among the others to the customary rubdown with red earth and butter. They then come close to Number 32 of the scale, but only as far as color value is concerned, not in the intensity of the shade. The Batussi, on the other hand, are in most cases light chocolate brown, between Number 26 and 28 of the scale or copper brown like many Indian tribes. Many show lighter gradations depending on the effects of the sun, but always with a predominantly reddish tone, never a yellow-brown or a black one. Batussi women (Plate 15, 17a) are supposed to be in all cases lighter than the men -- I have only seen very few -- because they stay within the homesteads most of the time whereas the Bahutu women, who while working in the fields expose themselves to

142 the sun as much as the men, are the same color as the men (Plate 14b, 16b). Small children are always considerably lighter in skin color.

142 The third population group, the Batwa (Plate 7), also have almost the same somatic character in Urundi as their fellow
144 tribesmen in Ruanda. The latter are somewhat better known to us through the work of J. Czekanowski. In Ruanda, especially in the forest areas of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes, they have preserved much of their original Pygmy character, for they are still able to lead a withdrawn life of hunting in the forests. Even in Ruanda, however, the majority of them already live as agriculturalists and craftsmen (potters, blacksmiths) dispersed in small communities among the Bahutu and have already received from them a strong admixture of Bantu blood, partly from the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region and partly from the central Bantu of the interlacustrine region. This has also happened to the majority of the Batwa of Urundi since, after the expansion of the Bantu and the disappearance of the forests, they too have been forced to settle among the Bahutu and into agriculture (see p. 152 [not translated]). However, we still meet many among them in whom we can recognize, either at first glance or on closer inspection, the pygmoid characteristics familiar to us from the more northern, racially pure Pygmies of the primeval forest (Wambutti [Bambuti]) of the Ruwenzori and of the upper Ituri.

Primarily their stature and the form of their limbs are
141 striking in the case of the Mutwa, but whereas the racially pure Batwa of the Ituri are only between 1.30 and 1.40 meters tall, only among the hunting Batwa of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes are there individuals between 1.40 and 1.55 meters tall. On the other hand, among those engaged in agriculture among the Bahutu, there are few less than 1.60 meters tall, and many are taller. Without exception the women are shorter than the men. Czekanowski lists an average size of 1.53 meters for the Batwa men of Muhawura and for the women of Muhawura, 1.40 meters; for the Batwa men of the agricultural tribes, however, 1,61 meters, and for the women, 1.54 meters.

[141] The latter measurements are in general applicable to the Batwa of Urundi also. All of them have relatively short trunk and
142 limbs. The legs, however, are short in relation to the upper part of the body, but all limbs are well-proportioned and very muscular. The hands and especially the feet are relatively broad and clumsy; the fingers and toes are very short in relation to the back of the hand and the foot. The heel juts out so far in the back that, seen from the side, the lower leg appears to be placed more toward the middle of the foot.

[141] Upon a short neck is set a head which in most cases is fairly round and decidedly brachycephalic, with a short face and broad cheek bones. However, dolichocephalic individuals are not exactly rare. The frontal bone and the arch of the brows usually extend noticeably beyond the face. [11] The nose almost always is indented at the root which causes the forehead to jut out even more; the nose is flat and broad and has a broad, turned-up tip so that one looks into the nostrils. The mouth is of medium size, but the lips are, in most cases, rather thin, and the upper lip often is scarcely arched. The chin is small and somewhat receding. The ears usually have a very small lobe or none at all. The hair is curly, matted, and, whenever closely cropped, stands up in small "peppercorn" tufts, as among the Bushmen of South Africa. Old people have in many cases a very morose or unhappy facial expression due to three or four peculiar wrinkled furrows that run across the forehead, and one or two thick skin folds stretch from each corner of the nose across to the corners of the mouth. They often look almost like swollen scars (see Plate 7).

The skin color of the Batwa is darker than that of the Bahutu, often with a violet tinge even when the skin has been washed clean. In the colored picture in the travelogue of Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, in which a Mutussi, a Muhutu, and a Mutwa are standing side by side, the color of the Muhutu is most faithfully rendered while the Mutussi is too red and the Mutwa too brown.

● 144 Czekanowski conbines the results of his measurements and his comparisons of the Batwa with the pure Pygmies of the

144 more northerly regions and with the Forest Bantu and Interlacustrine Bantu and comes to the following conclusions: the Batwa are not a homogeneous group, but consist of elements taken from the Pygmies, the Bantu of the primeval forest and, to a lesser degree, the Interlacustrine Bantu also; among the Batwa of the volcanic region the Pygmy type predominates; among those of central Ruanda, the Interlacustrine Bantu type. This latter fact, according to my observations, is also true of Urundi. A surprising fact about the Batwa and one which was demonstrated by Czekanowski is that they show traces of a dolichocephalic Bushman-like element. This trait in conjunction with slight stature has turned up frequently in the works of other observers of East Africa and attracted Czekanowski's attention, especially in the area of Kilimanjaro. Originally the Batwa were "dwarfs," but their body type gradually changed through the admixture of Bantu blood. The farther north we meet Batwa, toward the racially pure Pygmies of the Ituri, the stronger are their pygmoid characteristics; most strongly so among the Batwa of Idschwi Island of Lake Kivu where they are well sheltered from outside influences (No. 31a, 101-109).

[162] Since according to official data the Batwa are only one per cent and the Batussi only about three per cent of the total population of Urundi, the numerical predominance of the Bahutu-Bantu is so great that they entirely determine the overall impression one gets of the Barundi people. Moreover, the Bahutu and also the relatively few Batussi who rule them are somatically, mentally, and culturally so homogeneous throughout Urundi that deviations from the average type are met with only rarely in this great country, excepting those of mixed Bahima blood mentioned above. Of course the Barundi people owe this homogeneity above all to their strict centuries-old seclusion from the outside world. The border areas farthest west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River might have worked considerable changes on the Barundi tribes living there, for they do have a much warmer lowland climate, and the great lake might have caused adaptive changes in the way of life of the inhabitants. Moreover, the neighboring Congo tribes are a quite different sort of people. However, even here, no such

144 changes occurred; the ethnic character of the Barundi changes only slightly, in spite of the fact also that political connections with the Mountain Barundi had become much less close.

[12] In 1901 Richard Kandt wrote as follows of the
69) Barundi of the Tanganyika lowlands.

"Politically the area between the eastern periphery of the Central African graben and the Ruzizi is divided into from ten to twelve rather small sultanates, most of which probably cover approximately 150 to 200 square kilometers. They are nominally not independent; their rulers, who all belong to the Semitic Watussi of the Galla territories south of Abyssinia, were originally vassals of the king of Urundi, or the 'Muesi' as he is called by title. But although the majority of the inhabitants gives the impression of being almost pure Warundi, the high crest of the peripheral mountains and the broad desolate primeval forest were too convenient a bulwark not to arouse the desire of independence in the population which is hardly affected by grandiose ideas of national unity, the more so since the mother country is also split up into a large number of mutually warring chiefdoms which are only loosely bound to the central power. The only existing remnant of cohesion seems to be the fact that the Muesi has some kind of religious importance which makes his chief think it advisable not to sever all connections with him.

If we consider how infinitely different the entire living
182 conditions of the Lake Warundi dwelling near Tanganyika are from those of the Mountain Warundi and how far back the various influences go which affect the Lake Warundi (namely, the presence of the Wasuaheli [Swahili], the Arabs, and the various western tribes following in their footsteps), we are surprised at how stubbornly they have nevertheless remained true in the matter of their external appearance, language, and customs to the peculiarities of their unusually isolated native country. The same is true of the Warundi living in the low valley of the Ruzizi, except that for them the temptation to abandon the customs of their forefathers was considerably smaller, and the farther north they lived, the smaller it became." (No. 22, pp. 339-340.)

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

been brought only during the past thirty years. The present Ruanda culture has lost the coherence that existed in pre-European days. Those who have become more closely associated with alien activity, and have therefore felt its influence more constantly, now share a culture made up in part of their ancestral way of life and in part of their interpretation of the Belgian variety of Western culture as it operates in a colonial situation. Even those who have not been brought into direct contact with whites feel that their old patterns of life are losing their validity. But that more or less hidden part of the old culture, consisting of basic assumptions on the relationships of man with the world and with other men, has suffered the least change. To be sure, the legends of the descent of the first Batutsi meet with more scepticism than in the past, but the fundamental beliefs that this story reflects are still profoundly embedded in the Ruanda ethos. Even when new institutions, based on assumptions conflicting with the earlier ones, are imposed under external pressure and adopted, the principles shaping the older institutions will subsist and, if participation in the new institutions is unchecked, these will be completely reinterpreted in accordance with the former premises. Some manifestations of the continuing existence of the ancient assumptions in the contemporary context will be considered here, but we shall be mainly concerned with the Ruanda world-view as it was at the beginning of this century.[1]

Ruanda is a highland country in East Africa lying in the region delimited by lakes Kivu, Victoria, and Tanganyika. Its area is 24,500 square kilometres; its population amounts to almost 2 million inhabitants, the highest density in Africa south of the Sahara. Three socio-'racial' castes are to be

[1] Much of the material used in this study was collected by the author during two years' work (1950–1) in Ruanda as a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.). The author was very much helped in his field research by Dr. E. Finoulst and Dr. G. De Clercq during their six-month course of training under his direction. Extensive and valuable information has been found in the published literature on Ruanda, especially studies by Father A. Arnoux, Abbé L. de Lacger, Abbé Alexis Kagame, the late Father A. Pagès, Mr. G. Sandrart, Father Schumacher, and Mr. J. Vanhove. The author is also grateful to the Abbé Kagame for having placed at his disposal some of his manuscripts. In formulating the conceptual and theoretical scheme used in this paper, the author has relied considerably on the teaching and works of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn of Harvard University. He is immensely indebted for his fundamental training in anthropology to the teaching staff of London University and particularly to Professor Daryll Forde. Mr. Lawrence Oschinsky has kindly corrected the manuscript. A short bibliography is given at the end, but it has not been felt necessary to document this study at every point, nor indeed was this possible, since it was written in the field with the use of a very restricted library.

This is an essay in the etymological meaning of the word. If the underlying configurations of a culture constitute its most important part, since they provide a key to the interrelatedness of apparently unconnected phenomena and to the meaning of apparently incomprehensible behaviour, they are also the most elusive realities. They evade direct observation and, often, direct interrogation. The anthropologist, therefore, must be sure that his inferences are logically acceptable not only to his own mind but also to the minds of the participants in the culture he studies. All this requires a thorough knowledge of the overt aspects of a culture and a long familiarity with them. The author is painfully aware that he has not gone very deeply into the ethos of Ruanda. This is only an attempt at a synthesis of the results so far obtained in researches which are still proceeding.

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
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1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets. The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

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2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

144 The word "Hamite" is, however, also used in a different sense. We speak of a "Hamitic anthropological type." This designation refers to the anthropological element so characteristic of the tribes who have mixed relatively little and who speak Hamitic languages, the Somal [Somali] and Galla, for example. In this sense [123] one may count the Batutsi among the Hamites. The Hamitic anthropological type is more obvious in them than in the Massai to the east and the Bari and Kakwa in the northwest. They are less "Negroized."

173 According to their traditions, the Batutsi come from the 131 north, which, however, refers essentially to the Bugansa district south of Lake Mohasi, not to the distant lands on the other side of the Victoria-Nile, the Bukedi, traditional homeland of the Babito. This might mean that the Batutsi have been in their present country long enough for the other, older traditions to have faded, leaving only those concerning the founding of the Ruanda state.

Karagwe, however, is also mentioned in these traditions. Perhaps this has something to do with the older migration of the Ruanda Batutsi. Presumably this migration took place along an axis extending from the steppes in the northeast, along the Karagwe border, and across Lake Mohasi to Nduga and Mukinjaga. It is along this axis that one finds the strongest concentration of Batutsi.

131 Dr. Kandt states that the original homeland of the Batutsi is the Mhogo Basin (districts of the upper Nyawarongo). Kissaka also has a large percentage of Batutsi. Baumann (1) mentions

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1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 204.

isolated groups of Batutsi in the mountains in the northwestern part of Tanganyika. Only in the Muwissi Mountains, in the southwestern part of Issawi, are there reputedly very few Batutsi. (2)

2. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable, [144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important
101 role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's
103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father Pa Barthelèmy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the
101 Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

[113] 2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

167 Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use
101 in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu, Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly
[194] alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect. In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area. The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with the Batutsi.

563 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the
944 population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that

[113] 2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.

Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

563 "The Batwa at Musinga's court and in the Issawi region, as well
144 as those in northwestern Urundi, are not very different from the Wahutu, and there is doubtless considerable blood relationship."

Baumann (4) goes still farther and maintains that the Batwa

4. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle (Berlin, 1894), p. 215.

are no smaller than the Barundi.

The latter opinion is also erroneous. Anthropological analysis (5) proved that the Batwa do have a Pygmy element as

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5. Czekanowski, J., "Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen der zentral-afrikanischen Pygmäen [Aspects of Kinship of the Pygmies of Central Africa]," Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1910, pp. 101-109.

one of their components. Although other, subsequent mixtures have lessened the importance of this element, nevertheless it accounts for many characteristic features of the Batwa.

The Batwa are strikingly similar to the Forest Bantu and stand midway between the latter and the Bahutu. This conclusion, unexpected at first glance, is simply explained if we assume that the more isolated Batwa were less open to outside influences and that anthropologically they are relicts of an older order in Ruanda. If we assume that formerly the population of Ruanda was more closely related to the Forest Bantu, then the Batwa, from whom we may learn about former conditions, must also be similar to the Forest Bantu. This is, in fact, the case. Apart from their anthropologi-
563 cal relationship, the Batwa are also said to resemble the Forest
266 Bantu in a very characteristic custom. They are cannibals, at least in northwestern Ruanda among the western group of volcanoes. Nonconflicting rumors about this custom have been reported by both Count Von Götzen (6) and Von Parisch (7).

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6. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch

361 and villages differ considerably depending on the quality of the soil. In the densely populated western districts one passes a cluster of homesteads every quarter or half hour, but in the thinly populated eastern districts one sometimes travels over an hour without seeing or passing a courtyard or a village.

One never sees many people outside, neither on the roads, 363 near the grazing cattle, nor in the fields. Only close to the huts and within the kraals does one see people walking, standing, and squatting in groups. Old people 70 years old and older 145 are extremely rare. Very few seem to live beyond the age of 60, and this seems to be more often the case with the Batussi than with the Bahutu.

According to missionaries' reports, the population has 161 been increasing during the last ten years or so, since the petty wars between the batwale and the princes and the invasions of the Banjaruanda and the Baha [Ha] have become rarer and less bloody. Only in the Tanganyika region which has been hit by 164 sleeping sickness has the population decreased considerably. 731 In the rest of Urundi the number of inhabitants is occasionally reduced considerably by smallpox epidemics or by crop failures, which are especially fatal to children, but such famines are relatively rare. In 1892, 1896, 1904-5 and 1908, rinderpest, bad harvests, and smallpox caused great devastations. In 1910 the distress resulting from drought in eastern Urundi was so great that the mission at Mujaga had to buy up large amounts of manioc and beans in Uha for their natives. Some travelers 181 claim that the majority of the Bahutu are waiting to be liberated from their conquerors. I cannot confirm this from my observations. [20] [Fig. 2 appears here in original text.] [21] The enthusiastic reception that the Bahutu gave at the time to the first European arriving there, Oskar Baumann in Urundi and Count Götzen in Ruanda, did indeed spring from the traditional hope for a great new conqueror who would usher in a golden age, but like all East African Bantu the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda do not in the least thirst for freedom. As has been mentioned above, they are submissive and dependent on others; they are happiest under firm authority and as accustomed to the discipline of their

[Text continues on page 31]

854 p. 63). In order to put the child to sleep and also to soothe it
513 in the daytime, the mother may lightly pat its back and occasionally sing a monotonous "cradle song." Van der Burgt has recorded one in which the evil mother-in-law is mentioned to frighten the child: "Be quiet; otherwise I shall take you to the mother-in-law. She will give you only water. When the cows come home and are milked, you will go hungry. Mother-in-law will not protect you from the sun nor against hunger" (No. 19, p. 71).

Spiritually and morally the children grow up wild. There
861 is no effort to cure children of bad habits nor to teach them good ones. As long as the children's bad manners do not inconvenience the parents, they even take pleasure in inciting them to fits of temper, to fight, and to steal. Only in exceptional cases is there any practical training in special jobs and handicrafts. Whatever the children learn is acquired by observation, listening, and by helping with work. From an early age they must help their parents in all their work, and being by nature intelligent and vivacious, they soon become surprisingly independent.

145 Boys reach puberty (kukura) when they are between 12 to
864 15 years old, girls even earlier. Long before that, however,
839 they are enlightened about sexual matters and have learned many loathsome things of a sexual nature from those who are older. This does not mean that they have sexual intercourse at a very early age, but onanism and masturbation are widespread vices.

[113] About these practices van der Burgt reports (No. 19,
839 p. 361): "Puellae praesertim horibili huic vitio valde deditae sunt, sub praetextu quidem, ut magis aptae fiant matrimonio et viris placeant. In actu ipso nefando quoddam juramentum vel potius imprecationem pronuntiant: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. Insuper variis mediis utuntur ad majorem voluptatem sibi procurandam. Media generatim sunt plantae, vel radices plantarum arborumve, quibus labia perfricantur." [Tr., "The girls especially are given to indulge in this horrible vice at an early age under the pretext that this makes them more fit for

164 altitudes as high as 1,600 to 1,700 meters, once even at
[136] 2,140 meters east of Usumbura. There I saw natives suffering from malaria, and I treated them with quinine. Some of the members of my caravan were also infected. However, it appears that blackwater fever occurs not at all or only very rarely. The highland Barundi are particularly afraid of being infected with malaria in the lowlands of the Akanjaru and the Ruvuvu in the north, in the swampy lakes in the northeast, and in the low, warm coastal area of Lake Tanganyika with the adjoining valley of the Ruzizi River, but the relatively few Barundi who live there permanently appear to be immune for the most part.

The highland Barundi are extremely sensitive to changes
164 in climate when traveling or when changing their residence.
147 In former times when the neighboring areas, for example, Ussumbwa, were still importing female slaves from Urundi, they calculated that eight out of ten slaves would perish because they could not live in the climate (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 178). The missionaries in Mariahilf in Uschirombo report that in their missionary orphanage they always have quite a number of children from Urundi and Ruanda who are unable to get used to the climate of Uschirombo (which is not particularly bad) and who are almost always sick. The women who go there from Urundi and Ruanda have the same difficulty. Quite a few of them die or lose so much weight that they look like skeletons. Many of them recover after about a year, but they remain weak (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 288). I would like to add that, ac-
[146] cording to my own observations, it is not merely the change of climate which is responsible for these cases of sickness but also the change in food, for example, lack of milk and poor water. In any case, it has been confirmed by experience that in the whole of East Africa the inhabitants of the cool mountainous areas and the highlands, such as Ruanda, Urundi, Uhehe, Usambara, etc., cannot live for any length of time in the lower, warmer regions, as, for example, in Unjamwesi, Ugogo, Useguha, and the coastal areas. This should be a serious warning to us not to import great numbers of people for work in the plantations of the lowlands, or, as the slogan goes, to open the gates of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

000 Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court
361 happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century
644 the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

443 Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through
[437] other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from
[439] the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

121 The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the
[174] situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet.
146 The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[36] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as
[433] high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[36] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

164 altitudes as high as 1,600 to 1,700 meters, once even at
[136] 2,140 meters east of Usumbura. There I saw natives suffering from malaria, and I treated them with quinine. Some of the members of my caravan were also infected. However, it appears that blackwater fever occurs not at all or only very rarely. The highland Barundi are particularly afraid of being infected with malaria in the lowlands of the Akanjaru and the Ruvuvu in the north, in the swampy lakes in the northeast, and in the low, warm coastal area of Lake Tanganyika with the adjoining valley of the Ruzizi River, but the relatively few Barundi who live there permanently appear to be immune for the most part.

The highland Barundi are extremely sensitive to changes
164 in climate when traveling or when changing their residence.
●147 In former times when the neighboring areas, for example, Ussumbwa, were still importing female slaves from Urundi, they calculated that eight out of ten slaves would perish because they could not live in the climate (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 178). The missionaries in Mariahilf in Uschirombo report that in their missionary orphanage they always have quite a number of children from Urundi and Ruanda who are unable to get used to the climate of Uschirombo (which is not particularly bad) and who are almost always sick. The women who go there from Urundi and Ruanda have the same difficulty. Quite a few of them die or lose so much weight that they look like skeletons. Many of them recover after about a year, but they remain weak (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 288). I would like to add that, ac-
[146] cording to my own observations, it is not merely the change of climate which is responsible for these cases of sickness but also the change in food, for example, lack of milk and poor water. In any case, it has been confirmed by experience that in the whole of East Africa the inhabitants of the cool mountainous areas and the highlands, such as Ruanda, Urundi, Uhehe, Usambara, etc., cannot live for any length of time in the lower, warmer regions, as, for example, in Unjamwesi, Ugogo, Useguha, and the coastal areas. This should be a serious warning to us not to import great numbers of people for work in the plantations of the lowlands, or, as the slogan goes, to open the gates of

164 these large "human reservoirs" of the highlands in order to
147 supply the plantations suffering from a chronic lack of labor. An attempt to do so would lead to results which would differ little from mass murder.

[144] The spread of sleeping sickness from the eastern
164 Congo to the western, lower regions of Urundi has had terrible
136 results. The carrier of the sleeping sickness, the stinging fly
731 Glossina palpalis, has infected the Ruzizi valley up to the vicinity of Lake Kivu, which is still safe, and the entire basin of Lake Tanganyika almost to the border formed by the surrounding mountains, and it also has spread to the stream and river valleys facing the lake as far as the eastern highland, for example, the valley of the Malagarasi. According to official reports on the development of our protectorate in 1912-13, the situation on Lake Tanganyika is such that, as a result of the considerable expansion of the infected area, the inaccessibility of the population, and also the difficulty of controlling the traffic with the infected areas of the Congo colony, the fight against sleeping sickness will continue for a long time to come. According to official sources, 3,303 new cases were observed in 1913, as compared with 3,560 cases in 1912. In the area of Lakê Tanganyika there are probably a total of 200,000 persons suffering from sleeping sickness.

In 1911 I traveled through the infected areas of the lower
164 Ruzizi valley and in northeastern Tanganyika. I was horrified
731 by the devastation that the disease had caused among the population which formerly had been so dense and had been so cheerful. Entire villages have ceased to exist, and the population of extensive areas have moved away or have been relocated by the government. The sick who have been collected in well-guarded camps by the government are slowly dying, and none of the remedies applied (Atoxyl, Salvarsan, and others) seem to have any beneficial effect. All economic activity has ceased, traffic and commerce have stopped, and the European firms which were active there have either gone bankrupt or moved away except for a few. After the railroad has been built to Lake Tanganyika, it will be possible to combat the spreading of the sleeping sickness

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800 years before our era. To him is attributed the erection of the lotus column in the Temple of Karnak.

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1. Most of the great chiefs are polygamous or keep concubines in their many domains. The simpler Hamitic herders, who are in the majority, are usually monogamous and of a sterling moral character equaling that of the Bahutu. One might even add that those who lead a pastoral life could give the Bahutu advice in matters of decency.

h [i.e., the Batutsi - Analyst]

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
● 147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
826

1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets. The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

144

2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

164 Since then the Lake Barundi have not changed much as
regards their physical and mental constitution, but the individ-
165 ual tribes were struck by a terrible epidemic of sleeping sick-
ness and were reduced to scarcely a third of their original num-
bers, so that in 1911 I found most of the formerly flourishing
settlements deserted and laid waste. Fortunately the stinging
[136] fly, Glossina palpalis, which carries the infection, has not
penetrated into cool, windy, upper Urundi, and it probably
never will since it does not find favorable conditions there.

4. Mental Traits

000 At this point little will be said about the mental traits
of the Barundi since they can be adequately inferred from the
detailed descriptions of their life and of their material and in-
tellectual culture which will follow. Therefore, I shall give
only a few data about the disposition, temperament, and
character of these three large population groups which differ
so considerably from each other.

Of the Batwa, the more primitive, freer Forest Batwa
151 are also much freer mentally than those who have settled
among the Bahutu and Batussi. Like all hunting tribes, they
are characterized by their extraordinarily sharp senses, the
superiority of which is very often experienced and still feared
by the Bahutu as they advance against the forest in search of
563 arable land. As long as he can still hunt and live, freely
roaming the forest, the Mutwa is very proud of his independence
and looks with contempt upon the Muhutu wretched and bent
low tilling his field, and also on the Village Mutwa living
outside the forests who has to earn his living painfully either
by working in the fields or as a potter or blacksmith. Toward
609 a European the Mutwa is in most cases, if not hostile, at any
rate shy and ostensibly indolent, for even in peaceful inter-
course he is afraid of the sorcery and formidable powers of the
Whites.

563 [13] The Village Batwa are in all circumstances shy and
157 cringing as a result of their social position as pariahs, of which

273 people, it is not out of virtue but simply because they do not have enough to eat and drink to satisfy their appetites. They could eat an ox at one sitting, and if they were given as much beer as they wanted, they would keep drinking from morning till night" (No. 19, p. 317). Drunkenness is not regarded as a shortcoming or a vice but as evidence of the prosperity or generosity of the host. After the millet and banana harvest, from July to September, is the time for brewing beer (kwenga insoga, kutoba), the period of gluttony and general drunkeness all over Urundi, and this continues until the provisions are exhausted. Often the last drop disppears down the gullet after not more than four weeks, and the thirsty souls have to remain
273 abstinent until the next harvest period. During the period of
574 carousal, singing and shouting can be heard issuing from most homesteads deep into the night, for there are no quiet and solitary drinkers. Drinking beer is always a social affair. One person after another invites friends and relatives to communal drinking bouts, and in this manner they make the rounds among all the families of friends, guzzling until nothing is left. In
[431] addition to this, pots filled with beer are given as presents or any suitable occasion, and then they are shared by receiver and donor together. Of course, beer is part of any kind of festive occasion which usually also includes dancing (see pp. 65, 125).
273 Since the banana beer, which is the most popular, is quite
579 potent and since, in addition, the Barundi are by nature easily
152 excited, the more advanced stages of such communal drinking bouts usually take a rather wild form. Quite regularly violent arguments ensue, and often fights result in which even lances are used, sometimes ending in manslaughter. In the latter case, the consequences for the families concerned are quite disastrous (see pp. 97, 165).

273 Significantly enough, beer-brewing among the Barundi
[462] is a task with which the women are charged. They are experts in this respect, but they also are hard drinkers. There are four different types of beer in Urundi. The most potent, popular, and widespread type is banana beer (insoga j'ivitoke). To

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

Man and the Non-material World

Imana, the Creator

Imana, the creator, is a person. He is conceived as an intelligence, a will, an emotivity. He is extremely powerful: 'the plant protected by *Imana* is never hurt by wind', '*Imana* has very long arms', '*Imana* goes above any shield'. He is non-material. His action influences the whole world; but Ruanda is his home where he comes to spend the night. He is always invoked as 'God of Ruanda' (*Imana y'i Ruanda*). 776

Imana is essentially good: 'your enemy is digging a pitfall for you, *Imana* prepares your exit', '*Imana* gives, he does not sell'. This is why he takes care of men and why there is no cult in his honour. He is so good, I have been told, that he does not require any offering.

There is a special creative act of *Imana* at the beginning of each person's life. Impregnation in itself would not be sufficient to produce a new human being. This is why the young wife, at evening, leaves a few drops of water in a jar. *Imana*, as a potter, needs some water to shape the clay into a child in her womb. Then, after birth, *Imana* decides what life is to be for that individual: happy or unhappy. If, later on, a man is miserable, poverty-stricken, in bad health, it is said that he was created by *Ruremakwaci*. This way of speaking has led some observers to understand that besides *Imana*, there was another creator, perhaps subordinate, perhaps an evil spirit. As a matter of fact, *Ruremakwaci* is the name given to *Imana* when he does not create very successfully, when 'he is tired', or, for some inscrutable reason, decides that a certain destiny will be unhappy. This is consistent with the Ruanda linguistic habit of assigning different names to one cause according to its different effects. 776 842 776 777 [196]

Imana's influence is thought to be always beneficial for human beings. It happens very often that obstacles are placed in the way of his action by malevolent agencies of the invisible world, but from him only good things come. This is not completely consistent with the belief in an unfortunate predestination by *Imana*. It should be noted, first, that the theory of predestination has not a very deep impact on the attitude of Banyarwanda. A person who thinks himself unhappy, and might thus suspect that he has been predestined to a miserable life, does not seem to be submerged by a feeling of doom. Unless he is brought to despair by a situation from which there is no escape, he will go on living and trying to improve his condition. Secondly, this inconsistency will be better understood if we consider the attitude of Banyarwanda towards the king (the *Mwami*) in similar circumstances. The *Mwami*, the supreme authority is good, yet he may be harmful and cruel to some of his subjects. As his power is absolute, as he is magically identified with Ruanda itself, he may never be criticized. Thus the victims of some arbitrary royal decision, and their friends, go on saying that the king is good but that his favourite counsellor is very bad and is responsible for what they suffer. As might be expected, in Ruanda God is conceived [152] [43]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

181 is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and
554 everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior
152 (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu
564 are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are corre-
576 spondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

181 When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi
564 specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate
558 qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in
687 which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

181 All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while
564 living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame.
761 To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the
554 normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious:
715 for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *basimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *mizimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

181 To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and repu-
554 tation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense
564

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are
(554) only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

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1[i.e., the Batutsi - Analyst]

684 It is not extraordinary to hear that a wronged husband has taken justice into his own hands, especially if the culprits were caught in flagrante delicto. As for unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), in the Bugoyi
684 they were abandoned on the islands of Lake Kivu where they died of
848 starvation. The small, rocky, and completely arid islands of Ntera, Kapfunuka, and Itembabagoyi were renowned on this account, along with the larger but deserted islands known by the name of Bugarura, Wawu, etc. In the Nduga and other provinces bordering the Akanyaru, the girls were inexorably hunted out by the chiefs, who had them drowned in the river. They were thrown in with their hands and feet tied, and if they did not sink below the water right away, they were knocked on the head with oars and clubs, under the eyes of the populace who had come to witness their torture. There is a river dweller who is in charge of the execution of those unfortunate victims and who tells cold-bloodedly of the drownings he has carried out. If one is to believe him, a dozen victims have passed through his hands. It is said that a grandfather acted as his own granddaughter's executioner to avoid persecution by the chiefs, who take advantage of /53/ the opportunity to pillage the home of the wrongdoer's relatives. Occasionally, families succeeded in ransoming their child by giving a cow to the local authorities, but obviously such recourse was not available to everyone. Even in this case the newborn child was pitilessly killed at birth. Sometimes the culprit could also be made to escape in time to Urundi, the Ndorwa, or the Congo. The motive alleged for such severity is fear of the punishment that would not fail to befall the country if such crimes were allowed.

Let us add that we are speaking of the past, and that today it
181 would be very difficult to dispose of the criminals without the knowledge of the Europeans. Crimes of this kind, moreover, were relatively rare. The Banyarwanda are indeed superior by far to neighboring peoples as far as morality is concerned. It is of little moment that this should be attributed to the altitude of the country, which reaches an average of 1, 700 or 1, 800 meters, or to their working habits, both of which facts are incidentally quite true.

[152 In any event the women are very shy. So are the nubile girls,
862] who are closely watched by their mothers.

644 the king following such a denunciation, the sentence was swiftly
683 pronounced. "Nakukijije (You are pardoned)," said the king, if the accused had been so fortunate as to find powerful protectors or to refute peremptorily the accusations of his enemies. "Mumujane ku kivumu (Lead him to the ficus tree)," cried the king to the executioners when the man was condemned.

696 "Come on, we shall pardon you (guino twakukijije)," added the executioners derisively while leading away their prey. The unfortunate creature vainly implored the pity of the king and of the spectators, who just looked away. He was quickly led to a hollow
[152] near the ill-omened ficus tree (ikivumu), where he was to suffer the prescribed punishment under the eyes of the crowd, who loved to attend those dreadful spectacles (1). The moans, complaints, cries,
[541]

1. Capital punishment drew large crowds filled with morbid curiosity and avid for cruel emotions.

and howls of the tormented victims did not stop the executioners from pursuing their deadly task to the end. The sufferings of the condemned persons in no way affected their sensibilities. "Has it been a long time since So-and-So was executed?" they were sometimes asked. "The hyenas have eaten him and even digested him (zamuliye, zamuneye)," they would answer coarsely without changing their tone.

Executioners were seen to prolong the victim's torment for their own gratification, or to lead them to run away by releasing them from their bonds so as to have the pleasure of finishing them on the run. We shall not elaborate on the disgraceful mutilations which those unfortunate individuals were first made to suffer.

686 Many a "rain maker" was killed because he could produce no rain. At times of great drought, those who had the misfortune /379/ of being caught were brought to court. They remained bound for days under the burning rays of the sun, while the populace hurled insults at them.

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
766 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
821 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824 umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783] avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

791 The bahinza have to do with matters relating to farming,
789 above all with crops and grasshoppers. A good harvest is due to their cooperation. That is why, after the harvest, bahinza go about collecting donations. People like to give them gifts. The curse of the muhinza can "dry up" human beings as well as animals, so that they lose their sexual powers.

The Balera fear the curse of the muhinza very much, for if he merely pronounces his curse and spits upon the ground, the effect is automatic.

[152] Father F. Dufays told me that he saw a man die of fright soon after he had been cursed by a muhinza. The bahinza are always Bahutu.

791 Bawubyi are rainmakers. They appear in the transition period between the rainy season and the dry season and demand gifts for making rain or for making it stop. Bawubyi are always pariah Batwa.

Since there are very few Batutsi in Mulera and they have little influence, we may assume that [321] the various categories of soothsayers and sorcerers mentioned here and familiar to me from my stay in Mulera and the practice of poisoning are phenomena basic to Bahutu culture and not borrowed from the Batutsi.

588 In Ruanda, as in Kiziba and Mpororo, women are consecrated to the spirits. They must provide for the needs of the spirits, and their children are said to be regarded as the children of the spirit and to belong to his family, for these women are allegedly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with others. I was told quite frankly, however, about a case where a Mututsi chief consecrated Bahutu women to a spirit and had sexual intercourse with them.

787 Dreams and Soothsaying. In Ruanda various methods of soothsaying are practiced. First we must speak of the chicken oracle because of its great importance.

In order to obtain information about a certain matter through the chicken oracle, it is necessary for the person to come to the soothsayer (mupfumu) with a chicken. When he arrives, he spits into the beak of the chicken and hands it to the soothsayer. The latter first places the chicken on the visitor's head and then calls his helper, a young boy. The boy grasps the chicken under its

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The conditions favouring contamination by different diseases and the very limited defences against them permit us to assume that illness and mortality through these diseases must have been very high and a constant threat to everybody. 164

These brief notes on health conditions in Ruanda would be incomplete without a mention of mental health. We are not attempting here an assessment of the neuroses and psychoses which can be found in Ruanda or to the number of people affected by them and who, in the Western world, would be considered in need of psychiatric treatment. There is not sufficient information on these matters at present. But we would like to consider very briefly conditions which are likely to result in psychological tensions. 121

We have already mentioned the circumstances which make life objectively hard (a barely sufficient diet, starvation periods, and diseases). In addition it was often dangerous. When informants were asked what sort of reputation they particularly wished to avoid, they did not usually answer by listing the opposites of those particular qualities which they would like to have attributed to them, but by pointing to some definite reputation in which danger might be inherent. Above all, a Tutsi feared to be regarded as an enemy of the king. It was no doubt partly because he felt a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be thought of as an enemy of the king was extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of everything, the severance of all social relations, exile, or even death. He also feared to be considered a traitor to his chief. This was a less dangerous reputation, although it entailed sanctions: if a client had been disloyal to his lord the latter might take back from him all the cattle he had previously given him and eventually all his cattle. The Hutu said that they feared an accusation of witchcraft, for such an accusation could certainly mean immediate death. There was little that could be done actively to avoid such a danger except to be a good neighbour, to be envied by nobody, to have no enemies, and especially to have a powerful protector. The Hutu were also afraid of acquiring any reputation which could result in their losing the protection of the lord to whom they owed allegiance and consequently leaving them exposed and defenceless against the arbitrary actions of the powerful.[81] 152 626 681 591 181

[81] Cf. Maquet, 1954a, or Maquet, 1958.

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152 Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[22] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[23] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[22] Maquet, 1958, pp. 526-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[23] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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Boys from Twelve To

883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their [224] fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place 869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage [603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grandfather. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of 867 behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed [868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to [867] be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first [428] wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

595 The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been 593 mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favour- 183 ite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour [152] was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these

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The great traditions of military courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were predominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

431 he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has
554 already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle
431 measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any
554 alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior.

Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows
626 or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more
[564] generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will
[593] return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For,
554 physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to
681 instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take
[861] out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their
[566] parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a
[593] woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always
431 combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or
554 affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors
828 and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no
[152] doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. 562
He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. 593
For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an 152
imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity 593
to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by 837
this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information [557]
from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. [831]
Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep [833]
with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a [601]
highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to [578]
quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a poly- 152
gamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every 595
other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to [832]
quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

152 diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look
595 for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with
[832] other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his
152 wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from
564 each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself
595 that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

562 The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

562 Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with
868 maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around
[291] her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting
[867] among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work
858 and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
716 by *Imana*.

The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
564 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
583 hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[539] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

suffer is not only to be hurt but also to expiate one's sins, to purify one's soul, and to identify oneself with Christ. For serious Christians, suffering cannot be stripped of its religious meaning without being completely distorted. Banyarwanda, on the contrary, seem to take a very 'secular' view of the human condition. Their belief in the supernatural world does not greatly influence their attitude to the unavoidable hardships and pleasures of life. All our informants agree that to die means above all to quit life. They believe that they will become *bazimu* but that leaves them rather indifferent. Even initiates do not show any enthusiasm for the idea of joining *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa* at their feasts. To abandon his children, his herds, his friends, is a sad thing for a Mututsi. But it is accepted, without dramatizing it, as one of those facts which belong to the normal order of things.

If quitting this life is so unfortunate, is human existence such a cheerful experience for Banyarwanda? Enjoyments and the pleasant things of life are very unevenly distributed in Ruanda. The superior caste, the Batutsi, form about 10 per cent. of the population. But, by various means, principally by the institutionalized exchange of cattle for services and dues, Batutsi have been able to gather a much higher proportion of consumers' goods. They do no manual work and have leisure to cultivate eloquence, poetry, refined manners, and the subtle art of being witty when talking and drinking hydromel with friends. Bahutu, perhaps 85 per cent. of the population, do not enjoy such gracious living. They have to produce for themselves and for Batutsi. On a very poor soil, with technologically primitive implements, it is necessary to work hard to secure the surplus production required by the Batutsi. Moreover, the great social influence of Batutsi has given opportunities for the arbitrary exercise of power, so that there are many insecurities in a Muhutu's life. But exploitation has been kept within limits set by the wisdom and the interests of the Batutsi, and a system of protection has assured a minimum of security to the Bahutu. As to the Batwa, they are so low in the social hierarchy, and are considered so irresponsible that they have had a greater independence of action. Formerly they lived on the margin of Ruanda society. They had a reputation for grossly enjoying any opportunities for eating, drinking, making music, and dancing. It should be added that Banyarwanda, according to our standards, have been rather defenceless against disease, that starvation was a real threat for the majority when the rains failed, that ritual observances and interdicts were numerous, and that when somebody happened to be involved in a charge of sorcery he had good reason for great fear. Thus it seems that, for an ordinary Munyarwanda, life is objectively hard, often dangerous but bearable. This partly explains the Ruanda outlook upon the totality of life. It might be described as a mild optimism. As many of our informants put it: 'Existence for Banyarwanda was not easy, it was even often very painful, but on the whole, life was rather a good thing.'

As everywhere, some individuals were at some time of their lives plunged into circumstances which offered apparently no way out. A Mututsi who

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154 had incurred the king's displeasure and was for that reason left without protectors, friends, or cattle was in a desperate situation; only with difficulty could he gain a bare subsistence. A Muhutu against whom an accusation of sorcery was repeated; an unmarried girl of a noble family whose pregnancy became publicly known; all these, if they failed to escape from their predicament by skill and rational behaviour (such as obtaining the king's mercy, denying the charge of sorcery and looking for the protection of a powerful man, using abortifacients or denying the pregnancy), would have recourse to the *bapfumu*, seeking to know what spirit or sorcerer was responsible for their misfortune and how to appease the malevolent being. If all the practices and offerings recommended by the diviner had no effect, then they called upon *Imana*, and if their prayers were unanswered, only drastic solutions remained, such as exile in a foreign country or suicide. But these tragic destinies were not numerous and they did not shake the belief of the majority in the moderate happiness of living.

812 There is a further reason for their generally cheerful acceptance of the conditions of their existence. Banyarwanda are not inclined to speculate about the inaccessible. Westerners are given to imagining how beautiful and good life might be if humanity and the universe were different from what they are. This trend of thinking is quite alien to Banyarwanda and, when it is suggested, appears futile to them. The usual, the normal (in the sense of what we are accustomed to, and what we have reason to expect) is often self-explanatory. When a particular event fits into the normal scheme of things, there are no questions to be asked. If everybody has to [761] relinquish this existence and die, death is no scandal or absurdity. It is the way *Imana* has arranged things. There is no further problem.

Cultural Values

181 Human action is determined partly by cultural values, partly by the socially recognized means of attaining them. By cultural values we mean the final or intermediate aims that are considered the proper purposes of human activity in a particular society.

181 In a stratified society, such as that of Ruanda, each layer is likely to have its own set of values, although some of those originating in one group may extend 354 to others. Let us begin with the Batutsi. When a Mututsi informant is asked 564 what the people of his group wish for above all, the answer comes immediately: 'children and cattle.' A further question, 'why?', discloses that these are not ultimate values sought for themselves, but intermediate ones, means to reach more abstract ends. The latter are power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

Power is understood here in connexion with persons (power over somebody) rather than with things (power to do something). It is, to paraphrase Lasswell's definition, the ability that a person, engaged in a human relationship with another, has to oblige the latter to do or not to do something (on pain of suffering severe privation). Power is essentially the capacity to

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[32] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[33] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[32] Maquet, 1958, pp. 526-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[33] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

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agents instead of being comforting were always potential enemies. There appear to have been certain defences, however. Firstly, there was a belief in the immutability of natural and social order; consequently this order and its frustrations were accepted as a matter of course. Secondly, there was always a means, whatever its efficacy, of coping with dangers and consequently people were able to hope that they would not be defenceless against them. We may thus conclude that social and natural conditions in Ruanda did not seem to prevent the bulk of people from enjoying the amount of psychological security necessary to go on living without tensions and anxieties such as disturb mental balance.

Richard Kandt says of the Batussi:

181 "If I analyze my feelings and state them honestly, I must say that I was impressed by them. Even now I have not lost this feeling although my mind rebels against it and although I have told myself hundreds of times that these people are, after all, barbarians far inferior to me intellectually. But it is of no avail! I have explained to myself the source of this feeling, so unusual to experience toward a colored person ... Apart from the gigantic stature, apart from the nobility of each movement and the dignity of their manner of speech, apart from the tasteful unobtrusive manner in which they dress, apart from their refined features and the calm penetrating, often even mocking and provocative eyes, apart from all this, there still is -- and here I hesitate and am unable to formulate the dim obscure feelings which hover in my imagination." (No. 22, p. 266.)

[544] This is a sentimental but a very understandable judgment. In actual fact the Batussi are a ruling caste, but not a ruling race in the ethical sense.

583 Gradually one discovers the secret of the tremendous
186 superiority of the relatively few Batussi over the one and a half
● 156 million Bahutu: they are greatly superior to them in intelligence, calmness, composure, cruelty, cunning, racial pride, solidarity, and political talent. What strikes one most about the individual Mutussi, apart from his imposing outward appearance which certainly must have made a great impression on the Muhutu from the beginning, is first his calm and what appears to be unconcerned reserve. In his contact with the restless, impulsive, thoughtless Muhutu, this has always been to his advantage.
[609] Further one is struck by the arrogance he displays even toward Europeans, by his abysmal mendacity and cowardice when faced with any disagreeable situation. The Mutussi regards himself and his kind as the crown of creation, as a paragon of cleverness and political skill. This is small wonder, for the inferiority of the relatively few tribes within his sphere of vision -- intentionally kept narrowly circumscribed -- and the fact that a Batussi minority rules the large Bahutu people were bound to increase his feeling
186 of importance beyond all measure. It is true that he fears the
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indices and the lynching of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union. There is evidently no rational means for the whites of the south to impute the responsibility for the lack of rain—which was then the cause of the poor cotton crops—to Negroes. This typically irrational behaviour, however, becomes comprehensible if we accept the frustration-aggression sequence. In this sense, it can be said that the relation between the two phenomena, economic crises and lynching, is a logical relation.[8]

Ruanda political relations disclose one of the premises of that culture. Underlying the political and feudal structures there was a general assumption about human relations. In order to formulate it as accurately as may be possible, I shall first consider more closely the social roles of the superior and inferior in the field of political and feudal relations. In the following section the words 'ruler' and 'subject' refer to superiors and inferiors in the administrative, military, and clientage structures.

2. THE RULER'S AND SUBJECT'S SOCIAL ROLES

The analysis of the political organization of Ruanda indicates that the ruler was expected to assume a complex role towards his subject. The two poles of it were protection and profit. The subordinate was somebody whom one protected: he was also a resource from which it was normal to draw some advantage.

Protection was not restricted to a certain field of action, but potentially encompassed the whole of the subject's life. When the inferior needed some help, any help, he was expected to apply to his ruler even if the issue was completely alien to the sphere of the main relations between the ruler and the subject. A client could ask his *sheseja* for aid in matters not pertaining to cattle and *bubake* services. It was even thought proper for the ruler to interfere in difficulties which his subject through his own misdemeanour had run into as, for instance, when an inferior had been caught stealing from somebody. When protection was refused, it was not because the question was not the ruler's concern, but on other grounds, such as disloyalty.

The extent of that protection was not strictly defined. It did not constitute for the ruler a set of particular and fixed obligations. The subordinate had a general right to be protected but very few claims to particular advantages. In *bubake*, when one offered one's

[8] Dollard, 1939, p. 44 (quoted by Maquet, 1951, p. 166).

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services to a lord in order to become his client, one was entitled to receive usufruct of his cattle. But the number of cows was not determined. It could be one or twenty or fifty or even more.

It was up to the ruler to decide if any protection was to be granted and to what extent. Of course the pressure of public opinion obliged him not to refuse aid to his subordinate unless he had some socially accepted reason to do so (such as the subordinate's disobedience), but the measure of the protection depended on his own will and pleasure.

These characteristics of the protective attitude (care of the whole of the subordinate's life, its very variable extent being left to the superior's judgement) allow us to apply to it the qualification of 'paternalistic'. Paternalism is understood here as 'the principle of acting in a way like that of a father towards his children. Because of the total dependency of the human offspring, during their first years, on those who nurse and educate them—and they are usually their parents—the latter's authority ranges over the whole of the life of the child. In everything he needs his parents, in everything they have to direct and control him. Moreover, parents sovereignly judge what they are going to give their children. Undoubtedly, their social groups force them to secure for their children the protection they need to live and develop but the children may not require such or such a particular service. Parents decide without further ado what is suitable for the child and think that better than he they know what is 'best for him'.

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A paternal relation does not exclude profit. In describing the Ruanda's father's role towards his sons, I mentioned that the father's interests were usually thought to be predominant in respect of the children's interests. When inferiors were not the superior's children but his subjects or clients, that aspect of profit was much more emphasized. All those who occupied the inferior position in the relations of the political and feudal structures had dues to give and tribute labour to perform for the profit of their superiors, and some of these obligations were heavy. It did not appear at all unusual to Ruanda that power brought many privileges to those who had it. If one is a chief, is it not fitting to draw advantages from one's situation? Here, again, the extent of the subject's obligations was left within very broad limits to the superior's discretion.

The ruler's role seems to have been that paternalistic blend of

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protection and profit. Of course, that role was not always perfectly fulfilled. Chiefs who have been more exploiters than protectors are remembered. It was by comparison with that ideal picture that their behaviour was judged and blamed. 571 829 156 641

The subject was expected to have a role complementary to the one we have just described. He was supposed to assume an attitude of dependency. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a well delimited field. Dependence is inferiority in the whole of life. When the ruler gives an order, he has to be obeyed, not because his order falls within the field over which he has authority, but because he is a ruler.

It could be objected that in Ruanda this attitude of dependence was not in principle unlimited. We saw that cattle- and land-chiefs could not require as many dues as they liked, that subjects could resort to higher authorities against their immediate chiefs, and that it was possible to oppose one chief against another. This does not change the fact that the dependent attitude was the only one socially expected of the subject. Indeed it was impossible to be considered a 'good' subject if one asserted independence of one's superior. A claim of independence, even limited, obliged one to leave the superior, to ask for the support of another and to assume towards the latter an attitude of complete compliance. This appeared clearly in the feudal relation. A lord could not be refused what he asked (even at the present time a shop assistant who is obliged by the law to sell only for cash, will find it very difficult not to sell on credit to his lord). He could only be deserted for another.

3. FORMULATION OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

When paternalism and dependence define the permanent roles expected from two persons, much more is implied than when they express the transitory roles of a father and his young son. In the latter case it is known that the son will grow up and one day, even if he has to wait till after his father's death, will be equal to what his father was when the latter was young. But when paternalism and dependence are linked in permanent reciprocal roles, the assumption is that there is a fundamental inequality between the two persons. The subject will never grow up, he will never 'reach his majority'. It is implied without any doubt that there is between the ruler and his subject a difference so fundamental that it never can be suppressed. This fundamental inequality of men is the 571 829 181

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different share in social power and fundamentally different rights. 564

The Ruanda principle of inequality could be expressed in the following terms: people born in different castes are unequal in inborn endowment, physical as well as psychological and have consequently fundamentally different rights. [181]

That premise, closely connected with the caste structure, is suggested by the analysis of the political and feudal structures. Indeed, when a principle of inequality exists in a society with respect to a certain type of relations, it does not fail to spread to other relations more or less similar. In Ruanda, the inegalitarian premise of inter-caste relations has permeated the intricate relations which could be regarded as analogous in certain respects. A Tutsi who was lord over another Tutsi was thought to be superior over his client in a way comparable to the manner in which he was superior over his Hutu clients. Of course significant differences remained between inter- and intra-caste relationships of superiority, but the latter tended to be patterned on the former ones. 181 571 564

The extension to intricate relations of the premise of inter-caste inequality made it a principle of integration with a very wide bearing as it could, and did, in fact, pervade all the human relations in which a superiority of one actor over the other was implied. It could be the relation between a mother and her young child, a father and his son, a man and his wife, an old man and a youngster, a craftsman and an apprentice, &c. These relations constituting the texture of social life, the impact on collective living of the premise of fundamental inequality, cannot be over-estimated.

4. THE THEOREMS

In order to understand better how the inequality premise influenced the whole of Ruanda social life, the different aspects of that influence must be made explicit. They will be expressed as a set of theorems, by which is meant general propositions or statements which are not self-evident. 128

Theorem One

When two persons are involved in any kind of social relation, it is their mutual hierarchical situation which is regarded as the most relevant element of the relation. 571 156 554

Superiority and inferiority were *fact* of the Ruanda social structure to such an extent that as soon as they entered as a

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component in the content of a social intercourse, other components were regarded as less important and were coloured by the hierarchical situation of the two actors. In Euro-American culture, relationships of inferiority are defined not only as regards the people taking part in them but also as regards the matters concerned. A business executive may give orders to one of his employees only within very well-defined limits of competence and time, but he cannot oblige him to accept his views on for instance artistic or political questions. In Ruanda, on the contrary, when one of the persons involved in a dyad was superior to the other from a certain point of view, the superiority was diffused, as it were, through the whole relation. For his subject, a chief was always a chief in whatever matter.

This first theorem is a consequence of inequality conceived as essential. When two persons are considered unequal by nature, the superiority of one over the other cannot be limited to a certain sphere. Obedience in everything must be required: there is no field in which a father could be wrong and his son right.

Theorem Two

As in almost any human relation there is some superiority of one actor over the other, as that aspect is always stressed and as inferiority relations are patterned on inter-caste relations, paternalistic, and dependent attitudes were to be found in almost every human relation in Ruanda.

The only exceptions were relations between people who were equal from any point of view, as for instance young men of about the same age, belonging to the same caste and whose families were about at the same level of wealth.

This is very noticeable today, even in relations with Europeans. A clerk usually assumes towards the European he assists, a dependent attitude different from the behaviour of a European employee. The clerk expects from his employer a behaviour similar to the paternalistic attitude of the Ruanda superiors and he is puzzled and disappointed if the employer does not assume such an attitude.

Theorem Three

There is no private sector in the life of the inferior *vis-à-vis* his superior. The superior has the right to control the whole of his

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subordinate's activities. This is not resented by the inferior as unbearable meddling. On the contrary, it is expected by the inferior who feels that such interference is a proof of the interest his superior extends to him. When a European employer avoids intruding into the privacy of a Ruanda subordinate, the latter not infrequently tends to interpret it as a withdrawal from the protective role expected from any superior.

If a subordinate were to refuse his Ruanda superior's interference on the grounds that he should not be concerned with his private affairs, such a pretension would be regarded as at least a definite lack of respect.

Theorem Four

Strictly contractual relations are not possible. To enter into a contract implies that the intended parties are previously independent of one another. If one is submitted to the other for the whole of his life, how could he freely commit himself to give the other certain services? And how could the other promise to secure his inferior a counterpart that the latter can legally claim? When entering into contractual relations, it is necessary that each prospective partner should be a person independent of and equal to the other in that context. In the Western world, admittedly, it frequently happens that an agreement which verifies the juridical forms of a contract is entered into by persons who are not independent and equal. Circumstances may exert such a pressure that freedom to accept or refuse a particular obligation is purely illusory. Conditions of independence and equality, however, are often realised. In ancient Ruanda such a situation could almost never have happened as it was rare for two persons who might otherwise be related by a contract, not to be already involved in paternalistic and dependent relations.

Moreover, after the contract has been concluded it is necessary that each partner should be able to defend himself against any demand of the other which would exceed the terms of the covenant, and that he should have the means to oblige the other to fulfil what the latter has agreed to give or to do. This implies again that one part is not completely dependent on the other. Now, as I mentioned earlier, the extent of the superior's obligations is left, in Ruanda, to his will and pleasure. Consequently, it was unthinkable for the party who was at the same time in a position

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571 inferior to the other to claim some particular fulfilment of the
675 agreed promises from the other.

This appears clearly in the difficulties Ruanda often meet
554 when they have to adjust themselves to European labour contracts.
[199] They are sometimes confused by the fact that the employer requires from them at the same time less and more than they
[829] expect. Less because the employer does not ask for more services, for longer office hours for instance, than what has been stipulated, and more because he is very exacting in the execution of what has been undertaken, for instance in matters of punctuality.

Theorem Five

571 With such socially accepted conceptions about inequality, those who occupy the superior positions in most of the social relations
• 156 in which they are involved, tend to develop a permanent authori-
554 tarian behaviour. This is characterized by a propensity to command, to be self-assertive, arrogant, protective, and compassionate.

Chiefs, rulers, and other superiors try to extend not only the size or range of their power (the number of people controlled) but its density (the degree of control of the subordinates).[7] Any independence manifested by the inferior will be resented as rebellious.

This leads to intolerance. The superior's opinions should never be opposed by the inferior who is always and everywhere ex-
[829] pected to manifest his dependence by attitudes of compliance. Even today this conduct tends to prevail. Some years ago a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. After the most important person present there had given his opinion, everybody voted for his proposal. But after the meeting many expressed privately their divergent opinions. At the time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with the superior.

Theorem Six

571 Even if the caste system and political and feudal institutions
156 have succeeded to a large extent in moulding personalities in such a way as to make inferiors self-effacing, submissive, compliant,
[181] and dependent, the conditioning has not been perfect. Often the inferior wants to disagree with his superior's opinions, to avoid executing an order or obeying his commands. A straight refusal

[7] Cf. Russell, 1938, pp. 163 f.

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being regarded as insulting, disrespect or revolt, the only way out for the inferior is to appear to behave always as expected: to fall in with any desire of his superior while concealing his own opinion, never to say no to any order but to find clever excuses for not doing it. Consequently dissimulation is very highly thought of and a skill necessary to master for someone wanting to live more or less securely under such a political régime.

Many stories and proverbs give evidence of the frequency of covert disobedience to the rulers and of the appreciation in which an astute excuse and a 'good lie' were held. This was the only way to adapt oneself to such a situation.

Theorem Seven

It is commonly accepted in the Western tradition that truth has a high value and that language is the medium used to express 'truth', that is to say, 'what reality appears to be to the person who speaks'. Undoubtedly, in Western practice, language is used, even in the cognitive sphere, for many other purposes than to express what the speaker thinks. Moreover, most of the scholars who, in recent years, have studied the problem of the origin and function of language, bring qualifications to the traditional view. In the almost unanimous opinion of the carriers of Western culture, however, the ideal verbal behaviour must express 'truth' and not what is useful to the speaker. This is, for example, what is inculcated into children in schools.

In a society in which human relations are imbued with some cultural premises as the one being considered in this chapter, 'truth' cannot be recognized as a dominant value. Indeed, one is supposed to use language not to say what is thought to conform to reality but what is thought to conform to the ruler's opinion. Nobody, the ruler included, entertains many illusions on the sincerity of what is said, but submission has been expressed at the right time and this is felt to be most important.

This theorem could be formulated in this way: the verbal behaviour towards a superior must express dependence rather than 'truth'.

Theorem Eight

Once it is taken for granted that in hierarchical relations, behaviour must conform to the superior's expectations even to the

164 Since then the Lake Barundi have not changed much as
165 regards their physical and mental constitution, but the individual tribes were struck by a terrible epidemic of sleeping sickness and were reduced to scarcely a third of their original numbers, so that in 1911 I found most of the formerly flourishing settlements deserted and laid waste. Fortunately the stinging
[136] fly, Glossina palpalis, which carries the infection, has not penetrated into cool, windy, upper Urundi, and it probably never will since it does not find favorable conditions there.

4. Mental Traits

000 At this point little will be said about the mental traits of the Barundi since they can be adequately inferred from the detailed descriptions of their life and of their material and intellectual culture which will follow. Therefore, I shall give only a few data about the disposition, temperament, and character of these three large population groups which differ so considerably from each other.

Of the Batwa, the more primitive, freer Forest Batwa
151 are also much freer mentally than those who have settled among the Bahutu and Batussi. Like all hunting tribes, they are characterized by their extraordinarily sharp senses, the superiority of which is very often experienced and still feared by the Bahutu as they advance against the forest in search of
563 arable land. As long as he can still hunt and live, freely roaming the forest, the Mutwa is very proud of his independence and looks with contempt upon the Muhutu wretched and bent low tilling his field, and also on the Village Mutwa living outside the forests who has to earn his living painfully either by working in the fields or as a potter or blacksmith. Toward
609 a European the Mutwa is in most cases, if not hostile, at any rate shy and ostensibly indolent, for even in peaceful intercourse he is afraid of the sorcery and formidable powers of the Whites.

563 [13] The Village Batwa are in all circumstances shy and
157 cringing as a result of their social position as pariahs, of which

563 they are reminded daily in living with the two other higher
157 classes of the population. Under this social pressure, their natural talent has been turned into cunning and craftiness. However, the Forest Batwa are quite proficient in these arts also.

Being shrewd and realizing their position fully, the Batwa
563 are friendly toward the Batussi, whereas they regard the Bahutu agriculturalists who destroy the forest with fire and axe as the robbers of their freedom, and this is the case both in Ruanda and in Urundi. Just as in Ruanda King Musinga himself keeps an
[644] entire settlement of Batwa at his court in Nyanza, preferring to entrust the protection of his person and the maintenance of order to these pariahs hostile to the Bahutu, so also in Urundi most of the Batwa are to be found near the residences of the chief where they find work and a livelihood in the service of the Batussi more easily than anywhere else except among the Bahutu. This is a symbiosis of the two numerically weaker population elements against the subjugated Bahutu, a people who number millions, within which both groups derive advantage.

The over-all character of the Barundi is provided by the large mass of the Bahutu, for although the Batussi are in fact the most striking members of the population because of their external appearance and their ruling position, they are too much in the minority, and in the majority of customs and external forms of culture they have assimilated with the Bahutu. Mentally, however, they are quite different from the Bahutu.

Like all Bantu, the Muhutu is by nature intelligent and
157 has a lively, sanguine temperament. This original trait is apparent in Urundi and in Ruanda wherever the hand of the Batussi rulers does not weigh upon them too heavily, i.e., more so in Urundi where the rule of the Batussi has never been as despotic as in Ruanda, and, in Urundi, most of all in the northwestern region, independent of the kingdom, where the chief, Kilima, is himself a Bantu or of mixed blood (see pp. 162, 168, 188 [these pages not translated]), and also in the far south and in the lowland areas of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. The mental agility, loud speech and lively gestures of the Bahutu are nowhere as noticeable in Urundi as there in the

● 157 northwest. In spite of their impulsive behavior, the Bahutu are incapable of any strong exertion of will. They are conservative out of inertia and indifference, and for this reason they cling to the old, habitual concepts and customs. A marked tendency toward everything mystical and supernatural works in the same direction, in spite of the rough sensuality of their physical nature. Much good-naturedness is apparent in their social behavior to their equals and in their warm love for children.

In his contacts with others, whenever no higher class Mutussi is present, the Muhutu is cheerful, loud, and talkative, but in the presence of a Mutussi superior he is serious and reticent. When the Muhutu is able to relax, his imagination is active and is expressed in naïve boasting and bragging. He likes to cheat his fellow countrymen and foreigners and is liable to use physical force if he considers the other person weaker. [609] The European is sure to be told lies by him at first and to have him soon turn impertinent if he does not know how to command 563 his respect. If the European manages this, as the Mutussi 157 always does, the boasting of the Muhutu soon turns into slavish docility and cowardice. This is also the case when he is confronted by serious danger, for example, in war, unless his fear of the Mutussi ruler [14] is even greater than his cowardice and forces him to commit acts which look like the result of great courage and self-imposed discipline. In reality the Bahutu of Urundi have become slaves in thought and desire, as a result of the four centuries of despotism by the Batussi, although theirs is not so slavish an attitude as that of the Banjaruanda [Ruanda] under their monarchic Hamitic rulers.

For the keen observer this enormous influence of the relatively small Batussi minority upon the large mass of the Bahutu is at first impossible to understand, for he soon realizes that the Batussi are by no means the ideal men they seemed to us to be from the first descriptions by Count von Götzen, Dr. Kandt, and others.

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800 years before our era. To him is attributed the erection of the lotus column in the Temple of Karnak.

[141] 2.10 meters. /29/

142 They have well-proportioned limbs, regular features, a straight nose, thin lips, and they present striking resemblances to the Egyptian Pharaohs. Like Ethiopians, the Batutsi are characterized by a brown complexion with reddish undertones, at least in some types, and by a somewhat elongated oval face.

● 157 Usually gay, they are easily approachable and impress others with their noble, slightly haughty but polite manner.

141 While the average stature of the Batutsi is estimated at 1.79 meters, that of the Bahutu is 1.67 meters. The latter are stockier and shorter, with less regular features. Their muscular strength is 147 greater than that of their masters, no doubt because of the heavy work they perform.

152 As a whole, the Bahutu are less appealing, less polite, and shier than the Batutsi. When angry they cannot control themselves 577 as well as the latter, but on the other hand they are simpler and have more rigid mores (1).

515 181

1. Most of the great chiefs are polygamous or keep concubines in their many domains. The simpler Hamitic herders, who are in the majority, are usually monogamous and of a sterling moral character equaling that of the Bahutu. One might even add that those who lead a pastoral life could give the Bahutu advice in matters of decency.

h[i.e., the Batutsi - Analyst]

595 One can easily imagine the troubles and conflicts caused by an excessive number of wives and children.

The history of the Hamitic princes of Ruanda contains "pages soiled and as if bloodied by the tale of passions which set them one against the other and which, unleashed with brutal violence, " eventually gave rise to tragedies and palace revolutions. Family unity and family spirit have never gained anything from polygamy. The history of the Hamites of Ruanda is here to prove and confirm this.

The king's mother held first place among the harem princesses,
644 and reigned along with her son. She was "shown the most respectful consideration, and whoever wished to obtain some favor from the monarch had no better recourse than to see her first. "

It has been said that a people must be well disciplined in
●157 order to grow prosperous and powerful. The Hamites' strength resided
643 in their courage and organization.

Those who know the Hamites cannot but admire among their qualities perseverance in an undertaking and obedience to chiefs. One must recognize in these political and diplomatic beings, and this is to their credit, a thorough self-possession and great calmness. As true leaders, they rarely give way to anger, and their violent feelings rarely show.

Their apprenticeship to life begins early.

868 From childhood on, indeed, the young Batutsi devote themselves to real exercises in sports, under the supervision of the Mwami or of the great chiefs. They practice endurance and bravely bear the fatigue of the lengthy and frequent exercises of guhamiriza (dances indigenous to the Batutsi). For many years they remain as pages (intore) in the service of the Mwami or of the provincial governors, in order to be trained to life and to win the favors of currently powerful figures. /44/

614 with their totems or even with other animals, to render them harmless
825 or to excite them against their enemies.

This, however, is a belief that will soon disappear, for the Banyarwanda take small notice of their totems nowadays.

538 As far as oral literature and folklore in general are concerned, one may assert without risk of error that the Banyarwanda have no reason to envy the neighboring peoples.

There may be few Black groups who managed to preserve so many and such ancient traditions, made all the more precious by the fact that they help us understand more than one facet of their history. This will be shown readily /61/ in the course of this work. We believe that the Hamites, who are given to the things of the mind and have organized the country methodically, must be justly regarded as the chief authors of this literary development.

181 The Bahutu of Ruanda owe to these same Batutsi the appreciable advantage of being less backward, less "primitive" than many of their fellow Bantu of Central Africa. Because they were less isolated than most of the members of the tiny neighboring states at the time of European penetration, the Banyawanda found themselves in a situation more favorable to the progress of civilization thanks to the centralization of the Hamitic state.

171 The inhabitants of Ruanda, as we have just pointed out, have more than one trait in common with the other African tribes. In speaking on the subject, Maurice Delafosse provides the following explanation, "The African Negro peoples, as different from one another as they may seem to a superficial observer, have a unified character which may be attributed to their common ethnic origins and to the relative similarity of the physical, economic, and social environments where they first developed and where they later evolved." (1)

1. Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro African Civilizations/.

●157 As for the reader who wishes to know what to think of the Blacks, we must answer in all sincerity that it is very difficult to

●157 make precise and definite judgments about their temperament and mentality. The factors involved are so complex that it is easy to be misled and influenced by racial prejudices or by lack of knowledge of this strange people.

Much has been written on the subject. We shall present as ours the following opinions, which we have summarized (2). /62/

2. They were given by a civil servant of the Educational Service of Uganda and published in an American journal. (Communication of Rev. Fr. Joire of the White Fathers.)

An observer will note that the Black has many characteristics quite different from those of the white race. These characteristics may be divided into two groups: those that would help him climb the ladder of civilization and progress, and those that would be a handicap, a hereditary taint of which he must beware, for they might become a serious impediment to the progress of his race.

I. Let us first consider the assets.

Patience. Among the Whites, who are usually so quick, who cannot bear delays, and who are the foes of laziness, anger and impatience are always lurking just below the surface. When we come into contact with the Blacks, on the other hand, we are surprised by their patience and their endurance in suffering.

Joviality. There is no doubt that the Blacks have a basic joviality which, however, varies considerably in degree among the several tribes....

Arts and crafts. Ornamental designs (sculpture on wood, ivory, gourds, etc.; designs on pottery and bark cloth, basketry, beadwork, mats, etc.) show quite remarkable taste and skill but reveal hardly any progress, innovation, or improvement, or none whatever. The Blacks seem marvelously gifted for imitation but lacking in inventive genius (1).

1. We believe that the true reason for this is the isolation in which they have lived.

●157 Eloquence. It was no doubt necessary to cultivate loquacity in lands totally ignorant of the art of writing. Whatever the reason, there is no doubt that the Blacks find it easier to speak endlessly than to remain silent.... It does not occur to the Blacks to limit their speeches to pertinent data. /63/

Loyalty. Among the various peoples of East-Central Africa with whom I have been in contact, I have always found a remarkable degree of loyalty in return for the confidence placed in them.

Instincts. In my opinion, they have those of the most primitive peoples. Among those instincts, some may be classed among the characteristics beneficial to the Blacks.

1. First, the religious instinct. I do not believe that a "skeptic" ever existed among the true Black primitives. He is a by-product of civilization.

2. Perspicacity. The Blacks seem gifted with a mysterious power to judge strangers.... This gift of insight, which enables them to perceive the characteristics of a foreigner, is enviable. I do not mean to say that every black man possesses it individually to a remarkable degree, but collectively they seem able to judge a foreigner in practically no time. This is applied to the Whites, who no sooner arrived are granted a surname by the natives. If this name is not flattering, it will be used without his knowledge.

II And now, a few words on the shortcomings of the Negroes of Central Africa.

Duplicity. Lying is a "cultivated" art among our Africans.... It is quite likely that this is a familial practice, or else how could one explain their great skill in this art? It must be in part the result of circumstances, for primitive people regard it as a natural means of protection.... As a result, the Blacks have little if any sense of honor and place ruse on a much higher level than truth.

157 461 Laziness. There have been few occasions for the Blacks to develop habits of industriousness and sustained effort. /64/ As a rule, nature was very kind to them, supplying them with essentials even where the population was densest. Their needs were few apart from their own subsistence and that of their livestock. The rains were seasonal, and sowing time depended upon them. In the villages those

157 461 were the times of hard work for all able-bodied persons who could wield a hoe. Once sowing time was over, why cultivate further? The busy times were intermittent, therefore, and even those people who were most inclined to work had nothing to do but sit for a good half of the year, unless a war should bring them to their feet. It is obvious that such a state of affairs does not lead to the development of industrious habits and sustained application to work.

157 Immorality. I fear that I won't be contradicted if I say that the Black is immoral.... How could one expect these "child-peoples," who live such a carefree and easy life, to acquire habits of abnegation and self-restraint? When the evangelization of these primitive tribes was begun, it was not easy to establish among them such habits of morality as befit a Christian people (1).

1. We have good reason to believe that the Banyarwanda may be classified among the least corrupt. The taboos and traditions that prevail among them act as a check against profligacy.

Mistrust. Centuries of struggle to the death among the various [609] African tribes have engendered... a certain attitude toward foreigners which makes it very difficult for a well-intentioned person to lead them as far as he might wish on the road to progress....

To conclude. If the previous lines do not contain an exact description of the African in general (for there are no generalizations applicable at once to one and all), /65/ I hope nevertheless not to have been guilty of injustice toward the Blacks in describing them. If only they could make the most of their assets and persevere in conquering their shortcomings, then no doubt a fine future would be open to them.

The same author adds that if one could persuade them to develop a civilization peculiar to their race, instead of slavishly giving way to their natural aptitude for copying that of others, this would be a good contribution to the glory of humanity and a denial

●157 of the common assertion that the Blacks are of such limited intellectual capacity that it is impossible for them to attain the habitual level of civilized men (1).

> 1. If one were to draw a mental portrait of the Batutsi, one should praise their intelligence, their sense of discipline, their organizational talent, and their stubborn will. Since every coin has two sides, however, one should add that the great Batutsi chiefs are far more immoral than the Bakutu.

.... Experience of the African mentality, the author goes on to say, has shown that a number of things that one might be tempted to discuss with assurance must be stated with reservations. The fact is that the Blacks are a mass of contradictions to the Whites.... This is said... to suggest that the hastiness of such conclusions must stand in reverse ratio to the experience that inspired them.

This could hardly have been said with greater tact and restraint.

000 General Mangin, an experienced colonial well acquainted with African matters, makes the following remarks on the same subject, "When we judge the Black race, we must not lose sight of these basic facts: until the middle of the nineteenth century, the African, kept isolated by nature, came in contact with no higher concepts.

"Europe, on the other hand, witnessed the development of the Mediterranean civilizations, which benefited from broad exchanges among themselves and with Asiatic civilization. Writing came from Egypt through Phoenicia and Greece, /66/ Asia invented a number of alphabets while Europe invented none. Through the Arabs and Mongols, Europe unknowingly benefited from important contributions of Indian and Chinese origin: compass, paper paste, and gunpowder, for example. In short, the European peoples have evolved slowly over the past 3,000 years or so, in contact with all civilizations

644 One sees standing about what seem to be huge baskets covered
[343] with thatch roofs. They are granaries where the food of the employees is kept. The storeroom is the king's favorite spot. He takes pleasure in hoarding there the most disparate objects: fabrics, crockery, furniture, and trinkets of all sorts. It is said that it gives him infinite
●[157] pleasure to survey his "bazaar" and to handle the goods piece by piece, away from all prying eyes.

It is easy to imagine the life and bustle that prevail at court and in the capital.

The entire nation dwells in the person of the king. He alone represents it. Since the State is identified with the king, he alone is eternally mentioned. "Everything is done for his sake. Justice is the king's justice, troops are the king's army, the nobility fights for him.... The monarch is absolute master and naturally has full and complete command over the property owned by his subjects, and when he takes it he is only taking what belongs to him.... Whoever is born a subject must obey without question...."

This short account of the history of Louis XIV's reign fittingly describes the rights exercised by the Hamitic kings of Ruanda. As a result of this concept and attitude on the part of the Blacks, nearly all the clans or family groups which make up the population of Ruanda have a role to fulfill at court, not so much for the welfare of the realm as for the pleasure of the king. The functions they must exercise are many and vary with the nature of the people involved and the products of the soil on which they live. Some of the posts derive from historical circumstances. Among these offices, some are regarded as an honor and privilege and others as a chore. Some offices are also assigned as punishment or /352/ revenge for misdeeds which were committed in the past by ancestors and the very memory of which has been lost. Most of those posts amount to actual bondage for their holders.

Positions of a mere utilitarian nature are by far the most numerous.

644 It is surprising to hear that literary pleasures and entertainments
538 are included in the court program and even stand in a separate category. By the sovereign's side, indeed, there stand official historians and

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

inzu. Their inclusion depended on the situation of Ego's generation with regard to the ancestor recognized as the originator of the group. Suppose a new inzu had begun with F (Diagram B), in the sense that F's descendants referred to themselves as 'people of F' rather than as 'people of A' (as F referred to himself). In that case, Ego would not consider E (FaFaFaFa) as of his inzu although he knew that he was the father of his great-grandfather.

Or suppose that D was considered as the origin of the inzu. In that case Ego's son, J, was separated from D by five links. It was quite possible that if, for instance, G had had many children and had been a man of standing and repute, J and K (and all G's descendants in their generations) would some day refer to themselves as 'people of G'. As long as Ego was living, however, J would consider himself as a member of the same inzu as his father and Ego would not think of his son as belonging to another inzu. One informant, Kayijuka, told us that one of his great-grandchildren will probably take the initiative in forming the new inzu of 'people of Kayijuka'.[8]

Although the inzu was a transitory group about six generations deep, it must be understood that the formation of a new inzu was not rigidly determined and did not automatically happen at the birth of the first child in the seventh generation. The operative factors were mainly the fast growing number of inzu members after a few generations (in genealogies collected, the sixth

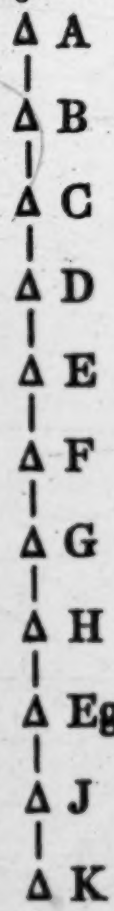

Diagram B.

[8] This was no boast as Kayijuka is now a very important political personality in Rwanda. It may be of interest to mention that Kayijuka was at the court, as a young nobleman, when the first Europeans entered the country. At that time there was a considerable amount of suspicion on both sides. A missionary asked him to point out the queen-mother among the women who were present at the Court. This was prohibited as it was feared that the White Fathers could harm her by magic. Kayijuka did it, however, and for that reason, when the visitors had gone, he was blinded with a red hot iron. But as on the following day he addressed somebody by name after having recognized the voice, it was believed that the operation had not been a success and it was performed a second time. Kayijuka is now a loyal courtier of the king.

Essay on the Common Law of Ruanda

J. Vanhove

Preface

101 Beyond the eastern shore of Lake Kivu extends a country of
563 high hills called Ruanda. Nestling in banana groves, innumerable huts cling to the hillside, their smoke rising to the sky, and on the summits the brisk wind sways the pink grasses of the pastures where long-horned cattle graze. The exceptionally dense population con-
[161] sists of about 3,000,000 Bahutu of Bantu origin who are dominated by some tens of thousands of Batutsi, Hamitic shepherds who have probably come down from the Ethiopian plateaus. Finally, here and there, Batwa pygmoids, potters and hunters, live apart from the other natives who despise them.

183 Europeans who first studied the customs of the country dis-
671 covered to their surprise that they showed a number of points in common with our feudalism. The tenure of land and of cattle as well as
[643] the dependence of persons are under a [4] strict regulation which the ruler of Ruanda has the absolute power to modify but which has, in fact, remained unchanged throughout the ages.

177 Our occupation has obviously had the effect of modifying the
183 customs in many ways. For example, we could not approve of the brutal evictions and attempts on life and liberty made in the name of the right of the strongest. Evangelization has also introduced into the heart of the native society notions of justice and gentleness which are very different from the natives' original conceptions. However, despite
177 the efforts of our civil servants and our missionaries to attack what is
183 most to be condemned in it, native customs still largely holds its
563 sway due to the influence of the great Batutsi chiefs, who are eager to maintain their authority intact, and also due to that of the sorcerers, toothsayers, rain makers, and many others, who attempt to maintain the traditional law by playing on the credulity and superstitious mind of the Banyarwanda [Banyaruanda] and thus protect their prestige and their revenues. In addition, while realizing the protection we give them in repressing arbitrary actions, the Bahutu submit to the changes we

Chapter 1

Survey of Land People (1)

(Cf. the map [colored in the original] at the end of the book.)

114 1. Part of this chapter is taken from a lecture which I gave at the 19th German Geographers' Conference in Strasbourg in the spring of 1914.

1. The Land Urundi

131 In the extreme west of German East Africa lies one of the regions of Africa least known until now: Urundi. To the north it borders on Ruanda, to the east on Ussuwi and Uha, to the south also on Uha, to the west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Since Urundi has an area of almost 29,000 square kilometers, i.e., approximately twice that of the Kingdom of [161] Saxony, and since it has over one and a half million inhabitants (according to van der Burgt, around two and a half million), it deserves attention for this reason alone. However, although 648 it has been German territory for over 25 years, we know little about it. Because of the recalcitrance of its population, the government had almost completely closed off the area to travel from the outside, and until 1911 political influence was limited to the establishment of a station with a resident and a company of colonial troops in Usumbura on Lake Tanganyika. It was not until 1912 that the seat of government was moved on a trial basis to Gitega in the interior of the region.

648 797 Oskar Baumann in 1812 was the first European who traveled through northern Urundi to the source of the Nile on the upper Ruvuvu. There followed then between 1896 and 1898 several military expeditions by colonial army officers, Ramsay, von Trotha, Langheld, von Langenn-Steinkeller, Fonck, and Dr. Kandt; and between 1896 and 1899 the Catholic Mission of

133 By far the largest part of the country is a tableland which
361 powerful erosion has dissected into innumerable long and short ridges with flattened tops and chains of hills with frequently deep and rather steep valley escarpments. The majority of the valleys are filled by papyrus swamps which can only be crossed in a few places. Hence it is not the valleys, as in our part of the world, but the high places that provide the most suitable settlement sites. The marshes in the valley bottoms, the hot stagnant air in the lowlands, the myriads of mosquitoes and gnats, and the valley slopes which in many places are very steep cause the people with their roads and settlements to resort to the free, airy plateaus and hill tops, while in most valleys the only fields are of such crops as require much moisture. In most areas of Urundi and Ruanda the valleys serve not to unite people but to separate them. In both regions the division of the people and the state into small communities is, therefore, determined by natural causes (see p. 89). For this reason also, the future opening up of the country by means of roads or railroads is rendered unusually difficult. The valleys in many parts of the eastern drier quartzite regions are much less swampy and less steep. There also, the surfaces of the plateau ridges and of the hill ranges are everywhere so stony and sterile due to weathered quartzite fragments (see Plate 2b) that the people avoid the high land and prefer to settle on the sides of valleys where the springs break out below the crevassed quartzite on the upper line of stratification of the almost impermeable argillite and where the argillaceous residual soil is more fertile and easier to till than the quartzite lying above.

This natural diversity among the areas is in itself an ex-
● 161 planation of why the population is rather unevenly distributed over the country.

The government estimates the number of natives in Urundi at one and a half to two million ("Die deutschen Schutzgebiete 1912-13," Amtliche Jahresberichte ["The German Protectorates 1912-13," Official Annual Reports], pp. 8-9). This large margin is an indication that official censuses in the individual areas have so far not been possible. Both here and in Ruanda only the drawing up of tax registers will some day

161 furnish more accurate figures. According to my own and other recent estimates, the figure of two million is too high; one and a half million is probably closer to the truth. However, a few missionaries, among them Father van der Burgt, have estimated even more than two million. [18] There are relatively fewer Batussi in Urundi than in Ruanda; they constitute 162 563 hardly five per cent and probably only two or three per cent of the total population, i.e., 40,000-50,000 in Urundi. For them, too, van der Burgt assumes a much higher percentage: 15-20 per cent as against only five per cent for the Batwa. Apart from the mass of native Bahutu, there were in 1912-13 still about 2,500 other Negroes (Wasuaheli, Wanjamwesi, Manjema, and others) in the country, and, in addition, one or two dozen Arabs, two or three dozen Indians, and approximately five dozen Whites, half of them Germans and about 20 Frenchmen and Frenchwomen (missionaries).

On the whole Urundi and Uha are not by any means as 161 densely populated as Ruanda which has 72 inhabitants per square kilometer. [Fig. 1 appears here in original text.] The official estimate for 1912-13 gives an average of 51 inhabitants per square kilometer for Urundi (or 68, if one puts the total population at two million). On the whole the density of population increases from east to west. In the west the valleys and the broad ridges of the peripheral mountains are most densely populated; hence they are almost entirely cleared of timber. There, there are an estimated 50 to 60 people per square kilometer or, in other words, a density of population approximately equal to that of Portugal. Any comparison with Germany with its 120 inhabitants per square kilometer would be inappropriate since the area of utilizable land is relatively much smaller in Urundi than in Germany due to the many swampy valleys and quartzite wastes. The most densely populated parts are the 161 areas of granite, crystalline schist, mica schist, amphibolites, 133 diabases, etc., which comprise the more elevated western portion of Urundi where the rainfall is higher and which form fertile residual soils. Of the less elevated, large slate and

[Text continues on page 29]

161 quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more
[133] sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19]
One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more
[311] humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations
cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense
population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in
them.

592 The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in chil-
dren, as in Ruanda. Individually the Batussi women are less
[842] fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom
fewer than three children in each family and in many cases
(among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly
more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married
couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if
[595] there are many children or several wives, each mother lives
in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and
unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there
are often between two and four residential huts and several huts
grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential
huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see
Fig. 1).

361 The settlement pattern is that of individual establish-
ments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (lugo, urugo).
Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and
its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates
18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals
belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each
other within calling distance so that village-like clusters
(ikisagara) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside ex-
tend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the
settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the
poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or
clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are
scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and sur-
rounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without
banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

361 and villages differ considerably depending on the quality of the soil. In the densely populated western districts one passes a cluster of homesteads every quarter or half hour, but in the thinly populated eastern districts one sometimes travels over an hour without seeing or passing a courtyard or a village.

One never sees many people outside, neither on the roads, 363 near the grazing cattle, nor in the fields. Only close to the huts and within the kraals does one see people walking, standing, and squatting in groups. Old people 70 years old and older 145 are extremely rare. Very few seem to live beyond the age of 60, and this seems to be more often the case with the Batussi than with the Bahutu.

According to missionaries' reports, the population has ● 161 been increasing during the last ten years or so, since the petty wars between the batwale and the princes and the invasions of the Banjaruanda and the Baha [Ha] have become rarer and less bloody. Only in the Tanganyika region which has been hit by 164 sleeping sickness has the population decreased considerably. 731 In the rest of Urundi the number of inhabitants is occasionally reduced considerably by smallpox epidemics or by crop failures, which are especially fatal to children, but such famines are relatively rare. In 1892, 1896, 1904-5 and 1908, rinderpest, bad harvests, and smallpox caused great devastations. In 1910 the distress resulting from drought in eastern Urundi was so great that the mission at Mujaga had to buy up large amounts of manioc and beans in Uha for their natives. Some travelers 181 claim that the majority of the Bahutu are waiting to be liberated from their conquerors. I cannot confirm this from my observations. [20] [Fig. 2 appears here in original text.] [21] The enthusiastic reception that the Bahutu gave at the time to the first European arriving there, Oskar Baumann in Urundi and Count Götzen in Ruanda, did indeed spring from the traditional hope for a great new conqueror who would usher in a golden age, but like all East African Bantu the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda do not in the least thirst for freedom. As has been mentioned above, they are submissive and dependent on others; they are happiest under firm authority and as accustomed to the discipline of their

[Text continues on page 31]

000 *Urundi Administration* 1925—and Bishop (!) Gorju in several works dealing with Urundi, where he has been Vicar Apostolic. It lies N.E. of Tang. lake, 2 to 4 degrees S. of the Equator.

Ethnical conditions

563 The Urundi as well as the two neighbouring sultanates of Ruanda and Buha consist of three ethnical groups: (1) the tall, fine-featured, cattle-grazing Batutsi, of Hamitic stock, who constitute a ruling class of some fifty thousand; (2) the middle-sized, rough-featured, land-tilling Bahutu, the largest and main body of a population of over one and a half million; (3) the Pygmy hunting and pot-making Batwa, a mere handful of some thousands of outcasts.

I am reasonably satisfied that these three ethnical groups mix together more than one is generally inclined to believe: they rather seem to become social strata. At any rate there are impoverished Batutsi who till the land, Bahutu who possess cattle, and landless Batwa are not a frequent occurrence to-day. Many impoverished Batutsi have been considered as Bahutu, rich Bahutu as Batutsi. The reasons and theory I brought home were elaborated by Dr. Gerkens and seem to prove that each of the groups is of mingled stock.

Geographical conditions

133 The Urundi is a high country. The region between mountain to the west and the steppe to the east is a plateau, 5,000 feet high, often more, and almost completely without ligneous vegetation, except in the near proximity of habitations. Rivers and brooks have dug themselves deep into this plateau and their valleys have made it a country of more or less important hills, each of them with its own name. The bottom of the valleys is covered with swamps where papyrus grows unchecked (for native agriculture had not been successful there). The stony, grassy hill-tops are merely meadow-land. The cultivated belt [311] normally spreads on the hill-side, with the fenced cabins of the land-tillers in the middle of fields and banana-plantations. Only persons of rank dwell in the higher region.

311 Typical of Urundi scenery as seen from a favourable observation point are the three belts running along one another: below, the ashy green of the papyrus; above, brownish stones and light-coloured grass, sometimes with the rugo of a chief or of his deputy; in between the deep shining green of the banana-trees. [61] Though the population often reaches 350 per square mile, the habitations of most land-tillers remain invisible amidst the banana-trees where they are hidden, and only at the time when meals are prepared does the peacefully ascending smoke betray their presence there.

[P. 13 (A)]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

been brought only during the past thirty years. The present Ruanda culture has lost the coherence that existed in pre-European days. Those who have become more closely associated with alien activity, and have therefore felt its influence more constantly, now share a culture made up in part of their ancestral way of life and in part of their interpretation of the Belgian variety of Western culture as it operates in a colonial situation. Even those who have not been brought into direct contact with whites feel that their old patterns of life are losing their validity. But that more or less hidden part of the old culture, consisting of basic assumptions on the relationships of man with the world and with other men, has suffered the least change. To be sure, the legends of the descent of the first Batutsi meet with more scepticism than in the past, but the fundamental beliefs that this story reflects are still profoundly embedded in the Ruanda ethos. Even when new institutions, based on assumptions conflicting with the earlier ones, are imposed under external pressure and adopted, the principles shaping the older institutions will subsist and, if participation in the new institutions is unchecked, these will be completely reinterpreted in accordance with the former premises. Some manifestations of the continuing existence of the ancient assumptions in the contemporary context will be considered here, but we shall be mainly concerned with the Ruanda world-view as it was at the beginning of this century.[1]

Ruanda is a highland country in East Africa lying in the region delimited by lakes Kivu, Victoria, and Tanganyika. Its area is 24,500 square kilometres; its population amounts to almost 2 million inhabitants, the highest density in Africa south of the Sahara. Three socio-'racial' castes are to be

[1] Much of the material used in this study was collected by the author during two years' work (1950–1) in Ruanda as a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.). The author was very much helped in his field research by Dr. E. Fisoulet and Dr. G. De Clercq during their six-month course of training under his direction. Extensive and valuable information has been found in the published literature on Ruanda, especially studies by Father A. Arnoux, Abbé L. de Lacger, Abbé Alexis Kagame, the late Father A. Pagès, Mr. G. Sandrart, Father Schumacher, and Mr. J. Vanhove. The author is also grateful to the Abbé Kagame for having placed at his disposal some of his manuscripts. In formulating the conceptual and theoretical scheme used in this paper, the author has relied considerably on the teaching and works of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn of Harvard University. He is immensely indebted for his fundamental training in anthropology to the teaching staff of London University and particularly to Professor Daryll Forde. Mr. Lawrence Oschinsky has kindly corrected the manuscript. A short bibliography is given at the end, but it has not been felt necessary to document this study at every point, nor indeed was this possible, since it was written in the field with the use of a very restricted library.

This is an essay in the etymological meaning of the word. If the underlying configurations of a culture constitute its most important part, since they provide a key to the interrelatedness of apparently unconnected phenomena and to the meaning of apparently incomprehensible behaviour, they are also the most elusive realities. They evade direct observation and, often, direct interrogation. The anthropologist, therefore, must be sure that his inferences are logically acceptable not only to his own mind but also to the minds of the participants in the culture he studies. All this requires a thorough knowledge of the overt aspects of a culture and a long familiarity with them. The author is painfully aware that he has not gone very deeply into the ethos of Ruanda. This is only an attempt at a synthesis of the results so far obtained in researches which are still proceeding.

133 These two torrents have their source in the southwestern part of Ruanda. Their headwaters flow impetuously on a bed littered with rocks and pebbles.

Among the many subsidiaries of the Nyabarongo, let us mention in alphabetic order: the Base, Mukungwa (which comes out of Lake Ruhondo), Nyabugogo, which serves as an outlet for Lake Mohazi, etc.

The Akanyaru, whose basin is less extensive, also originates in the southwest and combines its waters with those of the Nyabarongo at the level of theBugessera. /28/

After they join, these two rivers change their name to Kagera (1). Under this new name they enter the Victoria into which they

[103] 1. Kagera. This word comes from the verb kugera, "to deepen."

The Kagera slowly wanders through the plain, and its lazy waters overflow into large ponds and marshes infested with crocodiles and mosquitoes. [136]

pour their yellow waters loaded with silt.

Lake Kivu receives only a small part of the waters of Ruanda. Its outlet is the Ruzizi River, which flows into /Lake/ Tanganyika after a tumultuous course of about 120 kilometers.

Ruanda, whose surface may be estimated at 30, 000 to 35, 000 131 square kilometers boasts a population that is believed to reach two ●161 million souls.

It is made up of three quite distinct ethnic groups: the Batutsi, 563 or Hamites, the Bahutu of the Bantu group, and the Batwa, or Negrillos (Pygmies).

The Batutsi, who are thought to be of Egyptian or Abyssinian 141 origin, (2) are tall in stature. Some measure as much as 2 or even

OBD 2. From an ethnological point of view the physical appearance of the Ethiopian people is an exception in

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

174 Ruanda, Burundi, Ha, Karagwe). It is not known where these
101 pastoralists came from.

Because of cultural and physical similarities the Galla or Somali country of Southern Abyssinia has been advanced as their possible place of origin. As the invaders have completely adopted the Bantu language of the agriculturists, the lack of linguistic clues so important in such questions is a great setback to any historical reconstruction. It should be noted in this connexion that the use of [114] the linguistic term 'Hamites' to denote Tutsi, who do not speak a Hamitic language at all, is unfortunate and misleading. Dr. Meinhard's suggestion of using a term not burdened with linguistic connotations such as 'Ethiopians' or 'Ethiopoids' should be considered.[11] The population movement which brought the invaders to Ruanda is probably at least four centuries old. The 174 present ruler is traditionally the fortieth king of Ruanda. We 643 know the names of thirty-nine predecessors, but it is possible that the list is incomplete. On the other hand it seems that the first nineteen are legendary figures. Taking account of this and assuming that a reign lasts about twenty years, we go back to the sixteenth century.[12]

174 As the Tutsi migration seems to have been gradual and peaceful, an infiltration rather than a conquest, it is probable that at the beginning their cattle grazed on the unoccupied grasslands. But the population increased as more Tutsi kept on entering the country and more land had to be tilled to feed them. Cattle were also increasing and the Hutu had to move from the most fertile soil, in the bottom of valleys, because during the dry season these places were the only ones where cattle could find fresh grass. This process must have been in operation for a few centuries to produce the situation as we know it now.

161 Statistics are not available for the 1900–10 period, with which this study is concerned, but we may from the present figures (with [174] some modifications) get a fairly good idea of the situation at the beginning of this century. The population was estimated on 31 December 1949, to be 1,870,410 souls: in 1956, 2,374,136, which

[11] Cf. Meinhard, 1947a, p. 3.

[12] According to Meyer, 1913, the pastoral invasion took place in two ways. The first, at the beginning of this millenium reached the north-east of the Province; the second, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought them farther southward. According to Kagame and Delmas, the first Hamitic populations invaded the country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (Gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi), (1956), p. 9.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

gives a density of 235·8 per square mile or 91·9 per square kilometre.[13] This density is among the highest in Africa, south of the Sahara.[14] What may we infer from these figures as regards the population at the beginning of this century? According to the available statistics for the last fifteen years, when the circumstances are favourable the yearly increase of Ruanda population may reach three per cent. This increased ratio could hardly have been maintained over the whole of the last fifty years, mainly because the 'favourable circumstances' refer to medical amenities, new hygienic practices and the reduction of famine. Such conditions were by no means prevalent when the Europeans occupied the country in 1899.[15] Even since 1935, however, events have not always been favourable, as for three years (1941–2–3) there was a decrease of population due to a severe scarcity of food. Consequently it seems safe to assume that during the decades preceding the European occupation, the population was already very dense. According to Captain Bethe, it numbered about 2,000,000 in 1899.[16] In 1907, Czekanowski estimated the Ruanda population at approximately 1,710,000.[17]

According to a detailed survey made by the Department of Agriculture, there are about 60,000 to 70,000 families (out of a total of about 380,000 families) more than can be adequately fed by the country.[18] There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there

[13] There is a census for the male and able-bodied adults who are taxpayers. To obtain the total number of the population (females, old people, and children) the number of taxpayers in each administrative district is multiplied by a certain coefficient which is determined in each case by a sample-census of a few hills.

[14] For comparative purposes, there are a few density figures for some African territories according to present political boundaries: Uganda: 52·8 per square mile; Tanganyika: 20·7; Belgian Congo: 12·9; Nigeria: 92·0; Sierra Leone: 66·5. All these figures, taken from Hailey, 1957, p. 143, refer to the years 1948-52.

[15] Captain Bethe, a German officer, obtained from the king in 1899 Ruanda's acceptance of the Imperial Government's protection. There was no treaty, only an oral agreement which was followed by a permanent occupation by the German authorities. The first Christian mission was established in 1900, at Isavi, by the White Fathers. Belgian troops took possession of Ruanda during the First World War in 1916. The Belgian occupation of Ruanda-Urundi was confirmed by the Orts-Milner Agreement in 1919. In 1924, Belgium agreed to administer Ruanda-Urundi under the supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Ruanda-Urundi became a United Nations Organization Trusteeship Territory administered by Belgium. Cf. Jentgen, 1947, pp. 9-11, 83-9

[16] Quoted by Czekanowski, 1917, p. 109 n. [17] See Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114.

[18] This study is based on an estimate of the optimum cultivated area needed by a family, the quality of the soil being taken into account. A similar method has been used in the case of cattle. Cf. Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, pp. 343-7.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

did not play an important part in the feudal system because there were no socially recognized ties between a client and his lord's lord. Feudality was not a ranking system in the same sense as were the political structures. Each lord had his personal following; he was not as such the representative of a higher authority.

To sum up, the political and clientage structures at the same time secured the economic exploitation of the Hutu and protected them against an exaggerated pressure which could have led to disaster for the upper caste.

(c) *Delegation and centralization of political power*

Before the European occupation the kingdom's population was already numerous, probably around 1,700,000 inhabitants. The orographic configuration of the country made communications rather difficult. In that non-literate culture, an efficient collection of tributes required almost a face to face acquaintance between the subject and his ruler. These circumstances necessitated a delegation of authority to many intermediary chiefs who would be the local representatives of the rulers.

But such an unavoidable system was very dangerous for the central government. Its subordinated agents having frequently authority over a rather numerous population which could provide them with abundant supplies (if nothing was sent to the court) could be tempted to isolate themselves completely from the capital and become independent. Such a course of action would have been facilitated by the military structure and the feudal system.

Some important chiefs were, indeed, authorized to raise an army. Moreover, any military chief whose army was encamped near the border, in a district far from the capital, could gain such ascendancy over his warriors as to win over their allegiance to himself.

The *buhake* was perhaps still more dangerous because, as in any feudal system, it created personal bonds of allegiance between the client and his lord. As such, that bond of loyalty did not extend beyond the lord. One had to obey one's lord because he was one's lord and not because he was a mwami's representative. This is why any feudal system has always been so dangerous for a central government. Independence and revolt against the king have been recurring events in the areas where a feudal system existed.

Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies

563 other, and which in the course of centuries in this grouping have crystallized into a strong social and political community.

563 162 144 The great mass of the population consists of the agriculturalists, the Bahutu [Hutu], belonging to the Bantu race, more specifically to the so-called basic Bantu. In Urundi their number is approximately one and a half million. Above them, as the ruling caste, stands the Hamitic pastoral Batussi, who invaded Urundi from the north about 400 years ago and who, both here and in the entire interlacustrine region, subjugated the agricultural Bahutu. They are proud, tall figures, often over two meters in height, with sharp profiles and stately posture, so that at first they even impress the well-traveled European. According to official estimates, they number from 40,000 to 50,000 in the whole of Urundi. Besides these giants, the country also shelters the remnants of an original, short, pygmoid population, the Batwa [Twa], who lived here in the forests even before the Bantu and who, together with the forests, were partly destroyed, partly pushed back into remote corners by the other stronger elements. At present there are only a few thousand of them in Urundi and the same number in Ruanda. Their stature ranges mostly between 1.50 meters and 1.60 meters, but they are [463] strongly built and make a living as hunters, as blacksmiths and potters in the service of others, or as bodyguards of important people and of the king.

563 Undoubtedly the Batwa are the oldest stratum of population in the entire interlacustrine region. Dispersed in small tribal groups over the country, [7] they lack any kind of social cohesion; nor do they seem to have any traditions about their past. The [144] Urundi Batwa resemble the Batwa in the forests, but in Urundi they apparently have more Bantu blood in their veins. They are, therefore, somewhat taller and not as pure a type as the Batwa of Ruanda. Both in Urundi and Ruanda and in the northeastern Congo region, the Batwa are in the process of disappearing. Regarded as pariahs both by the Batussi and the Bahutu, they are everywhere treated badly but are at the same time thoroughly exploited. They always look profoundly melancholic and are

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148 .) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

144 more northerly regions and with the Forest Bantu and Interlacustrine Bantu and comes to the following conclusions: the Batwa are not a homogeneous group, but consist of elements taken from the Pygmies, the Bantu of the primeval forest and, to a lesser degree, the Interlacustrine Bantu also; among the Batwa of the volcanic region the Pygmy type predominates; among those of central Ruanda, the Interlacustrine Bantu type. This latter fact, according to my observations, is also true of Urundi. A surprising fact about the Batwa and one which was demonstrated by Czekanowski is that they show traces of a dolichocephalic Bushman-like element. This trait in conjunction with slight stature has turned up frequently in the works of other observers of East Africa and attracted Czekanowski's attention, especially in the area of Kilimanjaro. Originally the Batwa were "dwarfs," but their body type gradually changed through the admixture of Bantu blood. The farther north we meet Batwa, toward the racially pure Pygmies of the Ituri, the stronger are their pygmoid characteristics; most strongly so among the Batwa of Idschwi Island of Lake Kivu where they are well sheltered from outside influences (No. 31a, 101-109).

[162] Since according to official data the Batwa are only one per cent and the Batussi only about three per cent of the total population of Urundi, the numerical predominance of the Bahutu-Bantu is so great that they entirely determine the overall impression one gets of the Barundi people. Moreover, the Bahutu and also the relatively few Batussi who rule them are somatically, mentally, and culturally so homogeneous throughout Urundi that deviations from the average type are met with only rarely in this great country, excepting those of mixed Bahima blood mentioned above. Of course the Barundi people owe this homogeneity above all to their strict centuries-old seclusion from the outside world. The border areas farthest west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River might have worked considerable changes on the Barundi tribes living there, for they do have a much warmer lowland climate, and the great lake might have caused adaptive changes in the way of life of the inhabitants. Moreover, the neighboring Congo tribes are a quite different sort of people. However, even here, no such

161 furnish more accurate figures. According to my own and other recent estimates, the figure of two million is too high; one and a half million is probably closer to the truth. However, a few missionaries, among them Father van der Burgt, have estimated even more than two million. [18] There are relatively fewer Batussi in Urundi than in Ruanda; they constitute 162 563 hardly five per cent and probably only two or three per cent of the total population, i.e., 40,000-50,000 in Urundi. For them, too, van der Burgt assumes a much higher percentage: 15-20 per cent as against only five per cent for the Batwa. Apart from the mass of native Bahutu, there were in 1912-13 still about 2,500 other Negroes (Wasuaheli, Wanjamwesi, Manjema, and others) in the country, and, in addition, one or two dozen Arabs, two or three dozen Indians, and approximately five dozen Whites, half of them Germans and about 20 Frenchmen and Frenchwomen (missionaries).

On the whole Urundi and Uha are not by any means as 161 densely populated as Ruanda which has 72 inhabitants per square kilometer. [Fig. 1 appears here in original text.] The official estimate for 1912-13 gives an average of 51 inhabitants per square kilometer for Urundi (or 68, if one puts the total population at two million). On the whole the density of population increases from east to west. In the west the valleys and the broad ridges of the peripheral mountains are most densely populated; hence they are almost entirely cleared of timber. There, there are an estimated 50 to 60 people per square kilometer or, in other words, a density of population approximately equal to that of Portugal. Any comparison with Germany with its 120 inhabitants per square kilometer would be inappropriate since the area of utilizable land is relatively much smaller in Urundi than in Germany due to the many swampy valleys and quartzite wastes. The most densely populated parts are the 161 areas of granite, crystalline schist, mica schist, amphibolites, 133 diabases, etc., which comprise the more elevated western portion of Urundi where the rainfall is higher and which form fertile residual soils. Of the less elevated, large slate and

[Text continues on page 29]

●162

Population Map according to K. Weule, the northern section supplemented according to Czekanowski.

1 [redacted]
2 [redacted]
3 [redacted]
4 [redacted]
5 [redacted]
6 [redacted]
7 [redacted]

1. Bantu, no other groups superimposed (Basic or Original Bantu, "Older" Bantu according to Baumann). Bantu of the inter-lacustrine region with predominantly Hamitic political systems superimposed (Bahima States). (a) Speaking their original language
2. Banjaruanda, Barundi, Baha. (b) Speaking Kinjoro
3. Banjoro, Banjankole, Banjámbo, Basiba, Bassuwi, Basindja.
4. Bakondjo.
5. Batwa (Pygmies).
6. Baganda,
7. Wagaja (Nilotes).

[End map, lower right, in color]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

564 Three socio-'racial' castes are to be
distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of
563 the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa,
162 hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

773 The world in which men are placed and which they know through their
senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to
776 produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say
that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

772 The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material
world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat;
[823] its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

821 In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms)
stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

773 In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been
some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the
[823] kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, cre-
[825] tures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

772 This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old
(people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

181 563 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 [578] The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi [163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He [148] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different 563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and 191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

000 fellow-tribesmen.

162 I constantly inquired about the Batwa, and since I gained no further information, I think I can assume that I have herewith listed the most important groups. Accordingly, the number of Batwa in Ruanda does not exceed 3,000, although there are individuals scattered in many different places. There were two or three in Issawi and a rainmaker in Ruasa.

614 The Batwa belong to the same clans as the rest of the Banyaruanda. Thus, the Batwa of Kahima belong to the Mugessera clan, and Kahima seems to be their clan elder, a man of little authority. The Batwa of Kabgaye, as well as those of Muhawura, belonged to various clans and may perhaps be regarded as remnants of clan groups which have been broken up.

[135] Chapter 7

Occupations

241 Agriculture. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the Bahutu. It is carried on quite intensively and with care, reaching its maximum in the vicinity of Lake Kivu. The chief products are: millet (masaka), sweet potatoes (bidjumba), peas (bishimbo), and bananas (bitoke). The following are also grown in large quantities: corn (kigori), peanuts (ichiema), eleusine [a kind of millet] (buro), gourds (mungu), tobacco (itabi), and a little manioc (mukembe).

In Mulera and Bugoye peas are the staple whereas in Kissaka, Nduga, in the northeast territory, and especially in Bgisha, millet is the principal food.

The following methods used in Ruanda agriculture bespeak its high level of development: the use of fertilizer, unknown in eastern Europe; artificial irrigation; and terraced fields on the steep mountainsides.

The care that goes into farming is shown primarily by the way the farmer covers the ground of the banana groves with leaves and rotting banana stalks, so that the moisture necessary to the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

1. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE Kingdom of Ruanda lies within latitudes 1° 20′ to 2° 50′ south and longitudes 28° 50′ to 30° 55′ east. Physically it is a part of the elongated highland zone extending at varying elevations from the Red Sea to Lake Nyasa. This East African highland zone is characterized by large blocks of upland and the giant cracks of the rift valley system. 131 133

Ruanda is situated on the western border of the central region of this zone. It is a high plateau in which numerous rivers cut deep valleys separating a multitude of hills. The main feature of Ruanda orography is the chain of mountains with an elevation from 2,250 to 3,000 metres (6,750 to 9,000 feet) which separates the Congo and Nile drainage basins. This has a north-south trend approximately fifteen to twenty-five miles east of Lake Kivu (elevation: 1,460 metres or 4,380 feet) and forms, with the northern part of the Ruzizi river, the western boundary of Ruanda. From this mountainous chain to the east, elevations fall gradually to the Kagera River Valley, the eastern limit of Ruanda. The greater part of the Kagera here consists of swamps which may be as much as sixteen miles broad. The elevation of the region along the Kagera is from 1,300 to 1,500 metres (3,900 to 4,500 feet).

The northern boundaries of the country are not as clearly defined by physical factors, except in the west by the Virunga volcanic massif including eight peaks, the highest of which, Karisimbi, reaches 4,507 metres (14,873 feet). The Akanyaru and Lua rivers—which form part of the southern border of the kingdom, separating it from its Burundi neighbour—cannot be considered as natural frontiers, as they are not difficult to cross.[1] Ruanda's relief, together with its central situation in Africa 131

[1] The present-day political boundaries of Ruanda do not include the whole territory which was politically and culturally part of the kingdom in the past. There are Ruanda populations in the north, in the Kivu Province of the Belgian Congo (between the actual border and Rutshuru), and in the Kigezi District of Uganda (along the actual border). [162]

[P. 7]

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orography of the country). They are due to the conjunction of these physical circumstances with the particular way in which the human occupation of the land has taken place.

2. HUMAN OCCUPATION

Several hypotheses have been advanced in attempts to reconstruct the history of the human occupations of Ruanda. We are not concerned with them here. Let us summarize only those features which are of significance for our purpose and which have a high degree of probability.

The present population of Ruanda is clearly composed of three groups: Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi. These groups are very unequal numerically. In the middle of 1956, according to a Government demographic survey, the Twa constituted 0·67 per cent. of the total Ruanda population, the Hutu 82·74 per cent., and the Tutsi 16·59 per cent.[5] Differences that are immediately noticeable between these groups concern their activities, their social statuses, and their physical types. The Twa are hunters, potters and ironworkers. Twa hunters are not numerous, as game is rare in most parts of Ruanda owing to the scarcity of forest. Some of them make a living as singers, dancers, and buffoons. The Hutu are agriculturists and the Tutsi pastoralists. The statuses of the three groups are hierarchically ranked. The Tutsi group constitutes an aristocracy, the Hutu are commoners, and the Twa are said, half jokingly, by most of the other Ruanda, to be more akin to monkeys than to human beings. A definite physical appearance is considered typical of each group. According to the socially accepted descriptions of the three stereotypes the typical Twa is short, pygmoid rather than pigmy, with a head low in the crown, face and nose flat, cheek-bones prominent, forehead bulging, eyes narrow and slightly oblique. Hutu characteristics are woolly hair, flat broad nose, thick lips often everted, and middle stature. Tutsi are very slender and tall. They often have a straight nose and a light brown skin colour. The objective measurements of Professor Jean Hiernaux do not entirely coincide with these stereotypes.[6]

[5] These figures have been kindly communicated by Mr. J. Revelard who was at that time in charge of the Ruanda-Urundi Demographic Surveys (Endemoru).

[6] Hiernaux, 1956b, pp. 34-53. Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 122-34. See the interesting photographs in Czekanowski, 1911, plates 1-61 and in Hiernaux, 1956b, plates VI-VII.

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for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Rwanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

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It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not over-exploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

178 possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference
564 was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of
114 the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the
554 maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

554 Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them
564 to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of
178 their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds, they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer,
184 and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to
[162] know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to
[171] comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 842 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

•[163] 3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 562 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house), the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

837 The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 586 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she nearly always will accept it. However, she sometimes leaves her

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

●163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi, probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force available to the parents and the better are the prospects of obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359). As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret science among the women, and the men do not appear to have any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

181 563 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 [578] The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi [163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He [481] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different 563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and 191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

164 Since then the Lake Barundi have not changed much as
regards their physical and mental constitution, but the individ-
165 ual tribes were struck by a terrible epidemic of sleeping sick-
ness and were reduced to scarcely a third of their original num-
bers, so that in 1911 I found most of the formerly flourishing
settlements deserted and laid waste. Fortunately the stinging
[136] fly, Glossina palpalis, which carries the infection, has not
penetrated into cool, windy, upper Urundi, and it probably
never will since it does not find favorable conditions there.

4. Mental Traits

000 At this point little will be said about the mental traits
of the Barundi since they can be adequately inferred from the
detailed descriptions of their life and of their material and in-
tellectual culture which will follow. Therefore, I shall give
only a few data about the disposition, temperament, and
character of these three large population groups which differ
so considerably from each other.

Of the Batwa, the more primitive, freer Forest Batwa
151 are also much freer mentally than those who have settled
among the Bahutu and Batussi. Like all hunting tribes, they
are characterized by their extraordinarily sharp senses, the
superiority of which is very often experienced and still feared
by the Bahutu as they advance against the forest in search of
563 arable land. As long as he can still hunt and live, freely
roaming the forest, the Mutwa is very proud of his independence
and looks with contempt upon the Muhutu wretched and bent
low tilling his field, and also on the Village Mutwa living
outside the forests who has to earn his living painfully either
by working in the fields or as a potter or blacksmith. Toward
609 a European the Mutwa is in most cases, if not hostile, at any
rate shy and ostensibly indolent, for even in peaceful inter-
course he is afraid of the sorcery and formidable powers of the
Whites.

563 [13] The Village Batwa are in all circumstances shy and
157 cringing as a result of their social position as pariahs, of which

361 and villages differ considerably depending on the quality of the soil. In the densely populated western districts one passes a cluster of homesteads every quarter or half hour, but in the thinly populated eastern districts one sometimes travels over an hour without seeing or passing a courtyard or a village.

One never sees many people outside, neither on the roads, 363 near the grazing cattle, nor in the fields. Only close to the huts and within the kraals does one see people walking, standing, and squatting in groups. Old people 70 years old and older 145 are extremely rare. Very few seem to live beyond the age of 60, and this seems to be more often the case with the Batussi than with the Bahutu.

According to missionaries' reports, the population has 161 been increasing during the last ten years or so, since the petty wars between the batwale and the princes and the invasions of the Banjaruanda and the Baha [Ha] have become rarer and less bloody. Only in the Tanganyika region which has been hit by 164 sleeping sickness has the population decreased considerably. 731 In the rest of Urundi the number of inhabitants is occasionally reduced considerably by smallpox epidemics or by crop failures, which are especially fatal to children, but such famines are relatively rare. In 1892, 1896, 1904-5 and 1908, rinderpest, bad harvests, and smallpox caused great devastations. In 1910 the distress resulting from drought in eastern Urundi was so great that the mission at Mujaga had to buy up large amounts of manioc and beans in Uha for their natives. Some travelers 181 claim that the majority of the Bahutu are waiting to be liberated from their conquerors. I cannot confirm this from my observations. [20] [Fig. 2 appears here in original text.] [21] The enthusiastic reception that the Bahutu gave at the time to the first European arriving there, Oskar Baumann in Urundi and Count Götzen in Ruanda, did indeed spring from the traditional hope for a great new conqueror who would usher in a golden age, but like all East African Bantu the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda do not in the least thirst for freedom. As has been mentioned above, they are submissive and dependent on others; they are happiest under firm authority and as accustomed to the discipline of their

[Text continues on page 31]

752 It seems more likely that, as in Ruanda, Ussuwi, and Kisiba (No. 31, p. 117; No. 48, p. 228; Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications] 1879, p. 393), they only perform a Caesarean operation on women who have just died in order to save the infant or at least to remove it from the womb so that it may be buried separately (see pp. 110, 140). Trepanation is unknown among the Barundi.

●164 Many of the diseases from which the Barundi suffer are of an endemic character, for example, malaria, relapsing fever, leprosy, and sand fleas. Only a few appear as an epidemic, for example, smallpox and sleeping sickness, but their effect is all the more terrible since the Barundi do not know or apply any antidotes. Van der Burgt lists a whole series of diseases which occur in this region (No. 19, pp. 350-351), but he often uses different names for one and the same disease in its different stages. The following ones, in particular, should be mentioned: syphilis, fever, boils, inflammation of the eye, sores on legs and arms, epilepsy, cramps, leprosy, tapeworms and other intestinal worms, phthisis (ikihaha), dysentery, coughing, abscess on the vulva, diphtheria (?), inflammation of the testicles, gonorrhea, rheumatism, head porrigo, threadworms (filaria), omphalocele, elephantiasis, smallpox, insanity, loss of teeth, lithiasis, paralysis, catarrh of the frontal cavity, whooping cough, dropsy, blood in the urine, deafness, inflammation of the chest, leucorrhea and blennorrhea.

164 731 Of all diseases, smallpox (akaranda, akasibe) is the most feared. It comes in epidemics and depopulates entire districts, as, for instance, in the beginning of the 1890's when in Urundi, Ruanda, Karagwe, and other areas of the interlacustrine region many thousands of people were carried away. According to native reports a serious smallpox epidemic afflicted the country around the turn of the century. Less epidemic in nature but also 164 very much feared are the different types of inflammation of the throat (ikiwa) which should be described as angina and some of them perhaps as diphtheria. Often they quickly result in the infected person's death. Running pustules and boils (ikihoro,

164 ikinutsi, amosi, ikivimba) are also very widespread but less dangerous. They can presumably be identified with frambesia and are contracted especially by children. The afflicted persons suffer less from pain than from being immobilized. Since they do not keep the sores clean, the healing process is very slow. These skin sores should not be confused with those caused by syphilis (ikikatschji) which is fortunately still very rare in Urundi and in Ruanda. Sores caused by the sand flea (infunsa) are also rather rare in Urundi, except in the area around Lake Tanganyika which has been very much affected by trade. This affliction is far more common in Ruanda. Still more seldom have I seen persons suffering from leprosy (umuwembe) in Urundi, only two cases near Lake Tanganyika and a few cases near the Mugera missionary station where a small isolation hut has been built for lepers. During my entire trip through Urundi I observed elephantiasis only two or three times, and it is equally rare in Ruanda. [143] According to van der Burgt, phthisis can be found in a few districts, but I doubt whether the disease which he calls ikihaha is identical with our European tuberculosis. The bubonic plague, which is endemic in the area around Lake Victoria, in Uganda, Kavirondo, the Mwanza district, and Kisiba, does not seem to occur in Urundi at all, but it is reported that it occurs quite frequently in Ruanda and is known as masseke sickness.

Many Barundi suffer from intestinal worms, and children in particular often die of them. Acute diarrhea is also frequent, and the dangerous dysentery sometimes develops into an epidemic, for example, in 1908. According to the reports given by the missionaries, gonorrhea and fluor albus have been imported here from the East, but they are not very widespread. Eye diseases are rare, except that small children are afflicted by them, and their eyes are often covered by large numbers of the infectious flies.

164 136 As in Ruanda, malaria (injonko, indurwe) occurs everywhere in the warm, swampy lowlands which abound in these countries. I have caught the anopheles mosquito in the swampy mountain valleys of southern Ruanda and northwestern Urundi at

164 altitudes as high as 1,600 to 1,700 meters, once even at
[136] 2,140 meters east of Usumbura. There I saw natives suffering from malaria, and I treated them with quinine. Some of the members of my caravan were also infected. However, it appears that blackwater fever occurs not at all or only very rarely. The highland Barundi are particularly afraid of being infected with malaria in the lowlands of the Akanjaru and the Ruvuvu in the north, in the swampy lakes in the northeast, and in the low, warm coastal area of Lake Tanganyika with the adjoining valley of the Ruzizi River, but the relatively few Barundi who live there permanently appear to be immune for the most part.

The highland Barundi are extremely sensitive to changes
164 in climate when traveling or when changing their residence.
147 In former times when the neighboring areas, for example, Ussumbwa, were still importing female slaves from Urundi, they calculated that eight out of ten slaves would perish because they could not live in the climate (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 178). The missionaries in Mariahilf in Uschirombo report that in their missionary orphanage they always have quite a number of children from Urundi and Ruanda who are unable to get used to the climate of Uschirombo (which is not particularly bad) and who are almost always sick. The women who go there from Urundi and Ruanda have the same difficulty. Quite a few of them die or lose so much weight that they look like skeletons. Many of them recover after about a year, but they remain weak (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 288). I would like to add that, ac-
[146] cording to my own observations, it is not merely the change of climate which is responsible for these cases of sickness but also the change in food, for example, lack of milk and poor water. In any case, it has been confirmed by experience that in the whole of East Africa the inhabitants of the cool mountainous areas and the highlands, such as Ruanda, Urundi, Uhehe, Usambara, etc., cannot live for any length of time in the lower, warmer regions, as, for example, in Unjamwesi, Ugogo, Useguha, and the coastal areas. This should be a serious warning to us not to import great numbers of people for work in the plantations of the lowlands, or, as the slogan goes, to open the gates of

164 these large "human reservoirs" of the highlands in order to
147 supply the plantations suffering from a chronic lack of labor. An attempt to do so would lead to results which would differ little from mass murder.

[144] The spread of sleeping sickness from the eastern
164 Congo to the western, lower regions of Urundi has had terrible
136 results. The carrier of the sleeping sickness, the stinging fly
731 Glossina palpalis, has infected the Ruzizi valley up to the vicinity of Lake Kivu, which is still safe, and the entire basin of Lake Tanganyika almost to the border formed by the surrounding mountains, and it also has spread to the stream and river valleys facing the lake as far as the eastern highland, for example, the valley of the Malagarasi. According to official reports on the development of our protectorate in 1912-13, the situation on Lake Tanganyika is such that, as a result of the considerable expansion of the infected area, the inaccessibility of the population, and also the difficulty of controlling the traffic with the infected areas of the Congo colony, the fight against sleeping sickness will continue for a long time to come. According to official sources, 3,303 new cases were observed in 1913, as compared with 3,560 cases in 1912. In the area of Lake Tanganyika there are probably a total of 200,000 persons suffering from sleeping sickness.

164 In 1911 I traveled through the infected areas of the lower
731 Ruzizi valley and in northeastern Tanganyika. I was horrified by the devastation that the disease had caused among the population which formerly had been so dense and had been so cheerful. Entire villages have ceased to exist, and the population of extensive areas have moved away or have been relocated by the government. The sick who have been collected in well-guarded camps by the government are slowly dying, and none of the remedies applied (Atoxyl, Salvarsan, and others) seem to have any beneficial effect. All economic activity has ceased, traffic and commerce have stopped, and the European firms which were active there have either gone bankrupt or moved away except for a few. After the railroad has been built to Lake Tanganyika, it will be possible to combat the spreading of the sleeping sickness

164 in the Tanganyika region with much better means and prospects
791 for success, but it will take decades before the damage is repaired to any extent.

Fortunately the disease has not yet spread to the large
164 area of Urundi proper east of Lake Tanganyika, and it probably
136 will not spread there in the future since the highlands of Urundi, Ruanda, and Uha are too cool for the Glossina palpalis to thrive and also because the conditions necessary for the existence of the fly, flowing water and shady bushes near the water, exist only in certain places of the highlands which are predominantly covered with grass. On the other hand, it seems to me that the great danger still approaching is that after the completion of the Tanganyika railroad the disease may also spread to the central areas of East Africa. Disease-carrying specimens of the Glossina palpalis, which at present is unable to fly across the dry steppes east of Lake Tanganyika, might be disseminated passively by being carried in railroad trains, as has happened in other countries with so many other epidemic or endemic diseases that were spread by means of railroads and ships. Then, if these infected flies find favorable conditions of existence at the eastern end of the railroad line, new nidi for sleeping sickness will be created. The situation may become even more dangerous if Glossina morsitans, the tsetse fly which is very common in the eastern regions, contracts the infection from Glossina palpalis and carries it farther. It has already been definitely proved in the southern part of our colony that Glossina morsitans may become a carrier of true sleeping sickness. If now, by [145] means of the railroad, the immensely large area where Glossina morsitans is common were infected from the direction of Lake Tanganyika, the consequences for the population of German East Africa would be incalculable. It is advisable to face up in time to this danger which is threatening us from western Urundi and the region of Lake Tanganyika. Otherwise reality might prove too much of a shock for us someday.

Plate 10

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Women with Sleeping Sickness, Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Chain Gang in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known:

754 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human
278 cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other
[164] people (1).

1. This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great
[578] curse, "May you die of tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu).

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu),
[84] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia
[824 (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example,
847] muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following
824 plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract
[224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

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A leper.

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Young Muhutu girl with tattooing on the back.

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R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has
843 remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the
164 idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in
847 Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[857] Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the
861 high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

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irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing. 262 264

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned. 261 [574] [484] 261 186

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather. 291 [164]

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

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It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *muroxi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The conditions favouring contamination by different diseases and the very limited defences against them permit us to assume that illness and mortality through these diseases must have been very high and a constant threat to everybody. 164

These brief notes on health conditions in Ruanda would be incomplete without a mention of mental health. We are not attempting here an assessment of the neuroses and psychoses which can be found in Ruanda or to the number of people affected by them and who, in the Western world, would be considered in need of psychiatric treatment. There is not sufficient information on these matters at present. But we would like to consider very briefly conditions which are likely to result in psychological tensions. 121

We have already mentioned the circumstances which make life objectively hard (a barely sufficient diet, starvation periods, and diseases). In addition it was often dangerous. When informants were asked what sort of reputation they particularly wished to avoid, they did not usually answer by listing the opposites of those particular qualities which they would like to have attributed to them, but by pointing to some definite reputation in which danger might be inherent. Above all, a Tutsi feared to be regarded as an enemy of the king. It was no doubt partly because he felt a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be thought of as an enemy of the king was extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of everything, the severance of all social relations, exile, or even death. He also feared to be considered a traitor to his chief. This was a less dangerous reputation, although it entailed sanctions: if a client had been disloyal to his lord the latter might take back from him all the cattle he had previously given him and eventually all his cattle. The Hutu said that they feared an accusation of witchcraft, for such an accusation could certainly mean immediate death. There was little that could be done actively to avoid such a danger except to be a good neighbour, to be envied by nobody, to have no enemies, and especially to have a powerful protector. The Hutu were also afraid of acquiring any reputation which could result in their losing the protection of the lord to whom they owed allegiance and consequently leaving them exposed and defenceless against the arbitrary actions of the powerful.[21] 152 626 681 591 181

[21] Cf. Maquet, 1954a, or Maquet, 1958.

164 Since then the Lake Barundi have not changed much as regards their physical and mental constitution, but the individual tribes were struck by a terrible epidemic of sleeping sickness and were reduced to scarcely a third of their original numbers, so that in 1911 I found most of the formerly flourishing settlements deserted and laid waste. Fortunately the stinging [136] fly, Glossina palpalis, which carries the infection, has not penetrated into cool, windy, upper Urundi, and it probably never will since it does not find favorable conditions there.

4. Mental Traits

000 At this point little will be said about the mental traits of the Barundi since they can be adequately inferred from the detailed descriptions of their life and of their material and intellectual culture which will follow. Therefore, I shall give only a few data about the disposition, temperament, and character of these three large population groups which differ so considerably from each other.

Of the Batwa, the more primitive, freer Forest Batwa 151 are also much freer mentally than those who have settled among the Bahutu and Batussi. Like all hunting tribes, they are characterized by their extraordinarily sharp senses, the superiority of which is very often experienced and still feared by the Bahutu as they advance against the forest in search of 563 arable land. As long as he can still hunt and live, freely roaming the forest, the Mutwa is very proud of his independence and looks with contempt upon the Muhutu wretched and bent low tilling his field, and also on the Village Mutwa living outside the forests who has to earn his living painfully either by working in the fields or as a potter or blacksmith. Toward 609 a European the Mutwa is in most cases, if not hostile, at any rate shy and ostensibly indolent, for even in peaceful intercourse he is afraid of the sorcery and formidable powers of the Whites.

563 [13] The Village Batwa are in all circumstances shy and 157 cringing as a result of their social position as pariahs, of which

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
826

1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets. The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

144

2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

428 The widow whose son was chosen as chief legatee usually en-
[768] joys the use of the family property until her death. The sharing is definitively carried out only after she has left this world. A childless widow is usually sent away by her husband's relatives, who share among themselves the property of the deceased. On being dismissed, she is left merely with a mat and a few household utensils. If she is fairly young, one of her brothers-in-law takes her as a concubine or
429 gets her another husband. /51/ When a child loses both parents, he is given a guardian. The legal guardian is the paternal grandfather, or lacking him, an uncle, a paternal first cousin, or lastly the chief of the village himself.

Maternal uncles and aunts, especially if they belong to another clan, cannot as a general rule manage the orphan's property. This would give rise to disputes and legal porceedings among the members of both tribes. They may bring up the child at best.

The guardianship devolves by right to relatives on the paternal side. They administer the ward's property until he comes of age,
[582] that is to say, until the day when he takes a wife. This usually happens at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

If only daughters are left, the nearest paternal relatives
[428] inherit the family property, but they must take care of the orphans until they marry.

If a person dies childless and leaves no relatives, his property devolves by right to the hill chief. This property is called inkungu.

[165] The families are large, but child mortality is high.

851 Eight days after ~~his birth~~ the newborn child receives from his
551 father a name that befits the circumstances (1). The mother /52/ is

1. "We notice that all men," says Mgr. LeRoy, "give themselves names that characterize them, and frequently the best one they could find was that of an animal whose strength, skill, agility, or beauty they had noticed, of a plant that was useful to them.... of an object or phenomenon which had struck them." (Les primitifs /Primitive Peoples/, p. 126.)

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.
562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
593

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

614 wife always remains a stranger to her husband's clan and keeps her own totem.

596 614 The umutware w'urugo rwa se is only slightly important and this word is seldom used. More important is the umutware w'urugo rwa bo (lit., of them), also called umutware w'umulyango, who has command both of his rugo and the umulyango.

614 The umulyango is a social entity without any political value. Thus Rwabutogo, chief of the umulyango of the Abega, owns only the province of East Buganza. In matters of family and cattle he commands Rwagatakara, who in turn commands Rwabusisi, chief of Buliza and South Buganza.

614 689 425 The umutware w'umulyango exercises a paternal jurisdiction over all the members of his group. If they disobey him seriously he can drive them out and seize their cattle (indemano, inkazibiti) except for the animals they have received as a gift from the king (ingabane) (1). However, it is the Mwami who has the right of

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 42.

[166] eviction. In addition, if the king sees that an injustice has been committed, he authorizes the one who has been the victim to settle elsewhere so as to remove himself from the jurisdiction of the chief of the umulyango, without however ceasing to belong to the clan. If the Mwami asks the umulundo (2) from the chief of the umulyango,

2. That is to say, lit., "wishes to see the cattle of his cattle." He takes only one or two animals.

the latter can in turn claim some inyiturano (3) from his family. On

3. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

the other hand, the chief of the umulyango can show his favor to those of his relatives with whom he is satisfied by giving them some ingabane.

563 of the ubugaragu contract, can be integrated into the Ruanda society (1). But if a Mututsi of Urundi settles in Ruanda with his

1. There are also Banyarwanda Bahutu who go and settle in Urundi.

abagaragu, although he is the equal of the Batutsi of that country, he and his household are nevertheless considered as foreigners (2).

[166]

2. These migrations are caused by the desire to escape personal vengeance following the accusation of murder, a sentence of banishment pronounced by the king of Urundi, or difficulties encountered by a client in his relations with his patron.

727 567 In the past, at the time of the wars, the vanquished who were taken prisoner were killed, while the women and the boys and girls were carried off to slavery. A Mututsi could [85] even marry a woman prisoner if she were of noble origin; the children held their father's status. But as a rule he gave her in marriage to one of his clients; the children of such a marriage continued to belong to the master's household, but their descendants were free and thus became Banyarwanda.

567 A slave might even marry a Mututsi woman. It was thus that the Mwami Rwabugiri, who had captured a young man called Rusera Muhima, later gave him his own daughter in marriage and made him a present of the subdistrict of Rugarama in Bunyambiriri.

2. Royal Power

643 173 The Mwami (king) has supreme authority in Ruanda. We have seen that all the traditions ascribe a divine origin to his power. The annalists of the Royal Court (abatshurabgenge) attribute to the present Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa, thirty-nine ancestors who, with the exception of the first, Nkuba, who remained in heaven, have all ruled over Ruanda (1).

1. Many names have certainly been omitted from this list. Assuming that

423 are least fortunate or most enterprising get together to sell or exchange
[311] their plots and go to the edge of the forest to buy a piece of land or to develop the one they owned there.

From then on, the clan to which they belong includes an additional village.

As in Europe the sale and lease of fields and banana groves is made in the presence of witnesses. Land boundaries are marked with stones and other conventional signs.

A felled tree, a displaced stone, some ground which has been broken in a neighbor's field over the dividing line, such things cause frequent litigations that give rise to disunity within families and among tribes over long periods of time.

The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ remains attached
361 to his native village, to his plot of land. He does not feel the need to move elsewhere, to change his domicile, as do the Blacks settled east and west of Tanganyika.

Ruanda soil is richer by far and sustains numerous and varied
[134] crops.

In addition to the banana grove, which is the most important
245 part of his property, the Munyarwanda has begun to plant trees and to cultivate coffee, which brings in large profits to which he was not
[231] accustomed. Ownership of a small herd of cattle or sheep makes his home even dearer to him.

It may be said that his home life is more stable than in neigh-
593 boring areas, and that he leaves it only rarely (1).

[166]

1. The Blacks, too, are familiar with nostalgia and home sickness. The fear of a vendetta or the attraction of large salaries may temporarily induce the natives to expatriate themselves. Sooner or later, however, they return to the cradle of their ancestors. The Banyarwanda cite characteristic instances of this.

131

on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 348.

In the northwestern part of the above-mentioned axis the Batutsi are less numerous. Only in Bwischascha and above all in the district of Lubengera do they appear in larger numbers. (3)

3. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin), p. 505.

The Batutsi of Bugoye settled there only a few generations ago. They came there from Mukinjaga. The few Batutsi in Mulera came there a short time ago from Nduga.

101 The Batutsi have also migrated to the west across the eastern edge of the graben [Rift Valley]. Dr. Kandt (4) says the fol-
167

4. Ibid., p. 456.

lowing about the Batutsi in Kishari:

"Here (Tshove, Kishari) many Watussi visited us, simple, friendly people but less handsome and aristocratic than those of Urundi and Ruanda; they have to work. Here they are not the rulers of the country, but cattle breeders living in villages isolated from the original inhabitants who are agriculturalists. (It is indeed strange how sharp a boundary the Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu form in this respect: to the east whole groups of Watussi live as kings and chiefs of subject peoples; to the west they appear sporadically or, as in Kishari, in larger numbers, but in neither case as rulers.)... Later I heard that Kishari is the refuge for all Watussi who for some reason have had to flee from their homeland." [124]

241 Despite the fact that conditions are very favorable for agri-
558 culture, the Batutsi have remained herdsmen, and only seldom have poverty-stricken Batutsi taken up agriculture. This happened to a family of Bagwahiro in Bugoye. These Batutsi who till the

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable, [144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

● 167 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important
101 role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's
103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelemy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the
101 Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

[113] 2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

167 101 Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu, Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly [194] alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect. In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area. The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with the Batutsi.

563 144 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that

[113] 2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.

Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

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There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there
233 were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid,
433 but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

168 This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is in-
433 creasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this
511 study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

433 It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

224 Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only
[262] the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate
[186] game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing
[237] and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

226 Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when
262 very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

302 water at a spring, crossing brooks, and on similar occasions.
515 Sometimes children and, at times, even adults cover their hair, scalp, and other parts of the body, sometimes the entire body, with a light gray layer of paint made of clay, ashes, or the marly excrement of beasts of prey that is frequently found in the steppes. This is not a festive adornment, as is often the case when adults paint themselves (see p. 67 , 127), but is intended to free the skin of small parasites and to keep it smooth.

304 Tattooing (urusago) I have observed much more seldom in Urundi than in Ruanda and Uha, [29] and then only in the form of decorative scars, never colored tattooing on the surface of the skin. In Urundi, too, it is mainly the Batussi who are tattooed, and, as in Ruanda, the patterns extend over the upper part of the arms, the two halves of the chest from the shoulder down to the area of the navel, and both halves of the back from the shoulder to the waist. As in Ruanda, the patterns consist mainly of finger length half-moons which in great numbers are placed in a row and are generally connected in groups of two by a third crescent which interlocks with the open side of the sickle; the total effect is that of a chain-like pattern (see Fig. 7). Each line consists of many parallel cuts made by a knife (Fig. 6) and caused to swell by rubbing on ashes and euphorbia juice, so that they finally form a thick scar which stands as high as one centimeter above the surface of the skin. Practitioners skilled in medicine do the tattooing. Other patterns consist of zigzag lines, ribbon-shaped parallel rows of lines running across the shoulders like broad suspenders, or button-shaped scars, like thick inoculation scars, in rows on the upper arm and in the center of the chest. Other irregular clusters of scars are not decorative tattooing but incisions for local body pains or wound scars resulting from violent injuries.

304 In my opinion it is improbable that this tattooing was originally practiced only by the Batussi and was imitated by the
● 171 Bahutu and Batwa, as was stated by M. Weiss (No. 33, p. 93). This type of tattooing is quite unknown to the Hamitic peoples of Africa, but it is very common among the Bantu of the upper Nile and Congo regions and of the western and southern regions

[Text continues on page 43]

304 around Lake Victoria, among the Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha,
171 Wassumbwa, etc. -- while, according to H. Rehse, the Basiba [Haya] do not tattoo themselves -- so it is much more likely to assume diffusion from the Bantu and Nilotes to the Batussi and a further development of tattooing by the latter. The tattoos of the Somali, Galla, Massai [Masai], etc., look quite different. A report by H. H. Johnston gives some indication of the wider context. According to him, the crescent-shaped scar tattoo, of which he gives a photograph (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 569), is also found among the Bakonjo [Konjo], who are probably the oldest Bantu race [30] in Unjoro, Toro, and Ankole, while the large mass of the Banjoro [Nyoro] in Unjoro, who are an important mixed race consisting of Bantu, Nilotic, and Bahima elements, do not tattoo themselves.

304 In Urundi I did not observe any tattooing on women and children. It was impossible to find out anything definite about the meaning of the patterns. I would doubt that they are intended to represent horns of cattle, as has been claimed by a missionary.

"Decorative disfigurements" of the ears (ear blocks), nose (nose pegs), the lips (pelele), the teeth (notches or filing), or other parts of the body are found in Urundi neither among the Batussi nor among the Bahutu, and this is also true of Ruanda. The Batwa, however, sharpen the two upper incisors. Also, neither cutting of the genitalia among either sex, deformation of the head, nor other such things are practiced. It is not until one descends to the west, east, or south from the interlacustrine plateau that one once more finds tribes with disfigurements of the body.

[287] Urundi is still the country of clothing made from barkcloth
439 (impusu). Except for the peripheral areas in the southeast, south,
177 and west where foreign trade, to which the rest of the country has been barred until recently, supplies cotton material, a piece of "Amerikani" or a cotton blanket used for clothing is still a rarity in Urundi. It was not until recently that more cotton material was introduced into the country by the few licensed traveling merchants, the missions, and the passing caravans

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle; it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
302 food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi
[262] eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororó, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, espe-
272 cially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

576 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is
231 possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting" [171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

Second only to cattle, sheep (intama; Plate 24a) are con-
231 sidered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised [281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi [262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (impene) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant [262] to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but [231] goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

412 acute angle joins it to a wooden handle whose club-shaped end
241 has a hole for this purpose, made with red-hot iron. In most cases the handle is so short (about three quarters of a meter) that the person using it in the fields always has to stoop quite low. Usually only the right hand is used for gripping the hoe while loosened stones, weeds, and the produce of the field are collected with the left hand. Hoes with handles as long as one and a quarter meter are also used, however. In northern Ruanda and on Lake Kivu such long-handled hoes predominate. Both hands are used to grip them, and they do not require one to work in such a stooped position as do those with shorter handles.

For digging holes to sow beans, peas, corn, and other produce, a piece of broken-off reed or wood is used at times. This piece, however, does not thereby become a permanent implement, that is, a "digging stick"; holes in the soft soil are mostly dug with the fingers. On the other hand, the short hatchet (ischenjo), shaped like a segment of a circle, is a permanent piece of equipment used for clearing the ground of underbrush. The same is true of the bent hewing knife (umuhoro; [171] see Plate 46), characteristic of the interlacustrine region, which appears in the hand of the old Egyptian harvest god. It is also used here as a harvest knife, besides having many other uses.

241 Thus, the farming techniques of the Barundi are merely hoe-culture, and the produce of their fields only hoe-products [as contrasted to plow-culture and its products]. Bananas and beans are the main agricultural produce. Bananas thrive everywhere, but they grow well only up to an altitude of approximately 2,000 meters. Beans grow in somewhat higher altitudes. Finally, peas are entirely absent in the lowland, but they are quite frequent in the higher regions of central Urundi. They are the sole agricultural product found in the areas of greatest elevation. Corn is widely grown in the Tanganyika region and in the valley of the Ruzizi, but it is found in the interior areas to a much smaller extent than is generally assumed. In the dry eastern part of Urundi where bananas become scarce, corn, interspersed with beans, is often cultivated on artifically irrigated valley floors. Peanuts are also abundant in the Ruzizi and Tanganyika areas, but in the highlands of the interior they are only sparsely

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[297] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[784] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
295 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

554 toward the mutwale and calls out "amahoro umutwale" (Peace,
576 Mutwale) or "mwakeje umutwale" (did you wake up in good health, Mutwale?), whereupon the person addressed simply answers "amahoro" or "mwakeje." Or the person tendering the greeting calls out "turakuje ubwatsi" (we offer you grass) or "sjinde awansi" (conquer your enemies). At the same time the greeter plucks a handful of leaves, straw, or grass and places them at the feet of the king or the mutwale. This is a symbol of submission for the grass or straw is the symbol of the soil and of all that grows on it (No. 14, p. 48; No. 22, p. 254; No. 4, p. 79). The "grass homage" is a widespread custom among the
[71] Hamitic nations of herdsmen and it also plays a ceremonial role among the Galla (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, p. 275).

576 3. Greetings exchanged between ordinary Barundi. There is an extraordinary number of different types of greeting depending on the time of day, the occasion and the person involved, etc. In this type of greeting, "mwakeje" or "amahoro" is also used as the beginning phrase in most cases, but after that there follows a whole flood of phrases exchanged between the two persons. When taking leave, it is quite customary to call "ibaba" or "akababa" to the other person. These words are also used by the Wanjamwesi (No. 19, p. 529).

The Barundi do not embrace or kiss each other as a form of greeting, but there is a peculiar kind of accolade which is the customary form of greeting among relatives and friends. It is executed in a very ceremonial fashion and is accompanied by many turns of speech (No. 23, 1904, p. 36). If someone meets one of his relatives or a close acquaintance, he first gazes at him for some time without saying anything and then approaches, stretching his folded hands toward the person. The other takes these folded hands between his own and then gently strokes the arms of the person who greeted him. At the same time, the chests and heads of the two approach one another as though they intended to embrace. While these gestures are being made, numerous phrases of greeting are exchanged. The words

614 It appears, however, that the exogamy of the clans is not entirely unrestricted. It seems that members of a Batussi clan cannot enter into marriage with the members of all other Batussi clans, nor can the members of a Bahutu clan marry the members of any other Bahutu clan. It seems rather that the member of a clan is restricted in his choice of a wife or husband to a certain number of other clans, most probably to those having the same totem (umusiru). As among other peoples practicing totemistic exogamy, marriages may originally have taken place between old totemic cult groups founded upon animistic concepts (No. 43, p. 162). It appears that in this case also marriages are restricted to clans which have the same totem or belong to totem groups which entertain friendly relations with each other. Among other East African tribes, for example, among the Wagogo [Gogo], Wahehe, Bafipa, Banjoro, and Baganda, marriage is at least not excluded if the partners have the same totem (No. 49, p. 164). In any case it is not the identity of the totem but only the membership in the same kin group, i.e., consanguinity, which is the determining element in exogamy. Evidently exogamous and totemic groups have different origins even where they coincide (No. 49, p. 166).

In the rest of East Africa exogamous, totemic clans exist
614 among the Sulu [Zulu] (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 380), the Wangoni
171 (395), Wagogo (402), Wahehe (404), Waheia [Haya] (406), Wayao [Yao], Makua, Makonde (406), Massai (408), Watakomba (420), Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Kamasia [Kamasya] (426), Wakawirondó [Kavirondo] (448), Basoga (457), Baganda (472), Banjoro (513), Batoro [Toro] (531), Banjankole (535), Galla (540), Basiba (No. 31, pp. 5-6), Bafipa (No. 47, pp. 131-135), Wakamba [Kamba], Wataweta [Taveta], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], Wabena [Bena], Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, [Sukuma], Wasango [Sango], Wawemba, and others (No. 49, pp. 122-124). If among these tribes the clans are not exogamous -- as among the Wahehe and the Massai -- the subclans into which the clans are divided practice exogamy. Often there are four clans and

614 almost everywhere the totem is called musiro or umusiru (pl., 171 abasiru).

In Urundi only the royal kin group, the Baganwa clan, is 614 not strictly bound by the rules of exogamy. Its members may 643 marry members of other clans of the high Batussi nobility (exogamy), or they may marry other Baganwa (endogamy). The king of Urundi himself always practices exogamy and marries into one of the four (or six?) highest clans (pp. 99, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). Under exceptional circumstances the king in both Urundi and Ruanda may, or must, as the case may be marry even his own sister or daughter (see p. 182 [not translated]).

Among the Bahima of Ankole, Unjoro, Ufipa, among 614 the Baganda and the Galla or Oromo, the kings and princes 643 of royal blood may practice endogamy within the royal kin 171 group and may even marry their own sisters while all the other clans are exogamous (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 523, 538, 541; No. 27, p. 105; No. 47, pp. 49, 132; Emin Bey, Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 120).

[102] As an extreme form of endogamy, marriage with a sister is practiced in East Africa only in cases of emergency when the ruling dynasty is unable to preserve the purity of its blood by any other connection. It probably is or was practiced by the ruling families of other peoples past and present only if the dynasty, as, for example, the Bahima, came either as peaceful immigrants or as conquering invaders and originally formed an alien element which excluded any miscegenation with the subjugated group (No. 43, p. 150).

614 From the fact that there are always several clans with the same totem it may be concluded that these clans originally belonged to the same tribe which later split into two or more kin groups and clans as a result of growth while nevertheless keeping

614 the common totem. After separating, the clans took different names. Among the Bahima and Bahutu of East Africa, unlike the North American Indians, the totem name was not used as the name of the clan itself, but rather, as among the Australian aborigines, the names of the clan and the totem are different. However, the totem cult and its membership have been preserved even though in diluted form (cf. No. 43, pp. 142-143). In a few individual cases the names of the kin groups are identical with that of their totem, as among the Basoga, Basiba, and Banjoro, while the kin groups of the Baganda are named, without exception, after their totem (No. 49, p. 155).

Both in Urundi and in Ruanda the totem (umusiru) is still the cult object of the clan or the clan group, even if only in a passive or negative sense, in that everything connected with the totem must be strictly avoided by its clan. There is no active cult devoted to the totem either among the Barundi or among any other Bahima people (cf. also No. 47, pp. 133, 134 and No. 49, pp. 145, 147). Sacrificial offerings are occasionally made to them but that is all. Among most Rundi clans the totem is an animal or part of an animal. Much more rarely it is an object, as, for example, the small pillow with which burdens are carried on the head or the basket in which sweet potatoes are stored, even more rarely plants or parts of plants, flowers, and stones. The definite predominance of animal
614 totemism is probably related, as among all peoples organized
775 by totems, to the idea that the totem animal was originally
171 considered the "ancestral animal." Among the Barundi and Banjaruanda, however, this does not appear to indicate that the particular species of animals is regarded as the founder of the race or the tribal ancestor or ancestress of the particular clan, but rather that the soul of each clan member after his death enters an animal of this particular type. Evidently the belief in a relationship between the human kin group and the totem animal species does not include the concept of common descent from the same ancestral animal. Whenever a member of the kin group dies, this relationship is renewed by his soul entering an

614 animal of his totem species. In Central Africa many tribes of
775 the northern Congo basin and of the western Sudan (No. 49,
171 pp. 140-142) have the same belief.

Van der Burgt believes that the royal family of the
614 Barundi has no totem (letter). According to other reports, however, their totem animal is probably the large python (see p. 118) which is also the "soul animal" of the kings; this also applies to the Basiba (No. 31, pp. 107, 130) and to the Baganda (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 500). According to the belief of the Banjankole, the souls of the kings enter into lions, those of the princes into snakes (No. 26, p. 151; No. 27, p. 102); among the Banjaruanda the souls of the kings enter into leopards."

[103] Thus, the belief in a relationship between clan members and the totem animal is one of the roots of totemism; the other is the same kind of animism that gives rise to awe and fear of the spirit of a dead person living in an animal or some other object and, in connection with this, brings about the cult of ancestors (cf. No. 49, p. 169). For this reason the totem animals are identical with the "soul animals" which are generally assumed to be the residence of human souls (see p. 118). In this case, too, these are characteristically animals, those which excel in great speed and agility and, thus, are suggestive of the vital breath, as, for example, the snake, lizard, certain fish and birds, the otter, weasel, duikerbok, long-tailed monkey, or those animals which have a sinister appearance or other terrifying characteristics, as, for example, the chameleon, the insect walking stick, leopard, buffalo, and hippopotamus. However, certain kinds of domestic animals, for example, black, white striped, or otherwise mottled cows or certain varieties of sheep may be chosen as totem animals by many clans. The veneration of cattle, which are neither used for work nor ordinarily butchered, would indicate that they were formerly the cult animal of the Bahima herdsmen, which to some extent is still true today. Some clans designate only liver, heart, and intestines of certain animals as totems. This custom is also found among many other Bahima and Bantu tribes. This is

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution
586 of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.
[587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes
587 the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
587 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia,
171 Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. Barrenness (ingumba) is It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffocation). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is
[826] born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is
553 able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

839 marriage and is pleasing to men. During this execrable act, they pronounce certain oaths or, rather imprecations: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. In addition, they use various means to obtain greater pleasure for themselves. In general they use plants or roots of plants and trees with which they rub the labia." Van der Burgt adds in a letter to me: "His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes prostent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adspirantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt 'pulchras se facere,' quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione." [Tr., "By means of this friction they extend the labia so that they become yellow and protrude, and they try to give them an extraordinary size and length. This custom may be considered [171] a general or national one not only in Urundi and Ruanda but also among the majority of tribes of central Africa with few exceptions, as, for instance, the Wasukuma. Consequently, it is not primarily intended as a means of obtaining pleasure, but the [826] girls simply wish to 'make themselves pretty,' since very many young men would not marry a girl who did not have such labia. After marriage the girls abstain from this manipulation."

I could not learn anything about the puberty rites; how- 881 ever, they most certainly are celebrated. Van der Burgt does not report anything on this subject either (No. 19, p. 394). In 304 any case, boys are not circumcised nor are girls infibulated. Only the Batwa, who in contrast to the Batussi and the Bahutu practice deformation of the teeth, sharpen the two upper incisors with a knife as an act to announce puberty (No. 19, pp. 105, 155).

I also was unable to ascertain whether the youths who had 561 reached puberty joined a social club or formed a special "age

561 group" as is found among several East African tribes. Is such a social institution does exist among the Barundi, it plays no role in public life. Nor are there special bachelors' huts or kraals for such an age group, while among other Hamitic peoples of East Africa -- or peoples under Hamitic influence -- for example, the Massai, the Wapokomo [Pokome], and the Galla, these age groups constitute the principal structure of the entire social life.

Among the Massai there are three age groups: the boys living with their parents, the unmarried youths (of the warrior caste) who live together in their own kraals, and the peaceful married men. Similarly among the Wapokomo and the Galla there are: first, the boys; second, the various age groups of those who have been circumcised at the same time, or Luva; and third, the class of the older men, or Gada. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 262 ff.) In Ruanda the youthful band of warriors which usually appears at the court of Musinga for festive occasions and performs war dances might suggest that such an "age group" of unmarried youths exists among the Batussi, but perhaps they are only a kind of cadet or page corps of the king (see p. 65).

888 775 Old persons who have lost their physical and mental agility are seldom seen since they remain within the homesteads. Their next of kin take care of them until their death (ukufa), perhaps less for reasons of piety than for fear that if they treated them badly they might take revenge after their death as spirits. 763 When a person is dying his family usually gathers around him. Immediately after death, the women in the house and the neighborhood raise a loud and plaintive wailing while the men close the eyes of the deceased, bend his arms and legs, and tie him up (in a crouched position) so as to prevent him or his spirit from returning. Preparations are immediately made for the burial.

764 Burial in a crouched position is also the custom in Ankole, Mpororó, Ufipa, and in other Bahima states, also among the
● 171

764 Massai and the Galla. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa,"
● 17) Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 283; and No. 47, p. 159.)

764 [114] With the exception of executed criminals whose
[766] corpses are thrown into the bush for the hyenas to feed on, all Barundi are buried (kuhamba). Baumann reports that "the next of kin cut open the belly of those who have died in order to search for the evil charm responsible for the death" (No. 4, p. 222). I have not been able to confirm this either by my own investigations in the country itself, by van der Burgt, or others. The corpse is not washed but is put into the grave in its ordinary garments and with its amulets; at best it is wrapped in an old mat. No other funeral gifts are added. The burial takes place a few hours after death has occurred.

The grave (isjobo) is dug within the courtyard next to the fence or, if the dead person was the father of the family, in the center of the courtyard opposite the entrance to the main hut (No. 19, p. 203). However, according to O. Baumann, the grave is dug inside the hut itself (?) which is then abandoned. (No. 4, p. 223). While the corpse is being carried to the grave, the women once more set up a loud lament; they act as though they intended to prevent the burial, and they shout words of farewell to the deceased. If the dead person was the father of a family, the widow squats beside him before his burial, applies butter to his head, and speaks well of him so as to make his spirit look with favor on the members of the family. Then the corpse is placed in the grave which is padded with leaves; it is placed on its right side in a crouched position. Then the grave is filled with earth and a little sepulchral mound is formed on top upon which are placed various objects that the dead person used, for example, earthen vessels, old baskets, the plaited screen that covered the entrance to his hut, and other things. After a short time these objects are removed, the sepulchral mound is leveled, and nothing is left to indicate the site of the grave.

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro
171 that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned
768 as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a
775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place
769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca-
766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and
661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is
[761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

775 agility conjures up the idea of the breath-like fleetingness of the soul, especially in snakes, lizards, and birds and also in unpleasant animals like toads, crocodiles, hyenas, and others. Apparently the members of certain clans all turn into specific animals, the totem animal (umusiru) of the clan (see p. 102). In general the first worm leaving the decaying corpse of a person is regarded as the vehicle of his soul until it has choosen another definite residence. As mentioned on p. 115, the first worm leaving the corpse of a king is therefore fed with milk until it turns into a large python who is worshipped as a god. The souls of great batwale turn into other snakes, lions, and leopards, who then reside in the holy groves (imana) near the graves. From there the snakes often visit the huts of the family and the mother of the family regards them as soul animals of the deceased family members and feeds them milk. The same [171] is true of the Galla, the Massai, and the Kaffir [Xosa] of South Africa (No. 41, p. 36; No. 19, p. 354). The idea of divine punishment, purification, and expiatory transmigration of souls which missionaries in particular read into this transfer of human souls into animals was certainly foreign to the Barundi originally. The fundamental notion of such a "transmigration of souls" is rather the totemic affinity of a human kin group with a particular animal species (see p. 102). The Barundi are, however, in the least disturbed by the internal contradiction contained in these notions, namely, the fact that the animal, tree, rock, stream, etc., which is occupied by the soul of the deceased person, would then have to have two souls. The logic of Negroes is different from that of Europeans.

The question of the immortality of the soul, which, of course, is strongly emphasized in the teachings of the Christian missionaries, leaves the non-Christianized Murundi as cold as all other East African Negroes. His imagination and ethical needs are [119] satisfied by assuming that the soul survives death. He is not further concerned about how long this survival lasts. Perhaps he thinks, as most other African natives do, that souls do not live on for eternity but that they gradually become weaker and smaller and finally disappear entirely (No. 41, p. 41) or that after the soul has entered an animal its life will be extinguished with that of the animal.

794 (No. 19, pp. 220, 292, 463, 516), so it is impossible to ob-
575 tain a clear picture of the nature of the Kubandwa cult of the Barundi from his writings. However, his accounts corespond essentially to the descriptions of the Imandwa secret society of Ruanda which have been given to us by Father Arnoux and the missionary Johanssen (No. 44 and No. 39, pp. 96-101). Thus, we can obtain many insights concerning Urundi from their writings. Quite correctly van der Burgt refers to similar cults of the "Watschwesi" (Batschwesi) fraternities in Ussuwi, Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Unjamwesi. In their nocturnal orgies have been preserved the last traces of religious cults and cult societies which still function openly as national institutions in Urundi, Uha, and Ruanda. The old relationship is also still recognizable in the hymns which are sung at such celebrations of the Watschwesi in Unjamwesi, Usindja, and in eastern Urundi. It is noteworthy that their lyrics are in the Old Kirundi language (No. 19, pp. 220, 463).

794 Father van Thiel, too, reports that in eastern Ussuwi at
575 the ceremony of the Kubandwa, the admission to the society
198 of the ababandwa, a ritual language called luchwesi is used. Father van Thiel lists a few dozen words (No. 24, p. 57), for example: bulege, bow; milasa, arrow; migasi, meat; muto, fire; masugunu, milk; muyara, head; manono, teeth; agawesa, eyes. It will have to be investigated whether this luchwesi is identical with Old Kirundi (cf. pp. 149, 330). Czekanowski gives a few specimens of the secret language of the babandwa in Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 316-317).

794 The following is known about the ababandwa in Ruanda.
575 According to legend, the historical high priest Riangombe, be-
171 fore dying, expressed the desire [125] to be worshipped by the Batussi as well as by the Bahutu and the Batwa, without differentiation by caste. For this reason they all, without differentiation, dedicate themselves to him in the Kubandwa ceremony. It appears that this tradition merely means that the fraternity was extended to include the Batussi, for according to tradition

794 the fraternity of the ababandwa existed long before the histori-
575 cal Riangombe. It is most probably an extremely old element
171 of Negro religion in East Africa which has been preserved in its pure form in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda, Karagwe, the eastern Congo (Bunjabungu) (No. 44, p. 291), and in a degenerate form in Unjamwesi and Ussumbwa. Many parallels to it can be found in the secret societies of the Bantu and Sudan Negroes of Loango, the Cameroons, Togo, the Gold Coast, etc. Ac-
794 cording to van der Burgt, the Kubandwa cult in Urundi is part
575 of the Bantu religion of the Bahutu and has been taken over
114 by the Batussi. However, the king may not participate in the cult while the Batwa are very dedicated to it, particularly to that of Kiranga. In his dictionary van der Burgt defines the ababandwa as a "société religieuse et secrèt" (No. 19, pp. 220, 463), but according to a more recent written communication he regards the Kubandwa not as a real "secret society" but as a gathering for a mysterious cult act to which not everyone is admitted, for example, children. Captain von Langenn, however, regards it as a religious secret society in which old sorcerers play the leading role; admission to it follows special ceremonies. Missionary Johanssen, too, describes the analogous institution in Ruanda as a "society of the initiated or of mediums" who are in contact with the world of the spirits and join Riangombe after their death, in contrast to the laymen, the insigo, who are excluded from this community (No. 39, p. 96). Father van Thiel likewise refers to the initiated persons of the Kubandwa cult in east Ussuwi as a "soeiété secrète" whose leader is the sorcerer (No. 24, p. 49).

[793] In Ruanda a high priest (kiranga) is the head of the
794 ababandwa. He is appointed by the king, but he may also be
644 dismissed by him. In Ruanda the king appoints the mpara as his
575 assistants. They are a group of ababandwa who enjoy the privilege of offering their sacrifices to Riangombe in the kraal of the king. It is noteworthy that they are all Bahutu. This is probably a concession to the old Bantu origin of the Kubandwa cult. These mpara, in addition to the Batwa who live at the k king's court (see p. 13), are the bodyguards and the "guardians of the royal sleep," and much confidence is placed in them (No. 44, p. 292).

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 784 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

614 with their totems or even with other animals, to render them harmless
825 or to excite them against their enemies.

This, however, is a belief that will soon disappear, for the Banyarwanda take small notice of their totems nowadays.

538 As far as oral literature and folklore in general are concerned, one may assert without risk of error that the Banyarwanda have no reason to envy the neighboring peoples.

There may be few Black groups who managed to preserve so many and such ancient traditions, made all the more precious by the fact that they help us understand more than one facet of their history. This will be shown readily /61/ in the course of this work. We believe that the Hamites, who are given to the things of the mind and have organized the country methodically, must be justly regarded as the chief authors of this literary development.

181 The Bahutu of Ruanda owe to these same Batutsi the appreciable advantage of being less backward, less "primitive" than many of their fellow Bantu of Central Africa. Because they were less isolated than most of the members of the tiny neighboring states at the time of European penetration, the Banyawanda found themselves in a situation more favorable to the progress of civilization thanks to the centralization of the Hamitic state.

● 171 The inhabitants of Ruanda, as we have just pointed out, have more than one trait in common with the other African tribes. In speaking on the subject, Maurice Delafosse provides the following explanation, "The African Negro peoples, as different from one another as they may seem to a superficial observer, have a unified character which may be attributed to their common ethnic origins and to the relative similarity of the physical, economic, and social environments where they first developed and where they later evolved." (1)

1. Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro African Civilizations/.

157 As for the reader who wishes to know what to think of the Blacks, we must answer in all sincerity that it is very difficult to

794 173 [171] time it came into being, or where and by whom it was first established. It seems to be of foreign origin, although it has made important strides in Ruanda proper. It has been noted that the neighboring peoples to the north, south, east and west of Ruanda indulge in a similar cult (1). Did Ryangombe and his companions really exist?

1. In the work entitled Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Édouard /Between Lakes Victoria, Albert, and Edward/ the author, Mgr. Gorju, discloses details about this secret society which lead one to believe that it is of Hamitic origin and that it was introduced into Ruanda by the Hamites.

"In the Bunyoro each tribe has its high Muchwezi, or acknowledged protector. Thus ...the Bagweri claim to be under Mugasa's protection....

"Aside from these protectors peculiar to each tribe, however, there are universal protectors common to all tribes who have specialized in some menial function...such as Kagoro, the god of lightning (p. 202). There is a group (of these demigods, or genii) in which individuals were included under the name of bachwezi, such as Nyabatwa and Nyabakonjo, whose legendary history hardly corroborates a kinship with the authentic Bachwezi (three powerful figures whose trail is suddenly

783 The weapon must be both "punished" and "purified" at the same time.

If the weapon involved is a spear that was successfully retrieved, the sorcerer first unhafts it. The spearhead is set aside, its tip (umuhunda) broken to pieces, and a few wooden scrapings are removed from the shaft (uruti). This debris is placed in a small gourd of the type called idegede (1). If the actual weapon is not available, the

1. Henceforth, the family may not eat this kind of gourd. (La Mentalité primitive /Primitive Mentality/, op. cit., p. 293.)

purifier works with a similar weapon, but a used one. Then the gourd is filled with beer. Owing to its mystic usage and to the scrapings that were placed in it, this gourd bears the name of akabatongera in sorcerers' terms. The relatives who are present take a mouthful of this pombe. The gourd with the scrapings and spearhead is then entrusted to someone who is an outsider (umuse) to the clan or to the family, and who goes /417/ and hides it in an isolated spot, such as a thicket, a cave, or a hole of some sort. The same is done with any other weapon that may have been used to commit the crime, arrow, sword, or knife.

... "A practice of this kind," says Levy-Bruhl, "is almost uni-
783 versal among African tribes.

171 "Those ceremonies are carried out because it is thought that the weapon bears calamity or fatality with it. This is the case among the Akamba. According to them, a weapon once used to commit a murder will continue to be the instrument of new deaths. No ceremony, charm, or magic of any sort, however, could ever exhaust this deadly property. The weapon will continue to kill indefinitely through its master's hand, no matter what he may do. Since there is no way of removing this curse, the Mkamba uses guile. He places the weapon on a path or at some spot where a passer-by is likely to see it. Once the latter has picked it up, the deadly influence of the weapon falls upon him and the first owner is freed from it. . . . " (1)

241 times, but that later it was replaced by a long-handled one
412 with a hole bored at one end. They also said that at present it differs from the Ruanda hoe only in the fact that it is ligher.

The very primitive wooden hoe, less frequently used in Ruanda, is somewhat similar to the older form. It, too, consists of an unevenly forked branch, but in this case the shorter end is pointed and used as the hoe. The few samples which I saw in the region had an iron tip on the pointed end. The people I questioned about it said that formerly this tip had not
● [171] been used. Later I saw identical hoes among the Niloto-Hamitic Kakwa; these were without the iron tip. I was told that they were used exclusively for clearing.

In Ruanda the women as well as the men use the hoe. In this respect Ruanda is very different from the other regions of the northwest where hoe culture is practiced.

311 There are large aggregates of tilled fields only in the north and the west and along the northern shore of Lake Mohasi. Otherwise the fields are merly oases in large sections of pasture-

[412]

Fig. 26. Wooden Hoe with Iron Tip from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. L15061.)

land and bush.

311 The banana groves usually occupy the ridges of hills; at
245 least this is the case in Kissaka, Nduga, and Mulera. In Bugoye and in southern Bgisha where the settlements were very high, the groves are somewhat lower. In Bugoye where the lava is very much decomposed, there are large [138] banana plantations on the lava plains themselves. In Bgisha they are somewhat higher along the edges of these plains. Bananas bear almost all year round except in the driest season. The plants are hoed, but otherwise they require little care. The banana crop is used chiefly to make beer (nzoga).

487 438 4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye, [439] Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170] Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

171 291 301 411 Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus, we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

291 In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

wide. One piece is wrapped around the loins (kukenyara), the other is thrown over the shoulder (kuitera). For the shoulder pieces red prints are popular, but the colors are not gawdy. The cotton materials, like the skins, are smeared with butter. 291

The Bahutu for the most part wear barkcloth a great deal and, near the missions, cotton clothing also. Cloth and skins are worn in the same manner as the cotton material of the Batutsi.

Fig. 58. Braided Apron for Young Women and Children, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III 9923. 33 centimeters wide.)

291 171

The Bahunde, who are physically and linguistically closely related to the Bahutu, draw a piece of barkcloth between their legs, like their western neighbors of the Congo Basin, instead of wrapping it around their hips, as the Banyaruanda do with the kukenyara. We may presume that the West African method of drawing it between the legs is the original custom, even among the Bahutu. This is confirmed by the fact that the Banyaruanda also wear waist bands, often decorated with glass beads, under their cotton clothing. At one time these probably served to fasten the barkcloth drawn between the legs. Wrapping the clothing around the hips makes these bands superfluous. The wrapped lengths of material seem to be the result of [172] a later East African influence, which could also have come from the Batutsi. The people cling to this principle of dress in their old costumes which they now wear only for rituals and festive occasions.

Fig. 59. Waistband of Strung Pieces of Porcupine Quills, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 3954. 161 centimeters long.)

Married women wrap a soft piece of cowhide (inkanda) around their hips. It reaches to their ankles and is held and fastened with a 291

592 Usually there is only one wife living in the compound (lugo), and she has absolute authority within her sphere. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the king, many women live in one compound and are brought to the kambele in turn. In this case there are several inner courts with houses for the women.

Beyond the inner court is the rear court with the cookhouse, called mubahutu, where the servants live. Near it are the storehouses with supplies of grain. These, however, I also found in the inner court. In Nyanza on Lake Mohasi I asked why a strange Muhutu lived in the cookhouse of the compound, and the answer was: "It is his duty to fill the granaries." Since the man also had to take care of the kitchen, I think this reply must be taken literally; in other words, he had to store the produce brought as tribute by the Bahutu and not home-grown products.

The Bahutu compounds, as a rule, have one court in which we often find several huts.

341 [202] Buildings. In Ruanda there are four distinct types of buildings: dwellings, huts for calves, spirit huts, and storehouses.

The first three are constructed on the same principle and are distinguished from one another only by their size and the care with 346 which they are constructed. The spirit huts are the smallest and least carefully built. They consist of a simple framework of 343 branches stuck into the ground and covered with grass. The storehouses, on the other hand, differ quite radically in form, though not in the principle of construction.

342 The dwelling in Ruanda, as in other parts of the interlacustrine 171 area, has the shape of a beehive. This type has also penetrated the western edges of the great African trench [Rift Valley] and even seems to predominate in Butembo (1), although there club huts

1. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 261.

with four doors mark the center of the village, and the doors are made of boards. In that region the buildings seem to be identical with the ones I observed among the Baamba.

343 171 On the way from Nyanza to Mulera, at the southern foot of Mount Ndisa in the compound of Rwabakika, I saw a round hut with a cone-shaped roof. It was a small hut for calves with a roof that clearly projected beyond the cylindrical walls.

342 171 Moreover, in the southern part of Bugoye at an altitude of 2,000 meters, I saw huts that gave the impression of being round with conical roofs, but on closer observation they turned out to be ordinary beehive-shaped huts. They were simply surrounded by a layer of reeds on the outside, and above this rose the straw thatch, giving the impression of a projecting roof. The natives explained that the walls of the huts are reinforced in this way in order to protect the occupants from strong, cold winds. Dr. Kandt likewise mentions this precaution, saying (2) that the huts are "protected

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 298.

by a sort of rampart of grasses."

We must also mention the fact that Baumann (3) saw huts

3. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 218.

with a cylindrical thase of bamboo near the source of the Kagera. Is it possible that these are remnants of the round huts which formerly extended farther east and which were superseded by the beehive huts of the Batutsi? At any rate the beehive hut is more suitable for the treeless areas, for in an emergency it can be constructed without timber, merely of elephant grass or millet straw.

342 [555] [203] The size of the Ruanda house fluctuates considerably according to the wealth of the owner. It is usually four to eight meters high, and one and a half times that in diameter.

The house of sticks is tied together with papyrus; nails are not used.

The house wall consists of three layers. The middle layer is constructed of vertical sticks supported on the inside by hoops

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different elements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
609 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[71] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J.M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

644 of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies
805 he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is re-
[78] garded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon.
[533] They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great
644 feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

805 The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298] Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

771 Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

769 Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda
771 as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

291 On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of
[854] cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their
[482] backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore
[439] them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

302 Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu
[301] and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments.
304 There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went
[291] barefooted.

592 The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at
361 least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the
349 interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a
[1171] 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c.
857 were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls
513 under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut
343 devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus
346 hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined
351 circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a
[331] kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the
361 year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

178 possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference
564 was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of
114 the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the
554 maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

554 Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them
564 to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of
178 their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds, they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer,
184 and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to
[162] know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to
[171] comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

571 dependency upon him? As in many cultures in which a king is a
564 paternal and divine image, the Ruanda monarch certainly con-
184 tributed towards the creation in Ruanda individuals of a feeling of
643 belonging to a unit which presented some similarities to a family.

This was, it seems, how the Ruanda political and feudal struc-
564 tures, by their complexity, succeeded in keeping an equilibrium
182 between, on one hand, the tendencies towards social disintegra-
184 tion that a caste system necessarily produces and, on the other, the minimal cohesion necessary to the maintenance of a social unit such as a nation.

(b) *Exploitation and protection of Hutu*

728 The Tutsi were confronted with the dilemma that all conquerors must solve when they settle on a new territory with the intention of staying permanently: are they going to draw upon the natural resources of the country themselves, using their own labour and equipment, and to remove from the area the aboriginal inhabitants by pushing them further on and even by exterminating them as a people, or are they to let them stay and use them by having them working for their benefit? Europeans who settled in North America adopted the first solution, they did not [191] attempt to use Indian labour and they expelled the native population from their hunting areas and began to cultivate their country. The second method has been chosen in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara where Europeans have settled.

564 Whether Tutsi have explicitly considered this problem is
661 immaterial here. In fact they have adopted the solution which was most advantageous to them. Being pastoralists and not numerous (in comparison with the Hutu peasants), they had no interest in expelling them. If this had been done, they would have had either to till the land themselves or to dispense with beer, peas, sorghum, &c. It was preferable for Tutsi to adopt what Oppenheimer calls the bee-keeper's policy (as opposed to the bear's policy who for the purpose of robbing the beehive, destroys it),[4] that is to say, to keep in the country peasants in order permanently to exploit their productive work. Those who control territory are not a dominant group; it is upon men that power is exerted.

We have seen how, through the political and feudal structures, the country's surplus resources were drained and concentrated in

[4] Oppenheimer, 1922, pp. 63 ff.

714 Finally, battle dress is part of the Murundi. When the bodyguards shall see later (p. 87), the actual battle, they wear a uniform consist tanned antelope hide or sheepskin ([302] their skulls, faces, and the upper pa kinds of white and red lines and orn a terrifying, savage appearance (No uniform is also worn at war dances. Ruanda where, in addition to this un for example, a headdress and foot ra Bahima in Ufipa have the same kind and in Ruanda (cf. illustration in Le

172 411 Old stone weapons, the remna which have disappeared (see p. 15 in use any more in Urundi even am oldest ethnic element; the same is

[36] Chapter

Hunting, Fishing, Stock Farmin

1. Hunting a

224 Hunting (uwuhisi) plays of the Barundi, for in an area almost completely denuded of systematically exterminated in and pastures as in the regions s only a few animals left which the most frequent ones are the found mainly in the narrow bus of the streams and also the tuft Jimela antelope. As far as othe concerned, the elephant is occa populated areas, in the deserted

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563 of the ubugaragu contract, can be integrated into the Ruanda society (1). But if a Mututsi of Urundi settles in Ruanda with his

1. There are also Banyarwanda Bahutu who go and settle in Urundi.

abagaragu, although he is the equal of the Batutsi of that country, he and his household are nevertheless considered as foreigners (2).

[166]

2. These migrations are caused by the desire to escape personal vengeance following the accusation of murder, a sentence of banishment pronounced by the king of Urundi, or difficulties encountered by a client in his relations with his patron.

727 In the past, at the time of the wars, the vanquished who were
567 taken prisoner were killed, while the women and the boys and girls were carried off to slavery. A Mututsi could [85] even marry a woman prisoner if she were of noble origin; the children held their father's status. But as a rule he gave her in marriage to one of his clients; the children of such a marriage continued to belong to the master's household, but their descendants were free and thus became Banyarwanda.

567 A slave might even marry a Mututsi woman. It was thus that the Mwami Rwabugiri, who had captured a young man called Rusera Muhima, later gave him his own daughter in marriage and made him a present of the subdistrict of Rugarama in Bunyambiriri.

2. Royal Power

643 The Mwami (king) has supreme authority in Ruanda. We have
● 173 seen that all the traditions ascribe a divine origin to his power. The annalists of the Royal Court (abatshurabgenge) attribute to the present Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa, thirty-nine ancestors who, with the exception of the first, Nkuba, who remained in heaven, have all ruled over Ruanda (1).

1. Many names have certainly been omitted from this list. Assuming that

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it is correct, the domination of the Batutsi over Ruanda would go back nearly four centuries.

[565] 643 The Abanyiginya and the Abega are the most influential noble families of the country, and kings and queens have been chosen from among them since the earliest times.

[551] The kings of Ruanda have two names, that given them at birth (Musinga, Rudahigwa) and that given them on their accession (Yuhi, Mutara).

When the Mwami dies royal power passes to one of his sons, generally to one of the youngest.

The divine origin attributed to royalty and the legitimacy conferred on the king by a very long heredity led to the [86] acknowledgment of a third characteristic of royal power, that is to say, autocracy.

[423] The Mwami is the undisputed master of the whole country, of the land (fields and pastures), of the cattle, as well as of the people. He is the only real proprietor, all those on whom he bestows his generosity being merely his life tenants.

643 425 He does not necessarily own the land which he cultivates himself, and he does not need to, since his revenues are enriched by the tributes and payments owed to him by each of his subjects. When he is young he receives in appanage from the king, his father, one or several provinces, as well as cattle, and servants. On his accession he may keep all these provinces or give them to others (1).

1. Mutara Rudahigwa has kept his provinces of Nduga and Marangara but has shifted the responsibility of their administration to an umutware.

His favors may be bestowed to anybody, to a Muhutu and even to a Mutwa, whom he can raise immediately to the highest rank. Formerly, even in Musinga's time, those who had ceased to please the Mwami, or simply those whose property he coveted, could be dispossessed any day regardless of their high positions, all influence taken from them, and they themselves exiled from the country. Today, if the Mwami wishes to occupy a certain hill, he asks one

643 are paid the Mwamikazi as to her son, hand clappings repeated
644 three times (gukoma mumashyi). After the death of the Mwami (3),

3. Or rather, as the Banyarwanda say, "When he puts on his drum," for it is forbidden to say that the King is dead.

his mother no longer plays any official role.

3. The Sacred Drum

778 The origin of the Kalinga is said to go back to Ruganzu
●173 Ndoli. While the latter, who was not yet king, was fighting against the Karagwe (Uganda), the Abakongoro of Kivu attacked Ruanda and killed the Mwami Ndahiro Chyamatara, father of Ndoli.

Returning from war, the latter stopped at Busigi (territory of Biumba), where a rich proprietor called Minyaruka presented a magnificent drum to the glorious victor.

778 The Kalinga is the very symbol of royalty (4). [89] Hung on
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4. The Banyarwanda say, Kalinga ibuze nta Mwami (lit., the drum was burned, there is no King). This proverb must not be taken literally for, on the other hand, the people of Ruanda say, Hagum'Umwami ingoma irabazwa, (lit., find the King (important thing), the drum (unimportant thing is only wood). [89]

its stretched cords are the ibikondo, virile attributes of the principal enemies vanquished and killed by the kings of Ruanda. It is also
[787] regularly sprinkled with the blood of victims sacrificed on occasions for auguries. Truly royal honors are given to the Kalinga; it is not made to resound but the other drums sound in its honor (1). It is

1. Kulamutza, "to salute (the king)." The drums are beaten every morning when the king leaves his apartments to begin his day as a public person.

231 173 [91] Legendary tradition attributes to Nyiraruchyaba, daughter of Gihanga, the introduction of cattle into Ruanda. One day when she went to cut wood, she noticed whitish patches on the ground. Being very thirsty and not finding any water nearby, she took her drinking-straw and drank the white liquid. Finding this drink delicious, she wished to know whence it came. She went into the forest and came upon a horned animal that was losing through its udder a liquid identical to that she had just drunk. In the meantime as Gihanga had fallen seriously ill, she brought him some of the white liquid. The patient drank it and recovered quickly. He asked his daughter where the medicine had come from and she brought him the animal. The cow was called ingizi (from kugira neza, to heal well). Since that time the Banyarwanda have had a great veneration for horned cattle.

232 Along with ordinary cattle (inkuku) the Mwami owns herds of scrupulously selected cows which, without being precisely the object of a cult as in ancient Egypt, are treated with particular care and are in the foreground at all festivals. These are the Inyambo (1).

1. The word Inyambo designates an animal, a herd, or all the herds together.

The origin of the Inyambo goes back to the Mwami Yuhi Mazimpaka. This king chose fine long-legged cows with long horns and a shiny dark brown coat (ibihogo) and mated them with a young and vigorous bull. The selected herd was kept apart in the province of Rukoma near the Nyabarongo River. These cows multiplied and from them the best ones continually selected. Under the preceding Mwami, Yuhi Musinga, the Inyambo were divided into two herds, one called agakanda and the other indoha. Musinga [92] added a third and called them respectively Inyuba hilo (the ones to be respected) or herd of Gihanga; Inshya (the new ones) or herd of Kigeri Ndabarasa which contained a remarkable bull called Rushya; and finally Ingabe (the dominating ones) or herd of Kigeri Rwabugiri.

The three herds combined were called Insanga. At the full moon in June they were led in procession to the Mwami amidst dancing and joyful cries (gukura gichurasi, lit., to carry off the month of May) (1).

821 1. The month of May, during which according to tradition Mwami Gihanga died.

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148.) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

614 This enlarged family, which comprises the younger brothers
[592] and their children, the cousins and servants attached to the household (1), takes the name of umulyango, which has the same meaning as

1. Funck-Brentano, L'Ancien Régime /The Old Regime/, p. 15.

mesnie from the Latin mansionata, "household." Eventually the tribe became too large and split up. Each subtribe then took the name of the new chief while retaining as a reminder the name of the common ancestor. In other words, the major clans divided as time went on and remained bound to the mother tribe under a new name.

The Bagwabiro of Bugoyi are descended from a Migwabiro rain maker who belonged to the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ clan of the Basinga.

173 He left his village of Suti (Munyambiriri), and, after a vain
614 attempt at colonization in the Kinyaga, settled in the Bugoyi during the reign of Chyilima II Ludjugira, around 1700 or thereabouts. He was reunited there with his son Macchumu, who played an important role in the fight against the famous "Mutes," or "men with an incomprehensible tongue."

614 A change of territory, a raise to the noble ranks, an important role played in some event, the holding of a post at court, etc., such were some of the motives that determined the creation of new clans. In the following pages, we shall describe many examples of such recent formations.

We shall now provide a brief list of clans.

1. Batutsi Ethnic Group

a) The two major clans:
Abanyiginya, from which the royal family originated.
Abega.

b) The secondary clans:
Abatsobe (Gatsobe, Nyirarutsobe).
Abaha, which came from the Uha.

Chapter 3

Short Historical Account of the Hamitic Invasion of Ruanda

•173 Our intention here is to furnish a summary that will enable the reader to encompass with a quick look the history of Ruanda and the gradual conquest of the territory by the Hamites.

This small summary, we believe, will facilitate the understanding of the narratives, romances, and legends which we have intentionally linked with the career of each monarch.

We beg the indulgence of the reader in regard to the evaluations and opinions of the author concerning the narratives and incidents /73/ which are discussed below. He had as a guide only the traditional documentation available, that is to say, that of strictly oral transmission.

These traditions may be vague, incomplete, legendary, and even sometimes contradictory, depending on whether they were narrated by one or another individual, in one region or another. One must be glad, nevertheless, that they have come down to us, curtailed and distorted as they may be. No doubt there must be very few primitive peoples (1) with a folklore as rich and varied as that of the

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1. What is a Primitive? Fr. Bros gives the following definition. The word "primitive" must be explained. It does not designate here the first man or men, but a certain stage of human civilization characterized by crude and unspecialized industries and social customs. In the same sense, one says "populations of inferior culture," "savage or uncivilized peoples."

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What is a primitive? By what signs is he recognized? Historians traditionally regard as primitive prehistoric peoples, the savage populations of the various continents, and also the ancient civilizations antedating the history of the various peoples (Greeks, Romans, Arabs, etc.)

Ethnologists have recently attempted to introduce certain distinctions into this confusion. They have evaluated the degree of primitiveness of various primitive peoples... by tracing every known cycle of civilization geographically through space and historically through time. (Cf. Ecclesia, Encyclopédie populaire des connaissances religieuses /Ecclesia, Popular Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge/, pp. 725 and 726.)

173 Banyarwanda. The arrrival of the Hamites, or Batutsi, in the area and the influence they exercised there, especially when they entered the central province of Nduga under Mibambge-Mutabazi, twenty-third in the dynasty, transformed Ruanda and its autochthonous inhabitants in more ways than one. The conquerors contributed a great deal to the development of the legends and traditions.

173 814 A great part of what we have to say about Ruanda was related to us by the official historians, abachurabgenge ("knowledge makers"), appointed to the court. From times immemorial, those men have been in charge of preserving the memory of the Hamitic princes' deeds and actions. /74/

173 They record the genealogy of kings, their birth name and
814 reigning name. They do not overlook the queen-mother's name and that of her clan of origin. They are always at the monarch's beck and call, attend upon him in shifts two by two, and beguile his leisure with the narration of his ancestral lineage and of the exploits that adorn it. It must be admitted that this purely oral tradition is liable to a serious shortcoming, forgetfulness and resulting distortion. Time, that wears away everything, eventually obliterates certain facts and even the names of people whose existence is lost in the mists of time and who are replaced with legends and myths. This is the impression made by the tales of the chroniclers concerning the first sovereigns of the Mututsi /Batutsi/ dynasty. The first nine or ten kings seem to have been invented out of whole cloth. Their genealogy seems to have been created as an afterthought in order to flatter the pride of princes, who are enraptured at the thought of being descended from a long line of ancestors with some demigods among them.

173 These legends, nevertheless, do not lack interest. They disclose native ideas about the creation of the world, the existence of good and evil, the origin of death, etc.

Moreover, the historical outline is revealed in spite of everything and makes it possible for us to divine the political state of affairs in Ruanda at the time of the Batutsi arrival.

Whence did the Hamites come? No one knows exactly. It is likely that they came from the Nkole, which is now part of the Protectorate of Uganda. It is generally agreed that they emerged from the Ndorwa through the northeast and that they stayed for a while at the place called Mutara, which is often mentioned in narratives and legends.

While some of them settled more or less definitively in the Ndorwa region and its immediate surroundings, others continued their journey and successively established the kingdoms of Ruanda, Gissaka, /75/ Burundi, and Uha (1). The first stopping places and first conquests

1. The eight small kingdoms located in the territory of the Bahaya shore dwellers of lake

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/sic/ Nyanza) are governed by Bahinda princes of Muhima, that is to say, Mututsi origin, who conquered the area. Those tiny principalities are called by the names of Karagwe, Kitara, Kiziba, Bugabo, Kyamtwara, Kiyanja, Ihangiro, and Usui. Their total surface adds up to 30, 000 or 35, 000 square kilometers, while Lake Nyanza covers 68, 600 square kilometers. (Cf. Anthropos, 1927, "Comment les Bahaya interprètent leurs origines /How the Bahaya Interpret their Origins/, " by Rev. Fr. César.)

In the Unyamwezi, especially near Tabora, one still finds Hamitic groups who have retained their customs and language and who live on good terms with the autochthonous inhabitants of the region. The royal family of the Ufipa is partially of Mututsi racial stock. (Cf. Aux Rives du Tanganika /On the Shores of the Tanganyika/, by Mgr. Lechaptois, Maison-Carrée, Algiers.)

of the Hamites who founded the kingdom of Ruanda were the Buganza, Bwana-Chambge, and Buliza, the plateaus of Bussigi and Luhanga, the Bumbogo, etc. The Buganza was part of Gissaka kingdom for a while, and the Bwana-Chambge, in turn, was divided between the two Hamitic states. The Batutsi, united at first, soon began to make war on each other and to dispute the land. There were fratricidal wars in which the conquered autochthonous inhabitants took part.

Prior to the Hamitic penetration, the Bahutu, or aborigines of Bantu racial stock, were divided into a number of principalities, the stronger of which attempted to absorb the weaker.

173 The varied origins of the tribes which occupied this area explain the multitude of autonomous groups found by the newcomers. The northern populations came almost in their entirety from the Mpororo and Ndorwa.

To the west, the Bagoyi on the east shore of Lake Kivu came from the Bgisha, Gishari, Mushari, Kamuronsi, and Bunyabungu, all of which are areas situated north and west of the lake. To the southwest, the Kinyaga inhabitants are a mixture of Banyabungu and Barundi /Rundi/. To the south and to the east, the population seems closely related to that of Urundi and Karagwe.

The most powerful tribe seems to have been the one that inhabited the Nduga. In the times of Kigeri I and /76/ Mibambge I Mutabazi, the tribe was ruled by the famous diviner-sorceror Mashira, who held the combined functions of king and priest. The reputation of this chief was due less to his military exploits than to the supernatural powers with which legend endows him. On the present soil of Ruanda there stood, among many others, the tiny kingdoms of Marangara, Bwana-Mkali (the Barenge), Burwe, Bgishaza, Budaha, Kingogo, Bugamba, Bushiru (1), Buhoma, Luhengeri, Bukonya, etc.

1. A province with a symbolic and meaningful name. The memories it calls to mind could not be expressed better.

[103] Bushiru is a noun derived from the neutral verb gushira, which means "to end," "to die out." It was lent this area whose inhabitants were incorrigible quarrelers and fighters who scorned death, who were always at war, who exterminated one another, and who killed those travelers who were sufficiently foolhardy to venture into the region.

173 The families or clans which made up each of those tiny states were at first autonomous and independent from one another. They were self-governed and lacked any well-defined authority. It was only gradually in the course of time that one local chief came to impose his will upon the others. Along with royal prerogatives, and in accordance with his title of sovereign, the man in power took over the functions of sorcerer, diviner, magician, rain maker, etc. The office of sorcerer-king (umuhinza) then became hereditary. The small provinces of Buberuka, Kibali, Buyoka, Bugarura, and especially Mulera, retained their original organization and never had kings. Each tribe governed and administered itself according to its own lights. As a result they were nearly always at war with one another owing to thefts, boundary disputes, or vendettas (2). Peace ruled for a while among

[628]

2. This region was preeminently the land of the vendetta. Individuals would take justice into their own hands, with the help of family or clan members, and were implacable in /seeking/ vengeance.

those tribes only when they banded forces against the common enemy, the detested Hamite, who, in spite of the fact that he had subdued them, had not deemed it safe to settle in the mountainous regions. Ruganzu II and Kigeri IV Lwabugiri are listed among the Hamitic kings who traveled through those areas populated by proud /77/ inhabitants. The mountain dwellers did not make a great show of resistance, but after the princes were gone, they nevertheless continued to lead an independent existence. No Mututsi chief dared settle among those fierce populations. Their only obligation was to pay tribute in kind to the king himself or to the high court dignitary who was supposed to govern the area at a distance.

The Bantu of the central and southern provinces, who make up the greater part of the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ population, [184] accepted and bore more readily the yoke of the Hamites, who settled among them and shared their way of life (1).

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1. The clans in those provinces are more imbued with Mututsi influence and lack the jealous exclusivism of the tribes situated to the northeast of Lake Kivu. Their mores are gentler, and vendetta never ruled among them with the violence and frequency it assumes, for example, among the Balera and Bagoyi.

173 The vicissitudes of the conquest were numerous and varied. The immigrants used every possible means /to attain their goal/, violence, ruse, and diplomacy. Their chronicles /chansons de geste/ bear witness to this.

It seems that before they entered the land which they were to conquer, the Batutsi formed a solid group ruled by a single chief. The partition of the land and competition for power soon divided their allegiance and engendered fratricidal struggles.

After they had subdued the Bahutu (Bantu) princes, the central Batutsi, who dreamed of being the sole rulers of a vast land, turned against their own brothers who had hewed out small kingdoms in the Ndorwa, Gissaka, and Bugessera regions.

Were the two last-mentioned Hamitic kingdoms contemporary to that of Ruanda? Nothing rules against this possibility, since the columns that invaded Ruanda marched side by side /de front/, at least in the beginning.

King Gihanga, whose symbolic and significant name /78/ means "Creator," seems to have existed although the deeds which are attributed to him have a strongly legendary character. He is tenth in the dynasty. The authenticity of his reign tends to be corroborated by the fact that his original place of residence is said to have been the sacred land of Buhanga in the Muko Plain not far from the large Mukungwa River. Then he is said to have lived in the land of Kibali, at Kangomba, where a sacred grove (ikigabiro) stands. The same tradition locates his tomb, or at least that of his wife Nyirakabego,

●173 in the royal cemetery which retained his name and which is called Luhanga. Must he be regarded as the Hamitic chief who was first to come with his family and a few compatriots and occupy the area, after staying in the Ndorwa at a place called Mutara, which seems to have been the first stopping place of the Batutsi at the threshold of Ruanda?

Along with Ruganzu II, he is of all the ancient kings the one most often mentioned and the one whose legends are prized most highly by the people. According to a curious legend, one of his [773] daughters is said to have discovered and domesticated the first cow, from which the others descended. The narrative built around this memorable event is very popular and contains several episodes. Gihanga is also regarded as the inventor of fire, which he bequeathed to his son and successor.

This alleged discovery has won Gihanga special honors. The official chroniclers maintain the most profound silence about the nine following kings, whose names alone they have preserved.

Did they all really exist? It is not easy to answer this question clearly, for we have not yet left the legendary realm. Gihanga, indeed, is regarded as the father of all men. His sons became the ancestors of all peoples. Kafomo, who is mentioned in the legend concerning the introduction of cows into Ruanda, gave birth to the Bashubbi (Basui), or people of Usui. /79/

Kanyarwanda, the heir to the throne, gave birth to the Banyarwanda. His immediate successor, Musindi, twelfth in the dynasty, is regarded as the founder of the Basindi, or Banyiginya, clan, the most powerful among the Batutsi (1).

1. Most of the important families have picked out for themselves imaginary ancestors. Among some of them, however, the claimed ancestry is authentic.

[791] The sacrificer-diviners, known by the name of Abosha, claim to be descended from the famous Lunukamishyo,

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[191]

"the man with the sorcerer's knives," who was originally from the Ndorwa and who left it for Ruanda. The important Batsobe family claims to be descended from Gatsobe and Nyirarutsobe, who aided Ruganzu II Ndori in his expedition against Nzira in the land of Bugara.

Families vie with each other to claim the most distant and most illustrious ancestors.

No matter how well devised they may be, these genealogies are practically worthless from a historical standpoint. At best one may regard as true the origin of the Abosha, who belong to the Basinga clan, and that of the Batsobe, who entered the great family of the Banyarwanda a little later.

One must come all the way to Ruganzu I Bwimba and Chyilima I Rugwe, the twentieth and twenty-first in the dynasty, in order to obtain a few historical details of a greater moment. The latter king is said to have been killed at Gasseke where his spirit (umuzimu) is still regularly "soothed" and "honored." The central province of Nduga, it seems, had not yet been invaded by the Batutsi. At that time they may, at best, have occupied the Buganza, the Gissaka, which formed a small Hamitic kingdom, possibly the Bugessera, and later the Bgana-Chambge and the Bumbogo. It is possible that Chyilima I died in the course of an expedition which he carried out to invade the Nduga.

With his two immediate successors, Kigeri I and the latter's son, Mibambge I Mutabasi, we enter an important and better-known historical period.

The present surface of Ruanda was still covered with tiny autonomous kingdoms.

•173 The small provinces of Bukonya, Mulera, Buhoma, Bushiru,
[635] Luhengeri, Kingogo and Bgishaza, all of which are situated toward the north and west, formed as /80/ many mutually independent principalities. The situation was the same toward the south, in the Munyambiriri and the Kinyaga, where several petty kings ruled side by side as in Biguzi, Bukunzi, and Busozo. Toward the southwest the Burwe, also known as Mukindo or Ndala, may have been autonomous. The province of Bwana-Mkali was itself divided among several petty kings. There was practically no cohesion among those various groups, although they were for the most part of common origin.

The north is, indeed, populated by tribes who came from Mpororo and the Ndorwa. They are the Bahunde (1), who settled in

1. The "Bahunde" came from the northwest of Lake Kivu, from the various areas designated by the respective names of Kamuronsi, Gishari, Shari, Buyungu, Butembo, and Bwito.

the northwest, particularly in the Bugoyi. In the Kinyaga, toward the south, one finds a mixture of Bashi, or Banyabungu, who crossed the Ruzizi River, and Barundi, who have mixed with them. The inhabitants of the Burwe and Bwana-Mkali are also Barundi.

In the central province of Nduga there lived a group of individuals known by the name of Ababanda, who were divided into small groups and governed by several petty kings. The small lands of the Muhanga and especially that of the Marangara had a certain renown in local history. This will be discussed in the "History of a Reign" /Book III, not translated/. At that time, the most powerful of those petty kings was unquestionably the famous Mashira, who also possessed the Ndiza to the north in addition to most of the Nduga.

Legend claims that it was in his capacity as sorcerer that he was earnestly requested by Kigeri I, the Hamitic king who is believed to have lived at Mwurire near Kigali, to come to his aid. The

173 Banyoro had invaded Kigeri's lands. Ntete, Ntende, Runda, Gasetsa, Urwara, Migongo, Ngungu, Munyaga, etc., all the villages situated to the northeast of his kingdom, had been overrun /81/ and pillaged by those new invaders who had just entered the Bwana-Chambge. In desperation and as a last resource, Kigeri called on Mashira to repel the Banyoro.

The native historians naïvely relate that the charms and spells of the sorcerer-king made Kigeri's troops victorious. One may read between the lines that the material aid which Mashira supplied to Kigeri in the form of his own warriors must have contributed a great deal to the final Batutsi victory (1).

1. The invasion of the Banyoro, the ravages they caused, and their defeat are the subject of a long narrative which, owing to its importance, will be discussed in Book V /not translated/.

Forgetful of the services rendered by the sorcerer-king, Mibambge-Mutabazi, who succeeded his father Kigeri, managed several years later to occupy the Nduga and to get rid of Mashira himself.

Under Mibambge-Mutabazi, the Batutsi invaded this province which is located in the heart of Ruanda. After Mashira's death, Mibambge settled at Ruchango near Butare, not far from Nyanza. It was also during his reign that the Bugessera was added to the Hamitic kingdom of Ruanda. Nsoro, the petty king of that land, also belonged to the Hamitic family.

According to tradition, the Bugessera was part of Urundi, where the Batutsi had already settled. One of them took over the government of the land and ruled over his fellow chiefs, who had distributed the hills (imisozi) among themselves. The chiefs from the Bugessera gradually broke the bonds which tied them to Urundi and proclaimed themselves independent. This resulted in long-drawn-out quarrels which weakened the small country and finally drew the attention of

173 Mibambge, who played the part of the "third thief." There were thus, at first, several adjacent Hamitic kingdoms established at variable /82/ intervals of time. We may already recognize Ruanda, Urundi, and the Bugessera whose existence was ephemeral. The Ndorwa and Gissaka also had their autonomous Hamitic kings. The small kingdom Gissaka managed to retain its independence until about 1850. The Ndorwa, although continually attacked by the kings of Ruanda, was never completely subjugated.

The sovereigns of the Ndorwa belonged to the Hamitic clan called "Abashambo," which was closely related to the Banyiginya group that supplied the kings of Ruanda. It seems, therefore, that at the time of their arrival in Ruanda, the Batutsi formed a compact group in order later to disperse at a given moment and to head off into various regions where they took the place of the autochthonous princes. We have seen that according to legend the sons of Gihanga gave rise to the various tribes, Banyarwanda, Banyagissaka, Bagessera /Gesera/, Barundi, Basui, etc. Whether one accepts the existence of Gihanga or deliberately doubts it as a myth, it is not farfetched to use it as an explanation of the preceding fact, that is to say, that the Batutsi emigrants, together at first on the northeastern frontier of Ruanda (Ndorwa, Mutara) and united under one of their own men, later headed off in various directions and partitioned that part of Africa among themselves.

Considering how few they were in relation to the rest of the aboriginal population, one may ask how they managed to take over the government of the lands we have just mentioned, including Uha, which borders Urundi to the south. No doubt there were local instances of resistance, since tradition has it that some Hamitic kings such as Chyilima I Rugwe and Ndahiro-Chyamatara lost their lives in the course of expeditions. Their forward march, however, was never checked in a definitive way. Their initial unity, their good practical sense, their intelligence, which was superior to that of the autochthonous Bahutu, and their /83/ skillful strategy were no small contributions to their military success.

Instead of tackling several petty kings at once, they outwitted them separately and challenged them in turn.

173 It is also possible that their physical height, the color of their skin, and their more civilized manners impressed the "Primitives" they had come to subjugate. They reached an understanding and allied themselves with those aboriginal princes who could be of some use to them, and sometimes got rid of them when the danger was past and they felt that they now were stronger. Kigeri I and his son Mibambge I acted thus toward Mashira. Ruganzu II utilized in like fashion the aid and assistance of the petty king of Marangara, the famous Nkoma.

Let us finally add that their relative moderation after a victory and their talent for government strengthened their rule over Ruanda and caused their new subjects to accept them.

There are numerous problems which are still difficult to solve completely. One of them is the question of the time when the Batutsi entered Ruanda. It is not possible to draw full historical conclusions from the famous "Barenge episode" either. If the legend which preserved it is not altogether false, the event may be set at the beginning of Mibambge I's reign, before the defeat and death of Mashira, which resulted in the conquest of the central province of Nduga by the Batutsi. The Barenge, or people from Rulenge, inhabited the Bwana-Mkali and formed a separate tribe distinct from the Ababanda, their Nduga neighbors. Tradition claims that the Barenge, in order to bring to an end the famine and drought that were devastating the land attempted on the advice of a sorcerer to pile up on one another and mount to the sky to fetch the rain there. /84/ The live pyramid, however, collapsed before the goal was reached, and the Barenge died from the fall, crushed or suffocated. This tragedy occurred at Mara, near the present Savé mission.

The chief, who was called by the name of Kimari, a son of Rulenge's, escaped the disaster along with several members of his family but soon met with an unhappy end. The narrative, which is quite confused, adds that Mibambge apparently had something to do with the catastrophic event symbolized by the collapse of a human pyramid, and that Mashira inherited the succession from Kimari, at least for a while. What did actually happen, and how did events develop? The legend, such as it was passed down to us, is mysterious.

173 One does not know how to interpret it. Was it Mibamgbe who instigated the annihilation of the Barenge or, if one holds to the narrative only, did he merely profit from Mashira's success, if the latter actually attacked and conquered the Barenge?

So many questions which are not easily solved, since anachronisms and contradictions abound. The clearest fact is that the Barenge were attacked and fell prey to disastrous events. It does not seem sensible to lay on the Batutsi all responsibility for the struggle to the death that befell the inhabitants of Mara. The Batutsi, indeed, after vanquishing the aboriginal princes, had thoughts only for the government and administration of the subjugated populations, from which they drew their subsistence as true feudal lords. Granting that there were excesses on their part and that their victims were numerous, one may rest assured that given their mentality and customs, they would not wage an actual war of extermination on the tribes they had come to subjugate. They needed them for their own subsistence.

Should one regard the Barenge, on the other hand, as the first autochthonous inhabitants of the area upon whom their Nduga neighbors, /85/ the Ababanda, waged a merciless war as primitive peoples are wont to do, since the rule of might is axiomatic to them?

[172] The pottery remnants ascribed rightly or wrongly to the Barenge would also tend to lend them a distinct origin (1). The name

1. The so-called "Barenge episode" is described separately in Book V /not translated/, owing to its importance.

"Barenge" is no longer borne by any present-day tribe. The natives believe that they all disappeared in the disaster.

Yuhi I, the Hamitic successor to Mibambge I, hardly left any traces in history. He was the twenty-fourth in the dynasty.

His reign is mentioned /by the chroniclers/ only to bring up a fact which is rather insignificant from our point of view. Rushara, one of his favorite sons, became a "rain maker" in spite of himself, as the result of a mishap, and gave rise to the clan called Bashara whose members still have today the reputation for "making rain and good weather."

173 Under Ndahiro-Chyamatara, twenty-fifth in the royal lineage, the Batutsi star suffered a pronounced eclipse. The reign of this prince ended in disaster. His death is the subject of a long narrative which is recounted in the "History of Ruganzu's Reign" /Book III, not translated/. According to that episode, he sought death of his own accord in the Bugoyi forest. According to another version which seems more likely, he died at Russokovu in the Bugamba where he is said to have fallen, weapons in hand, in the course of an ill-starred expedition against the inhabitants of the area whom he apparently wished to subjugate. The region was known thereafter as the "hammer-cursed land" (i Rubi rw'inyundo), meaning that the weapons wrought with hammers produced unfortunate results in that area since they caused the death of the king and the elite of his men. It is believed that [796] the annual June mourning observed at the capital (igichurassi) is held [769] in memory and commemoration of this tragic occurrence.

This defeat had baneful consequences for the /86/ Hamitic kingdom, which until then had made continual headway in the interior of the land. Legend and tradition have drawn the picture on the dark side by stressing the tragic events.

A certain Nsibura, chief of the Banyabyinshi, who lived to the southwest of Ruanda, overran the land as a conqueror, subjugating everyone, on his path. The kingdom's misfortunes had no end, say the bards, until the day when the son and successor of the hapless prince, Ruganzu II Ndori, claimed his ancestral throne by force of arms.

Following the disaster which took the life of his father, the young prince had fled to the court of the King of Karagwe, where he was raised by his paternal aunt, the Queen. Upon his return to Ruanda, circumstances were kind to him.

His chief opponent, Nsibura, had just died in the Bugessera forest of an accident dramatized by legend. His energetic and determined character helped him a great deal in his undertakings. Ruganzu greatly expanded the boundaries of the kingdom left to him by his ancestors. No one did more than he for the unity of the monarchy.

The last autochthonous petty kings who had weathered the Hamitic invasion were subjugated by him. The Bugara beyond the

[73] Mulera lakes, the Munyambiriri, Kinyaga, Bwana-Mkali, Burwe, etc., henceforth became an integral part of the Crown territories. Like his predecessors, /Ruganzu/marched on the Ndorwa where he killed a relative of the king, a certain Kanyoni, and then on the Bunyabungu to the southwest of Lake Kivu, but those were short-lived conquests.

His successors were no more successful in this regard. The inhabitants of the two afore-mentioned regions never allowed themselves to be assimilated permanently by the Banyarwanda. Ruganzu had no fixed residence; he /87/ spent his entire life waging war, hence his name of "Conqueror" or "Eminently Victorious" (Kuganza).

Only two small principalities are /at this point/ discerned in the present territory of Ruanda, the "Busozo, " a sort of vassal land, and "Marangara, " which Ruganzu permitted to survive. The potentate showed a certain respect for their independence in view of the benefits he might derive from them. The petty king of the latter region, who was then Nkoma, had the reputation of being a powerful magician. It is still said today that "Nkoma of Marangara, the son of Nkondogoro, [539] knew how to bewitch a great deal better than it is done today. " (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk'aba none.)

Ruganzu did not dare undermine his prestige but chose to make him an ally instead. The Hamitic kingdom of Gissaka was not disturbed either. As we have already said, no one knows the exact date when it was founded. It may have originated at the same time as Ruanda.

Only 11 of its kings are known. The first one, Kimenyi I, was a contemporary of Ruganzu II. Relations between the two courts must have been good at certain times since we find that a king of Ruanda, Kigeri II Ndabarasa, married a Gissaka princess, the sister of Kimenyi II Cetula. This harmony came to an end, however, on the day when the Gissaka kings seized the Buganza and Bwana-Chambge, which, incidentally, they did not retain very long.

The son and successor of Ruganzu, Mutara I Nsoro, enlarged the kingdom to the southeast by driving the Barundi, who occupied part of the Bwana-Mkali province, beyond the Akanyaru River. Tradition adds that the decisive contest was fought near the Savé

173 Mission. The King of Urundi lost his life there, and the victors seized his ceremonial garment (inkindi), which is still preserved as a trophy in the royal treasure (intore).

This historical piece survived the Ruchunchu disaster /88/, when fire consumed the many pieces and objects belonging to the royal wardrobe. The afore-mentioned vestment is none other than a colobus pelt (inkomo), such as the Batutsi chiefs and kings used to wear.

[522] This garment was rather small, and as a result it is called derisively in the story "the overly short garment" that did not match the size of its owner (1). Laughter and jokes come readily to the

1. The literal meaning is more vivid and "spicy." Ntizihish' amabuno!

Blacks.

As far as we know, no outstanding event took place under the three following monarchs.

Under the thirty-first, Chyilima II Ludjugira, on the other hand, the struggle with the Barundi was renewed. This war is the subject of a long narrative embellished and distorted by legend. According to it, the Banyarwanda declared war on the Barundi as the result of a drought and in order to bring it to an end. Under the same reign, an alien tribe invaded the Bugoyi, on the east shore of Lake Kivu, and was repelled with great difficulty. The historical character of this second episode is better preserved. "It concerns a people," so the elders narrate, "of light complexion, who spoke a language different from ours and who built their houses differently."

They had the peculiar habit of covering their dwellings with earth. Their tools, axes, and hoes, were better wrought and more durable than those of the autochthonous inhabitants. They were designated as "Those who cover their roofs with earth" (Abassakazataka) or the "Mutes" (Ibiragi) because of their incomprehensible language. The newcomers had settled in the Bugoyi province, which is separated from the Nduga by the forest, and they were soon quarreling with the

•173 few native dwellers who had settled in a small part of that volcanic region. It was in vain that the latter banded together to repel the stangers. The "Mutes" remained victorious and /89/ repelled their assailants. Then Chyilima's help was requested, and he sent an army to their aid. The intruders were hewed to pieces, and the survivors fled to the north and never returned.

Who were those strangers, and where did they come from? Tradition is silent on both counts. One must resort to hypotheses in order to identify them. History says that they were "white" (1), that

1. The Bagoyi surely exaggerated on this score. Cf. Book V /not translated/.

they built with earth, and that their tools were better.

We are inclined to believe that they were a Congo tribe who had come from the northwest of Lake Kivu at a time when the fearsome Warega /Rega/ cannibals were putting the adjacent lands to fire and sword.

It was probably for the same reason that the ancestors of the Bagoyi left their homeland (Gishari, Buyungu, etc.) and settled to the northeast of the lake where they founded a clan /? fait souche/.

It is also said that the last king of the Ndorwa was vanquished by Chyilima's troops. This is not absolutely certain, since the same victory is ascribed to one of his predecessors and to two or three of his successors. It may nevertheless be said that until about 1890 the ill-starved populations of the Mpororo, and especially those of the Ndorwa, never knew any peace. Nearly all the kings of Ruanda sent expeditions there although they did not do so in person.

As we have already mentioned, the inhabitants of the area were never thoroughly subjugated. Once the troops had departed, the survivors would leave their hiding places and live again from day to day until the next attack. This is why the land always remained poor and almost without herds.

Little is known about the three sovereigns who succeeded Chyilima. /90/

•173 The last one, Yuhi III Gahindiro, is mentioned only in connection with the fact that he raised a Mutwa /Batwa/ to noble rank and gave him his own daughter (Mulangamirwa) in marriage. The descendants of this couple make up the Basiete clan.

Where did those monarchs live? Which were their capitals?

The ancient royal residences (ibigabiro, ibisozi, imirwa), which are easily recognizable by the clumps of trees that mark the sites, are found most everywhere through the various provinces of Ruanda. They are found especially in the vicinity of Kigali, in the Nduga, after one crosses the Nyabarongo River, along the road to Nyanza and beyond, up to the Bwana-Mkali. Judging by the number of their dwellings, it seems that the Hamitic princes had made this central part of Ruanda their most select location, their favorite abode.

Matrimonial relations between conquerors and conquered were so frequent in the Nduga that the Bahutu of that province are strongly tinted with Hamitic blood. In order to explain the profusion of ancient residences, it must be added that certain monarchs such as Ruganzu II and Lwabugiri moved about readily and had many residences while their predecessors maintained only three or four (1).

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1. Royal residences around Kigali:
Ntora, Kabuye, Rutare, Mwulire, etc.

In the Nduga:

Gibara (Lwogera and Lwabugiri), Runda (Musinga), Ishèru (Lwogera), Idjuru (Yuhi-Mazimpaka), Rukoma (Mibambge), Kanshyiri (Lwogera), Rugobagoba (Lwogera), Kamonyi (Lwabugiri and Musinga), Buhoro and Kivumu (Gahindiro), Mata, Lwamabare, Nyundo, etc.

In the Bwana-Mkalé:

Buhimba (Lwogera and Lwabugiri), Gikirambga (Mutara), Gisseke (Lwabugiri, Musinga), Ishyanda (Lwogera, Lwabugiri), Mwurire, Kisanze, Lussagara, etc.

173 Mutara II Lwogera, grandfather of the present king, brings us to the vicinity of 1845. The most /91/ important event of his reign was the final conquest of the Hamitic kingdom of Gissaka, which had been split by internal divisions. One of the great chiefs of this land, having been dispossessed of his property, appealed to the king of Ruanda, who took advantage of this opportunity to send his troops there.

This event took place between 1850 and 1860. Mutara died shortly after this handsome accomplishment. It is believed that he died of consumption. He first lived at Batsinda near Rugobagoba, then at Kivumu not far from Kabgaye. The central province of Nduga always remained the most important one. The Hamitic kings spent the greater part of their reign there.

It was at the time of Mibambge I Mutabazi, twenty-third in the dynasty and victor over the sorcerer-king Mashira, that the Batutsi began to make the Nduga their favorite land. This is why the "sacred groves" (ibigabiro) that mark the location of the ancient royal residences (imirwa) stand there in a nearly unbroken line.

Kigeri IV Lwabugiri, who died as recently as 1895, was the prince whose mode of life most resembled that of his ancestor Ruganzu II Ndori.

Like him, he spent all his life making war. The regions situated to the northeast of Ruanda, the Bukonya, Mulera, Buhoma, Bushiru, etc., although nominally subjugated from the time of Ruganzu II, had never proved quite submissive toward the Batutsi and had retained an irreverent and unruly attitude toward their conquerors. Lwabugiri paid them frequent visits.

Those mountain peoples, who were impressed by his fame as a warrior, did not offer any resistance. He marched with his troops through the Nkole, Ndorwa, Urundi, and Bunyabungu, which he would have liked to join, at least in part, to Ruanda.

Those were profitless expeditions /92/ that caused great losses in terms of men and brought no real benefits to the Crown, in spite of the booty acquired. His /Lwabugiri's/ only lasting conquest was that of the isle of Idjwi. The epidemic which felled the prince caught him at Kiranga, at the time when he was headed for the Bunyabungu to the southwest of Lake Kivu for the fourth time at least.

173 His reign, being recent, is well known, and the tale of his expeditions is still to be heard from the lips of those of his contemporaries who survived him. His popularity is almost equal to that of his grandfather Ruganzu II, whose deeds and actions, badly distorted by legend as they are, have been preserved and are still the subject of many a fireside conversation. Lwabugiri's shifts of mood were most interesting. [747] His revenges, like his bloodthirsty whims, were short lived. He would raise the children of his victims and adopt young captives for whom he took a fancy, shower them with wealth, and admit them into his family.

His immediate successor, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, barely remained on the throne for a year. He was overthrown by Kabale, the most powerful chief of the Hamitic Bega clan.

So as not to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, the vanquished king took his own life. Mussinga, one of Lwabugiri's youngest sons, was immediately enthroned under the name of Yuhi IV.

Through his mother Kanjogera, he was a nephew of the ambitious Kabale, who was regent before the young prince came of age. The Banyiginya clan, from which the royal family is issued and which had until then wielded a preponderant influence at court, was stripped of its property. The most outstanding chiefs of the vanquished party were relentlessly killed by the Bega people, who divided the government of the provinces among themselves over the corpses of their victims. The Bega men, embittered because they had been kept away from public affairs, were avenging once and for all the inferior position in which they felt /93/ they had been held for such a long time by their rivals.

One may ask whether Kabale when he gave his nephew the royal name of Yuhi did not do so intentionally.

643 173 551 Two categories of kings are distinguished: warrior kings and peaceful kings (from the verb guteka, "to sit." (1))

1. The same verb guteka also means "to cook" (kupika in Kiswahili).

The name which is given to them on the day of their enthronement binds and commits them throughout their reign to a certain course of

643 action. "Ruganzu" is a war name, and so is "Kigeri." Ruganzu II
173 Ndori, as recounted by one tradition, had suffered so much (yari
551 yarushye chyane) that in order to spare his successors as much as possible of the anxieties, sorrows, and fatigue he had endured, he demanded that his name of "Ruganzu" should vanish forever with him into the grave. He thought that he would reduce thereby the number of future wars. The titles of "mutara" and "Yuhi" commit to peace those to whom they are given, who are not permitted to cross rivers (ntibambuk' uruzi). To break this "taboo" would make them and their realm subject to great misfortunes.

701 Thus, it was not Mutara himself who conquered the Gissaka. In case of a necessary war or expedition, the sovereign appoints two generals, one of whom (umugabe) has command of military operations while the other holds a mere honorary rank. He is said to exercise an occult and magic influence over the opponents, who cannot fail to be conquered if he fulfills his role properly. In the course of his expeditions, Lwabugiri always had at his side one of those generals with superstitious functions. They are called Abagaba.

Book IV

(First Fascicle)

The Royal Court

(Its Posts, Privileges, Mores, and Customs)

644 /348/ The object of the present study is the organization of the royal court, its posts and offices, its customs and festivals (1).

1. In order to designate the court and capital as they are here and now, the Banyarwanda use the word

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen [778] from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire [362] which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda).

794 This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and ● 173 he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are re- [769] cruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

794 time it came into being, or where and by whom it was first established.
173 It seems to be of foreign origin, although it has made important strides in Ruanda proper. It has been noted that the neighboring
[171] peoples to the north, south, east and west of Ruanda indulge in a similar cult (1). Did Ryangombe and his companions really exist?

1. In the work entitled Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Édouard /Between Lakes Victoria, Albert, and Edward/ the author, Mgr. Gorju, discloses details about this secret society which lead one to believe that it is of Hamitic origin and that it was introduced into Ruanda by the Hamites.

"In the Bunyoro each tribe has its high Muchwezi, or acknowledged protector. Thus ... the Bagweri claim to be under Mugasa's protection....

"Aside from these protectors peculiar to each tribe, however, there are universal protectors common to all tribes who have specialized in some menial function... such as Kagoro, the god of lightning (p. 202). There is a group (of these demigods, or genii) in which individuals were included under the name of bachwezi, such as Nyabatwa and Nyabakonjo, whose legendary history hardly corroborates a kinship with the authentic Bachwezi (three powerful figures whose trail is suddenly

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lost)... (p. 203).

"In the Bunyoro the Bachwezi cult was superimposed on the local religion whose primary objects of worship were no other than the spirits of the ancestors and the Creator himself."

(Luhanga, Nyamuhanga, among the Bahima of Uganda), p. 218.

(Sub-army /sub L'armee?/ (society) of the mbandwa).

The same author speaks also of Muzana, the servant girl honored by the initiates.

Fr. Césard, in turn, lists the same figures, including Rungu (Nyabirungu among the Banyarwanda) in his study, "Comment les Bahaya interprètent leurs origines /How the Bahaya Interpret their Origins/," Anthropos, 1927.

Yes, if the legends are to be believed, but the details they provide are not sufficiently accurate to make us accept the reality of their existence. What are the bonds of kinship or subordination which unite Ryangombe and the figures who are grouped at his side in the worship and ceremonies held in his honor?

173 There does exist a sort of mythology that classifies some of
776 those figures, but others were introduced into some of the provinces
794 at a later time and are more or less unknown. Some of them nevertheless have historical associations, and their claimed patronage arouses certain conjectures. /361/ We wonder whether the Banyarwanda may have introduced into this sort of religious pantheon sorcerers, ancient petty kings, and political figures who played an important role in the land. The Blacks, being superstitious, timorous, eager to avert the wrath of ancestral spirits and anxious to gain their protection, have

173 rendered them a special worship. The Hamites were perhaps the first
796 to organize this religious group in the newly conquered land. The
794 Bahutu (or Bantu) were not excluded from it. Their admission was a political act on the part of the immigrants (1).

1. It is not impossible that the Hamites found the imwandwa society already organized when they arrived in Uganda, and later in Ruanda, and that they immediately adopted it and had themselves initiated into it to serve their own ends. As we can see, the problems relating to the origins of this religious society remain unsolved. Any hypothesis may be offered until the day when light will be brought on the subject.

By conviction and perhaps also in a spirit of diplomacy, in order to win their subjects over, the conquering Batutsi, killers of the magician-petty kings, did not hesitate to invoke the spirits of their victims and to honor them in cult ceremonies.

The Romans acted similarly toward foreign divinities, and admitted them willingly into the pantheon of the Empire.

According to this interpretation, should Ryangombe and his initial companions be placed in the category of aboriginal princes? If one accepts the facts set forth in the Banyarwanda legend, such a supposition is not impossible. The mythological narrative represents Ryangombe as a sort of independent prince (umuhinza), whose residence was at Kibingo in the small province of Nyakale. The legend says that Ryangombe went hunting to please his wife Nyanzige, daughter of the great king, Ruganzu II, who had asked him for a buffalo hide in which to wrap (ingobyi) her newborn child. He found one of those /362/ formidable animals and even wounded it, but was charged by the beast and killed at a spot about two hours distant from his dwelling,

173 776 744 Nyabikenke, which became thereby historical and accursed. His sons and companions avenged his death and killed Nyanzige, who was the indirect cause of the misfortune. The initiates of the Ryangombe cult also deified Ruganzu's daughter and made her a liberator (Umutabazi). It may have been the children and followers of Ryangombe who ennobled the end of this unfortunate woman for political reasons, so as to escape the anger and reprisals of the vindictive monarch.

Nyanzige is designated in ritual ceremonies by the name of Nyagishya or Inzobe, that is to say, "pale-faced woman," on account of her complexion.

The Bagoyi attribute Ryangombe's death to another one of his relatives, a young girl whom he had previously seduced after offering her a heady drink of hydromel. "I will have my revenge," cried the adolescent girl. "You will find me along the way, changed into a buffalo, and your blood will pay for my dishonor."

In accordance with local custom, the family of the unlucky girl chased her away. She found refuge in a wooded area where she bore a male child.

Ryangombe had gone out hunting when he suddenly met with the angered mother. She changed herself into a buffalo and pierced the king of the Imwanda with her horns.

The Banyarwanda like to ascribe to Ruganzu II most historical events and the origin of a number of practices and customs. What aspects of the afore-mentioned legend should we keep in mind? The interpretation of the facts is far from easy. The reign of Ruganzu II is relatively recent. On the other hand, the cult of Ryangombe is found in neighboring areas although the details vary. It is difficult to accept all the narrative details as historical. The religious society seems to /363/ date much farther back than the reign of this great monarch (1).

1. Ryangombe himself may have been only the perpetuator of these rites and may have practiced them by virtue of the law of succession, if it is assumed that he was a petty king (umuhinza), or on the authority of the Hamitic potentates.

794 6. "The dog that runs like the wind" (Nyakayaga).
552 7. "The dog with fringes (with long hair)" (Nyagayonga).

Among the prototypes or figures who appear in this legend,
173 Ryangombe is the one most highly honored.
794 He is regarded as a sort of hunter-king who made volcanoes his favoirte dwelling place after his death.

According to the same narrative, he still enjoys the pleasures of the hunt with his sons, companions, and favorites in those high mountainous and wooded regions. The Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa have participated in this cult in large numbers. They observe its /369/ rites faithfully and observe the rules of the arcana. The ceremonies take place mostly at night. Each of the adepts appeals to the spirit or spirits for whom he has a special devotion. The Batutsi have chosen those whose life most closely parallels their own.

643 The chiefs do not like to mix with their subjects to honor those powerful spirits, but they seek out the help of the Bahutu and
794 Batwa who belong tothis cult and have them dance and sing in honor of Ryangombe and his companions. The Bahutu and Batwa alone take part in the ritual processions and collections which are carried out through the villages in summertime.

794 The gestures of this cult are pervaded with earnest and impressive seriousness. Initiation, confirmation, ritual feasts, the taking on and carrying out of vows, the collections and processions, all take place secretly, away from prying eyes. Laymen are not allowed to come near the gatherings, and jests and insults directed at the initiates were seriously punished in the old times. A former queen, Nyiramulema (a wife of King Mutara), was crucified upon the ground in the courtyard of her dwelling by the imandwa for having ridiculed their ceremonies. The tomb of the unfortunate woman lies at Savé, in the Nyarigina quarter.

644 II. Official Posts of Great Importance from the Standpoint of the Crown (Ingoma) as well as from that of the Executive.

Generals and Official Drummers.

Executioners, Capital Punishment, and the "Pit" of the Bugessera.

701 1. The generals or commanders of the armed forces.

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We mention them here separately because of the relatively numerous details cited about each one of them.

It must be said that all those "doctors of occult, mystic, and magic sciences, " far from being ashamed of their trade, pride themselves in it and regard themselves as /398/ important and needed beings. They are conscious of their dignity and of the nobility of their functions, which they publicly advertise (1). For some of them professional

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1. This does not concern those who act on their own account and become bewitchers or spell casters on an occasional and temporary basis.

Such people operate in a hidden and roundabout way in order to exercise a purely personal vengeance. They take every possible precaution to conceal their operations, therefore, for they risk death if their deeds are disclosed.

remuneration is quite high. Glory brings profit.

In their pride and vanity the professional practitioners of magic and sorcery of all kinds have tried to give their art a noble origin by tracing it back to the great king Ruganzu II. According to [173] legend, he was the man who invented and organized everything.

Craftsmen, blacksmiths, and cultivators claim him /as their forebear/.

When pressed to account for their powers and with their backs against the wall, theurgic sorcerers, medicine men, etc., have claimed in turn to be merely trustees of the gifts and talents which the illustrious monarch was the first to hold and possess. He passed on those gifts and talents to their predecessors, whose line they carry on.

After subjugating the petty autochthonous princes who had governed Ruanda, the Hamitic kings used the services of those princes' descendants. Some of these petty kings, such as those of Marangara and the Bgishaza, had the reputation of being the most powerful of

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).
565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has
565 /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who
[527] had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

173 558 563 Mututsi /Batutsi/ woman named Nyirandoba sought shelter in Bidiga's hut without being aware of his social status. The potter gallantly offered some food to the hunger-stricken lady.

Nyirandoba accepted eagerly. Meanwhile the sky had cleared and the woman, her hunger satisfied, took leave of her host after thanking him very kindly.

As she walked away, she heard a voice inviting Bidiga to take advantage of the improvement in the weather and go into the swamp to fetch some clay. Nyirandoba realized her mistake. She was forever dishonored. Everyone /468/ would know that she, a Mututsi woman, had entered the hut of a Mutwa and had taken food from the hand of a pariah.

Henceforth, no one in her own caste would be willing to associate with her.

Bidiga, who understood her uneasiness and misgivings, came to her aid and offered to marry her. The noble lady, very happy with the solution, became Bidiga's wife.

Not far from them there lived a Batutsi clan named Babambanganzi, who were in charge of one of the court herds known by the name of "black cows" (inka z'imikara, inkuke z'ibgami). Those people, who had no reasons to complain about Bidiga's proximity, made him their cowherd and put him in charge of the royal herd. Bidiga and his family gradually established close contact with the Hamites and contracted marriages with them which placed them in due course among the Batutsi ranks (1).

1. In view of all this, we can understand why the Hamitic type has lost its original purity to a greater or lesser extent in some of the clans belonging to this ethnic group. We may also add that the poorer Batutsi often take Bahutu wives.

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home, on the advice of his familiars, in a hut that stood nearby. The sorcerers assured him that he had nothing more to fear on the part of the spirits, who had been given full satisfaction by means of this trick.

643 Upon the accession of each new king to the throne, a special envoy went to the Ruzizi Valley and drew water from a spring called Zina. He took some of that water and brought it for the young monarch to drink.

The reasons for this custom, which has now fallen into disuse, have been forgotten.

Chapter 6

I. The Two Great Festivals at Court

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The two most important celebrations (ibirori) take place at the official presentation of the "First Fruits," and on the day following the annual mourning period, which the king and his court must observe.

This latter feast, which closes the month of June, is celebrated with the same pomp and richness. Since it will be described in the chapter dealing with honors rendered to the spirits of the royal dead, we shall discuss here only the festival called "First-Fruits" festival.

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In their enthusiasm and admiration for Ruganzu II, the Victorious, the Banyarwanda go so far as to credit him with almost every food plant or grain they possess. Special mention is made of sorghum, eleusine, and a kind of wild plant /499/ known by the name of issogi (1), owing to their importance in the local economy.

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1. The Banyarwanda prepare the stem and leaves of issogi as though it were spinach.

Their introduction into Ruanda by the great monarch is the subject of numerous tales that are more or less contradictory.

We shall cite only the best-known ones.

"A chief in the Bumbogo country, " according to one tradition, "had abducted and married Ruganzu's sister to his great dissatisfaction, and he had sworn to wreak a signal vengeance upon him. In order to appease the wrath of his royal brother-in-law, the abductor thought it best to send him envoys with gifts. Among the latter were several baskets of sorghum and eleusine, which were then unknown in Ruanda.

"The king recognized their importance and forgave the offender forthwith, but laid upon him the obligation of bringing one basketful of each plant to the capital every year. The king distributed the first consignments among the chiefs and advised them to plant them and watch over their growth."

According to another version, Ruganzu was passing through the Bumbogo when he saw an ant (imonyo) dragging a handsome grain along the path. He pointed this out to one of his followers. "Look at this ant, " he said. "Let's see what it is holding in its mouth." The Banyarwanda had never seen a grain like that one.

The king ordered it to be preserved with care.

Upon his return to the capital he had it planted in the ground. Six months later a handsome ear was harvested, and its grains were sowed anew. Two years later the harvest was such that the precious grain could be distributed to a number of persons. The cultivation of this cereal, which /500/ was given the name of sorghum, soon spread throughout Ruanda.

On another occasion when Ruganzu was traveling across the same land of Bumbogo, he suddenly stopped before a hut from which there emanated a delicious cooking odor. "What could be the food that gives forth such a delicious aroma?" he exclaimed. The woman of the household invited the prince to come in, uncovered the pot, and showed him the famous issogi plant (spinach) that she was cooking

173 with beans. Ruganzu was pleased with the discovery and congratulated the cook. He was shown a few of the plants, and he had some of their seeds gathered.

Others add that the woman in question presented him on the same occasion with the first sorghum bread he had ever seen, hence the thought of introducing the cultivation of that grain plant into his kingdom.

Whatever the authenticity of these details may be, the truth 796 is that the "first fruits" festival (umuganura, kuganuz' umwami) is celebrated every year at the capital to commemorate the introduction of sorghum, eleusine, and the spinach-like plant into Ruanda. It was usually celebrated in February or March for eleusine, and in May for sorghum; to each occasion the famous plant was added. Over the last few years, eleusine, sorghum, and spinach have been brought at one time to the capital for a single ceremony. In the Bumbogo a special family is in charge of cultivating the field where the grain destined for the court is harvested.

This function is transmitted from father to son. At sowing time the appointed keeper of the field goes and asks the king for the hoe that will be used to break the ground.

When this envoy appeared at court, the king was supposed to have him struck three times, according to custom.

The reason for this curious practice is unknown.

The man left with his hoe during the night. Once the harvest /501/ was concluded, the same people /sic/ returned to the capital to fetch the special basket (igitenda ch' imikondo) in which the sorghum or eleusine was carried. The basket was placed on a litter [661] (ingobyi). Those who walked in the procession enjoyed the privilege of robbing and looting the people they found along the way.

The story tells that they did not hesitate to make use of this 796 privilege in the old days, but that for some time things had improved, 661 and with good reason. The chiefs whose territory they crossed at night were compelled to treat them well because they were the king's men. Needless to add, they were always ready to indulge in revelry when the opportunity arose. Once arrived at the capital they were allowed by custom, it seems, to handle the Batutsi roughly and to

778 and common terms ikibira, "cemetery," imva or "igituro, "grave,"
766 to be used in this connection. In certain parts of Ruanda, owing to
644 the respect with which the king is regarded and to the reverential fear he inspires, the Blacks use another expression which is much more accurate. One frequently hears them speak of musezero (misezero in the plural), that is to say, the place where the monarch permanently "took leave" of his subjects, from the verb gusezera, which means "to take leave."

The word umusezero is now commonly used to mean "restricted place," "guarded place," because in summer when people set fire to the tall grass, they first clear the bush from the edges of the cemeteries to protect the royal graves from fire. /525/

2. Main Royal Cemeteries

766 It is at Gasseke in the Nduga, about four hours from the Kabgayi mission in the northeast, that one of the first "sepulchral" groves is found where a prince by the name of Chyilima was buried.

Two monarchs by this name are known. It was during the
173 reign of the more recent of the two that the famous migration into
643 Ruanda of the "Mutes," or "Foreign men with an incomprehensible
766 language," took place. According to tradition, the one with whom
778 we are dealing here was the brother and immediate successor of Ruganzu I, surnamed Bwimba (1), who lived long before his illustrious

1. The natives relate that the mother of this Ruganzu late in life married one of her courtiers named Chenge, and Chyilima-Rugwe was born of this union. She did this to the great dissatisfaction of her eldest son, Ruganzu I, for it ran contrary to the custom which requires the queen mother to live solely with the reigning prince.

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The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [775] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit...and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

173 As for the royal cemetery of Luhanga, which lies atop the
643 plateau of the same name, the inhabitants of the area all concur in
766 the belief that if King Gihanga himself was not buried there, that is
to say, the eminent "Creator," then at least his wife Nyirakabogo was.
778 It is probable that numerous other monarchs sleep their last sleep
there by the queen's side, but the people are not quite sure of their
names anymore.

Nor are they sure of the names of those who were buried on the neighboring Kayenzi-Bussigi plateau, where four of those cemeteries are to be found.

The names of the princes buried in the northern most cemetery are better known. The inhabitants of the area are almost unanimous in naming Kigeri-Mibambge and Nyiramavugo as being buried there. During the last European war, which had local repercussions, the natives were rightly frightened and erected huts (indaro) over their tombs where they offered numerous sacrifices. As for Queen Nyiramavugo, the elders recall seeing her corpse go by in their earliest childhood. /527/ The body was laid at the foot of the plateau for the night before being carried to the top where it was buried. This was the mother of Lwogera-Mutara, that is to say, the grand-mother of the present king.

Malembo, daughter of Nyamajinya and mother of Yuhi-Mazimpaka, was buried on one or the other of the two plateaus, it is not known exactly which. One still hears of Yuhi-Mazimpaka himself and of a sister of Ruganzu, Nyirangabo, who, according to the natives, were buried in the afore-mentioned cemeteries. What is certain is that the grove which follows upon the first one starting from the north holds the remains of Kilongoro, daughter of a certain Magoma and mother of Chyilima-Ludjugira, who succeeded Yuhi-Mazimpaka.

According to present-day opinion, the sacred groves of Luhanga and Kayenzi-Bussigi are reserved exclusively for the burial of queen mothers (abanyambuto, "those of the grains"), that is to say,
[562] those who provided the heir to the throne and who reigned along with him.

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The best known of the royal cemeteries is that of Rutare in the mountainous Buyaga area, not far from Lake Mohazi near the frontier of Ruanda.

The existence of this resting place is traced back, rightly or wrongly, to Ruganzu II, who is said to have been the first one to be buried there.

According to one tradition, he had himself chosen the site of his tomb on this high spot, so as to be an insuperable obstacle to the enemies of Ruanda even after his death. This tradition is seriously challenged by the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga (1).

1. Cf. Book III, The Reign of Ruganzu II.

The last two kings who were buried there and who are recalled most readily were Lwogera and Lwabugiri, the immediate predecessors of the present reigning monarch.

It is rather difficult to say for how many monarchs the sepulchral grove of Rutare has served as last resting place. /528/ The trees in the thickets, some of which are quite old, were formerly separate but eventually merged. Here and there, old trunks which marked the site of the courtyards in which the huts were built have disappeared, so that one cannot count the funerery enclosures with any exactitude. There do not seem to be more than eight or ten.

Three other royal cemeteries are found at Musenyi in the Nduga to the south of the Kabgayi mission, about two hours away. The first one stands on the slope of a hill called by the name of Mayebe. It is made up of a small wood of thorny acacia trees which have reached their maximum height and whose long intertwined branches lend a mysterious atmosphere to the grove, where a half light barely penetrates. Some other trees with thicker foliage dominate the grove. Those are the inganzamarombo (1).

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1. They are called thus from kuganza, "to overtop," and marombo, "swarms of bees," because the natives like to set their hives there.

173 643 766 778 A native village stands nearby, its banana groves bordering on the thickets. Its occupants are in charge of watching over the cemetery, which according to the opinion of the Banya-Nduga (inhabitants of the Nduga province) includes the tomb of Ruganzu II Ndori. Those who claim that his body was buried at Rutare cling to their opinion and insist that he was merely "smoked" at Mayebe. The inhabitants of the latter area, on the other hand, claim in turn that after having been mummified he was indeed buried right there, and add that this is the usual procedure. The place is quite commonly known by the name of "Ruganzu's cemetery."

According to the same interpretation, this prince alone was buried there.

Not far from Mayebe, two other small groves made up chiefly of ficus trees stand barely 300 meters apart. /529/ According to some, the corpses of several queens by the name of Nyirakigeri and Nyirayuhi were mummified there. Local people insist that they were also buried there, and support their claim by adding that the place where a king or queen is smoked is also the place where they are buried. The two clumps of trees formerly made up a single sacred grove, and this is why the natives call them by the same name.

The last of those cemeteries stands two kilometers farther. It is made up of handsome ficus trees, but the same controversies arise concerning the use to which this funeral site was put. It is called "the cemetery of the queens who bore the name of Nyiramavugo."

It is not easy to give precise information on this subject. The [123] keepers of the groves, the undertakers (abanyamugogo), and the official chroniclers (Abachur' ubgenge) are not willing to surrender all their information on the subject. The statements of other people are unreliable.

Funerary enclosures called ilaro (amalaro in the plural), or "night stopping places," are also found in the area.

They mark the sites of huts which served as shelters for the mortal remains of kings and queens in transit to the cemeteries.

The dwellings had to be abandoned after their visit, just as happens when a prince travelling through his realm stops for the night.

173 The term gisozi ("big hill") serves, as we have said, to
643 designate the place where a king died.

It is the augmentative of the word musozi, which means "hill"
766 and by extension "village." This term belongs to the /word/ class
778 prefixed by the consonant ki.

This class includes nothing but words conveying the idea of majesty, fear, etc. /530/

There are numerous groves in this category, such as those of Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

In order to prove the truth of any pronouncement or assertion, the natives use the following phrase which alludes in metaphorical terms to the death of one or another of their sovereigns, Mb' ali jye wakuye
[539] Lwogera i Kaganza!

"Let it be I ('if I do not speak the truth' being implied here) who tore (King) Lwogera away from Kaganza (name of the place where the king died)!"

The reader must have noted that kings and queen mothers
[644] alone have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Mere wives were entitled to no special honors after their death. They were buried like common mortals. Queen mothers, that is to say, those who bore the heir to the throne and then reigned with him, were granted the same funerary honors as sovereigns.

Aside from the groves we have just described, there is also
173 mention of one at Bugarama-Ntare (i Buhurura) not far from Rukoma.
644 It is believed to be the spot where the undertakers fulfilled their usual
766 functions at the death of a queen named Nyirakigeri. The sacred
778 grove of Butare, which now only includes a few very old trees, is thought to be the place where Nyagihaga, daughter of Ruyenzi and mother of a Chyilima or Mutara died (1).

1. The official chroniclers do provide a genealogical list of the kings of Ruanda, with the name of their mothers and of the clans to which the latter belonged, but this cannot be fully credited. We have

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seen that the names of the
first kings were pure fantasy.
The chronological order of
several others is lacking,
and the chroniclers do not agree
on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

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a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses, are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

[178]

The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

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2. Many of those former royal residences recall historic events which took place at the site or in the vicinity.

It was at Mwurire that Mutara I, a son of Ruganzu II, vanquished the king of Urundi, a Mutaga, whose lands extended that far at the time.

On Ruchunchu hill, not far from a former residence of Lwabugiri's at Rubugurizo (that is to say, according to the etymological sense of the word, "at the spot where the king's sons played backgammon"), the natives point out the spot where Mibambge-Rutalindwa, Lwabugiri's appointed heir, set fire to himself and his people /relations and friends/ in 1896, in some hastily built huts, when he found himself about to be captured by partisans of the powerful Bega family who had rebelled against him. In the Bumbogo, at places called Mbilima and Matovu, some tall fiscus trees mark the site /533/ of a dwelling formerly occupied by an important chief of the Batsobe clan who had married King Lwabugiri's own mother.

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The latter, having grown up, wanted to wreak vengeance for what he regarded not only as a serious infringement of court custom but also as a crime of high treason.

His warriors surrounded the hill one day.

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

769 The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people [609] who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

769 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an 766 important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called 791 "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies.

769 The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their [775] hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

144 The word "Hamite" is, however, also used in a different sense. We speak of a "Hamitic anthropological type." This designation refers to the anthropological element so characteristic of the tribes who have mixed relatively little and who speak Hamitic languages, the Somal [Somali] and Galla, for example. In this sense [123] one may count the Batutsi among the Hamites. The Hamitic anthropological type is more obvious in them than in the Massai to the east and the Bari and Kakwa in the northwest. They are less "Negroized."

173 131 According to their traditions, the Batutsi come from the north, which, however, refers essentially to the Bugansa district south of Lake Mohasi, not to the distant lands on the other side of the Victoria-Nile, the Bukedi, traditional homeland of the Babito. This might mean that the Batutsi have been in their present country long enough for the other, older traditions to have faded, leaving only those concerning the founding of the Ruanda state.

Karagwe, however, is also mentioned in these traditions. Perhaps this has something to do with the older migration of the Ruanda Batutsi. Presumably this migration took place along an axis extending from the steppes in the northeast, along the Karagwe border, and across Lake Mohasi to Nduga and Mukinjaga. It is along this axis that one finds the strongest concentration of Batutsi.

131 Dr. Kandt states that the original homeland of the Batutsi is the Mhogo Basin (districts of the upper Nyawarongo). Kissaka also has a large percentage of Batutsi. Baumann (1) mentions

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1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 204.

isolated groups of Batutsi in the mountains in the northwestern part of Tanganyika. Only in the Muwissi Mountains, in the southwestern part of Issawi, are there reputedly very few Batutsi. (2)

2. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer

685 referred to simply as kushoko, "drinking." This fact indicates that the poison test was the oldest form. To give a person this test is called kushora which simply means "to give a drink." Thus they say: "Umututsi ashora inka ze (the Mututsi gives his cows a drink)," as well as "kushora ikihango (to drink poison)" and "kushora (literally, to drink a chicken)."

[286] Chapter 14

History and Chronology

173 Ruanda. I had great difficulty in obtaining data about the history of Ruanda. Oral tradition in the interlacustrine region is limited chiefly to the genealogy of the rulers. This basic skeleton is also generally supplemented by a few statements about the chief events of the corresponding epochs. My informants, however, knew little about the history of the dynasty, since most of them were Bahutu.

124 Musinga gave Captain W. Von Grawert, who introduced me to him, his royal promise that he would have reports made to me on the history of the country or even tell me about it himself. [787] The chicken oracle, however, said that the king would suffer harm if I were initiated in the history of the country. The next time I visited Musinga and tried to have certain contradictions in my notes on the Ruanda rulers cleared up by this authoritative source, I was kept dangling for two and a half hours and was unsuccessful. His Black Majesty was very pleasant, but during the whole time he kept practicing, in German, the meaningless sentence, "Little spear is pretty."

Musinga wanted to please me by demonstrating his zeal in learning the German language and in this way divert my attention from interviewing him.

173 It seems that in Ruanda as well as In Nkole one may not speak [715] about deceased kings with the uninitiated, for the spirits, disturbed in their rest, might avenge themselves. However, people [2] talk about olden times in the evening when the nobility gather with the king, pay court to him, and drink beer. They know

173 their history, but they regard it as a hallowed secret of the Batutsi which belongs to the category of ibanga [secrets].

173 Father F. Dufays and Father P. Loupias succeeded in learning about one of the traditions of ancient times from a Mututsi whom 114 I personally know very well but whose name I must withhold out of consideration for his own safety. The man clashed with his fellow tribesmen [287] and told his story to the missionaries to express his gratitude for their protection.

173 According to this story, human beings in former times lived in heaven as well as on the earth. The children of Nyina Kigwa, 173 Kigwa, Lututsi, and their sister, Nyina Batutsi, were cast out from heaven as a punishment for their mother's loquacity. They fell to earth in Bugansa, Ruanda, and discovered the following Bahutu families in the country: the Basinga, Bagessera, and Bazigaba. In the forest they found the Batwa. The Bahutu and Batwa had been expelled from heaven before them. The new immigrants brought fire, agriculture (hoe culture), cattle raising, and industry (iron technique). In this way they gained influence, and Kigwa became the ruler of Ruanda. Kigwa married his sister, Nyina Batutsi, and became the protoplast of the Banieginia who are descended from his three sons and still rule Ruanda. Lututsi emigrated to Karagwe and married one of Kigwa's three daughters. He became the protoplast of the Bega who supply the kings of Ruanda with wives and mothers who are their peers. Kigwa and his descendants kept in touch with heaven through Batabazi redeemers, who came to their aid in times of great need. There are three chief Batabazi mentioned. The first protected the children of Nyina Batutsi and brought animals to Ruanda; the second was Kihana, son of King Ndahiro; and the third, Kyamweru, was the son of King Luzugira Iwijuru.

[117] This tradition contains some details of Christian legends, which we shall not go into here. Its origin will probably be determined some day, but at present it is a mystery. However, the statement that the children of Nyina Kigwa (referring doubtless to the Batutsi) brought fire and hoe culture into the country can be written off as historically incorrect. In any case, it is certain that this story tells us about the settling of the Batutsi in Ruanda and the establishment of their rule in Bugansa, and that at this time Bagessera,

173 Basinga, and Bazigaba were already settled in the land and
173 Batwa were roaming the forests. In other words, conditions then were much the same as they are now in Mulera.

Dr. Kandt's report (1) about the ancient history of the country

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 302.

is somewhat different. "When the first human being lived in Ruanda with his five sons, Kitussi, Kitwa, Kinjabungu, etc., Kitwa killed one of his brothers out of jealousy. At first the father wanted to kill him for this, but hesitated because he was his own flesh and blood. So he sent him into the wilderness with the curse that all his descendants were to dwell among the descendants of the other sons as pariahs."

Here, in contrast to the tradition mentioned earlier, we find no references to the fact that the Batutsi immigrated at a later time. [288] Moreover, the representatives of all the tribes are referred to as descendants of the same ancestors. This is probably the best proof that the account has little historical significance.

173 Let us now turn to more accurate accounts about the Ruanda state. In my inquiries into the history of the state I succeeded in getting data that may be summarized in the following list of rulers. However, we must admit that the individual sources were sometimes very contradictory. For this reason further investigation is needed before a definite genealogy can be given. There is always the possibility that some of the succession of rulers listed here may be brothers, but usually collateral descendants of former times are forgotten.

The rulers of Ruanda are:

1. Kigwa.
2. Nyeranda.
3. Kadji.
4. Muntu.
5. Kihanga.
6. Ndoba.
7. Ndore I.
8. Ndahiro I or Dabarasa.
9. Ruganzu or Luzugira. (Kihana).

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10. Lumazimpaka. (Kyamweru).
11. Mibambwe I.
12. Juhi I.
13. Lugazu, son of Nyina Bachuzi.
14. Mibambwe II.
15. Chilima I.
16. Ruganzurwa, son of Nyina Bunyana.
17. Kigeri I.
18. Mibambwe III.
19. Juhi II.
20. Chilima II or Rugwe.
21. *Ndahiro II.*
22. Ruganzu.
23. Chilima cha Kasseke.
24. Ndore II. Kahindiro Mibambwe IV.
25. Mutara Lwogera.
26. Lwabugiri Kigeri II.
27. Mibambwe V. Juhi III or Musinga.

174 [289] Aside from this list of rulers, I was able to find out little about the history, but if we consider the large number of rulers, as well as the fact that among the revered spirits of the country the kin group Ndaula plays a subordinate role, we come to the probable conclusion that Ruanda has no connection with the states in the southern half of the Runyoro territory. After all, only Kissaka (not Ruanda) is mentioned in connection with the expedition of Ruhinda. On the other hand, the fact that Kagoro, Mugasha, and Wamara are mentioned in the religion of Ruanda, leads us to conclude that there are connections with the old Bunyoro state and the Bachwezi dynasty. According to the number of rulers Ruanda has had, we may trace the founding of the dynasty back to the fifteenth century. We therefore ask ourselves whether the founding of the Ruanda state does not stand in the same relation to the immigration of the Baganda into the interlacustrine region as the founding of Busindja, Karagwe, and Buhaya stands to the immigration of the Babito into Bunyoro. For it is not impossible that the rulers in the northern part of the interlacustrine region, whose peace was disturbed by the Baganda, in turn founded new states in the south.

174 Ruanda, which originally covered the district of Buganza south of Lake Mohasi, was later, in the course of a long period of time, limited to the province of Nduga. It must have been a long time ago, however, since Ruanda outgrew these circumscribed boundaries, for Mukinjaga and Mulera as well have traditions that go back to the rule of Ruganzu, and these provinces certainly did not belong to the original ones. The last Ruganzu is Musinga's fifth ancestor and probably ruled in the first years of the last century. This leads us to assume that the large kingdom of Ruanda is not a newly formed state of the last century, but has a long history.

The legend referring to this is somewhat as follows.

173 Once upon a time Ruganzu came to the Muhawura volcano to hunt elephants. Suddenly the news comes to him that the Barundi have crossed the southern border of his kingdom. He abandons the hunt and goes forth to meet the enemy. On the way he stops on a hill to rest. After a brief interval he continues the journey in his litter (ngobi). After the company had got under way, someone noticed that the king had left his spear on the hill. They shouted back to the hill, asking the people to return the spear that had been left behind. The Balera replied that the king had left them the spear, and if he wanted it back, he should come to get it himself. Whereupon the king answered: "If you had stolen food, I should have believed that you are hungry; if you had stolen cows, I should assume that you want to own them. But to steal a spear, [290] what can it bring you? Let it remain with you, multiply, and strike you dead." That is why there is always fighting in Mulera. The royal curse is upon the land.

In Mukinjaga they say about Ruganzu that he put the bimara tax on the region of Bukunzi as a punishment for the theft of his cows.

173 Ruganzu lwa Ndahiro (Ruganzu, son of Ndahiro) is the king
443 about whom there are the most legends in Ruanda. He is said to have had supernatural power, and people believe that he might one day return. When, in the year 1904, the news spread that the imperial resident at Usumbura had been murdered, the natives said that Ruganzu had killed him.

175 of Lwabugiri Captain Ramsay came to the country in 1897.
643 Musinga was recognized as the ruler. Captain Ramsay entered
648 into a special pact of blood brotherhood with him or at least with the man that was introduced to him as Musinga. (3) He reports:

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3. Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 315.

"Thereupon I had to tie a string around Juhi, and he tied several strings around me; then we shook hands vigorously, and the king of Ruanda and I became blood brothers."

Since that time Musinga has been energetically supported by the government, which, through him, again has the entire country in hand. Musinga has at his disposal the Askari of the guard troops who in an emergency can teach his rebels a lesson. I had occasion to observe this in 1907 in Mulera. With the intervention of this new factor, the country has become orderly to an extent that formerly did not seem possible.

173 Kissaka. The history of Kissaka cannot be traced as far back as that of Ruanda.

Banyakissaka traditions about ancient times say that they, like the Banyoro and Baganda, came from the north, not from the south, like the Wasukuma.

[293] Kissaka has been a state since very ancient times. According to Busindja (1) tradition, the Kissaka rulers were Basinga.

[113]

1. Van Thiele, Father H., "Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda [Businza under the Bahinda Dynasty]," Anthropos, 1911, p. 499.

One of these rulers was married to Nyakachende, the daughter of Ruhinda, and she bore him a successor. From then on the rulers of Kissaka were referred to as Bayango of Ruhinda.

173 This family must have lost its possessions later on, since the last Kissaka rulers, I was told, were Bagessera, in other words, not true Batutsi either.

I was told that Kimeni Ruahasha was the first ruler of Kissaka. I was unable to find out who his immediate successors were and how many there were. Except for this gap, we have been able to determine the following list of successive rulers.

Kimeni Ruahasha
?
Vunengoma
|
Mutaga
|
Kwezi
|
Luregeya
|
Bazimye
|
Kimeni II
|
Lugeyyo } Pretenders
|
Lukura } Lukura lives with Kahigi

Kimeni II with his son, Msongole, was defeated and murdered by Musinga's grandfather, Lwogera, about the year 1876. Since that time Kissaka has been a part of Ruanda. Msongole's son, Wagazo, however, remained in the country as a subchief of the new king and was still in office 20 years later at the time of Ramsay's expedition (2).

Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 310.

●173 The Banyakissaka would not yield to their fate, and the entire country, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, strove for independence. Lwabugiri Kigeri, Musinga's father, undertook two expeditions to Kissaka in order to strengthen Ruanda rule. In 1901 Kissaka made a final effort to win independence from Ruanda by force.

[294] Lukura, grandson of the defeated Kimeni II, son of Lugeyyo (according to Dr. Kandt, son of Wantschurra (1)),

1. Kandt, R., a report on his research in Ruanda, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 122.

decided to take advantage of Kissaka's discontent with the Ruanda regime. He came to Kissaka from Kyanja where he had been the guest of Kahigi. The people and the Batutsi declared him their ruler, but he soon had to flee because Musinga undertook a military campaign, supported by the [military] station in Usumbura. The leader of Lukura's followers, Mpumbika, was exiled to Urundi where he was still living with Chief Muhini in 1907. Mpumbika, like Lukura, belongs to the Bagessera clan.

After this revolt, the old batware (subchiefs) were dismissed, and the country was put under the administration of three Ruanda chiefs, Kanuma, Niamutezi, and Lutangabo. The gradual replacement of the subchiefs by Banyaruanda (people from Ruanda) did not contribute to a lessening of discontent with the Ruanda regime.

Bugoye. Unlike Kissaka, Bugoye has no history. People only know that the country was conquered by Mutara Lwogera (2), who

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 34.

drove the chief of the country, Mvunye, to Bunyabungu. It is also known that the country was settled only a few generations ago. The very old people maintain that it was their grandfathers who cleared the wooded country which was unpopulated except for

●173 some Batwa living there. The Batwa were in part driven out, in part assimilated. The latter are known as Batwa bikyugu "Batwa of the inhabited land." Very many colonists came from Kishari and Kameronse, regions north of Lake Kivu. They were driven out of their homes by raids of the cannibalistic Balioko, probably Manyema, or perhaps also of the Babira who were driven out by the Manyema. To this emigration we can probably attribute latent traces of Bakondjo in Bugoye. Besides this wave, the Bambari clan from Ndorwa came to Bugoye, as well as the Bagwabiro from the region of Ischangi on the southern shore of Lake Kivu. The latter are impoverished Batutsi who till fields and own but few cows.

805 Chronology. Time in Ruanda is divided into years, seasons, months (moons), and weeks. The weeks have only five or six days. Thanks to the kindness of Father Buisson, I can herewith give the names of the months used in Kissaka and Ussuwi, opposite the Mulera calendar. The data on Nkole have been taken from Meldon (3). [295]

[113] 3. Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Nkole," Journal of the African Society, 1907, p. 137.

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
I. Kwakira, pea harvest, begin hoeing for millet	Kimguru	Kashantare	Biruru
II. Mutarama, millet sowing	Kakire	Werurwe	Kata
III. Werurwe, weeding millet fields	Mahingo	Kichurasi	Katumba
IV. Mata, sowing green peas (nyagasha)	Ruwoza	Kamena	Ikoma
V. Kichurasi, sowing peas	Muhiranguzu	Nyakanga	Chabahezi
VI. Kamena, one hopes to have plenty to eat soon	Rweru	Katumba	Nyerurue

776 The batabazi are Batutsi because they are associated with the reigning family.

773 Ryangombe and his Bagaragu. Ryangombe with his bagaragu (clients) and relatives plays the most important role in the Ruanda cult.

We have already expressed the opinion that in the traditions 776 about Ryangombe there is a memory of an historical hero. In 773 favor of this view we have the story (umugani) given below (which does not say much), and in addition, the fact that Kakuku, Mugasha, Kagoro, and Rubaga are mentioned among his retinue. The latter three are semihistorical personalities and, according to our research, belong to the family that ruled in Bunyoro before the Babito, whereas Kakuku is probably identical with Bukuku from the older Bunyoro dynasty.

Ryangombe's nearest relatives do not seem to play any special role and are mentioned only in reference to the hero. Hence we shall only list them. His father was Ndema, and his grandfather, Migongo. Babinga was his mother, and Nyundo, his grandmother. His wife, Nyakisha, presented him with a child called kachumu kato kato kavira imyuna mumbuga, "a small, small spear stained with blood up to the hilt." According to other accounts, his wife was Kadjumba, and their son, Binego.

In other accounts we find somewhat different statements. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) calls Ryangombe's wife Njawirungu

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 10.

and his father Bawinda which [303] he has probably confused with the name of the mother, Babinga.

Captain Von Beringe (1), on the other hand, calls

1. Beringe, Captain Von, an account of his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 37.

776 Ryangombe's grandfather Nyundo, his father Bavinga, and his wife
173 Nina Ryangombe. The last name, however, simply means "mother of Ryangombe."

The most important bagaragu (clients) of Ryangombe are Binego, Kavuna, Mugasha, Kakuku, Kagoro, Senyakazana, and Rubaga.

Their subordination to Ryangombe is always strongly emphasized. We can see this also in the fact that before sacrifices can be made to them sacrifices must be made to Ryangombe. Rubaga is the only exception. One can bring him gifts without first having made offerings to Ryangombe.

782 Special forms and ceremonies are observed in offerings
776 made to these individual spirits.

In sacrificing to Binego the person stands with lowered head and murmurs: "Binego bya Kadjumba nyamunega amafizi amabuguma akapfa numulindu. Lukaraba nkaba n'inkuba yadjandja. Ulwamba lw'impiri namaganya y'inkuba aseseka ntanyobwe umushaidja mukanya." I could not find out what this means.

346 Small straw huts are built to Kavuna. He is offered banana beer with added honey in twin-necked pots. Formerly the sacrificer covered himself with a leopard skin. As he makes the sacrifice, he stretches out his hands and sings: "Kavuna ushime ntango yawe (Kavuna, accept my offering)."

If a person makes a sacrifice to Mugasha, he winds the bark of banana stalks around his legs, arms, and neck. He holds the thin end of a stick in his right hand, stamps his feet, beats the ground with the stick, and repeats: "Mugasha akatema katoke niribiriri, niribirimbo."

Kakuku was an old paralyzed slave. If a person wishes to address him, he first smears his arms with ashes, then he scratches his skin, weeps, and sighs. Peas which are sacrificed are held with the finger bent, because the paralytic could eat only in this manner.

Kagoro is offered small arrows of wood or iron with the words, "busenda bwa Kagoro."

Senyakazana is offered peas and lentils, called inkore.

Rubaga is the greatest after Ryangombe, and he is also offered cows.

181 . In Kissaka soothsaying with calabashes is also said to be practiced. Father Van Thiele describes it as follows. The soothsayer has two calabashes filled with seed kernels. He sits on a small stool, dressed in the hide of a jackal in such a way that the head of the animal lies on the head of the soothsayer and the tail hangs down behind. He shakes the two gourds and makes the kernels rattle. After a while he stops, puts the gourds aside, takes off the skin, and lies down on the floor. After a period of concentration the soothsayer announces his oracle and is paid.

Another type of soothsaying is that of the speaking calabash and the speaking goatskin, nyabukobwa. This was supposed to have prophesied the arrival of Europeans from the east at the time of the last independent king of Kissaka (Kimeni II). Father Van Thiele reports that he found a reed flute in the nyabukobwa which played when the bag was squeezed and air escaped.

[323] In Mulera the little board oracle is common. The soothsayer grasps the handle of a small, hollowed out, trough-shaped board 40 centimeters long, 15 centimeters wide, and one to two centimeters deep. With his other hand he tosses into the air a few times several seeds, some little metal discs, small sheep bones, and a piece of gourd. The piece of gourd is called umwami (king). The iron discs represent the bazimu (spirits) of men, and the sheep bones, those of women. They are always skillfully caught. After they have been sufficiently mixed, they are thrown on the little board. The answer is found in the way they are spread out.

The natives of Ruanda tell about prophecies several years back that foretold the coming of the Europeans. 181

173 Thus, years ago the then mighty father of Kaizuka was said to have known that a conqueror, different from all men known up to that time and one having power over thunder, would come from the east and would change the internal conditions of Ruanda. This prophecy was generally known and induced Monseigneur Hirth to choose the route via Usumbura and Urundi for the mission to avoid possible difficulties that might result from this prophecy. In 1905 when the king became aware of changed conditions, it is said that Kaizuka, the son of the prophet of doom, was robbed of his possessions and had his eyes gouged out.

787 There is a story of a similar prophecy for Ruasa. Formerly
● 173 the hill on which the mission is now located had a quite unintelligible name, busakaza itaka, allegedly, "land where earth is used to cover." About 15 years ago a man prophesied that "red men" would come and that their house would be covered with earth. When the missionaries came and covered their buildings with bricks, the words made sense, and the prophecy was fulfilled. There is a similar story about Bugoye.

787 I could not understand the Banyaruanda views about dreams.
773 What one sees in a dream is a matter pertaining to the past or the future if it is contrary to the present. If one has seen deceased persons in a dream, it is said that the spirits of the dead came visiting. Such a dream is usually followed by a sacrifice, for it is assumed that the spirits are suffering and that they appear in order to beg for help. If a person disregards this he might suffer evil consequences, for the neglected spirits would avenge themselves.

787 If a youth sees his bride in a dream, he does not marry her. The dream warns him against a marriage in which the partners would not get along.

Father F. Dufays once dreamed that one of his black friends burst because he drank too much beer. When he told this to the man in question on the next morning, [324] the man was frightened and began to cry. When he was asked the reason for his tears, he said that whatever one sees in a dream comes to pass.

755 The Practice of Medicine. A special form of medical treatment, cure through initiation into a secret society, has already been described. This is not all there is to medical practice, however, and it is not always employed. Not all sorcerers, soothsayers, and medicine men belong to the secret societies of babandwa. The act of appeasing the spirits with eleusine (buro) seems to be carried out by ordinary soothsayers (bapfumu) in order to free patients from afflictions caused by troublesome spirits.

In Kissaka where I was told a great deal about the "appeasement of spirits" with eleusine, the procedure is somewhat as follows.

The mupfumu takes a small calabash known as ntendere and fills it with eleusine. He adds nzuzi seeds, kaolin powder, and a bone from the forefoot of a cow. The soothsayer rubs the palm of

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

Religion

773 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 The list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
●173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

613 sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the
194 Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during
his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was
[173] accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling
to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's
horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former
volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more
agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege
of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while
living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be
initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization,
in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony
that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as
members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different
people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The
initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense
that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that
affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for
the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were
initiated.

613 A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to
769 honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering
to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut
dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound.
They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life
(milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days
and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in
July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound
in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a
[262] goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people).
This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among
the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and
feasting was observed.

613 Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of
623 councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat.
Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the
[554] opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men
would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

180 To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour [197] social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge 634 in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, 622 however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

121 Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

643 In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. [193] The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the [619] Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

643 This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives 183 more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954a, p. 63. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

701 703 173 [178] [182]

(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[20] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture. 121

In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military 86 868 000

[20] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

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refrain from decisions which could have impaired the economic 643
production of the country, such as requiring tributes which were too heavy, or which could have lowered the level of personal security to such an extent that people would have preferred to flee abroad.[23] Moreover, profound legislative modifications would have roused the resistance of the *biru*. Nevertheless, his powers were still extremely great. A fact which reinforced and consolidated 643
them was the tradition of the long past of the dynasty. The present 173
mwami, Mutara III Rudahigwa is regarded as the fortieth king of Ruanda. Even if the first twenty names are considered as legendary, three or four centuries is a considerable past for a dynasty. The Abanyiginya clan has indeed been able to keep the kingship of Ruanda as long as kings are remembered.

The mwami was not only of divine origin but he was Ruanda 643
personified. This mystical identification with the country resulted in numerous avoidances and a very careful behaviour was expected from the mwami. What happened to him would reverberate, as it were, over the country. He should not bend his knees, for instance, lest Ruanda's territory would shrink.

Royal succession was not completely fixed by custom. The heir was chosen by the king from among his sons. He was generally one of the youngest because the strength of Ruanda was magically connected with the king's strength. The name of the chosen one was kept secret. Even the future mwami did not know it. It was revealed only after the king's death by the three most important biru whom the mwami had entrusted with his decision. The other sons and their mothers generally did not agree willingly to the choice and there was often a period of unrest, even of civil war, [669]
before the new mwami became an effective ruler.[24]

A new name was given to the new king, one of the five royal 643
names which were chosen according to the same sequence: 553
Cyrilima, Kigeli, Nibambwe, Yuhi, Mutara. The kings named Cyilima, Yuhi, and Mutara were called 'peaceful bami'. They were not allowed to cross the Nyabarongo, a river which runs in the centre of the country, not far from Nyanza, the capital, and this symbolized the fact that they should not send their armies abroad. This rule very wisely allowed the country to recuperate and to assimilate new territories conquered during a preceding warlike reign.

[23] Maquet, 1953. [24] See Gluckman, 1954, p. 8.

614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
784 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests
563 that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism. In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

Population Elements

563 The population of Ruanda is made up of three elements which anthropologically and culturally are very different, although they speak the same language.

The ruling group are the Batutsi [Tussi] herdsman who are anthropologically quite close to the Bahima [Hima] of Mpororo. There is a great gap between them and their subjects.

The Bahutu [Hutu] farmers make up the bulk of the population.

The Batwa [Twa], an outcast hunting tribe who also engage in rainmaking and pottery, form the third element.

197 Batutsi. The language of the Batutsi is identical with that of their Bahutu subjects except for certain phonetic dialect differences as yet unexplained by scholars. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, as well 101 as the Bahima, must be linked with the Nilotic-Hamitic pastoral 174 tribes on the eastern edge of the Nile Basin as well as those on the bank of the Nile to the south of the great Nile swamps. The Batutsi form the main part of an older migrating group which was wedged in between Lake Victoria and the forests of the Congo Basin. The Bari and their relatives probably broke out later in a northwesterly direction towards the Uele Basin. The Massai [Masai] group apparently poured into the regions to the east of Lake Victoria.

197 If we consider the word "Hamite" as a purely linguistic designation, the Batutsi are not Hamites at all, and even less Semites, as they are called by Rehse (1) and Kandt (2). They simply belong

[113]

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 110.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili [The Head of the Nile] (Berlin, 1904), p. 339.

the interlacustrine group of the Bantu language family.

173

10. Lumazimpaka. (Kyamweru).
11. Mibambwe I.
12. Juhi I.
13. Lugazu, son of Nyina Bachuzi.
14. Mibambwe II.
15. Chilima I.
16. Ruganzurwa, son of Nyina Bunyana.
17. Kigeri I.
18. Mibambwe III.
19. Juhi II.
20. Chilima II or Rugwe.
21. Ndahiro II.
22. Ruganzu.
23. Chilima cha Kasseke.
24. Ndore II. Kahindiro Mibambwe IV.
25. Mutara Lwogera.
26. Lwabugiri Kigeri II.
27. Mibambwe V. Juhi III or Musinga.

174 [289] Aside from this list of rulers, I was able to find out little about the history, but if we consider the large number of rulers, as well as the fact that among the revered spirits of the country the kin group Ndaula plays a subordinate role, we come to the probable conclusion that Ruanda has no connection with the states in the southern half of the Runyoro territory. After all, only Kissaka (not Ruanda) is mentioned in connection with the expedition of Ruhinda. On the other hand, the fact that Kagoro, Mugasha, and Wamara are mentioned in the religion of Ruanda, leads us to conclude that there are connections with the old Bunyoro state and the Bachwezi dynasty. According to the number of rulers Ruanda has had, we may trace the founding of the dynasty back to the fifteenth century. We therefore ask ourselves whether the founding of the Ruanda state does not stand in the same relation to the immigration of the Baganda into the interlacustrine region as the founding of Busindja, Karagwe, and Buhaya stands to the immigration of the Babito into Bunyoro. For it is not impossible that the rulers in the northern part of the interlacustrine region, whose peace was disturbed by the Baganda, in turn founded new states in the south.

174 Ruanda, which originally covered the district of Bugansa south of Lake Mohasi, was later, in the course of a long period of time, limited to the province of Nduga. It must have been a long time ago, however, since Ruanda outgrew these circumscribed boundaries, for Mukinjaga and Mulera as well have traditions that go back to the rule of Ruganzu, and these provinces certainly did not belong to the original ones. The last Ruganzu is Musinga's fifth ancestor and probably ruled in the first years of the last century. This leads us to assume that the large kingdom of Ruanda is not a newly formed state of the last century, but has a long history.

The legend referring to this is somewhat as follows.

173 Once upon a time Ruganzu came to the Muhawura volcano to hunt elephants. Suddenly the news comes to him that the Barundi have crossed the southern border of his kingdom. He abandons the hunt and goes forth to meet the enemy. On the way he stops on a hill to rest. After a brief interval he continues the journey in his litter (ngobi). After the company had got under way, someone noticed that the king had left his spear on the hill. They shouted back to the hill, asking the people to return the spear that had been left behind. The Balera replied that the king had left them the spear, and if he wanted it back, he should come to get it himself. Whereupon the king answered: "If you had stolen food, I should have believed that you are hungry; if you had stolen cows, I should assume that you want to own them. But to steal a spear, [290] what can it bring you? Let it remain with you, multiply, and strike you dead." That is why there is always fighting in Mulera. The royal curse is upon the land.

In Mukinjaga they say about Ruganzu that he put the bimara tax on the region of Bukunzi as a punishment for the theft of his cows.

173 443 Ruganzu lwa Ndahiro (Ruganzu, son of Ndahiro) is the king about whom there are the most legends in Ruanda. He is said to have had supernatural power, and people believe that he might one day return. When, in the year 1904, the news spread that the imperial resident at Usumbura had been murdered, the natives said that Ruganzu had killed him.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this process.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 215-23. [8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

174 Ruanda, Burundi, Ha, Karagwe). It is not known where these
101 pastoralists came from.

Because of cultural and physical similarities the Galla or Somali country of Southern Abyssinia has been advanced as their possible place of origin. As the invaders have completely adopted the Bantu language of the agriculturists, the lack of linguistic clues so important in such questions is a great setback to any historical reconstruction. It should be noted in this connexion that the use of
[114] the linguistic term 'Hamites' to denote Tutsi, who do not speak a Hamitic language at all, is unfortunate and misleading. Dr. Meinhard's suggestion of using a term not burdened with linguistic connotations such as 'Ethiopians' or 'Ethiopoids' should be considered.[11] The population movement which brought the
174 invaders to Ruanda is probably at least four centuries old. The
643 present ruler is traditionally the fortieth king of Ruanda. We know the names of thirty-nine predecessors, but it is possible that the list is incomplete. On the other hand it seems that the first nineteen are legendary figures. Taking account of this and assuming that a reign lasts about twenty years, we go back to the sixteenth century.[12]

174 As the Tutsi migration seems to have been gradual and peaceful, an infiltration rather than a conquest, it is probable that at the beginning their cattle grazed on the unoccupied grasslands. But the population increased as more Tutsi kept on entering the country and more land had to be tilled to feed them. Cattle were also increasing and the Hutu had to move from the most fertile soil, in the bottom of valleys, because during the dry season these places were the only ones where cattle could find fresh grass. This process must have been in operation for a few centuries to produce the situation as we know it now.

161 Statistics are not available for the 1900–10 period, with which
[174] this study is concerned, but we may from the present figures (with some modifications) get a fairly good idea of the situation at the beginning of this century. The population was estimated on 31 December 1949, to be 1,870,410 souls: in 1956, 2,374,136, which

[11] Cf. Meinhard, 1947a, p. 3.

[12] According to Meyer, 1913, the pastoral invasion took place in two ways. The first, at the beginning of this millenium reached the north-east of the Province; the second, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought them farther southward. According to Kagame and Delmas, the first Hamitic populations invaded the country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (Gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi), (1956), p. 9.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

000 Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court
361 happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century
644 the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

443 Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through
[437] other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from
[439] the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

121 The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the
[104] situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet.
146 The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[30] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as
[433] high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[30] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

181 point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to
571 spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is
554 useful to the speaker or expected from him and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a utilitarian usage of language.

5. ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

121 We have read the premise, as it were, into the Ruanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Ruanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question that we are not likely ever to know, such as a good knowledge of the Tutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Ruanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

174 Tutsi came into Ruanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into
178 the country inhabited by Hutu looked rather like a peaceful
564 infiltration, it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Hutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalization of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Ruanda inequality premise. It is possible that Tutsi had previously to their arrival in Ruanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

shaped the new Ruanda situation according to their ideology. Again, it is possible that some themes and types of organization of the Hutu cultivators were particularly capable of being used in the formation of the Ruanda ethos as I have described it. But a conquest evolving into a caste structure is sufficient to account for an inegalitarian premise. Even if prior to the conquest each of the two groups concerned has an egalitarian ideology, the establishment of hereditary groups, whereby the status of vanquishers and vanquished is perpetuated, suffices to give birth to a theory of inequality.

I am of the opinion that such a theory is a necessary 'superstructure' (in the Marxist sense) of a caste system. Undoubtedly, a body of inheritance laws, opportunities for a certain kind of education restricted to the wealthiest, a difference in languages, &c., may maintain for some time a high social power in the hands of the conquerors' descendents, even if the cultural ideology is that all men are born equal. But such a lack of internal coherence ('all men are born equal' versus 'political and economic power is restricted to those who are descendants of the conquerors') is very likely to result rapidly in an evolution from a caste system to a class society. A 'racial' theory seems the only ideology perfectly consistent with a caste structure. It is very probable that conquerors adopt it not only for consistency's sake, but because it is more efficient, more easily understood and accepted, particularly when different physical traits are characteristic of each caste.

It should be understood that when we speak of 'the adoption of an ideology by the conquerors', it is not meant that one day the conquerors made a conscious choice among various possible ideologies. Rather, once a caste system operates, the patterns of political domination and of economic exploitation require people to behave as if the upper caste members were by nature different from that of the lower caste members. When the 'idea behind' these behaviours is made more or less explicit, as in tales and proverbs, it is rationalized in terms of fundamental and inborn inequality.

If there is such a necessary link between caste systems and the premise of inequality, then to know whether the conqueror's ideology, prior to the conquest, was egalitarian or not is only an historical question; when the vanquisher settles and establishes a caste system, the inegalitarian ideology is produced, as its corollary.

175 Mutara Lwogera was also a successful warrior. He conquered
643 Bugoye and in 1876 added Kissaka to Ruanda by force of arms.

Lwabugiri Kigeri who was visited by Count Von Götzen, the first European to do so, was also a very belligerent ruler. He increased Ruanda's possessions in the Rutshuru Basin as far as Lake Edward.

175 In order to characterize the personality of Lwabugiri some-
643 what more exactly, we must mention that one of his chief delights
661 was stealing cows. If the owner of the cattle resisted, he was punished with confiscation for having the boldness to act against the muami [ruler]. If he did not resist, his cows, which he had learned to conceal, were simply taken away from him. These cow thefts with which Lwabugiri consciously promoted the splitting up of feudal possessions, as well as the constant wars, made him very troublesome to the Batutsi.

175 Without doubt the rule of Lwabugiri was a period of great
643 expansion and glory for Ruanda. The state enjoyed such a high reputation that neither the Arabs nor Stanley and Emin Pasha ventured to enter it. Lwabugiri undertook numerous campaigns, among them an unsuccessful one to Nkole (1891?). He wanted to get King Ntare's cows in order to supplement his own herds which had been very much decimated by disease. He waged war three times with Urundi, twice with Idjwi Island, three times against Bunyabungu, and twice with Kissaka. Moreover, he laid waste the country of Mulera three times in order to punish rebellious subjects, and he pillaged the Gana Mukari (1) three times in his

[113] 1. Brard, A., "Skizzen aus Ruanda [Ruanda Sketches]," Afrikabote, 1900-1901, p. 99.

ancestral province because of the revolt which was supposed to have taken place there. He was unsuccessful in his expeditions against Urundi. The two kings, Lwabugiri and Mwezi Kisabo (?), made peace with each other and built their settlements on the border between the two states, on the Akanjaru. The wars with the inhabitants of Idjwi Island were also only temporarily successful.

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[291] Dr. Kandt (1) says that Idjwi belongs to the Ruanda

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), pp. 517-518.

sphere of influence. Its inhabitants deny that they were former subjects of Ruanda, as the Banyaruanda maintain. Mihiggo's grandfather, Mwendo, had to pay tribute to Ruanda. His son, Kaweggo, tried to make himself independent, but Lwabugiri fought him (1886) and he had to flee to the island of Ugishushu. He was betrayed by his son, Nkudie, and fell into the hands of Kigeri who had him executed. After the king returned (1888), having been called back by unrest in Ruanda, the independent party formed around Mihiggo, another son, for Nkudie was executed by the king because he had betrayed his father. After a few years (1892 or 1893) Lwabugiri undertook a second expedition against Idjwi. The island was again conquered, and Mihiggo fled to Bunyabungu. In order to punish Bunyabungu for sheltering Mihiggo, Kigeri set out on an expedition against this country, but he became ill and died. With his death, the hour of liberation came for Idjwi, and Mihiggo returned as an independent ruler (1894).

The dying King Lwabugiri was brought back to Ruanda and died en route in Mukinjaga. It is said that he was poisoned by his courtiers who were tired of the endless wars. Not all of them were like the Batwa who were devoted to the king and regarded the wars as the best opportunity to consume a great deal of meat. Some accounts have it that the poison was prepared by his wife, Kanzogera, the mother of Musinga.

Lwabugiri pursued centralistic tendencies in his internal policy. It is said that he was credited with having broken up the large hereditary chieftainships and interspersed them territorially. This was probably the cause of the war with the later regent, Kabare, who allegedly was castrated, as well as the death of Kigeri. According to one version, Kabare was castrated by Lwabugiri in order to make it impossible for this ambitious man to try to become king. Another version has it that the young Kabare was caught with the favorite wife of the king and was punished for this. In revenge

175 Kabare is said to have killed all of Lwabugiri's sons except Musinga,
643 the son of his sister Kanzogera, after their mighty father died.
These accounts agree with a note by Von Beringe (2) referring to

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2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 39.

Mumusa, the queen of Mururwa in Mpororo: "Mhumse claimed that she was a wife of the deceased Sultan Lwabugiri of Ruanda and that she was sent here by him to escape the persecution of Chief Kawalle who [292] killed four of his sons. However, there is no longer any connection between Mhumse and Ruanda."

Mibambwe who was temporarily proclaimed king after the death of Lwabugiri was burned to death in his hut along with his entire family (1). Most of his brothers died also. Only

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 263.

Ishirangabo, however, was not considered for the rulership because he was a man dedicated to the spirit Ryangombe. Bilegea, a son of Lwabugiri, was missing from the time of his youth and was always regarded as a possible, dangerous pretender to the throne. His return to the country was very much feared by the rulers. (2)

Ibid., p. 264.

Musinga, whose father had cast him out, was taken in by a Muhutu and reared by him. It was only because no other son of Lwabugiri came to be considered that the neglected son of Kanzogera was appointed king. He ascended the throne as Juhi Musinga. As a result of his plebeian upbringing, the king had learned to eat goat's meat. This custom is said to have been adopted by the court Batutsi out of courtesy.

175 This fact would probably have caused the young ruler great
643 difficulties if it had not happened that three years after the death
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175 of Lwabugiri Captain Ramsay came to the country in 1897.
643 Musinga was recognized as the ruler. Captain Ramsay entered
648 into a special pact of blood brotherhood with him or at least with the man that was introduced to him as Musinga. (3) He reports:

[113]

3. Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 315.

"Thereupon I had to tie a string around Juhi, and he tied several strings around me; then we shook hands vigorously, and the king of Ruanda and I became blood brothers."

Since that time Musinga has been energetically supported by the government, which, through him, again has the entire country in hand. Musinga has at his disposal the Askari of the guard troops who in an emergency can teach his rebels a lesson. I had occasion to observe this in 1907 in Mulera. With the intervention of this new factor, the country has become orderly to an extent that formerly did not seem possible.

173 Kissaka. The history of Kissaka cannot be traced as far back as that of Ruanda.

Banyakissaka traditions about ancient times say that they, like the Banyoro and Baganda, came from the north, not from the south, like the Wasukuma.

[293] Kissaka has been a state since very ancient times. According to Busindja (1) tradition, the Kissaka rulers were Basinga.

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1. Van Thiele, Father H., "Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda [Businza under the Bahinda Dynasty]," Anthropos, 1911, p. 499.

One of these rulers was married to Nyakachende, the daughter of Ruhinda, and she bore him a successor. From then on the rulers of Kissaka were referred to as Bayango of Ruhinda.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

conquest: the procession of the victorious warriors, and the recitation of poems telling of the achievements of heroes. The whole country was mystically committed in the expedition through the king, the country's personification, who was magically taking part in it. The king and the queen-mother had (as the expedition leader) to sit motionless during the day of the battle (the army-chief in the field when deciding when to attack had to take into account the space of time necessary for a messenger to reach the court). The secrecy about the expeditions stressed their importance. Even after the battle was over, a messenger was sent to the court who could not tell anything about the expedition except that it was over. Then a few warriors were chosen by the army-chief to go and tell the king—and the king only—the story of the battle.

Ruanda was an aggressive neighbour. Its history, as it appears in the old traditions collected by Father Pagès for instance, is made up of numerous wars of annexation. The Abanyiginia dynasty started from about the centre of the present day Ruanda and expanded their domination progressively.

They were never permanently at peace with their neighbours, and when they had an alliance with some of them it was in order only to be free to concentrate their forces on others. They used any means that could ensure domination. In addition to direct attacks, they interfered in quarrels between smaller neighbours, helping one against the other and then overcoming both; they even murdered the chiefs and kings of small states.[19] Besides the territorial annexations they raided neighbouring countries for captives and cattle.

From the Ruanda point of view this policy of imperialism and looting did not require any rationalization. Their ethical obligations were limited to in-group relationships. One could not kill, steal from, or harm another Ruanda, but a foreigner was fair game. Ruanda people thought themselves to be quite different from people of other tribes, their land was the most important in the world and the country where Imana (the high god) came home every evening and spent the night. It was consistent with these beliefs to use out-group people for one's own purposes without the need for further justification.

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its

[19] See for instance Pagès, 1933, pp. 121 f.; pp. 298 ff.; pp. 554 ff.

OOD (which is basically demoralizing) and the sudden, unplanned rise to the level of their former masters, owing to prematurely granted rights of citizenship.... Many were unable to withstand this two-fold distortion. The primitive Blacks, however, have none of the defects transmitted to the spuriously civilized Blacks through our own errors." (1)

1. General Mangin, Regards sur la France d'Afrique /A Look Toward French Africa/, pp. 174-178.

Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, in speaking of "very primitive" societies, lists the causes which explain their stagnation, ... "concentration of their energies on tasks which are not, like industry, susceptible of improvement: once the game is killed or the fish caught, their efforts come to a stop only to begin again endlessly and with no ulterior goal. Hence, general equality ... no specialists to perfect the procedures, no "idlers" dedicated to speculation" ... (2).

2. Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J. Correspondant, January 25, 1929.

[443] [176] The same might be said of the Banyarwanda, who are cultivators, woodcutters, blacksmiths, basket makers, potters, etc., and who have merely imitated their predecessors and made no innovations. To sum up this matter of stagnation, let us add that it would be wrong and unjust to attribute it to a lack of intelligence /68/ on the part of the Blacks. Among many other causes, it comes chiefly from their lack of method and their lack of initiative, which are due to the long isolation in which they have lived. As we have said before, the facilities and resources offered by nature to the Africans are also partly responsible for this. The intermittent work required for their daily sustenance demanded no great efforts. The Blacks, with their trust in nature, their satisfaction with their fate, their lack of artificial needs and cares, and no worries about the morrow, would "let themselves live" from day to day. Let us hear what Mr. Delafosse, the

Essay on the Common Law of Ruanda

J. Vanhove

Preface

101 Beyond the eastern shore of Lake Kivu extends a country of
563 high hills called Ruanda. Nestling in banana groves, innumerable huts cling to the hillside, their smoke rising to the sky, and on the summits the brisk wind sways the pink grasses of the pastures where long-horned cattle graze. The exceptionally dense population con-
[161] sists of about 3,000,000 Bahutu of Bantu origin who are dominated by some tens of thousands of Batutsi, Hamitic shepherds who have probably come down from the Ethiopian plateaus. Finally, here and there, Batwa pygmoids, potters and hunters, live apart from the other natives who despise them.

183 Europeans who first studied the customs of the country dis-
671 covered to their surprise that they showed a number of points in common with our feudalism. The tenure of land and of cattle as well as the dependence of persons are under a [4] strict regulation which the
[643] ruler of Ruanda has the absolute power to modify but which has, in fact, remained unchanged throughout the ages.

• 177 Our occupation has obviously had the effect of modifying the
183 customs in many ways. For example, we could not approve of the brutal evictions and attempts on life and liberty made in the name of the right of the strongest. Evangelization has also introduced into the heart of the native society notions of justice and gentleness which are very different from the natives' original conceptions. However, despite
177 the efforts of our civil servants and our missionaries to attack what is
183 most to be condemned in it, native customs still largely holds its
563 sway due to the influence of the great Batutsi chiefs, who are eager to maintain their authority intact, and also due to that of the sorcerers, toothsayers, rain makers, and many others, who attempt to maintain the traditional law by playing on the credulity and superstitious mind of the Banyarwanda [Banyaruanda] and thus protect their prestige and their revenues. In addition, while realizing the protection we give them in repressing arbitrary actions, the Bahutu submit to the changes we

177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

671 The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous
184 population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
563 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

114 Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pagès, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

121 Nevertheless, we do not believe that a more or less complete account of the customs of private and public law of Ruanda has ever been prepared. This is what we have modestly attempted to do in the
[125] present work by inserting observations gathered in a questionnaire set up especially to facilitate [6] the study of native law (1). We have

1. J. Vanhove, Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique, Brussels, printer Lesigne, 1939.

not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

837 husband and returns to her parents. The latter will attempt to persuade
586 her to return to her husband, for if she refused they would be obliged to refund the dowry.

The husband who finds out that his wife has committed adultery (gusambana, lit., to take another man) enjoins her not to do it again. The second time he strikes her. If she continues, he repudiates (gusendwa) her publicly. A repudiated wife is brought into disrepute and finds it difficult to marry again. Sometimes the adulterous wife is sent away at night, out of consideration for the family, so that her offense is not known by everybody. [29]

837 Formerly, if the husband surprised his wife in the act, he
586 would have the man arrested and beaten. Then before witnesses he
684 would repudiate his wife. If the accomplice was a nobleman like
563 himself, he was allowed to leave with the woman. But, usually, if he was married, he would return to his wife who would merely make a jealous scene. When the lover was a Mututsi umugaragu he was deprived of his property and exiled far away. If he was a Muhutu, the husband could demand from the Mwami permission to impale him like a cattle thief, or else he would thrash him soundly and have him driven away from the hill. An accomplice of the Mwami's adulterous wife was always killed. In none of these cases was the woman seriously ill-treated.

684 Our occupation has put a stop to cruel punishments, and at the
586 present time the wife's accomplice is not punished at all. Adultery
177 leads only to pecuniary reparation (itshyiru) by the lover. On the other hand, divorce is pronounced to the husband's benefit and the dowry is refunded to him, at least if there are no children by the marriage.

848 If the adulterous woman is pregnant, she will always claim that
586 the child she is expecting is her husband's. Being in doubt, the hus-
837 band takes the child (umusambanano) (1) as soon as it is weaned. He

1. General term designating an illegitimate child, including that born of adultery or incest.

also provides for his wife's needs but does not consent to take up again their life in common.

If the husband is sure that the child is the fruit of adultery, he has nothing more to do with his wife, and her parents adopt the child.

643 of his great chiefs to cede it to him. The latter yields with good
[425] grace and usually receives some cattle in exchange.

The Mwami is an absolute monarch by divine right who
643 knows no other rule but his will, even his caprice. (2) In the past,
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2. Hence the proverb: Luyose higirwa n'Unwami, "all depends on the King."

before our occupation, he could with impunity torture, mutilate, or kill anyone who had displeased him. His criminal sentences conformed to the customs of the country, which acknowledged this [87] formidable right, and no one thought of rebelling against his decisions (1).

●[177]

1. The Mwami's right of life and death was abolished in 1917 at the time of the occupation of the country by our troops.

In the same way he is high judge and makes the final settlement in disputes, even the slightest, among his subjects.

Finally, the king is the supreme legislator of the people. With the help of the abiru, he sees that the common law is kept, but he has the sole power of modifying the country's law if and whatever he wishes.

643 He announces his decisions (amategeko) at the door of his rugo,
[692] where people from all parts have congregated to pay homage or demand justice. The intumwa (messengers) are then charged to make known the Mwami's orders to the people of the different provinces.

643 In addition to his Mututsi name (Musinga, Rudahigwa, etc.),
551 the Mwami receives on his accession a king's name (Yuhi, Mutara, etc.). These names are repeated periodically; thus the present Mwami is Mutara III.

The king is sometimes given a surname such as Rwabugiri Sezisoni (Merciful, Clement) (2).

[192]

2. Foreign word originating in Buhima, east of Ruanda.

1:Vanhove--93A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

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[opp. p. 107]

One of the many native tribunals instituted since the Belgian occupation.

(Official photograph, Colonial Office)

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148.) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

304 around Lake Victoria, among the Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha,
171 Wassumbwa, etc. -- while, according to H. Rehse, the Basiba [Haya] do not tattoo themselves -- so it is much more likely to assume diffusion from the Bantu and Nilotes to the Batussi and a further development of tattooing by the latter. The tattoos of the Somali, Galla, Massai [Masai], etc., look quite different. A report by H. H. Johnston gives some indication of the wider context. According to him, the crescent-shaped scar tattoo, of which he gives a photograph (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 569), is also found among the Bakonjo [Konjo], who are probably the oldest Bantu race [30] in Unjoro, Toro, and Ankole, while the large mass of the Banjoro [Nyoro] in Unjoro, who are an important mixed race consisting of Bantu, Nilotic, and Bahima elements, do not tattoo themselves.

304 In Urundi I did not observe any tattooing on women and children. It was impossible to find out anything definite about the meaning of the patterns. I would doubt that they are intended to represent horns of cattle, as has been claimed by a missionary.

"Decorative disfigurements" of the ears (ear blocks), nose (nose pegs), the lips (pelele), the teeth (notches or filing), or other parts of the body are found in Urundi neither among the Batussi nor among the Bahutu, and this is also true of Ruanda. The Batwa, however, sharpen the two upper incisors. Also, neither cutting of the genitalia among either sex, deformation of the head, nor other such things are practiced. It is not until one descends to the west, east, or south from the interlacustrine plateau that one once more finds tribes with disfigurements of the body.

[287] Urundi is still the country of clothing made from barkcloth
439 (impusu). Except for the peripheral areas in the southeast, south,
177 and west where foreign trade, to which the rest of the country has been barred until recently, supplies cotton material, a piece of "Amerikani" or a cotton blanket used for clothing is still a rarity in Urundi. It was not until recently that more cotton material was introduced into the country by the few licensed traveling merchants, the missions, and the passing caravans

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

291 Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the [854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

287 Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No. 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials 386 in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 12a). *Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color.* By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with [531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

412 (uruwati) made of two thin boards held together by several
411 wrappings. In the same manner as the quiver, the sheath is often
[531] decorated with carved crescents or zigzag patterns (Fig. 9).
The knives are often carried by a strap running from the right shoulder to the left hip, like a shoulder belt. The much smaller
412 knives, 10 to 15 centimeters [35] long, which are found more often and which are of the same shape and used for smaller carving jobs, are either worn on a string around the neck or over the left upper arm. Only in western Lower Urundi on Lake
[177] Tanganyika can we find knives with fine copper wire nicely wound around them; there they are due to Congo influence and are produced by Wawira [Bira] blacksmiths (No. 19, 133).
[326] In Upper Urundi proper, the Bahutu and especially the Batwa blacksmiths are the suppliers of knives.

Fighting clubs (uwuhiri) which were once generally used
411 all over the region have become rather rare in Urundi; as among the Massai and the Wadschagga [Chagga] these former weapons have been degraded into a show piece or toy of the men. They consist of a beautifully planed piece of hardwood, about one third of a meter in length, which at the end has been carved into three or four edges and at the handle end is slightly thickened.

Shields (ingabo) are much more rare. They have com-
411 pletely lost their importance as a weapon of defense and, as in
554 Ruanda, they have become merely the emblem of a chief or of a family (perhaps the escutcheon of a clan) (Plate 44). The king possesses several shields and each chief and his bodyguards have one each which are painted differently. The Batwa do not have any shields and are not allowed to carry any. The round shield, up to one half meter in diameter, is carved of wood it has a wooden grip and is painted with white and red segments of circles of various types. There are also shields which have reeds plaited around them (see pp. 90-91 and Plate 53) and others of identical shape made of cowhide which occur even more rarely. The same shape and ornamentation of the wooden shields and quivers recur both among the northern Bahima in Ruanda and among the southern ones in Ufipa (cf. illustration in No. 47, p. 76).

244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.
The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West
Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara
is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers
about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis
guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000
to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching
to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with
300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the
Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited
neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the
chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness.
For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical
to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can
be made (see above, pp.24, 31). This tree is really planted and
cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by
the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily
in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The ma-
jority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and
only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After
cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded
in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole
outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded
pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water
so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped
into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for
the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil
388 for making soap; [54] only the people of the Tanganyika area
● 177 have learned from the Arabs and Wasuaheli how to mix oil with potash to make soap (kifefe) which is traded in fist-sized balls.

Apart from the cultivated plants mentioned above, the
222 Barundi and their women and children collect a number of wild
262 plants or parts of these plants to be used as food or condiments. There are, for instance, the stinging nettle, whose leaves are boiled as "spinach," and sorrel, also cooked as a vegetable. The fruit of the eggplant (Solanum esculentum) -- reverted to the wild state? -- is eaten raw or roasted. They also collect edible mushrooms which are eaten either raw or cooked, red pepper
[263] (intore) whose pods are used for seasoning, and various berries eaten as delicacies by women and children, especially blackberries which are abundant everywhere.

The location and arrangement of the fields (umurima)
241 in Urundi does not differ much from Ruanda. One thing that soon strikes the observer is that in Urundi, with the exception of the western mountain areas, terraced fields are much more rare than in Ruanda where they cover entire mountain slopes and constitute the characteristics appearance of the cultivated areas. In Urundi the fields extend predominantly over level ground, either on the broad ridges and plateaus or at the bottom of the valleys. They are always close to the huts and, of course, to water. No furrows are drawn on most fields; their surface is merely loosened with a hoe. In the case of freshly cleared land, the pulled grass and shrubs are piled up in the field, left to dry, and burned. Then the ashes, as fertilizer, are worked into the ground with the hoe. A similar method is used at the edge of papyrus swamps. After the water level has receded, the papyrus thicket is cut down over the whole extent of the extremely fertile alluvial land whose surface has dried. The hacked-off papyrus fronds are burned as soon as they have dried out (Plate 22a). Then the roots are dug up, narrow drainage ditches are dug, and the plant ash is spread over the field as fertilizer. Finally sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and beans are planted in the little holes which have been dug. They come up quickly. If land is cleared on a hill slope, the fields are laid out in long narrow strips which follow the contour horizontally. These are made as level as

4. Stimulants

276 The Murundi knows only two narcotics: tobacco and alcohol (beer). The method of cultivating tobacco (itabi) has already been discussed on page 53 . It has also been mentioned that the Barundi, except for old men and women (including the Batwa), do not smoke much tobacco while all of them are inveterate snuff-takers. Their neighbors, the Banjaruanda, as well as the Baganda and Banjoro, are habitual smokers but do not take snuff. This is true of both men and women. This striking difference between them and the Barundi is probably based on the quality of Urundi tobacco which, as a result of insufficient care, is very strong. Wherever tobacco pipes are seen among the Barundi [Fig. 11 appears here in the original text] -- which is mainly in the north and especially in the northwest -- their shapes are the same as those of the Banjaruanda, and the Batwa make them out of black clay in the same manner as in Ruanda (Plate 49 and Fig. 11). The pipe stem is a piece of reed. On Lake Tanganyika [59] water pipes are also used. [177] They are made of a calabash with a clay pipe bowl inserted at the side and have been taken over from the Wawira of the Congo.

Taking snuff (kusomera), on the other hand, is so popular among all Barundi, men, women and half-grown children as to constitute almost a national pastime or "national vice" (Plate 28). If only it were not such an unappetizing habit! Theirs is not the relaxed, almost graceful snuffing, so full of feeling, that one may observe among the Wadschagga of the Kilimanjaro region. Among the latter tribe a little finely ground tobacco powder is poured onto the back of the hand from a small box embroidered with pearls and then gently inhaled with the nose as though they were smelling a flower. The Murundi takes his snuff in the following manner. First of all, he uses three little instruments: a small goat's horn which is the tobacco container (ihembe) and is carried over the shoulder on a string; a wooden bowl for moistening the tobacco (Fig. 12), and a little nose clamp (umunengo) made from a small cleft piece of wood which

[Text continues on page 89]

857 524 is used to make a dress for the doll which is then carried on the back as mothers carry their children.

[65] When they are not drinking or gossiping, the adult 526 men spent their leisure time shooting arrows at a stick placed at a distance of up to 100 meters or more or by lance-throwing contests at any distant object. In the Tanganyika region a quiet 524 sitting game in which only two persons can participate is very popular. It is a game played on a board (ikisoro) resembling [177] our checker board. It is known to the Wasuaheli as mbao and probably has been imported from there to the Tanganyika area by way of Unjamwesi. From Tanganyika it also penetrated to a few chiefs of central Urundi. The board is rounded off at the edges and has four rows of little bowl-shaped hollows of which there are 32 altogether. Small stones or fruit pits are placed in them. By a complicated system of moves and counter-moves by which one opponent may take stones from the other, one player finally wins all the stones of his opponent. A precise description would lead us too far here, and in any case the game is known from the East African coastal areas.

Weule described (loc. cit., p. 52) the game of patience, ikifundo, that is played in Usige on the north shore of Lake [177] Tanganyika. It was probably an import from the Arabs or the Wasuaheli. I have not seen it myself.

There are also other widespread games, as, for instance, the string games, which I have not seen played by children or adults.

535 Dances (ivino, uruvino) are included here since they are to a certain extent mere "games." It is true that only a minority of dances are executed for their own sake as amusement; most of them are connected with some family, social, war, or religious celebration and are danced only on these special occasions. They all resemble each other in form, however, and may be described together here, except the religious ones which we shall discuss in the chapter on "Religion" (see p. 127).

Like the Banjaruanda, the Barundi are enthusiastic dancers and dance whenever they have the opportunity. "To amuse oneself, to play, to sing and to dance are synonymous words. They dance well, elegantly (especially the women), even with

436 An elongated, violet bead, with white stripes, inganga, is more valuable: one inganga bead equals one kete of samsam beads. Still more valuable are the thick white amaguru beads; a double necklace of these is valued at 10 kete of samsam beads. In addition to these, there are, especially in the lake region, medium-sized blue beads and reddish and white ones with a lacquer-like sheen, also large spindle-shaped white beads with red circles, and others. All these types, however, do not have a fixed monetary value, [77] like those mentioned above; their exchange value fluctuates. Yellow, green, and black beads are not accepted anywhere.

435 Naturally, the available stock of beads and the law of supply and demand also determine the value of the "monetary" beads. In general, these were the rates of exchange which formerly applied in the interior: 5 bananas = 1 heller, 1 bunch of about 20 bananas = 1 kete, more than 2 double handfuls of flour = 1 kete, 1 handful of salt = 1 kete, 1 pot of beer = 3 kete, 1 iron hoe = 6 kete, 1 pot of honey = 1 ifundo, 1 goat = 3 ifundo, 1 sheep = 4 ifundo, 1 bull = 5 to 10 ingoje, 1 cow = 20 ingoje. At present, one goat costs as much as 3 to 4 rupees in the interior, and all other prices have risen proportionately.

439 435 Cotton material which was formerly strictly banned by the chiefs is now accepted eagerly in the interior. The most popular brand is the ordinary white "amerikani" of which 1 gora of 30 ells [an ell is between 55 and 80 centimeters] is valued at approximately 12 rupees in the interior. The "lesso" or "kanga," printed materials with brown patterns which are popular in Ruanda, are gradually being introduced all over Urundi.

804 The double handful (kumaschi) or, on the markets, a pumpkin shell of equal capacity is the generally accepted dry measure for flour, grain, beans, etc. Larger items, like manioc roots, sweet potatoes, bananas etc., are sold by the 804 piece. There are no domestic weights. The farsalah (35 pounds 177 Brit.) used all over East Africa since Arab times has only been

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
285 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[177] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
[291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

322 412 The Barundi do not have a special tool for wood carving, only the two small chopping knives, the sickle-shaped, long-handled cutting knife (Plate 46, No. 4) with which we are already familiar from the discussion of agriculture (p. 49), and the short and long knives which are used for all kinds of daily jobs (Fig. 16). To round and smooth spear shafts, a small piece of wood is stuck on a small double-edged knife, at an angle. Then the knife is moved back and forth along the shaft until the wood has been scraped and given the desired shape. The wooden arm discs, after having been cut from a block of wood, are shaved with a knife and polished with fig leaves (which are probably flinty) until they have the elegant, mathematically correct shape and smooth surface which we admire in them. [Fig. 16 appears here in the original text.]

The simple parallel linear decorations which are occasionally seen on wooden utensils and calabashes are seldom carved [531] but generally burnt in by a kind of poker-work. For this purpose small notches are made in an old knife or spear point so that several tooth-like points are formed. This iron is made red-hot and then passed over the wood; its points burn a number of absolutely parallel lines into the surface (No. 19, p. 367). Apart from this, saws for cutting wood are as unknown as drills and nails. Because of this, holes are also made in wood by means of red-hot iron. As everywhere else in East Africa where saws are not available, boards or beams are carved from thick logs by chopping and cutting chips and splinters from both sides of the block until a board of the desired thickness remains. For this reason the traveler in these regions can hardly present the chiefs with a more welcome gift than a sturdy handsaw, a hand-drill, hammers, iron nails, and other tools.

322 532 Nowhere in Urundi or Ruanda did I see either human or animal figures scratched or cut into the surface of wood or carved from wood. Only among the Barundi on Lake Tanganyika [177] does one find carved wooden figures, an art which was introduced from the Congo region. Finally, the decorations found 322 on many -- not all -- of the wooden [82] hand discs deserve to be 531 mentioned. They are inlaid with iron, copper or brass spirals,

[Text continues on page 124]

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi
326 is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since re-
177 portedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe.
[412] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes
[411] were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that
135 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained
316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19,
325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The
326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas.
[439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

776 The relation between these two groups is similar to that of the ruling caste of the Batussi to the Bahutu (No. 19, p. 213). They are all personified beings whom we may call simply gods. A whole series of them bears the same names as former historical personalities among the Barundi or neighboring peoples. Everything that is said about them proves that these gods were originally heroes, chiefs, and kings of the people. As a result of their apparently superhuman characteristics and acts, they were worshipped as heroes and have gradually been elevated to the rank of gods. The hero has not been formed after the image of god, but the god after the image of the hero (No. 43, p. 280). Nor are these gods personifications of great natural phenomena, as, for example, the sun, moon, clouds, or thunder. The Murundi regards these phenomena simply as the residence and the expressions of the abasimu who inhabit them but not the personification of individual gods (No. 43, p. 358 ff.).

776 177 The name-bearing hero-gods of the Barundi who have been [120] vested with the characteristics of superhuman personality and immortality are -- judging by the attributes and histories ascribed to them -- partly popular gods of the indigenous Bantu and Batwa and partly an import of the Hamitic conquerors, partly also a mixture of both these elements. Van der Burgt does not believe that the deified heroes were originally Hamitic princes but emphasizes (reported by letter) that "most of the names of the gods belong to Bantu religion and are Bantu words." He maintains that in addition to the language the Batussi also acquired the gods of the Bahutu, but that the Batwa have some gods of their own, for example, Indagarra. However, among the 30 names of Barundi gods listed by van der Burgt ~~(No. 19,~~ p. 214), the following appear to me to be of Hamitic origin, or at least not genuine Bantu gods: Riangombe, Umugassa, Wamara, Kagoro, Ruwambo, Ruhanga, Rugba. Of these, Riangombe (Ljangombe, Djangombi) is also worshipped as a god in the Bahima states of Ruanda, Kisiba, Mpororó, Ankole, and others. He is thought to have been a Ruanda-Mutussi, the pupil of the first Ruhinda, and it is said that he distinguished himself by his great magic power (see also p. 188 [not translated]). Umugassa

776 or Mugascha is worshipped as a god of streams and of rain in
Uganda ("Mukessa," see Anthropos III, p. 214), in Ankole,
177 Kisiba, Karagwe (Lake Mugascha), Kissaka, and Ussuwi. According to the tradition of the Basiba, he was a former king of the Sese Islands in the northern part of Lake Victoria (No. 31, p. 128; No. 27, p. 110; No. 34, pp. 518-519). Wamara is worshipped in Ankole and in Kisiba as the spirit of the dead souls. According to Banjankole tradition, he was a king of the Batschwesi in Baera (Uganda) who were a Hamitic people different from the Bahima, and he conquered Ankole. According to Rehse, he was "formerly a great ruler to whom the nations from Nyanza to the Congo State owed allegiance" (No. 31, pp. 126-127; No. 34, p. 520). Kagoro is regarded in Kisiba as a grandchild of Wamara (No. 31, p. 133). Rugaba or Lugaba, who is worshipped as the creator of man and cattle in Kisiba and in Ankole (No. 27, p. 108), was, according to van der Burgt, "the oldest king of the Wahinda" (No. 19, p. 219). Rehse writes of the gods of the Basiba that "the description of this world of spirits would at the same time represent the oldest history of Kisiba as well as that of all the central African countries." This also applies to the hero-gods of the Barundi. It would be a rewarding task to study these religious sources, especially for missionaries!

776 The Basiba worship a supreme god named Rugaba as the creator of the world and the highest giver of grace, but they never offer sacrifices to him (No. 31, p. 125). In the same manner the Barundi and Banjaruanda (No. 28, pp. 1-13) worship Imana. He is never offered sacrifices or prayers, as an unapproachable supreme being. People prefer to turn to gods who are closer to human beings, who have once been human beings themselves, like Riangombe, Kiranga, Wamara, and others. Although he is conceived of as the personified creator and ruler of the world, Imana is the only one in the abode of the gods of the Barundi whose name is sometimes used as a
776 general term for the world of the spirits. Imana is simply "the
778 divine," "the godhead." Imana is also the term for all that is sacred to the Murundi: the sacred trees, the sacred steer, the

797 For all these national, social, and political reasons, the Batussi would also reject Islam if at some time in the future it should attempt to gain a foothold in this country which so far has been hardly accessible to foreign penetration. The memory of the battles they fought against Arab slave hunters only intensifies the Murundi's rejection of it.

The missionaries, however, continue their work untiringly in spite of little expectation of spreading the gospel among the Barundi as long as the Batussi remain the rulers. Such idealism and firmness of belief is indeed admirable. For many years only the Catholic "White Fathers" were active in this area. In 1896 they founded the first mission in Mujaga (east Urundi; Plate 29b), and later they opened other missions in Mugera (central Urundi), Marienberg (west Urundi), Mariensee (north-eastern Urundi). The Protestant Neudettelsbach Mission began its activity in Iruwura (northwest Urundi) only in 1910. The founding of a second mission in northwest Urundi followed in 1912.

Due to the predominantly negative attitude of the Barundi, 797 very little cultural work has been accomplished of the kind 177 which prepares for and accompanies actual missionary work: teaching basic school subjects, guidance in handicrafts, the spread of innovations in agriculture and stockbreeding. The medical activity of the missionaries seems still to be more efficacious than anything else in winning the confidence of the people.

In the Batussi states of Ruanda and Uha which have been inaccessible to the outside world for such a long time, the position is the same. On the other hand, the adjoining areas of Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Ihangiro, where the people are less divided by differences of caste and race and where there is no strict Batussi rule, have been open to foreign influences for a much longer period and there the work of the missionaries has been far more successful. Only time can tell whether the prospects for Christianization will also improve in Urundi. Most probably this will come about once the power of the Batussi rulers has been destroyed.

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

462 Consequently the men folk, even when they do not
461 cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably certain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them : if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

444 You see Barundi who buy goods on one market and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

The evolution in progress

178 Most chiefs have been converted and have accord-
● 177 ingly adopted monogamy : the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished : some corvées are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs : already the *ntore*[1] have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendanyi*[2] obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and
[436] money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate barional ex-

[p. 16 (A)]

[1] [a type of vassal — Analyst]

[2] [messenger attendant — Analyst]

178 changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground.
177 Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which
[241] grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of famine ; coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps to pay the tax-collector).

178 Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type,
177 closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neigh-
361 bourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres)
563 or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly foreigners : Belgian officials, European traders (Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *baswahili* (Islamized negroes). It remains however that they are an entirely new feature in a country with such a widely dispersed population.

Conclusions

361 I thought I could draw your attention to some details of the curious Urundi organization : a dense
571 population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and habitable land according to the geographic possibilities, without any orientation centres (the few habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce anything like demographic concentration) ; the small part played by neighbourhood relations, the predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating man-to-man dependance, or in other words the primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relationships.

Such an organization was possible in a country almost completely closed to foreign influence, without either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure and must be related to conditions both ethnographical and geographical. This organization is
[177 giving way under the influence of European ad-
178] ministration, of the development of trade, and of a new economy based more and more upon monetary transactions.

[p. 16 (B)]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

THE KINGDOM OF RUANDA

By J. J. MAQUET

121 THE world-view of a people refers to a kind of reality which is not directly observable. We can observe things and behaviour, but not ideas or mental attitudes. These have to be inferred. Furthermore, although the concepts and propositions which make up the world-view of the Banyarwanda[1] are all arrived at by induction, they do not possess the same logical status. They are located, so to speak, on different levels of abstraction. Some are arrived at by immediate inference from observation, as when we say, for instance, that for Banyarwanda 'the invisible world is a fearful reality'. This statement may be immediately inferred from the behaviour of the Ruanda people: their words, when they tell us their beliefs about the action of the spirits of the dead, and their behaviour if they are threatened by them. On the other hand, a statement such as 'strictly contractual relationships are inconceivable for a Munyarwanda' is much more abstract because it is reached by successive stages from an analysis of the political organization of Ruanda. The validity of the two kinds of statement is not necessarily affected by their degree of abstraction. Even a proposition which seems very far removed from its factual foundation may be checked by the observation of other relevant facts.

Ideas concerning the place of man in the world, his destiny, his main values, his attitudes in relation to his fellow men, the rules of his behaviour, and the meaning of the invisible world, may find expression in many kinds of social phenomena. However, as might be expected, some of these phenomena are particularly significant, as, for instance, folk-tales concerning the creation of the world and the arrival of the Batutsi in the country, proverbs, and forms of cult. To these special attention has been given.

The validity of an unstated cultural premiss will, of course, be established with more certainty if it is found implied in several and very different cultural phenomena. For instance, an analysis of the political structure may lead to the discovery of the principle of the fundamental inequality of the three castes of ancient Ruanda. The same principle is also implied in tales explaining the origin of the three groups and the sources of their social roles.

121 This study refers to the period when the Ruanda cult had not yet been subjected to the impact of Western culture. This is not very far back in 177 time, for it seems that the first white man to be seen in Ruanda was Count von Götzen, who travelled through the country with a German scientific-military expedition in 1894. The first permanent occupation of the country was not more than fifty years ago, and important changes in the culture have

[1] The inhabitants of Ruanda.

[p. 164]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

been brought only during the past thirty years. The present Ruanda culture has lost the coherence that existed in pre-European days. Those who have become more closely associated with alien activity, and have therefore felt its influence more constantly, now share a culture made up in part of their ancestral way of life and in part of their interpretation of the Belgian variety of Western culture as it operates in a colonial situation. Even those who have not been brought into direct contact with whites feel that their old patterns of life are losing their validity. But that more or less hidden part of the old culture, consisting of basic assumptions on the relationships of man with the world and with other men, has suffered the least change. To be sure, the legends of the descent of the first Batutsi meet with more scepticism than in the past, but the fundamental beliefs that this story reflects are still profoundly embedded in the Ruanda ethos. Even when new institutions, based on assumptions conflicting with the earlier ones, are imposed under external pressure and adopted, the principles shaping the older institutions will subsist and, if participation in the new institutions is unchecked, these will be completely reinterpreted in accordance with the former premises. Some manifestations of the continuing existence of the ancient assumptions in the contemporary context will be considered here, but we shall be mainly concerned with the Ruanda world-view as it was at the beginning of this century.[1]

Ruanda is a highland country in East Africa lying in the region delimited by lakes Kivu, Victoria, and Tanganyika. Its area is 24,500 square kilometres; its population amounts to almost 2 million inhabitants, the highest density in Africa south of the Sahara. Three socio-'racial' castes are to be

[1] Much of the material used in this study was collected by the author during two years' work (1950–1) in Ruanda as a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.). The author was very much helped in his field research by Dr. E. Finoulst and Dr. G. De Clercq during their six-month course of training under his direction. Extensive and valuable information has been found in the published literature on Ruanda, especially studies by Father A. Arnoux, Abbé L. de Lacger, Abbé Alexis Kagame, the late Father A. Pagès, Mr. G. Sandrart, Father Schumacher, and Mr. J. Vanhove. The author is also grateful to the Abbé Kagame for having placed at his disposal some of his manuscripts. In formulating the conceptual and theoretical scheme used in this paper, the author has relied considerably on the teaching and works of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn of Harvard University. He is immensely indebted for his fundamental training in anthropology to the teaching staff of London University and particularly to Professor Daryll Forde. Mr. Lawrence Oschinsky has kindly corrected the manuscript. A short bibliography is given at the end, but it has not been felt necessary to document this study at every point, nor indeed was this possible, since it was written in the field with the use of a very restricted library.

This is an essay in the etymological meaning of the word. If the underlying configurations of a culture constitute its most important part, since they provide a key to the interrelatedness of apparently unconnected phenomena and to the meaning of apparently incomprehensible behaviour, they are also the most elusive realities. They evade direct observation and, often, direct interrogation. The anthropologist, therefore, must be sure that his inferences are logically acceptable not only to his own mind but also to the minds of the participants in the culture he studies. All this requires a thorough knowledge of the overt aspects of a culture and a long familiarity with them. The author is painfully aware that he has not gone very deeply into the ethos of Ruanda. This is only an attempt at a synthesis of the results so far obtained in researches which are still proceeding.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

577 qualification for the happy one is not to live a blameless life on earth, but to
776 undergo initiation into the *Ryangombe* cult.
775

Thus the ethics of the Banyarwanda are not integrated on a religious
577 basis such as the will of God. What is the principle of integration, or rather, we should first ask, are their ethical conceptions integrated? On the surface they consist, like any moral code, of a multiplicity of prohibitions, orders, and exhortations. Have they achieved a synthesis of these separate elements by reducing the multiplicity to one or a few principles? Or, what amounts to the same thing, could they give a definition of good and evil?

577 In Ruanda a great number of particular rules are subsumed under general
183 principles such as: do not do what is harmful to people of your group or of your country; do what people related to you would like; submit to your superiors. Principles such as these are already on a higher level of abstraction than the particular rules. When informants are asked to account for a given rule or principle they give as the final justification: 'It has always been done that way in Ruanda.' We may perhaps express the Ruanda definition of good and evil in these terms: That is good (or evil) which tradition has defined as good (or evil).

Tradition is indeed a powerful force in cultures which, as in Ruanda, have been isolated for centuries from world currents. Each generation is more conscious of the importance of what it has received from the preceding one than is possible when much of what constitutes its way of life comes not from its ancestors but from some other social tradition. Moreover, their relations with their neighbours whom they frequently subjugated have persuaded Banyarwanda of the excellence of the ways of life transmitted by their forefathers. In such a situation the traditional character of a rule appears to be sufficient justification. If the ancestors, who were so wise, behaved in that way it would be preposterous to question it.

But it would be misleading to picture the Banyarwanda as following blindly the moral rules framed in a remote past without having any idea of their purpose. Some old men have a clear understanding of the social significance of certain rules. They explained, for example, that the duality of the
[562 rules concerning adultery committed by the husband or by the wife was
837] accounted for by the importance of the wife's function in procreation. She has thus a greater responsibility than the husband for maintaining the integrity of the family.

577 Does this kind of thinking extend so far as independence of tradition?
183 Some informants told us that, apart from the authority of custom, some actions were thought of as dishonourable in themselves. But these in-
● 177 formants were Christians and, apparently, very much influenced by their religion. Moreover, they could not quote a clear case of conflict between tradition and ethics.

577 No moral code can achieve an absolute character in all its precepts.
183 Prohibitions and commands frequently relate only to certain categories of
673 persons and situations. Even the Christian Western ethic, which realizes to

643 along the road, to the sanctimonious applause of his entourage. Once
661 he even tried his spear against one of his chief lieutenants. The latter had the audacity to evade the blow, pick up the weapon, and hurl it back at him with equal skill. The king managed to duck and showed no displeasure, at least on that day, He even congratulated the man for his boldness and courage and said that he was a "man" (umugabo).

This scene was enacted more than once during the same reign. The unfortunate men who served as targets to the spirited monarch, however, lacked sufficient audacity, and especially good fortune, to get away... with such amiable words.

Under the reign of the present monarch, Yuhi IV Musinga,
[687] from the time of his accession to the throne and prior to European penetration, the famous Ndamutsa drum often heralded one or several executions. Aside from the crime of sorcery it was enough to be denounced, rightly or wrongly, as having spoken poorly of the king and queen mother. Such crimes were punished on short order and briskly.

Public rumor has it that the young king tried his first gun shot on a madman. He hit him point blank.

The courtiers who were present at this murder scene emitted frenzied bravos to applaud the supreme skill of His Majesty.

[177] European influence and supervision alone managed to bring to an end this state of affairs and this kind of behavior, which in the natives' way of thought only served to accentuate the majesty and power of the king. /381/ It does not follow that this change made the pagan Blacks any happier, for they were awed by the ancient customs and the bloody displays of brute force.

671 In principle, justice was the king's justice, since as the saying goes, "the king is the law." For the sake of truthfulness, however, it must be added that there is a set of laws in existence. It is certainly not a complete code, but it nevertheless includes a series of laws and practices adding up to a veritable common law which, had it been rigorously applied, would have avoided many an extortion and cruelty. Gradually, over the centuries, a special procedure had been established for litigations bearing on property rights, inheritance rights, matrimonial rights and bride price, physical damage such as

695 in the liquid, such are the ingredients of this drink which is prepared for God's judgment.

A small piece of iron, kadigi, which is believed to have a magic property, is tossed into the vessel. Gravity and solemnity are the rule during sessions of this kind. A drinking tube is given to the accused to take the poison. Some people are made seriously ill by it, while others are able to "relieve" themselves almost immediately, which goes to prove their innocence.

F. The chick test. The accused are given small chicks which have just hatched. Each of them must hold one in his hand under the supervision of watchmen who are supposed to prevent tricks and infractions in the proceedings. The chick which survives the lack of food for the longest period of time (about one day and one night) proves "in its own way" the honesty of its lucky owner.

G. The boiling water test, so well known and so popular in the Middle Ages. The procedure is the same.

The numbers and kinds of ordeals vary among the provinces of Ruanda. Many of them were borrowed from neighboring lands with which the Banyarwanda have frequent contact.

Up to now, both plaintiffs and defendants had frequent recourse [177] to those methods. The introduction of European tribunals has dealt a death blow to tests of this sort, which occur in the beginnings of every civilization. /425/

Chapter 3

Rain Makers or Tempest Makers (Ababvubyi).
Protectors Against Lightning (Abagangahuzi).
Ravagers of Crops and Fields (Abahoryo).

791 Owing to the people's credulity, the services of these personages are among the most valued and also the most lucrative. They seldom live at the capital, or go there only occasionally when summoned expressly.

5: Pages--291 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Family umbrella.

291
293
142
[302]

A semicivilized (person).

[177]

41 is placed more towards the back, sometimes, toward the front. The length of the head also varies.

The typical Batutsi spear is more than two meters long and has a very characteristic lance-shaped head. The head flares out at the base; the first third of it tapers, then it gradually widens, but very little, to the final quarter and ends in a rounded point.

The Bahutu spears differ first of all in that they are less carefully made, but they also have spears which are simply drop forged without grooving and which have very simple forms. Among [177] the Bahutu I also observed many spears strikingly similar in shape to those used in neighboring territories, and these were either brought back by the Bahutu or made by them from foreign models. They usually knew the origin of these spears. Thus the one shown in Figure 92 was called ichumu ryo Rutshuga lwa Ruhima. This means a Bahima spear from Rutshuga. As is well known, these forms are commonly used by the Bahima in Nkole and Karagwe.

The models shown in Figures 93 and 94 suggest either Bahima country or perhaps Toro, where I saw them in large numbers. I was not convinced, however, that these were indigenous and had not been brought from Nkole. There I saw spears with barbs as well as some with two blades, one above the other either on one plane or at right angles to each other. Figure 93 was called ichimu lyo Lugobe and Figure 94, ichumu lya Mugaanne. The spear shown in Figure 95 strongly resembles the Buganda spears, but the model for this illustration was forged in Kihinga and was called ichumu lyi Kihinga. The types in Figures 96 and 97 suggest the neighboring Congo Basin. The first was called ichumu lyi Nyunga, the latter, ichumu lyi Lilera. In Bugoye and Mulera spears from Barega are not uncommon. They are [186] preferred there by elephant hunters. They have thick shafts and strong heads, and, in form, they remind one of the spear shown in Figure 96.

[187] In those drop-forged spears having a groove, the lower portions of the blade are left black, and only the middle rib and the edges of the blade, three to five millimeters wide, or sometimes the upper half, are smoothly polished. The sharpness of the contrast between black and white is the criterion for its beauty and elegance.

681 Punishment by whipping seems to be done less in Ruanda than in Bgisha where the chief ties people to trees and has them punished with up to 100 strokes of the whip on their backs. This [177] custom is said to have been borrowed from the English Askari who were stationed there.

On the subject of property rights we wish to make only a 423 few general remarks. The entire country is the private property 428 of the king and is regarded as either entrusted to the chiefs or granted to the clans. All the farmers and herdsmen are merely tenants or have the use of the land. As a consequence, the chief and clan community have the final word in matters dealing with the inheritance of usufruct of so-called crown property, that is, fields and cattle.

Only household goods, with the exception of cows, are private 422 property in our sense, and here the wish of the person disposing of 428 the property is decisive, although certain time-honored customs cannot be circumvented. In Bugoye, for example, the oldest son gets the spear and the stool of his father, whereas the shield belongs to the youngest son. (2) Lieutenant Spiltoire told me that in

2. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 439.

Bunyabungu, the principal heir seems to be the son of the sister, but because of his brief visit, he could not verify this.

692 Administration of Justice. In Ruanda the administration of 695 justice is in the hands of the chiefs and the king.

Pronouncing judgment is only of secondary importance, but [280] the chiefs regard it as a sure means of gaining influence. The two parties regard the trial as an attempt to interest a powerful one -- a chief -- in their affairs, that is to say, to make their affairs the affairs of the mighty. The one who wins a case is simply the one who was more highly regarded by the chief and with whom, from now on, it is dangerous to quarrel. In Ruanda it is a long process from the pronouncement of justice to the execution of it.

173 their history, but they regard it as a hallowed secret of the Batutsi which belongs to the category of ibanga [secrets].

Father F. Dufays and Father P. Loupias succeeded in learning 173 about one of the traditions of ancient times from a Mututsi whom 114 I personally know very well but whose name I must withhold out of consideration for his own safety. The man clashed with his fellow tribesmen [287] and told his story to the missionaries to express his gratitude for their protection.

According to this story, human beings in former times lived 173 in heaven as well as on the earth. The children of Nyina Kigwa, 173 Kigwa, Lututsi, and their sister, Nyina Batutsi, were cast out from heaven as a punishment for their mother's loquacity. They fell to earth in Bugansa, Ruanda, and discovered the following Bahutu families in the country: the Basinga, Bagessera, and Bazigaba. In the forest they found the Batwa. The Bahutu and Batwa had been expelled from heaven before them. The new immigrants brought fire, agriculture (hoe culture), cattle raising, and industry (iron technique). In this way they gained influence; and Kigwa became the ruler of Ruanda. Kigwa married his sister, Nyina Batutsi, and became the protoplast of the Banieginia who are descended from his three sons and still rule Ruanda. Lututsi emigrated to Karagwe and married one of Kigwa's three daughters. He became the protoplast of the Bega who supply the kings of Ruanda with wives and mothers who are their peers. Kigwa and his descendants kept in touch with heaven through Batabazi redeemers, who came to their aid in times of great need. There are three chief Batabazi mentioned. The first protected the children of Nyina Batutsi and brought animals to Ruanda; the second was Kihana, son of King Ndahiro; and the third, Kyamweru, was the son of King Luzugira Iwijuru.

[117] This tradition contains some details of Christian legends, which we shall not go into here. Its origin will probably be determined some day, but at present it is a mystery. However, the statement that the children of Nyina Kigwa (referring doubtless to the Batutsi) brought fire and hoe culture into the country can be written off as historically incorrect. In any case, it is certain that this story tells us about the settling of the Batutsi in Ruanda and the establishment of their rule in Bugansa, and that at this time Bagessera,

000 which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

794 575 825 The importance of the dog among babandwa[3] merits special attention. I was assured that the dog is the cow, that is, the most important and sacred animal, of the babandwa. I was unable to find out anything more specific about its role in the cult. The adherents of the theory that the states of central [77] Africa represent vestiges of Egyptian culture might see in the relationship of the dog to the cult of the "lord of departed souls" a reflection of Anubis who had the head of a dog.

794 575 The babandwa exert their power as medicine men, sacrificers, and soothsayers. These three functions are very closely related to each other and can hardly be separated. Besides the babandwa and the worshippers of Biheko, the balozi [poisoners] are also said to constitute a secret society.

Initiation. Initiation into a secret society is bound up with long and complicated ceremonies. There are two categories of consecrated ones, those who are fully consecrated and those who have undergone only the preliminary tests.

[308] I should now like to try to give a picture of the babandwa initiation ceremonies in Ruanda, which are very strictly kept secret.

The picture, pieced together by means of painstaking questions, shows a resemblance in the main with the description by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi, although the arrangement of the whole ceremony seems to bring out some differences.

If a person who is to be accepted into the secret society of babandwa, for example, a sick person, as generally happens, has been told by the chicken oracle that he can be cured by initiation, he must bring gifts to the consecrated to make them favorably disposed toward him.

First of all an influential member is visited, one who might agree to act as guardian (godfather). The guardian, who is also called "father," invites the rest of the initiated into the house of the candidate for initiation.

Certain preparations must be made and a number of objects assembled before the initiation ceremony can take place. The candidate provides a sword, a bell, a torch, a large quantity of beer, and food supplies.

3 [i.e. Secret society members—Analyst]

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

127 217 suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before 105 563 going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, [178] that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be 563 briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu 178 is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded 557 to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change [182] has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the [578] economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This 648 conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the 645 distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged [671] with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European [177] régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

INTRODUCTION

THE greater part of this work is directly concerned with the description and analysis of the political organization of Ruanda. The first chapters, however, are devoted to other aspects of the social system: kinship and affinity, marriage and family. As the whole system of social relations in Ruanda constituted a closely knit fabric, it was thought that an understanding of the political institutions necessitates also some treatment of the other structures of human relations. Moreover, a brief account of the physical environment, the quest for food, shelter, and health, and some demographic data have been included because these elements, if external to the pattern of political relations, set the limits within which the Ruanda system of domination grew.

This study refers to the period immediately preceding the time when Ruanda was submitted to the influence of Western culture through its European agents. That is to say, in the continuously moving historical stream, we have chosen to study the particular configuration of the Ruanda political organization at the moment when it had been moulded by the action of many forces, but not by the full impact of European contacts. For reasons mentioned later, the 'zero point' of direct European influence on Ruanda society is not difficult to assess. It is in the first decade of this century. Ruanda social structure did not undergo any significant modification due to European influence until roughly 1910. This date is fortunately not very distant, and around 1950 it was still possible to interview many people who had been young when the old régime was still a working concern. As far as we know, there had been also no direct and continuous contact between Arabs and Ruanda prior to that time.

To remind the reader that we are describing structures and institutions which no longer exist, at least in their entirety, my account is given in the past tense even when it refers to features which are still functioning today. The expressions 'today', 'now', 'at the present time', &c., refer to the period 1950–1 during which basic research was carried out in Ruanda.

As a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale*, I carried out field work in Ruanda

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Evereerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

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It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *muroxi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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is made narrower in order to give everybody the opportunity of obtaining sufficient personal security.

Such was, it appears, the first function of the *buhake* system in Ruanda. In that society where it was advisable to go into court accompanied by socially powerful persons, and when a Hutu possessing some wealth but no protector was risking the loss of his possessions, the feudal organization, by institutionalizing the identification of the Hutu client with the Tutsi lord, secured the necessary protection and security for the socially weak. With a few exceptions, the Twa were outside that feudal system. Their caste occupations were not compatible with cattle-rearing and made available to them other means of obtaining the personal protection of upper caste people. On the other hand, their small number made that kind of protection very effective.

(*d*) *Social cohesion*

A second function of the feudality in Ruanda was its contribution to the cohesion of the society.

In this respect we have to distinguish the feudal agreements in which clients were Hutu from those in which they were Tutsi. Let us first take the former. In order that two castes whose interests were so often divergent or opposed could constitute a stable unitary structure, it was necessary that they should not remain merely juxtaposed but should show some solidarity. Through the feudal relations economic currents flowed between Hutu and Tutsi: the land tillers had at their disposal some cattle; the pastoralists consumed agricultural produce and had fields cultivated by their servants and clients. In this way the economic system of production in Ruanda was mixed, made up of techniques, abilities, and wealth brought by the two groups. Through *buhake*, Hutu participated in the Tutsi values. They valued cattle very highly and entered the prestige system based on bovine possession. They assimilated some Tutsi alimentary habits, such as drinking milk. Feudality proved a very effective instrument for the constitution of a culture common to all Ruanda.

When there was a feudal agreement between two Tutsi, the *buhake* had another relevance to social cohesion. It may be said that any Tutsi client was also a lord and any Tutsi lord was also a client. The mwami was the only patron who was nobody's client. His *garagu* were the great Tutsi chiefs, the lords of less important

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571 inferior to the other to claim some particular fulfilment of the
675 agreed promises from the other.

This appears clearly in the difficulties Ruanda often meet
554 when they have to adjust themselves to European labour contracts.
[177] They are sometimes confused by the fact that the employer requires from them at the same time less and more than they
[829] expect. Less because the employer does not ask for more services, for longer office hours for instance, than what has been stipulated, and more because he is very exacting in the execution of what has been undertaken, for instance in matters of punctuality.

Theorem Five

571 With such socially accepted conceptions about inequality, those
156 who occupy the superior positions in most of the social relations in which they are involved, tend to develop a permanent authori-
554 tarian behaviour. This is characterized by a propensity to command, to be self-assertive, arrogant, protective, and compassionate.

Chiefs, rulers, and other superiors try to extend not only the size or range of their power (the number of people controlled) but its density (the degree of control of the subordinates).[7] Any independence manifested by the inferior will be resented as rebellious.

This leads to intolerance. The superior's opinions should never
[829] be opposed by the inferior who is always and everywhere expected to manifest his dependence by attitudes of compliance. Even today this conduct tends to prevail. Some years ago a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. After the most important person present there had given his opinion, everybody voted for his proposal. But after the meeting many expressed privately their divergent opinions. At the time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with the superior.

Theorem Six

571 Even if the caste system and political and feudal institutions
156 have succeeded to a large extent in moulding personalities in such a way as to make inferiors self-effacing, submissive, compliant,
[181] and dependent, the conditioning has not been perfect. Often the inferior wants to disagree with his superior's opinions, to avoid executing an order or obeying his commands. A straight refusal

[7] Cf. Russell, 1938, pp. 165 f.

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as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

462 Consequently the men folk, even when they do not
461 cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably certain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them : if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

You see Barundi who buy goods on one market
441 and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

The evolution in progress

178 Most chiefs have been converted and have accord-
177 ingly adopted monogamy : the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished : some corvées are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs : already the *ntore*[1] have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendanyi*[2] obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and
[436] money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate barional ex-

[p. 16 (A)]

1 [a type of vassal — Analyst]

2 [messenger attendant — Analyst]

178 changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground.
177 Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which
[241] grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of famine; coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps to pay the tax-collector).

178 Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type,
177 closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neigh-
361 bourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres)
563 or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly foreigners: Belgian officials, European traders (Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *baswahili* (Islamized negroes). It remains however that they are an entirely new feature in a country with such a widely dispersed population.

Conclusions

361 I thought I could draw your attention to some
571 details of the curious Urundi organization: a dense population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and habitable land according to the geographic possibilities, without any orientation centres (the few habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce anything like demographic concentration); the small part played by neighbourhood relations, the predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating man-to-man dependance, or in other words the primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relationships.

Such an organization was possible in a country almost completely closed to foreign influence, without either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure and must be related to conditions both ethnographical and geographical. This organization is
[177 giving way under the influence of European ad-
178] ministration, of the development of trade, and of a new economy based more and more upon monetary transactions.

[p. 16 (8)]

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drawn to the beauty of the fair stranger. The king was notified. She was the girl he had been waiting for. As a reward, the wagtail was granted a permanent privilege to its species called ubulenga nzira, which included immunity and a sort of tithe to be levied upon the crops throughout the realm.

near the hill of Lwoga, not far from Nyanza, the present capital.

563 The Bagessera regard themselves as the most important Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan, and claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of Ruanda. According to them, they were the first masters of the land. /462/

Bloody Bondage Imposed on Some Families

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The Bakono, Banyabyinshi, and Bakunzi of the Kinyaga were for a long time the victims of this /type of bondage/.

Let us add, however, that the brutality and cruelty characteristic of those inhuman and now suppressed customs had lost some of their primitive harshness in the course of the last two reigns.

1. The expiatory debt to which the Bakono were bound for having fought Ruganzu II had been changed altogether.

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Upon the accession of a new king to the throne, the Bakono had to send one or two of their people to the capital, and so did another clan which had formerly belonged to the Banyabyinshi group, so often mentioned at the beginning of the great king's reign.

At court, instead of having their throats slit as was formerly done, those people were merely sprinkled with lustral water (chalk water) and driven for an instant into the hut of the spirits as though being offered in sacrifice to them. There the matter rested. Other chroniclers state that it was customary to beat them a few times with

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sticks so that the custom should not altogether lose its penal character.

2: Another improvement over the past has been the complete suppression during the two preceding reigns of the odious custom which prompted each new prince when he ascended the throne to send his troops into the Russokovu, between the Bugamba and Kingogo, to make war and receive their baptism of fire.

This was called "to make the king's spear drink blood" (guhir' icchumu ry' umwami).

Just as the Banyarwanda have the habit of leading their herds to the watering hole (guhir' inka) at the /463/ beginning of the day, a traditional custom also made it necessary for the king to make his spear drink blood (kunywesh' amarasso icchumu ry' umwami) upon his accession to the throne.

After killing some unfortunate people, the victorious warriors returned home.

The beginning of a reign could not be augured more auspiciously.

773 Ruganzu II Ndori was the first to launch such an expedition, which later became traditional.

He did this to punish the killers of his father. According to one version, which has already been cited (1), old King Ndahiro was

1. Cf. Book III, Histoire du règne de Ruganzu II, /History of Ruganzu II's Reign/ /not translated/.

killed at Russokovo, by the Bakongoro (a segment of the great Banyabyinshi faction) who had rebelled against him and whom he had set out to subjugate.

The expedition ended in disaster. Ndahiro, so the tradition adds, died there along with many of his followers. The rebels seized the king's drums and had them burned. Only the Kalinga, or palladium of the realm, escaped the conquerors. This is why the [103] place where the defeat took place has been known since by the name

773 [103] of Rubi rw'inyundo, meaning "the evil of the hammer," to recall that the weapons wrought by the blacksmiths' hammers were fatal there to Ndahiro and his warriors (2).

2. There are numerous variations on this historical theme. The inhabitants of the Bugamba insist that Ruganzu II was smoked out of Kirengo Cave by the Banyabyinshi. Hence the custom, they say, of leading two of the inhabitants of the land to the capital, where they were beaten, in memory of and punishment for this misdeed. Others believe that it was Chyilima-Rugwe who was fatally injured by the Bakongoro and who, pursued by his enemies, came to die near Gasseke, where his skeleton was later found. These tragic circumstances would explain the 15 annual days of mourning in June, if the disaster was such as the chroniclers lead us to suppose.

178 643 3. Fortunate, too, is the abolition of the custom which prompte the young king to kill one of his maternal uncles (nyirarume) with his own hands, an act which was political as well as /464/ superstitious, and which often followed close on the murder of the princes who were the monarch's relatives by marriage.

The prosperity of the realm was believed to depend on the fulfillment of cruel customs.

The abolition of these barbarous practices would be wholly to the credit of the Banyarwanda were it not for the fact that in 1895, at the time when Mibambge-Rutalindwa was deposed, the victorious Bega faction then in power committed innumerable atrocities toward

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643 the vanquished that the natives sometimes relate to each other secretly and fearfully in the evening by the fire.

4. The best known of those customs is the punishment of the
178 Bachuku and Bayumbo, who are from Bukunzi land, linked to the
643 Kinyaga province.
782 The story of the misdeed which gave rise to this penalty is told in Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II /The History of the Reign of Ruganzu II/ /Book III, not translated/.

Because the bull in one of the great king's herds had been killed, the king himself proceeded to take a blazing revenge there and then by having two young men and two young women killed in the valley called Nyakafunzo.

"My spear," cried the angered monarch, "I shall henceforth leave it among you so that you may give it children. At every change of reign, you shall surrender a young man and a young woman to expiate your misdeed." The royal envoys, therefore, would appear whenever a new king succeeded to the throne and claim their human tribute.

The young man was killed on the spot at Nyakafunzo. A dagger was plunged into his armpit. The blood was gathered into a wooden jar which was then taken into enemy country in accordance with directives from the capital.

The shedding of this cursed blood guaranteed the defeat of those inhabitants who had offended the king /465/ or who were at war with him. The corpse of the unfortunate one was left on the spot, where the hyenas soon disposed of it.... As for the young woman who had to be supplied by the Bachuku, it was agreed that she should be chosen among mothers who were suckling a baby girl. Her lot was less fearsome. She was given in marriage to the Bumbogo, where she had to attend to the cultivation of sorghum and eleusine, whose "first fruits" were taken to court for the great annual festival celebrated there at that time. As a further contribution to this custom, the Bachuku also supplied the flour mill used to grind the sorghum and eleusine.

An earthen jug and the large household spoon, or spatula, (umwuko), used to make bread (umutsima) were sent along with the millstones.

178 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the
643 present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which
782 took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of
661 exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or
644 families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the
644 Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

554 It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial
565 unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

644 We have seen that in order to preserve the supernatural
645 properties of the beverage (igihango) the candidates were forbidden to smoke, drink, or spit. What were they to do in order to avoid the disastrous effects that the test poison, according to popular belief, might have upon their health?

Accustomed as primitives are to the strangest and most incredible things, the Banyarwanda believed that in order to avert any danger in this connection, all they had to do was to commit a shameful act immediately.

As a result of this belief and in the thought that they were being helpful to the neophytes, their relatives led them away, outside the clan, along with some friends. They lay in wait and seized
[839] a young man or a young girl, depending on the sex of the candidate, and did violence to the young person.

It must be added that the Blacks, knowing the distaste of Europeans for such sport, have not dared to fulfill the last part of the
[178] program since the arrival of the Whites.

II. Dangers to Which Dignitaries, Employees, and Favorites at Court Were Exposed at All Times

644 It may be said that until recent years the secret of certain
661 customs and traditions had been well preserved, for fear of the effects of the test poison and for fear of the king, who would not hesitate to punish delinquents at the first sign of indiscretion. It is equally true that until our time the majority of servants /473/ and underlings lived under the risk and perpetual threat of a violent death which might claim them at any moment. The monarch, who did not rely exclusively on the effectiveness of the test poison and probably had very good reasons not to do so, unfortunately made use quite often of his prerogatives as sovereign and his discretionary power over all things to apply extravagant punishments. Nothing counted in his eyes except his own interests, his whims and his passions. He frequently gave free rein to the latter. A mere suspicion or even less was sufficient to cause the merciless death of an unfortunate individual.

278 Igisura belongs to the Urticaceae family.
824 This plant grows to a height of about 1.50 meters. Sufferers from yaws drink its juice as a remedy. They must be careful not to take too heavy a dose, so as not to risk a serious intoxication.

It is rumored that ill-disposed people have used one or another of those plants, and in particular the mutambasha, or rat poison, to wreak their vengeance and do away with their enemies.

754 Small packets of herbs were found in the possession of people
609 suspected of practicing the poisoner's vocation.

For what purpose had those plants been gathered? Perhaps the sorcerer had tried to lend them a harmfulness which of themselves they did not possess. Backbiters in the land insist that once at least royal hands mixed those allegedly noxious substances into milk, honey, and butter intended for Europeans who were passing through. The said person achieved no results, however, and this led him /or her/ to say that it was impossible to get rid of the Whites, that poisons, spells, and bewitchment had no hold over them. We are inclined to believe that in this case charms and philters were involved rather than noxious substances.

754 It is said that the penultimate king of the Uswi, Gasusuro,
178 one of the regular suppliers of such products, replied to the court envoys one fine day when they came to fetch the goods that henceforth he would not supply them, that he was through with all poisons. It is also quite /489/ possible that his answer was dictated by the fear of being caught practicing this vocation. Let us add for the sake of truthfulness that the days are long since past when such things could be said or plotted against Europeans (1).

1. The Blacks live in the almost constant fear of bewitchment and poisoning.

[761] Rickets, tuberculosis, and sudden or strange deaths, especially when the corpse swells up immediately, could have no other cause in their opinion.

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seen that the names of the
first kings were pure fantasy.
The chronological order of
several others is lacking,
and the chroniclers do not agree
on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

778 767 a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses, are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

[178] The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

767 trees and green branches. Human conscience can adapt itself to any-
778 thing. The keepers, who get their share, pretend to see nothing.
178 As a result, relatives and friends take full advantage of their tacit permission and make inconspicuous forays into the groves.

b. General honors paid to the spirits of the royal dead.

769 The dead are neither forgotten nor forsaken. Superstitious fear plays its part in the cult of the dead. /532/ The Blacks' fear of the dead recalls them constantly to the remembrance of the living (1). From

1. The muzimu retains "the passions, tastes, inclinations, and grudges that characterized it during the material life span of the individual whose existence it perpetuates spiritually after death." (Maurice Delafosse.) To the natives, this belief explains and justifies the cult of spirits.

time to time and in important circumstances, when real or imagined calamities threaten, the drums are beaten in their honor.

Huts (indaro) of varying size are raised on their graves, and sacrifices performed in them to pacify and ingratiate their spirits.

At certain times, young bulls are sent from the capital and immolated by the sacrificers with pomp and solemnity.

The things most readily sent are small earthenware vessels, rounded, rather graceful, (uruherezo, imperezo), filled with banana wine, which the keepers offer as a libation to the dead kings in order to win their support.

Similar sacrifices were, and still are, performed occasionally
[778] at the sites of numerous former royal dwellings: at Lwamaraba near the Kabgayi mission, at Mwurire near the Savé mission, at Lussagara near Nyaluhengeri, in honor of Lwabugiri, Lwogera, and another Mutara, a son of Ruganzu II, to mention only a few (2). /533/

563 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recog-
191 nize members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation. This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because of their privileged position. They are closely united and give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 They make up the conservative element which supports the
• 178 entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established order. However, they have little capability for independently organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found where individual provinces have given up their independent political existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state.
[184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the
[101] Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu. It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants in general, and here memories of the state that united Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not
[101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than
142 the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

000 The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

287 Preparation of Barkcloth. The making of barkcloth (mpuzu) [178] seems to be falling off in Ruanda. For example, I had only one occasion in Ruasa to see a piece of barkcloth, and this was made into a bag. Because of the large number of barkcloth beaters which were offered me for sale in Ruasa, I am forced to conclude that this branch of native industry is dying out, at least in Mulera.

In Nduga where the population is considerably poorer, one sees a great deal of barkcloth, but since it is worn in the same manner as expensive clothing made of skins, one might assume that in this locality it is at present only a substitute for skins. There are, however, reasons for assuming that the original clothing was made of barkcloth. In Mulera in the area of the Ruasa Mission it was observed that with the increase of wealth barkcloth was replaced by clothing of skins.

The bark of a species of fig is soaked in water, laid on a tree trunk, and beaten out thin with a hammer. The hammers [413] (imango) have two shapes. One looks like a cylinder with circular grooves on the end used for beating, and it has a tapered handle. The other kind is a conical beater which, as in the case of the axes and hoes, is fastened to a handle. Here, too, the beating surface is grooved but in crisscross fashion.

In Ruanda the barkcloth is very crude and cannot be compared to that of Kiziba.

281 [159] Dressing Skins. Preparing a cow hide for an article of clothing is a laborious task. The skin must be made soft and pliable; otherwise it is useless.

The skin stripped off the animal is first of all dried in the sun and then soaked in water. When it has become soft, it is hung up to allow the water to drip off. It is then stretched on the ground with the fur side downward, held with small wooden pegs which are stuck through the edge of the skin and, after the skin is stretched, are driven into the ground with a stone. Then the skin is cleaned with a scraper (mbaro). This process is known as kuhara. The first layer that is removed is called imishishwa; the second imiharamuro; the third, inkuru. After that the pierced edge is

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
428 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
423 property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy, it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
651 taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

The protection of female clan members does not extend to
614 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
591 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
768 happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
614 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

614 671 178 finds protection even outside the clan, which formerly was not possible.

614 Ruanda Clans. We have already listed the clans of Ruanda in Chapter 2 [not translated]. However, in view of the significance which the distribution of individual clans in the various provinces has for the history of Ruanda settlements, the list must be supplemented by further data. Here we shall also give the names of the provinces in which the individual clans were observed. (Chart on following pages)

It is said that the Baanzira clan is not represented in Kissaka, but the name is familiar, and strangely enough, it is used by the women in vows. When they wish to affirm something very positively, they say: "Aha Baanzira batshu."

Father Schumacher (1) uses the designation "Base" or "Abase"

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 896.

for the Bagessera and Bazigaba who play a special role in the Ryangombe cult.

628 614 [237] Blood Revenge. Clans practice blood vengeance (kuhora) for their members. If an outsider kills or wounds a clan member, his fellow members take revenge on the members of the criminal's clan.

The clan's revenge, however, is not always a simple settlement on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In Kissaka, for example, the people are satisfied if they kill a member of the murderer's clan, whereas in Mulera the vengeance is always greater than the crime. The severity of the vengeance by the injured clan depends on the number of its able-bodied men. The powerful and spirited clan of the Barashi who are settled in Mulera on Muhawura is aware of its strength and takes bitter revenge. For a murdered clansman, the Barashi kill six to eight men from the murderer's clan. The other less powerful Mulera clans content themselves with three or four. The Batutsi, on the other hand, demand as many as ten to twelve heads. The same number is exacted by the greatly feared Batwa clans.

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different elements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
609 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[71] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J.M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

572 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiche.
608 (If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rise, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood
608 brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new
431 friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to
608 attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood
614 brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed
628 by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its
608 significance. This may be considered a result of state organiza-
614 tion which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organiza-
178 tion. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

572 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu
608 substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana
614 beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship be-
178 tween blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet
572 beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned
608 in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage
572 prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously ob-
608 served. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as re-
582 lated. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the
572 wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other
608 reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood
837 brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one
608 another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the
563 Batwa.

The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan
614 varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent
621 in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical with the number of women. It is very important to note that the head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

661 wisdom consists in not letting oneself be governed too much by
565 caprice and not becoming relatively the worst tyrant.

Even now when there is peace in the land, petty wars among
569 Musinga's bagaragu and brawls among the bagaragu of the bagaragu
642 of the king are by no means rare, but they occur chiefly in the border regions where the power of the king is not so strongly felt. At the time of my visit, for example, Lukara was fighting with Luhanga in Mulera. In cases like this it often happens that the king is unable to find a man who would not be too afraid to manage and tax the warlike farmers if they were assigned to him. In this way the Bahutu gain their independence and can be subjugated anew only by a punitive expedition.

[264] Under these circumstances, petty internal strife is a natural function of the state and does not result merely in brutality and devastation. In this way, even though it is uneconomical, poor administrators are weeded out, and the power of the strong is curtailed. This principle may at first glance seem paradoxical, but it corresponds very well to the facts. When it comes to the formation of a state under unlimited rule which on principle admits no protest, limitations must arise spontaneously if large masses of people are to live together.

661 The situation changes, however, the moment there is pacifi-
642 cation and the country is opened up and organized by Europeans.
178 The old, natural, albeit uneconomical forms which, after all,
648 regulated conditions are now done away with by force of arms and the rulers, weakened by emigration, overcome. On the other hand, the opening up of export trade creates countless possibilities for exploiting subjects in a hitherto unknown way. The situation of the natives is getting worse, for the new judicial norms, despite their humane phraseology, are less protection to them than the old regulations upon which the organization of the state was built. In Kissaka one can see many natives from Ussuwi who have taken refuge there from the blessings of humane European civilization. Under these new conditions, the only weapon in the hands of the subjects is economic injury to the chief, and this can be achieved by the emigration of the labor force.

The situation of the natives is worst of all where Europeans have put a stop to freedom of movement in order to make police

661 control easier. The moment this happens the native no longer
642 has any protection against his chief. As a result, the need for
178 serious intervention by the European administration becomes an
648 urgent necessity. With increased possibilities of exploitation certain norms must now be set up which will protect the interests of the common man and permit him some freedom, in other words, give him back everything that was formerly guaranteed him by means of a less perfect, less compact and oppressive social organization and without any kind of pact. Under these conditions, further intervention by the European administration becomes a necessity, because there is as yet no guarantee that the new order will do more than contribute to a "more complete exploitation of the lazy Negro" and perhaps also to a decline in the population.

642 By comparing conditions in Ndorwa, Mulera, Bugoye, and
64 Nduga, we can easily determine the direction in which conditions
178 have developed in Ruanda.

In Ndorwa we find independent clans living apart from one another.

[265] In Mulera the clans have been subjugated by the king and pay taxes. The Batutsi have driven the natives from some of the hills and permit homeless members of disrupted clans to settle there. These dregs must support their masters and perform compulsory services for the protection they get. These are the new communities which really should be spoken of as analogous to large estates. Some of the clan elders, such as Bishingwe, father of Lukara, are joining the conquerors and are supported by them. With this support they settle immigrants on the uncultivated land, and the latter must perform compulsory services, just as they do for the Batutsi.

In Bugoye the distinction between conquerors and peasant aristocracy is gradually being effaced and along with it the difference between impoverished clan members and immigrants who are domiciled on the remaining free land by the clan elder and become his bondsmen. In Bugoye this process is not yet completed.

The Bambari clan have already put their buletwa to work in the field of the chief, who is also a Mumbari and who must be regarded as a former clan elder. Here the land is already regarded as his property, as land granted by the king.

642 However, the Bagwabiro, an impoverished Batutsi clan, main-
614 tain that the king gave them the bush knife (muhoro) for Bugoye.
178 They occupied large areas, defended them, in some parts successfully, against the encroaching self-contained clans, and settled them with exiles, refugees, and vagabonds, who make up the biletwa of the Bagwabiro. Here the community headmen are officials of the king, which is in contrast to the situation among the rest of their clansmen where bagabo only collect taxes for the Bagwabiro. However, there seems to be a tendency to blot out the difference between Bagwabiro and tax collectors (clan elders) and to make serfs of the clan members, as is already the case with the Bambari.

In Nduga the population on the various hills is very mixed. It belongs to different clans. Most of the land belongs to the chiefs (the large landowners), and only occasionally do we find ngabo (fighting farmers) who are exempt from compulsory service (buletwa), that is to say, who live on their own land (granted to them by the king).

In this way clan organization in Ruanda is broken up by the rule of the herdsmen and the resultant development of a peasant aristocracy. The factors that remain to uphold clan organization are the food taboos, exogamy, and blood revenge.

The effect of royal power on the homogeneous clans has resulted in the differentiation of the population.

In Urundi the tendency towards centralized state organization [266] does not seem to have made much progress as yet. Here there are still feudal masters who are unrestricted rulers of entire provinces, while in Ruanda the chiefs have nowhere near the same independence on their lands. Here too, however, the land is regarded as the king's property.

635 Political Organization. Ruanda consists of a number of provinces with geographic names but without administrative units. We have already mentioned Nduga, Mukinjaga, Bugessera, Bugoye, Bwischascha, Mulera, Bgisha, Ruweruka, Ndorwa, and Kissaka.

The individual provinces have no central administration and
634 no governor. The provinces are divided into a number of communities, most of which are assigned to clients staying at the

651 and not infrequently open battles whenever collection takes place.
661 On the way to Mulera, at Kwa Rutagungira, I saw several wounded Batutsi who had to pay for their zeal as officials with holes in their hides. The business efficiency of the tax collectors is well characterized if we note their habit of substituting some of their poorer stock for the better cows that are delivered as the king's taxes. In view of its chronic character, this misuse and plunder must be regarded as a form of official remuneration.

651 We must emphasize the fact that in Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are linked to the community, the people, and not to the land they cultivate. That is why the outsider who has settled on alien soil with the approval of the residents does not participate in community taxes. He continues to pay the taxes of his own clan, and only if he is adopted by the resident clan does he pay taxes where he has settled.

651 This principle of family tax becomes complicated the mo-
178 ment pacification makes possible the disruption of clans which under the most primitive conditions have been held together by blood revenge. I saw the consequences of this complication of social conditions in Mulera in the form of a punitive expedition which reduced to ashes the settlement on Mount Kisseke. A few outsiders had bought with gifts permission to settle on Kisseke from the established residents. A few weeks after they were settled, some Batutsi arrived who had the right to collect taxes from the community of new settlers but who were complete strangers to the old established population. The new settlers
[687] promised the old ones a bull, and the latter drove off the Batutsi with weapons, killing a few and wounding several. A punitive expedition of government troops, undertaken because of Musinga's complaint, was the sequel.

651 The ferry toll is a special tax that affects traders particularly.
491 It is collected by batware who are stationed at the ferries and whose people run the boats. The toll is very high. For a traveler with his pack, it is ten large beads, that is to say, a third of a day's wages. Twenty men with a herd of goats paid a piece of cloth (nguo).

[275] The batware who collect the ferry toll must also keep watch over the traffic. At the border ferries, for example, on

721 Declarations of war are not made, at least not in Mulera. If a military expedition is to be undertaken, everyone knows about it long beforehand. It is hard to keep a secret. The actual declaration of war is the sound of the antelope horn calling the warriors together.

727 Baumann (1) mentions that spades wrapped with leaves are

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 84.

a sign of peace.

[277] Chapter 13

Administration of Justice

671 Law. Ruanda has no codified laws. The administration of justice is the business of the government which takes into consideration long-established customs. This is the only kind of law one can speak of in Ruanda.

Criminal law is not developed here to such an extent that the various types of crimes must be atoned for with specific punishments. We can only indicate approximately the severity of individual punishment, since uncodified law leaves so much to the personal opinion of the judge.

628 178 The basis of justice within the clan is the institution of blood revenge. With the development of the state, this is gradually being pushed into the background, but in Ruanda the process is still in its initial stages. In Kissaka, on the other hand, it is said that before revenge is taken, the chief is notified, and he can forbid taking vengeance for a man killed for robbery.

682 685 Aside from murder, which in Ruanda proper is still punished with blood revenge, the theft of cows is very severely punished, in accordance with the role the cow has in the life of Ruanda.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed 000 651
taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and
the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state [655]
work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he 643
took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he 262
generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, [273]
when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge,
but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal
he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people [178]
were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which
would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after
eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused
and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon
him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any [644]
meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls 644
being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite
of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women
were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who
told them whether they were going to bear children and took [787]
auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future
king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when 643
he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner
with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern
different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his [762]
life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated 643
over the country. There was no rule against naming the king 766
after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The
whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from
women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, [231]
goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for
this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared
with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other
times. One cow was killed when the king died. [782]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

An instance which shows a number of these possibilities comes from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west of Tanganyika Territory. A custom which might or might not be noted by the ethnographer—something must escape the most meticulous of observers, and this one is not recorded by Meyer for the Barundi, of whom the people of Bugufi are ethnologically part—is the right of the chief to pasture his cattle among the millet-stalks after the harvest, before the peasant may put in his own cattle or any which he is herding for some one else. The court book records eight peasants coming to court to complain against a Tusi who has driven off their cattle. The Tusi replies that the men had pastured their cattle in their millet before the chief had had access. Asked by the court whether he was instructed to drive off the cattle, the Tusi replies that he acted as he was bound to do in accordance with ancient custom and his obligations to the chief. New concepts have, however, found their way into the court, which gives judgement for the plaintiffs on the grounds that the land and the cattle were theirs. This case is exceptional in the wealth of statement and suggestion which it offers, but there are many others helpful in lesser degree.

The value of native court records in this way was brought home to me while stationed in this area, Bugufi, during the years 1929–31, when I went through the available material with a view to seeing what were the normal causes of litigation and getting a general idea of the law administered. Starting with the year 1924, the series was examined up to the end of 1930. For these seven years, 850 cases were found where judgement issued, there being a further 225 which had been settled out of court or dismissed for want of prosecution or by reason of limitation. Of these 850 cases, almost one-quarter concerned contracts where cattle were involved, nearly one-sixth were marital cases, and another sixth were over administrative matters, including offences against the Native Authority Ordinance: only one-seventh were of offences against person and property, and the remainder concerned debts, land, inheritance, damage to property and a few miscellaneous matters.

The fullest records were those of the numerous marital cases, and these have been fully collated with a view to giving an idea of how much information can be gleaned and what gaps remain, and what

suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

CHAPTER II

THE SYSTEM OF KINSHIP AND AFFINITY[1]

I. DESCENT GROUPS

611

AMONG the Ruanda people, Tutsi as well as Hutu, the social principle of descent was agnatic. When any informant is asked who are his ascendants, he always answers by giving the names of his father, his paternal grandfather, his paternal great grandfather up to some male ancestor beyond whom he is unable to go. He does not mention his mother nor any of her ascendants.

61. 178

Questions on the actual groupings founded on this principle and their functions elicit less unanimous and clear answers. The reason is that kinship groups have undoubtedly undergone a slow process of change in several respects during the Tutsi occupation of the country. What we know of its history[2] is quite sufficient to convince us that there has been a progressive territorial expansion under one dynasty of rulers together with an intensification of the

[642]

[1] In order to make clear the connotations of the main concepts used in this chapter, here are a few definitions: 128

Ego's *kin* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through parent-child and-or sibling links. *Consanguineal* and *cognatic* relatives are used as synonyms for kin. 602

Ego's *affines* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through a marriage link. This link may be the first traced from Ego (the affines are then Ego's spouse's kin) or the kinship link may be the first one traced (the affines are then Ego's kin's spouse).

Ego's *patrilineal* or *agnatic* relatives are those of his kin who descend by male links from the same male ancestor as Ego.

Ego's *matrilineal* or *uterine* relatives are those of his kin who descend by female links from the same ancestress as Ego.

Ego's *cross-line* relatives are those of his kin who are neither patrilineally nor matrilineally related to him.

Ego's *paternal* or *patrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his father.

Ego's *maternal* or *matrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his mother.

To sum up:

Relatives
- are *kin* (or consanguineal relatives or cognates) who can be distinguished as
  1. patrilineal (or agnatic)
  2. matrilineal (or uterine)
  3. cross-line
- of as
  1. paternal (or patrilateral)
  2. maternal (or matrilateral)
- and *affines* who can be distinguished as
  1. kin of Ego's spouse
  2. spouses of Ego's kin.

[2] See for instances, Pagès, 1933.

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degrees of control exerted by that central authority on the territory. These processes have necessarily had an impact on the autonomy and social significance of Hutu and Tutsi kinship groups, on their connexion with a particular tract of land, and on their functions. We shall not be concerned here with any reconstruction of these processes but only with them as they existed in the immediate pre-European days. It should be borne in mind, however, that this was the period of an evolution. This explains the sometimes confused picture given by some informants.

(*a*) *Inzu, ubwoko, umulyango*

Hutu and Tutsi recognized a patrilineal kin group (*inzu*)[3] which included all who could actually trace their agnatic relationship through usually no more than four or five ascendent genealogical links to an ancestor recognized as the original ancestor of the group.

Members of the inzu of a male Ego were: Br, Si, Fa, FaSi, FaBr, FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaFa, FaFaBr, FaFaSi, FaFaBrSo, FaFaBrDa, FaFaBrSoSo, FaFaBrSoDa.[4]

Ego's sororal nephews and nieces (SiSo, SiDa) and his paternal cross-cousins (FaSiSo and FaSiDa) did not belong to his *inzu*. However they participated in some of its activities if they lived with their maternal uncle (Ego), which happened when the bride-wealth for their mother (Ego's Si) had not been entirely paid.

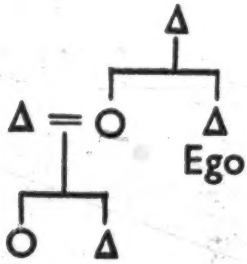

Diagram A.

Other generations above Ego's (that of FaFaFa, &c.) or under his (that of SoSoSo, &c.), were not necessarily included in Ego's

[3] *Inzu* means also hut.
[4] I follow the symbolization system used by Murdock, 1949.

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of coercion at their disposal. If a mwami attempted to go beyond his effective power even without exceeding the limits of his divine rights, he exposed himself to the chance of meeting some obstacles. Nevertheless, he had sovereign as well as divine rights and his subjects were constantly reminded of these by the tributes they had to pay.

4. DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

Every Ruanda, Twa, Hutu as well as Tutsi, was affiliated to an army (*ingabo*). This is stated by ninety-nine per cent. of our informants. Although this military organization is obsolete at the present day—indeed it no longer exists—ninety-eight per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed can still give the name of the army of their paternal ascendants.

There were several armies. The name of each one had a military meaning. It was a challenge, a boast, the memory of a dynastic or historical event: for instance 'the tough ones' (*abashakamba*), 'the first to be praised' (*imbanzamihigo*), 'the fearless ones' (*inzirabwoba*), &c. At the beginning of each reign a new army was organized by the king. Moreover, a very important chief could be authorized by the mwami to raise an army.

(*a*) *Recruitment*

An army was recruited in the following way. The mwami asked his Tutsi clients to bring to the court their sons who had not yet had any military training. When about 150 to 200 young men were gathered, they constituted what we may call a company (*itorero*). During the reign, four or five companies were recruited in the same way and were added to the first one. According to ninety-six per cent. of our informants a man had to stay all his life in the company he had first entered. The young men (*intore*, the chosen ones) lived at the court of the king or of the chief who had been allowed to recruit an army. Under the direction of an officer called the chief of the king's residence (*umutware w'urugo rw'umwami*) or of its counterpart at a chief's court, they were trained for several years in military skills such as bow and arrow shooting, the use of the sword, spear, and javelin. They learned warlike dances, and to memorize and to recite the poems in which the high deeds of extraordinary bravery and boldness of the past warriors were exalted.[16] They were also taught how to compose

[16] See Kagame, 1949b; 1951.

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The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

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(*b*) *Socialization*

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Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[30] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture.

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In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military

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[30] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

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when the client was Hutu and *ingabane* when he was Tutsi. A *garagu* could have cows from another source (called *imbata*) such as those received as bride-wealth, as a reward for bravery or acquired by exchanging other goods. In the case of a Hutu client, who possessed both *inkazibiti* and *imbata* at the time when his relation with a *shebuja* was broken off, there are two opinions with regard to the cows' ownership. According to the first, the *imbata* possessed by the client before he entered in the *buhake* relation were regarded as *inkazibiti* and consequently the lord had the same rights over them as over those he had given to the client as cows of *buhake*. Moreover, the cows which the client eventually acquired when he was already *garagu*, and which in other circumstances would have been regarded as *imbata*, were also added to the cows received from the lord. The result was that at the breaking off of the *buhake* relation, the patron could take all his client's cows, *imbata* as well as *inkazibiti*. The other opinion is that the *imbata* acquired by the client before or after the *buhake* relation began, remained definitely *imbata* and that the lord had no claim on them.

It seems that both opinions are accurate, but that they refer to different periods. The second probably expresses the most ancient rule which had been prevalent up to about 1920. The practice of merging *imbata* and *inkazibiti* (or *ingabane*) in favour of the lord is likely to have been introduced only during the last forty years. This would be due to the fact that the chiefs of the administrative divisions (recognized by the Belgian authority under the names of *chefferies* and *sous-chefferies*) assumed at the end of the reign of king Yuhi Musinga (who was dismissed from his royal charge by the Belgian Administration in 1931) an undue importance, because their powers were no longer counterbalanced by those of the chiefs of the other hierarchies. Army chiefs did not enjoy their former authority, as the military structure had received no official recognition; Musinga, isolated in an attitude of indifference and hostility towards Europeans, was left without much effective power. Administrative chiefs who were important lords are said to have taken advantage of this situation, and to have modified the custom to their own advantage by establishing the principle of the merging of the cows received from the lord with those acquired independently of any *shebuja*.

It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of

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Tutsi, who themselves were patrons of still less important Tutsi, and so on. In this way the Tutsi consituted a homogeneous unit of individuals linked to one another by bonds of fidelity and protection. From that point of view, *buhake* contributed to the unity and the solidarity of the aristocratic caste.

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(*e*) *Maintenance of caste privileges*

Besides the protection of socially weak individuals and the promotion of social cohesion, a third function was fulfilled by the feudal system: the maintenance of the social *status quo* and the perpetuation of Tutsi privileges. This function seems somewhat opposed to the first two. Let us see how all these functions have been combined by the *buhake* system.

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In a stratified society where control of a category of goods or a type of ownership is characteristic of the superior layer, the access of the members of other groups to these goods or to the particular rights of ownership constitutes an active factor of social mobility. It is the reason why the aristocracy frequently keeps exclusively for itself these goods and these rights. Thus in Ankole the Hima pastoralists bar Iru cultivators from the ownership of productive cows. They may possess only barren cows and bull calves.[8]

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Ruanda Tutsi did not impose such severe rules but by the *buhake* system they obtained very much the same results. They allowed Hutu to have cattle at their disposal—which in exchange provided Tutsi with labour and agricultural produce—but at the same time prevented them from gaining independent ownership rights over these cattle. Those who had the final control of cattle were always Tutsi. As the Hutu had been granted only usufruct rights over cattle which were different from those enjoyed by the lords who were Tutsi, there was no chance that the group of cattle owners could be invaded by Hutu.

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By definition the client's possession was precarious. This uncertainty in the duration of the disposal of cattle was further emphasized by the circumstances mentioned above. The breaking off of the *buhake* relation was almost always favourable mainly to the lord and could often be disastrous for the client. It may even be said that when the practice of merging the *buhake* cows (*inkazibiti*) with the cows not received from a lord (*imbata*) was regarded as customary, all the Hutu cattle were precariously held and under

[8] Oberg, 1940, p. 130.

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Tutsi control. A Hutu who in exchange for labour or agricultural goods had been able to acquire a few cows had necessarily to ask for the protection of a lord in order that his cows should not be seized upon under some pretence by a socially powerful neighbour. Then he received cows from his lord and they were merged with his own *imbata*. Consequently, if the agreement had to be ended, the lord could take away besides the cows he had granted, those which had previously belonged to the client. 675 564 642 178

The two political structures benefited most those among the Tutsi who were rulers. The feudal structure, by granting only a precarious possession of cattle to the clients, left in the hands of the Tutsi the ultimate control of cattle, symbol of social prestige and instrument of power. On the other hand, by the same *buhake*, Tutsi were obtaining the advantages of being provided with labour and agricultural produce. From that standpoint, the Ruanda feudal system granted a minority the means to live—and to live better than the bulk of the population—without having to participate in the manual labour of economic production, by the moderate and clever exploitation of the majority. 564 661 642

In order that an aristocratic structure may perpetuate itself without change as long as it is profitable to the superior caste, it is not sufficient to prevent an invasion or even an infiltration of members of inferior groups who, by modifying the proportion between exploiters and exploited, would completely disturb the smooth working of the system. It is also necessary that all those who are by birth members of the upper caste should live according to the standards of their group. It is most unusual for an upper caste to regard the falling off of some of its members without uneasiness and dismay. This is particularly true when the group position of power is rationalized in terms of innate superiority. Some modern governments in Africa, for example, are much concerned about the 'poor whites' because their decadence threatens the myth of the white racial superiority. 564

The Tutsi had a similar pretence to a natural superiority as has been pointed out already. Consequently, if one of them was unable to support himself in a way becoming to his caste and seemed on the point of slipping down into the group of those who work manually, it was regarded as a shocking situation that should at once be put right. The remedy was to become the client of a richer Tutsi. The cows thus received, allowed him to subsist in [186] [558]

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CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM OF TUTSI DOMINATION

At the beginning of this century, after an historical development of which we can at the most have only a glimpse, Ruanda society appeared to be composed of two main strata, the Hutu and Tutsi castes. The latter was dominant in social power and used it to exploit economically the former and to retain political power exclusively. 564 661

This system of the social domination of a caste and of the political domination of a group within that caste seemed to be successful and stable at the beginning of the twentieth century. How did the Tutsi achieve the difficult task of keeping such a large caste kingdom a working concern? Before considering the social structural factors which were operative one must take into account the frame in which and the background against which the problem of domination had to be solved. By frame and background, is understood here the totality of circumstances which appeared to the Tutsi, and were for them, unalterable. Tutsi had to adapt their pattern of domination to these circumstances as they were in any event beyond their control. These circumstances were very numerous, pertaining to physical environment (ecological), to human biology, and even to the culture of the group. What these very various elements had in common was that, at the time referred to in this study, they set limits to the action and ways of life of the group. Some of these limits were not immutable in themselves but they were so none the less for the Tutsi at the beginning of the twentieth century. 121 178

From this vast congeries of natural, biological, and cultural factors, I shall review only a few which appear most significant from the present point of view: that of the conditions of domination.

1. FRAME AND BACKGROUND OF THE DOMINATION SYSTEM 178

A first relevant background fact was that, apart from the ultimate control of a most valuable resource, namely, cattle (a subject which will be discussed later), the difference between the equipment of Tutsi and Hutu was not very considerable. It is 564

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178 possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference
564 was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of
114 the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the
554 maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

554 Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them
564 to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of
178 their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds,
184 they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer, and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to
[162] know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to
[171] comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

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One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

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it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

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of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

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564 ceremonies. We may say that clan, army, and sect were 'national'
182 only nominally and superficially. Notwithstanding, these associa-
184 tions between Hutu and Tutsi had probably some limited significance from the standpoint of social cohesion.

In that connexion, *buhake* is a much more important factor. By that agreement, almost any Hutu was linked to a Tutsi, and [675] partook in the social power of the upper caste by identifying himself with a protector who was a member of the dominant group. He obtained for his disposal some cattle, the symbol of artistic values, and he entered into exchange relationships with the nobility. Through the clientage institution, Ruanda constituted a unified economic system which distributed agricultural and pastoral products among the totality of the population. The personal bond with a privileged caste member and access to possession, however precarious, of cattle, seem to have been essential from the point of view of national solidarity.

A third integrative factor was social mobility, even as limited as [554] it was in Ruanda. It is certain that the number of Hutu and Twa assimilated to Tutsi because of their holding of political offices or because of their wealth, has always been tiny.

The possibility of being accepted into the superior group even if it is illusory for almost all the members of the inferior group has had in many societies a very great integrative influence. It is well 000 known that in the United States, during the first quarter of this century, the fact that a few men among the wealthiest of the country had been born poor, greatly contributed to the psychological solace of a considerable mass of men and women who had personally no opportunity to achieve such brilliant successes. In addition to individual comfort, the belief that there was no intrinsically insuperable obstacle (such as having been born outside a closed hereditary group) helped Americans to feel that they were all members of the same nation regarded as not significantly stratified.

564 I do not imply that the social ascent of a few Hutu has played a
178 similar part in Ruanda. Firstly, there was no egalitarian ideology
559 which makes almost unbearable the fact that one is obliged by
184 birth to live in an inferior social group; secondly, cases of intercaste mobility were extremely rare in Ruanda. Nevertheless, these cases were a proof for Hutu that, although not belonging to the upper stratum, they were members of the Ruanda nation as well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

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642 178 At the beginning of this century, Ruanda political organization was an instrument of social immobility. It was not a force of expansion meant to increase the Tutsi dominion over the country, but a machinery which succeeded in maintaining a difficult equilibrium between the antinomic tendencies I have reviewed. Any institution in which divergent tendencies meet and are kept balanced bears in itself the principle of its own disintegration. But in Ruanda the equilibrium problem had been so efficiently solved that it seems that an optimum point had been reached. The political organization that sustained the domination system could have been perpetuated as long as forces external and internal to the system itself remained constant. The external influence which modified the political organization has been the contact with the [648] Europeans, another conquest group entering Ruanda history around 1900. But apart from such a consequential event, internal phenomena such as a modification in the demographic ratio, the introduction of new agricultural techniques, the impoverishment of the soil, &c., could have been sufficient to destroy the equilibrium maintained by the Tutsi political organization.

642 178 564 661 What was 'immobilized' by the political organization was the Tutsi's caste's and rulers' almost exclusive control of power. They used it for exploitation, by which is meant here the satisfaction of needs not by economic production but by pressure. I follow here closely Oppenheimer's distinction between economic and political means. Both have the same end, he writes, the satisfaction of needs. But when this end is obtained by one's labour and the equivalent exchange of one's own labour for the labour of others, one may speak of 'economic means' while the unrequited appropriation of the labour of others is 'political means'.[6] This should, however, be qualified in the *buhake* where the client received the usufruct of cattle.

642 564 571 It would, of course, be completely misleading to assume that Ruanda political organization had for its only function the preservation of Tutsi exploitation. Through the political structure, as has been shown, the inferior castes enjoyed security. Collectively, peasants were protected against raiding expeditions of neighbours and against an unlimited and too arbitrary exploitation. Individually, in the difficult or dangerous events of life, a Hutu could rely upon the protection of his lord, of his army-chief, and

[6] Oppenheimer, 1922, p. 25.

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point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is useful to the speaker or expected from him and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a utilitarian usage of language.

5. ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

We have read the premise, as it were, into the Ruanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Ruanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question that we are not likely ever to know, such as a good knowledge of the Tutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Ruanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

Tutsi came into Ruanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into the country inhabited by Hutu looked rather like a peaceful infiltration, it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Hutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalization of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Ruanda inequality premise. It is possible that Tutsi had previously to their arrival in Ruanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they

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shaped the new Ruanda situation according to their ideology. 179
Again, it is possible that some themes and types of organization 178
of the Hutu cultivators were particularly capable of being used in 564
the formation of the Ruanda ethos as I have described it. But a conquest evolving into a caste structure is sufficient to account for an inegalitarian premise. Even if prior to the conquest each of the two groups concerned has an egalitarian ideology, the establishment of hereditary groups, whereby the status of vanquishers and vanquished is perpetuated, suffices to give birth to a theory of inequality.

I am of the opinion that such a theory is a necessary 'super- 121
structure' (in the Marxist sense) of a caste system. Undoubtedly, 114
a body of inheritance laws, opportunities for a certain kind of education restricted to the wealthiest, a difference in languages, &c., may maintain for some time a high social power in the hands of the conquerors' descendents, even if the cultural ideology is that all men are born equal. But such a lack of internal coherence ('all men are born equal' versus 'political and economic power is restricted to those who are descendants of the conquerors') is very likely to result rapidly in an evolution from a caste system to a class society. A 'racial' theory seems the only ideology perfectly consistent with a caste structure. It is very probable that conquerors adopt it not only for consistency's sake, but because it is more efficient, more easily understood and accepted, particularly when different physical traits are characteristic of each caste.

It should be understood that when we speak of 'the adoption of an ideology by the conquerors', it is not meant that one day the conquerors made a conscious choice among various possible ideologies. Rather, once a caste system operates, the patterns of political domination and of economic exploitation require people to behave as if the upper caste members were by nature different from that of the lower caste members. When the 'idea behind' these behaviours is made more or less explicit, as in tales and proverbs, it is rationalized in terms of fundamental and inborn inequality.

If there is such a necessary link between caste systems and the premise of inequality, then to know whether the conqueror's ideology, prior to the conquest, was egalitarian or not is only an historical question; when the vanquisher settles and establishes a caste system, the inegalitarian ideology is produced, as its corollary.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
564 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
583 hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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[8]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954. 184 113

[9]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi. 184

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help. 564 323

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

WTA 10

Richard Kandt says of the Batussi:

181 "If I analyze my feelings and state them honestly, I must say that I was impressed by them. Even now I have not lost this feeling although my mind rebels against it and although I have told myself hundreds of times that these people are, after all, barbarians far inferior to me intellectually. But it is of no avail! I have explained to myself the source of this feeling, so unusual to experience toward a colored person ... Apart from the gigantic stature, apart from the nobility of each movement and the dignity of their manner of speech, apart from the tasteful unobtrusive manner in which they dress, apart from their refined features and the calm penetrating, often even mocking and provocative eyes, apart from all this, there still is -- and here I hesitate and am unable to formulate the dim obscure feelings which hover in my imagination." (No. 22, p. 266.)

[564] This is a sentimental but a very understandable judgment. In actual fact the Batussi are a ruling caste, but not a ruling race in the ethical sense.

563 186 156 Gradually one discovers the secret of the tremendous superiority of the relatively few Batussi over the one and a half million Bahutu: they are greatly superior to them in intelligence, calmness, composure, cruelty, cunning, racial pride, solidarity, and political talent. What strikes one most about the individual Mutussi, apart from his imposing outward appearance which certainly must have made a great impression on the Muhutu from the beginning, is first his calm and what appears to be unconcerned reserve. In his contact with the restless, impulsive, thoughtless Muhutu, this has always been to his advantage. [609] Further one is struck by the arrogance he displays even toward Europeans, by his abysmal mendacity and cowardice when faced with any disagreeable situation. The Mutussi regards himself and his kind as the crown of creation, as a paragon of cleverness and political skill. This is small wonder, for the inferiority of the relatively few tribes within his sphere of vision -- intentionally kept narrowly circumscribed -- and the fact that a Batussi minority rules the large Bahutu people were bound to increase his feeling 186 609 of importance beyond all measure. It is true that he fears the

186 European because the latter is in possession of many mysterious
609 powers and resources, for example, the breechloader and technical skills, but he nevertheless considers him basically stupid since he can deceive him, and he looks down upon him with more contempt the less he knows and understands him. As a traveler, one at first has to get used to being looked up and down with a contemptuous smile by most Batussi in conversations and negotiations far from the military posts, and from then on it is best to treat them with a certain amount of humorous derision, provided one is capable of it. The longer one has traveled in Negro areas and the better one has familiarized oneself with Negro character, the more one is impressed when first meeting the Batussi by their proud reserve. There is no restless curiosity [15], no noisy, half fearful, half good-natured greeting as with most Negroes, but, calm and composed, these tall fellows stand there, leaning on their spears, and let the European pass or approach as though the unusual phenomenon did not impress them in the least. It is not until one matches their self-assurance and meets them with some force to back one up that one notices from the restless play of their eyes and the veins in their necks that most of them have a nervous uneasiness, anxiety, and fear concealed behind their apparent indifference.

● 181 Never or only very seldom does the Mutussi say what he thinks; it has to be inferred. Indeed, lying is not only customary to strangers, but it is a deep-rooted vice practiced toward everyone. This is a moral defect which cannot be glossed over by considering it optimistically, as R. Kandt does, as a "kind of competition between two intellects which to them is not dishonorable," or as "the unconscious transference into real life of their graceful riddle games, unusual for a Negro people, with which even as children they are accustomed to enliven conviviality" (No. 22, p. 273). Such romanticism is misleading in ethnology and ethnopsychology; sober objectivity in the evaluation of our colonial peoples is necessary for practical reasons alone.

In addition to mendacity, laziness and cowardice are also unpleasant character traits of the Batussi. The Mutussi never

The Mutussi never
181 works unless he belongs to the lower class, but he takes a sports-
[461] man-like interest in his cattle. Work is the concern of the subjugated Bahutu and hence disgraceful to a Mutussi, and only the really poor Batussi will stoop to it. To be rich and powerful and to enjoy life in idleness is for him the essence of wisdom, the ideal which he endeavors to achieve with the utmost cunning and lack of scruple. It is everyone for himself, a maxim which is also adhered to by the Batussi as a whole in their relations to the ruled people, the Bahutu and Batwa.

Naturally this life of pleasure, indulged in for hundreds of years, has done great harm to the character and manly virtues of the Batussi. That they were not without courage, warlike ability, and energy can be easily inferred from the fact that, although they are small in numbers now and doubtless even smaller at one time, they have conquered this large country. Witness also the early history of their royalty (see p. 162 [not translated]). For a long time now, however, they have had their internal and external battles fought for them by their bondsmen, their Bahutu vassals, while they keep themselves cautiously in the background and cunningly direct operations from a safe place. Of course, there are praiseworthy exceptions even here.

In spite of all this, it must be admitted that even in this respect the Barundi are on a higher level than the Banjaruanda. In Urundi the Batussi are not so pleasure-seeking, lazy, mendacious, violent, and cowardly as those in Ruanda, nor are the Bahutu so servile and hypocritical toward superiors and so insolent toward the weak as they are there, nor does the king along with the lords living at his court indulge to such a degree in idleness, revelry, intrigues, and the satisfaction of vicious and cruel instincts as does the one in Ruanda.

563 In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, it is above all the will
[556] to power and the desire for pleasure which have caused the ruling Batussi to keep the greatest form of wealth, cattle, to themselves. By this means alone they have created for themselves an economic power over [16] the mass of the Bahutu which also provides the surest foundation for their political predominance
[754] (see pp. 41-42). In addition they have cleverly succeeded in

563 acquiring a reputation among the superstitious Bahutu of being
[154] great sorcerers and have made themselves greatly feared for this reason. Also, the priesthood works hand in hand with them to enslave and exploit the people (see p. 134). The exploita-
563 tion of the mass of the people and the crass egoism of the small
642 Batussi minority are made possible by the whole ingenious political system of both the Barundi and the Banjaruanda, with its strict legal separation of races and castes, with the rigidly graded system of vassals and supervising officials, the hierarchy of priests, privileged families, princes, etc. All this will be described in detail in later chapters of this book. The astonishing political acumen of the Batussi merely promotes the selfishness with which they exploit the subject Bahutu. There is no trace of any higher conception of the state.

For this reason it is natural that the Bahutu regard the
563 Batussi only as conquerors of a different tribe whose yoke weighs
● 181 heavily on them. Yet, although they hate the Batussi, they make no effort to free themselves from their bondage for, like almost all Negro peoples, their nature necessitates subordination under a firm guiding hand. Moreover, their fear of the Batussi is so great that they would not hazard an open rebellion against them. Indeed, though few in numbers, the Batussi are vastly
563 superior to the Bahutu in intelligence and in the fact that a
186 solidarity exists among them which is constantly being renewed under the impulse of common interests. The Bahutu, on the other hand, are split up into a number of mutually warring clans and tribal groups, lack any sort of genuine national consciousness, and are being played off against each other in an ingenious manner by the Batussi.

000 As long as the Batussi are the rulers in the country, an intellectual and cultural revival of the Barundi people is impossible, for it is only the present depressed condition of the Bahutu, maintained through hundreds of years of seclusion, that guarantees the domination of the Batussi. For the time being, however, we Germans must collaborate with the Batussi and interest them materially in our projects in Urundi since we are still too weak to meet an open attack on their part. The goal of our long term colonial policy, however, must be to crush the

000 rule of the Batussi, liberate the Bahutu from the yoke of the Batussi, and win them over to our civilizing aims which are, at the same time, in their very own interest.

181 In conclusion, I shall cite a very acute judgment of the Barundi in general by R. Kandt: "The Warundi, it is true, are as cowardly as the Wanjaruanda but -- being in any case more lively and intelligent -- they are also more boastful and impertinent. In those days I never rid myself of the impression that all these histrionics, these war games, etc., were the expression of real street Arab mentality. For this reason I also believe that it will be more difficult to bring about a satisfactory state of affairs in Urundi than in Ruanda. Nevertheless, we shall never have such difficulties with either of them as might necessitate the far-reaching and dangerous defensive operations which were conducted in Uhehe, for example. These peoples, emasculated by centuries of bondage, do not know - and this is good -- what latent power lies dormant in the bodies of innumerable millions, and, lacking any deeper national consciousness, they will be the convenient tools of an intelligent colonization based on a knowledge of the country and language. They will never conceive of banding together in a united defense against foreign invasion. To arouse them from this slumber and to goad them into a united defiance of the Europeans would require such brutal clumsiness on the part of the administrators that probably none of us or our grandchildren need be afraid of experiencing the horror of it." (No. 22, pp. 325-326.)

[17] Chapter 2

Settlement, Dwellings, Food

361 In Urundi and Ruanda the surface character of the country, the form and type of its plateaus, hills, mountains, and valleys, determine the form and location of the settlements.

361 and villages differ considerably depending on the quality of the soil. In the densely populated western districts one passes a cluster of homesteads every quarter or half hour, but in the thinly populated eastern districts one sometimes travels over an hour without seeing or passing a courtyard or a village.

One never sees many people outside, neither on the roads, 363 near the grazing cattle, nor in the fields. Only close to the huts and within the kraals does one see people walking, standing, and squatting in groups. Old people 70 years old and older 145 are extremely rare. Very few seem to live beyond the age of 60, and this seems to be more often the case with the Batussi than with the Bahutu.

According to missionaries' reports, the population has 161 been increasing during the last ten years or so, since the petty wars between the batwale and the princes and the invasions of the Banjaruanda and the Baha [Ha] have become rarer and less bloody. Only in the Tanganyika region which has been hit by 164 sleeping sickness has the population decreased considerably. 731 In the rest of Urundi the number of inhabitants is occasionally reduced considerably by smallpox epidemics or by crop failures, which are especially fatal to children, but such famines are relatively rare. In 1892, 1896, 1904-5 and 1908, rinderpest, bad harvests, and smallpox caused great devastations. In 1910 the distress resulting from drought in eastern Urundi was so great that the mission at Mujaga had to buy up large amounts of manioc and beans in Uha for their natives. Some travelers 181 claim that the majority of the Bahutu are waiting to be liberated from their conquerors. I cannot confirm this from my observations. [20] [Fig. 2 appears here in original text.] [21] The enthusiastic reception that the Bahutu gave at the time to the first European arriving there, Oskar Baumann in Urundi and Count Götzen in Ruanda, did indeed spring from the traditional hope for a great new conqueror who would usher in a golden age, but like all East African Bantu the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda do not in the least thirst for freedom. As has been mentioned above, they are submissive and dependent on others; they are happiest under firm authority and as accustomed to the discipline of their

[Text continues on page 31]

181 Batussi masters as they formerly were to the scarcely more lenient rule of their Bantu chiefs. When one comes from Ruanda which is governed on a rigid monarchical basis, one is astonished at how much freer, happier, and noisier, but also with how much less discipline the Barundi live and behave under their Batussi batwale than in Ruanda.

361 221 233 Predominantly agriculturists and breeders of small cattle, the Bahutu are completely sedentary. The Batussi, who own all the big cattle, also have permanent dwellings, but during the dry months they engage in a kind of alpine farming with their herds of cattle in the fresher pastures of the mountains, as though in memory of their former life as nomads. This will be described in more detail later in our discussion of stock farming (see p.40).

342 The residential huts (insu) of the Barundi differ essentially neither in form nor in structure, technique or material, from those of the Banjaruanda. Externally they are usually somewhat flatter than the huts in Ruanda; they have the shape of an umbrella rather than a beehive. Yet both in Urundi and Ruanda the crinoline-like frame is bound together by means of wooden poles or, wherever there is bamboo, by means of bamboo poles, the empty spaces between them being filled with vertical and horizontal layers of sorghum stalks. The superimposed, flat, hemispherical roof is not supported by a single pole in the center, but by a number of them evenly distributed in the hut. The entire frame is covered down to the ground with straw of tall grass (sedge, not reeds), and in some regions with dry banana leaves. As a protection against rain, a stick with a wisp of straw which spreads out at the bottom is fastened at the point of the roof. The opening for the door with the somewhat protruding door roof resembles that of the Ruanda house, but its side walls are interwoven less carefully than those of the Ruanda house. The door opening is closed by a coarsely plaited screen, kept in place by a stick propped against it. Except for the single door, there is no opening in the entire structure (Plate 18). Thus, the smoke must escape through the door. The entire hut can be lifted by several men and shifted to a

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

suffer is not only to be hurt but also to expiate one's sins, to purify one's soul, and to identify oneself with Christ. For serious Christians, suffering cannot be stripped of its religious meaning without being completely distorted. Banyarwanda, on the contrary, seem to take a very 'secular' view of the human condition. Their belief in the supernatural world does not greatly influence their attitude to the unavoidable hardships and pleasures of life. All our informants agree that to die means above all to quit life. They believe that they will become *bazimu* but that leaves them rather indifferent. Even initiates do not show any enthusiasm for the idea of joining *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa* at their feasts. To abandon his children, his herds, his friends, is a sad thing for a Mututsi. But it is accepted, without dramatizing it, as one of those facts which belong to the normal order of things.

If quitting this life is so unfortunate, is human existence such a cheerful experience for Banyarwanda? Enjoyments and the pleasant things of life are very unevenly distributed in Ruanda. The superior caste, the Batutsi, form about 10 per cent. of the population. But, by various means, principally by the institutionalized exchange of cattle for services and dues, Batutsi have been able to gather a much higher proportion of consumers' goods. They do no manual work and have leisure to cultivate eloquence, poetry, refined manners, and the subtle art of being witty when talking and drinking hydromel with friends. Bahutu, perhaps 85 per cent. of the population, do not enjoy such gracious living. They have to produce for themselves and for Batutsi. On a very poor soil, with technologically primitive implements, it is necessary to work hard to secure the surplus production required by the Batutsi. Moreover, the great social influence of Batutsi has given opportunities for the arbitrary exercise of power, so that there are many insecurities in a Muhutu's life. But exploitation has been kept within limits set by the wisdom and the interests of the Batutsi, and a system of protection has assured a minimum of security to the Bahutu. As to the Batwa, they are so low in the social hierarchy, and are considered so irresponsible that they have had a greater independence of action. Formerly they lived on the margin of Ruanda society. They had a reputation for grossly enjoying any opportunities for eating, drinking, making music, and dancing. It should be added that Banyarwanda, according to our standards, have been rather defenceless against disease, that starvation was a real threat for the majority when the rains failed, that ritual observances and interdicts were numerous, and that when somebody happened to be involved in a charge of sorcery he had good reason for great fear. Thus it seems that, for an ordinary Munyarwanda, life is objectively hard, often dangerous but bearable. This partly explains the Ruanda outlook upon the totality of life. It might be described as a mild optimism. As many of our informants put it: 'Existence for Banyarwanda was not easy, it was even often very painful, but on the whole, life was rather a good thing.'

As everywhere, some individuals were at some time of their lives plunged into circumstances which offered apparently no way out. A Mututsi who

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

had incurred the king's displeasure and was for that reason left without protectors, friends, or cattle was in a desperate situation; only with difficulty could he gain a bare subsistence. A Muhutu against whom an accusation of sorcery was repeated; an unmarried girl of a noble family whose pregnancy became publicly known; all these, if they failed to escape from their predicament by skill and rational behaviour (such as obtaining the king's mercy, denying the charge of sorcery and looking for the protection of a powerful man, using abortifacients or denying the pregnancy), would have recourse to the *bapfumu*, seeking to know what spirit or sorcerer was responsible for their misfortune and how to appease the malevolent being. If all the practices and offerings recommended by the diviner had no effect, then they called upon *Imana*, and if their prayers were unanswered, only drastic solutions remained, such as exile in a foreign country or suicide. But these tragic destinies were not numerous and they did not shake the belief of the majority in the moderate happiness of living.

There is a further reason for their generally cheerful acceptance of the conditions of their existence. Banyarwanda are not inclined to speculate about the inaccessible. Westerners are given to imagining how beautiful and good life might be if humanity and the universe were different from what they are. This trend of thinking is quite alien to Banyarwanda and, when it is suggested, appears futile to them. The usual, the normal (in the sense of what we are accustomed to, and what we have reason to expect) is often self-explanatory. When a particular event fits into the normal scheme of things, there are no questions to be asked. If everybody has to relinquish this existence and die, death is no scandal or absurdity. It is the way *Imana* has arranged things. There is no further problem.

Cultural Values

Human action is determined partly by cultural values, partly by the socially recognized means of attaining them. By cultural values we mean the final or intermediate aims that are considered the proper purposes of human activity in a particular society.

In a stratified society, such as that of Ruanda, each layer is likely to have its own set of values, although some of those originating in one group may extend to others. Let us begin with the Batutsi. When a Mututsi informant is asked what the people of his group wish for above all, the answer comes immediately: 'children and cattle.' A further question, 'why?', discloses that these are not ultimate values sought for themselves, but intermediate ones, means to reach more abstract ends. The latter are power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

Power is understood here in connexion with persons (power over somebody) rather than with things (power to do something). It is, to paraphrase Lasswell's definition, the ability that a person, engaged in a human relationship with another, has to oblige the latter to do or not to do something (on pain of suffering severe privation). Power is essentially the capacity to

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

exert a significant pressure on somebody. In Ruanda, to be powerful is to be able to exact from others tribute in labour or in kind, or support for one's claims to some advantage to be obtained from the king. In the latter case pressure may remain undefined and indirect: for instance, a threat to withold backing which may later be necessary to the person who is now asked to support a request. We desire to have cattle, say our informants, because by giving one or two beasts to a Muhutu, he becomes our client (*mugaragu*) and then has to do, to a large extent, what we ask of him. We also like to have cattle in order to get as vassal another Mututsi who lacks them. The services expected from a vassal are not manual, but he will increase the influence of his lord by his family connexions and will be useful through his diplomatic shrewdness in dealing with his lord's intrigues. Finally, we desire to become ourselves the vassals of great chiefs, or even of the king, because we are then under the protection of somebody very important, we get more cows and that allows us to have more clients. 181 554 564

In order to become powerful it is important, almost indispensable, to have many children. Girls, by their marriages, extend one's family connexions and bring their fathers a few cows as bridewealth. Boys at an early age begin their military training which gives them a complete education in the skills, knowledge, and virtues pertaining to their noble condition. This training is given them as *intore* (chosen ones) at the royal court or at the court of an important chief. For a father to have a son at court would reinforce his influence: through his son he knows what is going on, and the king or the chief is constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence —an important security for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Mututsi, and thereby getting protection and cows for himself and his parents' family (*mulyango*). Finally, the marriages of his sons could create new links between the father and the families of his daughters-in-law. [581] [868] [557] [581]

In complex societies like our own the roads to power are many. In Ruanda it does not appear that power could be readily attained except through the possession of children and cows. As we shall see, warlike valour could confer very high prestige, but not necessarily power. Great warriors were often granted herds of cattle by the king as rewards for their prowess, and could then gain power by their cattle, but not directly.

If we press our analysis farther, we may say that from the point of view of power, the significance of children is to provide cattle or connexions. On the other hand, cattle give direct power (over the Bahutu clients) or ensure connexions. In relation to Bahutu labourers, cattle have many of the social functions of money in our culture. They enable the man who owns them to exert pressure on those who have few or none of their own and who try to acquire them in exchange for services. In order to facilitate comparison with other ways of life, we may use the term wealth (as a medium of exchange) instead of cattle. As for connexions, what is meant here is that type of relationship in which one party may require something from the 181 554 556 564

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181 554 556 564 other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and relationships in which sanctions are implied.

181 554 233 564 [272] The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely connected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was considered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone. As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an important herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover, cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was [538] devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beautiful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-value is readily understandable.

181 554 564 The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A family has property which is handed on from one generation to another, common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and their esteem for the father is enhanced.

181 554 564 Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous. They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

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main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

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is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

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that they are the almost indispensable means for achieving these ends. 181
The originality of Ruanda culture does not lie in its high valuation of power 554
and fame. These are recognized ends in many cultures. What is distinctive 564
is the paucity and the indispensability of the means provided in that society for effecting these purposes.

An ordinary Muhutu could never hope to achieve a position of power over other men comparable to that which a Mututsi could attain without difficulty. A well-to-do Muhutu could acquire a few servants either by ensuring the subsistence of other Bahutu poorer than himself or, like a Mututsi, by the gift of cattle. But this was not common. Ambition for power is proper to people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. The ultimate value for Bahutu is security, for this means protection from the things our informants say they fear above all: accusations of witchcraft, starvation, and the arbitrary actions of the powerful. There are no direct methods of protecting oneself against the first of these threats. All that can be done preventively is to be a good neighbour, not to be envied by anybody, not to have enemies. . . . But there are ways of reducing the other two dangers and these are the intermediate values which the Bahutu earnestly seek: work, children, and patronage.

Bahutu till the soil from which they have to get subsistence, the tribute 181
demanded by the chief, and perhaps a surplus. This surplus is extremely 564
important because it will enable them to acquire some goats, sheep, even a 461
cow, to have the time to work for their lord, to store enough food to get a few servants who will then increase production. Surpluses may be obtained only by work. That is why, among Bahutu, the man or the woman who works hard and competently is highly considered. Work enables Bahutu to achieve some security against starvation and even to attain moderate wealth.

There is a Ruanda proverb that the dog is not feared because of his 181
fangs but because of his master. This is the main reason why a Muhutu 564
wants to have a patron. A peasant rich enough to own a couple of cows needs the protection of somebody more powerful than himself in order to avoid the arbitrary exactions of some member of the dominant class. Patronage was institutionalized by the *buhake* agreement mentioned above. Like the lord in medieval Europe, the patron was bound to protect his client in most of the dangerous situations of life. A second reason for seeking a patron lay in the material and moral advantages accruing from the possession of cattle.

If we wish to state Bahutu values in more abstract terms, we may say that they seek security through the production of agricultural goods and the protection of a powerful patron.

Although he is not indifferent to his reputation, the Muhutu does not 181
seem to stress its importance as much as does the Mututsi. The reputation 564
he desires reflects the values of his caste. He likes to be considered a 554

their children just because they are their children. This, of course, exists in Ruanda as in many other cultures. [854]

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181 *mugabo* (a rich man) and a *mukungu*—a very rich man possessing a few
564 cows, many fields, goats, and bee-hives. He enjoys the recognition of his
554 fidelity to his master and his qualities as a labourer.

The Batwa never had the stability of peasants. They were hunters, potters, dancers, buffoons, and were regarded by their neighbours as being on the margin of society. They did not possess anything that others could envy. Consequently security from exactions was not such an important value for them. As people who lived a hazardous and unsettled existence, they greatly appreciated momentary and immediate satisfactions, and among these, food, especially during periods of scarcity, was the object of their activity. Their principal means of securing food varied according to their particular occupations. Hunters depended on their ability and their courage, of which they were very proud. Dancers, musicians, and buffoons relied on their talents and on the favour of their masters, their loyalty to whom was widely recognized. Indeed it is said that one could rely upon a Mutwa much more than on anybody else.

The social and economic situation of the Batwa explains and to some extent determines the value they attach to gratifying the basic need for food. Ability in their specialized occupations and a blind faithfulness to their masters were the best means to achieve that satisfaction, but skills and loyalty were also valued for themselves.

Rules of Human Action

517 These values, ultimate and intermediate, were eagerly sought by Banyar-
183 wanda but, as in any society, some means for realizing them were prohibited under certain circumstances. Stealing is rarely, if ever, culturally accepted as an ordinary practice for getting rich. Socially defined values are to be reached by socially approved means. We do not suggest that, in a particular society, the rules of action appear as merely social imperatives, or that the only basis for these rules is social. We would point out that some rules of action, whatever their origin and their philosophical foundation, are part of the collective heritage in any society. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, there are such rules of action. Murdering somebody who is not an enemy of one's family is prohibited. Women are forbidden to commit adultery and, among Batutsi and Bahutu, unmarried girls may not have sexual intercourse. When an order is issued by somebody in authority it has to be obeyed.

517 Does submission to the rules appear only as the rational behaviour of one
676 who wishes to avoid an external punishment or is it moral conduct? Does a prospective offender refrain from wrong-doing simply in order to avoid very probable and unpleasant consequences, or is it his conscience which tells him that he should not follow his desire?

Of course this is not an either-or problem, but the question of degree or relative stress is important. Even in cultures which lay most stress on the moral motivation to action, external social sanctions are useful deterrents from prohibited behaviour. In Ruanda these external sanctions exist. Those

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a very considerable extent universality and absoluteness, qualifies some of its commands. The degree of absoluteness and universality of the Ruanda rules of conduct is much lower. We might say that most of its precepts are qualified in relation to persons and circumstances. To steal cattle was forbidden, but a Mututsi could take the cattle of a Muhutu who had no lord. For a Muhutu to rob a foreigner was not forbidden. A wife might not commit adultery, but she was allowed to have sexual relations with people when ordered by her husband to do so and, even without her husband's permission, a woman could have intercourse with her husband's brothers and parallel cousins. Killing a man was prohibited, but not if he was an enemy of Ruanda or of the family, and if the feud had not been barred by the king. Banyarwanda certainly had no idea of rules of behaviour applicable to all men in virtue of their common humanity. This is perfectly consistent with the Ruanda conception of mankind and the very significant inequalities which Banyarwanda observe between themselves and neighbouring peoples and, among themselves, between the different castes.

To conclude, the rules of human action which prohibit or enjoin the use of certain means in order to achieve the culturally recognized values of Ruanda are sanctioned, not only by organized and unorganized social reactions but also by individual conscience or guilt feelings. The foundation of this moral code is not religious or supernatural but traditional; its content is a multiplicity of rules synthesized under a few moral principles. Particular precepts do not have a universal application but are relative to persons and groups.

Human Relations

Two principles dominate the field of human relations in Ruanda: inequality of men and indefinite reciprocity.

For the Banyarwanda all men have indeed a common nature; they are ultimately the descendants of the same ancestor. But this notion does not seem to be very significant, for Banyarwanda are much more impressed by the differences displayed by the various castes. The characteristics of these castes are stereotyped and repeated in many folk-tales. Batutsi are intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), apt to command, refined, courageous, and cruel. Bahutu are hard-working, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong. Batwa are gluttonous, loyal to their Batutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, lacking in restraint. These characteristics, with differences in stress and shading, are generally recognized by all Banyarwanda. As they reflect the Mututsi point of view, it appears that the superior caste has been able to make other people see themselves in important respects as Batutsi see them. Moreover, those qualities are considered to be innate, not acquired. A Mututsi is born clever and a Muhutu impulsive. Some tales, more widely known than those concerning the creation of man, relate how the first Batutsi came to Ruanda

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800 years before our era. To him is attributed the erection of the lotus column in the Temple of Karnak.

[141] 2.10 meters. /29/

142 They have well-proportioned limbs, regular features, a straight nose, thin lips, and they present striking resemblances to the Egyptian Pharaohs. Like Ethiopians, the Batutsi are characterized by a brown complexion with reddish undertones, at least in some types, and by a somewhat elongated oval face.

157 Usually gay, they are easily approachable and impress others with their noble, slightly haughty but polite manner.

141 While the average stature of the Batutsi is estimated at 1.79 meters, that of the Bahutu is 1.67 meters. The latter are stockier and shorter, with less regular features. Their muscular strength is 147 greater than that of their masters, no doubt because of the heavy work they perform.

152 As a whole, the Bahutu are less appealing, less polite, and shier than the Batutsi. When angry they cannot control themselves 577 as well as the latter, but on the other hand they are simpler and have more rigid mores (1).

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●181

1. Most of the great chiefs are polygamous or keep concubines in their many domains. The simpler Hamitic herders, who are in the majority, are usually monogamous and of a sterling moral character equaling that of the Bahutu. One might even add that those who lead a pastoral life could give the Bahutu advice in matters of decency.

1 [i.e., the Batutsi - Analyst]

142 lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs,' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies,' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, [141] while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'." (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

233 This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them
556 than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a
●181 sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart," they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!, "May you come to own many cows!"

684 It is not extraordinary to hear that a wronged husband has taken justice into his own hands, especially if the culprits were caught in flagrante delicto. As for unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), in the Bugoyi 684 they were abandoned on the islands of Lake Kivu where they died of 848 starvation. The small, rocky, and completely arid islands of Ntera, Kapfunuka, and Itembabagoyi were renowned on this account, along with the larger but deserted islands known by the name of Bugarura, Wawu, etc. In the Nduga and other provinces bordering the Akanyaru, the girls were inexorably hunted out by the chiefs, who had them drowned in the river. They were thrown in with their hands and feet tied, and if they did not sink below the water right away, they were knocked on the head with oars and clubs, under the eyes of the populace who had come to witness their torture. There is a river dweller who is in charge of the execution of those unfortunate victims and who tells cold-bloodedly of the drownings he has carried out. If one is to believe him, a dozen victims have passed through his hands. It is said that a grandfather acted as his own granddaughter's executioner to avoid persecution by the chiefs, who take advantage of /53/ the opportunity to pillage the home of the wrongdoer's relatives. Occasionally, families succeeded in ransoming their child by giving a cow to the local authorities, but obviously such recourse was not available to everyone. Even in this case the newborn child was pitilessly killed at birth. Sometimes the culprit could also be made to escape in time to Urundi, the Ndorwa, or the Congo. The motive alleged for such severity is fear of the punishment that would not fail to befall the country if such crimes were allowed.

● 181 Let us add that we are speaking of the past, and that today it would be very difficult to dispose of the criminals without the knowledge of the Europeans. Crimes of this kind, moreover, were relatively rare. The Banyarwanda are indeed superior by far to neighboring peoples as far as morality is concerned. It is of little moment that this should be attributed to the altitude of the country, which reaches an average of 1, 700 or 1, 800 meters, or to their working habits, both of which facts are incidentally quite true.

[152 In any event the women are very shy. So are the nubile girls, 862] who are closely watched by their mothers.

614 with their totems or even with other animals, to render them harmless
825 or to excite them against their enemies.

This, however, is a belief that will soon disappear, for the Banyarwanda take small notice of their totems nowadays.

538 As far as oral literature and folklore in general are concerned, one may assert without risk of error that the Banyarwanda have no reason to envy the neighboring peoples.

There may be few Black groups who managed to preserve so many and such ancient traditions, made all the more precious by the fact that they help us understand more than one facet of their history. This will be shown readily /61/ in the course of this work. We believe that the Hamites, who are given to the things of the mind and have organized the country methodically, must be justly regarded as the chief authors of this literary development.

●181 The Bahutu of Ruanda owe to these same Batutsi the appreciable advantage of being less backward, less "primitive" than many of their fellow Bantu of Central Africa. Because they were less isolated than most of the members of the tiny neighboring states at the time of European penetration, the Banyawanda found themselves in a situation more favorable to the progress of civilization thanks to the centralization of the Hamitic state.

171 The inhabitants of Ruanda, as we have just pointed out, have more than one trait in common with the other African tribes. In speaking on the subject, Maurice Delafosse provides the following explanation, "The African Negro peoples, as different from one another as they may seem to a superficial observer, have a unified character which may be attributed to their common ethnic origins and to the relative similarity of the physical, economic, and social environments where they first developed and where they later evolved." (1)

1. Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro African Civilizations/.

157 As for the reader who wishes to know what to think of the Blacks, we must answer in all sincerity that it is very difficult to

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It is a sort of mystic reagent, and as such it is infallible.

"The native is so convinced of this that often he takes no precautions before undergoing the test. He does not make use of his right to watch while the poison is being prepared, he does not scrutinize the dose to see whether it may not be too strong, the liquid too thick, etc.... Why should he, since the beverage does not act physically, so to speak, but spiritually? It does not matter whether a little less or a little more is swallowed. The outcome of the test does not depend on this...

"Such is the faith they have in trial by ordeal that the natives regard the matter of who pounded the poison into powder as an unimportant detail." (Levy-Bruhl, La Mentalité primitive /The Primitive Mentality/, pp. 250 and 251.)

[181] Full of trust, sure of their innocence, and excessively naïve, the natives are completely blind to the frauds of the sorcerers, who call the accused persons in turn into a hut or to an isolated spot. What crimes and injustices have been committed by those doctors in occult sciences!

Other Judicial Tests

695 A. The drum test. One rubs cow dung on the surface of a drum and pours some water onto it, which the accused gathers in his hands and brings to his lips, while the man who presides over the ordeal loudly cries, "May the shades of the deceased and the spirits

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

181 563 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 [578] The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi [163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He [481] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different 563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and 191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

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April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Evereerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

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later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

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The conditions favouring contamination by different diseases and the very limited defences against them permit us to assume that illness and mortality through these diseases must have been very high and a constant threat to everybody. 164

These brief notes on health conditions in Ruanda would be incomplete without a mention of mental health. We are not attempting here an assessment of the neuroses and psychoses which can be found in Ruanda or to the number of people affected by them and who, in the Western world, would be considered in need of psychiatric treatment. There is not sufficient information on these matters at present. But we would like to consider very briefly conditions which are likely to result in psychological tensions. 121

We have already mentioned the circumstances which make life objectively hard (a barely sufficient diet, starvation periods, and diseases). In addition it was often dangerous. When informants were asked what sort of reputation they particularly wished to avoid, they did not usually answer by listing the opposites of those particular qualities which they would like to have attributed to them, but by pointing to some definite reputation in which danger might be inherent. Above all, a Tutsi feared to be regarded as an enemy of the king. It was no doubt partly because he felt a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be thought of as an enemy of the king was extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of everything, the severance of all social relations, exile, or even death. He also feared to be considered a traitor to his chief. This was a less dangerous reputation, although it entailed sanctions: if a client had been disloyal to his lord the latter might take back from him all the cattle he had previously given him and eventually all his cattle. The Hutu said that they feared an accusation of witchcraft, for such an accusation could certainly mean immediate death. There was little that could be done actively to avoid such a danger except to be a good neighbour, to be envied by nobody, to have no enemies, and especially to have a powerful protector. The Hutu were also afraid of acquiring any reputation which could result in their losing the protection of the lord to whom they owed allegiance and consequently leaving them exposed and defenceless against the arbitrary actions of the powerful.[21] 152 626 681 591 181

[21] Cf. Maquet, 1954a, or Maquet, 1958.

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Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[32] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[33] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[32] Maquet, 1958, pp. 526-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[33] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(c) *Procreational function*

181 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and 554 cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children 557 was almost indispensible for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, 858 extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby reinforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained [556] later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one [571] party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

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Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10]

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1955, pp. 85-86.

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indices and the lynching of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union. There is evidently no rational means for the whites of the south to impute the responsibility for the lack of rain—which was then the cause of the poor cotton crops—to Negroes. This typically irrational behaviour, however, becomes comprehensible if we accept the frustration-aggression sequence. In this sense, it can be said that the relation between the two phenomena, economic crises and lynching, is a logical relation.[8]

Ruanda political relations disclose one of the premises of that culture. Underlying the political and feudal structures there was a general assumption about human relations. In order to formulate it as accurately as may be possible, I shall first consider more closely the social roles of the superior and inferior in the field of political and feudal relations. In the following section the words 'ruler' and 'subject' refer to superiors and inferiors in the administrative, military, and clientage structures.

2. THE RULER'S AND SUBJECT'S SOCIAL ROLES

The analysis of the political organization of Ruanda indicates that the ruler was expected to assume a complex role towards his subject. The two poles of it were protection and profit. The subordinate was somebody whom one protected: he was also a resource from which it was normal to draw some advantage.

Protection was not restricted to a certain field of action, but potentially encompassed the whole of the subject's life. When the inferior needed some help, any help, he was expected to apply to his ruler even if the issue was completely alien to the sphere of the main relations between the ruler and the subject. A client could ask his *shebuja* for aid in matters not pertaining to cattle and *buhake* services. It was even thought proper for the ruler to interfere in difficulties which his subject through his own misdemeanour had run into as, for instance, when an inferior had been caught stealing from somebody. When protection was refused, it was not because the question was not the ruler's concern, but on other grounds, such as disloyalty.

The extent of that protection was not strictly defined. It did not constitute for the ruler a set of particular and fixed obligations. The subordinate had a general right to be protected but very few claims to particular advantages. In *buhake*, when one offered one's

[8] Dollard, 1939, p. 44 (quoted by Maquet, 1951, p. 166).

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protection and profit. Of course, that role was not always perfectly fulfilled. Chiefs who have been more exploiters than protectors are remembered. It was by comparison with that ideal picture that their behaviour was judged and blamed. 571 829 156 641

The subject was expected to have a role complementary to the one we have just described. He was supposed to assume an attitude of dependency. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a well delimited field. Dependence is inferiority in the whole of life. When the ruler gives an order, he has to be obeyed, not because his order falls within the field over which he has authority, but because he is a ruler.

It could be objected that in Ruanda this attitude of dependence was not in principle unlimited. We saw that cattle- and land-chiefs could not require as many dues as they liked, that subjects could resort to higher authorities against their immediate chiefs, and that it was possible to oppose one chief against another. This does not change the fact that the dependent attitude was the only one socially expected of the subject. Indeed it was impossible to be considered a 'good' subject if one asserted independence of one's superior. A claim of independence, even limited, obliged one to leave the superior, to ask for the support of another and to assume towards the latter an attitude of complete compliance. This appeared clearly in the feudal relation. A lord could not be refused what he asked (even at the present time a shop assistant who is obliged by the law to sell only for cash, will find it very difficult not to sell on credit to his lord). He could only be deserted for another.

3. FORMULATION OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

When paternalism and dependence define the permanent roles expected from two persons, much more is implied than when they express the transitory roles of a father and his young son. In the latter case it is known that the son will grow up and one day, even if he has to wait till after his father's death, will be equal to what his father was when the latter was young. But when paternalism and dependence are linked in permanent reciprocal roles, the assumption is that there is a fundamental inequality between the two persons. The subject will never grow up, he will never 'reach his majority'. It is implied without any doubt that there is between the ruler and his subject a difference so fundamental that it never can be suppressed. This fundamental inequality of men is the 571 829 181

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181 cultural premise underlying the social roles of the ruler and the subject.

564 We have seen that Ruanda society is made up of three hereditary groups with a very different participation in social power and that 829 these differences were explained in terms of innate qualities. On the other hand, in a very great proportion of the political and feudal relations, the superior and the inferior belong to different castes. This indicates in what sense Ruanda feel men to be unequal.

This was not an inequality founded on differences in individual qualities or possessions. Of course, a very clever and artful man, a very wealthy possessor of great herds of cattle, could exert much greater influence, could have access to many more amenities of life and would command much more respect than a not very intelligent or a not very wealthy man. But these differences were not regarded as entailing such a significant inequality between them if they belonged to the same caste. Caste affiliation was mainly what made men unequal.

564 Several stories expressed the differences between the three castes and the qualities which were thought characteristic of 186 them.[6] I mentioned above physical stereotypes. To them, moral qualities were added. Tutsi were said to be intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), capable of command, refined, courageous, and cruel; Hutu, hardworking, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong; Twa, gluttonous, loyal to their Tutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, without any restraint. These stereotypes, admitted with only minor qualifications and slight differences and emphases by all Ruanda, Hutu and Twa as well as Tutsi, were thought to be essentially linked to caste affiliation. When asked if a Hutu brought up with Tutsi, and as a Tutsi boy, could not develop the Tutsi qualities, Hutu and Tutsi informants answer that such a training [828] could change the boy to some extent, but not completely; the differences pertain to nature.

564 Caste status was, of course, not founded on a difference of qualities, objective or assumed, in the sense that if a particular Hutu was recognized as intelligent and courageous as a Tutsi, his status remained nevertheless unaffected. What mattered primarily indeed was not to have the qualifications of the upper caste, but to have been born in it. This was sufficient to determine a very

[6] Cf. for instance Sandrart, 1930, p. 139; Hurel, 1922.

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different share in social power and fundamentally different rights. 564

The Ruanda principle of inequality could be expressed in the following terms: people born in different castes are unequal in inborn endowment, physical as well as psychological and have consequently fundamentally different rights. [181]

That premise, closely connected with the caste structure, is suggested by the analysis of the political and feudal structures. Indeed, when a principle of inequality exists in a society with respect to a certain type of relations, it does not fail to spread to other relations more or less similar. In Ruanda, the inegalitarian premise of inter-caste relations has permeated the intricate relations which could be regarded as analogous in certain respects. A Tutsi who was lord over another Tutsi was thought to be superior over his client in a way comparable to the manner in which he was superior over his Hutu clients. Of course significant differences remained between inter- and intra-caste relationships of superiority, but the latter tended to be patterned on the former ones. 181 571 564

The extension to intricate relations of the premise of inter-caste inequality made it a principle of integration with a very wide bearing as it could, and did, in fact, pervade all the human relations in which a superiority of one actor over the other was implied. It could be the relation between a mother and her young child, a father and his son, a man and his wife, an old man and a youngster, a craftsman and an apprentice, &c. These relations constituting the texture of social life, the impact on collective living of the premise of fundamental inequality, cannot be over-estimated.

4. THE THEOREMS

In order to understand better how the inequality premise influenced the whole of Ruanda social life, the different aspects of that influence must be made explicit. They will be expressed as a set of theorems, by which is meant general propositions or statements which are not self-evident. 128

Theorem One

When two persons are involved in any kind of social relation, it is their mutual hierarchical situation which is regarded as the most relevant element of the relation. 571 156

Superiority and inferiority were *foci* of the Ruanda social structure to such an extent that as soon as they entered as a 554

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inferior to the other to claim some particular fulfilment of the agreed promises from the other.

This appears clearly in the difficulties Ruanda often meet when they have to adjust themselves to European labour contracts. They are sometimes confused by the fact that the employer requires from them at the same time less and more than they expect. Less because the employer does not ask for more services, for longer office hours for instance, than what has been stipulated, and more because he is very exacting in the execution of what has been undertaken, for instance in matters of punctuality.

Theorem Five

With such socially accepted conceptions about inequality, those who occupy the superior positions in most of the social relations in which they are involved, tend to develop a permanent authoritarian behaviour. This is characterized by a propensity to command, to be self-assertive, arrogant, protective, and compassionate.

Chiefs, rulers, and other superiors try to extend not only the size or range of their power (the number of people controlled) but its density (the degree of control of the subordinates).[7] Any independence manifested by the inferior will be resented as rebellious.

This leads to intolerance. The superior's opinions should never be opposed by the inferior who is always and everywhere expected to manifest his dependence by attitudes of compliance. Even today this conduct tends to prevail. Some years ago a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. After the most important person present there had given his opinion, everybody voted for his proposal. But after the meeting many expressed privately their divergent opinions. At the time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with the superior.

Theorem Six

Even if the caste system and political and feudal institutions have succeeded to a large extent in moulding personalities in such a way as to make inferiors self-effacing, submissive, compliant, and dependent, the conditioning has not been perfect. Often the inferior wants to disagree with his superior's opinions, to avoid executing an order or obeying his commands. A straight refusal

[7] Cf. Russell, 1938, pp. 165 f.

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being regarded as insulting, disrespect or revolt, the only way out for the inferior is to appear to behave always as expected: to fall in with any desire of his superior while concealing his own opinion, never to say no to any order but to find clever excuses for not doing it. Consequently dissimulation is very highly thought of and a skill necessary to master for someone wanting to live more or less securely under such a political régime.

Many stories and proverbs give evidence of the frequency of covert disobedience to the rulers and of the appreciation in which an astute excuse and a 'good lie' were held. This was the only way to adapt oneself to such a situation.

Theorem Seven

It is commonly accepted in the Western tradition that truth has a high value and that language is the medium used to express 'truth', that is to say, 'what reality appears to be to the person who speaks'. Undoubtedly, in Western practice, language is used, even in the cognitive sphere, for many other purposes than to express what the speaker thinks. Moreover, most of the scholars who, in recent years, have studied the problem of the origin and function of language, bring qualifications to the traditional view. In the almost unanimous opinion of the carriers of Western culture, however, the ideal verbal behaviour must express 'truth' and not what is useful to the speaker. This is, for example, what is inculcated into children in schools.

In a society in which human relations are imbued with some cultural premises as the one being considered in this chapter, 'truth' cannot be recognized as a dominant value. Indeed, one is supposed to use language not to say what is thought to conform to reality but what is thought to conform to the ruler's opinion. Nobody, the ruler included, entertains many illusions on the sincerity of what is said, but submission has been expressed at the right time and this is felt to be most important.

This theorem could be formulated in this way: the verbal behaviour towards a superior must express dependence rather than 'truth'.

Theorem Eight

Once it is taken for granted that in hierarchical relations, behaviour must conform to the superior's expectations even to the

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181 point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to
591 spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is
554 useful to the speaker or expected from him and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a utilitarian usage of language.

5. ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

121 We have read the premise, as it were, into the Ruanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Ruanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question that we are not likely ever to know, such as a good knowledge of the Tutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Ruanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

174 Tutsi came into Ruanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into
178 the country inhabited by Hutu looked rather like a peaceful
564 infiltration, it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Hutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalization of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Ruanda inequality premise. It is possible that Tutsi had previously to their arrival in Ruanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they

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[3]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954. 184 113

[3]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi. 184

[4]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help. 564 323

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

WTA 10

144 changes occurred; the ethnic character of the Barundi changes only slightly, in spite of the fact also that political connections with the Mountain Barundi had become much less close.

[12] In 1901 Richard Kandt wrote as follows of the
691 Barundi of the Tanganyika lowlands.

"Politically the area between the eastern periphery of the Central African graben and the Ruzizi is divided into from ten to twelve rather small sultanates, most of which probably cover approximately 150 to 200 square kilometers. They are nominally not independent; their rulers, who all belong to the Semitic Watussi of the Galla territories south of Abyssinia, were originally vassals of the king of Urundi, or the 'Muesi' as he is called by title. But although the majority of the inhabitants gives the impression of being almost pure Warundi, the high crest of the peripheral mountains and the broad desolate primeval forest were too convenient a bulwark not to arouse the desire of independence in the population which is hardly affected by grandiose ideas of national unity, the more so since the mother country is also split up into a large number of mutually warring chiefdoms which are only loosely bound to the central power. The only existing remnant of cohesion seems to be the fact that the Muesi has some kind of religious importance which makes his chief think it advisable not to sever all connections with him.

If we consider how infinitely different the entire living
● 182 conditions of the Lake Warundi dwelling near Tanganyika are from those of the Mountain Warundi and how far back the various influences go which affect the Lake Warundi (namely, the presence of the Wasuaheli [Swahili], the Arabs, and the various western tribes following in their footsteps), we are surprised at how stubbornly they have nevertheless remained true in the matter of their external appearance, language, and customs to the peculiarities of their unusually isolated native country. The same is true of the Warundi living in the low valley of the Ruzizi, except that for them the temptation to abandon the customs of their forefathers was considerably smaller, and the farther north they lived, the smaller it became." (No. 22, pp. 339-340.)

231 the last herds of the long-horned cattle in the Urundi border villages west of the Kisuma River; east of this, in lower northern Uha, the bush forest and tsetse fly begin.

In Urundi and Ruanda there are none of the smaller, short-horned zebu or humped cattle that are found in the rest of East Africa. Bahima cattle are so well adjusted to the climate and the mode of life of the highlands of the interlacustrine region that they thrive only in this region. As soon as the animals are taken to the lower areas, that is, to Unjamwesi, Lake Victoria, or to the coastal regions, they languish and soon die, even if they are not stung by the tsetse fly. In this respect they are quite like the Batussi themselves with whom they live in a kind of symbiosis.

As a former nation of shepherds, the Batussi place a high value on their cattle which is quite foreign to the Bantu. It far exceeds the estimate of their capital value. Cattle are not regarded as producers of meat, as an "article of consumption," but as original capital from which only the dividends (milk, [237] butter, blood tapped from the living animal, hair) may be used, while the capital itself (individual heads of cattle) may only be exchanged for other valuable capital assets, for example, women. More than that, cattle have a high sentimental value for the [182] Mutussi. His entire thoughts and aspirations revolve around the cattle; they are for him the mainstay of his social order, yes, even the object of his devotion which in many cases even transcends into the religious sphere. Accordingly, they are objects of a cult which is full of symbols and mystical relationships. [776] The highest deity, Imana, is first of all protector of the cattle. In East Africa we find a similar attitude among the Hamito-Nilotic nation of herdsmen, the Massai. In whatever concerns cattle, a woman has no say at all. The entire breeding and [462] care of the cattle, even milking, is the job of the man. It is true that in this sphere too the Bahutu have to do all the heavy work, cleaning the animals, tending the cattle in the pasture, milking the cows, etc., but the Mutussi does the more delicate work: he chooses the animals for breeding; he is the veterinarian; he decides what animals are to be killed or sacrificed; and he does this job with all the affection of the sportsman for his animal.

614 Wherever monarchy with its state organization has not yet
621 dissolved the clans and dispersed their members all over the various feudal districts of the Batussi state (see p. 89), wherever the clans have preserved the main elements of their ancient solidarity and autonomy, as is the case particularly in the more or less independent border provinces of Urundi (and Ruanda), the clans form small or large communities under an elected clan elder (umugabo). This is especially true of
614 the Bahutu clans that existed in the area before the period of
423 Batussi rule. The office of the umugabo is hereditary in
621 many cases. The central communalistic element in the organization of these clans is the communal ownership of the land occupied by the clan. The land belongs to the clan community probably because it was originally appropriated and cultivated by the clan. The individual clan members is merely entitled to the use of the land he cultivates or of the pasture where his cattle grazes. Only the hut built on this ground is the real property of the individual, in addition to the inventory of implements, tools, weapons, and the cattle he has raised from the herd with which he has been vested by his feudal lord (see p. 93).

614 E. Johanssen, a missionary who in 1907 founded the first Protestant missionary stations of Dsinga and Kirinda in Ruanda
●182 and who is an eminent student of the Banjaruanda, makes the
[114] following comment on the social importance of the Ruanda clans: "These kin group organizations hand down the old customs and traditions from one generation to the next. In this way they preserve the national characteristics against intermixture and decay. The easier it is to loosen the ties of the family group in its narrowly defined sense as a result of polygamy and by the dissolution of marriage, the greater is the [105] importance of the stable, indissoluble, religiously determined kin group. The destruction of this group would cause the entire nation to disintegrate and to split up into isolated groups which would be exposed to any outside influence. There can be no doubt that the kin group, as the

614 vehicle of tradition and religious customs (totem, food taboos,
182 sacrificial community), has been of great importance in sustaining the nation's life." (No. 39, p. 73.) This characterization also applies to the clans of the Barundi.

However, the Batussi monarchy is a most powerful enemy
614 of the clan organization. The growing power of the Batussi kings
642 has laid claim, as has been shown above, to all the land and
182 cattle as the personal property of the king who parcels it out in larger or smaller portions as fiefs to his Batussi followers (see p. 89). The king's vassal, in turn, divides his fief into smaller portions with which he vests his people. The former clan elder is usually appointed mutwale of the king and collects the taxes and other tribute of which he retains a share. Under the conquering kings the clan has thus been disrupted socially and economically and has been rather quickly absorbed into the political feudal community of the state, although it may still retain its clan name, its old customs, some of its institutions, and its totem for a long time to come.

There is one element of the old clan organization which
642 the clan members have retained even under the political re-
614 organization of the Batussi monarchy since it offers them a
628 strong protection against arbitrary acts of their rulers: it is
182 the vendetta (kuhora). Originally, allied clans used it as the most effective way to protect themselves when they were threatened by other clans. Even at the present time the vendetta is the strongest bulwark for the protection of the individual in spite of the fact that public and private security has considerably increased under the strong rule of the royal batwale. Despite criminal jurisdiction administered by the batwale, the vendetta is still used by the clan members as the most effective form of self-help and as a protective instrument of intimidation on the part of those who are politically weak. A person who kills or injures a member of a clan is killed or wounded by the members of the wronged clan (see p. 97). If the wrongdoer cannot be apprehended, the vendetta will strike another member of the criminal's clan. Indeed, more than that, some clans

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price; the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are [589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor. If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable to raise the bride price, i. e., the purchase price of a wife. Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within
583 the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a
685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358).
595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

127 217 suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before 105 going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the 563 record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, [178] that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be 563 briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu 178 is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded 557 to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change [182] has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the [578] economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This 648 conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the 645 distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged [671] with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European [177] régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

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Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10]

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1935, pp. 85-86.

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cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

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Servants' labour belonged completely to their masters. These servants (*abatindi* for men, *abaja* for women) were either war captives or simply very poor people (this is the first meaning of the word *abatindi*). Their payment consisted in receiving food, shelter, and clothing from their masters. Sometimes it was agreed that after a certain period of time (such as three years) the master would either pay the bride-wealth to provide the servant with a wife or would even give him his own daughter.

Family heads were the only persons who could dispose of their own labour resources, with the exception of that part required by the lord and the political authority.

• • •

Almost any Ruanda family head could command enough rights to capital goods and labour to make his rugo self-supporting, with a certain surplus for his chief and his overlord. But these rights were not finally his. The ultimate control of the factors of production was not his. Labour, land, and cattle, in that order, were increasingly slipping away from his control. Command of the factors of production and political power was so interwoven in Ruanda social structure that they are to be analysed together in the following chapter devoted to the political organization.

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180 To provide the central government with regular revenues, to
[691] maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge
634 in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief,
622 however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

121 Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

643 In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine.
[193] The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the
[614] Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

693 This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives
183 more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954c, p. 65. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

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The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

701 703 173 [178] [182]

(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[80] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture. 121

In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military 86 868 000

[80] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characterististics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

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564 ceremonies. We may say that clan, army, and sect were 'national'
182 only nominally and superficially. Notwithstanding, these associa-
184 tions between Hutu and Tutsi had probably some limited significance from the standpoint of social cohesion.

In that connexion, *buhake* is a much more important factor. By that agreement, almost any Hutu was linked to a Tutsi, and [675] partook in the social power of the upper caste by identifying himself with a protector who was a member of the dominant group. He obtained for his disposal some cattle, the symbol of artistic values, and he entered into exchange relationships with the nobility. Through the clientage institution, Ruanda constituted a unified economic system which distributed agricultural and pastoral products among the totality of the population. The personal bond with a privileged caste member and access to possession, however precarious, of cattle, seem to have been essential from the point of view of national solidarity.

A third integrative factor was social mobility, even as limited as [554] it was in Ruanda. It is certain that the number of Hutu and Twa assimilated to Tutsi because of their holding of political offices or because of their wealth, has always been tiny.

The possibility of being accepted into the superior group even if it is illusory for almost all the members of the inferior group has
000 had in many societies a very great integrative influence. It is well known that in the United States, during the first quarter of this century, the fact that a few men among the wealthiest of the country had been born poor, greatly contributed to the psychological solace of a considerable mass of men and women who had personally no opportunity to achieve such brilliant successes. In addition to individual comfort, the belief that there was no intrinsically insuperable obstacle (such as having been born outside a closed hereditary group) helped Americans to feel that they were all members of the same nation regarded as not significantly stratified.

564 I do not imply that the social ascent of a few Hutu has played a
178 similar part in Ruanda. Firstly, there was no egalitarian ideology
554 which makes almost unbearable the fact that one is obliged by
184 birth to live in an inferior social group; secondly, cases of intercaste mobility were extremely rare in Ruanda. Nevertheless, these cases were a proof for Hutu that, although not belonging to the upper stratum, they were members of the Ruanda nation as well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

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well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

A fourth factor which counterbalanced the socially disintegrative influence of the caste system was the plurality of the structures in which any Ruanda was affiliated.

Through several structures, subjects were much more efficiently bound among themselves and to their rulers than in a unique hierarchy. In the latter case, indeed, if the individual can extricate himself from that hierarchy, he becomes absolutely unattached. In Ruanda, even if one link was broken, the subject did not escape from his superior chiefs. Indeed, he was linked to them, particularly to the mwami, by more than one tie. Almost any Ruanda was dependent on the king through two hierarchical channels: *via* his hill-chief (who himself was subordinated to the cattle- and land-chief) and *via* his army-chief. In addition, the feudal system integrated him into a set of personal loyalty relations such that the person occupying the superior position in one of these relations is himself an inferior in another relation.

It should be mentioned also that any Ruanda was a member of three kin groups: primary and secondary patrilineages and clan. Of course kinship affiliations as such did not cut across caste lines (except for the clan name), but as many of these kinship groups had been for so long established in Ruanda territory, they were certainly a supplementary link between the individual and his country.

The network of relations woven by the political and clientage systems was particularly important in a country where there were no clear-cut groupings based on co-residence. This has led some observers to believe that Ruanda were living in a kind of social vacuum. On the contrary, a Ruanda was never isolated: his social links connected him with the authorities and were ramified, if not in the whole territory, at least in a large area of it.

The last factor of social cohesion to be mentioned here was the ideology developed around the monarchic institution. The mwami was regarded as the king of all Ruanda and not only of the Tutsi. His divine origin keeping him separate from men, bestowed on him an authority which no commoner thought to question. He was closely connected with Imana, conceived as a supreme god rather remote but benevolent. The mwami, representative of Imana, was the father and protector of all Ruanda. Was it not enough to assume towards him a filial attitude and to feel one's

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571 dependency upon him? As in many cultures in which a king is a
564 paternal and divine image, the Ruanda monarch certainly con-
184 tributed towards the creation in Ruanda individuals of a feeling of
643 belonging to a unit which presented some similarities to a family.

This was, it seems, how the Ruanda political and feudal structures, by their complexity, succeeded in keeping an equilibrium
564 between, on one hand, the tendencies towards social disintegra-
182 tion that a caste system necessarily produces and, on the other,
184 the minimal cohesion necessary to the maintenance of a social unit such as a nation.

(*b*) *Exploitation and protection of Hutu*

728 The Tutsi were confronted with the dilemma that all conquerors must solve when they settle on a new territory with the intention of staying permanently: are they going to draw upon the natural resources of the country themselves, using their own labour and equipment, and to remove from the area the aboriginal inhabitants by pushing them further on and even by exterminating them as a people, or are they to let them stay and use them by having them working for their benefit? Europeans who settled in North America adopted the first solution, they did not
[171] attempt to use Indian labour and they expelled the native population from their hunting areas and began to cultivate their country. The second method has been chosen in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara where Europeans have settled.

564 Whether Tutsi have explicitly considered this problem is
661 immaterial here. In fact they have adopted the solution which was most advantageous to them. Being pastoralists and not numerous (in comparison with the Hutu peasants), they had no interest in expelling them. If this had been done, they would have had either to till the land themselves or to dispense with beer, peas, sorghum, &c. It was preferable for Tutsi to adopt what Oppenheimer calls the bee-keeper's policy (as opposed to the bear's policy who for the purpose of robbing the beehive, destroys it),[4] that is to say, to keep in the country peasants in order permanently to exploit their productive work. Those who control territory are not a dominant group; it is upon men that power is exerted.

We have seen how, through the political and feudal structures, the country's surplus resources were drained and concentrated in

[4] Oppenheimer, 1922, pp. 65 ff.

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Tutsi hands. From that point of view, we have to distinguish here two categories. In the first, we put the mwami, the court, the intermediary military and administrative chiefs, whom we call the rulers; in the second, the ordinary Tutsi. The rulers received tributes and labour through the military and administrative channels; the second got fewer consumption goods directly, but mainly labour by the *buhake*. Thus the satisfaction of the needs of the superior caste was not obtained by economic means but by social pressure. 564 661

Were these services in labour and in kind heavy for the Hutu caste? It seems that it was not a too painful obligation for about nine-tenths of the population to secure the whole of the agricultural produce of the country. But we should not forget that it was an economy based on rudimentary techniques and which did not yield a considerable surplus. Moreover, the standard of life of the dominant group was much higher than that of the inferior castes; one may thus safely assume that Tutsi consumed much more than a tenth of the total production. Such an assessment is not very precise but it does not seem possible to obtain a more accurate one. [433] [511]

What is certain is that the social power enjoyed collectively by the Tutsi caste was so great that it must have been a permanent temptation for them to increase their demands on the Hutu group. Such a situation was indeed at the same time both advantageous and dangerous as it carried in itself the seeds of its own destruction. For if the measures of the impositions were exceeded (and the technological and environmental circumstances made the margin very narrow), the subordinate group would be weakened and its productivity would diminish. Eventually, it might be led to leave the territory. To prevent such detrimental occurrences was all the more difficult as each Tutsi was endowed with so much individual social power that he might be inclined to misuse it. 564 661 554 182

How did the Tutsi deal with this threat? Firstly, by a universal distribution of the levies obtained through the military and administrative structures. Every familial unit of production was obliged to contribute—certainly not equally, but the mere fact of having universal impositions tended to prevent very considerable differences, because a sufficient return was secured and rules were established. These rules were not as fixed and publicized as the fiscal laws in a Western society, yet the mere fact of their existence

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

564 made for certain guarantees. For the *buhake* services, what each
661 client had to give or do was less clearly determined and depended
554 more on the *shebuja*'s wishes. There were also in that sphere,
182 however, some traditionally admitted limits.

Universality and regulation of dues as such do not prevent the exactions committed by socially powerful individuals and those who required payment of taxes were powerful. Another more efficient obstacle to an exaggerated exploitation was the fact that the political and clientage structures gave to any individual of ability the opportunity to secure for himself a defender and a protector. This opportunity resulted from the plural character of the Ruanda hierarchy.

When one belongs to a single structure, there is only one immediate superior. Consequently, everything must be obtained from
[642] him and is owed to him. In a plural system, there are several immediate superiors of approximately equal rank and who are not interdependent. Consequently, it is possible to have the support of one chief (or his complicity even) when resisting another.

564 This is what happened in Ruanda. An example will show how
662 the plurality of chiefs could be used. Suppose a Hutu had in-
182 herited cattle granted by a lord to his grandfather who had also received cows from his army-chief, and who had acquired other cattle by exchange of goods (*imbata*), and because his present lord was too exacting, our Hutu wanted to change and become the client of another important man. He knew that his lord would try to seize all his *imbata* and to choose the best cows among his other cattle. By some gifts, he obtained the support of his army-chief. Before entering into discussion with his lord, he and his army-chief had agreed that all the best cows he had at his disposal and all his *imbata* would be said to have been received from the military chief. They were removed and put on grazing grounds directly protected by the army-chief. Then when the lord claimed more cows than his client wanted to return to him, he had to settle the matter not with a man of very limited power but with the army-chief.

Of course this required clever handling of the situation, but when it succeeded it secured efficient protection against extortion.

It should be added that the recourse of a subject to a higher authority within the same hierarchy was approved and even encouraged in Ruanda. This was another means of putting a check on the exorbitant demands of immediate superiors. This, however,

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

did not play an important part in the feudal system because there were no socially recognized ties between a client and his lord's lord. Feudality was not a ranking system in the same sense as were the political structures. Each lord had his personal following; he was not as such the representative of a higher authority.

To sum up, the political and clientage structures at the same time secured the economic exploitation of the Hutu and protected them against an exaggerated pressure which could have led to disaster for the upper caste.

(c) *Delegation and centralization of political power*

Before the European occupation the kingdom's population was already numerous, probably around 1,700,000 inhabitants. The orographic configuration of the country made communications rather difficult. In that non-literate culture, an efficient collection of tributes required almost a face to face acquaintance between the subject and his ruler. These circumstances necessitated a delegation of authority to many intermediary chiefs who would be the local representatives of the rulers.

But such an unavoidable system was very dangerous for the central government. Its subordinated agents having frequently authority over a rather numerous population which could provide them with abundant supplies (if nothing was sent to the court) could be tempted to isolate themselves completely from the capital and become independent. Such a course of action would have been facilitated by the military structure and the feudal system.

Some important chiefs were, indeed, authorized to raise an army. Moreover, any military chief whose army was encamped near the border, in a district far from the capital, could gain such ascendancy over his warriors as to win over their allegiance to himself.

The *buhake* was perhaps still more dangerous because, as in any feudal system, it created personal bonds of allegiance between the client and his lord. As such, that bond of loyalty did not extend beyond the lord. One had to obey one's lord because he was one's lord and not because he was a mwami's representative. This is why any feudal system has always been so dangerous for a central government. Independence and revolt against the king have been recurring events in the areas where a feudal system existed.

Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies
640 towards the fragmentation of the political unity of their country,
643 first, by the ritual character of the royal power.

182 To revolt against the king, identified with Ruanda and supported by Imana, was a sacrilege and a profanation. It is not claimed that such a theory was sufficient to secure the kings with effective power indefinitely. Elsewhere similar ideologies of absolute and divine power of the monarchs have not prevented some of them from being stripped of their real authority, whereas their divine prerogatives were still respected. The ritual sanction does not seem to have had a primary importance in the maintenance of submission to the Ruanda kingship. In 1896 or 1897, a young mwami, Mibambwe IV Rutalindwa, was assailed and eventually [669] lost his life in a revolt instigated by the brother of the queen-mother. That queen-mother was not the mother of the mwami but another wife of his father. Her clan, the Abega, wanted a son of hers as mwami.[8] This shows that when the king lost effective control of power, ritual sanctions were not an effective safeguard for his prerogatives, or even for his life. This is why it has not been thought necessary to expand on the ritual aspect of the Ruanda kingship. But it certainly was a factor which contributed to the obedience of the Ruanda nobles.

[701] Another check was that the king kept at his disposal the coercive force of the armies. Even if the rebel had the support of one or two armies, the king had all the others.

640 But the main factor which I think prevented local authorities
518 from asserting their independence from the central government,
182 was the plural character of the political and feudal organization. In connexion with the maintenance of the effective power of the central government, this plurality of structure was a very effective means of maintaining misunderstanding, hostility, and jealousy among the subordinate chiefs. It is certain that the *shebuja* of our example in the preceding section, would have been only too glad to denounce to the mwami the army-chief if the latter was indulging in suspicious manœuvres. The co-existence of chiefs of almost the same rank who were constantly induced by their subjects to take sides in disputes was sufficient to create mistrust among themselves. Moreover, conflicts were numerous, particularly when two chiefs had the same territorial power (as in the case of the cattle- and land-chiefs). To settle conflicts they had to resort to the

[8] Pagès, 1933, pp. 195-206.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

superior authority's judgement and this increased the ruler's power over his subordinates.

This applied not only to the political organization but also to the feudal structure, which had potentially the most disruptive action on a centralized government. Indeed, the subject-client had often to ask protection and support from his political chief against his lord and from his lord against his political chief. Consequently, between the important lords, even those who were not themselves prominent in the political hierarchies, and the political chiefs, relations were often very tense. Moreover, as the very important lords who could have attempted to resist the central government held at the same time political offices, they were directly enmeshed in rivalries and jealousies.

Engendered by the hierarchic plurality, the mistrust which prevented the subordinate chiefs from uniting against the central government, which led them to spy on each other and to inform the king of anything suspect, was the main check against tendencies towards local autonomy in Ruanda. Even if that hostility between important Tutsi happened to express itself openly and violently, the central government was not very anxious to restore peace as long as troubles remained localized and did not threaten the regular collection of taxes and the authority of the king.

3. THE FUNCTION OF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN RUANDA

At the beginning of this study, in order to delimit the social phenomena we wished to study, political organization in an intragroup context was defined as 'the totality of culturally patterned relationships between certain individuals who possess the legitimate use of physical force and all the others who inhabit at a certain time a certain territory'. This definition did not include the function of a system of political relationships because, it was stated, it is only through analysis that the function fulfilled by a set of institutions in a particular social context, may be ascertained.

In the preceding chapters, the different political structures have been analysed from a functional point of view. It will be sufficient to summarize what has been said to grasp the function of the Ruanda political organization as a whole. Here we shall consider together the feudal as well as the administrative and military systems.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

182 its own rules, if each infraction were punished strictly according
183 to prescribed sanctions and if all the formal norms were always respected. To be a part of a society is to know which of its rules prescribe or prohibit absolutely or conditionally; whether a particular action which is not forbidden is nevertheless something that is simply "not done"; whether human beings, always imperfect, must in any particular case actually be punished or whether the offence should blinked. Exceptions to the formal rules are not haphazard. Rather, they are ordered by what may be called implicit norms, or secondary or functional norms. These are as well known and as well established as norms which are explicit and formal. Taken together, the explicit, primary norms and the implicit, secondary norms form the "active norms" of the society. By means of secondary norms, society can come to terms with the social and psychological impossibility of a perfect correspondence between the formal norms of the social structure, invented by men in the interest of social order, and the actions of men confronted by the empirical realities of human existence.

183 Each society has its own calculus of values by which it establishes its active norms, the norms to be respected verbally but understood to be neither practical nor practised, and the rules of punishment which are to be taken seriously. It will not be possible to understand the life of the women of Burundi without knowing both the formal norms of the social structure and the secondary, functional norms. The life of a Rundikazi is made up of various
183 elements. To reconstruct it, we shall begin with a description of
562 women as members of Rundi society, of which they form an integral part. We shall then describe women in the specifically feminine roles, and we shall conclude with an account of the devices used by women to realize the values of their patriarchal society.

* * *

631 The Rundi describe their society as a hierarchy ordered by
643 *Imana*, the Supreme Being, who is at its summit. Among human beings, it is the *mwami*, the king, who is superior to all. In the past,
[715] there was also Kiranga, the legendary head of a possession cult. He was said to be of approximately the same rank as the *mwami*.[5] Immediately below the king are the *baganwa*, the princes—four
631 generations of the descendents of a king. The *mwami* and the
635 *baganwa* are the rulers of the Rundi. In the traditional system, the power of the *mwami* was defined by his inheritence of absolute
643 royal power and of the entire country, together with all its goods,

Essay on the Common Law of Ruanda

J. Vanhove

Preface

101 Beyond the eastern shore of Lake Kivu extends a country of
563 high hills called Ruanda. Nestling in banana groves, innumerable huts cling to the hillside, their smoke rising to the sky, and on the summits the brisk wind sways the pink grasses of the pastures where long-horned cattle graze. The exceptionally dense population con-
[161] sists of about 3,000,000 Bahutu of Bantu origin who are dominated by some tens of thousands of Batutsi, Hamitic shepherds who have probably come down from the Ethiopian plateaus. Finally, here and there, Batwa pygmoids, potters and hunters, live apart from the other natives who despise them.

183 Europeans who first studied the customs of the country dis-
671 covered to their surprise that they showed a number of points in common with our feudalism. The tenure of land and of cattle as well as
[643] the dependence of persons are under a [4] strict regulation which the ruler of Ruanda has the absolute power to modify but which has, in fact, remained unchanged throughout the ages.

Our occupation has obviously had the effect of modifying the
177 customs in many ways. For example, we could not approve of the
183 brutal evictions and attempts on life and liberty made in the name of the right of the strongest. Evangelization has also introduced into the heart of the native society notions of justice and gentleness which are very different from the natives' original conceptions. However, despite
177 the efforts of our civil servants and our missionaries to attack what is
183 most to be condemned in it, native customs still largely holds its
563 sway due to the influence of the great Batutsi chiefs, who are eager to maintain their authority intact, and also due to that of the sorcerers, toothsayers, rain makers, and many others, who attempt to maintain the traditional law by playing on the credulity and superstitious mind of the Banyarwanda [Banyaruanda] and thus protect their prestige and their revenues. In addition, while realizing the protection we give them in repressing arbitrary actions, the Bahutu submit to the changes we

177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous
671 population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
184 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over
563 the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the
114 members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pagès, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

121 Nevertheless, we do not believe that a more or less complete account of the customs of private and public law of Ruanda has ever been prepared. This is what we have modestly attempted to do in the
[125] present work by inserting observations gathered in a questionnaire set up especially to facilitate [6] the study of native law (1). We have

1. J. Vanhove, Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique, Brussels, printer Lesigne, 1939.

not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

181 *mugabo* (a rich man) and a *mukungu*—a very rich man possessing a few
564 cows, many fields, goats, and bee-hives. He enjoys the recognition of his
554 fidelity to his master and his qualities as a labourer.

The Batwa never had the stability of peasants. They were hunters, potters, dancers, buffoons, and were regarded by their neighbours as being on the margin of society. They did not possess anything that others could envy. Consequently security from exactions was not such an important value for them. As people who lived a hazardous and unsettled existence, they greatly appreciated momentary and immediate satisfactions, and among these, food, especially during periods of scarcity, was the object of their activity. Their principal means of securing food varied according to their particular occupations. Hunters depended on their ability and their courage, of which they were very proud. Dancers, musicians, and buffoons relied on their talents and on the favour of their masters, their loyalty to whom was widely recognized. Indeed it is said that one could rely upon a Mutwa much more than on anybody else.

The social and economic situation of the Batwa explains and to some extent determines the value they attach to gratifying the basic need for food. Ability in their specialized occupations and a blind faithfulness to their masters were the best means to achieve that satisfaction, but skills and loyalty were also valued for themselves.

Rules of Human Action

577 These values, ultimate and intermediate, were eagerly sought by Banyar-
183 wanda but, as in any society, some means for realizing them were prohibited under certain circumstances. Stealing is rarely, if ever, culturally accepted as an ordinary practice for getting rich. Socially defined values are to be reached by socially approved means. We do not suggest that, in a particular society, the rules of action appear as merely social imperatives, or that the only basis for these rules is social. We would point out that some rules of action, whatever their origin and their philosophical foundation, are part of the collective heritage in any society. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, there are such rules of action. Murdering somebody who is not an enemy of one's family is prohibited. Women are forbidden to commit adultery and, among Batutsi and Bahutu, unmarried girls may not have sexual intercourse. When an order is issued by somebody in authority it has to be obeyed.

577 Does submission to the rules appear only as the rational behaviour of one
who wishes to avoid an external punishment or is it moral conduct? Does
626 a prospective offender refrain from wrong-doing simply in order to avoid very probable and unpleasant consequences, or is it his conscience which tells him that he should not follow his desire?

Of course this is not an either-or problem, but the question of degree or relative stress is important. Even in cultures which lay most stress on the moral motivation to action, external social sanctions are useful deterrents from prohibited behaviour. In Ruanda these external sanctions exist. Those

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

577 qualification for the happy one is not to live a blameless life on earth, but to
776 undergo initiation into the *Ryangombe* cult.
775

Thus the ethics of the Banyarwanda are not integrated on a religious
577 basis such as the will of God. What is the principle of integration, or rather, we should first ask, are their ethical conceptions integrated? On the surface they consist, like any moral code, of a multiplicity of prohibitions, orders, and exhortations. Have they achieved a synthesis of these separate elements by reducing the multiplicity to one or a few principles? Or, what amounts to the same thing, could they give a definition of good and evil?

577 In Ruanda a great number of particular rules are subsumed under general principles such as: do not do what is harmful to people of your group or of
183 your country; do what people related to you would like; submit to your superiors. Principles such as these are already on a higher level of abstraction than the particular rules. When informants are asked to account for a given rule or principle they give as the final justification: 'It has always been done that way in Ruanda.' We may perhaps express the Ruanda definition of good and evil in these terms: That is good (or evil) which tradition has defined as good (or evil).

Tradition is indeed a powerful force in cultures which, as in Ruanda, have been isolated for centuries from world currents. Each generation is more conscious of the importance of what it has received from the preceding one than is possible when much of what constitutes its way of life comes not from its ancestors but from some other social tradition. Moreover, their relations with their neighbours whom they frequently subjugated have persuaded Banyarwanda of the excellence of the ways of life transmitted by their forefathers. In such a situation the traditional character of a rule appears to be sufficient justification. If the ancestors, who were so wise, behaved in that way it would be preposterous to question it.

But it would be misleading to picture the Banyarwanda as following blindly the moral rules framed in a remote past without having any idea of their purpose. Some old men have a clear understanding of the social significance of certain rules. They explained, for example, that the duality of the
[562 rules concerning adultery committed by the husband or by the wife was
837] accounted for by the importance of the wife's function in procreation. She has thus a greater responsibility than the husband for maintaining the integrity of the family.

577 Does this kind of thinking extend so far as independence of tradition?
183 Some informants told us that, apart from the authority of custom, some actions were thought of as dishonourable in themselves. But these in-
177 formants were Christians and, apparently, very much influenced by their religion. Moreover, they could not quote a clear case of conflict between tradition and ethics.

577 No moral code can achieve an absolute character in all its precepts.
183 Prohibitions and commands frequently relate only to certain categories of persons and situations. Even the Christian Western ethic, which realizes to
673

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

a very considerable extent universality and absoluteness, qualifies some of 577
its commands. The degree of absoluteness and universality of the Ruanda 183
rules of conduct is much lower. We might say that most of its precepts are 673
qualified in relation to persons and circumstances. To steal cattle was forbidden, but a Mututsi could take the cattle of a Muhutu who had no lord. For a Muhutu to rob a foreigner was not forbidden. A wife might not commit adultery, but she was allowed to have sexual relations with people when ordered by her husband to do so and, even without her husband's permission, a woman could have intercourse with her husband's brothers and parallel cousins. Killing a man was prohibited, but not if he was an enemy of Ruanda or of the family, and if the feud had not been barred by the king. Banyarwanda certainly had no idea of rules of behaviour applicable to all men in virtue of their common humanity. This is perfectly consistent with the Ruanda conception of mankind and the very significant inequalities which Banyarwanda observe between themselves and neighbouring peoples and, among themselves, between the different castes.

To conclude, the rules of human action which prohibit or enjoin the use 577
of certain means in order to achieve the culturally recognized values of 183
Ruanda are sanctioned, not only by organized and unorganized social reac- 676
tions but also by individual conscience or guilt feelings. The foundation of this moral code is not religious or supernatural but traditional; its content is a multiplicity of rules synthesized under a few moral principles. Particular precepts do not have a universal application but are relative to persons and groups.

Human Relations

Two principles dominate the field of human relations in Ruanda: in- 181
equality of men and indefinite reciprocity.

For the Banyarwanda all men have indeed a common nature; they are 564
ultimately the descendants of the same ancestor. But this notion does not 828
seem to be very significant, for Banyarwanda are much more impressed by the differences displayed by the various castes. The characteristics of these castes are stereotyped and repeated in many folk-tales. Batutsi are intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), apt to command, refined, courageous, and cruel. Bahutu are hard-working, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong. Batwa are gluttonous, loyal to their Batutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, lacking in restraint. These characteristics, with differences in stress and shading, are generally recognized by all Banyarwanda. As they reflect the Mututsi point of view, it appears that the superior caste has been able to make other people see themselves in important respects as Batutsi see them. Moreover, those qualities are considered to be innate, not acquired. A Mututsi is born clever 773
and a Muhutu impulsive. Some tales, more widely known than those con- 564
cerning the creation of man, relate how the first Batutsi came to Ruanda

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Boys from Twelve To

883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several
[224] days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place
869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage
[603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grand-father. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of
867 behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed
[868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to
[867] be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she
[428] was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

595 The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been
593 mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favour-
● 183 ite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But
[152] according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and
000 one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

not injure the living. Consequently the cult addressed to the *bazimu* (spirits of the dead) was essentially aimed at appeasing them. When an unfortunate event was ascribed to a dead relative's ire by the diviner, the spirit had to be placated by the immolation of a goat or even a bull.

These practices were symbolic. It was not implied that the *bazimu* really drank the milk, ate the meat, or slept with the girl. When a goat or a steer was offered, most of it was eaten by members of the family. Other practices are more difficult to interpret. It sometimes happened that water was given to the spirits and at the same time they were told very loudly that it was milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* were regarded as rather stupid and that these mock offerings were not given to the ancestors who were respected but only to the collaterals who, as *bazimu*, were hated. To have feared powerful *bazimu*, however, and at the same time to have deceived them so grossly does not appear very coherent and requires, I think, further explanation.

Every fourth reign, there was an important ritual connected with the final burial of the fourth predecessor of the king. As all *bazimu* were thought to accompany the spirit of the king long ago deceased, their cult was abolished. The inzu heads, however, continued to be remembered.[12]

[12] Kagame, 1947, pp. 377-86.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

(*d*) *Intergroup political relations*

121 Intergroup political relations are essentially different. They do not imply inferiority and superiority. The opposite assumption is made: the two groups are supposed to be independent and equal. If by diplomacy or by war one succeeds in subduing the other, the subsequent unequal relations will be more similar to intragroup than to intergroup political relations.

If our definition of intragroup political organization be accepted, the word 'political' when applied to intergroup relations conveys a different and derivative meaning. Those who control legitimate coercion within a social structure are also those who are qualified to enter into intergroup relations. Subjects do not represent their own group, only rulers do. The ability to deal with intergroup relations results from a superior situation in internal political relations. In that sense, the political external relations may be said to be secondary. In the following account of Ruanda political organization the emphasis will be on the primary political relations, the internal ones.

• • •

642 571 In Ruanda, there were two types of relationships sanctioned by legitimate coercion on the part of the superior. Consequently we may distinguish within the political organization two structures which may be termed administrative and military. Another system of social relations was the clientage structure or the feudal organization. It occupied an intermediate position between the political and the private spheres. It was not purely political, but it was much more than a private agreement such as a loan. Consequently the feudal relations in Ruanda will be considered in close connexion with the administrative and military ones.

[183] 641 The three structures were interwoven and interconnected at each level. This was particularly the case at the top and at the bottom. The mwami held the supreme position in the three systems and the commoners were taxpayers, members of an army, and clients. In the intermediate levels it happened, too, that a superior and an inferior were linked by several ties: one could be at the same time the lord and the cattle-chief of an individual, and the client of one's army chief.

I shall describe and analyse each structure separately.

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180 To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour [197] social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge 634 in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, 622 however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

121 Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

643 In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. [193] The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the [619] Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

643 This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives 183 more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954c, p. 65. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

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of coercion at their disposal. If a mwami attempted to go beyond his effective power even without exceeding the limits of his divine rights, he exposed himself to the chance of meeting some obstacles. Nevertheless, he had sovereign as well as divine rights and his subjects were constantly reminded of these by the tributes they had to pay.

4. DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

Every Ruanda, Twa, Hutu as well as Tutsi, was affiliated to an army (*ingabo*). This is stated by ninety-nine per cent. of our informants. Although this military organization is obsolete at the present day—indeed it no longer exists—ninety-eight per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed can still give the name of the army of their paternal ascendants.

There were several armies. The name of each one had a military meaning. It was a challenge, a boast, the memory of a dynastic or historical event: for instance 'the tough ones' (*abashakamba*), 'the first to be praised' (*imbanzamihigo*), 'the fearless ones' (*inzirabwoba*), &c. At the beginning of each reign a new army was organized by the king. Moreover, a very important chief could be authorized by the mwami to raise an army.

(*a*) *Recruitment*

An army was recruited in the following way. The mwami asked his Tutsi clients to bring to the court their sons who had not yet had any military training. When about 150 to 200 young men were gathered, they constituted what we may call a company (*itorero*). During the reign, four or five companies were recruited in the same way and were added to the first one. According to ninety-six per cent. of our informants a man had to stay all his life in the company he had first entered. The young men (*intore*, the chosen ones) lived at the court of the king or of the chief who had been allowed to recruit an army. Under the direction of an officer called the chief of the king's residence (*umutware w'urugo rw'umwami*) or of its counterpart at a chief's court, they were trained for several years in military skills such as bow and arrow shooting, the use of the sword, spear, and javelin. They learned warlike dances, and to memorize and to recite the poems in which the high deeds of extraordinary bravery and boldness of the past warriors were exalted.[16] They were also taught how to compose

[16] See Kagame, 1949b; 1951.

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WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

*Author's translation.

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ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

182 its own rules, if each infraction were punished strictly according
183 to prescribed sanctions and if all the formal norms were always respected. To be a part of a society is to know which of its rules prescribe or prohibit absolutely or conditionally; whether a particular action which is not forbidden is nevertheless something that is simply "not done"; whether human beings, always imperfect, must in any particular case actually be punished or whether the offence should blinked. Exceptions to the formal rules are not haphazard. Rather, they are ordered by what may be called implicit norms, or secondary or functional norms. These are as well known and as well established as norms which are explicit and formal. Taken together, the explicit, primary norms and the implicit, secondary norms form the "active norms" of the society. By means of secondary norms, society can come to terms with the social and psychological impossibility of a perfect correspondence between the formal norms of the social structure, invented by men in the interest of social order, and the actions of men confronted by the empirical realities of human existence.

183 Each society has its own calculus of values by which it establishes its active norms, the norms to be respected verbally but understood to be neither practical nor practised, and the rules of punishment which are to be taken seriously. It will not be possible to understand the life of the women of Burundi without knowing both the formal norms of the social structure and the secondary, functional norms. The life of a Rundikazi is made up of various
183 elements. To reconstruct it, we shall begin with a description of
562 women as members of Rundi society, of which they form an integral part. We shall then describe women in the specifically feminine roles, and we shall conclude with an account of the devices used by women to realize the values of their patriarchal society.

* * *

631 The Rundi describe their society as a hierarchy ordered by
643 *Imana*, the Supreme Being, who is at its summit. Among human beings, it is the *mwami*, the king, who is superior to all. In the past,
[795] there was also Kiranga, the legendary head of a possession cult. He was said to be of approximately the same rank as the *mwami*.[5] Immediately below the king are the *baganwa*, the princes—four
631 generations of the descendents of a king. The *mwami* and the
635 *baganwa* are the rulers of the Rundi. In the traditional system, the power of the *mwami* was defined by his inheritence of absolute
643 royal power and of the entire country, together with all its goods,

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the
562 general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[12] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

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mwamikazi and a wealthy Tutsikazi are matriarchs on a much grander scale than is possible for any Hutukazi. Nevertheless, the character model and the methods for success as a matriarch are quite the same. Furthermore, although the methods employed by women are not in every detail like those of men, there is only one character model for the matriarch and the patriarch, that of the superior. By the same token, there is only one character model for those in the roles of inferiors. The latter are always alert to opportunities for asking some good thing of a superior. If one road is closed, it is necessary to find another. If a husband is not generous, a woman will ask one of her brothers for gifts, or she will wait until her sons are grown. When fortunate people have received gifts, they obviously have something to give, and they thus may expect petitioners to come to them for gifts. Yet again, if a man is muddled by drink, his wife or his vassal or someone who wants his favour will make a request of a gift in the presence of others; a promise given, drunk or sober, before witnesses must be respected at the risk of losing one's fair name. The rules of society provide only for a minimum of happiness. One must rely upon intelligence to point the way to supplementary means and to profit from every favourable circumstance.

Like any normal citizen of Burundi, a Rundikazi desires as much power and authority as possible, which is to say, numerous inferiors, including children, workers, feudal followers; wealth, which is to say, for women who can inherit nothing, many gifts from men and from wealthier women; respect and love, which amounts to having many inferiors; elegance, which is again to say many gifts, but also education in the home of a princess; many children, which depends on the will of *Imana;* protection against one's enemies, that is, against one's rivals and one's mother-in-law; and the good luck to retain what has been received from *Imana* and from human beings, which again depends on *Imana* and also on one's own intelligence, courage and strength of character. There is decidedly no psychological conflict in women of strong character, nor is there any conflict between feminine ambitions and social norms. Everything is taken care of by the functional norms of the society.

A woman starts very young to calculate what she needs in order to be happy. From her father she expects little more than that he will find her a husband who is wealthy and reasonable, or better yet, tractable; that he will allow her to return home if she is not satisfied with a husband and will find her a better one; that he will from time to time give her gifts. If a father has a tendency to turn

177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous
671 population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
● 184 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over
563 the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the
114 members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pages, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

Nevertheless, we do not believe that a more or less complete
121 account of the customs of private and public law of Ruanda has ever been prepared. This is what we have modestly attempted to do in the
[125] present work by inserting observations gathered in a questionnaire set up especially to facilitate [6] the study of native law (1). We have

1. J. Vanhove, Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique, Brussels, printer Lesigne, 1939.

not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

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SECTION II. PROPERTY

1. Property in General

421 The Banyarwanda have a less abstract idea of property than we have. It is comparable to that of possession.

On the other hand, no differentiation is made between personal property and real estate. Property is given different names according to its nature and use. The Banyarwanda divide their property [into the following categories]: amatungo (animals); ibintu, a generic name applicable to the rugo, imilima (fields); ubgatsi (pasturage); imyaka (crops); and urutoke (banana plantations); ibiti (trees); intwaro (weapons and cutting instruments); ibikolesho (hoes, pickaxes, baskets, churns); imyambaro (clothing).

2. Landed Property

423 True landed property exists in Ruanda, while in the Belgian Congo the natives consider that the bare ownership of the land belongs to the souls of the departed and that they themselves only have usufruct.

[643] All the land in the country belongs to the Mwami who relin-
423 guishes its use successively to the various chiefs and subchiefs. These,
425 in turn, cede an isambu (land sold) or concede an umwatano (land
427 leased) to the Bahutu in consideration of a price or a payment consisting of a certain percentage of future crops (ichyata umulima, lit., gift in order to have a field).

The Muhutu holds his land in a more or less precarious way. Even if he makes his payments regularly [42] his land may be taken away from him one day, if, for example, he neglects to pay the customary dues to the chiefs and the king. In this case he may be deprived of all or part of his land, but the last crop is not taken from him (1).

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1. An appreciably different administration of property exists in the western part of Bunyambiriri, the extreme north of Ndiza,

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and in Rukiga (provinces of Mulera and Bugoyi) where the land cleared and cultivated by the Bahutu are subject to a right of family property. This right is sacred and the Batutsi, whose power in these regions is rather nominal, know that they cannot dispute it without exposing themselves to serious miscalculations and even to bloody reprisals.

423 [622] [415] The hill chief also has the right to take a plot of land (ubugerure) from the Bahutu in order to form an ubuka which he wishes to give to someone else or to keep as his own property (imilima y'inyarulembo). The part of the plot that is left to the Muhutu is called isagu.

[428] The Muhutu can transmit his right of exploitation to his son by inheritance. Land that passes from one generation to the next is called indeka.

[596] Land is sometimes held collectively by a family in the person of its head (isambu or ingobyi y'iwabo). Members of the family pay him no rent and, to the exclusion of strangers, have the right to cut firewood and graze their cattle there.

[622] There are also communal woods (itshanya). The hill chief reserves part of them for himself and allows the hill people to exploit the remainder.

[563] The Batwa claim to be the legitimate occupants of the forests. For this reason they often enter into disputes with the Bahutu living near the wooded regions.

[622] Mines and quarries of clay are the property of the chief, but he allows his people to [43] supply themselves there in exchange for a payment (a hoe or some pots).

The boundaries (imbibi) of fields are usually marked by small ditches (impavu) or piles of stones (ibishyinga).

There are no neutral zones between lands.

425 423 An inkungu is a piece of ground that has been abandoned because of the holder's voluntary departure or death without leaving an heir. A man who has been cursed by his father or driven out by the chief because of repeated thefts of cattle, for example, must also abandon his plot. The chief can offer an inkungu (or an ubugerure) to a stranger to the hill who asks to settle there. If he is a Muhutu, he is

173 The families or clans which made up each of those tiny states were at first autonomous and independent from one another. They were self-governed and lacked any well-defined authority. It was only gradually in the course of time that one local chief came to impose his will upon the others. Along with royal prerogatives, and in accordance with his title of sovereign, the man in power took over the functions of sorcerer, diviner, magician, rain maker, etc. The office of sorcerer-king (umuhinza) then became hereditary. The small provinces of Buberuka, Kibali, Buyoka, Bugarura, and especially Mulera, retained their original organization and never had kings. Each tribe governed and administered itself according to its own lights. As a result they were nearly always at war with one another owing to thefts, boundary disputes, or vendettas (2). Peace ruled for a while among

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2. This region was preeminently the land of the vendetta. Individuals would take justice into their own hands, with the help of family or clan members, and were implacable in /seeking/ vengeance.

those tribes only when they banded forces against the common enemy, the detested Hamite, who, in spite of the fact that he had subdued them, had not deemed it safe to settle in the mountainous regions. Ruganzu II and Kigeri IV Lwabugiri are listed among the Hamitic kings who traveled through those areas populated by proud /77/ inhabitants. The mountain dwellers did not make a great show of resistance, but after the princes were gone, they nevertheless continued to lead an independent existence. No Mututsi chief dared settle among those fierce populations. Their only obligation was to pay tribute in kind to the king himself or to the high court dignitary who was supposed to govern the area at a distance.

The Bantu of the central and southern provinces, who make up the greater part of the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ population, [184] accepted and bore more readily the yoke of the Hamites, who settled among them and shared their way of life (1).

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1. The clans in those provinces are more imbued with Mututsi influence and lack the jealous exclusivism of the tribes situated to the northeast of Lake Kivu. Their mores are gentler, and vendetta never ruled among them with the violence and frequency it assumes, for example, among the Balera and Bagoyi.

173 The vicissitudes of the conquest were numerous and varied. The immigrants used every possible means /to attain their goal/, violence, ruse, and diplomacy. Their chronicles /chansons de geste/ bear witness to this.

It seems that before they entered the land which they were to conquer, the Batutsi formed a solid group ruled by a single chief. The partition of the land and competition for power soon divided their allegiance and engendered fratricidal struggles.

After they had subdued the Bahutu (Bantu) princes, the central Batutsi, who dreamed of being the sole rulers of a vast land, turned against their own brothers who had hewed out small kingdoms in the Ndorwa, Gissaka, and Bugessera regions.

Were the two last-mentioned Hamitic kingdoms contemporary to that of Ruanda? Nothing rules against this possibility, since the columns that invaded Ruanda marched side by side /de front/, at least in the beginning.

King Gihanga, whose symbolic and significant name /78/ means "Creator," seems to have existed although the deeds which are attributed to him have a strongly legendary character. He is tenth in the dynasty. The authenticity of his reign tends to be corroborated by the fact that his original place of residence is said to have been the sacred land of Buhanga in the Muko Plain not far from the large Mukungwa River. Then he is said to have lived in the land of Kibali, at Kangomba, where a sacred grove (ikigabiro) stands. The same tradition locates his tomb, or at least that of his wife Nyirakabego,

563 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recog-
191 nize members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation. This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because of their privileged position. They are closely united and give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 They make up the conservative element which supports the
178 entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established order. However, they have little capability for independently organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found where individual provinces have given up their independent political existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state.
[184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences
[101] and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu. It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants in general, and here memories of the state that united Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not
[101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than
142 the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

794 Everything is repeated but much more madly. In the end all are
515 invited to assemble early the next morning for the final ceremonies. The sick person is accompanied home, and there is dancing along the way. Sometimes for the rest of the night they stay out in the open, kulala alukome. The body of the sick person is rubbed with earth or sand so he will be all the more beautiful at the ablutions the next day.

On the fourth and last day the ceremony of mulwesero, "ablutions," takes place. Early in the morning all who have been invited go to a certain river, dressed in festive garb. A youth is held under water by the baishebuhemba; an adult dives [315] in after him. They hold their noses and ears shut with their fingers. The baishebuhemba pour water into the small boats made of mulinzi wood. After the diving, the trunk of the sick person is painted white with kaolin (runoni). Everyone present admires his beauty with the words: "You shine like a leopard; you are another person." There is celebrating and drinking on the shore of the river. Then, as on the previous days, the spirits are invoked. In the evening all the participants return, singing and dancing like maniacs. When they arrive in the courtyard of the house, they are given a hoe and four seeds: millet, manioc, gourd, and pea. The initiate buries them in the presence of his baishebuhemba and the others attending. They are placed on the two boats of mulinzi wood. Then he is given the name of a spirit and a crown with two cowrie shells. Not until later may the number of shells be increased. Then the initiate begins to act like one possessed. He goes so far as to abuse his relatives with indecent words. The baishebuhemba order him to lie down on the ground, and after a while the mugogo calls him by his ordinary name in order to remind him of his everyday life. The initiate pretends to be waking from a deep sleep. He looks at everyone present and greets them all quietly in the usual way. This is called "to take away the luchwezi." Then the initiation fees are paid, and the ceremony is over.

794 The two descriptions of the initiation ceremonies are some-
515 what different, but this probably indicates local differences in the
184 cult.[1]

1. [i.e. the Babandwa cult – Analyst]

794 575 184 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences. We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 575 198 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

[601] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 575 782 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom everyone may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to Ryangombe and his disciples and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253 — Analyst]

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for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

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important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi. 581 [184]

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation. 582

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found to be virgin. 831 [585] [431]

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the 584

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herself. A widow became the wife of one of her late husband's siblings or agnates designated by the inzu head. Usually an older brother of the husband was chosen. Among the Tutsi this resulted in a levirate: the first husband was still the pater of the children whose genitor was the second husband. Among the Hutu, in similar cases, the genitor was pater. A widower often married a younger sister of his late wife if he was on good terms with his parents-in-law, and if they did not require bride-wealth for the deceased wife's younger sister. This marriage was favoured because it was thought that it was appropriate that the children of the first wife should be brought up by her sister.

(*b*) *The bride-wealth*

Bride-wealth had to be paid before the wedding ritual, but payment could sometimes be delayed. In that case more jugs of beer had to be given.

There were some regional variations in the amount of the bride-wealth, but within one region it did not vary very much within each caste. Among Tutsi it was usually one cow plus some jugs of beverage, and one hoe. The bride-wealth proper was the cow, as the beverages were rather contributions to the different celebrations taking place at the wedding. Among Hutu it was one heifer or cow (which could be replaced by about one dozen goats) and a number of jugs of banana-beer. The following table indicates the average bride-wealth paid by Tutsi and Hutu in the central region of Ruanda. Among Twa bride-wealth was composed of a certain number of pots of beverages.

TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA

A. HUTU

Groom's inzu		*Bride's inzu*
1. Father	one hoe, one jug of beer after agreement →	Father
2. Father	one heifer or twelve to fourteen goats (bride-wealth) from one to three weeks after 1. (*gutenbutsa*) →	Father
3. Groom	household equipment on wedding day (*ibirongoranyusa*) ←	Father
4. Groom	one hoe or one sheep or one goat + jugs of beer at the end of seclusion period ←	Father

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TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA—*cont.*

A. HUTU

Groom's inzu		*Bride's inzu*
5.	one hoe or one sheep or one goat (even one heifer) a week after each birth	
Groom	←	Kinsfolk
6.	counter-bride-wealth (stock increase of the bride-wealth) two or three years after marriage	
Father	←	Father

B. TUTSI

1.	one jug of hydromel, one hoe, one *isando* (forked branch of ficus tree)	
Father	→	Father
2.	one cow (bride-wealth) (*inkwano*) a few days later	
Father	→	Father
3.	one cow (counter-bride-wealth) when the bride leaves her father's homestead	
Father	←	Father
4.	household equipment on wedding day (*indogoranyo*)	
Groom	←	Father
5.	one heifer (*izimano*) on the day following wedding	
Father	→	Male abashyitsi
6.	one steer (*izimano*) on the day following wedding	
Father	→	Female abashyitsi
7.	jugs of beer, pots of milk, sorghum flour (*imitwa*) at the end of seclusion period	
Groom	←	Father
8.	one cow, jugs of beer, pots of milk at each birth (*ibihembo*)	
Groom	←	Kinsfolk

583 All our informants agree that bride-wealth was not considered very expensive. Moreover, counter-gifts were about as high. The girl's father had to provide the young couple with household equipment and to give the husband's father a counter-bride-wealth approximately equivalent to the bride-wealth itself. Among Tutsi it was proper to give the counter-gift before the wedding. Hutu gave back another heifer not later than after the third calving of the bride-wealth cow. In addition valuable gifts were given by the wife's kinsfolk after each birth.

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granted that a woman may fulfil these functions emphasizes the high status that women have enjoyed in Ruanda society. It is tempting to regard their status as a consequence of the economic responsibilities of the polygynous wives when replacing their husbands. 562

Besides this form of economic collaboration, wives, in nuclear as well as in polygynous families, had to perform certain economic tasks within the rugo. The activities which belonged exclusively to the wife, though she was sometimes helped by her daughters and certain other females were, for women of any caste: cleaning and brushing the hut and the enclosure, milk churning, and basket-making. In addition to these, Tutsi women made particular objects in basket-work (such as screens used in the hut, very finely woven plates, &c.), butter perfumed with the wood of a certain tree *umubavu* (such butter was used as a cosmetic), and garments in bead work. Hutu women had to cook and to apportion food. In agriculture their particular tasks were to sow and plant, to grind sorghum, and to sift peas. Twa women simply cooked. 462 84 [285] [303]

The husband's contributions to the economic activities of the compound were, among the Tutsi, cattle-rearing and hunting (for the hides and skins); among the Hutu, hut-building, minding cattle (if they had any), felling the bush, and usually all the agricultural tasks requiring considerable physical strength. Moreover, they prepared bark-cloth and skins and forged iron implements. Among the Twa, husbands hunted and made bows and iron weapons.

The principles underlying this division of economic tasks exclusively performed by males or females were according to informants that men should carry out tasks which either were particularly hard, or required intelligence, had to be performed far from the compound, or were thought 'noble'.

Most other duties could be performed by men or women and were shared between husband and wife according to individual arrangements. Such activities were, for instance, in the case of the Tutsi: watching labourers working in the fields, and supervising them, doing menial tasks such as mending the enclosure, milking the cows or looking after the herds. For the Hutu they were: harvesting, brewing beer, drawing water, cutting and collecting wood, lighting and maintaining fires, making mats and baskets, &c. For the Twa: pot-making and brewing beer.

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CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production. 433

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production? 592 [438]

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce. 463 [184] 412

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view. 471

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased 423

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim 421

1. [rugo: The basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 30 -- analyst]

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It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not over-exploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

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554 Ndarwubatse, Kanyonyomba, and Segore were exceptional and
622 that, in fact, Hutu were not very numerous among land-chiefs.
184 The share of Hutu in political power was probably symbolic rather than quantitatively great. Hutu could also be hill-chiefs and sixty-nine per cent. of our informants were able to mention a few names. According to ninety-nine per cent. a Twa could be neither land-chief nor cattle-chief, unless he were ennobled. But in that case, he was not socially a Twa any more, but assimilated to a Tutsi. Twa could be hill-chiefs; sixty-five per cent. of our Tutsi informants mentioned the names of such Twa. Neighbourhood heads were frequently Hutu, but the advantages they drew from their office were minimal, if any.

(*b*) *Maintenance of the central rulers in power*

661 One may conclude that the very great majority of the beneficiaries of the fiscal function of the administrative structure were people of the Tutsi group.

A second function of the administrative structure was to enable
661 those who enjoyed political power to keep it. The mwami and his
634 wives centralized the means necessary to afford an important court.
647 Moreover, by granting the profitable offices of land-, cattle-,
622 and hill-chiefs, the mwami increased the number of his faithful dependents. For these chiefs of the administrative structure were appointed by the king. To the question 'who appointed the land- and the cattle-chiefs?' ten different answers were given, but if one adds up all the answers which named the mwami as the person or one of the persons who granted these official appointments, a majority of sixty-five is reached. The confusion in the answers seems due to the fact that different principles operated together in the nomination of such a chief. Firstly, one of the sons of the former office holder usually succeeded to his father, and the latter could often indicate his preferences, but this did not mean that the office was hereditary. Merely, it happened fairly frequently that the mwami liked to strengthen a man's loyalty on the understanding that if he was a good chief, the office could remain in his family. Secondly, the appointment could be made by the mwami following presentation of the candidate by an important chief, such as the army-chief. Consequently, it could appear that the latter was the one who gave the appointment. But the third principle remained: the king kept a complete control of these offices in the sense

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The great traditions of military

867 courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, 577 *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were pre- [571] dominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose [152] one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There 867 was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. 152 By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

86 Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The 702 Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority 186 of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

564 This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for • 184 Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become 86 warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services.

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such.

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting

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is made narrower in order to give everybody the opportunity of obtaining sufficient personal security.

Such was, it appears, the first function of the *buhake* system in Ruanda. In that society where it was advisable to go into court accompanied by socially powerful persons, and when a Hutu possessing some wealth but no protector was risking the loss of his possessions, the feudal organization, by institutionalizing the identification of the Hutu client with the Tutsi lord, secured the necessary protection and security for the socially weak. With a few exceptions, the Twa were outside that feudal system. Their caste occupations were not compatible with cattle-rearing and made available to them other means of obtaining the personal protection of upper caste people. On the other hand, their small number made that kind of protection very effective.

(*d*) *Social cohesion*

A second function of the feudality in Ruanda was its contribution to the cohesion of the society.

In this respect we have to distinguish the feudal agreements in which clients were Hutu from those in which they were Tutsi. Let us first take the former. In order that two castes whose interests were so often divergent or opposed could constitute a stable unitary structure, it was necessary that they should not remain merely juxtaposed but should show some solidarity. Through the feudal relations economic currents flowed between Hutu and Tutsi: the land tillers had at their disposal some cattle; the pastoralists consumed agricultural produce and had fields cultivated by their servants and clients. In this way the economic system of production in Ruanda was mixed, made up of techniques, abilities, and wealth brought by the two groups. Through *buhake*, Hutu participated in the Tutsi values. They valued cattle very highly and entered the prestige system based on bovine possession. They assimilated some Tutsi alimentary habits, such as drinking milk. Feudality proved a very effective instrument for the constitution of a culture common to all Ruanda.

When there was a feudal agreement between two Tutsi, the *buhake* had another relevance to social cohesion. It may be said that any Tutsi client was also a lord and any Tutsi lord was also a client. The mwami was the only patron who was nobody's client. His *garagu* were the great Tutsi chiefs, the lords of less important

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178 possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference
564 was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of
114 the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the
554 maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

554 Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them
564 to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds,
178 they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer,
184 and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to
[162] know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to
[171] comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

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One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organisation had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

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184 it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical
564 stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as
826 significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light
178 skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

114 Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

178 The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type
564 differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both
826 ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority
184 endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the
[554] physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark
[531] (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

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of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies; maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(*a*) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[8] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[9] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[8] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [9] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 237.

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564 ceremonies. We may say that clan, army, and sect were 'national'
182 only nominally and superficially. Notwithstanding, these associa-
189 tions between Hutu and Tutsi had probably some limited significance from the standpoint of social cohesion.

In that connexion, *buhake* is a much more important factor. By that agreement, almost any Hutu was linked to a Tutsi, and [675] partook in the social power of the upper caste by identifying himself with a protector who was a member of the dominant group. He obtained for his disposal some cattle, the symbol of artistic values, and he entered into exchange relationships with the nobility. Through the clientage institution, Ruanda constituted a unified economic system which distributed agricultural and pastoral products among the totality of the population. The personal bond with a privileged caste member and access to possession, however precarious, of cattle, seem to have been essential from the point of view of national solidarity.

A third integrative factor was social mobility, even as limited as [554] it was in Ruanda. It is certain that the number of Hutu and Twa assimilated to Tutsi because of their holding of political offices or because of their wealth, has always been tiny.

The possibility of being accepted into the superior group even if it is illusory for almost all the members of the inferior group has had in many societies a very great integrative influence. It is well 000 known that in the United States, during the first quarter of this century, the fact that a few men among the wealthiest of the country had been born poor, greatly contributed to the psychological solace of a considerable mass of men and women who had personally no opportunity to achieve such brilliant successes. In addition to individual comfort, the belief that there was no intrinsically insuperable obstacle (such as having been born outside a closed hereditary group) helped Americans to feel that they were all members of the same nation regarded as not significantly stratified.

564 I do not imply that the social ascent of a few Hutu has played a
178 similar part in Ruanda. Firstly, there was no egalitarian ideology
559 which makes almost unbearable the fact that one is obliged by
189 birth to live in an inferior social group; secondly, cases of intercaste mobility were extremely rare in Ruanda. Nevertheless, these cases were a proof for Hutu that, although not belonging to the upper stratum, they were members of the Ruanda nation as well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

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well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

A fourth factor which counterbalanced the socially disintegrative influence of the caste system was the plurality of the structures in which any Ruanda was affiliated.

Through several structures, subjects were much more efficiently bound among themselves and to their rulers than in a unique hierarchy. In the latter case, indeed, if the individual can extricate himself from that hierarchy, he becomes absolutely unattached. In Ruanda, even if one link was broken, the subject did not escape from his superior chiefs. Indeed, he was linked to them, particularly to the mwami, by more than one tie. Almost any Ruanda was dependent on the king through two hierarchical channels: *via* his hill-chief (who himself was subordinated to the cattle- and land-chief) and *via* his army-chief. In addition, the feudal system integrated him into a set of personal loyalty relations such that the person occupying the superior position in one of these relations is himself an inferior in another relation.

It should be mentioned also that any Ruanda was a member of three kin groups: primary and secondary patrilineages and clan. Of course kinship affiliations as such did not cut across caste lines (except for the clan name), but as many of these kinship groups had been for so long established in Ruanda territory, they were certainly a supplementary link between the individual and his country.

The network of relations woven by the political and clientage systems was particularly important in a country where there were no clear-cut groupings based on co-residence. This has led some observers to believe that Ruanda were living in a kind of social vacuum. On the contrary, a Ruanda was never isolated: his social links connected him with the authorities and were ramified, if not in the whole territory, at least in a large area of it.

The last factor of social cohesion to be mentioned here was the ideology developed around the monarchic institution. The mwami was regarded as the king of all Ruanda and not only of the Tutsi. His divine origin keeping him separate from men, bestowed on him an authority which no commoner thought to question. He was closely connected with Imana, conceived as a supreme god rather remote but benevolent. The mwami, representative of Imana, was the father and protector of all Ruanda. Was it not enough to assume towards him a filial attitude and to feel one's

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571 dependency upon him? As in many cultures in which a king is a
564 paternal and divine image, the Ruanda monarch certainly con-
184 tributed towards the creation in Ruanda individuals of a feeling of
693 belonging to a unit which presented some similarities to a family.

This was, it seems, how the Ruanda political and feudal structures, by their complexity, succeeded in keeping an equilibrium
564 between, on one hand, the tendencies towards social disintegra-
182 tion that a caste system necessarily produces and, on the other,
184 the minimal cohesion necessary to the maintenance of a social unit such as a nation.

(*b*) *Exploitation and protection of Hutu*

728 The Tutsi were confronted with the dilemma that all conquerors must solve when they settle on a new territory with the intention of staying permanently: are they going to draw upon the natural resources of the country themselves, using their own labour and equipment, and to remove from the area the aboriginal inhabitants by pushing them further on and even by exterminating them as a people, or are they to let them stay and use them by having them working for their benefit? Europeans who settled in North America adopted the first solution, they did not
[171] attempt to use Indian labour and they expelled the native population from their hunting areas and began to cultivate their country. The second method has been chosen in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara where Europeans have settled.

564 Whether Tutsi have explicitly considered this problem is
661 immaterial here. In fact they have adopted the solution which was most advantageous to them. Being pastoralists and not numerous (in comparison with the Hutu peasants), they had no interest in expelling them. If this had been done, they would have had either to till the land themselves or to dispense with beer, peas, sorghum, &c. It was preferable for Tutsi to adopt what Oppenheimer calls the bee-keeper's policy (as opposed to the bear's policy who for the purpose of robbing the beehive, destroys it),[4] that is to say, to keep in the country peasants in order permanently to exploit their productive work. Those who control territory are not a dominant group; it is upon men that power is exerted.

We have seen how, through the political and feudal structures, the country's surplus resources were drained and concentrated in

[4] Oppenheimer, 1922, pp. 65 ff.

583 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are [357] the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will 342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home [184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

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[3]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dons le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. 1, 1954. 184 113

[3]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi. 184

[4]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help. 564 323

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

WTA 18

Richard Kandt says of the Batussi:

181 "If I analyze my feelings and state them honestly, I must say that I was impressed by them. Even now I have not lost this feeling although my mind rebels against it and although I have told myself hundreds of times that these people are, after all, barbarians far inferior to me intellectually. But it is of no avail! I have explained to myself the source of this feeling, so unusual to experience toward a colored person ... Apart from the gigantic stature, apart from the nobility of each movement and the dignity of their manner of speech, apart from the tasteful unobtrusive manner in which they dress, apart from their refined features and the calm penetrating, often even mocking and provocative eyes, apart from all this, there still is -- and here I hesitate and am unable to formulate the dim obscure feelings which hover in my imagination." (No. 22, p. 266.)

[564] This is a sentimental but a very understandable judgment. In actual fact the Batussi are a ruling caste, but not a ruling race in the ethical sense.

563 186 156 Gradually one discovers the secret of the tremendous superiority of the relatively few Batussi over the one and a half million Bahutu: they are greatly superior to them in intelligence, calmness, composure, cruelty, cunning, racial pride, solidarity, and political talent. What strikes one most about the individual Mutussi, apart from his imposing outward appearance which certainly must have made a great impression on the Muhutu from the beginning, is first his calm and what appears to be unconcerned reserve. In his contact with the restless, impulsive, thoughtless Muhutu, this has always been to his advantage. [609] Further one is struck by the arrogance he displays even toward Europeans, by his abysmal mendacity and cowardice when faced with any disagreeable situation. The Mutussi regards himself and his kind as the crown of creation, as a paragon of cleverness and political skill. This is small wonder, for the inferiority of the relatively few tribes within his sphere of vision -- intentionally kept narrowly circumscribed -- and the fact that a Batussi minority rules the large Bahutu people were bound to increase his feeling 186 609 of importance beyond all measure. It is true that he fears the

186 609 European because the latter is in possession of many mysterious powers and resources, for example, the breechloader and technical skills, but he nevertheless considers him basically stupid since he can deceive him, and he looks down upon him with more contempt the less he knows and understands him. As a traveler, one at first has to get used to being looked up and down with a contemptuous smile by most Batussi in conversations and negotiations far from the military posts, and from then on it is best to treat them with a certain amount of humorous derision, provided one is capable of it. The longer one has traveled in Negro areas and the better one has familiarized oneself with Negro character, the more one is impressed when first meeting the Batussi by their proud reserve. There is no restless curiosity [15], no noisy, half fearful, half good-natured greeting as with most Negroes, but, calm and composed, these tall fellows stand there, leaning on their spears, and let the European pass or approach as though the unusual phenomenon did not impress them in the least. It is not until one matches their self-assurance and meets them with some force to back one up that one notices from the restless play of their eyes and the veins in their necks that most of them have a nervous uneasiness, anxiety, and fear concealed behind their apparent indifference.

181 Never or only very seldom does the Mutussi say what he thinks; it has to be inferred. Indeed, lying is not only customary to strangers, but it is a deep-rooted vice practiced toward everyone. This is a moral defect which cannot be glossed over by considering it optimistically, as R. Kandt does, as a "kind of competition between two intellects which to them is not dishonorable," or as "the unconscious transference into real life of their graceful riddle games, unusual for a Negro people, with which even as children they are accustomed to enliven conviviality" (No. 22, p. 273). Such romanticism is misleading in ethnology and ethnopsychology; sober objectivity in the evaluation of our colonial peoples is necessary for practical reasons alone.

In addition to mendacity, laziness and cowardice are also unpleasant character traits of the Batussi. The Mutussi never

563 acquiring a reputation among the superstitious Bahutu of being
[154] great sorcerers and have made themselves greatly feared for this reason. Also, the priesthood works hand in hand with them to enslave and exploit the people (see p. 134). The exploita-
563 tion of the mass of the people and the crass egoism of the small
642 Batussi minority are made possible by the whole ingenious political system of both the Barundi and the Banjaruanda, with its strict legal separation of races and castes, with the rigidly graded system of vassals and supervising officials, the hierarchy of priests, privileged families, princes, etc. All this will be described in detail in later chapters of this book.* The astonishing political acumen of the Batussi merely promotes the selfishness with which they exploit the subject Bahutu. There is no trace of any higher conception of the state.

For this reason it is natural that the Bahutu regard the
563 Batussi only as conquerors of a different tribe whose yoke weighs
181 heavily on them. Yet, although they hate the Batussi, they make no effort to free themselves from their bondage for, like almost all Negro peoples, their nature necessitates subordination under a firm guiding hand. Moreover, their fear of the Batussi is so great that they would not hazard an open rebellion against them. Indeed, though few in numbers, the Batussi are vastly
563 superior to the Bahutu in intelligence and in the fact that a
186 solidarity exists among them which is constantly being renewed under the impulse of common interests. The Bahutu, on the other hand, are split up into a number of mutually warring clans and tribal groups, lack any sort of genuine national consciousness, and are being played off against each other in an ingenious manner by the Batussi.

000 As long as the Batussi are the rulers in the country, an intellectual and cultural revival of the Barundi people is impossible, for it is only the present depressed condition of the Bahutu, maintained through hundreds of years of seclusion, that guarantees the domination of the Batussi. For the time being, however, we Germans must collaborate with the Batussi and interest them materially in our projects in Urundi since we are still too weak to meet an open attack on their part. The goal of our long term colonial policy, however, must be to crush the

643 be /486/ by this dreadful assignment. Hands unpracticed in dealing
644 death might sometimes fumble, but the master was watching and
646 the task had to be carried through. The fact of being a friend of the victim did not exempt anyone from this odious task.

As a rule and with some rare exceptions, it may be said that the subjects were not inordinately appalled by such assignments, so much was this an accepted custom of the times.

186 This did not prevent the Banyarwanda from regarding themselves as superior to other Blacks, whom they thought to surpass in intelligence and civilization. Despite the stains and stigmas of the past, they reject with irritation the term Shenzi, which is applied exclusively to noncivilized groups, as not applying in any way to them or to their ancestors. It is good to close the tale of these cruel practices and to feel that the curtain of time has been drawn forever over the past.

III. Poisoning and Bewitching: The Use of Charms and Philters

754 What should we really believe about those victims whose death is attributed to bewitchment or poisoning? The Blacks unquestionably mention this constantly. Their credulity in this connection is universal and extraordinary.

Numerous examples are cited of deaths which are said to have resulted from one or the other of those alleged causes.

We may add that the natives are familiar with numerous methods for bewitching their enemies, and that sorcerers in this evil category, both male and female, are found in great numbers throughout the country. One thing is certain: their superlative reputation is worse than their deeds.

As for crimes of poisoning, one may rest assured that such attempts were made and that toxic materials were used to this end, some of which were extracted locally and others purchased in neighboring regions such as /487/ the Uswi and Bunyabungu. How effective were those poisons? This is not easy to determine since, on the one hand, a true case of poisoning has never actually been witnessed, although the Blacks are absolutely convinced that they do occur

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[557] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
• 186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language
197 seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kisukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the interlacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelémy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
563 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about
● 186 his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the

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There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid, but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is increasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

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irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing.

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned.

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather.

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

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conquest: the procession of the victorious warriors, and the recitation of poems telling of the achievements of heroes. The whole country was mystically committed in the expedition through the king, the country's personification, who was magically taking part in it. The king and the queen-mother had (as the expedition leader) to sit motionless during the day of the battle (the army-chief in the field when deciding when to attack had to take into account the space of time necessary for a messenger to reach the court). The secrecy about the expeditions stressed their importance. Even after the battle was over, a messenger was sent to the court who could not tell anything about the expedition except that it was over. Then a few warriors were chosen by the army-chief to go and tell the king—and the king only—the story of the battle.

Ruanda was an aggressive neighbour. Its history, as it appears in the old traditions collected by Father Pagès for instance, is made up of numerous wars of annexation. The Abanyiginia dynasty started from about the centre of the present day Ruanda and expanded their domination progressively.

They were never permanently at peace with their neighbours, and when they had an alliance with some of them it was in order only to be free to concentrate their forces on others. They used any means that could ensure domination. In addition to direct attacks, they interfered in quarrels between smaller neighbours, helping one against the other and then overcoming both; they even murdered the chiefs and kings of small states.[19] Besides the territorial annexations they raided neighbouring countries for captives and cattle.

From the Ruanda point of view this policy of imperialism and looting did not require any rationalization. Their ethical obligations were limited to in-group relationships. One could not kill, steal from, or harm another Ruanda, but a foreigner was fair game. Ruanda people thought themselves to be quite different from people of other tribes, their land was the most important in the world and the country where Imana (the high god) came home every evening and spent the night. It was consistent with these beliefs to use out-group people for one's own purposes without the need for further justification.

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its

[19] See for instance Pagès, 1933, pp. 121 f.; pp. 298 ff.; pp. 554 ff.

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The great traditions of military

867 courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, 577 *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were pre- [591] dominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose [152] one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There 867 was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. 152 By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

86 Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The 702 Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related 186 origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

564 This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities 184 required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for 86 Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

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The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the
701 social order by the protective function of the army-chiefs. A minimum of individual security must be granted to every member of a society. The support of the army-chief secured partly that minimum of security. The protection against incursions of enemies was also provided by the army as such. Finally, the participation of
[564] Hutu and Twa in foreign expeditions, although extremely re-
[186] stricted, certainly contributed to the formation of a Ruanda 'national' feeling.

6. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

642 In the administrative and military structures, the king was the supreme political authority of Ruanda. Very closely associated with him was the queen-mother, who had an official role in the political sphere. Next, the highest dignitaries of the kingdom were the *biru*, guardians of traditions concerning the important events of the collective life of Ruanda. Finally, there was the council of the great chiefs. These four institutions may be regarded as having constituted the main element of the central government of Ruanda.

(a) *The king*

643 The theory of the Ruanda kingship was that the mwami was an absolute monarch in the fullest sense. There was no stated limit to his powers over the inhabitants, cattle, land, and even commodities of his country. His powers were not delegated by any authority and thus he had not to render an account of them to anybody. He was the supreme judge: his sentences were without appeal. He was the legislator having the right to change customs.

This theory of the king's powers was founded on their divine origin as mentioned earlier. The bami (plural of mwami) were very careful not to let their subjects forget their heavenly origin. Many rites stressed that they did not participate in the common nature of other men. This was also the reason why special words were used to indicate their common activities and the everyday objects they used (as for 'to get up', 'it is raining on the king's hut', 'his bed', 'his house', etc.). It was thus emphasized that in spite of their appearances, these activities and objects were fundamentally different from what they were for ordinary people.[22]

In fact the king's powers were of course limited. He had to respect the vested interests of important Tutsi lineages, he had to

[22] Pagès, 1933, pp. 491 f.

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Tutsi control. A Hutu who in exchange for labour or agricultural goods had been able to acquire a few cows had necessarily to ask for the protection of a lord in order that his cows should not be seized upon under some pretence by a socially powerful neighbour. Then he received cows from his lord and they were merged with his own *imbata*. Consequently, if the agreement had to be ended, the lord could take away besides the cows he had granted, those which had previously belonged to the client. 675 564 692 178

The two political structures benefited most those among the Tutsi who were rulers. The feudal structure, by granting only a precarious possession of cattle to the clients, left in the hands of the Tutsi the ultimate control of cattle, symbol of social prestige and instrument of power. On the other hand, by the same *buhake*, Tutsi were obtaining the advantages of being provided with labour and agricultural produce. From that standpoint, the Ruanda feudal system granted a minority the means to live—and to live better than the bulk of the population—without having to participate in the manual labour of economic production, by the moderate and clever exploitation of the majority. 564 661 692

In order that an aristocratic structure may perpetuate itself without change as long as it is profitable to the superior caste, it is not sufficient to prevent an invasion or even an infiltration of members of inferior groups who, by modifying the proportion between exploiters and exploited, would completely disturb the smooth working of the system. It is also necessary that all those who are by birth members of the upper caste should live according to the standards of their group. It is most unusual for an upper caste to regard the falling off of some of its members without uneasiness and dismay. This is particularly true when the group position of power is rationalized in terms of innate superiority. Some modern governments in Africa, for example, are much concerned about the 'poor whites' because their decadence threatens the myth of the white racial superiority. 564

The Tutsi had a similar pretence to a natural superiority as has been pointed out already. Consequently, if one of them was unable to support himself in a way becoming to his caste and seemed on the point of slipping down into the group of those who work manually, it was regarded as a shocking situation that should at once be put right. The remedy was to become the client of a richer Tutsi. The cows thus received, allowed him to subsist in [186] [558]

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(a) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

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181 cultural premise underlying the social roles of the ruler and the subject.

564 829 We have seen that Ruanda society is made up of three hereditary groups with a very different participation in social power and that these differences were explained in terms of innate qualities. On the other hand, in a very great proportion of the political and feudal relations, the superior and the inferior belong to different castes. This indicates in what sense Ruanda feel men to be unequal.

This was not an inequality founded on differences in individual qualities or possessions. Of course, a very clever and artful man, a very wealthy possessor of great herds of cattle, could exert much greater influence, could have access to many more amenities of life and would command much more respect than a not very intelligent or a not very wealthy man. But these differences were not regarded as entailing such a significant inequality between them if they belonged to the same caste. Caste affiliation was mainly what made men unequal.

564 186 Several stories expressed the differences between the three castes and the qualities which were thought characteristic of them.[8] I mentioned above physical stereotypes. To them, moral qualities were added. Tutsi were said to be intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), capable of command, refined, courageous, and cruel; Hutu, hardworking, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong; Twa, gluttonous, loyal to their Tutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, without any restraint. These stereotypes, admitted with only minor qualifications and slight differences and emphases by all Ruanda, Hutu and Twa as well as Tutsi, were thought to be essentially linked to caste affiliation. When asked if a Hutu brought up with Tutsi, and as a Tutsi boy, could not develop the Tutsi qualities, Hutu and Tutsi informants answer that such a training [828] could change the boy to some extent, but not completely; the differences pertain to nature.

564 Caste status was, of course, not founded on a difference of qualities, objective or assumed, in the sense that if a particular Hutu was recognized as intelligent and courageous as a Tutsi, his status remained nevertheless unaffected. What mattered primarily indeed was not to have the qualifications of the upper caste, but to have been born in it. This was sufficient to determine a very

[8] Cf. for instance Sandrart, 1930, p. 139; Hurel, 1922.

N2 same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This
564 makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to dis-
826 tinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that
564 the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least, cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the
827 Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving
829 anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

564 It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically
827 more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are, to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour.
564 True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose character and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and
[262] their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even
[186] those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Other-
[461] wise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

[826 It is necessary to stay in Burundi for a long time to see behind
827] the stereotypes of the castes. In brief, it is assumed that the Tutsi

194 German. In order to avoid harshness in the sound and pronunciation of words, the Murundi never permits an uninterrupted succession of two consonants or two vowels in the same syllable; he separates the consonants by a vowel and the vowels by a consonant or by the elision of one of the vowels.

191 However, in addition to the Kirundi which is generally spoken in Urundi, there is also a vulgar and sacral Old Kirundi.
192 Its use is limited, and wherever it is spoken only fragments of it are mixed with modern Kirundi. The Barundi have two, three, or more terms for most objects and concepts; some belong to the elegant conversational language, others to the vulgar manner of speech of Old Kirundi which is used by the common people, old women, and also by the Batwa whenever they are among themselves (No. 19, p. 330), and it is found in the religious hymns, festive chants, and ceremonial speeches (see pp. 70, 124, 128).
198 In Ruanda there is also a secret ritual language called "lubandwa" (No. 48, p. 315), and there is a similar language called "luchwesi" in Ussuwi (No. 24, p. 57).

197 In Old Kirundi the roots of nouns and verbs and their inflection are quite different from modern Kirundi. They are also
191 unlike those of any other Bantu language. Presumably Old Kirundi is the original language of the Batwa who have been living in these highlands longer than anyone else. The immigrants who arrived later learned this language from the Batwa and at present use it either separately in addition to their own idiom or intermingled with it. Of course, the Batwa speak modern Bantu Kirundi in addition to their original language (No. 18, pp. 106-107).

192 Here are a few examples to illustrate the three linguistic elements which co-exist in Urundi:

197

Word	Kitwa	Old Kirundi	New Kirundi
sun	irijotwa	irijotwa	isuba
moon	ukurabwa	ukurabwa	ukwesi
leopard	uwuhama	uwuhama	ingwe
sorghum	ururerema	ururerema	isakka
to hunt	kutamagisa	kutamagisa	kuhiga
to forge	kunaga	kunagura	kususa

791

Abashumburuzi (1).

1. Umuhozi (plural abahozi) literally means "extinguisher." It is the noun from the active verb guhoza, "to extinguish," or from the neutral form of the same verb, guhora, "to cool off."

[191] The common people, who do not know the vernacular language thoroughly and are unfamiliar with its riches and subtleties, often confuse in practice the names and professions of the numerous sorcerers who exploit the populace.

Sorcerers Who Are Believed to Exercise an Influence Over the Crops by Benefitting Them or by Endangering Them With Their Sorcery

They are called by the name of Abahinza, that is to say, "kings and descendants of the ancient aborigional kings," which goes to explain the origins of most of them at least.

In l'Histoire d'un Règne /Book III, not translated/ there was repeated discussion /441/ of those autochthonous petty kings, who joined the powers of priesthood with those of civil and military magistrature.

Among the best-known examples of these diviner- or magician-kings are Mashira, the famous sorcerer-king of the Nduga, Nkoma, the petty king of Marangara, and Rutoke, of the Buhanga. Their subjects could resort to them in every emergency, for they had an answer to everything. To read and foresee the future, to uncover hidden things, to bewitch and cast spells on their enemies and reduce them to impotence, such were not the least prerogatives of their position. They were also begged for a handful of grain of the time of sowing and cultivation, for this was believed to insure a rich harvest.

181 563 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 [518] The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi [163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He [481] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different 563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and 191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

563 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recog-
191 nize members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation. This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because of their privileged position. They are closely united and give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 They make up the conservative element which supports the
178 entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established order. However, they have little capability for independently organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found where individual provinces have given up their independent political existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state.
[184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the
[101] Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu. It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants in general, and here memories of the state that united Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not
[101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than
142 the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

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● 192

b) Classification of Cattle According to Color

Amanya, blue-grey
Ibihogo, dark brown
Ibihogo bitose, darker brown
Igaju, light brown
Igaju ly'intukura, yellow-brown

Igisa, café au lait [coffee-colored]
Igitare, white
Ikibamba, black with large white spots
[47]
Ikibayi, grey-brown
Ikijugu, light grey
Isine, white with small brown spots
Itshyasha, with a white spot on its forehead
Ubugondo bw'izagiriza, white with small brown spots
Umukara, black
Umusengo, brown with small white spots
Urwirungu rwumugoroba, black and white
Urwirungu rw'amarwa, pinkish tan

c) Classification of Cattle According to Age

1. MALE CATTLE

Umutavo, newborn
Ingimbuke, a fortnight old
Umushishe, a month old
Incharwatsi, that eats grass for the first time
Umukulira, that goes to pasture for the first time

Inchuke, weaned

Ikimasa ly'umukangara, a little larger than the inchuke
Karasiga inkivyondo, good for paying a fine
Igitobyi, ready to breed
Imfisi umutore, that has bred once
Ubukombe, adult bull
Umutaza, old bull

2. FEMALE CATTLE

Up to being weaned, same name as male cattle
Ishashi ikata, pregnant heifer
Iliza, first calf
Impete, second calf
Impetule, third calf
Ijigija, fourth calf
Ibuguma, cow that still calves but whose calf is too weak and dies
Inshura, old cow that no longer calves

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c) Classification by age (cont'd)
2. FEMALE CATTLE

Isave, cow sterile from birth (thin)
Urubeheri, cow sterile from birth (fat)

d) Classification of Cattle According to Horns

Igaritse, with large spreading horns
Impotore, with horns whose points are slightly twisted
Ingarure, with twisted horns whose points go forward
Inkungu, without horns
[48]
Intenderi, with horns whose points point toward the ground
Inkungu y'indegeri, with small mobile horns
Ikubis'ihembe, with one vertical and one horizontal horn
Itigey'inyuma, with horns whose points point backwards
Itez'akamosd, with crossed horns
Urubindo, with horns whose points point towards the ears
Itegey'ijuru, with large almost vertical horns

e) Classification of Cattle According to Common Law

422 231 [622] [192] IMBATA. Head of cattle received as dowry, as a present, or bought in the market, and whose owner is the true proprietor. But if, in putting himself under the patronage of the hill or provincial chief (1) he receives from either of them one or several cows called

1. See further on, Obligations and Contracts, p. 63.

inkazibiti or ingabane, according to whether he is a Muhutu or a Mututsi, all the imbata cows can be taken away from him with the others, should he lose his status as a client, by an arbitrary decision of his patron.

422 231 427 If a Muhutu receives from a Mututsi some heads of cattle in virtue of the contract called ubugaragu (lease of livestock) (1),

1. See further on, Obligations and

Contracts, p.63.

231 and if after a few years by selling the young bulls, the skins, the
422 horns, the milk, and the butter, he has made enough money to
427 buy a head of cattle, the latter is not an imbata, but an impahano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

422 If a Muhutu, the umugaragu of a Mututsi, marries his
583 daughter and receives a milch cow as dowry, the latter is not an
192 imbata, but an inkwano, and the shebuja of the son-in-law can take
231 it back. In effect, it is the social position of the Muhutu which entitled him to collect a dowry in cattle. If he had not been a client of a Mututsi, he would have received as dowry only hoes or goats.
[49]

231 INTUNDANO. (1) Cow bought in the market with the salary
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1. From kutunda, "to do business."

earned at the mines in exchange for goats or baskets of beans. It is an imbata.

INDUNDU. Cow acquired in immediate full ownership without the condition that the buyer should later make an additional payment. Indundu is opposed to ingwate (2).

2. See further on, p. 46.

[431] INKAZIBITI. Cows given without fee by the patron to a client who has paid homage (guhakwa). To take possession of cows promised by the shebuja is called kujya ku ilembo (lit., to cross the threshold of the rugo). The first cow received under these conditions is called inka y'igiti (3); the second, impetano; the others

3. Literally, "cow of the tree trunk."

do not have a special name. A father can also give some inkazibiti to his wives and sons.

231 INGABANE. When a Mututsi who has paid homage to the
422 Mwami receives from him a hill with cattle and abagaragu, the said
192 cattle is called ingabane (4). A herd of ingabane consists of at
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4. From kugabana, "to receive."

least 30 heads of cattle, cows, calves, heifers, and young bulls.

A simple Mututsi with no political authority may receive some ingabane and some inkazibiti. But the favor of the Mwami makes him considered an important person. He is the Mwami's abagaragu.

The Bahutu usually receive only inkazibiti.

INDEMANO. (5). a) Cows of the same color and age, given

5. From kulema, "to create," "to form," "to assemble."

by a father to his son when the latter is about to get married. The whole of the indemano is called iminani.

[50]

b) By a patron to a client of whom he is fond and who is going to get married.

c) By a husband to his wife.

The indemano are also ingabane.

After these various distributions, the cattle remaining to the master make up the ingarigari (reserved cows).

422 INGARIGARI. Cows which the master keeps for his own
231 pleasure and personal use without giving any to his wives, sons, or
192 friends, or without leasing them out to any abagaragu.

INKUKE (1). a) A son, who has received from his father

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1. From gukura, "to take away," "to remove."

indemano, returns a milch cow (inkuke) to his father which has been taken from among the indemano. When it no longer gives any milk the father sends it back to his son.

425 b) A Mututsi umugaragu is obliged to send the Mwami an inkuke
192 from among the ingabane he has received. When the cow no longer
231 gives milk, the client must bring other animals.

c) An umugaragu can receive some indemano from his patron. Usually these are old cows or bull calves which he then exchanges for heifers. When they are full grown, he gives one or several of these inkuke to his patron.

d) An umugaragu of the Mwami must occasionally send him a milch cow from among the ingabane he has received.

INDWANYI. Full-grown bull given annually to the Mwami by each provincial chief, for sacrifice to the spirits of the departed or slaughtered for the use of the king, his Batwa, or his foreign guests: Bahima, Barundi, Baganda, etc.

[51]

IBINIHA. Sterile cow given under the same conditions and meant for the same use.

[787] INTORWA. Bull calves or young rams to be used for consulting the auguries or for the cult of ancestors.

YO KUBIKA. Cow brought to the Mwami by the successor of a provincial chief who comes to announce the death of his father.

IY'UBUNTU (1). Cow given as a present. It belongs in full

1. From ubuntu, "generosity." Ineza, "good will," is also said.

ownership to the one who receives it, who is held under no obligation to the donor. Ubuntu cows are not ingabane; they are imbata when they are placed among the imbata that are already in the rugo, and keep the name of inka y'ubunta, without possessing any of its privileges, in all other cases [sic].

INYITURANO. Cow given in return by the one who has received an ubuntu. When a man who has bestowed ubuntu on certain of his friends dies, his children can claim an inyiturano cow from each of them.

IMPAHANO (2). Cows bought under the same conditions as

2. From guhaha, "to fetch, to procure."

the inundano and received as a gift or dowry. They have the same character, but if their owner attaches himself to a patron they become ipso facto cows of an umugaragu.

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
192 INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young

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1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother

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2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[600] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

000 three banana trees.

192 764 231 [53] INKAMWA. When the father of a family dies, one of his sons or grandsons is chosen to put between his hands a jug of milk. The cow that has given this milk is called inkamwa. It is given to the one who has placed the jug of milk between the hands of the deceased and is not included in the division of the inheritance.

This cow cannot be sold or killed. Its young are not subject to this interdiction. If it dies, it is eaten by the Bahutu in the owner's rugo, and its bones are buried there.

Among the Bahutu a sheep is used as the inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. When the father of a family dies, the eldest son slaughters a bull calf, which is eaten by the family. The skin is worn by the eldest son for two months so that the cows will not die like their master.

192 231 731 IY'UMULIRO and INSHUMBUSHANYO. 1) If lightning has destroyed the herd (or even one animal) held by the umugaragu, the latter can obtain from his shebuja the umuliro (lit., the fire cow), either a cow or a bull calf.

When several cows are given by the patron to indemnify his client, the first one is called umuliro, the others inshumbushanyo.

425 231 2) If the patron deprives his client of his whole herd to punish him for not performing one of his obligations, the umugaragu begs the protection of another shebuja who gives his new dependent a cow and a bull calf or only a bull calf.

192 731 231 IMPONOKE. When the herd of the patron, the provincial chief, or the king is decimated by cattle plague (muryamo), the abagaragu give some cows to fill the gaps caused by the epizootic disease.

192 231 766 [54] INDORANO (1). At the death of the king's child, wife, brother, and also in the case of death in a great chief's family, the provincial chiefs and the hill chiefs, if they are directly subject to the Mwami, each bring two cows to the Mwami, and only one in the other event. A cow is also given by the abagaragu. The cow given to a friend on the occasion of deep mourning is also called indorano.

1. From kurora, "to see."

192 IMPONGANO. A cow given to appease the anger of the king or
231 one of the provincial chiefs.
431 2) A cow given to a friend of the Mwami to thank him for his intervention with the king.

IZIMANO. The first time a great provincial chief goes to visit another, the host gives his guest a milch cow.

Similarly, if the king or a provincial chief visits one of their abagaragu, he is given a calf.

INJISHYWA. A cow that accompanies a noble Mututsi when he visits a provincial chief or the Mwami on business or to pay homage. It is meant to provide him with the milk necessary for food.

427 INDAGIZO. (2). A cow which the depositor (uwaragije) entrusts
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2. From kulagiza, "to give on trust in order to pasture."

to someone who owns a better pasture than his, but the trustee (uwaragiywe) does not become umugaragu. The latter must return the cow when it has calved, but he has the right to the milk for two months if the cow is young, and for a fortnight if it is not. If the calf dies, the trustee has the right to the milk one day out of four.
[55]

231 INTAHIRA (1). This is the best of the cows held by an umugaragu.
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1. From gutahira, "to come in front," "to precede," "to lead."

He always makes it walk at the head of the herd. The holder can take its milk (intagemura, lit., to keep the milk for one's self), but the calves must return to the owner.

192 INGWATE. Primus, who owns a bull calf (inguzwa) or a sterile
231 cow (also inguzwa), asks Secundus, who has a heifer (ingwate), if he is
437 willing to exchange on the following conditions:

a) If the heifer has a female calf (umukangara), Primus will keep it and its mother for a length of time to be agreed upon, usually two years. Secundus will then take back the cow and its calf and in addition will keep the inguzwa.

192 b) If the heifer has a male calf, Secundus takes it at once and Primus
437 keeps the mother for two years. The milk is divided between the two
231 contracting parties as follows: Secundus has the right to the milk for four days, Primus for two days, and the shepherd one day a week.

c) If the heifer dies before having a calf, Primus takes the skin and Secundus keeps the inguzwa. To avoid leaving the heifer with Primus for two years, Secundus gives the other contracting party a pregnant cow (ingenzura) and takes back the ingwate and its young (female or male calf). There are then two possibilities:

a) The ingenzura bears a female calf; Primus claims it.

1) Secundus accepts and takes back the ingenzura.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf, and does not give any of the milk until another cow is given him. [56]

b) The ingenzura gives birth to a male calf.

1) Secundus agrees to give Primus an umukangara and takes back the cow and its calf.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf. He will return the calf only after it is weaned. He waits for the cow to have a female calf.

IGICHANIRO (1). Primus who wishes to have a bull calf gives

1. The igichaniro is, strictly speaking, the fire lit in the kraal to protect the cows from the cold.

all his cows as a pledge (kugwatiriza) to Secundus, yet keeps them at his home. After two years, Primus gives a female calf to Secundus. ~~If he~~ refuses, Secundus would have the right to take a milch cow (gukubitira).

If the contract concerns goats, the fact that Secundus pays himself if Primus refuses is called gufatira.

192 INDABUKIRANO (2). 1) At the accession of the king, his abagaragu
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2. From kurabukira, "to offer an accession gift to the king."

and all the provincial chiefs must each give one or two cows in homage to the king.

2) When an umutware w'intebe, an ichibiri, or an igisonga (3)

3. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Divisions, p. 85.

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231 3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
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1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage
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3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
727 by warriors.
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IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to
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4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

192 234 574 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192 431 231 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief, or a patron when she has a child.

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

192 231 426 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-

1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192 231 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cowherd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

[465] 3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681] 431] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

[696] INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192 437 231 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches

1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

643 of his great chiefs to cede it to him. The latter yields with good
[425] grace and usually receives some cattle in exchange.

The Mwami is an absolute monarch by divine right who
643 knows no other rule but his will, even his caprice. (2) In the past,
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2. Hence the proverb: Luyose higirwa n'Unwami, "all depends on the King."

before our occupation, he could with impunity torture, mutilate, or kill anyone who had displeased him. His criminal sentences conformed to the customs of the country, which acknowledged this [87] formidable right, and no one thought of rebelling against his decisions (1).

[177] 1. The Mwami's right of life and death was abolished in 1917 at the time of the occupation of the country by our troops.

In the same way he is high judge and makes the final settlement in disputes, even the slightest, among his subjects.

Finally, the king is the supreme legislator of the people. With the help of the abiru, he sees that the common law is kept, but he has the sole power of modifying the country's law if and whatever he wishes.

He announces his decisions (amategeko) at the door of his rugo,
643 where people from all parts have congregated to pay homage or de-
[692] mand justice. The intumwa (messengers) are then charged to make known the Mwami's orders to the people of the different provinces.

In addition to his Mututsi name (Musinga, Rudahigwa, etc.),
643 the Mwami receives on his accession a king's name (Yuhi, Mutara,
551 etc.). These names are repeated periodically; thus the present Mwami is Mutara III.

The king is sometimes given a surname such as Rwabugiri Sezisoni (Merciful, Clement) (2).

• [192] 2. Foreign word originating in Buhima, east of Ruanda.

194 German. In order to avoid harshness in the sound and pronunciation of words, the Murundi never permits an uninterrupted succession of two consonants or two vowels in the same syllable; he separates the consonants by a vowel and the vowels by a consonant or by the elision of one of the vowels.

However, in addition to the Kirundi which is generally
191 spoken in Urundi, there is also a vulgar and sacral Old Kirundi.
● 192 Its use is limited, and wherever it is spoken only fragments of it are mixed with modern Kirundi. The Barundi have two, three, or more terms for most objects and concepts; some belong to the elegant conversational language, others to the vulgar manner of speech of Old Kirundi which is used by the common people, old women, and also by the Batwa whenever they are among themselves (No. 19, p. 330), and it is found in the religious hymns, festive chants, and ceremonial speeches (see pp. 70 ,
198 124, 128). In Ruanda there is also a secret ritual language called "lubandwa" (No. 48, p. 315), and there is a similar language called "luchwesi" in Ussuwi (No. 24, p. 57).

In Old Kirundi the roots of nouns and verbs and their in-
197 flection are quite different from modern Kirundi. They are also
191 unlike those of any other Bantu language. Presumably Old Kirundi is the original language of the Batwa who have been living in these highlands longer than anyone else. The immigrants who arrived later learned this language from the Batwa and at present use it either separately in addition to their own idiom or intermingled with it. Of course, the Batwa speak modern Bantu Kirundi in addition to their original language (No. 18, pp. 106-107).

Here are a few examples to illustrate the three linguistic
192 elements which co-exist in Urundi:

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Word	Kitwa	Old Kirundi	New Kirundi
sun	irijotwa	irijotwa	isuba
moon	ukurabwa	ukurabwa	ukwesi
leopard	uwuhama	uwuhama	ingwe
sorghum	ururerema	ururerema	isakka
to hunt	kutamagisa	kutamagisa	kuhiga
to forge	kunaga	kunagura	kususa

/20/ Preface

104 Note: When we cite proper names, geographical terms, and
192 other common nouns, we shall write them with the article (1) and the
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1. The article (a, i, u), which varies according to word classes, is designated in Runyarwanda works already in existence under the term "euphonic vowel."

nominal prefix (indicating the singular or plural) (2), which are joined

2. The nominal prefix, which indicates the singular or plural, also varies according to noun class.

to the word itself as follows:

Class	Singular	Plural	Class	Singular	Plural
Class I	mu	ba	Class VI	u	n
II	mu	mi	VII	ka	tu
III	n	n	VIII	bu	ma
IV	ki	bi	IX	ku	ma
V	i	ma	X	ha	ha

Article	Number Singular or Plural	Word Root	Meaning
u	mu	ntu	man
a	ba	ntu	men
u	mu	tutsi	Hamite
a	ba	tutsi	Hamites
a	ba	hutu	serfs (cultivators)

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192	a	ba	twa	Negrillos
193	u	ru	go	palisade
	i	n	go	palisades

It would be more logical to give only the root itself as follows: /les/ ntu, /les/ tutsi, /les/ hutu and, in the singular, /le/ ntu, /le/ tutsi, /le/ hutu. It would be a matter of habit but the euphony would suffer a little by this.

[55] 195 So as not to risk meeting a lion /intare/, they use the following expression when speaking of that animal: "the glutton" (lwabgiga).

The Blacks are never at a want for words. Their language is rich and lends itself to subtleties and to the development of the new ideas introduced by the Europeans.

198 [575] In order to communicate among themselves, the members of the Ryangombe secret society have created a sort of dialect. Many of its more common terms are known to the uninitiated but arouse mirth when used in ordinary speech.

We shall list here some of the words in this Rumandwa dialect:

192 198

Rumandwa	Literal Sense	Runyarwanda	Meaning
Ameza	"Good things"	Amata	Milk
Ubgihinga	"A difficult thing to cultivate"	Uburo	Eleusine
Ibihimbaza	"Things that satisfy /hunger/"	Ibishimbo	Beans
Amaranda (1)	"Creeping things"	Amateke	Taraud /the dictionary meaning "screw cutter" does not seem to apply here. /

1. Or amabya y' abak ungu.

Umubonanya		Umutsima	Sorghum bread
Inganda		Inzoga	Beer
Akayoba nzara	"That which staves off hunger"	Itabi	Tobacco
Imirundi y' inkuba	"The legs of lightning," (that is to say, that which is shaped like a bolt of lightning).	Ibijumba	Sweet Potatoes /456/

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Urwiko	"The silent one"	Inkono y' itabi	Pipe
Uruhunga		Inzoga y' urwagwa	Banana beer
Isakara	"That which has a roof"	Inzu	Hut
Gakungu	"That which has no horns"	Imbga	Dog
Inguruka		Ihene	Goat
Ihangi		Inka	Cow
Gukoroga		Gukama	To milk
Gutanyara		Gutabara	To go to war
Gutakura		Gukinga	To cultivate
Gaminga		Gahinga	Hilltop
iKinyamusenyi		Ikinyamunyu	Bunch of bananas
Umusenyi	"Sand"	Umunyu	Salt
Serukanaga (1)	"The man who binds"	Umutware	Chief

1. Gukanaga, the verb from which the substantive se-rukanaga is derived ("the man who binds"), is synonymous to the word kuboha, "to bind."

Ibifunga mwoyo (2)	"That which wears pants"	Abazungu	Europeans

2. The etymological sense of the native expression is stronger than that of the French translation and shows how poorly the Whites were regarded at first.

Umumputu		Umugabo	Man

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Umumkari	Umugore	Woman
Umwere wa giti	Umwana	Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

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3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

644 Swinging their grotesque headdress to the right and to the left,
[534] they come in dancing and singing, sounding the bells and sistra which they hold in their hands.

They call upon Ryangombe and other dead initiates to bestow their protection upon the sovereign.

195 2. In order to speak of the king and of his most trivial and
644 frequent actions, custom demands that colorful and noble terms be
192 used, such as for example the following: kubikirwa or kwisasira instead of kuryama, which means "to go to bed."

igisasiro for uburiri..... "royal bed"
kubamburwa for kubyuka..... "to get up"
kuj' ijabiro for kuboneka ..... "to appear"
inyundo for amaguru ..... "legs"
ingoro for inzu ..... "house" /492/
ingoro irakamwa for inzu irava . "it rains in the hut"
ingoro irahonjoka for inzu iragwa. "the hut is falling to pieces with age" (1)

1. Kubikirwa comes from the word kubika, "to put away an object," "to put it in its proper place"; kwisasira means "to spread out the mats on the ground"; igisasiro, "the place where the mats are spread out"; kubamburwa, "to be awake"; kuj' ijabiro, "to go to that part of the hut where one talks to guests"; inyundo, "iron hammer"; ingoro, "palace"; ingoro irakamwa, "the palace is milked," to mean that it rains in there; ingor' irahonjoka, "the palace grows fat" (that is, it swells), because it is falling to pieces with age.

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Figurative terms are used to speak of the king's death:

gutabara ..... "to go to the aid, " "to go to war"
gutanga ..... "to hand over" (the drum to the successor)
kunywa ..... "to drink" (poison)
gussaza ..... "to grow old"
gusezera ..... "to take leave"
ijuru ryaguye ..... "the sky has fallen"

644 3. It would be most disrespectful to allude to anything pertaining to his eventual death. While on a trip the king must avoid passing too close to cemeteries or even to the mere "night stops" (ilaro, amalaro), where the bodies of his predecessors were laid in the course of their transfer to the royal necropolises.

[767] Nor is he permitted to spend the night in those villages which are inhabited by the undertakers.

The latter in turn must avoid appearing in his presence and must employ an intermediary when they have to deal with the king.

As if the thought, likeness, or memory of death could shorten his days or bring misfortune upon him!

4. Whenever possible His Majesty must avoid bending his knees (guhina), so as not to risk a reduction in the area of his kingdom (2). /493/

[821] 2. When caught by a storm or bad weather the king must not quicken his pace; he must proceed quietly to shelter. Rain is regarded as a blessing due to the influence of the prince. A quickening of his pace might bring the beneficial downpour to an end.

We believe that this popular belief will soon be pushed into the background, and that the monarch will become less willing to submit to all the demands of his position.

Pastoral Terms

192 233 The rich and varied vocabulary used by the Banyarwands proves the interest they take in their cattle

They have special terms to designate a black cow (inka y' umukara), a dark-brown cow (igitare), a grey one (ikijuju), a purple one (issine), a red one (umusengo), cows splotched with white, black, or yellow on a russet or grey background (ubugondo), an ash-grey cow (rwirungu), a dark-yellow one (inumba), and inka y' inyombya, the blackbird-hued cow for which the Batutsi entertain a superstitious fear.

A cowherd is called umushumba or umwungeri.

The king's cows other than the sacred cows are called insanga, which means "those that were found, " from the word gusanga, "to find, " because it was one of the first kings of Ruanda, Gihanga, who discovered them. They are also called by the name of ibigarama, from the word kugarama, "to stretch out, " because they have long horns, etc.

Inka is the generic name for all horned beasts, cows or bulls. Inkungu is a cow without horns; inkungu z' amalegelege is a cow whose horns are loose.

The shape of the horns, their orientation, and the arch they form give rise to the following names: inkondogoro, inyabulegelege, ibibinda, impotore. Certain Batutsi cowherds burn the horns of their animals with a red-hot iron while they are still young in order to obtain the desired shape. /506/

Inka y' imbata (kwihita, "to exert oneself") is a cow acquired or bought through personal labor. It is an inalienable cow over which the chiefs have no rights whatsoever.

Inka y' igiti, cow of landed property (of the hill) received from the chief.

Inka y' impetano (guheta, ... "for the second time"). Second cow obtained from the chief.

Inka y' ubuntu, "generosity cow, " or inka y' ineza "benevolence cow, " a gift between relatives or blood brothers.

Inka y'ingwate (kugwatiriza), a cow which must be redeemed [422] (irichungura). The owner of a young bull makes a deal with the owner

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[422] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

192 Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
233 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
431 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
844 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

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to the young mother who has suffered the pains of childbirth (umuruho w' umubyeyi). Her parents compensate her in this fashion for her troubles and sufferings.

Inka y' indundu (kurundura, "to give unconditionally") serves to designate a cow given unconditionally, as opposed to inka y' ingwate.

Inka y' ilembo means "the cow of entry (into the new household)," because the bride receives it as a gift from her parents-in-law when she enters her new home for the first time.

Inka y'indabukirano (kurabuka, kurabukir' umutware, "to pay an accession gift to a new chief") designates the cow given to a chief at the time of his accession to office.

Inka y' inyiturano (kwitura, kwiturana, "to pay a debt of gratitude") designates the cow given in acknowledgement of a kindness.

Inka y' inturano (gutura, "to offer a gift") serves to designate a cow which subjects must give to chiefs by way of a tax.

Inka y' intundano means "trade cow." The verb gutunda means "to trade" or "to purchase through an exchange of goods," hence the expression "trade cow."

Inka y' ingororano (kugororera, "to reward") designates /508/ a cow given as a reward for a favor done.

Inka y' inyibano (kwiba, "to steal"), a stolen cow.

Inka y' ibihembo, "a cow given in payment as salary," for example, to pay for two years of consecutive work.

Inka y' amahugu (guhuguza, "to deceive"), a cow obtained through trickery.

Inka y' umuheto ("bow"), a cow obtained by force.

Inka y' isaso ("bullet") is the generic name for the cows of the Europeans, who have taken over the land.

Inka z' indemano (kulema, "to create"), cows given by the king or by a great chief to someone they wish to honor or to raise above other men by providing him with a herd that will make him safe from want.

192 233 Inka z' inkuke (gukuka, "to come out of," "to come from") serves to designate cows which are merely in one's keeping.

Milk cows are always placed at the disposal of the chief, who never lacks milk.

Inka z'intarama (a term peculiar to the Bugoyi /region/), cows that are milked late in the morning and in the evening.

Inka z' imigogoro (imiruho), cows ("who cause trouble") because they often die or bring other worries to their owners, who are taxed on their milk.

Inka z' inyambo (indende), "cows of imposing size."

Inka z' ingegene, "ordinary cows."

Inka z' inyagisanze, "cows who graze in pastures which are always green."

Inka z' intahira (gu-ta-hira or gu-ta-gemura), "cows whose owner has full rights over them and is not subjected to any bondage toward his chief on their account.

[517] Inka z'imilizo, "cows with a (short) tail." The Batutsi sometimes shorten the tails of their heifers for esthetic reasons. /509/

Inka z' inkuku, "cows of small size."

Ikimasa, "ox"; impfizi, "bull"; ubukombe, "a bull in his prime" or one whose services are highly valued, hence the wish and expression, Ukagir' ubukombe! "May you own a fine bull!"

Inyana, "calf"; ishashi, "heifer"; imbyeyi, "mother cow"; inka y' issave or urubereri, "cow who has never calved"; ingumba, "cow who has become sterile"; inka y' issugi, "cow who never lost a calf"; iliza, "cow who has calved at least once"; ijigija, "cow who has calved many times"; inka y' ubusuri, "cow who lost a calf"; insindirano, "cow who is given the calf of another"; amabuguma, "old beasts," etc.

192 234 Fresh milk is called amata y' inshyushyu; curdled milk, ikivugutò; the milk of a cow who has just calved, umuhondo; the milk of a cow who is pregnant again, amasitu; fresh milk mixed with water, umwerera; one night's milk, umubanji; whey, amachunde or amenda, etc.

516 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is cus-
554 tomary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

231 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the
805 words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

231 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their
192 herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[556] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruanda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

198 use of a special Kirundi terminology (No. 18, p. 1; cf. also above, p. 124).

The characteristic features of Kirundi are as follows:
193 1. absence of gender; 2. absence of declension, but nouns are grouped into classes and have special prefixes for singular and plural; 3. the parts of a sentence are governed by the nouns by means of certain prefixes or characteristic syllables (No. 18, p. 2).

All nouns can be divided into ten classes. Certain nouns are doubled in order to intensify the meaning or to give an expression a connotation of familiarity. Like all Bantu languages, Kirundi has very few adjectives; it uses instead participial forms of verbs, nouns, generic concepts, etc.

The most difficult aspect of Kirundi is the structure and system of the verb. It is true the verb as such is simple and its construction and use are logical, but the number and variety of forms is so great that it is extremely difficult to find equivalents for a Kirundi verb form in a European language. There are, for example, base forms, auxiliary forms, conjunctive forms, passive, conditional, causative, oppositional, restrictive, and other forms, altogether more than fifty (No. 18, pp. 32-33). On the other hand, the number of conjunctions is very small; most of them are expressed by auxiliary verbs. Since the Murundi will drop even these if they are not absolutely essential for conveying the meaning, sentences are short, and their manner of speech sounds choppy. If a Murundi were to understand an elegant German or even Latin sentence, he would translate it into at least ten sentences of Kirundi.

In addition to the shortness of the sentences, rapidity of
194 speech is also characteristic of the Barundi. The Banjaruanda, on the other hand, speak much more slowly with a somewhat [148] singing intonation. Accent, i.e., stressing a particular syllable or pronouncing it on a certain pitch, is very important for the meaning of a word. This also applies to whole sentences. A European who does not pay express attention to these factors will therefore often misunderstand a Murundi or be misunderstood by him, even if otherwise he speaks and understands Kirundi quite well. As a general rule, the syllable next to the last one in a word is stressed longer [sic] then the others, i.e., as in

/20/ Preface

104 Note: When we cite proper names, geographical terms, and
192 other common nouns, we shall write them with the article (1) and the
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1. The article (a, i, u), which varies according to word classes, is designated in Runyarwanda works already in existence under the term "euphonic vowel."

nominal prefix (indicating the singular or plural) (2), which are joined

2. The nominal prefix, which indicates the singular or plural, also varies according to noun class.

to the word itself as follows:

Class	Singular	Plural	Class	Singular	Plural
Class I	mu	ba	Class VI	u	n
II	mu	mi	VII	ka	tu
III	n	n	VIII	bu	ma
IV	ki	bi	IX	ku	ma
V	i	ma	X	ha	ha

Article	Number Singular or Plural	Word Root	Meaning
u	mu	ntu	man
a	ba	ntu	men
u	mu	tutsi	Hamite
a	ba	tutsi	Hamites
a	ba	hutu	serfs (cultivators)

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192	a	ba	twa	Negrillos
193	u	ru	go	palisade
	i	n	go	palisades

It would be more logical to give only the root itself as follows: /les/ ntu, /les/ tutsi, /les/ hutu and, in the singular, /le/ ntu, /le/ tutsi, /le/ hutu. It would be a matter of habit but the euphony would suffer a little by this.

554 displaying in public the respect and obedience due them. An
562 intelligent woman makes herself liked or feared, according to the
513 character of the men with whom she is dealing. Occasionally, it is said of a Rundi that "his house is burning", that is to say, despite
[195] the show of respect, his wife rules the roost. He is afraid of her, she nags him, she criticizes him, she wants to decide everything, and one fine day she will put poison in his beer, or she will calumniate him. However, a woman need not dominate her husband in so heavy-handed a fashion to earn her laurels as matriarch. She has her own inferiors to dominate, and there are other ways to become the *umutoni* of her husband and the other men. Apart from her ability as the mistress of her house and her generosity as a hostess, apart from all her obligations, a woman as an inferior is likely to understand very well the uses of flattery and subservience. She knows how to be an informant, to calumniate her superior's enemies as well as her own hated rivals, to show herself always loyal and devoted, to make the welfare of her superior her primary concern. She also knows how to satisfy sexual desires, the need for alcohol, and other demands of the body and the spirit. Superiors, apart from their economic dependence upon their inferiors, seem to seek them also for the satisfaction of what appear to be exceedingly urgent needs for love, respect, and loyalty and for entertainment that will take their minds off their troubles. It is to have these needs satisfied that they make presents, that they give what is asked of them. An intelligent woman busies herself with satisfying the desires of her superiors and thereby making herself indispensable to their happiness. Neither the Sophists, nor Machiavelli, nor the courtiers of Louis XIV have anything to teach the Rundi. An intelligent Rundikazi, like any
[557] intelligent social inferior, knows that to obtain happiness it is necessary only to say yes—to play along with the internal weaknesses and needs by which the superior is enslaved.

NOTES

193 [1]*Linguistic note:* Bantu prefixes have been dropped from words that refer to the inhabitants of Burundi. They are referred to as "Rundi" and by their caste-names, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Other words of the language retain their Bantu form, e.g., *mwami*, king; *mwamikazi*, queen-mother or princess, *bamikazi* in the plural; *muganwa*, prince, *baganwa* in the plural. The suffix, *-kazi*, designates the feminine. For "Rundi woman," "Tutsi woman," "Hutu woman," or "Twa woman," the Rundi forms will be used, i.e., "Rundikazi," "Tutsikazi," "Hutukazi," and "Twakazi."

133 When I now attempt to describe the inhabitants of Urundi, the Barundi (1), the following question must first be briefly

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1. In the spelling of Barundi, Bahima, Batussi, Bahutu, Batwa, Baganda, Banjoro, Banjaruanda, Banjankole, etc., I am following the example of J. Czekanowski (Nos. 38 and 48). In this connection, it should be noted that the phonetic value of this b is often close to our w i.e., an English v and in correct phonetic terms might be more clearly transcribed by a v specially marked, but for the purpose of my study the common b corresponds more closely to the orthography of the tribes between the lakes. On the other hand, one must write Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, Waschaschi, etc., since these tribes pronounce the w in all clarity.

answered: What does the country look like, the soil which supports and nourishes the people and upon which its economic, social, and political life takes place? Urundi is a mountainous country, the southern part of the interlacustrine region to which belong Ruandā in the north, the Kisiba states and Uha in the east, and in the south also Uha and part of Ujiji. On all sides Urundi has good natural boundaries: in the north the rivers Akanjaru and Kagera, in the east the long plateau sloping down toward Uha, in the south the upper course of the Malagarasi, in the west Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. To the north the region has a broad front toward Ruanda, while to the south it tapers off in wedge-shaped form to Lake Tanganyika.

In its geological structure Urundi is divided into two large regions whose landscapes differ. The larger eastern part is a section of the Paleozoic slate and quartzite plateau (Plate 26) probably belonging to the Cape formation. This plateau covers almost the entire interlacustrine region. The narrower, tapering

198 use of a special Kirundi terminology (No. 18, p. 1; cf. also above, p. 124).

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The most difficult aspect of Kirundi is the structure and system of the verb. It is true the verb as such is simple and its construction and use are logical, but the number and variety of forms is so great that it is extremely difficult to find equivalents for a Kirundi verb form in a European language. There are, for example, base forms, auxiliary forms, conjunctive forms, passive, conditional, causative, oppositional, restrictive, and other forms, altogether more than fifty (No. 18, pp. 32-33). On the other hand, the number of conjunctions is very small; most of them are expressed by auxiliary verbs. Since the Murundi will drop even these if they are not absolutely essential for conveying the meaning, sentences are short, and their manner of speech sounds choppy. If a Murundi were to understand an elegant German or even Latin sentence, he would translate it into at least ten sentences of Kirundi.

In addition to the shortness of the sentences, rapidity of
194 speech is also characteristic of the Barundi. The Banjaruanda, on the other hand, speak much more slowly with a somewhat [148] singing intonation. Accent, i.e., stressing a particular syllable or pronouncing it on a certain pitch, is very important for the meaning of a word. This also applies to whole sentences. A European who does not pay express attention to these factors will therefore often misunderstand a Murundi or be misunderstood by him, even if otherwise he speaks and understands Kirundi quite well. As a general rule, the syllable next to the last one in a word is stressed longer [sic] then the others, i.e., as in

194 German. In order to avoid harshness in the sound and pronunciation of words, the Murundi never permits an uninterrupted succession of two consonants or two vowels in the same syllable; he separates the consonants by a vowel and the vowels by a consonant or by the elision of one of the vowels.

191 However, in addition to the Kirundi which is generally spoken in Urundi, there is also a vulgar and sacral Old Kirundi.
192 Its use is limited, and wherever it is spoken only fragments of it are mixed with modern Kirundi. The Barundi have two, three, or more terms for most objects and concepts; some belong to the elegant conversational language, others to the vulgar manner of speech of Old Kirundi which is used by the common people, old women, and also by the Batwa whenever they are among themselves (No. 19, p. 330), and it is found in the religious hymns, festive chants, and ceremonial speeches (see pp. 70, 124, 128). In Ruanda there is also a secret ritual language
198 called "lubandwa" (No. 48, p. 315), and there is a similar language called "luchwesi" in Ussuwi (No. 24, p. 57).

In Old Kirundi the roots of nouns and verbs and their in-
197 flection are quite different from modern Kirundi. They are also
191 unlike those of any other Bantu language. Presumably Old Kirundi is the original language of the Batwa who have been living in these highlands longer than anyone else. The immigrants who arrived later learned this language from the Batwa and at present use it either separately in addition to their own idiom or intermingled with it. Of course, the Batwa speak modern Bantu Kirundi in addition to their original language (No. 18, pp. 106-107).

Here are a few examples to illustrate the three linguistic
192 elements which co-exist in Urundi:

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Word	Kitwa	Old Kirundi	New Kirundi
sun	irijotwa	irijotwa	isuba
moon	ukurabwa	ukurabwa	ukwesi
leopard	uwuhama	uwuhama	ingwe
sorghum	ururerema	ururerema	isakka
to hunt	kutamagisa	kutamagisa	kuhiga
to forge	kunaga	kunagura	kususa

197 the language of the Nandi in the Uganda protectorate. The language of the Nandi, of all the languages of East Africa, seems to resemble most closely the pure Hamitic language type since the Nandi probably are the remnants of a former Galla invasion. (A. W. Crabtree, "The Languages of the Uganda Protectorate," Journal of the African Society, January, 1914, pp. 158 ff.)

194 An exact study of the peculiar manner in which the Batussi speak the Bantu idiom, Kirundi, will also yield many intimations and indications in this respect, for it is obvious even to an observant layman that the Batussi differ from the Bahutu in speaking Kirundi. They have a different accent, pronounce certain sounds differently, and combine the syllables differently. In general, it seemed to me that in both Ruanda and in Urundi the Batussi speak Kirundi with a much softer intonation and also that they have a tendency to swallow the vowels of the final syllables. Instead of the 's' or 'ss' pronounced by the Bahutu, they use a very soft 'sch' or 'dsch': instead of Munjahasi they say Munjahasch'; instead of Lanongo, Lanong'; instead of Lubassa, lubasch'. It is also often difficult to say whether the final vowel pronounced is an 'a,' or 'e.' It is also difficult to hear the difference in the pronunciation of 'r,' 'l,' and 'd.'

113 It would serve no purpose to list examples of modern Kirundi at this point since one may consult the comprehensive Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi by Father J. M. van der Burgt and the small Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi et Kirundi-Français by Father F. Ménard which is specifically intended for missionary use (No. 29). Van der Burgt reproduces a few examples of stories, fables, songs, and hymns with an interlinear translation in his Dictionnaire, pp. 96, 292-293, 332-334, 339-342; I myself cannot add anything to them. In conclusion, however, I should

539 like to add a few proverbs which are noteworthy for their sharpness of observation and brevity of expression (No. 19, p. 470).

[150] 1) Ivintu vy'ukwibwa viraguma.
Things of no interest (are) hard [to comprehend].

167 Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use
101 in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu, Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly [194] alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect. In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area. The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with the Batutsi.

563 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the
144 population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that

[113]

2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.

Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

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266
[113]

Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are

[113]

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Eléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

● 194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language
197 seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kisukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the inter-lacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelémy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
563 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about
186 his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the

241 To them, this labor is almost taboo (1). They are divided in
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1. Extensive fields of peas are to be seen among the Batwa of the Bugoyi, who live at the edge of the forest. Should one see this as a new state of affairs caused by the deep changes which have upset or transformed their former way of life?

It is certain that the hunting grounds of the Pygmies are not as extensive as they used to be. The forest dwindles imperceptibly but surely as the Bahutu, in search of new fields, gnaw at it incessantly with their axes. It must also be said that the Negrillos can no longer plunder and rob as they used to do. European penetration is largely responsible for stopping this source of income. In order to support themselves, the Batwa have begun to farm out of necessity, like the Bahutu.

323 two categories, the potters and the hunters. The former settle in Bahutu villages but live apart. They work with clay, a task which everyone else gladly leaves to them. They get foodstuffs in exchange for their vessels.

224 The hunters prefer the solitude of the forest. They are the true children of the woods, and "milk" the forest in every way, as [195] though it were their cow, to repeat a familiar expression /35/ of theirs. They live on the game they kill.

They are very fond of meat and tirelessly track elephants, buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, the large tailless, clawless rats called

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"Her father said, 'My child, what you have done is bad.

"'Evil will come unto us.'

"The carnivore knocked on the door for the second time.

"He entered the hut and hid near the rush wall (that divides the inside of the hut in two compartments).

"The woman got up to take a brand from the fire.

"The leopard leaped upon her and took her outside.

"With his claws he tore out her entrails (imushing' urwara mu nda, hava mw' umwana).

"The father got up to go to her aid.

"The animal had dragged his quivering prey into the banana grove.

"The husband, after a search, found nothing but a few blood-stained copper bracelets.

"After a period of time the feline returned. /451/

"The master of the house was not caught napping.

"His mind had been active since the accident.

"It was in vain that the leopard brought along Jack Rabbit (the prototype of the resourceful rogue who has a thousand tricks up his sleeve).

"He came near the hut.

"Nziguye ('I know how to handle difficulties') (1) had dug a

1. Nziguye is the substantive of the verb kwizigura, which means "to get out of trouble," "to escape danger through one's own resources."

deep ditch (covered with light branches).

"The leopard vanished into the trap and died there."

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d. Aside from the bards and official chroniclers already mentioned, there are also at court some literary jousters who speak a refined language, who are appointed to the king's side, and who attend to him in shifts.

They are called Abasizi, from the word gusiga, which means "to speak a refined language." They expound the events of the day

538 in an amusing and literary form which is not understood by those who
195 are not in the know.

This is why the opposite of the verb gusǐgǎ is gusigura, which means "to explain." These men have great verbal facility and are always ready to improvise. The king takes pleasure in those literary jousts, which are not lacking in charm. Their language, which is very rich, lends itself readily to those witticisms which the Abasǐzǐ have built up into a vocation and livelihood. Their recruitment is usually entrusted to a great chief. The present incumbents of this office belong, on the one hand, to the Basinga and aBene Katambi clans, and, on the other hand, to the Bakōbga (Nyaruguru, near the Bisi Mountains).

538 Like the official chroniclers, they remain at the sovereign's disposal, ready to beguile his leisure and to make him enjoy literary pleasures.

539 In order to give an idea of their style and of their talent, /452/ we transcribe here three small pieces of their own making, chosen from among the simplest and easiest.

First Example

Agasǐgo ka Rumanur' imbāba.	A small literary piece about that (famine) which caused bits and pieces of hoes to come out (of their hiding places to buy food with them).
Ibyo bitag' imitsima.	What used to be called bread (to wit, the roots of banana trees).
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	The Victorious (king) has delivered us from it (forever).
Intoke ziraruhutse.	The banana trees may (now) rest.
Ibyo twaryaga.	What we (formerly) ate.
Ngaho wabay' umutsima.	That it has now become (true) bread.
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	The Victorious (king) has delivered us (from these evils).

539 Nd' uwawe, nd' uw' imanzi.	I am yours, I am the Hero's (man).
Nkazibgira, Muzima.	I speak to him (to this Hero), oh perfect (king)!
Nivugire, nd' uwinganji.	Let me rejoice, I am (the man) of the Victorious.
Witwa Ndabagize.	You are named (oh king!) the master of their fate. /453/

[145] We may add that in order to observe the rules of euphony, the black men of letters are permitted to use poetic license and deliberately to make errors of syntax, construction, conjugation, etc.

Third Example

Akanganiro k' umubyeyi w' umwana.	Conversation of a mother with her child (to amuse him).
Umugor' atiny' umugabo.	The wife fears her husband.
Umugab' atiny' umwami.	The man fears the king.
Umwam' agatiny' inkuba.	The king fears lightning.
Inkub' igatiny' umugano.	Lightning fears bamboo (1).

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1. The Banyarwanda, especially those who live in the mountains, have the custom of setting up a long bamboo stem in the court-yard near their hut to protect against lightning. They believe that the latter is caged and harmless when it splits the bamboo.

539 Umwan' atinya nyina.	A child fears (respects) his mother.
Umugan' ugatiny' umuliro.	Bamboo fears fire (2).

[372]

2. "Bamboo fears fire" because people who live near the forest burn chiefly bamboo.

539 Umurir' ugatiny' amazi. Fire fears water.
Amaz (i)' atiny' ifu. Water fears flour. (3)

3. "Water fears flour," that is to say, the bread or "mush" into which it vanishes.

If' itiny' amenyo. Flour fears teeth (4).

4. "Flour fears the teeth" of those who eat it.

Ameny' atiny' umuhoro. Teeth fear the billhook (iron) (5).

[412]

5. "Teeth fear the billhook," as all other hard bodies, especially when made of iron, like the billhook, which is one of the most useful tools.

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The Blacks of Ruanda have a rich and varied oral literature. They like witticisms, and since their language is rich in shades and nuances, they manipulate it with great art.

The most refined speech is heard at the capital.

195 644

The habitual frequenters of the court, lords, courtiers, and employees, express themselves in flawless language, use the right words and choice expressions, and give them the proper inflections, for Runyarwanda is a phonetic /sic/ language. The appointed men of letters, storytellers, bards, genealogists, and historians carefully watch their diction. Among them conversation is never /454/ dull, for jokes and witticisms abound.

[521]

Considering the good taste that distinguishes the familiars of the king and the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga, it is not

195 surprising that they should be shocked and amused by the lingo of the
644 mountain dwellers and those who inhabit the frontiers of the realm. The latter's language is far from refined. It teems with syntactical and accentual mistakes and contains a mixture of foreign terms borrowed from the tongues of neighboring groups.

More conversant than others with matters of language, the men at court readily argue about the worth or etymology of existing words, and willingly create others which are more adequate by drawing upon the genius of their language.

The plural word imiduha means "cactus." Its literal meaning
195 is "those (plants) that give to us." Since those kinds of plants, which
814 resemble the Abyssinian quelqual or kwelkol, are not of any productiveness to the Banyarwanda, the men of letters propose, at least theoretically, to replace the word with imyiha or ichyiha, both of which are purely conventional nouns devoid of this misleading connotation.

It is in the same spirit that the black academicians wish to substitute the word ikyiyone, that is to say, "large bird" for the usual term igikona, whose literal meaning is "that which ravages" (the crops). Our African "Immortals" /Tr.: term applied to members of Académie Française/ would also like to see the term umuguta used exclusively to designate a skeleton (or dried-up cadaver), and its synonym umwite reserved for the word "skin."

551 In their superstitious fear the Blacks avoid pronouncing the
195 names of persons, animals, and things of which they are afraid. They are motivated by the spirit expressed in the French proverb:

Quand on parle du loup, il sort du bois /Talk of the wolf and he will come out of the woods, i.e., speak of the devil and he will appear./ /455/

Instead of calling the leopard by his real name, ingwe, the cowherds, shepherds, travelers, and all other persons who frequent the areas haunted by those animals use the following expressions:

"The one whose name is kept unsaid," Nyiramahole.
"The wind (fast as the wind)," Muyaga.
"The claw of claws," Rwara.
"The animal with the spotted coat," Bugondo.
"The voracious one," Kimizi.

[55] 195 So as not to risk meeting a lion /intare/, they use the following expression when speaking of that animal: "the glutton" (lwabgiga).

The Blacks are never at a want for words. Their language is rich and lends itself to subtleties and to the development of the new ideas introduced by the Europeans.

198 [575] In order to communicate among themselves, the members of the Ryangombe secret society have created a sort of dialect. Many of its more common terms are known to the uninitiated but arouse mirth when used in ordinary speech.

We shall list here some of the words in this Rumandwa dialect:

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Rumandwa	Literal Sense	Runyarwanda	Meaning
Ameza	"Good things"	Amata	Milk
Ubgihinga	"A difficult thing to cultivate"	Uburo	Eleusine
Ibihimbaza	"Things that satisfy /hunger/"	Ibishimbo	Beans
Amaranda (1)	"Creeping things"	Amateke	Taraud /the dictionary meaning "screw-cutter" does not seem to apply here./

1. Or amabya y'abak ungu.

Umubonanya		Umutsima	Sorghum bread
Inganda		Inzoga	Beer
Akayoba nzara	"That which staves off hunger"	Itabi	Tobacco
Imirundi y' inkuba	"The legs of lightning," (that is to say, that which is shaped like a bolt of lightning).	Ibijumba	Sweet Potatoes /456/

644 [534] Swinging their grotesque headdress to the right and to the left, they come in dancing and singing, sounding the bells and sistra which they hold in their hands.

They call upon Ryangombe and other dead initiates to bestow their protection upon the sovereign.

•195 644 192 2. In order to speak of the king and of his most trivial and frequent actions, custom demands that colorful and noble terms be used, such as for example the following: kubikirwa or kwisasira instead of kuryama, which means "to go to bed."

igisasiro for uburiri..... "royal bed"
kubamburwa for kubyuka..... "to get up"
kuj' ijabiro for kuboneka ..... "to appear"
inyundo for amaguru ..... "legs"
ingoro for inzu ..... "house" /492/
ingoro irakamwa for inzu irava . "it rains in the hut"
ingoro irahonjoka for inzu iragwa. "the hut is falling to pieces with age" (1)

1. Kubikirwa comes from the word kubika, "to put away an object," "to put it in its proper place"; kwisasira means "to spread out the mats on the ground"; igisasiro, "the place where the mats are spread out"; kubamburwa, "to be awake"; kuj' ijabiro, "to go to that part of the hut where one talks to guests"; inyundo, "iron hammer"; ingoro, "palace"; ingoro irakamwa, "the palace is milked," to mean that it rains in there; ingor' irahonjoka, "the palace grows fat" (that is, it swells), because it is falling to pieces with age.

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Figurative terms are used to speak of the king's death:

gutabara ..... "to go to the aid, " "to go to war"
gutánga ..... "to hand over" (the drum to the successor)
kunywa ..... "to drink" (poison)
gussaza ..... "to grow old"
gusezera ..... "to take leave"
ijuru ryaguye ..... "the sky has fallen"

644 3. It would be most disrespectful to allude to anything pertaining to his eventual death. While on a trip the king must avoid passing too close to cemeteries or even to the mere "night stops" (ilaro, amalaro), where the bodies of his predecessors were laid in the course of their transfer to the royal necropolises.

[767] Nor is he permitted to spend the night in those villages which are inhabited by the undertakers.

The latter in turn must avoid appearing in his presence and must employ an intermediary when they have to deal with the king.

As if the thought, likeness, or memory of death could shorten his days or bring misfortune upon him!

4. Whenever possible His Majesty must avoid bending his knees (guhina), so as not to risk a reduction in the area of his kingdom (2). /493/

[821] 2. When caught by a storm or bad weather the king must not quicken his pace; he must proceed quietly to shelter. Rain is regarded as a blessing due to the influence of the prince. A quickening of his pace might bring the beneficial downpour to an end.

We believe that this popular belief will soon be pushed into the background, and that the monarch will become less willing to submit to all the demands of his position.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

554 displaying in public the respect and obedience due them. An
562 intelligent woman makes herself liked or feared, according to the
513 character of the men with whom she is dealing. Occasionally, it is said of a Rundi that "his house is burning", that is to say, despite
[195] the show of respect, his wife rules the roost. He is afraid of her, she nags him, she criticizes him, she wants to decide everything, and one fine day she will put poison in his beer, or she will calumniate him. However, a woman need not dominate her husband in so heavy-handed a fashion to earn her laurels as matriarch. She has her own inferiors to dominate, and there are other ways to become the *umutoni* of her husband and the other men. Apart from her ability as the mistress of her house and her generosity as a hostess, apart from all her obligations, a woman as an inferior is likely to understand very well the uses of flattery and subservience. She knows how to be an informant, to calumniate her superior's enemies as well as her own hated rivals, to show herself always loyal and devoted, to make the welfare of her superior her primary concern. She also knows how to satisfy sexual desires, the need for alcohol, and other demands of the body and the spirit. Superiors, apart from their economic dependence upon their inferiors, seem to seek them also for the satisfaction of what appear to be exceedingly urgent needs for love, respect, and loyalty and for entertainment that will take their minds off their troubles. It is to have these needs satisfied that they make presents, that they give what is asked of them. An intelligent woman busies herself with satisfying the desires of her superiors and thereby making herself indispensable to their happiness. Neither the Sophists, nor Machiavelli, nor the courtiers of Louis XIV have anything to teach the Rundi. An intelligent Rundikazi, like any
[557] intelligent social inferior, knows that to obtain happiness it is necessary only to say yes—to play along with the internal weaknesses and needs by which the superior is enslaved.

NOTES

193 [1]*Linguistic note:* Bantu prefixes have been dropped from words that refer to the inhabitants of Burundi. They are referred to as "Rundi" and by their caste-names, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Other words of the language retain their Bantu form, e.g., *mwami*, king; *mwamikazi*, queen-mother or princess, *bamikazi* in the plural; *muganwa*, prince, *baganwa* in the plural. The suffix, *-kazi*, designates the feminine. For "Rundi woman," "Tutsi woman," "Hutu woman," or "Twa woman," the Rundi forms will be used, i.e., "Rundikazi," "Tutsikazi," "Hutukazi," and "Twakazi."

SECTION I. PERSONAL STATUS

CHAPTER I. THE FAMILY AND THE CLAN

1. Generalities

596 The family sensu stricto (rugo) (1) is more inclusive than in

[196] 1. The rugo is the enclosure in which are the hut, the granaries, and the stables. By extension, this word designates the family in the strict sense of the word. In the plural: ingo.

our countries. It includes the father; his wives and their children, whether married or not; the father's brothers; and their wives and [567] children. Formerly, the slaves taken in war (abanyagano) (2) were

2. Cf. also Marriage, p. 15; Birth and Filiation, p. 29; Government and Administration, Nationality, p. 70; Social Classes, p. 91; Right of War, p. 92.

also part of it.

[566] The Bahutu, serfs of the Batutsi, have their own rugo. The Ruanda family is of the patriarchal type. Filiation counts in the [611] paternal line (3); the child does not necessarily take the name of his

3. The children are nevertheless considered, in a way, as belonging to both father's family and the mother's. The Banyarwanda say: Umuntu akomoka iwabo wase nanyina, that is to say, "the man proceeds from both (families), his father's and his mother's."

596 591 father (4); paternal authority is exercised by the father, and the wife

4. This was even rare before European penetration.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

Man and the Non-material World

Imana, the Creator

Imana, the creator, is a person. He is conceived as an intelligence, a will, an emotivity. He is extremely powerful: 'the plant protected by *Imana* is never hurt by wind', '*Imana* has very long arms', '*Imana* goes above any shield'. He is non-material. His action influences the whole world; but Ruanda is his home where he comes to spend the night. He is always invoked as 'God of Ruanda' (*Imana y'i Ruanda*). 776

Imana is essentially good: 'your enemy is digging a pitfall for you, *Imana* prepares your exit', '*Imana* gives, he does not sell'. This is why he takes care of men and why there is no cult in his honour. He is so good, I have been told, that he does not require any offering.

There is a special creative act of *Imana* at the beginning of each person's life. Impregnation in itself would not be sufficient to produce a new human being. This is why the young wife, at evening, leaves a few drops of water in a jar. *Imana*, as a potter, needs some water to shape the clay into a child in her womb. Then, after birth, *Imana* decides what life is to be for that individual: happy or unhappy. If, later on, a man is miserable, poverty-stricken, in bad health, it is said that he was created by *Ruremakwaci*. This way of speaking has led some observers to understand that besides *Imana*, there was another creator, perhaps subordinate, perhaps an evil spirit. As a matter of fact, *Ruremakwaci* is the name given to *Imana* when he does not create very successfully, when 'he is tired', or, for some inscrutable reason, decides that a certain destiny will be unhappy. This is consistent with the Ruanda linguistic habit of assigning different names to one cause according to its different effects. 776 842 776 777 [196]

Imana's influence is thought to be always beneficial for human beings. It happens very often that obstacles are placed in the way of his action by malevolent agencies of the invisible world, but from him only good things come. This is not completely consistent with the belief in an unfortunate predestination by *Imana*. It should be noted, first, that the theory of predestination has not a very deep impact on the attitude of Banyarwanda. A person who thinks himself unhappy, and might thus suspect that he has been predestined to a miserable life, does not seem to be submerged by a feeling of doom. Unless he is brought to despair by a situation from which there is no escape, he will go on living and trying to improve his condition. Secondly, this inconsistency will be better understood if we consider the attitude of Banyarwanda towards the king (the *Mwami*) in similar circumstances. The *Mwami*, the supreme authority is good, yet he may be harmful and cruel to some of his subjects. As his power is absolute, as he is magically identified with Ruanda itself, he may never be criticized. Thus the victims of some arbitrary royal decision, and their friends, go on saying that the king is good but that his favourite counsellor is very bad and is responsible for what they suffer. As might be expected, in Ruanda God is conceived [152] [43]

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148.) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

802 right hand is stretched out to indicate one, etc., up to nine-
201 teen. To indicate twenty, thirty, forty, the fists are beaten together two, three, or four times while counting: two tens (amatschjumi awili), three tens (amatschjumi atatu), etc. There are no specific numbers above ten (No. 19, pp. 114-115).

If in practical life the Murundi has to calculate with
802 objects, for example, when buying a certain number of sweet potatoes or manioc or beads, he divides the objects in groups of five, then piles two such groups of five together, and then adds the two, three, or four tens, etc. [147] A Murundi will hardly ever count above 100; he will always try to visualize the amounts by dividing them into separate groups, for example, when counting cattle or the warriors or subjects of a mutwale.

The Murundi does not have a number for describing the concept of "much" or "very much," as, for instance, the figure 40 among the Turkic peoples or 600 among the Romans; he expresses "much, many" with the Bantu word inschi (Swahili, ingi).

3. Language

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194 German. In order to avoid harshness in the sound and pronunciation of words, the Murundi never permits an uninterrupted succession of two consonants or two vowels in the same syllable; he separates the consonants by a vowel and the vowels by a consonant or by the elision of one of the vowels.

However, in addition to the Kirundi which is generally
191 spoken in Urundi, there is also a vulgar and sacral Old Kirundi.
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Here are a few examples to illustrate the three linguistic
192 elements which co-exist in Urundi:
197

Word	Kitwa	Old Kirundi	New Kirundi
sun	irijotwa	irijotwa	isuba
moon	ukurabwa	ukurabwa	ukwesi
leopard	uwuhama	uwuhama	ingwe
sorghum	ururerema	ururerema	isakka
to hunt	kutamagisa	kutamagisa	kuhiga
to forge	kunaga	kunagura	kususa

197 According to Czekanowski, these Kitwa words are also known in Ruanda; supposedly they belong to a "local dialect" there. It appears that the language of the Batwa living in the volcanic regions of northern Ruanda is still another one; even such an eminent expert on Ruanda as Father Barthélemy was not familiar with it (No. 48, p. 131), and the idiom of the Ituri Batwa seems to belong to still another linguistic group. Samples of it taken down by Stuhlmann have no similarity with the Kitwa spoken in Urundi (No. 19, p. 330).

It is quite noteworthy that the Hamitic Batussi who invaded Urundi from the north and northeast approximately four centuries ago (see p. 7) understand Old [149] Kirundi, but as far as we know they have preserved no trace of their own original Hamitic language. To all appearances they stayed in the northern Bantu countries for quite some time before coming to Urundi. As a result they lost all trace of their Hamitic language and exchanged it for Bantu Kirundi, in addition to giving up many of their original Hamitic customs and accepting many Bantu customs and concepts. This phenomenon is especially noteworthy since the Batussi up to the present day have strictly and unwaveringly maintained the somatic and social purity of their race against the Bantu peoples over whom they rule. According to Captain von Langenn, only the members of the royal family, the Baganwa, have preserved some fragments of the Hamitic language, but van der Burgt has no knowledge of this (written communication). Also the missionary Roehl describes as incorrect the claim which often appears in the literature on the subject that the Ruanda Batussi have a separate language (No. 47a, p. 274). On the other hand, Captain Weiss reports that the Bahima of Ruanda and Mpororó have their own special language which he and his men could not understand, but he does not give any specimens (No. 33, p. 70). Future investigators should pay particular attention to such Hamitic language fragments, for they might yield valuable indications as to the former language and thus the origin of the Batussi.

Comparisons will have to be made with the Niloto-Hamitic languages of the Massai, Teso, Bari, Latuka, and especially with

197 the language of the Nandi in the Uganda protectorate. The language of the Nandi, of all the languages of East Africa, seems to resemble most closely the pure Hamitic language type since the Nandi probably are the remnants of a former Galla invasion. (A. W. Crabtree, "The Languages of the Uganda Protectorate," Journal of the African Society, January, 1914, pp. 158 ff.)

194 An exact study of the peculiar manner in which the Batussi speak the Bantu idiom, Kirundi, will also yield many intimations and indications in this respect, for it is obvious even to an observant layman that the Batussi differ from the Bahutu in speaking Kirundi They have a different accent, pronounce certain sounds differently, and combine the syllables differently. In general, it seemed to me that in both Ruanda and in Urundi the Batussi speak Kirundi with a much softer intonation and also that they have a tendency to swallow the vowels of the final syllables. Instead of the 's' or 'ss' pronounced by the Bahutu, they use a very soft 'sch' or 'dsch': instead of Munjahasi they say Munjahasch'; instead of Lanongo, Lanong'; instead of Lubassa, lubasch'. It is also often difficult to say whether the final vowel pronounced is an 'a,' or 'e.' It is also difficult to hear the difference in the pronunciation of 'r,' 'l,' and 'd.'

113 It would serve no purpose to list examples of modern Kirundi at this point since one may consult the comprehensive Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi by Father J. M. van der Burgt and the small Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi et Kirundi-Français by Father F. Ménard which is specifically intended for missionary use (No. 29). Van der Burgt reproduces a few examples of stories, fables, songs, and hymns with an interlinear translation in his Dictionnaire, pp. 96, 292-293, 332-334, 339-342; I myself cannot add anything to them. In conclusion, however, I should

539 like to add a few proverbs which are noteworthy for their sharpness of observation and brevity of expression (No. 19, p. 470).

[150] 1) Ivintu	vy'ukwibwa	viraguma.
Things	of no interest	(are) hard [to comprehend].

Population Elements

563 The population of Ruanda is made up of three elements which anthropologically and culturally are very different, although they speak the same language.

The ruling group are the Batutsi [Tussi] herdsman who are anthropologically quite close to the Bahima [Hima] of Mpororo. There is a great gap between them and their subjects.

The Bahutu [Hutu] farmers make up the bulk of the population.

The Batwa [Twa], an outcast hunting tribe who also engage in rainmaking and pottery, form the third element.

197 Batutsi. The language of the Batutsi is identical with that of their Bahutu subjects except for certain phonetic dialect differences as yet unexplained by scholars. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, as well as the Bahima, must be linked with the Nilotic-Hamitic pastoral tribes on the eastern edge of the Nile Basin as well as those on the bank of the Nile to the south of the great Nile swamps. The Batutsi form the main part of an older migrating group which was wedged in between Lake Victoria and the forests of the Congo Basin. The Bari and their relatives probably broke out later in a northwesterly direction towards the Uele Basin. The Massai [Masai] group apparently poured into the regions to the east of Lake Victoria.

101 174

197 If we consider the word "Hamite" as a purely linguistic designation, the Batutsi are not Hamites at all, and even less Semites, as they are called by Rehse (1) and Kandt (2). They simply belong

[113]

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 110.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili [The Head of the Nile] (Berlin, 1904), p. 339.

the interlacustrine group of the Bantu language family.

563
266
[113]

Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

● 197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are

[113]

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Éléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language
● 197 seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kissukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the interlacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelèmy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

563 186 Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa, the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 674 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 311 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the

533 The playing of the zither is almost always accompanied by singing which is done in a rather low voice, mostly in a minor key which is the characteristic key of the Negroes. Neither the voices nor the manner of performing are good. Either the song in short stanzas deals with some local incident, a current event, a person, a personal experience, etc., or it is one of the old traditional Barundi songs whose lyrics are [188] spoken in the Old Kirundi dialect (see p. 148). Apparently they are nothing but a series of unconnected nouns, adjectives, wishes, orders, etc., the meaning of which is not quite clear any more either to the singer or to the listeners (No. 19, p. 97).

534 The ox horn (ikihuha) is the real war or alarm horn. Its narrow end is provided with a hole, and this is the form generally in use in East Africa. Such signal horns are also widely used by the caravans.

The clarinet-like flute (ikihuschama), which is used only as a musical instrument, is much rarer. It is a wooden tube, a third of a meter long, with a funnel-shaped opening. Its lower end has three holes so that various notes can be blown (Nos. 3 and 4 of Plate 47).

On the other hand, a short fife (umwironge) is much more common. Like our fifes, it has a hole near one end which one blows into and two or three holes at the other end which may be stopped alternately. Flutes and fifes are seldom played singly but usually in an orchestra together with drums of which I shall speak later (p. 70).

Reed pipes are more children's toys than real instruments. Their two ends are plugged, and they have a hole in the middle. They are usually carved by boys. Rattle boards (urukajamba) belong in the same category. They are used particularly for accompanying the dances of the girls. These rattle boards are made of pieces of reed arranged in two separate layers which are kept apart by means of a piece of reed placed obliquely so that there is an empty space between the layers. Dry kernels of corn are placed inside. They produce a sharp rattling sound against the reed walls when the box-shaped rattle board is shaken. Rattle sticks are also often used. They consist of sticks

791 or howling. A special spirit language is also used. Usually
[198] they fall into a religious ecstasy after consuming copious quantities of beer, and the spirit himself [124] will begin to speak through them and utter prophesies and oracles. They are
[672] not responsible for anything they do while they are in this spiritualistic-mediumistic state, even if they commit the worst violations of law and good manners (No. 39, p. 100). Those who are possessed make liberal use of this immunity, and one may very well consider this one of the chief motives for the whole institution of the imandwa cult.

In Unjoro the medicine men are also called abandwa. They "practice magic by killing animals or using certain herbs" (No. 9, p. 377).

Through the writings of A. Vix and B. Struck (Nos. 34 and 36) and Rehse (No. 31, pp. 107, 132), we have more precise knowledge from Kisiba of these persons who are called wabandwa and each of whom is possessed by a specific god. There, too, they differ depending on the nature of their god or demon, but all of them display their power "in hysterical fits caused by auto-suggestion." One of them may be an expert at making rain, another at curing the plague, a third may be proficient in agricultural matters, a fourth in the curing of cattle, etc. When the spirit seizes them, these divinely blessed persons put on a leopard skin, which the chief furnishes them, and a fur cap. Then they hang amulets from their necks and dance, holding long sticks and gourd rattles (Plate 54). However, they are not organized in a society.

In contrast, the ababandwa in Ruanda form a religious
794 cooperative or fraternity, and there are suggestions of this in
575 Urundi too. The people in question are not the divinely possessed priests (kiranga) nor the magicians and medicine men (abafumu) to whom we referred above, but pious men who dedicate their lives to the god out of concern for their earthly well-being and for the future salvation of their souls. They are all organized in a fraternity, a cult community, bound by solemn ceremonies, and they offer their sacrifices jointly.

Van der Burgt does not differentiate between the ababandwa, the wachwesi, the iviranga, the ivisjego, etc.

794 (No. 19, pp. 220, 292, 463, 516), so it is impossible to ob-
575 tain a clear picture of the nature of the Kubandwa cult of the Barundi from his writings. However, his accounts corespond essentially to the descriptions of the Imandwa secret society of Ruanda which have been given to us by Father Arnoux and the missionary Johanssen (No. 44 and No. 39, pp. 96-101). Thus, we can obtain many insights concerning Urundi from their writings. Quite correctly van der Burgt refers to similar cults of the "Watschwesi" (Batschwesi) fraternities in Ussuwi, Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Unjamwesi. In their nocturnal orgies have been preserved the last traces of religious cults and cult societies which still function openly as national institutions in Urundi, Uha, and Ruanda. The old relationship is also still recognizable in the hymns which are sung at such celebrations of the Watschwesi in Unjamwesi, Usindja, and in eastern Urundi. It is noteworthy that their lyrics are in the Old Kirundi language (No. 19, pp. 220, 463).

794 Father van Thiel, too, reports that in eastern Ussuwi at
575 the ceremony of the Kubandwa, the admission to the society of the ababandwa, a ritual language called luchwesi is used.
198 Father van Thiel lists a few dozen words (No. 24, p. 57), for example: bulege, bow; milasa, arrow; migasi, meat; muto, fire; masugunu, milk; muyara, head; manono, teeth; agawesa, eyes. It will have to be investigated whether this luchwesi is identical with Old Kirundi (cf. pp. 149, 332). Czekanowski gives a few specimens of the secret language of the babandwa in Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 316-317).

794 The following is known about the ababandwa in Ruanda.
575 According to legend, the historical high priest Riangombe, be-
171 fore dying, expressed the desire [125] to be worshipped by the Batussi as well as by the Bahutu and the Batwa, without differentiation by caste. For this reason they all, without differentiation, dedicate themselves to him in the Kubandwa ceremony. It appears that this tradition merely means that the fraternity was extended to include the Batussi, for according to tradition

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.
575 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[534] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128] Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Riangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
796 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
794 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
575 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word
198 insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
794 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

802 right hand is stretched out to indicate one, etc., up to nine-
201 teen. To indicate twenty, thirty, forty, the fists are beaten together two, three, or four times while counting: two tens (amatschjumi awili), three tens (amatschjumi atatu), etc. There are no specific numbers above ten (No. 19, pp. 114-115).

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802 objects, for example, when buying a certain number of sweet potatoes or manioc or beads, he divides the objects in groups of five, then piles two such groups of five together, and then adds the two, three, or four tens, etc. [147] A Murundi will hardly ever count above 100; he will always try to visualize the amounts by dividing them into separate groups, for example, when counting cattle or the warriors or subjects of a mutwale.

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● 198 secret societies (Waswesi, Batschwesi) of these peoples make

198 use of a special Kirundi terminology (No. 18, p. 1; cf. also above, p. 124).

The characteristic features of Kirundi are as follows:
193 1. absence of gender; 2. absence of declension, but nouns are grouped into classes and have special prefixes for singular and plural; 3. the parts of a sentence are governed by the nouns by means of certain prefixes or characteristic syllables (No. 18, p. 2).

All nouns can be divided into ten classes. Certain nouns are doubled in order to intensify the meaning or to give an expression a connotation of familiarity. Like all Bantu languages, Kirundi has very few adjectives; it uses instead participial forms of verbs, nouns, generic concepts, etc.

The most difficult aspect of Kirundi is the structure and system of the verb. It is true the verb as such is simple and its construction and use are logical, but the number and variety of forms is so great that it is extremely difficult to find equivalents for a Kirundi verb form in a European language. There are, for example, base forms, auxiliary forms, conjunctive forms, passive, conditional, causative, oppositional, restrictive, and other forms, altogether more than fifty (No. 18, pp. 32-33). On the other hand, the number of conjunctions is very small; most of them are expressed by auxiliary verbs. Since the Murundi will drop even these if they are not absolutely essential for conveying the meaning, sentences are short, and their manner of speech sounds choppy. If a Murundi were to understand an elegant German or even Latin sentence, he would translate it into at least ten sentences of Kirundi.

In addition to the shortness of the sentences, rapidity of
194 speech is also characteristic of the Barundi. The Banjaruanda, on the other hand, speak much more slowly with a somewhat [148] singing intonation. Accent, i.e., stressing a particular syllable or pronouncing it on a certain pitch, is very important for the meaning of a word. This also applies to whole sentences. A European who does not pay express attention to these factors will therefore often misunderstand a Murundi or be misunderstood by him, even if otherwise he speaks and understands Kirundi quite well. As a general rule, the syllable next to the last one in a word is stressed longer [sic] then the others, i.e., as in

194 German. In order to avoid harshness in the sound and pronunciation of words, the Murundi never permits an uninterrupted succession of two consonants or two vowels in the same syllable; he separates the consonants by a vowel and the vowels by a consonant or by the elision of one of the vowels.

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to forge	kunaga	kunagura	kususa

774 776 The figures honored by the members of this secret society rank as demigods. Their protection is believed to be effective in the various circumstances of public and family life. As a result, their disciples appeal to them for the obtaining of any material benefit, recovery from illness, ownership of cattle, good relations with chiefs or neighbors, triumph over enemies, protection against bewitchers or spell casters, fecundity, etc.

[576] In order to reach these goals, the initiates respectfully come to the man who plays the role of Ryangombe, greet him, kneel at his feet, address his companions, and offer them gifts.

There is a traditional way to honor these spirits of varying rank and position. No rite is overlooked. Ceremonial dress, gestures, words, offerings, everything is foreseen and prescribed by immutable laws.

Each of the "patrons" has a peculiar costume and special insignias which the man who plays his role must perforce take into account. They are offered gifts of various kinds, and chants or "paeans" are sung, recalling to the spectators the brilliant deeds of their protectors.

1. Ryangombe is represented as seated on a native chair, with a cutlass suspended from his neck. One sets down at his side a [273] vessel full of lustral water and a large jar of pombe, beer made of sorghum or banana juice.

The ladies who wish to honor him hold in their hands a household spatula (umwuko). His adepts imitate the call of the hyena to [198] praise him (2). /364/

2. Is this a vestige of the ancient tribal totems? We cannot be sure.

2. Binego, son of Ryangombe, is called the "Liberator" because he saved his father from ruin and dishonor.

The man who plays his role holds a spear and stick and has a pipe (urwika in the language of the initiates) and a small gourd full of banana beer.

[55] 195 So as not to risk meeting a lion /intare/, they use the following expression when speaking of that animal: "the glutton" (lwabgiga).

The Blacks are never at a want for words. Their language is rich and lends itself to subtleties and to the development of the new ideas introduced by the Europeans.

198 [575] In order to communicate among themselves, the members of the Ryangombe secret society have created a sort of dialect. Many of its more common terms are known to the uninitiated but arouse mirth when used in ordinary speech.

We shall list here some of the words in this Rumandwa dialect:

192
198

Rumandwa	Literal Sense	Runyarwanda	Meaning
Ameza	"Good things"	Amata	Milk
Ubgihinga	"A difficult thing to cultivate"	Uburo	Eleusine
Ibihimbaza	"Things that satisfy /hunger/"	Ibishimbo	Beans
Amaranda (1)	"Creeping things"	Amateke	Taraud /the dictionary meaning "screw-cutter" does not seem to apply here./

1. Or amabya y' abak ungu.

Umubonanya		Umutsima	Sorghum bread
Inganda		Inzoga	Beer
Akayoba nzara	"That which staves off hunger"	Itabi	Tobacco
Imirundi y' inkuba	"The legs of lightning" (that is to say, that which is shaped like a bolt of lightning).	Ibijumba	Sweet Potatoes /456/

5: Pagès--182 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

198 Urwiko	"The silent one"	Inkono y' itabi	Pipe
192 Uruhunga		Inzoga y' urwagwa	Banana beer
Isakara	"That which has a roof"	Inzu	Hut
Gakungu	"That which has no horns"	Imbga	Dog
Inguruka		Ihene	Goat
Ihangi		Inka	Cow
Gukoroga		Gukama	To milk
Gutanyara		Gutabara	To go to war
Gutakura		Gukinga	To cultivate
Gaminga		Gahinga	Hilltop
iKinyamusenyi		Ikinyamunyu	Bunch of bananas
Umusenyi	"Sand"	Umunyu	Salt
Serukanaga (1)	"The man who binds"	Umutware	Chief

1. Gukanaga, the verb from which the substantive se-rukanaga is derived ("the man who binds"), is synonymous to the word kuboha, "to bind."

Ibifunga mwoyo (2)	"That which wears pants"	Abazungu	Europeans

2. The etymological sense of the native expression is stronger than that of the French translation and shows how poorly the Whites were regarded at first.

Umumputu		Umugabo	Man

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198 Umumkari — Umugore — Woman
Umwere wa giti — Umwana — Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

[824]
[234]

3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

643 767 Then the king appoints one or two chiefs to go and settle their difficulties.

In the old days these undertakers could not visit with their fellow men, nor could they eat or drink with them. Even today, when [415] invited to feast with their neighbors, they must bring with them their own drinking tube. It is maintained that they do not eat with their children. If it came to pass that the latter, in turn, should bury a new king, they would have to leave their parents and never see them again.

A special vocabulary is used to speak of the monarch and [198 644] certain of his acts. It would be most disrespectful to say that the king sleeps, drinks, eats, etc., like anyone else. We have already seen how his ailments and his death are mentioned (yaberamye, yanyoye, yatabaye, etc.).

767 644 643 It is for the same reason that the royal undertakers bear a name that recalls their function only in a very indirect way. Just as they are strictly forbidden to go to the capital, custom forbids the king to go through areas inhabited by members of this corporation or to camp there. He must avoid the sacred groves where the spirits of his ancestors rest, as though the idea of death could shorten the life of the sovereign. It is mandatory to his followers to avert that image and thought from his eyes and from his ears, which are those of a demigod well above common mortals.

He must be enabled to enjoy this life and all its pleasures in peace.

5. Mourning Rites Observed at the Death of a Prince

643 765 The king is mourned for four months, that is to say, until the official accession of his successor to the throne. During /522/ that period of time, cohabitation between spouses is theoretically forbidden. Bulls are also separated from the herds at the time of this terrible misfortune, which causes the Banyarwanda to state that "the sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye). Men and even children shave their heads [302] as a sign of mourning.

794 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences.
575 We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the
184 squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in
575 their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and
198 which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

[601] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom every-
575 one may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to
782 Ryangombe and his disciples and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253 — Analyst]

6: Czekanowski--251 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Amulet	ngisha	–	mihasira	–
Arms	amaboko	–	mikolantambara	–
Bracelet (copper)	imiringa	imihone	–	–
Eyes	amaso	–	agaweza	–
Axe	–	–	nsenya	–
Banana	ekitoke	–	bihuni	–
Bananenenhain	indoke	–	bihungatete	–
Sweet potato	–	–	ebizibizi	–
To build	kubaka	–	kizizimba	–
Farmer	umuhutu	umunutu	–	–
Tree	ikiti	–	kisale	–
Legs	–	–	malibasa	–
Beer	nzoga	ruhunga	mayanza	–
To drink beer (nzoga)	–	–	–	kutshwaga hwagura
Bow	umuheto	umuneto	bulega	–
Archery	kurasa	kurasha	–	–
Firewood	ntushari	–	nsali	–
Dagger	umusenyi	umusenyi	–	–
Peas	maharage	–	ebihurugu	–
To eat	kulia	kutanyira	–	–
European	–	–	Bazubu	–
Meat	nyama	–	migasi	–
Fire	umuriro	umwoto	muto	–
Woman	umugore	umukari	mukankazi	–
To give birth	kubiara	kubuta	–	–
To go	kugenda	kuzenga	–	–
Face	amasso	amashongo	–	–
God	Imana	Imende	–	–
Grass	ubwatsi	–	bunyamurwa	–
Hair	imitsatsi	–	ichoke	–
Chief	umutware	chirima	–	–
House	inzu	inzakaru	enzakaru	–

6: Czekanowski--252 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Dog	imga	kakungu	–	kakungu
Kahindiro (king)	Kahindiro	Kamindiro	–	–
Calabash	kisabo	–	ensweina	–
Child	umwana	umuhere	–	ibikende
Client	umugaragu	umugarama	–	–
Cooking pot	nyungu	–	ntwerwa	–
Queen mother	–	–	muyarami	–
Head	umutwe	–	muyara	–
Herbs	imboga	iziboze	–	–
Cow	inka	ihangi	–	–
Cowhide	inkanda	inkabara	–	–
Lwabugiri (king)	Lwabugiri	Rwabuguru	–	–
Girl	mukobga	musundi, ntara-komereke	–	–
Man	umugabo	umulabo	umulenzi	–
Mat	ikirago	–	mukabali	–
Mush	umutsima	umubonania	–	–
My child	umwana wanye	–	umwere wane	–
[317] To milk	kukama	kukoroga	–	–
Milk	amata	ameza	masugunu	amafuro
Ears	amatwi	–	mahuliru	–
Arrows	umuambi	–	milasa	–
Rain	–	–	nfonyi	–
Salt	umunyu	umusenyi	–	–
To suckle	–	–	kunuka	–
Sheep	ntama	–	mbwana	nyabuhoro
Stool	–	–	kisunta	–
Spear	ichumo	ishongoro	masongola	–
To die	kupfa	–	kuyiruma	–
Cloth	–	–	migonzi, mikorokozi	–

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Tobacco	–	–	ihukula	–
Forest	ishamba	–	kichaka	–
Water	amazi	–	matingi	–
Way	inzira	–	muhura	–
Teeth	–	–	manono	–
Goat	ihene	inguruka	uzwika	kianwa
Tongue	urulimi	–	lurigizi	–

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blood of the animal and placed on the chests, the foreheads, and, last of all, the backs of those present. Then the mubandwa spreads out small bundles of green twigs, muyambo, on the animal. When he has given the order to disperse, everyone begins to move. One person after another walks over the sacrificial animal and goes home without looking back; otherwise the sacrifice would lose all its meaning. In this procession the father goes first, then the sons, then the chief wife, followed by the other wives and their daughters. The mubandwa and his attendants remain at the place of sacrifice. [318] If someone passes in the vicinity of the sacrificial remains, he takes care to pick up a leaf, spit on it, and throw it in the direction of the remains, saying: "Do not pursue me (spirit, umuzimu, misfortune, or illness)." This refers to the fact that the evil, the spirit, or whatever has been cast off through the sacrifice might attack a passer-by at the crossroads.

The Batutsi sacrifice cows, sheep, and chickens, whereas the sacrificial animal of the Bahutu is the goat and, more rarely, sheep.

As far as I could ascertain, the meat of sacrificed cows is distributed to all present if the prophecy is favorable. If the entrails prophesy unfavorably, the meat is given to the Batwa. The family of the donor does not eat the meat of sacrificed sheep, but gives it to the mubandwa and his helpers who have performed the sacrifice. The ceremony described by Father Van Thiele thus undoubtedly refers to the sacrifice of a sheep, which he forgot to mention. The meat of sacrificial goats is eaten by the Bahutu who

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

805 moon during the rainy season or the dry season, for example: beginning of the rainy season (end of October), sowing corn; end of the rainy season (end of May), planting manioc; birth of a boy, full moon after the corn was sowed; death of a relative, new moon after planting manioc, and so forth. Nobody is able to count back in time for more than eight or ten years, and to do this one counts by saying: we have harvested sorghum so many times (No. 19, p. 377). Nobody knows exactly how old he is as soon as he is more than eight to ten years old. If one describes an event as 20, 30, or 40 years in the past, he means by this merely that it happened a long time ago.

To be specific, certain seasons which are marked by regularly recurring agricultural events are given definite names which one might call the names of months as determined by the agricultural cycle. Van der Burgt lists a whole series [146] of these (No. 19, p. 377), for example: uratsi, time when the grass sprouts (end of September and beginning of October); umwirima, beginning of the rainy season, beginning of planting and sowing (end of October, November); umwirawura, sprouting of the seed (December); umukuwesi, the corn is beginning to form cobs, beans are blossoming (end of December); ikigarama, beans are ripe (beginning of January); ikidida, beans are picked (end of January); akataschi, sorghum is planted (beginning of February); uruschana, corn is ripe (end of February, beginning of March); umunjonjo, sorghum is growing cobs (end of March); urusamo, sorghum is almost ripe (beginning of April); akawosa, harvesting sorghum (end of April); uruheschi, end of the rainy season, planting manioc, harvesting corn (end of May); itsi, dry season, time for drinking beer and catching fish (June to October); umukakora, burning the grass (June, July, August); akasjabirano, preparing the fields (October).

805 201 Of course the Barundi do not divide the day into twelve hours but into periods determined by the position of the sun and by phenomena which regularly occurs during daylight. Like almost all Negroes, when referring to a certain time of day in a story, they indicate the particular position of the sun in the sky

805 with their outstretched hand. They also do this when they wish
201 to indicate the length of a trip or the distance between two places. Specific expressions are used for the following times of day: first crowing of the cock, first signs of daybreak, dawn, time of the awakening of the birds, rising of the sun, time between noon and evening, beginning of dusk, sundown, nightfall, bedtime, midnight, very late, very early. The concept for "week" is unknown.

802 When counting and reckoning (kuharura) the Murundi
201 uses the fingers of one or both hands; he does not use his toes or his feet. Like all Bantu Negroes, the Barundi count by placing together or bending a certain number or group of fingers. They thus employ the decimal system. In the Bantu language the numbers from one to ten are: one, umwe; two, iwili; three, itatu; four, inne; five, itano; six, itandatu; seven, indwi; eight, umunane; nine, tschjenda; ten, tschjumi. Frequently, however, one may hear them count by using combinations of numbers with five, i.e., 6 = 5 + 1, 7 = 5 + 2, 8 = 5 + 3, 9 = 5 + 4. The number of fingers on one hand is thus the arithmetical unit which, as a closed fist, is always used for calculations. Individual numbers are indicated with the fingers in the following manner: one, outstretched index finger of the right hand with the other fingers bent inward; two, outstretched index finger and middle finger with the other fingers bent; three, outstretched index finger, middle finger, and ring finger with the other fingers bent; four, all fingers of a hand, except the thumb, outstretched; five fist formed with the right hand; six, fist formed with the right hand touched by the outstretched little finger of the left hand; seven, fist formed with the right hand touched with the little finger and ring finger of the left hand; eight, fist formed with the right hand touched with the little finger, ring finger, and middle finger of the left hand; nine, fist formed by the right hand and touched with the little finger, ring finger, middle finger, and index finger of the left hand; ten, two fists placed together. In order to indicate eleven, the fists are beaten together once and then the index finger of the

802 right hand is stretched out to indicate one, etc., up to nine-
201 teen. To indicate twenty, thirty, forty, the fists are beaten together two, three, or four times while counting: two tens (amatschjumi awili), three tens (amatschjumi atatu), etc. There are no specific numbers above ten (No. 19, pp. 114-115).

If in practical life the Murundi has to calculate with
802 objects, for example, when buying a certain number of sweet potatoes or manioc or beads, he divides the objects in groups of five, then piles two such groups of five together, and then adds the two, three, or four tens, etc. [147] A Murundi will hardly ever count above 100; he will always try to visualize the amounts by dividing them into separate groups, for example, when counting cattle or the warriors or subjects of a mutwale.

The Murundi does not have a number for describing the concept of "much" or "very much," as, for instance, the figure 40 among the Turkic peoples or 600 among the Romans; he expresses "much, many" with the Bantu word inschi (Swahili, ingi).

3. Language

197 All Barundi speak the same Bantu idiom, Kirundi. This is true of the original Batwa inhabitants as well as of the Bahutu who settled in the area later, and also of the most recent Hamitic conquerors, the Batussi. Kirundi belongs to the agglutinative languages; its structure is the same as that of all Bantu languages. Its distribution covers the entire interlacustrine region. It is spoken in Urundi and, with dialectal variations, in Ruanda, Uha (Ujungu, Uschingu, Heru, Uruguru) and in Ujiji. The idioms spoken in Usindja, Ussuwi, and Karagwe, i.e., Kisindja, Kimueri, and Kinjambo, are very similar to Kirundi, and the languages spoken in Uganda and Unjoro are closely related to it (No. 19, p. 329). Many Kirundi words, mainly for governmental and administrative institutions and religious customs, can also be found in the Kinjamwesi dialects, such as Kissumbwa, Kirwana, Kisukuma, and Kitakama. The religious
198 secret societies (Waswesi, Batschwesi) of these peoples make

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
●201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

534 to which small pumpkin rattles are fastened (Nos. 1 and 5 of Plate 47). At religious [69] ceremonies single pumpkin rattles are swung (Plate 25a).

Finally drum (ingoma, inkiranji) is both the rarest and the most highly valued instrument. It is not only used for accompanying dances but also as the main orchestral instrument of the chiefs. Often it has great religious significance. The drum [202] is not used at all for the purpose of signaling or transmitting news. In Urundi there is no "drum language" as there is in other African countries.

Drums are made out of a section of a tree trunk which has been cut off straight at one end rounded off at the other end. The inside of the trunk is hollowed out with carving knives, leaving the fairly thin outer walls. It is then placed on a conical wooden pedestal so that the whole thing has approximately the shape of a "wine glass." The grain mortars are similarly shaped. The open upper end is covered with a piece of cattle hide, shaved thin and stretched tightly across, which was soaked in warm water beforehand. The hide is stretched tight by little wooden pegs fastened around the edge of the drum (No. 2 of Plate 47). Two wooden sticks are used as drum sticks.

533 535 If the drum is to be used for accompanying a dance -- which is almost always a solo dance, not a group dance -- two, three, or four men beat on it, each alternating quickly with the other in beating the drum with his two sticks in a certain rhythm. Each drummer uses a beat different from that of the next; each always uses only his particular beat. Thus, if there are four drummers, they produce a drum stanza consisting of four different tempos which are repeated until the "drum leader" starts a new stanza by introducing a new beat. The louder it booms, the better. After a short time one of the drummers suddenly jumps up while the others continue drumming; he makes all kinds of leaps, stamps on the ground, creeps forward, runs back and shakes his drumsticks about as though he were possessed. Just as suddenly, he jumps back to his drum and continues drumming with his partners. Then another drummer follows suit or one of the listeners surrounding the scene, and so

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
● [202] /374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
533 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
644 hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated
[614] to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

644 6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
814 name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

644 regions. The leaves are prepared at the capital by special employees,
276 men or women, who also risked their lives occasionally for the reasons cited above.

D. The preparation of tobacco juice, which is used for a most unusual and worldly purpose (mukibuno), is entrusted to a group of female servants or young girls in the service of the queen mother. The tobacco leaves are immersed in a liquid of tart and bitter flavor (inkari), in which they are allowed to remain for some time.

The liquid alone is then used by the queen mother and high-
[278] ranking ladies, who believe that tobacco juice, when prepared in this fashion, is an infallible remedy against the ailment known locally under the name of imisuzi.

This strongly scented solution bears the name of a plant with a pungent odor (umugabagaba) from which the odalisks in charge of this work also draw their name, abanyamugabagaba. The rooms where this curious medication is applied are known at court and among the great chiefs who are all familiar with the famous recipe by special names whose meaning is clear only to those in the know. They are the imikinga, or "secret cabinets," (from gukinga, "to close") and ubugonyi, "public toilets."

E. A group of factotums known as Abanyakambere remain at
644 the disposal of the sovereign, who spends most of his day in the hut called by the name of Ikambere, "the first one," because it stands at the heart of the main courtyard. The function of these valets is to watch over the various objects which make up the room furnishings. They also carry out the king's orders and relay messages to the other
[202] servants. /387/

F. There are also the keepers of the treasure. They are
644 called Abanya-byuma.
556

The Banyarwanda designate all iron objects by the word byuma. Billhooks, axes, graters, knives, bracelets, and especially hoes represent wealth to their owners in terms of their numbers and actual value.

This manner of conceiving and understanding riches gave the keepers of the treasure the name of "people entrusted with the preservation of iron objects (abanya-byuma)." The treasure itself

482 415 285 In the north high, cone-shaped bamboo baskets are used to carry food and charcoal. They are carried on the head on a cushion. Small packages are also often made of banana leaves. These packages are generally wedged between three branches, bamboo stalks, or small bunches of millet straw. In this way they can be held with one hand. Packages are more often used in the south. There, small items and toilet articles are packed for traveling in wide, low baskets made of small sticks, with cone-shaped lids. These are simply placed on the head.

Beer and water are carried in earthen pots with plaited wrappers and covered with banana leaves.

Fig. 54. Pack Basket for Carrying and Storing Food. (1/12 actual size. III E 13688. 140 centimeters high.)

●202 In a discussion of the means of communication in Ruanda we must not forget to mention the native telegraph. Drum signals are used to a moderate extent. The king summons his warriors with drums when there is impending danger, but general information is shouted from hill to hill in a particular way, so that Nyanza is always well informed about what goes on in the country. There is news [168] of every European traveler of every cattle theft at the border, and of every sign of unrest throughout the country. The news travels quickly from hill to hill until it reaches the capital. The news service is so good that one could assume there are special persons who are obliged to carry out their duties of signaling promptly.

487 438 Arteries of Communication. In conclusion we shall list briefly the chief traffic and trade routes of Ruanda.

1. The path from Bukoba, via Kafuro, Kissaka, and Bugessera, to Nduga is the route along which hides are transported from Ruanda

621 representative at court, we find clans that do have their repre-
614 sentatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the
202 help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hill-top to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

625 The population hates the police agents. I had an opportuni-
578 ty to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

443 571 [203] The market is the place where people meet, inspect merchandise and observe other people, gossip, hear and pass on news items, drink pombe, discuss business and non-business matters, and where they do many things which are useful and many others which are superfluous. Many Barundi visit the market even if they do not intend to buy or sell anything, merely to amuse themselves. If things become too lively in [625] the beer section or if a fight starts, the market police aided by the peaceful elements among the population quickly succeed in restoring order.

436 The German East African heller is the current coin at the main markets of Usumbura, Kajagga, and Gitega. Silver rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees are seldom seen. Apart from the heller, all sorts of other money substitutes are in circulation at other markets of the northern lakeshore belonging to Urundi. The heller has not yet penetrated into the large area of central Urundi, and it is known only at the few missionary and government posts and along the main roads linking them. Even there it is accepted reluctantly. Beads are still the most important medium of exchange in this area, notwithstanding the efforts of the government to introduce hellers and rupees everywhere in order to facilitate not only trade but also the future collection of taxes. These efforts will only meet with success after Urundi has actually been placed under government administration and after a hut or head tax has been introduced which has to be paid in currency. The same is true of Ruanda. There, however, the use of currency has already spread considerably as a result of the export trade and the residency at Kigali with its traders' settlement which has been established in the interior for years.

The small coin most in use in Urundi is the pink bead simsim or samsam; a string (kete, Kette? [Kette, "string" in German]) of beads, approximately 30 centimeters long, is the monetary unit. It is equivalent to three hellers. Ten strings equal 1 ifundo; 10 ifundo equal 1 ingoje; 10 ingoje equal 1 [301] akanono (No. 19, p. 111). The samsam bead is also used as the principal neck ornament of men and women.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

614 3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamanzi*, wagtail.
Sub-divisions:
(*a*) Abasinga, totems, *enyamanzi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
(*b*) Abazigaba, " "
(*c*) Abatyaba, " "
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamanzi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

Government

643 The head of the country was the king, whose title was
692 *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not
634 appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were
[428] hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district;
693 but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court
[203] of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than 766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the ● 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

775 There are trees, however, that are associated with remem-
778 brance of the dead. These trees were planted either by them or
824 in connection with them, usually in the settlements. Thus, at
211 the birth of a child a fig tree is planted, which is later associated with the person, even after his death. It seems that in these trees, as on the hedges of abandoned settlements, spirits of the dead abide.

778 Trees are also planted in memory of historical events. Thus,
824 Dr. Kandt (1) says: "At the end of the bridge (cliff bridge of the
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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 365.

Ruzizi) there is still standing a young fig tree, an immana, a soul tree, which was planted by Luabugiri, the former king of Ruanda, when he set out to fight against Bunjabungu which is on the right bank. There is a steep, almost perpendicular path of a few hundred meters, down which he and his warriors set out to their destruction. On the tree hang straw and metal rings, the offerings of pious wanderers, and on the bridge people point out the footprint of the king's favorite dog in the cliff and tell a legend similar to the one about the Rosstrappe [Tr., a rock in the Harz Mountains]."

With reference to another type of memorial tree which is only indirectly connected with historical personages, Dr. Kandt (2)

2. Ibid., p. 504.

says: "They (trees on the eastern point of the lake) are sacred because King Luabugiri camped on this spot when he set out on his campaign against Bunjabungu (1894), from which he returned to Ruanda a dying man.... The boat that carried the ruler into the war is still lying under the trees, half buried in the ground. It was hollowed out from a giant tree of the primeval forest, but now it is split down the middle, partly rotted, and disintegrating more and more each year. As I remember, it is about 18 meters long and one and a quarter meters wide."

The memorial trees looming up on the heights are very characteristic of the Ruanda landscape. They are conspicuous because they form such a contrast to the bare hilltops. Their

778 religious character was already known through Captain Hermann,
824 and they are referred to simply as Imana trees.

●211 It seems to be chiefly the Batutsi who venerate the memorial trees. The fig trees on the heights are most numerous and most beautiful in places where the Batutsi have the greatest power. On the other hand, it is said that sometimes at night Bahutu secretly take wood from the sacred trees. The Batwa, who fear no one and who have also preserved their independence in spiritual matters, do [301] this quite openly in the daytime, but there are not enough of them to destroy the trees and change the landscape.

776 Imana and Batabazi. In our general discussion of the interlacustrine region [not translated], we pointed out that the spirits of dead kings and rulers have a special place among the manes. They are distinguished from the undifferentiated mass of bazimu by their greater power. They are known and feared in larger circles. This is the case, for example, with the spirit of Kimeni in Kissaka. It is not impossible that from this we shall be able to explain the contrast between the rule of Ryangombe in the underworld, which seems to be patterned after the organization of Batutsi states, and the familial anarchy of the ordinary manes. However, it is doubtful whether the central figure of the Ruanda pantheon, the creator of the world, Imana, can be associated with the spirits of the dead. He probably must be considered as derived from foreign influence. Perhaps this also explains the underworld residence of the court of Ryangombe, whereas the rest of the bazimu remain with their living relatives.

776 Imana is the lord of lightning, thunder, and rain. One ad-
782 dresses him with the words: "Nabone Imana yandemie ikalema tata, na sokokuru, na sokuruza, na mukaka, na mukakuruzu, na mama. Ikankiza, nkuko yabakidjidji! (Favor me, Imana, who created my father, and my grandfather, and the father of my grandfather, and my grandmother, and the mother of my grandmother, and my mother. He has healed me, how he has healed me!)"

No sacrifices are made to Imana. Thus, he plays no part in the cult and satisfies only, if we may so express it, a philosophical need.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

THE STUDY OF NATIVE COURT RECORDS AS A METHOD OF ETHNOLOGICAL INQUIRY

R. DE Z. HALL

●217 WHEREVER native courts have been established and maintain records of their proceedings, there is available a mass of material concerning native law and custom which, properly regarded, may be of great value to the ethnographer as well as to the administrator. In Tanganyika Territory, from one portion of which the material for the present paper is derived, the making of elaborate records of evidence and judgements is deprecated at the present stage of development, as likely to interfere with the smooth working of the courts. A minimum is required of the names of parties, a brief statement of the subject-matter, and a short judgement signed by the holder of the court, be he chief, headman, or chairman of a council. Under such
121 circumstances, a study of records will show, at the least, the types of
217 social maladjustment which bring people to court, with the relative frequency of different kinds of case: the manner in which different types of case are viewed by the court, whether as offences against society or as affecting only families or individuals: and probably some general indication of the tone of the society. From this type of record there will be an upward range to the most valuable of all for the student, those containing a précis of evidence and a full reasoned judgement.

Whatever the amount of material available, it can only provide a limited picture of native law. In most, possibly all, areas, large numbers of disputes never reach the courts at all, but are dealt with in family council or by village elders. Further, the courts are only resorted to when disequilibrium has come about, and it can seldom be safe to argue the positive from the negative. Nevertheless, generalizations should emerge, and even where they do not, lines of inquiry should be indicated and facts brought to light and explained, which might otherwise have remained obscured or not understood. Most important, it is likely that evidence of change will be found, either clearly stated or in the form of indications which will offer material for further study.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

An instance which shows a number of these possibilities comes 217 from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west of Tanganyika Territory. A custom which might or might not be noted 233 by the ethnographer—something must escape the most meticulous of 643 observers, and this one is not recorded by Meyer for the Barundi, of 423 whom the people of Bugufi are ethnologically part—is the right of the chief to pasture his cattle among the millet-stalks after the harvest, before the peasant may put in his own cattle or any which he is herding for some one else. The court book records eight peasants coming to court to complain against a Tusi who has driven off their [694] cattle. The Tusi replies that the men had pastured their cattle in their millet before the chief had had access. Asked by the court whether he was instructed to drive off the cattle, the Tusi replies that he acted as he was bound to do in accordance with ancient custom and his obligations to the chief. New concepts have, however, found their way into the court, which gives judgement for the plaintiffs on the [178] grounds that the land and the cattle were theirs. This case is exceptional in the wealth of statement and suggestion which it offers, but there are many others helpful in lesser degree.

The value of native court records in this way was brought home to 127 me while stationed in this area, Bugufi, during the years 1929–31, 217 when I went through the available material with a view to seeing what were the normal causes of litigation and getting a general idea of the law administered. Starting with the year 1924, the series was examined up to the end of 1930. For these seven years, 850 cases were found where judgement issued, there being a further 225 which had been settled out of court or dismissed for want of prosecution or by reason of limitation. Of these 850 cases, almost one-quarter concerned contracts where cattle were involved, nearly one-sixth were marital cases, [673] and another sixth were over administrative matters, including offences against the Native Authority Ordinance: only one-seventh were of offences against person and property, and the remainder concerned debts, land, inheritance, damage to property and a few miscellaneous matters.

The fullest records were those of the numerous marital cases, and 127 these have been fully collated with a view to giving an idea of how 217 much information can be gleaned and what gaps remain, and what

127 217 suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before 105 going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the 563 record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, [178] that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be 563 briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu 178 is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded 557 to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change [182] has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the [578] economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This 648 conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the 645 distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged [671] with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European [177] régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

181 Batussi masters as they formerly were to the scarcely more lenient rule of their Bantu chiefs. When one comes from Ruanda which is governed on a rigid monarchical basis, one is astonished at how much freer, happier, and noisier, but also with how much less discipline the Barundi live and behave under their Batussi batwale than in Ruanda.

361 Predominantly agriculturists and breeders of small cattle,
221 the Bahutu are completely sedentary. The Batussi, who own
233 all the big cattle, also have permanent dwellings, but during the dry months they engage in a kind of alpine farming with their herds of cattle in the fresher pastures of the mountains, as though in memory of their former life as nomads. This will be described in more detail later in our discussion of stock farming (see p.40).

342 The residential huts (insu) of the Barundi differ essentially neither in form nor in structure, technique or material, from those of the Banjaruanda. Externally they are usually somewhat flatter than the huts in Ruanda; they have the shape of an umbrella rather than a beehive. Yet both in Urundi and Ruanda the crinoline-like frame is bound together by means of wooden poles or, wherever there is bamboo, by means of bamboo poles, the empty spaces between them being filled with vertical and horizontal layers of sorghum stalks. The superimposed, flat, hemispherical roof is not supported by a single pole in the center, but by a number of them evenly distributed in the hut. The entire frame is covered down to the ground with straw of tall grass (sedge, not reeds), and in some regions with dry banana leaves. As a protection against rain, a stick with a wisp of straw which spreads out at the bottom is fastened at the point of the roof. The opening for the door with the somewhat protruding door roof resembles that of the Ruanda house, but its side walls are interwoven less carefully than those of the Ruanda house. The door opening is closed by a coarsely plaited screen, kept in place by a stick propped against it. Except for the single door, there is no opening in the entire structure (Plate 18). Thus, the smoke must escape through the door. The entire hut can be lifted by several men and shifted to a

791 The dangers which formerly threatened them in times of drought were such as to keep them away from the capital.

132 Before mentioning their duties, we deem it useful to list the names of the native months and seasons with a short explanation of 221 their meaning. This will make it easier to understand the importance 805 of these men to their compatriots, whom they fleece shamelessly.

Part One

Months, Seasons, and Principal Rains

I. Native Months

1.	Nzeri	October	7.	Werurgwe	April
2.	Okwakira	November	8.	Mata	May
3.	Ogushingo	December	9.	Gichurassi	June
4.	Okuboza	January	10.	Kamena	July
5.	Mutarama	February	11.	Nyakanga	August
6.	Gashantare	March	12.	Gatumba gatoya	September
				Gatumba kanama	"

Nzeri, October, is the first on the list (imfura y' amezi). The Banyarwanda, indeed, count from October onward and regard this month as the most important because the cultivation of beans begins at this time.

Okwakira, November, comes from the verb kwaka (or kwakira), which means "to shine" because the sun is quite strong. /426/

Ogushingo, December, is reputed to be a very rainy month.

Okuboza, January, comes from the word kuboza, "to rot." It often happens, indeed, that the rains of the preceding month persist and seriously damage the crops.

The word Mutarama, which comes from the verb gutarama, "to nibble" (like the verb guhekenya, with which it is synonymous) was given to the month of February because it is at that time that one finds in certain parts of Ruanda, here and there, a few ears of ripe sorghum which children do not hesitate to cut off and eat.

●221 805 [539] Werurgwe, April. This word designates microscopic insects which occasionally prey on sorghum and quickly destroy it. Hence the expression, "Go and see whether the (above-mentioned) insects have attacked (the sorghum)" (Mulebe ngo Werurgwe itayajamo).

Gichurassi. This is the baleful month (ukwezi kubi) during which the annual mourning which lasts 15 days takes place at court. It is also the time of colds and bronchitis, hence the common expression, "He who lies down with a cold will be carried away (made [539] to die) by the month of June" (Uryamye ibichurane, igichurassi kizamutwara).

Kamena, July. This month is thus called from the word kumena, "to shatter" or "to tear out," because in those provinces of Ruanda where sorghum is cultivated only once a year people harvest the ripe ears in order to crush the grain and make bread (umutsima), which they have not tasted for a long time.

Nyakanga, August, comes from the word gukanga "to frighten." It is called thus because it is often fatal to old cows (amabuguma, ibibuguma), hence the common expression, Nyakanga ikanga amabuguma, [539] "The month of August frightens old animals," that is to say, causes them to die.

The two terms Gatumba gatoya and Gatumba /427/ kanama formerly served to designate two months, that is, August and September, prior to the creation of the month of Mata, May. Today they indicate the two fortnights in September, thus named from the word gutumba, [132] "to swell," because the clouds begin to gather in the sky and the rains begin to fall.

As for the month of Mata, it was created at the instigation of the sorcerers under the reign of Lwabugiri.

Mata literally means "milk," and in a figurative sense it means "abundance." It is also the name of a hill at Marangara, where as already mentioned Mutara and his son Lwabugiri established their residence because this area is reputed to bring good fortune to those who inhabit it. It is said that once for several years the rains failed to come and the crops did not ripen. In order to cope with this grave difficulty, it was resolved that henceforth a new month would be added to the year, and that this month would precede the month of

221 805 mourning (gichurassi) so as to give the crops time to ripen. And thus it was done. The name of the hill, a name of good omen, was given to the new month.

132 805 The native months correspond more or less to those of our solar year, owing to the elasticity with which the Banyarwanda endow their lunar divisions. They take the short rainy season, indeed, as their point of reference for cultivation and sowing. This rainy period bears the name of Nzeri and corresponds roughly to our month of October (1).

1. In some areas of vast Central Africa, the Blacks use the word masika, which means "rainy season" and belongs to the Kiswahili vocabulary. This term is preceded by the qualifiers "little" or "big" to denote the two rainy seasons. The little masika begins in October and usually ends in December. The big masika covers the months of February, March, April, and part of May.

We have heard it said that the Batutsi, herders living in the open air, acquired a practical knowledge of time from the plants and flowers that grow /428/ at regular intervals, and that they imparted this knowledge to the cultivators.

II. Seasons

221 805 The Banyarwanda also distinguish four seasons.

1. Uruhira, from the verb gushya, after its applicative /sic/ guhira, "to burn," designates the end of summer because this is the time when grass is burned everywhere. Another synonymous term is used, ku (1) Muyonga (ivu), which means "the time of ashes." One

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1. Ku or kw' before a vowel, or mu or mw' before a vowel /sic/, is none other than the preposition "at, in."

also says isekera, from the verb gusekera, "to cultivate," because the fields are readied at the end of summer although no planting or sowing is done, hence the difference from the word guhinga, which also means "to cultivate" but with immediate planting in mind.

2. Urugaryi. This term designates first and foremost the time when beans are cultivated (mw' itabira ry' ibishimbo) and also the time when the beans yield pods (imishogoro) tender enough to eat (gashogoro). This same season includes about a month of good weather, which enables people to harvest the beans and which has earned it the name of "little summer season." This first harvest usually takes place in January or February.

3. Itumba. This season corresponds roughly to our winter. The word that designates it comes from the verb gutumba, "to swell," to indicate that the clouds keep piling up and the rain keeps falling. Hence the synonym Urushyana, "time of heavy rains."

4. Ichyi or Mpeshi designates the summer season when the harvesting is done, hence the two synonyms mw' (1) itema from

/1. See footnote (1) immediately preceding./

gutema, "to cut," and mw' isarura from gusarura, "to harvest."

773 As for the origin of the months and seasons, /429/ legend states
821 that King Gihunga sent two of his sons to an important personage who
[805] controlled rain and good weather in order to ask him for divisions (ibihe) in the year. This extraordinary man was called Kibariro, "he who knows how to count." Thanks to the gifts that were presented to him, he agreed to adjust the year in this fashion. We can see that the Blacks manage to explain everything with their imaginative minds. It is also obvious that a slight tongue-in-cheek attitude always transpires through their many tales. It must be said, indeed, that they are not

173 some Batwa living there. The Batwa were in part driven out, in part assimilated. The latter are known as Batwa bikyugu "Batwa of the inhabited land." Very many colonists came from Kishari and Kameronse, regions north of Lake Kivu. They were driven out of their homes by raids of the cannibalistic Balioko, probably Manyema, or perhaps also of the Babira who were driven out by the Manyema. To this emigration we can probably attribute latent traces of Bakondjo in Bugoye. Besides this wave, the Bambari clan from Ndorwa came to Bugoye, as well as the Bagwabiro from the region of Ischangi on the southern shore of Lake Kivu. The latter are impoverished Batutsi who till fields and own but few cows.

805 Chronology. Time in Ruanda is divided into years, seasons, months (moons), and weeks. The weeks have only five or six days. Thanks to the kindness of Father Buisson, I can herewith give the names of the months used in Kissaka and Ussuwi, opposite the Mulera calendar. The data on Nkole have been taken from Meldon (3). [295]

[113] 3. Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Nkole," Journal of the African Society, 1907, p. 137.

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
I. Kwakira, pea harvest, begin hoeing for millet	Kimguru	Kashantare	Biruru
II. Mutarama, millet sowing	Kakire	Werurwe	Kata
III. Werurwe, weeding millet fields	Mahingo	Kichurasi	Katumba
IV. Mata, sowing green peas (nyagasha)	Ruwoza	Kamena	Ikoma
V. Kichurasi, sowing peas	Muhiranguzu	Nyakanga	Chabahezi
VI. Kamena, one hopes to have plenty to eat soon	Rweru	Katumba	Nyerurue

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
VII. Nyakanga, begin millet harvest	Nyamatarugara	Itumba	Kichurasi
VIII. Itumba, main harvest	Nyairira	Nsenene	Kamena
IX. Katumba, begin hoeing for peas	Mumereze	Nkereza	Nyakanga
X. Nseri, hoeing peas	Kisua	Kushingwo	Kashua
XI. Kushingwo, weeding peas	Nsenene	Kwakira	Musenene
XII. Kaboza, planting gourds	Kibuika	Kuwoza	Itumba

The Mulera calendar is about two months behind the Kissaka calendar because the names of the months are bound up with the activities of the farmers and weather and pasture conditions. The various field chores are done two months later in the more northerly mountains of Mulera. Similarly, the Nkole calendar is two months behind Mulera because it is still farther north.

For the various proper and common names given the individual months, I succeeded in obtaining the following explanations.

Itumba nyakime: itumba of the possessor of dew.

Katumba kanama: kanama is derived from the verb kwanama, meaning "to stay in one place"; this month is very warm and one hates to move.

Nyakanga mabuguma: the one hating old cows (mabuguma); the pastures are dried up and old cows die in this month.

Kaboza kabozabihaza: gourds rot because of too much precipitation.

Mata: literally, "milk," or really, "milk month"; the pastures are lush, and there is a great abundance of milk.

During the months of itumba, katumba, and nseri, huts are built. The millet straw is ripe, and the grass is at its tallest. At the end of nseri everything must be finished, for the rainy season begins.

805 In katumba the people begin burning off the grass on the
221 hills.

Most of the weddings take place in nseri, because much beer can be brewed in this month. For the same reason, most fights occur then.

132 There are three seasons in Kissaka.

805 [296] I. Itumba, the great rainy season extending from March to May.

II. Ichanda, the great dry season from June to October.

III. Ruhira, the secondary rainy season from November to January and sometimes February.

The secondary dry season in February does not seem to have a special name.

805 Father C. Lecoindre told me that he had the impression there were 13 months in the Ruanda year and pointed out that on my list the month of kashantare between mutarama and werurwe was not shown.

The art of chronology is only slightly developed in Ruanda, and the Bahutu seem essentially to know only the periods for certain field chores, to which they give special names, for example:

Itumba ya massaka (in the autumn),
Itumba Iyi bishimbo,

or solar time:

Rugaryi (little sun),
Itsi (big sun).

644 On the other hand, life in Musinga's royal residence, at
805 least the arrival of fresh drum guards with the new moon, is regulated by the lunar division of the year, and Father C. Lecoindre's observation seems to have many points in its favor. For example, it is said that at the court of the king there is mourning during the
[834] first half of the month kichurasi. During this time men allegedly have no sexual intercourse with women. The drums at the king's court are beaten only once around 11 o'clock to greet (ndamutsu) the king; they are said to be tied up (kuzirika). The Batwa do not entertain the king with their songs during the evening gatherings. The king pronounces no sentences and accepts no presents. At ordinary law proceedings the victorious party neither sings his song

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tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

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April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Evereerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

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later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

222 252 [262] In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment, we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa. Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

222 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the 231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi [263] honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey [273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes.

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil
388 for making soap; [54] only the people of the Tanganyika area
177 have learned from the Arabs and Wasuaheli how to mix oil with potash to make soap (kifefe) which is traded in fist-sized balls.

222 Apart from the cultivated plants mentioned above, the
262 Barundi and their women and children collect a number of wild plants or parts of these plants to be used as food or condiments. There are, for instance, the stinging nettle, whose leaves are boiled as "spinach," and sorrel, also cooked as a vegetable. The fruit of the eggplant (Solanum esculentum) -- reverted to the wild state? -- is eaten raw or roasted. They also collect edible mushrooms which are eaten either raw or cooked, red pepper
[263] (intore) whose pods are used for seasoning, and various berries eaten as delicacies by women and children, especially blackberries which are abundant everywhere.

The location and arrangement of the fields (umurima)
241 in Urundi does not differ much from Ruanda. One thing that soon strikes the observer is that in Urundi, with the exception of the western mountain areas, terraced fields are much more rare than in Ruanda where they cover entire mountain slopes and constitute the characteristics appearance of the cultivated areas. In Urundi the fields extend predominantly over level ground, either on the broad ridges and plateaus or at the bottom of the valleys. They are always close to the huts and, of course, to water. No furrows are drawn on most fields; their surface is merely loosened with a hoe. In the case of freshly cleared land, the pulled grass and shrubs are piled up in the field, left to dry, and burned. Then the ashes, as fertilizer, are worked into the ground with the hose. A similar method is used at the edge of papyrus swamps. After the water level has receded, the papyrus thicket is cut down over the whole extent of the extremely fertile alluvial land whose surface has dried. The hacked-off papyrus fronds are burned as soon as they have dried out (Plate 22a). Then the roots are dug up, narrow drainage ditches are dug, and the plant ash is spread over the field as fertilizer. Finally sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and beans are planted in the little holes which have been dug. They come up quickly. If land is cleared on a hill slope, the fields are laid out in long narrow strips which follow the contour horizontally. These are made as level as

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The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this processs.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 215-23.
[8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b). A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins [554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

223 The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka) with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue. Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain [262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

226 Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi [563] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned [262] to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

224 are organized at the beginning of the rainy season.

Elephant hunters work in small groups and use a spear. The following is the procedure when an elephant herd or a single old bull is sighted. At a carefully chosen place the spears are planted obliquely into the ground, their points directed toward the elephants. The hunters conceal themselves, with the exception of one who must go after a certain elephant. If the irritated animal attacks the hunter, the latter flees in the direction of the spears, so that the charging elephant will ram into one of them. The wounded animal is then attacked from the rear by the hunters in ambush. Elephant meat is said to be eaten in Kissaka. The mutware gets a tusk. Elephants are found chiefly in Bugansa, north of Kissaka.

Aside from drives and the use of decoys, wild game is also hunted with traps and trap pits. The traps consist of a snare lying on the ground and fastened at one end to a young tree bent to the ground. When the animal runs against the snare, the tree straightens out, draws the snare taut, and lifts the animal by its neck or a leg. The pits are carefully covered with foliage, and the captured animals are killed with spears and then divided up.

●223 Birds are caught with slings, but they are also shot with bird arrows which are dull or have four points. Partridges are said to be pursued on foot and killed with a stick after the birds are exhausted.

In Mulera where hunters are very skillful, probably due to 224 Batwa influence, [146] a great many otters are speared. They use a spear with a barbed head and a broadened end, which is said to be used also in hunting hippopotamuses. The hippopotamus hunters try to creep up on their prey in small boats, a very dangerous but also very much admired sport.

231 Hunting dogs are greatly loved in Ruanda and kept in great numbers. Every chief has a rather large number of them. The [552] dogs are called by special names. I realized how fond they were of their dogs once when the porters of our returning supply caravan stole a small dog. Its owner did not hesitate to follow my column on its westerly march for three or four hours and across two lakes, hoping that the porters would run into my column and that, with the help of a European, he would get back his property. This

423 obliged to submit to the same obligations as his predecessor. If he
[425] is a Mututsi, he is not required to pay any ground rent, and the chief gives him a pasture in addition.

Rights of way and of access are not private. The hill people may move about freely on each other's land. This is also true of the cattle for which special paths are made.

622 In the case of a dispute in matters of landed property, litiga-
692 tion is taken to the hill chief who goes to the place and, after having heard the witnesses, decides between the plaintifs.

3. Customary Law of Hunting

224 Customary laws of hunting are very numerous. Of these we will quote only a few of the most frequent cases.

A native hunting alone who has killed an ordinary antelope (impongo) takes the meat and skins the animal.

224 Hunting with beaters is organized by the chief who decides on
622 the land to be beaten after having taken the advice of the [44] expert Batutsi or Bahutu hunters and following the indications of the trackers. The chief also chooses the beaters from among the least good shots. To stimulate their zeal in this thankless task, he promises them pots of beer if the hunt is successful.

224 The natives are required to take part in the hunt, but they fulfill this obligation willingly as it is a much appreciated entertainment and also a source of profit.

Whoever first wounds an animal during a battue or beat, is presumed to have killed it. He is entitled to the skin and one rear leg. The meat is divided among all the Batutsi and Bahutu hunters. The hunter who has killed several antelopes may keep the skin of one animal.

224 Whoever finds an animal that has been killed must return it to
643 the hunters. At least theoretically, game belongs to the king and skins of any value (1) must be turned over to him, especially those of

281 1. Skins of marsh antelopes are much appreciated by the Batutsi because of their long silky fur with which they make bed coverings. Skins of the "bush bock" and

281 leopard are used as dance ornaments by the intore pages.

224 the otter (inzibyi or igihura), the marsh antelope (mpala), the
[643] "bush bock" (inzole), the lion, and the leopard, as well as ivory tusks.

If a wild beast such as a lion or leopard has been killed,
[622] its skin must be turned over to the chief who in exchange gives the hunters a sterile cow as ingororano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 48.

224 When the hill chief hunts with his people, he keeps some of
622 the skins and gives the others to the provincial chief, who in turn
643 keeps some of them and, if he considers it advantageous to himself, sends the others to the Mwami. If the hill chief has killed a lion or a leopard, the skin must be turned over to the Mwami. If there are two skins they are divided between the king and the provincial chief. The [45] hill chief may keep a leopardskin only if the hunt has been particularly fruitful.

224 The native who has killed three elephants has the sole right to the tusks of the third animal killed.

224 Finally, a hunter is forbidden to take any part of a crocodile
825 he has killed. The animal with its paws loaded with stones must be thrown to the bottom of the river, for the Banyarwanda believe that the body of the saurian contains a violent poison and they want to prevent its being used.

224 When an animal is pointed out, the beaters who have gone forward into the thickets where they are almost invisible and the hunters who have followed them must indicate their presence by a low whistle. Hunting accidents are regulated by customary law (1).

1. Cf. Penal Law, p. 98.

5. Small Domestic Animals

422 231 The Mwami has a rather theoretical right of ownership of small livestock which are considered valueless by the large stockbreeders.

Consequently, the Bahutu can sell or keep for their own consumption goats and sheep.

[235] Poultry also belongs to the Bahutu who are required to provide, without remuneration, the chicks needed for divinatory sacrifices. Hens and eggs are not eaten by natives and therefore, except in the neighborhood of European posts, have no commercial value.

Small livestock as well as poultry are the exclusive property of men.

[224] The Banyarwanda are very fond of their hunting dogs. The Batutsi will pay as much as one or two cows for a dog that is known for its hunting qualities.

6. Other Personal Property and Real Estate

423 Among the Batutsi, the husband and each of his wives live in their individual rugo, but all these dwellings belong to the husband. In the same way, among the Bahutu, the hut and its annexes belong to the husband.

422 Work tools belong to the husband. The wife and children may not lend them without his permission, except for a short time.

[60] Household utensils given the wife by her husband remain his property. But the ibirongoranywa (1), that is to say,

1. Cf. note 1, p. 44.

the objects, utensils, and clothing, given by the father to his daughter at the time of her marriage, often equal to the value of several cows, or even consisting of cows, belong to the wife. She may dispose of them as she chooses, except in the case of cows.

Since hunting also seldom provides
262 anything for the kitchen - the Barundi are poor hunters and,
[224] except for the Batwa, do not eat venison or if they do, only on exceptional occasions -- and since wild plants are seldom used for food, the menu is rather limited. The main food items for the whole of Urundi are bananas, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, and sorghum; all these are dried, ground, and prepared as mush. All the other things produced by the fields at different altitudes and in areas of different climate (see the chapter on agriculture, p. 48) play only a subordinate role.

It is true that when speaking to a European or a Muhutu the Batussi claim that they live only on milk, meat, and beer, but in reality they eat legumes, bananas, millet mush, and other foods exactly like the Bahutu. After all, not enough cattle are killed in the area to satisfy all the Batussi every day.
252 Except for meat, which, as has been mentioned, is almost always roasted on the spit, most dishes by far are cooked or stewed; only very few are fried in grease or oil as, for example, in the Tanganyika region where palm oil is plentiful.

262 As far as special rules concerning food are concerned,
264 I have discovered a number of food taboos connected with totemism and religious ideas (see p. 103). It is surprising that one never sees adults eating. They always take their meals inside the huts, the man together with his wife but apart from the children, and if they are ever caught at their meals, they stop and go away since the food would "not agree" with them if eaten in the presence of strangers. Of course, this is
262 not the case when they are traveling. In that case the force
261 of external circumstances often frees them from such considerations; yet conscientious or rigidly trained people, as most of the Batussi are, observe the custom so strictly even while traveling that they will go hungry rather than depart from it. When climbing the Karisimbi, for example, I had two young Batussi guides who, in spite of the extreme physical exertion involved, refused all the food I offered them and did not eat anything for two days because they did not have their customary mush and milk, nor did they accept anything from the people in my caravan.

714 Finally, battle dress is part of the fighting equipment of the Murundi. When the bodyguards of the king -- who are, as we shall see later (p. 87), the actual combatants -- march out for battle, they wear a uniform consisting of an apron of white tanned antelope hide or sheepskin (inkindi), and they paint [302] their skulls, faces, and the upper part of their bodies with all kinds of white and red lines and ornaments which give them a terrifying, savage appearance (No. 19, p. 277). This hide apron uniform is also worn at war dances. It is much the same in Ruanda where, in addition to this uniform, other decorations, for example, a headdress and foot rattles, are also worn. The Bahima in Ufipa have the same kind of war costume as here and in Ruanda (cf. illustration in Lechaptois, No. 47, p. 61).

172 411 Old stone weapons, the remnants of former cultures which have disappeared (see p. 151 [not translated]), are not in use any more in Urundi even among the Batwa who are the oldest ethnic element; the same is true in Ruanda.

[36] Chapter 4

Hunting, Fishing, Stock Farming, Agriculture, Stimulants

1. Hunting and Fishing

224 Hunting (uwuhisi) plays only a small role in the existence of the Barundi, for in an area which is so densely populated and almost completely denuded of forests and where game has been systematically exterminated in the interests of cattle farming and pastures as in the regions settled by the Boers, there are only a few animals left which one might hunt. It appears that the most frequent ones are the bushbuck (Tragelaphus) which are found mainly in the narrow bush thickets of the deep valleys of the streams and also the tufted antelope, gazelle, and the Jimela antelope. As far as other big game fit for hunting are concerned, the elephant is occasionally found in the thinly populated areas, in the deserted forests of the western peripheral

●224 mountains, and in the Ruzizi lowlands. The hippopotamus, however, is still rather frequent; it finds food and shelter in all the sizable rivers and swamps. There are leopards everywhere but most of all in northeast Urundi.

It is seldom that the Murundi hunts (kuhiga) alone with his weapon. At times chiefs arrange hunting drives with from 10 to 20 persons; these, however, are more a sport than hunting and have only the single practical purpose of obtaining antelope hides for the war dress mentioned above and horns for trumpets and amulets. The Batussi and Bahutu do not eat the [224] meat of the hunted animals since they consider it impure; they give it to the Batwa or to the dogs who play an essential part [231] in each drive. The dogs can hardly be called hunting dogs as we understand the term (see p. 48), for they do nothing but rouse and pursue the game. They are the common Murundi dogs with pointed ears. Old King Kisabo had a real pack of hounds for hunting. The dogs wear a leather collar with an iron bell or rattle whose clanging and rattling scares the game, and they are kept on the leash until the hunters have taken their stand in a wide semicircle around the area where the game is suspected to be. The dogs are then released into the thicket. They soon scare the game with the rattling of their bells and finally hold it at bay by concerted attack so the hunters may approach and kill the animal with arrows or spears (No. 19, p. 100).

That the Forest Batwa, who earn their livelihood mainly by hunting, are much better hunters hardly requires explanation; in most cases they hunt in pairs. Above all elephant hunting in the forests of the northwestern peripheral mountains is their exclusive specialty. For this purpose and also for killing other big game, such as the hippopotamus, they use deep pits (itschjobo) which are dug on the paths where game usually pass. Sharp-pointed poles are placed in an upright position [37] at the bottom of the pits whose steep walls are up to eight meters high; these poles are supposed to injure or kill the animal falling into the pit. The hole is carefully covered with branches and leaves. An animal which has fallen into the pit and is still alive is killed with spears. The natives build very solid traps to catch

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b). A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins
[554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

223 The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka) with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue. Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain
[262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

226 Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi
[563] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned
[262] to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

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Herd of Livestock (Cattle, Sheep, Goats) in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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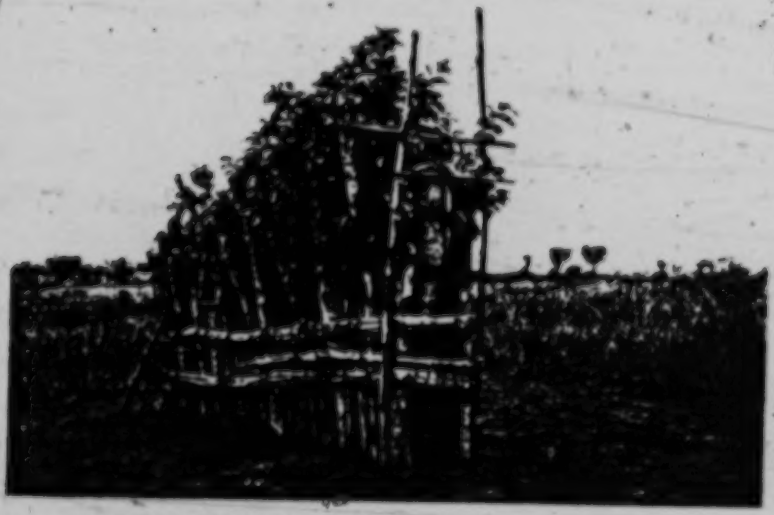

Leopard Trap in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other populations; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* [534] (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little importance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a
226 mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

241 To them, this labor is almost taboo (1). They are divided in
461

1. Extensive fields of peas are to be seen among the Batwa of the Bugoyi, who live at the edge of the forest. Should one see this as a new state of affairs caused by the deep changes which have upset or transformed their former way of life?

It is certain that the hunting grounds of the Pygmies are not as extensive as they used to be. The forest dwindles imperceptibly but surely as the Bahutu, in search of new fields, gnaw at it incessantly with their axes. It must also be said that the Negrillos can no longer plunder and rob as they used to do. European penetration is largely responsible for stopping this source of income. In order to support themselves, the Batwa have begun to farm out of necessity, like the Bahutu.

323 two categories, the potters and the hunters. The former settle in Bahutu villages but live apart. They work with clay, a task which everyone else gladly leaves to them. They get foodstuffs in exchange for their vessels.

● 224 The hunters prefer the solitude of the forest. They are the true children of the woods, and "milk" the forest in every way, as [195] though it were their cow, to repeat a familiar expression /35/ of theirs. They live on the game they kill.

They are very fond of meat and tirelessly track elephants, buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, the large tailless, clawless rats called

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This[1] makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden
[411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times,
[579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that
463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them
696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches,
[342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

[1] [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -Analyst]

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

578] Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

631 Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

794 His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba. . . ," pronounced in a virile tone,
776 recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a
[30] necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung
854] around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye. . . ."

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

[224 His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around
[231] the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i. . ." to recall
534] that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence
[287] the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with
a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a
[415] hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using
[272] a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

192

198 Umumkari — Umugore — Woman
Umwere wa giti — Umwana — Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

[824]
[234]

3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known.

754 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human
278 cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other
[164] people (1).

1. This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great
[578] curse, "May you die of tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu).

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu),
[84] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia
[824 (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example,
847] muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following
824 plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract
[224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

5: Pagès--280 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

On the plain of the Mulèra in the middle of a field of sorghum. After an elephant hunt.

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Longhorn cows.

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231 In the herdsman aristocracy of Ruanda the Muhutu must always yield to the cow. Cows have crowded out the Bahutu in certain parts of Ufumbiro, and they definitely eliminated the farmers from Mulera's lava plain. They depopulated the region around Nyanza. We can say, therefore, that cows are a powerful factor in shaping the landscape of Ruanda.

231 43] Transactions involving the cow play a very important part in economic life and judicial practices in Ruanda. These transactions take many forms.

[144] There is the simple sale where the price is paid at once or in installments (in goats). I also learned of another type of sale. The owner of two young bulls exchanges them for the unborn calf of a certain cow. If the calf is born a male, they wait for the next one. This transaction is known as kwatiriza. In kwatiriza, the milk, after the first two months during which the herdsman gets it, is divided between the buyer of the calf and the owner of the cow. However, there are often arrangements whereby half or even all the milk is simply bought up by someone.

Cows are for sale only in Mulera where they belong to Bahutu. Batutsi sell only young bulls. Calving cows are under no circumstances disposed of; they are only granted in feudal tenure. Even large bulls (mfizi) are not sold. I was repeatedly told that they cannot even be granted.

231 Goats are raised everywhere by the Bahutu. In the northwest sheep are raised in large numbers. I was presented with my first sheep on the route between Nyanza and Mulera, at the Nyawarongo ferry. One sees individual sheep everywhere. They are used for sacrificial purposes.

232 In this discussion of animal husbandry we must say a word about castration. This operation is familiar to the people of Ruanda and is performed chiefly on goats. It is said that the castration of cattle is forbidden by the king, but it is rumored that the cows one is forced to return are secretly cauterized in revenge. Hunting dogs are also castrated. It is said, too, that enemies of [304] the king are castrated.

224 Hunting. Hunting as the chief means of obtaining food is practiced only by the Batwa. They live on the yield of the hunt,

224 just as the Bahutu live by agriculture and the Batutsi by animal husbandry. The agricultural produce they require is obtained only by bartering game or by stealing.

The Batwa are most skillful hunters. Accompanied by their dogs, they pursue the game with bow and spear in hand. They are very skillful bowmen and can even shoot down birds. The king of Ruanda has received most of his ivory from them. In former times, before elephants became so scarce in the country, ivory is said to have been obtained in great quantities. The Batwa hunting grounds are the forests of the Congo watershed east of Lake Kivu and Ruzizi and the forests on the chain of volcanoes.

The other Banyaruanda also hunt a great deal, especially in Kissaka because of the wealth of game on the steppes. In the northeastern part of this province hunting plays an important role in the economy; here we find professional hunters (abahigi) and even elephant hunters (abayovu).

[145] Hunters usually work in groups. On hunting drives there are a large number of participants. They are organized by the head of the district who assembles the farmers equipped with spears and bows and arrows and accompanied by numerous dogs. Because of the extensive nature of the hunting grounds, signals are given with a cow horn. Nets are also used to mark off certain regions. The hunter who delivers the first blow gets the skin and a piece of meat; the others get only portions of meat. Valuable skins are given to the

[141]

Fig. 34. Harpoon Spear from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13769. 190 centimeters long.)

mutware [official], and the hunters share only in the meat. Hunting drives usually take place in the dry season, but sometimes they

224 are organized at the beginning of the rainy season.

Elephant hunters work in small groups and use a spear. The following is the procedure when an elephant herd or a single old bull is sighted. At a carefully chosen place the spears are planted obliquely into the ground, their points directed toward the elephants. The hunters conceal themselves, with the exception of one who must go after a certain elephant. If the irritated animal attacks the hunter, the latter flees in the direction of the spears, so that the charging elephant will ram into one of them. The wounded animal is then attacked from the rear by the hunters in ambush. Elephant meat is said to be eaten in Kissaka. The mutware gets a tusk. Elephants are found chiefly in Bugansa, north of Kissaka.

Aside from drives and the use of decoys, wild game is also hunted with traps and trap pits. The traps consist of a snare lying on the ground and fastened at one end to a young tree bent to the ground. When the animal runs against the snare, the tree straightens out, draws the snare taut, and lifts the animal by its neck or a leg. The pits are carefully covered with foliage, and the captured animals are killed with spears and then divided up.

223 Birds are caught with slings, but they are also shot with bird arrows which are dull or have four points. Partridges are said to be pursued on foot and killed with a stick after the birds are exhausted.

In Mulera where hunters are very skillful, probably due to
224 Batwa influence, [146] a great many otters are speared. They use a spear with a barbed head and a broadened end, which is said to be used also in hunting hippopotamuses. The hippopotamus hunters try to creep up on their prey in small boats, a very dangerous but also very much admired sport.

231 Hunting dogs are greatly loved in Ruanda and kept in great numbers. Every chief has a rather large number of them. The
[552] dogs are called by special names. I realized how fond they were of their dogs once when the porters of our returning supply caravan stole a small dog. Its owner did not hesitate to follow my column on its westerly march for three or four hours and across two lakes, hoping that the porters would run into my column and that, with the help of a European, he would get back his property. This

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this process.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 215-23. [8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid, but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is increasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Boys from Twelve To

883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their [224] fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place 869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage [603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grandfather. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of 867 behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed [868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to [867] be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first [428] wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

595 The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been 593 mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favour- 183 ite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But [152] according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b). A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins [554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

223 The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka) with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue. Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain [262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

● 226 Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi [563] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned [262] to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air.
[182] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt,
[791] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The
262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence
438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

226 of fishing. From an elevated point near the lake, for instance, from Boma in Usumbura, after dusk from all sides of the lake he sees dozens of lights quietly float out into the lake, arrange themselves out there in long rows, and then remain for hours in the same place, where the boats are anchored. On the other side, on the distant west shore (Uvira) which belongs to the Congo State, the same spectacle takes place. Hundreds of lights will often be twinkling above the quiet water, one dying out in one place, another being lighted and flashing up somewhere else, like a festive illumination; behind rises the large dark backdrop of the western peripheral mountains and above it the Milky Way with its millions of twinkling stars. A light, warm breeze is blowing across land and lake, and only seldom is the great silence of the African night penetrated by an animal's cry.

In the daytime the lake dwellers use a conical dragnet (itanda) for fishing. It is fastened to a wooden hoop and kept below water by stones tied to it. It is pulled behind the boat on two cords, and from time to time its contents which include both large and small fish are emptied into the boat. Kandt observed an unusual method of net fishing among the Barundi of northern Tanganyika, while I personally and others have not seen anything like it. This method is as follows: of the six men in the boat, four dive into the water at the same moment holding the net in their hands. They emerge again with their prey after 30 to 50 seconds and are pulled into the boat by their companions (No. 22, p. 333).

227 The various types of nets have a very firm and even texture
286 although they are made by hand without a square ruler. The strings are woven of the fibers of the raffia palm.

Also in fishing with a line the Lake Barundi use various
226 methods. A long line is usually used for catching big fish. Numerous strong fishhooks (umugera) are fastened to it at short intervals on short pieces of string; the whole thing is called umuhungo. To each hook one of the above-mentioned little fish, akahuso, is fastened as bait. The long line is thrown into the water from the shore or from the boat; it is held by both ends,

226 [39] and as soon as it is noticed that the fish bite, the line is pulled in by two men, and the fish are collected (No. 19, p. 426).

Fishing with rod (isanga) and line (impungo) is practiced mainly by boys but also by the Batwa. Not just one hook, as is the case with our fishing lines, but two to four hooks, one above the other, are fastened to the lower end of the line. They are kept afloat by a piece of wood. Often a fisherman will hold two or three such fishing rods in his hand. In spite of the crocodiles, the fishermen often stand in water up to the belly, and when a fish bites, they slowly turn the fishing rod around its axis so as to let the line wind up. If they gave a sudden pull, the hooks, which have no barb as ours do, would permit the fish to slide off.

A peculiar apparatus for catching medium-sized fish consists of a quadrilateral box-like frame (uvusago) made of palm leaves. Several holes are pierced in its sides, behind which grasshoppers or worms are fastened as bait. Thirty to forty such trap boxes are weighed down and lowered into the water around the boat. A wooden float fastened to each of these by a string indicates immediately when a fish trying to get at one of the pieces of bait is caught in one of the holes. This method is supposed to yield a rich catch.

Finally, weir-baskets (umugono) must be mentioned. They have the form of a long cone, which occurs elsewhere quite frequently, and inside there is a funnel-shaped smaller basket, on the order of a mousetrap. Although the fish can penetrate the narrow opening of the latter into the main part of the cone where the bait is kept, they cannot get out of it. The weir-baskets are fastened to the bottom of the lake near the shore by means of poles, and they are pulled out and emptied every few days.

No harpoons are used for catching fish, nor is poison used for stunning the fish. The Negroes here, like those in other parts of Africa, have not progressed to training swimming birds to catch fish. For instance, cormorants are frequent around Lake Tanganyika, and the natives have long been aware of their skill in catching fish.

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

[p. 13 (B)]

800 hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

231 Beekeeping. Bee culture plays a considerable role in Ruanda
[272] life. A great deal of honey is drunk; it is used as an additive to beer and is also mixed with water.

Bees are kept in baskets that are nearly cylindrical (imbutiba) and daubed with clay. At the bottom there are two small exits for the bees. The wider end provides an entrance for lifting out the honey, but otherwise it is closed off. Special long-handled
[443] knives (ulukezo) with short, wide blades are used to cut out the combs. The baskets are generally set up in large numbers on tall trees where they will be dry, but they are also set horizontally on special frames that have crossed legs. These frames are placed on the ground near the huts. There are also many wild bees in the country.

The province of Mulera has the greatest number of bees. In
[435] Bgisha a great deal of honey is sold. The price was two yards of material for two pots of about three liters each.

226 Fishing. The population near the lakes of Ruanda are fisherfolk. Net fishing is called kuteguza ifi. The various nets are called ujegwi, chera, and amahinda. The fish traps are called birumbi. They consist of a long cone into which is placed a second shorter one with its point cut off. The two are fastened together at their thicker basal ends. [148] There is little line fishing, but the fishhook is not unknown, although one does not see it very often.

501 The boats are simple dugouts about five meters long and 50 centimeters wide. They are very irregularly shaped, since the natural curve of the tree trunk is retained. The dugouts used on Lake Kivu are considerably larger. In Ruanda the sides of the boat are not built up by the addition of planks as is the case, for example, in Kiziba and Buganda. The boat's board formed by the edges of the hollowed-out trunk is higher or lower depending on the width or narrowness of the slit.

The oars (ngashi) are often carefully carved, and the blade (ulubega) is reinforced with a center rib (mugongo). The oars are free and held in the hand by the shaft (ulati).

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid, but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is increasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

226 of fishing. From an elevated point near the lake, for instance, from Boma in Usumbura, after dusk from all sides of the lake he sees dozens of lights quietly float out into the lake, arrange themselves out there in long rows, and then remain for hours in the same place, where the boats are anchored. On the other side, on the distant west shore (Uvira) which belongs to the Congo State, the same spectacle takes place. Hundreds of lights will often be twinkling above the quiet water, one dying out in one place, another being lighted and flashing up somewhere else, like a festive illumination; behind rises the large dark backdrop of the western peripheral mountains and above it the Milky Way with its millions of twinkling stars. A light, warm breeze is blowing across land and lake, and only seldom is the great silence of the African night penetrated by an animal's cry.

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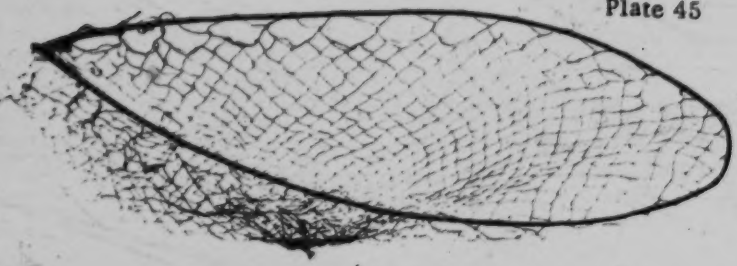
2: Meyer--279 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 45 227



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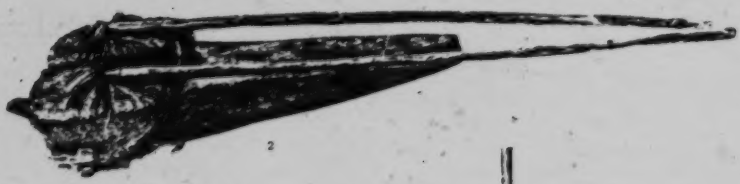

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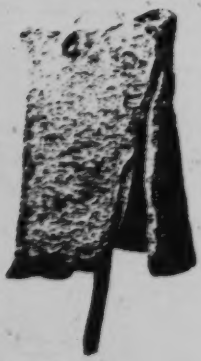

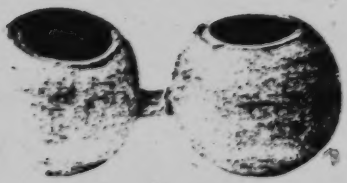

[415]

Implements Used in the Household, Fishing, and Field Work;

No. 1) Fish net of bast strings, 120 centimeters long; No. 2) Vessel bellows of wood and goat skin, 97 centimeters long; No. 3) Wooden milk bottle, 28 centimeters; No. 4) Iron cattle bell, 14 centimeters; No. 5) Wooden double container for butter, 20 centimeters wide.

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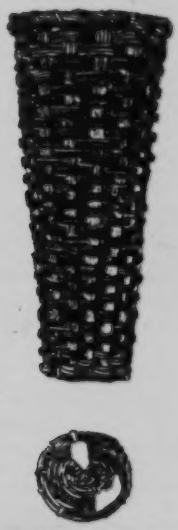
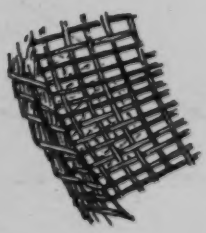
231



[413]

Fig. 37. Beehive from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13680. 80 centimeters long.)

Fig. 38. Honey Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13738. 28 centimeters long.)



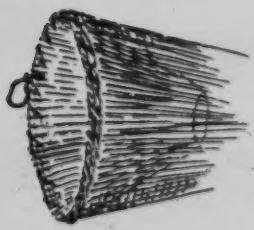


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Fig. 39. Fish Traps from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13743. 65 centimeters long.)

501 In rowing, the oarsmen sit on the edges of the boat. Only the large Kivu canoes had seats which were fastened on either side with ropes passing through holes in the rim of the boat. The holes are made

[227]

Fig. 40. Fishhook from Mukinjaga. (Actual size. III E 6896. 17 centimeters long.)

with a percussion drill (umutwero).

Industry. In Ruanda, as Dr. R. Kandt's (1)

1. Cf. the monograph "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 329-372.

studies have already pointed out, industry has the character of handicraft or hired work. There are few branches of industry on the level of home industry where at times surplus goods not used in the household are sold. This is true, for example, of basketry which generally is produced by the women.

Beer which is brewed in every household seldom figures in business transactions and then

463
[113]

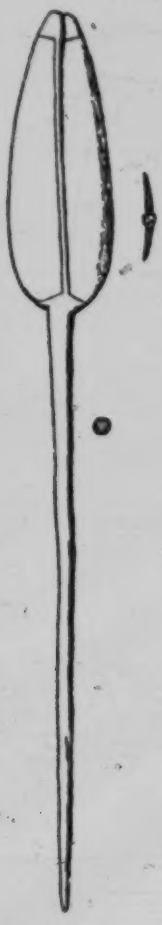


Fig. 41. Oar from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13731. 181 centimeters long.)

only between friends, in exchange for the care of cows and for rented fields.

Potters and woodworkers are craftsmen who produce for the market, whereas metalworkers are wage earners who work on order. Wiredrawers [149], as well as the producers of barkcloth, reputedly work at the home of their employers.

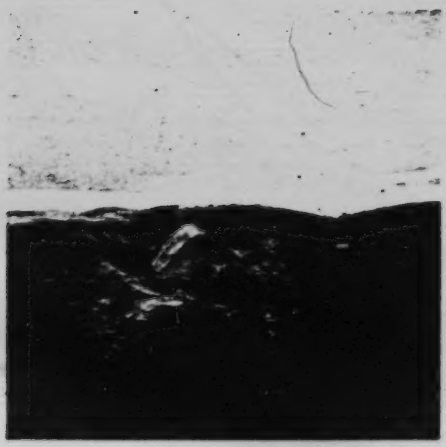
1:Vanhove--33A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 40]

231

Type of cattle in Ruanda.

133



Vicinity of Kigali.
Crops covering the spurs of the hills and the valleys can be seen.

(Photo taken by Author)

4. Ownership of Heavy Cattle

422 a) Generalities.
231
[643]

The Mwami is the owner of all the cattle in Ruanda or at least of all females kept for breeding purposes. The great chiefs (abatware) are charged by the king to watch over his cattle in the different provinces. Also, the sale of heifers cannot take place without his permission.

On the other hand, the holder of sterile cows or bulls may give away or slaughter these animals as he wishes.

In a province the native who has acquired a cow for breeding
[643] purposes has usufruct and has no redress if the Mwami takes away the animal he has bought along with its young. The umutware w'umukenke (2) can oppose the removal of cattle from the province.

2. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Division, p. 85.

422 Any native who settles in another province must abandon his cattle
622 [46] unless he has the chief's permission to take it with him. When
628 a native leaves his province, leaving his cattle behind, to settle in another, his new chief usually gives him a herd of the same size as the one he has lost. If he escapes from his district carrying off his cattle surreptitiously, his former chief claims the herd. In the past if he was refused he would endeavor to capture a herd of equal value belonging to the deserter's new chief, and an armed clash would invariably result from such a dispute. Today the dispute must be submitted to the Mwami. He eventually orders the new chief to return the cattle, and if the latter is unwilling to do so, he may take from him one or more herds.

Before the European occupation a dissatisfied chief could take all or part of his cattle without previous permission from the Mwami. In this case the chief was "Mwami of his umugaragu."

422 The cowherds (abashumba) in the service of the cattle holders
231 are authorized to keep for themselves part of the milk from the animals entrusted to them. They can be discharged in case of negligence.

231
192

b) Classification of Cattle According to Color

Amanya, blue-grey
Ibihogo, dark brown
Ibihogo bitose, darker brown
Igaju, light brown
Igaju ly'intukura, yellow-brown

Igisa, café au lait [coffee-colored]
Igitare, white
Ikibamba, black with large white spots
[47]
Ikibayi, grey-brown
Ikijugu, light grey
Isine, white with small brown spots
Itshyasha, with a white spot on its forehead
Ubugondo bw'izagiriza, white with small brown spots
Umukara, black
Umusengo, brown with small white spots
Urwirungu rwumugoroba, black and white
Urwirungu rw'amarwa, pinkish tan

c) Classification of Cattle According to Age

1. MALE CATTLE

Umutavo, newborn
Ingimbuke, a fortnight old
Umushishe, a month old
Incharwatsi, that eats grass for the first time
Umukulira, that goes to pasture for the first time

Inchuke, weaned

Ikimasa ly'umukangara, a little larger than the inchuke
Karasiga inkivyondo, good for paying a fine
Igitobyi, ready to breed
Imfisi umutore, that has bred once
Ubukombe, adult bull
Umutaza, old bull

2. FEMALE CATTLE

Up to being weaned, same name as male cattle
Ishashi ikata, pregnant heifer
Iliza, first calf
Impete, second calf
Impetule, third calf
Ijigija, fourth calf
Ibuguma, cow that still calves but whose calf is too weak and dies
Inshura, old cow that no longer calves

231
192

c) Classification by age (cont'd)
2. FEMALE CATTLE

Isave, cow sterile from birth (thin)
Urubeheri, cow sterile from birth (fat)

d) Classification of Cattle According to Horns

Igaritse, with large spreading horns
Impotore, with horns whose points are slightly twisted
Ingarure, with twisted horns whose points go forward
Inkungu, without horns
[48]
Intenderi, with horns whose points point toward the ground
Inkungu y'indegeri, with small mobile horns
Ikubis'ihembe, with one vertical and one horizontal horn
Itigey'inyuma, with horns whose points point backwards
Itez'akamosd, with crossed horns
Urubindo, with horns whose points point towards the ears
Itegey'ijuru, with large almost vertical horns

e) Classification of Cattle According to Common Law

422 IMBATA. Head of cattle received as dowry, as a present, or
231 bought in the market, and whose owner is the true proprietor. But
[622] if, in putting himself under the patronage of the hill or provincial
[192] chief (1) he receives from either of them one or several cows called

1. See further on, Obligations and Contracts, p. 63.

inkazibiti or ingabane, according to whether he is a Muhutu or a Mututsi, all the imbata cows can be taken away from him with the others, should he lose his status as a client, by an arbitrary decision of his patron.

422 If a Muhutu receives from a Mututsi some heads of cattle
231 in virtue of the contract called ubugaragu (lease of livestock) (1),
427

1. See further on, Obligations and

231 and if after a few years by selling the young bulls, the skins, the
422 horns, the milk, and the butter, he has made enough money to
427 buy a head of cattle, the latter is not an imbata, but an impahano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

422 If a Muhutu, the umugaragu of a Mututsi, marries his
583 daughter and receives a milch cow as dowry, the latter is not an
192 imbata, but an inkwano, and the shebuja of the son-in-law can take
231 it back. In effect, it is the social position of the Muhutu which entitled him to collect a dowry in cattle. If he had not been a client of a Mututsi, he would have received as dowry only hoes or goats. [49]

231 INTUNDANO. (1) Cow bought in the market with the salary
422
192

1. From kutunda, "to do business."

earned at the mines in exchange for goats or baskets of beans. It is an imbata.

INDUNDU. Cow acquired in immediate full ownership without the condition that the buyer should later make an additional payment. Indundu is opposed to ingwate (2).

2. See further on, p. 46.

[431] INKAZIBITI. Cows given without fee by the patron to a client who has paid homage (guhakwa). To take possession of cows promised by the shebuja is called kujya ku ilembo (lit., to cross the threshold of the rugo). The first cow received under these conditions is called inka y'igiti (3); the second, impetano; the others

3. Literally, "cow of the tree trunk."

do not have a special name. A father can also give some inkazibiti to his wives and sons.

231 INGABANE. When a Mututsi who has paid homage to the
422 Mwami receives from him a hill with cattle and abagaragu, the said
192 cattle is called ingabane (4). A herd of ingabane consists of at
431

4. From kugabana, "to receive."

least 30 heads of cattle, cows, calves, heifers, and young bulls.

A simple Mututsi with no political authority may receive some ingabane and some inkazibiti. But the favor of the Mwami makes him considered an important person. He is the Mwami's umugaragu.

The Bahutu usually receive only inkazibiti.

INDEMANO. (5). a) Cows of the same color and age, given

5. From kulema, "to create," "to form," "to assemble."

by a father to his son when the latter is about to get married. The whole of the indemano is called iminani.
[50]

b) By a patron to a client of whom he is fond and who is going to get married.

c) By a husband to his wife.

The indemano are also ingabane.

After these various distributions, the cattle remaining to the master make up the ingarigari (reserved cows).

422 INGARIGARI. Cows which the master keeps for his own
231 pleasure and personal use without giving any to his wives, sons, or
192 friends, or without leasing them out to any abagaragu.

425 INKUKE (1). a) A son, who has received from his father
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1. From gukura, "to take away," "to remove."

indemano, returns a milch cow (inkuke) to his father which has been taken from among the indemano. When it no longer gives any milk the father sends it back to his son.

425 b) A Mututsi umugaragu is obliged to send the Mwami an inkuke
192 from among the ingabane he has received. When the cow no longer
231 gives milk, the client must bring other animals.

c) An umugaragu can receive some indemano from his patron. Usually these are old cows or bull calves which he then exchanges for heifers. When they are full grown, he gives one or several of these inkuke to his patron.

d) An umugaragu of the Mwami must occasionally send him a milch cow from among the ingabane he has received.

INDWANYI. Full-grown bull given annually to the Mwami by each provincial chief, for sacrifice to the spirits of the departed or slaughtered for the use of the king, his Batwa, or his foreign guests: Bahima, Barundi, Baganda, etc.
[51]

IBINIHA. Sterile cow given under the same conditions and meant for the same use.

[787] INTORWA. Bull calves or young rams to be used for consulting the auguries or for the cult of ancestors.

YO KUBIKA. Cow brought to the Mwami by the successor of a provincial chief who comes to announce the death of his father.

IY'UBUNTU (1). Cow given as a present. It belongs in full

1. From ubuntu, "generosity." Ineza, "good will," is also said.

ownership to the one who receives it, who is held under no obligation to the donor. Ubuntu cows are not ingabane; they are imbata when they are placed among the imbata that are already in the rugo, and keep the name of inka y'ubunta, without possessing any of its privileges, in all other cases [sic].

INYITURANO. Cow given in return by the one who has received an ubuntu. When a man who has bestowed ubuntu on certain of his friends dies, his children can claim an inyiturano cow from each of them.

IMPAHANO (2). Cows bought under the same conditions as

2. From guhaha, "to fetch, to procure."

the intundano and received as a gift or dowry. They have the same character, but if their owner attaches himself to a patron they become ipso facto cows of an umugaragu.

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
192

INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young

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1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother

[301]

2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[60] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

000 three banana trees.

192 764 231 [53] INKAMWA. When the father of a family dies, one of his sons or grandsons is chosen to put between his hands a jug of milk. The cow that has given this milk is called inkamwa. It is given to the one who has placed the jug of milk between the hands of the deceased and is not included in the division of the inheritance.

This cow cannot be sold or killed. Its young are not subject to this interdiction. If it dies, it is eaten by the Bahutu in the owner's rugo, and its bones are buried there.

Among the Bahutu a sheep is used as the inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. When the father of a family dies, the eldest son slaughters a bull calf, which is eaten by the family. The skin is worn by the eldest son for two months so that the cows will not die like their master.

192 231 731 IY'UMULIRO and INSHUMBUSHANYO. 1) If lightning has destroyed the herd (or even one animal) held by the umugaragu, the latter can obtain from his shebuja the umuliro (lit., the fire cow), either a cow or a bull calf.

When several cows are given by the patron to indemnify his client, the first one is called umuliro, the others inshumbushanyo.

425 231 2) If the patron deprives his client of his whole herd to punish him for not performing one of his obligations, the umugaragu begs the protection of another shebuja who gives his new dependent a cow and a bull calf or only a bull calf.

192 731 231 IMPONOKE. When the herd of the patron, the provincial chief, or the king is decimated by cattle plague (muryamo), the abagaragu give some cows to fill the gaps caused by the epizootic disease.

192 231 766 [54] INDORANO (1). At the death of the king's child, wife,

1. From kurora, "to see."

brother, and also in the case of death in a great chief's family, the provincial chiefs and the hill chiefs, if they are directly subject to the Mwami, each bring two cows to the Mwami, and only one in the other event. A cow is also given by the abagaragu. The cow given to a friend on the occasion of deep mourning is also called indorano.

192 IMPONGANO. A cow given to appease the anger of the king or
231 one of the provincial chiefs.
431 2) A cow given to a friend of the Mwami to thank him for his intervention with the king.

IZIMANO. The first time a great provincial chief goes to visit another, the host gives his guest a milch cow.

Similarly, if the king or a provincial chief visits one of their abagaragu, he is given a calf.

INJISHYWA. A cow that accompanies a noble Mututsi when he visits a provincial chief or the Mwami on business or to pay homage. It is meant to provide him with the milk necessary for food.

427 INDAGIZO. (2). A cow which the depositor (uwaragije) entrusts
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2. From kulagiza, "to give on trust in order to pasture."

to someone who owns a better pasture than his, but the trustee (uwaragiywe) does not become umugaragu. The latter must return the cow when it has calved, but he has the right to the milk for two months if the cow is young, and for a fortnight if it is not. If the calf dies, the trustee has the right to the milk one day out of four.

[55]

231 INTAHIRA (1). This is the best of the cows held by an umugaragu.
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1. From gutahira, "to come in front," "to precede," "to lead."

He always makes it walk at the head of the herd. The holder can take its milk (intagemura, lit., to keep the milk for one's self), but the calves must return to the owner.

192 INGWATE. Primus, who owns a bull calf (inguzwa) or a sterile
231 cow (also inguzwa), asks Secundus, who has a heifer (ingwate), if he is
437 willing to exchange on the following conditions:

a) If the heifer has a female calf (umukangara), Primus will keep it and its mother for a length of time to be agreed upon, usually two years. Secundus will then take back the cow and its calf and in addition will keep the inguzwa.

192 437 231 b) If the heifer has a male calf, Secundus takes it at once and Primus keeps the mother for two years. The milk is divided between the two contracting parties as follows: Secundus has the right to the milk for four days, Primus for two days, and the shepherd one day a week.

c) If the heifer dies before having a calf, Primus takes the skin and Secundus keeps the inguzwa. To avoid leaving the heifer with Primus for two years, Secundus gives the other contracting party a pregnant cow (ingenzura) and takes back the ingwate and its young (female or male calf). There are then two possibilities:

a) The ingenzura bears a female calf; Primus claims it.

1) Secundus accepts and takes back the ingenzura.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf, and does not give any of the milk until another cow is given him. [56]

b) The ingenzura gives birth to a male calf.

1) Secundus agrees to give Primus an umukangara and takes back the cow and its calf.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf. He will return the calf only after it is weaned. He waits for the cow to have a female calf.

IGICHANIRO (1). Primus who wishes to have a bull calf gives

1. The igichaniro is, strictly speaking, the fire lit in the kraal to protect the cows from the cold.

all his cows as a pledge (kugwatiriza) to Secundus, yet keeps them at his home. After two years, Primus gives a female calf to Secundus. If he refuses, Secundus would have the right to take a milch cow (gukubitira).

If the contract concerns goats, the fact that Secundus pays himself if Primus refuses is called gufatira.

192 431 231 INDABUKIRANO (2). 1) At the accession of the king, his abagaragu

2. From kurabukira, "to offer an accession gift to the king."

and all the provincial chiefs must each give one or two cows in homage to the king.

2) When an umutware w'intebe, an ichibiri, or an igisonga (3)

3. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Divisions, p. 85.

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231

3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
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1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage
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3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
727 by warriors.
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IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to
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4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

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234 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is
574 called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief,
431 or a patron when she has a child.
231 The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

192 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-
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1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cow-
231 herd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives
[465] milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a
431] present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a
[696] family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches
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1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

5. Small Domestic Animals

422 ●231 The Mwami has a rather theoretical right of ownership of small livestock which are considered valueless by the large stockbreeders.

Consequently, the Bahutu can sell or keep for their own consumption goats and sheep.

[235] Poultry also belongs to the Bahutu who are required to provide, without remuneration, the chicks needed for divinatory sacrifices. Hens and eggs are not eaten by natives and therefore, except in the neighborhood of European posts, have no commercial value.

Small livestock as well as poultry are the exclusive property of men.

[224] The Banyarwanda are very fond of their hunting dogs. The Batutsi will pay as much as one or two cows for a dog that is known for its hunting qualities.

6. Other Personal Property and Real Estate

423 Among the Batutsi, the husband and each of his wives live in their individual rugo, but all these dwellings belong to the husband. In the same way, among the Bahutu, the hut and its annexes belong to the husband.

422 Work tools belong to the husband. The wife and children may not lend them without his permission, except for a short time.

[60] Household utensils given the wife by her husband remain his property. But the ibirongoranywa (1), that is to say,

1. Cf. note 1, p. 44.

the objects, utensils, and clothing, given by the father to his daughter at the time of her marriage, often equal to the value of several cows, or even consisting of cows, belong to the wife. She may dispose of them as she chooses, except in the case of cows.

1:Vanhove--70C G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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Mututsi prince.

Mutwa in a pantomime scene.

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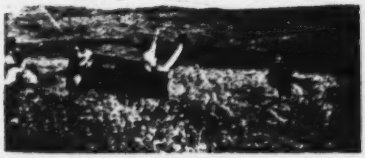

Inyambo, accompanied by their guardians, grazing in a Buganza pasture.

The parade of the Inyambo. A Muhutu praising the qualities of the sacred cattle he is guarding.

(All photos taken by Author)

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787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90] 6. The Intore

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861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

644
292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and
[535] others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

●231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

231 173 [91] Legendary tradition attributes to Nyiraruchyaba, daughter of Gihanga, the introduction of cattle into Ruanda. One day when she went to cut wood, she noticed whitish patches on the ground. Being very thirsty and not finding any water nearby, she took her drinking-straw and drank the white liquid. Finding this drink delicious, she wished to know whence it came. She went into the forest and came upon a horned animal that was losing through its udder a liquid identical to that she had just drunk. In the meantime as Gihanga had fallen seriously ill, she brought him some of the white liquid. The patient drank it and recovered quickly. He asked his daughter where the medicine had come from and she brought him the animal. The cow was called ingizi (from kugira neza, to heal well). Since that time the Banyarwanda have had a great veneration for horned cattle.

232 Along with ordinary cattle (inkuku) the Mwami owns herds of scrupulously selected cows which, without being precisely the object of a cult as in ancient Egypt, are treated with particular care and are in the foreground at all festivals. These are the Inyambo (1).

1. The word Inyambo designates an animal, a herd, or all the herds together.

The origin of the Inyambo goes back to the Mwami Yuhi Mazimpaka. This king chose fine long-legged cows with long horns and a shiny dark brown coat (ibihogo) and mated them with a young and vigorous bull. The selected herd was kept apart in the province of Rukoma near the Nyabarongo River. These cows multiplied and from them the best ones continually selected. Under the preceding Mwami, Yuhi Musinga, the Inyambo were divided into two herds, one called agakanda and the other indoha. Musinga [92] added a third and called them respectively Inyuba hilo (the ones to be respected) or herd of Gihanga; Inshya (the new ones) or herd of Kigeri Ndabarasa which contained a remarkable bull called Rushya; and finally Ingabe (the dominating ones) or herd of Kigeri Rwabugiri.

The three herds combined were called Insanga. At the full moon in June they were led in procession to the Mwami amidst dancing and joyful cries (gukura gichurasi, lit., to carry off the month of May) (1).

821 1. The month of May, during which according to tradition Mwami Gihanga died.

232 the best are kept for reproduction, but the others are sold, killed, or placed in ordinary herds. The meat of slaughtered bulls and that of dead cows is eaten or sold by the guardians.

Castration does not exist; it is even forbidden by customary law.

527 231 The Inyambo are led to the Mwami at festival time and at public rejoicings. They are escorted by the Mututsi, with whom they are boarded, and by [94] their guardians. For the occasion, the finest animal (inyamibwa) wears on its forehead an ornament of beads (amaraba), at the base of each of its horns three strings of beads (amashyongoshyo), and on the tips, tufts of banana fiber (amakamba); a strap covered with black and red beads goes round its neck; finally tufts of palm fiber called ubuhivu are fastened to the end of its tail. Six cows wear an ornament of white beads (inigi) between their horns and necks. Two others have two inigi and a bead collar longer than the inigi called imiheja. Finally the rest of the Inyambo simply have a tuft of fibers on their tails.

When they arrive at Nyanza, the Inyambo file before the Mwami while their escorts utter joyful cries (urwamu), wave sticks (guchyar'inka, lit., to make the cattle go in), and praise the good qualities of the Inyambo. Then they line the Inyambo up (kumulika Inyambo, lit., to show off the Inyambo) and renew their praises.

The intore pages then group themselves and dance in front of the herd (kwinikiza). The festival ends with libations of banana beer offered by the Mwami to all who have participated in the presentation of the Inyambo. If the Mwami is satisfied with the treatment of the Inyambo, he gives some ingororano to the chief of the province in which the herd is living and also to the chief's people.

8. Death of the King

643 763 When the Mwami feels his end is approaching, he calls to his side his stewards (abanyagikari), notables (abatoni) of whom he is particularly fond, and some guardians of the customs (abiru). He tells them his last wishes and reminds them of the name of the successor he has chosen. [95]

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

224 mountains, and in the Ruzizi lowlands. The hippopotamus, however, is still rather frequent; it finds food and shelter in all the sizable rivers and swamps. There are leopards everywhere but most of all in northeast Urundi.

It is seldom that the Murundi hunts (kuhiga) alone with his weapon. At times chiefs arrange hunting drives with from 10 to 20 persons; these, however, are more a sport than hunting and have only the single practical purpose of obtaining antelope hides for the war dress mentioned above and horns for trumpets and amulets. The Batussi and Bahutu do not eat the [224] meat of the hunted animals since they consider it impure; they give it to the Batwa or to the dogs who play an essential part in each drive. The dogs can hardly be called hunting dogs as we [231] understand the term (see p. 48), for they do nothing but rouse and pursue the game. They are the common Murundi dogs with pointed ears. Old King Kisabo had a real pack of hounds for hunting. The dogs wear a leather collar with an iron bell or rattle whose clanging and rattling scares the game, and they are kept on the leash until the hunters have taken their stand in a wide semicircle around the area where the game is suspected to be. The dogs are then released into the thicket. They soon scare the game with the rattling of their bells and finally hold it at bay by concerted attack so the hunters may approach and kill the animal with arrows or spears (No. 19, p. 100).

That the Forest Batwa, who earn their livelihood mainly by hunting, are much better hunters hardly requires explanation; in most cases they hunt in pairs. Above all elephant hunting in the forests of the northwestern peripheral mountains is their exclusive specialty. For this purpose and also for killing other big game, such as the hippopotamus, they use deep pits (itschjobo) which are dug on the paths where game usually pass. Sharp-pointed poles are placed in an upright position [37] at the bottom of the pits whose steep walls are up to eight meters high; these poles are supposed to injure or kill the animal falling into the pit. The hole is carefully covered with branches and leaves. An animal which has fallen into the pit and is still alive is killed with spears. The natives build very solid traps to catch

222 252 [262] In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment, we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa. Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

222 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the 231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi [263] honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey [273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes.

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

231 flies out with its queen, it is sprinkled with dust and water so it will not fly afield or will drop to the ground. The swarm of bees with its queen is then carefully swept into the tubes which are brought to it, the opening is closed, and the hive is suspended from a tree or a pole. The small entrance hole to the hive is then opened. All hives are suspended in a horizontal position. Of course, the whole procedure is usually not over before a few bee stings have been received, but the "bee-keepers" know quite well how to protect themselves by covering the whole body with barkcloth.

Gathering honey from the beehives later is a much simpler procedure. At night, when the bees are not flying, the back of the hive is opened, and a glowing wisp of straw which is smoking strongly is introduced, causing the bees to crowd together in the opposite corner. The honeycombs are cut out and then preserved in a pot (No. 19, p. 3). There are many different uses for the wax in the Barundi household. Since a demand for it has 439 developed in the markets, bee keeping has noticeably increased in the border regions accessible to trade. Undoubtedly it can and will find an even greater expansion once the country has been opened up to trade and there are more possibilities for marketing it. Even today wax and cattle hides are the most important trade products of Urundi.

2. Stock Farming

We often read that the economic life of the Barundi centers 231 around stock farming. This is not correct. The Barundi are, 563 first of all, agriculturists, like all Bantu Negroes, but stock farming is the chief occupation of the Hamitic ruling class, the Batussi, and it is only through their influence and in their service that many Bahutu are occupied in keeping and caring for livestock. By "livestock" we mean large domesticated animals, cattle (inka), for the Batussi hardly occupy themselves with smaller animals, goats and sheep. These latter animals had long been an element in the economy of the Bantu Negroes, that is, the Bahutu in this case, before the Batussi entered the country, and even today they are kept mainly by the Bahutu for their own consumption.

231 consumption. Their number, however, is relatively small.

In Ruanda the cattle all belong to the breed of the long-horned Bahima cattle which the Batussi brought with them on their treks southwest from their original homes in the northeast. The geographical distribution of these cattle is exactly identical with that of the Bahima (see p. 158 [not translated]). These are cattle of medium size with straight backs and with only a small hump of fat or none at all. To the thick-set head are attached two huge horns, up to more than one and a half meters long and extending in the form of a lyre in most cases. Their base is often enormously thick [41] (Plate 23). The largest horns may be found among sterile cows. Prof. Joh. Neumann-Hamburg has described those which I brought with me: "Der Schädel des Batussirindes" [The Head of the Batussi Cattle] in the Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1913 [Reports from the German Protectorates, 1913], Supplementary Volume 6, p. 113 ff. Apart from this, a characteristic trait of Bahima cattle is a large dewlap.

Bahima cattle most resemble the so-called Sanga cattle of Abyssinia, particularly that strain found in the area from southern Abyssinia to the lands of the Galla. The long-horned cattle of the old Egyptians belong to the same type, so do those of the Fulbe [Fulani] in the Sudan, in Bornu, in the Cameroons etc., among the tribes of the middle Zambesi to the Cape Colony, among the Hottentots in Damara and Ovamboland, in southern Angola, in other words, as far as the Hamites have traveled on their migrations (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 620 ff.; Nachtigal, Sahara, and the Sudan, Vol. I, p. 682; Thorbecke, Im Hochland von Mittel-Kamerun [In the Mountains of the Central Cameroon], Part 1, 1914, p. 70, showing a good photograph of a long-horned bull). As to the question whether the Batussi brought these cattle with them or whether they found them in the area they now inhabit, Stuhlmann also chooses the first alternative (No. 28a, p. 695). Long-horned cattle are found over the entire area of Ruanda and Urundi. Toward the west the limit is the big Central African trench, toward the south and southeast the scarp of the interlacustrine plateau toward Ujiji and Uha. Here in the southeast I found

231 the last herds of the long-horned cattle in the Urundi border villages west of the Kisuma River; east of this, in lower northern Uha, the bush forest and tsetse fly begin.

In Urundi and Ruanda there are none of the smaller, short-horned zebu or humped cattle that are found in the rest of East Africa. Bahima cattle are so well adjusted to the climate and the mode of life of the highlands of the interlacustrine region that they thrive only in this region. As soon as the animals are taken to the lower areas, that is, to Unjamwesi, Lake Victoria, or to the coastal regions, they languish and soon die, even if they are not stung by the tsetse fly. In this respect they are quite like the Batussi themselves with whom they live in a kind of symbiosis.

As a former nation of shepherds, the Batussi place a high value on their cattle which is quite foreign to the Bantu. It far exceeds the estimate of their capital value. Cattle are not regarded as producers of meat, as an "article of consumption," but as original capital from which only the dividends (milk, [237] butter, blood tapped from the living animal, hair) may be used, while the capital itself (individual heads of cattle) may only be exchanged for other valuable capital assets, for example, women. More than that, cattle have a high sentimental value for the [182] Mutussi. His entire thoughts and aspirations revolve around the cattle; they are for him the mainstay of his social order, yes, even the object of his devotion which in many cases even transcends into the religious sphere. Accordingly, they are objects of a cult which is full of symbols and mystical relationships. [776] The highest deity, Imana, is first of all protector of the cattle. In East Africa we find a similar attitude among the Hamito-Nilotic nation of herdsmen, the Massai. In whatever concerns cattle, a woman has no say at all. The entire breeding and [462] care of the cattle, even milking, is the job of the man. It is true that in this sphere too the Bahutu have to do all the heavy work, cleaning the animals, tending the cattle in the pasture, milking the cows, etc., but the Mutussi does the more delicate work: he chooses the animals for breeding; he is the veterinarian; he decides what animals are to be killed or sacrificed; and he does this job with all the affection of the sportsman for his animal.

231 422 The cattle of the entire country belong de jure to the king (or to the highest chief), as in Ruanda. He leaves a large part of the cattle with the Batussi sub chiefs, who enjoy the usufruct, and [42] the latter, in turn, leave small herds and single animals with lower Batussi and individual Bahutu for care, further breeding, and use. A set small number of the young becomes the property of the caretaker which he holds as an irrevocable fee.

231 554 To a certain degree the almost mystical esteem in which cattle are held is transferred to the temporary owners, caretakers, and breeders of the cattle. A person who is vested with cattle is thus raised to a higher status. A Muhutu who is vested with cattle for the usufruct and for breeding is ennobled, so to speak, by this act; he is no longer subject to compulsory labor, nor does he have to work the fields for his master. Thus, the possession of cattle has a social significance which is no less important than the economic one. Not only for religious reasons but also for social and political ones, old and sick cattle are allowed to live as long as they possibly can, both in Urundi and Ruanda, for they can still be used to vest someone with them who through this rise in status is more closely tied to the Batussi rulers and the king. It is also for this reason that the immense number of cattle owned by the king are a strong support of Batussi rule.

233 All cattle are fed in pasture (Plate 23); only older calves and sick animals are fed in the stable. During the night the cattle are kept within the inner fence of the homestead. As soon as they have been cleaned after sunrise in the morning and the cows have been milked, the herd is driven to pasture (kwahura inka). The location of grazing land is determined by the season and the growth of fodder. The herd remains there until evening. Every sixth or eighth head of cattle carries a bell (insogera) made from a bent piece of sheet iron (Plate 45) or from wood; in many areas, however, there are no cattle bells at all. Twice daily the herd is driven to the water-
233 312 ing place in the nearest river valley. If the valley has no flowing water but only underground water to be obtained by digging holes, as is often the case during the dry months, long

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

231 It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
776 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

576 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is
231 possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting" [171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

Second only to cattle, sheep (intama; Plate 24a) are con-
231 sidered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised [281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi [262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (impene) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have [262] to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but [231] goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade. [439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the [262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior [782] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453). [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by 262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 753 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom: when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

235 from doing this again. Barundi passing this way take pains not
753 to crush the shells since the improvident person doing so would get sick (No. 19, p. 453).

231 Finally, among the domesticated animals we shall mention the dog (imbwa). His only purpose in life is to eat all the refuse. Adults and children play with him and also maltreat him. It has already been mentioned above (p.36) that on rare occasions he is also used for hunting drives. Both mentally and physically they are most miserable curs and it is difficult to understand why, after being domesticated for so long, they have not made better progress. Perhaps their domestication does not date back as far as is generally assumed, but in that case what might be their indigenous wild ancestor? Van der Burgt says that they "tiennent du loup" (resemble the wolf) (No. 19, p. 104). This can only be an error of observation for these dogs have much more in common with a jackal than with a wolf. Perhaps the jackal is the ancestor. Yet the original stock has separated into two different breeds, unless we assume that one breed was indigenous while the other was introduced later, probably by the Bahima. One breed is yellow-brown, and its ears are pointed upright. The other one is black, white, or spotted and has drooping ears. Mixed types, however, are quite frequent. Both types have only a little hair on their tails. When they run, the stiff, jolting motions of their legs are conspicuous. I have found the same two types or varieties distributed also in Kisiba and Ruanda. In Ruanda dogs are bred in greater numbers than in Urundi, probably because they are used for hunting more than here. Since dogs are not fed, they have to take care of themselves, and of necessity they have become omnivorous. They are always hungry and very skinny. Whenever they find something to eat, they fill themselves until they are ready to burst. What Europeans find most revolting about them and the
364 Barundi consider a useful trait is that they eat human excrement. In a country where there are no pigs and only a few scavenger birds, which take care of the sanitation problem in the rest of East Africa, the dogs are of hygienic importance. Apart from this they have absolutely no social virtues. They are snappish, cowardly, thievish, very poor watchdogs, and miserable

231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

241 In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and [462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

4/2 241 The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka, igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine [438] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and [439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is [252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are [262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to [273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used [231] as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work, and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for wrapping various objects, etc.

244 Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all. Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and 2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping, and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a, p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans. They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

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Plate 23

Cattle Near Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Cattle with Bitterns in the Ruzizi Valley, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 25

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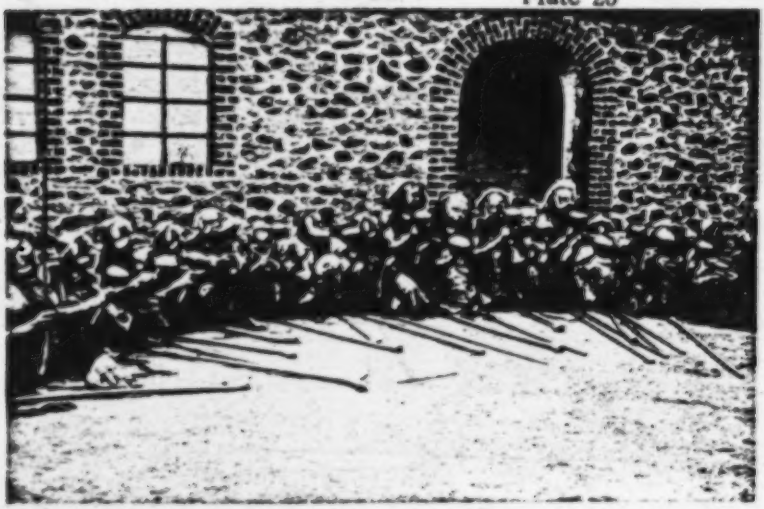

"Cattle Doctors" of King Mutaga During the Exorcizing Ceremony.
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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Murundi Woman with Woven Beehives
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other populations; [534] as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

● 231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

[p. 13 (B)]

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[462] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[778] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

[p.14 (A)]

423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 We have said that the *mwami* did not possess the
661 land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *mwami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds
431 a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them are naturally attracted towards those who own them.
357 The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* who watch over the cattle), *bakevvi* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here
675 are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner
425 gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later return a calf after the cow has calved two or three
554 times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 *The relations between agriculturists*

425 Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

423 are least fortunate or most enterprising get together to sell or exchange
[311] their plots and go to the edge of the forest to buy a piece of land or to develop the one they owned there.

From then on, the clan to which they belong includes an additional village.

As in Europe the sale and lease of fields and banana groves is made in the presence of witnesses. Land boundaries are marked with stones and other conventional signs.

A felled tree, a displaced stone, some ground which has been broken in a neighbor's field over the dividing line, such things cause frequent litigations that give rise to disunity within families and among tribes over long periods of time.

The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ remains attached
361 to his native village, to his plot of land. He does not feel the need to move elsewhere, to change his domicile, as do the Blacks settled east and west of Tanganyika.

Ruanda soil is richer by far and sustains numerous and varied
[134] crops.

In addition to the banana grove, which is the most important
245 part of his property, the Munyarwanda has begun to plant trees and to cultivate coffee, which brings in large profits to which he was not
[231] accustomed. Ownership of a small herd of cattle or sheep makes his home even dearer to him.

It may be said that his home life is more stable than in neigh-
593 boring areas, and that he leaves it only rarely (1).

[166]

1. The Blacks, too, are familiar with nostalgia and home sickness. The fear of a vendetta or the attraction of large salaries may temporarily induce the natives to expatriate themselves. Sooner or later, however, they return to the cradle of their ancestors. The Banyarwanda cite characteristic instances of this.

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse marsh grass called urukangaga.

[556] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

352 513 The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and interconnected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

● 231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 [415] The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

352 415 In addition, against the partition delimiting the space reserved for strangers, there are jars and jugs of varying size, a half-gourd to scoop water, whole gourds of varying shape and size to hold banana juice or drinking water.

If the Munyarwanda is fortunate enough to own a cow, which is a gift from the gods, he will also have milk containers and churns.

351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and

[343] protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

128 common to the three ethnic groups which make up the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ nation, or peculiar to one group or another.

Chapter 1

644 I. Posts and Offices of a Historical and Superstitious Nature.
The Keepers of the Customs and Traditions.
231 The "King" of the First Fruits and the "King" of the Imandwa.
773

1. Maintenance at court of a dog-faced baboon and a sacred bull.

It will be recalled that according to legend, when the enemies of Ruganzu II the Victorious attempted to smoke him out of a cave, /356/ he was saved by dog-faced baboons (inguge), who led him through subterranean tunnels to another exit. One of those animals is kept at the capital in order to commemorate this fantastic legend.

The clan in charge of caring for the animal is known under the name of Abanyamuheno, that is to say, "Men of the Cave," in memory of the event.

The monkey, tied with a chain, is fed by his keepers with sweet potatoes, beans, grains, sorghum stalks, etc.

When he gets old he is released in the forest where he was captured when young, and another monkey is sought out to replace him.

Is not this custom reminiscent of honored practices at the court of the Pharaohs, where dog-faced baboons were also raised?

[233] Ruanda is a land of pastures. The Batutsi possess numerous herds of cattle which are, rightly enough, the pride and joy of their owners.

It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that aside from the sacred herds that will be mentioned in the last chapter but one of this book there is a bull at court that is the object of special care and attentions.

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).
778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here, " he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is
[773] connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and
[262] even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

644
231 inyambo. The individual who is placed in charge of Rusanga is called
778 /358/ Nkwaya and belongs to the Banyiginya clan. This is a position of trust.

The insanga are well known by the inhabitants of the capital.

2. The chief of protocol and the "king" of the first fruits.

644 There exists a complicated ceremonial and a series of rites whose teaching would soon be lost if their preservation were not entrusted to a group of personages who supervise their observance scrupulously at the monarch's side. They do not fail to call him to order occasionally on this score.

The most important of those directors of protocol, or masters of ceremony, is unquestionably the chief of the Batsobe clan. His is a select position by the side of the sovereign, whom he counsels and directs in those matters which are within his competence. His name will come up again in the pages that follow (1).

1. The Batsobe played an exalted role in the Ruchunchu coup d'état. As a reward, the spoils of the vanquished were distributed among them. Their major fees are the Bumbogo, Luhanga, Bussigi, etc.

Under the ultimate supervision of this high dignitary, one family is in charge of cultivating in the sacred land of Bumbogo the sorghum and eleusine which are later brought to court for the yearly "first-fruits festival." We shall speak of this later when we discuss festivals.

The head of this family is sometimes called "king of the first fruits" (umwami w'umuganura). The father and founder of the Batsobe clan, as we have already mentioned, was raised to noble rank and brought into Ruanda by the Hamitic king, Ruganzu II, as a result of the latter's expedition into Bugara lands, north of the Mulera, against the petty king Nzira, son of Mulamira. In connivance with his mother, the ancestor of the Batsobe had sheltered the disguised

794 His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba. . . , " pronounced in a virile tone,
776 recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a
[30] necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung
854] around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye. . . . "

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

[224 His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around
[237] the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i. . . " to recall
534] that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence
[287] the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with
a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a
[415] hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using
[272] a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
766 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
821 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824 umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783] avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

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Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose [422] property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of [539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning, and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning [833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered [302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

796
231 The purifier-sorcerer need not be present at this last ceremony.
821 Their role and presence were essential only on the day of purification. They always come away with handsome rewards, leaving on the spot protective herbs or lucky amulets (impigi za Biheko).

753 3. In some localities individuals also resort to these doctors
783 in mystical sciences upon the death of a leper or the burning of a hut.

a. The natives have an acute aversion to contagious diseases and especially to leprosy. Once the unfortunate victim of one of those terrible diseases is dead, the purifier-sorcerer is called in to carry out various ceremonies. He tosses lustral water upon the hut of the deceased, and finally sets fire to it. The onlookers run far away in order to avoid the smoke, as though it could transmit the disease of the deceased owner.

In the central province of Nduga, the sorcerer has a small hut built in which he places the son of the deceased. With one hand he sets fire to the hut, while with the other he rapidly snatches the child out of it.

The leprosy is supposed to have vanished forever, and henceforth no other member of the family will become its victim. The sorcerer vouches for this. /440/

b. In order to avoid the evils which might befall the owner of a hut that has burned or even his neighbors, the same sorcerer is resorted to. He makes his clients drink the liquid mentioned previously.

The site of the hut is sprinkled with lustral water, and the bystanders are also sprinkled with it.

Three reeds stuck into the ground and covered with banana leaves make an improvised hut in which the owner and his wife must stay for an instant (baryamana). The evil spell has been lifted. Henceforth, nothing is to be feared (bamaz' umuriro or bamaze ishyano, that is to say, "they have warded off all misfortune"). The diseases which might have afflicted those present at the accident and their unborn children have been averted forever.

791 In the Bugoyi, to the northeast of Lake Kivu, the role of protector against fire and its deadly consequences is the prerogative of a special category of sorcerers known by the title of Abahozi or

173 643 766 778 The best known of the royal cemeteries is that of Rutare in the mountainous Buyaga area, not far from Lake Mohazi near the frontier of Ruanda.

The existence of this resting place is traced back, rightly or wrongly, to Ruganzu II, who is said to have been the first one to be buried there.

According to one tradition, he had himself chosen the site of his tomb on this high spot, so as to be an insuperable obstacle to the enemies of Ruanda even after his death. This tradition is seriously challenged by the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga (1).

1. Cf. Book III, The Reign of Ruganzu II.

The last two kings who were buried there and who are recalled most readily were Lwogera and Lwabugiri, the immediate predecessors of the present reigning monarch.

It is rather difficult to say for how many monarchs the sepulchral grove of Rutare has served as last resting place. /528/ The trees in the thickets, some of which are quite old, were formerly separate but eventually merged. Here and there, old trunks which marked the site of the courtyards in which the huts were built have disappeared, so that one cannot count the funerery enclosures with any exactitude. There do not seem to be more than eight or ten.

Three other royal cemeteries are found at Musenyi in the Nduga to the south of the Kabgayi mission, about two hours away. The first one stands on the slope of a hill called by the name of Mayebe. It is made up of a small wood of thorny acacia trees which have reached their maximum height and whose long intertwined branches lend a mysterious atmosphere to the grove, where a half light barely penetrates. Some other trees with thicker foliage dominate the grove. Those are the inganzamarombo (1).

[231]

1. They are called thus from kuganza, "to overtop," and marombo, "swarms of bees," because the natives like to set their hives there.

Buffalo.

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[231]

Horned chameleons. They are found in the region of the Bugoyi.

5: Pagès--280 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

On the plain of the Mulèra in the middle of a field of sorghum. After an elephant hunt.

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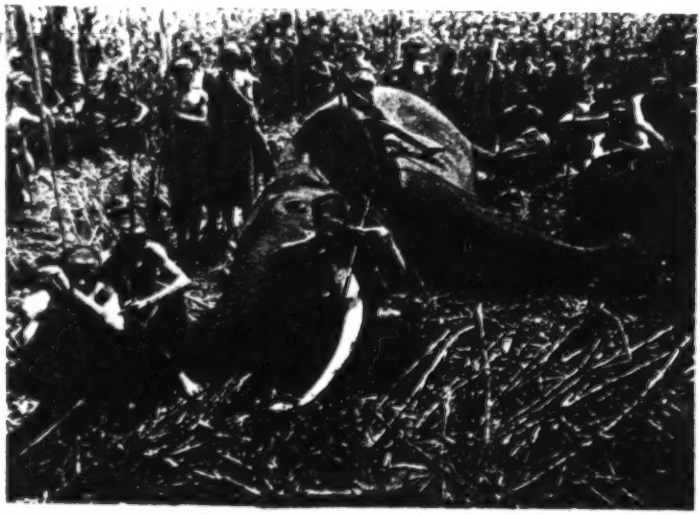

Longhorn cows.

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241 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribes-
558 men, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She domi-
576 nates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title, "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576 Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior
554 first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

516 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is cus-
554 tomary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

231 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the
805 words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

231 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their
192 herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[556] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruanda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[534] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inká (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber shortage is a very important economic problem. In some places wood 372 must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

2445 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have 197 begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

● 231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation 554 a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C.T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

231 In the herdsman aristocracy of Ruanda the Muhutu must always yield to the cow. Cows have crowded out the Bahutu in certain parts of Ufumbiro, and they definitely eliminated the farmers from Mulera's lava plain. They depopulated the region around Nyanza. We can say, therefore, that cows are a powerful factor in shaping the landscape of Ruanda..

231 Transactions involving the cow play a very important part
43] in economic life and judicial practices in Ruanda. These transactions take many forms.

[144] There is the simple sale where the price is paid at once or in installments (in goats). I also learned of another type of sale. The owner of two young bulls exchanges them for the unborn calf of a certain cow. If the calf is born a male, they wait for the next one. This transaction is known as kwatiriza. In kwatiriza, the milk, after the first two months during which the herdsman gets it, is divided between the buyer of the calf and the owner of the cow. However, there are often arrangements whereby half or even all the milk is simply bought up by someone.

Cows are for sale only in Mulera where they belong to Bahutu. Batutsi sell only young bulls. Calving cows are under no circumstances disposed of; they are only granted in feudal tenure. Even large bulls (mfizi) are not sold. I was repeatedly told that they cannot even be granted.

231 Goats are raised everywhere by the Bahutu. In the northwest sheep are raised in large numbers. I was presented with my first sheep on the route between Nyanza and Mulera, at the Nyawarongo ferry. One sees individual sheep everywhere. They are used for sacrificial purposes.

232 In this discussion of animal husbandry we must say a word about castration. This operation is familiar to the people of Ruanda and is performed chiefly on goats. It is said that the castration of cattle is forbidden by the king, but it is rumored that the cows one is forced to return are secretly cauterized in revenge. Hunting dogs are also castrated. It is said, too, that enemies of
[304] the king are castrated.

224 Hunting. Hunting as the chief means of obtaining food is practiced only by the Batwa. They live on the yield of the hunt,

224 are organized at the beginning of the rainy season.

Elephant hunters work in small groups and use a spear. The following is the procedure when an elephant herd or a single old bull is sighted. At a carefully chosen place the spears are planted obliquely into the ground, their points directed toward the elephants. The hunters conceal themselves, with the exception of one who must go after a certain elephant. If the irritated animal attacks the hunter, the latter flees in the direction of the spears, so that the charging elephant will ram into one of them. The wounded animal is then attacked from the rear by the hunters in ambush. Elephant meat is said to be eaten in Kissaka. The mutware gets a tusk. Elephants are found chiefly in Bugansa, north of Kissaka.

Aside from drives and the use of decoys, wild game is also hunted with traps and trap pits. The traps consist of a snare lying on the ground and fastened at one end to a young tree bent to the ground. When the animal runs against the snare, the tree straightens out, draws the snare taut, and lifts the animal by its neck or a leg. The pits are carefully covered with foliage, and the captured animals are killed with spears and then divided up.

223 Birds are caught with slings, but they are also shot with bird arrows which are dull or have four points. Partridges are said to be pursued on foot and killed with a stick after the birds are exhausted.

In Mulera where hunters are very skillful, probably due to
224 Batwa influence, [146] a great many otters are speared. They use a spear with a barbed head and a broadened end, which is said to be used also in hunting hippopotamuses. The hippopotamus hunters try to creep up on their prey in small boats, a very dangerous but also very much admired sport.

231 Hunting dogs are greatly loved in Ruanda and kept in great numbers. Every chief has a rather large number of them. The
[552] dogs are called by special names. I realized how fond they were of their dogs once when the porters of our returning supply caravan stole a small dog. Its owner did not hesitate to follow my column on its westerly march for three or four hours and across two lakes, hoping that the porters would run into my column and that, with the help of a European, he would get back his property. This

231 proved to be the case. I was told that work ceases for a day after a
[528] dog's death, and that on occasion blood revenge is exacted for the killing of a dog. The Banyaruanda maintain that a person kills a dog because he would really like to kill its master but does not dare.

The number of dogs kept in Ruanda is very large, and for this reason the porters returning to Lake Victoria took a number of dogs with them. A returning caravan of 200 porters which I met in Kissaka had at least 60 dogs. Several of them were quite young and had to be carried on the porters' backs for the two to three weeks' trip. One can scarcely show greater proof of affection.

231 Since the dogs generally do not bark, they are not often used as
534 watch dogs. They usually wear small wooden or iron bells around their necks, dedicated to Ryangombe [a supernatural being] (insogera ya Ryangombe). Similar bells are tied around the necks of sheep and goats.

The iron bells commonly consist of two small, thin sheets of metal bent together, with a narrow, rounded slit at each end. Between the two sheets is a hollow space containing a small pellet large enough so that it cannot fall out through the slit. A string [147] is threaded

Fig. 35. Dog Bell from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13704. 6 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 36. Dog Bell from Ufumbiro, Batwa. 1/4 actual size. III E 6897. 10 1/2 centimeters long.)

through two small holes in the bell and tied to the collar. Captain W. Von Grawert found an entirely different bell among the Batwa of Ufumbiro. It consists of a narrow, triangular piece of sheet iron, the two lower ends of which are bent to form a cylinder. The tip is hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

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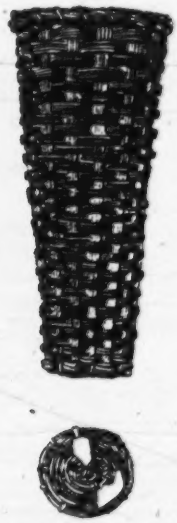

[413]

Fig. 37. Beehive from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13680. 80 centimeters long.)

Fig. 38. Honey Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13738. 28 centimeters long.)

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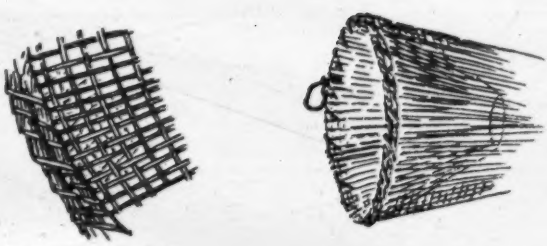

Fig. 39. Fish Traps from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13743. 65 centimeters long.)

000 hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

231 [273] Beekeeping. Bee culture plays a considerable role in Ruanda life. A great deal of honey is drunk; it is used as an additive to beer and is also mixed with water.

Bees are kept in baskets that are nearly cylindrical (imbutiba) and daubed with clay. At the bottom there are two small exits for the bees. The wider end provides an entrance for lifting out the honey, but otherwise it is closed off. Special long-handled [143] knives (ulukezo) with short, wide blades are used to cut out the combs. The baskets are generally set up in large numbers on tall trees where they will be dry, but they are also set horizontally on special frames that have crossed legs. These frames are placed on the ground near the huts. There are also many wild bees in the country.

The province of Mulera has the greatest number of bees. In [1435] Bgisha a great deal of honey is sold. The price was two yards of material for two pots of about three liters each.

226 Fishing. The population near the lakes of Ruanda are fisherfolk. Net fishing is called kuteguza ifi. The various nets are called ujegwi, chera, and amahinda. The fish traps are called birumbi. They consist of a long cone into which is placed a second shorter one with its point cut off. The two are fastened together at their thicker basal ends. [148] There is little line fishing, but the fishhook is not unknown, although one does not see it very often.

501 The boats are simple dugouts about five meters long and 50 centimeters wide. They are very irregularly shaped, since the natural curve of the tree trunk is retained. The dugouts used on Lake Kivu are considerably larger. In Ruanda the sides of the boat are not built up by the addition of planks as is the case, for example, in Kiziba and Buganda. The boat's board formed by the edges of the hollowed-out trunk is higher or lower depending on the width or narrowness of the slit.

The oars (ngashi) are often carefully carved, and the blade (ulubega) is reinforced with a center rib (mugongo). The oars are free and held in the hand by the shaft (ulati).

614 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest
623 has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession
[643] of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of
556 the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle
231 he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and
621 the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma,
592 and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.

423 [251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the
231 clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

6:Czekanowski--170 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
			Baishaza of Katebe											
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	—	2	—	1	—	1/2	—	—	2	—	„mugabo"
	Nikora	,,	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	—	1	2	—	3 4/5	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	,,	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semivombi	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
3.	Ndereye	,,	1	2	2	—	1	—	1/10	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semilyangu	Muvuna	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ndegeya	Mwichozi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Banitogega	Mukora	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Mukuri	Mwishaza	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	
	Kolombani	,,	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Otto	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	1/10	2	—	2	—	
5.	Mpabuka	,,	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	3	2	outside		
	Sebichikira	,,	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Matayo	Muhuma	1	—	—	—	2	—	1 1/12	7	12	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 9.
	Bisaga	Mushobio	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhuma	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Kimonjo	Mukara	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8.	Marobi	,,	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	4	4	1	—	Day laborer for board
	Ndamwete	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9.	Sebutama	,,	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	2	2	4	1	
10.	Gafene	,,	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11.	Senguri	,,	1	1	—	1	1	—	9/12	1	—	4	2	Field of No.1
12.	Mafara	Munyabgisha	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	2	2	—	Son-in-law
	Birere	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	Brother of No.12
13.	Ndungutsi	Mwishaza	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	Field of No.1
14.	Bukara	,,	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Antigoni	,,	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	
	Filipo	,,	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	
15.	Segihobi	,,	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	3	—	2	—	Children of vagrant wife
	— · —		—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
16.	Nderiwamunda	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	
17.	Bihwehwe	,,	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	3	—	2	1	
18.	Gihigwa	,,	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	9 3/10	41	28	45	12	104 persons 1)

midwives

1) Among them 47 male clan members and two sons-in-law.

6: Czekanowski --171 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows plus	Bulls	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
		Bahoma of Kitebe (Balyolyo Branch)													
1.	Rugira	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	$2\frac{1}{4}+1$	3	4	3	1		„mugabo"
	Sebishimbo	Mudahe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
2.	Dominiko	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	1	—	$\frac{1}{8}$	2	2	2	—		
	Budjodjwe	Mugai	—	—	—	—	—	1	$3\frac{1}{10}+1$	—	—	—	—		
3.	Rukara	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1		
	Muchuchu	Murashi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Birikunzira	Munyakaru	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Rusigari	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
4.	Faro	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—		
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Rudjanju	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	$2\frac{3}{4}+1$	4	4	4	1		
	Mabgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Karbagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
6.	Sedigi	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	$2+\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	4	1		
7.	Bihire	,,	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1		
8.	Bashaki	,,	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	—		
9.	Ishaho	,,	1	1	—	1	2	—	$2+\frac{1}{2}$	3	—	3	1		
	Mwiza	,,	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
10.	Patris	,,	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1		
			10	11	6	14	17	9	$12\frac{3}{4}+4$	22	12	30	7	61	persons 1)
		Bagwabiro of Kitebe													
1.	Mwuyekure	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	5	2	4	1		„mugabo"
2.	Maliro	,,	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1		
3.	Semiteza	,,	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1		
4.	Mabembe	,,	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1		
	Karisti	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Kichondo	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Bidjari	,,	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1		
6.	Sekini	,,	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1		
7.	Sebihumira	,,	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	—	4	1		
			7	14	3	4	14	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$25\frac{1}{2}$	7	36	7	41	persons 2)

1) Among them 21 male clan members.

2) Among them 21 male clan members.

614 grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average
621 size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four
592 of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical
423 with the number of women. It is very important to note that the
231 head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is
one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

643 The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the
614 formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive
178 factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than
642 the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

644 In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in
642 turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

643 Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most
648 powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

634 the district chiefs formed the council of the king. The court
[693] was under the direction of a special man, a kind of steward or *inhebe*.

The district chiefs were also responsible for building and other work for the king and the state; they had to find the necessary workmen and appoint overseers to direct them. Another man of the king acted as a kind of household steward to see that the buildings were kept in repair and properly attended to.

Each district chief appointed chiefs of the second rank or *Ibisonga* in his own district, and they in their turn appointed the chiefs of the third grade or *Abafragizu*. Each district chief also appointed a steward or *inhebe* who acted in his place when he had to be absent from his district. This man always possessed land near his chief so that he might be at hand when he was wanted. His special duty was to take charge of any building for the chief.

Taxation

634 Every year a district chief had to bring two or three
651 hundred large pots of honey, each holding some two gallons, and a supply of millet, peas, and beans to the king. This was brought to the district chief by the people on his estate, and he took a portion for himself before passing the required amount on to the king.

[231] Twice in the year each person with cattle gave to the king a cow and a calf to supply him with milk and a fat animal to be killed for his meat. Milk was also sent daily to the court for the use of the king and his household.

Murder

682 It was the duty of the relatives of a murdered man to hunt
628 down and capture the murderer and put him to death; they rarely accepted any other settlement. If a murder was committed before witnesses, they would seize the murderer and hand him over to the relatives of the dead man. If, however, one man abused another before witnesses, the offended man

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed 000 taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and 651 the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state [655] work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he 643 took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he 262 generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, [273] when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people [178] were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any [644] meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls 644 being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took [787] auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when 643 he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his [762] life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated 643 over the country. There was no rule against naming the king 766 after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, [231] goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died. [782]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231 ●
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange 437 them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Agriculture

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Evereerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

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On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

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cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

231
173 [91] Legendary tradition attributes to Nyiraruchyaba, daughter of Gihanga, the introduction of cattle into Ruanda. One day when she went to cut wood, she noticed whitish patches on the ground. Being very thirsty and not finding any water nearby, she took her drinking-straw and drank the white liquid. Finding this drink delicious, she wished to know whence it came. She went into the forest and came upon a horned animal that was losing through its udder a liquid identical to that she had just drunk. In the meantime as Gihanga had fallen seriously ill, she brought him some of the white liquid. The patient drank it and recovered quickly. He asked his daughter where the medicine had come from and she brought him the animal. The cow was called ingizi (from kugira neza, to heal well). Since that time the Banyarwanda have had a great veneration for horned cattle.

● 232 Along with ordinary cattle (inkuku) the Mwami owns herds of scrupulously selected cows which, without being precisely the object of a cult as in ancient Egypt, are treated with particular care and are in the foreground at all festivals. These are the Inyambo (1).

1. The word Inyambo designates an animal, a herd, or all the herds together.

The origin of the Inyambo goes back to the Mwami Yuhi Mazimpaka. This king chose fine long-legged cows with long horns and a shiny dark brown coat (ibihogo) and mated them with a young and vigorous bull. The selected herd was kept apart in the province of Rukoma near the Nyabarongo River. These cows multiplied and from them the best ones continually selected. Under the preceding Mwami, Yuhi Musinga, the Inyambo were divided into two herds, one called agakanda and the other indoha. Musinga [92] added a third and called them respectively Inyuba hilo (the ones to be respected) or herd of Gihanga; Inshya (the new ones) or herd of Kigeri Ndabarasa which contained a remarkable bull called Rushya; and finally Ingabe (the dominating ones) or herd of Kigeri Rwabugiri.

The three herds combined were called Insanga. At the full moon in June they were led in procession to the Mwami amidst dancing and joyful cries (gukura gichurasi, lit., to carry off the month of May) (1).

821 1. The month of May, during which according to tradition Mwami Gihanga died.

821 was considered a time of mourning. It was forbidden to get married at that time.

232 At all times a bull called Rusanga and five cows of each of the three Insanga herds were kept in a special enclosure inside Musinga's boma, and the king would often come and stroke them and speak to them affectionately.

The Inyambo now live in the province of Buganza, a country of fine pastures and gently undulating hills; being delicate animals they cannot stand the high altitude climate. The Mwami hands over his herds to the umutware w'intebe who in turn entrusts them to a hill chief or to the common Batutsi, although without position of authority, they are of nobler origin than some chiefs and are therefore particularly qualified to care for this choice cattle.

The Inyambo are large, long-legged animals with a less well developed dewlap than ordinary cattle, a deeper chest, long flanks, and an angular, thin, and dry rump. The enormously long horns often attain a length of 1.75 meters. They are in the shape of a lyre or crescent; the width between the tips may be 2 or more meters. [93] The coat is bright russet (igaju) or cheese-colored (igitare), but mostly dark brown (ibihogo).

The Inyambo go back into the kraal every evening and are always bedded down, which is rarely done for ordinary cattle, even by wealthy owners.

234 They are not milked like ordinary cows. Only sufficient milk for their Bahutu guardians is taken daily. If they have a calf, their milk is reserved for the young animal. The offspring of the Inyambo is automatically an inyambo. Even the offspring of ordinary cows may become inyambo.

232 If in a herd of inkuku there is a heifer whose characteristics are similar to those of the Inyambo, the Banyarwanda mate this heifer with an inyambo bull. The calf born of this first union is called imilizo. If the breeders judge that the inyambo qualities are to be found in this animal, it is also mated with an inyambo bull, and the offspring is considered worthy to enter the Inyambo herd.

The inyambo cows are never slaughtered or sold for any reason, such as malformation or sterility; they all die of illness or old age. The males fare differently. When they are full grown

232 the best are kept for reproduction, but the others are sold, killed, or placed in ordinary herds. The meat of slaughtered bulls and that of dead cows is eaten or sold by the guardians.

Castration does not exist; it is even forbidden by customary law.

527 The Inyambo are led to the Mwami at festival time and at
231 public rejoicings. They are escorted by the Mututsi, with whom they are boarded, and by [94] their guardians. For the occasion, the finest animal (inyamibwa) wears on its forehead an ornament of beads (amaraba), at the base of each of its horns three strings of beads (amashyongoshyo), and on the tips, tufts of banana fiber (amakamba); a strap covered with black and red beads goes round its neck; finally tufts of palm fiber called ubuhivu are fastened to the end of its tail. Six cows wear an ornament of white beads (inigi) between their horns and necks. Two others have two inigi and a bead collar longer than the inigi called imiheja. Finally the rest of the Inyambo simply have a tuft of fibers on their tails.

When they arrive at Nyanza, the Inyambo file before the Mwami while their escorts utter joyful cries (urwamu), wave sticks (guchyar'inka, lit., to make the cattle go in), and praise the good qualities of the Inyambo. Then they line the Inyambo up (kumulika Inyambo, lit., to show off the Inyambo) and renew their praises.

The intore pages then group themselves and dance in front of the herd (kwinikiza). The festival ends with libations of banana beer offered by the Mwami to all who have participated in the presentation of the Inyambo. If the Mwami is satisfied with the treatment of the Inyambo, he gives some ingororano to the chief of the province in which the herd is living and also to the chief's people.

8. Death of the King

643 When the Mwami feels his end is approaching, he calls to his
763 side his stewards (abanyagikari), notables (abatoni) of whom he is particularly fond, and some guardians of the customs (abiru). He tells them his last wishes and reminds them of the name of the successor he has chosen. [95]

233 surviving animals for a long time to come, until the herds once more have become too large, the animals once more cannot find enough to eat, and natural selection by epidemics starts once again. This situation will not improve until Europeans introduce national methods of stock breeding.

The animals are conscientiously cared for every day. Every night fresh litter is provided in the pens for the herds returning from the pasture. The animals are scrubbed clean with straw whisks and searched for ticks and other parasites which may have attached themselves to the animals. The udders are washed each time after milking. While the cattle are standing in the kraals or drinking from the troughs, they are bothered by stinging flies; human beings, too, are attacked by these bloodthirsty tormentors. For this reason fires are kept burning in the kraals and near the watering places, the smoke driving away the flies. Such pillars of smoke can be seen rising from the farms everywhere in the morning and evening. From time to time the animals are given saliferous ashes to lick. Even in the pastures the herdsman is constantly occupied with his herd. He is able to give it all kinds of orders by shrill whistling. As a result of good treatment, the animals are in most cases very good-natured; they do not kick, and they keep still when something is being done to them. In the latter case one of the herdsmen usually uses his stick or reed to stroke the animal gently between the upper part of the hind legs. Despite their long horns, the animals also cause much less damage among themselves than one might expect. Even if they are crowded together when driven to or from the pasture, a constant muffled rattling and clanking of the colliding horns can be heard -- the characteristic sound of a moving Urundi herd -- but it is extremely seldom that the animals injure each
● 232 other. In case an animal is seriously injured or becomes sick and the owner himself is unable to help which, however, he is usually able to do -- a Mutussi or Muhutu who is skilled in medicine is called to act as a veterinarian. For his help he
232 is paid very well (Plate 25a). The Batussi, like all Africans,
731 are quite powerless against epidemics, especially rinderpest,

232 and as a result the devastations caused among the cattle by a
731 single epidemic are terrible. Thus, the rinderpest that ravaged the entire interlacustrine region, as well as Uganda and Unjoro, in 1888 killed two thirds of all the cattle, and since the Bahima live mainly on milk, blood, and meat, it is reported that almost two thirds of the Bahima also died of hunger (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 626).

Although the Barundi take good care of their cattle, they
232 cannot really be called good cattle breeders, as is sometimes done. The same is true for the Banjaruanda. The livestock suffers from an insufficient supply of new blood, that is, from the centuries-old inbreeding. It is true that the Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda, always select the breeding steers from a different herd in order to prevent degeneration, but there is still only variation within the same long-horned strain of cattle [44] and the blood is not freshened up by other breeds. Since also most of the bulls are not castrated, although castration is known and a special term exists for it (kuschahura), there are often weak bulls in the herds which cause the breed to deteriorate. The improvement of the breeds is not helped either by the fact that, as a result of the growing demand for cattle hides by traders, more bulls are raised which in former times used to be slaughtered or sacrificed when they were still young. Degeneration is especially apparent from the fact that there are a great number of sterile cows, both in Urundi and Ruanda. They can be immediately recognized in a herd since they have the longest horns. It almost appears as if the excess of strength which has not been spent on reproduction is channeled into making the horns grow to a gigantic size. Both in Urundi and Ruanda only the herds of the kings and of the high batwale are in really good condition as a result of constant selection and exchange. There are white, brown, and dappled herds. However, these are deluxe herds and not representative of the general run.
232 The designation, "holy cattle," which is often heard applied
778 to the king's herds, is as incorrect as it is when applied to the herds of the Musinga [king] of Ruanda. It is also erroneous in that not even the animals destined for sacrifice are taken from these herds. On the other hand there are holy cattle kept

232 especially for sacrifice and for their function at the election
778 of the king, and there are others dedicated to one of the principal gods, Imana, Riangombe, Rikiranga (see p. 68 , also p. 184 of original text [not translated]).

When a calf is born, it is rubbed with butter. As soon
233 as the horns appear, the owner tears off the covering epidermis with his teeth and rubs the little horns with butter so as to make them grow well. The calf is then given a name which is de-
[552] termined by its parentage, color, or some other characteristic, or in memory of some deceased member of the family, a chief, king, etc. The calves are put in the pen for six months before being sent to pasture, and after that the young cattle graze in a separate pasture. In the morning and in the evening, before the milking of the cows, the calves are permitted to suck. If a cow refuses to suckle her calf, both her udder and the calf are rubbed with salt water, whereupon the cow will lick the calf and will also allow it to lick and to suck her udder. In order to wean a calf, the cow's teats are smeared with cow dung (No. 19, p. 423).

234 Before a cow is milked (kukamma), the calf is permitted to suck for a few moments. Then the Murundi squats down near the udder, holding a vessel under it with his left hand and milking with his right hand. In this process a considerable amount of milk (amata) is spilled on the ground since the vessel has a narrow opening. An unruly cow or one that kicks has her legs tied together while being milked. If the calf dies or is slaughtered, the cow gives no more milk. In this case, to make her continue to produce milk, the skin of her calf stuffed with straw or simply a piece of the hide suspended on a stick is held in front of her nose (No. 22, p. 287; No. 48, p. 141; No. 27, p. 95). This is also true in Ruanda, Ankole, and the other Bahima regions. This artless yet useful deception usually tricks the cows, and they lick the hide and continue to give milk. The amount of milk produced by the long-horned cattle is quite small all over the interlacustrine region. It is seldom more than two to three liters daily, in
234 the morning and in the evening. The milk pails (itschjansi)
415 are always made of wood; in most cases they have a cylindrical shape and a rounded lid. Van der Burgt claims that [45] this

234 [142] While the cow is being milked, a fire of cow dung is kept burning beside her. The smoke keeps off the troublesome stable flies, and the animals can stand quietly.

Young calves are kept in special small huts or in closed-off portions of the entrance room of the dwellings (umuliango).

415 The milk is stored in cylindrical vessels (kianzi) crudely carved out of wood. The vessels are washed with cow urine, and from time to time they are fumigated. A cone-shaped lid is made from a bundle of straw sewed to form a spiral. The milk 272 is drunk chiefly when it is curdled (kivugutu); it is beaten with a small stick to change this consistency. Fresh milk (amata) and buttermilk (amachunde) are also drunk.

[413]

Fig. 33. Arrow for Bloodletting, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13744. 58 1/2 centimeters long.)

Besides milk, the blood of cattle is also drunk. For this purpose the bulls are bled from time to time by shooting a special arrow into the neck vein at close range. The short iron tip of the arrow is set into a wooden shaft. The upper part of the shaft is bound, to prevent the wood from splitting and also to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply into the vein. The lower end of the arrow has a notch into which the bowstring fits. When the blood is drawn off, a tourniquet of rope is tied around the neck below the wound.

The blood is drunk either fresh or cooked. It is sometimes [846] also mixed with milk, and in this form it is given to women after childbirth "to replace the lost blood."

232 Bloodletting is also practiced on sick animals by specialists. It is said that the animals are given the drawn blood as a reward.

262 Meat is eaten only on special occasions. Beef cattle have a very great value, and beef, therefore, is regarded as the greatest delicacy.

231 In the herdsman aristocracy of Ruanda the Muhutu must always yield to the cow. Cows have crowded out the Bahutu in certain parts of Ufumbiro, and they definitely eliminated the farmers from Mulera's lava plain. They depopulated the region around Nyanza. We can say, therefore, that cows are a powerful factor in shaping the landscape of Ruanda.

231 Transactions involving the cow play a very important part
43] in economic life and judicial practices in Ruanda. These transactions take many forms.

[144] There is the simple sale where the price is paid at once or in installments (in goats). I also learned of another type of sale. The owner of two young bulls exchanges them for the unborn calf of a certain cow. If the calf is born a male, they wait for the next one. This transaction is known as kwatiriza. In kwatiriza, the milk, after the first two months during which the herdsman gets it, is divided between the buyer of the calf and the owner of the cow. However, there are often arrangements whereby half or even all the milk is simply bought up by someone.

Cows are for sale only in Mulera where they belong to Bahutu. Batutsi sell only young bulls. Calving cows are under no circumstances disposed of; they are only granted in feudal tenure. Even large bulls (mfizi) are not sold. I was repeatedly told that they cannot even be granted.

231 Goats are raised everywhere by the Bahutu. In the northwest sheep are raised in large numbers. I was presented with my first sheep on the route between Nyanza and Mulera, at the Nyawarongo ferry. One sees individual sheep everywhere. They are used for sacrificial purposes.

●232 In this discussion of animal husbandry we must say a word about castration. This operation is familiar to the people of Ruanda and is performed chiefly on goats. It is said that the castration of cattle is forbidden by the king, but it is rumored that the cows one is forced to return are secretly cauterized in revenge. Hunting dogs are also castrated. It is said, too, that enemies of
[304] the king are castrated.

224 Hunting. Hunting as the chief means of obtaining food is practiced only by the Batwa. They live on the yield of the hunt,

791 Soothsayers, Sorcerers, and Medicine Men. Besides the
789 babandwa, there are several categories of people in Mulem who know how to exercise power over the living and over spirits in supernatural ways. We shall speak here of bapfumu, bahuzi, balozi, bachunyi, bahinza, and bawubyi.

[319] Bapfumu have the task of communicating with the spirits of the dead (bazimu). They are visited when a death has occurred in the family, and a present of food, sometimes even a goat, is brought to them. They then tell the family where it would be most suitable to build the spirit hut of the deceased (ndaro). Since the mupfumu remains in contact with the spirits of the dead and since these spirits cause illness, he is asked whether a sick person will recover. The mupfumu gives answers with the help of the little board oracle.

The special duty of the bahuzi is to discover poisoners who are known here as balozi and in the Runyoro territory was balogu. If many deaths occur, poisoning is immediately suspected. The muhuzi is summoned to handle this, and it is his task to determine
[682] who the poisoner is. If discovered, the criminal can be killed, and the evil can, at least for the future, be remedied. The muhuzi goes from one compound to another with his enchanted antelope horn. Everywhere he is most hospitably received by the head of the family who gives him gifts. All are afraid that if he were displeased he might point to them as poisoners, and this always means death. On his rounds the muhuzi is told by the horn where the poison is to be found and who the poisoner is.

791 Persons struck by lightning are also treated by the muhuzi.
821 If lightning strikes a herd of cattle, the owner utters a cry of joy which consists of a long drawn-out "hoo..." as he strikes his lips
● 232 with his hand. This call is supplemented by the news that the king is taking back his cattle. This is done in order to save the animals that have been stunned. The maganga huzi is then fetched and tries to heal the animals with herbs. For his efforts he is presented with the jaws of the dead animals and the meat on them. The horns of the dead animals are buried at the spot where they
[789] were stricken. Another task of the bahuzi is to prophesy to the sick the outcome of their illness.

181 Batussi masters as they formerly were to the scarcely more lenient rule of their Bantu chiefs. When one comes from Ruanda which is governed on a rigid monarchical basis, one is astonished at how much freer, happier, and noisier, but also with how much less discipline the Barundi live and behave under their Batussi batwale than in Ruanda.

361 221 233 Predominantly agriculturists and breeders of small cattle, the Bahutu are completely sedentary. The Batussi, who own all the big cattle, also have permanent dwellings, but during the dry months they engage in a kind of alpine farming with their herds of cattle in the fresher pastures of the mountains, as though in memory of their former life as nomads. This will be described in more detail later in our discussion of stock farming (see p.40).

342 The residential huts (insu) of the Barundi differ essentially neither in form nor in structure, technique or material, from those of the Banjaruanda. Externally they are usually somewhat flatter than the huts in Ruanda; they have the shape of an umbrella rather than a beehive. Yet both in Urundi and Ruanda the crinoline-like frame is bound together by means of wooden poles or, wherever there is bamboo, by means of bamboo poles, the empty spaces between them being filled with vertical and horizontal layers of sorghum stalks. The superimposed, flat, hemispherical roof is not supported by a single pole in the center, but by a number of them evenly distributed in the hut. The entire frame is covered down to the ground with straw of tall grass (sedge, not reeds), and in some regions with dry banana leaves. As a protection against rain, a stick with a wisp of straw which spreads out at the bottom is fastened at the point of the roof. The opening for the door with the somewhat protruding door roof resembles that of the Ruanda house, but its side walls are interwoven less carefully than those of the Ruanda house. The door opening is closed by a coarsely plaited screen, kept in place by a stick propped against it. Except for the single door, there is no opening in the entire structure (Plate 18). Thus, the smoke must escape through the door. The entire hut can be lifted by several men and shifted to a

231 The cattle of the entire country belong de jure to the
422 king (or to the highest chief), as in Ruanda. He leaves a large part of the cattle with the Batussi sub chiefs, who enjoy the usufruct, and [42] the latter, in turn, leave small herds and single animals with lower Batussi and individual Bahutu for care, further breeding, and use. A set small number of the young becomes the property of the caretaker which he holds as an irrevocable fee.

231 To a certain degree the almost mystical esteem in which
554 cattle are held is transferred to the temporary owners, caretakers, and breeders of the cattle. A person who is vested with cattle is thus raised to a higher status. A Muhutu who is vested with cattle for the usufruct and for breeding is ennobled, so to speak, by this act; he is no longer subject to compulsory labor, nor does he have to work the fields for his master. Thus, the possession of cattle has a social significance which is no less important than the economic one. Not only for religious reasons but also for social and political ones, old and sick cattle are allowed to live as long as they possibly can, both in Urundi and Ruanda, for they can still be used to vest someone with them who through this rise in status is more closely tied to the Batussi rulers and the king. It is also for this reason that the immense number of cattle owned by the king are a strong support of Batussi rule.

233 All cattle are fed in pasture (Plate 23); only older calves and sick animals are fed in the stable. During the night the cattle are kept within the inner fence of the homestead. As soon as they have been cleaned after sunrise in the morning and the cows have been milked, the herd is driven to pasture (kwahura inka). The location of grazing land is determined by the season and the growth of fodder. The herd remains there until evening. Every sixth or eighth head of cattle carries a bell (insogera) made from a bent piece of sheet iron (Plate 45) or from wood; in many areas, however, there are no cattle bells at all. Twice daily the herd is driven to the water-
233 ing place in the nearest river valley. If the valley has no
312 flowing water but only underground water to be obtained by digging holes, as is often the case during the dry months, long

233 [312] troughs of clay are constructed near the water holds into which the drinking water is scooped. As in our Alps, the hill slopes bear the imprint of the hooves of the cattle in the form of innumerable little steps and paths since the grazing cattle will usually move along the slope in a horizontal direction which is more comfortable for grazing.

In the months after the rains the cattle can gorge themselves on green grass and they then look quite attractive, but during the dry months when all the grass is parched to a gray-brown color, the cattle become so lean that one can count all their ribs. In Urundi during the months of September and October I have seen, almost without exception, cattle which were very emaciated. Only the herds of the chiefs preserve their healthy appearance in the dry period since the best grazing land is reserved for them. The general impression is that both [137] in Urundi and Ruanda, which are both almost exclusively grasslands, good nourishing pastures are not very extensive. It is possible to wander for days over chains of hills and plains in the sterile, thinly populated quartzite areas of the east where the growth of grass is so poor that it is not worthwhile for the natives to burn it. Since the hill ridges and the valleys in the [311] populated areas of central and western Urundi are covered with homesteads and fields, insofar as the valleys are not filled with papyrus swamps, in general only the hill slopes for pastures. However, since every year the dry expanse of grass on them is burned off in order to obtain a new growth of green grass as soon as possible and to destroy the vermin noxious to cattle, the quality, the food value, of the grass [43] cannot improve. Also, if the herds multiply greatly, as in the northwestern areas of Urundi and in most of Ruanda, the pastures are soon overstocked. The Batussi and Bahutu do not grow any fodder with [246] a high food value which could compensate for the lack of good grazing land. As a result most cattle suffer from malnutrition, and if then a contagious disease is brought into the country or if it is caused in the area itself through infectious vermin, etc., the animals with low resistance succumb to it in great numbers. The available grazing land is then sufficient for the

233 surviving animals for a long time to come, until the herds once more have become too large, the animals once more cannot find enough to eat, and natural selection by epidemics starts once again. This situation will not improve until Europeans introduce national methods of stock breeding.

The animals are conscientiously cared for every day. Every night fresh litter is provided in the pens for the herds returning from the pasture. The animals are scrubbed clean with straw whisks and searched for ticks and other parasites which may have attached themselves to the animals. The udders are washed each time after milking. While the cattle are standing in the kraals or drinking from the troughs, they are bothered by stinging flies; human beings, too, are attacked by these bloodthirsty tormentors. For this reason fires are kept burning in the kraals and near the watering places, the smoke driving away the flies. Such pillars of smoke can be seen rising from the farms everywhere in the morning and evening. From time to time the animals are given saliferous ashes to lick. Even in the pastures the herdsman is constantly occupied with his herd. He is able to give it all kinds of orders by shrill whistling. As a result of good treatment, the animals are in most cases very good-natured; they do not kick, and they keep still when something is being done to them. In the latter case one of the herdsmen usually uses his stick or reed to stroke the animal gently between the upper part of the hind legs. Despite their long horns, the animals also cause much less damage among themselves than one might expect. Even if they are crowded together when driven to or from the pasture, a constant muffled rattling and clanking of the colliding horns can be heard -- the characteristic sound of a moving Urundi herd -- but it is extremely seldom that the animals injure each
232 other. In case an animal is seriously injured or becomes sick and the owner himself is unable to help which, however, he is usually able to do -- a Mutussi or Muhutu who is skilled in medicine is called to act as a veterinarian. For his help he
232 is paid very well (Plate 25a). The Batussi, like all Africans,
731 are quite powerless against epidemics, especially rinderpest,

232 especially for sacrifice and for their function at the election
778 of the king, and there are others dedicated to one of the principal gods, Imana, Riangombe, Rikiranga (see p. 68, also p. 184 of original text [not translated]).

When a calf is born, it is rubbed with butter. As soon
233 as the horns appear, the owner tears off the covering epidermis with his teeth and rubs the little horns with butter so as to make them grow well. The calf is then given a name which is de-
[552] termined by its parentage, color, or some other characteristic, or in memory of some deceased member of the family, a chief, king, etc. The calves are put in the pen for six months before being sent to pasture, and after that the young cattle graze in a separate pasture. In the morning and in the evening, before the milking of the cows, the calves are permitted to suck. If a cow refuses to suckle her calf, both her udder and the calf are rubbed with salt water, whereupon the cow will lick the calf and will also allow it to lick and to suck her udder. In order to wean a calf, the cow's teats are smeared with cow dung (No. 19, p. 423).

234 Before a cow is milked (kukamma), the calf is permitted to suck for a few moments. Then the Murundi squats down near the udder, holding a vessel under it with his left hand and milking with his right hand. In this process a considerable amount of milk (amata) is spilled on the ground since the vessel has a narrow opening. An unruly cow or one that kicks has her legs tied together while being milked. If the calf dies or is slaughtered, the cow gives no more milk. In this case, to make her continue to produce milk, the skin of her calf stuffed with straw or simply a piece of the hide suspended on a stick is held in front of her nose (No. 22, p. 287; No. 48, p. 141; No. 27, p. 95). This is also true in Ruanda, Ankole, and the other Bahima regions. This artless yet useful deception usually tricks the cows, and they lick the hide and continue to give milk. The amount of milk produced by the long-horned cattle is quite small all over the interlacustrine region. It is seldom more than two to three liters daily, in
234 the morning and in the evening. The milk pails (itschjansi)
415 are always made of wood; in most cases they have a cylindrical shape and a rounded lid. Van der Burgt claims that [45] this

Plate 24

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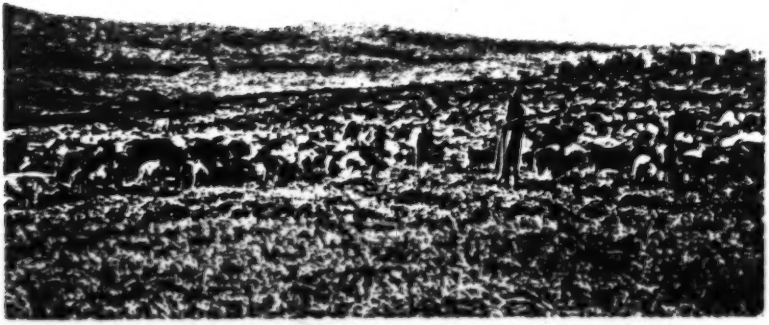

Herd of Livestock (Cattle, Sheep, Goats) in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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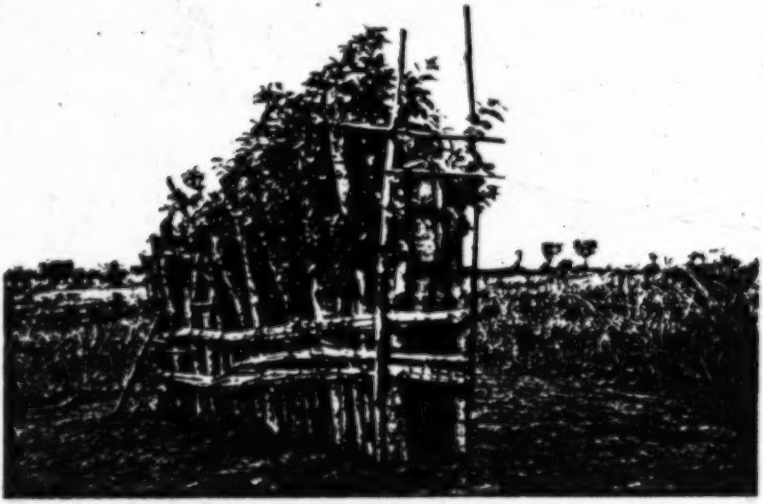

Leopard Trap in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954FO42 Rundi FO42

other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and relationships in which sanctions are implied.

The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely connected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was considered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone. As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an important herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover, cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beautiful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-value is readily understandable.

The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A family has property which is handed on from one generation to another, common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and their esteem for the father is enhanced.

Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous. They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

142 lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs, ' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies, ' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, [141] while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'. " (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

233 This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them
556 than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a
181 sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart, " they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!, "May you come to own many cows!"

●233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [356] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

241 The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

128 common to the three ethnic groups which make up the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ nation, or peculiar to one group or another.

Chapter 1.

644 231 778

I. Posts and Offices of a Historical and Superstitious Nature. The Keepers of the Customs and Traditions. The "King" of the First Fruits and the "King" of the Imandwa.

1. Maintenance at court of a dog-faced baboon and a sacred bull.

It will be recalled that according to legend, when the enemies of Ruganzu II the Victorious attempted to smoke him out of a cave, /356/ he was saved by dog-faced baboons (inguge), who led him through subterranean tunnels to another exit. One of those animals is kept at the capital in order to commemorate this fantastic legend.

The clan in charge of caring for the animal is known under the name of Abanyamuheno, that is to say, "Men of the Cave, " in memory of the event.

The monkey, tied with a chain, is fed by his keepers with sweet potatoes, beans, grains, sorghum stalks, etc.

When he gets old he is released in the forest where he was captured when young, and another monkey is sought out to replace him.

Is not this custom reminiscent of honored practices at the court of the Pharaohs, where dog-faced baboons were also raised?

[233] Ruanda is a land of pastures. The Batutsi possess numerous herds of cattle which are, rightly enough, the pride and joy of their owners.

It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that aside from the sacred herds that will be mentioned in the last chapter but one of this book there is a bull at court that is the object of special care and attentions.

796 264 These were topped with rancid butter as though it were a special treat.

The intended goal was to stuff the bearers of the first fruits. The poorly cooked food was digested slowly, and meanwhile the eaters proved to the spectators, with their rounded stomachs, that they had been treated royally (ngo n'. ishimo).

It is said that in the old days the guests were not allowed to leave the royal enclosure without having finished their Pantagruelic repast. They ate before the amused eyes of a delirious crowd which plied them with jeers and gibes. Nor were they allowed /503/ to leave the premises in order to relieve nature. "As a result, " add the narrators, "the court looked more like a stable. "

Yet the guests could consider themselves fortunate if their appetite was not stimulated with blows. It seems that at the present time these customs have lost some of their grotesque and brutal character.

Not only did the court familiars and neighboring inhabitants take part in those festivities, but so did the great chiefs and their retinues. Sacrifices followed upon dances and shows given by clowns and snake charmers.

There was also the presentation of the sacred cows (inyambo), which was to many people the most important part of the festivities. To those who know the Batutsi as professional herders, there is nothing surprising about this part of the program.

II. The Existence and Presentation of Sacred Herds

233 In speaking of sacred cows, our study would remain incomplete if we were not to say a few words about the attachment which the Banyarwanda, Bahutu, and Hamites demonstrate for their cattle.

Cows are cherished by everyone, without exception. Meticulous and often ridiculous care is lavished upon them. The Blacks of Ruanda stop at nothing to obtain cattle. A Muhutu /Bahutu/ will fawn upon his chief for many years, if necessary, in order to obtain one. He will bear the inclemencies of the seasons, undertake long journeys, perform endless drudgery, and sacrifice his crops to

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/ their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

Pastoral Terms

192 233 The rich and varied vocabulary used by the Banyarwands proves the interest they take in their cattle

They have special terms to designate a black cow (inka y' umukara), a dark-brown cow (igitare), a grey one (ikijuju), a purple one (issine), a red one (umusengo), cows splotched with white, black, or yellow on a russet or grey background (ubugondo), an ash-grey cow (rwirungu), a dark-yellow one (inumba), and inka y' inyombya, the blackbird-hued cow for which the Batutsi entertain a superstitious fear.

A cowherd is called umushumba or umwungeri.

The king's cows other than the sacred cows are called insanga, which means "those that were found, " from the word gusanga, "to find, " because it was one of the first kings of Ruanda, Gihanga, who discovered them. They are also called by the name of ibigarama, from the word kugarama, "to stretch out, " because they have long horns, etc.

Inka is the generic name for all horned beasts, cows or bulls. Inkungu is a cow without horns; inkungu z' amalegelege is a cow whose horns are loose.

The shape of the horns, their orientation, and the arch they form give rise to the following names: inkondogoro, inyabulegelege, ibibinda, impotore. Certain Batutsi cowherds burn the horns of their animals with a red-hot iron while they are still young in order to obtain the desired shape. /506/

Inka y' imbata (kwihita, "to exert oneself") is a cow acquired or bought through personal labor. It is an inalienable cow over which the chiefs have no rights whatsoever.

Inka y' igiti, cow of landed property (of the hill) received from the chief.

Inka y' impetano (guheta, ... "for the second time"). Second cow obtained from the chief.

Inka y' ubuntu, "generosity cow, " or inka y' ineza "benevolence cow, " a gift between relatives or blood brothers.

Inka y'ingwate (kugwatiriza), a cow which must be redeemed [422] (irich[illegible]gura). The owner of a young bull makes a deal with the owner

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[422] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

192 Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
233 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
431 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
844 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

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[844
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to the young mother who has suffered the pains of childbirth (umuruho w' umubyeyi). Her parents compensate her in this fashion for her troubles and sufferings.

Inka y' indundu (kurundura, "to give unconditionally") serves to designate a cow given unconditionally, as opposed to inka y' ingwate.

Inka y' ilembo means "the cow of entry (into the new household)," because the bride receives it as a gift from her parents-in-law when she enters her new home for the first time.

Inka y'indabukirano (kurabuka, kurabukir' umutware, "to pay an accession gift to a new chief") designates the cow given to a chief at the time of his accession to office.

Inka y' inyiturano (kwitura, kwiturana, "to pay a debt of gratitude") designates the cow given in acknowledgement of a kindness.

Inka y' inturano (gutura, "to offer a gift") serves to designate a cow which subjects must give to chiefs by way of a tax.

Inka y' intundano means "trade cow." The verb gutunda means "to trade" or "to purchase through an exchange of goods," hence the expression "trade cow."

Inka y' ingororano (kugororera, "to reward") designates /508/ a cow given as a reward for a favor done.

Inka y' inyibano (kwiba, "to steal"), a stolen cow.

Inka y' ibihembo, "a cow given in payment as salary," for example, to pay for two years of consecutive work.

Inka y' amahugu (guhuguza, "to deceive"), a cow obtained through trickery.

Inka y' umuheto ("bow"), a cow obtained by force.

Inka y' isaso ("bullet") is the generic name for the cows of the Europeans, who have taken over the land.

Inka z' indemano (kulema, "to create"), cows given by the king or by a great chief to someone they wish to honor or to raise above other men by providing him with a herd that will make him safe from want.

192 Inka z' inkuke (gukuka, "to come out of," "to come from") serves to designate cows which are merely in one's keeping.

233 Milk cows are always placed at the disposal of the chief, who never lacks milk.

Inka z'intarama (a term peculiar to the Bugoyi /region/), cows that are milked late in the morning and in the evening.

Inka z' imigogoro (imiruho), cows ("who cause trouble") because they often die or bring other worries to their owners, who are taxed on their milk.

Inka z' inyambo (indende), "cows of imposing size."

Inka z' ingegene, "ordinary cows."

Inka z' inyagisanze, "cows who graze in pastures which are always green."

Inka z' intahira (gu-ta-hira or gu-ta-gemura), "cows whose owner has full rights over them and is not subjected to any bondage toward his chief on their account.

[517] Inka z'imilizo, "cows with a (short) tail." The Batutsi sometimes shorten the tails of their heifers for esthetic reasons. /509/

Inka z' inkuku, "cows of small size."

Ikimasa, "ox"; impfizi, "bull"; ubukombe, "a bull in his prime" or one whose services are highly valued, hence the wish and expression, Ukagir' ubukombe! "May you own a fine bull!"

Inyana, "calf"; ishashi, "heifer"; imbyeyi, "mother cow"; inka y' issave or urubereri, "cow who has never calved"; ingumba, "cow who has become sterile"; inka y' issugi, "cow who never lost a calf"; iliza, "cow who has calved at least once"; ijigija, "cow who has calved many times"; inka y' ubusuri, "cow who lost a calf"; insindirano, "cow who is given the calf of another"; amabuguma, "old beasts," etc.

192 Fresh milk is called amata y' inshyushyu; curdled milk,
234 ikivuguto; the milk of a cow who has just calved, umuhondo; the milk of a cow who is pregnant again, amasitu; fresh milk mixed with water, umwerera; one night's milk, umubanji; whey, amachunde or amenda, etc.

Sacred Cows

233 778 The idea for this select group is traced back to Ruganzu. These special herds are known as inyambo, or long-horned cattle, and they are always selected among the finest in the land. They are not all of the same color.

Among other hues, the following predominate: dusty red (ibihogo by' issine), purplish red (ibihogo by' igaju), red speckled with [822] white (ibihogo by' imyeru), and black and white, which are all favorite colors of the Batutsi.

Special cowherds are in charge of watching over those herds, which usually graze in the Buganza.

They are led to the capital for festivals or public celebrations. The finest animals, known as inyamibga or indatwa /510/ (from the word kurata, "to show off"), lead the herd.

There is usually only one or two of these in each herd, and they are accustomed to walking ahead of the others. Their horns, brow, and neck are covered with rows of beads and small antelope horns which serve as ornaments (imitako n' imiheha). Also included [824] are stems of the sacrosanct umwishwa grass, which the cowherds also wear on chest and head on numerous occasions. Then special [535] dances take place which are organized by the keepers of the herd or even by the Batwa and in which the animals participate with their mooing.

The cows are quite familiar with this kind of sport, and they seem to take an interest in it and watch the motions of the dancers. The latter emit special guttural cries all the while, in order to excite the animals further.

Performances of this sort are highly esteemed by the Banyarwanda and attract large crowds.

After the celebration the sacred cows return to their Buganza pastures. Their keepers treat them with great care and are the only ones permitted to milk them, just as they are the only ones to drink their milk.

The calves are gorged with milk and weaned quite late.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat animals who died a natural death, they are strictly forbidden

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778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

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543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived
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543 the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

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The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [175] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit...and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

234 Butter is not eaten. It is used to anoint the body and to
302 smear on clothes. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter; they are held at the neck with one hand and rocked back and forth on the ground. Butter is stored in small clay [143] and
415 wooden vessels (akachendo). The latter often have looped handles and are then called uchende yo mukondo.

● 233 The local form of intensive agriculture on very fertile soil is not easy to combine with the extremely extensive cattle raising. Barn feeding is unknown. The animals graze all day in the open and are locked into the kraal (lugo) at night. Thus, even in the densely populated and highly agricultural regions, it is very difficult to keep even the milch cows near the settlements. The rest of the animals are driven out to more remote pastures. For example, the Bagoye drive their cows eastward into the primeval
233 forest on the watershed. The animals are cared for by special
465 Batutsi caretakers who are paid to do this. For his service the herdsman gets the milk the first two months, since the cow is not returned to the owner until her calf is two months old. The herdsman also gets a jug of beer worth one hoe. He is, however, held accountable for the cow and must replace animals which are killed or stolen.

246 Pastures receive no special attention. On the northern slope of Mount Ndisa, however, I saw an irrigation system that watered the mountain meadows. Otherwise the steppes are merely burned off at the end of the dry season; this removes the withered grass and the young grass comes up abundantly after the first rain, the ground having been fertilized by the ashes. Needless to say, grass fires have greatly contributed to the deforestation of Ruanda, especially in the less populated areas. Granted that the forests have been destroyed by the farmers, nevertheless it is the herdsmen who make a second growth impossible. Grass fires rage throughout the country. In Mulera and Bugoye where everything is under cultivation, one sees fires only on the volcanic plains.

233 Since no fodder is stored, the cattle become very thin during
661 the dry season. It is not uncommon for Batutsi chiefs to have their herds driven into the sweet potato plantations of their farmers, where great damage is done. No matter how great their loss, the Bahutu cannot drive the cows out nor resist in any way.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

231 Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 437 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Agriculture

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

An instance which shows a number of these possibilities comes from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west of Tanganyika Territory. A custom which might or might not be noted by the ethnographer—something must escape the most meticulous of observers, and this one is not recorded by Meyer for the Barundi, of whom the people of Bugufi are ethnologically part—is the right of the chief to pasture his cattle among the millet-stalks after the harvest, before the peasant may put in his own cattle or any which he is herding for some one else. The court book records eight peasants coming to court to complain against a Tusi who has driven off their cattle. The Tusi replies that the men had pastured their cattle in their millet before the chief had had access. Asked by the court whether he was instructed to drive off the cattle, the Tusi replies that he acted as he was bound to do in accordance with ancient custom and his obligations to the chief. New concepts have, however, found their way into the court, which gives judgement for the plaintiffs on the grounds that the land and the cattle were theirs. This case is exceptional in the wealth of statement and suggestion which it offers, but there are many others helpful in lesser degree.

The value of native court records in this way was brought home to me while stationed in this area, Bugufi, during the years 1929–31, when I went through the available material with a view to seeing what were the normal causes of litigation and getting a general idea of the law administered. Starting with the year 1924, the series was examined up to the end of 1930. For these seven years, 850 cases were found where judgement issued, there being a further 225 which had been settled out of court or dismissed for want of prosecution or by reason of limitation. Of these 850 cases, almost one-quarter concerned contracts where cattle were involved, nearly one-sixth were marital cases, and another sixth were over administrative matters, including offences against the Native Authority Ordinance: only one-seventh were of offences against person and property, and the remainder concerned debts, land, inheritance, damage to property and a few miscellaneous matters.

The fullest records were those of the numerous marital cases, and these have been fully collated with a view to giving an idea of how much information can be gleaned and what gaps remain, and what

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this processs.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 215-23. [8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid, but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is increasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

WTA 16

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15] 462 564 593

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [58 557]

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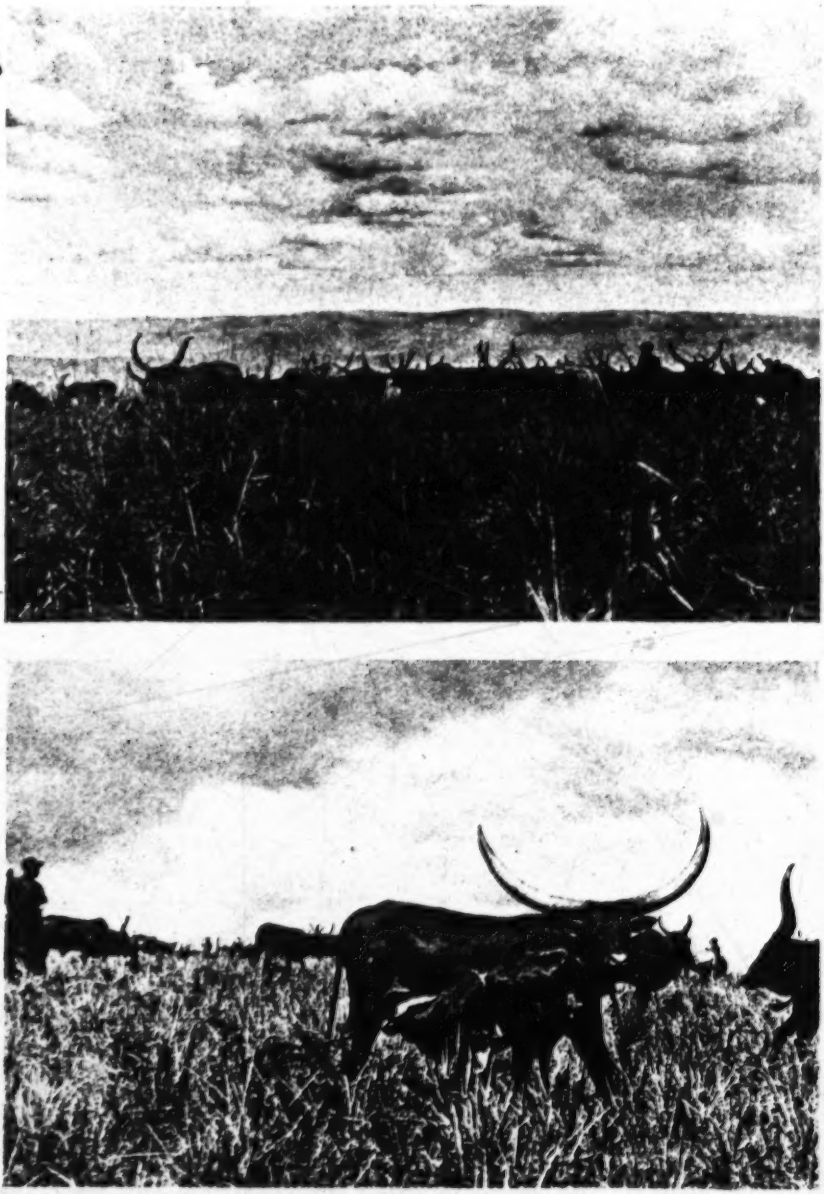

XV and XVI. Burundi landscapes.

[Following p. 215, B]

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231 3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
635

1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage

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231
431

3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
727
651 by warriors.

IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to

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4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., 'parade).

192
●234 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is
574 called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

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431
231 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief, or a patron when she has a child.

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

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231
426 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-

1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192
231 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cowherd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

[465] 3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681]
431] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

[696] INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192
437
231 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches

1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

821 was considered a time of mourning. It was forbidden to get married at that time.

232 At all times a bull called Rusanga and five cows of each of the three Insanga herds were kept in a special enclosure inside Musinga's boma, and the king would often come and stroke them and speak to them affectionately.

The Inyambo now live in the province of Buganza, a country of fine pastures and gently undulating hills; being delicate animals they cannot stand the high altitude climate. The Mwami hands over his herds to the umutware w'intebe who in turn entrusts them to a hill chief or to the common Batutsi, although without position of authority, they are of nobler origin than some chiefs and are therefore particularly qualified to care for this choice cattle.

The Inyambo are large, long-legged animals with a less well developed dewlap than ordinary cattle, a deeper chest, long flanks, and an angular, thin, and dry rump. The enormously long horns often attain a length of 1.75 meters. They are in the shape of a lyre or crescent; the width between the tips may be 2 or more meters. [93] The coat is bright russet (igaju) or cheese-colored (igitare), but mostly dark brown (ibihogo).

The Inyambo go back into the kraal every evening and are always bedded down, which is rarely done for ordinary cattle, even by wealthy owners.

234 They are not milked like ordinary cows. Only sufficient milk for their Bahutu guardians is taken daily. If they have a calf, their milk is reserved for the young animal. The offspring of the Inyambo is automatically an inyambo. Even the offspring of ordinary cows may become inyambo.

232 If in a herd of inkuku there is a heifer whose characteristics are similar to those of the Inyambo, the Banyarwanda mate this heifer with an inyambo bull. The calf born of this first union is called imilizo. If the breeders judge that the inyambo qualities are to be found in this animal, it is also mated with an inyambo bull, and the offspring is considered worthy to enter the Inyambo herd.

The inyambo cows are never slaughtered or sold for any reason, such as malformation or sterility; they all die of illness or old age. The males fare differently. When they are full grown

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

232 especially for sacrifice and for their function at the election
778 of the king, and there are others dedicated to one of the principal gods, Imana, Riangombe, Rikiranga (see p. 68 , also p. 184 of original text [not translated]).

When a calf is born, it is rubbed with butter. As soon
233 as the horns appear, the owner tears off the covering epidermis with his teeth and rubs the little horns with butter so as to make them grow well. The calf is then given a name which is de-
[552] termined by its parentage, color, or some other characteristic, or in memory of some deceased member of the family, a chief, king, etc. The calves are put in the pen for six months before being sent to pasture, and after that the young cattle graze in a separate pasture. In the morning and in the evening, before the milking of the cows, the calves are permitted to suck. If a cow refuses to suckle her calf, both her udder and the calf are rubbed with salt water, whereupon the cow will lick the calf and will also allow it to lick and to suck her udder. In order to wean a calf, the cow's teats are smeared with cow dung (No. 19, p. 423).

234 Before a cow is milked (kukamma), the calf is permitted to suck for a few moments. Then the Murundi squats down near the udder, holding a vessel under it with his left hand and milking with his right hand. In this process a considerable amount of milk (amata) is spilled on the ground since the vessel has a narrow opening. An unruly cow or one that kicks has her legs tied together while being milked. If the calf dies or is slaughtered, the cow gives no more milk. In this case, to make her continue to produce milk, the skin of her calf stuffed with straw or simply a piece of the hide suspended on a stick is held in front of her nose (No. 22, p. 287; No. 48, p. 141; No. 27, p. 95). This is also true in Ruanda, Ankole, and the other Bahima regions. This artless yet useful deception usually tricks the cows, and they lick the hide and continue to give milk. The amount of milk produced by the long-horned cattle is quite small all over the interlacustrine region. It is seldom more than two to three liters daily, in
234 the morning and in the evening. The milk pails (itschjansi)
415 are always made of wood; in most cases they have a cylindrical shape and a rounded lid. Van der Burgt claims that [45] this

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle; it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
302 food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi
[262] eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororó, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, espe-
272 cially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[462] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called umuganuro, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The umuganuro, however, concerned other agricultural
[178] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

192

198 Umumkari · Umugore Woman
Umwere wa giti Umwana Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

[824]
[234]

3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/ their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

192 Inka z' inkuke (gukuka, "to come out of," "to come from") serves to designate cows which are merely in one's keeping.
233 Milk cows are always placed at the disposal of the chief, who never lacks milk.

Inka z'intarama (a term peculiar to the Bugoyi /region/), cows that are milked late in the morning and in the evening.

Inka z' imigogoro (imiruho), cows ("who cause trouble") because they often die or bring other worries to their owners, who are taxed on their milk.

Inka z' inyambo (indende), "cows of imposing size."

Inka z' ingegene, "ordinary cows."

Inka z' inyagisanze, "cows who graze in pastures which are always green."

Inka z' intahira (gu-ta-hira or gu-ta-gemura), "cows whose owner has full rights over them and is not subjected to any bondage toward his chief on their account.

[517] Inka z'imilizo, "cows with a (short) tail." The Batutsi sometimes shorten the tails of their heifers for esthetic reasons. /509/

Inka z' inkuku, "cows of small size."

Ikimasa, "ox"; impfizi, "bull"; ubukombe, "a bull in his prime" or one whose services are highly valued, hence the wish and expression, Ukagir' ubukombe! "May you own a fine bull!"

Inyana, "calf"; ishashi, "heifer"; imbyeyi, "mother cow"; inka y' issave or urubereri, "cow who has never calved"; ingumba, "cow who has become sterile"; inka y' issugi, "cow who never lost a calf"; iliza, "cow who has calved at least once"; ijigija, "cow who has calved many times"; inka y' ubusuri, "cow who lost a calf"; insindirano, "cow who is given the calf of another"; amabuguma, "old beasts," etc.

192 Fresh milk is called amata y' inshyushyu; curdled milk,
234 ikivuguto; the milk of a cow who has just calved, umuhondo; the milk of a cow who is pregnant again, amasitu; fresh milk mixed with water, umwerera; one night's milk, umubanji; whey, amachunde or amenda, etc.

234 Although the large-horned Batutsi cow is used almost exclusively for its milk, it is not a good milk producer. The annual milk production of a medium-sized cow, according to the reports of missionaries, does not exceed 400 to 500 liters. Dr. Kandt (2) says that an excellent cow gives three liters of milk daily.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 283.

[45]

Fig. 32. Wooden Vessels for Storing Milk, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L 15167. 33 1/2 centimeters high. L 15165. 45 centimeters high.)

The cow is milked only in the presence of its calf. The Banyakissaka told me that only then would a cow give milk. If the calf is accidentally killed, they deceive her with the calf's hide for the first few days, giving it to her to lick during milking so she will not hold back the milk. Only after some time can she be milked without the hide. The calves are brought to such before the animals are let out in the morning and after they return at night. After the calf has drunk for a while, it is taken away from the cow and held while the cow is milked by the cowherd. When the milking is finished, the calf is returned to the cow and allowed to suck until it stops of its own accord.

234 [142] While the cow is being milked, a fire of cow dung is kept burning beside her. The smoke keeps off the troublesome stable flies, and the animals can stand quietly.

Young calves are kept in special small huts or in closed-off portions of the entrance room of the dwellings (umuliango).

415 The milk is stored in cylindrical vessels (kianzi) crudely carved out of wood. The vessels are washed with cow urine, and from time to time they are fumigated. A cone-shaped lid is made from a bundle of straw sewed to form a spiral. The milk 272 is drunk chiefly when it is curdled (kivugutu); it is beaten with a small stick to change this consistency. Fresh milk (amata) and buttermilk (amachunde) are also drunk.

[413]

Fig. 33. Arrow for Bloodletting, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13744. 58 1/2 centimeters long.)

Besides milk, the blood of cattle is also drunk. For this purpose the bulls are bled from time to time by shooting a special arrow into the neck vein at close range. The short iron tip of the arrow is set into a wooden shaft. The upper part of the shaft is bound, to prevent the wood from splitting and also to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply into the vein. The lower end of the arrow has a notch into which the bowstring fits. When the blood is drawn off, a tourniquet of rope is tied around the neck below the wound.

The blood is drunk either fresh or cooked. It is sometimes [846] also mixed with milk, and in this form it is given to women after childbirth "to replace the lost blood."

232 Bloodletting is also practiced on sick animals by specialists. It is said that the animals are given the drawn blood as a reward.

262 Meat is eaten only on special occasions. Beef cattle have a very great value, and beef, therefore, is regarded as the greatest delicacy.

234 Butter is not eaten. It is used to anoint the body and to
302 smear on clothes. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter; they are held at the neck with one hand and rocked back and forth on the ground. Butter is stored in small clay [143] and
415 wooden vessels (akachendo). The latter often have looped handles and are then called uchende yo mukondo.

The local form of intensive agriculture on very fertile soil
233 is not easy to combine with the extremely extensive cattle raising. Barn feeding is unknown. The animals graze all day in the open and are locked into the kraal (lugo) at night. Thus, even in the densely populated and highly agricultural regions, it is very difficult to keep even the milch cows near the settlements. The rest of the animals are driven out to more remote pastures. For example, the Bagoye drive their cows eastward into the primeval
233 forest on the watershed. The animals are cared for by special
465 Batutsi caretakers who are paid to do this. For his service the herdsman gets the milk the first two months, since the cow is not returned to the owner until her calf is two months old. The herdsman also gets a jug of beer worth one hoe. He is, however, held accountable for the cow and must replace animals which are killed or stolen.

246 Pastures receive no special attention. On the northern slope of Mount Ndisa, however, I saw an irrigation system that watered the mountain meadows. Otherwise the steppes are merely burned off at the end of the dry season; this removes the withered grass and the young grass comes up abundantly after the first rain, the ground having been fertilized by the ashes. Needless to say, grass fires have greatly contributed to the deforestation of Ruanda, especially in the less populated areas. Granted that the forests have been destroyed by the farmers, nevertheless it is the herdsmen who make a second growth impossible. Grass fires rage throughout the country. In Mulera and Bugoye where everything is under cultivation, one sees fires only on the volcanic plains.

233 Since no fodder is stored, the cattle become very thin during
661 the dry season. It is not uncommon for Batutsi chiefs to have their herds driven into the sweet potato plantations of their farmers, where great damage is done. No matter how great their loss, the Bahutu cannot drive the cows out nor resist in any way.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 The Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Evereerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15] 462 564 583

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [581 557]

5. Small Domestic Animals

422 231 The Mwami has a rather theoretical right of ownership of small livestock which are considered valueless by the large stockbreeders.

Consequently, the Bahutu can sell or keep for their own consumption goats and sheep.

[235] Poultry also belongs to the Bahutu who are required to provide, without remuneration, the chicks needed for divinatory sacrifices. Hens and eggs are not eaten by natives and therefore, except in the neighborhood of European posts, have no commercial value.

Small livestock as well as poultry are the exclusive property of men.

[224] The Banyarwanda are very fond of their hunting dogs. The Batutsi will pay as much as one or two cows for a dog that is known for its hunting qualities.

6. Other Personal Property and Real Estate

423 Among the Batutsi, the husband and each of his wives live in their individual rugo, but all these dwellings belong to the husband. In the same way, among the Bahutu, the hut and its annexes belong to the husband.

422 Work tools belong to the husband. The wife and children may not lend them without his permission, except for a short time.

[60] Household utensils given the wife by her husband remain his property. But the ibirongoranywa (1), ~~that is~~ to say,

1. Cf. note 1, p. 44.

the objects, utensils, and clothing, given by the father to his daughter at the time of her marriage, often equal to the value of several cows, or even consisting of cows, belong to the wife. She may dispose of them as she chooses, except in the case of cows.

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade. [439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the [262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior [782] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453). [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by 262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 753 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom: when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

235 from doing this again. Barundi passing this way take pains not
753 to crush the shells since the improvident person doing so would get sick (No. 19, p. 453).

231 Finally, among the domesticated animals we shall mention the dog (imbwa). His only purpose in life is to eat all the refuse. Adults and children play with him and also maltreat him. It has already been mentioned above (p.36) that on rare occasions he is also used for hunting drives. Both mentally and physically they are most miserable curs and it is difficult to understand why, after being domesticated for so long, they have not made better progress. Perhaps their domestication does not date back as far as is generally assumed, but in that case what might be their indigenous wild ancestor? Van der Burgt says that they "tiennent du loup" (resemble the wolf) (No. 19, p. 104). This can only be an error of observation for these dogs have much more in common with a jackal than with a wolf. Perhaps the jackal is the ancestor. Yet the original stock has separated into two different breeds, unless we assume that one breed was indigenous while the other was introduced later, probably by the Bahima. One breed is yellow-brown, and its ears are pointed upright. The other one is black, white, or spotted and has drooping ears. Mixed types, however, are quite frequent. Both types have only a little hair on their tails. When they run, the stiff, jolting motions of their legs are conspicuous. I have found the same two types or varieties distributed also in Kisiba and Ruanda. In Ruanda dogs are bred in greater numbers than in Urundi, probably because they are used for hunting more than here. Since dogs are not fed, they have to take care of themselves, and of necessity they have become omnivorous. They are always hungry and very skinny. Whenever they find something to eat, they fill themselves until they are ready to burst. What Europeans find most revolting about them and the
364 Barundi consider a useful trait is that they eat human excrement. In a country where there are no pigs and only a few scavenger birds, which take care of the sanitation problem in the rest of East Africa, the dogs are of hygienic importance. Apart from this they have absolutely no social virtues. They are snappish, cowardly, thievish, very poor watchdogs, and miserable

231 the last herds of the long-horned cattle in the Urundi border villages west of the Kisuma River; east of this, in lower northern Uha, the bush forest and tsetse fly begin.

In Urundi and Ruanda there are none of the smaller, short-horned zebu or humped cattle that are found in the rest of East Africa. Bahima cattle are so well adjusted to the climate and the mode of life of the highlands of the interlacustrine region that they thrive only in this region. As soon as the animals are taken to the lower areas, that is, to Unjamwesi, Lake Victoria, or to the coastal regions, they languish and soon die, even if they are not stung by the tsetse fly. In this respect they are quite like the Batussi themselves with whom they live in a kind of symbiosis.

As a former nation of shepherds, the Batussi place a high value on their cattle which is quite foreign to the Bantu. It far exceeds the estimate of their capital value. Cattle are not regarded as producers of meat, as an "article of consumption," but as original capital from which only the dividends (milk, [237] butter, blood tapped from the living animal, hair) may be used, while the capital itself (individual heads of cattle) may only be exchanged for other valuable capital assets, for example, women. More than that, cattle have a high sentimental value for the [182] Mutussi. His entire thoughts and aspirations revolve around the cattle; they are for him the mainstay of his social order, yes, even the object of his devotion which in many cases even transcends into the religious sphere. Accordingly, they are objects of a cult which is full of symbols and mystical relationships. [776] The highest deity, Imana, is first of all protector of the cattle. In East Africa we find a similar attitude among the Hamito-Nilotic nation of herdsmen, the Massai. In whatever concerns cattle, a woman has no say at all. The entire breeding and [462] care of the cattle, even milking, is the job of the man. It is true that in this sphere too the Bahutu have to do all the heavy work, cleaning the animals, tending the cattle in the pasture, milking the cows, etc., but the Mutussi does the more delicate work: he chooses the animals for breeding; he is the veterinarian; he decides what animals are to be killed or sacrificed; and he does this job with all the affection of the sportsman for his animal.

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
285 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [356] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

241 The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

192

198 Umumkari — Umugore — Woman
Umwere wa giti — Umwana — Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

[824]
[234]

3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/, their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange 437 them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Agriculture

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there
233 were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid,
433 but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

168 This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is in-
433 creasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this
511 study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

433 It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

324 Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only
[262] the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate
[186] game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing
[237] and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

326 Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when
262 very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[30]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2½ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[30] See Schumacher, 1948 and Evrerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[16] 462 564 593

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [581 557]

137 are not burned down so regularly, and Urundi is not as completely treeless as Ruanda because next to each kraal a few fig trees are maintained for the use of their bark. Also, [5] the larger rivers, such as the Ruvuvu or the Malagarasi, are bordered for some stretches with a rather dense forest on the banks (Plate 5). The great majority of the valleys, however, is swampy and filled with dense papyrus thickets which can be penetrated only in a few places (Plate 2a). While in our part of the world valleys are the natural arteries of traffic and the most suitable places for settlement, they can never serve this purpose in most of Urundi. The swamp covered valleys and [361] their often very steep slopes force the population and their roads and settlements to the upland plateaus and upper slopes. For this reason all farmsteads are on mountain ridges and the higher slopes of the valleys. In the valleys the only fields are of crops [241] that, like sweet potatoes, need considerable moisture. This character of the valleys will make it extremely difficult to open up the country by means of roads or even railroads. The papyrus swamps are, next to the grassy hills across which one can see for miles, the most characteristic feature in the landscape of Urundi, as well as of Uha and Ruanda, that is, of most of the interlacustrine region.

Richard Kandt, the poet among the travelers to East Africa, devotes the following impressionistic description to them.

"From the time we entered the region of Urundi and also during the last days in Uha, papyrus swamps formed the characteristic feature of the landscape. Often streams hardly more than two meters wide lie in a valley of papyrus several hundred meters wide. It fills not only the main valleys but extends also into all tributary valleys and even climbs up the ravines and gorges so that, seen from a height, the country looks like a gigantic network of green ribbons in whose meshes the mountains lie like islands. I have seen many a strange and beautiful landscape in Africa. I have experienced the indescribable melancholy hovering over burned, trembling-hot steppes when the rays of the sinking sun, in a bloody red, break through the glittering haze. In the territory of the Congo State I have tasted

231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi
241 and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and
[462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka,
412 241 igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine
[436] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and
[439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

4/2 241 acute angle joins it to a wooden handle whose club-shaped end has a hole for this purpose, made with red-hot iron. In most cases the handle is so short (about three quarters of a meter) that the person using it in the fields always has to stoop quite low. Usually only the right hand is used for gripping the hoe while loosened stones, weeds, and the produce of the field are collected with the left hand. Hoes with handles as long as one and a quarter meter are also used, however. In northern Ruanda and on Lake Kivu such long-handled hoes predominate. Both hands are used to grip them, and they do not require one to work in such a stooped position as do those with shorter handles.

For digging holes to sow beans, peas, corn, and other produce, a piece of broken-off reed or wood is used at times. This piece, however, does not thereby become a permanent implement, that is, a "digging stick"; holes in the soft soil are mostly dug with the fingers. On the other hand, the short hatchet (ischenjo), shaped like a segment of a circle, is a permanent piece of equipment used for clearing the ground of underbrush. The same is true of the bent hewing knife (umuhoro; [171] see Plate 46), characteristic of the interlacustrine region, which appears in the hand of the old Egyptian harvest god. It is also used here as a harvest knife, besides having many other uses.

241 Thus, the farming techniques of the Barundi are merely hoe-culture, and the produce of their fields only hoe-products [as contrasted to plow-culture and its products]. Bananas and beans are the main agricultural produce. Bananas thrive everywhere, but they grow well only up to an altitude of approximately 2,000 meters. Beans grow in somewhat higher altitudes. Finally, peas are entirely absent in the lowland, but they are quite frequent in the higher regions of central Urundi. They are the sole agricultural product found in the areas of greatest elevation. Corn is widely grown in the Tanganyika region and in the valley of the Ruzizi, but it is found in the interior areas to a much smaller extent than is generally assumed. In the dry eastern part of Urundi where bananas become scarce, corn, interspersed with beans, is often cultivated on artifically irrigated valley floors. Peanuts are also abundant in the Ruzizi and Tanganyika areas, but in the highlands of the interior they are only sparsely

241 distributed. Wherever water is plentiful, one will find sweet potatoes; therefore there are few in the highland of the interior and only in the valley bottoms. Yams are grown very rarely. Manioc, however, which requires a certain amount of dryness and warmth is widely distributed in the lowlands and in the dry quartzite areas of the east. In the mountains of the west it is found only in the lower, warmer regions. Sorghum is found all over Urundi, although nowhere in large amounts; its main growing areas are the drier quartzite regions of eastern Urundi. Eleusine [a kind of millet] is found only in small quantities, and mostly at high altitudes. A little rice is grown [50] but only on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. It is cultivated by non-Barundi who imported it from the east; the Barundi themselves are not familiar with the cultivation of rice. Tobacco is cultivated everywhere in Urundi but merely as a form of primitive horticulture near the huts. The same is true for the castor-oil plant. Finally, the oil palm grows only on the shores of Lake Tanganyika and on the slopes of the peripheral mountains on the western side toward the lake.

Let us now take a closer look at the most important cultivated plants and at the methods of growing them.

245 Several varieties of banana (ikitoke) are cultivated both in Urundi and in Ruanda. Fifteen types can be distinguished in Urundi. Their flavor and the uses to which they are put differ widely. It is an open question whether there are wild varieties (musa ensete) in the mountains. In any case, out in the wild bush country I have often seen bananas which may have reverted to the wild state. According to the Barundi, their fruit is unpalatable, and they are called ikiribu. Van der Burgt has found them in northern Urundi near the mission at Mariensee. Wherever in East Africa bananas are cultivated as the main means of subsistence, a characteristic fact about their cultivation makes those tribes who plant them unusually sedentary. This fact is that the banana plant reproduces by means of runners or multiplies from shoots which cannot be taken far away, and once a banana grove has been planted around a farmstead it survives a long time. On the other hand, the fact that banana

Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil
388 for making soap; [54] only the people of the Tanganyika area
177 have learned from the Arabs and Wasuaheli how to mix oil with potash to make soap (kifefe) which is traded in fist-sized balls.

Apart from the cultivated plants mentioned above, the
222 Barundi and their women and children collect a number of wild
262 plants or parts of these plants to be used as food or condiments. There are, for instance, the stinging nettle, whose leaves are boiled as "spinach," and sorrel, also cooked as a vegetable. The fruit of the eggplant (Solanum esculentum) -- reverted to the wild state? -- is eaten raw or roasted. They also collect edible mushrooms which are eaten either raw or cooked, red pepper
[263] (intore) whose pods are used for seasoning, and various berries eaten as delicacies by women and children, especially blackberries which are abundant everywhere.

The location and arrangement of the fields (umurima)
241 in Urundi does not differ much from Ruanda. One thing that soon strikes the observer is that in Urundi, with the exception of the western mountain areas, terraced fields are much more rare than in Ruanda where they cover entire mountain slopes and constitute the characteristics appearance of the cultivated areas. In Urundi the fields extend predominantly over level ground, either on the broad ridges and plateaus or at the bottom of the valleys. They are always close to the huts and, of course, to water. No furrows are drawn on most fields; their surface is merely loosened with a hoe. In the case of freshly cleared land, the pulled grass and shrubs are piled up in the field, left to dry, and burned. Then the ashes, as fertilizer, are worked into the ground with the hose. A similar method is used at the edge of papyrus swamps. After the water level has receded, the papyrus thicket is cut down over the whole extent of the extremely fertile alluvial land whose surface has dried. The hacked-off papyrus fronds are burned as soon as they have dried out (Plate 22a). Then the roots are dug up, narrow drainage ditches are dug, and the plant ash is spread over the field as fertilizer. Finally sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and beans are planted in the little holes which have been dug. They come up quickly. If land is cleared on a hill slope, the fields are laid out in long narrow strips which follow the contour horizontally. These are made as level as

241 possible by removing soil from farther up the hill and heaping it farther down. Thus, if there are several strips of land situated one above the other on a hillside, they are arranged in terraces. Each field is separated from the one below by a narrow grass-covered ridge in the same manner as in Ruanda. Stones piled up to form such a ridge are seen only rarely. A few broad furrows are drawn through these terrace fields so as to prevent the soil from being washed away by heavy rains. However, on the valley floors and on the artificially irrigated plains the fields are arranged in the form of elevated plots between which water may flow freely.

Since the hoes used in the fields do not penetrate very far into the soil, the clearing of the land, sowing, and planting do not extend very far below the surface. Hence, the uppermost topsoil is continuously used and is soon exhausted and "impoverished." In order to retard this process or to prevent it entirely, the Barundi use fertilizer, as has already been mentioned. This is not found very frequently in East African agriculture. As fertilizer, they use either animal manure (ikiragiriro) from cattle, goats, sheep, and chickens, or the ashes of burnt plants (amase) from the hearth and from the roots of grass or papyrus which they have dug up, or green fertilizer (chopped pieces of the banana trunk, sorghum stalks), or kitchen refuse, sweepings, etc. ¶ 55] These fertilizers are distributed evenly over the fields and sometimes raked into the soil somewhat, usually shortly before the rainy season.

As soon as the first rains come, men, women, and children begin to cultivate the fields. The various plants are sown throughout the rainy season, that is, from September or October until March or April: first, beans, peas, and corn; sorghum and eleusine next; then the tuberous plants. Fresh beans and young corn are available in November, but the main harvest (bananas, sorghum, eleusine) takes place in June. The dry period extends from June until September or October. It is a period of rest for most fields. However, in river and stream valleys, in the lowlands where water is available, and even on many hill slopes, the fields are tilled and planted and crops are harvested during the

●241 entire year. Even during the driest months bananas, beans, corn, sweet potatoes, and pumpkins grow there.

241 312 This is made possible only by artificial irrigation (uwutotsi) which the Barundi have brought to a stage of development and apply in a manner similar to the Banjaruanda. In the valley plains and on the river bottoms, water is channeled from the main stream through a whole network of larger and smaller canals and ditches and distributed over the area. Here the innumerable plots of arable ground rise above the ditches like high beds (Plate 22b). In order to irrigate the fields on the hillsides as well, the upper course of the stream is dammed up with earth and latticework so as to form a pool. From there the water is led along the mountain slopes through a ditch, which is often several kilometers long, until the desired destination is reached. Small channels lead off from this main artery at various intervals and irrigate numerous fields on the hillsides. Once a field has received enough water, the ditch leading to it is dammed up. The last fields receive only a little water because the supply has been exhausted along the route. It is amazing with what understanding of the velocity and pressure of the water the ditches have been leveled, dammed up, and conducted along the valley slopes with all their indentations and salients. If the slope is interrupted by a gully that also interrupts the course of the irrigation ditch, a long tree trunk, often brought from a long distance, is placed horizontally across the gully. Its upper side is hollowed out to form a groove through which the water may flow. There are tree viaducts of this type 30 to 40 meters long (No. 19, p. 50). The construction of such an irrigation network is the joint enterprise of the men. Each is entitled to his share of water. The equitable distribution of the water is regulated and supervised by the mutwale of the district.

I have seen a similar carefully and painstakingly constructed irrigation network -- which would do credit to any European horticulturist -- only among the Wadschagga of Kilimanjaro. It must be said, however, that the artificial irrigation in some areas of Usambara, Uluguru, Ussagara, and several other mountain regions is not much inferior to that mentioned above.

241 In spite of all this, the Barundi do not grow more crops
433 than they need for their subsistence during the year. The soil
[134] is, for the most part, fertile red earth and, in the valley plains, dark gray alluvial soil or humus, except in the sterile and stony quartzite regions of the east. With or without artificial irrigation, this soil could produce much more if a larger area were cultivated. This is prevented mainly by the absence of trade. [56] Since there are neither markets nor organized trade in the large area of central Urundi -- only the Tanganyika region possesses both -- the Murundi could do nothing with what he produced beyond his own needs. Moreover, the Murundi does not anticipate bad harvests. Like nearly all Negroes, he never
731 worries about the future. Since not even the hardy manioc (which, even in the driest years when everything else withers, still furnishes a good yield) is grown in large quantities, extensive areas are plagued by famine in poor harvest years. This is especially true of the arid quartzite regions of eastern Urundi.
[797] Then the missionary stations (Mugera, Mujaga, and others) and the government try to help by importing grain (sorghum) from Uha and Usámbiro, but they still cannot prevent many people, particularly children, from starving to death.

Another important reason that prevents further expansion
241 of agriculture can be found in the way land is owned, in the
423 overruling power of the Batussi who claim, above all, grazing land for their herds of cattle. We shall discuss this problem later (p. 57).

Various efforts are made to protect the growing crops
241 against pests. Weeds are cleared away; caterpillars, beetles,
136 and snails are picked off; birds are frightened away by scarecrows which, for example, are made of gallows-shaped sorghum stalks tied one upon the other with dry, rattling fruit suspended from them. Large animals, however, like the wild boars and baboons in the mountains of western Urundi, are either kept out by fences or chased away by watchmen who walk around in the daytime and at night take up their positions in small huts perched on high posts. From there the guards from time to time set up a loud shouting or rattle with sticks. In the valleys of western

241 Urundi and Ruanda where water is abundant, crowned cranes,
136 spore geese, and Nile geese are the worst enemies of the crops since they eat the young budding sprouts of beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, millet, etc. The Bahutu try to frighten them away by rattles and shouting. Ibises, herons, and golden plovers also abound in the swamp valleys, but they do not attack the green crops and prefer to fish for frogs, worms, and snails in the drainage ditches. In the dry quartzite regions of eastern Urundi there are only a few such swamp valleys, and consequently there are only a few of the noxious birds mentioned above.

251 Harvested produce is partly kept in baskets and sacks in the huts, but most of it is put in the basket-shaped storage huts mentioned above (p.22) which are located near the living huts. Particularly beans, sorghum, and corn are stored in these basket-like huts. However, during the dry period ears of corn are suspended in large bundles from the fig trees surrounding the homestead. The tuberous fruit, namely, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and arrowroot, are usually not piled up but are left in the ground until they are needed. This is another reason why the quantity grown is never large, since it would spoil otherwise.

423 I mentioned before that further expansion of agriculture in Urundi is blocked by the peculiar conditions of ownership. The situation here is quite similar to that in Ruanda. None of the agricultural Bahutu owns the land that he cultivates. All the land is the property of the king who vests his high batwale with it, who in turn vest the lower Batussi batwale (see p. 134). The mutwale distributes the individual lots of land to the Bahutu he rules, who hold it in fee. [57] The Bahutu must ask his per-
423 mission whenever they intend to work a plot of land, build a hut,
651 or clear new ground for fields. They pay him a tribute of natural products which is done only once. In addition, they pay him an
[427] annual "tithe" as a ground rent. If the annual rent is not paid at harvest time, the mutwale may punish this tardiness by evicting the person from the land. The mutwale may also demand extraordinary tributes from the Bahutu without compensating them, for example, presents for the head chief, provisions for the caravan of a European passing through, etc. The gifts or payments made

423 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale:
651 Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the people?] !

311 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is
578 not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and against agriculture, will continue even when this big country is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of
000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at present, since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agricultural production and to sell more. These difficulties will only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions relating to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concentrated fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily upon these areas and retarding their development: the rule of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is necessary than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall
782 mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it (No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

241 beginning of the cultivation of the fields as soon as the rainy
782 season has started. This is done after he and his sorcerers (abafumu) have practiced a number of ceremonies and have
[776] offered sacrifices to the principal god, Imana, the fertility god. The order of the head chief is passed on by the subchief to the lower batwale who again pass it on to the Bahutu. The Bahutu also offer small gifts to the god. When they begin to till the field, a sorcerer (umufumu) dances in front of them on the first day, shouting and gesticulating, to banish the evil spirits and to bless the seed.

241 According to Father Gassldinger the consecration of the
782 fields takes a somewhat different form in central Urundi
796 (Mujaga). At the beginning of the rainy season, after the high grass has been cut down and dug into the topsoil with hoes, work is started with a ceremony that is supposed to bring the blessing of Kiranga. [58] The men, painted yellow and red, line up with their hoes on the field which is to be tilled. Kiranga with two escorts (ivisjego) sits on the side of the field. A girl who is painted and richly adorned stands in front of the men in the center of the field. She now begins to jump, dance, and sing while cutting the high grass with her sickle. Still singing, she asks Kiranga for a successful sowing and curses the sorcerers and witches who might want to harm the field. The men promise her ample gifts of beer for the summer. The men walk slowly behind her turning the soil over with their hoes which they strike rhythmically into the ground. Depending on the type of seed, Kiranga is invoked by a particular name: Njamurimi when sorghum is sown, Njabaschi for peanuts, Rumambo for corn, etc. (No. 45, p. 316).

782 The heir presumptive to the throne of the king is believed
241 to hold in his clenched fist at birth a grain of seed of each of the
[644] crops of Urundi. If the corn or sorghum in a field has been dashed to the ground by hail or a cloudburst, the Muhutu who cultivated the plot runs around the field with a cattle bell, and by its noisy clanging he reminds the god to whom he has made sacrifices of his duty to protect the field from evil spirits. If this clanging of the bell is done properly, the crops lying on the ground will raise themselves to an upright position.

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Plate 22

Laying out a Field after Burning Papyrus, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

133
241

Sweet Potatoe Fields in a Swamp Valley, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[467] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[178] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

[p.14 (A)]

178 changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground.
177 Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of
[541] famine; coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps to pay the tax-collector).

178 Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type,
177 closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neighbourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres)
361 or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly
563 foreigners: Belgian officials, European traders (Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *banyahili* (Islamized negroes). It remains however that they are an entirely new feature in a country with such a widely dispersed population.

Conclusions

361 I thought I could draw your attention to some
571 details of the curious Urundi organization: a dense population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and habitable land according to the geographic possibilities, without any orientation centres (the few habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce anything like demographic concentration); the small part played by neighbourhood relations, the predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating man-to-man dependance, or in other words the primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relationships.

Such an organization was possible in a country almost completely closed to foreign influence, without either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure and must be related to conditions both ethnographical and geographical. This organization is
[177 giving way under the influence of European ad-
178] ministration, of the development of trade, and of a new economy based more and more upon monetary transactions.

[p. 16 (8)]

133 a chimney opening at the bottom (1), has a diameter of about 400 meters.

1. In 1912 there were two juxtaposed chimneys. The wall that divided them disappeared in 1915.

The column of smoke, which was rather light between the years 1908 and 1926, thickened in January, 1927 and may be seen from afar.

Its neighbor to the right, the Nyamlagira (3, 056 meters), is more active. The mouth of the volcano is nearly 2, 000 meters in diameter.

Lava in fusion is constantly boiling in four or five small chimneys scattered along part of the old crater. It exudes fumaroles /sic/ and sulphurous vapors. The volcano called Mugunga or Ntsuro, not far from Lake Kivu, still emits some occasional vapors. Its eruption is of recent date, since it revived at the end of December, 1912.

Let us still mention the Bwana-Mahalage, which is nearly lost among blocks of lava. It erupted twice between 1903 and 1905, and since then has given no signs of life.

Its crater is now almost completely obstructed, and its diameter is insignificant.

In places where lava has begun to desintegrate, as happened [134] in the Bugoyi plain, which extends northeast of Lake Kivu, the soil is quite fertile.

The aspect of the land is imposing and pleasant to gaze at. The lake with its islands, the high peaks that block the horizon to the north, the plain strewn with craters, and the active volcanoes [132] make it an area unsurpassed in scenic value. The climate is temperate and the soil rich. It is volcanic soil that keeps disintegrating without ever being exhausted. One finds in the fields sorghum, peas, beans, sweet-potatoes, and eleusine. Edible arum is rare and so is manioc, but potatoes and wheat are becoming increasingly widespread. The soils of Byahi and Riverere are most propitious to the

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241

134 cultivation of the famous plante médicée /Tr.: "Medici plant"/
241 (tobacco), the sale of which provides a living for a number of families. /26/

The vast Rwrere plain covers nearly half of the Bugoyi province.
133 Not a spring or brook is to be found there. The rain water immediately
312 drains beneath the lava, which is covered by a mere 50 or 60 centimeters of arable soil. The inhabitants are compelled to cover distances varying between 10 and 20 kilometers, round trip to draw water from the brooks of the Sebeya or the Mutura. During the rainy season, they carefully save the water that collects in the crags of rocks or in small moats dug by each person around his dwelling. The owners of banana groves use the water held by the thicker husks of the banana trees. These are split lengthwise with a knife, and produce water lightly mixed with potash. The natives get used to drinking this liquid without any repugnance.

The Bagoyi who live in the mountainous area are better off than the plains people as far as water is concerned.

The northern area, called Bigogo, consists entirely of pastures.
133 It is inhabited by the herding Batutsi, who own numerous herds of cattle, the wealth of the country.

These same lands of volcanic origin, gave birth to a beautiful
[137] forest where bamboo grows along with some rare species of trees. It spreads east of Kivu in a north-south direction.

[311] The natives, ever in search of fertile fields and charcoal, have made terrible inroads into it. This is why large gaps are to be found in it.

The central and eastern provinces, the Nduga, Bwana-Mkali, Gissaka, Buganza, etc., are made up of long rolling hills, nearly always separated by small valleys which are often transformed into
[311] marshes and which are very useful for summer planting.

The Buliza, Bussigi, and Luhanga are long plateaus where numerous herds of goats, sheep, and cows graze. These areas lie at an altitude of about 2,200 meters. /27/

Ruanda also has lakes, the most important of which is Kivu, which is 120 kilometers long and from 40 to 50 kilometers wide.

233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [356] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

241 The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

Their Food is Varied

262 It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate
[241] a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds
Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ébikoro), squash
and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain
[263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the
Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/,
[272] who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and
intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/
[273] frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with
a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

263 The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their
everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants
or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824] 1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place
258 of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from
263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824] 1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in
a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

258 water, which overflows into a jar, carrying with it a few more or less
263 soluble particles of this sooty dust. The liquid is preserved. The cooks pour a little into the cooking pot at every meal. Some families subsist on this humble vocation and trade with water which is not salted but which has an ashy taste.

Salt was indeed rare before the arrival of the Europeans. The great Batutsi chiefs were about the only ones able to obtain it.

This salt, collected by the Blacks in the marshes of Lake Edward, contained an amount of earth and sand at least equal to half its volume. It sold nevertheless for a very high price at native markets.

The salt from the Gottorp plant (not far from Kigoma) is now used by all social strata. It is highly valued by the Banyarwanda, who call it ulugera, a substantive derived from the verb kugera, which means "to penetrate," because, as they say, it goes all the way down to their stomachs thanks to its high quality and its tart and pungent flavor. One understands why formerly the Blacks, when deprived of salt, would seek out bitter herbs and sour fruits. Red pepper and
[241] chives, which were imported fairly recently, have for this reason been a great success among the Blacks, who cultivate them in small plots near their huts. It is probably for the same reason that children show almost as much fondness for lemons as for oranges. /34/ A few years after the eruption referred to as that of the Ntsuro (December, 1911 and January, 1912), when the natives were able to approach the volcano safely, they began collecting salt mixed with large quantities of earth. The inhabitants of nearby villages spend most of their time collecting the indispensable substance. In order to rid the salt of its
[415] impurities, people melt it in large wooden troughs full of water, which are called imivule or imizinga. The liquid is then removed to other troughs where it is exposed to the sun. The most skillful and enterprising workers allow the water to boil until it evaporates completely. The markets which are held north of Kivu are supplied with this salt, which sells as high as that of Gottorp in spite of its poor quality. It is less white, contains impurities, and always remains damp.

241 The Batwa, or Negrillos, do not farm much. They look down
461 on field work.
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241 To them, this labor is almost taboo (1). They are divided in
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1. Extensive fields of peas are to be seen among the Batwa of the Bugoyi, who live at the edge of the forest. Should one see this as a new state of affairs caused by the deep changes which have upset or transformed their former way of life?

It is certain that the hunting grounds of the Pygmies are not as extensive as they used to be. The forest dwindles imperceptibly but surely as the Bahutu, in search of new fields, gnaw at it incessantly with their axes. It must also be said that the Negrillos can no longer plunder and rob as they used to do. European penetration is largely responsible for stopping this source of income. In order to support themselves, the Batwa have begun to farm out of necessity, like the Bahutu.

323 two categories, the potters and the hunters. The former settle in Bahutu villages but live apart. They work with clay, a task which everyone else gladly leaves to them. They get foodstuffs in exchange for their vessels.

224 The hunters prefer the solitude of the forest. They are the
[195] true children of the woods, and "milk" the forest in every way, as though it were their cow, to repeat a familiar expression /35/ of theirs. They live on the game they kill.

They are very fond of meat and tirelessly track elephants, buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, the large tailless, clawless rats called

789 241 Woe to those who plunder lands which have been thus bewitched! They are struck motionless on the spot and become completely paralyzed (baragangara) and incapable of any motion. The sorcerer alone can free them by uttering some cabalistic words. In order to safeguard his crops the owner of a field often uses the following method, which consists of laying down on the field which is to be protected the sharpening stone, a handful of ashes from the hearth, and strips of leather taken from an old drum. If a sorghum crop is involved, our man ties together four sorghum stems near the mystic assortment, as though to simulate a hut consecrated to the spirits. The trespasser who chances on the property will be immobilized, or he will catch an illness that will lead him to the grave (1).

1. We are talking as from the native's mouth, but we do not intend to confirm his claims in any way. Even when events justify those claims, this may undoubtedly be ascribed to emotion, autosuggestion, or sheer coincidence.

791 789 In the Bwana-Mkali province, operators of this kind bear the name of Abakagizi (from gukagira, "to hinder"), and their method is called urukago, "hindrance." Like their other colleagues, they bury amulets, plants with magic properties, an old household spatula, or even the small stone used to crush the grain at the entrance to the courtyard or behind the hut. The stone, called ingasire, is also called ikinane in sorcerers' terms, that is to say, "the obstacle," "the supreme preventitive." The use of a spatula which is worn or out of commission has a mystic sense and a magic virtue at the same time. The thief who should attempt to enter a dwelling protected in this fashion would find his efforts come to naught (2). Professional

2. This method is reminiscent of bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/.

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821

12. Imvura y' igisanura (2), "the rain that soaks (the parched

2. Gusanura is a sort of auxiliary verb which is understood in a figurative sense and has many meanings, like the verb gukaza.

lands), that is to say, the first showers of the rainy season.

IV. Seasonal Rites

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When the sorghum-sowing time (mu kubiba) comes by, the mistress of the household takes a handful of grain which she proceeds to grind. With the resulting small amount of flour, she fashions a roll into which she slips some fruit of the shrub called intobo. Then the roll is placed in a small basket (interero or chyibo) along with a household spatula (umwuko) /433/ Meanwhile, the children of the household wrap the embers from the hearth in a bunch of grass which should contain either bran or sorghum husks whenever possible. They bury this parcel in the field which is about to be sowed.

One must not forget to add to the contents of the basket a piece of iron dross. There remains only to place the whole thing in the storage granary (ikigega), which shall be filled to the brim at harvest time as a result of this symbolic and superstitious procedure.

The owners of the hut must see to it that none of their neighbors will come to get some fire (kulahura) and enter the hut until the day when the first sorghum shoots appear.

If one were to neglect this precaution, one would incur the risk of a bad harvest (ngo batabak' umugisha).

At the time when beans are cultivated, the owner of the field sticks his spear into the ground and places on the tip of the weapon a pod of unshelled beans which he drives in lightly. His children bring him a hollowed half gourd (uruho), which is used as a basin. He fills it with water.

On a grass pad he puts a rolling stone (ibuye ry' intosho). Then a handful of beans in the pod are placed on the pad for an instant and shelled.

241 788 The beans are poured onto the back of an overturned winnowing basket. Then the owner removes one of the long grass stalks covering the entrance to the hut, and he places this dried stem on the winnowing basket whose concave side is facing down. He takes the basket, lifts it, and shakes it strongly with both hands in order to get the beans into the other side of the grain-scouring implement.

This superstitious practice bears the name of bean "creation" or "multiplication." If a stranger /434/ happens by in the course of this ritual, he must not walk around the basket but pass to one side of it.

Then the beans are buried in the tilled ground in the hope of a rich harvest. This procedure is commonly used to insure good weather.

In their credulity and trust in superstitious practices, the Banyarwanda hope to exercise an influence over sunshine.

At the time of the sorghum harvest, when the Banyarwanda [273] are extremely eager to secure beer from this plant (amarwa) of which they have been deprived for so long, they expose the crushing stone (ingasire) to sunlight, believing that they are "retaining" the sun in this fashion. We may add that their knowledge of astronomy is nil. 821 They have only one generic term, inyenyeri, to designate the stars, and another, nyakotsi, for comets (1).

1. Nyakotsi means "the /female/ one with smoke," that is to say, with a tail.

The sun (izuba), the moon (ukwezi), and the planet Venus (nyamuhiribona) are the only heavenly bodies for which they have specific names.

131 on German East Africa, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 348.

In the northwestern part of the above-mentioned axis the Batutsi are less numerous. Only in Bwischascha and above all in the district of Lubengera do they appear in larger numbers. (3)

3. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin), p. 505.

The Batutsi of Bugoye settled there only a few generations ago. They came there from Mukinjaga. The few Batutsi in Mulera came there a short time ago from Nduga.

101 167 The Batutsi have also migrated to the west across the eastern edge of the graben [Rift Valley]. Dr. Kandt (4) says the following about the Batutsi in Kishari:

4. Ibid., p. 456.

"Here (Tshove, Kishari) many Watussi visited us, simple, friendly people but less handsome and aristocratic than those of Urundi and Ruanda; they have to work. Here they are not the rulers of the country, but cattle breeders living in villages isolated from the original inhabitants who are agriculturalists. (It is indeed strange how sharp a boundary the Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu form in this respect: to the east whole groups of Watussi live as kings and chiefs of subject peoples; to the west they appear sporadically or, as in Kishari, in larger numbers, but in neither case as rulers.)... Later I heard that Kishari is the refuge for all Watussi who for some reason have had to flee from their homeland." [124]

241 558 Despite the fact that conditions are very favorable for agriculture, the Batutsi have remained herdsmen, and only seldom have poverty-stricken Batutsi taken up agriculture. This happened to a family of Bagwabiro in Bugoye. Those Batutsi who till the

241 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribes-
558 men, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She domi-
576 nates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title, "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576. Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior
554 first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

000 fellow-tribesmen.

162 I constantly inquired about the Batwa, and since I gained no further information, I think I can assume that I have herewith listed the most important groups. Accordingly, the number of Batwa in Ruanda does not exceed 3,000, although there are individuals scattered in many different places. There were two or three in Issawi and a rainmaker in Ruasa.

614 The Batwa belong to the same clans as the rest of the Banyaruanda. Thus, the Batwa of Kahima belong to the Mugessera clan, and Kahima seems to be their clan elder, a man of little authority. The Batwa of Kabgaye, as well as those of Muhawura, belonged to various clans and may perhaps be regarded as remnants of clan groups which have been broken up.

[135]

Chapter 7

Occupations

● 241 Agriculture. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the Bahutu. It is carried on quite intensively and with care, reaching its maximum in the vicinity of Lake Kivu. The chief products are: millet (masaka), sweet potatoes (bidjumba), peas (bishimbo), and bananas (bitoke). The following are also grown in large quantities: corn (kigori), peanuts (ichiema), eleusine [a kind of millet] (buro), gourds (mungu), tobacco (itabi), and a little manioc (mukembe).

In Mulera and Bugoye peas are the staple whereas in Kissaka, Nduga, in the northeast territory, and especially in Bgisha, millet is the principal food.

The following methods used in Ruanda agriculture bespeak its high level of development: the use of fertilizer, unknown in eastern Europe; artificial irrigation; and terraced fields on the steep mountainsides.

The care that goes into farming is shown primarily by the way the farmer covers the ground of the banana groves with leaves and rotting banana stalks, so that the moisture necessary to the

241 plants is conserved. Cow manure is reportedly used as fertilizer in the banana groves as well as in the fields, and especially on the gourd plantations in certain parts of Ruanda. In Bugoye, however, where the soil is very rich, fertilizer is not used. Here, it is said, there is danger that the growth of millet become too lush and fall down. The farmers try to avert this by binding the stalks into tiny bundles during the growing season.

312 One sees a great many irrigation systems north of Lake
241 Mohasi. In Mulera, on the other hand, where there seems to be more rain, I did not see any. Frequently the water is brought in through narrow canals from dammed-up streams. For example, on the northern slope of Mount Ndisa near the Nyawarongo River I saw a water system two kilometers long [136] which descended gently to the plantations on the foothills and could be heard along its course. The main line had a number of outlets stuffed with sod, which could carry the necessary water to the pastures on the mountain slopes. The water is conducted through deep furrows separating the rectangular beds. It was only in Bgisha near Rutshuru that I saw a marshy lowland in which earth was thrown into mounds almost a meter high. These peculiar beds were sown to peas.

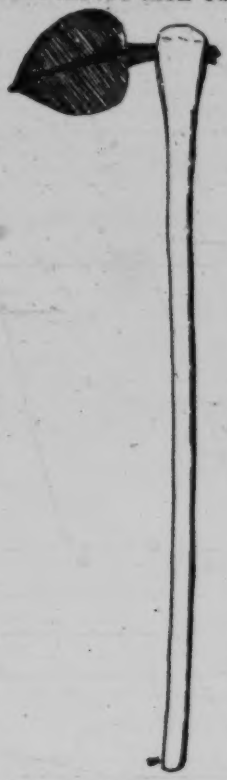
242 The first terraced fields which I had an opportunity to see were in the country north of Lake Mohasi, but they occur throughout the rest of northwestern Ruanda. In many cases they seem to be unintentional and were probably formed naturally when the slope was tilled. The terraces are two to three meters high.

In Ruanda there seems to be a certain crop rotation. In Itambi beans and peas are first planted on the cleared land and, after that, millet. In Mulera I was told that this rotation is also adhered to in fields that have been planted for some time. After the millet harvest, however, the ground is allowed to lie fallow. This order of rotation is not always maintained. One often sees millet planted along with beans. This occurs even in cases where there is no lack of space. I was told that beans can be harvested earlier without harming the millet.

Letting the fields lie fallow, it would seem, is also not a regular practice. In several cases I found that it was due to the

242 impossibility of planting the field at the proper time. For example, the Bahutu told me that near the farm of Lwakadygi several fields had to remain uncultivated because it was too late when the Batutsi moved their cattle into the forest.

•241
412



The soil is cultivated with a clumsy iron hoe (issuka). It has a long, heavy handle which is thicker at the top. The blade is fastened to the handle by means of a point at the back. [137] The point is driven into a hole burned into the handle. This method of hafting is used in the Bahinda states and throughout Buhaya. In Toro, Bunyoro, Buganda, and Nkole (at least in the north where I had a chance to observe this), the hoe is fastened somewhat differently. Here the handle consists of a forked branch cut from the trunk a little below the fork. The two parts of the fork are cut to an uneven length, the longer one being the handle and the shorter one, cut diagonally, bears the blade. The upper, protruding part of the blade is tied to the handle. This type of hoe is very awkward and a great strain to use, because the short handle forces the workers to bend over very low.

Fig. 25. Field Hoe from Julera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13108. Length of handle: 113 centimeters; length of blade: 31 centimeters; width 19.5 centimeters.)

The short hoe seems to be an older type which is dying out. My Wassukuma [Sukuma] porters told me that among their people the short-handled, bound hoe was commonly used in ancient

241 times, but that later it was replaced by a long-handled one
412 with a hole bored at one end. They also said that at present it differs from the Ruanda hoe only in the fact that it is ligher.

The very primitive wooden hoe, less frequently used in Ruanda, is somewhat similar to the older form. It, too, consists of an unevenly forked branch, but in this case the shorter end is pointed and used as the hoe. The few samples which I saw in the region had an iron tip on the pointed end. The people I questioned about it said that formerly this tip had not
[171] been used. Later I saw identical hoes among the Niloto-Hamitic Kakwa; these were without the iron tip. I was told that they were used exclusively for clearing.

In Ruanda the women as well as the men use the hoe. In this respect Ruanda is very different from the other regions of the northwest where hoe culture is practiced.

311 There are large aggregates of tilled fields only in the north and the west and along the northern shore of Lake Mohasi. Otherwise the fields are merly oases in large sections of pasture-

[412]

Fig. 26. Wooden Hoe with Iron Tip from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. L15061.)

land and bush.

311 The banana groves usually occupy the ridges of hills; at
245 least this is the case in Kissaka, Nduga, and Mulera. In Bugoye and in southern Bgisha where the settlements were very high, the groves are somewhat lower. In Bugoye where the lava is very much decomposed, there are large [138] banana plantations on the lava plains themselves. In Bgisha they are somewhat higher along the edges of these plains. Bananas bear almost all year round except in the driest season. The plants are hoed, but otherwise they require little care. The banana crop is used chiefly to make beer (nzoga).

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange 437 them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Agriculture

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Among the better classes the 241
wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants [565]
and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband [462]
and wife worked in the field.

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the 243
common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to [252]
a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people.

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten 534
morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month [782]
a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this process.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 215-23. [8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1945 and Everaerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cow-herds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

WTA 14

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963

FO42 Rundi FO42

Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food
[574] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

[2]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954. 184 113

[3]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi. 184

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help. 564 323

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

241 plants is conserved. Cow manure is reportedly used as fertilizer in the banana groves as well as in the fields, and especially on the gourd plantations in certain parts of Ruanda. In Bugoye, however, where the soil is very rich, fertilizer is not used. Here, it is said, there is danger that the growth of millet become too lush and fall down. The farmers try to avert this by binding the stalks into tiny bundles during the growing season.

312 One sees a great many irrigation systems north of Lake
241 Mohasi. In Mulera, on the other hand, where there seems to be more rain, I did not see any. Frequently the water is brought in through narrow canals from dammed-up streams. For example, on the northern slope of Mount Ndisa near the Nyawarongo River I saw a water system two kilometers long [136] which descended gently to the plantations on the foothills and could be heard along its course. The main line had a number of outlets stuffed with sod, which could carry the necessary water to the pastures on the mountain slopes. The water is conducted through deep furrows separating the rectangular beds. It was only in Bgisha near Rutshuru that I saw a marshy lowland in which earth was thrown into mounds almost a meter high. These peculiar beds were sown to peas.

242 The first terraced fields which I had an opportunity to see were in the country north of Lake Mohasi, but they occur throughout the rest of northwestern Ruanda. In many cases they seem to be unintentional and were probably formed naturally when the slope was tilled. The terraces are two to three meters high.

In Ruanda there seems to be a certain crop rotation. In Itambi beans and peas are first planted on the cleared land and, after that, millet. In Mulera I was told that this rotation is also adhered to in fields that have been planted for some time. After the millet harvest, however, the ground is allowed to lie fallow. This order of rotation is not always maintained. One often sees millet planted along with beans. This occurs even in cases where there is no lack of space. I was told that beans can be harvested earlier without harming the millet.

Letting the fields lie fallow, it would seem, is also not a regular practice. In several cases I found that it was due to the

242 impossibility of planting the field at the proper time. For example, the Bahutu told me that near the farm of Lwakadygi several fields had to remain uncultivated because it was too late when the Batutsi moved their cattle into the forest.

241
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The soil is cultivated with a clumsy iron hoe (issuka). It has a long, heavy handle which is thicker at the top. The blade is fastened to the handle by means of a point at the back. [137] The point is driven into a hole burned into the handle. This method of hafting is used in the Bahinda states and throughout Buhaya. In Toro, Bunyoro, Buganda, and Nkole (at least in the north where I had a chance to observe this), the hoe is fastened somewhat differently. Here the handle consists of a forked branch cut from the trunk a little below the fork. The two parts of the fork are cut to an uneven length, the longer one being the handle and the shorter one, cut diagonally, bears the blade. The upper, protruding part of the blade is tied to the handle. This type of hoe is very awkward and a great strain to use, because the short handle forces the workers to bend over very low.

Fig. 25. Field Hoe from Julera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13108. Length of handle: 113 centimeters; length of blade: 31 centimeters; width 19.5 centimeters.)

The short hoe seems to be an older type which is dying out. My Wassukuma [Sukuma] porters told me that among their people the short-handled, bound hoe was commonly used in ancient

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

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[262] peripheral mountains of Lake Kivu, and in the Ruzizi graben, many thousand natives in the high peripheral mountains of northwest and western Urundi, up to an altitude of almost 3,000 meters, live almost exclusively on peas. Wherever the
[311] magnificent, old, virgin forest in these regions up to the watersheds is destroyed by ax and fire, it makes room almost without exception for pea fields. In the rich humus of the forest soil, the peas thrive exceptionally well, of course. As the destruction of the forests proceeds, so does the expansion of pea fields. What a miserable substitute for the wonderful and economically much more valuable forest which in the existing climate could never be restored to its former size, even if this were attempted.

Beans and peas are left to ripen fully on the "stalk." Only when the plants have withered so completely that the fruit is about to fall off by itself are they torn out and piled up in the kraals. Then they are spread out on the roofs of the huts and finally threshed with switches. The straw [52] that is not used for litter is distributed on the fields in numerous single piles, like our haycocks, and then burned so that the ashes will fertilize the soil.

Peanuts (itschjoba) and corn (ikigori) are sown in the same
243 manner as beans, by sticking them into holes. The peanuts are
244 first taken out their shells, and the corn kernels are left in water for a day to make them swell. There seem to be three types of peanuts which are differentiated as itschjoba, itschjema, and itschjansa. None of them is used for making oil. They are only
[252] eaten as a dessert and delicacy, either raw or roasted in ashes (No. 19, p. 41).

243 There are at least half a dozen different varieties of corn (ikigori). In regions where the soil can easily be irrigated, corn is often sown three times a year, and relatively large stocks of it are always kept in the granaries. The ears are cut from the stalk. As long as they are still juicy and sweet, they are either [252] eaten raw or roasted in ashes, but for the most part the ripened kernels are ground into flour and made into a kind of polenta [372] [Italian dish]. The straw is used for fuel.

244 Yams (igname), arrowroot (amateke), and sweet potatoes (ikisumbu) are planted by sticking the tubers into the ground, and a little topsoil is heaped over them. Sweet potatoes, of which there are about half a dozen varieties (No. 19, p. 424), and arrowroot need much water for the first period of growth. For this reason they are mostly grown in the valley bottoms where they can be artificially irrigated (Plate 22b). When ripe, they are dug up with a hoe in the same manner as our potatoes; the tubers or rootstocks are removed and cooked or roasted in ashes.

245 Manioc (umumbati), however, is cultivated by shoots which are broken off from the juicy manioc shrubs and then planted in rows with a little topsoil heaped over them. After that the plant grows without any further care. It is the most undemanding of all the cultivated plants of East Africa, and for this reason it is found all over Urundi, especially in the eastern quartzite regions. At least six varieties are distinguished, 252 none of which is so poisonous as to require cooking or fermentation in order to become palatable, as do some other varieties in East Africa. It is eaten raw, cooked, dried, ground up as flour, in the form of dumplings, etc. The leaves are boiled as a vegetable.

243 Sorghum (isakka) plays a much less important role in Urundi than in Ruanda where it ranks first among cultivated plants, even before bananas. Uha, too, produces more sorghum than anything else and supplies the Barundi with it in times of scarcity. Nevertheless, sorghum occurs in Urundi in some twenty named varieties of the white and red types (No. 19, p. 544). When sorghum is sown, the soil is simply turned over with a hoe; in most cases no furrows are drawn. The grains

●243 are then scattered from the swinging hand onto the level ground, after which some soil is sprinkled on the seed by hand. Eleusine (uwuro) is sown in the same manner. The ripe ears of these two types of millet are each individually cut from the stalks with a knife. This is also the method used for corn and rice. Then the ears are spread on the firm ground in front of the huts and threshed with switches. Some of the sorghum [252] is ground into flour, but most of it is used for brewing beer. [273] Eleusine is mainly ground into flour from which the daily ugali mush (umudsima) is made.

The Barundi grow tobacco (itabi) in small quantities near 249 almost every homestead, as has been mentioned above. The delicate plant is cared for so poorly, however, that it yields a mediocre product. Uvira tobacco, which is traded in considerable amounts in the Tanganyika area, is of much better quality. [53] The Barundi put the tobacco seeds into small holes dug into the soil with a hoe. The young seedlings are not transplanted, but the Barundi clear and irrigate the surrounding soil from time to time. As soon as the plant begins to blossom (red, not white), the leaves are picked off and strung up on bast strings to dry in the sun. Then, for fermentation and storage, they are wrapped in dry banana leaves. In spite of its terrible appearance, 276 the tobacco does not have a bad aroma, but it is so strong that even the Barundi seldom smoke it. In most cases it is smoked only by old men and women. The others are all inveterate snuff-takers (see p.59), whereas in Ruanda tobacco is only rarely taken as snuff but is smoked in considerable amounts.

[824] Tobacco is regarded by the Barundi in the same way as all narcotics are regarded by primitive peoples: as possessing [758] mysterious powers. From this originates the custom of stuffing a pinch of snuff up the nose of a person who has fainted. Also, the young bridegroom blows tobacco smoke at his wife, and so forth (No. 19, p. 557).

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244 Sweet potatoes are planted in marshy lowlands and irrigated
311 fields. They are the staple during the dry season when other supplies are exhausted and the millet is not yet ripe.

The land at the highest altitude is used for peas, although one often finds fields of peas at a lower altitude than banana groves. The highest fields I saw were on Mount Ndisa, high above the settlements, probably extending up to 2,000 meters. I could not discover the reason for the high location of these fields. [139] To judge from the surrounding country, I did not have the impression that it was so densely populated that the people were forced to lay out their fields so inconveniently. Peas and beans are harvested at the end of the rainy season.

251 Field crops, with the exception of bananas and sweet potatoes, are kept in storehouses (kigega). Millet is cut off short and left lying unthreshed until it is needed. Only then is it threshed in small quantities in mortars and winnowed by the wind on large woven shields. Bananas and sweet potatoes are brought from the plantations as needed. The bunches to be used for making beer are kept in the huts to continue ripening. Here considerable stores of other crops, especially beans and peas, are kept in large baskets (umuhiri) made air tight with cow dung.

314 Forestry. In Ruanda we can hardly speak of forest cultivation, despite intensive farming and the widespread cultivation of the land in densely populated areas where forests have shrunk to a minimum. The Muhutu is the worst enemy of the forest. He uses wood to build his huts and storehouses, his boats and tools, and to cook his food, but he does not husband it, and in this respect he is no better than the peasant of eastern Europe.

311 According to unanimous reports by the natives, the country of Ruanda is undergoing a rapid change, and deforestation is making great advances. Formerly the country is said to have been covered

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband and wife worked in the field.

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people.

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is [252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are [262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to [273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as [231] vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work, and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for wrapping various objects, etc.

244 Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all. Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and 2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping, and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a, p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans. They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

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244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.
The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West
Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara
is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers
about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis
guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000
to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching
to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with
300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the
Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited
neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the
chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness.
For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical
to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can
be made (see above, pp.24,31). This tree is really planted and
cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by
the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily
in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The ma-
jority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and
only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After
cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded
in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole
outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded
pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water
so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped
into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for
the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

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244 Sweet potatoes are planted in marshy lowlands and irrigated
311 fields. They are the staple during the dry season when other supplies are exhausted and the millet is not yet ripe.

The land at the highest altitude is used for peas, although one often finds fields of peas at a lower altitude than banana groves. The highest fields I saw were on Mount Ndisa, high above the settlements, probably extending up to 2,000 meters. I could not discover the reason for the high location of these fields. [139] To judge from the surrounding country, I did not have the impression that it was so densely populated that the people were forced to lay out their fields so inconveniently. Peas and beans are harvested at the end of the rainy season.

251 Field crops, with the exception of bananas and sweet potatoes, are kept in storehouses (kigega). Millet is cut off short and left lying unthreshed until it is needed. Only then is it threshed in small quantities in mortars and winnowed by the wind on large woven shields. Bananas and sweet potatoes are brought from the plantations as needed. The bunches to be used for making beer are kept in the huts to continue ripening. Here considerable stores of other crops, especially beans and peas, are kept in large baskets (umuhiri) made air tight with cow dung.

314 Forestry. In Ruanda we can hardly speak of forest cultivation, despite intensive farming and the widespread cultivation of the land in densely populated areas where forests have shrunk to a minimum. The Muhutu is the worst enemy of the forest. He uses wood to build his huts and storehouses, his boats and tools, and to cook his food, but he does not husband it, and in this respect he is no better than the peasant of eastern Europe.

311 According to unanimous reports by the natives, the country of Ruanda is undergoing a rapid change, and deforestation is making great advances. Formerly the country is said to have been covered

241 distributed. Wherever water is plentiful, one will find sweet potatoes; therefore there are few in the highland of the interior and only in the valley bottoms. Yams are grown very rarely. Manioc, however, which requires a certain amount of dryness and warmth is widely distributed in the lowlands and in the dry quartzite areas of the east. In the mountains of the west it is found only in the lower, warmer regions. Sorghum is found all over Urundi, although nowhere in large amounts; its main growing areas are the drier quartzite regions of eastern Urundi. Eleusine [a kind of millet] is found only in small quantities, and mostly at high altitudes. A little rice is grown [50] but only on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. It is cultivated by non-Barundi who imported it from the east; the Barundi themselves are not familiar with the cultivation of rice. Tobacco is cultivated everywhere in Urundi but merely as a form of primitive horticulture near the huts. The same is true for the castor-oil plant. Finally, the oil palm grows only on the shores of Lake Tanganyika and on the slopes of the peripheral mountains on the western side toward the lake.

Let us now take a closer look at the most important cultivated plants and at the methods of growing them.

Several varieties of banana (ikitoke) are cultivated both
245 in Urundi and in Ruanda. Fifteen types can be distinguished in Urundi. Their flavor and the uses to which they are put differ widely. It is an open question whether there are wild varieties (musa ensete) in the mountains. In any case, out in the wild bush country I have often seen bananas which may have reverted to the wild state. According to the Barundi, their fruit is unpalatable, and they are called ikiribu. Van der Burgt has found them in northern Urundi near the mission at Mariensee. Wherever in East Africa bananas are cultivated as the main means of subsistence, a characteristic fact about their cultivation makes those tribes who plant them unusually sedentary. This fact is that the banana plant reproduces by means of runners or multiplies from shoots which cannot be taken far away, and once a banana grove has been planted around a farmstead it survives a long time. On the other hand, the fact that banana

245 cultivation requires hardly any work at all engenders laziness among those tribes who live almost entirely on bananas, as, for instance, the peoples living in the areas around Lake Victoria. Cultural progress through work is forced upon the population in this area only by their chiefs (Kahigi, Mugarâwua, and others) who are members of Hamitic Bahinda families. However, in Urundi and Ruanda the climate and topography of the area force the people to grow not only bananas but a whole series of other agricultural produce which the soil yields only after hard work with the hoe. There the limited banana cultivation cannot induce the same indolence among the people. However, when comparing the neglected banana plantations with the fields of other produce, it becomes evident that the former will thrive without much care. After the bunches of bananas have been gathered, the trunk withers yet it is left to stand there for quite a long time. The large dried leaves droop down, and weeds are removed only if they become too dense. Often no effort is made to plant young shoots, and the new striplings simply are left to grow from the rootstock. Subsequently, all of them are cut except one or two which are left for further growth. Sometimes all of them are left. For this reason the banana trees in a plantation do not grow singly, as is always the case on the coast, for instance, where reproduction and the increase in number of the plants are always effected by planting young striplings. Here, bananas grow from trunks which, in bundles of four, six, or ten, have shot from the same rootstock. Frequently, cultivated plants that are not too tall and can stand the shade are grown between the bananas such as sweet potatoes, pumpkins, beans, corn, and sorghum.

Bananas thrive best on soil which is quite moist while the plant is still growing but dry while the fruit appears and ripens. In areas where rain is plentiful, as in mountainous western Urundi, banana groves are not restricted to certain places, while in eastern Urundi with its drier climate they either nestle in the valleys so as to get sufficient water or they are [312] found in more exposed places where water has to be piped artificially through long ducts.

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is [252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are [262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to [273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as [231] vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work, and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for wrapping various objects, etc.

244 Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all. Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and 2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping, and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a, p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans. They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

243 There are at least half a dozen different varieties of corn (ikigori). In regions where the soil can easily be irrigated, corn is often sown three times a year, and relatively large stocks of it are always kept in the granaries. The ears are cut from the stalk. As long as they are still juicy and sweet, they are either [252] eaten raw or roasted in ashes, but for the most part the ripened kernels are ground into flour and made into a kind of polenta [372] [Italian dish]. The straw is used for fuel.

244 Yams (igname), arrowroot (amateke), and sweet potatoes (ikisumbu) are planted by sticking the tubers into the ground, and a little topsoil is heaped over them. Sweet potatoes, of which there are about half a dozen varieties (No. 19, p. 424), and arrowroot need much water for the first period of growth. For this reason they are mostly grown in the valley bottoms where they can be artificially irrigated (Plate 22b). When ripe, they are dug up with a hoe in the same manner as our potatoes; the tubers or rootstocks are removed and cooked or roasted in ashes.

245 Manioc (umumbati), however, is cultivated by shoots which are broken off from the juicy manioc shrubs and then planted in rows with a little topsoil heaped over them. After that the plant grows without any further care. It is the most undemanding of all the cultivated plants of East Africa, and for this reason it is found all over Urundi, especially in the eastern quartzite regions. At least six varieties are distinguished, 252 none of which is so poisonous as to require cooking or fermentation in order to become palatable, as do some other varieties in East Africa. It is eaten raw, cooked, dried, ground up as flour, in the form of dumplings, etc. The leaves are boiled as a vegetable.

243 Sorghum (isakka) plays a much less important role in Urundi than in Ruanda where it ranks first among cultivated plants, even before bananas. Uha, too, produces more sorghum than anything else and supplies the Barundi with it in times of scarcity. Nevertheless, sorghum occurs in Urundi in some twenty named varieties of the white and red types (No. 19, p. 544). When sorghum is sown, the soil is simply turned over with a hoe; in most cases no furrows are drawn. The grains

423 are least fortunate or most enterprising get together to sell or exchange
[311] their plots and go to the edge of the forest to buy a piece of land or to develop the one they owned there.

From then on, the clan to which they belong includes an additional village.

As in Europe the sale and lease of fields and banana groves is made in the presence of witnesses. Land boundaries are marked with stones and other conventional signs.

A felled tree, a displaced stone, some ground which has been broken in a neighbor's field over the dividing line, such things cause frequent litigations that give rise to disunity within families and among tribes over long periods of time.

The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ remains attached
361 to his native village, to his plot of land. He does not feel the need to move elsewhere, to change his domicile, as do the Blacks settled east and west of Tanganyika.

Ruanda soil is richer by far and sustains numerous and varied
[134] crops.

In addition to the banana grove, which is the most important
245 part of his property, the Munyarwanda has begun to plant trees and to cultivate coffee, which brings in large profits to which he was not
[231] accustomed. Ownership of a small herd of cattle or sheep makes his home even dearer to him.

It may be said that his home life is more stable than in neigh-
593 boring areas, and that he leaves it only rarely (1).

[166]

1. The Blacks, too, are familiar with nostalgia and home sickness. The fear of a vendetta or the attraction of large salaries may temporarily induce the natives to expatriate themselves. Sooner or later, however, they return to the cradle of their ancestors. The Banyarwanda cite characteristic instances of this.

241 times, but that later it was replaced by a long-handled one
412 with a hole bored at one end. They also said that at present it differs from the Ruanda hoe only in the fact that it is ligher.

The very primitive wooden hoe, less frequently used in Ruanda, is somewhat similar to the older form. It, too, consists of an unevenly forked branch, but in this case the shorter end is pointed and used as the hoe. The few samples which I saw in the region had an iron tip on the pointed end. The people I questioned about it said that formerly this tip had not
[171] been used. Later I saw identical hoes among the Niloto-Hamitic Kakwa; these were without the iron tip. I was told that they were used exclusively for clearing.

In Ruanda the women as well as the men use the hoe. In this respect Ruanda is very different from the other regions of the northwest where hoe culture is practiced.

311 There are large aggregates of tilled fields only in the north and the west and along the northern shore of Lake Mohaşi. Otherwise the fields are merly oases in large sections of pasture-

[412]

Fig. 26. Wooden Hoe with Iron Tip from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. L15061.)

land and bush.

311 The banana groves usually occupy the ridges of hills; at
● 245 least this is the case in Kissaka, Nduga, and Mulera. In Bugoye and in southern Bgisha where the settlements were very high, the groves are somewhat lower. In Bugoye where the lava is very much decomposed, there are large [138] banana plantations on the lava plains themselves. In Bgisha they are somewhat higher along the edges of these plains. Bananas bear almost all year round except in the driest season. The plants are hoed, but otherwise they require little care. The banana crop is used chiefly to make beer (nzoga).

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber shortage is a very important economic problem. In some places wood must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

313 372

245 197 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 554 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C.T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

233 troughs of clay are constructed near the water holds into which
[312] the drinking water is scooped. As in our Alps, the hill slopes bear the imprint of the hooves of the cattle in the form of innumerable little steps and paths since the grazing cattle will usually move along the slope in a horizontal direction which is more comfortable for grazing.

In the months after the rains the cattle can gorge themselves on green grass and they then look quite attractive, but during the dry months when all the grass is parched to a gray-brown color, the cattle become so lean that one can count all their ribs. In Urundi during the months of September and October I have seen, almost without exception, cattle which were very emaciated. Only the herds of the chiefs preserve their healthy appearance in the dry period since the best grazing land is reserved for them. The general impression is that both
[137] in Urundi and Ruanda, which are both almost exclusively grasslands, good nourishing pastures are not very extensive. It is possible to wander for days over chains of hills and plains in the sterile, thinly populated quartzite areas of the east where the growth of grass is so poor that it is not worthwhile for the natives to burn it. Since the hill ridges and the valleys in the
[311] populated areas of central and western Urundi are covered with homesteads and fields, insofar as the valleys are not filled with papyrus swamps, in general only the hill slopes for pastures. However, since every year the dry expanse of grass on them is burned off in order to obtain a new growth of green grass as soon as possible and to destroy the vermin noxious to cattle, the quality, the food value, of the grass [43] cannot improve. Also, if the herds multiply greatly, as in the northwestern areas of Urundi and in most of Ruanda, the pastures are soon overstocked. The Batussi and Bahutu do not grow any fodder with
[246] a high food value which could compensate for the lack of good grazing land. As a result most cattle suffer from malnutrition, and if then a contagious disease is brought into the country or if it is caused in the area itself through infectious vermin, etc., the animals with low resistance succumb to it in great numbers. The available grazing land is then sufficient for the

234 Butter is not eaten. It is used to anoint the body and to
302 smear on clothes. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter; they are held at the neck with one hand and rocked back and forth on the ground. Butter is stored in small clay [143] and
415 wooden vessels (akachendo). The latter often have looped handles and are then called uchende yo mukondo.

The local form of intensive agriculture on very fertile soil
233 is not easy to combine with the extremely extensive cattle raising. Barn feeding is unknown. The animals graze all day in the open and are locked into the kraal (lugo) at night. Thus, even in the densely populated and highly agricultural regions, it is very difficult to keep even the milch cows near the settlements. The rest of the animals are driven out to more remote pastures. For example, the Bagoye drive their cows eastward into the primeval
233 forest on the watershed. The animals are cared for by special
465 Batutsi caretakers who are paid to do this. For his service the herdsman gets the milk the first two months, since the cow is not returned to the owner until her calf is two months old. The herdsman also gets a jug of beer worth one hoe. He is, however, held accountable for the cow and must replace animals which are killed or stolen.

●246 Pastures receive no special attention. On the northern slope of Mount Ndisa, however, I saw an irrigation system that watered the mountain meadows. Otherwise the steppes are merely burned off at the end of the dry season; this removes the withered grass and the young grass comes up abundantly after the first rain, the ground having been fertilized by the ashes. Needless to say, grass fires have greatly contributed to the deforestation of Ruanda, especially in the less populated areas. Granted that the forests have been destroyed by the farmers, nevertheless it is the herdsmen who make a second growth impossible. Grass fires rage throughout the country. In Mulera and Bugoye where everything is under cultivation, one sees fires only on the volcanic plains.

233 Since no fodder is stored, the cattle become very thin during
661 the dry season. It is not uncommon for Batutsi chiefs to have their herds driven into the sweet potato plantations of their farmers, where great damage is done. No matter how great their loss, the Bahutu cannot drive the cows out nor resist in any way.

351 417 The enclosure (ingo) around the majority of the kraals both in Urundi and Ruanda is not only intended as a means of protection against human or animal intruders, but it also serves to enclose the family, especially the small children, and to keep the cattle penned in at night (Plate 20a, 21b). If the inhabitants have no cattle, they usually have no fences around their huts. This is the case, for example, in some mountain regions of northwest Urundi and in a few districts of western central Urundi. Wherever fences do exist, they are higher than a man so that one cannot see over them. Depending on what material is available, they consist of dry trunks of banana trees, sorghum stalks, papyrus shafts, or the dry branches of the Acanthus arboreus, roughly but firmly tied together, or they are formed by closely planted living dracaena, fig trees, or euphorbias. I never saw stones piled up so as to make a wall, although there are enough blocks of stone there to serve this purpose. The entrance to the kraal, which is flanked by two strong poles, is blocked at night by trunks placed across it. [24]

The kraals of the Batussi are in most cases more carefully and firmly enclosed than those of the Bahutu. In some areas settled predominantly by Batussi, for example, in the extensive highland pasture areas on the eastern slope of the peripheral mountains of Tanganyika on the upper Muwarasi, "each house is a small fortress with three concentric defenses. Within the protective wall (probably made of piled earth, there is a plaited cane fence, behind this one of euphorbias, and finally one made of thorns" (No. 8, p. 73).

351 248 [287] Even when the hedge does not consist of fig trees planted close to one another, there are almost always a number of fig trees around the kraal, this being more often the case here than in Ruanda. These trees provide not only shade for the kraal, but also bark which is used in a variety of ways, in particular for making clothes (Plate 18a, 21a). As in Ruanda, such circular groups of fig trees enable one to note the sites of former kraals, particularly those of chiefs, many years after the huts have

351 disappeared. Yet, I did not find any trees at all at the resi-
[248] dence of the great chief Kilima (see pp. 162, 188 [these pages not translated]) in northwest Urundi. Four large round kraals are situated there on an open round mountain top at an altitude of 2,150 meters, affording a wonderful view of the neighboring deep valleys and long mountain chains. Each kraal is surrounded
[417] by a thick bamboo palisade, twice as high as a man, enclosing six to eight spacious round huts. There is no tree, green fence pole, or even a banana leaf anywhere near it. The entire complex stands on the commanding steep mountain top, like a fort built for defense.

361 In other parts of the border districts adjoining Ruanda, the houses are sometimes crowded together into whole villages surrounded by strong protective fences. Indeed, Captain Bethe even found "a large city of natives, a compact community living together" (Deutsches Kolonialblatt [German Colonial Journal, 1899, p. 9) in Iwusome on Lake Rugwero in northeastern Urundi. However, these are exceptions to the general practice of living in individual kraals and occur only in a few exposed border regions.

354 The fireplace (isiko) is usually in the main center room of the hut. I intentionally do not use the word "hearth," for usually it consists of a few stones which may be pushed together on a round platform of pounded clay in such a way that a fire may be built in the center and a cooking pot placed on top. Sometimes also, the fire is placed on a thick round plate of fired clay in the same manner as in Ruanda; its periphery is raised in the form of a roll to prevent the fire from being scattered.
372 When the embers cease to glow, which is very seldom, fire is obtained from one's neighbor. On long travels, however, fire is made in the well-known manner of the Bantu, when wood is available, by twirling a hard piece of wood on a soft one; otherwise, a glowing piece of coal is tied up in a bundle of slightly wet grass and carried along. In this manner they carry embers with them on journeys lasting several days.

Yet since firewood is often very scarce in a country almost destitute of trees and bushes, cakes of cattle dung dried in the sun are used for fuel or, wherever there are no cattle or only a few, papyrus or reed rootstocks are collected in the swampy valleys.

287 about this: "The Wanjoro (in the highland of southern Unjoro)
386 produce the same clothes of barkcloth as the Waganda [Ganda], dyeing them black by putting them for a day into the mud of a swamp." (No. 9, p. 377.)

291 There is no difference between the dress of the Batussi and the Bahutu, nor is there a special costume reserved for certain classes or professions. The Mutwa and the Muhutu, the Mutussi and the Muganwa, the great chief and the king: all dress in the same unattractive blackish-gray impusu of tree bark. Another feature common to them all is that they take off the long upper garment inside the huts and when working in the fields because it is a hindrance.

287 The material is made from the barks of several fig species
248 (Urostigma), mainly the Ficus chlamydodora Warb. or the Ficus Schimperi Hochst., in the same manner as in those areas of Ruanda where garments of barkcloth are still worn. Since more barkcloth is used in Urundi than in Ruanda where cotton cloth is already much in use, more fig trees are planted near the huts in Urundi than in Ruanda; often they look like a village orchard near the houses. For this reason alone the scenery of Urundi gives the impression of being more friendly and varied than Ruanda which is grassy for the most part. Almost every cluster of huts lies in the shade of a little fresh green fig grove. The fence surrounding the homesteads also consists partly of fig trees which form natural fence posts, giving firm support to the latticework of the fence. According to van der Burgt, the Ficus chlamydodora was introduced into Urundi only about 60 years ago and at present occurs only where it is cultivated. However, I believe I have seen it growing wild in the peripheral mountains of the northwest.

287 Once the tree has grown until the trunk is about the thickness of an arm, its bark is removed for the first time. For this purpose two horizontal incisions are made around the trunk from half a meter to one meter apart. Both incisions are connected by a vertical incision, and a long rectangular piece of bark is then loosened from the tree without difficulty. The exposed area of the trunk is then rubbed with butter, and banana leaves are tied around it. Then, from the cut edges, the bark completely

244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.
The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West
Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara
is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers
about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis
guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000
to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching
to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with
300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the
Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited
neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the
chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness.
For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical
to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can
be made (see above, pp. 24, 31). This tree is really planted and
cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by
the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily
in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The ma-
jority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and
only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After
cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded
in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole
outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded
pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water
so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped
into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for
the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

243 are then scattered from the swinging hand onto the level ground, after which some soil is sprinkled on the seed by hand. Eleusine (uwuro) is sown in the same manner. The ripe ears of these two types of millet are each individually cut from the stalks with a knife. This is also the method used for corn and rice. Then the ears are spread on the firm ground in front of the huts and threshed with switches. Some of the sorghum [252] is ground into flour, but most of it is used for brewing beer. [273] Eleusine is mainly ground into flour from which the daily ugali mush (umudsima) is made.

The Barundi grow tobacco (itabi) in small quantities near 249 almost every homestead, as has been mentioned above. The delicate plant is cared for so poorly, however, that it yields a mediocre product. Uvira tobacco, which is traded in considerable amounts in the Tanganyika area, is of much better quality. [53] The Barundi put the tobacco seeds into small holes dug into the soil with a hoe. The young seedlings are not transplanted, but the Barundi clear and irrigate the surrounding soil from time to time. As soon as the plant begins to blossom (red, not white), the leaves are picked off and strung up on bast strings to dry in the sun. Then, for fermentation and storage, they are wrapped in dry banana leaves. In spite of its terrible appearance, 276 the tobacco does not have a bad aroma, but it is so strong that even the Barundi seldom smoke it. In most cases it is smoked only by old men and women. The others are all inveterate snuff-takers (see p.59), whereas in Ruanda tobacco is only rarely taken as snuff but is smoked in considerable amounts.

Tobacco is regarded by the Barundi in the same way as all [824] narcotics are regarded by primitive peoples: as possessing [758] mysterious powers. From this originates the custom of stuffing a pinch of snuff up the nose of a person who has fainted. Also, the young bridegroom blows tobacco smoke at his wife, and so forth (No. 19, p. 557).

244 Several kinds of pumpkins (imboga) are likewise grown merely as garden produce or interspersed among bananas or sorghum, in particular a variety which is round and as big as a head, and another smaller variety that looks almost like a

258 water, which overflows into a jar, carrying with it a few more or less
263 soluble particles of this sooty dust. The liquid is preserved. The cooks pour a little into the cooking pot at every meal. Some families subsist on this humble vocation and trade with water which is not salted but which has an ashy taste.

Salt was indeed rare before the arrival of the Europeans. The great Batutsi chiefs were about the only ones able to obtain it.

This salt, collected by the Blacks in the marshes of Lake Edward, contained an amount of earth and sand at least equal to half its volume. It sold nevertheless for a very high price at native markets.

The salt from the Gottorp plant (not far from Kigoma) is now used by all social strata. It is highly valued by the Banyarwanda, who call it ulugera, a substantive derived from the verb kugera, which means "to penetrate," because, as they say, it goes all the way down to their stomachs thanks to its high quality and its tart and pungent flavor. One understands why formerly the Blacks, when deprived of salt, would seek out bitter herbs and sour fruits. Red pepper and
[249] chives, which were imported fairly recently, have for this reason been a great success among the Blacks, who cultivate them in small plots near their huts. It is probably for the same reason that children show almost as much fondness for lemons as for oranges. /34/ A few years after the eruption referred to as that of the Ntsuro (December, 1911 and January, 1912), when the natives were able to approach the volcano safely, they began collecting salt mixed with large quantities of earth. The inhabitants of nearby villages spend most of their time collecting the indispensable substance. In order to rid the salt of its
[415] impurities, people melt it in large wooden troughs full of water, which are called imivule or imizinga. The liquid is then removed to other troughs where it is exposed to the sun. The most skillful and enterprising workers allow the water to boil until it evaporates completely. The markets which are held north of Kivu are supplied with this salt, which sells as high as that of Gottorp in spite of its poor quality. It is less white, contains impurities, and always remains damp.

241 The Batwa, or Negrillos, do not farm much. They look down
461 on field work.
563

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [288] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 778 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and [782] reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from 356 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage 342 next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding [514] the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be
smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs,
and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found
in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how
refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will
cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono),
made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have
mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots
(imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water
containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or
pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden
vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before
being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is al-
ways in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all
have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped
up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato,
akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended
in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a
bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no
spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a
broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and
when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then
formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of
the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
252 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
243
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words
"thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmi-
cally in turn.

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air. [182] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt, [791] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The 262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence 438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

241 Urundi and Ruanda where water is abundant, crowned cranes,
136 spore geese, and Nile geese are the worst enemies of the crops since they eat the young budding sprouts of beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, millet, etc. The Bahutu try to frighten them away by rattles and shouting. Ibises, herons, and golden plovers also abound in the swamp valleys, but they do not attack the green crops and prefer to fish for frogs, worms, and snails in the drainage ditches. In the dry quartzite regions of eastern Urundi there are only a few such swamp valleys, and consequently there are only a few of the noxious birds mentioned above.

251 Harvested produce is partly kept in baskets and sacks in the huts, but most of it is put in the basket-shaped storage huts mentioned above (p. 22) which are located near the living huts. Particularly beans, sorghum, and corn are stored in these basket-like huts. However, during the dry period ears of corn are suspended in large bundles from the fig trees surrounding the homestead. The tuberous fruit, namely, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and arrowroot, are usually not piled up but are left in the ground until they are needed. This is another reason why the quantity grown is never large, since it would spoil otherwise.

423 I mentioned before that further expansion of agriculture in Urundi is blocked by the peculiar conditions of ownership. The situation here is quite similar to that in Ruanda. None of the agricultural Bahutu owns the land that he cultivates. All the land is the property of the king who vests his high batwale with it, who in turn vest the lower Batussi batwale (see p. 134). The mutwale distributes the individual lots of land to the Bahutu he rules, who hold it in fee. [57] The Bahutu must ask his per-
423 mission whenever they intend to work a plot of land, build a hut,
651 or clear new ground for fields. They pay him a tribute of natural products which is done only once. In addition, they pay him an
[427] annual "tithe" as a ground rent. If the annual rent is not paid at harvest time, the mutwale may punish this tardiness by evicting the person from the land. The mutwale may also demand extraordinary tributes from the Bahutu without compensating them, for example, presents for the head chief, provisions for the caravan of a European passing through, etc. The gifts or payments made

243 The millet fields lie chiefly on the slopes of the hills.
311 They are hoed and seeded after the first rain. Some time later they are weeded. The main harvest takes place in the middle of the dry season. I saw a harvest in Kissaka during the latter half of July. In Nduga it was already over in August. In Mulera the harvest is said to be at the end of February and in Bgisha at the end of November and the beginning of December.

244 Sweet potatoes are planted in marshy lowlands and irrigated
311 fields. They are the staple during the dry season when other supplies are exhausted and the millet is not yet ripe.

The land at the highest altitude is used for peas, although one often finds fields of peas at a lower altitude than banana groves. The highest fields I saw were on Mount Ndisa, high above the settlements, probably extending up to 2,000 meters. I could not discover the reason for the high location of these fields. [139] To judge from the surrounding country, I did not have the impression that it was so densely populated that the people were forced to lay out their fields so inconveniently. Peas and beans are harvested at the end of the rainy season.

251 Field crops, with the exception of bananas and sweet potatoes, are kept in storehouses (kigega). Millet is cut off short and left lying unthreshed until it is needed. Only then is it threshed in small quantities in mortars and winnowed by the wind on large woven shields. Bananas and sweet potatoes are brought from the plantations as needed. The bunches to be used for making beer are kept in the huts to continue ripening. Here considerable stores of other crops, especially beans and peas, are kept in large baskets (umuhiri) made air tight with cow dung.

314 Forestry. In Ruanda we can hardly speak of forest cultivation, despite intensive farming and the widespread cultivation of the land in densely populated areas where forests have shrunk to a minimum. The Muhutu is the worst enemy of the forest. He uses wood to build his huts and storehouses, his boats and tools, and to cook his food, but he does not husband it, and in this respect he is no better than the peasant of eastern Europe.

311 According to unanimous reports by the natives, the country of Ruanda is undergoing a rapid change, and deforestation is making great advances. Formerly the country is said to have been covered

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

[768] After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. How-
825 ever, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has
787 settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega)
251 which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist
285 of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held
251 together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

251 being stored in an empty hut. This must have been a temporary arrangement to counter the danger of termites.

In Ruanda some of the supplies are kept in the hut. Here, however, they do not use banana leaves but baskets sealed with cow dung. The baskets hold up to 50 kilograms.

In northern and western Ruanda there are often pits in the immediate neighborhood of the huts, where bananas are kept to ripen and fresh beer is kept until it ferments. The pits are heated before the bananas are stored there. To do this the smoke from the adjacent fire is directed into the pit. Dr. Kandt (1) is

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

undoubtedly referring to these pits when he says that the cellars of the Banyabungu are: "...caves in the shape of butter molds, the walls of which are supported by bent branches and hoops. The hoops starting at the bottom form diminishing concentric circles up to the opening which is wide enough for a man to enter."

[514] Privies seem to be completely unknown in Ruanda.

[206] Interior of the Hut. The interiors of the huts in Kissaka
342 differ from those in Kiziba in that there are no fixed, woven par-
352 titions. When you enter the hut, you seem to be confronted by a finely woven wall, but on closer observation this turns out to be a row of uprights. Stiff rectangular mats are wedged in between them and bent outward. The mats are woven somewhat like the baskets; they are 2 meters long and 40 centimeters wide and usually sealed with cow dung. This wall separates the anteroom (umuriango) from the hearth section. On the left side is an opening which forms a narrow entrance to the interior of the hut. The position of this opening seems to be reminiscent of the arrangement in the Bakondjo huts. However, this opening can also be directly opposite the entrance, as is generally the case among the Batutsi.

352 Along the wall of the hearth section, usually to one side of the entrance, is the bench for the milk vessels. This is about 40 centimeters wide, 40 centimeters high, and up to 2 meters long

000 the knives used by Babira women.

251 Boiled food forms the basis of the diet; however, corn, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are also baked.

262 The Batutsi's favorite dish is beaten sour milk, kivuguto. The Batutsi maintain that they live exclusively on beer, milk, and meat, but sureptitiously they also eat peas (maharagi), beans, millet mush (umutsima), eleusine (buro), gourds, and bananas. On the other hand, they seem to scorn sweet potatoes. This may not be altogether true, however. The Batutsi repeatedly tried to convince me that their diet was entirely different from that of the Bahutu, but this does not seem to be the case.

The diet of the Bahutu, as one would expect among the poorer people, is more monotonous, with less milk and meat and more umutsima, peas, and sweet potatoes. Fish is a very important part of the diet of north Ruanda.

264 [215] The Batutsi eat solid food only once a day, in the evening. They eat with their women, whereas they drink only with men of their own social position.

The Bahutu eat twice a day, between one and two in the afternoon and between eight and nine in the evening. In Mulera people also eat in the morning. This applies only to the men, since women and children eat all day long. The Batwa, too, are constantly eating, whenever they have a chance. It is said of them: balandwa uk imga, "they hunt like dogs."

Chapter 10

Family Affairs

595 The Family. The number of persons in a family, in the narrower sense of the term, varies a great deal in Ruanda. It includes the father, his wives, and children.

Since the woman represents a worker primarily, the number of women in a man's household may be regarded as the measure of his wealth. The poor cannot keep a wife, those of limited means only one, and the wealthy minority two or even several wives. This is why the Batutsi have more wives than the Bahutu.

194 initiate, eat with him, and warm some water which is poured
575 into the pot that contained the beer sacrificed to Ryangombe during the initiation. The water is drunk by the family of the new initiate. Afterward the bananas collected on the early morn-
[251] ing visits (kusega) are put in the underground warming place in order to ripen. After a few days, when the beer made from these bananas is ready, acquaintances come for a visit, and they are all served this beer (nzoga).

In this manner the candidate achieves the lower stage of initiation. He has become rusingu. Many remain here and do not go any higher.

In Batutsi initiation ceremonies, a cow is killed on this occasion. When the cow has fallen, the mubandwa, the muhiruka, and the candidate --these are always the three active persons -- place themselves on the fallen cow, one after the other. This ceremony is known as kwitonda gira. Only after that is the animal cut up and the meat divided among those present.

If a person who has been initiated wishes to rise higher in the hierarchy, if he wants to be a mubandwa instead of a rusingu, he goes to the "father" who initiated him [312] and asks for further initiation. If the "father" approves, a meeting is called for this purpose. The candidate, as on the first occasion, provides beer and food. Again, of course, the profane are excluded. Similar ceremonies are carried out, and the candidate is squirted with beer. This time, however, the tests are hard, and since only reliable and chosen people are admitted to the higher initiation, these ceremonies are still more mysterious. The candidates are always refused several times and admitted only at the third or fourth meeting. The one newly initiated must swear that he will not betray the secrets of the association nor in any way misuse the confidence placed in him. In taking the oath, the candidate touches the objects consecrated to Ryangombe, such as the crown, the bell, and others. After the ceremony the newly initiated member is accompanied home by the older members. All participants in this festive procession carry branches of the fig tree in their hands. From then on the newly initiated member has the right to sacrifice to Ryangombe, to introduce candidates to the secret society, and to be present at all the ceremonies. Having

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562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food [251] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the [574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her 517] mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for [264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her [313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw [415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her 482] head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on [356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava, [252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house. [606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need [574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

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[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

Since hunting also seldom provides
262 anything for the kitchen - the Barundi are poor hunters and,
[224] except for the Batwa, do not eat venison or if they do, only on exceptional occasions -- and since wild plants are seldom used for food, the menu is rather limited. The main food items for the whole of Urundi are bananas, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, and sorghum; all these are dried, ground, and prepared as mush. All the other things produced by the fields at different altitudes and in areas of different climate (see the chapter on agriculture, p. 48) play only a subordinate role.

It is true that when speaking to a European or a Muhutu the Batussi claim that they live only on milk, meat, and beer, but in reality they eat legumes, bananas, millet mush, and other foods exactly like the Bahutu. After all, not enough cattle are killed in the area to satisfy all the Batussi every day.
252 Except for meat, which, as has been mentioned, is almost always roasted on the spit, most dishes by far are cooked or stewed; only very few are fried in grease or oil as, for example, in the Tanganyika region where palm oil is plentiful.

262 As far as special rules concerning food are concerned,
264 I have discovered a number of food taboos connected with totemism and religious ideas (see p. 103). It is surprising that one never sees adults eating. They always take their meals inside the huts, the man together with his wife but apart from the children, and if they are ever caught at their meals, they stop and go away since the food would "not agree" with them if eaten in the presence of strangers. Of course, this is
262 not the case when they are traveling. In that case the force
261 of external circumstances often frees them from such considerations; yet conscientious or rigidly trained people, as most of the Batussi are, observe the custom so strictly even while traveling that they will go hungry rather than depart from it. When climbing the Karisimbi, for example, I had two young Batussi guides who, in spite of the extreme physical exertion involved, refused all the food I offered them and did not eat anything for two days because they did not have their customary mush and milk, nor did they accept anything from the people in my caravan.

222 In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment,
252 we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and
[262] termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa. Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

222 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the
231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi
[263] honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey
[273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes.

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

272 jugular vein from a short distance, whereupon the blood spurts out swiftly. The arrow falls off immediately, and the blood is then caught in an earthenware pot. After two to four liters have been collected, the wound closes by itself. Part of the
262 warm blood is immediately drunk; the remaining larger part is boiled on the fire until it becomes solid, as in our black pudding. Then salt, beans, peas, and other ingredients are added, and the tasty meal (ikiremve) is eaten greedily (No. 19, p. 424).

Obviously, beef (injama) is eaten much more rarely. Since cattle are not regarded as food but as capital, there is beef to eat only when an animal has fallen or if it is killed for a sacrifice (cf. p. 136). Only the chiefs can indulge in the luxury of killing an animal for food from time to time. In this case almost always old steers or sterile cows are chosen. Cows that give milk or [46] breeding animals are never killed. The same is true for all Bahima people from Ankole (No. 26, p. 146) to Ufipa. The Bahutu, especially those on Lake Tanganyika, sometimes eat mutton and goat meat, although rarely; the Batwa also eat antelopes, gazelles, francolins, guinea fowl, ducks, etc., but neither they nor the Batussi or Bahutu will eat chicken (No. 19, p. 396). Beef is either eaten
252 raw, still warm if possible, or it is pierced with a wooden spit and roasted over the fire. It is cooked only very rarely.
439 Europeans, who are accustomed to eating meat, are able to buy
431 only sterile cows or defective steers when traveling through Urundi and Ruanda. Sometimes they receive them as a gift from the host. Even then the rules of custom require that the host or the person who sold the animal receives in return a hind leg, the skin, and horns: the leg for food, the horns as a cult object for the hut, and the skin as a bed cover or for making clothes -- especially for women and Batwa -- or to be sold to the trader.

439 According to all experience it is impossible to export live cattle in great numbers because they soon perish after leaving the highlands as a result of the change of fodder, the tsetse fly, and other infections which unfortunately are prevalent in East Africa. At present quite a large number of dried cattle hides

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is [252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are [262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to [273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as [231] vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work, and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for wrapping various objects, etc.

244 Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all. Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and 2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping, and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a, p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans. They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

244 there are about half a dozen varieties of the type Pisum sativum. One with a bluish fruit is supposed to have been imported by the Batussi from their original home in the lands of the Galla (No. 19, p. 283). Stuhlmann, however, assumes that the pea, which in East Africa is grown only in the highlands of the lake region, was introduced by the Portuguese from the south and spread north across the highlands (No. 28a, p. 225). In the upper mountainous areas of Urundi peas are the only cultivated plant. As on the high volcanoes of Ruanda, on the
[262] peripheral mountains of Lake Kivu, and in the Ruzizi graben, many thousand natives in the high peripheral mountains of northwest and western Urundi, up to an altitude of almost 3,000 meters, live almost exclusively on peas. Wherever the
[311] magnificent, old, virgin forest in these regions up to the watersheds is destroyed by ax and fire, it makes room almost without exception for pea fields. In the rich humus of the forest soil, the peas thrive exceptionally well, of course. As the destruction of the forests proceeds, so does the expansion of pea fields. What a miserable substitute for the wonderful and economically much more valuable forest which in the existing climate could never be restored to its former size, even if this were attempted.

Beans and peas are left to ripen fully on the "stalk." Only when the plants have withered so completely that the fruit is about to fall off by itself are they torn out and piled up in the kraals. Then they are spread out on the roofs of the huts and finally threshed with switches. The straw [52] that is not used for litter is distributed on the fields in numerous single piles, like our haycocks, and then burned so that the ashes will fertilize the soil.

Peanuts (itschjoba) and corn (ikigori) are sown in the same
243 manner as beans, by sticking them into holes. The peanuts are
244 first taken out their shells, and the corn kernels are left in water for a day to make them swell. There seem to be three types of peanuts which are differentiated as itschjoba, itschjema, and itschjansa. None of them is used for making oil. They are only
[252] eaten as a dessert and delicacy, either raw or roasted in ashes (No. 19, p. 41).

243 There are at least half a dozen different varieties of corn (ikigori). In regions where the soil can easily be irrigated, corn is often sown three times a year, and relatively large stocks of it are always kept in the granaries. The ears are cut from the stalk. As long as they are still juicy and sweet, they are either [252] eaten raw or roasted in ashes, but for the most part the ripened kernels are ground into flour and made into a kind of polenta [372] [Italian dish]. The straw is used for fuel.

244 Yams (igname), arrowroot (amateke), and sweet potatoes (ikisumbu) are planted by sticking the tubers into the ground, and a little topsoil is heaped over them. Sweet potatoes, of which there are about half a dozen varieties (No. 19, p. 424), and arrowroot need much water for the first period of growth. For this reason they are mostly grown in the valley bottoms where they can be artificially irrigated (Plate 22b). When ripe, they are dug up with a hoe in the same manner as our potatoes; the tubers or rootstocks are removed and cooked or roasted in ashes.

245 Manioc (umumbati), however, is cultivated by shoots which are broken off from the juicy manioc shrubs and then planted in rows with a little topsoil heaped over them. After that the plant grows without any further care. It is the most undemanding of all the cultivated plants of East Africa, and for this reason it is found all over Urundi, especially in the eastern quartzite regions. At least six varieties are distinguished, 252 none of which is so poisonous as to require cooking or fermentation in order to become palatable, as do some other varieties in East Africa. It is eaten raw, cooked, dried, ground up as flour, in the form of dumplings, etc. The leaves are boiled as a vegetable.

243 Sorghum (isakka) plays a much less important role in Urundi than in Ruanda where it ranks first among cultivated plants, even before bananas. Uha, too, produces more sorghum than anything else and supplies the Barundi with it in times of scarcity. Nevertheless, sorghum occurs in Urundi in some twenty named varieties of the white and red types (No. 19, p. 544). When sorghum is sown, the soil is simply turned over with a hoe; in most cases no furrows are drawn. The grains

243 are then scattered from the swinging hand onto the level ground, after which some soil is sprinkled on the seed by hand. Eleusine (uwuro) is sown in the same manner. The ripe ears of these two types of millet are each individually cut from the stalks with a knife. This is also the method used for corn and rice. Then the ears are spread on the firm ground in front of the huts and threshed with switches. Some of the sorghum [252] is ground into flour, but most of it is used for brewing beer. [273] Eleusine is mainly ground into flour from which the daily ugali mush (umudsima) is made.

The Barundi grow tobacco (itabi) in small quantities near 249 almost every homestead, as has been mentioned above. The delicate plant is cared for so poorly, however, that it yields a mediocre product. Uvira tobacco, which is traded in considerable amounts in the Tanganyika area, is of much better quality. [53] The Barundi put the tobacco seeds into small holes dug into the soil with a hoe. The young seedlings are not transplanted, but the Barundi clear and irrigate the surrounding soil from time to time. As soon as the plant begins to blossom (red, not white), the leaves are picked off and strung up on bast strings to dry in the sun. Then, for fermentation and storage, they are wrapped in dry banana leaves. In spite of its terrible appearance, 276 the tobacco does not have a bad aroma, but it is so strong that even the Barundi seldom smoke it. In most cases it is smoked only by old men and women. The others are all inveterate snuff-takers (see p.59), whereas in Ruanda tobacco is only rarely taken as snuff but is smoked in considerable amounts.

[824] Tobacco is regarded by the Barundi in the same way as all narcotics are regarded by primitive peoples: as possessing [758] mysterious powers. From this originates the custom of stuffing a pinch of snuff up the nose of a person who has fainted. Also, the young bridegroom blows tobacco smoke at his wife, and so forth (No. 19, p. 557).

244 Several kinds of pumpkins (imboga) are likewise grown merely as garden produce or interspersed among bananas or sorghum, in particular a variety which is round and as big as a head, and another smaller variety that looks almost like a

244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.
The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West
Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara
is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers
about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis
guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000
to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching
to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with
300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the
Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited
neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the
chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness.
For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical
to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can
be made (see above, pp. 24, 31). This tree is really planted and
cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by
the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily
in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The ma-
jority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and
only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After
cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded
in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole
outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded
pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water
so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped
into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for
the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

644 According to popular belief, this choice is made in a very interesting
643 manner. The umbilical cords of the young princes are buried separate-
787 ly in pots of ficus wood (umwuko), with gourd, sorghum, eleusine, and native spinach (issogi) seeds planted all around them (1). The

[824]

1. These seeds are designated by the name of mbuto nkuru, that is to say, "the major seeds." Eleusine and sorghum play an important role in the diet by yielding a sort of native bread. Spinach is also highly valued because of the flavor it lends to the beans with which it is cooked. The Banyarwanda also include in this category the seeds of a special gourd called inzungwane, which is hollowed out when ripe. It is used to store beer, and it is this relationship to pombe, so highly appreciated by the natives, which lends so much importance to the seed.

[252]

[415]

According to another popular belief, the successor to the throne is the one among the king's sons born with the "major seeds" in his right hand.

After subjugating the Bahutu by force, the Hamites insured their obedience by exploiting their credulity.

future holder of the drum is pointed out by the most plentiful harvest. According to these naive people, the umbilical cords are /376/ then discarded except for that of the crown prince, which must be preserved (1).

173
[824
252]

1. The Banyarwanda prepare the stem and leaves of issogi as though it were spinach.

Their introduction into Ruanda by the great monarch is the subject of numerous tales that are more or less contradictory.

We shall cite only the best-known ones.

"A chief in the Bumbogo country, " according to one tradition, "had abducted and married Ruganzu's sister to his great dissatisfaction, and he had sworn to wreak a signal vengeance upon him. In order to appease the wrath of his royal brother-in-law, the abductor thought it best to send him envoys with gifts. Among the latter were several baskets of sorghum and eleusine, which were then unknown in Ruanda..

"The king recognized their importance and forgave the offender forthwith, but laid upon him the obligation of bringing one basketful of each plant to the capital every year. The king distributed the first consignments among the chiefs and advised them to plant them and watch over their growth. "

According to another version, Ruganzu was passing through the Bumbogo when he saw an ant (imonyo) dragging a handsome grain along the path. He pointed this out to one of his followers. "Look at this ant, " he said. "Let's see what it is holding in its mouth. " The Banyarwanda had never seen a grain like that one.

The king ordered it to be preserved with care.

Upon his return to the capital he had it planted in the ground. Six months later a handsome ear was harvested, and its grains were sowed anew. Two years later the harvest was such that the precious grain could be distributed to a number of persons. The cultivation of this cereal, which /500/ was given the name of sorghum, soon spread throughout Ruanda.

On another occasion when Ruganzu was traveling across the same land of Bumbogo, he suddenly stopped before a hut from which there emanated a delicious cooking odor. "What could be the food that gives forth such a delicious aroma?" he exclaimed. The woman of the household invited the prince to come in, uncovered the pot, and showed him the famous issogi plant (spinach) that she was cooking

415 sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are
285 the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

[209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape
412 and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back
252 and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer.
415 The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger
323 opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

372 [210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

415 Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets.
415 The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked
285 patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Among the better classes the 241
wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants [565]
and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband [462]
and wife worked in the field.

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the 243
common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to [252]
a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people.

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten 534
morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month [782]
a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42
Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415 water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
564 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

Their Food is Varied

262 It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate
[241] a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ébikoro), squash and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain
[263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/, who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and
[272] intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with
[273] a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their
263 everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824] 1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place
258 of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from
263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824] 1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

258 water, which overflows into a jar, carrying with it a few more or less
263 soluble particles of this sooty dust. The liquid is preserved. The cooks pour a little into the cooking pot at every meal. Some families subsist on this humble vocation and trade with water which is not salted but which has an ashy taste.

Salt was indeed rare before the arrival of the Europeans. The great Batutsi chiefs were about the only ones able to obtain it.

This salt, collected by the Blacks in the marshes of Lake Edward, contained an amount of earth and sand at least equal to half its volume. It sold nevertheless for a very high price at native markets.

The salt from the Gottorp plant (not far from Kigoma) is now used by all social strata. It is highly valued by the Banyarwanda, who call it ulugera, a substantive derived from the verb kugera, which means "to penetrate," because, as they say, it goes all the way down to their stomachs thanks to its high quality and its tart and pungent flavor. One understands why formerly the Blacks, when deprived of salt, would seek out bitter herbs and sour fruits. Red pepper and
[249] chives, which were imported fairly recently, have for this reason been a great success among the Blacks, who cultivate them in small plots near their huts. It is probably for the same reason that children show almost as much fondness for lemons as for oranges. /34/ A few years after the eruption referred to as that of the Ntsuro (December, 1911 and January, 1912), when the natives were able to approach the volcano safely, they began collecting salt mixed with large quantities of earth. The inhabitants of nearby villages spend most of their time collecting the indispensable substance. In order to rid the salt of its
[415] impurities, people melt it in large wooden troughs full of water, which are called imivule or imizinga. The liquid is then removed to other troughs where it is exposed to the sun. The most skillful and enterprising workers allow the water to boil until it evaporates completely. The markets which are held north of Kivu are supplied with this salt, which sells as high as that of Gottorp in spite of its poor quality. It is less white, contains impurities, and always remains damp.

241 The Batwa, or Negrillos, do not farm much. They look down
461 on field work.
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Since hunting also seldom provides
262 anything for the kitchen - the Barundi are poor hunters and,
[224] except for the Batwa, do not eat venison or if they do, only on exceptional occasions -- and since wild plants are seldom used for food, the menu is rather limited. The main food items for the whole of Urundi are bananas, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, and sorghum; all these are dried, ground, and prepared as mush. All the other things produced by the fields at different altitudes and in areas of different climate (see the chapter on agriculture, p. 48) play only a subordinate role.

It is true that when speaking to a European or a Muhutu the Batussi claim that they live only on milk, meat, and beer, but in reality they eat legumes, bananas, millet mush, and other foods exactly like the Bahutu. After all, not enough cattle are killed in the area to satisfy all the Batussi every day.
252 Except for meat, which, as has been mentioned, is almost always roasted on the spit, most dishes by far are cooked or stewed; only very few are fried in grease or oil as, for example, in the Tanganyika region where palm oil is plentiful.

262 As far as special rules concerning food are concerned,
264 I have discovered a number of food taboos connected with totemism and religious ideas (see p. 103). It is surprising that one never sees adults eating. They always take their meals inside the huts, the man together with his wife but apart from the children, and if they are ever caught at their meals, they stop and go away since the food would "not agree" with them if eaten in the presence of strangers. Of course, this is
262 not the case when they are traveling. In that case the force
261 of external circumstances often frees them from such considerations; yet conscientious or rigidly trained people, as most of the Batussi are, observe the custom so strictly even while traveling that they will go hungry rather than depart from it. When climbing the Karisimbi, for example, I had two young Batussi guides who, in spite of the extreme physical exertion involved, refused all the food I offered them and did not eat anything for two days because they did not have their customary mush and milk, nor did they accept anything from the people in my caravan.

539 Tulek' intōke. Let us leave (alone) the banana trees (their roots) (1).

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1. Times of want are unfortunately frequent among the Blacks owing to their lack of foresight. They till the soil only for their own personal consumption. If a crop is ruined by drought or too much rain, therefore, they run out of food. The narrator describes one of those famines and gives it the name of "that which caused bits and pieces of hoes to come out (of hiding)," no matter how worn, to be sold to blacksmiths. One would then attempt to buy food in neighboring provinces with those meager resources.

Reference is made to the roots of banana trees which are dried in the sun after being struck with the handle of a hoe in order to remove the potash. They are then crushed on the grain-grinding stone and furnish an indigestible food which does not satisfy and does not hinder the end, which is death, unless this imitation flour is mixed in with something more substantial.

Second Example

539 Akasigo ko gutur' umwami. A small literary piece (on how to address the king when offering gifts to him).

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing.

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned.

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather.

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

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261 of external circumstances often frees them from such considerations; yet conscientious or rigidly trained people, as most of the Batussi are, observe the custom so strictly even while traveling that they will go hungry rather than depart from it. When climbing the Karisimbi, for example, I had two young Batussi guides who, in spite of the extreme physical exertion involved, refused all the food I offered them and did not eat anything for two days because they did not have their customary mush and milk, nor did they accept anything from the people in my caravan.

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b). A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins [554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

223 The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka) with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue. Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain [262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

226 Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi [563] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned [262] to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air.
[782] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt,
[791] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The
262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence
438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

222 252 [262] In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment, we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa. Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

222 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the 231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi [263] honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey [273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes.

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle; it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
302 food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi
[262] eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororo, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, espe-
272 cially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

272 jugular vein from a short distance, whereupon the blood spurts out swiftly. The arrow falls off immediately, and the blood is then caught in an earthenware pot. After two to four liters have been collected, the wound closes by itself. Part of the
262 warm blood is immediately drunk; the remaining larger part is boiled on the fire until it becomes solid, as in our black pudding. Then salt, beans, peas, and other ingredients are added, and the tasty meal (ikiremve) is eaten greedily (No. 19, p. 424).

Obviously, beef (injama) is eaten much more rarely. Since cattle are not regarded as food but as capital, there is beef to eat only when an animal has fallen or if it is killed for a sacrifice (cf. p. 136). Only the chiefs can indulge in the luxury of killing an animal for food from time to time. In this case almost always old steers or sterile cows are chosen. Cows that give milk or [46] breeding animals are never killed. The same is true for all Bahima people from Ankole (No. 26, p. 146) to Ufipa. The Bahutu, especially those on Lake Tanganyika, sometimes eat mutton and goat meat, although rarely; the Batwa also eat antelopes, gazelles, francolins, guinea fowl, ducks, etc., but neither they nor the Batussi or Bahutu will eat chicken (No. 19, p. 396). Beef is either eaten
252 raw, still warm if possible, or it is pierced with a wooden spit and roasted over the fire. It is cooked only very rarely.
439 Europeans, who are accustomed to eating meat, are able to buy
431 only sterile cows or defective steers when traveling through Urundi and Ruanda. Sometimes they receive them as a gift from the host. Even then the rules of custom require that the host or the person who sold the animal receives in return a hind leg, the skin, and horns: the leg for food, the horns as a cult object for the hut, and the skin as a bed cover or for making clothes -- especially for women and Batwa -- or to be sold to the trader.

439 According to all experience it is impossible to export live cattle in great numbers because they soon perish after leaving the highlands as a result of the change of fodder, the tsetse fly, and other infections which unfortunately are prevalent in East Africa. At present quite a large number of dried cattle hides

576 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is
231 possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting"
[171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

Second only to cattle, sheep (intama; Plate 24a) are con-
231 sidered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised
[281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi
[262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (impene) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have
[262] to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but
[231] goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade. [439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the [262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior [787] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453). [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by 262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 753 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom: when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is [252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are [262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to [273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as [231] vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work, and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for wrapping various objects, etc.

244 Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all. Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and 2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping, and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a, p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans. They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

244 there are about half a dozen varieties of the type Pisum sativum. One with a bluish fruit is supposed to have been imported by the Batussi from their original home in the lands of the Galla (No. 19, p. 283). Stuhlmann, however, assumes that the pea, which in East Africa is grown only in the highlands of the lake region, was introduced by the Portuguese from the south and spread north across the highlands (No. 28a, p. 225). In the upper mountainous areas of Urundi peas are the only cultivated plant. As on the high volcanoes of Ruanda, on the
[262] peripheral mountains of Lake Kivu, and in the Ruzizi graben, many thousand natives in the high peripheral mountains of northwest and western Urundi, up to an altitude of almost 3,000 meters, live almost exclusively on peas. Wherever the
[311] magnificent, old, virgin forest in these regions up to the watersheds is destroyed by ax and fire, it makes room almost without exception for pea fields. In the rich humus of the forest soil, the peas thrive exceptionally well, of course. As the destruction of the forests proceeds, so does the expansion of pea fields. What a miserable substitute for the wonderful and economically much more valuable forest which in the existing climate could never be restored to its former size, even if this were attempted.

Beans and peas are left to ripen fully on the "stalk." Only when the plants have withered so completely that the fruit is about to fall off by itself are they torn out and piled up in the kraals. Then they are spread out on the roofs of the huts and finally threshed with switches. The straw [52] that is not used for litter is distributed on the fields in numerous single piles, like our haycocks, and then burned so that the ashes will fertilize the soil.

Peanuts (itschjoba) and corn (ikigori) are sown in the same
243 manner as beans, by sticking them into holes. The peanuts are
244 first taken out their shells, and the corn kernels are left in water for a day to make them swell. There seem to be three types of peanuts which are differentiated as itschjoba, itschjema, and itschjansa. None of them is used for making oil. They are only
[252] eaten as a dessert and delicacy, either raw or roasted in ashes (No. 19, p. 41).

Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil
388 for making soap; [54] only the people of the Tanganyika area
177 have learned from the Arabs and Wasuaheli how to mix oil with potash to make soap (kifefe) which is traded in fist-sized balls.

Apart from the cultivated plants mentioned above, the
222 Barundi and their women and children collect a number of wild
262 plants or parts of these plants to be used as food or condiments. There are, for instance, the stinging nettle, whose leaves are boiled as "spinach," and sorrel, also cooked as a vegetable. The fruit of the eggplant (Solanum esculentum) -- reverted to the wild state? -- is eaten raw or roasted. They also collect edible mushrooms which are eaten either raw or cooked, red pepper
[263] (intore) whose pods are used for seasoning, and various berries eaten as delicacies by women and children, especially blackberries which are abundant everywhere.

The location and arrangement of the fields (umurima)
241 in Urundi does not differ much from Ruanda. One thing that soon strikes the observer is that in Urundi, with the exception of the western mountain areas, terraced fields are much more rare than in Ruanda where they cover entire mountain slopes and constitute the characteristics appearance of the cultivated areas. In Urundi the fields extend predominantly over level ground, either on the broad ridges and plateaus or at the bottom of the valleys. They are always close to the huts and, of course, to water. No furrows are drawn on most fields; their surface is merely loosened with a hoe. In the case of freshly cleared land, the pulled grass and shrubs are piled up in the field, left to dry, and burned. Then the ashes, as fertilizer, are worked into the ground with the hose. A similar method is used at the edge of papyrus swamps. After the water level has receded, the papyrus thicket is cut down over the whole extent of the extremely fertile alluvial land whose surface has dried. The hacked-off papyrus fronds are burned as soon as they have dried out (Plate 22a). Then the roots are dug up, narrow drainage ditches are dug, and the plant ash is spread over the field as fertilizer. Finally sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and beans are planted in the little holes which have been dug. They come up quickly. If land is cleared on a hill slope, the fields are laid out in long narrow strips which follow the contour horizontally. These are made as level as

614 probably done for a variety of reasons: partly because the original clan split up into several totem groups; partly because these organs of the animal body are most often regarded as containing the soul; partly for the practical reason of not wishing to forego the enjoyment of eating the meat of the entire animal. For a clan of herdsmen, it would have been impossible to select only cattle as their totem like, for instance, the hyena or the chameleon since the clan would have had to go hungry because of the taboo imposed by its totem.

614 For the clan member his clan totem, his umusiru, is
784 an object of awe. It either inspires veneration as a member of an earlier generation of his kin group or it causes revulsion
262 for other reasons. It is taboo to him, either because he regards it as sacrosanct due to its superior characteristics or because he regards it as impure due to its disagreeable characteristics. In their effect on the attitude of the clan member, these two emotions are the same. The umusiru is carefully avoided. Any injury or, what is worse, killing of a totem animal, any contact with or occupation connected with the totem or a part of the totem is considered an offense of which it is difficult to purge oneself. Eating its meat or drinking its blood or milk is prohibited. Out of this strict food taboo, there developed the now predominant attitude that meat, blood, milk, and other parts of an animal are impure and injurious to the health of the clan member. The impurity can only be eliminated by
[783] means of elaborate ceremonies, and the umufumu (medicine man) determines the amount of the penance which depends on the seriousness of the case. Moreover, violations of the totem taboo, particularly of the food taboo, are automatically and magically punished by illness or even death for the offender (cf. No. 49, pp. 152, 153).

Since the members of other clans eat the meat of the totem animal of one clan, they are regarded as impure by this clan. Thus, the food taboos erect barriers between clans with different totems. For example, [104] if members of the clan of the Bawanda (Babanda), whose totem is the duikerbok, find

614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
784 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism.
563 In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
[781] by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
●262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife
[843] is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a per-
[825] son who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

Their Food is Varied

262 [241] It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ébikoro), squash and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain [263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/, [272] who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ [273] frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

263 The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824]

1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from 258 263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824]

1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).
778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here, " he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is
[773] connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and
[262] even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

Taboos and Portents

784 Taboos (imiziro) and portents, good or bad, are innumerable. We must limit ourselves to a few samples without taking any account whatever of their rational classification, which would be at best a very difficult undertaking.

The appearance of an evil portent or the violation of a taboo make the Banyarwanda liable to misfortunes which vary in magnitude with the seriousness of the infraction, whether or not it was voluntary.

We know that it is not easy to give an exact definition of taboo, for the subject is vast and far reaching.

A taboo does not involve merely the obligatory respect due to traditional customs and practices or the observance of sacred rules, but also a group of prohibitions and interdictions dealing with an object or an animal which may not be touched, which may not be eaten, and which may not be looked at (1).

1. Let us add that in certain cases portents and taboos are identified with each other in the minds of the Blacks, as we have stated above.

What is taboo to one person is not taboo to another.

262 784 As for taboos dealing with animals whose flesh is impure and may not be eaten, the rule is not the same for everyone.

With the single exception of cows, the flesh of all animals is forbidden to women.

Mutton is taboo to certain clans, while goat meat is forbidden to others.

Fish and wild boars are forbidden to the Banyarwanda with the exception of riverain people and hunters. Hares, partridges, ducks, and guinea fowl are included among the impure animals (2) /410/

2. Children sometimes eat them in secret.

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

[825] In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull, billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

796 throw cow bones into their face. This is no longer the case, and
661 times have changed for the better. An evolution of ideas has taken place under European influence. Since these men are no longer inviolate, their behavior has necessarily become less brutal.

They were immediately received by the king, who asked them
796 into his hut to the exclusion of his usual entourage. The great chief of the Bumbogo (umutware w' intebe), of the Batsobe clan, alone came in with the king. It was he who officially presented the first fruits to the sovereign. Precautions were taken so that no one might come near the grain destined for the king. Carefully selected slaves or servant girls threshed the stalks at night far from all unhallowed glances. Then they had the task of crushing the grain before the eyes of the monarch. They worked with the most meticulous cleanliness, that is to say, without spitting into their hands or touching the flour with their unhallowed fingers.

Princes and dignitaries live in perpetual fear of poisoning and spells, hence the numerous measures /502/ and strict watchfulness observed in these circumstances. When enough flour had been obtained to make bread (umutsima), another slave girl took it and immediately prepared it.

The dough was ceremoniously taken to the king, who removed a piece from it with his fingers. He brought it first to his forehead, then to his chest, and then took it to his mouth. The chief who was present did the same. This ceremony was carried out in silence. The men who had brought the first fruits also offered the monarch some stalks of issogi, which is, as we have seen, one of the most important plants (imbuto nkuru).

• [262] It must be remembered that the Banyarwanda cannot eat sorghum bread or eleusine bread alone because it is too dry.

They usually eat it, therefore, with a mouthful of beans cooked along with this sort of spinach. The latter lends the beans a flavor which is highly esteemed by the natives. This is what gave the plant a choice place among other foods.

796 It was customary for the men who had taken part in the pro-
264 cession to be rewarded. A bucket (umuvule) was filled with milk, and another with beans that were only half cooked.

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/, their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

Sacred Cows

233
778 The idea for this select group is traced back to Ruganzu. These special herds are known as inyambo, or long-horned cattle, and they are always selected among the finest in the land. They are not all of the same color.

Among other hues, the following predominate: dusty red (ibihogo by' issine), purplish red (ibihogo by' igaju), red speckled with [822] white (ibihogo by' imyeru), and black and white, which are all favorite colors of the Batutsi.

Special cowherds are in charge of watching over those herds, which usually graze in the Buganza.

They are led to the capital for festivals or public celebrations. The finest animals, known as inyamibga or indatwa /510/ (from the word kurata, "to show off"), lead the herd.

There is usually only one or two of these in each herd, and they are accustomed to walking ahead of the others. Their horns, brow, and neck are covered with rows of beads and small antelope horns which serve as ornaments (imitako n' imiheha). Also included [824] are stems of the sacrosanct umwishwa grass, which the cowherds also wear on chest and head on numerous occasions. Then special [535] dances take place which are organized by the keepers of the herd or even by the Batwa and in which the animals participate with their mooing.

The cows are quite familiar with this kind of sport, and they seem to take an interest in it and watch the motions of the dancers. The latter emit special guttural cries all the while, in order to excite the animals further.

Performances of this sort are highly esteemed by the Banyarwanda and attract large crowds.

After the celebration the sacred cows return to their Buganza pastures. Their keepers treat them with great care and are the only ones permitted to milk them, just as they are the only ones to drink their milk.

The calves are gorged with milk and weaned quite late.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat animals who died a natural death, they are strictly forbidden

233
778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

644
543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived
292
543 the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[534] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

234 [142] While the cow is being milked, a fire of cow dung is kept burning beside her. The smoke keeps off the troublesome stable flies, and the animals can stand quietly.

Young calves are kept in special small huts or in closed-off portions of the entrance room of the dwellings (umuliango).

415 The milk is stored in cylindrical vessels (kianzi) crudely carved out of wood. The vessels are washed with cow urine, and from time to time they are fumigated. A cone-shaped lid is made from a bundle of straw sewed to form a spiral. The milk 272 is drunk chiefly when it is curdled (kivugutu); it is beaten with a small stick to change this consistency. Fresh milk (amata) and buttermilk (amachunde) are also drunk.

[413]

Fig. 33. Arrow for Bloodletting, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13744. 58 1/2 centimeters long.)

Besides milk, the blood of cattle is also drunk. For this purpose the bulls are bled from time to time by shooting a special arrow into the neck vein at close range. The short iron tip of the arrow is set into a wooden shaft. The upper part of the shaft is bound, to prevent the wood from splitting and also to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply into the vein. The lower end of the arrow has a notch into which the bowstring fits. When the blood is drawn off, a tourniquet of rope is tied around the neck below the wound.

The blood is drunk either fresh or cooked. It is sometimes [846] also mixed with milk, and in this form it is given to women after childbirth "to replace the lost blood."

232 Bloodletting is also practiced on sick animals by specialists. It is said that the animals are given the drawn blood as a reward.

262 Meat is eaten only on special occasions. Beef cattle have a very great value, and beef, therefore, is regarded as the greatest delicacy.

088 the knives used by Babira women.

251 Boiled food forms the basis of the diet; however, corn, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are also baked.

262 The Batutsi's favorite dish is beaten sour milk, kivuguto. The Batutsi maintain that they live exclusively on beer, milk, and meat, but sureptitiously they also eat peas (maharagi), beans, millet mush (umutsima), eleusine (buro), gourds, and bananas. On the other hand, they seem to scorn sweet potatoes. This may not be altogether true, however. The Batussi repeatedly tried to convince me that their diet was entirely different from that of the Bahutu, but this does not seem to be the case.

The diet of the Bahutu, as one would expect among the poorer people, is more monotonous, with less milk and meat and more umutsima, peas, and sweet potatoes. Fish is a very important part of the diet of north Ruanda.

264 [215] The Batutsi eat solid food only once a day, in the evening. They eat with their women, whereas they drink only with men of their own social position.

The Bahutu eat twice a day, between one and two in the afternoon and between eight and nine in the evening. In Mulera people also eat in the morning. This applies only to the men, since women and children eat all day long. The Batwa, too, are constantly eating, whenever they have a chance. It is said of them: [illegible], "they eat like dogs."

Chapter 10

Family Affairs

595 The Family. The number of persons in a family, in the narrower sense of the term, varies a great deal in Ruanda. It includes the father, his wives, and children.

Since the woman represents a worker primarily, the number of women in a man's household may be regarded as the measure of his wealth. The poor cannot keep a wife, those of limited means only one, and the wealthy minority two or even several wives. This is why the Batutsi have more wives than the Bahutu.

614 keeps his clan a secret and discloses it only when he has confi-
628 dence in his questioner. That is why it was so difficult at first to find out the names of the clans, especially before we learned the word for clan, namely, umuryangu or umuliangu.

For its own safety, the clan is forced to watch over its members and, in case of an emergency, oust certain individuals whose actions endanger the community. This applies chiefly to those who, through careless murder, burden their clan with the revenge of the injured. The banished member loses the right of protection and property and will not be avenged. This expulsion is called kilenga ngoma and seems to occur more frequently than adoption.

These imperfect security measures aimed at guaranteeing the safety of the individual cause eternal petty wars. The whole society is split up into a number of warring camps, which weakens its resistance against outside enemies. This applies primarily to the Bahutu, and this will be one of the chief reasons why the better organized herdsmen minority will be able to conquer them.

Clan feuds are by no means limited to the Bahutu. My anthropological studies among the Batwa in the region around Marangara were very much curtailed because a few days before, during an evening of beer drinking, a drunken man committed a murder. The murderer and his clansmen were obliged to leave the region of Marangara in great haste.

614 Abaziru. Although blood revenge unites the clan more con-
267 spicuously than any other factor, nevertheless in peaceful times one is only occasionally aware of the sharp demarcation of clans. [239] In quiet everyday life the clans are differentiated much more by their food taboos. The adult members of individual clans are forbidden to eat certain foods. For example, the Bagessera and Bashambo, like some Massai tribes, do not eat liver; the Bagahe and Bazigaba do not eat entrails, etc. Each clan may have more than one food taboo. Thus, the Bashambo, for example, eat neither liver nor the meat of foreign spotted cows.

The members of different clans may not eat together because of their dietary laws. Consequently, they also regard each other

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different clements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
609 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[71] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J.M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

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Neighbors]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

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[240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

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Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

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The food taboos which play such an important role in the life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos, abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

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The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed 000 651
taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and
the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state [655]
work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he 643
took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he 262
generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, [273]
when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge,
but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal
he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people [178]
were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which
would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after
eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused
and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon
him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any [644]
meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls 644
being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite
of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women
were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who
told them whether they were going to bear children and took [787]
auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future
king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when 643
he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner
with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern
different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his [762]
life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated 643
over the country. There was no rule against naming the king 766
after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The
whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from
women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, [231]
goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for
this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared
with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other
times. One cow was killed when the king died. [782]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 THE Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there
233 were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid,
433 but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

168 This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is in-
433 creasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this
511 study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

433 It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

224 Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only
[262] the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate
[186] game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing
[237] and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

226 Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when
262 very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

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tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

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April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Everaerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

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later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

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273 Fermented beverages were popular in Ruanda. There were three varieties: those with a sorghum base, those with a banana base, and hydromel. As these drinks were made in each household, their alcoholic content varied greatly. According to the experts, however, their nutritive value was generally considerable. The Tutsi did not drink sorghum-beer (*amarwa*) which they thought was fit only for children and Hutu. It is not as strong as banana-beer (*urwagwa*) and hydromel (*ubwuki*), which may contain 11.5° of alcohol.[33] Hydromel results from the fermentation of a must which is an aqueous solution of honey.

267 264 The Tutsi diet was based mainly on dairy products and was more liquid than solid. When still lying on his bed a Tutsi began his day with a pot of curdled milk (about 1½ pints). At noon, before his siesta, he again took about the same amount. Around six p.m. when talking with his friends and clients, he drank, and offered, [273] hydromel or banana-beer. At about half past eight or nine p.m. everybody left his hut and he took his evening meal with his wife (or one of his wives), his young children of both sexes and his daughters even after puberty. A usual menu was sweet bananas (or beans) cooked in water, cut in small pieces which were eaten with hot salted butter, and some sort of 'bread' made with a sorghum flour paste and, of course, milk was drunk. On the rare occasions when they had meat it was boiled, cut in small pieces, and eaten with hot salted butter. After that, when the women had left, the evening was spent with friends and clients, in long, subtle, and witty conversations, while beer and hydromel were served again.

The Hutu ate more food, but it was less refined. They consumed much less milk and butter, if any. They took two main meals a day, one in the beginning of the afternoon and one in the evening. They made a kind of porridge with beans, peas, or maize. Sweet potatoes, regarded as too common to eat by the Tutsi, were consumed in large quantities by the Hutu. A present day evaluation is about seven pounds a day per adult. In the morning, while working in the fields, they ate one or two snacks made of the remains of the preceding evening meal. They drank mainly banana [273] and sorghum beer.

The Twa apparently enjoyed eating much meat and drinking much beer when and where they could get it. Their diet was very

[33] Ministère des Colonies, 1941b, pp. 52 f.

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irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing. 262 264

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned. 261 [574] [484] 261 186

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather. 291 [164]

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

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In the ritual

613 sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the
199 Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during
his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was
[173] accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

613 A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to
769 honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a
[062] goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

613 Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of
623 councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the
[554] opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

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not injure the living. Consequently the cult addressed to the *bazimu* (spirits of the dead) was essentially aimed at appeasing them. When an unfortunate event was ascribed to a dead relative's ire by the diviner, the spirit had to be placated by the immolation of a goat or even a bull.

These practices were symbolic. It was not implied that the *bazimu* really drank the milk, ate the meat, or slept with the girl. When a goat or a steer was offered, most of it was eaten by members of the family. Other practices are more difficult to interpret. It sometimes happened that water was given to the spirits and at the same time they were told very loudly that it was milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* were regarded as rather stupid and that these mock offerings were not given to the ancestors who were respected but only to the collaterals who, as *bazimu*, were hated. To have feared powerful *bazimu*, however, and at the same time to have deceived them so grossly does not appear very coherent and requires, I think, further explanation.

Every fourth reign, there was an important ritual connected with the final burial of the fourth predecessor of the king. As all *bazimu* were thought to accompany the spirit of the king long ago deceased, their cult was abolished. The inzu heads, however, continued to be remembered.[12]

[12] Kagame, 1947, pp. 377-86.

N2 same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This
564 makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to dis-
826 tinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that
564 the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least, cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the
827 Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving
829 anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

564 It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically
827 more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are, to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour.
564 True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose character and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and
• [262] their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even
[186] those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Other-
[461] wise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

[826 It is necessary to stay in Burundi for a long time to see behind
827] the stereotypes of the castes. In brief, it is assumed that the Tutsi

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

WTA 14

222 252 [262] In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment, we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa. Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

222 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the 231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi [263] honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey [273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes.

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil
388 for making soap; [54] only the people of the Tanganyika area
177 have learned from the Arabs and Wasuaheli how to mix oil with potash to make soap (kifefe) which is traded in fist-sized balls.

Apart from the cultivated plants mentioned above, the
222 Barundi and their women and children collect a number of wild
262 plants or parts of these plants to be used as food or condiments. There are, for instance, the stinging nettle, whose leaves are boiled as "spinach," and sorrel, also cooked as a vegetable. The fruit of the eggplant (Solanum esculentum) -- reverted to the wild state? -- is eaten raw or roasted. They also collect edible mushrooms which are eaten either raw or cooked, red pepper
[263] (intore) whose pods are used for seasoning, and various berries eaten as delicacies by women and children, especially blackberries which are abundant everywhere.

The location and arrangement of the fields (umurima)
241 in Urundi does not differ much from Ruanda. One thing that soon strikes the observer is that in Urundi, with the exception of the western mountain areas, terraced fields are much more rare than in Ruanda where they cover entire mountain slopes and constitute the characteristics appearance of the cultivated areas. In Urundi the fields extend predominantly over level ground, either on the broad ridges and plateaus or at the bottom of the valleys. They are always close to the huts and, of course, to water. No furrows are drawn on most fields; their surface is merely loosened with a hoe. In the case of freshly cleared land, the pulled grass and shrubs are piled up in the field, left to dry, and burned. Then the ashes, as fertilizer, are worked into the ground with the hose. A similar method is used at the edge of papyrus swamps. After the water level has receded, the papyrus thicket is cut down over the whole extent of the extremely fertile alluvial land whose surface has dried. The hacked-off papyrus fronds are burned as soon as they have dried out (Plate 22a). Then the roots are dug up, narrow drainage ditches are dug, and the plant ash is spread over the field as fertilizer. Finally sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and beans are planted in the little holes which have been dug. They come up quickly. If land is cleared on a hill slope, the fields are laid out in long narrow strips which follow the contour horizontally. These are made as level as

Their Food is Varied

262 It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate
[241] a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ébikoro), squash and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain
[263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/, who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and
[272] intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with
[273] a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their
263 everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824] 1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from
258 263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824] 1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

258 water, which overflows into a jar, carrying with it a few more or less
●263 soluble particles of this sooty dust. The liquid is preserved. The cooks pour a little into the cooking pot at every meal. Some families subsist on this humble vocation and trade with water which is not salted but which has an ashy taste.

Salt was indeed rare before the arrival of the Europeans. The great Batutsi chiefs were about the only ones able to obtain it.

This salt, collected by the Blacks in the marshes of Lake Edward, contained an amount of earth and sand at least equal to half its volume. It sold nevertheless for a very high price at native markets.

The salt from the Gottorp plant (not far from Kigoma) is now used by all social strata. It is highly valued by the Banyarwanda, who call it ulugera, a substantive derived from the verb kugera, which means "to penetrate," because, as they say, it goes all the way down to their stomachs thanks to its high quality and its tart and pungent flavor. One understands why formerly the Blacks, when deprived of salt, would seek out bitter herbs and sour fruits. Red pepper and
[249] chives, which were imported fairly recently, have for this reason been a great success among the Blacks, who cultivate them in small plots near their huts. It is probably for the same reason that children show almost as much fondness for lemons as for oranges. /34/ A few years after the eruption referred to as that of the Ntsuro (December, 1911 and January, 1912), when the natives were able to approach the volcano safely, they began collecting salt mixed with large quantities of earth. The inhabitants of nearby villages spend most of their time collecting the indispensable substance. In order to rid the salt of its
[415] impurities, people melt it in large wooden troughs full of water, which are called imivule or imizinga. The liquid is then removed to other troughs where it is exposed to the sun. The most skillful and enterprising workers allow the water to boil until it evaporates completely. The markets which are held north of Kivu are supplied with this salt, which sells as high as that of Gottorp in spite of its poor quality. It is less white, contains impurities, and always remains damp.

241 The Batwa, or Negrillos, do not farm much. They look down
461 on field work.
563

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be
smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs,
and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found
in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how
refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will
cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono),
made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have
mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots
(imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water
containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or
pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden
vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before
being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is al-
ways in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all
have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped
up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato,
akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended
in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a
bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no
spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a
broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and
when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then
formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of
the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words
"thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmi-
cally in turn.

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy prac-
262 ticed by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

Since hunting also seldom provides
262 anything for the kitchen - the Barundi are poor hunters and,
[224] except for the Batwa, do not eat venison or if they do, only on exceptional occasions -- and since wild plants are seldom used for food, the menu is rather limited. The main food items for the whole of Urundi are bananas, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, and sorghum; all these are dried, ground, and prepared as mush. All the other things produced by the fields at different altitudes and in areas of different climate (see the chapter on agriculture, p. 48) play only a subordinate role.

It is true that when speaking to a European or a Muhutu the Batussi claim that they live only on milk, meat, and beer, but in reality they eat legumes, bananas, millet mush, and other foods exactly like the Bahutu. After all, not enough cattle are killed in the area to satisfy all the Batussi every day.
252 Except for meat, which, as has been mentioned, is almost always roasted on the spit, most dishes by far are cooked or stewed; only very few are fried in grease or oil as, for example, in the Tanganyika region where palm oil is plentiful.

262 As far as special rules concerning food are concerned,
264 I have discovered a number of food taboos connected with totemism and religious ideas (see p. 103). It is surprising that one never sees adults eating. They always take their meals inside the huts, the man together with his wife but apart from the children, and if they are ever caught at their meals, they stop and go away since the food would "not agree" with them if eaten in the presence of strangers. Of course, this is
262 not the case when they are traveling. In that case the force
261 of external circumstances often frees them from such considerations; yet conscientious or rigidly trained people, as most of the Batussi are, observe the custom so strictly even while traveling that they will go hungry rather than depart from it. When climbing the Karisimbi, for example, I had two young Batussi guides who, in spite of the extreme physical exertion involved, refused all the food I offered them and did not eat anything for two days because they did not have their customary mush and milk, nor did they accept anything from the people in my caravan.

273 easily digested. Barundi men scorn it because of its harmlessness, and it is left for the sick, the women, and the children, among whom it is very popular (No. 19, p. 74).

The fourth type of beer is honey beer (umutobe w'insuki). It resembles lemonade but is nevertheless somewhat alcoholic, so even men like to drink it. It consists of one fifth honey and four fifths water. This is boiled for a short time, and then it is poured into a different vessel and left standing near the fire for a few days without being allowed to boil. Finally it is placed under the open sun for an entire day so as to cause slight fermentation. This is also a tasty and wholesome beverage.

Honey beer and banana cider cannot be preserved for a long time; the latter will keep only for four to five days. For this reason both must be consumed quickly. The first two types mentioned, banana and sorghum beer, do not improve by aging either. They turn sour, the sooner the warmer the place is where they are kept. In mountain areas with a cold climate they will keep for five to six weeks, but in the much more extensive plateau lands they turn sour much sooner. For this reason alone the high time of general drinking is squeezed into the period of a few weeks which are enjoyed all the more strenuously. [Fig. 14 appears here in the original text.]

[62] The Barundi seldom drink beer directly from the pots or from open pumpkin bowls, as is the case among most other East African Negroes. Usually the beer is poured from the [264] pots into calabashes and then sucked out of these by means of straws or reeds (umukenke) in the same manner as we drink iced coffee. The Banjaruanda and Basiba use the same method. Also [484] on trips and marches they carry calabashes of beer with them, [415] together with the necessary tubes which are kept in plaited or carved cases (Fig. 14).

The real beer brewers in Urundi are the Bahutu women, as has already been mentioned, but as far as drinking is concerned, the Bahutu and the Batussi are of equal rank. Most of them are tremendous tipplers who consume 12 to 15 liters of beer a day. The Batwa, too, are hard drinkers if they have beer.

[Text continues on page 93]

768 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's
736 family and provide for their widowed mother. However, childless widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or by begging.

The position of women is higher and the esteem in which
562 they are held is greater than among most other East African
593 Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned, the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the husband. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the
[462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found among any other East African people -- that husband and wife
[264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier husbands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex-
562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded
[644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of respect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

796 throw cow bones into their face. This is no longer the case, and
661 times have changed for the better. An evolution of ideas has taken place under European influence. Since these men are no longer inviolate, their behavior has necessarily become less brutal.

They were immediately received by the king, who asked them
796 into his hut to the exclusion of his usual entourage. The great chief of the Bumbogo (umutware w' intebe), of the Batsobe clan, alone came in with the king. It was he who officially presented the first fruits to the sovereign. Precautions were taken so that no one might come near the grain destined for the king. Carefully selected slaves or servant girls threshed the stalks at night far from all unhallowed glances. Then they had the task of crushing the grain before the eyes of the monarch. They worked with the most meticulous cleanliness, that is to say, without spitting into their hands or touching the flour with their unhallowed fingers.

Princes and dignitaries live in perpetual fear of poisoning and spells, hence the numerous measures /502/ and strict watchfulness observed in these circumstances. When enough flour had been obtained to make bread (umutsima), another slave girl took it and immediately prepared it.

The dough was ceremoniously taken to the king, who removed a piece from it with his fingers. He brought it first to his forehead, then to his chest, and then took it to his mouth. The chief who was present did the same. This ceremony was carried out in silence. The men who had brought the first fruits also offered the monarch some stalks of issogi, which is, as we have seen, one of the most important plants (imbuto nkuru).

[262] It must be remembered that the Banyarwanda cannot eat sorghum bread or eleusine bread alone because it is too dry.

They usually eat it, therefore, with a mouthful of beans cooked along with this sort of spinach. The latter lends the beans a flavor which is highly esteemed by the natives. This is what gave the plant a choice place among other foods.

796 It was customary for the men who had taken part in the procession to be rewarded. A bucket (umuvule) was filled with milk,
264 and another with beans that were only half cooked.

796 These were topped with rancid butter as though it were a special
264 treat.

The intended goal was to stuff the bearers of the first fruits.

The poorly cooked food was digested slowly, and meanwhile the eaters proved to the spectators, with their rounded stomachs, that they had been treated royally (ngo n'. ishimo).

It is said that in the old days the guests were not allowed to leave the royal enclosure without having finished their Pantagruelic repast. They ate before the amused eyes of a delirious crowd which plied them with jeers and gibes. Nor were they allowed /503/ to leave the premises in order to relieve nature. "As a result, " add the narrators, "the court looked more like a stable. "

Yet the guests could consider themselves fortunate if their appetite was not stimulated with blows. It seems that at the present time these customs have lost some of their grotesque and brutal character.

Not only did the court familiars and neighboring inhabitants take part in those festivities, but so did the great chiefs and their retinues. Sacrifices followed upon dances and shows given by clowns and snake charmers.

There was also the presentation of the sacred cows (inyambo), which was to many people the most important part of the festivities. To those who know the Batutsi as professional herders, there is nothing surprising about this part of the program.

II. The Existence and Presentation of Sacred Herds

233 In speaking of sacred cows, our study would remain incomplete if we were not to say a few words about the attachment which the Banyarwanda, Bahutu, and Hamites demonstrate for their cattle.

Cows are cherished by everyone, without exception. Meticulous and often ridiculous care is lavished upon them. The Blacks of Ruanda stop at nothing to obtain cattle. A Muhutu /Bahutu/ will fawn upon his chief for many years, if necessary, in order to obtain one. He will bear the inclemencies of the seasons, undertake long journeys, perform endless drudgery, and sacrifice his crops to

351 elephant grass. In the compounds of wealthy persons, consisting of at least three huts, this entrance leads into the front courtyard.

[201] In this courtyard, opposite the entrance, is the kambele, the house occupied by the head of the family. On the side, usually to the left of this house, is the entrance to the inner courts. The front court as well as the inner courts are kept clean and free of grass. Here the clients and subordinates of the head of the establishment assemble to learn his wishes, commands, and de-
[574] cisions. Here he receives his guests who are conducted no farther than into the kambele. Sacrifices also take place here. In Musinga's compound I saw two carefully tended sacrificial trees between the entrance gate and his house on both sides of and at a

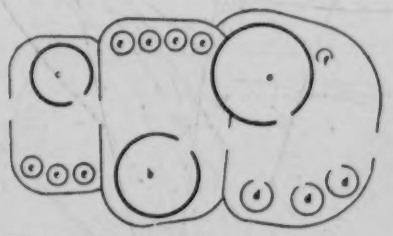

Fig. 127. Compound, Nyanza on Lake Mohasi: (a) kambele, (b) kagondo, (c) mubahutu, (d) stalls for calves, (e) storehouses, (f) spirit hut.

certain distance from the line connecting the two. In the front court near the house one also sees small spirit huts.

In many compounds the front court also contains huts for small calves, and animals are kept here at night. In one single instance I saw a hut for larger calves outside the enclosure. It was explained to me that the whole herd was kept near this hut overnight.

592 In the inner court is the house for the women, known as kagondo. Here the master's wife spends the day with her women servants. It is only in the evening that she is brought to the
● [264] kambele in a litter. The husband eats with his wife in the kagondo.

000 the knives used by Babira women.

251 Boiled food forms the basis of the diet; however, corn, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are also baked.

262 The Batutsi's favorite dish is beaten sour milk, kivuguto. The Batutsi maintain that they live exclusively on beer, milk, and meat, but sureptitiously they also eat peas (maharagi), beans, millet mush (umutsima), eleusine (buro), gourds, and bananas. On the other hand, they seem to scorn sweet potatoes. This may not be altogether true, however. The Batutsi repeatedly tried to convince me that their diet was entirely different from that of the Bahutu, but this does not seem to be the case.

The diet of the Bahutu, as one would expect among the poorer people, is more monotonous, with less milk and meat and more umutsima, peas, and sweet potatoes. Fish is a very important part of the diet of north Ruanda.

264 [215] The Batutsi eat solid food only once a day, in the evening. They eat with their women, whereas they drink only with men of their own social position.

The Bahutu eat twice a day, between one and two in the afternoon and between eight and nine in the evening. In Mulera people also eat in the morning. This applies only to the men, since women and children eat all day long. The Batwa, too, are constantly eating, whenever they have a chance. It is said of them: balandwa uk imga, "they hunt like dogs."

Chapter 10

Family Affairs

595 The Family. The number of persons in a family, in the narrower sense of the term, varies a great deal in Ruanda. It includes the father, his wives, and children.

Since the woman represents a worker primarily, the number of women in a man's household may be regarded as the measure of his wealth. The poor cannot keep a wife, those of limited means only one, and the wealthy minority two or even several wives. This is why the Batutsi have more wives than the Bahutu.

595 Although a wife feeds herself and the market price for a woman is trifling the Bahutu, nevertheless the man must build and maintain a house for each woman. The amount of work this entails, considering the perishability of the straw buildings, seems to be an important factor in curtailing polygamy. In some cases, it is true, several wives get along with each other in one house, but the lack of a separate hut is considered a great disadvantage and usually results in a woman's departure.

612 The family in the wider sense of the term includes the more distant relatives.

If the child is regarded as the center of the family, only the ancestors in the male line of the father as well as of the mother are considered. The ancestors in the female line are disregarded. Of the various branches of the family only uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces are to be mentioned, as well as the corresponding relatives of the husband or wife.

601 In the Kinyaruanda language there is a word, basekuru, for the abstract concept "ancestor," but there is no word for the concept "father," and one must always say "my father," "your father," "his father." For "grandfather," too, there is no special designation; sekuru really means "his grandfather," and the concept "your grandfather" must be expressed by sokuru.

[217] In the following table we list the expressions for the closer relatives. (See following pages.)

Older close relatives are simply called uncle, data wachu. More distant relatives are referred to as mwene wachu.

The term wachu used so much in the table of relatives is really a possessive pronoun and means "our," just as wanyu means "your" and wabo, "their."

The stepfather is referred to simply as the husband of the mother or brother of the father. [218] The latter designation refers to the fact that a husband's brother falls heir to his widow.

It should be noted that in kinship terms the father's brothers and the mother's sister are treated as two parallel groups, the members of which can intermarry.

562 Position of Women. In Ruanda the woman is regarded, in
264 principle, as a lower creature, and married couples never eat together in public. In private, I have repeatedly observed that they usually do eat together.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

273 Fermented beverages were popular in Ruanda. There were three varieties: those with a sorghum base, those with a banana base, and hydromel. As these drinks were made in each household, their alcoholic content varied greatly. According to the experts, however, their nutritive value was generally considerable. The Tutsi did not drink sorghum-beer (*amarwa*) which they thought was fit only for children and Hutu. It is not as strong as banana-beer (*urwagwa*) and hydromel (*ubwuki*), which may contain 11.5° of alcohol.[33] Hydromel results from the fermentation of a must which is an aqueous solution of honey.

267 264 The Tutsi diet was based mainly on dairy products and was more liquid than solid. When still lying on his bed a Tutsi began his day with a pot of curdled milk (about 1½ pints). At noon, before his siesta, he again took about the same amount. Around six p.m. when talking with his friends and clients, he drank, and offered, [273] hydromel or banana-beer. At about half past eight or nine p.m. everybody left his hut and he took his evening meal with his wife (or one of his wives), his young children of both sexes and his daughters even after puberty. A usual menu was sweet bananas (or beans) cooked in water, cut in small pieces which were eaten with hot salted butter, and some sort of 'bread' made with a sorghum flour paste and, of course, milk was drunk. On the rare occasions when they had meat it was boiled, cut in small pieces, and eaten with hot salted butter. After that, when the women had left, the evening was spent with friends and clients, in long, subtle, and witty conversations, while beer and hydromel were served again.

The Hutu ate more food, but it was less refined. They consumed much less milk and butter, if any. They took two main meals a day, one in the beginning of the afternoon and one in the evening. They made a kind of porridge with beans, peas, or maize. Sweet potatoes, regarded as too common to eat by the Tutsi, were consumed in large quantities by the Hutu. A present day evaluation is about seven pounds a day per adult. In the morning, while working in the fields, they ate one or two snacks made of the remains of the preceding evening meal. They drank mainly banana [273] and sorghum beer.

The Twa apparently enjoyed eating much meat and drinking much beer when and where they could get it. Their diet was very

[33] Ministère des Colonies, 1941b, pp. 52 f.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing.

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned.

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather.

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law 554
constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are 557
persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched 578
that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the [595]
former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same 554
pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to 264
look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no 554
comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always [858]
inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to 554
changes in social role according to age. The changes of social 561
status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, 562
then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five [885]
years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to 431
like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to 554
receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963/
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Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415 water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
564 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

563 "The Batwa at Musinga's court and in the Issawi region, as well
144 as those in northwestern Urundi, are not very different from the Wahutu, and there is doubtless considerable blood relationship."

Baumann (4) goes still farther and maintains that the Batwa

4. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle (Berlin, 1894), p. 215.

are no smaller than the Barundi.

The latter opinion is also erroneous. Anthropological analysis (5) proved that the Batwa do have a Pygmy element as

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5. Czekanowski, J., "Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen der zentral-afrikanischen Pygmäen [Aspects of Kinship of the Pygmies of Central Africa]," Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1910, pp. 101-109.

one of their components. Although other, subsequent mixtures have lessened the importance of this element, nevertheless it accounts for many characteristic features of the Batwa.

The Batwa are strikingly similar to the Forest Bantu and stand midway between the latter and the Bahutu. This conclusion, unexpected at first glance, is simply explained if we assume that the more isolated Batwa were less open to outside influences and that anthropologically they are relicts of an older order in Ruanda. If we assume that formerly the population of Ruanda was more closely related to the Forest Bantu, then the Batwa, from whom we may learn about former conditions, must also be similar to the Forest Bantu. This is, in fact, the case. Apart from their anthropologi-
563 cal relationship, the Batwa are also said to resemble the Forest
● 266 Bantu in a very characteristic custom. They are cannibals, at least in northwestern Ruanda among the western group of volcanoes. Nonconflicting rumors about this custom have been reported by both Count Von Götzen (6) and Von Parisch (7).

[113]

6. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch

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[113]

Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion: The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are

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1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Éléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

Among medicine men Father Van Thiele distinguishes two different professional secret societies, the bakoni and the bageiye. 759 575 who are initiated with the banga ceremony. Bageiye heal persons suffering from snake bite.

I had no opportunity to see a bageiye perform in Ruanda. 752 When a man was bitten by a snake on the way to the Muhawura

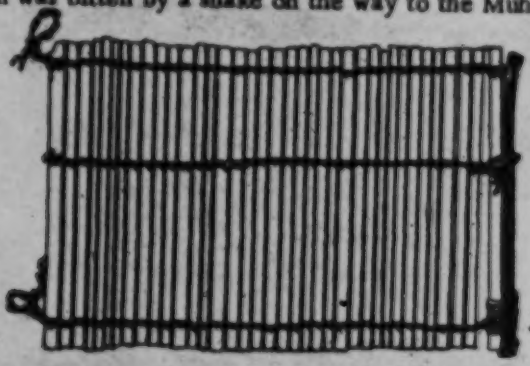

Fig. 178. Splints for Immobilizing Broken Bones, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13742. 26 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide.)

volcano, [327] the natives wanted to tie the head of the dead snake on the wound as an antidote.

The following account by Father Van Thiele about a preventive treatment for the greatly feared disease of smallpox (bubita) is very interesting. 751

The medicine man first provides everyone with amulets consisting of gourd seeds. Even the water jug gets its amulet. Then he gives a preventive medicine which he boils. After the boiling he blows air into it through a straw so as to make foam which is rubbed all over the body. The efficacy of the medicine is increased by making incisions in five different places: three incisions over the right eye and one incision each on the right shoulder, the back, the right hand, and above the right foot. The medicine man spits on his little finger and rubs the incisions with it.

Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice. The problem of cannibalism and human sacrifice in the interlacustrine region is the most obscure and difficult of all. For example, in Ruanda the bimara, 266 752 651

266 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago.
782 The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King
651 Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a muia (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[143] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in
575 the north and by poisoners (balozi). Koch (1) confirms its occurence
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1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

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guards near corpses. They believe that if a person eats corpses he is imbued with weird, magical power and can turn into wild animals, as in our legend of the werewolf."

According to Johnston (2), the secret society of basezi in

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2. Johnston, H., The Uganda Protectorate (London, 1902), p. 692.

Buddu and on the Sese Islands assembles at night and devours corpses. Johnston (3) characterizes the inhabitants of the Sese

3. Ibid., p. 693.

Islands as notorious cannibals who gave up this passion only when they were forced to by the Baganda.

Ruanda's western neighbors, the Bahunde, are likewise cannibals, as Dr. Kandt (4) has determined. He reports the

4. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 449.

following discovery: "Here lay the head of a human being that had been slaughtered not more than two days ago. The ears, the lips, and the flesh of cheeks, neck, and chin had been cut away, and the large hollow bones had been broken, apparently to suck out the marrow and the blood. The place where the fire had been, marked by ashes, was still visible; the blood-soaked apron of barkcloth and the straw and wire rings of the slaughtered person lay strewn about in the grass. I called the guides. They knew the man and said that if we wanted to look around we could find many other remnants of this kind, but I had no desire to do so."

From these facts we may conclude that formerly cannibalism was common in the entire interlacustrine region from the western lakes to the Sese Islands. Only recently suppressed, it has left definite traces in the cult and in secret societies.

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle; it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
302 food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi
[262] eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororo, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, espe-
272 cially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

272 jugular vein from a short distance, whereupon the blood spurts out swiftly. The arrow falls off immediately, and the blood is then caught in an earthenware pot. After two to four liters have been collected, the wound closes by itself. Part of the
262 warm blood is immediately drunk; the remaining larger part is boiled on the fire until it becomes solid, as in our black pudding. Then salt, beans, peas, and other ingredients are added, and the tasty meal (ikiremve) is eaten greedily (No. 19, p. 424).

Obviously, beef (injama) is eaten much more rarely. Since cattle are not regarded as food but as capital, there is beef to eat only when an animal has fallen or if it is killed for a sacrifice (cf. p. 136). Only the chiefs can indulge in the luxury of killing an animal for food from time to time. In this case almost always old steers or sterile cows are chosen. Cows that give milk or [46] breeding animals are never killed. The same is true for all Bahima people from Ankole (No. 26, p. 146) to Ufipa. The Bahutu, especially those on Lake Tanganyika, sometimes eat mutton and goat meat, although rarely; the Batwa also eat antelopes, gazelles, francolins, guinea fowl, ducks, etc., but neither they nor the Batussi or Bahutu will eat chicken (No. 19, p. 396). Beef is either eaten
252 raw, still warm if possible, or it is pierced with a wooden spit and roasted over the fire. It is cooked only very rarely.
439 Europeans, who are accustomed to eating meat, are able to buy only sterile cows or defective steers when traveling through
431 Urundi and Ruanda. Sometimes they receive them as a gift from the host. Even then the rules of custom require that the host or the person who sold the animal receives in return a hind leg, the skin, and horns: the leg for food, the horns as a cult object for the hut, and the skin as a bed cover or for making clothes -- especially for women and Batwa -- or to be sold to the trader.

According to all experience it is impossible to export live
439 cattle in great numbers because they soon perish after leaving the highlands as a result of the change of fodder, the tsetse fly, and other infections which unfortunately are prevalent in East Africa. At present quite a large number of dried cattle hides

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
231 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist
776 between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

181 other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be
554 considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the
polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently
556 we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and rela-
564 tionships in which sanctions are implied.

181 The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely con-
nected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly
554 respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and
cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-
233 value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain
564 the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk
[272] is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-
beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was con-
sidered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone.
As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an impor-
tant herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover,
cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-
breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was
[538] devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beauti-
ful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they
had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were
presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were
objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those
associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or
luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just
as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property.
Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or
goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and
emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-
value is readily understandable.

181 The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi
is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A
554 family has property which is handed on from one generation to another,
common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a
564 living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background
one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to
the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be
maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property
will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This
not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and
their esteem for the father is enhanced.

181 Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the
respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi
554 seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous.
564 They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

Their Food is Varied

262 It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate
[241] a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ébikoro), squash and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain
[263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/, who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and
[272] intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with
[273] a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their
263 everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824] 1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from
258 263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824] 1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

794 His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba. . . , " pronounced in a virile tone,
776 recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a
[30] necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung
854] around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye. . . . "

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

[224 His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around
[231] the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i. . . " to recall
534] that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence
[287] the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with
a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a
[415] hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using
● [272] a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

192

198

Umumkari	Umugore	Woman
Umwere wa giti	Umwana	Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

[824]
[234]

3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

644 5. In certain cases and where certain objects are concerned, the king must help himself directly. When he wishes to play the drum, as he is wont to do, his followers set the sticks on the ground before him instead of offering them to him spontaneously. The prince picks them up himself.

To hand them over to him, which to us seems so simple, might cause him to die (gukenya).

644 272 6. It is for the same reason that the servants entrusted with keeping the milk in the famous "hut that devours its inhabitants" (ikiryana) observe the same custom. Two or three large bowls full [415] of milk are brought into the hut where the king is served. They are carefully closed with a lid woven of vegetable fiber.

Small wooden vessels known by the name of ichyantsi (plural ibyantsi) are laid before His Majesty. Whether there are two, four, or even eight of them, they must be immaculately clean. The servant fills a first container, which the king picks up himself without any help.

If the milk pleases him he goes on drinking, but he is careful not to finish it.

He must leave half of it, lest milk become scarce (ngw'amata atagabanuka) in the realm. Meanwhile, the servant fills another vessel, which the king picks up himself as he did the first one.

The first one is filled again. This table service continues until the king's hunger is satisfied.

644 7. Custom demands that when appearing at court one should clap one's hands three times (gukom'amashi) and use the customary formulas, with the sole addition of "king" (umwami) or "Sire" (Nyagasani). This is about the only external mark of respect reserved for the sovereign. /494/

644 293 8. At night the king must never be without the native hammer called Nyarushara. This tool goes with him on all his journeys.

412 It is left under the fine grass which serves as the monarch's bolster and pillow (barayisegurir' umwami).

778 It is a sort of ancient talisman which theoretically has not yet lost any of its mystic power. It was wrought according to the specifications of Mashira, the sorcerer-petty king, by an able

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/ their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

234 [142] While the cow is being milked, a fire of cow dung is kept burning beside her. The smoke keeps off the troublesome stable flies, and the animals can stand quietly.

Young calves are kept in special small huts or in closed-off portions of the entrance room of the dwellings (umuliango).

415 The milk is stored in cylindrical vessels (kianzi) crudely carved out of wood. The vessels are washed with cow urine, and from time to time they are fumigated. A cone-shaped lid is made from a bundle of straw sewed to form a spiral. The milk 272 is drunk chiefly when it is curdled (kivugutu); it is beaten with a small stick to change this consistency. Fresh milk (amata) and buttermilk (amachunde) are also drunk.

[413]

Fig. 33. Arrow for Bloodletting, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13744. 58 1/2 centimeters long.)

Besides milk, the blood of cattle is also drunk. For this purpose the bulls are bled from time to time by shooting a special arrow into the neck vein at close range. The short iron tip of the arrow is set into a wooden shaft. The upper part of the shaft is bound, to prevent the wood from splitting and also to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply into the vein. The lower end of the arrow has a notch into which the bowstring fits. When the blood is drawn off, a tourniquet of rope is tied around the neck below the wound.

The blood is drunk either fresh or cooked. It is sometimes [146] also mixed with milk, and in this form it is given to women after childbirth "to replace the lost blood."

232 Bloodletting is also practiced on sick animals by specialists. It is said that the animals are given the drawn blood as a reward.

262 Meat is eaten only on special occasions. Beef cattle have a very great value, and beef, therefore, is regarded as the greatest delicacy.

000 hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

231 Beekeeping. Bee culture plays a considerable role in Ruanda
[273] life. A great deal of honey is drunk; it is used as an additive to beer and is also mixed with water.

Bees are kept in baskets that are nearly cylindrical (imbutiba) and daubed with clay. At the bottom there are two small exits for the bees. The wider end provides an entrance for lifting out the honey, but otherwise it is closed off. Special long-handled
[413] knives (ulukezo) with short, wide blades are used to cut out the combs. The baskets are generally set up in large numbers on tall trees where they will be dry, but they are also set horizontally on special frames that have crossed legs. These frames are placed on the ground near the huts. There are also many wild bees in the country.

The province of Mulera has the greatest number of bees. In
[435] Bgisha a great deal of honey is sold. The price was two yards of material for two pots of about three liters each.

226 Fishing. The population near the lakes of Ruanda are fisherfolk. Net fishing is called kuteguza ifi. The various nets are called ujegwi, chera, and amahinda. The fish traps are called birumbi. They consist of a long cone into which is placed a second shorter one with its point cut off. The two are fastened together at their thicker basal ends. [148] There is little line fishing, but the fishhook is not unknown, although one does not see it very often.

501 The boats are simple dugouts about five meters long and 50 centimeters wide. They are very irregularly shaped, since the natural curve of the tree trunk is retained. The dugouts used on Lake Kivu are considerably larger. In Ruanda the sides of the boat are not built up by the addition of planks as is the case, for example, in Kiziba and Buganda. The boat's board formed by the edges of the hollowed-out trunk is higher or lower depending on the width or narrowness of the slit.

The oars (ngashi) are often carefully carved, and the blade (ulubega) is reinforced with a center rib (mugongo). The oars are free and held in the hand by the shaft (ulati).

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

222 252 [262] In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment, we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa. Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

222 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the 231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi [263] honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey [273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes.

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is [252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are [262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to [273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as [231] vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work, and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for wrapping various objects, etc.

244 Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all. Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and 2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping, and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a, p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans. They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

243 are then scattered from the swinging hand onto the level ground, after which some soil is sprinkled on the seed by hand. Eleusine (uwuro) is sown in the same manner. The ripe ears of these two types of millet are each individually cut from the stalks with a knife. This is also the method used for corn and rice. Then the ears are spread on the firm ground in front of the huts and threshed with switches. Some of the sorghum [252] is ground into flour, but most of it is used for brewing beer. [273] Eleusine is mainly ground into flour from which the daily ugali mush (umudsima) is made.

The Barundi grow tobacco (itabi) in small quantities near 249 almost every homestead, as has been mentioned above. The delicate plant is cared for so poorly, however, that it yields a mediocre product. Uvira tobacco, which is traded in considerable amounts in the Tanganyika area, is of much better quality. [53] The Barundi put the tobacco seeds into small holes dug into the soil with a hoe. The young seedlings are not transplanted, but the Barundi clear and irrigate the surrounding soil from time to time. As soon as the plant begins to blossom (red, not white), the leaves are picked off and strung up on bast strings to dry in the sun. Then, for fermentation and storage, they are wrapped in dry banana leaves. In spite of its terrible appearance, 276 the tobacco does not have a bad aroma, but it is so strong that even the Barundi seldom smoke it. In most cases it is smoked only by old men and women. The others are all inveterate snuff-takers (see p.59), whereas in Ruanda tobacco is only rarely taken as snuff but is smoked in considerable amounts.

Tobacco is regarded by the Barundi in the same way as all [824] narcotics are regarded by primitive peoples: as possessing [758] mysterious powers. From this originates the custom of stuffing a pinch of snuff up the nose of a person who has fainted. Also, the young bridegroom blows tobacco smoke at his wife, and so forth (No. 19, p. 557).

244 Several kinds of pumpkins (imboga) are likewise grown merely as garden produce or interspersed among bananas or sorghum, in particular a variety which is round and as big as a head, and another smaller variety that looks almost like a

276 has approximately the shape of a [Fig. 12 appears here in the original text] clothespin and is suspended from the neck on a string (Fig. 13). In order to take the snuff, the [Fig. 13 appears here in the original text] Murundi first pours some tobacco from the horn into the wooden bowl. He adds a little water and stirs the mixture until the water has turned into a brownish-green tobacco juice. Then he pours this sauce into the hollow of his hand and draws it in through his nostrils with an ecstatic grunt. All this is usually done in a sitting or squatting position (see Plate 28b). Since the juice would, of course, run out of his nose immediately, the already described nose clamp is pushed over the nostrils or the nose is blocked by gripping it between the index finger and the thumb. The pinch of snuff is considered good if it is sharp enough to bring tears to the snuff-taker's eyes. He will leave the stinging brew in his nose for three to five minutes or longer. Finally, when he has had enough of this pleasure, he bends forward, takes the clamp or his fingers from his nose and lets the slimy sauce drip to the ground. Any remainder is blown out of the nose with the fingers, and the fingers are wiped off on the bare legs. The entire procedure, which may be observed several dozen times each day, is so disgusting that it easily might cause one to be disenchanted with a sojourn among the Barundi if one did not remind himself that this is a subject for ethnological study which, as such, is beyond good and evil.

276 576 If one of the snuff-takers is suddenly overcome with the desire to sneeze, he quickly blows out all the juice, aiding the passage of it with his fingers; otherwise dire consequences would ensue. After he has sneezed, the bystanders wish him "kira" (bless you), whereupon he answers, "tukirane" (may things go well with us). Offering a pinch of snuff and accepting one which has been offered [60] are evidence of good breeding. Only the Batwa are never offered a pinch by the other Barundi, nor do they offer snuff to them (No. 19, p. 465).

273 Male and female Barundi of all tribal, status, and age groups are even more passionately addicted to alcohol in the form of beer (insoga). "If in general the Barundi are a sober

[Text continues on page 90]

273 people, it is not out of virtue but simply because they do not have enough to eat and drink to satisfy their appetites. They could eat an ox at one sitting, and if they were given as much beer as they wanted, they would keep drinking from morning till night" (No. 19, p. 317). Drunkenness is not regarded as a shortcoming or a vice but as evidence of the prosperity or generosity of the host. After the millet and banana harvest, from July to September, is the time for brewing beer (kwenga insoga, kutoba), the period of gluttony and general drunkeness all over Urundi, and this continues until the provisions are exhausted. Often the last drop disppears down the gullet after not more than four weeks, and the thirsty souls have to remain
273 abstinent until the next harvest period. During the period of
574 carousal, singing and shouting can be heard issuing from most homesteads deep into the night, for there are no quiet and solitary drinkers. Drinking beer is always a social affair. One person after another invites friends and relatives to communal drinking bouts, and in this manner they make the rounds among all the families of friends, guzzling until nothing is left. In
[431] addition to this, pots filled with beer are given as presents or any suitable occasion, and then they are shared by receiver and donor together. Of course, beer is part of any kind of festive occasion which usually also includes dancing (see pp. 65, 125).
273 Since the banana beer, which is the most popular, is quite
579 potent and since, in addition, the Barundi are by nature easily
152 excited, the more advanced stages of such communal drinking bouts usually take a rather wild form. Quite regularly violent arguments ensue, and often fights result in which even lances are used, sometimes ending in manslaughter. In the latter case, the consequences for the families concerned are quite disastrous (see pp. 97, 105).

273 Significantly enough, beer-brewing among the Barundi
[462] is a task with which the women are charged. They are experts in this respect, but they also are hard drinkers. There are four different types of beer in Urundi. The most potent, popular, and widespread type is banana beer (insoga j'ivitoke). To

273 prepare it, green, unripe bananas are first ripened artificially in a kind of incubator. This is simply a pit which has been dug in firm ground. The bottom of it is covered with green banana leaves, the bundles of bananas are piled on top, and these are again covered with green banana leaves. Over all, dry banana leaves are heaped up and set on fire. As soon as they have started to burn, the whole thing is covered with twigs and earth. After four to five days the bananas are fully ripe. They are then taken out of the pit, peeled, and placed in a wooden trough. There they are mashed with the aid of clean bunches of grass which are held in the hand. Then water is poured on, and all the solid parts are fished out. The remaining juice is scooped into a large earthen pot with a pumpkin shell. A little sorghum flour is added to aid fermentation. After the liquid has been left to ferment for four to five days, the beer is poured into small jugs and is ready for drinking.

[61] Brewing millet beer (insoga j'impeke) is less complicated. However, this type of beer is less tasty and also less popular. Naturally it is predominantly produced in areas where more sorghum than bananas are grown, as, for instance, in eastern Urundi and in Uha. The brewing process is as follows. Red or white sorghum is left in cold water to swell and to germinate. After a few days the millet is poured into a basket, and after being left there to germinate a little more, it is dried in the sun and ground into flour. This flour is then poured into boiling water, and the mash is constantly stirred with a small piece of wood while cold water is gradually added. When the big pot is finally entirely filled with cold water, a little sour banana beer is added, and the mash is allowed to settle on the bottom of the vessel. The finished beer above it is then poured off into small pots. The beer always retains a somewhat floury color and teems with floating millet grains and seeds.

Without doubt, the European palate prefers the third kind of beer which might be called banana cider (umutobe). It is simply water mixed with the juice squeezed from ripe bananas which has fermented slightly. This beverage sparkles like champagne, has a bitter-sweet taste, is very refreshing, and is

273 easily digested. Barundi men scorn it because of its harmlessness, and it is left for the sick, the women, and the children, among whom it is very popular (No. 19, p. 74).

The fourth type of beer is honey beer (umutobe w'insuki). It resembles lemonade but is nevertheless somewhat alcoholic, so even men like to drink it. It consists of one fifth honey and four fifths water. This is boiled for a short time, and then it is poured into a different vessel and left standing near the fire for a few days without being allowed to boil. Finally it is placed under the open sun for an entire day so as to cause slight fermentation. This is also a tasty and wholesome beverage.

Honey beer and banana cider cannot be preserved for a long time; the latter will keep only for four to five days. For this reason both must be consumed quickly. The first two types mentioned, banana and sorghum beer, do not improve by aging either. They turn sour, the sooner the warmer the place is where they are kept. In mountain areas with a cold climate they will keep for five to six weeks, but in the much more extensive plateau lands they turn sour much sooner. For this reason alone the high time of general drinking is squeezed into the period of a few weeks which are enjoyed all the more strenuously. [Fig. 14 appears here in the original text.]

[62] The Barundi seldom drink beer directly from the pots or from open pumpkin bowls, as is the case among most other East African Negroes. Usually the beer is poured from the [264] pots into calabashes and then sucked out of these by means of straws or reeds (umukenke) in the same manner as we drink iced coffee. The Banjaruanda and Basiba use the same method. Also [484] on trips and marches they carry calabashes of beer with them, [415] together with the necessary tubes which are kept in plaited or carved cases (Fig. 14).

The real beer brewers in Urundi are the Bahutu women, as has already been mentioned, but as far as drinking is concerned, the Bahutu and the Batussi are of equal rank. Most of them are tremendous tipplers who consume 12 to 15 liters of beer a day. The Batwa, too, are hard drinkers if they have beer.

[Text continues on page 93]

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 524 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children participate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e, the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

396 Often the boat has to be transported a long distance to
496 its launching site. This may take several days. An umufumu (sorcerer) walks in front, scattering "salutary" powder on the road so as to make sure that the boat will reach the water undamaged. As soon as the boat is launched, the people participating in the celebration sing and dance on both sides of the river. Then a pot of banana beer is covered with river clay and placed inside the boat; the immediate participants drink from
[782] the pot and spit into the river to appease the evil spirits. The clay on the pot is rubbed by the participants on their foreheads and on those of the members of their family as protection against accidents. Then the boat is rowed across the river to the other shore, and the people there go through the same ceremonies. The consecration of the boat is concluded by a dance
[273] of the abafumu (medicine men) and ends in a general drinking bout. (No. 19, p. 66)

If after the launching of the boat it is discovered that it
396 lacks buoyancy or equilibrium, corrections are made by further carving with knife or ax or by putting stones inside for ballast. It has already been mentioned (p.73) that the dugouts have neither seats nor rudder. The way they are propelled has also been described.

[83] I have also already discussed the very simple technique (p.31) of making barkcloth (fig. bast felt).

The technique for hides and leatherwork is also very
281 simple. The Barundi on rare occasions use a piece of hide as their only garment. Otherwise they mainly use hides as blankets. The Batwa, however, prefer garments of hide to those made of barkcloth; consequently they are the most expert workers in leather (abaharra). However, both the Batwa and the Bahutu use the same technique. If it is merely a matter of firm, hard leather for lids, quivers, binding material for fastening arrowheads, etc., the hide is simply scraped clean and dried in the sun. If, however, soft, flexible leather (urusato) is needed for garments and blankets, it must be tanned. Since in Urundi the method of tanning and tawing is little known, as was originally the case in all other parts of Africa (No. 32a, p. 47), the hide

796 bellies" (i.e., like sick cattle). And so it continues with in-
794 numerable wild curses. When the storm has subsided, individ-
575 ual supplicants once more stumble forward in front of the
786 enthroned woman, pay profuse respects to the "king," and request his help in opposing witches and sorcerers who have harmed them. The woman promises this, and with the voice of a fury she calls for a pledge of faith to Kiranga. [129] The ivisjego jump up, and under their leadership and accompanied by the noise of all the instruments and with a thousand curses and screams, a dance is performed, such that in the end everyone is bathed in sweat.

A wild drinking bout by the men and women follows, while they repeatedly scream to Kiranga sitting on the footstool: "Remain on the ruler's throne forever, King of Urundi; Kiranga is king." After that the frantic dancing in rows and the noise continue until the woman representing Kiranga becomes thirsty and surrenders her place to a male successor who is then the host. Naturally, he also is enthroned with tremendous jubilation. In this fashion the drinking and dancing, the invocations of Kiranga, and the curses against enemies continue through the entire night until early morning. Then suddenly the whole group breaks up, and in single file, rattling their bells, they run to the nearest stream where they all wash themselves. With this, the celebration comes to an end, and everyone goes home. From this moment on, none of the participants of the celebration may show any sign of recognizing his companions. The whole Kubandwa must be kept secret. However, the host who last "played" Kiranga belongs from now on among those most privileged and divinely blessed.

Since much beer is drunk at these cult festivals and at all
796 other celebrations and it is only available after harvest time,
794 from July to the end of October, all festivals occur exclusively
575 in these months. Every night, especially when there is moon-
273 light, one can hear the noise of drinkers and dancers from the banana groves. Usually they are mere drinking bouts which resound into the night and have no further importance, but often they are cult gatherings of the abandandwa in which only members of the fraternity may participate.

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[462] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[778] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

[p.14 (A)]

Their Food is Varied

262 It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate
[241] a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ébikoro), squash and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain
[263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/, who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and
[272] intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with
[273] a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their
263 everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824] 1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from
258 263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824] 1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

The figures honored by the members of this secret society rank as demigods. Their protection is believed to be effective in the various circumstances of public and family life. As a result, their disciples appeal to them for the obtaining of any material benefit, recovery from illness, ownership of cattle, good relations with chiefs or neighbors, triumph over enemies, protection against bewitchers or spell casters, fecundity, etc.

In order to reach these goals, the initiates respectfully come to the man who plays the role of Ryangombe, greet him, kneel at his feet, address his companions, and offer them gifts.

There is a traditional way to honor these spirits of varying rank and position. No rite is overlooked. Ceremonial dress, gestures, words, offerings, everything is foreseen and prescribed by immutable laws.

Each of the "patrons" has a peculiar costume and special insignias which the man who plays his role must perforce take into account. They are offered gifts of various kinds, and chants or "paeans" are sung, recalling to the spectators the brilliant deeds of their protectors.

1. Ryangombe is represented as seated on a native chair, with a cutlass suspended from his neck. One sets down at his side a vessel full of lustral water and a large jar of pombe, beer made of sorghum or banana juice.

The ladies who wish to honor him hold in their hands a household spatula (umwuko). His adepts imitate the call of the hyena to praise him (2). /364/

2. Is this a vestige of the ancient tribal totems? We cannot be sure.

2. Binego, son of Ryangombe, is called the "Liberator" because he saved his father from ruin and dishonor.

The man who plays his role holds a spear and stick and has a pipe (urwika in the language of the initiates) and a small gourd full of banana beer.

644 violent death when they least expected it. This was for a long time
[682] a sword of Damocles which almost invariably fell upon the head of those who had the misfortune of being selected for that unenvied position.

We shall cite, later on, a few examples of this.

644 B. The cupbearers (abanyanzoga), like their colleagues in
273 the royal dairy and kitchen, also practiced a dangerous trade. Their
651 duties involved the obtention of the best beer available, which they had to preserve and to offer at the moment it was desired. They were numerous, and some of them lived near the king while others roamed the land to requisition honey, beer itself, or the bunches of bananas which are used in the manufacture of this precious beverage (1).

1. The head of the cupbearers, a certain Mutagikwa, is regarded thereby as captain of the Indengabaganizi army corps. This is a strictly honorific title, which nevertheless enables him to levy taxes in those territories where he exercises his functions as an officer of the "Cup."
He lives at Nyarugenge in Gassagara, the Buhanga.

Originally, employees in this category theoretically had rights
[661] only to bunches of bananas and honey (imitsama), and they roamed the land to obtain them (gutorana). Gradually they took on the habit of behaving like true chiefs and of demanding from the inhabitants contributions in kind, beans, sorghum, cows, etc., as well as forced labor, called buletwa. This permitted them not only to live well, but also to acquire large herds.

644 C. There are several work groups assigned to the cultivation
276 and preparation of the tobacco which is used by the prince. The plants destined for his use come from the Bugoyi /386/ Mata in the Marangara, and Ruyanza and Mussambiro in the Nduga, among other

784 A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while
her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another
[842] path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband.

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest,
787 it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a
789 mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the
691 case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer
[273] made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange)
784 is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb
824 (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

241 The beans are poured onto the back of an overturned winnowing
788 basket. Then the owner removes one of the long grass stalks covering the entrance to the hut, and he places this dried stem on the winnowing basket whose concave side is facing down. He takes the basket, lifts it, and shakes it strongly with both hands in order to get the beans into the other side of the grain-scouring implement.

This superstitious practice bears the name of bean "creation" or "multiplication." If a stranger /434/ happens by in the course of this ritual, he must not walk around the basket but pass to one side of it.

Then the beans are buried in the tilled ground in the hope of a rich harvest. This procedure is commonly used to insure good weather.

In their credulity and trust in superstitious practices, the Banyarwanda hope to exercise an influence over sunshine.

At the time of the sorghum harvest, when the Banyarwanda
[273] are extremely eager to secure beer from this plant (amarwa) of which they have been deprived for so long, they expose the crushing stone (ingasire) to sunlight, believing that they are "retaining" the sun in this fashion. We may add that their knowledge of astronomy is nil.
821 They have only one generic term, inyenyeri, to designate the stars, and another, nyakotsi, for comets (1).

1. Nyakotsi means "the /female/ one with smoke," that is to say, with a tail.

The sun (izuba), the moon (ukwezi), and the planet Venus (nyamuhiribona) are the only heavenly bodies for which they have specific names.

● 273 Preparation of Beer. The production of beer plays an important part in the economic life of Ruanda. In fact, most of the bananas are planted solely for this purpose. Everybody drinks. [556] Indeed, everyone who cares about his reputation must get drunk occasionally in order to parade his wealth. However, only the very wealthy can afford beer drinking on a large scale, which is the reason that the consumption of beer carries with it the notion of a privileged social position.

I had no opportunity to hear about cases of delirium tremens, but the chiefs always go to bed drunk and are never up and about before 10 o'clock in the morning.

The Banyaruanda call beer poetically a blessing of God (Imana). Without beer a person can neither be born nor buried. Without beer a man does not get a wife, and without beer he cannot be consecrated to the spirits.

Drinking bouts sometimes last a long time and are not confined to the evening hours. Repeatedly during morning trips I passed noisy settlements where the perservering were still at the glorious task.

273 The consequences of over-indulgence in beer are of very 674 great social significance in Mulera. They cause murder which in turn results in blood revenge. One constantly hears of murder, and the people are very proud of it. Even those whom a man kills while drunk are counted among his slain enemies and are symbolized by cone-shaped iron pendants worn on the back of his headband (see Fig. 62).

At the time of my visit, a Batwa colony of potters in Kabgaye broke up because two drunken men killed a third man and thereupon had to flee with all their relatives to escape vengeance.

273 Not only the men, but also the women of the well-to-do, especially the Batutsi, are said to devote themselves not infrequently to drink. Since their physical beauty is combined with a rather brutal disposition, one often hears of servants of a chief's wife who were soundly thrashed by their intoxicated mistress.

In Ruanda there are several entirely different kinds of beer. Banana beer is commonly called nzoga; millet beer, marwa.

●273 The various kinds have the following names.

1. Nzoga, ordinary banana beer.
2. Marwa ya massaka, millet beer.
3. Marwa ya buro, eleusine beer.
4. Rwagwa, banana beer fermented with millet malt. [150]
5. Nkangaza, banana beer fermented with honey.
6. Uruki, boiled, fermented honey water.

Nzoga is prepared with green bananas which are left to ripen in the hut, above the hearth or in special pits. If they are placed in a pit, a fire is kindled beside it and the heat conducted into the pit by the skillful manipulation of a lid. After four or five days the bananas are quite yellow. They are then peeled and thrown into a wooden trough. Here they are mashed to a thin paste (see detailed description of this process in the explanation of Plate 15, Vol. III, p. 11). This is how the sweet type of nzoga, called ndamu is prepared. Millet malt or honey is added to obtain a more pungent brew. In Buganza and Bgisha the bananas are said to be mashed in cold, unboiled water.

In order to get the nzoga to ferment, it is covered with straw and placed in a pit warmed by a fire, or it is kept inside the hut near the hearth, or it may be wrapped in banana leaves and kept in a corner.

To prepare millet beer, the grain is mixed with ashes, wrapped in grass, put in a basket which is dipped in water for a certain length of time, and then set aside until the grain germinates. After the grain has sprouted sufficiently to become malt, it is dried in the sun. The dried malt is ground into flour and is then ready for use. The flour is dissolved in boiling water, and, after cooling, it can quickly be brought to a state of fermentation by the addition of banana beer. If no banana beer is available, the thin flour porridge is heated and cooled several times. To prepare the ferment, a quantity of flour is dissolved in cooled water and set aside. After five or six days the ferment is ready and is added to the beer, and in two or three days the marwa is ready to be drunk. Unfermented marwa is called nsururu.

273 Aged banana beer is more potent than millet beer.

In Ruanda and Bgisha beer is drunk through a tube (muheha). These tubes are kept in cases resembling quivers, but they are considerably smaller.

276 Preparation of Tobacco. In connection with beer we must mention the other luxury, tobacco, even though the latter undergoes no treatment except drying. Dried tobacco is an important product of Bugoye where highly prized kinds of tobacco flourish and where it is very carefully tended.

[151] Tobacco is smoked in clay pipes (inkono yi tabi), but it is said that in Nduga old women also partake of it in a liquid state. An infusion is prepared, and this is snuffed up the nose. To prevent its running out, they clamp a split twig on the nose and in this way plug it.

This method of enjoying tobacco is also said to be familiar to the people southwest of Lake Victoria, where it is called kirangi. Since they are obliged to hold their noses very high in order to keep the liquid from running out, Europeans who carry themselves very erect are given the nickname Kirangi.

Hashish is unknown in Ruanda, as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine area with the exception of Buganda. The hashish smokers of Bukoba were chiefly members of the local Baganda colony.

285 Plaiting. In Ruanda the technique of plaiting by no means attains the level of the work in Kiziba, although it does not differ from the latter in principle. The Ruanda products, however, are less skillfully executed.

Since this subject has been discussed in detail (1) I shall

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 349-359.

speak only briefly of the types of weaving.

In mat weaving which poses the simplest problems (pattern and weave are executed on a flat surface), the results are superb,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed 000 651
taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and
the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state [655]
work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he 643
took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he 262
generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, [273]
when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge,
but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal
he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people [178]
were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which
would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after
eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused
and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon
him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any [644]
meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls 644
being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite
of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women
were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who
told them whether they were going to bear children and took [787]
auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future
king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when 643
he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner
with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern
different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his [762]
life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated 643
over the country. There was no rule against naming the king 766
after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The
whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from
women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, [231]
goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for
this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared
with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other
times. One cow was killed when the king died. [782]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

273 Fermented beverages were popular in Ruanda. There were three varieties: those with a sorghum base, those with a banana base, and hydromel. As these drinks were made in each household, their alcoholic content varied greatly. According to the experts, however, their nutritive value was generally considerable. The Tutsi did not drink sorghum-beer (*amarwa*) which they thought was fit only for children and Hutu. It is not as strong as banana-beer (*urwagwa*) and hydromel (*ubwuki*), which may contain 11.5° of alcohol.[23] Hydromel results from the fermentation of a must which is an aqueous solution of honey.

262 264 The Tutsi diet was based mainly on dairy products and was more liquid than solid. When still lying on his bed a Tutsi began his day with a pot of curdled milk (about 1½ pints). At noon, before his siesta, he again took about the same amount. Around six p.m. when talking with his friends and clients, he drank, and offered, [273] hydromel or banana-beer. At about half past eight or nine p.m. everybody left his hut and he took his evening meal with his wife (or one of his wives), his young children of both sexes and his daughters even after puberty. A usual menu was sweet bananas (or beans) cooked in water, cut in small pieces which were eaten with hot salted butter, and some sort of 'bread' made with a sorghum flour paste and, of course, milk was drunk. On the rare occasions when they had meat it was boiled, cut in small pieces, and eaten with hot salted butter. After that, when the women had left, the evening was spent with friends and clients, in long, subtle, and witty conversations, while beer and hydromel were served again.

The Hutu ate more food, but it was less refined. They consumed much less milk and butter, if any. They took two main meals a day, one in the beginning of the afternoon and one in the evening. They made a kind of porridge with beans, peas, or maize. Sweet potatoes, regarded as too common to eat by the Tutsi, were consumed in large quantities by the Hutu. A present day evaluation is about seven pounds a day per adult. In the morning, while working in the fields, they ate one or two snacks made of the remains of the preceding evening meal. They drank mainly banana [273] and sorghum beer.

The Twa apparently enjoyed eating much meat and drinking much beer when and where they could get it. Their diet was very

[23] Ministère des Colonies, 1941b, pp. 52 f.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[P.129]

CHAPTER VI

THE CLIENTAGE STRUCTURE

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE *BUHAKE* INSTITUTION

THE *buhake* is an institution to which anthropologists who have studied Ruanda social structure have devoted a great part of their attention, if not the greatest. The name is not easily translated. *Buhake* comes from *guhakwa*, a verb meaning 'to pay one's respects to a superior in his court'.[1] It has been called cattle-lease (*bail à cheptel*),[2] recommendation (in the sense of the mediaeval latin *recommendatio*),[3] and contract of pastoral servitude.[4]

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The *buhake* denoted the relation which existed between a person called *garagu* and another called *shebuja*. That relationship was created when an individual, Hutu or Tutsi, who had an inferior social prestige and who was less well provided with cattle, offered his services to and asked protection from a person whose status was higher and whose wealth was greater. The following sentences were usually, but not ritually said by the man offering his services, after he had given a jug of beer or hydromel to the other: *urampe amata* (I ask you milk), *urankize* (make me rich), *uramenye* (always think of me), *urambere umubyeyi* (be my father), *n'ange nzakubera umwana* (I shall be your child). [273]

If the offer was accepted, the man in the superior position bestowed on the other one or several cows. From that time on, they were in the institutionalized relation of *shebuja* (which I translate 'lord' or 'patron') and *garagu* ('client').

(a) *The client's rights*

The rights the client enjoyed over the cattle granted to him were those of usufruct: he had full rights of ownership over milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the meat and skin of a cow which had died or had had to be slaughtered. The female increase of the cattle remained at his disposal under the same conditions as the original cows given to him by the *shebuja*. Cows received

[1] Sandrart, 1930, p. 151.
[2] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 45.
[3] Vanhove, 1941, p. 48; Bourgeois, 1958.
[4] Kagame, 1952, p. 18.

243 are then scattered from the swinging hand onto the level ground, after which some soil is sprinkled on the seed by hand. Eleusine (uwuro) is sown in the same manner. The ripe ears of these two types of millet are each individually cut from the stalks with a knife. This is also the method used for corn and rice. Then the ears are spread on the firm ground in front of the huts and threshed with switches. Some of the sorghum [252] is ground into flour, but most of it is used for brewing beer. [273] Eleusine is mainly ground into flour from which the daily ugali mush (umudsima) is made.

The Barundi grow tobacco (itabi) in small quantities near 249 almost every homestead, as has been mentioned above. The delicate plant is cared for so poorly, however, that it yields a mediocre product. Uvira tobacco, which is traded in considerable amounts in the Tanganyika area, is of much better quality. [53] The Barundi put the tobacco seeds into small holes dug into the soil with a hoe. The young seedlings are not transplanted, but the Barundi clear and irrigate the surrounding soil from time to time. As soon as the plant begins to blossom (red, not white), the leaves are picked off and strung up on bast strings to dry in the sun. Then, for fermentation and storage, they are wrapped in dry banana leaves. In spite of its terrible appearance, ● 276 the tobacco does not have a bad aroma, but it is so strong that even the Barundi seldom smoke it. In most cases it is smoked only by old men and women. The others are all inveterate snuff-takers (see p.59), whereas in Ruanda tobacco is only rarely taken as snuff but is smoked in considerable amounts.

Tobacco is regarded by the Barundi in the same way as all [824] narcotics are regarded by primitive peoples: as possessing [758] mysterious powers. From this originates the custom of stuffing a pinch of snuff up the nose of a person who has fainted. Also, the young bridegroom blows tobacco smoke at his wife, and so forth (No. 19, p. 557).

244 Several kinds of pumpkins (imboga) are likewise grown merely as garden produce or interspersed among bananas or sorghum, in particular a variety which is round and as big as a head, and another smaller variety that looks almost like a

4. Stimulants

●276 The Murundi knows only two narcotics: tobacco and alcohol (beer). The method of cultivating tobacco (itabi) has already been discussed on page 53 . It has also been mentioned that the Barundi, except for old men and women (including the Batwa), do not smoke much tobacco while all of them are inveterate snuff-takers. Their neighbors, the Banjaruanda, as well as the Baganda and Banjoro, are habitual smokers but do not take snuff. This is true of both men and women. This striking difference between them and the Barundi is probably based on the quality of Urundi tobacco which, as a result of insufficient care, is very strong. Wherever tobacco pipes are seen among the Barundi [Fig. 11 appears here in the original text] -- which is mainly in the north and especially in the northwest -- their shapes are the same as those of the Banjaruanda, and the Batwa make them out of black clay in the same manner as in Ruanda (Plate 49 and Fig. 11). The pipe stem is a piece of reed. On Lake Tanganyika [59] water pipes are also used. [177] They are made of a calabash with a clay pipe bowl inserted at the side and have been taken over from the Wawira of the Congo.

Taking snuff (kusomera), on the other hand, is so popular among all Barundi, men, women and half-grown children as to constitute almost a national pastime or "national vice" (Plate 28). If only it were not such an unappetizing habit! Theirs is not the relaxed, almost graceful snuffing, so full of feeling, that one may observe among the Wadschagga of the Kilimanjaro region. Among the latter tribe a little finely ground tobacco powder is poured onto the back of the hand from a small box embroidered with pearls and then gently inhaled with the nose as though they were smelling a flower. The Murundi takes his snuff in the following manner. First of all, he uses three little instruments: a small goat's horn which is the tobacco container (ihembe) and is carried over the shoulder on a string; a wooden bowl for moistening the tobacco (Fig. 12), and a little nose clamp (umunengo) made from a small cleft piece of wood which

[Text continues on page 89]

2: Meyer--88A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

276

Fig. 11. Double Tobacco Pipes of Black Clay, probably for Votive Offerings.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6595, 6596.)

276 has approximately the shape of a [Fig. 12 appears here in the original text] clothespin and is suspended from the neck on a string (Fig. 13). In order to take the snuff, the [Fig. 13 appears here in the original text] Murundi first pours some tobacco from the horn into the wooden bowl. He adds a little water and stirs the mixture until the water has turned into a brownish-green tobacco juice. Then he pours this sauce into the hollow of his hand and draws it in through his nostrils with an ecstatic grunt. All this is usually done in a sitting or squatting position (see Plate 28b). Since the juice would, of course, run out of his nose immediately, the already described nose clamp is pushed over the nostrils or the nose is blocked by gripping it between the index finger and the thumb. The pinch of snuff is considered good if it is sharp enough to bring tears to the snuff-taker's eyes. He will leave the stinging brew in his nose for three to five minutes or longer. Finally, when he has had enough of this pleasure, he bends forward, takes the clamp or his fingers from his nose and lets the slimy sauce drip to the ground. Any remainder is blown out of the nose with the fingers, and the fingers are wiped off on the bare legs. The entire procedure, which may be observed several dozen times each day, is so disgusting that it easily might cause one to be disenchanted with a sojourn among the Barundi if one did not remind himself that this is a subject for ethnological study which, as such, is beyond good and evil.

276 576 If one of the snuff-takers is suddenly overcome with the desire to sneeze, he quickly blows out all the juice, aiding the passage of it with his fingers; otherwise dire consequences would ensue. After he has sneezed, the bystanders wish him "kira" (bless you), whereupon he answers, "tukirane" (may things go well with us). Offering a pinch of snuff and accepting one which has been offered [60] are evidence of good breeding. Only the Batwa are never offered a pinch by the other Barundi, nor do they offer snuff to them (No. 19, p. 465).

273 Male and female Barundi of all tribal, status, and age groups are even more passionately addicted to alcohol in the form of beer (insoga). "If in general the Barundi are a sober

[Text continues on page 90]

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[415]

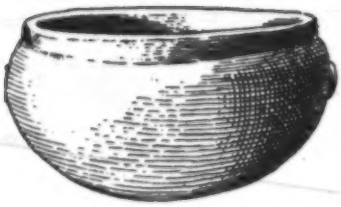

Fig. 12. Small Wooden Bowl for Moistening Snuff.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5277.)

[413]

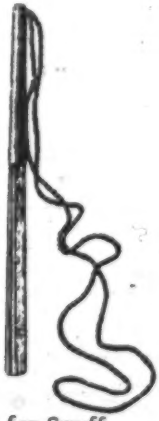

Fig. 13. Wooden Nose Clamp for Snuff-takers.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5278.)

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children partici-
524 pate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e, the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
[563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware
415 vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[276] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
[782] ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special
276 mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat
323 bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping.
439 Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

●276
142

Plate 28

Murundi Taking Snuff with Nose Clip
(Photo. By Captain Kraut)

[516]

Barundi Taking Snuff by Drawing Tobacco Juice into the Nose
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

Plate 49

276

Tobacco Pipes of Black Clay, 12 to 16 Centimeters Long.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6-9, Ethnological Museum, Leipzig; Nos. 4, 5, Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

644 violent death when they least expected it. This was for a long time
[682] a sword of Damocles which almost invariably fell upon the head of those who had the misfortune of being selected for that unenvied position.

We shall cite, later on, a few examples of this.

644 B. The cupbearers (abanyanzoga), like their colleagues in
273 the royal dairy and kitchen, also practiced a dangerous trade. Their
651 duties involved the obtention of the best beer available, which they had to preserve and to offer at the moment it was desired. They were numerous, and some of them lived near the king while others roamed the land to requisition honey, beer itself, or the bunches of bananas which are used in the manufacture of this precious beverage (1).

1. The head of the cupbearers, a certain Mutagikwa, is regarded thereby as captain of the Indengabaganizi army corps. This is a strictly honorific title, which nevertheless enables him to levy taxes in those territories where he exercises his functions as an officer of the "Cup."
He lives at Nyarugenge in Gassagara, the Buhanga.

Originally, employees in this category theoretically had rights
[661] only to bunches of bananas and honey (imitsama), and they roamed the land to obtain them (gutorana). Gradually they took on the habit of behaving like true chiefs and of demanding from the inhabitants contributions in kind, beans, sorghum, cows, etc., as well as forced labor called buletwa. This permitted them not only to live well, but also to acquire large herds.

644 C. There are several work groups assigned to the cultivation
●276 and preparation of the tobacco which is used by the prince. The plants destined for his use come from the Bugoyi /386/ Mata in the Marangara, and Ruyanza and Mussambiro in the Nduga, among other

644 regions. The leaves are prepared at the capital by special employees,
276 men or women, who also risked their lives occasionally for the reasons cited above.

D. The preparation of tobacco juice, which is used for a most unusual and worldly purpose (mukibuno), is entrusted to a group of female servants or young girls in the service of the queen mother. The tobacco leaves are immersed in a liquid of tart and bitter flavor (inkari), in which they are allowed to remain for some time.

The liquid alone is then used by the queen mother and high-
[278] ranking ladies, who believe that tobacco juice, when prepared in this fashion, is an infallible remedy against the ailment known locally under the name of imisuzi.

This strongly scented solution bears the name of a plant with a pungent odor (umugabagaba) from which the odalisks in charge of this work also draw their name, abanyamugabagaba. The rooms where this curious medication is applied are known at court and among the great chiefs who are all familiar with the famous recipe by special names whose meaning is clear only to those in the know. They are the imikinga, or "secret cabinets," (from gukinga, "to close") and ubugonyi, "public toilets."

E. A group of factotums known as Abanyakambere remain at
644 the disposal of the sovereign, who spends most of his day in the hut called by the name of Ikambere, "the first one," because it stands at the heart of the main courtyard. The function of these valets is to watch over the various objects which make up the room furnishings. They also carry out the king's orders and relay messages to the other
[202] servants. /387/

F. There are also the keepers of the treasure. They are
644 called Abanya-byuma.
556

The Banyarwanda designate all iron objects by the word byuma. Billhooks, axes, graters, knives, bracelets, and especially hoes represent wealth to their owners in terms of their numbers and actual value.

This manner of conceiving and understanding riches gave the keepers of the treasure the name of "people entrusted with the preservation of iron objects (abanya-byuma)." The treasure itself

273 Aged banana beer is more potent than millet beer.

In Ruanda and Bgisha beer is drunk through a tube (muheha). These tubes are kept in cases resembling quivers, but they are considerably smaller.

276 Preparation of Tobacco. In connection with beer we must mention the other luxury, tobacco, even though the latter undergoes no treatment except drying. Dried tobacco is an important product of Bugoye where highly prized kinds of tobacco flourish and where it is very carefully tended.

[151] Tobacco is smoked in clay pipes (inkono yi tabi), but it is said that in Nduga old women also partake of it in a liquid state. An infusion is prepared, and this is snuffed up the nose. To prevent its running out, they clamp a split twig on the nose and in this way plug it.

This method of enjoying tobacco is also said to be familiar to the people southwest of Lake Victoria, where it is called kirangi. Since they are obliged to hold their noses very high in order to keep the liquid from running out, Europeans who carry themselves very erect are given the nickname Kirangi.

Hashish is unknown in Ruanda, as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine area with the exception of Buganda. The hashish smokers of Bukoba were chiefly members of the local Baganda colony.

285 Plaiting. In Ruanda the technique of plaiting by no means attains the level of the work in Kiziba, although it does not differ from the latter in principle. The Ruanda products, however, are less skillfully executed.

Since this subject has been discussed in detail (1) I shall

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 349-359.

speak only briefly of the types of weaving.

In mat weaving which poses the simplest problems (pattern and weave are executed on a flat surface), the results are superb,

301 In Mulera the women also wear iron ankets seven to eight millimeters thick, and this I saw neither in Nduga nor in Kissaka. However, the number of butega worn by them was much smaller.

In Bugoye the women wear the same kind of anklets as the men.

276 415 Smoking Equipment. In connection with ornaments we must also discuss pipes and tobacco pouches.

The most commonly used tobacco pouches do not differ from those of the Bakondio. People of distinction have pouches decorated with a fringe of otter skin; on the cheaper ones this is replaced by cords. The pouches are made of braided bast and worn on the chest. However, sometimes they can be seen folded and carried on the head (cf. Vol. III, Plates 4 and 22).

[180] The pouches contain a small supply of tobacco and a [312] pipe. Sometimes they also contain a fire drill and other small items. I had no opportunity to observe tobacco pouches made of goatskin, like the ones used in Kiziba, but occasionally one sees a pouch made of a cow bladder. These are usually tied around the head and worn on the forehead.

276 The Ruanda pipe is very different from the Bahima pipes in the northern part of the interlacustrine region. Whereas the latter have round [181] bowls, the Ruanda pipe has a long, pointed, cone-shaped bowl, into which the cylindrical stem (muhela) fits, attached at a sharp angle. The flaring lip of the bowl (inkono) is sometimes thickened. The pipes used by the Bahutu are usually less slim and graceful, and one not infrequently sees types in which the bowls converge a little at the top, suggesting the somewhat convex Kiziba form. This type usually has an elongated pipe stem.

302 Body Treatment. The actual head ornament of the Banyaruanda is the masunzu, or hair shaved to form patterns. The masunzu are the pride of the male and are sometimes several centimeters long, which of course makes head covering impossible. Although the shaved patterns assume the most beautiful and well-groomed forms among the Batutsi, nevertheless they must, in all probability, be linked with the Bahutu substratum. They extend uninterruptedly beyond the Batutsi sphere of influence toward the west where they seem to be indigenous. On the other hand, in the east among the Bahima this form of decoration is gradually declining and disappearing.

6: Czekanowski--77 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 81. Tobacco Pouch Made of a Cow Bladder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E6998. 31 centimeters long.)

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323

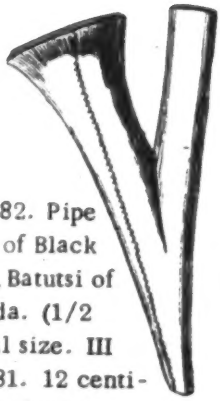

Fig. 82. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Batutsi of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13081. 12 centimeters long.)

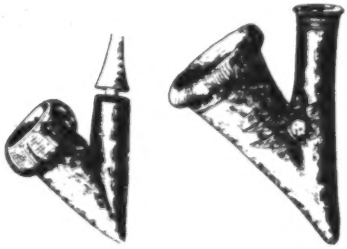

Fig. 84. Pipe Bowls of the Bahutu, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

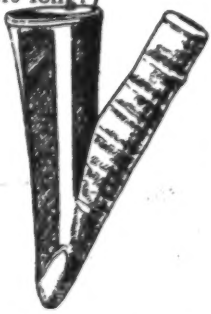

Fig. 83. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 13080. 9 centimeters long.)

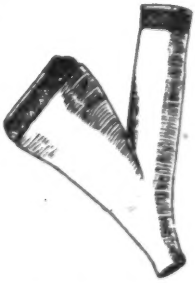

Fig. 85. Pipe Bowl of White Clay, Bahutu of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

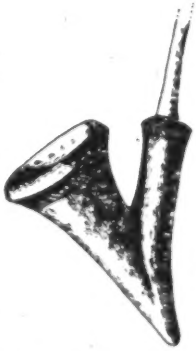

Fig. 86. Pipe Bowl from Bgisha. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 87. Pipe from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. III 13715. 5 1/2 centimeters long.)

have made the sacrifice and by their friends.

The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails, is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

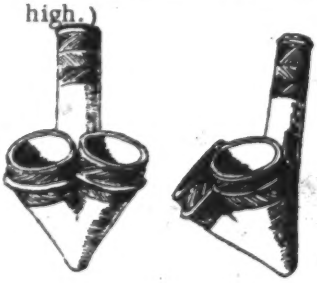

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cowhide known as mukane.

766 When the king is dead, the abiru shave their heads, take off their bracelets, and put on a garment of sycamore bark. Then they choose eight Batutsi or Bahutu belonging to the families of the Abatsobe, the Abagunga, or the Abanyargona, who are in charge of the funeral (abanyamugogo, lit., man with the great log). The corpse is dressed as when the person was alive, rolled in a mat, and placed in an ingobyi (1) resting on a raised hurdle (urutara) set up in

1. Long, boat-shaped basket in which people of high quality are carried.

one of the huts of the royal boma (2).

2. In the past, on the death of the king, two noble Batutsi had their throats cut. This was called gusegurir Umwami (lit., to make the king's pillow). When the Umugabekazi died, two great Batutsi ladies were similarly killed.

For eight days the watchers keep a great fire burning under the hurdle in order to cure the corpse. To speed up the operation the corpse is turned over morning and evening, and to prevent the skin from splitting, the watchers anoint it with butter from time to time.

At dawn of the ninth day, the body is lifted by the watchers, accompanied by a few abiru, and hidden during the day in the rugo of a Munyarwanda. At nightfall, the small group sets out again. Traveling only at night, the funeral procession arrives at Rutare Hill, near Lake Mohasi, the end of the journey. The owner of each rugo, where the bearers have spent the day with the corpse, must drink the gihango (3), the absorption of which will inevitably kill him if he

278 3. This gihango is different from the one in question in the blood pact, p. 13. It is a muddy drink in which medicinal herbs are mashed and mixed with wood ash and ash from the powder of the horn of a bull that has killed another bull. The Banyarwanda

278

believe that this potion will kill whoever does not speak the truth or reveals a state secret (cf. also Procedure, pp. 104 and 105).

766 dared reveal what he had seen.

The summit of Rutare Hill is crowned with trees, [96] the remains of an ancient forest. The cemetery of the kings and queens can be found there. The abanyamugogo build a hut there, dig a grave, and bury the king and his weapons in it. The hut is closed with beams and surrounded by a thorny enclosure to keep wild ani-
[767] mals out. Quite near-by, the watchers build themselves dwellings where they live for two years and are fed during this time by the people of the neighborhood. Then they return home after going through Nyanza where they are showered with gifts. But the Mwami may not see them for he would die during the year if he caught sight of those who have watched over and carried his father's body. For the same reason the abiru who have accompanied them to Rutare may never return to the court of Nyanza. The belief also exists that from
[825] the right shoulder of the dead Mwami there issues a worm (urunyo) which, if placed in a pitcher of milk, will grow and become a leopard that kills only those who are wicked and unjust.

When the Mwami dies all work stops for eight days. For two months the bulls are removed from the herds and the king's children may not have any marital relations. Although they are under no obligation to do so, the Banyarwanda behave in the same way.

The death of the Umugabekazi [king's mother] calls for the same ceremonies and the same interdictions, but they are somewhat simplified.

9. Succession to the Throne

643 The king of Ruanda always belongs to the family of the
[644] Abanyiginya. His wives (1) are mostly chosen from the clans of the
[644]

1. The king may have four legitimate wives whose children are the only ones who, in theory, can succeed him; he can have as many concubines as he wishes.

Abega and the Abakono.

244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.
The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West
Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara
is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers
about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis
guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000
to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching
to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with
300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the
Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited
neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the
chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness.
For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical
to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can
be made (see above, pp.24, 31). This tree is really planted and
cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by
the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily
in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The ma-
jority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and
only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After
cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded
in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole
outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded
pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water
so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped
into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for
the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

757 there are others which rely on mechanical means for an effect, as, for instance, massage, enema, hot and cold baths, and, further, a small number of surgical operations from the simple [752] opening of a boil to (allegedly) the Caesarean operation (see above, p. 110). Difficult cases are treated by an experienced, skillful umufumu, but for simple cases every father of a family uses a number of household remedies. The art of using them is passed on from father to son. If necessary, a sick neighbor is given the benefit of them also.

[141] Generally, the first remedy tried is hot or cold water. It is used for intensive rubdowns, for long baths in treating skin diseases, aching joints, insomnia, and fever. A Murundi [515] enjoys taking a bath whenever a sufficient supply of water is available, but as soon as possible after the bath he will rub butter on his skin. There are several natural thermal baths in Urundi [312] which are used not only by the people living in the vicinity. For example, a gushing thermal spring whose water temperature is 47° Centigrade is located near Kisagara, a village not far from the Mugera missionary station, and there is another one north of Tschiwitoke in the Ruzizi Valley. A kind of steam bath is given to persons with fever by alternately holding their heads and limbs over a pot of boiling, steaming water (No. 19, p. 183). Enemas of warm water to which some herbal juice has been added are very common. They are given by first introducing the end of a long hollow stalk of reed or a strong leaf folled into the form of a tube into the anus; then the person applying the treatment blows a mouthful of water through the other end of this pipe into the bowels (No. 19, p. 331). Adults frequently give an enema to themselves: they fill one of the long-necked bottle gourds with water, insert the narrow end of the long bottleneck into the anus, and then lift the calabash in such a manner as to permit the water to enter the bowels by its own weight. Enemas are used for stomach-aches of any kind, constipation, diarrhea, fever, etc.

● [278] There are innumerable medicines made of inorganic, vegetable, and animal substances. Among these, poisons play a relatively minor role, for the Barundi do not even know how to make arrows poisonous. The Batwa often use very effective

644 regions. The leaves are prepared at the capital by special employees,
276 men or women, who also risked their lives occasionally for the reasons cited above.

D. The preparation of tobacco juice, which is used for a most unusual and worldly purpose (mukibuno), is entrusted to a group of female servants or young girls in the service of the queen mother. The tobacco leaves are immersed in a liquid of tart and bitter flavor (inkari), in which they are allowed to remain for some time.

The liquid alone is then used by the queen mother and high-
[278] ranking ladies, who believe that tobacco juice, when prepared in this fashion, is an infallible remedy against the ailment known locally under the name of imisuzi.

This strongly scented solution bears the name of a plant with a pungent odor (umugabagaba) from which the odalisks in charge of this work also draw their name, abanyamugabagaba. The rooms where this curious medication is applied are known at court and among the great chiefs who are all familiar with the famous recipe by special names whose meaning is clear only to those in the know. They are the imikinga, or "secret cabinets," (from gukinga, "to close") and ubugonyi, "public toilets."

E. A group of factotums known as Abanyakambere remain at
644 the disposal of the sovereign, who spends most of his day in the hut called by the name of Ikambere, "the first one," because it stands at the heart of the main courtyard. The function of these valets is to watch over the various objects which make up the room furnishings. They also carry out the king's orders and relay messages to the other
[202] servants. /387/

F. There are also the keepers of the treasure. They are
644 called Abanya-byuma.
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The Banyarwanda designate all iron objects by the word byuma. Billhooks, axes, graters, knives, bracelets, and especially hoes represent wealth to their owners in terms of their numbers and actual value.

This manner of conceiving and understanding riches gave the keepers of the treasure the name of "people entrusted with the preservation of iron objects (abanya-byuma)." The treasure itself

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On account of this fame,[a] the Bakoma have been entrusted with the preparation of an elixir to prolong life called issubyo from the name of the plant which they use for this purpose, hence their name Abanyissubyo, "people of the life beverage," a name and function which they regard as a great honor. In order to make their elixir, the Bakoma, or people from Nkoma's land, look deep into the forest for a kind of moss or mould (urugombyi) which is found on trees. When they have a good amount of it they /390/ burn it all. The ashes are carefully gathered and stored in a safe place. They also use the roots of the plant called issubyo, which they dry in the sun and crush to powder on their flour mill.

The third ingredient of this water of youth is a kind of Lycoperdon called agatumura which resembles the puffball.

Small amounts of these ashes and powders are mixed with beer and handed daily to the king by two representatives of the ancient family. The Hamitic monarch sucks in a few drops through a drinking tube (umuseke or umuheha), rinses his mouth with them once, and immediately spits out the liquid.

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In principle the members of the Bakoma clan are exempt from forced labor and have retained a fair amount of independence (1).

1. Over these last few years, the Hamitic chief who was placed above them had to concern himself only with the observance of European laws and ordinances.

They have no function other than to take turns at court and hand to the monarch the invigorating beverage of which they are the inventors (2).

2. Along with the Basozo, the Bakoma have enjoyed privileges and immunities for the longest period of time. In the "Reign of

a [i.e., of being descended from the best sorceror. —Analyst]

789 The sorcerer mutilator cuts off a tiny piece (isonga) from the tongue,
751 heart, little finger (umuhera), and skin, and these pieces are dried above the hearth. All of this is then enclosed in a small horn, preferably black, which the assassin wears around his neck as a talisman and which guards him not only against his victim but also against the latter's relatives.

It is also good to procure some of the herb called irago or umurago which has been planted on the slain man's grave. /420/

If this is added to the other gruesome items contained by the horn, the talisman becomes more powerful.

We may add that these people charge very high fees for their services. A bull, at least, is required.

C. Sorcerers who preside over ordeals and who prepare the
695 test poisons. Sorcerers of this type bear the name of Abashozi, hence the verbs gushora, "to put someone through a test," and gushoka (a neutral verb) to designate the test itself.

It does seem that here in Ruanda ordeals are employed only in criminal cases and that their sole object is to prove the innocence or culpability of those who submit to them, as was formerly done in the Middle Ages. Our Blacks have such faith and trust in such judicial methods that they believe in their absolute effectiveness. They have never given a thought to the absurdity of those divinatory tests, in which chance and fraud play such a predominant role.

Such tests are numerous, but the most widespread is that which
695 consists of drinking or smoking the urwizilinga, a kind of shrub that
278 seems to bear at least a superficial resemblance to datura (1). In any
[824]

1. Moavi is used as the test poison practically throughout the rest of Africa. This plant does not seem to exist in Ruanda. The matter, nevertheless, would be worth investigating.

case their effects are similar.

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The maker of test poison usually handles it in the form of a powder which he mixes with water or with pipe tobacco. The accused, male or female, must draw two or three puffs from the pipe. The results are swift. One of the smokers or another, or even several of them at once, is almost immediately seized with a real madness (kussàra) which strips him of his reasoning faculties and which may last sometimes /421/ close to a month, as we were able to verify. The unfortunate victim eats or takes to his lips everything he finds along the way, no matter how unlikely or even repulsive (amabyi!) it may be.

He casts off his clothing, and a mother tosses away her child and goes off, raving or gesticulating like a true lunatic.

Then the intoxicated person sinks into a nightmare-ridden sleep. He talks in his sleep and speaks of ghosts and wild animals which he believes he sees.... In short, he becomes very trying to his family. Could this not be a simple case of autosuggestion, which occurs frequently among Blacks?

If the patient pleads guilty right from the onset of the illness and begs for mercy, the same sorcerer administers to him a counter-poison, another vegetable powder mixed with a little "chloride of liquid sodium" (inkari!), which immediately neutralizes the effects of rwizilinga. The Batutsi also know that in such cases it helps to give fresh milk to those who have taken the poison.

We are acquainted with a case where nearly ten individuals submitted voluntarily to this test. Only two of them were affected. They were deemed guilty then and there. It so happens that the true culprit was discovered some time later. He had not been subjected to the ordeal.

The people nevertheless continue to praise this judicial procedure. Certain things are even related about the subject which are amazing but untrue, and which do naught but strengthen the prestige of the sorcerers (1). /422/

1. "The European cannot help considering, first and foremost, the physiological effects of the

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poison. Accordingly, /in his own mind, / the results of the ordeal will vary in direct proportion with the strength and amount of the drug taken into the organism. If the dose is sufficiently strong, it will invariably do away with the person who swallows it, whether innocent or guilty. If it is insignificant, it will do no harm to the worst criminal. The Whites consider it extraordinary that the native should disregard such simple truisms.

"The point of view of the Blacks, however, is completely different. The idea of what we call "poison" is not clearly defined in their own minds. They know by experience, no doubt, that certain concoctions have the power of killing those who drink them, they are nevertheless unfamiliar with the mechanics of poisoning, and do not attempt to understand it. They do not even suspect its existence. According to them, these concoctions may be deadly only because they serve as vehicles for mystic forces, just like the remedies which they use to cure diseases and whose effectiveness they explain wholly in this way.... The Blacks do not grasp the actual properties of the test poison, but consider only its mystical and immediate power....

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It is a sort of mystic reagent, and as such it is infallible.

"The native is so convinced of this that often he takes no precautions before undergoing the test. He does not make use of his right to watch while the poison is being prepared, he does not scrutinize the dose to see whether it may not be too strong, the liquid too thick, etc.... Why should he, since the beverage does not act physically, so to speak, but spiritually? It does not matter whether a little less or a little more is swallowed. The outcome of the test does not depend on this...

"Such is the faith they have in trial by ordeal that the natives regard the matter of who pounded the poison into powder as an unimportant detail." (Levy-Bruhl, La Mentalité primitive /The Primitive Mentality/, pp. 250 and 251.)

[181] Full of trust, sure of their innocence, and excessively naïve, the natives are completely blind to the frauds of the sorcerers, who call the accused persons in turn into a hut or to an isolated spot. What crimes and injustices have been committed by those doctors in occult sciences!

Other Judicial Tests

695 A. The drum test. One rubs cow dung on the surface of a drum and pours some water onto it, which the accused gathers in his hands and brings to his lips, while the man who presides over the ordeal loudly cries, "May the shades of the deceased and the spirits

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known.

754 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human
278 cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other
[164] people (1).

1. This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great
[578] curse, "May you die of tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu).

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu),
[841] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia
[824 (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example,
847] muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following
824 plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract
[224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

278 824 Igisura belongs to the Urticaceae family.

This plant grows to a height of about 1.50 meters. Sufferers from yaws drink its juice as a remedy. They must be careful not to take too heavy a dose, so as not to risk a serious intoxication.

It is rumored that ill-disposed people have used one or another of those plants, and in particular the mutambasha, or rat poison, to wreak their vengeance and do away with their enemies.

754 609 Small packets of herbs were found in the possession of people suspected of practicing the poisoner's vocation.

For what purpose had those plants been gathered? Perhaps the sorcerer had tried to lend them a harmfulness which of themselves they did not possess. Backbiters in the land insist that once at least royal hands mixed those allegedly noxious substances into milk, honey, and butter intended for Europeans who were passing through. The said person achieved no results, however, and this led him /or her/ to say that it was impossible to get rid of the Whites, that poisons, spells, and bewitchment had no hold over them. We are inclined to believe that in this case charms and philters were involved rather than noxious substances.

754 178 It is said that the penultimate king of the Uswi, Gasusuro, one of the regular suppliers of such products, replied to the court envoys one fine day when they came to fetch the goods that henceforth he would not supply them, that he was through with all poisons. It is also quite /489/ possible that his answer was dictated by the fear of being caught practicing this vocation. Let us add for the sake of truthfulness that the days are long since past when such things could be said or plotted against Europeans (1).

1. The Blacks live in the almost constant fear of bewitchment and poisoning.

[761] Rickets, tuberculosis, and sudden or strange deaths, especially when the corpse swells up immediately, could have no other cause in their opinion.

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How many unfortunate people payed with their lives for having been falsely accused of such supposed misdeeds!

789 648 The use of charms to win the good graces of Europeans survived only by a few years the use of the above-mentioned poisons. When the latter were tagged as ineffective /to Europeans/, or at least dangerous in their consequences, charms (inzaratsi) were resorted to. The makers of charms, called by the generic name of Abanyamihango, "men of the traditions," exercise a vocation which is regarded as lucrative and honorable as long as the professionals do not overstep the limits of their art.

Public opinion indeed accuses them, most probably wrongly, of deceiving people and giving them poison instead of inoffensive charms. Women, especially, resort to their art and use their powders 832 to draw upon themselves the attention and favors of an unfaithful ●278 or forgetful husband. Sorcerers in this category use for this purpose the following plants and shrubs: umukunde, which bears the evocative [824] name of "tree of love," umutanga, umugobora, umukeri, a kind of wild bramble, nkurimonga, umuhire, buryoher' imfizi, that is, "the plant that suits the taste of bulls," etc. The makers of philters take the bark, leaves, or roots of those plants and dry them in the sun. The whole thing is crushed and reduced to powder. One need only put a little of this powder into beer or butter, or else /490/ rub it onto a stick or spear, to obtain the desired effect. The neglected wife who manages to make her husband drink this beer will inevitably regain first place in his heart. The result is the same if the husband anoints [302] his limbs and body with the butter containing the precious powder.

789 648 The use of a walking stick or the bearing of a spear rubbed with one of those powders will bring good luck to the owner. His words and requests will all be accepted, and those he addresses will be unable to do him any harm.

This is why the king and court dignitaries attempted in their turn to use this simple and effective means of winning over the hearts of the Europeans and of swaying them toward their own needs and

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778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

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543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived
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543 the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

643 Hence the following beliefs, to which the common people have given credence up to now.

644 In principle, in the old days the sovereign was not permitted to see his heir. The child was entrusted to the care of reliable men
855 and raised far from his father, who occasionally was brought pieces of string which had served to measure the height and waist of his future successor. In order to judge the development and strength of the young prince, the king imprinted the outline of his own foot in a basket of sorghum flour. This was brought to the crown prince, who in turn left in it the imprint of his foot. The basket was returned to the king, who never lost interest in the physical development of his child.

Bows were later sent to him so that he might try his strength. The heir was considered worthy of the throne on the day when he was able to string his father's bow, since now he had become as strong as his father.

The last verifications were made. It was necessary to make
643 sure that the king's garment fitted him perfectly, and that the im-
762 print of his feet matched exactly that of his father's. The latter, on the other hand, having grown old and noticed that his beard and hair were greying, (yamez' imvi), decided himself that his time had come. He immediately called his confidants and made known his last wishes. "I am going to depart (gutabara); there are only a few moments left to me. You shall see to it that my son rules (kwimika) in my place. You shall obey him in all things"....

The same evening the appointed sorcerers presented him /516/
[278] with hydromel (inkangaza) in which they had mixed a violent poison, purchased, it is believed, on the shores of Lake Victoria, where it was prepared with putrefied crocodile flesh.

The king went to sleep and never awakened. "He has drunk" (yanyone), as they said in official terminology, or else "He has departed" (yatabaye), he has rejoined his ancestors, the Liberators, who saved the land, "He has ceded the throne" (yatanze), "The sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye), for such are the expressions still consecrated by usage and used to proclaim this serious event.

423 obliged to submit to the same obligations as his predecessor. If he
[425] is a Mututsi, he is not required to pay any ground rent, and the chief gives him a pasture in addition.

Rights of way and of access are not private. The hill people may move about freely on each other's land. This is also true of the cattle for which special paths are made.

622 In the case of a dispute in matters of landed property, litiga-
692 tion is taken to the hill chief who goes to the place and, after having heard the witnesses, decides between the plaintifs.

3. Customary Law of Hunting

224 Customary laws of hunting are very numerous. Of these we will quote only a few of the most frequent cases.

A native hunting alone who has killed an ordinary antelope (impongo) takes the meat and skins the animal.

224 Hunting with beaters is organized by the chief who decides on
622 the land to be beaten after having taken the advice of the [44] expert Batutsi or Bahutu hunters and following the indications of the trackers. The chief also chooses the beaters from among the least good shots. To stimulate their zeal in this thankless task, he promises them pots of beer if the hunt is successful.

224 The natives are required to take part in the hunt, but they fulfill this obligation willingly as it is a much appreciated entertainment and also a source of profit.

Whoever first wounds an animal during a battue or beat, is presumed to have killed it. He is entitled to the skin and one rear leg. The meat is divided among all the Batutsi and Bahutu hunters. The hunter who has killed several antelopes may keep the skin of one animal.

224 Whoever finds an animal that has been killed must return it to
643 the hunters. At least theoretically, game belongs to the king and skins of any value (1) must be turned over to him, especially those of

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1. Skins of marsh antelopes are much appreciated by the Batutsi because of their long silky fur with which they make bed coverings. Skins of the "bush bock" and

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leopard are used as dance ornaments
by the intore pages.

224 the otter (inzibyi or igihura), the marsh antelope (mpala), the
[643] "bush bock" (inzole), the lion, and the leopard, as well as ivory
tusks.

If a wild beast such as a lion or leopard has been killed,
[622] its skin must be turned over to the chief who in exchange gives the
hunters a sterile cow as ingororano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle,
p. 48.

224 When the hill chief hunts with his people, he keeps some of
622 the skins and gives the others to the provincial chief, who in turn
643 keeps some of them and, if he considers it advantageous to himself,
sends the others to the Mwami. If the hill chief has killed a lion
or a leopard, the skin must be turned over to the Mwami. If there
are two skins they are divided between the king and the provincial
chief. The [45] hill chief may keep a leopardskin only if the hunt
has been particularly fruitful.

224 The native who has killed three elephants has the sole right
to the tusks of the third animal killed.

224 Finally, a hunter is forbidden to take any part of a crocodile
825 he has killed. The animal with its paws loaded with stones must be
thrown to the bottom of the river, for the Banyarwanda believe that
the body of the saurian contains a violent poison and they want to
prevent its being used.

224 When an animal is pointed out, the beaters who have gone
forward into the thickets where they are almost invisible and the
hunters who have followed them must indicate their presence by a
low whistle. Hunting accidents are regulated by customary law (1).

1. Cf. Penal Law, p. 98.

576 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is
231 possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting"
[171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

Second only to cattle, sheep (intama; Plate 24a) are con-
231 sidered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised
[281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi
[262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (impene) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have
[262] to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but
[231] goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

396 Often the boat has to be transported a long distance to
496 its launching site. This may take several days. An umufumu (sorcerer) walks in front, scattering "salutary" powder on the road so as to make sure that the boat will reach the water undamaged. As soon as the boat is launched, the people participating in the celebration sing and dance on both sides of the river. Then a pot of banana beer is covered with river clay and
[782] placed inside the boat; the immediate participants drink from the pot and spit into the river to appease the evil spirits. The clay on the pot is rubbed by the participants on their foreheads and on those of the members of their family as protection against accidents. Then the boat is rowed across the river to the other shore, and the people there go through the same ceremonies. The consecration of the boat is concluded by a dance
[273] of the abafumu (medicine men) and ends in a general drinking bout. (No. 19, p. 66)

If after the launching of the boat it is discovered that it
396 lacks buoyancy or equilibrium, corrections are made by further carving with knife or ax or by putting stones inside for ballast. It has already been mentioned (p.73) that the dugouts have neither seats nor rudder. The way they are propelled has also been described.

[83] I have also already discussed the very simple technique (p.31) of making barkcloth (fig. bast felt).

281 The technique for hides and leatherwork is also very simple. The Barundi on rare occasions use a piece of hide as their only garment. Otherwise they mainly use hides as blankets. The Batwa, however, prefer garments of hide to those made of barkcloth; consequently they are the most expert workers in leather (abaharra). However, both the Batwa and the Bahutu use the same technique. If it is merely a matter of firm, hard leather for lids, quivers, binding material for fastening arrowheads, etc., the hide is simply scraped clean and dried in the sun. If, however, soft, flexible leather (urusato) is needed for garments and blankets, it must be tanned. Since in Urundi the method of tanning and tawing is little known, as was originally the case in all other parts of Africa (No. 32a, p. 47), the hide

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

326 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi
177 is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe.
[412] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes
[411] were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that
135 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained
316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19,
325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The
326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas.
[439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

000 The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

287 [178] Preparation of Barkcloth. The making of barkcloth (mpuzu) seems to be falling off in Ruanda. For example, I had only one occasion in Ruasa to see a piece of barkcloth, and this was made into a bag. Because of the large number of barkcloth beaters which were offered me for sale in Ruasa, I am forced to conclude that this branch of native industry is dying out, at least in Mulera.

In Nduga where the population is considerably poorer, one sees a great deal of barkcloth, but since it is worn in the same manner as expensive clothing made of skins, one might assume that in this locality it is at present only a substitute for skins. There are, however, reasons for assuming that the original clothing was made of barkcloth. In Mulera in the area of the Ruasa Mission it was observed that with the increase of wealth barkcloth was replaced by clothing of skins.

The bark of a species of fig is soaked in water, laid on a tree trunk, and beaten out thin with a hammer. The hammers [413] (imango) have two shapes. One looks like a cylinder with circular grooves on the end used for beating, and it has a tapered handle. The other kind is a conical beater which, as in the case of the axes and hoes, is fastened to a handle. Here, too, the beating surface is grooved but in crisscross fashion.

In Ruanda the barkcloth is very crude and cannot be compared to that of Kiziba.

●281 [159] Dressing Skins. Preparing a cow hide for an article of clothing is a laborious task. The skin must be made soft and pliable; otherwise it is useless.

The skin stripped off the animal is first of all dried in the sun and then soaked in water. When it has become soft, it is hung up to allow the water to drip off. It is then stretched on the ground with the fur side downward, held with small wooden pegs which are stuck through the edge of the skin and, after the skin is stretched, are driven into the ground with a stone. Then the skin is cleaned with a scraper (mbaro). This process is known as kuhara. The first layer that is removed is called imishishwa; the second imiharamuro; the third, inkuru. After that the pierced edge is

281 cut off, the skin is rubbed with cow dung and it is put aside for two or three days. Later it is combed and smoothed out with minyonza. This process is known as kubiutsa inshundo zinganda. The skin is then rubbed thoroughly with butter and sprinkled with red earth which has been soaked in water (kitaka ch'inkanda). The particles remaining after this has dried are mixed with butter. When the skin has been prepared thus far, patterns are sewn on it with an iron needle. Cattle tendons are used as thread. This work is called kukana nganda. Originally the needle had no eye; it was a sort of awl of the type which is also used to remove sand fleas (mafunza). At

[413]

Fig. 51. Awl from Mulera. (1/3 actual size. III E 13732. 24 1/2 centimeters long.)

its opposite end it has a knife to cut the skins. Finally, the skin must be perfumed. For this purpose the sweet-scented wood called imibavu ihumura is used. This wood is burned in a sherd (luggio) on red-hot coals. Above the fire a wide-meshed plaited basket (lutete) is placed upside down, like a dome. The skin is stretched over the basket and thus exposed to the smoke. This completes the dressing. The skins of goats and sheep are dressed with less care but along the same lines.

463 Trade. The division of labor in Ruanda is on a comparatively high level. The socio-political situation itself produces a diversity of occupations among the subjugated Bahutu and the ruling Batutsi, but we must not forget that agriculture among the Bahutu and cattle raising among the Batutsi are basically independent and have little relation to each other economically.

[160] The division of labor is not sufficiently advanced in Ruanda to give rise to any great economic independence, with the exception of the king who has large holdings in land and cattle. Most articles are made for home consumption.

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [288] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and 778 reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce [782] of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 356 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage 342 next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding [514] the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

2: Meyer--285 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 51

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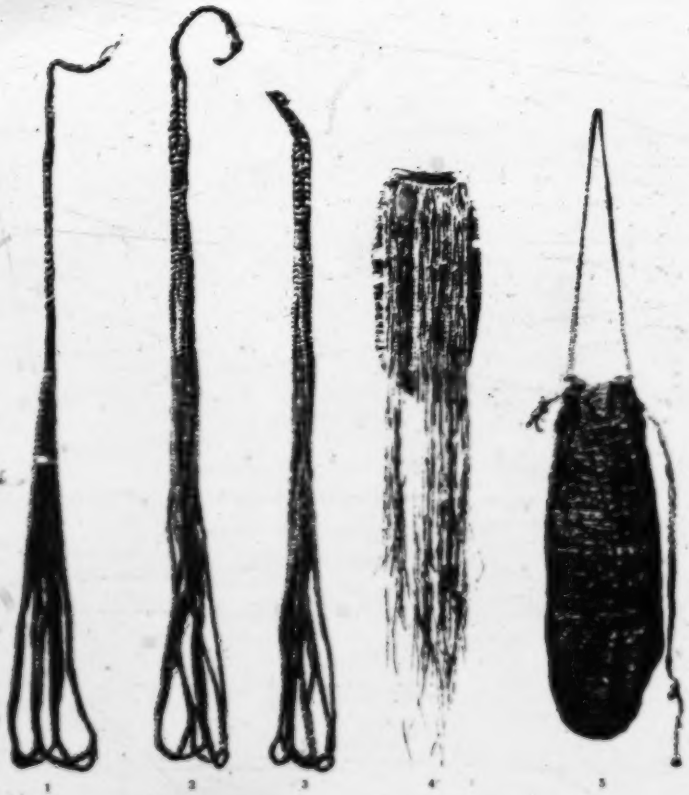

Plaited Ropes for Burden Carrying and Plaited Bags for Provisions, Tobacco, etc., Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) 100 to 112 centimeters long; No. 4) 48 centimeters long without strings; No. 5) 64 centimeters long without strings.

342 nearby site when the family changes its place of residence.

If the huts are very much inferior in their outward appearance and in the care with which they are built to those of Ruanda, this is even more true of their interiors. Here, as in Ruanda, the interior supporting poles are used to fasten [285] several woven screens, higher than a man and made of papyrus, reed stalks, or bamboo laths. These divide the hut into two or more separate living, sleeping, and store rooms. Many of these woven screens have the shape of a bent shield, as in Ruanda. In Urundi, however, very few of them are plaited as delicately and figured as beautifully as the shield-shaped wall screens and mats which in Ruanda cover the walls all around [22] and separate the various rooms from each other, admirably decorating not only the huts of the Batussi but often also those of prosperous Bahutu. Usually only two rooms are separated from each other by mats in this way: the front room (umurjango), which serves as a living room, kitchen, and dining room during the day, and the rear room (akagiro) which 513 serves as a bedroom. In the latter, the parents' bed space 352 is also separated from the sleeping place of the children by mat screens. Here most of the Barundi sleep simply on a bundle of straw which they cover with a cowhide or goatskin. However, where a bedstead does exist, it consists of four short posts rammed into the ground and a wooden frame fastened on them which is filled with laths and covered with a mat. In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, etc., such bedsteads are owned only by the distinguished and the rich.

352 Wooden stools to sit on, like the ones used elsewhere in East Africa, are nonexistent in Urundi and Ruanda, or they exist only as a foreign import from Unjamwesi, Usâmbiro, etc.

Even in the dwelling of the powerful chief Lusabiko in East Urundi there was "not a single stool or log to sit on. Only a few thick bundles of straw were lying in a corner; they could be drawn toward one if he did not wish to squat on the ground. If one desires to sleep, the bundle is unfastened, and [513] a soft bed is made. In the homes of rich persons a hairy ox hide is placed over it before sitting or lying down." (No. 14, 1901, p. 214.)

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
285 than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
285 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[177] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
[291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

Plate 25

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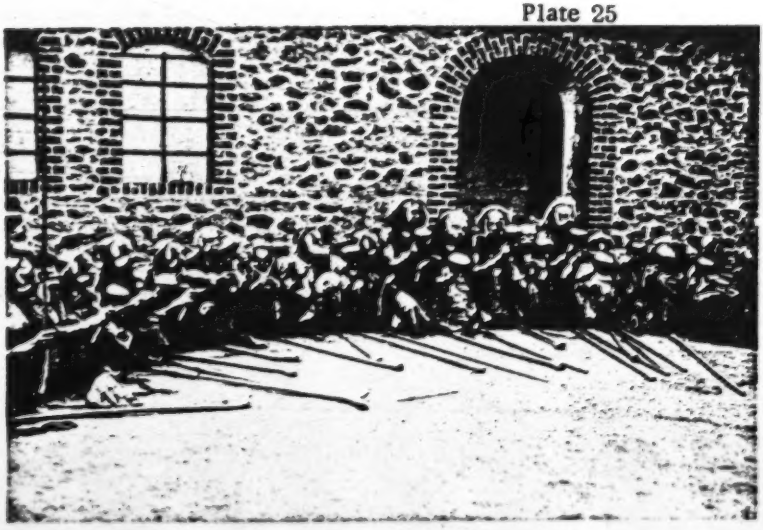

"Cattle Doctors" of King Mutaga During the Exorcizing Ceremony.
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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Murundi Woman with Woven Beehives
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 33

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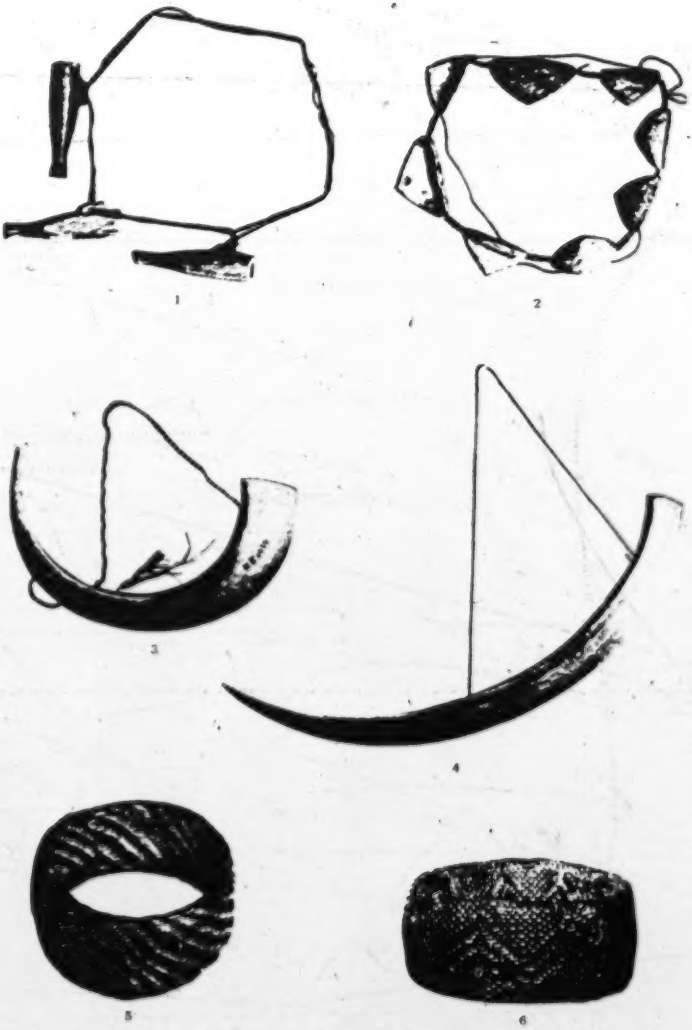

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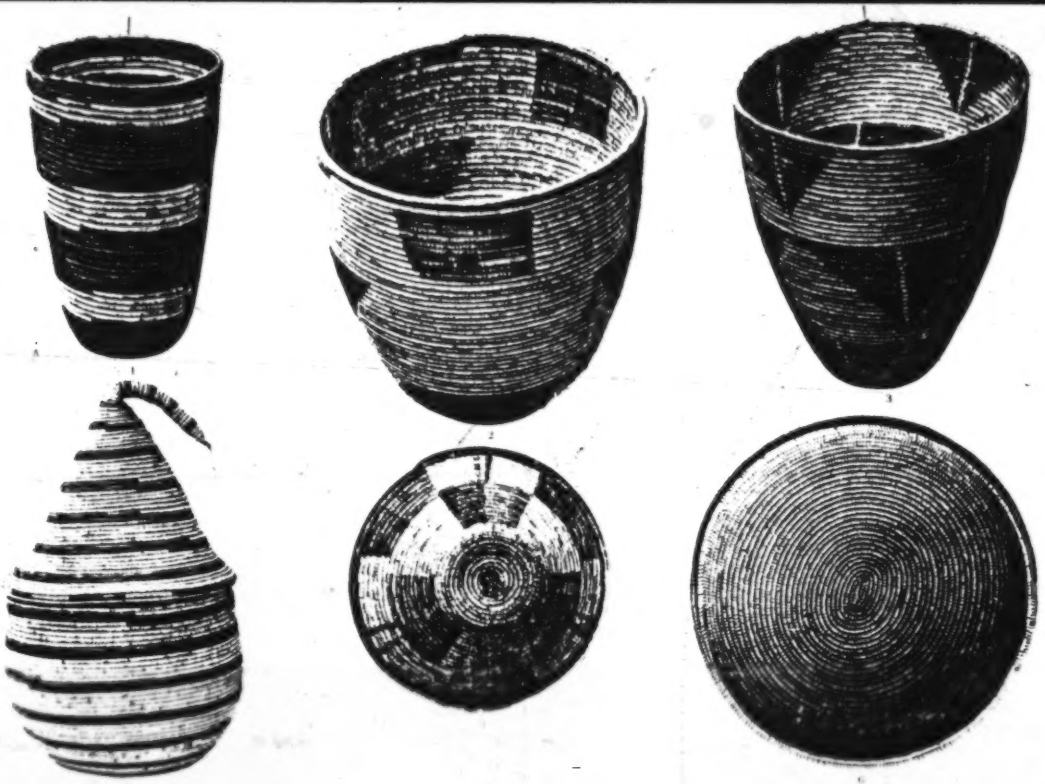
No. 1) Neck ornament of bone pipes, 3 1/2 centimeters long. No. 2) Neck ornament of polished shells and red beads, 5 centimeters long. No. 3) Neck ornament of the tooth of a hippopotamus, 14 centimeters long. No. 4) Neck ornament of hippopotamus tooth, 20 centimeters long. No. 5) Bottle stand plaited of straw, 14 centimeters wide. (All at Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

2: Meyer--284 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 50



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Baskets and Plates for Grain, Flour, etc., Woven of Straw; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 20 centimeters high; No. 2) 23 centimeters high; No. 3) 21 centimeters high; No. 4) 60 centimeters high; No. 5) 19 centimeters in diameter; No. 6) 28 centimeters in diameter.

2: Meyer--287 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 53

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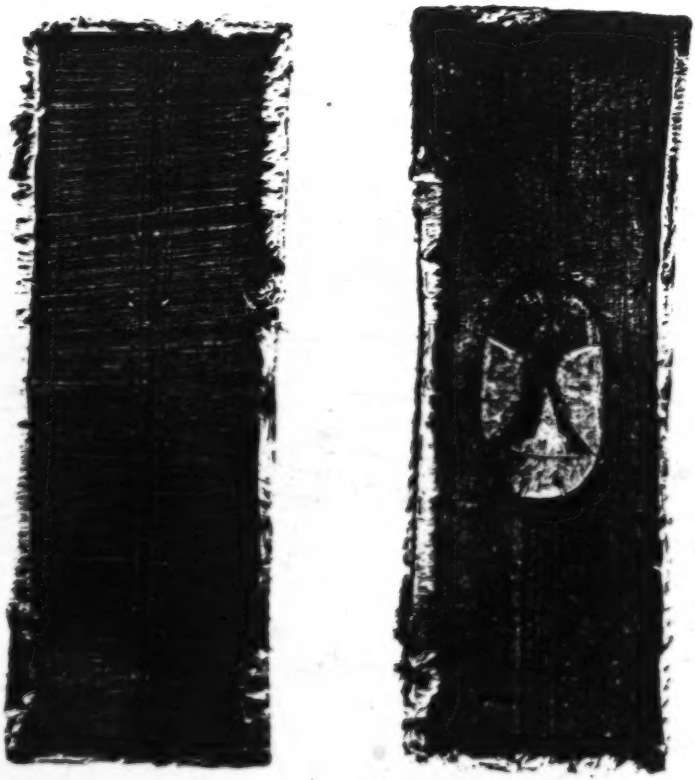

Shield Plaited of Reed.
No. 1) Front; No. 2) Back with wooden handle, 122 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

2: Meyer--288 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 54

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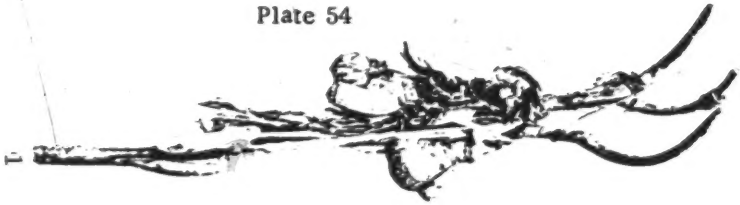

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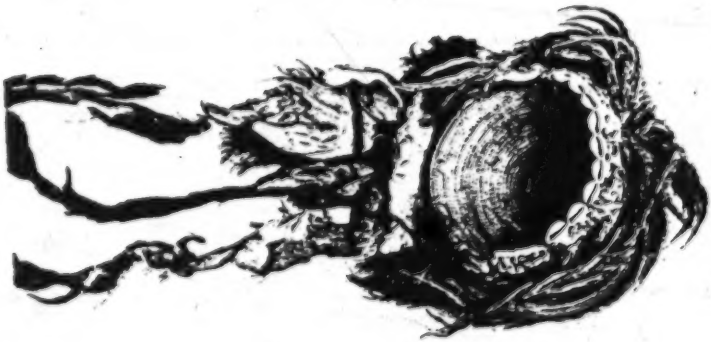

Headdresses and Amulets; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 1) Bifurcated stick with medicine amulets in plaited satchels, 82 centimeters long; Nos. 2, 3) Plaited dancing caps with goat hair and cowrie shells, 68 and 80 centimeters long.

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

• 265 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

462 Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ 776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

769 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, 775 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

[138]

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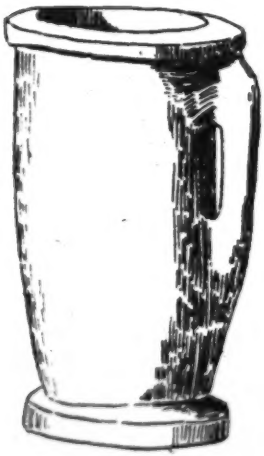

Fig. 27. Mortar from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13095. 44 centimeters high.)

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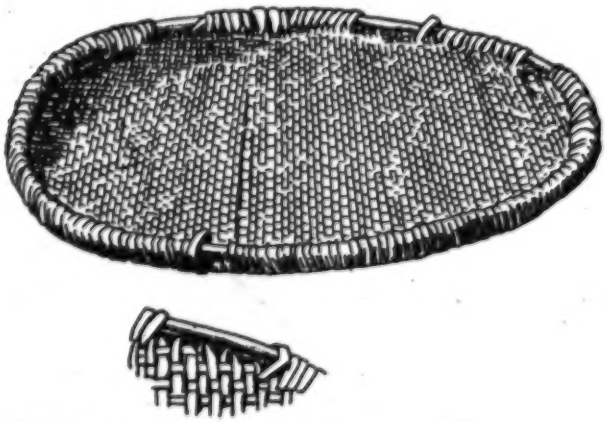

Fig. 28. Woven Shield for Winnowing Millet, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size, III E 13678. 75 x 61 centimeters.)

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[413]

Fig. 37. Beehive from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13680. 80 centimeters long.)

Fig. 38. Honey Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13738. 28 centimeters long.)

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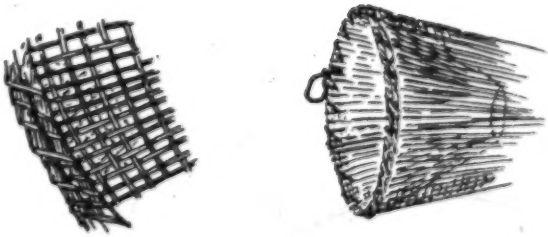

Fig. 39. Fish Traps from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13743. 65 centimeters long.)

273 Aged banana beer is more potent than millet beer.

In Ruanda and Bgisha beer is drunk through a tube (muheha). These tubes are kept in cases resembling quivers, but they are considerably smaller.

Preparation of Tobacco. In connection with beer we must
276 mention the other luxury, tobacco, even though the latter undergoes no treatment except drying. Dried tobacco is an important product of Bugoye where highly prized kinds of tobacco flourish and where it is very carefully tended.

[151] Tobacco is smoked in clay pipes (inkono yi tabi), but it is said that in Nduga old women also partake of it in a liquid state. An infusion is prepared, and this is snuffed up the nose. To prevent its running out, they clamp a split twig on the nose and in this way plug it.

This method of enjoying tobacco is also said to be familiar to the people southwest of Lake Victoria, where it is called kirangi. Since they are obliged to hold their noses very high in order to keep the liquid from running out, Europeans who carry themselves very erect are given the nickname Kirangi.

Hashish is unknown in Ruanda, as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine area with the exception of Buganda. The hashish smokers of Bukoba were chiefly members of the local Baganda colony.

285 Plaiting. In Ruanda the technique of plaiting by no means attains the level of the work in Kiziba, although it does not differ from the latter in principle. The Ruanda products, however, are less skillfully executed.

Since this subject has been discussed in detail (1) I shall

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 349-359.

speak only briefly of the types of weaving.

In mat weaving which poses the simplest problems (pattern and weave are executed on a flat surface), the results are superb,

285 and mats are among the most richly decorated objects.

There are four different types.

The stiff shield mats, which are stuffed between the supporting beams of the roof and used for interior partitions, are of two types. The first type consists of interwoven bamboo strips that cross at right angles. Variations arise, depending on whether the horizontal strips are separated from successive or alternate vertical strips. In the other type, a second layer is tied to the vertical strips. The strips of this layer can intersect the vertical strips at various angles, which diversifies the ornamentation.

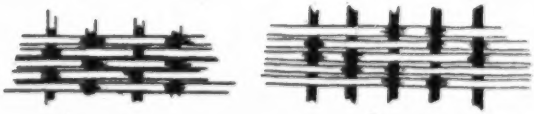

Fig. 42. Weaving Pattern of Shield Mats, Ruanda.

The stick mats consist of stiff sticks laid parallel to each other and fastened together. In Toro the mat used to serve cooked eleusine is held together by four narrow rows of fastening, while the stick mat of Ruanda has very narrow rows of fastening only along the edges. The [152] inner part between the fastenings usually has a pattern of plaited fibers, except for a narrow border which is left plain on both sides. These mats are used as curtains, which may be rolled up, in front of the bed. The ordinary reed mats are made like the mats just described, except that bunches of reed and papyrus are used instead of stiff sticks. The bundles are held together with longitudinal fastenings. In some places the bundles of reed are bound with black banana leaf sheaths, producing simple ornamentation.

The same types of plaiting are used for baskets. The weaving pattern of Type I (see Fig. 42) is used for larger baskets employed in the household for storing and carrying food supplies, for the shields on which millet is winnowed and on which flour is caught as it falls from the millstone, for beehives, for the

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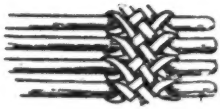

Fig. 43. -Weaving Pattern of Stick Mats, Ruanda.

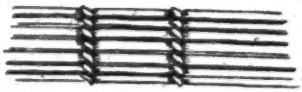

Fig. 44. Weaving Pattern of Reed Mats, Ruanda.

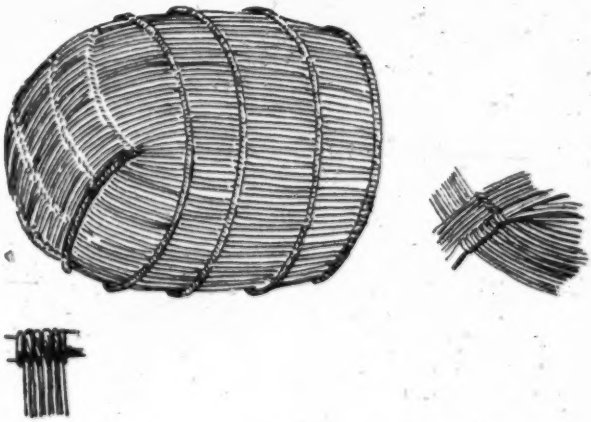

Fig. 45. Basket of Woven Sticks, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13683. Height: 33 centimeters.)

[43]

Fig. 46. Needle Used in Basketry. (1/3 actual size, 18 1/2 centimeters long.)

285 wrapper around beer jugs, for some of the woven quivers, and for mats to place under dishes. I remember having seen the pattern of Type II, in which the vertical strips are held together on the outside by a spiral, only on quivers (see Fig. 153).

Baskets used for traveling, in which toilet articles and small items are kept, are made of two stick mats [153] placed together vertically, bent to form a cylinder, and fastened together with several (usually four) horizontally attached hoops (see Fig. 45).

The sewn baskets are made from slender bundles of fine straw which are coiled and bound with bast. The bast binding is drawn through the previously bound coil of straw and sewn in this manner. The attachment of one coil to another makes the basket. The hole for the thread drawn through the coils is made with an iron needle (mhindu) which is also used to remove sand fleas. The needle has a flat head which is used to smooth out the bound bundle and make it more pliable. The patterns on the baskets are made with black banana leaf sheaths tied around certain parts of the coils.

The finest plaiting of this type is found in Ruanda on the covers of milk containers. Nevertheless, they cannot be compared with those of Kiziba and Kyanja. The small storage baskets (chibo) represent somewhat coarser work.

As may be seen from the above description, household equipment is mostly plaited objects, and their production takes up a large share of the women's time in every household. The best work is done by the Batutsi women who regard it as our women do their needlework.

323 Pottery. Objects of pottery stand second in the inventory of household furnishings. Pottery is produced by professional artisans who work exclusively for the market. In Ruanda most of the potters are Batwa men, but there are also Bahutu men and women who work as potters. In Kissaka I saw only women working at the trade.

Pots are not made on a wheel. However, traces of this tool are evident in the sherds which are used to shape the pot.

The clay which has been mixed with water is dampened slightly by the worker. She takes a lump of this and by hand shapes a cylindrical roll, 30 centimeters long and two to three centimeters thick. This roll is wound spirally like the straw coils used in

482 415 285 In the north high, cone-shaped bamboo baskets are used to carry food and charcoal. They are carried on the head on a cushion. Small packages are also often made of banana leaves. These packages are generally wedged between three branches, bamboo stalks, or small bunches of millet straw. In this way they can be held with one hand. Packages are more often used in the south. There, small items and toilet articles are packed for traveling in wide, low baskets made of small sticks, with cone-shaped lids. These are simply placed on the head.

Beer and water are carried in earthen pots with plaited wrappers and covered with banana leaves.

202 In a discussion of the means of communication in Ruanda we must not forget to mention the native telegraph. Drum signals are used to a moderate extent. The king summons his warriors with drums when there is impending danger, but general information is shouted from hill to hill in a particular way, so that Nyanza is always well informed about what goes on in the country. There is news [168] of every European traveler of every cattle theft at the border, and of every sign of unrest throughout the country. The news travels quickly from hill to hill until it reaches the capital. The news service is so good that one could assume there are special persons who are obliged to carry out their duties of signaling promptly.

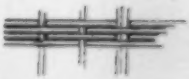

Fig. 54. Pack Basket for Carrying and Storing Food. (1/12 actual size. III E 13688. 140 centimeters high.)

487 438 Arteries of Communication. In conclusion we shall list briefly the chief traffic and trade routes of Ruanda.

1. The path from Bukoba, via Kafuro, Kissaka, and Bugessera, to Nduga is the route along which hides are transported from Ruanda

487 438 to the Uganda railway. It seems that most of the cotton cloth and beads that one sees in Ruanda are also brought this way. Trade along this route is carried on chiefly by Indians from Kafuro, assisted by

[445 285]

Fig. 55. Traveling Basket from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 6986. 84 centimeters high.)

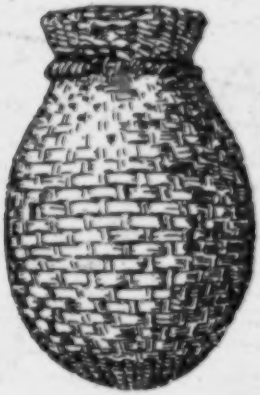

Fig. 56. Pot with Woven Wrapper, Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III 13746. 50 centimeters high.)

people of Kahigi. I reached this route on my trip from Nyanza by Lake Mohasi to Nsasa in Njakagungu, a day's journey south of the lake. On the way I met a trading caravan that exchanged cattle for its ten loads of cheap cotton material. This new traffic artery was formed to make a connection with the Uganda Railway.

2. The above route has cut off the old way from Tabora, via Ussuwi and Kissaka, to Nduga and robbed it of its former importance. [567] It is said that now this route has a branch along which the Bassuwi trade in women flourishes. It was along this route that Count Von Götzen entered the country, the first European to do so.

[169] 3. The route from Nduga via Mukinjaga to Bunyabungu is the export route for sheep and goats which are exchanged for iron. Along this route are traded the Mukinjaga mats, well-known throughout Ruanda.

The shoe of the spear is very seldom lacking. Its form is that of a sharply-pointed cone into which is wedged the end of the spear shaft. 411

We mentioned above that the spear is a part of a man's adornment. Nevertheless, it is still a very dangerous weapon, and they know how to use it up to a distance of 20 meters. At this distance I saw a banana stalk, 15 centimeters in diameter and as tall as a man, hit two out of every three times. The force of the blow was so great that the spears pierced the stalk and protruded 20 centimeters on the other side. The spears that had missed the target penetrated 10 centimeters into the solidly trampled path and stuck fast, even at an angle of less than 45 degrees.

Even though the spear in Ruanda is used as a missile, only one spear is carried. According to Dr. Kandt (1), however, the Banyabungu in

1. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

the south usually carry two spears with wide blades.

Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only

[285] [531]

Fig. 100. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10070. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 99. Women's Canes from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13779 and III E 13789. 143 and 150 centimeters long.) [481]

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Fig. 116. Quiver for Arrows, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 13074. 84 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 117. Gourd Quiver, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. L 17270a. 39 centimeters long.)

Fig. 118. Woven Bag Quiver from Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III E 13764. 70 centimeters long.)

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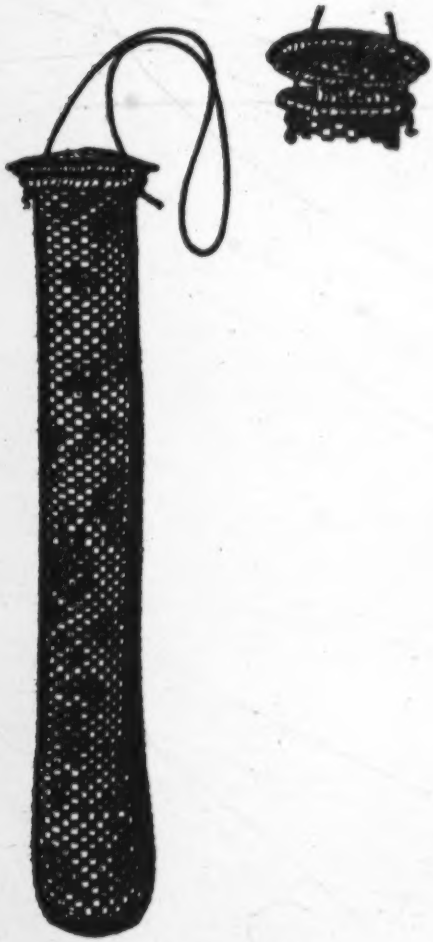

Fig. 119. Woven Cylindrical Quiver from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L17270b. 76 centimeters long.)

Fig. 120. Swords from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13071 and III E 13072. About 63 centimeters long.)

411 . I was repeatedly told that the sword was a Batutsi weapon, but it is doubtful that the present form of the haft and the scabbard with all their details can be credited to the Bututsi. We must not forget that swords are also used by the Batwa and occur in the countries west of Ruanda, especially in the primeval forest.

[196] The sword plays an important part in religious ceremonies. It is used, for example, at birth festivities.

Clubs are found in Ruanda, but they are not very important. It seems that they are used more by the herdsmen than by the rest of the population. Simple smooth clubs are also said to be badges of distinction. Occasionally I saw a club, the end of which was decorated with four brass nails. The thick end is often faceted.

[197] Shields. Shields are very rare in Ruanda proper and in Kissaka. They consist of a slightly concave oval piece of wood with a protruding portion in the center. Behind the protruding part a braided strap-handle is tied to the shield. The [531] shield is painted black, white, and red. It is carved out of one piece of wood and is 40 to 50 centimeters high, 20 to 30 centimeters wide, and 10 to 20 centimeters deep.

The shield is common in Mulera. Here it has the Ndorwa shape, although it is usually not so wide. These shields are covered in front with rattan and are not painted. Thus they are essentially similar to the Uganda shield.

Of the shields west of Lake Kivu Dr. Kandt (1) says: "...as

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), pp. 442, 443.

in the east (Ruanda), they are oval or rectangular with rounded [285] corners, made of wood which in front is covered with wicker running horizontally or diagonally. [198] It is very popular to put bits of mica between the wicker strands. In the center of the outside is the navel, that is to say, a bulge, which in Ruanda is pointed, in the west usually flat. The Wahunde also had other shields that were carried by the chiefs. They are very tall and [285] wide, rectangular, painted red, bordered with strips of skin, and very skilfully woven of reeds, therefore very elastic. On the

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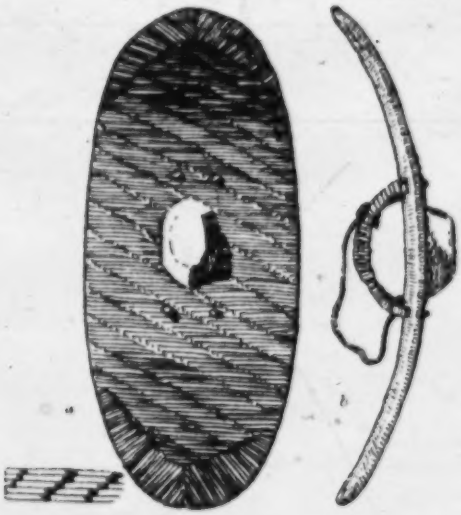

Fig. 124. Mulera Shield: (a) Front; (b) Side. (1/6 actual size. III E8969. 52 centimeters long.)

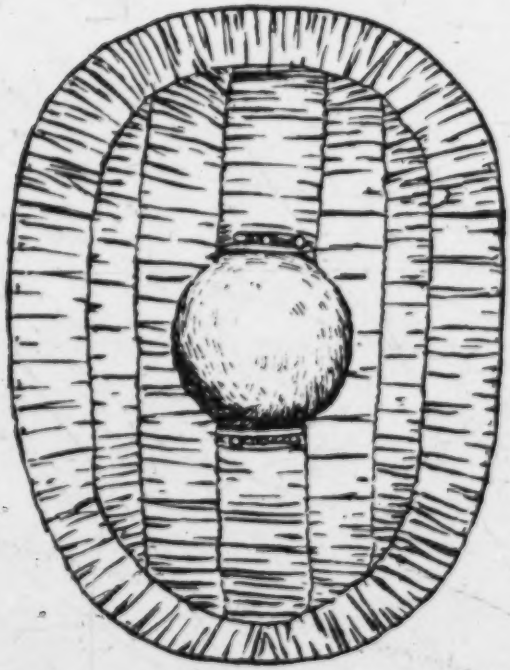

Fig. 125a. Shield from East Mulera, Front View. (1/6 actual size. L15032. 65 centimeters long.)

411 underside is an ornamented oval piece of wood that also serves as the handle."

Near Lake Luhondo on the border of Ndorwa I once saw a very primitive shield. It consisted of a piece of thick tree bark, in the center of which was attached a handle consisting of two bound, crossed twigs.

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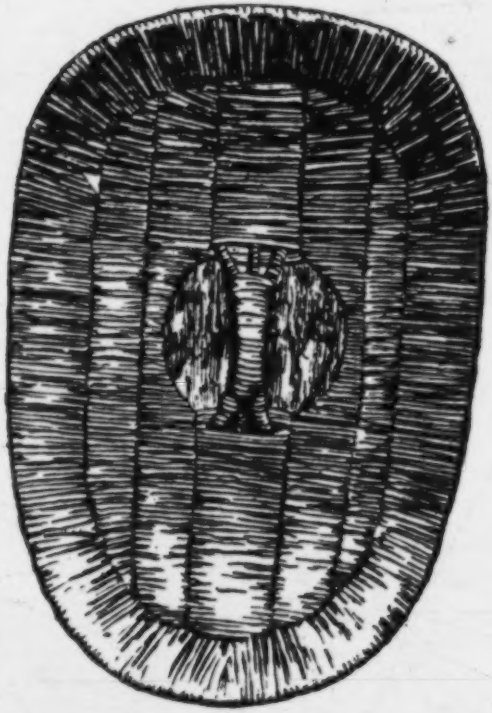

Fig. 125b. Shield from East Mulera, Inner Side.

The shield plays an important part in ritual.

[199] Chapter 9

Settlements and the Household

361 Settlements. There is considerable difference in the types of settlements to be found in individual parts of Ruanda. The typical form of settlement is the compound in which the

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

[768] After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. How-
125 ever, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has
787 settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega)
251 which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist
285 of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held
251 together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

352 and is covered on top and in front with mats. On this bench stand several simple vessels carved out of wood and covered with not very artistically woven straw lids. Above these vessels, on a beam placed across two uprights, large calabashes used in making butter hang in nets. In Kissaka these hanging nets are not as neatly and carefully made as in Kiziba. Small calabashes are used to close the openings of the butter calabashes.

[342]

Fig. 128. Floor Plan of Kissaka Hut: (a) anteroom, 354 (b) hearth, (c) bedroom, (d) back room, (e) milk bench.

The hearth is situated somewhat to the left of center. It is shaped like a round clay slab with two concentric circles, one centimeter high and ten centimeters wide, to prevent fire and ashes from falling out. Well-to-do people who have a separate cookhouse do not keep a fire in the hut during the day. Their hearthstone is always [207] swept clean, and they light a fire only in the evening. Above the fire is a grill, that is, a slab set on four high posts. The bunches of bananas to be used for making beer are placed on this grill to ripen.

[415 285]

Fig. 129. Hanging Net with Basket. (1/6 actual size. III 13100.)

On the other side of the hearth, opposite the milk bench, is the spacious bed. This is surrounded by posts, and here again we find mats or plaited work wedged between them in order to close off the room. There is a separate approach to the bed, which can be closed off with a rollable stick mat, like a blind.

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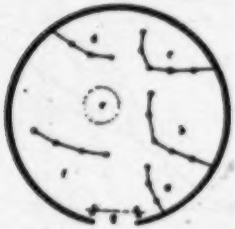

Fig. 130. Floor Plan of a Mulera Hut: (a) stall for calves, (b) bedroom, (c) sacred niche, (d) women's part, (e) hearth, (f) cow stall, (g) entrance.

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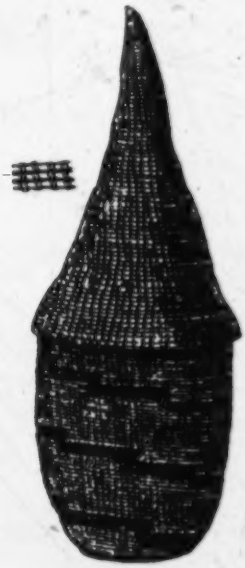

Fig. 131. Lidded Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 6890. 25 centimeters high.)

352 by the Batwa. The Pygmies also do not use beds. If we also remember that the people west of the Kagera make their bowstrings of rattan (bamboo) and use the wooden arrowhead, we may venture to surmise that the absence of the bed in north Ruanda is connected with the Batwa, that is, the Pygmies.

In the interior of the Batutsi huts I occasionally also saw a special room for children and guests. Usually the larger children and the guests sleep in the anteroom (umuriango).

The floor of the huts is covered with mats and not strewn with grass as in Kiziba and Mpororo. On the floor there is usually also a low wooden stool to sit on.

412 Household Utensils. In Ruanda household utensils are very crudely constructed, especially the mortar and pestle. The latter is a simple uncarved stick with a bulbous end. The gourd bottles, too, are not as smooth and regular as those in Kiziba where we find all forms highly developed and perfected.

The most important household utensils are storage baskets, millstones, and various dishes for cooking and eating.

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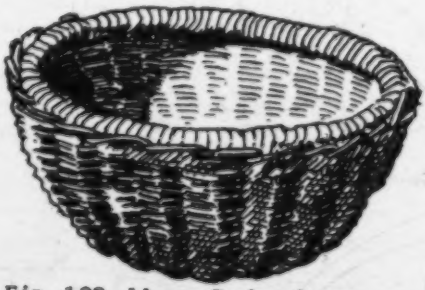

Fig. 132. Woven Basket from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13103. 39 centimeters in diameter.)

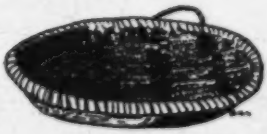

Fig. 133. Shield Basket for Flour from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10922. 27 x 23 centimeters.)

We have already briefly referred to baskets. We mentioned the conical storage baskets of bamboo (Fig. 54), the smaller straw baskets that are sewn together (ichibo, Fig. 131), the shield baskets for winnowing grain (Fig. 28), and the traveling baskets made of

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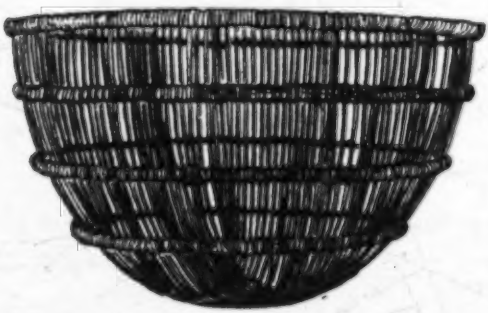

Fig. 134. Stick Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10032. 48 centimeters in diameter.)

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Fig. 135. Cooking Pot from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15172.)

Fig. 136. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15264.)

Fig. 137. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L14755.)

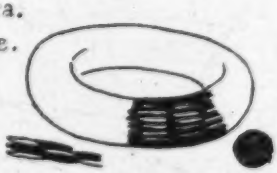

Fig. 138. Supporting Ring from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13726. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

415 sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are
285 the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

[209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape
412 and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back
252 and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer.
415 The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger
323 opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

372 [210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

415 Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets.
415 The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked
285 patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

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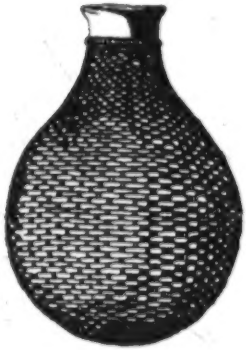

Fig. 139. Pot With Woven Wrapping from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E5246. 33 1/2 centimeters high.)

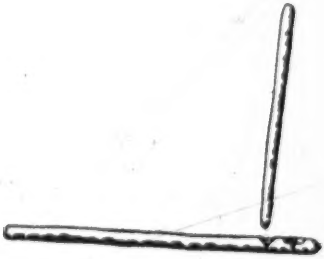

Fig. 140. Fire Drill of the Kivu-Batwa.

Fig. 141. Storage Basket of a Mulera Herdsman. (1/4 actual size. III E13681. 18 centimeters high.)

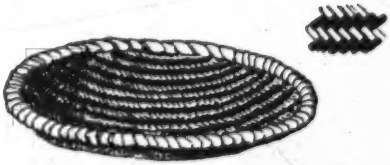

Fig. 142. Fanning Shield from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13675. Diameter, 21 centimeters.)

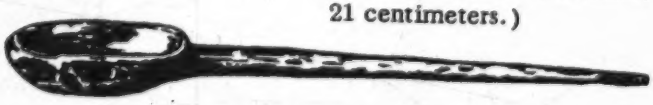

Fig. 143. Cooking Spoon from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15081. 65 centimeters long.)

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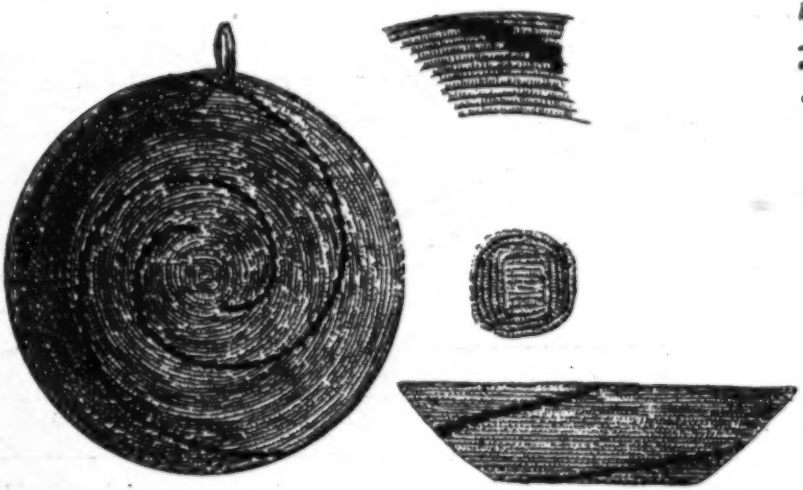

Fig. 144. Basket for Serving Food from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13670. 38 centimeters in diameter.)

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Fig. 145. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15094.)

Fig. 146. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L1561.)

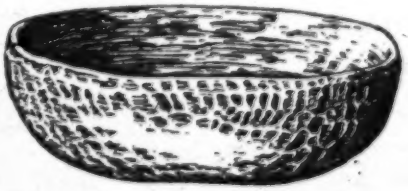

Fig. 147. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15156.)

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granted that a woman may fulfil these functions emphasizes the high status that women have enjoyed in Ruanda society. It is tempting to regard their status as a consequence of the economic responsibilities of the polygynous wives when replacing their husbands. 562

Besides this form of economic collaboration, wives, in nuclear as well as in polygynous families, had to perform certain economic tasks within the rugo. The activities which belonged exclusively to the wife, though she was sometimes helped by her daughters and certain other females were, for women of any caste: cleaning and brushing the hut and the enclosure, milk churning, and basket-making. In addition to these, Tutsi women made particular objects in basket-work (such as screens used in the hut, very finely woven plates, &c.), butter perfumed with the wood of a certain tree *umubavu* (such butter was used as a cosmetic), and garments in bead work. Hutu women had to cook and to apportion food. In agriculture their particular tasks were to sow and plant, to grind sorghum, and to sift peas. Twa women simply cooked. 462 84 [285] [303]

The husband's contributions to the economic activities of the compound were, among the Tutsi, cattle-rearing and hunting (for the hides and skins); among the Hutu, hut-building, minding cattle (if they had any), felling the bush, and usually all the agricultural tasks requiring considerable physical strength. Moreover, they prepared bark-cloth and skins and forged iron implements. Among the Twa, husbands hunted and made bows and iron weapons.

The principles underlying this division of economic tasks exclusively performed by males or females were according to informants that men should carry out tasks which either were particularly hard, or required intelligence, had to be performed far from the compound, or were thought 'noble'.

Most other duties could be performed by men or women and were shared between husband and wife according to individual arrangements. Such activities were, for instance, in the case of the Tutsi: watching labourers working in the fields, and supervising them, doing menial tasks such as mending the enclosure, milking the cows or looking after the herds. For the Hutu they were: harvesting, brewing beer, drawing water, cutting and collecting wood, lighting and maintaining fires, making mats and baskets, &c. For the Twa: pot-making and brewing beer.

226 of fishing. From an elevated point near the lake, for instance, from Boma in Usumbura, after dusk from all sides of the lake he sees dozens of lights quietly float out into the lake, arrange themselves out there in long rows, and then remain for hours in the same place, where the boats are anchored. On the other side, on the distant west shore (Uvira) which belongs to the Congo State, the same spectacle takes place. Hundreds of lights will often be twinkling above the quiet water, one dying out in one place, another being lighted and flashing up somewhere else, like a festive illumination; behind rises the large dark backdrop of the western peripheral mountains and above it the Milky Way with its millions of twinkling stars. A light, warm breeze is blowing across land and lake, and only seldom is the great silence of the African night penetrated by an animal's cry.

In the daytime the lake dwellers use a conical dragnet (itanda) for fishing. It is fastened to a wooden hoop and kept below water by stones tied to it. It is pulled behind the boat on two cords, and from time to time its contents which include both large and small fish are emptied into the boat. Kandt observed an unusual method of net fishing among the Barundi of northern Tanganyika, while I personally and others have not seen anything like it. This method is as follows: of the six men in the boat, four dive into the water at the same moment holding the net in their hands. They emerge again with their prey after 30 to 50 seconds and are pulled into the boat by their companions (No. 22, p. 333).

227 The various types of nets have a very firm and even texture
● 286 although they are made by hand without a square ruler. The strings are woven of the fibers of the raffia palm.

226 Also in fishing with a line the Lake Barundi use various methods. A long line is usually used for catching big fish. Numerous strong fishhooks (umugera) are fastened to it at short intervals on short pieces of string; the whole thing is called umuhungo. To each hook one of the above-mentioned little fish, akahuso, is fastened as bait. The long line is thrown into the water from the shore or from the boat; it is held by both ends,

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
285 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[171] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
[291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
SEE 411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

351 417 The enclosure (ingo) around the majority of the kraals both in Urundi and Ruanda is not only intended as a means of protection against human or animal intruders, but it also serves to enclose the family, especially the small children, and to keep the cattle penned in at night (Plate 20a, 21b). If the inhabitants have no cattle, they usually have no fences around their huts. This is the case, for example, in some mountain regions of northwest Urundi and in a few districts of western central Urundi. Wherever fences do exist, they are higher than a man so that one cannot see over them. Depending on what material is available, they consist of dry trunks of banana trees, sorghum stalks, papyrus shafts, or the dry branches of the Acanthus arboreus, roughly but firmly tied together, or they are formed by closely planted living dracaena, fig trees, or euphorbias. I never saw stones piled up so as to make a wall, although there are enough blocks of stone there to serve this purpose. The entrance to the kraal, which is flanked by two strong poles, is blocked at night by trunks placed across it. [24]

The kraals of the Batussi are in most cases more carefully and firmly enclosed than those of the Bahutu. In some areas settled predominantly by Batussi, for example, in the extensive highland pasture areas on the eastern slope of the peripheral mountains of Tanganyika on the upper Muwarasi, "each house is a small fortress with three concentric defenses. Within the protective wall (probably made of piled earth, there is a plaited cane fence, behind this one of euphorbias, and finally one made of thorns" (No. 8, p. 73).

351 248 Even when the hedge does not consist of fig trees planted close to one another, there are almost always a number of fig trees around the kraal, this being more often the case here than in Ruanda. These trees provide not only shade for the kraal, [287] but also bark which is used in a variety of ways, in particular for making clothes (Plate 18a, 21a). As in Ruanda, such circular groups of fig trees enable one to note the sites of former kraals, particularly those of chiefs, many years after the huts have

304 around Lake Victoria, among the Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha,
171 Wassumbwa, etc. -- while, according to H. Rehse, the Basiba [Haya] do not tattoo themselves -- so it is much more likely to assume diffusion from the Bantu and Nilotes to the Batussi and a further development of tattooing by the latter. The tattoos of the Somali, Galla, Massai [Masai], etc., look quite different. A report by H. H. Johnston gives some indication of the wider context. According to him, the crescent-shaped scar tattoo, of which he gives a photograph (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 569), is also found among the Bakonjo [Konjo], who are probably the oldest Bantu race [30] in Unjoro, Toro, and Ankole, while the large mass of the Banjoro [Nyoro] in Unjoro, who are an important mixed race consisting of Bantu, Nilotic, and Bahima elements, do not tattoo themselves.

304 In Urundi I did not observe any tattooing on women and children. It was impossible to find out anything definite about the meaning of the patterns. I would doubt that they are intended to represent horns of cattle, as has been claimed by a missionary.

"Decorative disfigurements" of the ears (ear blocks), nose (nose pegs), the lips (pelele), the teeth (notches or filing), or other parts of the body are found in Urundi neither among the Batussi nor among the Bahutu, and this is also true of Ruanda. The Batwa, however, sharpen the two upper incisors. Also, neither cutting of the genitalia among either sex, deformation of the head, nor other such things are practiced. It is not until one descends to the west, east, or south from the interlacustrine plateau that one once more finds tribes with disfigurements of the body.

● [287] Urundi is still the country of clothing made from barkcloth
439 (impusu). Except for the peripheral areas in the southeast, south,
177 and west where foreign trade, to which the rest of the country has been barred until recently, supplies cotton material, a piece of "Amerikani" or a cotton blanket used for clothing is still a rarity in Urundi. It was not until recently that more cotton material was introduced into the country by the few licensed traveling merchants, the missions, and the passing caravans

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat
291 skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the
[854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No.
287 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials
386 in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with
[531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

287 about this: "The Wanjoro (in the highland of southern Unjoro)
386 produce the same clothes of barkcloth as the Waganda [Ganda], dyeing them black by putting them for a day into the mud of a swamp." (No. 9, p. 377.)

291 There is no difference between the dress of the Batussi and the Bahutu, nor is there a special costume reserved for certain classes or professions. The Mutwa and the Muhutu, the Mutussi and the Muganwa, the great chief and the king: all dress in the same unattractive blackish-gray impusu of tree bark. Another feature common to them all is that they take off the long upper garment inside the huts and when working in the fields because it is a hindrance.

287 The material is made from the barks of several fig species
248 (Urostigma), mainly the Ficus chlamydodora Warb. or the Ficus Schimperi Hochst., in the same manner as in those areas of Ruanda where garments of barkcloth are still worn. Since more barkcloth is used in Urundi than in Ruanda where cotton cloth is already much in use, more fig trees are planted near the huts in Urundi than in Ruanda; often they look like a village orchard near the houses. For this reason alone the scenery of Urundi gives the impression of being more friendly and varied than Ruanda which is grassy for the most part. Almost every cluster of huts lies in the shade of a little fresh green fig grove. The fence surrounding the homesteads also consists partly of fig trees which form natural fence posts, giving firm support to the latticework of the fence. According to van der Burgt, the Ficus chlamydodora was introduced into Urundi only about 60 years ago and at present occurs only where it is cultivated. However, I believe I have seen it growing wild in the peripheral mountains of the northwest.

287 Once the tree has grown until the trunk is about the thickness of an arm, its bark is removed for the first time. For this purpose two horizontal incisions are made around the trunk from half a meter to one meter apart. Both incisions are connected by a vertical incision, and a long rectangular piece of bark is then loosened from the tree without difficulty. The exposed area of the trunk is then rubbed with butter, and banana leaves are tied around it. Then, from the cut edges, the bark completely

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by [462] men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their [301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted barkcloth, among ~~many~~ other things, from the subject Bahutu. [292] Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[177] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
[291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
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322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

Plate 36

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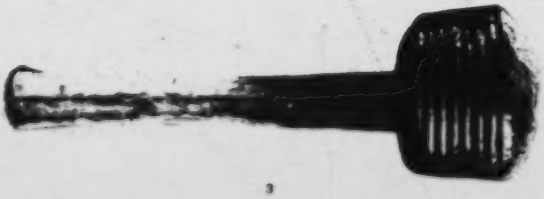

3

Barkcloth and Bark Hammer; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Milled piece of material made of fig bark, not yet processed, 140 centimeters long. — No. 2) Processed cloak of fig barkcloth with shoulder tassel of banana bast; 135 centimeters long. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding the fig bark, 32 centimeters long.

2: Meyer--271 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 37

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Barkcloth and Bark Hammer.

No. 1) Upper garment of fig barkcloth with bast ribbons, 100 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 2) Painted mat of fig barkcloth, 98 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding fig bark, 42 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

794 His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba. . . , " pronounced in a virile tone,
776 recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a
[30] necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung
854] around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye. . . . "

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

[224 His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around
[237] the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i. . . " to recall
534] that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence
[287] the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with
[415] a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a hallowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using
[272] a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

766 The sacred groves are numerous, and it is surprising to find
778 them most everywhere, even in the most deserted areas.

Royal cemeteries and former residences are legion. There is
778 not one province in Ruanda that does not boast several of them at
766 least.

They are found even in bordering lands which were invaded
644 more than once by the Banyarwanda. Their numbers are understandable if one recalls the nomadic life of the warrior kings such as Ruganzu and Lwabugiri, who did not sleep often under the same roof. The sovereign had only to spend the night in a hut along the way for the spot to become sacred from then on. The owners had to abandon their dwelling and go elsewhere or build at the side. The ficus branches which fenced in the courtyard went on growing and created a new sacred grove (ikigabiro).

These groves are made up of various tree species, with the
[824] ficus usually predominating. Several types of this tree are found: imigobge, imilehe, imikobe, imitabataba, etc.

The bark of the last two trees is used to make a kind of cloth
[287] which wears out rapidly (impuzu). Those clumps of trees, which are almost invariably green and which loom into sight here and there, contrast with the bareness of the land, /524/ especially in the Nduga, and lend it a characteristic appearance which does not lack a certain charm.

Among the sacred groves, some of which stand on the tallest hills, only eight or nine at most are known to have been used as royal burial grounds. The others mark the sites of former royal capitals and recall the successive moves occasioned by the numerous expeditions undertaken in certain reigns. They are referred to by the generic name of ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," from the word kugabira, "to distribute" or "to offer as a gift." As we can see, the term ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," is quite suited etymologically to the tree clumps which mark the sites of the former royal dwellings, whose owners, by virtue of their absolute ownership and power, could mete out all sorts of favors to their subjects. It was only by extension that the same name was quite wrongly applied to the royal cemeteries. Indeed, custom does not allow the popular

325 thick and strong, the bolt is supported against a forked tree trunk set in the ground. This is why the outer edges of the bolt are cut to shape at both ends. This preparation prevents slipping because these parts can fit more exactly in the notches on the wooden fork.

The clamp is grasped, for the sake of comfort, with a loop made of banana leaf sheaths, and it is drawn the length of a meter. Afterwards a loop is wound around the wire itself. This loop is knotted in such a way that in pulling back with the hand closed it grasps the wire and pulls it, but at the same time it slides easily in the direction of the bolt. Drawing the wire close to the bolt prevents it from breaking. In the case of fine, weak, thin wire, the clamp is supported against the wooden fork and the bolt drawn along the wire by hand. If any section of the wire offers resistance, the wire is slid back and forth.

[287] [413]

Fig. 49. Barkcloth Beater, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 9964.

Fig. 50. Barkcloth Beater, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13105. 34.5 centimeters long.)

[158] Thick wire is heated for drawing; but the temperature is very low since the main operations, such as filing the point and clamping, are done by hand. Thick wire is rubbed with stones as it is being drawn; the worker takes a handful of stones and repeatedly rubs them along the wire. This is reputedly done to impede the movement of the wire and thus draw it out more. Thin wire is smeared with fat to keep it from getting stuck, which might cause it to break.

The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

000 The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

[178] Preparation of Barkcloth. The making of barkcloth (mpuzu) seems to be falling off in Ruanda. For example, I had only one occasion in Ruasa to see a piece of barkcloth, and this was made into a bag. Because of the large number of barkcloth beaters which were offered me for sale in Ruasa, I am forced to conclude that this branch of native industry is dying out, at least in Mulera.

In Nduga where the population is considerably poorer, one sees a great deal of barkcloth, but since it is worn in the same manner as expensive clothing made of skins, one might assume that in this locality it is at present only a substitute for skins. There are, however, reasons for assuming that the original clothing was made of barkcloth. In Mulera in the area of the Ruasa Mission it was observed that with the increase of wealth barkcloth was replaced by clothing of skins.

The bark of a species of fig is soaked in water, laid on a tree trunk, and beaten out thin with a hammer. The hammers [143] (imango) have two shapes. One looks like a cylinder with circular grooves on the end used for beating, and it has a tapered handle. The other kind is a conical beater which, as in the case of the axes and hoes, is fastened to a handle. Here, too, the beating surface is grooved but in crisscross fashion.

In Ruanda the barkcloth is very crude and cannot be compared to that of Kiziba.

281 [159] Dressing Skins. Preparing a cow hide for an article of clothing is a laborious task. The skin must be made soft and pliable; otherwise it is useless.

The skin stripped off the animal is first of all dried in the sun and then soaked in water. When it has become soft, it is hung up to allow the water to drip off. It is then stretched on the ground with the fur side downward, held with small wooden pegs which are stuck through the edge of the skin and, after the skin is stretched, are driven into the ground with a stone. Then the skin is cleaned with a scraper (mbaro). This process is known as kuhara. The first layer that is removed is called imishishwa; the second imiharamuro; the third, inkuru. After that the pierced edge is

1: Vanhove--iv G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Mutara III, King of Ruanda. (Taken by Author)

1: Vanhove--2A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 6]

342

A hill chief and his family sitting on the threshold of their home. In the foreground can be seen the imitabo, a very low, festoon-shaped mud walls.

●291

Reverend Father Pages surrounded by young Batutsi men.

(Both photos taken by Author)

1:Vanhove--14A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 18]

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Two Bahutu mothers, their heads encircled with the urugori greet each other.
(Official photograph, Colonial Office)

1:Vanhove--14B G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 19]

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301

Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her female servants.

(Official photograph, Colonial Office.)

1:Vanhove--70C G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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Mututsi prince.

Mutwa in a pantomime scene.

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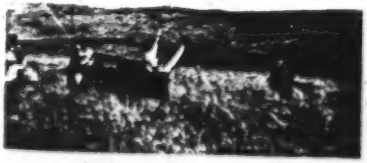

Inyambo, accompanied by their guardians, grazing in a Buganza pasture.

The parade of the Inyambo. A Muhutu praising the qualities of the sacred cattle he is guarding.

(All photos taken by Author)

1: Vanhove--71A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 83]

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Batutsi of northern Ruanda. Their less pure type results from marriages with Bahutu women.
(Official photo, Colonial Office.)

1:Vanhove--83A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

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[opp. P. 107]

One of the many native tribunals instituted since the Belgian occupation.

(Official photograph, Colonial Office)

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat
291 skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the
[854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No.
287 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials
386 in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with
[531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

287 about this: "The Wanjoro (in the highland of southern Unjoro)
386 produce the same clothes of barkcloth as the Waganda [Ganda], dyeing them black by putting them for a day into the mud of a swamp." (No. 9, p. 377.)

291 There is no difference between the dress of the Batussi and the Bahutu, nor is there a special costume reserved for certain classes or professions. The Mutwa and the Muhutu, the Mutussi and the Muganwa, the great chief and the king: all dress in the same unattractive blackish-gray impusu of tree bark. Another feature common to them all is that they take off the long upper garment inside the huts and when working in the fields because it is a hindrance.

287 The material is made from the barks of several fig species
248 (Urostigma), mainly the Ficus chlamydodora Warb. or the Ficus Schimperi Hochst., in the same manner as in those areas of Ruanda where garments of barkcloth are still worn. Since more barkcloth is used in Urundi than in Ruanda where cotton cloth is already much in use, more fig trees are planted near the huts in Urundi than in Ruanda; often they look like a village orchard near the houses. For this reason alone the scenery of Urundi gives the impression of being more friendly and varied than Ruanda which is grassy for the most part. Almost every cluster of huts lies in the shade of a little fresh green fig grove. The fence surrounding the homesteads also consists partly of fig trees which form natural fence posts, giving firm support to the latticework of the fence. According to van der Burgt, the Ficus chlamydodora was introduced into Urundi only about 60 years ago and at present occurs only where it is cultivated. However, I believe I have seen it growing wild in the peripheral mountains of the northwest.

287 Once the tree has grown until the trunk is about the thickness of an arm, its bark is removed for the first time. For this purpose two horizontal incisions are made around the trunk from half a meter to one meter apart. Both incisions are connected by a vertical incision, and a long rectangular piece of bark is then loosened from the tree without difficulty. The exposed area of the trunk is then rubbed with butter, and banana leaves are tied around it. Then, from the cut edges, the bark completely

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by [462] men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their [301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted barkcloth, among many other things, from the subject Bahutu. [292] Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

291 head. Sometimes women wear a headband of corn leaves as a symbol of young motherhood; two narrow strips of banana bark over the forehead is the sign of a married woman. Both are also worn in Ruanda.

There is no special covering for genital parts or the feet. When men wear only the toga, the penis is often visible, but this does not offend their sense of modesty. The women have their breasts mostly covered by their upper garment, but they do not mind uncovering them when, for any reason whatsoever, they take off or change a garment. Before reaching puberty, children walk around entirely naked (Plate 16) or with a narrow apron of banana bast (Plate 38).

411 The Barundi are really a "people in arms," far more so than the Banjaruanda among whom the large mass of the Bahutu walk unarmed and even the Batussi rarely carry a spear, but rather only a long staff which, however, may be quickly made into a weapon by affixing a spear point. Similarly, the Barundi can be seen walking around with wooden shafts without points whenever they want to demonstrate their peaceful intentions or wish to protect the iron point against wear or rust, but they almost always carry the spear point wrapped up, and they never go far away from the homestead to tend the cattle, work in the fields, or go on a visit without having at least one or two people in the group armed with spears and bows. A Murundi with any self-respect will never let himself be seen without a spear, for without it he would feel "undressed." Even boys carry spears. As a rule, the two customary weapons, spear and bow, are carried together, the spear in one hand, the bow and two to four arrows in the other.

The spears (itschjumu) hardly differ from those in Ruanda, and, as in Ruanda, the shape of the points varies somewhat (Plates 39, 40). Generally the blade has a strong, sharpened central rib which makes it very elastic and resistant and gives the spear, so to speak, four edges. Next to the central rib two blood grooves are hollowed out; these are usually absent on a Bantu spear. Point and socket have a sleeve for inserting the shaft. The latter is a strong [33] stick, as thick as a thumb, two

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[171] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
[291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

Plate 7

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Batwa near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Batwa Making Pottery near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--242 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 8

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Barundi West of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--243 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 9

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Barundi from the Upper Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi from Migeni, West of Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--244 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 10

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Women with Sleeping Sickness, Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Chain Gang in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 11

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Batussi Delegation of King Mutaga in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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King Mutaga (*) of Urundi with Batussi Entourage
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Plate 12

Entourage of the Muganwa Lusokosa in front of Gitega Station, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Young Batussi, Central Urundi
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

2: Meyer--248 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Barundi Christian Barundi Girls, North Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

Plate 14

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Muganwa Seruschanja (right) with Two Brothers
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

2: Meyer--249 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate 15

Mutussi Girl, Urundi

Muhutu Woman, Urundi

Christian Mutussi Girl, Urundi

(Photos. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

2: Meyer--250 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 16

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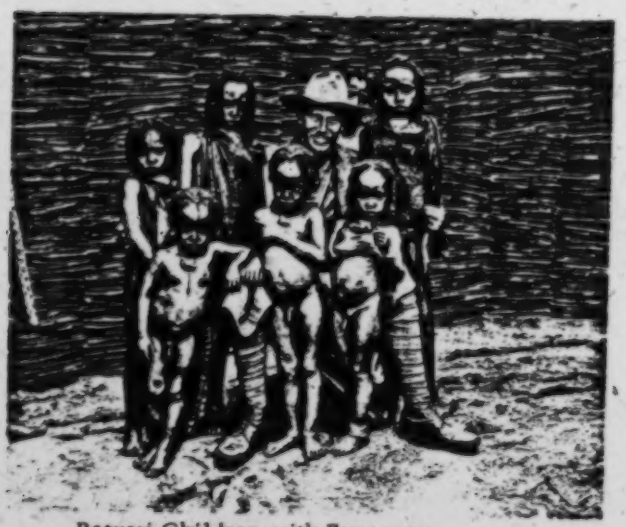
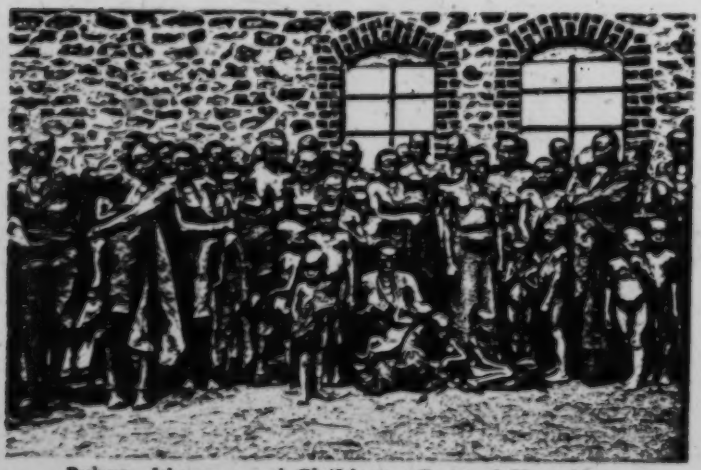


Batussi Children with European
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)



Bahutu Women and Children, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--251 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 17

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Mother of King Mutaga

Chief Kilima, Northwest Urundi

Muganwa Sindiwironga

Muganwa Kambi

(Photos, by Captain von Langenn)

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Packs of Salt from the Gottorp Saltworks on the Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Daily Market in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Archers in Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)

Archers in Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)

2: Meyer--270 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 36

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Barkcloth and Bark Hammer; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Milled piece of material made of fig bark, not yet processed, 140 centimeters long. — No. 2) Processed cloak of fig barkcloth with shoulder tassel of banana bast; 135 centimeters long. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding the fig bark, 32 centimeters long.

2: Meyer--271 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 37

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Barkcloth and Bark Hammer.

No. 1) Upper garment of fig barkcloth with bast ribbons, 100 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — No. 2) Painted mat of fig barkcloth, 98 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding fig bark, 42 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

2: Meyer--272 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 38

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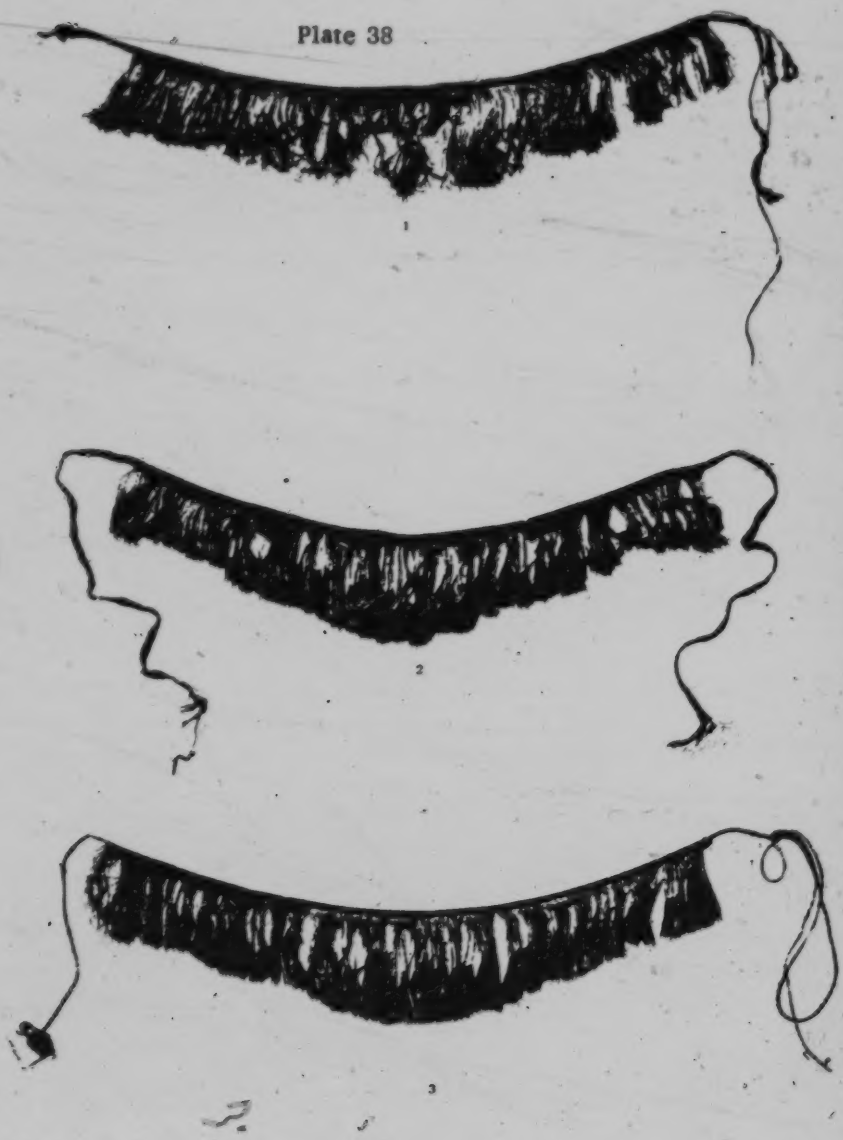

Loincloths of Banana Bast for Little Girls.
58 to 62 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/ their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

5: Pages--282 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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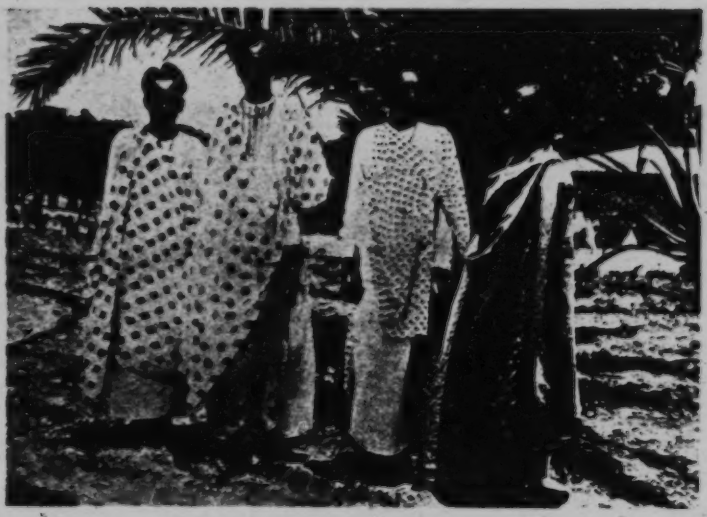
Rwagataraka, chief of the Kinyaga.

5: Pagès--283 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Batutsi from Nyanza.



291

The high chiefs of Ruanda.

5: Pages--285 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her feminine attendants.

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Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type.

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5. Pages--286 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Little girls in children's dress, from the central province of Nduga.

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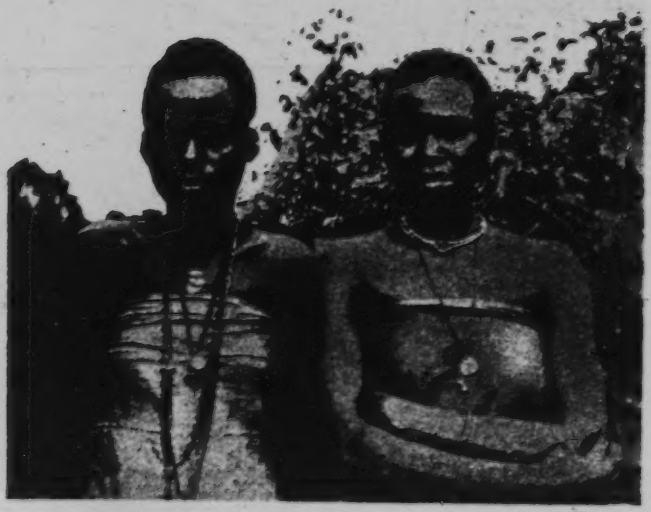
Two young Bahutu girls.



5: Pagès--287 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type. The long fringed costume they wear is made of banana fibers which they have woven themselves.

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Women of the Muhutu type.

5: Pages--289 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Banana leaf serving as an umbrella.

A banana leaf shelters a baby's head.

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[854]

5: Pagès--291 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Family umbrella.

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[302]

A semicivilized (person).

[177]

487 4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to
438 Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye,
[439] Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170] Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

171 Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of
•291 Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and
301 characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus,
411 we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

291 In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

291 dress, the Mututsi does not use barkcloth. This leads us to associate barkcloth with the [171] Bahutu substratum. An argument in favor of this view may also be seen in the fact that barkcloth technique reaches its height in Buganda, but there the influence of the herdsmen aristocracy is at a minimum.

292 The festive garb of the Batutsi consists of a narrow piece of cowhide (mukane) with a fringe of about 20 strips (ndengera) of cowhide or, as in the case of the fringe on tobacco pouches, of otter skin. The cutting of these strips is called kutera indengera. The hide is light gray, worn with the fur side out, and fastened at the loins by being turned down at the edge.

291 The mukane must not be confused with the nshavure. The latter is an ordinary narrow skin without a fringe, which is worn by

[292]

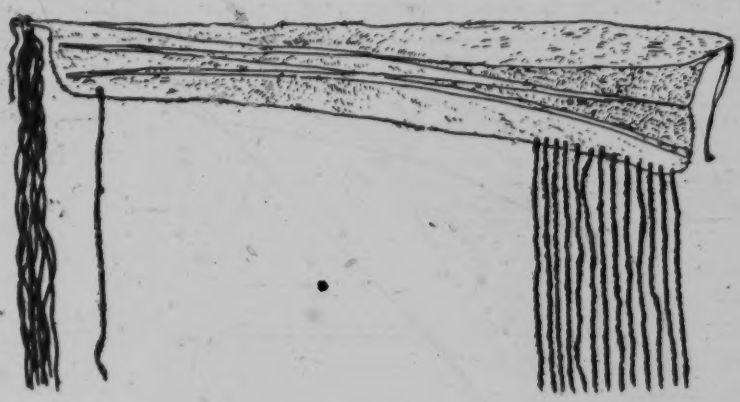

Fig. 57. Festive Garb of Batutsi in Ruanda. (1/12 actual size. III 10911. 125 centimeters wide.)

children, young girls, and even adult herdsmen when they go out to their animals early in the morning.

Children and unmarried girls also wear an apron (nduyongo) made of braided banana fibers, resembling the grass clothing of the Baziba [Haya].

The everyday dress of the Batutsi is made of cotton cloth. It consists of two pieces of material, each two yards long and one yard

wide. One piece is wrapped around the loins (kukenyara), the other is thrown over the shoulder (kuitera). For the shoulder pieces red prints are popular, but the colors are not gawdy. The cotton materials, like the skins, are smeared with butter. 291

The Bahutu for the most part wear barkcloth a great deal and, near the missions, cotton clothing also. Cloth and skins are worn in the same manner as the cotton material of the Batutsi.

Fig. 58. Braided Apron for Young Women and Children, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III 9923. 33 centimeters wide.)

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The Bahunde, who are physically and linguistically closely related to the Bahutu, draw a piece of barkcloth between their legs, like their western neighbors of the Congo Basin, instead of wrapping it around their hips, as the Banyaruanda do with the kukenyara. We may presume that the West African method of drawing it between the legs is the original custom, even among the Bahutu. This is confirmed by the fact that the Banyaruanda also wear waist bands, often decorated with glass beads, under their cotton clothing. At one time these probably served to fasten the barkcloth drawn between the legs. Wrapping the clothing around the hips makes these bands superfluous. The wrapped lengths of material seem to be the result of [172] a later East African influence, which could also have come from the Batutsi. The people cling to this principle of dress in their old costumes which they now wear only for rituals and festive occasions.

Fig. 59. Waistband of Strung Pieces of Porcupine Quills, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 3954. 161 centimeters long.)

Married women wrap a soft piece of cowhide (inkanda) around their hips. It reaches to their ankles and is held and fastened with a 291

291 cord or thong. The free end of this thong is usually cut into several strands and strung with beads of glass or iron (ngimbi). The braided bast cord is called indjishi.

Dressed cowhide has a relatively high value and is worn for several years. When torn, it is mended and carefully sewn together. Not all women, however, can obtain this costly, though

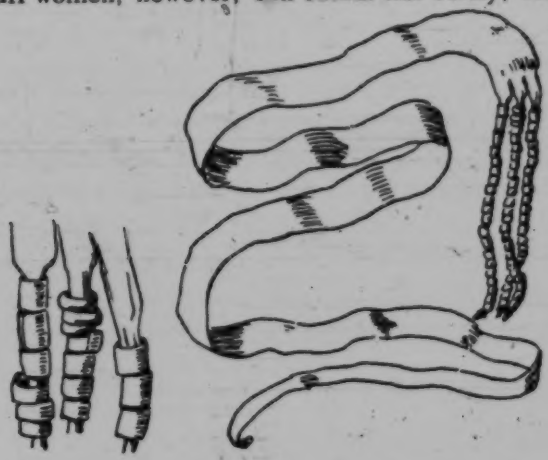


Fig. 60. Woman's Belt from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13701. 145 centimeters long.)

serviceable article of clothing and must wear goat skins and barkcloth (mpuzu), as do the grown girls. Near the missions where work is paid in cloth, they also wear cotton materials in place of cowhides.

To complete a woman's costume, a goat skin is thrown over the shoulders. However, when this article is omitted, the costume is not regarded as incomplete.

[854] Small children are always wrapped in sheepskin and carried on the back. The skin is tied together above and below the mother's breasts with two strips of barkcloth or two pieces of bark from a banana tree. These strips are tied to the leg parts of the skin.

[515] [173] Women who are carrying children usually also carry leaves in their left hand. The leaves are carefully laid together and used to wipe their backs and the child if necessary.

Batwa wear the same clothing as the Bahutu, except that cotton material is very rare among them. Dr. Kandt, however, observed differences in women's clothing. He says (1) about the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 302.

Batwa women: "They wore aprons of slashed banana leaves to cover their genitals. As ornaments they wore on their withered bodies only a few chains tightly strung with bluish opalescent glass discs made of snail shells." On the Muhawura and in Kabgaye I had an opportunity to see and to measure Batwa women. They wore the ordinary clothing of Ruanda and the common type of ornaments. I saw Batwa women from Ngunzu's village only

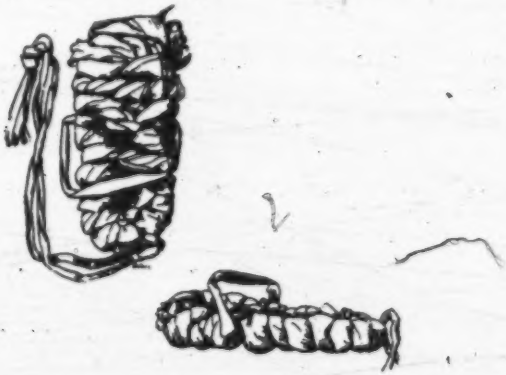


Fig. 61. Sandals from Bgisha. (1/6 actual size. III 10947. 25 centimeters long.)

in the primeval forest as they took flight, alarmed by our caravan.

Only in the patterns of European printed materials and the different kinds of glass beads can one see a predominant fashion in Ruanda. In the northwest Belgian materials were specially favored, but they were actually of better quality than those offered on the east coast.

Clothing worn temporarily during the rains consists of banana leaves tied around the hips. Fishermen wading in water wear the

291 same type of clothing.

293 The Munyaruanda is familiar with the native umbrella. In its simplest form the improvised umbrella consists of a large banana leaf worn on the head. An actual umbrella is made of the bark of a banana tree stretched on a bowl-shaped frame. It is worn on the head and supported by the back (cf. Vol. III, Plate 23).

291 I saw sandals only near the lava plain in Rulenge (Bgisha). They are made of banana leaves and, like the shoes used in Europe for mountain climbing, have a sole made of flat braid. They wear out very easily on the rough earth, so that on a journey several pairs must be taken along. [174] The natives wear them only when the footing is positively dangerous, otherwise they go barefoot wherever possible. Dr. Kandt (1) mentions the use of

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 478.

sandals among the Batundwe who, it seems, are a northern branch of the Bahunde and live near the southern shore of Lake Albert.

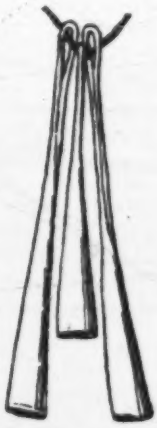
291 Ornaments. In Ruanda only the king wears a head covering;
301 he dons a cap on festive occasions. This cap is cylindrical, 20
554 centimeters high, and embroidered with beads. From it hang strings of beads ending in little embroidered rods. The strings are of two different lengths, so that there are two rows of little rods, one above the other, which form a beaded veil. There are no strings at the back or over the nose, but here there is an embroidered band hanging down below the root of the nose. On this band are three small embroidered rods that rest on the nose and extend to the mouth. A colobus [monkey] skin is fastened to the beaded band. This adjunct deserves special attention, since the priest of Wamara in Nkole adorns his head with a colobus skin, and the animal is the umuziru [prohibited object] of the Bahinda who rule the eastern and northern part of Ruanda.

291 I was not able to determine whether the wearing of the cap
554 by the ruler has any connection with the customs of the people in the Uele Basin where the cap is the privilege of the free man.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.

301 703 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.



291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

[531]

Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Maranyara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

413 With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

585 her husband, and there is a quarrel. It is proper for the man to show marks on his body which indicate to everyone that his wife bravely defended herself and did not yield like a hussy. However, the man may not be strong enough to break the wife's resistance with force, and he must then persuade her with presents to eat and to yield to him.

After the marriage, the woman must remain hidden for a time, that is, until her relatives come with gifts of beer, food, and bracelets. This visit usually takes place on the third day. On this occasion mats are brought along which the young wife made at home. She may chat with her relatives, the young girls who brought the mats. On this day there is dancing, singing, and much drinking.

Some time afterwards the parents again send their daughter presents. Among these, besides food, is a brand new hoe with a new handle. On this day the wife dances with her husband and the new hoe while the rest of the relatives sing an accompaniment. The wife then goes to the field for the first time and works a little. Until this day, called kushishura, the man has no sexual intercourse with his other wives. After the hoeing, grains of millet
[842] are brought to the young woman. A handful is scattered on a mat, and she must pick them up with one sweep of her hand. If she fails, the prospects of numerous progeny are poor. She and her husband together grind these grains and use the flour to make beer which they give to small children in order that they themselves will have children.

841 [224] During the first menstrual period after her marriage, the woman is given the cowhide which constitutes the dress of
•291 married women, and her head is shaved. However, since girls are
302 not infrequently married before they are mature, it often happens
585 that the wife goes about with her masunzu (shaved pattern) for a long time, waiting for the cowhide. Father F. Dufays told me that he knows of a case where a wife waited eight months for her cowhide, but it is said that the wife sometimes waits as long as two years.

841 Thus, a superstitition has arisen about the shaved pattern on
302 the head. According to it, if a wife does not give up her maiden
585

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE XXXI

142
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Chief of the Batuse, Ruanda

[facing p. 184]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE XXXII

142
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Wife of a Prince of the Batuse of Ruanda

[Facing page 194]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Tutsi lord and Hutu client

[Frontispiece]

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing. 262 264

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned. 261 [574] [484] 261 186

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather. 291 [164]

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

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XIII. A Tutsikazi.

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XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461] 1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

1:Vanhove--70B G÷5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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Orchestra accompanying the dance of the intore.

The Mwami attending his intore.

(Photos taken by Author)

Dances of the Intore.

(Photos by Borchgraeve.)

1:Vanhove--70C G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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Mututsi prince.

Mutwa in a pantomime scene.

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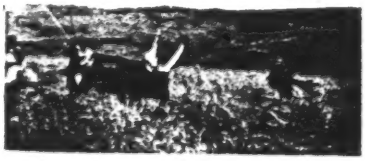

Inyambo, accompanied by their guardians, grazing in a Buganza pasture.

The parade of the Inyambo, A Muhutu praising the qualities of the sacred cattle he is guarding.

(All photos taken by Author)

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787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90] 6. The Intore

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861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

644
292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and
[535] others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by [462] men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their [301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted barkcloth, among many other things, from the subject Bahutu. [292] Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

535 The women always form a circle for their dances. One woman, usually a young girl (sometimes even two), dances in the center. With her arms not quite stretched out and her hands bent upward, she moves to and fro within the circle making all kinds of symbolic movements which are extraordinarily graceful. Von Trotha was very much reminded of the bayaderes (No. 8, p. 72). These dances do not have even a trace of eroticism. Apparently they are an imitation of the characteristics of animals. Van der Burgt interprets the position of the arms as an imitation of the horns of cattle and ascribes an originally religious meaning to the dances (No. 19, p. 142). I feel, however, that in many cases these are supposed to be imitations of the outspread wings of the crowned crane, the characteristic animal of the swampy Ruanda-Urundi landscape, as is also the case with quite similar dances in Ruanda. The position of the rest of the body and the manner of running forward and backward are also, it seems to me, in accord with this. In Ruanda this dance is called "crane dance." Boys and sometimes even men like to take part in it.

While the girl dancing solo (or the two of them) shows her skill in this manner, the women standing around in a circle stamp the ground rhythmically with their feet. They may also sing. A choir leader shouts very short stanzas, sometimes only a single word, which is then repeated by the choir until the choir leader calls out a new stanza.

535 292 There are no special costumes for the dances. Father van der Burgt mentions and gives a picture of a "couronne," a cap made of raffia fibers; from it a long train of fibers hangs down the back. Van der Burgt describes these caps as the decoration of the dancing girls (No. 19, p. 407, and Fig. 138), but these "crowns" are very rare. The Barundi are also not familiar with masked dances or other kinds of disguise connected with dances. There are only certain symbolic cult-costumes which are worn by sorcerers or priests leading certain religious dances (see pp. 124, 126, 131 and Plates 25, 54). On the other hand, [302] the faces of the dancers are often painted with white or red earth (cf. pp. 127, 128).

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than 766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

794 admission to the order by the society's members is then enacted
575 in the kraal of the candidate. It is accompanied by innumerable
796 formulas, ministrations, invocations of Riangombe, Painting of face and body, eating, drinking, dressing up, handling the sacred spear, alternate chants, and the rattling of bells and gourds. Each of these acts has a symbolic meaning and reference (No. 44, pp. 539-558).

At the end of the ceremony the candidate's sponsor puts
[292] on the insignia of Riangombe (leopard skin, headdress with a cow's tail, etc.) and thereby turns into Riangombe himself who now in his own person performs the ceremony of the admission of the neophyte by a kind of examination and instruction. However, the novice is initiated to no profound secrets or "esoteric wisdom," as in the mysteries of antiquity, but only to ritual formalities, and though the novice is required to make a solemn vow that he will keep the secrets of the Kubandwa, this refers merely to these superficial ceremonies, for, like the other ababandwa, he knows of nothing else. In conclusion, the newly admitted member once more offers presents to Riangombe and to the ababandwa assisting him. Then Riangombe confers
[551] a new name on the novice by which he will be exclusively known in the future; in Ruanda, for example, the name may be "the little one who smashes the stone," or "the one who swallows cream," or "the one who steals from his mother," or "the one who rids the dogs of fleas" (No. 44, p. 870). After this the neophyte is a regular member of the society. Then the ababandwa, decorated with the insignia of their spirits, march through the countryside collecting food which is finally squandered in an eating and drinking bout (No. 44, p. 110). The newly admitted umubandwa then has to give public demonstration of his newly acquired power. A Munjaruanda who finds himself in some difficult situation asks him to help him appeal to Riangombe or some other god or protective spirit (for example, Kiranga, Masira, Binego, Kagoro, Mugassa). This is done by ceremoniously imploring the god to grant the request and by slaughtering in honor of the god a sterile cow, an old steer, or a ram, which is consumed by the ababandwa of the entire region (No. 44, p. 123 ff.). [127] On this occasion, as at all cattle sacrifices,

2: Meyer--288 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 54

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[285]

Headdresses and Amulets; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 1) Bifurcated stick with medicine amulets in plaited satchels, 82 centimeters long; Nos. 2, 3) Plaited dancing caps with goat hair and cowrie shells, 68 and 80 centimeters long.

535 The young men are sustained by the hope of eventually obtaining some cows, by the cheers of the spectators, and by the presence of the king.

On important festival days, the noble squires gird their loins [292] with a colobus or calf pelt adorned with otter hide fringes. On the head they wear a hat of banana-tree fibers that looks like long hair, and their chest is adorned with beads or long narrow strips. They wear bells on their legs and ankles, and they all hold in their hands a spear and a bow. They form groups of 40 or 50, which are differentiated by the richness or design of their costumes and ornaments.

One by one, at the command of the choreographers, they make writhing motions intermingled with jumps and shouts, coming and going with impeccable rhythm, revolving the head as though wishing to tear it from the body. The Blacks are very fond of those war dances, which are in fact marvels of technique.

It is the rhythmic motion of the feet that they admire most and watch most carefully.

644 We shall give here for what it may be worth a list of the names
535 of the principal page corps, including the dance groups of the Muhutu /Bahutu/ and Mutwa /Batwa/ race:

Pages and Dancers	Race	Chief
Inchogozabahizi	Abatutsi	Yuhi-Musinga
Intangamuganzanyo	"	"
Urugangazi	"	"
Ibirushya	Abahutu	"
Ishyaka	Abatwa	"
Inkerarugamba	"	" /447/
Indinzi	Abatutsi	Sebagangari
Inkeramihigo	"	Kayondo
Imbasharugamba	Abatwa	"
Inkorabahizi	Abatutsi	Chyitatire
Urwintwari	"	Nturo
Ingeri	"	Rukarakamba
Imbabazabahizi	"	Lwagataraka

233
778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

644
543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

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543 Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

543 292 Lake Victoria, the kings of the Karagwe and especially those of the Usui were among the first to establish contact with the Arabs and to receive fabrics from them. Their Ruanda friends benefitted from this. Since those garments were few, /the kings/ alone wore them, and they were also given /512/ the name of imyambarabami, "the king's vestments." Upon the death of a king his garments were put away and became part of the treasure. Although they wore cloth from that time onward, the kings of Ruanda did not forsake the national costume called by the name of inkindi and made of one or two colobus pelts (inkomo), well tanned and elaborately worked. Those pelts were collected and entrusted to the keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), trustworthy men who were preferably chosen among chiefs or the prince's favorites. Those employees had to see to it that the belongings of dead kings were properly cared for. Those garments were beginning to pile up in the wardrobe when the revolution which overthrew King Mibambge-Rutalindwa, appointed successor of Lwabugiri-Kigeri, broke out.

The fire which consumed the huts where the royal furnishings had been stored destroyed practically everything.

It has since been attempted to build up a new treasure by choosing new lengths of fabric bought from merchants, this being now an easy proposition.

Colobus pelts were tanned to replace the old ones. The present king has secured beads, bracelets, necklaces, etc., of various sorts. They are faithfully displayed with great solemnity before the royal hut, which stands at the heart /fond/ of the first outer courtyard, at the time of the two great festivals.

It should not be assumed that this is mere ostentation, a simple display of riches.

Of course, the kings are far from insensitive to this vainglorious exhibit of antiquated frippery and trinkets, which to them were supreme artistic riches. This, however, was not all. This display also had the purpose of gaining the good graces of dead princes. To this end, several individuals were selected among those present to recall their memory. They were made to dress in the old or new colobus pelts /513/ which had belonged, or were supposed to have

543 769

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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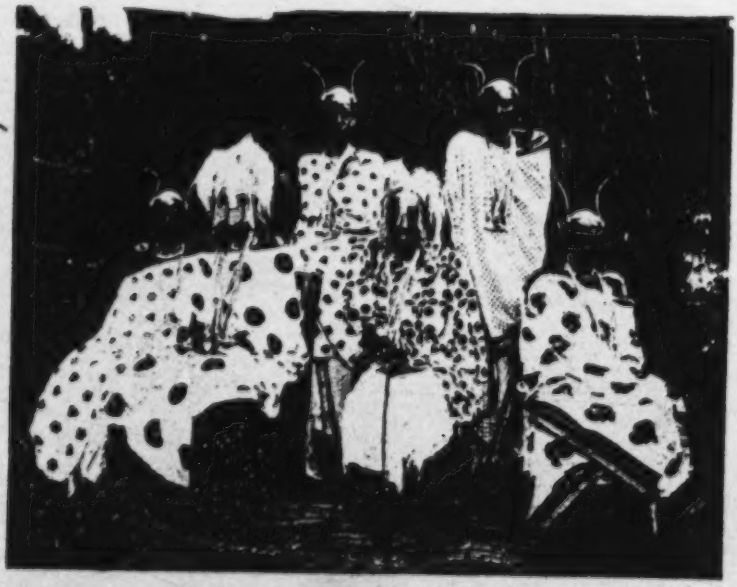

King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

5. Pages--266 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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King Musinga and some people of his entourage.

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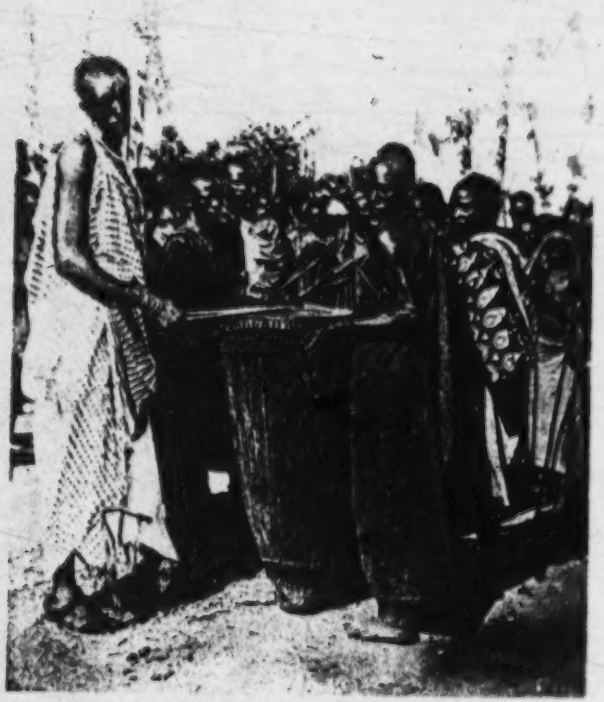
The king at one of his favorite diversions.



5: Pages--267 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi (Batutsi) warrior in dance costume.

Nkusi, Nturo's son, in dance costume.

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5. Pagès--268 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Warriors in festival dress.

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Kayondo dancers.

5: Pages--269 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Dance of the pages.

Popular merrymaking. Native dance.

291 dress, the Mututsi does not use barkcloth. This leads us to associate barkcloth with the [171] Bahutu substratum. An argument in favor of this view may also be seen in the fact that barkcloth technique reaches its height in Buganda, but there the influence of the herdsmen aristocracy is at a minimum.

292 The festive garb of the Batutsi consists of a narrow piece of cowhide (mukane) with a fringe of about 20 strips (ndengera) of cowhide or, as in the case of the fringe on tobacco pouches, of otter skin. The cutting of these strips is called kutera indengera. The hide is light gray, worn with the fur side out, and fastened at the loins by being turned down at the edge.

291 The mukane must not be confused with the nshavure. The latter is an ordinary narrow skin without a fringe, which is worn by

[292]

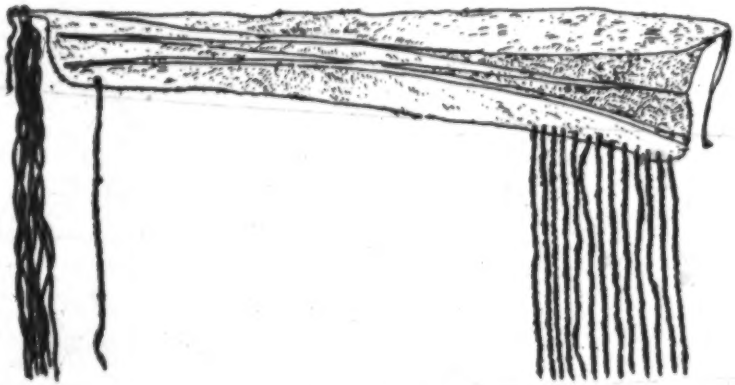

Fig. 57. Festive Garb of Batutsi in Ruanda. (1/12 actual size. III 10911. 125 centimeters wide.)

children, young girls, and even adult herdsmen when they go out to their animals early in the morning.

Children and unmarried girls also wear an apron (nduyongo) made of braided banana fibers, resembling the grass clothing of the Baziba [Haya].

The everyday dress of the Batutsi is made of cotton cloth. It consists of two pieces of material, each two yards long and one yard

794 have made the sacrifice and by their friends.
595 The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as
782 amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails,
[789] is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

[465]

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

[276]

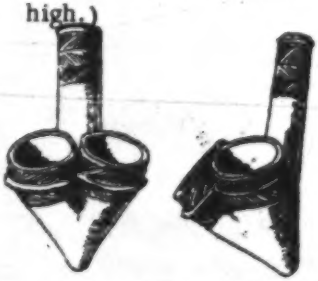

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

[292] When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cowhide known as mukane.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 3

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The late king, Charles Mutara Rudahigwa

[Facing P. 118]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 4

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The queen-mother, Radegonde Nyiramavugo

[Facing P. 119]

789 by iviheko. They also neutralize the evil influence of personal enemies. When at war, the night before the battle, the Murundi sleeps on his beloved iviheko, and he is laid to rest in the grave together with his iviheko.

"Once the body of a Murundi has been made invulnerable, it is still necessary to secure his property. Another amulet is fastened to the spear, or a special stick bought from the umufumu is carried in the same hand as the spear, or a magic sign may be scratched into the iron of the spear. An additional amulet is fastened to the top of the bowstring. Inside the hut a pile of amulets is buried in the ground near the entrance, one amulet is fastened above the entrance, but the most powerful and effective ones are placed near the three hearth stones. There are other amulets used in the fields, against hail and storm, against locusts and other calamities. Very frequently one may find them also on roads, especially on those leading to the banana groves or directly to the hut. If one is careless, he may easily stumble over slabs of wood colored ochre-red, protruding about five centimeters from the ground, and that, after all, is their purpose: a person with evil intent is expected to stumble and fall on the road, thus revealing himself to be an umurosi (malicious witches or wizards)." (No. 45.)

791 293 424 756 The magic power of the umufumu is handed down in families, not only by blood relationship but also by transfer of the insignia characteristic of the umufumu, which consist chiefly in a leopard skin, a headdress made of a cow's tail (Plate 54) and goat hair, a gourd rattle, a stick with charms, a certain way of painting the body and the face with light-colored clay and fat, etc. (No. 19, p. 461).

791 756 The abafumu of the Batwa enjoy a special reputation. They are feared by the Barundi because of their strong magic powers, but they are also consulted for cures. The supreme head of all medicine men, however, resides in Uha (No. 19, p. 462). He lives in the northern district of Ujungu and was formerly called Kawango, the name of one of the spirits of the interlacustrine region. He was probably the medium of this god.

644 5. In certain cases and where certain objects are concerned, the king must help himself directly. When he wishes to play the drum, as he is wont to do, his followers set the sticks on the ground before him instead of offering them to him spontaneously. The prince picks them up himself.

To hand them over to him, which to us seems so simple, might cause him to die (gukenya).

644 272 6. It is for the same reason that the servants entrusted with keeping the milk in the famous "hut that devours its inhabitants" (ikiryana) observe the same custom. Two or three large bowls full [415] of milk are brought into the hut where the king is served. They are carefully closed with a lid woven of vegetable fiber.

Small wooden vessels known by the name of ichyantsi (plural ibyantsi) are laid before His Majesty. Whether there are two, four, or even eight of them, they must be immaculately clean. The servant fills a first container, which the king picks up himself without any help.

If the milk pleases him he goes on drinking, but he is careful not to finish it.

He must leave half of it, lest milk become scarce (ngw'amata atagabanuka) in the realm. Meanwhile, the servant fills another vessel, which the king picks up himself as he did the first one.

The first one is filled again. This table service continues until the king's hunger is satisfied.

644 7. Custom demands that when appearing at court one should clap one's hands three times (gukom'amashi) and use the customary formulas, with the sole addition of "king" (umwami) or "Sire" (Nyagasani). This is about the only external mark of respect reserved for the sovereign. /494/

644 ●293 8. At night the king must never be without the native hammer called Nyarushara. This tool goes with him on all his journeys.

412 It is left under the fine grass which serves as the monarch's bolster and pillow (barayisegurir' umwami).

778 It is a sort of ancient talisman which theoretically has not yet lost any of its mystic power. It was wrought according to the specifications of Mashira, the sorcerer-petty king, by an able

644 blacksmith, Gihu, son of Muhinda, on the hill of Mpanda (mu Buhigiro,
293 i Kizibaziba) in the Nduga. This was done to enable the Hamitic
412 king with whom this autochthonous prince had concluded an alliance
778 to turn back the Banyoro who had invaded Ruanda. The hammer, which is octogonal in shape (imigong' umunane), symbolized an all-powerful symbolic being. The artisan, on Mashira's specifications, had wrought two breasts upon it (1). Mutabazi, the monarch's son,

> 1. Such details demonstrate the importance attached to this fearsome mystic weapon. Nothing has been forgotten concerning the circumstances of its manufacture, the date, the place, the artisan, the man who inspired the project, etc.

only had to sit down and hold upon his knees the "dreadful" magic device, pointed facing the enemy, for the latter to be hewed to pieces.

Two other small hammers with the same origin and which played the same role are laid beside the Nyarushara. They are known by the name of ubushingo or abagaragu bayo, that is to say, its "companions." Every morning at about nine, when the drum called Ndamutsa ("I greet") is played to proclaim the rising and appearance of the monarch, the latter must touch the talisman hammer as if the day's luck depended upon it.

9. Inyundo ya Barenge, "the hammer of the Barenge people."

It is not known exactly why the hammer thus named is kept at court. /495/

Does it really belong to the Barenge, who lived in the country several centuries ago? This is hard to say. Since it is very heavy and weighs two or three times as much as an ordinary hammer, the king's laborers sometimes use it as a mallet to drive stakes (imiganda) into rocky ground (1).

Banana leaf serving as an umbrella.

A banana leaf shelters a baby's head.

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[194]

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FO42

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Winnowing basket serving as an umbrella.

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Umbrella of Isinde cowherds.

5: Pages--291 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Family umbrella.

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[302]

A semicivilized (person).

[177]

291 same type of clothing.

293 The Munyaruanda is familiar with the native umbrella. In its simplest form the improvised umbrella consists of a large banana leaf worn on the head. An actual umbrella is made of the bark of a banana tree stretched on a bowl-shaped frame. It is worn on the head and supported by the back (cf. Vol. III, Plate 23).

291 I saw sandals only near the lava plain in Rulenge (Bgisha). They are made of banana leaves and, like the shoes used in Europe for mountain climbing, have a sole made of flat braid. They wear out very easily on the rough earth, so that on a journey several pairs must be taken along. [174] The natives wear them only when the footing is positively dangerous, otherwise they go barefoot wherever possible. Dr. Kandt (1) mentions the use of

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 478.

sandals among the Batundwe who, it seems, are a northern branch of the Bahunde and live near the southern shore of Lake Albert.

291 Ornaments. In Ruanda only the king wears a head covering;
301 he dons a cap on festive occasions. This cap is cylindrical, 20
554 centimeters high, and embroidered with beads. From it hang strings of beads ending in little embroidered rods. The strings are of two different lengths, so that there are two rows of little rods, one above the other, which form a beaded veil. There are no strings at the back or over the nose, but here there is an embroidered band hanging down below the root of the nose. On this band are three small embroidered rods that rest on the nose and extend to the mouth. A colobus [monkey] skin is fastened to the beaded band. This adjunct deserves special attention, since the priest of Wamara in Nkole adorns his head with a colobus skin, and the animal is the umuziru [prohibited object] of the Bahinda who rule the eastern and northern part of Ruanda.

291 I was not able to determine whether the wearing of the cap
554 by the ruler has any connection with the customs of the people in the Uele Basin where the cap is the privilege of the free man.

794 On the appointed evening the members assemble in large
515 numbers in the hut of the candidate and begin with the inevitable
293 beer drinking. The individual babandwa act as various bagaragu of Ryangombe, and this is shown by their insignia. Thus, the

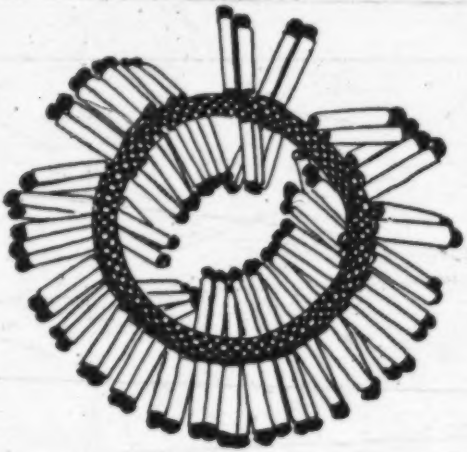

Fig. 164. Crown of Mugasha, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13033. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

representative of Mugasha is said to appear wearing a crown and carrying a scepter. The crown consists of a woven ring, similar to the ones placed under vessels, on which hang two rows of strings. On each string is a small reed cylinder [309] secured at the end with a seed of the wild banana. In Ruanda, as in the
794 other countries of the interlacustrine region, the banana is
515 associated with Mugasha. Similarly, Kagoro is here represented as a brave youth carrying a spear and a stick. In view of this, we expect that the cult of the lance (of Ikiranga), as described

1:Vanhove--14B G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 19]

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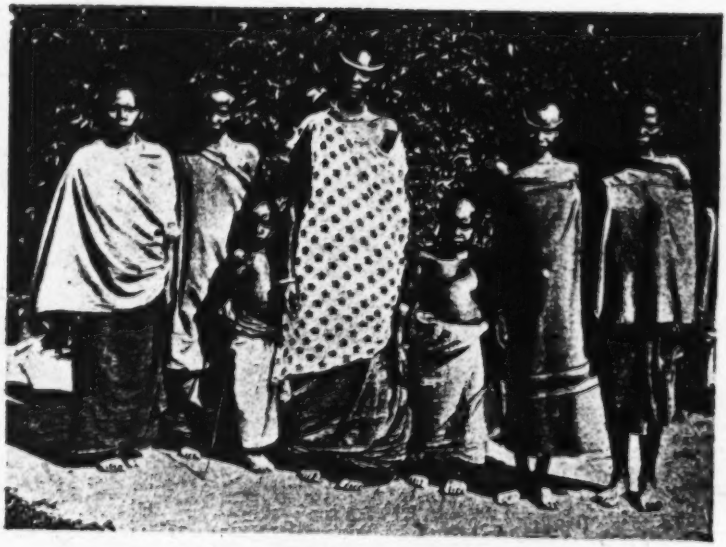

Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her female servants.

(Official photograph, Colonial Office.)

592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

574 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance, for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda.

[481]

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
192

INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young

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431
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1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother

[301]

2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[604] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

566 most unimportant and useless of things.

Along with the ubuguragu contract and other leases of live-
437 stock such as the ingwate and its variants, the indagizo (1) etc.,

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

Ruanda common law has a number of other [79] contracts. We will list in the following which are those in most common use.

Purchase-sale (kugura)

These transactions take place in the markets (amaguriro,
443 plural iguriro), located usually at the crossroads of the thoroughfares.
437 The most frequented are those of Rukiga and Kinyaga. The people of Buganza and Buliza come there to exchange their cows for salt,
[435] provisions, beer, honey, baskets, etc. In the past, animals and things on sale were valued in hoes (1).

1. The salt seller wishing to obtain a bull calf would ask how much it was worth in hoes. He would be answered, "Fifty." He would then take a basket of salt valued at one hoe and would give 50 of these to the owner of the bull calf. A current expression was: "It is a three-hoe goat." Today a hoe is worth 8 francs.

Specialized merchants (abatunzi, lit., the rich) also go there and offer for sale produce and objects they have brought from far
[301] away, for example ubutega (2) made in Urega (country of the Warega).

2. These thin rings of rattan fiber worn around the legs by the Banyarwanda women from their ankles to their knees were formerly fairly valuable. Three thousand
[435] ubutega were worth a bull calf, and a complete set of the ornaments could be bought only with the payment of two sterile cows.

Sometimes they combine their resources in order to make large purchases (gufatanya urutundo, lit., to assemble business).

142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the [411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this. [301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aristocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 [554] to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since [302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base [141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

[27] Chapter 3

Ornaments, Clothing, Weapons

301 The Barundi have very few body ornaments. Men and women wear thin rings of copper or iron wire around the ankles and above the wrist, or catgut strings with thin wire wrapped around them, and also more rarely a thick iron ring around the wrist. The men in particular wear an ornament around their necks which is unknown in Ruanda: a triangular section as thick as a finger, cut from a white shell (ikiresi), hanging on a string; for the most part it is imported from Unjamwesi (No. 19, p. 406) where men also wear it. Similarly, a polished boar's or hippopotamus tooth is worn on a string around the neck (Plate 33). More frequent these days are simple chains of pearls made of small pale pink or white European pearls; more rare are strings with small spindle-shaped wooden pegs strung in a row, with inlaid brass or copper discs like mosaics, or with all kinds of pieces of roots, animals' claws, goats' horns, etc., used as amulets (see p. 132). Small conical or bell-shaped pendants of copper or iron are also often worn in great numbers around the neck (umuhare, (Figs. 3 and 4). The thick disc-shaped wooden ring (ikirinsi), which many Barundi wear around their wrist to protect it from the recoiling bowstring when shooting (see p. 34 and Plates 11, 12b, 13, 30a), is often also merely an ornament. Although it is 20 to 25 centimeters in diameter and despite the delicate structure of the Barundi hand on which it is worn, this disc-ring nevertheless does not look clumsy since it is elegantly formed and inlaid [28] with various linear brass or copper ornaments (Plates 42, 43). The incision on its side through which the disc is slipped on the wrist is so narrow -- two and a half to three and a half centimeters -- that it is hard to see how a man's wrist can be pushed
301 554 through it. A smooth ball the size of a plum and carved from fruit pits is a sign of rank or is a valuable amulet among the highborn. It is worn on top of the smoothly shaven head on a narrow strip of leather that passes around the back of the head.

[Text continues on page 41]

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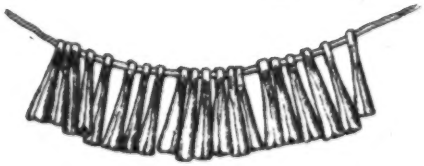

Fig. 3. Conical Pendants of Copper. Neck Ornament and Amulet filled with "Medicine." (Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

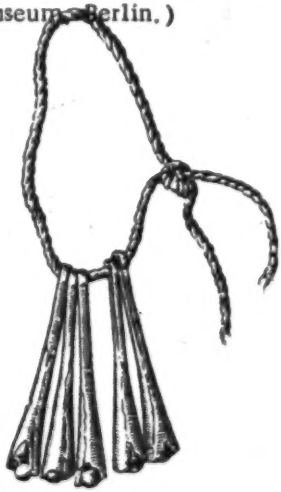

Fig. 4. Iron Bells as Neck Ornament. (Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

901 554 Often a second strip of leather, without the ball, however, goes around the head from the back to the center of the forehead. I have never seen this form of ornament worn by the Bahutu or the common Batussi but only by members of the royal kin group (Baganwa) and by the high batwale (see Plates 11, 13, 14).

302 The hair style of the Barundi is very simple. According to the reports of former travelers, there was much greater variety years ago; today the large majority shave the head completely. For this purpose, after the hair has been somewhat softened with warm water, they use a short shaving knife without a handle. Many of them leave a small, round tuft of hair on top of their heads, more rarely a remnant of hair in a different form. The children frequently appear in long "poodle locks"; they then look like Galla or Somali children (Plate 12b, 16a). The heads of women and girls are usually smooth shaven. If they wear hair, they comb it with wooden combs (Fig. 5). The men also shave their beards; axillary and pubic hair are removed among the Batussi, but not among the Bahutu who have very little anyway. The two bristly fringes of hair running diagonally across the head, which are a national trait of the Banjaruanda, are very seldom seen on a Murundi.

302 515 Common to the Batussi of both regions is the care of the skin by means of various cosmetics. Rubbing with half-liquid butter is the most frequent. Most by far of the butter produced is used for this purpose, and often some raw laterite and the juice of fragrant herbs is added to this skin ointment. Those people who have no cows and, consequently, no butter, such as most of the Bahutu, cannot smear themselves with butter. If this ointment is put on fresh every day, it is quite appetizing and nice, but if, as frequently happens, the butter turns rancid and combines with the smell of sweat and the stench of smoky huts and stables, the fellows stink so much that one can smell them at a distance of ten paces even in the dark of the night. Yet I must say in defense of the Barundi that they like to take a bath whenever water is plentiful, i.e., when drawing

[Text continues on page 42]

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by [462] men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their [301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted barkcloth, among many other things, from the subject Bahutu. [292] Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

443 571 [203] The market is the place where people meet, inspect merchandise and observe other people, gossip, hear and pass on news items, drink pombe, discuss business and non-business matters, and where they do many things which are useful and many others which are superfluous. Many Barundi visit the market even if they do not intend to buy or sell anything, merely to amuse themselves. If things become too lively in [625] the beer section or if a fight starts, the market police aided by the peaceful elements among the population quickly succeed in restoring order.

436 The German East African heller is the current coin at the main markets of Usumbura, Kajagga, and Gitega. Silver rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees are seldom seen. Apart from the heller, all sorts of other money substitutes are in circulation at other markets of the northern lakeshore belonging to Urundi. The heller has not yet penetrated into the large area of central Urundi, and it is known only at the few missionary and government posts and along the main roads linking them. Even there it is accepted reluctantly. Beads are still the most important medium of exchange in this area, notwithstanding the efforts of the government to introduce hellers and rupees everywhere in order to facilitate not only trade but also the future collection of taxes. These efforts will only meet with success after Urundi has actually been placed under government administration and after a hut or head tax has been introduced which has to be paid in currency. The same is true of Ruanda. There, however, the use of currency has already spread considerably as a result of the export trade and the residency at Kigali with its traders' settlement which has been established in the interior for years.

The small coin most in use in Urundi is the pink bead simsim or samsam; a string (kete, Kette? [Kette, "string" in German]) of beads, approximately 30 centimeters long, is the monetary unit. It is equivalent to three hellers. Ten strings equal 1 ifundo; 10 ifundo equal 1 ingoje; 10 ingoje equal 1 [301] akanono (No. 19, p. 111). The samsam bead is also used as the principal neck ornament of men and women.

325 out with the same instrument. Once on the anvil, the iron is forged with the hammer (injondo), a heavy piece of iron with several edges. It has no wooden handle but is elongated on one end to form a kind of handle so that it may be gripped firmly. The iron is hammered and intermittently made red-hot until it has been purified of all dross. Then it is forged with the 325 hammer into the shape of the desired object. For this purpose 412 any of the following auxiliary tools are used: a thick, rounded pin over whose curved head the glowing piece of iron is hammered into concave shapes, e.g., bells, sleeves for spear points, etc.; a short pointed piece of iron with which simple patterns of dots are engraved in arm rings, chopping knives, and other objects; an old knife to cut pieces of glowing iron in two by using it like a wedge and hitting it with the hammer; a file consisting of a serrated piece of iron with a wooden handle with which any unevenness is rasped off the forged objects after they have cooled down; and finally a few hard, smooth stones for polishing.

I have not been able to ascertain whether the Barundi are [439] familiar with wiredrawing. They use imported European types of iron, copper, or brass wire to wind around their bracelets and knife sheaths.

325 Copper (umurinda) and brass are hardly used at all in 439 Urundi, with the exception of the Tanganyika district where copper and brass have been imported from the Congo (for instance, Katanga) for years and are used for many purposes. In [316] the large interior areas of Urundi no copper ore is mined. The small amount of copper imported from Tanganyika in the form [301] of wire is hammered out cold and used for making simple bracelets, small bells used as dangling ornaments, small pieces of foil used as inlays for the large wooden arm discs, and other things. Both in Urundi and Ruanda the casting of iron in molds is unknown.

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. 121). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the
[302] courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women
[301] also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

Plate 14

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Barundi Christian Barundi Girls, North Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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Muganwa Seruschanja (right) with Two Brothers
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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Plate 15

Mutussi Girl, Urundi

Muhutu Woman, Urundi

Christian Mutussi Girl, Urundi

(Photos. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

Plate 33

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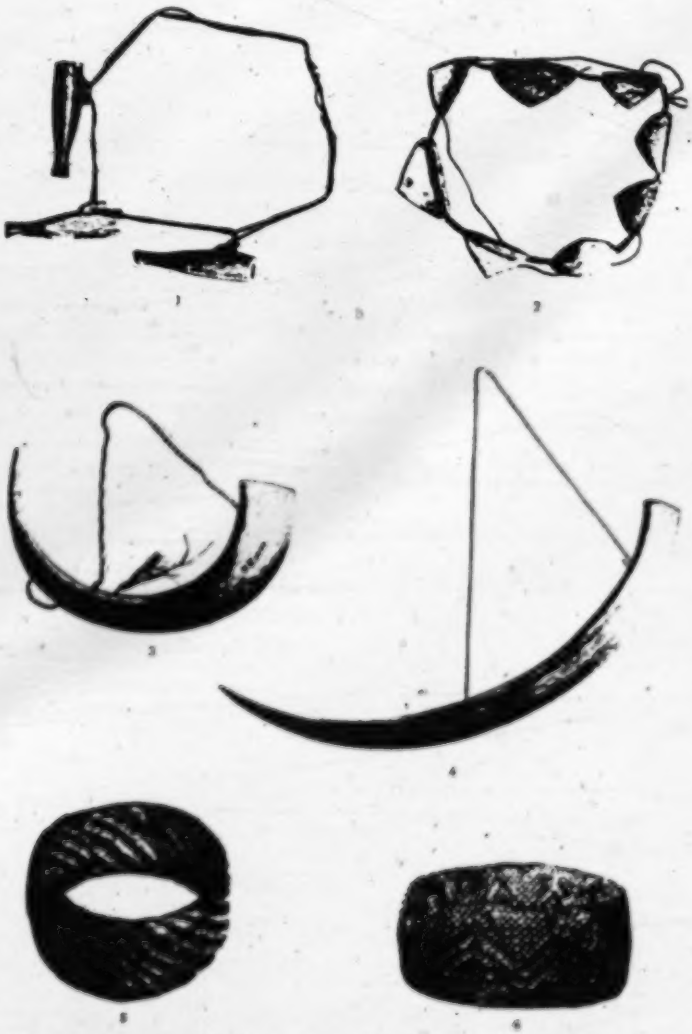

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No. 1) Neck ornament of bone pipes, 3 1/2 centimeters long. No. 2) Neck ornament of polished shells and red beads, 5 centimeters long. No. 3) Neck ornament of the tooth of a hippopotamus, 14 centimeters long. No. 4) Neck ornament of hippopotamus tooth, 20 centimeters long. No. 5) Bottle stand plaited of straw, 14 centimeters wide. (All at Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

2: Meyer--289 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 55

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[531]

Neck Ornaments and Amulets Filled with "Medicine."

Nos. 1, 4) Goat horns, pieces of bone, wooden sticks, 16 and 20 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — Nos. 2, 3) Carved cattle horns, 9 and 10 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[30] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
651 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of
[481] rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[691] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

648 The kings of Ruanda also headed numerous expeditions into the Congo with no definite results other than pillage.

133 As a whole, Ruanda is a high, rolling plateau. It was deforested [137] to get rid of wild beasts and to supply pastures and fields for cultivation.

The northwest is a broken, picturesque, wooded region. There stands the chain of volcanoes, practically all of which are extinct today. /24/

The highest peaks are the Karisimbi (1), which is 4, 506 meters

[103 301]

1. Karisimbi, from the word amassimbi, a kind of white shell which the Batutsi of Urundi and Ruanda wear at the neck as an ornament. Because of its color it served to designate the snow that covers the summits, and by extension the highest mountain.

high; the Mikeno (2), or Mukuru mubi (3), which is 4, 380 meters high;

[103]

2. Mikeno, from the verb gukena, "to be bare."

[103]

3. Mukuru mubi, "a peak of difficult access."

the Muhabura (4), which is 4, 127 meters high; the Sabyinyo (5), which

[103 487]

4. Muhabura, from the verb guhabura, "to set on the right path," because this mountain serves as a landmark for travelers.

[103]

5. Sabyinyo, "big-toothed father," owing to its volcanic ridges.

794 His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba. . . , " pronounced in a virile tone,
776 recails that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a
[30] necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung
854] around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye. . . . "

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

[224 His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around
[231] the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i. . " to recall
534] that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence
[287] the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a
[415] hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using
[272] a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

5: Pagès--268 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Warriors in festival dress.

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Kayondo dancers.

Young Mututsi (Batutsi) woman carrying her baby on the back.

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[301]
[854]

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type with long tufts of hair.

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type.

Mututsi type.

5: Pages--285 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her feminine attendants.

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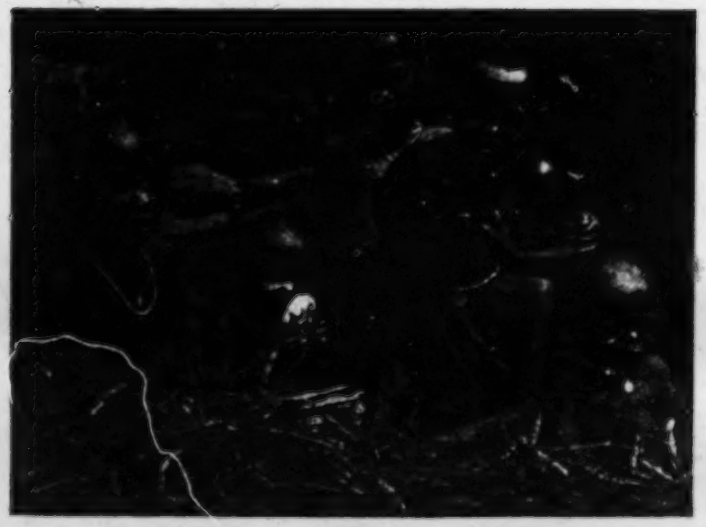
Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type.



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5: Pages--286 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Little girls in children's dress, from the central province of Nduga.

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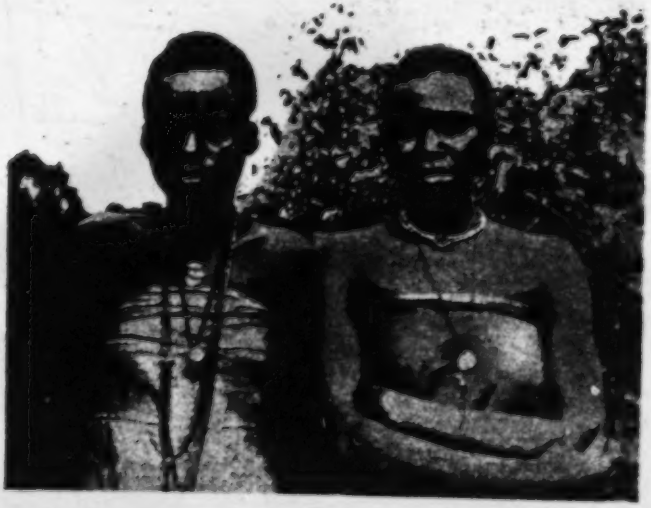
Two young Bahutu girls.



5: Pagès--287 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type. The long fringed costume they wear is made of banana fibers which they have woven themselves.

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Women of the Muhutu type.

A leper.

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Young Muhutu girl with tattooing on the back.

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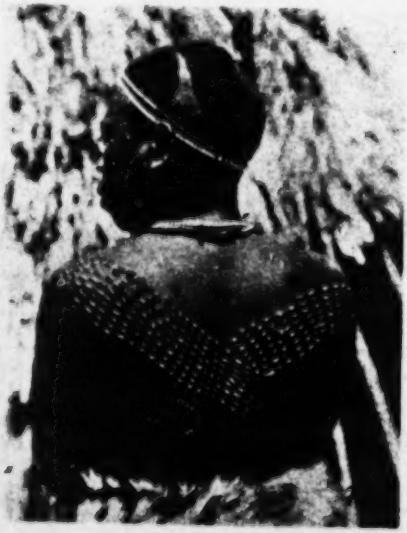


R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

487 4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to
438 Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Búgoye,
[439] Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170] Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

171 Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of
291 Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus,
301 we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made
411 of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

291 In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

291 same type of clothing.

293 The Munyaruanda is familiar with the native umbrella. In its simplest form the improvised umbrella consists of a large banana leaf worn on the head. An actual umbrella is made of the bark of a banana tree stretched on a bowl-shaped frame. It is worn on the head and supported by the back (cf. Vol. III, Plate 23).

291 I saw sandals only near the lava plain in Rulenge (Bgisha). They are made of banana leaves and, like the shoes used in Europe for mountain climbing, have a sole made of flat braid. They wear out very easily on the rough earth, so that on a journey several pairs must be taken along. [174] The natives wear them only when the footing is positively dangerous, otherwise they go barefoot wherever possible. Dr. Kandt (1) mentions the use of

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 478.

sandals among the Batundwe who, it seems, are a northern branch of the Bahunde and live near the southern shore of Lake Albert.

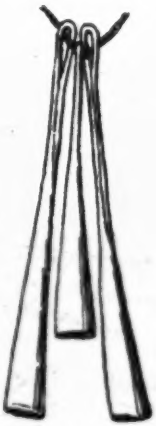
291 Ornaments. In Ruanda only the king wears a head covering; 301 he dons a cap on festive occasions. This cap is cylindrical, 20 554 centimeters high, and embroidered with beads. From it hang strings of beads ending in little embroidered rods. The strings are of two different lengths, so that there are two rows of little rods, one above the other, which form a beaded veil. There are no strings at the back or over the nose, but here there is an embroidered band hanging down below the root of the nose. On this band are three small embroidered rods that rest on the nose and extend to the mouth. A colobus [monkey] skin is fastened to the beaded band. This adjunct deserves special attention, since the priest of Wamara in Nkole adorns his head with a colobus skin, and the animal is the umuziru [prohibited object] of the Bahinda who rule the eastern and northern part of Ruanda.

291 I was not able to determine whether the wearing of the cap 554 by the ruler has any connection with the customs of the people in the Uele Basin where the cap is the privilege of the free man.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.

●301 703 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.



291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

[531]

Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

413

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Marangara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

is rectangular in outline and has an elongated handle. The combs, as I observed, are almost always very crudely carved and decorated. On the other hand, Dr. Kandt (1) says of the combs of the Bahunde terri- 413 531 322

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

tory: "I frequently saw combs worn on a string, with three to six teeth, some with very pretty wood carvings. I also saw pins to smooth the

Fig. 64

Fig. 65

Fig. 66

Fig. 67

Fig. 64. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13035. 27 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 65. Front and Back of Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13700. 14 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 66. Comb from Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13036. 21 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 67. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13697. 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

hair, made of wood, horn, bone, and other material. These were usually stuck into their curly hair."

The hairpins which Dr. Kandt collected west of Kivu deserve special attention, for they are identical with the hairpins of the Momvu. 301

● 301

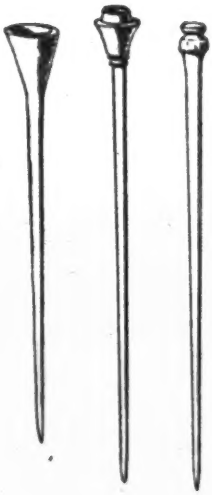


Fig. 68. Hair Pins from western Kivu Districts. (1/2 actual size. III E 10263, III E 10262, and III E 10266. 14, 16, and 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

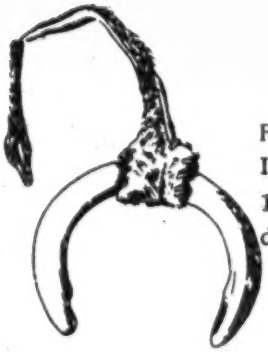


Fig. 69. Head Ornament from Itambi. (1/2 actual size. III 10182. 7 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

301 The word for them, kassokodso, which we know from Dr. Kandt's research, sounds very much like the Momvu language in which kasso or kosse means "hair of the head." It is not impossible that we have here a trace of the Momvu who have been forced to move south by the Mangbetu of the Uele Basin. [176] Now, since the Mangbetu tribe of the Barumbi [Rumbi] has penetrated almost as far as Lake Edward, it is not improbable that a number of Momvu has been driven by them to the vicinity of Lake Kivu.

Dr. Kandt (1) also says of these regions: "Boars' teeth are

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 443.

also used as ornaments, usually for the head. They are either placed flat on the frontal part of the skull or on the middle of the head so that the thin, sharp part points up and forward. In Ujungu crescents were also worn, à la Diana. They consisted of two boar's teeth, the thick ends of which were hinged together with leather." I saw ornaments of this kind among the Bakondjo; however, they were worn on the chest.

301 554 In general, the personal adornment of the Banyaruanda is neither rich nor manifold. It is not differentiated according to social position. Here persons of higher rank do not wear show-pieces like the king's cap. Outside of Mulera personal adornment does not distinguish the brave man from the coward. There is a difference only in the amount of jewelry worn, for example, on the limbs of women and of the more privileged.

301 Actual body adornment consists of necklaces and bands.

The most common and popular neck ornaments are chains and glass beads strung on bast, if one disregards the numerous amulets which are worn chiefly by the Batutsi. Sometimes one or, less frequently, several cowrie shells are worn in front between the glass beads. One also sees necklaces made of the bones of goats and sheep. These are strung on bast and interspersed with only a few glass beads. Necklaces made of polished shell discs (kissanga) are rare. Sometimes the neckband is a strip of leather with an ivory pendant.

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Of the regions west of Lake Kivu Dr. Kandt (2) says: "Neck

2. Ibid., p. 443.

and chest ornaments [177] of baby elephants' teeth decorated with black circles like dominoes are also common." I saw none of these in Ruanda proper.

Hip bands are also decorated with beads. It is very striking that for their festivals and religious ceremonies the Batutsi wear a string of beads or several finely plaited straw bands decorated with individual glass beads a hand's breadth above their loincloths (mukane). The fact that these bands are separate from the loincloths shows that they have nothing to do with the latter. It is probable, therefore, that they have been borrowed from the Bahutu who in the region west of Lake Kivu still use them to fasten the article of clothing made of barkcloth which they draw between their legs.

Numerous bracelets and anklets are worn on the limbs. It is very probable that formerly, as among the Bakondjo, ornaments were worn around the calves and the biceps. Even now the men often wear armbands around the biceps, to which are fastened tiny daggers in wooden sheaths. At dances bells are worn around the calves, and west of Kivu people wear "rings made of iron wire decorated with little brass tubes around their calves" (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

[178] The most common form of bracelet consists of a bundle of fine fibers wound so tightly with a spiral of thin wire that the fibers are not visible. This bracelet is usually decorated with a large white or blue glass bead. The bead slides freely along the spiral and is usually worn on the back of the hand. The materials used are brass, copper, and iron. Brass and copper are regarded here as precious metals.

Simple bracelets (ibimiamasuru) made of a bent piece of wire are also worn around the wrist, more in Mulera than in the

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Fig. 71. Neck Ornament of Polished Shell Discs, from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 5231a. 44 centimeters long.)

Fig. 70. Necklace of Sheep Bones, Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13038. 2 x 41 centimeters long.)

Fig. 72. Neck Ornament from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 3958. 14 centimeters long.)

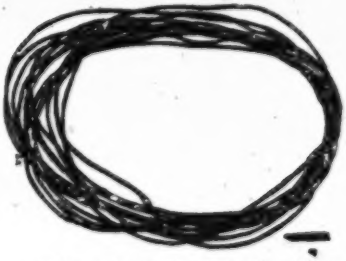

Fig. 73. Hip Bands of Straw, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 9909.)

301 southeast, it would seem. Sometimes the relatively thick wire is flattened so that the bracelet takes the form of a shallow cylinder.

Often several bracelets are worn. Sometimes we also find several thin wires welded together with their ends trimmed, forming a wide bracelet.

Captain W. Von Grawert presented the Berlin Museum of Ethnology with a bracelet which had the edges of the flattened piece of wire bent outward. The groove thus formed was filled with resin in which were imbedded bits of bone. I had an opportunity to see a quite similar bracelet of leather; the grooves contained small glass beads. Dr. Kandt has already described these forms. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

I had no opportunity to see ivory bracelets in Ruanda proper. At any rate, my attention was not drawn to them. On this subject Dr. Kandt says (2): "North of Bunyabungu ivory bands [179] for

2. Ibid., p. 443.

wrists and upper arms become common. In Itambi they are even more frequent, and in Ujungu every third man wears them."

Rings for the legs are, as we have said, worn around the ankles and differ only in size from the bracelets made of wire spirals and worn by the men. Copper is the chief material used for anklets worn every day. On festive occasions, however, the only anklets worn by the Batutsi are made of fine iron wire spirals. So many are worn, one on top of the other, that they weigh several kilograms.

The women of eastern and central Ruanda wear a large number of anklets made of braided grass (butega). These rings placed one on top of the other form a cylinder that reaches almost up to the knees. They weigh so much that they cause the Banyaruanda women to walk with a characteristic dragging gait. [48]

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[411]

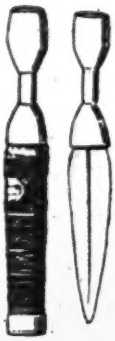

Fig. 74. Dagger Worn on Bracelet, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 9896.)

Fig. 75. Bracelet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 6881.)

Fig. 76

Fig. 77

Fig. 78

Fig. 76. Woman's Bracelet from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. III 13708. 6 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 77. Bracelet of Wire Bands, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L 14964. 7 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 78. Bracelet from Mukinjaga. (1/2 actual size. III E 6895. 7 centimeters in diameter.)

●301 In Mulera the women also wear iron ankets seven to eight millimeters thick, and this I saw neither in Nduga nor in Kissaka. However, the number of butega worn by them was much smaller.

In Bugoye the women wear the same kind of anklets as the men.

276 415 Smoking Equipment. In connection with ornaments we must also discuss pipes and tobacco pouches.

The most commonly used tobacco pouches do not differ from those of the Bakondio. People of distinction have pouches decorated with a fringe of otter skin; on the cheaper ones this is replaced by cords. The pouches are made of braided bast and worn on the chest. However, sometimes they can be seen folded and carried on the head (cf. Vol. III, Plates 4 and 22).

[180] The pouches contain a small supply of tobacco and a [312] pipe. Sometimes they also contain a fire drill and other small items. I had no opportunity to observe tobacco pouches made of goatskin, like the ones used in Kiziba, but occasionally one sees a pouch made of a cow bladder. These are usually tied around the head and worn on the forehead.

276 The Ruanda pipe is very different from the Bahima pipes in the northern part of the interlacustrine region. Whereas the latter have round [181] bowls, the Ruanda pipe has a long, pointed, cone-shaped bowl, into which the cylindrical stem (muhela) fits, attached at a sharp angle. The flaring lip of the bowl (inkono) is sometimes thickened. The pipes used by the Bahutu are usually less slim and graceful, and one not infrequently sees types in which the bowls converge a little at the top, suggesting the somewhat convex Kiziba form. This type usually has an elongated pipe stem.

302 Body Treatment. The actual head ornament of the Banyaruanda is the masunzu, or hair shaved to form patterns. The masunzu are the pride of the male and are sometimes several centimeters long, which of course makes head covering impossible. Although the shaved patterns assume the most beautiful and well-groomed forms among the Batutsi, nevertheless they must, in all probability, be linked with the Bahutu substratum. They extend uninterruptedly beyond the Batutsi sphere of influence toward the west where they seem to be indigenous. On the other hand, in the east among the Bahima this form of decoration is gradually declining and disappearing.

302 I saw masunzu for the first time in Ishenye, on the eastern border of Mpororo.

In Buhaya shaved patterns are seen only on children. Among adults they are no longer customary. In Rufua they were worn by less than half the men, and it is only in southern Bushara that they have become common. On our travels they appeared in conjunction with the bow. Their southern boundary coincides with the southern and eastern border of Uha (Uiungu). (1)

1. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha und Urundi [A Mission Journey to Uha and Urundi]," Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1898, p. 124.

Since the shaved patterns have been fully documented by

[301]

Fig. 79. Woman's Leg Ring of Grass, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E5233. 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 80. Cluster of Leg Rings, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13709. 9 centimeters in diameter.)

Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (2), I can

2. Van der Brugt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE XXXI

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Chief of the Batuse, Ruanda

[facing p. 184]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE XXXII

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Wife of a Prince of the Batuse of Ruanda

[Facing page 194]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 2

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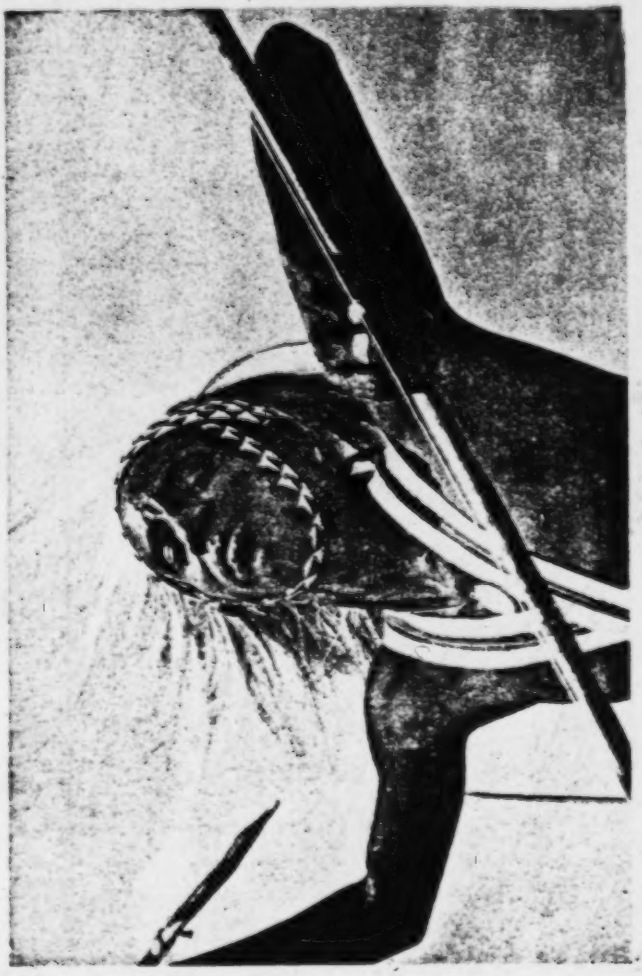

Intore warrior dancing

[Facing P. 23]

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 3

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The late king, Charles Mutara Rudahigwa

[Facing p. 118]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 4

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The queen-mother, Radegonde Nyiramavugo

[Facing P. 119]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

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XIII. A Tutsikazi.

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XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
192

INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young

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1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother

[301]

2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[60] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the [411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this. [301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aris- [554] tocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since [302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base [141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be
smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs,
and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found
in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how
refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will
cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono),
made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have
mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots
(imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water
containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or
pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden
vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before
being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is al-
ways in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all
have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped
up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato,
akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended
in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a
bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no
spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a
broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and
when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then
formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of
the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
252 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
243 separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words
[412] "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmi-
cally in turn.

301 Often a second strip of leather, without the ball, however,
554 goes around the head from the back to the center of the forehead. I have never seen this form of ornament worn by the Bahutu or the common Batussi but only by members of the royal kin group (Baganwa) and by the high batwale (see Plates 11, 13, 14).

The hair style of the Barundi is very simple. According
302 to the reports of former travelers, there was much greater variety years ago; today the large majority shave the head completely. For this purpose, after the hair has been somewhat softened with warm water, they use a short shaving knife without a handle. Many of them leave a small, round tuft of hair on top of their heads, more rarely a remnant of hair in a different form. The children frequently appear in long "poodle locks"; they then look like Galla or Somali children (Plate 12b, 16a). The heads of women and girls are usually smooth shaven. If they wear hair, they comb it with wooden combs (Fig. 5). The men also shave their beards; axillary and pubic hair are removed among the Batussi, but not among the Bahutu who have very little anyway. The two bristly fringes of hair running diagonally across the head, which are a national trait of the Banjaruanda, are very seldom seen on a Murundi.

Common to the Batussi of both regions is the care of the
302 skin by means of various cosmetics. Rubbing with half-liquid
515 butter is the most frequent. Most by far of the butter produced is used for this purpose, and often some raw laterite and the juice of fragrant herbs is added to this skin ointment. Those people who have no cows and, consequently, no butter, such as most of the Bahutu, cannot smear themselves with butter. If this ointment is put on fresh every day, it is quite appetizing and nice, but if, as frequently happens, the butter turns rancid and combines with the smell of sweat and the stench of smoky huts and stables, the fellows stink so much that one can smell them at a distance of ten paces even in the dark of the night. Yet I must say in defense of the Barundi that they like to take a bath whenever water is plentiful, i.e., when drawing

[Text continues on page 42]

302 water at a spring, crossing brooks, and on similar occasions.
515 Sometimes children and, at times, even adults cover their hair, scalp, and other parts of the body, sometimes the entire body, with a light gray layer of paint made of clay, ashes, or the marly excrement of beasts of prey that is frequently found in the steppes. This is not a festive adornment, as is often the case when adults paint themselves (see p. 67 , 127), but is intended to free the skin of small parasites and to keep it smooth.

304 Tattooing (urusago) I have observed much more seldom in Urundi than in Ruanda and Uha, [29] and then only in the form of decorative scars, never colored tattooing on the surface of the skin. In Urundi, too, it is mainly the Batussi who are tattooed, and, as in Ruanda, the patterns extend over the upper part of the arms, the two halves of the chest from the shoulder down to the area of the navel, and both halves of the back from the shoulder to the waist. As in Ruanda, the patterns consist mainly of finger length half-moons which in great numbers are placed in a row and are generally connected in groups of two by a third crescent which interlocks with the open side of the sickle; the total effect is that of a chain-like pattern (see Fig. 7). Each line consists of many parallel cuts made by a knife (Fig. 6) and caused to swell by rubbing on ashes and euphorbia juice, so that they finally form a thick scar which stands as high as one centimeter above the surface of the skin. Practitioners skilled in medicine do the tattooing. Other patterns consist of zigzag lines, ribbon-shaped parallel rows of lines running across the shoulders like broad suspenders, or button-shaped scars, like thick inoculation scars, in rows on the upper arm and in the center of the chest. Other irregular clusters of scars are not decorative tattooing but incisions for local body pains or wound scars resulting from violent injuries.

304 In my opinion it is improbable that this tattooing was originally practiced only by the Batussi and was imitated by the
171 Bahutu and Batwa, as was stated by M. Weiss (No. 33, p. 93). This type of tattooing is quite unknown to the Hamitic peoples of Africa, but it is very common among the Bantu of the upper Nile and Congo regions and of the western and southern regions

[Text continues on page 43]

714 Finally, battle dress is part of the fighting equipment of the Murundi. When the bodyguards of the king -- who are, as we shall see later (p. 87), the actual combatants -- march out for battle, they wear a uniform consisting of an apron of white tanned antelope hide or sheepskin (inkindi), and they paint their skulls, faces, and the upper part of their bodies with all [302] kinds of white and red lines and ornaments which give them a terrifying, savage appearance (No. 19, p. 277). This hide apron uniform is also worn at war dances. It is much the same in Ruanda where, in addition to this uniform, other decorations, for example, a headdress and foot rattles, are also worn. The Bahima in Ufipa have the same kind of war costume as here and in Ruanda (cf. illustration in Lechaptois, No. 47, p. 61).

172 411 Old stone weapons, the remnants of former cultures which have disappeared (see p. 151 [not translated]), are not in use any more in Urundi even among the Batwa who are the oldest ethnic element; the same is true in Ruanda.

[36] Chapter 4

Hunting, Fishing, Stock Farming, Agriculture, Stimulants

1. Hunting and Fishing

224 Hunting (uwuhisi) plays only a small role in the existence of the Barundi, for in an area which is so densely populated and almost completely denuded of forests and where game has been systematically exterminated in the interests of cattle farming and pastures as in the regions settled by the Boers, there are only a few animals left which one might hunt. It appears that the most frequent ones are the bushbuck (Tragelaphus) which are found mainly in the narrow bush thickets of the deep valleys of the streams and also the tufted antelope, gazelle, and the Jimela antelope. As far as other big game fit for hunting are concerned, the elephant is occasionally found in the thinly populated areas, in the deserted forests of the western peripheral

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle; it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
302 food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi
[262] eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororó, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, espe-
272 cially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

535 The women always form a circle for their dances. One woman, usually a young girl (sometimes even two), dances in the center. With her arms not quite stretched out and her hands bent upward, she moves to and fro within the circle making all kinds of symbolic movements which are extraordinarily graceful. Von Trotha was very much reminded of the bayaderes (No. 8, p. 72). These dances do not have even a trace of eroticism. Apparently they are an imitation of the characteristics of animals. Van der Burgt interprets the position of the arms as an imitation of the horns of cattle and ascribes an originally religious meaning to the dances (No. 19, p. 142). I feel, however, that in many cases these are supposed to be imitations of the outspread wings of the crowned crane, the characteristic animal of the swampy Ruanda-Urundi landscape, as is also the case with quite similar dances in Ruanda. The position of the rest of the body and the manner of running forward and backward are also, it seems to me, in accord with this. In Ruanda this dance is called "crane dance." Boys and sometimes even men like to take part in it.

While the girl dancing solo (or the two of them) shows her skill in this manner, the women standing around in a circle stamp the ground rhythmically with their feet. They may also sing. A choir leader shouts very short stanzas, sometimes only a single word; which is then repeated by the choir until the choir leader calls out a new stanza.

535 292 There are no special costumes for the dances. Father van der Burgt mentions and gives a picture of a "couronne," a cap made of raffia fibers; from it a long train of fibers hangs down the back. Van der Burgt describes these caps as the decoration of the dancing girls (No. 19, p. 407, and Fig. 138), but these "crowns" are very rare. The Barundi are also not familiar with masked dances or other kinds of disguise connected with dances. There are only certain symbolic cult-costumes which are worn by sorcerers or priests leading certain religious dances (see pp. 124, 126, 131 and Plates 25, 54). On the other hand, [302] the faces of the dancers are often painted with white or red earth (cf. pp. 127, 128).

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. /2/). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the
[302] courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and
[301] narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

Plate 9

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Barundi from the Upper Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi from Migeni, West of Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Plate 12

Entourage of the Muganwa Lusokosa in front of Gitega Station, .Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Young Batussi, Central Urundi
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

644 of a good-luck general. During the Ishangi expedition it was another
701 son of Lwabugiri, Nshozamihigo, who filled this role. These generals wear amulets around the neck and paint the face with white chalk or
[302] lustral water (amazi y'ingwa).

They are also the holders of charms and other talismans (inzaratsi, insinzi), which are supposed to help bring about the defeat of the enemy. They remain at camp while the troops fight. They are graced with almost royal honors. The drums sound reveille for them (akabikirwa) as they do for the king. They have full power to
[692] make laws and settle differences, and their sentences cannot be appealed (ikyo bavuze ntikisubir' inyuma) (1).

1. Umugaba is a noun derived from the verb kugaba, meaning "to distribute" or "to give free of charge." In principle this term applies only to the king. Its synonym Rugaba, which stems from the same verb, is reserved for God (Imana).

When the king chooses someone other than the general-in-chief called umugabe to take his place at the head of his troops, he grants this man extensive powers and honors appropriate to his rank as a result of this title.

Other Duties Similar in Nature to the Preceding.
Spell Casters and Bewitchers.
Purifiers and Exorcisers of All Sorts. Makers of Test Poison.

791 The duties of these men are practically everyday affairs and
644 thus rather well known, and their works are as famous as those of their colleagues the sacrificer-diviners, the conjurer-magicians, etc.

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Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose [422] property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of [539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning [833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered [302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

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How many unfortunate people
payed with their lives for having
been falsely accused of such
supposed misdeeds!

789 The use of charms to win the good graces of Europeans survived
648 only by a few years the use of the above-mentioned poisons. When the latter were tagged as ineffective /to Europeans/, or at least dangerous in their consequences, charms (inzaratsi) were resorted to. The makers of charms, called by the generic name of Abanyamihango, "men of the traditions," exercise a vocation which is regarded as lucrative and honorable as long as the professionals do not overstep the limits of their art.

Public opinion indeed accuses them, most probably wrongly, of deceiving people and giving them poison instead of inoffensive
832 charms. Women, especially, resort to their art and use their powders
278 to draw upon themselves the attention and favors of an unfaithful or forgetful husband. Sorcerers in this category use for this purpose
[824] the following plants and shrubs: umukunde, which bears the evocative name of "tree of love," umutanga, umugobora, umukeri, a kind of wild bramble, nkurimonga, umuhire, buryoher' imfizi, that is, "the plant that suits the taste of bulls," etc. The makers of philters take the bark, leaves, or roots of those plants and dry them in the sun. The whole thing is crushed and reduced to powder. One need only put a little of this powder into beer or butter, or else /490/ rub it onto a stick or spear, to obtain the desired effect. The neglected wife who manages to make her husband drink this beer will inevitably regain
[302] first place in his heart. The result is the same if the husband anoints his limbs and body with the butter containing the precious powder.

789 The use of a walking stick or the bearing of a spear rubbed
648 with one of those powders will bring good luck to the owner. His words and requests will all be accepted, and those he addresses will be unable to do him any harm.

This is why the king and court dignitaries attempted in their turn to use this simple and effective means of winning over the hearts of the Europeans and of swaying them toward their own needs and

643 Then the king appoints one or two chiefs to go and settle their
767 difficulties.

In the old days these undertakers could not visit with their fellow men, nor could they eat or drink with them. Even today, when
[415] invited to feast with their neighbors, they must bring with them their own drinking tube. It is maintained that they do not eat with their children. If it came to pass that the latter, in turn, should bury a new king, they would have to leave their parents and never see them again.

A special vocabulary is used to speak of the monarch and
[198 certain of his acts. It would be most disrespectful to say that the king
644] sleeps, drinks, eats, etc., like anyone else. We have already seen how his ailments and his death are mentioned (yaberamye, yanyoye, yatabaye, etc.).

767 It is for the same reason that the royal undertakers bear a name
644 that recalls their function only in a very indirect way. Just as they are strictly forbidden to go to the capital, custom forbids the king to
643 go through areas inhabited by members of this corporation or to camp there. He must avoid the sacred groves where the spirits of his ancestors rest, as though the idea of death could shorten the life of the sovereign. It is mandatory to his followers to avert that image and thought from his eyes and from his ears, which are those of a demigod well above common mortals.

He must be enabled to enjoy this life and all its pleasures in peace.

5. Mourning Rites Observed at the Death of a Prince

643 The king is mourned for four months, that is to say, until the
765 official accession of his successor to the throne. During /522/ that period of time, cohabitation between spouses is theoretically forbidden. Bulls are also separated from the herds at the time of this terrible misfortune, which causes the Banyarwanda to state that "the sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye). Men and even children shave their heads
[302] as a sign of mourning.

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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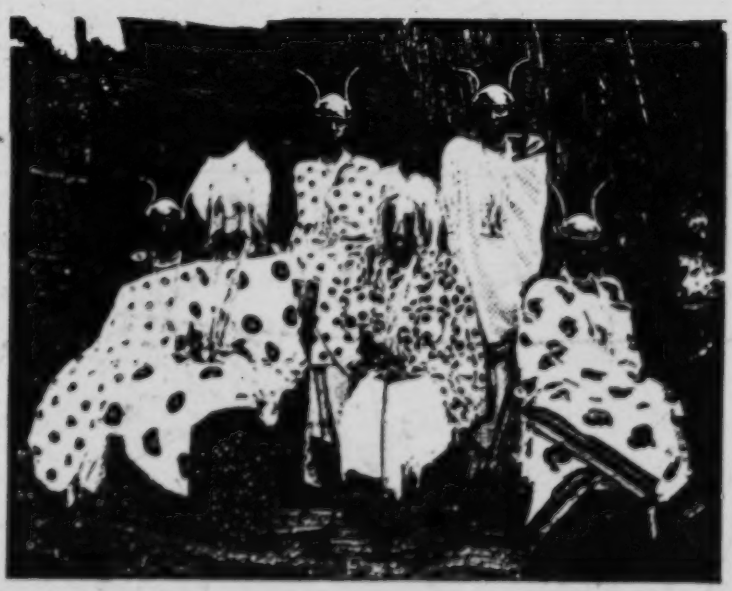

King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

5: Pagès--281 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A ceremony in front of the kiosk dedicated to the spirits.

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A divination scene.

5: Pages--284 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Young Mututsi (Batutsi) woman carrying her baby on the back.

Mututsi type with long tufts of hair.

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Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type.

Mututsi type.

5: Pages--288 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A leper.

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Young Muhutu girl with tattooing on the back.

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R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

5: Pages--291 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Family umbrella.

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A semicivilized (person).

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5. Pages--292 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Blacksmiths at work outdoors. The iron ore is piled up over the hearth. The founders stir up the fire with primitive bellows.

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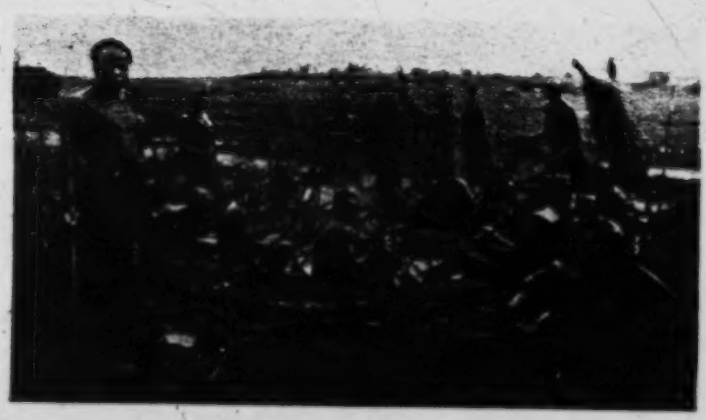

Blacksmiths around their blast furnace.

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga
186 grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu,
563 who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

234 Butter is not eaten. It is used to anoint the body and to
302 smear on clothes. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter; they are held at the neck with one hand and rocked back and forth on the ground. Butter is stored in small clay [143] and
415 wooden vessels (akachendo). The latter often have looped handles and are then called uchende yo mukondo.

The local form of intensive agriculture on very fertile soil
233 is not easy to combine with the extremely extensive cattle raising. Barn feeding is unknown. The animals graze all day in the open and are locked into the kraal (lugo) at night. Thus, even in the densely populated and highly agricultural regions, it is very difficult to keep even the milch cows near the settlements. The rest of the animals are driven out to more remote pastures. For example, the Bagoye drive their cows eastward into the primeval
233 forest on the watershed. The animals are cared for by special
465 Batutsi caretakers who are paid to do this. For his service the herdsman gets the milk the first two months, since the cow is not returned to the owner until her calf is two months old. The herdsman also gets a jug of beer worth one hoe. He is, however, held accountable for the cow and must replace animals which are killed or stolen.

246 Pastures receive no special attention. On the northern slope of Mount Ndisa, however, I saw an irrigation system that watered the mountain meadows. Otherwise the steppes are merely burned off at the end of the dry season; this removes the withered grass and the young grass comes up abundantly after the first rain, the ground having been fertilized by the ashes. Needless to say, grass fires have greatly contributed to the deforestation of Ruanda, especially in the less populated areas. Granted that the forests have been destroyed by the farmers, nevertheless it is the herdsmen who make a second growth impossible. Grass fires rage throughout the country. In Mulera and Bugoye where everything is under cultivation, one sees fires only on the volcanic plains.

233 Since no fodder is stored, the cattle become very thin during
661 the dry season. It is not uncommon for Batutsi chiefs to have their herds driven into the sweet potato plantations of their farmers, where great damage is done. No matter how great their loss, the Bahutu cannot drive the cows out nor resist in any way.

301 In Mulera the women also wear iron ankets seven to eight millimeters thick, and this I saw neither in Nduga nor in Kissaka. However, the number of butega worn by them was much smaller.

In Bugoye the women wear the same kind of anklets as the men.

276 415 Smoking Equipment. In connection with ornaments we must also discuss pipes and tobacco pouches.

The most commonly used tobacco pouches do not differ from those of the Bakondio. People of distinction have pouches decorated with a fringe of otter skin; on the cheaper ones this is replaced by cords. The pouches are made of braided bast and worn on the chest. However, sometimes they can be seen folded and carried on the head (cf. Vol. III, Plates 4 and 22).

[180] The pouches contain a small supply of tobacco and a [312] pipe. Sometimes they also contain a fire drill and other small items. I had no opportunity to observe tobacco pouches made of goatskin, like the ones used in Kiziba, but occasionally one sees a pouch made of a cow bladder. These are usually tied around the head and worn on the forehead.

276 The Ruanda pipe is very different from the Bahima pipes in the northern part of the interlacustrine region. Whereas the latter have round [181] bowls, the Ruanda pipe has a long, pointed, cone-shaped bowl, into which the cylindrical stem (muhela) fits, attached at a sharp angle. The flaring lip of the bowl (inkono) is sometimes thickened. The pipes used by the Bahutu are usually less slim and graceful, and one not infrequently sees types in which the bowls converge a little at the top, suggesting the somewhat convex Kiziba form. This type usually has an elongated pipe stem.

302 Body Treatment. The actual head ornament of the Banyaruanda is the masunzu, or hair shaved to form patterns. The masunzu are the pride of the male and are sometimes several centimeters long, which of course makes head covering impossible. Although the shaved patterns assume the most beautiful and well-groomed forms among the Batutsi, nevertheless they must, in all probability, be linked with the Bahutu substratum. They extend uninterruptedly beyond the Batutsi sphere of influence toward the west where they seem to be indigenous. On the other hand, in the east among the Bahima this form of decoration is gradually declining and disappearing.

302 I saw masunzu for the first time in Ishenye, on the eastern border of Mpororo.

In Buhaya shaved patterns are seen only on children. Among adults they are no longer customary. In Rufua they were worn by less than half the men, and it is only in southern Bushara that they have become common. On our travels they appeared in conjunction with the bow. Their southern boundary coincides with the southern and eastern border of Uha (Uiungu). (1)

1. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha und Urundi [A Mission Journey to Uha and Urundi]," Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1898, p. 124.

Since the shaved patterns have been fully documented by

[301]

Fig. 79. Woman's Leg Ring of Grass, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E5233. 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 80. Cluster of Leg Rings, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13709. 9 centimeters in diameter.)

Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (2), I can

2. Van der Brugt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with

6: Czekanowski--78 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Short Definitions in Swahili and German] (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 256.

limit myself to a brief discussion of the most common forms.

[182] In Kissaka the patterns reproduced here are the most common. Every pattern has a name. Thus the patterns of Figure 88 have the following names: (a), (b), and (c), mabangure or maagaleka; (d) amakike or bihome; (e) amazingure or amakube; and (f) mikaka.

The little tufts of hair are called induba.

The first examples are simple variations of the same basic pattern. The design (e) is worn primarily by girls, although I also saw them on men. In Mulera, pattern (e)

Fig. 88. Shaving Patterns from Kissaka.

is commonly worn by men and girls. In Bugoye this pattern is less common but was worn by old men, whereas in Kissaka it was the ornament of young girls. In Bugoye it is called kiziguzo.

The diagonal strips of hair are called imirara; the cross strips, intambiki. There may be two or three in number. If the imirara hair is very long, as I noted among the Batutsi, it is called inkanguralugo. The double spiral is called injerenge. I observed it in Bugoye and once in Bugessera. A ring of hair on top of the skull is called imikako. Married women shave their heads smooth. The completely shaven head of a woman is called imbalanguze. It is only in Bugoye that they leave a ring of hair around their heads. This is called ikikingo. Recently married women keep their masunzu until the first menstruation after marriage. To distinguish themselves from girls they wear two small crossed

●302 strings of white beads on their heads.

Both men and women shave the patterns. They use a small razor which is honed on their own skin, especially on the soles of their feet. The hair is moistened with water and scraped off with a knife.

Beards are very seldom worn in Kissaka. Throughout the rest of Ruanda the sparse beards and mustaches, as well as the hair of the armpits, are not shaved as a rule. A beard is more prized than a mustache. They are particularly proud of the hair [826] on the belly around the navel, because it is valued as a highly prized beauty mark.

304 In Ruanda people do not purposely deform their bodies in any way. They desist from piercing their ears or disfiguring their teeth. The only thing that could be regarded as a disfigurement is unintentional and comes from the fact that women wear grass rings on their legs. They not infrequently develop serious wounds and badly impair their shanks.

Tatooing of chest and arms is frequently seen among the Batutsi. [183] The Bahutu also use this type of ornament. In Kissaka not many persons were tatooed, but in Mulera I had the impression that considerably more people were.

Since the patterns of tatooing were also discussed by Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (1), I

1. Van der Burgt, Father J. M. M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 560.

shall merely mention here that the most frequent pattern consists of two rows of curved lines. The concave parts of these lines face each other in such a way that the two ends of adjacent curves fall within the concavity of the opposite curve. One also sees small squares arranged rectangularly in groups of 9, 12, and 16.

The operation is performed with an ordinary knife or a razor. First the pattern to be tatooed is lightly scratched on the

304 body with the point of the knife. Later, when the design stands out due to the skin injury, short, deeper incisions are made with the razor. The incisions, or rather the punctures, are made while the skin is pinched and lifted with two fingers. The skillful artist does not draw blood, and the punctures close with the appearance of lymph. After a few days the scabs are scraped off and rubbed with butter and cow dung (kisheshe). No pigment is used. After the wounds have healed, the thickened skin at each incision forms a raised design.

If the tatooing is done clumsily, keloids form where the incisions have been made. This condition is quite common in Mulera where tatooing is done chiefly by Batwa. Keloids are a sign of the Lake Edward region, for among the Bakondjo living there very large keloid formations are intentionally produced, particularly on the back. In Nduga, the country of tatoo artists, and among the Batutsi, the designs are very delicate. The price of the operation is a goat. A person gradually builds up a collection of designs during a lifetime.

Fig. 89. Tattooing Patterns from Ruanda.

Tatooing, in Kissaka at any rate, seems to have no religious meaning and is performed without any kind of ceremony.

Circumcision is not practiced in Ruanda, but it is not unknown. This is proved by the proverb: "In the compound through which many people pass, circumcised children are born."

302 At initiation ceremonies and, according to Father Schumacher (2), at [184] weddings, people are painted with kaolin

[113]

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 878.

(runoni). However, the practice does not seem to be limited to these occasions, for twice I saw painted children. One child was completely covered with a mixture of clay and ocher. The other had only an oblique line drawn across its forehead over the eyes. There was no question of initiation in this case, for the children were only five and seven years old.

302 We must mention that the children love to paint themselves on all occasions, or rather, smear themselves with white paint. I noticed that when there was plastering going on, for example, the children who were present painted each other. Similarly, in Issawi, children who carried bricks out of the swamp were intentionally painted with light clay.

302 714 It is said that in war the opponents paint themselves with different patterns so that they can distinguish each other. Dr. Kandt (1), however, speaks of another distinguishing mark:

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 427.

"All of them (Bahunde [Hunde]) had tied a wilted banana leaf around their foreheads, so that later we would be able to distinguish them as friends if, as they hoped, we were to engage in hand-to-hand fighting with the Wanjaitambi."

The Munyaruanda anoints his body with butter. In Bugoye, however, which is already under the cultural influence of the Forest Bantu, they use the cheaper castor oil (mbarika, wono) which is also used by the people of the Congo forest. The same custom prevails in the entire graben territory [Rift Valley] as far down as Tanganyika.

411 Spears. The chief weapons of the Banyaruanda are spears (ichumu), bows (muheto), arrows (muhambi), and bush knives (muhoro). Furthermore, swords (ngota), shields (ngabo), and clubs are used.

[185] The spear is the most common and widely used weapon. In the north, where conditions are less safe, no one leaves his homestead without taking along a spear, so in this region we must regard the weapon as an essential part of a man's dress and ornament. In the central part of Ruanda, on the other hand, where stable conditions prevail, especially among the Batutsi, one often sees the long shepherd-staff instead of the spear.

The spear is one and a half to two and a half meters long, and its shaft is encased with iron sockets at both ends. The spear heads are usually grooved to allow the blood to run off, but they vary a great deal in shape. Sometimes the widest part of the blade

585 her husband, and there is a quarrel. It is proper for the man to show marks on his body which indicate to everyone that his wife bravely defended herself and did not yield like a hussy. However, the man may not be strong enough to break the wife's resistance with force, and he must then persuade her with presents to eat and to yield to him.

After the marriage, the woman must remain hidden for a time, that is, until her relatives come with gifts of beer, food, and bracelets. This visit usually takes place on the third day. On this occasion mats are brought along which the young wife made at home. She may chat with her relatives, the young girls who brought the mats. On this day there is dancing, singing, and much drinking.

Some time afterwards the parents again send their daughter presents. Among these, besides food, is a brand new hoe with a new handle. On this day the wife dances with her husband and the new hoe while the rest of the relatives sing an accompaniment. The wife then goes to the field for the first time and works a little. Until this day, called kushishura, the man has no sexual intercourse with his other wives. After the hoeing, grains of millet [842] are brought to the young woman. A handful is scattered on a mat, and she must pick them up with one sweep of her hand. If she fails, the prospects of numerous progeny are poor. She and her husband together grind these grains and use the flour to make beer which they give to small children in order that they themselves will have children.

841 [224] During the first menstrual period after her marriage, the woman is given the cowhide which constitutes the dress of 291 married women, and her head is shaved. However, since girls are ● 302 not infrequently married before they are mature, it often happens 585 that the wife goes about with her masunzu (shaved pattern) for a long time, waiting for the cowhide. Father F. Dufays told me that he knows of a case where a wife waited eight months for her cowhide, but it is said that the wife sometimes waits as long as two years.

841 Thus, a superstitition has arisen about the shaved pattern on 302 the head. According to it, if a wife does not give up her maiden 585

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

58 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in
[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 The Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 6

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A Hutu diviner

[Facing P. 135]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15] 462 564 593

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [581 557]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

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XIII. A Tutsikazi.

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XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

granted that a woman may fulfil these functions emphasizes the high status that women have enjoyed in Ruanda society. It is tempting to regard their status as a consequence of the economic responsibilities of the polygynous wives when replacing their husbands. 562

Besides this form of economic collaboration, wives, in nuclear as well as in polygynous families, had to perform certain economic tasks within the rugo. The activities which belonged exclusively to the wife, though she was sometimes helped by her daughters and certain other females were, for women of any caste: cleaning and brushing the hut and the enclosure, milk churning, and basket-making. In addition to these, Tutsi women made particular objects in basket-work (such as screens used in the hut, very finely woven plates, &c.), butter perfumed with the wood of a certain tree *umubavu* (such butter was used as a cosmetic), and garments in bead work. Hutu women had to cook and to apportion food. In agriculture their particular tasks were to sow and plant, to grind sorghum, and to sift peas. Twa women simply cooked. 462 84 [285] [303]

The husband's contributions to the economic activities of the compound were, among the Tutsi, cattle-rearing and hunting (for the hides and skins); among the Hutu, hut-building, minding cattle (if they had any), felling the bush, and usually all the agricultural tasks requiring considerable physical strength. Moreover, they prepared bark-cloth and skins and forged iron implements. Among the Twa, husbands hunted and made bows and iron weapons.

The principles underlying this division of economic tasks exclusively performed by males or females were according to informants that men should carry out tasks which either were particularly hard, or required intelligence, had to be performed far from the compound, or were thought 'noble'.

Most other duties could be performed by men or women and were shared between husband and wife according to individual arrangements. Such activities were, for instance, in the case of the Tutsi: watching labourers working in the fields, and supervising them, doing menial tasks such as mending the enclosure, milking the cows or looking after the herds. For the Hutu they were: harvesting, brewing beer, drawing water, cutting and collecting wood, lighting and maintaining fires, making mats and baskets, &c. For the Twa: pot-making and brewing beer.

302 water at a spring, crossing brooks, and on similar occasions.
515 Sometimes children and, at times, even adults cover their hair, scalp, and other parts of the body, sometimes the entire body, with a light gray layer of paint made of clay, ashes, or the marly excrement of beasts of prey that is frequently found in the steppes. This is not a festive adornment, as is often the case when adults paint themselves (see p. 67 . 127), but is intended to free the skin of small parasites and to keep it smooth.

304 Tattooing (urusago) I have observed much more seldom in Urundi than in Ruanda and Uha, [29] and then only in the form of decorative scars, never colored tattooing on the surface of the skin. In Urundi, too, it is mainly the Batussi who are tattooed, and, as in Ruanda, the patterns extend over the upper part of the arms, the two halves of the chest from the shoulder down to the area of the navel, and both halves of the back from the shoulder to the waist. As in Ruanda, the patterns consist mainly of finger length half-moons which in great numbers are placed in a row and are generally connected in groups of two by a third crescent which interlocks with the open side of the sickle; the total effect is that of a chain-like pattern (see Fig. 7). Each line consists of many parallel cuts made by a knife (Fig. 6) and caused to swell by rubbing on ashes and euphorbia juice, so that they finally form a thick scar which stands as high as one centimeter above the surface of the skin. Practitioners skilled in medicine do the tattooing. Other patterns consist of zigzag lines, ribbon-shaped parallel rows of lines running across the shoulders like broad suspenders, or button-shaped scars, like thick inoculation scars, in rows on the upper arm and in the center of the chest. Other irregular clusters of scars are not decorative tattooing but incisions for local body pains or wound scars resulting from violent injuries.

In my opinion it is improbable that this tattooing was
304 originally practiced only by the Batussi and was imitated by the
171 Bahutu and Batwa, as was stated by M. Weiss (No. 33, p. 93). This type of tattooing is quite unknown to the Hamitic peoples of Africa, but it is very common among the Bantu of the upper Nile and Congo regions and of the western and southern regions

[Text continues on page 43]

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Fig. 6. Knife for Tattooing and Bloodletting.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin. No. 6543a.)

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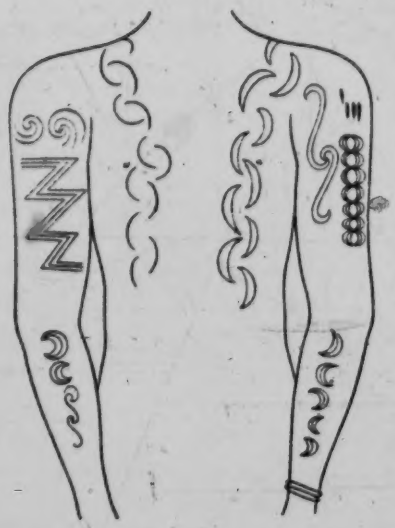

Fig. 7. Scar Tattooing of a Murundi.
(Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

304 around Lake Victoria, among the Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha,
171 Wassumbwa, etc. -- while, according to H. Rehse, the Basiba [Haya] do not tattoo themselves -- so it is much more likely to assume diffusion from the Bantu and Nilotes to the Batussi and a further development of tattooing by the latter. The tattoos of the Somali, Galla, Massai [Masai], etc., look quite different. A report by H. H. Johnston gives some indication of the wider context. According to him, the crescent-shaped scar tattoo, of which he gives a photograph (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 569), is also found among the Bakonjo [Konjo], who are probably the oldest Bantu race [30] in Unjoro, Toro, and Ankole, while the large mass of the Banjoro [Nyoro] in Unjoro, who are an important mixed race consisting of Bantu, Nilotic, and Bahima elements, do not tattoo themselves.

304 In Urundi I did not observe any tattooing on women and children. It was impossible to find out anything definite about the meaning of the patterns. I would doubt that they are intended to represent horns of cattle, as has been claimed by a missionary.

"Decorative disfigurements" of the ears (ear blocks), nose (nose pegs), the lips (pelele), the teeth (notches or filing), or other parts of the body are found in Urundi neither among the Batussi nor among the Bahutu, and this is also true of Ruanda. The Batwa, however, sharpen the two upper incisors. Also, neither cutting of the genitalia among either sex, deformation of the head, nor other such things are practiced. It is not until one descends to the west, east, or south from the interlacustrine plateau that one once more finds tribes with disfigurements of the body.

[287] Urundi is still the country of clothing made from barkcloth
439 (impusu). Except for the peripheral areas in the southeast, south,
177 and west where foreign trade, to which the rest of the country has been barred until recently, supplies cotton material, a piece of "Amerikani" or a cotton blanket used for clothing is still a rarity in Urundi. It was not until recently that more cotton material was introduced into the country by the few licensed traveling merchants, the missions, and the passing caravans

839 marriage and is pleasing to men. During this execrable act, they pronounce certain oaths or, rather imprecations: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. In addition, they use various means to obtain greater pleasure for themselves. In general they use plants or roots of plants and trees with which they rub the labia." Van der Burgt adds in a letter to me: "His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes prostent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adspirantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt 'pulchras se facere,' quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione." [Tr., "By means of this friction they extend the labia so that they become yellow and protrude, and they try to give them an extraordinary size and length. This custom may be considered
[171] a general or national one not only in Urundi and Ruanda but also among the majority of tribes of central Africa with few exceptions, as, for instance, the Wasukuma. Consequently, it is not primarily intended as a means of obtaining pleasure, but the
[826] girls simply wish to 'make themselves pretty,' since very many young men would not marry a girl who did not have such labia. After marriage the girls abstain from this manipulation."

I could not learn anything about the puberty rites; how-
881 ever, they most certainly are celebrated. Van der Burgt does not report anything on this subject either (No. 19, p. 394). In
●304 any case, boys are not circumcised nor are girls infibulated. Only the Batwa, who in contrast to the Batussi and the Bahutu practice deformation of the teeth, sharpen the two upper incisors with a knife as an act to announce puberty (No. 19, pp. 105, 155).

I also was unable to ascertain whether the youths who had
561 reached puberty joined a social club or formed a special "age

5: Pages--288 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A leper.

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Young Muhutu girl with tattooing on the back.

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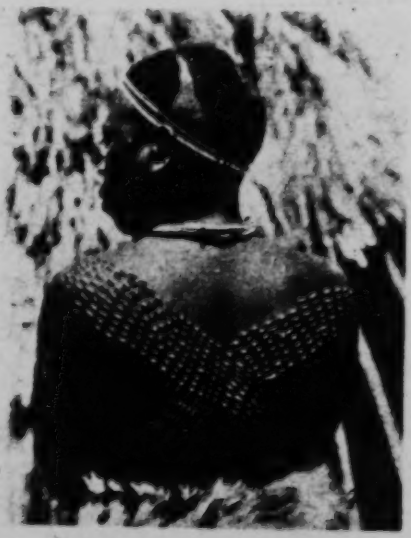

R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

231 In the herdsman aristocracy of Ruanda the Muhutu must always yield to the cow. Cows have crowded out the Bahutu in certain parts of Ufumbiro, and they definitely eliminated the farmers from Mulera's lava plain. They depopulated the region around Nyanza. We can say, therefore, that cows are a powerful factor in shaping the landscape of Ruanda.

231 437 Transactions involving the cow play a very important part in economic life and judicial practices in Ruanda. These transactions take many forms.

[144] There is the simple sale where the price is paid at once or in installments (in goats). I also learned of another type of sale. The owner of two young bulls exchanges them for the unborn calf of a certain cow. If the calf is born a male, they wait for the next one. This transaction is known as kwatiriza. In kwatiriza, the milk, after the first two months during which the herdsman gets it, is divided between the buyer of the calf and the owner of the cow. However, there are often arrangements whereby half or even all the milk is simply bought up by someone.

Cows are for sale only in Mulera where they belong to Bahutu. Batutsi sell only young bulls. Calving cows are under no circumstances disposed of; they are only granted in feudal tenure. Even large bulls (mfizi) are not sold. I was repeatedly told that they cannot even be granted.

231 Goats are raised everywhere by the Bahutu. In the northwest sheep are raised in large numbers. I was presented with my first sheep on the route between Nyanza and Mulera, at the Nyawarongo ferry. One sees individual sheep everywhere. They are used for sacrificial purposes.

232 In this discussion of animal husbandry we must say a word about castration. This operation is familiar to the people of Ruanda and is performed chiefly on goats. It is said that the castration of cattle is forbidden by the king, but it is rumored that the cows one is forced to return are secretly cauterized in revenge. Hunting dogs are also castrated. It is said, too, that enemies of [304] the king are castrated.

224 Hunting. Hunting as the chief means of obtaining food is practiced only by the Batwa. They live on the yield of the hunt,

302 strings of white beads on their heads.

Both men and women shave the patterns. They use a small razor which is honed on their own skin, especially on the soles of their feet. The hair is moistened with water and scraped off with a knife.

Beards are very seldom worn in Kissaka. Throughout the rest of Ruanda the sparse beards and mustaches, as well as the hair of the armpits, are not shaved as a rule. A beard is more prized than a mustache. They are particularly proud of the hair [826] on the belly around the navel, because it is valued as a highly prized beauty mark.

304 In Ruanda people do not purposely deform their bodies in any way. They desist from piercing their ears or disfiguring their teeth. The only thing that could be regarded as a disfigurement is unintentional and comes from the fact that women wear grass rings on their legs. They not infrequently develop serious wounds and badly impair their shanks.

Tatooing of chest and arms is frequently seen among the Batutsi. [183] The Bahutu also use this type of ornament. In Kissaka not many persons were tatooed, but in Mulera I had the impression that considerably more people were.

Since the patterns of tatooing were also discussed by Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (1), I

1. Van der Burgt, Father J. M. M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 560.

shall merely mention here that the most frequent pattern consists of two rows of curved lines. The concave parts of these lines face each other in such a way that the two ends of adjacent curves fall within the concavity of the opposite curve. One also sees small squares arranged rectangularly in groups of 9, 12, and 16.

The operation is performed with an ordinary knife or a razor. First the pattern to be tatooed is lightly scratched on the

304 body with the point of the knife. Later, when the design stands out due to the skin injury, short, deeper incisions are made with the razor. The incisions, or rather the punctures, are made while the skin is pinched and lifted with two fingers. The skillful artist does not draw blood, and the punctures close with the appearance of lymph. After a few days the scabs are scraped off and rubbed with butter and cow dung (kisheshe). No pigment is used. After the wounds have healed, the thickened skin at each incision forms a raised design.

If the tatooing is done clumsily, keloids form where the incisions have been made. This condition is quite common in Mulera where tatooing is done chiefly by Batwa. Keloids are a sign of the Lake Edward region, for among the Bakondjo living there very large keloid formations are intentionally produced, particularly on the back. In Nduga, the country of tatoo artists, and among the Batutsi, the designs are very delicate. The price of the operation is a goat. A person gradually builds up a collection of designs during a lifetime.

Fig. 89. Tattooing Patterns from Ruanda.

Tatooing, in Kissaka at any rate, seems to have no religious meaning and is performed without any kind of ceremony.

Circumcision is not practiced in Ruanda, but it is not unknown. This is proved by the proverb: "In the compound through which many people pass, circumcised children are born."

302 At initiation ceremonies and, according to Father Schumacher (2), at [184] weddings, people are painted with kaolin

[113] 2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 878.

(runoni). However, the practice does not seem to be limited to these occasions, for twice I saw painted children. One child was completely covered with a mixture of clay and ocher. The other had only an oblique line drawn across its forehead over the eyes. There was no question of initiation in this case, for the children were only five and seven years old.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

291 On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of
[854] cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their
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[291] barefooted.

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361 least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the
342 interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a
[171] 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c.
857 were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls
513 under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut
343 devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus
346 hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined
351 circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a
[231] kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the
361 year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

325 The anvil is a flat stone. The smiths sit on similarly shaped stones beside the anvil while they work.

They do not use tongs. The red-hot iron is set into banana stalks which have a high moisture content, and thus the iron can be held in the hand while being forged. If the object being forged happens to have a point, the latter is driven into a piece of wood, and with this improvised handle it can be held quite comfortably.

To cut off a piece of iron, they bend it in both directions until it breaks and falls apart. The edges and the rough surfaces of the anvil are also used in forging. For example, if the iron is to be cut in two at a certain point, that portion is hammered thin, repeatedly [157] bent in both directions, and finally laid over a hollow portion of the anvil and separated with a few light blows.

[306] The rather highly developed jewelry industry requires a considerable production of very thin iron and copper wire. This is wound around bracelets and anklets.

The piece of metal is first forged into a thick, uneven piece of wire, and later this is drawn out to the desired thinness.

The actual wire drawing is done without heat. Forged wire is repeatedly drawn through a cone-shaped hole in an iron bolt. The narrower outlet of the bolt is gradually made smaller as the soft metal is hammered. As the wire is pulled through, the edges of the bolt yield more and more, so that the wire is thicker at the end than at the beginning. To counteract this, the wire is alternately pulled through the bolt in the reverse direction.

After the opening of the bolt has been narrowed by hammering, first of all the uneven edges must be smoothed. For this purpose a well-sharpened needle set into a wooden handle is used. The needle is put into the opening of the bolt from both sides and twisted around. Then the end of the wire is filed so that it can be threaded into the bolt. Thereupon the protruding end of the wire is clamped down with a special device. The wire is drawn without the use of pincers.

The clamp used in place of pincers consists of a V-shaped piece of iron. The protruding bit of wire is placed between the two branches of this V-shaped piece and clamped by means of an iron ring set on the V. The clamp must then be drawn slightly away from the bolt. After this, while the wire is still sufficiently

133 everywhere only sluggish waters run in the relatively recent valleys. To all appearances a general damming up of waters has taken place due to recent block movements which have caused an enormous growth of swamps in the valleys in Urundi, especially in the north and northeast, and in the entire inter-lacustrine region. Its main cause is insufficient drainage in the network of streams of the Kagera River on the one hand and in that of the Malagarasi on the other, since their level of erosion has apparently been raised by more recent block movements in both areas.

The two big rivers mentioned above divide Urundi into two hydrographic systems: the larger northern system drains into the Kagera, Lake Victoria, the Nile, and, therefore, into the Mediterranean; the smaller southern one into the Malagarasi, Lake Tanganyika, the Congo River, and, therefore, into the Atlantic Ocean.

132 Since Urundi is between 2 1/2 and 4 1/2 degrees south latitude, it has, like Ruanda, an equatorial climate with two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The rains occur soon after the sun has reached its zenith in April and October. The amount of precipitation, approximately 1,250 millimeters in the north and less than 1,000 millimeters in the south, is not great for a tropical region, yet it is still plentiful and evenly distributed. The average annual temperature fluctuates about 20 degrees Centigrade. It is higher in the east, and in the mountains of the west the thermometer almost approaches zero in July. Day after day a vigorous east wind blows across the highlands. In the mornings there are often dense mists in the valleys.

The warm temperature, the amount of precipitation, and 137 the distribution of rain would lead one to expect extended forest growth in Urundi, but this is not the case. Urundi is quite predominantly grassland (Plate 1a), pasture land at high altitude, like Ruanda. This is because the natives cut down the forest [311] to make fields and pastures. Toward the east in the direction of Uha where the country is lower, the grassland gradually turns into a tree and tussock grass steppe (Plate 3b). The grass grows higher and wilder in Urundi than in Ruanda since the grassy plains

161 quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more
[133] sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19]
One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more
[311] humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations
cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense
population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in
them.

The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in chil-
592 dren, as in Ruanda. Individually the Batussi women are less
[842] fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom
fewer than three children in each family and in many cases
(among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly
more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married
couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if
[595] there are many children or several wives, each mother lives
in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and
unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there
are often between two and four residential huts and several huts
for grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential
huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see
Fig. 1).

361 The settlement pattern is that of individual establish-
ments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (lugo, urugo).
Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and
its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates
18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals
belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each
other within calling distance so that village-like clusters
(ikisagara) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside ex-
tend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the
settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the
poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or
clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are
scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and sur-
rounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without
banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

233 troughs of clay are constructed near the water holds into which
[312] the drinking water is scooped. As in our Alps, the hill slopes bear the imprint of the hooves of the cattle in the form of innumerable little steps and paths since the grazing cattle will usually move along the slope in a horizontal direction which is more comfortable for grazing.

In the months after the rains the cattle can gorge themselves on green grass and they then look quite attractive, but during the dry months when all the grass is parched to a gray-brown color, the cattle become so lean that one can count all their ribs. In Urundi during the months of September and October I have seen, almost without exception, cattle which were very emaciated. Only the herds of the chiefs preserve their healthy appearance in the dry period since the best grazing land is reserved for them. The general impression is that both
[137] in Urundi and Ruanda, which are both almost exclusively grasslands, good nourishing pastures are not very extensive. It is possible to wander for days over chains of hills and plains in the sterile, thinly populated quartzite areas of the east where the growth of grass is so poor that it is not worthwhile for the natives to burn it. Since the hill ridges and the valleys in the
[311] populated areas of central and western Urundi are covered with homesteads and fields, insofar as the valleys are not filled with papyrus swamps, in general only the hill slopes for pastures. However, since every year the dry expanse of grass on them is burned off in order to obtain a new growth of green grass as soon as possible and to destroy the vermin noxious to cattle, the quality, the food value, of the grass [43] cannot improve. Also, if the herds multiply greatly, as in the northwestern areas of Urundi and in most of Ruanda, the pastures are soon over-
[246] stocked. The Batussi and Bahutu do not grow any fodder with a high food value which could compensate for the lack of good grazing land. As a result most cattle suffer from malnutrition, and if then a contagious disease is brought into the country or if it is caused in the area itself through infectious vermin, etc., the animals with low resistance succumb to it in great numbers. The available grazing land is then sufficient for the

244 there are about half a dozen varieties of the type Pisum sativum. One with a bluish fruit is supposed to have been imported by the Batussi from their original home in the lands of the Galla (No. 19, p. 283). Stuhlmann, however, assumes that the pea, which in East Africa is grown only in the highlands of the lake region, was introduced by the Portuguese from the south and spread north across the highlands (No. 28a, p. 225). In the upper mountainous areas of Urundi peas are the only cultivated plant. As on the high volcanoes of Ruanda, on the [262] peripheral mountains of Lake Kivu, and in the Ruzizi graben, many thousand natives in the high peripheral mountains of northwest and western Urundi, up to an altitude of almost 3,000 meters, live almost exclusively on peas. Wherever the [311] magnificent, old, virgin forest in these regions up to the watersheds is destroyed by ax and fire, it makes room almost without exception for pea fields. In the rich humus of the forest soil, the peas thrive exceptionally well, of course. As the destruction of the forests proceeds, so does the expansion of pea fields. What a miserable substitute for the wonderful and economically much more valuable forest which in the existing climate could never be restored to its former size, even if this were attempted.

Beans and peas are left to ripen fully on the "stalk." Only when the plants have withered so completely that the fruit is about to fall off by itself are they torn out and piled up in the kraals. Then they are spread out on the roofs of the huts and finally threshed with switches. The straw [52] that is not used for litter is distributed on the fields in numerous single piles, like our haycocks, and then burned so that the ashes will fertilize the soil.

Peanuts (itschjoba) and corn (ikigori) are sown in the same 243 manner as beans, by sticking them into holes. The peanuts are 244 first taken out their shells, and the corn kernels are left in water for a day to make them swell. There seem to be three types of peanuts which are differentiated as itschjoba, itschjema, and itschjansa. None of them is used for making oil. They are only [252] eaten as a dessert and delicacy, either raw or roasted in ashes (No. 19, p. 41).

423 651 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale: Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the people?]!

311 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and against agriculture, will continue even when this big country is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of 000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at present, since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agricultural production and to sell more. These difficulties will only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions relating to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concentrated fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily upon these areas and retarding their development: the rule of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is necessary than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 782 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it (No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

800 *Urundi Administration* 1925—and Bishop (!) Gorju in several works dealing with Urundi, where he has been Vicar Apostolic. It lies N.E. of Tang. lake, 2 to 4 degrees S. of the Equator.

Ethnical conditions

563 The Urundi as well as the two neighbouring sultanates of Ruanda and Buha consist of three ethnical groups: (1) the tall, fine-featured, cattle-grazing Batutsi, of Hamitic stock, who constitute a ruling class of some fifty thousand; (2) the middle-sized, rough-featured, land-tilling Bahutu, the largest and main body of a population of over one and a half million; (3) the Pygmy hunting and pot-making Batwa, a mere handful of some thousands of outcasts.

I am reasonably satisfied that these three ethnical groups mix together more than one is generally inclined to believe: they rather seem to become social strata. At any rate there are impoverished Batutsi who till the land, Bahutu who possess cattle, and landless Batwa are not a frequent occurrence to-day. Many impoverished Batutsi have been considered as Bahutu, rich Bahutu as Batutsi. The reasons and theory I brought home were elaborated by Dr. Gerkens and seem to prove that each of the groups is of mingled stock.

Geographical conditions

133 The Urundi is a high country. The region between mountain to the west and the steppe to the east is a plateau, 5,000 feet high, often more, and almost completely without ligneous vegetation, except in the near proximity of habitations. Rivers and brooks have dug themselves deep into this plateau and their valleys have made it a country of more or less important hills, each of them with its own name. The bottom of the valleys is covered with swamps where papyrus grows unchecked (for native agriculture had not been successful there). The stony, grassy hill-tops are merely meadow-land. The cultivated belt [311] normally spreads on the hill-side, with the fenced cabins of the land-tillers in the middle of fields and banana-plantations. Only persons of rank dwell in the higher region.

311 Typical of Urundi scenery as seen from a favourable observation point are the three belts running along one another: below, the ashy green of the papyrus; above, brownish stones and light-coloured grass, sometimes with the rugo of a chief or of his deputy; in between the deep shining green of the banana-trees. [161] Though the population often reaches 350 per square mile, the habitations of most land-tillers remain invisible amidst the banana-trees where they are hidden, and only at the time when meals are prepared does the peacefully ascending smoke betray their presence there.

[P. 13 (A)]

134 cultivation of the famous plante médicée /Tr.: "Medici plant"/
24/ (tobacco), the sale of which provides a living for a number of families. /26/

The vast Rwrere plain covers nearly half of the Bugoyi province.
133 Not a spring or brook is to be found there. The rain water immediately
312 drains beneath the lava, which is covered by a mere 50 or 60 centimeters of arable soil. The inhabitants are compelled to cover distances varying between 10 and 20 kilometers, round trip to draw water from the brooks of the Sebeya or the Mutura. During the rainy season, they carefully save the water that collects in the crags of rocks or in small moats dug by each person around his dwelling. The owners of banana groves use the water held by the thicker husks of the banana trees. These are split lengthwise with a knife, and produce water lightly mixed with potash. The natives get used to drinking this liquid without any repugnance.

The Bagoyi who live in the mountainous area are better off than the plains people as far as water is concerned.

The northern area, called Bigogo, consists entirely of pastures.
133 It is inhabited by the herding Batutsi, who own numerous herds of cattle, the wealth of the country.

These same lands of volcanic origin, gave birth to a beautiful
[137] forest where bamboo grows along with some rare species of trees. It spreads east of Kivu in a north-south direction.

[311] The natives, ever in search of fertile fields and charcoal, have made terrible inroads into it. This is why large gaps are to be found in it.

The central and eastern provinces, the Nduga, Bwana-Mkali, Gissaka, Buganza, etc., are made up of long rolling hills, nearly always separated by small valleys which are often transformed into
[311] marshes and which are very useful for summer planting.

The Buliza, Bussigi, and Luhanga are long plateaus where numerous herds of goats, sheep, and cows graze. These areas lie at an altitude of about 2,200 meters. /27/

Ruanda also has lakes, the most important of which is Kivu, which is 120 kilometers long and from 40 to 50 kilometers wide.

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

578 Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

● 311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

631 Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

428 Only boys share in the real estate (1).

1. As exceptions to this rule, one finds a few joint patrimonial domains which the co-heirs exploit together under the frerage (or frareshe). This kind of landed property is called isage (or ingaligazi).

The oldest son, or at least the one appointed by the dying man to succeed him, receives a share slightly larger than that of his brothers, owing to his right of primogeniture. If there are three heirs, the property is divided into three lots of equal size except for one field or one small banana grove.

This /latter/ parcel is called umusaya and is added to the share of the first heir.

Cattle and sheep are divided equally among them.

311 423 One does not find any free or abandoned land in Ruanda. There may be more or less extensive areas that lie fallow because they are not very fertile, or because the presence of wild beasts makes them too dangerous, or because they are too remote from inhabited centers or too extensive in relation to the population size, but they are not on this account res nullius /Tr.: nobody's property/. Their owners always retain the right to use them and take effective possession of them whenever they wish.

Forests, mountains, moors, marshes, and bogs are divided into a multitude of lots whose owners are publicly known.

[661] Through an abuse of authority, the chiefs may temporarily reserve for themselves part of the plateaus, valleys, or marshy lowlands to graze their cattle.

In spite of this, their subjects retain proprietary ownership of these lands and grasslands and they will not fail to assert their rights at the first opportunity, for example, when a chief departs or when he is replaced.

In some regions it frequently happens that the arable plots no longer meet the /48/ needs of the population. Then those men who

423 are least fortunate or most enterprising get together to sell or exchange
[311] their plots and go to the edge of the forest to buy a piece of land or to develop the one they owned there.

From then on, the clan to which they belong includes an additional village.

As in Europe the sale and lease of fields and banana groves is made in the presence of witnesses. Land boundaries are marked with stones and other conventional signs.

A felled tree, a displaced stone, some ground which has been broken in a neighbor's field over the dividing line, such things cause frequent litigations that give rise to disunity within families and among tribes over long periods of time.

The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ remains attached
361 to his native village, to his plot of land. He does not feel the need to move elsewhere, to change his domicile, as do the Blacks settled east and west of Tanganyika.

Ruanda soil is richer by far and sustains numerous and varied
[134] crops.

In addition to the banana grove, which is the most important
245 part of his property, the Munyarwanda has begun to plant trees and to cultivate coffee, which brings in large profits to which he was not
[231] accustomed. Ownership of a small herd of cattle or sheep makes his home even dearer to him.

?
593 It may be said that his home life is more stable than in neighboring areas, and that he leaves it only rarely (1).

[166]

1. The Blacks, too, are familiar with nostalgia and home sickness. The fear of a vendetta or the attraction of large salaries may temporarily induce the natives to expatriate themselves. Sooner or later, however, they return to the cradle of their ancestors. The Banyarwanda cite characteristic instances of this.

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language
197 seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kissukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the interlacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelèmy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
563 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about
186 his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
●311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the

563 destruction of the forest their independence is at an end, and they
311 become pariahs.

When guerrilla warfare can no longer stem the flood of farmers driven toward the forest because of the land shortage, there is nothing left for the Batwa but to complain of the new state of affairs. This is the story with which Kahima greeted me when I paid him a visit with Father L. Delmas. Originally Kahima's Batwa lived in the primeval forest, but constant clearing had so shifted the forest border that eight huts were already outside the forest, while the rest were still scattered within it. The Batwa, however, do not yet till their own fields. At most their women help the Bahutu in the fields and obtain food in payment.

563 In Ruanda one does, however, find cases where Batwa turn
[941] to agriculture out of dire necessity. Thus, in the vicinity of Ruasa there is a Mutwa rainmaker who is a leper. When his trade became less profitable because of the growing missionary influence, he began tilling a field. In one respect, however, he remained a true Mutwa: he was unable to keep any small livestock; in no time it had all been killed and eaten.

The relationship between the Forest Batwa and the Banyaruanda is the same as that between the Pygmies and the full-sized Negroes. Each Batwa group recognizes a Ruanda chief as its head, to whom they bring the yield from hunting in exchange for agricultural produce. This vassal relationship existed between Kahima and Chuma.

We must, however, point out a difference. The Batwa acknowledge the sovereignty of the ruler of Ruanda. From time to time they bring the king presents. These are presented to the king through the mediation of their Muhutu patron, Chuma, who is said to be the king's client (mugaragu).

Anthropologically, the contrast between Batutsi and Batwa is even greater than between the farmers and the herdsman aristocracy, but even so we cannot overlook the strong political solidarity of the privileged and the pariahs. If a Mututsi sacrifices sheep, the Mutwa eats the meat. When he slaughters anything, he does not forget the Mutwa. Between these two minority elements there is

241 times, but that later it was replaced by a long-handled one
412 with a hole bored at one end. They also said that at present it differs from the Ruanda hoe only in the fact that it is ligher.

The very primitive wooden hoe, less frequently used in Ruanda, is somewhat similar to the older form. It, too, consists of an unevenly forked branch, but in this case the shorter end is pointed and used as the hoe. The few samples which I saw in the region had an iron tip on the pointed end. The people I questioned about it said that formerly this tip had not
[171] been used. Later I saw identical hoes among the Niloto-Hamitic Kakwa; these were without the iron tip. I was told that they were used exclusively for clearing.

In Ruanda the women as well as the men use the hoe. In this respect Ruanda is very different from the other regions of the northwest where hoe culture is practiced.

311 There are large aggregates of tilled fields only in the north and the west and along the northern shore of Lake Mohasi. Otherwise the fields are merly oases in large sections of pasture-

[412]

Fig. 26. Wooden Hoe with Iron Tip from Mulera.
(1/2 actual size. L15061.)

land and bush.

311 The banana groves usually occupy the ridges of hills; at
245 least this is the case in Kissaka, Nduga, and Mulera. In Bugoye and in southern Bgisha where the settlements were very high, the groves are somewhat lower. In Bugoye where the lava is very much decomposed, there are large [138] banana plantations on the lava plains themselves. In Bgisha they are somewhat higher along the edges of these plains. Bananas bear almost all year round except in the driest season. The plants are hoed, but otherwise they require little care. The banana crop is used chiefly to make beer (nzoga).

243 The millet fields lie chiefly on the slopes of the hills.
311 They are hoed and seeded after the first rain. Some time later they are weeded. The main harvest takes place in the middle of the dry season. I saw a harvest in Kissaka during the latter half of July. In Nduga it was already over in August. In Mulera the harvest is said to be at the end of February and in Bgisha at the end of November and the beginning of December.

244 Sweet potatoes are planted in marshy lowlands and irrigated
311 fields. They are the staple during the dry season when other supplies are exhausted and the millet is not yet ripe.

The land at the highest altitude is used for peas, although one often finds fields of peas at a lower altitude than banana groves. The highest fields I saw were on Mount Ndisa, high above the settlements, probably extending up to 2,000 meters. I could not discover the reason for the high location of these fields. [139] To judge from the surrounding country, I did not have the impression that it was so densely populated that the people were forced to lay out their fields so inconveniently. Peas and beans are harvested at the end of the rainy season.

251 Field crops, with the exception of bananas and sweet potatoes, are kept in storehouses (kigega). Millet is cut off short and left lying unthreshed until it is needed. Only then is it threshed in small quantities in mortars and winnowed by the wind on large woven shields. Bananas and sweet potatoes are brought from the plantations as needed. The bunches to be used for making beer are kept in the huts to continue ripening. Here considerable stores of other crops, especially beans and peas, are kept in large baskets (umuhiri) made air tight with cow dung.

314 Forestry. In Ruanda we can hardly speak of forest cultivation, despite intensive farming and the widespread cultivation of the land in densely populated areas where forests have shrunk to a minimum. The Muhutu is the worst enemy of the forest. He uses wood to build his huts and storehouses, his boats and tools, and to cook his food, but he does not husband it, and in this respect he is no better than the peasant of eastern Europe.

311 According to unanimous reports by the natives, the country of Ruanda is undergoing a rapid change, and deforestation is making great advances. Formerly the country is said to have been covered

311 with extensive forests which were destroyed by farmers, so that at the present time in northern Nduga, for example, there are no forests to be found. Quite recently the forest boundary has receded in Mulera and Bugoye as a result of colonization. When I visited

[412]

Fig. 29. Axe from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13111. Handle: 68 centimeters long.)

Fig. 30. Axe from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13060. Handle: 60 centimeters.)

Fig. 31. Bush Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L 15036.)

the Batwa of Chief Chuma, I saw that half their huts were already surrounded by Bahutu fields; the others were still hidden in the forest. In only a few years the farmers have penetrated this far; the Batwa could all still remember the time when their village lay deep in the forest.

412 The larger trees are felled with axes; smaller ones and the brush are cut with sickle-shaped bush knives. The axes (intolezo)

361 independent man lives with his women, children, and servants
[558] (bagaragu). The establishments of the well-to-do are quite large and often embrace a dozen or more huts. Poor people have only one or two huts. The large settlements of the Batutsi, with the exception of those in the northwestern provinces, are all widely scattered in the grasslands and are conspicuous by the tall euphorbia hedges and trees which surround them.

In eastern Mpororo scattered huts occur only in the cultivated areas; they occur somewhat more frequently near large Bahima kraals, as, for example, that of Kitaraya. South of Kitaraya, Batutsi settlements hidden behind their euphorbia hedges predominate. On Lake Mohasi the scattered Bahutu settlements and their banana groves again appear. Here Batutsi kraals are rarer.

In Kissaka and Nduga there are Bahutu settlements on the edges of the banana groves, but since bananas are confined to specific regions because of soil conditions, a certain concentration of settlements has come about.

Around Nyanza, the residence of Musinga [king of Ruanda],
[311] we find few and widely scattered settlements, because the land is reserved as pasture for the king's cows.

In Mulera where the entire country is under cultivation, there is again a regular distribution of farm settlements. However, we also note a tendency for relatives to move closer together for safety.

In Bugoye, which shows influences of the Forest Bantu, we find many compact groups of huts almost resembling villages, although these settlements vary a great deal in their structure. Here the
[65] hill dwellers, from whom their mugabo [clan elder] collects taxes which he hands over to the proper mutware (ku butaka, ku muheto, etc.), have all joined together in a single settlement. [200] In Bugoye we find settlements of over 100 inhabitants. The largest settlements are in Bgisha, north of the chain of volcanoes. They sometimes have over 100 huts.

The Banyabungu also live in large villages which are very well kept and have high fences. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 377.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is as much as a one-month range of variations in the dates of the rainy and dry seasons each year. The precipitations are very irregular. Sometimes for a few weeks there is heavy rainfall lasting ten or twelve hours followed by a few dry days, at other times there is a 2- or 3-hour shower every day. Besides this fundamental irregularity there is no uniformity throughout the country. Owing to the very uneven relief, neighbouring regions or even neighbouring groups of hills and valleys, may have quite dissimilar climates. 132

Although it is believed that the country was covered with forest in the remote past, now only three per cent. of the surface of Ruanda is woodland; even if savannah with trees is taken into account the figure is not brought up to more than 6·5 per cent.[4] At the beginning of the century the figures were almost certainly not higher, and very likely lower. Indeed, the policy of the Administration has been to attempt to protect by regulation the forests which were left and to promote the replanting of trees. The present-day typical Ruanda landscape, eucalyptus-covered hills and roads bordered by three or four lines of trees, is new. Fifty years ago the country had an even more denuded appearance than it has today. 311 [656] 134

The result of the scarcity of trees in a country of steep hills has been erosion. Torrential rainfall has washed off the more fertile top soil. The deterioration of the ground has been a long process which has not yet been reversed. The north-western part of Ruanda provides an exception to the general poverty. Here the soil is of volcanic origin, formed from recent lava, and rich. The land at the bottom of valleys everywhere is, of course, notably better than on the slopes.

A good top-soil is important not only for cultivation: allowing a slow infiltration of water, it helps to form subterranean watersheds situated not too deeply underground. A decrease in this top-soil has had the effect that some of these practically superficial water reserves which feed sources have drained away. I have been told more than once by old people that in such or such a place there was a water source when they were young. When digging a well now one has to go very deep. 133 134

These phenomena, erosion, impoverishment of soil, and drying up of sub-soil, are not to be attributed only to the action of the purely natural factors mentioned (the heavy rainfalls and the 134

[4] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 331.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this process.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 213-23. [8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective rights over certain areas except in the north of Ruanda (Mulera, Rwankeri, Bushiru, Bigogwe) where the Tutsi occupation had been more superficial. I have been told that there the soil belonged to the patrilineage and that there was no land or cattle chief. From the point of view of the individual, however, the situation was very similar: he inherited a share of his father's tract. The difference was that, if the part were insufficient, he had to apply for more to the lineage head instead of to the land-chief, and a plot left without heirs returned to the patrilineage instead of the political authority.

The person entitled to the use of a plot could not sell his right but could let the tract. The rent was about one hoe every other year plus a jug of beer each harvest. The tenant was not permitted to settle by building a hut or planting banana trees.

The Twa resented very much the expansion of fields and pastures in the forests they regarded as their possession. The authority was not concerned with the way they divided it into hunting areas.[1]

2. RIGHTS OVER CATTLE

The rights over each head of cattle were also manifold. Property in the Western sense was split up into different aspects.

A global right existed over all Ruanda cattle, even sheep and goats, by which the king could claim actual possession of any of them. The mwami used this right more frequently, it seems, over cattle than over land. An important chief indulging in intrigues regarded as dangerous by the king might find himself dispossessed of all his cattle. The king's right over all the cattle of Ruanda was a constant threat which seems to have very effectively deterred the Tutsi of the ruling set from becoming too independent.

Another right was very similar to our bare ownership. The person who had it was not in possession of the cow but could at any time claim possession of the animal and the heifers and cows produced by that beast since the time when the possession had been transferred. This was the right of the lord (*shebuja*).

In contrast there was the usufruct right with respect to cattle. The person endowed with it could dispose of the milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the dead cows. This was the typical right of the client (*garagu*).

[1] For a more extended account of the land tenure system in traditional Ruanda, see Maquet and Naigiiki, 1957.

231 The cattle of the entire country belong de jure to the
122 king (or to the highest chief), as in Ruanda. He leaves a large part of the cattle with the Batussi sub chiefs, who enjoy the usufruct, and [42] the latter, in turn, leave small herds and single animals with lower Batussi and individual Bahutu for care, further breeding, and use. A set small number of the young becomes the property of the caretaker which he holds as an irrevocable fee.

231 To a certain degree the almost mystical esteem in which
554 cattle are held is transferred to the temporary owners, caretakers, and breeders of the cattle. A person who is vested with cattle is thus raised to a higher status. A Muhutu who is vested with cattle for the usufruct and for breeding is ennobled, so to speak, by this act; he is no longer subject to compulsory labor, nor does he have to work the fields for his master. Thus, the possession of cattle has a social significance which is no less important than the economic one. Not only for religious reasons but also for social and political ones, old and sick cattle are allowed to live as long as they possibly can, both in Urundi and Ruanda, for they can still be used to vest someone with them who through this rise in status is more closely tied to the Batussi rulers and the king. It is also for this reason that the immense number of cattle owned by the king are a strong support of Batussi rule.

233 All cattle are fed in pasture (Plate 23); only older calves and sick animals are fed in the stable. During the night the cattle are kept within the inner fence of the homestead. As soon as they have been cleaned after sunrise in the morning and the cows have been milked, the herd is driven to pasture (kwahura inka). The location of grazing land is determined by the season and the growth of fodder. The herd remains there until evening. Every sixth or eighth head of cattle carries a bell (insogera) made from a bent piece of sheet iron (Plate 45) or from wood; in many areas, however, there are no cattle bells at all. Twice daily the herd is driven to the water-
233 ing place in the nearest river valley. If the valley has no
312 flowing water but only underground water to be obtained by digging holes, as is often the case during the dry months, long

233 troughs of clay are constructed near the water holds into which
[312] the drinking water is scooped. As in our Alps, the hill slopes bear the imprint of the hooves of the cattle in the form of innumerable little steps and paths since the grazing cattle will usually move along the slope in a horizontal direction which is more comfortable for grazing.

In the months after the rains the cattle can gorge themselves on green grass and they then look quite attractive, but during the dry months when all the grass is parched to a gray-brown color, the cattle become so lean that one can count all their ribs. In Urundi during the months of September and October I have seen, almost without exception, cattle which were very emaciated. Only the herds of the chiefs preserve their healthy appearance in the dry period since the best grazing land is reserved for them. The general impression is that both
[137] in Urundi and Ruanda, which are both almost exclusively grasslands, good nourishing pastures are not very extensive. It is possible to wander for days over chains of hills and plains in the sterile, thinly populated quartzite areas of the east where the growth of grass is so poor that it is not worthwhile for the natives to burn it. Since the hill ridges and the valleys in the
[311] populated areas of central and western Urundi are covered with homesteads and fields, insofar as the valleys are not filled with papyrus swamps, in general only the hill slopes for pastures. However, since every year the dry expanse of grass on them is burned off in order to obtain a new growth of green grass as soon as possible and to destroy the vermin noxious to cattle, the quality, the food value, of the grass [43] cannot improve. Also, if the herds multiply greatly, as in the northwestern areas of Urundi and in most of Ruanda, the pastures are soon over-
[246] stocked. The Batussi and Bahutu do not grow any fodder with a high food value which could compensate for the lack of good grazing land. As a result most cattle suffer from malnutrition, and if then a contagious disease is brought into the country or if it is caused in the area itself through infectious vermin, etc., the animals with low resistance succumb to it in great numbers. The available grazing land is then sufficient for the

245 cultivation requires hardly any work at all engenders laziness among those tribes who live almost entirely on bananas, as, for instance, the peoples living in the areas around Lake Victoria. Cultural progress through work is forced upon the population in this area only by their chiefs (Kahigi, Mugarâwua, and others) who are members of Hamitic Bahinda families. However, in Urundi and Ruanda the climate and topography of the area force the people to grow not only bananas but a whole series of other agricultural produce which the soil yields only after hard work with the hoe. There the limited banana cultivation cannot induce the same indolence among the people. However, when comparing the neglected banana plantations with the fields of other produce, it becomes evident that the former will thrive without much care. After the bunches of bananas have been gathered, the trunk withers yet it is left to stand there for quite a long time. The large dried leaves droop down, and weeds are removed only if they become too dense. Often no effort is made to plant young shoots, and the new striplings simply are left to grow from the rootstock. Subsequently, all of them are cut except one or two which are left for further growth. Sometimes all of them are left. For this reason the banana trees in a plantation do not grow singly, as is always the case on the coast, for instance, where reproduction and the increase in number of the plants are always effected by planting young striplings. Here, bananas grow from trunks which, in bundles of four, six, or ten, have shot from the same rootstock. Frequently, cultivated plants that are not too tall and can stand the shade are grown between the bananas such as sweet potatoes, pumpkins, beans, corn, and sorghum.

Bananas thrive best on soil which is quite moist while the plant is still growing but dry while the fruit appears and ripens. In areas where rain is plentiful, as in mountainous western Urundi, banana groves are not restricted to certain places, while in eastern Urundi with its drier climate they either nestle in the valleys so as to get sufficient water or they are [312] found in more exposed places where water has to be piped artificially through long ducts.

241 entire year. Even during the driest months bananas, beans, corn, sweet potatoes, and pumpkins grow there.

This is made possible only by artificial irrigation (uwutotsi) which the Barundi have brought to a stage of development and apply in a manner similar to the Banjaruanda. In the valley plains and on the river bottoms, water is channeled from the main stream through a whole network of larger and smaller canals and ditches and distributed over the area. Here the innumerable plots of arable ground rise above the ditches like high beds (Plate 22b). In order to irrigate the fields on the hillsides as well, the upper course of the stream is dammed up with earth and latticework so as to form a pool. From there the water is led along the mountain slopes through a ditch, which is often several kilometers long, until the desired destination is reached. Small channels lead off from this main artery at various intervals and irrigate numerous fields on the hillsides. Once a field has received enough water, the ditch leading to it is dammed up. The last fields receive only a little water because the supply has been exhausted along the route. It is amazing with what understanding of the velocity and pressure of the water the ditches have been leveled, dammed up, and conducted along the valley slopes with all their indentations and salients. If the slope is interrupted by a gully that also interrupts the course of the irrigation ditch, a long tree trunk, often brought from a long distance, is placed horizontally across the gully. Its upper side is hollowed out to form a groove through which the water may flow. There are tree viaducts of this type 30 to 40 meters long (No. 19, p. 50). The construction of such an irrigation network is the joint enterprise of the men. Each is entitled to his share of water. The equitable distribution of the water is regulated and supervised by the mutwale of the district.

I have seen a similar carefully and painstakingly constructed irrigation network -- which would do credit to any European horticulturist -- only among the Wadschagga of Kilimanjaro. It must be said, however, that the artificial irrigation in some areas of Usambara, Uluguru, Ussagara, and several other mountain regions is not much inferior to that mentioned above.

757 there are others which rely on mechanical means for an effect, as, for instance, massage, enema, hot and cold baths, and, further, a small number of surgical operations from the simple [752] opening of a boil to (allegedly) the Caesarean operation (see above, p. 110). Difficult cases are treated by an experienced, skillful umufumu, but for simple cases every father of a family uses a number of household remedies. The art of using them is passed on from father to son. If necessary, a sick neighbor is given the benefit of them also.

[141] Generally, the first remedy tried is hot or cold water. It is used for intensive rubdowns, for long baths in treating skin diseases, aching joints, insomnia, and fever. A Murundi [515] enjoys taking a bath whenever a sufficient supply of water is available, but as soon as possible after the bath he will rub butter on his skin. There are several natural thermal baths in Urundi [312] which are used not only by the people living in the vicinity. For example, a gushing thermal spring whose water temperature is 47° Centigrade is located near Kisagara, a village not far from the Mugera missionary station, and there is another one north of Tschiwitoke in the Ruzizi Valley. A kind of steam bath is given to persons with fever by alternately holding their heads and limbs over a pot of boiling, steaming water (No. 19, p. 183). Enemas of warm water to which some herbal juice has been added are very common. They are given by first introducing the end of a long hollow stalk of reed or a strong leaf folled into the form of a tube into the anus; then the person applying the treatment blows a mouthful of water through the other end of this pipe into the bowels (No. 19, p. 331). Adults frequently give an enema to themselves: they fill one of the long-necked bottle gourds with water, insert the narrow end of the long bottleneck into the anus, and then lift the calabash in such a manner as to permit the water to enter the bowels by its own weight. Enemas are used for stomach-aches of any kind, constipation, diarrhea, fever, etc.

[278] There are innumerable medicines made of inorganic, vegetable, and animal substances. Among these, poisons play a relatively minor role, for the Barundi do not even know how to make arrows poisonous. The Batwa often use very effective

134 cultivation of the famous plante médicée /Tr.: "Medici plant"/
24/ (tobacco), the sale of which provides a living for a number of families. /26/

The vast Rwrere plain covers nearly half of the Bugoyi province.
133 Not a spring or brook is to be found there. The rain water immediately
312 drains beneath the lava, which is covered by a mere 50 or 60 centimeters of arable soil. The inhabitants are compelled to cover distances varying between 10 and 20 kilometers, round trip to draw water from the brooks of the Sebeya or the Mutura. During the rainy season, they carefully save the water that collects in the crags of rocks or in small moats dug by each person around his dwelling. The owners of banana groves use the water held by the thicker husks of the banana trees. These are split lengthwise with a knife, and produce water lightly mixed with potash. The natives get used to drinking this liquid without any repugnance.

The Bagoyi who live in the mountainous area are better off than the plains people as far as water is concerned.

The northern area, called Bigogo, consists entirely of pastures.
133 It is inhabited by the herding Batutsi, who own numerous herds of cattle, the wealth of the country.

These same lands of volcanic origin, gave birth to a beautiful
[137] forest where bamboo grows along with some rare species of trees. It spreads east of Kivu in a north-south direction.

[311] The natives, ever in search of fertile fields and charcoal, have made terrible inroads into it. This is why large gaps are to be found in it.

The central and eastern provinces, the Nduga, Bwana-Mkali, Gissaka, Buganza, etc., are made up of long rolling hills, nearly always separated by small valleys which are often transformed into
[311] marshes and which are very useful for summer planting.

The Buliza, Bussigi, and Luhanga are long plateaus where numerous herds of goats, sheep, and cows graze. These areas lie at an altitude of about 2,200 meters. /27/

Ruanda also has lakes, the most important of which is Kivu, which is 120 kilometers long and from 40 to 50 kilometers wide.

241 plants is conserved. Cow manure is reportedly used as fertilizer in the banana groves as well as in the fields, and especially on the gourd plantations in certain parts of Ruanda. In Bugoye, however, where the soil is very rich, fertilizer is not used. Here, it is said, there is danger that the growth of millet become too lush and fall down. The farmers try to avert this by binding the stalks into tiny bundles during the growing season.

312 241 One sees a great many irrigation systems north of Lake Mohasi. In Mulera, on the other hand, where there seems to be more rain, I did not see any. Frequently the water is brought in through narrow canals from dammed-up streams. For example, on the northern slope of Mount Ndisa near the Nyawarongo River I saw a water system two kilometers long [136] which descended gently to the plantations on the foothills and could be heard along its course. The main line had a number of outlets stuffed with sod, which could carry the necessary water to the pastures on the mountain slopes. The water is conducted through deep furrows separating the rectangular beds. It was only in Bgisha near Rutshuru that I saw a marshy lowland in which earth was thrown into mounds almost a meter high. These peculiar beds were sown to peas.

242 The first terraced fields which I had an opportunity to see were in the country north of Lake Mohasi, but they occur throughout the rest of northwestern Ruanda. In many cases they seem to be unintentional and were probably formed naturally when the slope was tilled. The terraces are two to three meters high.

In Ruanda there seems to be a certain crop rotation. In Itambi beans and peas are first planted on the cleared land and, after that, millet. In Mulera I was told that this rotation is also adhered to in fields that have been planted for some time. After the millet harvest, however, the ground is allowed to lie fallow. This order of rotation is not always maintained. One often sees millet planted along with beans. This occurs even in cases where there is no lack of space. I was told that beans can be harvested earlier without harming the millet.

Letting the fields lie fallow, it would seem, is also not a regular practice. In several cases I found that it was due to the

487 the general direction is maintained. One must often make considerable detours in order to keep to the more frequented, convenient main arteries. This struck me particularly when, in Njakagungu on the way from Lake Mohasi to Nsasa, I crossed the road that led from Ruanda to Karagwe. The paths hug the ridges of the hills, since travel in the valleys is very difficult because of the many swamps. The constant ascent and descent from one ridge to another makes travel very troublesome.

493 The important people of the country are carried in basket litters (ngobi) on their journeys. The litter is like a woven trough. It is made [166] of bamboo sticks (migano) which run lengthwise and are fastened to each other with strips of rattan. The trough has at least three handles on each side through which are inserted two strong bamboo sticks. The bearers carry these sticks on their heads on round cushions. They move at a gentle trot. The occupant of the litter is in a half-reclining position.

484 The chiefs travel with all the comfort of home; they are, for example, accompanied by two cows (nzishwa) which are milked en route.

[492] Only Europeans ride animals.

491 Until recently bridges were entirely unknown in Ruanda. Now one has been built on land belonging to the Ruasa Mission over the rapids of the Mukungwa which were difficult to cross. Another connects the Issawi Mission with the neighboring hills. It stretches across a swamp.

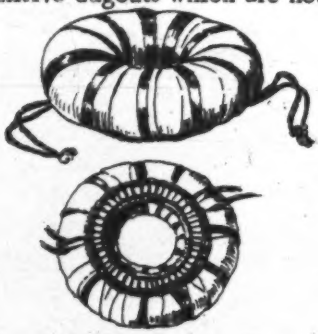
501 Since ancient times river crossings have been provided with dugouts to ferry travelers. At the Akanjaru ferry near Kihinga, I had an opportunity to see a raft made of reeds and papyrus tied together. The raft was pulled from one shore to the other by means of a rope made out of plaited papyrus. The raft was three meters square and was strong enough to carry seven porters with their loads.

491 The Akanjaru which is one kilometer wide did not have an open surface of water as much as 20 meters wide on which a raft could move. It was a thick papyrus swamp through which we would have had to wade up to our hips at that time if a comfortable crossing had not been built with reeds and papyrus stalks laid next

• 312 to each other. Small dams are often constructed in the swamps to make a watering place for the cows. If the swamp has a considerable

312 gradient, a deeper free surface of water is formed above the dam, which serves as a watering place for cattle.

482 In Ruanda all goods are transported by porters. Lake Kivu
501 is the only waterway that is used. It is navigated with large, primitive dugouts which are not sea-worthy but can carry very considerable loads. Otherwise boats are used only to ferry travelers across the rivers on main thoroughfares.



133

Fig. 53. Cushions for Carrying Loads, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13093. 21 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

The rivers of Ruanda, however, have navigable stretches which in the future, with the development of transportation, will undoubtedly be used. [167] Thus, for example, I am convinced that the Nyawarongo is navigable from Mount Ndisa to the confluence of the Mukungwa and even farther. On the Kissaka border, also, I confirmed the navigability of the Kagera. Likewise, the Kagera can be navigated from the mouth of the Ruvuvu to the bend of the Mpororo.

492 Beasts of burden are not as yet used in Ruanda, although the 20 to 25 donkeys in the country, used by Europeans, are very serviceable and thrive well.

The use of waterways and beasts of burden, however, takes for granted an increase in porters' wages and a development in trade which the porters now available will no longer be able to handle.

482 In contrast to the custom in the northwest Congo areas, burdens are carried on the head in Ruanda. It is only among the Bahunde in the west that we begin to see people carry burdens on their backs. It seems that the eastern boundary of this method of carrying packs entends from Lake Kivu across to the Rutshuru River and north, along the eastern boundary of the Bakondjo territory, to the east of Lake Edward.

415 [211] The wooden bowls are usually elliptical, but sometimes they are quite long and have a handle, so that they resemble a very short-handled spoon. Twin vessels are also not uncommon and I collected a number of them in Mulera. They hold less than other vessels. These twin vessels have a common longitudinal axis, are carved from one piece of wood, and used to serve different foods at one time. The part that joins them serves as a handle. On the outer rim there is often the suggestion of a handle in the form of a knob or a loop. Simple bowls sometimes also have loops.

[212] Gourds are used to hold beer and water. In Mulera, as in the Congo Basin, large bowls (ulukiza) made of calabashes cut in half lengthwise are used for drinking. Usually, however, in Ruanda, beer is sipped through straws from calabashes with narrow necks. The necks of these jugs are not as narrow as those in Kiziba. The straws are kept in the huts in small woven or carved wooden containers (ikitembo) resembling quivers.

Beer is poured into the small openings of the calabashes with funnels. [213] However, we also find vessels used for pouring. These were collected and illustrated by Dr. Kandt. (1)

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," Zeitscheift fflr Ethnologie, 1904, p. 346.

Milk is stored in the house in the wooden vessels (kianzi) we have already discussed. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter. There are special small vessels for storing butter. They are made either of fired clay or carved out of wood. The latter are shaped like tiny dishes, but the edges are more convergent, and they usually have a loop handle.

352 Small, one-legged stools complete the furniture, but not every household has these.

462 The Household. The women do the housework which consists of fetching water and preparing food.

312 Fetching the water needed for the household is probably the most onerous task, particularly in the lava district south of the

312 volcanoes. There the rivers run underground and open water holes are sometimes a great distance away, even several hours. In these regions rain water and the bitter juice of the banana stalks are used primarily, but a certain amount of water has to be fetched even in these regions. The collected rain water is very impure, for [214] it is gathered in small depressions in the ground from which it is dipped with gourds into larger vessels for storage. In Buhumba, along the route from Nyundo to Rutshuru, I saw that after a heavy rain waste matter from the dirty courtyards was washed into the water holes.

312 578 In spite of these difficulties in obtaining water, the Bahutu filled in a spring on the Karisimbi in order to get rid of the Batutsi who watered their stock there and devastated the fields. This example shows how peacefully herdsmen and farmers live together.

412

Fig. 160. Woman's Knife with Single Cutting Edge, from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13734. 20 centimeters long.)

Fig. 161. Woman's Knife from West Kivu. (1/4 actual size. III E10172. 32.5 centimeters long.)

515 That the women have to fetch the water may account for their greater cleanliness. It struck me in Nyundo that one always saw women washing themselves along the Ssebeya, but one seldom saw men bathing.

462 The entire process of preparing food also falls to the women, and this is not limited to cooking. They must also thresh the grain, grind it into flour, peel the produce of the fields, in most cases fetch firewood, and in Kissaka even make the pots.

412 In their work women use small, crudely constructed knives. Only in the west do we find large, double-edged, sword-like knives used by the women. They closely resemble the knife used by Babira women.

493 relatively long distances. These are not the comfortable, beautifully plaited carrying baskets which are in use in Ruanda for Musinga and the Batussi rulers, but in most cases they are merely two strong poles connected by crossbars which are covered with a layer of straw or a sheep skin. The traveler either lies on it or sits on it with his legs crossed under him. Old King Kisabo, who was almost blind, often traveled in this manner for several days (Plate 13a). Nevertheless, even in Urundi large, plaited wickerwork stretchers occur.

501 I have already briefly mentioned the boats (ubwato) in the chapter on fishing (p. 37). They are almost without exception dugouts. Only rarely and only in the easternmost region can one observe small bark canoes [73] which apparently are used solely for crossing the intermittent streams that appear during the rainy season in summer. During the dry season one can see them cracked open lying beside the dry stream beds. They are only used during one rainy season, and new ones have to be built each summer. They consist merely of three pieces of tree bark patched together with tree bast. One piece forms the bottom, the other two the sides. They hold no more than two persons.

Dugouts, however, are strong and durable, although technically they are extremely defective. We shall discuss the manner of their construction later, in the section on "Handicrafts" (p. 82); at this point we shall only describe how they are used and manipulated. On the rivers of central Urundi dugouts are rare, and due to the lack of large trees, they are small and poorly constructed (Plate 5b). Often they are quite crooked, so it is difficult to keep them balanced. In forest regions, as in north Urundi, on Lake Tanganyika, and on the Ruzizi River, they are of better quality, larger, and more numerous. On Lake Tanganyika, canoes 15 meters long and 1,50 meters wide are no rarity. The best are from the west [313] shore, from Uwembe, where the tall forest furnishes a supply [439] of good timber. They are sold to the Barundi for goats or pearls and are valued at about six to ten rupees.

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber shortage is a very important economic problem. In some places wood 372 must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

245 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have 197 begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation 554 a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C.T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42
Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415 water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
564 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.

The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000 to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with 300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness. For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can be made (see above, pp.24, 31). This tree is really planted and cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The majority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

243 The millet fields lie chiefly on the slopes of the hills.
311 They are hoed and seeded after the first rain. Some time later they are weeded. The main harvest takes place in the middle of the dry season. I saw a harvest in Kissaka during the latter half of July. In Nduga it was already over in August. In Mulera the harvest is said to be at the end of February and in Bgisha at the end of November and the beginning of December.

244 Sweet potatoes are planted in marshy lowlands and irrigated
311 fields. They are the staple during the dry season when other supplies are exhausted and the millet is not yet ripe.

The land at the highest altitude is used for peas, although one often finds fields of peas at a lower altitude than banana groves. The highest fields I saw were on Mount Ndisa, high above the settlements, probably extending up to 2,000 meters. I could not discover the reason for the high location of these fields. [139] To judge from the surrounding country, I did not have the impression that it was so densely populated that the people were forced to lay out their fields so inconveniently. Peas and beans are harvested at the end of the rainy season.

251 Field crops, with the exception of bananas and sweet potatoes, are kept in storehouses (kigega). Millet is cut off short and left lying unthreshed until it is needed. Only then is it threshed in small quantities in mortars and winnowed by the wind on large woven shields. Bananas and sweet potatoes are brought from the plantations as needed. The bunches to be used for making beer are kept in the huts to continue ripening. Here considerable stores of other crops, especially beans and peas, are kept in large baskets (umuhiri) made air tight with cow dung.

314 Forestry. In Ruanda we can hardly speak of forest cultivation, despite intensive farming and the widespread cultivation of the land in densely populated areas where forests have shrunk to a minimum. The Muhutu is the worst enemy of the forest. He uses wood to build his huts and storehouses, his boats and tools, and to cook his food, but he does not husband it, and in this respect he is no better than the peasant of eastern Europe.

311 According to unanimous reports by the natives, the country of Ruanda is undergoing a rapid change, and deforestation is making great advances. Formerly the country is said to have been covered

411 to three meters long, absolutely straight generally, and as well-rounded and smoothly scraped as though polished. Considering the extreme rarity of trees and large bushes in Urundi, the quality of the spear shafts is surprising. No pole-timber for the spears is imported from the neighboring areas. Many spear shafts are family heirlooms which have been bequeathed down to the present day from a time when wood was more plentiful. Others are made from the wood of the cultivated fig tree which yields barkcloth; it grows good straight branches unless it is cut often. Poorer people and children generally have spears with inferior, somewhat bent or knotty shafts. Spear [326] points and sockets are made by special blacksmiths (see p. 77) [316] either from iron mined in Urundi itself or from iron hoes (see [439] p. 83) imported from the Congo (Uvira) or from Usindja. The rest of the work necessary to make a spear is done by each Murundi himself. [Fig. 8 appears here in original text.]

The spear is mainly a weapon used for stabbing or for defense. It is thrown only short distances when one is certain of hitting the target since one cannot risk losing this valuable possession. There are no slings for hurling spears.

The Murundi is inseparable from his spear, and the fact 516 that they are always able to lean on the long spear shaft determines the characteristic posture of both the Murundi and the Munjaruanda when they are standing still. He grips the upright shaft with his arm half-raised so that his hand is about the level of his face. Depending on whether the palm of the hand is turned in or out when clutching the spear, the shaft stands vertically either between chest and elbow or along the outside of the elbow, while its end rests on the ground. In both cases the body leans with all its weight against this prop which slants somewhat away from it; at the same time the leg bearing the main weight of the body is fully extended while the leg next to the spear which takes no weight is easily crossed over the other leg at knee-level so that it touches the ground only with the outer edge of the sole (Plate 9b). [34] Less frequently the foot of the leg taking no weight is planted firmly against the leg bearing the main weight, as is done frequently among the Negroes of the Upper Nile and also among the Massai. The composition of lines

[Text continues on page 49]

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

326 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi
177 is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe.
[412] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes
[411] were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that
135 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained
● 316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19,
325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The
326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas.
[439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

325 out with the same instrument. Once on the anvil, the iron is forged with the hammer (injondo), a heavy piece of iron with several edges. It has no wooden handle but is elongated on one end to form a kind of handle so that it may be gripped firmly. The iron is hammered and intermittently made red-hot until it has been purified of all dross. Then it is forged with the 325 hammer into the shape of the desired object. For this purpose 412 any of the following auxiliary tools are used: a thick, rounded pin over whose curved head the glowing piece of iron is hammered into concave shapes, e.g., bells, sleeves for spear points, etc.; a short pointed piece of iron with which simple patterns of dots are engraved in arm rings, chopping knives, and other objects; an old knife to cut pieces of glowing iron in two by using it like a wedge and hitting it with the hammer; a file consisting of a serrated piece of iron with a wooden handle with which any unevenness is rasped off the forged objects after they have cooled down; and finally a few hard, smooth stones for polishing.

I have not been able to ascertain whether the Barundi are [439] familiar with wiredrawing. They use imported European types of iron, copper, or brass wire to wind around their bracelets and knife sheaths.

325 Copper (umurinda) and brass are hardly used at all in 439 Urundi, with the exception of the Tanganyika district where copper and brass have been imported from the Congo (for instance, Katanga) for years and are used for many purposes. In [316] the large interior areas of Urundi no copper ore is mined. The small amount of copper imported from Tanganyika in the form of wire is hammered out cold and used for making simple brace- [301] lets, small bells used as dangling ornaments, small pieces of foil used as inlays for the large wooden arm discs, and other things. Both in Urundi and Ruanda the casting of iron in molds is unknown.

5: Pages--37 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

285 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

462 Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ 776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

769 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, 775 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

322 412 The tools used for this work are the ax (Figs. 29, 30), the bush knife (Fig. 31), the percussion drill, the hollow hatchet in various sizes with diagonal cutting edges, and the rasp for scraping the interior and surface of objects.

325 316 439 Metal Industry. The two types of metalwork in Ruanda are the ordinary blacksmith's art and wire drawing. Iron mining is of no importance; the inhabitants are dependent almost entirely on imported metal. Iron is imported from Busindja and from the Congo state in the form of hoes. I saw a few abandoned mines on Mount Ndisa, and there is some iron in Kissaka. Dr. Kandt (1) even reports a blast furnace with 16 bellows. Bgisha

1. Ibid., p. 360.

is said to be considerably richer in iron, but it seems to me that it chiefly mediates the importation of Congo iron.

326 The smiths form a sort of guild in Nduga. They are all Bahutu, but they belong to different clans even though their occupation is generally hereditary.

Smiths are very much feared throughout the country, although one cannot deny that their trade is regarded with a certain scorn. Among the Bahutu the smiths enjoy their wealth because of an undeniable influence. Women, for example, seem to regard smiths as great cavaliers and men of the world who always drink beer to excess. In general, however, they are regarded as restless spirits and eternal rebels, nor are they especially praised for their honesty. In view of this, they are carefully watched at their work when, as is usually the case, they are furnished with raw materials by the customers. It is said that they filch iron whenever they can and have a very bad reputation in this respect.

[847] Aside from their regular trade, the smiths also practice gynecology, and they are noted for their skill in performing abortions. They also play a prominent part in the cult. The head of the royal smiths is said to have a high position and to play an important role in court ceremonies.

443 spite of the sleeping sickness, there has been a marked increase in the number of Barundi from the interior visiting some of these markets on Lake Tanganyika and more trading trips by Tanganyika people to central Urundi to buy cattle hides and wax, which they then bring to Usumbura.

Among themselves the Barundi of the distant interior trade
438 field produce for other produce or for goats, sheep, hides, bark-
317 cloth, pots, iron hoes, etc. The latter items are produced mainly by the Batwa (p. 77). The only trade object transported over a long distance is salt which is not found anywhere in Urundi itself. Formerly it was for the most part imported from adjoining Uha, but at present it is sold in much better quality by the Gottorp saltworks on the lower Malagarasi River which is under European management. It finds its way to the interior by way of Usumbura (Plate 27a).

Formerly palm oil was the main trade commodity in the
439 Tanganyika region (p. 53), but since all traffic and trade in the Tanganyika region has been paralyzed by the terrible sleeping sickness epidemic, the oil trade, too, has decreased considerably. The smaller portion of the oil goes to central Urundi, the larger portion is absorbed by Ujiji and the west shore of the lake which is part of the Congo state. Bananas, pombe beer, butter, fish, goats, and sheep are exported both to central Urundi and to Ujiji and the eastern Congo. The Congo region sends mainly caoutchouc, a little ivory, and cattle in exchange. By far the greatest portion of trade with the Congo area is carried out by smuggling. [75] While import and export is free in the German controlled area, Congo authorities have imposed large tariffs on imports and exports. The natives, however, are very adept at circumventing them. Most of the smuggled products are brought in on paths through the swamp thickets of the Ruzizi which are very difficult to control.

Only wax and cattle hides are exported from central Urundi.
439 In exchange, beads and thick wire (iron, copper, brass) are the
435 main imports, in addition to relatively little cotton material but much salt. In 1911 it was calculated that about 18,000 to 20,000 cattle hides, priced at eight rupees or the equivalent

/21/ A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa

Book I

A Summary Outline of Ruanda and Its Inhabitants

Chapter 1

Physical and Ethnological Make-up of Ruanda.
Political, Familial, and Social Organization of Its Inhabitants.

|3| Ruanda is bound to the north by the Protectorate of Uganda which encloses the Bufumbiro, separated from Ruanda in 1912 by the Anglo-Belgian Commission of Delimitation. /22/

To the northeast it is bound by the Kagera, which runs into Lake Victoria.

The Akanyaru River, which delimits Ruanda to the south and southeast does not enclose the Bugessera. That province, situated at the angle formed by the junction of the Akanyaru and the Kagera, was separated from Urundi, to which it used to belong. It is now divided from it by an artificial line. Nor is the Bungwe enclosed by the southern river, which leaves it to the right.

To the west, Ruanda is separated from the Belgian Congo by Lake Kivu along a length of 120 kilometers. To the northwest the volcanic chain forms a natural boundary beyond which are situated, however, two small provinces, the Bgisha, or Gisigari, and the Jomba, which were joined to Belgian Kivu in 1912.

484 Such are the approximate boundaries of Ruanda. This does not
[317] prevent its inhabitants from extending their contacts well beyond the
[825] circle of their own land. They go as far as Lake Edward to fetch salt, which is collected in the marshes near the lake. There they also

2: Meyer--289 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 55

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[531]

Neck Ornaments and Amulets Filled with "Medicine."

Nos. 1, 4) Goat horns, pieces of bone, wooden sticks, 16 and 20 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — Nos. 2, 3) Carved cattle horns, 9 and 10 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

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Fig. 71. Neck Ornament of Polished Shell Discs, from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 5231a. 44 centimeters long.)

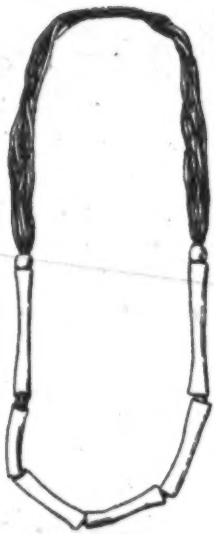

Fig. 70. Necklace of Sheep Bones, Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13038. 2 x 41 centimeters long.)

Fig. 72. Neck Ornament from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 3958. 14 centimeters long.)

Fig. 73. Hip Bands of Straw, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 9909.)

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[171] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
[291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

322 412 The Barundi do not have a special tool for wood carving, only the two small chopping knives, the sickle-shaped, long-handled cutting knife (Plate 46, No. 4) with which we are already familiar from the discussion of agriculture (p. 49), and the short and long knives which are used for all kinds of daily jobs (Fig. 16). To round and smooth spear shafts, a small piece of wood is stuck on a small double-edged knife, at an angle. Then the knife is moved back and forth along the shaft until the wood has been scraped and given the desired shape. The wooden arm discs, after having been cut from a block of wood, are shaved with a knife and polished with fig leaves (which are probably flinty) until they have the elegant, mathematically correct shape and smooth surface which we admire in them. [Fig. 16 appears here in the original text.]

The simple parallel linear decorations which are occasionally seen on wooden utensils and calabashes are seldom carved [531] but generally burnt in by a kind of poker-work. For this purpose small notches are made in an old knife or spear point so that several tooth-like points are formed. This iron is made red-hot and then passed over the wood; its points burn a number of absolutely parallel lines into the surface (No. 19, p. 367). Apart from this, saws for cutting wood are as unknown as drills and nails. Because of this, holes are also made in wood by means of red-hot iron. As everywhere else in East Africa where saws are not available, boards or beams are carved from thick logs by chopping and cutting chips and splinters from both sides of the block until a board of the desired thickness remains. For this reason the traveler in these regions can hardly present the chiefs with a more welcome gift than a sturdy handsaw, a hand-drill, hammers, iron nails, and other tools.

Nowhere in Urundi or Ruanda did I see either human or 322 532 animal figures scratched or cut into the surface of wood or carved from wood. Only among the Barundi on Lake Tanganyika does one find carved wooden figures, an art which was intro- [177] duced from the Congo region. Finally, the decorations found 322 on many -- not all -- of the wooden [82] hand discs deserve to be 531 mentioned. They are inlaid with iron, copper or brass spirals,

[Text continues on page 124]

531 angular or round pieces of foil and pins (Plates 34 and 35).
322 Occasionally their entire surface is almost completely covered with such thin metal inlays. They are attached to the surface by scratching the outlines of the metal pieces into the wood, then hollowing out the area within these outlines, filling it with wax, and, finally, pressing in the spirals and metal foils. There are only a few artists who master this technique. In Ruanda such metal inlays are seen on only a few hand discs and on the horns worn around the neck as part of the dancing costume. There the inlays consist of strips of zinc and lead.

396 The biggest carved object of the Barundi and the one most difficult to make is the boat, the dugout (ubwato). As we have seen above (p. 73), dugouts are rare in this almost treeless country, and their use is confined to a few of the larger rivers and to Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Dugouts are ordered and paid for by chiefs who are in need of a boat for ferrying purposes in their district or by families engaged in fishing who can afford the expense. The Batwa are the best boat builders; the technique is a specialty of theirs (No. 19, p. 367). The two instruments used in the construction are a [412] chopping knife whose blade is set at an angle and whose handle is gripped with both hands and an ax with a short handle. The tree -- the thicker and straighter the better -- is felled by thousands of blows. The bark is then removed with axes, and the log is first hewn roughly to the desired length and thickness of the boat. Then it is given its external shape: the bulging sides, the round bottom without a keel, and the somewhat pointed bow and stern. Finally the inner trough is hollowed out. This, too, is done solely with axes and knives. In other regions of East Africa this is accomplished by starting small fires on the upper side of the tree trunk. These fires gradually eat their way into the trunk, and the charred parts are scraped out until only the hull remains. According to their own testimony, the Barundi do not know this technique. After the job is more or less done, the boat, before being launched, is filled with water in order to test whether it is waterproof. After all the cracks have been calked, the dugout is pushed and pulled into the water with the participation of a festive and noisy crowd.

2: Meyer--286 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 52

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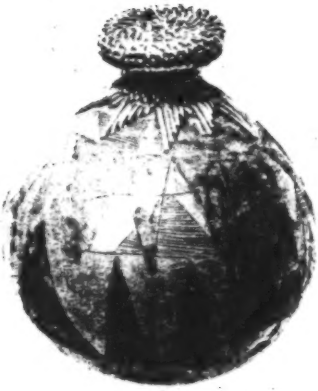

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Household Utensils of Wood and Gourds; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Wooden bowl for grain, flour, etc., 35 centimeters long; No. 2) Decorated bottle gourd for milk, 12 centimeters high; No. 3) Decorated bottle gourd, 16 centimeters high; No. 4) Wooden vessel for butter, 20 centimeters high.

322 463 Wood Carving. Woodwork in Ruanda is done by highly specialized craftsmen. Most of them carve jugs or other vessels. They are called babazi in the vicinity of Mount Ndisa where there are great numbers of them. The persons who make bows and arrows and also

[412]

Fig. 47. Percussion Drill from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 9884. 34 centimeters long.)

live near there are called batanazi. Dr. Kandt (1), who in the

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 335-348.

monograph cited above discusses the wood industry of Ruanda in great detail, says with regard to the various types of workers: "Thus, the arrow makers also make bows, other workers make salt troughs for animals and drums, still others specialize in grain mortars, chairs, and beehives. There are also specialists engaged in making dishes, spoons for stirring, ladles, and clubs. Specialists in only one object make containers for milk, quivers, and ornamental boxes for pombe [beer] tubes. Workers who make milk vessels sometimes also make troughs for pombe. (2)

2. Ibid., p. 342.

322 [155] In spite of this extensive specialization, the products by and large are very crude and much poorer than the objects made around Lake Victoria. The smaller containers, especially the dishes for butter, are the most carefully and elegantly carved.

322 412 The tools used for this work are the ax (Figs. 29, 30), the bush knife (Fig. 31), the percussion drill, the hollow hatchet in various sizes with diagonal cutting edges, and the rasp for scraping the interior and surface of objects.

325 316 439 Metal Industry. The two types of metalwork in Ruanda are the ordinary blacksmith's art and wire drawing. Iron mining is of no importance; the inhabitants are dependent almost entirely on imported metal. Iron is imported from Busindja and from the Congo state in the form of hoes. I saw a few abandoned mines on Mount Ndisa, and there is some iron in Kissaka. Dr. Kandt (1) even reports a blast furnace with 16 bellows. Bgisha

1. Ibid., p. 360.

is said to be considerably richer in iron, but it seems to me that it chiefly mediates the importation of Congo iron.

326 The smiths form a sort of guild in Nduga. They are all Bahutu, but they belong to different clans even though their occupation is generally hereditary.

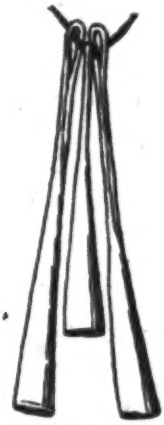
Smiths are very much feared throughout the country, although one cannot deny that their trade is regarded with a certain scorn. Among the Bahutu the smiths enjoy their wealth because of an undeniable influence. Women, for example, seem to regard smiths as great cavaliers and men of the world who always drink beer to excess. In general, however, they are regarded as restless spirits and eternal rebels, nor are they especially praised for their honesty. In view of this, they are carefully watched at their work when, as is usually the case, they are furnished with raw materials by the customers. It is said that they filch iron whenever they can and have a very bad reputation in this respect.

[847] Aside from their regular trade, the smiths also practice gynecology, and they are noted for their skill in performing abortions. They also play a prominent part in the cult. The head of the royal smiths is said to have a high position and to play an important role in court ceremonies.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.

301 703 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.



291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

[531]

Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

413

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Marangara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 ●322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

is rectangular in outline and has an elongated handle. The combs, as I observed, are almost always very crudely carved and decorated. On the other hand, Dr. Kandt (1) says of the combs of the Bahunde terri- 413 531 322

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

tory: "I frequently saw combs worn on a string, with three to six teeth, some with very pretty wood carvings. I also saw pins to smooth the

Fig. 64

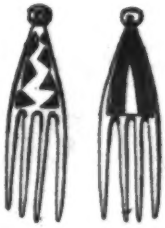


Fig. 65

Fig. 66

Fig. 67

Fig. 64. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13035. 27 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 65. Front and Back of Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13700. 14 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 66. Comb from Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13036. 21 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 67. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13697. 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

hair, made of wood, horn, bone, and other material. These were usually stuck into their curly hair."

The hairpins which Dr. Kandt collected west of Kivu deserve special attention, for they are identical with the hairpins of the Momvu. 301

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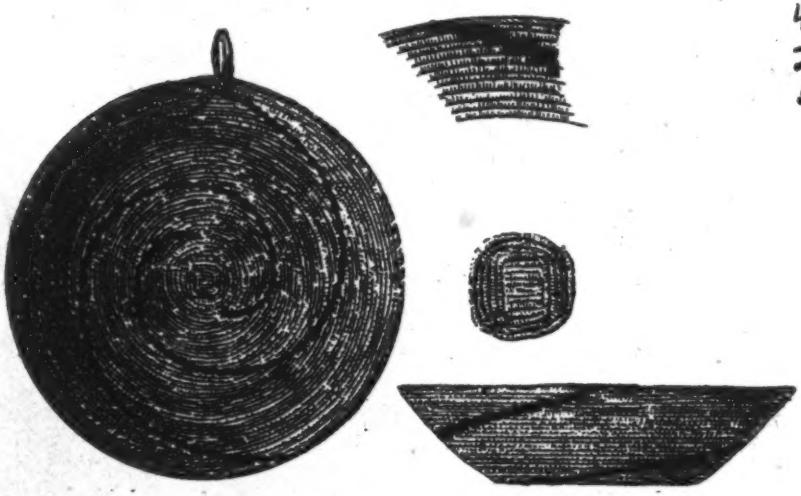

Fig. 144. Basket for Serving Food from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13670. 38 centimeters in diameter.)

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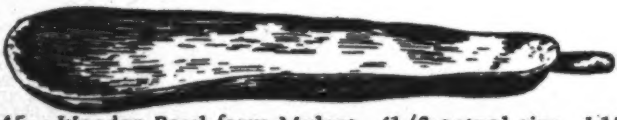

Fig. 145. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15094.)

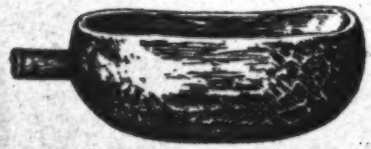

Fig. 146. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L1561.)

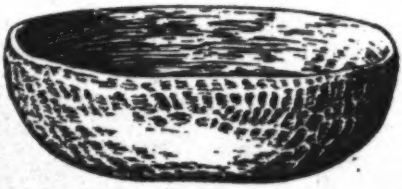

Fig. 147. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15156.)

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

323 of the slate districts of Urundi and Ruanda where good pottery clay (uwumba) has formed from decomposed or alluvial slate. In most cases its color ranges from dark gray to black. Thus it happens that entire potters' villages are built at such sites, a process which has been, and still is, greatly facilitated by the caste separation the pariah-like Batwa.

The clay is dug by the men, kneaded with water, and beaten with a club until it has been freed of rough particles and becomes pliable. A small, round clod of clay which has been somewhat flattened with the hand is placed on a piece of a broken pot which serves as a foundation. A sausage-like ring of clay is superimposed around the edge so as to make a kind of bowl (Plate 7b). Adding superimposed long rings of clay is then repeated. The joints are filled in and smoothed out with a moist hand. All the time the whole thing is constantly turned around on the broken piece (urudsjo) under it (a primitive potter's wheel). While it is turning, the object is polished with the hand and water is sprinkled on it until the pot attains the desired size and shape. The rim is then evened off with a tree leaf. The real finishing, inside and out, is undertaken only after the vessel has dried somewhat in the air. For this purpose a piece of calabash, a small piece of wood, a piece of bark, or a little flat stone is used. Finally, simple linear
323 decorations (wavy lines or zigzag rows of short lines) are
591 scratched below the neck of the vessel with a pointed piece of wood or iron. No figures are scratched on the surface, nor are the pots dyed or even glazed. Van der Burgt believes that the wavy and zigzag lines of the decorations are supposed to be mysterious symbols for the "lightning of Imana," the highest god, which might be regarded as "a kind of hieroglyphic writing" (No. 19, p. 452). I do not believe that the potters are so profound, and I regard the patterns as a purely mechanical expression of the desire for ornamentation. The Barundi and Batwa themselves also assured me that these patterns had no deeper meaning. Clay pots of the European Stone Age show the same simple decoration which is determined purely by primitive techniques.

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
[563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 415 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[276] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
[782] ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 276 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 323 439 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping. Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
285 than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

Plate 7

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Batwa near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Batwa Making Pottery near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--282 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 48

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E arthenware Pots.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) Earthenware vessels for liquids, 18 to 20 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Berlin. — Nos. 4, 5, 6) Earthenware cooking pots, 14 to 22 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

241 To them, this labor is almost taboo (1). They are divided in
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1. Extensive fields of peas are to be seen among the Batwa of the Bugoyi, who live at the edge of the forest. Should one see this as a new state of affairs caused by the deep changes which have upset or transformed their former way of life?

It is certain that the hunting grounds of the Pygmies are not as extensive as they used to be. The forest dwindles imperceptibly but surely as the Bahutu, in search of new fields, gnaw at it incessantly with their axes. It must also be said that the Negrillos can no longer plunder and rob as they used to do. European penetration is largely responsible for stopping this source of income. In order to support themselves, the Batwa have begun to farm out of necessity, like the Bahutu.

323 two categories, the potters and the hunters. The former settle in Bahutu villages but live apart. They work with clay, a task which everyone else gladly leaves to them. They get foodstuffs in exchange for their vessels.

The hunters prefer the solitude of the forest. They are the 224 true children of the woods, and "milk" the forest in every way, as [195] though it were their cow, to repeat a familiar expression /35/ of theirs. They live on the game they kill.

They are very fond of meat and tirelessly track elephants, buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, the large tailless, clawless rats called

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

285 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we ●323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

462 Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ 776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

769 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, 775 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

285 wrapper around beer jugs, for some of the woven quivers, and for mats to place under dishes. I remember having seen the pattern of Type II, in which the vertical strips are held together on the outside by a spiral, only on quivers (see Fig. 153).

Baskets used for traveling, in which toilet articles and small items are kept, are made of two stick mats [153] placed together vertically, bent to form a cylinder, and fastened together with several (usually four) horizontally attached hoops (see Fig. 45).

The sewn baskets are made from slender bundles of fine straw which are coiled and bound with bast. The bast binding is drawn through the previously bound coil of straw and sewn in this manner. The attachment of one coil to another makes the basket. The hole for the thread drawn through the coils is made with an iron needle (mhindu) which is also used to remove sand fleas. The needle has a flat head which is used to smooth out the bound bundle and make it more pliable. The patterns on the baskets are made with black banana leaf sheaths tied around certain parts of the coils.

The finest plaiting of this type is found in Ruanda on the covers of milk containers. Nevertheless, they cannot be compared with those of Kiziba and Kyanja. The small storage baskets (chibo) represent somewhat coarser work.

As may be seen from the above description, household equipment is mostly plaited objects, and their production takes up a large share of the women's time in every household. The best work is done by the Batutsi women who regard it as our women do their needlework.

●323 Pottery. Objects of pottery stand second in the inventory of household furnishings. Pottery is produced by professional artisans who work exclusively for the market. In Ruanda most of the potters are Batwa men, but there are also Bahutu men and women who work as potters. In Kissaka I saw only women working at the trade.

Pots are not made on a wheel. However, traces of this tool are evident in the sherds which are used to shape the pot.

The clay which has been mixed with water is dampened slightly by the worker. She takes a lump of this and by hand shapes a cylindrical roll, 30 centimeters long and two to three centimeters thick. This roll is wound spirally like the straw coils used in

323 making baskets, thus forming the lower part of the pot. The rolls of clay are pressed together inside and out, and when the lower part of the pot is formed, additional spirals are added and pressed together. The procedure is continued to the upper edge of the pot or the neck of the jug, the spiral rolls still being recognizable. When it is finished thus far, [154] the pot is dipped in water and smoothed out with a piece of gourd until the rolls disappear. The upper edges are worked over with special care. They are carefully smoothed with a wet leaf (Acanthus arboreus) while the pot is rotated on the sherd. The ornamentation is also added while the pot is rotated, though much more slowly. A cylinder of plaited grass is rolled against the sides of the pot to make the primitive
[531] decorations. Geometrical designs are also applied.

The pots made in this way are allowed to dry for a few days and are then fired. It is said that they are fired in the pits used to warm the unripe, unfermented beer. Pots are also fired in the open where they are stacked in pyramids, packed with firewood and grass on the sides and banana stalks on top, and thus fired. The high moisture content of the banana stalks slows the burning of the wood and prolongs the entire process, which should help to keep the pots from cracking. Nevertheless, there is always a considerable residue of useless pots.

To increase the quality of the goods, it is said that crushed sherds are added to the clay.

Potters are found on every hill. In Kissaka where there are no markets, they work only to supply the needs of the immediate vicinity.

[832] A secondary branch of pottery is the manufacture of pipes and "little love pots," tiny vessels in which the women carry their amulets which are said to guarantee them the love of their husbands. These objects are made of kneaded clay and hollowed out with special small spatulas. These two classes of objects, if
[531] they are decorated at all, primarily have only linear geometrical ornamentation.

6: Czekanowski--77 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 81. Tobacco Pouch Made of a Cow Bladder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E6998. 31 centimeters long.)

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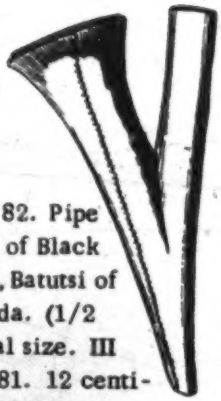

Fig. 82. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Batutsi of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13081. 12 centimeters long.)

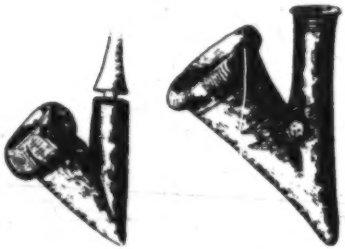

Fig. 84. Pipe Bowls of the Bahutu, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 83. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 13080. 9 centimeters long.)

Fig. 85. Pipe Bowl of White Clay, Bahutu of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 86. Pipe Bowl from Bgisha. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 87. Pipe from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. III 13715. 5 1/2 centimeters long.)

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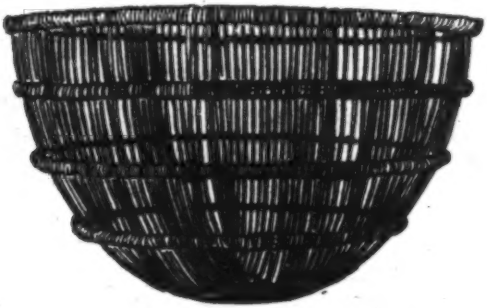

Fig. 134. Stick Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10032. 48 centimeters in diameter.)

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Fig. 135. Cooking Pot from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15172.)

Fig. 136. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15264.)

Fig. 137. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L14755.)

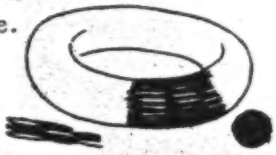

Fig. 138. Supporting Ring from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13726. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

415 sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are
285 the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

[209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape
412 and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back
252 and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer.
415 The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger
323 opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

372 [210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

415 Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets.
415 The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked
285 patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

[2]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954. 184 113

[3]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi. 184

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help. 564 323

[16]It has been suggested that anaemia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

WYA 15

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

326 177 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe. [412] [411] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that 135 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained 316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19, 325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The 326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas. [439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

326 rings, etc., which are customary in the country. The Bahutu and the Batwa use the same technique, but apparently the Batwa are the more adroit blacksmiths. In Urundi blacksmiths do not form a special guild, but in some families the craft is passed on from one generation to the other. Blacksmiths live [554] with the other Barundi, and because of their craft they are highly respected. They are professional craftsmen who sell [84] their merchandise, but as in Ruanda, they often also engage in agriculture on the side. [Fig. 17 appears here in the original text.]

325 [348] The work shop (uruganda) is a small round hut, open on all sides. In its center a hollow in the ground contains the [372] charcoal fire. Since blacksmiths need charcoal for their craft and since there are few trees in this country, they mostly have their huts not far from the remains of forests or the bushes along the rivers. Charcoal from the peripheral mountains wrapped [438] in long bundles of banana leaves is sold in the interior. Next to the fireplace there are bellows, either vessel or bowl bellows (umuvuba), shaped like a large, double wooden spoon, over each of whose ends a goatskin is stretched loosely (No. 2 of Plate 45). A wooden stick is tied to the center of each skin; it serves as a piston whose upward and downward movements press the air from the vessel into the end of the pipe. The blower stands or squats behind the bellows holding a piston in each hand which he alternately moves up and down quickly. The same type of bellows is used in Ruanda where it is also used for blowing the smelting furnaces. In Urundi (according to Stuhlmann's small map in No. 32a, p. 62), still another type is said to exist, the tube or bag bellows; yet I have not been able to find out anything about it. The more common vessel bellows just described is carved from a single block of wood and opens into a short, funnel-shaped clay pipe which is placed directly amongst the hot coals and keeps them glowing. From time to time water is sprinkled on the glowing pile of coal.

[85] On the other side of the fireplace there is a hard stone which serves as an anvil (Fig. 17). The piece of iron which is to be forged is pushed into the glowing coals with a wet, clamp-like piece of wood or with a pointed iron pin, and it is pulled

[Text continues on page 128]

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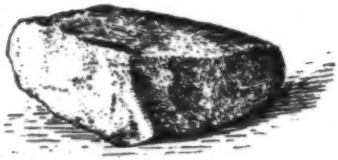

Stone Anvil

Pin for Engraving Ornaments.

File

Iron Hammer.

Iron Bolt for Forging Concave Forms.

Fig. 17.

(All 5 figures in the Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6386.)

325 out with the same instrument. Once on the anvil, the iron is forged with the hammer (injondo), a heavy piece of iron with several edges. It has no wooden handle but is elongated on one end to form a kind of handle so that it may be gripped firmly. The iron is hammered and intermittently made red-hot until it has been purified of all dross. Then it is forged with the 325 hammer into the shape of the desired object. For this purpose 412 any of the following auxiliary tools are used: a thick, rounded pin over whose curved head the glowing piece of iron is hammered into concave shapes, e.g., bells, sleeves for spear points, etc.; a short pointed piece of iron with which simple patterns of dots are engraved in arm rings, chopping knives, and other objects; an old knife to cut pieces of glowing iron in two by using it like a wedge and hitting it with the hammer; a file consisting of a serrated piece of iron with a wooden handle with which any unevenness is rasped off the forged objects after they have cooled down; and finally a few hard, smooth stones for polishing.

I have not been able to ascertain whether the Barundi are [439] familiar with wiredrawing. They use imported European types of iron, copper, or brass wire to wind around their bracelets and knife sheaths.

325 Copper (umurinda) and brass are hardly used at all in 439 Urundi, with the exception of the Tanganyika district where copper and brass have been imported from the Congo (for instance, Katanga) for years and are used for many purposes. In [316] the large interior areas of Urundi no copper ore is mined. The small amount of copper imported from Tanganyika in the form [301] of wire is hammered out cold and used for making simple bracelets, small bells used as dangling ornaments, small pieces of foil used as inlays for the large wooden arm discs, and other things. Both in Urundi and Ruanda the casting of iron in molds is unknown.

2: Meyer--279 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 45

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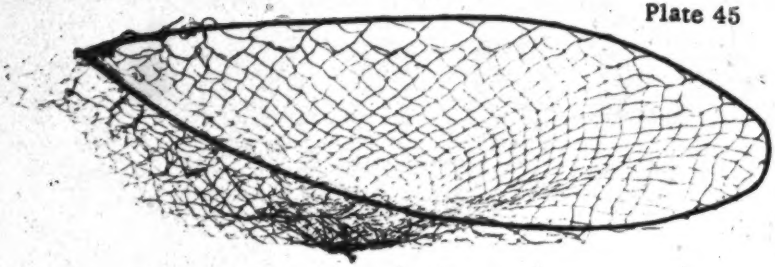

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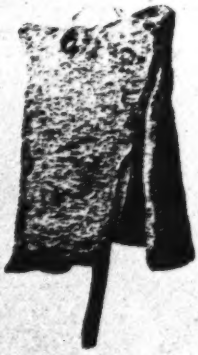

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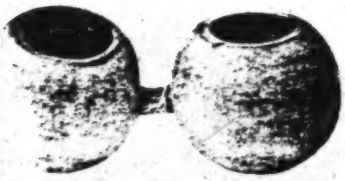

Implements Used in the Household, Fishing, and Field Work;

No. 1) Fish net of bast strings, 120 centimeters long; No. 2) Vessel bellows of wood and goat skin, 97 centimeters long; No. 3) Wooden milk bottle, 28 centimeters; No. 4) Iron cattle bell, 14 centimeters; No. 5) Wooden double container for butter, 20 centimeters wide.

322 412 The tools used for this work are the ax (Figs. 29, 30), the bush knife (Fig. 31), the percussion drill, the hollow hatchet in various sizes with diagonal cutting edges, and the rasp for scraping the interior and surface of objects.

325 316 439 Metal Industry. The two types of metalwork in Ruanda are the ordinary blacksmith's art and wire drawing. Iron mining is of no importance; the inhabitants are dependent almost entirely on imported metal. Iron is imported from Buindja and from the Congo state in the form of hoes. I saw a few abandoned mines on Mount Ndisa, and there is some iron in Kissaka. Dr. Kandt (1) even reports a blast furnace with 16 bellows. Bgisha

1. Ibid., p. 360.

is said to be considerably richer in iron, but it seems to me that it chiefly mediates the importation of Congo iron.

326 The smiths form a sort of guild in Nduga. They are all Bahutu, but they belong to different clans even though their occupation is generally hereditary.

Smiths are very much feared throughout the country, although one cannot deny that their trade is regarded with a certain scorn. Among the Bahutu the smiths enjoy their wealth because of an undeniable influence. Women, for example, seem to regard smiths as great cavaliers and men of the world who always drink beer to excess. In general, however, they are regarded as restless spirits and eternal rebels, nor are they especially praised for their honesty. In view of this, they are carefully watched at their work when, as is usually the case, they are furnished with raw materials by the customers. It is said that they filch iron whenever they can and have a very bad reputation in this respect.

[147] Aside from their regular trade, the smiths also practice gynecology, and they are noted for their skill in performing abortions. They also play a prominent part in the cult. The head of the royal smiths is said to have a high position and to play an important role in court ceremonies.

●325 [156] A smith's tools consist of bellows, iron hammers, and a stone anvil, besides lesser tools such as an earthen pot for water, a brush to sprinkle the coals when the surface begins to glow, and pieces of wood to clamp together the red-hot iron.

In Kissaka the bellows (see Plate 12, Vol. III) is a clay vessel, the bottom of which is elongated to form a rather long horizontal pipe. The upper opening of the pot is covered with a goat skin in such a way that a stick at the center can either

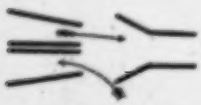

Fig. 48. Diagram of Air Circulation between Bellows and Funnel.

raise it or lower it in the pot. The resulting change in size of the area covered causes a shifting current of air in the horizontal pipe leading out of the bottom. Two bellows form one unit operated by one man and adequate for ordinary forging work. Dr. Kandt (1) shows an illustration of a double wooden bellows which

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 362.

I repeatedly saw only in north Ruanda and among the Bakondjo [Konjo]. A clay funnel sunk into the hearth is laid in front of the openings of the two bellows. Puffs of air produced by rapidly pressing down the skin-membrane are directed into the funnel alternately from the two openings. According to the pressure thus produced, the draft reaches the center of the hearth by way of the funnel, whereas the air sucked into the bellows comes through the space between the funnel and the bellows. In this manner primitive bellows without valves direct air through a funnel to the center of the hearth.

[412] The hammers, including the handle, are made from one piece of iron. The handle is round in cross section, whereas the hammer has four ribs for pounding, producing an X-shape in cross section.

●325 The anvil is a flat stone. The smiths sit on similarly shaped stones beside the anvil while they work.

They do not use tongs. The red-hot iron is set into banana stalks which have a high moisture content, and thus the iron can be held in the hand while being forged. If the object being forged happens to have a point, the latter is driven into a piece of wood, and with this improvised handle it can be held quite comfortably.

To cut off a piece of iron, they bend it in both directions until it breaks and falls apart. The edges and the rough surfaces of the anvil are also used in forging. For example, if the iron is to be cut in two at a certain point, that portion is hammered thin, repeatedly [157] bent in both directions, and finally laid over a hollow portion of the anvil and separated with a few light blows.

[306] The rather highly developed jewelry industry requires a considerable production of very thin iron and copper wire. This is wound around bracelets and anklets.

The piece of metal is first forged into a thick, uneven piece of wire, and later this is drawn out to the desired thinness.

The actual wire drawing is done without heat. Forged wire is repeatedly drawn through a cone-shaped hole in an iron bolt. The narrower outlet of the bolt is gradually made smaller as the soft metal is hammered. As the wire is pulled through, the edges of the bolt yield more and more, so that the wire is thicker at the end than at the beginning. To counteract this, the wire is alternately pulled through the bolt in the reverse direction.

After the opening of the bolt has been narrowed by hammering, first of all the uneven edges must be smoothed. For this purpose a well-sharpened needle set into a wooden handle is used. The needle is put into the opening of the bolt from both sides and twisted around. Then the end of the wire is filed so that it can be threaded into the bolt. Thereupon the protruding end of the wire is clamped down with a special device. The wire is drawn without the use of pincers.

The clamp used in place of pincers consists of a V-shaped piece of iron. The protruding bit of wire is placed between the two branches of this V-shaped piece and clamped by means of an iron ring set on the V. The clamp must then be drawn slightly away from the bolt. After this, while the wire is still sufficiently

● 325 thick and strong, the bolt is supported against a forked tree trunk set in the ground. This is why the outer edges of the bolt are cut to shape at both ends. This preparation prevents slipping because these parts can fit more exactly in the notches on the wooden fork.

The clamp is grasped, for the sake of comfort, with a loop made of banana leaf sheaths, and it is drawn the length of a meter. Afterwards a loop is wound around the wire itself. This loop is knotted in such a way that in pulling back with the hand closed it grasps the wire and pulls it, but at the same time it slides easily in the direction of the bolt. Drawing the wire close to the bolt prevents it from breaking. In the case of fine, weak, thin wire, the clamp is supported against the wooden fork and the bolt drawn along the wire by hand. If any section of the wire offers resistance, the wire is slid back and forth.

[287]
[413]

Fig. 49. Barkcloth Beater, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 9964.

Fig. 50. Barkcloth Beater, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13105. 34.5 centimeters long.)

[158] Thick wire is heated for drawing; but the temperature is very low since the main operations, such as filing the point and clamping, are done by hand. Thick wire is rubbed with stones as it is being drawn; the worker takes a handful of stones and repeatedly rubs them along the wire. This is reputedly done to impede the movement of the wire and thus draw it out more. Thin wire is smeared with fat to keep it from getting stuck, which might cause it to break.

The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

411 to three meters long, absolutely straight generally, and as well-rounded and smoothly scraped as though polished. Considering the extreme rarity of trees and large bushes in Urundi, the quality of the spear shafts is surprising. No pole-timber for the spears is imported from the neighboring areas. Many spear shafts are family heirlooms which have been bequeathed down to the present day from a time when wood was more plentiful. Others are made from the wood of the cultivated fig tree which yields barkcloth; it grows good straight branches unless it is cut often. Poorer people and children generally have spears with inferior, somewhat bent or knotty shafts. Spear [326] points and sockets are made by special blacksmiths (see p. 77) [316] either from iron mined in Urundi itself or from iron hoes (see [439] p. 83) imported from the Congo (Uvira) or from Usindja. The rest of the work necessary to make a spear is done by each Murundi himself. [Fig. 8 appears here in original text.]

The spear is mainly a weapon used for stabbing or for defense. It is thrown only short distances when one is certain of hitting the target since one cannot risk losing this valuable possession. There are no slings for hurling spears.

The Murundi is inseparable from his spear, and the fact 516 that they are always able to lean on the long spear shaft determines the characteristic posture of both the Murundi and the Munjaruanda when they are standing still. He grips the upright shaft with his arm half-raised so that his hand is about the level of his face. Depending on whether the palm of the hand is turned in or out when clutching the spear, the shaft stands vertically either between chest and elbow or along the outside of the elbow, while its end rests on the ground. In both cases the body leans with all its weight against this prop which slants somewhat away from it; at the same time the leg bearing the main weight of the body is fully extended while the leg next to the spear which takes no weight is easily crossed over the other leg at knee-level so that it touches the ground only with the outer edge of the sole (Plate 9b). [34] Less frequently the foot of the leg taking no weight is planted firmly against the leg bearing the main weight, as is done frequently among the Negroes of the Upper Nile and also among the Massai. The composition of lines

[Text continues on page 49]

412 (uruwati) made of two thin boards held together by several
411 wrappings. In the same manner as the quiver, the sheath is often
[531] decorated with carved crescents or zigzag patterns (Fig. 9).
The knives are often carried by a strap running from the right shoulder to the left hip, like a shoulder belt. The much smaller
412 knives, 10 to 15 centimeters [35] long, which are found more often and which are of the same shape and used for smaller carving jobs, are either worn on a string around the neck or over the left upper arm. Only in western Lower Urundi on Lake
[177] Tanganyika can we find knives with fine copper wire nicely wound around them; there they are due to Congo influence and are produced by Wawira [Bira] blacksmiths (No. 19, 133).
[326] In Upper Urundi proper, the Bahutu and especially the Batwa blacksmiths are the suppliers of knives.

411 Fighting clubs (uwuhiri) which were once generally used all over the region have become rather rare in Urundi; as among the Massai and the Wadschagga [Chagga] these former weapons have been degraded into a show piece or toy of the men. They consist of a beautifully planed piece of hardwood, about one third of a meter in length, which at the end has been carved into three or four edges and at the handle end is slightly thickened.

411 Shields (ingabo) are much more rare. They have completely lost their importance as a weapon of defense and, as in
554 Ruanda, they have become merely the emblem of a chief or of a family (perhaps the escutcheon of a clan) (Plate 44). The king possesses several shields and each chief and his bodyguards have one each which are painted differently. The Batwa do not have any shields and are not allowed to carry any. The round shield, up to one half meter in diameter, is carved of wood it has a wooden grip and is painted with white and red segments of circles of various types. There are also shields which have reeds plaited around them (see pp. 80-81 and Plate 53) and others of identical shape made of cowhide which occur even more rarely. The same shape and ornamentation of the wooden shields and quivers recur both among the northern Bahima in Ruanda and among the southern ones in Ufipa (cf. illustration in No. 47, p. 76).

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[Text continues on page 128]

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small
285 articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we
323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care
462 of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).
What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/
776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

769 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes,
775 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

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●326
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Blacksmiths at work outdoors. The iron ore is piled up over the hearth. The founders stir up the fire with primitive bellows.

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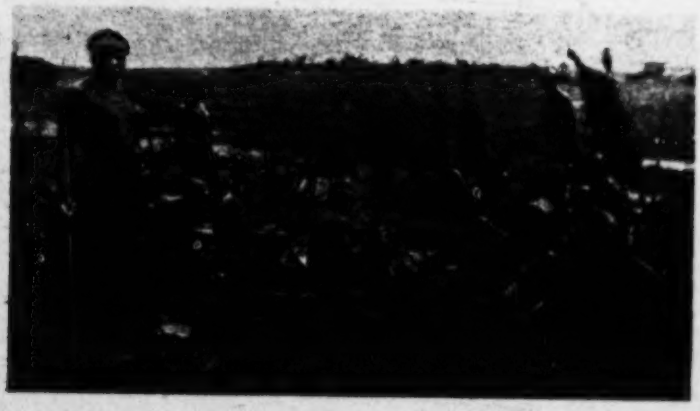

Blacksmiths around their blast furnace.

5: Pagès--293 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

685

Impalement of a cattle thief before European penetration.

142
326
372
516

Bellows and apparatus of a primitive forge.

322 412 The tools used for this work are the ax (Figs. 29, 30), the bush knife (Fig. 31), the percussion drill, the hollow hatchet in various sizes with diagonal cutting edges, and the rasp for scraping the interior and surface of objects.

325 316 439 Metal Industry. The two types of metalwork in Ruanda are the ordinary blacksmith's art and wire drawing. Iron mining is of no importance; the inhabitants are dependent almost entirely on imported metal. Iron is imported from Busindja and from the Congo state in the form of hoes. I saw a few abandoned mines on Mount Ndisa, and there is some iron in Kissaka. Dr. Kandt (1) even reports a blast furnace with 16 bellows. Bgisha

1. Ibid., p. 360.

is said to be considerably richer in iron, but it seems to me that it chiefly mediates the importation of Congo iron.

●326 The smiths form a sort of guild in Nduga. They are all Bahutu, but they belong to different clans even though their occupation is generally hereditary.

Smiths are very much feared throughout the country, although one cannot deny that their trade is regarded with a certain scorn. Among the Bahutu the smiths enjoy their wealth because of an undeniable influence. Women, for example, seem to regard smiths as great cavaliers and men of the world who always drink beer to excess. In general, however, they are regarded as restless spirits and eternal rebels, nor are they especially praised for their honesty. In view of this, they are carefully watched at their work when, as is usually the case, they are furnished with raw materials by the customers. It is said that they filch iron whenever they can and have a very bad reputation in this respect.

[84T] Aside from their regular trade, the smiths also practice gynecology, and they are noted for their skill in performing abortions. They also play a prominent part in the cult. The head of the royal smiths is said to have a high position and to play an important role in court ceremonies.

592 Usually there is only one wife living in the compound (lugo), and she has absolute authority within her sphere. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the king, many women live in one compound and are brought to the kambele in turn. In this case there are several inner courts with houses for the women.

Beyond the inner court is the rear court with the cookhouse, called mubahutu, where the servants live. Near it are the storehouses with supplies of grain. These, however, I also found in the inner court. In Nyanza on Lake Mohasi I asked why a strange Muhutu lived in the cookhouse of the compound, and the answer was: "It is his duty to fill the granaries." Since the man also had to take care of the kitchen, I think this reply must be taken literally; in other words, he had to store the produce brought as tribute by the Bahutu and not home-grown products.

The Bahutu compounds, as a rule, have one court in which we often find several huts.

341 [202] Buildings. In Ruanda there are four distinct types of buildings: dwellings, huts for calves, spirit huts, and storehouses.

The first three are constructed on the same principle and are distinguished from one another only by their size and the care with 346 which they are constructed. The spirit huts are the smallest and least carefully built. They consist of a simple framework of 343 branches stuck into the ground and covered with grass. The storehouses, on the other hand, differ quite radically in form, though not in the principle of construction.

342 The dwelling in Ruanda, as in other parts of the interlacustrine 171 area, has the shape of a beehive. This type has also penetrated the western edges of the great African trench [Rift Valley] and even seems to predominate in Butembo (1), although there club huts

1. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 261.

with four doors mark the center of the village, and the doors are made of boards. In that region the buildings seem to be identical with the ones I observed among the Baamba.

1: Vanhove--2A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 6]

342

A hill chief and his family sitting on the threshold of their home. In the foreground can be seen the imitabo, a very low, festoon-shaped mud walls.

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Reverend Father Pages surrounded by young Batutsi men.

(Both photos taken by Author)

1: Vanhove--3A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

342

[opp. p. 7]

External view of a provincial chief's rugo.
(Official photograph, Colonial Office.)

181 Batussi masters as they formerly were to the scarcely more lenient rule of their Bantu chiefs. When one comes from Ruanda which is governed on a rigid monarchical basis, one is astonished at how much freer, happier, and noisier, but also with how much less discipline the Barundi live and behave under their Batussi batwale than in Ruanda.

361 221 233 Predominantly agriculturists and breeders of small cattle, the Bahutu are completely sedentary. The Batussi, who own all the big cattle, also have permanent dwellings, but during the dry months they engage in a kind of alpine farming with their herds of cattle in the fresher pastures of the mountains, as though in memory of their former life as nomads. This will be described in more detail later in our discussion of stock farming (see p.40).

342 The residential huts (insu) of the Barundi differ essentially neither in form nor in structure, technique or material, from those of the Banjaruanda. Externally they are usually somewhat flatter than the huts in Ruanda; they have the shape of an umbrella rather than a beehive. Yet both in Urundi and Ruanda the crinoline-like frame is bound together by means of wooden poles or, wherever there is bamboo, by means of bamboo poles, the empty spaces between them being filled with vertical and horizontal layers of sorghum stalks. The superimposed, flat, hemispherical roof is not supported by a single pole in the center, but by a number of them evenly distributed in the hut. The entire frame is covered down to the ground with straw of tall grass (sedge, not reeds), and in some regions with dry banana leaves. As a protection against rain, a stick with a wisp of straw which spreads out at the bottom is fastened at the point of the roof. The opening for the door with the somewhat protruding door roof resembles that of the Ruanda house, but its side walls are interwoven less carefully than those of the Ruanda house. The door opening is closed by a coarsely plaited screen, kept in place by a stick propped against it. Except for the single door, there is no opening in the entire structure (Plate 18). Thus, the smoke must escape through the door. The entire hut can be lifted by several men and shifted to a

342 nearby site when the family changes its place of residence.

If the huts are very much inferior in their outward appearance and in the care with which they are built to those of Ruanda, this is even more true of their interiors. Here, as in Ruanda, the interior supporting poles are used to fasten [285] several woven screens, higher than a man and made of papyrus, reed stalks, or bamboo laths. These divide the hut into two or more separate living, sleeping, and store rooms. Many of these woven screens have the shape of a bent shield, as in Ruanda. In Urundi, however, very few of them are plaited as delicately and figured as beautifully as the shield-shaped wall screens and mats which in Ruanda cover the walls all around [22] and separate the various rooms from each other, admirably decorating not only the huts of the Batussi but often also those of prosperous Bahutu. Usually only two rooms are separated from each other by mats in this way: the front room (umurjango), which serves as a living room, kitchen, and dining room during the day, and the rear room (akagiro) which 513 serves as a bedroom. In the latter, the parents' bed space 352 is also separated from the sleeping place of the children by mat screens. Here most of the Barundi sleep simply on a bundle of straw which they cover with a cowhide or goatskin. However, where a bedstead does exist, it consists of four short posts rammed into the ground and a wooden frame fastened on them which is filled with laths and covered with a mat. In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, etc., such bedsteads are owned only by the distinguished and the rich.

352 Wooden stools to sit on, like the ones used elsewhere in East Africa, are nonexistent in Urundi and Ruanda, or they exist only as a foreign import from Unjamwesi, Usâmbiro, etc.

Even in the dwelling of the powerful chief Lusabiko in East Urundi there was "not a single stool or log to sit on. Only a few thick bundles of straw were lying in a corner; they could be drawn toward one if he did not wish to squat on the ground. If one desires to sleep, the bundle is unfastened, and [513] a soft bed is made. In the homes of rich persons a hairy ox hide is placed over it before sitting or lying down." (No. 14, 1901, p. 214.)

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [289] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and 778 reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce [782] of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from 356 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 342 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage [514] next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

964 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. Accord-
956 ing to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings, and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

356 When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired, but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years. After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
429 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it, and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight
592 residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters of homesteads are much larger.

556 Rich people and the Batussi lords, however, are not con-
592 tent with a single kraal including several huts. They build several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass
342 directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living and reception room for the master of the house and also as a shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1). For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common Batussi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

2: Meyer--244 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 10

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Women with Sleeping Sickness, Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Chain Gang in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 18

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Hut in Northwest Urundi with Little Spirit Hut
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Hut in Northwest Urundi with Bahutu Women
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--253 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Barundi Village near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi Homestead East of the Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This[h] makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden
[411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times,
[579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that
463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them
696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches,
[342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

h [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -August]

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse-marsh grass called urukangaga.

[554] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

352 513 The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and interconnected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the [415] hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

352 415 In addition, against the partition delimiting the space reserved for strangers, there are jars and jugs of varying size, a half-gourd to scoop water, whole gourds of varying shape and size to hold banana juice or drinking water.

If the Munyarwanda is fortunate enough to own a cow, which is a gift from the gods, he will also have milk containers and churns. 351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and [343] protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

644 727 Among the other families who played a role at court, we may cite the aBasingo, Batchaba, and aBagessera. The Basingo, a subdivision of the powerful Biru clan, fulfill a special function in wartime along with the "Cursers" (Abahenyi).

They are in charge of "closing the path" to the enemy (gukingir' ababisha) by gathering all the monsters, real or fancied, who [787] are regarded by the Blacks as evil portents and therefore designated by the term intsiro. This covers chiefly black goats, black chicks whose entrails were found to "turn black" when examined by the diviners, that is to say, unfavorable to the enemy, dissolute mothers (ibinyandaro), children born out of wedlock, children born during the mourning period held for one of their relatives (umwana w'amabi), young girls with undeveloped breasts (impenebere), old women who remained sterile through life (umugetchuru w'igicha mbyaro), and other true monsters with real and visible defects, who are designated by the generic name of ibimara or ibimazi.

644 342 The aBatchaba, another branch of the great /460/ aBiru family, select and measure the sites of royal huts. They hang in the interior of the hut, and later fasten outside, some branches of trees with magic properties (1) which according to popular belief exercise a

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1. Among those plants or trees with magic properties, we may cite the ficus (umuvumu), the red-bloom erythrina (umuko), the plant called irarire, etc.

salutary influence over the inhabitants or owners of the huts. It is the duty of their wives and daughters to meet the victorious warriors, singing and dancing, and thus congratulate them for their feats of valor. They also take part in the traditional celebrations which are held when the king takes official possession of a newly built hut and enters it for the first time with a wife chosen especially for the occasion (2).

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2. Throughout Ruanda, in principle, a new hut is taken over in the name of a spirit (a dead relative) whose favors are desired.

It is also in his name that one takes a wife (kumulongorer' abazimu).

644 This is why these women are called abaterampundu, that is,
[347] "those who utter cries of joy."

The duties of the aBatchaba are often identical to those of
726 their brothers, the aBasingo, whom they assist in bewitching the enemy with teratological beings who are driven before the hostile army. Like the aBiru they also make drums.

The totem of the aBagessera is the wagtail, a bird of good
825 omen, which is consequently regarded as a member of the family.
342 Hence the power of the Bagessera to call this bird when needed. At
644 court and throughout the land, there is a custom whereby no one may enter a new hut until the wagtail has made an appearance. The bird must at least flit about or hop on the flattened ground where the hut is to be built or on the hut itself. One may even wait several days if necessary /461/ rather than risk the misfortunes which invariably befall those who do not take this traditional practice into account. At the capital, therefore, theBagessera are in charge of instigating the appearance of "their relative" (mwene wabo), the congenial bird, whenever a royal building is put up.

To achieve this they take some embers from their home and light a fire before the new hut.

They sit nearby and whistle in a special way to catch the attention of their totem.

825 The wagtail is highly regarded by the Banyarwanda. In story and song it is called "the bird (inyamanza) from the region of Mabera," a once famous village inhabited by the Bagessera (1). It is located

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1. The regard in which the wagtail is held is the subject of a charming tale. The wagtail

5: Pages--265 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

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1. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 261.

with four doors mark the center of the village, and the doors are made of boards. In that region the buildings seem to be identical with the ones I observed among the Baamba.

343 171 On the way from Nyanza to Mulera, at the southern foot of Mount Ndisa in the compound of Rwabakika, I saw a round hut with a cone-shaped roof. It was a small hut for calves with a roof that clearly projected beyond the cylindrical walls.

342 171 Moreover, in the southern part of Bugoye at an altitude of 2,000 meters, I saw huts that gave the impression of being round with conical roofs, but on closer observation they turned out to be ordinary beehive-shaped huts. They were simply surrounded by a layer of reeds on the outside, and above this rose the straw thatch, giving the impression of a projecting roof. The natives explained that the walls of the huts are reinforced in this way in order to protect the occupants from strong, cold winds. Dr. Kandt likewise mentions this precaution, saying (2) that the huts are "protected

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 298.

by a sort of rampart of grasses."

We must also mention the fact that Baumann (3) saw huts

3. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 218.

with a cylindrical hase of bamboo near the source of the Kagera. Is it possible that these are remnants of the round huts which formerly extended farther east and which were superseded by the beehive huts of the Batutsi? At any rate the beehive hut is more suitable for the treeless areas, for in an emergency it can be constructed without timber, merely of elephant grass or millet straw.

342 [556] [203] The size of the Ruanda house fluctuates considerably according to the wealth of the owner. It is usually four to eight meters high, and one and a half times that in diameter.

The house of sticks is tied together with papyrus; nails are not used.

The house wall consists of three layers. The middle layer is constructed of vertical sticks supported on the inside by hoops

342 made of bundles of sticks solidly packed together and fastened horizontally. On the outside the vertical layer is likewise held together by horizontal hoops made of bundles of sticks. This close-meshed lattice is carefully thatched with straw. The walls rise to a truncated point; capped with straw, from which rises a pole more than a meter high.

The entrance to the hut is framed with thick bundles of sticks and protected by an arched projecting roof, an extension of the wall of the hut. In contrast to the building method in Kiziba, this projection and the wall are a single unit, and the horizontal hoops run through it, so that from the interior of the hut one sees the entire roof of the anteroom. In Kiziba one can see only the doorframe to which the anteroom is added from the outside.

Northwest of Lake Kivu the huts have two entrances, probably in order to facilitate flight in case of a surprise attack. In Kishari, according to Dr. Kandt (1), the entrances are opposite each other;

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 477.

in Mushari, at right angles to one another. This arrangement must have been borrowed from the Babira [Bira] (Barega), for among the Babira at the headwaters of the Ituri Ksaw entrances facing each other. However, this arrangement can also be seen in Uele among the Mangbele of Gumbari.

The roof of the Ruanda hut is supported in the center above the entrance by a short, thin pole which is driven into the middle of the threshold at the edge which is ω-shaped, ten centimeters high and equally wide.

On the inside the frame of the hut is supported by a number of tree trunks, about ten to fifteen centimeters thick, with forks cut into the top to grasp the horizontal hoops.

The interior supports are placed very irregularly, and there is no central upright that would serve as the axis of the building. The pole at the peak of the hut has no relation to the supporting posts. Almost in the center of the hut are the four posts that surround the hearth. If the hut is smaller, there are fewer supports. They are

342 the largest pieces of wood used for the hut. No larger timbers are needed for the entire construction, and in the case of smaller huts millet straw and elephant grass can be used.

[204] Here, as in Kiziba, the supporting posts seem to have a ritualistic significance, but I could not find out anything further about this. I only succeeded in observing again and again that one of the uprights had a white band painted on it with kaolin (runoni), which supposedly meant that the owner of the hut had performed a ceremony. I was not able to find out, however, whether this had something to do perhaps with initiation into a secret society.

A rectangular woven shield is used to close the door opening, which is supported by posts driven into the ground on either side of the entrance. Sometimes there are two posts on either side and the door shield is slid between them. The woven door shields are used throughout the interlacustrine region. In the west, however, for example, among the Baamba, they are replaced by door shields made of boards , three of which are usually tied together.

The Batwa huts do not differ in principle from those of the rest of the Banyaruanda. They are merely smaller and much more carelessly built. However, according to Lieutenant A. Couche, who told me this personally, the Batwa in the vicinity of Uvira live in trees. It seems to me, however, that my informant did not have an opportunity to observe this himself.

If a person wants to build a house, the site he chooses is tested with butter. The choice is a happy one only if the piece of butter placed there at night is still there the next morning (1), which

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 425.

probably indicates that there are no termites. The king is said to make this test with a piece of intobotobo yi mivembe.

If the test is successful, the future owner of the house prepares beer and sees that food is on hand. When all the preparations have

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

[768] After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. How-
825 ever, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has
787 settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega)
251 which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist
285 of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held
251 together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

251 being stored in an empty hut. This must have been a temporary arrangement to counter the danger of termites.

In Ruanda some of the supplies are kept in the hut. Here, however, they do not use banana leaves but baskets sealed with cow dung. The baskets hold up to 50 kilograms.

In northern and western Ruanda there are often pits in the immediate neighborhood of the huts, where bananas are kept to ripen and fresh beer is kept until it ferments. The pits are heated before the bananas are stored there. To do this the smoke from the adjacent fire is directed into the pit. Dr. Kandt (1) is

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

undoubtedly referring to these pits when he says that the cellars of the Banyabungu are: "...caves in the shape of butter molds, the walls of which are supported by bent branches and hoops. The hoops starting at the bottom form diminishing concentric circles up to the opening which is wide enough for a man to enter."

[514] Privies seem to be completely unknown in Ruanda.

[206] Interior of the Hut. The interiors of the huts in Kissaka
●342 differ from those in Kiziba in that there are no fixed, woven par-
352 titions. When you enter the hut, you seem to be confronted by a finely woven wall, but on closer observation this turns out to be a row of uprights. Stiff rectangular mats are wedged in between them and bent outward. The mats are woven somewhat like the baskets; they are 2 meters long and 40 centimeters wide and usually sealed with cow dung. This wall separates the anteroom (umuriango) from the hearth section. On the left side is an opening which forms a narrow entrance to the interior of the hut. The position of this opening seems to be reminiscent of the arrangement in the Bakondjo huts. However, this opening can also be directly opposite the entrance, as is generally the case among the Batutsi.

352 Along the wall of the hearth section, usually to one side of the entrance, is the bench for the milk vessels. This is about 40 centimeters wide, 40 centimeters high, and up to 2 meters long

352 and is covered on top and in front with mats. On this bench stand several simple vessels carved out of wood and covered with not very artistically woven straw lids. Above these vessels, on a beam placed across two uprights, large calabashes used in making butter hang in nets. In Kissaka these hanging nets are not as neatly and carefully made as in Kiziba. Small calabashes are used to close the openings of the butter calabashes.

[342]

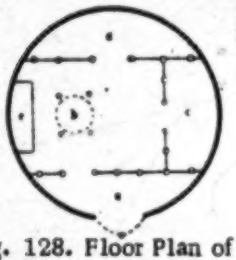

Fig. 128. Floor Plan of Kissaka Hut: (a) anteroom, 354 (b) hearth, (c) bedroom, (d) back room, (e) milk bench.

The hearth is situated somewhat to the left of center. It is shaped like a round clay slab with two concentric circles, one centimeter high and ten centimeters wide, to prevent fire and ashes from falling out. Well-to-do people who have a separate cookhouse do not keep a fire in the hut during the day. Their hearthstone is always [207] swept clean, and they light a fire only in the evening. Above the fire is a grill, that is, a slab set on four high posts. The bunches of bananas to be used for making beer are placed on this grill to ripen.

[415 285]

Fig. 129. Hanging Net with Basket. (1/6 actual size. III 13100.)

On the other side of the hearth, opposite the milk bench, is the spacious bed. This is surrounded by posts, and here again we find mats or plaited work wedged between them in order to close off the room. There is a separate approach to the bed, which can be closed off with a rollable stick mat, like a blind.

342 In Mulera I had an opportunity to see a different arrangement of the hut. Here there was no partition between the anteroom and the hearth section, and the whole thing was called a cow stall (rubumbiro). The hearth (isiko) was in the middle of the hut. This is also said to be the usual arrangement in Bunyabungu (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

In Mulera, behind the hearth is the women's rooms (mbele) which leads to the niche dedicated to Biheko (ruhimbi). To the right of the entrance is the room for the calves (ruhongoro). The bedroom is between the Biheko niche and the calf stall.

352 In Ruanda the bed is made of wooden sticks. Four supports forked at the top, are driven into the ground, and on these rest two horizontal rods that support a platform made of wooden sticks. The frame is covered with several mats which make a relatively soft padding.

513 The sleeper wraps himself up in a mat, so that only the masunzu (2) and the toes stick out, which are not infrequently

2. Unshaven stripes of hair which ornament the heads of men, children, and young people.

gnawed by rats, the worst plague of the dwellings.

415 On the side of the bed facing the wall I saw tall round baskets with lids (ichibo) filled with grain for sowing.

352 Beds are found in all the huts of Mpororo, central and southern Ruanda, and Mulera, but in Bugoye I saw huts without them. There were very few in Nyundo, whereas in Ruagari which is only four hours north [208] on the Bgisha border, people commonly slept on mats without bedsteads in a special portion of the hut closed off by a partition. This was also the arrangement among the Batwa of Chuma. Among the Bakondjo and the inhabitants of Toro there are beds in all the huts. There are none in Kiziba.

The Batwa west of the Kagera do not use beds nor do the inhabitants of Bgisha and north Bugoye, who are obviously influenced

●342

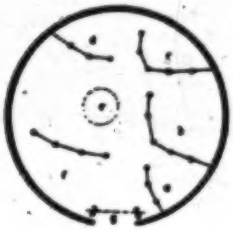

Fig. 130. Floor Plan of a Mulera Hut: (a) stall for calves, (b) bedroom, (c) sacred niche, (d) women's part, (e) hearth, (f) cow stall, (g) entrance.

415
285

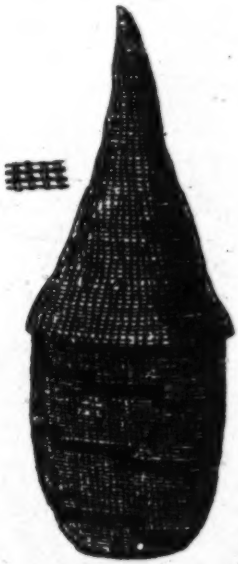

Fig. 131. Lidded Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 6890. 25 centimeters high.)

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

291 On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of
[854] cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their
[482] backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders
[439] coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

302 Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu
[301] and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments.
304 There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening
[291] of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

592 The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at
361 least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the
● 342 interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a
[1171] 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c.
857 were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls
513 under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut
343 devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus
346 hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined
351 circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a
[231] kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the
361 year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

593 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are [359] the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will 342 live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home [184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [288] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this rounds on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and 778 reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce [782] of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from 356 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 342 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage [514] next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse marsh grass called urukangaga.

[554] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

352 513 The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and interconnected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the [415] hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

352 415 In addition, against the partition delimiting the space reserved for strangers, there are jars and jugs of varying size, a half-gourd to scoop water, whole gourds of varying shape and size to hold banana juice or drinking water.

If the Munyarwanda is fortunate enough to own a cow, which is a gift from the gods, he will also have milk containers and churns.

351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the [343] spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

644 One sees standing about what seem to be huge baskets covered
[343] with thatch roofs. They are granaries where the food of the employees is kept. The storeroom is the king's favorite spot. He takes pleasure in hoarding there the most disparate objects: fabrics, crockery, furniture, and trinkets of all sorts. It is said that it gives him infinite
[157] pleasure to survey his "bazaar" and to handle the goods piece by piece, away from all prying eyes.

It is easy to imagine the life and bustle that prevail at court and in the capital.

The entire nation dwells in the person of the king. He alone represents it. Since the State is identified with the king, he alone is eternally mentioned. "Everything is done for his sake. Justice is the king's justice, troops are the king's army, the nobility fights for him.... The monarch is absolute master and naturally has full and complete command over the property owned by his subjects, and when he takes it he is only taking what belongs to him.... Whoever is born a subject must obey without question...."

This short account of the history of Louis XIV's reign fittingly describes the rights exercised by the Hamitic kings of Ruanda. As a result of this concept and attitude on the part of the Blacks, nearly all the clans or family groups which make up the population of Ruanda have a role to fulfill at court, not so much for the welfare of the realm as for the pleasure of the king. The functions they must exercise are many and vary with the nature of the people involved and the products of the soil on which they live. Some of the posts derive from historical circumstances. Among these offices, some are regarded as an honor and privilege and others as a chore. Some offices are also assigned as punishment or /352/ revenge for misdeeds which were committed in the past by ancestors and the very memory of which has been lost. Most of those posts amount to actual bondage for their holders.

Positions of a mere utilitarian nature are by far the most numerous.

644 It is surprising to hear that literary pleasures and entertainments
538 are included in the court program and even stand in a separate category. By the sovereign's side, indeed, there stand official historians and

764 resting place for several important members of this clan.

Other Banyiginya were buried in Urundi and in the Bugessera province, which borders on that country. The dead sons of Musinga, who number at least five or six, rest there in their last sleep.

The deceased are usually buried in a hut. In the Budaha, the owner of a hut that served as a Mwega's tomb cannot leave the dwelling until about a year later. He is forced to remain there to prevent sorcerers from digging up the body.

769 there are several, is dedicated to a spirit in whose honor they marry a woman whom they later keep or discard, depending on their whims and fancies.

Well-off Bahutu attempt to imitate the great, but their huts [343] are usually few in number. So as not to be inferior to those they emulate in their superstitions, they build around their dwelling several tiny huts (indaro) which often consist merely of two or three sticks planted in the ground and barely bound at the top by a small band. /539/

4. The Annual Mourning Period of Fifteen Days in the Month of June, Which Ends With an Important Celebration

765 The famous annual mourning period of 15 days takes place
769 during the last fortnight of the lunar month called by the native name
776 of Gichurassi, which corresponds approximately to our month of June. In principle the king alone is supposed to go into mourning, but the whole court joins him for the sake of solidarity. At that time, the

592 Usually there is only one wife living in the compound (lugo), and she has absolute authority within her sphere. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the king, many women live in one compound and are brought to the kambele in turn. In this case there are several inner courts with houses for the women.

Beyond the inner court is the rear court with the cookhouse, called mubahutu, where the servants live. Near it are the storehouses with supplies of grain. These, however, I also found in the inner court. In Nyanza on Lake Mohasi I asked why a strange Muhutu lived in the cookhouse of the compound, and the answer was: "It is his duty to fill the granaries." Since the man also had to take care of the kitchen, I think this reply must be taken literally; in other words, he had to store the produce brought as tribute by the Bahutu and not home-grown products.

The Bahutu compounds, as a rule, have one court in which we often find several huts.

341 [202] Buildings. In Ruanda there are four distinct types of buildings: dwellings, huts for calves, spirit huts, and storehouses.

The first three are constructed on the same principle and are distinguished from one another only by their size and the care with 346 which they are constructed. The spirit huts are the smallest and least carefully built. They consist of a simple framework of 343 branches stuck into the ground and covered with grass. The storehouses, on the other hand, differ quite radically in form, though not in the principle of construction.

342 The dwelling in Ruanda, as in other parts of the interlacustrine 171 area, has the shape of a beehive. This type has also penetrated the western edges of the great African trench [Rift Valley] and even seems to predominate in Butembo (1), although there club huts

1. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 261.

with four doors mark the center of the village, and the doors are made of boards. In that region the buildings seem to be identical with the ones I observed among the Baamba.

343 171 On the way from Nyanza to Mulera, at the southern foot of Mount Ndisa in the compound of Rwabakika, I saw a round hut with a cone-shaped roof. It was a small hut for calves with a roof that clearly projected beyond the cylindrical walls.

342 171 Moreover, in the southern part of Bugoye at an altitude of 2,000 meters, I saw huts that gave the impression of being round with conical roofs, but on closer observation they turned out to be ordinary beehive-shaped huts. They were simply surrounded by a layer of reeds on the outside, and above this rose the straw thatch, giving the impression of a projecting roof. The natives explained that the walls of the huts are reinforced in this way in order to protect the occupants from strong, cold winds. Dr. Kandt likewise mentions this precaution, saying (2) that the huts are "protected

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 298.

by a sort of rampart of grasses."

We must also mention the fact that Baumann (3) saw huts

3. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 218.

with a cylindrical chase of bamboo near the source of the Kagera. Is it possible that these are remnants of the round huts which formerly extended farther east and which were superseded by the beehive huts of the Batutsi? At any rate the beehive hut is more suitable for the treeless areas, for in an emergency it can be constructed without timber, merely of elephant grass or millet straw.

342 [558] [203] The size of the Ruanda house fluctuates considerably according to the wealth of the owner. It is usually four to eight meters high, and one and a half times that in diameter.

The house of sticks is tied together with papyrus; nails are not used.

The house wall consists of three layers. The middle layer is constructed of vertical sticks supported on the inside by hoops

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

[768] After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. How-
825 ever, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has
787 settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

●343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega)
251 which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist
285 of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held
251 together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

291 On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of
[854] cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their
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[439] coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

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[301] and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments.
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349 interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a
[191] 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c.
857 were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls
513 under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut
343 devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus
346 hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined
351 circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a
[231] kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the
36 year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

644 varied and numerous but all aimed at a single end, the service and entertainment of the king.

"The capital is filled, populated, and occupied for the sake of the life of a single man. It is but a royal residence, set up exclusively to attend to the needs, pleasures, service, protection, entertainment, and display of the king." (Taine.) "The king's household contains a veritable /350/ multitude of servants divided into various departments under the orders of high officials (Seignobos)." These two quotations, which refer to Versailles, may be applied to Nyanza and the court of Musinga if due allowances are made.

The operation of those departments regarded as indispensable to the life of the court demands an extensive staff that would fill a telephone directory. Lord of the Palace, Chief of the "Mouth" Department, Majordomo, High Keeper of the Treasure, High Cup Bearer or Butler, ushers, pages, chamberlains, valets, Keepers of the Wardrobe, physicians or rather quacks, etc., all have their equivalent at the court of His Black Majesty.

644 Of course, one must not imagine a Versailles with its delightful gardens. Musinga's royal residence consists of a vast enclosure
●344 of ficus trees and woven rushes and reeds. Its main opening is one meter wide. Toward the front, some 30 paces from the entrance, stands the large royal hut of branches and thatch.

It is dark inside. As in all local huts, light enters only through the door.

A multitude of wooden pillars rise within to support the roof. Along the inner walls stand a row of cubicles closed by large screens of artistically braided local rushes. The hearth lies in the center of the floor, protected by a sort of large clay rosette. This is the main hall, where only Europeans and courtiers are admitted. It also serves as bedroom to the king and his mother.

The vast enclosure is divided into several courtyards in which stand the huts of the queen mother, her daughters-in-law, and their male and female followers. Within the enclosure, here and there, stand the hut where the palladium-drum is kept, the one where the sacred fire is preserved, and the numerous huts dedicated to the shades of the royal /ancestors/.

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1. They are among others Kanyoni, son of Gatibamenya, and Rubunda, princes of the Ndorwa area; Nyagaketchuru, the woman chief who governed part of Huyi in the Nyaruguru; Mutaga, the king of Urundi who was killed under the reign of Mutara I; Nyirabihoro, another princess from the neighborhood of Uswi; Kabego, king of the isle of Idjwi (in Lake Kivu), and his son Nkundiye.

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This drum is jealously guarded within the enclosure of the royal palace, on the east side in a hut called by the name of imilinga, that is to say, "copper objects."

This term is both metaphorical and euphemistic, and well understood by the people. It is metaphorical so as not to draw the attention of enemies upon the function of the hut, and it is also euphemistic so as to remind the courtiers of the importance of this palladium, which is likened thereby, to the copper threads and bracelets formerly regarded by the Banyarwanda as precious objects. The same hut serves as museum and repository. It also shelters the other royal drums which played a role in the past, before the Kalinga, in its stead, or along with it. /373/

[552]

These drums bear characteristic names. Perhaps they should be regarded merely as symbols or trophies, reminders of victories won in the past by the Hamitic kings over the autochthonous princes. The latter's lands and drums went from their hands into those of the Batutsi monarchs.

The hut also encloses enormous quivers (imitana), arrows, spears, and other weapons of varied shapes and sizes. A certain element of taste must have presided over the selection of this booty, for people who have managed to see them say that the objects in the collection are almost invariably characterized by a certain richness, a great deal of originality, and fairly careful craftsmanship.

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [288] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and 778 reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce [782] of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135 , and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from 356 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 342 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage [514] next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

796 expresses the wish that the "ceremony of the sacred spear" be celebrated for his benefit, he invites his friends and the priest (kiranga) of the district along with the latter's spear. The kiranga arrives with two or three male or female assistants (ivisjego), and all the participants in the celebration take their seats in the hut. The priest sits in the middle holding the sacred spear in his hand and wearing a cap made of leopard skin with its tail falling down his back. Each of the assistants holds in his hand a bifurcated branch to whose ends are tied little calabashes, some of which are filled with grains or pebbles. These rattles are shaken in a certain rhythm, and to their accompaniment the entire gathering sings -- in a minor key and andante -- a traditional hymn in the old Kirundi language (see p. 148) which is for the most part unintelligible. The hymn calls on the congregation to praise and glorify the spirits, Kiranga, Rugondo, Riangombe, and others (No. 19, pp. 517 and 292). While they are singing, each person gathers a little straw from the ground and places it as a sacrifice in front of the sacred spear, clapping his hands as a sign of homage, and then directs to the spirit Kiranga, residing in the spear point, a number of requests expressing the wishes of the host. After that the whole party leaves the house with a chant and proceeds to the little spirit hut (ikitabo) close by. Its floor is then covered with fresh straw or grass. After they have returned to the house, the whole gathering is sprinkled with water by the priest (symbol of purification?). At the end all join in drinking the contents of a large jar of "sacrificial beer." This concludes the ceremony, the priest receives his fee (beads, grain, barkcloth, etc.), and everyone goes home. In Ruanda and Uha the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated in a similar fashion (No. 19, p. 518).

796 There is another ritual at which the priest is regularly asked to officiate: the ceremony of erecting and consecrating the little 778 spirit and sacrifice huts (Plate 18a). There are two different types 346 of these huts: some are dedicated to the gods, Imana, Kiranga, and Riangombe, and are open to the public (ikitabo, akararo); the others are dedicated to the family ancestors and are private (ikigabiro).

778 The public cult sites used for common worship of the gods
[821] are erected wherever lightning has struck the ground, either where it injured or killed a person or a head of cattle or where it has just struck the ground. Lightning is regarded as sent by the god Imana himself (No. 19, p. 253). At such a place a circular piece of ground, two to three meters in diameter, is leveled and covered with straw. Manioc and fig branches are planted around it. Then, celebrating the ceremony of the sacred spear, the kiranga plants in the middle of it a shoot from a banana or a fig tree which is regarded as the temporary residence of the god, Imana-Rikiranga-Riangombe. uEvery passerby
[782] puts a little tuft of dry grass in front of the young tree in homage to the god (see grass greeting, p. 95). Sick people are brought to this site so that they may ask the god to grant them recovery (No. 19, p. 564). This kind of homage is also supposed to be helpful when asking for rain for the fields and herds. Usually
[346] some small grass huts are also erected at or near the sacrificial site; in these huts food and drink are sacrificed to the god. Often, however, such huts are absent.

[136] The second type of cult and sacrifice huts at whose
778 consecration the kiranga must participate is the private sacri-
346 fice huts (ivigabiro), dedicated to the spirits of the dead
782 (imisimu or abasimu). Often, however, a sacrifice is also offered to the god Kiranga in one of these little private huts; it is then called akararuka rugabo, i.e., the great master's humble quarters for the night (No. 46, p. 18). These little huts are erected inside the kraal next to the residential huts. In most cases their shape resembles that of the residential huts, but they are only one half to one meter high (Plate 18a). They are always constructed in a careless fashion. In fact, often a few branches or some bundles of straw or reed, inserted in the ground and tied together at the top in the shape of an arch, are considered sufficient. A little straw is spread underneath, and on it a few implements are placed as a sacrificial offering, for example, a piece of imanga wood which is used for amulets, a piece of bottle gourd, shaped like a bowl, which is used as a container for food, an old pot as a receptacle for beer, an old tobacco pipe, etc. In some areas of Urundi, for example, in

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
778 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
782 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
796 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the an-
769 cestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
769 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
782 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
778 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the
775 neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
778 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
769 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
825 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred
775 groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

Plate 18

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Hut in Northwest Urundi with Little Spirit Hut
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Hut in Northwest Urundi with Bahutu Women
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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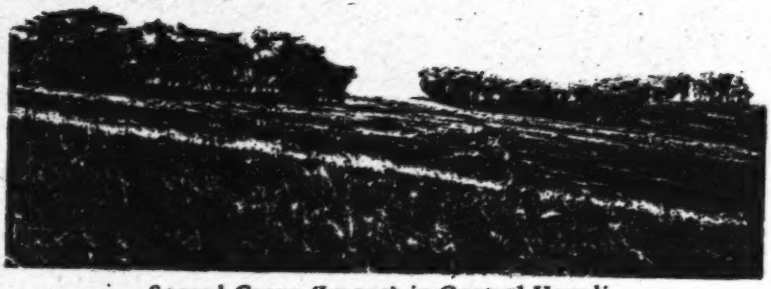

Sacred Grove (Imana) in Central Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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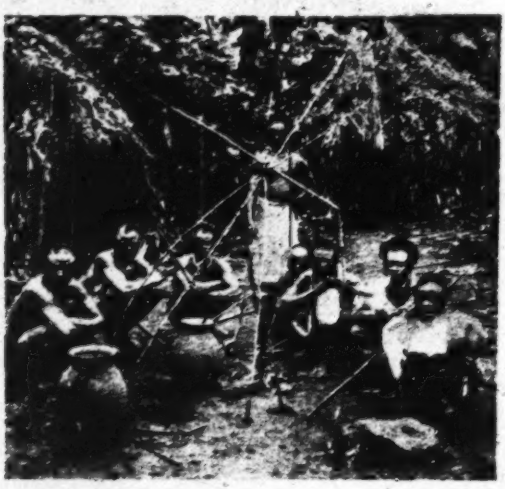
Church at the Mujaga Missionary Station, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

5: Pagès--281 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A ceremony in front of the kiosk dedicated to the spirits.



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A divination scene.

592 Usually there is only one wife living in the compound (lugo), and she has absolute authority within her sphere. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the king, many women live in one compound and are brought to the kambele in turn. In this case there are several inner courts with houses for the women.

Beyond the inner court is the rear court with the cookhouse, called mubahutu, where the servants live. Near it are the storehouses with supplies of grain. These, however, I also found in the inner court. In Nyanza on Lake Mohasi I asked why a strange Muhutu lived in the cookhouse of the compound, and the answer was: "It is his duty to fill the granaries." Since the man also had to take care of the kitchen, I think this reply must be taken literally; in other words, he had to store the produce brought as tribute by the Bahutu and not home-grown products.

The Bahutu compounds, as a rule, have one court in which we often find several huts.

341 [202] Buildings. In Ruanda there are four distinct types of buildings: dwellings, huts for calves, spirit huts, and storehouses.

The first three are constructed on the same principle and are distinguished from one another only by their size and the care with 346 which they are constructed. The spirit huts are the smallest and least carefully built. They consist of a simple framework of 343 branches stuck into the ground and covered with grass. The storehouses, on the other hand, differ quite radically in form, though not in the principle of construction.

342 The dwelling in Ruanda, as in other parts of the interlacustrine 171 area, has the shape of a beehive. This type has also penetrated the western edges of the great African trench [Rift Valley] and even seems to predominate in Butembo (1), although there club huts

1. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 261.

with four doors mark the center of the village, and the doors are made of boards. In that region the buildings seem to be identical with the ones I observed among the Baamba.

77b 173 Ryangombe's grandfather Nyundo, his father Bavinga, and his wife Nina Ryangombe. The last name, however, simply means "mother of Ryangombe."

The most important bagaragu (clients) of Ryangombe are Binego, Kavuna, Mugasha, Kakuku, Kagoro, Senyakazana, and Rubaga.

Their subordination to Ryangombe is always strongly emphasized. We can see this also in the fact that before sacrifices can be made to them sacrifices must be made to Ryangombe. Rubaga is the only exception. One can bring him gifts without first having made offerings to Ryangombe.

782 776 Special forms and ceremonies are observed in offerings made to these individual spirits.

In sacrificing to Binego the person stands with lowered head and murmurs: "Binego bya Kadjumba nyamunega amafizi amabuguma akapfa numulindu. Lukaraba nkaba n'inkuba yadjandja. Ulwamba lw'impiri namaganya y'inkuba aseseka ntanyobwe umushaidja mukanya." I could not find out what this means.

•[E46] Small straw huts are built to Kavuna. He is offered banana beer with added honey in twin-necked pots. Formerly the sacrificer covered himself with a leopard skin. As he makes the sacrifice, he stretches out his hands and sings: "Kavuna ushime ntango yawe (Kavuna, accept my offering)."

If a person makes a sacrifice to Mugasha, he winds the bark of banana stalks around his legs, arms, and neck. He holds the thin end of a stick in his right hand, stamps his feet, beats the ground with the stick, and repeats: "Mugasha akatema katoke niribiriri, niribirimbo."

Kakuku was an old paralyzed slave. If a person wishes to address him, he first smears his arms with ashes, then he scratches his skin, weeps, and sighs. Peas which are sacrificed are held with the finger bent, because the paralytic could eat only in this manner.

Kagoro is offered small arrows of wood or iron with the words, "busenda bwa Kagoro."

Senyakazana is offered peas and lentils, called inkore.

Rubaga is the greatest after Ryangombe, and he is also offered cows.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

443 the lake. A recent addition to this in the interior is the market near the new government station at Gitega which is growing in importance. Apart from these, there are a whole number of small markets serving purely local needs. The market at Usumbura which is held from six o'clock in the morning until 10 or 11 o'clock -- like all other markets -- is still frequented by over 1,000 persons a day. It is conducted in a very orderly fashion under German governmental supervision. There is even a large roof [347] of corrugated iron to protect the market from the sun and rain. The vendors, most of them women, squat in long rows under the roof and out in the open; each has his merchandise arranged in front of him in baskets or spread out on mats or banana leaves. The list of local products recorded by van der Burgt 15 years ago is still valid today: oil, salt, beer, cotton material, fish, mats, pots, jugs, bundles of tobacco, snuff, balls of soap, millet, [76] corn, flour, bananas, peanuts, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, beef, goats, sheep, chickens, nets, spear shafts, bamboo poles, canes of reeds, firewood, rope, string, hoes, etc. In addition to this, today one may see all sorts of cheap European industrial products, such as brightly colored cotton blankets, various printed cotton materials, petroleum, cigarettes, glass beads, iron, copper and brass wire, hardware, and china.

443 562 Von Trotha also describes the markets as "the most characteristic feature of the region. Here every conceivable object is traded with much shouting or paid for with strings of beads and goods. There were thousands of haggling and shouting people at the market of Munkasa on the northeast shore of Lake Tanganyika, but everything is settled in an orderly fashion and without fighting. One may buy a woman for ten strings of red beads, and once tired of her, she may be returned to the market and once more exchanged for beads." (No. 8, p. 77). Of course, the trade in women has stopped now, and even at the time of Trotha's journey in 1896 it must have been a very rare transaction.

326 rings, etc., which are customary in the country. The Bahutu and the Batwa use the same technique, but apparently the Batwa are the more adroit blacksmiths. In Urundi blacksmiths do not form a special guild, but in some families the craft is passed on from one generation to the other. Blacksmiths live [554] with the other Barundi, and because of their craft they are highly respected. They are professional craftsmen who sell [84] their merchandise, but as in Ruanda, they often also engage in agriculture on the side. [Fig. 17 appears here in the original text.]

325 The work shop (uruganda) is a small round hut, open on [348] all sides. In its center a hollow in the ground contains the [372] charcoal fire. Since blacksmiths need charcoal for their craft and since there are few trees in this country, they mostly have their huts not far from the remains of forests or the bushes along the rivers. Charcoal from the peripheral mountains wrapped [438] in long bundles of banana leaves is sold in the interior. Next to the fireplace there are bellows, either vessel or bowl bellows (umuvuba), shaped like a large, double wooden spoon, over each of whose ends a goatskin is stretched loosely (No. 2 of Plate 45). A wooden stick is tied to the center of each skin; it serves as a piston whose upward and downward movements press the air from the vessel into the end of the pipe. The blower stands or squats behind the bellows holding a piston in each hand which he alternately moves up and down quickly. The same type of bellows is used in Ruanda where it is also used for blowing the smelting furnaces. In Urundi (according to Stuhlmann's small map in No. 32a, p. 62), still another type is said to exist, the tube or bag bellows; yet I have not been able to find out anything about it. The more common vessel bellows just described is carved from a single block of wood and opens into a short, funnel-shaped clay pipe which is placed directly among the hot coals and keeps them glowing. From time to time water is sprinkled on the glowing pile of coal.

[85] On the other side of the fireplace there is a hard stone which serves as an anvil (Fig. 17). The piece of iron which is to be forged is pushed into the glowing coals with a wet, clamp-like piece of wood or with a pointed iron pin, and it is pulled

[Text continues on page 128]

351 417 The enclosure (ingo) around the majority of the kraals both in Urundi and Ruanda is not only intended as a means of protection against human or animal intruders, but it also serves to enclose the family, especially the small children, and to keep the cattle penned in at night (Plate 20a, 21b). If the inhabitants have no cattle, they usually have no fences around their huts. This is the case, for example, in some mountain regions of northwest Urundi and in a few districts of western central Urundi. Wherever fences do exist, they are higher than a man so that one cannot see over them. Depending on what material is available, they consist of dry trunks of banana trees, sorghum stalks, papyrus shafts, or the dry branches of the Acanthus arboreus, roughly but firmly tied together, or they are formed by closely planted living dracaena, fig trees, or euphorbias. I never saw stones piled up so as to make a wall, although there are enough blocks of stone there to serve this purpose. The entrance to the kraal, which is flanked by two strong poles, is blocked at night by trunks placed across it. [24]

The kraals of the Batussi are in most cases more carefully and firmly enclosed than those of the Bahutu. In some areas settled predominantly by Batussi, for example, in the extensive highland pasture areas on the eastern slope of the peripheral mountains of Tanganyika on the upper Muwarasi, "each house is a small fortress with three concentric defenses. Within the protective wall (probably made of piled earth, there is a plaited cane fence, behind this one of euphorbias, and finally one made of thorns" (No. 8, p. 73).

351 248 Even when the hedge does not consist of fig trees planted close to one another, there are almost always a number of fig trees around the kraal, this being more often the case here than in Ruanda. These trees provide not only shade for the kraal, [287] but also bark which is used in a variety of ways, in particular for making clothes (Plate 18a, 21a). As in Ruanda, such circular groups of fig trees enable one to note the sites of former kraals, particularly those of chiefs, many years after the huts have

351 disappeared. Yet, I did not find any trees at all at the resi-
[248] dence of the great chief Kilima (see pp. 162, 188 [these pages not translated]) in northwest Urundi. Four large round kraals are situated there on an open round mountain top at an altitude of 2,150 meters, affording a wonderful view of the neighboring deep valleys and long mountain chains. Each kraal is surrounded
[417] by a thick bamboo palisade, twice as high as a man, enclosing six to eight spacious round huts. There is no tree, green fence pole, or even a banana leaf anywhere near it. The entire complex stands on the commanding steep mountain top, like a fort built for defense.

361 In other parts of the border districts adjoining Ruanda, the houses are sometimes crowded together into whole villages surrounded by strong protective fences. Indeed, Captain Bethe even found "a large city of natives, a compact community living together" (Deutsches Kolonialblatt [German Colonial Journal, 1899, p. 9) in Iwusome on Lake Rugwero in northeastern Urundi. However, these are exceptions to the general practice of living in individual kraals and occur only in a few exposed border regions.

354 The fireplace (isiko) is usually in the main center room of the hut. I intentionally do not use the word "hearth," for usually it consists of a few stones which may be pushed together on a round platform of pounded clay in such a way that a fire may be built in the center and a cooking pot placed on top. Sometimes also, the fire is placed on a thick round plate of fired clay in the same manner as in Ruanda; its periphery is raised in the form of a roll to prevent the fire from being scattered.
372 When the embers cease to glow, which is very seldom, fire is obtained from one's neighbor. On long travels, however, fire is made in the well-known manner of the Bantu, when wood is available, by twirling a hard piece of wood on a soft one; otherwise, a glowing piece of coal is tied up in a bundle of slightly wet grass and carried along. In this manner they carry embers with them on journeys lasting several days.

Yet since firewood is often very scarce in a country almost destitute of trees and bushes, cakes of cattle dung dried in the sun are used for fuel or, wherever there are no cattle or only a few, papyrus or reed rootstocks are collected in the swampy valleys.

233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [356] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up 241 the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse marsh grass called urukangaga.

[556] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

352 513 The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and interconnected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the [415] hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

352 415 In addition, against the partition delimiting the space reserved for strangers, there are jars and jugs of varying size, a half-gourd to scoop water, whole gourds of varying shape and size to hold banana juice or drinking water.

If the Munyarwanda is fortunate enough to own a cow, which is a gift from the gods, he will also have milk containers and churns. 351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the [343] spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

417 On the subject of the fences of the settlements northwest of
712 Kivu, Dr. Kandt (2) says: "All villages have a very curious wall

2. Ibid., p. 460.

surrounding them. It consists of thousands of forked branches and split roots, 10 layers wide and 20 high. For natives this is an almost impenetrable obstacle. The villages can be reached only by way of narrow passes or very steep approaches, and on two sides there are gates that can be quickly and securely closed with trees."

I observed such fences among the Baamba on the Ruwenzori. In Ruanda one does not see them. Here the dwelling is, as a rule, situated on the edge of the courtyard and is, together with the courtyard, surrounded by a euphorbia hedge. The hedges of the individual homesteads intertwine and form a labyrinth that is impenetrable even with the aid of a bush knife, for if one cuts the branches an exceedingly caustic juice squirts out which is very dangerous for the eyes. On the inside these hedges are usually supported by a fence made of sticks bound together. At night the outer approaches, usually opposite the huts, are closed with tree trunks, the branches of which are turned toward the outside. This primitive closure cannot be removed from the outside and, along with the euphorbia hedge, makes a very effective though not at all conspicuous fortification.

On poor Bahutu farms there are sometimes no fences at all.

592 The Compound. The compound or homestead where one
351 family lives with all its relatives and servants usually consists of several huts that form a self-contained unit.

351 In front of the main entrance there is generally a cleared place, free of grass. In the mountainous parts of Ruanda one often has a superb view from this spot, for the settlements are frequently located on mountain tops. This is especially true of the Batutsi settlements north of Lake Mohasi. On the edge of this cleared spot
[372] are kept large supplies of dried cow dung which is used for fuel in the parts of the country where wood is scarce.

In the well-built settlements the main entrance, which is closed at night, is flanked by two columns of tied bundles of

351 elephant grass. In the compounds of wealthy persons, consisting of at least three huts, this entrance leads into the front courtyard.

[201] In this courtyard, opposite the entrance, is the kambele, the house occupied by the head of the family. On the side, usually to the left of this house, is the entrance to the inner courts. The front court as well as the inner courts are kept clean and free of grass. Here the clients and subordinates of the head of the establishment assemble to learn his wishes, commands, and de-
[574] cisions. Here he receives his guests who are conducted no farther than into the kambele. Sacrifices also take place here. In Musinga's compound I saw two carefully tended sacrificial trees between the entrance gate and his house on both sides of and at a

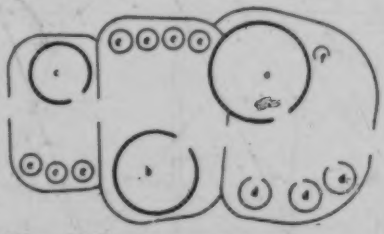

Fig. 127. Compound, Nyanza on Lake Mohasi: (a) kambele, (b) kagondo, (c) mubahutu, (d) stalls for calves, (e) storehouses, (f) spirit hut.

certain distance from the line connecting the two. In the front court near the house one also sees small spirit huts.

In many compounds the front court also contains huts for small calves, and animals are kept here at night. In one single instance I saw a hut for larger calves outside the enclosure. It was explained to me that the whole herd was kept near this hut overnight.

592 In the inner court is the house for the women, known as kagondo. Here the master's wife spends the day with her women servants. It is only in the evening that she is brought to the
[264] kambele in a litter. The husband eats with his wife in the kagondo.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

291 On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of
[854] cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their
[482] backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders
[439] coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

302 Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu
[301] and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments.
304 There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went
[291] barefooted.

592 The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at
361 least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the
349 interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a
[1171] 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c.
857 were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls
513 under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut
343 devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus
346 hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the
351 compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a
[231] kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the
36 year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

342 nearby site when the family changes its place of residence.

If the huts are very much inferior in their outward appearance and in the care with which they are built to those of Ruanda, this is even more true of their interiors. Here, as in Ruanda, the interior supporting poles are used to fasten [285] several woven screens, higher than a man and made of papyrus, reed stalks, or bamboo laths. These divide the hut into two or more separate living, sleeping, and store rooms. Many of these woven screens have the shape of a bent shield, as in Ruanda. In Urundi, however, very few of them are plaited as delicately and figured as beautifully as the shield-shaped wall screens and mats which in Ruanda cover the walls all around [22] and separate the various rooms from each other, admirably decorating not only the huts of the Batussi but often also those of prosperous Bahutu. Usually only two rooms are separated from each other by mats in this way: the front room (umurjango), which serves as a living room, kitchen, and dining room during the day, and the rear room (akagiro) which 513 serves as a bedroom. In the latter, the parents' bed space 352 is also separated from the sleeping place of the children by mat screens. Here most of the Barundi sleep simply on a bundle of straw which they cover with a cowhide or goatskin. However, where a bedstead does exist, it consists of four short posts rammed into the ground and a wooden frame fastened on them which is filled with laths and covered with a mat. In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, etc., such bedsteads are owned only by the distinguished and the rich.

352 Wooden stools to sit on, like the ones used elsewhere in East Africa, are nonexistent in Urundi and Ruanda, or they exist only as a foreign import from Unjamwesi, Usâmbiro, etc.

Even in the dwelling of the powerful chief Lusabiko in East Urundi there was "not a single stool or log to sit on. Only a few thick bundles of straw were lying in a corner; they could be drawn toward one if he did not wish to squat on the ground. If one desires to sleep, the bundle is unfastened, and [513] a soft bed is made. In the homes of rich persons a hairy ox hide is placed over it before sitting or lying down." (No. 14, 1901, p. 214.)

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
285 than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
285 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse marsh grass called urukangaga.

[556] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

352 513 The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and interconnected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the [415] hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

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351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and [343] protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

351 being stored in an empty hut. This must have been a temporary arrangement to counter the danger of termites.

In Ruanda some of the supplies are kept in the hut. Here, however, they do not use banana leaves but baskets sealed with cow dung. The baskets hold up to 50 kilograms.

In northern and western Ruanda there are often pits in the immediate neighborhood of the huts, where bananas are kept to ripen and fresh beer is kept until it ferments. The pits are heated before the bananas are stored there. To do this the smoke from the adjacent fire is directed into the pit. Dr. Kandt (1) is

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

undoubtedly referring to these pits when he says that the cellars of the Banyabungu are: "...caves in the shape of butter molds, the walls of which are supported by bent branches and hoops. The hoops starting at the bottom form diminishing concentric circles up to the opening which is wide enough for a man to enter."

[514] Privies seem to be completely unknown in Ruanda.

[206] Interior of the Hut. The interiors of the huts in Kissaka
342 differ from those in Kiziba in that there are no fixed, woven par-
352 titions. When you enter the hut, you seem to be confronted by a finely woven wall, but on closer observation this turns out to be a row of uprights. Stiff rectangular mats are wedged in between them and bent outward. The mats are woven somewhat like the baskets; they are 2 meters long and 40 centimeters wide and usually sealed with cow dung. This wall separates the anteroom (umuriango) from the hearth section. On the left side is an opening which forms a narrow entrance to the interior of the hut. The position of this opening seems to be reminiscent of the arrangement in the Bakondjo huts. However, this opening can also be directly opposite the entrance, as is generally the case among the Batutsi.

352 Along the wall of the hearth section, usually to one side of the entrance, is the bench for the milk vessels. This is about 40 centimeters wide, 40 centimeters high, and up to 2 meters long

352 and is covered on top and in front with mats. On this bench stand several simple vessels carved out of wood and covered with not very artistically woven straw lids. Above these vessels, on a beam placed across two uprights, large calabashes used in making butter hang in nets. In Kissaka these hanging nets are not as neatly and carefully made as in Kiziba. Small calabashes are used to close the openings of the butter calabashes.

[342]

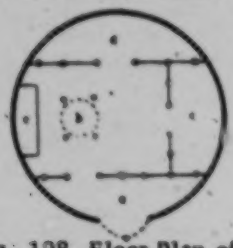

Fig. 128. Floor Plan of Kissaka Hut: (a) anteroom, (b) hearth, (c) bedroom, (d) back room, (e) milk bench.

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The hearth is situated somewhat to the left of center. It is shaped like a round clay slab with two concentric circles, one centimeter high and ten centimeters wide, to prevent fire and ashes from falling out. Well-to-do people who have a separate cookhouse do not keep a fire in the hut during the day. Their hearthstone is always [207] swept clean, and they light a fire only in the evening. Above the fire is a grill, that is, a slab set on four high posts. The bunches of bananas to be used for making beer are placed on this grill to ripen.

[415 285]

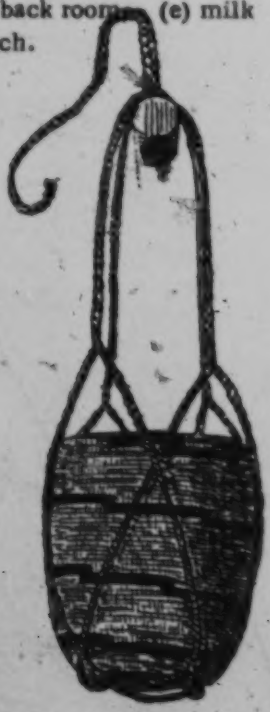

Fig. 129. Hanging Net with Basket. (1/6 actual size. III 13100.)

On the other side of the hearth, opposite the milk bench, is the spacious bed. This is surrounded by posts, and here again we find mats or plaited work wedged between them in order to close off the room. There is a separate approach to the bed, which can be closed off with a rollable stick mat, like a blind.

342 In Mulera I had an opportunity to see a different arrangement of the hut. Here there was no partition between the anteroom and the hearth section, and the whole thing was called a cow stall (rubumbiro). The hearth (isiko) was in the middle of the hut. This is also said to be the usual arrangement in Bunyabungu (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

In Mulera, behind the hearth is the women's rooms (mbele) which leads to the niche dedicated to Biheko (ruhimbi). To the right of the entrance is the room for the calves (ruhongoro). The bedroom is between the Biheko niche and the calf stall.

352 In Ruanda the bed is made of wooden sticks. Four supports forked at the top, are driven into the ground, and on these rest two horizontal rods that support a platform made of wooden sticks. The frame is covered with several mats which make a relatively soft padding.

513 The sleeper wraps himself up in a mat, so that only the masunzu (2) and the toes stick out, which are not infrequently

2. Unshaven stripes of hair which ornament the heads of men, children, and young people.

gnawed by rats, the worst plague of the dwellings.

415 On the side of the bed facing the wall I saw tall round baskets with lids (ichibo) filled with grain for sowing.

352 Beds are found in all the huts of Mpororo, central and southern Ruanda, and Mulera, but in Bugoye I saw huts without them. There were very few in Nyundo, whereas in Ruagari which is only four hours north [208] on the Bgisha border, people commonly slept on mats without bedsteads in a special portion of the hut closed off by a partition. This was also the arrangement among the Batwa of Chuma. Among the Bakondjo and the inhabitants of Toro there are beds in all the huts. There are none in Kiziba.

The Batwa west of the Kagera do not use beds nor do the inhabitants of Bgisha and north Bugoye, who are obviously influenced

352 by the Batwa. The Pygmies also do not use beds. If we also remember that the people west of the Kagera make their bowstrings of rattan (bamboo) and use the wooden arrowhead, we may venture to surmise that the absence of the bed in north Ruanda is connected with the Batwa, that is, the Pygmies.

In the interior of the Batutsi huts I occasionally also saw a special room for children and guests. Usually the larger children and the guests sleep in the anteroom (umuriango).

The floor of the huts is covered with mats and not strewn with grass as in Kiziba and Mpororo. On the floor there is usually also a low wooden stool to sit on.

412 Household Utensils. In Ruanda household utensils are very crudely constructed, especially the mortar and pestle. The latter is a simple uncarved stick with a bulbous end. The gourd bottles, 415 too, are not as smooth and regular as those in Kiziba where we find all forms highly developed and perfected.

The most important household utensils are storage baskets, millstones, and various dishes for cooking and eating.

415
285

Fig. 132. Woven Basket from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13103. 39 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 133. Shield Basket for Flour from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10922. 27 x 23 centimeters.)

We have already briefly referred to baskets. We mentioned the conical storage baskets of bamboo (Fig. 54), the smaller straw baskets that are sewn together (ichibo, Fig. 131), the shield baskets for winnowing grain (Fig. 28), and the traveling baskets made of

445 [211] The wooden bowls are usually elliptical, but sometimes they are quite long and have a handle, so that they resemble a very short-handled spoon. Twin vessels are also not uncommon and I collected a number of them in Mulera. They hold less than other vessels. These twin vessels have a common longitudinal axis, are carved from one piece of wood, and used to serve different foods at one time. The part that joins them serves as a handle. On the outer rim there is often the suggestion of a handle in the form of a knob or a loop. Simple bowls sometimes also have loops.

[212] Gourds are used to hold beer and water. In Mulera, as in the Congo Basin, large bowls (ulukiza) made of calabashes cut in half lengthwise are used for drinking. Usually, however, in Ruanda, beer is sipped through straws from calabashes with narrow necks. The necks of these jugs are not as narrow as those in Kiziba. The straws are kept in the huts in small woven or carved wooden containers (ikitembo) resembling quivers.

Beer is poured into the small openings of the calabashes with funnels. [213] However, we also find vessels used for pouring. These were collected and illustrated by Dr. Kandt. (1)

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," Zeitscheift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 346.

Milk is stored in the house in the wooden vessels (kianzi) we have already discussed. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter. There are special small vessels for storing butter. They are made either of fired clay or carved out of wood. The latter are shaped like tiny dishes, but the edges are more convergent, and they usually have a loop handle.

●352 Small, one-legged stools complete the furniture, but not every household has these.

462 The Household. The women do the housework which consists of fetching water and preparing food.

312 Fetching the water needed for the household is probably the most onerous task, particularly in the lava district south of the

351 disappeared. Yet, I did not find any trees at all at the resi-
[248] dence of the great chief Kilima (see pp. 162, 188 [these pages not translated]) in northwest Urundi. Four large round kraals are situated there on an open round mountain top at an altitude of 2,150 meters, affording a wonderful view of the neighboring deep valleys and long mountain chains. Each kraal is surrounded
[417] by a thick bamboo palisade, twice as high as a man, enclosing six to eight spacious round huts. There is no tree, green fence pole, or even a banana leaf anywhere near it. The entire complex stands on the commanding steep mountain top, like a fort built for defense.

361 In other parts of the border districts adjoining Ruanda, the houses are sometimes crowded together into whole villages surrounded by strong protective fences. Indeed, Captain Bethe even found "a large city of natives, a compact community living together" (Deutsches Kolonialblatt [German Colonial Journal, 1899, p. 9) in Iwusome on Lake Rugwero in northeastern Urundi. However, these are exceptions to the general practice of living in individual kraals and occur only in a few exposed border regions.

The fireplace (isiko) is usually in the main center room
●354 of the hut. I intentionally do not use the word "hearth," for usually it consists of a few stones which may be pushed together on a round platform of pounded clay in such a way that a fire may be built in the center and a cooking pot placed on top. Sometimes also, the fire is placed on a thick round plate of fired clay in the same manner as in Ruanda; its periphery is raised in the form of a roll to prevent the fire from being scattered.
372 When the embers cease to glow, which is very seldom, fire is obtained from one's neighbor. On long travels, however, fire is made in the well-known manner of the Bantu, when wood is available, by twirling a hard piece of wood on a soft one; otherwise, a glowing piece of coal is tied up in a bundle of slightly wet grass and carried along. In this manner they carry embers with them on journeys lasting several days.

Yet since firewood is often very scarce in a country almost destitute of trees and bushes, cakes of cattle dung dried in the sun are used for fuel or, wherever there are no cattle or only a few, papyrus or reed rootstocks are collected in the swampy valleys.

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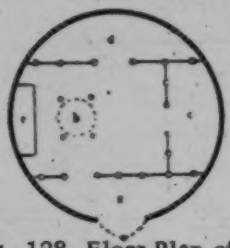

Fig. 128. Floor Plan of Kissaka Hut: (a) anteroom, (b) hearth, (c) bedroom, (d) back room, (e) milk bench.

354

The hearth is situated somewhat to the left of center. It is shaped like a round clay slab with two concentric circles, one centimeter high and ten centimeters wide, to prevent fire and ashes from falling out. Well-to-do people who have a separate cookhouse do not keep a fire in the hut during the day. Their hearthstone is always [207] swept clean, and they light a fire only in the evening. Above the fire is a grill, that is, a slab set on four high posts. The bunches of bananas to be used for making beer are placed on this grill to ripen.

[415 285]

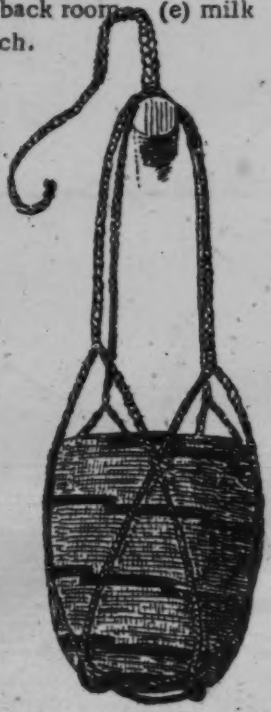

Fig. 129. Hanging Net with Basket. (1/6 actual size. III 13100.)

On the other side of the hearth, opposite the milk bench, is the spacious bed. This is surrounded by posts, and here again we find mats or plaited work wedged between them in order to close off the room. There is a separate approach to the bed, which can be closed off with a rollable stick mat, like a blind.

342 In Mulera I had an opportunity to see a different arrangement of the hut. Here there was no partition between the anteroom and the hearth section, and the whole thing was called a cow stall (rubumbiro). The hearth (isiko) was in the middle of the hut. This is also said to be the usual arrangement in Bunyabungu (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

In Mulera, behind the hearth is the women's rooms (mbele) which leads to the niche dedicated to Biheko (ruhimbi). To the right of the entrance is the room for the calves (ruhongoro). The bedroom is between the Biheko niche and the calf stall.

352 In Ruanda the bed is made of wooden sticks. Four supports forked at the top, are driven into the ground, and on these rest two horizontal rods that support a platform made of wooden sticks. The frame is covered with several mats which make a relatively soft padding.

513 The sleeper wraps himself up in a mat, so that only the masunzu (2) and the toes stick out, which are not infrequently

2. Unshaven stripes of hair which ornament the heads of men, children, and young people.

gnawed by rats, the worst plague of the dwellings.

415 On the side of the bed facing the wall I saw tall round baskets with lids (ichibo) filled with grain for sowing.

352 Beds are found in all the huts of Mpororo, central and southern Ruanda, and Mulera, but in Bugoye I saw huts without them. There were very few in Nyundo, whereas in Ruagari which is only four hours north [208] on the Bgisha border, people commonly slept on mats without bedsteads in a special portion of the hut closed off by a partition. This was also the arrangement among the Batwa of Chuma. Among the Bakondjo and the inhabitants of Toro there are beds in all the huts. There are none in Kiziba.

The Batwa west of the Kagera do not use beds nor do the inhabitants of Bgisha and north Bugoye, who are obviously influenced

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [289] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and 778 reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce [782] of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 356 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage 342 next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding [514] the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

364 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. Accord-
356 ing to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings, and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

356 When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired, but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years. After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
429 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it, and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight
592 residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters of homesteads are much larger.

556 Rich people and the Batussi lords, however, are not con-
592 tent with a single kraal including several huts. They build several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass
342 directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living and reception room for the master of the house and also as a shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1). For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common Batussi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [356] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up 241 the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

644 556 bears the meaningful name of intore, from the verb gutora, "to choose," because it contains a selection of unique pieces. It includes the wardrobe (imyambar' abami) of the former kings and their jewels. Fabrics of all kinds; colobus hides, beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other objects of this sort make up the greater part of the treasure proper, which is exhibited twice a year, as we shall see later on when we discuss the festivals at Court.

644 356 G. A group of young girls is in charge of cleaning the hut which the monarch uses as a bedroom. They are entrusted with the task of renewing the fine grass which makes up the royal bed and of stretching upon it the mats and precious furs (ibyahi), that is to say, the otter, lion, and leopard hides on which the sovereign lies. Those chambermaids are popularly called Abashahsi, "those who stretch out the mats," from the word gusasa, "to stretch out the mats." Another of their functions, and not the least important one, consists of "warming" the royal bed every night. In order to achieve this, they lie down on the couch successively or even all together until the king arrives.

The women or girls who fulfill a function at court live under the ultimate supervision of the queen mother, at whose side they live. /388/

644 701 H. The "Irresistibles" (Intalindwa) take their name from the army corps of that name. They include a group of servants and factotums chosen among the various classes of society. Among other duties, they watch over the king and his children at night and keep up the fire that must burn on the hearth throughout the night, according to a custom of the country which is also observed by the great chiefs. They renovate the huts by rebuilding them regularly every three years. Since the huts which make up the royal palace are numerous, they share this task with the chiefs of certain provinces.

[482] It is from among the "Irresistibles" that hammock bearers (abahetsi b' ingobyi) are selected when great ladies of the royal harem venture outside. They belong to the army corps whose name they bear. The members of this military group were regarded as the most courageous (Intalindwa, "those who cannot be resisted").

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42
Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415 water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
564 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

●357 567 The domestic bondsmen, the servants, are an important element in the social structure and the economic life. Neither in Urundi nor in Ruanda does slavery exist -- or rather, it no longer exists. In fact, the Batussi do not need slaves for the Bahutu are all bondsmen of the Batussi rulers and provide all the services that are required of slaves in other parts of East Africa. On the other hand, until the turn of the century, there existed quite a brisk slave trade out of Urundi to other areas. This was carried on under the influence of the Arabs and the coastal dwellers, with the Wawira, Bassuwi, Wassumbwa, and Wanjamwesi acting as middlemen. Not only did the Barundi sell their countrymen as slaves, in particular the women and girls, but also orphans were sold by their relatives, and even children by their own parents (No. 19, p. 212). The purchase price was paid in salt, pearls, and iron hoes. Pretty Batussi girls fetched the highest prices and were destined for the harems of the Arabs, prosperous coast Negroes, or the Wanjamwesi. As recently as 1900 there were public slave auctions in Uha (Heru) and in Usámbiro. Mainly slaves from Ruanda (Kissaka) and Urundi were sold there. A witness wrote at that time: "All the roads are full of slave trains, almost all of them women and girls. Eight out of ten female slaves perish, for these children of the mountains only rarely survive in a different climate" (No. 14, 1900, p. 178). At present, as the German occupation progresses, these atrocities have been stopped, and only rarely and under the cloak of secrecy is a girl or a child from Urundi sold into slavery in the neighboring areas.

[97] In Urundi itself, however, in the households of many 357 influential families, especially of the Batussi, there are, in- 597 stead of the domestic slaves, bond servants or maids (abaschumwi). 592 Although they are personally free, they have to work for the master and receive only room and board in exchange. They get their jobs by a kind of adoption; someone who has no relatives or who, for some reason or other, wants to leave his family will offer his permanent services to a prosperous Murundi or to a mutwale. The latter takes him into his home and treats him

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357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 We have said that the *muami* did not possess the
661 land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *muami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds
43 a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them are naturally attracted towards those who own them.
357 The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* (who watch over the cattle), *bakevvi* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here
675 are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later
425 return a calf after the cow has calved two or three
554 times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 *The relations between agriculturists*

425 Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

[p.15(A)]

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Servants' labour belonged completely to their masters. These servants (*abatindi* for men, *abaja* for women) were either war captives or simply very poor people (this is the first meaning of the word *abatindi*). Their payment consisted in receiving food, shelter, and clothing from their masters. Sometimes it was agreed that after a certain period of time (such as three years) the master would either pay the bride-wealth to provide the servant with a wife or would even give him his own daughter.

Family heads were the only persons who could dispose of their own labour resources, with the exception of that part required by the lord and the political authority.

• • •

Almost any Ruanda family head could command enough rights to capital goods and labour to make his rugo self-supporting, with a certain surplus for his chief and his overlord. But these rights were not finally his. The ultimate control of the factors of production was not his. Labour, land, and cattle, in that order, were increasingly slipping away from his control. Command of the factors of production and political power was so interwoven in Ruanda social structure that they are to be analysed together in the following chapter devoted to the political organization.

593 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong
784 enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a
582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are
[357] the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are
[565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter.
[564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the
[591 *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will
342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.)
591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home
[184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15] 462 564 593

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [581 557]

137 are not burned down so regularly, and Urundi is not as completely treeless as Ruanda because next to each kraal a few fig trees are maintained for the use of their bark. Also, [5] the larger rivers, such as the Ruvuvu or the Malagarasi, are bordered for some stretches with a rather dense forest on the banks (Plate 5). The great majority of the valleys, however, is swampy and filled with dense papyrus thickets which can be penetrated only in a few places (Plate 2a). While in our part of the world valleys are the natural arteries of traffic and the most suitable places for settlement, they can never serve this purpose in most of Urundi. The swamp covered valleys and [361] their often very steep slopes force the population and their roads and settlements to the upland plateaus and upper slopes. For this reason all farmsteads are on mountain ridges and the higher slopes of the valleys. In the valleys the only fields are of crops [241] that, like sweet potatoes, need considerable moisture. This character of the valleys will make it extremely difficult to open up the country by means of roads or even railroads. The papyrus swamps are, next to the grassy hills across which one can see for miles, the most characteristic feature in the landscape of Urundi, as well as of Uha and Ruanda, that is, of most of the interlacustrine region.

Richard Kandt, the poet among the travelers to East Africa, devotes the following impressionistic description to them.

"From the time we entered the region of Urundi and also during the last days in Uha, papyrus swamps formed the characteristic feature of the landscape. Often streams hardly more than two meters wide lie in a valley of papyrus several hundred meters wide. It fills not only the main valleys but extends also into all tributary valleys and even climbs up the ravines and gorges so that, seen from a height, the country looks like a gigantic network of green ribbons in whose meshes the mountains lie like islands. I have seen many a strange and beautiful landscape in Africa. I have experienced the indescribable melancholy hovering over burned, trembling-hot steppes when the rays of the sinking sun, in a bloody red, break through the glittering haze. In the territory of the Congo State I have tasted

000 rule of the Batussi, liberate the Bahutu from the yoke of the Batussi, and win them over to our civilizing aims which are, at the same time, in their very own interest.

181 In conclusion, I shall cite a very acute judgment of the Barundi in general by R. Kandt: "The Warundi, it is true, are as cowardly as the Wanjaruanda but -- being in any case more lively and intelligent -- they are also more boastful and impertinent. In those days I never rid myself of the impression that all these histrionics, these war games, etc., were the expression of real street Arab mentality. For this reason I also believe that it will be more difficult to bring about a satisfactory state of affairs in Urundi than in Ruanda. Nevertheless, we shall never have such difficulties with either of them as might necessitate the far-reaching and dangerous defensive operations which were conducted in Uhehe, for example. These peoples, emasculated by centuries of bondage, do not know - and this is good -- what latent power lies dormant in the bodies of innumerable millions, and, lacking any deeper national consciousness, they will be the convenient tools of an intelligent colonization based on a knowledge of the country and language. They will never conceive of banding together in a united defense against foreign invasion. To arouse them from this slumber and to goad them into a united defiance of the Europeans would require such brutal clumsiness on the part of the administrators that probably none of us or our grandchildren need be afraid of experiencing the horror of it." (No. 22, pp. 325-326.)

[17] Chapter 2

Settlement, Dwellings, Food

361 In Urundi and Ruanda the surface character of the country, the form and type of its plateaus, hills, mountains, and valleys, determine the form and location of the settlements.

133 By far the largest part of the country is a tableland which
361 powerful erosion has dissected into innumerable long and short ridges with flattened tops and chains of hills with frequently deep and rather steep valley escarpments. The majority of the valleys are filled by papyrus swamps which can only be crossed in a few places. Hence it is not the valleys, as in our part of the world, but the high places that provide the most suitable settlement sites. The marshes in the valley bottoms, the hot stagnant air in the lowlands, the myriads of mosquitoes and gnats, and the valley slopes which in many places are very steep cause the people with their roads and settlements to resort to the free, airy plateaus and hill tops, while in most valleys the only fields are of such crops as require much moisture. In most areas of Urundi and Ruanda the valleys serve not to unite people but to separate them. In both regions the division of the people and the state into small communities is, therefore, determined by natural causes (see p. 89). For this reason also, the future opening up of the country by means of roads or railroads is rendered unusually difficult. The valleys in many parts of the eastern drier quartzite regions are much less swampy and less steep. There also, the surfaces of the plateau ridges and of the hill ranges are everywhere so stony and sterile due to weathered quartzite fragments (see Plate 2b) that the people avoid the high land and prefer to settle on the sides of valleys where the springs break out below the crevassed quartzite on the upper line of stratification of the almost impermeable argillite and where the argillaceous residual soil is more fertile and easier to till than the quartzite lying above.

This natural diversity among the areas is in itself an ex-
161 planation of why the population is rather unevenly distributed over the country.

The government estimates the number of natives in Urundi at one and a half to two million ("Die deutschen Schutzgebiete 1912-13," Amtliche Jahresberichte ["The German Protectorates 1912-13," Official Annual Reports], pp. 8-9). This large margin is an indication that official censuses in the individual areas have so far not been possible. Both here and in Ruanda only the drawing up of tax registers will some day

161 quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more
[133] sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19]
One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more
[311] humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations
cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense
population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in
them.

The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in chil-
592 dren, as in Ruanda.. Individually the Batussi women are less
[842] fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom
fewer than three children in each family and in many cases
(among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly
more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married
couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if
[595] there are many children or several wives, each mother lives
in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and
unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there
are often between two and four residential huts and several huts
for grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential
huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see
Fig. 1).

●361 The settlement pattern is that of individual establish-
ments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (lugo, urugo).
Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and
its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates
18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals
belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each
other within calling distance so that village-like clusters
(ikisagara) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside ex-
tend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the
settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the
poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or
clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are
scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and sur-
rounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without
banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

361 and villages differ considerably depending on the quality of the soil. In the densely populated western districts one passes a cluster of homesteads every quarter or half hour, but in the thinly populated eastern districts one sometimes travels over an hour without seeing or passing a courtyard or a village.

363 One never sees many people outside, neither on the roads, near the grazing cattle, nor in the fields. Only close to the huts and within the kraals does one see people walking, standing, and squatting in groups. Old people 70 years old and older
145 are extremely rare. Very few seem to live beyond the age of 60, and this seems to be more often the case with the Batussi than with the Bahutu.

161 According to missionaries' reports, the population has been increasing during the last ten years or so, since the petty wars between the batwale and the princes and the invasions of the Banjaruanda and the Baha [Ha] have become rarer and less bloody. Only in the Tanganyika region which has been hit by
164 sleeping sickness has the population decreased considerably.
731 In the rest of Urundi the number of inhabitants is occasionally reduced considerably by smallpox epidemics or by crop failures, which are especially fatal to children, but such famines are relatively rare. In 1892, 1896, 1904-5 and 1908, rinderpest, bad harvests, and smallpox caused great devastations. In 1910 the distress resulting from drought in eastern Urundi was so great that the mission at Mujaga had to buy up large amounts of manioc and beans in Uha for their natives. Some travelers
181 claim that the majority of the Bahutu are waiting to be liberated from their conquerors. I cannot confirm this from my observations. [20] [Fig. 2 appears here in original text.] [21] The enthusiastic reception that the Bahutu gave at the time to the first European arriving there, Oskar Baumann in Urundi and Count Götzen in Ruanda, did indeed spring from the traditional hope for a great new conqueror who would usher in a golden age, but like all East African Bantu the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda do not in the least thirst for freedom. As has been mentioned above, they are submissive and dependent on others; they are happiest under firm authority and as accustomed to the discipline of their

[Text continues on page 31]

2: Meyer--30A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

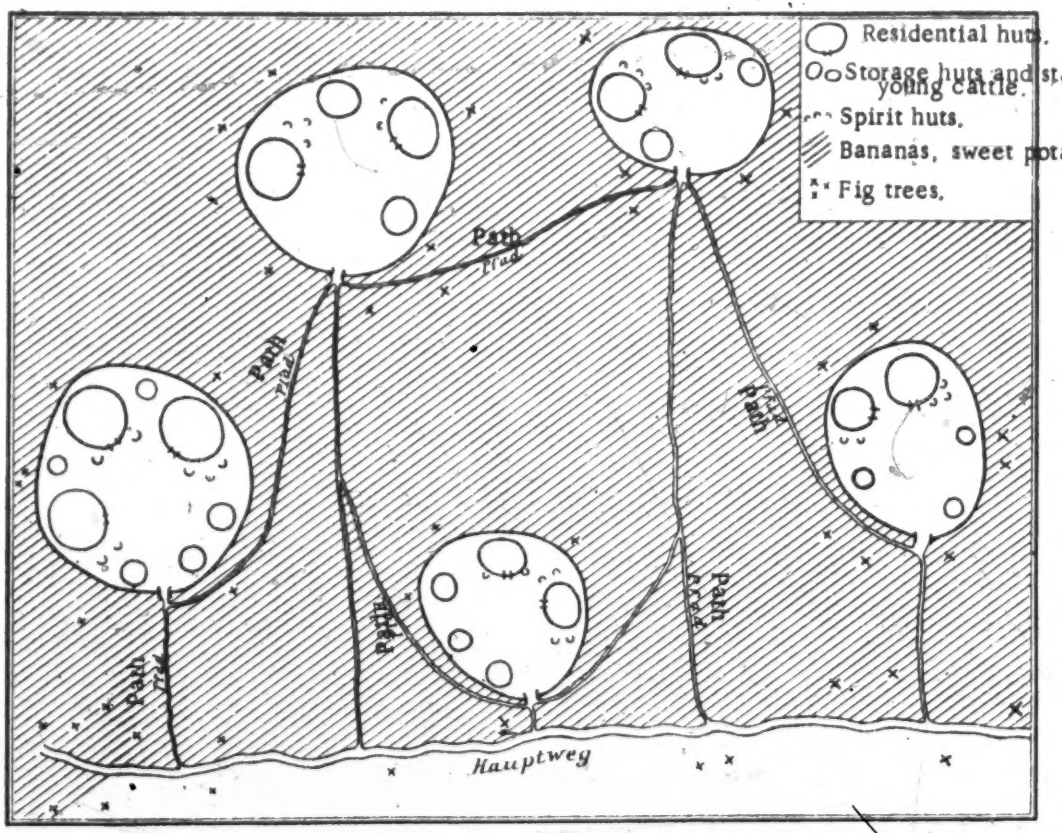

Fig. 2. Barundi Village. (Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

181 Batussi masters as they formerly were to the scarcely more lenient rule of their Bantu chiefs. When one comes from Ruanda which is governed on a rigid monarchical basis, one is astonished at how much freer, happier, and noisier, but also with how much less discipline the Barundi live and behave under their Batussi batwale than in Ruanda.

361 221 233 Predominantly agriculturists and breeders of small cattle, the Bahutu are completely sedentary. The Batussi, who own all the big cattle, also have permanent dwellings, but during the dry months they engage in a kind of alpine farming with their herds of cattle in the fresher pastures of the mountains, as though in memory of their former life as nomads. This will be described in more detail later in our discussion of stock farming (see p.40).

342 The residential huts (insu) of the Barundi differ essentially neither in form nor in structure, technique or material, from those of the Banjaruanda. Externally they are usually somewhat flatter than the huts in Ruanda; they have the shape of an umbrella rather than a beehive. Yet both in Urundi and Ruanda the crinoline-like frame is bound together by means of wooden poles or, wherever there is bamboo, by means of bamboo poles, the empty spaces between them being filled with vertical and horizontal layers of sorghum stalks. The superimposed, flat, hemispherical roof is not supported by a single pole in the center, but by a number of them evenly distributed in the hut. The entire frame is covered down to the ground with straw of tall grass (sedge, not reeds), and in some regions with dry banana leaves. As a protection against rain, a stick with a wisp of straw which spreads out at the bottom is fastened at the point of the roof. The opening for the door with the somewhat protruding door roof resembles that of the Ruanda house, but its side walls are interwoven less carefully than those of the Ruanda house. The door opening is closed by a coarsely plaited screen, kept in place by a stick propped against it. Except for the single door, there is no opening in the entire structure (Plate 18). Thus, the smoke must escape through the door. The entire hut can be lifted by several men and shifted to a

364 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. Accord-
356 ing to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings, and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

356 When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired, but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years. After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
428 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it, and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight
592 residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters of homesteads are much larger.

Rich people and the Batussi lords, however, are not con-
556 tent with a single kraal including several huts. They build
592 several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass
342 directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living and reception room for the master of the house and also as a shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1). For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common Batussi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

351 disappeared. Yet, I did not find any trees at all at the resi-
[248] dence of the great chief Kilima (see pp. 162, 188 [these pages not translated]) in northwest Urundi. Four large round kraals are situated there on an open round mountain top at an altitude of 2,150 meters, affording a wonderful view of the neighboring deep valleys and long mountain chains. Each kraal is surrounded
[417] by a thick bamboo palisade, twice as high as a man, enclosing six to eight spacious round huts. There is no tree, green fence pole, or even a banana leaf anywhere near it. The entire complex stands on the commanding steep mountain top, like a fort built for defense.

In other parts of the border districts adjoining Ruanda, the
361 houses are sometimes crowded together into whole villages surrounded by strong protective fences. Indeed, Captain Bethe even found "a large city of natives, a compact community living together" (Deutsches Kolonialblatt [German Colonial Journal, 1899, p. 9) in Iwusome on Lake Rugwero in northeastern Urundi. However, these are exceptions to the general practice of living in individual kraals and occur only in a few exposed border regions.

The fireplace (isiko) is usually in the main center room
354 of the hut. I intentionally do not use the word "hearth," for usually it consists of a few stones which may be pushed together on a round platform of pounded clay in such a way that a fire may be built in the center and a cooking pot placed on top. Sometimes also, the fire is placed on a thick round plate of fired clay in the same manner as in Ruanda; its periphery is raised in the form of a roll to prevent the fire from being scattered.
372 When the embers cease to glow, which is very seldom, fire is obtained from one's neighbor. On long travels, however, fire is made in the well-known manner of the Bantu, when wood is available, by twirling a hard piece of wood on a soft one; otherwise, a glowing piece of coal is tied up in a bundle of slightly wet grass and carried along. In this manner they carry embers with them on journeys lasting several days.

Yet since firewood is often very scarce in a country almost destitute of trees and bushes, cakes of cattle dung dried in the sun are used for fuel or, wherever there are no cattle or only a few, papyrus or reed rootstocks are collected in the swampy valleys.

643
423
631

As in Ruanda and the other Bahima states, from Unjoro in the north to Ufipa in the south (No. 47, p. 74), all the land, people, and cattle in Urundi belong to the king on the basis of his inherited right as conqueror. He distributes the land among the members of his family and his clan, the Baganwa, as a hereditary fief. He may reclaim it, however, if at any time he is dissatisfied with the holder. These grand vassals or grand batwale again subdivide their territory in many small fiefs among their followers, and these continue the process so that the entire country is covered by a gigantic network of vassals of the king (see p. 171 [not translated]). They are predominantly Batussi, and the lowest among them have approximately the position of a village mayor. The smallest territorial unit of this large administrative organization is the [361] mountain, the plateau ridge (umutumba, umurambi). In the highlands which are cut up by swampy valleys, the mountains bear the settlements, not the valleys. For this reason the boundaries of the provinces and their subdivisions are formed almost everywhere by the stream and river valleys, the most obvious and most effective natural lines of separation between the regions and their inhabitants. However, the large fiefs seldom consist of one continuous stretch of land within a region; almost always they are formed by numerous smaller pieces of territory distributed over various provinces. Thus, the important vassals are prevented from becoming too powerful for the king.

Of course, all vassals are expected to pay a certain amount of tribute to the king. From these the latter meets the expenses of his large household, pays his officials, and conducts his wars. Depending on the duties involved, there are three kinds of feudal tenure. 1) Land fiefs: their holders have to pay regularly a certain share of the produce of their fields to the king. 2) Cattle fiefs: the tenants monthly furnish a certain number of cattle, milk, and butter. 3) War fiefs: the holders must keep ready for action a certain number of warriors who must be placed at the king's disposal upon his command. Sometimes these three types of feudal tenure are combined in one region and in the

2: Meyer--253 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 19

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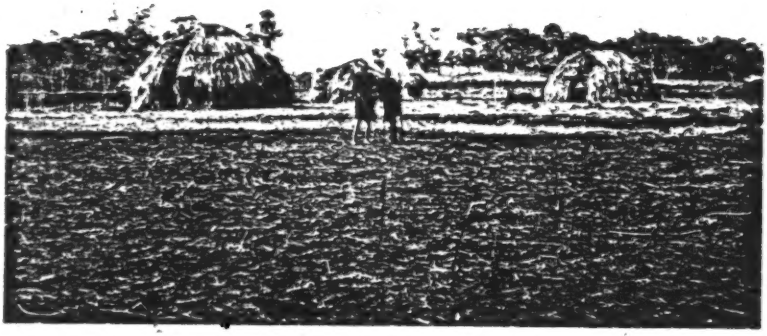
Barundi Village near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Barundi Homestead East of the Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--254 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 20

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417
137

Village with Euphorbia Fence in the Hyphaene Steppe
of the Lower Ruzizi River
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

417
137

Euphorbia Hedges to Protect the Fields, near Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds [417] them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

178 changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground.
177 Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which
[241] grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of famine ; coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps to pay the tax-collector).

178 Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type,
177 closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neigh-
361 bourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres)
563 or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly foreigners : Belgian officials, European traders (Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *basuahili* (Islamized negroes). It remains however that they are an entirely new feature in a country with such a widely dispersed population.

Conclusions

361 I thought I could draw your attention to some
571 details of the curious Urundi organization : a dense population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and habitable land according to the geographic possibilities, without any orientation centres (the few habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce anything like demographic concentration) ; the small part played by neighbourhood relations, the predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating man-to-man dependance, or in other words the primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relationships.

Such an organization was possible in a country almost completely closed to foreign influence, without either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure and must be related to conditions both ethnographical and geographical. This organization is
[177 giving way under the influence of European ad-
178] ministration, of the development of trade, and of a new economy based more and more upon monetary transactions.

[p. 16 (B)]

233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [356] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

241 The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

578 Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the
631 following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

423 are least fortunate or most enterprising get together to sell or exchange
[311] their plots and go to the edge of the forest to buy a piece of land or to develop the one they owned there.

From then on, the clan to which they belong includes an additional village.

As in Europe the sale and lease of fields and banana groves is made in the presence of witnesses. Land boundaries are marked with stones and other conventional signs.

A felled tree, a displaced stone, some ground which has been broken in a neighbor's field over the dividing line, such things cause frequent litigations that give rise to disunity within families and among tribes over long periods of time.

361 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ remains attached to his native village, to his plot of land. He does not feel the need to move elsewhere, to change his domicile, as do the Blacks settled east and west of Tanganyika.

[134] Ruanda soil is richer by far and sustains numerous and varied crops.

245 In addition to the banana grove, which is the most important part of his property, the Munyarwanda has begun to plant trees and to cultivate coffee, which brings in large profits to which he was not
[231] accustomed. Ownership of a small herd of cattle or sheep makes his home even dearer to him.

593 It may be said that his home life is more stable than in neighboring areas, and that he leaves it only rarely (1).

[166]

1. The Blacks, too, are familiar with nostalgia and home sickness. The fear of a vendetta or the attraction of large salaries may temporarily induce the natives to expatriate themselves. Sooner or later, however, they return to the cradle of their ancestors. The Banyarwanda cite characteristic instances of this.

563 always an understanding, and they often live side by side. In spite of all their prejudices, they [133] are obliged to stick together in order to assert themselves against the farmers who are a large majority in the country.

361 624 There are far fewer Batwa than Batutsi. The extensive nature of their livelihood makes a concentrated Batwa population impossible. Larger, purely Batwa settlements are to be found only in the primeval forest and in Nyanza near Musinga. Otherwise the Batwa are widely scattered amidst the Bahutu population.

I am acquainted with the following Batwa groups:

1. Batwa under Kahima of Kazu. Kahima is the subordinate of the Muhutu, Chuma, who lives three hours south of Nyundo. Together with his petty subchief, Sebuleza, he has under him up to 150 Batwa, including women and children.

2. Batwa under Ngunzu. Ngunzu is subordinate to the Muhutu chief, Mutubula. His village is situated on a mountain near Kahama and can be seen from the third forest clearing on the way from Ruasa to Kisenyi. This group is said to be at least as strong as the other, even though one can see only seven huts from the road.

3. Batwa under Lukara are settled on the pass between Muhawura and Mgahinga. They are probably not much fewer in number. From Lukara's kraal we could see only two or three Batwa huts, and Lukara brought me only a dozen adults to be measured, but the fact that they had to be driven out of Belgian territory by military force shows that there must be a larger number. Mgahinga owes the name "Kirunga ya Batwa" to them.

4. Batwa of Mikeno. Dr. Kandt (1) visited this group. He

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1894), pp. 300, 301, 304.

mentions two groups of huts. The first has two huts; the second is four hours distant and contains six to eight huts. The latter are situated around a clearing. There are from 15 to 20 Batwa here,

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Dr. Kandt (2) mentions, however, that there are also Batwa

2. Kandt, R., "Bericht über meine Reisen und gesamte Tätigkeit in Deutsch-Ostafrika [Report on my Journeys and Entire Work in German East Africa]," Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1900 [Reports on the German Protectorates 1900], p. 246.

living in the forests of Sabinio.

In Ndorwa the following influential Batwa chiefs were mentioned.

5 and 6. Ngurube and Katulenge. Ngurube's Batwa are called Puniu. (3)

3. Parisch, F.R. Von "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 to 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

7. The Batwa on Idjwi Island were visited by Dr. J. Mildbraed and Dr. H. Schubotz and are supposed to be more similar to the Pygmies than the rest of the Batwa.

8. Batwa of southern Ruanda. There are large colonies of Batwa in the Rugege Forest and in the forests in the southwestern part of the province of Nduga. This [134] group is called Mashami or Machaba. Their forest belongs to the Njaruguru country which was formerly under the jurisdiction of Chief Kaizuka (1).

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

9. Batwa from Kabgaye. Apart from these larger groups, I met a colony of 20 to 25 who lived in the vicinity of the Kabgaye Mission (Marangara) and were potters.

10. Finally there are Batwa in Nyanza who live there in order to serve the king. From time to time they are relieved by fellow tribesmen.

411 underside is an ornamented oval piece of wood that also serves as the handle."

Near Lake Luhondo on the border of Ndorwa I once saw a very primitive shield. It consisted of a piece of thick tree bark, in the center of which was attached a handle consisting of two bound, crossed twigs.

[285]

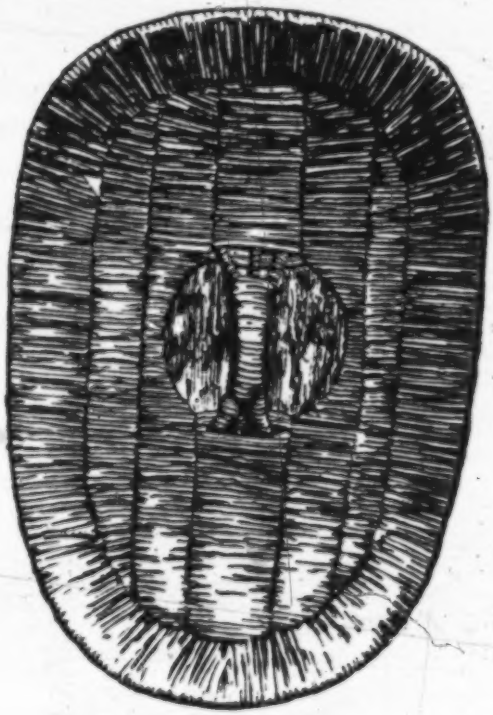

Fig. 125b. Shield from East Mulera, Inner Side.

The shield plays an important part in ritual.

[199] Chapter 9

Settlements and the Household

361 Settlements. There is considerable difference in the types of settlements to be found in individual parts of Ruanda. The typical form of settlement is the compound in which the

●361 independent man lives with his women, children, and servants
[558] (bagaragu). The establishments of the well-to-do are quite large and often embrace a dozen or more huts. Poor people have only one or two huts. The large settlements of the Batutsi, with the exception of those in the northwestern provinces, are all widely scattered in the grasslands and are conspicuous by the tall euphorbia hedges and trees which surround them.

In eastern Mpororo scattered huts occur only in the cultivated areas; they occur somewhat more frequently near large Bahima kraals, as, for example, that of Kitaraya. South of Kitaraya, Batutsi settlements hidden behind their euphorbia hedges predominate. On Lake Mohasi the scattered Bahutu settlements and their banana groves again appear. Here Batutsi kraals are rarer.

In Kissaka and Nduga there are Bahutu settlements on the edges of the banana groves, but since bananas are confined to specific regions because of soil conditions, a certain concentration of settlements has come about.

Around Nyanza, the residence of Musinga [king of Ruanda],
[311] we find few and widely scattered settlements, because the land is reserved as pasture for the king's cows.

In Mulera where the entire country is under cultivation, there is again a regular distribution of farm settlements. However, we also note a tendency for relatives to move closer together for safety.

In Bugoye, which shows influences of the Forest Bantu, we find many compact groups of huts almost resembling villages, although these settlements vary a great deal in their structure. Here the
[66] hill dwellers, from whom their mugabo [clan elder] collects taxes which he hands over to the proper mutware (ku butaka, ku muheto, etc.), have all joined together in a single settlement. [200] In Bugoye we find settlements of over 100 inhabitants. The largest settlements are in Bgisha, north of the chain of volcanoes. They sometimes have over 100 huts.

The Banyabungu also live in large villages which are very well kept and have high fences. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 377.

644 the following high chiefs were mentioned:

1. Nshohozamigo (Luhanga is his mugaragu in Mulera);
2. Kanuma from Kissaka;
3. Niamutezi from Kissaka;
4. Lutangabo from Kissaka;
5. Rwamanwa from Niaruguru;
6. Rudegambia;
7. Kabare from Bugessera, Nduga, Kifumbiro, Bugansa, Kissaka, etc.;
8. Lukara lwa Bishingwe (Muhutu) from Mulera;
9. Ndazihiwe (Muhutu);
10. Ishirangabo;
11. Runiga (Muhutu of the Bahenyi clan);
12. Bushakwe (Lwakadygi is his mugaragu in Bugoye);
13. Niamuhanga from Bgisha;
14. Lwabilinda from Mukinjaga, brother of Lwabugiri Kigeri;
15. Ruenankiko from Bulembo south of Mount Ndisa;
16. Nigensi from Mukinjaga.

644 361 These clients live in the huts that surround the large kraal of the king. Their "villas" (bilaro) looked to me like an encampment that had been set up a few days before, probably because they may not have trees planted around them, as is customary, because this might detract from the beauty of the trees surrounding the royal kraal. The only ornamentations in the entire vicinity were the trees of an old abandoned settlement on a neighboring hill.

644 The bagaragu of the king do not have any definitely appointed periods of service at court, as do the musicians, for example. Their periods of uninterrupted sojourn fluctuate between weeks and years. If you ask a high chief when he expects to go home, you always get the same answer: "When the king permits it." Besides 644 the favored, it is especially the feared who are kept at court for 661 a long time so that, removed from their own people and surrounded by a lot of envious, covetous rivals, they become innocuous. If they are absent too long, they gradually lose all contact with their followers. Time and distance have their effect, here as everywhere. For example, a rebellious chief from Mukinjaga was retained at court for the length of time it would take him to fill a

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

291 On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of
[854] cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their
[482] backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders
[939] coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

302 Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu
[301] and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments.
304 There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went
[291] barefoot.

592 The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at
361 least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the
349 interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a
[1171] 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c.
857 were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls
513 under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut
343 devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus
346 hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined
351 circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a
[231] kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the
36 year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

and Tutsi compounds. Only the size and number of huts and enclosures were different.[24]

These compounds, usually surrounded and more or less hidden by banana groves, were scattered throughout the country. They were on the top or on the slopes of hills, never in the valleys which were flooded every year at the end of the rainy season. They were usually rather isolated but even when they were not far from each other (and they were never so near together as to have two adjacent hedges) they did not constitute villages in the sense of concentrated clusters of dwellings situated near the centre of the territory worked by the inhabitants. There was, however, some grouping on a predominantly local basis of people who were all personally acquainted with each other. They could be described, following Murdock's terminology, as *neighbourhoods*.[25] These neighbourhoods were made up of a certain number of compounds (from twenty to sixty) situated on a hill (*umusozi*) or a part of a hill (*umurenge*). The people living there had a few common activities: mutual aid in the building of huts and in the performance of certain agricultural tasks, and recreational gatherings (such as dancing, jumping competitions, arrow shooting, &c.). They showed a certain *esprit de corps* in taking the side of one of their members in a dispute against a member of another similar community. The word used to designate the members of such groups expressed this idea of neighbourhood. They were called *abazimya muriro*, 'those who put out the fire', people very often needed. One important person in the group such as a lineage-head, was appointed as neighbourhood-head (*umukoresha*) by the traditional administrative authority to take charge of the collection of dues and tribute-labour of a hill or, more frequently, of a group of hills (*umuteware w'umosozi*). He acted as an intermediary between his neighbours and the hill chief. The group could refuse the appointment of a certain person and another would be chosen. These neighbourhoods had no communal place for meeting, exchanging goods, or worshipping.

The same pattern of local grouping was to be found throughout Ruanda.

[24] Cf. Czekanowski, 117, p. 200 ff; Pauwels, 1953; Vincent, 1954, pp. 12-15.

[25] Murdock, 1949, p. 80. The definition of village given in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 64. ('a territorially separate collection of homesteads, which is regarded as a distinct unit and of such a size that its inhabitants can all be personally acquainted') cannot be applied to the Ruanda type of local community.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

000 Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court
361 happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century
644 the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

443 Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through
[437] other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from
[439] the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

121 The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the
[104] situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet.
146 The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[28] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as
[433] high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[28] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be
smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs,
and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found
in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how
refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will
cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono),
made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have
mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots
(imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water
containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or
pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden
vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before
being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is al-
ways in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all
have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped
up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato,
akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended
in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a
bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no
spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a
broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and
when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then
formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of
the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words
"thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmi-
cally in turn.

361 and villages differ considerably depending on the quality of the soil. In the densely populated western districts one passes a cluster of homesteads every quarter or half hour, but in the thinly populated eastern districts one sometimes travels over an hour without seeing or passing a courtyard or a village.

One never sees many people outside, neither on the roads,
363 near the grazing cattle, nor in the fields. Only close to the huts and within the kraals does one see people walking, standing, and squatting in groups. Old people 70 years old and older
145 are extremely rare. Very few seem to live beyond the age of 60, and this seems to be more often the case with the Batussi than with the Bahutu.

According to missionaries' reports, the population has
161 been increasing during the last ten years or so, since the petty wars between the batwale and the princes and the invasions of the Banjaruanda and the Baha [Ha] have become rarer and less bloody. Only in the Tanganyika region which has been hit by
164 sleeping sickness has the population decreased considerably.
731 In the rest of Urundi the number of inhabitants is occasionally reduced considerably by smallpox epidemics or by crop failures, which are especially fatal to children, but such famines are relatively rare. In 1892, 1896, 1904-5 and 1908, rinderpest, bad harvests, and smallpox caused great devastations. In 1910 the distress resulting from drought in eastern Urundi was so great that the mission at Mujaga had to buy up large amounts of manioc and beans in Uha for their natives. Some travelers
181 claim that the majority of the Bahutu are waiting to be liberated from their conquerors. I cannot confirm this from my observations. [20] [Fig. 2 appears here in original text.] [21] The enthusiastic reception that the Bahutu gave at the time to the first European arriving there, Oskar Baumann in Urundi and Count Götzen in Ruanda, did indeed spring from the traditional hope for a great new conqueror who would usher in a golden age, but like all East African Bantu the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda do not in the least thirst for freedom. As has been mentioned above, they are submissive and dependent on others; they are happiest under firm authority and as accustomed to the discipline of their

[Text continues on page 31]

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [288] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 778 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and [782] reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 124, 135 , and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from 356 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 342 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding [514] the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

364 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. Accord-
356 ing to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings, and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

356 When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired, but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years. After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
429 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it, and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight
592 residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village, often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters of homesteads are much larger.

556 Rich people and the Batussi lords, however, are not con-
592 tent with a single kraal including several huts. They build several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass
342 directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living and reception room for the master of the house and also as a shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1). For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common Batussi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

235 from doing this again. Barundi passing this way take pains not
753 to crush the shells since the improvident person doing so would get sick (No. 19, p. 453).

231 Finally, among the domesticated animals we shall mention the dog (imbwa). His only purpose in life is to eat all the refuse. Adults and children play with him and also maltreat him. It has already been mentioned above (p.36) that on rare occasions he is also used for hunting drives. Both mentally and physically they are most miserable curs and it is difficult to understand why, after being domesticated for so long, they have not made better progress. Perhaps their domestication does not date back as far as is generally assumed, but in that case what might be their indigenous wild ancestor? Van der Burgt says that they "tiennent du loup" (resemble the wolf) (No. 19, p. 104). This can only be an error of observation for these dogs have much more in common with a jackal than with a wolf. Perhaps the jackal is the ancestor. Yet the original stock has separated into two different breeds, unless we assume that one breed was indigenous while the other was introduced later, probably by the Bahima. One breed is yellow-brown, and its ears are pointed upright. The other one is black, white, or spotted and has drooping ears. Mixed types, however, are quite frequent. Both types have only a little hair on their tails. When they run, the stiff, jolting motions of their legs are conspicuous. I have found the same two types or varieties distributed also in Kisiba and Ruanda. In Ruanda dogs are bred in greater numbers than in Urundi, probably because they are used for hunting more than here. Since dogs are not fed, they have to take care of themselves, and of necessity they have become omnivorous. They are always hungry and very skinny. Whenever they find something to eat, they fill themselves until they are ready to burst. What Europeans find most revolting about them and the
364 Barundi consider a useful trait is that they eat human excrement. In a country where there are no pigs and only a few scavenger birds, which take care of the sanitation problem in the rest of East Africa, the dogs are of hygienic importance. Apart from this they have absolutely no social virtues. They are snappish, cowardly, thievish, very poor watchdogs, and miserable

351 disappeared. Yet, I did not find any trees at all at the resi-
[248] dence of the great chief Kilima (see pp. 162, 188 [these pages not translated]) in northwest Urundi. Four large round kraals are situated there on an open round mountain top at an altitude of 2,150 meters, affording a wonderful view of the neighboring deep valleys and long mountain chains. Each kraal is surrounded
[417] by a thick bamboo palisade, twice as high as a man, enclosing six to eight spacious round huts. There is no tree, green fence pole, or even a banana leaf anywhere near it. The entire complex stands on the commanding steep mountain top, like a fort built for defense.

361 In other parts of the border districts adjoining Ruanda, the houses are sometimes crowded together into whole villages surrounded by strong protective fences. Indeed, Captain Bethe even found "a large city of natives, a compact community living together" (Deutsches Kolonialblatt [German Colonial Journal, 1899, p. 9) in Iwusome on Lake Rugwero in northeastern Urundi. However, these are exceptions to the general practice of living in individual kraals and occur only in a few exposed border regions.

354 The fireplace (isiko) is usually in the main center room of the hut. I intentionally do not use the word "hearth," for usually it consists of a few stones which may be pushed together on a round platform of pounded clay in such a way that a fire may be built in the center and a cooking pot placed on top. Sometimes also, the fire is placed on a thick round plate of fired clay in the same manner as in Ruanda; its periphery is raised in the form of a roll to prevent the fire from being scattered.
● 372 When the embers cease to glow, which is very seldom, fire is obtained from one's neighbor. On long travels, however, fire is made in the well-known manner of the Bantu, when wood is available, by twirling a hard piece of wood on a soft one; otherwise, a glowing piece of coal is tied up in a bundle of slightly wet grass and carried along. In this manner they carry embers with them on journeys lasting several days.

Yet since firewood is often very scarce in a country almost destitute of trees and bushes, cakes of cattle dung dried in the sun are used for fuel or, wherever there are no cattle or only a few, papyrus or reed rootstocks are collected in the swampy valleys.

243 There are at least half a dozen different varieties of corn (ikigori). In regions where the soil can easily be irrigated, corn is often sown three times a year, and relatively large stocks of it are always kept in the granaries. The ears are cut from the stalk. As long as they are still juicy and sweet, they are either [252] eaten raw or roasted in ashes, but for the most part the ripened kernels are ground into flour and made into a kind of polenta [372] [Italian dish]. The straw is used for fuel.

244 Yams (igname), arrowroot (amateke), and sweet potatoes (ikisumbu) are planted by sticking the tubers into the ground, and a little topsoil is heaped over them. Sweet potatoes, of which there are about half a dozen varieties (No. 19, p. 424), and arrowroot need much water for the first period of growth. For this reason they are mostly grown in the valley bottoms where they can be artificially irrigated (Plate 22b). When ripe, they are dug up with a hoe in the same manner as our potatoes; the tubers or rootstocks are removed and cooked or roasted in ashes.

245 Manioc (umumbati), however, is cultivated by shoots which are broken off from the juicy manioc shrubs and then planted in rows with a little topsoil heaped over them. After that the plant grows without any further care. It is the most undemanding of all the cultivated plants of East Africa, and for this reason it is found all over Urundi, especially in the eastern quartzite regions. At least six varieties are distinguished, 252 none of which is so poisonous as to require cooking or fermentation in order to become palatable, as do some other varieties in East Africa. It is eaten raw, cooked, dried, ground up as flour, in the form of dumplings, etc. The leaves are boiled as a vegetable.

243 Sorghum (isakka) plays a much less important role in Urundi than in Ruanda where it ranks first among cultivated plants, even before bananas. Uha, too, produces more sorghum than anything else and supplies the Barundi with it in times of scarcity. Nevertheless, sorghum occurs in Urundi in some twenty named varieties of the white and red types (No. 19, p. 544). When sorghum is sown, the soil is simply turned over with a hoe; in most cases no furrows are drawn. The grains

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
[563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware
415 vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[276] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
[782] ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special
276 mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat
323 bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping.
439 Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

326 rings, etc., which are customary in the country. The Bahutu and the Batwa use the same technique, but apparently the Batwa are the more adroit blacksmiths. In Urundi blacksmiths do not form a special guild, but in some families the craft is passed on from one generation to the other. Blacksmiths live [554] with the other Barundi, and because of their craft they are highly respected. They are professional craftsmen who sell [84] their merchandise, but as in Ruanda, they often also engage in agriculture on the side. [Fig. 17 appears here in the original text.]

325 The work shop (uruganda) is a small round hut, open on [348] all sides. In its center a hollow in the ground contains the [372] charcoal fire. Since blacksmiths need charcoal for their craft and since there are few trees in this country, they mostly have their huts not far from the remains of forests or the bushes along the rivers. Charcoal from the peripheral mountains wrapped [438] in long bundles of banana leaves is sold in the interior. Next to the fireplace there are bellows, either vessel or bowl bellows (umuvuba), shaped like a large, double wooden spoon, over each of whose ends a goatskin is stretched loosely (No. 2 of Plate 45). A wooden stick is tied to the center of each skin; it serves as a piston whose upward and downward movements press the air from the vessel into the end of the pipe. The blower stands or squats behind the bellows holding a piston in each hand which he alternately moves up and down quickly. The same type of bellows is used in Ruanda where it is also used for blowing the smelting furnaces. In Urundi (according to Stuhlmann's small map in No. 32a, p. 62), still another type is said to exist, the tube or bag bellows; yet I have not been able to find out anything about it. The more common vessel bellows just described is carved from a single block of wood and opens into a short, funnel-shaped clay pipe which is placed directly among the hot coals and keeps them glowing. From time to time water is sprinkled on the glowing pile of coal.

[85] On the other side of the fireplace there is a hard stone which serves as an anvil (Fig. 17). The piece of iron which is to be forged is pushed into the glowing coals with a wet, clamp-like piece of wood or with a pointed iron pin, and it is pulled

[Text continues on page 128]

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen [778] from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire [312] which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda).

774 This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and 173 he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are re- [769] cruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

539 Nd' uwawe, nd' uw' imanzi. — I am yours, I am the Hero's (man).
Nkazibgira, Muzima. — I speak to him (to this Hero), oh perfect (king)!
Nivugire, nd' uwinganji. — Let me rejoice, I am (the man) of the Victorious.
Witwa Ndabagize. — You are named (oh king!) the master of their fate. /453/

[195] We may add that in order to observe the rules of euphony, the black men of letters are permitted to use poetic license and deliberately to make errors of syntax, construction, conjugation, etc.

Third Example

Akanganiro k' umubyeyi w' umwana. — Conversation of a mother with her child (to amuse him).
Umugor' atiny' umugabo. — The wife fears her husband.
Umugab' atiny' umwami. — The man fears the king.
Umwam' agatiny' inkuba. — The king fears lightning.
Inkub' igatiny' umugano. — Lightning fears bamboo (1).

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1. The Banyarwanda, especially those who live in the mountains, have the custom of setting up a long bamboo stem in the court-yard near their hut to protect against lightning. They believe that the latter is caged and harmless when it splits the bamboo.

539 Umwan' atinya nyina. — A child fears (respects) his mother.
Umugan' ugatiny' umuliro. — Bamboo fears fire (2).

[372]

2. "Bamboo fears fire" because people who live near the forest burn chiefly bamboo.

769 As a rule, the girls are sent back to their families after a short
588 stay in the hut of the spirit, but an appointed woman must always remain there. At Idjuru, about halfway along the road leading from the Kabgayi mission to Kigali, a clump of trees marks the site of the ancient residence of King Yuhi-Mazimpaka. Legend tells us that this place was the scene of a prodigious event following the death of the prince. He had barely been mummified and buried in the Rutare cemetery when the earth began to tremble at Idjuru. While a heavy rain poured down, the sound of clashing horns (amahembe arakomangana) was distinctly heard. Yuhi-Mazimpaka made it known thereby that he insisted on being cared for and on having his dwelling maintained. His wishes were fulfilled. In addition to a large hut, he was granted on the spot a small herd of cows called indoha because their lowing is harmonious. Furthermore, a woman lives there permanently for his pleasure, not to mention his temporary wives.

At the capital, inside the royal enclosure, there are numerous huts dedicated to the spirits of former kings. Although they are used for the various services entailed by the royal way of life, those huts are also consecrated to the memory of each of the deceased monarchs. The women who occupy them, while they are part of the harem, are also regarded as wives of the sovereigns whose huts they inhabit. As far as the lesser /536/ dead princes are concerned, it is considered sufficient to raise little girls at court who are occasionally made to enter the huts (indaro) dedicated to the spirits. The girls are sprinkled there with lustral water (ingwa, "chalky water"). Their royal (deceased) husbands are satisfied with this ceremony.

769 In the large hut consecrated to King Gihanga, a fire is main-
372 tained night and day, in a huge earthenware jug (intango), which is replaced when worn out.

King Gihanga, the alleged inventor or creator of fire, bequeathed it to his son Kanyarwanda. Fire is maintained in his hut in memory of this inestimable gift. Theoretically, no one but the king may take a brand from it to light his pipe. To allow this fire to go out or to be taken by unhallowed hands might have entailed death in the old days. A group of individuals chosen from the Abiru clan are in charge of watching this fire.

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Blacksmiths at work outdoors. The iron ore is piled up over the hearth. The founders stir up the fire with primitive bellows.

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Blacksmiths around their blast furnace.

5: Pages--293 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Impalement of a cattle thief before European penetration.

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Bellows and apparatus of a primitive forge.

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber shortage is a very important economic problem. In some places wood
372 must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

245 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have
797 begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation
554 a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C. T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

301 In Mulera the women also wear iron ankets seven to eight millimeters thick, and this I saw neither in Nduga nor in Kissaka. However, the number of butega worn by them was much smaller.

In Bugoye the women wear the same kind of anklets as the men.

276 415 Smoking Equipment. In connection with ornaments we must also discuss pipes and tobacco pouches.

The most commonly used tobacco pouches do not differ from those of the Bakondio. People of distinction have pouches decorated with a fringe of otter skin; on the cheaper ones this is replaced by cords. The pouches are made of braided bast and worn on the chest. However, sometimes they can be seen folded and carried on the head (cf. Vol. III, Plates 4 and 22).

[180] The pouches contain a small supply of tobacco and a [312] pipe. Sometimes they also contain a fire drill and other small items. I had no opportunity to observe tobacco pouches made of goatskin, like the ones used in Kiziba, but occasionally one sees a pouch made of a cow bladder. These are usually tied around the head and worn on the forehead.

276 The Ruanda pipe is very different from the Bahima pipes in the northern part of the interlacustrine region. Whereas the latter have round [181] bowls, the Ruanda pipe has a long, pointed, cone-shaped bowl, into which the cylindrical stem (muhela) fits, attached at a sharp angle. The flaring lip of the bowl (inkono) is sometimes thickened. The pipes used by the Bahutu are usually less slim and graceful, and one not infrequently sees types in which the bowls converge a little at the top, suggesting the somewhat convex Kiziba form. This type usually has an elongated pipe stem.

302 Body Treatment. The actual head ornament of the Banyaruanda is the masunzu, or hair shaved to form patterns. The masunzu are the pride of the male and are sometimes several centimeters long, which of course makes head covering impossible. Although the shaved patterns assume the most beautiful and well-groomed forms among the Batutsi, nevertheless they must, in all probability, be linked with the Bahutu substratum. They extend uninterruptedly beyond the Batutsi sphere of influence toward the west where they seem to be indigenous. On the other hand, in the east among the Bahima this form of decoration is gradually declining and disappearing.

447 On the subject of the fences of the settlements northwest of
712 Kivu, Dr. Kandt (2) says: "All villages have a very curious wall

2. Ibid., p. 460.

surrounding them. It consists of thousands of forked branches and split roots, 10 layers wide and 20 high. For natives this is an almost impenetrable obstacle. The villages can be reached only by way of narrow passes or very steep approaches, and on two sides there are gates that can be quickly and securely closed with trees."

I observed such fences among the Baamba on the Ruwenzori. In Ruanda one does not see them. Here the dwelling is, as a rule, situated on the edge of the courtyard and is, together with the courtyard, surrounded by a euphorbia hedge. The hedges of the individual homesteads intertwine and form a labyrinth that is impenetrable even with the aid of a bush knife, for if one cuts the branches an exceedingly caustic juice squirts out which is very dangerous for the eyes. On the inside these hedges are usually supported by a fence made of sticks bound together. At night the outer approaches, usually opposite the huts, are closed with tree trunks, the branches of which are turned toward the outside. This primitive closure cannot be removed from the outside and, along with the euphorbia hedge, makes a very effective though not at all conspicuous fortification.

On poor Bahutu farms there are sometimes no fences at all.

592 The Compound. The compound or homestead where one
351 family lives with all its relatives and servants usually consists of several huts that form a self-contained unit.

351 In front of the main entrance there is generally a cleared place, free of grass. In the mountainous parts of Ruanda one often has a superb view from this spot, for the settlements are frequently located on mountain tops. This is especially true of the Batutsi settlements north of Lake Mohasi. On the edge of this cleared spot
● [372] are kept large supplies of dried cow dung which is used for fuel in the parts of the country where wood is scarce.

In the well-built settlements the main entrance, which is closed at night, is flanked by two columns of tied bundles of

415 sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are
285 the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

[209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape
412 and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back
252 and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer.
415 The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger
323 opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

372 [210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

415 Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets.
415 The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked
285 patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

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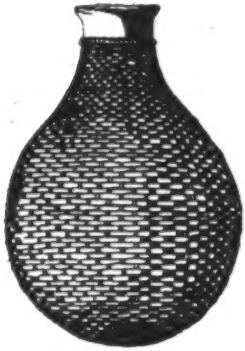

[372]

Fig. 139. Pot With Woven Wrapping from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E5246. 33 1/2 centimeters high.)

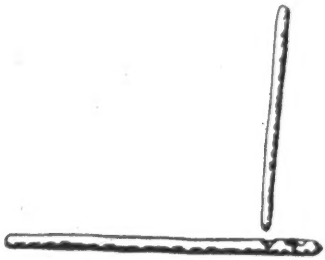

Fig. 140. Fire Drill of the Kivu-Batwa.

Fig. 141. Storage Basket of a Mulera Herdsman. (1/4 actual size. III E13681. 18 centimeters high.)

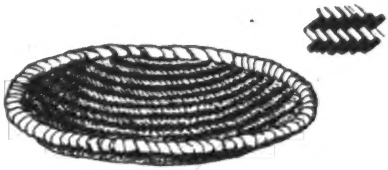

Fig. 142. Fanning Shield from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13675. Diameter, 21 centimeters.)

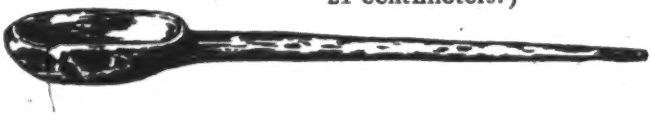

Fig. 143. Cooking Spoon from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15081. 65 centimeters long.)

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
[775] with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the
578 successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in seeret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

291 Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the [854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

287 Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No. 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials
386 in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with [531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

287 about this: "The Wanjoro (in the highland of southern Unjoro)
386 produce the same clothes of barkcloth as the Waganda [Ganda], dyeing them black by putting them for a day into the mud of a swamp." (No. 9, p. 377.)

291 There is no difference between the dress of the Batussi and the Bahutu, nor is there a special costume reserved for certain classes or professions. The Mutwa and the Muhutu, the Mutussi and the Muganwa, the great chief and the king: all dress in the same unattractive blackish-gray impusu of tree bark. Another feature common to them all is that they take off the long upper garment inside the huts and when working in the fields because it is a hindrance.

287 248 The material is made from the barks of several fig species (Urostigma), mainly the Ficus chlamydodora Warb. or the Ficus Schimperi Hochst., in the same manner as in those areas of Ruanda where garments of barkcloth are still worn. Since more barkcloth is used in Urundi than in Ruanda where cotton cloth is already much in use, more fig trees are planted near the huts in Urundi than in Ruanda; often they look like a village orchard near the houses. For this reason alone the scenery of Urundi gives the impression of being more friendly and varied than Ruanda which is grassy for the most part. Almost every cluster of huts lies in the shade of a little fresh green fig grove. The fence surrounding the homesteads also consists partly of fig trees which form natural fence posts, giving firm support to the latticework of the fence. According to van der Burgt, the Ficus chlamydodora was introduced into Urundi only about 60 years ago and at present occurs only where it is cultivated. However, I believe I have seen it growing wild in the peripheral mountains of the northwest.

287 Once the tree has grown until the trunk is about the thickness of an arm, its bark is removed for the first time. For this purpose two horizontal incisions are made around the trunk from half a meter to one meter apart. Both incisions are connected by a vertical incision, and a long rectangular piece of bark is then loosened from the tree without difficulty. The exposed area of the trunk is then rubbed with butter, and banana leaves are tied around it. Then, from the cut edges, the bark completely

Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil
388 for making soap; [54] only the people of the Tanganyika area
177 have learned from the Arabs and Wasuaheli how to mix oil with potash to make soap (kifefe) which is traded in fist-sized balls.

Apart from the cultivated plants mentioned above, the
222 Barundi and their women and children collect a number of wild
262 plants or parts of these plants to be used as food or condiments. There are, for instance, the stinging nettle, whose leaves are boiled as "spinach," and sorrel, also cooked as a vegetable. The fruit of the eggplant (Solanum esculentum) -- reverted to the wild state? -- is eaten raw or roasted. They also collect edible mushrooms which are eaten either raw or cooked, red pepper
[263] (intore) whose pods are used for seasoning, and various berries eaten as delicacies by women and children, especially blackberries which are abundant everywhere.

The location and arrangement of the fields (umurima)
241 in Urundi does not differ much from Ruanda. One thing that soon strikes the observer is that in Urundi, with the exception of the western mountain areas, terraced fields are much more rare than in Ruanda where they cover entire mountain slopes and constitute the characteristics appearance of the cultivated areas. In Urundi the fields extend predominantly over level ground, either on the broad ridges and plateaus or at the bottom of the valleys. They are always close to the huts and, of course, to water. No furrows are drawn on most fields; their surface is merely loosened with a hoe. In the case of freshly cleared land, the pulled grass and shrubs are piled up in the field, left to dry, and burned. Then the ashes, as fertilizer, are worked into the ground with the hose. A similar method is used at the edge of papyrus swamps. After the water level has receded, the papyrus thicket is cut down over the whole extent of the extremely fertile alluvial land whose surface has dried. The hacked-off papyrus fronds are burned as soon as they have dried out (Plate 22a). Then the roots are dug up, narrow drainage ditches are dug, and the plant ash is spread over the field as fertilizer. Finally sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and beans are planted in the little holes which have been dug. They come up quickly. If land is cleared on a hill slope, the fields are laid out in long narrow strips which follow the contour horizontally. These are made as level as

531 angular or round pieces of foil and pins (Plates 34 and 35).
322 Occasionally their entire surface is almost completely covered with such thin metal inlays. They are attached to the surface by scratching the outlines of the metal pieces into the wood, then hollowing out the area within these outlines, filling it with wax, and, finally, pressing in the spirals and metal foils. There are only a few artists who master this technique. In Ruanda such metal inlays are seen on only a few hand discs and on the horns worn around the neck as part of the dancing costume. There the inlays consist of strips of zinc and lead.

The biggest carved object of the Barundi and the one most 396 difficult to make is the boat, the dugout (ubwato). As we have seen above (p. 73), dugouts are rare in this almost treeless country, and their use is confined to a few of the larger rivers and to Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Dugouts are ordered and paid for by chiefs who are in need of a boat for ferrying purposes in their district or by families engaged in fishing who can afford the expense. The Batwa are the best boat builders; the technique is a specialty of theirs (No. 19, p. 367). The two instruments used in the construction are a [412] chopping knife whose blade is set at an angle and whose handle is gripped with both hands and an ax with a short handle. The tree -- the thicker and straighter the better -- is felled by thousands of blows. The bark is then removed with axes, and the log is first hewn roughly to the desired length and thickness of the boat. Then it is given its external shape: the bulging sides, the round bottom without a keel, and the somewhat pointed bow and stern. Finally the inner trough is hollowed out. This, too, is done solely with axes and knives. In other regions of East Africa this is accomplished by starting small fires on the upper side of the tree trunk. These fires gradually eat their way into the trunk, and the charred parts are scraped out until only the hull remains. According to their own testimony, the Barundi do not know this technique. After the job is more or less done, the boat, before being launched, is filled with water in order to test whether it is waterproof. After all the cracks have been calked, the dugout is pushed and pulled into the water with the participation of a festive and noisy crowd.

396 Often the boat has to be transported a long distance to
496 its launching site. This may take several days. An umufumu (sorcerer) walks in front, scattering "salutary" powder on the road so as to make sure that the boat will reach the water undamaged. As soon as the boat is launched, the people participating in the celebration sing and dance on both sides of the river. Then a pot of banana beer is covered with river clay and
[782] placed inside the boat; the immediate participants drink from the pot and spit into the river to appease the evil spirits. The clay on the pot is rubbed by the participants on their foreheads and on those of the members of their family as protection against accidents. Then the boat is rowed across the river to the other shore, and the people there go through the same ceremonies. The consecration of the boat is concluded by a dance
[273] of the abafumu (medicine men) and ends in a general drinking bout. (No. 19, p. 66)

If after the launching of the boat it is discovered that it
396 lacks buoyancy or equilibrium, corrections are made by further carving with knife or ax or by putting stones inside for ballast. It has already been mentioned (p.73) that the dugouts have neither seats nor rudder. The way they are propelled has also been described.

[83] I have also already discussed the very simple technique (p.31) of making barkcloth (fig. bast felt).

281 The technique for hides and leatherwork is also very simple. The Barundi on rare occasions use a piece of hide as their only garment. Otherwise they mainly use hides as blankets. The Batwa, however, prefer garments of hide to those made of barkcloth; consequently they are the most expert workers in leather (abaharra). However, both the Batwa and the Bahutu use the same technique. If it is merely a matter of firm, hard leather for lids, quivers, binding material for fastening arrowheads, etc., the hide is simply scraped clean and dried in the sun. If, however, soft, flexible leather (urusato) is needed for garments and blankets, it must be tanned. Since in Urundi the method of tanning and tawing is little known, as was originally the case in all other parts of Africa (No. 32a, p. 47), the hide

1: Vanhove--71A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 83]

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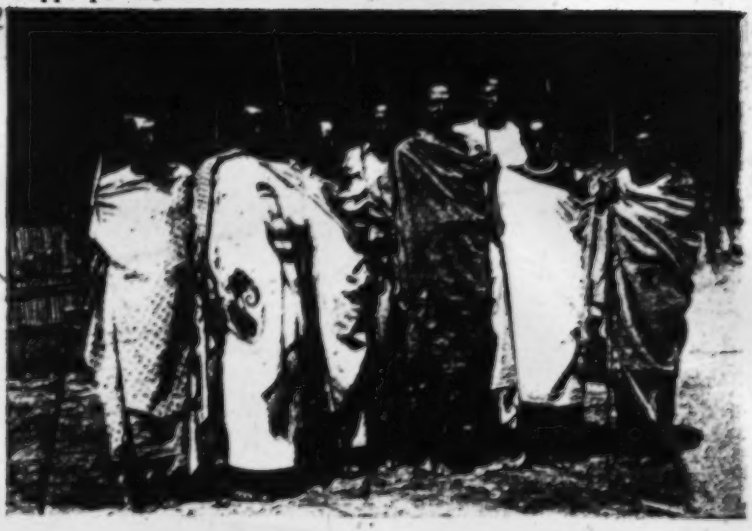

Batutsi of northern Ruanda. Their less pure type results from marriages with Bahutu women.
(Official photo, Colonial Office.)

142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the [411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this. [301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aris- [554] tocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since [302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base [141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

291 head. Sometimes women wear a headband of corn leaves as a symbol of young motherhood; two narrow strips of banana bark over the forehead is the sign of a married woman. Both are also worn in Ruanda.

There is no special covering for genital parts or the feet. When men wear only the toga, the penis is often visible, but this does not offend their sense of modesty. The women have their breasts mostly covered by their upper garment, but they do not mind uncovering them when, for any reason whatsoever, they take off or change a garment. Before reaching puberty, children walk around entirely naked (Plate 16) or with a narrow apron of banana bast (Plate 38).

411 The Barundi are really a "people in arms," far more so than the Banjaruanda among whom the large mass of the Bahutu walk unarmed and even the Batussi rarely carry a spear, but rather only a long staff which, however, may be quickly made into a weapon by affixing a spear point. Similarly, the Barundi can be seen walking around with wooden shafts without points whenever they want to demonstrate their peaceful intentions or wish to protect the iron point against wear or rust, but they almost always carry the spear point wrapped up, and they never go far away from the homestead to tend the cattle, work in the fields, or go on a visit without having at least one or two people in the group armed with spears and bows. A Murundi with any self-respect will never let himself be seen without a spear, for without it he would feel "undressed." Even boys carry spears. As a rule, the two customary weapons, spear and bow, are carried together, the spear in one hand, the bow and two to four arrows in the other.

The spears (itschjumu) hardly differ from those in Ruanda, and, as in Ruanda, the shape of the points varies somewhat (Plates 39, 40). Generally the blade has a strong, sharpened central rib which makes it very elastic and resistant and gives the spear, so to speak, four edges. Next to the central rib two blood grooves are hollowed out; these are usually absent on a Bantu spear. Point and socket have a sleeve for inserting the shaft. The latter is a strong [33] stick, as thick as a thumb, two

411 to three meters long, absolutely straight generally, and as well-rounded and smoothly scraped as though polished. Considering the extreme rarity of trees and large bushes in Urundi, the quality of the spear shafts is surprising. No pole-timber for the spears is imported from the neighboring areas. Many spear shafts are family heirlooms which have been bequeathed down to the present day from a time when wood was more plentiful. Others are made from the wood of the cultivated fig tree which yields barkcloth; it grows good straight branches unless it is cut often. Poorer people and children generally have spears with inferior, somewhat bent or knotty shafts. Spear [326] points and sockets are made by special blacksmiths (see p. 77) [316] either from iron mined in Urundi itself or from iron hoes (see [439] p. 83) imported from the Congo (Uvira) or from Usindja. The rest of the work necessary to make a spear is done by each Murundi himself. [Fig. 8 appears here in original text.]

The spear is mainly a weapon used for stabbing or for defense. It is thrown only short distances when one is certain of hitting the target since one cannot risk losing this valuable possession. There are no slings for hurling spears.

The Murundi is inseparable from his spear, and the fact 516 that they are always able to lean on the long spear shaft determines the characteristic posture of both the Murundi and the Munjaruanda when they are standing still. He grips the upright shaft with his arm half-raised so that his hand is about the level of his face. Depending on whether the palm of the hand is turned in or out when clutching the spear, the shaft stands vertically either between chest and elbow or along the outside of the elbow, while its end rests on the ground. In both cases the body leans with all its weight against this prop which slants somewhat away from it; at the same time the leg bearing the main weight of the body is fully extended while the leg next to the spear which takes no weight is easily crossed over the other leg at knee-level so that it touches the ground only with the outer edge of the sole (Plate 9b). [34] Less frequently the foot of the leg taking no weight is planted firmly against the leg bearing the main weight, as is done frequently among the Negroes of the Upper Nile and also among the Massai. The composition of lines

[Text continues on page 49]

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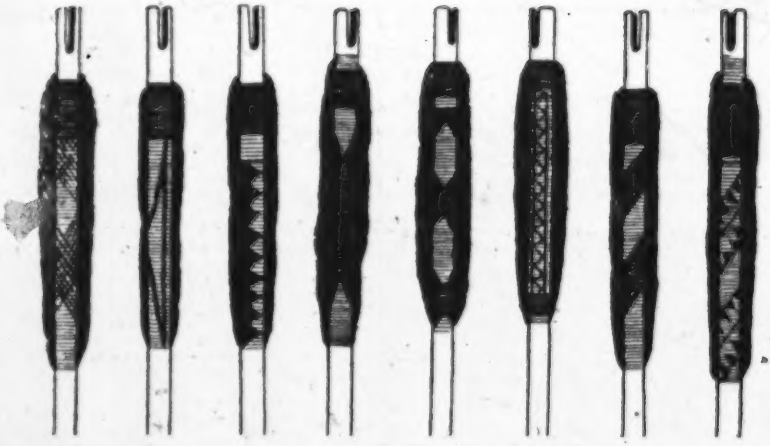

Fig. 8. Plaited Patterns on Feathering of Arrows.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5274.)

516 in this posture of the Barundi at rest is often surprisingly beautiful. A small group of men standing in this position really presents "a picture to be painted." [Fig. 9 appears on p. 34 of original text.]

The chief weapon for attack and fighting is the bow and
411 arrow. The bows (umuheto) have the simple shape of most of the East African bows and they are rather good weapons (Plate 41). The string is usually made of beef sinew. Compound bows, such as the Batwa of Bugoje have, do not exist among the Batwa of Urundi who have been much more influenced by the Negroes. The arrowheads (umwampi) have neither barbed hooks nor lobes and, by means of a thorn, are embedded in the wooden shaft whose upper part is wrapped and the bottom ends simply feathered. The feathering often is bound in a nicely patterned reed wrapping (Fig. 8). Neither the Batussi nor the Bahutu ever use poisoned arrows, but the Batwa do (No. 19, p. 246). It has already been mentioned that the left hand holding the bow is protected against the recoiling string by thick disc-shaped arm rings (ikirinsi) (see p. 27 and Plate 30a). Also, among the Barundi archery does not entail shooting from a held position with precise aiming, but rather suddenly and violently jerking off the arrow toward the target in an impulsive fashion, like hurling stones from a sling (which is not practiced in Urundi). Nevertheless, they do hit a man at a distance of 30 to 40 meters with a fair amount of precision (Plate 30). The majority of the arrows are made by the Batwa. Sometimes the arrows are kept in nicely carved wooden quivers (umutano) which are provided with overlapping lids on both ends (Plates 41, 42), but a quiver is seldom seen on the arm or back of a Murundi, mostly only inside the huts. [Fig. 9 appears here in the original text.]

The sword-like knives (imbugita) of the Barundi, up to
412 half a meter long, are not really weapons but instruments for
411 daily use which only occasionally are also used as weapons (Plate 43). The knife has two parallel edges, and its tip is only slightly pointed. In its entire width it is inserted into an hour-glass-shaped wooden handle, and it is worn in a wooden sheath

[Text continues on page 50]

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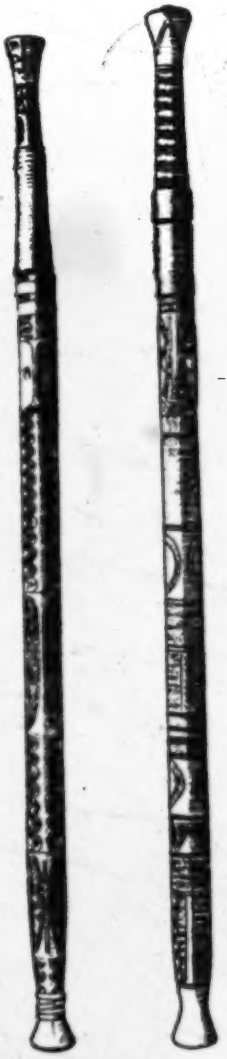

Fig. 9. Knives with Decorated Wooden Sheaths. (Ethnological Museum, Berlin, Nos. 2466, 3881.)

412 (uruwati) made of two thin boards held together by several
411 wrappings. In the same manner as the quiver, the sheath is often
[531] decorated with carved crescents or zigzag patterns (Fig. 9).
The knives are often carried by a strap running from the right
shoulder to the left hip, like a shoulder belt. The much smaller
412 knives, 10 to 15 centimeters [35] long, which are found more
often and which are of the same shape and used for smaller
carving jobs, are either worn on a string around the neck or over
the left upper arm. Only in western Lower Urundi on Lake
[177] Tanganyika can we find knives with fine copper wire nicely
wound around them; there they are due to Congo influence
and are produced by Wawira [Bira] blacksmiths (No. 19, 133).
[326] In Upper Urundi proper, the Bahutu and especially the Batwa
blacksmiths are the suppliers of knives.

Fighting clubs (uwuhiri) which were once generally used
411 all over the region have become rather rare in Urundi; as
among the Massai and the Wadschagga [Chagga] these former
weapons have been degraded into a show piece or toy of the
men. They consist of a beautifully planed piece of hardwood,
about one third of a meter in length, which at the end has been
carved into three or four edges and at the handle end is slightly
thickened.

Shields (ingabo) are much more rare. They have com-
411 pletely lost their importance as a weapon of defense and, as in
554 Ruanda, they have become merely the emblem of a chief or of
a family (perhaps the escutcheon of a clan) (Plate 44). The king
possesses several shields and each chief and his bodyguards have
one each which are painted differently. The Batwa do not have
any shields and are not allowed to carry any. The round shield,
up to one half meter in diameter, is carved of wood it has a
wooden grip and is painted with white and red segments of circles
of various types. There are also shields which have reeds plaited
around them (see pp. 80-81 and Plate 53) and others of identi-
cal shape made of cowhide which occur even more rarely. The
same shape and ornamentation of the wooden shields and quivers
recur both among the northern Bahima in Ruanda and among the
southern ones in Ufipa (cf. illustration in No. 47, p. 76).

714 Finally, battle dress is part of the fighting equipment of the Murundi. When the bodyguards of the king -- who are, as we shall see later (p. 87), the actual combatants -- march out for battle, they wear a uniform consisting of an apron of white tanned antelope hide or sheepskin (inkindi), and they paint [302] their skulls, faces, and the upper part of their bodies with all kinds of white and red lines and ornaments which give them a terrifying, savage appearance (No. 19, p. 277). This hide apron uniform is also worn at war dances. It is much the same in Ruanda where, in addition to this uniform, other decorations, for example, a headdress and foot rattles, are also worn. The Bahima in Ufipa have the same kind of war costume as here and in Ruanda (cf. illustration in Lechaptois, No. 47, p. 61).

172 Old stone weapons, the remnants of former cultures which have disappeared (see p. 151 [not translated]), are not 411 in use any more in Urundi even among the Batwa who are the oldest ethnic element; the same is true in Ruanda.

[36] Chapter 4

Hunting, Fishing, Stock Farming, Agriculture, Stimulants

1. Hunting and Fishing

224 Hunting (uwuhisi) plays only a small role in the existence of the Barundi, for in an area which is so densely populated and almost completely denuded of forests and where game has been systematically exterminated in the interests of cattle farming and pastures as in the regions settled by the Boers, there are only a few animals left which one might hunt. It appears that the most frequent ones are the bushbuck (Tragelaphus) which are found mainly in the narrow bush thickets of the deep valleys of the streams and also the tufted antelope, gazelle, and the Jimela antelope. As far as other big game fit for hunting are concerned, the elephant is occasionally found in the thinly populated areas, in the deserted forests of the western peripheral

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle;
302 it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
[262] food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororó, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, espe-
272 cially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

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Fig. 10. Arrow for Bleeding of Cattle.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6546.)

286 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[177] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
[291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

326 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi
177 is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe.
[412] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes
[411] were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that
135 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained
316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19,
325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The
326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas.
[439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to [754] hurl insults at each other or ~~to~~ use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro- [789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king 701 against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms, [722] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and [714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors [411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the [714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful 726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state.
[782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders
[411] are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read
787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are
726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or
727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed.
721 Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces
[648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

791 as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the
661 entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by
628 law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to
793 officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine
796 services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the
796 important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred
778 in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and
796 the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear"
[411] guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the
[776] point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but
796 one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

Plate 2

137
411

Valley Filled with Papyrus Swamp in Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

133

Quartzite Ridge East of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 6

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Barundi on the Ruvuvu near Kihansa, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

411

Barundi on the East Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 7

142
291
411

Batwa near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

516
323

Batwa Making Pottery near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 8

291
411

Barundi West of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 11

291
142
411

Batussi Delegation of King Mutaga in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

[643]

King Mutaga (*) of Urundi with Batussi Entourage
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--246 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate 12

Entourage of the Muganwa Lusokosa in front of Gitega Station, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

142
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302

Young Batussi, Central Urundi
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

2: Meyer--248 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

142
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111

Muganwa Seruschanja (right) with Two Brothers
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

142
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Barundi Christian Barundi Girls, North Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

Plate 14

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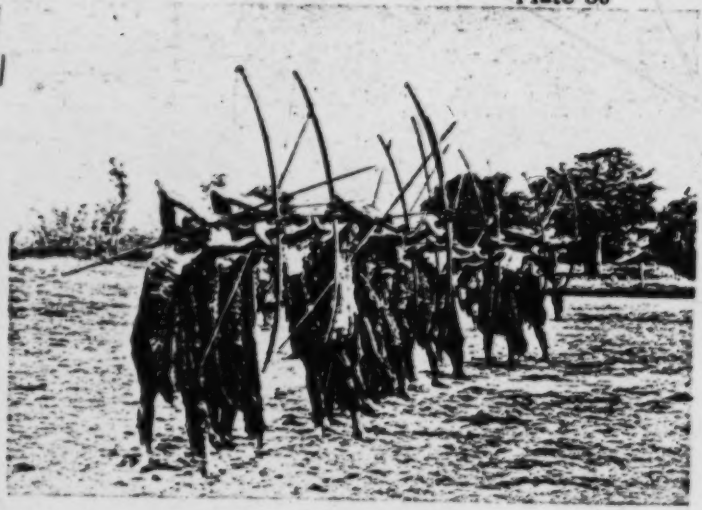
Plate 30



Archers in Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)

Archers in Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)

Plate 34

• 411

Wooden Arm Discs; Some with Inlaid Metal Plates to Protect Wrist against Recoil of Bowstring.

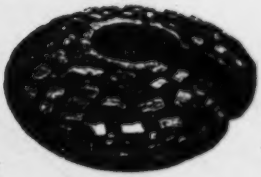
Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6) 12-17 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 4) 14 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Plate 35

• 411

1



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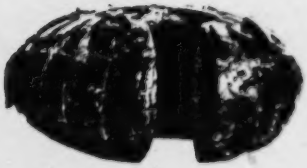

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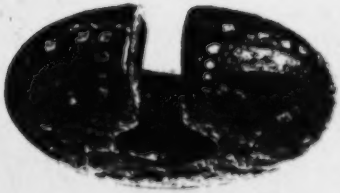


7

Wooden Arm Discs; Some with Inlaid Metal Plates to Protect Wrist against Recoil of Bowstring.

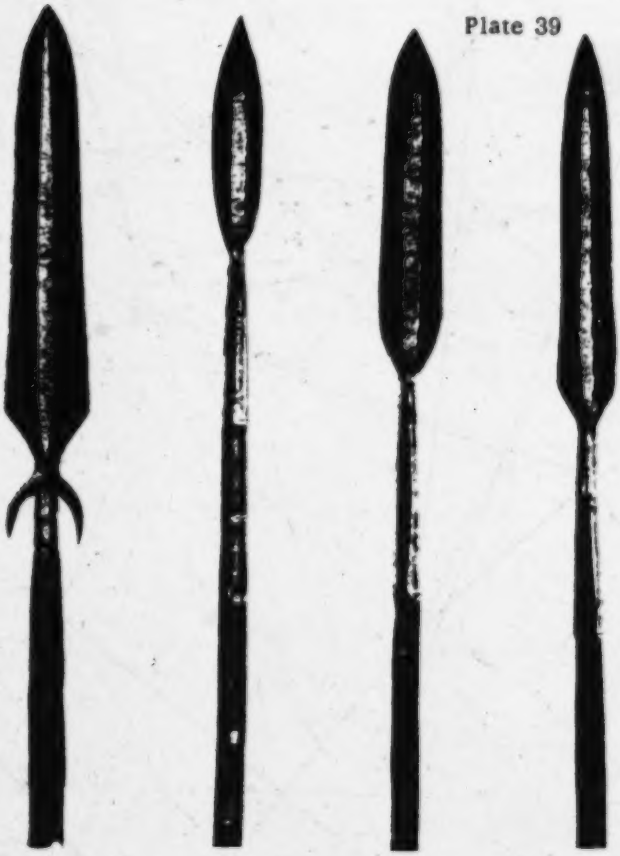
Nos. 1-5) 12-16 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

Nos. 6, 7) 15 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

2: Meyer--273 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 39

411



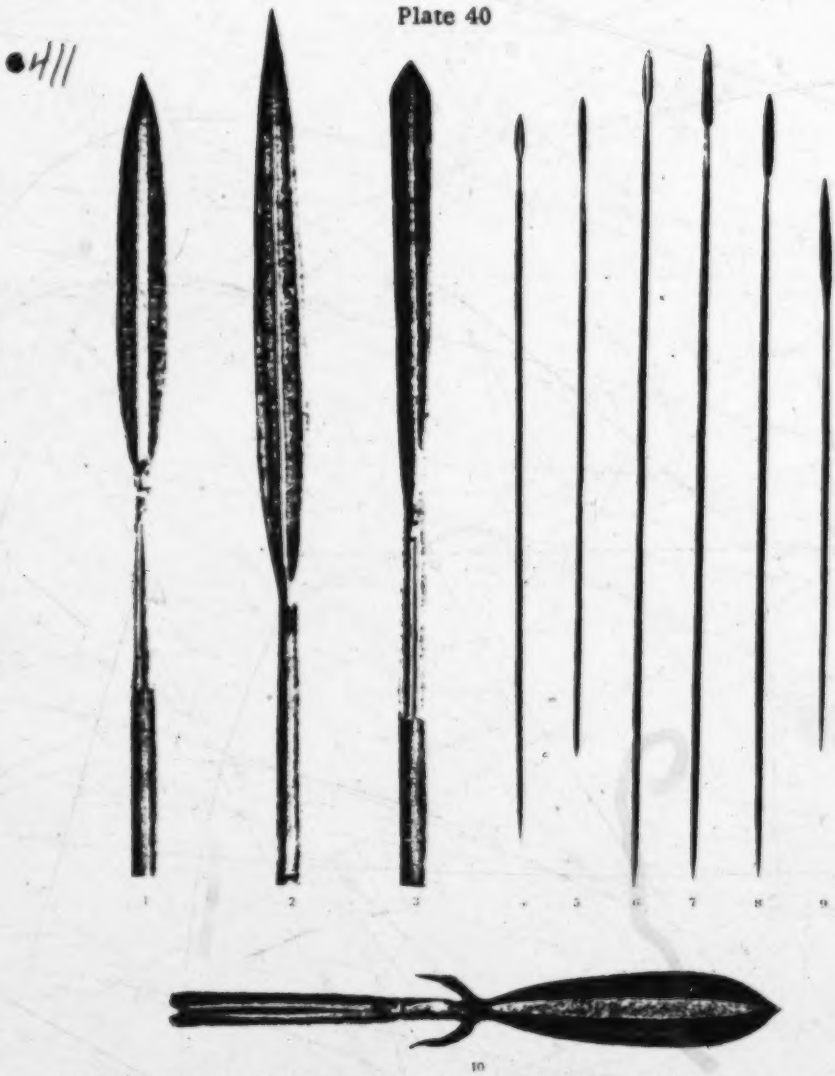
1 2 3 4

5

Iron Spear Points; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 30 centimeters; No. 2) 16 centimeters; No. 3) 24 centimeters; No. 4) 27 centimeters; No. 5) 24 centimeters.

Plate 40



Iron Spear Points and Complete Spears; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 23 centimeters; No. 2) 32 centimeters; No. 3) 28 centimeters; No. 10) 22 centimeters; Nos. 4-9) 1.70 to 2.40 meters.

Plate 41

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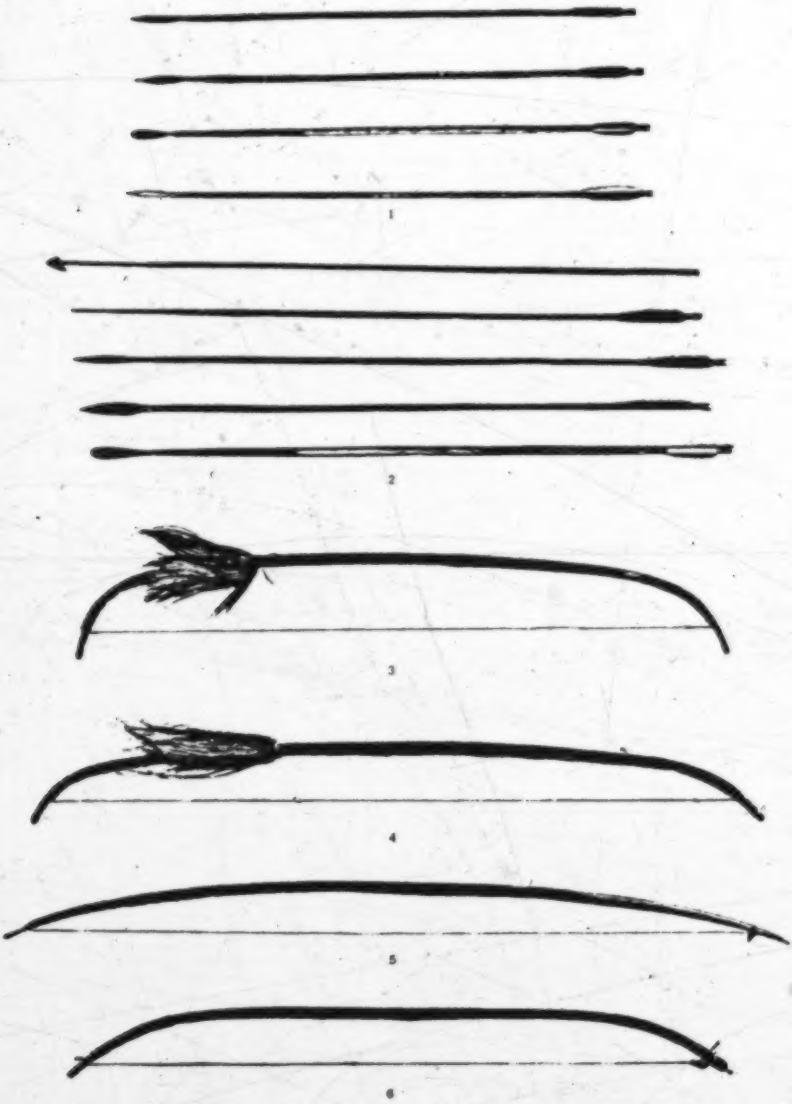

Bows and Arrows; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.
Nos. 1, 2) With iron points, 72 to 76 centimeters; Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6) 145 to 166 centimeters.

Plate 42

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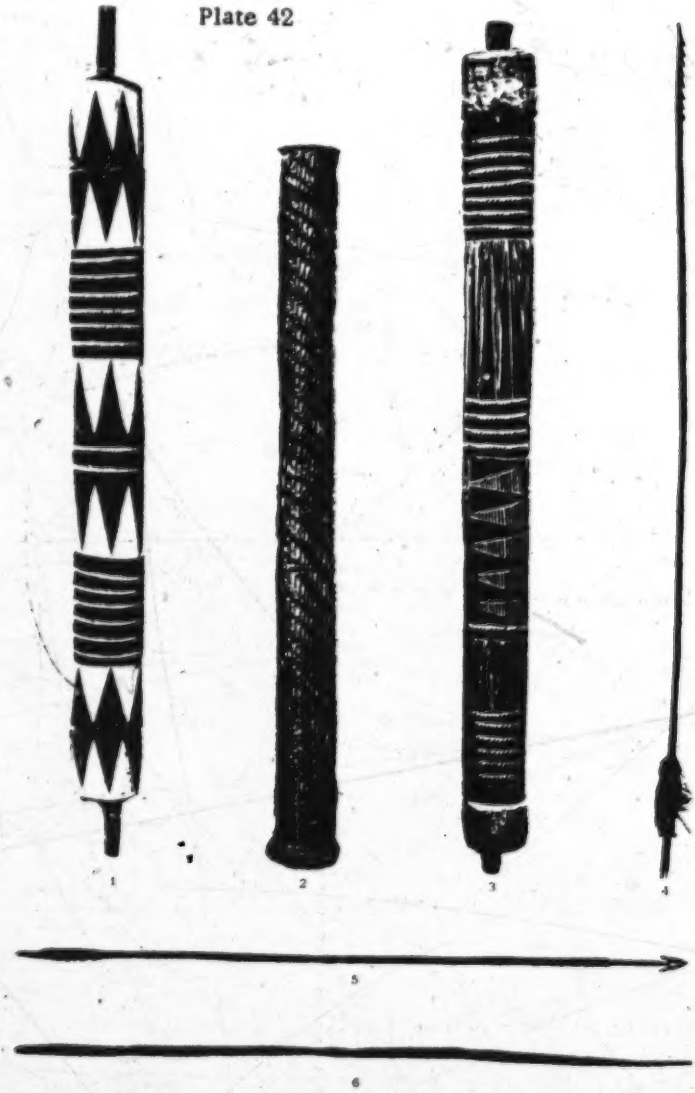
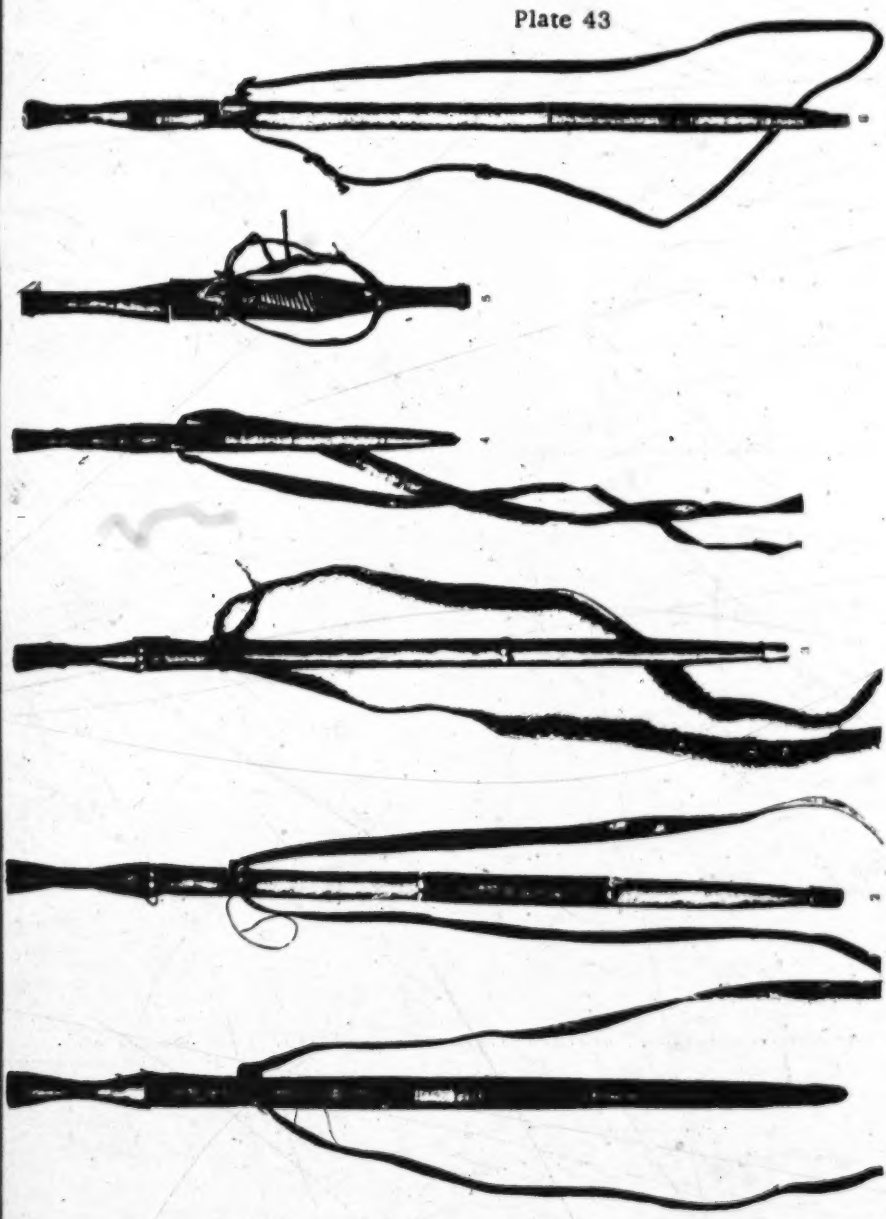
531



Quivers and Arrows; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. No. 1) Carved of wood, 110 centimeters; No. 2) Plaited of reed, 90 centimeters; No. 3) Carved of wood, 97 centimeters; No. 4) With serrated wooden point, 95 centimeters; No. 5) With iron point, 92 centimeters; No. 6) With smooth wooden point, 95 centimeters.

Plate 43



Knives in Wooden Sheaths Wound with Copper Wire and with Leather Straps; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.
No. 1) 51 centimeters; No. 2) 52 centimeters; No. 3) 52 centimeters; No. 4) 30 centimeters; No. 5) 31 centimeters; No. 6) 67 centimeters.

2: Meyer--278 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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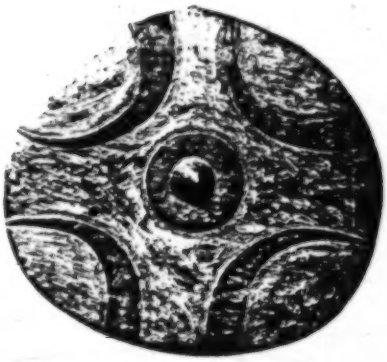
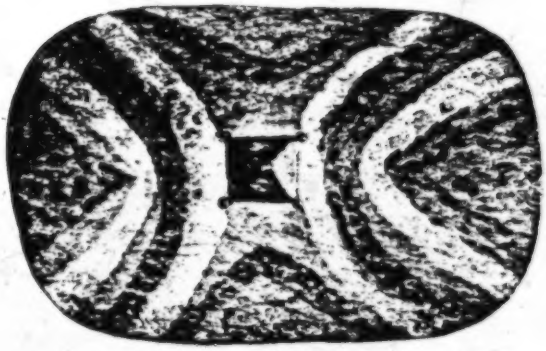
Plate 44





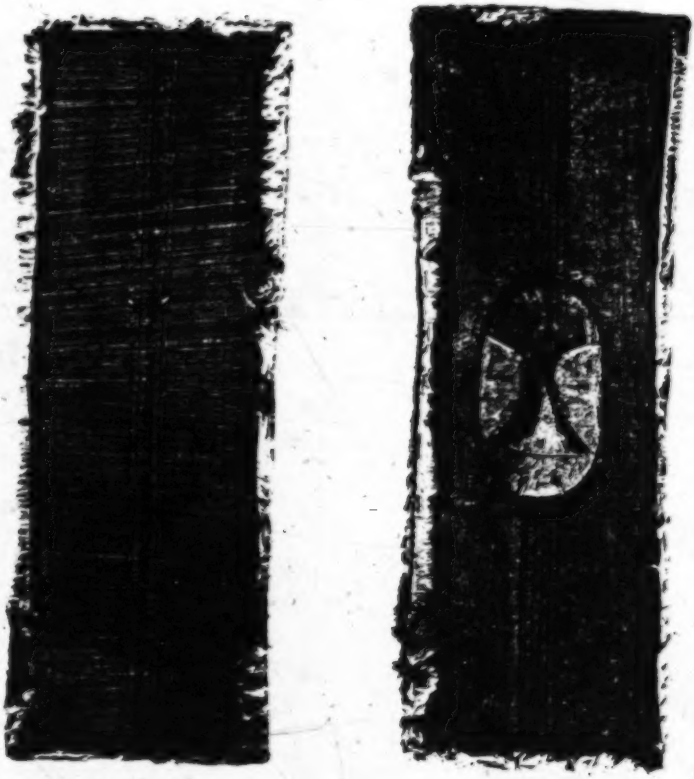
Painted Wooden Shields; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 60 centimeters high; No. 2) 85 centimeters high; No. 3) 80 centimeters high.

2: Meyer--287 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 53

411
285



Shield Plaited of Reed.
No. 1) Front; No. 2) Back with wooden handle, 122 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This[1] makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impondu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden
[411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times,
[579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that
463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them
696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches,
[342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

1 [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -Analyst]

643
142
291
342
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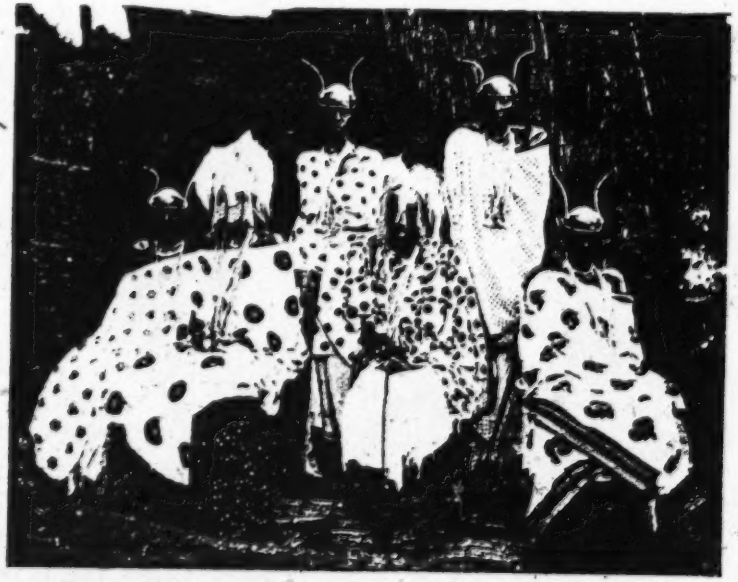
644

King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

643
644
292



King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

5: Pages--267 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi (Batutsi) warrior in dance costume.

Nkusi, Nturo's son, in dance costume.

143

5: Pages--268 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

142
292
411
301

Warriors in festival dress.

142
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535

Kayondo dancers.

563
266
[113]

Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Garisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

● 411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are

[113]

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Éléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

224 just as the Bahutu live by agriculture and the Batutsi by animal husbandry. The agricultural produce they require is obtained only by bartering game or by stealing.

The Batwa are most skillful hunters. Accompanied by their dogs, they pursue the game with bow and spear in hand. They are very skillful bowmen and can even shoot down birds. The king of Ruanda has received most of his ivory from them. In former times, before elephants became so scarce in the country, ivory is said to have been obtained in great quantities. The Batwa hunting grounds are the forests of the Congo watershed east of Lake Kivu and Ruzizi and the forests on the chain of volcanoes.

The other Banyaruanda also hunt a great deal, especially in Kissaka because of the wealth of game on the steppes. In the northeastern part of this province hunting plays an important role in the economy; here we find professional hunters (abahigi) and even elephant hunters (abayovu).

[145] Hunters usually work in groups. On hunting drives there are a large number of participants. They are organized by the head of the district who assembles the farmers equipped with spears and bows and arrows and accompanied by numerous dogs. Because of the extensive nature of the hunting grounds, signals are given with a cow horn. Nets are also used to mark off certain regions. The hunter who delivers the first blow gets the skin and a piece of meat; the others get only portions of meat. Valuable skins are given to the

Fig. 34. Harpoon Spear from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13769. 190 centimeters long.)

[141]

mutware [official], and the hunters share only in the meat. Hunting drives usually take place in the dry season, but sometimes they

487 438 4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye, [439] Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170] Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

171 291 301 411 Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus, we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

291 In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

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[411]

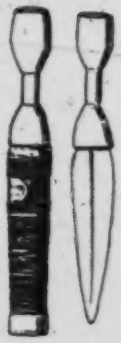

Fig. 74. Dagger Worn on Bracelet, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 9896.)

Fig. 75. Bracelet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 6881.)

Fig. 76

Fig. 77

Fig. 78

Fig. 76. Woman's Bracelet from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. III 13708. 6 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 77. Bracelet of Wire Bands, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L 14964. 7 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 78. Bracelet from Mukinjaga. (1/2 actual size. III E 6895. 7 centimeters in diameter.)

6:Czekanowski--81 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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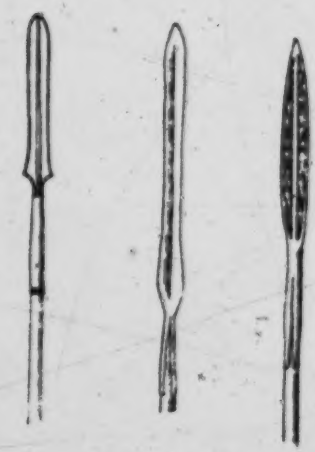

Fig. 90 Fig. 91 Fig. 92

Fig. 90. Batutsi Spear from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13776. 209 centimeters long.)

Fig. 91. Bahutu Spear from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13772. 241 centimeters long.)

Fig. 92. Bahima Spear from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13778. 215 centimeters long.)

302 We must mention that the children love to paint themselves on all occasions, or rather, smear themselves with white paint. I noticed that when there was plastering going on, for example, the children who were present painted each other. Similarly, in Issawi, children who carried bricks out of the swamp were intentionally painted with light clay.

302 714 It is said that in war the opponents paint themselves with different patterns so that they can distinguish each other. Dr. Kandt (1), however, speaks of another distinguishing mark:

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 427.

"All of them (Bahunde [Hunde]) had tied a wilted banana leaf around their foreheads, so that later we would be able to distinguish them as friends if, as they hoped, we were to engage in hand-to-hand fighting with the Wanjaitambi."

The Munyaruanda anoints his body with butter. In Bugoye, however, which is already under the cultural influence of the Forest Bantu, they use the cheaper castor oil (mbarika, wono) which is also used by the people of the Congo forest. The same custom prevails in the entire graben territory [Rift Valley] as far down as Tanganyika.

411 Spears. The chief weapons of the Banyaruanda are spears (ichumu), bows (muheto), arrows (muhambi), and bush knives (muhoro). Furthermore, swords (ngota), shields (ngabo), and clubs are used.

[185] The spear is the most common and widely used weapon. In the north, where conditions are less safe, no one leaves his homestead without taking along a spear, so in this region we must regard the weapon as an essential part of a man's dress and ornament. In the central part of Ruanda, on the other hand, where stable conditions prevail, especially among the Batutsi, one often sees the long shepherd-staff instead of the spear.

The spear is one and a half to two and a half meters long, and its shaft is encased with iron sockets at both ends. The spear heads are usually grooved to allow the blood to run off, but they vary a great deal in shape. Sometimes the widest part of the blade

41 is placed more towards the back, sometimes, toward the front. The length of the head also varies.

The typical Batutsi spear is more than two meters long and has a very characteristic lance-shaped head. The head flares out at the base, the first third of it tapers, then it gradually widens, but very little, to the final quarter and ends in a rounded point.

The Bahutu spears differ first of all in that they are less carefully made,but they also have spears which are simply drop forged without grooving and which have very simple forms. Among [177] the Bahutu I also observed many spears strikingly similar in shape to those used in neighboring territories, and these were either brought back by the Bahutu or made by them from foreign models. They usually knew the origin of these spears. Thus the one shown in Figure 92 was called ichumu ryo Rutshuga lwa Ruhima. This means a Bahima spear from Rutshuga. As is well known, these forms are commonly used by the Bahima in Nkole and Karagwe.

The models shown in Figures 93 and 94 suggest either Bahima country or perhaps Toro, where I saw them in large numbers. I was not convinced, however, that these were indigenous and had not been brought from Nkole. There I saw spears with barbs as well as some with two blades, one above the other either on one plane or at right angles to each other. Figure 93 was called ichimu lyo Lugobe and Figure 94, ichumu lya Mugaanne. The spear shown in Figure 95 strongly resembles the Buganda spears, but the model for this illustration was forged in Kihinga and was called ichumu lyi Kihinga. The types in Figures 96 and 97 suggest the neighboring Congo Basin. The first was called ichumu lyi Nyunga, the latter, ichumu lyi Lilera. In Bugoye and Mulera spears from Barega are not uncommon. They are [186] preferred there by elephant hunters. They have thick shafts and strong heads, and, in form, they remind one of the spear shown in Figure 96.

[187] In those drop-forged spears having a groove, the lower portions of the blade are left black, and only the middle rib and the edges of the blade, three to five millimeters wide, or sometimes the upper half, are smoothly polished. The sharpness of the contrast between black and white is the criterion for its beauty and elegance.

6:Czekanowski--81 F-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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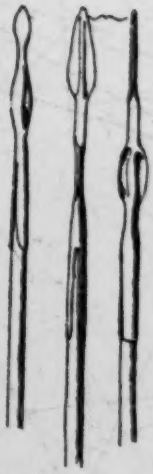
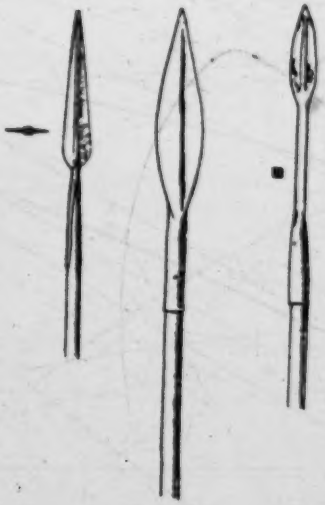




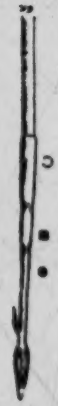


Fig. 93

Fig. 94.

Fig. 95

Fig. 96

Fig. 97

Fig. 98

(Captions on following page)

411

Captions for Figures on preceding page.

Fig. 93. Spear With Barbed Hook, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13783. 153 centimeters long.)

Fig. 94. Double-bladed Spears from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13795 and 13787. 166 and 126 centimeters long.)

Fig. 95. Mulera Spear. (1/6 actual size. III E13785. 175 centimeters long.)

Fig. 96. Mulera Spear. (1/6 actual size. III E 13782. 177 centimeters long.)

Fig. 97. Mulera Spear. (1/6 actual size. III E 13796. 192 centimeters long.)

Fig. 98. Spear Without Shoe from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13793. 214 centimeters long.)

The shoe of the spear is very seldom lacking. Its form is that of a sharply-pointed cone into which is wedged the end of the spear shaft. 411

We mentioned above that the spear is a part of a man's adornment. Nevertheless, it is still a very dangerous weapon, and they know how to use it up to a distance of 20 meters. At this distance I saw a banana stalk, 15 centimeters in diameter and as tall as a man, hit two out of every three times. The force of the blow was so great that the spears pierced the stalk and protruded 20 centimeters on the other side. The spears that had missed the target penetrated 10 centimeters into the solidly trampled path and stuck fast, even at an angle of less than 45 degrees.

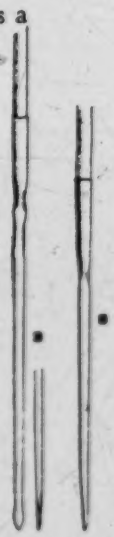
Even though the spear in Ruanda is used as a missile, only one spear is carried. According to Dr. Kandt (1), however, the Banyabungu in

1. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

the south usually carry two spears with wide blades.

Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only

Fig. 100. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10070. 23 centimeters in diameter.)



[485]
[531]

Fig. 99. Women's Canes from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13779 and III E 13789. 143 and 160 centimeters long.) [481]

411 Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only
[524] as children's toys.

In this connection we must also mention the women's canes
411 (muterere), because they are not infrequently also used as weapons.
481 The shoe of the spear is here replaced by an iron ferrule 40 centimeters long, the lower three-fourths of which forms a square point in cross section. The upper fourth forms a socket into which the end of the cane is driven. The ferrule of the upper end of the stick is very similar to the shoe of the spear and ends in a knob. [188] Finally it should be pointed out that Ruanda spears are in many respects identical with those of Abyssinia, while the cane used by the women occurs in the Sudan, for example, among the Maka.

411 Braided grass rings are tied to the uprights of the huts for hanging the spears inside. The spears are stuck vertically into these rings, much as we stand up our umbrellas. The rings (rutagara) that hold the spears are no different from the rings placed under containers.

Bow, Arrow, and Quiver. Bows are not seen as frequently as spears in Ruanda, probably because they are carried only on journeys, on hunts, at offerings and ceremonies, and on war expeditions. The bow is a very important and much used weapons which also fits the character of the people. The Munyaruanda is
[726] not enthusiastic about hand-to-hand combat in closed ranks with spear and shield, in the manner of the Nilotes, although he does not actually avoid this type of warfare.

In Ruanda we can observe two entirely different types of bows. The Batwa bows are completely different from those of the rest of the inhabitants.

The bow used throughout the country by both Batutsi and Bahutu is a typical example of the so-called East African form, and, like Dr. Kandt, I shall simply refer to it as the Ruanda bow. This bow is more than one and a half meters long, is round in cross section, has long points but gradually tapers off at both ends, has no notches, and is strung [189] with a cord made of animal tendons or of fibers of the nimisse plant. The bow is curved so much that it can be used without a guard against the recoil of the bowstring. It does not differ from the Mpororo bow.

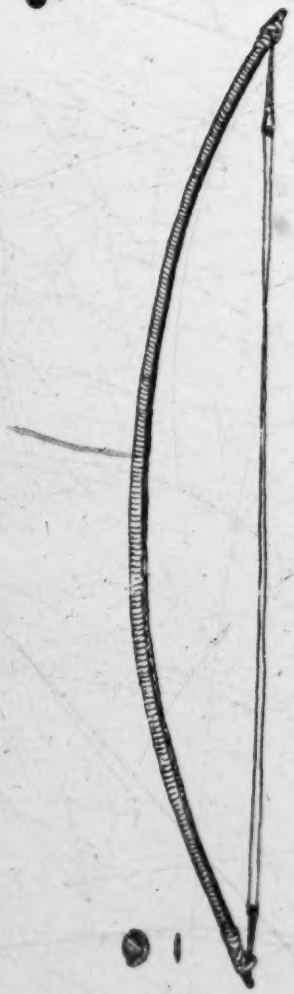


Fig. 102. Batwa Bow from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. P. 1850-68. 141 centimeters long.)

Fig. 101. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10072. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 103. Child's Bow, Mulera. (1/8 actual size.)

411 The Batwa carry a reinforced bamboo bow. It consists of a split bamboo staff, the hollow of which is reinforced with a stick of wood. The bow is more than one and a half meters tall and more than half of it is reinforced. The finished bow is bound with grass along its entire length, so the reinforcement does not show. The accompanying illustration of a child's bow which I saw in Mulera clearly shows the manner of this reinforcement. This bow, however, is not made of bamboo, and therefore the reinforcement is not fitted into the natural groove, but it is in the proper position, namely, on the outside, away from the archer as he pulls the bowstring.

In Ruanda the string of the Batwa bow is made of a strip of bamboo braided at either end before it is strung. (1) The rattan

[113] 1. Luschan, F. Von, "Bogen und Pfeile der Watwa vom Kiwu-See [Bows and Arrows of the Watwa of Lake Kivu]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Verhandlungen, 1899, pp. 634-640.

string is wound with grass for protection against wear.

Lieutenant Bischoff discovered that the Urundi Batwa used a forehead bow [Stirnbogen]. These forms are not familiar to me in Ruanda, but they are said to occur in Butembo.

Arrows, like bows, can be divided into two groups. The first group includes the arrows for Ruanda bows. They have a [190] notch into which the twisted bowstring fits. The second group includes arrows that correspond to the Batwa bows, and these are characterized by smooth, often bulbous ends, similar to the head of a drumstick.

The arrows of the first group have inserted iron points and three radial segments of clipped feathers. The split feathers are laid along the shaft and bound securely to it. The two ends of the shaft are also bound to protect against splitting. At the nock end the binding is narrow, while at the point it is about five centimeters wide. The arrows are made of wood. The points of the arrows usually have the form of sharply tapered, long pyramids

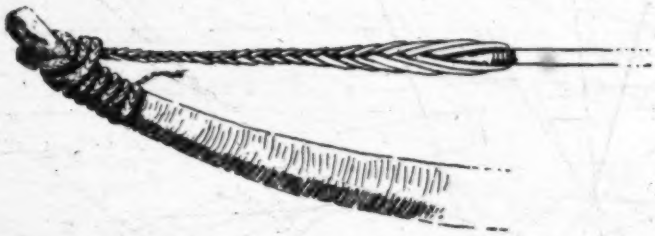


Fig. 104. Tendon Fastening on Batwa Bow from Kivu. (1/3 actual size. P. 1850-68.)

Fig. 105. Forehead Bow of the Urundi Batwa. (1/8 actual size. III E 8982. 68 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 106. Tendon Fastening on Forehead Bow (1/3 actual size. III E 8982.)

which in cross section are rectangular, but not infrequently I saw points with two flared barbs, as well as drop-forged points in the shape of a leaf. I could not find out whether the points with barbs were local in origin or imitations of the Busindja design. It is said that in Busindja these forms predominate.

In Ruanda, however, I also saw reed arrows. They had round wooden points set into the shaft and were nocked at the rear end. They were not fletched. I could not find out more about their origin. It is not impossible that they had originally come from Bunyabungu. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

Dr. Kandt's (2) description of Buyungu arrows fits the Batwa arrows exactly. They are "made entirely of wood, 80 to 100 centimeters in length, that is, extremely long, and they consist of two sections fitted together. The upper section [191] has one, two, or three lateral barbs — all made out of one piece of wood, it should be noted. It is curious, moreover, that the arrows are not fletched but have a slit on the lower end into which, before battle, the warrior inserts fresh fig leaves so that they jut out on either side."

Besides the above-mentioned devices for guiding the trajectory of the arrow, which are so characteristic of the neighboring Congo forest and the Pygmies, the Batwa arrows often have tangential fletching which consists of three clipped feathers, not split but tied to the shaft at their two ends. Radially feathered arrows are not common among the Batwa, but I repeatedly saw arrows without feathers. However, I found it impossible to determine whether or not these were meant to have slits for leaf or feather which had simply not yet been added.

The wooden arrowheads are said to be no less effective than the iron heads, and they often cause splinters and bad infections in the wounds. Bird arrows have three or four slightly flaring points which are carefully bound to the shaft. Iron arrowheads are used a great deal by the Batwa.

6: Czekanowski--91 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Fig. 107. Arrows from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13763 and III E 13077. About 70 centimeters long.)

Fig. 108. Arrow With Barbed Hook, from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. L. 15348c.)

Fig. 109. Bamboo Arrow With Wooden Point, North Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 13077. 35 centimeters long.)

411

In Ruanda arrows are not as a rule poisoned. However, Lieutenant Bischoff was able to collect specimens of poisoned arrows among the Urundi Batwa.

In shooting, the bow is held perpendicular. In the case of the ordinary stick bow [Stabbogen], the end which has the lapped bowstring is at the top.

The string is drawn with the second and third finger of the right hand. The left hand is extended and the string is drawn back to the right shoulder. The tension which I measured with a manometer amounts to 25 to 45 kilograms.

To protect the left hand from the recoil of the string special wooden arm rings (kigomero) are used. They have a small opening through which the hand is wedged. [192] In the huts

In the huts the bows stand in or are suspended from special racks on the uprights.

As for actual marksmanship, I observed that a banana stalk the height of a man which was used as a target at a distance of 40 meters was hit three-fourths of the time. The shot is very powerful. The arrow passed straight through the 15-centimeter stalk and protruded 10 centimeters on the other side. The maximum target distance was 170 meters. At this distance the arrows dug into the hard, dry ground up to 12 centimeters and stuck fast at a 30-degree angle. At this great distance the dispersion amounted to 40 meters. When the archers were making a tremendous effort they almost dropped on their right knee, but otherwise they simply thrust their left foot forward after the shot.

As may be seen from the above account, there is a great diversity of bows in the territory under discussion. Within the confines of the Kirundi language area, I saw stick bows, reinforced bows, and forehead bows side by side. Moreover, if we include the entire interlacustrine area as well as the neighboring countries, we must also note that we do not find the bow everywhere.

In the Kirundi language area which includes Ruanda, the bow is used almost everywhere. Dr. Kandt (1) confirmed this for

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 441.

Fig. 110. Wooden Arrowhead with Barb, Kivu Batwa. (1/4 actual size. P. 1850-70b. Length of arrow, 97 centimeters.)

Fig. 111. Arrow Slit with Feather, Kivu Batwa. (1/4 actual size. P. 1850-70.)

Fig. 112. Arrowhead for Shooting Birds, Kivu Batwa. (1/4 actual size. L 15026c. 84 centimeters long.)

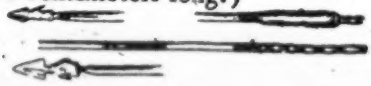


Fig. 113. Poisoned Arrows of the Urundi Batwa. (1/4 actual size. III E 8982. About 49 centimeters long.)

411 Itambi and says that of the bows used in Buyungu 30 percent were Ruanda bows and 70 percent Batwa bows. On the other hand, with regard to the southern part of Bunyabungu, Dr. Kandt says (2):

2. Ibid., p. 378.

"I seldom saw bows and arrows and of the latter only a small number with iron heads. Most of them were very primitive and consisted of a reed shaft into which was set a spindle-shaped piece of wood, almost like a child's toy and yet meant for serious use."

In west Ussuwi no bows are used, whereas they are the principal weapon in Busindja. (3) The Banyoro [Nyoro] of the

3. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur

Fig. 114. Archer's Guard-Ring, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 13043. 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 115. Archer's Guard-Ring, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 9906. 11 centimeters in diameter.)

Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), pp. 211, 218.

north fight only with spear and shield. In Toro I could get only bows that had been captured on war expeditions against the Baamba [Amba]. The Baganda also do not have bows. The Bahima of Nkole are archers and have the same bows and arrows as the Basindja. In Kiziba I was constantly referred to Busindja when I asked about examples I saw there.

[193] We can easily explain the absence of bows in the northern part of the interlacustrine region as a consequence of Nilotic influence which must be regarded as historical fact. However, we cannot at present explain the absence of the bow

6: Czekanowski--95 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 116. Quiver for Arrows, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 13074. 84 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 117. Gourd Quiver, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. L 17270a. 39 centimeters long.)

Fig. 118. Woven Bag Quiver from Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III E 13764. 70 centimeters long.)

41! in west Ussuwi or its scarcity in southern Bunyabungu.

In Ruanda we see quivers much more rarely than bows. If a person of distinction is accompanied by a man who carries his bow, the latter holds in his right hand one to four arrows along with the bow.

[194] At home arrows are kept in cylindrical quivers carved of wood and painted, with lids at both ends. In the field, on the other hand, I saw only woven quivers and some made of gourds. The woven ones are either cylindrical or wider at the bottom. They are usually closed with a lid and slung over the shoulder by a strap or braided cord. The lid slides along this cord.

Cutting Weapons. Besides spears and bows, cutting weapons play a very important part in Ruanda, but they are not sharply differentiated from tools on the one hand and daggers on the other.

The bush knife, already mentioned as a tool, is the most important cutting weapon. It is used not only to cut dry branches for firewood, to clear brush, and to widen a path in the underbrush, but also as a dangerous weapon in hand-to-hand combat.

The second cutting weapon, the sword (ngota), cannot be sharply distinguished from the dagger. Both have the same shape and differ only in size. There are also intermediate shapes. They are carried in a wooden sheath on the back, suspended from a neckband of hide or string. The blade is usually 40 to 50 centimeters long and 2 to 3 centimeters wide. It has a median ridge, so that in cross section it is rhomboid. The sword blade, like the blade of the spear, is left black. Only the two edges and the ridge [195] in the middle are polished. The wooden haft is carved, and, like the haft of the West African sword, it often has three joined parts. Sometimes the center piece is lacking, and the haft consists of two truncated pyramids facing each other, the upper one being smaller than the lower. The scabbard consists of two thin pieces of wood rounded on the edges and fastened together with braided straw. On the upper edge of the front part of the scabbard is a small pyramid with a horizontal opening. The neckband that serves to carry the sword passes through this opening.

6: Czekanowski--97 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 119. Woven Cylindrical Quiver from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L17270b. 76 centimeters long.)

Fig. 120. Swords from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13071 and III E 13072. About 63 centimeters long.)

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Fig. 123. Typical Ruanda Shield. (1/6 actual size. III E13761. 68 centimeters high.)

Fig. 121. Dagger from Ruanda. (1/3 actual size. III 13736. 19 centimeters long.)

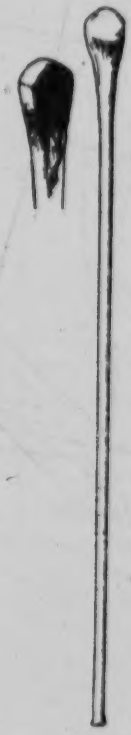

Fig. 122. Ruanda Club. (1/8 actual size. III E6879. 95 1/2 centimeters long.)

411 I was repeatedly told that the sword was a Batutsi weapon, but it is doubtful that the present form of the haft and the scabbard with all their details can be credited to the Bututsi. We must not forget that swords are also used by the Batwa and occur in the countries west of Ruanda, especially in the primeval forest.

[196] The sword plays an important part in religious ceremonies. It is used, for example, at birth festivities.

Clubs are found in Ruanda, but they are not very important. It seems that they are used more by the herdsmen than by the rest of the population. Simple smooth clubs are also said to be badges of distinction. Occasionally I saw a club, the end of which was decorated with four brass nails. The thick end is often faceted.

[197] Shields. Shields are very rare in Ruanda proper and in Kissaka. They consist of a slightly concave oval piece of wood with a protruding portion in the center. Behind the protruding part a braided strap-handle is tied to the shield. The [531] shield is painted black, white, and red. It is carved out of one piece of wood and is 40 to 50 centimeters high, 20 to 30 centimeters wide, and 10 to 20 centimeters deep.

The shield is common in Mulera. Here it has the Ndorwa shape, although it is usually not so wide. These shields are covered in front with rattan and are not painted. Thus they are essentially similar to the Uganda shield.

Of the shields west of Lake Kivu Dr. Kandt (1) says: "...as

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), pp. 442, 443.

in the east (Ruanda), they are oval or rectangular with rounded [285] corners, made of wood which in front is covered with wicker running horizontally or diagonally. [198] It is very popular to put bits of mica between the wicker strands. In the center of the outside is the navel, that is to say, a bulge, which in Ruanda is pointed, in the west usually flat. The Wahunde also had other shields that were carried by the chiefs. They are very tall and [285] wide, rectangular, painted red, bordered with strips of skin, and very skilfully woven of reeds, therefore very elastic. On the

6: Czekanowski--100 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 124. Mulera Shield: (a) Front; (b) Side. (1/6 actual size. III E8969. 52 centimeters long.)

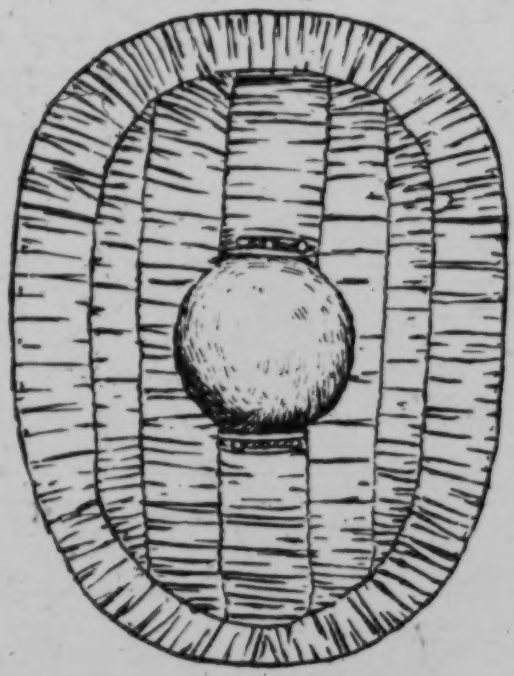

Fig. 125a. Shield from East Mulera, Front View. (1/6 actual size. L15032. 65 centimeters long.)

411 underside is an ornamented oval piece of wood that also serves as the handle."

Near Lake Luhondo on the border of Ndorwa I once saw a very primitive shield. It consisted of a piece of thick tree bark, in the center of which was attached a handle consisting of two bound, crossed twigs.

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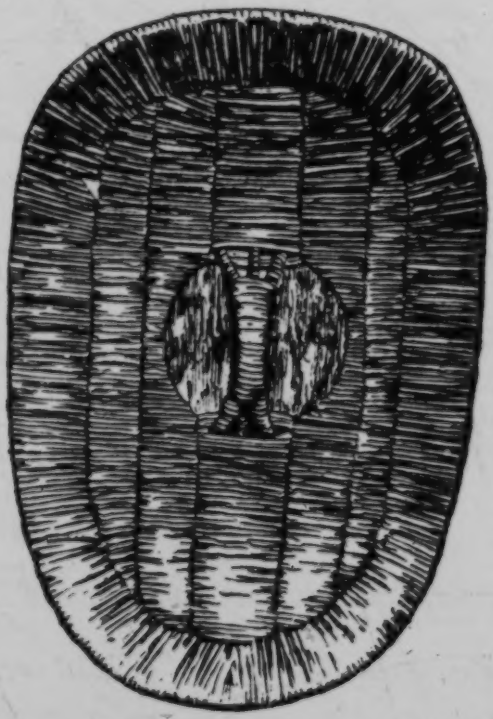

Fig. 125b. Shield from East Mulera, Inner Side.

The shield plays an important part in ritual.

[199] Chapter 9

Settlements and the Household

361 Settlements. There is considerable difference in the types of settlements to be found in individual parts of Ruanda. The typical form of settlement is the compound in which the

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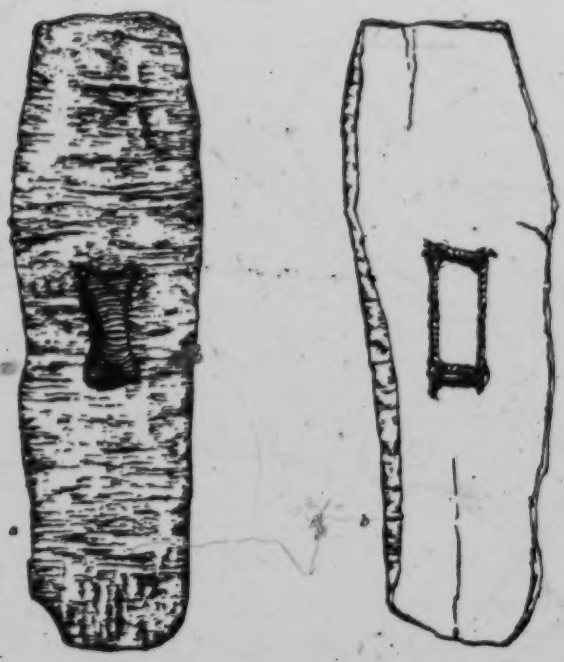

Fig. 126. Shield of Bark, Mulera: (a) Outer Side; (b) Inner Side. (1/6 actual size. L 15034. 61 centimeters long.)

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 2

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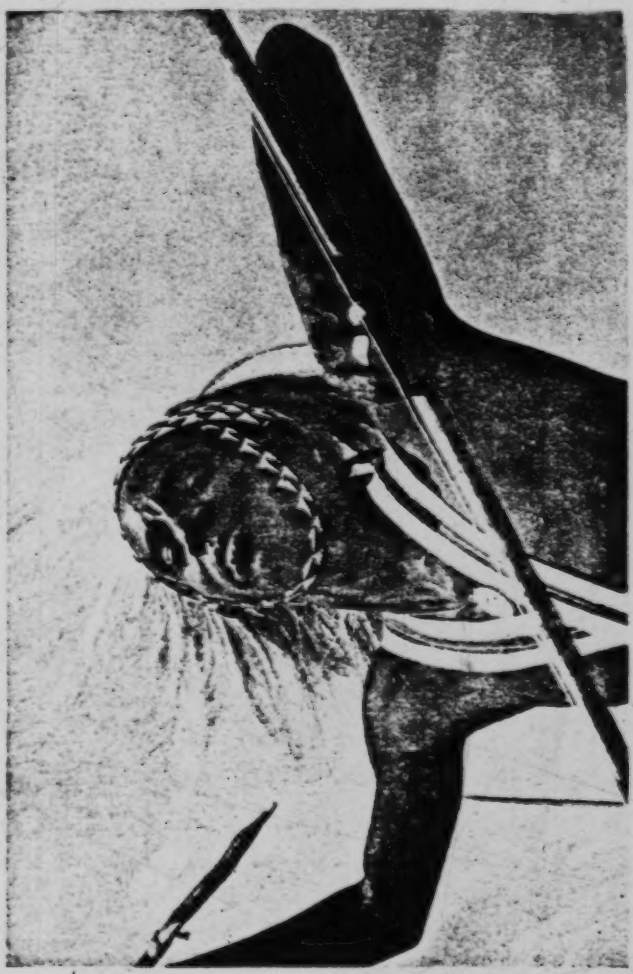

Intore warrior dancing

[Facing P. 23]

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

of coercion at their disposal. If a mwami attempted to go beyond his effective power even without exceeding the limits of his divine rights, he exposed himself to the chance of meeting some obstacles. Nevertheless, he had sovereign as well as divine rights and his subjects were constantly reminded of these by the tributes they had to pay.

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4. DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

Every Ruanda, Twa, Hutu as well as Tutsi, was affiliated to an army (*ingabo*). This is stated by ninety-nine per cent. of our informants. Although this military organization is obsolete at the present day—indeed it no longer exists—ninety-eight per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed can still give the name of the army of their paternal ascendants.

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There were several armies. The name of each one had a military meaning. It was a challenge, a boast, the memory of a dynastic or historical event: for instance 'the tough ones' (*abashakamba*), 'the first to be praised' (*imbanzamihigo*), 'the fearless ones' (*inzirabwoba*), &c. At the beginning of each reign a new army was organized by the king. Moreover, a very important chief could be authorized by the mwami to raise an army.

(a) *Recruitment*

An army was recruited in the following way. The mwami asked his Tutsi clients to bring to the court their sons who had not yet had any military training. When about 150 to 200 young men were gathered, they constituted what we may call a company (*itorero*). During the reign, four or five companies were recruited in the same way and were added to the first one. According to ninety-six per cent. of our informants a man had to stay all his life in the company he had first entered. The young men (*intore*, the chosen ones) lived at the court of the king or of the chief who had been allowed to recruit an army. Under the direction of an officer called the chief of the king's residence (*umutware w'urugo rw'umwami*) or of its counterpart at a chief's court, they were trained for several years in military skills such as bow and arrow shooting, the use of the sword, spear, and javelin. They learned warlike dances, and to memorize and to recite the poems in which the high deeds of extraordinary bravery and boldness of the past warriors were exalted.[18] They were also taught how to compose poems in imitation of these great models.

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[18] See Kagame, 1949b; 1951.

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

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[28]

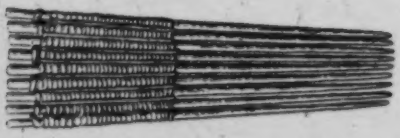

Fig. 5. Wooden Comb for Combing Hair.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

516 in this posture of the Barundi at rest is often surprisingly beautiful. A small group of men standing in this position really presents "a picture to be painted." [Fig. 9 appears on p. 34 of original text.]

The chief weapon for attack and fighting is the bow and
411 arrow. The bows (umuheto) have the simple shape of most of the East African bows and they are rather good weapons (Plate 41). The string is usually made of beef sinew. Compound bows, such as the Batwa of Bugoje have, do not exist among the Batwa of Urundi who have been much more influenced by the Negroes. The arrowheads (umwampi) have neither barbed hooks nor lobes and, by means of a thorn, are embedded in the wooden shaft whose upper part is wrapped and the bottom ends simply feathered. The feathering often is bound in a nicely patterned reed wrapping (Fig. 8). Neither the Batussi nor the Bahutu ever use poisoned arrows, but the Batwa do (No. 19, p. 246). It has already been mentioned that the left hand holding the bow is protected against the recoiling string by thick disc-shaped arm rings (ikirinsi) (see p. 27 and Plate 30a). Also, among the Barundi archery does not entail shooting from a held position with precise aiming, but rather suddenly and violently jerking off the arrow toward the target in an impulsive fashion, like hurling stones from a sling (which is not practiced in Urundi). Nevertheless, they do hit a man at a distance of 30 to 40 meters with a fair amount of precision (Plate 30). The majority of the arrows are made by the Batwa. Sometimes the arrows are kept in nicely carved wooden quivers (umutano) which are provided with overlapping lids on both ends (Plates 41, 42), but a quiver is seldom seen on the arm or back of a Murundi, mostly only inside the huts. [Fig. 9 appears here in the original text.]

412 The sword-like knives (imbugita) of the Barundi, up to
411 half a meter long, are not really weapons but instruments for daily use which only occasionally are also used as weapons (Plate 43). The knife has two parallel edges, and its tip is only slightly pointed. In its entire width it is inserted into an hour-glass-shaped wooden handle, and it is worn in a wooden sheath

[Text continues on page 50]

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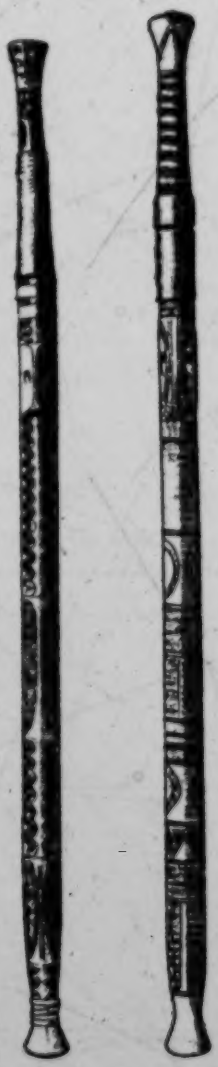

Fig. 9. Knives with Decorated Wooden Sheaths.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, Nos.
2466, 3881.)

412 (uruwati) made of two thin boards held together by several
411 wrappings. In the same manner as the quiver, the sheath is often
[531] decorated with carved crescents or zigzag patterns (Fig. 9).
The knives are often carried by a strap running from the right shoulder to the left hip, like a shoulder belt. The much smaller
412 knives, 10 to 15 centimeters [35] long, which are found more often and which are of the same shape and used for smaller carving jobs, are either worn on a string around the neck or over the left upper arm. Only in western Lower Urundi on Lake
[177] Tanganyika can we find knives with fine copper wire nicely wound around them; there they are due to Congo influence and are produced by Wawira [Bira] blacksmiths (No. 19, 133).
[326] In Upper Urundi proper, the Bahutu and especially the Batwa blacksmiths are the suppliers of knives.

Fighting clubs (uwuhiri) which were once generally used
411 all over the region have become rather rare in Urundi; as among the Massai and the Wadschagga [Chagga] these former weapons have been degraded into a show piece or toy of the men. They consist of a beautifully planed piece of hardwood, about one third of a meter in length, which at the end has been carved into three or four edges and at the handle end is slightly thickened.

Shields (ingabo) are much more rare. They have com-
411 pletely lost their importance as a weapon of defense and, as in
554 Ruanda, they have become merely the emblem of a chief or of a family (perhaps the escutcheon of a clan) (Plate 44). The king possesses several shields and each chief and his bodyguards have one each which are painted differently. The Batwa do not have any shields and are not allowed to carry any. The round shield, up to one half meter in diameter, is carved of wood it has a wooden grip and is painted with white and red segments of circles of various types. There are also shields which have reeds plaited around them (see pp. 80-81 and Plate 53) and others of identical shape made of cowhide which occur even more rarely. The same shape and ornamentation of the wooden shields and quivers recur both among the northern Bahima in Ruanda and among the southern ones in Ufipa (cf. illustration in No. 47, p. 76).

231 comrades. However, their feoundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi
241 and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and
[462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka,
4/2 241 igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine
[434] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and
[439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

412 241 acute angle joins it to a wooden handle whose club-shaped end has a hole for this purpose, made with red-hot iron. In most cases the handle is so short (about three quarters of a meter) that the person using it in the fields always has to stoop quite low. Usually only the right hand is used for gripping the hoe while loosened stones, weeds, and the produce of the field are collected with the left hand. Hoes with handles as long as one and a quarter meter are also used, however. In northern Ruanda and on Lake Kivu such long-handled hoes predominate. Both hands are used to grip them, and they do not require one to work in such a stooped position as do those with shorter handles.

For digging holes to sow beans, peas, corn, and other produce, a piece of broken-off reed or wood is used at times. This piece, however, does not thereby become a permanent implement, that is, a "digging stick"; holes in the soft soil are mostly dug with the fingers. On the other hand, the short hatchet (ischenjo), shaped like a segment of a circle, is a permanent piece of equipment used for clearing the ground of underbrush. The same is true of the bent hewing knife (umuhoro; [171] see Plate 46), characteristic of the interlacustrine region, which appears in the hand of the old Egyptian harvest god. It is also used here as a harvest knife, besides having many other uses.

241 Thus, the farming techniques of the Barundi are merely hoe-culture, and the produce of their fields only hoe-products [as contrasted to plow-culture and its products]. Bananas and beans are the main agricultural produce. Bananas thrive everywhere, but they grow well only up to an altitude of approximately 2,000 meters. Beans grow in somewhat higher altitudes. Finally, peas are entirely absent in the lowland, but they are quite frequent in the higher regions of central Urundi. They are the sole agricultural product found in the areas of greatest elevation. Corn is widely grown in the Tanganyika region and in the valley of the Ruzizi, but it is found in the interior areas to a much smaller extent than is generally assumed. In the dry eastern part of Urundi where bananas become scarce, corn, interspersed with beans, is often cultivated on artifically irrigated valley floors. Peanuts are also abundant in the Ruzizi and Tanganyika areas, but in the highlands of the interior they are only sparsely

322 412 The Barundi do not have a special tool for wood carving, only the two small chopping knives, the sickle-shaped, long-handled cutting knife (Plate 46, No. 4) with which we are already familiar from the discussion of agriculture (p. 49), and the short and long knives which are used for all kinds of daily jobs (Fig. 16). To round and smooth spear shafts, a small piece of wood is stuck on a small double-edged knife, at an angle. Then the knife is moved back and forth along the shaft until the wood has been scraped and given the desired shape. The wooden arm discs, after having been cut from a block of wood, are shaved with a knife and polished with fig.leaves (which are probably flinty) until they have the elegant, mathematically correct shape and smooth surface which we admire in them. [Fig. 16 appears here in the original text.]

The simple parallel linear decorations which are occasionally seen on wooden utensils and calabashes are seldom carved [531] but generally burnt in by a kind of poker-work. For this purpose small notches are made in an old knife or spear point so that several tooth-like points are formed. This iron is made red-hot and then passed over the wood; its points burn a number of absolutely parallel lines into the surface (No. 19, p. 367). Apart from this, saws for cutting wood are as unknown as drills and nails. Because of this, holes are also made in wood by means of red-hot iron. As everywhere else in East Africa where saws are not available, boards or beams are carved from thick logs by chopping and cutting chips and splinters from both sides of the block until a board of the desired thickness remains. For this reason the traveler in these regions can hardly present the chiefs with a more welcome gift than a sturdy handsaw, a hand-drill, hammers, iron nails, and other tools.

322 532 Nowhere in Urundi or Ruanda did I see either human or animal figures scratched or cut into the surface of wood or carved from wood. Only among the Barundi on Lake Tanganyika [177] does one find carved wooden figures, an art which was introduced from the Congo region. Finally, the decorations found 322 531 on many -- not all -- of the wooden [82] hand discs deserve to be mentioned. They are inlaid with iron, copper or brass spirals,

[Text continues on page 124]

2: Meyer--123A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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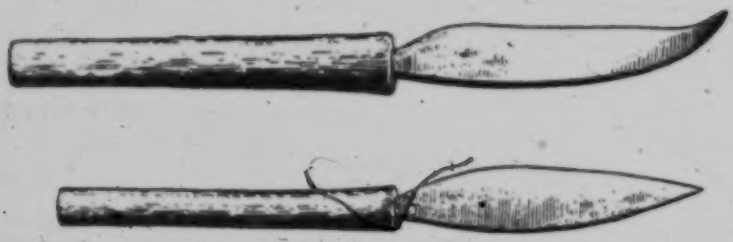

Fig. 16. Barundi Work Knives.

(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6386.)

531 angular or round pieces of foil and pins (Plates 34 and 35).
322 Occasionally their entire surface is almost completely covered with such thin metal inlays. They are attached to the surface by scratching the outlines of the metal pieces into the wood, then hollowing out the area within these outlines, filling it with wax, and, finally, pressing in the spirals and metal foils. There are only a few artists who master this technique. In Ruanda such metal inlays are seen on only a few hand discs and on the horns worn around the neck as part of the dancing costume. There the inlays consist of strips of zinc and lead.

396 The biggest carved object of the Barundi and the one most difficult to make is the boat, the dugout (ubwato). As we have seen above (p. 73), dugouts are rare in this almost treeless country, and their use is confined to a few of the larger rivers and to Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Dugouts are ordered and paid for by chiefs who are in need of a boat for ferrying purposes in their district or by families engaged in fishing who can afford the expense. The Batwa are the best boat builders; the technique is a specialty of theirs (No. 19, p. 367). The two instruments used in the construction are a [412] chopping knife whose blade is set at an angle and whose handle is gripped with both hands and an ax with a short handle. The tree -- the thicker and straighter the better -- is felled by thousands of blows. The bark is then removed with axes, and the log is first hewn roughly to the desired length and thickness of the boat. Then it is given its external shape: the bulging sides, the round bottom without a keel, and the somewhat pointed bow and stern. Finally the inner trough is hollowed out. This, too, is done solely with axes and knives. In other regions of East Africa this is accomplished by starting small fires on the upper side of the tree trunk. These fires gradually eat their way into the trunk, and the charred parts are scraped out until only the hull remains. According to their own testimony, the Barundi do not know this technique. After the job is more or less done, the boat, before being launched, is filled with water in order to test whether it is waterproof. After all the cracks have been calked, the dugout is pushed and pulled into the water with the participation of a festive and noisy crowd.

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

326 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi
177 is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe.
[412] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes
[411] were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that
135 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained
316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19,
325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The
326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas.
[439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

2: Meyer--127A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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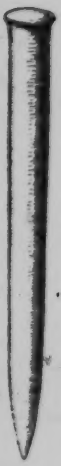
Stone Anvil

Pin for Engraving Ornaments.

File

Iron Hammer.



Iron Bolt for Forging Concave Forms.

Fig. 17.

(All 5 figures in the Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6386.)

325 out with the same instrument. Once on the anvil, the iron is forged with the hammer (injondo), a heavy piece of iron with several edges. It has no wooden handle but is elongated on one end to form a kind of handle so that it may be gripped firmly. The iron is hammered and intermittently made red-hot until it has been purified of all dross. Then it is forged with the 325 hammer into the shape of the desired object. For this purpose 412 any of the following auxiliary tools are used: a thick, rounded pin over whose curved head the glowing piece of iron is hammered into concave shapes, e.g., bells, sleeves for spear points, etc.; a short pointed piece of iron with which simple patterns of dots are engraved in arm rings, chopping knives, and other objects; an old knife to cut pieces of glowing iron in two by using it like a wedge and hitting it with the hammer; a file consisting of a serrated piece of iron with a wooden handle with which any unevenness is rasped off the forged objects after they have cooled down; and finally a few hard, smooth stones for polishing.

[439] I have not been able to ascertain whether the Barundi are familiar with wiredrawing. They use imported European types of iron, copper, or brass wire to wind around their bracelets and knife sheaths.

325 Copper (umurinda) and brass are hardly used at all in 439 Urundi, with the exception of the Tanganyika district where copper and brass have been imported from the Congo (for instance, Katanga) for years and are used for many purposes. In [316] the large interior areas of Urundi no copper ore is mined. The small amount of copper imported from Tanganyika in the form [301] of wire is hammered out cold and used for making simple bracelets, small bells used as dangling ornaments, small pieces of foil used as inlays for the large wooden arm discs, and other things. Both in Urundi and Ruanda the casting of iron in molds is unknown.

Plate 36

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Barkcloth and Bark Hammer; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Milled piece of material made of fig bark, not yet processed, 140 centimeters long. — No. 2) Processed cloak of fig barkcloth with shoulder tassel of banana bast; 135 centimeters long. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding the fig bark, 32 centimeters long.

Plate 37

287
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531
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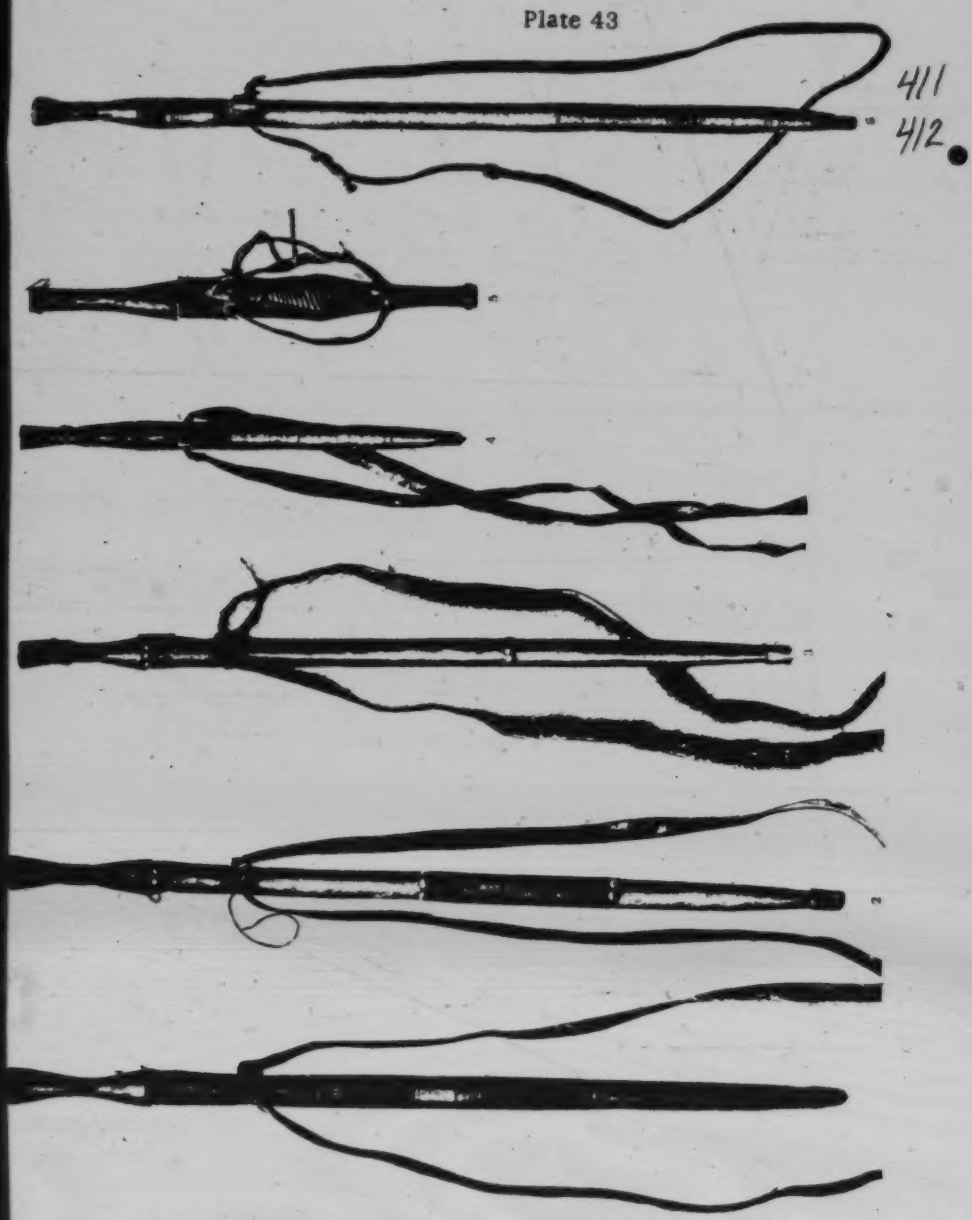
Barkcloth and Bark Hammer.

No. 1) Upper garment of fig barkcloth with bast ribbons, 100 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 2) Painted mat of fig barkcloth, 98 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding fig bark, 42 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

2: Meyer--277 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 43



Knives in Wooden Sheaths Wound with Copper Wire and with Leather Straps; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.
No. 1) 51 centimeters; No. 2) 52 centimeters; No. 3) 52 centimeters; No. 4) 30 centimeters; No. 5) 31 centimeters; No. 6) 67 centimeters.

2: Meyer--280 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 46

412

Agricultural and Household Implements; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Carved piece of wood for stirring millet gruel, 68 centimeters; No. 2) Digging stick with iron point, 150 centimeters; No. 3) Iron hoe for field work with wooden handle, 47 centimeters long; No. 4) Iron slashing knife for field work, 53 centimeters long; No. 5) Sickle for cutting bananas, 76 centimeters long.

539 Umurir' ugatiny' amazi. Fire fears water.
Amaz (i)' atiny' ifu. Water fears flour. (3)

3. "Water fears flour," that is to say, the bread or "mush" into which it vanishes.

If' itiny' amenyo. Flour fears teeth (4).

4. "Flour fears the teeth" of those who eat it.

Ameny' atiny' umuhoro. Teeth fear the billhook (iron) (5).

[412]

5. "Teeth fear the billhook," as all other hard bodies, especially when made of iron, like the billhook, which is one of the most useful tools.

538 The Blacks of Ruanda have a rich and varied oral literature. They like witticisms, and since their language is rich in shades and nuances, they manipulate it with great art.

The most refined speech is heard at the capital.

195 The habitual frequenters of the court, lords, courtiers, and
644 employees, express themselves in flawless language, use the right words and choice expressions, and give them the proper inflections, for Runyarwanda is a phonetic /sic/ language. The appointed men of letters, storytellers, bards, genealogists, and historians carefully
[521] watch their diction. Among them conversation is never /454/ dull, for jokes and witticisms abound.

Considering the good taste that distinguishes the familiars of the king and the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga, it is not

644 5. In certain cases and where certain objects are concerned, the king must help himself directly. When he wishes to play the drum, as he is wont to do, his followers set the sticks on the ground before him instead of offering them to him spontaneously. The prince picks them up himself.

To hand them over to him, which to us seems so simple, might cause him to die (gukenya).

644 272 6. It is for the same reason that the servants entrusted with keeping the milk in the famous "hut that devours its inhabitants" (ikiryana) observe the same custom. Two or three large bowls full [415] of milk are brought into the hut where the king is served. They are carefully closed with a lid woven of vegetable fiber.

Small wooden vessels known by the name of ichyantsi (plural ibyantsi) are laid before His Majesty. Whether there are two, four, or even eight of them, they must be immaculately clean. The servant fills a first container, which the king picks up himself without any help.

If the milk pleases him he goes on drinking, but he is careful not to finish it.

He must leave half of it, lest milk become scarce (ngw'amata atagabanuka) in the realm. Meanwhile, the servant fills another vessel, which the king picks up himself as he did the first one.

The first one is filled again. This table service continues until the king's hunger is satisfied.

644 7. Custom demands that when appearing at court one should clap one's hands three times (gukom'amashi) and use the customary formulas, with the sole addition of "king" (umwami) or "Sire" (Nyagasani). This is about the only external mark of respect reserved for the sovereign. /494/

644 293 8. At night the king must never be without the native hammer called Nyarushara. This tool goes with him on all his journeys.

412 It is left under the fine grass which serves as the monarch's bolster and pillow (barayisegurir' umwami).

778 It is a sort of ancient talisman which theoretically has not yet lost any of its mystic power. It was wrought according to the specifications of Mashira, the sorcerer-petty king, by an able

644 blacksmith, Gihu, son of Muhinda, on the hill of Mpanda (mu Buhigiro,
293 i Kizibaziba) in the Nduga. This was done to enable the Hamitic
412 king with whom this autochthonous prince had concluded an alliance
778 to turn back the Banyoro who had invaded Ruanda. The hammer, which is octogonal in shape (imigong' umunane), symbolized an all-powerful symbolic being. The artisan, on Mashira's specifications, had wrought two breasts upon it (1). Mutabazi, the monarch's son,

> 1. Such details demonstrate the importance attached to this fearsome mystic weapon. Nothing has been forgotten concerning the circumstances of its manufacture, the date, the place, the artisan, the man who inspired the project, etc.

only had to sit down and hold upon his knees the "dreadful" magic device, pointed facing the enemy, for the latter to be hewed to pieces.

Two other small hammers with the same origin and which played the same role are laid beside the Nyarushara. They are known by the name of ubushingo or abagaragu bayo, that is to say, its "companions." Every morning at about nine, when the drum called Ndamutsa ("I greet") is played to proclaim the rising and appearance of the monarch, the latter must touch the talisman hammer as if the day's luck depended upon it.

9. Inyundo ya Barenge, "the hammer of the Barenge people."

It is not known exactly why the hammer thus named is kept at court. /495/

Does it really belong to the Barenge, who lived in the country several centuries ago? This is hard to say. Since it is very heavy and weighs two or three times as much as an ordinary hammer, the king's laborers sometimes use it as a mallet to drive stakes (imiganda) into rocky ground (1).

242 impossibility of planting the field at the proper time. For example, the Bahutu told me that near the farm of Lwakadygi several fields had to remain uncultivated because it was too late when the Batutsi moved their cattle into the forest.

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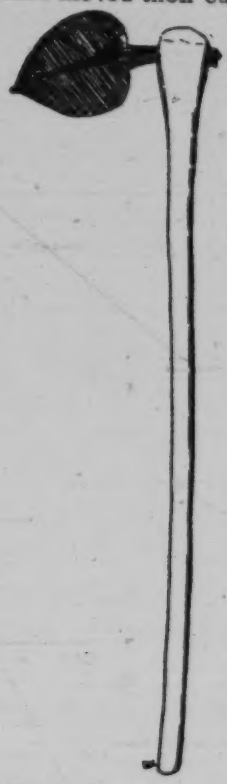

The soil is cultivated with a clumsy iron hoe (issuka). It has a long, heavy handle which is thicker at the top. The blade is fastened to the handle by means of a point at the back. [137] The point is driven into a hole burned into the handle. This method of hafting is used in the Bahinda states and throughout Buhaya. In Toro, Bunyoro, Buganda, and Nkole (at least in the north where I had a chance to observe this), the hoe is fastened somewhat differently. Here the handle consists of a forked branch cut from the trunk a little below the fork. The two parts of the fork are cut to an uneven length, the longer one being the handle and the shorter one, cut diagonally, bears the blade. The upper, protruding part of the blade is tied to the handle. This type of hoe is very awkward and a great strain to use, because the short handle forces the workers to bend over very low.

Fig. 25. Field Hoe from Julera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13108. Length of handle: 113 centimeters; length of blade: 31 centimeters; width 19.5 centimeters.)

The short hoe seems to be an older type which is dying out. My Wassukuma [Sukuma] porters told me that among their people the short-handled, bound hoe was commonly used in ancient

241 times, but that later it was replaced by a long-handled one
412 with a hole bored at one end. They also said that at present it differs from the Ruanda hoe only in the fact that it is ligher.

The very primitive wooden hoe, less frequently used in Ruanda, is somewhat similar to the older form. It, too, consists of an unevenly forked branch, but in this case the shorter end is pointed and used as the hoe. The few samples which I saw in the region had an iron tip on the pointed end. The people I questioned about it said that formerly this tip had not
[171] been used. Later I saw identical hoes among the Niloto-Hamitic Kakwa; these were without the iron tip. I was told that they were used exclusively for clearing.

In Ruanda the women as well as the men use the hoe. In this respect Ruanda is very different from the other regions of the northwest where hoe culture is practiced.

311 There are large aggregates of tilled fields only in the north and the west and along the northern shore of Lake Mohasi. Otherwise the fields are merly oases in large sections of pasture-

[412]

Fig. 26. Wooden Hoe with Iron Tip from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. L15061.)

land and bush.

311 The banana groves usually occupy the ridges of hills; at
245 least this is the case in Kissaka, Nduga, and Mulera. In Bugoye and in southern Bgisha where the settlements were very high, the groves are somewhat lower. In Bugoye where the lava is very much decomposed, there are large [138] banana plantations on the lava plains themselves. In Bgisha they are somewhat higher along the edges of these plains. Bananas bear almost all year round except in the driest season. The plants are hoed, but otherwise they require little care. The banana crop is used chiefly to make beer (nzoga).

412

Fig. 27. Mortar from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13095. 44 centimeters high.)

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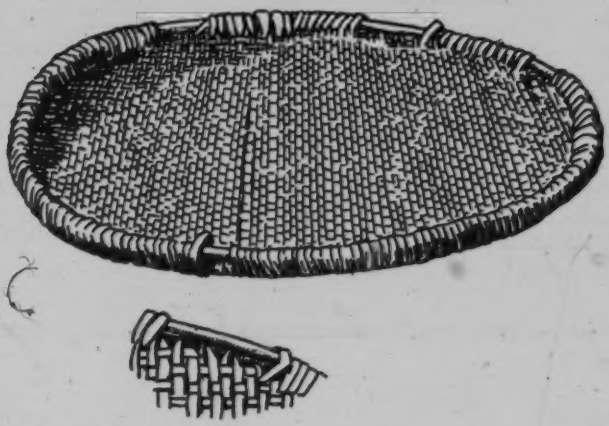

Fig. 28. Woven Shield for Winnowing Millet, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size, III E 13678. 75 x 61 centimeters.)

311 with extensive forests which were destroyed by farmers, so that at the present time in northern Nduga, for example, there are no forests to be found. Quite recently the forest boundary has receded in Mulera and Bugoye as a result of colonization. When I visited

[412]

Fig. 29. Axe from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13111. Handle: 68 centimeters long.)

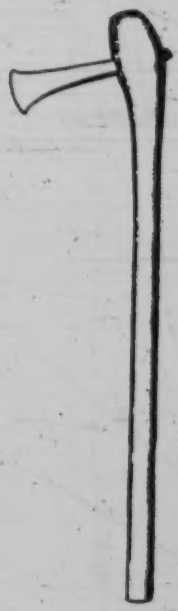

Fig. 30. Axe from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13060. Handle: 60 centimeters.)

Fig. 31. Bush Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L 15036.)

the Batwa of Chief Chuma, I saw that half their huts were already surrounded by Bahutu fields; the others were still hidden in the forest. In only a few years the farmers have penetrated this far; the Batwa could all still remember the time when their village lay deep in the forest.

412 The larger trees are felled with axes; smaller ones and the brush are cut with sickle-shaped bush knives. The axes (intolezo)

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (icatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber short-
372 age is a very important economic problem. In some places wood must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

245 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have
197 begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation
554 a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C. T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

322 463 Wood Carving. Woodwork in Ruanda is done by highly specialized craftsmen. Most of them carve jugs or other vessels. They are called babazi in the vicinity of Mount Ndisa where there are great numbers of them. The persons who make bows and arrows and also

[412]

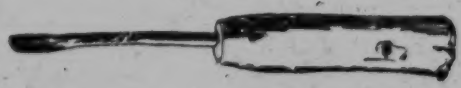

Fig. 47. Percussion Drill from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 9884. 34 centimeters long.)

live near there are called batanazi. Dr. Kandt (1), who in the

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 335-348.

monograph cited above discusses the wood industry of Ruanda in great detail, says with regard to the various types of workers: "Thus, the arrow makers also make bows, other workers make salt troughs for animals and drums, still others specialize in grain mortars, chairs, and beehives. There are also specialists engaged in making dishes, spoons for stirring, ladles, and clubs. Specialists in only one object make containers for milk, quivers, and ornamental boxes for pombe [beer] tubes. Workers who make milk vessels sometimes also make troughs for pombe. (2)

2. Ibid., p. 342.

322 [155] In spite of this extensive specialization, the products by and large are very crude and much poorer than the objects made around Lake Victoria. The smaller containers, especially the dishes for butter, are the most carefully and elegantly carved.

322 412 The tools used for this work are the ax (Figs. 29, 30), the bush knife (Fig. 31), the percussion drill, the hollow hatchet in various sizes with diagonal cutting edges, and the rasp for scraping the interior and surface of objects.

325 316 439 Metal Industry. The two types of metalwork in Ruanda are the ordinary blacksmith's art and wire drawing. Iron mining is of no importance; the inhabitants are dependent almost entirely on imported metal. Iron is imported from Burundja and from the Congo state in the form of hoes. I saw a few abandoned mines on Mount Ndisa, and there is some iron in Kissaka. Dr. Kandt (1) even reports a blast furnace with 16 bellows. Bgisha is said to be considerably richer in iron, but it seems to me that it chiefly mediates the importation of Congo iron.

1. Ibid., p. 360.

326 The smiths form a sort of guild in Nduga. They are all Bahutu, but they belong to different clans even though their occupation is generally hereditary.

Smiths are very much feared throughout the country, although one cannot deny that their trade is regarded with a certain scorn. Among the Bahutu the smiths enjoy their wealth because of an undeniable influence. Women, for example, seem to regard smiths as great cavaliers and men of the world who always drink beer to excess. In general, however, they are regarded as restless spirits and eternal rebels, nor are they especially praised for their honesty. In view of this, they are carefully watched at their work when, as is usually the case, they are furnished with raw materials by the customers. It is said that they filch iron whenever they can and have a very bad reputation in this respect.

[847] Aside from their regular trade, the smiths also practice gynecology, and they are noted for their skill in performing abortions. They also play a prominent part in the cult. The head of the royal smiths is said to have a high position and to play an important role in court ceremonies.

325 [156] A smith's tools consist of bellows, iron hammers, and a stone anvil, besides lesser tools such as an earthen pot for water, a brush to sprinkle the coals when the surface begins to glow, and pieces of wood to clamp together the red-hot iron.

In Kissaka the bellows (see Plate 12, Vol. III) is a clay vessel, the bottom of which is elongated to form a rather long horizontal pipe. The upper opening of the pot is covered with a goat skin in such a way that a stick at the center can either

Fig. 48. Diagram of Air Circulation between Bellows and Funnel.

raise it or lower it in the pot. The resulting change in size of the area covered causes a shifting current of air in the horizontal pipe leading out of the bottom. Two bellows form one unit operated by one man and adequate for ordinary forging work. Dr. Kandt (1) shows an illustration of a double wooden bellows which

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 362.

I repeatedly saw only in north Ruanda and among the Bakondjo [Konjo]. A clay funnel sunk into the hearth is laid in front of the openings of the two bellows. Puffs of air produced by rapidly pressing down the skin-membrane are directed into the funnel alternately from the two openings. According to the pressure thus produced, the draft reaches the center of the hearth by way of the funnel, whereas the air sucked into the bellows comes through the space between the funnel and the bellows. In this manner primitive bellows without valves direct air through a funnel to the center of the hearth.

[412] The hammers, including the handle, are made from one piece of iron. The handle is round in cross section, whereas the hammer has four ribs for pounding, producing an X-shape in cross section.

352 by the Batwa. The Pygmies also do not use beds. If we also remember that the people west of the Kagera make their bowstrings of rattan (bamboo) and use the wooden arrowhead, we may venture to surmise that the absence of the bed in north Ruanda is connected with the Batwa, that is, the Pygmies.

In the interior of the Batutsi huts I occasionally also saw a special room for children and guests. Usually the larger children and the guests sleep in the anteroom (umuriango).

The floor of the huts is covered with mats and not strewn with grass as in Kiziba and Mpororo. On the floor there is usually also a low wooden stool to sit on.

412 Household Utensils. In Ruanda household utensils are very crudely constructed, especially the mortar and pestle. The latter is a simple uncarved stick with a bulbous end. The gourd bottles, 415 too, are not as smooth and regular as those in Kiziba where we find all forms highly developed and perfected.

The most important household utensils are storage baskets, millstones, and various dishes for cooking and eating.

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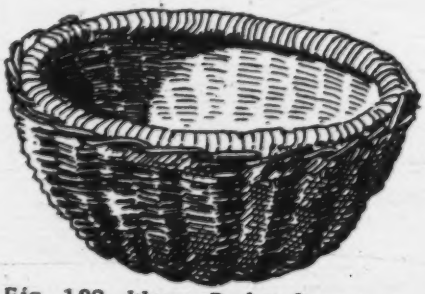

Fig. 132. Woven Basket from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13103. 39 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 133. Shield Basket for Flour from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10922. 27 x 23 centimeters.)

We have already briefly referred to baskets. We mentioned the conical storage baskets of bamboo (Fig. 54), the smaller straw baskets that are sewn together (ichibo, Fig. 131), the shield baskets for winnowing grain (Fig. 28), and the traveling baskets made of

415 sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are
285 the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

[209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape
412 and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back
252 and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer.
415 The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger
323 opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

372 [210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

415 Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets.
415 The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked
285 patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

312 volcanoes. There the rivers run underground and open water holes are sometimes a great distance away, even several hours. In these regions rain water and the bitter juice of the banana stalks are used primarily, but a certain amount of water has to be fetched even in these regions. The collected rain water is very impure, for [214] it is gathered in small depressions in the ground from which it is dipped with gourds into larger vessels for storage. In Buhumba, along the route from Nyundo to Rutshuru, I saw that after a heavy rain waste matter from the dirty courtyards was washed into the water holes.

312 578 In spite of these difficulties in obtaining water, the Bahutu filled in a spring on the Karisimbi in order to get rid of the Batutsi who watered their stock there and devastated the fields. This example shows how peacefully herdsmen and farmers live together.

412

Fig. 160. Woman's Knife with Single Cutting Edge, from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13734. 20 centimeters long.)

Fig. 161. Woman's Knife from West Kivu. (1/4 actual size. III E10172. 32.5 centimeters long.)

515 That the women have to fetch the water may account for their greater cleanliness. It struck me in Nyundo that one always saw women washing themselves along the Ssebeya, but one seldom saw men bathing.

462 The entire process of preparing food also falls to the women, and this is not limited to cooking. They must also thresh the grain, grind it into flour, peel the produce of the fields, in most cases fetch firewood, and in Kissaka even make the pots.

412 In their work women use small, crudely constructed knives. Only in the west do we find large, double-edged, sword-like knives used by the women. They closely resemble the knife used by Babira women.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[p. 89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production. 433

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production? 592 [438]

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce. 463 [184] 412

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view. 471

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased 423

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim 421

[rugo: the basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 20 -- analyst]

[29]

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Fig. 6. Knife for Tattooing and Bloodletting.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin. No. 6543a.)

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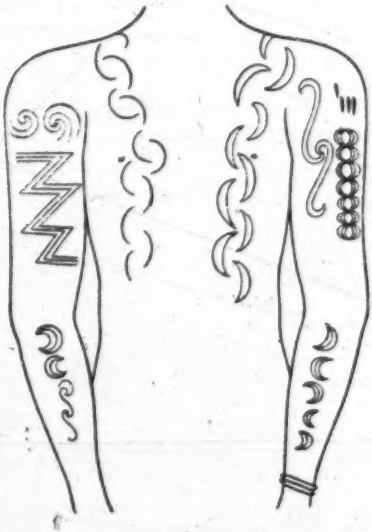

Fig. 7. Scar Tattooing of a Murundi.
(Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

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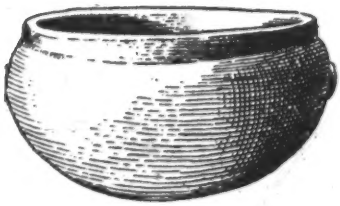

Fig. 12. Small Wooden Bowl for Moistening Snuff.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5277.)

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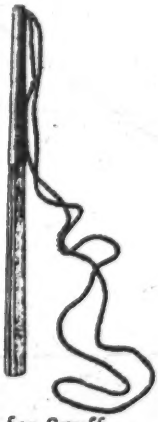

Fig. 13. Wooden Nose Clamp for Snuff-takers.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5278.)

2: Meyer--220A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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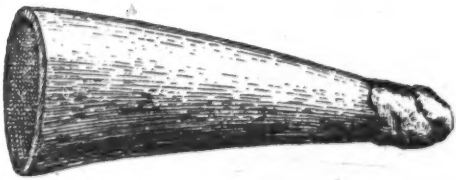

Fig. 18. Cupping Instrument of Cattle Horn.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6543.)

234 [142] While the cow is being milked, a fire of cow dung is kept burning beside her. The smoke keeps off the troublesome stable flies, and the animals can stand quietly.

Young calves are kept in special small huts or in closed-off portions of the entrance room of the dwellings (umuliango).

415 The milk is stored in cylindrical vessels (kianzi) crudely carved out of wood. The vessels are washed with cow urine, and from time to time they are fumigated. A cone-shaped lid is made from a bundle of straw sewed to form a spiral. The milk 272 is drunk chiefly when it is curdled (kivugutu); it is beaten with a small stick to change this consistency. Fresh milk (amata) and buttermilk (amachunde) are also drunk.

[413]

Fig. 33. Arrow for Bloodletting, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13744. 58 1/2 centimeters long.)

Besides milk, the blood of cattle is also drunk. For this purpose the bulls are bled from time to time by shooting a special arrow into the neck vein at close range. The short iron tip of the arrow is set into a wooden shaft. The upper part of the shaft is bound, to prevent the wood from splitting and also to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply into the vein. The lower end of the arrow has a notch into which the bowstring fits. When the blood is drawn off, a tourniquet of rope is tied around the neck below the wound.

The blood is drunk either fresh or cooked. It is sometimes [846] also mixed with milk, and in this form it is given to women after childbirth "to replace the lost blood."

232 Bloodletting is also practiced on sick animals by specialists. It is said that the animals are given the drawn blood as a reward.

262 Meat is eaten only on special occasions. Beef cattle have a very great value, and beef, therefore, is regarded as the greatest delicacy.

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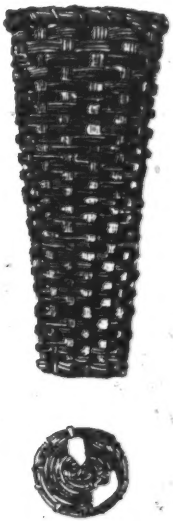

[413]

Fig. 37. Beehive from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13680. 80 centimeters long.)

Fig. 38. Honey Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13738. 28 centimeters long.)

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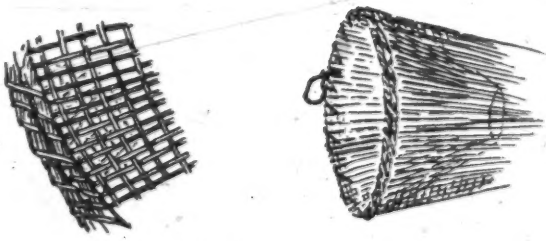

Fig. 39. Fish Traps from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13743. 65 centimeters long.)

000 hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

231 Beekeeping. Bee culture plays a considerable role in Ruanda
[272] life. A great deal of honey is drunk; it is used as an additive to beer and is also mixed with water.

Bees are kept in baskets that are nearly cylindrical (imbutiba) and daubed with clay. At the bottom there are two small exits for the bees. The wider end provides an entrance for lifting out the honey, but otherwise it is closed off. Special long-handled
[413] knives (ulukezo) with short, wide blades are used to cut out the combs. The baskets are generally set up in large numbers on tall trees where they will be dry, but they are also set horizontally on special frames that have crossed legs. These frames are placed on the ground near the huts. There are also many wild bees in the country.

The province of Mulera has the greatest number of bees. In
[435] Bgisha a great deal of honey is sold. The price was two yards of material for two pots of about three liters each.

226 Fishing. The population near the lakes of Ruanda are fisherfolk. Net fishing is called kuteguza ifi. The various nets are called ujegwi, chera, and amahinda. The fish traps are called birumbi. They consist of a long cone into which is placed a second shorter one with its point cut off. The two are fastened together at their thicker basal ends. [148] There is little line fishing, but the fishhook is not unknown, although one does not see it very often.

501 The boats are simple dugouts about five meters long and 50 centimeters wide. They are very irregularly shaped, since the natural curve of the tree trunk is retained. The dugouts used on Lake Kivu are considerably larger. In Ruanda the sides of the boat are not built up by the addition of planks as is the case, for example, in Kiziba and Buganda. The boat's board formed by the edges of the hollowed-out trunk is higher or lower depending on the width or narrowness of the slit.

The oars (ngashi) are often carefully carved, and the blade (ulubega) is reinforced with a center rib (mugongo). The oars are free and held in the hand by the shaft (ulati).

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Fig. 43. Weaving Pattern of Stick Mats, Ruanda.

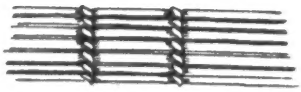


Fig. 44. Weaving Pattern of Reed Mats, Ruanda.

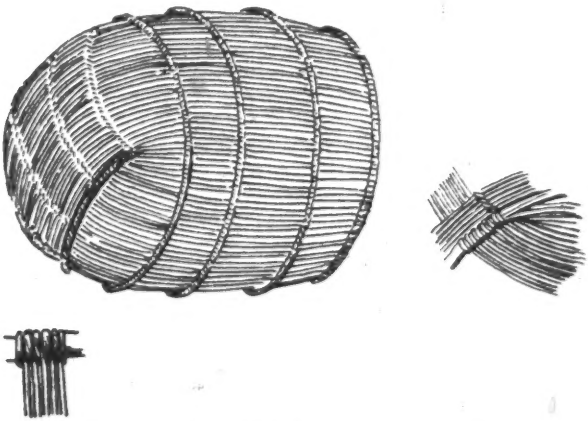


Fig. 45. Basket of Woven Sticks, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13683. Height: 33 centimeters.)

[43]

Fig. 46. Needle Used in Basketry. (1/3 actual size, 18 1/2 centimeters long.)

325 thick and strong, the bolt is supported against a forked tree trunk set in the ground. This is why the outer edges of the bolt are cut to shape at both ends. This preparation prevents slipping because these parts can fit more exactly in the notches on the wooden fork.

The clamp is grasped, for the sake of comfort, with a loop made of banana leaf sheaths, and it is drawn the length of a meter. Afterwards a loop is wound around the wire itself. This loop is knotted in such a way that in pulling back with the hand closed it grasps the wire and pulls it, but at the same time it slides easily in the direction of the bolt. Drawing the wire close to the bolt prevents it from breaking. In the case of fine, weak, thin wire, the clamp is supported against the wooden fork and the bolt drawn along the wire by hand. If any section of the wire offers resistance, the wire is slid back and forth.

[287]
[413]

Fig. 49. Barkcloth Beater, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 9964.

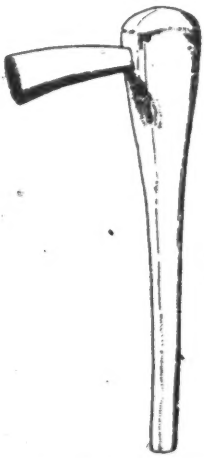


Fig. 50. Barkcloth Beater, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13105. 34.5 centimeters long.)

[158] Thick wire is heated for drawing; but the temperature is very low since the main operations, such as filing the point and clamping, are done by hand. Thick wire is rubbed with stones as it is being drawn; the worker takes a handful of stones and repeatedly rubs them along the wire. This is reputedly done to impede the movement of the wire and thus draw it out more. Thin wire is smeared with fat to keep it from getting stuck, which might cause it to break.

The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

000 The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

287 [178] Preparation of Barkcloth. The making of barkcloth (mpuzu) seems to be falling off in Ruanda. For example, I had only one occasion in Ruasa to see a piece of barkcloth, and this was made into a bag. Because of the large number of barkcloth beaters which were offered me for sale in Ruasa, I am forced to conclude that this branch of native industry is dying out, at least in Mulera.

In Nduga where the population is considerably poorer, one sees a great deal of barkcloth, but since it is worn in the same manner as expensive clothing made of skins, one might assume that in this locality it is at present only a substitute for skins. There are, however, reasons for assuming that the original clothing was made of barkcloth. In Mulera in the area of the Ruasa Mission it was observed that with the increase of wealth barkcloth was replaced by clothing of skins.

The bark of a species of fig is soaked in water, laid on a tree trunk, and beaten out thin with a hammer. The hammers [413] (imango) have two shapes. One looks like a cylinder with circular grooves on the end used for beating, and it has a tapered handle. The other kind is a conical beater which, as in the case of the axes and hoes, is fastened to a handle. Here, too, the beating surface is grooved but in crisscross fashion.

In Ruanda the barkcloth is very crude and cannot be compared to that of Kiziba.

281 [159] Dressing Skins. Preparing a cow hide for an article of clothing is a laborious task. The skin must be made soft and pliable; otherwise it is useless.

The skin stripped off the animal is first of all dried in the sun and then soaked in water. When it has become soft, it is hung up to allow the water to drip off. It is then stretched on the ground with the fur side downward, held with small wooden pegs which are stuck through the edge of the skin and, after the skin is stretched, are driven into the ground with a stone. Then the skin is cleaned with a scraper (mbaro). This process is known as kuhara. The first layer that is removed is called imishishwa; the second imiharamuro; the third, inkuru. After that the pierced edge is

281 cut off, the skin is rubbed with cow dung and it is put aside for two or three days. Later it is combed and smoothed out with minyonza. This process is known as kubiutsa inshundo zinganda. The skin is then rubbed thoroughly with butter and sprinkled with red earth which has been soaked in water (kitaka ch'inkanda). The particles remaining after this has dried are mixed with butter. When the skin has been prepared thus far, patterns are sewn on it with an iron needle. Cattle tendons are used as thread. This work is called kukana nganda. Originally the needle had no eye; it was a sort of awl of the type which is also used to remove sand fleas (mafunza). At

[413]

Fig. 51. Awl from Mulera. (1/3 actual size. III E 13732. 24 1/2 centimeters long.)

its opposite end it has a knife to cut the skins. Finally, the skin must be perfumed. For this purpose the sweet-scented wood called imibavu ihumura is used. This wood is burned in a sherd (luggio) on red-hot coals. Above the fire a wide-meshed plaited basket (lutete) is placed upside down, like a dome. The skin is stretched over the basket and thus exposed to the smoke. This completes the dressing. The skins of goats and sheep are dressed with less care but along the same lines.

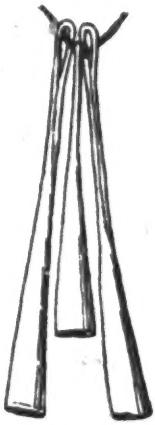
463 Trade. The division of labor in Ruanda is on a comparatively high level. The socio-political situation itself produces a diversity of occupations among the subjugated Bahutu and the ruling Batutsi, but we must not forget that agriculture among the Bahutu and cattle raising among the Batutsi are basically independent and have little relation to each other economically.

[160] The division of labor is not sufficiently advanced in Ruanda to give rise to any great economic independence, with the exception of the king who has large holdings in land and cattle. Most articles are made for home consumption.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.

301 703 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.



291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Maranyara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

[531]

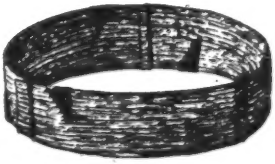


Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

413 With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

is rectangular in outline and has an elongated handle. The combs, as I observed, are almost always very crudely carved and decorated. On the other hand, Dr. Kandt (1) says of the combs of the Bahunde terri- 413 531 322

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

tory: "I frequently saw combs worn on a string, with three to six teeth, some with very pretty wood carvings. I also saw pins to smooth the

Fig. 64

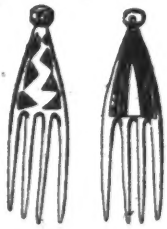


Fig. 65

Fig. 66

Fig. 67

Fig. 64. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13035. 27 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 65. Front and Back of Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13700. 14 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 66. Comb from Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13036. 21 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 67. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13697. 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

hair, made of wood, horn, bone, and other material. These were usually stuck into their curly hair."

The hairpins which Dr. Kandt collected west of Kivu deserve special attention, for they are identical with the hairpins of the Momvu. 301

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Fig. 174. Clay Containers for Amulets, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10147.)

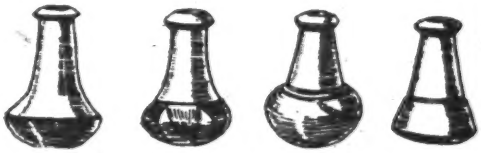

Fig. 175. Little Love Pots, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13087a, III E13088c, III E13086a, III E13084b.)

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Fig. 176. Love Gourd from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13119. 12 centimeters high.)

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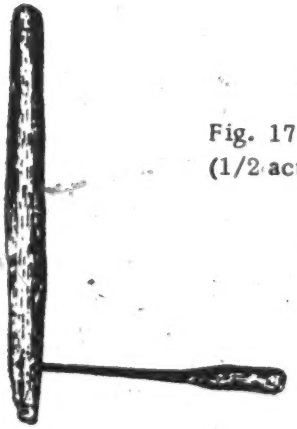

Fig. 177. Instrument for Bleeding, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L15066.)

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy prac-
262 ticed by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

232 especially for sacrifice and for their function at the election
778 of the king, and there are others dedicated to one of the principal gods, Imana, Riangombe, Rikiranga (see p. 68 , also p. 184 of original text [not translated]).

When a calf is born, it is rubbed with butter. As soon
233 as the horns appear, the owner tears off the covering epidermis with his teeth and rubs the little horns with butter so as to make them grow well. The calf is then given a name which is de-
[552] termined by its parentage, color, or some other characteristic, or in memory of some deceased member of the family, a chief, king, etc. The calves are put in the pen for six months before being sent to pasture, and after that the young cattle graze in a separate pasture. In the morning and in the evening, before the milking of the cows, the calves are permitted to suck. If a cow refuses to suckle her calf, both her udder and the calf are rubbed with salt water, whereupon the cow will lick the calf and will also allow it to lick and to suck her udder. In order to wean a calf, the cow's teats are smeared with cow dung (No. 19, p. 423).

234 Before a cow is milked (kukamma), the calf is permitted to suck for a few moments. Then the Murundi squats down near the udder, holding a vessel under it with his left hand and milking with his right hand. In this process a considerable amount of milk (amata) is spilled on the ground since the vessel has a narrow opening. An unruly cow or one that kicks has her legs tied together while being milked. If the calf dies or is slaughtered, the cow gives no more milk. In this case, to make her continue to produce milk, the skin of her calf stuffed with straw or simply a piece of the hide suspended on a stick is held in front of her nose (No. 22, p. 287; No. 48, p. 141; No. 27, p. 95). This is also true in Ruanda, Ankole, and the other Bahima regions. This artless yet useful deception usually tricks the cows, and they lick the hide and continue to give milk. The amount of milk produced by the long-horned cattle is quite small all over the interlacustrine region. It is seldom more than two to three liters daily, in
234 the morning and in the evening. The milk pails (itschjansi)
●415 are always made of wood; in most cases they have a cylindrical shape and a rounded lid. Van der Burgt claims that [45] this

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle;
302 it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
[262] food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororó, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

272 One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, especially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.
The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West
Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara
is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers
about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis
guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000
to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching
to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with
300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the
Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited
neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the
chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness.
For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical
to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can
be made (see above, pp. 24, 31). This tree is really planted and
cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by
the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily
in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The ma-
jority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and
only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After
cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded
in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole
outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded
pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water
so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped
into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for
the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

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[415]

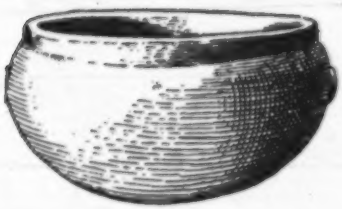

Fig. 12. Small Wooden Bowl for Moistening Snuff.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5277.)

[413]

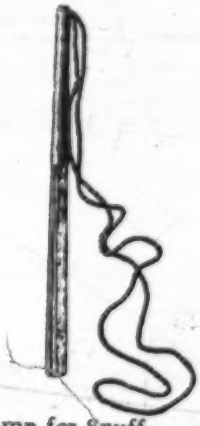

Fig. 13. Wooden Nose Clamp for Snuff-takers.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5278.)

273 easily digested. Barundi men scorn it because of its harmlessness, and it is left for the sick, the women, and the children, among whom it is very popular (No. 19, p. 74).

The fourth type of beer is honey beer (umutobe w'insuki). It resembles lemonade but is nevertheless somewhat alcoholic, so even men like to drink it. It consists of one fifth honey and four fifths water. This is boiled for a short time, and then it is poured into a different vessel and left standing near the fire for a few days without being allowed to boil. Finally it is placed under the open sun for an entire day so as to cause slight fermentation. This is also a tasty and wholesome beverage.

Honey beer and banana cider cannot be preserved for a long time; the latter will keep only for four to five days. For this reason both must be consumed quickly. The first two types mentioned, banana and sorghum beer, do not improve by aging either. They turn sour, the sooner the warmer the place is where they are kept. In mountain areas with a cold climate they will keep for five to six weeks, but in the much more extensive plateau lands they turn sour much sooner. For this reason alone the high time of general drinking is squeezed into the period of a few weeks which are enjoyed all the more strenuously. [Fig. 14 appears here in the original text.]

[62] The Barundi seldom drink beer directly from the pots or from open pumpkin bowls, as is the case among most other East African Negroes. Usually the beer is poured from the [264] pots into calabashes and then sucked out of these by means of straws or reeds (umukenke) in the same manner as we drink iced coffee. The Banjaruanda and Basiba use the same method. Also [484] on trips and marches they carry calabashes of beer with them, [415] together with the necessary tubes which are kept in plaited or carved cases (Fig. 14).

The real beer brewers in Urundi are the Bahutu women, as has already been mentioned, but as far as drinking is concerned, the Bahutu and the Batussi are of equal rank. Most of them are tremendous tipplers who consume 12 to 15 liters of beer a day. The Batwa, too, are hard drinkers if they have beer.

[Text continues on page 93]

2: Meyer--92A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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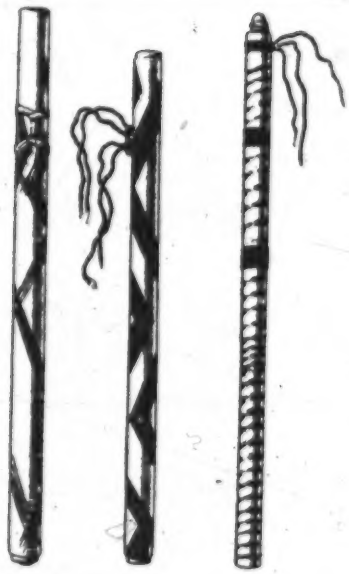

Fig. 14. Containers for Suction Tubes for Drinking Beer. (Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 4875, 6391, 6652.)

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
[563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware
415 vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[276] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
[782] ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special
276 mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat
323 bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping.
439 Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
285 than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
285 415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
285 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

Plate 27

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Packs of Salt from the Gottorp Saltworks on the Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Daily Market in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 33

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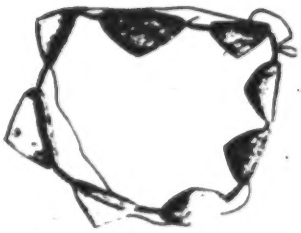

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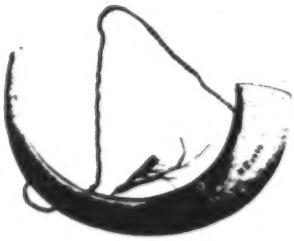

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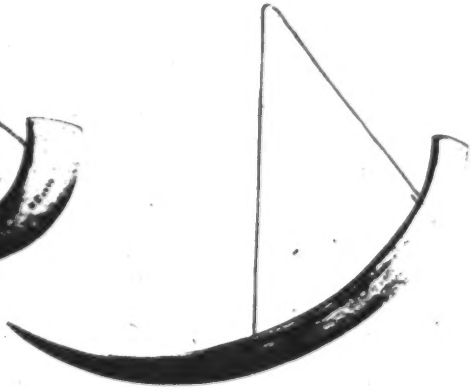

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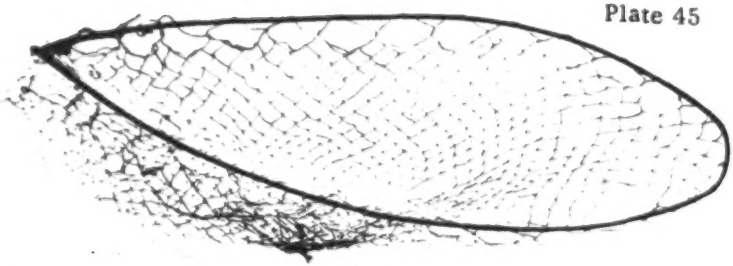
No. 1) Neck ornament of bone pipes, 3 1/2 centimeters long. No. 2) Neck ornament of polished shells and red beads, 5 centimeters long. No. 3) Neck ornament of the tooth of a hippopotamus, 14 centimeters long. No. 4) Neck ornament of hippopotamus tooth, 20 centimeters long. No. 5) Bottle stand plaited of straw, 14 centimeters wide. (All at Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

Plate 45 227



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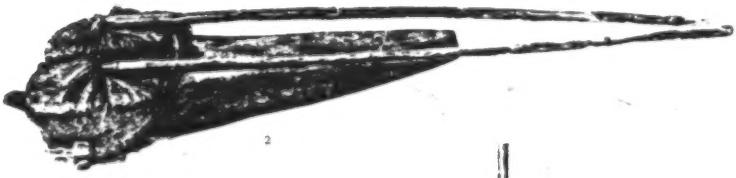

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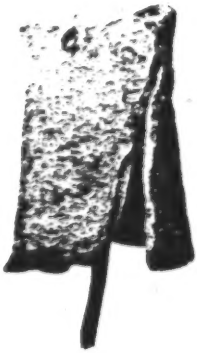

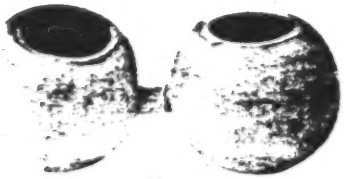

[415]

Implements Used in the Household, Fishing, and Field Work;

No. 1) Fish net of bast strings, 120 centimeters long; No. 2) Vessel bellows of wood and goat skin, 97 centimeters long; No. 3) Wooden milk bottle, 28 centimeters; No. 4) Iron cattle bell, 14 centimeters; No. 5) Wooden double container for butter, 20 centimeters wide.

2: Meyer--282 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 48

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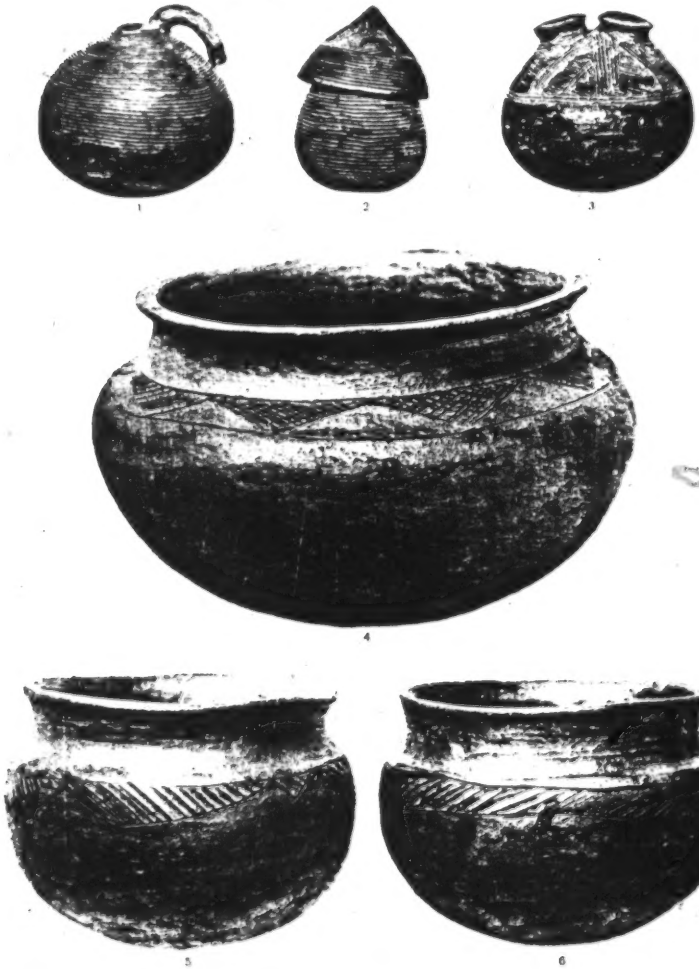
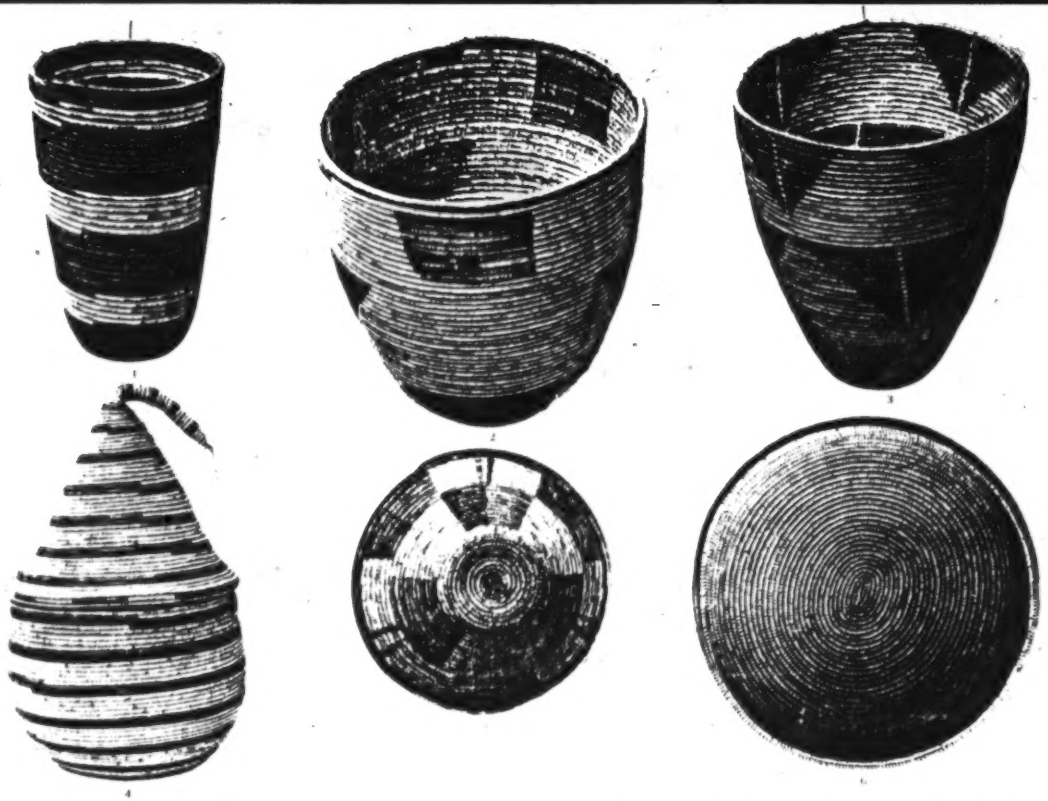


E arthenware Pots.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) Earthenware vessels for liquids, 18 to 20 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Berlin. – Nos. 4, 5, 6) Earthenware cooking pots, 14 to 22 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

2: Meyer--284 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundl FO42

Plate 50



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Baskets and Plates for Grain, Flour, etc., Woven of Straw; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 20 centimeters high; No. 2) 23 centimeters high; No. 3) 21 centimeters high; No. 4) 60 centimeters high; No. 5) 19 centimeters in diameter; No. 6) 28 centimeters in diameter.

2: Meyer--285 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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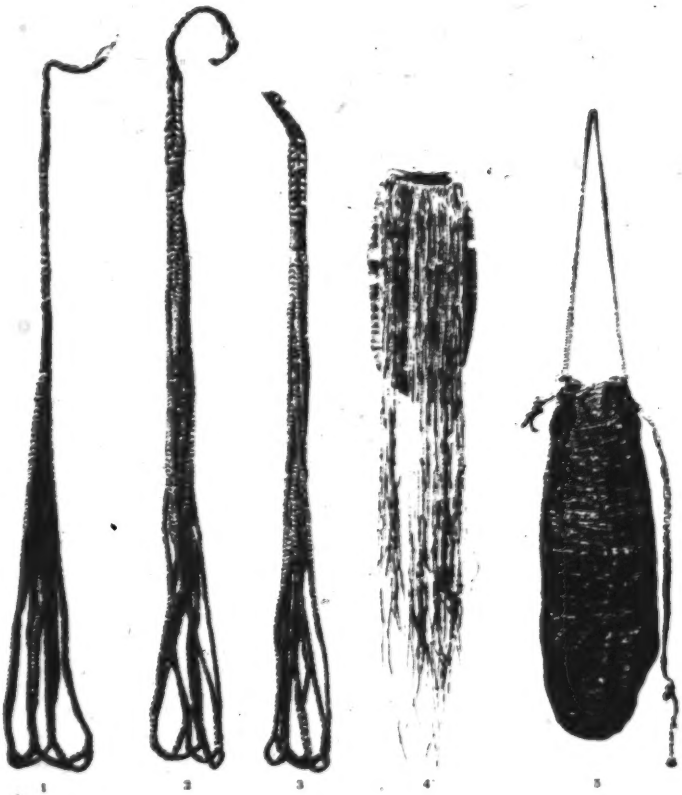

Plaited Ropes for Burden Carrying and Plaited Bags for Provisions, Tobacco, etc., Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) 100 to 112 centimeters long; No. 4) 48 centimeters long without strings; No. 5) 64 centimeters long without strings.

2: Meyer--286 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 52

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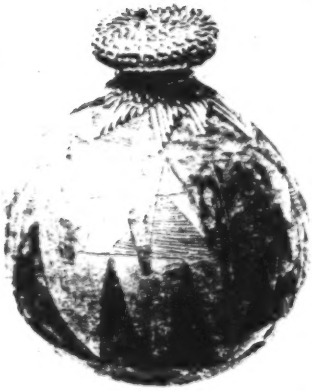

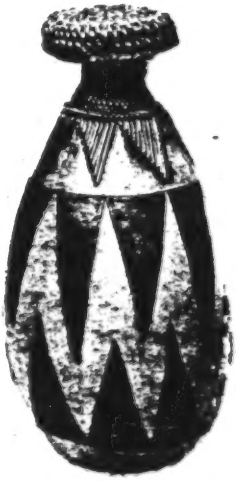

Household Utensils of Wood and Gourds; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Wooden bowl for grain, flour, etc., 35 centimeters long; No. 2) Decorated bottle gourd for milk, 12 centimeters high; No. 3) Decorated bottle gourd, 16 centimeters high; No. 4) Wooden vessel for butter, 20 centimeters high.

258 water, which overflows into a jar, carrying with it a few more or less
263 soluble particles of this sooty dust. The liquid is preserved. The cooks pour a little into the cooking pot at every meal. Some families subsist on this humble vocation and trade with water which is not salted but which has an ashy taste.

Salt was indeed rare before the arrival of the Europeans. The great Batutsi chiefs were about the only ones able to obtain it.

This salt, collected by the Blacks in the marshes of Lake Edward, contained an amount of earth and sand at least equal to half its volume. It sold nevertheless for a very high price at native markets.

The salt from the Gottorp plant (not far from Kigoma) is now used by all social strata. It is highly valued by the Banyarwanda, who call it ulugera, a substantive derived from the verb kugera, which means "to penetrate," because, as they say, it goes all the way down to their stomachs thanks to its high quality and its tart and pungent flavor. One understands why formerly the Blacks, when deprived of salt, would seek out bitter herbs and sour fruits. Red pepper and
[249] chives, which were imported fairly recently, have for this reason been a great success among the Blacks, who cultivate them in small plots near their huts. It is probably for the same reason that children show almost as much fondness for lemons as for oranges. /34/ A few years after the eruption referred to as that of the Ntsuro (December, 1911 and January, 1912), when the natives were able to approach the volcano safely, they began collecting salt mixed with large quantities of earth. The inhabitants of nearby villages spend most of their time collecting the indispensable substance. In order to rid the salt of its
[415] impurities, people melt it in large wooden troughs full of water, which are called imivule or imizinga. The liquid is then removed to other troughs where it is exposed to the sun. The most skillful and enterprising workers allow the water to boil until it evaporates completely. The markets which are held north of Kivu are supplied with this salt, which sells as high as that of Gottorp in spite of its poor quality. It is less white, contains impurities, and always remains damp.

241 The Batwa, or Negrillos, do not farm much. They look down
461 on field work.
563

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse marsh grass called urukangaga.

[554] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

352 513 The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and interconnected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the [415] hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

352 ● 415 In addition, against the partition delimiting the space reserved for strangers, there are jars and jugs of varying size, a half-gourd to scoop water, whole gourds of varying shape and size to hold banana juice or drinking water.

If the Munyarwanda is fortunate enough to own a cow, which is a gift from the gods, he will also have milk containers and churns. 351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and [343] protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

794 His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba. . . , " pronounced in a virile tone,
776 recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a
[30] necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung
854 around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye. . . . "

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

[224 His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around
[231] the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i. . . " to recall
534 that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence
[287] the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a
[415] hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using
[272] a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

794
776 9. Nkonjo, another enslaved servant girl, who was first to bring the sad news of Ryangombe's death.

She is offered a broom as a gift, the symbol of her work as a slave, and a small storage granary or some produce as a reminder that she was in charge of watching over the harvest and of attending to the household tasks.

10. Mashira.

The Banyarwanda, forgetful of their own history, regard him as Ryangombe's child. We have better reasons to believe that he was no other than the celebrated magician-petty king acknowleged as one of the most powerful sorcerers.

In ritual sessions, his representatives assume a majestic bear-
[711] ing and hold in their hand an iron spear made all of a piece (igihosho), which is a sorcerer's emblem symbolizing strength. His followers
[415] offer him an earthen pitcher of special design, with two openings and a drinking tube in each to permit the spectators to drink the hydromel it contains in honor of the magician.

His peculiar cry is "shi shi shi ...."

11. Mutwa, one of Ryangombe's companions, is invoked especially by the Batwa. /366/

This figure seems to have been invented for the sake of the
[782] Batwa. He is offered gifts of beans, meat, milk, and sorghum bread which the members of this despised group share with delight.

The selection of these particular foods, which are offered first as a sacrifice to Mutwa, aims at pleasing him by satisfying his hunger. This is because the Negrillos, whose prototype (or ancestor) he portrays, do not always eat their fill, and these foods appeal to them as the ideal dishes they most desire.

New members were added later to this gallery of demigods. We shall mention only the best-known ones.

1. The Liberator Kibogo, son of King Ndahiro, is often invoked for rain.

2. The Bagoyi, lake-shore dwellers, offer libations of beer
[782] to Mwungeri, son of Nyankaka, who perished in the Lake Kivu disaster.

3. The inhabitants of the Bwana-Mkali honor in turn Rumana

644 According to popular belief, this choice is made in a very interesting
643 manner. The umbilical cords of the young princes are buried separate-
787 ly in pots of ficus wood (umwuko), with gourd, sorghum, eleusine, and native spinach (issogi) seeds planted all around them (1). The

[824]

1. These seeds are designated by the name of mbuto nkuru, that is to say, "the major seeds." Eleusine and sorghum play an important role in the diet by yielding a sort of native bread. Spinach is also highly valued because of the flavor it lends to the beans with which it is cooked. The Banyarwanda also include in this category the seeds of a special gourd called inzungwane, which is hollowed out when ripe. It is used to store beer, and it is this relationship to pombe, so highly appreciated by the natives, which lends so much importance to the seed.

According to another popular belief, the successor to the throne is the one among the king's sons born with the "major seeds" in his right hand.

After subjugating the Bahutu by force, the Hamites insured their obedience by exploiting their credulity.

[252]

[415]

future holder of the drum is pointed out by the most plentiful harvest. According to these naive people, the umbilical cords are /376/ then discarded except for that of the crown prince, which must be preserved (1).

644 5. In certain cases and where certain objects are concerned, the king must help himself directly. When he wishes to play the drum, as he is wont to do, his followers set the sticks on the ground before him instead of offering them to him spontaneously. The prince picks them up himself.

To hand them over to him, which to us seems so simple, might cause him to die (gukenya).

644 272 6. It is for the same reason that the servants entrusted with keeping the milk in the famous "hut that devours its inhabitants" (ikiryana) observe the same custom. Two or three large bowls full [415] of milk are brought into the hut where the king is served. They are carefully closed with a lid woven of vegetable fiber.

Small wooden vessels known by the name of ichyantsi (plural ibyantsi) are laid before His Majesty. Whether there are two, four, or even eight of them, they must be immaculately clean. The servant fills a first container, which the king picks up himself without any help.

If the milk pleases him he goes on drinking, but he is careful not to finish it.

He must leave half of it, lest milk become scarce (ngw'amata atagabanuka) in the realm. Meanwhile, the servant fills another vessel, which the king picks up himself as he did the first one.

The first one is filled again. This table service continues until the king's hunger is satisfied.

644 7. Custom demands that when appearing at court one should clap one's hands three times (gukom'amashi) and use the customary formulas, with the sole addition of "king" (umwami) or "Sire" (Nyagasani). This is about the only external mark of respect reserved for the sovereign. /494/

644 293 8. At night the king must never be without the native hammer called Nyarushara. This tool goes with him on all his journeys.

412 778 It is left under the fine grass which serves as the monarch's bolster and pillow (barayisegurir' umwami).

It is a sort of ancient talisman which theoretically has not yet lost any of its mystic power. It was wrought according to the specifications of Mashira, the sorcerer-petty king, by an able

643 767 Then the king appoints one or two chiefs to go and settle their difficulties.

In the old days these undertakers could not visit with their fellow men, nor could they eat or drink with them. Even today, when [415] invited to feast with their neighbors, they must bring with them their own drinking tube. It is maintained that they do not eat with their children. If it came to pass that the latter, in turn, should bury a new king, they would have to leave their parents and never see them again.

A special vocabulary is used to speak of the monarch and [198 644] certain of his acts: It would be most disrespectful to say that the king sleeps, drinks, eats, etc., like anyone else. We have already seen how his ailments and his death are mentioned (yaberamye, yanyoye, yatabaye, etc.).

767 644 643 It is for the same reason that the royal undertakers bear a name that recalls their function only in a very indirect way. Just as they are strictly forbidden to go to the capital, custom forbids the king to go through areas inhabited by members of this corporation or to camp there. He must avoid the sacred groves where the spirits of his ancestors rest, as though the idea of death could shorten the life of the sovereign. It is mandatory to his followers to avert that image and thought from his eyes and from his ears, which are those of a demigod well above common mortals.

He must be enabled to enjoy this life and all its pleasures in peace.

5. Mourning Rites Observed at the Death of a Prince

643 765 The king is mourned for four months, that is to say, until the official accession of his successor to the throne. During /522/ that period of time, cohabitation between spouses is theoretically forbidden. Bulls are also separated from the herds at the time of this terrible misfortune, which causes the Banyarwanda to state that "the sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye). Men and even children shave their heads [302] as a sign of mourning.

5: Pages--271 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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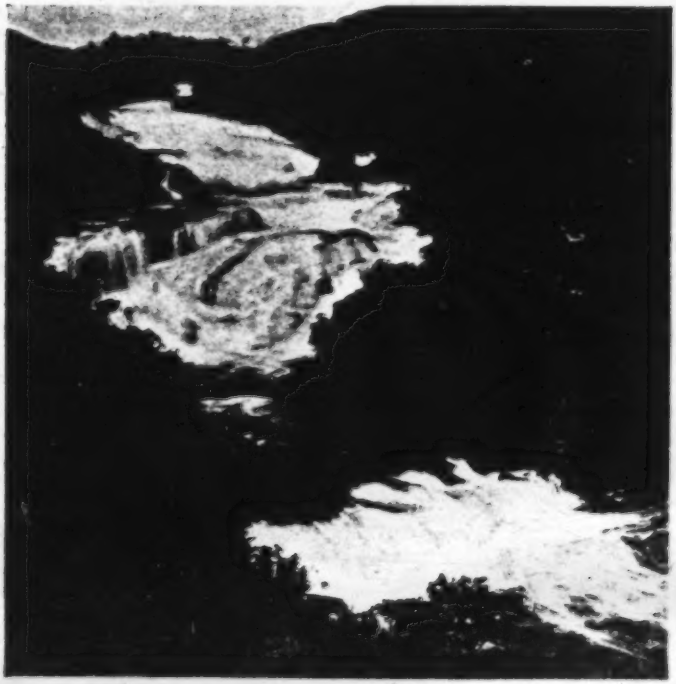
An arm of Lake Mugessera.



Rapids in the Mukungwu in the Mulera region.

5: Pages--275 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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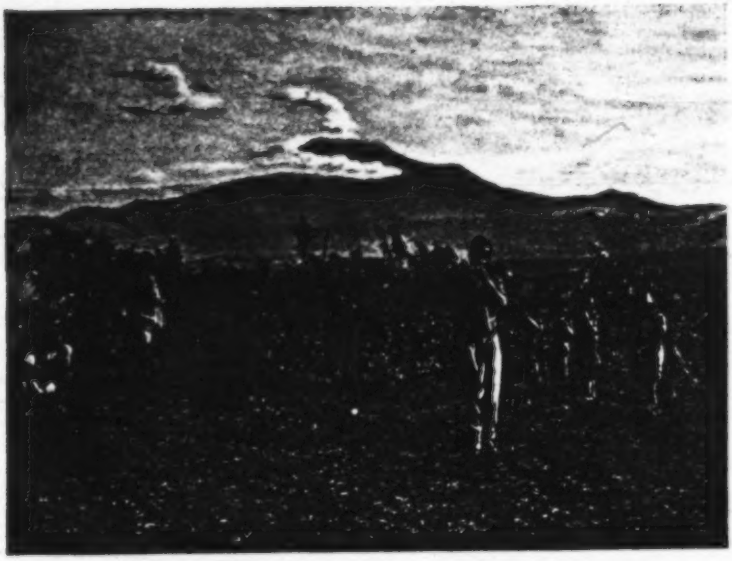

A volcanic landscape. The Nyiragongo and its plume of smoke.

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Muchabura and Gahinga.

5: Pagès--281 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A ceremony in front of the kiosk dedicated to the spirits.

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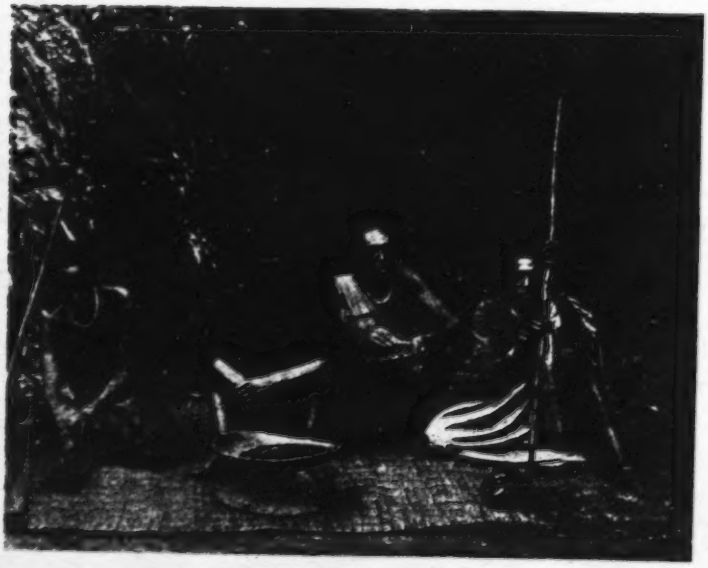

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A divination scene.

5: Pagès--290 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi
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Winnowing basket serving as an umbrella.

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Umbrella of Isinde cowherds.

234 Although the large-horned Batutsi cow is used almost exclusively for its milk, it is not a good milk producer. The annual milk production of a medium-sized cow, according to the reports of missionaries, does not exceed 400 to 500 liters. Dr. Kandt (2) says that an excellent cow gives three liters of milk daily.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 283.

[415]

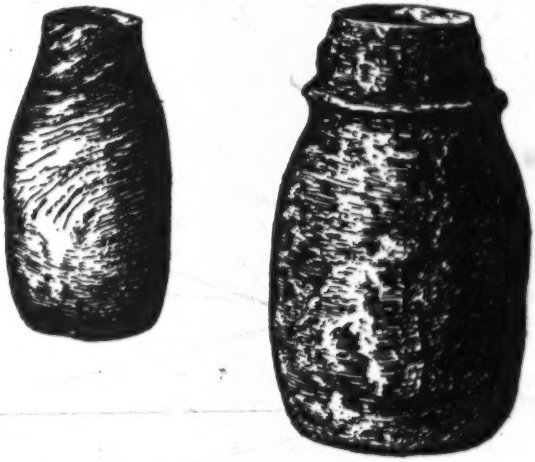

Fig. 32. Wooden Vessels for Storing Milk, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L 15167. 33 1/2 centimeters high. L 15165 . 45 centimeters high.)

The cow is milked only in the presence of its calf. The Banyakissaka told me that only then would a cow give milk. If the calf is accidentally killed, they deceive her with the calf's hide for the first few days, giving it to her to lick during milking so she will not hold back the milk. Only after some time can she be milked without the hide. The calves are brought to such before the animals are let out in the morning and after they return at night. After the calf has drunk for a while, it is taken away from the cow and held while the cow is milked by the cowherd. When the milking is finished, the calf is returned to the cow and allowed to suck until it stops of its own accord.

234 [142] While the cow is being milked, a fire of cow dung is kept burning beside her. The smoke keeps off the troublesome stable flies, and the animals can stand quietly.

Young calves are kept in special small huts or in closed-off portions of the entrance room of the dwellings (umuliango).

● 415 The milk is stored in cylindrical vessels (kianzi) crudely carved out of wood. The vessels are washed with cow urine, and from time to time they are fumigated. A cone-shaped lid is made from a bundle of straw sewed to form a spiral. The milk 272 is drunk chiefly when it is curdled (kivugutu); it is beaten with a small stick to change this consistency. Fresh milk (amata) and buttermilk (amachunde) are also drunk.

[413]

Fig. 33. Arrow for Bloodletting, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13744. 58 1/2 centimeters long.)

Besides milk, the blood of cattle is also drunk. For this purpose the bulls are bled from time to time by shooting a special arrow into the neck vein at close range. The short iron tip of the arrow is set into a wooden shaft. The upper part of the shaft is bound, to prevent the wood from splitting and also to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply into the vein. The lower end of the arrow has a notch into which the bowstring fits. When the blood is drawn off, a tourniquet of rope is tied around the neck below the wound.

The blood is drunk either fresh or cooked. It is sometimes [846] also mixed with milk, and in this form it is given to women after childbirth "to replace the lost blood."

232 Bloodletting is also practiced on sick animals by specialists. It is said that the animals are given the drawn blood as a reward.

262 Meat is eaten only on special occasions. Beef cattle have a very great value, and beef, therefore, is regarded as the greatest delicacy.

234 Butter is not eaten. It is used to anoint the body and to
302 smear on clothes. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter; they are held at the neck with one hand and rocked back and forth on the ground. Butter is stored in small clay [143] and
●415 wooden vessels (akachendo). The latter often have looped handles and are then called uchende yo mukondo.

The local form of intensive agriculture on very fertile soil
233 is not easy to combine with the extremely extensive cattle raising. Barn feeding is unknown. The animals graze all day in the open and are locked into the kraal (lugo) at night. Thus, even in the densely populated and highly agricultural regions, it is very difficult to keep even the milch cows near the settlements. The rest of the animals are driven out to more remote pastures. For example, the Bagoye drive their cows eastward into the primeval
233 forest on the watershed. The animals are cared for by special
465 Batutsi caretakers who are paid to do this. For his service the herdsman gets the milk the first two months, since the cow is not returned to the owner until her calf is two months old. The herdsman also gets a jug of beer worth one hoe. He is, however, held accountable for the cow and must replace animals which are killed or stolen.

246 Pastures receive no special attention. On the northern slope of Mount Ndisa, however, I saw an irrigation system that watered the mountain meadows. Otherwise the steppes are merely burned off at the end of the dry season; this removes the withered grass and the young grass comes up abundantly after the first rain, the ground having been fertilized by the ashes. Needless to say, grass fires have greatly contributed to the deforestation of Ruanda, especially in the less populated areas. Granted that the forests have been destroyed by the farmers, nevertheless it is the herdsmen who make a second growth impossible. Grass fires rage throughout the country. In Mulera and Bugoye where everything is under cultivation, one sees fires only on the volcanic plains.

233 Since no fodder is stored, the cattle become very thin during
661 the dry season. It is not uncommon for Batutsi chiefs to have their herds driven into the sweet potato plantations of their farmers, where great damage is done. No matter how great their loss, the Bahutu cannot drive the cows out nor resist in any way.

482 In the north high, cone-shaped bamboo baskets are used to
●415 carry food and charcoal. They are carried on the head on a
285 cushion. Small packages are also often made of banana leaves. These packages are generally wedged between three branches, bamboo stalks, or small bunches of millet straw. In this way they can be held with one hand. Packages are more often used in the south. There, small items and toilet articles are packed for traveling in wide, low baskets made of small sticks, with cone-shaped lids. These are simply placed on the head.

Beer and water are carried in earthen pots with plaited wrappers and covered with banana leaves.

202 In a discussion of the means of communication in Ruanda we must not forget to mention the native telegraph. Drum signals are used to a moderate extent. The king summons his warriors with drums when there is impending danger, but general information is shouted from hill to hill in a particular way, so that Nyanza is always well informed about what goes on in the country. There is news [168] of every European traveler of every cattle theft at the border, and of every sign of unrest throughout the country. The news travels quickly from hill to hill until it reaches the capital. The news service is so good that one could assume there are special persons who are obliged to carry out their duties of signaling promptly.

Fig. 54. Pack Basket for Carrying and Storing Food. (1/12 actual size. III E 13688. 140 centimeters high.)

487 <u>Arteries of Communication</u>. In conclusion we shall list briefly
438 the chief traffic and trade routes of Ruanda.

1. The path from Bukoba, via Kafuro, Kissaka, and Bugessera, to Nduga is the route along which hides are transported from Ruanda

487 438 to the Uganda railway. It seems that most of the cotton cloth and beads that one sees in Ruanda are also brought this way. Trade along this route is carried on chiefly by Indians from Kafuro, assisted by

[415 285]

Fig. 55. Traveling Basket from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 6986. 84 centimeters high.)

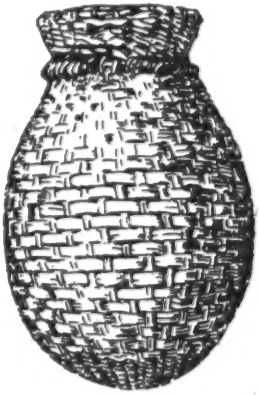

Fig. 56. Pot with Woven Wrapper, Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III 13746. 50 centimeters high.)

people of Kahigi. I reached this route on my trip from Nyanza by Lake Mohasi to Nsasa in Njakagungu, a day's journey south of the lake. On the way I met a trading caravan that exchanged cattle for its ten loads of cheap cotton material. This new traffic artery was formed to make a connection with the Uganda Railway.

2. The above route has cut off the old way from Tabora, via Ussuwi and Kissaka, to Nduga and robbed it of its former importance. [567] It is said that now this route has a branch along which the Bassuwi trade in women flourishes. It was along this route that Count Von Götzen entered the country, the first European to do so.

[169] 3. The route from Nduga via Mukinjaga to Bunyabungu is the export route for sheep and goats which are exchanged for iron. Along this route are traded the Mukinjaga mats, well-known throughout Ruanda.

301 In Mulera the women also wear iron ankets seven to eight millimeters thick, and this I saw neither in Nduga nor in Kissaka. However, the number of butega worn by them was much smaller.

In Bugoye the women wear the same kind of anklets as the men.

276 415 Smoking Equipment. In connection with ornaments we must also discuss pipes and tobacco pouches.

The most commonly used tobacco pouches do not differ from those of the Bakondio. People of distinction have pouches decorated with a fringe of otter skin; on the cheaper ones this is replaced by cords. The pouches are made of braided bast and worn on the chest. However, sometimes they can be seen folded and carried on the head (cf. Vol. III, Plates 4 and 22).

[180] The pouches contain a small supply of tobacco and a [372] pipe. Sometimes they also contain a fire drill and other small items. I had no opportunity to observe tobacco pouches made of goatskin, like the ones used in Kiziba, but occasionally one sees a pouch made of a cow bladder. These are usually tied around the head and worn on the forehead.

276 The Ruanda pipe is very different from the Bahima pipes in the northern part of the interlacustrine region. Whereas the latter have round [181] bowls, the Ruanda pipe has a long, pointed, cone-shaped bowl, into which the cylindrical stem (muhela) fits, attached at a sharp angle. The flaring lip of the bowl (inkono) is sometimes thickened. The pipes used by the Bahutu are usually less slim and graceful, and one not infrequently sees types in which the bowls converge a little at the top, suggesting the somewhat convex Kiziba form. This type usually has an elongated pipe stem.

302 Body Treatment. The actual head ornament of the Banyaruanda is the masunzu, or hair shaved to form patterns. The masunzu are the pride of the male and are sometimes several centimeters long, which of course makes head covering impossible. Although the shaved patterns assume the most beautiful and well-groomed forms among the Batutsi, nevertheless they must, in all probability, be linked with the Bahutu substratum. They extend uninterruptedly beyond the Batutsi sphere of influence toward the west where they seem to be indigenous. On the other hand, in the east among the Bahima this form of decoration is gradually declining and disappearing.

6: Czekanowski--77 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 81. Tobacco Pouch Made of a Cow Bladder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E6998. 31 centimeters long.)

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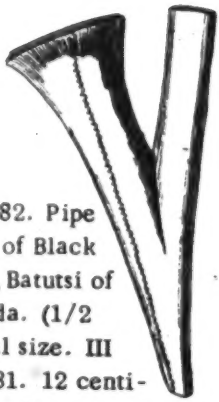

Fig. 82. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Batutsi of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13081. 12 centimeters long.)

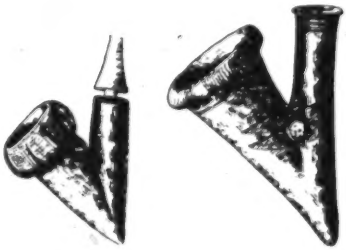

Fig. 84. Pipe Bowls of the Bahutu, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

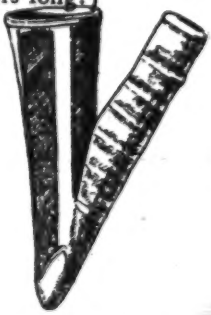

Fig. 83. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 13080. 9 centimeters long.)

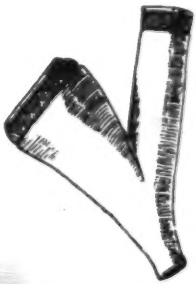

Fig. 85. Pipe Bowl of White Clay, Bahutu of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

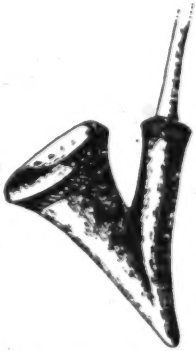

Fig. 86. Pipe Bowl from Bgisha. (1/2 actual size.)

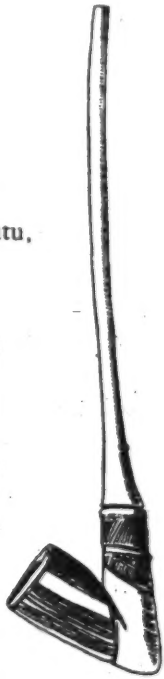

Fig. 87. Pipe from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. III 13715. 5 1/2 centimeters long.)

352 and is covered on top and in front with mats. On this bench stand several simple vessels carved out of wood and covered with not very artistically woven straw lids. Above these vessels, on a beam placed across two uprights, large calabashes used in making butter hang in nets. In Kissaka these hanging nets are not as neatly and carefully made as in Kiziba. Small calabashes are used to close the openings of the butter calabashes.

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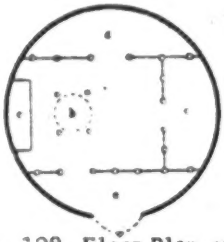

Fig. 128. Floor Plan of Kissaka Hut: (a) anteroom, (b) hearth, (c) bedroom, (d) back room, (e) milk bench.

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The hearth is situated somewhat to the left of center. It is shaped like a round clay slab with two concentric circles, one centimeter high and ten centimeters wide, to prevent fire and ashes from falling out. Well-to-do people who have a separate cookhouse do not keep a fire in the hut during the day. Their hearthstone is always [207] swept clean, and they light a fire only in the evening. Above the fire is a grill, that is, a slab set on four high posts. The bunches of bananas to be used for making beer are placed on this grill to ripen.

[415 285]

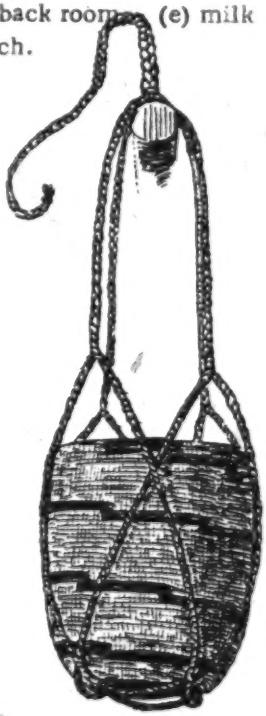

Fig. 129. Hanging Net with Basket. (1/6 actual size. III 13100.)

On the other side of the hearth, opposite the milk bench, is the spacious bed. This is surrounded by posts, and here again we find mats or plaited work wedged between them in order to close off the room. There is a separate approach to the bed, which can be clossed off with a rollable stick mat, like a blind.

342 In Mulera I had an opportunity to see a different arrangement of the hut. Here there was no partition between the anteroom and the hearth section, and the whole thing was called a cow stall (rubumbiro). The hearth (isiko) was in the middle of the hut. This is also said to be the usual arrangement in Bunyabungu (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

In Mulera, behind the hearth is the women's rooms (mbele) which leads to the niche dedicated to Biheko (ruhimbi). To the right of the entrance is the room for the calves (ruhongoro). The bedroom is between the Biheko niche and the calf stall.

352 In Ruanda the bed is made of wooden sticks. Four supports forked at the top, are driven into the ground, and on these rest two horizontal rods that support a platform made of wooden sticks. The frame is covered with several mats which make a relatively soft padding.

513 The sleeper wraps himself up in a mat, so that only the masunzu (2) and the toes stick out, which are not infrequently

2. Unshaven stripes of hair which ornament the heads of men, children, and young people.

gnawed by rats, the worst plague of the dwellings.

415 On the side of the bed facing the wall I saw tall round baskets with lids (ichibo) filled with grain for sowing.

352 Beds are found in all the huts of Mpororo, central and southern Ruanda, and Mulera, but in Bugoye I saw huts without them. There were very few in Nyundo, whereas in Ruagari which is only four hours north [208] on the Bgisha border, people commonly slept on mats without bedsteads in a special portion of the hut closed off by a partition. This was also the arrangement among the Batwa of Chuma. Among the Bakondjo and the inhabitants of Toro there are beds in all the huts. There are none in Kiziba.

The Batwa west of the Kagera do not use beds nor do the inhabitants of Bgisha and north Bugoye, who are obviously influenced

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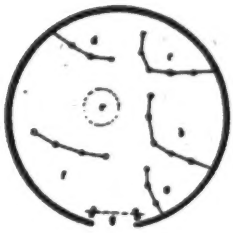

Fig. 130. Floor Plan of a Mulera Hut: (a) stall for calves, (b) bedroom, (c) sacred niche, (d) women's part, (e) hearth, (f) cow stall, (g) entrance.

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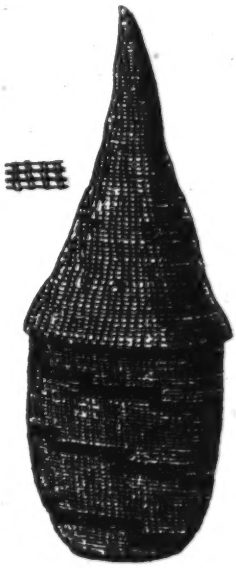

Fig. 131. Lidded Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 6890. 25 centimeters high.)

352 by the Batwa. The Pygmies also do not use beds. If we also remember that the people west of the Kagera make their bowstrings of rattan (bamboo) and use the wooden arrowhead, we may venture to surmise that the absence of the bed in north Ruanda is connected with the Batwa, that is, the Pygmies.

In the interior of the Batutsi huts I occasionally also saw a special room for children and guests. Usually the larger children and the guests sleep in the anteroom (umuriango).

The floor of the huts is covered with mats and not strewn with grass as in Kiziba and Mpororo. On the floor there is usually also a low wooden stool to sit on.

412 Household Utensils. In Ruanda household utensils are very crudely constructed, especially the mortar and pestle. The latter is a simple uncarved stick with a bulbous end. The gourd bottles, 415 too, are not as smooth and regular as those in Kiziba where we find all forms highly developed and perfected.

The most important household utensils are storage baskets, millstones, and various dishes for cooking and eating.

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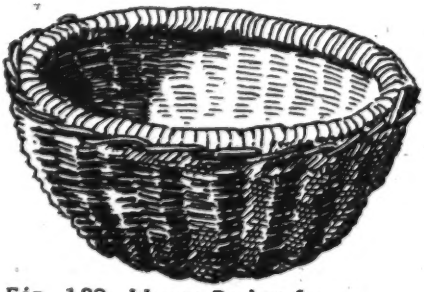

Fig. 132. Woven Basket from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13103. 39 centimeters in diameter.)

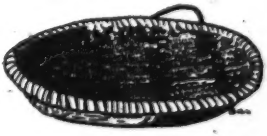

Fig. 133. Shield Basket for Flour from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10922. 27 x 23 centimeters.)

We have already briefly referred to baskets. We mentioned the conical storage baskets of bamboo (Fig. 54), the smaller straw baskets that are sewn together (ichibo, Fig. 131), the shield baskets for winnowing grain (Fig. 28), and the traveling baskets made of

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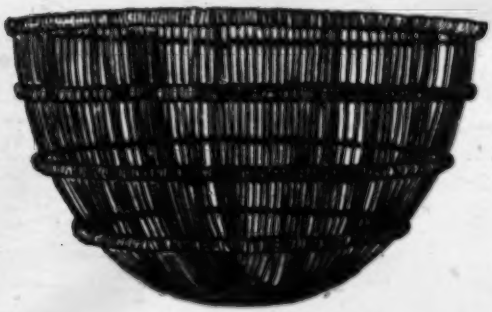

Fig. 134. Stick Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10032. 48 centimeters in diameter.)

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Fig. 135. Cooking Pot from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15172.)

Fig. 136. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15264.)

Fig. 137. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L14755.)

Fig. 138. Supporting Ring from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13726. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

445 sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are
285 the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

[209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape
412 and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back
252 and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer.
415 The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger
323 opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

372 [210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

415 Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets.
445 The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked
285 patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

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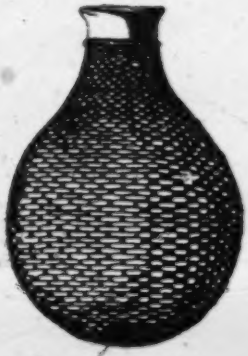

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Fig. 139. Pot With Woven Wrapping from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E5246. 33 1/2 centimeters high.)

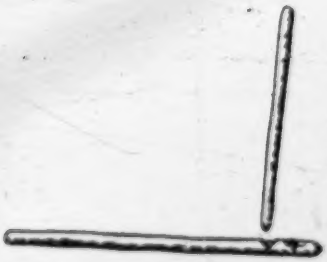

Fig. 140. Fire Drill of the Kivu-Batwa.

Fig. 141. Storage Basket of a Mulera Herdsman. (1/4 actual size. III E13681. 18 centimeters high.)

Fig. 142. Fanning Shield from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13675. Diameter, 21 centimeters.)

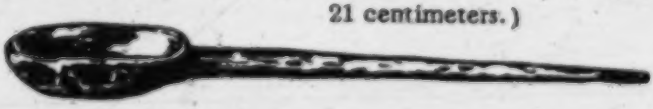

Fig. 143. Cooking Spoon from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15081. 65 centimeters long.)

445 [211] The wooden bowls are usually elliptical, but sometimes they are quite long and have a handle, so that they resemble a very short-handled spoon. Twin vessels are also not uncommon and I collected a number of them in Mulera. They hold less than other vessels. These twin vessels have a common longitudinal axis, are carved from one piece of wood, and used to serve different foods at one time. The part that joins them serves as a handle. On the outer rim there is often the suggestion of a handle in the form of a knob or a loop. Simple bowls sometimes also have loops.

[212] Gourds are used to hold beer and water. In Mulera, as in the Congo Basin, large bowls (ulukiza) made of calabashes cut in half lengthwise are used for drinking. Usually, however, in Ruanda, beer is sipped through straws from calabashes with narrow necks. The necks of these jugs are not as narrow as those in Kiziba. The straws are kept in the huts in small woven or carved wooden containers (ikitembo) resembling quivers.

Beer is poured into the small openings of the calabashes with funnels. [213] However, we also find vessels used for pouring. These were collected and illustrated by Dr. Kandt. (1)

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," Zeitscheifr fflr Ethnologie, 1904, p. 346.

Milk is stored in the house in the wooden vessels (kianzi) we have already discussed. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter. There are special small vessels for storing butter. They are made either of fired clay or carved out of wood. The latter are shaped like tiny dishes, but the edges are more convergent, and they usually have a loop handle.

352 Small, one-legged stools complete the furniture, but not every household has these.

462 The Household. The women do the housework which consists of fetching water and preparing food.

312 Fetching the water needed for the household is probably the most onerous task, particularly in the lava district south of the

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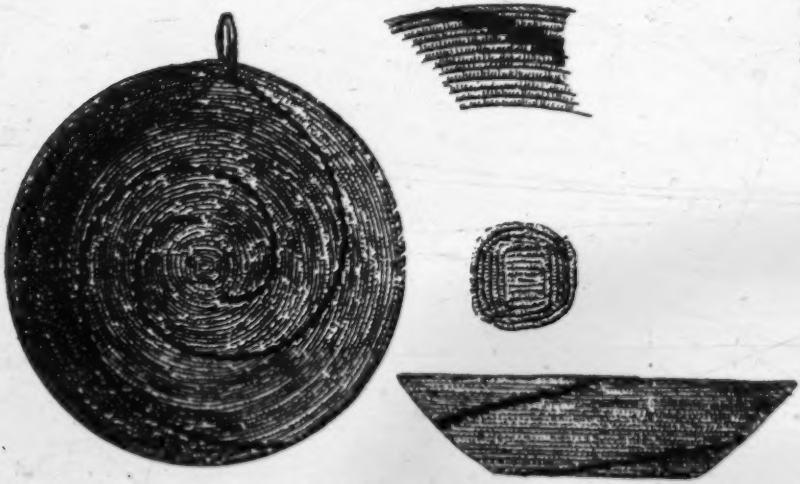

Fig. 144. Basket for Serving Food from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13670. 38 centimeters in diameter.)

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Fig. 145. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15094.)

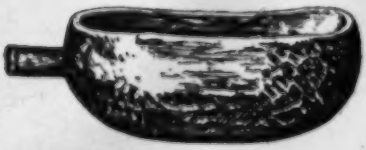

Fig. 146. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L1561.)

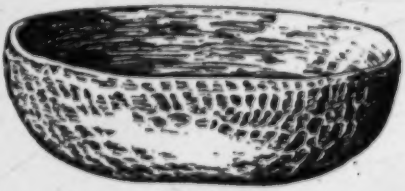

Fig. 147. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15156.)

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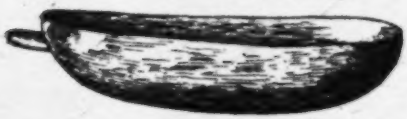

Fig. 148.

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Fig. 152.

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Fig. 155.

(Captions on following page.)

Captions for Figures on Preceding Page

415 Fig. 148. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15160.)

Fig. 149. Twin Bowls from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III 9976. 37 centimeters long.)

Fig. 150. Twin Bowls from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III9977. 49 centimeters long.)

Fig. 151. Drinking Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13097. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 152. Beer Gourd from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 13045. 17 centimeters high.)

Fig. 153. Woven Drinking-Straw Container from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10060. 65 centimeters long.)

[531] Fig. 154. Carved Drinking-Straw Container from Ruanda. (1/3 actual size. III E13048. 32 centimeters long.)

Fig. 155. Clay Funnel of the Batwa. (1/4 actual size. IIIE6628. 16 centimeters high.)

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Fig. 158

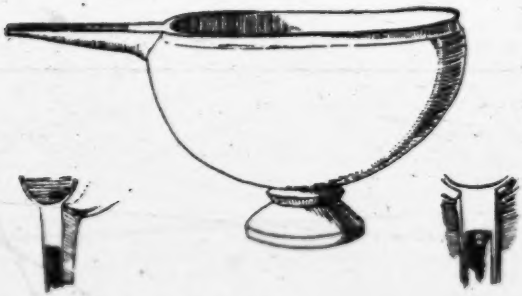

Fig. 156.

Fig. 159.

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Fig. 157.

Fig. 156. Pouring Vessel from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III9983. 14 1/2 centimeters high.)

Fig. 157. Clay Butter Dish, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. IIIE9995, IIIE9992. 10 1/2 and 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 158. Wooden Butter Dish. (1/4 actual size. IIIE9971. 13 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 159. Wooden Stool from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13745. 22 centimeters high.)

769 The bazimu, the spirits of the dead, are feared. They are not good. They are responsible for the misfortunes and torments that plague one. In Mulera, at any rate, this may be related to the well-known unfortunate position of old men.

Every father of a family offers sacrifices to his ancestors and his deceased relatives in the ndaro, the small grass huts near his compound and the place where the spirits dwell. Ndaro means "sleeping place," "resting place," and, according to Father Buisson, is derived from the verb kurara "to sleep." I should like to point out, however, the similarity between this word and ndako which in the Bangala and Ababua [Babua] dialects simply means "house." Sacrifices are also made in the sacred niche of every hut.

782 769 For sacrifices to the manes, a fire is built in front of the huts and around it sticks are placed in the ground, to which are fastened small bits of meat, lumps of umutsima, etc. Small vessels (imperezo) of beer are also set out. These offerings are taken from the meat and umutsima (stiff millet mush) which the sacrificer brought with him. The rest he eats himself.

[299] Offerings are also placed inside the huts. Frequently the more valuable offerings are only temporarily exposed. Later they are eaten by the family of the sacrificer. This is said to be the case when, in accordance with custom, the foreleg of a slain animal is offered for a deceased girl. This is not always true, however, for I repeatedly saw rotting forelegs of goats hanging in the ndaro. "To offer to the spirits" is called kutonora bazimu. To the spirits of one's parents the ribs and entrails of slain animals are usually offered.

[415]

775 823 Fig. 162. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13096. 8 centimeters high.)

Underworld. Not all the spirits of the dead remain in the vicinity of their ndaro to be taken care of by their families and to lead a peaceful existence. Many spirits, after death, live in the volcanoes, and the activity of these fire mountains is connected with them.

According to the Balera, Ryangombe is said to live in Muhawura with the souls of those who were dedicated to him in life. They constitute his court and his retinue.

At the court of Ryangombe there are not infrequently angry disputes among his retinue. Then they usually throw stones, and

794 have made the sacrifice and by their friends.
595 The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as
782 amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails,
[789] is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

[145]

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

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Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

[292] When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cowhide known as mukane.

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Fig. 174. Clay Containers for Amulets, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10147.)

Fig. 175. Little Love Pots, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13087a, III E13088c, III E13086a, III E13084b.)

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Fig. 176. Love Gourd from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13119. 12 centimeters high.)

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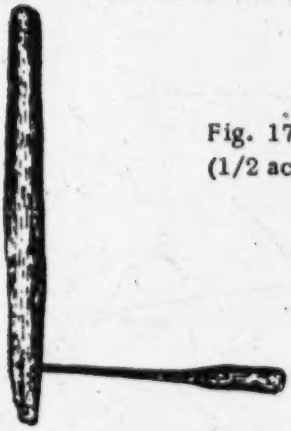

Fig. 177. Instrument for Bleeding, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L15066.)

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Tutsi lord and Hutu client

[Frontispiece]

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42
Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574 planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517] mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
593 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

351 417 The enclosure (ingo) around the majority of the kraals both in Urundi and Ruanda is not only intended as a means of protection against human or animal intruders, but it also serves to enclose the family, especially the small children, and to keep the cattle penned in at night (Plate 20a, 21b). If the inhabitants have no cattle, they usually have no fences around their huts. This is the case, for example, in some mountain regions of northwest Urundi and in a few districts of western central Urundi. Wherever fences do exist, they are higher than a man so that one cannot see over them. Depending on what material is available, they consist of dry trunks of banana trees, sorghum stalks, papyrus shafts, or the dry branches of the Acanthus arboreus, roughly but firmly tied together, or they are formed by closely planted living dracaena, fig trees, or euphorbias. I never saw stones piled up so as to make a wall, although there are enough blocks of stone there to serve this purpose. The entrance to the kraal, which is flanked by two strong poles, is blocked at night by trunks placed across it. [24]

The kraals of the Batussi are in most cases more carefully and firmly enclosed than those of the Bahutu. In some areas settled predominantly by Batussi, for example, in the extensive highland pasture areas on the eastern slope of the peripheral mountains of Tanganyika on the upper Muwarasi, "each house is a small fortress with three concentric defenses. Within the protective wall (probably made of piled earth, there is a plaited cane fence, behind this one of euphorbias, and finally one made of thorns" (No. 8, p. 73).

351 248 Even when the hedge does not consist of fig trees planted close to one another, there are almost always a number of fig trees around the kraal, this being more often the case here than in Ruanda. These trees provide not only shade for the kraal, [287] but also bark which is used in a variety of ways, in particular for making clothes (Plate 18a, 21a). As in Ruanda, such circular groups of fig trees enable one to note the sites of former kraals, particularly those of chiefs, many years after the huts have

351 disappeared. Yet, I did not find any trees at all at the resi-
[248] dence of the great chief Kilima (see pp. 162, 188 [these pages not translated]) in northwest Urundi. Four large round kraals are situated there on an open round mountain top at an altitude of 2,150 meters, affording a wonderful view of the neighboring deep valleys and long mountain chains. Each kraal is surrounded
[417] by a thick bamboo palisade, twice as high as a man, enclosing six to eight spacious round huts. There is no tree, green fence pole, or even a banana leaf anywhere near it. The entire complex stands on the commanding steep mountain top, like a fort built for defense.

361 In other parts of the border districts adjoining Ruanda, the houses are sometimes crowded together into whole villages surrounded by strong protective fences. Indeed, Captain Bethe even found "a large city of natives, a compact community living together" (Deutsches Kolonialblatt [German Colonial Journal, 1899, p. 9) in Iwusome on Lake Rugwero in northeastern Urundi. However, these are exceptions to the general practice of living in individual kraals and occur only in a few exposed border regions.

354 The fireplace (isiko) is usually in the main center room of the hut. I intentionally do not use the word "hearth," for usually it consists of a few stones which may be pushed together on a round platform of pounded clay in such a way that a fire may be built in the center and a cooking pot placed on top. Sometimes also, the fire is placed on a thick round plate of fired clay in the same manner as in Ruanda; its periphery is raised in the form of a roll to prevent the fire from being scattered.
372 When the embers cease to glow, which is very seldom, fire is obtained from one's neighbor. On long travels, however, fire is made in the well-known manner of the Bantu, when wood is available, by twirling a hard piece of wood on a soft one; otherwise, a glowing piece of coal is tied up in a bundle of slightly wet grass and carried along. In this manner they carry embers with them on journeys lasting several days.

Yet since firewood is often very scarce in a country almost destitute of trees and bushes, cakes of cattle dung dried in the sun are used for fuel or, wherever there are no cattle or only a few, papyrus or reed rootstocks are collected in the swampy valleys.

423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him for other reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the property of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

The inhabitants own their huts and, in addition, every-
421 thing they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus, men, women, and children may own property, and the following may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade objects, etc.

685 Property violations, i.e., damage and theft (uwivi), are
674 frequent, but if someone leaves his hut unguarded, a woven screen in front of the door opening is usually sufficient to keep away uninvited guests. Although the kraals are surrounded by
[417] strong fences and the paths between the fields are often lined with high euphorbia hedges (Plate 20), these have not been put up or grown as a protection against thieves but to pen and restrain the cattle. If a person steals something from [94] a homestead or produce from the fields, he is taken before the mutwale and is sentenced to severe corporal punishment unless he can pay a generous amount in damages of which the mutwale will appropriate one half (No. 4, p. 224).

692 The mutwale or in smaller districts the village chief is
627 the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves without appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings several witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases
696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see p. 97.

2: Meyer--254 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 20

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Village with Euphorbia Fence in the Hyphaene Steppe
of the Lower Ruzizi River
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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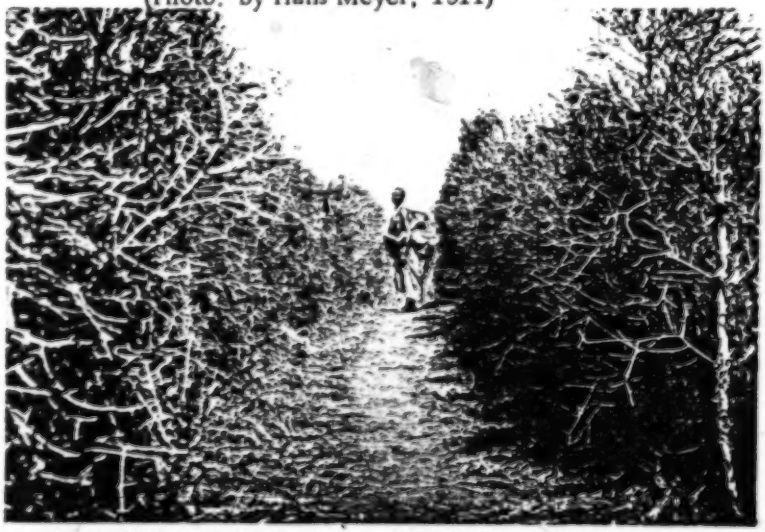

Euphorbia Hedges to Protect the Fields, near Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

5: Pages--290 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi
FO42

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Winnowing basket serving as an umbrella.

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Umbrella of Isinde cowherds.

447 712 On the subject of the fences of the settlements northwest of Kivu, Dr. Kandt (2) says: "All villages have a very curious wall

2. Ibid., p. 460.

surrounding them. It consists of thousands of forked branches and split roots, 10 layers wide and 20 high. For natives this is an almost impenetrable obstacle. The villages can be reached only by way of narrow passes or very steep approaches, and on two sides there are gates that can be quickly and securely closed with trees."

I observed such fences among the Baamba on the Ruwenzori. In Ruanda one does not see them. Here the dwelling is, as a rule, situated on the edge of the courtyard and is, together with the courtyard, surrounded by a euphorbia hedge. The hedges of the individual homesteads intertwine and form a labyrinth that is impenetrable even with the aid of a bush knife, for if one cuts the branches an exceedingly caustic juice squirts out which is very dangerous for the eyes. On the inside these hedges are usually supported by a fence made of sticks bound together. At night the outer approaches, usually opposite the huts, are closed with tree trunks, the branches of which are turned toward the outside. This primitive closure cannot be removed from the outside and, along with the euphorbia hedge, makes a very effective though not at all conspicuous fortification.

On poor Bahutu farms there are sometimes no fences at all.

592 351 The Compound. The compound or homestead where one family lives with all its relatives and servants usually consists of several huts that form a self-contained unit.

351 In front of the main entrance there is generally a cleared place, free of grass. In the mountainous parts of Ruanda one often has a superb view from this spot, for the settlements are frequently located on mountain tops. This is especially true of the Batutsi settlements north of Lake Mohasi. On the edge of this cleared spot [372] are kept large supplies of dried cow dung which is used for fuel in the parts of the country where wood is scarce.

In the well-built settlements the main entrance, which is closed at night, is flanked by two columns of tied bundles of

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 5

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-The dynastic drums, with enemies' trophies

[Facing P. 134]

592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

574 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance,
[481] for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda.

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

[41]

SECTION II. PROPERTY

1. Property in General

421 The Banyarwanda have a less abstract idea of property than we have. It is comparable to that of possession.

On the other hand, no differentiation is made between personal property and real estate. Property is given different names according to its nature and use. The Banyarwanda divide their property [into the following categories]: amatungo (animals); ibintu, a generic name applicable to the rugo, imilima (fields); ubgatsi (pasturage); imyaka (crops); and urutoke (banana plantations); ibiti (trees); intwaro (weapons and cutting instruments); ibikolesho (hoes, pickaxes, baskets, churns); imyambaro (clothing).

2. Landed Property

423 True landed property exists in Ruanda, while in the Belgian Congo the natives consider that the bare ownership of the land belongs to the souls of the departed and that they themselves only have usufruct.

[643] All the land in the country belongs to the Mwami who relin-
423 guishes its use successively to the various chiefs and subchiefs. These,
425 in turn, cede an isambu (land sold) or concede an umwatano (land
427 leased) to the Bahutu in consideration of a price or a payment consisting of a certain percentage of future crops (ichyata umulima, lit., gift in order to have a field).

The Muhutu holds his land in a more or less precarious way. Even if he makes his payments regularly [42] his land may be taken away from him one day, if, for example, he neglects to pay the customary dues to the chiefs and the king. In this case he may be deprived of all or part of his land, but the last crop is not taken from him (1).

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1. An appreciably different administration of property exists in the western part of Bunyambiriri, the extreme north of Ndiza,

423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him [illegible] other reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the property of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

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421 thing they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus, men, women, and children may own property, and the following may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade objects, etc.

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627 the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves without appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings several witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases
696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see p. 97.

614 Abasinga, Abagessera, Abasiete, etc. /46/

2. Bahutu Ethnic Group

a) Oldest clans:
Ababanda, Abagessera, Abazigaba, Abungura, Abasinga, Abatchaba or Abiru, etc.

b) Secondary or recent clans:
Abambari, Abalevu, Abalindwa, Abatabo, Abahindi, Abakora, Abahigo, Abahuma, Abatembe, Abaziko, Abashobyo, Abondo, Abanyunjo, Abajongo, Abachira, Abakwa, Abanyoni, Abungura, Abalimba, etc.

3. Batwa Ethnic Group

563 614 They borrow their designations from the Bahutu for most of their clans. Although of Bahutu origin, the Bayovu are linked to the Batwa race. They are regarded as a degenerate group because, like the Negrillos, they eat animals considered impure and make pottery.

In spite of their more or less artificial division into tribes, the Pygmies actually regard themselves from a social point of view as part of one single group called Batwa. They practice what we call solidarity among themselves.

If one of them is killed, the whole group feels injured and [574] rises to avenge him. A Mutwa /sing. of Batwa/ who travels is everywhere offered hospitality by his "brothers," even if they do not know him.

● 421 Property rights exist among the Banyarwanda. They are well defined by custom and tradition, notwithstanding temporary injustices and the discretionary powers of the king and of the chiefs. Everyone recognizes those rights and accepts them in principle. No one fails to exercise them or claim them.

They are taken into account in legal proceedings.

Daughters do not inherit but are taken care of by their brothers 421 until the day they marry. /47/

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[p. 89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production. 433

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production? 592 [438]

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce. 463 [184] 412

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view. 471

1. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased 423

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim 421

[1] [rugo: The basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 30 -- analyst]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

421 different uses of the same thing. For instance, one person could have the right to sow a plot and to collect the harvest and another to use it for grazing purposes at another time of the year. Neither of them was considered as the owner letting somebody else use his property as a pasture or as a ground for cultivation.

423 643 On each pasture, cultivated plot or forest area, the king had a right very similar to the *dominion eminens* of Roman law, the kind of public ownership that a State has over the land within the borders. But he had also the right to prevent, if he chose to do so, somebody from using a particular tract of land in any way at all, which amounts to saying that the mwami had over land a right potentially superior to that of anybody else. The mwami's rights could be opposed to 'private rights'. In fact, the king very rarely insisted on this use of his rights and then only when he wanted to punish somebody who was guilty of disobedience or of some other crime.

423 651 The land chief's and cattle chief's rights to fields and pastures will be considered later in the section dealing with the administration. Suffice it to say here that these tax-collectors had the right to evict people for certain offences and to allocate land to newcomers in their districts.

423 The person endowed with rights on land for cultivation purposes was the head of a family (*rugo*). Mostly these rights came 425 to him from his father's inheritance. Sometimes, however, it was a [428] part of the bush that he had himself cleared. If he had not received enough from his father to support his family, he extended his plot in this way with the agreement of the political authority. If, because of a dispute with his brothers, he wanted to move elsewhere and the land chief could not allocate him a field already prepared at the place where he wanted to settle, he did the same. Such a plot was called *bukonde* as long as it was occupied either by the man who had cleared it or by his descendants. A third source of cultivation rights was the assignment by the land chief of a plot already prepared (*inkungu*). The former user of it had either to be evicted by the authority, or had left, or had died without heirs.

In the same way the family head had the right to use a certain area as pasture for his cattle either by inheritance, or by felling the trees of a tract of forest or by having it conceded by the cattle chief.

000 At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

422 Sometimes these rights (bare ownership and usufruct) were possessed by the same person. The cattle concerned were then called *imbata*.[2]

3. INHERITANCE RULES

768 When the father died, the family unit of which he had been the head did not disappear as well. Some of the family functions had still to be carried on for some time: the younger sons had to be given a wife and the bride-wealth paid for them, the younger daughters had to be married, and perhaps young children had still to be taken care of by their mother for several years. In order that the family unit should be able to perform its tasks before its breakdown, it was necessary that the duties of the rugo head should continue to be fulfilled. Consequently the father chose one of his 592 sons who could be trusted with that role (*umutware w'urugo rwa se:* head of his father's family). He was often, but not always, the eldest son of the first wife. The father could even choose a brother or one of his parallel cousins if he thought none of his sons was capable. The father's choice could always be reversed by the lineage head or the political chief or even the lord, if it appeared unwise to these authorities or if it was the cause of complaints from the other members of the family.

593 It was the father who was endowed, as we have just seen, with 421 rights to land and cattle. The totality of these rights plus goods such as trees, huts, and household implements, constituted his patrimony.

428 If there was no declaration of will, custom determined the division of the patrimony according to the following rules.

The first heirs were the sons of the deceased, or, failing these, his brothers, then his paternal male parallel cousins, his grandsons, the sons of his brothers and their male paternal parallel cousins, his paternal uncles. Then any male in the inzu or the umulyango. If there was no known kinsman left, the political authority (land or cattle chief) or the lord was the heir. In that case the patrimony might be divided according to the kind of rights left, for instance those over cattle went to the lord, those over land to the land chief. Or the more powerful authority was able to secure for himself the whole of the inheritance.

[2] See Vanhove 1941, pp. 48-59, for still other, but less important, rights over cattle.

4. Ownership of Heavy Cattle

422 231 [643] a) Generalities.

The Mwami is the owner of all the cattle in Ruanda or at least of all females kept for breeding purposes. The great chiefs (abatware) are charged by the king to watch over his cattle in the different provinces. Also, the sale of heifers cannot take place without his permission.

On the other hand, the holder of sterile cows or bulls may give away or slaughter these animals as he wishes.

In a province the native who has acquired a cow for breeding [643] purposes has usufruct and has no redress if the Mwami takes away the animal he has bought along with its young. The umutware w'umukenke (2) can oppose the removal of cattle from the province.

2. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Division, p. 85.

422 622 628 Any native who settles in another province must abandon his cattle [46] unless he has the chief's permission to take it with him. When a native leaves his province, leaving his cattle behind, to settle in another, his new chief usually gives him a herd of the same size as the one he has lost. If he escapes from his district carrying off his cattle surreptitiously, his former chief claims the herd. In the past if he was refused he would endeavor to capture a herd of equal value belonging to the deserter's new chief, and an armed clash would invariably result from such a dispute. Today the dispute must be submitted to the Mwami. He eventually orders the new chief to return the cattle, and if the latter is unwilling to do so, he may take from him one or more herds.

Before the European occupation a dissatisfied chief could take all or part of his cattle without previous permission from the Mwami. In this case the chief was "Mwami of his umugaragu."

422 231 The cowherds (abashumba) in the service of the cattle holders are authorized to keep for themselves part of the milk from the animals entrusted to them. They can be discharged in case of negligence.

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c) Classification by age (cont'd)

2. FEMALE CATTLE

Isave, cow sterile from birth (thin)
Urubeheri, cow sterile from birth (fat)

d) Classification of Cattle According to Horns

Igaritse, with large spreading horns
Impotore, with horns whose points are slightly twisted
Ingarure, with twisted horns whose points go forward
Inkungu, without horns
[48]
Intenderi, with horns whose points point toward the ground
Inkungu y'indegeri, with small mobile horns
Ikubis'ihembe, with one vertical and one horizontal horn
Itigey'inyuma, with horns whose points point backwards
Itez'akamosd, with crossed horns
Urubindo, with horns whose points point towards the ears
Itegey'ijuru, with large almost vertical horns

e) Classification of Cattle According to Common Law

422 IMBATA. Head of cattle received as dowry, as a present, or
231 bought in the market, and whose owner is the true proprietor. But
[622] if, in putting himself under the patronage of the hill or provincial
[192] chief (1) he receives from either of them one or several cows called

1. See further on, Obligations and Contracts, p. 63.

inkazibiti or ingabane, according to whether he is a Muhutu or a Mututsi, all the imbata cows can be taken away from him with the others, should he lose his status as a client, by an arbitrary decision of his patron.

422 If a Muhutu receives from a Mututsi some heads of cattle
231 in virtue of the contract called ubugaragu (lease of livestock) (1),
427

1. See further on, Obligations and

Contracts, p.63.

231 and if after a few years by selling the young bulls, the skins, the
422 horns, the milk, and the butter, he has made enough money to
427 buy a head of cattle, the latter is not an imbata, but an impahano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

422 If a Muhutu, the umugaragu of a Mututsi, marries his
583 daughter and receives a milch cow as dowry, the latter is not an
192 imbata, but an inkwano, and the shebuja of the son-in-law can take
231 it back. In effect, it is the social position of the Muhutu which entitled him to collect a dowry in cattle. If he had not been a client of a Mututsi, he would have received as dowry only hoes or goats. [49]

231 INTUNDANO. (1) Cow bought in the market with the salary
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1. From kutunda, "to do business."

earned at the mines in exchange for goats or baskets of beans. It is an imbata.

INDUNDU. Cow acquired in immediate full ownership without the condition that the buyer should later make an additional payment. Indundu is opposed to ingwate (2).

2. See further on, p. 46.

[431] INKAZIBITI. Cows given without fee by the patron to a client who has paid homage (guhakwa). To take possession of cows promised by the shebuja is called kujya ku ilembo (lit., to cross the threshold of the rugo). The first cow received under these conditions is called inka y'igiti (3); the second, impetano; the others

3. Literally, "cow of the tree trunk."

do not have a special name. A father can also give some inkazibiti to his wives and sons.

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INGABANE. When a Mututsi who has paid homage to the Mwami receives from him a hill with cattle and abagaragu, the said cattle is called ingabane (4). A herd of ingabane consists of at

4. From kugabana, "to receive."

least 30 heads of cattle, cows, calves, heifers, and young bulls.

A simple Mututsi with no political authority may receive some ingabane and some inkazibiti. But the favor of the Mwami makes him considered an important person. He is the Mwami's umugaragu.

The Bahutu usually receive only inkazibiti.

INDEMANO. (5). a) Cows of the same color and age, given

5. From kulema, "to create," "to form," "to assemble."

by a father to his son when the latter is about to get married. The whole of the indemano is called iminani.

[50]

b) By a patron to a client of whom he is fond and who is going to get married.

c) By a husband to his wife.

The indemano are also ingabane.

After these various distributions, the cattle remaining to the master make up the ingarigari (reserved cows).

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INGARIGARI. Cows which the master keeps for his own pleasure and personal use without giving any to his wives, sons, or friends, or without leasing them out to any abagaragu.

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INKUKE (1). a) A son, who has received from his father

1. From gukura, "to take away," "to remove."

indemano, returns a milch cow (inkuke) to his father which has been taken from among the indemano. When it no longer gives any milk the father sends it back to his son.

5. Small Domestic Animals

422 231 The Mwami has a rather theoretical right of ownership of small livestock which are considered valueless by the large stockbreeders.

Consequently, the Bahutu can sell or keep for their own consumption goats and sheep.

[235] Poultry also belongs to the Bahutu who are required to provide, without remuneration, the chicks needed for divinatory sacrifices. Hens and eggs are not eaten by natives and therefore, except in the neighborhood of European posts, have no commercial value.

Small livestock as well as poultry are the exclusive property of men.

[224] The Banyarwanda are very fond of their hunting dogs. The Batutsi will pay as much as one or two cows for a dog that is known for its hunting qualities.

6. Other Personal Property and Real Estate

423 Among the Batutsi, the husband and each of his wives live in their individual rugo, but all these dwellings belong to the husband. In the same way, among the Bahutu, the hut and its annexes belong to the husband.

422 Work tools belong to the husband. The wife and children may not lend them without his permission, except for a short time.

[60] Household utensils given the wife by her husband remain his property. But the ibirongoranywa (1), that is to say,

1. Cf. note 1, p. 44.

the objects, utensils, and clothing, given by the father to his daughter at the time of her marriage, often equal to the value of several cows, or even consisting of cows, belong to the wife. She may dispose of them as she chooses, except in the case of cows.

231 The cattle of the entire country belong de jure to the
422 king (or to the highest chief), as in Ruanda. He leaves a large part of the cattle with the Batussi sub chiefs, who enjoy the usufruct, and [42] the latter, in turn, leave small herds and single animals with lower Batussi and individual Bahutu for care, further breeding, and use. A set small number of the young becomes the property of the caretaker which he holds as an irrevocable fee.

231 To a certain degree the almost mystical esteem in which
554 cattle are held is transferred to the temporary owners, caretakers, and breeders of the cattle. A person who is vested with cattle is thus raised to a higher status. A Muhutu who is vested with cattle for the usufruct and for breeding is ennobled, so to speak, by this act; he is no longer subject to compulsory labor, nor does he have to work the fields for his master. Thus, the possession of cattle has a social significance which is no less important than the economic one. Not only for religious reasons but also for social and political ones, old and sick cattle are allowed to live as long as they possibly can, both in Urundi and Ruanda, for they can still be used to vest someone with them who through this rise in status is more closely tied to the Batussi rulers and the king. It is also for this reason that the immense number of cattle owned by the king are a strong support of Batussi rule.

233 All cattle are fed in pasture (Plate 23); only older calves and sick animals are fed in the stable. During the night the cattle are kept within the inner fence of the homestead. As soon as they have been cleaned after sunrise in the morning and the cows have been milked, the herd is driven to pasture (kwahura inka). The location of grazing land is determined by the season and the growth of fodder. The herd remains there until evening. Every sixth or eighth head of cattle carries a bell (insogera) made from a bent piece of sheet iron (Plate 45) or from wood; in many areas, however, there are no cattle bells at all. Twice daily the herd is driven to the water-
233 ing place in the nearest river valley. If the valley has no
312 flowing water but only underground water to be obtained by digging holes, as is often the case during the dry months, long

423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 We have said that the *muami* did not possess the
661 land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *muami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds
431 a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them are naturally attracted towards those who own them.
357 The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* who watch over the cattle), *bakevri* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here
615 are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later
425 return a calf after the cow has calved two or three times. (2) An important owner gives several cows
554 to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 *The relations between agriculturists*

425 Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

[p.15(A)]

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Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose [422] property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of [539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning [833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered [302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

Pastoral Terms

192 233 The rich and varied vocabulary used by the Banyarwands proves the interest they take in their cattle

They have special terms to designate a black cow (inka y' umukara), a dark-brown cow (igitare), a grey one (ikijuju), a purple one (issine), a red one (umusengo), cows splotched with white, black, or yellow on a russet or grey background (ubugondo), an ash-grey cow (rwirungu), a dark-yellow one (inumba), and inka y' inyombya, the blackbird-hued cow for which the Batutsi entertain a superstitious fear.

A cowherd is called umushumba or umwungeri.

The king's cows other than the sacred cows are called insanga, which means "those that were found," from the word gusanga, "to find," because it was one of the first kings of Ruanda, Gihanga, who discovered them. They are also called by the name of ibigarama, from the word kugarama, "to stretch out," because they have long horns, etc.

Inka is the generic name for all horned beasts, cows or bulls. Inkungu is a cow without horns; inkungu z' amalegelege is a cow whose horns are loose.

The shape of the horns, their orientation, and the arch they form give rise to the following names: inkondogoro, inyabulegelege, ibibinda, impotore. Certain Batutsi cowherds burn the horns of their animals with a red-hot iron while they are still young in order to obtain the desired shape. /506/

Inka y' imbata (kwihita, "to exert oneself") is a cow acquired or bought through personal labor. It is an inalienable cow over which the chiefs have no rights whatsoever.

Inka y' igiti, cow of landed property (of the hill) received from the chief.

Inka y' impetano (guheta, ..."for the second time"). Second cow obtained from the chief.

Inka y' ubuntu, "generosity cow," or inka y' ineza "benevolence cow," a gift between relatives or blood brothers.

Inka y'ingwate (kugwatiriza), a cow which must be redeemed [422] (irichungura). The owner of a young bull makes a deal with the owner

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[422] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

192 Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
233 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
431 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
844 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

621 settle among the clan members as clients (bagaragu) who perform
614 services for them for which they get their food and from time to time a sheep or goat. They are poor devils who in this way must scrape together the means to buy a wife. There are others in the densely populated areas where there is no free land who rent acreage and even own houses on rented land. Others rent only as much land as is necessary for their hut and a small courtyard, and they make their living as day laborers.

We must point out that settling on the land of a strange clan presupposes a certain calm and stability and signalizes the impending deterioration of the clan community. Under more primitive conditions where clan organization is at its height, we seldom find cases of people settling on the land of a strange clan. Life among strangers would be too dangerous because feuds involving blood revenge might break out. There is no security against feuds between the clan of the host and that of the settler, and then the isolated person is the first victim because one can most easily get at him.

614 Property. The clans of Bugoye and Mulera occupy regions
423 which were taken over and cleared by their ancestors several generations ago.

In Ruanda the clearing of the primeval forest plays a very important role in the conception of ownership. In Bugoye, despite the recent Batutsi conquest, land is regarded as the property of those whose ancestors [249] took possession of and cleared the corresponding sections of primeval forest. This comes out in legal cases involving property, when they cite as a witness the stone on which the bush knife (muhoro) was sharpened when the land under dispute was cleared. The party claiming the land says: "I shall bring the whetstone (uzakuha ulutsiaga) that my ancestor used when he cleared this piece." In view of this, the clan members may also be regarded as the owners of the land occupied by them.

[422] However, although the huts, the animals, and all the furnishings are absolutely private possessions which one can dispose of as he sees fit, the possession of land is not entirely free of restrictions. The clan members really have only the use of the common property given them. The land, like its possessor, is the property of

681 Punishment by whipping seems to be done less in Ruanda than in Bgisha where the chief ties people to trees and has them punished with up to 100 strokes of the whip on their backs. This [177] custom is said to have been borrowed from the English Askari who were stationed there.

On the subject of property rights we wish to make only a 423 few general remarks. The entire country is the private property 428 of the king and is regarded as either entrusted to the chiefs or granted to the clans. All the farmers and herdsmen are merely tenants or have the use of the land. As a consequence, the chief and clan community have the final word in matters dealing with the inheritance of usufruct of so-called crown property, that is, fields and cattle.

422 Only household goods, with the exception of cows, are private 428 property in our sense, and here the wish of the person disposing of the property is decisive, although certain time-honored customs cannot be circumvented. In Bugoye, for example, the oldest son gets the spear and the stool of his father, whereas the shield belongs to the youngest son. (2) Lieutenant Spiltoire told me that in

2. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 439.

Bunyabungu, the principal heir seems to be the son of the sister, but because of his brief visit, he could not verify this.

692 Administration of Justice. In Ruanda the administration of 695 justice is in the hands of the chiefs and the king.

Pronouncing judgment is only of secondary importance, but [280] the chiefs regard it as a sure means of gaining influence. The two parties regard the trial as an attempt to interest a powerful one -- a chief -- in their affairs, that is to say, to make their affairs the affairs of the mighty. The one who wins a case is simply the one who was more highly regarded by the chief and with whom, from now on, it is dangerous to quarrel. In Ruanda it is a long process from the pronouncement of justice to the execution of it.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange 437 them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Agriculture

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territories*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective rights over certain areas except in the north of Ruanda (Mulera, Rwankeri, Bushiru, Bigogwe) where the Tutsi occupation had been more superficial. I have been told that there the soil belonged to the patrilineage and that there was no land or cattle chief. From the point of view of the individual, however, the situation was very similar: he inherited a share of his father's tract. The difference was that, if the part were insufficient, he had to apply for more to the lineage head instead of to the land-chief, and a plot left without heirs returned to the patrilineage instead of the political authority.

The person entitled to the use of a plot could not sell his right but could let the tract. The rent was about one hoe every other year plus a jug of beer each harvest. The tenant was not permitted to settle by building a hut or planting banana trees.

The Twa resented very much the expansion of fields and pastures in the forests they regarded as their possession. The authority was not concerned with the way they divided it into hunting areas.[1]

2. RIGHTS OVER CATTLE

The rights over each head of cattle were also manifold. Property in the Western sense was split up into different aspects.

A global right existed over all Ruanda cattle, even sheep and goats, by which the king could claim actual possession of any of them. The mwami used this right more frequently, it seems, over cattle than over land. An important chief indulging in intrigues regarded as dangerous by the king might find himself dispossessed of all his cattle. The king's right over all the cattle of Ruanda was a constant threat which seems to have very effectively deterred the Tutsi of the ruling set from becoming too independent.

Another right was very similar to our bare ownership. The person who had it was not in possession of the cow but could at any time claim possession of the animal and the heifers and cows produced by that beast since the time when the possession had been transferred. This was the right of the lord (*shebuja*).

In contrast there was the usufruct right with respect to cattle. The person endowed with it could dispose of the milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the dead cows. This was the typical right of the client (*garagu*).

[1] For a more extended account of the land tenure system in traditional Ruanda, see Maquet and Naigiéki, 1957.

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422 Sometimes these rights (bare ownership and usufruct) were possessed by the same person. The cattle concerned were then called *imbata.*[3]

3. INHERITANCE RULES

768 When the father died, the family unit of which he had been the head did not disappear as well. Some of the family functions had still to be carried on for some time: the younger sons had to be given a wife and the bride-wealth paid for them, the younger daughters had to be married, and perhaps young children had still to be taken care of by their mother for several years. In order that the family unit should be able to perform its tasks before its breakdown, it was necessary that the duties of the rugo head should continue to be fulfilled. Consequently the father chose one of his 592 sons who could be trusted with that role (*umutware w'urugo rwa se:* head of his father's family). He was often, but not always, the eldest son of the first wife. The father could even choose a brother or one of his parallel cousins if he thought none of his sons was capable. The father's choice could always be reversed by the lineage head or the political chief or even the lord, if it appeared unwise to these authorities or if it was the cause of complaints from the other members of the family.

593 It was the father who was endowed, as we have just seen, with 421 rights to land and cattle. The totality of these rights plus goods such as trees, huts, and household implements, constituted his patrimony.

428 If there was no declaration of will, custom determined the division of the patrimony according to the following rules.

The first heirs were the sons of the deceased, or, failing these, his brothers, then his paternal male parallel cousins, his grandsons, the sons of his brothers and their male paternal parallel cousins, his paternal uncles. Then any male in the inzu or the umulyango. If there was no known kinsman left, the political authority (land or cattle chief) or the lord was the heir. In that case the patrimony might be divided according to the kind of rights left, for instance those over cattle went to the lord, those over land to the land chief. Or the more powerful authority was able to secure for himself the whole of the inheritance.

[3] See Vanhove 1941, pp. 48-59, for still other, but less important, rights over cattle.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country. 723

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death. 708 [641]

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agateroshuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight. 721 [787] [726]

Some of the warriors (*abakoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems. 727

(c) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*). 705

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief, 705 422

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705 422 a member of the warriors' section, and a member of the herdsmen's section.

The mwami could effectively dispose of the *nyambo* and *mabara*. *Nyambo* were cows which had some marked physical characteristics (as for instance long horns). The mere fact that [43] beasts had such characteristics gave the king exclusive rights of disposal of them whatever may have been the previous rights of other people over them. Many lyrical poems were devoted to the [825] praise of *nyambo* in which they are divided into two 'clans', the brown one (*ibihogo*) and the red-brown (*amagaju*) which were supposed to be in a permanent state of war.[17] A herd of *nyambo* numbered about fifty cows. There were not *nyambo* with every army. *Mabara* were ordinary cows, not fulfilling the *nyambo* qualifications, and of which the mwami had the effective disposal. One or several herds of *nyambo* and *mabara* were entrusted by the king only to certain armies.

The cows over which the army-chief had the rights of effective disposal were also considered, according to ninety-six per cent. of our informants, as army cattle and were tended by the army herdsmen.

Cattle at the effective disposal of each member of the herdsmen's section of the army were also regarded as army cattle. Here we have to distinguish between cattle possessed as a client and cattle not obtained from a lord (ninety-two per cent. of our informants said that one could have cattle which were not received from a lord). The former kind of cattle were linked to the lord's army and not to the client's army although the client had the right of usufruct and of effective disposal (as defined here) over that cattle. The latter kind of cattle was composed of cows obtained by exchange (*impahano*) which were regarded as army cows according to ninety-five per cent. of our informants; of cows given by the prospective husband to his father-in-law (*indogoranyo*) also according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as reward for brave conduct in war (*ingororano mu ntambara*) again according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as gifts (*inka z'ubuntu*) according to ninety-six per cent. Cows not kept by somebody as a client were called by the generic name of *imbata*, or, according to sixty-two per cent. of our informants, the mwami's cows (*inka z'umwami*), which is confusing.

[17] Kagame, 1947b, p. 792.

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Finally, the cattle that the warriors of an army could personally effectively dispose of were also considered as army cattle. There was a distinction between cows obtained from an overlord and *imbata*. Warriors' cattle, however, were linked to the army differently from herdsmen's: only the cattle of the latter were submitted to the different taxes I am going to examine now.

Each army had its own grazing grounds, particularly for the *nyambo*, *mabara*, and the chief's cattle as the other kinds were usually kept by those who had usufruct rights over them.[18]

(*d*) *Tribute due by the army*

Besides the personal services mentioned earlier (training, watching at the border, defending the country, foreign expeditions), each army had to provide the king, the court, and its chief with other benefits.

On a new king's accession, each patrilineage of the army had to give him a cow. This gift (*indabukirano*) showed the recognition of the authority of the person to whom it was offered. At the beginning of each reign there was also a ceremony called *murundo*, during which all the cattle of an army were numbered and presented to the king. A certain proportion was retained by him. Cattle raided by the stick-bearers (*abakoni*) of the army belonged to the king, according to eighty-seven per cent. of our informants.

Warriors and herdsmen of each army had the duty of keeping in order a part of the royal residence (*incyubagaba inkike*), according to ninety-three per cent. of our informants.

Each army was obliged to keep at the court a few cows to provide the king with fresh milk (*inkuke*). This herd was called *intamara* and was looked after by an officer, *umutware w'intamara*. According to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants, to provide *inkuke* was the duty of the herdsmen's section only. Besides they had to deliver daily to the court a certain number of milk jars (*igicuba*), according to ninety-nine per cent. A very important majority of Tutsi interviewed (eighty-nine per cent.) said that herdsmen had to supply the court with the necessary slaughter animals (*indwanyi*). Finally, each army had to provide the court with young steers used for divination purposes (*amamana*). According to fifty-five per cent. of our informants these had to be

[18] On this section, see Kagame, 1952.

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their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

From the point of view of social cohesion between the different strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(*d*) *Redistribution of wealth*

Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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The emphasis put on the social prestige bestowed by cattle ownership has sometimes led to the underestimation of a second meaning of their possession. Effective disposal of cattle was the main institutionalized means of achieving power. It certainly enables a person to secure labour and agricultural produce through the clientage structure. And at the present time, the disposal of cows gives more advantages than could be obtained by their counterpart in money.

Consequently, the redistribution of cattle operated through the army was extremely important and had much wider social implications than the dues paid in commodities.

Here, again, the mwami was the main beneficiary of the bovine tributes concentrated through the army. On his accession he received one cow as a recognition gift from every lineage, and a certain proportion of the cows presented at the numbering; after a successful campaign, the 'bow of the army' (cattle seized upon by the *abakoni*) was his. The king usually kept only the bare ownership of that cattle and granted its usufruct to important chiefs who then became his clients.

The army-chief was also much favoured in army cattle dues. He received a recognition gift on entering his office, a part from the herds presented and numbered, a certain proportion of the private booty of the warriors, rewards extended by the king after a victorious expedition, and gifts offered by army members. He had the effective disposal of these cows as long as he was in charge, that is to say, up to his death if he was not dismissed. He thus controlled a considerable amount of cattle, symbols of prestige and instruments of power. He could build up a wide clientage among army herdsmen as it was particularly among them that he chose his clients. But he could also grant his cows to non-army members (*inkomamashyi*), who then became army members.

In what measure was the ordinary army member affected by cattle? Firstly, whether warrior or herdsman, he was deprived of some of his own cows by the different payments to the king and the army-chief. Secondly, a member of the herdsmen's section could receive some cows as a client of the army-chief. Was it a real advantage? The question may be raised as the herdsman had to give cows to the chief. Obviously, there was an advantage only if he received the usufruct of more cows than he had given. This means that only a certain number of army members were very likely to

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701 be favoured. This was a kind of redistribution of wealth among the
651 lineages of the army made according to the preferences of the
422 army-chief. Thirdly, the warriors as such did not receive cows from the army-chief (but they could be at the same time warriors and herdsmen). Their only privilege as warriors was to loot privately after the *abakoni* had laid hold on the 'bow of the army'. Moreover, if they had shown any particular gallantry, the mwami or the army-chief rewarded them with a gift of a few cows.

(*e*) *Protection*

701 When compared with the considerable benefits in cattle that the
571 king and the army-chief derived from the military structure, the advantages of ordinary army members, particularly the warriors, seem to have been very meagre. The army tribute in goods and services were compensated for in a different way by the protection extended to his subordinates by the army-chief.

This protection could be asked for and received in all the difficult circumstances of life without being limited to any particular kind of circumstances. An instance frequently mentioned by our informants was the army-chief's support to one of his subordinates who was a party in a lawsuit. If the protection of a man of high standing appeared useful or necessary in such a situation one must suppose that judicial decisions were not taken only on the case's own merits, but that the respective power of the two protectors was weighed by the judge.

The army-chief's protection was diffuse and general, not limited to a few cases clearly defined. We have already come across such a characteristic of the superior's protection in respect of the chiefs of the administrative hierarchy. This suggests that power relations were emphasized in Ruanda and that the rights and properties of isolated men, that is to say those not identified in any respect with a powerful one, were insecure.

[692] The judicial role of the army-chief must be related to his function of protection. In the disputes between two members of his army, he exercised a kind of paternal jurisdiction, as did any Ruanda authority. In contentions between members of different armies, the fact that the question was settled by the army-chiefs concerned suggests more a compromise in which each chief acted as a representative of one of the litigants, than a judgement based on pre-established norms.

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cows received

from a patron could be granted by the client to somebody else by another *buhake* agreement in which the original client became a lord.

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The protection granted by the patron included support in lawsuits (*kulengera*): according to thirty-nine per cent. of our informants, it was usual and very useful to be accompanied by one's *shebuja* if one wanted to be judged by the mwami. Moreover the patron extended help to his client if the latter was in a state of poverty. For instance, he gave milk for the *garagu*'s children if their father's cows did not yield enough; he contributed to the payment of the bride-wealth if the client and his lineage could not meet the expenses; he provided his Hutu *garagu* with a hoe when it was needed; he granted meat and hides to his client if, on certain occasions, they were badly needed. When the *garagu* committed an offence, his lord had to help him out of his predicament by paying the fine or the compensation to the victim (*kugura*).[5] If the client was murdered and his lineage was too weak to do anything about it, the *shebuja* had to demand justice from the mwami or even avenge his death by blood feud (*kumuhorera*). Finally, if, after the *garagu*'s death, his widow and children could not be taken care of by his brothers or parallel cousins, the lord had to help them (*kumuremera*).

(*b*) *The client's obligations*

On the other hand, the client had to go and pay his respects to his lord. This included personal service which required the presence of the client at the patron's rugo for a certain time. Some obligations were common to Hutu and Tutsi *garagu*. They were: to accompany the *shebuja* when he was travelling, for instance when he went to the king's court or participated in a military expedition (*kumutabaraho*); to carry the lord's messages (*gutumwa*); to build or repair a part of the *shebuja*'s rugo (*kubak' inkike*). It was advisable also for clients, Hutu as well as Tutsi, to offer from time to time to their patron, some presents such as jugs of beer. If the lord happened to lose his herds, the *garagu* had to provide him with cattle and jars of milk. Some services were imposed only on Hutu clients, such as working in the *shebuja's* fields (*kutanga imibyizi*), or joining the night watch in the lord's enclosure (*kurarira*).[6]

[5] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, p. 77a.
[6] Cf. Sandrart, 1930, p. 152; Vanhove, 1941, p. 73a.

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The measure of the different obligatory gifts and services (number of days, &c.), was not fixed. It depended on the *shebuja*'s temper, his requirements, the number of cows granted to the *garagu*, and on the client's expectations. Moreover, each client was usually not requested to fulfil all the obligations we have just mentioned. The patron, particularly if he had many *garagu*, frequently gave to each of them a precise task in which the client was particularly competent (to brew beer, to cook, to mind the cattle, &c.). Even now, in spite of the limitations added by the native courts to the clients' obligations (for instance the building and repairing of the enclosure cannot be claimed by the lord more than once a year; not more than a month a year may be required by the patron for all the household services, &c.), we are still far from having a list of precisely defined duties and claims standard for the whole of Ruanda.

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(c) *End of the* buhake *relation*

The *buhake* relationship was perpetuated even after the death of both parties. The *shebuja*'s heirs inherited their father's relations of *buhake*, *vis-à-vis* his clients and the client's heirs kept the cows (and/or their progeny) granted to their father. But the *shebuja* had the right to refuse to recognize as a successor of his client a person without the proper qualities to be a good *garagu*. The lord could then designate another heir of his client, or end the relationship and take back the cows. The person receiving an important number of clients by inheritance (several dozen, for instance) could require them to present him with all the cows which were then numbered, as in the case of the army-chief's *murundo*; he could then choose a certain number of them, usually the best ones, which he took away from his clients either to keep the usufruct himself or to endow other people with them.

The *buhake* relation could be ended when both client and patron or only one of them wanted this. But the person who initiated the breaking off usually gave some reason for it, such as the non-fulfilment of a particular obligation by the other party. At all events the *shebuja* could not oblige his client to stay in his service and the client could not prevent his patron from dismissing him.

What happened to the cows in such a case? As mentioned earlier, all the cows a client effectively controlled were not necessarily received from a patron, that is to say they were not all *inhazibiri* [422]

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when the client was Hutu and *ingabane* when he was Tutsi. A *garagu* could have cows from another source (called *imbata*) such as those received as bride-wealth, as a reward for bravery or acquired by exchanging other goods. In the case of a Hutu client, who possessed both *inkazibiti* and *imbata* at the time when his relation with a *shebuja* was broken off, there are two opinions with regard to the cows' ownership. According to the first, the *imbata* possessed by the client before he entered in the *buhake* relation were regarded as *inkazibiti* and consequently the lord had the same rights over them as over those he had given to the client as cows of *buhake*. Moreover, the cows which the client eventually acquired when he was already *garagu*, and which in other circumstances would have been regarded as *imbata*, were also added to the cows received from the lord. The result was that at the breaking off of the *buhake* relation, the patron could take all his client's cows, *imbata* as well as *inkazibiti*. The other opinion is that the *imbata* acquired by the client before or after the *buhake* relation began, remained definitely *imbata* and that the lord had no claim on them.

It seems that both opinions are accurate, but that they refer to different periods. The second probably expresses the most ancient rule which had been prevalent up to about 1920. The practice of merging *imbata* and *inkazibiti* (or *ingabane*) in favour of the lord is likely to have been introduced only during the last forty years. This would be due to the fact that the chiefs of the administrative divisions (recognized by the Belgian authority under the names of *chefferies* and *sous-chefferies*) assumed at the end of the reign of king Yuhi Musinga (who was dismissed from his royal charge by the Belgian Administration in 1931) an undue importance, because their powers were no longer counterbalanced by those of the chiefs of the other hierarchies. Army chiefs did not enjoy their former authority, as the military structure had received no official recognition; Musinga, isolated in an attitude of indifference and hostility towards Europeans, was left without much effective power. Administrative chiefs who were important lords are said to have taken advantage of this situation, and to have modified the custom to their own advantage by establishing the principle of the merging of the cows received from the lord with those acquired independently of any *shebuja*.

It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of

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Tutsi, who themselves were patrons of still less important Tutsi, and so on. In this way the Tutsi consituted a homogeneous unit of individuals linked to one another by bonds of fidelity and protection. From that point of view, *buhake* contributed to the unity and the solidarity of the aristocratic caste.

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(*e*) *Maintenance of caste privileges*

Besides the protection of socially weak individuals and the promotion of social cohesion, a third function was fulfilled by the feudal system: the maintenance of the social *status quo* and the perpetuation of Tutsi privileges. This function seems somewhat opposed to the first two. Let us see how all these functions have been combined by the *buhake* system.

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In a stratified society where control of a category of goods or a type of ownership is characteristic of the superior layer, the access of the members of other groups to these goods or to the particular rights of ownership constitutes an active factor of social mobility. It is the reason why the aristocracy frequently keeps exclusively for itself these goods and these rights. Thus in Ankole the Hima pastoralists bar Iru cultivators from the ownership of productive cows. They may possess only barren cows and bull calves.[8]

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Ruanda Tutsi did not impose such severe rules but by the *buhake* system they obtained very much the same results. They allowed Hutu to have cattle at their disposal—which in exchange provided Tutsi with labour and agricultural produce—but at the same time prevented them from gaining independent ownership rights over these cattle. Those who had the final control of cattle were always Tutsi. As the Hutu had been granted only usufruct rights over cattle which were different from those enjoyed by the lords who were Tutsi, there was no chance that the group of cattle owners could be invaded by Hutu.

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By definition the client's possession was precarious. This uncertainty in the duration of the disposal of cattle was further emphasized by the circumstances mentioned above. The breaking off of the *buhake* relation was almost always favourable mainly to the lord and could often be disastrous for the client. It may even be said that when the practice of merging the *buhake* cows (*inkazibiti*) with the cows not received from a lord (*imbata*) was regarded as customary, all the Hutu cattle were precariously held and under

[8] Oberg, 1940, p. 130.

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(*a*) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

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SECTION II. PROPERTY

1. Property in General

421 The Banyarwanda have a less abstract idea of property than we have. It is comparable to that of possession.

On the other hand, no differentiation is made between personal property and real estate. Property is given different names according to its nature and use. The Banyarwanda divide their property [into the following categories] : amatungo (animals); ibintu, a generic name applicable to the rugo, imilima (fields); ubgatsi (pasturage); imyaka (crops); and urutoke (banana plantations); ibiti (trees); intwaro (weapons and cutting instruments); ibikolesho (hoes, pickaxes, baskets, churns); imyambaro (clothing).

2. Landed Property

423 True landed property exists in Ruanda, while in the Belgian Congo the natives consider that the bare ownership of the land belongs to the souls of the departed and that they themselves only have usufruct.

[643] All the land in the country belongs to the Mwami who relin-
423 guishes its use successively to the various chiefs and subchiefs. These,
425 in turn, cede an isambu (land sold) or concede an umwatano (land
427 leased) to the Bahutu in consideration of a price or a payment consisting of a certain percentage of future crops (ichyata umulima, lit., gift in order to have a field).

The Muhutu holds his land in a more or less precarious way. Even if he makes his payments regularly [42] his land may be taken away from him one day, if, for example, he neglects to pay the customary dues to the chiefs and the king. In this case he may be deprived of all or part of his land, but the last crop is not taken from him (1).

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1. An appreciably different administration of property exists in the western part of Bunyambiriri, the extreme north of Ndiza,

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and in Rukiga (provinces of Mulera and Bugoyi) where the land cleared and cultivated by the Bahutu are subject to a right of family property. This right is sacred and the Batutsi, whose power in these regions is rather nominal, know that they cannot dispute it without exposing themselves to serious miscalculations and even to bloody reprisals.

423 The hill chief also has the right to take a plot of land
[622] (ubugerure) from the Bahutu in order to form an ubuka which he wishes
[425] to give to someone else or to keep as his own property (imilima y'inyarulembo). The part of the plot that is left to the Muhutu is called isagu.

[428] The Muhutu can transmit his right of exploitation to his son by inheritance. Land that passes from one generation to the next is called indeka.

[596] Land is sometimes held collectively by a family in the person of its head (isambu or ingobyi y'iwabo). Members of the family pay him no rent and, to the exclusion of strangers, have the right to cut firewood and graze their cattle there.

[622] There are also communal woods (itshanya). The hill chief reserves part of them for himself and allows the hill people to exploit the remainder.

[563] The Batwa claim to be the legitimate occupants of the forests. For this reason they often enter into disputes with the Bahutu living near the wooded regions.

[622] Mines and quarries of clay are the property of the chief, but he allows his people to [43] supply themselves there in exchange for a payment (a hoe or some pots).

The boundaries (imbibi) of fields are usually marked by small ditches (impavu) or piles of stones (ibishyinga).

There are no neutral zones between lands.

425 An inkungu is a piece of ground that has been abandoned be-
423 cause of the holder's voluntary departure or death without leaving an heir. A man who has been cursed by his father or driven out by the chief because of repeated thefts of cattle, for example, must also abandon his plot. The chief can offer an inkungu (or an ubugerure) to a stranger to the hill who asks to settle there. If he is a Muhutu, he is

423 obliged to submit to the same obligations as his predecessor. If he
[425] is a Mututsi, he is not required to pay any ground rent, and the chief gives him a pasture in addition.

Rights of way and of access are not private. The hill people may move about freely on each other's land. This is also true of the cattle for which special paths are made.

622 In the case of a dispute in matters of landed property, litiga-
692 tion is taken to the hill chief who goes to the place and, after having heard the witnesses, decides between the plaintifs.

3. Customary Law of Hunting

224 Customary laws of hunting are very numerous. Of these we will quote only a few of the most frequent cases.

A native hunting alone who has killed an ordinary antelope (impongo) takes the meat and skins the animal.

224 Hunting with beaters is organized by the chief who decides on
622 the land to be beaten after having taken the advice of the [44] expert Batutsi or Bahutu hunters and following the indications of the trackers. The chief also chooses the beaters from among the least good shots. To stimulate their zeal in this thankless task, he promises them pots of beer if the hunt is successful.

224 The natives are required to take part in the hunt, but they fulfill this obligation willingly as it is a much appreciated entertainment and also a source of profit.

Whoever first wounds an animal during a battue or beat, is presumed to have killed it. He is entitled to the skin and one rear leg. The meat is divided among all the Batutsi and Bahutu hunters. The hunter who has killed several antelopes may keep the skin of one animal.

224 Whoever finds an animal that has been killed must return it to
643 the hunters. At least theoretically, game belongs to the king and skins of any value (1) must be turned over to him, especially those of

281 1. Skins of marsh antelopes are much appreciated by the Batutsi because of their long silky fur with which they make bed coverings. Skins of the "bush bock" and

5. Small Domestic Animals

422 231 The Mwami has a rather theoretical right of ownership of small livestock which are considered valueless by the large stockbreeders.

Consequently, the Bahutu can sell or keep for their own consumption goats and sheep.

[235] Poultry also belongs to the Bahutu who are required to provide, without remuneration, the chicks needed for divinatory sacrifices. Hens and eggs are not eaten by natives and therefore, except in the neighborhood of European posts, have no commercial value.

Small livestock as well as poultry are the exclusive property of men.

[224] The Banyarwanda are very fond of their hunting dogs. The Batutsi will pay as much as one or two cows for a dog that is known for its hunting qualities.

6. Other Personal Property and Real Estate

423 Among the Batutsi, the husband and each of his wives live in their individual rugo, but all these dwellings belong to the husband. In the same way, among the Bahutu, the hut and its annexes belong to the husband.

422 Work tools belong to the husband. The wife and children may not lend them without his permission, except for a short time.

[60] Household utensils given the wife by her husband remain his property. But the ibirongoranywa (1), that is to say,

1. Cf. note 1, p. 44.

the objects, utensils, and clothing, given by the father to his daughter at the time of her marriage, often equal to the value of several cows, or even consisting of cows, belong to the wife. She may dispose of them as she chooses, except in the case of cows.

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it is correct, the domination of the Batutsi over Ruanda would go back nearly four centuries.

[565] 643 The Abanyiginya and the Abega are the most influential noble families of the country, and kings and queens have been chosen from among them since the earliest times.

[551] The kings of Ruanda have two names, that given them at birth (Musinga, Rudahigwa) and that given them on their accession (Yuhi, Mutara).

When the Mwami dies royal power passes to one of his sons, generally to one of the youngest.

The divine origin attributed to royalty and the legitimacy conferred on the king by a very long heredity led to the [86] acknowledgment of a third characteristic of royal power, that is to say, autocracy.

[423] The Mwami is the undisputed master of the whole country, of the land (fields and pastures), of the cattle, as well as of the people. He is the only real proprietor, all those on whom he bestows his generosity being merely his life tenants.

643 425 He does not necessarily own the land which he cultivates himself, and he does not need to, since his revenues are enriched by the tributes and payments owed to him by each of his subjects. When he is young he receives in appanage from the king, his father, one or several provinces, as well as cattle, and servants. On his accession he may keep all these provinces or give them to others (1).

1. Mutara Rudahigwa has kept his provinces of Nduga and Marangara but has shifted the responsibility of their administration to an umutware.

His favors may be bestowed to anybody, to a Muhutu and even to a Mutwa, whom he can raise immediately to the highest rank. Formerly, even in Musinga's time, those who had ceased to please the Mwami, or simply those whose property he coveted, could be dispossessed any day regardless of their high positions, all influence taken from them, and they themselves exiled from the country. Today, if the Mwami wishes to occupy a certain hill, he asks one

241 In spite of all this, the Barundi do not grow more crops
433 than they need for their subsistence during the year. The soil
[134] is, for the most part, fertile red earth and, in the valley plains, dark gray alluvial soil or humus, except in the sterile and stony quartzite regions of the east. With or without artificial irrigation, this soil could produce much more if a larger area were cultivated. This is prevented mainly by the absence of trade. [56] Since there are neither markets nor organized trade in the large area of central Urundi -- only the Tanganyika region possesses both -- the Murundi could do nothing with what he produced beyond his own needs. Moreover, the Murundi does not anticipate bad harvests. Like nearly all Negroes, he never worries about the future. Since not even the hardy manioc
731 (which, even in the driest years when everything else withers, still furnishes a good yield) is grown in large quantities, extensive areas are plagued by famine in poor harvest years. This is especially true of the arid quartzite regions of eastern Urundi.
[197] Then the missionary stations (Mugera, Mujaga, and others) and the government try to help by importing grain (sorghum) from Uha and Usámbiro, but they still cannot prevent many people, particularly children, from starving to death.

Another important reason that prevents further expansion
241 of agriculture can be found in the way land is owned, in the
423 overruling power of the Batussi who claim, above all, grazing land for their herds of cattle. We shall discuss this problem later (p. 57).

Various efforts are made to protect the growing crops
241 against pests. Weeds are cleared away; caterpillars, beetles,
136 and snails are picked off; birds are frightened away by scarecrows which, for example, are made of gallows-shaped sorghum stalks tied one upon the other with dry, rattling fruit suspended from them. Large animals, however, like the wild boars and baboons in the mountains of western Urundi, are either kept out by fences or chased away by watchmen who walk around in the daytime and at night take up their positions in small huts perched on high posts. From there the guards from time to time set up a loud shouting or rattle with sticks. In the valleys of western

241 Urundi and Ruanda where water is abundant, crowned cranes,
136 spore geese, and Nile geese are the worst enemies of the crops since they eat the young budding sprouts of beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, millet, etc. The Bahutu try to frighten them away by rattles and shouting. Ibises, herons, and golden plovers also abound in the swamp valleys, but they do not attack the green crops and prefer to fish for frogs, worms, and snails in the drainage ditches. In the dry quartzite regions of eastern Urundi there are only a few such swamp valleys, and consequently there are only a few of the noxious birds mentioned above.

251 Harvested produce is partly kept in baskets and sacks in the huts, but most of it is put in the basket-shaped storage huts mentioned above (p. 22) which are located near the living huts. Particularly beans, sorghum, and corn are stored in these basket-like huts. However, during the dry period ears of corn are suspended in large bundles from the fig trees surrounding the homestead. The tuberous fruit, namely, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and arrowroot, are usually not piled up but are left in the ground until they are needed. This is another reason why the quantity grown is never large, since it would spoil otherwise.

423 I mentioned before that further expansion of agriculture in Urundi is blocked by the peculiar conditions of ownership. The situation here is quite similar to that in Ruanda. None of the agricultural Bahutu owns the land that he cultivates. All the land is the property of the king who vests his high batwale with it, who in turn vest the lower Batussi batwale (see p. 134). The mutwale distributes the individual lots of land to the Bahutu he rules, who hold it in fee. [57] The Bahutu must ask his per-
423 mission whenever they intend to work a plot of land, build a hut,
651 or clear new ground for fields. They pay him a tribute of natural products which is done only once. In addition, they pay him an
[427] annual "tithe" as a ground rent. If the annual rent is not paid at harvest time, the mutwale may punish this tardiness by evicting the person from the land. The mutwale may also demand extraordinary tributes from the Bahutu without compensating them, for example, presents for the head chief, provisions for the caravan of a European passing through, etc. The gifts or payments made

423 651 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale: Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the people?]!

311 578 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and against agriculture, will continue even when this big country is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of 000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at present, since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agricultural production and to sell more. These difficulties will only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions relating to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concentrated fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily upon these areas and retarding their development: the rule of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is necessary than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 782 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it (No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

643 423 631 As in Ruanda and the other Bahima states, from Unjoro in the north to Ufipa in the south (No. 47, p. 74), all the land, people, and cattle in Urundi belong to the king on the basis of his inherited right as conqueror. He distributes the land among the members of his family and his clan, the Baganwa, as a hereditary fief. He may reclaim it, however, if at any time he is dissatisfied with the holder. These grand vassals or grand batwale again subdivide their territory in many small fiefs among their followers, and these continue the process so that the entire country is covered by a gigantic network of vassals of the king (see p. 171 [not translated]). They are predominantly Batussi, and the lowest among them have approximately the position of a village mayor. The smallest territorial unit of this large administrative organization is the [361] mountain, the plateau ridge (umutumba, umurambi). In the highlands which are cut up by swampy valleys, the mountains bear the settlements, not the valleys. For this reason the boundaries of the provinces and their subdivisions are formed almost everywhere by the stream and river valleys, the most obvious and most effective natural lines of separation between the regions and their inhabitants. However, the large fiefs seldom consist of one continuous stretch of land within a region; almost always they are formed by numerous smaller pieces of territory distributed over various provinces. Thus, the important vassals are prevented from becoming too powerful for the king.

Of course, all vassals are expected to pay a certain amount of tribute to the king. From these the latter meets the expenses of his large household, pays his officials, and conducts his wars. Depending on the duties involved, there are three kinds of feudal tenure. 1) Land fiefs: their holders have to pay regularly a certain share of the produce of their fields to the king. 2) Cattle fiefs: the tenants monthly furnish a certain number of cattle, milk, and butter. 3) War fiefs: the holders must keep ready for action a certain number of warriors who must be placed at the king's disposal upon his command. Sometimes these three types of feudal tenure are combined in one region and in the

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the ~~part of~~ the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

662 The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

563 the law. The law of the land is, of course, a "master's law"
671 which favors the Batussi in all respects. In contrast, the Bahutu as bondsmen enjoy few privileges, and the Batwa are almost entirely without rights. The Batussi batwale often commit grave violations of the law, especially in their dealings with the Bahutu and Batwa without, however, being held responsible for such infractions. It is only the fear of vendetta that puts a restraint on their arbitrariness.

As is the case among all primitive people, the ethical
577 concepts of the Barundi regarding what is right and wrong are elusive. Questions aimed in this direction either remain unanswered or the reply is simply: "We do not know" or "the headman says so" or "our parents, superiors, the king wish it that way," and similar answers (No. 19, p. 381). One never hears that "conscience" prescribes certain actions or that the ghosts, the manes, or the gods wish it that way. Whatever is said on this subject has probably been suggested by the questioners, especially the missionaries. In contrast, concrete concepts of
671 law are much clearer. They are chiefly based on conditions of ownership and on social conditions, and they define something as right or wrong depending on whether it benefits or impairs these conditions which have become traditional.

As has been mentioned above (p. 91) the king is, in
423 principle, the sole owner of the entire land and fields and of all the cattle in the country. As described above (p. 86), the batwale and the lesser district chiefs -- almost always Batussi -- hold larger or smaller portions of this royal property in feudal tenure, and they, in turn, parcel out smaller portions for the use of those Batussi who are not officials or for the use of the Bahutu. Whatever these latter produce from the fields and from the cattle belongs to them by law as their own property after they have paid their tribute to the feudal lords. The huts and the courtyard which the Murundi has set up on the plot of land left to him are also his property. However, he can be driven from his house and field, for example, if he fails to pay his tribute or if he has committed murder of theft and also if the feudal lord wishes to put someone else in his place, either a

423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him for other reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the property of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

The inhabitants own their huts and, in addition, every-
421 thing they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus, men, women, and children may own property, and the following may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade objects, etc.

685 Property violations, i.e., damage and theft (uwivi), are
674 frequent, but if someone leaves his hut unguarded, a woven screen in front of the door opening is usually sufficient to keep away uninvited guests. Although the kraals are surrounded by
[417] strong fences and the paths between the fields are often lined with high euphorbia hedges (Plate 20), these have not been put up or grown as a protection against thieves but to pen and restrain the cattle. If a person steals something from [94] a homestead or produce from the fields, he is taken before the mutwale and is sentenced to severe corporal punishment unless he can pay a generous amount in damages of which the mutwale will appropriate one half (No. 4, p. 224).

The mutwale or in smaller districts the village chief is
692 the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the
627 Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves without appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings several witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases
696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see p. 97.

614 Wherever monarchy with its state organization has not yet
621 dissolved the clans and dispersed their members all over the various feudal districts of the Batussi state (see p. 89), wherever the clans have preserved the main elements of their ancient solidarity and autonomy, as is the case particularly in the more or less independent border provinces of Urundi (and Ruanda), the clans form small or large communities under an elected clan elder (umugabo). This is especially true of
614 the Bahutu clans that existed in the area before the period of
423 Batussi rule. The office of the umugabo is hereditary in
621 many cases. The central communalistic element in the organization of these clans is the communal ownership of the land occupied by the clan. The land belongs to the clan community probably because it was originally appropriated and cultivated by the clan. The individual clan members is merely entitled to the use of the land he cultivates or of the pasture where his cattle grazes. Only the hut built on this ground is the real property of the individual, in addition to the inventory of implements, tools, weapons, and the cattle he has raised from the herd with which he has been vested by his feudal lord (see p. 93)

614 E. Johanssen, a missionary who in 1907 founded the first
182 Protestant missionary stations of Dsinga and Kirinda in Ruanda
[114] and who is an eminent student of the Banjaruanda, makes the following comment on the social importance of the Ruanda clans: "These kin group organizations hand down the old customs and traditions from one generation to the next. In this way they preserve the national characteristics against intermixture and decay. The easier it is to loosen the ties of the family group in its narrowly defined sense as a result of polygamy and by the dissolution of marriage, the greater is the [105] importance of the stable, indissoluble, religiously determined kin group. The destruction of this group would cause the entire nation to disintegrate and to split up into isolated groups which would be exposed to any outside influence. There can be no doubt that the kin group, as the

643 796 between the various elements of the people; it was supposed to be a large contribution to the land's fertility and the country's welfare, and in all this the part played by the king was prominent.

643 631 Only in fact was the king's power limited. He transferred the leadership of parts of his sultanates to some chiefs, almost in every case relatives (brothers, uncles, cousins), members of the royal family (*baganwa*). In their turn these would establish subchiefs chosen among their relatives, or the aristocracy (*bafásoni*), or even Batutsi commoners, but seldom among the Bahutu. The division reached very far and the last elements of it were not only single hills, but even parts of a hill. And although the ensuing intrication and divided hierarchy remind us forcibly of our own feudo-vassalic middle ages, and appear consequently most unstable, the Barundi system, if we set aside some violent revolutions, possessed some sort of stability and could carry on thanks to its practically hereditary organization. Chiefs, subchiefs and all who had availed themselves of the deep-seated division of authority were naturally possessed of rights over the common people and were entitled to demand from them various privileges, usually defined by local custom, and which ranged from a present of beer to well-determined contributions or vaguer corvées (services).

423 661 Some scholars have maintained that the *mwami* definitely had a right of possession over the land of the whole of his sultanate. But the truth is that land was not an object of property for the *mwami* or for commoners and the *mwami* and his representatives simply had to allow its utilization and choose the people to carry it out. Such designations were, just as the political leaderships, more or less unstable, more or less precarious; there exists a heredity in fact; but it is possible for a chief, should he care to do so, to eject the tenants. Besides, the abandoned or untilled lands are at his disposal. The system in general enables members of the leading classes as well as members of the subject classes to constitute estates with the only difference that the former will possess large herds of cattle and have their lands tilled by people liable to unpaid service while the latter have only very few cows and must depend on their own labour and that of their families.

The political leader's say in agricultural matters also solves the difficult problem of proportioning field and pasture-lands. The chief will not allow the latter to be reduced, and the threat to the cattle-breeder is further avoided by the chief's right to use the sorghum fields for pastures after the harvest (*ibishaka-shaka*) either for themselves or for others.

423 The territory of an important chief, with its intermixing complex of herds, estates, revenues, and services, very often extended over large, sometimes

[p.14 (B)]

423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 We have said that the *mwami* did not possess the
661 land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *mwami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them
431 are naturally attracted towards those who own them.
357 The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* (who watch over the cattle), *bakevri* (cooks), *inghoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner
675 gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later
425 return a calf after the cow has calved two or three
554 times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 *The relations between agriculturists*

425 Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

[p.15(A)]

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
425 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': it is practised among members of the aristocracy
435 only; it consists in offering members of the ruling
565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the
461 domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

[p. 15(B)]

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

578 Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the
631 following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

428 Only boys share in the real estate (1).

1. As exceptions to this rule, one finds a few joint patrimonial domains which the co-heirs exploit together under the frerage (or frareshe). This kind of landed property is called isage (or ingaligazi).

The oldest son, or at least the one appointed by the dying man to succeed him, receives a share slightly larger than that of his brothers, owing to his right of primogeniture. If there are three heirs, the property is divided into three lots of equal size except for one field or one small banana grove.

This /latter/ parcel is called umusaya and is added to the share of the first heir.

Cattle and sheep are divided equally among them.

311 One does not find any free or abandoned land in Ruanda. There
423 may be more or less extensive areas that lie fallow because they are not very fertile, or because the presence of wild beasts makes them too dangerous, or because they are too remote from inhabited centers or too extensive in relation to the population size, but they are not on this account res nullius /Tr.: nobody's property/. Their owners always retain the right to use them and take effective possession of them whenever they wish.

Forests, mountains, moors, marshes, and bogs are divided into a multitude of lots whose owners are publicly known.

[661] Through an abuse of authority, the chiefs may temporarily reserve for themselves part of the plateaus, valleys, or marshy lowlands to graze their cattle.

In spite of this, their subjects retain proprietary ownership of these lands and grasslands and they will not fail to assert their rights at the first opportunity, for example, when a chief departs or when he is replaced.

In some regions it frequently happens that the arable plots no longer meet the /48/ needs of the population. Then those men who

423 are least fortunate or most enterprising get together to sell or exchange
[311] their plots and go to the edge of the forest to buy a piece of land or to develop the one they owned there.

From then on, the clan to which they belong includes an additional village.

As in Europe the sale and lease of fields and banana groves is made in the presence of witnesses. Land boundaries are marked with stones and other conventional signs.

A felled tree, a displaced stone, some ground which has been broken in a neighbor's field over the dividing line, such things cause frequent litigations that give rise to disunity within families and among tribes over long periods of time.

The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ remains attached
361 to his native village, to his plot of land. He does not feel the need to move elsewhere, to change his domicile, as do the Blacks settled east and west of Tanganyika.

Ruanda soil is richer by far and sustains numerous and varied
[134] crops.

In addition to the banana grove, which is the most important
245 part of his property, the Munyarwanda has begun to plant trees and to cultivate coffee, which brings in large profits to which he was not
[231] accustomed. Ownership of a small herd of cattle or sheep makes his home even dearer to him.

It may be said that his home life is more stable than in neigh-
593 boring areas, and that he leaves it only rarely (1).

[166]

1. The Blacks, too, are familiar with nostalgia and home sickness. The fear of a vendetta or the attraction of large salaries may temporarily induce the natives to expatriate themselves. Sooner or later, however, they return to the cradle of their ancestors. The Banyarwanda cite characteristic instances of this.

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
#28 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
#23 property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy, it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
651 taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

The protection of female clan members does not extend to
614 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
591 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
768 happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
684 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

621 settle among the clan members as clients (bagaragu) who perform
614 services for them for which they get their food and from time to time a sheep or goat. They are poor devils who in this way must scrape together the means to buy a wife. There are others in the densely populated areas where there is no free land who rent acreage and even own houses on rented land. Others rent only as much land as is necessary for their hut and a small courtyard, and they make their living as day laborers.

We must point out that settling on the land of a strange clan presupposes a certain calm and stability and signalizes the impending deterioration of the clan community. Under more primitive conditions where clan organization is at its height, we seldom find cases of people settling on the land of a strange clan. Life among strangers would be too dangerous because feuds involving blood revenge might break out. There is no security against feuds between the clan of the host and that of the settler, and then the isolated person is the first victim because one can most easily get at him.

614 Property. The clans of Bugoye and Mulera occupy regions
423 which were taken over and cleared by their ancestors several generations ago.

In Ruanda the clearing of the primeval forest plays a very important role in the conception of ownership. In Bugoye, despite the recent Batutsi conquest, land is regarded as the property of those whose ancestors [249] took possession of and cleared the corresponding sections of primeval forest. This comes out in legal cases involving property, when they cite as a witness the stone on which the bush knife (muhoro) was sharpened when the land under dispute was cleared. The party claiming the land says: "I shall bring the whetstone (uzakuha ulutsiaga) that my ancestor used when he cleared this piece." In view of this, the clan members may also be regarded as the owners of the land occupied by them.

[422] However, although the huts, the animals, and all the furnishings are absolutely private possessions which one can dispose of as he sees fit, the possession of land is not entirely free of restrictions. The clan members really have only the use of the common property given them. The land, like its possessor, is the property of

614 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest
623 has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession
[643] of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

556 The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of
231 the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and
621 the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma,
592 and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.

423 [251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the
231 clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

6:Czekanowski--170 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
			Baishaza of Katebe											
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	—	2	—	1	—	1/2	—	—	2	—	„mugabo"
	Nikora	,,	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	—	1	2	—	3 4/5	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	,,	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semivombi	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
3.	Ndereye	,,	1	2	2	—	1	—	1/2	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semilyangu	Muvuna	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ndegeya	Mwichozi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Banitogega	Mukora	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Mukuri	Mwishaza	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	
	Kolombani	,,	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Otto	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	1/2	2	—	2	—	
5.	Mpabuka	,,	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	3	2	outside		
	Sebichikira	,,	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Matayo	Muhuma	1	—	—	—	1	—	1 1/2	7	12	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 9.
	Bisaga	Mushobio	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhuma	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Kimonjo	Mukara	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8.	Marobi	,,	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	4	4	1	—	Day laborer for board
	Ndamwete	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9.	Sebutama	,,	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	2	2	4	1	
10.	Gafene	,,	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11.	Senguri	,,	1	1	—	1	1	—	1/2	1	—	4	2	Field of No.1
12.	Mafara	Munyabgisha	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	2	2	—	Son-in-law
	Birere	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	Brother of No.12
13.	Ndungutsi	Mwishaza	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	Field of No.1
14.	Bukara	,,	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Antigoni	,,	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	
	Pilipo	,,	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	
15.	Segihobi	,,	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	
	— —		—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Children of vagrant wife
16.	Nderiwamunda	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	
17.	Bihwehwe	,,	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	3	—	2	1	
18.	Gihigwa	,,	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	9 9/10	41	28	45	12	104 persons 1)

1) Among them 47 male clan members and two sons-in-law.

6: Czekanowski --171 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows plus	Bulls	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
		Bahoma of Kitebe (Balyolyo Branch)													
1.	Rugira	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	$2\frac{1}{4}+1$	3	4	3	1		„mugabo"
	Sebishimbo	Mudahe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
2.	Dominiko	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	1	—	$\frac{1}{4}$	2	2	2	—		
	Budjodjwe	Mugai	—	—	—	—	—	1	$3\frac{1}{2}+1$	—	—	—	—		
3.	Rukara	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1		
	Muchuchu	Muraahi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Biriknnzira	Munyakaru	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Rufigari	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
4.	Faro	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—		
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Rudjanju	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	$2\frac{3}{4}+1$	4	4	4	1		
	Mabgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Karbagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
6.	Sedigi	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	$2+\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	4	1		
7.	Bihire	,,	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1		
8.	Bashaki	,,	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	—		
9.	Ishaho	,,	1	1	—	1	2	—	$2+\frac{1}{2}$	3	—	3	1		
	Mwiza	,,	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
10.	Patris	,,	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1		
			10	11	6	14	17	9	$12\frac{3}{4}+4$	24	12	30	7	61	persons 1)
		Bagwabiro of Kitebe													
1.	Mwuyekure	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	5	2	4	1		„mugabo"
2.	Maliro	,,	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1		
3.	Semiteza	,,	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1		
4.	Mahembe	,,	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1		
	Karisti	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Kichondo	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Bidjari	,,	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1		
6.	Sekini	,,	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1		
7.	Sebihumira	,,	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$	—	4	1		
			7	14	3	4	14	[illegible]	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$25\frac{1}{2}$	7	36	7	41	persons 2)

1) Among them 21 male clan members.

2) Among them 21 male clan members.

grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical with the number of women. It is very important to note that the head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

643 of the king who are recognized and fully qualified. The moment a
644 king has a son whom he recognizes, the queen mother is said to be sent away. For this reason she brings all her influence to bear (and this influence is, as a rule, very great) to prevent the king, as long as possible, from recognizing any of his children as fully qualified.

643 Bagaragu. The king is the owner of all the land and all the
423 cows in the country. He exercises his power by granting these lands and recalling them when he is displeased. In this manner the king appoints his officials who as such can be regarded as temporary large landowners. The king keeps them in office and on their land, but he can drive them out or increase their holdings at any time.

643 The king is omnipotent. The only thing that does not yield to him is the physically impossible. Thus, for example, he can find no one who is inclined to settle as chief in Ndorwa, for this would be too dangerous in spite of the eventual help of the king.

661 An individual's power and possessions depend chiefly on the
643 favor of the king. This is the case to such an extent that even the privileged must always remain in contact with the king or
558 even live at his court, otherwise they cannot hold on to their success or their possessions. No matter how wealthy a man is, he can lose everything if he has no allies and if someone more fortunate succeeds in getting the king to withdraw his favor.

643 Every fortune hunter is surrounded by a number of clients who
644 dog his footsteps in the hope of participating in the successes of their patron. One can judge the importance and the prospects of the master by the number of these second-class fortune hunters who often have to content themselves with nothing more than gifts of milk from the king.

644 When I lived in Nyanza, I had an opportunity at eleven o'clock every morning to see the mighty ones, with a following of 50 to 60 men, march up to the king to give him a morning greeting. Among these were also completely impoverished [257] devils who, although they were marching up to the king as his bagaragu, had only one Muhutu in their retinue.

The most intimate associates of the king are his high chiefs. They are his clients (bagaragu). At the time of my visit in Nyanza

681 Punishment by whipping seems to be done less in Ruanda than in Bgisha where the chief ties people to trees and has them punished with up to 100 strokes of the whip on their backs. This [177] custom is said to have been borrowed from the English Askari who were stationed there.

On the subject of property rights we wish to make only a 423 few general remarks. The entire country is the private property 428 of the king and is regarded as either entrusted to the chiefs or granted to the clans. All the farmers and herdsmen are merely tenants or have the use of the land. As a consequence, the chief and clan community have the final word in matters dealing with the inheritance of usufruct of so-called crown property, that is, fields and cattle.

Only household goods, with the exception of cows, are private 422 property in our sense, and here the wish of the person disposing of 428 the property is decisive, although certain time-honored customs cannot be circumvented. In Bugoye, for example, the oldest son gets the spear and the stool of his father, whereas the shield belongs to the youngest son. (2) Lieutenant Spiltoire told me that in

2. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 439.

Bunyabungu, the principal heir seems to be the son of the sister, but because of his brief visit, he could not verify this.

682 Administration of Justice. In Ruanda the administration of 695 justice is in the hands of the chiefs and the king.

Pronouncing judgment is only of secondary importance, but [280] the chiefs regard it as a sure means of gaining influence. The two parties regard the trial as an attempt to interest a powerful one -- a chief -- in their affairs, that is to say, to make their affairs the affairs of the mighty. The one who wins a case is simply the one who was more highly regarded by the chief and with whom, from now on, it is dangerous to quarrel. In Ruanda it is a long process from the pronouncement of justice to the execution of it.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

An instance which shows a number of these possibilities comes 217
from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west of Tanganyika Territory. A custom which might or might not be noted 233
by the ethnographer—something must escape the most meticulous of 643
observers, and this one is not recorded by Meyer for the Barundi, of 423
whom the people of Bugufi are ethnologically part—is the right of the chief to pasture his cattle among the millet-stalks after the harvest, before the peasant may put in his own cattle or any which he is herding for some one else. The court book records eight peasants coming to court to complain against a Tusi who has driven off their [694] cattle. The Tusi replies that the men had pastured their cattle in their millet before the chief had had access. Asked by the court whether he was instructed to drive off the cattle, the Tusi replies that he acted as he was bound to do in accordance with ancient custom and his obligations to the chief. New concepts have, however, found their way into the court, which gives judgement for the plaintiffs on the [178] grounds that the land and the cattle were theirs. This case is exceptional in the wealth of statement and suggestion which it offers, but there are many others helpful in lesser degree.

The value of native court records in this way was brought home to 127
me while stationed in this area, Bugufi, during the years 1929–31, 217
when I went through the available material with a view to seeing what were the normal causes of litigation and getting a general idea of the law administered. Starting with the year 1924, the series was examined up to the end of 1930. For these seven years, 850 cases were found where judgement issued, there being a further 225 which had been settled out of court or dismissed for want of prosecution or by reason of limitation. Of these 850 cases, almost one-quarter concerned contracts where cattle were involved, nearly one-sixth were marital cases, [673] and another sixth were over administrative matters, including offences against the Native Authority Ordinance: only one-seventh were of offences against person and property, and the remainder concerned debts, land, inheritance, damage to property and a few miscellaneous matters.

The fullest records were those of the numerous marital cases, and 127
these have been fully collated with a view to giving an idea of how 217
much information can be gleaned and what gaps remain, and what

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territories*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[p. 89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production. 433

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production? 512 [438]

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce. 463 [184] 412

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view. 471

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased 423

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim 421

[rugo: The basic dwelling unit or compound cf. p. 20 -- analyst]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

421 different uses of the same thing. For instance, one person could have the right to sow a plot and to collect the harvest and another to use it for grazing purposes at another time of the year. Neither of them was considered as the owner letting somebody else use his property as a pasture or as a ground for cultivation.

423 643 On each pasture, cultivated plot or forest area, the king had a right very similar to the *dominion eminens* of Roman law, the kind of public ownership that a State has over the land within the borders. But he had also the right to prevent, if he chose to do so, somebody from using a particular tract of land in any way at all, which amounts to saying that the mwami had over land a right potentially superior to that of anybody else. The mwami's rights could be opposed to 'private rights'. In fact, the king very rarely insisted on this use of his rights and then only when he wanted to punish somebody who was guilty of disobedience or of some other crime.

423 651 The land chief's and cattle chief's rights to fields and pastures will be considered later in the section dealing with the administration. Suffice it to say here that these tax-collectors had the right to evict people for certain offences and to allocate land to newcomers in their districts.

423 The person endowed with rights on land for cultivation purposes was the head of a family (*rugo*). Mostly these rights came 425 to him from his father's inheritance. Sometimes, however, it was a [428] part of the bush that he had himself cleared. If he had not received enough from his father to support his family, he extended his plot in this way with the agreement of the political authority. If, because of a dispute with his brothers, he wanted to move elsewhere and the land chief could not allocate him a field already prepared at the place where he wanted to settle, he did the same. Such a plot was called *bukonde* as long as it was occupied either by the man who had cleared it or by his descendants. A third source of cultivation rights was the assignment by the land chief of a plot already prepared (*inkungu*). The former user of it had either to be evicted by the authority, or had left, or had died without heirs.

In the same way the family head had the right to use a certain area as pasture for his cattle either by inheritance, or by felling the trees of a tract of forest or by having it conceded by the cattle chief.

CDD At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective rights over certain areas except in the north of Ruanda (Mulera, Rwankeri, Bushiru, Bigogwe) where the Tutsi occupation had been more superficial. I have been told that there the soil belonged to the patrilineage and that there was no land or cattle chief. From the point of view of the individual, however, the situation was very similar: he inherited a share of his father's tract. The difference was that, if the part were insufficient, he had to apply for more to the lineage head instead of to the land-chief, and a plot left without heirs returned to the patrilineage instead of the political authority.

The person entitled to the use of a plot could not sell his right but could let the tract. The rent was about one hoe every other year plus a jug of beer each harvest. The tenant was not permitted to settle by building a hut or planting banana trees.

The Twa resented very much the expansion of fields and pastures in the forests they regarded as their possession. The authority was not concerned with the way they divided it into hunting areas.[1]

2. RIGHTS OVER CATTLE

The rights over each head of cattle were also manifold. Property in the Western sense was split up into different aspects.

A global right existed over all Ruanda cattle, even sheep and goats, by which the king could claim actual possession of any of them. The mwami used this right more frequently, it seems, over cattle than over land. An important chief indulging in intrigues regarded as dangerous by the king might find himself dispossessed of all his cattle. The king's right over all the cattle of Ruanda was a constant threat which seems to have very effectively deterred the Tutsi of the ruling set from becoming too independent.

Another right was very similar to our bare ownership. The person who had it was not in possession of the cow but could at any time claim possession of the animal and the heifers and cows produced by that beast since the time when the possession had been transferred. This was the right of the lord (*shebuja*).

In contrast there was the usufruct right with respect to cattle. The person endowed with it could dispose of the milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the dead cows. This was the typical right of the client (*garagu*).

[1] For a more extended account of the land tenure system in traditional Ruanda, see Maquet and Naigiziki, 1957.

789 by iviheko. They also neutralize the evil influence of personal enemies. When at war, the night before the battle, the Murundi sleeps on his beloved iviheko, and he is laid to rest in the grave together with his iviheko.

"Once the body of a Murundi has been made invulnerable, it is still necessary to secure his property. Another amulet is fastened to the spear, or a special stick bought from the umufumu is carried in the same hand as the spear, or a magic sign may be scratched into the iron of the spear. An additional amulet is fastened to the top of the bowstring. Inside the hut a pile of amulets is buried in the ground near the entrance, one amulet is fastened above the entrance, but the most powerful and effective ones are placed near the three hearth stones. There are other amulets used in the fields, against hail and storm, against locusts and other calamities. Very frequently one may find them also on roads, especially on those leading to the banana groves or directly to the hut. If one is careless, he may easily stumble over slabs of wood colored ochre-red, protruding about five centimeters from the ground, and that, after all, is their purpose: a person with evil intent is expected to stumble and fall on the road, thus revealing himself to be an umurosi (malicious witches or wizards)." (No. 45.)

791 293 424 756 The magic power of the umufumu is handed down in families, not only by blood relationship but also by transfer of the insignia characteristic of the umufumu, which consist chiefly in a leopard skin, a headdress made of a cow's tail (Plate 54) and goat hair, a gourd rattle, a stick with charms, a certain way of painting the body and the face with light-colored clay and fat, etc. (No. 19, p. 461).

791 756 The abafumu of the Batwa enjoy a special reputation. They are feared by the Barundi because of their strong magic powers, but they are also consulted for cures. The supreme head of all medicine men, however, resides in Uha (No. 19, p. 462). He lives in the northern district of Ujungu and was formerly called Kawango, the name of one of the spirits of the interlacustrine region. He was probably the medium of this god.

614 wife always remains a stranger to her husband's clan and keeps her own totem.

596 614 The umutware w'urugo rwa se is only slightly important and this word is seldom used. More important is the umutware w'urugo rwa bo (lit., of them), also called umutware w'umulyango, who has command both of his rugo and the umulyango.

614 The umulyango is a social entity without any political value. Thus Rwabutogo, chief of the umulyango of the Abega, owns only the province of East Buganza. In matters of family and cattle he commands Rwagatakara, who in turn commands Rwabusisi, chief of Buliza and South Buganza.

614 689 425 The umutware w'umulyango exercises a paternal jurisdiction over all the members of his group. If they disobey him seriously he can drive them out and seize their cattle (indemano, inkazibiti) except for the animals they have received as a gift from the king (ingabane) (1). However, it is the Mwami who has the right of

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 42.

[166] eviction. In addition, if the king sees that an injustice has been committed, he authorizes the one who has been the victim to settle elsewhere so as to remove himself from the jurisdiction of the chief of the umulyango, without however ceasing to belong to the clan. If the Mwami asks the umulundo (2) from the chief of the umulyango,

2. That is to say, lit., "wishes to see the cattle of his cattle." He takes only one or two animals.

the latter can in turn claim some inyiturano (3) from his family. On

3. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

the other hand, the chief of the umulyango can show his favor to those of his relatives with whom he is satisfied by giving them some ingabane.

[41]

SECTION II. PROPERTY

1. Property in General

421 The Banyarwanda have a less abstract idea of property than we have. It is comparable to that of possession.

On the other hand, no differentiation is made between personal property and real estate. Property is given different names according to its nature and use. The Banyarwanda divide their property [into the following categories]: amatungo (animals); ibintu, a generic name applicable to the rugo, imilima (fields); ubgatsi (pasturage); imyaka (crops); and urutoke (banana plantations); ibiti (trees); intwaro (weapons and cutting instruments); ibikolesho (hoes, pickaxes, baskets, churns); imyambaro (clothing).

2. Landed Property

423 True landed property exists in Ruanda, while in the Belgian Congo the natives consider that the bare ownership of the land belongs to the souls of the departed and that they themselves only have usufruct.

[643] All the land in the country belongs to the Mwami who relin-
423 guishes its use successively to the various chiefs and subchiefs. These,
425 in turn, cede an isambu (land sold) or concede an umwatano (land
427 leased) to the Bahutu in consideration of a price or a payment consisting of a certain percentage of future crops (ichyata umulima, lit., gift in order to have a field).

The Muhutu holds his land in a more or less precarious way. Even if he makes his payments regularly [42] his land may be taken away from him one day, if, for example, he neglects to pay the customary dues to the chiefs and the king. In this case he may be deprived of all or part of his land, but the last crop is not taken from him (1).

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1. An appreciably different administration of property exists in the western part of Bunyambiriri, the extreme north of Ndiza,

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and in Rukiga (provinces of Mulera and Bugoyi) where the land cleared and cultivated by the Bahutu are subject to a right of family property. This right is sacred and the Batutsi, whose power in these regions is rather nominal, know that they cannot dispute it without exposing themselves to serious miscalculations and even to bloody reprisals.

423 [622] [435] The hill chief also has the right to take a plot of land (ubugerure) from the Bahutu in order to form an ubuka which he wishes to give to someone else or to keep as his own property (imilima y'inyarulembo). The part of the plot that is left to the Muhutu is called isagu.

[428] The Muhutu can transmit his right of exploitation to his son by inheritance. Land that passes from one generation to the next is called indeka.

[576] Land is sometimes held collectively by a family in the person of its head (isambu or ingobyi y'iwabo). Members of the family pay him no rent and, to the exclusion of strangers, have the right to cut firewood and graze their cattle there.

[622] There are also communal woods (itshanya). The hill chief reserves part of them for himself and allows the hill people to exploit the remainder.

[563] The Batwa claim to be the legitimate occupants of the forests. For this reason they often enter into disputes with the Bahutu living near the wooded regions.

[622] Mines and quarries of clay are the property of the chief, but he allows his people to [43] supply themselves there in exchange for a payment (a hoe or some pots).

The boundaries (imbibi) of fields are usually marked by small ditches (impavu) or piles of stones (ibishyinga).

There are no neutral zones between lands.

425 423 An inkungu is a piece of ground that has been abandoned because of the holder's voluntary departure or death without leaving an heir. A man who has been cursed by his father or driven out by the chief because of repeated thefts of cattle, for example, must also abandon his plot. The chief can offer an inkungu (or an ubugerure) to a stranger to the hill who asks to settle there. If he is a Muhutu, he is

423 obliged to submit to the same obligations as his predecessor. If he
[425] is a Mututsi, he is not required to pay any ground rent, and the chief gives him a pasture in addition.

Rights of way and of access are not private. The hill people may move about freely on each other's land. This is also true of the cattle for which special paths are made.

622 In the case of a dispute in matters of landed property, litiga-
692 tion is taken to the hill chief who goes to the place and, after having heard the witnesses, decides between the plaintifs.

3. Customary Law of Hunting

224 Customary laws of hunting are very numerous. Of these we will quote only a few of the most frequent cases.

A native hunting alone who has killed an ordinary antelope (impongo) takes the meat and skins the animal.

224 Hunting with beaters is organized by the chief who decides on
622 the land to be beaten after having taken the advice of the [44] expert Batutsi or Bahutu hunters and following the indications of the trackers. The chief also chooses the beaters from among the least good shots. To stimulate their zeal in this thankless task, he promises them pots of beer if the hunt is successful.

224 The natives are required to take part in the hunt, but they fulfill this obligation willingly as it is a much appreciated entertainment and also a source of profit.

Whoever first wounds an animal during a battue or beat, is presumed to have killed it. He is entitled to the skin and one rear leg. The meat is divided among all the Batutsi and Bahutu hunters. The hunter who has killed several antelopes may keep the skin of one animal.

224 Whoever finds an animal that has been killed must return it to
643 the hunters. At least theoretically, game belongs to the king and skins of any value (1) must be turned over to him, especially those of

281 1. Skins of marsh antelopes are much appreciated by the Batutsi because of their long silky fur with which they make bed coverings. Skins of the "bush bock" and

231 INGABANE. When a Mututsi who has paid homage to the
422 Mwami receives from him a hill with cattle and abagaragu, the said
192 cattle is called ingabane (4). A herd of ingabane consists of at
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4. From kugabana, "to receive."

least 30 heads of cattle, cows, calves, heifers, and young bulls.

A simple Mututsi with no political authority may receive some ingabane and some inkazibiti. But the favor of the Mwami makes him considered an important person. He is the Mwami's umugaragu.

The Bahutu usually receive only inkazibiti.

INDEMANO. (5). a) Cows of the same color and age, given

5. From kulema, "to create," "to form," "to assemble."

by a father to his son when the latter is about to get married. The whole of the indemano is called iminani.

[50]

b) By a patron to a client of whom he is fond and who is going to get married.

c) By a husband to his wife.

The indemano are also ingabane.

After these various distributions, the cattle remaining to the master make up the ingarigari (reserved cows).

422 INGARIGARI. Cows which the master keeps for his own
231 pleasure and personal use without giving any to his wives, sons, or
192 friends, or without leasing them out to any abagaragu.

425 INKUKE (1). a) A son, who has received from his father
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1. From gukura, "to take away," "to remove."

indemano, returns a milch cow (inkuke) to his father which has been taken from among the indemano. When it no longer gives any milk the father sends it back to his son.

425 b) A Mututsi umugaragu is obliged to send the Mwami an inkuke
192 from among the ingabane he has received. When the cow no longer
231 gives milk, the client must bring other animals.

c) An umugaragu can receive some indemano from his patron. Usually these are old cows or bull calves which he then exchanges for heifers. When they are full grown, he gives one or several of these inkuke to his patron.

d) An umugaragu of the Mwami must occasionally send him a milch cow from among the ingabane he has received.

INDWANYI. Full-grown bull given annually to the Mwami by each provincial chief, for sacrifice to the spirits of the departed or slaughtered for the use of the king, his Batwa, or his foreign guests: Bahima, Barundi, Baganda, etc.
[51]

IBINIHA. Sterile cow given under the same conditions and meant for the same use.

[787] INTORWA. Bull calves or young rams to be used for consulting the auguries or for the cult of ancestors.

YO KUBIKA. Cow brought to the Mwami by the successor of a provincial chief who comes to announce the death of his father.

IY'UBUNTU (1). Cow given as a present. It belongs in full

1. From ubuntu, "generosity." Ineza, "good will," is also said.

ownership to the one who receives it, who is held under no obligation to the donor. Ubuntu cows are not ingabane; they are imbata when they are placed among the imbata that are already in the rugo, and keep the name of inka y'ubunta, without possessing any of its privileges, in all other cases [sic].

INYITURANO. Cow given in return by the one who has received an ubuntu. When a man who has bestowed ubuntu on certain of his friends dies, his children can claim an inyiturano cow from each of them.

IMPAHANO (2). Cows bought under the same conditions as

2. From guhaha, "to fetch, to procure."

the intundano and received as a gift or dowry. They have the same character, but if their owner attaches himself to a patron they become ipso facto cows of an umugaragu.

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientèle contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
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INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young

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1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother

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2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[606] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

000 three banana trees.

192 764 231 [53] INKAMWA. When the father of a family dies, one of his sons or grandsons is chosen to put between his hands a jug of milk. The cow that has given this milk is called inkamwa. It is given to the one who has placed the jug of milk between the hands of the deceased and is not included in the division of the inheritance.

This cow cannot be sold or killed. Its young are not subject to this interdiction. If it dies, it is eaten by the Bahutu in the owner's rugo, and its bones are buried there.

Among the Bahutu a sheep is used as the inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. When the father of a family dies, the eldest son slaughters a bull calf, which is eaten by the family. The skin is worn by the eldest son for two months so that the cows will not die like their master.

192 231 731 IY'UMULIRO and INSHUMBUSHANYO. 1) If lightning has destroyed the herd (or even one animal) held by the umugaragu, the latter can obtain from his shebuja the umuliro (lit., the fire cow), either a cow or a bull calf.

When several cows are given by the patron to indemnify his client, the first one is called umuliro, the others inshumbushanyo.

425 231 2) If the patron deprives his client of his whole herd to punish him for not performing one of his obligations, the umugaragu begs the protection of another shebuja who gives his new dependent a cow and a bull calf or only a bull calf.

192 731 231 IMPONOKE. When the herd of the patron, the provincial chief, or the king is decimated by cattle plague (muryamo), the abagaragu give some cows to fill the gaps caused by the epizootic disease.

192 231 766 [54] INDORANO (1). At the death of the king's child, wife, brother, and also in the case of death in a great chief's family, the provincial chiefs and the hill chiefs, if they are directly subject to the Mwami, each bring two cows to the Mwami, and only one in the other event. A cow is also given by the abagaragu. The cow given to a friend on the occasion of deep mourning is also called indorano.

1. From kurora, "to see."

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it is correct, the domination of the Batutsi over Ruanda would go back nearly four centuries.

[565] 643 The Abanyiginya and the Abega are the most influential noble families of the country, and kings and queens have been chosen from among them since the earliest times.

[551] The kings of Ruanda have two names, that given them at birth (Musinga, Rudahigwa) and that given them on their accession (Yuhi, Mutara).

When the Mwami dies royal power passes to one of his sons, generally to one of the youngest.

The divine origin attributed to royalty and the legitimacy conferred on the king by a very long heredity led to the [86] acknowledgment of a third characteristic of royal power, that is to say, autocracy.

[423] The Mwami is the undisputed master of the whole country, of the land (fields and pastures), of the cattle, as well as of the people. He is the only real proprietor, all those on whom he bestows his generosity being merely his life tenants.

643 425 He does not necessarily own the land which he cultivates himself, and he does not need to, since his revenues are enriched by the tributes and payments owed to him by each of his subjects. When he is young he receives in appanage from the king, his father, one or several provinces, as well as cattle, and servants. On his accession he may keep all these provinces or give them to others (1).

1. Mutara Rudahigwa has kept his provinces of Nduga and Marangara but has shifted the responsibility of their administration to an umutware.

His favors may be bestowed to anybody, to a Muhutu and even to a Mutwa, whom he can raise immediately to the highest rank. Formerly, even in Musinga's time, those who had ceased to please the Mwami, or simply those whose property he coveted, could be dispossessed any day regardless of their high positions, all influence taken from them, and they themselves exiled from the country. Today, if the Mwami wishes to occupy a certain hill, he asks one

643 of his great chiefs to cede it to him. The latter yields with good
[425] grace and usually receives some cattle in exchange.

The Mwami is an absolute monarch by divine right who
643 knows no other rule but his will, even his caprice. (2) In the past,
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2. Hence the proverb: Luyose higirwa n'Unwami, "all depends on the King."

before our occupation, he could with impunity torture, mutilate, or kill anyone who had displeased him. His criminal sentences conformed to the customs of the country, which acknowledged this [87] formidable right, and no one thought of rebelling against his decisions (1).

[177]

1. The Mwami's right of life and death was abolished in 1917 at the time of the occupation of the country by our troops.

In the same way he is high judge and makes the final settlement in disputes, even the slightest, among his subjects.

Finally, the king is the supreme legislator of the people. With the help of the abiru, he sees that the common law is kept, but he has the sole power of modifying the country's law if and whatever he wishes.

643 He announces his decisions (amategeko) at the door of his rugo,
[692] where people from all parts have congregated to pay homage or demand justice. The intumwa (messengers) are then charged to make known the Mwami's orders to the people of the different provinces.

643 In addition to his Mututsi name (Musinga, Rudahigwa, etc.),
551 the Mwami receives on his accession a king's name (Yuhi, Mutara, etc.). These names are repeated periodically; thus the present Mwami is Mutara III.

The king is sometimes given a surname such as Rwabugiri Sezisoni (Merciful, Clement) (2).

[192]

2. Foreign word originating in Buhima, east of Ruanda.

423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 We have said that the *mwami* did not possess the
661 land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *mwami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them
413 are naturally attracted towards those who own them.
357 The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* who watch over the cattle), *bakevvi* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here
675 are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner
425 gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later return a calf after the cow has calved two or three
554 times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 *The relations between agriculturists*

425 Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
425 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

But, besides this universal barter-system, there is
431 what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': it is practised among members of the aristocracy
435 only; it consists in offering members of the ruling
565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete
461 inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

[p. 15(8)]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

421 different uses of the same thing. For instance, one person could have the right to sow a plot and to collect the harvest and another to use it for grazing purposes at another time of the year. Neither of them was considered as the owner letting somebody else use his property as a pasture or as a ground for cultivation.

423 643 On each pasture, cultivated plot or forest area, the king had a right very similar to the *dominion eminens* of Roman law, the kind of public ownership that a State has over the land within the borders. But he had also the right to prevent, if he chose to do so, somebody from using a particular tract of land in any way at all, which amounts to saying that the mwami had over land a right potentially superior to that of anybody else. The mwami's rights could be opposed to 'private rights'. In fact, the king very rarely insisted on this use of his rights and then only when he wanted to punish somebody who was guilty of disobedience or of some other crime.

423 651 The land chief's and cattle chief's rights to fields and pastures will be considered later in the section dealing with the administration. Suffice it to say here that these tax-collectors had the right to evict people for certain offences and to allocate land to newcomers in their districts.

423 425 [428] The person endowed with rights on land for cultivation purposes was the head of a family (*rugo*). Mostly these rights came to him from his father's inheritance. Sometimes, however, it was a part of the bush that he had himself cleared. If he had not received enough from his father to support his family, he extended his plot in this way with the agreement of the political authority. If, because of a dispute with his brothers, he wanted to move elsewhere and the land chief could not allocate him a field already prepared at the place where he wanted to settle, he did the same. Such a plot was called *bukonde* as long as it was occupied either by the man who had cleared it or by his descendants. A third source of cultivation rights was the assignment by the land chief of a plot already prepared (*inkungu*). The former user of it had either to be evicted by the authority, or had left, or had died without heirs.

In the same way the family head had the right to use a certain area as pasture for his cattle either by inheritance, or by felling the trees of a tract of forest or by having it conceded by the cattle chief.

000 At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective rights over certain areas except in the north of Ruanda (Mulera, Rwankeri, Bushiru, Bigogwe) where the Tutsi occupation had been more superficial. I have been told that there the soil belonged to the patrilineage and that there was no land or cattle chief. From the point of view of the individual, however, the situation was very similar: he inherited a share of his father's tract. The difference was that, if the part were insufficient, he had to apply for more to the lineage head instead of to the land-chief, and a plot left without heirs returned to the patrilineage instead of the political authority. 613 423 [425]

The person entitled to the use of a plot could not sell his right but could let the tract. The rent was about one hoe every other year plus a jug of beer each harvest. The tenant was not permitted to settle by building a hut or planting banana trees. 423 427

The Twa resented very much the expansion of fields and pastures in the forests they regarded as their possession. The authority was not concerned with the way they divided it into hunting areas.[1] 311

2. RIGHTS OVER CATTLE

The rights over each head of cattle were also manifold. Property in the Western sense was split up into different aspects. 422

A global right existed over all Ruanda cattle, even sheep and goats, by which the king could claim actual possession of any of them. The mwami used this right more frequently, it seems, over cattle than over land. An important chief indulging in intrigues regarded as dangerous by the king might find himself dispossessed of all his cattle. The king's right over all the cattle of Ruanda was a constant threat which seems to have very effectively deterred the Tutsi of the ruling set from becoming too independent. 422 643 [662]

Another right was very similar to our bare ownership. The person who had it was not in possession of the cow but could at any time claim possession of the animal and the heifers and cows produced by that beast since the time when the possession had been transferred. This was the right of the lord (*shebuja*). 422

In contrast there was the usufruct right with respect to cattle. The person endowed with it could dispose of the milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the dead cows. This was the typical right of the client (*garagu*).

[1] For a more extended account of the land tenure system in traditional Ruanda, see Maquet and Naigiziki, 1957.

3. Laws of the Family and the Clan

614 1. It is forbidden to marry a person belonging to the same umulyango, whatever the degree [of relationship]. Only the Abanyiginya, the clan from which the kings come, may marry [11] within their [own] inzu (1) and a fortiori into the other imilyango.

1. The reason for this endogamy must be sought in the fact that, according to legend, Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu.

However, marriage is forbidden with the Abatshyaba, the Abungura, and the Abakomankali. They usually marry the Abega.

The Abega (the family providing the queens), the Abagessera, the Abakono, the Abaha, and the Abasinga may not marry within their [own] umulyango nor into the other inzu. They are allowed to marry the Abunguru and Abakomankali, but not the Abatshyaba.

[426] [672] 2. The active and passive solidarity [joint and separate liability] in the matter of debts exists only on the paternal side (iwabo wa se) and not in the mother's umulyango (iwabo wa nyina).

The same is true in penal matters unless it is a case of a blood debt.

4. Table of Names Indicating Relationship through Kinship and Marriage

601 Those who are members of the same umulyango are called abagil'ichyobahuriycho, abagil' ichyobapfana, or, and it is the most frequently used and most precise term, abafit'isano.

Husband: umugabo
Wife: umugore
The husband of two wives: umugabo z'ishyali
One of the wives speaking of the other: umukeba wa njye
The husband speaking of one or the other [of the wives]: umukeba we

Son:
1) When the mother speaks: umuhungu wa njye
2) When another wife of the father speaks: umuhungu wa mukeba wa njye or umuhungu w'umugabo wa njye

192 234 574 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192 431 231 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief, or a patron when she has a child.

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

192 231 426 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-

1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192 231 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cowherd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

[465] 3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681] 431] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

[696] INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192 437 231 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches

1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

428 Gifts (kugabira, to make a donation) made by the father to one of his sons, called inkazibiti, if they consist of cows, remain the property of the receiver, except in the case of unworthiness such as marked disrespect, repeated disobedience, etc. (kunyaga, to take back).

The active as well as the passive obligations are passed on to the [672] heirs. If they are unable to pay a debt, the descendants of the deceased [426] in direct line -- and only they -- are required to work one or two days a week for the benefit of the creditor's heirs, whether sons or even brothers, until the debt is completely wiped out.

4. Transmission of Property

The property is assigned to the heirs two months after death among the Batutsi, one month after among the Bahutu. However, the tools and objects may be used immediately. [63]

The son who is cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume) must make restitution for everything he has received from him (inkazibiti, indemano); he is obliged to go far away all alone, without his wife or his children, abandoning all his belongings.

To clarify the mechanism of the transmission of property, we will choose four types of inheritance that commonly arise and make a diagram of the four cases.

Case 1. Inheritance of a Rich Mututsi(Provincial Chief or Umugaragu of the Mwami)

Nyirimigabo, chief of a province, dies, leaving five sons born of two wives. These are:

Bihutu, son of Mujijima, married
Nyagatoma, son of Mujijima, married
Nturo, son of Nyirampunga, not yet married
Rusagara, son of Mujijima, still a child
Mahira, son of Mujijima, still a child

On the death of his father, Nturo, the third son, becomes head of the urugo rwa se.

443 Women and children are admitted to the markets without
579 restriction. In the past, people came armed, for they risked being robbed or even killed on the way by highway bandits.

The Lease of Services (kununga).

[465] A man may agree to work for another for 50 days, for example, at the rate of [80] one or two days a week on the condition of receiving the meat of one cow in exchange.

437 Exchange (kuguza) (1)

1. Kuguza, lit., "to agree to give an advance."

A Mututsi asks a Muhutu for a granary of sorghum (ihundo, lit., an ear of sorghum) for example, in exchange for a bull calf or hoes (usually 30).

The Loan (gutiza)

426 The Banyarwanda distinguish the loan for use (commodatum) from the simple loan (or loan for consumption).

If the loan for use, in hoes for example, is granted without interest, the same is not true of the loan for consumption, which involves edible produce. Whoever has received a basket of sorghum or beans must usually return two. The basket of supplementary produce which must be given the lender is called kirenga.

The Guarantee (kuchyungura).

Primus owns a pruning knife which Secundus would like to borrow. Secundus does not know Primus, so he goes to Tertius, a friend of Primus. Tertius tells Primus to lend his pruning knife to Secundus and offers himself as surety if the latter does not return the tool. Tertius may eventually turn against Secundus.

This contract can be made for cows, granaries of sorghum, etc.

Security (ingwate)

Primus wishes to borrow a few baskets of beans from Secundus. But Secundus answers that he cannot give them to him without a guarantee. Primus then offers Secundus a goat, for example (2).

2. A goat is worth three hoes.

When he brings Primus the counterpart of his loan, he takes back the goat.

[81]

437 The Commission (kugerekesha) (1)

1. Kugerekesha, lit., "to add."

Primus goes to market to exchange a hoe for some beans. [Thereafter] Secundus asks him, as remuneration, to take thence one of his (Secondus') goats and exchange it for three hoes, for example.

426 The Deposit (kubitsa)

The deposit of goods not consisting of cattle involves no obligation on the part of the depositor to the depositary who agrees to keep the goods deposited with him.

These contracts are made before notables of the hill who act as witnesses. But most often they are made in front of a rugo being built or a watering trough, places where there are always many people, who in case of a dispute will give their testimony.

If one of the contractors does not meet his agreement (2)

2. In the case of absolute necessity, for example a famine or an invasion of grasshoppers, a provisional release from the obligation is allowed if the question is one of furnishing produce, sorghum or beans.

or is dishonest, the tribunal of the hill chief, on complaint of the injured party, would force him to discharge (3) his debt (4).

3. Kwishyuza, "to claim payment"; kwishyura, "to pay."

4. Umwēnda, "material."

The creditor has the option of taking a pledge, a goat for example, to oblige the debtor to pay.

If the latter cannot pay, he is condemned to work to indemnify the plaintif, usually two days out of five (5); but he can be replaced

5. Cf. p. 29, note 1.

426 by his son, his daughter, or his daughter-in-law, and possibly an umugaragu. In the past, if a debtor fled in order to avoid his obligations, the creditor had the right to seize his cattle, [82] his banana plantations, and even his hut. However, in this case, the children could keep their father's property on the condition of agreeing to work for the creditor until the debt was fully paid.

Sometimes a patron pays for his client if the latter has only a storehouse of provisions and if he needs the help of his family to work for his shebuja. If the umugaragu dies, his son takes his place. The obligation thus passes to the descendants until it is fulfilled.

On the other hand, the creditor's brother or son can act in the place of their relatives (1).

1. Laws of the Family and of the Clan, p. 8.

574 Hospitality.

The duty of hospitality is sacred to the Banyarwanda. Even a Mututsi will never refuse a Muhutu either ichumbi (lodging) or izimano (wood, water, and food). A proverb says; "Uwubaka wese yubakira abu Mwami (2), and whoever did not grant food and lodging

2. "Whoever builds (a house) does it for the people of the Mwami," which means that his house must be open to all the king's subjects.

to a traveler would be given the name of umugome (bad); he would be Uwanga Umwami (an enemy of the Mwami).

Civil responsibility.

672 Civil responsibility does not exist. The parents themselves however, repair any damage done by their children.

SECTION V. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

1. Nationality

563 The Munyarwanda people include the Batutsi, the Bahutu, and the Batwa. The Mututsi aristocracy of Hamite origin dominates

696 messenger has been dispatched. In that case the other party travels with the messenger in order to bribe him. It is not uncommon for the messenger to accept large gifts from both parties and then not do anything. The high chiefs use this opportunity to visit their lands. The case is adjourned; new, important circumstances are discovered that have not yet been considered; and the proceedings begin all over again.

691 [282] At the time of my visit in Mulera the legal dispute between the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, and Luhanga, the client of Nshohozamigo, was in its fourth year. Each year sentence was pronounced; each year the court messenger was sent off; and each year the two parties returned. In the end Musinga grew tired of the whole affair and kept Lukara at court. After Lukara had obtained permission from Musinga to return home, on the pretense of conducting me to Mulera, he decided to resort to the final argument, to warfare. He attacked Luhanga's people and engaged in a skirmish with the column of my expedition colleague, the geologist E.F. Kirschstein, whose presence the Batutsi tried to use for their protection.

In the end, in its seventh year, the dispute was settled in Luhanga's favor when Lukara was obliged to flee from the German sphere of influence for his murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias. Later he was captured and hanged.

A considerable number of trials deal with the withdrawing of grants and the practice of blood revenge (kuhora enzigo) for slain clan members.

If A is granted a cow by B, B has a certain power over A. He can exert pressure on A by threatening to take back the cow. If A, however, also gets cows from C, who is more powerful than B, the latter's influence diminishes. In some cases A becomes so dependent on C that B loses his influence and moreover his cattle in favor of C. These property shifts give rise to vastly complicated suits over cattle that last for decades and become more and more complicated by small compromises, the legality of which is later challenged.

691 426 686 In civil cases we find the institution of kugombeka. If A is indebted to B and does not pay him or refuses to return something granted him and now demanded back, A can be distrained. If

691 debtor A owns something that is being used by C, a cow, for example, then B can bring C a present and, with C's permission, declare the object belonging to A as kugombeka. In this case A loses all rights to the object he has deposited with C until he has settled his debt, and the object is now regarded as B's property. If A is powerful, the kugombeka of his property is declared void. If he is not influential, this becomes a very profitable business. In view of the duration of the suits, C always has the prospect of being able to appropriate the thing that has been put in his charge or at least of using it without incurring obligation. But under the rules of kugombeka he is responsible to B for the object. If he gives it back to its original owner A, he must replace its value to B or [283] owe it to him, and this starts a second suit between B and C which is separate from that between A and B.

426 686 If the users of A's property refuse to accept kugombeka, the creditor can only resort to kufatira.

Kufatira is the confiscation of part of the property of an individual whom one wishes to force to defray his debt or to meet his responsibilities. Kufatira is also used to force someone to appear at a trial. The use of force is conceded in the case of kufatira, but otherwise infringement of property rights and the use of violence are basically regarded as punishable offenses.

Kufatira can be used successfully only against weaker debtors. If the debtor is very weak, he can even be plundered and bound with a rope until his family takes mercy on him and ransoms him. If, however, the debtor is powerful, kufatira can have all the consequences of a lost war, and there is no recourse but to make one's concern the concern of stronger protectors.

685 In cases of theft, the procedure is considerably simpler, and the judge receives no presents.

695 Evidence. The testimony of witnesses is very important in court trials in Ruanda. The accused has the right to demand witnesses to prove his guilt, but he also has the right to eliminate the testimony of certain witnesses if he has convincing reasons. Such witnesses are, for example, relatives, blood brothers, and clients (bagaragu) of the accuser. The accuser is obliged to comply

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Nothing was definitely left to the wife, the daughters or the affines. But the wife had the usufruct of the rugo in which she had been living while she still had young children to care for. Even when all the children were married, it happened frequently among Tutsi that the wife remained in the rugo till her death. This was usual when the widow married one of her husband's consanguineal relatives, or did not marry again. If she married a man completely alien to her former husband's patrilineage, usually she had to leave the rugo.

The father, before he died, had already given a share of the inheritance to each of his married sons, at the time of the wedding. Consequently, what was left at the father's death had to be divided among the sons who had not yet received anything. In principle rights to cattle as well as to land were equally shared. When bare ownership of cattle was divided between the sons of a lord, the clients of the father became clients of the son to whom the bare ownership of a particular cow or herd of cattle had been ascribed. When usufruct on cattle had to be inherited, the successors became clients of the people who had the bare ownership of the same cattle. But the lord had to agree on the choice of his new client.

In a polygynous family the principle of equality of shares held good for each rugo. Consequently the shares of the sons of the same father could vary considerably if the number of sons of each wife was very dissimilar.

The son chosen as head of the rugo had a supplementary share (*ingarigari*) as he had more economic responsibilities. Normally he received it before his father's death. This was called *gukubita itoko*, to stroke the thigh, meaning to give a favour.

Debts owed by the deceased were divided between his heirs, but the family head had to meet a greater part than the others. Judiciary fines were cancelled by the death of the debtor. When the deceased was creditor, the debt had to be paid by the rugo head who shared it with his co-heirs.

The father could also make a will and usually did. He could alter the traditional procedure within rather narrow limits, and for reasons regarded as valid by the patrilineage head or sometimes the political chief or the lord. A son who had been cursed was *ipso facto* disinherited. A son could be punished in the same way

[41]

SECTION II. PROPERTY

1. Property in General

421 The Banyarwanda have a less abstract idea of property than we have. It is comparable to that of possession.

On the other hand, no differentiation is made between personal property and real estate. Property is given different names according to its nature and use. The Banyarwanda divide their property [into the following categories]: amatungo (animals); ibintu, a generic name applicable to the rugo, imilima (fields); ubgatsi (pasturage); imyaka (crops); and urutoke (banana plantations); ibiti (trees); intwaro (weapons and cutting instruments); ibikolesho (hoes, pickaxes, baskets, churns); imyambaro (clothing).

2. Landed Property

423 True landed property exists in Ruanda, while in the Belgian Congo the natives consider that the bare ownership of the land belongs to the souls of the departed and that they themselves only have usufruct.

[643] All the land in the country belongs to the Mwami who relin-
423 guishes its use successively to the various chiefs and subchiefs. These,
425 in turn, cede an isambu (land sold) or concede an umwatano (land
427 leased) to the Bahutu in consideration of a price or a payment consisting of a certain percentage of future crops (ichyata umulima, lit., gift in order to have a field).

The Muhutu holds his land in a more or less precarious way. Even if he makes his payments regularly [42] his land may be taken away from him one day, if, for example, he neglects to pay the customary dues to the chiefs and the king. In this case he may be deprived of all or part of his land, but the last crop is not taken from him (1).

423 184 1. An appreciably different administration of property exists in the western part of Bunyambiriri, the extreme north of Ndiza,

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c) Classification by age (cont'd)

2. FEMALE CATTLE

Isave, cow sterile from birth (thin)
Urubeheri, cow sterile from birth (fat)

d) Classification of Cattle According to Horns

Igaritse, with large spreading horns
Impotore, with horns whose points are slightly twisted
Ingarure, with twisted horns whose points go forward
Inkungu, without horns
[48]
Intenderi, with horns whose points point toward the ground
Inkungu y'indegeri, with small mobile horns
Ikubis'ihembe, with one vertical and one horizontal horn
Itigey'inyuma, with horns whose points point backwards
Itez'akamosd, with crossed horns
Urubindo, with horns whose points point towards the ears
Itegey'ijuru, with large almost vertical horns

e) Classification of Cattle According to Common Law

422 IMBATA. Head of cattle received as dowry, as a present, or
231 bought in the market, and whose owner is the true proprietor. But
[622] if, in putting himself under the patronage of the hill or provincial
[192] chief (1) he receives from either of them one or several cows called

1. See further on, Obligations and Contracts, p. 63.

inkazibiti or ingabane, according to whether he is a Muhutu or a Mututsi, all the imbata cows can be taken away from him with the others, should he lose his status as a client, by an arbitrary decision of his patron.

422 If a Muhutu receives from a Mututsi some heads of cattle
231 in virtue of the contract called ubugaragu (lease of livestock) (1),
427

1. See further on, Obligations and

Contracts, p.63.

231 and if after a few years by selling the young bulls, the skins, the
422 horns, the milk, and the butter, he has made enough money to
● 427 buy a head of cattle, the latter is not an imbata, but an impahano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

422 If a Muhutu, the umugaragu of a Mututsi, marries his
583 daughter and receives a milch cow as dowry, the latter is not an
192 imbata, but an inkwano, and the shebuja of the son-in-law can take
231 it back. In effect, it is the social position of the Muhutu which entitled him to collect a dowry in cattle. If he had not been a client of a Mututsi, he would have received as dowry only hoes or goats. [49]

231 INTUNDANO. (1) Cow bought in the market with the salary
422
192

1. From kutunda, "to do business."

earned at the mines in exchange for goats or baskets of beans. It is an imbata.

INDUNDU. Cow acquired in immediate full ownership without the condition that the buyer should later make an additional payment. Indundu is opposed to ingwate (2).

2. See further on, p. 46.

[431] INKAZIBITI. Cows given without fee by the patron to a client who has paid homage (guhakwa). To take possession of cows promised by the shebuja is called kujya ku ilembo (lit., to cross the threshold of the rugo). The first cow received under these conditions is called inka y'igiti (3); the second, impetano; the others

3. Literally, "cow of the treetrunk."

do not have a special name. A father can also give some inkazibiti to his wives and sons.

192 231 431 IMPONGANO. A cow given to appease the anger of the king or one of the provincial chiefs.

2) A cow given to a friend of the Mwami to thank him for his intervention with the king.

IZIMANO. The first time a great provincial chief goes to visit another, the host gives his guest a milch cow.

Similarly, if the king or a provincial chief visits one of their abagaragu, he is given a calf.

INJISHYWA. A cow that accompanies a noble Mututsi when he visits a provincial chief or the Mwami on business or to pay homage. It is meant to provide him with the milk necessary for food.

427 192 231 INDAGIZO. (2). A cow which the depositor (uwaragije) entrusts

> 2. From kulagiza, "to give on trust in order to pasture."

to someone who owns a better pasture than his, but the trustee (uwaragiywe) does not become umugaragu. The latter must return the cow when it has calved, but he has the right to the milk for two months if the cow is young, and for a fortnight if it is not. If the calf dies, the trusteé has the right to the milk one day out of four.

[55]

231 192 INTAHIRA (1). This is the best of the cows held by an umugaragu.

> 1. From gutahira, "to come in front," "to precede," "to lead."

He always makes it walk at the head of the herd. The holder can take its milk (intagemura, lit., to keep the milk for one's self), but the calves must return to the owner.

192 231 437 INGWATE. Primus, who owns a bull calf (inguzwa) or a sterile cow (also inguzwa), asks Secundus, who has a heifer (ingwate), if he is willing to exchange on the following conditions:

a) If the heifer has a female calf (umukangara), Primus will keep it and its mother for a length of time to be agreed upon, usually two years. Secundus will then take back the cow and its calf and in addition will keep the inguzwa.

241 Urundi and Ruanda where water is abundant, crowned cranes,
136 spore geese, and Nile geese are the worst enemies of the crops since they eat the young budding sprouts of beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, millet, etc. The Bahutu try to frighten them away by rattles and shouting. Ibises, herons, and golden plovers also abound in the swamp valleys, but they do not attack the green crops and prefer to fish for frogs, worms, and snails in the drainage ditches. In the dry quartzite regions of eastern Urundi there are only a few such swamp valleys, and consequently there are only a few of the noxious birds mentioned above.

251 Harvested produce is partly kept in baskets and sacks in the huts, but most of it is put in the basket-shaped storage huts mentioned above (p.22) which are located near the living huts. Particularly beans, sorghum, and corn are stored in these basket-like huts. However, during the dry period ears of corn are suspended in large bundles from the fig trees surrounding the homestead. The tuberous fruit, namely, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and arrowroot, are usually not piled up but are left in the ground until they are needed. This is another reason why the quantity grown is never large, since it would spoil otherwise.

423 I mentioned before that further expansion of agriculture in Urundi is blocked by the peculiar conditions of ownership. The situation here is quite similar to that in Ruanda. None of the agricultural Bahutu owns the land that he cultivates. All the land is the property of the king who vests his high batwale with it, who in turn vest the lower Batussi batwale (see p. 134). The mutwale distributes the individual lots of land to the Bahutu he rules, who hold it in fee. [57] The Bahutu must ask his per-
423 mission whenever they intend to work a plot of land, build a hut,
651 or clear new ground for fields. They pay him a tribute of natural products which is done only once. In addition, they pay him an
[427] annual "tithe" as a ground rent. If the annual rent is not paid at harvest time, the mutwale may punish this tardiness by evicting the person from the land. The mutwale may also demand extraordinary tributes from the Bahutu without compensating them, for example, presents for the head chief, provisions for the caravan of a European passing through, etc. The gifts or payments made

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective rights over certain areas except in the north of Ruanda (Mulera, Rwankeri, Bushiru, Bigogwe) where the Tutsi occupation had been more superficial. I have been told that there the soil belonged to the patrilineage and that there was no land or cattle chief. From the point of view of the individual, however, the situation was very similar: he inherited a share of his father's tract. The difference was that, if the part were insufficient, he had to apply for more to the lineage head instead of to the land-chief, and a plot left without heirs returned to the patrilineage instead of the political authority. 613 423 [425]

The person entitled to the use of a plot could not sell his right but could let the tract. The rent was about one hoe every other year plus a jug of beer each harvest. The tenant was not permitted to settle by building a hut or planting banana trees. 423 427

The Twa resented very much the expansion of fields and pastures in the forests they regarded as their possession. The authority was not concerned with the way they divided it into hunting areas.[1] 311

2. RIGHTS OVER CATTLE

The rights over each head of cattle were also manifold. Property in the Western sense was split up into different aspects. 422

A global right existed over all Ruanda cattle, even sheep and goats, by which the king could claim actual possession of any of them. The mwami used this right more frequently, it seems, over cattle than over land. An important chief indulging in intrigues regarded as dangerous by the king might find himself dispossessed of all his cattle. The king's right over all the cattle of Ruanda was a constant threat which seems to have very effectively deterred the Tutsi of the ruling set from becoming too independent. 422 643 [662]

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In contrast there was the usufruct right with respect to cattle. The person endowed with it could dispose of the milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the dead cows. This was the typical right of the client (*garagu*).

[1] For a more extended account of the land tenure system in traditional Ruanda, see Maquet and Naigiziki, 1957.

596 [591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[595] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 596 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a childless man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A [563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a [428] brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has [562] the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother [586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (úmutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 428 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from

1. Cf. Property; Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

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and in Rukiga (provinces of Mulera and Bugoyi) where the land cleared and cultivated by the Bahutu are subject to a right of family property. This right is sacred and the Batutsi, whose power in these regions is rather nominal, know that they cannot dispute it without exposing themselves to serious miscalculations and even to bloody reprisals.

423 [622] [425] The hill chief also has the right to take a plot of land (ubugerure) from the Bahutu in order to form an ubuka which he wishes to give to someone else or to keep as his own property (imilima y'inyarulembo). The part of the plot that is left to the Muhutu is called isagu.

[428] The Muhutu can transmit his right of exploitation to his son by inheritance. Land that passes from one generation to the next is called indeka.

[574] Land is sometimes held collectively by a family in the person of its head (isambu or ingobyi y'iwabo). Members of the family pay him no rent and, to the exclusion of strangers, have the right to cut firewood and graze their cattle there.

[622] There are also communal woods (itshanya). The hill chief reserves part of them for himself and allows the hill people to exploit the remainder.

[563] The Batwa claim to be the legitimate occupants of the forests. For this reason they often enter into disputes with the Bahutu living near the wooded regions.

[622] Mines and quarries of clay are the property of the chief, but he allows his people to [43] supply themselves there in exchange for a payment (a hoe or some pots).

The boundaries (imbibi) of fields are usually marked by small ditches (impavu) or piles of stones (ibishyinga).

There are no neutral zones between lands.

425 423 An inkungu is a piece of ground that has been abandoned because of the holder's voluntary departure or death without leaving an heir. A man who has been cursed by his father or driven out by the chief because of repeated thefts of cattle, for example, must also abandon his plot. The chief can offer an inkungu (or an ubugerure) to a stranger to the hill who asks to settle there. If he is a Muhutu, he is

SECTION III. INHERITANCE

1. Basis of the Law of Inheritance

428 The principles regulating the laws of inheritance are:

1) Wives and daughters are excluded from inheritance for they can neither bequeath nor inherit valuables.

2) In principle, the inheritance remains in the male paternal line (2);

> 2. A boy may also inherit from his mother's family but only if the deceased, a relative of his mother, has expressed his wish before dying and also, of course, if he has no natural heirs. It may also happen that a stranger inherits from the deceased, if the latter has no heirs.

3) The new head of the family is normally, but not necessarily, the eldest of the sons, with no distinction made between mothers.

2. Designation of the New Head of the Family

[765] The period of mourning (kwirabura, lit., to become black) and the
596 purification ceremonies (kwera, lit., to become white) being over, that
428 is, two months after the death (3), the [61] designation of the new head

> 3. The time is reduced to a few days if the couple have not had any children.

of the family (umutware w'urugo rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) takes place.

If the father has died without having been able to make his wishes known, this choice is made by the chief of the umulyango who asks beforehand the advice of the elders. It matters little whether the sons are of different mothers (polygyny, or successive marriages), whether they are legitimate, born of a concubine, or adulterine. Only the qualities required of a future head of the family are taken into consideration.

[763] Usually, feeling his end to be near, the father calls the chief
596 of the umulyango and two friends. He dictates to them his last wishes.
428 The wives of a polygamous man do not hesitate to intrigue in favor of their sons and attempt to circumvent their husband -- or even his brother -- using both their charms and their most subtle arguments. The situation is the same in the case of successive marriages.

It is easily understood that often the other sons, especially if they are of different mothers, feel themselves wronged, rightly or wrongly.
[691] But they are given the opportunity of demanding justice from the Mwami, the provincial chief, or the hill chief, according to whether they are sons of umutware w'intebe, of igisonga, or simple Batutsi or Bahutu. These authorities will ratify the choice made by the father or the uncle, or else will decide what other young man will succeed his father.

If there is no male descendant, the high position of head of the family falls on the oldest brother of the deceased. In this case, the heir will be both head of his rugo and of his brother's.

He may also be, at the same time, chief of the umulyango, that
[614] is to say, of the clan. This is the umutware w'umulyango (or the umutware rwa bo).

If all the brothers have disappeared, their sons inherit by right of primogeniture. [62]

If the deceased has neither sons, nor brothers, nor nephews in his line, his father will succeed him, or in his absence, the father's brother or one of his male descendants by right of primogeniture.

The Bahutu and the Batwa have their own umutware w'urugo. But they are dependent on the same umulyango chief as the Batutsi.

3. Composition of the Inheritance

428 In addition to the high position of head of the family, the inheritance includes:

1) The heavy cattle
2) The clients (abagaragu)
3) Particularly among the Bahutu, the goats and sheep
4) Landed property (1)
5) Movables, personal property (1)

1. Cf. Property, Property in General, p. 34.

428 Gifts (kugabira, to make a donation) made by the father to one of his sons, called inkazibiti, if they consist of cows, remain the property of the receiver, except in the case of unworthiness such as marked disrespect, repeated disobedience, etc. (kunyaga, to take back).

The active as well as the passive obligations are passed on to the [672] heirs. If they are unable to pay a debt, the descendants of the deceased [426] in direct line -- and only they -- are required to work one or two days a week for the benefit of the creditor's heirs, whether sons or even brothers, until the debt is completely wiped out.

4. Transmission of Property

The property is assigned to the heirs two months after death among the Batutsi, one month after among the Bahutu. However, the tools and objects may be used immediately. [63]

The son who is cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume) must make restitution for everything he has received from him (inkazibiti, indemano); he is obliged to go far away all alone, without his wife or his children, abandoning all his belongings.

To clarify the mechanism of the transmission of property, we will choose four types of inheritance that commonly arise and make a diagram of the four cases.

Case 1. Inheritance of a Rich Mututsi(Provincial Chief or Umugaragu of the Mwami)

Nyirimigabo, chief of a province, dies, leaving five sons born of two wives. These are:

Bihutu, son of Mujijima, married
Nyagatoma, son of Mujijima, married
Nturo, son of Nyirampunga, not yet married
Rusagara, son of Mujijima, still a child
Mahira, son of Mujijima, still a child

On the death of his father, Nturo, the third son, becomes head of the urugo rwa se.

●428 The property will be divided as follows (1):

1. For the definition of the different names designating the inherited property which consists of cattle, cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, pp. 40-50.

COWS. Nturo, not yet married, receives:

1) The ingarigari of his father, 2,000 heads, for example.

2) The indabukirano given by the abagaragu (simple option).

3) The intore given by the same (obligation).

4) The indabukirano given by his brothers, Bihutu and [64] Nyagatom, by Mujijima in the name of Rusagara and Mahira who are still children, and by his father's friends (option).

5) Part of the inyarulembo of his mother Nyirampunga.

6) In addition, his abagaragu and his friends may each bring him an indoramo cow.

Bihutu, the eldest, receives nothing. But, having married while his father was alive, he received from the latter at the time he was established the iminani, a herd of indemano cows.

Nyagatoma receives some indemano which Nturo withdraws from his inyarulembo (twenty-five, for example). In this way, as he is about to take a wife, he will be able to establish himself. His father [sic] gives him in addition a few inkazibiti (four or five).

Rusagara receives some inkazibiti from Nturo. Being still young he remains with his mother Mujijima, who will later give him some indemano taken from the inyarulembo she received from her husband.

Mahiri, like his brother Rusagara, continues to live with his mother. Nturo also gives him some inkazibiti, and later he will give him some indemano, for his mother will presumably not have enough inyarulembo to give him any.

The inyarulembo of Mujijima stay with her; she reserves some of them to give to Rusagara as indemano, and she keeps the others. The inyarulembo of Nyirampunga are taken by Nturo, who leaves a certain number of them to his mother.

When one of his married sisters comes to announce the birth of a child, Nturo gives her either a y'urugori or a y'ibihembo cow.

428 CLIENTS. The abagaragu whom Nyirimigabo had acquired by giving them some inkazibiti are all left to Nturo. [65] They are given the same as a herd of indemano cows, that is iminani.

The brothers of Nturo, as soon as they are provided with cows, also find for themselves some abagaragu.

The cowherds (abashumba) who look after the cows of the deceased's wives have the same fate as the inyarulembo of the wives: those of Mujijima remain with her cows, until some of them accompany the cows given as indemano to Rusagara and Mahira.

FIELDS, BANANA PLANTATIONS. As head of the family, Nturo can choose the fields wherever he wants on one of his father's hills.

Bihutu and Nyagatoma, who had received a field at the same time as their umanane, no longer have the right to ask for more.

Rusugora and Mahira will receive a field from their mother or from Nturo.

PASTURES. Rules regulating the assignment of fields apply to that of pastures.

RUGO. Each wife of the deceased continues to live in her own rugo, which is surrounded by banana plants, some land for cultivation, and a pasture.

WEAPONS, TOOLS, ETC. They belong by right to the head of the family.

CLOTHING. The same applies to these, but the head of the family usually distributes them to the servants.

Case II. Inheritance of an Average Mututsi (Hill Chief)

Gakire, son of Kanziga, married while his father Gafuku was living, received thirty indemano and three inkazibiti. Kagabo, son of Ligoga, also married, received from his father twenty-five indemano and three inkazibiti. [66]

Kinyogote, son of Ligoga, still a child, received from his father two inkazibiti.

Kanziga and Ligoga each received twenty inyarulembo from their husband.

At his death Gafuku owns an ingarigari of eighty animals.

COWS. Gakire, made head of the family, takes:

1) The eighty ingarigari.

●428 2) The indabukiramo given by his brothers and the clients, as well as the intore given by the abagaragu.

3) Part of his mother Kanziga's inyarulembo.

Kagabo can receive nothing.

Kinyogote remains with his mother. When he is old enough to be married, he will receive from Gakire twenty cows of which the latter will take ten from his inyarulembo, five others from Kanziga's inyarulembo, and five from Kagabo's indemano. In addition, Kinyogote will receive five inyarulembo from his mother Ligoga. In this way he will have twenty-five indemano.

CLIENTS. Kanziga's servants remain in her own rugo. Those of Kanziga belong to Gakire who leaves a certain number of them to his mother. Gafuku's clients are also passed on to the new head of the family.

FIELDS AND PASTURES. Gakire chooses new fields for himself on the hill.

Kagabo receives nothing.

Kinyogote will remain with his mother until his marriage, when Gakire and Kagabo will each give him a field and a pasture. [67]

RUGO. Each widow remains in her rugo until her death, her return to her family, or her remarriage.

WEAPONS, TOOLS, CLOTHING. Their distribution is the same as in Case II [sic].

Case III. Inheritance of a Simple Mututsi

Gakuba, a humble man although a Mututsi, had four children from his marriage with Kamororo.

Karekezi, who married during his father's lifetime, received from him two inkazibiti cows. Gakuba is too poor to give his sons enough cows to merit the name iminani. Besides Karekezi has received a real inka y'igiti.

Kambanda, who is also married, has also received two cows of which one is a real inka y'igiti.

Gapyisi and Kayibanda were still small children when their father died and have received nothing from him.

When he died Gabuka left twenty inyarulembo cows.

428 COWS. They are divided as follows:

Kambanda, appointed head of the family, receives seven cows and in addition one as itako ry'umutware (1) (lit., chief's thigh).

1. In order to provide for the needs of his brothers and sisters.

Each of the other sons receives an equal number of cows (four). It may happen that some cows are not distributed. If there is only one, it belongs jointly to all the sons. If there are two, each of them belongs to two of the sons.

CLIENTS. There are hardly more than two or three and they go to the head of the family. [68]

FIELDS AND PASTURES. The two oldest received a field and a pasture at the time of their marriages. Of the land owned by the father when he died, Kambanda will take two thirds, and the remaining third will be divided later among the younger sons.

URUGO. It continues to be occupied by the mother.

WEAPONS, TOOLS. Are Kambanda's share.

Case IV. Inheritance of a Muhutu

Kimonyo dies, leaving five sons born of three wives:

Tabaro, son of Nyiramgunzu, married during his father's lifetime and having received a field from him

Fuku, son of Nyirambeba

Shumbushu, son of Nyiramgunzu

Karifuni, son of Nyirambeba

Nzabandora, son of Nyiramatama

FIELDS AND TREES. Shumbushu, appointed head of the family, remains with his mother. He receives as itako ry'umutware, in bare ownership, a large part of Nyiramgunzu's banana plantation, the remainder being divided in equal parts between him and his brother Tabaro (also in bare ownership).

Fuku and Karifuni will also each receive half of their mother's field and banana plantation.

428 Nzabandora is assigned Nyiramatama's field and banana plantation.

However, Shumbushu has the right to collect an itako on his brothers' property.

COWS, PASTURES. Usually the Muhutu does not own any pasture and, for even if he has one or two cows, they are inkazibiti and rarely imbata. These animals [69] belong jointly to the sons of the deceased, who go and ask a well-to-do Mututsi for permission to continue taking their animals to pasture on his land.

SMALL LIVESTOCK. The flock of goats and sheep is divided among the sons. The head of the family in addition takes the itako.

RUGO, CROPS. Each of the wives remains in her rugo and disposes of the surrounding crops.

WEAPONS, TOOLS. Are taken by the head of the family.

Inheritance of a Mutwa

The inheritance of a Mutwa amounts to very little, a few goats and sheep, some tools and utensils. He may however own a small field (ingobyi y'urugo), or sometimes even a fairly large tract of land (igikingi), usually received for choreographic skill.

5. The Fate of Widows

587 When the time of the kwirabura and kwera has expired, the widow (umupfakazi) may remarry.

If she accepts as her new spouse a member of her husband's family, such as the head of the family (except for her own son) (1), one of her

> 1. The son who is head of the family may take as wife one or several of his father's widows if they do not belong to his mother's family. An uncle may not marry his niece.

brothers-in-law (her husband's brothers), or her father-in-law, then the wife remains in the rugo where her new husband will visit her. No dowry (inkwano) is paid for a widow who remarries, and the wedding takes place without the customary ceremonies.

429 chosen as guardian. In this capacity he exercises the prerogatives
768 of the paternal authority and manages for his wards the property left by the deceased.

If the male relatives on the paternal side have died, one of the maternal uncles will be guardian. In effect as each of the couple continues to belong to his and her umulyango, the children are members of both families.

429 Emancipation, which occurs normally at the moment of marriage comes when the young man reaches eighteen years of age. But it may happen that the children, having reason to complain of their guardian, go and seek justice, according to their rank, from the hill chief, the provincial chief, or the Mwami. When they are grown they may even emancipate themselves (proprio motu) by driving out their unworthy guardian.

8. Irregular Inheritance

428 While daughters are excluded from inheriting by the law of inheritance, they are always presented with gifts by the new head of the family, at least when he is their brother.

As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the following case may arise: A Muhutu, umugaragu of a rich Mututsi, has a daughter who is a servant to his master and who is married to another servant. When his client dies, instead of taking back the cows, the master can give them to the daughter's husband, who thus becomes his umagaragu.

When a wife dies, the few ornaments she owns (necklaces, bracelets) do not go to her daughter, but to her stepdaughters (her husband's daughters). With the political chief's permission, the mother may also give them to her son who was living with her and who will later on give them to his wife.

428 A man who has no sons (inchike) or who has cursed them may adopt
597 a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu) [73], or in his absence, a son of his sister (umwishywa). He promises him his inheritance and his inheritance and his nephew becomes his true son (1).

1. Cf. Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4.

428 608 429

A man who has concluded the blood pact (kunywana) (2)

2. Cf. Personal Status, The Blood Pact, p.13.

inherits from his blood brother (umunywanyi) if the latter dies without leaving any male relatives. He may marry the wife of the deceased but not his daughter, who is considered as being his child, and he exercises paternal authority over the orphans.

429 If the deceased is tied to a patron by a lease of livestock and has no brother, the guardianship of the children who are minors belongs to the shebuja (kumuremera). In the opposite case, the shebuja shares it with a paternal or a maternal uncle of the orphans. If the patron has paid his client's dowry, he will take the dowries given for his umugaragu's daughters and will keep them to enable the boys to marry. Thus, in this case, a Mututsi becomes chief of the Muhutu's rugo.

9. Reversion of Property in Escheat

428 As women do not inherit, in the unlikely case of the deceased having no male relatives, his patron takes back the cows that belonged to him and appropriates the small livestock, tools, etc. (inzungu) (3). The fields, banana plantations, and pastures left

3. From guzungura, " to inherit without being a relative."

under the same conditions (inkungu) (1) go to the political chief who

1. Cf. Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4.

assigns them to another man. But widows are authorized to live in their own rugo.

If the deceased is not tied by an ubugaragu contract, all his property goes to the political chief who disposes of it as he sees fit.

364 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. Accord-
356 ing to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings, and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

356 When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired, but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years. After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
428 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it, and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight
592 residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters of homesteads are much larger.

556 Rich people and the Batussi lords, however, are not con-
592 tent with a single kraal including several huts. They build several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass
342 directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living and reception room for the master of the house and also as a shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1). For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common Batussi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother [429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a 428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers 768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her 587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional 428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest 463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith 868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is 671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is 563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

595 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi. [837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is [428] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists. [428] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children [563] have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very [842] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage [583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi; 548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

614 Abasinga, Abagessera, Abasiete, etc. /46/

2. Bahutu Ethnic Group

a) Oldest clans:
Ababanda, Abagessera, Abazigaba, Abungura, Abasinga, Abatchaba or Abiru, etc.

b) Secondary or recent clans:
Abambari, Abalevu, Abalindwa, Abatabo, Abahindi, Abakora, Abahigo, Abahuma, Abatembe, Abaziko, Abashobyo, Abondo, Abanyunjo, Abajongo, Abachira, Abakwa, Abanyoni, Abungura, Abalimba, etc.

3. Batwa Ethnic Group

563 614 They borrow their designations from the Bahutu for most of their clans. Although of Bahutu origin, the Bayovu are linked to the Batwa race. They are regarded as a degenerate group because, like the Negrillos, they eat animals considered impure and make pottery.

In spite of their more or less artificial division into tribes, the Pygmies actually regard themselves from a social point of view as part of one single group called Batwa. They practice what we call solidarity among themselves.

If one of them is killed, the whole group feels injured and [574] rises to avenge him. A Mutwa /sing. of Batwa/ who travels is everywhere offered hospitality by his "brothers," even if they do not know him.

421 Property rights exist among the Banyarwanda. They are well defined by custom and tradition, notwithstanding temporary injustices and the discretionary powers of the king and of the chiefs. Everyone recognizes those rights and accepts them in principle. No one fails to exercise them or claim them.

They are taken into account in legal proceedings.

Daughters do not inherit but are taken care of by their brothers 426 until the day they marry. /47/

●428 Only boys share in the real estate (1).

1. As exceptions to this rule, one finds a few joint patrimonial domains which the co-heirs exploit together under the frerage (or frareshe). This kind of landed property is called isage (or ingaligazi).

The oldest son, or at least the one appointed by the dying man to succeed him, receives a share slightly larger than that of his brothers, owing to his right of primogeniture. If there are three heirs, the property is divided into three lots of equal size except for one field or one small banana grove.

This /latter/ parcel is called umusaya and is added to the share of the first heir.

Cattle and sheep are divided equally among them.

311 423 One does not find any free or abandoned land in Ruanda. There may be more or less extensive areas that lie fallow because they are not very fertile, or because the presence of wild beasts makes them too dangerous, or because they are too remote from inhabited centers or too extensive in relation to the population size, but they are not on this account res nullius /Tr.: nobody's property/. Their owners always retain the right to use them and take effective possession of them whenever they wish.

Forests, mountains, moors, marshes, and bogs are divided into a multitude of lots whose owners are publicly known.

[661] Through an abuse of authority, the chiefs may temporarily reserve for themselves part of the plateaus, valleys, or marshy lowlands to graze their cattle.

In spite of this, their subjects retain proprietary ownership of these lands and grasslands and they will not fail to assert their rights at the first opportunity, for example, when a chief departs or when he is replaced.

In some regions it frequently happens that the arable plots no longer meet the /48/ needs of the population. Then those men who

428 The line of behavior followed by the Banyarwanda when it is
543 time to make a will shows that their social organization, /49/ though far from perfect, is superior to that of many other Negro tribes.

Hamites, Bahutu, and Batwa are anxious to express their last wishes clearly in order to leave nothing unforseen and in order to keep chicanery from creeping in among the heirs.

While alive the father gathers his children around him on a day he selects, or, if he wishes to lend more solemnity to the occasion, he goes with them to the hill chief and offers him a beer as an introductory gift. Among his male children, he appoints the one he likes best as his principal legatee, whether it be the oldest, the youngest, or any one among them.

The chosen son will succeed him in his role as head of the family to levy taxes on his brothers in the name of the king or of the Hamitic chief, and will deal with the latter in matters concerning the small group.

[578] A father may disinherit and curse a son who has given him serious grounds for complaint, who has not shown him due respect, who has insulted him, abandoned him in times of misfortune, or defected during legal proceedings. "May he bear no more children," he exclaims, spitting into one hand and then into the other. "You have behaved badly toward me. I cut you off from my family, I
[539] curse you." (1)

1. Ntabyare! Ntaheke! Wambereye gito, nanje ndaguchiye mu bana banje!

As we have already said, the family property is divided into as many lots as there are boys.

The same holds true for the livestock, cows, goats, and sheep. Each son receives an equal share.

The executor of the will, as the eldest son or head of the family, adds a small field or a piece of a banana grove to his patrimonial share.

While his father is still alive, he usually receives a cow, called "obedience cow" (inka y'indabukirano) to confirm his authority

428 over his brothers. As an act of vassalage, the latter must in turn /each/
593 give him a beer, a hoe, and a sheep. /50/ They acknowledge his superiority thereby, and place themselves under his dependence. In return he must show interest in them and in their legal proceedings, take care of their affairs in the event of illness, defend them against one and all.

[429] Daughters have no right whatever to inherit from their father. Before he dies, on the other hand, the father appoints one of his sons to look after each one of them to take care of her future, her marriage, and to watch over her until she marries.

851 A daughter whose bride price was paid for in cows receives
431 a heifer from her father or brother when she comes to show them her first born. Among wealthy families, she is given a cow at the birth
[556] of each male child. Among poorer families, the gift consists of a young bull, a goat, or one or two hoes, depending on the amount of the bride price (1).

1. A cow given under these circumstances is called "young mother's cow" (ichari, umwari). The young bull obtained under the same circumstances is called "woman's garment" (inkanda), because the animal's hide must theoretically be used to clothe the happy mother.

According to the Banyarwanda custom governing the occasion, the child's father must give three jugs of beer and a basketful of cooked food to his father-in-law or to the brother-in-law who is his wife's guardian.

428 Upon their father's death, daughters merely receive garments made of cowhide, hoes, or sheep, which on account of the bereavement are called by the name of "salary or reward for tears."

428 The widow whose son was chosen as chief legatee usually en-
[768] joys the use of the family property until her death. The sharing is definitively carried out only after she has left this world. A childless widow is usually sent away by her husband's relatives, who share among themselves the property of the deceased. On being dismissed, she is left merely with a mat and a few household utensils. If she is fairly young, one of her brothers-in-law takes her as a concubine or
429 gets her another husband. /51/ When a child loses both parents, he is given a guardian. The legal guardian is the paternal grandfather, or lacking him, an uncle, a paternal first cousin, or lastly the chief of the village himself.

Maternal uncles and aunts, especially if they belong to another clan, cannot as a general rule manage the orphan's property. This would give rise to disputes and legal porceedings among the members of both tribes. They may bring up the child at best.

The guardianship devolves by right to relatives on the paternal side. They administer the ward's property until he comes of age,
[582] that is to say, until the day when he takes a wife. This usually happens at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

If only daughters are left, the nearest paternal relatives
[428] inherit the family property, but they must take care of the orphans until they marry.

If a person dies childless and leaves no relatives, his property devolves by right to the hill chief. This property is called inkungu.

[165] The families are large, but child mortality is high.

851 Eight days after his birth the newborn child receives from his
551 father a name that befits the circumstances (1). The mother /52/ is

1. "We notice that all men," says Mgr. LeRoy, "give themselves names that characterize them, and frequently the best one they could find was that of an animal whose strength, skill, agility, or beauty they had noticed, of a plant that was useful to them.... of an object or phenomenon which had struck them." (Les primitifs /Primitive Peoples/, p. 126.)

614 842 Since the groups involved in this arrangement are small and conditions simple and clear, no one can forget that the welfare of the individual is directly dependent on the welfare of the clan. Hence everyone is very much concerned that the clan appear powerful to the outside world. It must be as large as possible and always ready for war. No effort must be spared to achieve this; otherwise the members of the clan have no protection against plunder, impoverishment, and even complete extinction. The man as well as the woman must be considered from this point of view, and producing children is, therefore, the most important duty of the individual. This explains the completely unenviable position of the childless woman. For the same reason, sons whose descendants will augment the number of clan members are preferred to a daughter, even though one can always trade her for a cow.

614 563 The importance of the clan's strength and fighting fitness, even today in Bugoye, was convincingly demonstrated to me by the fate of my Muhutu informant's father. Several years ago their clan was scattered by advancing Batutsi. Only his father remained on the old clan property, along with the [234] children and his uncle. Since there were only a few men in both families and they were too weak to defend themselves, the Batutsi simply settled on the land and indulged in all kinds of suppressive measures against the weaker farmers. At the time of my visit, for example, they took away a whole hut and carried it to their settlement, instead of building a new one for themselves.

614 628 Every individual is under the protection of the clan. This makes it possible for a person to lead a more or less secure existence. Clan organization represents a sort of social guarantee which is directed primarily against the misdeeds of fellow tribesmen who do not belong to the clan.

614 627 Moreover, the clan exercises control over its members, and, if serious offenses are committed by individuals who endanger the interests of the clan, they can even be exiled.

614 627 428 The clan may also interfere in family matters and, above all, in disputes about inheritances. Although the father can dispose of his property as he sees fit, nevertheless his decisions presuppose the tacit approval of the clan. If the interests of the clan are

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
428 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
423 property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy, it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
651 taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

The protection of female clan members does not extend to
614 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
591 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
768 happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
614 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

681 Punishment by whipping seems to be done less in Ruanda than in Bgisha where the chief ties people to trees and has them punished with up to 100 strokes of the whip on their backs. This [177] custom is said to have been borrowed from the English Askari who were stationed there.

On the subject of property rights we wish to make only a 423 few general remarks. The entire country is the private property 428 of the king and is regarded as either entrusted to the chiefs or granted to the clans. All the farmers and herdsmen are merely tenants or have the use of the land. As a consequence, the chief and clan community have the final word in matters dealing with the inheritance of usufruct of so-called crown property, that is, fields and cattle.

Only household goods, with the exception of cows, are private 422 property in our sense, and here the wish of the person disposing of 428 the property is decisive, although certain time-honored customs cannot be circumvented. In Bugoye, for example, the oldest son gets the spear and the stool of his father, whereas the shield belongs to the youngest son. (2) Lieutenant Spiltoire told me that in

2. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 439.

Bunyabungu, the principal heir seems to be the son of the sister, but because of his brief visit, he could not verify this.

692 Administration of Justice. In Ruanda the administration of 695 justice is in the hands of the chiefs and the king.

Pronouncing judgment is only of secondary importance, but [280] the chiefs regard it as a sure means of gaining influence. The two parties regard the trial as an attempt to interest a powerful one -- a chief -- in their affairs, that is to say, to make their affairs the affairs of the mighty. The one who wins a case is simply the one who was more highly regarded by the chief and with whom, from now on, it is dangerous to quarrel. In Ruanda it is a long process from the pronouncement of justice to the execution of it.

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614 3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamanzi*, wagtail.
Sub-divisions:
(*a*) Abasinga, totems, *enyamanzi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
(*b*) Abazigaba, " "
(*c*) Abatyaba, " "
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamanzi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

Government

643 The head of the country was the king, whose title was
692 *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not
634 appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were
[428] hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district;
693 but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court
[203] of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

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be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

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428 his heir, the king or his clan appointed someone to inherit his property.

764 When a man died, all ornaments and clothing, with the exception of a loin-cloth, were removed, his legs were bent up into the squatting posture, and his head was shaved. A cow was brought to the bedside, a little hair from it was put in the right hand of the dead man and a little milk milked over it. This hand with the hair in it was then placed under the head.

In the case of an ordinary man, the grave was dug by the relatives or servants in the garden near, or, should he have no land, in some secluded spot, and the body was buried there.

766 Should he, however, be a wealthy man, the grave was dug big enough for a bedstead to be placed in it. This was covered with skins, on which the body, wrapped in mats, was laid and covered with skins of wild animals and cows. A second bedstead was placed on top of the first to keep the earth from the body, and the grave was filled up with earth, which was piled into a mound over it. The weapons of a dead man were put on his grave, and in the case of a woman her flour basket was buried with her.

764 A hut without any doorway was built over the grave and a growing fence planted round it. There was always the fear that someone might disturb the dead by digging up the body for the purpose of working magic, and the heir was therefore responsible for keeping this fence in repair until it had grown big enough to keep off people and cattle, after which no further attention was paid to it. After the burial all the people who took part in it were given hot water to wash their hands before leaving for their own homes.

765 A cow was brought and killed by the grave after the burial and was cooked and eaten by the mourners. The skin was dressed and worn as mourning by the heir, or by some favourite child of the dead man, for two months, during which time he might not come into the presence of the king. The mourners might neither wash nor shave. They lived together in one house, avoided all other people, and had to be strictly chaste lest they should incur the ghost's displeasure.

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After the mourning the heir was purified by an elder of the clan, and he then took the mourning garment and buried it in some secret place. The mourners shaved their heads and hid the hair. A medicine-man decided whether the house of the dead man might still be inhabited or not. If the people were permitted to remain there, they, the place, and the pots had to be purified; but if they had to go they gave the pots and furniture away and left the house to fall down. 765 [783]

The heir was purified again by an elder of the clan and then went to buy a cow, which he took to the king, whom he was not on this occasion allowed to see. The next day he visited the king, taking a present of a young bull, and informed him of the death. This reception constituted his acknowledgment by the king as the dead man's heir, but if he proved unsatisfactory he might later be dismissed from the chieftainship. 768 [643] [431] [428]

The heir took all his father's widows except old women and his own mother. He even took widows with children, and the children regarded him as their father. [587]

When a married man lost his father he lived apart from his wife for two months, and on the death of his mother he avoided his wife for one month.

586 is, however, an exception recorded, where, on a man dying leaving
851 only female children, these were taken charge of by the village head-
768 man. The right to custody sometimes involves investigation of paternity, the nature of which is fully understood.

[691] *Instances*: A man sues his wife's new husband, after divorce, for payment of bride-wealth or else for custody of a child of which he claims she was pregnant when she left him. A count of months establishes the paternity of the new husband.

The son of a man deceased sues the man to whom the widow has gone, she then having a four-months' old child, for the first offspring of the new union as well as the other child, on the grounds that she was pregnant at the time of her husband's death. The Court finds that no woman has ever been heard of suckling a four months' child and pregnant of another, and therefore awards the eldest child only.

In a third case, it is necessary to establish paternity as between three possible fathers.

[862] An unweaned child will remain with its mother till weaned. If not claimed then, her relatives or new husband may claim recompense for the cost of bringing the child up: in one case a goat is to be paid, in another, half the milk of a cow, and 3 hoes.

768 As a corollary to the right to the custody of a child, the heir of a man who has died has the right to the bride-wealth in respect of a
●428 girl-child, when the widow has returned to her relatives and the child has not been claimed before she reaches marriageable age, subject to a deduction for the cost of bringing her up.

[691] *Instances*: In the case just cited, the milk and three hoes represented a deduction from the total bride-wealth of a cow and five hoes.

In another case, the woman's relations resist such a claim on the ground that when she left the heir, her son, and went home, he claimed only her clothes but not the child. Their case fails.

In one case, a man lost his reason, and his wife went off to another man with her three children, of whom two were females. This other man married off one child and betrothed the other. Both contracts
[681] were dissolved, the man was fined and in addition was made to refund to their father 14 hoes which had been handed over for maintenance of the children.

586 Dissolution of marriage is found to take place on numerous grounds. The records disclose causes of offence by the husband as follows:

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to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the 593
importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among
brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there [609]
was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's [835]
husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood. After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as [428]
they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his 605
brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin, Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of [587]
his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging [835]
obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts were severely tabooed.

(*d*) *Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko*

The two other descent groups may be described much more 613
briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually 613
these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu 591
and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally disappeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics 613
or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

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585 Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have [693] been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his [428] share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their 591 own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

(*d*) *Polygynous unions*

595 Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, [556] as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which [842] were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually [114] occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

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Boys from Twelve To

883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several
[224] days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place
869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage
[603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grandfather. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of
867 behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed
[868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to
[867] be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first
[428] wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

595 The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been
593 mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favour-
183 ite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But
[152] according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and
000 one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these

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421 different uses of the same thing. For instance, one person could have the right to sow a plot and to collect the harvest and another to use it for grazing purposes at another time of the year. Neither of them was considered as the owner letting somebody else use his property as a pasture or as a ground for cultivation.

423 643 On each pasture, cultivated plot or forest area, the king had a right very similar to the *dominion eminens* of Roman law, the kind of public ownership that a State has over the land within the borders. But he had also the right to prevent, if he chose to do so, somebody from using a particular tract of land in any way at all, which amounts to saying that the mwami had over land a right potentially superior to that of anybody else. The mwami's rights could be opposed to 'private rights'. In fact, the king very rarely insisted on this use of his rights and then only when he wanted to punish somebody who was guilty of disobedience or of some other crime.

423 651 The land chief's and cattle chief's rights to fields and pastures will be considered later in the section dealing with the administration. Suffice it to say here that these tax-collectors had the right to evict people for certain offences and to allocate land to newcomers in their districts.

423 425 [428] The person endowed with rights on land for cultivation purposes was the head of a family (*rugo*). Mostly these rights came to him from his father's inheritance. Sometimes, however, it was a part of the bush that he had himself cleared. If he had not received enough from his father to support his family, he extended his plot in this way with the agreement of the political authority. If, because of a dispute with his brothers, he wanted to move elsewhere and the land chief could not allocate him a field already prepared at the place where he wanted to settle, he did the same. Such a plot was called *bukonde* as long as it was occupied either by the man who had cleared it or by his descendants. A third source of cultivation rights was the assignment by the land chief of a plot already prepared (*inkungu*). The former user of it had either to be evicted by the authority, or had left, or had died without heirs.

In the same way the family head had the right to use a certain area as pasture for his cattle either by inheritance, or by felling the trees of a tract of forest or by having it conceded by the cattle chief.

000 At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective

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422 Sometimes these rights (bare ownership and usufruct) were possessed by the same person. The cattle concerned were then called *imbata*.[8]

3. INHERITANCE RULES

768 When the father died, the family unit of which he had been the head did not disappear as well. Some of the family functions had still to be carried on for some time: the younger sons had to be given a wife and the bride-wealth paid for them, the younger daughters had to be married, and perhaps young children had still to be taken care of by their mother for several years. In order that the family unit should be able to perform its tasks before its breakdown, it was necessary that the duties of the rugo head should continue to be fulfilled. Consequently the father chose one of his 592 sons who could be trusted with that role (*umutware w'urugo rwa se:* head of his father's family). He was often, but not always, the eldest son of the first wife. The father could even choose a brother or one of his parallel cousins if he thought none of his sons was capable. The father's choice could always be reversed by the lineage head or the political chief or even the lord, if it appeared unwise to these authorities or if it was the cause of complaints from the other members of the family.

593 421 It was the father who was endowed, as we have just seen, with rights to land and cattle. The totality of these rights plus goods such as trees, huts, and household implements, constituted his patrimony.

428 If there was no declaration of will, custom determined the division of the patrimony according to the following rules.

The first heirs were the sons of the deceased, or, failing these, his brothers, then his paternal male parallel cousins, his grandsons, the sons of his brothers and their male paternal parallel cousins, his paternal uncles. Then any male in the inzu or the umulyango. If there was no known kinsman left, the political authority (land or cattle chief) or the lord was the heir. In that case the patrimony might be divided according to the kind of rights left, for instance those over cattle went to the lord, those over land to the land chief. Or the more powerful authority was able to secure for himself the whole of the inheritance.

[8] See Vanhove 1941, pp. 48-59, for still other, but less important, rights over cattle.

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Nothing was definitely left to the wife, the daughters or the affines. But the wife had the usufruct of the rugo in which she had been living while she still had young children to care for. Even when all the children were married, it happened frequently among Tutsi that the wife remained in the rugo till her death. This was usual when the widow married one of her husband's consanguineal relatives, or did not marry again. If she married a man completely alien to her former husband's patrilineage, usually she had to leave the rugo.

The father, before he died, had already given a share of the inheritance to each of his married sons, at the time of the wedding. Consequently, what was left at the father's death had to be divided among the sons who had not yet received anything. In principle rights to cattle as well as to land were equally shared. When bare ownership of cattle was divided between the sons of a lord, the clients of the father became clients of the son to whom the bare ownership of a particular cow or herd of cattle had been ascribed. When usufruct on cattle had to be inherited, the successors became clients of the people who had the bare ownership of the same cattle. But the lord had to agree on the choice of his new client.

In a polygynous family the principle of equality of shares held good for each rugo. Consequently the shares of the sons of the same father could vary considerably if the number of sons of each wife was very dissimilar.

The son chosen as head of the rugo had a supplementary share (*ingarigari*) as he had more economic responsibilities. Normally he received it before his father's death. This was called *gukubita itoko*, to stroke the thigh, meaning to give a favour.

Debts owed by the deceased were divided between his heirs, but the family head had to meet a greater part than the others. Judiciary fines were cancelled by the death of the debtor. When the deceased was creditor, the debt had to be paid by the rugo head who shared it with his co-heirs.

The father could also make a will and usually did. He could alter the traditional procedure within rather narrow limits, and for reasons regarded as valid by the patrilineage head or sometimes the political chief or the lord. A son who had been cursed was *ipso facto* disinherited. A son could be punished in the same way

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428 without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

428 As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to 578 be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to [436] achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

4. LABOUR

461 Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for 466 the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

593 The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make 461 all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

466 The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the [643] supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and
562 women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except *for the mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

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Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the *biological paternity* of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

348 girl, the girl's father takes over the child.
851 In the past, during the wars, the owner of a woman slave
[37] sometimes married her. The children of this marriage were considered legitimate and [37] had their fathers' status, even if he already had children from marriage with a munyarwanda wife.

Children born of the master and a woman slave were also considered legitimate.

CHAPTER V. PATERNAL AUTHORITY

593 The patria potestas is exercised by the father. In the past it implied the right of life and death over his children. Today the father does not have such power, but his authority still remains sovereign and extends even over married sons. The latter must in particular, give him cows if he asks for any to increase his herds and to replace animals that are sick or have died.

A bad son can be cursed by his father and driven out of the family and even from the hill (igitshibwa or ikivume, the accursed one). He goes off with empty hands, and his brothers divide his property.

As a counterpart to his authority, the father is obligated to support his children and to establish his sons by paying the dowry.

The children must obey their mother as well as their father.

Simiarly they must be deferential to their paternal uncles
[604] and aunts, and to a lesser degree, to their maternal uncles and aunts. Sisters must obey their brothers, and younger brothers, their older ones.

603 The loss of paternal authority does not exist as such. If the
604 father is unworthy or incapable, the grandfather or paternal uncle has charge of the children. [38]

CHAPTER VI. TUTELAGE AND EMANCIPATION (1)

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p. 60.

429 When the father is dead, usually one of his brothers watches over the widow and orphans. In the absence of a paternal uncle, guardianship goes to a maternal uncle.

604 429 The paternal uncle may marry his sister-in-law. He has the same rights over his nephews and the same obligations to them as their father. If the widow marries a stranger (umwinjila), the latter becomes the guardian of the children, but as a rule he has not much authority. And if he does not fulfill his obligations, he may be driven out by the paternal uncle and has to go away empty-handed.

Similarly, if the uncle who is guardian does not fulfill his obligations, the children may complain to their father's patron, or, if they have no cattle, to the hill chief. When they have grown up, they may even drive out the unworthy guardian.

Only through marriage do the sons gain independence unless previously they have freed themselves with violence from the guardian's authority.

593 Nevertheless, even when they are emancipated by marriage, male children are not freed of their obligations to their parents (1).

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p.60.

[39] CHAPTER VII. MAJORITY AND INTERDICTION

[881] 885 In Ruanda there is no initiation ceremony to mark the entrance of boys into social life any more than there are age classes. But when a young man has become ingaragu, his father then looks upon him as a man; he speaks to him of cattle and crops, allows him to share his meal, and sends him in his place to the patron to pay homage, etc.

732 Lunatics (abasazi), the dumb (ibirazi) and the deaf (ibipfamatwi) move around freely and, except for the first, may marry.

593 The property of a spendthrift (ikarara, lit., half mad, exalted) is managed by his parents.

As for the bad son who is disobedient and insolent, he can be cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume).

561 CHAPTER VIII. TABLE INDICATING THE NAMES USED TO DESIGNATE THE DIFFERENT AGES OF LIFE (1)

1. The age given in years is obviously

587 If the widower is left with very young children, the parents-in-law usually suggest to their son-in-law that he take one of their other daughters as a wife (2) so that the children do not have a stranger as

[765] 2. The widower may not remarry until after a month of mourning. During this time he does not shave, does not wash his clothes, and may not have intercourse with another woman.

stepmother. Far from claiming another dowry for her, they offer on the contrary an indongoranyo cow (3) which normally, however, is

3. A hoe, among the Bahutu.

the counterpart of the dowry paid.

A widower without children may claim restitution of the dowry. He usually does not do so because he knows that his parents-in-law, to avoid returning the dowry, will find him a new wife among their own daughters or those of their kin.

7. Guardianship of Children (4)

429 768

4. Cf. Personal Status, Tutelage and Emancipation, pp. 31 and 32.

The widowed mother who does not remarry outside the family continues to live in her rugo where she brings up her children until their marriage, which emancipates them, at least so far as the boys are concerned.

The son who is named head of the family actually replaces his father, provided he is old enough to do so. He has the same rights and obligations as his father, especially that of establishing his brothers (by giving them some indemano) and marrying off his sisters. If later one of his sisters happens to be repudiated, she takes refuge with her mother or her brother, who finds her a new husband.

If all the boys are minors, the paternal grandfather or, in his absence, the paternal uncle who seems the best [72] qualified is

429 chosen as guardian. In this capacity he exercises the prerogatives
768 of the paternal authority and manages for his wards the property left by the deceased.

If the male relatives on the paternal side have died, one of the maternal uncles will be guardian. In effect as each of the couple continues to belong to his and her umulyango, the children are members of both families.

429 Emancipation, which occurs normally at the moment of marriage comes when the young man reaches eighteen years of age. But it may happen that the children, having reason to complain of their guardian, go and seek justice, according to their rank, from the hill chief, the provincial chief, or the Mwami. When they are grown they may even emancipate themselves (proprio motu) by driving out their unworthy guardian.

8. Irregular Inheritance

428 While daughters are excluded from inheriting by the law of inheritance, they are always presented with gifts by the new head of the family, at least when he is their brother.

As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the following case may arise: A Muhutu, umugaragu of a rich Mututsi, has a daughter who is a servant to his master and who is married to another servant. When his client dies, instead of taking back the cows, the master can give them to the daughter's husband, who thus becomes his umagaragu.

When a wife dies, the few ornaments she owns (necklaces, bracelets) do not go to her daughter, but to her stepdaughters (her husband's daughters). With the political chief's permission, the mother may also give them to her son who was living with her and who will later on give them to his wife.

428 A man who has no sons (inchike) or who has cursed them may adopt
597 a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu) [73], or in his absence, a son of his sister (umwishywa). He promises him his inheritance and his inheritance and his nephew becomes his true son (1).

1. Cf. Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4.

428 A man who has concluded the blood pact (kunywana) (2)

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429

2. Cf. Personal Status, The Blood Pact, p.13.

inherits from his blood brother (umunywanyi) if the latter dies without leaving any male relatives. He may marry the wife of the deceased but not his daughter, who is considered as being his child, and he exercises paternal authority over the orphans.

429 If the deceased is tied to a patron by a lease of livestock and has no brother, the guardianship of the children who are minors belongs to the shebuja (kumuremera). In the opposite case, the shebuja shares it with a paternal or a maternal uncle of the orphans. If the patron has paid his client's dowry, he will take the dowries given for his umugaragu's daughters and will keep them to enable the boys to marry. Thus, in this case, a Mututsi becomes chief of the Muhutu's rugo.

9. Reversion of Property in Escheat

428 As women do not inherit, in the unlikely case of the deceased having no male relatives, his patron takes back the cows that belonged to him and appropriates the small livestock, tools, etc. (inzungu) (3). The fields, banana plantations, and pastures left

3. From guzungura, " to inherit without being a relative. "

under the same conditions (inkungu) (1) go to the political chief who

1. Cf. Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4.

assigns them to another man. But widows are authorized to live in their own rugo.

If the deceased is not tied by an ubugaragu contract, all his property goes to the political chief who disposes of it as he sees fit.

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and
428 Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother
[429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a
428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers
768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her
587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional
428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest
463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith
868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is
671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is
563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

428 over his brothers. As an act of vassalage, the latter must in turn /each/
593 give him a beer, a hoe, and a sheep. /50/ They acknowledge his superiority thereby, and place themselves under his dependence. In return he must show interest in them and in their legal proceedings, take care of their affairs in the event of illness, defend them against one and all.

[429] Daughters have no right whatever to inherit from their father. Before he dies, on the other hand, the father appoints one of his sons to look after each one of them to take care of her future, her marriage, and to watch over her until she marries.

851 A daughter whose bride price was paid for in cows receives
431 a heifer from her father or brother when she comes to show them her first born. Among wealthy families, she is given a cow at the birth
[556] of each male child. Among poorer families, the gift consists of a young bull, a goat, or one or two hoes, depending on the amount of the bride price (1).

1. A cow given under these circumstances is called "young mother's cow" (ichari, umwari). The young bull obtained under the same circumstances is called "woman's garment" (inkanda), because the animal's hide must theoretically be used to clothe the happy mother.

According to the Banyarwanda custom governing the occasion, the child's father must give three jugs of beer and a basketful of cooked food to his father-in-law or to the brother-in-law who is his wife's guardian.

428 Upon their father's death, daughters merely receive garments made of cowhide, hoes, or sheep, which on account of the bereavement are called by the name of "salary or reward for tears."

428 The widow whose son was chosen as chief legatee usually en-
[768] joys the use of the family property until her death. The sharing is definitively carried out only after she has left this world. A childless widow is usually sent away by her husband's relatives, who share among themselves the property of the deceased. On being dismissed, she is left merely with a mat and a few household utensils. If she is fairly young, one of her brothers-in-law takes her as a concubine or gets her another husband. /51/ When a child loses both parents, he
429 is given a guardian. The legal guardian is the paternal grandfather, or lacking him, an uncle, a paternal first cousin, or lastly the chief of the village himself.

Maternal uncles and aunts, especially if they belong to another clan, cannot as a general rule manage the orphan's property. This would give rise to disputes and legal porceedings among the members of both tribes. They may bring up the child at best.

The guardianship devolves by right to relatives on the paternal side. They administer the ward's property until he comes of age,
[582] that is to say, until the day when he takes a wife. This usually happens at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

If only daughters are left, the nearest paternal relatives
[428] inherit the family property, but they must take care of the orphans until they marry.

If a person dies childless and leaves no relatives, his property devolves by right to the hill chief. This property is called inkungu.

[165] The families are large, but child mortality is high.

851 Eight days after his birth the newborn child receives from his
551 father a name that befits the circumstances (1). The mother /52/ is

1. "We notice that all men, " says Mgr. LeRoy, "give themselves names that characterize them, and frequently the best one they could find was that of an animal whose strength, skill, agility, or beauty they had noticed, of a plant that was useful to them. . . . of an object or phenomenon which had struck them. " (Les primitifs /Primitive Peoples/, p. 126.)

Contracts, p.63.

231 and if after a few years by selling the young bulls, the skins, the
422 horns, the milk, and the butter, he has made enough money to
427 buy a head of cattle, the latter is not an imbata, but an impahano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

422 If a Muhutu, the umugaragu of a Mututsi, marries his
583 daughter and receives a milch cow as dowry, the latter is not an
192 imbata, but an inkwano, and the shebuja of the son-in-law can take
231 it back. In effect, it is the social position of the Muhutu which entitled him to collect a dowry in cattle. If he had not been a client of a Mututsi, he would have received as dowry only hoes or goats. [49]

231 INTUNDANO. (1) Cow bought in the market with the salary
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1. From kutunda, "to do business."

earned at the mines in exchange for goats or baskets of beans. It is an imbata.

INDUNDU. Cow acquired in immediate full ownership without the condition that the buyer should later make an additional payment. Indundu is opposed to ingwate (2).

2. See further on, p. 46.

[431] INKAZIBITI. Cows given without fee by the patron to a client who has paid homage (guhakwa). To take possession of cows promised by the shebuja is called kujya ku ilembo (lit., to cross the threshold of the rugo). The first cow received under these conditions is called inka y'igiti (3); the second, impetano; the others

3. Literally, "cow of the tree trunk."

do not have a special name. A father can also give some inkazibiti to his wives and sons.

231 INGABANE. When a Mututsi who has paid homage to the
422 Mwami receives from him a hill with cattle and abagaragu, the said
192 cattle is called ingabane (4). A herd of ingabane consists of at
●431

4. From kugabana, "to receive."

least 30 heads of cattle, cows, calves, heifers, and young bulls.

A simple Mututsi with no political authority may receive some ingabane and some inkazibiti. But the favor of the Mwami makes him considered an important person. He is the Mwami's umugaragu.

The Bahutu usually receive only inkazibiti.

INDEMANO. (5). a) Cows of the same color and age, given

5. From kulema, "to create," "to form," "to assemble."

by a father to his son when the latter is about to get married. The whole of the indemano is called iminani.

[50]

b) By a patron to a client of whom he is fond and who is going to get married.

c) By a husband to his wife.

The indemano are also ingabane.

After these various distributions, the cattle remaining to the master make up the ingarigari (reserved cows).

422 INGARIGARI. Cows which the master keeps for his own
231 pleasure and personal use without giving any to his wives, sons, or
192 friends, or without leasing them out to any abagaragu.

425 INKUKE (1). a) A son, who has received from his father
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192

1. From gukura, "to take away," "to remove."

indemano, returns a milch cow (inkuke) to his father which has been taken from among the indemano. When it no longer gives any milk the father sends it back to his son.

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
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INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young

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1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother

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2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[60] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

192 IMPONGANO. A cow given to appease the anger of the king or
231 one of the provincial chiefs.
431 2) A cow given to a friend of the Mwami to thank him for his intervention with the king.

IZIMANO. The first time a great provincial chief goes to visit another, the host gives his guest a milch cow.

Similarly, if the king or a provincial chief visits one of their abagaragu, he is given a calf.

INJISHYWA. A cow that accompanies a noble Mututsi when he visits a provincial chief or the Mwami on business or to pay homage. It is meant to provide him with the milk necessary for food.

427 INDAGIZO. (2). A cow which the depositor (uwaragije) entrusts
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> 2. From kulagiza, "to give on trust in order to pasture."

to someone who owns a better pasture than his, but the trustee (uwaragiywe) does not become umugaragu. The latter must return the cow when it has calved, but he has the right to the milk for two months if the cow is young, and for a fortnight if it is not. If the calf dies, the trustee has the right to the milk one day out of four.
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231 INTAHIRA (1). This is the best of the cows held by an umugaragu.
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> 1. From gutahira, "to come in front," "to precede," "to lead."

He always makes it walk at the head of the herd. The holder can take its milk (intagemura, lit., to keep the milk for one's self), but the calves must return to the owner.

192 INGWATE. Primus, who owns a bull calf (inguzwa) or a sterile
231 cow (also inguzwa), asks Secundus, who has a heifer (ingwate), if he is
437 willing to exchange on the following conditions:

a) If the heifer has a female calf (umukangara), Primus will keep it and its mother for a length of time to be agreed upon, usually two years. Secundus will then take back the cow and its calf and in addition will keep the inguzwa.

192 b) If the heifer has a male calf, Secundus takes it at once and Primus
437 keeps the mother for two years. The milk is divided between the two
231 contracting parties as follows: Secundus has the right to the milk for four days, Primus for two days, and the shepherd one day a week.

c) If the heifer dies before having a calf, Primus takes the skin and Secundus keeps the inguzwa. To avoid leaving the heifer with Primus for two years, Secundus gives the other contracting party a pregnant cow (ingenzura) and takes back the ingwate and its young (female or male calf). There are then two possibilities:

a) The ingenzura bears a female calf; Primus claims it.

1) Secundus accepts and takes back the ingenzura.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf, and does not give any of the milk until another cow is given him. [56]

b) The ingenzura gives birth to a male calf.

1) Secundus agrees to give Primus an umukangara and takes back the cow and its calf.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf. He will return the calf only after it is weaned. He waits for the cow to have a female calf.

IGICHANIRO (1). Primus who wishes to have a bull calf gives

> 1. The igichaniro is, strictly speaking, the fire lit in the kraal to protect the cows from the cold.

all his cows as a pledge (kugwatiriza) to Secundus, yet keeps them at his home. After two years, Primus gives a female calf to Secundus. If he refuses, Secundus would have the right to take a milch cow (gukubitira).

If the contract concerns goats, the fact that Secundus pays himself if Primus refuses is called gufatira.

192 INDABUKIRANO (2). 1) At the accession of the king, his abagaragu
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> 2. From kurabukira, "to offer an accession gift to the king."

and all the provincial chiefs must each give one or two cows in homage to the king.

2) When an umutware w'intebe, an ichibiri, or an igisonga (3)

> 3. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Divisions, p. 85.

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231 3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
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1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage

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3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
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651 by warriors.

IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to

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4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

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234 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is
574 called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

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431 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief,
231 or a patron when she has a child.

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

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426 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-

1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

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231 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cow-herd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

[465] 3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a
431] present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a
[696] family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

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231 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches

1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

272 jugular vein from a short distance, whereupon the blood spurts out swiftly. The arrow falls off immediately, and the blood is then caught in an earthenware pot. After two to four liters have been collected, the wound closes by itself. Part of the
262 warm blood is immediately drunk; the remaining larger part is boiled on the fire until it becomes solid, as in our black pudding. Then salt, beans, peas, and other ingredients are added, and the tasty meal (ikiremve) is eaten greedily (No. 19, p. 424).

Obviously, beef (injama) is eaten much more rarely. Since cattle are not regarded as food but as capital, there is beef to eat only when an animal has fallen or if it is killed for a sacrifice (cf. p. 136). Only the chiefs can indulge in the luxury of killing an animal for food from time to time. In this case almost always old steers or sterile cows are chosen. Cows that give milk or [46] breeding animals are never killed. The same is true for all Bahima people from Ankole (No. 26, p. 146) to Ufipa. The Bahutu, especially those on Lake Tanganyika, sometimes eat mutton and goat meat, although rarely; the Batwa also eat antelopes, gazelles, francolins, guinea fowl, ducks, etc., but neither they nor the Batussi or Bahutu will eat chicken (No. 19, p. 396). Beef is either eaten
252 raw, still warm if possible, or it is pierced with a wooden spit and roasted over the fire. It is cooked only very rarely.
439 Europeans, who are accustomed to eating meat, are able to buy only sterile cows or defective steers when traveling through
431 Urundi and Ruanda. Sometimes they receive them as a gift from the host. Even then the rules of custom require that the host or the person who sold the animal receives in return a hind leg, the skin, and horns: the leg for food, the horns as a cult object for the hut, and the skin as a bed cover or for making clothes -- especially for women and Batwa -- or to be sold to the trader.

439 According to all experience it is impossible to export live cattle in great numbers because they soon perish after leaving the highlands as a result of the change of fodder, the tsetse fly, and other infections which unfortunately are prevalent in East Africa. At present quite a large number of dried cattle hides

273 people, it is not out of virtue but simply because they do not have enough to eat and drink to satisfy their appetites. They could eat an ox at one sitting, and if they were given as much beer as they wanted, they would keep drinking from morning till night" (No. 19, p. 317). Drunkenness is not regarded as a shortcoming or a vice but as evidence of the prosperity or generosity of the host. After the millet and banana harvest, from July to September, is the time for brewing beer (kwenga insoga, kutoba), the period of gluttony and general drunkeness all over Urundi, and this continues until the provisions are exhausted. Often the last drop disppears down the gullet after not more than four weeks, and the thirsty souls have to remain
273 abstinent until the next harvest period. During the period of
574 carousal, singing and shouting can be heard issuing from most homesteads deep into the night, for there are no quiet and solitary drinkers. Drinking beer is always a social affair. One person after another invites friends and relatives to communal drinking bouts, and in this manner they make the rounds among all the families of friends, guzzling until nothing is left. In
[431] addition to this, pots filled with beer are given as presents or any suitable occasion, and then they are shared by receiver and donor together. Of course, beer is part of any kind of festive occasion which usually also includes dancing (see pp. 65, 125).
273 Since the banana beer, which is the most popular, is quite
579 potent and since, in addition, the Barundi are by nature easily
152 excited, the more advanced stages of such communal drinking bouts usually take a rather wild form. Quite regularly violent arguments ensue, and often fights result in which even lances are used, sometimes ending in manslaughter. In the latter case, the consequences for the families concerned are quite disastrous (see pp. 97, 105).

273 Significantly enough, beer-brewing among the Barundi
[462] is a task with which the women are charged. They are experts in this respect, but they also are hard drinkers. There are four different types of beer in Urundi. The most potent, popular, and widespread type is banana beer (insoga j'ivitoke). To

576 "ischo, scho, amascho"(cattle, cattle herd) are used frequently and signify that each wishes the other the greatest possible prosperity and happiness, namely, cattle. This is a very characteristic herdsmen's greeting which undoubtedly has been introduced by the Batussi (see p. 46).

● 431 [96] Giving and receiving presents (isimano, ingawano) play a very important role in social intercourse. This also takes
576 various forms depending on the social status of the donor and recipient and the event which occasioned the present. In Urundi it is an extremely frequent custom to give presents out of friendship, respect, politeness, or as a sign of submission. However, only rarely is the donor unmotivated by selfishness. In most cases he aims at receiving a present in return to which, according to custom, he is in fact entitled. If a present is given to the mutwale, the aim is to secure his favor in official decisions. To discontinue exchanging presents is regarded as a sign of hostility, the rejection of a present is considered a serious insult. The gift to be presented, whether it consists of field produce, pots of honey, goats, jugs of beer, or something else, is placed at the feet of the recipient. At the same time the donor never fails to taste a little of the food presented in order to show that it is neither poisoned nor bewitched. Then the donor makes a solemn speech assuring the other person of his affection and respect and asking him to return these friendly feelings; finally he openly requests a nice return present. This is what custom demands. The recipient of the gift replies in the same solemn manner and in the end promises a return present or has it brought immediately. At the sight of the present the other person frequently breaks into shouts of joy or begins a wild dance. Custom also requires that a little portion of the present be returned at once to the donor. This, of course, considerably
[563] facilitates the giving of presents (No. 19, p. 87). The Batwa among themselves also practice these customs connected with the giving of present, but to their Barundi chiefs they may only present pots, iron tools, weapons, tobacco pipes, or firewood, and, under no circumstances, beer, honey, or other foodstuffs since a Murundi would never eat food given to him by a pariah.

423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organitation : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 We have said that the *mwami* did not possess the
661 land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *mwami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds
● 431 a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them are naturally attracted towards those who own them.
357 The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* who watch over the cattle), *bakeeri* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here
675 are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later
425 return a calf after the cow has calved two or three
554 times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 *The relations between agriculturists*

425 Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

[p.15(A)]

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
425 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': it is practised among members of the aristocracy
435 only; it consists in offering members of the ruling
565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete
461 inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

[p. 15(8)]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with their superior.

On the other hand, no superior enjoys a purely arbitrary power. There are norms which are informally enforced by social pressure; and this is particularly important for people so concerned about their reputations. Since, moreover, there are several chiefs of equal rank belonging to different political structures, it is not difficult for the subject of one superior to secure support in opposing him from another. Finally, there is the possibility of appeal to a higher authority empowered to control subordinate chiefs. All this limits, in fact, the authority of chiefs, but nevertheless the authority of a superior cannot be questioned by his subjects. They may escape, intrigue, or look for another protector, but they cannot offer direct opposition. The Western conception of contract, derived from Roman law, with well-defined obligations on both parties who are equal before and during the contract, is accordingly not understood or acted upon even by Banyarwanda who have long been familiar with our culture.

Any superior is a protector, and his protection is of the same character as his authority: all-embracing and limited only by his own convenience. In any difficulty, the inferior may ask the help of his master, and, if help is refused, it will not be on the grounds that the superior is not concerned with that aspect of the life of the subordinate. On the other hand, the superior himself will be the only judge of the limits of his intervention, for the dependent has no right to require anything from his superior.

Everywhere men in authority enjoy advantages denied to those whom they command, but it is often felt that justification is needed for these privileges. In Ruanda such rationalizations do not seem to be required. It is taken for granted by everybody, the subjects included, that superiors as such should derive profits from their position. The very high standard of living of Europeans is accepted without any criticism by 'traditional' Banyarwanda not yet imbued with egalitarian principles.

The conception of authority as all-embracing, unlimited, protective, profitable, and of inferiority as dependent, devoid of rights, fundamentally weak, and generally exploited, is exactly suited to a structure of castes composed of human beings who are thought to be fundamentally different and unequal. On these inter-caste relations all hierarchical relations have been modelled. This means that the conceptions and attitudes which have just been sketched pervade most human relations in Ruanda. Indeed, very many human interactions involve persons who, in Ruanda, are placed on a hierarchical scale: man and woman, husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, old and young, craftsman and apprentice, &c., and when there is also a superiority-inferiority situation, even though confined to one aspect of the relation, the whole of that relation is impregnated with inequality.

Another basic principle governing the field of human relations in Ruanda is that of indefinite reciprocity. Whenever somebody receives a service,

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

577 whenever goods are given to someone, a return is expected. This return is not the exact counterpart of what has been provided and is not due immediately or at a precisely determined time. By the granting of a favour, an almost permanent relationship is established between two persons, extending eventually to their immediate relatives. Undoubtedly some obligations are more formalized, such as those resulting from some kinds of exchange (*kuguza*), loan (*gutiza*), &c. But many relations which, in Western culture, would result in strictly defined obligations, do not have the same consequence in Ruanda. The man who receives a service or a gift is not expected to return its equivalent immediately. Such behaviour would even be frowned upon. He should wait till he is asked to return other services or goods. This is indeed the intention of the man who grants the favour: to put somebody under an undefined obligation.

There are several reasons for these relations of reciprocity. First, in an economy in which there is no standard value in relation to which everything may be assessed, it is not easy to determine a precise equivalent for goods. Second, where there is no standard medium of exchange, such as money, which can be accumulated without deteriorating, it is usually difficult to have the required equivalent to hand. Third, in a material culture in which the technological development does not allow of specialization, one has to rely on many people. It is thus very useful to have permanent debtors. Finally, and this is very important, the principle of reciprocity is much more consistent with other parts of the Ruanda culture than are alternative methods. In that culture people are not regarded as independent and equal. Consequently any relation will be so interpreted as to magnify the elements of dependence and inequality implicit in it. Moreover, to have power over somebody is an ultimate value for the Batutsi. They will thus prefer to keep a debtor under the vague obligation to do something, some day, rather than receive immediate compensation.

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428 over his brothers. As an act of vassalage, the latter must in turn /each/
593 give him a beer, a hoe, and a sheep. /50/ They acknowledge his superiority thereby, and place themselves under his dependence. In return he must show interest in them and in their legal proceedings, take care of their affairs in the event of illness, defend them against one and all.

[429] Daughters have no right whatever to inherit from their father. Before he dies, on the other hand, the father appoints one of his sons to look after each one of them to take care of her future, her marriage, and to watch over her until she marries.

851 A daughter whose bride price was paid for in cows receives
● 431 a heifer from her father or brother when she comes to show them her first born. Among wealthy families, she is given a cow at the birth
[556] of each male child. Among poorer families, the gift consists of a young bull, a goat, or one or two hoes, depending on the amount of the bride price (1).

1. A cow given under these circumstances is called "young mother's cow" (ichari, umwari). The young bull obtained under the same circumstances is called "woman's garment" (inkanda), because the animal's hide must theoretically be used to clothe the happy mother.

According to the Banyarwanda custom governing the occasion, the child's father must give three jugs of beer and a basketful of cooked food to his father-in-law or to the brother-in-law who is his wife's guardian.

428 Upon their father's death, daughters merely receive garments made of cowhide, hoes, or sheep, which on account of the bereavement are called by the name of "salary or reward for tears."

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[422] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
192 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
233 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
431 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer
844 in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

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[844
431]

to the young mother who has suffered the pains of childbirth (umuruho w' umubyeyi). Her parents compensate her in this fashion for her troubles and sufferings.

Inka y' indundu (kurundura, "to give unconditionally") serves to designate a cow given unconditionally, as opposed to inka y' ingwate.

Inka y' ilembo means "the cow of entry (into the new household)," because the bride receives it as a gift from her parents-in-law when she enters her new home for the first time.

Inka y'indabukirano (kurabuka, kurabukir' umutware, "to pay an accession gift to a new chief") designates the cow given to a chief at the time of his accession to office.

Inka y' inyiturano (kwitura, kwiturana, "to pay a debt of gratitude") designates the cow given in acknowledgement of a kindness.

Inka y' inturano (gutura, "to offer a gift") serves to designate a cow which subjects must give to chiefs by way of a tax.

Inka y' intundano means "trade cow." The verb gutunda means "to trade" or "to purchase through an exchange of goods," hence the expression "trade cow."

Inka y' ingororano (kugororera, "to reward") designates /508/ a cow given as a reward for a favor done.

Inka y' inyibano (kwiba, "to steal"), a stolen cow.

Inka y' ibihembo, "a cow given in payment as salary," for example, to pay for two years of consecutive work.

Inka y' amahugu (guhuguza, "to deceive"), a cow obtained through trickery.

Inka y' umuheto ("bow"), a cow obtained by force.

Inka y' isaso ("bullet") is the generic name for the cows of the Europeans, who have taken over the land.

Inka z' indemano (kulema, "to create"), cows given by the king or by a great chief to someone they wish to honor or to raise above other men by providing him with a herd that will make him safe from want.

844 in a kneeling position. Only women and girls may be present; men are not allowed.

845 If the mother dies during labor in Ussuwi and Bukumbi, a Caesarean operation is performed in order to save the child. It is said that in Kissaka and Mulera people do not dare to perform this operation.

844 After delivery the woman is nourished with a mixture of milk and cow's blood. Later, beer (nzoga) is added to this diet, as well as a mixture of peas and bananas of the nkamba variety.

The navel cord is cut with a reed splinter. On the fourth day, it is said, the navel is finally trimmed. After this the mother 846 sweeps out the hut and places the rubbish in two baskets (ntaro) which she carries out with the help of her neighbors. The women go in a row, one next to the other, and in this way they accompany the young mother to a previously chosen spot where the contents of the baskets are scattered. After the women return, the husband serves banana beer to the midwife, but before that he performs a libation.

846 On this day the neighbors call and bring presents in honor of the child's birth. The presents consist of food and drink, for ex- 431 ample, bananas, peas, sweet potatoes, beer, and, among the 852 Batutsi, milk. This ceremony is known as bihembo.

In Kissaka the guests kneel in honor of the father. He accepts 852 the honors standing, holding a wooden spear (muko) in his hand and with a sword (ngota) behind his back. He calls upon Binego and Mugasha and expresses his gratitude for the honor by spitting nzoga (banana beer) upon the visitors. If the newborn child is a boy, the father puts a small spear, a small bow, a nail upon which to hang the bow, and a small shield woven of grass into his hand. When he gives the bow to the child, the father spits and says: "akavuna muheto kandi ntaka uvune (if he breaks the bow, may he not break it again)." When he presents the spear, he says: "arakagua mukicho kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he is attacked in ambush, may it not happen again)." When the shield is presented: "kiliho arakagua mungabo kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he should fall upon his shield, may he [229] not fall again)." Finally, turning to the nail on which the bow is to be hung, he says: "arakavuna ingaugo kandi ntaka uvune (if the nail breaks, may it no longer do so later)."

572 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiche.
608 (If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rise, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood
608 brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new
431 friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to
608 attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood
614 brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed
628 by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its
608 significance. This may be considered a result of state organiza-
614 tion which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organiza-
178 tion. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

643 L. Classe, was able to give him the desired pleasure by telling
648 him that his dancers were the best, although the dances of Kanuma's people from Kissaka had made the greatest impression on His Highness as well as on the others present. Musinga, it seems, shared this general opinion, but in order to assure himself that he had correctly understood the Duke, he asked him to have small gifts of glass beads given to his ntore, so that everyone would believe they had actually done the best dancing. Only after this request was carried out, was he content and scornfully looked down on his bagaragu as defeated rivals. With His Majesty's height of two meters and his squinting, myopic eyes, this was a very funny spectacle.

643 This childish, petty vanity, however, is also linked with a considerable degree of mischief. For example, Musinga twice refused the request of Father L. Classe who wanted to take to Issawi the old, broken-down barrel organ that Father Brard had given to the king. In Nyanza it stood in the rain and had become a playground for rats. Musinga maintained that one does not give away something that has been given one as a gift. This was no
[431] excuse, for in Ruanda gifts are always passed on, and a watch that had been given to Musinga came back to the giver through a third person at one-twentieth of its market value.

[255] There was another reason why he refused to give back the organ. The instrument was broken, and the missionaries wanted to repair it. Musinga knew that. An object that refused to play for the king should serve the missionaries! Musinga did not care a fig for the organ itself. He did not even express the wish to have it repaired, although he usually plagued his visitors with all kinds of requests in order to tire them.

His attitude toward the phonograph was very interesting. Quite apart from the pleasure which this trick of modern technology gave him, he enjoyed hearing Ruanda songs, even though they were badly reproduced. The European pieces, which were technically much better, did not give him any pleasure and soon disappeared from the repertoire of phonograph concerts. There was only one piece with infantry commands, drums, and flutes which he asked for occasionally. The barrel organ ground out pieces which he did not understand, and that is probably why he paid so little attention to it.

692 The verdict means that the judge, not the state, has taken a cer-
695 tain stand. The state, even in principle, does not represent abstract justice. In order to carry out the verdict, one must have sufficient power, either in his own right or through his allies; otherwise it would be impossible to take any action that would be unpleasant for others.

692 In the communities the administration of justice is in the hands of the subchiefs. A person who is dissatisfied with their verdict may consult his high chief. I have heard that the common man may appeal to the king, but from other reports this seems to me quite improbable. This right can have no practical significance for the common man, if indeed it exists. He could not incur the displeasure of the nearest small potentates with whom he has primarily to deal. Going directly to the king means not only a demonstration of distrust toward one's nearest superior, but it also represents an attempt to free oneself from the hierarchy of subordination and make oneself directly subordinate to the king.

692 For the clients (bagaragu) of the king, the royal court is the first and also the final authority. There is no other recourse, ex-
281 cept to the force of arms, provided one dares to revolt. Hence higher authority always takes action, but it also takes into account general peace and order and is not guided by abstract principles of justice. Moreover, gifts to the judge play an important part and are not regarded as something punishable or even inappropriate. The parties regard these gifts as court fees, even though larger gifts are usually combined with greater hopes for the favorable outcome of the trial. The size of the gifts does not seem to be fixed. In important cases large presents are given. Not infrequently the judge is even presented with a cow.

692 Although trials before the king do not often occur, nevertheless all over Ruanda one hears that someone has gone to Musinga regarding judicial matters. This expression stems from the fact that people go to their high chiefs who are staying at the court of Musinga in Nyanza. The trials take place in Nyanza at the compound (bilaro) of the chief concerned. For example, I met a band of people from Njaruguru who were on their way "to Musinga." On more careful investigation [281] it turned out that

695 with this and to secure witnesses who are not dependent on him.

695 A witness may refuse to testify. In order to dissuade him from making use of this right, he is given presents by the one who wishes
431 him to testify.

Gifts to witnesses are no secret. They are regarded as something quite natural, a sort of compensation for the unpleasantness that may result from testifying. That is why one often hears of a witness delaying his testimony for a few days in order to give people a chance to bring him presents or saying that he will testify after he has received his nzoga. In this case nzoga does not mean merely beer, but all kinds of presents, such as goats, hoes, or even cows, depending on the importance of the case.

695 In spite of the custom of giving presents to witnesses, false
687 testimony is punishable. Thus, it is said that Lwabugiri Kigeri, for example, who was strict but just, simply had false witnesses killed.

695 [284] Court procedure in Ruanda allows the accused and the witness to swear oaths. At trials the following form of oath is used. The person taking the oath sticks his spear into the ground and says: "May this spear kill me if I did this." This way of taking an oath is called kuchulika ichuma. This form of oath is feared.
[687] Perjury was punished with death in Lwabugiri's time.

In this connection we must also mention the forms of allegation which are used, for example, when witnesses testify. The one corresponding to the form of oath given above consists of pointing to one's spear and saying, "dakolitera Musinga." This brief statement means "if that is not true, I shall pierce the king with this spear." Connected to this is another form: "bandoga Musinga (I shall poison Musinga if this is not true)." This form is also used if one wishes to assure the king that what one has said is true. Thus, for example, Musinga asked a man whether he had seen Kabare, "wabonye Kabare?" The man answered in the affirmative, "yee." The king did not believe it and wanted to make sure, "nukuli." The man thereupon answered, "bandoga Musinga," and the matter was settled. If one doubts the truth of a person's statement, he may also say, "lahira (swear)." The person then answers, "bandoga Musinga."

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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After the mourning the heir was purified by an elder of the clan, and he then took the mourning garment and buried it in some secret place. The mourners shaved their heads and hid the hair. A medicine-man decided whether the house of the dead man might still be inhabited or not. If the people were permitted to remain there, they, the place, and the pots had to be purified; but if they had to go they gave the pots and furniture away and left the house to fall down. 765 [783]

The heir was purified again by an elder of the clan and then went to buy a cow, which he took to the king, whom he was not on this occasion allowed to see. The next day he visited the king, taking a present of a young bull, and informed him of the death. This reception constituted his acknowledgment by the king as the dead man's heir, but if he proved unsatisfactory he might later be dismissed from the chieftainship. 768 [643] [431] [428]

The heir took all his father's widows except old women and his own mother. He even took widows with children, and the children regarded him as their father. [587]

When a married man lost his father he lived apart from his wife for two months, and on the death of his mother he avoided his wife for one month.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi. 581 [184]

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation. 582

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found to be virgin. 831 [585] [431]

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the 584

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law 554
constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are 557
persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched 578
that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the [595]
former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same 554
pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to 264
look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no 554
comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always [858]
inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to 554
changes in social role according to age. The changes of social 561
status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, 562
then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five [885]
years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to 431
like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to 554
receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

431 he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has
554 already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle
431 measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any
554 alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior.

Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows
626 or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more
[564] generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will
[593] return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For,
554 physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to
681 instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take
[861] out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their
[566] parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a
[593] woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

431 In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always
554 combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors
828 and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because
[152] they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

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mwamikazi and a wealthy Tutsikazi are matriarchs on a much grander scale than is possible for any Hutukazi. Nevertheless, the character model and the methods for success as a matriarch are quite the same. Furthermore, although the methods employed by women are not in every detail like those of men, there is only one character model for the matriarch and the patriarch, that of the superior. By the same token, there is only one character model for those in the roles of inferiors. The latter are always alert to opportunities for asking some good thing of a superior. If one road is closed, it is necessary to find another. If a husband is not generous, a woman will ask one of her brothers for gifts, or she will wait until her sons are grown. When fortunate people have received gifts, they obviously have something to give, and they thus may expect petitioners to come to them for gifts. Yet again, if a man is muddled by drink, his wife or his vassal or someone who wants his favour will make a request of a gift in the presence of others; a promise given, drunk or sober, before witnesses must be respected at the risk of losing one's fair name. The rules of society provide only for a minimum of happiness. One must rely upon intelligence to point the way to supplementary means and to profit from every favourable circumstance.

Like any normal citizen of Burundi, a Rundikazi desires as much power and authority as possible, which is to say, numerous inferiors, including children, workers, feudal followers; wealth, which is to say, for women who can inherit nothing, many gifts from men and from wealthier women; respect and love, which amounts to having many inferiors; elegance, which is again to say many gifts, but also education in the home of a princess; many children, which depends on the will of *Imana;* protection against one's enemies, that is, against one's rivals and one's mother-in-law; and the good luck to retain what has been received from *Imana* and from human beings, which again depends on *Imana* and also on one's own intelligence, courage and strength of character. There is decidedly no psychological conflict in women of strong character, nor is there any conflict between feminine ambitions and social norms. Everything is taken care of by the functional norms of the society.

A woman starts very young to calculate what she needs in order to be happy. From her father she expects little more than that he will find her a husband who is wealthy and reasonable, or better yet, tractable; that he will allow her to return home if she is not satisfied with a husband and will find her a better one; that he will from time to time give her gifts. If a father has a tendency to turn

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tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

241 In spite of all this, the Barundi do not grow more crops
433 than they need for their subsistence during the year. The soil
[134] is, for the most part, fertile red earth and, in the valley plains, dark gray alluvial soil or humus, except in the sterile and stony quartzite regions of the east. With or without artificial irrigation, this soil could produce much more if a larger area were cultivated. This is prevented mainly by the absence of trade. [56] Since there are neither markets nor organized trade in the large area of central Urundi -- only the Tanganyika region possesses both -- the Murundi could do nothing with what he produced beyond his own needs. Moreover, the Murundi does not anticipate bad harvests. Like nearly all Negroes, he never worries about the future. Since not even the hardy manioc
731 (which, even in the driest years when everything else withers, still furnishes a good yield) is grown in large quantities, extensive areas are plagued by famine in poor harvest years. This is especially true of the arid quartzite regions of eastern Urundi.
[797] Then the missionary stations (Mugera, Mujaga, and others) and the government try to help by importing grain (sorghum) from Uha and Usámbiro, but they still cannot prevent many people, particularly children, from starving to death.

Another important reason that prevents further expansion
241 of agriculture can be found in the way land is owned, in the
423 overruling power of the Batussi who claim, above all, grazing land for their herds of cattle. We shall discuss this problem later (p. 57).

Various efforts are made to protect the growing crops
241 against pests. Weeds are cleared away; caterpillars, beetles,
136 and snails are picked off; birds are frightened away by scarecrows which, for example, are made of gallows-shaped sorghum stalks tied one upon the other with dry, rattling fruit suspended from them. Large animals, however, like the wild boars and baboons in the mountains of western Urundi, are either kept out by fences or chased away by watchmen who walk around in the daytime and at night take up their positions in small huts perched on high posts. From there the guards from time to time set up a loud shouting or rattle with sticks. In the valleys of western

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there
233 were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid,
433 but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

168 This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is in-
433 creasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this
511 study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

433 It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

224 Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only
[262] the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate
[186] game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing
[237] and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

226 Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when
262 very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

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000 Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court
361 happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century
644 the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

443 Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruánda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through
[437] other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from
[439] abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

121 The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the
[174] situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet.
146 The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[20] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we
[433] have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[20] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 F042 Rundi F042

Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10]

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1955, pp. 85-86.

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[p.89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production. 433

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production? 592 [438]

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce. 463 [184] 412

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view. 471

1. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased 423

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim 421

1. [rugo: The basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 30 -- analyst]

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One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

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Tutsi hands. From that point of view, we have to distinguish here two categories. In the first, we put the mwami, the court, the intermediary military and administrative chiefs, whom we call the rulers; in the second, the ordinary Tutsi. The rulers received tributes and labour through the military and administrative channels; the second got fewer consumption goods directly, but mainly labour by the *buhake*. Thus the satisfaction of the needs of the superior caste was not obtained by economic means but by social pressure.

Were these services in labour and in kind heavy for the Hutu caste? It seems that it was not a too painful obligation for about nine-tenths of the population to secure the whole of the agricultural produce of the country. But we should not forget that it was an economy based on rudimentary techniques and which did not yield a considerable surplus. Moreover, the standard of life of the dominant group was much higher than that of the inferior castes; one may thus safely assume that Tutsi consumed much more than a tenth of the total production. Such an assessment is not very precise but it does not seem possible to obtain a more accurate one.

What is certain is that the social power enjoyed collectively by the Tutsi caste was so great that it must have been a permanent temptation for them to increase their demands on the Hutu group. Such a situation was indeed at the same time both advantageous and dangerous as it carried in itself the seeds of its own destruction. For if the measures of the impositions were exceeded (and the technological and environmental circumstances made the margin very narrow), the subordinate group would be weakened and its productivity would diminish. Eventually, it might be led to leave the territory. To prevent such detrimental occurrences was all the more difficult as each Tutsi was endowed with so much individual social power that he might be inclined to misuse it.

How did the Tutsi deal with this threat? Firstly, by a universal distribution of the levies obtained through the military and administrative structures. Every familial unit of production was obliged to contribute—certainly not equally, but the mere fact of having universal impositions tended to prevent very considerable differences, because a sufficient return was secured and rules were established. These rules were not as fixed and publicized as the fiscal laws in a Western society, yet the mere fact of their existence

566 most unimportant and useless of things.

Along with the ubuguragu contract and other leases of live-
437 stock such as the ingwate and its variants, the indagizo (1) etc.,

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

Ruanda common law has a number of other [79] contracts. We will list in the following which are those in most common use.

Purchase-sale (kugura)

These transactions take place in the markets (amaguriro,
443 plural iguriro), located usually at the crossroads of the thoroughfares.
437 The most frequented are those of Rukiga and Kinyaga. The people of Buganza and Buliza come there to exchange their cows for salt,
[435] provisions, beer, honey, baskets, etc. In the past, animals and things on sale were valued in hoes (1).

1. The salt seller wishing to obtain a bull calf would ask how much it was worth in hoes. He would be answered, "Fifty." He would then take a basket of salt valued at one hoe and would give 50 of these to the owner of the bull calf. A current expression was: "It is a three-hoe goat." Today a hoe is worth 8 francs.

Specialized merchants (abatunzi, lit., the rich) also go there and offer for sale produce and objects they have brought from far
[301] away, for example ubutega (2) made in Urega (country of the Warega).

2. These thin rings of rattan fiber worn around the legs by the Banyarwanda women from their ankles to their knees were formerly fairly valuable. Three thousand
[435] ubutega were worth a bull calf, and a complete set of the ornaments could be bought only with the payment of two sterile cows.

Sometimes they combine their resources in order to make large purchases (gufatanya urutundo, lit., to assemble business).

443 spite of the sleeping sickness, there has been a marked increase in the number of Barundi from the interior visiting some of these markets on Lake Tanganyika and more trading trips by Tanganyika people to central Urundi to buy cattle hides and wax, which they then bring to Usumbura.

Among themselves the Barundi of the distant interior trade
438 field produce for other produce or for goats, sheep, hides, bark-
317 cloth, pots, iron hoes, etc. The latter items are produced mainly by the Batwa (p. 77). The only trade object transported over a long distance is salt which is not found anywhere in Urundi itself. Formerly it was for the most part imported from adjoining Uha, but at present it is sold in much better quality by the Gottorp saltworks on the lower Malagarasi River which is under European management. It finds its way to the interior by way of Usumbura (Plate 27a).

Formerly palm oil was the main trade commodity in the
439 Tanganyika region (p. 53), but since all traffic and trade in the Tanganyika region has been paralyzed by the terrible sleeping sickness epidemic, the oil trade, too, has decreased considerably. The smaller portion of the oil goes to central Urundi, the larger portion is absorbed by Ujiji and the west shore of the lake which is part of the Congo state. Bananas, pombe beer, butter, fish, goats, and sheep are exported both to central Urundi and to Ujiji and the eastern Congo. The Congo region sends mainly caoutchouc, a little ivory, and cattle in exchange. By far the greatest portion of trade with the Congo area is carried out by smuggling. [75] While import and export is free in the German controlled area, Congo authorities have imposed large tariffs on imports and exports. The natives, however, are very adept at circumventing them. Most of the smuggled products are brought in on paths through the swamp thickets of the Ruzizi which are very difficult to control.

Only wax and cattle hides are exported from central Urundi.
439 In exchange, beads and thick wire (iron, copper, brass) are the
435 main imports, in addition to relatively little cotton material but much salt. In 1911 it was calculated that about 18,000 to 20,000 cattle hides, priced at eight rupees or the equivalent

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[491] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

436 An elongated, violet bead, with white stripes, inganga, is more valuable: one inganga bead equals one kete of samsam beads. Still more valuable are the thick white amaguru beads; a double necklace of these is valued at 10 kete of samsam beads. In addition to these, there are, especially in the lake region, medium-sized blue beads and reddish and white ones with a lacquer-like sheen, also large spindle-shaped white beads with red circles, and others. All these types, however, do not have a fixed monetary value, [77] like those mentioned above; their exchange value fluctuates. Yellow, green, and black beads are not accepted anywhere.

435 Naturally, the available stock of beads and the law of supply and demand also determine the value of the "monetary" beads. In general, these were the rates of exchange which formerly applied in the interior: 5 bananas = 1 heller, 1 bunch of about 20 bananas = 1 kete, more than 2 double handfuls of flour = 1 kete, 1 handful of salt = 1 kete, 1 pot of beer = 3 kete, 1 iron hoe = 6 kete, 1 pot of honey = 1 ifundo, 1 goat = 3 ifundo, 1 sheep = 4 ifundo, 1 bull = 5 to 10 ingoje, 1 cow = 20 ingoje. At present, one goat costs as much as 3 to 4 rupees in the interior, and all other prices have risen proportionately.

439 435 Cotton material which was formerly strictly banned by the chiefs is now accepted eagerly in the interior. The most popular brand is the ordinary white "amerikani" of which 1 gora of 30 ells [an ell is between 55 and 80 centimeters] is valued at approximately 12 rupees in the interior. The "lesso" or "kanga," printed materials with brown patterns which are popular in Ruanda, are gradually being introduced all over Urundi.

804 The double handful (kumaschi) or, on the markets, a pumpkin shell of equal capacity is the generally accepted dry measure for flour, grain, beans, etc. Larger items, like manioc roots, sweet potatoes, bananas etc., are sold by the 804 piece. There are no domestic weights. The farsalah (35 pounds 177 Brit.) used all over East Africa since Arab times has only been

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
285 than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
425 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': it is practised among members of the aristocracy
435 only; it consists in offering members of the ruling
565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete
461 inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

[p. 15(B)]

000 hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

231 Beekeeping. Bee culture plays a considerable role in Ruanda
[272] life. A great deal of honey is drunk; it is used as an additive to beer and is also mixed with water.

Bees are kept in baskets that are nearly cylindrical (imbutiba) and daubed with clay. At the bottom there are two small exits for the bees. The wider end provides an entrance for lifting out the honey, but otherwise it is closed off. Special long-handled
[443] knives (ulukezo) with short, wide blades are used to cut out the combs. The baskets are generally set up in large numbers on tall trees where they will be dry, but they are also set horizontally on special frames that have crossed legs. These frames are placed on the ground near the huts. There are also many wild bees in the country.

The province of Mulera has the greatest number of bees. In
[435] Bgisha a great deal of honey is sold. The price ~~was~~ two yards of material for two pots of about three liters each.

226 Fishing. The population near the lakes of Ruanda are fisherfolk. Net fishing is called kuteguza ifi. The various nets are called ujegwi, chera, and amahinda. The fish traps are called birumbi. They consist of a long cone into which is placed a second shorter one with its point cut off. The two are fastened together at their thicker basal ends. [148] There is little line fishing, but the fishhook is not unknown, although one does not see it very often.

501 The boats are simple dugouts about five meters long and 50 centimeters wide. They are very irregularly shaped, since the natural curve of the tree trunk is retained. The dugouts used on Lake Kivu are considerably larger. In Ruanda the sides of the boat are not built up by the addition of planks as is the case, for example, in Kiziba and Buganda. The boat's board formed by the edges of the hollowed-out trunk is higher or lower depending on the width or narrowness of the slit.

The oars (ngashi) are often carefully carved, and the blade (ulubega) is reinforced with a center rib (mugongo). The oars are free and held in the hand by the shaft (ulati).

436 With the advent of trade in skins a new unit of value has come into the country. This is the rupee (1/15 of an English pound) which here takes the form of white cotton material (Amerikani) two fathoms in length, called doti by the traders along the coast. [161] A length of this material can be divided only into two pieces of one fathom (upande) each. The doti is the equivalent of about 1,000 to 1,200 gilded, pea-sized glass beads.

When the Batutsi buy women, they use cows and beer jugs as units of value. The Bahutu of south Ruands use iron hoes as units of value (spade money), whereas the Bahutu of the north, especially those from Mulera, measure the value of women in cows.

435 Prices. Prices differ greatly throughout the country and are subject to great fluctuations. The value of European goods is rapidly depreciating. In order to give an idea of the relative value of individual objects, I shall list a few prices as expressed in equivalent units:

Small hut	one large goat.
Large jug of beer	one hoe.
Sword (ngota)	one small hoe.
Pot for water or for cooking	1/8 to 1/15 of a hoe.
Hoe	150 to 250 gilded glass beads in the year 1907. Great fluctuation in price according to the fashion.
Mat	1/3 to 1/4 of a hoe.
Day's wage of a man	1/5 of a hoe.
Tobacco leaf	1/250 of a hoe.
One fathom of material (upande Amerikani)	two hoes.
A load of tobacco, 400 to 600 leaves	one upande.

Tobacco from Bugoye and Bushiru is sold in packages of 50 leaves. About ten packages comprise a load. Ordinary kinds of tobacco such as are grown everywhere have no commercial significance.

435

Elephant's tusk	up to 100 goats.
Goat	two to four hoes.
Sheep	two to three hoes.
Young bull	eight to eleven hoes.
Calf	two to five hoes.
Young cow	15 to 20 goats or two bulls: one the same size as the cow, the other somewhat larger.

439 Trade. In considering trade in Ruanda we must make a sharp distinction between trade in hides and other forms of trading.

In the cattle-rich lands of the African interior the trade in hides takes on the character of pure export, indeed of piracy. Imported [162] European and Indian cotton goods, glass beads, brass and copper wire, and other consumer goods are paid for in hides.

The government has forbidden traders to cross the borders of Ruanda and Urundi because it was afraid that livestock might be decimated due to the relatively high prices of skins. Smugglers [687] who were caught had to forfeit their wares and, temporarily, their freedom, but despite the risk, native traders, lured by the great profits, came from Karagwe to Kissaka to buy skins. These they sold to Indian shopkeepers in Kafuro.

South of Lake Mohasi I met a trading caravan of ten men. They drove a few cows and goats, and on their heads they carried rolls of hides. They carried a passport from Bukoba to Kafuro and continued their journey at their own risk. They talked a great deal about the high prices they paid for the livestock, in order to clear themselves of any suspicion that they had stolen them. They said they had paid ten doti Amerikani for one bull and one doti for a goat.

Near the Nsasa Mission there is a Muganda trader who has been there so long that he is a permanent resident.

Smuggling must be rather extensive, since all the Batutsi were dressed in cotton. It is not probable that this material came primarily from the military and trading stations on Lake Kivu (Kisenyi and Ischangi).

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 437 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Agriculture

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

the woman for the cow completed the transaction between him and the husband. 581 583

A man promises his daughter to another man in marriage in consideration of the annulment of a debt of 10*s.* and 6 hoes.

And, in two cases, suits arise because a woman, having returned to her parents ill, has been sent to a doctor for treatment: payment has not been forthcoming, and the woman has been handed over to the doctor. (In one case he has married her himself, in the other he has given her in marriage and kept the resulting bride-wealth in lieu of his fee.)

But this is not necessarily the view of the woman herself. In one of several cases where a woman has returned to her relatives, consequent on the removal of the bride-wealth by her husband, she states that she went away on account of the slight put upon her.

In a considerable proportion of the marital causes brought before the Court, the record mentions the amount of bride-wealth involved, and these display a remarkable range of variation, both in the nature of the property handed over and in the value. The categories comprise cattle, goats, cash, hoes, beer, cloth, and copper bracelets: and the value ranges from 9 cows to 1 hoe. Tabulating these in rough order of value, according to equivalents disclosed by the records themselves (1 cow is worth 2 bulls and is worth more than a calf: a bull worth 10*s.* or 11*s.* and also equalling 2 goats and 2*s.*: a goat worth 4*s.* or 5*s.*: a hoe equalling a pot of beer and also 1*s.*), the result is: 583 435

9 cows.
3 cows (twice).
2 cows, 3 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
2 cows (three times).
9 hoes, 46 pots of beer.
1 cow, 23 pots of beer, 4*s.*
1 cow, 1 calf, 3 hoes.
1 cow, 3 hoes, 18 pots of beer.
1 cow, 13 hoes.
20*s.*, 20 pots of beer.
8 goats, 1 copper bracelet.
1 cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer.
1 cow, 21 hoes, 1 pot of beer.
1 cow, 3 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
1 cow, 1 bull.
1 cow, 2 hoes, 6 pots of beer.
26 hoes (claimed, though only 8 admitted).
7 hoes, 27 pots of beer.
11*s.*, 14 pots of beer.
1 bull, 3*s.*, 2 pots of beer.
10*s.*, 6 pots of beer.
1 goat, 6 hoes, 2*s.*
13 hoes.
8 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
12 hoes.
8*s.*, cloth value 3*s.*
10*s.*
10 hoes.
9 hoes.
4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
1 goat, 2 hoes, 1 pot of beer.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

583 1 cow, 7 hoes (twice).	7 hoes.
435 1 cow, 6 hoes, 1 pot of beer.	4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
1 cow, 4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.	1 hoe, 5 pots of beer.
1 cow, 6 hoes (twice).	2 hoes, 3/50 worth of cloth.
1 cow, 3 hoes (four times).	3 hoes (twice).
1 cow, 3 pots of beer.	4 hoes (twice).
1 cow (thirteen times).	1 hoe.

The analysis of this list reveals 42 cases where bride-wealth is paid in cattle, alone or accompanied by hoes, beer, cash, or a combination of these latter. Thence, with a few exceptions, there is an abrupt drop to a standard where hoes alone or with beer are paid in bride-wealth, three of the exceptions being where cash is paid with beer: there are 27 cases in this second main class. The quantitative relation of the number of bride-wealths in media other than cattle to those where cattle are a constituent is unlikely to be of importance. There is a [694] standard fee of 2*s*. in marital causes in the Native Court, and a man who can only command sufficient property to pay a bride-wealth of a few hoes is not to be expected readily to raise a court fee.

583 A summary of the analysis shows:

20 cases of payment in cattle alone.
10 " " of cattle with hoes.
1 " " " " beer.
8 " " " " hoes and beer.
2 " " " " beer and cash.

11 cases of payment in hoes alone.
6 " " of hoes with beer.
3 " " of cash with beer.
1 " " of cash with cloth.
1 " " of cash alone.
1 " " of hoes and cloth.
3 " " of goats, once with a bracelet, once with hoes and beer, and once with hoes and cash.

There are evident norms of payment in cattle alone and of payment in hoes alone, but further investigation is needed to discover how far these correspond with the symbiotic social system of pastoral Tusi and agricultural Hutu. A wide field of suggestion is opened up. For instance, are there any cases of wealthy Hutu paying bride-wealth in

231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi
241 and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and
[462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka,
412 241 igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine
[434] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and
[439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usâmbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

443 571 [203] The market is the place where people meet, inspect merchandise and observe other people, gossip, hear and pass on news items, drink pombe, discuss business and non-business matters, and where they do many things which are useful and many others which are superfluous. Many Barundi visit the market even if they do not intend to buy or sell anything, merely to amuse themselves. If things become too lively in [625] the beer section or if a fight starts, the market police aided by the peaceful elements among the population quickly succeed in restoring order.

436 The German East African heller is the current coin at the main markets of Usumbura, Kajagga, and Gitega. Silver rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees are seldom seen. Apart from the heller, all sorts of other money substitutes are in circulation at other markets of the northern lakeshore belonging to Urundi. The heller has not yet penetrated into the large area of central Urundi, and it is known only at the few missionary and government posts and along the main roads linking them. Even there it is accepted reluctantly. Beads are still the most important medium of exchange in this area, notwithstanding the efforts of the government to introduce hellers and rupees everywhere in order to facilitate not only trade but also the future collection of taxes. These efforts will only meet with success after Urundi has actually been placed under government administration and after a hut or head tax has been introduced which has to be paid in currency. The same is true of Ruanda. There, however, the use of currency has already spread considerably as a result of the export trade and the residency at Kigali with its traders' settlement which has been established in the interior for years.

The small coin most in use in Urundi is the pink bead simsim or samsam; a string (kete, Kette? [Kette, "string" in German]) of beads, approximately 30 centimeters long, is the monetary unit. It is equivalent to three hellers. Ten strings equal 1 ifundo; 10 ifundo equal 1 ingoje; 10 ingoje equal 1 [301] akanono (No. 19, p. 111). The samsam bead is also used as the principal neck ornament of men and women.

436 An elongated, violet bead, with white stripes, inganga, is more valuable: one inganga bead equals one kete of samsam beads. Still more valuable are the thick white amaguru beads; a double necklace of these is valued at 10 kete of samsam beads. In addition to these, there are, especially in the lake region, medium-sized blue beads and reddish and white ones with a lacquer-like sheen, also large spindle-shaped white beads with red circles, and others. All these types, however, do not have a fixed monetary value; [77] like those mentioned above; their exchange value fluctuates. Yellow, green, and black beads are not accepted anywhere.

435 Naturally, the available stock of beads and the law of supply and demand also determine the value of the "monetary" beads. In general, these were the rates of exchange which formerly applied in the interior: 5 bananas = 1 heller, 1 bunch of about 20 bananas = 1 kete, more than 2 double handfuls of flour = 1 kete, 1 handful of salt = 1 kete, 1 pot of beer = 3 kete, 1 iron hoe = 6 kete, 1 pot of honey = 1 ifundo, 1 goat = 3 ifundo, 1 sheep = 4 ifundo, 1 bull = 5 to 10 ingoje, 1 cow = 20 ingoje. At present, one goat costs as much as 3 to 4 rupees in the interior, and all other prices have risen proportionately.

439 435 Cotton material which was formerly strictly banned by the chiefs is now accepted eagerly in the interior. The most popular brand is the ordinary white "amerikani" of which 1 gora of 30 ells [an ell is between 55 and 80 centimeters] is valued at approximately 12 rupees in the interior. The "lesso" or "kanga," printed materials with brown patterns which are popular in Ruanda, are gradually being introduced all over Urundi.

804 The double handful (kumaschi) or, on the markets, a pumpkin shell of equal capacity is the generally accepted dry measure for flour, grain, beans, etc. Larger items, like manioc roots, sweet potatoes, bananas etc., are sold by the 804 piece. There are no domestic weights. The farsalah (35 pounds 177 Brit.) used all over East Africa since Arab times has only been

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

462 Consequently the men folk, even when they do not cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably cer-
461 tain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them : if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

441 You see Barundi who buy goods on one market and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

The evolution in progress

178 Most chiefs have been converted and have accord-
177 ingly adopted monogamy : the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished : some corvées are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs : already the *ntore*[1] have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendanyi*[2] obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and
● [435] money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate barional ex-

[p. 16 (A)]

[1] [a type of vassal — Analyst]

[2] [messenger attendant — Analyst]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

577 whenever goods are given to someone, a return is expected. This return is not the exact counterpart of what has been provided and is not due immediately or at a precisely determined time. By the granting of a favour, an almost permanent relationship is established between two persons, extending eventually to their immediate relatives. Undoubtedly some obligations are more formalized, such as those resulting from some kinds of exchange (*kuguza*), loan (*gutiza*), &c. But many relations which, in Western culture, would result in strictly defined obligations, do not have the same consequence in Ruanda. The man who receives a service or a gift is not expected to return its equivalent immediately. Such behaviour would even be frowned upon. He should wait till he is asked to return other services or goods. This is indeed the intention of the man who grants the favour: to put somebody under an undefined obligation.

There are several reasons for these relations of reciprocity. First, in an economy in which there is no standard value in relation to which everything may be assessed, it is not easy to determine a precise equivalent for goods. Second, where there is no standard medium of exchange, such as money, which can be accumulated without deteriorating, it is usually difficult to have the required equivalent to hand. Third, in a material culture in which the technological development does not allow of specialization, one has to rely on many people. It is thus very useful to have permanent debtors. Finally, and this is very important, the principle of reciprocity is much more consistent with other parts of the Ruanda culture than are alternative methods. In that culture people are not regarded as independent and equal. Consequently any relation will be so interpreted as to magnify the elements of dependence and inequality implicit in it. Moreover, to have power over somebody is an ultimate value for the Batutsi. They will thus prefer to keep a debtor under the vague obligation to do something, some day, rather than receive immediate compensation.

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484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

> 1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
651 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of
[481] rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[691] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

438 Exchange of goods has little importance in itself, and a financial system which reveals the relationship of individual goods to each other has not been developed.

With the exception of foodstuffs, objects of trade are iron hoes, tobacco, cotton cloth, skins, salt, brass and copper wire, glass beads, various housewares, weapons, and, with certain restrictions, women and cattle.

436 Of these goods, especially iron hoes, beads, and cattle have become the standards of value. Individual standards, however, are applied according to the goods appraised, and there is as yet no fixed relationship of the different units of value to each other.

The hoe is the general unit of value for larger objects. Thus, they speak of a good goat for two to four hoes, or of the rental for cultivating a field for two seasons as equivalent to one hoe, etc.

At the time of my visit gilded glass beads the size of a pea were used as a small unit of value. These substitute for the cowrie shells common around Lake Victoria and are about equal to them in value. Other kinds of beads were also accepted in payment. The small red sam-sam, so popular in Urundi, were not accepted in Ruanda. Somewhat larger blue beads and white ones of the same diameter but twice as long come from Kisenyi. They are considerably lower in value (about one half) than the gilded pea-sized beads. In Kissaka and Nduga I was able to carry out transactions using small white beads, two to three millimeters in diameter. On the other hand, the round bluish-green beads eight millimeters in diameter were not accepted anywhere. Formerly they were said to have been highly prized throughout the country.

The gilded, pea-sized beads, like the cowrie shells which have about the same value, are strung, 50 to 100 on a string and serve as units for counting. The long strings are called runigi rulerule, "large necklace"; the small ones, runigi rugwisi, "small necklace."

Pieces of brass or copper wire are sometimes also used as measurements of value. The unit of measure for copper wire is ntamba, the maximum distance between the tips of the first and third fingers.

436 With the advent of trade in skins a new unit of value has come into the country. This is the rupee (1/15 of an English pound) which here takes the form of white cotton material (Amerikani) two fathoms in length, called doti by the traders along the coast. [161] A length of this material can be divided only into two pieces of one fathom (upande) each. The doti is the equivalent of about 1,000 to 1,200 gilded, pea-sized glass beads.

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8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

cattle alone? and if so, are they marrying into Tusi families, bridging the social gulf? or are they only marrying into other rich Hutu families, adopting the Tusi standard of wealth? And what is the meaning of the mixed payments in cattle and hoes? Are Tusi marrying into Hutu families, and being expected to utilize the Hutu standard as well as their own? or are wealthy Hutu, again, adopting Tusi standards? It would seem to be almost certain that change of some form or another is going on. The records are not helpful, save for one case where payments of the unusual number of three cows are mentioned as being as in respect of members of the Chief's clan: and another, where a woman's father, suing for payment of bride-wealth of a cow, finds that no cow is available and accepts, *faute de mieux*, 11 hoes—this must surely be a Hutu. 583

There are seven instances where payment in cash is a constituent of the bride-wealth and one where cash alone is involved. This cash element only appears in the years 1928–30, the last of the series, and is exactly paralleled in the suits for recovery of debts, where hoes are the normal subject-matter in the years 1924–6, are being replaced by cash in 1927, and virtually disappear in the later years. In five of the seven cases it is the hoe which has been replaced by cash in the bride-wealth payment, and that this change may be making marriage more of a commercial transaction, even if it was not before, is instanced by the case already cited, where a father was ready to part with his daughter in return for the extinguishment of a debt of 10*s*. and 6 pots of beer. And one would like to know whether the cattle standard has also been attacked in the case where the large amount of 20*s*. appears. 436 583

The function of the perishable article, beer, as an element in bride-wealth, does not appear from the records. There is nothing to show whether its appearance in only one-third of the cases reviewed means that it has not been a constituent on other occasions, and if so, why it is in issue sometimes and not at other times.

Bride-wealth in the possession of a woman's family need not necessarily be maintained intact. 583 691

Instances: Where a woman's brother has lost a cow paid in bride-wealth and is brought to Court by her husband, the Court makes no order: it finds that the woman is still with her husband, that no grounds for

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

428 without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of 428 suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to 518 be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to [436] achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

4. LABOUR

461 Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for 466 the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged 593 almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make 461 all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

466 The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the [643] supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.

192 IMPONGANO. A cow given to appease the anger of the king or
231 one of the provincial chiefs.
431 2) A cow given to a friend of the Mwami to thank him for his intervention with the king.

IZIMANO. The first time a great provincial chief goes to visit another, the host gives his guest a milch cow.

Similarly, if the king or a provincial chief visits one of their abagaragu, he is given a calf.

INJISHYWA. A cow that accompanies a noble Mututsi when he visits a provincial chief or the Mwami on business or to pay homage. It is meant to provide him with the milk necessary for food.

427 INDAGIZO. (2). A cow which the depositor (uwaragije) entrusts
192
231

2. From kulagiza, "to give on trust in order to pasture."

to someone who owns a better pasture than his, but the trustee (uwaragiywe) does not become umugaragu. The latter must return the cow when it has calved, but he has the right to the milk for two months if the cow is young, and for a fortnight if it is not. If the calf dies, the trustee has the right to the milk one day out of four.
[55]

231 INTAHIRA (1). This is the best of the cows held by an umugaragu.
192

1. From gutahira, "to come in front," "to precede," "to lead."

He always makes it walk at the head of the herd. The holder can take its milk (intagemura, lit., to keep the milk for one's self), but the calves must return to the owner.

192 INGWATE. Primus, who owns a bull calf (inguzwa) or a sterile
231 cow (also inguzwa), asks Secundus, who has a heifer (ingwate), if he is
●437 willing to exchange on the following conditions:

a) If the heifer has a female calf (umukangara), Primus will keep it and its mother for a length of time to be agreed upon, usually two years. Secundus will then take back the cow and its calf and in addition will keep the inguzwa.

192 b) If the heifer has a male calf, Secundus takes it at once and Primus
437 keeps the mother for two years. The milk is divided between the two
231 contracting parties as follows: Secundus has the right to the milk for four days, Primus for two days, and the shepherd one day a week.

c) If the heifer dies before having a calf, Primus takes the skin and Secundus keeps the inguzwa. To avoid leaving the heifer with Primus for two years, Secundus gives the other contracting party a pregnant cow (ingenzura) and takes back the ingwate and its young (female or male calf). There are then two possibilities:

a) The ingenzura bears a female calf; Primus claims it.

1) Secundus accepts and takes back the ingenzura.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf, and does not give any of the milk until another cow is given him. [56]

b) The ingenzura gives birth to a male calf.

1) Secundus agrees to give Primus an umukangara and takes back the cow and its calf.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf. He will return the calf only after it is weaned. He waits for the cow to have a female calf.

IGICHANIRO (1). Primus who wishes to have a bull calf gives

1. The igichaniro is, strictly speaking, the fire lit in the kraal to protect the cows from the cold.

all his cows as a pledge (kugwatiriza) to Secundus, yet keeps them at his home. After two years, Primus gives a female calf to Secundus. If he refuses, Secundus would have the right to take a milch cow (gukubitira).

If the contract concerns goats, the fact that Secundus pays himself if Primus refuses is called gufatira.

192 INDABUKIRANO (2). 1) At the accession of the king, his abagaragu
431
231

2. From kurabukira, "to offer an accession gift to the king."

and all the provincial chiefs must each give one or two cows in homage to the king.

2) When an umutware w'intebe, an ichibiri, or an igisonga (3)

3. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Divisions, p. 85.

192
234 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is
574 called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192
431 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief,
231 or a patron when she has a child.

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

192
231
426 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-

1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192
231 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cowherd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

[465] 3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681]
431] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

[696] INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192
437
231 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches

1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

566 most unimportant and useless of things.

Along with the ubuguragu contract and other leases of live-
437 stock such as the ingwate and its variants, the indagizo (1) etc.,

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

Ruanda common law has a number of other [79] contracts. We will list in the following which are those in most common use.

Purchase-sale (kugura)

These transactions take place in the markets (amaguriro,
443 plural iguriro), located usually at the crossroads of the thoroughfares.
437 The most frequented are those of Rukiga and Kinyaga. The people of Buganza and Buliza come there to exchange their cows for salt,
[435] provisions, beer, honey, baskets, etc. In the past, animals and things on sale were valued in hoes (1).

1. The salt seller wishing to obtain a bull calf would ask how much it was worth in hoes. He would be answered, "Fifty." He would then take a basket of salt valued at one hoe and would give 50 of these to the owner of the bull calf. A current expression was: "It is a three-hoe goat." Today a hoe is worth 8 francs.

Specialized merchants (abatunzi, lit., the rich) also go there and offer for sale produce and objects they have brought from far
[301] away, for example ubutega (2) made in Urega (country of the Warega).

2. These thin rings of rattan fiber worn around the legs by the Banyarwanda women from their ankles to their knees were formerly fairly valuable. Three thousand
[435] ubutega were worth a bull calf, and a complete set of the ornaments could be bought only with the payment of two sterile cows.

Sometimes they combine their resources in order to make large purchases (gufatanya urutundo, lit., to assemble business).

443 Women and children are admitted to the markets without
579 restriction. In the past, people came armed, for they risked being robbed or even killed on the way by highway bandits.

The Lease of Services (kununga).

[465] A man may agree to work for another for 50 days, for example, at the rate of [80] one or two days a week on the condition of receiving the meat of one cow in exchange.

●437 Exchange (kuguza) (1)

1. Kuguza, lit., "to agree to give an advance."

A Mututsi asks a Muhutu for a granary of sorghum (ihundo, lit., an ear of sorghum) for example, in exchange for a bull calf or hoes (usually 30).

The Loan (gutiza)

426 The Banyarwanda distinguish the loan for use (commodatum) from the simple loan (or loan for consumption).

If the loan for use, in hoes for example, is granted without interest, the same is not true of the loan for consumption, which involves edible produce. Whoever has received a basket of sorghum or beans must usually return two. The basket of supplementary produce which must be given the lender is called kirenga.

The Guarantee (kuchyungura).

Primus owns a pruning knife which Secundus would like to borrow. Secundus does not know Primus, so he goes to Tertius, a friend of Primus. Tertius tells Primus to lend his pruning knife to Secundus and offers himself as surety if the latter does not return the tool. Tertius may eventually turn against Secundus.

This contract can be made for cows, granaries of sorghum, etc.

Security (ingwate)

Primus wishes to borrow a few baskets of beans from Secundus. But Secundus answers that he cannot give them to him without a guarantee. Primus then offers Secundus a goat, for example (2).

2. A goat is worth three hoes.

When he brings Primus the counterpart of his loan, he takes back the goat.

[81]

437 The Commission (kugerekesha) (1)

1. Kugerekesha, lit., "to add."

Primus goes to market to exchange a hoe for some beans. [Thereafter] Secundus asks him, as remuneration, to take thence one of his (Secondus') goats and exchange it for three hoes, for example.

426 The Deposit (kubitsa)

The deposit of goods not consisting of cattle involves no obligation on the part of the depositor to the depositary who agrees to keep the goods deposited with him.

These contracts are made before notables of the hill who act as witnesses. But most often they are made in front of a rugo being built or a watering trough, places where there are always many people, who in case of a dispute will give their testimony.

If one of the contractors does not meet his agreement (2)

2. In the case of absolute necessity, for example a famine or an invasion of grasshoppers, a provisional release from the obligation is allowed if the question is one of furnishing produce, sorghum or beans.

or is dishonest, the tribunal of the hill chief, on complaint of the injured party, would force him to discharge (3) his debt (4).

3. Kwishyuza, "to claim payment"; kwishyura, "to pay."

4. Umwēnda, "material."

The creditor has the option of taking a pledge, a goat for example, to oblige the debtor to pay.

If the latter cannot pay, he is condemned to work to indemnify the plaintif, usually two days out of five (5); but he can be replaced

5. Cf. p. 29, note 1.

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

523 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

231 In the herdsman aristocracy of Ruanda the Muhutu must always yield to the cow. Cows have crowded out the Bahutu in certain parts of Ufumbiro, and they definitely eliminated the farmers from Mulera's lava plain. They depopulated the region around Nyanza. We can say, therefore, that cows are a powerful factor in shaping the landscape of Ruanda.

231 Transactions involving the cow play a very important part
●437 in economic life and judicial practices in Ruanda. These transactions take many forms.

[144] There is the simple sale where the price is paid at once or in installments (in goats). I also learned of another type of sale. The owner of two young bulls exchanges them for the unborn calf of a certain cow. If the calf is born a male, they wait for the next one. This transaction is known as kwatiriza. In kwatiriza, the milk, after the first two months during which the herdsman gets it, is divided between the buyer of the calf and the owner of the cow. However, there are often arrangements whereby half or even all the milk is simply bought up by someone.

Cows are for sale only in Mulera where they belong to Bahutu. Batutsi sell only young bulls. Calving cows are under no circumstances disposed of; they are only granted in feudal tenure. Even large bulls (mfizi) are not sold. I was repeatedly told that they cannot even be granted.

231 Goats are raised everywhere by the Bahutu. In the northwest sheep are raised in large numbers. I was presented with my first sheep on the route between Nyanza and Mulera, at the Nyawarongo ferry. One sees individual sheep everywhere. They are used for sacrificial purposes.

232 In this discussion of animal husbandry we must say a word about castration. This operation is familiar to the people of Ruanda and is performed chiefly on goats. It is said that the castration of cattle is forbidden by the king, but it is rumored that the cows one is forced to return are secretly cauterized in revenge. Hunting dogs are also castrated. It is said, too, that enemies of
[304] the king are castrated.

224 Hunting. Hunting as the chief means of obtaining food is practiced only by the Batwa. They live on the yield of the hunt,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the [727] better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange 437 them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Agriculture

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

000 Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court
361 happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century
644 the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

443 Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through
[437] other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from
[439] the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

121 The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the
[104] situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet.
146 The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[26] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as
[433] high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[26] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air.

[182] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt,

[791] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The

262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence

● 438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept
at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the
Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in
company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by
themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which
is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported
alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the
Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring
Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain dis-
tricts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260).
They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which
unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa
by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except
those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and
adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini),
dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi
who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of
the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the de-
pressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children partici-
524 pate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among
most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost
as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood,
never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as
our [European] children. There is a whole series of games espe-
cially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e., the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the [136] dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

484 The provisions for such trips lasting several days are generally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

481 The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

439 In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited 438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

443 In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

443 spite of the sleeping sickness, there has been a marked increase in the number of Barundi from the interior visiting some of these markets on Lake Tanganyika and more trading trips by Tanganyika people to central Urundi to buy cattle hides and wax, which they then bring to Usumbura.

Among themselves the Barundi of the distant interior trade
438 field produce for other produce or for goats, sheep, hides, bark-
317 cloth, pots, iron hoes, etc. The latter items are produced mainly by the Batwa (p. 77). The only trade object transported over a long distance is salt which is not found anywhere in Urundi itself. Formerly it was for the most part imported from adjoining Uha, but at present it is sold in much better quality by the Gottorp saltworks on the lower Malagarasi River which is under European management. It finds its way to the interior by way of Usumbura (Plate 27a).

Formerly palm oil was the main trade commodity in the
439 Tanganyika region (p. 53), but since all traffic and trade in the Tanganyika region has been paralyzed by the terrible sleeping sickness epidemic, the oil trade, too, has decreased considerably. The smaller portion of the oil goes to central Urundi, the larger portion is absorbed by Ujiji and the west shore of the lake which is part of the Congo state. Bananas, pombe beer, butter, fish, goats, and sheep are exported both to central Urundi and to Ujiji and the eastern Congo. The Congo region sends mainly caoutchouc, a little ivory, and cattle in exchange. By far the greatest portion of trade with the Congo area is carried out by smuggling. [75] While import and export is free in the German controlled area, Congo authorities have imposed large tariffs on imports and exports. The natives, however, are very adept at circumventing them. Most of the smuggled products are brought in on paths through the swamp thickets of the Ruzizi which are very difficult to control.

Only wax and cattle hides are exported from central Urundi.
439 In exchange, beads and thick wire (iron, copper, brass) are the
435 main imports, in addition to relatively little cotton material but much salt. In 1911 it was calculated that about 18,000 to 20,000 cattle hides, priced at eight rupees or the equivalent

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[171] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
291 and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

326 rings, etc., which are customary in the country. The Bahutu and the Batwa use the same technique, but apparently the Batwa are the more adroit blacksmiths. In Urundi blacksmiths do not form a special guild, but in some families the craft is passed on from one generation to the other. Blacksmiths live [554] with the other Barundi, and because of their craft they are highly respected. They are professional craftsmen who sell [84] their merchandise, but as in Ruanda, they often also engage in agriculture on the side. [Fig. 17 appears here in the original text.]

325 [348] The work shop (uruganda) is a small round hut, open on all sides. In its center a hollow in the ground contains the [372] charcoal fire. Since blacksmiths need charcoal for their craft and since there are few trees in this country, they mostly have their huts not far from the remains of forests or the bushes along the rivers. Charcoal from the peripheral mountains wrapped [438] in long bundles of banana leaves is sold in the interior. Next to the fireplace there are bellows, either vessel or bowl bellows (umuvuba), shaped like a large, double wooden spoon, over each of whose ends a goatskin is stretched loosely (No. 2 of Plate 45). A wooden stick is tied to the center of each skin; it serves as a piston whose upward and downward movements press the air from the vessel into the end of the pipe. The blower stands or squats behind the bellows holding a piston in each hand which he alternately moves up and down quickly. The same type of bellows is used in Ruanda where it is also used for blowing the smelting furnaces. In Urundi (according to Stuhlmann's small map in No. 32a, p. 62), still another type is said to exist, the tube or bag bellows; yet I have not been able to find out anything about it. The more common vessel bellows just described is carved from a single block of wood and opens into a short, funnel-shaped clay pipe which is placed directly among the hot coals and keeps them glowing. From time to time water is sprinkled on the glowing pile of coal.

[85] On the other side of the fireplace there is a hard stone which serves as an anvil (Fig. 17). The piece of iron which is to be forged is pushed into the glowing coals with a wet, clamp-like piece of wood or with a pointed iron pin, and it is pulled

[Text continues on page 128]

192

198

Umumkari	Umugore	Woman
Umwere wa giti	Umwana	Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

[824]
[234]

3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

438 651 The inhabitants of the Bugoyi, Mulera, Bussigi, Bgisha, Bufumbiro, etc., formerly supplied this substance as a tax under the name of umutsama (plural imitsama).

438 463 The people of the Kinyaga, dwellers on the shores of Lake Kivu, made strong mats (ibisunyu) of lake reeds for the court.

People from the Bgishaza, Kingogo, Budaha, etc., made litters, baskets, and hampers of various shapes because they lived close to the forest where the materials essential to their craft are to be found.

463 651 Dressing cases, combs, butter jars, dishes, spoons, pitchers, pipes, tobacco pouches, bows, arrows, shields, quivers, spear shafts, clubs, scabbards, cases for knives and drinking tubes, drums, chairs, etc., were all made by professionals who paid their taxes in this fashion.

644 In accordance with an immemorial custom, the king chose himself a wife from each of the following Hamitic clans: /458/ Bega, Basinga, Bakono, Baha, and sometimes also among the Bagessera, not to speak of those who were referred to him on account of their mental or physical qualities. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the neighboring princes of the Uswi, Karagwe, and Bunyabungu, but no son of those foreign princesses, to our knowledge, ever sat on the throne. Few royal wives managed to retain their husband's good favors indefinitely. Many of them were demoted to the rank of servants (abaja), if not sent back to their families (1).

1. This was the best they could hope for, since then they regained their complete freedom.

Some chiefs were bound by custom to send regularly to court some little girls, who were raised among the queen-mother's followers. The lot of those children was a rather unhappy one. Some of them when grown were chosen as servants or as symbolic wives offered to the spirits of dead kings (2).

2. Cf. Chapter VII below under "Funeral Rites."

[Lie., heavy. -Analyst]

438 Exchange of goods has little importance in itself, and a financial system which reveals the relationship of individual goods to each other has not been developed.

With the exception of foodstuffs, objects of trade are iron hoes, tobacco, cotton cloth, skins, salt, brass and copper wire, glass beads, various housewares, weapons, and, with certain restrictions, women and cattle.

436 Of these goods, especially iron hoes, beads, and cattle have become the standards of value. Individual standards, however, are applied according to the goods appraised, and there is as yet no fixed relationship of the different units of value to each other.

The hoe is the general unit of value for larger objects. Thus, they speak of a good goat for two to four hoes, or of the rental for cultivating a field for two seasons as equivalent to one hoe, etc.

At the time of my visit gilded glass beads the size of a pea were used as a small unit of value. These substitute for the cowrie shells common around Lake Victoria and are about equal to them in value. Other kinds of beads were also accepted in payment. The small red sam-sam, so popular in Urundi, were not accepted in Ruanda. Somewhat larger blue beads and white ones of the same diameter but twice as long come from Kisenyi. They are considerably lower in value (about one half) than the gilded pea-sized beads. In Kissaka and Nduga I was able to carry out transactions using small white beads, two to three millimeters in diameter. On the other hand, the round bluish-green beads eight millimeters in diameter were not accepted anywhere. Formerly they were said to have been highly prized throughout the country.

The gilded, pea-sized beads, like the cowrie shells which have about the same value, are strung, 50 to 100 on a string and serve as units for counting. The long strings are called runigi rulerule, "large necklace"; the small ones, runigi rugwisi, "small necklace."

Pieces of brass or copper wire are sometimes also used as measurements of value. The unit of measure for copper wire is ntamba, the maximum distance between the tips of the first and third fingers.

439 Aside from trade in hides, there is an old, respectable foreign trade. Iron hoes are imported from the Congo state and salt from Lake Edward. These are paid for chiefly in goats. Goats are also used to pay for ivory and rubber smuggled out of the Congo.

438 Internal trade consists above all in the exchange of local products between producer and consumer. Barter is carried on in food, iron, clay products, sheep and goats, salt, etc.

The people of Issawi get their salt from Njaruguru. It is brought there from Urundi. They buy their hoes in Mukinjaga. This province does not manufacture them; they are imported from Bunyabungu. The northern provinces get their iron from Bgisha and their salt from Katana on Lake Edward where salt from Kagwe is sold in large quantities. Salt is also prepared within the country, in Mulera, and, according to Dr. Kandt (1), in a

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 513.

southern bay of Lake Kivu. I do not know whether Busindja salt (2)

[113]

2. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha and Urundi [A Missionary Journey to Uha and Urundi,]," Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, p. 185.

which is obtained in Kigoma west of [163] Mumurumba on the southern border of Ujungu, reaches Ruanda.

Copper is imported in small amounts from Urundi and in larger amounts from Busindja in payment for ivory. Goats are exported from Mulera, Kissaka, and Njaruguru. Sheep are exported from Mulera. Mukinjaga produces the prettiest mats. The colored mats of the Batutsi are made in Nduga. Bamboo baskets are made in Bwischascha, Bugoye, and Mulera. Ndorwa exports otter skins. The most beautiful spears and the best arrows are made at Mount Ndisa. All these goods are also traded within the country.

438 484 This trade is conducted by native middlemen who, in contrast to foreign traders (bachuruzi), are known as bagenza. They

438 often set out on journeys lasting several days to visit customers
484 and distant markets. They handle the trade between Mulera, Nduga, and Katana on Lake Edward, and their chief items of exchange are sheep and goats, iron, salt, and tobacco. The Bagoye handle trade between Bugoye and Bunyabungu and exchange large quantities of hoes for goats from Mulera.

123 The Bagoye are unprejudiced traders. For example, when they saw me collecting skulls there, they brought me some to buy. However, no one had the courage to touch a skull. They carried it either on a stick or wrapped in a banana leaf. It was a boy of eleven who first had the idea of demanding payment for skulls. Others followed, even adults, when they saw that the boy was well paid. In a short time they brought in over 200 skulls.

We must point out, however, that not everyone was enthusiastic about these transactions. After more careful investigation, it was discovered that all the skull collectors were people of the lower classes. They were bagaragu (1) of the others and orphans

1. Clients.

who had been taken into individual households as semi-slaves.
[626] After a few days, however, skull collecting stopped altogether, since the boys of the mission refused to eat with anyone who had collected skulls. When this news spread, I could not get any more skulls, and the last collector was thrashed.

The people were very much interested in knowing how much was paid for skulls in Europe.

567 Even today it is said that human beings are exported from Ruanda, not as voluntary emigrants and transient workers, but as slaves. I could find out little about this obscure problem. Since wives [164] are bought, it is very difficult to draw the line between a purchased slave and a purchased wife. In Kissaka the story goes that the Bassuwi come in large numbers to buy women and that they stay in Lukira. They are also said to re-sell the women in Tabora.

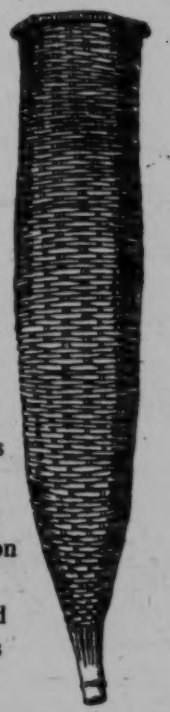
Dr. Kandt (1) says that there is a regular slave trade in the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 435.

482 In the north high, cone-shaped bamboo baskets are used to
415 carry food and charcoal. They are carried on the head on a
286 cushion. Small packages are also often made of banana leaves. These packages are generally wedged between three branches, bamboo stalks, or small bunches of millet straw. In this way they can be held with one hand. Packages are more often used in the south. There, small items and toilet articles are packed for traveling in wide, low baskets made of small sticks, with cone-shaped lids. These are simply placed on the head.

Beer and water are carried in earthen pots with plaited wrappers and covered with banana leaves.

202 In a discussion of the means of communication in Ruanda we must not forget to mention the native telegraph. Drum signals are used to a moderate extent. The king summons his warriors with drums when there is impending danger, but general information is shouted from hill to hill in a particular way, so that Nyanza is always well informed about what goes on in the country. There is news [168] of every European traveler of every cattle theft at the border, and of every sign of unrest throughout the country. The news travels quickly from hill to hill until it reaches the capital. The news service is so good that one could assume there are special persons who are obliged to carry out their duties of signaling promptly.



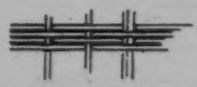


Fig. 54. Pack Basket for Carrying and Storing Food. (1/12 actual size. III E 13688. 140 centimeters high.)

487 Arteries of Communication. In conclusion we shall list briefly
438 the chief traffic and trade routes of Ruanda.

1. The path from Bukoba, via Kafuro, Kissaka, and Bugessera, to Nduga is the route along which hides are transported from Ruanda

487 to the Uganda railway. It seems that most of the cotton cloth and
438 beads that one sees in Ruanda are also brought this way. Trade along this route is carried on chiefly by Indians from Kafuro, assisted by

[445 285]

Fig. 55. Traveling Basket from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 6986. 84 centimeters high.)

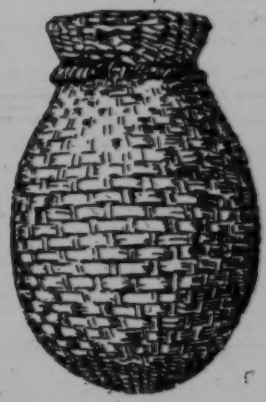


Fig. 56. Pot with Woven Wrapper, Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III 13746. 50 centimeters high.)

people of Kahigi. I reached this route on my trip from Nyanza by Lake Mohasi to Nsasa in Njakagungu, a day's journey south of the lake. On the way I met a trading caravan that exchanged cattle for its ten loads of cheap cotton material. This new traffic artery was formed to make a connection with the Uganda Railway.

2. The above route has cut off the old way from Tabora, via Ussuwi and Kissaka, to Nduga and robbed it of its former importance.
[567] It is said that now this route has a branch along which the Bassuwi trade in women flourishes. It was along this route that Count Von Götzen entered the country, the first European to do so.

[169] 3. The route from Nduga via Mukinjaga to Bunyabungu is the export route for sheep and goats which are exchanged for iron. Along this route are traded the Mukinjaga mats, well-known throughout Ruanda.

487 4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to
438 Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye,
[439] Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170] Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

171 Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of
291 Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and
301 characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus,
411 we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

291 In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[p. 89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production. 433

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production? 592 [438]

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce. 463 [184] 412

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view. 471

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased 423

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim 421

1. [rugo: The basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 20 -- analysf]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

304 around Lake Victoria, among the Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha,
171 Wassumbwa, etc. -- while, according to H. Rehse, the Basiba [Haya] do not tattoo themselves -- so it is much more likely to assume diffusion from the Bantu and Nilotes to the Batussi and a further development of tattooing by the latter. The tattoos of the Somali, Galla, Massai [Masai], etc., look quite different. A report by H. H. Johnston gives some indication of the wider context. According to him, the crescent-shaped scar tattoo, of which he gives a photograph (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 569), is also found among the Bakonjo [Konjo], who are probably the oldest Bantu race [30] in Unjoro, Toro, and Ankole, while the large mass of the Banjoro [Nyoro] in Unjoro, who are an important mixed race consisting of Bantu, Nilotic, and Bahima elements, do not tattoo themselves.

304 In Urundi I did not observe any tattooing on women and children. It was impossible to find out anything definite about the meaning of the patterns. I would doubt that they are intended to represent horns of cattle, as has been claimed by a missionary.

"Decorative disfigurements" of the ears (ear blocks), nose (nose pegs), the lips (pelele), the teeth (notches or filing), or other parts of the body are found in Urundi neither among the Batussi nor among the Bahutu, and this is also true of Ruanda. The Batwa, however, sharpen the two upper incisors. Also, neither cutting of the genitalia among either sex, deformation of the head, nor other such things are practiced. It is not until one descends to the west, east, or south from the interlacustrine plateau that one once more finds tribes with disfigurements of the body.

[287] Urundi is still the country of clothing made from barkcloth
● 439 (impusu). Except for the peripheral areas in the southeast, south,
.177 and west where foreign trade, to which the rest of the country has been barred until recently, supplies cotton material, a piece of "Amerikani" or a cotton blanket used for clothing is still a rarity in Urundi. It was not until recently that more cotton material was introduced into the country by the few licensed traveling merchants, the missions, and the passing caravans

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat
291 skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the
[854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No.
287 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials
386 in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with
[531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

411 to three meters long, absolutely straight generally, and as well-rounded and smoothly scraped as though polished. Considering the extreme rarity of trees and large bushes in Urundi, the quality of the spear shafts is surprising. No pole-timber for the spears is imported from the neighboring areas. Many spear shafts are family heirlooms which have been bequeathed down to the present day from a time when wood was more plentiful. Others are made from the wood of the cultivated fig tree which yields barkcloth; it grows good straight branches unless it is cut often. Poorer people and children generally have spears with inferior, somewhat bent or knotty shafts. Spear [326] points and sockets are made by special blacksmiths (see p. 77) [316] either from iron mined in Urundi itself or from iron hoes (see [439] p. 83) imported from the Congo (Uvira) or from Usindja. The rest of the work necessary to make a spear is done by each Murundi himself. [Fig. 8 appears here in original text.]

The spear is mainly a weapon used for stabbing or for defense. It is thrown only short distances when one is certain of hitting the target since one cannot risk losing this valuable possession. There are no slings for hurling spears.

The Murundi is inseparable from his spear, and the fact 516 that they are always able to lean on the long spear shaft determines the characteristic posture of both the Murundi and the Munjaruanda when they are standing still. He grips the upright shaft with his arm half-raised so that his hand is about the level of his face. Depending on whether the palm of the hand is turned in or out when clutching the spear, the shaft stands vertically either between chest and elbow or along the outside of the elbow, while its end rests on the ground. In both cases the body leans with all its weight against this prop which slants somewhat away from it; at the same time the leg bearing the main weight of the body is fully extended while the leg next to the spear which takes no weight is easily crossed over the other leg at knee-level so that it touches the ground only with the outer edge of the sole (Plate 9b). [34] Less frequently the foot of the leg taking no weight is planted firmly against the leg bearing the main weight, as is done frequently among the Negroes of the Upper Nile and also among the Massai. The composition of lines

[Text continues on page 49]

231 flies out with its queen, it is sprinkled with dust and water so it will not fly afield or will drop to the ground. The swarm of bees with its queen is then carefully swept into the tubes which are brought to it, the opening is closed, and the hive is suspended from a tree or a pole. The small entrance hole to the hive is then opened. All hives are suspended in a horizontal position. Of course, the whole procedure is usually not over before a few bee stings have been received, but the "bee-keepers" know quite well how to protect themselves by covering the whole body with barkcloth.

Gathering honey from the beehives later is a much simpler procedure. At night, when the bees are not flying, the back of the hive is opened, and a glowing wisp of straw which is smoking strongly is introduced, causing the bees to crowd together in the opposite corner. The honeycombs are cut out and then preserved in a pot (No. 19, p. 3). There are many different uses for the wax in the Barundi household. Since a demand for it has 439 developed in the markets, bee keeping has noticeably increased in the border regions accessible to trade. Undoubtedly it can and will find an even greater expansion once the country has been opened up to trade and there are more possibilities for marketing it. Even today wax and cattle hides are the most important trade products of Urundi.

2. Stock Farming

We often read that the economic life of the Barundi centers 231 around stock farming. This is not correct. The Barundi are, 563 first of all, agriculturists, like all Bantu Negroes, but stock farming is the chief occupation of the Hamitic ruling class, the Batussi, and it is only through their influence and in their service that many Bahutu are occupied in keeping and caring for livestock. By "livestock" we mean large domesticated animals, cattle (inka), for the Batussi hardly occupy themselves with smaller animals, goats and sheep. These latter animals had long been an element in the economy of the Bantu Negroes, that is, the Bahutu in this case, before the Batussi entered the country, and even today they are kept mainly by the Bahutu for their own consumption.

272 jugular vein from a short distance, whereupon the blood spurts out swiftly. The arrow falls off immediately, and the blood is then caught in an earthenware pot. After two to four liters have been collected, the wound closes by itself. Part of the
262 warm blood is immediately drunk; the remaining larger part is boiled on the fire until it becomes solid, as in our black pudding. Then salt, beans, peas, and other ingredients are added, and the tasty meal (ikiremve) is eaten greedily (No. 19, p. 424).

Obviously, beef (injama) is eaten much more rarely. Since cattle are not regarded as food but as capital, there is beef to eat only when an animal has fallen or if it is killed for a sacrifice (cf. p. 136). Only the chiefs can indulge in the luxury of killing an animal for food from time to time. In this case almost always old steers or sterile cows are chosen. Cows that give milk or [46] breeding animals are never killed. The same is true for all Bahima people from Ankole (No. 26, p. 146) to Ufipa. The Bahutu, especially those on Lake Tanganyika, sometimes eat mutton and goat meat, although rarely; the Batwa also eat antelopes, gazelles, francolins, guinea fowl, ducks, etc., but neither they nor the Batussi or Bahutu will eat chicken (No. 19, p. 396). Beef is either eaten
252 raw, still warm if possible, or it is pierced with a wooden spit and roasted over the fire. It is cooked only very rarely.
● 439 Europeans, who are accustomed to eating meat, are able to buy
431 only sterile cows or defective steers when traveling through Urundi and Ruanda. Sometimes they receive them as a gift from the host. Even then the rules of custom require that the host or the person who sold the animal receives in return a hind leg, the skin, and horns: the leg for food, the horns as a cult object for the hut, and the skin as a bed cover or for making clothes -- especially for women and Batwa -- or to be sold to the trader.

According to all experience it is impossible to export live
439 cattle in great numbers because they soon perish after leaving the highlands as a result of the change of fodder, the tsetse fly, and other infections which unfortunately are prevalent in East Africa. At present quite a large number of dried cattle hides

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

231 It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
776 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade. [439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the [262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior [782] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453). [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by 262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 753 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom: when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi
241 and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and
[462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka,
412 241 igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine
[436] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and
[439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.
The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West
Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara
is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers
about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis
guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000
to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching
to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with
300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the
Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited
neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the
chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness.
For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical
to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can
be made (see above, pp.24,31). This tree is really planted and
cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by
the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily
in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The ma-
jority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and
only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After
cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded
in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole
outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded
pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water
so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped
into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for
the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children partici-
524 pate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e, the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

493 relatively long distances. These are not the comfortable, beautifully plaited carrying baskets which are in use in Ruanda for Musinga and the Batussi rulers, but in most cases they are merely two strong poles connected by crossbars which are covered with a layer of straw or a sheep skin. The traveler either lies on it or sits on it with his legs crossed under him. Old King Kisabo, who was almost blind, often traveled in this manner for several days (Plate 13a). Nevertheless, even in Urundi large, plaited wickerwork stretchers occur.

501 I have already briefly mentioned the boats (ubwato) in the chapter on fishing (p. 37). They are almost without exception dugouts. Only rarely and only in the easternmost region can one observe small bark canoes [73] which apparently are used solely for crossing the intermittent streams that appear during the rainy season in summer. During the dry season one can see them cracked open lying beside the dry stream beds. They are only used during one rainy season, and new ones have to be built each summer. They consist merely of three pieces of tree bark patched together with tree bast. One piece forms the bottom, the other two the sides. They hold no more than two persons.

Dugouts, however, are strong and durable, although technically they are extremely defective. We shall discuss the manner of their construction later, in the section on "Handicrafts" (p. 82); at this point we shall only describe how they are used and manipulated. On the rivers of central Urundi dugouts are rare, and due to the lack of large trees, they are small and poorly constructed (Plate 5b). Often they are quite crooked, so it is difficult to keep them balanced. In forest regions, as in north Urundi, on Lake Tanganyika, and on the Ruzizi River, they are of better quality, larger, and more numerous. On Lake Tanganyika, canoes 15 meters long and 1.50 meters wide are no rarity. The best are from the west [313] shore, from Uwembe, where the tall forest furnishes a supply [439] of good timber. They are sold to the Barundi for goats or pearls and are valued at about six to ten rupees.

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the [136] dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

The provisions for such trips lasting several days are gen- 484 erally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they 481 are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning 439 is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited 438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) 443 are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

443 spite of the sleeping sickness, there has been a marked increase in the number of Barundi from the interior visiting some of these markets on Lake Tanganyika and more trading trips by Tanganyika people to central Urundi to buy cattle hides and wax, which they then bring to Usumbura.

Among themselves the Barundi of the distant interior trade
438 field produce for other produce or for goats, sheep, hides, bark-
317 cloth, pots, iron hoes, etc. The latter items are produced mainly by the Batwa (p. 77). The only trade object transported over a long distance is salt which is not found anywhere in Urundi itself. Formerly it was for the most part imported from adjoining Uha, but at present it is sold in much better quality by the Gottorp saltworks on the lower Malagarasi River which is under European management. It finds its way to the interior by way of Usumbura (Plate 27a).

439 Formerly palm oil was the main trade commodity in the Tanganyika region (p. 53), but since all traffic and trade in the Tanganyika region has been paralyzed by the terrible sleeping sickness epidemic, the oil trade, too, has decreased considerably. The smaller portion of the oil goes to central Urundi, the larger portion is absorbed by Ujiji and the west shore of the lake which is part of the Congo state. Bananas, pombe beer, butter, fish, goats, and sheep are exported both to central Urundi and to Ujiji and the eastern Congo. The Congo region sends mainly caoutchouc, a little ivory, and cattle in exchange. By far the greatest portion of trade with the Congo area is carried out by smuggling. [75] While import and export is free in the German controlled area, Congo authorities have imposed large tariffs on imports and exports. The natives, however, are very adept at circumventing them. Most of the smuggled products are brought in on paths through the swamp thickets of the Ruzizi which are very difficult to control.

Only wax and cattle hides are exported from central Urundi.
439 In exchange, beads and thick wire (iron, copper, brass) are the
435 main imports, in addition to relatively little cotton material but much salt. In 1911 it was calculated that about 18,000 to 20,000 cattle hides, priced at eight rupees or the equivalent

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[497] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

436 An elongated, violet bead, with white stripes, inganga, is more valuable: one inganga bead equals one kete of samsam beads. Still more valuable are the thick white amaguru beads; a double necklace of these is valued at 10 kete of samsam beads. In addition to these, there are, especially in the lake region, medium-sized blue beads and reddish and white ones with a lacquer-like sheen, also large spindle-shaped white beads with red circles, and others. All these types, however, do not have a fixed monetary value, [77] like those mentioned above; their exchange value fluctuates. Yellow, green, and black beads are not accepted anywhere.

435 Naturally, the available stock of beads and the law of supply and demand also determine the value of the "monetary" beads. In general, these were the rates of exchange which formerly applied in the interior: 5 bananas = 1 heller, 1 bunch of about 20 bananas = 1 kete, more than 2 double handfuls of flour = 1 kete, 1 handful of salt = 1 kete, 1 pot of beer = 3 kete, 1 iron hoe = 6 kete, 1 pot of honey = 1 ifundo, 1 goat = 3 ifundo, 1 sheep = 4 ifundo, 1 bull = 5 to 10 ingoje, 1 cow = 20 ingoje. At present, one goat costs as much as 3 to 4 rupees in the interior, and all other prices have risen proportionately.

439 435 Cotton material which was formerly strictly banned by the chiefs is now accepted eagerly in the interior. The most popular brand is the ordinary white "amerikani" of which 1 gora of 30 ells [an ell is between 55 and 80 centimeters] is valued at approximately 12 rupees in the interior. The "lesso" or "kanga," printed materials with brown patterns which are popular in Ruanda, are gradually being introduced all over Urundi.

804 The double handful (kumaschi) or, on the markets, a pumpkin shell of equal capacity is the generally accepted dry measure for flour, grain, beans, etc. Larger items, like manioc roots, sweet potatoes, bananas etc., are sold by the 804 piece. There are no domestic weights. The farsalah (35 pounds 177 Brit.) used all over East Africa since Arab times has only been

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
[563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware
415 vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[276] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
[782] ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special
276 mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat
323 bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping.
439 Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
285 than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

326 177 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe. [412] [411] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that 135 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained 316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19, 325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The 326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas. [439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

325 out with the same instrument. Once on the anvil, the iron is forged with the hammer (injondo), a heavy piece of iron with several edges. It has no wooden handle but is elongated on one end to form a kind of handle so that it may be gripped firmly. The iron is hammered and intermittently made red-hot until it has been purified of all dross. Then it is forged with the 325 hammer into the shape of the desired object. For this purpose 412 any of the following auxiliary tools are used: a thick, rounded pin over whose curved head the glowing piece of iron is hammered into concave shapes, e.g., bells, sleeves for spear points, etc.; a short pointed piece of iron with which simple patterns of dots are engraved in arm rings, chopping knives, and other objects; an old knife to cut pieces of glowing iron in two by using it like a wedge and hitting it with the hammer; a file consisting of a serrated piece of iron with a wooden handle with which any unevenness is rasped off the forged objects after they have cooled down; and finally a few hard, smooth stones for polishing.

[439] I have not been able to ascertain whether the Barundi are familiar with wiredrawing. They use imported European types of iron, copper, or brass wire to wind around their bracelets and knife sheaths.

325 Copper (umurinda) and brass are hardly used at all in 439 Urundi, with the exception of the Tanganyika district where copper and brass have been imported from the Congo (for instance, Katanga) for years and are used for many purposes. In [316] the large interior areas of Urundi no copper ore is mined. The small amount of copper imported from Tanganyika in the form [301] of wire is hammered out cold and used for making simple bracelets, small bells used as dangling ornaments, small pieces of foil used as inlays for the large wooden arm discs, and other things. Both in Urundi and Ruanda the casting of iron in molds is unknown.

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi different from most African countries: neither had 439 it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

> 1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
651 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of
[481] rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[691] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

322 412 The tools used for this work are the ax (Figs. 29, 30), the bush knife (Fig. 31), the percussion drill, the hollow hatchet in various sizes with diagonal cutting edges, and the rasp for scraping the interior and surface of objects.

325 316 439 Metal Industry. The two types of metalwork in Ruanda are the ordinary blacksmith's art and wire drawing. Iron mining is of no importance; the inhabitants are dependent almost entirely on imported metal. Iron is imported from Busindja and from the Congo state in the form of hoes. I saw a few abandoned mines on Mount Ndisa, and there is some iron in Kissaka. Dr. Kandt (1) even reports a blast furnace with 16 bellows. Bgisha

1. Ibid., p. 360.

is said to be considerably richer in iron, but it seems to me that it chiefly mediates the importation of Congo iron.

326 The smiths form a sort of guild in Nduga. They are all Bahutu, but they belong to different clans even though their occupation is generally hereditary.

Smiths are very much feared throughout the country, although one cannot deny that their trade is regarded with a certain scorn. Among the Bahutu the smiths enjoy their wealth because of an undeniable influence. Women, for example, seem to regard smiths as great cavaliers and men of the world who always drink beer to excess. In general, however, they are regarded as restless spirits and eternal rebels, nor are they especially praised for their honesty. In view of this, they are carefully watched at their work when, as is usually the case, they are furnished with raw materials by the customers. It is said that they filch iron whenever they can and have a very bad reputation in this respect.

[84T] Aside from their regular trade, the smiths also practice gynecology, and they are noted for their skill in performing abortions. They also play a prominent part in the cult. The head of the royal smiths is said to have a high position and to play an important role in court ceremonies.

435

Elephant's tusk	up to 100 goats.
Goat	two to four hoes.
Sheep	two to three hoes.
Young bull	eight to eleven hoes.
Calf	two to five hoes.
Young cow	15 to 20 goats or two bulls: one the same size as the cow, the other somewhat larger.

439 Trade. In considering trade in Ruanda we must make a sharp distinction between trade in hides and other forms of trading.

In the cattle-rich lands of the African interior the trade in hides takes on the character of pure export, indeed of piracy. Imported [162] European and Indian cotton goods, glass beads, brass and copper wire, and other consumer goods are paid for in hides.

The government has forbidden traders to cross the borders of Ruanda and Urundi because it was afraid that livestock might be decimated due to the relatively high prices of skins. Smugglers [687] who were caught had to forfeit their wares and, temporarily, their freedom, but despite the risk, native traders, lured by the great profits, came from Karagwe to Kissaka to buy skins. These they sold to Indian shopkeepers in Kafuro.

South of Lake Mohasi I met a trading caravan of ten men. They drove a few cows and goats, and on their heads they carried rolls of hides. They carried a passport from Bukoba to Kafuro and continued their journey at their own risk. They talked a great deal about the high prices they paid for the livestock, in order to clear themselves of any suspicion that they had stolen them. They said they had paid ten doti Amerikani for one bull and one doti for a goat.

Near the Nsasa Mission there is a Muganda trader who has been there so long that he is a permanent resident.

Smuggling must be rather extensive, since all the Batutsi were dressed in cotton. It is not probable that this material came primarily from the military and trading stations on Lake Kivu (Kisenyi and Ischangi).

439 Aside from trade in hides, there is an old, respectable foreign trade. Iron hoes are imported from the Congo state and salt from Lake Edward. These are paid for chiefly in goats. Goats are also used to pay for ivory and rubber smuggled out of the Congo.

438 Internal trade consists above all in the exchange of local products between producer and consumer. Barter is carried on in food, iron, clay products, sheep and goats, salt, etc.

The people of Issawi get their salt from Njaruguru. It is brought there from Urundi. They buy their hoes in Mukinjaga. This province does not manufacture them; they are imported from Bunyabungu. The northern provinces get their iron from Bgisha and their salt from Katana on Lake Edward where salt from Kagwe is sold in large quantities. Salt is also prepared within the country, in Mulera, and, according to Dr. Kandt (1), in a

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 513.

southern bay of Lake Kivu. I do not know whether Busindja salt (2)

[113]

2. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha and Urundi [A Missionary Journey to Uha and Urundi,]," Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, p. 185.

which is obtained in Kigoma west of [163] Mumurumba on the southern border of Ujungu, reaches Ruanda.

Copper is imported in small amounts from Urundi and in larger amounts from Busindja in payment for ivory. Goats are exported from Mulera, Kissaka, and Njaruguru. Sheep are exported from Mulera. Mukinjaga produces the prettiest mats. The colored mats of the Batutsi are made in Nduga. Bamboo baskets are made in Bwischascha, Bugoye, and Mulera. Ndorwa exports otter skins. The most beautiful spears and the best arrows are made at Mount Ndisa. All these goods are also traded within the country.

438 484 This trade is conducted by native middlemen who, in contrast to foreign traders (bachuruzi), are known as bagenza. They

487 4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to
438 Katana is the salt route; along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye,
[439] Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170] Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

171 Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of
291 Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and
301 characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus,
411 we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

291 In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

000 Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court
361 happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century
644 the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

443 Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through
[437] other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from
[439] abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

121 The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the
[174] situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet.
146 The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[26] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as
[433] high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[26] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.

462 Consequently the men folk, even when they do not
461 cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably certain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them : if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

444 You see Barundi who buy goods on one market and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

The evolution in progress

178 Most chiefs have been converted and have accord-
177 ingly adopted monogamy : the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished : some corvées are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs : already the *ntore*[1] have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendanyi*[2] obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and
[436] money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate barional ex-

[p. 16 (A)]

[1] [a type of vassal — Analyst]

[2] [messenger attendant — Analyst]

566 most unimportant and useless of things.

Along with the ubuguragu contract and other leases of live-
437 stock such as the ingwate and its variants, the indagizo (1) etc.,

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

Ruanda common law has a number of other [79] contracts. We will list in the following which are those in most common use.

Purchase-sale (kugura)

443 These transactions take place in the markets (amaguriro, plural iguriro), located usually at the crossroads of the thoroughfares.
437 The most frequented are those of Rukiga and Kinyaga. The people of Buganza and Buliza come there to exchange their cows for salt,
[435] provisions, beer, honey, baskets, etc. In the past, animals and things on sale were valued in hoes (1).

1. The salt seller wishing to obtain a bull calf would ask how much it was worth in hoes. He would be answered, "Fifty." He would then take a basket of salt valued at one hoe and would give 50 of these to the owner of the bull calf. A current expression was: "It is a three-hoe goat." Today a hoe is worth 8 francs.

Specialized merchants (abatunzi, lit., the rich) also go there and offer for sale produce and objects they have brought from far
[301] away, for example ubutega (2) made in Urega (country of the Warega).

2. These thin rings of rattan fiber worn around the legs by the Banyarwanda women from their ankles to their knees were formerly fairly valuable. Three thousand
[435] ubutega were worth a bull calf, and a complete set of the ornaments could be bought only with the payment of two sterile cows.

Sometimes they combine their resources in order to make large purchases (gufatanya urutundo, lit., to assemble business).

443 Women and children are admitted to the markets without
579 restriction. In the past, people came armed, for they risked being robbed or even killed on the way by highway bandits.

The Lease of Services (kununga).

[465] A man may agree to work for another for 50 days, for example, at the rate of [80] one or two days a week on the condition of receiving the meat of one cow in exchange.

437 Exchange (kuguza) (1)

1. Kuguza, lit., "to agree to give an advance."

A Mututsi asks a Muhutu for a granary of sorghum (ihundo, lit., an ear of sorghum) for example, in exchange for a bull calf or hoes (usually 30).

The Loan (gutiza)

426 The Banyarwanda distinguish the loan for use (commodatum) from the simple loan (or loan for consumption).

If the loan for use, in hoes for example, is granted without interest, the same is not true of the loan for consumption, which involves edible produce. Whoever has received a basket of sorghum or beans must usually return two. The basket of supplementary produce which must be given the lender is called kirenga.

The Guarantee (kuchyungura).

Primus owns a pruning knife which Secundus would like to borrow. Secundus does not know Primus, so he goes to Tertius, a friend of Primus. Tertius tells Primus to lend his pruning knife to Secundus and offers himself as surety if the latter does not return the tool. Tertius may eventually turn against Secundus.

This contract can be made for cows, granaries of sorghum, etc.

Security (ingwate)

Primus wishes to borrow a few baskets of beans from Secundus. But Secundus answers that he cannot give them to him without a guarantee. Primus then offers Secundus a goat, for example (2).

2. A goat is worth three hoes.

When he brings Primus the counterpart of his loan, he takes back the goat.

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the [136] dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

The provisions for such trips lasting several days are gen- 484 erally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they 481 are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning 439 is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited 438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) 443 are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

443 spite of the sleeping sickness, there has been a marked increase in the number of Barundi from the interior visiting some of these markets on Lake Tanganyika and more trading trips by Tanganyika people to central Urundi to buy cattle hides and wax, which they then bring to Usumbura.

Among themselves the Barundi of the distant interior trade
438 field produce for other produce or for goats, sheep, hides, bark-
317 cloth, pots, iron hoes, etc. The latter items are produced mainly by the Batwa (p. 77). The only trade object transported over a long distance is salt which is not found anywhere in Urundi itself. Formerly it was for the most part imported from adjoining Uha, but at present it is sold in much better quality by the Gottorp saltworks on the lower Malagarasi River which is under European management. It finds its way to the interior by way of Usumbura (Plate 27a).

Formerly palm oil was the main trade commodity in the
439 Tanganyika region (p. 53), but since all traffic and trade in the Tanganyika region has been paralyzed by the terrible sleeping sickness epidemic, the oil trade, too, has decreased considerably. The smaller portion of the oil goes to central Urundi, the larger portion is absorbed by Ujiji and the west shore of the lake which is part of the Congo state. Bananas, pombe beer, butter, fish, goats, and sheep are exported both to central Urundi and to Ujiji and the eastern Congo. The Congo region sends mainly caoutchouc, a little ivory, and cattle in exchange. By far the greatest portion of trade with the Congo area is carried out by smuggling. [75] While import and export is free in the German controlled area, Congo authorities have imposed large tariffs on imports and exports. The natives, however, are very adept at circumventing them. Most of the smuggled products are brought in on paths through the swamp thickets of the Ruzizi which are very difficult to control.

Only wax and cattle hides are exported from central Urundi.
439 In exchange, beads and thick wire (iron, copper, brass) are the
435 main imports, in addition to relatively little cotton material but much salt. In 1911 it was calculated that about 18,000 to 20,000 cattle hides, priced at eight rupees or the equivalent

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[491] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

443 the lake. A recent addition to this in the interior is the market near the new government station at Gitega which is growing in importance. Apart from these, there are a whole number of small markets serving purely local needs. The market at Usumbura which is held from six o'clock in the morning until 10 or 11 o'clock -- like all other markets -- is still frequented by over 1,000 persons a day. It is conducted in a very orderly fashion under German governmental supervision. There is even a large roof [347] of corrugated iron to protect the market from the sun and rain. The vendors, most of them women, squat in long rows under the roof and out in the open; each has his merchandise arranged in front of him in baskets or spread out on mats or banana leaves. The list of local products recorded by van der Burgt 15 years ago is still valid today: oil, salt, beer, cotton material, fish, mats, pots, jugs, bundles of tobacco, snuff, balls of soap, millet, [76] corn, flour, bananas, peanuts, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, beef, goats, sheep, chickens, nets, spear shafts, bamboo poles, canes of reeds, firewood, rope, string, hoes, etc. In addition to this, today one may see all sorts of cheap European industrial products, such as brightly colored cotton blankets, various printed cotton materials, petroleum, cigarettes, glass beads, iron, copper and brass wire, hardware, and china.

443 562 Von Trotha also describes the markets as "the most characteristic feature of the region. Here every conceivable object is traded with much shouting or paid for with strings of beads and goods. There were thousands of haggling and shouting people at the market of Munkasa on the northeast shore of Lake Tanganyika, but everything is settled in an orderly fashion and without fighting. One may buy a woman for ten strings of red beads, and once tired of her, she may be returned to the market and once more exchanged for beads." (No. 8, p. 77). Of course, the trade in women has stopped now, and even at the time of Trotha's journey in 1896 it must have been a very rare transaction.

443 571 [203] The market is the place where people meet, inspect merchandise and observe other people, gossip, hear and pass on news items, drink pombe, discuss business and non-business matters, and where they do many things which are useful and many others which are superfluous. Many Barundi visit the market even if they do not intend to buy or sell anything, merely to amuse themselves. If things become too lively in [625] the beer section or if a fight starts, the market police aided by the peaceful elements among the population quickly succeed in restoring order.

436 The German East African heller is the current coin at the main markets of Usumbura, Kajagga, and Gitega. Silver rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees are seldom seen. Apart from the heller, all sorts of other money substitutes are in circulation at other markets of the northern lakeshore belonging to Urundi. The heller has not yet penetrated into the large area of central Urundi, and it is known only at the few missionary and government posts and along the main roads linking them. Even there it is accepted reluctantly. Beads are still the most important medium of exchange in this area, notwithstanding the efforts of the government to introduce hellers and rupees everywhere in order to facilitate not only trade but also the future collection of taxes. These efforts will only meet with success after Urundi has actually been placed under government administration and after a hut or head tax has been introduced which has to be paid in currency. The same is true of Ruanda. There, however, the use of currency has already spread considerably as a result of the export trade and the residency at Kigali with its traders' settlement which has been established in the interior for years.

The small coin most in use in Urundi is the pink bead simsim or samsam; a string (kete, Kette? [Kette, "string" in German]) of beads, approximately 30 centimeters long, is the monetary unit. It is equivalent to three hellers. Ten strings equal 1 ifundo; 10 ifundo equal 1 ingoje; 10 ingoje equal 1 [301] akanono (No. 19, p. 111). The samsam bead is also used as the principal neck ornament of men and women.

2: Meyer--261 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 27

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415

Packs of Salt from the Gottorp Saltworks on the Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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291

Daily Market in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi different from most African countries: neither had 439 it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import- 226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

[p. 13 (B)]

567 northwestern part of the country. "The Wahunde [Hunde] annually sell hundreds of their children as slaves to Ruanda because their country is too small for their large families, and they do not have enough food."

443 Markets. Markets where people gather at certain hours of the day in order to exchange their goods are common only in the north and west. They seem to be entirely absent in the east. Dr. Kandt sees Western influence in the institution. (2) To me this does not

2. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 332.

seem quite correct. In the first place, it also exists in Nduga, as I discovered for myself. Secondly, we have adequate reason to assume that Bahutu-Ruanda, before it was influenced by Batutsi, was very similar to the territories on the other side of the great African trough [Rift Valley]. It is possible that markets are a very old institution that survived only in the west and north. In the Batutsi provinces markets may have disappeared with the conquest, just as they vanished in the vicinity of the Belgian stations, especially in Uele, or, at any rate, they are hidden from the eyes of the conquerors. The latter have not infrequently confiscated market goods because no taxes were paid on them.

In Nduga I saw two markets offering iron hoes (iguliro lyi byuma). One was half an hour from Kwa Rutagungira in Bulamba, the other was located between Nyanza and Kabgaye on a hill three hours from the latter settlement. When I passed through, the market near Kwa Rutagungira was patronized by a great many smiths from Mount Ndisa. Below Marangara, on the Nyawarongo in Bukonya, there is a charcoal market. Charcoal is burned in the Tschingogo Forest and traded by the people of Chief Niamakwa of Bushiru for millet and old hoes.

Since olden times there has been a food market, open daily, in Nyundo on the Mission Bridge between Katebe Hill and the Ssebeya. The people gather early in the morning and leave between 11 and 12 o'clock. There is another market town in the northwestern part of Kisenyi.

443 In Mulera there is a market place a few hours from Ruasa. Luhanga, the representative of Nshohozamigo, tried to move the market to the neighborhood of the Ruasa Mission. He thought that he could thereby make the missionaries [165] obligated to him and, on the other hand, increase his profits. It was to be assumed that the highway over the Mission Bridge which everyone takes to Ruweruka and Bugoye would attract even more customers than the old site. However, the expectation was not fulfilled. At first people came out of curiosity, but they soon went back to the old site. This example proves that we are dealing here with old, firmly established traditions.

In the west markets occur three to four hours apart, as Dr. Kandt (1) has already pointed out.

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 294.

[443]

Fig. 52. Litter from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III 13685. 128 centimeters long.)

In Nyundo the market attracted several hundred people daily between eight and ten in the morning. There were also several middlemen taking part, who collected commissions. To avoid the market tax people also carried on transactions along the roadsides near the market. We observed such small auxiliary markets at the crossroads.

487 Communication. The Munyaruanda travels on foot. When several people travel together they move in single file on the well-trodden paths which have been used for centuries. The paths avoid straight lines. They carefully circumvent every obstacle, every stone, every fallen tree trunk. Despite these minor deviations, the course of the path is definitely fixed and determined by the ferries. Nothing could be more incorrect than the assertion heard not infrequently that on a trip any path can be used as long as

651 the Akanjaru which can be crossed at only a few places because
491 of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes increased very considerably.

651 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu.
443 In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle disputes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the belief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda rulers become leopards.

721 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning
643 war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last expedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each expedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

000 361 644 Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

443 Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through [437] other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from [439] abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

121 The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the [174] situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

146 The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet. The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[26] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as [433] high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[26] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461] 1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

The Mutussi never
181 works unless he belongs to the lower class, but he takes a sports-
[461] man-like interest in his cattle. Work is the concern of the sub-
jugated Bahutu and hence disgraceful to a Mutussi, and only the really poor Batussi will stoop to it. To be rich and powerful and to enjoy life in idleness is for him the essence of wisdom, the ideal which he endeavors to achieve with the utmost cunning and lack of scruple. It is everyone for himself, a maxim which is also adhered to by the Batussi as a whole in their relations to the ruled people, the Bahutu and Batwa.

Naturally this life of pleasure, indulged in for hundreds of years, has done great harm to the character and manly virtues of the Batussi. That they were not without courage, warlike ability, and energy can be easily inferred from the fact that, although they are small in numbers now and doubtless even smaller at one time, they have conquered this large country. Witness also the early history of their royalty (see p. 162 [not translated]). For a long time now, however, they have had their internal and external battles fought for them by their bondsmen, their Bahutu vassals, while they keep themselves cautiously in the background and cunningly direct operations from a safe place. Of course, there are praiseworthy exceptions even here.

In spite of all this, it must be admitted that even in this respect the Barundi are on a higher level than the Banjaruanda. In Urundi the Batussi are not so pleasure-seeking, lazy, mendacious, violent, and cowardly as those in Ruanda, nor are the Bahutu so servile and hypocritical toward superiors and so insolent toward the weak as they are there, nor does the king along with the lords living at his court indulge to such a degree in idleness, revelry, intrigues, and the satisfaction of vicious and cruel instincts as does the one in Ruanda.

563 In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, it is above all the will
[556] to power and the desire for pleasure which have caused the ruling Batussi to keep the greatest form of wealth, cattle, to themselves. By this means alone they have created for themselves an economic power over [16] the mass of the Bahutu which also provides the surest foundation for their political predominance
[754] (see pp. 41-42). In addition they have cleverly succeeded in

533 This does not apply to religious songs which are sung at certain cult ceremonies. We shall discuss them in the chapter on "Religion" (p. 127).

533 461 Often, but not always, singing of the simplest form accompanies work done by several persons with the object of concentrating the individual's energies by means of the rhythm or to make for greater perseverance. For instance, this may be done while moving heavy objects, when hoeing the field in a group, rowing a boat, cutting trees, etc. Usually the song consists of only two or three words which are first sung by one person in the group and are then imitated by the others until the choir leader gives them a new word, a new "idea."

[71] Chapter 6

Means of Communication, Trade, Handicrafts

1. Means of Communication

487 In a country with as little internal and external trade as Urundi the means of communication are naturally very primitive. The roads connecting villages or districts with each other are simple, narrow, trampled footpaths which circumvent all obstacles by turning to the right or left. Wherever this is impossible, as, for instance, in the extremely rocky quartzite regions of central and east Urundi, obstacles are never moved out of the way but are simply left there, and the traveler has to climb over them. These paths in the quartzite regions are, therefore, extremely difficult to traverse for the non-native burden carrier in a caravan or even for a European. The difficulties are further increased by the fact that all the paths of Urundi and Ruanda tend to reach the hill ridges and highland plains which predominate in this area by the shortest possible route, in order to proceed along there with greater ease. Since many valleys are deeply cut and have steep sides, the paths which go

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
435 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': it is practised among members of the aristocracy
435 only; it consists in offering members of the ruling
565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the
461 domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

[p. 15(2)]

462 Consequently the men folk, even when they do not
461 cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably certain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them : if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

444 You see Barundi who buy goods on one market and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

The evolution in progress

178 Most chiefs have been converted and have accord-
177 ingly adopted monogamy : the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished : some corvées are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs : already the *ntore*[1] have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendanyi*[2] obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and
[436] money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate barional ex-

[p. 16 (A)]

[1] [a type of vassal — Analyst]

[2] [messenger attendant — Analyst]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

that they are the almost indispensable means for achieving these ends. 181
The originality of Ruanda culture does not lie in its high valuation of power 554
and fame. These are recognized ends in many cultures. What is distinctive 564
is the paucity and the indispensability of the means provided in that society for effecting these purposes.

An ordinary Muhutu could never hope to achieve a position of power over other men comparable to that which a Mututsi could attain without difficulty. A well-to-do Muhutu could acquire a few servants either by ensuring the subsistence of other Bahutu poorer than himself or, like a Mututsi, by the gift of cattle. But this was not common. Ambition for power is proper to people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. The ultimate value for Bahutu is security, for this means protection from the things our informants say they fear above all: accusations of witchcraft, starvation, and the arbitrary actions of the powerful. There are no direct methods of protecting oneself against the first of these threats. All that can be done preventively is to be a good neighbour, not to be envied by anybody, not to have enemies. . . . But there are ways of reducing the other two dangers and these are the intermediate values which the Bahutu earnestly seek: work, children, and patronage.

Bahutu till the soil from which they have to get subsistence, the tribute 181
demanded by the chief, and perhaps a surplus. This surplus is extremely 564
important because it will enable them to acquire some goats, sheep, even a 461
cow, to have the time to work for their lord, to store enough food to get a few servants who will then increase production. Surpluses may be obtained only by work. That is why, among Bahutu, the man or the woman who works hard and competently is highly considered. Work enables Bahutu to achieve some security against starvation and even to attain moderate wealth.

There is a Ruanda proverb that the dog is not feared because of his 181
fangs but because of his master. This is the main reason why a Muhutu 564
wants to have a patron. A peasant rich enough to own a couple of cows needs the protection of somebody more powerful than himself in order to avoid the arbitrary exactions of some member of the dominant class. Patronage was institutionalized by the *buhake* agreement mentioned above. Like the lord in medieval Europe, the patron was bound to protect his client in most of the dangerous situations of life. A second reason for seeking a patron lay in the material and moral advantages accruing from the possession of cattle.

If we wish to state Bahutu values in more abstract terms, we may say that they seek security through the production of agricultural goods and the protection of a powerful patron.

Although he is not indifferent to his reputation, the Muhutu does not 181
seem to stress its importance as much as does the Mututsi. The reputation 564
he desires reflects the values of his caste. He likes to be considered a 554

their children just because they are their children. This, of course, exists in Ruanda as in many other cultures. [854]

258 water, which overflows into a jar, carrying with it a few more or less
263 soluble particles of this sooty dust. The liquid is preserved. The cooks pour a little into the cooking pot at every meal. Some families subsist on this humble vocation and trade with water which is not salted but which has an ashy taste.

Salt was indeed rare before the arrival of the Europeans. The great Batutsi chiefs were about the only ones able to obtain it.

This salt, collected by the Blacks in the marshes of Lake Edward, contained an amount of earth and sand at least equal to half its volume. It sold nevertheless for a very high price at native markets.

The salt from the Gottorp plant (not far from Kigoma) is now used by all social strata. It is highly valued by the Banyarwanda, who call it ulugera, a substantive derived from the verb kugera, which means "to penetrate," because, as they say, it goes all the way down to their stomachs thanks to its high quality and its tart and pungent flavor. One understands why formerly the Blacks, when deprived of salt, would seek out bitter herbs and sour fruits. Red pepper and
[249] chives, which were imported fairly recently, have for this reason been a great success among the Blacks, who cultivate them in small plots near their huts. It is probably for the same reason that children show almost as much fondness for lemons as for oranges. /34/ A few years after the eruption referred to as that of the Ntsuro (December, 1911 and January, 1912), when the natives were able to approach the volcano safely, they began collecting salt mixed with large quantities of earth. The inhabitants of nearby villages spend most of their time collecting the indispensable substance. In order to rid the salt of its
[415] impurities, people melt it in large wooden troughs full of water, which are called imivule or imizinga. The liquid is then removed to other troughs where it is exposed to the sun. The most skillful and enterprising workers allow the water to boil until it evaporates completely. The markets which are held north of Kivu are supplied with this salt, which sells as high as that of Gottorp in spite of its poor quality. It is less white, contains impurities, and always remains damp.

241 The Batwa, or Negrillos, do not farm much. They look down
461 on field work.
563

241 To them, this labor is almost taboo (1). They are divided in
461

1. Extensive fields of peas are to be seen among the Batwa of the Bugoyi, who live at the edge of the forest. Should one see this as a new state of affairs caused by the deep changes which have upset or transformed their former way of life?

It is certain that the hunting grounds of the Pygmies are not as extensive as they used to be. The forest dwindles imperceptibly but surely as the Bahutu, in search of new fields, gnaw at it incessantly with their axes. It must also be said that the Negrillos can no longer plunder and rob as they used to do. European penetration is largely responsible for stopping this source of income. In order to support themselves, the Batwa have begun to farm out of necessity, like the Bahutu.

323 two categories, the potters and the hunters. The former settle in Bahutu villages but live apart. They work with clay, a task which everyone else gladly leaves to them. They get foodstuffs in exchange for their vessels.

224 The hunters prefer the solitude of the forest. They are the true children of the woods, and "milk" the forest in every way, as [195] though it were their cow, to repeat a familiar expression /35/ of theirs. They live on the game they kill.

They are very fond of meat and tirelessly track elephants, buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, the large tailless, clawless rats called

157 Eloquence. It was no doubt necessary to cultivate loquacity in lands totally ignorant of the art of writing. Whatever the reason, there is no doubt that the Blacks find it easier to speak endlessly than to remain silent.... It does not occur to the Blacks to limit their speeches to pertinent data. /63/

Loyalty. Among the various peoples of East-Central Africa with whom I have been in contact, I have always found a remarkable degree of loyalty in return for the confidence placed in them.

Instincts. In my opinion, they have those of the most primitive peoples. Among those instincts, some may be classed among the characteristics beneficial to the Blacks.

1. First, the religious instinct. I do not believe that a "skeptic" ever existed among the true Black primitives. He is a by-product of civilization.

2. Perspicacity. The Blacks seem gifted with a mysterious power to judge strangers.... This gift of insight, which enables them to perceive the characteristics of a foreigner, is enviable. I do not mean to say that every black man possesses it individually to a remarkable degree, but collectively they seem able to judge a foreigner in practically no time. This is applied to the Whites, who no sooner arrived are granted a surname by the natives. If this name is not flattering, it will be used without his knowledge.

II And now, a few words on the shortcomings of the Negroes of Central Africa.

Duplicity. Lying is a "cultivated" art among our Africans.... It is quite likely that this is a familial practice, or else how could one explain their great skill in this art? It must be in part the result of circumstances, for primitive people regard it as a natural means of protection.... As a result, the Blacks have little if any sense of honor and place ruse on a much higher level than truth.

157 461 Laziness. There have been few occasions for the Blacks to develop habits of industriousness and sustained effort. /64/ As a rule, nature was very kind to them, supplying them with essentials even where the population was densest. Their needs were few apart from their own subsistence and that of their livestock. The rains were seasonal, and sowing time depended upon them. In the villages those

157 were the times of hard work for all able-bodied persons who could
461 wield a hoe. Once sowing time was over, why cultivate further? The busy times were intermittent, therefore, and even those people who were most inclined to work had nothing to do but sit for a good half of the year, unless a war should bring them to their feet. It is obvious that such a state of affairs does not lead to the development of industrious habits and sustained application to work.

157 Immorality. I fear that I won't be contradicted if I say that the Black is immoral.... How could one expect these "child-peoples," who live such a carefree and easy life, to acquire habits of abnegation and self-restraint? When the evangelization of these primitive tribes was begun, it was not easy to establish among them such habits of morality as befit a Christian people (1).

1. We have good reason to believe that the Banyarwanda may be classified among the least corrupt. The taboos and traditions that prevail among them act as a check against profligacy.

Mistrust. Centuries of struggle to the death among the various
[609] African tribes have engendered... a certain attitude toward foreigners which makes it very difficult for a well-intentioned person to lead them as far as he might wish on the road to progress....

To conclude. If the previous lines do not contain an exact description of the African in general (for there are no generalizations applicable at once to one and all), /65/ I hope nevertheless not to have been guilty of injustice toward the Blacks in describing them. If only they could make the most of their assets and persevere in conquering their shortcomings, then no doubt a fine future would be open to them.

The same author adds that if one could persuade them to develop a civilization peculiar to their race, instead of slavishly giving way to their natural aptitude for copying that of others, this would be a good contribution to the glory of humanity and a denial

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull,
[825] billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

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April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Everaerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

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428 without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of 428 suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to 578 be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to [436] achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

4. LABOUR

● 461 Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), 466 he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged 593 almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make 461 all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

466 The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the [643] supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.

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Servants' labour belonged completely to their masters. These servants (*abatindi* for men, *abaja* for women) were either war captives or simply very poor people (this is the first meaning of the word *abatindi*). Their payment consisted in receiving food, shelter, and clothing from their masters. Sometimes it was agreed that after a certain period of time (such as three years) the master would either pay the bride-wealth to provide the servant with a wife or would even give him his own daughter. 357 461 [727]

Family heads were the only persons who could dispose of their own labour resources, with the exception of that part required by the lord and the political authority. 593

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Almost any Ruanda family head could command enough rights to capital goods and labour to make his rugo self-supporting, with a certain surplus for his chief and his overlord. But these rights were not finally his. The ultimate control of the factors of production was not his. Labour, land, and cattle, in that order, were increasingly slipping away from his control. Command of the factors of production and political power was so interwoven in Ruanda social structure that they are to be analysed together in the following chapter devoted to the political organization. 491 [182]

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(a) Caste society and social cohesion

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

N2 same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This
564 makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to dis-
826 tinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that
564 the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least, cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the
827 Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving
829 anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

564 It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically
827 more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are, to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour.
564 True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose character and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and
[262] their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even
[186] those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Other-
• [461] wise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

[826 It is necessary to stay in Burundi for a long time to see behind
827] the stereotypes of the castes. In brief, it is assumed that the Tutsi

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

● 461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.

562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
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554 a deaf ear to his daughter's wishes in the matter of changing a
562 husband, she will perhaps make the necessary arrangements on
593 her own initiative with the husband she prefers, and the father will have no choice but to accept the new arrangements. From her husband, a woman expects to receive gifts in proportion to his wealth—clothing, copper bracelets, beads, cows, money. She also wishes workmen and servants, so that she will not have to perform the menial tasks of inferiors; so that she will have a great many inferiors to supervise; so that she will enjoy sufficient energy and leisure for the planning and plotting necessary to increase her wealth and her influence in family affairs, economic matters and politics. As her husband's business partner, an intelligent woman will be consulted at every turn or she may not even wait for her husband to ask her advice. She decides what must be done, and her decisions must be respected. A wife who is well-established will almost certainly be the preferred intermediary of those who seek the favour of her husband. As an intermediary, she receives gifts, particularly pots of beer, to persuade her to intervene with the superior. An intelligent woman who finds herself with more beer than she needs will send a servant to sell it and keep the money
[556 for herself. For women in the lower castes, there are various optional roles through which they can earn money. They may sell the excess baskets they weave; they may be midwives; they may be
562 *bapfumu*, physician-pharmacists who sell medicines and amulets;
556 they may be governesses or ladies-in-waiting for good families. A
554 husband takes great pride in a wife who becomes wealthy. Her wealth advertises her cleverness and is at all events obtained at
593 no cost to him. Some women, it is said, are so intelligent that a prince will make them *abashingantahe*, judges and councillors. Women who have this honoured position receive cows, clothing, jewellery and serfs. On occasion, a woman of this kind may be wealthier than her husband, but he has every reason to be pleased to have such a wife. A wealthy woman will keep some of her cows for herself for milk and butter. Others she will give to those who come and ask of her, and these will become her feudal followers who will work for her, respect her, and go about in quest of information for her.

554 The frequent absences of the husband are opportunities for a
562 woman to show herself capable of managing the property. Work
593 is for inferiors and is not a source of honour. It nevertheless establishes the realistic dependence of the superior upon his
[46] inferior, and it forms the solid basis, sometimes explicitly recognized, of the relationship between superior and inferior. A good

462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 842 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

[163] 3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 562 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house), the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But 837 custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 586 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she nearly always will accept it. However, she sometimes leaves her

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by [462] men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their [301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted barkcloth, among many other things, from the subject Bahutu. [292] Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

231 the last herds of the long-horned cattle in the Urundi border villages west of the Kisuma River; east of this, in lower northern Uha, the bush forest and tsetse fly begin.

In Urundi and Ruanda there are none of the smaller, short-horned zebu or humped cattle that are found in the rest of East Africa. Bahima cattle are so well adjusted to the climate and the mode of life of the highlands of the interlacustrine region that they thrive only in this region. As soon as the animals are taken to the lower areas, that is, to Unjamwesi, Lake Victoria, or to the coastal regions, they languish and soon die, even if they are not stung by the tsetse fly. In this respect they are quite like the Batussi themselves with whom they live in a kind of symbiosis.

As a former nation of shepherds, the Batussi place a high value on their cattle which is quite foreign to the Bantu. It far exceeds the estimate of their capital value. Cattle are not regarded as producers of meat, as an "article of consumption," but as original capital from which only the dividends (milk, [237] butter, blood tapped from the living animal, hair) may be used, while the capital itself (individual heads of cattle) may only be exchanged for other valuable capital assets, for example, women. More than that, cattle have a high sentimental value for the [182] Mutussi. His entire thoughts and aspirations revolve around the cattle; they are for him the mainstay of his social order, yes, even the object of his devotion which in many cases even transcends into the religious sphere. Accordingly, they are objects of a cult which is full of symbols and mystical relationships. [776] The highest deity, Imana, is first of all protector of the cattle. In East Africa we find a similar attitude among the Hamito-Nilotic nation of herdsmen, the Massai. In whatever concerns cattle, a woman has no say at all. The entire breeding and [462] care of the cattle, even milking, is the job of the man. It is true that in this sphere too the Bahutu have to do all the heavy work, cleaning the animals, tending the cattle in the pasture, milking the cows, etc., but the Mutussi does the more delicate work: he chooses the animals for breeding; he is the veterinarian; he decides what animals are to be killed or sacrificed; and he does this job with all the affection of the sportsman for his animal.

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle; it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
302 food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi
[262] eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororo, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, espe-
272 cially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi
241 and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and
[462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka,
412 241 igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine
[434] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and
[439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

273 people, it is not out of virtue but simply because they do not have enough to eat and drink to satisfy their appetites. They could eat an ox at one sitting, and if they were given as much beer as they wanted, they would keep drinking from morning till night" (No. 19, p. 317). Drunkenness is not regarded as a shortcoming or a vice but as evidence of the prosperity or generosity of the host. After the millet and banana harvest, from July to September, is the time for brewing beer (kwenga insoga, kutoba), the period of gluttony and general drunkeness all over Urundi, and this continues until the provisions are exhausted. Often the last drop disppears down the gullet after not more than four weeks, and the thirsty souls have to remain
273 abstinent until the next harvest period. During the period of
574 carousal, singing and shouting can be heard issuing from most homesteads deep into the night, for there are no quiet and solitary drinkers. Drinking beer is always a social affair. One person after another invites friends and relatives to communal drinking bouts, and in this manner they make the rounds among all the families of friends, guzzling until nothing is left. In
[431] addition to this, pots filled with beer are given as presents or any suitable occasion, and then they are shared by receiver and donor together. Of course, beer is part of any kind of festive occasion which usually also includes dancing (see pp. 65, 125).
273 Since the banana beer, which is the most popular, is quite
579 potent and since, in addition, the Barundi are by nature easily
152 excited, the more advanced stages of such communal drinking bouts usually take a rather wild form. Quite regularly violent arguments ensue, and often fights result in which even lances are used, sometimes ending in manslaughter. In the latter case, the consequences for the families concerned are quite disastrous (see pp. 97, 105).

273 Significantly enough, beer-brewing among the Barundi
[462] is a task with which the women are charged. They are experts in this respect, but they also are hard drinkers. There are four different types of beer in Urundi. The most potent, popular, and widespread type is banana beer (insoga j'ivitoke). To

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
285 than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
285 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

286 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[177] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
[291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees..
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411. niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

768 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's
736 family and provide for their widowed mother. However, child-less widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or by begging.

The position of women is higher and the esteem in which
562 they are held is greater than among most other East African
593 Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned, the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the husband. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the
[462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found among any other East African people -- that husband and wife
[264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier husbands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex-
562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded
[644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of respect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[462] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[778] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

[p.14 (A)]

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
435 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange'; it is practised among members of the aristocracy
435 only; it consists in offering members of the ruling
565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete
461 inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

[p. 15(B)]

462 Consequently the men folk, even when they do not
461 cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably certain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them : if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

441 You see Barundi who buy goods on one market and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

The evolution in progress

178 Most chiefs have been converted and have accord-
177 ingly adopted monogamy : the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished : some corvées are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs : already the *ntore*[1] have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendanyi*[2] obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and
[436] money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate barional ex-

[p. 16 (A)]

[1] [a type of vassal — Analyst]

[2] [messenger attendant — Analyst]

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

265 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

● 462 Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).
What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 776 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

769 775 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

445 [211] The wooden bowls are usually elliptical, but sometimes they are quite long and have a handle, so that they resemble a very short-handled spoon. Twin vessels are also not uncommon and I collected a number of them in Mulera. They hold less than other vessels. These twin vessels have a common longitudinal axis, are carved from one piece of wood, and used to serve different foods at one time. The part that joins them serves as a handle. On the outer rim there is often the suggestion of a handle in the form of a knob or a loop. Simple bowls sometimes also have loops.

[212] Gourds are used to hold beer and water. In Mulera, as in the Congo Basin, large bowls (ulukiza) made of calabashes cut in half lengthwise are used for drinking. Usually, however, in Ruanda, beer is sipped through straws from calabashes with narrow necks. The necks of these jugs are not as narrow as those in Kiziba. The straws are kept in the huts in small woven or carved wooden containers (ikitembo) resembling quivers.

Beer is poured into the small openings of the calabashes with funnels. [213] However, we also find vessels used for pouring. These were collected and illustrated by Dr. Kandt. (1)

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," Zeitscheift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 346.

Milk is stored in the house in the wooden vessels (kianzi) we have already discussed. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter. There are special small vessels for storing butter. They are made either of fired clay or carved out of wood. The latter are shaped like tiny dishes, but the edges are more convergent, and they usually have a loop handle.

352 Small, one-legged stools complete the furniture, but not every household has these.

462 The Household. The women do the housework which consists of fetching water and preparing food.

312 Fetching the water needed for the household is probably the most onerous task, particularly in the lava district south of the

312 volcanoes. There the rivers run underground and open water holes are sometimes a great distance away, even several hours. In these regions rain water and the bitter juice of the banana stalks are used primarily, but a certain amount of water has to be fetched even in these regions. The collected rain water is very impure, for [214] it is gathered in small depressions in the ground from which it is dipped with gourds into larger vessels for storage. In Buhumba, along the route from Nyundo to Rutshuru, I saw that after a heavy rain waste matter from the dirty courtyards was washed into the water holes.

312 578 In spite of these difficulties in obtaining water, the Bahutu filled in a spring on the Karisimbi in order to get rid of the Batutsi who watered their stock there and devastated the fields. This example shows how peacefully herdsmen and farmers live together.

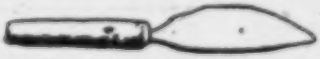
412 

Fig. 160. Woman's Knife with Single Cutting Edge, from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13734. 20 centimeters long.)

Fig. 161. Woman's Knife from West Kivu. (1/4 actual size. III E10172. 32.5 centimeters long.)

575 That the women have to fetch the water may account for their greater cleanliness. It struck me in Nyundo that one always saw women washing themselves along the Ssebeya, but one seldom saw men bathing.

462 The entire process of preparing food also falls to the women, and this is not limited to cooking. They must also thresh the grain, grind it into flour, peel the produce of the fields, in most cases fetch firewood, and in Kissaka even make the pots.

412 In their work women use small, crudely constructed knives. Only in the west do we find large, double-edged, sword-like knives used by the women. They closely resemble the knife used by Babira women.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

7; Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Among the better classes the 241
wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants [565]
and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband [462]
and wife worked in the field.

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the 243
common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people. [252]

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten 534
morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month [782]
a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Everserts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

granted that a woman may fulfil these functions emphasizes the high status that women have enjoyed in Ruanda society. It is tempting to regard their status as a consequence of the economic responsibilities of the polygynous wives when replacing their husbands. 562

Besides this form of economic collaboration, wives, in nuclear as well as in polygynous families, had to perform certain economic tasks within the rugo. The activities which belonged exclusively to the wife, though she was sometimes helped by her daughters and certain other females were, for women of any caste: cleaning and brushing the hut and the enclosure, milk churning, and basket-making. In addition to these, Tutsi women made particular objects in basket-work (such as screens used in the hut, very finely woven plates, &c.), butter perfumed with the wood of a certain tree *umubavu* (such butter was used as a cosmetic), and garments in bead work. Hutu women had to cook and to apportion food. In agriculture their particular tasks were to sow and plant, to grind sorghum, and to sift peas. Twa women simply cooked. 462 84 [285] [303]

The husband's contributions to the economic activities of the compound were, among the Tutsi, cattle-rearing and hunting (for the hides and skins); among the Hutu, hut-building, minding cattle (if they had any), felling the bush, and usually all the agricultural tasks requiring considerable physical strength. Moreover, they prepared bark-cloth and skins and forged iron implements. Among the Twa, husbands hunted and made bows and iron weapons.

The principles underlying this division of economic tasks exclusively performed by males or females were according to informants that men should carry out tasks which either were particularly hard, or required intelligence, had to be performed far from the compound, or were thought 'noble'.

Most other duties could be performed by men or women and were shared between husband and wife according to individual arrangements. Such activities were, for instance, in the case of the Tutsi: watching labourers working in the fields, and supervising them, doing menial tasks such as mending the enclosure, milking the cows or looking after the herds. For the Hutu they were: harvesting, brewing beer, drawing water, cutting and collecting wood, lighting and maintaining fires, making mats and baskets, &c. For the Twa: pot-making and brewing beer.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cow-herds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

WTA 14

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574 planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517] mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
564 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[16]

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight.

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks.

563 other, and which in the course of centuries in this grouping have crystallized into a strong social and political community.

563 162 144 The great mass of the population consists of the agriculturalists, the Bahutu [Hutu], belonging to the Bantu race, more specifically to the so-called basic Bantu. In Urundi their number is approximately one and a half million. Above them, as the ruling caste, stands the Hamitic pastoral Batussi, who invaded Urundi from the north about 400 years ago and who, both here and in the entire interlacustrine region, subjugated the agricultural Bahutu. They are proud, tall figures, often over two meters in height, with sharp profiles and stately posture, so that at first they even impress the well-traveled European. According to official estimates, they number from 40,000 to 50,000 in the whole of Urundi. Besides these giants, the country also shelters the remnants of an original, short, pygmoid population, the Batwa [Twa], who lived here in the forests even before the Bantu and who, together with the forests, were partly destroyed, partly pushed back into remote corners by the other stronger elements. At present there are only a few thousand of them in Urundi and the same number in Ruanda. Their stature ranges mostly between 1.50 meters and 1.60 meters, but they are [463] strongly built and make a living as hunters, as blacksmiths and potters in the service of others, or as bodyguards of important people and of the king.

563 Undoubtedly the Batwa are the oldest stratum of population in the entire interlacustrine region. Dispersed in small tribal groups over the country, [7] they lack any kind of social cohesion; nor do they seem to have any traditions about their past. The [144] Urundi Batwa resemble the Batwa in the forests, but in Urundi they apparently have more Bantu blood in their veins. They are, therefore, somewhat taller and not as pure a type as the Batwa of Ruanda. Both in Urundi and Ruanda and in the northeastern Congo region, the Batwa are in the process of disappearing. Regarded as pariahs both by the Batussi and the Bahutu, they are everywhere treated badly but are at the same time thoroughly exploited. They always look profoundly melancholic and are

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother [429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a 428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers 768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her 587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional 428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest ● 463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith 868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is 671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is 563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
435 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': it is practised among members of the aristocracy
435 only; it consists in offering members of the ruling
565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the
461 domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

[p. 15(B)]

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This[1] makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden [411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times, [579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that 463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them 696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches, [342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

1 [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -Analyst]

OUD (which is basically demoralizing) and the sudden, unplanned rise to the level of their former masters, owing to prematurely granted rights of citizenship.... Many were unable to withstand this two-fold distortion. The primitive Blacks, however, have none of the defects transmitted to the spuriously civilized Blacks through our own errors." (1)

1. General Mangin, Regards sur la France d'Afrique /A Look Toward French Africa/, pp. 174-178.

Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, in speaking of "very primitive" societies, lists the causes which explain their stagnation, ... "concentration of their energies on tasks which are not, like industry, susceptible of improvement: once the game is killed or the fish caught, their efforts come to a stop only to begin again endlessly and with no ulterior goal. Hence, general equality ... no specialists to perfect the procedures, no "idlers" dedicated to speculation" ... (2).

2. Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J. Correspondant, January 25, 1929.

[143] [176] The same might be said of the Banyarwanda, who are cultivators, woodcutters, blacksmiths, basket makers, potters, etc., and who have merely imitated their predecessors and made no innovations. To sum up this matter of stagnation, let us add that it would be wrong and unjust to attribute it to a lack of intelligence /68/ on the part of the Blacks. Among many other causes, it comes chiefly from their lack of method and their lack of initiative, which are due to the long isolation in which they have lived. As we have said before, the facilities and resources offered by nature to the Africans are also partly responsible for this. The intermittent work required for their daily sustenance demanded no great efforts. The Blacks, with their trust in nature, their satisfaction with their fate, their lack of artificial needs and cares, and no worries about the morrow, would "let themselves live" from day to day. Let us hear what Mr. Delafosse, the

438 651 The inhabitants of the Bugoyi, Mulera, Bussigi, Bgisha, Bufumbiro, etc., formerly supplied this substance[1] as a tax under the name of umutsama (plural imitsama).

438 463 The people of the Kinyaga, dwellers on the shores of Lake Kivu, made strong mats (ibisunyu) of lake reeds for the court.

People from the Bgishaza, Kingogo, Budaha, etc., made litters, baskets, and hampers of various shapes because they lived close to the forest where the materials essential to their craft are to be found.

463 651 Dressing cases, combs, butter jars, dishes, spoons, pitchers, pipes, tobacco pouches, bows, arrows, shields, quivers, spear shafts, clubs, scabbards, cases for knives and drinking tubes, drums, chairs, etc., were all made by professionals who paid their taxes in this fashion.

644 In accordance with an immemorial custom, the king chose himself a wife from each of the following Hamitic clans: /458/ Bega, Basinga, Bakono, Baha, and sometimes also among the Bagessera, not to speak of those who were referred to him on account of their mental or physical qualities. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the neighboring princes of the Uswi, Karagwe, and Bunyabungu, but no son of those foreign princesses, to our knowledge, ever sat on the throne. Few royal wives managed to retain their husband's good favors indefinitely. Many of them were demoted to the rank of servants (abaja), if not sent back to their families (1).

1. This was the best they could hope for, since then they regained their complete freedom.

Some chiefs were bound by custom to send regularly to court some little girls, who were raised among the queen-mother's followers. The lot of those children was a rather unhappy one. Some of them when grown were chosen as servants or as symbolic wives offered to the spirits of dead kings (2).

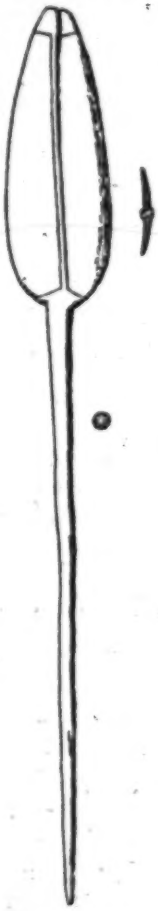
2. Cf. Chapter VII below under "Funeral Rites."

[i.e., heavy. -Analyst]

501 In rowing, the oarsmen sit on the edges of the boat. Only the large Kivu canoes had seats which were fastened on either side with ropes passing through holes in the rim of the boat. The holes are made

[227]

Fig. 40. Fishhook from Mukinjaga. (Actual size. III E 6896. 17 centimeters long.)



463
[113]

with a percussion drill (umutwero).

Industry. In Ruanda, as Dr. R. Kandt's (1)

1. Cf. the monograph "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 329-372.

studies have already pointed out, industry has the character of handicraft or hired work. There are few branches of industry on the level of home industry where at times surplus goods not used in the household are sold. This is true, for example, of basketry which generally is produced by the women.

Beer which is brewed in every household seldom figures in business transactions and then

Fig. 41. Oar from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13731. 181 centimeters long.)

only between friends, in exchange for the care of cows and for rented fields.

Potters and woodworkers are craftsmen who produce for the market, whereas metalworkers are wage earners who work on order. Wiredrawers [149], as well as the producers of barkcloth, reputedly work at the home of their employers.

322 Wood Carving. Woodwork in Ruanda is done by highly special-
463 ized craftsmen. Most of them carve jugs or other vessels. They are called babazi in the vicinity of Mount Ndisa where there are great numbers of them. The persons who make bows and arrows and also

[412]

Fig. 47. Percussion Drill from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 9884. 34 centimeters long.)

live near there are called batanazi. Dr. Kandt (1), who in the

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 335-348.

monograph cited above discusses the wood industry of Ruanda in great detail, says with regard to the various types of workers: "Thus, the arrow makers also make bows, other workers make salt troughs for animals and drums, still others specialize in grain mortars, chairs, and beehives. There are also specialists engaged in making dishes, spoons for stirring, ladles, and clubs. Specialists in only one object make containers for milk, quivers, and ornamental boxes for pombe [beer] tubes. Workers who make milk vessels sometimes also make troughs for pombe. (2)

2. Ibid., p. 342.

322 [155] In spite of this extensive specialization, the products by and large are very crude and much poorer than the objects made around Lake Victoria. The smaller containers, especially the dishes for butter, are the most carefully and elegantly carved.

281 cut off, the skin is rubbed with cow dung and it is put aside for two or three days. Later it is combed and smoothed out with minyonza. This process is known as kubiutsa inshundo zinganda. The skin is then rubbed thoroughly with butter and sprinkled with red earth which has been soaked in water (kitaka ch'inkanda). The particles remaining after this has dried are mixed with butter. When the skin has been prepared thus far, patterns are sewn on it with an iron needle. Cattle tendons are used as thread. This work is called kukana nganda. Originally the needle had no eye; it was a sort of awl of the type which is also used to remove sand fleas (mafunza). At

[443]

Fig. 51. Awl from Mulera. (1/3 actual size. III E 13732. 24 1/2 centimeters long.)

its opposite end it has a knife to cut the skins. Finally, the skin must be perfumed. For this purpose the sweet-scented wood called imibavu ihumura is used. This wood is burned in a sherd (luggio) on red-hot coals. Above the fire a wide-meshed plaited basket (lutete) is placed upside down, like a dome. The skin is stretched over the basket and thus exposed to the smoke. This completes the dressing. The skins of goats and sheep are dressed with less care but along the same lines.

463 Trade. The division of labor in Ruanda is on a comparatively high level. The socio-political situation itself produces a diversity of occupations among the subjugated Bahutu and the ruling Batutsi, but we must not forget that agriculture among the Bahutu and cattle raising among the Batutsi are basically independent and have little relation to each other economically.

[160] The division of labor is not sufficiently advanced in Ruanda to give rise to any great economic independence, with the exception of the king who has large holdings in land and cattle. Most articles are made for home consumption.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[p. 89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production. 433

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production? 592 [438]

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce. 463 [184] 412

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view. 471

1. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased 423

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim 421

1. [rugo: the basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 30 -- analyst]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cow-herds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

WTA 14

192
234 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is
574 called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192
431 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief,
231 or a patron when she has a child.

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

192
231 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-
426

1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192
231 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cowherd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives
[465] milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a
431] present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a
[696] family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192
437 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches
231

1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

443 Women and children are admitted to the markets without
579 restriction. In the past, people came armed, for they risked being robbed or even killed on the way by highway bandits.

The Lease of Services (kununga).

[465] A man may agree to work for another for 50 days, for example, at the rate of [80] one or two days a week on the condition of receiving the meat of one cow in exchange.

437 Exchange (kuguza) (1)

1. Kuguza, lit., "to agree to give an advance."

A Mututsi asks a Muhutu for a granary of sorghum (ihundo, lit., an ear of sorghum) for example, in exchange for a bull calf or hoes (usually 30).

The Loan (gutiza)

426 The Banyarwanda distinguish the loan for use (commodatum) from the simple loan (or loan for consumption).

If the loan for use, in hoes for example, is granted without interest, the same is not true of the loan for consumption, which involves edible produce. Whoever has received a basket of sorghum or beans must usually return two. The basket of supplementary produce which must be given the lender is called kirenga.

The Guarantee (kuchyungura).

Primus owns a pruning knife which Secundus would like to borrow. Secundus does not know Primus, so he goes to Tertius, a friend of Primus. Tertius tells Primus to lend his pruning knife to Secundus and offers himself as surety if the latter does not return the tool. Tertius may eventually turn against Secundus.

This contract can be made for cows, granaries of sorghum, etc.

Security (ingwate)

Primus wishes to borrow a few baskets of beans from Secundus. But Secundus answers that he cannot give them to him without a guarantee. Primus then offers Secundus a goat, for example (2).

2. A goat is worth three hoes.

When he brings Primus the counterpart of his loan, he takes back the goat.

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[491] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

234 Butter is not eaten. It is used to anoint the body and to
302 smear on clothes. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter; they are held at the neck with one hand and rocked back and forth on the ground. Butter is stored in small clay [143] and
415 wooden vessels (akachendo). The latter often have looped handles and are then called uchende yo mukondo.

The local form of intensive agriculture on very fertile soil
233 is not easy to combine with the extremely extensive cattle raising. Barn feeding is unknown. The animals graze all day in the open and are locked into the kraal (lugo) at night. Thus, even in the densely populated and highly agricultural regions, it is very difficult to keep even the milch cows near the settlements. The rest of the animals are driven out to more remote pastures. For example, the Bagoye drive their cows eastward into the primeval
233 forest on the watershed. The animals are cared for by special
●465 Batutsi caretakers who are paid to do this. For his service the herdsman gets the milk the first two months, since the cow is not returned to the owner until her calf is two months old. The herdsman also gets a jug of beer worth one hoe. He is, however, held accountable for the cow and must replace animals which are killed or stolen.

246 Pastures receive no special attention. On the northern slope of Mount Ndisa, however, I saw an irrigation system that watered the mountain meadows. Otherwise the steppes are merely burned off at the end of the dry season; this removes the withered grass and the young grass comes up abundantly after the first rain, the ground having been fertilized by the ashes. Needless to say, grass fires have greatly contributed to the deforestation of Ruanda, especially in the less populated areas. Granted that the forests have been destroyed by the farmers, nevertheless it is the herdsmen who make a second growth impossible. Grass fires rage throughout the country. In Mulera and Bugoye where everything is under cultivation, one sees fires only on the volcanic plains.

233 Since no fodder is stored, the cattle become very thin during
661 the dry season. It is not uncommon for Batutsi chiefs to have their herds driven into the sweet potato plantations of their farmers, where great damage is done. No matter how great their loss, the Bahutu cannot drive the cows out nor resist in any way.

12. Succession of Command

635 Like the royal office, the position of provincial chief is hereditary. It is assigned by the chief to one of his sons whom he considers most worthy to succeed him. It may happen that he may at the same time become chief of the clan, but it is not always so (1), for the family and the clan are social entities that are distinct

1. Cf. the example quoted in Personal Status, The Head of the Family and of the Clan, p. 6.

from political units.

The new chief must come and announce his father's death to the Mwami, bringing him a yo kubika cow, (lit., which announces death). On the other hand, he receives some indabukirano from his people and his friends.

622 The chiefs other than the abatware are appointed by the latter and confirmed in their functions by the Mwami.

13. Taxes and Forced Labor

651 Along with the civil obligations derived from the ubugaragu
466 contract, there are others due to the chiefs as such.

A. Obligations Due to the Hill Chief.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu of the igisonga must bring the latter once a year a large basket of sorghum (urutete) and a small basket of beans (ipfukire). Formerly, they were also required to cultivate the chief's fields (ubuletwa or uruharo) (2), to build and main-

2. In 1924 this custom was modified by the authorities in order to improve the lot of the Muhutu, who now give only two days of work out of seven.

tain each a part of the chief's rugo (kubak'inkike), and to act as messenger (gutumwa). Finally, the igisonga keeps a group of five

466 651 [101] men (intizo) for his personal needs and puts the remainder at the disposal of the provincial chief, who uses them either for building or repairing ingo belonging to the Mwami or his family, or else for work on the roads, etc.

The forced labor of kubak'inkike and gutumwa falls also on the simple Batutsi who are not the chief's clients (1).

1. The Batutsi obviously unload these obligations on their servants or their clients.

The chief's Bahutu and Batutsi abagaragu do not owe the ubuletwa. They are called ibyanga mibyizi (lit., those who refuse work). But they must bring the urutete and the ipfukire. In addition, the forced labor of kubak'inkike and of gutumwa falls on them also(2)

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

by virtue of the ubugaragu contract.

All the Bahutu must in turn watch each night in the igisonga's rugo (okulalira) and provide the necessary wood for heat and cooking.

B. Obligations Due to the Provincial Chiefs and the Abachibiri.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu owe them the urutete, the ipfukire, and also the ubuletwa for every two days out of seven. When the performance of this last obligation is difficult or even impossible because of the distance, the Bahutu replace it by bringing the produce of their cultivations (sorghum, peas, beans, Eleusine, and cush-cush). This tax is called ibihunikwa (lit., that which is put in the granary).

The Bahutu clients are only subject to the uretete and the ipfukire.

651 The ordinary Batutsi have the obligations of kubak'inkike, gutumwa, and kubyukurutsa, that is to say, of giving cows called imbyukuruke (2)

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

644 791 278 On account of this fame,[a] the Bakoma have been entrusted with the preparation of an elixir to prolong life called issubyo from the name of the plant which they use for this purpose, hence their name Abanyissubyo, "people of the life beverage, " a name and function which they regard as a great honor. In order to make their elixir, the Bakoma, or people from Nkoma's land, look deep into the forest for a kind of moss or mould (urugombyi) which is found on trees. When they have a good amount of it they /390/ burn it all. The ashes are carefully gathered and stored in a safe place. They also use the roots of the plant called issubyo, which they dry in the sun and crush to powder on their flour mill.

The third ingredient of this water of youth is a kind of Lycoperdon called agatumura which resembles the puffball.

Small amounts of these ashes and powders are mixed with beer and handed daily to the king by two representatives of the ancient family. The Hamitic monarch sucks in a few drops through a drinking tube (umuseke or umuheha), rinses his mouth with them once, and immediately spits out the liquid.

[466] 644 791 767 In principle the members of the Bakoma clan are exempt from forced labor and have retained a fair amount of independence (1).

1. Over these last few years, the Hamitic chief who was placed above them had to concern himself only with the observance of European laws and ordinances.

They have no function other than to take turns at court and hand to the monarch the invigorating beverage of which they are the inventors (2).

2. Along with the Basozo, the Bakoma have enjoyed privileges and immunities for the longest period of time. In the "Reign of

a [i.e., of being descended from the best sorcerer. —Analyst]

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428 without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

428 As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to 578 be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to [431] achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

4. LABOUR

461 Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for 466 the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

593 The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make 461 all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

466 The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the [643] supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.

[p. 89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production. 433

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production? 592 [438]

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce. 463 [184] 412

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view. 471

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased 423

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim 421

1. [rugo: The basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 20 -- analyst]

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Servants' labour belonged completely to their masters. These servants (*abatindi* for men, *abaja* for women) were either war captives or simply very poor people (this is the first meaning of the word *abatindi*). Their payment consisted in receiving food, shelter, and clothing from their masters. Sometimes it was agreed that after a certain period of time (such as three years) the master would either pay the bride-wealth to provide the servant with a wife or would even give him his own daughter.

Family heads were the only persons who could dispose of their own labour resources, with the exception of that part required by the lord and the political authority.

• • •

Almost any Ruanda family head could command enough rights to capital goods and labour to make his rugo self-supporting, with a certain surplus for his chief and his overlord. But these rights were not finally his. The ultimate control of the factors of production was not his. Labour, land, and cattle, in that order, were increasingly slipping away from his control. Command of the factors of production and political power was so interwoven in Ruanda social structure that they are to be analysed together in the following chapter devoted to the political organization.

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and Tutsi compounds. Only the size and number of huts and enclosures were different.[24] 361

These compounds, usually surrounded and more or less hidden by banana groves, were scattered throughout the country. They were on the top or on the slopes of hills, never in the valleys which were flooded every year at the end of the rainy season. They were usually rather isolated but even when they were not far from each other (and they were never so near together as to have two adjacent hedges) they did not constitute villages in the sense of concentrated clusters of dwellings situated near the centre of the territory worked by the inhabitants. There was, however, some grouping on a predominantly local basis of people who were all personally acquainted with each other. They could be described, following Murdock's terminology, as *neighbourhoods*.[25] These neighbourhoods were made up of a certain number of compounds (from twenty to sixty) situated on a hill (*umusozi*) or a part of a hill (*umurenge*). The people living there had a few common activities: mutual aid in the building of huts and in the performance of certain agricultural tasks, and recreational gatherings (such as dancing, jumping competitions, arrow shooting, &c.). They showed a certain *esprit de corps* in taking the side of one of their members in a dispute against a member of another similar community. The word used to designate the members of such groups expressed this idea of neighbourhood. They were called *abazimya muriro*, 'those who put out the fire', people very often needed. One important person in the group such as a lineage-head, was appointed as neighbourhood-head (*umukoresha*) by the traditional administrative authority to take charge of the collection of dues and tribute-labour of a hill or, more frequently, of a group of hills (*umutware w'umosozi*). He acted as an intermediary between his neighbours and the hill chief. The group could refuse the appointment of a certain person and another would be chosen. These neighbourhoods had no communal place for meeting, exchanging goods, or worshipping. 621 [476] 622 621

The same pattern of local grouping was to be found throughout Ruanda.

[24] Cf. Czekanowski, 117, p. 200 ff; Pauwels, 1953; Vincent, 1954, pp. 12-15.

[25] Murdock, 1949, p. 80. The definition of village given in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 64. ('a territorially separate collection of homesteads, which is regarded as a distinct unit and of such a size that its inhabitants can all be personally acquainted') cannot be applied to the Ruanda type of local community. [119]

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613 835 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 476 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied [692] by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 764 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a 613 man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a 765 prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again. [833] There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as

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probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

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of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

574 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance,
[481] for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda.

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the [136] dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

The provisions for such trips lasting several days are gen-
484 erally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they
481 are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning
439 is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited
438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro)
443 are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
651 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of
[481] rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[691] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

[57] Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the
631 following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

181 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule
563 of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu
[578] are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi
[163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He
[481] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different
563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and
191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

301 southeast, it would seem. Sometimes the relatively thick wire is flattened so that the bracelet takes the form of a shallow cylinder.

Often several bracelets are worn. Sometimes we also find several thin wires welded together with their ends trimmed, forming a wide bracelet.

Captain W. Von Grawert presented the Berlin Museum of Ethnology with a bracelet which had the edges of the flattened piece of wire bent outward. The groove thus formed was filled with resin in which were imbedded bits of bone. I had an opportunity to see a quite similar bracelet of leather; the grooves contained small glass beads. Dr. Kandt has already described these forms. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

I had no opportunity to see ivory bracelets in Ruanda proper. At any rate, my attention was not drawn to them. On this subject Dr. Kandt says (2): "North of Bunyabungu ivory bands [179] for

2. Ibid., p. 443.

wrists and upper arms become common. In Itambi they are even more frequent, and in Ujungu every third man wears them."

Rings for the legs are, as we have said, worn around the ankles and differ only in size from the bracelets made of wire spirals and worn by the men. Copper is the chief material used for anklets worn every day. On festive occasions, however, the only anklets worn by the Batutsi are made of fine iron wire spirals. So many are worn, one on top of the other, that they weigh several kilograms.

The women of eastern and central Ruanda wear a large number of anklets made of braided grass (butega). These rings placed one on top of the other form a cylinder that reaches almost up to the knees. They weigh so much that they cause the Banyaruanda women to walk with a characteristic dragging gait.

[481]

The shoe of the spear is very seldom lacking. Its form is that of a sharply-pointed cone into which is wedged the end of the spear shaft. 411

We mentioned above that the spear is a part of a man's adornment. Nevertheless, it is still a very dangerous weapon, and they know how to use it up to a distance of 20 meters. At this distance I saw a banana stalk, 15 centimeters in diameter and as tall as a man, hit two out of every three times. The force of the blow was so great that the spears pierced the stalk and protruded 20 centimeters on the other side. The spears that had missed the target penetrated 10 centimeters into the solidly trampled path and stuck fast, even at an angle of less than 45 degrees.

Even though the spear in Ruanda is used as a missile, only one spear is carried. According to Dr. Kandt (1), however, the Banyabungu in

1. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

the south usually carry two spears with wide blades.

Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only

Fig. 100. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10070. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

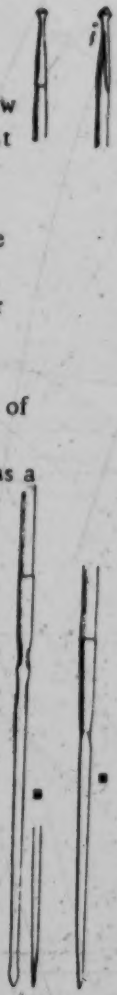

Fig. 99. Women's Canes from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13779 and III E 13789. 143 and 150 centimeters long.)

[285]
[531]
[481]

411 Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only
[524] as children's toys.

In this connection we must also mention the women's canes
411 (muterere), because they are not infrequently also used as weapons.
481 The shoe of the spear is here replaced by an iron ferrule 40 centimeters long, the lower three-fourths of which forms a square point in cross section. The upper fourth forms a socket into which the end of the cane is driven. The ferrule of the upper end of the stick is very similar to the shoe of the spear and ends in a knob. [188] Finally it should be pointed out that Ruanda spears are in many respects identical with those of Abyssinia, while the cane used by the women occurs in the Sudan, for example, among the Maka.

411 Braided grass rings are tied to the uprights of the huts for hanging the spears inside. The spears are stuck vertically into these rings, much as we stand up our umbrellas. The rings (rutagara) that hold the spears are no different from the rings placed under containers.

Bow, Arrow, and Quiver. Bows are not seen as frequently as spears in Ruanda, probably because they are carried only on journeys, on hunts, at offerings and ceremonies, and on war expeditions. The bow is a very important and much used weapons which also fits the character of the people. The Munyaruanda is
[726] not enthusiastic about hand-to-hand combat in closed ranks with spear and shield, in the manner of the Nilotes, although he does not actually avoid this type of warfare.

In Ruanda we can observe two entirely different types of bows. The Batwa bows are completely different from those of the rest of the inhabitants.

The bow used throughout the country by both Batutsi and Bahutu is a typical example of the so-called East African form, and, like Dr. Kandt, I shall simply refer to it as the Ruanda bow. This bow is more than one and a half meters long, is round in cross section, has long points but gradually tapers off at both ends, has no notches, and is strung [189] with a cord made of animal tendons or of fibers of the nimisse plant. The bow is curved so much that it can be used without a guard against the recoil of the bowstring. It does not differ from the Mpororo bow.

487 up and down the slopes in a straight line are a real nightmare for any non-Murundi.

Another circumstance which makes journeying more
491 arduous is that in spite of the innumerable streams and rivers there are hardly any bridges (ikiraro) in the whole of Urundi and Ruanda. The chief reason for this defect is the lack of suitable timber in these treeless areas. Even where there is still a sufficient number of trees, a bridge is built only in very rare cases since the entire width of the valley bottoms is usually covered with reed or papyrus swamps through the middle of which weaves a narrow, open watercourse. The swamps are too wide for building bridges.

Usually there is no other way but to wade through the swampy valley bottoms and streams up to one's knees or hips in the black, stinking morass. Only rarely are papyrus fronds or reeds cut down in bunches and piled next to each other and on top of each other to form a kind of floating bridge which prevents the travelers from sinking too deeply into the swamp. When reaching wide, open rivers, such as the Ruvuvu, Akanjaru, Luvironsa, and others, the traveler seeks out well-known fords and wades across, often up to his shoulders in water, and he uses a stick or a spear for support against the force of the
[482] stream. Everything that has to be kept dry must be carried in a bundle on the head. At the same time there is much shouting to frighten away the crocodiles. If the river is too deep,
501 dugouts are used for the crossing, and the shore dwellers make
505 a living at this. [72] If only a few persons and light burdens have to be ferried across, primitive rafts (ikitebo) are used. They are made of several layers of dried papyrus sticks which are tied together (Plate 26b). The rafts may be used a few times until they have soaked up too much water. On the Malagarasi River, large tubs made of tree bark are used. They are big enough for one man or one burden and are pulled and pushed across the river by two or three men who have to swim (No. 19, p. 448).

491 If it happens that a big tree is standing near a deep stream which cannot be forded, it is transformed into a bridge

491 by cutting it down, causing it to fall across both edges of the brook. If necessary, a rope of lianas is spanned across next to the bridge to help the traveler maintain his balance when walking over it. I have seen several such tree bridges in Uha where there are more trees than in Urundi. There are no suspension bridges.

In the whole interlacustrine region I have not seen any real bridges built by the natives themselves. Yet van der Burgt describes such a bridge: a few fork-shaped poles are rammed next to each other in the stream bed, and a few long pieces of timber are placed in the forks approximately parallel to each other, thus spanning the entire stream. A great number of crossbeams, approximately two meters long, are fastened to these, and finally bundles of reed or papyrus stalks are tied on top of them so that one may comfortably walk across.

Wherever missionary stations or colonial troops have built roads, there are solid wooden bridges on the European model, and wherever the route traverses swamps, there are earthen dams and corduroy roads. However, the lack of trees in this country will always be an obstacle to the construction of bridges.

The natives always make the cattle swim through the water or wade through the swamps even when bridges exist. Any crocodiles which may be in the vicinity are frightened away by shouting.

482 Since neither the Barundi nor the Banjaruanda have animals to ride or burden-carrying animals, all burdens and also people who are unable or unwilling to walk have to be carried by men. Burdens are packed in small or large bundles, generally wrapped in dry banana leaves, or in large baskets made of plaited bast. They are carried freely on the head or sometimes, for a change, on the shoulder but never in a sling or net on the back as, for example, in Kisiba or in Usâmbiro.

493 However, sick people or important persons who do not wish to walk travel on a stretcher (isjugi) which is carried by two men on their shoulders. The king also uses such a stretcher for

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[497] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
285 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
286 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise.
352 They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nsujimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal; kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

853 The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the affair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more rejoins his playmates. 854 [515] The children are kept clean and given a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time [482] in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 513 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground. They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 784 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

482 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child
784 who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic conceptions.

3. Missions

797 The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the
563 main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave," the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the [139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons, and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.
797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men (abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and organizations form a network over the entire land. Although
797 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years
735 in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor
737 and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van
888 der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives" No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.

2: Meyer--235 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 1

133
482

Highland Pasture in Southwest Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Waterfall in the Eastern Peripheral Mountains of
Lake Tanganyika, West Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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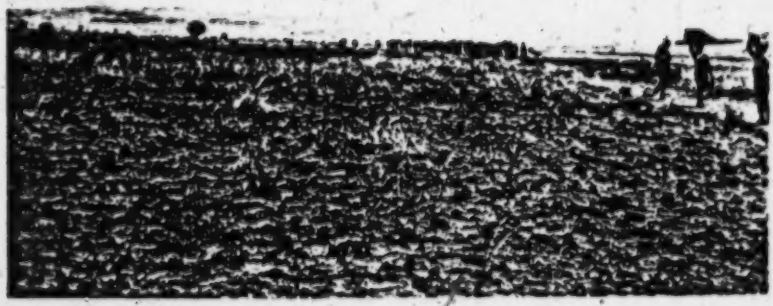
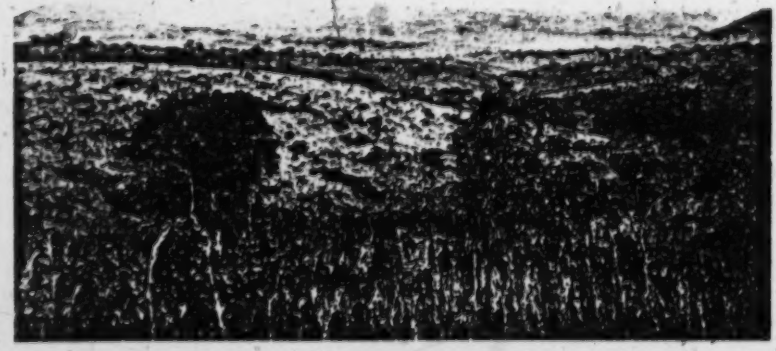
[482]



Grass Steppe in the Lower Ruzizi Valley, District of Bulinga
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Tree and Grass Steppe on the Kajongo River, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 5

482
133

Ford in the Ruvuvu River East of Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Crossing the Ruvuvu River near Kihansa
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--255 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 21

482

Barundi Carrying Bamboo Poles for House Construction, near Gitega, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

137

Homestead with Fig Trees for Barkcloth, East of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--261 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Packs of Salt from the Gottorp Saltworks on the Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Daily Market in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--285 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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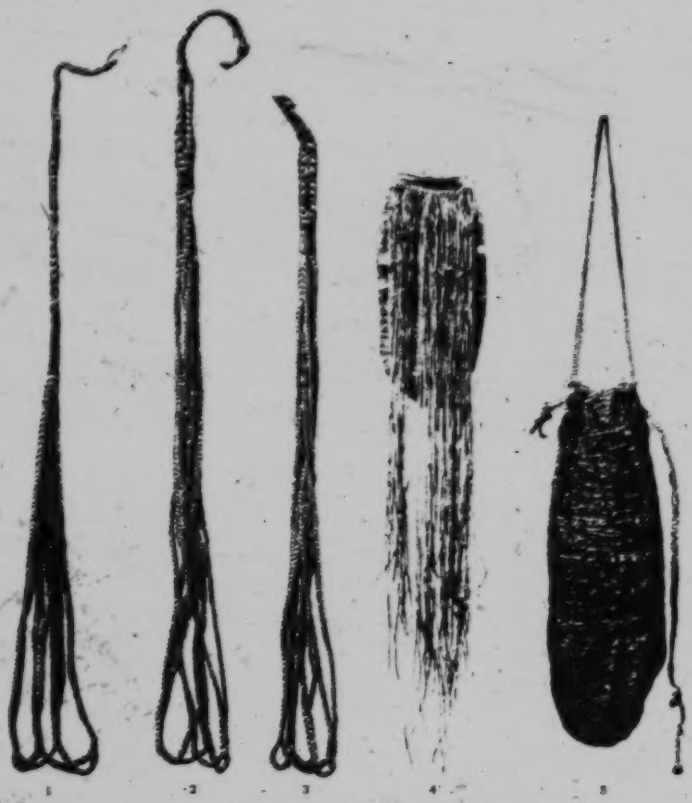

Plaited Ropes for Burden Carrying and Plaited Bags for Provisions, Tobacco, etc., Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) 100 to 112 centimeters long; No. 4) 48 centimeters long without strings; No. 5) 64 centimeters long without strings.

3

644 634 64 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises, the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain the latter's approval.

644 778 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

[534] This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it [482] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock, and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails "turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

644 556 bears the meaningful name of intore, from the verb gutora, "to choose," because it contains a selection of unique pieces. It includes the wardrobe (imyambar' abami) of the former kings and their jewels. Fabrics of all kinds; colobus hides, beads, necklaces, braceletd, and other objects of this sort make up the greater part of the treasure proper, which is exhibited twice a year, as we shall see later on when we discuss the festivals at Court.

644 356 G. A group of young girls is in charge of cleaning the hut which the monarch uses as a bedroom. They are entrusted with the task of renewing the fine grass which makes up the royal bed and of stretching upon it the mats and precious furs (ibyahi), that is to say, the otter, lion, and leopard hides on which the sovereign lies. Those chambermaids are popularly called Abashahi, "those who stretch out the mats," from the word gusasa, "to stretch out the mats." Another of their functions, and not the least important one, consists of "warming" the royal bed every night. In order to achieve this, they lie down on the couch successively or even all together until the king arrives.

The women or girls who fulfill a function at court live under the ultimate supervision of the queen mother, at whose side they live. /388/

644 701 H. The "Irresistibles" (Intalindwa) take their name from the army corps of that name. They include a group of servants and factotums chosen among the various classes of society. Among other duties, they watch over the king and his children at night and keep up the fire that must burn on the hearth throughout the night, according to a custom of the country which is also observed by the great chiefs. They renovate the huts by rebuilding them regularly every three years. Since the huts which make up the royal palace are numerous, they share this task with the chiefs of certain provinces.

[482] It is from among the "Irresistibles" that hammock bearers (abahetsi b' ingobyi) are selected when great ladies of the royal harem venture outside. They belong to the army corps whose name they bear. The members of this military group were regarded as the most courageous (Intalindwa, "those who cannot be resisted").

5: Pages--271 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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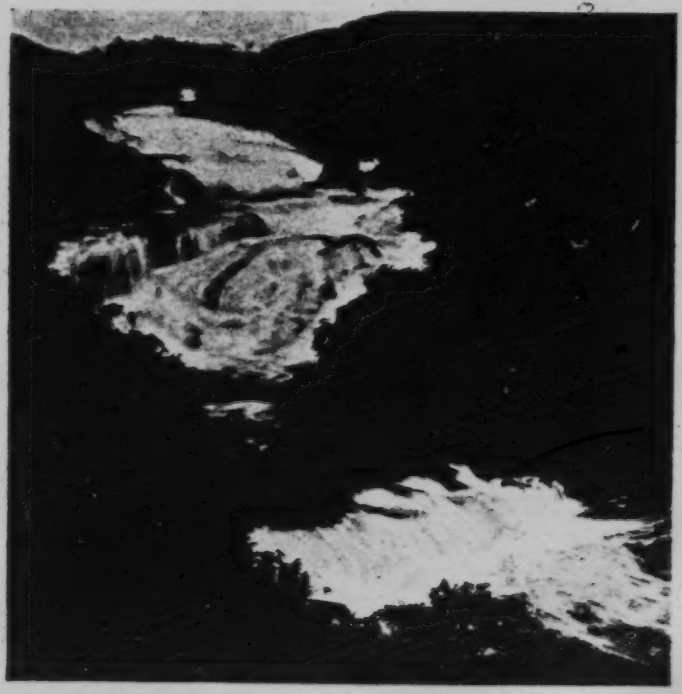
An arm of Lake Mugessera.



Rapids in the Mukungwu in the Mulera region.

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On the shores of the Nzabarongo.

5: Pages--272 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

5: Pagès--275 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

133

A volcanic landscape. The Nyiragongo and its plume of smoke.

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Muchabura and Gahinga.

5. Pages--286 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Little girls in children's dress, from the central province of Nduga.

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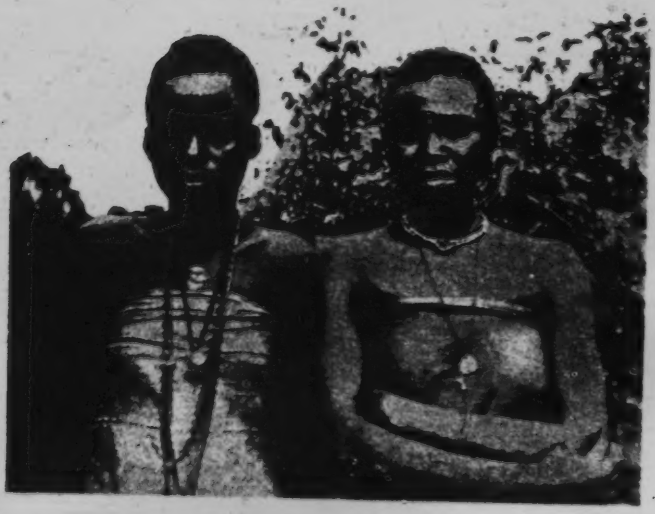
Two young Bahutu girls.



5: Pages--290 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi
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Winnowing basket serving as an umbrella.

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Umbrella of Isinde cowherds.

312 gradient, a deeper free surface of water is formed above the dam, which serves as a watering place for cattle.

482 In Ruanda all goods are transported by porters. Lake Kivu is the only waterway that is used. It is navigated with large, 501 primitive dugouts which are not sea-worthy but can carry very considerable loads. Otherwise boats are used only to ferry travelers across the rivers on main thoroughfares.

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Fig. 53. Cushions for Carrying Loads, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13093. 21 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

The rivers of Ruanda, however, have navigable stretches which in the future, with the development of transportation, will undoubtedly be used. [167] Thus, for example, I am convinced that the Nyawarongo is navigable from Mount Ndisa to the confluence of the Mukungwa and even farther. On the Kissaka border, also, I confirmed the navigability of the Kagera. Likewise, the Kagera can be navigated from the mouth of the Ruvuvu to the bend of the Mpororo.

492 Beasts of burden are not as yet used in Ruanda, although the 20 to 25 donkeys in the country, used by Europeans, are very serviceable and thrive well.

The use of waterways and beasts of burden, however, takes for granted an increase in porters' wages and a development in trade which the porters now available will no longer be able to handle.

482 In contrast to the custom in the northwest Congo areas, burdens are carried on the head in Ruanda. It is only among the Bahunde in the west that we begin to see people carry burdens on their backs. It seems that the eastern boundary of this method of carrying packs entends from Lake Kivu across to the Rutshuru River and north, along the eastern boundary of the Bakondjo territory, to the east of Lake Edward.

482 415 285 In the north high, cone-shaped bamboo baskets are used to carry food and charcoal. They are carried on the head on a cushion. Small packages are also often made of banana leaves. These packages are generally wedged between three branches, bamboo stalks, or small bunches of millet straw. In this way they can be held with one hand. Packages are more often used in the south. There, small items and toilet articles are packed for traveling in wide, low baskets made of small sticks, with cone-shaped lids. These are simply placed on the head.

Beer and water are carried in earthen pots with plaited wrappers and covered with banana leaves.

202 In a discussion of the means of communication in Ruanda we must not forget to mention the native telegraph. Drum signals are used to a moderate extent. The king summons his warriors with drums when there is impending danger, but general information is shouted from hill to hill in a particular way, so that Nyanza is always well informed about what goes on in the country. There is news [168] of every European traveler of every cattle theft at the border, and of every sign of unrest throughout the country. The news travels quickly from hill to hill until it reaches the capital. The news service is so good that one could assume there are special persons who are obliged to carry out their duties of signaling promptly.

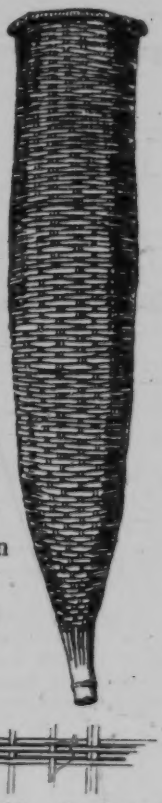

Fig. 54. Pack Basket for Carrying and Storing Food. (1/12 actual size. III E 13688. 140 centimeters high.)

487 438 Arteries of Communication. In conclusion we shall list briefly the chief traffic and trade routes of Ruanda.

1. The path from Bukoba, via Kafuro, Kissaka, and Bugessera, to Nduga is the route along which hides are transported from Ruanda

567 baja who were sold by their parents when they were children in exchange for food during the not infrequent famines. I was unable to find out anything in detail about the social position of boys who are sold in this way. I believe that when they grow up they are absorbed into the bagaragu stratum.

Every district that has periodic famines, for example, Ufumbiro [263], furnishes slaves who, unprotected by their relatives in a strange region, remain in an inferior position, dependent on the protection of their master. In every mission one can see a number of little slaves who have settled there to get away from their masters. On the whole, however, the position of slaves is not at all bad. I never heard of maltreatment.

565 [482] Loads are carried chiefly by the biletwa.[1] The Bahutu of this category have personal freedom. They may abandon their house and fields and change masters, as long as they do not leave the state. The batware on the border must see to it that people do not leave the country.

661 565 Actually, however, the existence of the common man is of no consequence, and he is tolerated only on the condition that he satisfies all the demands of the rulers. Often a native cannot simply give up his field and his hut without further ado. He must put up with minor depredations, ostensibly as punishment for alleged crimes. He must pay his taxes and provide food for travelers if the king requests it, although the mutware himself pockets the amount given.

In this primitive, undifferentiated society, however, the possibilities of exploitation are extremely limited. As long as it is simply a question of furnishing food for the relatively small number of rulers, the latter can be satisfied, no matter how large their appetites. Thus, the slight possibility of exploitation lays the foundation of a social equilibrium without legally established norms. Also, if we take into consideration the constant internal struggle of an unsettled state which is very much dependent on the support of the subject masses, we discover the second factor which sharply curbs tyranny. The rulers must consider their subjects, otherwise they run the risk of being abandoned by their followers and subjects and defeated by their rival. Political

[1] [i.e. Free farmers without land of their own—Analyst]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer. It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation. The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate differences among the various castes and of much the same content. Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonetheless believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.

Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42
Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food [251] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the [574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her 517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for [264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her [313] neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw [415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her 482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on [356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava, [252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house. [606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need [574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
593 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
● 484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy prac-
262 ticed by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

273 easily digested. Barundi men scorn it because of its harmlessness, and it is left for the sick, the women, and the children, among whom it is very popular (No. 19, p. 74).

The fourth type of beer is honey beer (umutobe w'insuki). It resembles lemonade but is nevertheless somewhat alcoholic, so even men like to drink it. It consists of one fifth honey and four fifths water. This is boiled for a short time, and then it is poured into a different vessel and left standing near the fire for a few days without being allowed to boil. Finally it is placed under the open sun for an entire day so as to cause slight fermentation. This is also a tasty and wholesome beverage.

Honey beer and banana cider cannot be preserved for a long time; the latter will keep only for four to five days. For this reason both must be consumed quickly. The first two types mentioned, banana and sorghum beer, do not improve by aging either. They turn sour, the sooner the warmer the place is where they are kept. In mountain areas with a cold climate they will keep for five to six weeks, but in the much more extensive plateau lands they turn sour much sooner. For this reason alone the high time of general drinking is squeezed into the period of a few weeks which are enjoyed all the more strenuously. [Fig. 14 appears here in the original text.]

[62] The Barundi seldom drink beer directly from the pots or from open pumpkin bowls, as is the case among most other East African Negroes. Usually the beer is poured from the [264] pots into calabashes and then sucked out of these by means of straws or reeds (umukenke) in the same manner as we drink iced coffee. The Banjaruanda and Basiba use the same method. Also [484] on trips and marches they carry calabashes of beer with them, [415] together with the necessary tubes which are kept in plaited or carved cases (Fig. 14).

The real beer brewers in Urundi are the Bahutu women, as has already been mentioned, but as far as drinking is concerned, the Bahutu and the Batussi are of equal rank. Most of them are tremendous tipplers who consume 12 to 15 liters of beer a day. The Batwa, too, are hard drinkers if they have beer.

[Text continues on page 93]

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time [136] they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

484 The provisions for such trips lasting several days are generally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

481 The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

439 In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited 438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

443 In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

/21/ A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa

Book I

A Summary Outline of Ruanda and Its Inhabitants

Chapter 1

Physical and Ethnological Make-up of Ruanda.
Political, Familial, and Social Organization of Its Inhabitants.

|3| Ruanda is bound to the north by the Protectorate of Uganda which encloses the Bufumbiro, separated from Ruanda in 1912 by the Anglo-Belgian Commission of Delimitation. /22/

To the northeast it is bound by the Kagera, which runs into Lake Victoria.

The Akanyaru River, which delimits Ruanda to the south and southeast does not enclose the Bugessera. That province, situated at the angle formed by the junction of the Akanyaru and the Kagera, was separated from Urundi, to which it used to belong. It is now divided from it by an artificial line. Nor is the Bungwe enclosed by the southern river, which leaves it to the right.

To the west, Ruanda is separated from the Belgian Congo by Lake Kivu along a length of 120 kilometers. To the northwest the volcanic chain forms a natural boundary beyond which are situated, however, two small provinces, the Bgisha, or Gisigari, and the Jomba, which were joined to Belgian Kivu in 1912.

●484 Such are the approximate boundaries of Ruanda. This does not
[317] prevent its inhabitants from extending their contacts well beyond the
[825] circle of their own land. They go as far as Lake Edward to fetch salt, which is collected in the marshes near the lake. There they also

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
651 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up
[481] to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega. Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to
[691] lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

784 A traveler who stubs his left foot against an obstacle or who
[484] meets with a rat whose pelt is slightly mottled (umushushwe) must return home, lest misfortune come to him.

If one finds black ants (intozi) on one's path, he must draw his hand over his foot as though to remove them, lest they swarm into his hut.

A pregnant woman must not see a European nor hear the sound
[843] of a gunshot, else the child she bears will suffer (1).

1. In order to neutralize this influence, she need only procure a cartridge case, a piece of paper,
[751] or even a piece of tile, brick, or any other object of European origin, and wear it around her neck as an amulet or talisman. The child will be born safe from injury.

[842] A woman who has borne only sons may not nurse the daughter of another woman, lest she bear nothing but girls from now on.

A man may not meet with his betrothed or with his mother-in-law prior to marriage (2). The king was formerly forbidden to see
[643]

2. Cf. "Cérémonies du mariage /Marriage Ceremonies/," by Fr. Pagès (Anthropos, 1925).

his sons, at least in theory, for it has been proved that the last monarchs often broke this rule.

If the manufacturer of banana wine insults someone while crushing the fruit, he runs the risk of contracting the scurfy disease (guhumana).

A woman must keep silent while kneading sorghum dough. If a dog or chicken dirties the floor of the hut, she is forbidden to leave her work and clean the spot, or the bread may shrink.

If the bottom bananas in a bunch ripen first, the owner of the grove worries because it means that a danger threatens him. /413/

773
[778]

to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kígwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

[821]

It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

[825]

It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

644 In addition, they are the born protectors selected by the
484 Hamitic princes to ward off the bad luck which threatens them in cer-
619 tain circumstances. The Banyarwanda, indeed, have mystic defenders of this sort who are chosen among the members of a tribe alien to theirs.

Those individuals are believed to have the power to ward off the imaginary dangers which threaten human beings. They are called abase (singular umuse). The Banyarwanda call upon their omnipotence at times of death (1), a loss of fortune, the plundering of a herd, the

[764]

1. In the Bugoyi the umuse, or protector, removes from the hut of the deceased the main post upon which the dead owner liked to lean, the piece of wood (umusego) which stands at the head of the bed, the log that was used as a chair, and the small piece of wood that surmounted the roof of the hut. All of this is laid upon the grave.

building of a hut, the giving of a name to a child, his teething, the celebration of a marriage, etc.

Since the Bagessera are the protectors of the Hamitic princes, it is understandable that the monarchs should seek their hospitality.

If there are no members of that family /in the locality/, the king stays with the Bazigaba, whose ancestor Kazigaba was the /497/ brother of Kagessera, founder of the Bagessera clan. If neither are to be found in the area through which the monarch is traveling, the latter resorts, in this order, to the Banyiginya, the Bega, or lastly, the Bakono.

644 While traveling, the king is accompanied by an honor guard
484 of Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, who sleep around the royal hut at night.

[533] Five or six drummers walk at the head of the procession, beating occasionally on their instruments. The drums are also played at nightfall and at the first birdsong in the morning.

644 Appointed cowherds lead before them a small herd of milk
484 cows to provide for the needs of the king.
661 The passage of a prince was formerly tantamount to a disaster for the local inhabitants, who had to harbor the members of the train.

The retinue did not merely include courtiers, the royal guard, sorcerers, and the usual employees. Those dignitaries who wished to retain the good graces of the sovereign made it their business to accompany him with their numerous servants. Idlers and jacks-of-all-trades also joined the train along the way and fleeced the unlucky natives on whom they paid a visit.

This was indeed a veritable army which spared neither friend nor foe, trampling the crops in their path, looting travelers, and taking by force from the local inhabitants whatever had not been hidden in time.

The men who made up the usual retinue of Kigeri IV Lwabugiri
[551] were nicknamed the "Pillagers" (1), owing to their extortions.

1. Their native nickname, Ibitsimbanyi, is a noun derived from the verb gutsimba, which means "to pillage," "to fleece."

644 11. For the sake of completeness, we shall cite the following
768 two customs which the keepers of the traditions assure us were observed in the past. /498/

When the death of a neighboring sovereign, of the Uswi, Urundi, or Karagwe, was announced, the king had to leave his residence and have a new one built (1).

1. Times have changed. The choice of a site and the building of a new "palace" would present too many difficulties today. When the prince of Urundi died, the king merely spent eight days outside his habitual

439 Aside from trade in hides, there is an old, respectable foreign trade. Iron hoes are imported from the Congo state and salt from Lake Edward. These are paid for chiefly in goats. Goats are also used to pay for ivory and rubber smuggled out of the Congo.

438 Internal trade consists above all in the exchange of local products between producer and consumer. Barter is carried on in food, iron, clay products, sheep and goats, salt, etc.

The people of Issawi get their salt from Njaruguru. It is brought there from Urundi. They buy their hoes in Mukinjaga. This province does not manufacture them; they are imported from Bunyabungu. The northern provinces get their iron from Bgisha and their salt from Katana on Lake Edward where salt from Kagwe is sold in large quantities. Salt is also prepared within the country, in Mulera, and, according to Dr. Kandt (1), in a

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 513.

southern bay of Lake Kivu. I do not know whether Busindja salt (2)

[113]

2. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha and Urundi [A Missionary Journey to Uha and Urundi,]," Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, p. 185.

which is obtained in Kigoma west of [163] Mumurumba on the southern border of Ujungu, reaches Ruanda.

Copper is imported in small amounts from Urundi and in larger amounts from Busindja in payment for ivory. Goats are exported from Mulera, Kissaka, and Njaruguru. Sheep are exported from Mulera. Mukinjaga produces the prettiest mats. The colored mats of the Batutsi are made in Nduga. Bamboo baskets are made in Bwischascha, Bugoye, and Mulera. Ndorwa exports otter skins. The most beautiful spears and the best arrows are made at Mount Ndisa. All these goods are also traded within the country.

438 484 This trade is conducted by native middlemen who, in contrast to foreign traders (bachuruzi), are known as bagenza. They

438 often set out on journeys lasting several days to visit customers
484 and distant markets. They handle the trade between Mulera, Nduga, and Katana on Lake Edward, and their chief items of exchange are sheep and goats, iron, salt, and tobacco. The Bagoye handle trade between Bugoye and Bunyabungu and exchange large quantities of hoes for goats from Mulera.

123 The Bagoye are unprejudiced traders. For example, when they saw me collecting skulls there, they brought me some to buy. However, no one had the courage to touch a skull. They carried it either on a stick or wrapped in a banana leaf. It was a boy of eleven who first had the idea of demanding payment for skulls. Others followed, even adults, when they saw that the boy was well paid. In a short time they brought in over 200 skulls.

We must point out, however, that not everyone was enthusiastic about these transactions. After more careful investigation, it was discovered that all the skull collectors were people of the lower classes. They were bagaragu (1) of the others and orphans

1. Clients.

who had been taken into individual households as semi-slaves.
[626] After a few days, however, skull collecting stopped altogether, since the boys of the mission refused to eat with anyone who had collected skulls. When this news spread, I could not get any more skulls, and the last collector was thrashed.

The people were very much interested in knowing how much was paid for skulls in Europe.

567 Even today it is said that human beings are exported from Ruanda, not as voluntary emigrants and transient workers, but as slaves. I could find out little about this obscure problem. Since wives [164] are bought, it is very difficult to draw the line between a purchased slave and a purchased wife. In Kissaka the story goes that the Bassuwi come in large numbers to buy women and that they stay in Lukira. They are also said to re-sell the women in Tabora.

Dr. Kandt (1) says that there is a regular slave trade in the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 435.

487 the general direction is maintained. One must often make considerable detours in order to keep to the more frequented, convenient main arteries. This struck me particularly when, in Njakagungu on the way from Lake Mohasi to Nsasa, I crossed the road that led from Ruanda to Karagwe. The paths hug the ridges of the hills, since travel in the valleys is very difficult because of the many swamps. The constant ascent and descent from one ridge to another makes travel very troublesome.

493 The important people of the country are carried in basket litters (ngobi) on their journeys. The litter is like a woven trough. It is made [166] of bamboo sticks (migano) which run lengthwise and are fastened to each other with strips of rattan. The trough has at least three handles on each side through which are inserted two strong bamboo sticks. The bearers carry these sticks on their heads on round cushions. They move at a gentle trot. The occupant of the litter is in a half-reclining position.

●484 The chiefs travel with all the comfort of home; they are, for example, accompanied by two cows (nzishwa) which are milked en route.

[492] Only Europeans ride animals.

491 Until recently bridges were entirely unknown in Ruanda. Now one has been built on land belonging to the Ruasa Mission over the rapids of the Mukungwa which were difficult to cross. Another connects the Issawi Mission with the neighboring hills. It stretches across a swamp.

501 Since ancient times river crossings have been provided with dugouts to ferry travelers. At the Akanjaru ferry near Kihinga, I had an opportunity to see a raft made of reeds and papyrus tied together. The raft was pulled from one shore to the other by means of a rope made out of plaited papyrus. The raft was three meters square and was strong enough to carry seven porters with their loads.

491 The Akanjaru which is one kilometer wide did not have an open surface of water as much as 20 meters wide on which a raft could move. It was a thick papyrus swamp through which we would have had to wade up to our hips at that time if a comfortable crossing had not been built with reeds and papyrus stalks laid next 312 to each other. Small dams are often constructed in the swamps to make a watering place for the cows. If the swamp has a considerable

493 [578] courtyard at the king's compound, guarded by Batwa. A consecrated elephant tusk is also supposed to be kept there.

During the visit in Nyanza by His Highness the Duke, Musinga climbed into a ngobi at the request of Captain W. Von Grawert. This is the conveyance in which the chiefs are carried on journeys. The king was reluctant to do this, perhaps because he was afraid or because this form of conveyance did not seem to him appropriate to his rank.

643 484 While the king is on a journey, his Batwa bearers may get food wherever they wish, for everything is the king's property. That is why Lwabugiri, who was always traveling about, became such a burden to the country. Only the Batwa speak longingly of those days. They accompanied his expeditions, and I often heard them say: "In those days there was a lot of meat. Now Batwa have no standing."

Dr. Hans Meyer says: (1) "...since a sacred tradition forbids

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 347.

him (Musinga) to travel beyond the borders of his central province, he is very limited in his outlook." This statement must be based on a misunderstanding, since the rulers of Ruanda formerly traveled a great deal, and this is spoken of in detail in the legends. In all probability a native told Professor Meyer how much he disliked the troublesome journeys of the king, hoping, perhaps, that by misleading an influential European he might make the king's journeys impossible in the future.

565 Social Organization. We can distinguish four classes among the population of Ruanda. The privileged class consists of the royal officials. It includes the feudal lords of the king (bagaragu) and their subchiefs with their retinues, as well as the rest of the dignitaries at court. Most of the court officials are also feudal lords; some, however, like the head of the royal smiths, are said to hold no lands.

Among the elect, the highest rank is, of course, held by the family of the king, the Banieginia, and that of the queen mother, the Bega.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing. 262 264

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned. 261 [574] [484] 261 186

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather. 291 [164]

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not available, it was socially permitted to have another partner (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

WTA 14

651 The king also has the right to a certain percentage of the heads of game (gusogongera). In the past the Mwami also collected a certain number of cows [103] (iminyago) out of those acquired during wartime raids.

Some of the natives are subject only to the ingabo. This is the case of the artisans, hunters, and farmers who provide the king and the Court with bows, arrows, pruning knives, mats, skins, drums, honey, hydromel, etc.

The Batwa are subject to no actual fiscal obligation to the king and chiefs. Potters must only furnish pots and pitchers to the court and provide the Mwami, his wife, and the Umugabekazi with ingobyi. They are also the executors of the king's great undertakings. The hunters' payments consist of ivory, skins, and fragrant wood.

687 Punitive sanctions are provided in the case of nonexecution of these obligations. The hill and provincial chiefs as well as the king have the Bahutu cudgeled and take the cows away from the Batutsi. In the past, the Mwami would even sometimes have the Batwa executioners cut off the ears (kubiha) of the Bahutu who are delinquent in tax payment.

651 486 A toll (ihoro) is paid by those who cross any water. To cross a larger river such as the Nyawarongo, the tax is paid to the provincial chief who refunds some of it to the boatmen.

Merchants must also pay a toll to the chief whose territory they cross. [104]

14. Secret Societies

575 563 668 The sect known as the Nyabingi (or Biheko) has its origin in the name of the Queen of Ndorwa who was killed by the warriors of Mwami Rwabugiri, resulting in a marked hostility to the Batutsi and the royal authority on the part of the Queen's descendants. Also, these people have become Bahutu by their marriages with commoners. These are sufficient reasons for the "Baheko" [sic] to be considered rescuers by the Bahutu, especially in the north of Ruanda where the resistance, if not the hostility, to the Batutsi and their administration is much stronger than in the rest of the country.

From Ndorwa where it originated, the sect spread out to Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi, and even to Buganza and Bwanachyambwe.

533 This does not apply to religious songs which are sung at certain cult ceremonies. We shall discuss them in the chapter on "Religion" (p. 127).

533 461 Often, but not always, singing of the simplest form accompanies work done by several persons with the object of concentrating the individual's energies by means of the rhythm or to make for greater perseverance. For instance, this may be done while moving heavy objects, when hoeing the field in a group, rowing a boat, cutting trees, etc. Usually the song consists of only two or three words which are first sung by one person in the group and are then imitated by the others until the choir leader gives them a new word, a new "idea."

[71] Chapter 6

Means of Communication, Trade, Handicrafts

1. Means of Communication

487 In a country with as little internal and external trade as Urundi the means of communication are naturally very primitive. The roads connecting villages or districts with each other are simple, narrow, trampled footpaths which circumvent all obstacles by turning to the right or left. Wherever this is impossible, as, for instance, in the extremely rocky quartzite regions of central and east Urundi, obstacles are never moved out of the way but are simply left there, and the traveler has to climb over them. These paths in the quartzite regions are, therefore, extremely difficult to traverse for the non-native burden carrier in a caravan or even for a European. The difficulties are further increased by the fact that all the paths of Urundi and Ruanda tend to reach the hill ridges and highland plains which predominate in this area by the shortest possible route, in order to proceed along there with greater ease. Since many valleys are deeply cut and have steep sides, the paths which go

487 up and down the slopes in a straight line are a real nightmare for any non-Murundi.

Another circumstance which makes journeying more
491 arduous is that in spite of the innumerable streams and rivers there are hardly any bridges (ikiraro) in the whole of Urundi and Ruanda. The chief reason for this defect is the lack of suitable timber in these treeless areas. Even where there is still a sufficient number of trees, a bridge is built only in very rare cases since the entire width of the valley bottoms is usually covered with reed or papyrus swamps through the middle of which weaves a narrow, open watercourse. The swamps are too wide for building bridges.

Usually there is no other way but to wade through the swampy valley bottoms and streams up to one's knees or hips in the black, stinking morass. Only rarely are papyrus fronds or reeds cut down in bunches and piled next to each other and on top of each other to form a kind of floating bridge which prevents the travelers from sinking too deeply into the swamp. When reaching wide, open rivers, such as the Ruvuvu, Akanjaru, Luvironsa, and others, the traveler seeks out well-known fords and wades across, often up to his shoulders in water, and he uses a stick or a spear for support against the force of the
[482] stream. Everything that has to be kept dry must be carried in a bundle on the head. At the same time there is much shouting to frighten away the crocodiles. If the river is too deep,
501 dugouts are used for the crossing, and the shore dwellers make
505 a living at this. [72] If only a few persons and light burdens have to be ferried across, primitive rafts (ikitebo) are used. They are made of several layers of dried papyrus sticks which are tied together (Plate 26b). The rafts may be used a few times until they have soaked up too much water. On the Malagarasi River, large tubs made of tree bark are used. They are big enough for one man or one burden and are pulled and pushed across the river by two or three men who have to swim (No. 19, p. 448).

491 If it happens that a big tree is standing near a deep stream which cannot be forded, it is transformed into a bridge

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[491] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
● 487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

648 The kings of Ruanda also headed numerous expeditions into the Congo with no definite results other than pillage.

133 [137] As a whole, Ruanda is a high, rolling plateau. It was deforested to get rid of wild beasts and to supply pastures and fields for cultivation.

The northwest is a broken, picturesque, wooded region. There stands the chain of volcanoes, practically all of which are extinct today. /24/

The highest peaks are the Karisimbi (1), which is 4, 506 meters

[103 301]

1. Karisimbi, from the word amassimbi, a kind of white shell which the Batutsi of Urundi and Ruanda wear at the neck as an ornament. Because of its color it served to designate the snow that covers the summits, and by extension the highest mountain.

high; the Mikeno (2), or Mukuru mubi (3), which is 4, 380 meters high;

[103]

2. Mikeno, from the verb gukena, "to be bare."

[103]

3. Mukuru mubi, "a peak of difficult access."

the Muhabura (4), which is 4, 127 meters high; the Sabyinyo (5), which

[103 487]

4. Muhabura, from the verb guhabura, "to set on the right path," because this mountain serves as a landmark for travelers.

[103]

5. Sabyinyo, "big-toothed father," owing to its volcanic ridges.

443 In Mulera there is a market place a few hours from Ruasa. Luhanga, the representative of Nshohozamigo, tried to move the market to the neighborhood of the Ruasa Mission. He thought that he could thereby make the missionaries [165] obligated to him and, on the other hand, increase his profits. It was to be assumed that the highway over the Mission Bridge which everyone takes to Ruweruka and Bugoye would attract even more customers than the old site. However, the expectation was not fulfilled. At first people came out of curiosity, but they soon went back to the old site. This example proves that we are dealing here with old, firmly established traditions.

In the west markets occur three to four hours apart, as Dr. Kandt (1) has already pointed out.

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 294.

[443]

Fig. 52. Litter from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III 13685. 128 centimeters long.)

In Nyundo the market attracted several hundred people daily between eight and ten in the morning. There were also several middlemen taking part, who collected commissions. To avoid the market tax people also carried on transactions along the roadsides near the market. We observed such small auxiliary markets at the crossroads.

•487 Communication. The Munyaruanda travels on foot. When several people travel together they move in single file on the well-trodden paths which have been used for centuries. The paths avoid straight lines. They carefully circumvent every obstacle, every stone, every fallen tree trunk. Despite these minor deviations, the course of the path is definitely fixed and determined by the ferries. Nothing could be more incorrect than the assertion heard not infrequently that on a trip any path can be used as long as

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482 415 285 In the north high, cone-shaped bamboo baskets are used to carry food and charcoal. They are carried on the head on a cushion. Small packages are also often made of banana leaves. These packages are generally wedged between three branches, bamboo stalks, or small bunches of millet straw. In this way they can be held with one hand. Packages are more often used in the south. There, small items and toilet articles are packed for traveling in wide, low baskets made of small sticks, with cone-shaped lids. These are simply placed on the head.

Beer and water are carried in earthen pots with plaited wrappers and covered with banana leaves.

202 In a discussion of the means of communication in Ruanda we must not forget to mention the native telegraph. Drum signals are used to a moderate extent. The king summons his warriors with drums when there is impending danger, but general information is shouted from hill to hill in a particular way, so that Nyanza is always well informed about what goes on in the country. There is news [168] of every European traveler of every cattle theft at the border, and of every sign of unrest throughout the country. The news travels quickly from hill to hill until it reaches the capital. The news service is so good that one could assume there are special persons who are obliged to carry out their duties of signaling promptly.

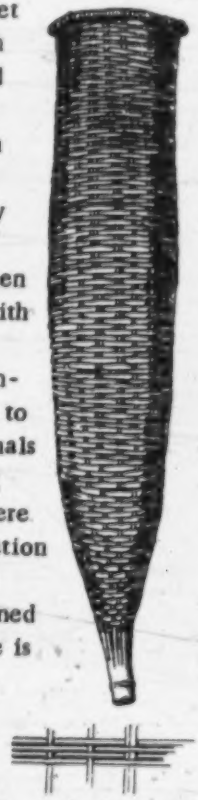

Fig. 54. Pack Basket for Carrying and Storing Food. (1/12 actual size. III E 13688. 140 centimeters high.)

487 438 Arteries of Communication. In conclusion we shall list briefly the chief traffic and trade routes of Ruanda.

1. The path from Bukoba, via Kafuro, Kissaka, and Bugessera, to Nduga is the route along which hides are transported from Ruanda

487 438 to the Uganda railway. It seems that most of the cotton cloth and beads that one sees in Ruanda are also brought this way. Trade along this route is carried on chiefly by Indians from Kafuro, assisted by

[445 285]

Fig. 55. Traveling Basket from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 6986. 84 centimeters high.)

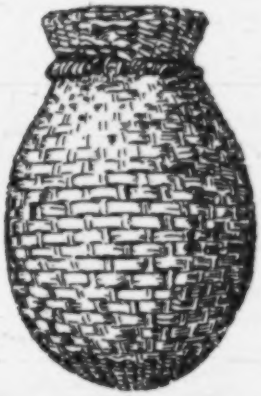

Fig. 56. Pot with Woven Wrapper, Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III 13746. 50 centimeters high.)

people of Kahigi. I reached this route on my trip from Nyanza by Lake Mohasi to Nsasa in Njakagungu, a day's journey south of the lake. On the way I met a trading caravan that exchanged cattle for its ten loads of cheap cotton material. This new traffic artery was formed to make a connection with the Uganda Railway.

2. The above route has cut off the old way from Tabora, via Ussuwi and Kissaka, to Nduga and robbed it of its former importance. [567] It is said that now this route has a branch along which the Bassuwi trade in women flourishes. It was along this route that Count Von Götzen entered the country, the first European to do so.

[169] 3. The route from Nduga via Mukinjaga to Bunyabungu is the export route for sheep and goats which are exchanged for iron. Along this route are traded the Mukinjaga mats, well-known throughout Ruanda.

487 438 4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

[439] 5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye, Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170] Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

171 291 301 411 Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus, we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

291 In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

7: Roscoe ~~M-5~~ (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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The red line indicates the route taken by the expedition—The places visited fo
people Bakyiga—Bakunta on shore of L. Edward—Katwe and Fort Portal people
and L. Salisbury people Bateso—Mt Elgon people Bagesu and Basabei—Busoga

[Fold plate - Section A]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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-The places visited for investigation were: Ankole people Banyankole—Kigezi and Fort Portal people Bambwa and Bakonjo—Bunyoro people Banyoro—Soroti and Basabei—Busoga people Basoga.

[End plate - Section B]

487 up and down the slopes in a straight line are a real nightmare for any non-Murundi.

Another circumstance which makes journeying more
491 arduous is that in spite of the innumerable streams and rivers there are hardly any bridges (ikiraro) in the whole of Urundi and Ruanda. The chief reason for this defect is the lack of suitable timber in these treeless areas. Even where there is still a sufficient number of trees, a bridge is built only in very rare cases since the entire width of the valley bottoms is usually covered with reed or papyrus swamps through the middle of which weaves a narrow, open watercourse. The swamps are too wide for building bridges.

Usually there is no other way but to wade through the swampy valley bottoms and streams up to one's knees or hips in the black, stinking morass. Only rarely are papyrus fronds or reeds cut down in bunches and piled next to each other and on top of each other to form a kind of floating bridge which prevents the travelers from sinking too deeply into the swamp. When reaching wide, open rivers, such as the Ruvuvu, Akanjaru, Luvironsa, and others, the traveler seeks out well-known fords and wades across, often up to his shoulders in water, and he uses a stick or a spear for support against the force of the
[482] stream. Everything that has to be kept dry must be carried in a bundle on the head. At the same time there is much shouting to frighten away the crocodiles. If the river is too deep,
501 dugouts are used for the crossing, and the shore dwellers make
505 a living at this. [72] If only a few persons and light burdens have to be ferried across, primitive rafts (ikitebo) are used. They are made of several layers of dried papyrus sticks which are tied together (Plate 26b). The rafts may be used a few times until they have soaked up too much water. On the Malagarasi River, large tubs made of tree bark are used. They are big enough for one man or one burden and are pulled and pushed across the river by two or three men who have to swim (No. 19, p. 448).

491 If it happens that a big tree is standing near a deep stream which cannot be forded, it is transformed into a bridge

491 by cutting it down, causing it to fall across both edges of the brook. If necessary, a rope of lianas is spanned across next to the bridge to help the traveler maintain his balance when walking over it. I have seen several such tree bridges in Uha where there are more trees than in Urundi. There are no suspension bridges.

In the whole interlacustrine region I have not seen any real bridges built by the natives themselves. Yet van der Burgt describes such a bridge: a few fork-shaped poles are rammed next to each other in the stream bed, and a few long pieces of timber are placed in the forks approximately parallel to each other, thus spanning the entire stream. A great number of crossbeams, approximately two meters long, are fastened to these, and finally bundles of reed or papyrus stalks are tied on top of them so that one may comfortably walk across.

Wherever missionary stations or colonial troops have built roads, there are solid wooden bridges on the European model, and wherever the route traverses swamps, there are earthen dams and corduroy roads. However, the lack of trees in this country will always be an obstacle to the construction of bridges.

The natives always make the cattle swim through the water or wade through the swamps even when bridges exist. Any crocodiles which may be in the vicinity are frightened away by shouting.

482 Since neither the Barundi nor the Banjaruanda have animals to ride or burden-carrying animals, all burdens and also people who are unable or unwilling to walk have to be carried by men. Burdens are packed in small or large bundles, generally wrapped in dry banana leaves, or in large baskets made of plaited bast. They are carried freely on the head or sometimes, for a change, on the shoulder but never in a sling or net on the back as, for example, in Kisiba or in Usâmbiro.

493 However, sick people or important persons who do not wish to walk travel on a stretcher (isjugi) which is carried by two men on their shoulders. The king also uses such a stretcher for

487 the general direction is maintained. One must often make considerable detours in order to keep to the more frequented, convenient main arteries. This struck me particularly when, in Njakagungu on the way from Lake Mohasi to Nsasa, I crossed the road that led from Ruanda to Karagwe. The paths hug the ridges of the hills, since travel in the valleys is very difficult because of the many swamps. The constant ascent and descent from one ridge to another makes travel very troublesome.

493 The important people of the country are carried in basket litters (ngobi) on their journeys. The litter is like a woven trough. It is made [166] of bamboo sticks (migano) which run lengthwise and are fastened to each other with strips of rattan. The trough has at least three handles on each side through which are inserted two strong bamboo sticks. The bearers carry these sticks on their heads on round cushions. They move at a gentle trot. The occupant of the litter is in a half-reclining position.

The chiefs travel with all the comfort of home; they are, 484 for example, accompanied by two cows (nzishwa) which are milked en route.

[492] Only Europeans ride animals.

Until recently bridges were entirely unknown in Ruanda. Now ●491 one has been built on land belonging to the Ruasa Mission over the rapids of the Mukungwa which were difficult to cross. Another connects the Issawi Mission with the neighboring hills. It stretches across a swamp.

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651 and not infrequently open battles whenever collection takes place.
661 On the way to Mulera, at Kwa Rutagungira, I saw several wounded Batutsi who had to pay for their zeal as officials with holes in their hides. The business efficiency of the tax collectors is well characterized if we note their habit of substituting some of their poorer stock for the better cows that are delivered as the king's taxes. In view of its chronic character, this misuse and plunder must be regarded as a form of official remuneration.

651 We must emphasize the fact that in Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are linked to the community, the people, and not to the land they cultivate. That is why the outsider who has settled on alien soil with the approval of the residents does not participate in community taxes. He continues to pay the taxes of his own clan, and only if he is adopted by the resident clan does he pay taxes where he has settled.

651 This principle of family tax becomes complicated the mo-
178 ment pacification makes possible the disruption of clans which under the most primitive conditions have been held together by blood revenge. I saw the consequences of this complication of social conditions in Mulera in the form of a punitive expedition which reduced to ashes the settlement on Mount Kisseke. A few outsiders had bought with gifts permission to settle on Kisseke from the established residents. A few weeks after they were settled, some Batutsi arrived who had the right to collect taxes from the community of new settlers but who were complete strangers to the old established population. The new settlers
[687] promised the old ones a bull, and the latter drove off the Batutsi with weapons, killing a few and wounding several. A punitive expedition of government troops, undertaken because of Musinga's complaint, was the sequel.

651 The ferry toll is a special tax that affects traders particularly.
●491 It is collected by batware who are stationed at the ferries and whose people run the boats. The toll is very high. For a traveler with his pack, it is ten large beads, that is to say, a third of a day's wages. Twenty men with a herd of goats paid a piece of cloth (nguo).

[275] The batware who collect the ferry toll must also keep watch over the traffic. At the border ferries, for example, on

651 the Akanjaru which can be crossed at only a few places because
491 of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes increased very considerably.

651 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu.
443 In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle disputes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the belief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda rulers become leopards.

721 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning
643 war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last expedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each expedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

487 the general direction is maintained. One must often make considerable detours in order to keep to the more frequented, convenient main arteries. This struck me particularly when, in Njakagungu on the way from Lake Mohasi to Nsasa, I crossed the road that led from Ruanda to Karagwe. The paths hug the ridges of the hills, since travel in the valleys is very difficult because of the many swamps. The constant ascent and descent from one ridge to another makes travel very troublesome.

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312 gradient, a deeper free surface of water is formed above the dam, which serves as a watering place for cattle.

482 In Ruanda all goods are transported by porters. Lake Kivu
501 is the only waterway that is used. It is navigated with large, primitive dugouts which are not sea-worthy but can carry very considerable loads. Otherwise boats are used only to ferry travelers across the rivers on main thoroughfares.

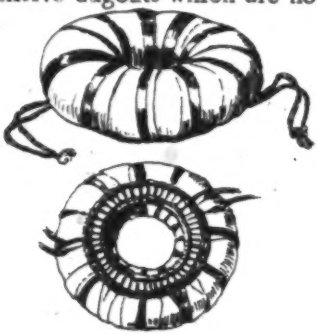

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Fig. 53. Cushions for Carrying Loads, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13093. 21 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

The rivers of Ruanda, however, have navigable stretches which in the future, with the development of transportation, will undoubtedly be used. [167] Thus, for example, I am convinced that the Nyawarongo is navigable from Mount Ndisa to the confluence of the Mukungwa and even farther. On the Kissaka border, also, I confirmed the navigability of the Kagera. Likewise, the Kagera can be navigated from the mouth of the Ruvuvu to the bend of the Mpororo.

492 Beasts of burden are not as yet used in Ruanda, although the 20 to 25 donkeys in the country, used by Europeans, are very serviceable and thrive well.

The use of waterways and beasts of burden, however, takes for granted an increase in porters' wages and a development in trade which the porters now available will no longer be able to handle.

482 In contrast to the custom in the northwest Congo areas, burdens are carried on the head in Ruanda. It is only among the Bahunde in the west that we begin to see people carry burdens on their backs. It seems that the eastern boundary of this method of carrying packs entends from Lake Kivu across to the Rutshuru River and north, along the eastern boundary of the Bakondjo territory, to the east of Lake Edward.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 5

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The dynastic drums, with enemies' trophies

[Facing. P. 134]

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493 However, sick people or important persons who do not wish to walk travel on a stretcher (isjugi) which is carried by two men on their shoulders. The king also uses such a stretcher for

493 relatively long distances. These are not the comfortable, beautifully plaited carrying baskets which are in use in Ruanda for Musinga and the Batussi rulers, but in most cases they are merely two strong poles connected by crossbars which are covered with a layer of straw or a sheep skin. The traveler either lies on it or sits on it with his legs crossed under him. Old King Kisabo, who was almost blind, often traveled in this manner for several days (Plate 13a). Nevertheless, even in Urundi large, plaited wickerwork stretchers occur.

501 I have already briefly mentioned the boats (ubwato) in the chapter on fishing (p.37). They are almost without exception dugouts. Only rarely and only in the easternmost region can one observe small bark canoes [73] which apparently are used solely for crossing the intermittent streams that appear during the rainy season in summer. During the dry season one can see them cracked open lying beside the dry stream beds. They are only used during one rainy season, and new ones have to be built each summer. They consist merely of three pieces of tree bark patched together with tree bast. One piece forms the bottom, the other two the sides. They hold no more than two persons.

Dugouts, however, are strong and durable, although technically they are extremely defective. We shall discuss the manner of their construction later, in the section on "Handicrafts" (p. 82); at this point we shall only describe how they are used and manipulated. On the rivers of central Urundi dugouts are rare, and due to the lack of large trees, they are small and poorly constructed (Plate 5b). Often they are quite crooked, so it is difficult to keep them balanced. In forest regions, as in north Urundi, on Lake Tanganyika, and on the Ruzizi River, they are of better quality, larger, and more numerous. On Lake Tanganyika, canoes 15 meters long and 1.50 meters wide are no rarity. The best are from the west [313] shore, from Uwembe, where the tall forest furnishes a supply [439] of good timber. They are sold to the Barundi for goats or pearls and are valued at about six to ten rupees.

Plate 13

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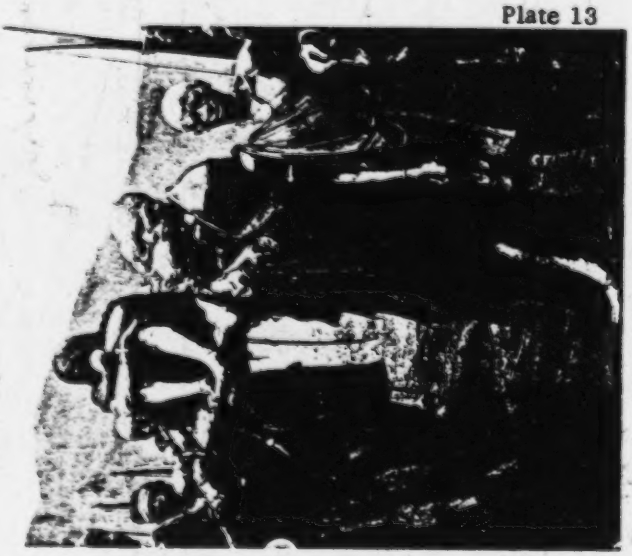

Urundi King Mwesi Kisabo, Carried on a Traveling Litter
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

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Urundi King Mwesi Kisabo, died 1908
(Photo. by "White Fathers" Urundi)

443 In Mulera there is a market place a few hours from Ruasa. Luhanga, the representative of Nshohozamigo, tried to move the market to the neighborhood of the Ruasa Mission. He thought that he could thereby make the missionaries [165] obligated to him and, on the other hand, increase his profits. It was to be assumed that the highway over the Mission Bridge which everyone takes to Ruweruka and Bugoye would attract even more customers than the old site. However, the expectation was not fulfilled. At first people came out of curiosity, but they soon went back to the old site. This example proves that we are dealing here with old, firmly established traditions.

In the west markets occur three to four hours apart, as Dr. Kandt (1) has already pointed out.

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 294.

[443]

Fig. 52. Litter from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III 13685. 128 centimeters long.)

In Nyundo the market attracted several hundred people daily between eight and ten in the morning. There were also several middlemen taking part, who collected commissions. To avoid the market tax people also carried on transactions along the roadsides near the market. We observed such small auxiliary markets at the crossroads.

487 Communication. The Munyaruanda travels on foot. When several people travel together they move in single file on the well-trodden paths which have been used for centuries. The paths avoid straight lines. They carefully circumvent every obstacle, every stone, every fallen tree trunk. Despite these minor deviations, the course of the path is definitely fixed and determined by the ferries. Nothing could be more incorrect than the assertion heard not infrequently that on a trip any path can be used as long as

487 the general direction is maintained. One must often make considerable detours in order to keep to the more frequented, convenient main arteries. This struck me particularly when, in Njakagungu on the way from Lake Mohasi to Nsasa, I crossed the road that led from Ruanda to Karagwe. The paths hug the ridges of the hills, since travel in the valleys is very difficult because of the many swamps. The constant ascent and descent from one ridge to another makes travel very troublesome.

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312 to each other. Small dams are often constructed in the swamps to make a watering place for the cows. If the swamp has a considerable

644 ceremonial trees. These were fenced in with straw and encircled with clay. The inner circle was neatly covered with grass. In front of the kambele is a podium ten meters wide, four meters deep, and one-half meter high. On it, to the right of the entrance, were cattle horns and a plant on which libations were made.

When he receives Europeans, Musinga is acutely aware of his lofty position. The king sits on a stool that is somewhat larger than those one sees in the natives' huts. Count Von Götzen (1) says that Kigeri sat on a chair embroidered with pink

1. Götzen, Count G.A. Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 178.

and white beads. Musinga's chair was devoid of this decoration. The king does not offer his guests a chair, and if one did not carry along his own chair, he would have to squat on the floor, [554] like the king's lords. In this connection we must point out that in Ruanda the right to use a stool in public is linked with the idea of privileged position. This explains the polite phrase, "urakagira intebe (may you have a stool)."

The king is said to pass his evenings drinking beer. On these occasions legends are told about his illustrious ancestors.

The musicians are obliged to keep watch throughout the night. Taps, which are actually a very heavy drum beat, were never heard before two o'clock, [261] sometimes even later. The king is said to stay awake until this late hour. That is why ndamutsu, the heavy drumbeat that greets the king in the morning, never occurs until between eleven and twelve. Early in the morning, between four and five, the drums are also sounded, but only to show the king that the watch is on duty and that he can sleep peacefully. In the hut where he sleeps the king is said to keep an elephant tusk which always lies near his bed.

493 It is said that on his journeys a troop of Batwa carry the king in a small hut. This hut, kitabashwa, is supposedly kept in a

493 [578] courtyard at the king's compound, guarded by Batwa. A consecrated elephant tusk is also supposed to be kept there.

During the visit in Nyanza by His Highness the Duke, Musinga climbed into a ngobi at the request of Captain W. Von Grawert. This is the conveyance in which the chiefs are carried on journeys. The king was reluctant to do this, perhaps because he was afraid or because this form of conveyance did not seem to him appropriate to his rank.

643 484 While the king is on a journey, his Batwa bearers may get food wherever they wish, for everything is the king's property. That is why Lwabugiri, who was always traveling about, became such a burden to the country. Only the Batwa speak longingly of those days. They accompanied his expeditions, and I often heard them say: "In those days there was a lot of meat. Now Batwa have no standing."

Dr. Hans Meyer says: (1) "...since a sacred tradition forbids

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 347.

him (Musinga) to travel beyond the borders of his central province, he is very limited in his outlook." This statement must be based on a misunderstanding, since the rulers of Ruanda formerly traveled a great deal, and this is spoken of in detail in the legends. In all probability a native told Professor Meyer how much he disliked the troublesome journeys of the king, hoping, perhaps, that by misleading an influential European he might make the king's journeys impossible in the future.

565 Social Organization. We can distinguish four classes among the population of Ruanda. The privileged class consists of the royal officials. It includes the feudal lords of the king (bagaragu) and their subchiefs with their retinues, as well as the rest of the dignitaries at court. Most of the court officials are also feudal lords; some, however, like the head of the royal smiths, are said to hold no lands.

Among the elect, the highest rank is, of course, held by the family of the king, the Banieginia, and that of the queen mother, the Bega.

396 Often the boat has to be transported a long distance to
496 its launching site. This may take several days. An umufumu (sorcerer) walks in front, scattering "salutary" powder on the road so as to make sure that the boat will reach the water undamaged. As soon as the boat is launched, the people participating in the celebration sing and dance on both sides of the river. Then a pot of banana beer is covered with river clay and
[702] placed inside the boat; the immediate participants drink from the pot and spit into the river to appease the evil spirits. The clay on the pot is rubbed by the participants on their foreheads and on those of the members of their family as protection against accidents. Then the boat is rowed across the river to the other shore, and the people there go through the same ceremonies. The consecration of the boat is concluded by a dance
[273] of the abafumu (medicine men) and ends in a general drinking bout. (No. 19, p. 66)

If after the launching of the boat it is discovered that it
396 lacks buoyancy or equilibrium, corrections are made by further carving with knife or ax or by putting stones inside for ballast. It has already been mentioned (p.73) that the dugouts have neither seats nor rudder. The way they are propelled has also been described.

[83] I have also already discussed the very simple technique (p.31) of making barkcloth (fig. bast felt).

The technique for hides and leatherwork is also very
281 simple. The Barundi on rare occasions use a piece of hide as their only garment. Otherwise they mainly use hides as blankets. The Batwa, however, prefer garments of hide to those made of barkcloth; consequently they are the most expert workers in leather (abaharra). However, both the Batwa and the Bahutu use the same technique. If it is merely a matter of firm, hard leather for lids, quivers, binding material for fastening arrowheads, etc., the hide is simply scraped clean and dried in the sun. If, however, soft, flexible leather (urusato) is needed for garments and blankets, it must be tanned. Since in Urundi the method of tanning and tawing is little known, as was originally the case in all other parts of Africa (No. 32a, p. 47), the hide

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[497] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

487 up and down the slopes in a straight line are a real nightmare for any non-Murundi.

Another circumstance which makes journeying more
491 arduous is that in spite of the innumerable streams and rivers there are hardly any bridges (ikiraro) in the whole of Urundi and Ruanda. The chief reason for this defect is the lack of suitable timber in these treeless areas. Even where there is still a sufficient number of trees, a bridge is built only in very rare cases since the entire width of the valley bottoms is usually covered with reed or papyrus swamps through the middle of which weaves a narrow, open watercourse. The swamps are too wide for building bridges.

Usually there is no other way but to wade through the swampy valley bottoms and streams up to one's knees or hips in the black, stinking morass. Only rarely are papyrus fronds or reeds cut down in bunches and piled next to each other and on top of each other to form a kind of floating bridge which prevents the travelers from sinking too deeply into the swamp. When reaching wide, open rivers, such as the Ruvuvu, Akanjaru, Luvironsa, and others, the traveler seeks out well-known fords and wades across, often up to his shoulders in water, and he uses a stick or a spear for support against the force of the
[482] stream. Everything that has to be kept dry must be carried in a bundle on the head. At the same time there is much shouting to frighten away the crocodiles. If the river is too deep,
● 501 dugouts are used for the crossing, and the shore dwellers make
505 a living at this. [72] If only a few persons and light burdens have to be ferried across, primitive rafts (ikitebo) are used. They are made of several layers of dried papyrus sticks which are tied together (Plate 26b). The rafts may be used a few times until they have soaked up too much water. On the Malagarasi River, large tubs made of tree bark are used. They are big enough for one man or one burden and are pulled and pushed across the river by two or three men who have to swim (No. 19, p. 448).

491 If it happens that a big tree is standing near a deep stream which cannot be forded, it is transformed into a bridge

493 relatively long distances. These are not the comfortable, beautifully plaited carrying baskets which are in use in Ruanda for Musinga and the Batussi rulers, but in most cases they are merely two strong poles connected by crossbars which are covered with a layer of straw or a sheep skin. The traveler either lies on it or sits on it with his legs crossed under him. Old King Kisabo, who was almost blind, often traveled in this manner for several days (Plate 13a). Nevertheless, even in Urundi large, plaited wickerwork stretchers occur.

● 501 I have already briefly mentioned the boats (ubwato) in the chapter on fishing (p. 37). They are almost without exception dugouts. Only rarely and only in the easternmost region can one observe small bark canoes [73] which apparently are used solely for crossing the intermittent streams that appear during the rainy season in summer. During the dry season one can see them cracked open lying beside the dry stream beds. They are only used during one rainy season, and new ones have to be built each summer. They consist merely of three pieces of tree bark patched together with tree bast. One piece forms the bottom, the other two the sides. They hold no more than two persons.

Dugouts, however, are strong and durable, although technically they are extremely defective. We shall discuss the manner of their construction later, in the section on "Handicrafts" (p. 82); at this point we shall only describe how they are used and manipulated. On the rivers of central Urundi dugouts are rare, and due to the lack of large trees, they are small and poorly constructed (Plate 5b). Often they are quite crooked, so it is difficult to keep them balanced. In forest regions, as in north Urundi, on Lake Tanganyika, and on the Ruzizi River, they are of better quality, larger, and more numerous. On Lake Tanganyika, canoes 15 meters long and 1.50 meters wide are no rarity. The best are from the west [313] shore, from Uwembe, where the tall forest furnishes a supply [439] of good timber. They are sold to the Barundi for goats or pearls and are valued at about six to ten rupees.

501 Most boats are somewhat tapered and pointed in front and in back which makes them easy to land on the flat shore. None of the boats is equipped with a rudder; they are steered by one of the oarsmen. No oars are used in shallow water, for instance, near the shores of Lake Tanganyika; instead, long bamboo poles are used to punt the boats (Plate 26a). Short "oars" (ingaffi), approximately one and a half meters long, are used in water which is deep or when there is a strong current. The heart-shaped blades of the oars are slightly bent so that they in effect scoop the water. The oars are not suspended in slings or 502 inserted in holes but manipulated freely. The oarsmen or punters usually stand upright in the boat facing forward. If there is only one man in the boat, he will take his position at the stern; if there are two, they stand in the rear third of the boat; if there are three men, two take their places in back and one in front; if there are four, two stand in front and two in back. Only long tiring trips do they sit on the crossbars. Anyone who is not rowing crouches on the bottom of the canoe.

[501] A heavy stone tied to a bast rope is used for an anchor. There are no masts, sails, or outriggers. None of the boats is decorated with carvings or paintings. If water has entered, it is scooped out with pumpkin shells or with little wooden shovels. If, however, a boat has sprung a crack or a leak, it is repaired in the following manner: holes are pierced near the edges of the crack with a red-hot point of iron; by means of these holes, a wooden board is tied to the hull with bast ropes as though "sewing" a patch. Then the crack is calked on both sides with tree bast or reed. Bitumen, which occurs frequently on Lake Tanganyika, is also used for that purpose.

The Batwa do not have any boats but they know how to make them for their Barundi masters (No. 19, p. 66).

The poor construction of the dugouts prohibits extended trips on Lake Tanganyika. It is very seldom that a large boat with several oarsmen will cross the lake from Usumbura to Uvira. Most boats hug the shoreline, not moving more than 100 to 200 meters away from it, and even when going from Usumbura to Uvira, they move along the north shore of the lake. Frequently the government in Usumbura sends dugouts to Ujiji and

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Punts on the North Shore of Lake Tanganyika
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Papyrus Raft on the Central Ruvuvu
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

5: Pages--271 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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An arm of Lake Mugessera.

Rapids in the Mukungwu in the Mulera region.

5: Pagès--274 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Lake Ruhondo and Bahutu types. Region of the Mulera.

601

A crossing by boat.

000 hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

231 Beekeeping. Bee culture plays a considerable role in Ruanda
[272] life. A great deal of honey is drunk; it is used as an additive to beer and is also mixed with water.

Bees are kept in baskets that are nearly cylindrical (imbutiba) and daubed with clay. At the bottom there are two small exits for the bees. The wider end provides an entrance for lifting out the honey, but otherwise it is closed off. Special long-handled
[143] knives (ulukezo) with short, wide blades are used to cut out the combs. The baskets are generally set up in large numbers on tall trees where they will be dry, but they are also set horizontally on special frames that have crossed legs. These frames are placed on the ground near the huts. There are also many wild bees in the country.

The province of Mulera has the greatest number of bees. In
[435] Bgisha a great deal of honey is sold. The price was two yards of material for two pots of about three liters each.

226 Fishing. The population near the lakes of Ruanda are fisherfolk. Net fishing is called kuteguza ifi. The various nets are called ujegwi, chera, and amahinda. The fish traps are called birumbi. They consist of a long cone into which is placed a second shorter one with its point cut off. The two are fastened together at their thicker basal ends. [148] There is little line fishing, but the fishhook is not unknown, although one does not see it very often.

501 The boats are simple dugouts about five meters long and 50 centimeters wide. They are very irregularly shaped, since the natural curve of the tree trunk is retained. The dugouts used on Lake Kivu are considerably larger. In Ruanda the sides of the boat are not built up by the addition of planks as is the case, for example, in Kiziba and Buganda. The boat's board formed by the edges of the hollowed-out trunk is higher or lower depending on the width or narrowness of the slit.

The oars (ngashi) are often carefully carved, and the blade (ulubega) is reinforced with a center rib (mugongo). The oars are free and held in the hand by the shaft (ulati).

● 501 In rowing, the oarsmen sit on the edges of the boat. Only the large Kivu canoes had seats which were fastened on either side with ropes passing through holes in the rim of the boat. The holes are made

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Fig. 40. Fishhook from Mukinjaga. (Actual size. III E 6896. 17 centimeters long.)

with a percussion drill (umutwero).

Industry. In Ruanda, as Dr. R. Kandt's (1) studies have already pointed out, industry has the character of handicraft or hired work. There are few branches of industry on the level of home industry where at times surplus goods not used in the household are sold. This is true, for example, of basketry which generally is produced by the women.

1. Cf. the monograph "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 329-372.

Beer which is brewed in every household seldom figures in business transactions and then only between friends, in exchange for the care of cows and for rented fields.

Fig. 41. Oar from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13731. 181 centimeters long.)

Potters and woodworkers are craftsmen who produce for the market, whereas metalworkers are wage earners who work on order. Wiredrawers [149], as well as the producers of barkcloth, reputedly work at the home of their employers.

487 the general direction is maintained. One must often make considerable detours in order to keep to the more frequented, convenient main arteries. This struck me particularly when, in Njakagungu on the way from Lake Mohasi to Nsasa, I crossed the road that led from Ruanda to Karagwe. The paths hug the ridges of the hills, since travel in the valleys is very difficult because of the many swamps. The constant ascent and descent from one ridge to another makes travel very troublesome.

493 The important people of the country are carried in basket litters (ngobi) on their journeys. The litter is like a woven trough. It is made [166] of bamboo sticks (migano) which run lengthwise and are fastened to each other with strips of rattan. The trough has at least three handles on each side through which are inserted two strong bamboo sticks. The bearers carry these sticks on their heads on round cushions. They move at a gentle trot. The occupant of the litter is in a half-reclining position.

484 The chiefs travel with all the comfort of home; they are, for example, accompanied by two cows (nzishwa) which are milked en route.

[492] Only Europeans ride animals.

491 Until recently bridges were entirely unknown in Ruanda. Now one has been built on land belonging to the Ruasa Mission over the rapids of the Mukungwa which were difficult to cross. Another connects the Issawi Mission with the neighboring hills. It stretches across a swamp.

• 501 Since ancient times river crossings have been provided with dugouts to ferry travelers. At the Akanjaru ferry near Kihinga, I had an opportunity to see a raft made of reeds and papyrus tied together. The raft was pulled from one shore to the other by means of a rope made out of plaited papyrus. The raft was three meters square and was strong enough to carry seven porters with their loads.

491 The Akanjaru which is one kilometer wide did not have an open surface of water as much as 20 meters wide on which a raft could move. It was a thick papyrus swamp through which we would have had to wade up to our hips at that time if a comfortable crossing had not been built with reeds and papyrus stalks laid next to each other. Small dams are often constructed in the swamps to make a watering place for the cows. If the swamp has a considerable

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312 gradient, a deeper free surface of water is formed above the dam, which serves as a watering place for cattle.

482 In Ruanda all goods are transported by porters. Lake Kivu is the only waterway that is used. It is navigated with large, 501 primitive dugouts which are not sea-worthy but can carry very considerable loads. Otherwise boats are used only to ferry travelers across the rivers on main thoroughfares.

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Fig. 53. Cushions for Carrying Loads, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13093. 21 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

The rivers of Ruanda, however, have navigable stretches which in the future, with the development of transportation, will undoubtedly be used. [167] Thus, for example, I am convinced that the Nyawarongo is navigable from Mount Ndisa to the confluence of the Mukungwa and even farther. On the Kissaka border, also, I confirmed the navigability of the Kagera. Likewise, the Kagera can be navigated from the mouth of the Ruvuvu to the bend of the Mpororo.

492 Beasts of burden are not as yet used in Ruanda, although the 20 to 25 donkeys in the country, used by Europeans, are very serviceable and thrive well.

The use of waterways and beasts of burden, however, takes for granted an increase in porters' wages and a development in trade which the porters now available will no longer be able to handle.

482 In contrast to the custom in the northwest Congo areas, burdens are carried on the head in Ruanda. It is only among the Bahunde in the west that we begin to see people carry burdens on their backs. It seems that the eastern boundary of this method of carrying packs entends from Lake Kivu across to the Rutshuru River and north, along the eastern boundary of the Bakondjo territory, to the east of Lake Edward.

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502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the [136] dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

484 The provisions for such trips lasting several days are generally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

481 The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

439 In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited 438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

443 In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

487 up and down the slopes in a straight line are a real nightmare for any non-Murundi.

Another circumstance which makes journeying more
491 arduous is that in spite of the innumerable streams and rivers there are hardly any bridges (ikiraro) in the whole of Urundi and Ruanda. The chief reason for this defect is the lack of suitable timber in these treeless areas. Even where there is still a sufficient number of trees, a bridge is built only in very rare cases since the entire width of the valley bottoms is usually covered with reed or papyrus swamps through the middle of which weaves a narrow, open watercourse. The swamps are too wide for building bridges.

Usually there is no other way but to wade through the swampy valley bottoms and streams up to one's knees or hips in the black, stinking morass. Only rarely are papyrus fronds or reeds cut down in bunches and piled next to each other and on top of each other to form a kind of floating bridge which prevents the travelers from sinking too deeply into the swamp. When reaching wide, open rivers, such as the Ruvuvu, Akanjaru, Luvironsa, and others, the traveler seeks out well-known fords and wades across, often up to his shoulders in water, and he uses a stick or a spear for support against the force of the
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491 If it happens that a big tree is standing near a deep stream which cannot be forded, it is transformed into a bridge

Plate 5

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Ford in the Ruvuvu River East of Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Crossing the Ruvuvu River near Kihansa
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

suffer is not only to be hurt but also to expiate one's sins, to purify one's soul, and to identify oneself with Christ. For serious Christians, suffering cannot be stripped of its religious meaning without being completely distorted. Banyarwanda, on the contrary, seem to take a very 'secular' view of the human condition. Their belief in the supernatural world does not greatly influence their attitude to the unavoidable hardships and pleasures of life. All our informants agree that to die means above all to quit life. They believe that they will become *bazimu* but that leaves them rather indifferent. Even initiates do not show any enthusiasm for the idea of joining *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa* at their feasts. To abandon his children, his herds, his friends, is a sad thing for a Mututsi. But it is accepted, without dramatizing it, as one of those facts which belong to the normal order of things.

If quitting this life is so unfortunate, is human existence such a cheerful experience for Banyarwanda? Enjoyments and the pleasant things of life are very unevenly distributed in Ruanda. The superior caste, the Batutsi, form about 10 per cent. of the population. But, by various means, principally by the institutionalized exchange of cattle for services and dues, Batutsi have been able to gather a much higher proportion of consumers' goods. They do no manual work and have leisure to cultivate eloquence, poetry, refined manners, and the subtle art of being witty when talking and drinking hydromel with friends. Bahutu, perhaps 85 per cent. of the population, do not enjoy such gracious living. They have to produce for themselves and for Batutsi. On a very poor soil, with technologically primitive implements, it is necessary to work hard to secure the surplus production required by the Batutsi. Moreover, the great social influence of Batutsi has given opportunities for the arbitrary exercise of power, so that there are many insecurities in a Muhutu's life. But exploitation has been kept within limits set by the wisdom and the interests of the Batutsi, and a system of protection has assured a minimum of security to the Bahutu. As to the Batwa, they are so low in the social hierarchy, and are considered so irresponsible that they have had a greater independence of action. Formerly they lived on the margin of Ruanda society. They had a reputation for grossly enjoying any opportunities for eating, drinking, making music, and dancing. It should be added that Banyarwanda, according to our standards, have been rather defenceless against disease, that starvation was a real threat for the majority when the rains failed, that ritual observances and interdicts were numerous, and that when somebody happened to be involved in a charge of sorcery he had good reason for great fear. Thus it seems that, for an ordinary Munyarwanda, life is objectively hard, often dangerous but bearable. This partly explains the Ruanda outlook upon the totality of life. It might be described as a mild optimism. As many of our informants put it: 'Existence for Banyarwanda was not easy, it was even often very painful, but on the whole, life was rather a good thing.'

As everywhere, some individuals were at some time of their lives plunged into circumstances which offered apparently no way out. A Mututsi who

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

gives a density of 235·8 per square mile or 91·9 per square kilometre.[13] This density is among the highest in Africa, south of the Sahara.[14] What may we infer from these figures as regards the population at the beginning of this century? According to the available statistics for the last fifteen years, when the circumstances are favourable the yearly increase of Ruanda population may reach three per cent. This increased ratio could hardly have been maintained over the whole of the last fifty years, mainly because the 'favourable circumstances' refer to medical amenities, new hygienic practices and the reduction of famine. Such conditions were by no means prevalent when the Europeans occupied the country in 1899.[15] Even since 1935, however, events have not always been favourable, as for three years (1941–2–3) there was a decrease of population due to a severe scarcity of food. Consequently it seems safe to assume that during the decades preceding the European occupation, the population was already very dense. According to Captain Bethe, it numbered about 2,000,000 in 1899.[16] In 1907, Czekanowski estimated the Ruanda population at approximately 1,710,000.[17]

According to a detailed survey made by the Department of Agriculture, there are about 60,000 to 70,000 families (out of a total of about 380,000 families) more than can be adequately fed by the country.[18] There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there

[13] There is a census for the male and able-bodied adults who are taxpayers. To obtain the total number of the population (females, old people, and children) the number of taxpayers in each administrative district is multiplied by a certain coefficient which is determined in each case by a sample-census of a few hills.

[14] For comparative purposes, there are a few density figures for some African territories according to present political boundaries: Uganda: 52·8 per square mile; Tanganyika: 20·7; Belgian Congo: 12·9; Nigeria: 92·0; Sierra Leone: 66·5. All these figures, taken from Hailey, 1957, p. 143, refer to the years 1948-52.

[15] Captain Bethe, a German officer, obtained from the king in 1899 Ruanda's acceptance of the Imperial Government's protection. There was no treaty, only an oral agreement which was followed by a permanent occupation by the German authorities. The first Christian mission was established in 1900, at Isavi, by the White Fathers. Belgian troops took possession of Ruanda during the First World War in 1916. The Belgian occupation of Ruanda-Urundi was confirmed by the Orts-Milner Agreement in 1919. In 1924, Belgium agreed to administer Ruanda-Urundi under the supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Ruanda-Urundi became a United Nations Organization Trusteeship Territory administered by Belgium. Cf. Jentgen, 1947, pp. 9-11, 83-9

[16] Quoted by Czekanowski, 1917, p. 109 n. [17] See Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114.

[18] This study is based on an estimate of the optimum cultivated area needed by a family, the quality of the soil being taken into account. A similar method has been used in the case of cattle. Cf. Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, pp. 343-7.

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There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there
233 were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid,
433 but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

168 This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is in-
433 creasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an
511 ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

433 It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

224 Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only
[262] the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate
[186] game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing
[237] and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

226 Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when
262 very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

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from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *murozi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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Tutsi hands. From that point of view, we have to distinguish here 564
two categories. In the first, we put the mwami, the court, the 661
intermediary military and administrative chiefs, whom we call the rulers; in the second, the ordinary Tutsi. The rulers received tributes and labour through the military and administrative channels; the second got fewer consumption goods directly, but mainly labour by the *buhake*. Thus the satisfaction of the needs of the superior caste was not obtained by economic means but by social pressure.

Were these services in labour and in kind heavy for the Hutu caste? It seems that it was not a too painful obligation for about nine-tenths of the population to secure the whole of the agricultural produce of the country. But we should not forget that it was an [433]
economy based on rudimentary techniques and which did not yield a considerable surplus. Moreover, the standard of life of the dominant group was much higher than that of the inferior [511]
castes; one may thus safely assume that Tutsi consumed much more than a tenth of the total production. Such an assessment is not very precise but it does not seem possible to obtain a more accurate one.

What is certain is that the social power enjoyed collectively by 564
the Tutsi caste was so great that it must have been a permanent 661
temptation for them to increase their demands on the Hutu group. 554
Such a situation was indeed at the same time both advantageous 182
and dangerous as it carried in itself the seeds of its own destruction. For if the measures of the impositions were exceeded (and the technological and environmental circumstances made the margin very narrow), the subordinate group would be weakened and its productivity would diminish. Eventually, it might be led to leave the territory. To prevent such detrimental occurrences was all the more difficult as each Tutsi was endowed with so much individual social power that he might be inclined to misuse it.

How did the Tutsi deal with this threat? Firstly, by a universal distribution of the levies obtained through the military and administrative structures. Every familial unit of production was obliged to contribute—certainly not equally, but the mere fact of having universal impositions tended to prevent very considerable differences, because a sufficient return was secured and rules were established. These rules were not as fixed and publicized as the fiscal laws in a Western society, yet the mere fact of their existence

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Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
● 512 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the
564 three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
564 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

342 nearby site when the family changes its place of residence.

If the huts are very much inferior in their outward appearance and in the care with which they are built to those of Ruanda, this is even more true of their interiors. Here, as in Ruanda, the interior supporting poles are used to fasten [285] several woven screens, higher than a man and made of papyrus, reed stalks, or bamboo laths. These divide the hut into two or more separate living, sleeping, and store rooms. Many of these woven screens have the shape of a bent shield, as in Ruanda. In Urundi, however, very few of them are plaited as delicately and figured as beautifully as the shield-shaped wall screens and mats which in Ruanda cover the walls all around [22] and separate the various rooms from each other, admirably decorating not only the huts of the Batussi but often also those of prosperous Bahutu. Usually only two rooms are separated from each other by mats in this way: the front room (umurjango), which serves as a living room, kitchen, and dining room during the day, and the rear room (akagiro) which 513 serves as a bedroom. In the latter, the parents' bed space 352 is also separated from the sleeping place of the children by mat screens. Here most of the Barundi sleep simply on a bundle of straw which they cover with a cowhide or goatskin. However, where a bedstead does exist, it consists of four short posts rammed into the ground and a wooden frame fastened on them which is filled with laths and covered with a mat. In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, etc., such bedsteads are owned only by the distinguished and the rich.

352 Wooden stools to sit on, like the ones used elsewhere in East Africa, are nonexistent in Urundi and Ruanda, or they exist only as a foreign import from Unjamwesi, Usâmbiro, etc.

Even in the dwelling of the powerful chief Lusabiko in East Urundi there was "not a single stool or log to sit on. Only a few thick bundles of straw were lying in a corner; they could be drawn toward one if he did not wish to squat on the ground. If one desires to sleep, the bundle is unfastened, and [513] a soft bed is made. In the homes of rich persons a hairy ox hide is placed over it before sitting or lying down." (No. 14, 1901, p. 214.)

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
285 than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nsujimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal; kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

853 The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the affair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more rejoins his playmates. The children are kept clean and given 854 [515] a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time [482] in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground. They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which 513 is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

854 p. 63). In order to put the child to sleep and also to soothe it
513 in the daytime, the mother may lightly pat its back and occasionally sing a monotonous "cradle song." Van der Burgt has recorded one in which the evil mother-in-law is mentioned to frighten the child: "Be quiet; otherwise I shall take you to the mother-in-law. She will give you only water. When the cows come home and are milked, you will go hungry. Mother-in-law will not protect you from the sun nor against hunger" (No. 19, p. 71).

Spiritually and morally the children grow up wild. There
861 is no effort to cure children of bad habits nor to teach them good ones. As long as the children's bad manners do not inconvenience the parents, they even take pleasure in inciting them to fits of temper, to fight, and to steal. Only in exceptional cases is there any practical training in special jobs and handicrafts. Whatever the children learn is acquired by observation, listening, and by helping with work. From an early age they must help their parents in all their work, and being by nature intelligent and vivacious, they soon become surprisingly independent.

145 Boys reach puberty (kukura) when they are between 12 to
864 15 years old, girls even earlier. Long before that, however,
839 they are enlightened about sexual matters and have learned many loathsome things of a sexual nature from those who are older. This does not mean that they have sexual intercourse at a very early age, but onanism and masturbation are widespread vices.

[113] About these practices van der Burgt reports (No. 19,
839 p. 361): "Puellae praesertim horibili huic vitio valde deditae sunt, sub praetextu quidem, ut magis aptae fiant matrimonio et viris placeant. In actu ipso nefando quoddam juramentum vel potius imprecationem pronuntiant: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. Insuper variis mediis utuntur ad majorem voluptatem sibi procurandam. Media generatim sunt plantae, vel radices plantarum arborumve, quibus labia perfricantur." [Tr., "The girls especially are given to indulge in this horrible vice at an early age under the pretext that this makes them more fit for

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse marsh grass called urukangaga.

[554] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

352 The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and inter-
● 513 connected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the
[415] hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

352 In addition, against the partition delimiting the space reserved
415 for strangers, there are jars and jugs of varying size, a half-gourd to scoop water, whole gourds of varying shape and size to hold banana juice or drinking water.

If the Munyarwanda is fortunate enough to own a cow, which is a gift from the gods, he will also have milk containers and churns.
351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and
[343] protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

342 In Mulera I had an opportunity to see a different arrangement of the hut. Here there was no partition between the anteroom and the hearth section, and the whole thing was called a cow stall (rubumbiro). The hearth (isiko) was in the middle of the hut. [354] This is also said to be the usual arrangement in Bunyabungu (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

In Mulera, behind the hearth is the women's rooms (mbele) which leads to the niche dedicated to Biheko (ruhimbi). To the right of the entrance is the room for the calves (ruhongoro). The bedroom is between the Biheko niche and the calf stall.

352 In Ruanda the bed is made of wooden sticks. Four supports forked at the top, are driven into the ground, and on these rest two horizontal rods that support a platform made of wooden sticks. The frame is covered with several mats which make a relatively soft padding.

513 The sleeper wraps himself up in a mat, so that only the masunzu (2) and the toes stick out, which are not infrequently

2. Unshaven stripes of hair which ornament the heads of men, children, and young people.

gnawed by rats, the worst plague of the dwellings.

415 On the side of the bed facing the wall I saw tall round baskets with lids (ichibo) filled with grain for sowing.

352 Beds are found in all the huts of Mpororo, central and southern Ruanda, and Mulera, but in Bugoye I saw huts without them. There were very few in Nyundo, whereas in Ruagari which is only four hours north [208] on the Bgisha border, people commonly slept on mats without bedsteads in a special portion of the hut closed off by a partition. This was also the arrangement among the Batwa of Chuma. Among the Bakondjo and the inhabitants of Toro there are beds in all the huts. There are none in Kiziba.

The Batwa west of the Kagera do not use beds nor do the inhabitants of Bgisha and north Bugoye, who are obviously influenced

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291 On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of
[854] cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their
[482] backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders
[939] coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

302 Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu
[301] and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments.
304 There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went
[291] barefooted.

592 The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at
361 least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the
342 interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a
[171] 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c.
857 were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls
513 under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut
343 devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus
346 hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the
351 compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a
[231] kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the
361 year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [288] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 778 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and [782] reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from 356 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 342 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage [514] next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

251 being stored in an empty hut. This must have been a temporary arrangement to counter the danger of termites.

In Ruanda some of the supplies are kept in the hut. Here, however, they do not use banana leaves but baskets sealed with cow dung. The baskets hold up to 50 kilograms.

In northern and western Ruanda there are often pits in the immediate neighborhood of the huts, where bananas are kept to ripen and fresh beer is kept until it ferments. The pits are heated before the bananas are stored there. To do this the smoke from the adjacent fire is directed into the pit. Dr. Kandt (1) is

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

undoubtedly referring to these pits when he says that the cellars of the Banyabungu are: "...caves in the shape of butter molds, the walls of which are supported by bent branches and hoops. The hoops starting at the bottom form diminishing concentric circles up to the opening which is wide enough for a man to enter."

[514] Privies seem to be completely unknown in Ruanda.

[206] Interior of the Hut. The interiors of the huts in Kissaka
342 differ from those in Kiziba in that there are no fixed, woven par-
352 titions. When you enter the hut, you seem to be confronted by a finely woven wall, but on closer observation this turns out to be a row of uprights. Stiff rectangular mats are wedged in between them and bent outward. The mats are woven somewhat like the baskets; they are 2 meters long and 40 centimeters wide and usually sealed with cow dung. This wall separates the anteroom (umuriango) from the hearth section. On the left side is an opening which forms a narrow entrance to the interior of the hut. The position of this opening seems to be reminiscent of the arrangement in the Bakondjo huts. However, this opening can also be directly opposite the entrance, as is generally the case among the Batutsi.

352 Along the wall of the hearth section, usually to one side of the entrance, is the bench for the milk vessels. This is about 40 centimeters wide, 40 centimeters high, and up to 2 meters long

301 Often a second strip of leather, without the ball, however,
554 goes around the head from the back to the center of the forehead. I have never seen this form of ornament worn by the Bahutu or the common Batussi but only by members of the royal kin group (Baganwa) and by the high batwale (see Plates 11, 13, 14).

The hair style of the Barundi is very simple. According
302 to the reports of former travelers, there was much greater variety years ago; today the large majority shave the head completely. For this purpose, after the hair has been somewhat softened with warm water, they use a short shaving knife without a handle. Many of them leave a small, round tuft of hair on top of their heads, more rarely a remnant of hair in a different form. The children frequently appear in long "poodle locks"; they then look like Galla or Somali children (Plate 12b, 16a). The heads of women and girls are usually smooth shaven. If they wear hair, they comb it with wooden combs (Fig. 5). The men also shave their beards; axillary and pubic hair are removed among the Batussi, but not among the Bahutu who have very little anyway. The two bristly fringes of hair running diagonally across the head, which are a national trait of the Banjaruanda, are very seldom seen on a Murundi.

Common to the Batussi of both regions is the care of the
302 skin by means of various cosmetics. Rubbing with half-liquid
515 butter is the most frequent. Most by far of the butter produced is used for this purpose, and often some raw laterite and the juice of fragrant herbs is added to this skin ointment. Those people who have no cows and, consequently, no butter, such as most of the Bahutu, cannot smear themselves with butter. If this ointment is put on fresh every day, it is quite appetizing and nice, but if, as frequently happens, the butter turns rancid and combines with the smell of sweat and the stench of smoky huts and stables, the fellows stink so much that one can smell them at a distance of ten paces even in the dark of the night. Yet I must say in defense of the Barundi that they like to take a bath whenever water is plentiful, i.e., when drawing

[Text continues on page 42]

302 water at a spring, crossing brooks, and on similar occasions.
515 Sometimes children and, at times, even adults cover their hair, scalp, and other parts of the body, sometimes the entire body, with a light gray layer of paint made of clay, ashes, or the marly excrement of beasts of prey that is frequently found in the steppes. This is not a festive adornment, as is often the case when adults paint themselves (see p. 67 , 127), but is intended to free the skin of small parasites and to keep it smooth.

304 Tattooing (urusago) I have observed much more seldom in Urundi than in Ruanda and Uha, [29] and then only in the form of decorative scars, never colored tattooing on the surface of the skin. In Urundi, too, it is mainly the Batussi who are tattooed, and, as in Ruanda, the patterns extend over the upper part of the arms, the two halves of the chest from the shoulder down to the area of the navel, and both halves of the back from the shoulder to the waist. As in Ruanda, the patterns consist mainly of finger length half-moons which in great numbers are placed in a row and are generally connected in groups of two by a third crescent which interlocks with the open side of the sickle; the total effect is that of a chain-like pattern (see Fig. 7). Each line consists of many parallel cuts made by a knife (Fig. 6) and caused to swell by rubbing on ashes and euphorbia juice, so that they finally form a thick scar which stands as high as one centimeter above the surface of the skin. Practitioners skilled in medicine do the tattooing. Other patterns consist of zigzag lines, ribbon-shaped parallel rows of lines running across the shoulders like broad suspenders, or button-shaped scars, like thick inoculation scars, in rows on the upper arm and in the center of the chest. Other irregular clusters of scars are not decorative tattooing but incisions for local body pains or wound scars resulting from violent injuries.

304 In my opinion it is improbable that this tattooing was originally practiced only by the Batussi and was imitated by the
171 Bahutu and Batwa, as was stated by M. Weiss (No. 33, p. 93). This type of tattooing is quite unknown to the Hamitic peoples of Africa, but it is very common among the Bantu of the upper Nile and Congo regions and of the western and southern regions

[Text continues on page 43]

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nsujimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal; kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

853 The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the affair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more rejoins his playmates. The children are kept clean and given 854 [515] a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time [482] in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 513 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground. They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

757 there are others which rely on mechanical means for an effect, as, for instance, massage, enema, hot and cold baths, and, further, a small number of surgical operations from the simple [752] opening of a boil to (allegedly) the Caesarean operation (see above, p. 110). Difficult cases are treated by an experienced, skillful umufumu, but for simple cases every father of a family uses a number of household remedies. The art of using them is passed on from father to son. If necessary, a sick neighbor is given the benefit of them also.

[141] Generally, the first remedy tried is hot or cold water. It is used for intensive rubdowns, for long baths in treating skin diseases, aching joints, insomnia, and fever. A Murundi [515] enjoys taking a bath whenever a sufficient supply of water is available, but as soon as possible after the bath he will rub butter on his skin. There are several natural thermal baths in Urundi [312] which are used not only by the people living in the vicinity. For example, a gushing thermal spring whose water temperature is 47° Centigrade is located near Kisagara, a village not far from the Mugera missionary station, and there is another one north of Tschiwitoke in the Ruzizi Valley. A kind of steam bath is given to persons with fever by alternately holding their heads and limbs over a pot of boiling, steaming water (No. 19, p. 183). Enemas of warm water to which some herbal juice has been added are very common. They are given by first introducing the end of a long hollow stalk of reed or a strong leaf folled into the form of a tube into the anus; then the person applying the treatment blows a mouthful of water through the other end of this pipe into the bowels (No. 19, p. 331). Adults frequently give an enema to themselves: they fill one of the long-necked bottle gourds with water, insert the narrow end of the long bottleneck into the anus, and then lift the calabash in such a manner as to permit the water to enter the bowels by its own weight. Enemas are used for stomach-aches of any kind, constipation, diarrhea, fever, etc.

[278] There are innumerable medicines made of inorganic, vegetable, and animal substances. Among these, poisons play a relatively minor role, for the Barundi do not even know how to make arrows poisonous. The Batwa often use very effective

291 cord or thong. The free end of this thong is usually cut into several strands and strung with beads of glass or iron (ngimbi). The braided bast cord is called indjishi.

Dressed cowhide has a relatively high value and is worn for several years. When torn, it is mended and carefully sewn together. Not all women, however, can obtain this costly, though

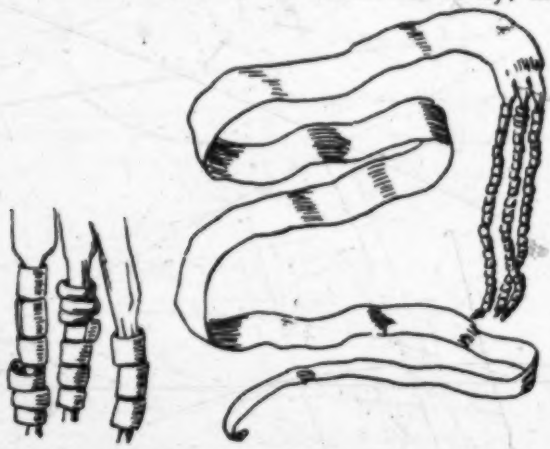

Fig. 60. Woman's Belt from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13701. 145 centimeters long.)

serviceable article of clothing and must wear goat skins and barkcloth (mpuzu), as do the grown girls. Near the missions where work is paid in cloth, they also wear cotton materials in place of cowhides.

To complete a woman's costume, a goat skin is thrown over the shoulders. However, when this article is omitted, the costume is not regarded as incomplete.

[854] Small children are always wrapped in sheepskin and carried on the back. The skin is tied together above and below the mother's breasts with two strips of barkcloth or two pieces of bark from a banana tree. These strips are tied to the leg parts of the skin.

[515] [173] Women who are carrying children usually also carry leaves in their left hand. The leaves are carefully laid together and used to wipe their backs and the child if necessary.

312 volcanoes. There the rivers run underground and open water holes are sometimes a great distance away, even several hours. In these regions rain water and the bitter juice of the banana stalks are used primarily, but a certain amount of water has to be fetched even in these regions. The collected rain water is very impure, for [214] it is gathered in small depressions in the ground from which it is dipped with gourds into larger vessels for storage. In Buhumba, along the route from Nyundo to Rutshuru, I saw that after a heavy rain waste matter from the dirty courtyards was washed into the water holes.

312 578 In spite of these difficulties in obtaining water, the Bahutu filled in a spring on the Karisimbi in order to get rid of the Batutsi who watered their stock there and devastated the fields. This example shows how peacefully herdsmen and farmers live together.

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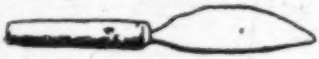

Fig. 160. Woman's Knife with Single Cutting Edge, from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13734. 20 centimeters long.)

Fig. 161. Woman's Knife from West Kivu. (1/4 actual size. III E10172. 32.5 centimeters long.)

515 That the women have to fetch the water may account for their greater cleanliness. It struck me in Nyundo that one always saw women washing themselves along the Ssebeya, but one seldom saw men bathing.

462 The entire process of preparing food also falls to the women, and this is not limited to cooking. They must also thresh the grain, grind it into flour, peel the produce of the fields, in most cases fetch firewood, and in Kissaka even make the pots.

412 In their work women use small, crudely constructed knives. Only in the west do we find large, double-edged, sword-like knives used by the women. They closely resemble the knife used by Babira women.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *muroxi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

411 to three meters long, absolutely straight generally, and as well-rounded and smoothly scraped as though polished. Considering the extreme rarity of trees and large bushes in Urundi, the quality of the spear shafts is surprising. No pole-timber for the spears is imported from the neighboring areas. Many spear shafts are family heirlooms which have been bequeathed down to the present day from a time when wood was more plentiful. Others are made from the wood of the cultivated fig tree which yields barkcloth; it grows good straight branches unless it is cut often. Poorer people and children generally have spears with inferior, somewhat bent or knotty shafts. Spear [326] points and sockets are made by special blacksmiths (see p. 77) [316] either from iron mined in Urundi itself or from iron hoes (see [439] p. 83) imported from the Congo (Uvira) or from Usindja. The rest of the work necessary to make a spear is done by each Murundi himself. [Fig. 8 appears here in original text.]

The spear is mainly a weapon used for stabbing or for defense. It is thrown only short distances when one is certain of hitting the target since one cannot risk losing this valuable possession. There are no slings for hurling spears.

The Murundi is inseparable from his spear, and the fact 516 that they are always able to lean on the long spear shaft determines the characteristic posture of both the Murundi and the Munjaruanda when they are standing still. He grips the upright shaft with his arm half-raised so that his hand is about the level of his face. Depending on whether the palm of the hand is turned in or out when clutching the spear, the shaft stands vertically either between chest and elbow or along the outside of the elbow, while its end rests on the ground. In both cases the body leans with all its weight against this prop which slants somewhat away from it; at the same time the leg bearing the main weight of the body is fully extended while the leg next to the spear which takes no weight is easily crossed over the other leg at knee-level so that it touches the ground only with the outer edge of the sole (Plate 9b). [34] Less frequently the foot of the leg taking no weight is planted firmly against the leg bearing the main weight, as is done frequently among the Negroes of the Upper Nile and also among the Massai. The composition of lines

[Text continues on page 49]

516 in this posture of the Barundi at rest is often surprisingly beautiful. A small group of men standing in this position really presents "a picture to be painted." [Fig. 9 appears on p. 34 of original text.]

The chief weapon for attack and fighting is the bow and
411 arrow. The bows (umuheto) have the simple shape of most of the East African bows and they are rather good weapons (Plate 41). The string is usually made of beef sinew. Compound bows, such as the Batwa of Bugoje have, do not exist among the Batwa of Urundi who have been much more influenced by the Negroes. The arrowheads (umwampi) have neither barbed hooks nor lobes and, by means of a thorn, are embedded in the wooden shaft whose upper part is wrapped and the bottom ends simply feathered. The feathering often is bound in a nicely patterned reed wrapping (Fig. 8). Neither the Batussi nor the Bahutu ever use poisoned arrows, but the Batwa do (No. 19, p. 246). It has already been mentioned that the left hand holding the bow is protected against the recoiling string by thick disc-shaped arm rings (ikirinsi) (see p. 27 and Plate 30a). Also, among the Barundi archery does not entail shooting from a held position with precise aiming, but rather suddenly and violently jerking off the arrow toward the target in an impulsive fashion, like hurling stones from a sling (which is not practiced in Urundi). Nevertheless, they do hit a man at a distance of 30 to 40 meters with a fair amount of precision (Plate 30). The majority of the arrows are made by the Batwa. Sometimes the arrows are kept in nicely carved wooden quivers (umutano) which are provided with overlapping lids on both ends (Plates 41, 42), but a quiver is seldom seen on the arm or back of a Murundi, mostly only inside the huts. [Fig. 9 appears here in the original text.]

The sword-like knives (imbugita) of the Barundi, up to
412 half a meter long, are not really weapons but instruments for
411 daily use which only occasionally are also used as weapons (Plate 43). The knife has two parallel edges, and its tip is only slightly pointed. In its entire width it is inserted into an hour-glass-shaped wooden handle, and it is worn in a wooden sheath

[Text continues on page 50]

Plate 7

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Batwa near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Batwa Making Pottery near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--243 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 9

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Barundi from the Upper Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi from Migeni, West of Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 13

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Urundi King Mwesi Kisabo, Carried on a Traveling Litter
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

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Urundi King Mwesi Kisabo, died 1908
(Photo. by "White Fathers" Urundi)

Plate 18

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Hut in Northwest Urundi with Little Spirit Hut
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Hut in Northwest Urundi with Bahutu Women
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 25

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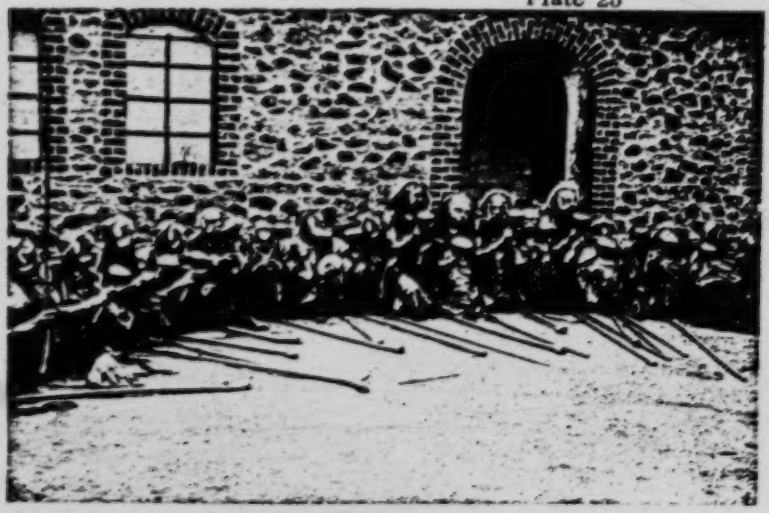

"Cattle Doctors" of King Mutaga During the Exorcizing Ceremony.
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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Murundi Woman with Woven Beehives
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Packs of Salt from the Gottorp Saltworks on the Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Daily Market in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--262 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Murundi Taking Snuff with Nose Clip
(Photo. By Captain Kraut)

[516]

Barundi Taking Snuff by Drawing Tobacco Juice into the Nose
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

On the plain of the Mulèra in the middle of a field of sorghum. After an elephant hunt.

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Longhorn cows.

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5: Pages--281 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A ceremony in front of the kíosk dedicated to the spirits.

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A divination scene.

5: Pages--287 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type. The long fringed costume they wear is made of banana fibers which they have woven themselves.

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Women of the Muhutu type.

5: Pages--292 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Blacksmiths at work outdoors. The iron ore is piled up over the hearth. The founders stir up the fire with primitive bellows.

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Blacksmiths around their blast furnace.

5: Pagès--293 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Impalement of a cattle thief before European penetration.

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Bellows and apparatus of a primitive forge.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Tutsi lord and Hutu client

[Frontispiece]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

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XIII. A Tutsikazi.

[854
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XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children partici-
524 pate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e, the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

192 Inka z' inkuke (gukuka, "to come out of," "to come from")
233 serves to designate cows which are merely in one's keeping.

Milk cows are always placed at the disposal of the chief, who never lacks milk.

Inka z'intarama (a term peculiar to the Bugoyi /region/), cows that are milked late in the morning and in the evening.

Inka z' imigogoro (imiruho), cows ("who cause trouble") because they often die or bring other worries to their owners, who are taxed on their milk.

Inka z' inyambo (indende), "cows of imposing size."

Inka z' ingegene, "ordinary cows."

Inka z' inyagisanze, "cows who graze in pastures which are always green."

Inka z' intahira (gu-ta-hira or gu-ta-gemura), "cows whose owner has full rights over them and is not subjected to any bondage toward his chief on their account.

Inka z'imilizo, "cows with a (short) tail." The Batutsi some-
[517] times shorten the tails of their heifers for esthetic reasons. /509/

Inka z' inkuku, "cows of small size."

Ikimasa, "ox"; impfizi, "bull"; ubukombe, "a bull in his prime" or one whose services are highly valued, hence the wish and expression, Ukagir' ubukombe! "May you own a fine bull!"

Inyana, "calf"; ishashi, "heifer"; imbyeyi, "mother cow"; inka y' issave or urubereri, "cow who has never calved"; ingumba, "cow who has become sterile"; inka y' issugi, "cow who never lost a calf"; iliza, "cow who has calved at least once"; ijigija, "cow who has calved many times"; inka y' ubusuri, "cow who lost a calf"; insindirano, "cow who is given the calf of another"; amabuguma, "old beasts," etc.

192 Fresh milk is called amata y' inshyushyu; curdled milk,
234 ikivuguto; the milk of a cow who has just calved, umuhondo; the milk of a cow who is pregnant again, amasitu; fresh milk mixed with water, umwerera; one night's milk, umubanji; whey, amachunde or amenda, etc.

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42
Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574 planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517] mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

539 Umurir' ugatiny' amazi. Fire fears water.
Amaz (i)' atiny' ifu. Water fears flour. (3)

3. "Water fears flour," that is to say, the bread or "mush" into which it vanishes.

If' itiny' amenyo. Flour fears teeth (4).

4. "Flour fears the teeth" of those who eat it.

Ameny' atiny' umuhoro. Teeth fear the billhook (iron) (5).

[412]

5. "Teeth fear the billhook," as all other hard bodies, especially when made of iron, like the billhook, which is one of the most useful tools.

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The Blacks of Ruanda have a rich and varied oral literature. They like witticisms, and since their language is rich in shades and nuances, they manipulate it with great art.

The most refined speech is heard at the capital.

195 644

The habitual frequenters of the court, lords, courtiers, and employees, express themselves in flawless language, use the right words and choice expressions, and give them the proper inflections, for Runyarwanda is a phonetic /sic/ language. The appointed men of letters, storytellers, bards, genealogists, and historians carefully watch their diction. Among them conversation is never /454/ dull, for jokes and witticisms abound. [521]

Considering the good taste that distinguishes the familiars of the king and the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga, it is not

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Sentashonga, the victim's cousin, was granted permission that evening to have the corpse of his relative buried.

The elders and former habitués of the court do not lack for narratives of this kind, which they relate like any other tale without [521] seeming overly shocked by them. Such is the environment, such are the mores and attitudes. /485/

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"The king is the master," they say. "He does as he pleases. The decisions he makes cannot be contested. He is the supreme judge. One can only obey and assent." The victims' relatives were sometimes the first to come and greet him, feigning total impassiveness, forced as they were to drive back to the bottom of their hearts the bitter pain which they could not but feel.

Complaints, wails, and recriminations could only have stirred up the anger of the king and given rise to new slaughters.

While looking after his own safety, every person also had to keep in mind that of his people /relatives and friends/. The latter, indeed, might be held responsible for the deeds and actions, no matter how harmless, of any of their fellow members. The extermination of a whole family formerly weighed very little on the scale of royal justice.

So as not to provoke trouble which might prove fatal, therefore, they put a good face on misfortune. These executed, however innocent they might have been, were claimed in loud voices to have been cursed men (ibichibga) or rebels. To shed tears or express one's [687] sorrow were crimes of high treason. "A mere whim of the master was sufficient to send a person to punishment. What won't one do to avoid so cruel a fate?" This statement made by a court favorite of the previous reign /avant-règne/ reveals a great deal about the mores of the time. "If the king happened to sprain his foot," added the same man, "to knock against some obstacle or pebble, it was not a good idea to meet with him at that moment."

In his anger the monarch might accuse anyone of having bewitched him, and wreak then and there a signal vengeance.

Professional executioners were not always used for this purpose. The king might call upon any member of his retinue to carry out the [696] task. The person had to comply, no matter how revolted he might

695 referred to simply as kushoko, "drinking." This fact indicates that the poison test was the oldest form. To give a person this test is called kushora which simply means "to give a drink." Thus they say: "Umututsi ashora inka ze (the Mu[illegible] gives his cows a drink)," as well as "kushora ikihango (to drink poison)" and "kushora (literally, to drink a chicken)."

[286] Chapter 14

History and Chronology

173 Ruanda. I had great difficulty in obtaining data about the history of Ruanda. Oral tradition in the interlacustrine region is limited chiefly to the genealogy of the rulers. This basic skeleton is also generally supplemented by a few statements about the chief events of the corresponding epochs. My informants, however, knew little about the history of the dynasty, since most of them were Bahutu.

124 Musinga gave Captain W. Von Grawert, who introduced me to him, his royal promise that he would have reports made to me on the history of the country or even tell me about it himself. [187] The chicken oracle, however, said that the king would suffer harm if I were initiated in the history of the country. The next time I visited Musinga and tried to have certain contradictions in my notes on the Ruanda rulers cleared up by this authoritative source, I was kept dangling for two and a half hours and was unsuccessful. His Black Majesty was very pleasant, but during the whole time he kept practicing, in German, the meaningless sentence, "Little spear is pretty."

Musinga wanted to please me by demonstrating his zeal in learning the German language and in this way divert my attention from interviewing him.

173 It seems that in Ruanda as well as In Nkole one may not speak [715] about deceased kings with the uninitiated, for the spirits, disturbed in their rest, might avenge themselves. However, people [2] talk about olden times in the evening when the nobility gather with the king, pay court to him, and drink beer. They know

173 Mission. The King of Urundi lost his life there, and the victors seized his ceremonial garment (inkindi), which is still preserved as a trophy in the royal treasure (intore).

This historical piece survived the Ruchunchu disaster /88/, when fire consumed the many pieces and objects belonging to the royal wardrobe. The afore-mentioned vestment is none other than a colobus pelt (inkomo), such as the Batutsi chiefs and kings used to wear.

This garment was rather small, and as a result it is called [522] derisively in the story "the overly short garment" that did not match the size of its owner (1). Laughter and jokes come readily to the

1. The literal meaning is more vivid and "spicy." Ntizihish' amabuno!

Blacks.

As far as we know, no outstanding event took place under the three following monarchs.

Under the thirty-first, Chyilima II Ludjugira, on the other hand, the struggle with the Barundi was renewed. This war is the subject of a long narrative embellished and distorted by legend. According to it, the Banyarwanda declared war on the Barundi as the result of a drought and in order to bring it to an end. Under the same reign, an alien tribe invaded the Bugoyi, on the east shore of Lake Kivu, and was repelled with great difficulty. The historical character of this second episode is better preserved. "It concerns a people," so the elders narrate, "of light complexion, who spoke a language different from ours and who built their houses differently."

They had the peculiar habit of covering their dwellings with earth. Their tools, axes, and hoes, were better wrought and more durable than those of the autochthonous inhabitants. They were designated as "Those who cover their roofs with earth" (Abassakazataka) or the "Mutes" (Ibirâgi) because of their incomprehensible language. The newcomers had settled in the Bugoyi province, which is separated from the Nduga by the forest, and they were soon quarreling with the

543 belonged, to the deceased monarchs. Then they danced in honor of
769 the "spirits" of dead kings on the grounds before the king's house. While moving about, they repeated in unison, "These are your treasures (intore), those that belonged to you. They are truly yours, those garments, those fabrics, those weapons, those beads, etc. It is in your name that we carry out these celebrations. We always remain your subjects, your lieges, your servants"....

(Tor' ibintu byawe, intore zawe; n' ibirori byawe, n'abagaragu bawe....) When the ceremony is over, the keepers of the treasure store the objects away until the following festival (1).

1. Among the original pieces included in the royal museum, there is the garment (inkindi) of the king of Urundi, Mutaga, who was killed in battle near Mwurire hill in the province of Bwana-Mkali. It is a hide, since no other garments were worn at that time, and it is altered almost beyond recognition in spite of the rancid butter with which it is constantly rubbed to preserve it. It is one of the rare trophies of victory that survived the fire caused by the Ruchunchu disaster. It is called by the name of ntizihishw' amabuno, that is to say, "that (garment) which is too short (for size)." The native expression is stronger and shows that the Banyarwanda wit never flags in situations tragic or comic.

• [522]

769 The festivals and celebrations are almost invariably of a sacrificial character in the sense that the ancestral spirits are commemorated and are offered gifts in a fictitious or even a real fashion, as we shall see in the pages that follow. We shall discuss funeral
766 customs or, more exactly, those that apply to the death of the king,

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children partici-
● 524 pate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e., the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

857 soldiers" ranks first among the children's games. [Fig. 15 appears
524 here in the original text.] As everywhere else the boys form two opposing armies, and then they try to outsmart each other by engaging in all kinds of maneuvers and attacking each other with bows and spears without, however, doing any harm to each other. These battle game is of a more serious nature: two groups arm themselves with corncobs or stones and keep bombarding each other until one party has suffered enough casualties and takes to flight. Single combat is taken even more seriously: two boys who have insulted and challenged each other beat away at one another with sticks until one of them runs away.

K. Weule discussed several toys used by Barundi children which are now on display in the Berlin Ethnological Museum (Ethnologisches Notizblatt [Ethnological Notes], Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 48-52). For toys, boys make small swords, bows, arrows, and spears of wood or reed. In the Tanganyika area where guns are known, they also make little rifles out of sorghum stalks or bamboo cane from which a wooden arrow is catapulted by a palm stalk acting as a spring (Fig. 15). The boys also make popguns out of cylindrical pieces of tree bark which is removed from the twig in one piece, in the same manner as European boys cut a whistle. Both openings are closed by a plug of wet bast, and then one plug is pushed [64] into the cylinder with a stick so that the other plug is forced out by the compressed air, giving a loud report.

A popular game in which adults also participate is hoop-throwing (ulubangwe). Two groups of players face each other and, by turns, throw a hoop which the opposite party is supposed to catch in the air. This is to be done neither with the hand nor a stick but by means of a piece of cord whose forward end is forked. Each end of this fork has an empty corncob fastened to it. The hoop must be caught in this end of the cord which is tossed toward it. The party who most often succeeds at this is pronounced the winner.

Small kites are made out of pieces of the very light pith of rushes which are held together by a small rod. The tail of the kite is made of a piece of barkcloth. These contraptions fly as

[Text continues on page 95]

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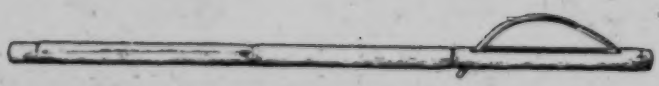

Fig. 15. Children's Toy: Reed Gun for Shooting Wooden Arrows.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6515.)

857 badly as the little kites made out of newspapers which European
524 children like to build (Weule, loc. cit., p. 51).

Boys and girls like to play at hiding nuts in the sand. This is quite similar to a game played by European children. Squatting on the ground, they make a little heap of sand, put a small nut inside, and divide the heap into five or six segments. The player who has scratched open the greatest number of segments before hitting on the nut is the winner.

The children make tops (irebe) out of a small pumpkin or the shell of a dry fruit which is pierced with a little stick. A bast string is wound around the stick and then quickly pulled by means of a cleft piece of wood held in the other hand. By piercing holes into the top, it is made to produce a buzzing sound (No. 19, p. 320 and Weule, loc. cit., p. 51).

The boys have stick-throwing contests. Each of them takes two sticks, and in turn they hurl their sticks, like spears, from the same place toward the same direction. Anyone whose stick is thrown farther than another stick is entitled to take the other stick and add it to his own collection. The player who ends up with the greatest number of sticks is the winner.

Balls for games are made of all kinds of elastic material. The children throw them to each other or hit them with a stick.

The game of hide-and-seek is also popular, of course. The child who has been discovered in his hiding place must in turn seek the others. As among the Banjaruanda, jumping over a high string or stick is also practiced.

Girls are given less time for playing than boys. From an early age they have to help with the house work, take care of their little brothers and sisters, fetch water, litter, etc., thus getting used to the idea, common to all these peoples, that the woman is a veritable work animal. Even they have some free time, however, which they use mostly for playing with dolls. They make the dolls (umwana) themselves out of a small pumpkin which has been laced tightly in the middle. Eyes, nose, and mouth are indicated by a few holes scratched on one side of the sphere, arms and hands by means of a few strokes on the other side. Or they use the conical reddish blossom of the banana plant. Sometimes a piece of bast material

857 524 is used to make a dress for the doll which is then carried on the back as mothers carry their children.

[65] When they are not drinking or gossiping, the adult 526 men spent their leisure time shooting arrows at a stick placed at a distance of up to 100 meters or more or by lance-throwing contests at any distant object. In the Tanganyika region a quiet 524 sitting game in which only two persons can participate is very popular. It is a game played on a board (ikisoro) resembling [177] our checker board. It is known to the Wasuaheli as mbao and probably has been imported from there to the Tanganyika area by way of Unjamwesi. From Tanganyika it also penetrated to a few chiefs of central Urundi. The board is rounded off at the edges and has four rows of little bowl-shaped hollows of which there are 32 altogether. Small stones or fruit pits are placed in them. By a complicated system of moves and counter-moves by which one opponent may take stones from the other, one player finally wins all the stones of his opponent. A precise description would lead us too far here, and in any case the game is known from the East African coastal areas.

Weule described (loc. cit., p. 52) the game of patience, ikifundo, that is played in Usige on the north shore of Lake [177] Tanganyika. It was probably an import from the Arabs or the Wasuaheli. I have not seen it myself.

There are also other widespread games, as, for instance, the string games, which I have not seen played by children or adults.

535 Dances (ivino, uruvino) are included here since they are to a certain extent mere "games." It is true that only a minority of dances are executed for their own sake as amusement; most of them are connected with some family, social, war, or religious celebration and are danced only on these special occasions. They all resemble each other in form, however, and may be described together here, except the religious ones which we shall discuss in the chapter on "Religion" (see p. 127).

Like the Banjaruanda, the Barundi are enthusiastic dancers and dance whenever they have the opportunity. "To amuse oneself, to play, to sing and to dance are synonymous words. They dance well, elegantly (especially the women), even with

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/ their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

411 Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only
[524] as children's toys.

In this connection we must also mention the women's canes
411 (muterere), because they are not infrequently also used as weapons.
481 The shoe of the spear is here replaced by an iron ferrule 40 centimeters long, the lower three-fourths of which forms a square point in cross section. The upper fourth forms a socket into which the end of the cane is driven. The ferrule of the upper end of the stick is very similar to the shoe of the spear and ends in a knob. [188] Finally it should be pointed out that Ruanda spears are in many respects identical with those of Abyssinia, while the cane used by the women occurs in the Sudan, for example, among the Maka.

411 Braided grass rings are tied to the uprights of the huts for hanging the spears inside. The spears are stuck vertically into these rings, much as we stand up our umbrellas. The rings (rutagara) that hold the spears are no different from the rings placed under containers.

Bow, Arrow, and Quiver. Bows are not seen as frequently as spears in Ruanda, probably because they are carried only on journeys, on hunts, at offerings and ceremonies, and on war expeditions. The bow is a very important and much used weapons which also fits the character of the people. The Munyaruanda is
[726] not enthusiastic about hand-to-hand combat in closed ranks with spear and shield, in the manner of the Nilotes, although he does not actually avoid this type of warfare.

In Ruanda we can observe two entirely different types of bows. The Batwa bows are completely different from those of the rest of the inhabitants.

The bow used throughout the country by both Batutsi and Bahutu is a typical example of the so-called East African form, and, like Dr. Kandt, I shall simply refer to it as the Ruanda bow. This bow is more than one and a half meters long, is round in cross section, has long points but gradually tapers off at both ends, has no notches, and is strung [189] with a cord made of animal tendons or of fibers of the nimisse plant. The bow is curved so much that it can be used without a guard against the recoil of the bowstring. It does not differ from the Mpororo bow.

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1. Adolf Friedrich, Duke of Mecklenburg, Ins innerste Afrika [Into the Interior of Africa] (Leipzig, 1909), p. 118.

boys of Kanuma performed another dance of the same type (2).

Ibid., p. 119.

The dances are divided into two distinct groups, the kwamiriza and the kuhyereka. In the first group the dancers hold a spear or an arrow in their hands and swing them rhythmically. The martial bearing of the dancers indicates that this is a war [534] dance. In these dances the dancers wear iron bells on their ankles and move in a closed circle or in a line from left to right. This type seems to be representative of all true Batutsi dances.

The second group is the kuhyereka. This is danced by one or two dancers, very rarely by three. In this dance the dancer rocks back and forth with his arms outstretched and often bent backward. This position is called kutega amaboko. For the kuhyereka the bells, if they are used, are fastened under the knee. It is very characteristic that in these dances, which were probably originally Bahutu, the bells are worn in the place where the Bakondjo, who are not influenced by the Batutsi, wear their leg rings.

[334] The dances which I had an opportunity to observe in Mulera belonged altogether to the kuhyereka group. The dance was performed by two soloists, and the passive participants accompanied their movements with singing and hand clapping to maintain the rhythm. The dance was sometimes also accompanied by the playing of the inanga. That only the kuhyereka type of dance appears in Mulera shows very definitely that it belongs to the lower Bantu stratum.

●524 Play. Rattles are the common toys for children. Bigger boys like to play with small bows. A discus game is played with bow and arrow. There are two teams, with seven boys on each side. One team throws soft discusses cut out of a banana stalk;

524 the other team shoots arrows at them to stop their course. When all the discuses have been thrown, the archers become pitchers and vice versa. This game can go on indefinitely. It usually stops when there are not enough arrows left, because not all the arrows that are shot can be recovered.

Adults are passionately fond of kishoro, but this seems to be less widespread than in the eastern regions of the Runyoro language area. The game is played on a board that has 32 hollows in four rows. There are 64 wild banana seeds and at the beginning of the game these are deposited in the hollows of two rows, taking the seeds of one hollow and distributing them, one each, in the four successive hollows. The contents of the hollows are again picked up and distributed in the next hollows. When one row has been filled, the game continues in the next row, and this process is repeated until the player has only one seed left and arrives at an empty hollow.

By a skillful selection of the initial hollow, the player aims to have the last seed, which he holds in his hand, be the fourth seed in the hollow into which it is placed. He has then won these. If the player arrives at an empty hollow with the last seed he holds in his hand, the opponent gets a turn.

525 Betting is known in Ruanda. I had occasion to confirm this when Musinga made a bet with one of the Askari (Tingi-Tingi) accompanying me, of whom he was very fond, as to whether he could drink two jugs of beer in one sitting.

524 the other team shoots arrows at them to stop their course. When all the discuses have been thrown, the archers become pitchers and vice versa. This game can go on indefinitely. It usually stops when there are not enough arrows left, because not all the arrows that are shot can be recovered.

Adults are passionately fond of kishoro, but this seems to be less widespread than in the eastern regions of the Runyoro language area. The game is played on a board that has 32 hollows in four rows. There are 64 wild banana seeds and at the beginning of the game these are deposited in the hollows of two rows, taking the seeds of one hollow and distributing them, one each, in the four successive hollows. The contents of the hollows are again picked up and distributed in the next hollows. When one row has been filled, the game continues in the next row, and this process is repeated until the player has only one seed left and arrives at an empty hollow.

By a skillful selection of the initial hollow, the player aims to have the last seed, which he holds in his hand, be the fourth seed in the hollow into which it is placed. He has then won these. If the player arrives at an empty hollow with the last seed he holds in his hand, the opponent gets a turn.

525 Betting is known in Ruanda. I had occasion to confirm this when Musinga made a bet with one of the Askari (Tingi-Tingi) accompanying me, of whom he was very fond, as to whether he could drink two jugs of beer in one sitting.

857 524 is used to make a dress for the doll which is then carried on the back as mothers carry their children.

[65] When they are not drinking or gossiping, the adult 526 men spent their leisure time shooting arrows at a stick placed at a distance of up to 100 meters or more or by lance-throwing contests at any distant object. In the Tanganyika region a quiet 524 sitting game in which only two persons can participate is very popular. It is a game played on a board (ikisoro) resembling [177] our checker board. It is known to the Wasuaheli as mbao and probably has been imported from there to the Tanganyika area by way of Unjamwesi. From Tanganyika it also penetrated to a few chiefs of central Urundi. The board is rounded off at the edges and has four rows of little bowl-shaped hollows of which there are 32 altogether. Small stones or fruit pits are placed in them. By a complicated system of moves and counter-moves by which one opponent may take stones from the other, one player finally wins all the stones of his opponent. A precise description would lead us too far here, and in any case the game is known from the East African coastal areas.

Weule described (loc. cit., p. 52) the game of patience, ikifundo, that is played in Usige on the north shore of Lake [177] Tanganyika. It was probably an import from the Arabs or the Wasuaheli. I have not seen it myself.

There are also other widespread games, as, for instance, the string games, which I have not seen played by children or adults.

535 Dances (ivino, uruvino) are included here since they are to a certain extent mere "games." It is true that only a minority of dances are executed for their own sake as amusement; most of them are connected with some family, social, war, or religious celebration and are danced only on these special occasions. They all resemble each other in form, however, and may be described together here, except the religious ones which we shall discuss in the chapter on "Religion" (see p. 127).

Like the Banjaruanda, the Barundi are enthusiastic dancers and dance whenever they have the opportunity. "To amuse oneself, to play, to sing and to dance are synonymous words. They dance well, elegantly (especially the women), even with

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High jump. Popular sport among the Batutsi.

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R. P. Van den Houdt

Lake Kivu, near Gisenyi.

232 the best are kept for reproduction, but the others are sold, killed, or placed in ordinary herds. The meat of slaughtered bulls and that of dead cows is eaten or sold by the guardians.

Castration does not exist; it is even forbidden by customary law.

527 231 The Inyambo are led to the Mwami at festival time and at public rejoicings. They are escorted by the Mututsi, with whom they are boarded, and by [94] their guardians. For the occasion, the finest animal (inyamibwa) wears on its forehead an ornament of beads (amaraba), at the base of each of its horns three strings of beads (amashyongoshyo), and on the tips, tufts of banana fiber (amakamba); a strap covered with black and red beads goes round its neck; finally tufts of palm fiber called ubuhivu are fastened to the end of its tail. Six cows wear an ornament of white beads (inigi) between their horns and necks. Two others have two inigi and a bead collar longer than the inigi called iniheja. Finally the rest of the Inyambo simply have a tuft of fibers on their tails.

When they arrive at Nyanza, the Inyambo file before the Mwami while their escorts utter joyful cries (urwamu), wave sticks (guchyar'inka, lit., to make the cattle go in), and praise the good qualities of the Inyambo. Then they line the Inyambo up (kumulika Inyambo, lit., to show off the Inyambo) and renew their praises.

The intore pages then group themselves and dance in front of the herd (kwinikiza). The festival ends with libations of banana beer offered by the Mwami to all who have participated in the presentation of the Inyambo. If the Mwami is satisfied with the treatment of the Inyambo, he gives some ingororano to the chief of the province in which the herd is living and also to the chief's people.

8. Death of the King

643 763 When the Mwami feels his end is approaching, he calls to his side his stewards (abanyagikari), notables (abatoni) of whom he is particularly fond, and some guardians of the customs (abiru). He tells them his last wishes and reminds them of the name of the successor he has chosen. [95]

128 Among those customs, let us mention the preservation and upkeep of a dog-faced baboon at the capital, the watch over the sacred fire bequeathed by one of the dynastic forebears, the worship of the royal drum which is regarded as the "palladium" of the realm, the existence of sacred cows and their presentation at important ceremonies, the yearly celebration of the festival called the "first-fruits festival," and the observance of a day of rest every five days. No less interesting, from an ethnological standpoint, are the passages describing the funeral customs observed at the death of a king and those referring to cemeteries, royal groves, and the royal ancestral spirits, including the annual June mourning observed at court in memory of an ancient prince. The reader will hear of the special franchises and immunities accorded to certain tribes, and of the prerogatives, privileges, and varied duties of the other groups. Some of those large families have /354/ the special function of supplying His Black Majesty with sorcerers, keepers of the traditions, rain makers, royal undertakers (who form a closed corporation), etc. (1). In order

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1. The political and social organization of the Banyarwanda is slightly reminiscent of the caste system which is found in the early history of many groups, whether political, religious, or even mere professional castes are involved.

Thus among the Hebrews, the tribe of Levi had a monopoly on sacerdotal functions. Among the Greeks the Asclepiades, who claimed to descend from Aesculapius, transmitted the secrets of medicine to one another from generation to generation. In Rome there were the two great political castes of patricians and plebeians. Even at the present

769 d. The cult of Kibogo and the observance of a day of rest.
773 As for Kibogo, a brother of Ruganzu II and son of King Ndahiro, although he never ascended the throne, he is honored in a special way owing to his role as Liberator. It will be recalled that he was appointed by the diviners to save the land and bring a drought to a close. He was taken to the sky and wrapped in a cloud, and his ascension had fortunate consequences for Ruanda. Each newly elected prince builds him a separate dwelling outside the royal enclosure, so that Kibogo will truly be "at home." The hut consecrated to him is surrounded by a large and beautiful courtyard. A woman lives there and cares with her servants for the traditional herd of cows assigned to the purely theoretical "needs" of the spirits.

769 The present monarch complied with this custom by building him a home, as his predecessors did, /537/ which is altogether separate from the other dwellings and which is still designated by the name of "Kibogo's place." He even has a special drum, which emphasizes further the importance of the role he played in the past.

537 The Kibogo episode is connected with a curious practice which is still observed today in some provinces. It consists of stopping work in the fields once every five days, but in the morning only. This practice gave rise to the well-known word chumweru, which contains the meaning of "white" and "whiteness" and which the Christians have adopted now to designate Sunday.

On what occasion and at what time did the Banyarwanda choose this day? Some trace the custom back to Gihanga the Creator. It is not unusual, indeed, to hear on the lips of pagans the expression Chumweru cha Gihanga, "Gihanga's white day."

Others say that Chumweru was a man in Kibogo's retinue. He belonged to the Basindi clan, they add, and he lived at Ruhina, not far from the present Kabgayi mission. He was in the service of Kibogo and watched over his crops (guhingishiriza). He went along with his master on the day of his "ascension," carrying around his neck the small bag (uruhago) of banana-tree fiber which contained his chief's pipe and tobacco.

The cloud seized them all together.

527 As we can see, the origins of this practice are obscure. Could a trace of the Sabbath or Sunday be involved here?

The hypothesis would be fairly plausible, especially if one supposes that the Batutsi originally came from Egypt or Abyssinia.

Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it used to be strictly observed. Many pagans who live far from European settlements still observe it today. Like their ancestors, /538/ they [824] lend it a superstitious meaning. If hail should fall on that day, they would not fail to attribute it to a supernatural punishment and to place the responsibility on those who were caught breaking the rule. "One didn't hesitate," the elders relate, "to insult the délinquents, to rob them or even to strike them if need be, and it was not unusual to be taken to task, so highly was this custom regarded."

769 The great chiefs also do for the dead members of their families, proportionately speaking, what the king does for his own ancestors (1). Each of the huts which make up their homes, for usually

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1. The Bega preferably take their dead to the Budaha region, which is one of their fees. The regent Kabale and one of his favorite wives, Kirumwero, were buried in the village of Ngoma, near Gatare hill. His father Lwagara had been buried at Gisunzu, not far from Munzanga, and his brother Lwibishengo at Nyamutukura. His son Nyantabana and one of his grandsons were interred at Lwasankuba.

The Banyiginya choose their burial sites in enemy country to check invasions and to wreak evil on foreigners (Abanyamuhanga).

Before it was joined to the Crown, the isle of Idjwi served as a final

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be
smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs,
and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found
in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how
refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will
cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono),
made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have
mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots
(imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water
containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or
pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden
vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before
being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is al-
ways in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all
have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped
up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato,
akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended
in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a
bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no
spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
● [531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a
broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and
when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then
formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of
the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words
"thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmi-
cally in turn.

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Fig. 6. Knife for Tattooing and Bloodletting.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin. No. 6543a.)

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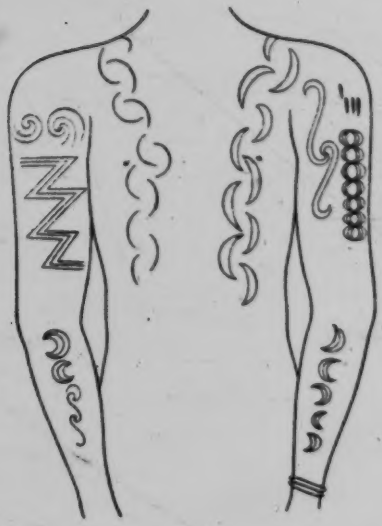

Fig. 7. Scar Tattooing of a Murundi.
(Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

291 Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the [854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

287 Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No. 386 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with [531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

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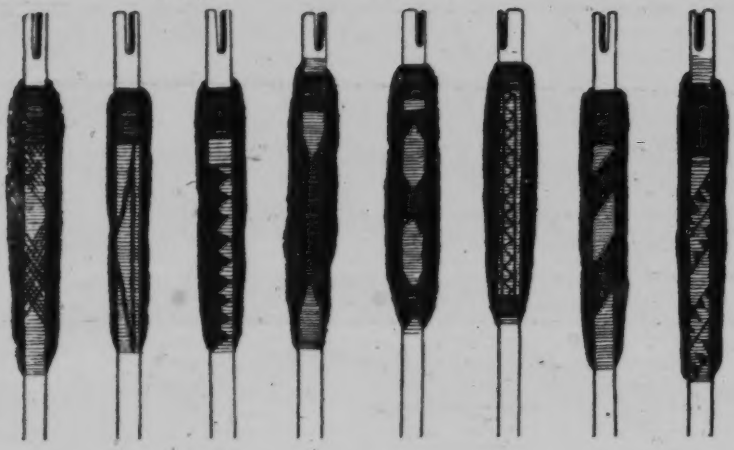

Fig. 8. Plaited Patterns on Feathering of Arrows.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5274.)

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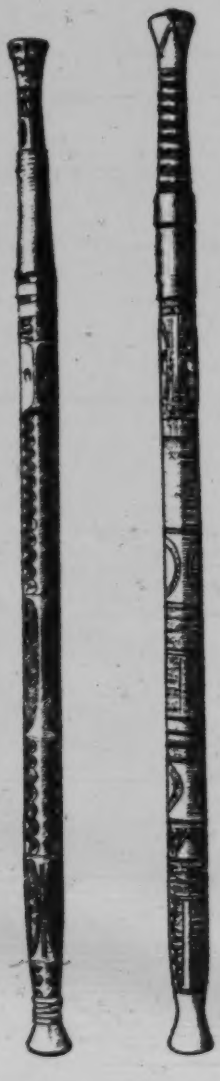

Fig. 9. Knives with Decorated Wooden Sheaths.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, Nos.
2466, 3881.)

412 (uruwati) made of two thin boards held together by several
411 wrappings. In the same manner as the quiver, the sheath is often
[531] decorated with carved crescents or zigzag patterns (Fig. 9).
The knives are often carried by a strap running from the right shoulder to the left hip, like a shoulder belt. The much smaller
412 knives, 10 to 15 centimeters [35] long, which are found more often and which are of the same shape and used for smaller carving jobs, are either worn on a string around the neck or over the left upper arm. Only in western Lower Urundi on Lake
[177] Tanganyika can we find knives with fine copper wire nicely wound around them; there they are due to Congo influence and are produced by Wawira [Bira] blacksmiths (No. 19, 133).
[326] In Upper Urundi proper, the Bahutu and especially the Batwa blacksmiths are the suppliers of knives.

Fighting clubs (uwuhiri) which were once generally used
411 all over the region have become rather rare in Urundi; as among the Massai and the Wadschagga [Chagga] these former weapons have been degraded into a show piece or toy of the men. They consist of a beautifully planed piece of hardwood, about one third of a meter in length, which at the end has been carved into three or four edges and at the handle end is slightly thickened.

Shields (ingabo) are much more rare. They have com-
411 pletely lost their importance as a weapon of defense and, as in
554 Ruanda, they have become merely the emblem of a chief or of a family (perhaps the escutcheon of a clan) (Plate 44). The king possesses several shields and each chief and his bodyguards have one each which are painted differently. The Batwa do not have any shields and are not allowed to carry any. The round shield, up to one half meter in diameter, is carved of wood it has a wooden grip and is painted with white and red segments of circles of various types. There are also shields which have reeds plaited around them (see pp. 80-81 and Plate 53) and others of identical shape made of cowhide which occur even more rarely. The same shape and ornamentation of the wooden shields and quivers recur both among the northern Bahima in Ruanda and among the southern ones in Ufipa (cf. illustration in No. 47, p. 76).

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Fig. 14. Containers for Suction Tubes for Drinking Beer.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 4875, 6391, 6652.)

323 of the slate districts of Urundi and Ruanda where good pottery clay (uwumba) has formed from decomposed or alluvial slate. In most cases its color ranges from dark gray to black. Thus it happens that entire potters' villages are built at such sites, a process which has been, and still is, greatly facilitated by the caste separation the pariah-like Batwa.

The clay is dug by the men, kneaded with water, and beaten with a club until it has been freed of rough particles and becomes pliable. A small, round clod of clay which has been somewhat flattened with the hand is placed on a piece of a broken pot which serves as a foundation. A sausage-like ring of clay is superimposed around the edge so as to make a kind of bowl (Plate 7b). Adding superimposed long rings of clay is then repeated. The joints are filled in and smoothed out with a moist hand. All the time the whole thing is constantly turned around on the broken piece (urudsjo) under it (a primitive potter's wheel). While it is turning, the object is polished with the hand and water is sprinkled on it until the pot attains the desired size and shape. The rim is then evened off with a tree leaf. The real finishing, inside and out, is undertaken only after the vessel has dried somewhat in the air. For this purpose a piece of calabash, a small piece of wood, a piece of bark, or a little flat stone is used. Finally, simple linear 323 decorations (wavy lines or zigzag rows of short lines) are 531 scratched below the neck of the vessel with a pointed piece of wood or iron. No figures are scratched on the surface, nor are the pots dyed or even glazed. Van der Burgt believes that the wavy and zigzag lines of the decorations are supposed to be mysterious symbols for the "lightning of Imana," the highest god, which might be regarded as "a kind of hieroglyphic writing" (No. 19, p. 452). I do not believe that the potters are so profound, and I regard the patterns as a purely mechanical expression of the desire for ornamentation. The Barundi and Batwa themselves also assured me that these patterns had no deeper meaning. Clay pots of the European Stone Age show the same simple decoration which is determined purely by primitive techniques.

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
285 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

322 412 The Barundi do not have a special tool for wood carving, only the two small chopping knives, the sickle-shaped, long-handled cutting knife (Plate 46, No. 4) with which we are already familiar from the discussion of agriculture (p. 49), and the short and long knives which are used for all kinds of daily jobs (Fig. 16). To round and smooth spear shafts, a small piece of wood is stuck on a small double-edged knife, at an angle. Then the knife is moved back and forth along the shaft until the wood has been scraped and given the desired shape. The wooden arm discs, after having been cut from a block of wood, are shaved with a knife and polished with fig leaves (which are probably flinty) until they have the elegant, mathematically correct shape and smooth surface which we admire in them. [Fig. 16 appears here in the original text.]

The simple parallel linear decorations which are occasionally seen on wooden utensils and calabashes are seldom carved [531] but generally burnt in by a kind of poker-work. For this purpose small notches are made in an old knife or spear point so that several tooth-like points are formed. This iron is made red-hot and then passed over the wood; its points burn a number of absolutely parallel lines into the surface (No. 19, p. 367). Apart from this, saws for cutting wood are as unknown as drills and nails. Because of this, holes are also made in wood by means of red-hot iron. As everywhere else in East Africa where saws are not available, boards or beams are carved from thick logs by chopping and cutting chips and splinters from both sides of the block until a board of the desired thickness remains. For this reason the traveler in these regions can hardly present the chiefs with a more welcome gift than a sturdy handsaw, a hand-drill, hammers, iron nails, and other tools.

322 532 Nowhere in Urundi or Ruanda did I see either human or animal figures scratched or cut into the surface of wood or carved from wood. Only among the Barundi on Lake Tanganyika [177] does one find carved wooden figures, an art which was introduced from the Congo region. Finally, the decorations found 322 531 on many -- not all -- of the wooden [82] hand discs deserve to be mentioned. They are inlaid with iron, copper or brass spirals,

[Text continues on page 124]

531 angular or round pieces of foil and pins (Plates 34 and 35).
322 Occasionally their entire surface is almost completely covered with such thin metal inlays. They are attached to the surface by scratching the outlines of the metal pieces into the wood, then hollowing out the area within these outlines, filling it with wax, and, finally, pressing in the spirals and metal foils. There are only a few artists who master this technique. In Ruanda such metal inlays are seen on only a few hand discs and on the horns worn around the neck as part of the dancing costume. There the inlays consist of strips of zinc and lead.

396 The biggest carved object of the Barundi and the one most difficult to make is the boat, the dugout (ubwato). As we have seen above (p. 73), dugouts are rare in this almost treeless country, and their use is confined to a few of the larger rivers and to Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Dugouts are ordered and paid for by chiefs who are in need of a boat for ferrying purposes in their district or by families engaged in fishing who can afford the expense. The Batwa are the best boat builders; the technique is a specialty of theirs (No. 19, p. 367). The two instruments used in the construction are a [412] chopping knife whose blade is set at an angle and whose handle is gripped with both hands and an ax with a short handle. The tree -- the thicker and straighter the better -- is felled by thousands of blows. The bark is then removed with axes, and the log is first hewn roughly to the desired length and thickness of the boat. Then it is given its external shape: the bulging sides, the round bottom without a keel, and the somewhat pointed bow and stern. Finally the inner trough is hollowed out. This, too, is done solely with axes and knives. In other regions of East Africa this is accomplished by starting small fires on the upper side of the tree trunk. These fires gradually eat their way into the trunk, and the charred parts are scraped out until only the hull remains. According to their own testimony, the Barundi do not know this technique. After the job is more or less done, the boat, before being launched, is filled with water in order to test whether it is waterproof. After all the cracks have been calked, the dugout is pushed and pulled into the water with the participation of a festive and noisy crowd.

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Plate 37

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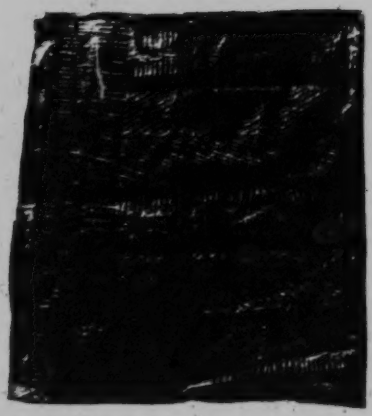

Barkcloth and Bark Hammer.

No. 1) Upper garment of fig barkcloth with bast ribbons, 100 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 2) Painted mat of fig barkcloth, 98 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding fig bark, 42 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

Plate 42

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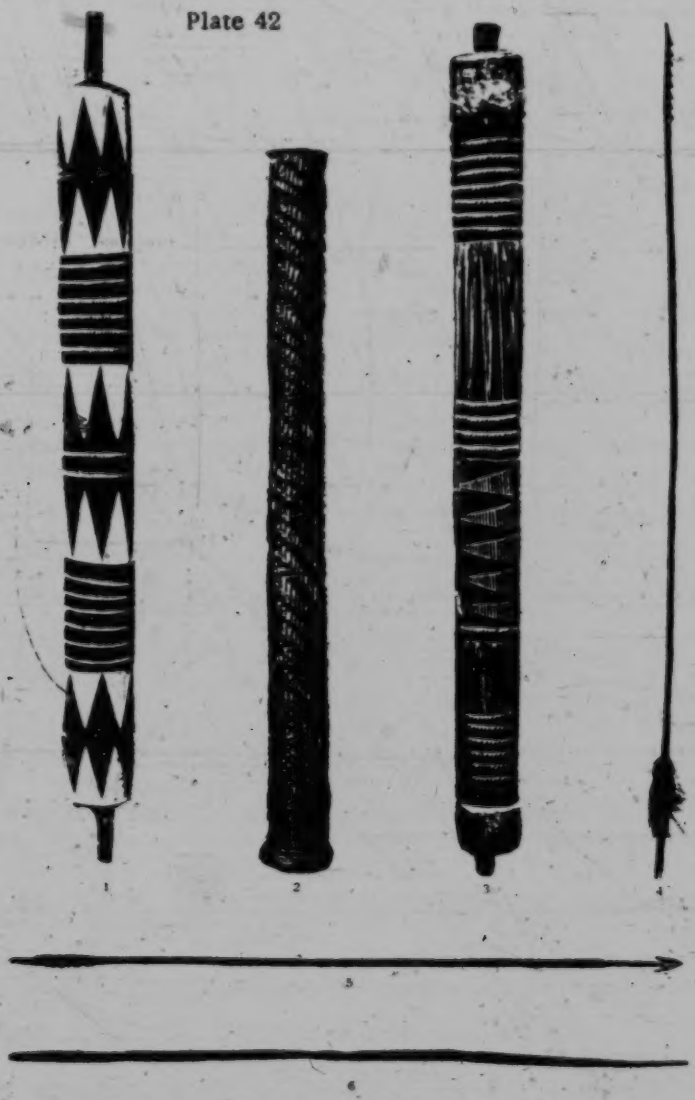

Quivers and Arrows; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. No. 1) Carved of wood, 110 centimeters; No. 2) Plaited of reed, 90 centimeters; No. 3) Carved of wood, 97 centimeters; No. 4) With serrated wooden point, 95 centimeters; No. 5) With iron point, 92 centimeters; No. 6) With smooth wooden point, 95 centimeters.

2: Meyer--278 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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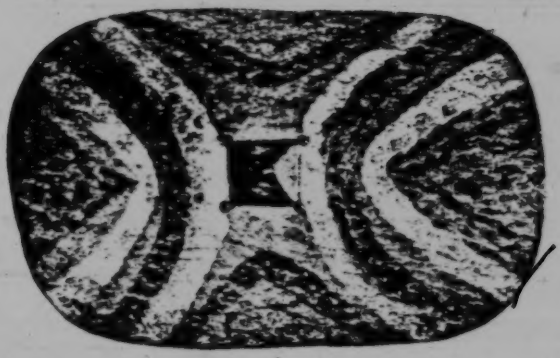
Plate 44



Painted Wooden Shields; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 60 centimeters high; No. 2) 85 centimeters high; No. 3) 80 centimeters high.

2: Meyer--282 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 48

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Earthenware Pots.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) Earthenware vessels for liquids, 18 to 20 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Berlin. — Nos. 4, 5, 6) Earthenware cooking pots, 14 to 22 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

2: Meyer--284 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 50

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Baskets and Plates for Grain, Flour, etc., Woven of Straw; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 20 centimeters high; No. 2) 23 centimeters high; No. 3) 21 centimeters high; No. 4) 60 centimeters high; No. 5) 19 centimeters in diameter; No. 6) 28 centimeters in diameter

2: Meyer--286 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 52

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Household Utensils of Wood and Gourds; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Wooden bowl for grain, flour, etc., 35 centimeters long; No. 2) Decorated bottle gourd for milk, 12 centimeters high; No. 3) Decorated bottle gourd, 16 centimeters high; No. 4) Wooden vessel for butter, 20 centimeters high.

2: Meyer--289 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 55

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[531]

Neck Ornaments and Amulets Filled with "Medicine."

Nos. 1, 4) Goat horns, pieces of bone, wooden sticks, 16 and 20 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – Nos. 2, 3) Carved cattle horns, 9 and 10 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

323 making baskets, thus forming the lower part of the pot. The rolls of clay are pressed together inside and out, and when the lower part of the pot is formed, additional spirals are added and pressed together. The procedure is continued to the upper edge of the pot or the neck of the jug, the spiral rolls still being recognizable. When it is finished thus far, [154] the pot is dipped in water and smoothed out with a piece of gourd until the rolls disappear. The upper edges are worked over with special care. They are carefully smoothed with a wet leaf (Acanthus arboreus) while the pot is rotated on the sherd. The ornamentation is also added while the pot is rotated, though much more slowly. A cylinder of plaited grass is rolled against the sides of the pot to make the primitive [531] decorations. Geometrical designs are also applied.

The pots made in this way are allowed to dry for a few days and are then fired. It is said that they are fired in the pits used to warm the unripe, unfermented beer. Pots are also fired in the open where they are stacked in pyramids, packed with firewood and grass on the sides and banana stalks on top, and thus fired. The high moisture content of the banana stalks slows the burning of the wood and prolongs the entire process, which should help to keep the pots from cracking. Nevertheless, there is always a considerable residue of useless pots.

To increase the quality of the goods, it is said that crushed sherds are added to the clay.

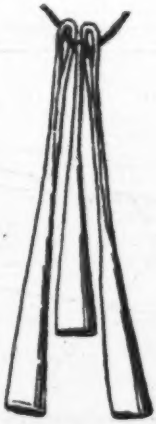
Potters are found on every hill. In Kissaka where there are no markets, they work only to supply the needs of the immediate vicinity.

[832] A secondary branch of pottery is the manufacture of pipes and "little love pots," tiny vessels in which the women carry their amulets which are said to guarantee them the love of their husbands. These objects are made of kneaded clay and hollowed out with special small spatulas. These two classes of objects, if [531] they are decorated at all, primarily have only linear geometrical ornamentation.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.

301 703 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.



291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Maranara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

[531]

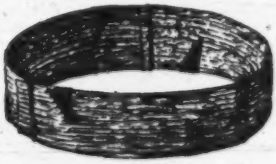


Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

413 With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

is rectangular in outline and has an elongated handle. The combs, as I observed, are almost always very crudely carved and decorated. On the other hand, Dr. Kandt (1) says of the combs of the Bahunde terri- 413 531 322

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

tory: "I frequently saw combs worn on a string, with three to six teeth, some with very pretty wood carvings. I also saw pins to smooth the

Fig. 64

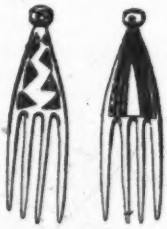


Fig. 65

Fig. 66

Fig. 67

Fig. 64. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13035. 27 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 65. Front and Back of Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13700. 14 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 66. Comb from Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13036. 21 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 67. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13697. 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

hair, made of wood, horn, bone, and other material. These were usually stuck into their curly hair."

The hairpins which Dr. Kandt collected west of Kivu deserve special attention, for they are identical with the hairpins of the Momvu. 301

The shoe of the spear is very seldom lacking. Its form is that of a sharply-pointed cone into which is wedged the end of the spear shaft. 411

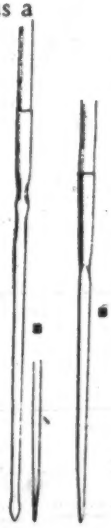
We mentioned above that the spear is a part of a man's adornment. Nevertheless, it is still a very dangerous weapon, and they know how to use it up to a distance of 20 meters. At this distance I saw a banana stalk, 15 centimeters in diameter and as tall as a man, hit two out of every three times. The force of the blow was so great that the spears pierced the stalk and protruded 20 centimeters on the other side. The spears that had missed the target penetrated 10 centimeters into the solidly trampled path and stuck fast, even at an angle of less than 45 degrees.

Even though the spear in Ruanda is used as a missile, only one spear is carried. According to Dr. Kandt (1), however, the Banyabungu in

1. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

the south usually carry two spears with wide blades.

Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only



[485]
[531]

Fig. 100. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10070. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 99. Women's Canes from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13779 and III E 13789. 143 and 150 centimeters long.) [481]

6: Czekanowski--95 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Fig. 116. Quiver for Arrows, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 13074. 84 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 117. Gourd Quiver, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. L 17270a. 39 centimeters long.)

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Fig. 118. Woven Bag Quiver from Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III E 13764. 70 centimeters long.)

6: Czekanowski--97 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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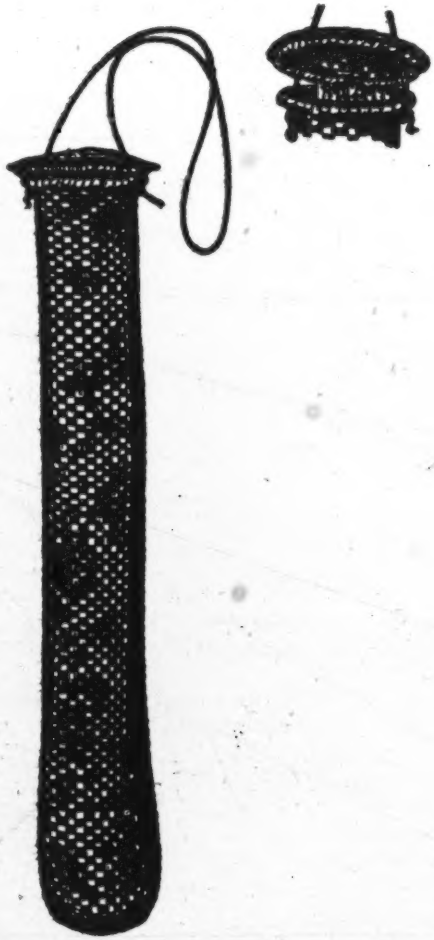

Fig. 119. Woven Cylindrical Quiver from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L17270b. 76 centimeters long.)

Fig. 120. Swords from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13071 and III E 13072. About 63 centimeters long.)

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Fig. 123. Typical Ruanda Shield. (1/6 actual size. III E13761. 68 centimeters high.)

Fig. 121. Dagger from Ruanda. (1/3 actual size. III 13736. 19 centimeters long.)

Fig. 122. Ruanda Club. (1/8 actual size. III E6879. 95 1/2 centimeters long.)

411 I was repeatedly told that the sword was a Batutsi weapon, but it is doubtful that the present form of the haft and the scabbard with all their details can be credited to the Bututsi. We must not forget that swords are also used by the Batwa and occur in the countries west of Ruanda, especially in the primeval forest.

[196] The sword plays an important part in religious ceremonies. It is used, for example, at birth festivities.

Clubs are found in Ruanda, but they are not very important. It seems that they are used more by the herdsmen than by the rest of the population. Simple smooth clubs are also said to be badges of distinction. Occasionally I saw a club, the end of which was decorated with four brass nails. The thick end is often faceted.

[197] Shields. Shields are very rare in Ruanda proper and in Kissaka. They consist of a slightly concave oval piece of wood with a protruding portion in the center. Behind the protruding part a braided strap-handle is tied to the shield. The [531] shield is painted black, white, and red. It is carved out of one piece of wood and is 40 to 50 centimeters high, 20 to 30 centimeters wide, and 10 to 20 centimeters deep.

The shield is common in Mulera. Here it has the Ndorwa shape, although it is usually not so wide. These shields are covered in front with rattan and are not painted. Thus they are essentially similar to the Uganda shield.

Of the shields west of Lake Kivu Dr. Kandt (1) says: "...as

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), pp. 442, 443.

in the east (Ruanda), they are oval or rectangular with rounded [285] corners, made of wood which in front is covered with wicker running horizontally or diagonally. [198] It is very popular to put bits of mica between the wicker strands. In the center of the outside is the navel, that is to say, a bulge, which in Ruanda is pointed, in the west usually flat. The Wahunde also had other shields that were carried by the chiefs. They are very tall and [285] wide, rectangular, painted red, bordered with strips of skin, and very skilfully woven of reeds, therefore very elastic. On the

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Fig. 134. Stick Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10032. 48 centimeters in diameter.)

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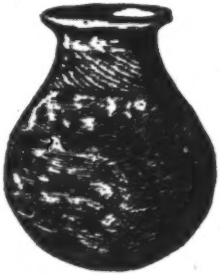

Fig. 135. Cooking Pot from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15172.)

Fig. 136. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15264.)

Fig. 137. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L14755.)

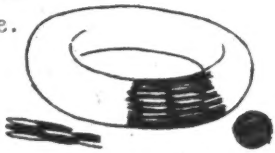

Fig. 138. Supporting Ring from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13726. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

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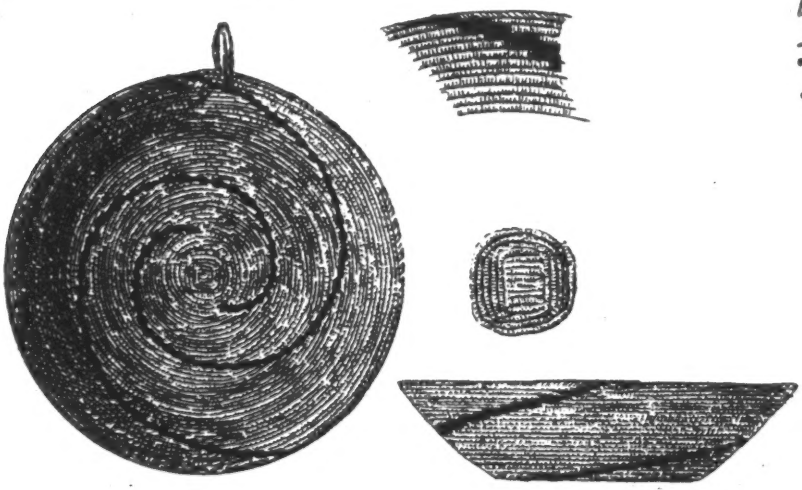

Fig. 144. Basket for Serving Food from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13670. 38 centimeters in diameter.)

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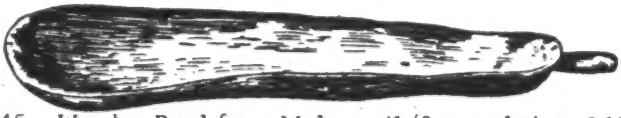

Fig. 145. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15094.)

Fig. 146. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L1561.)

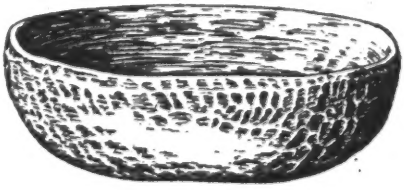

Fig. 147. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15156.)

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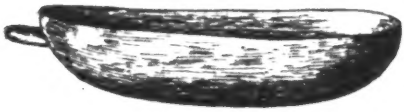

Fig. 148.

Fig. 149.

Fig. 150.

Fig. 151.

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Fig. 152.

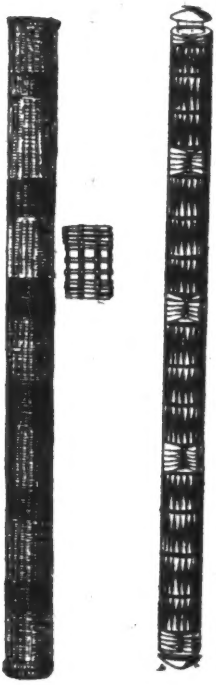


Fig. 153. Fig. 154

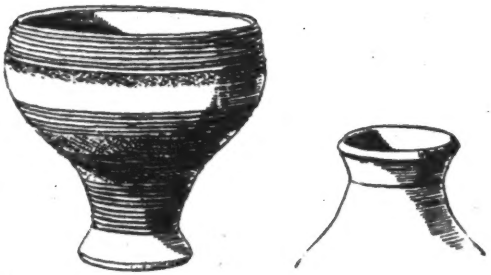


Fig. 155.

(Captions on following page.)

Captions for Figures on Preceding Page

45 Fig. 148. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15160.)

Fig. 149. Twin Bowls from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III 9976. 37 centimeters long.)

Fig. 150. Twin Bowls from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III9977. 49 centimeters long.)

Fig. 151. Drinking Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13097. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 152. Beer Gourd from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 13045. 17 centimeters high.)

Fig. 153. Woven Drinking-Straw Container from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10060. 65 centimeters long.)

[53] Fig. 154. Carved Drinking-Straw Container from Ruanda. (1/3 actual size. III E13048. 32 centimeters long.)

Fig. 155. Clay Funnel of the Batwa. (1/4 actual size. IIIE6628. 16 centimeters high.)

Fig. 158

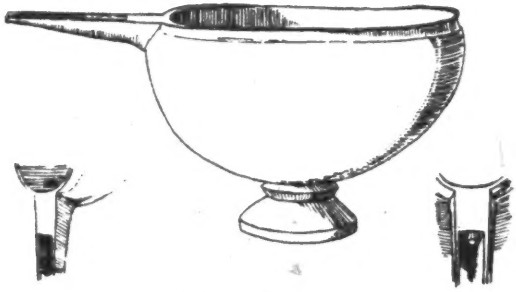


Fig. 156.

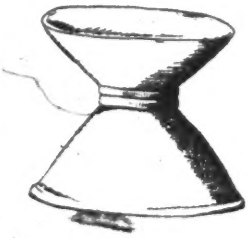
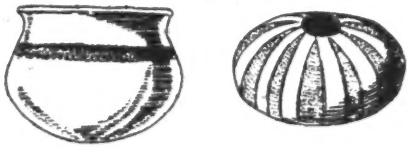


Fig. 159.



[531]

Fig. 157.

Fig. 156. Pouring Vessel from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III9983. 14 1/2 centimeters high.)

Fig. 157. Clay Butter Dish, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. IIIE9995, IIIE9992. 10 1/2 and 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 158. Wooden Butter Dish. (1/4 actual size. IIIE9971. 13 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 159. Wooden Stool from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13745. 22 centimeters high.)

[329] Chapter 16

Decoration and Play

53 Decoration. We have mentioned a few widespread patterns of ornamentation in our discussion of shaving and tattooing patterns. We illustrated a number of them on baskets, mats, quivers, spear holders, rings to be put under vessels, knife sheaths, and scabbards. The data will now be supplemented and summarized.

Ruanda ornamentation is purely geometrical and chiefly rectilinear, lines being used mainly to outline the larger, monochrome fields. Sometimes, however, entire fields are uniformly decorated with parallel lines, which may also form squares. Curved lines are used, but they are rare. They are sometimes found on knife sheaths. It is only in the painting of shields and in shaving and tattooing patterns that they are used exclusively.

In Kissaka I also saw partitions in the Bahutu huts painted in this manner.

Ruanda ornamentation is very simple, without variety in form or color. The forms are usually combinations of triangles and straight lines. Coloration is usually restricted to a contrast between black and white. Quite rarely red is added and then only on shields, room partitions, and small, woven luxury articles. Other colors are merely various shades of white. Pure white cannot be obtained because of the nature of the materials to be decorated (mats, wood); black decorations are painted on them.

In view of the simplicity of Ruanda ornamentation, we can easily classify it. The chief elements have already been described and named by Dr. Kandt (1). We shall list them herewith: amatana,

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 343.

"quiver"; ngabo, "shield"; masaka, "millet"; amakota, "knife, arrowhead"; [330] mushongole, "friendly person"; uduhuda, "spear ferrule," "swallow's wing," "large swallow's wing";

53 ikirizo, "large tail"; imiambi, "arrows." The last three may be regarded as composite forms. The pentagon is in a very special class. It is quite isolated. All these elements are rectilinear. Curved lines appear as segments, crescents, spirals, and circles. Large circles are called imikako, "upper arm ring," while small circles are called imirindi, "wrist ring."

The triangle is the principal element of Ruanda ornamentation. It is called "quiver" (amatana) and is most frequently found on the quivers where they are placed in rows forming wide bands. A band of tiny triangles on quivers is called imirindi, "arm ring."

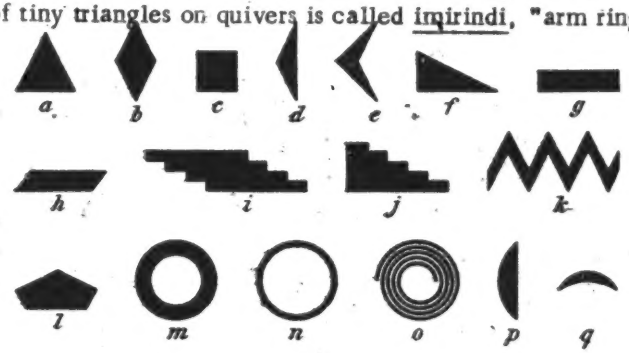


Fig. 179. Elements of Ruanda Ornamentation: (a) amatana, quiver; (b) ngabo, shield; (c) masaka, millet; (d) amakota, knife; (e) arrowheads; (f) mushongole, polite person; (g) uduhuda, spear ferrule; (h) swallow's wing; (i) large swallow's wing; (j) ikirizo, large tail; (k) imiambi, arrows' (1) pentagon; (m) imikako, upper arm ring; (n) imirindi, (o) spirals; (p) segment; (q) crescent.

Sometimes the amatana cover large areas.

Rhomboids, formed by placing the bases of two triangles together, are, as we have said, called ngabo, "shield." They are also seen on quivers and, like the amatana decoration, are usually in the form of bands and less often placed longitudinally.

The row of squares must be regarded as the next variation in this series. It occurs when rhomboids are flattened, becoming squares. This motif is called imikako, "string of beads," although the individual square is called masaka, "millet." A rare variation of the same motif is the longitudinal rhomboid. Horizontal

●531 rhomboids produce the motif known as amasaro, "string."

When the triangles meet at their tips, forming hourglass figures, the knife pattern (amakota) is produced. [331] These figures are often used in columns on the soft shield mats, separated from one another at irregular intervals. Rarely, the hourglass figures are used in horizontal patterns.

The arrowhead motif is sometimes used in plant-like configurations, but these forms are relatively rare.

The mushongole motif is usually combined in perpendicular symmetrical or alternating columns, with the individual elements joined together or separate.

The uduhuda, the spear ferrule element, is usually arranged in free rows, one element above the other, forming unenclosed columns or sometimes step-like rows.

The swallow wing motif is arranged in oblique and horizontal bands. The former seem to be the original ones; the variations appearing in horizontal bands are far removed from the original pattern of homogeneous elements, for example, perpendicular elements have been introduced. However, even in the "large swallow wing ornament," besides the simple form there is a more complicated one with intermediate elements.

The ikirizo motif is combined for ornamentation in much the same way as the above-mentioned mushongole motif, but with the difference that the parts can be placed diagonally as well as perpendicularly.

The arrow motif (imiambi) is used in rows, one above the other, to cover large areas. Often there are only a few rows, placed horizontally or diagonally.

Besides the arrow motif, the quiver motif (amatana) is used to cover large surfaces, as are the shield motif (ngabo), the millet motif (masaka), and the spear ferrule motif (uduhuda). In the last motif, elements of various sizes are combined.

Pentagons are very seldom used in Ruanda ornamentation. I recall having seen them only once (III E 13644). In this case the longitudinal pentagons were placed next to each other.

However, more complicated forms are achieved in Ruanda ornamentation by a combination of two or three motifs.

● 631 The simplest composite forms occur when decorative elements, such as amatana or ikirizo, are arranged along a diagonal edge. Equally simple in its construction is the muhiga pattern made up of a combination of long and narrow elements with short and wide swallow wing motifs. The ornamentation combining uduhuda and mushongole motifs is not any more complicated, whereas that made of a combination of uduhuda and incomplete swallow wing motifs is somewhat strange

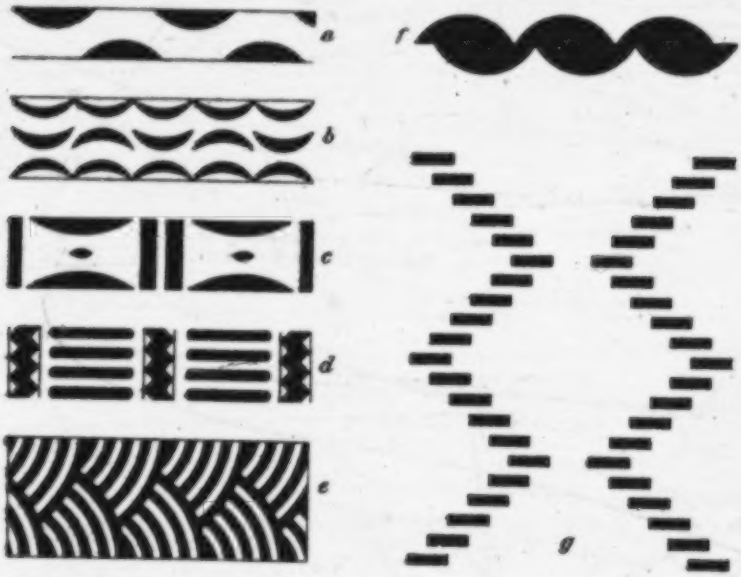


Fig. 180. Ruanda Ornamentation: (a), (b), (c), (d) patterns for knife sheaths; (e) pattern for shield mats; (f) pattern for little love pots; (g) amagwe, leopard, pattern for mats.

looking. [332] Not infrequently we also find swallow wing motifs enclosed in horizontal bands (imirindi) and a diagonal band of ngabo with several lines of imiambi running parallel to the sides of the triangles.

More complicated forms are usually obtained by repetitions of two motifs. On knife sheaths we often find a combination of uduhuda and imirariko.

531 Circles or spirals are used only on round objects and especially on the bottoms of baskets made by sewing together spirals of straw, on plates, and lids. This shows that the above-mentioned rectilinear forms are simply modified to conform to the material.

Large numbers of unjoined segments and crescents are placed in rows on knife sheaths. They are sometimes also combined with uduhudu or imiambi which separate the individual segments of the ornamentation from each other. On small clay vessels, however, they often flow together to make large units, and on the shield mats we can also see fragments of the three-strand weave.

We may regard the simplicity of Ruanda ornamentation as the result of an adjustment to the material, chiefly the basket sewn together in spiral coils, which is the principal article ornamented. It is not [333] impossible that we have here a secondary simplification dictated by the technique of ornamentation, which consists chiefly of black banana sheaths wound around the coils. The names of the decorative elements lead us to assume that in the past there were probably attempts at realistic portrayal. In support of this view we could point to the amagwe decoration which often appears on the mats. Amagwe means "leopard," and in the drawing we can see a stylization of a four-legged, spotted creature.

535 The Dance. During the festitivies which Musinga arranged in honor of His Highness Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, I had an opportunity to see several very different types of dances (kwamiriza). They were performed in such rapid succession that I was unable to grasp the fundamental differences, hence I must limit myself chiefly to listing them by name.

The first four dances were performed by the danga baganisi, the chosen ones of the king. The first was called imbunduza, the second, rukatsa; the third, tubagendane; and the fourth, kuboko.

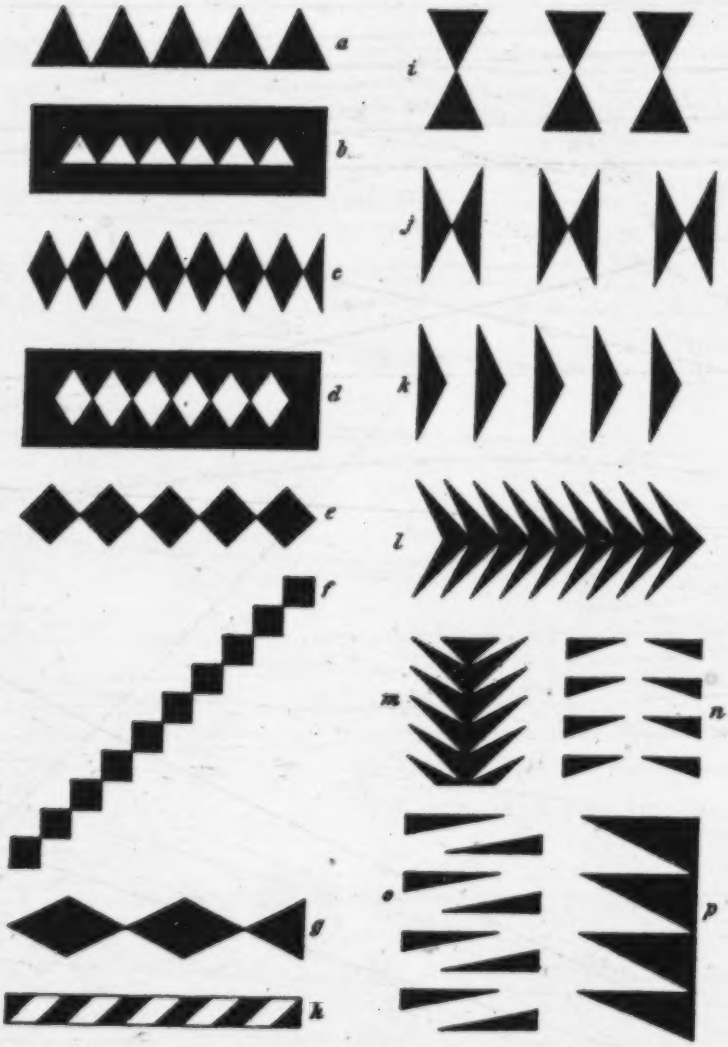
The second dance troupe was made up of inkwaya za Kabure. They danced the muganguza, each with an arrow in his hand. The dance is shown on Plate 18 of Volume III.

The third group of dancers were Kanuma's ntore from Kissaka. They danced kuhyereka rushara and a crane dance (1). The small

6: Czekanowski--276 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

●531

Plate I



Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

6: Czekanowski--277 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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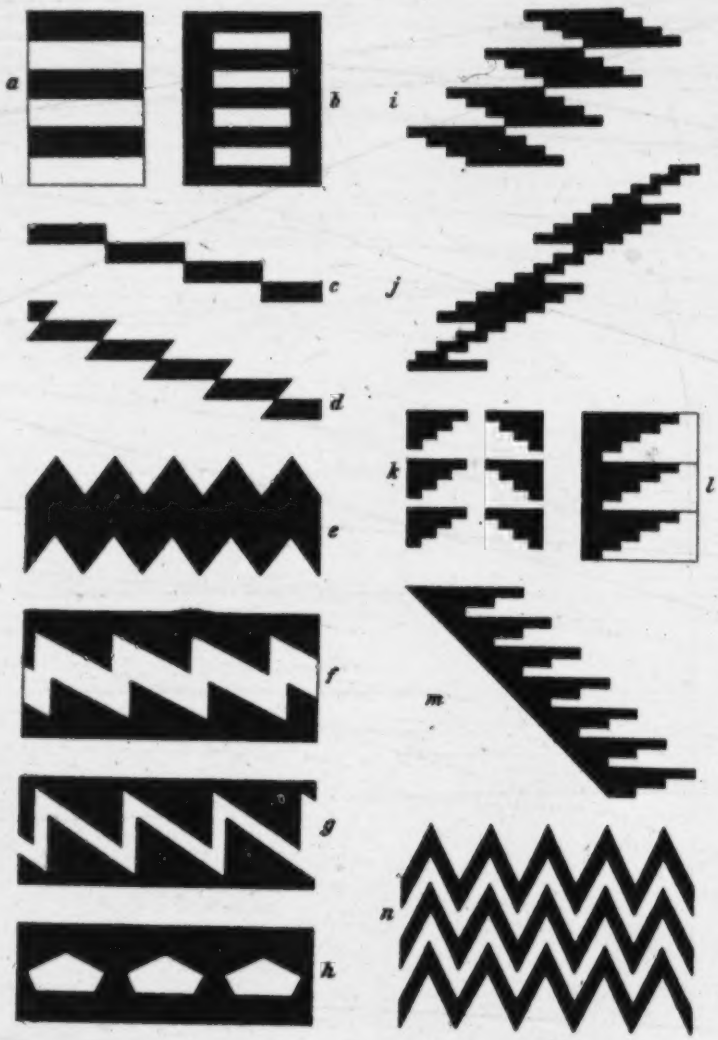

Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

6: Czekanowski--278 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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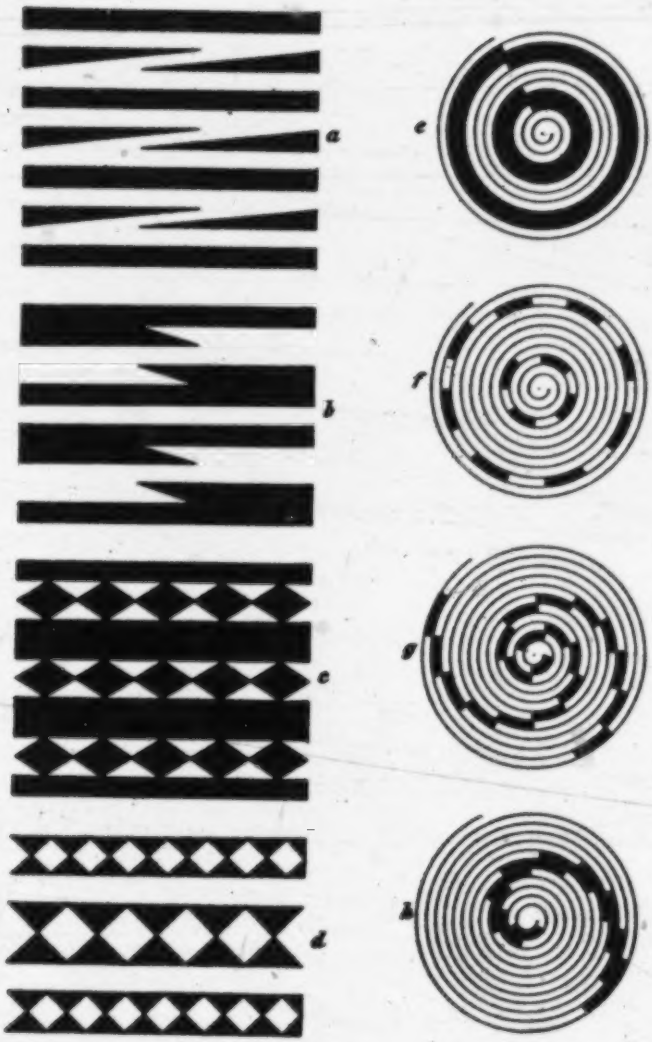
Plate III

Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

6: Czekanowski--279 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate IV

●531



Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 4

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The queen-mother, Radegonde Nyiramavugo

[Facing P. 119]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

184 it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical
564 stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as
significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light
826 skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features.
178 To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

114 Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

178 The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type
differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both
564 ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority
826 endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very
184 great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the
[554] physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of
their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be
slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark
[531] (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

322 412 The Barundi do not have a special tool for wood carving, only the two small chopping knives, the sickle-shaped, long-handled cutting knife (Plate 46, No. 4) with which we are already familiar from the discussion of agriculture (p. 49), and the short and long knives which are used for all kinds of daily jobs (Fig. 16). To round and smooth spear shafts, a small piece of wood is stuck on a small double-edged knife, at an angle. Then the knife is moved back and forth along the shaft until the wood has been scraped and given the desired shape. The wooden arm discs, after having been cut from a block of wood, are shaved with a knife and polished with fig leaves (which are probably flinty) until they have the elegant, mathematically correct shape and smooth surface which we admire in them. [Fig. 16 appears here in the original text.]

The simple parallel linear decorations which are occasionally seen on wooden utensils and calabashes are seldom carved [531] but generally burnt in by a kind of poker-work. For this purpose small notches are made in an old knife or spear point so that several tooth-like points are formed. This iron is made red-hot and then passed over the wood; its points burn a number of absolutely parallel lines into the surface (No. 19, p. 367). Apart from this, saws for cutting wood are as unknown as drills and nails. Because of this, holes are also made in wood by means of red-hot iron. As everywhere else in East Africa where saws are not available, boards or beams are carved from thick logs by chopping and cutting chips and splinters from both sides of the block until a board of the desired thickness remains. For this reason the traveler in these regions can hardly present the chiefs with a more welcome gift than a sturdy handsaw, a hand-drill, hammers, iron nails, and other tools.

322 532 Nowhere in Urundi or Ruanda did I see either human or animal figures scratched or cut into the surface of wood or carved from wood. Only among the Barundi on Lake Tanganyika [177] does one find carved wooden figures, an art which was introduced from the Congo region. Finally, the decorations found 322 531 on many -- not all -- of the wooden [82] hand discs deserve to be mentioned. They are inlaid with iron, copper or brass spirals,

[Text continues on page 124]

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is
778 regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned, the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of
[784] residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
532 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or
776 as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
[781] by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman
[843] may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
[825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[965] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

775 823 sometimes large quantities of these reach the outside world. I repeatedly heard this explanation of volcanic activity. It sometimes happens, however, that Ryangombe drives spirits into the outer world as a punishment. Then they torment the living, who must make sacrifices so that Ryangombe will take the spirits back and thus free the living from molestation by these homeless.

[103] People from the region of Bobandana, whom I met on the way to Rutshuru, called Mount Nyiragongo Kilima ya Mungu, "Mountain of the Gods."

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) also says that Ryangombe allegedly

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-03]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

lived in Muhawura with his court which consists of the souls of the babandwa dedicated to him. Only the souls of the nsigo, that is, the profane and those initiated into other cults, go to Nyiragongo after death. However, he concedes that, according to other accounts, Ryangombe lives in Nyiragongo.

The volcanoes play a very important role in the supernatural world of Ruanda. Captain Von Beringe (2) mentions that the birungá

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, pp. 36, 37.

(plural of kirunga, "volcano") are named after the spirits which are said to live in them, such as Sabinio, Karisimbi, Mikeno, Nyamlagira, and Gonga. The last is the oldest among them. Formerly Nyamlagira, who was later exiled, was said to have lived with him. The later event is perhaps an allusion to the recent origin of the youngest volcano in this group.

[532] [300] Memorial Trees. There are no pictorial representations of the dead in Ruanda. I saw no sculpture or wood carvings that referred to them.

535 The only thing to say about the dances of the Batwa is that in general they resemble the dances of the Bahutu. The Batwa are very enthusiastic dancers, and in their solo dances they perform the strangest gyrations and leaps. Among them also the onlookers accompany the dance by shaking pumpkin rattles and singing short stanzas. This is done in a noisier and wilder fashion than among the Bahutu and the Batussi.

534 I have already mentioned a zither-like instrument, the inanga, with which the Barundi often accompany their solo dances. It consists of a flat, longish bowl of bark or wood. Six to eight cords of sheep gut or sinew are strung across the bowl. We call it a bowl zither (No. 6 of Plate 47). Usually the wood is decorated with a few simple linear decorations, and several holes are pierced in the bottom which are supposed to [68] add richness to the tone. It is noteworthy that the wooden bowl of the instrument is carved by the Batwa while the Bahutu string the cords. Van der Burgt infers from this that the inanga zither was originally the cultural property of the Batwa and was taken over by the Bahutu later (No. 19, p. 387). It seems more probable, judging from its geographical distribution, that it is the cultural property of the Bahima (see p. 158 [not translated]; it occurs both in the north of the Bahima region among the Banjankole and in the south among the Wafipa [Fipa].

The zither is played in a sitting position. The instrument is placed upon the knees, and the strings are plucked with both hands after the player has tuned them correctly by letting them in or out. The tuning is determined entirely by what kind of singing is intended and by the pitch of the singer's voice. I have not noticed that the strings were tuned to any particular sequence of notes in the scale.

533 As in Europe, there are many persons among the Barundi who play an instrument, but only a few can do it really well. There are professional musicians only at the courts of the chiefs. There the musicians, who are predominantly Batwa, play the drums, flutes, and zithers. The same is true in Ruanda.

533 The playing of the zither is almost always accompanied by singing which is done in a rather low voice, mostly in a minor key which is the characteristic key of the Negroes. Neither the voices nor the manner of performing are good. Either the song in short stanzas deals with some local incident, a current event, a person, a personal experience, etc., or it is one of the old traditional Barundi songs whose lyrics are [198] spoken in the Old Kirundi dialect (see p. 148). Apparently they are nothing but a series of unconnected nouns, adjectives, wishes, orders, etc., the meaning of which is not quite clear any more either to the singer or to the listeners (No. 19, p. 97).

534 The ox horn (ikihuha) is the real war or alarm horn. Its narrow end is provided with a hole, and this is the form generally in use in East Africa. Such signal horns are also widely used by the caravans.

The clarinet-like flute (ikihuschama), which is used only as a musical instrument, is much rarer. It is a wooden tube, a third of a meter long, with a funnel-shaped opening. Its lower end has three holes so that various notes can be blown (Nos. 3 and 4 of Plate 47).

On the other hand, a short fife (umwironge) is much more common. Like our fifes, it has a hole near one end which one blows into and two or three holes at the other end which may be stopped alternately. Flutes and fifes are seldom played singly but usually in an orchestra together with drums of which I shall speak later (p. 70).

Reed pipes are more children's toys than real instruments. Their two ends are plugged, and they have a hole in the middle. They are usually carved by boys. Rattle boards (urukajamba) belong in the same category. They are used particularly for accompanying the dances of the girls. These rattle boards are made of pieces of reed arranged in two separate layers which are kept apart by means of a piece of reed placed obliquely so that there is an empty space between the layers. Dry kernels of corn are placed inside. They produce a sharp rattling sound against the reed walls when the box-shaped rattle board is shaken. Rattle sticks are also often used. They consist of sticks

534 to which small pumpkin rattles are fastened (Nos. 1 and 5 of Plate 47). At religious [69] ceremonies single pumpkin rattles are swung (Plate 25a).

Finally drum (ingoma, inkiranji) is both the rarest and the most highly valued instrument. It is not only used for accompanying dances but also as the main orchestral instrument of the chiefs. Often it has great religious significance. The drum [202] is not used at all for the purpose of signaling or transmitting news. In Urundi there is no "drum language" as there is in other African countries.

Drums are made out of a section of a tree trunk which has been cut off straight at one end rounded off at the other end. The inside of the trunk is hollowed out with carving knives, leaving the fairly thin outer walls. It is then placed on a conical wooden pedestal so that the whole thing has approximately the shape of a "wine glass." The grain mortars are similarly shaped. The open upper end is covered with a piece of cattle hide, shaved thin and stretched tightly across, which was soaked in warm water beforehand. The hide is stretched tight by little wooden pegs fastened around the edge of the drum (No. 2 of Plate 47). Two wooden sticks are used as drum sticks.

533 535 If the drum is to be used for accompanying a dance -- which is almost always a solo dance, not a group dance -- two, three, or four men beat on it, each alternating quickly with the other in beating the drum with his two sticks in a certain rhythm. Each drummer uses a beat different from that of the next; each always uses only his particular beat. Thus, if there are four drummers, they produce a drum stanza consisting of four different tempos which are repeated until the "drum leader" starts a new stanza by introducing a new beat. The louder it booms, the better. After a short time one of the drummers suddenly jumps up while the others continue drumming; he makes all kinds of leaps, stamps on the ground, creeps forward, runs back and shakes his drumsticks about as though he were possessed. Just as suddenly, he jumps back to his drum and continues drumming with his partners. Then another drummer follows suit or one of the listeners surrounding the scene, and so

533 on for hours. The drum concert and drum dance are hardly
535 ever accompanied by singing (No. 19, p. 388).

In Urundi and Ruanda drums are such a rarity that an
534 experienced observer wrote as recently as 1901: "In Urundi drums are unknown" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 212). During my own two months' journey through central Urundi, I never heard a single drumbeat. This can be explained easily by the fact that there remain only a few small areas in this country where trees still exist that are large enough to make drums (and boats). It is probably because of
534 their high value that the possession of drums has become a
554 privilege of chiefs and of the king. Neither the "people" of
778 the Barundi (Bahutu or Batussi) nor the Batwa are permitted to own drums. A special role is reserved for the king's drum. This drum, in addition to the spear, the finger ring or bracelet (wrist disc), and the holy wooden milk vessels, is part of the royal insignia which the ruler bequeaths to his successor (No. 19, p. 524). This "holy" drum is a kind of Palladium of the realm and, as such, it is given the name akarjenda. It is very big and made from the wood of a special tree. This drum is regarded as the seat of the protective spirit of the realm, and solemn vows are made by this "drum spirit" akarjenda (No. 19, p. 388). Special guards are charged with taking care of [70] this royal drum (see p. 187 [not translated]). It is always kept at the residence of the king and, together with the holy spears and the holy milk vessels, it also accompanies him on his trips (report by Captain von Langenn). The hides used for the holy drums [sic] are taken exclusively from the cattle of the so-called "holy herd" (see p. 44).

533 Neither van der Burgt nor any other observer reports having heard of the combination of several drums and other instruments to form an orchestra, but natives assured me that such an orchestra existed at the royal court and that it consisted of Batwa. I consider this very likely since there is such an orchestra, a combination of several differently tuned drums and flutes, at the residence of Musinga, king of Ruanda. The members of the orchestra are Batwa. It sounds very melodious

533 and is quite impressive when, beginning with one muffled drum, the other drums gradually join in through a long rhythmic sequence, the sound of the orchestra rises to its full force, and then the flutes join at a shrill pitch. The sound of the orchestra then gradually diminishes, one drum after the other falls silent, until finally the muffled beat of the first drum softly fades away. At night, however, the tired European may be driven almost to despair by this drum orchestra. Everyone who has been a guest of Musinga will remember this night music.

We have already discussed the musical aspect of the songs with which instrumental music and dances are accompanied (p. 68). At this point I would like to add something about the content of these songs as taken down by van der Burgt. He states that the lyrics of these songs, sung mostly in unconnected Old Kirundi words (see pp. 124, 148), are not even understood in their original meaning by most of the Barundi themselves. A question about their meaning is usually answered by; "It means nothing, it is only a song." Only those who have been initiated in the esoteric meaning by the learned men, sorcerers and priests, have some understanding of the true meaning of these songs (No. 19, p. 97).

For example, these are the lyrics of a song accompanied by a zither:

[539]

"Ntiwarima uy' umwaka, ntiwarima.
ninanga usiwire. umugaso utasimbe.
yagese ku' nama. isenge iritschjika."

(Translation: The field is not cultivated this year, i.e., war has been declared. Chief Ninanga stays here. The water ditch does not flow, i.e., the ditch forming the border is dry. It passes close to the homestead. The amulet is broken, i.e., a bad omen for the war.)

In contrast to these old traditional songs, the songs improvised during the dance generally have some connection with current events and are sung in the modern colloquial language. Even these are not coherent songs either but merely short interrupted sentences and thoughts.

533 This does not apply to religious songs which are sung at certain cult ceremonies. We shall discuss them in the chapter on "Religion" (p. 127).

533 461 Often, but not always, singing of the simplest form accompanies work done by several persons with the object of concentrating the individual's energies by means of the rhythm or to make for greater perseverance. For instance, this may be done while moving heavy objects, when hoeing the field in a group, rowing a boat, cutting trees, etc. Usually the song consists of only two or three words which are first sung by one person in the group and are then imitated by the others until the choir leader gives them a new word, a new "idea."

[71] Chapter 6

Means of Communication, Trade, Handicrafts

1. Means of Communication

487 In a country with as little internal and external trade as Urundi the means of communication are naturally very primitive. The roads connecting villages or districts with each other are simple, narrow, trampled footpaths which circumvent all obstacles by turning to the right or left. Wherever this is impossible, as, for instance, in the extremely rocky quartzite regions of central and east Urundi, obstacles are never moved out of the way but are simply left there, and the traveler has to climb over them. These paths in the quartzite regions are, therefore, extremely difficult to traverse for the non-native burden carrier in a caravan or even for a European. The difficulties are further increased by the fact that all the paths of Urundi and Ruanda tend to reach the hill ridges and highland plains which predominate in this area by the shortest possible route, in order to proceed along there with greater ease. Since many valleys are deeply cut and have steep sides, the paths which go

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
[202]/374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

533 5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
644 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
[614] hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

644 6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
814 name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

535 "His high-pitched, excited voice was heard above all the others when the Batwa, their dance over and their arms uplifted toward Musinga, all shouted at the same time, according to custom, one of these traditional phrases, 'I shall go to my death for the king!' 'When I fight, I kill twenty men!' 'I can no longer keep count of those I have defeated!' 'I shed the greatest amount of blood!'"

c. These musicians who are reputed to be the most skillful
533 are retained at court or called there frequently. Their instruments
[534] are most primitive. They have a flute (umwironge), the stringed instrument so widespread in equatorial Africa (inanga), and another instrument, more primitive still, the isenge (ocarina type) from which they draw unpleasant sounds. People originally from Usui introduced small drums into the country which they beat with their fingers and which were a great success with the king.

The cithara players are the favorite musicians of the populace. They sing and accompany themselves on their instrument.

The themes of these songs are varied. They deal with the exploits of heroes, the national wars, and even with various /450/ ordinary events of everyday life. The subject is sometimes borrowed from dramas of which the essence and form are common, but they nevertheless draw the attention of listeners because they parallel their own mental attitudes.

We cite here one of those pieces. We heard it recited by a
533 cithara player. He was seated amidst about ten of his companions,
539 who all plucked their stringed instruments together and repeated certain words in chorus at the end of each phrase. The soloist sang, "A leopard left the woods long after sunset.

"He crossed Goko Stream near the village of Murunda (in the Kanage region).

"He came to the Gishwati country in the early evening.

"He came to the hut of the man called 'I am the man who knows how to handle difficulties' (Nziguye).

"The beast knocked at the door with his paw.

"The daughter of the house (recognized and) addressed the animal.

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"Her father said, 'My child, what you have done is bad.

"'Evil will come unto us.'

"The carnivore knocked on the door for the second time.

"He entered the hut and hid near the rush wall (that divides the inside of the hut in two compartments).

"The woman got up to take a brand from the fire.

"The leopard leaped upon her and took her outside.

"With his claws he tore out her entrails (imushing' urwara mu nda, hava mw' umwana).

"The father got up to go to her aid.

"The animal had dragged his quivering prey into the banana grove.

"The husband, after a search, found nothing but a few blood-stained copper bracelets.

"After a period of time the feline returned. /451/

"The master of the house was not caught napping.

"His mind had been active since the accident.

"It was in vain that the leopard brought along Jack Rabbit (the prototype of the resourceful rogue who has a thousand tricks up his sleeve).

"He came near the hut.

"Nziguye ('I know how to handle difficulties') (1) had dug a

1. Nziguye is the substantive of the verb kwizigura, which means "to get out of trouble," "to escape danger through one's own resources."

deep ditch (covered with light branches).

"The leopard vanished into the trap and died there."

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195

d. Aside from the bards and official chroniclers already mentioned, there are also at court some literary jousters who speak a refined language, who are appointed to the king's side, and who attend to him in shifts.

They are called Abasizi, from the word gusiga, which means "to speak a refined language." They expound the events of the day

644 In addition, they are the born protectors selected by the
484 Hamitic princes to ward off the bad luck which threatens them in cer-
619 tain circumstances. The Banyarwanda, indeed, have mystic defenders of this sort who are chosen among the members of a tribe alien to theirs.

Those individuals are believed to have the power to ward off the imaginary dangers which threaten human beings. They are called abase (singular umuse). The Banyarwanda call upon their omnipotence at times of death (1), a loss of fortune, the plundering of a herd, the

[764]

1. In the Bugoyi the umuse, or protector, removes from the hut of the deceased the main post upon which the dead owner liked to lean, the piece of wood (umusego) which stands at the head of the bed, the log that was used as a chair, and the small piece of wood that surmounted the roof of the hut. All of this is laid upon the grave.

building of a hut, the giving of a name to a child, his teething, the celebration of a marriage, etc.

Since the Bagessera are the protectors of the Hamitic princes, it is understandable that the monarchs should seek their hospitality.

If there are no members of that family /in the locality/, the king stays with the Bazigaba, whose ancestor Kazigaba was the /497/ brother of Kagessera, founder of the Bagessera clan. If neither are to be found in the area through which the monarch is traveling, the latter resorts, in this order, to the Banyiginya, the Bega, or lastly, the Bakono.

644 While traveling, the king is accompanied by an honor guard
484 of Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, who sleep around the royal hut at night.

[533] Five or six drummers walk at the head of the procession, beating occasionally on their instruments. The drums are also played at nightfall and at the first birdsong in the morning.

644 The court orchestra is made up of Bahutu and Batwa. The
53 singers are Batwa; the drummers are Bahutu. The musicians are a closed corporation and relieve one another every month. After this interval they return home and are replaced by new ones. The arrival of the new musical guard is announced on the evening of the new moon with a particularly solemn drumbeat. The drummers are exempt from certain duties. Among them there was also a Christian from Issawi.

644 Etiquette. The king always eats alone, for it is proper to eat only with people of the same class.

The king's food and drink are prepared by Bahutu. He seems to have more confidence in the subjugated Bahutu than in the ruling Batutsi. Such elaborate precautions are taken to lessen the possibility of poisoning that the drinks are made in the king's compound from products brought there. The cookhouse in the king's kraal is called mubahutu.

[260] It is said that the king sleeps very late. During my three weeks' visit I never succeeded in seeing him before eleven o'clock in the morning, and only once did I have an opportunity to meet him between eleven and twelve o'clock. I had taken the measurements of a person and started to compare his blue eyes with my Martin color chart. When the people present saw the artificial glass eyes, they were so impressed that they immediately sent for Musinga. Musinga promptly dispatched a courier requesting that I send them to him to look at. I offered to bring him the eye chart in the afternoon when I was to pay him a visit, but the king's curiosity was too great; he couldn't wait until then, and that very morning he came into my camp, something he had never done before. On this occasion I observed that when his bagaragu came out of their huts to join the king's retinue, they greeted him by clapping their hands. In Ruanda this greeting is reserved for the king, whereas in Kiziba it is bestowed on important persons generally.

Musinga receives visitors toward four o'clock in the afternoon in the muliango (front part) of his main hut (kambele).

The kambele is on the edge of an enclosed elliptical court about 100 meters wide, at the focal points of which are two

644 of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies
805 he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the
[783] herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon.
[533] They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great
644 feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

805 The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298] Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

771 Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

769 Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda
17 as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

564 The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
583 hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very
585 well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

1:Vanhove--70B G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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535
292

Orchestra accompanying the dance of the intore.

The Mwami attending his intore.

(Photos taken by Author)

Dances of the Intore.

(Photos by Borchgraeve.)

535 thick cloud of dust. Through this veil of dust I could see the white in their eyes, the shining rows of their teeth, and their heads thrown back with laughter or ecstasy. It was a strange spectacle which I watched for over an hour without tiring of it. I admired the incredible discipline of this mass of men which reacted to the slightest signal of the choir leader, following promptly the quickly changing rhythms so that it seemed as though the ground trembled under the step of a single giant. [868] Even the small naked boys of six to eight years imitated their fathers and brothers with such adroitness that only rarely did one of them miss a beat in this pedal ceremony. In that case the culprit, blushing with shame, was forced into the background by the angry jeer or rough hand of an adult onlooker."

Another dance, which is seldom done, is executed not in rows but in a wavy line. Holding their spears in their hands, all the men run in single file, keeping the same step by imitating the rhythm of their leader who runs at the head of the line. This produces a sound like that of a galloping horse (No. 19, p. 142).

Solo dances by men are even more rare. The motions of the solo dancer are much livelier than those observed in group dances. Usually the onlookers beat the rhythm by clapping their hands, or a musical accompaniment is made [67] with [534] rattle sticks, a zither (inanga), or a drum. Such a dance is described as follows in Kreuz und Schwert, 1901, p. 212:

"The dancer executes all kinds of jumps: now he approaches the instrument which is setting the rhythm; now he moves away from it in great leaps, now he rushes forward as though he intended to jump over the instrument player; he crawls away on hands and legs, falls backwards onto the ground, suddenly jumps up again; and he continues these antics until he loses his breath. Then someone else takes his place and once more amuses the audience with his wild gyrations. Even though the dancer may be engaged in the wildest leaps, he will stop as suddenly as the instrument player stops his music, for he will not dance without the accompaniment of an instrument."

535 The only thing to say about the dances of the Batwa is that in general they resemble the dances of the Bahutu. The Batwa are very enthusiastic dancers, and in their solo dances they perform the strangest gyrations and leaps. Among them also the onlookers accompany the dance by shaking pumpkin rattles and singing short stanzas. This is done in a noisier and wilder fashion than among the Bahutu and the Batussi.

534 I have already mentioned a zither-like instrument, the inanga, with which the Barundi often accompany their solo dances. It consists of a flat, longish bowl of bark or wood. Six to eight cords of sheep gut or sinew are strung across the bowl. We call it a bowl zither (No. 6 of Plate 47). Usually the wood is decorated with a few simple linear decorations, and several holes are pierced in the bottom which are supposed to [68] add richness to the tone. It is noteworthy that the wooden bowl of the instrument is carved by the Batwa while the Bahutu string the cords. Van der Burgt infers from this that the inanga zither was originally the cultural property of the Batwa and was taken over by the Bahutu later (No. 19, p. 387). It seems more probable, judging from its geographical distribution, that it is the cultural property of the Bahima (see p. 158 [not translated]; it occurs both in the north of the Bahima region among the Banjankole and in the south among the Wafipá [Fipa].

The zither is played in a sitting position. The instrument is placed upon the knees, and the strings are plucked with both hands after the player has tuned them correctly by letting them in or out. The tuning is determined entirely by what kind of singing is intended and by the pitch of the singer's voice. I have not noticed that the strings were tuned to any particular sequence of notes in the scale.

533 As in Europe, there are many persons among the Barundi who play an instrument, but only a few can do it really well. There are professional musicians only at the courts of the chiefs. There the musicians, who are predominantly Batwa, play the drums, flutes, and zithers. The same is true in Ruanda.

533 The playing of the zither is almost always accompanied by singing which is done in a rather low voice, mostly in a minor key which is the characteristic key of the Negroes. Neither the voices nor the manner of performing are good. Either the song in short stanzas deals with some local incident, a current event, a person, a personal experience, etc., or it is one of the old traditional Barundi songs whose lyrics are [188] spoken in the Old Kirundi dialect (see p. 148). Apparently they are nothing but a series of unconnected nouns, adjectives, wishes, orders, etc., the meaning of which is not quite clear any more either to the singer or to the listeners (No. 19, p. 97).

534 The ox horn (ikihuha) is the real war or alarm horn. Its narrow end is provided with a hole, and this is the form generally in use in East Africa. Such signal horns are also widely used by the caravans.

The clarinet-like flute (ikihuschama), which is used only as a musical instrument, is much rarer. It is a wooden tube, a third of a meter long, with a funnel-shaped opening. Its lower end has three holes so that various notes can be blown (Nos. 3 and 4 of Plate 47).

On the other hand, a short fife (umwironge) is much more common. Like our fifes, it has a hole near one end which one blows into and two or three holes at the other end which may be stopped alternately. Flutes and fifes are seldom played singly but usually in an orchestra together with drums of which I shall speak later (p. 70).

Reed pipes are more children's toys than real instruments. Their two ends are plugged, and they have a hole in the middle. They are usually carved by boys. Rattle boards (urukajamba) belong in the same category. They are used particularly for accompanying the dances of the girls. These rattle boards are made of pieces of reed arranged in two separate layers which are kept apart by means of a piece of reed placed obliquely so that there is an empty space between the layers. Dry kernels of corn are placed inside. They produce a sharp rattling sound against the reed walls when the box-shaped rattle board is shaken. Rattle sticks are also often used. They consist of sticks

534 to which small pumpkin rattles are fastened (Nos. 1 and 5 of Plate 47). At religious [69] ceremonies single pumpkin rattles are swung (Plate 25a).

Finally drum (ingoma, inkiranji) is both the rarest and the most highly valued instrument. It is not only used for accompanying dances but also as the main orchestral instrument of the chiefs. Often it has great religious significance. The drum [202] is not used at all for the purpose of signaling or transmitting news. In Urundi there is no "drum language" as there is in other African countries.

Drums are made out of a section of a tree trunk which has been cut off straight at one end rounded off at the other end. The inside of the trunk is hollowed out with carving knives, leaving the fairly thin outer walls. It is then placed on a conical wooden pedestal so that the whole thing has approximately the shape of a "wine glass." The grain mortars are similarly shaped. The open upper end is covered with a piece of cattle hide, shaved thin and stretched tightly across, which was soaked in warm water beforehand. The hide is stretched tight by little wooden pegs fastened around the edge of the drum (No. 2 of Plate 47). Two wooden sticks are used as drum sticks.

533 535 If the drum is to be used for accompanying a dance -- which is almost always a solo dance, not a group dance -- two, three, or four men beat on it, each alternating quickly with the other in beating the drum with his two sticks in a certain rhythm. Each drummer uses a beat different from that of the next; each always uses only his particular beat. Thus, if there are four drummers, they produce a drum stanza consisting of four different tempos which are repeated until the "drum leader" starts a new stanza by introducing a new beat. The louder it booms, the better. After a short time one of the drummers suddenly jumps up while the others continue drumming; he makes all kinds of leaps, stamps on the ground, creeps forward, runs back and shakes his drumsticks about as though he were possessed. Just as suddenly, he jumps back to his drum and continues drumming with his partners. Then another drummer follows suit or one of the listeners surrounding the scene, and so

533 on for hours. The drum concert and drum dance are hardly
535 ever accompanied by singing (No. 19, p. 388).

In Urundi and Ruanda drums are such a rarity that an
534 experienced observer wrote as recently as 1901: "In Urundi drums are unknown" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 212). During my own two months' journey through central Urundi, I never heard a single drumbeat. This can be explained easily by the fact that there remain only a few small areas in this country where trees still exist that are large enough to make drums (and boats). It is probably because of
534 their high value that the possession of drums has become a
554 privilege of chiefs and of the king. Neither the "people" of
778 the Barundi (Bahutu or Batussi) nor the Batwa are permitted to own drums. A special role is reserved for the king's drum. This drum, in addition to the spear, the finger ring or bracelet (wrist disc), and the holy wooden milk vessels, is part of the royal insignia which the ruler bequeaths to his successor (No. 19, p. 524). This "holy" drum is a kind of Palladium of the realm and, as such, it is given the name akarjenda. It is very big and made from the wood of a special tree. This drum is regarded as the seat of the protective spirit of the realm, and solemn vows are made by this "drum spirit" akarjenda (No. 19, p. 388). Special guards are charged with taking care of [70] this royal drum (see p. 187 [not translated]). It is always kept at the residence of the king and, together with the holy spears and the holy milk vessels, it also accompanies him on his trips (report by Captain von Langenn). The hides used for the holy drums [sic] are taken exclusively from the cattle of the so-called "holy herd" (see p. 44).

533 Neither van der Burgt nor any other observer reports having heard of the combination of several drums and other instruments to form an orchestra, but natives assured me that such an orchestra existed at the royal court and that it consisted of Batwa. I consider this very likely since there is such an orchestra, a combination of several differently tuned drums and flutes, at the residence of Musinga, king of Ruanda. The members of the orchestra are Batwa. It sounds very melodious

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.
575 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[534] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128]

Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Riangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
796 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
794 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
575 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word
198 insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
784 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

2: Meyer--279 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 45

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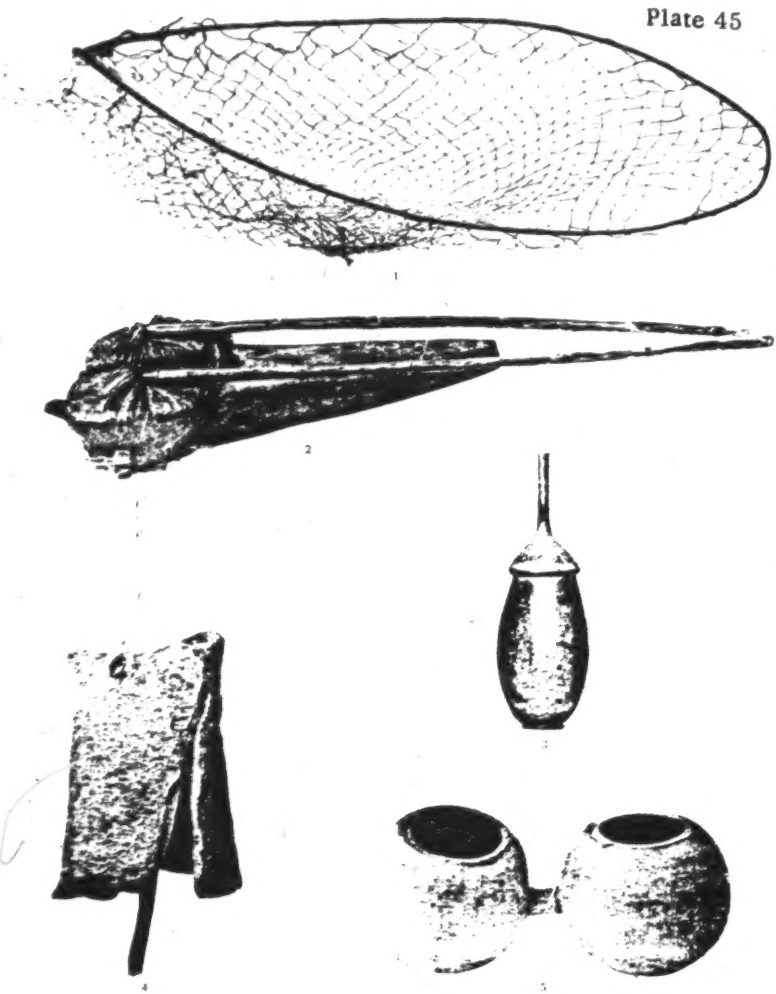

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[415]

[534]

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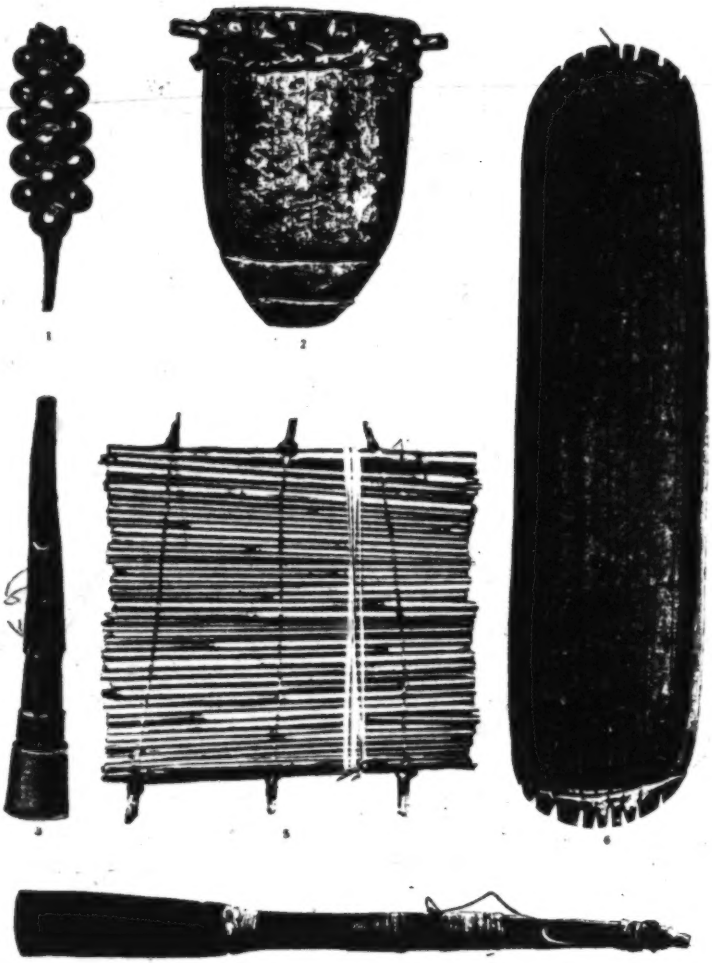
Implements Used in the Household, Fishing, and Field Work;

No. 1) Fish net of bast strings, 120 centimeters long; No. 2) Vessel bellows of wood and goat skin, 97 centimeters long; No. 3) Wooden milk bottle, 28 centimeters; No. 4) Iron cattle bell, 14 centimeters; No. 5) Wooden double container for butter, 20 centimeters wide.

Plate 47

534



Musical Instruments (Nos. 1, 2, 5, Ethnological Museum, Berlin; Nos. 3, 4, 6, Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.
No. 1) Rattle of gourds, 32 centimeters long; No. 2) Wooden drum covered with cattle hide, 66 centimeters high; Nos. 3, 4) Wooden flutes with a cover of sewn cattle hide, 40 and 62 centimeters long; No. 5) Rattle board of reed, 18 centimeters long; No. 6) Wooden bowl-shaped zither, 72 centimeters long.

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi different from most African countries: neither had 439 it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import- 226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

794 His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba. . . , " pronounced in a virile tone,
776 recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a
[30] necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung
854] around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye. . . . "

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

[224 His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around
[237] the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i. . . " to recall
● 534] that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence
[287] the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with
a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a
[415] hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using
[272] a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

644 634 661 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises, the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain the latter's approval.

644 778 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

[534] This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it [482] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock, and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails "turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
[202]/374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
533 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
644 hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated
[614] to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

644 6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
814 name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

754 The land was cleared instantly, to the stupefaction of the onlookers. The prince confirmed him in his position.

In closing, we need only cite the Italian proverb, "Se non è vero, è bene trovato /It may not be true, but it is a felicitous invention/." The Blacks hold the sorcerers and their power in high regard.

789 The deep-rooted trust of the Blacks in the /444/ skill of their sorcerers and the efficacy of their magic practices has something to do with the stagnant state of their civilizations.

How much are the doctors of occult and divinatory sciences to blame in this connection?

"It would be unfair," says Maurice Delafosse, "to make the magicians responsible for this situation, for they share the belief of their compatriots in the efficacy of their art. They practice magic not only because it is profitable, but also because they are as credulous as their clients." (Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro-African Civilizations/.)

Chapter 4

Offices of a Recreational and Literary Nature

644 a. The dancing groups are numerous, and their motions
535 interesting and varied.

The pages have a special dance known by the name of guhamiriza. The kwiyereka and kulambira are indigenous to the mountain dwellers and especially to the Bagoyi.

The renown of this latter group in connection with this type of dance harks back to their great chief Bushako.

The people of the Gissaka specialize in the kubyina urushara. When the dances are accompanied by stringed instruments known by [534] the name of inanga, they take the name of gutambir' inanga. When performed to the beat of the drum, they are called gutambir' ingoma.

535 "His high-pitched, excited voice was heard above all the others when the Batwa, their dance over and their arms uplifted toward Musinga, all shouted at the same time, according to custom, one of these traditional phrases, 'I shall go to my death for the king!' 'When I fight, I kill twenty men!' 'I can no longer keep count of those I have defeated!' 'I shed the greatest amount of blood!'"

c. These musicians who are reputed to be the most skillful 533 are retained at court or called there frequently. Their instruments [534] are most primitive. They have a flute (umwironge), the stringed instrument so widespread in equatorial Africa (inanga), and another instrument, more primitive still, the isenge (ocarina type) from which they draw unpleasant sounds. People originally from Usui introduced small drums into the country which they beat with their fingers and which were a great success with the king.

The cithara players are the favorite musicians of the populace. They sing and accompany themselves on their instrument.

The themes of these songs are varied. They deal with the exploits of heroes, the national wars, and even with various /450/ ordinary events of everyday life. The subject is sometimes borrowed from dramas of which the essence and form are common, but they nevertheless draw the attention of listeners because they parallel their own mental attitudes.

We cite here one of those pieces. We heard it recited by a 533 cithara player. He was seated amidst about ten of his companions, 534 who all plucked their stringed instruments together and repeated certain words in chorus at the end of each phrase. The soloist sang, "A leopard left the woods long after sunset.

"He crossed Goko Stream near the village of Murunda (in the Kanage region).

"He came to the Gishwati country in the early evening.

"He came to the hut of the man called 'I am the man who knows how to handle difficulties' (Nziguye).

"The beast knocked at the door with his paw.

"The daughter of the house (recognized and) addressed the animal.

644 [534] Swinging their grotesque headdress to the right and to the left, they come in dancing and singing, sounding the bells and sistra which they hold in their hands.

They call upon Ryangombe and other dead initiates to bestow their protection upon the sovereign.

195 644 192 2. In order to speak of the king and of his most trivial and frequent actions, custom demands that colorful and noble terms be used, such as for example the following: kubikirwa or kwisasira instead of kuryama, which means "to go to bed."

igisasiro for uburiri..... "royal bed"
kubamburwa for kubyuka..... "to get up"
kuj' ijabiro for kuboneka ..... "to appear"
inyundo for amaguru ..... "legs"
ingoro for inzu ..... "house" /492/
ingoro irakamwa for inzu irava . "it rains in the hut"
ingoro irahonjoka for inzu iragwa. "the hut is falling to pieces with age" (1)

1. Kubikirwa comes from the word kubika, "to put away an object," "to put it in its proper place"; kwisasira means "to spread out the mats on the ground"; igisasiro, "the place where the mats are spread out"; kubamburwa, "to be awake"; kuj' ijabiro, "to go to that part of the hut where one talks to guests"; inyundo, "iron hammer"; ingoro, "palace"; ingoro irakamwa, "the palace is milked," to mean that it rains in there; ingor' irahonjoka, "the palace grows fat" (that is, it swells), because it is falling to pieces with age.

5: Pages--266 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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King Musinga and some people of his entourage.

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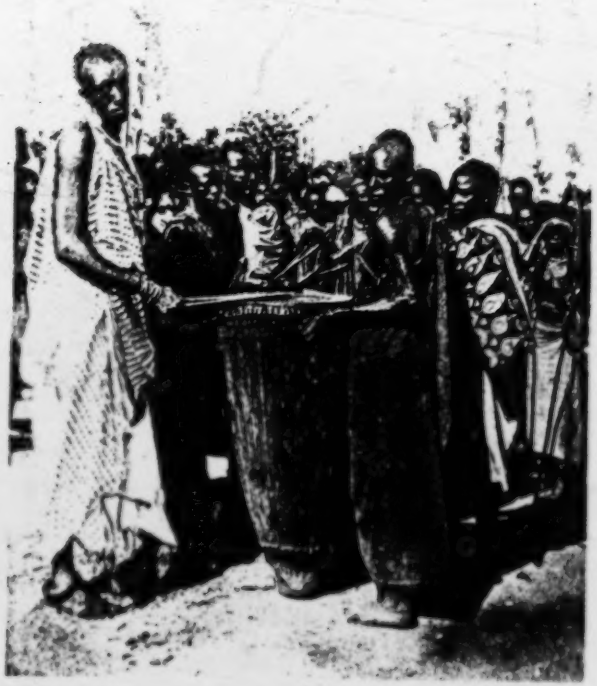
The king at one of his favorite diversions.



231 proved to be the case. I was told that work ceases for a day after a
[528] dog's death, and that on occasion blood revenge is exacted for the killing of a dog. The Banyaruanda maintain that a person kills a dog because he would really like to kill its master but does not dare.

The number of dogs kept in Ruanda is very large, and for this reason the porters returning to Lake Victoria took a number of dogs with them. A returning caravan of 200 porters which I met in Kissaka had at least 60 dogs. Several of them were quite young and had to be carried on the porters' backs for the two to three weeks' trip. One can scarcely show greater proof of affection.

231 Since the dogs generally do not bark, they are not often used as
●534 watch dogs. They usually wear small wooden or iron bells around their necks, dedicated to Ryangombe [a supernatural being] (insogera ya Ryangombe). Similar bells are tied around the necks of sheep and goats.

The iron bells commonly consist of two small, thin sheets of metal bent together, with a narrow, rounded slit at each end. Between the two sheets is a hollow space containing a small pellet large enough so that it cannot fall out through the slit. A string [147] is threaded

Fig. 35. Dog Bell from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13704. 6 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 36. Dog Bell from Ufumbiro, Batwa. 1/4 actual size. III E 6897. 10 1/2 centimeters long.)

through two small holes in the bell and tied to the collar. Captain W. Von Grawert found an entirely different bell among the Batwa of Ufumbiro. It consists of a narrow, triangular piece of sheet iron, the two lower ends of which are bent to form a cylinder. The tip is hammered, thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

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[113]

1. Adolf Friedrich, Duke of Mecklenburg, Ins innerste Afrika [Into the Interior of Africa] (Leipzig, 1909), p. 118.

boys of Kanuma performed another dance of the same type (2).

Ibid., p. 119.

The dances are divided into two distinct groups, the kwamiriza and the kuhyereka. In the first group the dancers hold a spear or an arrow in their hands and swing them rhythmically. The martial bearing of the dancers indicates that this is a war
● [634] dance. In these dances the dancers wear iron bells on their ankles and move in a closed circle or in a line from left to right. This type seems to be representative of all true Batutsi dances.

The second group is the kuhyereka. This is danced by one or two dancers, very rarely by three. In this dance the dancer rocks back and forth with his arms outstretched and often bent backward. This position is called kutega amaboko. For the kuhyereka the bells, if they are used, are fastened under the knee. It is very characteristic that in these dances, which were probably originally Bahutu, the bells are worn in the place where the Bakondjo, who are not influenced by the Batutsi, wear their leg rings.

[334] The dances which I had an opportunity to observe in Mulera belonged altogether to the kuhyereka group. The dance was performed by two soloists, and the passive participants accompanied their movements with singing and hand clapping to maintain the rhythm. The dance was sometimes also accompanied by the playing of the inanga. That only the kuhyereka type of dance appears in Mulera shows very definitely that it belongs to the lower Bantu stratum.

524 Play. Rattles are the common toys for children. Bigger boys like to play with small bows. A discus game is played with bow and arrow. There are two teams, with seven boys on each side. One team throws soft discusses cut out of a banana stalk;

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Among the better classes the 241
wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband and wife worked in the field. [565] [462]

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops. 243

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people. [252]

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king. 534

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum. [782]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

643 The symbol of kingship was Kalinga, the sacred drum. To possess
534 this drum meant to be king. Kalinga was regularly sprinkled with the blood of the animals used for divination. Around Kalinga were hung the genitals of Ruanda enemies killed by the bami. Kalinga was never beaten but other drums were beaten in its honour as they were beaten for the king.[35]

(b) *The queen-mother*

644 It was essential that the role of queen-mother (*umugabekasi*) should always be fulfilled. If the mwami's mother's death occurred when her son was still living, he had to be given another 'mother'. The queen-mother had no special task, but she shared the royal prerogatives. She lived at the king's capital where she had her own court, and her protection was eagerly sought. She had herds of cattle and clients. But her role should not be regarded as independent of that of the king.

It can be said that the same kingship was realized by two persons at the same time, without any division of responsibilities or privileges. This was expressed by the term often used to designate together the mwami and his mother: the kings (*abami*). In that partnership the king, however, kept a predominant position: when he died, his mother completely lost her powers.

(c) *The biru*

645 The *biru* did not constitute a council or a board. They were
[193] dignitaries with different tasks and very strictly ranked in a fixed hierarchy. Their activities, however, in common were concerned
[196] with the preservation of ritual knowledge and the accomplishment of ceremonies essential to the existence of Ruanda and its government. This knowledge and activities were kept secret from everybody who was not a *mwiru* (singular of *biru*).

[43] *Biru* were under the king's authority in the sense that he could create new offices of *mwiru* and he could dismiss one of them who had been disloyal. The royal control was limited to this. It was really the minimum without which *biru* would have been completely independent of the mwami. The offices were hereditary and even when a *mwiru* had been dismissed one of his sons succeeded him. As we have seen previously, their domains were exempt from any interference of the land- or cattle-chief.

[35] Vanhove, 1941, pp. 88 f. See the series of photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 5

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417
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The dynastic drums, with enemies' trophies

[Facing P. 134]

1:Vanhove--70B G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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Orchestra accompanying the dance of the intore.

The Mwami attending his intore.

(Photos taken by Author)

Dances of the Intore.

(Photos by Borchgraeve.)

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787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90] 6. The Intore

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861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

644
292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). [535] They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

857 524 is used to make a dress for the doll which is then carried on the back as mothers carry their children.

[65] When they are not drinking or gossiping, the adult 526 men spent their leisure time shooting arrows at a stick placed at a distance of up to 100 meters or more or by lance-throwing contests at any distant object. In the Tanganyika region a quiet 524 sitting game in which only two persons can participate is very popular. It is a game played on a board (ikisoro) resembling [177] our checker board. It is known to the Wasuaheli as mbao and probably has been imported from there to the Tanganyika area by way of Unjamwesi. From Tanganyika it also penetrated to a few chiefs of central Urundi. The board is rounded off at the edges and has four rows of little bowl-shaped hollows of which there are 32 altogether. Small stones or fruit pits are placed in them. By a complicated system of moves and counter-moves by which one opponent may take stones from the other, one player finally wins all the stones of his opponent. A precise description would lead us too far here, and in any case the game is known from the East African coastal areas.

Weule described (loc. cit., p. 52) the game of patience, ikifundo, that is played in Usige on the north shore of Lake [177] Tanganyika. It was probably an import from the Arabs or the Wasuaheli. I have not seen it myself.

There are also other widespread games, as, for instance, the string games, which I have not seen played by children or adults.

●535 Dances (ivino, uruvino) are included here since they are to a certain extent mere "games." It is true that only a minority of dances are executed for their own sake as amusement; most of them are connected with some family, social, war, or religious celebration and are danced only on these special occasions. They all resemble each other in form, however, and may be described together here, except the religious ones which we shall discuss in the chapter on "Religion" (see p. 127).

Like the Banjaruanda, the Barundi are enthusiastic dancers and dance whenever they have the opportunity. "To amuse oneself, to play, to sing and to dance are synonymous words. They dance well, elegantly (especially the women), even with

535 consummate skill. Boys and girls practice dancing from the earliest age. This they do under the eyes of their parents who encourage and instruct them. For a Murundi of good birth, it would be a disgrace not to be a good dancer" (No. 19, p. 141).

The dances are for the most part mass or group dances, seldom solo dances. They are predominantly stepping dances, seldom hopping or turning dances. Most of them are accompanied by singing, some also by instrumental music. Men execute the great majority of the dances; only one special dance is reserved for the women who never dance with the men. The Batussi participate in all the dances of the Bahutu. Only where many Batussi are gathered, as, for instance, at the royal court, do they dance by themselves. The war dances of the Batussi youths, who are educated at the royal court ("cadet corps") are especially graceful and energetic. No Mutwa is permitted to dance with the Batussi and Bahutu, nor do the latter participate in the Batwa dances, but the Batwa dance often and well among themselves.

All over Urundi and Ruanda the men do the same "national dance." Remarkably enough it is free of any eroticism while the characteristic national dances of the neighboring peoples, especially the Wanjamwesi or even more so the Wawira near Lake Tanganyika, are often more than obscene. [66] This main dance of the men is really a war dance (Plates 31, 32). It is also executed on other occasions of all kinds, either for the mere pleasure of doing it, or to honor a chief or a European, or to celebrate certain anniversaries or occasions which occur only once in a lifetime. The men who participate in the dance arrange themselves with their spears in their right hands in two, three, or four rows. At the curt command of a leader, they execute a series of "figures" in a well-rehearsed sequence. This is mainly leg and foot dancing with the rest of the body hardly involved; only a few figures require any kind of violent movement of the upper part of the body. The main achievement is that the whole group, often numbering several hundred men, stamps the ground rhythmically and in unison, changing from one foot to another all together, as though they were one man. The

535 tempo becomes faster and faster and the stamping progressively heavier without becoming disorderly until suddenly, in one jolt, the figure ends with one movement. For more noise, little iron bells, shaped like cowrie shells, or dried fruit shells, half-filled with pebbles, are tied around the ankles or are fastened to the belt and make a rattling noise at each movement. An interesting description of such a dance can be found in Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 67:

"What a thrilling spectacle! Imagine several hundred black devils, their spears raised and making the most incredible movements with their bodies, all in the same rhythm. The ground trembles under the feverish stamping of their feet, and the weapons make a weird clanging noise. Everything is hidden in a fantastic semidarkness by big clouds of dust. At one moment the wild horde rushes toward you like a legion of the possessed, at another the whole column of men moves quickly backwards while conscientiously keeping in line as though the whole pack of men were only one single body moving over the ground with the speed of wind. In short, it seems like a dream, the onlooker is caught up by the frenzy. These joyous celebrations last through the entire day until many who have come a long distance set out for home."

R. Kandt (No. 22, p. 254) gives us another vivid description:

"I was especially pleased when in the afternoon, as though at a given signal, the hills around me became alive, and the Warundi came running down the slopes in single file looking like serpents with many tails. They gathered by the hundreds in the center of the camp, and, body pressed to body, they executed a silent dance under the aegis of their choir leader. Their feet were beating the ground in an ever changing rhythm, now in dactyls, now in anapaests, now in spondees. The beat became more violent until finally the black mass of men, with a forest of spears towering over them, was envoloped in an almost impenetrable

●535 thick cloud of dust. Through this veil of dust I could see the white in their eyes, the shining rows of their teeth, and their heads thrown back with laughter or ecstasy. It was a strange spectacle which I watched for over an hour without tiring of it. I admired the incredible discipline of this mass of men which reacted to the slightest signal of the choir leader, following promptly the quickly changing rhythms so that it seemed as though the ground trembled under the step of a single giant. [868] Even the small naked boys of six to eight years imitated their fathers and brothers with such adroitness that only rarely did one of them miss a beat in this pedal ceremony. In that case the culprit, blushing with shame, was forced into the background by the angry jeer or rough hand of an adult onlooker."

Another dance, which is seldom done, is executed not in rows but in a wavy line. Holding their spears in their hands, all the men run in single file, keeping the same step by imitating the rhythm of their leader who runs at the head of the line. This produces a sound like that of a galloping horse (No. 19, p. 142).

Solo dances by men are even more rare. The motions of the solo dancer are much livelier than those observed in group dances. Usually the onlookers beat the rhythm by clapping their hands, or a musical accompaniment is made [67] with [534] rattle sticks, a zither (inanga), or a drum. Such a dance is described as follows in Kreuz und Schwert, 1901, p. 212:

"The dancer executes all kinds of jumps: now he approaches the instrument which is setting the rhythm; now he moves away from it in great leaps, now he rushes forward as though he intended to jump over the instrument player; he crawls away on hands and legs, falls backwards onto the ground, suddenly jumps up again; and he continues these antics until he loses his breath. Then someone else takes his place and once more amuses the audience with his wild gyrations. Even though the dancer may be engaged in the wildest leaps, he will stop as suddenly as the instrument player stops his music, for he will not dance without the accompaniment of an instrument."

535 The women always form a circle for their dances. One woman, usually a young girl (sometimes even two), dances in the center. With her arms not quite stretched out and her hands bent upward, she moves to and fro within the circle making all kinds of symbolic movements which are extraordinarily graceful. Von Trotha was very much reminded of the bayaderes (No. 8, p. 72). These dances do not have even a trace of eroticism. Apparently they are an imitation of the characteristics of animals. Van der Burgt interprets the position of the arms as an imitation of the horns of cattle and ascribes an originally religious meaning to the dances (No. 19, p. 142). I feel, however, that in many cases these are supposed to be imitations of the outspread wings of the crowned crane, the characteristic animal of the swampy Ruanda-Urundi landscape, as is also the case with quite similar dances in Ruanda. The position of the rest of the body and the manner of running forward and backward are also, it seems to me, in accord with this. In Ruanda this dance is called "crane dance." Boys and sometimes even men like to take part in it.

While the girl dancing solo (or the two of them) shows her skill in this manner, the women standing around in a circle stamp the ground rhythmically with their feet. They may also sing. A choir leader shouts very short stanzas, sometimes only a single word; which is then repeated by the choir until the choir leader calls out a new stanza.

535 292 There are no special costumes for the dances. Father van der Burgt mentions and gives a picture of a "couronne," a cap made of raffia fibers; from it a long train of fibers hangs down the back. Van der Burgt describes these caps as the decoration of the dancing girls (No. 19, p. 407, and Fig. 138), but these "crowns" are very rare. The Barundi are also not familiar with masked dances or other kinds of disguise connected with dances. There are only certain symbolic cult-costumes which are worn by sorcerers or priests leading certain religious dances [302] (see pp. 124, 126, 131 and Plates 25, 54). On the other hand, the faces of the dancers are often painted with white or red earth (cf. pp. 127, 128).

535 The only thing to say about the dances of the Batwa is that in general they resemble the dances of the Bahutu. The Batwa are very enthusiastic dancers, and in their solo dances they perform the strangest gyrations and leaps. Among them also the onlookers accompany the dance by shaking pumpkin rattles and singing short stanzas. This is done in a noisier and wilder fashion than among the Bahutu and the Batussi.

534 I have already mentioned a zither-like instrument, the inanga, with which the Barundi often accompany their solo dances. It consists of a flat, longish bowl of bark or wood. Six to eight cords of sheep gut or sinew are strung across the bowl. We call it a bowl zither (No. 6 of Plate 47). Usually the wood is decorated with a few simple linear decorations, and several holes are pierced in the bottom which are supposed to [68] add richness to the tone. It is noteworthy that the wooden bowl of the instrument is carved by the Batwa while the Bahutu string the cords. Van der Burgt infers from this that the inanga zither was originally the cultural property of the Batwa and was taken over by the Bahutu later (No. 19, p. 387). It seems more probable, judging from its geographical distribution, that it is the cultural property of the Bahima (see p. 158 [not translated]; it occurs both in the north of the Bahima region among the Banjankole and in the south among the Wafipa [Fipa].

The zither is played in a sitting position. The instrument is placed upon the knees, and the strings are plucked with both hands after the player has tuned them correctly by letting them in or out. The tuning is determined entirely by what kind of singing is intended and by the pitch of the singer's voice. I have not noticed that the strings were tuned to any particular sequence of notes in the scale.

533 As in Europe, there are many persons among the Barundi who play an instrument, but only a few can do it really well. There are professional musicians only at the courts of the chiefs. There the musicians, who are predominantly Batwa, play the drums, flutes, and zithers. The same is true in Ruanda.

534 to which small pumpkin rattles are fastened (Nos. 1 and 5 of Plate 47). At religious [69] ceremonies single pumpkin rattles are swung (Plate 25a).

Finally drum (ingoma, inkiranji) is both the rarest and the most highly valued instrument. It is not only used for accompanying dances but also as the main orchestral instrument of the chiefs. Often it has great religious significance. The drum [202] is not used at all for the purpose of signaling or transmitting news. In Urundi there is no "drum language" as there is in other African countries.

Drums are made out of a section of a tree trunk which has been cut off straight at one end rounded off at the other end. The inside of the trunk is hollowed out with carving knives, leaving the fairly thin outer walls. It is then placed on a conical wooden pedestal so that the whole thing has approximately the shape of a "wine glass." The grain mortars are similarly shaped. The open upper end is covered with a piece of cattle hide, shaved thin and stretched tightly across, which was soaked in warm water beforehand. The hide is stretched tight by little wooden pegs fastened around the edge of the drum (No. 2 of Plate 47). Two wooden sticks are used as drum sticks.

533 535 If the drum is to be used for accompanying a dance -- which is almost always a solo dance, not a group dance -- two, three, or four men beat on it, each alternating quickly with the other in beating the drum with his two sticks in a certain rhythm. Each drummer uses a beat different from that of the next; each always uses only his particular beat. Thus, if there are four drummers, they produce a drum stanza consisting of four different tempos which are repeated until the "drum leader" starts a new stanza by introducing a new beat. The louder it booms, the better. After a short time one of the drummers suddenly jumps up while the others continue drumming; he makes all kinds of leaps, stamps on the ground, creeps forward, runs back and shakes his drumsticks about as though he were possessed. Just as suddenly, he jumps back to his drum and continues drumming with his partners. Then another drummer follows suit or one of the listeners surrounding the scene, and so

533 on for hours. The drum concert and drum dance are hardly
535 ever accompanied by singing (No. 19, p. 388).

In Urundi and Ruanda drums are such a rarity that an
534 experienced observer wrote as recently as 1901: "In Urundi drums are unknown" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 212). During my own two months' journey through central Urundi, I never heard a single drumbeat. This can be explained easily by the fact that there remain only a few small areas in this country where trees still exist that are large enough to make drums (and boats). It is probably because of
534 their high value that the possession of drums has become a
554 privilege of chiefs and of the king. Neither the "people" of
778 the Barundi (Bahutu or Batussi) nor the Batwa are permitted to own drums. A special role is reserved for the king's drum. This drum, in addition to the spear, the finger ring or bracelet (wrist disc), and the holy wooden milk vessels, is part of the royal insignia which the ruler bequeaths to his successor (No. 19, p. 524). This "holy" drum is a kind of Palladium of the realm and, as such, it is given the name akarjenda. It is very big and made from the wood of a special tree. This drum is regarded as the seat of the protective spirit of the realm, and solemn vows are made by this "drum spirit" akarjenda (No. 19, p. 388). Special guards are charged with taking care of [70] this royal drum (see p. 187 [not translated]). It is always kept at the residence of the king and, together with the holy spears and the holy milk vessels, it also accompanies him on his trips (report by Captain von Langenn). The hides used for the holy drums [sic] are taken exclusively from the cattle of the so-called "holy herd" (see p. 44).

533 Neither van der Burgt nor any other observer reports having heard of the combination of several drums and other instruments to form an orchestra, but natives assured me that such an orchestra existed at the royal court and that it consisted of Batwa. I consider this very likely since there is such an orchestra, a combination of several differently tuned drums and flutes, at the residence of Musinga, king of Ruanda. The members of the orchestra are Batwa. It sounds very melodious

846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and 853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feel- 845 ings. Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand, Gassldinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No. 45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the 845 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and 782 celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in. Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By vener- [776] ating this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19, 845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces 535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffoca-
[826] tion). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

553 As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

796
794 Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting
575 for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all
[576] kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured;
another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga
promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him
generous presents of beer and cattle.

Now the dance begins under the direction of a female
796 leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the
794 flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist
575 joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each
● 535 other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become
gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward,
sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are accompanied by staggering steps. The dance excites the participants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl leading the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer. Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively applause" (No. 45, 1913).

The women are usually particularly skillful in this role.
796 The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head,
794 which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells.
575 Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome
786 sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with
her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool
and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred:
"All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is
greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of participants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again
the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall
die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions
jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

Plate 31

535

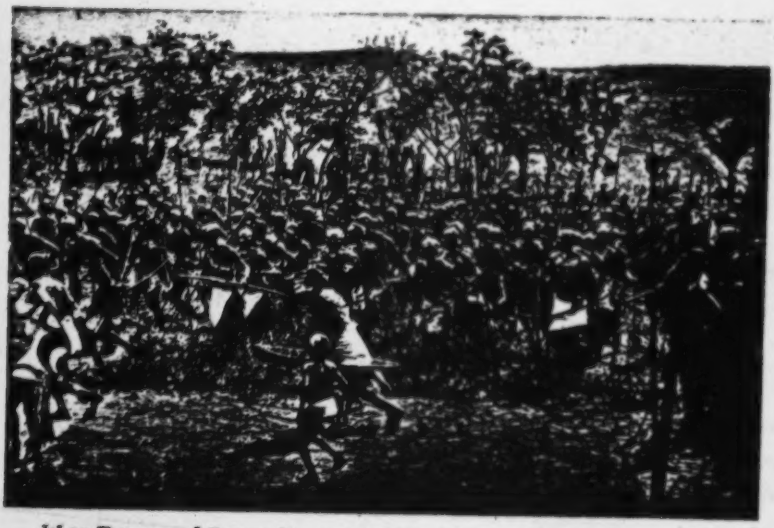
Barundi Batussi Assembling for a Dance
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Barundi Dancing near Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

535

Plate 32

War Dance of Barundi in Festive Attire
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)



War Dance of Barundi near Gitega Station
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

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181 other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be
554 considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the
polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently
556 we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and rela-
564 tionships in which sanctions are implied.

The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely con-
181 nected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly
554 respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and
233 cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-
564 value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain
the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk
[272] is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-
beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was con-
sidered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone.
As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an impor-
tant herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover,
cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-
breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was
[538] devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beauti-
ful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they
had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were
presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were
objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those
associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or
luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just
as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property.
Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or
goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and
emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-
value is readily understandable.

The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi
181 is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A
554 family has property which is handed on from one generation to another,
common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a
564 living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background
one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to
the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be
maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property
will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This
not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and
their esteem for the father is enhanced.

Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the
181 respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi
554 seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous.
564 They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

791 /practitioners/ of this kind demand rather high fees /401/ and will
789 accept no less than a goat, an ox, or even a heifer as the price of their services.

[825] 3. In the Gissaka people believe that there are tame snakes guarding the fields and houses of their masters. Those reptiles coil themselves around the neck of thieves and suffocate them. They also follow the tracks of thieves and receivers of stolen goods to their homes.

4. According to popular belief, the batezi (from the verb gutega, "to lay traps") are capable of uncovering evildoers and thieves by means of a curious method, which is none other than bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/. The victim of the theft comes to the spell caster and presents him with a goat whose throat is immediately slit. Then the magician takes the bladder, fills it with air, and suspends it with a rope from the ceiling of the hut. If the thief's death is desired, the sorcerer punctures the bladder or even cuts the rope that holds it. If the membranous sac collapses on the ground, the thief cannot fail to die instantly. It will be sufficient to ask for news in the vicinity. Any sudden death will be interpreted in this light and ascribed to the act of bewitchment. The belly of the victim will be greatly inflated. This is what is called gubang' agaheto, "to string a bow," as the Banyarwanda sometimes put it when they wish to allude to this method of bewitching.

If the owner of the stolen object wishes to be magnanimous, he asks the sorcerer to strike the bladder only lightly, in order to cause the culprit mere intestinal pains. Needless to say, the Blacks have complete faith in these magic procedures and believe that they have witnessed their consequences in a large number of cases.

754 5. Abachuraguzi. This word comes from the word guchuragura
[535] and designates a kind of dance. /402/ The devotees of this kind of dance stamp up and down on the spot. People in this category are the true jettatori /from Italian/ whose aim is to cast a spell, jettatura, on their fellow men because they are jealous of their good fortune or because they want revenge fro an offense, real or fancied. Those baleful men operate at night. In order to succeed better in their black designs, the spell casters must wear nothing but an old mat

754 The land was cleared instantly, to the stupefaction of the onlookers. The prince confirmed him in his position.

In closing, we need only cite the Italian proverb, "Se non è vero, è bene trovato /It may not be true, but it is a felicitous in-
789 vention/." The Blacks hold the sorcerers and their power in high regard.

The deep-rooted trust of the Blacks in the /444/ skill of their sorcerers and the efficacy of their magic practices has something to do with the stagnant state of their civilizations.

How much are the doctors of occult and divinatory sciences to blame in this connection?

"It would be unfair," says Maurice Delafosse, "to make the magicians responsible for this situation, for they share the belief of their compatriots in the efficacy of their art. They practice magic not only because it is profitable, but also because they are as credulous as their clients." (Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro-African Civilizations/.)

Chapter 4

Offices of a Recreational and Literary Nature

644 a. The dancing groups are numerous, and their motions
535 interesting and varied.

The pages have a special dance known by the name of guhamiriza. The kwiyereka and kulambira are indigenous to the mountain dwellers and especially to the Bagoyi.

The renown of this latter group in connection with this type of dance harks back to their great chief Bushako.

The people of the Gissaka specialize in the kubyina urushara.
[534] When the dances are accompanied by stringed instruments known by the name of inanga, they take the name of gutambir' inanga. When performed to the beat of the drum, they are called gutambir' ingoma.

535 The kubyin' umudiho is danced by both men and women, who range themselves in a circle and clap their hands in time while their feet tread the ground. /445/

The word "dance" conveys but imperfectly the pastimes we are describing.

They are rather war games and hunting games. The imitation and mimicry of combats and the pursuit of game are very expressive. The Blacks spend hours on end simulating a battle, challenging and crushing imaginary enemies. From time to time they put down their weapons or present them to the king in perfect unity of motion, sing for a while the great deeds of the monarch, and then renew their fictional struggle.

The men's mudiho and that of the women, or young girls, are closer to the dance.

The women first come forward slowly to the sounds of a chanted elegy, and then some of them leave the group and execute graceful movements guided by the singing and hand clapping of their companions.

Their dances are more aesthetic and less wild.

644 535 b. The corps of pages (intore, from the word gutora, "to choose"), who are recruited among the sons of chiefs, is not the least interesting among the groups who surround the king and who live wholly for his service and pleasure.

Along with the dancers, they contribute a great deal with their gambols and gyrations to the distinctive character of the public festivities which are celebrated at court from time to time, to the festival of the "First fruits," and to the day that closes the great June mourning (igichurassi).

They have special dances for which they undergo an apprenticeship almost daily for several years.

535 554 Like the king, each great Mutusi chief entrusts his pages to the care of highly paid dancing teachers who are to instruct their pupils in new motions and rhythms. This is why the training is carried out secretly /446/, so the "ballets" will be new. A chief derives honor and pleasure from hearing that his pages are the best trained. A great rivalry exists in this connection, therefore, among the various page corps and their respective chiefs.

535 The young men are sustained by the hope of eventually obtaining some cows, by the cheers of the spectators, and by the presence of the king.

On important festival days, the noble squires gird their loins with a colobus or calf pelt adorned with otter hide fringes. On the [292] head they wear a hat of banana-tree fibers that looks like long hair, and their chest is adorned with beads or long narrow strips. They wear bells on their legs and ankles, and they all hold in their hands a spear and a bow. They form groups of 40 or 50, which are differentiated by the richness or design of their costumes and ornaments.

One by one, at the command of the choreographers, they make writhing motions intermingled with jumps and shouts, coming and going with impeccable rhythm, revolving the head as though wishing to tear it from the body. The Blacks are very fond of those war dances, which are in fact marvels of technique.

It is the rhythmic motion of the feet that they admire most and watch most carefully.

644 535 We shall give here for what it may be worth a list of the names of the principal page corps, including the dance groups of the Muhutu /Bahutu/ and Mutwa /Batwa/ race:

Pages and Dancers	Race	Chief
Inchogozabahizi	Abatutsi	Yuhi-Musinga
Intangamuganzanyo	"	"
Urugangazi	"	"
Ibirushya	Abahutu	"
Ishyaka	Abatwa	"
Inkerarugamba	"	" /447/
Indinzi	Abatutsi	Sebagangari
Inkeramihigo	"	Kayondo
Imbasharugamba	Abatwa	"
Inkorabahizi	Abatutsi	Chyitatire
Urwintwari	"	Nturo
Ingeri	"	Rukarakamba
Imbabazabahizi	"	Lwagataraka

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Intagwabira	"	Lugerinyange
Inkwaya (from Bgana-Chambge)	"	Lwabusisi
Amakuza (from Lukaragata)	"	"
Impambara (from Bgishaza)	"	Rwidegembya
Inkaranga (from Bugoyi)	"	Bushako

535 "How shall we describe those dances," says Chalux, (1) "which

1. Un An au Congo belge /A Year in the Belgian Congo/ (Albert Dewit, publ., Brussels), pp. 487 ff.

are as beautiful, as elaborate, and as orderly as the best Russian ballet? They are obviously war dances, and evoke the epic combats of old. They have style and majesty, but in spite of the exactness of motion, the refinement of effects, the artfulness of entrances, exits, and groupings, their essential beauty resides in the fact that they retain a free, sparkling, spontaneous, and seemingly unrehearsed element. Each dancer (there are only men), when observed individually, expresses in his leaps, his steps, and his attitudes the harsh joy of challenging and defeating the enemy. The head is always tossed back, sometimes literally tossed upon the back, and revolves on and on as though the dancer were lending it impetus to propel it through space, as far as possible, against a detested foe. The chest is thrown out arrogantly, the fists are clenched upon the bow and spear, and the arms are rigid, menacing, stretched in two parallel lines. The naked feet hammer on the bare ground, stressing the beat with resounding slaps. The leaps, which are prodigious, defy gravity. The man seems to remain suspended in mid-air while he turns about with a powerful twist of the back, and he touches ground only to spring up even higher /448/ or to simulate with strikingly realistic gestures a fight to the death, the glory of war, the pride of fighting well, of having good weapons, of being a man and a hero, and the full certainty of victory and all its intoxication!

"All this is so natural, so perfectly true, that one must wrench one's sight from the individual and look at the dancers as a whole,

535 all performing exactly the same gestures at exactly the same time, to realize that their dance has been long rehearsed, that it is not improvisation but art, virile, inspired, and magnificently primitive!

"Burning eyes, mouths open on dazzling clenched teeth, feline motions, hip swaying that would shame a gypsy, rippling muscles, stamping feet, ankle bells, the wild gloomy gasps of great drums, the twist of gleaming bodies nude but for an antelopeskin, swinging headgear of long white hair, bold faces, rhythmic jolts, masterly precision, grace and vigor, a frenzied yet controlled youthfulness... What a unique and unforgettable spectacle!

"The dancers of Kayondo (a great chief) were outstanding. To the great surprise and secret mortification of Musinga (the king) his own dancers were a little less so.

"A vertical fold cleaved his black brow. To quote divine Virgil, when Jupiter knits his brows all Olympus trembles.

"Nyanza did not tremble, but I know that some young Batutsi who saw the expression on the face of their demigod were seized with uneasiness.

"The best dancers were the Batwa.

"Yes, the pygmies!...

"The victory in this memorable contact which lasted several hours went to a child, a little mite of hardly twelve, who outshone all the others in the supreme perfection of his dance. /449/

"It began to rain torrentially, as it always does near the Equator. The Batwa danced on.

"The harsh water slashed at them, tearing off their headgear and pressing their antelopeskins so close against their thighs and knees that their movements were hindered. They all went on dancing, but the sacred fire was put out by the storm. The child alone surpassed himself, his beauty heightened by frenzy.

"All eyes were focused upon him. Conscious that he was the center of attention, even for the king and the Whites who were with him, he gave himself completely to the dance. Intoxicated with pride, dealing and parrying fabulous blows, puffing up his small chest to the bursting point, slapping the puddles with frenzied feet and splashing everything around him, he filled the huge flooded enclosure with the suddenly overwhelming dimensions of his tiny self.

535 "His high-pitched, excited voice was heard above all the others when the Batwa, their dance over and their arms uplifted toward Musinga, all shouted at the same time, according to custom, one of these traditional phrases, 'I shall go to my death for the king!' 'When I fight, I kill twenty men!' 'I can no longer keep count of those I have defeated!' 'I shed the greatest amount of blood!'"

533 [534] c. These musicians who are reputed to be the most skillful are retained at court or called there frequently. Their instruments are most primitive. They have a flute (umwironge), the stringed instrument so widespread in equatorial Africa (inanga), and another instrument, more primitive still, the isenge (ocarina type) from which they draw unpleasant sounds. People originally from Usui introduced small drums into the country which they beat with their fingers and which were a great success with the king.

The cithara players are the favorite musicians of the populace. They sing and accompany themselves on their instrument.

The themes of these songs are varied. They deal with the exploits of heroes, the national wars, and even with various /450/ ordinary events of everyday life. The subject is sometimes borrowed from dramas of which the essence and form are common, but they nevertheless draw the attention of listeners because they parallel their own mental attitudes.

533 539 We cite here one of those pieces. We heard it recited by a cithara player. He was seated amidst about ten of his companions, who all plucked their stringed instruments together and repeated certain words in chorus at the end of each phrase. The soloist sang, "A leopard left the woods long after sunset.

"He crossed Goko Stream near the village of Murunda (in the Kanage region).

"He came to the Gishwati country in the early evening.

"He came to the hut of the man called 'I am the man who knows how to handle difficulties' (Nziguye).

"The beast knocked at the door with his paw.

"The daughter of the house (recognized and) addressed the animal.

Sacred Cows

233
778 The idea for this select group is traced back to Ruganzu. These special herds are known as inyambo, or long-horned cattle, and they are always selected among the finest in the land. They are not all of the same color.

Among other hues, the following predominate: dusty red (ibihogo by' issine), purplish red (ibihogo by' igaju), red speckled with [822] white (ibihogo by' imyeru), and black and white, which are all favorite colors of the Batutsi.

Special cowherds are in charge of watching over those herds, which usually graze in the Buganza.

They are led to the capital for festivals or public celebrations. The finest animals, known as inyamibga or indatwa /510/ (from the word kurata, "to show off"), lead the herd.

There is usually only one or two of these in each herd, and they are accustomed to walking ahead of the others. Their horns, brow, and neck are covered with rows of beads and small antelope horns which serve as ornaments (imitako n' imiheha). Also included [824] are stems of the sacrosanct umwishwa grass, which the cowherds also wear on chest and head on numerous occasions. Then special [535] dances take place which are organized by the keepers of the herd or even by the Batwa and in which the animals participate with their mooing.

The cows are quite familiar with this kind of sport, and they seem to take an interest in it and watch the motions of the dancers. The latter emit special guttural cries all the while, in order to excite the animals further.

Performances of this sort are highly esteemed by the Banyarwanda and attract large crowds.

After the celebration the sacred cows return to their Buganza pastures. Their keepers treat them with great care and are the only ones permitted to milk them, just as they are the only ones to drink their milk.

The calves are gorged with milk and weaned quite late.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat animals who died a natural death, they are strictly forbidden

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Warriors in festival dress.

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Kayondo dancers.

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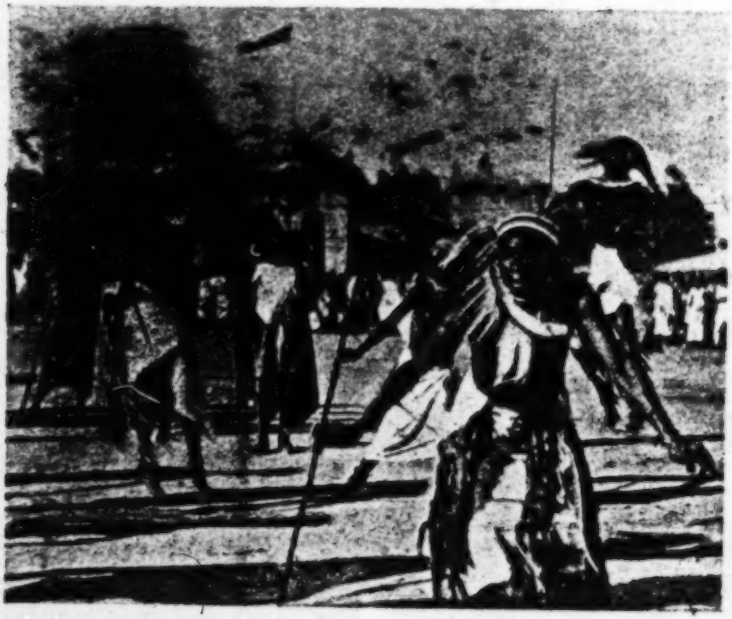
Dance of the pages.



Popular merrymaking. Native dance.

644 Just as the high chiefs pay court to the king, so their women are said to keep the queen mother company and remain in her service. For instance, Kahama told Dr. Schubotz that his second wife was with Musinga (probably with his mother), and when she returned, another woman had to take her place.

The court of the queen mother has nothing to do with the king's harem. [259] Thus, the queen mother, Kanzogera, went on a journey when the news came that our expedition was arriving, but the wives of Musinga remained with him, although they were not visible the whole time. When Father Felix Dufays and I made recordings of their songs and played them back to Musinga, the wives of the king were gathered behind a wall of shield matting in the same hut. They listened to the sounds of the imperfect but nevertheless quite supernatural instrument and occasionally betrayed their presence with laughter that they could not suppress.

The court of the queen mother seems to be the center of the women's life in Ruanda.

Besides the high chiefs, the ntore also are among the privileged members of the king's court. The ntore form the bodyguard of the chiefs. They accompany them everywhere, in the capital and on the battlefield. They are recruited from the sons of the lesser chiefs. They are bodyguards, court dancers, and hostages at the same time, since they are responsible for the deeds of their fathers. The ntore of the king are the sons of the highest dignitaries and are known as danga baganisi.

644 535 When His Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg asked Musinga what danga baganisi meant, he answered, "askari wangu (my soldiers)." However, they perform no military duty and merely compete in the dances. Naturally, they occupy the highest position of all.

644 Besides these privileged members of the court there are others who perform special services, for example, the royal smiths, musicians, Batwa bodyguards, etc. The eldest of the royal smiths is said to enjoy great influence, but apparently the king has given him no lands. The eldest of the court Batwa, the Mutwa, Muhenehene, was pointed out to me as the royal executioner. He is also a very influential man.

531 Circles or spirals are used only on round objects and especially on the bottoms of baskets made by sewing together spirals of straw, on plates, and lids. This shows that the above-mentioned rectilinear forms are simply modified to conform to the material.

Large numbers of unjoined segments and crescents are placed in rows on knife sheaths. They are sometimes also combined with uduhudu or imiambi which separate the individual segments of the ornamentation from each other. On small clay vessels, however, they often flow together to make large units, and on the shield mats we can also see fragments of the three-strand weave.

We may regard the simplicity of Ruanda ornamentation as the result of an adjustment to the material, chiefly the basket sewn together in spiral coils, which is the principal article ornamented. It is not [333] impossible that we have here a secondary simplification dictated by the technique of ornamentation, which consists chiefly of black banana sheaths wound around the coils. The names of the decorative elements lead us to assume that in the past there were probably attempts at realistic portrayal. In support of this view we could point to the amagwe decoration which often appears on the mats. Amagwe means "leopard," and in the drawing we can see a stylization of a four-legged, spotted creature.

535 The Dance. During the festitivies which Musinga arranged in honor of His Highness Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, I had an opportunity to see several very different types of dances (kwamiriza). They were performed in such rapid succession that I was unable to grasp the fundamental differences, hence I must limit myself chiefly to listing them by name.

The first four dances were performed by the danga baganisi, the chosen ones of the king. The first was called imbunduza, the second, rukatsa; the third, tubagendane; and the fourth, kuboko.

The second dance troupe was made up of inkwaya za Kabure. They danced the muganguza, each with an arrow in his hand. The dance is shown on Plate 18 of Volume III.

The third group of dancers were Kanuma's ntore from Kissaka. They danced kuhyereka rushara and a crane dance (1). The small

535
[113]

1. Adolf Friedrich, Duke of Mecklenburg, Ins innerste Afrika [Into the Interior of Africa] (Leipzig, 1909), p. 118.

boys of Kanuma performed another dance of the same type (2).

Ibid., p. 119.

The dances are divided into two distinct groups, the kwamiriza and the kuhyereka. In the first group the dancers hold a spear or an arrow in their hands and swing them rhythmically. The martial bearing of the dancers indicates that this is a war [534] dance. In these dances the dancers wear iron bells on their ankles and move in a closed circle or in a line from left to right. This type seems to be representative of all true Batutsi dances.

The second group is the kuhyereka. This is danced by one or two dancers, very rarely by three. In this dance the dancer rocks back and forth with his arms outstretched and often bent backward. This position is called kutega amaboko. For the kuhyereka the bells, if they are used, are fastened under the knee. It is very characteristic that in these dances, which were probably originally Bahutu, the bells are worn in the place where the Bakondjo, who are not influenced by the Batutsi, wear their leg rings.

[334] The dances which I had an opportunity to observe in Mulera belonged altogether to the kuhyereka group. The dance was performed by two soloists, and the passive participants accompanied their movements with singing and hand clapping to maintain the rhythm. The dance was sometimes also accompanied by the playing of the inanga. That only the kuhyereka type of dance appears in Mulera shows very definitely that it belongs to the lower Bantu stratum.

524 Play. Rattles are the common toys for children. Bigger boys like to play with small bows. A discus game is played with bow and arrow. There are two teams, with seven boys on each side. One team throws soft discusses cut out of a banana stalk;

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accompanied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells.
[535] The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[598] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

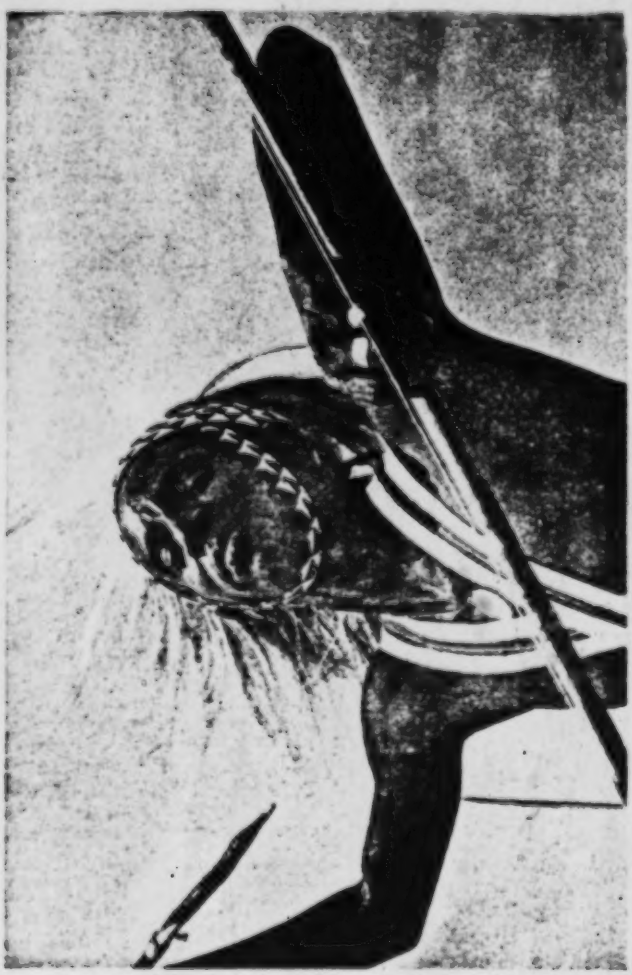
(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 2

192
535
411
301
714



Intore warrior dancing

[Facing P. 23]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

614 with their totems or even with other animals, to render them harmless
825 or to excite them against their enemies.

This, however, is a belief that will soon disappear, for the Banyarwanda take small notice of their totems nowadays.

538 As far as oral literature and folklore in general are concerned, one may assert without risk of error that the Banyarwanda have no reason to envy the neighboring peoples.

There may be few Black groups who managed to preserve so many and such ancient traditions, made all the more precious by the fact that they help us understand more than one facet of their history. This will be shown readily /61/ in the course of this work. We believe that the Hamites, who are given to the things of the mind and have organized the country methodically, must be justly regarded as the chief authors of this literary development.

181 The Bahutu of Ruanda owe to these same Batutsi the appreciable advantage of being less backward, less "primitive" than many of their fellow Bantu of Central Africa. Because they were less isolated than most of the members of the tiny neighboring states at the time of European penetration, the Banyawanda found themselves in a situation more favorable to the progress of civilization thanks to the centralization of the Hamitic state.

171 The inhabitants of Ruanda, as we have just pointed out, have more than one trait in common with the other African tribes. In speaking on the subject, Maurice Delafosse provides the following explanation, "The African Negro peoples, as different from one another as they may seem to a superficial observer, have a unified character which may be attributed to their common ethnic origins and to the relative similarity of the physical, economic, and social environments where they first developed and where they later evolved." (1)

1. Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro African Civilizations/.

157 As for the reader who wishes to know what to think of the Blacks, we must answer in all sincerity that it is very difficult to

644 One sees standing about what seem to be huge baskets covered
[343] with thatch roofs. They are granaries where the food of the employees is kept. The storeroom is the king's favorite spot. He takes pleasure in hoarding there the most disparate objects: fabrics, crockery, furniture, and trinkets of all sorts. It is said that it gives him infinite
[157] pleasure to survey his "bazaar" and to handle the goods piece by piece, away from all prying eyes.

It is easy to imagine the life and bustle that prevail at court and in the capital.

The entire nation dwells in the person of the king. He alone represents it. Since the State is identified with the king, he alone is eternally mentioned. "Everything is done for his sake. Justice is the king's justice, troops are the king's army, the nobility fights for him.... The monarch is absolute master and naturally has full and complete command over the property owned by his subjects, and when he takes it he is only taking what belongs to him.... Whoever is born a subject must obey without question...."

This short account of the history of Louis XIV's reign fittingly describes the rights exercised by the Hamitic kings of Ruanda. As a result of this concept and attitude on the part of the Blacks, nearly all the clans or family groups which make up the population of Ruanda have a role to fulfill at court, not so much for the welfare of the realm as for the pleasure of the king. The functions they must exercise are many and vary with the nature of the people involved and the products of the soil on which they live. Some of the posts derive from historical circumstances. Among these offices, some are regarded as an honor and privilege and others as a chore. Some offices are also assigned as punishment or /352/ revenge for misdeeds which were committed in the past by ancestors and the very memory of which has been lost. Most of those posts amount to actual bondage for their holders.

Positions of a mere utilitarian nature are by far the most numerous.

644 It is surprising to hear that literary pleasures and entertainments
•538 are included in the court program and even stand in a separate category. By the sovereign's side, indeed, there stand official historians and

644 appointed bards (abachurabgenge), as well as literary jousters or men
538 of choice language called Abasizi, whose only role is to refresh the king's memory or to beguile his leisure with tasteful improvisations. Even the commoners are not insensitive to literature. There is not a single Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ who is not keenly interested in the legends, narratives, fables, moral or humorous tales, riddles, plays on words, jokes, etc., belonging to the oral literature.

644 Every post at the capital has its own traditions which must be scrupulously observed. We shall attempt to provide a short description of the duties and regulations connected with those offices, and of the practices and formalities to which the king must submit on the one hand and his subjects on the other.

The reader should not be surprised to hear that there is etiquette and ceremonial at court.

It is easy to imagine the oddity of a circle such as that of the court, where such varied figures rub shoulders within such a relatively small space: lords, courtiers, disciples of Aesculapius and vulgar charlatans, servants, sorcerers and diviners of various sorts, caterers, stewards, dancers, pages, keepers of the traditions, official chroniclers, literary men, etc., to list but a few. /353/ This whole world exists, thinks, and acts for the sake of the king alone. It is a true medieval court with, moreover, pagan mores where the element of sorcery predominates.

128 Laymen unfamiliar with Africa will be able to form an idea of what a king and his court represent in a Black land. What we shall say of the former political situation, the royal mores that prevailed, the human tributes and bloody bondage, will not only describe the
[643] ancient times but also demonstrate the respect that surrounded the person of the king, who was regarded by his subjects as a demigod. When viewed in the past, his bloody whims, far from being injurious to his reputation, only served to strengthen his power and his majesty. Primitive souls are awed by displays of brute force.

Among other interesting details, one will find in these pages the more or less rational origin, derived from legend or history, of many a practice and custom that still exists today.

754 just like the monstra, portenta, and other ill omens of Roman times.

In order to check an enemy invasion, the Banyarwanda formerly had the habit of leaving those abnormal beings to the blows of the invaders. The shedding of this blood, or even the mere presence of such individuals, was regarded as a curse.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the various methods of bewitchment and spell casting. The imagination of the Blacks is disproportionately fertile in this respect. The wealth of methods will be /405/ appreciated when we recount the famous "Banyoro Invasion" [538] tale, which has now become a traditional epic poem. Numerous incantations and much sorcery are mentioned in this narrative, and the eventual defeat of the invaders is ascribed to them.

754 842 10. Aglet knotters. It is rather surprising to find that the Blacks, too, believe in the evil influence of people to whom this kind of misdeed is ascribed.

Activities of this sort are called in the native language kumanikir' undi ngw'atabyara, "to tie up or check fecundity, " or again, kubang' ingata, "to braid a grass pad. "

As the etymological meaning of these words indicates, the grass knotters attempt to procure from the household of the people they wish to injure a handful of grass of the kind (ishinge) which is strewn upon the floor of the hut.

With it they braid a sort of pad (ingata), which is then hidden and hung in the hut.

So long as the grass remains knotted (in the pad), the mistress of the household cannot hope to become a mother.

Many young women ascribe their sterility to this /form of/ sorcery.

A handful of hair taken from a neighboring woman and braided [826] in the shape of a crown will have the same result. This is called kumuzingirahw'amasunzu, "to coil someone's hair. "

The natives claim that it would also suffice for the ill-disposed to get hold of one of the vegetable-fiber rings which ladies or women of rank wear on their legs, and crumple it in their hands, for the unfortunate woman to become sterile or to die in childbirth.

533 "Her father said, 'My child, what you have done is bad.
539 "'Evil will come unto us.'

"The carnivore knocked on the door for the second time.

"He entered the hut and hid near the rush wall (that divides the inside of the hut in two compartments).

"The woman got up to take a brand from the fire.

"The leopard leaped upon her and took her outside.

"With his claws he tore out her entrails (imushing' urwara munda, hava mw' umwana).

"The father got up to go to her aid.

"The animal had dragged his quivering prey into the banana grove.

"The husband, after a search, found nothing but a few blood-stained copper bracelets.

"After a period of time the feline returned. /451/

"The master of the house was not caught napping.

"His mind had been active since the accident.

"It was in vain that the leopard brought along Jack Rabbit (the prototype of the resourceful rogue who has a thousand tricks up his sleeve).

"He came near the hut.

"Nziguye ('I know how to handle difficulties') (1) had dug a

1. Nziguye is the substantive of the verb kwizigura, which means "to get out of trouble," "to escape danger through one's own resources."

deep ditch (covered with light branches).

"The leopard vanished into the trap and died there."

538 d. Aside from the bards and official chroniclers already mentioned, there are also at court some literary jousters who speak a refined language, who are appointed to the king's side, and who attend to him in shifts.

They are called Abasizi, from the word gusiga, which means "to speak a refined language." They expound the events of the day

538 in an amusing and literary form which is not understood by those who
195 are not in the know.

This is why the opposite of the verb gusǐgǎ is gusigura, which means "to explain." These men have great verbal facility and are always ready to improvise. The king takes pleasure in those literary jousts, which are not lacking in charm. Their language, which is very rich, lends itself readily to those witticisms which the Abasǐzǐ have built up into a vocation and livelihood. Their recruitment is usually entrusted to a great chief. The present incumbents of this office belong, on the one hand, to the Basinga and aBene Katambi clans, and, on the other hand, to the Bakōbga (Nyaruguru, near the Bisi Mountains).

538 Like the official chroniclers, they remain at the sovereign's disposal, ready to beguile his leisure and to make him enjoy literary pleasures.

539 /452/ In order to give an idea of their style and of their talent, we transcribe here three small pieces of their own making, chosen from among the simplest and easiest.

First Example

Agasǐgo ka Rumanur' imbāba.	A small literary piece about that (famine) which caused bits and pieces of hoes to come out (of their hiding places to buy food with them).
Ibyo bitag' imitsima.	What used to be called bread (to wit, the roots of banana trees).
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	The Victorious (king) has delivered us from it (forever).
Intoke ziraruhutse.	The banana trees may (now) rest.
Ibyo twaryaga.	What we (formerly) ate.
Ngaho wabay' umutsima.	That it has now become (true) bread.
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	The Victorious (king) has delivered us (from these evils).

539 Umurir' ugatiny' amazi. Fire fears water.
Amaz (i)' atiny' ifu. Water fears flour. (3)

3. "Water fears flour," that is to say, the bread or "mush" into which it vanishes.

If' itiny' amenyo. Flour fears teeth (4).

4. "Flour fears the teeth" of those who eat it.

Ameny' atiny' umuhoro. Teeth fear the billhook (iron) (5).

[412]

5. "Teeth fear the billhook," as all other hard bodies, especially when made of iron, like the billhook, which is one of the most useful tools.

538

The Blacks of Ruanda have a rich and varied oral literature. They like witticisms, and since their language is rich in shades and nuances, they manipulate it with great art.

The most refined speech is heard at the capital.

195 644 The habitual frequenters of the court, lords, courtiers, and employees, express themselves in flawless language, use the right words and choice expressions, and give them the proper inflections, for Runyarwanda is a phonetic /sic/ language. The appointed men of letters, storytellers, bards, genealogists, and historians carefully [521] watch their diction. Among them conversation is never /454/ dull, for jokes and witticisms abound.

Considering the good taste that distinguishes the familiars of the king and the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga, it is not

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

of coercion at their disposal. If a mwami attempted to go beyond his effective power even without exceeding the limits of his divine rights, he exposed himself to the chance of meeting some obstacles. Nevertheless, he had sovereign as well as divine rights and his subjects were constantly reminded of these by the tributes they had to pay. 643 183

4. DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

Every Ruanda, Twa, Hutu as well as Tutsi, was affiliated to an army (*ingabo*). This is stated by ninety-nine per cent. of our informants. Although this military organization is obsolete at the present day—indeed it no longer exists—ninety-eight per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed can still give the name of the army of their paternal ascendants. 701 [178]

There were several armies. The name of each one had a military meaning. It was a challenge, a boast, the memory of a dynastic or historical event: for instance 'the tough ones' (*abashakamba*), 'the first to be praised' (*imbanzamihigo*), 'the fearless ones' (*inzirabwoba*), &c. At the beginning of each reign a new army was organized by the king. Moreover, a very important chief could be authorized by the mwami to raise an army.

(a) *Recruitment*

An army was recruited in the following way. The mwami asked his Tutsi clients to bring to the court their sons who had not yet had any military training. When about 150 to 200 young men were gathered, they constituted what we may call a company (*itorero*). During the reign, four or five companies were recruited in the same way and were added to the first one. According to ninety-six per cent. of our informants a man had to stay all his life in the company he had first entered. The young men (*intore*, the chosen ones) lived at the court of the king or of the chief who had been allowed to recruit an army. Under the direction of an officer called the chief of the king's residence (*umutware w'urugo rw'umwami*) or of its counterpart at a chief's court, they were trained for several years in military skills such as bow and arrow shooting, the use of the sword, spear, and javelin. They learned warlike dances, and to memorize and to recite the poems in which the high deeds of extraordinary bravery and boldness of the past warriors were exalted.[18] They were also taught how to compose poems in imitation of these great models. 702 704 702 [411] [538]

[18] See Kagame, 1949b; 1951.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

being regarded as insulting, disrespect or revolt, the only way out for the inferior is to appear to behave always as expected: to fall in with any desire of his superior while concealing his own opinion, never to say no to any order but to find clever excuses for not doing it. Consequently dissimulation is very highly thought of and a skill necessary to master for someone wanting to live more or less securely under such a political régime.

Many stories and proverbs give evidence of the frequency of covert disobedience to the rulers and of the appreciation in which an astute excuse and a 'good lie' were held. This was the only way to adapt oneself to such a situation.

Theorem Seven

It is commonly accepted in the Western tradition that truth has a high value and that language is the medium used to express 'truth', that is to say, 'what reality appears to be to the person who speaks'. Undoubtedly, in Western practice, language is used, even in the cognitive sphere, for many other purposes than to express what the speaker thinks. Moreover, most of the scholars who, in recent years, have studied the problem of the origin and function of language, bring qualifications to the traditional view. In the almost unanimous opinion of the carriers of Western culture, however, the ideal verbal behaviour must express 'truth' and not what is useful to the speaker. This is, for example, what is inculcated into children in schools.

In a society in which human relations are imbued with some cultural premises as the one being considered in this chapter, 'truth' cannot be recognized as a dominant value. Indeed, one is supposed to use language not to say what is thought to conform to reality but what is thought to conform to the ruler's opinion. Nobody, the ruler included, entertains many illusions on the sincerity of what is said, but submission has been expressed at the right time and this is felt to be most important.

This theorem could be formulated in this way: the verbal behaviour towards a superior must express dependence rather than 'truth'.

Theorem Eight

Once it is taken for granted that in hierarchical relations, behaviour must conform to the superior's expectations even to the

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

564 The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
583 hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very
585 well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
● [538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

533 and is quite impressive when, beginning with one muffled drum, the other drums gradually join in through a long rhythmic sequence, the sound of the orchestra rises to its full force, and then the flutes join at a shrill pitch. The sound of the orchestra then gradually diminishes, one drum after the other falls silent, until finally the muffled beat of the first drum softly fades away. At night, however, the tired European may be driven almost to despair by this drum orchestra. Everyone who has been a guest of Musinga will remember this night music.

We have already discussed the musical aspect of the songs with which instrumental music and dances are accompanied (p. 68). At this point I would like to add something about the content of these songs as taken down by van der Burgt. He states that the lyrics of these songs, sung mostly in unconnected Old Kirundi words (see pp. 124, 148), are not even understood in their original meaning by most of the Barundi themselves. A question about their meaning is usually answered by: "It means nothing, it is only a song." Only those who have been initiated in the esoteric meaning by the learned men, sorcerers and priests, have some understanding of the true meaning of these songs (No. 19, p. 97).

For example, these are the lyrics of a song accompanied by a zither:

[539] "Ntiwarima uy' umwaka, ntiwarima.
ninanga usiwire, umugaso utasimbe.
yagese ku' nama, isenge iritschjika."

(Translation: The field is not cultivated this year, i.e., war has been declared. Chief Ninanga stays here. The water ditch does not flow, i.e., the ditch forming the border is dry. It passes close to the homestead. The amulet is broken, i.e., a bad omen for the war.)

In contrast to these old traditional songs, the songs improvised during the dance generally have some connection with current events and are sung in the modern colloquial language. Even these are not coherent songs either but merely short interrupted sentences and thoughts.

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.
575 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[534] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128] Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Riangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
796 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
794 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
575 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word
198 insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
794 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

197 the language of the Nandi in the Uganda protectorate. The language of the Nandi, of all the languages of East Africa, seems to resemble most closely the pure Hamitic language type since the Nandi probably are the remnants of a former Galla invasion. (A. W. Crabtree, "The Languages of the Uganda Protectorate," Journal of the African Society, January, 1914, pp. 158 ff.)

An exact study of the peculiar manner in which the Batussi
194 speak the Bantu idiom, Kirundi, will also yield many intimations and indications in this respect, for it is obvious even to an observant layman that the Batussi differ from the Bahutu in speaking Kirundi They have a different accent, pronounce certain sounds differently, and combine the syllables differently. In general, it seemed to me that in both Ruanda and in Urundi the Batussi speak Kirundi with a much softer intonation and also that they have a tendency to swallow the vowels of the final syllables. Instead of the 's' or 'ss' pronounced by the Bahutu, they use a very soft 'sch' or 'dsch': instead of Munjahasi they say Munjahasch'; instead of Lanongo, Lanong'; instead of Lubassa, lubasch'. It is also often difficult to say whether the final vowel pronounced is an 'a,' or 'e.' It is also difficult to hear the difference in the pronunciation of 'r,' 'l,' and 'd.'

It would serve no purpose to list examples of modern
113 Kirundi at this point since one may consult the comprehensive Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi by Father J. M. van der Burgt and the small Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi et Kirundi-Français by Father F. Ménard which is specifically intended for missionary use (No. 29). Van der Burgt reproduces a few examples of stories, fables, songs, and hymns with an interlinear translation in his Dictionnaire, pp. 96, 292-293, 332-334, 339-342; I myself cannot add anything to them. In conclusion, however, I should
● 539 like to add a few proverbs which are noteworthy for their sharpness of observation and brevity of expression (No. 19, p. 470).

[150] 1) Ivintu vy'ukwibwa viraguma.
Things of no interest (are) hard [to comprehend].

2: Meyer--234 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

539 2) Kukenura n' ukuvina.
To work is to dance (play).

3) Ischano irasje ujumunsi, irindi risosa hanjuma
Misfortune comes today, something else will come later.

4) Invura irahedsje, isuba risosa.
Rain finished, sun will come.

5) Infisi iravuga, iraschaka kutwara umuntu.
Hyena howls, will carry away man.

6) Aravjutse, ari mubi.
(When) he has risen he is irritable.

133 Then there are in order of size: Mohazi in the Buganza, Mugessera and Sake in the Gissaka, Ruhondo (at an altitude of 1, 750 meters) and Bolero (at 1, 065 meters) in Mulera, and Karago in Lwankeri plain.

In the Bugessera there are several ponds: Murago, Mirayi, Kagomasi, Chohoha, Gaharwa, Kilimbi, etc. The small land of Bgiriri, which is adjacent to Gissaka toward the south, includes Birira /pond/.

The two rivers that wind through Ruanda are: the Nyabarongo /Nyawarongo/ (1) and the Akanyaru (2). The former, to which

[103] 1. Nyabarongo, from the verb kulongora, kulongoroka, "to go far away." This river was called thus because it flows throughout Ruanda.

[103] 2. Akanyaru, from the verb kunyaruka, "to rush." The speed of its flow gave rise to this name.

Mr. Kandt, the last German resident, gave the name of Caput Nili ("Source of the Nile") in a well-known book, is formed by the junction of two rivers, the Mwogo (3) and the Lukarara.

[823] 3. The violence of its flow and the volume of its waters during the rainy season occasion numerous tragic accidents, hence the expression: "Mwogo! Thou doth not kill men, thou only taketh away those who come (of their own accord) to meet death," Mwogo! ntiwich' abantu, wicha abakwizaniye.

• [539]

428 The line of behavior followed by the Banyarwanda when it is
543 time to make a will shows that their social organization, /49/ though
far from perfect, is superior to that of many other Negro tribes.

Hamites, Bahutu, and Batwa are anxious to express their last wishes clearly in order to leave nothing unforseen and in order to keep chicanery from creeping in among the heirs.

While alive the father gathers his children around him on a day he selects, or, if he wishes to lend more solemnity to the occasion, he goes with them to the hill chief and offers him a beer as an introductory gift. Among his male children, he appoints the one he likes best as his principal legatee, whether it be the oldest, the youngest, or any one among them.

The chosen son will succeed him in his role as head of the family to levy taxes on his brothers in the name of the king or of the Hamitic chief, and will deal with the latter in matters concerning the small group.

[578] A father may disinherit and curse a son who has given him serious grounds for complaint, who has not shown him due respect, who has insulted him, abandoned him in times of misfortune, or defected during legal proceedings. "May he bear no more children," he exclaims, spitting into one hand and then into the other. "You have behaved badly toward me. I cut you off from my family, I
[539] curse you." (1)

1. Ntabyare! Ntaheke! Wambereye gito, nanje ndaguchiye mu bana banje!

As we have already said, the family property is divided into as many lots as there are boys.

The same holds true for the livestock, cows, goats, and sheep. Each son receives an equal share.

The executor of the will, as the eldest son or head of the family, adds a small field or a piece of a banana grove to his patrimonial share.

While his father is still alive, he usually receives a cow, called "obedience cow" (inka y'indabukirano) to confirm his authority

173 Muleza lakes, the Muryambiri, Kinyaga, Buzaa-Mbali, Burwe, etc., henceforth became an integral part of the Crown territories. Like his predecessors, /Rugamba/marched on the Nduwa where he killed a relative of the king, a certain Kanyoni, and then on the Bunyabungo to the southwest of Lake Kivu, but those were short-lived conquests.

His successors were no more successful in this regard. The inhabitants of the two afore-mentioned regions never allowed themselves to be assimilated permanently by the Banyarwanda. Ruganzu had no fixed residence; he /87/ spent his entire life waging war, hence his name of "Conqueror" or "Eminently Victorious" (Kugunzu).

Only two small principalities are /at this point/ discerned in the present territory of Ruanda, the "Buzozo," a sort of vassal land, and "Marangara," which Ruganzu permitted to survive. The potentate showed a certain respect for their independence in view of the benefits he might derive from them. The petty king of the latter region, who was then Nkoma, had the reputation of being a powerful magician. It is still said today that "Nkoma of Marangara, the son of Nkondogoro, knew how to bewitch a great deal better than it is done today." (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ifitoni cho mu Marangara kitalogo' ubuma ub'abe noma.)

Ruganzu did not dare undermine his prestige but chose to make him an ally instead. The Hamitic kingdom of Gisaka was not disturbed either. As we have already said, no one knows the exact date when it was founded. It may have originated at the same time as Ruanda.

Only 11 of its kings are known. The first one, Kimenyi I, was a contemporary of Ruganzu II. Relations between the two courts must have been good at certain times since we find that a king of Ruanda, Kigeri II Ndabarasa, married a Gisaka princess, the sister of Kimenyi II Cetula. This harmony came to an end, however, on the day when the Gisaka kings seized the Bugesera and Butara-Chambage, which, incidentally, they did not retain very long.

The son and successor of Ruganzu, Mutara I Semu, enlarged the kingdom to the southeast by driving the Burundi, who occupied part of the Buzaa-Mbali province, beyond the Akanyaru River. Tradition adds that the decisive combat was fought near the Savé

644 They[1] were sometimes employed, in preference to other servants, to
701 lead away the convicted high-ranking offenders who were to be exe-
[681] cuted at the usual places of punishment (Buberuka, Bugessera).

I. The name of Impara is used to designate another army corps which is recruited from among the inhabitants of Kinyaga provinces. This name was also given by extension to a group of individuals who are initiates of the Ryangombe secret society and who are compelled thereby to live close to the king in order to draw upon him the favors of the shades of all those who once belonged to that religious society.

They must make an appearance when the king rises, bearing on their heads the tails of hares (amashira y' inkwavu) or of some other carnivore /sic/ like the marten (ibiharangu), which they shake
[769] to the right and to the left while singing and dancing. They hold in the hand small bells or sistra (ibinyuguri), which they ring while /389/ invoking in a loud voice the protection of Ryangombe and his companions. Aside from this beseeching role, they fulfill other functions within the king's household.

Owing to their functions as suppliants and intercessors, which is their chief role by far, they might just as correctly have been included in the category that follows.

Duties of a Supposedly Utilitarian Nature, Some of Which Are Private and Others Public and National.
Sorcerers and Diviners of All Kinds.

A. The Bakoma clan has already been discussed at some
644 length in "History of a Reign," /Book III, not translated/. They were
791 direct descendants of the autochthonous petty kings of Marangara land and were formerly regarded, along with Mashira, as powerful sorcerers. It was believed that they could preserve or take life by hidden means known to them alone.

The first of those autochthonous princes, whose real name was Sekibakanyi, had a tremendous reputation. It is still said today that "Nkoma Sekibakanyi, king of Marangara, (son) of Nkondogoro, knew
[539] how to cast spells a great deal better than those things are done today" (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!). This phrase is now proverbial.

[1] [i.e., the Intalindwa. - Analyst]

754 which is no longer usable (umusambi). Then they fetch a human tibia
[826] or fibula (umurundi) with which they carry out a gruesome dance (guchuragura) in the courtyard of the person they wish to harm. They hold in their hand a small jar full of live coals to symbolize the life of their enemy which is soon to burn out. After breaking the clay jar and scattering the coals, they toss a handful of earth taken from a grave upon the owner's hut and say the following words in a low voice,
[539] "I don't want your beans but your life" (Sinshak' ibishyimbo, ichyo ndashaka n'amagara yawe). This is reputed to be one of the worst evil spells.

6. Gutambikir' umutambikiro, that is to say, "to dig a small ditch across" the path where the hated enemy they wish to bewitch will pass. This is another kind of spell by analogy /sympathetic
[826] magic/. In order to do this, the operator must if possible procure a nerve taken from a human cadaver, and a strip of bamboo or some other wood that was used in transporting the dead.

With these he makes a tiny bow which he places in the ditch dug out on the path of his enemy, who is soon to come by. The hole is covered with earth and grass so as not to arouse anyone's suspicion. When the detested person puts his foot on the concealed bow, the spell caster, hidden in the surrounding bushes, pronounces in a low voice the fateful word, Fatwa, "Be caught." This is the end of the unlucky traveler. /403/ Assailed with violent intestinal pains, distended, blown up, he will soon die in terrible agonies, or so claims the theory.

This procedure is also designated under the name of kubang' agaheto or guteg' umuntu agaheto, "to lay the bow trap."

7. Guteger' umuntu inkoko, "to practice the chick spell"
754 (implicitly, one whose guts did not turn white, iteze neza, yabay'
787 urutunda) is regarded along with guchuragura as one of the worst evil spells.

In order to make use of this spell, one usually resorts to specialists in divination who are past masters of this art. If the diviner
[826] agrees to do the job, for a handsome fee, his client prepares to collect secretly (since the Blacks are suspicious and mistrustful of their fellow men) a little saliva expectorated by the person on whom

221 Werurgwe, April. This word designates microscopic insects
805 which occasionally prey on sorghum and quickly destroy it. Hence
the expression, "Go and see whether the (above-mentioned) insects
[539] have attacked (the sorghum)" (Mulebe ngo Werurgwe itayajamo).

Gichurassi. This is the baleful month (ukwezi kubi) during which the annual mourning which lasts 15 days takes place at court. It is also the time of colds and bronchitis, hence the common ex-
[539] pression, "He who lies down with a cold will be carried away (made to die) by the month of June" (Uryamye ibichurane, igichurassi kizamutwara).

Kamena, July. This month is thus called from the word kumena, "to shatter" or "to tear out," because in those provinces of Ruanda where sorghum is cultivated only once a year people harvest the ripe ears in order to crush the grain and make bread (umutsima), which they have not tasted for a long time.

Nyakanga, August, comes from the word gukanga "to frighten." It is called thus because it is often fatal to old cows (amabuguma, ibibuguma), hence the common expression, Nyakanga ikanga amabuguma,
[539] "The month of August frightens old animals," that is to say, causes them to die.

The two terms Gatumba gatoya and Gatumba /427/ kanama formerly served to designate two months, that is, August and September, prior to the creation of the month of Mata, May. Today they indicate the two fortnights in September, thus named from the word gutumba,
[132] "to swell," because the clouds begin to gather in the sky and the rains begin to fall.

As for the month of Mata, it was created at the instigation of the sorcerers under the reign of Lwabugiri.

Mata literally means "milk," and in a figurative sense it means "abundance." It is also the name of a hill at Marangara, where as already mentioned Mutara and his son Lwabugiri established their residence because this area is reputed to bring good fortune to those who inhabit it. It is said that once for several years the rains failed to come and the crops did not ripen. In order to cope with this grave difficulty, it was resolved that henceforth a new month would be added to the year, and that this month would precede the month of

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Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose [422] property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of [539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning [833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered [302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

535 "His high-pitched, excited voice was heard above all the others when the Batwa, their dance over and their arms uplifted toward Musinga, all shouted at the same time, according to custom, one of these traditional phrases, 'I shall go to my death for the king!' 'When I fight, I kill twenty men!' 'I can no longer keep count of those I have defeated!' 'I shed the greatest amount of blood!'"

c. These musicians who are reputed to be the most skillful
533 are retained at court or called there frequently. Their instruments
[534] are most primitive. They have a flute (umwironge), the stringed instrument so widespread in equatorial Africa (inanga), and another instrument, more primitive still, the isenge (ocarina type) from which they draw unpleasant sounds. People originally from Usui introduced small drums into the country which they beat with their fingers and which were a great success with the king.

The cithara players are the favorite musicians of the populace.

They sing and accompany themselves on their instrument.

The themes of these songs are varied. They deal with the exploits of heroes, the national wars, and even with various /450/ ordinary events of everyday life. The subject is sometimes borrowed from dramas of which the essence and form are common, but they nevertheless draw the attention of listeners because they parallel their own mental attitudes.

We cite here one of those pieces. We heard it recited by a
533 cithara player. He was seated amidst about ten of his companions,
539 who all plucked their stringed instruments together and repeated certain words in chorus at the end of each phrase. The soloist sang, "A leopard left the woods long after sunset.

"He crossed Goko Stream near the village of Murunda (in the Kanage region).

"He came to the Gishwati country in the early evening.

"He came to the hut of the man called 'I am the man who knows how to handle difficulties' (Nziguye).

"The beast knocked at the door with his paw.

"The daughter of the house (recognized and) addressed the animal.

533 "Her father said, 'My child, what you have done is bad.
539 "'Evil will come unto us.'
"The carnivore knocked on the door for the second time.
"He entered the hut and hid near the rush wall (that divides the inside of the hut in two compartments).
"The woman got up to take a brand from the fire.
"The leopard leaped upon her and took her outside.
"With his claws he tore out her entrails (imushing' urwara mu nda, hava mw' umwana).
"The father got up to go to her aid.
"The animal had dragged his quivering prey into the banana grove.
"The husband, after a search, found nothing but a few blood-stained copper bracelets.
"After a period of time the feline returned. /451/
"The master of the house was not caught napping.
"His mind had been active since the accident.
"It was in vain that the leopard brought along Jack Rabbit (the prototype of the resourceful rogue who has a thousand tricks up his sleeve).
"He came near the hut.
"Nziguye ('I know how to handle difficulties') (1) had dug a

1. Nziguye is the substantive of the verb kwizigura, which means "to get out of trouble," "to escape danger through one's own resources."

deep ditch (covered with light branches).
"The leopard vanished into the trap and died there."
538 d. Aside from the bards and official chroniclers already mentioned, there are also at court some literary jousters who speak a refined language, who are appointed to the king's side, and who attend to him in shifts.
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They are called Abasizi, from the word gusiga, which means "to speak a refined language." They expound the events of the day

538 in an amusing and literary form which is not understood by those who
195 are not in the know.

This is why the opposite of the verb gusiga is gusigura, which means "to explain." These men have great verbal facility and are always ready to improvise. The king takes pleasure in those literary jousts, which are not lacking in charm. Their language, which is very rich, lends itself readily to those witticisms which the Abasizi have built up into a vocation and livelihood. Their recruitment is usually entrusted to a great chief. The present incumbents of this office belong, on the one hand, to the Basinga and aBene Katambi clans, and, on the other hand, to the Bakōbga (Nyaruguru, near the Bisi Mountains).

538 Like the official chroniclers, they remain at the sovereign's disposal, ready to beguile his leisure and to make him enjoy literary pleasures.

539 In order to give an idea of their style and of their talent, /452/ we transcribe here three small pieces of their own making, chosen from among the simplest and easiest.

First Example

Agasigo ka Rumanur' imbāba.	A small literary piece about that (famine) which caused bits and pieces of hoes to come out (of their hiding places to buy food with them).
Ibyo bitag' imitsima.	What used to be called bread (to wit, the roots of banana trees).
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	The Victorious (king) has delivered us from it (forever).
Intoke ziraruhutse.	The banana trees may (now) rest.
Ibyo twaryaga.	What we (formerly) ate.
Ngaho wabay' umutsima.	That it has now become (true) bread.
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	The Victorious (king) has delivered us (from these evils).

5: Pagès--177 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

● 539 Tulek' intōke. — Let us leave (alone) the banana trees (their roots) (1).

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1. Times of want are unfortunately frequent among the Blacks owing to their lack of foresight. They till the soil only for their own personal consumption. If a crop is ruined by drought or too much rain, therefore, they run out of food. The narrator describes one of those famines and gives it the name of "that which caused bits and pieces of hoes to come out (of hiding)," no matter how worn, to be sold to blacksmiths. One would then attempt to buy food in neighboring provinces with those meager resources.

Reference is made to the roots of banana trees which are dried in the sun after being struck with the handle of a hoe in order to remove the potash. They are then crushed on the grain-grinding stone and furnish an indigestible food which does not satisfy and does not hinder the end, which is death, unless this imitation flour is mixed in with something more substantial.

Second Example

539 Akasigo ko gutur' umwami. — A small literary piece (on how to address the king when offering gifts to him).

539 Nd' uwawe, nd' uw' imanzi. — I am yours, I am the Hero's (man).
Nkazibgira, Muzima. — I speak to him (to this Hero), oh perfect (king)!

Nivugire, nd' uwinganji. — Let me rejoice, I am (the man) of the Victorious.

Witwa Ndabagize. — You are named (oh king!) the master of their fate. /453/

[145] We may add that in order to observe the rules of euphony, the black men of letters are permitted to use poetic license and deliberately to make errors of syntax, construction, conjugation, etc.

Third Example

Akanganiro k' umubyeyi w' umwana.	Conversation of a mother with her child (to amuse him).
Umugor' atiny' umugabo.	The wife fears her husband.
Umugab' atiny' umwami.	The man fears the king.
Umwam' agatiny' inkuba.	The king fears lightning.
Inkub' igatiny' umugano.	Lightning fears bamboo (1).

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1. The Banyarwanda, especially those who live in the mountains, have the custom of setting up a long bamboo stem in the court-yard near their hut to protect against lightning. They believe that the latter is caged and harmless when it splits the bamboo.

539 Umwan' atinya nyina.	A child fears (respects) his mother.
Umugan' ugatiny' umuliro.	Bamboo fears fire (2).

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2. "Bamboo fears fire" because people who live near the forest burn chiefly bamboo.

539 Umurir' ugatiny' amazi. Fire fears water.
Amaz (i)' atiny' ifu. Water fears flour. (3)

3. "Water fears flour," that is to say, the bread or "mush" into which it vanishes.

If' itiny' amenyo. Flour fears teeth (4).

4. "Flour fears the teeth" of those who eat it.

Ameny' atiny' umuhoro. Teeth fear the billhook (iron) (5).

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5. "Teeth fear the billhook," as all other hard bodies, especially when made of iron, like the billhook, which is one of the most useful tools.

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The Blacks of Ruanda have a rich and varied oral literature. They like witticisms, and since their language is rich in shades and nuances, they manipulate it with great art.

195 The most refined speech is heard at the capital.

644 The habitual frequenters of the court, lords, courtiers, and employees, express themselves in flawless language, use the right words and choice expressions, and give them the proper inflections, for Runyarwanda is a phonetic /sic/ language. The appointed men of letters, storytellers, bards, genealogists, and historians carefully [521] watch their diction. Among them conversation is never /454/ dull, for jokes and witticisms abound.

Considering the good taste that distinguishes the familiars of the king and the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga, it is not

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2. Throughout Ruanda, in principle, a new hut is taken over in the name of a spirit (a dead relative) whose favors are desired.

It is also in his name that one takes a wife (kumulongorer' abazimu).

644 This is why these women are called abaterampundu, that is,
[342] "those who utter cries of joy."

The duties of the aBatchaba are often identical to those of
726 their brothers, the aBasingo, whom they assist in bewitching the enemy with teratological beings who are driven before the hostile army. Like the aBiru they also make drums.

The totem of the aBagessera is the wagtail, a bird of good
825 omen, which is consequently regarded as a member of the family.
342 Hence the power of the Bagessera to call this bird when needed. At
644 court and throughout the land, there is a custom whereby no one may enter a new hut until the wagtail has made an appearance. The bird must at least flit about or hop on the flattened ground where the hut is to be built or on the hut itself. One may even wait several days if necessary /461/ rather than risk the misfortunes which invariably befall those who do not take this traditional practice into account. At the capital, therefore, theBagessera are in charge of instigating the appearance of "their relative" (mwene wabo), the congenial bird, whenever a royal building is put up.

To achieve this they take some embers from their home and light a fire before the new hut.

They sit nearby and whistle in a special way to catch the attention of their totem.

825 The wagtail is highly regarded by the Banyarwanda. In story and song it is called "the bird (inyamanza) from the region of Mabera," a once famous village inhabited by the Bagessera (1). It is located

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1. The regard in which the wagtail is held is the subject of a charming tale. The wagtail

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gained a choice position among favorite birds because it once performed a very useful deed. A king whose name has been forgotten was pining for love. His courtiers did not know what to do, in spite of their numerous attempts to provide the monarch with a choice companion....

At about the same time, in a village far from the capital, a man and his wife were raising a girl of great beauty, who was nourished on cow milk.... The wagtail, who knew of the king's apathy, came and flitted about the courtyard where the young girl was dressing. The bird seized one of her main garments and flew toward the capital. Surprised, the fair maiden followed the bird, begging it to return her garment. "Do not fear," answered the bird, "I shall return it when we hear the sound of the (capital's) drums." While speaking, the winged messenger dropped some beads, of which he had brought a number. The young girl, who was fond of novelties, bent down and picked them up. Eventually they arrived at court.... At first people were surprised at such a miraculous event, but their attention was

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drawn to the beauty of the fair stranger. The king was notified. She was the girl he had been waiting for. As a reward, the wagtail was granted a permanent privilege to its species called ubulenga nzira, which included immunity and a sort of tithe to be levied upon the crops throughout the realm.

near the hill of Lwoga, not far from Nyanza, the present capital.

563 The Bagessera regard themselves as the most important Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan, and claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of Ruanda. According to them, they were the first masters of the land. /462/

Bloody Bondage Imposed on Some Families

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178 The Bakono, Banyabyinshi, and Bakunzi of the Kinyaga were for a long time the victims of this /type of bondage/.

Let us add, however, that the brutality and cruelty characteristic of those inhuman and now suppressed customs had lost some of their primitive harshness in the course of the last two reigns.

1. The expiatory debt to which the Bakono were bound for having fought Ruganzu II had been changed altogether.

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178 Upon the accession of a new king to the throne, the Bakono had to send one or two of their people to the capital, and so did another clan which had formerly belonged to the Banyabyinshi group, so often mentioned at the beginning of the great king's reign.

At court, instead of having their throats slit as was formerly done, those people were merely sprinkled with lustral water (chalk water) and driven for an instant into the hut of the spirits as though being offered in sacrifice to them. There the matter rested. Other chroniclers state that it was customary to beat them a few times with

644 since more than once with his neophyte executioners, who did not
661 fail to congratulate him with some embarrassment while apologizing
696 for the odious task which had been entrusted to them. "Some luck thou had!" they already told him (wagiz' Imana). "What an ugly business the king had entrusted to us!"

"Good for thee, if you managed to get out of such a tight corner." A little later he was even presented to the king, who was first taken aback. He recovered himself quickly and congratulated him in turn. "It was God who saved you (N'Imana yagukijije)," he added. In gratitude to God, Who had rescued him from such a diffi-
[553] cult situation, the lucky fugitive changed his name from Ngirimandwa ("The spirits of the initiates are on my side") to Ngirimana, which means "I have God (on my side)."

After a whole string of circumstances, all equally eventful and dramatic, the outcome had finally turned out in Ngirimandwa's favor.

For one fugitive who was able to narrate in detail the vicissitudes of the drama that nearly killed him, however, how many unfortunate ones vanished into the fatal den without a trace!

Now that the times have changed, elders whose lips were formerly sealed by the rule of secrecy and by the fear of corporal punishment, freely mention the names of unfortunate executed men they knew. They recall among many others a young man who had been a page. /480/ His intelligence, ability, and liveliness had drawn the notice of the sovereign to him, who made him his favorite and could not do without him. As in the previous case the years went by and the prince's favor was transferred elsewhere.

[539] "A king's friendship, a day's friendship," says the proverb.

He had been practically forsaken and was hardly noticed anymore, when one day he was requested to work in the famous "bloody hut."

What had he done that his fate should be so irreparably settled? That is practically unknown.

About eight days after he had received his new job, he was summoned in great haste as though for some pressing errand. It was

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Banutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/ their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

173 The term gisozi ("big hill") serves, as we have said, to
643 designate the place where a king died.

It is the augmentative of the word musozi, which means "hill"
766 and by extension "village." This term belongs to the /word/ class
778 prefixed by the consonant ki.

This class includes nothing but words conveying the idea of majesty, fear, etc. /530/

There are numerous groves in this category, such as those of Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

In order to prove the truth of any pronouncement or assertion, the natives use the following phrase which alludes in metaphorical terms to the death of one or another of their sovereigns, Mb' ali jye wakuye
[539] Lwogera i Kaganza!

"Let it be I ('if I do not speak the truth' being implied here) who tore (King) Lwogera away from Kaganza (name of the place where the king died)!"

The reader must have noted that kings and queen mothers
[644] alone have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Mere wives were entitled to no special honors after their death. They were buried like common mortals. Queen mothers, that is to say, those who bore the heir to the throne and then reigned with him, were granted the same funerary honors as sovereigns.

Aside from the groves we have just described, there is also
173 mention of one at Bugarama-Ntare (i Buhurura) not far from Rukoma.
644 It is believed to be the spot where the undertakers fulfilled their usual
766 functions at the death of a queen named Nyirakigeri. The sacred
778 grove of Butare, which now only includes a few very old trees, is thought to be the place where Nyagihaga, daughter of Ruyenzi and mother of a Chyilima or Mutara died (1).

1. The official chroniclers do provide a genealogical list of the kings of Ruanda, with the name of their mothers and of the clans to which the latter belonged, but this cannot be fully credited. We have

6: Czekanowski--234 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

[304] Umugani rwa Ryangombe. To Ryangombe is dedicated the muku or mulinzi, a tree he once climbed to save himself from a buffalo that attacked him on the hunt. The Banyakissaka have the following story about it.

Umugani rwa Ryangombe
Story of Ryangombe

Ngoni Ryangombe Iya Babinga, ba Nyundo, ngoni Nyamuniga,
That is Ryangombe the Babinga of Nyundo, who is Nyamuniga,

amafizi nayo awabuguma akapfan nimirindo.
? ? ? ? ?

Ryangombe yaliafite nyina, akanga kumumwira. Ryangombe
Ryangombe has mother refused to obey Ryangombe

ashaka kuja kuhiga mwishamba. Nyina nyiwa Ryangombe:
wants to go hunting on the plain. Mother says[to] Ryangombe:

ati mwana wanje leka kuja kuhiga; ati nalose
so child [of] mine let go hunting; so I dreamed

umugezi, utemba uja luguru; ati uzawambuka, ngenda,
a river, which flows upward; so you cross it, you go,

ntuzagaruka. Ati kandi nalose ulukwavu lutagira ishira,
do not come back. So later I dream a rabbit without tail,

uzalwicha, ntuzalubamba. Ati kandi nalose
you will kill it, without obeying. So later I dream

Nyakisha Chimepenebere au Nyakitindi, ati azakulemutsa,
Nyakisha Chimpenebere or Nyakitindi, so she will greet,

atazakulekula Ryangombe. Ati kandi nalose imbogo
she will not leave Ryangombe. So later I dream a buffalo

539 nyaki gumbu. Ati uzaivumbura. Utuzaikira
black very. So you will raise it. You will not protect yourself,

Ryangombe. Ryangombe, ngo hoshi alagenda, aja kuhiga,
Ryangombe. Ryangombe, who then goes away, goes hunting,

abanza kwambuka umugezi, utemba uja luguru. Abagaragu be
begins to cross river, which flows upward. Followers are

bati. Indagu ya Nyira Ryangombe ilasohohye. Bongera
two. The prophecy of mother Ryangombe comes true. They start

kugenda, bavumbura ulukwavu lutagiri ishira, baralwicha,
to go, raise a rabbit without tail, kill it,

baraluleka. Abagaragu be bati. Indagu ya Nyira Ryangombe
leave it. Followers are two. The prophecy of mother [of] Ryangombe

ilageze. Barongeye, barahiga, bavumbura Nyakisha
comes true. They continue, they hunt, they meet Nyakisha

Chimpenebere, kihetse umwana imbebe.
Chimpenebere, she carries a child naked (without a hide).

Baramufata Nyakisha. Ati mutangirira mabi, nimubanze kunshira
They seize Nyakisha. So does nothing bad, begins me to lead to

Ryangombe Barayanye Chimpenebere, ilamukidje Ryangombe.
Ryangombe. They bring Chimpenebere, she bewitched Ryangombe.

Ichara hasi. Ati mpe ingobi yokwihekeka umwana.
He sits on the ground. So give me a hide to carry the child.

Ryangombe icha inzobe. Alaiha au ilamuhati. Ati
Ryangombe kills a marsh buck. He gave him or he gave her. So

iyi ntikwiye, umwana wanje amuhe uluhu rwi
this one does not suffice, child mine it is larger than

539 impongo. Ati iyi ntikwiye umwana,
the antelope. Since this does not suffice for the child,

akokanya, batongera kuhiga. Avumbuka imbogo nyaki gumbu.
it is small, they begin to hunt. He meets a buffalo black very.

Nyakisha Chimpenebere ati: "ndashaka iyo." Ryangombe
Nyakisha Chimpenebere thus: "I want this one." Ryangombe

afata ichumu na ingota, aja kuyitera. Imbogo
seizes spear and sword, goes to throw (to spear). The buffalo

ilahinduka. [305] Imuchumito ihembe. Ryangombe alapfa.
turns around. Gores with horns. Ryangombe dies.

Nyakisha Chimpenebere alishima. Ryangombe agiye kupfa, atuma
Nyakisha Chimpenebere is glad. Ryangombe goes to die, he notifies

yuko apfuye. Babwira umwana we Binego. Alaza
that he will die. They tell child his Binego. He comes

n'impiri ye y'ichuma. Aikubita Nyakisha Chimpenebere.
with scepter of iron. He hits with it Nyakisha Chimpenebere.

Binego alaicha n'umwana wayo ni imbogo nyaki bumbu.
Binego kills with it and child her and the buffalo black very.

Binego amaze kubyicha, abwira abagaragu be, ko aka bamaze.
Binego he ends killing, he says followers his, that he has ended.

Binego achamba Ryangombe. Alataha, asanga nyina
Binego buries Ryangombe. He returns, he visits (his) mother

Nyira Kadjumba. Binego alima mubwani bwa Ryangombe.
Nyira Kadjumba. Binego inherits the kingdom of Ryangombe.

[115] I am indebted to Father Buisson for the translation of this manuscript which was written by a pupil of the mission in Nsasa.

644 the king following such a denunciation, the sentence was swiftly
683 pronounced. "Nakukijije (You are pardoned)," said the king, if the accused had been so fortunate as to find powerful protectors or to refute peremptorily the accusations of his enemies. "Mumujane ku kivumu (Lead him to the ficus tree)," cried the king to the executioners when the man was condemned.

696 "Come on, we shall pardon you (guino twakukijije)," added the executioners derisively while leading away their prey. The unfortunate creature vainly implored the pity of the king and of the spectators, who just looked away. He was quickly led to a hollow
[152] near the ill-omened ficus tree (ikivumu), where he was to suffer the prescribed punishment under the eyes of the crowd, who loved to attend those dreadful spectacles (1). The moans, complaints, cries,
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1. Capital punishment drew large crowds filled with morbid curiosity and avid for cruel emotions.

and howls of the tormented victims did not stop the executioners from pursuing their deadly task to the end. The sufferings of the condemned persons in no way affected their sensibilities. "Has it been a long time since So-and-So was executed?" they were sometimes asked. "The hyenas have eaten him and even digested him (zamuliye, zamuneye)," they would answer coarsely without changing their tone.

Executioners were seen to prolong the victim's torment for their own gratification, or to lead them to run away by releasing them from their bonds so as to have the pleasure of finishing them on the run. We shall not elaborate on the disgraceful mutilations which those unfortunate individuals were first made to suffer.

686 Many a "rain maker" was killed because he could produce no rain. At times of great drought, those who had the misfortune /379/ of being caught were brought to court. They remained bound for days under the burning rays of the sun, while the populace hurled insults at them.

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778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

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543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived
292 the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King
543 Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

543 292 Lake Victoria, the kings of the Karagwe and especially those of the Usui were among the first to establish contact with the Arabs and to receive fabrics from them. Their Ruanda friends benefitted from this. Since those garments were few, /the kings/ alone wore them, and they were also given /512/ the name of imyambarabami, "the king's vestments." Upon the death of a king his garments were put away and became part of the treasure. Although they wore cloth from that time onward, the kings of Ruanda did not forsake the national costume called by the name of inkindi and made of one or two colobus pelts (inkomo), well tanned and elaborately worked. Those pelts were collected and entrusted to the keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), trustworthy men who were preferably chosen among chiefs or the prince's favorites. Those employees had to see to it that the belongings of dead kings were properly cared for. Those garments were beginning to pile up in the wardrobe when the revolution which overthrew King Mibambge-Rutalindwa, appointed successor of Lwabugiri-Kigeri, broke out.

The fire which consumed the huts where the royal furnishings had been stored destroyed practically everything.

It has since been attempted to build up a new treasure by choosing new lengths of fabric bought from merchants, this being now an easy proposition.

Colobus pelts were tanned to replace the old ones. The present king has secured beads, bracelets, necklaces, etc., of various sorts. They are faithfully displayed with great solemnity before the royal hut, which stands at the heart /fond/ of the first outer courtyard, at the time of the two great festivals.

It should not be assumed that this is mere ostentation, a simple display of riches.

Of course, the kings are far from insensitive to this vainglorious exhibit of antiquated frippery and trinkets, which to them were supreme artistic riches. This, however, was not all. This display also had the purpose of gaining the good graces of dead princes. To this end, several individuals were selected among those present to recall their memory. They were made to dress in the old or new colobus pelts /513/ which had belonged, or were supposed to have

543 769

543 belonged, to the deceased monarchs. Then they danced in honor of
769 the "spirits" of dead kings on the grounds before the king's house. While moving about, they repeated in unison, "These are your treasures (intore), those that belonged to you. They are truly yours, those garments, those fabrics, those weapons, those beads, etc. It is in your name that we carry out these celebrations. We always remain your subjects, your lieges, your servants"....

(Tor' ibintu byawe, intore zawe; n' ibirori byawe, n'abagaragu bawe....) When the ceremony is over, the keepers of the treasure store the objects away until the following festival (1).

1. Among the original pieces included in the royal museum, there is the garment (inkindi) of the king of Urundi, Mutaga, who was killed in battle near Mwurire hill in the province of Bwana-Mkali. It is a hide, since no other garments were worn at that time, and it is altered almost beyond recognition in spite of the rancid butter with which it is constantly rubbed to preserve it. It is one of the rare trophies of victory that survived the fire caused by the Ruchunchu disaster. It is called by the name of ntizihishw' amabuno, that is to say, "that (garment) which is too short (for size)." The native expression is stronger and shows that the Banyarwanda wit never flags in situations tragic or comic.

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769 The festivals and celebrations are almost invariably of a sacrificial character in the sense that the ancestral spirits are commemorated and are offered gifts in a fictitious or even a real fashion, as we shall see in the pages that follow. We shall discuss funeral
766 customs or, more exactly, those that apply to the death of the king,

595 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi.
[837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is
[428] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists.
[428] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children
[563] have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very
[847] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage
[583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi;
548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see
also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are
no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a
people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi,
probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force
available to the parents and the better are the prospects of
obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of
herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359).
As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is
particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the
husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove
the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is
induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions
made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret
science among the women, and the men do not appear to have
any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head
man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in
Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions
is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers
tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

574 This custom seems to be widespread particularly among the
837 Batutsi as well as among the Bahima. Father Achte sees in it the reason why polygamy is relatively undeveloped among the Bahima.

548 In spite of polygamy and the fact that it is easy to enter into marriage in Ruanda, there is a sort of prostitute. These are widows or older women, as well as girls who have not found a husband. They give themselves in exchange for presents, thereby earning their living. They are called inzorezi. Young men have sexual intercourse with them before marriage. The word is derived from the verb kuzerera, "to run about."

836 Prostitutes and concubines are distinguished from nyamuraza, roving girls who enter into a sort of trial marriage and have intercourse in this way. They hope [226] by this means to persuade a man who would otherwise not have given them any consideration to make the conventional payment and thus make a proper marriage. This attempt may be repeated several times.

586 Divorce. If a man is not satisfied with his wife he may, without further ado, send her back home. If the woman was at fault, if she was unfaithful or sterile, a demand may be made for the return of the payment given for her.

In Mulera the cow which was paid for the woman, as well as all the animal's young, are returned in this type of divorce if the woman has had no children. If the woman has lived for some time with her husband, the cows may be replaced by calves. While I was in Ruasa the whole countryside was in a state of excitement over an unusual divorce suit. A man named Lwamakuba paid for his wife with a cow which in the course of time gave his father-in-law ten calves. When the wife grew old, her husband sent her back home indicating that she was sterile. He demanded the return of his payment which had meanwhile increased to a whole herd of cattle. After many negotiations the wife returned with an excellent cow which was supposed to make up for her beauty defects. The husband took his wife back, and the matter was settled. After a time, the wife was sent back again. Five times the woman returned, always with another cow. At the time of my visit the woman was being sent back for the sixth time.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

833 under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family
[595] the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some
864 parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and
838 flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

831 Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not
837 available, it was socially permitted to have another partner
835 (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when
[843] she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a
[835] minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his
[593] travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with
[484] them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few
•548 Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

831 The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

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it is correct, the domination of the Batutsi over Ruanda would go back nearly four centuries.

[565] 643 The Abanyiginya and the Abega are the most influential noble families of the country, and kings and queens have been chosen from among them since the earliest times.

[551] The kings of Ruanda have two names, that given them at birth (Musinga, Rudahigwa) and that given them on their accession (Yuhi, Mutara).

When the Mwami dies royal power passes to one of his sons, generally to one of the youngest.

The divine origin attributed to royalty and the legitimacy conferred on the king by a very long heredity led to the [86] acknowledgment of a third characteristic of royal power, that is to say, autocracy.

[423] The Mwami is the undisputed master of the whole country, of the land (fields and pastures), of the cattle, as well as of the people. He is the only real proprietor, all those on whom he bestows his generosity being merely his life tenants.

643 425 He does not necessarily own the land which he cultivates himself, and he does not need to, since his revenues are enriched by the tributes and payments owed to him by each of his subjects. When he is young he receives in appanage from the king, his father, one or several provinces, as well as cattle, and servants. On his accession he may keep all these provinces or give them to others (1).

1. Mutara Rudahigwa has kept his provinces of Nduga and Marangara but has shifted the responsibility of their administration to an umutware.

His favors may be bestowed to anybody, to a Muhutu and even to a Mutwa, whom he can raise immediately to the highest rank. Formerly, even in Musinga's time, those who had ceased to please the Mwami, or simply those whose property he coveted, could be dispossessed any day regardless of their high positions, all influence taken from them, and they themselves exiled from the country. Today, if the Mwami wishes to occupy a certain hill, he asks one

643 of his great chiefs to cede it to him. The latter yields with good
[425] grace and usually receives some cattle in exchange.

The Mwami is an absolute monarch by divine right who
643 knows no other rule but his will, even his caprice. (2) In the past,
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2. Hence the proverb: Luyose higirwa n'Unwami, "all depends on the King."

before our occupation, he could with impunity torture, mutilate, or kill anyone who had displeased him. His criminal sentences conformed to the customs of the country, which acknowledged this [87] formidable right, and no one thought of rebelling against his decisions (1).

[177]

1. The Mwami's right of life and death was abolished in 1917 at the time of the occupation of the country by our troops.

In the same way he is high judge and makes the final settlement in disputes, even the slightest, among his subjects.

Finally, the king is the supreme legislator of the people. With the help of the abiru, he sees that the common law is kept, but he has the sole power of modifying the country's law if and whatever he wishes.

643 He announces his decisions (amategeko) at the door of his rugo,
[692] where people from all parts have congregated to pay homage or demand justice. The intumwa (messengers) are then charged to make known the Mwami's orders to the people of the different provinces.

643 In addition to his Mututsi name (Musinga, Rudahigwa, etc.),
551 the Mwami receives on his accession a king's name (Yuhi, Mutara, etc.). These names are repeated periodically; thus the present Mwami is Mutara III.

The king is sometimes given a surname such as Rwabugiri Sezisoni (Merciful, Clement) (2).

[192]

2. Foreign word originating in Buhima, east of Ruanda.

643 Often an interdiction is attached to a king's name: a Yuhi,
[551] for instance, may not cross great rivers like the Nyabarongo (3).

3. River flowing into the Akanyaru which forms the boundary between Ruanda and Urundi.

[775] After his death the king becomes a sort of divinity for the people. He has gone to Hades to join the demigods, his ancestors.
643 The king shares the supreme authority with his mother
644 (umugabekazi) (4). She is all-powerful, often more powerful than

4. The king's wife is called Umwamikazi or simply Muka-Rudahigwa, etc. The present King's wife is called Nyiramakomare.

her son. Whoever pays homage to the king [88] must also do so to his mother. She intervenes in law proceedings and the distribution of land, herds, etc. The king and his mother together are called Abami. The continual presence of the queen mother at her son's
[608] side is essential (1) and if the king loses his mother, he will be given

1. Kankazi, mother of Rudahigwa Mutara, lives on Shyogwa Hill in Marangara. This measure was taken by the Belgian government because, remembering the disastrous role played by Nyirayuhi with Musinga, they wished to prevent the mother of the present King from exercising too great a political influence.

an official mother. The king's mother has a special name, the
[551] same as that of her son, except when the king is called Mutara; that name even the court familiars cannot give her (2). The same honors

2. Yuhi Musinga's mother Kanjogera, bore the royal name of Nyirayuhi. Kankazi, mother of Mutara Rudahigwa, is called Nyiramavugo.

3. Clans, Exogamy, Totemism

614 In addition to the social stratification resulting from the different ethnic strata of the population with the Bahima conquerors, Batussi, as the upper class, there is in the entire interlacustrine region a subordinate social structure determined by kin groups or clans consisting of blood relatives. Depending on their nature, there are clans of Batussi, of Bahutu, and of Batwa. As a group of families related by blood, the clan is the basis of the entire social organization of both Ruanda and of Urundi, and also of Karagwe, Kisiba, Ankole, etc., while the political state is organized on the feudal system. Unfortunately, we 614 know very little about the clans of the Barundi since my pre- 114 decessors have given little attention to this institution and since the natives are reluctant to give information about these conditions, more from fear of the evil results of mentioning names [551] than from their religious concepts (see p. 111, 112). These things are much clearer in Ruanda where Czekanowski, assisted by the missionaries and Christianized natives, was able to obtain much interesting information about the clan structure (No. 48, Chap. 11). What I am able to convey below I owe -- except for my own findings in the field -- to information received from Capt. von Langenn-Steinkeller and Father van der Burgt.

"In his Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi, van der Burgt refers to a few privileged Batussi families from whom the kings customarily choose their wives (see pp. 99, 101, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]), but he fails to mention anything about an organization of the entire population into clans which is of decisive legal, social, and political importance. In reply to my direct inquiry, Father van der Burgt sent me the following information: "Formerly I held the belief for a long time that no clan organization at all existed in Urundi. Both in Unjamwesi and in Kisiba (No. 31, p. 5) one always hears people speak of their luganda (families, cognatio) and their kisse (pl., visse), i.e., clan; for example, whenever one asks a woman for her name, she first gives the name of her clan, e.g., "I am a Magana" or a "Njamurega" or a "Kundwa," etc. In central

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffoca-
[826] tion). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

553 As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nsujimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal; kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

853 The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the affair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more rejoins his playmates. 854 The children are kept clean and given [515] a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time [482] in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground. They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which 513 is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as ~~not to~~ cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than 766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

776 king, the amulets, the oracle animals, the sacred spear, etc.
[778] (No. 19, p. 214). The same applies to Ruanda (No. 44, pp. 284; No. 39, pp. 102, 109). Imana is given a number of different names or is identified with other gods, depending on his different characteristics and functions. This is also true in
● [551] Ruanda. Children are often given names which contain the word Imana: [121] Kaimana, little Imana; Mbonimana, gift of Imana; Ndorimana, appearance of Imana; Keschimana, ornament of Imana (No. 23, 1913, p. 308). Both men and
[842] women, if they wish to have offspring, wear an impusu y'Imana, a garment of Imana, made of reddish barkcloth with black circles painted on it. Imana is the supreme god of all manes, of all ancestral spirits, and thereby has the character of an old national god.

Although Imana as the sole creator of the world ranks high above the other gods, one nevertheless cannot describe this as a monotheistic concept of the Barundi, as is done by some missionaries (No. 44, p. 283). Nor is it correct to attempt to see a kind of "Trinity" in the fact that, besides Imana, the Barundi have two supreme gods, Rikiranga and Riangombe, whom they often identify or confuse with Imana (No. 19, p. 214). This is to put Christian interpretations on the matter, and these are foreign to the thinking of the Barundi.

It appears that Kiranga or Rikiranga ranks closest to Imana. If Imana is described as the supreme head of the high ancestral spirits, Kiranga is the ruler of all the lesser demons and of all things material. For this reason von der Burgt describes him as a kind of "logos payen" (No. 19, p. 216). He is the god to whom people appeal first for assistance in all worldly matters. It is Kiranga to whom the priestly cult of the crowds is devoted, to him the ceremony of the "sacred spear" is dedicated (see p. 134), and the high priest calls himself Kiranga for he is "possessed" by him, he is his medium (p. 123). To all appearances he is a deity of the old Bantu population and has remained
776 quite free of Batussi influence. The missionaries refer to
778 Kiranga as the "devil" (No. 23, 1904, p. 123). It is said that
793 near Mujaga in central Urundi Kiranga possesses two large herds

794 admission to the order by the society's members is then enacted
575 in the kraal of the candidate. It is accompanied by innumerable
796 formulas, ministrations, invocations of Riangombe, Painting of face and body, eating, drinking, dressing up, handling the sacred spear, alternate chants, and the rattling of bells and gourds. Each of these acts has a symbolic meaning and reference (No. 44, pp. 539-558).

At the end of the ceremony the candidate's sponsor puts
[292] on the insignia of Riangombe (leopard skin, headdress with a cow's tail, etc.) and thereby turns into Riangombe himself who now in his own person performs the ceremony of the admission of the neophyte by a kind of examination and instruction. However, the novice is initiated to no profound secrets or "esoteric wisdom," as in the mysteries of antiquity, but only to ritual formalities, and though the novice is required to make a solemn vow that he will keep the secrets of the Kubandwa, this refers merely to these superficial ceremonies, for, like the other ababandwa, he knows of nothing else. In conclusion, the newly admitted member once more offers presents to Riangombe and to the ababandwa assisting him. Then Riangombe confers
● [551] a new name on the novice by which he will be exclusively known in the future; in Ruanda, for example, the name may be "the little one who smashes the stone," or "the one who swallows cream," or "the one who steals from his mother," or "the one who rids the dogs of fleas" (No. 44, p. 870). After this the neophyte is a regular member of the society. Then the ababandwa, decorated with the insignia of their spirits, march through the countryside collecting food which is finally squandered in an eating and drinking bout (No. 44, p. 110). The newly admitted umubandwa then has to give public demonstration of his newly acquired power. A Munjaruanda who finds himself in some difficult situation asks him to help him appeal to Riangombe or some other god or protective spirit (for example, Kiranga, Masira, Binego, Kagoro, Mugassa). This is done by ceremoniously imploring the god to grant the request and by slaughtering in honor of the god a sterile cow, an old steer, or a ram, which is consumed by the ababandwa of the entire region (No. 44, p. 123 ff.). [127] On this occasion, as at all cattle sacrifices,

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
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1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets.

The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

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2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

428 The widow whose son was chosen as chief legatee usually en-
[768] joys the use of the family property until her death. The sharing is definitively carried out only after she has left this world. A childless widow is usually sent away by her husband's relatives, who share among themselves the property of the deceased. On being dismissed, she is left merely with a mat and a few household utensils. If she is fairly young, one of her brothers-in-law takes her as a concubine or gets her another husband. /51/ When a child loses both parents, he
429 is given a guardian. The legal guardian is the paternal grandfather, or lacking him, an uncle, a paternal first cousin, or lastly the chief of the village himself.

Maternal uncles and aunts, especially if they belong to another clan, cannot as a general rule manage the orphan's property. This would give rise to disputes and legal porceedings among the members of both tribes. They may bring up the child at best.

The guardianship devolves by right to relatives on the paternal side. They administer the ward's property until he comes of age,
[582] that is to say, until the day when he takes a wife. This usually happens at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

If only daughters are left, the nearest paternal relatives
[428] inherit the family property, but they must take care of the orphans until they marry.

If a person dies childless and leaves no relatives, his property devolves by right to the hill chief. This property is called inkungu.

[165] The families are large, but child mortality is high.

851 Eight days after his birth the newborn child receives from his
● 551 father a name that befits the circumstances (1). The mother /52/ is

1. "We notice that all men," says Mgr. LeRoy, "give themselves names that characterize them, and frequently the best one they could find was that of an animal whose strength, skill, agility, or beauty they had noticed, of a plant that was useful to them.... of an object or phenomenon which had struck them." (Les primitifs /Primitive Peoples/, p. 126.)

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We shall now list some examples of those names:

Ntare . . . . . = "lion"
Se-ntama . . . . . = "sheep man"
Se-buhene . . . . . = "goat man"
Se-nkôkô . . . . . = "chicken man"
Se-mbga . . . . . = "dog man"
Njangwe . . . . . = "cat"
Se-biti . . . . . = "tree man"
Bissussa . . . . . = "(edible) nettles"
Nyira-massaka . . . = "sorghum girl"
Se-bishimbo . . . . = "bean man"
Se-masuka . . . . . = "hoe man"
Hakiz'umwami . . . = "it is the king who reprieves (or favors)"
Nyiragitondo . . . . = "morning woman" (one born in the morning).
Se-batware . . . . . = "chiefs' man"
Se-mapfa . . . . . = "famine man"
Madjoro . . . . . = "night" (because born during the night).
Semahundo . . . . . = "sorghum-stalk man"
Lwango . . . . . = "the one who hates"
Luvuga-make . . . . = "the one who speaks little" (that is, the quiet one).
Se-bazungu . . . . . = "Europeans' man," that is to say, born upon the arrival of the Whites.
Ndegeya . . . . . = "man with a sixth finger," that is to say, born with this peculiarity of a sixth finger.

granted a fair amount of respect, and the child is treated well, but from our point of view his education is nil.

684 As happens among most Negro peoples, the law is very strict for extramarital crimes.

173 . His reign, being recent, is well known, and the tale of his expeditions is still to be heard from the lips of those of his contemporaries who survived him. His popularity is almost equal to that of his grandfather Ruganzu II, whose deeds and actions, badly distorted by legend as they are, have been preserved and are still the subject of many a fireside conversation. Lwabugiri's shifts of mood were most interesting. /[747] His revenges, like his bloodthirsty whims, were short lived. He would raise the children of his victims and adopt young captives for whom he took a fancy, shower them with wealth, and admit them into his family.

His immediate successor, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, barely remained on the throne for a year. He was overthrown by Kabale, the most powerful chief of the Hamitic Bega clan.

So as not to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, the vanquished king took his own life. Mussinga, one of Lwabugiri's youngest sons, was immediately enthroned under the name of Yuhi IV.

Through his mother Kanjogera, he was a nephew of the ambitious Kabale, who was regent before the young prince came of age. The Banyiginya clan, from which the royal family is issued and which had until then wielded a preponderant influence at court, was stripped of its property. The most outstanding chiefs of the vanquished party were relentlessly killed by the Bega people, who divided the government of the provinces among themselves over the corpses of their victims. The Bega men, embittered because they had been kept away from public affairs, were avenging once and for all the inferior position in which they felt /93/ they had been held for such a long time by their rivals.

One may ask whether Kabale when he gave his nephew the royal name of Yuhi did not do so intentionally.

643 173 ●551 Two categories of kings are distinguished: warrior kings and peaceful kings (from the verb guteka, "to sit." (1))

1. The same verb guteka also means "to cook" (kupika in Kiswahili).

The name which is given to them on the day of their enthronement binds and commits them throughout their reign to a certain course of

643 action. "Ruganzu" is a war name, and so is "Kigeri." Ruganzu II
173 Ndori, as recounted by one tradition, had suffered so much (yari
551 yarushye chyane) that in order to spare his successors as much as possible of the anxieties, sorrows, and fatigue he had endured, he demanded that his name of "Ruganzu" should vanish forever with him into the grave. He thought that he would reduce thereby the number of future wars. The titles of "mutara" and "Yuhi" commit to peace those to whom they are given, who are not permitted to cross rivers (ntibambuk' uruzi). To break this "taboo" would make them and their realm subject to great misfortunes.

701 Thus, it was not Mutara himself who conquered the Gissaka. In case of a necessary war or expedition, the sovereign appoints two generals, one of whom (umugabe) has command of military operations while the other holds a mere honorary rank. He is said to exercise an occult and magic influence over the opponents, who cannot fail to be conquered if he fulfills his role properly. In the course of his expeditions, Lwabugiri always had at his side one of those generals with superstitious functions. They are called Abagaba.

Book IV

(First Fascicle)

The Royal Court

(Its Posts, Privileges, Mores, and Customs)

644 /348/ The object of the present study is the organization of the royal court, its posts and offices, its customs and festivals (1).

1. In order to designate the court and capital as they are here and now, the Banyarwanda use the word

784 keeper or owner of a herd, his property would also suffer from this infraction of custom (2). /411/

2. His cows would bear only male calves.

A husband may not use this kitchen utensil to beat his wife! He would risk the loss of his life.

The failure to observe most of the prescribed customs while celebrating a wedding would make the parents of the two partners liable to illness or death.

[551] When asked what their name is, children, young men, and girls either do not answer or give a false name, for fear that the stranger may cast an evil spell upon them and thus prevent them from growing.

[841] A woman in her menses may not enter a hut where there is a newborn child, lest she cause the baby to contract scabies. Hence [751] the custom of placing a copper-thread bracelet (urunyerere, or urwinjiri) about the neck of babies as a talisman and preventive.

[643] The king must never bend his knees, in order not to expose his kingdom to becoming smaller.

A father may not step over the hide that serves as a portable cradle (ingobyi) for his child, nor may a son step over his mother's belt.

A woman may not step over a spear, milk a cow, repair the roof of a hut, imitate (!) the cry of a rooster, etc.

It is forbidden to sit on a food basket.

When it thunders, one may not smoke a pipe when seated on a chair.

No one may rest on a sheepskin, or he will contract scabies (ngo badahumana). There is danger of death involved in carrying a whetting stone (ityazo) into someone else's house.

It is expressly forbidden to kill certain birds and certain reptiles, [825 777] not only because they are totem but also because they are regarded either as good luck for the land, like the wagtail (inyamanza), or as bad luck, like the scaly anteater, whose dead body might draw great misfortunes upon the territory. /412/

195 surprising that they should be shocked and amused by the lingo of the
644 mountain dwellers and those who inhabit the frontiers of the realm. The latter's language is far from refined. It teems with syntactical and accentual mistakes and contains a mixture of foreign terms borrowed from the tongues of neighboring groups.

More conversant than others with matters of language, the men at court readily argue about the worth or etymology of existing words, and willingly create others which are more adequate by drawing upon the genius of their language.

The plural word imiduha means "cactus." Its literal meaning
195 is "those (plants) that give to us." Since those kinds of plants, which
814 resemble the Abyssinian quelqual or kwelkol, are not of any productiveness to the Banyarwanda, the men of letters propose, at least theoretically, to replace the word with imyiha or ichyiha, both of which are purely conventional nouns devoid of this misleading connotation.

It is in the same spirit that the black academicians wish to substitute the word ikyiyone, that is to say, "large bird" for the usual term igikona, whose literal meaning is "that which ravages" (the crops). Our African "Immortals" /Tr.: term applied to members of Académie Française/ would also like to see the term umuguta used exclusively to designate a skeleton (or dried-up cadaver), and its synonym umwite reserved for the word "skin."

●551 In their superstitious fear the Blacks avoid pronouncing the
195 names of persons, animals, and things of which they are afraid. They are motivated by the spirit expressed in the French proverb:

Quand on parle du loup, il sort du bois /Talk of the wolf and he will come out of the woods, i.e., speak of the devil and he will appear./ /455/

Instead of calling the leopard by his real name, ingwe, the cowherds, shepherds, travelers, and all other persons who frequent the areas haunted by those animals use the following expressions:

"The one whose name is kept unsaid," Nyiramahole.
"The wind (fast as the wind)," Muyaga.
"The claw of claws," Rwara.
"The animal with the spotted coat," Bugondo.
"The voracious one," Kimizi.

[55] 195 So as not to risk meeting a lion /intare/, they use the following expression when speaking of that animal: "the glutton" (lwabgiga).

The Blacks are never at a want for words. Their language is rich and lends itself to subtleties and to the development of the new ideas introduced by the Europeans.

198 [575] In order to communicate among themselves, the members of the Ryangombe secret society have created a sort of dialect. Many of its more common terms are known to the uninitiated but arouse mirth when used in ordinary speech.

We shall list here some of the words in this Rumandwa dialect:

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Rumandwa	Literal Sense	Runyarwanda	Meaning
Ameza	"Good things"	Amata	Milk
Ubgihinga	"A difficult thing to cultivate."	Uburo	Eleusine
Ibihimbaza	"Things that satisfy /hunger/"	Ibishimbo	Beans
Amaranda (1)	"Creeping things"	Amateke	Taraud /the dictionary meaning "screw cutter" does not seem to apply here./

1. Or amabya y' abak ungu.

Umubonanya		Umutsima	Sorghum bread
Inganda		Inzoga	Beer
Akayoba nzara	"That which staves off hunger"	Itabi	Tobacco
Imirundi y' inkuba	"The legs of lightning," (that is to say, that which is shaped like a bolt of lightning).	Ibijumba	Sweet Potatoes /456/

644 Appointed cowherds lead before them a small herd of milk
484 cows to provide for the needs of the king.

The passage of a prince was formerly tantamount to a disaster
661 for the local inhabitants, who had to harbor the members of the train.

The retinue did not merely include courtiers, the royal guard, sorcerers, and the usual employees. Those dignitaries who wished to retain the good graces of the sovereign made it their business to accompany him with their numerous servants. Idlers and jacks-of-all-trades also joined the train along the way and fleeced the unlucky natives on whom they paid a visit.

This was indeed a veritable army which spared neither friend nor foe, trampling the crops in their path, looting travelers, and taking by force from the local inhabitants whatever had not been hidden in time.

The men who made up the usual retinue of Kigeri IV Lwabugiri
[551] were nicknamed the "Pillagers" (1), owing to their extortions.

1. Their native nickname, Ibitsimbanyi, is a noun derived from the verb gutsimba, which means "to pillage," "to fleece."

644 11. For the sake of completeness, we shall cite the following
768 two customs which the keepers of the traditions assure us were observed in the past. /498/

When the death of a neighboring sovereign, of the Uswi, Urundi, or Karagwe, was announced, the king had to leave his residence and have a new one built (1).

1. Times have changed. The choice of a site and the building of a new "palace" would present too many difficulties today. When the prince of Urundi died, the king merely spent eight days outside his habitual

852 If the child is a girl, the mother gives her: lugori, a head band of corn straw which is a symbol of motherhood; luhindu, a needle; and ntamyi, a papyrus thread.

In describing this ceremony, Father P. Schumacher (1) says

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 901.

that the child, be it boy or girl, is also presented with hoes with which invited children cultivate a piece of land one square meter in size at the spot where the child's uncleanliness is buried. This ceremony is called kusohora and takes place on the eighth day after birth. Present at the ceremony are the child and the mother, shaved for the first time since her confinement.

553 The next day the child is given a name. In Kissaka it is said that children are not named until they are three or four months old. The grandfather names the son, and the grandmother names the daughter. At this ceremony the child is laid on the ground before sunrise and called by its name. If a child has not been born
551 within the house, it is given a special name. In that case a boy is called Maira, and a girl, Nanzira. Besides these names, children are given other names, even those of strangers. Some of these are nicknames and often replace the regular names.

We must also mention that everyone has not only his personal name and the name of his clan, but also the name of his umuzimu, that is, of the ancestral spirit which remains in contact with him. I could not find out any details about this. It seems that the name of the spirit to which the child must make offerings and build a spirit hut (ndaro) is used as the child's second name.

Besides these names people also have boastful names. Father Schumacher (2) says: "Every Munyaruanda, or at least every warrior,

2. Ibid., p. 895.

has a kivugo, that is, a nickname that extols his outstanding characteristics, especially the warlike ones. The byivugo (plural)

•551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has
843 remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it
164 has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in
847 Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the
861 high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
[775] with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the
578 successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

232 especially for sacrifice and for their function at the election
778 of the king, and there are others dedicated to one of the principal gods, Imana, Riangombe, Rikiranga (see p. 68, also p. 184 of original text [not translated]).

When a calf is born, it is rubbed with butter. As soon
233 as the horns appear, the owner tears off the covering epidermis with his teeth and rubs the little horns with butter so as to make them grow well. The calf is then given a name which is de-
[552] termined by its parentage, color, or some other characteristic, or in memory of some deceased member of the family, a chief, king, etc. The calves are put in the pen for six months before being sent to pasture, and after that the young cattle graze in a separate pasture. In the morning and in the evening, before the milking of the cows, the calves are permitted to suck. If a cow refuses to suckle her calf, both her udder and the calf are rubbed with salt water, whereupon the cow will lick the calf and will also allow it to lick and to suck her udder. In order to wean a calf, the cow's teats are smeared with cow dung (No. 19, p. 423).

234 Before a cow is milked (kukamma), the calf is permitted to suck for a few moments. Then the Murundi squats down near the udder, holding a vessel under it with his left hand and milking with his right hand. In this process a considerable amount of milk (amata) is spilled on the ground since the vessel has a narrow opening. An unruly cow or one that kicks has her legs tied together while being milked. If the calf dies or is slaughtered, the cow gives no more milk. In this case, to make her continue to produce milk, the skin of her calf stuffed with straw or simply a piece of the hide suspended on a stick is held in front of her nose (No. 22, p. 287; No. 48, p. 141; No. 27, p. 95). This is also true in Ruanda, Ankole, and the other Bahima regions. This artless yet useful deception usually tricks the cows, and they lick the hide and continue to give milk. The amount of milk produced by the long-horned cattle is quite small all over the interlacustrine region. It is seldom more than two to three liters daily, in
234 the morning and in the evening. The milk pails (itschjansi)
415 are always made of wood; in most cases they have a cylindrical shape and a rounded lid. Van der Burgt claims that [45] this

794 reason gather myriapods (centipedes) which he must dry in the sun and
796 then string up and wear as a badge when he goes begging for sorghum
[625] or banana bunches in the course of ritual processions.

The disciples of Ryangombe also honor the memory of the master's mother, whose role was rather insignificant to judge by the legend.

Ntamutimuchumyi is mentioned only to state that he was the cause of Ryangombe's first misfortunes, for he was about to dishonor him by depriving him of his property and his rights. He was eventually killed for the sake of the general /368/ welfare and honor by Binego, who arrived at the most critical moment. The name of Ntamutimuchunyi /sic/ is synonymous with felony and treachery.

As for Nkonjo, the slave, she personifies cowardice and coarseness. She is mentioned only with scorn (1).

1. Cf. Book V, "The Legend of Ryangombe, " /not translated/.

794 To designate the master's hunting dogs, initiates avail them-
552 selves of appellations and epithets replete with allusions. Some of them recall the abilities of these animals, others the qualities and defects of human beings. The names of the following animals are readily mentioned:

1. "The (serious) man who never laughs at his fellowman" (Ntamugab' usek' undi).

2. "He who preserves (as a careful owner) a store of smoked meat" (Nyamubikan' umuranz' uruguma).

3. "He who pays the bride price for a girl whose family did not raise her properly" (Bakoska batahana).

4. "The pot-herb which is so odorous, although it is not yet ripe, that it causes people to eat up (at one blow) all the butter in the house" (Urunyegeri rutoto).

5. "Her mother knows her well (including all her faults), so she will make no effort to argue with her because she knows that her daughter is incorrigible" (Nyina aramuzi, ntazamumpora).

794 6. "The dog that runs like the wind" (Nyakayaga).
552 7. "The dog with fringes (with long hair)" (Nyagayonga).

Among the prototypes or figures who appear in this legend,
173 Ryangombe is the one most highly honored.
794 He is regarded as a sort of hunter-king who made volcanoes his favoirte dwelling place after his death.

According to the same narrative, he still enjoys the pleasures of the hunt with his sons, companions, and favorites in those high mountainous and wooded regions. The Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa have participated in this cult in large numbers. They observe its /369/ rites faithfully and observe the rules of the arcana. The ceremonies take place mostly at night. Each of the adepts appeals to the spirit or spirits for whom he has a special devotion. The Batutsi have chosen those whose life most closely parallels their own.

643 The chiefs do not like to mix with their subjects to honor those powerful spirits, but they seek out the help of the Bahutu and
794 Batwa who belong tothis cult and have them dance and sing in honor of Ryangombe and his companions. The Bahutu and Batwa alone take part in the ritual processions and collections which are carried out through the villages in summertime.

794 The gestures of this cult are pervaded with earnest and impressive seriousness. Initiation, confirmation, ritual feasts, the taking on and carrying out of vows, the collections and processions, all take place secretly, away from prying eyes. Laymen are not allowed to come near the gatherings, and jests and insults directed at the initiates were seriously punished in the old times. A former queen, Nyiramulema (a wife of King Mutara), was crucified upon the ground in the courtyard of her dwelling by the imandwa for having ridiculed their ceremonies. The tomb of the unfortunate woman lies at Savé, in the Nyarigina quarter.

644 II. Official Posts of Great Importance from the Standpoint of the Crown (Ingoma) as well as from that of the Executive.
Generals and Official Drummers.
Executioners, Capital Punishment, and the "Pit" of the Bugessera.

701 1. The generals or commanders of the armed forces.

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778
[27]

1. They are among others Kanyoni, son of Gatibamenya, and Rubunda, princes of the Ndorwa area; Nyagaketchuru, the woman chief who governed part of Huyi in the Nyaruguru; Mutaga, the king of Urundi who was killed under the reign of Mutara I; Nyirabihoro, another princess from the neighborhood of Uswi; Kabego, king of the isle of Idjwi (in Lake Kivu), and his son Nkundiye.

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[344]

This drum is jealously guarded within the enclosure of the royal palace, on the east side in a hut called by the name of imilinga, that is to say, "copper objects."

This term is both metaphorical and euphemistic, and well understood by the people. It is metaphorical so as not to draw the attention of enemies upon the function of the hut, and it is also euphemistic so as to remind the courtiers of the importance of this palladium, which is likened thereby, to the copper threads and bracelets formerly regarded by the Banyarwanda as precious objects. The same hut serves as museum and repository. It also shelters the other royal drums which played a role in the past, before the Kalinga, in its stead, or along with it. /373/

[552]

These drums bear characteristic names. Perhaps they should be regarded merely as symbols or trophies, reminders of victories won in the past by the Hamitic kings over the autochthonous princes. The latter's lands and drums went from their hands into those of the Batutsi monarchs.

The hut also encloses enormous quivers (imitana), arrows, spears, and other weapons of varied shapes and sizes. A certain element of taste must have presided over the selection of this booty, for people who have managed to see them say that the objects in the collection are almost invariably characterized by a certain richness, a great deal of originality, and fairly careful craftsmanship.

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
[202]/374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
533 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
644 hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated
[614] to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
644 name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of
814 closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

224 are organized at the beginning of the rainy season.

Elephant hunters work in small groups and use a spear. The following is the procedure when an elephant herd or a single old bull is sighted. At a carefully chosen place the spears are planted obliquely into the ground, their points directed toward the elephants. The hunters conceal themselves, with the exception of one who must go after a certain elephant. If the irritated animal attacks the hunter, the latter flees in the direction of the spears, so that the charging elephant will ram into one of them. The wounded animal is then attacked from the rear by the hunters in ambush. Elephant meat is said to be eaten in Kissaka. The mutware gets a tusk. Elephants are found chiefly in Bugansa, north of Kissaka.

Aside from drives and the use of decoys, wild game is also hunted with traps and trap pits. The traps consist of a snare lying on the ground and fastened at one end to a young tree bent to the ground. When the animal runs against the snare, the tree straightens out, draws the snare taut, and lifts the animal by its neck or a leg. The pits are carefully covered with foliage, and the captured animals are killed with spears and then divided up.

223 Birds are caught with slings, but they are also shot with bird arrows which are dull or have four points. Partridges are said to be pursued on foot and killed with a stick after the birds are exhausted.

224 In Mulera where hunters are very skillful, probably due to Batwa influence, [146] a great many otters are speared. They use a spear with a barbed head and a broadened end, which is said to be used also in hunting hippopotamuses. The hippopotamus hunters try to creep up on their prey in small boats, a very dangerous but also very much admired sport.

231 Hunting dogs are greatly loved in Ruanda and kept in great numbers. Every chief has a rather large number of them. The [552] dogs are called by special names. I realized how fond they were of their dogs once when the porters of our returning supply caravan stole a small dog. Its owner did not hesitate to follow my column on its westerly march for three or four hours and across two lakes, hoping that the porters would run into my column and that, with the help of a European, he would get back his property. This

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461] 1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

553 neighborhood children are then invited to eat a dish consisting of a gruel of sorghum and beans. But before eating they wait for the child to relieve himself, hence the name of this meal, ubunyano (from kunya, to defecate). Then the father recites a few names he would like to give the child, and those present choose one of them. If the parents have already lost a child, in order to turn away the evil spirits, the newborn child is baptized with an objectionable name such as Kangurube (little pig child). The same day the husband is obliged to have intercourse with his wife lest a misfortune happen to the child.

[845] Twins (impanga) are given names that resemble each other, Karengera and Karinganire for example. [36]

851 The rule pater is est quem nuptiae demonstrant is universally 848 applied. Normally, therefore, the husband is the child's father and [611] filiation is established in the patemal line. Children born after the father's death are considered legitimate if the wife was pregnant at the time of his death.

There is no special word to designate the legitimate child.

However, the rule mentioned above has certain exceptions. If a man marries an ikinyandaro, the child to be born, who is only an umusambanano for the husband, will belong to his natural father. But the husband may claim that the child is his if at the time of the marriage the girl is only a few months pregnant.

It may happen that a girl does not know the name of the man who has taken her (1). The natural child then belongs to the inzu of

1. This is especially the case with abajakazi (mistress-servants), who live at the Mwami's Court or with the great chiefs and who are put at the disposal of their master's guests.

the girl's father. Today there are many ibyomanzi who, eager for their independence, have left their parents and wander throughout the country. Their children are called abana b'umugore, but they do not belong to the maternal inzu, for the ibyomanzi no longer have any family.

The adulterine child belongs to the husband because of the dowry that has been paid. If the dowry has not been paid, the child is supposed to belong to the family of his mother's father. The incestuous child belongs to the husband. When a child is born to an unmarried

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffoca-
[826] tion). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is
553 able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

644 since more than once with his neophyte executioners, who did not
661 fail to congratulate him with some embarrassment while apologizing
696 for the odious task which had been entrusted to them. "Some luck thou had!" they already told him (wagiz' Imana). "What an ugly business the king had entrusted to us!"

"Good for thee, if you managed to get out of such a tight corner." A little later he was even presented to the king, who was first taken aback. He recovered himself quickly and congratulated him in turn. "It was God who saved you (N'Imana yagukijije)," he added. In gratitude to God, Who had rescued him from such a diffi-
[553] cult situation, the lucky fugitive changed his name from Ngirimandwa ("The spirits of the initiates are on my side") to Ngirimana, which means "I have God (on my side)."

After a whole string of circumstances, all equally eventful and dramatic, the outcome had finally turned out in Ngirimandwa's favor.

For one fugitive who was able to narrate in detail the vicissitudes of the drama that nearly killed him, however, how many unfortunate ones vanished into the fatal den without a trace!

Now that the times have changed, elders whose lips were formerly sealed by the rule of secrecy and by the fear of corporal punishment, freely mention the names of unfortunate executed men they knew. They recall among many others a young man who had been a page. /480/ His intelligence, ability, and liveliness had drawn the notice of the sovereign to him, who made him his favorite and could not do without him. As in the previous case the years went by and the prince's favor was transferred elsewhere.

[539] "A king's friendship, a day's friendship," says the proverb.

He had been practically forsaken and was hardly noticed anymore, when one day he was requested to work in the famous "bloody hut."

What had he done that his fate should be so irreparably settled? That is practically unknown.

About eight days after he had received his new job, he was summoned in great haste as though for some pressing errand. It was

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2. Ibid., p. 895.

has a kivugo, that is, a nickname that extols his outstanding characteristics, especially the warlike ones. The byivugo (plural)

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

refrain from decisions which could have impaired the economic production of the country, such as requiring tributes which were too heavy, or which could have lowered the level of personal security to such an extent that people would have preferred to flee abroad.[23] Moreover, profound legislative modifications would have roused the resistance of the *biru*. Nevertheless, his powers were still extremely great. A fact which reinforced and consolidated them was the tradition of the long past of the dynasty. The present mwami, Mutara III Rudahigwa is regarded as the fortieth king of Ruanda. Even if the first twenty names are considered as legendary, three or four centuries is a considerable past for a dynasty. The Abanyiginya clan has indeed been able to keep the kingship of Ruanda as long as kings are remembered.

The mwami was not only of divine origin but he was Ruanda personified. This mystical identification with the country resulted in numerous avoidances and a very careful behaviour was expected from the mwami. What happened to him would reverberate, as it were, over the country. He should not bend his knees, for instance, lest Ruanda's territory would shrink.

Royal succession was not completely fixed by custom. The heir was chosen by the king from among his sons. He was generally one of the youngest because the strength of Ruanda was magically connected with the king's strength. The name of the chosen one was kept secret. Even the future mwami did not know it. It was revealed only after the king's death by the three most important biru whom the mwami had entrusted with his decision. The other sons and their mothers generally did not agree willingly to the choice and there was often a period of unrest, even of civil war, before the new mwami became an effective ruler.[24]

A new name was given to the new king, one of the five royal names which were chosen according to the same sequence: Cyrilima, Kigeli, Nibambwe, Yuhi, Mutara. The kings named Cyilima, Yuhi, and Mutara were called 'peaceful bami'. They were not allowed to cross the Nyabarongo, a river which runs in the centre of the country, not far from Nyanza, the capital, and this symbolized the fact that they should not send their armies abroad. This rule very wisely allowed the country to recuperate and to assimilate new territories conquered during a preceding warlike reign.

[23] Maquet, 1953. [24] See Gluckman, 1954, p. 8.

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is
565 called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the [411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this. [301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aristocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 [554] to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since [302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base [141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

[27] Chapter 3

Ornaments, Clothing, Weapons

301 The Barundi have very few body ornaments. Men and women wear thin rings of copper or iron wire around the ankles and above the wrist, or catgut strings with thin wire wrapped around them, and also more rarely a thick iron ring around the wrist. The men in particular wear an ornament around their necks which is unknown in Ruanda: a triangular section as thick as a finger, cut from a white shell (ikiresi), hanging on a string; for the most part it is imported from Unjamwesi (No. 19, p. 406) where men also wear it. Similarly, a polished boar's or hippopotamus tooth is worn on a string around the neck (Plate 33). More frequent these days are simple chains of pearls made of small pale pink or white European pearls; more rare are strings with small spindle-shaped wooden pegs strung in a row, with inlaid brass or copper discs like mosaics, or with all kinds of pieces of roots, animals' claws, goats' horns, etc., used as amulets (see p. 132). Small conical or bell-shaped pendants of copper or iron are also often worn in great numbers around the neck (umuhare, (Figs. 3 and 4). The thick disc-shaped wooden ring (ikirinsi), which many Barundi wear around their wrist to protect it from the recoiling bowstring when shooting (see p. 34 and Plates 11, 12b, 13, 30a), is often also merely an ornament. Although it is 20 to 25 centimeters in diameter and despite the delicate structure of the Barundi hand on which it is worn, this disc-ring nevertheless does not look clumsy since it is elegantly formed and inlaid [28] with various linear brass or copper ornaments (Plates 42, 43). The incision on its side through which the disc is slipped on the wrist is so narrow -- two and a half to three and a half centimeters -- that it is hard to see how a man's wrist can be pushed through it. A smooth ball the size of a plum and carved from fruit pits is a sign of rank or is a valuable amulet among the highborn. It is worn on top of the smoothly shaven head on a narrow strip of leather that passes around the back of the head.

301 554

[Text continues on page 41]

301 554 Often a second strip of leather, without the ball, however, goes around the head from the back to the center of the forehead. I have never seen this form of ornament worn by the Bahutu or the common Batussi but only by members of the royal kin group (Baganwa) and by the high batwale (see Plates 11, 13, 14).

302 The hair style of the Barundi is very simple. According to the reports of former travelers, there was much greater variety years ago; today the large majority shave the head completely. For this purpose, after the hair has been somewhat softened with warm water, they use a short shaving knife without a handle. Many of them leave a small, round tuft of hair on top of their heads, more rarely a remnant of hair in a different form. The children frequently appear in long "poodle locks"; they then look like Galla or Somali children (Plate 12b, 16a). The heads of women and girls are usually smooth shaven. If they wear hair, they comb it with wooden combs (Fig. 5). The men also shave their beards; axillary and pubic hair are removed among the Batussi, but not among the Bahutu who have very little anyway. The two bristly fringes of hair running diagonally across the head, which are a national trait of the Banjaruanda, are very seldom seen on a Murundi.

302 515 Common to the Batussi of both regions is the care of the skin by means of various cosmetics. Rubbing with half-liquid butter is the most frequent. Most by far of the butter produced is used for this purpose, and often some raw laterite and the juice of fragrant herbs is added to this skin ointment. Those people who have no cows and, consequently, no butter, such as most of the Bahutu, cannot smear themselves with butter. If this ointment is put on fresh every day, it is quite appetizing and nice, but if, as frequently happens, the butter turns rancid and combines with the smell of sweat and the stench of smoky huts and stables, the fellows stink so much that one can smell them at a distance of ten paces even in the dark of the night. Yet I must say in defense of the Barundi that they like to take a bath whenever water is plentiful, i.e., when drawing

[Text continues on page 42]

412 (uruwati) made of two thin boards held together by several
411 wrappings. In the same manner as the quiver, the sheath is often
[531] decorated with carved crescents or zigzag patterns (Fig. 9).
The knives are often carried by a strap running from the right
shoulder to the left hip, like a shoulder belt. The much smaller
412 knives, 10 to 15 centimeters [35] long, which are found more
often and which are of the same shape and used for smaller
carving jobs, are either worn on a string around the neck or over
the left upper arm. Only in western Lower Urundi on Lake
[177] Tanganyika can we find knives with fine copper wire nicely
wound around them; there they are due to Congo influence
and are produced by Wawira [Bira] blacksmiths (No. 19, 133).
[326] In Upper Urundi proper, the Bahutu and especially the Batwa
blacksmiths are the suppliers of knives.

411 Fighting clubs (uwuhiri) which were once generally used
all over the region have become rather rare in Urundi; as
among the Massai and the Wadschagga [Chagga] these former
weapons have been degraded into a show piece or toy of the
men. They consist of a beautifully planed piece of hardwood,
about one third of a meter in length, which at the end has been
carved into three or four edges and at the handle end is slightly
thickened.

411 Shields (ingabo) are much more rare. They have com-
pletely lost their importance as a weapon of defense and, as in
554 Ruanda, they have become merely the emblem of a chief or of
a family (perhaps the escutcheon of a clan) (Plate 44). The king
possesses several shields and each chief and his bodyguards have
one each which are painted differently. The Batwa do not have
any shields and are not allowed to carry any. The round shield,
up to one half meter in diameter, is carved of wood it has a
wooden grip and is painted with white and red segments of circles
of various types. There are also shields which have reeds plaited
around them (see pp. 80-81 and Plate 53) and others of identi-
cal shape made of cowhide which occur even more rarely. The
same shape and ornamentation of the wooden shields and quivers
recur both among the northern Bahima in Ruanda and among the
southern ones in Ufipa (cf. illustration in No. 47, p. 76).

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b). A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins [554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

223 The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka) with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue. Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain [262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

226 Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi [563] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned [262] to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

231 The cattle of the entire country belong de jure to the
422 king (or to the highest chief), as in Ruanda. He leaves a large part of the cattle with the Batussi sub chiefs, who enjoy the usufruct, and [42] the latter, in turn, leave small herds and single animals with lower Batussi and individual Bahutu for care, further breeding, and use. A set small number of the young becomes the property of the caretaker which he holds as an irrevocable fee.

231 To a certain degree the almost mystical esteem in which
554 cattle are held is transferred to the temporary owners, caretakers, and breeders of the cattle. A person who is vested with cattle is thus raised to a higher status. A Muhutu who is vested with cattle for the usufruct and for breeding is ennobled, so to speak, by this act; he is no longer subject to compulsory labor, nor does he have to work the fields for his master. Thus, the possession of cattle has a social significance which is no less important than the economic one. Not only for religious reasons but also for social and political ones, old and sick cattle are allowed to live as long as they possibly can, both in Urundi and Ruanda, for they can still be used to vest someone with them who through this rise in status is more closely tied to the Batussi rulers and the king. It is also for this reason that the immense number of cattle owned by the king are a strong support of Batussi rule.

233 All cattle are fed in pasture (Plate 23); only older calves and sick animals are fed in the stable. During the night the cattle are kept within the inner fence of the homestead. As soon as they have been cleaned after sunrise in the morning and the cows have been milked, the herd is driven to pasture (kwahura inka). The location of grazing land is determined by the season and the growth of fodder. The herd remains there until evening. Every sixth or eighth head of cattle carries a bell (insogera) made from a bent piece of sheet iron (Plate 45) or from wood; in many areas, however, there are no cattle bells at all. Twice daily the herd is driven to the water-
233 ing place in the nearest river valley. If the valley has no
312 flowing water but only underground water to be obtained by digging holes, as is often the case during the dry months, long

533 on for hours. The drum concert and drum dance are hardly
535 ever accompanied by singing (No. 19, p. 388).

In Urundi and Ruanda drums are such a rarity that an
534 experienced observer wrote as recently as 1901: "In Urundi drums are unknown" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword]. 1900, p. 212). During my own two months' journey through central Urundi, I never heard a single drumbeat. This can be explained easily by the fact that there remain only a few small areas in this country where trees still exist that are large enough to make drums (and boats). It is probably because of
534 their high value that the possession of drums has become a
554 privilege of chiefs and of the king. Neither the "people" of
778 the Barundi (Bahutu or Batussi) nor the Batwa are permitted to own drums. A special role is reserved for the king's drum. This drum, in addition to the spear, the finger ring or bracelet (wrist disc), and the holy wooden milk vessels, is part of the royal insignia which the ruler bequeaths to his successor (No. 19, p. 524). This "holy" drum is a kind of Palladium of the realm and, as such, it is given the name akarjenda. It is very big and made from the wood of a special tree. This drum is regarded as the seat of the protective spirit of the realm, and solemn vows are made by this "drum spirit" akarjenda (No. 19, p. 388). Special guards are charged with taking care of [70] this royal drum (see p. 187 [not translated]). It is always kept at the residence of the king and, together with the holy spears and the holy milk vessels, it also accompanies him on his trips (report by Captain von Langenn). The hides used for the holy drums [sic] are taken exclusively from the cattle of the so-called "holy herd" (see p. 44).

533 Neither van der Burgt nor any other observer reports having heard of the combination of several drums and other instruments to form an orchestra, but natives assured me that such an orchestra existed at the royal court and that it consisted of Batwa. I consider this very likely since there is such an orchestra, a combination of several differently tuned drums and flutes, at the residence of Musinga, king of Ruanda. The members of the orchestra are Batwa. It sounds very melodious

326 rings, etc., which are customary in the country. The Bahutu and the Batwa use the same technique, but apparently the Batwa are the more adroit blacksmiths. In Urundi blacksmiths do not form a special guild, but in some families the craft is passed on from one generation to the other. Blacksmiths live [554] with the other Barundi, and because of their craft they are highly respected. They are professional craftsmen who sell [84] their merchandise, but as in Ruanda, they often also engage in agriculture on the side. [Fig. 17 appears here in the original text.]

325 The work shop (uruganda) is a small round hut, open on [348] all sides. In its center a hollow in the ground contains the [372] charcoal fire. Since blacksmiths need charcoal for their craft and since there are few trees in this country, they mostly have their huts not far from the remains of forests or the bushes along the rivers. Charcoal from the peripheral mountains wrapped [438] in long bundles of banana leaves is sold in the interior. Next to the fireplace there are bellows, either vessel or bowl bellows (umuvuba), shaped like a large, double wooden spoon, over each of whose ends a goatskin is stretched loosely (No. 2 of Plate 45). A wooden stick is tied to the center of each skin; it serves as a piston whose upward and downward movements press the air from the vessel into the end of the pipe. The blower stands or squats behind the bellows holding a piston in each hand which he alternately moves up and down quickly. The same type of bellows is used in Ruanda where it is also used for blowing the smelting furnaces. In Urundi (according to Stuhlmann's small map in No. 32a, p. 62), still another type is said to exist, the tube or bag bellows; yet I have not been able to find out anything about it. The more common vessel bellows just described is carved from a single block of wood and opens into a short, funnel-shaped clay pipe which is placed directly among the hot coals and keeps them glowing. From time to time water is sprinkled on the glowing pile of coal.

[85] On the other side of the fireplace there is a hard stone which serves as an anvil (Fig. 17). The piece of iron which is to be forged is pushed into the glowing coals with a wet, clamp-like piece of wood or with a pointed iron pin, and it is pulled

[Text continues on page 128]

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

662 The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

563 554 The second important legal sphere is constituted by social conditions, but first, something about the social stratification. I shall reserve a separate chapter for the relationships within the clan and family (p. 98 , 106). As has already been mentioned, social stratification is determined by the three racial elements of which the Barundi people is composed: Hamitic Batussi, Bantu Bahutu, and the original indigenous population, the Batwa. By the law of conquest, the Batussi form the nobility; the Bahutu are those who are not free, or rather those whose rights are only conditional; and the Batwa are the helots who have no rights. If we disregard the Batwa pariahs, there is no separation of castes closed off from one another, although the priests (kiranga), the sorcerers and medicine men (abafumu), and partly also the religious brotherhoods (ababandwa) enjoy a privileged position on the basis of their magical powers which other persons lack. The professional craftsmen, especially the blacksmiths, also maintain a particularly respected position if they are Batussi or Bahutu, but this does not apply to Batwa. And, as is true everywhere, the [556] rich in Urundi enjoy more respect and influence than the poor.

In spite of the considerable difference in social and legal status and in spite of the arrogance of the Batussi, the latter associate with the Bahutu on a friendly basis in most cases, a relationship similar to that between a master and his useful, docile servant. Even if a Mutussi is a mutwale of the lowest rank or a petty feudal lord, the Muhutu will never forget that in his relations with the former he is dealing with a master. If he should ever forget this, he most certainly would be reminded of his inferior status in a manner which would not be pleasant for him, but the "better situated" Muhutu regards the ordinary non-propertied Mutussi as his equal. At times, although [582] only rarely, there are even marriages between Batussi and Bahutu, yet these are not considered as completely valid (see p. 101 , 169). It is also reported that, as in Ruanda, a Muhutu [557] may be promoted to the privileged class of the Batussi by an act of royal favor.

563 The Batwa, however, stand entirely apart from and below the others. They are not slaves who are forced to render services, but they are regarded as excluded from the society of the others, as outcasts whom the Batussi and the Bahutu despise and detest. They are considered animals, not human beings (No. 19, p. 541). The Batussi and Bahutu do indeed buy all kinds of handicraft products, especially pots, from them and also employ them as medicine men, musicians, and watchmen, but they never enter into closer relationships with them. (In Ruanda it is more likely that exceptions will be made, especially at the royal court.) A Mutussi or a Muhutu will never enter the hut of a Mutwa, he will never eat or drink with him, nor will he use a pot or a garment which has already been used by a Mutwa. [95] Only one thing is permitted: the [576] Mutwa may greet the Murundi and return his greeting although in a different manner than a Murundi would have done.

576 Depending on the social status of the person who tenders a greeting and the person greeted, there are considerable dif- 554 ferences between the forms of greeting used among the Barundi. In all cases the greeting is tendered and returned with a certain amount of ceremonial politeness so much so that some observers maintain that greetings are a kind of religious act. Even the words of the stereotyped greeting often suggest a religious connection (see p. 46). It is perhaps for this reason, but even more likely because of the great innate or learned politeness of the Murundi, that each of them would consider it a serious insult if he were not greeted or if his greeting were not returned. Corresponding to the social stratification of the people, we may differentiate three large groups of greetings.

576 1. Greeting the king. The person greeting the king kneels down, 643 bends toward him, claps his hands in his direction, and calls 554 out: "uganse umwami" (command me, King) or "ugire umwami" (may you enjoy good health, King). The members of the royal family, the Baganwa, who for the most part rule the provinces as head chiefs, are greeted in a similar fashion.

554 2. Greeting the batwale who are not of royal blood and the lesser 576 chiefs of communities. The person tendering the greeting bows

554 toward the mutwale and calls out "amahoro umutwale" (Peace,
576 Mutwale) or "mwakeje umutwale" (did you wake up in good health, Mutwale?), whereupon the person addressed simply answers "amahoro" or "mwakeje." Or the person tendering the greeting calls out "turakuje ubwatsi" (we offer you grass) or "sjinde awansi" (conquer your enemies). At the same time the greeter plucks a handful of leaves, straw, or grass and places them at the feet of the king or the mutwale. This is a symbol of submission for the grass or straw is the symbol of the soil and of all that grows on it (No. 14, p. 48; No. 22, p. 254; No. 4, p. 79). The "grass homage" is a widespread custom among the [171] Hamitic nations of herdsmen and it also plays a ceremonial role among the Galla (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, p. 275).

576 3. Greetings exchanged between ordinary Barundi. There is an extraordinary number of different types of greeting depending on the time of day, the occasion and the person involved, etc. In this type of greeting, "mwakeje" or "amahoro" is also used as the beginning phrase in most cases, but after that there follows a whole flood of phrases exchanged between the two persons. When taking leave, it is quite customary to call "ibaba" or "akababa" to the other person. These words are also used by the Wanjamwesi (No. 19, p. 529).

The Barundi do not embrace or kiss each other as a form of greeting, but there is a peculiar kind of accolade which is the customary form of greeting among relatives and friends. It is executed in a very ceremonial fashion and is accompanied by many turns of speech (No. 23, 1904, p. 36). If someone meets one of his relatives or a close acquaintance, he first gazes at him for some time without saying anything and then approaches, stretching his folded hands toward the person. The other takes these folded hands between his own and then gently strokes the arms of the person who greeted him. At the same time, the chests and heads of the two approach one another as though they intended to embrace. While these gestures are being made, numerous phrases of greeting are exchanged. The words

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies, against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who
[556] can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most
[554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the
[791] Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most lucrative sources of income.

754 The abafumu have another important task: to discover
791 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 661 We have said that the *mwami* did not possess the land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *mwami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 43 357 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them are naturally attracted towards those who own them. The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* who watch over the cattle), *bakevvi* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 675 425 554 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later return a calf after the cow has calved two or three times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 425 *The relations between agriculturists*

Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

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had incurred the king's displeasure and was for that reason left without protectors, friends, or cattle was in a desperate situation; only with difficulty could he gain a bare subsistence. A Muhutu against whom an accusation of sorcery was repeated; an unmarried girl of a noble family whose pregnancy became publicly known; all these, if they failed to escape from their predicament by skill and rational behaviour (such as obtaining the king's mercy, denying the charge of sorcery and looking for the protection of a powerful man, using abortifacients or denying the pregnancy), would have recourse to the *bapfumu*, seeking to know what spirit or sorcerer was responsible for their misfortune and how to appease the malevolent being. If all the practices and offerings recommended by the diviner had no effect, then they called upon *Imana*, and if their prayers were unanswered, only drastic solutions remained, such as exile in a foreign country or suicide. But these tragic destinies were not numerous and they did not shake the belief of the majority in the moderate happiness of living.

There is a further reason for their generally cheerful acceptance of the conditions of their existence. Banyarwanda are not inclined to speculate about the inaccessible. Westerners are given to imagining how beautiful and good life might be if humanity and the universe were different from what they are. This trend of thinking is quite alien to Banyarwanda and, when it is suggested, appears futile to them. The usual, the normal (in the sense of what we are accustomed to, and what we have reason to expect) is often self-explanatory. When a particular event fits into the normal scheme of things, there are no questions to be asked. If everybody has to relinquish this existence and die, death is no scandal or absurdity. It is the way *Imana* has arranged things. There is no further problem.

Cultural Values

Human action is determined partly by cultural values, partly by the socially recognized means of attaining them. By cultural values we mean the final or intermediate aims that are considered the proper purposes of human activity in a particular society.

In a stratified society, such as that of Ruanda, each layer is likely to have its own set of values, although some of those originating in one group may extend to others. Let us begin with the Batutsi. When a Mututsi informant is asked what the people of his group wish for above all, the answer comes immediately: 'children and cattle.' A further question, 'why?', discloses that these are not ultimate values sought for themselves, but intermediate ones, means to reach more abstract ends. The latter are power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

Power is understood here in connexion with persons (power over somebody) rather than with things (power to do something). It is, to paraphrase Lasswell's definition, the ability that a person, engaged in a human relationship with another, has to oblige the latter to do or not to do something (on pain of suffering severe privation). Power is essentially the capacity to

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exert a significant pressure on somebody. In Ruanda, to be powerful is to be able to exact from others tribute in labour or in kind, or support for one's claims to some advantage to be obtained from the king. In the latter case pressure may remain undefined and indirect: for instance, a threat to withold backing which may later be necessary to the person who is now asked to support a request. We desire to have cattle, say our informants, because by giving one or two beasts to a Muhutu, he becomes our client (*mugaragu*) and then has to do, to a large extent, what we ask of him. We also like to have cattle in order to get as vassal another Mututsi who lacks them. The services expected from a vassal are not manual, but he will increase the influence of his lord by his family connexions and will be useful through his diplomatic shrewdness in dealing with his lord's intrigues. Finally, we desire to become ourselves the vassals of great chiefs, or even of the king, because we are then under the protection of somebody very important, we get more cows and that allows us to have more clients.

In order to become powerful it is important, almost indispensable, to have many children. Girls, by their marriages, extend one's family connexions and bring their fathers a few cows as bridewealth. Boys at an early age begin their military training which gives them a complete education in the skills, knowledge, and virtues pertaining to their noble condition. This training is given them as *intore* (chosen ones) at the royal court or at the court of an important chief. For a father to have a son at court would reinforce his influence: through his son he knows what is going on, and the king or the chief is constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence —an important security for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Mututsi, and thereby getting protection and cows for himself and his parents' family (*mulyango*). Finally, the marriages of his sons could create new links between the father and the families of his daughters-in-law.

In complex societies like our own the roads to power are many. In Ruanda it does not appear that power could be readily attained except through the possession of children and cows. As we shall see, warlike valour could confer very high prestige, but not necessarily power. Great warriors were often granted herds of cattle by the king as rewards for their prowess, and could then gain power by their cattle, but not directly.

If we press our analysis farther, we may say that from the point of view of power, the significance of children is to provide cattle or connexions. On the other hand, cattle give direct power (over the Bahutu clients) or ensure connexions. In relation to Bahutu labourers, cattle have many of the social functions of money in our culture. They enable the man who owns them to exert pressure on those who have few or none of their own and who try to acquire them in exchange for services. In order to facilitate comparison with other ways of life, we may use the term wealth (as a medium of exchange) instead of cattle. As for connexions, what is meant here is that type of relationship in which one party may require something from the

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181 other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be
554 considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the
556 polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently
564 we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and relationships in which sanctions are implied.

181 The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely con-
554 nected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly
233 respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and
564 cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-
[272] value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was considered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone. As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an important herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover, cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-
[538] breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beautiful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-value is readily understandable.

181 The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi
554 is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A
564 family has property which is handed on from one generation to another, common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and their esteem for the father is enhanced.

181 Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the
554 respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi
564 seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous. They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

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main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

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181 is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and
554 everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior
152 (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu
564 are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are corre-
576 spondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

181 When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi
564 specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate
558 qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in
687 which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

181 All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while
564 living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame.
761 To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the
554 normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious:
715 for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *mužimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

181 To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and repu-
554 tation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense
564

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are
[854] only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

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that they are the almost indispensable means for achieving these ends. 181
The originality of Ruanda culture does not lie in its high valuation of power 554
and fame. These are recognized ends in many cultures. What is distinctive 564
is the paucity and the indispensability of the means provided in that society for effecting these purposes.

An ordinary Muhutu could never hope to achieve a position of power over other men comparable to that which a Mututsi could attain without difficulty. A well-to-do Muhutu could acquire a few servants either by ensuring the subsistence of other Bahutu poorer than himself or, like a Mututsi, by the gift of cattle. But this was not common. Ambition for power is proper to people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. The ultimate value for Bahutu is security, for this means protection from the things our informants say they fear above all: accusations of witchcraft, starvation, and the arbitrary actions of the powerful. There are no direct methods of protecting oneself against the first of these threats. All that can be done preventively is to be a good neighbour, not to be envied by anybody, not to have enemies. . . . But there are ways of reducing the other two dangers and these are the intermediate values which the Bahutu earnestly seek: work, children, and patronage.

Bahutu till the soil from which they have to get subsistence, the tribute 181
demanded by the chief, and perhaps a surplus. This surplus is extremely 564
important because it will enable them to acquire some goats, sheep, even a 461
cow, to have the time to work for their lord, to store enough food to get a few servants who will then increase production. Surpluses may be obtained only by work. That is why, among Bahutu, the man or the woman who works hard and competently is highly considered. Work enables Bahutu to achieve some security against starvation and even to attain moderate wealth.

There is a Ruanda proverb that the dog is not feared because of his 181
fangs but because of his master. This is the main reason why a Muhutu 564
wants to have a patron. A peasant rich enough to own a couple of cows needs the protection of somebody more powerful than himself in order to avoid the arbitrary exactions of some member of the dominant class. Patronage was institutionalized by the *buhake* agreement mentioned above. Like the lord in medieval Europe, the patron was bound to protect his client in most of the dangerous situations of life. A second reason for seeking a patron lay in the material and moral advantages accruing from the possession of cattle.

If we wish to state Bahutu values in more abstract terms, we may say that they seek security through the production of agricultural goods and the protection of a powerful patron.

Although he is not indifferent to his reputation, the Muhutu does not 181
seem to stress its importance as much as does the Mututsi. The reputation 564
he desires reflects the values of his caste. He likes to be considered a 554

their children just because they are their children. This, of course, exists in Ruanda as in many other cultures. [854]

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181 *mugabo* (a rich man) and a *mukungu*—a very rich man possessing a few
584 cows, many fields, goats, and bee-hives. He enjoys the recognition of his
554 fidelity to his master and his qualities as a labourer.

The Batwa never had the stability of peasants. They were hunters, potters, dancers, buffoons, and were regarded by their neighbours as being on the margin of society. They did not possess anything that others could envy. Consequently security from exactions was not such an important value for them. As people who lived a hazardous and unsettled existence, they greatly appreciated momentary and immediate satisfactions, and among these, food, especially during periods of scarcity, was the object of their activity. Their principal means of securing food varied according to their particular occupations. Hunters depended on their ability and their courage, of which they were very proud. Dancers, musicians, and buffoons relied on their talents and on the favour of their masters, their loyalty to whom was widely recognized. Indeed it is said that one could rely upon a Mutwa much more than on anybody else.

The social and economic situation of the Batwa explains and to some extent determines the value they attach to gratifying the basic need for food. Ability in their specialized occupations and a blind faithfulness to their masters were the best means to achieve that satisfaction, but skills and loyalty were also valued for themselves.

Rules of Human Action

517 These values, ultimate and intermediate, were eagerly sought by Banyar-
wanda but, as in any society, some means for realizing them were prohibited
183 under certain circumstances. Stealing is rarely, if ever, culturally accepted as an ordinary practice for getting rich. Socially defined values are to be reached by socially approved means. We do not suggest that, in a particular society, the rules of action appear as merely social imperatives, or that the only basis for these rules is social. We would point out that some rules of action, whatever their origin and their philosophical foundation, are part of the collective heritage in any society. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, there are such rules of action. Murdering somebody who is not an enemy of one's family is prohibited. Women are forbidden to commit adultery and, among Batutsi and Bahutu, unmarried girls may not have sexual intercourse. When an order is issued by somebody in authority it has to be obeyed.

517 Does submission to the rules appear only as the rational behaviour of one
who wishes to avoid an external punishment or is it moral conduct? Does
626 a prospective offender refrain from wrong-doing simply in order to avoid very probable and unpleasant consequences, or is it his conscience which tells him that he should not follow his desire?

Of course this is not an either-or problem, but the question of degree or relative stress is important. Even in cultures which lay most stress on the moral motivation to action, external social sanctions are useful deterrents from prohibited behaviour. In Ruanda these external sanctions exist. Those

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773 from the heavenly world. According to some versions of this tale, they came
564 with their servant, Mutwa, who mated with a forest ape. From that union all Batwa are descended. Such tales clearly reveal the fundamental differences which the Banyarwanda see among their castes.

564 When such a picture of 'natural' differences, so significant from the point of view of power, is accepted, the inevitable consequence is that some
554 men are born chiefs and others labourers. Inferiority and superiority are due not to personal qualities but to membership of certain groups. By belonging to different castes, people have fundamentally unequal rights. If
[682] an ordinary Mututsi kills a Muhutu, one kinsman of the murderer could eventually be killed in retaliation if the king authorized it. If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two lives were taken.

The principle of the fundamental inequality between social groups thus established in Ruanda has spread from the original inter-caste relations to intra-caste situations. A man superior to another member of his class because of his functions or his wealth, or even his ability, tends to assume towards his inferior an attitude similar to that of a Mututsi *vis-à-vis* a Muhutu. Of course the conception of inequality between superiors and inferiors of the same class is not so rigid as that between the castes, but it permeates all hierarchical situations in Ruanda.

554 The theme of inequality was embodied in the indigenous political organi-
571 zation, so that political relations clearly express the attitudes socially expected from superiors and inferiors. They are quite understandable if one bears in mind that they originate from an inter-caste situation. Authority as such is all-embracing. According to Western conceptions, any authority is defined not only as regards the people who are subject to it, but also in respect of the matters falling within its competence. A man who gives orders to another because they are on different levels in a hierarchical scale may be considered his equal in other relations. In Ruanda, there is almost no sphere of life in which an inferior is free from the interference of his superior. Because Batutsi are considered fundamentally superior to the Bahutu, there is no field in which they can feel equal. This attitude has been transferred to any hierarchical situation. The complementary attitude of dependence is, of course, expected from the inferior. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a clearly defined field; dependence is inferiority in the totality of life. The dependent person has to submit to his master in any question. There is no domain where he is free even to express a contrary opinion. As the dependent has always to
554 acquiesce even when orders are quite impracticable, he has to conceal his
571 opinions and find excuses for not doing what has been ordered. Double-dealing, politeness, or a utilitarian conception of language, are the only de-
516 fences of the dependent. Some time ago, a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. When the most important person had given his views, everybody voted for his proposition. But after the assembly, many expressed disagreement. At the

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time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with their superior.

On the other hand, no superior enjoys a purely arbitrary power. There are norms which are informally enforced by social pressure; and this is particularly important for people so concerned about their reputations. Since, moreover, there are several chiefs of equal rank belonging to different political structures, it is not difficult for the subject of one superior to secure support in opposing him from another. Finally, there is the possibility of appeal to a higher authority empowered to control subordinate chiefs. All this limits, in fact, the authority of chiefs, but nevertheless the authority of a superior cannot be questioned by his subjects. They may escape, intrigue, or look for another protector, but they cannot offer direct opposition. The Western conception of contract, derived from Roman law, with well-defined obligations on both parties who are equal before and during the contract, is accordingly not understood or acted upon even by Banyarwanda who have long been familiar with our culture.

Any superior is a protector, and his protection is of the same character as his authority: all-embracing and limited only by his own convenience. In any difficulty, the inferior may ask the help of his master, and, if help is refused, it will not be on the grounds that the superior is not concerned with that aspect of the life of the subordinate. On the other hand, the superior himself will be the only judge of the limits of his intervention, for the dependent has no right to require anything from his superior.

Everywhere men in authority enjoy advantages denied to those whom they command, but it is often felt that justification is needed for these privileges. In Ruanda such rationalizations do not seem to be required. It is taken for granted by everybody, the subjects included, that superiors as such should derive profits from their position. The very high standard of living of Europeans is accepted without any criticism by 'traditional' Banyarwanda not yet imbued with egalitarian principles.

The conception of authority as all-embracing, unlimited, protective, profitable, and of inferiority as dependent, devoid of rights, fundamentally weak, and generally exploited, is exactly suited to a structure of castes composed of human beings who are thought to be fundamentally different and unequal. On these inter-caste relations all hierarchical relations have been modelled. This means that the conceptions and attitudes which have just been sketched pervade most human relations in Ruanda. Indeed, very many human interactions involve persons who, in Ruanda, are placed on a hierarchical scale: man and woman, husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, old and young, craftsman and apprentice, &c., and when there is also a superiority-inferiority situation, even though confined to one aspect of the relation, the whole of that relation is impregnated with inequality.

Another basic principle governing the field of human relations in Ruanda is that of indefinite reciprocity. Whenever somebody receives a service,

535 The kubyin' umudiho is danced by both men and women, who range themselves in a circle and clap their hands in time while their feet tread the ground. /445/

The word "dance" conveys but imperfectly the pastimes we are describing.

They are rather war games and hunting games. The imitation and mimicry of combats and the pursuit of game are very expressive. The Blacks spend hours on end simulating a battle, challenging and crushing imaginary enemies. From time to time they put down their weapons or present them to the king in perfect unity of motion, sing for a while the great deeds of the monarch, and then renew their fictional struggle.

The men's mudiho and that of the women, or young girls, are closer to the dance.

The women first come forward slowly to the sounds of a chanted elegy, and then some of them leave the group and execute graceful movements guided by the singing and hand clapping of their companions.

Their dances are more aesthetic and less wild.

644 535 b. The corps of pages (intore, from the word gutora, "to choose"), who are recruited among the sons of chiefs, is not the least interesting among the groups who surround the king and who live wholly for his service and pleasure.

Along with the dancers, they contribute a great deal with their gambols and gyrations to the distinctive character of the public festivities which are celebrated at court from time to time, to the festival of the "First fruits," and to the day that closes the great June mourning (igichurassi).

They have special dances for which they undergo an apprenticeship almost daily for several years.

535 554 Like the king, each great Mutusi chief entrusts his pages to the care of highly paid dancing teachers who are to instruct their pupils in new motions and rhythms. This is why the training is carried out secretly /446/, so the "ballets" will be new. A chief derives honor and pleasure from hearing that his pages are the best trained. A great rivalry exists in this connection, therefore, among the various page corps and their respective chiefs.

178 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the
643 present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which
782 took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of
661 exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or
644 families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the
644 Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

554 It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial
565 unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
●554 (fees).
565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
565 Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so ha /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who
[527] had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

241 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribes-
558 men, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She domi-
576 nates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576 Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior
●554 first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

516 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is cus-
554 tomary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

231 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the
805 words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

231 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their
192 herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[556] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruanda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[554] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber shortage is a very important economic problem. In some places wood 372 must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

245 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have 197 begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation 554 a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C.T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

291 same type of clothing.

293 The Munyaruanda is familiar with the native umbrella. In its simplest form the improvised umbrella consists of a large banana leaf worn on the head. An actual umbrella is made of the bark of a banana tree stretched on a bowl-shaped frame. It is worn on the head and supported by the back (cf. Vol. III, Plate 23).

291 I saw sandals only near the lava plain in Rulenge (Bgisha). They are made of banana leaves and, like the shoes used in Europe for mountain climbing, have a sole made of flat braid. They wear out very easily on the rough earth, so that on a journey several pairs must be taken along. [174] The natives wear them only when the footing is positively dangerous, otherwise they go barefoot wherever possible. Dr. Kandt (1) mentions the use of

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 478.

sandals among the Batundwe who, it seems, are a northern branch of the Bahunde and live near the southern shore of Lake Albert.

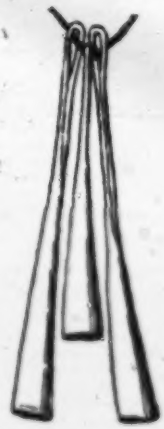
291 301 554 Ornaments. In Ruanda only the king wears a head covering; he dons a cap on festive occasions. This cap is cylindrical, 20 centimeters high, and embroidered with beads. From it hang strings of beads ending in little embroidered rods. The strings are of two different lengths, so that there are two rows of little rods, one above the other, which form a beaded veil. There are no strings at the back or over the nose, but here there is an embroidered band hanging down below the root of the nose. On this band are three small embroidered rods that rest on the nose and extend to the mouth. A colobus [monkey] skin is fastened to the beaded band. This adjunct deserves special attention, since the priest of Wamara in Nkole adorns his head with a colobus skin, and the animal is the umuziru [prohibited object] of the Bahinda who rule the eastern and northern part of Ruanda.

291 554 I was not able to determine whether the wearing of the cap by the ruler has any connection with the customs of the people in the Uele Basin where the cap is the privilege of the free man.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.

301 703 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.



291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

[531]

Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band ['75] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Maranyara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

413 With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

301 The word for them, kassokodso, which we know from Dr. Kandt's research, sounds very much like the Momvu language in which kasso or kosse means "hair of the head." It is not impossible that we have here a trace of the Momvu who have been forced to move south by the Mangbetu of the Uele Basin. [176] Now, since the Mangbetu tribe of the Barumbi [Rumbi] has penetrated almost as far as Lake Edward, it is not improbable that a number of Momvu has been driven by them to the vicinity of Lake Kivu.

Dr. Kandt (1) also says of these regions: "Boars' teeth are

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 443.

also used as ornaments, usually for the head. They are either placed flat on the frontal part of the skull or on the middle of the head so that the thin, sharp part points up and forward. In Ujungu crescents were also worn, à la Diana. They consisted of two boar's teeth, the thick ends of which were hinged together with leather." I saw ornaments of this kind among the Bakondjo; however, they were worn on the chest.

301 In general, the personal adornment of the Banyaruanda is
554 neither rich nor manifold. It is not differentiated according to social position. Here persons of higher rank do not wear show-pieces like the king's cap. Outside of Mulera personal adornment does not distinguish the brave man from the coward. There is a difference only in the amount of jewelry worn, for example, on the limbs of women and of the more privileged.

301 Actual body adornment consists of necklaces and bands.

The most common and popular neck ornaments are chains and glass beads strung on bast, if one disregards the numerous amulets which are worn chiefly by the Batutsi. Sometimes one or, less frequently, several cowrie shells are worn in front between the glass beads. One also sees necklaces made of the bones of goats and sheep. These are strung on bast and interspersed with only a few glass beads. Necklaces made of polished shell discs (kissanga) are rare. Sometimes the neckband is a strip of leather with an ivory pendant.

644 ceremonial trees. These were fenced in with straw and encircled with clay. The inner circle was neatly covered with grass. In front of the kambele is a podium ten meters wide, four meters deep, and one-half meter high. On it, to the right of the entrance, were cattle horns and a plant on which libations were made.

When he receives Europeans, Musinga is acutely aware of his lofty position. The king sits on a stool that is somewhat larger than those one sees in the natives' huts. Count Von Götzen (1) says that Kigeri sat on a chair embroidered with pink

1. Götzen, Count G. A. Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 178.

and white beads. Musinga's chair was devoid of this decoration. The king does not offer his guests a chair, and if one did not carry along his own chair, he would have to squat on the floor, like the king's lords. In this connection we must point out that in Ruanda the right to use a stool in public is linked with the idea of privileged position. This explains the polite phrase, "urakagira intebe (may you have a stool)."

[554]

The king is said to pass his evenings drinking beer. On these occasions legends are told about his illustrious ancestors.

The musicians are obliged to keep watch throughout the night. Taps, which are actually a very heavy drum beat, were never heard before two o'clock, [261] sometimes even later. The king is said to stay awake until this late hour. That is why ndamutsu, the heavy drumbeat that greets the king in the morning, never occurs until between eleven and twelve. Early in the morning, between four and five, the drums are also sounded, but only to show the king that the watch is on duty and that he can sleep peacefully. In the hut where he sleeps the king is said to keep an elephant tusk which always lies near his bed.

493 It is said that on his journeys a troop of Batwa carry the king in a small hut. This hut, kitabashwa, is supposedly kept in a

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April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1948 and Evereerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

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In the ritual

613 sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the
1199 Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during
[1173] his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

613 A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to
769 honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a
[262] goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

613 Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of
623 councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the
[554] opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

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The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called
594 by the same name, rugo. I have described earlier this complex dwelling place composed of intersecting circular enclosures. In
[592] the case of rich people, their clients during their time of service
[554] and their servants had huts in the compound.

The compound, surrounded by fields and banana-groves, and not far from pastures, was situated on that part of the paternal homestead given by the father to his son at the latter's wedding. If the father's homestead was not large enough to provide all his sons with areas to live on, the young couple either had to ask the political authority to allocate them a plot, or they had to rent one belonging either to a relative or an unrelated person.

595 The ideal type of residence of a polygynous family was a compound for each wife surrounded by its own cultivated area. These rugo could be on the same homestead or on several homesteads. The latter arrangement was more frequent with Tutsi than with Hutu. None of these compounds was more important than the others, except occasionally. The husband had no rugo regarded as being more his residence than the others.

Between these two sharply different types of family organization, there were intermediate kinds. If it happened that a Ruanda wanted a second wife, he looked for one even if he could not afford a second compound. She lived then in the same compound as the first wife, in a separate hut. But such an arrangement was regarded as unfortunate, and should be assimilated to that of a nuclear family notwithstanding the plurality of wives.

121 We will now consider whether and how these types of organization fulfilled the functions that might be expected of any type of family, for some of these functions seem to be fulfilled by all the family structures known, and the others by most of them. The points to be considered are: sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, socialization, and ritual.

(a) *Sexual relations*

581 The Ruanda distinguish the sexual from the procreational function of marriage. Neither the husband, nor apparently the wife, ever feared (except in very unhappy circumstances of poverty) that pregnancy might result from any particular act of
[842] intercourse; on the contrary such an event was usually longed for. As some informants said, why have relations with a sterile woman? Sexuality, however, had for them a value in itself.

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592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(*c*) *Procreational function*

181 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and 554 cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children 557 was almost indispensible for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, 858 extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby reinforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained [556] later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one [571] party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

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Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10]

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1955, pp. 85-86.

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probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

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It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not over-exploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

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554 Ndarwubatse, Kanyonyomba, and Segore were exceptional and
622 that, in fact, Hutu were not very numerous among land-chiefs.
184 The share of Hutu in political power was probably symbolic rather than quantitatively great. Hutu could also be hill-chiefs and sixty-nine per cent. of our informants were able to mention a few names. According to ninety-nine per cent. a Twa could be neither land-chief nor cattle-chief, unless he were ennobled. But in that case, he was not socially a Twa any more, but assimilated to a Tutsi. Twa could be hill-chiefs; sixty-five per cent. of our Tutsi informants mentioned the names of such Twa. Neighbourhood heads were frequently Hutu, but the advantages they drew from their office were minimal, if any.

(*b*) *Maintenance of the central rulers in power*

661 One may conclude that the very great majority of the beneficiaries of the fiscal function of the administrative structure were people of the Tutsi group.

A second function of the administrative structure was to enable
661 those who enjoyed political power to keep it. The mwami and his
634 wives centralized the means necessary to afford an important court.
647 Moreover, by granting the profitable offices of land-, cattle-,
622 and hill-chiefs, the mwami increased the number of his faithful dependents. For these chiefs of the administrative structure were appointed by the king. To the question 'who appointed the land- and the cattle-chiefs?' ten different answers were given, but if one adds up all the answers which named the mwami as the person or one of the persons who granted these official appointments, a majority of sixty-five is reached. The confusion in the answers seems due to the fact that different principles operated together in the nomination of such a chief. Firstly, one of the sons of the former office holder usually succeeded to his father, and the latter could often indicate his preferences, but this did not mean that the office was hereditary. Merely, it happened fairly frequently that the mwami liked to strengthen a man's loyalty on the understanding that if he was a good chief, the office could remain in his family. Secondly, the appointment could be made by the mwami following presentation of the candidate by an important chief, such as the army-chief. Consequently, it could appear that the latter was the one who gave the appointment. But the third principle remained: the king kept a complete control of these offices in the sense

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The emphasis put on the social prestige bestowed by cattle ownership has sometimes led to the underestimation of a second meaning of their possession. Effective disposal of cattle was the main institutionalized means of achieving power. It certainly enables a person to secure labour and agricultural produce through the clientage structure. And at the present time, the disposal of cows gives more advantages than could be obtained by their counterpart in money.

Consequently, the redistribution of cattle operated through the army was extremely important and had much wider social implications than the dues paid in commodities.

Here, again, the mwami was the main beneficiary of the bovine tributes concentrated through the army. On his accession he received one cow as a recognition gift from every lineage, and a certain proportion of the cows presented at the numbering; after a successful campaign, the 'bow of the army' (cattle seized upon by the *abakoni*) was his. The king usually kept only the bare ownership of that cattle and granted its usufruct to important chiefs who then became his clients.

The army-chief was also much favoured in army cattle dues. He received a recognition gift on entering his office, a part from the herds presented and numbered, a certain proportion of the private booty of the warriors, rewards extended by the king after a victorious expedition, and gifts offered by army members. He had the effective disposal of these cows as long as he was in charge, that is to say, up to his death if he was not dismissed. He thus controlled a considerable amount of cattle, symbols of prestige and instruments of power. He could build up a wide clientage among army herdsmen as it was particularly among them that he chose his clients. But he could also grant his cows to non-army members (*inkomamashyi*), who then became army members.

In what measure was the ordinary army member affected by cattle? Firstly, whether warrior or herdsman, he was deprived of some of his own cows by the different payments to the king and the army-chief. Secondly, a member of the herdsmen's section could receive some cows as a client of the army-chief. Was it a real advantage? The question may be raised as the herdsman had to give cows to the chief. Obviously, there was an advantage only if he received the usufruct of more cows than he had given. This means that only a certain number of army members were very likely to

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relationship which should be enjoyed by both parties according to the classical definition of contract. 571 675

A third way in which *buhake* was different from the Western conception of contract lay in the vagueness and uncertainty in the measure of the reciprocal obligations. The patron could be more or less generous in the number of cows he granted, more or less exacting in the services he required; the client could be more or less prompt and zealous in his service. If there was a dispute about these differences in the execution of the agreement, there was no charter one could refer to for an assessment of rights and duties.

(*b*) *Caste structure*

To understand the functions of the feudal system in Ruanda society, one must first clarify some important features of that society. 121

As our descriptions and analysis of Ruanda proceed, it becomes more and more certain that there was there a caste structure or something very similar to it. Sociologists usually define a caste society as one composed of several graded groups, each of which is endogamous and practising an hereditary occupation, membership of which can be obtained only by birth.[7] [564]

Birth was, indeed, the usual way in which one became a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. This does not mean that the three strata were 'racial' units, but that an individual was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa when his father was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. In the same way was his father a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. But in order to avoid such expressions, which could go on *ad infinitum*, a definition other than an hereditary one should be found. But it does not seem that there is any other than that a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa is a person who regarded himself, and was regarded by all those who knew him, as a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa, the usual way for a person to fulfil this social definition being to realize the hereditary one. In some cases, however, it was possible to be socially recognized as a Tutsi without having been begotten by a Tutsi father. For instance a Twa who had been ennobled or the son of a rich Hutu cattle owner and of a Tutsi woman, was sometimes regarded as a Tutsi. But these were exceptional cases and we may say that the caste criterion of membership by birth held in general for all the three Ruanda groups. 564 [554]

The same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw

[7] Cf. Lowie, 1948, pp. 10, 273.

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178 possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference
564 was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of
114 the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the
● 554 maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

554 Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them
564 to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of
178 their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds, they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer,
184 and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to
[162] know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to
[171] comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

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One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

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it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

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of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(*a*) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions. 554 564 186 867

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils. 564 675 [558]

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characterististics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here. 564 182 184

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the [614] [701] [099]

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

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564 ceremonies. We may say that clan, army, and sect were 'national'
180 only nominally and superficially. Notwithstanding, these associa-
184 tions between Hutu and Tutsi had probably some limited significance from the standpoint of social cohesion.

In that connexion, *buhake* is a much more important factor. By that agreement, almost any Hutu was linked to a Tutsi, and [675] partook in the social power of the upper caste by identifying himself with a protector who was a member of the dominant group. He obtained for his disposal some cattle, the symbol of artistic values, and he entered into exchange relationships with the nobility. Through the clientage institution, Ruanda constituted a unified economic system which distributed agricultural and pastoral products among the totality of the population. The personal bond with a privileged caste member and access to possession, however precarious, of cattle, seem to have been essential from the point of view of national solidarity.

A third integrative factor was social mobility, even as limited as [554] it was in Ruanda. It is certain that the number of Hutu and Twa assimilated to Tutsi because of their holding of political offices or because of their wealth, has always been tiny.

The possibility of being accepted into the superior group even if it is illusory for almost all the members of the inferior group has
000 had in many societies a very great integrative influence. It is well known that in the United States, during the first quarter of this century, the fact that a few men among the wealthiest of the country had been born poor, greatly contributed to the psychological solace of a considerable mass of men and women who had personally no opportunity to achieve such brilliant successes. In addition to individual comfort, the belief that there was no intrinsically insuperable obstacle (such as having been born outside a closed hereditary group) helped Americans to feel that they were all members of the same nation regarded as not significantly stratified.

564 I do not imply that the social ascent of a few Hutu has played a
178 similar part in Ruanda. Firstly, there was no egalitarian ideology
559 which makes almost unbearable the fact that one is obliged by
184 birth to live in an inferior social group; secondly, cases of intercaste mobility were extremely rare in Ruanda. Nevertheless, these cases were a proof for Hutu that, although not belonging to the upper stratum, they were members of the Ruanda nation as well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

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Tutsi hands. From that point of view, we have to distinguish here two categories. In the first, we put the mwami, the court, the intermediary military and administrative chiefs, whom we call the rulers; in the second, the ordinary Tutsi. The rulers received tributes and labour through the military and administrative channels; the second got fewer consumption goods directly, but mainly labour by the *buhake*. Thus the satisfaction of the needs of the superior caste was not obtained by economic means but by social pressure. 564 661

Were these services in labour and in kind heavy for the Hutu caste? It seems that it was not a too painful obligation for about nine-tenths of the population to secure the whole of the agricultural produce of the country. But we should not forget that it was an economy based on rudimentary techniques and which did not yield a considerable surplus. Moreover, the standard of life of the dominant group was much higher than that of the inferior castes; one may thus safely assume that Tutsi consumed much more than a tenth of the total production. Such an assessment is not very precise but it does not seem possible to obtain a more accurate one. [433] [511]

What is certain is that the social power enjoyed collectively by the Tutsi caste was so great that it must have been a permanent temptation for them to increase their demands on the Hutu group. Such a situation was indeed at the same time both advantageous and dangerous as it carried in itself the seeds of its own destruction. For if the measures of the impositions were exceeded (and the technological and environmental circumstances made the margin very narrow), the subordinate group would be weakened and its productivity would diminish. Eventually, it might be led to leave the territory. To prevent such detrimental occurrences was all the more difficult as each Tutsi was endowed with so much individual social power that he might be inclined to misuse it. 564 661 554 182

How did the Tutsi deal with this threat? Firstly, by a universal distribution of the levies obtained through the military and administrative structures. Every familial unit of production was obliged to contribute—certainly not equally, but the mere fact of having universal impositions tended to prevent very considerable differences, because a sufficient return was secured and rules were established. These rules were not as fixed and publicized as the fiscal laws in a Western society, yet the mere fact of their existence

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564 made for certain guarantees. For the *buhake* services, what each
661 client had to give or do was less clearly determined and depended
● 554 more on the *shebuja*'s wishes. There were also in that sphere,
182 however, some traditionally admitted limits.

Universality and regulation of dues as such do not prevent the exactions committed by socially powerful individuals and those who required payment of taxes were powerful. Another more efficient obstacle to an exaggerated exploitation was the fact that the political and clientage structures gave to any individual of ability the opportunity to secure for himself a defender and a protector. This opportunity resulted from the plural character of the Ruanda hierarchy.

When one belongs to a single structure, there is only one immediate superior. Consequently, everything must be obtained from
[642] him and is owed to him. In a plural system, there are several immediate superiors of approximately equal rank and who are not interdependent. Consequently, it is possible to have the support of one chief (or his complicity even) when resisting another.

564 This is what happened in Ruanda. An example will show how
662 the plurality of chiefs could be used. Suppose a Hutu had in-
182 herited cattle granted by a lord to his grandfather who had also received cows from his army-chief, and who had acquired other cattle by exchange of goods (*imbata*), and because his present lord was too exacting, our Hutu wanted to change and become the client of another important man. He knew that his lord would try to seize all his *imbata* and to choose the best cows among his other cattle. By some gifts, he obtained the support of his army-chief. Before entering into discussion with his lord, he and his army-chief had agreed that all the best cows he had at his disposal and all his *imbata* would be said to have been received from the military chief. They were removed and put on grazing grounds directly protected by the army-chief. Then when the lord claimed more cows than his client wanted to return to him, he had to settle the matter not with a man of very limited power but with the army-chief.

Of course this required clever handling of the situation, but when it succeeded it secured efficient protection against extortion.

It should be added that the recourse of a subject to a higher authority within the same hierarchy was approved and even encouraged in Ruanda. This was another means of putting a check on the exorbitant demands of immediate superiors. This, however,

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different share in social power and fundamentally different rights. 564

The Ruanda principle of inequality could be expressed in the following terms: people born in different castes are unequal in inborn endowment, physical as well as psychological and have consequently fundamentally different rights. [181]

That premise, closely connected with the caste structure, is suggested by the analysis of the political and feudal structures. Indeed, when a principle of inequality exists in a society with respect to a certain type of relations, it does not fail to spread to other relations more or less similar. In Ruanda, the inegalitarian premise of inter-caste relations has permeated the intricate relations which could be regarded as analogous in certain respects. A Tutsi who was lord over another Tutsi was thought to be superior over his client in a way comparable to the manner in which he was superior over his Hutu clients. Of course significant differences remained between inter- and intra-caste relationships of superiority, but the latter tended to be patterned on the former ones. 181 571 564

The extension to intricate relations of the premise of inter-caste inequality made it a principle of integration with a very wide bearing as it could, and did, in fact, pervade all the human relations in which a superiority of one actor over the other was implied. It could be the relation between a mother and her young child, a father and his son, a man and his wife, an old man and a youngster, a craftsman and an apprentice, &c. These relations constituting the texture of social life, the impact on collective living of the premise of fundamental inequality, cannot be over-estimated.

4. THE THEOREMS

In order to understand better how the inequality premise influenced the whole of Ruanda social life, the different aspects of that influence must be made explicit. They will be expressed as a set of theorems, by which is meant general propositions or statements which are not self-evident. 128

Theorem One

When two persons are involved in any kind of social relation, it is their mutual hierarchical situation which is regarded as the most relevant element of the relation. 571 156

Superiority and inferiority were *foci* of the Ruanda social structure to such an extent that as soon as they entered as a 559

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571 156 559 component in the content of a social intercourse, other components were regarded as less important and were coloured by the hierarchical situation of the two actors. In Euro-American culture, relationships of inferiority are defined not only as regards the people taking part in them but also as regards the matters concerned. A business executive may give orders to one of his employees only within very well-defined limits of competence and time, but he cannot oblige him to accept his views on for instance artistic or political questions. In Ruanda, on the contrary, when one of the persons involved in a dyad was superior to the other from a certain point of view, the superiority was diffused, as it were, through the whole relation. For his subject, a chief was always a chief in whatever matter.

This first theorem is a consequence of inequality conceived as essential. When two persons are considered unequal by nature, the [829] superiority of one over the other cannot be limited to a certain sphere. Obedience in everything must be required: there is no field in which a father could be wrong and his son right.

Theorem Two

As in almost any human relation there is some superiority of one actor over the other, as that aspect is always stressed and as inferiority relations are patterned on inter-caste relations, paternalistic, and dependent attitudes were to be found in almost every human relation in Ruanda.

The only exceptions were relations between people who were equal from any point of view, as for instance young men of about the same age, belonging to the same caste and whose families were about at the same level of wealth.

This is very noticeable today, even in relations with Europeans. A clerk usually assumes towards the European he assists, a dependent attitude different from the behaviour of a European employee. The clerk expects from his employer a behaviour similar to the paternalistic attitude of the Ruanda superiors and he is puzzled and disappointed if the employer does not assume such an attitude.

Theorem Three

There is no private sector in the life of the inferior *vis-à-vis* his superior. The superior has the right to control the whole of his

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subordinate's activities. This is not resented by the inferior as unbearable meddling. On the contrary, it is expected by the inferior who feels that such interference is a proof of the interest his superior extends to him. When a European employer avoids intruding into the privacy of a Ruanda subordinate, the latter not infrequently tends to interpret it as a withdrawal from the protective role expected from any superior. 571 156 554

If a subordinate were to refuse his Ruanda superior's interference on the grounds that he should not be concerned with his private affairs, such a pretension would be regarded as at least a definite lack of respect. [500]

Theorem Four

Strictly contractual relations are not possible. To enter into a contract implies that the intended parties are previously independent of one another. If one is submitted to the other for the whole of his life, how could he freely commit himself to give the other certain services? And how could the other promise to secure his inferior a counterpart that the latter can legally claim? When entering into contractual relations, it is necessary that each prospective partner should be a person independent of and equal to the other in that context. In the Western world, admittedly, it frequently happens that an agreement which verifies the juridical forms of a contract is entered into by persons who are not independent and equal. Circumstances may exert such a pressure that freedom to accept or refuse a particular obligation is purely illusory. Conditions of independence and equality, however, are often realised. In ancient Ruanda such a situation could almost never have happened as it was rare for two persons who might otherwise be related by a contract, not to be already involved in paternalistic and dependent relations. 571 675 554

Moreover, after the contract has been concluded it is necessary that each partner should be able to defend himself against any demand of the other which would exceed the terms of the covenant, and that he should have the means to oblige the other to fulfil what the latter has agreed to give or to do. This implies again that one part is not completely dependent on the other. Now, as I mentioned earlier, the extent of the superior's obligations is left, in Ruanda, to his will and pleasure. Consequently, it was unthinkable for the party who was at the same time in a position

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inferior to the other to claim some particular fulfilment of the agreed promises from the other.

This appears clearly in the difficulties Ruanda often meet when they have to adjust themselves to European labour contracts. They are sometimes confused by the fact that the employer requires from them at the same time less and more than they expect. Less because the employer does not ask for more services, for longer office hours for instance, than what has been stipulated, and more because he is very exacting in the execution of what has been undertaken, for instance in matters of punctuality.

Theorem Five

With such socially accepted conceptions about inequality, those who occupy the superior positions in most of the social relations in which they are involved, tend to develop a permanent authoritarian behaviour. This is characterized by a propensity to command, to be self-assertive, arrogant, protective, and compassionate.

Chiefs, rulers, and other superiors try to extend not only the size or range of their power (the number of people controlled) but its density (the degree of control of the subordinates).[7] Any independence manifested by the inferior will be resented as rebellious.

This leads to intolerance. The superior's opinions should never be opposed by the inferior who is always and everywhere expected to manifest his dependence by attitudes of compliance. Even today this conduct tends to prevail. Some years ago a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. After the most important person present there had given his opinion, everybody voted for his proposal. But after the meeting many expressed privately their divergent opinions. At the time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with the superior.

Theorem Six

Even if the caste system and political and feudal institutions have succeeded to a large extent in moulding personalities in such a way as to make inferiors self-effacing, submissive, compliant, and dependent, the conditioning has not been perfect. Often the inferior wants to disagree with his superior's opinions, to avoid executing an order or obeying his commands. A straight refusal

[7] Cf. Russell, 1938, pp. 165 f.

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being regarded as insulting, disrespect or revolt, the only way out for the inferior is to appear to behave always as expected: to fall in with any desire of his superior while concealing his own opinion, never to say no to any order but to find clever excuses for not doing it. Consequently dissimulation is very highly thought of and a skill necessary to master for someone wanting to live more or less securely under such a political régime.

Many stories and proverbs give evidence of the frequency of covert disobedience to the rulers and of the appreciation in which an astute excuse and a 'good lie' were held. This was the only way to adapt oneself to such a situation.

Theorem Seven

It is commonly accepted in the Western tradition that truth has a high value and that language is the medium used to express 'truth', that is to say, 'what reality appears to be to the person who speaks'. Undoubtedly, in Western practice, language is used, even in the cognitive sphere, for many other purposes than to express what the speaker thinks. Moreover, most of the scholars who, in recent years, have studied the problem of the origin and function of language, bring qualifications to the traditional view. In the almost unanimous opinion of the carriers of Western culture, however, the ideal verbal behaviour must express 'truth' and not what is useful to the speaker. This is, for example, what is inculcated into children in schools.

In a society in which human relations are imbued with some cultural premises as the one being considered in this chapter, 'truth' cannot be recognized as a dominant value. Indeed, one is supposed to use language not to say what is thought to conform to reality but what is thought to conform to the ruler's opinion. Nobody, the ruler included, entertains many illusions on the sincerity of what is said, but submission has been expressed at the right time and this is felt to be most important.

This theorem could be formulated in this way: the verbal behaviour towards a superior must express dependence rather than 'truth'.

Theorem Eight

Once it is taken for granted that in hierarchical relations, behaviour must conform to the superior's expectations even to the

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181 point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to
571 spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is
554 useful to the speaker or expected from him and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a utilitarian usage of language.

5. ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

121 We have read the premise, as it were, into the Ruanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Ruanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question that we are not likely ever to know, such as a good knowledge of the Tutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Ruanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

174 Tutsi came into Ruanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into
178 the country inhabited by Hutu looked rather like a peaceful
564 infiltration, it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Hutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalization of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Ruanda inequality premise. It is possible that Tutsi had previously to their arrival in Ruanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they

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ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

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564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
644 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
582 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
613 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
643 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the
562 general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide. Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as
[595] bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to changes in social role according to age. The changes of social status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

431 he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has
554 already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle
431 measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any
554 alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior.

Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows
626 or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father
[564] if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will
[593] return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For,
554 physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to
681 instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take
[861] out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their
[566] parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a
[593] woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always
431 combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or
554 affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors
828 and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no
[152] doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.
562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
593

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
716 by *Imana*.

The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
564 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
583 hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

Towards her grand-

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603 children, a grandmother may at last dare to indulge openly in
554 revealing her sentiments, without, however, neglecting practical considerations. Grandparents joke with their grandchildren, spoil them, protect them against their parents' anger, and, if they are
[769] not believing Christians, they expect their grandchildren will in due course perform the ceremonies in honour of the *imizimu*, the spirits of dead grandparents.

* * *

577 The most direct route to happiness is conformity to the norms
829 and rules of society. Most Rundi have some roles in which they are superior and others in which they are inferior and the accompanying obligations and compensations. A good wife of a generous and reasonable husband, a good mother of numerous and good children, a good mother-in-law of obedient and industrious daughters-in-law and of respectful sons-in-law, will be a happy woman. Unfortunately, it is necessary to take into account the ever-present and infamous "bad characters", the numberless misfortunes sent by *Imana* when he is in a bad humour, the truth that *Imana*—or, if one prefers, Nature, biology, or genetics—does not always pay attention to social norms. Thus, it can happen that a man is not qualified for the role of patriarch, that he suffers all his life the oppression of a nagging shrew. It can happen that a woman is born too weak for manual labour. If she does not find a kind husband who will carry the burden of the work of the household or a rich one who can provide her with workers, she will die very miserable and very young. It can also happen that a woman is more intelligent and more enterprising than her father, her husband, or her son. A woman of this kind is ordinarily encouraged to make use of her gifts—intelligence must not be wasted—but sometimes an energetic woman is tied to a husband who is cruel and stupid and can do nothing with her good-for-nothing sons. In the social life of Burundi, the motto is, everyone for himself. Each must do what he can with whatever *Imana* has given him.

There are many Rundikazi who are unfortunate and wretched—
[562] orphans, the daughters of avaricious and cruel fathers, the wives of bad husbands, childless widows, the poor and the sick—in brief, those who do not have the favour of *Imana*. Let us pass in sad silence from their pathetic lot to the more fortunate women, those who have succeeded, despite the inevitable woes of life, in obtain-
562 ing at least some measure of happiness, and to the true favourites
554 of *Imana*, the well-born women who are at maturity true matriarchs. The absolute quantity of power and wealth depends upon birth. A

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mwamikazi and a wealthy Tutsikazi are matriarchs on a much grander scale than is possible for any Hutukazi. Nevertheless, the character model and the methods for success as a matriarch are quite the same. Furthermore, although the methods employed by women are not in every detail like those of men, there is only one character model for the matriarch and the patriarch, that of the superior. By the same token, there is only one character model for those in the roles of inferiors. The latter are always alert to opportunities for asking some good thing of a superior. If one road is closed, it is necessary to find another. If a husband is not generous, a woman will ask one of her brothers for gifts, or she will wait until her sons are grown. When fortunate people have received gifts, they obviously have something to give, and they thus may expect petitioners to come to them for gifts. Yet again, if a man is muddled by drink, his wife or his vassal or someone who wants his favour will make a request of a gift in the presence of others; a promise given, drunk or sober, before witnesses must be respected at the risk of losing one's fair name. The rules of society provide only for a minimum of happiness. One must rely upon intelligence to point the way to supplementary means and to profit from every favourable circumstance.

Like any normal citizen of Burundi, a Rundikazi desires as much power and authority as possible, which is to say, numerous inferiors, including children, workers, feudal followers; wealth, which is to say, for women who can inherit nothing, many gifts from men and from wealthier women; respect and love, which amounts to having many inferiors; elegance, which is again to say many gifts, but also education in the home of a princess; many children, which depends on the will of *Imana;* protection against one's enemies, that is, against one's rivals and one's mother-in-law; and the good luck to retain what has been received from *Imana* and from human beings, which again depends on *Imana* and also on one's own intelligence, courage and strength of character. There is decidedly no psychological conflict in women of strong character, nor is there any conflict between feminine ambitions and social norms. Everything is taken care of by the functional norms of the society.

A woman starts very young to calculate what she needs in order to be happy. From her father she expects little more than that he will find her a husband who is wealthy and reasonable, or better yet, tractable; that he will allow her to return home if she is not satisfied with a husband and will find her a better one; that he will from time to time give her gifts. If a father has a tendency to turn

554 a deaf ear to his daughter's wishes in the matter of changing a
562 husband, she will perhaps make the necessary arrangements on
593 her own initiative with the husband she prefers, and the father will have no choice but to accept the new arrangements. From her husband, a woman expects to receive gifts in proportion to his wealth—clothing, copper bracelets, beads, cows, money. She also wishes workmen and servants, so that she will not have to perform the menial tasks of inferiors; so that she will have a great many inferiors to supervise; so that she will enjoy sufficient energy and leisure for the planning and plotting necessary to increase her wealth and her influence in family affairs, economic matters and politics. As her husband's business partner, an intelligent woman will be consulted at every turn or she may not even wait for her husband to ask her advice. She decides what must be done, and her decisions must be respected. A wife who is well-established will almost certainly be the preferred intermediary of those who seek the favour of her husband. As an intermediary, she receives gifts, particularly pots of beer, to persuade her to intervene with the superior. An intelligent woman who finds herself with more beer than she needs will send a servant to sell it and keep the money
[556] for herself. For women in the lower castes, there are various optional roles through which they can earn money. They may sell the excess baskets they weave; they may be midwives; they may be
562 *bapfumu*, physician-pharmacists who sell medicines and amulets;
556 they may be governesses or ladies-in-waiting for good families. A
554 husband takes great pride in a wife who becomes wealthy. Her wealth advertises her cleverness and is at all events obtained at
593 no cost to him. Some women, it is said, are so intelligent that a prince will make them *abashingantahe*, judges and councillors. Women who have this honoured position receive cows, clothing, jewellery and serfs. On occasion, a woman of this kind may be wealthier than her husband, but he has every reason to be pleased to have such a wife. A wealthy woman will keep some of her cows for herself for milk and butter. Others she will give to those who come and ask of her, and these will become her feudal followers who will work for her, respect her, and go about in quest of information for her.

554 The frequent absences of the husband are opportunities for a
562 woman to show herself capable of managing the property. Work
593 is for inferiors and is not a source of honour. It nevertheless establishes the realistic dependence of the superior upon his
[46] inferior, and it forms the solid basis, sometimes explicitly recognized, of the relationship between superior and inferior. A good

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manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father. 554 562 593 [602]

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save *him, since his downfall will* also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires. [574] [594] [589 591]

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly

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554 562 513 [195] displaying in public the respect and obedience due them. An intelligent woman makes herself liked or feared, according to the character of the men with whom she is dealing. Occasionally, it is said of a Rundi that "his house is burning", that is to say, despite the show of respect, his wife rules the roost. He is afraid of her, she nags him, she criticizes him, she wants to decide everything, and one fine day she will put poison in his beer, or she will calumniate him. However, a woman need not dominate her husband in so heavy-handed a fashion to earn her laurels as matriarch. She has her own inferiors to dominate, and there are other ways to become the *umutoni* of her husband and the other men. Apart from her ability as the mistress of her house and her generosity as a hostess, apart from all her obligations, a woman as an inferior is likely to understand very well the uses of flattery and subservience. She knows how to be an informant, to calumniate her superior's enemies as well as her own hated rivals, to show herself always loyal and devoted, to make the welfare of her superior her primary concern. She also knows how to satisfy sexual desires, the need for alcohol, and other demands of the body and the spirit. Superiors, apart from their economic dependence upon their inferiors, seem to seek them also for the satisfaction of what appear to be exceedingly urgent needs for love, respect, and loyalty and for entertainment that will take their minds off their troubles. It is to have these needs satisfied that they make presents, that they give what is asked of them. An intelligent woman busies herself with satisfying the desires of her superiors and thereby making herself indispensable to their happiness. Neither the Sophists, nor Machiavelli, nor the courtiers of Louis XIV have anything to teach the Rundi. An intelligent Rundikazi, like any [557] intelligent social inferior, knows that to obtain happiness it is necessary only to say yes—to play along with the internal weaknesses and needs by which the superior is enslaved.

NOTES

193 [1]*Linguistic note:* Bantu prefixes have been dropped from words that refer to the inhabitants of Burundi. They are referred to as "Rundi" and by their caste-names, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Other words of the language retain their Bantu form, e.g., *mwami*, king; *mwamikazi*, queen-mother or princess, *bamikazi* in the plural; *mugarwa*, prince, *bagarwa* in the plural. The suffix, *-kazi*, designates the feminine. For "Rundi woman," "Tutsi woman," "Hutu woman," or "Twa woman," the Rundi forms will be used, i.e., "Rundikazi," "Tutsikazi," "Hutukazi," and "Twakazi."

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10]

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1955, pp. 85-86.

The Mutussi never
181 works unless he belongs to the lower class, but he takes a sports-
[461] man-like interest in his cattle. Work is the concern of the sub-
jugated Bahutu and hence disgraceful to a Mutussi, and only the really poor Batussi will stoop to it. To be rich and powerful and to enjoy life in idleness is for him the essence of wisdom, the ideal which he endeavors to achieve with the utmost cunning and lack of scruple. It is everyone for himself, a maxim which is also adhered to by the Batussi as a whole in their relations to the ruled people, the Bahutu and Batwa.

Naturally this life of pleasure, indulged in for hundreds of years, has done great harm to the character and manly virtues of the Batussi. That they were not without courage, warlike ability, and energy can be easily inferred from the fact that, although they are small in numbers now and doubtless even smaller at one time, they have conquered this large country. Witness also the early history of their royalty (see p. 162 [not translated]). For a long time now, however, they have had their internal and external battles fought for them by their bondsmen, their Bahutu vassals, while they keep themselves cautiously in the background and cunningly direct operations from a safe place. Of course, there are praiseworthy exceptions even here.

In spite of all this, it must be admitted that even in this respect the Barundi are on a higher level than the Banjaruanda. In Urundi the Batussi are not so pleasure-seeking, lazy, mendacious, violent, and cowardly as those in Ruanda, nor are the Bahutu so servile and hypocritical toward superiors and so insolent toward the weak as they are there, nor does the king along with the lords living at his court indulge to such a degree in idleness, revelry, intrigues, and the satisfaction of vicious and cruel instincts as does the one in Ruanda.

563 In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, it is above all the will
[556] to power and the desire for pleasure which have caused the ruling
Batussi to keep the greatest form of wealth, cattle, to themselves. By this means alone they have created for themselves an economic power over [16] the mass of the Bahutu which also provides the surest foundation for their political predominance
[754] (see pp. 41-42). In addition they have cleverly succeeded in

364 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. Accord-
356 ing to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings, and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

356 When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired, but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years. After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
428 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it, and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight
592 residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters of homesteads are much larger.

556 Rich people and the Batussi lords, however, are not con-
592 tent with a single kraal including several huts. They build several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass
342 directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living and reception room for the master of the house and also as a shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1). For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common Batussi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

563 554 The second important legal sphere is constituted by social conditions, but first, something about the social stratification. I shall reserve a separate chapter for the relationships within the clan and family (p. 98 , 106). As has already been mentioned, social stratification is determined by the three racial elements of which the Barundi people is composed: Hamitic Batussi, Bantu Bahutu, and the original indigenous population, the Batwa. By the law of conquest, the Batussi form the nobility; the Bahutu are those who are not free, or rather those whose rights are only conditional; and the Batwa are the helots who have no rights. If we disregard the Batwa pariahs, there is no separation of castes closed off from one another, although the priests (kiranga), the sorcerers and medicine men (abafumu), and partly also the religious brotherhoods (ababandwa) enjoy a privileged position on the basis of their magical powers which other persons lack. The professional craftsmen, especially the blacksmiths, also maintain a particularly respected position if they are Batussi or Bahutu, but this does not apply to Batwa. And, as is true everywhere, the [556] rich in Urundi enjoy more respect and influence than the poor.

In spite of the considerable difference in social and legal status and in spite of the arrogance of the Batussi, the latter associate with the Bahutu on a friendly basis in most cases, a relationship similar to that between a master and his useful, docile servant. Even if a Mutussi is a mutwale of the lowest rank or a petty feudal lord, the Muhutu will never forget that in his relations with the former he is dealing with a master. If he should ever forget this, he most certainly would be reminded of his inferior status in a manner which would not be pleasant for him, but the "better situated" Muhutu regards the ordinary non-propertied Mutussi as his equal. At times, although [552] only rarely, there are even marriages between Batussi and Bahutu, yet these are not considered as completely valid (see p. 101 , 169). It is also reported that, as in Ruanda, a Muhutu may be promoted to the privileged class of the Batussi by an act [551] of royal favor.

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies, against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who
[556] can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most
[554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the
[791] Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most lucrative sources of income.

The abafumu have another important task: to discover
754 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various
791 ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

exert a significant pressure on somebody. In Ruanda, to be powerful is to be able to exact from others tribute in labour or in kind, or support for one's claims to some advantage to be obtained from the king. In the latter case pressure may remain undefined and indirect: for instance, a threat to withold backing which may later be necessary to the person who is now asked to support a request. We desire to have cattle, say our informants, because by giving one or two beasts to a Muhutu, he becomes our client (*mugaragu*) and then has to do, to a large extent, what we ask of him. We also like to have cattle in order to get as vassal another Mututsi who lacks them. The services expected from a vassal are not manual, but he will increase the influence of his lord by his family connexions and will be useful through his diplomatic shrewdness in dealing with his lord's intrigues. Finally, we desire to become ourselves the vassals of great chiefs, or even of the king, because we are then under the protection of somebody very important, we get more cows and that allows us to have more clients.

In order to become powerful it is important, almost indispensable, to have many children. Girls, by their marriages, extend one's family connexions and bring their fathers a few cows as bridewealth. Boys at an early age begin their military training which gives them a complete education in the skills, knowledge, and virtues pertaining to their noble condition. This training is given them as *intore* (chosen ones) at the royal court or at the court of an important chief. For a father to have a son at court would reinforce his influence: through his son he knows what is going on, and the king or the chief is constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence —an important security for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Mututsi, and thereby getting protection and cows for himself and his parents' family (*mulyango*). Finally, the marriages of his sons could create new links between the father and the families of his daughters-in-law.

In complex societies like our own the roads to power are many. In Ruanda it does not appear that power could be readily attained except through the possession of children and cows. As we shall see, warlike valour could confer very high prestige, but not necessarily power. Great warriors were often granted herds of cattle by the king as rewards for their prowess, and could then gain power by their cattle, but not directly.

If we press our analysis farther, we may say that from the point of view of power, the significance of children is to provide cattle or connexions. On the other hand, cattle give direct power (over the Bahutu clients) or ensure connexions. In relation to Bahutu labourers, cattle have many of the social functions of money in our culture. They enable the man who owns them to exert pressure on those who have few or none of their own and who try to acquire them in exchange for services. In order to facilitate comparison with other ways of life, we may use the term wealth (as a medium of exchange) instead of cattle. As for connexions, what is meant here is that type of relationship in which one party may require something from the

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and relationships in which sanctions are implied.

The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely connected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was considered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone. As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an important herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover, cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beautiful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-value is readily understandable.

The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A family has property which is handed on from one generation to another, common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and their esteem for the father is enhanced.

Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous. They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
651 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of
[481] rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[691] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

142 lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs,' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies,' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'." (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

[141]

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

233 This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them
556 than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a
181 sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart," they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!, "May you come to own many cows!"

428 over his brothers. As an act of vassalage, the latter must in turn /each/
593 give him a beer, a hoe, and a sheep. /50/ They acknowledge his superiority thereby, and place themselves under his dependence. In return he must show interest in them and in their legal proceedings, take care of their affairs in the event of illness, defend them against one and all.

[429] Daughters have no right whatever to inherit from their father. Before he dies, on the other hand, the father appoints one of his sons to look after each one of them to take care of her future, her marriage, and to watch over her until she marries.

851 A daughter whose bride price was paid for in cows receives
431 a heifer from her father or brother when she comes to show them her first born. Among wealthy families, she is given a cow at the birth
[556] of each male child. Among poorer families, the gift consists of a young bull, a goat, or one or two hoes, depending on the amount of the bride price (1).

1. A cow given under these circumstances is called "young mother's cow" (ichari, umwari). The young bull obtained under the same circumstances is called "woman's garment" (inkanda), because the animal's hide must theoretically be used to clothe the happy mother.

According to the Banyarwanda custom governing the occasion, the child's father must give three jugs of beer and a basketful of cooked food to his father-in-law or to the brother-in-law who is his wife's guardian.

428 Upon their father's death, daughters merely receive garments made of cowhide, hoes, or sheep, which on account of the bereavement are called by the name of "salary or reward for tears."

342 The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ lives in round huts made of reeds, bamboo, and small sticks which are stuck into the ground and whose tips vanish into a sort of previously braided roof (igisenge).

Flexible stalks, gathered into bunches and tied inside in the shape of a circle, lend unity and strength to the structure. Wooden pillars placed under the dome serve as supports and keep the arch from falling over its owners.

The cover is made of grass: sometimes hay from the grasslands, sometimes coarse marsh grass called urukangaga.

[556] Let us add that the beauty and solidity of the hut vary with the wealth of its owner. The hut /54/ includes several compartments divided by partitions of woven bamboo or reeds.

352 513 The bed is made of four pickets set into the ground and interconnected by pieces of wood across the width and length. It supports a mattress of grass covered with a mat. The bed is reserved for the parents. Children sleep on the ground on a mat used half as a mattress and half as a cover.

231 If the owner has some sheep or goats, or even a small calf, he makes room for them in one corner of the hut. The poultry also settles there. And everyone sleeps most peacefully.

354 The furnishings are very primitive. Three clumps of earth, once the domes of as many anthills, make up the andirons of the [415] hearth. They support a large water jar that serves to cook everything. Above the hearth sits a sort of grid where wood is laid to dry.

352 415 In addition, against the partition delimiting the space reserved for strangers, there are jars and jugs of varying size, a half-gourd to scoop water, whole gourds of varying shape and size to hold banana juice or drinking water.

If the Munyarwanda is fortunate enough to own a cow, which is a gift from the gods, he will also have milk containers and churns. 351 Slightly hollowed round billets are used as seats. The hut is usually surrounded by a courtyard of variable size enclosed by a wall of ficus or euphorbia (imiyenzi) that serves as shelter against the wind and [343] protection against thieves. Small shelters (indaro) dedicated to the spirits and food granaries stand within the courtyard to one side or another.

644 regions. The leaves are prepared at the capital by special employees,
276 men or women, who also risked their lives occasionally for the reasons cited above.

D. The preparation of tobacco juice, which is used for a most unusual and worldly purpose (mukibuno), is entrusted to a group of female servants or young girls in the service of the queen mother. The tobacco leaves are immersed in a liquid of tart and bitter flavor (inkari), in which they are allowed to remain for some time.

The liquid alone is then used by the queen mother and high-
[278] ranking ladies, who believe that tobacco juice, when prepared in this fashion, is an infallible remedy against the ailment known locally under the name of imisuzi.

This strongly scented solution bears the name of a plant with a pungent odor (umugabagaba) from which the odalisks in charge of this work also draw their name, abanyamugabagaba. The rooms where this curious medication is applied are known at court and among the great chiefs who are all familiar with the famous recipe by special names whose meaning is clear only to those in the know. They are the imikinga, or "secret cabinets," (from gukinga, "to close") and ubugonyi, "public toilets."

E. A group of factotums known as Abanyakambere remain at
644 the disposal of the sovereign, who spends most of his day in the hut called by the name of Ikambere, "the first one," because it stands at the heart of the main courtyard. The function of these valets is to watch over the various objects which make up the room furnishings.
[202] They also carry out the king's orders and relay messages to the other servants. /387/

F. There are also the keepers of the treasure. They are
644 called Abanya-byuma.
556 The Banyarwanda designate all iron objects by the word byuma. Billhooks, axes, graters, knives, bracelets, and especially hoes represent wealth to their owners in terms of their numbers and actual value.

This manner of conceiving and understanding riches gave the keepers of the treasure the name of "people entrusted with the preservation of iron objects (abanya-byuma)." The treasure itself

644 556 bears the meaningful name of intore, from the verb gutora, "to choose," because it contains a selection of unique pieces. It includes the wardrobe (imyambar' abami) of the former kings and their jewels. Fabrics of all kinds; colobus hides, beads, necklaces, braceletd, and other objects of this sort make up the greater part of the treasure proper, which is exhibited twice a year, as we shall see later on when we discuss the festivals at Court.

644 356 G. A group of young girls is in charge of cleaning the hut which the monarch uses as a bedroom. They are entrusted with the task of renewing the fine grass which makes up the royal bed and of stretching upon it the mats and precious furs (ibyahi), that is to say, the otter, lion, and leopard hides on which the sovereign lies. Those chambermaids are popularly called Abashahsi, "those who stretch out the mats," from the word gusasa, "to stretch out the mats." Another of their functions, and not the least important one, consists of "warming" the royal bed every night. In order to achieve this, they lie down on the couch successively or even all together until the king arrives.

The women or girls who fulfill a function at court live under the ultimate supervision of the queen mother, at whose side they live. /388/

644 701 H. The "Irresistibles" (Intalindwa) take their name from the army corps of that name. They include a group of servants and factotums chosen among the various classes of society. Among other duties, they watch over the king and his children at night and keep up the fire that must burn on the hearth throughout the night, according to a custom of the country which is also observed by the great chiefs. They renovate the huts by rebuilding them regularly every three years. Since the huts which make up the royal palace are numerous, they share this task with the chiefs of certain provinces.

[482] It is from among the "Irresistibles" that hammock bearers (abahetsi b' ingobyi) are selected when great ladies of the royal harem venture outside. They belong to the army corps whose name they bear. The members of this military group were regarded as the most courageous (Intalindwa, "those who cannot be resisted").

576 554 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is customary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

231 805 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

231 192 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[556] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruanda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[537] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

273 Preparation of Beer. The production of beer plays an important part in the economic life of Ruanda. In fact, most of the bananas are planted solely for this purpose. Everybody drinks. [556] Indeed, everyone who cares about his reputation must get drunk occasionally in order to parade his wealth. However, only the very wealthy can afford beer drinking on a large scale, which is the reason that the consumption of beer carries with it the notion of a privileged social position.

I had no opportunity to hear about cases of delirium tremens, but the chiefs always go to bed drunk and are never up and about before 10 o'clock in the morning.

The Banyaruanda call beer poetically a blessing of God (Imana). Without beer a person can neither be born nor buried. Without beer a man does not get a wife, and without beer he cannot be consecrated to the spirits.

Drinking bouts sometimes last a long time and are not confined to the evening hours. Repeatedly during morning trips I passed noisy settlements where the perservering were still at the glorious task.

273 674 The consequences of over-indulgence in beer are of very great social significance in Mulera. They cause murder which in turn results in blood revenge. One constantly hears of murder, and the people are very proud of it. Even those whom a man kills while drunk are counted among his slain enemies and are symbolized by cone-shaped iron pendants worn on the back of his headband (see Fig. 62).

At the time of my visit, a Batwa colony of potters in Kabgaye broke up because two drunken men killed a third man and thereupon had to flee with all their relatives to escape vengeance.

273 Not only the men, but also the women of the well-to-do, especially the Batutsi, are said to devote themselves not infrequently to drink. Since their physical beauty is combined with a rather brutal disposition, one often hears of servants of a chief's wife who were soundly thrashed by their intoxicated mistress.

In Ruanda there are several entirely different kinds of beer. Banana beer is commonly called nzoga; millet beer, marwa.

36/ independent man lives with his women, children, and servants
[54] (bagaragu). The establishments of the well-to-do are quite large and often embrace a dozen or more huts. Poor people have only one or two huts. The large settlements of the Batutsi, with the exception of those in the northwestern provinces, are all widely scattered in the grasslands and are conspicuous by the tall euphorbia hedges and trees which surround them.

In eastern Mpororo scattered huts occur only in the cultivated areas; they occur somewhat more frequently near large Bahima kraals, as, for example, that of Kitaraya. South of Kitaraya, Batutsi settlements hidden behind their euphorbia hedges predominate. On Lake Mohasi the scattered Bahutu settlements and their banana groves again appear. Here Batutsi kraals are rarer.

In Kisaka and Nduga there are Bahutu settlements on the edges of the banana groves, but since bananas are confined to specific regions because of soil conditions, a certain concentration of settlements has come about.

[91] Around Nyanza, the residence of Musinga [king of Ruanda], we find few and widely scattered settlements, because the land is reserved as pasture for the king's cows.

In Mulera where the entire country is under cultivation, there is again a regular distribution of farm settlements. However, we also note a tendency for relatives to move closer together for safety.

In Bugoye, which shows influences of the Forest Bantu, we find many compact groups of huts almost resembling villages, although these settlements vary a great deal in their structure. Here the
[65] hill dwellers, from whom their mugabo [clan elder] collects taxes which he hands over to the proper mutware (ku butaka, ku muheto, etc.), have all joined together in a single settlement. [200] In Bugoye we find settlements of over 100 inhabitants. The largest settlements are in Bgisha, north of the chain of volcanoes. They sometimes have over 100 huts.

The Banyabungu also live in large villages which are very well kept and have high fences. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 377.

343 171 On the way from Nyanza to Mulera, at the southern foot of Mount Ndisa in the compound of Rwabakika, I saw a round hut with a cone-shaped roof. It was a small hut for calves with a roof that clearly projected beyond the cylindrical walls.

342 171 Moreover, in the southern part of Bugoye at an altitude of 2,000 meters, I saw huts that gave the impression of being round with conical roofs, but on closer observation they turned out to be ordinary beehive-shaped huts. They were simply surrounded by a layer of reeds on the outside, and above this rose the straw thatch, giving the impression of a projecting roof. The natives explained that the walls of the huts are reinforced in this way in order to protect the occupants from strong, cold winds. Dr. Kandt likewise mentions this precaution, saying (2) that the huts are "protected

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 298.

by a sort of rampart of grasses."

We must also mention the fact that Baumann (3) saw huts

3. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 218.

with a cylindrical base of bamboo near the source of the Kagera. Is it possible that these are remnants of the round huts which formerly extended farther east and which were superseded by the beehive huts of the Batutsi? At any rate the beehive hut is more suitable for the treeless areas, for in an emergency it can be constructed without timber, merely of elephant grass or millet straw.

342 [558] [203] The size of the Ruanda house fluctuates considerably according to the wealth of the owner. It is usually four to eight meters high, and one and a half times that in diameter.

The house of sticks is tied together with papyrus; nails are not used.

The house wall consists of three layers. The middle layer is constructed of vertical sticks supported on the inside by hoops

583 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is pri-
556 marily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[643] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a
584 girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

614 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest
623 has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession
[643] of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of
536 the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle
231 he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and
614 the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Baboma,
621 and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near
592 Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.
423 [251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the
231 clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

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585 Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have [693] been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his [728] share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their 591 own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

(*d*) *Polygynous unions*

595 Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, [556] as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which [842] were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually [119] occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

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592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(*c*) *Procreational function*

181 554 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children 557 was almost indispensible for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, 858 extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby reinforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children [556] was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one [571] party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

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their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

From the point of view of social cohesion between the different strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(d) Redistribution of wealth

Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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The emphasis put on the social prestige bestowed by cattle ownership has sometimes led to the underestimation of a second meaning of their possession. Effective disposal of cattle was the main institutionalized means of achieving power. It certainly enables a person to secure labour and agricultural produce through the clientage structure. And at the present time, the disposal of cows gives more advantages than could be obtained by their counterpart in money.

Consequently, the redistribution of cattle operated through the army was extremely important and had much wider social implications than the dues paid in commodities.

Here, again, the mwami was the main beneficiary of the bovine tributes concentrated through the army. On his accession he received one cow as a recognition gift from every lineage, and a certain proportion of the cows presented at the numbering; after a successful campaign, the 'bow of the army' (cattle seized upon by the *abakoni*) was his. The king usually kept only the bare ownership of that cattle and granted its usufruct to important chiefs who then became his clients.

The army-chief was also much favoured in army cattle dues. He received a recognition gift on entering his office, a part from the herds presented and numbered, a certain proportion of the private booty of the warriors, rewards extended by the king after a victorious expedition, and gifts offered by army members. He had the effective disposal of these cows as long as he was in charge, that is to say, up to his death if he was not dismissed. He thus controlled a considerable amount of cattle, symbols of prestige and instruments of power. He could build up a wide clientage among army herdsmen as it was particularly among them that he chose his clients. But he could also grant his cows to non-army members (*inkomamashyi*), who then became army members.

In what measure was the ordinary army member affected by cattle? Firstly, whether warrior or herdsman, he was deprived of some of his own cows by the different payments to the king and the army-chief. Secondly, a member of the herdsmen's section could receive some cows as a client of the army-chief. Was it a real advantage? The question may be raised as the herdsman had to give cows to the chief. Obviously, there was an advantage only if he received the usufruct of more cows than he had given. This means that only a certain number of army members were very likely to

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(*a*) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhake* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

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WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

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562 that of Burundi, are by definition socially inferior to men. Political power, judicial rights, inheritance of cows and lands, and, indeed, the right to independent action outside the walls of the house, are traditionally accorded to men only.[3] Yet, in point of fact, there are [556] women who enjoy considerable authority and who own or control cows, lands and other forms of wealth. What a Rundikazi—a woman of Burundi—cannot do as a woman, she manages very well to do as a Rundi. The life-history of an individual is limited but not fully determined by the formal structures of the society. The dynamics of the social system make provision for political and economic mobility by which all but the most wretched Rundi know how to profit.

562 557 [564] 565 The social status of a Rundi is established by the caste and class inherited from the father. A woman is inferior to the men of her own social level and to her husband, but not to men of lower castes and classes than her own. The opportunities of a princess or of a woman of the aristocracy to acquire wealth are fewer than her father's or brother's but much greater than those of an ordinary herder or, certainly, of a poor farmer or serf. Moreover, women use the same techniques that make it possible for some farmers to own herds of cattle, or for some ordinary herders to become wealthier than some nobles. To advance from his official inherited status as far as possible towards happiness, a Rundi needs the favour of a superior in the social hierarchy. All good things come from the superior. The greater the power of the superior—whether the feudal master, the father, or the husband—the greater the ambition of the inferior—whether a herder, a serf or a woman. For the latter, it is sometimes enough to have a father who is impulsive and generous, or a husband who is docile or too stupid to distinguish the truth from a lie or true affection from flattery. Women attain their goals by means of men. There are always a good many of them available for use in projects both large and small.

562 577 Although caste and character rather than the simple fact of being male or female determine the lot of a Rundi, the mode of life and the behaviour patterns of women are decidedly different from those of men. Unlike a man, a Rundikazi in public does not speak, nor does she look you in the eyes. To each question, she answers: *Ndabizi?*—How should I know? In public, she lets it be thought that she knows nothing about politics, or where her husband is today, or even the wedding date of her daughter. She is the modest and obedient wife of her husband, the mother of her children, the conscientious mistress of her house, who is always working. What-

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
564 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
583 hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15] 462 564 513

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [581 557]

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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

586 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their
885 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends
[581] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

858 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the
862 typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very
593 tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege
858 and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long
593 night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in
[556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit
593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys
[861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can
[603] avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the

554 a deaf ear to his daughter's wishes in the matter of changing a
562 husband, she will perhaps make the necessary arrangements on
593 her own initiative with the husband she prefers, and the father will have no choice but to accept the new arrangements. From her husband, a woman expects to receive gifts in proportion to his wealth—clothing, copper bracelets, beads, cows, money. She also wishes workmen and servants, so that she will not have to perform the menial tasks of inferiors; so that she will have a great many inferiors to supervise; so that she will enjoy sufficient energy and leisure for the planning and plotting necessary to increase her wealth and her influence in family affairs, economic matters and politics. As her husband's business partner, an intelligent woman will be consulted at every turn or she may not even wait for her husband to ask her advice. She decides what must be done, and her decisions must be respected. A wife who is well-established will almost certainly be the preferred intermediary of those who seek the favour of her husband. As an intermediary, she receives gifts, particularly pots of beer, to persuade her to intervene with the superior. An intelligent woman who finds herself with more beer than she needs will send a servant to sell it and keep the money
[556] for herself. For women in the lower castes, there are various optional roles through which they can earn money. They may sell the excess baskets they weave; they may be midwives; they may be
562 *bapfumu*, physician-pharmacists who sell medicines and amulets;
556 they may be governesses or ladies-in-waiting for good families. A
554 husband takes great pride in a wife who becomes wealthy. Her
593 wealth advertises her cleverness and is at all events obtained at no cost to him. Some women, it is said, are so intelligent that a prince will make them *abashingantahe*, judges and councillors. Women who have this honoured position receive cows, clothing, jewellery and serfs. On occasion, a woman of this kind may be wealthier than her husband, but he has every reason to be pleased to have such a wife. A wealthy woman will keep some of her cows for herself for milk and butter. Others she will give to those who come and ask of her, and these will become her feudal followers who will work for her, respect her, and go about in quest of information for her.

554 The frequent absences of the husband are opportunities for a
562 woman to show herself capable of managing the property. Work
593 is for inferiors and is not a source of honour. It nevertheless establishes the realistic dependence of the superior upon his
[46] inferior, and it forms the solid basis, sometimes explicitly recognized, of the relationship between superior and inferior. A good

563 554 The second important legal sphere is constituted by social conditions, but first, something about the social stratification. I shall reserve a separate chapter for the relationships within the clan and family (p. 98 , 106). As has already been mentioned, social stratification is determined by the three racial elements of which the Barundi people is composed: Hamitic Batussi, Bantu Bahutu, and the original indigenous population, the Batwa. By the law of conquest, the Batussi form the nobility; the Bahutu are those who are not free, or rather those whose rights are only conditional; and the Batwa are the helots who have no rights. If we disregard the Batwa pariahs, there is no separation of castes closed off from one another, although the priests (kiranga), the sorcerers and medicine men (abafumu), and partly also the religious brotherhoods (ababandwa) enjoy a privileged position on the basis of their magical powers which other persons lack. The professional craftsmen, especially the blacksmiths, also maintain a particularly respected position if they are Batussi or Bahutu, but this does not apply to Batwa. And, as is true everywhere, the [556] rich in Urundi enjoy more respect and influence than the poor.

In spite of the considerable difference in social and legal status and in spite of the arrogance of the Batussi, the latter associate with the Bahutu on a friendly basis in most cases, a relationship similar to that between a master and his useful, docile servant. Even if a Mutussi is a mutwale of the lowest rank or a petty feudal lord, the Muhutu will never forget that in his relations with the former he is dealing with a master. If he should ever forget this, he most certainly would be reminded of his inferior status in a manner which would not be pleasant for him, but the "better situated" Muhutu regards the ordinary non-propertied Mutussi as his equal. At times, although [582] only rarely, there are even marriages between Batussi and Bahutu, yet these are not considered as completely valid (see p. 101 , 169). It is also reported that, as in Ruanda, a Muhutu [557] may be promoted to the privileged class of the Batussi by an act of royal favor.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

exert a significant pressure on somebody. In Ruanda, to be powerful is to be able to exact from others tribute in labour or in kind, or support for one's claims to some advantage to be obtained from the king. In the latter case pressure may remain undefined and indirect: for instance, a threat to withold backing which may later be necessary to the person who is now asked to support a request. We desire to have cattle, say our informants, because by giving one or two beasts to a Muhutu, he becomes our client (*mugaragu*) and then has to do, to a large extent, what we ask of him. We also like to have cattle in order to get as vassal another Mututsi who lacks them. The services expected from a vassal are not manual, but he will increase the influence of his lord by his family connexions and will be useful through his diplomatic shrewdness in dealing with his lord's intrigues. Finally, we desire to become ourselves the vassals of great chiefs, or even of the king, because we are then under the protection of somebody very important, we get more cows and that allows us to have more clients.

In order to become powerful it is important, almost indispensable, to have many children. Girls, by their marriages, extend one's family connexions and bring their fathers a few cows as bridewealth. Boys at an early age begin their military training which gives them a complete education in the skills, knowledge, and virtues pertaining to their noble condition. This training is given them as *intore* (chosen ones) at the royal court or at the court of an important chief. For a father to have a son at court would reinforce his influence: through his son he knows what is going on, and the king or the chief is constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence —an important security for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Mututsi, and thereby getting protection and cows for himself and his parents' family (*mulyango*). Finally, the marriages of his sons could create new links between the father and the families of his daughters-in-law.

In complex societies like our own the roads to power are many. In Ruanda it does not appear that power could be readily attained except through the possession of children and cows. As we shall see, warlike valour could confer very high prestige, but not necessarily power. Great warriors were often granted herds of cattle by the king as rewards for their prowess, and could then gain power by their cattle, but not directly.

If we press our analysis farther, we may say that from the point of view of power, the significance of children is to provide cattle or connexions. On the other hand, cattle give direct power (over the Bahutu clients) or ensure connexions. In relation to Bahutu labourers, cattle have many of the social functions of money in our culture. They enable the man who owns them to exert pressure on those who have few or none of their own and who try to acquire them in exchange for services. In order to facilitate comparison with other ways of life, we may use the term wealth (as a medium of exchange) instead of cattle. As for connexions, what is meant here is that type of relationship in which one party may require something from the

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

generation alone seems to comprise about 100 persons), the existence of a man prominent (by wealth, political functions, &c.) among the ascendants closer than the fifth, or a change of residence. The first two factors were usually realized in the span of six generations. If they were not, and if the inzu remained a small group of, say, a dozen people, these and their descendants went on referring to themselves as 'people of' an ancestor of the seventh, eighth, or ninth generation. One informant told us that his own inzu, already six generations deep, was not yet numerous enough to be split into new ones though it probably would be after two more generations. The fact that the ancestor of a new inzu was chosen, and was not simply the son of the ancestor of the former inzu, shows that there was a definite emphasis on the personal prominence of the ancestor.

Among the Tutsi, it seems that inzu tended to grow rather large before segmenting. In their intrigues for power, it was an advantage to be connected by agnatic links to many and important people. Consequently, before initiating the formation of a new inzu, the Tutsi were very cautious: they did not want to diminish their social power by severing their connexions with the members of their present inzu. Besides, a change of residence was a less compelling reason for the Tutsi to split the inzu: they were not attached to a particular region to the same extent as the Hutu; when appointed to different offices, they often had to move from one part of the country to another and they frequently travelled to the court.

The formation of a new inzu was not necessarily a segmentation resulting in the concomitant formation of two new units of the same age and importance. It could happen that among the inzu 'people of A', those of the sixth generation who were the descendants of B preferred to think of themselves as 'people of B' because B was a famous warrior and they were numerous enough to constitute an inzu of their own. This did not compel those of the sixth generation who were descendants of C and D to do the same. They would go on considering themselves 'people of A'. After a couple more generations, when the number of the descendants of F had increased, they would refer to themselves as 'people of F' who was a rich owner of cows, and the descendants of G as 'people of G' because he had been an important province chief, whereas the descendants of C would some day take the name of 'people of E' if they moved into another region.

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Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
582 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi
often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed
a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the
sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much
lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a
Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was
particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[560] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems
to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater
than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a
Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his
Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to
informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it
with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are
anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and
Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting inter-
marriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then
had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
582 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
648 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had
lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda
girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important
positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not
travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage
affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom
and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and par-
ticularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu.
They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to admini-
strative charges in one part of the country, then in another one.
Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully
extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(c) *Procreational function*

181 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and 554 cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children 557 was almost indispensible for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, 858 extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby reinforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained [556] later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one [571] party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted. 557 858 613

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions. 181 554 555 433 858 557 858

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society. 858

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10] 842 182

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between 842 605

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1955, pp. 85-86.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

such a way that he could become the patron of a few Hutu who would work for him and cultivate his fields. On the other hand, while the lord of such a Tutsi would not get many material advantages from him, his social prestige was enhanced by an increase in his following, and by being advised by a trusty Tutsi he was able to exert a greater influence in the different intrigues which played such an important part in his life.

(f) *Feudal and political structures*

We have said earlier that the Ruanda clientage system occupied an intermediate position between the public and private spheres. It must now appear more clearly why *buhake* was not just a private agreement between two persons, such as a loan. The element of pressure, although not going usually as far as the use of physical force, was certainly an important aspect of that relationship. There was also a constant interplay of the feudal structure of the two political ones (administrative and military). When, as frequently happened, one was at the same time administratively subjected to and a client of one's hill-chief, a client's obligations were not merely added to a subject's tribute: the total amount was reduced. This was a very favourable situation for the subject-client. All the great political chiefs were also rich lords. Their political offices helped them to increase their clientage, as is particularly evident in the case of the army-chief who could require cows from the army members merely in order to be able to gain more clients. On the other hand their wealth helped them to obtain important offices and to keep them.

It would be impossible, for these reasons, to describe adequately the working of the two political structures in Ruanda without describing the feudal system as well. It might even be said that the *buhake* is more fundamental in the sense that many political relations have been patterned on the client—lord relation. For instance, the army chief was really a lord for the members of the herdsmen's section of his army.

In spite of the psychological and perhaps historical precedence of the feudal system, it has been described after political organization because, as I wish to focus attention on the political organization, it seemed that the role of the feudal system in that respect would emerge more clearly.

562 that of Burundi, are by definition socially inferior to men. Political power, judicial rights, inheritance of cows and lands, and, indeed, the right to independent action outside the walls of the house, are traditionally accorded to men only.[3] Yet, in point of fact, there are [556] women who enjoy considerable authority and who own or control cows, lands and other forms of wealth. What a Rundikazi—a woman of Burundi—cannot do as a woman, she manages very well to do as a Rundi. The life-history of an individual is limited but not fully determined by the formal structures of the society. The dynamics of the social system make provision for political and economic mobility by which all but the most wretched Rundi know how to profit.

562 The social status of a Rundi is established by the caste and class 557 inherited from the father. A woman is inferior to the men of her own social level and to her husband, but not to men of lower castes [564] and classes than her own. The opportunities of a princess or of a 565 woman of the aristocracy to acquire wealth are fewer than her father's or brother's but much greater than those of an ordinary herder or, certainly, of a poor farmer or serf. Moreover, women use the same techniques that make it possible for some farmers to own herds of cattle, or for some ordinary herders to become wealthier than some nobles. To advance from his official inherited status as far as possible towards happiness, a Rundi needs the favour of a superior in the social hierarchy. All good things come from the superior. The greater the power of the superior—whether the feudal master, the father, or the husband—the greater the ambition of the inferior—whether a herder, a serf or a woman. For the latter, it is sometimes enough to have a father who is impulsive and generous, or a husband who is docile or too stupid to distinguish the truth from a lie or true affection from flattery. Women attain their goals by means of men. There are always a good many of them available for use in projects both large and small.

562 Although caste and character rather than the simple fact of 577 being male or female determine the lot of a Rundi, the mode of life and the behaviour patterns of women are decidedly different from those of men. Unlike a man, a Rundikazi in public does not speak, nor does she look you in the eyes. To each question, she answers: *Ndabizi?*—How should I know? In public, she lets it be thought that she knows nothing about politics, or where her husband is today, or even the wedding date of her daughter. She is the modest and obedient wife of her husband, the mother of her children, the conscientious mistress of her house, who is always working. What-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases). 562 582 613

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child. 562 557 [582] [58] [851] 848]

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives. 557 562 564 583 [851] [842]

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the 142 564 826

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and
562 women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law 554
constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are 557
persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched 578
that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the [595]
former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same 554
pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to 264
look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no 554
comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always [858]
inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to 554
changes in social role according to age. The changes of social 561
status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, 562
then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five [885]
years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to 431
like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to 554
receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a polygamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15] 462 564 593

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [58 557]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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mwamikazi and a wealthy Tutsikazi are matriarchs on a much grander scale than is possible for any Hutukazi. Nevertheless, the character model and the methods for success as a matriarch are quite the same. Furthermore, although the methods employed by women are not in every detail like those of men, there is only one character model for the matriarch and the patriarch, that of the superior. By the same token, there is only one character model for those in the roles of inferiors. The latter are always alert to opportunities for asking some good thing of a superior. If one road is closed, it is necessary to find another. If a husband is not generous, a woman will ask one of her brothers for gifts, or she will wait until her sons are grown. When fortunate people have received gifts, they obviously have something to give, and they thus may expect petitioners to come to them for gifts. Yet again, if a man is muddled by drink, his wife or his vassal or someone who wants his favour will make a request of a gift in the presence of others; a promise given, drunk or sober, before witnesses must be respected at the risk of losing one's fair name. The rules of society provide only for a minimum of happiness. One must rely upon intelligence to point the way to supplementary means and to profit from every favourable circumstance.

Like any normal citizen of Burundi, a Rundikazi desires as much power and authority as possible, which is to say, numerous inferiors, including children, workers, feudal followers; wealth, which is to say, for women who can inherit nothing, many gifts from men and from wealthier women; respect and love, which amounts to having many inferiors; elegance, which is again to say many gifts, but also education in the home of a princess; many children, which depends on the will of *Imana;* protection against one's enemies, that is, against one's rivals and one's mother-in-law; and the good luck to retain what has been received from *Imana* and from human beings, which again depends on *Imana* and also on one's own intelligence, courage and strength of character. There is decidedly no psychological conflict in women of strong character, nor is there any conflict between feminine ambitions and social norms. Everything is taken care of by the functional norms of the society.

A woman starts very young to calculate what she needs in order to be happy. From her father she expects little more than that he will find her a husband who is wealthy and reasonable, or better yet, tractable; that he will allow her to return home if she is not satisfied with a husband and will find her a better one; that he will from time to time give her gifts. If a father has a tendency to turn

554 displaying in public the respect and obedience due them. An
562 intelligent woman makes herself liked or feared, according to the
593 character of the men with whom she is dealing. Occasionally, it is said of a Rundi that "his house is burning", that is to say, despite
[195] the show of respect, his wife rules the roost. He is afraid of her, she nags him, she criticizes him, she wants to decide everything, and one fine day she will put poison in his beer, or she will calumniate him. However, a woman need not dominate her husband in so heavy-handed a fashion to earn her laurels as matriarch. She has her own inferiors to dominate, and there are other ways to become the *umutoni* of her husband and the other men. Apart from her ability as the mistress of her house and her generosity as a hostess, apart from all her obligations, a woman as an inferior is likely to understand very well the uses of flattery and subservience. She knows how to be an informant, to calumniate her superior's enemies as well as her own hated rivals, to show herself always loyal and devoted, to make the welfare of her superior her primary concern. She also knows how to satisfy sexual desires, the need for alcohol, and other demands of the body and the spirit. Superiors, apart from their economic dependence upon their inferiors, seem to seek them also for the satisfaction of what appear to be exceedingly urgent needs for love, respect, and loyalty and for entertainment that will take their minds off their troubles. It is to have these needs satisfied that they make presents, that they give what is asked of them. An intelligent woman busies herself with satisfying the desires of her superiors and thereby making herself indispensable to their happiness. Neither the Sophists, nor Machiavelli, nor the courtiers of Louis XIV have anything to teach the Rundi. An intelligent Rundikazi, like any
[557] intelligent social inferior, knows that to obtain happiness it is necessary only to say yes—to play along with the internal weaknesses and needs by which the superior is enslaved.

NOTES

193 [1]*Linguistic note:* Bantu prefixes have been dropped from words that refer to the inhabitants of Burundi. They are referred to as "Rundi" and by their caste-names, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Other words of the language retain their Bantu form, e.g., *mwami*, king; *mwamikazi*, queen-mother or princess, *bamikazi* in the plural; *muganwa*, prince, *baganwa* in the plural. The suffix, *-kazi*, designates the feminine. For "Rundi woman," "Tutsi woman," "Hutu woman," or "Twa woman," the Rundi forms will be used, i.e., "Rundikazi," "Tutsikazi," "Hutukazi," and "Twakazi."

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is
565 called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

181 is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and
554 everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior
152 (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu
564 are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are corre-
576 spondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

181 When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi
564 specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate
558 qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be con-
687 sidered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

181 All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while
564 living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame.
761 To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious:
554 for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender
715 one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

181 To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and repu-
554 tation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense
564

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are
[554] only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).
565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has
565 /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who
[727] had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
●558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

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173 Mututsi /Batutsi/ woman named Nyirandoba sought shelter in Bidiga's
●558 hut without being aware of his social status. The potter gallantly
563 offered some food to the hunger-stricken lady.

Nyirandoba accepted eagerly. Meanwhile the sky had cleared and the woman, her hunger satisfied, took leave of her host after thanking him very kindly.

As she walked away, she heard a voice inviting Bidiga to take advantage of the improvement in the weather and go into the swamp to fetch some clay. Nyirandoba realized her mistake. She was forever dishonored. Everyone /468/ would know that she, a Mututsi woman, had entered the hut of a Mutwa and had taken food from the hand of a pariah.

Henceforth, no one in her own caste would be willing to associate with her.

Bidiga, who understood her uneasiness and misgivings, came to her aid and offered to marry her. The noble lady, very happy with the solution, became Bidiga's wife.

Not far from them there lived a Batutsi clan named Babambanganzi, who were in charge of one of the court herds known by the name of "black cows" (inka z'imikara, inkuke z'ibgami). Those people, who had no reasons to complain about Bidiga's proximity, made him their cowherd and put him in charge of the royal herd. Bidiga and his family gradually established close contact with the Hamites and contracted marriages with them which placed them in due course among the Batutsi ranks (1).

1. In view of all this, we can understand why the Hamitic type has lost its original purity to a greater or lesser extent in some of the clans belonging to this ethnic group. We may also add that the poorer Batutsi often take Bahutu wives.

131

on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 348.

In the northwestern part of the above-mentioned axis the Batutsi are less numerous. Only in Bwischascha and above all in the district of Lubengera do they appear in larger numbers. (3)

3. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin), p. 505.

The Batutsi of Bugoye settled there only a few generations ago. They came there from Mukinjaga. The few Batutsi in Mulera came there a short time ago from Nduga.

101 167 The Batutsi have also migrated to the west across the eastern edge of the graben [Rift Valley]. Dr. Kandt (4) says the following about the Batutsi in Kishari:

4. Ibid., p. 456.

"Here (Tshove, Kishari) many Watussi visited us, simple, friendly people but less handsome and aristocratic than those of Urundi and Ruanda; they have to work. Here they are not the rulers of the country, but cattle breeders living in villages isolated from the original inhabitants who are agriculturalists. (It is indeed strange how sharp a boundary the Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu form in this respect: to the east whole groups of Watussi live as kings and chiefs of subject peoples; to the west they appear sporadically or, as in Kishari, in larger numbers, but in neither case as rulers.)... Later I heard that Kishari is the refuge for all Watussi who for some reason have had to flee from their homeland." [124]

241 558 Despite the fact that conditions are very favorable for agriculture, the Batutsi have remained herdsmen, and only seldom have poverty-stricken Batutsi taken up agriculture. This happened to a family of Bagwabiro in Bugoye. Those Batutsi who till the

241 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribes-
558 men, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She domi-
576 nates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title, "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576 Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior
554 first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

643 of the king who are recognized and fully qualified. The moment a
644 king has a son whom he recognizes, the queen mother is said to be sent away. For this reason she brings all her influence to bear (and this influence is, as a rule, very great) to prevent the king, as long as possible, from recognizing any of his children as fully qualified.

643 Bagaragu. The king is the owner of all the land and all the
423 cows in the country. He exercises his power by granting these lands and recalling them when he is displeased. In this manner the king appoints his officials who as such can be regarded as temporary large landowners. The king keeps them in office and on their land, but he can drive them out or increase their holdings at any time.

643 The king is omnipotent. The only thing that does not yield to him is the physically impossible. Thus, for example, he can find no one who is inclined to settle as chief in Ndorwa, for this would be too dangerous in spite of the eventual help of the king.

661 An individual's power and possessions depend chiefly on the
643 favor of the king. This is the case to such an extent that even the privileged must always remain in contact with the king or
558 even live at his court, otherwise they cannot hold on to their success or their possessions. No matter how wealthy a man is, he can lose everything if he has no allies and if someone more fortunate succeeds in getting the king to withdraw his favor.

643 Every fortune hunter is surrounded by a number of clients who
644 dog his footsteps in the hope of participating in the successes of their patron. One can judge the importance and the prospects of the master by the number of these second-class fortune hunters who often have to content themselves with nothing more than gifts of milk from the king.

644 When I lived in Nyanza, I had an opportunity at eleven o'clock every morning to see the mighty ones, with a following of 50 to 60 men, march up to the king to give him a morning greeting. Among these were also completely impoverished [257] devils who, although they were marching up to the king as his bagaragu, had only one Muhutu in their retinue.

The most intimate associates of the king are his high chiefs. They are his clients (bagaragu). At the time of my visit in Nyanza

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Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
582 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[569] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting inter-marriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
582 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
648 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and particularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu. They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to administrative charges in one part of the country, then in another one. Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

From the point of view of social cohesion between the different strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(d) Redistribution of wealth

Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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Tutsi control. A Hutu who in exchange for labour or agricultural goods had been able to acquire a few cows had necessarily to ask for the protection of a lord in order that his cows should not be seized upon under some pretence by a socially powerful neighbour. Then he received cows from his lord and they were merged with his own *imbata*. Consequently, if the agreement had to be ended, the lord could take away besides the cows he had granted, those which had previously belonged to the client. 675 564 642 178

The two political structures benefited most those among the Tutsi who were rulers. The feudal structure, by granting only a precarious possession of cattle to the clients, left in the hands of the Tutsi the ultimate control of cattle, symbol of social prestige and instrument of power. On the other hand, by the same *buhake*, Tutsi were obtaining the advantages of being provided with labour and agricultural produce. From that standpoint, the Ruanda feudal system granted a minority the means to live—and to live better than the bulk of the population—without having to participate in the manual labour of economic production, by the moderate and clever exploitation of the majority. 564 661 642

In order that an aristocratic structure may perpetuate itself without change as long as it is profitable to the superior caste, it is not sufficient to prevent an invasion or even an infiltration of members of inferior groups who, by modifying the proportion between exploiters and exploited, would completely disturb the smooth working of the system. It is also necessary that all those who are by birth members of the upper caste should live according to the standards of their group. It is most unusual for an upper caste to regard the falling off of some of its members without uneasiness and dismay. This is particularly true when the group position of power is rationalized in terms of innate superiority. Some modern governments in Africa, for example, are much concerned about the 'poor whites' because their decadence threatens the myth of the white racial superiority. 564

The Tutsi had a similar pretence to a natural superiority as has been pointed out already. Consequently, if one of them was unable to support himself in a way becoming to his caste and seemed on the point of slipping down into the group of those who work manually, it was regarded as a shocking situation that should at once be put right. The remedy was to become the client of a richer Tutsi. The cows thus received, allowed him to subsist in [186] [558]

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases). 562 582 613

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child. 562 557 [582] [558] [851] 848]

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows; the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives. 557 562 564 583 [851] [842]

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the 142 564 826

604 429 The paternal uncle may marry his sister-in-law. He has the same rights over his nephews and the same obligations to them as their father. If the widow marries a stranger (umwinjila), the latter becomes the guardian of the children, but as a rule he has not much authority. And if he does not fulfill his obligations, he may be driven out by the paternal uncle and has to go away empty-handed.

Similarly, if the uncle who is guardian does not fulfill his obligations, the children may complain to their father's patron, or, if they have no cattle, to the hill chief. When they have grown up, they may even drive out the unworthy guardian.

Only through marriage do the sons gain independence unless previously they have freed themselves with violence from the guardian's authority.

593 Nevertheless, even when they are emancipated by marriage, male children are not freed of their obligations to their parents (1).

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p.60.

[39] CHAPTER VII. MAJORITY AND INTERDICTION

[881] 885 In Ruanda there is no initiation ceremony to mark the entrance of boys into social life any more than there are age classes. But when a young man has become ingaragu, his father then looks upon him as a man; he speaks to him of cattle and crops, allows him to share his meal, and sends him in his place to the patron to pay homage, etc.

732 Lunatics (abasazi), the dumb (ibirazi) and the deaf (ibipfamatwi) move around freely and, except for the first, may marry.

593 The property of a spendthrift (ikarara, lit., half mad, exalted) is managed by his parents.

As for the bad son who is disobedient and insolent, he can be cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume).

561 CHAPTER VIII. TABLE INDICATING THE NAMES USED TO DESIGNATE THE DIFFERENT AGES OF LIFE (1)

1. The age given in years is obviously

●561

approximate, since the civil status of the natives has not yet been organized in the territories under mandate.

Men	Women
1) Uruhinja, from birth to the first steps	1) Same word
2) Igitambambuga, up to four or five years old	2) Same word up to three years old
3) Inchuke, up to seven years old	3) Same word up to six years old
[40]	
4) Ingimbi, up to ten years old	4) Same word, up to eight years old
5) Umwana ugimbutse, up to fifteen years old	5) Same word up to twelve years old
6) Ingaragu, up to twenty years old	6) Umwangavu, up to fourteen years old
7) Umusole, up to twenty-five years old	7) Inkumi, up to sixteen years old
8) Umusole uhamye, up to thirty years old	8) Inkumi inhamye, up to eighteen years old
9) Igikwerere, up to forty years old	9) Iliza, (lit., before her first child) up to twenty years old
10) Impotole, up to fifty years old	10) Impetule, up to twenty-five years old
11) Ijigija, up to fifty-six years old	11) Same word, up to thirty years old
12) Umusaza, up to sixty years old	12) Ijigija ihamye, up to forty years old
13) Umusaza rukukuri, over sixty years old	13) Umukechuru, up to fifty years old
	14) Umukechuru rukukuri, up to and over sixty years old

839 marriage and is pleasing to men. During this execrable act, they pronounce certain oaths or, rather imprecations: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. In addition, they use various means to obtain greater pleasure for themselves. In general they use plants or roots of plants and trees with which they rub the labia." Van der Burgt adds in a letter to me: "His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes prostent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adspirantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt 'pulchras se facere,' quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione." [Tr., "By means of this friction they extend the labia so that they become yellow and protrude, and they try to give them an extraordinary size and length. This custom may be considered
[171] a general or national one not only in Urundi and Ruanda but also among the majority of tribes of central Africa with few exceptions, as, for instance, the Wasukuma. Consequently, it is not primarily intended as a means of obtaining pleasure, but the
[826] girls simply wish to 'make themselves pretty,' since very many young men would not marry a girl who did not have such labia. After marriage the girls abstain from this manipulation."

I could not learn anything about the puberty rites; how-
881 ever, they most certainly are celebrated. Van der Burgt does not report anything on this subject either (No. 19, p. 394). In
304 any case, boys are not circumcised nor are girls infibulated. Only the Batwa, who in contrast to the Batussi and the Bahutu practice deformation of the teeth, sharpen the two upper incisors with a knife as an act to announce puberty (No. 19, pp. 105, 155).

I also was unable to ascertain whether the youths who had
561 reached puberty joined a social club or formed a special "age

561 group" as is found among several East African tribes. Is such a social institution does exist among the Barundi, it plays no role in public life. Nor are there special bachelors' huts or kraals for such an age group, while among other Hamitic peoples of East Africa -- or peoples under Hamitic influence -- for example, the Massai, the Wapokomo [Pokome], and the Galla, these age groups constitute the principal structure of the entire social life.

Among the Massai there are three age groups: the boys living with their parents, the unmarried youths (of the warrior caste) who live together in their own kraals, and the peaceful married men. Similarly among the Wapokomo and the Galla there are: first, the boys; second, the various age groups of those who have been circumcised at the same time, or Luva; and third, the class of the older men, or Gada. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 262 ff.) In Ruanda the youthful band of warriors which usually appears at the court of Musinga for festive occasions and performs war dances might suggest that such an "age group" of unmarried youths exists among the Batussi, but perhaps they are only a kind of cadet or page corps of the king (see p. 65).

888 Old persons who have lost their physical and mental
775 agility are seldom seen since they remain within the homesteads. Their next of kin take care of them until their death (ukufa), perhaps less for reasons of piety than for fear that if they treated them badly they might take revenge after their death as spirits.
763 When a person is dying his family usually gathers around him. Immediately after death, the women in the house and the neighborhood raise a loud and plaintive wailing while the men close the eyes of the deceased, bend his arms and legs, and tie him up (in a crouched position) so as to prevent him or his spirit from returning. Preparations are immediately made for the burial.

764 Burial in a crouched position is also the custom in Ankole,
171 Mpororó, Ufipa, and in other Bahima states, also among the

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law 554
constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are 557
persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched 578
that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the [595]
former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same 554
pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to 264
look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no 554
comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always [858]
inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to 554
changes in social role according to age. The changes of social 561
status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, 562
then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five [885]
years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to 431
like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to 554
receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

596 [591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[575] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 596 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a childless man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A [563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a [428] brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has [562] the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother [586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (umutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 428 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

608 "If you refuse to give me lodging or food, may the gihango kill you."

The two blood brothers then lie down on the mat side by side for a few moments to indicate that they will be indissolubly united in good as in bad days.

Then the one who is the visitor takes a handful of herbs and throws it on the hearth, saying: "If you come to my house and [18] I am away you may drink my beer and warm yourself with my wood, and may the gihango do you no harm, for you will not have wanted either to steal my beer or to burn my hut. But if my wife refuses to give you the beer and the wood, it is no concern of mine, for my wife is not bound as we are by the blood pact."

The abanywanyi then offer gifts to the witnesses such as hoes, necklaces, etc., and give each other presents of hoes, goats, and cows, according to their means, in order "to free themselves from the mat on which the blood pact has taken place," (kwichara ku kirago).

CHAPTER II. MARRIAGE

1. Kinds of Unions

583 The word ugushaka (to have a wife) designates marriage in general.

The typical marriage with payment of a dowry (inkwano) to the girl's father is called kurongora.

A umugeni w'ubuntu (lit., betrothed given as a present) may [572] be given as testimony of affection to a friend. Later the man can give a dowry, but he is not obliged to do so. If the friends quarrel, the dowry may then be reclaimed. A powerful chief can also give [562] his mututsi client a young girl as a gift (umugeni w'ingororano).

587 To marry a divorced woman or a widow is called gutshyura umusumbakazi (lit., to bring home a woman who has already been married). These unions are frequent, especially among the Bahutu. When they start keeping house, the husband only gives the bride's paterfamilias a jug of pombe, but if the couple have children he must give a dowry. [19]

462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 842 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

[163] 3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 562 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house), the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But 837 custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 586 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she nearly always will accept it. However, she sometimes leaves her

631 There are abatware who personally own hills in other prov-
635 inces (1).

1. Since 1924, aiming to unify the commands of the provincial chiefs, the government has endeavored to persuade the abatware to exchange hills.

634 The abatchibiri, who own only a part of a province, are also directly subordinate to the Mwami, who has given them their lands.

622 The ibisonga are placed at the head of one or more hills.
562 They are the supervisors of the abatware and the abachibiri, on whom
624 they also spy for the Mwami. Women can be ibisonga. For example, they can be the Mwami's abaja (mistress-servants) who, as a reward for the bestowal of their favors, are given a hill. But the most frequent case is that of a widow of an igisonga [sic] without any male children who, while attending the king, obtains permission to continue to manage the hill held by her husband (2). Each hill chief has

2. An example would be Nyiraigweni, widow of Nyantabana, a great provincial chief, replaced today by Rwabutogo who commands the district of Buganza in the territory of Nyanza.

under him a factotum called umuhingisha who designates and marks the boundaries of the fields, for which the Bahutu have asked the chief, and who may even settle the palavers in the absence of the igisonga. The umunyabigega is hierarchically subordinate to the former igisonga. He is the steward of the granaries (ibigega) of the chief whose cultivated fields he supervises.

631 The abanyabikingi command only a portion, a spur of a hill.
622 Appointed directly by the Mwami, they act as supervisors, and even as spies of the ibisonga for the king. [100]

443 the lake. A recent addition to this in the interior is the market near the new government station at Gitega which is growing in importance. Apart from these, there are a whole number of small markets serving purely local needs. The market at Usumbura which is held from six o'clock in the morning until 10 or 11 o'clock -- like all other markets -- is still frequented by over 1,000 persons a day. It is conducted in a very orderly fashion under German governmental supervision. There is even a large roof [347] of corrugated iron to protect the market from the sun and rain. The vendors, most of them women, squat in long rows under the roof and out in the open; each has his merchandise arranged in front of him in baskets or spread out on mats or banana leaves. The list of local products recorded by van der Burgt 15 years ago is still valid today: oil, salt, beer, cotton material, fish, mats, pots, jugs, bundles of tobacco, snuff, balls of soap, millet, [76] corn, flour, bananas, peanuts, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, beef, goats, sheep, chickens, nets, spear shafts, bamboo poles, canes of reeds, firewood, rope, string, hoes, etc. In addition to this, today one may see all sorts of cheap European industrial products, such as brightly colored cotton blankets, various printed cotton materials, petroleum, cigarettes, glass beads, iron, copper and brass wire, hardware, and china.

Von Trotha also describes the markets as "the most 443 characteristic feature of the region. Here every conceivable ● 562 object is traded with much shouting or paid for with strings of beads and goods. There were thousands of haggling and shouting people at the market of Munkasa on the northeast shore of Lake Tanganyika, but everything is settled in an orderly fashion and without fighting. One may buy a woman for ten strings of red beads, and once tired of her, she may be returned to the market and once more exchanged for beads." (No. 8, p. 77). Of course, the trade in women has stopped now, and even at the time of Trotha's journey in 1896 it must have been a very rare transaction.

768 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's
736 family and provide for their widowed mother. However, childless widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or by begging.

The position of women is higher and the esteem in which
562 they are held is greater than among most other East African
593 Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned, the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the husband. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the
[462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found among any other East African people -- that husband and wife
[264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier husbands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex-
562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded
[644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of respect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

577 qualification for the happy one is not to live a blameless life on earth, but to
776 undergo initiation into the *Ryangombe* cult.
775

Thus the ethics of the Banyarwanda are not integrated on a religious
577 basis such as the will of God. What is the principle of integration, or rather, we should first ask, are their ethical conceptions integrated? On the surface they consist, like any moral code, of a multiplicity of prohibitions, orders, and exhortations. Have they achieved a synthesis of these separate elements by reducing the multiplicity to one or a few principles? Or, what amounts to the same thing, could they give a definition of good and evil?

577 In Ruanda a great number of particular rules are subsumed under general
183 principles such as: do not do what is harmful to people of your group or of your country; do what people related to you would like; submit to your superiors. Principles such as these are already on a higher level of abstraction than the particular rules. When informants are asked to account for a given rule or principle they give as the final justification: 'It has always been done that way in Ruanda.' We may perhaps express the Ruanda definition of good and evil in these terms: That is good (or evil) which tradition has defined as good (or evil).

Tradition is indeed a powerful force in cultures which, as in Ruanda, have been isolated for centuries from world currents. Each generation is more conscious of the importance of what it has received from the preceding one than is possible when much of what constitutes its way of life comes not from its ancestors but from some other social tradition. Moreover, their relations with their neighbours whom they frequently subjugated have persuaded Banyarwanda of the excellence of the ways of life transmitted by their forefathers. In such a situation the traditional character of a rule appears to be sufficient justification. If the ancestors, who were so wise, behaved in that way it would be preposterous to question it.

But it would be misleading to picture the Banyarwanda as following blindly the moral rules framed in a remote past without having any idea of their purpose. Some old men have a clear understanding of the social significance of certain rules. They explained, for example, that the duality of the
[562 rules concerning adultery committed by the husband or by the wife was
837] accounted for by the importance of the wife's function in procreation. She has thus a greater responsibility than the husband for maintaining the integrity of the family.

577 Does this kind of thinking extend so far as independence of tradition?
183 Some informants told us that, apart from the authority of custom, some actions were thought of as dishonourable in themselves. But these in-
177 formants were Christians and, apparently, very much influenced by their religion. Moreover, they could not quote a clear case of conflict between tradition and ethics.

577 No moral code can achieve an absolute character in all its precepts.
183 Prohibitions and commands frequently relate only to certain categories of
673 persons and situations. Even the Christian Western ethic, which realizes to

173 As for the royal cemetery of Luhanga, which lies atop the
643 plateau of the same name, the inhabitants of the area all concur in
766 the belief that if King Gihanga himself was not buried there, that is
to say, the eminent "Creator," then at least his wife Nyirakabogo was.
778 It is probable that numerous other monarchs sleep their last sleep
there by the queen's side, but the people are not quite sure of their
names anymore.

Nor are they sure of the names of those who were buried on the neighboring Kayenzi-Bussigi plateau, where four of those cemeteries are to be found.

The names of the princes buried in the northern most cemetery are better known. The inhabitants of the area are almost unanimous in naming Kigeri-Mibambge and Nyiramavugo as being buried there. During the last European war, which had local repercussions, the natives were rightly frightened and erected huts (indaro) over their tombs where they offered numerous sacrifices. As for Queen Nyiramavugo, the elders recall seeing her corpse go by in their earliest childhood. /527/ The body was laid at the foot of the plateau for the night before being carried to the top where it was buried. This was the mother of Lwogera-Mutara, that is to say, the grandmother of the present king.

Malembo, daughter of Nyamajinya and mother of Yuhi-Mazimpaka, was buried on one or the other of the two plateaus, it is not known exactly which. One still hears of Yuhi-Mazimpaka himself and of a sister of Ruganzu, Nyirangabo, who, according to the natives, were buried in the afore-mentioned cemeteries. What is certain is that the grove which follows upon the first one starting from the north holds the remains of Kilongoro, daughter of a certain Magoma and mother of Chyilima-Ludjugira, who succeeded Yuhi-Mazimpaka.

According to present-day opinion, the sacred groves of Luhanga and Kayenzi-Bussigi are reserved exclusively for the burial of queen mothers (abanyambuto, "those of the grains"), that is to say,
● [562] those who provided the heir to the throne and who reigned along with him.

595 Although a wife feeds herself and the market price for a woman is trifling the Bahutu, nevertheless the man must build and maintain a house for each woman. The amount of work this entails, considering the perishability of the straw buildings, seems to be an important factor in curtailing polygamy. In some cases, it is true, several wives get along with each other in one house, but the lack of a separate hut is considered a great disadvantage and usually results in a woman's departure.

612 The family in the wider sense of the term includes the more distant relatives.

If the child is regarded as the center of the family, only the ancestors in the male line of the father as well as of the mother are considered. The ancestors in the female line are disregarded. Of the various branches of the family only uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces are to be mentioned, as well as the corresponding relatives of the husband or wife.

601 In the Kinyaruanda language there is a word, basekuru, for the abstract concept "ancestor," but there is no word for the concept "father," and one must always say "my father," "your father," "his father." For "grandfather," too, there is no special designation; sekuru really means "his grandfather," and the concept "your grandfather" must be expressed by sokuru.

[217] In the following table we list the expressions for the closer relatives. (See following pages.)

Older close relatives are simply called uncle, data wachu. More distant relatives are referred to as mwene wachu.

The term wachu used so much in the table of relatives is really a possessive pronoun and means "our," just as wanyu means "your" and wabo, "their."

The stepfather is referred to simply as the husband of the mother or brother of the father. [218] The latter designation refers to the fact that a husband's brother falls heir to his widow.

It should be noted that in kinship terms the father's brothers and the mother's sister are treated as two parallel groups, the members of which can intermarry.

●562 264 Position of Women. In Ruanda the woman is regarded, in principle, as a lower creature, and married couples never eat together in public. In private, I have repeatedly observed that they usually do eat together.

562 Despite this disadvantage, the position of the woman in Ruanda must be regarded as relatively good. True, she does bear the burden of the housework and field work, at least in the poorer households, but the husband helps her with the field work in emergencies and always does all the heavy work. It is his duty to clear brush, build huts and storehouses, and help with the hoeing.

The well-to-do women spend their time at handiwork, such as making small, artistic baskets. It is said that while doing this work they consume large quantities of beer. They spend the day in the kagondo, the women's house, and, therefore, one has little opportunity to see Batutsi women. If you arrive unexpectedly in a compound, you see nothing but a few figures in flight, whom you can recognize as women by the rings on their legs (butega).

While the expedition was in Nyanza, Dr. Schubotz tried in vain to get Musinga's permission to photograph his wives. Musinga made promises but did not keep them.

There were, in fact, no women to be seen in Nyanza. During the entire three weeks of my stay, I met only two not very young women on the last day.

In Ruanda one often hears complaints about the dominance of women. The farmers especially complain about the wives of their chiefs who are said to be very disagreeable, above all when their husbands are away. A couple of times I heard about Bahutu who were beaten with sticks and badly wounded by Batutsi women.

It is as a mother that the woman takes on an important and esteemed position. The best example of this is the influence enjoyed by the queen mother. A king's son who has lost his mother can not ascend the throne. Sterile women are despised, and the only attention paid to unmarried women is that they can be married off, that is to say, sold, so that connections with other families may be established.

581 [219] Marriage. Marriage does not have the same social significance in all parts of Ruanda, but throughout the country a man can improve his status through marriage and even more so through the marriage of his children.

In the northern part of Ruanda, however, where the Bahutu are still almost entirely free, marriage is a political act of

581 great importance because it unites two families and is a step in the direction of social integration. In Nduga where farmers have no political importance, marriages also have no significance. [583] This probably also explains the difference in the purchase prices of brides. In the north these prices are very high; in Nduga they are very low. Hence, marriages in the north are much more stable.

583 The price paid for the bride, which must be returned in case of a separation, is the economic guarantee of the permanence of 582 a union. In the words of the natives, a marriage in Mulera is an act of exchange between two clans. One clan furnishes the horned cow, ntuku, which is the bride price, the other clan provides the unhorned cown, nkunge, that is, the bride. The woman, like the cow, is family property. After the death of her husband she is inherited, so her purchase price and her progeny do not have to be returned. This inheritance is called kutshura.

584 In Kissaka a bride is wooed when she is still a small child. The suitor sends banana beer to the parents of the bride. If the parents approve, they accept the gift. Then, when there is an opportunity, the bride price is agreed upon. The presents of beer are repeated from time to time until the girl comes of age. These presents are supposed to call attention to the suitor and further the marriage settlement. As many as 20 to 50 jugs of beer 585 are sent. When the girl is mature, that is, when she is about 15 years old and her breasts are the size of a fist, she is brought to the house of her husband on the appointed day by the sister of her father, her brothers, and her attendants (bagaragu). They stay the whole evening, drink banana beer, and converse. While the bride sits with her aunt in the inner part of the house, the rest of the party is in the section facing the door (muliango). After the entire supply of beer has been drunk, they all return to their houses, and the newly married couple is left alone.

It often happens that the bride runs home to her parents and does not wish to return to her husband. In this case the husband must send more presents of beer to the parents-in-law. If he happens to be out of beer, he must send a man, who promises to send more beer, to fetch his wife.

578 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the
851 child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to
562 be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when
578 their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

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Neighbors], " Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

-614 [240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few
262 clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

262 Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no
858 means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of
562 Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

262 The food taboos which play such an important role in the
614 life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos,
784 abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

614 The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are
784 taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

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later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good. 231 181

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients. 233 462 [562] [841]

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds. 221 233

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22] 221 233 132 [136]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it. 231 262

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

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613 When the umulyango had a head (chosen in a similar way to the inzu head), he is said to have had the power to give orders to the heads of the component inzu and to draw up general rules for all the umulyango members. I was told, for instance, that the chief of a certain umulyango had ruled that the members should not marry girls of the ubwoko of the Abacyaba. This prohibition about 150 years old is still observed. When the secondary lineage had a head, he fulfilled very much the same function as an 'appeal court' for all decisions taken within the inzu. Such an umulyango organization existed among Hutu and Tutsi, but seems to have been more common in the important Tutsi lineages.

614 The patriclan (ubwoko) had no head and no collective activities. It was usually agamous, although there may have been an exogamy rule in one particular clan. An animal species was associated with [1118] each clan. Its members were not allowed to kill any of them and were even obliged to protect them. The animal was not thought of as a reincarnation of the ancestor's spirit but probably only as a living symbol of the clan.[14]

614 563 Unlike the inzu and the umulyango, any ubwoko could have both Tutsi and Hutu among its members. There was no purely Hutu or purely Tutsi patriclan. When asked if this meant that Tutsi and Hutu of the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered that it did not. They explain it by the relationships which have linked Hutu to Tutsi as clients or servants. After some time the Hutu were identified with the group of their master. Such identification was particularly easy since Tutsi frequently emigrated from one region of Ruanda to another with their Hutu clients and servants. Some Hutu told me that as Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa (mythical figures who, as their names indicate, were supposed to be ancestors of the three groups) were brothers, it is not impossible that Tutsi and Hutu of one clan could have had the same ancestor. At all events clansmen who were of different socio-'racial' groups did not exhibit any solidarity at all and behaved towards each other as complete strangers.

613 562 As has been said, Ego's wife belonged to her own patrilineage for ever. This is why the social role of Ego's wife has not been mentioned in this section. But as she took part in many of the

[14] Some examples of the totemic animals of patriclans are: Abazigaba, the leopard (*ingwe*), Abasinga, the hawk (*sakabaka*), Abega, the frog (*igikeli*), Abagesera, the wagtail (*nyamanza*), Abacyaba, the hyena (*impyisi*).

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activities of her husband's inzu and was not bound by all the obligations common to the members of her own inzu, a few words should be added about her behaviour in this connexion. 613 562

She participated in the cult of Ego's (=her husband's) ancestor and of her own ancestor, but she was not allowed to build a shrine in honour of her ancestor in Ego's enclosure. She gave the ritual gifts at the birth of a child in her own inzu as well as in Ego's inzu, and did the same at marriage ceremonies. In times of mourning, Ego's inzu was predominant: his wife had to practise sexual abstention for two or three months when Ego's parents died. For her own parents she was not bound by any such observances. She received protection from her husband's group, but from her own only when she had disputes with Ego's lineage [765]

2. THE DESCENT GROUP OF EGO'S MOTHER

A man (or a woman) was not a member of his mother's patrilineage, which is why in the preceding section only his agnates were considered. But the picture of Ego's position in kinship relations would be incomplete if it were limited to that. Ego's mother's agnates were not complete strangers to him. In everyday life, he met them often and his culture provided him with roles to assume in these circumstances. In some cases Ego's behaviour to 'maternal' kin was very similar to that which he was expected to observe towards the agnatic counterpart of that kin. 607

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's mother		
Mo	Mama	Mama
MoBr	Data	Marume
MoSi	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaBrSo	Data	Marume
MoFaBrDa	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Marume
MoFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Mamawacu
II. The generation of Ego's maternal grandfather		
MoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's maternal great-grandfather		
MoFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

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Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
582 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi
often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed
a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the
sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much
lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a
Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was
particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[560] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems
to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater
than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a
Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his
Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to
informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it
with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are
anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and
Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting inter-
marriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then
had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
582 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
648 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had
lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda
girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important
positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not
travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage
affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom
and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and par-
ticularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu.
They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to admini-
strative charges in one part of the country, then in another one.
Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully
extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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833 were growing, when a child had his hair cut in tufts for the first time, at the initiation into the Ryangombe sect, when a daughter was asked to marry, on the wedding day of a son or a daughter, on the accession of a new king, at sowing time, and at the celebration for July harvesting. All these events were happy and joyful because they were growths or increases in life. Intercourse was also obligatory at the end of the mourning periods when life had to go on and start again after that period of abeyance.

This obligatory intercourse took place between husband and wife. When it was impossible because one of the spouses was absent or dead, one had to rely upon a privileged partner, or, if this was impossible, had to get medicine prepared from certain herbs by a diviner.

There was no prohibition of intercourse between the spouses [853] during the suckling months (the first eighteen to twenty-four).

(*b*) *Economic co-operation*

595 The nuclear family and, to a large extent each wife's compound [594] in polygamous cases, was a self-sufficient unit of economic co-operation. Among rich Tutsi who could afford separate homesteads for their wives, each wife was in fact the superintendent of her own. She had to command her husband's clients, servants, cultivators, and herdsmen. It was no wonder that women who could be entrusted with such responsibilities were respected within their family and in society at large. If the homestead was small, as among ordinary Tutsi, or consisted only of a small cultivated plot, as among most Hutu polygamists, each of these wives had, nevertheless, some economic responsibility, even if it was only that of working by herself in the fields. This important participation of polygynous wives in the management of a small unit of production and consumption, should be studied in relation to the 562 status of women in Ruanda.[9] This status was by no means equal to that of men but it was far from being one of slavery. Tutsi [593] husbands and wives ate together, the wife was consulted by her husband on many problems, and she was treated with much politeness. The Hutu were ruder and more temperamental, but they followed a more or less similar pattern. Under the present administration there are two or three women, widows of Tutsi chiefs, who act as sub-chiefs. The mere fact that it is taken for

[9] See Naigiziki, 1959.

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granted that a woman may fulfil these functions emphasizes the high status that women have enjoyed in Ruanda society. It is tempting to regard their status as a consequence of the economic responsibilities of the polygynous wives when replacing their husbands. 562

Besides this form of economic collaboration, wives, in nuclear as well as in polygynous families, had to perform certain economic tasks within the rugo. The activities which belonged exclusively to the wife, though she was sometimes helped by her daughters and certain other females were, for women of any caste: cleaning and brushing the hut and the enclosure, milk churning, and basket-making. In addition to these, Tutsi women made particular objects in basket-work (such as screens used in the hut, very finely woven plates, &c.), butter perfumed with the wood of a certain tree *umubavu* (such butter was used as a cosmetic), and garments in bead work. Hutu women had to cook and to apportion food. In agriculture their particular tasks were to sow and plant, to grind sorghum, and to sift peas. Twa women simply cooked. 462 84 [285] [303]

The husband's contributions to the economic activities of the compound were, among the Tutsi, cattle-rearing and hunting (for the hides and skins); among the Hutu, hut-building, minding cattle (if they had any), felling the bush, and usually all the agricultural tasks requiring considerable physical strength. Moreover, they prepared bark-cloth and skins and forged iron implements. Among the Twa, husbands hunted and made bows and iron weapons.

The principles underlying this division of economic tasks exclusively performed by males or females were according to informants that men should carry out tasks which either were particularly hard, or required intelligence, had to be performed far from the compound, or were thought 'noble'.

Most other duties could be performed by men or women and were shared between husband and wife according to individual arrangements. Such activities were, for instance, in the case of the Tutsi: watching labourers working in the fields, and supervising them, doing menial tasks such as mending the enclosure, milking the cows or looking after the herds. For the Hutu they were: harvesting, brewing beer, drawing water, cutting and collecting wood, lighting and maintaining fires, making mats and baskets, &c. For the Twa: pot-making and brewing beer.

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WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

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562 that of Burundi, are by definition socially inferior to men. Political power, judicial rights, inheritance of cows and lands, and, indeed, the right to independent action outside the walls of the house, are traditionally accorded to men only.[3] Yet, in point of fact, there are [556] women who enjoy considerable authority and who own or control cows, lands and other forms of wealth. What a Rundikazi—a woman of Burundi—cannot do as a woman, she manages very well to do as a Rundi. The life-history of an individual is limited but not fully determined by the formal structures of the society. The dynamics of the social system make provision for political and economic mobility by which all but the most wretched Rundi know how to profit.

562 The social status of a Rundi is established by the caste and class inherited from the father. A woman is inferior to the men of her 557 own social level and to her husband, but not to men of lower castes [564 and classes than her own. The opportunities of a princess or of a 565] woman of the aristocracy to acquire wealth are fewer than her father's or brother's but much greater than those of an ordinary herder or, certainly, of a poor farmer or serf. Moreover, women use the same techniques that make it possible for some farmers to own herds of cattle, or for some ordinary herders to become wealthier than some nobles. To advance from his official inherited status as far as possible towards happiness, a Rundi needs the favour of a superior in the social hierarchy. All good things come from the superior. The greater the power of the superior—whether the feudal master, the father, or the husband—the greater the ambition of the inferior—whether a herder, a serf or a woman. For the latter, it is sometimes enough to have a father who is impulsive and generous, or a husband who is docile or too stupid to distinguish the truth from a lie or true affection from flattery. Women attain their goals by means of men. There are always a good many of them available for use in projects both large and small.

562 Although caste and character rather than the simple fact of being male or female determine the lot of a Rundi, the mode of 577 life and the behaviour patterns of women are decidedly different from those of men. Unlike a man, a Rundikazi in public does not speak, nor does she look you in the eyes. To each question, she answers: *Ndabizi?*—How should I know? In public, she lets it be thought that she knows nothing about politics, or where her husband is today, or even the wedding date of her daughter. She is the modest and obedient wife of her husband, the mother of her children, the conscientious mistress of her house, who is always working. What-

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ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

182 its own rules, if each infraction were punished strictly according
183 to prescribed sanctions and if all the formal norms were always respected. To be a part of a society is to know which of its rules prescribe or prohibit absolutely or conditionally; whether a particular action which is not forbidden is nevertheless something that is simply "not done"; whether human beings, always imperfect, must in any particular case actually be punished or whether the offence should blinked. Exceptions to the formal rules are not haphazard. Rather, they are ordered by what may be called implicit norms, or secondary or functional norms. These are as well known and as well established as norms which are explicit and formal. Taken together, the explicit, primary norms and the implicit, secondary norms form the "active norms" of the society. By means of secondary norms, society can come to terms with the social and psychological impossibility of a perfect correspondence between the formal norms of the social structure, invented by men in the interest of social order, and the actions of men confronted by the empirical realities of human existence.

183 Each society has its own calculus of values by which it establishes its active norms, the norms to be respected verbally but understood to be neither practical nor practised, and the rules of punishment which are to be taken seriously. It will not be possible to understand the life of the women of Burundi without knowing both the formal norms of the social structure and the secondary, functional norms. The life of a Rundikazi is made up of various
183 elements. To reconstruct it, we shall begin with a description of
562 women as members of Rundi society, of which they form an integral part. We shall then describe women in the specifically feminine roles, and we shall conclude with an account of the devices used by women to realize the values of their patriarchal society.

* * *

631 The Rundi describe their society as a hierarchy ordered by
643 *Imana*, the Supreme Being, who is at its summit. Among human beings, it is the *mwami*, the king, who is superior to all. In the past,
[795] there was also Kiranga, the legendary head of a possession cult. He was said to be of approximately the same rank as the *mwami*.[5] Immediately below the king are the *baganwa*, the princes—four
631 generations of the descendents of a king. The *mwami* and the
635 *baganwa* are the rulers of the Rundi. In the traditional system, the
643 power of the *mwami* was defined by his inheritence of absolute royal power and of the entire country, together with all its goods,

564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
644 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
582 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases). 562 582 613

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child. 562 557 [582] [58] [85] 848]

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives. 557 562 564 583 [851] [842]

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the 142 564 826

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with
[591] their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home",
she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater
authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters,
of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and
serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the
562 general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and
women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and
inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except
for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi
at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior
is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics.
Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the
likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided
the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu
and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of
her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that
of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relation-
ship, and find his way as well as he can through the social
labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex varia-
tions in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society
and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce
competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the
social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth
and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and
power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more
bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among
Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats
quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the
desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as
bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law 554
constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are 557
persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched 578
that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the [595]
former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same 554
pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to 264
look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no 554
comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always [858]
inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to 554
changes in social role according to age. The changes of social 561
status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, 562
then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five [885]
years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to 431
like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to 554
receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.
562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. 562
He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. 593
For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an 152
imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity 593
to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by 837
this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information [557]
from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. [831]
Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep [833]
with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a [601]
highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to [578]
quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a poly- 152
gamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every 595
other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to [832]
quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

152 595 [832] diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his 152 564 595 wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

• 562 The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

562 868 [291] Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[18] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
564 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
583 hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

•562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

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Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415 water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15] 462 564 513

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [58 557]

Towards her grand-

Ethel M. Albert

603 children, a grandmother may at last dare to indulge openly in
554 revealing her sentiments, without, however, neglecting practical considerations. Grandparents joke with their grandchildren, spoil them, protect them against their parents' anger, and, if they are
[769] not believing Christians, they expect their grandchildren will in due course perform the ceremonies in honour of the *imizimu*, the spirits of dead grandparents.

* * *

577 The most direct route to happiness is conformity to the norms
829 and rules of society. Most Rundi have some roles in which they are superior and others in which they are inferior and the accompanying obligations and compensations. A good wife of a generous and reasonable husband, a good mother of numerous and good children, a good mother-in-law of obedient and industrious daughters-in-law and of respectful sons-in-law, will be a happy woman. Unfortunately, it is necessary to take into account the ever-present and infamous "bad characters", the numberless misfortunes sent by *Imana* when he is in a bad humour, the truth that *Imana*—or, if one prefers, Nature, biology, or genetics—does not always pay attention to social norms. Thus, it can happen that a man is not qualified for the role of patriarch, that he suffers all his life the oppression of a nagging shrew. It can happen that a woman is born too weak for manual labour. If she does not find a kind husband who will carry the burden of the work of the household or a rich one who can provide her with workers, she will die very miserable and very young. It can also happen that a woman is more intelligent and more enterprising than her father, her husband, or her son. A woman of this kind is ordinarily encouraged to make use of her gifts—intelligence must not be wasted—but sometimes an energetic woman is tied to a husband who is cruel and stupid and can do nothing with her good-for-nothing sons. In the social life of Burundi, the motto is, everyone for himself. Each must do what he can with whatever *Imana* has given him.

There are many Rundikazi who are unfortunate and wretched—
[562] orphans, the daughters of avaricious and cruel fathers, the wives of bad husbands, childless widows, the poor and the sick—in brief, those who do not have the favour of *Imana*. Let us pass in sad silence from their pathetic lot to the more fortunate women, those who have succeeded, despite the inevitable woes of life, in obtain-
562 ing at least some measure of happiness, and to the true favourites
554 of *Imana*, the well-born women who are at maturity true matriarchs. The absolute quantity of power and wealth depends upon birth. A

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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mwamikazi and a wealthy Tutsikazi are matriarchs on a much grander scale than is possible for any Hutukazi. Nevertheless, the character model and the methods for success as a matriarch are quite the same. Furthermore, although the methods employed by women are not in every detail like those of men, there is only one character model for the matriarch and the patriarch, that of the superior. By the same token, there is only one character model for those in the roles of inferiors. The latter are always alert to opportunities for asking some good thing of a superior. If one road is closed, it is necessary to find another. If a husband is not generous, a woman will ask one of her brothers for gifts, or she will wait until her sons are grown. When fortunate people have received gifts, they obviously have something to give, and they thus may expect petitioners to come to them for gifts. Yet again, if a man is muddled by drink, his wife or his vassal or someone who wants his favour will make a request of a gift in the presence of others; a promise given, drunk or sober, before witnesses must be respected at the risk of losing one's fair name. The rules of society provide only for a minimum of happiness. One must rely upon intelligence to point the way to supplementary means and to profit from every favourable circumstance.

Like any normal citizen of Burundi, a Rundikazi desires as much power and authority as possible, which is to say, numerous inferiors, including children, workers, feudal followers; wealth, which is to say, for women who can inherit nothing, many gifts from men and from wealthier women; respect and love, which amounts to having many inferiors; elegance, which is again to say many gifts, but also education in the home of a princess; many children, which depends on the will of *Imana;* protection against one's enemies, that is, against one's rivals and one's mother-in-law; and the good luck to retain what has been received from *Imana* and from human beings, which again depends on *Imana* and also on one's own intelligence, courage and strength of character. There is decidedly no psychological conflict in women of strong character, nor is there any conflict between feminine ambitions and social norms. Everything is taken care of by the functional norms of the society.

A woman starts very young to calculate what she needs in order to be happy. From her father she expects little more than that he will find her a husband who is wealthy and reasonable, or better yet, tractable; that he will allow her to return home if she is not satisfied with a husband and will find her a better one; that he will from time to time give her gifts. If a father has a tendency to turn

554 a deaf ear to his daughter's wishes in the matter of changing a
562 husband, she will perhaps make the necessary arrangements on
593 her own initiative with the husband she prefers, and the father will have no choice but to accept the new arrangements. From her husband, a woman expects to receive gifts in proportion to his wealth—clothing, copper bracelets, beads, cows, money. She also wishes workmen and servants, so that she will not have to perform the menial tasks of inferiors; so that she will have a great many inferiors to supervise; so that she will enjoy sufficient energy and leisure for the planning and plotting necessary to increase her wealth and her influence in family affairs, economic matters and politics. As her husband's business partner, an intelligent woman will be consulted at every turn or she may not even wait for her husband to ask her advice. She decides what must be done, and her decisions must be respected. A wife who is well-established will almost certainly be the preferred intermediary of those who seek the favour of her husband. As an intermediary, she receives gifts, particularly pots of beer, to persuade her to intervene with the superior. An intelligent woman who finds herself with more beer than she needs will send a servant to sell it and keep the money
[556] for herself. For women in the lower castes, there are various optional roles through which they can earn money. They may sell the excess baskets they weave; they may be midwives; they may be
562 *bapfumu*, physician-pharmacists who sell medicines and amulets;
556 they may be governesses or ladies-in-waiting for good families. A
554 husband takes great pride in a wife who becomes wealthy. Her wealth advertises her cleverness and is at all events obtained at
593 no cost to him. Some women, it is said, are so intelligent that a prince will make them *abashingantahe*, judges and councillors. Women who have this honoured position receive cows, clothing, jewellery and serfs. On occasion, a woman of this kind may be wealthier than her husband, but he has every reason to be pleased to have such a wife. A wealthy woman will keep some of her cows for herself for milk and butter. Others she will give to those who come and ask of her, and these will become her feudal followers who will work for her, respect her, and go about in quest of information for her.

554 The frequent absences of the husband are opportunities for a
562 woman to show herself capable of managing the property. Work
593 is for inferiors and is not a source of honour. It nevertheless establishes the realistic dependence of the superior upon his
[46] inferior, and it forms the solid basis, sometimes explicitly recognized, of the relationship between superior and inferior. A good

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manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father.

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save him, since his downfall will also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires.

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly

554 displaying in public the respect and obedience due them. An
562 intelligent woman makes herself liked or feared, according to the
593 character of the men with whom she is dealing. Occasionally, it is said of a Rundi that "his house is burning", that is to say, despite
[195] the show of respect, his wife rules the roost. He is afraid of her, she nags him, she criticizes him, she wants to decide everything, and one fine day she will put poison in his beer, or she will calumniate him. However, a woman need not dominate her husband in so heavy-handed a fashion to earn her laurels as matriarch. She has her own inferiors to dominate, and there are other ways to become the *umutoni* of her husband and the other men. Apart from her ability as the mistress of her house and her generosity as a hostess, apart from all her obligations, a woman as an inferior is likely to understand very well the uses of flattery and subservience. She knows how to be an informant, to calumniate her superior's enemies as well as her own hated rivals, to show herself always loyal and devoted, to make the welfare of her superior her primary concern. She also knows how to satisfy sexual desires, the need for alcohol, and other demands of the body and the spirit. Superiors, apart from their economic dependence upon their inferiors, seem to seek them also for the satisfaction of what appear to be exceedingly urgent needs for love, respect, and loyalty and for entertainment that will take their minds off their troubles. It is to have these needs satisfied that they make presents, that they give what is asked of them. An intelligent woman busies herself with satisfying the desires of her superiors and thereby making herself indispensable to their happiness. Neither the Sophists, nor Machiavelli, nor the courtiers of Louis XIV have anything to teach the Rundi. An intelligent Rundikazi, like any
[557] intelligent social inferior, knows that to obtain happiness it is necessary only to say yes—to play along with the internal weaknesses and needs by which the superior is enslaved.

NOTES

193 [1]*Linguistic note:* Bantu prefixes have been dropped from words that refer to the inhabitants of Burundi. They are referred to as "Rundi" and by their caste-names, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Other words of the language retain their Bantu form, e.g., *mwami*, king; *mwamikazi*, queen-mother or princess, *bamikazi* in the plural; *muganwa*, prince, *baganwa* in the plural. The suffix, *-kazi*, designates the feminine. For "Rundi woman," "Tutsi woman," "Hutu woman," or "Twa woman," the Rundi forms will be used, i.e., "Rundikazi," "Tutsikazi," "Hutukazi," and "Twakazi."

Essay on the Common Law of Ruanda

J. Vanhove

Preface

101 Beyond the eastern shore of Lake Kivu extends a country of
563 high hills called Ruanda. Nestling in banana groves, innumerable huts cling to the hillside, their smoke rising to the sky, and on the summits the brisk wind sways the pink grasses of the pastures where long-horned cattle graze. The exceptionally dense population con-
[161] sists of about 3,000,000 Bahutu of Bantu origin who are dominated by some tens of thousands of Batutsi, Hamitic shepherds who have probably come down from the Ethiopian plateaus. Finally, here and there, Batwa pygmoids, potters and hunters, live apart from the other natives who despise them.

183 Europeans who first studied the customs of the country dis-
671 covered to their surprise that they showed a number of points in common with our feudalism. The tenure of land and of cattle as well as the dependence of persons are under a [4] strict regulation which the
[643] ruler of Ruanda has the absolute power to modify but which has, in fact, remained unchanged throughout the ages.

Our occupation has obviously had the effect of modifying the
177 customs in many ways. For example, we could not approve of the
183 brutal evictions and attempts on life and liberty made in the name of the right of the strongest. Evangelization has also introduced into the heart of the native society notions of justice and gentleness which are very different from the natives' original conceptions. However, despite
177 the efforts of our civil servants and our missionaries to attack what is
183 most to be condemned in it, native customs still largely holds its
563 sway due to the influence of the great Batutsi chiefs, who are eager to maintain their authority intact, and also due to that of the sorcerers, toothsayers, rain makers, and many others, who attempt to maintain the traditional law by playing on the credulity and superstitious mind of the Banyarwanda [Banyaruanda] and thus protect their prestige and their revenues. In addition, while realizing the protection we give them in repressing arbitrary actions, the Bahutu submit to the changes we

177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

671 The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous
184 population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
563 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

114 Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pagès, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

121 Nevertheless, we do not believe that a more or less complete account of the customs of private and public law of Ruanda has ever been prepared. This is what we have modestly attempted to do in the
[125] present work by inserting observations gathered in a questionnaire set up especially to facilitate [6] the study of native law (1). We have

1. J. Vanhove, Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique, Brussels, printer Lesigne, 1939.

not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

596 [591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[575] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 596 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a childless man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A [563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a [428] brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has [562] the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother [586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (umutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 428 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

614 The clan (umulyango) (4) or inzu includes all those who claim

4. Not to be confused with umúlyango, "door."

a common ancestor who is founder of the [9] race. In the course of time the clan has become divided into several subclans (imilyango).

The clan and the subclan have names (ubgoko) that recall the name of the founder. Thus the members of the umulyango of the Abanyiginya are the descendants of Kimanuka who is the Umunyiginya (the first of the Abanyiginya). Ndabarasa, son of the Mwami Rujugira Chyirima, who became king under the name of Kigeri, was the Umurabarasa, the first of the umulyango of the Abarabarasa or Ibigina. This last name is what they are called at the present time.

614 775 Each umulyango possesses one or several animal totems (ibiziro). For example, the totems of the Abanyiginya are the crested crane (umusambi) and the ox-pecker (inyange); that of the Abega is the toad (igikeri); that of the Abagessera is the wagtail (inyamanza). The member of a clan will never kill such a bird, for example, because he believes that it contains the spirit of an ancestor.

614 563 The Bahutu belong to the same umulyango as the Batutsi and possess the same totems. However, they have a different name. For example, those who live with the Abega and the Abanyiginya are called respectively Abasavere and Abasindi.

2. The Head of the Family and of the Clan

596 The head of the family sensu stricto (umutware w'urago rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) is normally the father. After his death, one of his sons, not necessarily the eldest, succeeds him. It may happen that the widow of the family head provisionally directs the rugo if her husband has died without designating his successor or when his sons are still children (1). [10]

614

1. While still forming part of her [own] umulyango, the wife is, so to speak, incorporated into her husband's inzu if she has children. But she does not take the name of her husband's umulyango. The

582 marriage is allowed between crosscousins (2), for the sister's children

> 2. Crosscousins are those of whom the father of one is the brother of the other's mother.

belong to their father's family. An uncle may never marry his niece.

Endogamy (kwisabira ku mugongo, lit. to find one's self on one's back) and exogamy both exist at the same time among the Abanyiginya. However, they may not marry the daughter of their brother or their sister. Similarly, they may not take a wife among the Abungura, the Abasinga, and the Abatshyaba.

587 When a man dies, his father or his brother may marry one of his widows. Similarly, the son who succeeds him as head of the family may marry his father's wives, other than his own mother, on condition that they do not belong to his mother's family.

The husband of the deceased's sister may marry his sister-in-law (muramukazi), but not the latter's daughter (umukobwa wachu). Similarly, the brother of the deceased's wife may marry his sister-in-law, but not her daughter (umwishywa w'umukobwa). [22]

Marriage is permitted with the widow of a blood brother but not with his daughter.

582 563 The Batutsi may marry Bahutu women. For example, a patron might give his daughter in marriage to one of his clients of whom he is particularly fond. But an umugaragu is forbidden to ask his shebuja for permission to marry his daughter.

2. Impuberty.

582 In the past a young man and a girl could not get married before the age of twenty-five and eighteen respectively. A little girl (inshube) and a little boy (ingimbi) were sometimes betrothed, but they remained with their parents until the time of their marriage.

Nowadays a young man usually gets married when he is eighteen and a girl when she is fourteen.

584 3. Lack of consent.

The father chooses the wife for his son. If he is dead, one of his brothers takes his place in this undertaking. The son who is head of the family finds wives for his brothers and receives marriage proposals

592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

574 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance, for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda.
[481]

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

837 husband and returns to her parents. The latter will attempt to persuade
586 her to return to her husband, for if she refused they would be obliged to refund the dowry.

The husband who finds out that his wife has committed adultery (gusambana, lit., to take another man) enjoins her not to do it again. The second time he strikes her. If she continues, he repudiates (gusendwa) her publicly. A repudiated wife is brought into disrepute and finds it difficult to marry again. Sometimes the adulterous wife is sent away at night, out of consideration for the family, so that her offense is not known by everybody. [29]

837 Formerly, if the husband surprised his wife in the act, he
586 would have the man arrested and beaten. Then before witnesses he
684 would repudiate his wife. If the accomplice was a nobleman like
563 himself, he was allowed to leave with the woman. But, usually, if he was married, he would return to his wife who would merely make a jealous scene. When the lover was a Mututsi umugaragu he was deprived of his property and exiled far away. If he was a Muhutu, the husband could demand from the Mwami permission to impale him like a cattle thief, or else he would thrash him soundly and have him driven away from the hill. An accomplice of the Mwami's adulterous wife was always killed. In none of these cases was the woman seriously ill-treated.

684 Our occupation has put a stop to cruel punishments, and at the
586 present time the wife's accomplice is not punished at all. Adultery
177 leads only to pecuniary reparation (itshyiru) by the lover. On the other hand, divorce is pronounced to the husband's benefit and the dowry is refunded to him, at least if there are no children by the marriage.

848 If the adulterous woman is pregnant, she will always claim that
586 the child she is expecting is her husband's. Being in doubt, the hus-
837 band takes the child (umusambanano) (1) as soon as it is weaned. He

1. General term designating an illegitimate child, including that born of adultery or incest.

also provides for his wife's needs but does not consent to take up again their life in common.

If the husband is sure that the child is the fruit of adultery, he has nothing more to do with his wife, and her parents adopt the child.

423
184 and in Rukiga (provinces of Mulera and Bugoyi) where the land cleared and cultivated by the Bahutu are subject to a right of family property. This right is sacred and the Batutsi, whose power in these regions is rather nominal, know that they cannot dispute it without exposing themselves to serious miscalculations and even to bloody reprisals.

423 The hill chief also has the right to take a plot of land
[622] (ubugerure) from the Bahutu in order to form an ubuka which he wishes
[43] to give to someone else or to keep as his own property (imilima y'inyarulembo). The part of the plot that is left to the Muhutu is called isagu.

[428] The Muhutu can transmit his right of exploitation to his son by inheritance. Land that passes from one generation to the next is called indeka.

[596] Land is sometimes held collectively by a family in the person of its head (isambu or ingobyi y'iwabo). Members of the family pay him no rent and, to the exclusion of strangers, have the right to cut firewood and graze their cattle there.

[622] There are also communal woods (itshanya). The hill chief reserves part of them for himself and allows the hill people to exploit the remainder.

The Batwa claim to be the legitimate occupants of the forests.
[563] For this reason they often enter into disputes with the Bahutu living near the wooded regions.

Mines and quarries of clay are the property of the chief, but
[622] he allows his people to [43] supply themselves there in exchange for a payment (a hoe or some pots).

The boundaries (imbibi) of fields are usually marked by small ditches (impavu) or piles of stones (ibishyinga).

There are no neutral zones between lands.

425 An inkungu is a piece of ground that has been abandoned be-
423 cause of the holder's voluntary departure or death without leaving an heir. A man who has been cursed by his father or driven out by the chief because of repeated thefts of cattle, for example, must also abandon his plot. The chief can offer an inkungu (or an ubugerure) to a stranger to the hill who asks to settle there. If he is a Muhutu, he is

426 by his son, his daughter, or his daughter-in-law, and possibly an umugaragu. In the past, if a debtor fled in order to avoid his obligations, the creditor had the right to seize his cattle, [82] his banana plantations, and even his hut. However, in this case, the children could keep their father's property on the condition of agreeing to work for the creditor until the debt was fully paid.

Sometimes a patron pays for his client if the latter has only a storehouse of provisions and if he needs the help of his family to work for his shebuja. If the umugaragu dies, his son takes his place. The obligation thus passes to the descendants until it is fulfilled.

On the other hand, the creditor's brother or son can act in the place of their relatives (1).

1. Laws of the Family and of the Clan, p. 8.

574 Hospitality.

The duty of hospitality is sacred to the Banyarwanda. Even a Mututsi will never refuse a Muhutu either ichumbi (lodging) or izimano (wood, water, and food). A proverb says; "Uwubaka wese yubakira abu Mwami (2), and whoever did not grant food and lodging

2. "Whoever builds (a house) does it for the people of the Mwami," which means that his house must be open to all the king's subjects.

to a traveler would be given the name of umugome (bad); he would be Uwanga Umwami (an enemy of the Mwami).

Civil responsibility.

672 Civil responsibility does not exist. The parents themselves however, repair any damage done by their children.

SECTION V. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

1. Nationality

• 563 The Munyarwanda people include the Batutsi, the Bahutu, and the Batwa. The Mututsi aristocracy of Hamite origin dominates

563 the mass of the Bahutu who are Bantus. These devote themselves to agriculture and raise cattle for the benefit of the Batutsi. The [582] pygmoid Batwa are kept at a distance by the Batutsi and the Bahutu and marriage with them is forbidden. They are hunters, blacksmiths, and potters.

173 The legendary tradition of the country explains the origin of these different peoples. Nkuba (lightning), first king of the country, and his wife, Nyagasani, lived in the heavens with their two sons, Kimanuka and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day, having come down from their heavenly abode the three children settled on Mubari Hill in the Urgweya savanna, near Kissaka, and Kimanuka took the name of Kigwa (lit., fallen from the sky). They lived there on the produce of their hunting and are versed in the art of forging spears, pruning knives, and hoes. Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu, and Mututsi went off elsewhere. But when he learned that his brother and sister had had some children, he came back to them and married one of his nieces. The descendants of Kigwa took the name of Abanyiginya; those of Mututsi were called Abega. They sold weapons and farming tools and thus became very rich.

They continued to live on Mubari Hill until the time when Gihanga (the creator), twelfth king [84] of the dynasty, began to overrun the whole country in order to dispose of the products of his family's forges. This Mwami "traveling salesman" was the first to exercise supreme authority effectively and was much loved by all his people, who considered him as a half-god after his death.

Gatutsi received many cows from his father Gihanga. His brother Gahutu, however, did not get any from the father because there was not enough cattle for him. Thus he was obliged to become Gatutsi's servant. Gatwa, third son of Gihanga, killed Gatutsi. The weight of this crime has fallen on the Batwa descendants of Gatwa. Gihanga had still other sons: Nyakarundi, ancestor of the Barundi; Kanyabongo, father of the Banyabongo [Banjabungu ?] people, who are now strangers to the Banyarwanda; finally Gahima, the first of the Bahima, inhabitants of Ndorwa, whom the Batutsi consider as their own people.

563 Whereas the Batutsi of Ruanda today consider their brothers from Rutshuru (Kivu) as Bahutu, they look upon the Batutsi of Urundi as their equals. On the other hand, the Bahutu of Urundi, by means

563 of the ubugaragu contract, can be integrated into the Ruanda society (1). But if a Mututsi of Urundi settles in Ruanda with his

1. There are also Banyarwanda Bahutu who go and settle in Urundi.

abagaragu, although he is the equal of the Batutsi of that country, he and his household are nevertheless considered as foreigners (2).

[166]

2. These migrations are caused by the desire to escape personal vengeance following the accusation of murder, a sentence of banishment pronounced by the king of Urundi, or difficulties encountered by a client in his relations with his patron.

727 567 In the past, at the time of the wars, the vanquished who were taken prisoner were killed, while the women and the boys and girls were carried off to slavery. A Mututsi could [85] even marry a woman prisoner if she were of noble origin; the children held their father's status. But as a rule he gave her in marriage to one of his clients; the children of such a marriage continued to belong to the master's household, but their descendants were free and thus became Banyarwanda.

567 A slave might even marry a Mututsi woman. It was thus that the Mwami Rwabugiri, who had captured a young man called Rusera Muhima, later gave him his own daughter in marriage and made him a present of the subdistrict of Rugarama in Bunyambiriri.

2. Royal Power

643 173 The Mwami (king) has supreme authority in Ruanda. We have seen that all the traditions ascribe a divine origin to his power. The annalists of the Royal Court (abatshurabgenge) attribute to the present Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa, thirty-nine ancestors who, with the exception of the first, Nkuba, who remained in heaven, have all ruled over Ruanda (1).

1. Many names have certainly been omitted from this list. Assuming that

651 The king also has the right to a certain percentage of the heads of game (gusogongera). In the past the Mwami also collected a certain number of cows [103] (iminyago) out of those acquired during wartime raids.

Some of the natives are subject only to the ingabo. This is the case of the artisans, hunters, and farmers who provide the king and the Court with bows, arrows, pruning knives, mats, skins, drums, honey, hydromel, etc.

The Batwa are subject to no actual fiscal obligation to the king and chiefs. Potters must only furnish pots and pitchers to the court and provide the Mwami, his wife, and the Umugabekazi with ingobyi. They are also the executors of the king's great undertakings. The hunters' payments consist of ivory, skins, and fragrant wood.

687 Punitive sanctions are provided in the case of nonexecution of these obligations. The hill and provincial chiefs as well as the king have the Bahutu cudgeled and take the cows away from the Batutsi. In the past, the Mwami would even sometimes have the Batwa executioners cut off the ears (kubiha) of the Bahutu who are delinquent in tax payment.

651 486 A toll (ihoro) is paid by those who cross any water. To cross a larger river such as the Nyawarongo, the tax is paid to the provincial chief who refunds some of it to the boatmen.

Merchants must also pay a toll to the chief whose territory they cross. [104]

14. Secret Societies

575 563 668 The sect known as the Nyabingi (or Biheko) has its origin in the name of the Queen of Ndorwa who was killed by the warriors of Mwami Rwabugiri, resulting in a marked hostility to the Batutsi and the royal authority on the part of the Queen's descendants. Also, these people have become Bahutu by their marriages with commoners. These are sufficient reasons for the "Baheko" [sic] to be considered rescuers by the Bahutu, especially in the north of Ruanda where the resistance, if not the hostility, to the Batutsi and their administration is much stronger than in the rest of the country.

From Ndorwa where it originated, the sect spread out to Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi, and even to Buganza and Bwanachyambwe.

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is
565 called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

137 better resists the periodic grass fires and adds a peculiar feature to the scenery of the mountains (Plate 4b). The growth of grass and trees in the hot, dry plain of the Ruzizi lowland (Plate 3a) is, however, very much like a steppe.

As a result of the expansion of the population and the
136 destruction of the forest, free wildlife also has been considerably reduced. In the grassland there remain only very few antelope (Jimela, tuft antelope, gazelles), and of large birds only crowned cranes which because of their great numbers might be called the heraldic animal of Urundi and Ruanda, further bustards, herons, ibises, francolins, Nile geese, etc. In the forests on the riverbanks one still finds bushbucks (Tragelaphus), swamp antelopes, and duikers. In the water itself there are numerous hippopotamuses, crocodiles, and otters. In the remaining parts of forest on the highland periphery and in the tree steppe of the Ruzizi lowland, there still live quite a number of elephants, buffalo, baboons, etc. Everywhere leopards are quite frequent. Especially interesting is the mixture of East African and West African forms in this area which in terms of plant and animal geography is a border region. Just as num-
[137] erous plants, flora of the West African forest, have penetrated into this region and in part even as far as Lake Victoria, so also have many small and large representatives of West African fauna; I shall mention only the gray parrot, the giant touraco, the hornbill, and, of the mammals, the red buffalo, the chimpanzee, and the gorilla. Because of this mixture of East and West African forms, the plant and animal collections of this bio-geographical border zone which extends through western Urundi and western Ruanda are very interesting.

2. The Population

563 Even more interesting than the mixture of flora and fauna is the population mixture, both in Urundi and in Ruanda. There are three anthropologically and culturally distinct elements which are quite sharply separated but exist side by side or one above the

563 other, and which in the course of centuries in this grouping have crystallized into a strong social and political community.

563 162 144 The great mass of the population consists of the agriculturalists, the Bahutu [Hutu], belonging to the Bantu race, more specifically to the so-called basic Bantu. In Urundi their number is approximately one and a half million. Above them, as the ruling caste, stands the Hamitic pastoral Batussi, who invaded Urundi from the north about 400 years ago and who, both here and in the entire interlacustrine region, subjugated the agricultural Bahutu. They are proud, tall figures, often over two meters in height, with sharp profiles and stately posture, so that at first they even impress the well-traveled European. According to official estimates, they number from 40,000 to 50,000 in the whole of Urundi. Besides these giants, the country also shelters the remnants of an original, short, pygmoid population, the Batwa [Twa], who lived here in the forests even before the Bantu and who, together with the forests, were partly destroyed, partly pushed back into remote corners by the other stronger elements. At present there are only a few thousand of them in Urundi and the same number in Ruanda. Their stature ranges mostly between 1.50 meters and 1.60 meters, but they are [463] strongly built and make a living as hunters, as blacksmiths and potters in the service of others, or as bodyguards of important people and of the king.

563 Undoubtedly the Batwa are the oldest stratum of population in the entire interlacustrine region. Dispersed in small tribal groups over the country, [7] they lack any kind of social cohesion; nor do they seem to have any traditions about their past. The [144] Urundi Batwa resemble the Batwa in the forests, but in Urundi they apparently have more Bantu blood in their veins. They are, therefore, somewhat taller and not as pure a type as the Batwa of Ruanda. Both in Urundi and Ruanda and in the northeastern Congo region, the Batwa are in the process of disappearing. Regarded as pariahs both by the Batussi and the Bahutu, they are everywhere treated badly but are at the same time thoroughly exploited. They always look profoundly melancholic and are

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148 .) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

164 Since then the Lake Barundi have not changed much as
regards their physical and mental constitution, but the individ-
165 ual tribes were struck by a terrible epidemic of sleeping sick-
ness and were reduced to scarcely a third of their original num-
bers, so that in 1911 I found most of the formerly flourishing
settlements deserted and laid waste. Fortunately the stinging
[136] fly, Glossina palpalis, which carries the infection, has not
penetrated into cool, windy, upper Urundi, and it probably
never will since it does not find favorable conditions there.

4. Mental Traits

000 At this point little will be said about the mental traits
of the Barundi since they can be adequately inferred from the
detailed descriptions of their life and of their material and in-
tellectual culture which will follow. Therefore, I shall give
only a few data about the disposition, temperament, and
character of these three large population groups which differ
so considerably from each other.

Of the Batwa, the more primitive, freer Forest Batwa
151 are also much freer mentally than those who have settled
among the Bahutu and Batussi. Like all hunting tribes, they
are characterized by their extraordinarily sharp senses, the
superiority of which is very often experienced and still feared
by the Bahutu as they advance against the forest in search of
563 arable land. As long as he can still hunt and live, freely
roaming the forest, the Mutwa is very proud of his independence
and looks with contempt upon the Muhutu wretched and bent
low tilling his field, and also on the Village Mutwa living
outside the forests who has to earn his living painfully either
by working in the fields or as a potter or blacksmith. Toward
609 a European the Mutwa is in most cases, if not hostile, at any
rate shy and ostensibly indolent, for even in peaceful inter-
course he is afraid of the sorcery and formidable powers of the
Whites.

563 [13] The Village Batwa are in all circumstances shy and
157 cringing as a result of their social position as pariahs, of which

563 they are reminded daily in living with the two other higher
157 classes of the population. Under this social pressure, their natural talent has been turned into cunning and craftiness. However, the Forest Batwa are quite proficient in these arts also.

Being shrewd and realizing their position fully, the Batwa
563 are friendly toward the Batussi, whereas they regard the Bahutu agriculturalists who destroy the forest with fire and axe as the robbers of their freedom, and this is the case both in Ruanda and in Urundi. Just as in Ruanda King Musinga himself keeps an
[644] entire settlement of Batwa at his court in Nyanza, preferring to entrust the protection of his person and the maintenance of order to these pariahs hostile to the Bahutu, so also in Urundi most of the Batwa are to be found near the residences of the chief where they find work and a livelihood in the service of the Batussi more easily than anywhere else except among the Bahutu. This is a symbiosis of the two numerically weaker population elements against the subjugated Bahutu, a people who number millions, within which both groups derive advantage.

The over-all character of the Barundi is provided by the large mass of the Bahutu, for although the Batussi are in fact the most striking members of the population because of their external appearance and their ruling position, they are too much in the minority, and in the majority of customs and external forms of culture they have assimilated with the Bahutu. Mentally, however, they are quite different from the Bahutu.

Like all Bantu, the Muhutu is by nature intelligent and
157 has a lively, sanguine temperament. This original trait is apparent in Urundi and in Ruanda wherever the hand of the Batussi rulers does not weigh upon them too heavily, i.e., more so in Urundi where the rule of the Batussi has never been as despotic as in Ruanda, and, in Urundi, most of all in the northwestern region, independent of the kingdom, where the chief, Kilima, is himself a Bantu or of mixed blood (see pp. 162, 168, 188 [these pages not translated]), and also in the far south and in the lowland areas of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. The mental agility, loud speech and lively gestures of the Bahutu are nowhere as noticeable in Urundi as there in the

157 northwest. In spite of their impulsive behavior, the Bahutu are incapable of any strong exertion of will. They are conservative out of inertia and indifference, and for this reason they cling to the old, habitual concepts and customs. A marked tendency toward everything mystical and supernatural works in the same direction, in spite of the rough sensuality of their physical nature. Much good-naturedness is apparent in their social behavior to their equals and in their warm love for children.

In his contacts with others, whenever no higher class Mutussi is present, the Muhutu is cheerful, loud, and talkative, but in the presence of a Mutussi superior he is serious and reticent. When the Muhutu is able to relax, his imagination is active and is expressed in naïve boasting and bragging. He likes to cheat his fellow countrymen and foreigners and is liable to use physical force if he considers the other person weaker. [609] The European is sure to be told lies by him at first and to have him soon turn impertinent if he does not know how to command ●563 his respect. If the European manages this, as the Mutussi 157 always does, the boasting of the Muhutu soon turns into slavish docility and cowardice. This is also the case when he is confronted by serious danger, for example, in war, unless his fear of the Mutussi ruler [14] is even greater than his cowardice and forces him to commit acts which look like the result of great courage and self-imposed discipline. In reality the Bahutu of Urundi have become slaves in thought and desire, as a result of the four centuries of despotism by the Batussi, although theirs is not so slavish an attitude as that of the Banjaruanda [Ruanda] under their monarchic Hamitic rulers.

For the keen observer this enormous influence of the relatively small Batussi minority upon the large mass of the Bahutu is at first impossible to understand, for he soon realizes that the Batussi are by no means the ideal men they seemed to us to be from the first descriptions by Count von Götzen, Dr. Kandt, and others.

Richard Kandt says of the Batussi:

181 "If I analyze my feelings and state them honestly, I must say that I was impressed by them. Even now I have not lost this feeling although my mind rebels against it and although I have told myself hundreds of times that these people are, after all, barbarians far inferior to me intellectually. But it is of no avail! I have explained to myself the source of this feeling, so unusual to experience toward a colored person . . . Apart from the gigantic stature, apart from the nobility of each movement and the dignity of their manner of speech, apart from the tasteful unobtrusive manner in which they dress, apart from their refined features and the calm penetrating, often even mocking and provocative eyes, apart from all this, there still is -- and here I hesitate and am unable to formulate the dim obscure feelings which hover in my imagination." (No. 22, p. 266.)

[564] This is a sentimental but a very understandable judgment. In actual fact the Batussi are a ruling caste, but not a ruling race in the ethical sense.

563 Gradually one discovers the secret of the tremendous
186 superiority of the relatively few Batussi over the one and a half
156 million Bahutu: they are greatly superior to them in intelligence, calmness, composure, cruelty, cunning, racial pride, solidarity, and political talent. What strikes one most about the individual Mutussi, apart from his imposing outward appearance which certainly must have made a great impression on the Muhutu from the beginning, is first his calm and what appears to be unconcerned reserve. In his contact with the restless, impulsive, thoughtless Muhutu, this has always been to his advantage.
[609] Further one is struck by the arrogance he displays even toward Europeans, by his abysmal mendacity and cowardice when faced with any disagreeable situation. The Mutussi regards himself and his kind as the crown of creation, as a paragon of cleverness and political skill. This is small wonder, for the inferiority of the relatively few tribes within his sphere of vision -- intentionally kept narrowly circumscribed -- and the fact that a Batussi minority rules the large Bahutu people were bound to increase his feeling
186 of importance beyond all measure. It is true that he fears the
609

The Mutassi never
181 works unless he belongs to the lower class, but he takes a sports-
[461] man-like interest in his cattle. Work is the concern of the sub-
jugated Bahutu and hence disgraceful to a Mutussi, and only the really poor Batussi will stoop to it. To be rich and powerful and to enjoy life in idleness is for him the essence of wisdom, the ideal which he endeavors to achieve with the utmost cunning and lack of scruple. It is everyone for himself, a maxim which is also adhered to by the Batussi as a whole in their relations to the ruled people, the Bahutu and Batwa.

Naturally this life of pleasure, indulged in for hundreds of years, has done great harm to the character and manly virtues of the Batussi. That they were not without courage, warlike ability, and energy can be easily inferred from the fact that, although they are small in numbers now and doubtless even smaller at one time, they have conquered this large country. Witness also the early history of their royalty (see p. 162 [not translated]). For a long time now, however, they have had their internal and external battles fought for them by their bondsmen, their Bahutu vassals, while they keep themselves cautiously in the background and cunningly direct operations from a safe place. Of course, there are praiseworthy exceptions even here.

In spite of all this, it must be admitted that even in this respect the Barundi are on a higher level than the Banjaruanda. In Urundi the Batussi are not so pleasure-seeking, lazy, mendacious, violent, and cowardly as those in Ruanda, nor are the Bahutu so servile and hypocritical toward superiors and so insolent toward the weak as they are there, nor does the king along with the lords living at his court indulge to such a degree in idleness, revelry, intrigues, and the satisfaction of vicious and cruel instincts as does the one in Ruanda.

563 In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, it is above all the will
[556] to power and the desire for pleasure which have caused the ruling Batussi to keep the greatest form of wealth, cattle, to themselves. By this means alone they have created for themselves an economic power over [16] the mass of the Bahutu which also provides the surest foundation for their political predominance
[754] (see pp. 41-42). In addition they have cleverly succeeded in

563 acquiring a reputation among the superstitious Bahutu of being
[154] great sorcerers and have made themselves greatly feared for this reason. Also, the priesthood works hand in hand with them to enslave and exploit the people (see p. 134). The exploita-
563 tion of the mass of the people and the crass egoism of the small
642 Batussi minority are made possible by the whole ingenious political system of both the Barundi and the Banjaruanda, with its strict legal separation of races and castes, with the rigidly graded system of vassals and supervising officials, the hierarchy of priests, privileged families, princes, etc. All this will be described in detail in later chapters of this book. The astonishing political acumen of the Batussi merely promotes the selfishness with which they exploit the subject Bahutu. There is no trace of any higher conception of the state.

563 For this reason it is natural that the Bahutu regard the Batussi only as conquerors of a different tribe whose yoke weighs
181 heavily on them. Yet, although they hate the Batussi, they make no effort to free themselves from their bondage for, like almost all Negro peoples, their nature necessitates subordination under a firm guiding hand. Moreover, their fear of the Batussi is so great that they would not hazard an open rebellion against them. Indeed, though few in numbers, the Batussi are vastly
563 superior to the Bahutu in intelligence and in the fact that a
186 solidarity exists among them which is constantly being renewed under the impulse of common interests. The Bahutu, on the other hand, are split up into a number of mutually warring clans and tribal groups, lack any sort of genuine national consciousness, and are being played off against each other in an ingenious manner by the Batussi.

000 As long as the Batussi are the rulers in the country, an intellectual and cultural revival of the Barundi people is impossible, for it is only the present depressed condition of the Bahutu, maintained through hundreds of years of seclusion, that guarantees the domination of the Batussi. For the time being, however, we Germans must collaborate with the Batussi and interest them materially in our projects in Urundi since we are still too weak to meet an open attack on their part. The goal of our long term colonial policy, however, must be to crush the

161 furnish more accurate figures. According to my own and other recent estimates, the figure of two million is too high; one and a half million is probably closer to the truth. However, a few missionaries, among them Father van der Burgt, have estimated even more than two million. [18] There are rela-
162 tively fewer Batussi in Urundi than in Ruanda; they constitute
563 hardly five per cent and probably only two or three per cent of the total population, i.e., 40,000-50,000 in Urundi. For them, too, van der Burgt assumes a much higher percentage: 15-20 per cent as against only five per cent for the Batwa. Apart from the mass of native Bahutu, there were in 1912-13 still about 2,500 other Negroes (Wasuaheli, Wanjamwesi, Manjema, and others) in the country, and, in addition, one or two dozen Arabs, two or three dozen Indians, and approximately five dozen Whites, half of them Germans and about 20 Frenchmen and Frenchwomen (missionaries).

On the whole Urundi and Uha are not by any means as
161 densely populated as Ruanda which has 72 inhabitants per square kilometer. [Fig. 1 appears here in original text.] The official estimate for 1912-13 gives an average of 51 inhabitants per square kilometer for Urundi (or 68, if one puts the total population at two million). On the whole the density of population increases from east to west. In the west the valleys and the broad ridges of the peripheral mountains are most densely populated; hence they are almost entirely cleared of timber. There, there are an estimated 50 to 60 people per square kilometer or, in other words, a density of population approximately equal to that of Portugal. Any comparison with Germany with its 120 inhabitants per square kilometer would be inappropriate since the area of utilizable land is relatively much smaller in Urundi than in Germany due to the many swampy valleys and quartzite wastes. The most densely populated parts are the
161 areas of granite, crystalline schist, mica schist, amphibolites,
133 diabases, etc., which comprise the more elevated western portion of Urundi where the rainfall is higher and which form fertile residual soils. Of the less elevated, large slate and

[Text continues on page 29]

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b). A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins [554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

223 The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka) with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue. Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain [262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

226 Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi [563] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned [262] to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

231 flies out with its queen, it is sprinkled with dust and water so it will not fly afield or will drop to the ground. The swarm of bees with its queen is then carefully swept into the tubes which are brought to it, the opening is closed, and the hive is suspended from a tree or a pole. The small entrance hole to the hive is then opened. All hives are suspended in a horizontal position. Of course, the whole procedure is usually not over before a few bee stings have been received, but the "bee-keepers" know quite well how to protect themselves by covering the whole body with barkcloth.

Gathering honey from the beehives later is a much simpler procedure. At night, when the bees are not flying, the back of the hive is opened, and a glowing wisp of straw which is smoking strongly is introduced, causing the bees to crowd together in the opposite corner. The honeycombs are cut out and then preserved in a pot (No. 19, p. 3). There are many different uses for the wax in the Barundi household. Since a demand for it has 439 developed in the markets, bee keeping has noticeably increased in the border regions accessible to trade. Undoubtedly it can and will find an even greater expansion once the country has been opened up to trade and there are more possibilities for marketing it. Even today wax and cattle hides are the most important trade products of Urundi.

2. Stock Farming

We often read that the economic life of the Barundi centers 231 around stock farming. This is not correct. The Barundi are, ● 563 first of all, agriculturists, like all Bantu Negroes, but stock farming is the chief occupation of the Hamitic ruling class, the Batussi, and it is only through their influence and in their service that many Bahutu are occupied in keeping and caring for livestock. By "livestock" we mean large domesticated animals, cattle (inka), for the Batussi hardly occupy themselves with smaller animals, goats and sheep. These latter animals had long been element in the economy of the Bantu Negroes, that is, the Bahutu in this case, before the Batussi entered the country, and even today they are kept mainly by the Bahutu for their own consumption.

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children partici-
524 pate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e., the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
[563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 415 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[276] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
[782] ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 276 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 323 439 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping. Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and
428 Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother
[429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a
428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers
768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her
587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional
428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest
463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith
868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is
671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is
563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

563 the law. The law of the land is, of course, a "master's law"
671 which favors the Batussi in all respects. In contrast, the Bahutu as bondsmen enjoy few privileges, and the Batwa are almost entirely without rights. The Batussi batwale often commit grave violations of the law, especially in their dealings with the Bahutu and Batwa without, however, being held responsible for such infractions. It is only the fear of vendetta that puts a restraint on their arbitrariness.

As is the case among all primitive people, the ethical
577 concepts of the Barundi regarding what is right and wrong are elusive. Questions aimed in this direction either remain unanswered or the reply is simply: "We do not know" or "the headman says so" or "our parents, superiors, the king wish it that way," and similar answers (No. 19, p. 381). One never hears that "conscience" prescribes certain actions or that the ghosts, the manes, or the gods wish it that way. Whatever is said on this subject has probably been suggested by the questioners, especially the missionaries. In contrast, concrete concepts of
671 law are much clearer. They are chiefly based on conditions of ownership and on social conditions, and they define something as right or wrong depending on whether it benefits or impairs these conditions which have become traditional.

As has been mentioned above (p. 91) the king is, in
423 principle, the sole owner of the entire land and fields and of all the cattle in the country. As described above (p. 86), the batwale and the lesser district chiefs -- almost always Batussi -- hold larger or smaller portions of this royal property in feudal tenure, and they, in turn, parcel out smaller portions for the use of those Batussi who are not officials or for the use of the Bahutu. Whatever these latter produce from the fields and from the cattle belongs to them by law as their own property after they have paid their tribute to the feudal lords. The huts and the courtyard which the Murundi has set up on the plot of land left to him are also his property. However, he can be driven from his house and field, for example, if he fails to pay his tribute or if he has committed murder of theft and also if the feudal lord wishes to put someone else in his place, either a

563 554 The second important legal sphere is constituted by social conditions, but first, something about the social stratification. I shall reserve a separate chapter for the relationships within the clan and family (p. 98 , 106). As has already been mentioned, social stratification is determined by the three racial elements of which the Barundi people is composed: Hamitic Batussi, Bantu Bahutu, and the original indigenous population, the Batwa. By the law of conquest, the Batussi form the nobility; the Bahutu are those who are not free, or rather those whose rights are only conditional; and the Batwa are the helots who have no rights. If we disregard the Batwa pariahs, there is no separation of castes closed off from one another, although the priests (kiranga), the sorcerers and medicine men (abafumu), and partly also the religious brotherhoods (ababandwa) enjoy a privileged position on the basis of their magical powers which other persons lack. The professional craftsmen, especially the blacksmiths, also maintain a particularly respected position if they are Batussi or Bahutu, but this does not apply to Batwa. And, as is true everywhere, the [556] rich in Urundi enjoy more respect and influence than the poor.

In spite of the considerable difference in social and legal status and in spite of the arrogance of the Batussi, the latter associate with the Bahutu on a friendly basis in most cases, a relationship similar to that between a master and his useful, docile servant. Even if a Mutussi is a mutwale of the lowest rank or a petty feudal lord, the Muhutu will never forget that in his relations with the former he is dealing with a master. If he should ever forget this, he most certainly would be reminded of his inferior status in a manner which would not be pleasant for him, but the "better situated" Muhutu regards the ordinary non-propertied Mutussi as his equal. At times, although [582] only rarely, there are even marriages between Batussi and Bahutu, yet these are not considered as completely valid (see p. 101 , 169). It is also reported that, as in Ruanda, a Muhutu may be promoted to the privileged class of the Batussi by an act [557] of royal favor.

563 The Batwa, however, stand entirely apart from and below the others. They are not slaves who are forced to render services, but they are regarded as excluded from the society of the others, as outcasts whom the Batussi and the Bahutu despise and detest. They are considered animals, not human beings (No. 19, p. 541). The Batussi and Bahutu do indeed buy all kinds of handicraft products, especially pots, from them and also employ them as medicine men, musicians, and watchmen, but they never enter into closer relationships with them. (In Ruanda it is more likely that exceptions will be made, especially at the royal court.) A Mutussi or a Muhutu will never enter the hut of a Mutwa, he will never eat or drink with him, nor will he use a pot or a garment which has already been used by a Mutwa. [95] Only one thing is permitted: the [576] Mutwa may greet the Murundi and return his greeting although in a different manner than a Murundi would have done.

Depending on the social status of the person who tenders 576 a greeting and the person greeted, there are considerable dif- 554 ferences between the forms of greeting used among the Barundi. In all cases the greeting is tendered and returned with a certain amount of ceremonial politeness so much so that some observers maintain that greetings are a kind of religious act. Even the words of the stereotyped greeting often suggest a religious connection (see p. 46). It is perhaps for this reason, but even more likely because of the great innate or learned politeness of the Murundi, that each of them would consider it a serious insult if he were not greeted or if his greeting were not returned. Corresponding to the social stratification of the people, we may differentiate three large groups of greetings.

576 1. Greeting the king. The person greeting the king kneels down, 643 bends toward him, claps his hands in his direction, and calls 554 out: "uganse umwami" (command me, King) or "ugire umwami" (may you enjoy good health, King). The members of the royal family, the Baganwa, who for the most part rule the provinces as head chiefs, are greeted in a similar fashion.

554 2. Greeting the batwale who are not of royal blood and the lesser 576 chiefs of communities. The person tendering the greeting bows

576 "ischo, scho, amascho"(cattle, cattle herd) are used frequently and signify that each wishes the other the greatest possible prosperity and happiness, namely, cattle. This is a very characteristic herdsmen's greeting which undoubtedly has been introduced by the Batussi (see p. 46).

431 [96] Giving and receiving presents (isimano, ingawano)
576 play a very important role in social intercourse. This also takes various forms depending on the social status of the donor and recipient and the event which occasioned the present. In Urundi it is an extremely frequent custom to give presents out of friendship, respect, politeness, or as a sign of submission. However, only rarely is the donor unmotivated by selfishness. In most cases he aims at receiving a present in return to which, according to custom, he is in fact entitled. If a present is given to the mutwale, the aim is to secure his favor in official decisions. To discontinue exchanging presents is regarded as a sign of hostility, the rejection of a present is considered a serious insult. The gift to be presented, whether it consists of field produce, pots of honey, goats, jugs of beer, or something else, is placed at the feet of the recipient. At the same time the donor never fails to taste a little of the food presented in order to show that it is neither poisoned nor bewitched. Then the donor makes a solemn speech assuring the other person of his affection and respect and asking him to return these friendly feelings; finally he openly requests a nice return present. This is what custom demands. The recipient of the gift replies in the same solemn manner and in the end promises a return present or has it brought immediately. At the sight of the present the other person frequently breaks into shouts of joy or begins a wild dance. Custom also requires that a little portion of the present be returned at once to the donor. This, of course, considerably facilitates the giving of presents (No. 19, p. 87). The Batwa
[563] among themselves also practice these customs connected with the giving of present, but to their Barundi chiefs they may only present pots, iron tools, weapons, tobacco pipes, or firewood, and, under no circumstances, beer, honey, or other foodstuffs since a Murundi would never eat food given to him by a pariah.

614 patriarchate, by patrilineal succession; each child belongs to the clan (umurjango) of its father from the day of its birth. Strangers may join the clan only in exceptional cases, but they do not enjoy full privileges. The greater the number of male members of the kin group, the stronger the clan is in its internal and external functions, the better will it protect and benefit the individual. This accounts for the fervent wish of each father of a family to have as many sons as possible and to bring them into his clan.

Marriages between the members of the same clan are forbidden. A clan member may choose his wife only from another clan. Strict exogamy is thus the rule. C. Meinhof traces the origin of this custom, which is particularly pronounced among the African Hamitic herdsmen, back to the fact that originally the wife belonged not just to a single man but rather to the whole kin group, to all clan associates of the man in common. In other words, the whole of the man's clan married the woman, and for this reason she had to be from another clan (No. 41, p. 84). Clear remnants of this kind of group marriage still persist among many of these Hamitic tribes and also among the Massai; it is customary for a husband to put his wife at the disposal of any clan member during the time of the latter's visit. [101] Also, the married wives are so easily accessible to the men of their clan that prostitution is almost nonexistent among these tribes. The concept of adultery is meaningful only with regard to illicit intercourse outside the clan. To a limited degree this is also true of the exogamous marriages of the Barundi (see p. 107). A member of a Batussi clan never enters into a completely valid marriage with a member of a Bahutu or a Batwa clan, and there never occur wholly valid mixed marriages between members of Bahutu and Batwa clans. The racial distinctions among the three large population groups are stronger than the rules regarding exogamy. It is true that Batussi may frequently be found in Bahutu clans and Bahutu in Batussi clans, but these are either offspring from concubinage with Bahutu women or from other liaisons with inferiors through special circumstances, and they are not regarded as fully valid clan members.

563 614

614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
784 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Rúanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism.
563 In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No. 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage.
582 Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

582 Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close
563 relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the
836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely
837 surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband
684 is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in flagrante delicto (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

595 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi.
[837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is
[428] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists.
[428] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children
[563] have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very
[842] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage
[583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi;
548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
569 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

There is another group of persons who maintain close
756 relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with
791 supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person
756 in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

482 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child
784 who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic conceptions.

3. Missions

797 The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success
563 in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave," the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the [139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons, and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.
797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men (abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and organizations form a network over the entire land. Although
797 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years
735 in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor
737 and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van
888 der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives" No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.

800 *Urundi Administration* 1925—and Bishop (?) Gorju in several works dealing with Urundi, where he has been Vicar Apostolic. It lies N.E. of Tang. lake, 2 to 4 degrees S. of the Equator.

Ethnical conditions

563 The Urundi as well as the two neighbouring sultanates of Ruanda and Buha consist of three ethnical groups: (1) the tall, fine-featured, cattle-grazing Batutsi, of Hamitic stock, who constitute a ruling class of some fifty thousand; (2) the middle-sized, rough-featured, land-tilling Bahutu, the largest and main body of a population of over one and a half million; (3) the Pygmy hunting and pot-making Batwa, a mere handful of some thousands of outcasts.

I am reasonably satisfied that these three ethnical groups mix together more than one is generally inclined to believe: they rather seem to become social strata. At any rate there are impoverished Batutsi who till the land, Bahutu who possess cattle, and landless Batwa are not a frequent occurrence to-day. Many impoverished Batutsi have been considered as Bahutu, rich Bahutu as Batutsi. The reasons and theory I brought home were elaborated by Dr. Gerkens and seem to prove that each of the groups is of mingled stock.

Geographical conditions

133 The Urundi is a high country. The region between mountain to the west and the steppe to the east is a plateau, 5,000 feet high, often more, and almost completely without ligneous vegetation, except in the near proximity of habitations. Rivers and brooks have dug themselves deep into this plateau and their valleys have made it a country of more or less important hills, each of them with its own name. The bottom of the valleys is covered with swamps where papyrus grows unchecked (for native agriculture had not been successful there). The stony, grassy hill-tops are merely meadow-land. The cultivated belt [311] normally spreads on the hill-side, with the fenced cabins of the land-tillers in the middle of fields and banana-plantations. Only persons of rank dwell in the higher region.

311 Typical of Urundi scenery as seen from a favourable observation point are the three belts running along one another: below, the ashy green of the papyrus; above, brownish stones and light-coloured grass, sometimes with the rugo of a chief or of his deputy; in between the deep shining green of the banana-trees. [161] Though the population often reaches 350 per square mile, the habitations of most land-tillers remain invisible amidst the banana-trees where they are hidden, and only at the time when meals are prepared does the peacefully ascending smoke betray their presence there.

[P. 13 (A)]

178 changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground.
177 Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which
[241] grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of famine ; coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps to pay the tax-collector).

178 Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type,
177 closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neigh-
361 bourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres) or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly
●563 foreigners : Belgian officials, European traders (Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *baswahili* (Islamized negroes). It remains however that they are an entirely new feature in a country with such a widely dispersed population.

Conclusions

361 I thought I could draw your attention to some
571 details of the curious Urundi organization : a dense population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and habitable land according to the geographic possibilities, without any orientation centres (the few habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce anything like demographic concentration) ; the small part played by neighbourhood relations, the predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating man-to-man dependance, or in other words the primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relationships.

Such an organization was possible in a country almost completely closed to foreign influence, without either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure and must be related to conditions both ethnographical and geographical. This organization is
[177 giving way under the influence of European ad-
178] ministration, of the development of trade, and of a new economy based more and more upon monetary transactions.

[p. 16 (B)]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

564 Three socio-'racial' castes are to be
563 distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of
162 the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa, hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

113 The world in which men are placed and which they know through their
776 senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

172 The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material
[823] world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat; its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

821 In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms) stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

113 In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been
[823] some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, crea-
[825] tures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

112 This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old (people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

133 These two torrents have their source in the southwestern part of Ruanda. Their headwaters flow impetuously on a bed littered with rocks and pebbles.

Among the many subsidiaries of the Nyabarongo, let us mention in alphabetic order: the Base, Mukungwa (which comes out of Lake Ruhondo), Nyabugogo, which serves as an outlet for Lake Mohazi, etc.

The Akanyaru, whose basin is less extensive, also originates in the southwest and combines its waters with those of the Nyabarongo at the level of theBugessera. /28/

After they join, these two rivers change their name to Kagera (1). Under this new name they enter the Victoria into which they

[103] 1. Kagera. This word comes from the verb kugera, "to deepen."

The Kagera slowly wanders through the plain, and its lazy waters overflow

[136] into large ponds and marshes infested with crocodiles and mosquitoes.

pour their yellow waters loaded with silt.

Lake Kivu receives only a small part of the waters of Ruanda. Its outlet is the Ruzizi River, which flows into /Lake/ Tanganyika after a tumultuous course of about 120 kilometers.

131 Ruanda, whose surface may be estimated at 30, 000 to 35, 000
161 square kilometers boasts a population that is believed to reach two million souls.

It is made up of three quite distinct ethnic groups: the Batutsi,
● 563 or Hamites, the Bahutu of the Bantu group, and the Batwa, or Negrillos (Pygmies).

The Batutsi, who are thought to be of Egyptian or Abyssinian
141 origin, (2) are tall in stature. Some measure as much as 2 or even

000 2. From an ethnological point of view the physical appearance of the Ethiopian people is an exception in

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
826

1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets. The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

144

2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

142 lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs,' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies,' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, [141] while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'." (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

233 This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them
556 than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a
181 sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart," they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!, "May you come to own many cows!"

233 In the course of time they have managed to spread around them this fever for owning cattle. Any Muhutu /singular of Bahutu/ considers himself fortunate if he comes to own a cow. One wonders if it might not be the Batutsi who brought cattle into Ruanda. It is certain that their beeves are distinguished from the others by the length of their horns, which sometimes measure up to one meter, and that they are quite similar to the cows drawn on Egyptian monuments.

The hypothesis according to which the Batutsi originated in the land of the Pharaohs does not fail to take this fact into account.

One must agree that the Batutsi know a lot about raising cattle. They are familiar with a good number of its diseases and the treatment they require. When one sees the care they give to their cows, one is tempted to believe that they have retained some of the religious veneration which their possible ancestors lavished on the Apis bull.

They cannot bear to see their animals mishandled. Rather than kill one, they will let a sick beast fall to the ground, or a senile one die a natural death.

237 The dung of these animals, which trained servants collect every morning, is carefully deposited by hand outside the ficus-tree [351] enclosure and in time forms an odorous forewall around a large and frequently swept square. /32/ Even their urine is used to rinse the [356] wooden vessels in which milk is stored. Needless to say that in contact with the acid the white liquid acquires a flavor which is not to everyone's taste and turns sour within a short time.

241 The Bahutu are cultivators first and foremost. They make up the bulk of the population, at least eight tenths of it. While the 563 Batutsi, who subsist exclusively on the raising of cattle, settle near 361 pastures, preferably on the highlands, on plateaus, and at the edge of the forest, the Bahutu settle in places where it is possible to cultivate the land, especially in the midst of their banana groves when they own some.

258 water, which overflows into a jar, carrying with it a few more or less
263 soluble particles of this sooty dust. The liquid is preserved. The cooks pour a little into the cooking pot at every meal. Some families subsist on this humble vocation and trade with water which is not salted but which has an ashy taste.

Salt was indeed rare before the arrival of the Europeans. The great Batutsi chiefs were about the only ones able to obtain it.

This salt, collected by the Blacks in the marshes of Lake Edward, contained an amount of earth and sand at least equal to half its volume. It sold nevertheless for a very high price at native markets.

The salt from the Gottorp plant (not far from Kigoma) is now used by all social strata. It is highly valued by the Banyarwanda, who call it ulugera, a substantive derived from the verb kugera, which means "to penetrate," because, as they say, it goes all the way down to their stomachs thanks to its high quality and its tart and pungent flavor. One understands why formerly the Blacks, when deprived of salt, would seek out bitter herbs and sour fruits. Red pepper and
[241] chives, which were imported fairly recently, have for this reason been a great success among the Blacks, who cultivate them in small plots near their huts. It is probably for the same reason that children show almost as much fondness for lemons as for oranges. /34/ A few years after the eruption referred to as that of the Ntsuro (December, 1911 and January, 1912), when the natives were able to approach the volcano safely, they began collecting salt mixed with large quantities of earth. The inhabitants of nearby villages spend most of their time collecting the indispensable substance. In order to rid the salt of its
[415] impurities, people melt it in large wooden troughs full of water, which are called imivule or imizinga. The liquid is then removed to other troughs where it is exposed to the sun. The most skillful and enterprising workers allow the water to boil until it evaporates completely. The markets which are held north of Kivu are supplied with this salt, which sells as high as that of Gottorp in spite of its poor quality. It is less white, contains impurities, and always remains damp.

241 The Batwa, or Negrillos, do not farm much. They look down
461 on field work.
● 563

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden
[411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times,
[579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that
463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." *They have been beyond it for an indeterminate* period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them
696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches,
[342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

h [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -Auq/s.]

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

578 Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

631 Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

614 Abasinga, Abagessera, Abasiete, etc. /46/

2. Bahutu Ethnic Group

a) Oldest clans:
Ababanda, Abagessera, Abazigaba, Abangura, Abasinga, Abatchaba or Abiru, etc.

b) Secondary or recent clans:
Abambari, Abalevu, Abalindwa, Abatabo, Abahindi, Abakora, Abahigo, Abahuma, Abatembe, Abaziko, Abashobyo, Abondo, Abanyunjo, Abajongo, Abachira, Abakwa, Abanyoni, Abungura, Abalimba, etc.

3. Batwa Ethnic Group

•563 They borrow their designations from the Bahutu for most of
614 their clans. Although of Bahutu origin, the Bayovu are linked to the Batwa race. They are regarded as a degenerate group because, like the Negrillos, they eat animals considered impure and make pottery.

In spite of their more or less artificial division into tribes, the Pygmies actually regard themselves from a social point of view as part of one single group called Batwa. They practice what we call solidarity among themselves.

If one of them is killed, the whole group feels injured and
[5 74] rises to avenge him. A Mutwa /sing. of Batwa/ who travels is everywhere offered hospitality by his "brothers," even if they do not know him.

421 Property rights exist among the Banyarwanda. They are well defined by custom and tradition, notwithstanding temporary injustices and the discretionary powers of the king and of the chiefs. Everyone recognizes those rights and accepts them in principle. No one fails to exercise them or claim them.

They are taken into account in legal proceedings.

Daughters do not inherit but are taken care of by their brothers
421 until the day they marry. /47/

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825

drawn to the beauty of the fair stranger. The king was notified. She was the girl he had been waiting for. As a reward, the wagtail was granted a permanent privilege to its species called ubulenga nzira, which included immunity and a sort of tithe to be levied upon the crops throughout the realm.

near the hill of Lwoga, not far from Nyanza, the present capital.

563 The Bagessera regard themselves as the most important Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan, and claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of Ruanda. According to them, they were the first masters of the land. /462/

Bloody Bondage Imposed on Some Families

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178 The Bakono, Banyabyinshi, and Bakunzi of the Kinyaga were for a long time the victims of this /type of bondage/.

Let us add, however, that the brutality and cruelty characteristic of those inhuman and now suppressed customs had lost some of their primitive harshness in the course of the last two reigns.

1. The expiatory debt to which the Bakono were bound for having fought Ruganzu II had been changed altogether.

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644
178 Upon the accession of a new king to the throne, the Bakono had to send one or two of their people to the capital, and so did another clan which had formerly belonged to the Banyabyinshi group, so often mentioned at the beginning of the great king's reign.

At court, instead of having their throats slit as was formerly done, those people were merely sprinkled with lustral water (chalk water) and driven for an instant into the hut of the spirits as though being offered in sacrifice to them. There the matter rested. Other chroniclers state that it was customary to beat them a few times with

178 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the
643 present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which
782 took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of
661 exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or
644 families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the
644 Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

554 It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial
565 unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).
565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
565 Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who
[527] had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

173 Mututsi /Batutsi/ woman named Nyirandoba sought shelter in Bidiga's
558 hut without being aware of his social status. The potter gallantly
563 offered some food to the hunger-stricken lady.

Nyirandoba accepted eagerly. Meanwhile the sky had cleared and the woman, her hunger satisfied, took leave of her host after thanking him very kindly.

As she walked away, she heard a voice inviting Bidiga to take advantage of the improvement in the weather and go into the swamp to fetch some clay. Nyirandoba realized her mistake. She was forever dishonored. Everyone /468/ would know that she, a Mututsi woman, had entered the hut of a Mutwa and had taken food from the hand of a pariah.

Henceforth, no one in her own caste would be willing to associate with her.

Bidiga, who understood her uneasiness and misgivings, came to her aid and offered to marry her. The noble lady, very happy with the solution, became Bidiga's wife.

Not far from them there lived a Batutsi clan named Babambanganzi, who were in charge of one of the court herds known by the name of "black cows" (inka z'imikara, inkuke z'ibgami). Those people, who had no reasons to complain about Bidiga's proximity, made him their cowherd and put him in charge of the royal herd. Bidiga and his family gradually established close contact with the Hamites and contracted marriages with them which placed them in due course among the Batutsi ranks (1).

1. In view of all this, we can understand why the Hamitic type has lost its original purity to a greater or lesser extent in some of the clans belonging to this ethnic group. We may also add that the poorer Batutsi often take Bahutu wives.

[122] Chapter 6

Population Elements

563 The population of Ruanda is made up of three elements which anthropologically and culturally are very different, although they speak the same language.

The ruling group are the Batutsi [Tussi] herdsman who are anthropologically quite close to the Bahima [Hima] of Mpororo. There is a great gap between them and their subjects.

The Bahutu [Hutu] farmers make up the bulk of the population.

The Batwa [Twa], an outcast hunting tribe who also engage in rainmaking and pottery, form the third element.

197 Batutsi. The language of the Batutsi is identical with that of their Bahutu subjects except for certain phonetic dialect differences as yet unexplained by scholars. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, as well 101 as the Bahima, must be linked with the Nilotic-Hamitic pastoral 174 tribes on the eastern edge of the Nile Basin as well as those on the bank of the Nile to the south of the great Nile swamps. The Batutsi form the main part of an older migrating group which was wedged in between Lake Victoria and the forests of the Congo Basin. The Bari and their relatives probably broke out later in a northwesterly direction towards the Uele Basin. The Massai [Masai] group apparently poured into the regions to the east of Lake Victoria.

197 If we consider the word "Hamite" as a purely linguistic designation, the Batutsi are not Hamites at all, and even less Semites, as they are called by Rehse (1) and Kandt (2). They simply belong

[113]

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 110.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili [The Head of the Nile] (Berlin, 1904), p. 339.

the interlacustrine group of the Bantu language family.

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
•563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

181 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule
563 of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu
[578] are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi
[163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He
[481] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different
563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and
191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

563 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recog-
191 nize members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation. This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because of their privileged position. They are closely united and give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 They make up the conservative element which supports the
178 entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established order. However, they have little capability for independently organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found where individual provinces have given up their independent political existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state.
[184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences
[101] and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu. It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants in general, and here memories of the state that united Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not
[101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than
142 the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable, [144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important
101 role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's
103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelèmy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the
101 Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

[113] 2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

167 Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use
101 in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu, Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly
[194] alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect. In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area. The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with the Batutsi.

•563 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the
144 population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that

[113] 2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.

Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

563 "The Batwa at Musinga's court and in the Issawi region, as well
144 as those in northwestern Urundi, are not very different from the Wahutu, and there is doubtless considerable blood relationship."

Baumann (4) goes still farther and maintains that the Batwa

4. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle (Berlin, 1894), p. 215.

are no smaller than the Barundi.

The latter opinion is also erroneous. Anthropological analysis (5) proved that the Batwa do have a Pygmy element as

[113] 5. Czekanowski, J., "Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen der zentral-afrikanischen Pygmäen [Aspects of Kinship of the Pygmies of Central Africa]," Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1910, pp. 101-109.

one of their components. Although other, subsequent mixtures have lessened the importance of this element, nevertheless it accounts for many characteristic features of the Batwa.

The Batwa are strikingly similar to the Forest Bantu and stand midway between the latter and the Bahutu. This conclusion, unexpected at first glance, is simply explained if we assume that the more isolated Batwa were less open to outside influences and that anthropologically they are relicts of an older order in Ruanda. If we assume that formerly the population of Ruanda was more closely related to the Forest Bantu, then the Batwa, from whom we may learn about former conditions, must also be similar to the Forest Bantu. This is, in fact, the case. Apart from their anthropologi-
563 cal relationship, the Batwa are also said to resemble the Forest
266 Bantu in a very characteristic custom. They are cannibals, at least in northwestern Ruanda among the western group of volcanoes. Nonconflicting rumors about this custom have been reported by both Count Von Götzen (6) and Von Parisch (7).

[113] 6. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch

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266
[113]

Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are

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1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Eléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the
197 true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kissukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the interlacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelèmy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

563 Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
186 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the

563 destruction of the forest their independence is at an end, and they
311 become pariahs.

When guerrilla warfare can no longer stem the flood of farmers driven toward the forest because of the land shortage, there is nothing left for the Batwa but to complain of the new state of affairs. This is the story with which Kahima greeted me when I paid him a visit with Father L. Delmas. Originally Kahima's Batwa lived in the primeval forest, but constant clearing had so shifted the forest border that eight huts were already outside the forest, while the rest were still scattered within it. The Batwa, however, do not yet till their own fields. At most their women help the Bahutu in the fields and obtain food in payment.

563 In Ruanda one does, however, find cases where Batwa turn
[591] to agriculture out of dire necessity. Thus, in the vicinity of Ruasa there is a Mutwa rainmaker who is a leper. When his trade became less profitable because of the growing missionary influence, he began tilling a field. In one respect, however, he remained a true Mutwa: he was unable to keep any small livestock; in no time it had all been killed and eaten.

The relationship between the Forest Batwa and the Banyaruanda is the same as that between the Pygmies and the full-sized Negroes. Each Batwa group recognizes a Ruanda chief as its head, to whom they bring the yield from hunting in exchange for agricultural produce. This vassal relationship existed between Kahima and Chuma.

We must, however, point out a difference. The Batwa acknowledge the sovereignty of the ruler of Ruanda. From time to time they bring the king presents. These are presented to the king through the mediation of their Muhutu patron, Chuma, who is said to be the king's client (mugaragu).

Anthropologically, the contrast between Batutsi and Batwa is even greater than between the farmers and the herdsman aristocracy, but even so we cannot overlook the strong political solidarity of the privileged and the pariahs. If a Mututsi sacrifices sheep, the Mutwa eats the meat. When he slaughters anything, he does not forget the Mutwa. Between these two minority elements there is

563 always an understanding, and they often live side by side. In spite of all their prejudices, they [133] are obliged to stick together in order to assert themselves against the farmers who are a large majority in the country.

361 There are far fewer Batwa than Batutsi. The extensive na-
621 ture of their livelihood makes a concentrated Batwa population impossible. Larger, purely Batwa settlements are to be found only in the primeval forest and in Nyanza near Musinga. Otherwise the Batwa are widely scattered amidst the Bahutu population.

I am acquainted with the following Batwa groups:

1. Batwa under Kahima of Kazu. Kahima is the subordinate of the Muhutu, Chuma, who lives three hours south of Nyundo. Together with his petty subchief, Sebuleza, he has under him up to 150 Batwa, including women and children.

2. Batwa under Ngunzu. Ngunzu is subordinate to the Muhutu chief, Mutubula. His village is situated on a mountain near Kahama and can be seen from the third forest clearing on the way from Ruasa to Kisenyi. This group is said to be at least as strong as the other, even though one can see only seven huts from the road.

3. Batwa under Lukara are settled on the pass between Muhawura and Mgahinga. They are probably not much fewer in number. From Lukara's kraal we could see only two or three Batwa huts, and Lukara brought me only a dozen adults to be measured, but the fact that they had to be driven out of Belgian territory by military force shows that there must be a larger number. Mgahinga owes the name "Kirunga ya Batwa" to them.

4. Batwa of Mikeno. Dr. Kandt (1) visited this group. He

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1894), pp. 300, 301, 304.

mentions two groups of huts. The first has two huts; the second is four hours distant and contains six to eight huts. The latter are situated around a clearing. There are from 15 to 20 Batwa here.

614 842 Since the groups involved in this arrangement are small and conditions simple and clear, no one can forget that the welfare of the individual is directly dependent on the welfare of the clan. Hence everyone is very much concerned that the clan appear powerful to the outside world. It must be as large as possible and always ready for war. No effort must be spared to achieve this; otherwise the members of the clan have no protection against plunder, impoverishment, and even complete extinction. The man as well as the woman must be considered from this point of view, and producing children is, therefore, the most important duty of the individual. This explains the completely unenviable position of the childless woman. For the same reason, sons whose descendants will augment the number of clan members are preferred to a daughter, even though one can always trade her for a cow.

614 563 The importance of the clan's strength and fighting fitness, even today in Bugoye, was convincingly demonstrated to me by the fate of my Muhutu informant's father. Several years ago their clan was scattered by advancing Batutsi. Only his father remained on the old clan property, along with the [234] children and his uncle. Since there were only a few men in both families and they were too weak to defend themselves, the Batutsi simply settled on the land and indulged in all kinds of suppressive measures against the weaker farmers. At the time of my visit, for example, they took away a whole hut and carried it to their settlement, instead of building a new one for themselves.

614 628 Every individual is under the protection of the clan. This makes it possible for a person to lead a more or less secure existence. Clan organization represents a sort of social guarantee which is directed primarily against the misdeeds of fellow tribesmen who do not belong to the clan.

614 627 Moreover, the clan exercises control over its members, and, if serious offenses are committed by individuals who endanger the interests of the clan, they can even be exiled.

614 627 428 The clan may also interfere in family matters and, above all, in disputes about inheritances. Although the father can dispose of his property as he sees fit, nevertheless his decisions presuppose the tacit approval of the clan. If the interests of the clan are

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different clements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
262 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the
609 exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[71] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J. M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Batutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

[242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu,

563 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de
572 jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their
614 mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

572 [243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we men-
608 tioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it
572 seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is con-
608 nected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north.
628 This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 608 614 178 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship between blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 608 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 608 582 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously observed. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied; but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 608 837 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 608 563 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the Batwa.

614 621 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

634 somewhat different. The most important personality after the chief is his brother. He represents him in all matters. Both of them have their houses in the individual villages in which they live during their journeys. The son ranks just below the brother of his father and is granted a village after he has grown up. He is not entitled to gifts in the other villages of his father, and only if he has [267] no uncle does he get an uncle's rank. In spite of this preference, the brother of the chief is not his heir; all his possessions go to the son after the burial of the father.

622 563 Below the kissonga are the quite unimportant subchiefs who supervise the communities on the separate hills. Among them there are everywhere, especially in Bugoye, many Bahutu, whereas the higher positions are almost always held by Batutsi. It is only in Mulera and Bgisha that one sees Bahutu also occupying the highest positions.

The Bahutu officials are very much praised by their superiors, for no one can be more merciless and servile than an upstart who is hated by his clansmen. This characterization does not, of course, apply to the clan elders who occupy this position in the free farm communities. The subchiefs are the only cattle-owning Bahutu outside of Mulera, Bgisha, and Bugoye.

642 631 There is no doubt that with the extensive interweaving of property belonging to individual high chiefs (in this respect the whole country resembles a village with a community system of planting [Flurzwang]) an influential stratum is created which has vital interests in the most diverse parts of the country. This counteracts the centrifugal, particularistic tendencies of the individual provinces.

642 631 643 These conditions seem to be the result of a conscious aim on the part of the crown. In this direction much seems to have been accomplished by Lwabugiri Kigeri, the father of the present ruler, Musinga. Kigeri is reputed to have centralized the state and partitioned, scattered, and interwoven the holdings of the chiefs in order to destroy the centrifugal tendencies of the feudal lords. This involved him in bitter struggles with the lords, among them his brother-in-law, Kabare, but he managed to crown his efforts with success.

794 them. This is of very great importance, especially in cases of
575 illness, for illness is, of course, caused by the spirits. That is
782 why sick people are often initiated into the secret societies of
753 babandwa. Sometimes this is done when they are already so ill that they are not quite conscious during the ceremonies, but the hope is that through the initiation the sick person will gain such a powerful protector that the latter will make possible the recovery of the new member. Despite these expectations, people do not omit the sacrifices to the manes of the sick person in order to receive their favor.

794 The existence of the [secret] society divides the population
575 into two classes: the consecrated and the profane. The consecrated ones, in turn, are divided into two subgroups, the babandwa who conduct the ceremonies and the rusingo, ordinary initiates of the lower grade. This creates a hierarchy in which discipline is exercised through fear of the supernatural power of the chosen ones. Hence the secret societies are powerful factors in social integration.

The hierarchy of secret societies does not correspond to the territorial division into chieftainships and exogamous clans. It creates dependencies that bridge these divisions, and the social structure is strengthened by the addition of these "supernatural powers."

794 It would be futile to speculate whether the states of the
575 interlacustrine region could exist without secret societies. It is
•563 very probable, however, that the rule of the Batutsi and Bahima minorities is contingent on the organization of these societies. The ruling element seems to be disproportionately stronger among the babandwa, whose sons inherit their rank, than among the rest of the population, probably because the Ryangombe cult was allegedly a Batutsi cult originally. This view was expressed to me repeatedly in one way or another by missionaries and natives. It is supported by Rehse (1) who says that Ryangombe is regarded

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 134.

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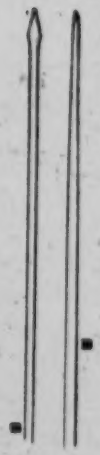

in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions
[443] that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[578] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

127 217 suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before 105 going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the 563 record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, [178] that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be 563 briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu 178 is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded 557 to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change [182] has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the [578] economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This 648 conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the 645 distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged [671] with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European [177] régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

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orography of the country). They are due to the conjunction of these physical circumstances with the particular way in which the human occupation of the land has taken place.

2. HUMAN OCCUPATION

Several hypotheses have been advanced in attempts to reconstruct the history of the human occupations of Ruanda. We are not concerned with them here. Let us summarize only those features which are of significance for our purpose and which have a high degree of probability.

The present population of Ruanda is clearly composed of three groups: Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi. These groups are very unequal numerically. In the middle of 1956, according to a Government demographic survey, the Twa constituted 0·67 per cent. of the total Ruanda population, the Hutu 82·74 per cent., and the Tutsi 16·59 per cent.[5] Differences that are immediately noticeable between these groups concern their activities, their social statuses, and their physical types. The Twa are hunters, potters and ironworkers. Twa hunters are not numerous, as game is rare in most parts of Ruanda owing to the scarcity of forest. Some of them make a living as singers, dancers, and buffoons. The Hutu are agriculturists and the Tutsi pastoralists. The statuses of the three groups are hierarchically ranked. The Tutsi group constitutes an aristocracy, the Hutu are commoners, and the Twa are said, half jokingly, by most of the other Ruanda, to be more akin to monkeys than to human beings. A definite physical appearance is considered typical of each group. According to the socially accepted descriptions of the three stereotypes the typical Twa is short, pygmoid rather than pigmy, with a head low in the crown, face and nose flat, cheek-bones prominent, forehead bulging, eyes narrow and slightly oblique. Hutu characteristics are woolly hair, flat broad nose, thick lips often everted, and middle stature. Tutsi are very slender and tall. They often have a straight nose and a light brown skin colour. The objective measurements of Professor Jean Hiernaux do not entirely coincide with these stereotypes.[6]

[5] These figures have been kindly communicated by Mr. J. Revelard who was at that time in charge of the Ruanda-Urundi Demographic Surveys (Endemoru).

[6] Hiernaux, 1956b, pp. 34-53. Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 122-34. See the interesting photographs in Czekanowski, 1911, plates 1-61 and in Hiernaux, 1956b, plates VI-VII.

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tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

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It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

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613 When the umulyango had a head (chosen in a similar way to the inzu head), he is said to have had the power to give orders to the heads of the component inzu and to draw up general rules for all the umulyango members. I was told, for instance, that the chief of a certain umulyango had ruled that the members should not marry girls of the ubwoko of the Abacyaba. This prohibition about 150 years old is still observed. When the secondary lineage had a head, he fulfilled very much the same function as an 'appeal court' for all decisions taken within the inzu. Such an umulyango organization existed among Hutu and Tutsi, but seems to have been more common in the important Tutsi lineages.

614 The patriclan (ubwoko) had no head and no collective activities. It was usually agamous, although there may have been an exogamy rule in one particular clan. An animal species was associated with [708] each clan. Its members were not allowed to kill any of them and were even obliged to protect them. The animal was not thought of as a reincarnation of the ancestor's spirit but probably only as a living symbol of the clan.[14]

614 563 Unlike the inzu and the umulyango, any ubwoko could have both Tutsi and Hutu among its members. There was no purely Hutu or purely Tutsi patriclan. When asked if this meant that Tutsi and Hutu of the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered that it did not. They explain it by the relationships which have linked Hutu to Tutsi as clients or servants. After some time the Hutu were identified with the group of their master. Such identification was particularly easy since Tutsi frequently emigrated from one region of Ruanda to another with their Hutu clients and servants. Some Hutu told me that as Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa (mythical figures who, as their names indicate, were supposed to be ancestors of the three groups) were brothers, it is not impossible that Tutsi and Hutu of one clan could have had the same ancestor. At all events clansmen who were of different socio-'racial' groups did not exhibit any solidarity at all and behaved towards each other as complete strangers.

613 562 As has been said, Ego's wife belonged to her own patrilineage for ever. This is why the social role of Ego's wife has not been mentioned in this section. But as she took part in many of the

[14] Some examples of the totemic animals of patriclans are: Abazigaba, the leopard (*ingwe*), Abasinga, the hawk (*sahabaha*), Abega, the frog (*igikeli*), Abagesera, the wagtail (*nyamanza*), Abacyaba, the hyena (*impyisi*).

727 the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
567 same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
564 able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[791] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugerero) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
[787] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

Richard Kandt says of the Batussi:

181 "If I analyze my feelings and state them honestly, I must say that I was impressed by them. Even now I have not lost this feeling although my mind rebels against it and although I have told myself hundreds of times that these people are, after all, barbarians far inferior to me intellectually. But it is of no avail! I have explained to myself the source of this feeling, so unusual to experience toward a colored person ... Apart from the gigantic stature, apart from the nobility of each movement and the dignity of their manner of speech, apart from the tasteful unobtrusive manner in which they dress, apart from their refined features and the calm penetrating, often even mocking and provocative eyes, apart from all this, there still is -- and here I hesitate and am unable to formulate the dim obscure feelings which hover in my imagination." (No. 22, p. 266.)

[564] This is a sentimental but a very understandable judgment. In actual fact the Batussi are a ruling caste, but not a ruling race in the ethical sense.

563 186 156 Gradually one discovers the secret of the tremendous superiority of the relatively few Batussi over the one and a half million Bahutu: they are greatly superior to them in intelligence, calmness, composure, cruelty, cunning, racial pride, solidarity, and political talent. What strikes one most about the individual Mutussi, apart from his imposing outward appearance which certainly must have made a great impression on the Muhutu from the beginning, is first his calm and what appears to be unconcerned reserve. In his contact with the restless, impulsive, thoughtless Muhutu, this has always been to his advantage. [609] Further one is struck by the arrogance he displays even toward Europeans, by his abysmal mendacity and cowardice when faced with any disagreeable situation. The Mutussi regards himself and his kind as the crown of creation, as a paragon of cleverness and political skill. This is small wonder, for the inferiority of the relatively few tribes within his sphere of vision -- intentionally kept narrowly circumscribed -- and the fact that a Batussi minority rules the large Bahutu people were bound to increase his feeling 186 609 of importance beyond all measure. It is true that he fears the

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564 Three socio-'racial' castes are to be
distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of
563 the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa,
162 hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

773 The world in which men are placed and which they know through their
senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to
776 produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say
that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

772 The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material
world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat;
[823] its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

821 In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms)
stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

773 In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been
some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the
[823] kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, crea-
[825] tures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

772 This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old
(people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

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been observed or when 'causes' have been discovered in the sphere of human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following these causes are considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events cannot be explained by reference to natural antecedents or causes, or are surrounded by peculiar circumstances, the intervention of ghosts or sorcerers is suspected and a diviner is consulted. If somebody has tuberculosis (*igitundu*) and none of his forebears or the people with whom he lives has suffered from that disease, it is thought that sorcery is the cause. If somebody dies from an illness usually considered 'natural', but the death occurs a few days after a theft of which he is the supposed culprit, he is said to have been magically stricken at the request of the robbed person.

This attitude is in fact quite coherent. When the natural cause is known, the event is attributed to it; when it is not known, or appears extraordinary on account of the circumstances, the explanation is given in terms of beliefs concerning the non-material world. Why do Westerners not use a magical frame of reference on similar occasions? First, their wider knowledge of natural sequences of antecedents and consequents makes the residuum of naturally inexplicable facts more restricted. For instance, a sudden death appears to them quite understandable for purely medical reasons. To Banyarwanda, on the contrary, a sudden death is an event of which the physical causes are completely unknown. Second, even for residual facts not scientifically explained, there is in Western culture a faith that, given time and effort, a scientific explanation will be found. The Munyarwanda has no such belief in positive science. Third, for the disconcerting circumstances which may be coincidental with illness or death, the concept of chance, which does not appear frequently in Ruanda culture, is resorted to. However, Western believers in a provident God see in these exceptional circumstances, not an accidental constellation, but a sign of the meaning God intends to give to the illness or death.

A threat permanently dominating the mind of the Bahutu was that of being accused of sorcery. This danger was connected with the invisible world but was objective enough, for such an accusation could result in being killed and, of course, merely to refrain from anti-social magic did not ensure immunity from being called a *murozi*.

The Nature and Situation of Man

Kazikamuntu (which may mean Root-of-Men) is the common ancestor of all mankind. Created by *Imana*, he had, among other children, Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa who, as their names indicate, are the ancestors of the three Ruanda social and 'racial' groups. Gatwa killed one of his brothers and for that reason was cursed by his father. Gahutu, who had been chosen by his father as heir and successor, had been commissioned by him to accomplish an important mission. As a result of overeating, Gahutu fell asleep and could not collect the information his father wanted. Gatutsi, on the

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other hand, got it by his sobriety and cleverness. Kazikamuntu then chose Gatutsi to be the chief of the brothers. There are numerous versions of this tale. Moreover, the stories concerning man's creation are often inextricably mixed with the legends about the arrival of the Batutsi in Ruanda. The same names appear sometimes in the creation, sometimes in the conquest stories. In general the latter are better known. The summary given above is thus only one of the various accounts of the origin of mankind.

According to a widely known folk-tale, Death, personalized as a sort of animal, was hunted by *Imana*. He told all men to stay at home in order that Death should not find a hiding-place. An old woman, however, went out to work in her banana-grove. Death, pursued by *Imana*, asked her protection. Moved by pity, she let the animal hide under her skirt. *Imana*, in order to punish her, decided then that death should stay with men. This story might perhaps suggest a belief that there was a time when men did not die. But we could not find other elements to corroborate that interpretation.

On the ontological character of man two points are certain. First, an adult human being is considered to be different from an animal by virtue of his faculty of speech (*kivuga*), his intelligence (*ubwenge*), and his will (*ugushaka*); but the difference, if any, between a small child and an animal is not quite clear. Second, no one of these attributes is equated with the surviving spirit (*muzimu*). There is something in the human being which, after his death, becomes *muzimu*, but there is no agreement as to what it is. According to a fairly common opinion, the *muzimu* is the metamorphosis of the *igicucu*, the shadow cast by the body in sunshine. But according to some informants, this shadow is only an image of the spiritual shadow which is the essence of the post-mortem spirit. In conformity with that opinion, the living man is said to be made of three components: the body (*mubili*) which, after death, becomes a corpse (*murambo*); life (*buzima*), which disappears; and the shadow (*igucucu*) from which the surviving spirit (*muzimu*) results.

The heart is believed to be the seat of intelligence and affectivity. It is conceived as a single organ although some ways of speaking suggest that it is double. For instance, it is frequently said: 'One heart told me this, one heart told me that.' This is another application of the habit of attributing opposed effects of the same cause to several causes, but this is only a verbal habit which does not deceive anybody.

These uncertainties regarding the nature of man indicate that Banyarwanda do not make any clear-cut distinction between the concepts of body and mind. Although they recognize parts in man, they prefer to consider the unit rather than its components.

Whatever the culture, human experience is made up of a sequence of events and activities, such as working, eating, sleeping, maturing, suffering, mating, getting old, and dying. What is the Ruanda attitude in face of these universals of human life? In many societies these happenings are considered not in their naked reality but in terms of the beliefs held as true in the particular culture. For instance, in a society with a Christian ideology, to

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suffer is not only to be hurt but also to expiate one's sins, to purify one's soul, and to identify oneself with Christ. For serious Christians, suffering cannot be stripped of its religious meaning without being completely distorted. Banyarwanda, on the contrary, seem to take a very 'secular' view of the human condition. Their belief in the supernatural world does not greatly influence their attitude to the unavoidable hardships and pleasures of life. All our informants agree that to die means above all to quit life. They believe that they will become *bazimu* but that leaves them rather indifferent. Even initiates do not show any enthusiasm for the idea of joining *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa* at their feasts. To abandon his children, his herds, his friends, is a sad thing for a Mututsi. But it is accepted, without dramatizing it, as one of those facts which belong to the normal order of things.

If quitting this life is so unfortunate, is human existence such a cheerful experience for Banyarwanda? Enjoyments and the pleasant things of life are very unevenly distributed in Ruanda. The superior caste, the Batutsi, form about 10 per cent. of the population. But, by various means, principally by the institutionalized exchange of cattle for services and dues, Batutsi have been able to gather a much higher proportion of consumers' goods. They do no manual work and have leisure to cultivate eloquence, poetry, refined manners, and the subtle art of being witty when talking and drinking hydromel with friends. Bahutu, perhaps 85 per cent. of the population, do not enjoy such gracious living. They have to produce for themselves and for Batutsi. On a very poor soil, with technologically primitive implements, it is necessary to work hard to secure the surplus production required by the Batutsi. Moreover, the great social influence of Batutsi has given opportunities for the arbitrary exercise of power, so that there are many insecurities in a Muhutu's life. But exploitation has been kept within limits set by the wisdom and the interests of the Batutsi, and a system of protection has assured a minimum of security to the Bahutu. As to the Batwa, they are so low in the social hierarchy, and are considered so irresponsible that they have had a greater independence of action. Formerly they lived on the margin of Ruanda society. They had a reputation for grossly enjoying any opportunities for eating, drinking, making music, and dancing. It should be added that Banyarwanda, according to our standards, have been rather defenceless against disease, that starvation was a real threat for the majority when the rains failed, that ritual observances and interdicts were numerous, and that when somebody happened to be involved in a charge of sorcery he had good reason for great fear. Thus it seems that, for an ordinary Munyarwanda, life is objectively hard, often dangerous but bearable. This partly explains the Ruanda outlook upon the totality of life. It might be described as a mild optimism. As many of our informants put it: 'Existence for Banyarwanda was not easy, it was even often very painful, but on the whole, life was rather a good thing.'

As everywhere, some individuals were at some time of their lives plunged into circumstances which offered apparently no way out. A Mututsi who

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had incurred the king's displeasure and was for that reason left without protectors, friends, or cattle was in a desperate situation; only with difficulty could he gain a bare subsistence. A Muhutu against whom an accusation of sorcery was repeated; an unmarried girl of a noble family whose pregnancy became publicly known; all these, if they failed to escape from their predicament by skill and rational behaviour (such as obtaining the king's mercy, denying the charge of sorcery and looking for the protection of a powerful man, using abortifacients or denying the pregnancy), would have recourse to the *bapfumu*, seeking to know what spirit or sorcerer was responsible for their misfortune and how to appease the malevolent being. If all the practices and offerings recommended by the diviner had no effect, then they called upon *Imana*, and if their prayers were unanswered, only drastic solutions remained, such as exile in a foreign country or suicide. But these tragic destinies were not numerous and they did not shake the belief of the majority in the moderate happiness of living.

There is a further reason for their generally cheerful acceptance of the conditions of their existence. Banyarwanda are not inclined to speculate about the inaccessible. Westerners are given to imagining how beautiful and good life might be if humanity and the universe were different from what they are. This trend of thinking is quite alien to Banyarwanda and, when it is suggested, appears futile to them. The usual, the normal (in the sense of what we are accustomed to, and what we have reason to expect) is often self-explanatory. When a particular event fits into the normal scheme of things, there are no questions to be asked. If everybody has to relinquish this existence and die, death is no scandal or absurdity. It is the way *Imana* has arranged things. There is no further problem.

Cultural Values

Human action is determined partly by cultural values, partly by the socially recognized means of attaining them. By cultural values we mean the final or intermediate aims that are considered the proper purposes of human activity in a particular society.

In a stratified society, such as that of Ruanda, each layer is likely to have its own set of values, although some of those originating in one group may extend to others. Let us begin with the Batutsi. When a Mututsi informant is asked what the people of his group wish for above all, the answer comes immediately: 'children and cattle.' A further question, 'why?', discloses that these are not ultimate values sought for themselves, but intermediate ones, means to reach more abstract ends. The latter are power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

Power is understood here in connexion with persons (power over somebody) rather than with things (power to do something). It is, to paraphrase Lasswell's definition, the ability that a person, engaged in a human relationship with another, has to oblige the latter to do or not to do something (on pain of suffering severe privation). Power is essentially the capacity to

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exert a significant pressure on somebody. In Ruanda, to be powerful is to be able to exact from others tribute in labour or in kind, or support for one's claims to some advantage to be obtained from the king. In the latter case pressure may remain undefined and indirect: for instance, a threat to withold backing which may later be necessary to the person who is now asked to support a request. We desire to have cattle, say our informants, because by giving one or two beasts to a Muhutu, he becomes our client (*mugaragu*) and then has to do, to a large extent, what we ask of him. We also like to have cattle in order to get as vassal another Mututsi who lacks them. The services expected from a vassal are not manual, but he will increase the influence of his lord by his family connexions and will be useful through his diplomatic shrewdness in dealing with his lord's intrigues. Finally, we desire to become ourselves the vassals of great chiefs, or even of the king, because we are then under the protection of somebody very important, we get more cows and that allows us to have more clients.

In order to become powerful it is important, almost indispensable, to have many children. Girls, by their marriages, extend one's family connexions and bring their fathers a few cows as bridewealth. Boys at an early age begin their military training which gives them a complete education in the skills, knowledge, and virtues pertaining to their noble condition. This training is given them as *intore* (chosen ones) at the royal court or at the court of an important chief. For a father to have a son at court would reinforce his influence: through his son he knows what is going on, and the king or the chief is constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence —an important security for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Mututsi, and thereby getting protection and cows for himself and his parents' family (*mulyango*). Finally, the marriages of his sons could create new links between the father and the families of his daughters-in-law.

In complex societies like our own the roads to power are many. In Ruanda it does not appear that power could be readily attained except through the possession of children and cows. As we shall see, warlike valour could confer very high prestige, but not necessarily power. Great warriors were often granted herds of cattle by the king as rewards for their prowess, and could then gain power by their cattle, but not directly.

If we press our analysis farther, we may say that from the point of view of power, the significance of children is to provide cattle or connexions. On the other hand, cattle give direct power (over the Bahutu clients) or ensure connexions. In relation to Bahutu labourers, cattle have many of the social functions of money in our culture. They enable the man who owns them to exert pressure on those who have few or none of their own and who try to acquire them in exchange for services. In order to facilitate comparison with other ways of life, we may use the term wealth (as a medium of exchange) instead of cattle. As for connexions, what is meant here is that type of relationship in which one party may require something from the

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181 other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be
554 considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the
556 polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently
564 we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and relationships in which sanctions are implied.

181 The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely con-
554 nected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly
233 respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and
564 cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-
[272] value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was considered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone. As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an important herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover, cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-
[538] breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beautiful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-value is readily understandable.

181 The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi
554 is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A
564 family has property which is handed on from one generation to another, common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and their esteem for the father is enhanced.

181 Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the
554 respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi
564 seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous. They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

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main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

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is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

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that they are the almost indispensable means for achieving these ends. 181
The originality of Ruanda culture does not lie in its high valuation of power 554
and fame. These are recognized ends in many cultures. What is distinctive 564
is the paucity and the indispensability of the means provided in that society for effecting these purposes.

An ordinary Muhutu could never hope to achieve a position of power over other men comparable to that which a Mututsi could attain without difficulty. A well-to-do Muhutu could acquire a few servants either by ensuring the subsistence of other Bahutu poorer than himself or, like a Mututsi, by the gift of cattle. But this was not common. Ambition for power is proper to people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. The ultimate value for Bahutu is security, for this means protection from the things our informants say they fear above all: accusations of witchcraft, starvation, and the arbitrary actions of the powerful. There are no direct methods of protecting oneself against the first of these threats. All that can be done preventively is to be a good neighbour, not to be envied by anybody, not to have enemies. . . . But there are ways of reducing the other two dangers and these are the intermediate values which the Bahutu earnestly seek: work, children, and patronage.

Bahutu till the soil from which they have to get subsistence, the tribute 181
demanded by the chief, and perhaps a surplus. This surplus is extremely 564
important because it will enable them to acquire some goats, sheep, even a 461
cow, to have the time to work for their lord, to store enough food to get a few servants who will then increase production. Surpluses may be obtained only by work. That is why, among Bahutu, the man or the woman who works hard and competently is highly considered. Work enables Bahutu to achieve some security against starvation and even to attain moderate wealth.

There is a Ruanda proverb that the dog is not feared because of his 181
fangs but because of his master. This is the main reason why a Muhutu 564
wants to have a patron. A peasant rich enough to own a couple of cows needs the protection of somebody more powerful than himself in order to avoid the arbitrary exactions of some member of the dominant class. Patronage was institutionalized by the *buhake* agreement mentioned above. Like the lord in medieval Europe, the patron was bound to protect his client in most of the dangerous situations of life. A second reason for seeking a patron lay in the material and moral advantages accruing from the possession of cattle.

If we wish to state Bahutu values in more abstract terms, we may say that they seek security through the production of agricultural goods and the protection of a powerful patron.

Although he is not indifferent to his reputation, the Muhutu does not 181
seem to stress its importance as much as does the Mututsi. The reputation 564
he desires reflects the values of his caste. He likes to be considered a 554

their children just because they are their children. This, of course, exists in Ruanda as in many other cultures. [854]

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181 *mugabo* (a rich man) and a *mukungu*—a very rich man possessing a few
584 cows, many fields, goats, and bee-hives. He enjoys the recognition of his
554 fidelity to his master and his qualities as a labourer.

The Batwa never had the stability of peasants. They were hunters, potters, dancers, buffoons, and were regarded by their neighbours as being on the margin of society. They did not possess anything that others could envy. Consequently security from exactions was not such an important value for them. As people who lived a hazardous and unsettled existence, they greatly appreciated momentary and immediate satisfactions, and among these, food, especially during periods of scarcity, was the object of their activity. Their principal means of securing food varied according to their particular occupations. Hunters depended on their ability and their courage, of which they were very proud. Dancers, musicians, and buffoons relied on their talents and on the favour of their masters, their loyalty to whom was widely recognized. Indeed it is said that one could rely upon a Mutwa much more than on anybody else.

The social and economic situation of the Batwa explains and to some extent determines the value they attach to gratifying the basic need for food. Ability in their specialized occupations and a blind faithfulness to their masters were the best means to achieve that satisfaction, but skills and loyalty were also valued for themselves.

Rules of Human Action

517 These values, ultimate and intermediate, were eagerly sought by Banyar-
183 wanda but, as in any society, some means for realizing them were prohibited under certain circumstances. Stealing is rarely, if ever, culturally accepted as an ordinary practice for getting rich. Socially defined values are to be reached by socially approved means. We do not suggest that, in a particular society, the rules of action appear as merely social imperatives, or that the only basis for these rules is social. We would point out that some rules of action, whatever their origin and their philosophical foundation, are part of the collective heritage in any society. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, there are such rules of action. Murdering somebody who is not an enemy of one's family is prohibited. Women are forbidden to commit adultery and, among Batutsi and Bahutu, unmarried girls may not have sexual intercourse. When an order is issued by somebody in authority it has to be obeyed.

517 Does submission to the rules appear only as the rational behaviour of one
626 who wishes to avoid an external punishment or is it moral conduct? Does a prospective offender refrain from wrong-doing simply in order to avoid very probable and unpleasant consequences, or is it his conscience which tells him that he should not follow his desire?

Of course this is not an either-or problem, but the question of degree or relative stress is important. Even in cultures which lay most stress on the moral motivation to action, external social sanctions are useful deterrents from prohibited behaviour. In Ruanda these external sanctions exist. Those

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a very considerable extent universality and absoluteness, qualifies some of its commands. The degree of absoluteness and universality of the Ruanda rules of conduct is much lower. We might say that most of its precepts are qualified in relation to persons and circumstances. To steal cattle was forbidden, but a Mututsi could take the cattle of a Muhutu who had no lord. For a Muhutu to rob a foreigner was not forbidden. A wife might not commit adultery, but she was allowed to have sexual relations with people when ordered by her husband to do so and, even without her husband's permission, a woman could have intercourse with her husband's brothers and parallel cousins. Killing a man was prohibited, but not if he was an enemy of Ruanda or of the family, and if the feud had not been barred by the king. Banyarwanda certainly had no idea of rules of behaviour applicable to all men in virtue of their common humanity. This is perfectly consistent with the Ruanda conception of mankind and the very significant inequalities which Banyarwanda observe between themselves and neighbouring peoples and, among themselves, between the different castes.

To conclude, the rules of human action which prohibit or enjoin the use of certain means in order to achieve the culturally recognized values of Ruanda are sanctioned, not only by organized and unorganized social reactions but also by individual conscience or guilt feelings. The foundation of this moral code is not religious or supernatural but traditional; its content is a multiplicity of rules synthesized under a few moral principles. Particular precepts do not have a universal application but are relative to persons and groups.

Human Relations

Two principles dominate the field of human relations in Ruanda: inequality of men and indefinite reciprocity.

For the Banyarwanda all men have indeed a common nature; they are ultimately the descendants of the same ancestor. But this notion does not seem to be very significant, for Banyarwanda are much more impressed by the differences displayed by the various castes. The characteristics of these castes are stereotyped and repeated in many folk-tales. Batutsi are intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), apt to command, refined, courageous, and cruel. Bahutu are hard-working, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong. Batwa are gluttonous, loyal to their Batutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, lacking in restraint. These characteristics, with differences in stress and shading, are generally recognized by all Banyarwanda. As they reflect the Mututsi point of view, it appears that the superior caste has been able to make other people see themselves in important respects as Batutsi see them. Moreover, those qualities are considered to be innate, not acquired. A Mututsi is born clever and a Muhutu impulsive. Some tales, more widely known than those concerning the creation of man, relate how the first Batutsi came to Ruanda

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773 from the heavenly world. According to some versions of this tale, they came
564 with their servant, Mutwa, who mated with a forest ape. From that union all Batwa are descended. Such tales clearly reveal the fundamental differences which the Banyarwanda see among their castes.

564 When such a picture of 'natural' differences, so significant from the point of view of power, is accepted, the inevitable consequence is that some
554 men are born chiefs and others labourers. Inferiority and superiority are due not to personal qualities but to membership of certain groups. By belonging to different castes, people have fundamentally unequal rights. If
[682] an ordinary Mututsi kills a Muhutu, one kinsman of the murderer could eventually be killed in retaliation if the king authorized it. If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two lives were taken.

The principle of the fundamental inequality between social groups thus established in Ruanda has spread from the original inter-caste relations to intra-caste situations. A man superior to another member of his class because of his functions or his wealth, or even his ability, tends to assume towards his inferior an attitude similar to that of a Mututsi *vis-à-vis* a Muhutu. Of course the conception of inequality between superiors and inferiors of the same class is not so rigid as that between the castes, but it permeates all hierarchical situations in Ruanda.

554 The theme of inequality was embodied in the indigenous political organization, so that political relations clearly express the attitudes socially ex-
571 pected from superiors and inferiors. They are quite understandable if one bears in mind that they originate from an inter-caste situation. Authority as such is all-embracing. According to Western conceptions, any authority is defined not only as regards the people who are subject to it, but also in respect of the matters falling within its competence. A man who gives orders to another because they are on different levels in a hierarchical scale may be considered his equal in other relations. In Ruanda, there is almost no sphere of life in which an inferior is free from the interference of his superior. Because Batutsi are considered fundamentally superior to the Bahutu, there is no field in which they can feel equal. This attitude has been transferred to any hierarchical situation. The complementary attitude of dependence is, of course, expected from the inferior. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a clearly defined field; dependence is inferiority in the totality of life. The dependent person has to submit to his master in any question. There is no domain where he is free even to express a contrary opinion. As the dependent has always to
554 acquiesce even when orders are quite impracticable, he has to conceal his
571 opinions and find excuses for not doing what has been ordered. Double-dealing, politeness, or a utilitarian conception of language, are the only de-
516 fences of the dependent. Some time ago, a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. When the most important person had given his views, everybody voted for his proposition. But after the assembly, many expressed disagreement. At the

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 554 571 576

time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with their superior.

On the other hand, no superior enjoys a purely arbitrary power. There are norms which are informally enforced by social pressure; and this is particularly important for people so concerned about their reputations. Since, moreover, there are several chiefs of equal rank belonging to different political structures, it is not difficult for the subject of one superior to secure support in opposing him from another. Finally, there is the possibility of appeal to a higher authority empowered to control subordinate chiefs. All this limits, in fact, the authority of chiefs, but nevertheless the authority of a superior cannot be questioned by his subjects. They may escape, intrigue, or look for another protector, but they cannot offer direct opposition. The Western conception of contract, derived from Roman law, with well-defined obligations on both parties who are equal before and during the contract, is accordingly not understood or acted upon even by Banyarwanda who have long been familiar with our culture. 554 626 [675]

Any superior is a protector, and his protection is of the same character as his authority: all-embracing and limited only by his own convenience. In any difficulty, the inferior may ask the help of his master, and, if help is refused, it will not be on the grounds that the superior is not concerned with that aspect of the life of the subordinate. On the other hand, the superior himself will be the only judge of the limits of his intervention, for the dependent has no right to require anything from his superior. 554 571

Everywhere men in authority enjoy advantages denied to those whom they command, but it is often felt that justification is needed for these privileges. In Ruanda such rationalizations do not seem to be required. It is taken for granted by everybody, the subjects included, that superiors as such should derive profits from their position. The very high standard of living of Europeans is accepted without any criticism by 'traditional' Banyarwanda not yet imbued with egalitarian principles.

The conception of authority as all-embracing, unlimited, protective, profitable, and of inferiority as dependent, devoid of rights, fundamentally weak, and generally exploited, is exactly suited to a structure of castes composed of human beings who are thought to be fundamentally different and unequal. On these inter-caste relations all hierarchical relations have been modelled. This means that the conceptions and attitudes which have just been sketched pervade most human relations in Ruanda. Indeed, very many human interactions involve persons who, in Ruanda, are placed on a hierarchical scale: man and woman, husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, old and young, craftsman and apprentice, &c., and when there is also a superiority-inferiority situation, even though confined to one aspect of the relation, the whole of that relation is impregnated with inequality. 564 571

Another basic principle governing the field of human relations in Ruanda is that of indefinite reciprocity. Whenever somebody receives a service, 577 431

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Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
582 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi
often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed
a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the
sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much
lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a
Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was
particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[561] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems
to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater
than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a
Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his
Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to
informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it
with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are
anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and
Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting inter-
marriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then
had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
582 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
648 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had
lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda
girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important
positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not
travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage
affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom
and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and par-
ticularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu.
They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to admini-
strative charges in one part of the country, then in another one.
Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully
extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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The great traditions of military

courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were predominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services. 564 184 86

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such. 701 613 591

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting 703 613 642

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their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

From the point of view of social cohesion between the different strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(d) Redistribution of wealth

Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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The army-chief's protection was not unconditionally granted to any army member. The chief could refuse to give support to one of his subordinates if he had been disobedient or disloyal. It was up to the chief himself to decide if his warrior or herdsman had an objectionable attitude. The fact that the chief was the only judge of the attitude did not, of course, give the subordinate the assurance of a fair treatment; however, the chief could not indulge often in arbitrary refusals of help because a member could always leave the army and join another if allowed to do so by the chief of this other army. Moreover, the principle of recourse to a superior authority against an intermediate authority was operative here also. If discontent was widespread in an army, the chief could be dismissed by the mwami. Consequently the chief had to take into account public opinion to some extent and could not be indifferent to his popularity. It is clear, however, that the means of pressure that a chief did have on his subordinates were more efficient than the ones subordinates had on him. They had thus to assume a submissive attitude and to gain the chief's favour by gifts and proper behaviour.

• • •

The different functions of the military structure of Ruanda were profitable mainly to the rulers: they contributed to the maintenance in power positions of those who were occupying them. Through that structure, the king secured, in addition to what he received from his tax collectors, an important amount of commodities (necessary for the upkeep of a numerous court), more cattle (consequently the possibility to increase the number of people personally bound to him), and a more complete control of all the chiefs under him (by the possibility of a direct recourse of the subordinates to the royal supreme authority). The ruling position of the army-chiefs was also consolidated by their increase of control on cattle.

The preceding analysis has also disclosed how the army was an important instrument of domination for the Tutsi caste. Warriors being recruited only among Tutsi, organized physical force was exclusively theirs. They alone had in their hands the ultimate basis of political power. Moreover, by the serious training of the *intore*, the aristocratic values and virtues so well adapted for domination were inculcated into the new generations.

The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the

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The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the
701 social order by the protective function of the army-chiefs. A minimum of individual security must be granted to every member of a society. The support of the army-chief secured partly that minimum of security. The protection against incursions of enemies was also provided by the army as such. Finally, the participation of
[564] Hutu and Twa in foreign expeditions, although extremely re-
[186] stricted, certainly contributed to the formation of a Ruanda 'national' feeling.

6. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

642 In the administrative and military structures, the king was the supreme political authority of Ruanda. Very closely associated with him was the queen-mother, who had an official role in the political sphere. Next, the highest dignitaries of the kingdom were the *biru*, guardians of traditions concerning the important events of the collective life of Ruanda. Finally, there was the council of the great chiefs. These four institutions may be regarded as having constituted the main element of the central government of Ruanda.

(a) *The king*

643 The theory of the Ruanda kingship was that the mwami was an absolute monarch in the fullest sense. There was no stated limit to his powers over the inhabitants, cattle, land, and even commodities of his country. His powers were not delegated by any authority and thus he had not to render an account of them to anybody. He was the supreme judge: his sentences were without appeal. He was the legislator having the right to change customs.

This theory of the king's powers was founded on their divine origin as mentioned earlier. The bami (plural of mwami) were very careful not to let their subjects forget their heavenly origin. Many rites stressed that they did not participate in the common nature of other men. This was also the reason why special words were used to indicate their common activities and the everyday objects they used (as for 'to get up', 'it is raining on the king's hut', 'his bed', 'his house', etc.). It was thus emphasized that in spite of their appearances, these activities and objects were fundamentally different from what they were for ordinary people.[22]

In fact the king's powers were of course limited. He had to respect the vested interests of important Tutsi lineages, he had to

[22] Pagès, 1933, pp. 491 f.

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relationship which should be enjoyed by both parties according to the classical definition of contract. 571 675

A third way in which *buhake* was different from the Western conception of contract lay in the vagueness and uncertainty in the measure of the reciprocal obligations. The patron could be more or less generous in the number of cows he granted, more or less exacting in the services he required; the client could be more or less prompt and zealous in his service. If there was a dispute about these differences in the execution of the agreement, there was no charter one could refer to for an assessment of rights and duties.

(*b*) *Caste structure*

To understand the functions of the feudal system in Ruanda society, one must first clarify some important features of that society. 121

As our descriptions and analysis of Ruanda proceed, it becomes more and more certain that there was there a caste structure or something very similar to it. Sociologists usually define a caste society as one composed of several graded groups, each of which is endogamous and practising an hereditary occupation, membership of which can be obtained only by birth.[7] [564]

Birth was, indeed, the usual way in which one became a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. This does not mean that the three strata were 'racial' units, but that an individual was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa when his father was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. In the same way was his father a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. But in order to avoid such expressions, which could go on *ad infinitum*, a definition other than an hereditary one should be found. But it does not seem that there is any other than that a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa is a person who regarded himself, and was regarded by all those who knew him, as a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa, the usual way for a person to fulfil this social definition being to realize the hereditary one. In some cases, however, it was possible to be socially recognized as a Tutsi without having been begotten by a Tutsi father. For instance a Twa who had been ennobled or the son of a rich Hutu cattle owner and of a Tutsi woman, was sometimes regarded as a Tutsi. But these were exceptional cases and we may say that the caste criterion of membership by birth held in general for all the three Ruanda groups. 564 [554]

The same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw

[7] Cf. Lowie, 1948, pp. 10, 273.

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The same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw
564 previously that marriages between Hutu and Tutsi were not
[580] banned but that they were neither favoured nor frequent. Marriages between Twa and the two other groups were prohibited.

Since cattle rearing, agriculture, and hunting, with pot making, were the main activities characteristic of our three strata, the criterion of hereditary occupation was certainly realized in Ruanda.

The fourth criterion, the hierarchy of the groups within the society, was certainly to be seen in Ruanda. We must, however, consider more closely what kind of ranking existed between the castes.

121 Social power has been previously defined as an interpersonal relation in which each of the human actors, because he belongs to a different group or stratum of the same society, is able to exert pressure on the other. One occupies a postition of power over somebody, not because of personal qualities or the specific social role one fulfils or one's wealth, but only because one is a member of a certain group. The two human terms of the relation do not stand on their own personal merits but as representatives of their groups. Personal characteristics do not matter, only the identification with a group.

This notion of social power which operates in interpersonal relations is based on social power regarded from the collective point of view. Collectively, social power is the intergroup relation in which one of the two groups may inflict on the other a severe loss. It is the pressure exerted by one group as such on another.

564 The three Ruanda castes were in a hierarchic order, then, from the standpoint of social power, both collective and individual. The Tutsi caste could as a group inflict severe deprivations on the Hutu or Twa castes, and any individual Tutsi could exert strong pressure on any Hutu or Twa irrespective of their personal qualities and possessions.

Let us now turn to the function of the feudal system in Ruanda.

(c) *Protection by identification*

121 To live in a society where several castes very unequal in their social power coexist, frequently puts the individuals of the weaker groups in a very difficult position. Indeed, anybody may be at any time confronted with an exacting demand made on him by somebody possessing higher social power. To be protected against such

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is made narrower in order to give everybody the opportunity of obtaining sufficient personal security.

Such was, it appears, the first function of the *buhake* system in Ruanda. In that society where it was advisable to go into court accompanied by socially powerful persons, and when a Hutu possessing some wealth but no protector was risking the loss of his possessions, the feudal organization, by institutionalizing the identification of the Hutu client with the Tutsi lord, secured the necessary protection and security for the socially weak. With a few exceptions, the Twa were outside that feudal system. Their caste occupations were not compatible with cattle-rearing and made available to them other means of obtaining the personal protection of upper caste people. On the other hand, their small number made that kind of protection very effective.

(*d*) *Social cohesion*

A second function of the feudality in Ruanda was its contribution to the cohesion of the society.

In this respect we have to distinguish the feudal agreements in which clients were Hutu from those in which they were Tutsi. Let us first take the former. In order that two castes whose interests were so often divergent or opposed could constitute a stable unitary structure, it was necessary that they should not remain merely juxtaposed but should show some solidarity. Through the feudal relations economic currents flowed between Hutu and Tutsi: the land tillers had at their disposal some cattle; the pastoralists consumed agricultural produce and had fields cultivated by their servants and clients. In this way the economic system of production in Ruanda was mixed, made up of techniques, abilities, and wealth brought by the two groups. Through *buhake*, Hutu participated in the Tutsi values. They valued cattle very highly and entered the prestige system based on bovine possession. They assimilated some Tutsi alimentary habits, such as drinking milk. Feudality proved a very effective instrument for the constitution of a culture common to all Ruanda.

When there was a feudal agreement between two Tutsi, the *buhake* had another relevance to social cohesion. It may be said that any Tutsi client was also a lord and any Tutsi lord was also a client. The mwami was the only patron who was nobody's client. His *garagu* were the great Tutsi chiefs, the lords of less important

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Tutsi, who themselves were patrons of still less important Tutsi, and so on. In this way the Tutsi consituted a homogeneous unit of individuals linked to one another by bonds of fidelity and protection. From that point of view, *buhake* contributed to the unity and the solidarity of the aristocratic caste.

675 564 642

(*e*) *Maintenance of caste privileges*

Besides the protection of socially weak individuals and the promotion of social cohesion, a third function was fulfilled by the feudal system: the maintenance of the social *status quo* and the perpetuation of Tutsi privileges. This function seems somewhat opposed to the first two. Let us see how all these functions have been combined by the *buhake* system.

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In a stratified society where control of a category of goods or a type of ownership is characteristic of the superior layer, the access of the members of other groups to these goods or to the particular rights of ownership constitutes an active factor of social mobility. It is the reason why the aristocracy frequently keeps exclusively for itself these goods and these rights. Thus in Ankole the Hima pastoralists bar Iru cultivators from the ownership of productive cows. They may possess only barren cows and bull calves.[8]

[121]

Ruanda Tutsi did not impose such severe rules but by the *buhake* system they obtained very much the same results. They allowed Hutu to have cattle at their disposal—which in exchange provided Tutsi with labour and agricultural produce—but at the same time prevented them from gaining independent ownership rights over these cattle. Those who had the final control of cattle were always Tutsi. As the Hutu had been granted only usufruct rights over cattle which were different from those enjoyed by the lords who were Tutsi, there was no chance that the group of cattle owners could be invaded by Hutu.

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By definition the client's possession was precarious. This uncertainty in the duration of the disposal of cattle was further emphasized by the circumstances mentioned above. The breaking off of the *buhake* relation was almost always favourable mainly to the lord and could often be disastrous for the client. It may even be said that when the practice of merging the *buhake* cows (*inkaribiti*) with the cows not received from a lord (*imbata*) was regarded as customary, all the Hutu cattle were precariously held and under

[8] Oberg, 1940, p. 130.

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Tutsi control. A Hutu who in exchange for labour or agricultural goods had been able to acquire a few cows had necessarily to ask for the protection of a lord in order that his cows should not be seized upon under some pretence by a socially powerful neighbour. Then he received cows from his lord and they were merged with his own *imbata*. Consequently, if the agreement had to be ended, the lord could take away besides the cows he had granted, those which had previously belonged to the client. 675 564 642 178

The two political structures benefited most those among the Tutsi who were rulers. The feudal structure, by granting only a precarious possession of cattle to the clients, left in the hands of the Tutsi the ultimate control of cattle, symbol of social prestige and instrument of power. On the other hand, by the same *buhake*, Tutsi were obtaining the advantages of being provided with labour and agricultural produce. From that standpoint, the Ruanda feudal system granted a minority the means to live—and to live better than the bulk of the population—without having to participate in the manual labour of economic production, by the moderate and clever exploitation of the majority. 564 661 642

In order that an aristocratic structure may perpetuate itself without change as long as it is profitable to the superior caste, it is not sufficient to prevent an invasion or even an infiltration of members of inferior groups who, by modifying the proportion between exploiters and exploited, would completely disturb the smooth working of the system. It is also necessary that all those who are by birth members of the upper caste should live according to the standards of their group. It is most unusual for an upper caste to regard the falling off of some of its members without uneasiness and dismay. This is particularly true when the group position of power is rationalized in terms of innate superiority. Some modern governments in Africa, for example, are much concerned about the 'poor whites' because their decadence threatens the myth of the white racial superiority. 564

The Tutsi had a similar pretence to a natural superiority as has been pointed out already. Consequently, if one of them was unable to support himself in a way becoming to his caste and seemed on the point of slipping down into the group of those who work manually, it was regarded as a shocking situation that should at once be put right. The remedy was to become the client of a richer Tutsi. The cows thus received, allowed him to subsist in [186] [558]

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such a way that he could become the patron of a few Hutu who would work for him and cultivate his fields. On the other hand, while the lord of such a Tutsi would not get many material advantages from him, his social prestige was enhanced by an increase in his following, and by being advised by a trusty Tutsi he was able to exert a greater influence in the different intrigues which played such an important part in his life.

(f) *Feudal and political structures*

We have said earlier that the Ruanda clientage system occupied an intermediate position between the public and private spheres. It must now appear more clearly why *buhake* was not just a private agreement between two persons, such as a loan. The element of pressure, although not going usually as far as the use of physical force, was certainly an important aspect of that relationship. There was also a constant interplay of the feudal structure of the two political ones (administrative and military). When, as frequently happened, one was at the same time administratively subjected to and a client of one's hill-chief, a client's obligations were not merely added to a subject's tribute: the total amount was reduced. This was a very favourable situation for the subject-client. All the great political chiefs were also rich lords. Their political offices helped them to increase their clientage, as is particularly evident in the case of the army-chief who could require cows from the army members merely in order to be able to gain more clients. On the other hand their wealth helped them to obtain important offices and to keep them.

It would be impossible, for these reasons, to describe adequately the working of the two political structures in Ruanda without describing the feudal system as well. It might even be said that the *buhake* is more fundamental in the sense that many political relations have been patterned on the client—lord relation. For instance, the army chief was really a lord for the members of the herdsmen's section of his army.

In spite of the psychological and perhaps historical precedence of the feudal system, it has been described after political organization because, as I wish to focus attention on the political organization, it seemed that the role of the feudal system in that respect would emerge more clearly.

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[p. 143]

CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM OF TUTSI DOMINATION

At the beginning of this century, after an historical development of which we can at the most have only a glimpse, Ruanda society appeared to be composed of two main strata, the Hutu and Tutsi castes. The latter was dominant in social power and used it to exploit economically the former and to retain political power exclusively. 564 661

This system of the social domination of a caste and of the political domination of a group within that caste seemed to be successful and stable at the beginning of the twentieth century. How did the Tutsi achieve the difficult task of keeping such a large caste kingdom a working concern? Before considering the social structural factors which were operative one must take into account the frame in which and the background against which the problem of domination had to be solved. By frame and background, is understood here the totality of circumstances which appeared to the Tutsi, and were for them, unalterable. Tutsi had to adapt their pattern of domination to these circumstances as they were in any event beyond their control. These circumstances were very numerous, pertaining to physical environment (ecological), to human biology, and even to the culture of the group. What these very various elements had in common was that, at the time referred to in this study, they set limits to the action and ways of life of the group. Some of these limits were not immutable in themselves but they were so none the less for the Tutsi at the beginning of the twentieth century. 121 178

From this vast congeries of natural, biological, and cultural factors, I shall review only a few which appear most significant from the present point of view: that of the conditions of domination.

1. FRAME AND BACKGROUND OF THE DOMINATION SYSTEM 178

A first relevant background fact was that, apart from the ultimate control of a most valuable resource, namely, cattle (a subject which will be discussed later), the difference between the equipment of Tutsi and Hutu was not very considerable. It is 564

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178 possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference
564 was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of
114 the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the
554 maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

554 Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them
564 to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of
178 their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds,
184 they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer, and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to
[162] know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to
[171] comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

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One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

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it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

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of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(*a*) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characterististics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

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564 ceremonies. We may say that clan, army, and sect were 'national'
188 only nominally and superficially. Notwithstanding, these associa-
189 tions between Hutu and Tutsi had probably some limited significance from the standpoint of social cohesion.

In that connexion, *buhake* is a much more important factor. By that agreement, almost any Hutu was linked to a Tutsi, and [675] partook in the social power of the upper caste by identifying himself with a protector who was a member of the dominant group. He obtained for his disposal some cattle, the symbol of artistic values, and he entered into exchange relationships with the nobility. Through the clientage institution, Ruanda constituted a unified economic system which distributed agricultural and pastoral products among the totality of the population. The personal bond with a privileged caste member and access to possession, however precarious, of cattle, seem to have been essential from the point of view of national solidarity.

A third integrative factor was social mobility, even as limited as [554] it was in Ruanda. It is certain that the number of Hutu and Twa assimilated to Tutsi because of their holding of political offices or because of their wealth, has always been tiny.

The possibility of being accepted into the superior group even if it is illusory for almost all the members of the inferior group has had in many societies a very great integrative influence. It is well 000 known that in the United States, during the first quarter of this century, the fact that a few men among the wealthiest of the country had been born poor, greatly contributed to the psychological solace of a considerable mass of men and women who had personally no opportunity to achieve such brilliant successes. In addition to individual comfort, the belief that there was no intrinsically insuperable obstacle (such as having been born outside a closed hereditary group) helped Americans to feel that they were all members of the same nation regarded as not significantly stratified.

564 I do not imply that the social ascent of a few Hutu has played a
178 similar part in Ruanda. Firstly, there was no egalitarian ideology
559 which makes almost unbearable the fact that one is obliged by
184 birth to live in an inferior social group; secondly, cases of intercaste mobility were extremely rare in Ruanda. Nevertheless, these cases were a proof for Hutu that, although not belonging to the upper stratum, they were members of the Ruanda nation as well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

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well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

A fourth factor which counterbalanced the socially disintegrative influence of the caste system was the plurality of the structures in which any Ruanda was affiliated.

Through several structures, subjects were much more efficiently bound among themselves and to their rulers than in a unique hierarchy. In the latter case, indeed, if the individual can extricate himself from that hierarchy, he becomes absolutely unattached. In Ruanda, even if one link was broken, the subject did not escape from his superior chiefs. Indeed, he was linked to them, particularly to the mwami, by more than one tie. Almost any Ruanda was dependent on the king through two hierarchical channels: *via* his hill-chief (who himself was subordinated to the cattle- and land-chief) and *via* his army-chief. In addition, the feudal system integrated him into a set of personal loyalty relations such that the person occupying the superior position in one of these relations is himself an inferior in another relation.

It should be mentioned also that any Ruanda was a member of three kin groups: primary and secondary patrilineages and clan. Of course kinship affiliations as such did not cut across caste lines (except for the clan name), but as many of these kinship groups had been for so long established in Ruanda territory, they were certainly a supplementary link between the individual and his country.

The network of relations woven by the political and clientage systems was particularly important in a country where there were no clear-cut groupings based on co-residence. This has led some observers to believe that Ruanda were living in a kind of social vacuum. On the contrary, a Ruanda was never isolated: his social links connected him with the authorities and were ramified, if not in the whole territory, at least in a large area of it.

The last factor of social cohesion to be mentioned here was the ideology developed around the monarchic institution. The mwami was regarded as the king of all Ruanda and not only of the Tutsi. His divine origin keeping him separate from men, bestowed on him an authority which no commoner thought to question. He was closely connected with Imana, conceived as a supreme god rather remote but benevolent. The mwami, representative of Imana, was the father and protector of all Ruanda. Was it not enough to assume towards him a filial attitude and to feel one's

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571 dependency upon him? As in many cultures in which a king is a
564 paternal and divine image, the Ruanda monarch certainly con-
184 tributed towards the creation in Ruanda individuals of a feeling of
693 belonging to a unit which presented some similarities to a family.

This was, it seems, how the Ruanda political and feudal struc-
564 tures, by their complexity, succeeded in keeping an equilibrium
182 between, on one hand, the tendencies towards social disintegra-
184 tion that a caste system necessarily produces and, on the other, the minimal cohesion necessary to the maintenance of a social unit such as a nation.

(*b*) *Exploitation and protection of Hutu*

728 The Tutsi were confronted with the dilemma that all conquerors must solve when they settle on a new territory with the intention of staying permanently: are they going to draw upon the natural resources of the country themselves, using their own labour and equipment, and to remove from the area the aboriginal inhabitants by pushing them further on and even by exterminating them as a people, or are they to let them stay and use them by having them working for their benefit? Europeans who settled in North America adopted the first solution, they did not [171] attempt to use Indian labour and they expelled the native population from their hunting areas and began to cultivate their country. The second method has been chosen in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara where Europeans have settled.

564 Whether Tutsi have explicitly considered this problem is
661 immaterial here. In fact they have adopted the solution which was most advantageous to them. Being pastoralists and not numerous (in comparison with the Hutu peasants), they had no interest in expelling them. If this had been done, they would have had either to till the land themselves or to dispense with beer, peas, sorghum, &c. It was preferable for Tutsi to adopt what Oppenheimer calls the bee-keeper's policy (as opposed to the bear's policy who for the purpose of robbing the beehive, destroys it),[4] that is to say, to keep in the country peasants in order permanently to exploit their productive work. Those who control territory are not a dominant group; it is upon men that power is exerted.

We have seen how, through the political and feudal structures, the country's surplus resources were drained and concentrated in

[4] Oppenheimer, 1922, pp. 65 ff.

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Tutsi hands. From that point of view, we have to distinguish here two categories. In the first, we put the mwami, the court, the intermediary military and administrative chiefs, whom we call the rulers; in the second, the ordinary Tutsi. The rulers received tributes and labour through the military and administrative channels; the second got fewer consumption goods directly, but mainly labour by the *buhake*. Thus the satisfaction of the needs of the superior caste was not obtained by economic means but by social pressure.

Were these services in labour and in kind heavy for the Hutu caste? It seems that it was not a too painful obligation for about nine-tenths of the population to secure the whole of the agricultural produce of the country. But we should not forget that it was an economy based on rudimentary techniques and which did not yield a considerable surplus. Moreover, the standard of life of the dominant group was much higher than that of the inferior castes; one may thus safely assume that Tutsi consumed much more than a tenth of the total production. Such an assessment is not very precise but it does not seem possible to obtain a more accurate one.

What is certain is that the social power enjoyed collectively by the Tutsi caste was so great that it must have been a permanent temptation for them to increase their demands on the Hutu group. Such a situation was indeed at the same time both advantageous and dangerous as it carried in itself the seeds of its own destruction. For if the measures of the impositions were exceeded (and the technological and environmental circumstances made the margin very narrow), the subordinate group would be weakened and its productivity would diminish. Eventually, it might be led to leave the territory. To prevent such detrimental occurrences was all the more difficult as each Tutsi was endowed with so much individual social power that he might be inclined to misuse it.

How did the Tutsi deal with this threat? Firstly, by a universal distribution of the levies obtained through the military and administrative structures. Every familial unit of production was obliged to contribute—certainly not equally, but the mere fact of having universal impositions tended to prevent very considerable differences, because a sufficient return was secured and rules were established. These rules were not as fixed and publicized as the fiscal laws in a Western society, yet the mere fact of their existence

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564 made for certain guarantees. For the *buhake* services, what each
661 client had to give or do was less clearly determined and depended
554 more on the *shebuja*'s wishes. There were also in that sphere,
182 however, some traditionally admitted limits.

Universality and regulation of dues as such do not prevent the exactions committed by socially powerful individuals and those who required payment of taxes were powerful. Another more efficient obstacle to an exaggerated exploitation was the fact that the political and clientage structures gave to any individual of ability the opportunity to secure for himself a defender and a protector. This opportunity resulted from the plural character of the Ruanda hierarchy.

When one belongs to a single structure, there is only one immediate superior. Consequently, everything must be obtained from
[642] him and is owed to him. In a plural system, there are several immediate superiors of approximately equal rank and who are not interdependent. Consequently, it is possible to have the support of one chief (or his complicity even) when resisting another.

564 This is what happened in Ruanda. An example will show how
662 the plurality of chiefs could be used. Suppose a Hutu had in-
182 herited cattle granted by a lord to his grandfather who had also received cows from his army-chief, and who had acquired other cattle by exchange of goods (*imbata*), and because his present lord was too exacting, our Hutu wanted to change and become the client of another important man. He knew that his lord would try to seize all his *imbata* and to choose the best cows among his other cattle. By some gifts, he obtained the support of his army-chief. Before entering into discussion with his lord, he and his army-chief had agreed that all the best cows he had at his disposal and all his *imbata* would be said to have been received from the military chief. They were removed and put on grazing grounds directly protected by the army-chief. Then when the lord claimed more cows than his client wanted to return to him, he had to settle the matter not with a man of very limited power but with the army-chief.

Of course this required clever handling of the situation, but when it succeeded it secured efficient protection against extortion.

It should be added that the recourse of a subject to a higher authority within the same hierarchy was approved and even encouraged in Ruanda. This was another means of putting a check on the exorbitant demands of immediate superiors. This, however,

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did not play an important part in the feudal system because there were no socially recognized ties between a client and his lord's lord. Feudality was not a ranking system in the same sense as were the political structures. Each lord had his personal following; he was not as such the representative of a higher authority.

To sum up, the political and clientage structures at the same time secured the economic exploitation of the Hutu and protected them against an exaggerated pressure which could have led to disaster for the upper caste.

(c) *Delegation and centralization of political power*

Before the European occupation the kingdom's population was already numerous, probably around 1,700,000 inhabitants. The orographic configuration of the country made communications rather difficult. In that non-literate culture, an efficient collection of tributes required almost a face to face acquaintance between the subject and his ruler. These circumstances necessitated a delegation of authority to many intermediary chiefs who would be the local representatives of the rulers.

But such an unavoidable system was very dangerous for the central government. Its subordinated agents having frequently authority over a rather numerous population which could provide them with abundant supplies (if nothing was sent to the court) could be tempted to isolate themselves completely from the capital and become independent. Such a course of action would have been facilitated by the military structure and the feudal system.

Some important chiefs were, indeed, authorized to raise an army. Moreover, any military chief whose army was encamped near the border, in a district far from the capital, could gain such ascendancy over his warriors as to win over their allegiance to himself.

The *buhake* was perhaps still more dangerous because, as in any feudal system, it created personal bonds of allegiance between the client and his lord. As such, that bond of loyalty did not extend beyond the lord. One had to obey one's lord because he was one's lord and not because he was a mwami's representative. This is why any feudal system has always been so dangerous for a central government. Independence and revolt against the king have been recurring events in the areas where a feudal system existed.

Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies

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642 178 At the beginning of this century, Ruanda political organization was an instrument of social immobility. It was not a force of expansion meant to increase the Tutsi dominion over the country, but a machinery which succeeded in maintaining a difficult equilibrium between the antinomic tendencies I have reviewed. Any institution in which divergent tendencies meet and are kept balanced bears in itself the principle of its own disintegration. But in Ruanda the equilibrium problem had been so efficiently solved that it seems that an optimum point had been reached. The political organization that sustained the domination system could have been perpetuated as long as forces external and internal to the system itself remained constant. The external influence which modified the political organization has been the contact with the [648] Europeans, another conquest group entering Ruanda history around 1900. But apart from such a consequential event, internal phenomena such as a modification in the demographic ratio, the introduction of new agricultural techniques, the impoverishment of the soil, &c., could have been sufficient to destroy the equilibrium maintained by the Tutsi political organization.

642 178 564 661 What was 'immobilized' by the political organization was the Tutsi's caste's and rulers' almost exclusive control of power. They used it for exploitation, by which is meant here the satisfaction of needs not by economic production but by pressure. I follow here closely Oppenheimer's distinction between economic and political means. Both have the same end, he writes, the satisfaction of needs. But when this end is obtained by one's labour and the equivalent exchange of one's own labour for the labour of others, one may speak of 'economic means' while the unrequited appropriation of the labour of others is 'political means'.[6] This should, however, be qualified in the *buhake* where the client received the usufruct of cattle.

642 564 571 It would, of course, be completely misleading to assume that Ruanda political organization had for its only function the preservation of Tutsi exploitation. Through the political structure, as has been shown, the inferior castes enjoyed security. Collectively, peasants were protected against raiding expeditions of neighbours and against an unlimited and too arbitrary exploitation. Individually, in the difficult or dangerous events of life, a Hutu could rely upon the protection of his lord, of his army-chief, and

[6] Oppenheimer, 1922, p. 25.

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of his administrative chiefs if he could not or did not wish to ask his lineage's aid. 692 569 57

Should one, then, speak of a counterpart and interpret the Tutsi privileges as a retribution for the care of the commonweal and public order? No, political organization in Ruanda fulfilled different functions. It cannot be said that one function is the counterpart of the other merely because it benefited different groups. It just so happened that two different functions were fulfilled by the same set of institutions.

To sum up, this political system was a means of maintaining a certain social order in which the group of rulers and their caste appropriated to their consumption a considerable part of the country's goods without having to use their labour in the productive processes. [661]

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181 cultural premise underlying the social roles of the ruler and the subject.

564 829 We have seen that Ruanda society is made up of three hereditary groups with a very different participation in social power and that these differences were explained in terms of innate qualities. On the other hand, in a very great proportion of the political and feudal relations, the superior and the inferior belong to different castes. This indicates in what sense Ruanda feel men to be unequal.

This was not an inequality founded on differences in individual qualities or possessions. Of course, a very clever and artful man, a very wealthy possessor of great herds of cattle, could exert much greater influence, could have access to many more amenities of life and would command much more respect than a not very intelligent or a not very wealthy man. But these differences were not regarded as entailing such a significant inequality between them if they belonged to the same caste. Caste affiliation was mainly what made men unequal.

564 186 Several stories expressed the differences between the three castes and the qualities which were thought characteristic of them.[6] I mentioned above physical stereotypes. To them, moral qualities were added. Tutsi were said to be intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), capable of command, refined, courageous, and cruel; Hutu, hardworking, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong; Twa, gluttonous, loyal to their Tutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, without any restraint. These stereotypes, admitted with only minor qualifications and slight differences and emphases by all Ruanda, Hutu and Twa as well as Tutsi, were thought to be essentially linked to caste affiliation. When asked if a Hutu brought up with Tutsi, and as a Tutsi boy, could not develop the Tutsi qualities, Hutu and Tutsi informants answer that such a training [828] could change the boy to some extent, but not completely; the differences pertain to nature.

564 Caste status was, of course, not founded on a difference of qualities, objective or assumed, in the sense that if a particular Hutu was recognized as intelligent and courageous as a Tutsi, his status remained nevertheless unaffected. What mattered primarily indeed was not to have the qualifications of the upper caste, but to have been born in it. This was sufficient to determine a very

[6] Cf. for instance Sandrart, 1930, p. 139; Hurel, 1922.

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different share in social power and fundamentally different rights. 564

The Ruanda principle of inequality could be expressed in the following terms: people born in different castes are unequal in inborn endowment, physical as well as psychological and have consequently fundamentally different rights. [181]

That premise, closely connected with the caste structure, is suggested by the analysis of the political and feudal structures. Indeed, when a principle of inequality exists in a society with respect to a certain type of relations, it does not fail to spread to other relations more or less similar. In Ruanda, the inegalitarian premise of inter-caste relations has permeated the intricate relations which could be regarded as analogous in certain respects. A Tutsi who was lord over another Tutsi was thought to be superior over his client in a way comparable to the manner in which he was superior over his Hutu clients. Of course significant differences remained between inter- and intra-caste relationships of superiority, but the latter tended to be patterned on the former ones. 181 571 564

The extension to intricate relations of the premise of inter-caste inequality made it a principle of integration with a very wide bearing as it could, and did, in fact, pervade all the human relations in which a superiority of one actor over the other was implied. It could be the relation between a mother and her young child, a father and his son, a man and his wife, an old man and a youngster, a craftsman and an apprentice, &c. These relations constituting the texture of social life, the impact on collective living of the premise of fundamental inequality, cannot be over-estimated.

4. THE THEOREMS

In order to understand better how the inequality premise influenced the whole of Ruanda social life, the different aspects of that influence must be made explicit. They will be expressed as a set of theorems, by which is meant general propositions or statements which are not self-evident. 128

Theorem One

When two persons are involved in any kind of social relation, it is their mutual hierarchical situation which is regarded as the most relevant element of the relation. 571 156

Superiority and inferiority were *foci* of the Ruanda social structure to such an extent that as soon as they entered as a 559

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point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is useful to the speaker or expected from him and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a utilitarian usage of language.

5. ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

We have read the premise, as it were, into the Ruanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Ruanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question that we are not likely ever to know, such as a good knowledge of the Tutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Ruanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

Tutsi came into Ruanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into the country inhabited by Hutu looked rather like a peaceful infiltration, it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Hutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalization of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Ruanda inequality premise. It is possible that Tutsi had previously to their arrival in Ruanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they

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shaped the new Ruanda situation according to their ideology. Again, it is possible that some themes and types of organization of the Hutu cultivators were particularly capable of being used in the formation of the Ruanda ethos as I have described it. But a conquest evolving into a caste structure is sufficient to account for an inegalitarian premise. Even if prior to the conquest each of the two groups concerned has an egalitarian ideology, the establishment of hereditary groups, whereby the status of vanquishers and vanquished is perpetuated, suffices to give birth to a theory of inequality.

I am of the opinion that such a theory is a necessary 'superstructure' (in the Marxist sense) of a caste system. Undoubtedly, a body of inheritance laws, opportunities for a certain kind of education restricted to the wealthiest, a difference in languages, &c., may maintain for some time a high social power in the hands of the conquerors' descendents, even if the cultural ideology is that all men are born equal. But such a lack of internal coherence ('all men are born equal' versus 'political and economic power is restricted to those who are descendants of the conquerors') is very likely to result rapidly in an evolution from a caste system to a class society. A 'racial' theory seems the only ideology perfectly consistent with a caste structure. It is very probable that conquerors adopt it not only for consistency's sake, but because it is more efficient, more easily understood and accepted, particularly when different physical traits are characteristic of each caste.

It should be understood that when we speak of 'the adoption of an ideology by the conquerors', it is not meant that one day the conquerors made a conscious choice among various possible ideologies. Rather, once a caste system operates, the patterns of political domination and of economic exploitation require people to behave as if the upper caste members were by nature different from that of the lower caste members. When the 'idea behind' these behaviours is made more or less explicit, as in tales and proverbs, it is rationalized in terms of fundamental and inborn inequality.

If there is such a necessary link between caste systems and the premise of inequality, then to know whether the conqueror's ideology, prior to the conquest, was egalitarian or not is only an historical question; when the vanquisher settles and establishes a caste system, the inegalitarian ideology is produced, as its corollary.

562 that of Burundi, are by definition socially inferior to men. Political power, judicial rights, inheritance of cows and lands, and, indeed, the right to independent action outside the walls of the house, are traditionally accorded to men only.[3] Yet, in point of fact, there are [556] women who enjoy considerable authority and who own or control cows, lands and other forms of wealth. What a Rundikazi—a woman of Burundi—cannot do as a woman, she manages very well to do as a Rundi. The life-history of an individual is limited but not fully determined by the formal structures of the society. The dynamics of the social system make provision for political and economic mobility by which all but the most wretched Rundi know how to profit.

562 The social status of a Rundi is established by the caste and class 557 inherited from the father. A woman is inferior to the men of her own social level and to her husband, but not to men of lower castes [564] and classes than her own. The opportunities of a princess or of a 565 woman of the aristocracy to acquire wealth are fewer than her father's or brother's but much greater than those of an ordinary herder or, certainly, of a poor farmer or serf. Moreover, women use the same techniques that make it possible for some farmers to own herds of cattle, or for some ordinary herders to become wealthier than some nobles. To advance from his official inherited status as far as possible towards happiness, a Rundi needs the favour of a superior in the social hierarchy. All good things come from the superior. The greater the power of the superior—whether the feudal master, the father, or the husband—the greater the ambition of the inferior—whether a herder, a serf or a woman. For the latter, it is sometimes enough to have a father who is impulsive and generous, or a husband who is docile or too stupid to distinguish the truth from a lie or true affection from flattery. Women attain their goals by means of men. There are always a good many of them available for use in projects both large and small.

562 Although caste and character rather than the simple fact of 577 being male or female determine the lot of a Rundi, the mode of life and the behaviour patterns of women are decidedly different from those of men. Unlike a man, a Rundikazi in public does not speak, nor does she look you in the eyes. To each question, she answers: *Ndabizi?*—How should I know? In public, she lets it be thought that she knows nothing about politics, or where her husband is today; or even the wedding date of her daughter. She is the modest and obedient wife of her husband, the mother of her children, the conscientious mistress of her house, who is always working. What-

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ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

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as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the

564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to
564 differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
562 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
564 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
644 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
582 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases). 562 582 613

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child. 562 557 [582] [58] [851] 848

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi —and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives. 557 562 564 583 [851] [842]

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the 142 564 826

same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to distinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least, cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are, to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour. True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose character and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Otherwise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

It is necessary to stay in Burundi for a long time to see behind the stereotypes of the castes. In brief, it is assumed that the Tutsi

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and
562 women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

431 he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has
554 already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle
431 measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any
554 alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior.

Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows
626 or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father
[564] if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will
[593] return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For,
554 physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to
681 instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take
[861] out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their
[566] parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a
[593] woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always
431 combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or
554 affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors
828 and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no
[152] doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.

562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
593

152 diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look
595 for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with
[832] other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his
152 wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from
●564 each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself
595 that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

562 The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

562 Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with
868 maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around
[291] her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting
[867] among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work
858 and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

593 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to [357] be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will 342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home [184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

564 The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
583 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

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Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
●564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food
[574] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
564 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15] 462 564 593

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [581 557]

000 never have to do menial tasks. Young girls are taught, so that they
867 will be refined, to command and to correct inferiors gently but firmly; to weave pretty baskets; to rub red and yellow ochre on the wooden milk pots which are lined up on a long shelf to display the herder's wealth; to offer beer and food to visitors and to sing and dance, breasts bared, to entertain them. Later, a young woman must learn to cover her face with her scarf, to so arrange her
[574] numerous diaphanous white and yellow robes that her entire body is covered, and to engage visitors in conversation while shielded from view by a screen. She must learn how to listen and to understand. If a young girl has noticed that her mother is a good conversationalist, she takes into account the fact that her mother is discreet, intelligent and older than she.

577 The more closely a woman approximates to the feminine ideal
593 for her caste, the greater her hope for the rewards due to a married
564 woman. A good wife should receive from her husband a quantity of clothes and jewels proportionate to his wealth, permission to go out and to visit where she wishes, permission to drink her husband's beer and to take snuff. In addition she will be praised wherever her husband travels. If the husband has cows, he will give her several so that she and the children will have milk, and he may give her one or more as gifts. If he likes her very much, he will plan in advance the means by which she can remain on his property if he predeceases her. To be a good wife means first of all to execute wifely tasks efficiently. Then, towards her husband and parents-in-law, a good wife is always obedient and respectful, at least while there are outsiders present. Intelligence is a highly desirable characteristic and is indeed indispensable in anyone who will be the wife of a prince. A capable woman will be consulted by her husband, especially if he knows that she is cleverer than he. Among the Hutu, the husband asks advice of an intelligent wife before he goes to ask a cow of a Tutsi, before choosing a wife for their son, before he does anything. Among the Tutsi, a husband who takes pride in his wife's intelligence will consult her before he chooses a serf, goes to his superior to ask for another cow. He does nothing without her advice and boasts about her intelligence and loyalty to his friends. Among the princes, family and economic affairs are hardly distinguishable from affairs of state. Thus, intelligent women come to have a voice in matters of the first importance.

[574] A good hostess who provides food and drink for her husband's visitors need never fear his anger. Just as women speak a great deal of the importance of receiving clothing from their husbands, so men speak a great deal of the importance of a warm welcome for

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

586 she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with
593 her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but
[587] abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of
[564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside,
[567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her
606 daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true
592 mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The
607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority
592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking
578 sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same
595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of
564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced
[586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

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[8]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dons le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954. 184 113

[9]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

[10]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi. 184

[11]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[12]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[13]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121

[14]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[15]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[16]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[17]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[18]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[19]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[20]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

[21]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help. 564 323

[22]It has been suggested that anemia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[23]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

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XIII. A Tutsikazi.

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XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]

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it is correct, the domination of the Batutsi over Ruanda would go back nearly four centuries.

[565] The Abanyiginya and the Abega are the most influential
643 noble families of the country, and kings and queens have been chosen from among them since the earliest times.

The kings of Ruanda have two names, that given them at
[551] birth (Musinga, Rudahigwa) and that given them on their accession (Yuhi, Mutara).

When the Mwami dies royal power passes to one of his sons, generally to one of the youngest.

The divine origin attributed to royalty and the legitimacy conferred on the king by a very long heredity led to the [86] acknowledgment of a third characteristic of royal power, that is to say, autocracy.

The Mwami is the undisputed master of the whole country,
[423] of the land (fields and pastures), of the cattle, as well as of the people. He is the only real proprietor, all those on whom he bestows his generosity being merely his life tenants.

He does not necessarily own the land which he cultivates
643 himself, and he does not need to, since his revenues are enriched
425 by the tributes and payments owed to him by each of his subjects. When he is young he receives in appanage from the king, his father, one or several provinces, as well as cattle, and servants. On his accession he may keep all these provinces or give them to others (1).

1. Mutara Rudahigwa has kept his provinces of Nduga and Marangara but has shifted the responsibility of their administration to an umutware.

His favors may be bestowed to anybody, to a Muhutu and even to a Mutwa, whom he can raise immediately to the highest rank. Formerly, even in Musinga's time, those who had ceased to please the Mwami, or simply those whose property he coveted, could be dispossessed any day regardless of their high positions, all influence taken from them, and they themselves exiled from the country. Today, if the Mwami wishes to occupy a certain hill, he asks one

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
●565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is
565 called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without 635 exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of 565 the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces 634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

631 The same organization of officialdom also exists in 614 Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided [635] among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district [634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of [635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as 643 well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this 614 may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
425 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': it is practised among members of the aristocracy
435 only; it consists in offering members of the ruling
565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the
461 domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

[p. 15(8)]

The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).

565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has
565 /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who
[527] had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.

558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

493 [578] courtyard at the king's compound, guarded by Batwa. A consecrated elephant tusk is also supposed to be kept there.

During the visit in Nyanza by His Highness the Duke, Musinga climbed into a ngobi at the request of Captain W. Von Grawert. This is the conveyance in which the chiefs are carried on journeys. The king was reluctant to do this, perhaps because he was afraid or because this form of conveyance did not seem to him appropriate to his rank.

643 484 While the king is on a journey, his Batwa bearers may get food wherever they wish, for everything is the king's property. That is why Lwabugiri, who was always traveling about, became such a burden to the country. Only the Batwa speak longingly of those days. They accompanied his expeditions, and I often heard them say: "In those days there was a lot of meat. Now Batwa have no standing."

Dr. Hans Meyer says: (1) "...since a sacred tradition forbids

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 347.

him (Musinga) to travel beyond the borders of his central province, he is very limited in his outlook." This statement must be based on a misunderstanding, since the rulers of Ruanda formerly traveled a great deal, and this is spoken of in detail in the legends. In all probability a native told Professor Meyer how much he disliked the troublesome journeys of the king, hoping, perhaps, that by misleading an influential European he might make the king's journeys impossible in the future.

565 Social Organization. We can distinguish four classes among the population of Ruanda. The privileged class consists of the royal officials. It includes the feudal lords of the king (bagaragu) and their subchiefs with their retinues, as well as the rest of the dignitaries at court. Most of the court officials are also feudal lords; some, however, like the head of the royal smiths, are said to hold no lands.

Among the elect, the highest rank is, of course, held by the family of the king, the Banieginia, and that of the queen mother, the Bega.

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

565 701 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi conquest they were not driven from their land, and the king recog-
[651] nizes their privileges. They pay only the ordinary taxes, but they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is herediitary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police
[693] and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

567 baja who were sold by their parents when they were children in exchange for food during the not infrequent famines. I was unable to find out anything in detail about the social position of boys who are sold in this way. I believe that when they grow up they are absorbed into the bagaragu stratum.

Every district that has periodic famines, for example, Ufumbiro [263], furnishes slaves who, unprotected by their relatives in a strange region, remain in an inferior position, dependent on the protection of their master. In every mission one can see a number of little slaves who have settled there to get away from their masters. On the whole, however, the position of slaves is not at all bad. I never heard of maltreatment.

565 [482] Loads are carried chiefly by the biletwa.[1] The Bahutu of this category have personal freedom. They may abandon their house and fields and change masters, as long as they do not leave the state. The batware on the border must see to it that people do not leave the country.

661 565 Actually, however, the existence of the common man is of no consequence, and he is tolerated only on the condition that he satisfies all the demands of the rulers. Often a native cannot simply give up his field and his hut without further ado. He must put up with minor depredations, ostensibly as punishment for alleged crimes. He must pay his taxes and provide food for travelers if the king requests it, although the mutware himself pockets the amount given.

In this primitive, undifferentiated society, however, the possibilities of exploitation are extremely limited. As long as it is simply a question of furnishing food for the relatively small number of rulers, the latter can be satisfied, no matter how large their appetites. Thus, the slight possibility of exploitation lays the foundation of a social equilibrium without legally established norms. Also, if we take into consideration the constant internal struggle of an unsettled state which is very much dependent on the support of the subject masses, we discover the second factor which sharply curbs tyranny. The rulers must consider their subjects, otherwise they run the risk of being abandoned by their followers and subjects and defeated by their rival. Political

[1] [i.e. Free farmers without land of their own—Analyst]

661 wisdom consists in not letting oneself be governed too much by
565 caprice and not becoming relatively the worst tyrant.

Even now when there is peace in the land, petty wars among
669 Musinga's bagaragu and brawls among the bagaragu of the bagaragu
642 of the king are by no means rare, but they occur chiefly in the border regions where the power of the king is not so strongly felt. At the time of my visit, for example, Lukara was fighting with Luhanga in Mulera. In cases like this it often happens that the king is unable to find a man who would not be too afraid to manage and tax the warlike farmers if they were assigned to him. In this way the Bahutu gain their independence and can be subjugated anew only by a punitive expedition.

[264] Under these circumstances, petty internal strife is a natural function of the state and does not result merely in brutality and devastation. In this way, even though it is uneconomical, poor administrators are weeded out, and the power of the strong is curtailed. This principle may at first glance seem paradoxical, but it corresponds very well to the facts. When it comes to the formation of a state under unlimited rule which on principle admits no protest, limitations must arise spontaneously if large masses of people are to live together.

661 The situation changes, however, the moment there is pacifi-
642 cation and the country is opened up and organized by Europeans.
178 The old, natural, albeit uneconomical forms which, after all,
648 regulated conditions are now done away with by force of arms and the rulers, weakened by emigration, overcome. On the other hand, the opening up of export trade creates countless possibilities for exploiting subjects in a hitherto unknown way. The situation of the natives is getting worse, for the new judicial norms, despite their humane phraseology, are less protection to them than the old regulations upon which the organization of the state was built. In Kissaka one can see many natives from Ussuwi who have taken refuge there from the blessings of humane European civilization. Under these new conditions, the only weapon in the hands of the subjects is economic injury to the chief, and this can be achieved by the emigration of the labor force.

The situation of the natives is worst of all where Europeans have put a stop to freedom of movement in order to make police

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Among the better classes the 241
wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband [565] and wife worked in the field. [462]

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the 243
common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people. [252]

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten 534
morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month [782] a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

*Author's translation.

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562 that of Burundi, are by definition socially inferior to men. Political power, judicial rights, inheritance of cows and lands, and, indeed, the right to independent action outside the walls of the house, are traditionally accorded to men only.[3] Yet, in point of fact, there are [556] women who enjoy considerable authority and who own or control cows, lands and other forms of wealth. What a Rundikazi—a woman of Burundi—cannot do as a woman, she manages very well to do as a Rundi. The life-history of an individual is limited but not fully determined by the formal structures of the society. The dynamics of the social system make provision for political and economic mobility by which all but the most wretched Rundi know how to profit.

562 The social status of a Rundi is established by the caste and class inherited from the father. A woman is inferior to the men of her 557 own social level and to her husband, but not to men of lower castes [564 and classes than her own. The opportunities of a princess or of a 565] woman of the aristocracy to acquire wealth are fewer than her father's or brother's but much greater than those of an ordinary herder or, certainly, of a poor farmer or serf. Moreover, women use the same techniques that make it possible for some farmers to own herds of cattle, or for some ordinary herders to become wealthier than some nobles. To advance from his official inherited status as far as possible towards happiness, a Rundi needs the favour of a superior in the social hierarchy. All good things come from the superior. The greater the power of the superior—whether the feudal master, the father, or the husband—the greater the ambition of the inferior—whether a herder, a serf or a woman. For the latter, it is sometimes enough to have a father who is impulsive and generous, or a husband who is docile or too stupid to distinguish the truth from a lie or true affection from flattery. Women attain their goals by means of men. There are always a good many of them available for use in projects both large and small.

562 Although caste and character rather than the simple fact of being male or female determine the lot of a Rundi, the mode of 577 life and the behaviour patterns of women are decidedly different from those of men. Unlike a man, a Rundikazi in public does not speak, nor does she look you in the eyes. To each question, she answers: *Ndabizi?*—How should I know? In public, she lets it be thought that she knows nothing about politics, or where her husband is today, or even the wedding date of her daughter. She is the modest and obedient wife of her husband, the mother of her children, the conscientious mistress of her house, who is always working. What-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the

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564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
644 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
582 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

593 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong
784 enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a
582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to
[357] be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are
[565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter.
[564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the
[591 *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will
342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.)
591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home
[184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

SECTION I. PERSONAL STATUS

CHAPTER I. THE FAMILY AND THE CLAN

1. Generalities

596 The family sensu stricto (rugo) (1) is more inclusive than in

[196]

1. The rugo is the enclosure in which are the hut, the granaries, and the stables. By extension, this word designates the family in the strict sense of the word. In the plural: ingo.

our countries. It includes the father; his wives and their children, whether married or not; the father's brothers; and their wives and children. Formerly, the slaves taken in war (abanyagano) (2) were

[567]

2. Cf. also Marriage, p. 15; Birth and Filiation, p. 29; Government and Administration, Nationality, p. 70; Social Classes, p. 91; Right of War, p. 92.

also part of it.

[566] The Bahutu, serfs of the Batutsi, have their own rugo. The Ruanda family is of the patriarchal type. Filiation counts in the [611] patemal line (3); the child does not necessarily take the name of his

3. The children are nevertheless considered, in a way, as belonging to both father's family and the mother's. The Banyarwanda say: Umuntu akomoka iwabo wase nanyina, that is to say, "the man proceeds from both (families), his father's and his mother's."

596 591 father (4); paternal authority is exercised by the father, and the wife

4. This was even rare before European penetration.

[74] SECTION IV. OBLIGATIONS AND CONTRACTS

566 The typical obligation results from the contract of the so-called ubugaragu by which a man who has paid homage (guhakwa) to a cattle owner obtains from him one or more cows taken from among his inyarulembo (1), (2). They are called inkazibiti if the

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

2. The patron is not really tied by a contractual obligation. He merely accepts the client's services.

umugaragu (client) is a Muhutu, or ingabane if he is a Mututsi. The umugaragu has the right only to the usufruct of this cattle and its young, and only for the length of time it pleases his shebuja (patron) to leave it with him.

On the other hand, when a man is tied by the ubugaragu contract, the cows that were his personal property (imbata) become inkazibiti.

The principal advantages derived by the client from the ubugaragu contract are as follows: sale of the milk, butter, meat, and skins; help in case he should become disabled and incapable of providing for his needs; the honor of being named liegeman of such and such a person, instead of being given scornful names such as uriyamuntu, that man; or uriya mugabo, that simple man. That is why one says kugir'uguhatse n'ukugir'izina (to have a chief is to have a name).

Each client is subject to various obligations and payments to his patron for which he can be helped by his sons and even eventually by his abagaragu and their families.

[75]

A. Obligations of the Client.

1) Gufat'igihe (lit., to take the time), that is to say, to pay homage during a period of time whose duration is determined by the chief.

The client must accompany his patron on a journey, for example, when he goes to the Mwami's Court or to visit a great chief.

666 While they are traveling, the client acts as cook, makes sure that water and wood are collected, and keeps the injishywa (1). The

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

length of time the client must follow his patron depends on the number of cows he holds or hopes to acquire, and also on the number of clients among whom the obligations can be distributed.

When the patron is on his own land, the umugaragu carries the provisions to his storehouse.

2) Kubak'inkike (lit., to build a part of the rugo).

The clients must each build or repair a part of the enclosure surrounding the patron's hut and storehouses by providing the necessary materials.

The obligation to build the hut is shared jointly by all the abagaragu.

3) Kurarira (night watch or evening spent in talk).

The clients must take turns watching over the patron while he is resting and guard his rugo. The sentinels must bring the wood needed to light the watch fire.

4) Gutumwa (to be sent).

Each client must carry messages from his master any distance and accompany his servants who are bearing presents to a relative or friend of the patron. The umugaragu may even be a messenger and bearer at the same time if the present is intended [76] for an important person or for one who is particularly dear to the shebuja's heart.

5) The umugaragu must take part in the sowing of the sorghum (ishaka) (1) for two days.

1. Sorghum is a sacred plant and the sowing calls for a propitiatory ceremony.

6) Kutanga imibyizi (to cultivate the fields).

The Bahutu clients come and work in the patron's fields for an indefinite period of time, depending both on the number of abagaragu and the number of cattle that have been given them by the shebuja. Nor is the task of each one exactly determined.

566 7) Kumutabaraho (lit., to accompany to war).

This is a general obligation, to follow the master to war, to cut his wood, etc.

8) The client, designated in this case with the name umwozi (washer of pots), must watch over the quality of the milk kept in pots, bring it to his master (kugemera), and have the pots washed by a servant called umuhondamonyi.

9) Except for those that are poor, the abagaragu have a custom of honoring their master with presents, pots of beer, for example. The patron as a rule merely tastes the inzoga and then distributes it to his abagaragu.

10) If the patron loses any of his cattle, the clients must offer him an inshumbushanyo cow (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 45.

11) Similarly, if the shebuja is in mourning, he receives from umugaragu an indorano (3).

3. Cf. idem, p. 45.

[77]

B. Obligations of the Patron

1) If the client has stolen a cow from another proprietor, in order to avoid the punishment of his umugaragu, the client intervenes (kugura, to buy back) and indemnifies the injured party. If he did not act in this way, he would be held in no esteem.

2) If the client is very poor, the patron gives him a bull calf so that he can eat meat and clothe himself with the skin. He provides him with milk.

3) The patron must assist the client in his palavers (kulengera).

4) The patron must help the client who wants to get married pay the dowry. For this he gives him a cow. If the umugaragu is important, the shebuja authorizes him to choose the inkwano cow himself. (1). If he has received only a cow from the patron, the latter

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

566 can authorize him to give it as a dowry. The ties binding him to his patron are thus tightened, for the wife acts as guarantee that the ubugaragu contract will be well executed.

If the umugaragu commits a serious offense, the shebuja can take back the inkwano from the father-in-law (iyo batararongolanya or baraikoranura, lit., to prevent the marriage) for as long as his client has not received the indongoranyo (2). When this has been

2 Cf. idem, p. 44.

paid, the shebuja's rights are exercised over it.

5) When a client dies, the patron must watch over the fate of his wife and children. If the umugaragu has no brother, the shebuja becomes the orphans' guardian (kumuremera). In the opposite case, a paternal or maternal uncle shares the guardianship with the patron.

If the patron has paid his client's dowry, he takes the dowries given for his client's daughters and keeps them [78] until he turns them over to the boys so that they in turn can get married.

6) In the past the patron had to avenge his client's murder (kumuhorera) himself. Accompanied by his abagaragu and one of the deceased's sons, he would go and kill the murderer by means of a subterfuge. Pointing to the orphan, he would say to the murderer, "There is the one who kills you"; then he would kill him or else the shebuja would go to the Mwami to demand justice.

7) The client may dispose of the milk of the cows given him (intagemura) and make butter and cheese from it when the patron's requirements of milk are assured. Similarly, with the permission of the shebuja, he may slaughter animals and eat or sell the meat.

8) From time to time, the patron must give aihoe to his Muhutu client.

The patronage contract never comes to an end unless the cows die or if the client proves himself to be unworthy of the confidence placed in him. In this last case the master takes back his cows (kunyaga) and their young.

In addition, if the shebuja is at the same time the hill or provincial chief or the Mwami, he can deprive the client of his fields and rugo and drive him away from the hill. The client can only take with him his stick (banuh'akabando, lit., he is given a stick), the

566 most unimportant and useless of things.

Along with the ubuguragu contract and other leases of live-
437 stock such as the ingwate and its variants, the indagizo (1) etc.,

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

Ruanda common law has a number of other [79] contracts. We will list in the following which are those in most common use.

Purchase-sale (kugura)

These transactions take place in the markets (amaguriro,
443 plural iguriro), located usually at the crossroads of the thoroughfares.
437 The most frequented are those of Rukiga and Kinyaga. The people of Buganza and Buliza come there to exchange their cows for salt,
[435] provisions, beer, honey, baskets, etc. In the past, animals and things on sale were valued in hoes (1).

1. The salt seller wishing to obtain a bull calf would ask how much it was worth in hoes. He would be answered, "Fifty." He would then take a basket of salt valued at one hoe and would give 50 of these to the owner of the bull calf. A current expression was: "It is a three-hoe goat." Today a hoe is worth 8 francs.

Specialized merchants (abatunzi, lit., the rich) also go there and offer for sale produce and objects they have brought from far
[301] away, for example ubutega (2) made in Urega (country of the Warega).

2. These thin rings of rattan fiber worn around the legs by the Banyarwanda women from their ankles to their knees were formerly fairly valuable. Three thousand
[435] ubutega were worth a bull calf, and a complete set of the ornaments could be bought only with the payment of two sterile cows.

Sometimes they combine their resources in order to make large purchases (gufatanya urutundo, lit., to assemble business).

431 he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has
554 already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle
431 measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any
554 alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior.

Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows
626 or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father
[564] if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will
[593] return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For,
554 physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to
681 instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take
[861] out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their
566 parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a
[593] woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

431 In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always
554 combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors
828 and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no
[162] doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15] 462 564 593

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [581 557]

SECTION I. PERSONAL STATUS

CHAPTER I. THE FAMILY AND THE CLAN

1. Generalities

596 The family sensu stricto (rugo) (1) is more inclusive than in

[196] 1. The rugo is the enclosure in which are the hut, the granaries, and the stables. By extension, this word designates the family in the strict sense of the word. In the plural: ingo.

our countries. It includes the father; his wives and their children, whether married or not; the father's brothers; and their wives and children. Formerly, the slaves taken in war (abanyagano) (2) were

•[567]

2. Cf. also Marriage, p. 15; Birth and Filiation, p. 29; Government and Administration, Nationality, p. 70; Social Classes, p. 91; Right of War, p. 92.

also part of it.

[566] The Bahutu, serfs of the Batutsi, have their own rugo. The Ruanda family is of the patriarchal type. Filiation counts in the [611] paternal line (3); the child does not necessarily take the name of his

3. The children are nevertheless considered, in a way, as belonging to both father's family and the mother's. The Banyarwanda say: Umuntu akomoka iwabo wase nanyina, that is to say, "the man proceeds from both (families), his father's and his mother's."

596
591 father (4); paternal authority is exercised by the father, and the wife

4. This was even rare before European penetration.

583 A young man may carry off a young girl (kwiba umugeni) in order to force the consent of her parents. But the young man's father subsequently gives a dowry.

588 There are ibyomanzi (vagrant women) who stay with a man for indefinite period of time according to the circumstances of their wandering lives (kubuyera or kohoha). The fate of these unions is obviously precarious. If, against all probability, their common life lasts for several years, the woman may introduce her concubinary to relatives [or parents]. If children are born, the man may be obliged to give a dowry. The marriage is then regularized.

583 It may also happen that two men, each with a sister whose dowry they may claim, will exchange wives: abageni b'ubuntu bunyuranye (lit., the betrothed as gifts).

In all these marriages the fate of the wife and children is the same as in the typical marriage. If the husband does not pay any dowry, the wife's father may take the children away and keep them as hostages until their father has fulfilled his obligations.

567 583 Formerly, children who were prisoners of war (abanyagano) married later, usually amongst themselves. The master could also give a captive girl in marriage to one of his clients. He collected the dowry but on the other hand, he had to pay a dowry for one of his slaves who wanted to marry a woman of the same region.

The slave, his wife, and their children continued to be part of the master's household. If one of these children wished to get married in his turn, his father would pay the dowry for his son or collect it for his daughter, and by that very act, his son or daughter was freed and became munyarwanda.

567 If the master married a slave woman, the children of this union would be of the same status as their [20] father, even if he already had other children with a munyarwanda woman.

2. Types of Marriage

595 Polyandry does not exist in Ruanda.

Polygamy (polygyny) is universal, except among the Christian natives, and particularly among the Bahutu, who have an average of two or three wives and sometimes even four or five.

The Batutsi most often have two wives. The great chiefs have, in addition to their wives, a certain number of insholeke (concubines).

848 girl, the girl's father takes over the child.
851 In the past, during the wars, the owner of a woman slave
[37] sometimes married her. The children of this marriage were considered legitimate and [37] had their fathers' status, even if he already had children from marriage with a munyarwanda wife.

Children born of the master and a woman slave were also considered legitimate.

CHAPTER V. PATERNAL AUTHORITY

593 The patria potestas is exercised by the father. In the past it implied the right of life and death over his children. Today the father does not have such power, but his authority still remains sovereign and extends even over married sons. The latter must in particular, give him cows if he asks for any to increase his herds and to replace animals that are sick or have died.

A bad son can be cursed by his father and driven out of the family and even from the hill (igitshibwa or ikivume, the accursed one). He goes off with empty hands, and his brothers divide his property.

As a counterpart to his authority, the father is obligated to support his children and to establish his sons by paying the dowry.

The children must obey their mother as well as their father.

[604] Simiarly they must be deferential to their paternal uncles and aunts, and to a lesser degree, to their maternal uncles and aunts. Sisters must obey their brothers, and younger brothers, their older ones.

603 The loss of paternal authority does not exist as such. If the
604 father is unworthy or incapable, the grandfather or paternal uncle has charge of the children. [38]

CHAPTER VI. TUTELAGE AND EMANCIPATION (1)

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p. 60.

429 When the father is dead, usually one of his brothers watches over the widow and orphans. In the absence of a paternal uncle, guardianship goes to a maternal uncle.

563 of the ubugaragu contract, can be integrated into the Ruanda society (1). But if a Mututsi of Urundi settles in Ruanda with his

1. There are also Banyarwanda Bahutu who go and settle in Urundi.

abagaragu, although he is the equal of the Batutsi of that country, he and his household are nevertheless considered as foreigners (2).

[166]

2. These migrations are caused by the desire to escape personal vengeance following the accusation of murder, a sentence of banishment pronounced by the king of Urundi, or difficulties encountered by a client in his relations with his patron.

727 In the past, at the time of the wars, the vanquished who were
567 taken prisoner were killed, while the women and the boys and girls were carried off to slavery. A Mututsi could [85] even marry a woman prisoner if she were of noble origin; the children held their father's status. But as a rule he gave her in marriage to one of his clients; the children of such a marriage continued to belong to the master's household, but their descendants were free and thus became Banyarwanda.

567 A slave might even marry a Mututsi woman. It was thus that the Mwami Rwabugiri, who had captured a young man called Rusera Muhima, later gave him his own daughter in marriage and made him a present of the subdistrict of Rugarama in Bunyambiriri.

2. Royal Power

643 The Mwami (king) has supreme authority in Ruanda. We have
173 seen that all the traditions ascribe a divine origin to his power. The annalists of the Royal Court (abatshurabgenge) attribute to the present Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa, thirty-nine ancestors who, with the exception of the first, Nkuba, who remained in heaven, have all ruled over Ruanda (1).

1. Many names have certainly been omitted from this list. Assuming that

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is
565 called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

[72] the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
●[567] same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
564 able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[191] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugerero) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
[787] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

357 The domestic bondsmen, the servants, are an important
567 element in the social structure and the economic life. Neither in Urundi nor in Ruanda does slavery exist -- or rather, it no longer exists. In fact, the Batussi do not need slaves for the Bahutu are all bondsmen of the Batussi rulers and provide all the services that are required of slaves in other parts of East Africa. On the other hand, until the turn of the century, there existed quite a brisk slave trade out of Urundi to other areas. This was carried on under the influence of the Arabs and the coastal dwellers, with the Wawira, Bassuwi, Wassumbwa, and Wanjamwesi acting as middlemen. Not only did the Barundi sell their countrymen as slaves, in particular the women and girls, but also orphans were sold by their relatives, and even children by their own parents (No. 19, p. 212). The purchase price was paid in salt, pearls, and iron hoes. Pretty Batussi girls fetched the highest prices and were destined for the harems of the Arabs, prosperous coast Negroes, or the Wanjamwesi. As recently as 1900 there were public slave auctions in Uha (Heru) and in Usâmbiro. Mainly slaves from Ruanda (Kissaka) and Urundi were sold there. A witness wrote at that time: "All the roads are full of slave trains, almost all of them women and girls. Eight out of ten female slaves perish, for these children of the mountains only rarely survive in a different climate" (No. 14, 1900, p. 178). At present, as the German occupation progresses, these atrocities have been stopped, and only rarely and under the cloak of secrecy is a girl or a child from Urundi sold into slavery in the neighboring areas.

[97] In Urundi itself, however, in the households of many
357 influential families, especially of the Batussi, there are, in-
597 stead of the domestic slaves, bond servants or maids (abaschumwi).
592 Although they are personally free, they have to work for the master and receive only room and board in exchange. They get their jobs by a kind of adoption; someone who has no relatives or who, for some reason or other, wants to leave his family will offer his permanent services to a prosperous Murundi or to a mutwale. The latter takes him into his home and treats him

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

438 often set out on journeys lasting several days to visit customers
484 and distant markets. They handle the trade between Mulera, Nduga, and Katana on Lake Edward, and their chief items of exchange are sheep and goats, iron, salt, and tobacco. The Bagoye handle trade between Bugoye and Bunyabungu and exchange large quantities of hoes for goats from Mulera.

123 The Bagoye are unprejudiced traders. For example, when they saw me collecting skulls there, they brought me some to buy. However, no one had the courage to touch a skull. They carried it either on a stick or wrapped in a banana leaf. It was a boy of eleven who first had the idea of demanding payment for skulls. Others followed, even adults, when they saw that the boy was well paid. In a short time they brought in over 200 skulls.

We must point out, however, that not everyone was enthusiastic about these transactions. After more careful investigation, it was discovered that all the skull collectors were people of the lower classes. They were bagaragu (1) of the others and orphans

1. Clients.

who had been taken into individual households as semi-slaves.
[626] After a few days, however, skull collecting stopped altogether, since the boys of the mission refused to eat with anyone who had collected skulls. When this news spread, I could not get any more skulls, and the last collector was thrashed.

The people were very much interested in knowing how much was paid for skulls in Europe.

567 Even today it is said that human beings are exported from Ruanda, not as voluntary emigrants and transient workers, but as slaves. I could find out little about this obscure problem. Since wives [164] are bought, it is very difficult to draw the line between a purchased slave and a purchased wife. In Kissaka the story goes that the Bassuwi come in large numbers to buy women and that they stay in Lukira. They are also said to re-sell the women in Tabora.

Dr. Kandt (1) says that there is a regular slave trade in the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 435.

●567 northwestern part of the country. "The Wahunde [Hunde] annually sell hundreds of their children as slaves to Ruanda because their country is too small for their large families, and they do not have enough food."

443 Markets. Markets where people gather at certain hours of the day in order to exchange their goods are common only in the north and west. They seem to be entirely absent in the east. Dr. Kandt sees Western influence in the institution. (2) To me this does not

2. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 332.

seem quite correct. In the first place, it also exists in Nduga, as I discovered for myself. Secondly, we have adequate reason to assume that Bahutu-Ruanda, before it was influenced by Batutsi, was very similar to the territories on the other side of the great African trough [Rift Valley]. It is possible that markets are a very old institution that survived only in the west and north. In the Batutsi provinces markets may have disappeared with the conquest, just as they vanished in the vicinity of the Belgian stations, especially in Uele, or, at any rate, they are hidden from the eyes of the conquerors. The latter have not infrequently confiscated market goods because no taxes were paid on them.

In Nduga I saw two markets offering iron hoes (iguliro lyi byuma). One was half an hour from Kwa Rutagungira in Bulamba, the other was located between Nyanza and Kabgaye on a hill three hours from the latter settlement. When I passed through, the market near Kwa Rutagungira was patronized by a great many smiths from Mount Ndisa. Below Marangara, on the Nyawarongo in Bukonya, there is a charcoal market. Charcoal is burned in the Tschingogo Forest and traded by the people of Chief Niamakwa of Bushiru for millet and old hoes.

Since olden times there has been a food market, open daily, in Nyundo on the Mission Bridge between Katebe Hill and the Ssebeya. The people gather early in the morning and leave between 11 and 12 o'clock. There is another market town in the northwestern part of Kisenyi.

487 438 to the Uganda railway. It seems that most of the cotton cloth and beads that one sees in Ruanda are also brought this way. Trade along this route is carried on chiefly by Indians from Kafuro, assisted by

[415 285]

Fig. 55. Traveling Basket from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 6986. 84 centimeters high.)

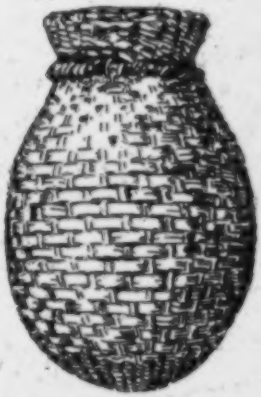

Fig. 56. Pot with Woven Wrapper, Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III 13746. 50 centimeters high.)

people of Kahigi. I reached this route on my trip from Nyanza by Lake Mohasi to Nsasa in Njakagungu, a day's journey south of the lake. On the way I met a trading caravan that exchanged cattle for its ten loads of cheap cotton material. This new traffic artery was formed to make a connection with the Uganda Railway.

2. The above route has cut off the old way from Tabora, via Ussuwi and Kissaka, to Nduga and robbed it of its former importance. [567] It is said that now this route has a branch along which the Bassuwi trade in women flourishes. It was along this route that Count Von Götzen entered the country, the first European to do so.

[169] 3. The route from Nduga via Mukinjaga to Bunyabungu is the export route for sheep and goats which are exchanged for iron. Along this route are traded the Mukinjaga mats, well-known throughout Ruanda.

575 Extramarital Relations. Not all women who share a house-
567 hold with a man are his regular wives (basumba kazi) with whom
848 he has entered into a formal purchase marriage. Concubines
588 and slaves (baja) are also kept in Ruanda. The concubines are [225] usually childless widows and abandoned or fugitive women. They settle wherever they find a relatively good refuge. The baja are sold by their parents when they are children, usually in exchange for food during a famine. They are simply women without ties, but who are otherwise very much like the other women and usually also have their own huts. Their children are likewise said to belong to the father's family, although they are not regarded as equal. Such children of Batutsi men, for example, are said not to be regarded as Batutsi although they have the same family name.

588 The chiefs grant baja to their clients, a practice which is
567 even more clearly defined among the Azande and Mangbetu, for example. The baja, along with the cow, are the means whereby the powerful one binds his clients to himself and thus strengthens his power.

567 Just as a man can grant a cow to a client and also demand it
574 back, so he can likewise put a muja at the temporary disposal of
837 a favorite. Under these circumstances the entertainment of guests with women "who are to warm his bed for him" is quite understandable. The less esteemed guests are given baja; the highly respected guests, on the other hand, are honored by being offered regular wives.

574 In general, a man on a journey has at his disposal the wives
837 of his blood brothers. Dr. Kandt (1) says that from certain social

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

aspects this arrangement has its positive points: "Alternating connubium, that is, the interchangeable pairing of several male blood relatives with all their wives, as is permitted in Ruanda, prevents the loss of the female element in the preservation of the race, should the male element prove unfit."

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

565 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under
701 particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi conquest they were not driven from their land, and the king recog-
[657] nizes their privileges. They pay only the ordinary taxes, but they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is hereditary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police
[693] and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

567 baja who were sold by their parents when they were children in exchange for food during the not infrequent famines. I was unable to find out anything in detail about the social position of boys who are sold in this way. I believe that when they grow up they are absorbed into the bagaragu stratum.

Every district that has periodic famines, for example, Ufumbiro [263], furnishes slaves who, unprotected by their relatives in a strange region, remain in an inferior position, dependent on the protection of their master. In every mission one can see a number of little slaves who have settled there to get away from their masters. On the whole, however, the position of slaves is not at all bad. I never heard of maltreatment.

565 Loads are carried chiefly by the biletwa.[1] The Bahutu of this [442] category have personal freedom. They may abandon their house and fields and change masters, as long as they do not leave the state. The batware on the border must see to it that people do not leave the country.

661 Actually, however, the existence of the common man is of 565 no consequence, and he is tolerated only on the condition that he satisfies all the demands of the rulers. Often a native cannot simply give up his field and his hut without further ado. He must put up with minor depredations, ostensibly as punishment for alleged crimes. He must pay his taxes and provide food for travelers if the king requests it, although the mutware himself pockets the amount given.

In this primitive, undifferentiated society, however, the possibilities of exploitation are extremely limited. As long as it is simply a question of furnishing food for the relatively small number of rulers, the latter can be satisfied, no matter how large their appetites. Thus, the slight possibility of exploitation lays the foundation of a social equilibrium without legally established norms. Also, if we take into consideration the constant internal struggle of an unsettled state which is very much dependent on the support of the subject masses, we discover the second factor which sharply curbs tyranny. The rulers must consider their subjects, otherwise they run the risk of being abandoned by their followers and subjects and defeated by their rival. Political

[1] [i.e. Free farmers without land of their own—Analyst]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

● 567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

567 kind of service. They could not be sold and might leave service and marry when they wished.

(3) Slaves who had been purchased or captured during wars or raids. These were also women and were seldom sold; when once a slave entered a family she remained there for life. Such slaves were often taken by their owners to wife, and their sons were regarded as legitimate and might inherit property.

CHAPTER XXXI

MARRIAGE, ILLNESS, AND DEATH

Forbidden relationships—initiation—arranging marriages—marriage ceremonies—taking home a bride—polygamy—entertainment of visitors—treatment of illness—death—burial—mourning—the heir—the widows

582 MARRIAGE between the descendants of a brother and sister was forbidden until they reached the fourth generation, that is, the great-grandchildren of a brother and sister might marry.

[881] There were no initiation ceremonies, but before the sons of princes or chiefs were considered to be of marriageable age, they had to prove that they were capable of settling some quarrel or lawsuit between men. The chief instruction given [869] to a youth was how to manage cattle, but he was also taught to cultivate the land.

584 Infant betrothals were common, and the parents of a boy might agree with those of a baby girl for their children to marry when of a suitable age. The boy's parents gave the others a cow as a pledge of the betrothal, and as long as they kept the cow the engagement was binding. If, however, the parents of the girl discovered any cause for breaking the pledge, they returned the cow with a message that the engagement was at an end. When a boy thus engaged came to a reasonable age, he was told of the arrangement and took presents of beer to his prospective father-in-law. When a boy

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

131 (about 1,000 miles from the two nearest sea-ports, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam), probably accounts for the country's long isolation from Arab and European contacts, in spite of its easily accessible [567] frontiers in the north and south. Although slaves were occasionally sold to the African middlemen in touch with Arab traders operating in the neighbourhood of Ruanda, it seems that the traders themselves never penetrated the country. At all events Ruanda was never a regular place of supply. The first European reported 648 to have been in the country was Count G. A. von Götzen, a German officer leading a scientific and military expedition across Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. He stayed in Ruanda only for a few weeks, in 1894.

133 The interior highlands, which have been compared to the massif of Abyssinia and to the mountains of Bohemia, or even to Switzerland and Tibet, are not very large. Their longest north-south extent in a straight line is about 100 miles, the extent from west to east being about 140 miles. The area of present-day Ruanda 131 is 26,338 square kilometres (10,166 square miles). In 1907 Professor Jan Czekanowski, a member of the Duke of Mecklenburg's expedition to Central Africa, estimated it to cover about 28,900 square kilometres.[2]

132 The climatic effects of equatorial latitude are mitigated by the elevation. In the Congo-Nile mountain chain the temperature may drop to freezing point, but the greater part of Ruanda enjoys a temperate climate. The average is about 20° C. (68° F.), and the maximal variations (which are greater between day and night than between the seasons) rarely exceed 10° C. (18° F.) above or under the average. In the eastern lower part the temperature is, of course, higher.

Similar distinctions must be made for rainfall in the high mountains of the west, the highlands of the middle country, and the Kagera lower region of the east. In the first region rainfall averages 1,250 mm. a year (50 inches), in the second it is between 1,250 and 1,000 mm. (50 and 40 inches) and in the third less than 1,000 mm. (40 inches).[3] These figures alone do not have very much bearing on soil fertility, as the significance of rainfall depends on other factors, such as volume and intensity of precipitations, declivity of ground, type of vegetation, and characteristics of the soil.

[2] Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114. [3] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 65.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
582 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi
often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed
a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the
sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much
lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a
Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was
particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[560] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems
to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater
[583] than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a
Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his
Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to
informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it
with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are
anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and
Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting inter-
marriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then
had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
582 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
648 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had
lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda
girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important
positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not
travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage
affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom
and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and par-
ticularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu.
They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to admini-
strative charges in one part of the country, then in another one.
Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully
extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

586 she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with
593 her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but
[587] abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of
[564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside,
[567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

606 In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her
592 daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The
607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority
592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking
578 sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same
595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of
564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced
[586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

443 571 [203] The market is the place where people meet, inspect merchandise and observe other people, gossip, hear and pass on news items, drink pombe, discuss business and non-business matters, and where they do many things which are useful and many others which are superfluous. Many Barundi visit the market even if they do not intend to buy or sell anything, merely to amuse themselves. If things become too lively in [625] the beer section or if a fight starts, the market police aided by the peaceful elements among the population quickly succeed in restoring order.

436 The German East African heller is the current coin at the main markets of Usumbura, Kajagga, and Gitega. Silver rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees are seldom seen. Apart from the heller, all sorts of other money substitutes are in circulation at other markets of the northern lakeshore belonging to Urundi. The heller has not yet penetrated into the large area of central Urundi, and it is known only at the few missionary and government posts and along the main roads linking them. Even there it is accepted reluctantly. Beads are still the most important medium of exchange in this area, notwithstanding the efforts of the government to introduce hellers and rupees everywhere in order to facilitate not only trade but also the future collection of taxes. These efforts will only meet with success after Urundi has actually been placed under government administration and after a hut or head tax has been introduced which has to be paid in currency. The same is true of Ruanda. There, however, the use of currency has already spread considerably as a result of the export trade and the residency at Kigali with its traders' settlement which has been established in the interior for years.

The small coin most in use in Urundi is the pink bead simsim or samsam; a string (kete, Kette? [Kette, "string" in German]) of beads, approximately 30 centimeters long, is the monetary unit. It is equivalent to three hellers. Ten strings equal 1 ifundo; 10 ifundo equal 1 ingoje; 10 ingoje equal 1 [301] akanono (No. 19, p. 111). The samsam bead is also used as the principal neck ornament of men and women.

178 changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground.
177 Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which
[241] grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of famine ; coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps to pay the tax-collector).

178 Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type,
177 closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neigh-
361 bourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres)
563 or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly foreigners : Belgian officials, European traders (Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *baswahili* (Islamized negroes). It remains however that they are an entirely new feature in a country with such a widely dispersed population.

Conclusions

361 I thought I could draw your attention to some details of the curious Urundi organization : a dense
571 population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and habitable land according to the geographic possibilities, without any orientation centres (the few habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce anything like demographic concentration) ; the small part played by neighbourhood relations, the predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating man-to-man dependance, or in other words the primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relationships.

Such an organization was possible in a country almost completely closed to foreign influence, without either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure and must be related to conditions both ethnographical and geographical. This organization is
[177 giving way under the influence of European ad-
178] ministration, of the development of trade, and of a new economy based more and more upon monetary transactions.

[p. 16 (B)]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

773 from the heavenly world. According to some versions of this tale, they came
564 with their servant, Mutwa, who mated with a forest ape. From that union all Batwa are descended. Such tales clearly reveal the fundamental differences which the Banyarwanda see among their castes.

564 When such a picture of 'natural' differences, so significant from the point of view of power, is accepted, the inevitable consequence is that some
554 men are born chiefs and others labourers. Inferiority and superiority are due not to personal qualities but to membership of certain groups. By belonging to different castes, people have fundamentally unequal rights. If
[682] an ordinary Mututsi kills a Muhutu, one kinsman of the murderer could eventually be killed in retaliation if the king authorized it. If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two lives were taken.

The principle of the fundamental inequality between social groups thus established in Ruanda has spread from the original inter-caste relations to intra-caste situations. A man superior to another member of his class because of his functions or his wealth, or even his ability, tends to assume towards his inferior an attitude similar to that of a Mututsi *vis-à-vis* a Muhutu. Of course the conception of inequality between superiors and inferiors of the same class is not so rigid as that between the castes, but it permeates all hierarchical situations in Ruanda.

554 The theme of inequality was embodied in the indigenous political organization, so that political relations clearly express the attitudes socially ex-
● 571 pected from superiors and inferiors. They are quite understandable if one bears in mind that they originate from an inter-caste situation. Authority as such is all-embracing. According to Western conceptions, any authority is defined not only as regards the people who are subject to it, but also in respect of the matters falling within its competence. A man who gives orders to another because they are on different levels in a hierarchical scale may be considered his equal in other relations. In Ruanda, there is almost no sphere of life in which an inferior is free from the interference of his superior. Because Batutsi are considered fundamentally superior to the Bahutu, there is no field in which they can feel equal. This attitude has been transferred to any hierarchical situation. The complementary attitude of dependence is, of course, expected from the inferior. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a clearly defined field; dependence is inferiority in the totality of life. The dependent person has to submit to his master in any question. There is no domain where he is free even to express a contrary opinion. As the dependent has always to
554 acquiesce even when orders are quite impracticable, he has to conceal his
571 opinions and find excuses for not doing what has been ordered. Double-dealing, politeness, or a utilitarian conception of language, are the only de-
516 fences of the dependent. Some time ago, a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. When the most important person had given his views, everybody voted for his proposition. But after the assembly, many expressed disagreement. At the

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time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with their superior.

On the other hand, no superior enjoys a purely arbitrary power. There are norms which are informally enforced by social pressure; and this is particularly important for people so concerned about their reputations. Since, moreover, there are several chiefs of equal rank belonging to different political structures, it is not difficult for the subject of one superior to secure support in opposing him from another. Finally, there is the possibility of appeal to a higher authority empowered to control subordinate chiefs. All this limits, in fact, the authority of chiefs, but nevertheless the authority of a superior cannot be questioned by his subjects. They may escape, intrigue, or look for another protector, but they cannot offer direct opposition. The Western conception of contract, derived from Roman law, with well-defined obligations on both parties who are equal before and during the contract, is accordingly not understood or acted upon even by Banyarwanda who have long been familiar with our culture.

Any superior is a protector, and his protection is of the same character as his authority: all-embracing and limited only by his own convenience. In any difficulty, the inferior may ask the help of his master, and, if help is refused, it will not be on the grounds that the superior is not concerned with that aspect of the life of the subordinate. On the other hand, the superior himself will be the only judge of the limits of his intervention, for the dependent has no right to require anything from his superior.

Everywhere men in authority enjoy advantages denied to those whom they command, but it is often felt that justification is needed for these privileges. In Ruanda such rationalizations do not seem to be required. It is taken for granted by everybody, the subjects included, that superiors as such should derive profits from their position. The very high standard of living of Europeans is accepted without any criticism by 'traditional' Banyarwanda not yet imbued with egalitarian principles.

The conception of authority as all-embracing, unlimited, protective, profitable, and of inferiority as dependent, devoid of rights, fundamentally weak, and generally exploited, is exactly suited to a structure of castes composed of human beings who are thought to be fundamentally different and unequal. On these inter-caste relations all hierarchical relations have been modelled. This means that the conceptions and attitudes which have just been sketched pervade most human relations in Ruanda. Indeed, very many human interactions involve persons who, in Ruanda, are placed on a hierarchical scale: man and woman, husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, old and young, craftsman and apprentice, &c., and when there is also a superiority-inferiority situation, even though confined to one aspect of the relation, the whole of that relation is impregnated with inequality.

Another basic principle governing the field of human relations in Ruanda is that of indefinite reciprocity. Whenever somebody receives a service,

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[Information on the Biru, a body of ranked dignitaries in the Ruanda central government, will be found in category 645.]

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The conditions favouring contamination by different diseases and the very limited defences against them permit us to assume that illness and mortality through these diseases must have been very high and a constant threat to everybody. 164

These brief notes on health conditions in Ruanda would be incomplete without a mention of mental health. We are not attempting here an assessment of the neuroses and psychoses which can be found in Ruanda or to the number of people affected by them and who, in the Western world, would be considered in need of psychiatric treatment. There is not sufficient information on these matters at present. But we would like to consider very briefly conditions which are likely to result in psychological tensions. 121

We have already mentioned the circumstances which make life objectively hard (a barely sufficient diet, starvation periods, and diseases). In addition it was often dangerous. When informants were asked what sort of reputation they particularly wished to avoid, they did not usually answer by listing the opposites of those particular qualities which they would like to have attributed to them, but by pointing to some definite reputation in which danger might be inherent. Above all, a Tutsi feared to be regarded as an enemy of the king. It was no doubt partly because he felt a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be thought of as an enemy of the king was extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of everything, the severance of all social relations, exile, or even death. He also feared to be considered a traitor to his chief. This was a less dangerous reputation, although it entailed sanctions: if a client had been disloyal to his lord the latter might take back from him all the cattle he had previously given him and eventually all his cattle. The Hutu said that they feared an accusation of witchcraft, for such an accusation could certainly mean immediate death. There was little that could be done actively to avoid such a danger except to be a good neighbour, to be envied by nobody, to have no enemies, and especially to have a powerful protector. The Hutu were also afraid of acquiring any reputation which could result in their losing the protection of the lord to whom they owed allegiance and consequently leaving them exposed and defenceless against the arbitrary actions of the powerful.[21] 152 626 681 571 181

[21] Cf. Maquet, 1954a, or Maquet, 1958.

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inzu. Their inclusion depended on the situation of Ego's generation with regard to the ancestor recognized as the originator of the group. Suppose a new inzu had begun with F (Diagram B), in the sense that F's descendants referred to themselves as 'people of F' rather than as 'people of A' (as F referred to himself). In that case, Ego would not consider E (FaFaFaFa) as of his inzu although he knew that he was the father of his great-grandfather.

Or suppose that D was considered as the origin of the inzu. In that case Ego's son, J, was separated from D by five links. It was quite possible that if, for instance, G had had many children and had been a man of standing and repute, J and K (and all G's descendants in their generations) would some day refer to themselves as 'people of G'. As long as Ego was living, however, J would consider himself as a member of the same inzu as his father and Ego would not think of his son as belonging to another inzu. One informant, Kayijuka, told us that one of his great-grandchildren will probably take the initiative in forming the new inzu of 'people of Kayijuka'.[5]

Although the inzu was a transitory group about six generations deep, it must be understood that the formation of a new inzu was not rigidly determined and did not automatically happen at the birth of the first child in the seventh generation. The operative factors were mainly the fast growing number of inzu members after a few generations (in genealogies collected, the sixth

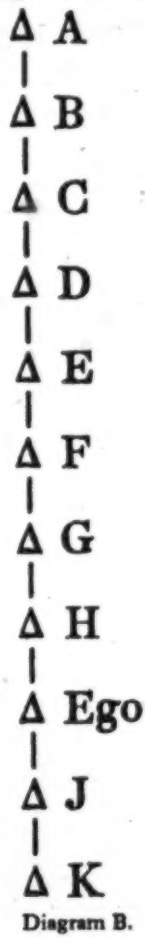

Diagram B.

[5] This was no boast as Kayijuka is now a very important political personality in Ruanda. It may be of interest to mention that Kayijuka was at the court, as a young nobleman, when the first Europeans entered the country. At that time there was a considerable amount of suspicion on both sides. A missionary asked him to point out the queen-mother among the women who were present at the Court. This was prohibited as it was feared that the White Fathers could harm her by magic. Kayijuka did it, however, and for that reason, when the visitors had gone, he was blinded with a red hot iron. But as on the following day he addressed somebody by name after having recognized the voice, it was believed that the operation had not been a success and it was performed a second time. Kayijuka is now a loyal courtier of the king.

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generation alone seems to comprise about 100 persons), the existence of a man prominent (by wealth, political functions, &c.) among the ascendants closer than the fifth, or a change of residence. The first two factors were usually realized in the span of six generations. If they were not, and if the inzu remained a small group of, say, a dozen people, these and their descendants went on referring to themselves as 'people of' an ancestor of the seventh, eighth, or ninth generation. One informant told us that his own inzu, already six generations deep, was not yet numerous enough to be split into new ones though it probably would be after two more generations. The fact that the ancestor of a new inzu was chosen, and was not simply the son of the ancestor of the former inzu, shows that there was a definite emphasis on the personal prominence of the ancestor.

Among the Tutsi, it seems that inzu tended to grow rather large before segmenting. In their intrigues for power, it was an advantage to be connected by agnatic links to many and important people. Consequently, before initiating the formation of a new inzu, the Tutsi were very cautious: they did not want to diminish their social power by severing their connexions with the members of their present inzu. Besides, a change of residence was a less compelling reason for the Tutsi to split the inzu: they were not attached to a particular region to the same extent as the Hutu; when appointed to different offices, they often had to move from one part of the country to another and they frequently travelled to the court.

The formation of a new inzu was not necessarily a segmentation resulting in the concomitant formation of two new units of the same age and importance. It could happen that among the inzu 'people of A', those of the sixth generation who were the descendants of B preferred to think of themselves as 'people of B' because B was a famous warrior and they were numerous enough to constitute an inzu of their own. This did not compel those of the sixth generation who were descendants of C and D to do the same. They would go on considering themselves 'people of A'. After a couple more generations, when the number of the descendants of F had increased, they would refer to themselves as 'people of F' who was a rich owner of cows, and the descendants of G as 'people of G' because he had been an important province chief, whereas the descendants of C would some day take the name of 'people of E' if they moved into another region.

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613 Umulyango appears to have been the group of living people
571 who would have belonged to the same inzu if that primitive inzu had not split into new ones. This explains the fluidity of the use of the term. For instance the word 'Abareganshuro' (people of Mureganshuro) has meant first 'the members of the inzu of Mureganshuro'; then, after the splitting of that inzu, 'the members of the umulyango of Mureganshuro'. When an inzu divided into different new ones, the ancestor of the former one became the ancestor of the umulyango. Thus the umulyango link existed between members of different inzu having the same origin.

As may be expected, the strength of these links was quite different at the time of the splitting and a few generations afterwards. This accounts for the fact that in some cases the umulyango appears almost as a corporate group very similar to an inzu, and in other cases as a purely nominal group.

The span of life of an umulyango seems less defined than that of an inzu. It is doubtful, however, whether it was longer. Suppose inzu A splits into B and C and becomes umulyango A. Six generations later inzu B splits into inzu D and E and becomes umulyango B. At that time it is very likely that the primitive ancestor being twelve generations past will not be clearly remembered and that, except for some extraordinary reason, he will be superseded by the ancestor of umulyango B.

614 Descent groups in Ruanda were thus of two different types
613 A permanent group, the ubwoko which fulfilled the definition of patriclan (if exogamy be excluded from that definition) and two temporary groups, inzu and umulyango, the second being rather
613 the surviving shadow of the first. The latter were both patrilineages. As they were not segments in the same sense as among, e.g.
128 the Nuer, it would be misleading to differentiate them according to the terminology of Evans-Pritchard.[7] We would suggest calling inzu a primary and umulyango a secondary patrilineage in order to convey the idea that the umulyango originated from the inzu and that the inzu's functions were more important for the individual and society at large than those of the umulyango.[8]

[7] Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-4.

[8] Members of the inzu were called *bavandimwe* (which primarily means sibling), agnatic relatives, *benewacu* and relatives, affines included, *abacu*.

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for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).* On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

* For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Rwanda, the present-day districts (*territories*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

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to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood. After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin, Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts were severely tabooed.

(*d*) *Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko*

The two other descent groups may be described much more briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally disappeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

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592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(c) *Procreational function*

181 554 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children was almost indispensible for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby reinforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

557 858 [556] [571]

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(*d*) *Intergroup political relations*

121 Intergroup political relations are essentially different. They do not imply inferiority and superiority. The opposite assumption is made: the two groups are supposed to be independent and equal. If by diplomacy or by war one succeeds in subduing the other, the subsequent unequal relations will be more similar to intragroup than to intergroup political relations.

If our definition of intragroup political organization be accepted, the word 'political' when applied to intergroup relations conveys a different and derivative meaning. Those who control legitimate coercion within a social structure are also those who are qualified to enter into intergroup relations. Subjects do not represent their own group, only rulers do. The ability to deal with intergroup relations results from a superior situation in internal political relations. In that sense, the political external relations may be said to be secondary. In the following account of Ruanda political organization the emphasis will be on the primary political relations, the internal ones.

• • •

642 571 In Ruanda, there were two types of relationships sanctioned by legitimate coercion on the part of the superior. Consequently we may distinguish within the political organization two structures which may be termed administrative and military. Another system of social relations was the clientage structure or the feudal organization. It occupied an intermediate position between the political and the private spheres. It was not purely political, but it was much more than a private agreement such as a loan. Consequently the feudal relations in Ruanda will be considered in close connexion with the administrative and military ones.

[183] 641 The three structures were interwoven and interconnected at each level. This was particularly the case at the top and at the bottom. The mwami held the supreme position in the three systems and the commoners were taxpayers, members of an army, and clients. In the intermediate levels it happened, too, that a superior and an inferior were linked by several ties: one could be at the same time the lord and the cattle-chief of an individual, and the client of one's army chief.

I shall describe and analyse each structure separately.

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that no other authority had the final say in such appointments. 661

The danger of having some chiefs becoming more and more 634 independent of the central government was avoided by the 697 mwami's power to dismiss anybody and also by the curious duality 622 of chiefs in each district. Increasing the control of the central government over its subordinates seems to have been the function of that duality. Tensions arose between these two chiefs who were neighbours and who exerted their prerogatives in the same territory yet were independent of each other. The mwami was always kept well informed by each of these chiefs of the exactions or suspicious activities of the other. Moreover, both chiefs had the same subordinate, the hill-chief. Consequently the mwami could be sure that if by chance the two chiefs were in agreement, it was very likely that if their common subordinate had some difficulty with one of his superiors, he would attempt and often succeed in getting the other on to his side: *duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens.* In addition, as conflicts of power were unavoidable in such a situation, the chief had to resort to the mwami as judge. In that way the links of the dependence of both of them on the mwami were tightened.

In this analysis it is not suggested that the duality of chiefs was conceived and put into being by a certain mwami in order to fulfil what we regard here as its function. It is possible that it happened in that way. But even if nobody ever thought of reinforcing the royal power by this dual organization, it was nevertheless its function in Ruanda society.

(c) *Social cohesion*

I have mentioned that the hill-chief required dues and tributes 651 not from the individual taxpayer but from the lineage head when 602 possible, and the latter demanded it from the family head. This 571 way of reaching the individual through his kin group and family group enhanced the importance of the descent principle of of kin solidarity. Even in Ruanda where the political organization had taken over so many functions from descent groups, the individual as such was not yet recognized in very important matters like the contributions to the maintenance of the rulers. In this interpretation, the kinship and the administrative structures promote the social cohesion of the group as a whole.

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to 000

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The great traditions of military
867 courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, 577 *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were pre- [571] dominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose [152] one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There 867 was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. 152 By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

86 Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The 702 Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related 186 origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

564 This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for 184 Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become 86 warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services. 564 184 86

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such. 701 613 571

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting 703 613 692

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their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

From the point of view of social cohesion between the different strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(d) Redistribution of wealth

Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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701 651 422 be favoured. This was a kind of redistribution of wealth among the lineages of the army made according to the preferences of the army-chief. Thirdly, the warriors as such did not receive cows from the army-chief (but they could be at the same time warriors and herdsmen). Their only privilege as warriors was to loot privately after the *abakoni* had laid hold on the 'bow of the army'. Moreover, if they had shown any particular gallantry, the mwami or the army-chief rewarded them with a gift of a few cows.

(*e*) *Protection*

701 571 When compared with the considerable benefits in cattle that the king and the army-chief derived from the military structure, the advantages of ordinary army members, particularly the warriors, seem to have been very meagre. The army tribute in goods and services were compensated for in a different way by the protection extended to his subordinates by the army-chief.

This protection could be asked for and received in all the difficult circumstances of life without being limited to any particular kind of circumstances. An instance frequently mentioned by our informants was the army-chief's support to one of his subordinates who was a party in a lawsuit. If the protection of a man of high standing appeared useful or necessary in such a situation one must suppose that judicial decisions were not taken only on the case's own merits, but that the respective power of the two protectors was weighed by the judge.

The army-chief's protection was diffuse and general, not limited to a few cases clearly defined. We have already come across such a characteristic of the superior's protection in respect of the chiefs of the administrative hierarchy. This suggests that power relations were emphasized in Ruanda and that the rights and properties of isolated men, that is to say those not identified in any respect with a powerful one, were insecure.

[692] The judicial role of the army-chief must be related to his function of protection. In the disputes between two members of his army, he exercised a kind of paternal jurisdiction, as did any Ruanda authority. In contentions between members of different armies, the fact that the question was settled by the army-chiefs concerned suggests more a compromise in which each chief acted as a representative of one of the litigants, than a judgement based on pre-established norms.

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The army-chief's protection was not unconditionally granted to any army member. The chief could refuse to give support to one of his subordinates if he had been disobedient or disloyal. It was up to the chief himself to decide if his warrior or herdsman had an objectionable attitude. The fact that the chief was the only judge of the attitude did not, of course, give the subordinate the assurance of a fair treatment; however, the chief could not indulge often in arbitrary refusals of help because a member could always leave the army and join another if allowed to do so by the chief of this other army. Moreover, the principle of recourse to a superior authority against an intermediate authority was operative here also. If discontent was widespread in an army, the chief could be dismissed by the mwami. Consequently the chief had to take into account public opinion to some extent and could not be indifferent to his popularity. It is clear, however, that the means of pressure that a chief did have on his subordinates were more efficient than the ones subordinates had on him. They had thus to assume a submissive attitude and to gain the chief's favour by gifts and proper behaviour.

• • •

The different functions of the military structure of Ruanda were profitable mainly to the rulers: they contributed to the maintenance in power positions of those who were occupying them. Through that structure, the king secured, in addition to what he received from his tax collectors, an important amount of commodities (necessary for the upkeep of a numerous court), more cattle (consequently the possibility to increase the number of people personally bound to him), and a more complete control of all the chiefs under him (by the possibility of a direct recourse of the subordinates to the royal supreme authority). The ruling position of the army-chiefs was also consolidated by their increase of control on cattle.

The preceding analysis has also disclosed how the army was an important instrument of domination for the Tutsi caste. Warriors being recruited only among Tutsi, organized physical force was exclusively theirs. They alone had in their hands the ultimate basis of political power. Moreover, by the serious training of the *intore*, the aristocratic values and virtues so well adapted for domination were inculcated into the new generations.

The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the

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CHAPTER VI

THE CLIENTAGE STRUCTURE

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE *BUHAKE* INSTITUTION

THE *buhake* is an institution to which anthropologists who have studied Ruanda social structure have devoted a great part of their attention, if not the greatest. The name is not easily translated. *Buhake* comes from *guhakwa*, a verb meaning 'to pay one's respects to a superior in his court'.[1] It has been called cattle-lease (*bail à cheptel*),[2] recommendation (in the sense of the mediaeval latin *recommendatio*),[3] and contract of pastoral servitude.[4] 571 675

The *buhake* denoted the relation which existed between a person called *garagu* and another called *shebuja*. That relationship was created when an individual, Hutu or Tutsi, who had an inferior social prestige and who was less well provided with cattle, offered his services to and asked protection from a person whose status was higher and whose wealth was greater. The following sentences were usually, but not ritually said by the man offering his services, after he had given a jug of beer or hydromel to the other: *urampe amata* (I ask you milk), *urankize* (make me rich), *uramenye* (always think of me), *urambere umubyeyi* (be my father), *n'ange nzakubera umwana* (I shall be your child). [273]

If the offer was accepted, the man in the superior position bestowed on the other one or several cows. From that time on, they were in the institutionalized relation of *shebuja* (which I translate 'lord' or 'patron') and *garagu* ('client').

(a) *The client's rights*

The rights the client enjoyed over the cattle granted to him were those of usufruct: he had full rights of ownership over milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the meat and skin of a cow which had died or had had to be slaughtered. The female increase of the cattle remained at his disposal under the same conditions as the original cows given to him by the *shebuja*. Cows received

[1] Sandrart, 1930, p. 151.
[2] De Lacoer, 1939, vol. I, p. 45.
[3] Vanhove, 1941, p. 48; Bourgeois, 1956.
[4] Kagame, 1952, p. 18.

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Cows received

from a patron could be granted by the client to somebody else by another *buhake* agreement in which the original client became a lord.

The protection granted by the patron included support in lawsuits (*kulengera*): according to thirty-nine per cent. of our informants, it was usual and very useful to be accompanied by one's *shebuja* if one wanted to be judged by the mwami. Moreover the patron extended help to his client if the latter was in a state of poverty. For instance, he gave milk for the *garagu*'s children if their father's cows did not yield enough; he contributed to the payment of the bride-wealth if the client and his lineage could not meet the expenses; he provided his Hutu *garagu* with a hoe when it was needed; he granted meat and hides to his client if, on certain occasions, they were badly needed. When the *garagu* committed an offence, his lord had to help him out of his predicament by paying the fine or the compensation to the victim (*kugura*).[5] If the client was murdered and his lineage was too weak to do anything about it, the *shebuja* had to demand justice from the mwami or even avenge his death by blood feud (*kumuhorera*). Finally, if, after the *garagu*'s death, his widow and children could not be taken care of by his brothers or parallel cousins, the lord had to help them (*kumuremera*).

(*b*) *The client's obligations*

On the other hand, the client had to go and pay his respects to his lord. This included personal service which required the presence of the client at the patron's rugo for a certain time. Some obligations were common to Hutu and Tutsi *garagu*. They were: to accompany the *shebuja* when he was travelling, for instance when he went to the king's court or participated in a military expedition (*kumutabaraho*); to carry the lord's messages (*gutumwa*); to build or repair a part of the *shebuja*'s rugo (*kubak' inkike*). It was advisable also for clients, Hutu as well as Tutsi, to offer from time to time to their patron, some presents such as jugs of beer. If the lord happened to lose his herds, the *garagu* had to provide him with cattle and jars of milk. Some services were imposed only on Hutu clients, such as working in the *shebuja's* fields (*kutanga imibyizi*), or joining the night watch in the lord's enclosure (*kurarira*).[6]

[5] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, p. 77a.
[6] Cf. Sandrart, 1930, p. 15a; Vanhove, 1941, p. 75a.

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The measure of the different obligatory gifts and services (number of days, &c.), was not fixed. It depended on the *shebuja*'s temper, his requirements, the number of cows granted to the *garagu*, and on the client's expectations. Moreover, each client was usually not requested to fulfil all the obligations we have just mentioned. The patron, particularly if he had many *garagu*, frequently gave to each of them a precise task in which the client was particularly competent (to brew beer, to cook, to mind the cattle, &c.). Even now, in spite of the limitations added by the native courts to the clients' obligations (for instance the building and repairing of the enclosure cannot be claimed by the lord more than once a year; not more than a month a year may be required by the patron for all the household services, &c.), we are still far from having a list of precisely defined duties and claims standard for the whole of Ruanda.

571 675 [692]

(*c*) *End of the* buhake *relation*

The *buhake* relationship was perpetuated even after the death of both parties. The *shebuja*'s heirs inherited their father's relations of *buhake*, *vis-à-vis* his clients and the client's heirs kept the cows (and/or their progeny) granted to their father. But the *shebuja* had the right to refuse to recognize as a successor of his client a person without the proper qualities to be a good *garagu*. The lord could then designate another heir of his client, or end the relationship and take back the cows. The person receiving an important number of clients by inheritance (several dozen, for instance) could require them to present him with all the cows which were then numbered, as in the case of the army-chief's *murundo*; he could then choose a certain number of them, usually the best ones, which he took away from his clients either to keep the usufruct himself or to endow other people with them.

The *buhake* relation could be ended when both client and patron or only one of them wanted this. But the person who initiated the breaking off usually gave some reason for it, such as the non-fulfilment of a particular obligation by the other party. At all events the *shebuja* could not oblige his client to stay in his service and the client could not prevent his patron from dismissing him.

What happened to the cows in such a case? As mentioned earlier, all the cows a client effectively controlled were not necessarily received from a patron, that is to say they were not all *inkazibiti* [420]

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when the client was Hutu and *ingabane* when he was Tutsi. A *garagu* could have cows from another source (called *imbata*) such as those received as bride-wealth, as a reward for bravery or acquired by exchanging other goods. In the case of a Hutu client, who possessed both *inkazibiti* and *imbata* at the time when his relation with a *shebuja* was broken off, there are two opinions with regard to the cows' ownership. According to the first, the *imbata* possessed by the client before he entered in the *buhake* relation were regarded as *inkazibiti* and consequently the lord had the same rights over them as over those he had given to the client as cows of *buhake*. Moreover, the cows which the client eventually acquired when he was already *garagu*, and which in other circumstances would have been regarded as *imbata*, were also added to the cows received from the lord. The result was that at the breaking off of the *buhake* relation, the patron could take all his client's cows, *imbata* as well as *inkazibiti*. The other opinion is that the *imbata* acquired by the client before or after the *buhake* relation began, remained definitely *imbata* and that the lord had no claim on them.

It seems that both opinions are accurate, but that they refer to different periods. The second probably expresses the most ancient rule which had been prevalent up to about 1920. The practice of merging *imbata* and *inkazibiti* (or *ingabane*) in favour of the lord is likely to have been introduced only during the last forty years. This would be due to the fact that the chiefs of the administrative divisions (recognized by the Belgian authority under the names of *chefferies* and *sous-chefferies*) assumed at the end of the reign of king Yuhi Musinga (who was dismissed from his royal charge by the Belgian Administration in 1931) an undue importance, because their powers were no longer counterbalanced by those of the chiefs of the other hierarchies. Army chiefs did not enjoy their former authority, as the military structure had received no official recognition; Musinga, isolated in an attitude of indifference and hostility towards Europeans, was left without much effective power. Administrative chiefs who were important lords are said to have taken advantage of this situation, and to have modified the custom to their own advantage by establishing the principle of the merging of the cows received from the lord with those acquired independently of any *shebuja*.

It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of

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It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of more than one lord, I was told. Firstly, the services required were such that it was not easy for the same person to perform them twofold. Secondly, a lord did not like to enter into *buhake* relations with somebody who was already the client of another *shebuja*, because such an arrangement was very likely to result in a considerable lessening of each lord's control on his client.

2. ANALYSIS OF THE CLIENTAGE STRUCTURE

(a) *Notion of feudality*

If the term 'feudal' is to be legitimately applied to the social structure described in the preceding section, it must be understood as a notion covering more than the historical sense of that term as used when referring to the Western Middle Ages. Feudality is here an 'ideal-type' in the Weberian sense.

Feudality is a particular ordering of certain human relations. This organization is based on an agreement between two individuals who unequally partake in the symbols of wealth and power culturally recognized in their society. The person who, in that respect, is inferior to the other, asks the other for his patronage, and, as a counterpart, offers his services. This is the essence of the feudal régime which must be found in any social system qualified by that term. Feudality is manifold in its modalities. The latter differ in many respects. For instance, obligations of each party may vary and be more or less definite in measure; the symbols and proofs of the feudal relation may be very dissimilar. Thus, in the European Middle Ages, the symbol and the proof of the feudal agreement was the tenure of a tract of land granted by the man in the superior position to the other. That piece of land was called a fief and the parties concerned became suzerain and vassal as soon as the tenure had been granted and accepted.

It seems that the qualification 'feudal' may be applied to the organization of social relations between a *shebuja* and a *garagu* described in the preceding section. At the root of that relation, there are two individuals having a different social status. From one of these individuals, there is a demand for aid and protection, and from the other a promise of assistance in counterpart of services. Granting the usufruct of a few cows to the man of inferior status is the symbol and proof of the agreement.

The word 'agreement' is employed here rather than 'contract' which is more frequently used in this connexion. I do not consider

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that the kind of covenant in which the bond *shebuja-garagu* originated can be said to be a contract in the sense given to that term of Roman law and legal systems which are derived from it. There are three main differences between a contract and the *buhake* agreement.

Firstly, the freedom not to enter into such an agreement was socially illusory. In a society such as that of Ruanda, it was most inadvisable to be found without a patron. As a proverb put it, 'a dog is not feared for his fangs, but for his lord'. To live without a lord was to invite trouble.

Secondly, the lord and the client faced very different situations when *buhake* relationships had to be ended. When he wanted to break off the relation, the *shebuja* either did not give any reason or more frequently accused the *garagu* of a breach of the agreement because in that case, even if there was no merging of *imbata* and *inkazibiti* cows, he could take one or two more cows as a sort of fine. Then he recovered the cows that he himself or one of his ascendents had granted to the client. Sometimes a client accused of a breach could manage to obtain protection elsewhere, and to bring the case before a court, whereas the *shebuja* was under no obligation to present the proof of his client's misdemeanour before punishing him by seizing the cows. He was thus in a very favourable situation if, for one reason or another, he coveted some of his client's cows, or if he merely wanted to harm him. Nevertheless, informants say that a lord could not take too much advantage of his capacity to punish and despoil his clients without incurring implicit social sanctions. If he got the reputation of being a bad *shebuja*, people who were considering a *buhake* agreement were led to choose another lord.

In the reverse situation, when a client wanted to terminate the *buhake* relation with his lord, he certainly could do so, but he incurred the risk of being deprived of some of his *imbata* and if he had grievances against his lord, it was certainly not easy for him to obtain redress. Here again, however, the situation could be corrected by the interplay of the safeguards that an able and cunning man did not fail to secure. Supported by his army-chief, his lineage head or his cattle-chief, he could obtain more favourable results. But even if these counterbalances had some efficacy, it remains that the lord and the client, because of these very different conditions, did not enjoy that equal freedom to end the

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relationship which should be enjoyed by both parties according to the classical definition of contract.

A third way in which *buhake* was different from the Western conception of contract lay in the vagueness and uncertainty in the measure of the reciprocal obligations. The patron could be more or less generous in the number of cows he granted, more or less exacting in the services he required; the client could be more or less prompt and zealous in his service. If there was a dispute about these differences in the execution of the agreement, there was no charter one could refer to for an assessment of rights and duties.

(*b*) *Caste structure*

To understand the functions of the feudal system in Ruanda society, one must first clarify some important features of that society.

As our descriptions and analysis of Ruanda proceed, it becomes more and more certain that there was there a caste structure or something very similar to it. Sociologists usually define a caste society as one composed of several graded groups, each of which is endogamous and practising an hereditary occupation, membership of which can be obtained only by birth.[7]

Birth was, indeed, the usual way in which one became a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. This does not mean that the three strata were 'racial' units, but that an individual was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa when his father was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. In the same way was his father a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. But in order to avoid such expressions, which could go on *ad infinitum*, a definition other than an hereditary one should be found. But it does not seem that there is any other than that a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa is a person who regarded himself, and was regarded by all those who knew him, as a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa, the usual way for a person to fulfil this social definition being to realize the hereditary one. In some cases, however, it was possible to be socially recognized as a Tutsi without having been begotten by a Tutsi father. For instance a Twa who had been ennobled or the son of a rich Hutu cattle owner and of a Tutsi woman, was sometimes regarded as a Tutsi. But these were exceptional cases and we may say that the caste criterion of membership by birth held in general for all the three Ruanda groups.

The same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw

[7] Cf. Lowie, 1948, pp. 10, 273.

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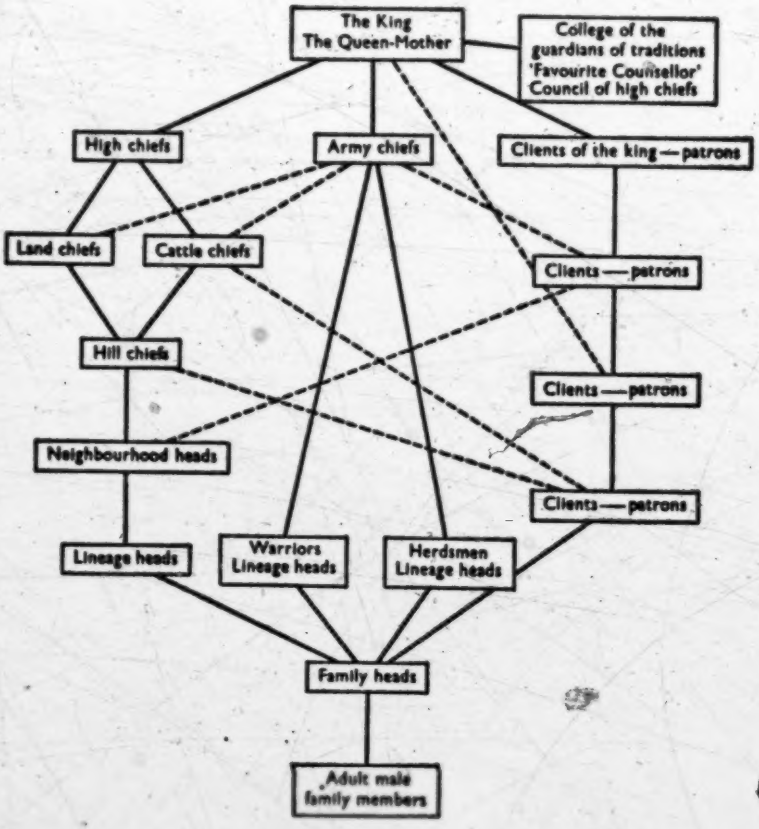

Diagram D.

This diagram suggests the complexity of Ruanda social relations if it is remembered that an individual generally has several political roles. Thus a high chief was very often also an army chief as well as a client of the king, and all the chiefs of the two premier hierarchies had their places in the system of feudal relations as clients and patrons. The broken lines indicate some of these possible pluralities of relationships.

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well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

A fourth factor which counterbalanced the socially disintegrative influence of the caste system was the plurality of the structures in which any Ruanda was affiliated.

Through several structures, subjects were much more efficiently bound among themselves and to their rulers than in a unique hierarchy. In the latter case, indeed, if the individual can extricate himself from that hierarchy, he becomes absolutely unattached. In Ruanda, even if one link was broken, the subject did not escape from his superior chiefs. Indeed, he was linked to them, particularly to the mwami, by more than one tie. Almost any Ruanda was dependent on the king through two hierarchical channels: *via* his hill-chief (who himself was subordinated to the cattle- and land-chief) and *via* his army-chief. In addition, the feudal system integrated him into a set of personal loyalty relations such that the person occupying the superior position in one of these relations is himself an inferior in another relation.

It should be mentioned also that any Ruanda was a member of three kin groups: primary and secondary patrilineages and clan. Of course kinship affiliations as such did not cut across caste lines (except for the clan name), but as many of these kinship groups had been for so long established in Ruanda territory, they were certainly a supplementary link between the individual and his country.

The network of relations woven by the political and clientage systems was particularly important in a country where there were no clear-cut groupings based on co-residence. This has led some observers to believe that Ruanda were living in a kind of social vacuum. On the contrary, a Ruanda was never isolated: his social links connected him with the authorities and were ramified, if not in the whole territory, at least in a large area of it.

The last factor of social cohesion to be mentioned here was the ideology developed around the monarchic institution. The mwami was regarded as the king of all Ruanda and not only of the Tutsi. His divine origin keeping him separate from men, bestowed on him an authority which no commoner thought to question. He was closely connected with Imana, conceived as a supreme god rather remote but benevolent. The mwami, representative of Imana, was the father and protector of all Ruanda. Was it not enough to assume towards him a filial attitude and to feel one's

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571 dependency upon him? As in many cultures in which a king is a
564 paternal and divine image, the Ruanda monarch certainly con-
184 tributed towards the creation in Ruanda individuals of a feeling of
643 belonging to a unit which presented some similarities to a family.

This was, it seems, how the Ruanda political and feudal struc-
564 tures, by their complexity, succeeded in keeping an equilibrium
182 between, on one hand, the tendencies towards social disintegra-
184 tion that a caste system necessarily produces and, on the other, the minimal cohesion necessary to the maintenance of a social unit such as a nation.

(*b*) *Exploitation and protection of Hutu*

728 The Tutsi were confronted with the dilemma that all conquerors must solve when they settle on a new territory with the intention of staying permanently: are they going to draw upon the natural resources of the country themselves, using their own labour and equipment, and to remove from the area the aboriginal inhabitants by pushing them further on and even by exterminating them as a people, or are they to let them stay and use them by having them working for their benefit? Europeans who settled in North America adopted the first solution, they did not
[171] attempt to use Indian labour and they expelled the native population from their hunting areas and began to cultivate their country. The second method has been chosen in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara where Europeans have settled.

564 Whether Tutsi have explicitly considered this problem is
661 immaterial here. In fact they have adopted the solution which was most advantageous to them. Being pastoralists and not numerous (in comparison with the Hutu peasants), they had no interest in expelling them. If this had been done, they would have had either to till the land themselves or to dispense with beer, peas, sorghum, &c. It was preferable for Tutsi to adopt what Oppenheimer calls the bee-keeper's policy (as opposed to the bear's policy who for the purpose of robbing the beehive, destroys it),[4] that is to say, to keep in the country peasants in order permanently to exploit their productive work. Those who control territory are not a dominant group; it is upon men that power is exerted.

We have seen how, through the political and feudal structures, the country's surplus resources were drained and concentrated in

[4] Oppenheimer, 1922, pp. 65 ff.

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did not play an important part in the feudal system because there were no socially recognized ties between a client and his lord's lord. Feudality was not a ranking system in the same sense as were the political structures. Each lord had his personal following; he was not as such the representative of a higher authority.

To sum up, the political and clientage structures at the same time secured the economic exploitation of the Hutu and protected them against an exaggerated pressure which could have led to disaster for the upper caste.

(c) *Delegation and centralization of political power*

Before the European occupation the kingdom's population was already numerous, probably around 1,700,000 inhabitants. The orographic configuration of the country made communications rather difficult. In that non-literate culture, an efficient collection of tributes required almost a face to face acquaintance between the subject and his ruler. These circumstances necessitated a delegation of authority to many intermediary chiefs who would be the local representatives of the rulers.

But such an unavoidable system was very dangerous for the central government. Its subordinated agents having frequently authority over a rather numerous population which could provide them with abundant supplies (if nothing was sent to the court) could be tempted to isolate themselves completely from the capital and become independent. Such a course of action would have been facilitated by the military structure and the feudal system.

Some important chiefs were, indeed, authorized to raise an army. Moreover, any military chief whose army was encamped near the border, in a district far from the capital, could gain such ascendancy over his warriors as to win over their allegiance to himself.

The *buhake* was perhaps still more dangerous because, as in any feudal system, it created personal bonds of allegiance between the client and his lord. As such, that bond of loyalty did not extend beyond the lord. One had to obey one's lord because he was one's lord and not because he was a mwami's representative. This is why any feudal system has always been so dangerous for a central government. Independence and revolt against the king have been recurring events in the areas where a feudal system existed.

Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies

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642 178 At the beginning of this century, Ruanda political organization was an instrument of social immobility. It was not a force of expansion meant to increase the Tutsi dominion over the country, but a machinery which succeeded in maintaining a difficult equilibrium between the antinomic tendencies I have reviewed. Any institution in which divergent tendencies meet and are kept balanced bears in itself the principle of its own disintegration. But in Ruanda the equilibrium problem had been so efficiently solved that it seems that an optimum point had been reached. The political organization that sustained the domination system could have been perpetuated as long as forces external and internal to the system itself remained constant. The external influence which modified the political organization has been the contact with the [648] Europeans, another conquest group entering Ruanda history around 1900. But apart from such a consequential event, internal phenomena such as a modification in the demographic ratio, the introduction of new agricultural techniques, the impoverishment of the soil, &c., could have been sufficient to destroy the equilibrium maintained by the Tutsi political organization.

642 178 564 661 What was 'immobilized' by the political organization was the Tutsi's caste's and rulers' almost exclusive control of power. They used it for exploitation, by which is meant here the satisfaction of needs not by economic production but by pressure. I follow here closely Oppenheimer's distinction between economic and political means. Both have the same end, he writes, the satisfaction of needs. But when this end is obtained by one's labour and the equivalent exchange of one's own labour for the labour of others, one may speak of 'economic means' while the unrequited appropriation of the labour of others is 'political means'.[8] This should, however, be qualified in the *bukaka* where the client received the usufruct of cattle.

642 564 571 It would, of course, be completely misleading to assume that Ruanda political organization had for its only function the preservation of Tutsi exploitation. Through the political structure, as has been shown, the inferior castes enjoyed security. Collectively, peasants were protected against raiding expeditions of neighbours and against an unlimited and too arbitrary exploitation. Individually, in the difficult or dangerous events of life, a Hutu could rely upon the protection of his lord, of his army-chief, and

[8] Oppenheimer, 1922, p. 25.

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of his administrative chiefs if he could not or did not wish to ask his lineage's aid.

Should one, then, speak of a counterpart and interpret the Tutsi privileges as a retribution for the care of the commonweal and public order? No, political organization in Ruanda fulfilled different functions. It cannot be said that one function is the counterpart of the other merely because it benefited different groups. It just so happened that two different functions were fulfilled by the same set of institutions.

To sum up, this political system was a means of maintaining a certain social order in which the group of rulers and their caste appropriated to their consumption a considerable part of the country's goods without having to use their labour in the productive processes.

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indices and the lynching of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union. There is evidently no rational means for the whites of the south to impute the responsibility for the lack of rain—which was then the cause of the poor cotton crops—to Negroes. This typically irrational behaviour, however, becomes comprehensible if we accept the frustration-aggression sequence. In this sense, it can be said that the relation between the two phenomena, economic crises and lynching, is a logical relation.[8]

Ruanda political relations disclose one of the premises of that culture. Underlying the political and feudal structures there was a general assumption about human relations. In order to formulate it as accurately as may be possible, I shall first consider more closely the social roles of the superior and inferior in the field of political and feudal relations. In the following section the words 'ruler' and 'subject' refer to superiors and inferiors in the administrative, military, and clientage structures.

2. THE RULER'S AND SUBJECT'S SOCIAL ROLES

The analysis of the political organization of Ruanda indicates that the ruler was expected to assume a complex role towards his subject. The two poles of it were protection and profit. The subordinate was somebody whom one protected: he was also a resource from which it was normal to draw some advantage.

Protection was not restricted to a certain field of action, but potentially encompassed the whole of the subject's life. When the inferior needed some help, any help, he was expected to apply to his ruler even if the issue was completely alien to the sphere of the main relations between the ruler and the subject. A client could ask his *shebuja* for aid in matters not pertaining to cattle and *buhake* services. It was even thought proper for the ruler to interfere in difficulties which his subject through his own misdemeanour had run into as, for instance, when an inferior had been caught stealing from somebody. When protection was refused, it was not because the question was not the ruler's concern, but on other grounds, such as disloyalty.

The extent of that protection was not strictly defined. It did not constitute for the ruler a set of particular and fixed obligations. The subordinate had a general right to be protected but very few claims to particular advantages. In *buhake*, when one offered one's

[8] Dollard, 1939, p. 44 (quoted by Maquet, 1951, p. 166).

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571 829 156 641

services to a lord in order to become his client, one was entitled to receive usufruct of his cattle. But the number of cows was not determined. It could be one or twenty or fifty or even more.

It was up to the ruler to decide if any protection was to be granted and to what extent. Of course the pressure of public opinion obliged him not to refuse aid to his subordinate unless he had some socially accepted reason to do so (such as the subordinate's disobedience), but the measure of the protection depended on his own will and pleasure.

These characteristics of the protective attitude (care of the whole of the subordinate's life, its very variable extent being left to the superior's judgement) allow us to apply to it the qualification of 'paternalistic'. Paternalism is understood here as 'the principle of acting in a way like that of a father towards his children. Because of the total dependency of the human offspring, during their first years, on those who nurse and educate them—and they are usually their parents—the latter's authority ranges over the whole of the life of the child. In everything he needs his parents, in everything they have to direct and control him. Moreover, parents sovereignly judge what they are going to give their children. Undoubtedly, their social groups force them to secure for their children the protection they need to live and develop but the children may not require such or such a particular service. Parents decide without further ado what is suitable for the child and think that better than he they know what is 'best for him'.

128 114

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A paternal relation does not exclude profit. In describing the Ruanda's father's role towards his sons, I mentioned that the father's interests were usually thought to be predominant in respect of the children's interests. When inferiors were not the superior's children but his subjects or clients, that aspect of profit was much more emphasized. All those who occupied the inferior position in the relations of the political and feudal structures had dues to give and tribute labour to perform for the profit of their superiors, and some of these obligations were heavy. It did not appear at all unusual to Ruanda that power brought many privileges to those who had it. If one is a chief, is it not fitting to draw advantages from one's situation? Here, again, the extent of the subject's obligations was left within very broad limits to the superior's discretion.

The ruler's role seems to have been that paternalistic blend of

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protection and profit. Of course, that role was not always perfectly fulfilled. Chiefs who have been more exploiters than protectors are remembered. It was by comparison with that ideal picture that their behaviour was judged and blamed. 571 829 156 641

The subject was expected to have a role complementary to the one we have just described. He was supposed to assume an attitude of dependency. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a well delimited field. Dependence is inferiority in the whole of life. When the ruler gives an order, he has to be obeyed, not because his order falls within the field over which he has authority, but because he is a ruler.

It could be objected that in Ruanda this attitude of dependence was not in principle unlimited. We saw that cattle- and land-chiefs could not require as many dues as they liked, that subjects could resort to higher authorities against their immediate chiefs, and that it was possible to oppose one chief against another. This does not change the fact that the dependent attitude was the only one socially expected of the subject. Indeed it was impossible to be considered a 'good' subject if one asserted independence of one's superior. A claim of independence, even limited, obliged one to leave the superior, to ask for the support of another and to assume towards the latter an attitude of complete compliance. This appeared clearly in the feudal relation. A lord could not be refused what he asked (even at the present time a shop assistant who is obliged by the law to sell only for cash, will find it very difficult not to sell on credit to his lord). He could only be deserted for another.

3. FORMULATION OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

When paternalism and dependence define the permanent roles expected from two persons, much more is implied than when they express the transitory roles of a father and his young son. In the latter case it is known that the son will grow up and one day, even if he has to wait till after his father's death, will be equal to what his father was when the latter was young. But when paternalism and dependence are linked in permanent reciprocal roles, the assumption is that there is a fundamental inequality between the two persons. The subject will never grow up, he will never 'reach his majority'. It is implied without any doubt that there is between the ruler and his subject a difference so fundamental that it never can be suppressed. This fundamental inequality of men is the 571 829 181

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different share in social power and fundamentally different rights. 564

The Ruanda principle of inequality could be expressed in the following terms: people born in different castes are unequal in inborn endowment, physical as well as psychological and have consequently fundamentally different rights. [181]

That premise, closely connected with the caste structure, is suggested by the analysis of the political and feudal structures. Indeed, when a principle of inequality exists in a society with respect to a certain type of relations, it does not fail to spread to other relations more or less similar. In Ruanda, the inegalitarian premise of inter-caste relations has permeated the intricate relations which could be regarded as analogous in certain respects. A Tutsi who was lord over another Tutsi was thought to be superior over his client in a way comparable to the manner in which he was superior over his Hutu clients. Of course significant differences remained between inter- and intra-caste relationships of superiority, but the latter tended to be patterned on the former ones. 181 571 564

The extension to intricate relations of the premise of inter-caste inequality made it a principle of integration with a very wide bearing as it could, and did, in fact, pervade all the human relations in which a superiority of one actor over the other was implied. It could be the relation between a mother and her young child, a father and his son, a man and his wife, an old man and a youngster, a craftsman and an apprentice, &c. These relations constituting the texture of social life, the impact on collective living of the premise of fundamental inequality, cannot be over-estimated.

4. THE THEOREMS

In order to understand better how the inequality premise influenced the whole of Ruanda social life, the different aspects of that influence must be made explicit. They will be expressed as a set of theorems, by which is meant general propositions or statements which are not self-evident. 128

Theorem One

When two persons are involved in any kind of social relation, it is their mutual hierarchical situation which is regarded as the most relevant element of the relation. 571 156

Superiority and inferiority were *foci* of the Ruanda social structure to such an extent that as soon as they entered as a 554

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571 156 554 component in the content of a social intercourse, other components were regarded as less important and were coloured by the hierarchical situation of the two actors. In Euro-American culture, relationships of inferiority are defined not only as regards the people taking part in them but also as regards the matters concerned. A business executive may give orders to one of his employees only within very well-defined limits of competence and time, but he cannot oblige him to accept his views on for instance artistic or political questions. In Ruanda, on the contrary, when one of the persons involved in a dyad was superior to the other from a certain point of view, the superiority was diffused, as it were, through the whole relation. For his subject, a chief was always a chief in whatever matter.

This first theorem is a consequence of inequality conceived as essential. When two persons are considered unequal by nature, the [829] superiority of one over the other cannot be limited to a certain sphere. Obedience in everything must be required: there is no field in which a father could be wrong and his son right.

Theorem Two

As in almost any human relation there is some superiority of one actor over the other, as that aspect is always stressed and as inferiority relations are patterned on inter-caste relations, paternalistic, and dependent attitudes were to be found in almost every human relation in Ruanda.

The only exceptions were relations between people who were equal from any point of view, as for instance young men of about the same age, belonging to the same caste and whose families were about at the same level of wealth.

This is very noticeable today, even in relations with Europeans. A clerk usually assumes towards the European he assists, a dependent attitude different from the behaviour of a European employee. The clerk expects from his employer a behaviour similar to the paternalistic attitude of the Ruanda superiors and he is puzzled and disappointed if the employer does not assume such an attitude.

Theorem Three

There is no private sector in the life of the inferior *vis-à-vis* his superior. The superior has the right to control the whole of his

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subordinate's activities. This is not resented by the inferior as unbearable meddling. On the contrary, it is expected by the inferior who feels that such interference is a proof of the interest his superior extends to him. When a European employer avoids intruding into the privacy of a Ruanda subordinate, the latter not infrequently tends to interpret it as a withdrawal from the protective role expected from any superior. 571 156 554

If a subordinate were to refuse his Ruanda superior's interference on the grounds that he should not be concerned with his private affairs, such a pretension would be regarded as at least a definite lack of respect. [590]

Theorem Four

Strictly contractual relations are not possible. To enter into a contract implies that the intended parties are previously independent of one another. If one is submitted to the other for the whole of his life, how could he freely commit himself to give the other certain services? And how could the other promise to secure his inferior a counterpart that the latter can legally claim? When entering into contractual relations, it is necessary that each prospective partner should be a person independent of and equal to the other in that context. In the Western world, admittedly, it frequently happens that an agreement which verifies the juridical forms of a contract is entered into by persons who are not independent and equal. Circumstances may exert such a pressure that freedom to accept or refuse a particular obligation is purely illusory. Conditions of independence and equality, however, are often realised. In ancient Ruanda such a situation could almost never have happened as it was rare for two persons who might otherwise be related by a contract, not to be already involved in paternalistic and dependent relations. 571 675 554

Moreover, after the contract has been concluded it is necessary that each partner should be able to defend himself against any demand of the other which would exceed the terms of the covenant, and that he should have the means to oblige the other to fulfil what the latter has agreed to give or to do. This implies again that one part is not completely dependent on the other. Now, as I mentioned earlier, the extent of the superior's obligations is left, in Ruanda, to his will and pleasure. Consequently, it was unthinkable for the party who was at the same time in a position

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inferior to the other to claim some particular fulfilment of the agreed promises from the other.

This appears clearly in the difficulties Ruanda often meet when they have to adjust themselves to European labour contracts. They are sometimes confused by the fact that the employer requires from them at the same time less and more than they expect. Less because the employer does not ask for more services, for longer office hours for instance, than what has been stipulated, and more because he is very exacting in the execution of what has been undertaken, for instance in matters of punctuality.

Theorem Five

With such socially accepted conceptions about inequality, those who occupy the superior positions in most of the social relations in which they are involved, tend to develop a permanent authoritarian behaviour. This is characterized by a propensity to command, to be self-assertive, arrogant, protective, and compassionate.

Chiefs, rulers, and other superiors try to extend not only the size or range of their power (the number of people controlled) but its density (the degree of control of the subordinates).[7] Any independence manifested by the inferior will be resented as rebellious.

This leads to intolerance. The superior's opinions should never be opposed by the inferior who is always and everywhere expected to manifest his dependence by attitudes of compliance. Even today this conduct tends to prevail. Some years ago a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. After the most important person present there had given his opinion, everybody voted for his proposal. But after the meeting many expressed privately their divergent opinions. At the time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with the superior.

Theorem Six

Even if the caste system and political and feudal institutions have succeeded to a large extent in moulding personalities in such a way as to make inferiors self-effacing, submissive, compliant, and dependent, the conditioning has not been perfect. Often the inferior wants to disagree with his superior's opinions, to avoid executing an order or obeying his commands. A straight refusal

[7] Cf. Russell, 1938, pp. 165 f.

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being regarded as insulting, disrespect or revolt, the only way out for the inferior is to appear to behave always as expected: to fall in with any desire of his superior while concealing his own opinion, never to say no to any order but to find clever excuses for not doing it. Consequently dissimulation is very highly thought of and a skill necessary to master for someone wanting to live more or less securely under such a political régime.

Many stories and proverbs give evidence of the frequency of covert disobedience to the rulers and of the appreciation in which an astute excuse and a 'good lie' were held. This was the only way to adapt oneself to such a situation.

Theorem Seven

It is commonly accepted in the Western tradition that truth has a high value and that language is the medium used to express 'truth', that is to say, 'what reality appears to be to the person who speaks'. Undoubtedly, in Western practice, language is used, even in the cognitive sphere, for many other purposes than to express what the speaker thinks. Moreover, most of the scholars who, in recent years, have studied the problem of the origin and function of language, bring qualifications to the traditional view. In the almost unanimous opinion of the carriers of Western culture, however, the ideal verbal behaviour must express 'truth' and not what is useful to the speaker. This is, for example, what is inculcated into children in schools.

In a society in which human relations are imbued with some cultural premises as the one being considered in this chapter, 'truth' cannot be recognized as a dominant value. Indeed, one is supposed to use language not to say what is thought to conform to reality but what is thought to conform to the ruler's opinion. Nobody, the ruler included, entertains many illusions on the sincerity of what is said, but submission has been expressed at the right time and this is felt to be most important.

This theorem could be formulated in this way: the verbal behaviour towards a superior must express dependence rather than 'truth'.

Theorem Eight

Once it is taken for granted that in hierarchical relations, behaviour must conform to the superior's expectations even to the

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181 point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to
571 spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is
554 useful to the speaker or expected from him and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a utilitarian usage of language.

5. ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

121 We have read the premise, as it were, into the Ruanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Ruanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question that we are not likely ever to know, such as a good knowledge of the Tutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Ruanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

174 Tutsi came into Ruanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into
178 the country inhabited by Hutu looked rather like a peaceful
564 infiltration, it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Hutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalization of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Ruanda inequality premise. It is possible that Tutsi had previously to their arrival in Ruanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they

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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.

562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
593

608 "If you refuse to give me lodging or food, may the gihango kill you."

The two blood brothers then lie down on the mat side by side for a few moments to indicate that they will be indissolubly united in good as in bad days.

Then the one who is the visitor takes a handful of herbs and throws it on the hearth, saying: "If you come to my house and [18] I am away you may drink my beer and warm yourself with my wood, and may the gihango do you no harm, for you will not have wanted either to steal my beer or to burn my hut. But if my wife refuses to give you the beer and the wood, it is no concern of mine, for my wife is not bound as we are by the blood pact."

The abanywanyi then offer gifts to the witnesses such as hoes, necklaces, etc., and give each other presents of hoes, goats, and cows, according to their means, in order "to free themselves from the mat on which the blood pact has taken place," (kwichara ku kirago).

CHAPTER II. MARRIAGE

1. Kinds of Unions

583 The word ugushaka (to have a wife) designates marriage in general.

The typical marriage with payment of a dowry (inkwano) to the girl's father is called kurongora.

A umugeni w'ubuntu (lit., betrothed given as a present) may [572] be given as testimony of affection to a friend. Later the man can give a dowry, but he is not obliged to do so. If the friends quarrel, the dowry may then be reclaimed. A powerful chief can also give [562] his mututsi client a young girl as a gift (umugeni w'ingororano).

587 To marry a divorced woman or a widow is called gutshyura umusumbakazi (lit., to bring home a woman who has already been married). These unions are frequent, especially among the Bahutu. When they start keeping house, the husband only gives the bride's paterfamilias a jug of pombe, but if the couple have children he must give a dowry. [19]

563 582 614 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

572 608 [243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

572 608 628 There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is connected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 608 628 is divided into zones settled by different clans which are often hostile to each other, the individual can depend only on his clansmen. When he goes abroad, outside his clan's sphere of influence, he must look for personal friends and secure their pledge of protection, thus making possible his sojourn in strange parts of the land. This is the reason why traders enter into the greatest number of brotherhood pacts. People who never leave their hillsides do not make this pact, and pacts between the inhabitants of the same hillside also are not common.

572 608 Brotherhood is sealed by special ceremonies. On the day of the pact the one who wants to enter into brotherhood goes to the house of his future blood brother, accompanied by a witness. He is received there also in the presence of a witness. All four men sit down on a mat on the hut floor. The articles necessary for the ceremony are placed beside them: mutsima, stiff millet mush; a knife; and a hoe.

The witness of the guest takes the knife and makes a scratch to the right of the latter's navel. He catches the blood on a piece of mutsima and hands the knife to the witness of the houseowner, who repeats the same ceremony with his candidate. The two blood brothers then eat each other's blood along with the mutsima. Then the first witness takes the knife, begins to sharpen it on his skin, and says:

[244] Mwumwe! Ntuza yaniwanye na ntuza.
Harken! This one enters into blood brotherhood with that one.

Elmwa kanaka uramuka umutatiye iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Hear you (this one), if you dare betray him, this vow will kill you.

Akomerekera mw' itawalo wanga kumuheka, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
If he is wounded in battle, you refuse to carry (him), this vow will kill you.

Umushigisha amata iwawe, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you him milk yours, this vow will kill you.

Wanga kumuheka, yarwaliye mw' itawalo, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you to carry, when he falls in battle, this vow will kill you.

572 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiche.
608 (If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rise, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood
608 brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new
431 friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to
608 attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood
614 brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed
628 by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its
608 significance. This may be considered a result of state organiza-
614 tion which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organiza-
178 tion. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

572 608 614 178 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship between blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 608 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 608 582 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously observed. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 608 837 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 608 563 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the Batwa.

614 621 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[561] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

514 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance,
[481] for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda.

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

837 It may also happen that the accomplice marries the mother of his child. A complaisant husband, or one who, knowing that his wife is unfaithful, keeps her in spite of all, [30] is the object of ricidule by his neighbors and friends, who do not hesitate to call him inganzwa.

837 586 Among the Bahutu, the adulterous wife is beaten by her husband and sent back to her family. If there are no children from the marriage the husband will claim the dowry paid to the wife's parents.

837 Among the Batwa, adultery is hardly important. If a wife is unfaithful her husband forgives her, and if she is pregnant he considers the child his own.

8. Extramarital Relations

836 684 Sexual relations have always been strictly forbidden to young Batutsi and Bahutu girls. Violation of this interdiction would bring great misfortune to the families, says the voice of the people. In the past, pregnant girls (ikinyandaro) (1) were often even killed with their

1. According to the beliefs of the Banyarwanda, a girl taken by force does not become pregnant.

children, or else they were led beyond the froniters of Ruanda to a desert island in Lake Kivu where they died of hunger, unless the Banyabungo came to their rescue. Sometimes they were led to Urundi. where they had to remain until they gave birth. The child was killed or abandoned to the Barundi.

Today these cruel sanctions no longer exist, but a girl-mother is always considered a disgrace (inshyano) to her parents. The latter, however, usually take in the child.

Nevertheless, the young nobles do not deprive themselves of having sexual relations with the abagaragu girls placed with their fathers as servants. On the other hand, the Mututsi young man caught with a girl of his own caste was punished in the past in the same way as the accomplice of a married woman. [31]

837 [574] The great chiefs who possess concubines (insholeke) put them at the disposal of their visiting friends and relatives.

Blood brothers or friends sometimes exchange their wives for a night (guhan'ingo, lit., to exchange the ingo).

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231 3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
635

1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage
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231
431

3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
727
651 by warriors.

IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to
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4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

192
234 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is
574 called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief,
431 or a patron when she has a child.
231

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

192 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-
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1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cow-
231 herd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives
[465] milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

681 IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a
431 present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a
[696] family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches
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1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

426 by his son, his daughter, or his daughter-in-law, and possibly an umugaragu. In the past, if a debtor fled in order to avoid his obligations, the creditor had the right to seize his cattle, [82] his banana plantations, and even his hut. However, in this case, the children could keep their father's property on the condition of agreeing to work for the creditor until the debt was fully paid.

Sometimes a patron pays for his client if the latter has only a storehouse of provisions and if he needs the help of his family to work for his shebuja. If the umugaragu dies, his son takes his place. The obligation thus passes to the descendants until it is fulfilled.

On the other hand, the creditor's brother or son can act in the place of their relatives (1).

1. Laws of the Family and of the Clan, p. 8.

● 574 Hospitality.

The duty of hospitality is sacred to the Banyarwanda. Even a Mututsi will never refuse a Muhutu either ichumbi (lodging) or izimano (wood, water, and food). A proverb says; "Uwubaka wese. yubakira abu Mwami (2), and whoever did not grant food and lodging

2. "Whoever builds (a house) does it for the people of the Mwami," which means that his house must be open to all the king's subjects.

to a traveler would be given the name of umugome (bad); he would be Uwanga Umwami (an enemy of the Mwami).

Civil responsibility.

672 Civil responsibility does not exist. The parents themselves however, repair any damage done by their children.

SECTION V. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

1. Nationality

563 The Munyarwanda people include the Batutsi, the Bahutu, and the Batwa. The Mututsi aristocracy of Hamite origin dominates

273 people, it is not out of virtue but simply because they do not have enough to eat and drink to satisfy their appetites. They could eat an ox at one sitting, and if they were given as much beer as they wanted, they would keep drinking from morning till night" (No. 19, p. 317). Drunkenness is not regarded as a shortcoming or a vice but as evidence of the prosperity or generosity of the host. After the millet and banana harvest, from July to September, is the time for brewing beer (kwenga insoga, kutoba), the period of gluttony and general drunkeness all over Urundi, and this continues until the provisions are exhausted. Often the last drop disppears down the gullet after not more than four weeks, and the thirsty souls have to remain
273 abstinent until the next harvest period. During the period of
574 carousal, singing and shouting can be heard issuing from most homesteads deep into the night, for there are no quiet and solitary drinkers. Drinking beer is always a social affair. One person after another invites friends and relatives to communal drinking bouts, and in this manner they make the rounds among all the families of friends, guzzling until nothing is left. In
[431] addition to this, pots filled with beer are given as presents or any suitable occasion, and then they are shared by receiver and donor together. Of course, beer is part of any kind of festive occasion which usually also includes dancing (see pp. 65, 125).
273 Since the banana beer, which is the most popular, is quite
579 potent and since, in addition, the Barundi are by nature easily
152 excited, the more advanced stages of such communal drinking bouts usually take a rather wild form. Quite regularly violent arguments ensue, and often fights result in which even lances are used, sometimes ending in manslaughter. In the latter case, the consequences for the families concerned are quite disastrous (see pp. 97, 105).

273 Significantly enough, beer-brewing among the Barundi
[462] is a task with which the women are charged. They are experts in this respect, but they also are hard drinkers. There are four different types of beer in Urundi. The most potent, popular, and widespread type is banana beer (insoga j'ivitoke). To

614 Abasinga, Abagessera, Abasiete, etc. /46/

2. Bahutu Ethnic Group

a) Oldest clans: —
Ababanda, Abagessera, Abazigaba, Abungura, Abasinga, Abatchaba or Abiru, etc.

b) Secondary or recent clans:
Abambari, Abalevu, Abalindwa, Abatabo, Abahindi, Abakora, Abahigo, Abahuma, Abatembe, Abaziko, Abashobyo, Abondo, Abanyunjo, Abajongo, Abachira, Abakwa, Abanyoni, Abungura, Abalimba, etc.

3. Batwa Ethnic Group

563 They borrow their designations from the Bahutu for most of
614 their clans. Although of Bahutu origin, the Bayovu are linked to the Batwa race. They are regarded as a degenerate group because, like the Negrillos, they eat animals considered impure and make pottery.

In spite of their more or less artificial division into tribes, the Pygmies actually regard themselves from a social point of view as part of one single group called Batwa. They practice what we call solidarity among themselves.

If one of them is killed, the whole group feels injured and
● [574] rises to avenge him. A Mutwa /sing. of Batwa/ who travels is everywhere offered hospitality by his "brothers," even if they do not know him.

421 Property rights exist among the Banyarwanda. They are well defined by custom and tradition, notwithstanding temporary injustices and the discretionary powers of the king and of the chiefs. Everyone recognizes those rights and accepts them in principle. No one fails to exercise them or claim them.

They are taken into account in legal proceedings.

Daughters do not inherit but are taken care of by their brothers
421 until the day they marry. /47/

351 elephant grass. In the compounds of wealthy persons, consisting of at least three huts, this entrance leads into the front courtyard.

[201] In this courtyard, opposite the entrance, is the kambele, the house occupied by the head of the family. On the side, usually to the left of this house, is the entrance to the inner courts. The front court as well as the inner courts are kept clean and free of grass. Here the clients and subordinates of the head of the establishment assemble to learn his wishes, commands, and decisions. Here he receives his guests who are conducted no farther than into the kambele. Sacrifices also take place here. In Musinga's compound I saw two carefully tended sacrificial trees between the entrance gate and his house on both sides of and at a

[574]

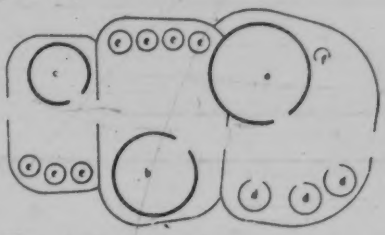

Fig. 127. Compound, Nyanza on Lake Mohasi: (a) kambele, (b) kagondo, (c) mubahutu, (d) stalls for calves, (e) storehouses, (f) spirit hut.

certain distance from the line connecting the two. In the front court near the house one also sees small spirit huts.

In many compounds the front court also contains huts for small calves, and animals are kept here at night. In one single instance I saw a hut for larger calves outside the enclosure. It was explained to me that the whole herd was kept near this hut overnight.

592 In the inner court is the house for the women, known as kagondo. Here the master's wife spends the day with her women servants. It is only in the evening that she is brought to the [264] kambele in a litter. The husband eats with his wife in the kagondo.

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

586 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in
[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

585 ? Extramarital Relations. Not all women who share a house-
567 hold with a man are his regular wives (basumba kazi) with whom
848 he has entered into a formal purchase marriage. Concubines
588 and slaves (baja) are also kept in Ruanda. The concubines are [225] usually childless widows and abandoned or fugitive women. They settle wherever they find a relatively good refuge. The baja are sold by their parents when they are children, usually in exchange for food during a famine. They are simply women without ties, but who are otherwise very much like the other women and usually also have their own huts. Their children are likewise said to belong to the father's family, although they are not regarded as equal. Such children of Batutsi men, for example, are said not to be regarded as Batutsi although they have the same family name.

588 The chiefs grant baja to their clients, a practice which is
567 even more clearly defined among the Azande and Mangbetu, for example. The baja, along with the cow, are the means whereby the powerful one binds his clients to himself and thus strengthens his power.

567 Just as a man can grant a cow to a client and also demand it
574 back, so he can likewise put a muja at the temporary disposal of
837 a favorite. Under these circumstances the entertainment of guests with women "who are to warm his bed for him" is quite understandable. The less esteemed guests are given baja; the highly respected guests, on the other hand, are honored by being offered regular wives.

574 In general, a man on a journey has at his disposal the wives
837 of his blood brothers. Dr. Kandt (1) says that from certain social

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

aspects this arrangement has its positive points: "Alternating connubium, that is, the interchangeable pairing of several male blood relatives with all their wives, as is permitted in Ruanda, prevents the loss of the female element in the preservation of the race, should the male element prove unfit."

574 This custom seems to be widespread particularly among the
837 Batutsi as well as among the Bahima. Father Achte sees in it the reason why polygamy is relatively undeveloped among the Bahima.

548 In spite of polygamy and the fact that it is easy to enter into marriage in Ruanda, there is a sort of prostitute. These are widows or older women, as well as girls who have not found a husband. They give themselves in exchange for presents, thereby earning their living. They are called inzorezi. Young men have sexual intercourse with them before marriage. The word is derived from the verb kuzerera, "to run about."

836 Prostitutes and concubines are distinguished from nyamuraza, roving girls who enter into a sort of trial marriage and have intercourse in this way. They hope [226] by this means to persuade a man who would otherwise not have given them any consideration to make the conventional payment and thus make a proper marriage. This attempt may be repeated several times.

586 Divorce. If a man is not satisfied with his wife he may, without further ado, send her back home. If the woman was at fault, if she was unfaithful or sterile, a demand may be made for the return of the payment given for her.

In Mulera the cow which was paid for the woman, as well as all the animal's young, are returned in this type of divorce if the woman has had no children. If the woman has lived for some time with her husband, the cows may be replaced by calves. While I was in Ruasa the whole countryside was in a state of excitement over an unusual divorce suit. A man named Lwamakuba paid for his wife with a cow which in the course of time gave his father-in-law ten calves. When the wife grew old, her husband sent her back home indicating that she was sterile. He demanded the return of his payment which had meanwhile increased to a whole herd of cattle. After many negotiations the wife returned with an excellent cow which was supposed to make up for her beauty defects. The husband took his wife back, and the matter was settled. After a time, the wife was sent back again. Five times the woman returned, always with another cow. At the time of my visit the woman was being sent back for the sixth time.

7:Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing.

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned.

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather.

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42
Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574 planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517] mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482] head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
593 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

000 never have to do menial tasks. Young girls are taught, so that they
867 will be refined, to command and to correct inferiors gently but firmly; to weave pretty baskets; to rub red and yellow ochre on the wooden milk pots which are lined up on a long shelf to display the herder's wealth; to offer beer and food to visitors and to sing and dance, breasts bared, to entertain them. Later, a young woman must learn to cover her face with her scarf, to so arrange her
[574] numerous diaphanous white and yellow robes that her entire body is covered, and to engage visitors in conversation while shielded from view by a screen. She must learn how to listen and to understand. If a young girl has noticed that her mother is a good conversationalist, she takes into account the fact that her mother is discreet, intelligent and older than she.

577 The more closely a woman approximates to the feminine ideal
593 for her caste, the greater her hope for the rewards due to a married
564 woman. A good wife should receive from her husband a quantity of clothes and jewels proportionate to his wealth, permission to go out and to visit where she wishes, permission to drink her husband's beer and to take snuff. In addition she will be praised wherever her husband travels. If the husband has cows, he will give her several so that she and the children will have milk, and he may give her one or more as gifts. If he likes her very much, he will plan in advance the means by which she can remain on his property if he predeceases her. To be a good wife means first of all to execute wifely tasks efficiently. Then, towards her husband and parents-in-law, a good wife is always obedient and respectful, at least while there are outsiders present. Intelligence is a highly desirable characteristic and is indeed indispensable in anyone who will be the wife of a prince. A capable woman will be consulted by her husband, especially if he knows that she is cleverer than he. Among the Hutu, the husband asks advice of an intelligent wife before he goes to ask a cow of a Tutsi, before choosing a wife for their son, before he does anything. Among the Tutsi, a husband who takes pride in his wife's intelligence will consult her before he chooses a serf, goes to his superior to ask for another cow. He does nothing without her advice and boasts about her intelligence and loyalty to his friends. Among the princes, family and economic affairs are hardly distinguishable from affairs of state. Thus, intelligent women come to have a voice in matters of the first importance.

[574] A good hostess who provides food and drink for her husband's visitors need never fear his anger. Just as women speak a great deal of the importance of receiving clothing from their husbands, so men speak a great deal of the importance of a warm welcome for

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

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manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father.

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save him, since his downfall will also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires.

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly

651 The king also has the right to a certain percentage of the heads of game (gusogongera). In the past the Mwami also collected a certain number of cows [103] (iminyago) out of those acquired during wartime raids.

Some of the natives are subject only to the ingabo. This is the case of the artisans, hunters, and farmers who provide the king and the Court with bows, arrows, pruning knives, mats, skins, drums, honey, hydromel, etc.

The Batwa are subject to no actual fiscal obligation to the king and chiefs. Potters must only furnish pots and pitchers to the court and provide the Mwami, his wife, and the Umugabekazi with ingobyi. They are also the executors of the king's great undertakings. The hunters' payments consist of ivory, skins, and fragrant wood.

687 Punitive sanctions are provided in the case of nonexecution of these obligations. The hill and provincial chiefs as well as the king have the Bahutu cudgeled and take the cows away from the Batutsi. In the past, the Mwami would even sometimes have the Batwa executioners cut off the ears (kubiha) of the Bahutu who are delinquent in tax payment.

651 486 A toll (ihoro) is paid by those who cross any water. To cross a larger river such as the Nyawarongo, the tax is paid to the provincial chief who refunds some of it to the boatmen.

Merchants must also pay a toll to the chief whose territory they cross. [104]

14. Secret Societies

575 563 668 The sect known as the Nyabingi (or Biheko) has its origin in the name of the Queen of Ndorwa who was killed by the warriors of Mwami Rwabugiri, resulting in a marked hostility to the Batutsi and the royal authority on the part of the Queen's descendants. Also, these people have become Bahutu by their marriages with commoners. These are sufficient reasons for the "Baheko" [sic] to be considered rescuers by the Bahutu, especially in the north of Ruanda where the resistance, if not the hostility, to the Batutsi and their administration is much stronger than in the rest of the country.

From Ndorwa where it originated, the sect spread out to Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi, and even to Buganza and Bwanachyambwe.

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is
565 called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi, probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force available to the parents and the better are the prospects of obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359). As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret science among the women, and the men do not appear to have any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

791 or howling. A special spirit language is also used. Usually
[198] they fall into a religious ecstasy after consuming copious quantities of beer, and the spirit himself [124] will begin to speak through them and utter prophesies and oracles. They are
[612] not responsible for anything they do while they are in this spiritualistic-mediumistic state, even if they commit the worst violations of law and good manners (No. 39, p. 100). Those who are possessed make liberal use of this immunity, and one may very well consider this one of the chief motives for the whole institution of the imandwa cult.

In Unjoro the medicine men are also called abandwa. They "practice magic by killing animals or using certain herbs" (No. 9, p. 377).

Through the writings of A. Vix and B. Struck (Nos. 34 and 36) and Rehse (No. 31, pp. 107, 132), we have more precise knowledge from Kisiba of these persons who are called wabandwa and each of whom is possessed by a specific god. There, too, they differ depending on the nature of their god or demon, but all of them display their power "in hysterical fits caused by auto-suggestion." One of them may be an expert at making rain, another at curing the plague, a third may be proficient in agricultural matters, a fourth in the curing of cattle, etc. When the spirit seizes them, these divinely blessed persons put on a leopard skin, which the chief furnishes them, and a fur cap. Then they hang amulets from their necks and dance, holding long sticks and gourd rattles (Plate 54). However, they are not organized in a society.

In contrast, the ababandwa in Ruanda form a religious
794 cooperative or fraternity, and there are suggestions of this in
575 Urundi too. The people in question are not the divinely possessed priests (kiranga) nor the magicians and medicine men (abafumu) to whom we referred above, but pious men who dedicate their lives to the god out of concern for their earthly well-being and for the future salvation of their souls. They are all organized in a fraternity, a cult community, bound by solemn ceremonies, and they offer their sacrifices jointly.

Van der Burgt does not differentiate between the ababandwa, the wachwesi, the iviranga, the ivisjego, etc.

794 (No. 19, pp. 220, 292, 463, 516), so it is impossible to ob-
575 tain a clear picture of the nature of the Kubandwa cult of the Barundi from his writings. However, his accounts corespond essentially to the descriptions of the Imandwa secret society of Ruanda which have been given to us by Father Arnoux and the missionary Johanssen (No. 44 and No. 39, pp. 96-101). Thus, we can obtain many insights concerning Urundi from their writings. Quite correctly van der Burgt refers to similar cults of the "Watschwesi" (Batschwesi) fraternities in Ussuwi, Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Unjamwesi. In their nocturnal orgies have been preserved the last traces of religious cults and cult societies which still function openly as national institutions in Urundi, Uha, and Ruanda. The old relationship is also still recognizable in the hymns which are sung at such celebrations of the Watschwesi in Unjamwesi, Usindja, and in eastern Urundi. It is noteworthy that their lyrics are in the Old Kirundi language (No. 19, pp. 220, 463).

794 Father van Thiel, too, reports that in eastern Ussuwi at
575 the ceremony of the Kubandwa, the admission to the society
198 of the ababandwa, a ritual language called luchwesi is used. Father van Thiel lists a few dozen words (No. 24, p. 57), for example: bulege, bow; milasa, arrow; migasi, meat; muto, fire; masugunu, milk; muyara, head; manono, teeth; agawesa, eyes. It will have to be investigated whether this luchwesi is identical with Old Kirundi (cf. pp. 149, 332). Czekanowski gives a few specimens of the secret language of the babandwa in Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 316-317).

794 The following is known about the ababandwa in Ruanda.
575 According to legend, the historical high priest Riangombe, be-
171 fore dying, expressed the desire [125] to be worshipped by the Batussi as well as by the Bahutu and the Batwa, without differentiation by caste. For this reason they all, without differentiation, dedicate themselves to him in the Kubandwa ceremony. It appears that this tradition merely means that the fraternity was extended to include the Batussi, for according to tradition

794 the fraternity of the ababandwa existed long before the histori-
575 cal Riangombe. It is most probably an extremely old element
171 of Negro religion in East Africa which has been preserved in its pure form in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda, Karagwe, the eastern Congo (Bunjabungu) (No. 44, p. 291), and in a degenerate form in Unjamwesi and Ussumbwa. Many parallels to it can be found in the secret societies of the Bantu and Sudan Negroes of Loango, the Cameroons, Togo, the Gold Coast, etc. Ac-
794 cording to van der Burgt, the Kubandwa cult in Urundi is part
575 of the Bantu religion of the Bahutu and has been taken over
114 by the Batussi. However, the king may not participate in the cult while the Batwa are very dedicated to it, particularly to that of Kiranga. In his dictionary van der Burgt defines the ababandwa as a "société religieuse et secrèt" (No. 19, pp. 220, 463), but according to a more recent written communication he regards the Kubandwa not as a real "secret society" but as a gathering for a mysterious cult act to which not everyone is admitted, for example, children. Captain von Langenn, however, regards it as a religious secret society in which old sorcerers play the leading role; admission to it follows special ceremonies. Missionary Johanssen, too, describes the analogous institution in Ruanda as a "society of the initiated or of mediums" who are in contact with the world of the spirits and join Riangombe after their death, in contrast to the laymen, the insigo, who are excluded from this community (No. 39, p. 96). Father van Thiel likewise refers to the initiated persons of the Kubandwa cult in east Ussuwi as a "soeiété secrète" whose leader is the sorcerer (No. 24, p. 49).

[793] In Ruanda a high priest (kiranga) is the head of the
794 ababandwa. He is appointed by the king, but he may also be
644 dismissed by him. In Ruanda the king appoints the mpara as his
575 assistants. They are a group of ababandwa who enjoy the privilege of offering their sacrifices to Riangombe in the kraal of the king. It is noteworthy that they are all Bahutu. This is probably a concession to the old Bantu origin of the Kubandwa cult. These mpara, in addition to the Batwa who live at the king's court (see p. 13), are the bodyguards and the "guardians of the royal sleep," and much confidence is placed in them (No. 44, p. 292).

794 575 The main reasons for joining the Kubandwa are usually the following: the invitation of a magician; the wish to be cured of a sickness or to be rescued from a difficult situation caused by evil spirits; the intention of obtaining a privileged position of various material advantages of joining the cult society; the fulfillment of a promise or vow made to one's ancestors; the carrying on of a family tradition, etc. Thus, we have motives in all of which the positive principle of utility strongly predominates.

The consequence of joining the Kubwanda [sic] is that the umubandwa ceases to be a member of common humanity; he now belongs to an exalted adoptive family which protects and promotes its members. We might regard it as a kind of Free Masons' Lodge. Through solemn vows the newly admitted members pledge themselves not to betray or violate the secrets of the Kubwanda. If a member should nevertheless do so, the [789] ababandwa curse him, wishing all sufferings on him, and Riangombe carries out the malediction (No. 44, p. 294).

796 794 575 [126] The ceremonies of the Kubandwa, the admission of new members to the society, are accompanied by a great number of formalities; they are identical, however, for Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa. To the best of my knowledge they correspond in their main outlines to the procedure that is customary in Ruanda which is as follows. First the aspirant (nsigo) informs a sorcerer (umufumu) of his desire to be admitted to the society. Then the abafumu require weeks and months to obtain the spirits' [787] assent by performing all kinds of sorcery: they listen to their "inner voices," they observe floating pieces of butter and wood, they read the entrails of chickens, sheep, water-wagtails, etc. (No. 44, p. 530). During this entire period the candidate is expected to bring the umufumu a series of presents: sheep, goats, beans, iron hoes, even cattle (required of the Batussi). At the same time bananas, meat, pombe beer, and other delicacies must be offered as sacrifices to the spirits in the little sacrificial huts. At last the spirits agree to the admission of the candidate. Then the abafumu choose from their circle a sponsor whose duty it is to introduce the candidate to the ababandwa. The real

794 admission to the order by the society's members is then enacted
●575 in the kraal of the candidate. It is accompanied by innumerable
796 formulas, ministrations, invocations of Riangombe, Painting of face and body, eating, drinking, dressing up, handling the sacred spear, alternate chants, and the rattling of bells and gourds. Each of these acts has a symbolic meaning and reference (No. 44, pp. 539-558).

At the end of the ceremony the candidate's sponsor puts
[292] on the insignia of Riangombe (leopard skin, headdress with a cow's tail, etc.) and thereby turns into Riangombe himself who now in his own person performs the ceremony of the admission of the neophyte by a kind of examination and instruction. However, the novice is initiated to no profound secrets or "esoteric wisdom," as in the mysteries of antiquity, but only to ritual formalities, and though the novice is required to make a solemn vow that he will keep the secrets of the Kubandwa, this refers merely to these superficial ceremonies, for, like the other ababandwa, he knows of nothing else. In conclusion, the newly admitted member once more offers presents to Riangombe and to the ababandwa assisting him. Then Riangombe confers
[551] a new name on the novice by which he will be exclusively known in the future; in Ruanda, for example, the name may be "the little one who smashes the stone," or "the one who swallows cream," or "the one who steals from his mother," or "the one who rids the dogs of fleas" (No. 44, p. 870). After this the neophyte is a regular member of the society. Then the ababandwa, decorated with the insignia of their spirits, march through the countryside collecting food which is finally squandered in an eating and drinking bout (No. 44, p. 110). The newly admitted umubandwa then has to give public demonstration of his newly acquired power. A Munjaruanda who finds himself in some difficult situation asks him to help him appeal to Riangombe or some other god or protective spirit (for example, Kiranga, Masira, Binego, Kagoro, Mugassa). This is done by ceremoniously imploring the god to grant the request and by slaughtering in honor of the god a sterile cow, an old steer, or a ram, which is consumed by the ababandwa of the entire region (No. 44, p. 123 ff.). [127] On this occasion, as at all cattle sacrifices,

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. 121). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the
[302] courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and
[301] narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.

575 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[534] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128] Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Riangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
796 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
794 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
575 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word
198 insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
794 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

796
794 Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting
575 for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all
[576] kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured; another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him generous presents of beer and cattle.

Now the dance begins under the direction of a female
796 leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the
794 flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist
575 joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each
535 other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward, sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are accompanied by staggering steps. The dance excites the participants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl leading the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer. Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively applause" (No. 45, 1913).

The women are usually particularly skillful in this role.
796 The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head,
794 which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells.
575 Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome
786 sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred: "All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of participants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

796 bellies" (i.e., like sick cattle). And so it continues with in-
794 numerable wild curses. When the storm has subsided, individ-
575 ual supplicants once more stumble forward in front of the
786 enthroned woman, pay profuse respects to the "king," and request his help in opposing witches and sorcerers who have harmed them. The woman promises this, and with the voice of a fury she calls for a pledge of faith to Kiranga. [129] The ivisjego jump up, and under their leadership and accompanied by the noise of all the instruments and with a thousand curses and screams, a dance is performed, such that in the end everyone is bathed in sweat.

A wild drinking bout by the men and women follows, while they repeatedly scream to Kiranga sitting on the footstool: "Remain on the ruler's throne forever, King of Urundi; Kiranga is king." After that the frantic dancing in rows and the noise continue until the woman representing Kiranga becomes thirsty and surrenders her place to a male successor who is then the host. Naturally, he also is enthroned with tremendous jubilation. In this fashion the drinking and dancing, the invocations of Kiranga, and the curses against enemies continue through the entire night until early morning. Then suddenly the whole group breaks up, and in single file, rattling their bells, they run to the nearest stream where they all wash themselves. With this, the celebration comes to an end, and everyone goes home. From this moment on, none of the participants of the celebration may show any sign of recognizing his companions. The whole Kubandwa must be kept secret. However, the host who last "played" Kiranga belongs from now on among those most privileged and divinely blessed.

Since much beer is drunk at these cult festivals and at all
796 other celebrations and it is only available after harvest time,
794 from July to the end of October, all festivals occur exclusively
575 in these months. Every night, especially when there is moon-
273 light, one can hear the noise of drinkers and dancers from the banana groves. Usually they are mere drinking bouts which resound into the night and have no further importance, but often they are cult gatherings of the abandandwa in which only members of the fraternity may participate.

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
568 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

There is another group of persons who maintain close
756 relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with
791 supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person
756 in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

[55] 195 So as not to risk meeting a lion /intare/, they use the following expression when speaking of that animal: "the glutton" (lwabgiga).

The Blacks are never at a want for words. Their language is rich and lends itself to subtleties and to the development of the new ideas introduced by the Europeans.

198 In order to communicate among themselves, the members of the Ryangombe secret society have created a sort of dialect. Many [575] of its more common terms are known to the uninitiated but arouse mirth when used in ordinary speech.

We shall list here some of the words in this Rumandwa dialect:

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Rumandwa	Literal Sense	Runyarwanda	Meaning
Ameza	"Good things"	Amata	Milk
Ubgihinga	"A difficult thing to cultivate"	Uburo	Eleusine
Ibihimbaza	"Things that satisfy /hunger/"	Ibishimbo	Beans
Amaranda (1)	"Creeping things"	Amateke	Taraud /the dictionary meaning "screw cutter" does not seem to apply here. /

1. Or amabya y' abak ungu.

Umubonanya		Umutsima	Sorghum bread
Inganda		Inzoga	Beer
Akayoba nzara	"That which staves off hunger"	Itabi	Tobacco
Imirundi y' inkuba	"The legs of lightning," (that is to say, that which is shaped like a bolt of lightning).	Ibijumba	Sweet Potatoes /456/

794 575 Secret Societies. The cult of Ryangombe is practiced by the secret societies of babandwa. These societies unite men and women, Batutsi and Bahutu.

In Nduga, above all, the secret societies of babandwa embrace a considerable part of the population. There, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, they seem not only to represent well-organized religious groups, but also to play a role in politics.

This is said to be especially true of the Biheko cult, for example. It is blamed for many a disturbance in the northern part of Ruanda. Biheko was apparently a woman consecrated to Binego, the disciple of Ryangombe. She was killed by Lwabugiri who, it seems, in doing this fought the particularistic tendencies of the north. In order to escape the revenge of her spirit, Lwabugiri permitted his subjects to be initiated into the cult she represented. Since that time, the Biheko cult is said to have made great progress in Mulera and Bugoye.

According to Father L. Classe (1) Biheko was a man from

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 440.

Ndorwa whose brothers were Butindangezi, Gahaya, and Maloli.

[778] In Mulera the iron rods known as ikrosho are connected with the Biheko cult. They were already described in Mpororo by Stuhlmann (2) and associated with the Nyawingi cult.

2. Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika [Into the Heart of Africa with Emin Pasha] (Berlin, 1894), p. 253.

794 575 782 753 The dogma is somewhat as follows. Only those consecrated to Ryangombe may contact him, but it is necessary to establish contact with him. It is only through sacrifices that one can persuade Ryangombe to let the spirits that have been driven out return to the birunga (volcanoes) [306] and free the living from

794 them. This is of very great importance, especially in cases of
575 illness, for illness is, of course, caused by the spirits. That is
782 why sick people are often initiated into the secret societies of
753 babandwa. Sometimes this is done when they are already so ill that they are not quite conscious during the ceremonies, but the hope is that through the initiation the sick person will gain such a powerful protector that the latter will make possible the recovery of the new member. Despite these expectations, people do not omit the sacrifices to the manes of the sick person in order to receive their favor.

794 The existence of the [secret] society divides the population
575 into two classes: the consecrated and the profane. The consecrated ones, in turn, are divided into two subgroups, the babandwa who conduct the ceremonies and the rusingo, ordinary initiates of the lower grade. This creates a hierarchy in which discipline is exercised through fear of the supernatural power of the chosen ones. Hence the secret societies are powerful factors in social integration.

The hierarchy of secret societies does not correspond to the territorial division into chieftainships and exogamous clans. It creates dependencies that bridge these divisions, and the social structure is strengthened by the addition of these "supernatural powers."

794 It would be futile to speculate whether the states of the
575 interlacustrine region could exist without secret societies. It is
563 very probable, however, that the rule of the Batutsi and Bahima minorities is contingent on the organization of these societies. The ruling element seems to be disproportionately stronger among the babandwa, whose sons inherit their rank, than among the rest of the population, probably because the Ryangombe cult was allegedly a Batutsi cult originally. This view was expressed to me repeatedly in one way or another by missionaries and natives. It is supported by Rehse (1) who says that Ryangombe is regarded

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 134.

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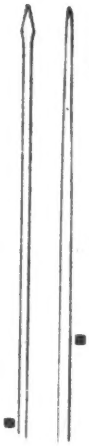

in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions
[643] that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[578] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

000 which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

794 575 825 The importance of the dog among babandwa[1] merits special attention. I was assured that the dog is the cow, that is, the most important and sacred animal, of the babandwa. I was unable to find out anything more specific about its role in the cult. The adherents of the theory that the states of central [177] Africa represent vestiges of Egyptian culture might see in the relationship of the dog to the cult of the "lord of departed souls" a reflection of Anubis who had the head of a dog.

794 575 The babandwa exert their power as medicine men, sacrificers, and soothsayers. These three functions are very closely related to each other and can hardly be separated. Besides the babandwa and the worshippers of Biheko, the balozi [poisoners] are also said to constitute a secret society.

Initiation. Initiation into a secret society is bound up with long and complicated ceremonies. There are two categories of consecrated ones, those who are fully consecrated and those who have undergone only the preliminary tests.

[308] I should now like to try to give a picture of the babandwa initiation ceremonies in Ruanda, which are very strictly kept secret.

The picture, pieced together by means of painstaking questions, shows a resemblance in the main with the description by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi, although the arrangement of the whole ceremony seems to bring out some differences.

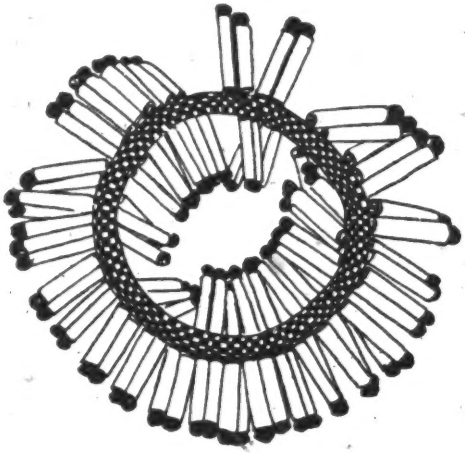
If a person who is to be accepted into the secret society of babandwa, for example, a sick person, as generally happens, has been told by the chicken oracle that he can be cured by initiation, he must bring gifts to the consecrated to make them favorably disposed toward him.

First of all an influential member is visited, one who might agree to act as guardian (godfather). The guardian, who is also called "father," invites the rest of the initiated into the house of the candidate for initiation.

Certain preparations must be made and a number of objects assembled before the initiation ceremony can take place. The candidate provides a sword, a bell, a torch, a large quantity of beer, and food supplies.

1 [i.e. Secret society members—Analyst]

794 On the appointed evening the members assemble in large
●575 numbers in the hut of the candidate and begin with the inevitable
293 beer drinking. The individual babandwa act as various bagaragu of Ryangombe, and this is shown by their insignia. Thus, the



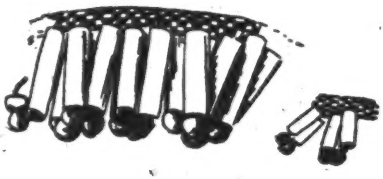


Fig. 164. Crown of Mugasha, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13033. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

representative of Mugasha is said to appear wearing a crown and carrying a scepter. The crown consists of a woven ring, similar to the ones placed under vessels, on which hang two rows of strings. On each string is a small reed cylinder [309] secured at the end with a seed of the wild banana. In Ruanda, as in the
794 other countries of the interlacustrine region, the banana is
575 associated with Mugasha. Similarly, Kagoro is here represented as a brave youth carrying a spear and a stick. In view of this, we expect that the cult of the lance (of Ikiranga), as described

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by Father Van der Burgt (1), is connected with Binego.

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German] (Bois-le-Duc, Hollande, 1903), p. 516.

The uninitiated may not be present at the ceremony, and they are driven away from the vicinity of the hut with such brutal blows from a stick that they must often pay for their curiosity with severe injuries, sometimes even with their lives.

When the ceremony is about to begin, the "father" and his "child" sit down on stools facing each other, with their legs spread apart. The members ask them what they are doing here. Candidate and guardian answer that they would like to be initiated into the society. The members refuse, and sometimes they even try to drive out the candidate with blows. It sometimes happens that the candidate with blows. It sometimes happens that the candidate loses his nerve and runs away, which ends the ceremonies. If he does not run away and the others agree to accept him, he is subjected to various tests which are supposed to prove that he is worthy of joining the society. The first tests are purely playful. He is requested to fetch a star and is told that whoever fails to do this is unworthy of being taken into the secret society. Thereupon the members take glowing embers from the hearth, toss them into the air repeatedly, and catch them in their hands. After this ceremony they again try to drive away the candidate with blows.

He is then given consecrated beer to drink through a straw that is plugged, and the same words are spoken: "If you do not succeed, you are unworthy of joining the order of babandwa." The initiated ones thereupon show that this is easy for them, and they drink beer with perfectly good straws. The candidate again does not succeed. After this comes the last test. The candidate is given stones to eat. Again he fails. The members pretend it is easy to eat stones and partake of bananas.

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576 The candidate then asks his guardian very timidly how one is to do all this. The guardian takes consecrated beer (buahoro) into his mouth and squirts it on the candidate. Later he rubs the candidate's face with kaolin (rumoni) and utters unintelligible, mysterious words. This ceremony is known as kurawa ingwa. After this is done, the consecrator takes [310] a live coal from the hearth, tosses it into the air, and the candidate catches it. Later he gives him beer to drink through a good straw and hands him a banana which the "child" eats. Then it is announced that the candidate can be accepted. At this moment the songs begin. During the singing the candidate is sent by his "father" to steal bananas. If he succeeds in doing this without being seen, he is congratulated when he returns to the gathering. They praise his cunning and greet him with the name which henceforth is his in the society. After this interlude, the songs are resumed, and the "father" proceeds with the initiation, using unintelligible words.

With his guardian the candidate sets out for the muku or mulinzi, the tree consecrated to Ryangombe. Here the consecrating mubandwa's helper, known as muhiruka, joins him. No one else is allowed in the vicinity of the tree. After making certain of this, the candidate is stretched out on his back on the ground, and the consecrator and his helper perform a wild dance. They repeatedly threaten to stab the candidate's chest with a sword. This ceremony is supposed to make the candidate realize what would happen to him if he should decide to commit an indiscretion against the society. At the same time it represents the oath of the consecrator that he will carry out the punishment.

When the dance is over, all three of them return to the hut where the members are assembled; the muhiruka leads the procession, followed by the candidate, while the mubandwa brings up the rear. The other members (babandwa) come to meet them. Among these is one known as kishego. Kishego carries a burning torch (lumuri) and a small bell which he rings. All of them together return to the hut of the candidate.

After their return, the candidate and the consecrating mubandwa sit on stools facing each other. Between them stands a pot of marwa (millet beer), and beside the pot sits an old woman with a forehead ornament that has a rabbit tail. She holds a piece

194 of muku wood in her hand. (Muku wood is consecrated to
595 Ryangombe.) All those present squat with their hands stretched out in front of them and call upon Ryangombe.

After the marwa has been sacrificed in this manner to Ryangombe, the candidate lies down on the floor in front of the old woman who, with the muku wood in her hand, is supposed to represent Ryangombe. The candidate says to the woman: "Unkize, undinde, muli uyu muaka umbesheho (Let me be restored to health, protect me this year)." The woman moves her head as though she agreed, mutters unintelligibly — mmmmm — and says: [311] "Nzakubesho, ntanga yewe (I shall protect you, I shall let you live, my child)"; later she adds: "Chwaga, chwagura Ryangombe," which is said to mean "Goodness in abundance, thou Ryangombe." Thereupon she takes beer into her mouth and spits it on the candidate. This is the core of the ceremony. After this everyone takes a small torch and roams about the hut as though he were looking for something. After this hunt, the peas (maharagi) and stiff millet mush (mutsima) previously prepared especially for this ceremony are eaten. The Batutsi on this occasion also drink milk. This concludes the ceremony for this day.

After the common meal, the one newly initiated joins in the singing and is ostentatiously honored by those present. He wears a crown of grass, joins in the beer drinking, and eats the sacrificial meat. After he is through eating, he is told that Ryangombe and above all the spirit whose name he bears will protect him, that he will have many children, and that he may attend the secret meetings. He is also taught the sacrificial formulas.

After these ceremonies they drink beer until morning. Shortly before sunrise everyone present, except the one newly initiated, goes to visit the huts in the neighboring banana groves. This ceremony is called simply kusega. Everywhere the visitors are served marwa and nzoga, depending on what the host has on hand, and given bananas as presents. After the visits the members return to the hut where the ceremony has taken place to drink up the remaining beer. Then they go home. On the next evening or a few days later the mubandwa and the muhiruka go to the new

194 initiate, eat with him, and warm some water which is poured
575 into the pot that contained the beer sacrificed to Ryangombe during the initiation. The water is drunk by the family of the new initiate. Afterward the bananas collected on the early morn-
[25] ing visits (kusega) are put in the underground warming place in order to ripen. After a few days, when the beer made from these bananas is ready, acquaintances come for a visit, and they are all served this beer (nzoga).

In this manner the candidate achieves the lower stage of initiation. He has become rusingu. Many remain here and do not go any higher.

In Batutsi initiation ceremonies, a cow is killed on this occasion. When the cow has fallen, the mubandwa, the muhiruka, and the candidate --these are always the three active persons -- place themselves on the fallen cow, one after the other. This ceremony is known as kwitonda gira. Only after that is the animal cut up and the meat divided among those present.

If a person who has been initiated wishes to rise higher in the hierarchy, if he wants to be a mubandwa instead of a rusingu, he goes to the "father" who initiated him [312] and asks for further initiation. If the "father" approves, a meeting is called for this purpose. The candidate, as on the first occasion, provides beer and food. Again, of course, the profane are excluded. Similar ceremonies are carried out, and the candidate is squirted with beer. This time, however, the tests are hard, and since only reliable and chosen people are admitted to the higher initiation, these ceremonies are still more mysterious. The candidates are always refused several times and admitted only at the third or fourth meeting. The one newly initiated must swear that he will not betray the secrets of the association nor in any way misuse the confidence placed in him. In taking the oath, the candidate touches the objects consecrated to Ryangombe, such as the crown, the bell, and others. After the ceremony the newly initiated member is accompanied home by the older members. All participants in this festive procession carry branches of the fig tree in their hands. From then on the newly initiated member has the right to sacrifice to Ryangombe, to introduce candidates to the secret society, and to be present at all the ceremonies. Having

794 been born anew as a result of the initiation, he is above the law
515 of the profane and belongs to the ranks of the chosen. He must not forget, however, to offer sacrifices to his patron spirit and to Ryangombe from time to time.

A somewhat different and much more detailed description of an initiation into the society of babandwa is given by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi. This description, it seems, refers to a higher grade of initiation, about which I could find out little in Ruanda. I give a summary of it here, obtained from data placed at my disposal by Father L. Classe.

For the initiation two babandwa are necessary, a man and a woman. The man is called mugogo saidja, and the woman, mugogo kazi. Another name for the man is musego, "the [male] consecrator," and for the woman, muchwezi, "the [female] consecrator." Both together are known as "parents," baishebuhemba. They also have helpers known as bihale. The candidate is regarded as their "child" in the ceremony. The "child" is usually ill. The ceremony is performed at the instigation of the soothsayer who has been previously consulted. A number of objects are necessary for the ceremony: a knife; an axe; fire; a stool; calabashes; two kinds of beer; a spoon; a stick; a large needle; a tobacco root; a small stick of musinge wood wound with hair from the tail of an animal (mbwisi) and sprinkled with white snuff (ntendere), the whole thing known as kimwanda; an arrow; a hoe; two small pieces of wood from the mulinzi tree, slightly hollowed out to make them look like boats and known as bilimbe; and finally the bisingo, that is, skins decorated with cowrie shells.

[313] After their arrival in the house of the candidate, the baishebuhemba, wearing their crowns, sit down on their stools. They represent the spirits taking part in the ceremony. The woman slides her hands alternately up and down the stick. The beer stands in front of them. The sick person lies at their feet and is given snuff. If he sneezes, it means that he qualifies for the initiation. If he does not sneeze, the initiation ceremony does not take place. A member of the family asks that the spirits have mercy on the person, heal him, accept him as one of them, and take possession of him. After that the mugogo puts the tobacco

794 root in the mouth of the sick man and keeps it there until the
575 man collapses, unconscious. Then a fire is lighted, and the hoe, arrow, and kimwanda are deposited beside it. Two spirits are invoked, for example, Ryangombe and Mugasha. The woman who represents Ryangombe is addressed by the man with the words: [782] "Come, oh Ryangombe! Heal and receive your man!" This prayer is called kwentongeza, that is, to let oneself be received, to be consecrated, consecration. With her mouth closed, the woman who represents Ryangombe imitates the mooing of a cow. This is called kutangana and is supposed to mean that the spirit is present. Then one of the members says: "I was kutanganirwa through the spirit N.N.," and the man hands the woman a drinking straw. "Ryangombe" takes beer into her mouth and squirts it on the sick person. This millet beer is kept in an earthen jug; it is made from the variety called endimasi which is dedicated to Ryangombe. Then the woman repeats the same prayer as she turns to the man. He replies with a sigh which is supposed to indicate the presence of Mugasha. The spirit also drinks through a straw which is handed to him by the woman. He drinks banana beer (luhagwa) from a calabash and spits it out on the sick person. Then the mugogo takes some ntendere from his kimwanda, gives the sick person a second portion of the white snuff in order to make him return to consciousness, hits him on the head with the kimwanda, and the sick person wakes up. This concludes the ceremonies of the first day. The baishebuhemba remain overnight in the house of the sick person. They live there for the four days that the ceremony lasts.

On the next evening the assembly goes into the bush a considerable distance from the huts to a place known as kagondo kato. The spirits are invoked in the same way as on the previous evening. The members drink beer and spit it on the sick person who, if he recovers, belongs to the spirits. Then the mugogo takes the knife and the axe and says threateningly to the sick person: "I shall kill you if you tell others what I am doing with you." The woman takes the stick, places it on the neck of the sick man, and threatens him in the same way. Then a few dances are performed, and they go home. This ceremony is known as mutalongo or kumeramera.

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[314] The major tests come on the third day. This time the ceremony lasts longer and breaks up around noon. Besides the above-mentioned articles, food and a bow with arrows are added. The party goes to kagondo kakuru, which is known as "big" because this place is not in the bush but at the foot of a large tree. The ceremony begins with laying the fire. The sick man lies stretched out on leaves at the foot of the tree. The mugogo climbs up on a little knoll and calls together the members in the neighborhood with the words: "Esaire, Esaire," that the consecrated ones. The babisi, the new ones or the non-consecrated, are not permitted and do not dare to come. Only those who were once initiated come. They approach as though they were going to a solemn festival. When all are assembled (sometimes 50 or more), amulets and medicines are burned so that the babisi, the profane or uninitiated, cannot harm their sacred wood.

Later the head of the sick person, who lies stretched out, is placed on the knee of someone present. He is told to put out his tongue, whereupon medicine is placed upon it. The mugogo takes a small flat piece of wood, shoves it under the man's tongue, and with his other hand takes a large needle smeared with medicine and sticks it into the tongue of the sick man so that the point of the needle penetrates the piece of wood. If blood flows, the ceremony is worthless, for it proves that the spirit rejects the person. The helpers hold the man by his arms and legs, his head still resting on the lap of another man who supports him. The needle is kept in the tongue for an indefinite period, depending on the age and strength of the person. Sometimes it is left for 20 to 30 minutes. During the entire time the people present are dancing. The women beat on the hides they are wearing, and the men shake the gourds containing beer. They sing two words alternately: wabo meaning "they [or she; Ger., sie]" and bagaburi meaning "they deny me." At the same time they place their arm rings in front of the mugogo to ransom the sick one. When there are enough arm rings, the mugogo pulls the needle out. The dancing ceases, and they eat. After the meal they call upon the spirit, and the sick person is threatened as on the two previous days.

794 Everything is repeated but much more madly. In the end all are
575 invited to assemble early the next morning for the final cere-
monies. The sick person is accompanied home, and there is dancing along the way. Sometimes for the rest of the night they stay out in the open, kulala alukome. The body of the sick person is rubbed with earth or sand so he will be all the more beautiful at the ablutions the next day.

On the fourth and last day the ceremony of mulwesero, "ablutions," takes place. Early in the morning all who have been invited go to a certain river, dressed in festive garb. A youth is held under water by the baishebuhemba; an adult dives [315] in after him. They hold their noses and ears shut with their fingers. The baishebuhemba pour water into the small boats made of mulinzi wood. After the diving, the trunk of the sick person is painted white with kaolin (runoni). Everyone present admires his beauty with the words: "You shine like a leopard; you are another person." There is celebrating and drinking on the shore of the river. Then, as on the previous days, the spirits are invoked. In the evening all the participants return, singing and dancing like maniacs. When they arrive in the courtyard of the house, they are given a hoe and four seeds: millet, manioc, gourd, and pea. The initiate buries them in the presence of his baishebuhemba and the others attending. They are placed on the two boats of mulinzi wood. Then he is given the name of a spirit and a crown with two cowrie shells. Not until later may the number of shells be increased. Then the initiate begins to act like one possessed. He goes so far as to abuse his relatives with indecent words. The baishebuhemba order him to lie down on the ground, and after a while the mugogo calls him by his ordinary name in order to remind him of his everyday life. The initiate pretends to be waking from a deep sleep. He looks at everyone present and greets them all quietly in the usual way. This is called "to take away the luchwezi." Then the initiation fees are paid, and the ceremony is over.

794 The two descriptions of the initiation ceremonies are some-
575 what different, but this probably indicates local differences in the
184 cult.[1]

1. [i.e. the Babandwa cult – Analyst]

794 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences.
575 We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the
184 squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in
575 their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and
198 which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

[601] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom every-
575 one may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to
782 Ryangombe and his disciples and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253 - Analyst]

Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Amulet	ngisha	–	mihasira	–
Arms	amaboko	–	mikolantambara	–
Bracelet (copper)	imiringa	imihone	–	–
Eyes	amaso	–	agaweza	–
Axe	–	–	nsenya	–
Banana	ekitoke	–	bihuni	–
Bananenenhain	indoke	–	bihungatete	–
Sweet potato	–	–	ebizibizi	–
To build	kubaka	–	kizizimba	–
Farmer	umuhutu	umunutu	–	–
Tree	ikiti	–	kisale	–
Legs	–	–	malibasa	–
Beer	nzoga	ruhunga	mayanza	–
To drink beer (nzoga)	–	–	–	kutshwaga hwagura
Bow	umuheto	umuneto	bulega	–
Archery	kurasa	kurasha	–	–
Firewood	ntushari	–	nsali	–
Dagger	umusenyi	umusenyi	–	–
Peas	maharage	–	ebihurugu	–
To eat	kulia	kutanyira	–	–
European	–	–	Bazubu	–
Meat	nyama	–	migasi	–
Fire	umuriro	umwoto	muto	–
Woman	umugore	umukari	mukankazi	–
To give birth	kubiara	kubuta	–	–
To go	kugenda	kuzenga	–	–
Face	amasso	amashongo	–	–
God	Imana	Imende	–	–
Grass	ubwatsi	–	bunyamurwa	–
Hair	imitsatsi	–	ichoke	–
Chief	umutware	chirima	–	–
House	inzu	inzakaru	enzakaru	–

6: Czekanowski--252 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Dog	imga	kakungu	–	kakungu
Kahindiro (king)	Kahindiro	Kamindiro	–	–
Calabash	kisabo	–	ensweina	–
Child	umwana	umuhere	–	ibikende
Client	umugaragu	umugarama	–	–
Cooking pot	nyungu	–	ntwerwa	–
Queen mother	–	–	muyarami	–
Head	umutwe	–	muyara	–
Herbs	imboga	iziboze	–	–
Cow	inka	ihangi	–	–
Cowhide	inkanda	inkabara	–	–
Lwabugiri (king)	Lwabugiri	Rwabuguru	–	–
Girl	mukobga	musundi, ntara-komereke	–	–
Man	umugabo	umulabo	umulenzi	–
Mat	ikirago	–	mukabali	–
Mush	umutsima	umubonania	–	–
My child	umwana wanye	–	umwere wane	–
[317] To milk	kukama	kukoroga	–	–
Milk	amata	ameza	masugunu	amafuro
Ears	amatwi	–	mahuliru	–
Arrows	umuambi	–	milasa	–
Rain	–	–	nfonyi	–
Salt	umunyu	umusenyi	–	–
To suckle	–	–	kunuka	–
Sheep	ntama	–	mbwana	inyabuhoro
Stool	–	–	kisunta	–
Spear	ichumo	ishongoro	masongola	–
To die	kupfa	–	kuyiruma	–
Cloth	–	–	migonzi, mikorokozi	–

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575
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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Tobacco	–	–	ihukula	–
Forest	ishamba	–	kichaka	–
Water	amazi	–	matingi	–
Way	inzira	–	muhura	–
Teeth	–	–	manono	–
Goat	ihene	inguruka	uzwika	kianwa
Tongue	urulimi	–	lurigizi	–

794 blood of the animal and placed on the chests, the foreheads, and,
575 last of all, the backs of those present. Then the mubandwa spreads
782 out small bundles of green twigs, muyambo, on the animal. When he has given the order to disperse, everyone begins to move. One person after another walks over the sacrificial animal and goes home without looking back; otherwise the sacrifice would lose all its meaning. In this procession the father goes first, then the sons, then the chief wife, followed by the other wives and their daughters. The mubandwa and his attendants remain at the place of sacrifice. [318] If someone passes in the vicinity of the sacrificial remains, he takes care to pick up a leaf, spit on it, and throw it in the direction of the remains, saying: "Do not pursue me (spirit, umuzimu, misfortune, or illness)." This refers to the fact that the evil, the spirit, or whatever has been cast off through the sacrifice might attack a passer-by at the crossroads.

The Batutsi sacrifice cows, sheep, and chickens, whereas the sacrificial animal of the Bahutu is the goat and, more rarely, sheep.

As far as I could ascertain, the meat of sacrificed cows is distributed to all present if the prophecy is favorable. If the entrails prophesy unfavorably, the meat is given to the Batwa. The family of the donor does not eat the meat of sacrificed sheep, but gives it to the mubandwa and his helpers who have performed the sacrifice. The ceremony described by Father Van Thiele thus undoubtedly refers to the sacrifice of a sheep, which he forgot to mention. The meat of sacrificial goats is eaten by the Bahutu who

have made the sacrifice and by their friends.

The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails, is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

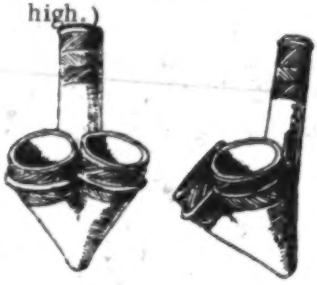

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cowhide known as mukane.

Among medicine men Father Van Thiele distinguishes two 759
different professional secret societies, the bakoni and the bageiye, 575
who are initiated with the banga ceremony. Bageiye heal persons suffering from snake bite.

I had no opportunity to see a bageiye perform in Ruanda. 752
When a man was bitten by a snake on the way to the Muhawura

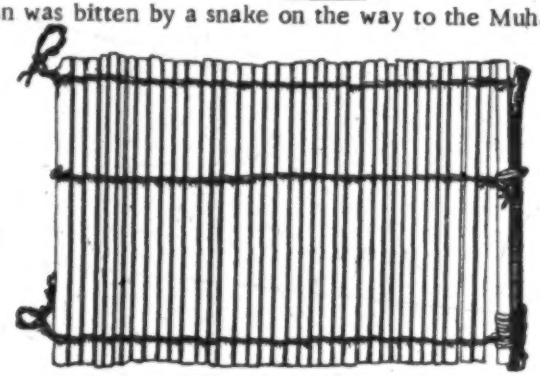

Fig. 178. Splints for Immobilizing Broken Bones, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13742. 26 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide.)

volcano, [327] the natives wanted to tie the head of the dead snake on the wound as an antidote.

The following account by Father Van Thiele about a preventive treatment for the greatly feared disease of smallpox 751
(bushita) is very interesting.

The medicine man first provides everyone with amulets consisting of gourd seeds. Even the water jug gets its amulet. Then he gives a preventive medicine which he boils. After the boiling he blows air into it through a straw so as to make foam which is rubbed all over the body. The efficacy of the medicine is increased by making incisions in five different places: three incisions over the right eye and one incision each on the right shoulder, the back, the right hand, and above the right foot. The medicine man spits on his little finger and rubs the incisions with it.

Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice. The problem of cannibal- 266
ism and human sacrifice in the interlacustrine region is the most 782
obscure and difficult of all. For example, in Ruanda the bimara, 651

266 782 651 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago. The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a muja (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[643] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 575 794 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in the north and by poisoners (balozi). Koch (1) confirms its occurence

1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

266 794 575 guards near corpses. They believe that if a person eats corpses he is imbued with weird, magical power and can turn into wild animals, as in our legend of the werewolf."

According to Johnston (2), the secret society of basezi in

[13] 2. Johnston, H., The Uganda Protectorate (London, 1902), p. 692.

Buddu and on the Sese Islands assembles at night and devours corpses. Johnston (3) characterizes the inhabitants of the Sese

3. Ibid., p. 693.

Islands as notorious cannibals who gave up this passion only when they were forced to by the Baganda.

Ruanda's western neighbors, the Bahunde, are likewise cannibals, as Dr. Kandt (4) has determined. He reports the

4. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 449.

following discovery: "Here lay the head of a human being that had been slaughtered not more than two days ago. The ears, the lips, and the flesh of cheeks, neck, and chin had been cut away, and the large hollow bones had been broken, apparently to suck out the marrow and the blood. The place where the fire had been, marked by ashes, was still visible; the blood-soaked apron of barkcloth and the straw and wire rings of the slaughtered person lay strewn about in the grass. I called the guides. They knew the man and said that if we wanted to look around we could find many other remnants of this kind, but I had no desire to do so."

From these facts we may conclude that formerly cannibalism was common in the entire interlacustrine region from the western lakes to the Sese Islands. Only recently suppressed, it has left definite traces in the cult and in secret societies.

1:Vanhove--14A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

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[opp. p. 18]

Two Bahutu mothers, their heads encircled with the urugori greet each other.
(Official photograph, Colonial Office.)

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

231 It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
776 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

576 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is
231 possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting"
[171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

Second only to cattle, sheep (intama; Plate 24a) are con-
231 sidered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised
[281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi
[262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (impene) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have
[262] to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but
[231] goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

276 has approximately the shape of a [Fig. 12 appears here in the original text] clothespin and is suspended from the neck on a string (Fig. 13). In order to take the snuff, the [Fig. 13 appears here in the original text] Murundi first pours some tobacco from the horn into the wooden bowl. He adds a little water and stirs the mixture until the water has turned into a brownish-green tobacco juice. Then he pours this sauce into the hollow of his hand and draws it in through his nostrils with an ecstatic grunt. All this is usually done in a sitting or squatting position (see Plate 28b). Since the juice would, of course, run out of his nose immediately, the already described nose clamp is pushed over the nostrils or the nose is blocked by gripping it between the index finger and the thumb. The pinch of snuff is considered good if it is sharp enough to bring tears to the snuff-taker's eyes. He will leave the stinging brew in his nose for three to five minutes or longer. Finally, when he has had enough of this pleasure, he bends forward, takes the clamp or his fingers from his nose and lets the slimy sauce drip to the ground. Any remainder is blown out of the nose with the fingers, and the fingers are wiped off on the bare legs. The entire procedure, which may be observed several dozen times each day, is so disgusting that it easily might cause one to be disenchanted with a sojourn among the Barundi if one did not remind himself that this is a subject for ethnological study which, as such, is beyond good and evil.

If one of the snuff-takers is suddenly overcome with the
276 desire to sneeze, he quickly blows out all the juice, aiding the
576 passage of it with his fingers; otherwise dire consequences would ensue. After he has sneezed, the bystanders wish him "kira" (bless you), whereupon he answers, "tukirane" (may things go well with us). Offering a pinch of snuff and accepting one which has been offered [60] are evidence of good breeding. Only the Batwa are never offered a pinch by the other Barundi, nor do they offer snuff to them (No. 19, p. 465).

273 Male and female Barundi of all tribal, status, and age groups are even more passionately addicted to alcohol in the form of beer (insoga). "If in general the Barundi are a sober

[Text continues on page 90]

563 The Batwa, however, stand entirely apart from and below the others. They are not slaves who are forced to render services, but they are regarded as excluded from the society of the others, as outcasts whom the Batussi and the Bahutu despise and detest. They are considered animals, not human beings (No. 19, p. 541). The Batussi and Bahutu do indeed buy all kinds of handicraft products, especially pots, from them and also employ them as medicine men, musicians, and watchmen, but they never enter into closer relationships with them. (In Ruanda it is more likely that exceptions will be made, especially at the royal court.) A Mutussi or a Muhutu will never enter the hut of a Mutwa, he will never eat or drink with him, nor will he use a pot or a garment which has already been used by a Mutwa. [95] Only one thing is permitted: the [576] Mutwa may greet the Murundi and return his greeting although in a different manner than a Murundi would have done.

576 554 Depending on the social status of the person who tenders a greeting and the person greeted, there are considerable differences between the forms of greeting used among the Barundi. In all cases the greeting is tendered and returned with a certain amount of ceremonial politeness so much so that some observers maintain that greetings are a kind of religious act. Even the words of the stereotyped greeting often suggest a religious connection (see p. 46). It is perhaps for this reason, but even more likely because of the great innate or learned politeness of the Murundi, that each of them would consider it a serious insult if he were not greeted or if his greeting were not returned. Corresponding to the social stratification of the people, we may differentiate three large groups of greetings.

576 643 554 1. Greeting the king. The person greeting the king kneels down, bends toward him, claps his hands in his direction, and calls out: "uganse umwami" (command me, King) or "ugire umwami" (may you enjoy good health, King). The members of the royal family, the Baganwa, who for the most part rule the provinces as head chiefs, are greeted in a similar fashion.

554 576 2. Greeting the batwale who are not of royal blood and the lesser chiefs of communities. The person tendering the greeting bows

554 toward the mutwale and calls out "amahoro umutwale" (Peace,
576 Mutwale) or "mwakeje umutwale" (did you wake up in good health, Mutwale?), whereupon the person addressed simply answers "amahoro" or "mwakeje." Or the person tendering the greeting calls out "turakuje ubwatsi" (we offer you grass) or "sjinde awansi" (conquer your enemies). At the same time the greeter plucks a handful of leaves, straw, or grass and places them at the feet of the king or the mutwale. This is a symbol of submission for the grass or straw is the symbol of the soil and of all that grows on it (No. 14, p. 48; No. 22, p. 254; No. 4, p. 79). The "grass homage" is a widespread custom among the
[71] Hamitic nations of herdsmen and it also plays a ceremonial role among the Galla (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, p. 275).

576 3. Greetings exchanged between ordinary Barundi. There is an extraordinary number of different types of greeting depending on the time of day, the occasion and the person involved, etc. In this type of greeting, "mwakeje" or "amahoro" is also used as the beginning phrase in most cases, but after that there follows a whole flood of phrases exchanged between the two persons. When taking leave, it is quite customary to call "ibaba" or "akababa" to the other person. These words are also used by the Wanjamwesi (No. 19, p. 529).

The Barundi do not embrace or kiss each other as a form of greeting, but there is a peculiar kind of accolade which is the customary form of greeting among relatives and friends. It is executed in a very ceremonial fashion and is accompanied by many turns of speech (No. 23, 1904, p. 36). If someone meets one of his relatives or a close acquaintance, he first gazes at him for some time without saying anything and then approaches, stretching his folded hands toward the person. The other takes these folded hands between his own and then gently strokes the arms of the person who greeted him. At the same time, the chests and heads of the two approach one another as though they intended to embrace. While these gestures are being made, numerous phrases of greeting are exchanged. The words

576 "ischo, scho, amascho"(cattle, cattle herd) are used frequently and signify that each wishes the other the greatest possible prosperity and happiness, namely, cattle. This is a very characteristic herdsmen's greeting which undoubtedly has been introduced by the Batussi (see p. 46).

431 576 [96] Giving and receiving presents (isimano, ingawano) play a very important role in social intercourse. This also takes various forms depending on the social status of the donor and recipient and the event which occasioned the present. In Urundi it is an extremely frequent custom to give presents out of friendship, respect, politeness, or as a sign of submission. However, only rarely is the donor unmotivated by selfishness. In most cases he aims at receiving a present in return to which, according to custom, he is in fact entitled. If a present is given to the mutwale, the aim is to secure his favor in official decisions. To discontinue exchanging presents is regarded as a sign of hostility, the rejection of a present is considered a serious insult. The gift to be presented, whether it consists of field produce, pots of honey, goats, jugs of beer, or something else, is placed at the feet of the recipient. At the same time the donor never fails to taste a little of the food presented in order to show that it is neither poisoned nor bewitched. Then the donor makes a solemn speech assuring the other person of his affection and respect and asking him to return these friendly feelings; finally he openly requests a nice return present. This is what custom demands. The recipient of the gift replies in the same solemn manner and in the end promises a return present or has it brought immediately. At the sight of the present the other person frequently breaks into shouts of joy or begins a wild dance. Custom also requires that a little portion of the present be returned at once to the donor. This, of course, considerably facilitates the giving of presents (No. 19, p. 87). The Batwa among themselves also practice these customs connected with the giving of present, but to their Barundi chiefs they may only present pots, iron tools, weapons, tobacco pipes, or firewood, and, under no circumstances, beer, honey, or other foodstuffs since a Murundi would never eat food given to him by a pariah.

[563]

796 794 575 [576] Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured; another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him generous presents of beer and cattle.

Now the dance begins under the direction of a female 796 leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the 794 flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist 575 joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each 535 other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward, sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are accompanied by staggering steps. The dance excites the participants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl leading the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer. Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively applause" (No. 45, 1913).

The women are usually particularly skillful in this role. 796 794 The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head, 575 which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells. 786 Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred: "All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of participants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

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main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

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is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

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773 from the heavenly world. According to some versions of this tale, they came
564 with their servant, Mutwa, who mated with a forest ape. From that union all Batwa are descended. Such tales clearly reveal the fundamental differences which the Banyarwanda see among their castes.

564 When such a picture of 'natural' differences, so significant from the point of view of power, is accepted, the inevitable consequence is that some
554 men are born chiefs and others labourers. Inferiority and superiority are due not to personal qualities but to membership of certain groups. By belonging to different castes, people have fundamentally unequal rights. If
[682] an ordinary Mututsi kills a Muhutu, one kinsman of the murderer could eventually be killed in retaliation if the king authorized it. If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two lives were taken.

The principle of the fundamental inequality between social groups thus established in Ruanda has spread from the original inter-caste relations to intra-caste situations. A man superior to another member of his class because of his functions or his wealth, or even his ability, tends to assume towards his inferior an attitude similar to that of a Mututsi *vis-à-vis* a Muhutu. Of course the conception of inequality between superiors and inferiors of the same class is not so rigid as that between the castes, but it permeates all hierarchical situations in Ruanda.

554 The theme of inequality was embodied in the indigenous political organization, so that political relations clearly express the attitudes socially ex-
571 pected from superiors and inferiors. They are quite understandable if one bears in mind that they originate from an inter-caste situation. Authority as such is all-embracing. According to Western conceptions, any authority is defined not only as regards the people who are subject to it, but also in respect of the matters falling within its competence. A man who gives orders to another because they are on different levels in a hierarchical scale may be considered his equal in other relations. In Ruanda, there is almost no sphere of life in which an inferior is free from the interference of his superior. Because Batutsi are considered fundamentally superior to the Bahutu, there is no field in which they can feel equal. This attitude has been transferred to any hierarchical situation. The complementary attitude of dependence is, of course, expected from the inferior. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a clearly defined field; dependence is inferiority in the totality of life. The dependent person has to submit to his master in any question. There is no domain where he is free even to express a contrary opinion. As the dependent has always to
554 acquiesce even when orders are quite impracticable, he has to conceal his
571 opinions and find excuses for not doing what has been ordered. Double-dealing, politeness, or a utilitarian conception of language, are the only de-
●516 fences of the dependent. Some time ago, a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. When the most important person had given his views, everybody voted for his proposition. But after the assembly, many expressed disagreement. At the

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time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with their superior.

On the other hand, no superior enjoys a purely arbitrary power. There are norms which are informally enforced by social pressure; and this is particularly important for people so concerned about their reputations. Since, moreover, there are several chiefs of equal rank belonging to different political structures, it is not difficult for the subject of one superior to secure support in opposing him from another. Finally, there is the possibility of appeal to a higher authority empowered to control subordinate chiefs. All this limits, in fact, the authority of chiefs, but nevertheless the authority of a superior cannot be questioned by his subjects. They may escape, intrigue, or look for another protector, but they cannot offer direct opposition. The Western conception of contract, derived from Roman law, with well-defined obligations on both parties who are equal before and during the contract, is accordingly not understood or acted upon even by Banyarwanda who have long been familiar with our culture.

Any superior is a protector, and his protection is of the same character as his authority: all-embracing and limited only by his own convenience. In any difficulty, the inferior may ask the help of his master, and, if help is refused, it will not be on the grounds that the superior is not concerned with that aspect of the life of the subordinate. On the other hand, the superior himself will be the only judge of the limits of his intervention, for the dependent has no right to require anything from his superior.

Everywhere men in authority enjoy advantages denied to those whom they command, but it is often felt that justification is needed for these privileges. In Ruanda such rationalizations do not seem to be required. It is taken for granted by everybody, the subjects included, that superiors as such should derive profits from their position. The very high standard of living of Europeans is accepted without any criticism by 'traditional' Banyarwanda not yet imbued with egalitarian principles.

The conception of authority as all-embracing, unlimited, protective, profitable, and of inferiority as dependent, devoid of rights, fundamentally weak, and generally exploited, is exactly suited to a structure of castes composed of human beings who are thought to be fundamentally different and unequal. On these inter-caste relations all hierarchical relations have been modelled. This means that the conceptions and attitudes which have just been sketched pervade most human relations in Ruanda. Indeed, very many human interactions involve persons who, in Ruanda, are placed on a hierarchical scale: man and woman, husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, old and young, craftsman and apprentice, &c., and when there is also a superiority-inferiority situation, even though confined to one aspect of the relation, the whole of that relation is impregnated with inequality.

Another basic principle governing the field of human relations in Ruanda is that of indefinite reciprocity. Whenever somebody receives a service,

142 lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs,' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies,' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, [141] while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'." (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

233 This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them
556 than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a
181 sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart," they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!, "May you come to own many cows!"

774 776 The figures honored by the members of this secret society rank as demigods. Their protection is believed to be effective in the various circumstances of public and family life. As a result, their disciples appeal to them for the obtaining of any material benefit, recovery from illness, ownership of cattle, good relations with chiefs or neighbors, triumph over enemies, protection against bewitchers or spell casters, fecundity, etc.

[576] In order to reach these goals, the initiates respectfully come to the man who plays the role of Ryangombe, greet him, kneel at his feet, address his companions, and offer them gifts.

There is a traditional way to honor these spirits of varying rank and position. No rite is overlooked. Ceremonial dress, gestures, words, offerings, everything is foreseen and prescribed by immutable laws.

Each of the "patrons" has a peculiar costume and special insignias which the man who plays his role must perforce take into account. They are offered gifts of various kinds, and chants or "paeans" are sung, recalling to the spectators the brilliant deeds of their protectors.

1. Ryangombe is represented as seated on a native chair, with a cutlass suspended from his neck. One sets down at his side a [273] vessel full of lustral water and a large jar of pombe, beer made of sorghum or banana juice.

The ladies who wish to honor him hold in their hands a household spatula (umwuko). His adepts imitate the call of the hyena to [198] praise him (2). /364/

2. Is this a vestige of the ancient tribal totems? We cannot be sure.

2. Binego, son of Ryangombe, is called the "Liberator" because he saved his father from ruin and dishonor.

The man who plays his role holds a spear and stick and has a pipe (urwika in the language of the initiates) and a small gourd full of banana beer.

241 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribes-
558 men, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She domi-
●576 nates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title, "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576 Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior
554 first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

●576 554 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is customary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

231 805 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

231 192 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[556] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruanda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[554] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

563 the law. The law of the land is, of course, a "master's law"
671 which favors the Batussi in all respects. In contrast, the Bahutu as bondsmen enjoy few privileges, and the Batwa are almost entirely without rights. The Batussi batwale often commit grave violations of the law, especially in their dealings with the Bahutu and Batwa without, however, being held responsible for such infractions. It is only the fear of vendetta that puts a restraint on their arbitrariness.

As is the case among all primitive people, the ethical
577 concepts of the Barundi regarding what is right and wrong are elusive. Questions aimed in this direction either remain unanswered or the reply is simply: "We do not know" or "the headman says so" or "our parents, superiors, the king wish it that way," and similar answers (No. 19, p. 381). One never hears that "conscience" prescribes certain actions or that the ghosts, the manes, or the gods wish it that way. Whatever is said on this subject has probably been suggested by the questioners, especially the missionaries. In contrast, concrete concepts of
671 law are much clearer. They are chiefly based on conditions of ownership and on social conditions, and they define something as right or wrong depending on whether it benefits or impairs these conditions which have become traditional.

As has been mentioned above (p. 91) the king is, in
423 principle, the sole owner of the entire land and fields and of all the cattle in the country. As described above (p. 86), the batwale and the lesser district chiefs -- almost always Batussi -- hold larger or smaller portions of this royal property in feudal tenure, and they, in turn, parcel out smaller portions for the use of those Batussi who are not officials or for the use of the Bahutu. Whatever these latter produce from the fields and from the cattle belongs to them by law as their own property after they have paid their tribute to the feudal lords. The huts and the courtyard which the Murundi has set up on the plot of land left to him are also his property. However, he can be driven from his house and field, for example, if he fails to pay his tribute or if he has committed murder of theft and also if the feudal lord wishes to put someone else in his place, either a

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main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

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181 *mugabo* (a rich man) and a *mukungu*—a very rich man possessing a few
564 cows, many fields, goats, and bee-hives. He enjoys the recognition of his
554 fidelity to his master and his qualities as a labourer.

The Batwa never had the stability of peasants. They were hunters, potters, dancers, buffoons, and were regarded by their neighbours as being on the margin of society. They did not possess anything that others could envy. Consequently security from exactions was not such an important value for them. As people who lived a hazardous and unsettled existence, they greatly appreciated momentary and immediate satisfactions, and among these, food, especially during periods of scarcity, was the object of their activity. Their principal means of securing food varied according to their particular occupations. Hunters depended on their ability and their courage, of which they were very proud. Dancers, musicians, and buffoons relied on their talents and on the favour of their masters, their loyalty to whom was widely recognized. Indeed it is said that one could rely upon a Mutwa much more than on anybody else.

The social and economic situation of the Batwa explains and to some extent determines the value they attach to gratifying the basic need for food. Ability in their specialized occupations and a blind faithfulness to their masters were the best means to achieve that satisfaction, but skills and loyalty were also valued for themselves.

Rules of Human Action

517 These values, ultimate and intermediate, were eagerly sought by Banyar-
183 wanda but, as in any society, some means for realizing them were prohibited under certain circumstances. Stealing is rarely, if ever, culturally accepted as an ordinary practice for getting rich. Socially defined values are to be reached by socially approved means. We do not suggest that, in a particular society, the rules of action appear as merely social imperatives, or that the only basis for these rules is social. We would point out that some rules of action, whatever their origin and their philosophical foundation, are part of the collective heritage in any society. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, there are such rules of action. Murdering somebody who is not an enemy of one's family is prohibited. Women are forbidden to commit adultery and, among Batutsi and Bahutu, unmarried girls may not have sexual intercourse. When an order is issued by somebody in authority it has to be obeyed.

517 Does submission to the rules appear only as the rational behaviour of one
626 who wishes to avoid an external punishment or is it moral conduct? Does a prospective offender refrain from wrong-doing simply in order to avoid very probable and unpleasant consequences, or is it his conscience which tells him that he should not follow his desire?

Of course this is not an either-or problem, but the question of degree or relative stress is important. Even in cultures which lay most stress on the moral motivation to action, external social sanctions are useful deterrents from prohibited behaviour. In Ruanda these external sanctions exist. Those

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who steal cattle, or set fire to huts, or commit adultery are punished by the political or family authorities. Social sanctions are not only physically enforced penalties, such as corporal punishment and compensations, but also the unorganized reactions of the people who know the delinquent: kin, neighbours, clients, and lord. For the Batutsi, for whom reputation stands high in the scale of values, this is extremely important. According to our informants, the fear of being considered a man without loyalty or without dignity, the dread of being despised by one's family, prevent many breaches of rules. To use Kluckhohn's terminology, we may say that Ruanda's is a shame-culture. But it is also a guilt-culture. When a Munyarwanda has transgressed some rule so secretly that there is not the slightest chance of his being found out and incurring punishment and shame, he nevertheless feels guilty and knows, our informants told us, that his action is bad. When a child has disobeyed his father without the latter's knowledge, he thinks not only of the unpleasant consequences that the discovery of his misbehaviour might produce but also (and some informants say 'mainly') of the wickedness of the act itself. The Ruanda word for conscience, *kamera*, means something that is internally felt. It is situated in the heart.

That the Banyarwanda have a 'conscience' will not be rated as a great discovery by some. But since some recent studies, such as Kluckhohn's on the Navaho, have stressed the fact that, in some cultures, submission to rules seems to be realized almost entirely through a rational concern to avoid punishment or shame, it does not seem superfluous to consider how far observance of rules is, or is not, linked to ethical principles and feelings of guilt.

Let us now attempt to indicate more precisely how moral wrong is conceived in the Ruanda culture. As has been already mentioned, *Imana* is not the guardian of the moral order. Sometimes he seems to be regarded as its author in the sense that he might have decided that men should not steal; but it is clear that when a man steals another man's cows, *Imana* is not personally offended. Those who are offended are those who have been wronged by the action, or those who had issued an order which has been disobeyed. When *Imana* has not been directly injured (as by blasphemies), or when the injury done to another has not been specifically forbidden by him, he is not thought to be offended. The victim could, however, ask *Imana* to punish the wrongdoer and if he then became ill, it would be said that *Imana* had punished him.

The other agencies of the supernatural world have even slighter relations with ethical values. The *bazimu* are naturally malevolent and punish only those actions which they take to be directed against themselves. A way to honour the spirit of somebody who had been a thief during his life was to simulate a robbery. *Ryangombe* and his fellows were not models of morality during their earthly existence and they did not care about the ethics of their followers. Nor was there any punishment after death. For those who believe that there are two kinds of life after death—happy or unhappy—the

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577 qualification for the happy one is not to live a blameless life on earth, but to
776 undergo initiation into the *Ryangombe* cult.
775

Thus the ethics of the Banyarwanda are not integrated on a religious
577 basis such as the will of God. What is the principle of integration, or rather, we should first ask, are their ethical conceptions integrated? On the surface they consist, like any moral code, of a multiplicity of prohibitions, orders, and exhortations. Have they achieved a synthesis of these separate elements by reducing the multiplicity to one or a few principles? Or, what amounts to the same thing, could they give a definition of good and evil?

577 In Ruanda a great number of particular rules are subsumed under general
183 principles such as: do not do what is harmful to people of your group or of your country; do what people related to you would like; submit to your superiors. Principles such as these are already on a higher level of abstraction than the particular rules. When informants are asked to account for a given rule or principle they give as the final justification: 'It has always been done that way in Ruanda.' We may perhaps express the Ruanda definition of good and evil in these terms: That is good (or evil) which tradition has defined as good (or evil).

Tradition is indeed a powerful force in cultures which, as in Ruanda, have been isolated for centuries from world currents. Each generation is more conscious of the importance of what it has received from the preceding one than is possible when much of what constitutes its way of life comes not from its ancestors but from some other social tradition. Moreover, their relations with their neighbours whom they frequently subjugated have persuaded Banyarwanda of the excellence of the ways of life transmitted by their forefathers. In such a situation the traditional character of a rule appears to be sufficient justification. If the ancestors, who were so wise, behaved in that way it would be preposterous to question it.

But it would be misleading to picture the Banyarwanda as following blindly the moral rules framed in a remote past without having any idea of their purpose. Some old men have a clear understanding of the social significance of certain rules. They explained, for example, that the duality of the
[562 rules concerning adultery committed by the husband or by the wife was
837] accounted for by the importance of the wife's function in procreation. She has thus a greater responsibility than the husband for maintaining the integrity of the family.

577 Does this kind of thinking extend so far as independence of tradition?
183 Some informants told us that, apart from the authority of custom, some actions were thought of as dishonourable in themselves. But these in-
177 formants were Christians and, apparently, very much influenced by their religion. Moreover, they could not quote a clear case of conflict between tradition and ethics.

577 No moral code can achieve an absolute character in all its precepts.
183 Prohibitions and commands frequently relate only to certain categories of
673 persons and situations. Even the Christian Western ethic, which realizes to

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a very considerable extent universality and absoluteness, qualifies some of 577
its commands. The degree of absoluteness and universality of the Ruanda 183
rules of conduct is much lower. We might say that most of its precepts are 673
qualified in relation to persons and circumstances. To steal cattle was forbidden, but a Mututsi could take the cattle of a Muhutu who had no lord. For a Muhutu to rob a foreigner was not forbidden. A wife might not commit adultery, but she was allowed to have sexual relations with people when ordered by her husband to do so and, even without her husband's permission, a woman could have intercourse with her husband's brothers and parallel cousins. Killing a man was prohibited, but not if he was an enemy of Ruanda or of the family, and if the feud had not been barred by the king. Banyarwanda certainly had no idea of rules of behaviour applicable to all men in virtue of their common humanity. This is perfectly consistent with the Ruanda conception of mankind and the very significant inequalities which Banyarwanda observe between themselves and neighbouring peoples and, among themselves, between the different castes.

To conclude, the rules of human action which prohibit or enjoin the use 577
of certain means in order to achieve the culturally recognized values of 183
Ruanda are sanctioned, not only by organized and unorganized social reac- 626
tions but also by individual conscience or guilt feelings. The foundation of this moral code is not religious or supernatural but traditional; its content is a multiplicity of rules synthesized under a few moral principles. Particular precepts do not have a universal application but are relative to persons and groups.

Human Relations

Two principles dominate the field of human relations in Ruanda: in- 181
equality of men and indefinite reciprocity.

For the Banyarwanda all men have indeed a common nature; they are 564
ultimately the descendants of the same ancestor. But this notion does not 828
seem to be very significant, for Banyarwanda are much more impressed by the differences displayed by the various castes. The characteristics of these castes are stereotyped and repeated in many folk-tales. Batutsi are intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), apt to command, refined, courageous, and cruel. Bahutu are hard-working, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong. Batwa are gluttonous, loyal to their Batutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, lacking in restraint. These characteristics, with differences in stress and shading, are generally recognized by all Banyarwanda. As they reflect the Mututsi point of view, it appears that the superior caste has been able to make other people see themselves in important respects as Batutsi see them. Moreover, those qualities are considered to be innate, not acquired. A Mututsi is born clever 773
and a Muhutu impulsive. Some tales, more widely known than those con- 564
cerning the creation of man, relate how the first Batutsi came to Ruanda

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time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with their superior.

On the other hand, no superior enjoys a purely arbitrary power. There are norms which are informally enforced by social pressure; and this is particularly important for people so concerned about their reputations. Since, moreover, there are several chiefs of equal rank belonging to different political structures, it is not difficult for the subject of one superior to secure support in opposing him from another. Finally, there is the possibility of appeal to a higher authority empowered to control subordinate chiefs. All this limits, in fact, the authority of chiefs, but nevertheless the authority of a superior cannot be questioned by his subjects. They may escape, intrigue, or look for another protector, but they cannot offer direct opposition. The Western conception of contract, derived from Roman law, with well-defined obligations on both parties who are equal before and during the contract, is accordingly not understood or acted upon even by Banyarwanda who have long been familiar with our culture.

Any superior is a protector, and his protection is of the same character as his authority: all-embracing and limited only by his own convenience. In any difficulty, the inferior may ask the help of his master, and, if help is refused, it will not be on the grounds that the superior is not concerned with that aspect of the life of the subordinate. On the other hand, the superior himself will be the only judge of the limits of his intervention, for the dependent has no right to require anything from his superior.

Everywhere men in authority enjoy advantages denied to those whom they command, but it is often felt that justification is needed for these privileges. In Ruanda such rationalizations do not seem to be required. It is taken for granted by everybody, the subjects included, that superiors as such should derive profits from their position. The very high standard of living of Europeans is accepted without any criticism by 'traditional' Banyarwanda not yet imbued with egalitarian principles.

The conception of authority as all-embracing, unlimited, protective, profitable, and of inferiority as dependent, devoid of rights, fundamentally weak, and generally exploited, is exactly suited to a structure of castes composed of human beings who are thought to be fundamentally different and unequal. On these inter-caste relations all hierarchical relations have been modelled. This means that the conceptions and attitudes which have just been sketched pervade most human relations in Ruanda. Indeed, very many human interactions involve persons who, in Ruanda, are placed on a hierarchical scale: man and woman, husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, old and young, craftsman and apprentice, &c., and when there is also a superiority-inferiority situation, even though confined to one aspect of the relation, the whole of that relation is impregnated with inequality.

Another basic principle governing the field of human relations in Ruanda is that of indefinite reciprocity. Whenever somebody receives a service,

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577 431 whenever goods are given to someone, a return is expected. This return is not the exact counterpart of what has been provided and is not due immediately or at a precisely determined time. By the granting of a favour, an almost permanent relationship is established between two persons, extending eventually to their immediate relatives. Undoubtedly some obligations are more formalized, such as those resulting from some kinds of exchange (*kuguza*), loan (*gutiza*), &c. But many relations which, in Western culture, would result in strictly defined obligations, do not have the same consequence in Ruanda. The man who receives a service or a gift is not expected to return its equivalent immediately. Such behaviour would even be frowned upon. He should wait till he is asked to return other services or goods. This is indeed the intention of the man who grants the favour: to put somebody under an undefined obligation.

There are several reasons for these relations of reciprocity. First, in an economy in which there is no standard value in relation to which everything may be assessed, it is not easy to determine a precise equivalent for goods. Second, where there is no standard medium of exchange, such as [436] money, which can be accumulated without deteriorating, it is usually difficult to have the required equivalent to hand. Third, in a material culture in which the technological development does not allow of specialization, one has to rely on many people. It is thus very useful to have permanent debtors. Finally, and this is very important, the principle of reciprocity is much more consistent with other parts of the Ruanda culture than are alternative methods. In that culture people are not regarded as independent and equal. Consequently any relation will be so interpreted as to magnify the elements of dependence and inequality implicit in it. Moreover, to have power over somebody is an ultimate value for the Batutsi. They will thus prefer to keep a debtor under the vague obligation to do something, some day, rather than receive immediate compensation.

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800 years before our era. To him is attributed the erection of the lotus column in the Temple of Karnak.

[141] 2.10 meters. /29/

142 They have well-proportioned limbs, regular features, a straight nose, thin lips, and they present striking resemblances to the Egyptian Pharaohs. Like Ethiopians, the Batutsi are characterized by a brown complexion with reddish undertones, at least in some types, and by a somewhat elongated oval face.

157 Usually gay, they are easily approachable and impress others with their noble, slightly haughty but polite manner.

141 While the average stature of the Batutsi is estimated at 1.79 meters, that of the Bahutu is 1.67 meters. The latter are stockier and shorter, with less regular features. Their muscular strength is 147 greater than that of their masters, no doubt because of the heavy work they perform.

152 As a whole, the Bahutu are less appealing, less polite, and shier than the Batutsi. When angry they cannot control themselves 577 as well as the latter, but on the other hand they are simpler and have more rigid mores (1).

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1. Most of the great chiefs are polygamous or keep concubines in their many domains. The simpler Hamitic herders, who are in the majority, are usually monogamous and of a sterling moral character equaling that of the Bahutu. One might even add that those who lead a pastoral life could give the Bahutu advice in matters of decency.

[i.e., the Batutsi - Analyst]

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The great traditions of military
867 courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, 577 *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were pre-
[571] dominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose
[152] one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There
867 was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control.
152 By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

86 Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The
702 Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority
186 of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

564 This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities
184 required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become
86 warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

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subordinate's activities. This is not resented by the inferior as unbearable meddling. On the contrary, it is expected by the inferior who feels that such interference is a proof of the interest his superior extends to him. When a European employer avoids intruding into the privacy of a Ruanda subordinate, the latter not infrequently tends to interpret it as a withdrawal from the protective role expected from any superior.

If a subordinate were to refuse his Ruanda superior's interference on the grounds that he should not be concerned with his private affairs, such a pretension would be regarded as at least a definite lack of respect.

Theorem Four

Strictly contractual relations are not possible. To enter into a contract implies that the intended parties are previously independent of one another. If one is submitted to the other for the whole of his life, how could he freely commit himself to give the other certain services? And how could the other promise to secure his inferior a counterpart that the latter can legally claim? When entering into contractual relations, it is necessary that each prospective partner should be a person independent of and equal to the other in that context. In the Western world, admittedly, it frequently happens that an agreement which verifies the juridical forms of a contract is entered into by persons who are not independent and equal. Circumstances may exert such a pressure that freedom to accept or refuse a particular obligation is purely illusory. Conditions of independence and equality, however, are often realised. In ancient Ruanda such a situation could almost never have happened as it was rare for two persons who might otherwise be related by a contract, not to be already involved in paternalistic and dependent relations.

Moreover, after the contract has been concluded it is necessary that each partner should be able to defend himself against any demand of the other which would exceed the terms of the covenant, and that he should have the means to oblige the other to fulfil what the latter has agreed to give or to do. This implies again that one part is not completely dependent on the other. Now, as I mentioned earlier, the extent of the superior's obligations is left, in Ruanda, to his will and pleasure. Consequently, it was unthinkable for the party who was at the same time in a position

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being regarded as insulting, disrespect or revolt, the only way out for the inferior is to appear to behave always as expected: to fall in with any desire of his superior while concealing his own opinion, never to say no to any order but to find clever excuses for not doing it. Consequently dissimulation is very highly thought of and a skill necessary to master for someone wanting to live more or less securely under such a political régime.

Many stories and proverbs give evidence of the frequency of covert disobedience to the rulers and of the appreciation in which an astute excuse and a 'good lie' were held. This was the only way to adapt oneself to such a situation.

Theorem Seven

It is commonly accepted in the Western tradition that truth has a high value and that language is the medium used to express 'truth', that is to say, 'what reality appears to be to the person who speaks'. Undoubtedly, in Western practice, language is used, even in the cognitive sphere, for many other purposes than to express what the speaker thinks. Moreover, most of the scholars who, in recent years, have studied the problem of the origin and function of language, bring qualifications to the traditional view. In the almost unanimous opinion of the carriers of Western culture, however, the ideal verbal behaviour must express 'truth' and not what is useful to the speaker. This is, for example, what is inculcated into children in schools.

In a society in which human relations are imbued with some cultural premises as the one being considered in this chapter, 'truth' cannot be recognized as a dominant value. Indeed, one is supposed to use language not to say what is thought to conform to reality but what is thought to conform to the ruler's opinion. Nobody, the ruler included, entertains many illusions on the sincerity of what is said, but submission has been expressed at the right time and this is felt to be most important.

This theorem could be formulated in this way: the verbal behaviour towards a superior must express dependence rather than 'truth'.

Theorem Eight

Once it is taken for granted that in hierarchical relations, behaviour must conform to the superior's expectations even to the

562 that of Burundi, are by definition socially inferior to men. Political power, judicial rights, inheritance of cows and lands, and, indeed, the right to independent action outside the walls of the house, are traditionally accorded to men only.[3] Yet, in point of fact, there are [556] women who enjoy considerable authority and who own or control cows, lands and other forms of wealth. What a Rundikazi—a woman of Burundi—cannot do as a woman, she manages very well to do as a Rundi. The life-history of an individual is limited but not fully determined by the formal structures of the society. The dynamics of the social system make provision for political and economic mobility by which all but the most wretched Rundi know how to profit.

562 The social status of a Rundi is established by the caste and class inherited from the father. A woman is inferior to the men of her 557 own social level and to her husband, but not to men of lower castes [564 and classes than her own. The opportunities of a princess or of a 565] woman of the aristocracy to acquire wealth are fewer than her father's or brother's but much greater than those of an ordinary herder or, certainly, of a poor farmer or serf. Moreover, women use the same techniques that make it possible for some farmers to own herds of cattle, or for some ordinary herders to become wealthier than some nobles. To advance from his official inherited status as far as possible towards happiness, a Rundi needs the favour of a superior in the social hierarchy. All good things come from the superior. The greater the power of the superior—whether the feudal master, the father, or the husband—the greater the ambition of the inferior—whether a herder, a serf or a woman. For the latter, it is sometimes enough to have a father who is impulsive and generous, or a husband who is docile or too stupid to distinguish the truth from a lie or true affection from flattery. Women attain their goals by means of men. There are always a good many of them available for use in projects both large and small.

562 Although caste and character rather than the simple fact of being male or female determine the lot of a Rundi, the mode of 577 life and the behaviour patterns of women are decidedly different from those of men. Unlike a man, a Rundikazi in public does not speak, nor does she look you in the eyes. To each question, she answers: *Ndabizi?*—How should I know? In public, she lets it be thought that she knows nothing about politics, or where her husband is today, or even the wedding date of her daughter. She is the modest and obedient wife of her husband, the mother of her children, the conscientious mistress of her house, who is always working. What-

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ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

000 never have to do menial tasks. Young girls are taught, so that they
867 will be refined, to command and to correct inferiors gently but firmly; to weave pretty baskets; to rub red and yellow ochre on the wooden milk pots which are lined up on a long shelf to display the herder's wealth; to offer beer and food to visitors and to sing and dance, breasts bared, to entertain them. Later, a young woman must learn to cover her face with her scarf, to so arrange her
[574] numerous diaphanous white and yellow robes that her entire body is covered, and to engage visitors in conversation while shielded from view by a screen. She must learn how to listen and to understand. If a young girl has noticed that her mother is a good conversationalist, she takes into account the fact that her mother is discreet, intelligent and older than she.

577 The more closely a woman approximates to the feminine ideal
593 for her caste, the greater her hope for the rewards due to a married
564 woman. A good wife should receive from her husband a quantity of clothes and jewels proportionate to his wealth, permission to go out and to visit where she wishes, permission to drink her husband's beer and to take snuff. In addition she will be praised wherever her husband travels. If the husband has cows, he will give her several so that she and the children will have milk, and he may give her one or more as gifts. If he likes her very much, he will plan in advance the means by which she can remain on his property if he predeceases her. To be a good wife means first of all to execute wifely tasks efficiently. Then, towards her husband and parents-in-law, a good wife is always obedient and respectful, at least while there are outsiders present. Intelligence is a highly desirable characteristic and is indeed indispensable in anyone who will be the wife of a prince. A capable woman will be consulted by her husband, especially if he knows that she is cleverer than he. Among the Hutu, the husband asks advice of an intelligent wife before he goes to ask a cow of a Tutsi, before choosing a wife for their son, before he does anything. Among the Tutsi, a husband who takes pride in his wife's intelligence will consult her before he chooses a serf, goes to his superior to ask for another cow. He does nothing without her advice and boasts about her intelligence and loyalty to his friends. Among the princes, family and economic affairs are hardly distinguishable from affairs of state. Thus, intelligent women come to have a voice in matters of the first importance.

[574] A good hostess who provides food and drink for her husband's visitors need never fear his anger. Just as women speak a great deal of the importance of receiving clothing from their husbands, so men speak a great deal of the importance of a warm welcome for

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

Towards her grand-

603 children, a grandmother may at last dare to indulge openly in
554 revealing her sentiments, without, however, neglecting practical considerations. Grandparents joke with their grandchildren, spoil them, protect them against their parents' anger, and, if they are
[769] not believing Christians, they expect their grandchildren will in due course perform the ceremonies in honour of the *imizimu*, the spirits of dead grandparents.

* * *

577 The most direct route to happiness is conformity to the norms
829 and rules of society. Most Rundi have some roles in which they are superior and others in which they are inferior and the accompanying obligations and compensations. A good wife of a generous and reasonable husband, a good mother of numerous and good children, a good mother-in-law of obedient and industrious daughters-in-law and of respectful sons-in-law, will be a happy woman. Unfortunately, it is necessary to take into account the ever-present and infamous "bad characters", the numberless misfortunes sent by *Imana* when he is in a bad humour, the truth that *Imana*—or, if one prefers, Nature, biology, or genetics—does not always pay attention to social norms. Thus, it can happen that a man is not qualified for the role of patriarch, that he suffers all his life the oppression of a nagging shrew. It can happen that a woman is born too weak for manual labour. If she does not find a kind husband who will carry the burden of the work of the household or a rich one who can provide her with workers, she will die very miserable and very young. It can also happen that a woman is more intelligent and more enterprising than her father, her husband, or her son. A woman of this kind is ordinarily encouraged to make use of her gifts—intelligence must not be wasted—but sometimes an energetic woman is tied to a husband who is cruel and stupid and can do nothing with her good-for-nothing sons. In the social life of Burundi, the motto is, everyone for himself. Each must do what he can with whatever *Imana* has given him.

There are many Rundikazi who are unfortunate and wretched—
[562] orphans, the daughters of avaricious and cruel fathers, the wives of bad husbands, childless widows, the poor and the sick—in brief, those who do not have the favour of *Imana*. Let us pass in sad silence from their pathetic lot to the more fortunate women, those who have succeeded, despite the inevitable woes of life, in obtain-
562 ing at least some measure of happiness, and to the true favourites
554 of *Imana*, the well-born women who are at maturity true matriarchs. The absolute quantity of power and wealth depends upon birth. A

423 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale:
651 Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the people?]!

311 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is
578 not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and against agriculture, will continue even when this big country is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of
000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at present, since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agricultural production and to sell more. These difficulties will only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions relating to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concentrated fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily upon these areas and retarding their development: the rule of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is necessary than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall
782 mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it (No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus. Many small objects are poured on the ground from various calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an intelligent man.

[134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no
791 circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
754 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may be characterized in the following manner. According to Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medicine men who can free a person from the malediction of the evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, protectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
[578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either incurred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentricity, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
661 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly informed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

[578] Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

631 Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

643 One hears of sovereigns who liked and practiced the "things
661 of the mind," such as Yuhi-Mazimpaka, whose literary output is still highly prized by Black intellectuals.

The king's wives and concubines lived away from the court.
644 "Either he had noticed their beauty himself..., or their charms had been brought to his attention by the great who were sure to please him in so doing."

Among the reasons for the profusion of wives in the sovereign's harem, "the yearnings of the heart and the demands of the senses both played their part" above all else. Many a prince surrendered without restraint to voluptuous activities. Yet one hears of some romances adorned with the charms of literature which may actually have taken place.

842 It must be admitted in all fairness that a powerful idea presided over the establishment of the family among the Hamites. Like the Hebrews and so many other ancient peoples, the Batutsi regarded large numbers of children, and especially sons, as an honor, a glory, and a source of strength. They considered themselves fortunate if they could watch the growth of their children and their children's children to the third and fourth generations.

595 A large progeny seemed to them a sure guarantee for the future
578 of their race. Let us add that peace could not reign in their homes. For among the legitimate wives, there was almost invariably a favorite. "Competing among themselves, competing for their children, they drove the latter to rivalry, and the husband, following his preferences or giving way to his weakness, did not always share equitably his heart, his favors, and his goods." (1) /43/

1. The loved wife is called nkundwakazi, the hated wife mbikazi. A rival is called mukeba or umugore w'ishyari, that is to say, literally, "jealously woman /or wife/."

428 The line of behavior followed by the Banyarwanda when it is
543 time to make a will shows that their social organization, /49/ though far from perfect, is superior to that of many other Negro tribes.

Hamites, Bahutu, and Batwa are anxious to express their last wishes clearly in order to leave nothing unforseen and in order to keep chicanery from creeping in among the heirs.

While alive the father gathers his children around him on a day he selects, or, if he wishes to lend more solemnity to the occasion, he goes with them to the hill chief and offers him a beer as an introductory gift. Among his male children, he appoints the one he likes best as his principal legatee, whether it be the oldest, the youngest, or any one among them.

The chosen son will succeed him in his role as head of the family to levy taxes on his brothers in the name of the king or of the Hamitic chief, and will deal with the latter in matters concerning the small group.

[578] A father may disinherit and curse a son who has given him serious grounds for complaint, who has not shown him due respect, who has insulted him, abandoned him in times of misfortune, or defected during legal proceedings. "May he bear no more children," he exclaims, spitting into one hand and then into the other. "You have behaved badly toward me. I cut you off from my family, I
[539] curse you." (1)

1. Ntabyare! Ntaheke! Wambereye gito, nanje ndaguchiye mu bana banje!

As we have already said, the family property is divided into as many lots as there are boys.

The same holds true for the livestock, cows, goats, and sheep. Each son receives an equal share.

The executor of the will, as the eldest son or head of the family, adds a small field or a piece of a banana grove to his patrimonial share.

While his father is still alive, he usually receives a cow, called "obedience cow" (inka y'indabukirano) to confirm his authority

754 The sorcerers who are reputed to unloose insects and other pests over the crops are called by the name of Abahoryo, which means "baleful men."

Popular belief indeed goes so far as to lend them this occult power, which causes everyone to fear them.

They are believed capable of the most evil designs.

In view of this, they are avoided and shunned as much as possible.

The natives will avoid carefully all matrimonial relations with them. This would entail every evil including sterility, which is not the least feared among them.

These dangerous men are believed to cast the /443/ evil eye (guter' umwaku) and are placed in the same category as the members of the Abahenyi, Abatchaba, and Abungura clans, who inspire the [578] same mistrust and the same repulsion. Thus the name Abahoryo, "baleful men," is regarded as an insult by the Abahoryo themselves.

The bahinza of the Bgishaza province have always had the reputation of excelling in the exercise of these supernatural powers. What wonders are not ascribed to them! One of them as one tradition goes, was condemned to death for some misdeed or other.

While he was being led to the place of punishment, he resorted to his occult powers. Vultures, hawks, eagles, and crows flocked instantly from every corner of the sky, and descended with open beaks and claws upon the executioners and onlookers.

Filled with wonder, the Mututsi /Batutsi/ prince pardoned him.

Another time, two brothers from the same family quarreled over their sorcerer's birthright after the death of their father. When asked to interfere, the king decided that the position would go to the one who proved superior in skill.

It so happened that the dreaded caterpillars were devouring the sweet potatoes at the time. One of the men proceeded to exercise his art in order to do away with them. The other one used his power to act in an opposite way, and made them multiply without end. The caterpillars came out of the ground and covered the earth. "Now," he exclaimed to the monarch, "do you wish me to deliver you from them?"

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known.

754 278 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other [164] people (1).

1. This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great curse, "May you die of [578] tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu).

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu), [841] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia [824 847] (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example, muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 824 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract [224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

181 563 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 [578] The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi [163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He [481] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different 563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and 191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

312 volcanoes. There the rivers run underground and open water holes are sometimes a great distance away, even several hours. In these regions rain water and the bitter juice of the banana stalks are used primarily, but a certain amount of water has to be fetched even in these regions. The collected rain water is very impure, for [214] it is gathered in small depressions in the ground from which it is dipped with gourds into larger vessels for storage. In Buhumba, along the route from Nyundo to Rutshuru, I saw that after a heavy rain waste matter from the dirty courtyards was washed into the water holes.

312 578 In spite of these difficulties in obtaining water, the Bahutu filled in a spring on the Karisimbi in order to get rid of the Batutsi who watered their stock there and devastated the fields. This example shows how peacefully herdsmen and farmers live together.

412

Fig. 160. Woman's Knife with Single Cutting Edge, from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13734. 20 centimeters long.)

Fig. 161. Woman's Knife from West Kivu. (1/4 actual size. III E10172. 32.5 centimeters long.)

515 That the women have to fetch the water may account for their greater cleanliness. It struck me in Nyundo that one always saw women washing themselves along the Ssebeya, but one seldom saw men bathing.

462 The entire process of preparing food also falls to the women, and this is not limited to cooking. They must also thresh the grain, grind it into flour, peel the produce of the fields, in most cases fetch firewood, and in Kissaka even make the pots.

412 In their work women use small, crudely constructed knives. Only in the west do we find large, double-edged, sword-like knives used by the women. They closely resemble the knife used by Babira women.

586 However, since this time another cow was denied, the man entered a suit for the return of the illegally retained cow.

If a woman no longer wishes to live with her husband, she 586 first goes back to her parents. She does not have a comfortable 587 existence there, however, for she is regarded solely as a beast of burden and as something unclean besides. Her father, above all, has visions of having to return the payments which he cannot refuse the husband. For this reason the woman usually does not stay long in her parents' home. After a certain time she moves away and settles with a man who does not shy away because of the dispute with her husband and her father. Once the woman has left her proper husband, she does not usually stay long anywhere and travels about according to her moods and the advantages she may gain. Thus a woman may change husbands several times within a few years.

586 In Mulera disputes between man and wife are said to be tried before a specially selected tribunal of older women and men. If public opinion is in favor of the wife who has left, the husband loses his right to be paid and must persuade her to return by offering her gifts. In this case, as a rule, the bribed relatives of the wife become the man's most vehement antagonists, for they do not like to see her wandering about in any case.

[227] The divorced wife retains her personal possessions and the dowry she brought to her husband's house.

578 The vagabond existence of women causes much disorder in 857 the life of small communities. Most quarrels, in Kissaka, for example, arise on account of the children. Here the Muhutu woman does not have a high purchase price, and consequently the children are more important than the wife herself. The children belong to the father's clan. The clan regards the children as reciprocity for the payment received by the wife's parents. If a man has impregnated a woman for whom he has not paid, his right to the child is apparently lost. The woman stays with him, however, and the child, at least as long as it is small, cannot be taken away from the mother. This involves a legal question which the hatware [officials] must decide. If the man is powerful and has many followers, the question becomes very complicated. In this

518 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the
851 child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to
562 be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when
578 their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

[228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section
844 occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

622 614 influence which can increase along with that of the outside conquerors, especially if he knows how to make himself useful to them. Since the privilege of collecting taxes is hereditary, it bears a seed that can grow to the level of a regular high chief, as was demonstrated in the case of the Muhutu, Lukara Iwa Bishingwe, who became known even in Europe for the murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias.

The leadership of the Barashi under Lukara Iwa Bishingwe is an example of a clan whose elder, through the influence of the Batutsi, was elevated to chief according to the concepts of the conquerors. This development has not, however, come to an end. The entire process is too new, too little strengthened by tradition.

The privileged position of the Barashi clan elder goes back only two generations. Lukara's father, Bishingwe, was a very skillful hunter and [247] knew how to use a Batwa group for his ends. He knew how to furnish Lwabugiri, the king of Ruanda and father of Musinga, with plenty of ivory, and the king rewarded him for it. The king treated him as his immediate vassal (mugaragu) and made him chief over his own clan, in which he is said to have formerly held the position of mugabo.

622 614 578 The promotion of the powerless clan elder to chief was not recognized by the clan members, and among them Lukara had little power, according to my observations at the time of my journey. He tried to remedy this disadvantage by attracting exiled riffraff and foreign elements from dispersed clans and settling them on free land. He selected his followers from among this unorganized group who, as strangers, were at the mercy of everyone and could expect protection only from Lukara. With them he held his fellow clansmen in check. The latter, however, in their hatred, drove the outsiders to Lukara, and in this way there arose that compact, strictly organized structure which made Lukara so dangerous to his opponents. The Mututsi, Luhanga, his chief opponent, did not have such a well-disciplined following.

I had an opportunity, on the basis of a minor incident, to observe how great the constant internal friction of this social structure must be. I requested Lukara to have water fetched for my men. After negotiations that lasted almost two hours, Lukara announced that he was willing to do this and told his men who were assembled

in the courtyard to fetch water. No one was in a hurry to make the half an hour trip to the water hole. Lukara grew angry at this delay, seized a few people by their hands, and pushed them aside to have them get the water. One of them rebuffed Lukara with the words, "I am no Murashi," and would not let himself be singled out. Lukara began to scold and asked the name of the man's father, but did not molest him further. The water had to be fetched by newcomers. Lukara has allowed these newcomers to settle, and therefore he can, of course, also drive them out again. He cannot treat his fellow tribesmen so arbitrarily.

In spite of the friction between the clan elder and the clan members, the Barashi support Lukara. They know that his downfall will mean their subjugation to outsiders. That is why Lukara is so strong in the face of his opponents, even though he has not as many men to put into the field. His Batutsi opponents must depend on Bahutu who have no such interest in Batutsi successes.

Lukara, whose father became a mugaragu only through the demagogic Lwabugiri, now passes himself off as a Mututsi. His men, too, say that he is a Mututsi. His fellow clansmen, however, merely say [248] that whenever he can, he tries to oppress his own people with newcomers, as an outsider, a Mututsi, would do.

In this manner the peasant aristocracy made up of clan elders merges with the Batutsi. We are, therefore, justified in asking outselves whether this gradual rise to nobility, sealed by the forgetting of ones origins is not the chief reason why Bahutu clan names occur among the Batutsi.

The size of the autonomous clan communities, which roughly correspond to our villages, varies a great deal. In many cases they have a population of about 100, while some have a few thousand inhabitants. In the Barashi territory, for example, there are 6,000 to 8,000 people. The fertile area is bounded on the north by primeval forests covering the volcanoes, on the east by Lake Bolero, and on the south by the lava steppes. The population was pushed out of the lava plain by the Barashi. The Batwa, however, remained on Muhawura.

As we have seen, the population of these communities does not consist entirely of clan members. There are also outsiders who

643 656 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 372 687 778 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 643 [775] The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king. After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 578 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 551 644 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 644 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

621 representative at court, we find clans that do have their repre-
614 sentatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the
202 help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hill-top to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

The population hates the police agents. I had an opportuni-
625 ty to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to
578 join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

127 217 suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before 105 going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the 563 record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, [178] that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be 563 briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu 178 is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded 557 to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change [182] has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the [578] economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This 648 conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the 645 distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged [671] with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European [177] régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

586 691 587 837 *Instances*: A man has beaten his wife and driven away her relatives when they came to see him. She leaves him for another man, who is ordered to refund the bride-wealth.

A wife has left her husband and is now pregnant by another man. The husband will be satisfied either with the child or his bride-wealth. The paternity of the second man is established, and bride-wealth is to be paid over.

In several cases a woman's relatives are found to have married her to another man in her husband's absence, or after she has left him and returned home. Here again circumstances determine whether the first or the second union shall be dissolved. In considering these, the voice of the woman is not disregarded, and in one case, after judgement has issued in the original husband's favour, it is amended there and then owing to his wife's refusal to return to him.

586 661 Several marriages are found to be broken up on account of the Chief's seizing cat e paid in bride-wealth.

Instances: A wife goes off to her father's because the Chief has taken the bride-wealth cow.

A man from Urundi pays a cow in bride-wealth, which is seized by the Chief in order to recoup himself after some of his cattle have been stolen by Urundi natives: and the woman's father therefore takes her back.

In a third case, this right or propensity is deliberately made use of by a husband who wishes to shuffle off his wife. He arranges for the Chief to seize the bride-wealth cow with its two calves, and then sends his wife home. But the stratagem fails.

595 578 586 Finally, the existence of polygyny is to be referred to. That it may lead to disharmony in the home appears from two cases, in the former of which the first wife is so aggravated by her husband taking another spouse that she has assaulted him, while in the other a husband is brought to Court for tying up his second wife on suspicion of her having bewitched the first one, with a threat that he would kill her if the first one died. And a third husband finds himself heavily fined for being influenced by the predilections of his first wife. He had paid bride-wealth for a second: the first wife did not approve of the newcomer: her sister coming soon afterwards with a gift of beer, he kept her instead; she had already been promised in marriage, however, and he has to face an indignant betrothed as well as her father, in Court.

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9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

4. LABOUR

Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.

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Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies
640 towards the fragmentation of the political unity of their country,
643 first, by the ritual character of the royal power.
182 To revolt against the king, identified with Ruanda and supported by Imana, was a sacrilege and a profanation. It is not claimed that such a theory was sufficient to secure the kings with effective power indefinitely. Elsewhere similar ideologies of absolute and divine power of the monarchs have not prevented some of them from being stripped of their real authority, whereas their divine prerogatives were still respected. The ritual sanction does not seem to have had a primary importance in the maintenance of submission to the Ruanda kingship. In 1896 or 1897, a young
[669] mwami, Mibambwe IV Rutalindwa, was assailed and eventually lost his life in a revolt instigated by the brother of the queen-mother. That queen-mother was not the mother of the mwami but another wife of his father. Her clan, the Abega, wanted a son of hers as mwami.[8] This shows that when the king lost effective control of power, ritual sanctions were not an effective safeguard for his prerogatives, or even for his life. This is why it has not been thought necessary to expand on the ritual aspect of the Ruanda kingship. But it certainly was a factor which contributed to the obedience of the Ruanda nobles.

[701] Another check was that the king kept at his disposal the coercive force of the armies. Even if the rebel had the support of one or two armies, the king had all the others.

642 But the main factor which I think prevented local authorities
578 from asserting their independence from the central government, was the plural character of the political and feudal organization.
182 In connexion with the maintenance of the effective power of the central government, this plurality of structure was a very effective means of maintaining misunderstanding, hostility, and jealousy among the subordinate chiefs. It is certain that the *shebuja* of our example in the preceding section, would have been only too glad to denounce to the mwami the army-chief if the latter was indulging in suspicious manœuvres. The co-existence of chiefs of almost the same rank who were constantly induced by their subjects to take sides in disputes was sufficient to create mistrust among themselves. Moreover, conflicts were numerous, particularly when two chiefs had the same territorial power (as in the case of the cattle- and land-chiefs). To settle conflicts they had to resort to the

[8] Pagès, 1933, pp. 195-206.

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superior authority's judgement and this increased the ruler's power over his subordinates.

This applied not only to the political organization but also to the feudal structure, which had potentially the most disruptive action on a centralized government. Indeed, the subject-client had often to ask protection and support from his political chief against his lord and from his lord against his political chief. Consequently, between the important lords, even those who were not themselves prominent in the political hierarchies, and the political chiefs, relations were often very tense. Moreover, as the very important lords who could have attempted to resist the central government held at the same time political offices, they were directly enmeshed in rivalries and jealousies.

Engendered by the hierarchic plurality, the mistrust which prevented the subordinate chiefs from uniting against the central government, which led them to spy on each other and to inform the king of anything suspect, was the main check against tendencies towards local autonomy in Ruanda. Even if that hostility between important Tutsi happened to express itself openly and violently, the central government was not very anxious to restore peace as long as troubles remained localized and did not threaten the regular collection of taxes and the authority of the king.

3. THE FUNCTION OF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN RUANDA

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At the beginning of this study, in order to delimit the social phenomena we wished to study, political organization in an intragroup context was defined as 'the totality of culturally patterned relationships between certain individuals who possess the legitimate use of physical force and all the others who inhabit at a certain time a certain territory'. This definition did not include the function of a system of political relationships because, it was stated, it is only through analysis that the function fulfilled by a set of institutions in a particular social context, may be ascertained.

In the preceding chapters, the different political structures have been analysed from a functional point of view. It will be sufficient to summarize what has been said to grasp the function of the Ruanda political organization as a whole. Here we shall consider together the feudal as well as the administrative and military systems.

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and
562 women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law 554
constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are 557
persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched 578
that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the [595]
former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same 554
pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to 264
look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no 554
comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always [858]
inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to 554
changes in social role according to age. The changes of social status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, 561
then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression 562
towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five [885]
years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to 431
like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to 554
receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. 562
He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. 593
For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an 152
imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity 593
to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by 837
this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information [557]
from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. [831]
Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep [833]
with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a [601]
highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to [578]
quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a poly- 152
gamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every 595
other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to [832]
quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or 585
speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but [613
under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. 578]
Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts [607
to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, 606]
and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for 584
his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home [586]
with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an [835]
older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan 593
or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please 776

586 she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with
593 her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but
[587] abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of
[564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside,
[567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

606 In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true
592 mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The
607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority
592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his
578 wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same
595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of
564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced
[586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

443 Women and children are admitted to the markets without
579 restriction. In the past, people came armed, for they risked being robbed or even killed on the way by highway bandits.

The Lease of Services (kununga).

[465] A man may agree to work for another for 50 days, for example, at the rate of [80] one or two days a week on the condition of receiving the meat of one cow in exchange.

437 Exchange (kuguza) (1)

1. Kuguza, lit., "to agree to give an advance."

A Mututsi asks a Muhutu for a granary of sorghum (ihundo, lit., an ear of sorghum) for example, in exchange for a bull calf or hoes (usually 30).

The Loan (gutiza)

426 The Banyarwanda distinguish the loan for use (commodatum) from the simple loan (or loan for consumption).

If the loan for use, in hoes for example, is granted without interest, the same is not true of the loan for consumption, which involves edible produce. Whoever has received a basket of sorghum or beans must usually return two. The basket of supplementary produce which must be given the lender is called kirenga.

The Guarantee (kuchyungura).

Primus owns a pruning knife which Secundus would like to borrow. Secundus does not know Primus, so he goes to Tertius, a friend of Primus. Tertius tells Primus to lend his pruning knife to Secundus and offers himself as surety if the latter does not return the tool. Tertius may eventually turn against Secundus.

This contract can be made for cows, granaries of sorghum, etc.

Security (ingwate)

Primus wishes to borrow a few baskets of beans from Secundus. But Secundus answers that he cannot give them to him without a guarantee. Primus then offers Secundus a goat, for example (2).

2. A goat is worth three hoes.

When he brings Primus the counterpart of his loan, he takes back the goat.

273 people, it is not out of virtue but simply because they do not have enough to eat and drink to satisfy their appetites. They could eat an ox at one sitting, and if they were given as much beer as they wanted, they would keep drinking from morning till night" (No. 19, p. 317). Drunkenness is not regarded as a shortcoming or a vice but as evidence of the prosperity or generosity of the host. After the millet and banana harvest, from July to September, is the time for brewing beer (kwenga insoga, kutoba), the period of gluttony and general drunkeness all over Urundi, and this continues until the provisions are exhausted. Often the last drop disppears down the gullet after not more than four weeks, and the thirsty souls have to remain
273 abstinent until the next harvest period. During the period of
574 carousal, singing and shouting can be heard issuing from most homesteads deep into the night, for there are no quiet and solitary drinkers. Drinking beer is always a social affair. One person after another invites friends and relatives to communal drinking bouts, and in this manner they make the rounds among all the families of friends, guzzling until nothing is left. In
[431] addition to this, pots filled with beer are given as presents or any suitable occasion, and then they are shared by receiver and donor together. Of course, beer is part of any kind of festive occasion which usually also includes dancing (see pp. 65, 125).
273 Since the banana beer, which is the most popular, is quite
579 potent and since, in addition, the Barundi are by nature easily
152 excited, the more advanced stages of such communal drinking bouts usually take a rather wild form. Quite regularly violent arguments ensue, and often fights result in which even lances are used, sometimes ending in manslaughter. In the latter case, the consequences for the families concerned are quite disastrous (see pp. 97, 105).

273 Significantly enough, beer-brewing among the Barundi
[462] is a task with which the women are charged. They are experts in this respect, but they also are hard drinkers. There are four different types of beer in Urundi. The most potent, popular, and widespread type is banana beer (insoga j'ivitoke). To

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden [411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times, [579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that 463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them 696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches, [342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

1/ [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -August]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

exert a significant pressure on somebody. In Ruanda, to be powerful is to be able to exact from others tribute in labour or in kind, or support for one's claims to some advantage to be obtained from the king. In the latter case pressure may remain undefined and indirect: for instance, a threat to withold backing which may later be necessary to the person who is now asked to support a request. We desire to have cattle, say our informants, because by giving one or two beasts to a Muhutu, he becomes our client (*mugaragu*) and then has to do, to a large extent, what we ask of him. We also like to have cattle in order to get as vassal another Mututsi who lacks them. The services expected from a vassal are not manual, but he will increase the influence of his lord by his family connexions and will be useful through his diplomatic shrewdness in dealing with his lord's intrigues. Finally, we desire to become ourselves the vassals of great chiefs, or even of the king, because we are then under the protection of somebody very important, we get more cows and that allows us to have more clients.

In order to become powerful it is important, almost indispensable, to have many children. Girls, by their marriages, extend one's family connexions and bring their fathers a few cows as bridewealth. Boys at an early age begin their military training which gives them a complete education in the skills, knowledge, and virtues pertaining to their noble condition. This training is given them as *intore* (chosen ones) at the royal court or at the court of an important chief. For a father to have a son at court would reinforce his influence: through his son he knows what is going on, and the king or the chief is constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence —an important security for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Mututsi, and thereby getting protection and cows for himself and his parents' family (*mulyango*). *Finally, the marriages of his sons could create new links between* the father and the families of his daughters-in-law.

In complex societies like our own the roads to power are many. In Ruanda it does not appear that power could be readily attained except through the possession of children and cows. As we shall see, warlike valour could confer very high prestige, but not necessarily power. Great warriors were often granted herds of cattle by the king as rewards for their prowess, and could then gain power by their cattle, but not directly.

If we press our analysis farther, we may say that from the point of view of power, the significance of children is to provide cattle or connexions. On the other hand, cattle give direct power (over the Bahutu clients) or ensure connexions. In relation to Bahutu labourers, cattle have many of the social functions of money in our culture. They enable the man who owns them to exert pressure on those who have few or none of their own and who try to acquire them in exchange for services. In order to facilitate comparison with other ways of life, we may use the term wealth (as a medium of exchange) instead of cattle. As for connexions, what is meant here is that type of relationship in which one party may require something from the

562 Despite this disadvantage, the position of the woman in Ruanda must be regarded as relatively good. True, she does bear the burden of the housework and field work, at least in the poorer households, but the husband helps her with the field work in emergencies and always does all the heavy work. It is his duty to clear brush, build huts and storehouses, and help with the hoeing.

The well-to-do women spend their time at handiwork, such as making small, artistic baskets. It is said that while doing this work they consume large quantities of beer. They spend the day in the kagondo, the women's house, and, therefore, one has little opportunity to see Batutsi women. If you arrive unexpectedly in a compound, you see nothing but a few figures in flight, whom you can recognize as women by the rings on their legs (butega).

While the expedition was in Nyanza, Dr. Schubotz tried in vain to get Musinga's permission to photograph his wives. Musinga made promises but did not keep them.

There were, in fact, no women to be seen in Nyanza. During the entire three weeks of my stay, I met only two not very young women on the last day.

In Ruanda one often hears complaints about the dominance of women. The farmers especially complain about the wives of their chiefs who are said to be very disagreeable, above all when their husbands are away. A couple of times I heard about Bahutu who were beaten with sticks and badly wounded by Batutsi women.

It is as a mother that the woman takes on an important and esteemed position. The best example of this is the influence enjoyed by the queen mother. A king's son who has lost his mother can not ascend the throne. Sterile women are despised, and the only attention paid to unmarried women is that they can be married off, that is to say, sold, so that connections with other families may be established.

581 [219] Marriage. Marriage does not have the same social significance in all parts of Ruanda, but throughout the country a man can improve his status through marriage and even more so through the marriage of his children.

In the northern part of Ruanda, however, where the Bahutu are still almost entirely free, marriage is a political act of

581 great importance because it unites two families and is a step in the direction of social integration. In Nduga where farmers have no political importance, marriages also have no significance.
[583] This probably also explains the difference in the purchase prices of brides. In the north these prices are very high; in Nduga they are very low. Hence, marriages in the north are much more stable.

583 567 The price paid for the bride, which must be returned in case of a separation, is the economic guarantee of the permanence of a union. In the words of the natives, a marriage in Mulera is an act of exchange between two clans. One clan furnishes the horned cow, ntuku, which is the bride price, the other clan provides the unhorned cown, nkunge, that is, the bride. The woman, like the cow, is family property. After the death of her husband she is inherited, so her purchase price and her progeny do not have to be returned. This inheritance is called kutshura.

584 In Kissaka a bride is wooed when she is still a small child. The suitor sends banana beer to the parents of the bride. If the parents approve, they accept the gift. Then, when there is an opportunity, the bride price is agreed upon. The presents of beer are repeated from time to time until the girl comes of age. These presents are supposed to call attention to the suitor and further the marriage settlement. As many as 20 to 50 jugs of beer
585 are sent. When the girl is mature, that is, when she is about 15 years old and her breasts are the size of a fist, she is brought to the house of her husband on the appointed day by the sister of her father, her brothers, and her attendants (bagaragu). They stay the whole evening, drink banana beer, and converse. While the bride sits with her aunt in the inner part of the house, the rest of the party is in the section facing the door (muliango). After the entire supply of beer has been drunk, they all return to their houses, and the newly married couple is left alone.

It often happens that the bride runs home to her parents and does not wish to return to her husband. In this case the husband must send more presents of beer to the parents-in-law. If he happens to be out of beer, he must send a man, who promises to send more beer, to fetch his wife.

583 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is pri-
556 marily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[443] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a
584 girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

714 628 614 It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

614 582 Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Batutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

614 581 [242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

563 582 614 In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu,

584 In certain circumstances a woman is at the disposal of the Chief or his headmen and not her relatives. Thus, in one case the Chief had brought a girl up and successfully sued her father for giving her in marriage: there is no record of why the girl was in the Chief's hands. In another, it is specifically stated that a man having died with only female issue, the daughters were taken over by the village headman: in a suit brought by her relatives, claiming the right to give her in marriage, they were successful, though it is stated in the record that this was contrary to ancient tribal custom.

583 686 Bride-wealth is normally handed over before marriage, but not necessarily. Instances of exceptions are:

> A man is sued for payment of bride-wealth by his wife's brother, who has seen that his sister is being ill-treated. The man cannot pay, so the Court dissolves the marriage and returns the woman to her brother.
>
> A woman's relatives are sued for return of bride-wealth, she having run away: and it is found in evidence that, in fact, it has never been paid.

If it has not been paid, there are limits to the right of the woman's relatives to sue for it.

> A man has married a woman and had two male children by her and then sent her home. Her relatives claim that he had no justification for sending her away and ask that he be made to take her back and to pay bride-wealth, which he had not previously done. The Court finds that the suit should have been brought at least ten years before, and the relatives lose.

It is not held exclusively by the senior member of the woman's family. Thus, in a case where two sisters were married, their elder brother (their father being dead) retained both payments, but the Court ordered that he should hold only one and his younger brother the other. There is nothing to show whether in general the bride-wealth is held by an individual or shared out among several members of a family.

581 583 There are indications that marriage is regarded by a woman's relatives as a commercial transaction to some extent.

> *Instances*: A woman's brother successfully asserts his right to sell a cow received as bride-wealth, stating, as his justification, that exchange of

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

the woman for the cow completed the transaction between him and the husband. 581 583

A man promises his daughter to another man in marriage in consideration of the annulment of a debt of 10*s*. and 6 hoes.

And, in two cases, suits arise because a woman, having returned to her parents ill, has been sent to a doctor for treatment: payment has not been forthcoming, and the woman has been handed over to the doctor. (In one case he has married her himself, in the other he has given her in marriage and kept the resulting bride-wealth in lieu of his fee.)

But this is not necessarily the view of the woman herself. In one of several cases where a woman has returned to her relatives, consequent on the removal of the bride-wealth by her husband, she states that she went away on account of the slight put upon her.

In a considerable proportion of the marital causes brought before the Court, the record mentions the amount of bride-wealth involved, and these display a remarkable range of variation, both in the nature of the property handed over and in the value. The categories comprise cattle, goats, cash, hoes, beer, cloth, and copper bracelets: and the value ranges from 9 cows to 1 hoe. Tabulating these in rough order of value, according to equivalents disclosed by the records themselves (1 cow is worth 2 bulls and is worth more than a calf: a bull worth 10*s*. or 11*s*. and also equalling 2 goats and 2*s*.: a goat worth 4*s*. or 5*s*.: a hoe equalling a pot of beer and also 1*s*.), the result is: 583 435

9 cows.
3 cows (twice).
2 cows, 3 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
2 cows (three times).
9 hoes, 46 pots of beer.
1 cow, 23 pots of beer, 4*s*.
1 cow, 1 calf, 3 hoes.
1 cow, 3 hoes, 18 pots of beer.
1 cow, 15 hoes.
20*s*., 20 pots of beer.
8 goats, 1 copper bracelet.
1 cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer.
1 cow, 11 hoes, 1 pot of beer.
1 cow, 5 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
1 cow, 1 bull.
1 cow, 2 hoes, 6 pots of beer.
26 hoes (claimed, though only 8 admitted).
7 hoes, 27 pots of beer.
11*s*., 14 pots of beer.
1 bull, 3*s*., 2 pots of beer.
10*s*., 6 pots of beer.
1 goat, 6 hoes, 2*s*.
13 hoes.
8 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
12 hoes.
8*s*., cloth value 3*s*.
10*s*.
10 hoes.
9 hoes.
4 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
1 goat, 2 hoes, 1 pot of beer.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
582 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi
often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed
a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the
sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much
lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a
Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was
particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[562] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems
to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater
than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a
Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his
Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to
informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it
with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are
anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and
Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting inter-
marriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then
had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
580 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
587 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had
648 lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda
girl marry an alien.

● 581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important
positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not
travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage
affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom
and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and par-
ticularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu.
They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to admini-
strative charges in one part of the country, then in another one.
Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully
extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi.

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation.

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found to be virgin.

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called
594 by the same name, rugo. I have described earlier this complex dwelling place composed of intersecting circular enclosures. In
[592] the case of rich people, their clients during their time of service
[554] and their servants had huts in the compound.

The compound, surrounded by fields and banana-groves, and not far from pastures, was situated on that part of the paternal homestead given by the father to his son at the latter's wedding. If the father's homestead was not large enough to provide all his sons with areas to live on, the young couple either had to ask the political authority to allocate them a plot, or they had to rent one belonging either to a relative or an unrelated person.

595 The ideal type of residence of a polygynous family was a compound for each wife surrounded by its own cultivated area. These rugo could be on the same homestead or on several homesteads. The latter arrangement was more frequent with Tutsi than with Hutu. None of these compounds was more important than the others, except occasionally. The husband had no rugo regarded as being more his residence than the others.

Between these two sharply different types of family organization, there were intermediate kinds. If it happened that a Ruanda wanted a second wife, he looked for one even if he could not afford a second compound. She lived then in the same compound as the first wife, in a separate hut. But such an arrangement was regarded as unfortunate, and should be assimilated to that of a nuclear family notwithstanding the plurality of wives.

121 We will now consider whether and how these types of organization fulfilled the functions that might be expected of any type of family, for some of these functions seem to be fulfilled by all the family structures known, and the others by most of them. The points to be considered are: sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, socialization, and ritual.

(a) *Sexual relations*

• 581 The Ruanda distinguish the sexual from the procreational function of marriage. Neither the husband, nor apparently the wife, ever feared (except in very unhappy circumstances of poverty) that pregnancy might result from any particular act of
[842] intercourse; on the contrary such an event was usually longed for. As some informants said, why have relations with a sterile woman? Sexuality, however, had for them a value in itself.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

physiological aspect of sexuality. They do not seem to have thought of sexual relations as the fulfilment of a romantic love between two individuals meant to mate with each other and nobody else. The way spouses were chosen by the two patrilineages prevented any such ideas, for the choosing of spouses rested on the assumption that any boy and any girl of the right age and reasonably attractive could be good partners in marriage and sexuality. But feelings of sympathy and affection developed later as a result of their life together rather than as its basis. According to our informants, love, in the sense of attractiveness based on individual characteristics, was greater in non-marital relations. 'One slept with a certain woman to make her happy because one liked her,' I was told.

Various prohibitions and obligations indicate how sexuality in marriage was related to events concerning the community and the patrilineage. During the mourning period for the husband's father and mother, which lasted one, two or three months according to the region, intercourse was prohibited for both husband and wife. It was also prohibited for one moon after the death of the wife's child, and for two or three moons for the surviving spouse when one of the spouses died. The meaning of this taboo was not only that one had to refrain from enjoying oneself when one should have been in sorrow. It meant also a certain symbolic participation in death or in the diminution of life affecting the patrilineage. This is, I think, what informants have in mind when they say in this connexion that sex is a sacred activity. This interpretation seems to be supported by what happened when a king died. Not only had all Ruanda to be continent for a certain period (some informants said two moons, others one year), but the bulls were separated from cows and rams from sheep. The king (*mwami*) was identified with Ruanda. If he was strong, Ruanda was strong, if he was getting old and weak, he had to commit suicide because he endangered the country's life. In that context, if animals were prevented from mating it was to express symbolically the idea of the death of the community rather than, it seems, to deny them pleasure.

On the other hand, intercourse was obligatory when events fortunate for the patrilineage or the community at large occurred. For instance when a new hut was occupied, when six days had passed after the birth of a child, when the first teeth of the baby

593 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

●581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are [357] the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will 342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home [184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15] 462 564 593

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight. 462 564 [233] [566 357] [237] [757] [234] [302 237] [233]

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks. 556 562 566 557 [871] [58 557]

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

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581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without per-
[897] mission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered
586 perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is con-
593 sistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors
[754] while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be
[842 retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price
583] to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

595 The Batwa usually have four or five wives.

One of the wives has a special name, inkundwakazi (the loved one, the favorite). She is thus called because of her qualities: her cleanliness, her ability to make pombe, her faithfulness, her careful supervision of the crops, the good treatment she extends to the abagaragu, the constant care she takes of the cattle, the friendly reception she reserves for her husband's friends, the care with which she has the master's orders carried out in his absence (1).

1. The inyungwakazi is quite the opposite of the inkwundakazi. She is a wife without any domestic qualities, who is disobedient, even adulterous. If her husband does not repudiate her, he keeps her at a distance and has no relations with her.

[836]

As to the other wives, the husband, in speaking of them, simply says abagore banjye (my wives). However, the favorite may not give them orders. Only the husband can give orders to his wives.

Children of different mothers (or of different fathers) are on the same footing and considered as real brothers and sisters. [21]

[848] Adulterine children belong to the husband of the unfaithful wife.

Whether legitimate or not, the children are not treated differently according to their mother's condition. But if the children of a concubine show themselves to be unbearable, people will not fail to contemptuously call them abana bo mu milombero (children of the hedges).

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3. Obstacles to Marriage

582 1. Exogamy.

The Batutsi (except the Abanyiginya) and the Bahutu may not take a wife from within their father's family and clan, whatever the kinship. Parallel cousins (1) therefore cannot marry each other, but

1. Parallel cousins are those whose fathers are brothers or whose mothers are sisters.

582 marriage is allowed between crosscousins (2), for the sister's children

> 2. Crosscousins are those of whom the father of one is the brother of the other's mother.

belong to their father's family. An uncle may never marry his niece.

Endogamy (kwisabira ku mugongo, lit. to find one's self on one's back) and exogamy both exist at the same time among the Abanyiginya. However, they may not marry the daughter of their brother or their sister. Similarly, they may not take a wife among the Abungura, the Abasinga, and the Abatshyaba.

587 When a man dies, his father or his brother may marry one of his widows. Similarly, the son who succeeds him as head of the family may marry his father's wives, other than his own mother, on condition that they do not belong to his mother's family.

The husband of the deceased's sister may marry his sister-in-law (muramukazi), but not the latter's daughter (umukobwa wachu). Similarly, the brother of the deceased's wife may marry his sister-in-law, but not her daughter (umwishywa w'umukobwa). [22]

Marriage is permitted with the widow of a blood brother but not with his daughter.

582 563 The Batutsi may marry Bahutu women. For example, a patron might give his daughter in marriage to one of his clients of whom he is particularly fond. But an umugaragu is forbidden to ask his shebuja for permission to marry his daughter.

2. Impuberty.

582 In the past a young man and a girl could not get married before the age of twenty-five and eighteen respectively. A little girl (inshube) and a little boy (ingimbi) were sometimes betrothed, but they remained with their parents until the time of their marriage.

Nowadays a young man usually gets married when he is eighteen and a girl when she is fourteen.

3. Lack of consent.

584 The father chooses the wife for his son. If he is dead, one of his brothers takes his place in this undertaking. The son who is head of the family finds wives for his brothers and receives marriage proposals

563 the mass of the Bahutu who are Bantus. These devote themselves to agriculture and raise cattle for the benefit of the Batutsi. The pygmoid Batwa are kept at a distance by the Batutsi and the Bahutu [582] and marriage with them is forbidden. They are hunters, blacksmiths, and potters.

173 The legendary tradition of the country explains the origin of these different peoples. Nkuba (lightning), first king of the country, and his wife, Nyagasani, lived in the heavens with their two sons, Kimanuka and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day, having come down from their heavenly abode the three children settled on Mubari Hill in the Urgweya savanna, near Kissaka, and Kimanuka took the name of Kigwa (lit., fallen from the sky). They lived there on the produce of their hunting and are versed in the art of forging spears, pruning knives, and hoes. Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu, and Mututsi went off elsewhere. But when he learned that his brother and sister had had some children, he came back to them and married one of his nieces. The descendants of Kigwa took the name of Abanyiginya; those of Mututsi were called Abega. They sold weapons and farming tools and thus became very rich.

They continued to live on Mubari Hill until the time when Gihanga (the creator), twelfth king [84] of the dynasty, began to overrun the whole country in order to dispose of the products of his family's forges. This Mwami "traveling salesman" was the first to exercise supreme authority effectively and was much loved by all his people, who considered him as a half-god after his death.

Gatutsi received many cows from his father Gihanga. His brother Gahutu, however, did not get any from the father because there was not enough cattle for him. Thus he was obliged to become Gatutsi's servant. Gatwa, third son of Gihanga, killed Gatutsi. The weight of this crime has fallen on the Batwa descendants of Gatwa. Gihanga had still other sons: Nyakarundi, ancestor of the Barundi; Kanyabongo, father of the Banyabongo [Baniabungu ?] people, who are now strangers to the Banyarwanda; finally Gahima, the first of the Bahima, inhabitants of Ndorwa, whom the Batutsi consider as their own people.

563 Whereas the Batutsi of Ruanda today consider their brothers from Rutshuru (Kivu) as Bahutu, they look upon the Batutsi of Urundi as their equals. On the other hand, the Bahutu of Urundi, by means

142 the other type has a [9] straight or pug nose, Batussi Bahutu a broader nose tip, and a larger, thicker mouth u(Plate 17b). Both types are conspicuously the oval form of the face, the small but pronounced chin, and the complete absence of Negroid prognathism. Yet, 142 frequently, the noble impression of the face is reduced by the 143 fact that the upper front teeth jut out (buck teeth). For this 582 reason the mouth of these individuals mostly remains half open, and one can see the upper four incisors. These crooked teeth, it seems to me, are especially of frequent occurrence among the members of the most distinguished families, both here and in Ruanda; these people are also tallest. Perhaps these two features are special characteristics and result from the long inbreeding of these families, for they marry only among themselves and are severely restricted in their choice (p. 1004-1006), while the common Batussi are allowed a wider choice in selecting a mate, and the lowest, poorest class enters into marriages, although not entirely legitimate ones, with the Bahutu as well.

142 If the hair of the head is left unshaven, it is seen to be curly and woolly like that of the Batussi in Ruanda. One also sees at the temples and above the forehead that it does not grow even but in tufts; this is the most Negroid physical feature of the Batussi who, apart from this, do not look like Negroes at all.

142 The second large population group among the Barundi, 144 the Bahutu, who are ruled by the Batussi nobility, have the well-known Bantu physical type, just like all the inhabitants of the interlacustrine area, that is, Ruanda, Mpororo, Ankole, Karagwe, Kitiba, etc. (Plate 6, 8, 9, 10). The differences between them and the Batussi are immediately visible in their short figures, [141] varying between 1.62 and 1.70 meters, and especially in their shorter legs, their thick-set muscular physique which admittedly often looks frail from undernourishment, and in their genuinely prognathous Negroid skull. Somatically they differ very little from the central Bantu of Unjamwesi and Usukuma, although in some respects they resemble the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region who formerly probably extended farther toward the east (see p. 152 [not translated]). Their eastern branches

563 554 The second important legal sphere is constituted by social conditions, but first, something about the social stratification. I shall reserve a separate chapter for the relationships within the clan and family (p. 98 . 106). As has already been mentioned, social stratification is determined by the three racial elements of which the Barundi people is composed: Hamitic Batussi, Bantu Bahutu, and the original indigenous population, the Batwa. By the law of conquest, the Batussi form the nobility; the Bahutu are those who are not free, or rather those whose rights are only conditional; and the Batwa are the helots who have no rights. If we disregard the Batwa pariahs, there is no separation of castes closed off from one another, although the priests (kiranga), the sorcerers and medicine men (abafumu), and partly also the religious brotherhoods (ababandwa) enjoy a privileged position on the basis of their magical powers which other persons lack. The professional craftsmen, especially the blacksmiths, also maintain a particularly respected position if they are Batussi or Bahutu, but this does not apply to Batwa. And, as is true everywhere, the [556] rich in Urundi enjoy more respect and influence than the poor.

In spite of the considerable difference in social and legal status and in spite of the arrogance of the Batussi, the latter associate with the Bahutu on a friendly basis in most cases, a relationship similar to that between a master and his useful, docile servant. Even if a Mutussi is a mutwale of the lowest rank or a petty feudal lord, the Muhutu will never forget that in his relations with the former he is dealing with a master. If he should ever forget this, he most certainly would be reminded of his inferior status in a manner which would not be pleasant for him, but the "better situated" Muhutu regards the ordinary non-propertied Mutussi as his equal. At times, although [552] only rarely, there are even marriages between Batussi and Bahutu, yet these are not considered as completely valid (see p. 101 . 109). It is also reported that, as in Ruanda, a Muhutu [551] may be promoted to the privileged class of the Batussi by an act of royal favor.

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite
an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price;
the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are
[589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor.
If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable
to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife.
Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within
583 the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a
685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does
occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358).
595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son
of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No. 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage.
582 Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close
582 relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a
563 Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the
836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely
837 surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband
684 is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in flagrante delicto (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

428 The widow whose son was chosen as chief legatee usually en-
[768] joys the use of the family property until her death. The sharing is definitively carried out only after she has left this world. A childless widow is usually sent away by her husband's relatives, who share among themselves the property of the deceased. On being dismissed, she is left merely with a mat and a few household utensils. If she is fairly young, one of her brothers-in-law takes her as a concubine or gets her another husband. /51/ When a child loses both parents, he
429 is given a guardian. The legal guardian is the paternal grandfather, or lacking him, an uncle, a paternal first cousin, or lastly the chief of the village himself.

Maternal uncles and aunts, especially if they belong to another clan, cannot as a general rule manage the orphan's property. This would give rise to disputes and legal porceedings among the members of both tribes. They may bring up the child at best.

The guardianship devolves by right to relatives on the paternal side. They administer the ward's property until he comes of age,
[582] that is to say, until the day when he takes a wife. This usually happens at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

If only daughters are left, the nearest paternal relatives
[428] inherit the family property, but they must take care of the orphans until they marry.

If a person dies childless and leaves no relatives, his property devolves by right to the hill chief. This property is called inkungu.

[165] The families are large, but child mortality is high.

851 Eight days after his birth the newborn child receives from his
551 father a name that befits the circumstances (1). The mother /52/ is

1. "We notice that all men," says Mgr. LeRoy, "give themselves names that characterize them, and frequently the best one they could find was that of an animal whose strength, skill, agility, or beauty they had noticed, of a plant that was useful to them.... of an object or phenomenon which had struck them." (Les primitifs /Primitive Peoples/, p. 126.)

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

714 628 614 It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

614 582 Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Batutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

614 581 [242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

563 582 614 In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu,

563 582 614 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara Iwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

572 608 [243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

572 608 628 There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is connected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu
608 substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana
614 beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship be-
178 tween blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet
608 beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage
608 prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously ob-
582 served. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as re-lated. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the
608 wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other
837 reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one
608 another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the
563 Batwa.

The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan
614 varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent
621 in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

614 3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamanzi*, wagtail.
Sub-divisions:
(*a*) Abasinga, totems, *enyamanzi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
(*b*) Abazigaba, " "
(*c*) Abatyaba, " "
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamanzi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

GOVERNMENT

643 The head of the country was the king, whose title was
692 *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not
634 appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were
[428] hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district;
693 but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court
[203] of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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567 kind of service. They could not be sold and might leave service and marry when they wished.

(3) Slaves who had been purchased or captured during wars or raids. These were also women and were seldom sold; when once a slave entered a family she remained there for life. Such slaves were often taken by their owners to wife, and their sons were regarded as legitimate and might inherit property.

CHAPTER XXXI

MARRIAGE, ILLNESS, AND DEATH

Forbidden relationships—initiation—arranging marriages—marriage ceremonies—taking home a bride—polygamy—entertainment of visitors—treatment of illness—death—burial—mourning—the heir—the widows

582 MARRIAGE between the descendants of a brother and sister was forbidden until they reached the fourth generation, that is, the great-grandchildren of a brother and sister might marry.

[881] There were no initiation ceremonies, but before the sons of princes or chiefs were considered to be of marriageable age, they had to prove that they were capable of settling some quarrel or lawsuit between men. The chief instruction given [869] to a youth was how to manage cattle, but he was also taught to cultivate the land.

584 Infant betrothals were common, and the parents of a boy might agree with those of a baby girl for their children to marry when of a suitable age. The boy's parents gave the others a cow as a pledge of the betrothal, and as long as they kept the cow the engagement was binding. If, however, the parents of the girl discovered any cause for breaking the pledge, they returned the cow with a message that the engagement was at an end. When a boy thus engaged came to a reasonable age, he was told of the arrangement and took presents of beer to his prospective father-in-law. When a boy

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[12] 593 [606]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father). [883] [583] [613]

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful. 604

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent [587] [584]

[12] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

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obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezawanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood. After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin, Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts were severely tabooed.

(d) *Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko*

The two other descent groups may be described much more briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally disappeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
601 *IV. Ego's generation*		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[15]

593 Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old [589] widower frequently lived alone.

604 The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants, The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have [836] intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody [584] else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego [582] married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[15] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Mwanamama* (child of mother).

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This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an 835
unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the 837
point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives
were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce
her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover [586]
was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did
not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as
being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the
husband usually had no claim against him although the lover
might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if
caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a
woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife
was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept
secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking
in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When
the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were
considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage 836
girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl 848
became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent
away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to
die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised
tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present
Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action
was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the
unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful con-
sequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to
exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is
the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for
an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be 605
treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage,
as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them
and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar.
The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his 835
parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the 605
two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar 604
to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not [582]
marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour [835]

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[P.64]

CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

1. MARRIAGE

121 59

THE family, the social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction[1] had in Ruanda a conjugal basis[2] that we shall consider in this section.

Married life will not be dealt with here but only the ways and conditions of the establishment of that 'union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are then recogized legitimate offspring of both partners'.[3]

(a) *The choice of a spouse*

582 In a primary marriage (the first that an individual contracts) there were few positive socially recognized criteria of choice and none of them indicated one or a few individuals as preferential partners. Among close kin cross-cousins were possible spouses, but it was generally an unfortunate circumstance that obliged a man to marry his cross-cousin. It was usually either because he was not able to pay bride-wealth immediately, or because his cross-cousin had become pregnant by him. We should add that there was no restricted or generalized exchange among the Ruanda in Lévi-Strauss's sense. On the contrary I was told that because they limited connexions, exchanges were not in favour except in some special circumstances.[4] [114]

In the preceding chapter we have mentioned persons whom Ego was prohibited from marrying because of his relations of kinship or affinity with them. Let me sum up the different categories of these persons.

We may start with that which seems fundamental in the sense

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 1.
[2] Linton, 1936, p. 159.
[3] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 110.
[4] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, pp. 189, 322. There is restricted exchange if, when a man of group A gets a woman from group B, it results in a man of group B claiming a woman from group A. Exchange is generalised if when a woman of group A is given to a man of group B, a woman of B must be given to a man of C and a woman of C may be claimed by a man of A.

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that in questions of exogamy, informants mention it first and attempt to relate other categories to it: I refer to the primary patrilineage (inzu). People descending in the paternal line from a common ancestor did not intermarry because they were of the same blood. The same principle was logically extended to the secondary patrilineage (umulyango).

A second extension of the taboo concerned the maternal kinship group and had a double basis. First the idea that it would be unnatural and horrible to conceive a marriage between Ego and his mother and consequently between him and any person assimilated to her (her sisters and female parallel cousins). Second, because of the tendency to recognize the cognatic principle, some matrilateral relatives were tabooed because their paternal counterparts were tabooed. This applied to the maternal parallel cousins.

Only when Ego was a male was there a third extension to his in-laws. The explanation given is that it seemed distasteful that a man could have intercourse with a girl and her mother. Consequently the wife's mother and all the relatives assimilated to the mother were in the prohibited class.

The same taboo included also sororal nieces and grand-nieces of Ego because he had to assume an avuncular attitude towards them, although they belonged to another patrilineage.

A further extension included the spouses of uncles and aunts. The spouse of an aunt was regarded rather as an uncle, and the spouse of an uncle was regarded rather as an aunt.

Ruanda were so eager to form new connexions with unrelated kinship groups that they were very keenly aware of any factor favouring them. Some informants stressed the function of exogamy rules from that point of view. Increase of social communication by marriage does not explain all the particular prohibitions, however, since some of them were concerned with people of a different patrilineage. Taboos on marriage and sex relations (they were co-extensive) had, it appears, in some cases the function of keeping a certain cohesion within the large group of relatives by kinship and affinity by preventing rivalry. Prohibition of relations between Ego and his WiBrWi could not favour social communication, but it certainly made possible harmonious relations between Ego and his WiBr.

Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and

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Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
582 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi
often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed
a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the
sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much
lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a
Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was
particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[560] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems
to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater
than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a
Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his
Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to
informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it
with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are
anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and
Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting inter-
marriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then
had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
582 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
648 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had
lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda
girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important
positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not
travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage
affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom
and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and par-
ticularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu.
They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to admini-
strative charges in one part of the country, then in another one.
Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully
extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi 581
both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them [184] in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi.

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for 582
Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation.

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than 831
both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was [585] sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found [431] to be virgin.

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future 584
partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the

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586 sufficient grounds, as in that case the wife had the right of co-habitation with one of her husband's agnates. Socially accepted grounds of divorce for a husband were his wife's neglect of domestic duties, or repeated adultery with a non-privileged partner. Sterility was not a reason for divorce as the man could always take another wife.

The divorced woman left with her only belongings—her clothes. Usually the husband gave her new clothes on that occasion. If bride-wealth and counter-gifts had been exchanged, nothing had to be given by either father. If bride-wealth had been paid, but not the counter-gifts, bride-wealth had to be returned except either where children had been born or where there were other marriage links between the two lineages concerned. If bride-wealth had not been paid, children went to live with their mother's kinsfolk unless their father paid the bride-wealth later. If bride-wealth was not returned and there were no children, the children borne by the wife in a following marriage could be claimed by the former husband.

Young children stayed with their divorced mother till they were seven or eight years old. They were then sent to their father's home where they were taken care of by another of his wives. Later on these children could visit their mother whenever they wished.

587 Divorced women usually married again easily. Their bride-wealth was lower and its payment was delayed till after marriage. But if it was felt that they were responsible for the failure of their previous marriage, then they did not always find another husband.

(f) *Celibacy*

589 Voluntary celibacy was unknown in Ruanda. Every man wanted to be married, to have children and a place of his own. Every girl wanted to be a mother. Those who were impotent (*ibiremba*) usually did not marry. Lepers (*ababembe*), the insane (*abasazi*), [582] and people ill with tuberculosis (*abanyagitundu*) were forbidden to [734] marry. Girls who had refused a husband often remained unmarried, as few men wanted to take the chance of being refused also. Single people lived with their kinsmen. Sometimes Tutsi bachelors were given a homestead and servants by their fathers.

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The same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw
564 previously that marriages between Hutu and Tutsi were not
[580] banned but that they were neither favoured nor frequent. Marriages between Twa and the two other groups were prohibited.

Since cattle rearing, agriculture, and hunting, with pot making, were the main activities characteristic of our three strata, the criterion of hereditary occupation was certainly realized in Ruanda.

The fourth criterion, the hierarchy of the groups within the society, was certainly to be seen in Ruanda. We must, however, consider more closely what kind of ranking existed between the castes.

121 Social power has been previously defined as an interpersonal relation in which each of the human actors, because he belongs to a different group or stratum of the same society, is able to exert pressure on the other. One occupies a position of power over somebody, not because of personal qualities or the specific social role one fulfils or one's wealth, but only because one is a member of a certain group. The two human terms of the relation do not stand on their own personal merits but as representatives of their groups. Personal characteristics do not matter, only the identification with a group.

This notion of social power which operates in interpersonal relations is based on social power regarded from the collective point of view. Collectively, social power is the intergroup relation in which one of the two groups may inflict on the other a severe loss. It is the pressure exerted by one group as such on another.

564 The three Ruanda castes were in a hierarchic order, then, from the standpoint of social power, both collective and individual. The Tutsi caste could as a group inflict severe deprivations on the Hutu or Twa castes, and any individual Tutsi could exert strong pressure on any Hutu or Twa irrespective of their personal qualities and possessions.

Let us now turn to the function of the feudal system in Ruanda.

(c) Protection by identification

121 To live in a society where several castes very unequal in their social power coexist, frequently puts the individuals of the weaker groups in a very difficult position. Indeed, anybody may be at any time confronted with an exacting demand made on him by somebody possessing higher social power. To be protected against such

Ethel M. Albert

564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
564 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
644 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
● 582 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases).

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child.

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives.

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the

593 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to be married. The *inchoreke*, [359] young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will 342 live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home [184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

608 "If you refuse to give me lodging or food, may the gihango kill you."

The two blood brothers then lie down on the mat side by side for a few moments to indicate that they will be indissolubly united in good as in bad days.

Then the one who is the visitor takes a handful of herbs and throws it on the hearth, saying: "If you come to my house and [18] I am away you may drink my beer and warm yourself with my wood, and may the gihango do you no harm, for you will not have wanted either to steal my beer or to burn my hut. But if my wife refuses to give you the beer and the wood, it is no concern of mine, for my wife is not bound as we are by the blood pact."

The abanywanyi then offer gifts to the witnesses such as hoes, necklaces, etc., and give each other presents of hoes, goats, and cows, according to their means, in order "to free themselves from the mat on which the blood pact has taken place," (kwichara ku kirago).

CHAPTER II. MARRIAGE

1. Kinds of Unions

583 The word ugushaka (to have a wife) designates marriage in general.

The typical marriage with payment of a dowry (inkwano) to the girl's father is called kurongora.

A umugeni w'ubuntu (lit., betrothed given as a present) may [572] be given as testimony of affection to a friend. Later the man can give a dowry, but he is not obliged to do so. If the friends quarrel, [562] the dowry may then be reclaimed. A powerful chief can also give his mututsi client a young girl as a gift (umugeni w'ingororano).

587 To marry a divorced woman or a widow is called gutshyura umusumbakazi (lit., to bring home a woman who has already been married). These unions are frequent, especially among the Bahutu. When they start keeping house, the husband only gives the bride's paterfamilias a jug of pombe, but if the couple have children he must give a dowry. [19]

583 A young man may carry off a young girl (kwiba umugeni) in order to force the consent of her parents. But the young man's father subsequently gives a dowry.

588 There are ibyomanzi (vagrant women) who stay with a man for indefinite period of time according to the circumstances of their wandering lives (kubuyera or kohoha). The fate of these unions is obviously precarious. If, against all probability, their common life lasts for several years, the woman may introduce her concubinary to relatives [or parents]. If children are born, the man may be obliged to give a dowry. The marriage is then regularized.

583 It may also happen that two men, each with a sister whose dowry they may claim, will exchange wives: abageni b'ubuntu bunyuranye (lit., the betrothed as gifts).

In all these marriages the fate of the wife and children is the same as in the typical marriage. If the husband does not pay any dowry, the wife's father may take the children away and keep them as hostages until their father has fulfilled his obligations.

567 583 Formerly, children who were prisoners of war (abanyagano) married later, usually amongst themselves. The master could also give a captive girl in marriage to one of his clients. He collected the dowry but on the other hand, he had to pay a dowry for one of his slaves who wanted to marry a woman of the same region.

The slave, his wife, and their children continued to be part of the master's household. If one of these children wished to get married in his turn, his father would pay the dowry for his son or collect it for his daughter, and by that very act, his son or daughter was freed and became munyarwanda.

567 If the master married a slave woman, the children of this union would be of the same status as their [20] father, even if he already had other children with a munyarwanda woman.

2. Types of Marriage

595 Polyandry does not exist in Ruanda.

Polygamy (polygyny) is universal, except among the Christian natives, and particularly among the Bahutu, who have an average of two or three wives and sometimes even four or five.

The Batutsi most often have two wives. The great chiefs have, in addition to their wives, a certain number of insholeke (concubines).

584 for his sisters. The girl and the young man must obey the will of the paterfamilias. Even if their feelings are not in agreement, they cannot refuse to marry. This is particularly true when the fathers are friends and wish to avoid quarreling. Obviously, marriages entered into under these conditions are unstable and nearly always last only a short time.

This rule is not sanctioned with any penalty, but anyone who did not comply with it would expose himself to public contempt. Nowadays, more and more frequently, the young man makes the choice himself and asks his father to take the necessary steps with the family of the girl he has chosen. [23]

4. The Dowry

583 The purpose of the dowry (inkwano) is to buy back the children that will be born of the marriage. In fact if it is not paid to whom it is due (the wife's father or brother), he will take the children as hostages.

Also the dowry contributes to the stability of the marriage. The relatives, who have to refund the dowry if the marriage is broken, are certain to encourage the husband and wife to become reconciled.

Among the Batutsi the dowry consists of cows. Formerly, well-to-do people gave eight cows, hence the word umunani (lit., eight, implying, heads of cattle). Today, these cows, of which there are only two but which have kept the name of umunani, are brought to the girl's father during the engagement and kept by him in trust. One of them is for the gukwa (1), the other for the gutebutsa (2). On the

1. Literally, "to take the necessary steps to conclude the engagement."

2. Literally, "to hasten" (implying, the marriage).

day of the wedding, the girl's father keeps for himself the cow that has given him the most calves, or the finest heifer, and returns the other to the young man's father.

589 In Buganza, Buliza, Nduga, and Bugessera, where cattle is plentiful, the Bahutu also give a cow as dowry. Elsewhere it consists of hoes, usually four, and about thirty jugs of beer. It may also happen that an imbata (3) or an ingabane (4) is claimed in addition

3. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 40.

4. Cf. idem, p. 42.

by the Muhutu father-in-law.

Among the Bakiga (region of Rukiga) the dowry is paid in goats (ibuguma) or in sheep (iliza). One of the wife's relatives with large hands seizes a leg of each animal, holds them together and tries to [24] assemble as many as possible. He repeats this operation twice and thus manages to collect about 20 animals. In Rukiga the dowry also sometimes consists of indundu and ingwate cows (1).

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

The Batwa give only one hoe and a pot of beer on the day of the engagement and four hoes as dowry.

The custom of re-using the dowry — that is, the father of a son and a daughter does not pay the dowry for the marriage of his son until after having received the dowry for his daughter — does not exist in Ruanda.

The Batutsi do not give any present to the mother-in-law. Among the Bahutu, on the day of the wedding, before the girl leaves her father's house, the young man sends his betrothed's mother a jug of beer called irizeneko (lit., quartering) to recall the suffering she endured in giving birth to her daughter.

If the dowry has been paid in cows, the father-in-law on the day of the wedding gives his son-in-law an indongoranyo cow (2).

2. Cf. idem, p. 44.

If it consists of hoes, the husband also receives a hoe as indongoranyo.

231 and if after a few years by selling the young bulls, the skins, the
422 horns, the milk, and the butter, he has made enough money to
427 buy a head of cattle, the latter is not an imbata, but an impahano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

422 If a Muhutu, the umugaragu of a Mututsi, marries his
583 daughter and receives a milch cow as dowry, the latter is not an
192 imbata, but an inkwano, and the shebuja of the son-in-law can take
231 it back. In effect, it is the social position of the Muhutu which entitled him to collect a dowry in cattle. If he had not been a client of a Mututsi, he would have received as dowry only hoes or goats. [49]

231 INTUNDANO. (1) Cow bought in the market with the salary
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1. From kutunda, "to do business."

earned at the mines in exchange for goats or baskets of beans. It is an imbata.

INDUNDU. Cow acquired in immediate full ownership without the condition that the buyer should later make an additional payment. Indundu is opposed to ingwate (2).

2. See further on, p. 46.

[431] INKAZIBITI. Cows given without fee by the patron to a client who has paid homage (guhakwa). To take possession of cows promised by the shebuja is called kujya ku ilembo (lit., to cross the threshold of the rugo). The first cow received under these conditions is called inka y'igiti (3); the second, impetano; the others

3. Literally, "cow of the tree trunk."

do not have a special name. A father can also give some inkazibiti to his wives and sons.

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
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INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young

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1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother

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2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[606] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price; the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are [589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor. If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife. Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within
583 the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a
685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358).
595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

595 reach a marriageable age, and the girl has been chosen as his marriage partner by his parents; he will then take a concubine from a lower class for the waiting period. However, in most cases, the parents give their sons free choice.

When a young man takes a liking to a girl, he first pro-
584 poses marriage to her without asking anyone else. If she accepts, the young man asks his parents to pay the "bride price." When the parents have given their consent, the suitor sends a matchmaker to the parents of the girl or, if her parents have died, to her closest relatives. If the father or, if he is dead, the mother refuses or explains that the girl has already been promised to someone else, the matter is considered closed, and the two lovers have to give each other up. If, contrary to
896 the orders of the parents, they engage in extramarital intercourse, the girl will, in most cases, receive corporal punishment. If she should become pregnant, she is placed completely outside the social pale, for by her behavior she has cheated her parents of the purchase price, and she has also deprived other girls of the opportunity of being asked for in marriage in her place.

However, when a girl's father or mother, as the case may
583 be, accepts the suitor's proposal, the matchmaker has to negotiate the purchase price (inkwano) for the bride. This fluctuates depending on the individual, the position of and the property owned by the bridegroom and the bride. Among the large class of the unpropertied, a few strings of small pearls and a few pots of pombe beer are considered sufficient. Among more prosperous groups the bride costs, besides beer and pearls, one or more goats and sometimes even one or two head of cattle (No. 4, p. 221). Among the families of the rich and powerful, that is, the Baganwa, a bride may seldom be had for [107] less than 10 to 15 head of cattle. A bride can also be purchased by paying a part of the agreed price. In this case the young husband becomes security for the rest of the money but does not need to pay it if the marriage is annulled.

585 The objects constituting the agreed purchase price are sent to the bride's parents by the bridegroom through the matchmaker.

595 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi. [837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is [428] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists. [429] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children [563] have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very [842] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage [583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi; 548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[422] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
192 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
233 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
431 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer
844 in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

581 great importance because it unites two families and is a step in the direction of social integration. In Nduga where farmers have no political importance, marriages also have no significance.
[583] This probably also explains the difference in the purchase prices of brides. In the north these prices are very high; in Nduga they are very low. Hence, marriages in the north are much more stable.

583 The price paid for the bride, which must be returned in case
562 of a separation, is the economic guarantee of the permanence of a union. In the words of the natives, a marriage in Mulera is an act of exchange between two clans. One clan furnishes the horned cow, ntuku, which is the bride price, the other clan provides the unhorned cown, nkunge, that is, the bride. The woman, like the cow, is family property. After the death of her husband she is inherited, so her purchase price and her progeny do not have to be returned. This inheritance is called kutshura.

584 In Kissaka a bride is wooed when she is still a small child. The suitor sends banana beer to the parents of the bride. If the parents approve, they accept the gift. Then, when there is an opportunity, the bride price is agreed upon. The presents of beer are repeated from time to time until the girl comes of age. These presents are supposed to call attention to the suitor and further the marriage settlement. As many as 20 to 50 jugs of beer
585 are sent. When the girl is mature, that is, when she is about 15 years old and her breasts are the size of a fist, she is brought to the house of her husband on the appointed day by the sister of her father, her brothers, and her attendants (bagaragu). They stay the whole evening, drink banana beer, and converse. While the bride sits with her aunt in the inner part of the house, the rest of the party is in the section facing the door (muliango). After the entire supply of beer has been drunk, they all return to their houses, and the newly married couple is left alone.

It often happens that the bride runs home to her parents and does not wish to return to her husband. In this case the husband must send more presents of beer to the parents-in-law. If he happens to be out of beer, he must send a man, who promises to send more beer, to fetch his wife.

583 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is pri-
556 marily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[643] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a
584 girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

584 In certain circumstances a woman is at the disposal of the Chief or his headmen and not her relatives. Thus, in one case the Chief had brought a girl up and successfully sued her father for giving her in marriage: there is no record of why the girl was in the Chief's hands. In another, it is specifically stated that a man having died with only female issue, the daughters were taken over by the village headman: in a suit brought by her relatives, claiming the right to give her in marriage, they were successful, though it is stated in the record that this was contrary to ancient tribal custom.

583 686 Bride-wealth is normally handed over before marriage, but not necessarily. Instances of exceptions are:

> A man is sued for payment of bride-wealth by his wife's brother, who has seen that his sister is being ill-treated. The man cannot pay, so the Court dissolves the marriage and returns the woman to her brother.
>
> A woman's relatives are sued for return of bride-wealth, she having run away: and it is found in evidence that, in fact, it has never been paid.

If it has not been paid, there are limits to the right of the woman's relatives to sue for it.

> A man has married a woman and had two male children by her and then sent her home. Her relatives claim that he had no justification for sending her away and ask that he be made to take her back and to pay bride-wealth, which he had not previously done. The Court finds that the suit should have been brought at least ten years before, and the relatives lose.

It is not held exclusively by the senior member of the woman's family. Thus, in a case where two sisters were married, their elder brother (their father being dead) retained both payments, but the Court ordered that he should hold only one and his younger brother the other. There is nothing to show whether in general the bride-wealth is held by an individual or shared out among several members of a family.

581 583 There are indications that marriage is regarded by a woman's relatives as a commercial transaction to some extent.

> *Instances*: A woman's brother successfully asserts his right to sell a cow received as bride-wealth, stating, as his justification, that exchange of

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the woman for the cow completed the transaction between him and the husband. 581 583

A man promises his daughter to another man in marriage in consideration of the annulment of a debt of 10*s*. and 6 hoes.

And, in two cases, suits arise because a woman, having returned to her parents ill, has been sent to a doctor for treatment: payment has not been forthcoming, and the woman has been handed over to the doctor. (In one case he has married her himself, in the other he has given her in marriage and kept the resulting bride-wealth in lieu of his fee.)

But this is not necessarily the view of the woman herself. In one of several cases where a woman has returned to her relatives, consequent on the removal of the bride-wealth by her husband, she states that she went away on account of the slight put upon her.

In a considerable proportion of the marital causes brought before the Court, the record mentions the amount of bride-wealth involved, and these display a remarkable range of variation, both in the nature of the property handed over and in the value. The categories comprise cattle, goats, cash, hoes, beer, cloth, and copper bracelets; and the value ranges from 9 cows to 1 hoe. Tabulating these in rough order of value, according to equivalents disclosed by the records themselves (1 cow is worth 2 bulls and is worth more than a calf: a bull worth 10*s*. or 11*s*. and also equalling 2 goats and 2*s*.: a goat worth 4*s*. or 5*s*.: a hoe equalling a pot of beer and also 1*s*.), the result is: 583 435

9 cows.
3 cows (twice).
2 cows, 3 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
2 cows (three times).
9 hoes, 46 pots of beer.
1 cow, 23 pots of beer, 4*s*.
1 cow, 1 calf, 3 hoes.
1 cow, 3 hoes, 18 pots of beer.
1 cow, 15 hoes.
20*s*., 20 pots of beer.
8 goats, 1 copper bracelet.
1 cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer.
1 cow, 11 hoes, 1 pot of beer.
1 cow, 5 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
1 cow, 1 bull.
1 cow, 2 hoes, 6 pots of beer.
26 hoes (claimed, though only 8 admitted).
7 hoes, 27 pots of beer.
11*s*., 14 pots of beer.
1 bull, 3*s*., 2 pots of beer.
10*s*., 6 pots of beer.
1 goat, 6 hoes, 2*s*.
13 hoes.
8 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
12 hoes.
8*s*., cloth value 3*s*.
10*s*.
10 hoes.
9 hoes.
4 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
1 goat, 2 hoes, 1 pot of beer.

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1 cow, 7 hoes (twice).	7 hoes.
1 cow, 6 hoes, 1 pot of beer.	4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
1 cow, 4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.	1 hoe, 5 pots of beer.
1 cow, 6 hoes (twice).	2 hoes, 3/50 worth of cloth.
1 cow, 5 hoes (four times).	5 hoes (twice).
1 cow, 5 pots of beer.	4 hoes (twice).
1 cow (thirteen times).	1 hoe.

The analysis of this list reveals 42 cases where bride-wealth is paid in cattle, alone or accompanied by hoes, beer, cash, or a combination of these latter. Thence, with a few exceptions, there is an abrupt drop to a standard where hoes alone or with beer are paid in bride-wealth, three of the exceptions being where cash is paid with beer: there are 27 cases in this second main class. The quantitative relation of the number of bride-wealths in media other than cattle to those where cattle are a constituent is unlikely to be of importance. There is a [694] standard fee of 2*s*. in marital causes in the Native Court, and a man who can only command sufficient property to pay a bride-wealth of a few hoes is not to be expected readily to raise a court fee.

583 A summary of the analysis shows:

20	cases	of payment	in cattle alone.		
10	,,	,,	of cattle with hoes.		
1	,,	,,	,,	,,	beer.
8	,,	,,	,,	,,	hoes and beer.
2	,,	,,	,,	,,	beer and cash.

11	cases	of payment	in hoes alone.
6	,,	,,	of hoes with beer.
3	,,	,,	of cash with beer.
1	,,	,,	of cash with cloth.
1	,,	,,	of cash alone.
1	,,	,,	of hoes and cloth.
3	,,	,,	of goats, once with a bracelet, once with hoes and beer, and once with hoes and cash.

There are evident norms of payment in cattle alone and of payment in hoes alone, but further investigation is needed to discover how far these correspond with the symbiotic social system of pastoral Tusi and agricultural Hutu. A wide field of suggestion is opened up. For instance, are there any cases of wealthy Hutu paying bride-wealth in

cattle alone? and if so, are they marrying into Tusi families, bridging the social gulf? or are they only marrying into other rich Hutu families, adopting the Tusi standard of wealth? And what is the meaning of the mixed payments in cattle and hoes? Are Tusi marrying into Hutu families, and being expected to utilize the Hutu standard as well as their own? or are wealthy Hutu, again, adopting Tusi standards? It would seem to be almost certain that change of some form or another is going on. The records are not helpful, save for one case where payments of the unusual number of three cows are mentioned as being as in respect of members of the Chief's clan: and another, where a woman's father, suing for payment of bride-wealth of a cow, finds that no cow is available and accepts, *faute de mieux*, 11 hoes—this must surely be a Hutu.

There are seven instances where payment in cash is a constituent of the bride-wealth and one where cash alone is involved. This cash element only appears in the years 1928–30, the last of the series, and is exactly paralleled in the suits for recovery of debts, where hoes are the normal subject-matter in the years 1924–6, are being replaced by cash in 1927, and virtually disappear in the later years. In five of the seven cases it is the hoe which has been replaced by cash in the bride-wealth payment, and that this change may be making marriage more of a commercial transaction, even if it was not before, is instanced by the case already cited, where a father was ready to part with his daughter in return for the extinguishment of a debt of 10*s*. and 6 pots of beer. And one would like to know whether the cattle standard has also been attacked in the case where the large amount of 20*s*. appears.

The function of the perishable article, beer, as an element in bride-wealth, does not appear from the records. There is nothing to show whether its appearance in only one-third of the cases reviewed means that it has not been a constituent on other occasions, and if so, why it is in issue sometimes and not at other times.

Bride-wealth in the possession of a woman's family need not necessarily be maintained intact.

Instances: Where a woman's brother has lost a cow paid in bride-wealth and is brought to Court by her husband, the Court makes no order: it finds that the woman is still with her husband, that no grounds for

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divorce have arisen between the married pair, and that there is therefore no cause of action.

And, a case already cited, a man hears that his wife's brother has sold the cow paid in bride-wealth, and thereupon drives away his wife and sues for his bride-wealth. The sale is admitted, but the plaintiff fails in his suit, as no grounds for divorce have arisen between his wife and himself: he is therefore to take his wife back.

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On the termination of a marriage, bride-wealth, with rare exceptions, is returnable in full: and where cattle are involved, the increase is also to be returned (three cases in the records): but a man who sued for three bulls, the progeny of a cow paid in bride-wealth, was unsuccessful when it was established that the bulls were dead.

Circumstances under which the bride-wealth is not returnable in full are:

(*a*) when the wife has borne children or is pregnant at the time of the dissolution of marriage.

Instances: A claim is made for the repayment of bride-wealth of 4 hoes. Three only are awarded by the Court, as a child has been born of the marriage.

In a claim for repayment of bride-wealth of a cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer and some fat, the Court only awards the cow and the hoes, as the woman was pregnant at the time of divorce.

(*b*) when the wife dies in pregnancy.

In such a case, a woman's father was sued for the return of bride-wealth, but pleaded, to the satisfaction of the Court, that her death in pregnancy amounted to her having been killed by her husband. No bride-wealth was to be repaid.

(*c*) when the wife dies after an illness, unless she has come to her husband ill or otherwise unsound at the time of marriage, or has returned home without cause given by him, and there fallen ill and died.

Instances: A widower sues for the return of his bride-wealth on the ground that the woman was unsound when he married her. Her father shows to the satisfaction of the Court that the husband did not disclose the defect at the time of marriage, and that the woman died at her husband's home: and the widower loses and is further ordered to return the clothes and ornaments of his dead wife to her father.

A man marries but does not build a home and remains at his brother-in-law's. Later, he quarrels with the brother-in-law and removes, with his wife. She falls ill and goes home to her brother, and there dies. The Court decides that her husband has no justification for reclaiming

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren		
SoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruza
SoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruza
IX. The other generations under		
Descendant		Ubuvivi[11]

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

593 During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other [881] comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely [882] and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not [883] have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in 593 different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the 868 Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

593 When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as [583] Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, [681] which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating [606] his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

[11] Compare with Vanhove, 1941, pp. 11-16.

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the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law 593
and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to [606]
punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[12]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. [883] They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the [583] bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which [613] remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father).

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. 604
He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful.

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her [587] nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent [584]

[12] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

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Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
582 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi
often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed
a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the
sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much
lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a
Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was
particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[560] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems
to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater
than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a
Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his
Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to
informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it
with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are
anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and
Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting inter-
marriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then
had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
582 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
648 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had
lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda
girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important
positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not
travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage
affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom
and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and par-
ticularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu.
They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to admini-
strative charges in one part of the country, then in another one.
Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully
extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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584 girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

583 To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the [584] girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain [585] herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they [584] obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the [584] girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[5]

595 In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the [583] husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[5] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 126-9.

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herself. A widow became the wife of one of her late husband's siblings or agnates designated by the inzu head. Usually an older brother of the husband was chosen. Among the Tutsi this resulted in a levirate: the first husband was still the pater of the children whose genitor was the second husband. Among the Hutu, in similar cases, the genitor was pater. A widower often married a younger sister of his late wife if he was on good terms with his parents-in-law, and if they did not require bride-wealth for the deceased wife's younger sister. This marriage was favoured because it was thought that it was appropriate that the children of the first wife should be brought up by her sister.

(b) The bride-wealth

Bride-wealth had to be paid before the wedding ritual, but payment could sometimes be delayed. In that case more jugs of beer had to be given.

There were some regional variations in the amount of the bride-wealth, but within one region it did not vary very much within each caste. Among Tutsi it was usually one cow plus some jugs of beverage, and one hoe. The bride-wealth proper was the cow, as the beverages were rather contributions to the different celebrations taking place at the wedding. Among Hutu it was one heifer or cow (which could be replaced by about one dozen goats) and a number of jugs of banana-beer. The following table indicates the average bride-wealth paid by Tutsi and Hutu in the central region of Ruanda. Among Twa bride-wealth was composed of a certain number of pots of beverages.

TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA

A. HUTU

Groom's inzu		*Bride's inzu*
1. Father	one hoe, one jug of beer after agreement →	Father
2. Father	one heifer or twelve to fourteen goats (bride-wealth) from one to three weeks after 1. (*gutenbutsa*) →	Father
3. Groom	← household equipment on wedding day (*ibirongoranywa*)	Father
4. Groom	← one hoe or one sheep or one goat + jugs of beer at the end of seclusion period	Father

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TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA—*cont.*

A. HUTU

Groom's inzu		*Bride's inzu*
5.	one hoe or one sheep or one goat (even one heifer) a week after each birth	
Groom	←	Kinsfolk
6.	counter-bride-wealth (stock increase of the bride-wealth) two or three years after marriage	
Father	←	Father

B. TUTSI

1.	one jug of hydromel, one hoe, one *isando* (forked branch of ficas tree)	
Father	→	Father
2.	one cow (bride-wealth) (*inkwano*) a few days later	
Father	→	Father
3.	one cow (counter-bride-wealth) when the bride leaves her father's homestead	
Father	←	Father
4.	household equipment on wedding day (*indogoranyo*)	
Groom	←	Father
5.	one heifer (*izimano*) on the day following wedding	
Father	→	Male abashyitsi
6.	one steer (*izimano*) on the day following wedding	
Father	→	Female abashyitsi
7.	jugs of beer, pots of milk, sorghum flour (*imitwa*) at the end of seclusion period	
Groom	←	Father
8.	one cow, jugs of beer, pots of milk at each birth (*ibihembo*)	
Groom	←	Kinsfolk

583 All our informants agree that bride-wealth was not considered very expensive. Moreover, counter-gifts were about as high. The girl's father had to provide the young couple with household equipment and to give the husband's father a counter-bride-wealth approximately equivalent to the bride-wealth itself. Among Tutsi it was proper to give the counter-gift before the wedding. Hutu gave back another heifer not later than after the third calving of the bride-wealth cow. In addition valuable gifts were given by the wife's kinsfolk after each birth.

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Bride-wealth was definitely not a compensation for the economic loss entailed by the girl's departure from her patrilineage. Her departure was not an impoverishment of her group because it provided it with a new alliance with another descent group; all informants agree on that. Bride-wealth was the socially recognized symbol of the legitimate transfer of fertility from one descent group to another. As long as bride-wealth had not been given, children borne by the woman were considered as belonging to her inzu (they are called *nkuli*). The husband was only their genitor, not their pater.

Bride-wealth received by the girl's father was not to be used only to provide the bride's brother with a wife. There was no direct relation between a man's possibility of getting a wife and his sister's marriage.

(c) *The wedding ceremonies*

Wedding ceremonies (*ubukwe*) taking place at the groom's father's were very long and complicated. The central rite constituting the wedding was the spitting on the bride's head of chewed herbs mixed with milk, and the placing on her head of a garland made of the leaves of a certain plant (*umuwishywa*). Other rites symbolized the dominance of the patrilineages' interests in the marriage. Both inzu were represented by two groups, the *abashyitsi*, the agnatic relatives of the bride, and *abasangwa*, agnatic relatives of the groom. When the rite was accomplished, *abashyitsi* had to express sorrow by their laments and *abasangwa* to rejoice loudly. Another rite stressed the concern of the kin-groups in the intimate relations between the spouses. A younger brother or paternal parallel cousin of the bride had to lie between the new spouses during some part of their first night together (*gucahagati*). The groom had to beg him to leave. I was told that this signified that it was the bride's patrilineage which had to give permission for the first intercourse. Moreover, after the central rite and before the first intercourse, the father and mother of the groom and the father and mother of the bride had to have sexual relations. If the girl's parents (who did not attend the wedding party) were living far away, the young couple sometimes had to wait for a couple of days before having intercourse.[6]

The high value of virginity was also symbolically stressed.

[6] On wedding celebration, see Kagame, 1954, pp. 143-72.

564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least [583] four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the [554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of 643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
644 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
582 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence [766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases).

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child.

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi —and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives.

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

564 The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
● 583 hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without per-
[895] mission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered
586 perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is con-
593 sistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors
[754] while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be
[842 retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price
583] to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the brideprice, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,

582 marriage is allowed between crosscousins (2), for the sister's children

> 2. Crosscousins are those of whom the father of one is the brother of the other's mother.

belong to their father's family. An uncle may never marry his niece.

Endogamy (kwisabira ku mugongo, lit. to find one's self on one's back) and exogamy both exist at the same time among the Abanyiginya. However, they may not marry the daughter of their brother or their sister. Similarly, they may not take a wife among the Abungura, the Abasinga, and the Abatshyaba.

587 When a man dies, his father or his brother may marry one of his widows. Similarly, the son who succeeds him as head of the family may marry his father's wives, other than his own mother, on condition that they do not belong to his mother's family.

The husband of the deceased's sister may marry his sister-in-law (muramukazi), but not the latter's daughter (umukobwa wachu). Similarly, the brother of the deceased's wife may marry his sister-in-law, but not her daughter (umwishywa w'umukobwa). [22]

Marriage is permitted with the widow of a blood brother but not with his daughter.

582 563 The Batutsi may marry Bahutu women. For example, a patron might give his daughter in marriage to one of his clients of whom he is particularly fond. But an umugaragu is forbidden to ask his shebuja for permission to marry his daughter.

2. Impuberty.

582 In the past a young man and a girl could not get married before the age of twenty-five and eighteen respectively. A little girl (inshube) and a little boy (ingimbi) were sometimes betrothed, but they remained with their parents until the time of their marriage.

Nowadays a young man usually gets married when he is eighteen and a girl when she is fourteen.

584 3. Lack of consent.

The father chooses the wife for his son. If he is dead, one of his brothers takes his place in this undertaking. The son who is head of the family finds wives for his brothers and receives marriage proposals

584 for his sisters. The girl and the young man must obey the will of the paterfamilias. Even if their feelings are not in agreement, they cannot refuse to marry. This is particularly true when the fathers are friends and wish to avoid quarreling. Obviously, marriages entered into under these conditions are unstable and nearly always last only a short time.

This rule is not sanctioned with any penalty, but anyone who did not comply with it would expose himself to public contempt. Nowadays, more and more frequently, the young man makes the choice himself and asks his father to take the necessary steps with the family of the girl he has chosen. [23]

4. The Dowry

583 The purpose of the dowry (inkwano) is to buy back the children that will be born of the marriage. In fact if it is not paid to whom it is due (the wife's father or brother), he will take the children as hostages.

Also the dowry contributes to the stability of the marriage. The relatives, who have to refund the dowry if the marriage is broken, are certain to encourage the husband and wife to become reconciled.

Among the Batutsi the dowry consists of cows. Formerly, well-to-do people gave eight cows, hence the word umunani (lit., eight, implying, heads of cattle). Today, these cows, of which there are only two but which have kept the name of umunani, are brought to the girl's father during the engagement and kept by him in trust. One of them is for the gukwa (1), the other for the gutebutsa (2). On the

1. Literally, "to take the necessary steps to conclude the engagement."

2. Literally, "to hasten" (implying, the marriage).

day of the wedding, the girl's father keeps for himself the cow that has given him the most calves, or the finest heifer, and returns the other to the young man's father.

5. Betrothal and Marriage

584 If the young man has not made his choice, the father draws his attention to such and such a girl whom he would like to have as a daughter-in-law, after having made sure of her father's approval and agreed with him on the date of the official betrothal (gusaba umugeni, lit., to ask a girl in marriage).

On the appointed day he returns to the home of the girl's parents accompanied by one or two clients (3) carrying a new hoe and

3. One of his relatives among the Bahutu.

a jug of hydromel and leading a cow [25] called y'ilembo (lit., in order to enter the rugo). He is let into the rugo. The young man's father and the girl's father, as well as his brothers and brothers-in-law, sit on mats, drink, smoke and talk of this and that. Meanwhile, the mother and the girl keep themselves hidden in a near-by nook and follow the conversation eagerly.

After this preamble which is merely a distraction, the talk turns to the marriage. This often gives rise to a lively discussion during which each of the parties defends his interests. When agreement is finally reached, the father says: "we give you our daughter, but the cow is not fine enough (1); bring us some others." An umugaragu is

1. Even if the animal is magnificent.

then ordered to bring seven other cows to complete the umunani (2)

2. As we have seen above (cf. Dowry) the girl's father nowadays only keeps one out of the two cows for himself.

and to ask the girl's parents for their approval as to the date of the wedding.

[834] Sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden to the betrothed.

The wedding usually takes place at the home of the young
585 man's father (3).

3. The marriage ceremonies have been

585 minutely described by the Rev. Father Schumacher (Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906) and the Rev. Father Pages (Congo, 1922, Vol. I, pp. 645-63 and Vol. II, pp. 42-68). We merely refer the reader to these articles. This matter concerns folklore rather than common law. Hence we are intentionally leaving it out of our report.

584 If, after having accepted the dowry, the girl's father does not keep his promise and refuses to give his daughter or gives her to another, he must immediately return the dowry. But by that very act, he breaks all bonds of friendship with the young man's parents, and in the future no one of the young man's family will marry a girl of the other family. The same is true if the suitor breaks the engagement.

[26] 6. Domestic Life

591 Marriage in Ruanda is patrilocal, that is to say, the woman leaves her parents to go and live with her husband. If the wedding has taken place in the woman's family, the young couple remain there for some time (gutahira), then go and settle with the husband's family.

585 Among the Batutsi, about two months after the wedding, the wife's parents send their daughter the intwikururano (from gutwikurura, lit., to unveil, to uncover), consisting of beer, sorghum flour, and milk. The purpose of these gifts is to allow the young woman to come out of the retreat imposed on her the day after the wedding and to show herself in public. For his part, the husband's father gives his daughter-in-law a cow called y'itshyali (lit., of the nest). The young couple then leave the dwelling they have occupied provisionally and go and occupy the rugo that has been built for each of them [sic]. A little later they go and spend a night with the wife's parents (gucha mw'ilembo, lit., to cross the threshold, or gusubya amaguru, lit., to return on foot) and also confer gifts on them on this occasion.

595 reach a marriageable age, and the girl has been chosen as his marriage partner by his parents; he will then take a concubine from a lower class for the waiting period. However, in most cases, the parents give their sons free choice.

584 When a young man takes a liking to a girl, he first proposes marriage to her without asking anyone else. If she accepts, the young man asks his parents to pay the "bride price." When the parents have given their consent, the suitor sends a matchmaker to the parents of the girl or, if her parents have died, to her closest relatives. If the father or, if he is dead, the mother refuses or explains that the girl has already been promised to someone else, the matter is considered closed, and the two lovers have to give each other up. If, contrary to 836 the orders of the parents, they engage in extramarital intercourse, the girl will, in most cases, receive corporal punishment. If she should become pregnant, she is placed completely outside the social pale, for by her behavior she has cheated her parents of the purchase price, and she has also deprived other girls of the opportunity of being asked for in marriage in her place.

583 However, when a girl's father or mother, as the case may be, accepts the suitor's proposal, the matchmaker has to negotiate the purchase price (inkwano) for the bride. This fluctuates depending on the individual, the position of and the property owned by the bridegroom and the bride. Among the large class of the unpropertied, a few strings of small pearls and a few pots of pombe beer are considered sufficient. Among more prosperous groups the bride costs, besides beer and pearls, one or more goats and sometimes even one or two head of cattle (No. 4, p. 221). Among the families of the rich and powerful, that is, the Baganwa, a bride may seldom be had for [107] less than 10 to 15 head of cattle. A bride can also be purchased by paying a part of the agreed price. In this case the young husband becomes security for the rest of the money but does not need to pay it if the marriage is annulled.

585 The objects constituting the agreed purchase price are sent to the bride's parents by the bridegroom through the matchmaker.

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull,
[825] billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

581 great importance because it unites two families and is a step in the direction of social integration. In Nduga where farmers have no political importance, marriages also have no significance. [583] This probably also explains the difference in the purchase prices of brides. In the north these prices are very high; in Nduga they are very low. Hence, marriages in the north are much more stable.

583 The price paid for the bride, which must be returned in case 567 of a separation, is the economic guarantee of the permanence of a union. In the words of the natives, a marriage in Mulera is an act of exchange between two clans. One clan furnishes the horned cow, ntuku, which is the bride price, the other clan provides the unhorned cown, nkunge, that is, the bride. The woman, like the cow, is family property. After the death of her husband she is inherited, so her purchase price and her progeny do not have to be returned. This inheritance is called kutshura.

584 In Kissaka a bride is wooed when she is still a small child. The suitor sends banana beer to the parents of the bride. If the parents approve, they accept the gift. Then, when there is an opportunity, the bride price is agreed upon. The presents of beer are repeated from time to time until the girl comes of age. These presents are supposed to call attention to the suitor and further the marriage settlement. As many as 20 to 50 jugs of beer 585 are sent. When the girl is mature, that is, when she is about 15 years old and her breasts are the size of a fist, she is brought to the house of her husband on the appointed day by the sister of her father, her brothers, and her attendants (bagaragu). They stay the whole evening, drink banana beer, and converse. While the bride sits with her aunt in the inner part of the house, the rest of the party is in the section facing the door (muliango). After the entire supply of beer has been drunk, they all return to their houses, and the newly married couple is left alone.

It often happens that the bride runs home to her parents and does not wish to return to her husband. In this case the husband must send more presents of beer to the parents-in-law. If he happens to be out of beer, he must send a man, who promises to send more beer, to fetch his wife.

583 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is pri-
556 marily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[643] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a
584 girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

584 the first present of beer, even though he intends to withdraw his approval later. The refusal to accept the first gift is considered a bad insult and evokes bitter enmity. The visits accompanying the presents of beer are repeated from time to time. If the father of the girl does not discourage these visits, the price of the bride is discussed during the drinking bouts. In most cases it is a cow and two jugs of beer. The latter, however, can also be replaced by hoes. [221] The cow wears the vine around its neck known as mushishwa, and to it are fastened one of the two beer jugs or the hoe. The name for all these things is bukwe, "bride price." The mushishwa plant is added to make the agreement binding, to prevent the parents from changing their minds and giving the girl to another youth. Gifts are given to the nearest relatives of the girl as well as to the father. The father's brother gets three jugs of beer, and the mother's brother, two. The girl's mother gets three hoes, the maternal grandmother and the brothers, one hoe each. Payments are delivered a few days after the first negotiations. If the marriage does not take place, the bride price and, above all, the hoe with the mushishwa must be returned.

As the date of the marriage draws near, the visits with the obligatory presents of beer become more frequent. After a specified amount of beer has been drunk, the day of the ceremony is agreed upon.

585 The relatives of the bridegroom prepare a large amount of beer. The father of the girl or, if he is no longer living, her older brother invites relatives and women friends to bring the girl to the house of her future husband, along with a large retinue.

The girl is wrapped in a mat and either led or, if the roads are bad, carried. If during this journey anyone succeeds in catching a glimpse of the bride's face, the marriage will be of short duration. The retinue also carries an empty gourd, which is supposed to assure the girl of progeny, and the gifts from her relatives. In one of the baskets is the cowhide which she will wear after she is married; the other contains her jewelry. The procession sings along the entire way. The girl is received at the entrance to the courtyard of the bridegroom, who comes to meet her holding a gourd.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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567 kind of service. They could not be sold and might leave service and marry when they wished.

(3) Slaves who had been purchased or captured during wars or raids. These were also women and were seldom sold; when once a slave entered a family she remained there for life. Such slaves were often taken by their owners to wife, and their sons were regarded as legitimate and might inherit property.

CHAPTER XXXI

MARRIAGE, ILLNESS, AND DEATH

Forbidden relationships—initiation—arranging marriages—marriage ceremonies—taking home a bride—polygamy—entertainment of visitors—treatment of illness—death—burial—mourning—the heir—the widows

582 MARRIAGE between the descendants of a brother and sister was forbidden until they reached the fourth generation, that is, the great-grandchildren of a brother and sister might marry.

[881] There were no initiation ceremonies, but before the sons of princes or chiefs were considered to be of marriageable age, they had to prove that they were capable of settling some quarrel or lawsuit between men. The chief instruction given [869] to a youth was how to manage cattle, but he was also taught to cultivate the land.

584 Infant betrothals were common, and the parents of a boy might agree with those of a baby girl for their children to marry when of a suitable age. The boy's parents gave the others a cow as a pledge of the betrothal, and as long as they kept the cow the engagement was binding. If, however, the parents of the girl discovered any cause for breaking the pledge, they returned the cow with a message that the engagement was at an end. When a boy thus engaged came to a reasonable age, he was told of the arrangement and took presents of beer to his prospective father-in-law. When a boy

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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584 grew up without anything being arranged for his marriage, he asked his father's brother to find a wife for him.

585 When the day of the marriage came, the bridegroom took a cow and, accompanied by some friends, went to the kraal of the bride's parents, timing his visit to arrive at sunset when the cattle returned from pasture. The friends and relatives of the bride received the young man outside the kraal and they drank beer together. Then a sister of the bride came, and conducted the young man, leaving his friends outside, to a hut in the kraal where the bride was sitting. The bridegroom carried with him a runner of wild gourd which he twisted into a wreath and put on the bride's head. A pot of milk was given to him and he drank a mouthful which he puffed over the bride. He and the bride then placed their hands on the stones of the fire-place on which the pots stood while cooking; they churned a little butter together; a pot with water was put on the fire and together they sprinkled in flour, stirred it with one stick, and made porridge. Then the bridegroom returned to his friends outside the kraal gate and there they danced and drank beer all night, for none of them might sleep.

In the morning a mat was spread outside the kraal gate and the bride's father and some friends sat on it with the bridegroom. A cow was given to the friends of the bridegroom when they left to go home, and later in the day, after the bride's friends had discussed matters, the bridegroom also went home to prepare things for his bride's arrival.

The party which conducted the bride to her new home included her father, her brother's wife, her sister, and her young brother. The bride was carried in a litter and veiled, and the party arrived at the bridegroom's kraal when the cows were returning from the pasture. The bride was received by women relatives of the bridegroom, who took her into a house which they had prepared for her.

In the evening the bride joined her husband, but her young brother slept between her husband and herself that night and sometimes for two or three nights and the marriage might not

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

up, partly on the personality of the administrative officer of the day, 645
and partly on his own judgement. In any event, conflict with the 648
indigenous system at some points was to be expected, together with permanent modifications to give expression to the alteration of the status of the Hutu.

THE SYSTEM OF MARRIAGE IN BUGUFI

(as disclosed by Native Court records)

The normal precedent to marriage is formal betrothal, which must 584
be effected by members of a woman's family, and a contract which she makes herself or through unauthorized persons is void.

Instances: A girl goes to a neighbour, who takes her to the man of her 584
choice and offers her in marriage, the offer being accepted and bride- 684
wealth being paid. Her father is sued for refusing to give the girl in marriage and wins the case, the neighbour who received the bride-wealth being ordered to refund it.

A man sues another for seducing his sister. The defence is that he and she agreed to marry. The Court finds that there could be no agreement since there were no witnesses of any kind, much less the woman's mother or brother who ought to have been present.

But there is a case of this rule being overridden by a wealthy man.

A man, brought to Court by a woman's guardian for seducing her, says that he wishes to marry her and considered himself wealthy enough to dispense with the usual preliminaries, and in any case did not know who her relatives were. He is fined, but is permitted to pay bride-wealth and marry the woman. The Court adds that the fine would have been larger had not the woman expressed her desire to marry the man.

The neighbour cited above who acted as the woman's agent had only to refund the bride-wealth which he had received: but in another case a man was imprisoned for enticing away a woman and giving her in marriage without her father's knowledge or consent.

Betrothal is only binding for a reasonable time.

Instances: A woman having been betrothed and the man having delayed to come to complete the marriage, her father marries her off to another man and refunds the bride-wealth.

A woman is betrothed to one man and married off to another. It is found that the former has been looking for bride-wealth for eight years, and he is held to have no justification for claiming the woman.

584 In certain circumstances a woman is at the disposal of the Chief or his headmen and not her relatives. Thus, in one case the Chief had brought a girl up and successfully sued her father for giving her in marriage: there is no record of why the girl was in the Chief's hands. In another, it is specifically stated that a man having died with only female issue, the daughters were taken over by the village headman: in a suit brought by her relatives, claiming the right to give her in marriage, they were successful, though it is stated in the record that this was contrary to ancient tribal custom.

583 686 Bride-wealth is normally handed over before marriage, but not necessarily. Instances of exceptions are:

> A man is sued for payment of bride-wealth by his wife's brother, who has seen that his sister is being ill-treated. The man cannot pay, so the Court dissolves the marriage and returns the woman to her brother.
>
> A woman's relatives are sued for return of bride-wealth, she having run away: and it is found in evidence that, in fact, it has never been paid.

If it has not been paid, there are limits to the right of the woman's relatives to sue for it.

> A man has married a woman and had two male children by her and then sent her home. Her relatives claim that he had no justification for sending her away and ask that he be made to take her back and to pay bride-wealth, which he had not previously done. The Court finds that the suit should have been brought at least ten years before, and the relatives lose.

It is not held exclusively by the senior member of the woman's family. Thus, in a case where two sisters were married, their elder brother (their father being dead) retained both payments, but the Court ordered that he should hold only one and his younger brother the other. There is nothing to show whether in general the bride-wealth is held by an individual or shared out among several members of a family.

581 583 There are indications that marriage is regarded by a woman's relatives as a commercial transaction to some extent.

> *Instances*: A woman's brother successfully asserts his right to sell a cow received as bride-wealth, stating, as his justification, that exchange of

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law 593
and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to [606]
punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[12]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. [883]
They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the [583]
bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's [613]
inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father).

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. 604
He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful.

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her [582]
nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent [584]

[12] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

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obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezawanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
601 *IV. Ego's generation*		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[15]

593 Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old [589] widower frequently lived alone.

604 The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants, The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have [836] intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody [584] else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his [582] brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[15] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Mwanamama* (child of mother).

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important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi. 581 [184]

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation. 582

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found to be virgin. 831 [585] [431]

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the 584

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584 girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

583 To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the [834] girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain [585] herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they [784] obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the [684] girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[5]

595 In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the [583] husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[5] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 126-9.

593 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to [357] be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will 342 live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home [184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

585 [613 578] [607 606]

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please

584 [586] [835] 593 776

5. Betrothal and Marriage

584 If the young man has not made his choice, the father draws his attention to such and such a girl whom he would like to have as a daughter-in-law, after having made sure of her father's approval and agreed with him on the date of the official betrothal (gusaba umugeni, lit., to ask a girl in marriage).

On the appointed day he returns to the home of the girl's parents accompanied by one or two clients (3) carrying a new hoe and

3. One of his relatives among the Bahutu.

a jug of hydromel and leading a cow [25] called y'ilembo (lit., in order to enter the rugo). He is let into the rugo. The young man's father and the girl's father, as well as his brothers and brothers-in-law, sit on mats, drink, smoke and talk of this and that. Meanwhile, the mother and the girl keep themselves hidden in a near-by nook and follow the conversation eagerly.

After this preamble which is merely a distraction, the talk turns to the marriage. This often gives rise to a lively discussion during which each of the parties defends his interests. When agreement is finally reached, the father says: "we give you our daughter, but the cow is not fine enough (1); bring us some others." An umugaragu is

1. Even if the animal is magnificent.

then ordered to bring seven other cows to complete the umunani (2)

2. As we have seen above (cf. Dowry) the girl's father nowadays only keeps one out of the two cows for himself.

and to ask the girl's parents for their approval as to the date of the wedding.

[834] Sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden to the betrothed.

The wedding usually takes place at the home of the young
585 man's father (3).

3. The marriage ceremonies have been

585 minutely described by the Rev. Father Schumacher (Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906) and the Rev. Father Pagès (Congo, 1922, Vol. I, pp. 645-63 and Vol. II, pp. 42-68). We merely refer the reader to these articles. This matter concerns folklore rather than common law. Hence we are intentionally leaving it out of our report.

584 If, after having accepted the dowry, the girl's father does not keep his promise and refuses to give his daughter or gives her to another, he must immediately return the dowry. But by that very act, he breaks all bonds of friendship with the young man's parents, and in the future no one of the young man's family will marry a girl of the other family. The same is true if the suitor breaks the engagement.

[26] 6. Domestic Life

591 Marriage in Ruanda is patrilocal, that is to say, the woman leaves her parents to go and live with her husband. If the wedding has taken place in the woman's family, the young couple remain there for some time (gutahira), then go and settle with the husband's family.

585 Among the Batutsi, about two months after the wedding, the wife's parents send their daughter the intwikururano (from gutwikurura, lit., to unveil, to uncover), consisting of beer, sorghum flour, and milk. The purpose of these gifts is to allow the young woman to come out of the retreat imposed on her the day after the wedding and to show herself in public. For his part, the husband's father gives his daughter-in-law a cow called y'itshyali (lit., of the nest). The young couple then leave the dwelling they have occupied provisionally and go and occupy the rugo that has been built for each of them [sic]. A little later they go and spend a night with the wife's parents (gucha mw'ilembo, lit., to cross the threshold, or gusubya amaguru, lit., to return on foot) and also confer gifts on them on this occasion.

595 reach a marriageable age, and the girl has been chosen as his marriage partner by his parents; he will then take a concubine from a lower class for the waiting period. However, in most cases, the parents give their sons free choice.

584 When a young man takes a liking to a girl, he first proposes marriage to her without asking anyone else. If she accepts, the young man asks his parents to pay the "bride price." When the parents have given their consent, the suitor sends a matchmaker to the parents of the girl or, if her parents have died, to her closest relatives. If the father or, if he is dead, the mother refuses or explains that the girl has already been promised to someone else, the matter is considered closed, and the two lovers have to give each other up. If, contrary to 836 the orders of the parents, they engage in extramarital intercourse, the girl will, in most cases, receive corporal punishment. If she should become pregnant, she is placed completely outside the social pale, for by her behavior she has cheated her parents of the purchase price, and she has also deprived other girls of the opportunity of being asked for in marriage in her place.

583 However, when a girl's father or mother, as the case may be, accepts the suitor's proposal, the matchmaker has to negotiate the purchase price (inkwano) for the bride. This fluctuates depending on the individual, the position of and the property owned by the bridegroom and the bride. Among the large class of the unpropertied, a few strings of small pearls and a few pots of pombe beer are considered sufficient. Among more prosperous groups the bride costs, besides beer and pearls, one or more goats and sometimes even one or two head of cattle (No. 4, p. 221). Among the families of the rich and powerful, that is, the Baganwa, a bride may seldom be had for [107] less than 10 to 15 head of cattle. A bride can also be purchased by paying a part of the agreed price. In this case the young husband becomes security for the rest of the money but does not need to pay it if the marriage is annulled.

585 The objects constituting the agreed purchase price are sent to the bride's parents by the bridegroom through the matchmaker.

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No. 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage.
582 Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close
582 relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a
563 Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the
836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely
837 surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband
684 is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in flagrante delicto (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[422] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
192 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
233 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
431 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer
844 in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

581 great importance because it unites two families and is a step in the direction of social integration. In Nduga where farmers have no political importance, marriages also have no significance.
583 This probably also explains the difference in the purchase prices of brides. In the north these prices are very high; in Nduga they are very low. Hence, marriages in the north are much more stable.

583 The price paid for the bride, which must be returned in case
562 of a separation, is the economic guarantee of the permanence of a union. In the words of the natives, a marriage in Mulera is an act of exchange between two clans. One clan furnishes the horned cow, ntuku, which is the bride price, the other clan provides the unhorned cown, nkunge, that is, the bride. The woman, like the cow, is family property. After the death of her husband she is inherited, so her purchase price and her progeny do not have to be returned. This inheritance is called kutshura.

584 In Kissaka a bride is wooed when she is still a small child. The suitor sends banana beer to the parents of the bride. If the parents approve, they accept the gift. Then, when there is an opportunity, the bride price is agreed upon. The presents of beer are repeated from time to time until the girl comes of age. These presents are supposed to call attention to the suitor and further the marriage settlement. As many as 20 to 50 jugs of beer
585 are sent. When the girl is mature, that is, when she is about 15 years old and her breasts are the size of a fist, she is brought to the house of her husband on the appointed day by the sister of her father, her brothers, and her attendants (bágaragu). They stay the whole evening, drink banana beer, and converse. While the bride sits with her aunt in the inner part of the house, the rest of the party is in the section facing the door (muliango). After the entire supply of beer has been drunk, they all return to their houses, and the newly married couple is left alone.

It often happens that the bride runs home to her parents and does not wish to return to her husband. In this case the husband must send more presents of beer to the parents-in-law. If he happens to be out of beer, he must send a man, who promises to send more beer; to fetch his wife.

584 the first present of beer, even though he intends to withdraw his approval later. The refusal to accept the first gift is considered a bad insult and evokes bitter enmity. The visits accompanying the presents of beer are repeated from time to time. If the father of the girl does not discourage these visits, the price of the bride is discussed during the drinking bouts. In most cases it is a cow and two jugs of beer. The latter, however, can also be replaced by hoes. [221] The cow wears the vine around its neck known as mushishwa, and to it are fastened one of the two beer jugs or the hoe. The name for all these things is bukwe, "bride price." The mushishwa plant is added to make the agreement binding, to prevent the parents from changing their minds and giving the girl to another youth. Gifts are given to the nearest relatives of the girl as well as to the father. The father's brother gets three jugs of beer, and the mother's brother, two. The girl's mother gets three hoes, the maternal grandmother and the brothers, one hoe each. Payments are delivered a few days after the first negotiations. If the marriage does not take place, the bride price and, above all, the hoe with the mushishwa must be returned.

As the date of the marriage draws near, the visits with the obligatory presents of beer become more frequent. After a specified amount of beer has been drunk, the day of the ceremony is agreed upon.

585 The relatives of the bridegroom prepare a large amount of beer. The father of the girl or, if he is no longer living, her older brother invites relatives and women friends to bring the girl to the house of her future husband, along with a large retinue.

The girl is wrapped in a mat and either led or, if the roads are bad, carried. If during this journey anyone succeeds in catching a glimpse of the bride's face, the marriage will be of short duration. The retinue also carries an empty gourd, which is supposed to assure the girl of progeny, and the gifts from her relatives. In one of the baskets is the cowhide which she will wear after she is married; the other contains her jewelry. The procession sings along the entire way. The girl is received at the entrance to the courtyard of the bridegroom, who comes to meet her holding a gourd.

585 He hands it to her, lifts the skin in which he is dressed, and exposes his thigh with the words: "ndakuhaye omurundi, uzachukura inka yo kukuhaliki (I give you my leg, it will become a bull for you, that will mount you)."

The gourd which the man hands over is a symbol for the belly of a pregnant woman, and the ceremony symbolically expresses the wish of the man that she bear him children. The bride walks through the courtyard and enters the house where the marriage ceremony is to be continued. There she gives her future mother-in-law the gourd, kisabo, for safekeeping. She also leaves her the gourd she brought along and the two baskets of presents. The [182] second gourd is very carefully preserved, for in it the young wife [222], after the birth of her child, brings beer to the home of her parents to sacrifice to the manes. In this way she requests the manes not to harm her child. Little children are given liquids from the same gourd. It must be quite new and must not have been used previously, even for water.

Afterwards the guests separate within the house. The women go to their section of the house, the mbele, opposite the entrance; the men remain in the ikirambi, the middle of the house. The basangwa, guests of the bridegroom, sit on one side; the bahelekeza, members of the bridal procession, sit on the other. The uninvited guests remain in the courtyard outside the hut.

After everyone has drunk copiously of the beer, they ask for food. One of those present suggests that they begin with the marriage ceremony, since it is getting late. The bridegroom gets up, takes a container of milk, and goes to the women's section. The women resist and do not let him get near the bride. The bridegroom violently drives them away and strides toward the girl who is sitting on the ground with her legs spread apart. He kneels in front of her, spits milk on her breasts, and says as he rises: "mumpe impundu, ndalongoye (give me shouts of joy, I have married)."

This is the core of the entire marriage ceremony. Unmarried girls may not be present when this takes place. The parents of the girl and the brothers of her father are not present at the wedding. They celebrate the daughter's marriage with beer in their own home.

585 842 After this ceremony one of the young husband's sisters grinds flour, makes millet mush, and distributes it among the small children. This is done in order to guarantee the young couple numerous progeny. The same girl prepares food for the young wife on the following day.

585 782 The marriage ceremonies are concluded with the sacrifice of a goat. After the children have eaten their millet mush, the head of the family says: "We are going to eat." The guest reply that the women would like to wash their hands. The women do not agree with this and say: "We shall eat after the men have finished." Then the head of the family has a goat brought to him. After this is done, the guests look at the goat critically and say that it is not beautiful enough. Then another is fetched. This, also, does not satisfy the demands of those present. Then a third one is brought. This can be accepted if it is beautiful. After the goat has been accepted, it is beaten with a stick while being driven to the bridegroom's house. It is killed near his bed with kicks and blows, not with a knife in the usual way.

This ceremony supposedly indicates how the wife would have been treated if this sacrifice had not been made. According to another version [223], it means that the woman should be as soft and yielding as the goat that had all its bones broken. The meat must be divided among those present, otherwise the marriage would be childless. The men eat it on the same day; the women take it home for the children, because in Mulera they themselves may not eat goat's meat.

585 The men eat the meat along with millet mush. After everyone has eaten and drunk his fill, the guests disperse in the morning. The guests of the bridegroom accompany the guests of the bride for a short distance and honor them in this way.

The young husband soon returns, takes the firewood that has been prepared, and lights two fires at the places where the women and the men were seated. The bride goes out with the guests but immediately returns to her mother-in-law, where she remains. The mother-in-law prepares a meal, but the young bride refuses to eat it. The husband must persuade his hungry wife to do so by giving her presents.

In the evening the mother-in-law tries to prevail upon the wife to go to her husband's hut. The wife stubbornly resists yielding to

585 her husband, and there is a quarrel. It is proper for the man to show marks on his body which indicate to everyone that his wife bravely defended herself and did not yield like a hussy. However, the man may not be strong enough to break the wife's resistance with force, and he must then persuade her with presents to eat and to yield to him.

After the marriage, the woman must remain hidden for a time, that is, until her relatives come with gifts of beer, food, and bracelets. This visit usually takes place on the third day. On this occasion mats are brought along which the young wife made at home. She may chat with her relatives, the young girls who brought the mats. On this day there is dancing, singing, and much drinking.

Some time afterwards the parents again send their daughter presents. Among these, besides food, is a brand new hoe with a new handle. On this day the wife dances with her husband and the new hoe while the rest of the relatives sing an accompaniment. The wife then goes to the field for the first time and works a little. Until this day, called kushishura, the man has no sexual intercourse with his other wives. After the hoeing, grains of millet
[842] are brought to the young woman. A handful is scattered on a mat, and she must pick them up with one sweep of her hand. If she fails, the prospects of numerous progeny are poor. She and her husband together grind these grains and use the flour to make beer which they give to small children in order that they themselves will have children.

841 [224] During the first menstrual period after her marriage, the woman is given the cowhide which constitutes the dress of
291 married women, and her head is shaved. However, since girls are
302 not infrequently married before they aré mature, it often happens
585 that the wife goes about with her masunzu (shaved pattern) for a long time, waiting for the cowhide. Father F. Dufays told me that he knows of a case where a wife waited eight months for her cowhide, but it is said that the wife sometimes waits as long as two years.

841 Thus, a superstitition has arisen about the shaved pattern on
302 the head. According to it, if a wife does not give up her maiden
585

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

586 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in
[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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584 grew up without anything being arranged for his marriage, he asked his father's brother to find a wife for him.

585 When the day of the marriage came, the bridegroom took a cow and, accompanied by some friends, went to the kraal of the bride's parents, timing his visit to arrive at sunset when the cattle returned from pasture. The friends and relatives of the bride received the young man outside the kraal and they drank beer together. Then a sister of the bride came, and conducted the young man, leaving his friends outside, to a hut in the kraal where the bride was sitting. The bridegroom carried with him a runner of wild gourd which he twisted into a wreath and put on the bride's head. A pot of milk was given to him and he drank a mouthful which he puffed over the bride. He and the bride then placed their hands on the stones of the fire-place on which the pots stood while cooking; they churned a little butter together; a pot with water was put on the fire and together they sprinkled in flour, stirred it with one stick, and made porridge. Then the bridegroom returned to his friends outside the kraal gate and there they danced and drank beer all night, for none of them might sleep.

In the morning a mat was spread outside the kraal gate and the bride's father and some friends sat on it with the bridegroom. A cow was given to the friends of the bridegroom when they left to go home, and later in the day, after the bride's friends had discussed matters, the bridegroom also went home to prepare things for his bride's arrival.

The party which conducted the bride to her new home included her father, her brother's wife, her sister, and her young brother. The bride was carried in a litter and veiled, and the party arrived at the bridegroom's kraal when the cows were returning from the pasture. The bride was received by women relatives of the bridegroom, who took her into a house which they had prepared for her.

In the evening the bride joined her husband, but her young brother slept between her husband and herself that night and sometimes for two or three nights and the marriage might not

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi. 581 [184]

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation. 582

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found to be virgin. 831 [585] [431]

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the 584

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

584 girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

583 To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the [824] girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain [585] herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they [784] obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the [684] girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[5]

595 In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the [583] husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[5] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 126-9.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Bride-wealth was definitely not a compensation for the economic loss entailed by the girl's departure from her patrilineage. Her departure was not an impoverishment of her group because it provided it with a new alliance with another descent group; all informants agree on that. Bride-wealth was the socially recognized symbol of the legitimate transfer of fertility from one descent group to another. As long as bride-wealth had not been given, children borne by the woman were considered as belonging to her inzu (they are called *nkuli*). The husband was only their genitor, not their pater.

Bride-wealth received by the girl's father was not to be used only to provide the bride's brother with a wife. There was no direct relation between a man's possibility of getting a wife and his sister's marriage.

(c) The wedding ceremonies

Wedding ceremonies (*ubukwe*) taking place at the groom's father's were very long and complicated. The central rite constituting the wedding was the spitting on the bride's head of chewed herbs mixed with milk, and the placing on her head of a garland made of the leaves of a certain plant (*umuwishywa*). Other rites symbolized the dominance of the patrilineages' interests in the marriage. Both inzu were represented by two groups, the *abashyitsi*, the agnatic relatives of the bride, and *abasangwa*, agnatic relatives of the groom. When the rite was accomplished, *abashyitsi* had to express sorrow by their laments and *abasangwa* to rejoice loudly. Another rite stressed the concern of the kin-groups in the intimate relations between the spouses. A younger brother or paternal parallel cousin of the bride had to lie between the new spouses during some part of their first night together (*gucahagati*). The groom had to beg him to leave. I was told that this signified that it was the bride's patrilineage which had to give permission for the first intercourse. Moreover, after the central rite and before the first intercourse, the father and mother of the groom and the father and mother of the bride had to have sexual relations. If the girl's parents (who did not attend the wedding party) were living far away, the young couple sometimes had to wait for a couple of days before having intercourse.[6]

The high value of virginity was also symbolically stressed.

[6] On wedding celebration, see Kagame, 1954, pp. 143-72.

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585 Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have [843] been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his [428] share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their 591 own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

(*d*) *Polygynous unions*

595 Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, [556] as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which [842] were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually [114] occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

593 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to be married. The *inchoreke*, [357] young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will 342 live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home [184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

564 The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
583 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not
[538] one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

596 [591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[575] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 596 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a childless man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A [563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a [428] brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has [562] the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother [586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (umutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 428 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 842 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

[163] 3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 562 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house), the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But 837 custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 586 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she nearly always will accept it. However, she sometimes leaves her

837 husband and returns to her parents. The latter will attempt to persuade
586 her to return to her husband, for if she refused they would be obliged to refund the dowry.

The husband who finds out that his wife has committed adultery (gusambana, lit., to take another man) enjoins her not to do it again. The second time he strikes her. If she continues, he repudiates (gusendwa) her publicly. A repudiated wife is brought into disrepute and finds it difficult to marry again. Sometimes the adulterous wife is sent away at night, out of consideration for the family, so that her offense is not known by everybody. [29]

837 Formerly, if the husband surprised his wife in the act, he
586 would have the man arrested and beaten. Then before witnesses he
684 would repudiate his wife. If the accomplice was a nobleman like
563 himself, he was allowed to leave with the woman. But, usually, if he was married, he would return to his wife who would merely make a jealous scene. When the lover was a Mututsi umugaragu he was deprived of his property and exiled far away. If he was a Muhutu, the husband could demand from the Mwami permission to impale him like a cattle thief, or else he would thrash him soundly and have him driven away from the hill. An accomplice of the Mwami's adulterous wife was always killed. In none of these cases was the woman seriously ill-treated.

684 Our occupation has put a stop to cruel punishments, and at the
586 present time the wife's accomplice is not punished at all. Adultery
177 leads only to pecuniary reparation (itshyiru) by the lover. On the other hand, divorce is pronounced to the husband's benefit and the dowry is refunded to him, at least if there are no children by the marriage.

848 If the adulterous woman is pregnant, she will always claim that
586 the child she is expecting is her husband's. Being in doubt, the hus-
837 band takes the child (umusambanano) (1) as soon as it is weaned. He

1. General term designating an illegitimate child, including that born of adultery or incest.

also provides for his wife's needs but does not consent to take up again their life in common.

If the husband is sure that the child is the fruit of adultery, he has nothing more to do with his wife, and her parents adopt the child.

837 It may also happen that the accomplice marries the mother of his child. A complaisant husband, or one who, knowing that his wife is unfaithful, keeps her in spite of all, [30] is the object of ricidule by his neighbors and friends, who do not hesitate to call him inganzwa.

837 586 Among the Bahutu, the adulterous wife is beaten by her husband and sent back to her family. If there are no children from the marriage the husband will claim the dowry paid to the wife's parents.

837 Among the Batwa, adultery is hardly important. If a wife is unfaithful her husband forgives her, and if she is pregnant he considers the child his own.

8. Extramarital Relations

836 684 Sexual relations have always been strictly forbidden to young Batutsi and Bahutu girls. Violation of this interdiction would bring great misfortune to the families, says the voice of the people. In the past, pregnant girls (ikinyandaro) (1) were often even killed with their children, or else they were led beyond the froniters of Ruanda to a desert island in Lake Kivu where they died of hunger, unless the Banyabungo came to their rescue. Sometimes they were led to Urundi where they had to remain until they gave birth. The child was killed or abandoned to the Barundi.

1. According to the beliefs of the Banyarwanda, a girl taken by force does not become pregnant.

Today these cruel sanctions no longer exist, but a girl-mother is always considered a disgrace (inshyano) to her parents. The latter, however, usually take in the child.

Nevertheless, the young nobles do not deprive themselves of having sexual relations with the abagaragu girls placed with their fathers as servants. On the other hand, the Mututsi young man caught with a girl of his own caste was punished in the past in the same way as the accomplice of a married woman. [31]

837 [574] The great chiefs who possess concubines (insholeke) put them at the disposal of their visiting friends and relatives.

Blood brothers or friends sometimes exchange their wives for a night (guhan'ingo, lit., to exchange the ingo).

765 to the watering place. A brother of the deceased goes down in the near-by well, draws out water with a jug, and empties it into the watering trough. Then he passes the jug to the male children, beginning with the eldest, and each one imitates his gesture (2). In

2. During mourning, only the cowherds fill the watering trough.

the evening the guardians milk the cows; then after the mother, with the help of the paternal uncle, has removed the butter from her own churn (gutshyura igisabo, lit., to bring the churns back), the married sons and their wives do the same thing with theirs.

The son then gives a heifer to the uncle and a bull calf to the sister who has removed the cow dung (gukuka) in the kraal.

768 The night is spent in drinking, and the following day the uncle proceeds to choose a new head of the family if the father had not already designated one before dying.

765 If the wife has not had any children or if the marriage has lasted only a short while, her death gives rise to no ceremony and the husband wears mourning for only a week. (3)

3. All these curious ceremonies show the deep sorrow of the deceased's relatives. Above all, their purpose [33] is to prevent misfortune descending on the family of the one who has disappeared (guhumana, lit., to be soiled, to change color, to contract a serious illness).

Although they are extraneous to the common law itself, we have deemed it desirable to make a brief sketch of these ceremonies, in order to show that the whole life of the Banyarwanda is encircled in a close web of prescriptions of a magic nature.

[33] 2. Separation and Divorce

●586 It may happen that the husband's and wife's characters are not in harmony, that the wife complains of her husband's stinginess,

586 or that the husband finds his wife to be capricious or disobedient. In such cases the couple can separate for a while (kwahukana). But this separation often makes them think it over; either the husband makes amends and fetches his wife from her parents, giving presents to the latter and to his wife (beer, cloth, or goats), or else the wife, realizing that she was in the wrong to leave her home, returns of her own will.

During the time of separation, the children, except nurslings, remain with the husband.

If an understanding is definitely impossible, divorce (kwahukana rwose, lit., to separate definitely) can be requested by one of the couple.

Causes of divorce in favor of the husband (repudiation) are: repeated adultery; dirtiness; negligence in the care of the household and the supervision of servants; the evil eye (1) that will cause illness

1. Cf. preceding page, note 1.

of the husband or cattle, and, above all, stubborn disobedience.
[842] Sterility may be a cause for divorce, but if the husband is pleased with his wife he will keep her and merely take another who will be able to give him children.

Illness, even when prolonged, is not a cause for divorce. [34] If the marriage has been fruitful, the husband cannot take back the dowry, but keeps the indongoranyo he received from his father-in-law.

If there are no children, the husband who has received the indongoranyo is not authorized to claim the inkwano. He can do so, in the opposite case, but the wife's parents, in order to avoid this obligation, give him another of their daughters.

If the dowry has been paid in full, the children remain with their father, except those that have not been weaned.

The wife can ask for a divorce if the husband does not pay the dowry, does not provide her with cloth and ornaments, continually
[161] ill-treats her, or if the children's, dying one after another makes her believe in the malevolent influence of her husband.

If there are children, the husband may keep the indongoranyo. In the opposite case, he takes back the dowry unless he has received the indongoranyo.

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461]

1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

586 For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.
[587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes
587 the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

587 In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
171 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia, Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

● 586 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in
[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

574 This custom seems to be widespread particularly among the
837 Batutsi as well as among the Bahima. Father Achte sees in it the reason why polygamy is relatively undeveloped among the Bahima.

548 In spite of polygamy and the fact that it is easy to enter into marriage in Ruanda, there is a sort of prostitute. These are widows or older women, as well as girls who have not found a husband. They give themselves in exchange for presents, thereby earning their living. They are called inzorezi. Young men have sexual intercourse with them before marriage. The word is derived from the verb kuzerera, "to run about."

836 Prostitutes and concubines are distinguished from nyamuraza, roving girls who enter into a sort of trial marriage and have intercourse in this way. They hope [226] by this means to persuade a man who would otherwise not have given them any consideration to make the conventional payment and thus make a proper marriage. This attempt may be repeated several times.

586 Divorce. If a man is not satisfied with his wife he may, without further ado, send her back home. If the woman was at fault, if she was unfaithful or sterile, a demand may be made for the return of the payment given for her.

In Mulera the cow which was paid for the woman, as well as all the animal's young, are returned in this type of divorce if the woman has had no children. If the woman has lived for some time with her husband, the cows may be replaced by calves. While I was in Ruasa the whole countryside was in a state of excitement over an unusual divorce suit. A man named Lwamakuba paid for his wife with a cow which in the course of time gave his father-in-law ten calves. When the wife grew old, her husband sent her back home indicating that she was sterile. He demanded the return of his payment which had meanwhile increased to a whole herd of cattle. After many negotiations the wife returned with an excellent cow which was supposed to make up for her beauty defects. The husband took his wife back, and the matter was settled. After a time, the wife was sent back again. Five times the woman returned, always with another cow. At the time of my visit the woman was being sent back for the sixth time.

586 However, since this time another cow was denied, the man entered a suit for the return of the illegally retained cow.

If a woman no longer wishes to live with her husband, she 586 first goes back to her parents. She does not have a comfortable 587 existence there, however, for she is regarded solely as a beast of burden and as something unclean besides. Her father, above all, has visions of having to return the payments which he cannot refuse the husband. For this reason the woman usually does not stay long in her parents' home. After a certain time she moves away and settles with a man who does not shy away because of the dispute with her husband and her father. Once the woman has left her proper husband, she does not usually stay long anywhere and travels about according to her moods and the advantages she may gain. Thus a woman may change husbands several times within a few years.

588 In Mulera disputes between man and wife are said to be tried before a specially selected tribunal of older women and men. If public opinion is in favor of the wife who has left, the husband loses his right to be paid and must persuade her to return by offering her gifts. In this case, as a rule, the bribed relatives of the wife become the man's most vehement antagonists, for they do not like to see her wandering about in any case.

[227] The divorced wife retains her personal possessions and the dowry she brought to her husband's house.

578 The vagabond existence of women causes much disorder in 851 the life of small communities. Most quarrels, in Kissaka, for example, arise on account of the children. Here the Muhutu woman does not have a high purchase price, and consequently the children are more important than the wife herself. The children belong to the father's clan. The clan regards the children as reciprocity for the payment received by the wife's parents. If a man has impregnated a woman for whom he has not paid, his right to the child is apparently lost. The woman stays with him, however, and the child, at least as long as it is small, cannot be taken away from the mother. This involves a legal question which the batware [officials] must decide. If the man is powerful and has many followers, the question becomes very complicated. In this

578 851 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 562 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 578 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

583 691 divorce have arisen between the married pair, and that there is therefore no cause of action.

And, a case already cited, a man hears that his wife's brother has sold the cow paid in bride-wealth, and thereupon drives away his wife and sues for his bride-wealth. The sale is admitted, but the plaintiff fails in his suit, as no grounds for divorce have arisen between his wife and himself: he is therefore to take his wife back.

586 691 On the termination of a marriage, bride-wealth, with rare exceptions, is returnable in full: and where cattle are involved, the increase is also to be returned (three cases in the records): but a man who sued for three bulls, the progeny of a cow paid in bride-wealth, was unsuccessful when it was established that the bulls were dead.

Circumstances under which the bride-wealth is not returnable in full are:

(*a*) when the wife has borne children or is pregnant at the time of the dissolution of marriage.

Instances: A claim is made for the repayment of bride-wealth of 4 hoes. Three only are awarded by the Court, as a child has been born of the marriage.

In a claim for repayment of bride-wealth of a cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer and some fat, the Court only awards the cow and the hoes, as the woman was pregnant at the time of divorce.

(*b*) when the wife dies in pregnancy.

In such a case, a woman's father was sued for the return of bride-wealth, but pleaded, to the satisfaction of the Court, that her death in pregnancy amounted to her having been killed by her husband. No bride-wealth was to be repaid.

(*c*) when the wife dies after an illness, unless she has come to her husband ill or otherwise unsound at the time of marriage, or has returned home without cause given by him, and there fallen ill and died.

Instances: A widower sues for the return of his bride-wealth on the ground that the woman was unsound when he married her. Her father shows to the satisfaction of the Court that the husband did not disclose the defect at the time of marriage, and that the woman died at her husband's home: and the widower loses and is further ordered to return the clothes and ornaments of his dead wife to her father.

A man marries but does not build a home and remains at his brother-in-law's. Later, he quarrels with the brother-in-law and removes, with his wife. She falls ill and goes home to her brother, and there dies. The Court decides that her husband has no justification for reclaiming

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

his bride-wealth, since his brother-in-law did not take her away, she went home when ill because she had no home. In any case, the Court adds, bride-wealth is not to be returned as a matter of course just because a woman dies. 586 691

In a third case a woman has died after bearing one child; the circumstances of death are not stated. The widower, reclaiming his bride-wealth, a cow, which by increase has become 8 head, in a village meeting, has been awarded 5 head and the woman's father 3. The widower has later taken one of his father-in-law's share to provide milk for the child, and now claims his right to retain it and receive the balance. The Court confirms the decision of the village meeting, on the grounds that although the widower has lost a wife, her father has lost a child.

(*d*) when a husband drives away his wife without due cause, or abandons her.

Instances: A man takes his cow, paid as bride-wealth, away, then drives his wife out of the house, and now reclaims the balance, 11 hoes. He is adjudged to have forfeited these.

A man reclaims 7 hoes, balance of bride-wealth of a cow and 7 hoes, from his brother-in-law, who has taken the woman when ill to a doctor and has not returned her. The husband is found to have seized the opportunity to take back his cow and to have abandoned his wife, and he is held to have no claim to his hoes.

A man claims 6 cows, the increase of one, paid as bride-wealth. It is established that after the woman had borne him 5 children, he emigrated, leaving her, and that she is still unmarried and willing to return to him. He admits in cross-examination that he wants the cattle, not his wife—and loses both.

Bride-wealth is also returnable when a woman, left a widow, declines to remain under the custody of her late husband's heirs, and goes to her relatives. But custody must be claimed at the time of the husband's death: in a case where this was not done, and the woman had gone away and remarried, the new marriage was allowed to stand, subject to the proviso that the child of the marriage would be a member of the family of the first husband when it grew up, if it desired. In one case, a man waives his claim to the bride-wealth in respect of the widow of his dead son, she having returned to her relatives. 587 768 851

On the termination of a marriage, the custody of children is always the right of the husband. If he dies, the right passes to his heirs: there 586 768 851

586 is, however, an exception recorded, where, on a man dying leaving
851 only female children, these were taken charge of by the village head-
768 man. The right to custody sometimes involves investigation of paternity, the nature of which is fully understood.

[691] *Instances*: A man sues his wife's new husband, after divorce, for payment of bride-wealth or else for custody of a child of which he claims she was pregnant when she left him. A count of months establishes the paternity of the new husband.

The son of a man deceased sues the man to whom the widow has gone, she then having a four-months' old child, for the first offspring of the new union as well as the other child, on the grounds that she was pregnant at the time of her husband's death. The Court finds that no woman has ever been heard of suckling a four months' child and pregnant of another, and therefore awards the eldest child only.

In a third case, it is necessary to establish paternity as between three possible fathers.

An unweaned child will remain with its mother till weaned. If not
[862] claimed then, her relatives or new husband may claim recompense for the cost of bringing the child up: in one case a goat is to be paid, in another, half the milk of a cow, and 3 hoes.

As a corollary to the right to the custody of a child, the heir of a
768 man who has died has the right to the bride-wealth in respect of a
428 girl-child, when the widow has returned to her relatives and the child has not been claimed before she reaches marriageable age, subject to a deduction for the cost of bringing her up.

[691] *Instances*: In the case just cited, the milk and three hoes represented a deduction from the total bride-wealth of a cow and five hoes.

In another case, the woman's relations resist such a claim on the ground that when she left the heir, her son, and went home, he claimed only her clothes but not the child. Their case fails.

In one case, a man lost his reason, and his wife went off to another man with her three children, of whom two were females. This other man married off one child and betrothed the other. Both contracts
[681] were dissolved, the man was fined and in addition was made to refund to their father 14 hoes which had been handed over for maintenance of the children.

586 Dissolution of marriage is found to take place on numerous grounds. The records disclose causes of offence by the husband as follows:

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Impotence.
Loss of reason.
Failure to clothe the wife.
Failure to cultivate.
Failure to provide food.
Wandering habits.
Measuring out food to the wife (instead of giving her free access to the store).
Refusal to eat food.
Accusation of witchcraft.
Continued insult and beating.
Removal of bride-wealth from the relations-in-law.

There are three marital causes where dissolution is threatened, one, because the cow paid in bride-wealth has died, in another because it has gone blind, and in a third because it has borne twin-calves: such a cow is taboo for this purpose, presumably on account of the danger [845] of sympathetic influence on the wife—the advent of twins is not hailed with joy, witness a case where a cow is in issue, the fee of a doctor for removing the curse of twins.

Grounds for divorce of the wife include:

Refusal to work and to cook.
Continued sickness.
Desertion, subdivided into cases where she has gone to her relations, and where she has gone off to another man.

Adultery as such is never cited as a reason for divorce. There is but [837] one case of adultery on record in the Court, the offending man being punished and the woman returned to her husband.

It is but rarely that a woman or her relatives come to Court to sue for a divorce. Normally, if she feels that she has reason for dissatisfac- [691] tion, she returns to the home of her father or brother, whose duty it is to endeavour to reach an amicable settlement. If this is not done, she remains and abides the issue, or, not infrequently, is married to another man, this precipitating proceedings by the husband. But in a fair number of instances, she goes straight off to another man.

The Court will try to compose matters and to maintain the marriage wherever possible.

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Instances: A runaway wife, sued by her husband, complains that he does not give her clothes and is stingy with food to the extent of measuring

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

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it out. The Court awards him his wife on condition of his paying her two barkcloths for clothing, and a sleeping mat.

A man has removed his two cows, paid in bride-wealth, and his wife has gone away and has been married off elsewhere. He may recover his wife by immediate payment of the cows, when the second union will be declared invalid.

A woman has left her husband on account of his cruelty, and her father has married her again. She agrees to return to her husband if he will guarantee to clothe her.

The cases of a husband resuming possession of cattle paid in bride-wealth are fairly frequent, but the marriage is never *ipso facto* dissolved on this account: the position would rather seem to be that the relation of the man and the woman reverts to one of betrothal.

The Court discourages recourse to it when it appears that full recourse to conciliation has not been made or that action is otherwise premature.

Instances: A wife admits running away, and her father admits marrying her to another man. The husband gets his bride-wealth back, but loses his costs because he did not try to arrange matters with his father-in-law before coming to Court.

A woman's father has returned the cow paid in bride-wealth, as being of poor quality, and his daughter has left her husband on this account. He sues for payment of a sound cow and wins, but costs are given against him for his manner of action.

A man sues his father-in-law for taking his daughter away. The reply is that she came home ill, and stayed, with his concurrence, because her husband gave her no clothes. This the husband admits, but costs are given against the father because he took no steps to bring about a reconciliation.

A man claims his wife from his mother-in-law, to whom she has gone. He wins, but loses his costs because he did not ask his mother-in-law for his wife before bringing a case.

A man sues his mother-in-law for marrying off his wife to another man while he was absent in Uganda. It is found that she had merely returned home to await his return, and he loses his costs.

It has been mentioned above that a husband who tries to get rid of his wife without sufficient cause is liable to forfeit part of his bride-wealth. Nor does the runaway wife who cannot back her action by sufficient reason for discontent get any sympathy from the Court.

Instances: A wife has left her husband and maintains that she went because

her husband gave her no clothes. She is ordered to return to him, as she had made no complaint to her father. 586

A wife who went back to her relatives because her husband walked out of the house, saying it smelt, is ordered to return to him. 691

So with a wife who left her husband on account of his deafness.

And another who said that her husband was impotent, but could not satisfy the Court of this.

Another runaway wife is returned to her husband and told to sue before the Court at a later date if she has any concrete reason for disagreement with him, such as his failure to produce clothes or to work on the land.

The seducer of an unmarried woman is always punished and may have to pay compensation to her father. In one such case compensation is ordered on account of the girl being 'destroyed'. In the case, however, of the man who has enticed away a married woman or has willingly accepted a wife who has deserted her husband, there is no such uniformity of practice, and much depends on the circumstances of the case. Usually the man is punished or at any rate cautioned. 684

Instances: A wife leaves her husband and offers herself to another man. She is returned, much against her will, to her husband, and the third party is fined and informed that he will be imprisoned if he accepts the woman again.

An enticer offers the defence that he is willing to pay bride-wealth to the woman's father. She is returned to her husband, whom the enticer, as well as being fined, has to compensate.

A wife, having run away, is reclaimed by her husband, and the man to whom she has gone is punished.

But in four cases, he is only cautioned.

Sometimes the woman is returned without her unlawful partner being punished.

Instance: A runaway wife, pregnant by another man, is returned to her husband, in spite of her alleging against him that he deprives her of food and clothes, is always wandering, and has accused her of witchcraft. (The Court was probably sceptical of the veracity of so formidable an indictment.) The child, when born, is to belong to the original husband, but there is no further mention of the other man.

On other occasions, presumably when the husband has been at fault, the second partner is allowed to refund the amount of his bride-wealth and to retain the woman as his lawful wife. [586] [587]

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Instances: A man has beaten his wife and driven away her relatives when they came to see him. She leaves him for another man, who is ordered to refund the bride-wealth.

A wife has left her husband and is now pregnant by another man. The husband will be satisfied either with the child or his bride-wealth. The paternity of the second man is established, and bride-wealth is to be paid over.

In several cases a woman's relatives are found to have married her to another man in her husband's absence, or after she has left him and returned home. Here again circumstances determine whether the first or the second union shall be dissolved. In considering these, the voice of the woman is not disregarded, and in one case, after judgement has issued in the original husband's favour, it is amended there and then owing to his wife's refusal to return to him.

586 661 Several marriages are found to be broken up on account of the Chief's seizing cattle paid in bride-wealth.

Instances: A wife goes off to her father's because the Chief has taken the bride-wealth cow.

A man from Urundi pays a cow in bride-wealth, which is seized by the Chief in order to recoup himself after some of his cattle have been stolen by Urundi natives: and the woman's father therefore takes her back.

In a third case, this right or propensity is deliberately made use of by a husband who wishes to shuffle off his wife. He arranges for the Chief to seize the bride-wealth cow with its two calves, and then sends his wife home. But the stratagem fails.

595 578 586 Finally, the existence of polygyny is to be referred to. That it may lead to disharmony in the home appears from two cases, in the former of which the first wife is so aggravated by her husband taking another spouse that she has assaulted him, while in the other a husband is brought to Court for tying up his second wife on suspicion of her having bewitched the first one, with a threat that he would kill her if the first one died. And a third husband finds himself heavily fined for being influenced by the predilections of his first wife. He had paid bride-wealth for a second: the first wife did not approve of the newcomer: her sister coming soon afterwards with a gift of beer, he kept her instead; she had already been promised in matriage, however, and he has to face an indignant betrothed as well as her father, in Court.

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9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 F.O42 Rundi FO42

This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an 835
unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the 837
point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover [586] was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage 836
girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl 848
became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be 605
treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his 835
parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the 605
two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar 604
to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not [582]
marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour [835]

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connexions with several inzu. These important chiefs sometimes had more than four wives. 595

Our informants were aware of these different functions of polygyny, but it did not seem necessary for them to look for reasons why people are polygynous. It appeared obvious to them that everybody wanted to have several wives.

(*e*) *Divorce*

Marriage could be ended by divorce (*gutana*). The parents of both spouses and their patrilineage heads usually took part in the various preparatory steps. Nevertheless, divorce was not decided by them, but resulted from the will of the spouses or even from the will of one of them. 586

Divorce itself was usually preceded by one or several temporary separations (*kwahukana*), although these separations did not necessarily lead to divorce. The wife left her husband and went to her parents', or to her husband's parents', or to her husband's brother's home. She complained that her husband had insulted her, beaten her, neglected her, was lazy, &c. The fathers of both spouses then met, talked to the husband, and tried to persuade him to take his wife back, and her to return to him. Very often it was difficult to convince them because the spouse who initiated the separation merely wanted it to be temporary in order to exert a certain pressure on the other. So married life was resumed.

It is to be noted that whoever felt wronged, it was always the wife who left and that among well-to-do people she was never expelled by her husband. He merely showed her by his behaviour (not spending the night with her, &c.) that she was unwanted, and then she left.

For a divorce the procedure was essentially similar to that of a temporary separation. The wife left when either she or her husband definitely wanted to end the marriage. Of course there was very strong pressure from both kin-groups to keep the marriage going, in order not to break the alliance between the two patrilineages. Consequently, the spouse who wanted divorce had to try to convince both inzu and public opinion at large that he (or she) was in one of the cases socially recognized as providing legitimate grounds for divorce. These grounds were for a wife: repeated ill-treatment by her husband, his failure to support her, and his refusal to cohabit with her. Impotence was not regarded as

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586 sufficient grounds, as in that case the wife had the right of co-habitation with one of her husband's agnates. Socially accepted grounds of divorce for a husband were his wife's neglect of domestic duties, or repeated adultery with a non-privileged partner. Sterility was not a reason for divorce as the man could always take another wife.

The divorced woman left with her only belongings—her clothes. Usually the husband gave her new clothes on that occasion. If bride-wealth and counter-gifts had been exchanged, nothing had to be given by either father. If bride-wealth had been paid, but not the counter-gifts, bride-wealth had to be returned except either where children had been born or where there were other marriage links between the two lineages concerned. If bride-wealth had not been paid, children went to live with their mother's kinsfolk unless their father paid the bride-wealth later. If bride-wealth was not returned and there were no children, the children borne by the wife in a following marriage could be claimed by the former husband.

Young children stayed with their divorced mother till they were seven or eight years old. They were then sent to their father's home where they were taken care of by another of his wives. Later on these children could visit their mother whenever they wished.

587 Divorced women usually married again easily. Their bride-wealth was lower and its payment was delayed till after marriage. But if it was felt that they were responsible for the failure of their previous marriage, then they did not always find another husband.

(f) Celibacy

589 Voluntary celibacy was unknown in Ruanda. Every man wanted to be married, to have children and a place of his own. Every girl wanted to be a mother. Those who were impotent (*ibiremba*) usually did not marry. Lepers (*ababembe*), the insane (*abasazi*), [587] and people ill with tuberculosis (*abanyagitundu*) were forbidden to [734] marry. Girls who had refused a husband often remained unmarried, as few men wanted to take the chance of being refused also. Single people lived with their kinsmen. Sometimes Tutsi bachelors were given a homestead and servants by their fathers.

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For husband and wife, sex was not only that pleasurable 831
activity in which tensions are released, but it was also linked with feelings of affection and sympathy. Moreover, as some cases of prohibition and obligation make it clear, it was a means of participating in collective feelings and of relating oneself to natural processes and rhythms.

For men, marriage was not the only socially approved means of 836
obtaining sexual gratification. Before marriage young Tutsi were often given Hutu temporary concubines, wives or daughters of their father's clients. Moreover, they, as well as young Hutu, had privileged partners: married cross-cousins, brothers', and parallel cousins' wives. If they had affairs with unrelated women or even related or unrelated girls, the blame and the risk were for the latter more than for themselves. But as these affairs were occasional and had to be kept secret, marriage brought to men stability, continuity, and quietness in their sexual life. Homosexuality was [838]
widespread among Tutsi and Hutu young men. For girls, any heterosexual activity before marriage was strictly prohibited and severely sanctioned. After marriage, their sexual needs could be satisfied not only with their husbands but with their privileged partners.

Cohabitation was an obligation for each spouse. Refusal over a 833
certain time—one, two or three weeks according to different in- [586]
formants—was a cause of temporary separation or even of divorce (of course this does not refer to a refusal based on culturally accepted reasons such as illness or menstruation). Frequency of intercourse is said to have been up to three times a day for Tutsi when they were newly married, then once a day for young people, and about once every other day later on. Hutu accounts suggest that the average frequency was not as high in their group (once a day for newly married, every other day for young people, and twice or once a week later on). The difference was attributed to the more leisurely life of Tutsi. 'They were not tired by work in the fields.' Women were said to be more eager than men but I was told by some informants that men thought this 'because they never refused intercourse'. Women, however, had to behave in a restrained way and to leave the initiative to men. It was very improper for a wife to manifest pleasure or to be other than purely passive during love-play and intercourse. Both partners sat or lay on their sides. Coitus with the woman lying on her back

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cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

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woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child. 851 586

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother. 842 [935] [853] 847 824

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place. 854 [885]

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization. 855 593 604

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to 857 [862] 868 857 000

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.

562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
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10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or 585
speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but [613 under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. 578] Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts [607 to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, 606] and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for 584
his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home [586] with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an [835] older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan 593
or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please 776

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

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581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without per-
[857] mission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered
● 586 perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is con-
593 sistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors
[754] while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be
[842 retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price
583] to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the brideprice, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,

586 she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with
593 her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but
[587] abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of
[564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside,
[567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her
606 daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true
592 mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The
607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority
592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his
578 wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same
595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of
564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced
[586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she ha, conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

586 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their
855 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends
[587] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

858 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the
862 typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very
593 tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege
858 and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long
593 night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in
[556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit
593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys
[861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A
[603] young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the

608 "If you refuse to give me lodging or food, may the gihango kill you."

The two blood brothers then lie down on the mat side by side for a few moments to indicate that they will be indissolubly united in good as in bad days.

Then the one who is the visitor takes a handful of herbs and throws it on the hearth, saying: "If you come to my house and [18] I am away you may drink my beer and warm yourself with my wood, and may the gihango do you no harm, for you will not have wanted either to steal my beer or to burn my hut. But if my wife refuses to give you the beer and the wood, it is no concern of mine, for my wife is not bound as we are by the blood pact."

The abanywanyi then offer gifts to the witnesses such as hoes, necklaces, etc., and give each other presents of hoes, goats, and cows, according to their means, in order "to free themselves from the mat on which the blood pact has taken place," (kwichara ku kirago).

CHAPTER II. MARRIAGE

1. Kinds of Unions

583 The word ugushaka (to have a wife) designates marriage in general.

The typical marriage with payment of a dowry (inkwano) to the girl's father is called kurongora.

A umugeni w'ubuntu (lit., betrothed given as a present) may [572] be given as testimony of affection to a friend. Later the man can give a dowry, but he is not obliged to do so. If the friends quarrel, [562] the dowry may then be reclaimed. A powerful chief can also give his mututsi client a young girl as a gift (umugeni w'ingororano).

587 To marry a divorced woman or a widow is called gutshyura umusumbakazi (lit., to bring home a woman who has already been married). These unions are frequent, especially among the Bahutu. When they start keeping house, the husband only gives the bride's paterfamilias a jug of pombe, but if the couple have children he must give a dowry. [19]

582 marriage is allowed between crosscousins (2), for the sister's children

> 2. Crosscousins are those of whom the father of one is the brother of the other's mother.

belong to their father's family. An uncle may never marry his niece.

Endogamy (kwisabira ku mugongo, lit. to find one's self on one's back) and exogamy both exist at the same time among the Abanyiginya. However, they may not marry the daughter of their brother or their sister. Similarly, they may not take a wife among the Abungura, the Abasinga, and the Abatshyaba.

●587 When a man dies, his father or his brother may marry one of his widows. Similarly, the son who succeeds him as head of the family may marry his father's wives, other than his own mother, on condition that they do not belong to his mother's family.

The husband of the deceased's sister may marry his sister-in-law (muramukazi), but not the latter's daughter (umukobwa wachu). Similarly, the brother of the deceased's wife may marry his sister-in-law, but not her daughter (umwishywa w'umukobwa). [22]

Marriage is permitted with the widow of a blood brother but not with his daughter.

582 563 The Batutsi may marry Bahutu women. For example, a patron might give his daughter in marriage to one of his clients of whom he is particularly fond. But an umugaragu is forbidden to ask his shebuja for permission to marry his daughter.

2. Impuberty.

582 In the past a young man and a girl could not get married before the age of twenty-five and eighteen respectively. A little girl (inshube) and a little boy (ingimbi) were sometimes betrothed, but they remained with their parents until the time of their marriage.

Nowadays a young man usually gets married when he is eighteen and a girl when she is fourteen.

584 3. Lack of consent.

The father chooses the wife for his son. If he is dead, one of his brothers takes his place in this undertaking. The son who is head of the family finds wives for his brothers and receives marriage proposals

428 Nzabandora is assigned Nyiramatama's field and banana plantation.

However, Shumbushu has the right to collect an itako on his brothers' property.

COWS, PASTURES. Usually the Muhutu does not own any pasture and, for even if he has one or two cows, they are inkazibiti and rarely imbata. These animals [69] belong jointly to the sons of the deceased, who go and ask a well-to-do Mututsi for permission to continue taking their animals to pasture on his land.

SMALL LIVESTOCK. The flock of goats and sheep is divided among the sons. The head of the family in addition takes the itako.

RUGO, CROPS. Each of the wives remains in her rugo and disposes of the surrounding crops.

WEAPONS, TOOLS. Are taken by the head of the family.

Inheritance of a Mutwa

The inheritance of a Mutwa amounts to very little, a few goats and sheep, some tools and utensils. He may however own a small field (ingobyi y'urugo), or sometimes even a fairly large tract of land (igikingi), usually received for choreographic skill.

5. The Fate of Widows

●587 When the time of the kwirabura and kwera has expired, the widow (umupfakazi) may remarry.

If she accepts as her new spouse a member of her husband's family, such as the head of the family (except for her own son) (1), one of her

> 1. The son who is head of the family may take as wife one or several of his father's widows if they do not belong to his mother's family. An uncle may not marry his niece.

brothers-in-law (her husband's brothers), or her father-in-law, then the wife remains in the rugo where her new husband will visit her. No dowry (inkwano) is paid for a widow who remarries, and the wedding takes place without the customary ceremonies.

768 If the woman[1] refuses all offers of marriage in order to devote herself to the education of her children, she will be allowed [70] nevertheless to remain in her rugo. She keeps the inyarulembo cows, her servants, the field and the pasture she had received from her husband with the right to reap the benefits thereof. This property does not constitute a dowry for her but is kept by her provisionally. Actually she merely manages it in the interest of those of her sons who are minors and who stay with her. In this way she may continue to live in the same manner as in her husband's lifetime, with no fear of poverty. Furthermore, even when her sons take part of this property in order to establish themselves, they do not cease to show a tender solicitude for their mother and to provide for her needs.

If the widow wishes to return to her family, she must then abandon the rugo and its contents, except for her personal belongings. Her children must be left to the father's family as soon as they are weaned, that is to say, when they are about four or five years old -- unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

● 587 It may happen that a widow with children marries a stranger to the deceased's family. In principle, she is not forbidden to live in her rugo with her new husband. But these marriages, which are not well looked upon, are usually precarious. At the slightest difficulty, the deceased's relatives intervene, and the second husband is driven out without being able to carry anything away and is even obliged to abandon the children he has had with the woman.

768 As to the childless widow, she must return to her family unless she agrees to marry a member of the deceased's family.

[1] [i.e., a widow.—Analyst]

6. Situation of the Widower

Usually the death of a wife does not bring to an end the relations of the widower with his family-in-law, especially if there are children born of the marriage. [71]

The parents-in-law have the option of giving their son-in-law one indorano cow (1) and sometimes even two.

1. The Bahutu give jugs of beer as indorano.

587 If the widower is left with very young children, the parents-in-law usually suggest to their son-in-law that he take one of their other daughters as a wife (2) so that the children do not have a stranger as

[765]

2. The widower may not remarry until after a month of mourning. During this time he does not shave, does not wash his clothes, and may not have intercourse with another woman.

stepmother. Far from claiming another dowry for her, they offer on the contrary an indongoranyo cow (3) which normally, however, is

3. A hoe, among the Bahutu.

the counterpart of the dowry paid.

A widower without children may claim restitution of the dowry. He usually does not do so because he knows that his parents-in-law, to avoid returning the dowry, will find him a new wife among their own daughters or those of their kin.

7. Guardianship of Children (4)

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4. Cf. Personal Status, Tutelage and Emancipation, pp. 31 and 32.

The widowed mother who does not remarry outside the family continues to live in her rugo where she brings up her children until their marriage, which emancipates them, at least so far as the boys are concerned.

The son who is named head of the family actually replaces his father, provided he is old enough to do so. He has the same rights and obligations as his father, especially that of establishing his brothers (by giving them some indemano) and marrying off his sisters. If later one of his sisters happens to be repudiated, she takes refuge with her mother or her brother, who finds her a new husband.

If all the boys are minors, the paternal grandfather or, in his absence, the paternal uncle who seems the best [72] qualified is

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother [429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a 428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers 768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her 587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional 428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest 463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith 868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is 671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is 563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution
586 of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.
[587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes
587 the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
587 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia,
171 Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

586 However, since this time another cow was denied, the man entered a suit for the return of the illegally retained cow.

If a woman no longer wishes to live with her husband, she 586 first goes back to her parents. She does not have a comfortable 587 existence there, however, for she is regarded solely as a beast of burden and as something unclean besides. Her father, above all, has visions of having to return the payments which he cannot refuse the husband. For this reason the woman usually does not stay long in her parents' home. After a certain time she moves away and settles with a man who does not shy away because of the dispute with her husband and her father. Once the woman has left her proper husband, she does not usually stay long anywhere and travels about according to her moods and the advantages she may gain. Thus a woman may change husbands several times within a few years.

586 In Mulera disputes between man and wife are said to be tried before a specially selected tribunal of older women and men. If public opinion is in favor of the wife who has left, the husband loses his right to be paid and must persuade her to return by offering her gifts. In this case, as a rule, the bribed relatives of the wife become the man's most vehement antagonists, for they do not like to see her wandering about in any case.

[227] The divorced wife retains her personal possessions and the dowry she brought to her husband's house.

578 The vagabond existence of women causes much disorder in 851 the life of small communities. Most quarrels, in Kissaka, for example, arise on account of the children. Here the Muhutu woman does not have a high purchase price, and consequently the children are more important than the wife herself. The children belong to the father's clan. The clan regards the children as reciprocity for the payment received by the wife's parents. If a man has impregnated a woman for whom he has not paid, his right to the child is apparently lost. The woman stays with him, however, and the child, at least as long as it is small, cannot be taken away from the mother. This involves a legal question which the batware [officials] must decide. If the man is powerful and has many followers, the question becomes very complicated. In this

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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After the mourning the heir was purified by an elder of the clan, and he then took the mourning garment and buried it in some secret place. The mourners shaved their heads and hid the hair. A medicine-man decided whether the house of the dead man might still be inhabited or not. If the people were permitted to remain there, they, the place, and the pots had to be purified; but if they had to go they gave the pots and furniture away and left the house to fall down. 765 [783]

The heir was purified again by an elder of the clan and then went to buy a cow, which he took to the king, whom he was not on this occasion allowed to see. The next day he visited the king, taking a present of a young bull, and informed him of the death. This reception constituted his acknowledgment by the king as the dead man's heir, but if he proved unsatisfactory he might later be dismissed from the chieftainship. 768 [643] [431] [428]

The heir took all his father's widows except old women and his own mother. He even took widows with children, and the children regarded him as their father. [587]

When a married man lost his father he lived apart from his wife for two months, and on the death of his mother he avoided his wife for one month.

his bride-wealth, since his brother-in-law did not take her away, she 586
went home when ill because she had no home. In any case, the Court 691
adds, bride-wealth is not to be returned as a matter of course just because a woman dies.

In a third case a woman has died after bearing one child; the circumstances of death are not stated. The widower, reclaiming his bride-wealth, a cow, which by increase has become 8 head, in a village meeting, has been awarded 5 head and the woman's father 3. The widower has later taken one of his father-in-law's share to provide milk for the child, and now claims his right to retain it and receive the balance. The Court confirms the decision of the village meeting, on the grounds that although the widower has lost a wife, her father has lost a child.

(*d*) when a husband drives away his wife without due cause, or abandons her.

Instances: A man takes his cow, paid as bride-wealth, away, then drives his wife out of the house, and now reclaims the balance, 11 hoes. He is adjudged to have forfeited these.

A man reclaims 7 hoes, balance of bride-wealth of a cow and 7 hoes, from his brother-in-law, who has taken the woman when ill to a doctor and has not returned her. The husband is found to have seized the opportunity to take back his cow and to have abandoned his wife, and he is held to have no claim to his hoes.

A man claims 6 cows, the increase of one, paid as bride-wealth. It is established that after the woman had borne him 5 children, he emigrated, leaving her, and that she is still unmarried and willing to return to him. He admits in cross-examination that he wants the cattle, not his wife—and loses both.

Bride-wealth is also returnable when a woman, left a widow, 587
declines to remain under the custody of her late husband's heirs, and 768
goes to her relatives. But custody must be claimed at the time of the 851
husband's death: in a case where this was not done, and the woman had gone away and remarried, the new marriage was allowed to stand, subject to the proviso that the child of the marriage would be a member of the family of the first husband when it grew up, if it desired. In one case, a man waives his claim to the bride-wealth in respect of the widow of his dead son, she having returned to her relatives.

On the termination of a marriage, the custody of children is always 586
the right of the husband. If he dies, the right passes to his heirs: there 768
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her husband gave her no clothes. She is ordered to return to him, as she had made no complaint to her father. 586

A wife who went back to her relatives because her husband walked out of the house, saying it smelt, is ordered to return to him. 691

So with a wife who left her husband on account of his deafness.

And another who said that her husband was impotent, but could not satisfy the Court of this.

Another runaway wife is returned to her husband and told to sue before the Court at a later date if she has any concrete reason for disagreement with him, such as his failure to produce clothes or to work on the land.

The seducer of an unmarried woman is always punished and may have to pay compensation to her father. In one such case compensation is ordered on account of the girl being 'destroyed'. In the case, however, of the man who has enticed away a married woman or has willingly accepted a wife who has deserted her husband, there is no such uniformity of practice, and much depends on the circumstances of the case. Usually the man is punished or at any rate cautioned. 684

Instances: A wife leaves her husband and offers herself to another man. She is returned, much against her will, to her husband, and the third party is fined and informed that he will be imprisoned if he accepts the woman again.

An enticer offers the defence that he is willing to pay bride-wealth to the woman's father. She is returned to her husband, whom the enticer, as well as being fined, has to compensate.

A wife, having run away, is reclaimed by her husband, and the man to whom she has gone is punished.

But in four cases, he is only cautioned.

Sometimes the woman is returned without her unlawful partner being punished.

Instance: A runaway wife, pregnant by another man, is returned to her husband, in spite of her alleging against him that he deprives her of food and clothes, is always wandering, and has accused her of witchcraft. (The Court was probably sceptical of the veracity of so formidable an indictment.) The child, when born, is to belong to the original husband, but there is no further mention of the other man.

On other occasions, presumably when the husband has been at fault, the second partner is allowed to refund the amount of his bride-wealth and to retain the woman as his lawful wife. [586] [587]

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586 691 587 837

Instances: A man has beaten his wife and driven away her relatives when they came to see him. She leaves him for another man, who is ordered to refund the bride-wealth.

A wife has left her husband and is now pregnant by another man. The husband will be satisfied either with the child or his bride-wealth. The paternity of the second man is established, and bride-wealth is to be paid over.

In several cases a woman's relatives are found to have married her to another man in her husband's absence, or after she has left him and returned home. Here again circumstances determine whether the first or the second union shall be dissolved. In considering these, the voice of the woman is not disregarded, and in one case, after judgement has issued in the original husband's favour, it is amended there and then owing to his wife's refusal to return to him.

586 661 Several marriages are found to be broken up on account of the Chief's seizing cattle paid in bride-wealth.

Instances: A wife goes off to her father's because the Chief has taken the bride-wealth cow.

A man from Urundi pays a cow in bride-wealth, which is seized by the Chief in order to recoup himself after some of his cattle have been stolen by Urundi natives: and the woman's father therefore takes her back.

In a third case, this right or propensity is deliberately made use of by a husband who wishes to shuffle off his wife. He arranges for the Chief to seize the bride-wealth cow with its two calves, and then sends his wife home. But the stratagem fails.

595 578 586 Finally, the existence of polygyny is to be referred to. That it may lead to disharmony in the home appears from two cases, in the former of which the first wife is so aggravated by her husband taking another spouse that she has assaulted him, while in the other a husband is brought to Court for tying up his second wife on suspicion of her having bewitched the first one, with a threat that he would kill her if the first one died. And a third husband finds himself heavily fined for being influenced by the predilections of his first wife. He had paid bride-wealth for a second: the first wife did not approve of the newcomer: her sister coming soon afterwards with a gift of beer, he kept her instead; she had already been promised in marriage, however, and he has to face an indignant betrothed as well as her father, in Court.

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9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

herself. A widow became the wife of one of her late husband's siblings or agnates designated by the inzu head. Usually an older brother of the husband was chosen. Among the Tutsi this resulted in a levirate: the first husband was still the pater of the children whose genitor was the second husband. Among the Hutu, in similar cases, the genitor was pater. A widower often married a younger sister of his late wife if he was on good terms with his parents-in-law, and if they did not require bride-wealth for the deceased wife's younger sister. This marriage was favoured because it was thought that it was appropriate that the children of the first wife should be brought up by her sister.

587

(*b*) *The bride-wealth*

Bride-wealth had to be paid before the wedding ritual, but payment could sometimes be delayed. In that case more jugs of beer had to be given.

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There were some regional variations in the amount of the bride-wealth, but within one region it did not vary very much within each caste. Among Tutsi it was usually one cow plus some jugs of beverage, and one hoe. The bride-wealth proper was the cow, as the beverages were rather contributions to the different celebrations taking place at the wedding. Among Hutu it was one heifer or cow (which could be replaced by about one dozen goats) and a number of jugs of banana-beer. The following table indicates the average bride-wealth paid by Tutsi and Hutu in the central region of Ruanda. Among Twa bride-wealth was composed of a certain number of pots of beverages.

TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA

A. HUTU

Groom's inzu		*Bride's inzu*
1. Father	one hoe, one jug of beer after agreement →	Father
2. Father	one heifer or twelve to fourteen goats (bride-wealth) from one to three weeks after 1. (*gutembutsa*) →	Father
3. Groom	household equipment on wedding day (*ibirongoranywa*) ←	Father
4. Groom	one hoe or one sheep or one goat + jugs of beer at the end of seclusion period ←	Father

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586 sufficient grounds, as in that case the wife had the right of co-habitation with one of her husband's agnates. Socially accepted grounds of divorce for a husband were his wife's neglect of domestic duties, or repeated adultery with a non-privileged partner. Sterility was not a reason for divorce as the man could always take another wife.

The divorced woman left with her only belongings—her clothes. Usually the husband gave her new clothes on that occasion. If bride-wealth and counter-gifts had been exchanged, nothing had to be given by either father. If bride-wealth had been paid, but not the counter-gifts, bride-wealth had to be returned except either where children had been born or where there were other marriage links between the two lineages concerned. If bride-wealth had not been paid, children went to live with their mother's kinsfolk unless their father paid the bride-wealth later. If bride-wealth was not returned and there were no children, the children borne by the wife in a following marriage could be claimed by the former husband.

Young children stayed with their divorced mother till they were seven or eight years old. They were then sent to their father's home where they were taken care of by another of his wives. Later on these children could visit their mother whenever they wished.

587 Divorced women usually married again easily. Their bride-wealth was lower and its payment was delayed till after marriage. But if it was felt that they were responsible for the failure of their previous marriage, then they did not always find another husband.

(f) *Celibacy*

589 Voluntary celibacy was unknown in Ruanda. Every man wanted to be married, to have children and a place of his own. Every girl wanted to be a mother. Those who were impotent (*ibiremba*) usually did not marry. Lepers (*ababembe*), the insane (*abasazi*), [582] and people ill with tuberculosis (*abanyagitundu*) were forbidden to [734] marry. Girls who had refused a husband often remained unmarried, as few men wanted to take the chance of being refused also. Single people lived with their kinsmen. Sometimes Tutsi bachelors were given a homestead and servants by their fathers.

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Nothing was definitely left to the wife, the daughters or the affines. But the wife had the usufruct of the rugo in which she had been living while she still had young children to care for. Even when all the children were married, it happened frequently among Tutsi that the wife remained in the rugo till her death. This was usual when the widow married one of her husband's consanguineal relatives, or did not marry again. If she married a man completely alien to her former husband's patrilineage, usually she had to leave the rugo.

The father, before he died, had already given a share of the inheritance to each of his married sons, at the time of the wedding. Consequently, what was left at the father's death had to be divided among the sons who had not yet received anything. In principle rights to cattle as well as to land were equally shared. When bare ownership of cattle was divided between the sons of a lord, the clients of the father became clients of the son to whom the bare ownership of a particular cow or herd of cattle had been ascribed. When usufruct on cattle had to be inherited, the successors became clients of the people who had the bare ownership of the same cattle. But the lord had to agree on the choice of his new client.

In a polygynous family the principle of equality of shares held good for each rugo. Consequently the shares of the sons of the same father could vary considerably if the number of sons of each wife was very dissimilar.

The son chosen as head of the rugo had a supplementary share (*ingarigari*) as he had more economic responsibilities. Normally he received it before his father's death. This was called *gukubita itoko*, to stroke the thigh, meaning to give a favour.

Debts owed by the deceased were divided between his heirs, but the family head had to meet a greater part than the others. Judiciary fines were cancelled by the death of the debtor. When the deceased was creditor, the debt had to be paid by the rugo head who shared it with his co-heirs.

The father could also make a will and usually did. He could alter the traditional procedure within rather narrow limits, and for reasons regarded as valid by the patrilineage head or sometimes the political chief or the lord. A son who had been cursed was *ipso facto* disinherited. A son could be punished in the same way

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the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the brideprice, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,

586 she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with
593 her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but
[587] abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi
without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent
away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of
[564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside,
[567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the
sake of food and a roof over their heads.

606 In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her
592 daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true
mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for
her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in
her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-
law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can
poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm
her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The
607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority
592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking
sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his
578 wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives,
no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one
will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law
will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets
from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time
in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their
husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children,
her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the
mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object
of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this
just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same
595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of
564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent
wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives
are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing
machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is
taken back to replace those who die without having produced
[586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife,
is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married.
Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she
must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured
place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second
or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset
the order of precedence.

586 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their
855 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends
[587] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

858 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the
862 typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very
593 tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege
858 and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and
593 mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in
[556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit
593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys
[861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A
[603] young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the

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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

583 A young man may carry off a young girl (kwiba umugeni) in order to force the consent of her parents. But the young man's father subsequently gives a dowry.

●588 There are ibyomanzi (vagrant women) who stay with a man for indefinite period of time according to the circumstances of their wandering lives (kubuyera or kohoha). The fate of these unions is obviously precarious. If, against all probability, their common life lasts for several years, the woman may introduce her concubinary to relatives [or parents]. If children are born, the man may be obliged to give a dowry. The marriage is then regularized.

583 It may also happen that two men, each with a sister whose dowry they may claim, will exchange wives: abageni b'ubuntu bunyuranye (lit., the betrothed as gifts).

In all these marriages the fate of the wife and children is the same as in the typical marriage. If the husband does not pay any dowry, the wife's father may take the children away and keep them as hostages until their father has fulfilled his obligations.

567 583 Formerly, children who were prisoners of war (abanyagano) married later, usually amongst themselves. The master could also give a captive girl in marriage to one of his clients. He collected the dowry but on the other hand, he had to pay a dowry for one of his slaves who wanted to marry a woman of the same region.

The slave, his wife, and their children continued to be part of the master's household. If one of these children wished to get married in his turn, his father would pay the dowry for his son or collect it for his daughter, and by that very act, his son or daughter was freed and became munyarwanda.

567 If the master married a slave woman, the children of this union would be of the same status as their [20] father, even if he already had other children with a munyarwanda woman.

2. Types of Marriage

595 Polyandry does not exist in Ruanda.

Polygamy (polygyny) is universal, except among the Christian natives, and particularly among the Bahutu, who have an average of two or three wives and sometimes even four or five.

The Batutsi most often have two wives. The great chiefs have, in addition to their wives, a certain number of insholeke (concubines).

[765] The mourning period for a mutwale lasts two to three weeks. However, the highest honors are paid to the dead king
766 (see p. 185 [not translated]). The corpse is first wrapped in
775 hides and barkcloth. It is not buried but dried over a smoking fire until it has become completely mummified. The first worm ("soul worm") that leaves the corpse is put into a milk pot and fed until one night it leaves the pot and turns into a giant snake (isato) in which the spirit (umusimu) of the dead
766 king will reside from then on. The corpse is not embalmed. The corpse of the king is not arranged in a crouched position as are those of the common Barundi; the arms and legs remain extended (No. 19, p. 204). In Ankole, however, the king's body is also put in a crouched position, wrapped in cowhide and buried (No. 27, p. 101). In Urundi the dead king is then put on a wooden trestle in the center of the homestead and left to lie in state until the feet of the trestle are eaten by termites. Under certain conditions this may take months. It is reported that King Kisabo lay in state in this way for an entire year. A local missionary told me that the deceased was
[588] even "married" to a young wife whose duty it was to take care of him and to provide him with food and pombe beer every day. During the entire period in which he lies in state the king's subjects gather from all corners of his realm; they pray to his spirit to win his favor, eat and drink in a festive funeral banquet beside his bier, and praise the deceased. Of course, the great ceremony of the "holy spear" is also performed. The
[765] official period of mourning for the king is one month. Finally, the mummy, accompanied by the medicine men and priests and followed by a wailing crowd of people, is carried away by the closest male relatives of the king. It is taken a distance of several days' journey to Ganso Mountain in the northwestern border mountains adjoining Ruanda, south of the source of the Ruvuvu River. The corpse is finally buried in a forest which may be entered only by the members of the royal family (Baganwa) and the priests. According to van der Burgt, however, it is not buried but simply laid to rest in a hut (see p. 186 [not translated]). The other Barundi kings have also been laid to rest there (No. 4, p. 223). On the other hand, van der Burgt writes

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
• 588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
766 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
821 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824 umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783] avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

769 similar to those used to conciliate men one deals with. The spirits are presented with pleasant offerings; they are fed; they are ingratiated in many ingenious ways.

In other words, they are regarded after death as human beings who have retained their faculties for enjoyment.

We have already seen that in order to gain their good graces one offers them libations, and sacrifices, and one beats the drums in order to remind them of their royalty and to prove to them at the same time that they are still regarded as kings. This is done not only on their tombs, in the important cemeteries, but also at the sites of their former favorite residences. This last procedure is believed to be more gratifying to them.

By reason of their fear and respect, the Banyarwanda usually avoid building too close to former capitals, and keep at a distance from them. In the Bwana-Mukali in the village of Lussagara, the inhabitants of the hill bury their dead far away in the forest so as not to defile the ground that was often trod by Lwogera and Lwabugiri.

Aside from these precautions and cares, the reigning princes have set up for each of their dead predecessors a true family home with wife and servants, including even the small traditional herd, in order to honor them and to obtain their protection.

It will be recalled that Chyilima-Rugwe is believed to have reigned only a short time. As a result, it is thought that he has retained an unpleasant memory of his stay on the throne.

Moreover, he refused to leave the country ((yanze kuva mu Ruanda) and continues to exist in the form of a leopard which is often seen, so the natives say.

In order to pacify /535/ his spirit, which is perennially dissatisfied (yarushije abandi gukaliha), a large hut has been erected for him at the very spot where he was buried. A keeper maintains it in good order and watches over the preservation of a herd of cows which is said to belong to Chyilima himself. A woman is in attendance on him.

[588] From time to time, a young girl is appointed by the diviner-sorcerers to be his new wife. The keeper substitutes for the dead king /in this connection/.

769 As a rule, the girls are sent back to their families after a short
588 stay in the hut of the spirit, but an appointed woman must always remain there. At Idjuru, about halfway along the road leading from the Kabgayi mission to Kigali, a clump of trees marks the site of the ancient residence of King Yuhi-Mazimpaka. Legend tells us that this place was the scene of a prodigious event following the death of the prince. He had barely been mummified and buried in the Rutare cemetery when the earth began to tremble at Idjuru. While a heavy rain poured down, the sound of clashing horns (amahembe arakomangana) was distinctly heard. Yuhi-Mazimpaka made it known thereby that he insisted on being cared for and on having his dwelling maintained. His wishes were fulfilled. In addition to a large hut, he was granted on the spot a small herd of cows called indoha because their lowing is harmonious. Furthermore, a woman lives there permanently for his pleasure, not to mention his temporary wives.

At the capital, inside the royal enclosure, there are numerous huts dedicated to the spirits of former kings. Although they are used for the various services entailed by the royal way of life, those huts are also consecrated to the memory of each of the deceased monarchs. The women who occupy them, while they are part of the harem, are also regarded as wives of the sovereigns whose huts they inhabit. As far as the lesser /536/ dead princes are concerned, it is considered sufficient to raise little girls at court who are occasionally made to enter the huts (indaro) dedicated to the spirits. The girls are sprinkled there with lustral water (ingwa, "chalky water"). Their royal (deceased) husbands are satisfied with this ceremony.

In the large hut consecrated to King Gihanga, a fire is main-
769 tained night and day, in a huge earthenware jug (intango), which is
372 replaced when worn out.

King Gihanga, the alleged inventor or creator of fire, bequeathed it to his son Kanyarwanda. Fire is maintained in his hut in memory of this inestimable gift. Theoretically, no one but the king may take a brand from it to light his pipe. To allow this fire to go out or to be taken by unhallowed hands might have entailed death in the old days. A group of individuals chosen from the Abiru clan are in charge of watching this fire.

595 Extramarital Relations. Not all women who share a house-
567 hold with a man are his regular wives (basumba kazi) with whom
848 he has entered into a formal purchase marriage. Concubines
588 and slaves (baja) are also kept in Ruanda. The concubines are
[225] usually childless widows and abandoned or fugitive women. They settle wherever they find a relatively good refuge. The baja are sold by their parents when they are children, usually in exchange for food during a famine. They are simply women without ties, but who are otherwise very much like the other women and usually also have their own huts. Their children are likewise said to belong to the father's family, although they are not regarded as equal. Such children of Batutsi men, for example, are said not to be regarded as Batutsi although they have the same family name.

588 The chiefs grant baja to their clients, a practice which is
567 even more clearly defined among the Azande and Mangbetu, for example. The baja, along with the cow, are the means whereby the powerful one binds his clients to himself and thus strengthens his power.

567 Just as a man can grant a cow to a client and also demand it
574 back, so he can likewise put a muja at the temporary disposal of
837 a favorite. Under these circumstances the entertainment of guests with women "who are to warm his bed for him" is quite understandable. The less esteemed guests are given baja; the highly respected guests, on the other hand, are honored by being offered regular wives.

574 In general, a man on a journey has at his disposal the wives
837 of his blood brothers. Dr. Kandt (1) says that from certain social

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

aspects this arrangement has its positive points: "Alternating connubium, that is, the interchangeable pairing of several male blood relatives with all their wives, as is permitted in Ruanda, prevents the loss of the female element in the preservation of the race, should the male element prove unfit."

791 The bahinza have to do with matters relating to farming,
789 above all with crops and grasshoppers. A good harvest is due to their cooperation. That is why, after the harvest, bahinza go about collecting donations. People like to give them gifts. The curse of the muhinza can "dry up" human beings as well as animals, so that they lose their sexual powers.

The Balera fear the curse of the muhinza very much, for if he merely pronounces his curse and spits upon the ground, the effect is automatic.

[152] Father F. Dufays told me that he saw a man die of fright soon after he had been cursed by a muhinza. The bahinza are always Bahutu.

791 Bawubyi are rainmakers. They appear in the transition period between the rainy season and the dry season and demand gifts for making rain or for making it stop. Bawubyi are always pariah Batwa.

Since there are very few Batutsi in Mulera and they have little influence, we may assume that [321] the various categories of soothsayers and sorcerers mentioned here and familiar to me from my stay in Mulera and the practice of poisoning are phenomena basic to Bahutu culture and not borrowed from the Batutsi.

588 In Ruanda, as in Kiziba and Mpororo, women are consecrated to the spirits. They must provide for the needs of the spirits, and their children are said to be regarded as the children of the spirit and to belong to his family, for these women are allegedly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with others. I was told quite frankly, however, about a case where a Mututsi chief consecrated Bahutu women to a spirit and had sexual intercourse with them.

787 Dreams and Soothsaying. In Ruanda various methods of soothsaying are practiced. First we must speak of the chicken oracle because of its great importance.

In order to obtain information about a certain matter through the chicken oracle, it is necessary for the person to come to the soothsayer (mupfumu) with a chicken. When he arrives, he spits into the beak of the chicken and hands it to the soothsayer. The latter first places the chicken on the visitor's head and then calls his helper, a young boy. The boy grasps the chicken under its

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price; the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are [589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor. If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife. Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a
583 685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358).
595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

583 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is pri-
556 marily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[443] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

•589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a
584 girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
601 *IV. Ego's generation*		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[15]

593 Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old [589] widower frequently lived alone.

604 The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants, The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar [836] relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have [584] intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego [582] married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[15] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Muvumwana* (child of mother).

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586 sufficient grounds, as in that case the wife had the right of cohabitation with one of her husband's agnates. Socially accepted grounds of divorce for a husband were his wife's neglect of domestic duties, or repeated adultery with a non-privileged partner. Sterility was not a reason for divorce as the man could always take another wife.

The divorced woman left with her only belongings—her clothes. Usually the husband gave her new clothes on that occasion. If bride-wealth and counter-gifts had been exchanged, nothing had to be given by either father. If bride-wealth had been paid, but not the counter-gifts, bride-wealth had to be returned except either where children had been born or where there were other marriage links between the two lineages concerned. If bride-wealth had not been paid, children went to live with their mother's kinsfolk unless their father paid the bride-wealth later. If bride-wealth was not returned and there were no children, the children borne by the wife in a following marriage could be claimed by the former husband.

Young children stayed with their divorced mother till they were seven or eight years old. They were then sent to their father's home where they were taken care of by another of his wives. Later on these children could visit their mother whenever they wished.

587 Divorced women usually married again easily. Their bride-wealth was lower and its payment was delayed till after marriage. But if it was felt that they were responsible for the failure of their previous marriage, then they did not always find another husband.

(f) Celibacy

589 Voluntary celibacy was unknown in Ruanda. Every man wanted to be married, to have children and a place of his own. Every girl wanted to be a mother. Those who were impotent (*ibirumba*) usually did not marry. Lepers (*abahembe*), the insane (*abazazi*), [582] and people ill with tuberculosis (*abanyagitunda*) were forbidden to [734] marry. Girls who had refused a husband often remained unmarried, as few men wanted to take the chance of being refused also. Single people lived with their kinsmen. Sometimes Tutsi bachelors were given a homestead and servants by their fathers.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umugasani*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

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manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father.

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save him, since his downfall will also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires.

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly

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[P.64]

CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

1. MARRIAGE

121 5°

THE family, the social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction[1] had in Ruanda a conjugal basis[2] that we shall consider in this section.

Married life will not be dealt with here but only the ways and conditions of the establishment of that 'union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are then recogized legitimate offspring of both partners'.[3]

(a) *The choice of a spouse*

582 In a primary marriage (the first that an individual contracts) there were few positive socially recognized criteria of choice and none of them indicated one or a few individuals as preferential partners. Among close kin cross-cousins were possible spouses, but it was generally an unfortunate circumstance that obliged a man to marry his cross-cousin. It was usually either because he was not able to pay bride-wealth immediately, or because his cross-cousin had become pregnant by him. We should add that there was no restricted or generalized exchange among the [114] Ruanda in Lévi-Strauss's sense. On the contrary I was told that because they limited connexions, exchanges were not in favour except in some special circumstances.[4]

In the preceding chapter we have mentioned persons whom Ego was prohibited from marrying because of his relations of kinship or affinity with them. Let me sum up the different categories of these persons.

We may start with that which seems fundamental in the sense

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 1.
[2] Linton, 1936, p. 159.
[3] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 110.
[4] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, pp. 189, 322. There is restricted exchange if, when a man of group A gets a woman from group B, it results in a man of group B claiming a woman from group A. Exchange is generalized if when a woman of group A is given to a man of group B, a woman of B must be given to a man of C and a woman of C may be claimed by a man of A.

SECTION I. PERSONAL STATUS

CHAPTER I. THE FAMILY AND THE CLAN

1. Generalities

596 The family sensu stricto (rugo) (1) is more inclusive than in

[196] 1. The rugo is the enclosure in which are the hut, the granaries, and the stables. By extension, this word designates the family in the strict sense of the word. In the plural: ingo.

our countries. It includes the father; his wives and their children, whether married or not; the father's brothers; and their wives and children. Formerly, the slaves taken in war (abanyagano) (2) were [567]

2. Cf. also Marriage, p. 15; Birth and Filiation, p. 29; Government and Administration, Nationality, p. 70; Social Classes, p. 91; Right of War, p. 92.

also part of it.

[566] The Bahutu, serfs of the Batutsi, have their own rugo. The Ruanda family is of the patriarchal type. Filiation counts in the [611] paternal line (3); the child does not necessarily take the name of his

3. The children are nevertheless considered, in a way, as belonging to both father's family and the mother's. The Banyarwanda say: Umuntu akomoka iwabo wase nanyina, that is to say, "the man proceeds from both (families), his father's and his mother's."

596 ●591 father (4); paternal authority is exercised by the father, and the wife

4. This was even rare before European penetration.

596 [591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[575] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 596 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a childless man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A [563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a [428] brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has [562] the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother [586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (umutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 428 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

585 minutely described by the Rev. Father Schumacher (Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906) and the Rev. Father Pagès (Congo, 1922, Vol. I, pp. 645-63 and Vol. II, pp. 42-68). We merely refer the reader to these articles. This matter concerns folklore rather than common law. Hence we are intentionally leaving it out of our report.

584 If, after having accepted the dowry, the girl's father does not keep his promise and refuses to give his daughter or gives her to another, he must immediately return the dowry. But by that very act, he breaks all bonds of friendship with the young man's parents, and in the future no one of the young man's family will marry a girl of the other family. The same is true if the suitor breaks the engagement.

[26] 6. Domestic Life

591 Marriage in Ruanda is patrilocal, that is to say, the woman leaves her parents to go and live with her husband. If the wedding has taken place in the woman's family, the young couple remain there for some time (gutahira), then go and settle with the husband's family.

585 Among the Batutsi, about two months after the wedding, the wife's parents send their daughter the intwikururano (from gutwikurura, lit., to unveil, to uncover), consisting of beer, sorghum flour, and milk. The purpose of these gifts is to allow the young woman to come out of the retreat imposed on her the day after the wedding and to show herself in public. For his part, the husband's father gives his daughter-in-law a cow called y'itshyali (lit., of the nest). The young couple then leave the dwelling they have occupied provisionally and go and occupy the rugo that has been built for each of them [sic]. A little later they go and spend a night with the wife's parents (gucha mw'ilembo, lit., to cross the threshold, or gusubya amaguru, lit., to return on foot) and also confer gifts on them on this occasion.

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
428 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
423 property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy, it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
651 taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

The protection of female clan members does not extend to
614 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
591 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
768 happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
614 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

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61 degrees of control exerted by that central authority on the territory.
178 These processes have necessarily had an impact on the autonomy
692 and social significance of Hutu and Tutsi kinship groups, on their connexion with a particular tract of land, and on their functions.
121 We shall not be concerned here with any reconstruction of these processes but only with them as they existed in the immediate pre-European days. It should be borne in mind, however, that this was the period of an evolution. This explains the sometimes confused picture given by some informants.

(*a*) *Inzu, ubwoko, umulyango*

613 Hutu and Tutsi recognized a patrilineal kin group (*inzu*)[3] which included all who could actually trace their agnatic relationship through usually no more than four or five ascendent genealogical links to an ancestor recognized as the original ancestor of the group.

Members of the inzu of a male Ego were: Br, Si, Fa, FaSi, FaBr, FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaFa, FaFaBr, FaFaSi, FaFaBrSo, FaFaBrDa, FaFaBrSoSo, FaFaBrSoDa.[4]

Ego's sororal nephews and nieces (SiSo, SiDa) and his paternal cross-cousins (FaSiSo and FaSiDa) did not belong to his *inzu*. However they participated in some of its activities if they lived
[591] with their maternal uncle (Ego), which happened when the bride-wealth for their mother (Ego's Si) had not been entirely paid.

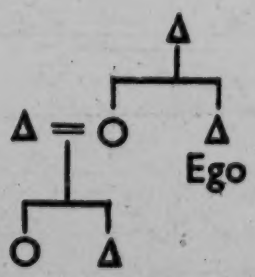

Diagram A.

Other generations above Ego's (that of FaFaFa, &c.) or under his (that of SoSoSo, &c.), were not necessarily included in Ego's

[3] *Inzu* means also hut.
[4] I follow the symbolisation system used by Murdock, 1949.

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585 Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have [693] been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his [428] share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their 591 own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

(*d*) *Polygynous unions*

595 Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, [556] as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which [842] were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually [119] occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the
562 general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

593 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are [357] the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will 342 live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from [184] the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

593 776 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked by *Imana*.

564 583 The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay [556] [178] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman, [554] [556] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 585 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough [538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise- [533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated [152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 [593] Every married woman of every class and caste works for her husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

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10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father.

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save him, since his downfall will also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires.

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly

592 595 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her children, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

514 787 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents. However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance, for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda. [481]

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

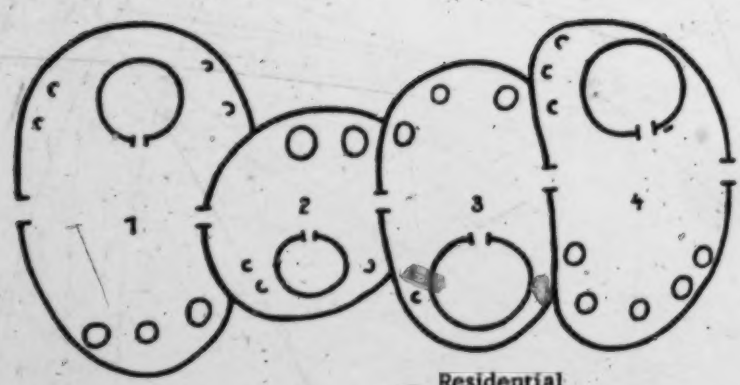
593 421 563 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi, some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

592

[18]



Residential huts. Spirit huts.

Huts for provisions and small animals.

1. Front hut for the master and the cattle.
2 and 3. Center huts for women and children.
4. Rear hut for the servants.

Fig. 1. Homestead of a Barundi Lord.
(Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

161 quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more
[133] sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19]
One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more
[311] humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations
cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense
population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in
them.

592 The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in chil-
dren, as in Ruanda. Individually the Batussi women are less
[842] fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom
fewer than three children in each family and in many cases
(among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly
more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married
couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if
[595] there are many children or several wives, each mother lives
in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and
unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there
are often between two and four residential huts and several huts
for grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential
huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see
Fig. 1).

361 The settlement pattern is that of individual establish-
ments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (lugo, urugo).
Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and
its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates
18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals
belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each
other within calling distance so that village-like clusters
(ikisagara) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside ex-
tend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the
settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the
poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or
clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are
scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and sur-
rounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without
banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

964 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. Accord-
956 ing to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings, and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired,
356 but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years. After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
429 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it, and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight
592 residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters of homesteads are much larger.

Rich people and the Batussi lords, however, are not con-
556 tent with a single kraal including several huts. They build
592 several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass
342 directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living and reception room for the master of the house and also as a shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1). For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common Batussi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

357 The domestic bondsmen, the servants, are an important
567 element in the social structure and the economic life. Neither in Urundi nor in Ruanda does slavery exist -- or rather, it no longer exists. In fact, the Batussi do not need slaves for the Bahutu are all bondsmen of the Batussi rulers and provide all the services that are required of slaves in other parts of East Africa. On the other hand, until the turn of the century, there existed quite a brisk slave trade out of Urundi to other areas. This was carried on under the influence of the Arabs and the coastal dwellers, with the Wawira, Bassuwi, Wassumbwa, and Wanjamwesi acting as middlemen. Not only did the Barundi sell their countrymen as slaves, in particular the women and girls, but also orphans were sold by their relatives, and even children by their own parents (No. 19, p. 212). The purchase price was paid in salt, pearls, and iron hoes. Pretty Batussi girls fetched the highest prices and were destined for the harems of the Arabs, prosperous coast Negroes, or the Wanjamwesi. As recently as 1900 there were public slave auctions in Uha (Heru) and in Usámbiro. Mainly slaves from Ruanda (Kissaka) and Urundi were sold there. A witness wrote at that time: "All the roads are full of slave trains, almost all of them women and girls. Eight out of ten female slaves perish, for these children of the mountains only rarely survive in a different climate" (No. 14, 1900, p. 178). At present, as the German occupation progresses, these atrocities have been stopped, and only rarely and under the cloak of secrecy is a girl or a child from Urundi sold into slavery in the neighboring areas.

[97] In Urundi itself, however, in the households of many
357 influential families, especially of the Batussi, there are, in-
597 stead of the domestic slaves, bond servants or maids (abaschumwi).
592 Although they are personally free, they have to work for the master and receive only room and board in exchange. They get their jobs by a kind of adoption; someone who has no relatives or who, for some reason or other, wants to leave his family will offer his permanent services to a prosperous Murundi or to a mutwale. The latter takes him into his home and treats him

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
691 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

Chapter 2

Familial and Social Organization (continued).
Clans. Family Life and Traditions. Mentality and Psychology.
Character and Temperament of the Africans.
Intelligence, Ability, and Perfectibility of the Blacks.
Africa, the Cradle of the Aurignacian Civilization.

614 The Banyarwanda, whether Batutsi, Bahutu, or Batwa, are grouped into tribes or clans whose names they bear. They lead a patriarchal life. The northwestern regions are those where the concept of the clan has retained all its force and all its importance. The members of a clan pool their interests, their joys, and their revenges.

The exclusiveness of the clans is rigorous. It was in those same regions that the invasion of the Batutsi was opposed most vigorously. One may wonder how this separation into clans originated.

As they evolved, the three ethnic groups, Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, each adopted the name of one or the other of their ancestors in order to be distinguished from other families with the same origin. This caused the parceling of the tribes.

The Basiete, who became Batutsi only recently, claim to be descended from their ancestor Busiete, who was of Mutwa /sing of Batwa/ origin and who was raised to noble rank by Yuhi III Gahindiro.

Among the Batutsi, it is the Banyiginya, Bega, Balejuru, and Bakongori who claim to have come down from heaven.

614 The clan or tribe is nothing more than the extended lineage.
● 592 "The family, thus constituted, did not remain limited to father, mother, children, and servants.... It grew larger. The spirit of solidarity which united its various members, strengthened by the necessities of time, keeps the various branches attached to the trunk. The younger brothers and their progeny remain grouped around the eldest, from whom they continue to receive a central guidance."
/45/

614 This enlarged family, which comprises the younger brothers
[592] and their children, the cousins and servants attached to the household (1), takes the name of umulyango, which has the same meaning as

1. Funck-Brentano, L'Ancien Régime /The Old Regime/, p. 15.

mesnie from the Latin mansionata, "household." Eventually the tribe became too large and split up. Each subtribe then took the name of the new chief while retaining as a reminder the name of the common ancestor. In other words, the major clans divided as time went on and remained bound to the mother tribe under a new name.

The Bagwabiro of Bugoyi are descended from a Migwabiro rain maker who belonged to the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ clan of the Basinga.

173 He left his village of Suti (Munyambiriri), and, after a vain
614 attempt at colonization in the Kinyaga, settled in the Bugoyi during the reign of Chyilima II Ludjugira, around 1700 or thereabouts. He was reunited there with his son Macchumu, who played an important role in the fight against the famous "Mutes," or "men with an incomprehensible tongue."

614 A change of territory, a raise to the noble ranks, an important role played in some event, the holding of a post at court, etc., such were some of the motives that determined the creation of new clans. In the following pages, we shall describe many examples of such recent formations.

We shall now provide a brief list of clans.

1. Batutsi Ethnic Group

a) The two major clans:
Abanyiginya, from which the royal family originated.
Abega.

b) The secondary clans:
Abatsobe (Gatsobe, Nyirarutsobe).
Abaha, which came from the Uha.

417 On the subject of the fences of the settlements northwest of
712 Kivu, Dr. Kandt (2) says: "All villages have a very curious wall

2. Ibid., p. 460.

surrounding them. It consists of thousands of forked branches and split roots, 10 layers wide and 20 high. For natives this is an almost impenetrable obstacle. The villages can be reached only by way of narrow passes or very steep approaches, and on two sides there are gates that can be quickly and securely closed with trees."

I observed such fences among the Baamba on the Ruwenzori. In Ruanda one does not see them. Here the dwelling is, as a rule, situated on the edge of the courtyard and is, together with the courtyard, surrounded by a euphorbia hedge. The hedges of the individual homesteads intertwine and form a labyrinth that is impenetrable even with the aid of a bush knife, for if one cuts the branches an exceedingly caustic juice squirts out which is very dangerous for the eyes. On the inside these hedges are usually supported by a fence made of sticks bound together. At night the outer approaches, usually opposite the huts, are closed with tree trunks, the branches of which are turned toward the outside. This primitive closure cannot be removed from the outside and, along with the euphorbia hedge, makes a very effective though not at all conspicuous fortification.

On poor Bahutu farms there are sometimes no fences at all.

592 The Compound. The compound or homestead where one
351 family lives with all its relatives and servants usually consists of several huts that form a self-contained unit.

In front of the main entrance there is generally a cleared
351 place, free of grass. In the mountainous parts of Ruanda one often has a superb view from this spot, for the settlements are frequently located on mountain tops. This is especially true of the Batutsi settlements north of Lake Mohasi. On the edge of this cleared spot
[372] are kept large supplies of dried cow dung which is used for fuel in the parts of the country where wood is scarce.

In the well-built settlements the main entrance, which is closed at night, is flanked by two columns of tied bundles of

357 elephant grass. In the compounds of wealthy persons, consisting of at least three huts, this entrance leads into the front courtyard.

[201] In this courtyard, opposite the entrance, is the kambele, the house occupied by the head of the family. On the side, usually to the left of this house, is the entrance to the inner courts. The front court as well as the inner courts are kept clean and free of grass. Here the clients and subordinates of the head of the establishment assemble to learn his wishes, commands, and de-
[574] cisions. Here he receives his guests who are conducted no farther than into the kambele. Sacrifices also take place here. In Musinga's compound I saw two carefully tended sacrificial trees between the entrance gate and his house on both sides of and at a

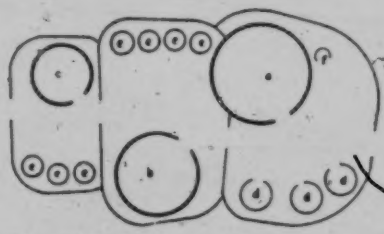


Fig. 127. Compound, Nyanza on Lake Mohasi: (a) kambele, (b) kagondo, (c) mubahutu, (d) stalls for calves, (e) storehouses, (f) spirit hut.

certain distance from the line connecting the two. In the front court near the house one also sees small spirit huts.

In many compounds the front court also contains huts for small calves, and animals are kept here at night. In one single instance I saw a hut for larger calves outside the enclosure. It was explained to me that the whole herd was kept near this hut overnight.

592 In the inner court is the house for the women, known as kagondo. Here the master's wife spends the day with her women servants. It is only in the evening that she is brought to the
[264] kambele in a litter. The husband eats with his wife in the kagondo.

592 Usually there is only one wife living in the compound (lugo), and she has absolute authority within her sphere. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the king, many women live in one compound and are brought to the kambele in turn. In this case there are several inner courts with houses for the women.

Beyond the inner court is the rear court with the cookhouse, called mubahutu, where the servants live. Near it are the storehouses with supplies of grain. These, however, I also found in the inner court. In Nyanza on Lake Mohasi I asked why a strange Muhutu lived in the cookhouse of the compound, and the answer was: "It is his duty to fill the granaries." Since the man also had to take care of the kitchen, I think this reply must be taken literally; in other words, he had to store the produce brought as tribute by the Bahutu and not home-grown products.

The Bahutu compounds, as a rule, have one court in which we often find several huts.

341 [202] Buildings. In Ruanda there are four distinct types of buildings: dwellings, huts for calves, spirit huts, and storehouses.

The first three are constructed on the same principle and are distinguished from one another only by their size and the care with 346 which they are constructed. The spirit huts are the smallest and least carefully built. They consist of a simple framework of 343 branches stuck into the ground and covered with grass. The storehouses, on the other hand, differ quite radically in form, though not in the principle of construction.

342 The dwelling in Ruanda, as in other parts of the interlacustrine 171 area, has the shape of a beehive. This type has also penetrated the western edges of the great African trench [Rift Valley] and even seems to predominate in Butembo (1), although there club huts

1. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 261.

with four doors mark the center of the village, and the doors are made of boards. In that region the buildings seem to be identical with the ones I observed among the Baamba.

614 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest
623 has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession
[643] of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of
556 the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle
231 he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and
621 the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma,
592 and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near
423 Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.
231 [251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

6:Czekanowski--170 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragi	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
			Baishaza of Katebe											
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	—	2	—	1	—	1/10	—	—	2	—	„mugabo"
	Nikora	,,	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	—	1	2	—	3 4/5	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	,,	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semivombi	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
3.	Ndereye	,,	1	2	2	—	1	—	1/10	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semilyangu	Muvuna	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ndegeya	Mwichozi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Banitogega	Mukora	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Mukuri	Mwishaza	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	
	Kolombani	,,	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Otto	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	1/10	2	—	2	—	
5.	Mpabuka	,,	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	3	2	outside		
	Sebichikira	,,	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Matayo	Muhuma	1	—	—	—	1	—	1 1/10	7	12	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 9.
	Bisoga	Muahobio	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhuma	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Kimonjo	Mukara	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8.	Marobi	,,	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	4	4	1	—	Day laborer for board
	Ndamwete	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9.	Sebutama	,,	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	2	2	4	1	
10.	Gafene	,,	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11.	Senguri	,,	1	1	—	1	1	—	9/10	1	—	4	2	Field of No.1
12.	Mafara	Munyabgisha	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	2	2	—	Son-in-law
	Birere	,,	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	Brother of No.12 Field of No.1
13.	Ndungutsi	Mwishaza	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	
14.	Bukara	,,	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Antigoni	,,	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	
	Pilipo	,,	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	
15.	Segihobi	,,	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	Children of vagrant wife
	— · —		—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
16.	Nderiwamunda	,,	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	
17.	Bikwehwe	,,	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	3	—	3	1	
18.	Gihigwa	,,	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	9 3/10	41	28	45	12	104 persons 1)

midwives

1) Among them 47 male clan members and two sons-in-law.

6: Czekanowski --171 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows plus	Bulls	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
		Bahoma of Kitebe (Balyolyo Branch)													
1.	Rugira	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	$2\frac{1}{4}+1$	3	4	3	1		„mugabo"
	Sebishimbo	Mudabe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
2.	Dominiko	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	1	—	$\frac{1}{8}$	2	2	2	—		
	Budjodjwe	Mugai	—	—	—	—	—	1	$3\frac{1}{2}+1$	—	—	—	—		
3.	Rukara	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1		
	Muchuchu	Murashi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Birikunzira	Munyakaru	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Rudigari	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
4.	Faro	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—		
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Rudjanju	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	$2\frac{3}{4}+1$	4	4	4	1		
	Mabgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Karbagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
6.	Sedigi	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	$2+\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	4	1		
7.	Bihire	„	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1		
8.	Baskaki	„	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	—		
9.	Ishaho	„	1	1	—	1	2	—	$2+\frac{1}{2}$	3	—	3	1		
	Mwiza	„	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
10.	Patris	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1		
			10	11	6	14	17	9	$12\frac{3}{8}+4$	22	12	30	7	61	persons 1)
		Bagwabiro of Kitebe													
1.	Mwuyekure	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	5	2	4	1		„mugabo"
2.	Maliro	„	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1		
3.	Semiteza	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1		
4.	Mahembe	„	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1		
	Karisti	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Kichondo	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Bidjari	„	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1		
6.	Sekini	„	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1		
7.	Sebihumira	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	—	4	1		
			7	14	3	4	14	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$25\frac{1}{2}$	7	36	7	41	persons 2)

1) Among them 21 male clan members.

2) Among them 21 male clan members.

grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical with the number of women. It is very important to note that the head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

2. THE FAMILY

Two basic types of family were to be found in Ruanda: the nuclear family which was the most widespread, and the polygynous family. The Ruanda polygynous family constituted a type of organization fundamentally different from the nuclear family. It was not just a nuclear family with a few more persons, the secondary wives and their children, but a structure composed of several elements, each of them constituting almost a nuclear family from the sexual, economic, procreational, and educational points of view. On the other hand, the polygynous family was not an aggregate of nuclear families because the uniqueness of the husband gave to the various elements a type of integration different from that merely of a sum of nuclear families.

A nuclear family (*rugo*) was composed of a man, his wife, and their children. It could happen that some additional persons lived with them, such as the widowed mother of one of the spouses or an old female relative (old men usually lived by themselves, with the help of a grandson). There could also be a child, a son, or a daughter of the husband's brother or even of the husband's sister (if the bride-wealth had not been given for his sister), or a child of the wife's brother.

Adopted children were also included in the rugo. These could only be children who had no lineage relatives left. Tutsi children, when adopted by Tutsi, were treated, while they were young, as if they were the adopter's own children; Hutu children if adopted by Tutsi were considered as clients. But adoption did not confer the full status enjoyed by an offspring of the adopter: the ward could marry a descendant of his foster-father. Cases of adoption seem to have been frequent and people appear to have been so eager to adopt that we may suspect that all the advantages were not for the child. The Ruanda highly appreciated all children, and this attitude accounts for the fact that a child was as such always welcomed in a family. Moreover, the man adopting a child expected more material advantages: a girl's marriage brought him the benefit of a new family connexion and boys could be as useful as his sons without having a right to inheritance. Our informants say that most of the boys when grown up fled away, hoping to find some distant relative of their own.

The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called

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The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called
594 by the same name, rugo. I have described earlier this complex dwelling place composed of intersecting circular enclosures. In
[592] the case of rich people, their clients during their time of service
[554] and their servants had huts in the compound.

The compound, surrounded by fields and banana-groves, and not far from pastures, was situated on that part of the paternal homestead given by the father to his son at the latter's wedding. If the father's homestead was not large enough to provide all his sons with areas to live on, the young couple either had to ask the political authority to allocate them a plot, or they had to rent one belonging either to a relative or an unrelated person.

595 The ideal type of residence of a polygynous family was a compound for each wife surrounded by its own cultivated area. These rugo could be on the same homestead or on several homesteads. The latter arrangement was more frequent with Tutsi than with Hutu. None of these compounds was more important than the others, except occasionally. The husband had no rugo regarded as being more his residence than the others.

Between these two sharply different types of family organization, there were intermediate kinds. If it happened that a Ruanda wanted a second wife, he looked for one even if he could not afford a second compound. She lived then in the same compound as the first wife, in a separate hut. But such an arrangement was regarded as unfortunate, and should be assimilated to that of a nuclear family notwithstanding the plurality of wives.

121 We will now consider whether and how these types of organization fulfilled the functions that might be expected of any type of family, for some of these functions seem to be fulfilled by all the family structures known, and the others by most of them. The points to be considered are: sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, socialization, and ritual.

(a) *Sexual relations*

581 The Ruanda distinguish the sexual from the procreational function of marriage. Neither the husband, nor apparently the wife, ever feared (except in very unhappy circumstances of poverty) that pregnancy might result from any particular act of
[842] intercourse; on the contrary such an event was usually longed for. As some informants said, why have relations with a sterile woman? Sexuality, however, had for them a value in itself.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(c) *Procreational function*

181 554 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children 557 was almost indispensible for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, 858 extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby reinforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained [556] later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one [571] party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[p. 89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production. 433

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production? 592 [438]

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce. 463 [184] 412

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view. 471

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased 423

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim 421

1. [rugo: The basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 30 -- analysf]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

422 Sometimes these rights (bare ownership and usufruct) were possessed by the same person. The cattle concerned were then called *imbata*.[8]

3. INHERITANCE RULES

768 When the father died, the family unit of which he had been the head did not disappear as well. Some of the family functions had still to be carried on for some time: the younger sons had to be given a wife and the bride-wealth paid for them, the younger daughters had to be married, and perhaps young children had still to be taken care of by their mother for several years. In order that the family unit should be able to perform its tasks before its breakdown, it was necessary that the duties of the rugo head should continue to be fulfilled. Consequently the father chose one of his sons who could be trusted with that role (*umutware w'urugo rwa se:* head of his father's family). He was often, but not always, the eldest son of the first wife. The father could even choose a brother or one of his parallel cousins if he thought none of his sons was capable. The father's choice could always be reversed by the lineage head or the political chief or even the lord, if it appeared unwise to these authorities or if it was the cause of complaints from the other members of the family. 592

593 421 It was the father who was endowed, as we have just seen, with rights to land and cattle. The totality of these rights plus goods such as trees, huts, and household implements, constituted his patrimony.

428 If there was no declaration of will, custom determined the division of the patrimony according to the following rules.

The first heirs were the sons of the deceased, or, failing these, his brothers, then his paternal male parallel cousins, his grandsons, the sons of his brothers and their male paternal parallel cousins, his paternal uncles. Then any male in the inzu or the umulyango. If there was no known kinsman left, the political authority (land or cattle chief) or the lord was the heir. In that case the patrimony might be divided according to the kind of rights left, for instance those over cattle went to the lord, those over land to the land chief. Or the more powerful authority was able to secure for himself the whole of the inheritance.

[8] See Vanhove 1941, pp. 48-59, for still other, but less important, rights over cattle.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and
562 women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

586 she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with
593 her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but
[587] abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of
[564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside,
[567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

606 In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true
●592 mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The
607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority
592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his
578 wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same
595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of
564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced
[586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

592 595 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her children, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

514 787 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents. However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance, for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda. [481]

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 421 563 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi, some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 842 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

[163] 3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 562 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house), the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

837 The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 586 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she nearly always will accept it. However, she sometimes leaves her

848 girl, the girl's father takes over the child.
851 In the past, during the wars, the owner of a woman slave
[37] sometimes married her. The children of this marriage were considered legitimate and [37] had their fathers' status, even if he already had children from marriage with a munyarwanda wife.

Children born of the master and a woman slave were also considered legitimate.

CHAPTER V. PATERNAL AUTHORITY

●593 The patria potestas is exercised by the father. In the past it implied the right of life and death over his children. Today the father does not have such power, but his authority still remains sovereign and extends even over married sons. The latter must in particular, give him cows if he asks for any to increase his herds and to replace animals that are sick or have died.

A bad son can be cursed by his father and driven out of the family and even from the hill (igitshibwa or ikivume, the accursed one). He goes off with empty hands, and his brothers divide his property.

As a counterpart to his authority, the father is obligated to support his children and to establish his sons by paying the dowry.

The children must obey their mother as well as their father.

Simiarly they must be deferential to their paternal uncles
[604] and aunts, and to a lesser degree, to their maternal uncles and aunts. Sisters must obey their brothers, and younger brothers, their older ones.

The loss of paternal authority does not exist as such. If the
603 father is unworthy or incapable, the grandfather or paternal uncle has
604 charge of the children. [38]

CHAPTER VI. TUTELAGE AND EMANCIPATION (1)

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p.60.

429 When the father is dead, usually one of his brothers watches over the widow and orphans. In the absence of a paternal uncle, guardianship goes to a maternal uncle.

604 429 The paternal uncle may marry his sister-in-law. He has the same rights over his nephews and the same obligations to them as their father. If the widow marries a stranger (umwinjila), the latter becomes the guardian of the children, but as a rule he has not much authority. And if he does not fulfill his obligations, he may be driven out by the paternal uncle and has to go away empty-handed.

Similarly, if the uncle who is guardian does not fulfill his obligations, the children may complain to their father's patron, or, if they have no cattle, to the hill chief. When they have grown up, they may even drive out the unworthy guardian.

Only through marriage do the sons gain independence unless previously they have freed themselves with violence from the guardian's authority.

593 Nevertheless, even when they are emancipated by marriage, male children are not freed of their obligations to their parents (1).

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p.60.

[39] CHAPTER VII. MAJORITY AND INTERDICTION

[881] 885 In Ruanda there is no initiation ceremony to mark the entrance of boys into social life any more than there are age classes. But when a young man has become ingaragu, his father then looks upon him as a man; he speaks to him of cattle and crops, allows him to share his meal, and sends him in his place to the patron to pay homage, etc.

732 Lunatics (abasazi), the dumb (ibirazi) and the deaf (ibipfamatwi) move around freely and, except for the first, may marry.

593 The property of a spendthrift (ikarara, lit., half mad, exalted) is managed by his parents.

As for the bad son who is disobedient and insolent, he can be cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume).

561 CHAPTER VIII. TABLE INDICATING THE NAMES USED TO DESIGNATE THE DIFFERENT AGES OF LIFE (1)

1. The age given in years is obviously

768 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's
736 family and provide for their widowed mother. However, child-
less widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or
by begging.

The position of women is higher and the esteem in which
562 they are held is greater than among most other East African
593 Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned,
the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the hus-
[462] band. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the
cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the
fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to
the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with
all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the
wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the
children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is
also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found
among any other East African people -- that husband and wife
[264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the
northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier hus-
bands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live
there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications],
1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the
mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their
opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex-
562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and
the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by
inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among
the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded
[644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her
entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of re-
spect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states
as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the
proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with
work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family
council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They
are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one
wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 784 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

423 are least fortunate or most enterprising get together to sell or exchange
[311] their plots and go to the edge of the forest to buy a piece of land or to develop the one they owned there.

From then on, the clan to which they belong includes an additional village.

As in Europe the sale and lease of fields and banana groves is made in the presence of witnesses. Land boundaries are marked with stones and other conventional signs.

A felled tree, a displaced stone, some ground which has been broken in a neighbor's field over the dividing line, such things cause frequent litigations that give rise to disunity within families and among tribes over long periods of time.

The Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ remains attached
361 to his native village, to his plot of land. He does not feel the need to move elsewhere, to change his domicile, as do the Blacks settled east and west of Tanganyika.

Ruanda soil is richer by far and sustains numerous and varied
[134] crops.

In addition to the banana grove, which is the most important
245 part of his property, the Munyarwanda has begun to plant trees and to cultivate coffee, which brings in large profits to which he was not
[231] accustomed. Ownership of a small herd of cattle or sheep makes his home even dearer to him.

● 593 It may be said that his home life is more stable than in neighboring areas, and that he leaves it only rarely (1).

[166]

1. The Blacks, too, are familiar with nostalgia and home sickness. The fear of a vendetta or the attraction of large salaries may temporarily induce the natives to expatriate themselves. Sooner or later, however, they return to the cradle of their ancestors. The Banyarwanda cite characteristic instances of this.

428 The line of behavior followed by the Banyarwanda when it is
543 time to make a will shows that their social organization, /49/ though
far from perfect, is superior to that of many other Negro tribes.

Hamites, Bahutu, and Batwa are anxious to express their last wishes clearly in order to leave nothing unforseen and in order to keep chicanery from creeping in among the heirs.

While alive the father gathers his children around him on a day he selects, or, if he wishes to lend more solemnity to the occasion, he goes with them to the hill chief and offers him a beer as an introductory gift. Among his male children, he appoints the one he likes best as his principal legatee, whether it be the oldest, the youngest, or any one among them.

The chosen son will succeed him in his role as head of the family to levy taxes on his brothers in the name of the king or of the Hamitic chief, and will deal with the latter in matters concerning the small group.

[578] A father may disinherit and curse a son who has given him serious grounds for complaint, who has not shown him due respect, who has insulted him, abandoned him in times of misfortune, or defected during legal proceedings. "May he bear no more children," he exclaims, spitting into one hand and then into the other. "You have behaved badly toward me. I cut you off from my family, I
[539] curse you." (1)

1. Ntabyare! Ntaheke! Wambereye gito, nanje ndaguchiye mu bana banje!

As we have already said, the family property is divided into as many lots as there are boys.

The same holds true for the livestock, cows, goats, and sheep. Each son receives an equal share.

The executor of the will, as the eldest son or head of the family, adds a small field or a piece of a banana grove to his patrimonial share.

While his father is still alive, he usually receives a cow, called "obedience cow" (inka y'indabukirano) to confirm his authority

428 over his brothers. As an act of vassalage, the latter must in turn /each/
593 give him a beer, a hoe, and a sheep. /50/ They acknowledge his superiority thereby, and place themselves under his dependence. In return he must show interest in them and in their legal proceedings, take care of their affairs in the event of illness, defend them against one and all.

[429] Daughters have no right whatever to inherit from their father. Before he dies, on the other hand, the father appoints one of his sons to look after each one of them to take care of her future, her marriage, and to watch over her until she marries.

851 A daughter whose bride price was paid for in cows receives
431 a heifer from her father or brother when she comes to show them her first born. Among wealthy families, she is given a cow at the birth of each male child. Among poorer families, the gift consists of a
[556] young bull, a goat, or one or two hoes, depending on the amount of the bride price (1).

1. A cow given under these circumstances is called "young mother's cow" (ichari, umwari). The young bull obtained under the same circumstances is called "woman's garment" (inkanda), because the animal's hide must theoretically be used to clothe the happy mother.

According to the Banyarwanda custom governing the occasion, the child's father must give three jugs of beer and a basketful of cooked food to his father-in-law or to the brother-in-law who is his wife's guardian.

428 Upon their father's death, daughters merely receive garments made of cowhide, hoes, or sheep, which on account of the bereavement are called by the name of "salary or reward for tears."

784 A crowned crane that perches at the top of a hut, or a dog, goat, or sheep that manages to climb upon it, are sure signs of approaching misfortunes.

It is rigorously forbidden to kill a crowned crane, crow, wagtail, lizard, frog, or toad.

The parents of a newly married man may not partake of his meals unless they first cook a bunch of bananas in his house. Scurvy is the punishment for this transgression.

[244] A woman who has just given birth to a child must see to it that the umbilical cord of the newborn is not lost. If there is food in the hut at the moment of childbirth, the mother may not touch it. If she broke this taboo she would contract a disease (guhumana).

The father of a baby whose teeth have not yet come out may not take a new wife without exposing the child to the danger of contracting the acute scurfy disease (amahumane).

[593] If a child wishes to sit in a chair just vacated by his father, he must first place there a little straw. If he were to act otherwise, he would risk his father's curse.

Children are not permitted to lean against the post which is reserved for the family head. This, too, is done for reasons of propriety.

The owner of a calf whose hooves have only one toe as the result of a congenital deformity may not butcher it except at his own home. The meat of the animal may not be eaten elsewhere. It must be eaten on the spot with the sorghum bread brought by each guest. At the end of the meal, the guests wash their hands in the courtyard and not outside of it.

A goat that sits...on its behind must be butchered /414/ or sold immediately, so that evil will not befall the occupants of the hut.

A hunter of "feli-cervaline /?/" (tiger cats) must be careful careful not to make too many victims among those carnivores so as not to risk unfortunate consequences. A peasant threshing beans in the pod must see to it that no one steps on the threshing floor while he is working.

He would experience the surprise of seeing his provision of beans diminish if a passer-by were to stop suddenly before him.

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

586 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in

[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

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601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren		
SoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruza
SoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruza
IX. The other generations under		
Descendant		Ubuvivi[11]

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

593 During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was [881] initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could [882] not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not [883] have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in 593 different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the 868 Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

593 When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as [583] Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, [681] which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating [606] his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

[11] Compare with Vanhove, 1941, pp. 11-16.

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the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[12]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father).

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful.

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent

[12] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

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604 obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further [582] pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, [584] she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between 604 FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected 601 in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezawanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

602 Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather 603 called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to [867] cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization [887] of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of [869] past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

593 As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

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to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood. After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin, Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts were severely tabooed.

(*d*) *Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko*

The two other descent groups may be described much more briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally disappeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
601 *IV. Ego's generation*		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[18]

● 593 Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old [589] widower frequently lived alone.

604 The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants, The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar [836] relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have [584] intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego [582] married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[18] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Muenemama* (child of mother).

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Why did they not operate in the case of FaSi? As mother of Ego's paternal cross-cousins, with whom Ego could enjoy the same familiarities, she could have reacted in the same way. We have seen that, on the contrary, she was extremely cordial to her nephews. The only reason seems to be that her nephews belonged to her own lineage, whereas her daughters did not. Consequently she was less interested in bride-wealths, &c. Her husband (FaSiHu) probably reacted in the same way as MoBr. 604

The relations of Ego with his maternal aunt (MoSi) were supposed to be similar to his relations with his mother, but in fact great trust and affection did not often exist between them because of the usually tense relations of the aunt with Ego's mother, her sister. If, for instance, Ego's aunt's husband (MoSiHu) neglected his wife and preferred his sister-in-law (Ego's Mo), with whom intercourse was not taboo, the relations between the two sisters became tense. The incest taboo applied to the relations between Ego and MoSi (as an extension of the incest prohibition between Ego and his Mo) and also MoSiDa (although she did not belong to Mo's inzu). In the latter case, the reason was that for Ego, his maternal parallel cousins were assimilated to his paternal parallel cousins. He had consequently to consider her as his sister. In the next generation this incest taboo still existed (between So and MoSiDaDa, i.e. between any male and his FaMoSiDaDa). The incest between Ego's male descendants and his MoSi's female descendants through females lasted, I was told, as long as the original sibling relation (between Mo and MoSi) was remembered. 604 835 [593] 605 835

Between Ego and his maternal grandfather, the relations were very similar to those between him and his paternal grandfather. As we may expect, the fact that his maternal grandmother did not belong to the maternal patrilineage did not prevent her from being considered as a grandmother and not only as MoFaWi. 603

As has just been indicated, Ego could enjoy with his female maternal cross-cousins great familiarity expressed in practical jokes, pleasant talk, and erotic games. But as long as the girls were unmarried anything more than caressing and petting (erotic kissing seems to have been unknown among Ruanda) was prohibited. It was only after the female cross-cousins' marriages that sexual intercourse with them was tolerated. This behaviour was extended to wives of male cross-cousins (MoBrSoWi). 605 [832] [835]

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833 under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family
[595] the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some
864 parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and
838 flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

831 Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not
837 available, it was socially permitted to have another partner
835 (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when
[843] she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a
[833] minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his
[993] travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with
[484] them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few
548 Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

831 The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasised exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

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833 were growing, when a child had his hair cut in tufts for the first time, at the initiation into the Ryangombe sect, when a daughter was asked to marry, on the wedding day of a son or a daughter, on the accession of a new king, at sowing time, and at the celebration for July harvesting. All these events were happy and joyful because they were growths or increases in life. Intercourse was also obligatory at the end of the mourning periods when life had to go on and start again after that period of abeyance.

This obligatory intercourse took place between husband and wife. When it was impossible because one of the spouses was absent or dead, one had to rely upon a privileged partner, or, if this was impossible, had to get medicine prepared from certain herbs by a diviner.

[853] There was no prohibition of intercourse between the spouses during the suckling months (the first eighteen to twenty-four).

(*b*) *Economic co-operation*

595 The nuclear family and, to a large extent each wife's compound [594] in polygamous cases, was a self-sufficient unit of economic co-operation. Among rich Tutsi who could afford separate homesteads for their wives, each wife was in fact the superintendent of her own. She had to command her husband's clients, servants, cultivators, and herdsmen. It was no wonder that women who could be entrusted with such responsibilities were respected within their family and in society at large. If the homestead was small, as among ordinary Tutsi, or consisted only of a small cultivated plot, as among most Hutu polygamists, each of these wives had, nevertheless, some economic responsibility, even if it was only that of working by herself in the fields. This important participation of polygynous wives in the management of a small unit of production and consumption, should be studied in relation to the 562 status of women in Ruanda.[9] This status was by no means equal to that of men but it was far from being one of slavery. Tutsi [593] husbands and wives ate together, the wife was consulted by her husband on many problems, and she was treated with much politeness. The Hutu were ruder and more temperamental, but they followed a more or less similar pattern. Under the present administration there are two or three women, widows of Tutsi chiefs, who act as sub-chiefs. The mere fact that it is taken for

[9] See Naigiziki, 1959.

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woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

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Boys from Twelve To

883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several
[224] days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place
869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage
[603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grandfather. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of
867 behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed
[868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to
[867] be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first
[428] wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

595 The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been
593 mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favour-
183 ite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour
[152] was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these

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conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(e) Ritual function

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

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422 Sometimes these rights (bare ownership and usufruct) were possessed by the same person. The cattle concerned were then called *imbata*.[3]

3. INHERITANCE RULES

768 When the father died, the family unit of which he had been the head did not disappear as well. Some of the family functions had still to be carried on for some time: the younger sons had to be given a wife and the bride-wealth paid for them, the younger daughters had to be married, and perhaps young children had still to be taken care of by their mother for several years. In order that the family unit should be able to perform its tasks before its breakdown, it was necessary that the duties of the rugo head should continue to be fulfilled. Consequently the father chose one of his
592 sons who could be trusted with that role (*umutware w'urugo rwa se:* head of his father's family). He was often, but not always, the eldest son of the first wife. The father could even choose a brother or one of his parallel cousins if he thought none of his sons was capable. The father's choice could always be reversed by the lineage head or the political chief or even the lord, if it appeared unwise to these authorities or if it was the cause of complaints from the other members of the family.

593 It was the father who was endowed, as we have just seen, with
421 rights to land and cattle. The totality of these rights plus goods such as trees, huts, and household implements, constituted his patrimony.

If there was no declaration of will, custom determined the
428 division of the patrimony according to the following rules.

The first heirs were the sons of the deceased, or, failing these, his brothers, then his paternal male parallel cousins, his grandsons, the sons of his brothers and their male paternal parallel cousins, his paternal uncles. Then any male in the inzu or the umulyango. If there was no known kinsman left, the political authority (land or cattle chief) or the lord was the heir. In that case the patrimony might be divided according to the kind of rights left, for instance those over cattle went to the lord, those over land to the land chief. Or the more powerful authority was able to secure for himself the whole of the inheritance.

[3] See Vanhove. 1951, pp. 48-59, for still other, but less important, rights over cattle.

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428 without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

428 As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to 518 be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to [436] achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

4. LABOUR

461 Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), 466 he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

593 The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make 461 all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

466 The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the [643] supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.

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Servants' labour belonged completely to their masters. These servants (*abatindi* for men, *abaja* for women) were either war captives or simply very poor people (this is the first meaning of the word *abatindi*). Their payment consisted in receiving food, shelter, and clothing from their masters. Sometimes it was agreed that after a certain period of time (such as three years) the master would either pay the bride-wealth to provide the servant with a wife or would even give him his own daughter.

Family heads were the only persons who could dispose of their own labour resources, with the exception of that part required by the lord and the political authority.

• • •

Almost any Ruanda family head could command enough rights to capital goods and labour to make his rugo self-supporting, with a certain surplus for his chief and his overlord. But these rights were not finally his. The ultimate control of the factors of production was not his. Labour, land, and cattle, in that order, were increasingly slipping away from his control. Command of the factors of production and political power was so interwoven in Ruanda social structure that they are to be analysed together in the following chapter devoted to the political organization.

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the
562 general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide. Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as
[595] bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

431 he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has
554 already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle
431 measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any
554 alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior.
Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows
626 or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father
[564] if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will
[593] return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For,
554 physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to
681 instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take
[586] out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their
[566] parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a
[593] woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

431 In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always
554 combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors
828 and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no
[152] doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.

562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. 562
He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry.
For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, 593
women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an 152
imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity 593
to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by 837
this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information [557]
from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. [831]
Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep [833]
with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his [601]
wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with [578]
another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a poly- 152
gamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every 595
other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to [832]
quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[18] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

593 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are [359] the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will 342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home [184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

585 [613 578] [607 606]

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please

584 [586] [835] 593 776

593 776 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked by *Imana.*

564 583 [556] [178] The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman, [554] [556] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 585 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not [538] one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise- [533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated [152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 [593] Every married woman of every class and caste works for her husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

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562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15]

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight.

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks.

000 never have to do menial tasks. Young girls are taught, so that they
867 will be refined, to command and to correct inferiors gently but firmly; to weave pretty baskets; to rub red and yellow ochre on the wooden milk pots which are lined up on a long shelf to display the herder's wealth; to offer beer and food to visitors and to sing and dance, breasts bared, to entertain them. Later, a young woman must learn to cover her face with her scarf, to so arrange her
[574] numerous diaphanous white and yellow robes that her entire body is covered, and to engage visitors in conversation while shielded from view by a screen. She must learn how to listen and to understand. If a young girl has noticed that her mother is a good conversationalist, she takes into account the fact that her mother is discreet, intelligent and older than she.

577 The more closely a woman approximates to the feminine ideal
●593 for her caste, the greater her hope for the rewards due to a married
564 woman. A good wife should receive from her husband a quantity of clothes and jewels proportionate to his wealth, permission to go out and to visit where she wishes, permission to drink her husband's beer and to take snuff. In addition she will be praised wherever her husband travels. If the husband has cows, he will give her several so that she and the children will have milk, and he may give her one or more as gifts. If he likes her very much, he will plan in advance the means by which she can remain on his property if he predeceases her. To be a good wife means first of all to execute wifely tasks efficiently. Then, towards her husband and parents-in-law, a good wife is always obedient and respectful, at least while there are outsiders present. Intelligence is a highly desirable characteristic and is indeed indispensable in anyone who will be the wife of a prince. A capable woman will be consulted by her husband, especially if he knows that she is cleverer than he. Among the Hutu, the husband asks advice of an intelligent wife before he goes to ask a cow of a Tutsi, before choosing a wife for their son, before he does anything. Among the Tutsi, a husband who takes pride in his wife's intelligence will consult her before he chooses a serf, goes to his superior to ask for another cow. He does nothing without her advice and boasts about her intelligence and loyalty to his friends. Among the princes, family and economic affairs are hardly distinguishable from affairs of state. Thus, intelligent women come to have a voice in matters of the first importance.

[574] A good hostess who provides food and drink for her husband's visitors need never fear his anger. Just as women speak a great deal of the importance of receiving clothing from their husbands, so men speak a great deal of the importance of a warm welcome for

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

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581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without per-
[897] mission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered
586 perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is con-
593 sistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors
[754] while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be
[842 retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price
583] to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

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the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the bride-price, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,

586 she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with
593 her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but
[587] abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of
[564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside,
[567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

606 In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her
592 daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The
607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority
592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking
578 sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same
595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of
564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced
[586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

586 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their
855 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends
[587] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

858 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the
862 typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very
593 tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege
858 and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and
●593 mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in
[556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit
593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys
[861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A
[603] young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the

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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

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mwamikazi and a wealthy Tutsikazi are matriarchs on a much grander scale than is possible for any Hutukazi. Nevertheless, the character model and the methods for success as a matriarch are quite the same. Furthermore, although the methods employed by women are not in every detail like those of men, there is only one character model for the matriarch and the patriarch, that of the superior. By the same token, there is only one character model for those in the roles of inferiors. The latter are always alert to opportunities for asking some good thing of a superior. If one road is closed, it is necessary to find another. If a husband is not generous, a woman will ask one of her brothers for gifts, or she will wait until her sons are grown. When fortunate people have received gifts, they obviously have something to give, and they thus may expect petitioners to come to them for gifts. Yet again, if a man is muddled by drink, his wife or his vassal or someone who wants his favour will make a request of a gift in the presence of others; a promise given, drunk or sober, before witnesses must be respected at the risk of losing one's fair name. The rules of society provide only for a minimum of happiness. One must rely upon intelligence to point the way to supplementary means and to profit from every favourable circumstance.

Like any normal citizen of Burundi, a Rundikazi desires as much power and authority as possible, which is to say, numerous inferiors, including children, workers, feudal followers; wealth, which is to say, for women who can inherit nothing, many gifts from men and from wealthier women; respect and love, which amounts to having many inferiors; elegance, which is again to say many gifts, but also education in the home of a princess; many children, which depends on the will of *Imana;* protection against one's enemies, that is, against one's rivals and one's mother-in-law; and the good luck to retain what has been received from *Imana* and from human beings, which again depends on *Imana* and also on one's own intelligence, courage and strength of character. There is decidedly no psychological conflict in women of strong character, nor is there any conflict between feminine ambitions and social norms. Everything is taken care of by the functional norms of the society.

A woman starts very young to calculate what she needs in order to be happy. From her father she expects little more than that he will find her a husband who is wealthy and reasonable, or better yet, tractable; that he will allow her to return home if she is not satisfied with a husband and will find her a better one; that he will from time to time give her gifts. If a father has a tendency to turn

554 a deaf ear to his daughter's wishes in the matter of changing a
562 husband, she will perhaps make the necessary arrangements on
593 her own initiative with the husband she prefers, and the father will have no choice but to accept the new arrangements. From her husband, a woman expects to receive gifts in proportion to his wealth—clothing, copper bracelets, beads, cows, money. She also wishes workmen and servants, so that she will not have to perform the menial tasks of inferiors; so that she will have a great many inferiors to supervise; so that she will enjoy sufficient energy and leisure for the planning and plotting necessary to increase her wealth and her influence in family affairs, economic matters and politics. As her husband's business partner, an intelligent woman will be consulted at every turn or she may not even wait for her husband to ask her advice. She decides what must be done, and her decisions must be respected. A wife who is well-established will almost certainly be the preferred intermediary of those who seek the favour of her husband. As an intermediary, she receives gifts, particularly pots of beer, to persuade her to intervene with the superior. An intelligent woman who finds herself with more beer than she needs will send a servant to sell it and keep the money
[556] for herself. For women in the lower castes, there are various optional roles through which they can earn money. They may sell the excess baskets they weave; they may be midwives; they may be
562 *bapfumu*, physician-pharmacists who sell medicines and amulets;
556 they may be governesses or ladies-in-waiting for good families. A
554 husband takes great pride in a wife who becomes wealthy. Her wealth advertises her cleverness and is at all events obtained at
593 no cost to him. Some women, it is said, are so intelligent that a prince will make them *abashingantahe*, judges and councillors. Women who have this honoured position receive cows, clothing, jewellery and serfs. On occasion, a woman of this kind may be wealthier than her husband, but he has every reason to be pleased to have such a wife. A wealthy woman will keep some of her cows for herself for milk and butter. Others she will give to those who come and ask of her, and these will become her feudal followers who will work for her, respect her, and go about in quest of information for her.

554 The frequent absences of the husband are opportunities for a
562 woman to show herself capable of managing the property. Work
593 is for inferiors and is not a source of honour. It nevertheless
[46] establishes the realistic dependence of the superior upon his inferior, and it forms the solid basis, sometimes explicitly recognized, of the relationship between superior and inferior. A good

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manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father.

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save him, since his downfall will also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires.

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly

554 displaying in public the respect and obedience due them. An
562 intelligent woman makes herself liked or feared, according to the
● 513 character of the men with whom she is dealing. Occasionally, it is said of a Rundi that "his house is burning", that is to say, despite
[195] the show of respect, his wife rules the roost. He is afraid of her, she nags him, she criticizes him, she wants to decide everything, and one fine day she will put poison in his beer, or she will calumniate him. However, a woman need not dominate her husband in so heavy-handed a fashion to earn her laurels as matriarch. She has her own inferiors to dominate, and there are other ways to become the *umutoni* of her husband and the other men. Apart from her ability as the mistress of her house and her generosity as a hostess, apart from all her obligations, a woman as an inferior is likely to understand very well the uses of flattery and subservience. She knows how to be an informant, to calumniate her superior's enemies as well as her own hated rivals, to show herself always loyal and devoted, to make the welfare of her superior her primary concern. She also knows how to satisfy sexual desires, the need for alcohol, and other demands of the body and the spirit. Superiors, apart from their economic dependence upon their inferiors, seem to seek them also for the satisfaction of what appear to be exceedingly urgent needs for love, respect, and loyalty and for entertainment that will take their minds off their troubles. It is to have these needs satisfied that they make presents, that they give what is asked of them. An intelligent woman busies herself with satisfying the desires of her superiors and thereby making herself indispensable to their happiness. Neither the Sophists, nor Machiavelli, nor the courtiers of Louis XIV have anything to teach the Rundi. An intelligent Rundikazi, like any
[557] intelligent social inferior, knows that to obtain happiness it is necessary only to say yes—to play along with the internal weaknesses and needs by which the superior is enslaved.

NOTES

193 [1]*Linguistic note:* Bantu prefixes have been dropped from words that refer to the inhabitants of Burundi. They are referred to as "Rundi" and by their caste-names, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Other words of the language retain their Bantu form, e.g., *mwami*, king; *mwamikazi*, queen-mother or princess, *bamikazi* in the plural; *muganwa*, prince, *baganwa* in the plural. The suffix, *-kazi*, designates the feminine. For "Rundi woman," "Tutsi woman," "Hutu woman," or "Twa woman," the Rundi forms will be used, i.e., "Rundikazi," "Tutsikazi," "Hutukazi," and "Twakazi."

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[2]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954. 184 113

[3]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi. 184

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help. 564 323

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

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2. THE FAMILY

Two basic types of family were to be found in Ruanda: the nuclear family which was the most widespread, and the polygynous family. The Ruanda polygynous family constituted a type of organization fundamentally different from the nuclear family. It was not just a nuclear family with a few more persons, the secondary wives and their children, but a structure composed of several elements, each of them constituting almost a nuclear family from the sexual, economic, procreational, and educational points of view. On the other hand, the polygynous family was not an aggregate of nuclear families because the uniqueness of the husband gave to the various elements a type of integration different from that merely of a sum of nuclear families.

A nuclear family (*rugo*) was composed of a man, his wife, and their children. It could happen that some additional persons lived with them, such as the widowed mother of one of the spouses or an old female relative (old men usually lived by themselves, with the help of a grandson). There could also be a child, a son, or a daughter of the husband's brother or even of the husband's sister (if the bride-wealth had not been given for his sister), or a child of the wife's brother.

Adopted children were also included in the rugo. These could only be children who had no lineage relatives left. Tutsi children, when adopted by Tutsi, were treated, while they were young, as if they were the adopter's own children; Hutu children if adopted by Tutsi were considered as clients. But adoption did not confer the full status enjoyed by an offspring of the adopter: the ward could marry a descendant of his foster-father. Cases of adoption seem to have been frequent and people appear to have been so eager to adopt that we may suspect that all the advantages were not for the child. The Ruanda highly appreciated all children, and this attitude accounts for the fact that a child was as such always welcomed in a family. Moreover, the man adopting a child expected more material advantages: a girl's marriage brought him the benefit of a new family connexion and boys could be as useful as his sons without having a right to inheritance. Our informants say that most of the boys when grown up fled away, hoping to find some distant relative of their own.

The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called

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The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called
594 by the same name, rugo. I have described earlier this complex dwelling place composed of intersecting circular enclosures. In
[592] the case of rich people, their clients during their time of service
[554] and their servants had huts in the compound.

The compound, surrounded by fields and banana-groves, and not far from pastures, was situated on that part of the paternal homestead given by the father to his son at the latter's wedding. If the father's homestead was not large enough to provide all his sons with areas to live on, the young couple either had to ask the political authority to allocate them a plot, or they had to rent one belonging either to a relative or an unrelated person.

595 The ideal type of residence of a polygynous family was a compound for each wife surrounded by its own cultivated area. These rugo could be on the same homestead or on several homesteads. The latter arrangement was more frequent with Tutsi than with Hutu. None of these compounds was more important than the others, except occasionally. The husband had no rugo regarded as being more his residence than the others.

Between these two sharply different types of family organization, there were intermediate kinds. If it happened that a Ruanda wanted a second wife, he looked for one even if he could not afford a second compound. She lived then in the same compound as the first wife, in a separate hut. But such an arrangement was regarded as unfortunate, and should be assimilated to that of a nuclear family notwithstanding the plurality of wives.

121 We will now consider whether and how these types of organization fulfilled the functions that might be expected of any type of family, for some of these functions seem to be fulfilled by all the family structures known, and the others by most of them. The points to be considered are: sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, socialization, and ritual.

(a) *Sexual relations*

581 The Ruanda distinguish the sexual from the procreational function of marriage. Neither the husband, nor apparently the wife, ever feared (except in very unhappy circumstances of poverty) that pregnancy might result from any particular act of
[842] intercourse; on the contrary such an event was usually longed for. As some informants said, why have relations with a sterile woman? Sexuality, however, had for them a value in itself.

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833 were growing, when a child had his hair cut in tufts for the first time, at the initiation into the Ryangombe sect, when a daughter was asked to marry, on the wedding day of a son or a daughter, on the accession of a new king, at sowing time, and at the celebration for July harvesting. All these events were happy and joyful because they were growths or increases in life. Intercourse was also obligatory at the end of the mourning periods when life had to go on and start again after that period of abeyance.

This obligatory intercourse took place between husband and wife. When it was impossible because one of the spouses was absent or dead, one had to rely upon a privileged partner, or, if this was impossible, had to get medicine prepared from certain herbs by a diviner.

[853] There was no prohibition of intercourse between the spouses during the suckling months (the first eighteen to twenty-four).

(*b*) *Economic co-operation*

595 The nuclear family and, to a large extent each wife's compound [594] in polygamous cases, was a self-sufficient unit of economic co-operation. Among rich Tutsi who could afford separate homesteads for their wives, each wife was in fact the superintendent of her own. She had to command her husband's clients, servants, cultivators, and herdsmen. It was no wonder that women who could be entrusted with such responsibilities were respected within their family and in society at large. If the homestead was small, as among ordinary Tutsi, or consisted only of a small cultivated plot, as among most Hutu polygamists, each of these wives had, nevertheless, some economic responsibility, even if it was only that of working by herself in the fields. This important participation of polygynous wives in the management of a small unit of production and consumption, should be studied in relation to the 562 status of women in Ruanda.[9] This status was by no means equal to that of men but it was far from being one of slavery. Tutsi [593] husbands and wives ate together, the wife was consulted by her husband on many problems, and she was treated with much politeness. The Hutu were ruder and more temperamental, but they followed a more or less similar pattern. Under the present administration there are two or three women, widows of Tutsi chiefs, who act as sub-chiefs. The mere fact that it is taken for

[9] See Naigiziki, 1959.

596 [591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[595] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 596 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a childless man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A [563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a [428] brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has [562] the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother [586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (umutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 428 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

583 A young man may carry off a young girl (kwiba umugeni) in order to force the consent of her parents. But the young man's father subsequently gives a dowry.

588 There are ibyomanzi (vagrant women) who stay with a man for indefinite period of time according to the circumstances of their wandering lives (kubuyera or kohoha). The fate of these unions is obviously precarious. If, against all probability, their common life lasts for several years, the woman may introduce her concubinary to relatives [or parents]. If children are born, the man may be obliged to give a dowry. The marriage is then regularized.

583 It may also happen that two men, each with a sister whose dowry they may claim, will exchange wives: abageni b'ubuntu bunyuranye (lit., the betrothed as gifts).

In all these marriages the fate of the wife and children is the same as in the typical marriage. If the husband does not pay any dowry, the wife's father may take the children away and keep them as hostages until their father has fulfilled his obligations.

567 583 Formerly, children who were prisoners of war (abanyagano) married later, usually amongst themselves. The master could also give a captive girl in marriage to one of his clients. He collected the dowry but on the other hand, he had to pay a dowry for one of his slaves who wanted to marry a woman of the same region.

The slave, his wife, and their children continued to be part of the master's household. If one of these children wished to get married in his turn, his father would pay the dowry for his son or collect it for his daughter, and by that very act, his son or daughter was freed and became munyarwanda.

567 If the master married a slave woman, the children of this union would be of the same status as their [20] father, even if he already had other children with a munyarwanda woman.

2. Types of Marriage

595 Polyandry does not exist in Ruanda.

Polygamy (polygyny) is universal, except among the Christian natives, and particularly among the Bahutu, who have an average of two or three wives and sometimes even four or five.

The Batutsi most often have two wives. The great chiefs have, in addition to their wives, a certain number of insholeke (concubines).

595 The Batwa usually have four or five wives.

One of the wives has a special name, inkundwakazi (the loved one, the favorite). She is thus called because of her qualities: her cleanliness, her ability to make pombe, her faithfulness, her careful supervision of the crops, the good treatment she extends to the abagaragu, the constant care she takes of the cattle, the friendly reception she reserves for her husband's friends, the care with which she has the master's orders carried out in his absence (1).

1. The inyungwakazi is quite the opposite of the inkwundakazi. She is a wife without any domestic qualities, who is disobedient, even adulterous. If her husband does not repudiate her, he keeps her at a distance and has no relations with her.

[836]

As to the other wives, the husband, in speaking of them, simply says abagore banjye (my wives). However, the favorite may not give them orders. Only the husband can give orders to his wives.

Children of different mothers (or of different fathers) are on the same footing and considered as real brothers and sisters. [21]

[848] Adulterine children belong to the husband of the unfaithful wife.

858 595 Whether legitimate or not, the children are not treated differently according to their mother's condition. But if the children of a concubine show themselves to be unbearable, people will not fail to contemptuously call them abana bo mu milombero (children of the hedges).

3. Obstacles to Marriage

582 1. Exogamy.

The Batutsi (except the Abanyiginya) and the Bahutu may not take a wife from within their father's family and clan, whatever the kinship. Parallel cousins (1) therefore cannot marry each other, but

1. Parallel cousins are those whose fathers are brothers or whose mothers are sisters.

592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

574 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance,
[481] for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda.

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

161 quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more
[133] sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19]
One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more
[311] humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations
cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense
population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in
them.

592 The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in chil-
[842] dren, as in Ruanda. Individually the Batussi women are less
fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom
fewer than three children in each family and in many cases
(among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly
more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married
couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if
[595] there are many children or several wives, each mother lives
in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and
unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there
are often between two and four residential huts and several huts
for grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential
huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see
Fig. 1).

361 The settlement pattern is that of individual establish-
ments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (lugo, urugo).
Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and
its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates
18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals
belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each
other within calling distance so that village-like clusters
(ikisagara) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside ex-
tend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the
settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the
poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or
clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are
scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and sur-
rounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without
banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price; the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are [589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor. If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife. Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a
583 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does
685 occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358).
595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

595 reach a marriageable age, and the girl has been chosen as his marriage partner by his parents; he will then take a concubine from a lower class for the waiting period. However, in most cases, the parents give their sons free choice.

584 When a young man takes a liking to a girl, he first proposes marriage to her without asking anyone else. If she accepts, the young man asks his parents to pay the "bride price." When the parents have given their consent, the suitor sends a matchmaker to the parents of the girl or, if her parents have died, to her closest relatives. If the father or, if he is dead, the mother refuses or explains that the girl has already been promised to someone else, the matter is considered closed, and the two lovers have to give each other up. If, contrary to
896 the orders of the parents, they engage in extramarital intercourse, the girl will, in most cases, receive corporal punishment. If she should become pregnant, she is placed completely outside the social pale, for by her behavior she has cheated her parents of the purchase price, and she has also deprived other girls of the opportunity of being asked for in marriage in her place.

583 However, when a girl's father or mother, as the case may be, accepts the suitor's proposal, the matchmaker has to negotiate the purchase price (inkwano) for the bride. This fluctuates depending on the individual, the position of and the property owned by the bridegroom and the bride. Among the large class of the unpropertied, a few strings of small pearls and a few pots of pombe beer are considered sufficient. Among more prosperous groups the bride costs, besides beer and pearls, one or more goats and sometimes even one or two head of cattle (No. 4, p. 221). Among the families of the rich and powerful, that is, the Baganwa, a bride may seldom be had for [107] less than 10 to 15 head of cattle. A bride can also be purchased by paying a part of the agreed price. In this case the young husband becomes security for the rest of the money but does not need to pay it if the marriage is annulled.

585 The objects constituting the agreed purchase price are sent to the bride's parents by the bridegroom through the matchmaker.

768 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's
736 family and provide for their widowed mother. However, childless widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or by begging.

The position of women is higher and the esteem in which
562 they are held is greater than among most other East African
593 Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned, the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the husband. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the
[462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found among any other East African people -- that husband and wife
[264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier husbands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex-
562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded
[644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of respect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

515 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi. [837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is [428] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists. [428] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children [563] have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very [842] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage [583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi; 548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

080

800 years before our era. To him is attributed the erection of the lotus column in the Temple of Karnak.

[141] 2.10 meters. /29/

142 They[1] have well-proportioned limbs, regular features, a straight nose, thin lips, and they present striking resemblances to the Egyptian Pharaohs. Like Ethiopians, the Batutsi are characterized by a brown complexion with reddish undertones, at least in some types, and by a somewhat elongated oval face.

157 Usually gay, they are easily approachable and impress others with their noble, slightly haughty but polite manner.

141 While the average stature of the Batutsi is estimated at 1.79 meters, that of the Bahutu is 1.67 meters. The latter are stockier and shorter, with less regular features. Their muscular strength is 147 greater than that of their masters, no doubt because of the heavy work they perform.

152 As a whole, the Bahutu are less appealing, less polite, and shier than the Batutsi. When angry they cannot control themselves 577 as well as the latter, but on the other hand they are simpler and have more rigid mores (1).

545
181

1. Most of the great chiefs are polygamous or keep concubines in their many domains. The simpler Hamitic herders, who are in the majority, are usually monogamous and of a sterling moral character equaling that of the Bahutu. One might even add that those who lead a pastoral life could give the Bahutu advice in matters of decency.

1 [i.e., the Batutsi - Analyst]

643 One hears of sovereigns who liked and practiced the "things
661 of the mind," such as Yuhi-Mazimpaka, whose literary output is still highly prized by Black intellectuals.

The king's wives and concubines lived away from the court.
644 "Either he had noticed their beauty himself..., or their charms had been brought to his attention by the great who were sure to please him in so doing."

Among the reasons for the profusion of wives in the sovereign's harem, "the yearnings of the heart and the demands of the senses both played their part" above all else. Many a prince surrendered without restraint to voluptuous activities. Yet one hears of some romances adorned with the charms of literature which may actually have taken place.

It must be admitted in all fairness that a powerful idea pre-
842 sided over the establishment of the family among the Hamites. Like the Hebrews and so many other ancient peoples, the Batutsi regarded large numbers of children, and especially sons, as an honor, a glory, and a source of strength. They considered themselves fortunate if they could watch the growth of their children and their children's children to the third and fourth generations.

A large progeny seemed to them a sure guarantee for the future
595 of their race. Let us add that peace could not reign in their homes.
578 For among the legitimate wives, there was almost invariably a favorite. "Competing among themselves, competing for their children, they drove the latter to rivalry, and the husband, following his preferences or giving way to his weakness, did not always share equitably his heart, his favors, and his goods." (1) /43/

1. The loved wife is called nkundwakazi, the hated wife mbikazi. A rival is called mukeba or umugore w'ishyari, that is to say, literally, "jealously woman /or wife/."

595 One can easily imagine the troubles and conflicts caused by an excessive number of wives and children.

The history of the Hamitic princes of Ruanda contains "pages soiled and as if bloodied by the tale of passions which set them one against the other and which, unleashed with brutal violence, " eventually gave rise to tragedies and palace revolutions. Family unity and family spirit have never gained anything from polygamy. The history of the Hamites of Ruanda is here to prove and confirm this.

644 The king's mother held first place among the harem princesses, and reigned along with her son. She was "shown the most respectful consideration, and whoever wished to obtain some favor from the monarch had no better recourse than to see her first. "

157 643 It has been said that a people must be well disciplined in order to grow prosperous and powerful. The Hamites' strength resided in their courage and organization.

Those who know the Hamites cannot but admire among their qualities perseverance in an undertaking and obedience to chiefs. One must recognize in these political and diplomatic beings, and this is to their credit, a thorough self-possession and great calmness. As true leaders, they rarely give way to anger, and their violent feelings rarely show.

868 Their apprenticeship to life begins early.

From childhood on, indeed, the young Batutsi devote themselves to real exercises in sports, under the supervision of the Mwami or of the great chiefs. They practice endurance and bravely bear the fatigue of the lengthy and frequent exercises of guhamiriza (dances indigenous to the Batutsi). For many years they remain as pages (intore) in the service of the Mwami or of the provincial governors, in order to be trained to life and to win the favors of currently powerful figures. /44/

000 the knives used by Babira women.

251 Boiled food forms the basis of the diet; however, corn, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are also baked.

262 The Batutsi's favorite dish is beaten sour milk, kivuguto. The Batutsi maintain that they live exclusively on beer, milk, and meat, but sureptitiously they also eat peas (maharagi), beans, millet mush (umutsima), eleusine (buro), gourds, and bananas. On the other hand, they seem to scorn sweet potatoes. This may not be altogether true, however. The Batutsi repeatedly tried to convince me that their diet was entirely different from that of the Bahutu, but this does not seem to be the case.

The diet of the Bahutu, as one would expect among the poorer people, is more monotonous, with less milk and meat and more umutsima, peas, and sweet potatoes. Fish is a very important part of the diet of north Ruanda.

264 [215] The Batutsi eat solid food only once a day, in the evening. They eat with their women, whereas they drink only with men of their own social position.

The Bahutu eat twice a day, between one and two in the afternoon and between eight and nine in the evening. In Mulera people also eat in the morning. This applies only to the men, since women and children eat all day long. The Batwa, too, are constantly eating, whenever they have a chance. It is said of them: balandwa uk imga, "they hunt like dogs."

Chapter 10

Family Affairs

595 The Family. The number of persons in a family, in the narrower sense of the term, varies a great deal in Ruanda. It includes the father, his wives, and children.

Since the woman represents a worker primarily, the number of women in a man's household may be regarded as the measure of his wealth. The poor cannot keep a wife, those of limited means only one, and the wealthy minority two or even several wives. This is why the Batutsi have more wives than the Bahutu.

595 Although a wife feeds herself and the market price for a woman is trifling the Bahutu, nevertheless the man must build and maintain a house for each woman. The amount of work this entails, considering the perishability of the straw buildings, seems to be an important factor in curtailing polygamy. In some cases, it is true, several wives get along with each other in one house, but the lack of a separate hut is considered a great disadvantage and usually results in a woman's departure.

612 The family in the wider sense of the term includes the more distant relatives.

If the child is regarded as the center of the family, only the ancestors in the male line of the father as well as of the mother are considered. The ancestors in the female line are disregarded. Of the various branches of the family only uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces are to be mentioned, as well as the corresponding relatives of the husband or wife.

601 In the Kinyaruanda language there is a word, basekuru, for the abstract concept "ancestor," but there is no word for the concept "father," and one must always say "my father," "your father," "his father." For "grandfather," too, there is no special designation; sekuru really means "his grandfather," and the concept "your grandfather" must be expressed by sokuru.

[217] In the following table we list the expressions for the closer relatives. (See following pages.)

Older close relatives are simply called uncle, data wachu. More distant relatives are referred to as mwene wachu.

The term wachu used so much in the table of relatives is really a possessive pronoun and means "our," just as wanyu means "your" and wabo, "their."

The stepfather is referred to simply as the husband of the mother or brother of the father. [218] The latter designation refers to the fact that a husband's brother falls heir to his widow.

It should be noted that in kinship terms the father's brothers and the mother's sister are treated as two parallel groups, the members of which can intermarry.

562 264 Position of Women. In Ruanda the woman is regarded, in principle, as a lower creature, and married couples never eat together in public. In private, I have repeatedly observed that they usually do eat together.

●585 Extramarital Relations. Not all women who share a house-
567 hold with a man are his regular wives (basumba kazi) with whom
848 he has entered into a formal purchase marriage. Concubines
588 and slaves (baja) are also kept in Ruanda. The concubines are [225] usually childless widows and abandoned or fugitive women. They settle wherever they find a relatively good refuge. The baja are sold by their parents when they are children, usually in exchange for food during a famine. They are simply women without ties, but who are otherwise very much like the other women and usually also have their own huts. Their children are likewise said to belong to the father's family, although they are not regarded as equal. Such children of Batutsi men, for example, are said not to be regarded as Batutsi although they have the same family name.

588 The chiefs grant baja to their clients, a practice which is
567 even more clearly defined among the Azande and Mangbetu, for example. The baja, along with the cow, are the means whereby the powerful one binds his clients to himself and thus strengthens his power.

567 Just as a man can grant a cow to a cli[illegible] and also demand it
574 back, so he can likewise put a muja at the temporary disposal of
837 a favorite. Under these circumstances the entertainment of guests with women "who are to warm his bed for him" is quite understandable. The less esteemed guests are given baja; the highly respected guests, on the other hand, are honored by being offered regular wives.

574 In general, a man on a journey has at his disposal the wives
837 of his blood brothers. Dr. Kandt (1) says that from certain social

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

aspects this arrangement has its positive points: "Alternating connubium, that is, the interchangeable pairing of several male blood relatives with all their wives, as is permitted in Ruanda, prevents the loss of the female element in the preservation of the race, should the male element prove unfit."

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

586 691 587 837 *Instances*: A man has beaten his wife and driven away her relatives when they came to see him. She leaves him for another man, who is ordered to refund the bride-wealth.

A wife has left her husband and is now pregnant by another man. The husband will be satisfied either with the child or his bride-wealth. The paternity of the second man is established, and bride-wealth is to be paid over.

In several cases a woman's relatives are found to have married her to another man in her husband's absence, or after she has left him and returned home. Here again circumstances determine whether the first or the second union shall be dissolved. In considering these, the voice of the woman is not disregarded, and in one case, after judgement has issued in the original husband's favour, it is amended there and then owing to his wife's refusal to return to him.

586 661 Several marriages are found to be broken up on account of the Chief's seizing cattle paid in bride-wealth.

Instances: A wife goes off to her father's because the Chief has taken the bride-wealth cow.

A man from Urundi pays a cow in bride-wealth, which is seized by the Chief in order to recoup himself after some of his cattle have been stolen by Urundi natives: and the woman's father therefore takes her back.

In a third case, this right or propensity is deliberately made use of by a husband who wishes to shuffle off his wife. He arranges for the Chief to seize the bride-wealth cow with its two calves, and then sends his wife home. But the stratagem fails.

595 578 586 Finally, the existence of polygyny is to be referred to. That it may lead to disharmony in the home appears from two cases, in the former of which the first wife is so aggravated by her husband taking another spouse that she has assaulted him, while in the other a husband is brought to Court for tying up his second wife on suspicion of her having bewitched the first one, with a threat that he would kill her if the first one died. And a third husband finds himself heavily fined for being influenced by the predilections of his first wife. He had paid bride-wealth for a second: the first wife did not approve of the newcomer: her sister coming soon afterwards with a gift of beer, he kept her instead; she had already been promised in marriage, however, and he has to face an indignant betrothed as well as her father, in Court.

R. DE Z. HALL.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

584 girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

583 To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the [834] girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain [585] herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they [784] obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the [684] girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[8]

595 In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the [583] husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[8] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 126-9.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

585 Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have [643] been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his [928] share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their 591 own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

(*d*) *Polygynous unions*

595 Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, [556] as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which [842] were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually [119] occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

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connexions with several inzu. These important chiefs sometimes had more than four wives. 595

Our informants were aware of these different functions of polygyny, but it did not seem necessary for them to look for reasons why people are polygynous. It appeared obvious to them that everybody wanted to have several wives.

(*e*) *Divorce*

Marriage could be ended by divorce (*gutana*). The parents of both spouses and their patrilineage heads usually took part in the various preparatory steps. Nevertheless, divorce was not decided by them, but resulted from the will of the spouses or even from the will of one of them. 586

Divorce itself was usually preceded by one or several temporary separations (*kwahukana*), although these separations did not necessarily lead to divorce. The wife left her husband and went to her parents', or to her husband's parents', or to her husband's brother's home. She complained that her husband had insulted her, beaten her, neglected her, was lazy, &c. The fathers of both spouses then met, talked to the husband, and tried to persuade him to take his wife back, and her to return to him. Very often it was difficult to convince them because the spouse who initiated the separation merely wanted it to be temporary in order to exert a certain pressure on the other. So married life was resumed.

It is to be noted that whoever felt wronged, it was always the wife who left and that among well-to-do people she was never expelled by her husband. He merely showed her by his behaviour (not spending the night with her, &c.) that she was unwanted, and then she left.

For a divorce the procedure was essentially similar to that of a temporary separation. The wife left when either she or her husband definitely wanted to end the marriage. Of course there was very strong pressure from both kin-groups to keep the marriage going, in order not to break the alliance between the two patrilineages. Consequently, the spouse who wanted divorce had to try to convince both inzu and public opinion at large that he (or she) was in one of the cases socially recognized as providing legitimate grounds for divorce. These grounds were for a wife: repeated ill-treatment by her husband, his failure to support her, and his refusal to cohabit with her. Impotence was not regarded as

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2. THE FAMILY

Two basic types of family were to be found in Ruanda: the nuclear family which was the most widespread, and the polygynous family. The Ruanda polygynous family constituted a type of organization fundamentally different from the nuclear family. It was not just a nuclear family with a few more persons, the secondary wives and their children, but a structure composed of several elements, each of them constituting almost a nuclear family from the sexual, economic, procreational, and educational points of view. On the other hand, the polygynous family was not an aggregate of nuclear families because the uniqueness of the husband gave to the various elements a type of integration different from that merely of a sum of nuclear families.

A nuclear family (*rugo*) was composed of a man, his wife, and their children. It could happen that some additional persons lived with them, such as the widowed mother of one of the spouses or an old female relative (old men usually lived by themselves, with the help of a grandson). There could also be a child, a son, or a daughter of the husband's brother or even of the husband's sister (if the bride-wealth had not been given for his sister), or a child of the wife's brother.

Adopted children were also included in the rugo. These could only be children who had no lineage relatives left. Tutsi children, when adopted by Tutsi, were treated, while they were young, as if they were the adopter's own children; Hutu children if adopted by Tutsi were considered as clients. But adoption did not confer the full status enjoyed by an offspring of the adopter: the ward could marry a descendant of his foster-father. Cases of adoption seem to have been frequent and people appear to have been so eager to adopt that we may suspect that all the advantages were not for the child. The Ruanda highly appreciated all children, and this attitude accounts for the fact that a child was as such always welcomed in a family. Moreover, the man adopting a child expected more material advantages: a girl's marriage brought him the benefit of a new family connexion and boys could be as useful as his sons without having a right to inheritance. Our informants say that most of the boys when grown up fled away, hoping to find some distant relative of their own.

The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called

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The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called
594 by the same name, rugo. I have described earlier this complex dwelling place composed of intersecting circular enclosures. In
[592] the case of rich people, their clients during their time of service
[554] and their servants had huts in the compound.

The compound, surrounded by fields and banana-groves, and not far from pastures, was situated on that part of the paternal homestead given by the father to his son at the latter's wedding. If the father's homestead was not large enough to provide all his sons with areas to live on, the young couple either had to ask the political authority to allocate them a plot, or they had to rent one belonging either to a relative or an unrelated person.

595 The ideal type of residence of a polygynous family was a compound for each wife surrounded by its own cultivated area. These rugo could be on the same homestead or on several homesteads. The latter arrangement was more frequent with Tutsi than with Hutu. None of these compounds was more important than the others, except occasionally. The husband had no rugo regarded as being more his residence than the others.

Between these two sharply different types of family organization, there were intermediate kinds. If it happened that a Ruanda wanted a second wife, he looked for one even if he could not afford a second compound. She lived then in the same compound as the first wife, in a separate hut. But such an arrangement was regarded as unfortunate, and should be assimilated to that of a nuclear family notwithstanding the plurality of wives.

121 We will now consider whether and how these types of organization fulfilled the functions that might be expected of any type of family, for some of these functions seem to be fulfilled by all the family structures known, and the others by most of them. The points to be considered are: sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, socialization, and ritual.

(a) *Sexual relations*

581 The Ruanda distinguish the sexual from the procreational function of marriage. Neither the husband, nor apparently the wife, ever feared (except in very unhappy circumstances of poverty) that pregnancy might result from any particular act of
[842] intercourse; on the contrary such an event was usually longed for. As some informants said, why have relations with a sterile woman? Sexuality, however, had for them a value in itself.

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under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not available, it was socially permitted to have another partner (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

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833 were growing, when a child had his hair cut in tufts for the first time, at the initiation into the Ryangombe sect, when a daughter was asked to marry, on the wedding day of a son or a daughter, on the accession of a new king, at sowing time, and at the celebration for July harvesting. All these events were happy and joyful because they were growths or increases in life. Intercourse was also obligatory at the end of the mourning periods when life had to go on and start again after that period of abeyance.

This obligatory intercourse took place between husband and wife. When it was impossible because one of the spouses was absent or dead, one had to rely upon a privileged partner, or, if this was impossible, had to get medicine prepared from certain herbs by a diviner.

There was no prohibition of intercourse between the spouses [853] during the suckling months (the first eighteen to twenty-four).

(*b*) *Economic co-operation*

595 [594] The nuclear family and, to a large extent each wife's compound in polygamous cases, was a self-sufficient unit of economic co-operation. Among rich Tutsi who could afford separate homesteads for their wives, each wife was in fact the superintendent of her own. She had to command her husband's clients, servants, cultivators, and herdsmen. It was no wonder that women who could be entrusted with such responsibilities were respected within their family and in society at large. If the homestead was small, as among ordinary Tutsi, or consisted only of a small cultivated plot, as among most Hutu polygamists, each of these wives had, nevertheless, some economic responsibility, even if it was only that of working by herself in the fields. This important participation of polygynous wives in the management of a small unit of production and consumption, should be studied in relation to the 562 status of women in Ruanda.[9] This status was by no means equal to that of men but it was far from being one of slavery. Tutsi [593] husbands and wives ate together, the wife was consulted by her husband on many problems, and she was treated with much politeness. The Hutu were ruder and more temperamental, but they followed a more or less similar pattern. Under the present administration there are two or three women, widows of Tutsi chiefs, who act as sub-chiefs. The mere fact that it is taken for

[9] See Naigiziki, 1959.

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Boys from Twelve To

883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several
[22A] days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place
869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage
[603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grand-father. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of
867 behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed
[868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to
[867] be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she
[428] was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

595 The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been
593 mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favour-
183 ite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But
[152] according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and
000 one wife used to refer to another as her *muheba*, rival. In these

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conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(*e*) *Ritual function*

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

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Nothing was definitely left to the wife, the daughters or the 428
affines. But the wife had the usufruct of the rugo in which she had 768
been living while she still had young children to care for. Even when all the children were married, it happened frequently among Tutsi that the wife remained in the rugo till her death. This was usual when the widow married one of her husband's consanguineal relatives, or did not marry again. If she married a man completely [587]
alien to her former husband's patrilineage, usually she had to leave the rugo.

The father, before he died, had already given a share of the 428
inheritance to each of his married sons, at the time of the wedding. Consequently, what was left at the father's death had to be divided among the sons who had not yet received anything. In principle rights to cattle as well as to land were equally shared. When bare ownership of cattle was divided between the sons of a lord, the clients of the father became clients of the son to whom the bare ownership of a particular cow or herd of cattle had been ascribed. When usufruct on cattle had to be inherited, the successors became clients of the people who had the bare ownership of the same cattle. But the lord had to agree on the choice of his new client.

In a polygynous family the principle of equality of shares held [595]
good for each rugo. Consequently the shares of the sons of the same father could vary considerably if the number of sons of each wife was very dissimilar.

The son chosen as head of the rugo had a supplementary share (*ingarigari*) as he had more economic responsibilities. Normally he received it before his father's death. This was called *gukubita itoko*, to stroke the thigh, meaning to give a favour.

Debts owed by the deceased were divided between his heirs, 426
but the family head had to meet a greater part than the others. 428
Judiciary fines were cancelled by the death of the debtor. When the deceased was creditor, the debt had to be paid by the rugo head who shared it with his co-heirs.

The father could also make a will and usually did. He could 428
alter the traditional procedure within rather narrow limits, and for reasons regarded as valid by the patrilineage head or sometimes the political chief or the lord. A son who had been cursed was *ipso facto* disinherited. A son could be punished in the same way

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
[591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the
562 general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
[564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
578 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
[183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.
[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law 554
constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are 557
persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched 578
that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the [595]
former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same 554
pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to 264
look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no 554
comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always [858]
inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to 554
changes in social role according to age. The changes of social 561
status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, 562
then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five [885]
years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to 431
like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to 554
receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwamikazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. 562
He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. 593
For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an 152
imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity 593
to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by 837
this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information [557]
from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. [831]
Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep [833]
with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a [601]
highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with [578]
another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a poly- 152
gamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every 595
other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to [832]
quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

586 she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with
593 her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but
[587] abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of
[564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside,
[567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

606 In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her
592 daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The
607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority
592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his
578 wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same
● 595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of
564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced
[586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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[2]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dons le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954. 184 113

[3]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi. 184

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help. 564 323

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

SECTION I. PERSONAL STATUS

CHAPTER I. THE FAMILY AND THE CLAN

1. Generalities

596 The family sensu stricto (rugo) (1) is more inclusive than in

[196]

1. The rugo is the enclosure in which are the hut, the granaries, and the stables. By extension, this word designates the family in the strict sense of the word. In the plural: ingo.

our countries. It includes the father; his wives and their children, whether married or not; the father's brothers; and their wives and children. Formerly, the slaves taken in war (abanyagano) (2) were

[567]

2. Cf. also Marriage, p. 15; Birth and Filiation, p. 29; Government and Administration, Nationality, p. 70; Social Classes, p. 91; Right of War, p. 92.

also part of it.

[566] The Bahutu, serfs of the Batutsi, have their own rugo. The Ruanda family is of the patriarchal type. Filiation counts in the [611] paternal line (3); the child does not necessarily take the name of his

3. The children are nevertheless considered, in a way, as belonging to both father's family and the mother's. The Banyarwanda say: Umuntu akomoka iwabo wase nanyina, that is to say, "the man proceeds from both (families), his father's and his mother's."

596
591 father (4); paternal authority is exercised by the father, and the wife

4. This was even rare before European penetration.

596 [591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[595] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 596 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a childless man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A [563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a [428] brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has [562] the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother [586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (umutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 428 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

614 The clan (umulyango) (4) or inzu includes all those who claim

4. Not to be confused with umúlyango, "door."

a common ancestor who is founder of the [9] race. In the course of time the clan has become divided into several subclans (imilyango).

The clan and the subclan have names (ubgoko) that recall the name of the founder. Thus the members of the umulyango of the Abanyiginya are the descendants of Kimanuka who is the Umunyiginya (the first of the Abanyiginya). Ndabarasa, son of the Mwami Rujugira Chyirima, who became king under the name of Kigeri, was the Umurabarasa, the first of the umulyango of the Abarabarasa or Ibigina. This last name is what they are called at the present time.

614 775 Each umulyango possesses one or several animal totems (ibiziro). For example, the totems of the Abanyiginya are the crested crane (umusambi) and the ox-pecker (inyange); that of the Abega is the toad (igikeri); that of the Abagessera is the wagtail (inyamanza). The member of a clan will never kill such a bird, for example, because he believes that it contains the spirit of an ancestor.

614 563 The Bahutu belong to the same umulyango as the Batutsi and possess the same totems. However, they have a different name. For example, those who live with the Abega and the Abanyiginya are called respectively Abasavere and Abasindi.

2. The Head of the Family and of the Clan

596 The head of the family sensu stricto (umutware w'urago rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) is normally the father. After his death, one of his sons, not necessarily the eldest, succeeds him. It may happen that the widow of the family head provisionally directs the rugo if her husband has died without designating his successor or when his sons are still children (1). [10]

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1. While still forming part of her [own] umulyango, the wife is, so to speak, incorporated into her husband's inzu if she has children. But she does not take the name of her husband's umulyango. The

614 wife always remains a stranger to her husband's clan and keeps her own totem.

596 614 The umutware w'urugo rwa se is only slightly important and this word is seldom used. More important is the umutware w'urugo rwa bo (lit., of them), also called umutware w'umulyango, who has command both of his rugo and the umulyango.

614 The umulyango is a social entity without any political value. Thus Rwabutogo, chief of the umulyango of the Abega, owns only the province of East Buganza. In matters of family and cattle he commands Rwagatakara, who in turn commands Rwabusisi, chief of Buliza and South Buganza.

614 689 425 The umutware w'umulyango exercises a paternal jurisdiction over all the members of his group. If they disobey him seriously he can drive them out and seize their cattle (indemano, inkazibiti) except for the animals they have received as a gift from the king (ingabane) (1). However, it is the Mwami who has the right of

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 42.

[166] eviction. In addition, if the king sees that an injustice has been committed, he authorizes the one who has been the victim to settle elsewhere so as to remove himself from the jurisdiction of the chief of the umulyango, without however ceasing to belong to the clan. If the Mwami asks the umulundo (2) from the chief of the umulyango,

2. That is to say, lit., "wishes to see the cattle of his cattle." He takes only one or two animals.

the latter can in turn claim some inyiturano (3) from his family. On

3. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

the other hand, the chief of the umulyango can show his favor to those of his relatives with whom he is satisfied by giving them some ingabane.

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184

and in Rukiga (provinces of Mulera and Bugoyi) where the land cleared and cultivated by the Bahutu are subject to a right of family property. This right is sacred and the Batutsi, whose power in these regions is rather nominal, know that they cannot dispute it without exposing themselves to serious miscalculations and even to bloody reprisals.

423 [622] [415] The hill chief also has the right to take a plot of land (ubugerure) from the Bahutu in order to form an ubuka which he wishes to give to someone else or to keep as his own property (imilima y'inyarulembo). The part of the plot that is left to the Muhutu is called isagu.

[428] The Muhutu can transmit his right of exploitation to his son by inheritance. Land that passes from one generation to the next is called indeka.

[596] Land is sometimes held collectively by a family in the person of its head (isambu or ingobyi y'iwabo). Members of the family pay him no rent and, to the exclusion of strangers, have the right to cut firewood and graze their cattle there.

[622] There are also communal woods (itshanya). The hill chief reserves part of them for himself and allows the hill people to exploit the remainder.

[563] The Batwa claim to be the legitimate occupants of the forests. For this reason they often enter into disputes with the Bahutu living near the wooded regions.

[622] Mines and quarries of clay are the property of the chief, but he allows his people to [43] supply themselves there in exchange for a payment (a hoe or some pots).

The boundaries (imbibi) of fields are usually marked by small ditches (impavu) or piles of stones (ibishyinga).

There are no neutral zones between lands.

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423 An inkungu is a piece of ground that has been abandoned because of the holder's voluntary departure or death without leaving an heir. A man who has been cursed by his father or driven out by the chief because of repeated thefts of cattle, for example, must also abandon his plot. The chief can offer an inkungu (or an ubugerure) to a stranger to the hill who asks to settle there. If he is a Muhutu, he is

SECTION III. INHERITANCE

1. Basis of the Law of Inheritance

428 The principles regulating the laws of inheritance are:

1) Wives and daughters are excluded from inheritance for they can neither bequeath nor inherit valuables.

2) In principle, the inheritance remains in the male paternal line (2);

> 2. A boy may also inherit from his mother's family but only if the deceased, a relative of his mother, has expressed his wish before dying and also, of course, if he has no natural heirs. It may also happen that a stranger inherits from the deceased, if the latter has no heirs.

3) The new head of the family is normally, but not necessarily, the eldest of the sons, with no distinction made between mothers.

2. Designation of the New Head of the Family

[765] The period of mourning (kwirabura, lit., to become black) and the
596 purification ceremonies (kwera, lit., to become white) being over, that
428 is, two months after the death (3), the [61] designation of the new head

> 3. The time is reduced to a few days if the couple have not had any children.

of the family (umutware w'urugo rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) takes place.

If the father has died without having been able to make his wishes known, this choice is made by the chief of the umulyango who asks beforehand the advice of the elders. It matters little whether the sons are of different mothers (polygyny, or successive marriages), whether they are legitimate, born of a concubine, or adulterine. Only the qualities required of a future head of the family are taken into consideration.

[763] Usually, feeling his end to be near, the father calls the chief
596 of the umulyango and two friends. He dictates to them his last wishes.
428 The wives of a polygamous man do not hesitate to intrigue in favor of their sons and attempt to circumvent their husband -- or even his brother -- using both their charms and their most subtle arguments. The situation is the same in the case of successive marriages.

It is easily understood that often the other sons, especially if they are of different mothers, feel themselves wronged, rightly or wrongly.
[691] But they are given the opportunity of demanding justice from the Mwami, the provincial chief, or the hill chief, according to whether they are sons of umutware w'intebe, of igisonga, or simple Batutsi or Bahutu. These authorities will ratify the choice made by the father or the uncle, or else will decide what other young man will succeed his father.

If there is no male descendant, the high position of head of the family falls on the oldest brother of the deceased. In this case, the heir will be both head of his rugo and of his brother's.

He may also be, at the same time, chief of the umulyango, that
[614] is to say, of the clan. This is the umutware w'umulyango (or the umutware rwa bo).

If all the brothers have disappeared, their sons inherit by right of primogeniture. [62]

If the deceased has neither sons, nor brothers, nor nephews in his line, his father will succeed him, or in his absence, the father's brother or one of his male descendants by right of primogeniture.

The Bahutu and the Batwa have their own umutware w'urugo. But they are dependent on the same umulyango chief as the Batutsi.

3. Composition of the Inheritance

428 In addition to the high position of head of the family, the inheritance includes:

1) The heavy cattle
2) The clients (abagaragu)
3) Particularly among the Bahutu, the goats and sheep
4) Landed property (1)
5) Movables, personal property (1)

1. Cf. Property, Property in General, p. 34.

596 [591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[595] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

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client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

429 chosen as guardian. In this capacity he exercises the prerogatives
768 of the paternal authority and manages for his wards the property left by the deceased.

If the male relatives on the paternal side have died, one of the maternal uncles will be guardian. In effect as each of the couple continues to belong to his and her umulyango, the children are members of both families.

429 Emancipation, which occurs normally at the moment of marriage comes when the young man reaches eighteen years of age. But it may happen that the children, having reason to complain of their guardian, go and seek justice, according to their rank, from the hill chief, the provincial chief, or the Mwami. When they are grown they may even emancipate themselves (proprio motu) by driving out their unworthy guardian.

8. Irregular Inheritance

428 While daughters are excluded from inheriting by the law of inheritance, they are always presented with gifts by the new head of the family, at least when he is their brother.

As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the following case may arise: A Muhutu, umugaragu of a rich Mututsi, has a daughter who is a servant to his master and who is married to another servant. When his client dies, instead of taking back the cows, the master can give them to the daughter's husband, who thus becomes his umagaragu.

When a wife dies, the few ornaments she owns (necklaces, bracelets) do not go to her daughter, but to her stepdaughters (her husband's daughters). With the political chief's permission, the mother may also give them to her son who was living with her and who will later on give them to his wife.

428 A man who has no sons (inchike) or who has cursed them may adopt
● 597 a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu) [73], or in his absence, a son of his sister (umwishywa). He promises him his inheritance and his inheritance and his nephew becomes his true son (1).

1. Cf. Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4.

357 The domestic bondsmen, the servants, are an important
567 element in the social structure and the economic life. Neither in Urundi nor in Ruanda does slavery exist -- or rather, it no longer exists. In fact, the Batussi do not need slaves for the Bahutu are all bondsmen of the Batussi rulers and provide all the services that are required of slaves in other parts of East Africa. On the other hand, until the turn of the century, there existed quite a brisk slave trade out of Urundi to other areas. This was carried on under the influence of the Arabs and the coastal dwellers, with the Wawira, Bassuwi, Wassumbwa, and Wanjamwesi acting as middlemen. Not only did the Barundi sell their countrymen as slaves, in particular the women and girls, but also orphans were sold by their relatives, and even children by their own parents (No. 19, p. 212). The purchase price was paid in salt, pearls, and iron hoes. Pretty Batussi girls fetched the highest prices and were destined for the harems of the Arabs, prosperous coast Negroes, or the Wanjamwesi. As recently as 1900 there were public slave auctions in Uha (Heru) and in Usámbiro. Mainly slaves from Ruanda (Kissaka) and Urundi were sold there. A witness wrote at that time: "All the roads are full of slave trains, almost all of them women and girls. Eight out of ten female slaves perish, for these children of the mountains only rarely survive in a different climate" (No. 14, 1900, p. 178). At present, as the German occupation progresses, these atrocities have been stopped, and only rarely and under the cloak of secrecy is a girl or a child from Urundi sold into slavery in the neighboring areas.

[97] In Urundi itself, however, in the households of many
357 influential families, especially of the Batussi, there are, in-
●597 stead of the domestic slaves, bond servants or maids (abaschumwi).
592 Although they are personally free, they have to work for the master and receive only room and board in exchange. They get their jobs by a kind of adoption; someone who has no relatives or who, for some reason or other, wants to leave his family will offer his permanent services to a prosperous Murundi or to a mutwale. The latter takes him into his home and treats him

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
559 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

766 of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be
643 worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites
[782] and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, whereupon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan. As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the
[897] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his relatives.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him:
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

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2. THE FAMILY

Two basic types of family were to be found in Ruanda: the nuclear family which was the most widespread, and the polygynous family. The Ruanda polygynous family constituted a type of organization fundamentally different from the nuclear family. It was not just a nuclear family with a few more persons, the secondary wives and their children, but a structure composed of several elements, each of them constituting almost a nuclear family from the sexual, economic, procreational, and educational points of view. On the other hand, the polygynous family was not an aggregate of nuclear families because the uniqueness of the husband gave to the various elements a type of integration different from that merely of a sum of nuclear families.

A nuclear family (*rugo*) was composed of a man, his wife, and their children. It could happen that some additional persons lived with them, such as the widowed mother of one of the spouses or an old female relative (old men usually lived by themselves, with the help of a grandson). There could also be a child, a son, or a daughter of the husband's brother or even of the husband's sister (if the bride-wealth had not been given for his sister), or a child of the wife's brother.

Adopted children were also included in the rugo. These could only be children who had no lineage relatives left. Tutsi children, when adopted by Tutsi, were treated, while they were young, as if they were the adopter's own children; Hutu children if adopted by Tutsi were considered as clients. But adoption did not confer the full status enjoyed by an offspring of the adopter: the ward could marry a descendant of his foster-father. Cases of adoption seem to have been frequent and people appear to have been so eager to adopt that we may suspect that all the advantages were not for the child. The Ruanda highly appreciated all children, and this attitude accounts for the fact that a child was as such always welcomed in a family. Moreover, the man adopting a child expected more material advantages: a girl's marriage brought him the benefit of a new family connexion and boys could be as useful as his sons without having a right to inheritance. Our informants say that most of the boys when grown up fled away, hoping to find some distant relative of their own.

The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called

3. Laws of the Family and the Clan

614 1. It is forbidden to marry a person belonging to the same umulyango, whatever the degree [of relationship]. Only the Abanyiginya, the clan from which the kings come, may marry [11] within their [own] inzu (1) and a fortiori into the other imilyango.

1. The reason for this endogamy must be sought in the fact that, according to legend, Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu.

However, marriage is forbidden with the Abatshyaba, the Abungura, and the Abakomankali. They usually marry the Abega.

The Abega (the family providing the queens), the Abagessera, the Abakono, the Abaha, and the Abasinga may not marry within their [own] umulyango nor into the other inzu. They are allowed to marry the Abunguru and Abakomankali, but not the Abatshyaba.

[426] [672] 2. The active and passive solidarity [joint and separate liability] in the matter of debts exists only on the paternal side (iwabo wa se) and not in the mother's umulyango (iwabo wa nyina).

The same is true in penal matters unless it is a case of a blood debt.

4. Table of Names Indicating Relationship through Kinship and Marriage

601 Those who are members of the same umulyango are called abagil'ichyobahuriycho, abagil' ichyobapfana, or, and it is the most frequently used and most precise term, abafit'isano.

Husband: umugabo
Wife: umugore
The husband of two wives: umugabo z'ishyali
One of the wives speaking of the other: umukeba wa njye
The husband speaking of one or the other [of the wives]: umukeba we

Son:
1) When the mother speaks: umuhungu wa njye
2) When another wife of the father speaks: umuhungu wa mukeba wa njye or umuhungu w'umugabo wa njye

601 Daughter:

1) When the mother speaks: umukobga wa njye [12]
2) When another wife of the father speaks: umukobga w'umukeba wa njye

Father: data
Mother: mama } Parents: ababyeyi

The second wife of my father: muka data
Each of the other wives of my father: muka data

Brothers and sisters:

A. — Of the same father and the same mother: abo tuv'indimwe kwa data na mama

a) Brother (a boy speaks)
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye (big brother)
2) Younger brother: murumuna wanjye (little brother)
3) Twin: uwo dusangiye data na mama

b) Sister (a boy speaks):
1) Eldest: mushiki manjye mukuru
2) Younger sister: mushiki wanjye muto
3) Twin: mushiki wanjye (implying, twavutse impanga)

a) Brother (a girl speaks):
1) Eldest: musaza wanjye mukuru
2) Younger brother: musaza wanjye muto
3) Twin: uwo (implying, twavutse impanga)

b) Sister (a girl speaks)
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye
2) Younger sister: murumuna wanjye
3) Twin: uwo (implying, twavutse impanga)

B. — Of the same father and different mothers: bene data

a) Brother (a boy speaks):
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data
2) Younger brother: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data

b) Sister (a boy speaks)
1) Eldest: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo kwa data
2) Younger sister: mushiki wanjye muto wo kwa data

a) Brother (a girl speaks)
1) Eldest: musaza wanjye mukuru wo kwa data
2) Younger brother: musaza wanjye muto wo kwa data

601 b) Sister (a girl speaks)
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data
2) Younger sister: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data [13]

C. — Of the same mother and different fathers:
a) Brother (a boy speaks)
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama
2) Younger brother: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama
b) Sister (a boy speaks)
1) Eldest: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama
2) Younger sister: mushiki wanjye muto wo mwa mama
a) Brother (a girl speaks)
1) Eldest: musaza wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama
2) Younger brother: musaza wanjye muto wo mwa mama
b) Sister (a girl speaks):
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama
2) Younger sister: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama

Paternal grandfather: sogokuru
Paternal grandmother: nyogokuru
Maternal grandfather: sogokuro ubyara mama
Maternal grandmother: nyogokuru ubyara mama
Grandchildren: abuzukuru

Paternal great-grandfather: sogokuruza
Paternal great-grandmother: nyogokuruza
Maternal great-grandfather: sogokuruza ubyara mama
Maternal great-grandmother: nyogokuruza ubyara mama
Great-grandchildren: abuzukuruza

Paternal uncle: sewabo (or tata wachu
Paternal aunt: masenge
Maternal uncle: marume (my uncle), nyirarume (his uncle)
Maternal aunt: mama wachu
Nephew (son of my brother) (a man speaks): umuhungu wachu
Niece (daughter of my brother) umukobwa wachu
Nephew (son of my sister) (a man speaks) umwishywa
Niece (daughter of my sister) (a man speaks): umwishywa m'umukobwa [14]
Nephew (the paternal aunt speaks): mwisengeneza wanjye
Nephew (the maternal aunt speaks): umwana wanjye

601 Niece (the paternal aunt speaks): mwisengeneza wanjye

Sons and daughters of the paternal uncle (cousins): bene data wachu

a) Cousin (a boy speaks)
1) Older: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data wachu
2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data wachu
3) Of the same age: mwene data wachu

b) Girl cousin (a boy speaks):
1) Older: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo kwa data wachu
2) Younger: mushiki wanjye muto wo kwa data wachu
3) Of the same age: mushiki wanjye wo kwa data wachu

a) Cousin (a girl speaks):
1) Older: musaza wanjye mukuru wo kwa data wachu
2) Younger: musaza wanjye muto wo kwa data wachu
3) Of the same age: musaza wanjye wo kwa data wachu

b) Girl cousin (a girl speaks):
1) Older: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data wachu
2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data wachu
3) Of the same age: umuvanadimwe wo kwa data wachu, or more simply, mwene data wachu

Sons and daughters of the paternal aunt (cousins): ababyara bo kwa masenge (1)

Niece (the maternal aunt speaks): umwana wanjye

Sons and daughters of the maternal aunts: (cousins): ababyara

a) Cousin (a boy speaks)
Older: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama wachu
2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama wachu
3) Of the same age: mwene mama wachu

b) Girl cousin (a boy speaks):
1) Older: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama wachu
2) Younger: mushiki wanjye muto wo mwa mama wachu
3) Of the same age: mushiki wanjye wo mwa mama wachu

a) Cousin (a girl speaks):
1) Older: musaza wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama wachu
2) Younger: musaza wanjye muto wo mwa mama wachu
3) Of the same age: musaza wanjye wo mwa mama wachu [16]

b) Girl cousin (a girl speaks):
1) Older: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama wachu
2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama wachu
3) Of the same age: uwo wanjye wo mwa mama wachu

Sons and daughters of the maternal uncle (cousins): ababyara bo marume (1)

1. These are not distinguished by age nor

•661

whether a boy or a girl speaks of the children of his or her paternal aunt or his or her maternal uncle.

Paternal great-uncle: sogokuruza
Maternal great-uncle: sogokuruza wo mwa mama
Paternal great-aunt: nyogokuruza wo kwa data
Maternal great-aunt: nyogokuruza wo mwa mama
Great-nephews: abuzukuruza

Father-in-law (father of my wife): databukwe
Mother-in-law (mother of my wife): mabukwe

Father-in-law (father of my husband): databukwe
Mother-in-law (mother of my husband): mabukwe

Son-in-law (husband of my daughter):
A man speaks: umukwe
A woman speaks: umukwe wanjye
Daughter-in-law (wife of my son):
A man speaks: umukazana
A woman speaks: umukwe wanjye [16]
Brother-in-law:
(a man speaks)
1) Husband of my sister: muramu wanjye
2) Brother of my wife: muramu
3) Husband of my wife's sister: musanzire wanjye
(A woman speaks)
1) Husband of my sister: muramu wanjye
2) Brother of my husband: umugabo wanjye
3) Husband of my husband's sister: muramu wachu
Sister-in-law:
(a man speaks)
1) Wife of my brother: umugore wachu
2) Sister of my wife: muramu
3) Wife of my wife's brother: umugore wa muramu wanjye
4) Second wife of my sister's husband: mukeba wa mushiki wanjye
(a woman speaks)
1) Wife of my brother: muramukazi

•601 2) Sister of my husband: muramukazi wanjye
3) Wife of my husband's brother: mukeba wanjye
4) Second wife of my sister's husband: umugore wa muramu wanjye or mukeba w'uwo tuv'indimwe

Those who have married two sisters: abasanzire
Two men, each of whom has married the sister of the other: abaramu
Father of my son-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Mother of my son-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Brother of my son-in-law: umukwe wanjye
Sister of my son-in-law: umwana wanjye
Father of my daughter-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Mother of my daughter-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Brother of my daughter-in-law: umukwe wanjye
Sister of my daughter-in-law: umwana wanjye [17]

5. The Blood Pact

608 The blood pact (kunywana) is practiced throughout the whole of Ruanda and particularly by the Bahutu. Blood brothers (abanywanyi) can depend on each other completely. They must help each other in the most difficult circumstances of life and may even mutually dispose of their property (1) and their wives (2).

1. By special agreement.

2. With the consent of the wives.

The interested parties, each one assisted by a witness who will guarantee the other party's observation of the pact, sit down on a mat in the hut of one of them. Each of the witnesses cuts a leaf of coral erythrin (muko) and removes the stalk; he rolls the leaf into a cone shape and pours into it a little sorghum flour. Then with a small knife he makes an incision below the navel of the one he is assisting. He presses the sides of the cut to make the blood flow, collects it in the cone, and mixes it with the flour, using the leaf stalk. Then each party drinks the mixture called gihango (lit., blood) presented to him by the other's witness. The witnesses then pronounce imprecations (kutanga) in the name of their respective clients in order to seal the pact: "If you find me ill or wounded on the road and do not help me, may the gihango kill you."

595 Although a wife feeds herself and the market price for a woman is trifling the Bahutu, nevertheless the man must build and maintain a house for each woman. The amount of work this entails, considering the perishability of the straw buildings, seems to be an important factor in curtailing polygamy. In some cases, it is true, several wives get along with each other in one house, but the lack of a separate hut is considered a great disadvantage and usually results in a woman's departure.

612 The family in the wider sense of the term includes the more distant relatives.

If the child is regarded as the center of the family, only the ancestors in the male line of the father as well as of the mother are considered. The ancestors in the female line are disregarded. Of the various branches of the family only uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces are to be mentioned, as well as the corresponding relatives of the husband or wife.

601 In the Kinyaruanda language there is a word, basekuru, for the abstract concept "ancestor," but there is no word for the concept "father," and one must always say "my father," "your father," "his father." For "grandfather," too, there is no special designation; sekuru really means "his grandfather," and the concept "your grandfather" must be expressed by sokuru.

[217] In the following table we list the expressions for the closer relatives. (See following pages.)

Older close relatives are simply called uncle, data wachu. More distant relatives are referred to as mwene wachu.

The term wachu used so much in the table of relatives is really a possessive pronoun and means "our," just as wanyu means "your" and wabo, "their."

The stepfather is referred to simply as the husband of the mother or brother of the father. [218] The latter designation refers to the fact that a husband's brother falls heir to his widow.

It should be noted that in kinship terms the father's brothers and the mother's sister are treated as two parallel groups, the members of which can intermarry.

562 Position of Women. In Ruanda the woman is regarded, in
264 principle, as a lower creature, and married couples never eat together in public. In private, I have repeatedly observed that they usually do eat together.

	Father's Side	Mother's Side
Ancestors	basekuru	
Great-grandfather, great-grandmother	sekuruza, nyinakuruza	sengeneza, nyinangeneza
Grandfather, grandmother	sekuru, nyinakuru	senge, nyinange
My (our) father, my (our) mother	data, mama	
Your (sing. and pl.) father, mother	so, nyoko	
His [or her] (their) father, mother	se, nyina	
My husband	mugabo wanye	
My wife	mugore wanye	
Son, daughter	umwana	
Grandchild	musukuru	
Great-grandchild	musukuruza	
Brother of my father, brother of my mother	data wachu	marumi
Brother of your father, brother of your mother	so wanyu	nyoko rumi
Brother of his [or her] father, brother of his mother	se wabo	nyina rumi
Sister of father, sister of my mother	nyina senge	mama wachu
Sister of your mother		nyoko wanya
Sister of his [or her] mother		nyina wabo

(continued)

	Father's Side	Mother's Side
A boy says, "my sister"	mushiki wanje	
A boy says, "my brother"	mwene data	mwene nyina
A girl says, "my sister"	mwene data	mwene nyina
A girl says, "my brother"	musaza wanje	

The children of two brothers call each other: mwene data wachu.
The children of the mother's brother are called: mwene marumi.
The children of the father's sister are called: babyara (singular: mubyara).
More distant cousins are also called: babyara.
The brother's son is called: umushungu wabo.
The brother's daughter is called: umugore wabo or umukobga wabo.
The uncle calls his sister's child: muishwa.
The grandfather calls his daughter's child: akamumuishwa.
The wife of my son is called: umukazana.
The father of my husband is called: sebukwe.
My wife's brother is called: umuramu.
My wife's sister is called: umuramukazi.

794 575 184 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences. We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 575 198 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

[601] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 575 782 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom everyone may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to Ryangombe and his disciples and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253 — Analyst]

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613 Umulyango appears to have been the group of living people
571 who would have belonged to the same inzu if that primitive inzu had not split into new ones. This explains the fluidity of the use of the term. For instance the word 'Abareganshuro' (people of Mureganshuro) has meant first 'the members of the inzu of Mureganshuro'; then, after the splitting of that inzu, 'the members of the umulyango of Mureganshuro'. When an inzu divided into different new ones, the ancestor of the former one became the ancestor of the umulyango. Thus the umulyango link existed between members of different inzu having the same origin.

As may be expected, the strength of these links was quite different at the time of the splitting and a few generations afterwards. This accounts for the fact that in some cases the umulyango appears almost as a corporate group very similar to an inzu, and in other cases as a purely nominal group.

The span of life of an umulyango seems less defined than that of an inzu. It is doubtful, however, whether it was longer. Suppose inzu A splits into B and C and becomes umulyango A. Six generations later inzu B splits into inzu D and E and becomes umulyango B. At that time it is very likely that the primitive ancestor being twelve generations past will not be clearly remembered and that, except for some extraordinary reason, he will be superseded by the ancestor of umulyango B.

614 Descent groups in Ruanda were thus of two different types
613 A permanent group, the ubwoko which fulfilled the definition of patriclan (if exogamy be excluded from that definition) and two temporary groups, inzu and umulyango, the second being rather the surviving shadow of the first. The latter were both patrilineages. As they were not segments in the same sense as among, e.g.
613 the Nuer, it would be misleading to differentiate them according
128 to the terminology of Evans-Pritchard.[7] We would suggest calling inzu a primary and umulyango a secondary patrilineage in order to convey the idea that the umulyango originated from the inzu and that the inzu's functions were more important for the individual and society at large than those of the umulyango.[8]

[7] Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-4.

[8] Members of the inzu were called *bavandimwe* (which primarily means sibling), agnatic relatives, *benemacu* and relatives, affines included, *abaca*.

[601]

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121 interactions of Ego and Alter once an organized system of interaction between themselves has become stabilized. 'Alter expects Ego to behave in given situational conditions in certain relatively specific ways, or at least within relatively specific limits.'[10]

613 Members of an inzu were supposed to have more confidence in each other and to be readier to help and sympathize with each other than with outsiders. Within the inzu itself, each member was expected to assume a certain role which defined, within narrow limits, expected behaviour towards other lineage members. 613 Before these intra-inzu roles are described, a list of kinship terms 601 used within the inzu to address or designate members, will be given. Some characteristics of these behaviour patterns are reflected in the terminology, as, for instance, the predominance within the lineage of the horizontal or generation principle of grouping over the vertical grouping by branches of the lineage.

601 Data will be presented first and implications analysed at a later stage. Our point of reference will be the conventional Ego. All the terms and their symbolizations are to be understood as relating to Ego who is a male (Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa). The same terms are used by a male as by a female, except where otherwise indicated: f.s. (female speaking) and m.s. (male speaking).

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's father		
Fa	Data	Data
FaBr	Data	Datawacu (father-our)
FaSi	Mama	Masenge (mother through father)
FaFaBrSo	Data	Datawacu
FaFaBrDa	Mama	Masenge
FaFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Datawacu
FaFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Masenge
II. The generation of Ego's grandfather		
FaFa	Sogokuru (kuru = great)	Sogokuru
FaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
FaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
FaFaFaBrSo	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
FaFaFaBrDa	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's great-grandfather		
FaFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
FaFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
FaFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

[10] Parsons and Shils, 1951, p. 19.

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
IV. The other generations above		
Ancestor		Igisokuru
V. Ego's generation		
Br, ½ pat Br	Muvandinwe (from same womb)	Mwenedata (child of father)
YoBr, ½ YoBr (pat)	Muvandimwe	Murumunawanjye (murumu = little)
ElBr, ½ pat ElBr	Muvandimwe	Mukutuwahjye (mukuru = great)
Br (f.s.)	Muvandimwe	Musazawanjye (wanjye = my)
Si, ½ pat Si	Muvandimwe	Mwenedata
YoSi, ½ pat YoSi	Muvandimwe	Murumunawanjye
ElSi, ½ pat ElSi	Muvandimwe	Mukurumwanjye (Mukuru = great)
Si (m.s.)		Mushikiwanjye
FaBrSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu (child of our Fa)
FaBrSo (f.s.)		Musazawacu
FaBrDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu
FaBrDa (m.s.)		Mushikiwacu
FaFaBrSoSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu
FaFaBrSoDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu
FaFaFaBrSoSoSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu
FaFaFaBrSoSoDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenedatawacu
VI. The generation of Ego's son		
So	Mwana (child)	Muhunguwanjye (boy-my)
Da	Mwana (child)	Mukobwawanjye (girl-my)
BrSo (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muhunguwacu (boy-our)
BrSo (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Musengenezawanjye
BrDa (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Mukobwawacu (girl-our)
BrDa (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Musengenezawanjye
FaBrSoSo (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muhunguwacu
FaBrSoSo (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muzengenezawacu
FaBrSoDa (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Mukobwawacu
FaBrSoDa (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Musengenezawacu
FaFaBrSoSoSo (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muhunguwacu
FaFaBrSoSoSo (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muzengenezawacu
FaFaBrSoSoDa (m.s.)	Mwana (child)	Mukobwawacu
FaFaBrSoSoDa (f.s.)	Mwana (child)	Muzengenezawacu
VII. The generation of Ego's grandchildren		
SoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruwanjye
SoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruwanjye
BrSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruwacu
BrSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruwacu
FaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruwacu
FaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruwacu

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren		
SoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruza
SoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruza
IX. The other generations under		
Descendant		Ubuvivi[11]

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

593 During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other [881] comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely [882] and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not [883] have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in 593 different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the 868 Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

593 When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as [583] Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, [681] which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating [606] his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

[11] Compare with Vanhove, 1941, pp. 11-16.

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obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhungumacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwamacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezamanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *umambomeye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

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activities of her husband's inzu and was not bound by all the 613
obligations common to the members of her own inzu, a few words 562
should be added about her behaviour in this connexion.

She participated in the cult of Ego's (=her husband's) ancestor and of her own ancestor, but she was not allowed to build a shrine in honour of her ancestor in Ego's enclosure. She gave the ritual gifts at the birth of a child in her own inzu as well as in Ego's inzu, and did the same at marriage ceremonies. In times of mourning, Ego's inzu was predominant: his wife had to practise [765] sexual abstention for two or three months when Ego's parents died. For her own parents she was not bound by any such observances. She received protection from her husband's group, but from her own only when she had disputes with Ego's lineage

2. THE DESCENT GROUP OF EGO'S MOTHER

A man (or a woman) was not a member of his mother's patri- 602
lineage, which is why in the preceding section only his agnates were considered. But the picture of Ego's position in kinship relations would be incomplete if it were limited to that. Ego's mother's agnates were not complete strangers to him. In everyday life, he met them often and his culture provided him with roles to assume in these circumstances. In some cases Ego's behaviour to 'maternal' kin was very similar to that which he was expected to observe towards the agnatic counterpart of that kin.

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's mother		
Mo	Mama	Mama
MoBr	Data	Marume
MoSi	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaBrSo	Data	Marume
MoFaBrDa	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Marume
MoFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Mamawacu
II. The generation of Ego's maternal grandfather		
MoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's maternal great-grandfather		
MoFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
IV. Ego's generation		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[15]

Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old widower frequently lived alone.

The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants. The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[15] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Mumwanamwe* (child of mother).

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3. EGO'S CROSS-LINE RELATIVES

602 The cross-line relatives of Ego are people who are socially recognized as related to him although they do not belong either to his parents' descent groups or to the category of his relatives by affinity.

[605] [604] In Ruanda, the category of cross-line relatives was limited to Ego's paternal cross-cousins, his maternal parallel cousins, their descendants, his sororal nephews and nieces, and their descendants.

Paternal cross-cousins did not belong to Ego's father's patrilineage since they were members of their own father's (FaSiHu of Ego) lineage. It could be said that they were agnates of FaSiHu who was himself an affine of Ego. It seems, however, that the link between Ego and his paternal cross-cousins was their mother (FaSi) and not their father (FaSiHu). This is why I do not include Ego's paternal cross-cousins among Ego's affines.

Maternal cross-cousins were not Ego's cross-line relatives because they were related to Ego as agnates of Ego's mother. On the contrary maternal parallel cousins of Ego were cross-line relatives of Ego's mother: her sororal nephews and nieces. Ego was not related to them through his MoSiHu but through his MoSi as the term of reference used by Ego indicates: child-of-my-maternal-aunt (*mwenemamawacu*). This is why I regard them as Ego's cross-line relatives.

604 Ego was related to his sororal nephews and nieces through his sister in spite of the fact that her children belonged to her husband's agnatic group.

● 601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
FaSiSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
FaSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoSiSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
MoSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
SiSo	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye
SiDa	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye

605 Familiarity, jesting, erotic games without actual intercourse before marriage, were the relations of paternal cross-cousins (as well as maternal cross-cousins) of the opposite sex. The difference was that paternal cross-cousins had to assist each other and often fought together in blood-feuds although, as they did not belong [613] to the same inzu, they could not be killed in retaliation.

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604 was expected to be protective, but he had no authority over his sister's children unless bride-wealth had not been paid for her.

4. EGO'S AFFINES

128 Following *Notes and Queries*, I shall distinguish two classes among the relatives by marriage. First, those in which the affinal link is the first traced from Ego, i.e. kin of the spouse; secondly, those in which the kinship link is the first one traced, i.e. persons who have married kinsmen and kinswomen.[16]

602 I shall begin with the second class: spouses of members of Ego's patrilineage, of Ego's mother's patrilineage and their own agnatic relatives. Not all of these spouses were considered by Ruanda to be significantly related to Ego. They say, for instance, that the wife of the maternal uncle (MoBrWi) is just a stranger, whereas there was a particular code of behaviour laid down towards the wife of the paternal uncle (FaBrWi). Among affines I include, besides these spouses of Ego's consanguineal relatives, the consanguineal relatives of these spouses, such as DaHuFa, SoWiFa, &c.

(a) *The Spouses of Ego's Kin*

601 This is the nomenclature of the second class of Ego's affines.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's father		
FaWi	Mama	Mukadata (wife of Fa)
FaBrWi	Mama	Mukadatawacu (wife of FaBr)
FaSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa masenge (husband of FaSi)
MoSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa mamawacu (husband of MoSi)
II. The generation of Ego's grandfather		
FaFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
MoFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. Ego's generation		
BrWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu (wife-our)
BrWi (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramukazi wanjye
SiHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabowacu (husband-our)
SiHu (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramu wanjye

[16] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 87.

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
FaBrDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
FaBrSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaSiSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaSiDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoSiSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
MoSiDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoBrDaHu (f.s.)	Name, Nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoBrSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaFaBrSoSoWi (m.s.) &c.	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
DaHuFa, DaHuMo. SoWiFa, SoWiMo		Muwana wanjye
IV. The generation of Ego's son.		
SoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawanjye (female-mine-through-marriage)
DaHu	Mwana	Mukwewanjye (. . . male . . .)
BrSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu (. . . our)
SiSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu (. . . our)
BrDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu (. . . our)
SiDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu (. . . our)
FaBrSoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
FaBrSoDaHu &c.	Mwana	Mukwewacu
V. The generation of Ego's grandchildren		
SoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
SoDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu
DaDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu
DaSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
BrSoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
SiSoSoWi &c.	Mwana	Mukazanawacu

Grandparents by affinity were regarded in the same way as grandparents by consanguinity. Relations with them were symmetrically playful and familiar. 603

The two uncles by affinity (FaSiHu and MoSiHu) were treated with respect because they were older than their nephews and with sympathy in so far as their wives got along well with them. If they did not, the nephews tended to side with their aunts. The ideal behaviour, however, was to act towards the aunts' husband with rather more confidence than towards mere outsiders. 604

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604 The paternal uncle's wife (FaBrWi) was more deeply connected with Ego's inzu. She bore children who were Ego's parallel cousins; there was no incest taboo between her and Ego's father and if her husband died, she might become a wife of Ego's father. For all these reasons, respectful and almost filial behaviour towards her was expected from Ego.

835 For the affinal relatives of Ego's generation, the rule was quite simple. There was no incest taboo; there was on the contrary a privileged sexual partnership (as described earlier in connexion with the paternal cross-cousins) between a male Ego on the one hand and on the other the wives of his brothers, parallel cousins, and cross-cousins. And the same *mutatis mutandis* when Ego is female.

606 Between Ego and his daughter-in-law (SoWi) there was no incest prohibition, although there was between a female Ego and her son-in-law (her DaHu). This was rationalized by saying that the SoWi is for Ego a little spouse and not a daughter, whereas for the son-in-law, his wife's mother is his mother. As may be imagined the role of SoWi, 'daughter' and rival of her HuMo, was not an easy one as regards Ego and Ego's wife. Her ambivalent situation was reflected in her traditionally expected behaviour. She had to behave respectfully, obediently, and affectionately, as a daughter, towards her parents-in-law, and at the same time she was expected to assume almost an avoidance attitude: she was not allowed to pronounce their names nor even words which sounded similar.

Ego's daughter's husband was expected to conform to the same verbal taboos as regards his father-in-law (Ego) and his mother-in-law (Ego's wife). He was not allowed to eat at his parents-in-law's until his wife had had a child. Even then he never spoke if not invited to. After a certain period of time, however, when the marriage was stable and had produced a few children, relations eventually became freer, though they remained always rather reserved.

601 All other affines of generations following that of Ego were designated by the same term, even if they were not connected through his patrilineal descendents, DaDaHu for instance.

(b) *The kin of Ego's wife*

602 Let us now consider the other class of affines, that in which the affinal link is first traced from Ego. These are the consanguineal

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relatives of Ego's spouse among whom we have included the patrilineal kin of the spouse's mother. More exactly, in this total class of potential affines, the Ruanda chose a few of them who they considered as relatives of Ego because for one reason or another they had a certain role to play in his social or cultural life. The others had been neglected. It has been necessary in this case to distinguish between a male and a female Ego.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The first generation above Ego: Male speaking		
WiFa	Sogokuru	Databukwe (father through marriage)
WiMo	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
WiFaBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
WiFaSi	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
WiMoBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
WiFaFaBrSoSo	Sogokuru	Databukwe
&c.		
Female speaking		
HuFa	Sogokuru	Databukwe
HuMo	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
HuFaBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
HuFaSi	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
HuMoBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
HuFaFaBrSoSo	Sogokuru	Databukwe
II. The second generation above Ego: Male speaking		
WiFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
WiFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
WiFaMo	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
WiMoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
&c.		
Female speaking		
HuFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
HuFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
HuMoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
HuFaMo	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
&c.		
III. Ego's generation: Male speaking		
WiSi	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
WiFaBrDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
WiMoSiDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
WiSiHu	Name	Musanzirewanjye
WiFaBrDaHu	Name	Musanzirewacu
WiMoSiDaHu	Name	Musanzirewacu
WiBr	Name	Muramuwanjye
WiBrWi	Name	Muramuwanjye

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
WiFaBrSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoSiSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiFaSiSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiFaSiDa	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoBrSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoBrDa	Name	Muramuwacu
Female speaking		
HuBr	Name	Mugabowacu
HuSi	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuFaBrSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuMoSiSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuFaSiSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuFaSiDa	Name	Mukebawanjye (my rival)
HuMoBrSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuMoBrDa	Name	Mukebawanjye
HuMoSiDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuFaBrDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuWi	Name	Mukebawanjye
HuBrWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)
HuFaBrSoWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)
HuMoSiSoWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)

As has just been mentioned in connexion with the SoWi and the DaHu roles, Ego and his wife were expected to behave respectfully, with restraint as well as with affection towards their parents-in-law. This was reflected in the terminology. WiFa, WiMo, HuFa, HuMo were addressed by the term used for the grandparents. We know that Ego's conduct towards his grandparents was extremely familiar. He had to use the same term for in-laws and was not allowed to pronounce their name. As the preceding nomenclature indicates, the use of the same term of address was extended to all in-laws of the generation above Ego's one. There was again no distinction between the grandparents and great-grandparents who were patrilineal ascendents of the spouse and those who were only in the maternal line.

Ego's conduct towards his wife's relatives of the same generation depended mainly on the privileged sex partnership. The determination of those who could be partners was conditioned by the simple principle which assimilates a person to his siblings and parallel cousins. According to this, Ego could have sex relations with those who were assimilated to his wife: her sisters and her parallel cousins. The same applied to a female Ego: her privileged partners are thus her husband's brothers and parallel cousins.

We have indicated what was meant by a sexual privileged

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partnership among cross-cousins and that this was only one aspect of wider behaviour patterns of familiarity and joking. The relations between Ego and certain of his affines should be understood in the same sense. 607 [602]

These relations were reciprocal in the sense that the husband of Ego's partner was also the privileged partner of Ego's wife, as the two husbands had the same relationships of affinity with each other's wives. This reciprocity seemed essential to the working of the system, which otherwise would have been probably too frustrating. The case of the wife of Ego's wife's brother (WiBrWi) confirms this interpretation. Although she was quite unrelated to Ego, there was a kind of 'incest' taboo concerning any relation with her. There was a strict avoidance (Ego was not allowed to stay alone with his WiBrWi) and such a relation was considered to bring ill-luck not only to the partners but to the lineages concerned. The reason for that prohibition, I was told, was that the husband of WiBrWi, being the brother of Ego's wife, was prevented by the incest-taboo from having any reciprocal relations with her. It appears, however, that the common resentment of Ego and his WiBrWi against their common in-laws may have been such that these sanctions were not a sufficient deterrent.

These different patterns of behaviour were expressed in terminology. Ego referred by the same term to his wife's female parallel cousins and by another to her cross-cousins and male parallel cousins. There was also a special term to designate those who are husbands of privileged partners. A female Ego used terms in which similar distinctions appeared. 601

5. SOME COMMENTS ON KINSHIP PRINCIPLES IN RUANDA

(a) *Analytical table of kinship terms*

The attention I have given and have still to give to kinship terminology rests on the assumption that the use of kinship terms indicates what aspects, among the many that could be stressed in a kinship system, have been actually emphasized in a particular society. Terminology indicates first the principles according to which, among the almost unlimited mass of possible relationships some have been given a name and are thus considered as social roles. Secondly, terminology shows the lines of cleavage according to which the totality of relationships have been separated in different classes. 12 60

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128 To investigate systematically the social significance of kinship terminology, some procedure should be adopted whereby every term is analysed from a set of relevant viewpoints. In order to do this we are setting them in the following table. The table recapitulates the sixty-one kinship terms mentioned in the preceding sections and for each of them gives eleven characteristics. In this choice I have followed closely the chapter 'Analysis of Kinship' [113] in Murdock's *Social Structure*.[17]

128 601

		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
[18]Sogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
[18]Sogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Sogo-kuru-za	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru-za	r	dr	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Isogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	d
Data	a	e	+	+	–	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Data	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mama	a	e	+	+	+	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Mama	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mama-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-rume	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Maku-data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-gabo-wa-ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wa-mama-wacu	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Data-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-vandimwe	a	dr	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mw-ene-data	r	ds	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-rumuna-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-saza-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-kuru-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-shiki-wanjye	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mw-ene-datu-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-shiki-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-byara-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-byara-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-gore-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gore-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-ramu-kazi-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gabo-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-ramu-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-saza-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
M-wena-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ba-mwana-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-ramu-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-sanzire-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	d

[17] Murdock, 1949, pp. 91-112. Quotations in the following paragraphs come from p. 98.

[18] *a* means address; *r* reference.

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		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Mu-sanzire-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	c
Mu-keba-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-keba-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	c
Mw-ana	a	e	–	–	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mu-hungu-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mu-kobwa-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mu-kobwa-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-hungu-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-sengeneza-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-sengeneza-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-kazana-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-kwe-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-kazana-wacu	r	dr	–	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mu-kwe-wacu	r	dr	–	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-za	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ubuvivi	r	e	–	–	–	–	+	+	o	–	–	c
Mw-ene-mama	r	ds	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-ka-data	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	d

1. Linguistic structure.
2. Denotes generation.
3. Denotes sex.
4. Denotes affinity and consanguinity.
5. Denotes lineality and collaterality.
6. Denotes bifurcation.
7. Denotes polarity.
8. Denotes age in generation.
9. Denotes speaker's sex.
10. Denotes decendence of link.
11. Range of application.

In the first vertical line the linguistic structure of the term is given. An elementary term (symbolized by 'e' in the table) is 'an irreducible word which cannot be analysed into component lexical elements with kinship meanings', a derivative term (symbolized by 'dr') is 'compounded from an elementary term and some other lexical element which does not have primarily a kinship meaning' and a descriptive term (symbolized by 'ds') 'combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative'.

In the second line a cross (+) indicates that the term is never applied to two individuals to different generations. The dash (–) points out that it can be so used.

The third characteristic is the sex of the person designated by the term. Again (+) indicates that the term is only applicable to males or females and (–) that it may be applied to persons of either sex.

A cross in the fourth line shows that the term may indicate certain individuals among both affinal and consanguineal relatives of Ego; a hyphen denotes that the term can be applied only either to affines or only to consanguineal kinsfolk. In the assessment of this characteristic, the patrilineal descent group of Ego's mother has been considered as a group of consanguineal relatives of Ego.

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In the following column (—) indicates that the term may be applied only to individuals who belong to the same direct line (people who either descend from one another or have all the same ascendants) or only to persons who are collaterals. For instance if the term A may be applied only to Ego's paternal uncle, Ego's paternal uncle's son, and Ego's paternal uncle's grandson, we say that it denotes only people of the same line. If the term B may be applied to Ego's paternal uncle and to Ego's paternal uncle's cousins, we may say that it denotes only collaterals. A (+) means that the term may be applied to a class of individuals, some of whom are collaterals and some belonging to the same line.

In the sixth line there is a cross for the terms which indicate the sex of the relative who is the link between Ego and the role designated by the term, and there is a hyphen for terms which do not denote the sex of the link. The symbol (o) means that there is no link. When there are several links, only the person directly connected to Ego has been considered. For instance if the same term denotes MoBrSo and MoSiSo but not FaBrSo and FaSiSo, only the direct link to Ego, i.e. Mo has been considered. Consequently in this case the term is bifurcate although it does neglect the sex of the second link: Br or Si.

There is polarity when the two participants in a relationship do not refer to each other by the same term. Consequently a (—) means that the term is used reciprocally by the two participants and a (+) that it is not.

The eighth characteristic concerns distinctions of age within the same generation. A hyphen indicates that the term may be used for the complete range of age variations within one generation; a cross means that it applies only to people of a definite age, absolute or relative, within the generation. The symbol (o) means that a term by definition could not denote age differences within a generation as it applies to different generations.

Next, the speaker's sex is considered. There is a dash for terms which may be used by males and females alike and a cross when they are used only by one of the sexes.

The tenth characteristic, as the sixth, is concerned with the person through whom kinship is traced. A dash indicates that the term applies as well if the link is deceased or living and a cross that it applies only when the connecting person is either alive or dead.

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The last column of the table indicates the range of application of the term: is it classificatory or denotative? Although the nine preceding characteristics are criteria of the range of application, I have considered as denotative not only the terms which have these nine characteristics, but those which show only characteristics 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, i.e. generation, sex, distinction between affinity and consanguinity, lineality and collaterality, bifurcation by sex of connecting relative.

If we sum up the different symbols in the vertical lines, we obtain for the sixty-one terms of the table (fifty-five terms of reference and six of address) the following results:

1. Linguistic structure: 6 elementary terms, 48 derivative, 7 descriptive.
2. 54 denote generation, 7 do not.
3. 43 denote sex of the relative, 18 do not.
4. 54 do not cover both affinal and consanguineal relative together and 7 do.
5. 45 do not denote a class of people including lineal and collateral relatives, 16 do.
6. 34 indicate the sex of the person through whom kinship is traced, 19 do not and in 8 cases the question does not arise as there is no link.
7. 50 terms indicate polarity, 11 do not.
8. 59 do not denote age within generation, 2 do, and in 7 cases they ignore age differences by definition.
9. The speaker's sex is indicated in 16 cases, it is not in 45.
10. There is no case in which it is indicated whether the link is living or dead. Thus, except for the 8 cases in which there is no connecting relative, 53 terms ignore that characteristic.
11. 41 terms are classificatory and 20 are denotative.

(*b*) *Concluding remarks*

Let me conclude this chapter with a few remarks on the Ruanda system of kinship and affinity. They are suggested by the previous description of kinship roles or by the table.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally and a lineage is a corporate group of agnates. But Ego does not feel that all others are strangers. He lives, as it were, in a cognatic as well as an agnatic world. For help in important questions, when it is necessary for him to assert his rights to be assisted, he turns to his patrilineal kinsmen, but in

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everyday life, when he needs only some slight service, some advice and sympathy, he asks for and receives it from his maternal relatives as easily as from his paternal ones. Moreover, in matters very important to him concerning playmates, sex partners, and marriageable girls, the two groups stand equal: taboo and tolerance apply to maternal as well as to agnatic cousins. Kinship terms, even terms of reference, used to denote the grandparents are the same in both lines.

If the descent groups tend, in many respects, to merge in a kind of cognatic structure, the distinction between affinity and consanguinity is more clearly maintained. Affines are often identified with their spouses who are Ego's kin, and in a situation subordinate to the latter's from the point of view of Ego (as for instance FaSiHu and MoSiHu), or they are considered only in connexion with privileged sexual access. The distinction between affinal and consanguineal relations is emphasized in terminology as only seven terms out of sixty-one denote both affinity and consanguinity relationships. Among the seven, there are five terms of address.

Generation is another focal point of attention in Ruanda kinship relationships. There are broad behaviour patterns expected from people in their relationships simply because they belong to the same or to different generations. Respect should be shown to the members of the generation immediately above, domination and protection are correct behaviour towards people of the generation immediately under Ego, a certain equality tends to prevail between people belonging to the same generation, and there is a great familiarity among those who belong to alternate generations. This is again clearly supported by kinship terminology: fifty-four terms apply only to people of the same generation, whereas only seven fail to denote the generation of the relative. On the other hand, very little attention is paid to age differences within one generation: two terms only denote them, whereas fifty-two do not (in the seven cases left the question does not arise).

In spite of the principle of assimilation of parallel cousins to siblings the distinction in terminology between lineal and collateral relatives is observed more often than would be expected. In forty-five terms, there is no merging and out of the sixteen cases of merging, it should be mentioned that there are six terms of address in which the failure to distinguish is less

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significant because terms of address are more likely to be classificatory. 607 601

Another important principle of cleavage among relatives is sex. Very rarely, as the preceding brief survey of the different kinship roles shows, is kinship behaviour the same towards relatives of both sexes. Out of our list of sixty-one terms, forty-three denote the sex of the relative. Further analysis indicates that what is important is sex in connexion with privileged relations. Terminologically, male parallel cousins of Ego's wife are lumped together with her cross-cousins, whereas her female parallel cousins are designated by another word. This is a case in which the principle of sexual privileged partnership has been more operative than other principles such as descent, &c. The eighteen terms ignoring sex denote relatives with whom Ego could not have sexual relations, either because they would be incestuous or because the difference of age would be too great. It could be argued that sex is not such an important principle in kinship as there are only sixteen terms which denote the speaker's sex and forty-five which do not. I do not think that this objection is a valid one, however, because when terms are not written by an anthropologist but are spoken—as they are meant to be when they are used in everyday life—it is clear to anybody whether the speaker is a man or a woman.

To sum up, the Ruanda kinship system seems to have evolved according to principles stressing the importance of generation and the predominance of an almost cognatic system over affinity, keeping a very clear distinction between lineal and collateral relatives and emphasizing sex especially when connected with privileged sexual access. 601

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a polygamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights. 593 [603]

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. [431] If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does [587] not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her [768] husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, 589 prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A [564] good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife. [593]

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It 593 seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she 606 has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law 554 and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal [601] respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand- 000

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CHAPTER II

THE SYSTEM OF KINSHIP AND AFFINITY[1]

I. DESCENT GROUPS

AMONG the Ruanda people, Tutsi as well as Hutu, the social principle of descent was agnatic. When any informant is asked who are his ascendants, he always answers by giving the names of his father, his paternal grandfather, his paternal great grandfather up to some male ancestor beyond whom he is unable to go. He does not mention his mother nor any of her ascendants. 611

Questions on the actual groupings founded on this principle and their functions elicit less unanimous and clear answers. The reason is that kinship groups have undoubtedly undergone a slow process of change in several respects during the Tutsi occupation of the country. What we know of its history[2] is quite sufficient to convince us that there has been a progressive territorial expansion under one dynasty of rulers together with an intensification of the 61. 178 [692]

[1] In order to make clear the connotations of the main concepts used in this chapter, here are a few definitions: 128

Ego's *kin* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through parent-child and-or sibling links. *Consanguineal* and *cognatic* relatives are used as synonyms for kin. 602

Ego's *affines* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through a marriage link. This link may be the first traced from Ego (the affines are then Ego's spouse's kin) or the kinship link may be the first one traced (the affines are then Ego's kin's spouse).

Ego's *patrilineal* or *agnatic* relatives are those of his kin who descend by male links from the same male ancestor as Ego.

Ego's *matrilineal* or *uterine* relatives are those of his kin who descend by female links from the same ancestress as Ego.

Ego's *cross-line* relatives are those of his kin who are neither patrilineally nor matrilineally related to him.

Ego's *paternal* or *patrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his father.

Ego's *maternal* or *matrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his mother.

To sum up:

Relatives
- are *kin* (or consanguineal relatives or cognates) who can be distinguished as
  - 1. patrilineal (or agnatic)
  - 2. matrilineal (or uterine)
  - 3. cross-line
  - or as
    - 1. paternal (or patrilateral)
    - 2. maternal (or matrilateral)
- and *affines* who can be distinguished as
  - 1. kin of Ego's spouse
  - 2. spouses of Ego's kin.

[2] See for instances, Pagès, 1933.

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604 obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further [580] pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, [589] she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between 604 FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected 601 in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezamanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

● 602 Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather 603 called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to [867] cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization [887] of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of [869] past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

593 As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

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activities of her husband's inzu and was not bound by all the obligations common to the members of her own inzu, a few words should be added about her behaviour in this connexion. 613 562

She participated in the cult of Ego's (=her husband's) ancestor and of her own ancestor, but she was not allowed to build a shrine in honour of her ancestor in Ego's enclosure. She gave the ritual gifts at the birth of a child in her own inzu as well as in Ego's inzu, and did the same at marriage ceremonies. In times of mourning, Ego's inzu was predominant: his wife had to practise sexual abstention for two or three months when Ego's parents died. For her own parents she was not bound by any such observances. She received protection from her husband's group, but from her own only when she had disputes with Ego's lineage [n65]

2. THE DESCENT GROUP OF EGO'S MOTHER

A man (or a woman) was not a member of his mother's patrilineage, which is why in the preceding section only his agnates were considered. But the picture of Ego's position in kinship relations would be incomplete if it were limited to that. Ego's mother's agnates were not complete strangers to him. In everyday life, he met them often and his culture provided him with roles to assume in these circumstances. In some cases Ego's behaviour to 'maternal' kin was very similar to that which he was expected to observe towards the agnatic counterpart of that kin. 602

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's mother		
Mo	Mama	Mama
MoBr	Data	Marume
MoSi	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaBrSo	Data	Marume
MoFaBrDa	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Marume
MoFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Mamawacu
II. The generation of Ego's maternal grandfather		
MoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's maternal great-grandfather		
MoFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

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3. EGO'S CROSS-LINE RELATIVES

602 The cross-line relatives of Ego are people who are socially recognized as related to him although they do not belong either to his parents' descent groups or to the category of his relatives by affinity.

[605] [604] In Ruanda, the category of cross-line relatives was limited to Ego's paternal cross-cousins, his maternal parallel cousins, their descendants, his sororal nephews and nieces, and their descendants.

Paternal cross-cousins did not belong to Ego's father's patrilineage since they were members of their own father's (FaSiHu of Ego) lineage. It could be said that they were agnates of FaSiHu who was himself an affine of Ego. It seems, however, that the link between Ego and his paternal cross-cousins was their mother (FaSi) and not their father (FaSiHu). This is why I do not include Ego's paternal cross-cousins among Ego's affines.

Maternal cross-cousins were not Ego's cross-line relatives because they were related to Ego as agnates of Ego's mother. On the contrary maternal parallel cousins of Ego were cross-line relatives of Ego's mother: her sororal nephews and nieces. Ego was not related to them through his MoSiHu but through his MoSi as the term of reference used by Ego indicates: child-of-my-maternal-aunt (*mwenemamawacu*). This is why I regard them as Ego's cross-line relatives.

604 Ego was related to his sororal nephews and nieces through his sister in spite of the fact that her children belonged to her husband's agnatic group.

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
FaSiSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
FaSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoSiSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
MoSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
SiSo	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye
SiDa	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye

605 Familiarity, jesting, erotic games without actual intercourse before marriage, were the relations of paternal cross-cousins (as well as maternal cross-cousins) of the opposite sex. The difference was that paternal cross-cousins had to assist each other and often fought together in blood-feuds although, as they did not belong [613] to the same inzu, they could not be killed in retaliation.

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604 was expected to be protective, but he had no authority over his sister's children unless bride-wealth had not been paid for her.

4. EGO'S AFFINES

128 Following *Notes and Queries*, I shall distinguish two classes among the relatives by marriage. First, those in which the affinal link is the first traced from Ego, i.e. kin of the spouse; secondly, those in which the kinship link is the first one traced, i.e. persons who have married kinsmen and kinswomen.[18]

602 I shall begin with the second class: spouses of members of Ego's patrilineage, of Ego's mother's patrilineage and their own agnatic relatives. Not all of these spouses were considered by Ruanda to be significantly related to Ego. They say, for instance, that the wife of the maternal uncle (MoBrWi) is just a stranger, whereas there was a particular code of behaviour laid down towards the wife of the paternal uncle (FaBrWi). Among affines I include, besides these spouses of Ego's consanguineal relatives, the consanguineal relatives of these spouses, such as DaHuFa, SoWiFa, &c.

601 *(a) The Spouses of Ego's Kin*

This is the nomenclature of the second class of Ego's affines.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's father		
FaWi	Mama	Mukadata (wife of Fa)
FaBrWi	Mama	Mukadatawacu (wife of FaBr)
FaSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa masenge (husband of FaSi)
MoSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa mamawacu (husband of MoSi)
II. The generation of Ego's grandfather		
FaFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
MoFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. Ego's generation		
BrWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu (wife-our)
BrWi (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramukazi wanjye
SiHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabowacu (husband-our)
SiHu (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramu wanjye

[18] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 87.

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604 The paternal uncle's wife (FaBrWi) was more deeply connected with Ego's inzu. She bore children who were Ego's parallel cousins; there was no incest taboo between her and Ego's father and if her husband died, she might become a wife of Ego's father. For all these reasons, respectful and almost filial behaviour towards her was expected from Ego.

835 For the affinal relatives of Ego's generation, the rule was quite simple. There was no incest taboo; there was on the contrary a privileged sexual partnership (as described earlier in connexion with the paternal cross-cousins) between a male Ego on the one hand and on the other the wives of his brothers, parallel cousins, and cross-cousins. And the same *mutatis mutandis* when Ego is female.

606 Between Ego and his daughter-in-law (SoWi) there was no incest prohibition, although there was between a female Ego and her son-in-law (her DaHu). This was rationalized by saying that the SoWi is for Ego a little spouse and not a daughter, whereas for the son-in-law, his wife's mother is his mother. As may be imagined the role of SoWi, 'daughter' and rival of her HuMo, was not an easy one as regards Ego and Ego's wife. Her ambivalent situation was reflected in her traditionally expected behaviour. She had to behave respectfully, obediently, and affectionately, as a daughter, towards her parents-in-law, and at the same time she was expected to assume almost an avoidance attitude: she was not allowed to pronounce their names nor even words which sounded similar.

Ego's daughter's husband was expected to conform to the same verbal taboos as regards his father-in-law (Ego) and his mother-in-law (Ego's wife). He was not allowed to eat at his parents-in-law's until his wife had had a child. Even then he never spoke if not invited to. After a certain period of time, however, when the marriage was stable and had produced a few children, relations eventually became freer, though they remained always rather reserved.

601 All other affines of generations following that of Ego were designated by the same term, even if they were not connected through his patrilineal descendents, DaDaHu for instance.

(b) *The kin of Ego's wife*

602 Let us now consider the other class of affines, that in which the affinal link is first traced from Ego. These are the consanguineal

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relatives of Ego's spouse among whom we have included the patrilineal kin of the spouse's mother. More exactly, in this total class of potential affines, the Ruanda chose a few of them who they considered as relatives of Ego because for one reason or another they had a certain role to play in his social or cultural life. The others had been neglected. It has been necessary in this case to distinguish between a male and a female Ego.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The first generation above Ego: Male speaking		
WiFa	Sogokuru	Databukwe (father through marriage)
WiMo	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
WiFaBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
WiFaSi	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
WiMoBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
WiFaFaBrSoSo	Sogokuru	Databukwe
&c.		
Female speaking		
HuFa	Sogokuru	Databukwe
HuMo	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
HuFaBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
HuFaSi	Nyogokuru	Mabukwe
HuMoBr	Sogokuru	Databukwe
HuFaFaBrSoSo	Sogokuru	Databukwe
II. The second generation above Ego: Male speaking		
WiFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
WiFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
WiFaMo	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
WiMoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
&c.		
Female speaking		
HuFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
HuFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
HuMoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
HuFaMo	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
&c.		
III. Ego's generation: Male speaking		
WiSi	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
WiFaBrDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
WiMoSiDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
WiSiHu	Name	Musanzirewanjye
WiFaBrDaHu	Name	Musanzirewacu
WiMoSiDaHu	Name	Musanzirewacu
WiBr	Name	Muramuwanjye
WiBrWi	Name	Muramuwanjye

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partnership among cross-cousins and that this was only one aspect of wider behaviour patterns of familiarity and joking. The relations between Ego and certain of his affines should be understood in the same sense. 607 [602]

These relations were reciprocal in the sense that the husband of Ego's partner was also the privileged partner of Ego's wife, as the two husbands had the same relationships of affinity with each other's wives. This reciprocity seemed essential to the working of the system, which otherwise would have been probably too frustrating. The case of the wife of Ego's wife's brother (WiBrWi) confirms this interpretation. Although she was quite unrelated to Ego, there was a kind of 'incest' taboo concerning any relation with her. There was a strict avoidance (Ego was not allowed to stay alone with his WiBrWi) and such a relation was considered to bring ill-luck not only to the partners but to the lineages concerned. The reason for that prohibition, I was told, was that the husband of WiBrWi, being the brother of Ego's wife, was prevented by the incest-taboo from having any reciprocal relations with her. It appears, however, that the common resentment of Ego and his WiBrWi against their common in-laws may have been such that these sanctions were not a sufficient deterrent.

These different patterns of behaviour were expressed in terminology. Ego referred by the same term to his wife's female parallel cousins and by another to her cross-cousins and male parallel cousins. There was also a special term to designate those who are husbands of privileged partners. A female Ego used terms in which similar distinctions appeared. 601

5. SOME COMMENTS ON KINSHIP PRINCIPLES IN RUANDA

(a) *Analytical table of kinship terms*

The attention I have given and have still to give to kinship terminology rests on the assumption that the use of kinship terms indicates what aspects, among the many that could be stressed in a kinship system, have been actually emphasized in a particular society. Terminology indicates first the principles according to which, among the almost unlimited mass of possible relationships some have been given a name and are thus considered as social roles. Secondly, terminology shows the lines of cleavage according to which the totality of relationships have been separated in different classes. 12 601

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The last column of the table indicates the range of application of the term: is it classificatory or denotative? Although the nine preceding characteristics are criteria of the range of application, I have considered as denotative not only the terms which have these nine characteristics, but those which show only characteristics 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, i.e. generation, sex, distinction between affinity and consanguinity, lineality and collaterality, bifurcation by sex of connecting relative.

If we sum up the different symbols in the vertical lines, we obtain for the sixty-one terms of the table (fifty-five terms of reference and six of address) the following results:

1. Linguistic structure: 6 elementary terms, 48 derivative, 7 descriptive.
2. 54 denote generation, 7 do not.
3. 43 denote sex of the relative, 18 do not.
4. 54 do not cover both affinal and consanguineal relative together and 7 do.
5. 45 do not denote a class of people including lineal and collateral relatives, 16 do.
6. 34 indicate the sex of the person through whom kinship is traced, 19 do not and in 8 cases the question does not arise as there is no link.
7. 50 terms indicate polarity, 11 do not.
8. 59 do not denote age within generation, 2 do, and in 7 cases they ignore age differences by definition.
9. The speaker's sex is indicated in 16 cases, it is not in 45.
10. There is no case in which it is indicated whether the link is living or dead. Thus, except for the 8 cases in which there is no connecting relative, 53 terms ignore that characteristic.
11. 41 terms are classificatory and 20 are denotative.

(*b*) *Concluding remarks*

Let me conclude this chapter with a few remarks on the Ruanda system of kinship and affinity. They are suggested by the previous description of kinship roles or by the table.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally and a lineage is a corporate group of agnates. But Ego does not feel that all others are strangers. He lives, as it were, in a cognatic as well as an agnatic world. For help in important questions, when it is necessary for him to assert his rights to be assisted, he turns to his patrilineal kinsmen, but in

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602 601 everyday life, when he needs only some slight service, some advice and sympathy, he asks for and receives it from his maternal relatives as easily as from his paternal ones. Moreover, in matters very important to him concerning playmates, sex partners, and marriageable girls, the two groups stand equal: taboo and tolerance apply to maternal as well as to agnatic cousins. Kinship terms, even terms of reference, used to denote the grandparents are the same in both lines.

If the descent groups tend, in many respects, to merge in a kind of cognatic structure, the distinction between affinity and consanguinity is more clearly maintained. Affines are often identified with their spouses who are Ego's kin, and in a situation subordinate to the latter's from the point of view of Ego (as for instance FaSiHu and MoSiHu), or they are considered only in connexion with privileged sexual access. The distinction between affinal and consanguineal relations is emphasized in terminology as only seven terms out of sixty-one denote both affinity and consanguinity relationships. Among the seven, there are five terms of address.

Generation is another focal point of attention in Ruanda kinship relationships. There are broad behaviour patterns expected from people in their relationships simply because they belong to the same or to different generations. Respect should be shown to the members of the generation immediately above, domination and protection are correct behaviour towards people of the generation immediately under Ego, a certain equality tends to prevail between people belonging to the same generation, and there is a great familiarity among those who belong to alternate generations. This is again clearly supported by kinship terminology: fifty-four terms apply only to people of the same generation, whereas only seven fail to denote the generation of the relative. On the other hand, very little attention is paid to age differences within one generation: two terms only denote them, whereas fifty-two do not (in the seven cases left the question does not arise).

In spite of the principle of assimilation of parallel cousins to siblings the distinction in terminology between lineal and collateral relatives is observed more often than would be expected. In forty-five terms, there is no merging and out of the sixteen cases of merging, it should be mentioned that there are six terms of address in which the failure to distinguish is less

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significant because terms of address are more likely to be classificatory. 602 601

Another important principle of cleavage among relatives is sex. Very rarely, as the preceding brief survey of the different kinship roles shows, is kinship behaviour the same towards relatives of both sexes. Out of our list of sixty-one terms, forty-three denote the sex of the relative. Further analysis indicates that what is important is sex in connexion with privileged relations. Terminologically, male parallel cousins of Ego's wife are lumped together with her cross-cousins, whereas her female parallel cousins are designated by another word. This is a case in which the principle of sexual privileged partnership has been more operative than other principles such as descent, &c. The eighteen terms ignoring sex denote relatives with whom Ego could not have sexual relations, either because they would be incestuous or because the difference of age would be too great. It could be argued that sex is not such an important principle in kinship as there are only sixteen terms which denote the speaker's sex and forty-five which do not. I do not think that this objection is a valid one, however, because when terms are not written by an anthropologist but are spoken—as they are meant to be when they are used in everyday life—it is clear to anybody whether the speaker is a man or a woman.

To sum up, the Ruanda kinship system seems to have evolved 601 according to principles stressing the importance of generation and the predominance of an almost cognatic system over affinity, keeping a very clear distinction between lineal and collateral relatives and emphasizing sex especially when connected with privileged sexual access.

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that no other authority had the final say in such appointments. 661

The danger of having some chiefs becoming more and more 634 independent of the central government was avoided by the 699 mwami's power to dismiss anybody and also by the curious duality 622 of chiefs in each district. Increasing the control of the central government over its subordinates seems to have been the function of that duality. Tensions arose between these two chiefs who were neighbours and who exerted their prerogatives in the same territory yet were independent of each other. The mwami was always kept well informed by each of these chiefs of the exactions or suspicious activities of the other. Moreover, both chiefs had the same subordinate, the hill-chief. Consequently the mwami could be sure that if by chance the two chiefs were in agreement, it was very likely that if their common subordinate had some difficulty with one of his superiors, he would attempt and often succeed in getting the other on to his side: *duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens.* In addition, as conflicts of power were unavoidable in such a situation, the chief had to resort to the mwami as judge. In that way the links of the dependence of both of them on the mwami were tightened.

In this analysis it is not suggested that the duality of chiefs was conceived and put into being by a certain mwami in order to fulfil what we regard here as its function. It is possible that it happened in that way. But even if nobody ever thought of reinforcing the royal power by this dual organization, it was nevertheless its function in Ruanda society.

(c) *Social cohesion*

I have mentioned that the hill-chief required dues and tributes 651 not from the individual taxpayer but from the lineage head when 602 possible, and the latter demanded it from the family head. This 571 way of reaching the individual through his kin group and family group enhanced the importance of the descent principle of of kin solidarity. Even in Ruanda where the political organization had taken over so many functions from descent groups, the individual as such was not yet recognized in very important matters like the contributions to the maintenance of the rulers. In this interpretation, the kinship and the administrative structures promote the social cohesion of the group as a whole.

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to 000

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well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

A fourth factor which counterbalanced the socially disintegrative influence of the caste system was the plurality of the structures in which any Ruanda was affiliated.

Through several structures, subjects were much more efficiently bound among themselves and to their rulers than in a unique hierarchy. In the latter case, indeed, if the individual can extricate himself from that hierarchy, he becomes absolutely unattached. In Ruanda, even if one link was broken, the subject did not escape from his superior chiefs. Indeed, he was linked to them, particularly to the mwami, by more than one tie. Almost any Ruanda was dependent on the king through two hierarchical channels: *via* his hill-chief (who himself was subordinated to the cattle- and land-chief) and *via* his army-chief. In addition, the feudal system integrated him into a set of personal loyalty relations such that the person occupying the superior position in one of these relations is himself an inferior in another relation.

It should be mentioned also that any Ruanda was a member of three kin groups: primary and secondary patrilineages and clan. Of course kinship affiliations as such did not cut across caste lines (except for the clan name), but as many of these kinship groups had been for so long established in Ruanda territory, they were certainly a supplementary link between the individual and his country.

The network of relations woven by the political and clientage systems was particularly important in a country where there were no clear-cut groupings based on co-residence. This has led some observers to believe that Ruanda were living in a kind of social vacuum. On the contrary, a Ruanda was never isolated: his social links connected him with the authorities and were ramified, if not in the whole territory, at least in a large area of it.

The last factor of social cohesion to be mentioned here was the ideology developed around the monarchic institution. The mwami was regarded as the king of all Ruanda and not only of the Tutsi. His divine origin keeping him separate from men, bestowed on him an authority which no commoner thought to question. He was closely connected with Imana, conceived as a supreme god rather remote but benevolent. The mwami, representative of Imana, was the father and protector of all Ruanda. Was it not enough to assume towards him a filial attitude and to feel one's

848 girl, the girl's father takes over the child.
851 In the past, during the wars, the owner of a woman slave
[567] sometimes married her. The children of this marriage were considered legitimate and [37] had their fathers' status, even if he already had children from marriage with a munyarwanda wife.

Children born of the master and a woman slave were also considered legitimate.

CHAPTER V. PATERNAL AUTHORITY

593 The patria potestas is exercised by the father. In the past it implied the right of life and death over his children. Today the father does not have such power, but his authority still remains sovereign and extends even over married sons. The latter must in particular, give him cows if he asks for any to increase his herds and to replace animals that are sick or have died.

A bad son can be cursed by his father and driven out of the family and even from the hill (igitshibwa or ikivume, the accursed one). He goes off with empty hands, and his brothers divide his property.

As a counterpart to his authority, the father is obligated to support his children and to establish his sons by paying the dowry.

The children must obey their mother as well as their father.

Simiarly they must be deferential to their paternal uncles
[604] and aunts, and to a lesser degree, to their maternal uncles and aunts. Sisters must obey their brothers, and younger brothers, their older ones.

The loss of paternal authority does not exist as such. If the
603 604 father is unworthy or incapable, the grandfather or paternal uncle has charge of the children. [38]

CHAPTER VI. TUTELAGE AND EMANCIPATION (1)

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p. 60.

429 When the father is dead, usually one of his brothers watches over the widow and orphans. In the absence of a paternal uncle, guardianship goes to a maternal uncle.

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604 obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further
[582] pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally,
[584] she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between
604 FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected
601 in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezawanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

602 Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather
603 called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to
[867] cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization
[887] of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of
[869] past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

593 As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

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Why did they not operate in the case of FaSi? As mother of Ego's paternal cross-cousins, with whom Ego could enjoy the same familiarities, she could have reacted in the same way. We have seen that, on the contrary, she was extremely cordial to her nephews. The only reason seems to be that her nephews belonged to her own lineage, whereas her daughters did not. Consequently she was less interested in bride-wealths, &c. Her husband (FaSiHu) probably reacted in the same way as MoBr. 604

The relations of Ego with his maternal aunt (MoSi) were supposed to be similar to his relations with his mother, but in fact great trust and affection did not often exist between them because of the usually tense relations of the aunt with Ego's mother, her sister. If, for instance, Ego's aunt's husband (MoSiHu) neglected his wife and preferred his sister-in-law (Ego's Mo), with whom intercourse was not taboo, the relations between the two sisters became tense. The incest taboo applied to the relations between Ego and MoSi (as an extension of the incest prohibition between Ego and his Mo) and also MoSiDa (although she did not belong to Mo's inzu). In the latter case, the reason was that for Ego, his maternal parallel cousins were assimilated to his paternal parallel cousins. He had consequently to consider her as his sister. In the next generation this incest taboo still existed (between So and MoSiDaDa, i.e. between any male and his FaMoSiDaDa). The incest between Ego's male descendants and his MoSi's female descendants through females lasted, I was told, as long as the original sibling relation (between Mo and MoSi) was remembered. 604 835 [593] 605 835

Between Ego and his maternal grandfather, the relations were very similar to those between him and his paternal grandfather. As we may expect, the fact that his maternal grandmother did not belong to the maternal patrilineage did not prevent her from being considered as a grandmother and not only as MoFaWi. 603

As has just been indicated, Ego could enjoy with his female maternal cross-cousins great familiarity expressed in practical jokes, pleasant talk, and erotic games. But as long as the girls were unmarried anything more than caressing and petting (erotic kissing seems to have been unknown among Ruanda) was prohibited. It was only after the female cross-cousins' marriages that sexual intercourse with them was tolerated. This behaviour was extended to wives of male cross-cousins (MoBrSoWi). 605 [832] [835]

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601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
FaBrDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
FaBrSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaSiSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaSiDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoSiSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
MoSiDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoBrDaHu (f.s.)	Name, Nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoBrSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaFaBrSoSoWi (m.s.) &c.	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
DaHuFa, DaHuMo. SoWiFa, SoWiMo		Muwana wanjye
IV. The generation of Ego's son.		
SoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawanjye (female-mine-through-marriage)
DaHu	Mwana	Mukwewanjye (. . . male . . .)
BrSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu (. . . our)
SiSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu (. . . our)
BrDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu (. . . our)
SiDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu (. . . our)
FaBrSoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
FaBrSoDaHu &c.	Mwana	Mukwewacu
V. The generation of Ego's grandchildren		
SoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
SoDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu
DaDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu
DaSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
BrSoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
SiSoSoWi &c.	Mwana	Mukazanawacu

Grandparents by affinity were regarded in the same way as grandparents by consanguinity. Relations with them were symmetrically playful and familiar. 603

The two uncles by affinity (FaSiHu and MoSiHu) were treated with respect because they were older than their nephews and with sympathy in so far as their wives got along well with them. If they did not, the nephews tended to side with their aunts. The ideal behaviour, however, was to act towards the aunts' husband with rather more confidence than towards mere outsiders. 604

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Boys from Twelve To

883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several
[224] days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place
869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage
[603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grand-
867 father. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed
[868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to
[867] be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she
[428] was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

595 The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been
593 mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favour-
183 ite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But
[157] according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these

586 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their
855 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends
[581] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

858 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the
862 typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very
593 tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long
858 night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and
593 mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in
[556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit
593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys
[861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can
[603] avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the

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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

Towards her grand-

603 children, a grandmother may at last dare to indulge openly in
554 revealing her sentiments, without, however, neglecting practical considerations. Grandparents joke with their grandchildren, spoil them, protect them against their parents' anger, and, if they are
[764] not believing Christians, they expect their grandchildren will in due course perform the ceremonies in honour of the *imizimu*, the spirits of dead grandparents.

* * *

577 The most direct route to happiness is conformity to the norms
829 and rules of society. Most Rundi have some roles in which they are superior and others in which they are inferior and the accompanying obligations and compensations. A good wife of a generous and reasonable husband, a good mother of numerous and good children, a good mother-in-law of obedient and industrious daughters-in-law and of respectful sons-in-law, will be a happy woman. Unfortunately, it is necessary to take into account the ever-present and infamous "bad characters", the numberless misfortunes sent by *Imana* when he is in a bad humour, the truth that *Imana*—or, if one prefers, Nature, biology, or genetics—does not always pay attention to social norms. Thus, it can happen that a man is not qualified for the role of patriarch, that he suffers all his life the oppression of a nagging shrew. It can happen that a woman is born too weak for manual labour. If she does not find a kind husband who will carry the burden of the work of the household or a rich one who can provide her with workers, she will die very miserable and very young. It can also happen that a woman is more intelligent and more enterprising than her father, her husband, or her son. A woman of this kind is ordinarily encouraged to make use of her gifts—intelligence must not be wasted—but sometimes an energetic woman is tied to a husband who is cruel and stupid and can do nothing with her good-for-nothing sons. In the social life of Burundi, the motto is, everyone for himself. Each must do what he can with whatever *Imana* has given him.

There are many Rundikazi who are unfortunate and wretched—
[562] orphans, the daughters of avaricious and cruel fathers, the wives of bad husbands, childless widows, the poor and the sick—in brief, those who do not have the favour of *Imana*. Let us pass in sad silence from their pathetic lot to the more fortunate women, those who have succeeded, despite the inevitable woes of life, in obtain-
562 ing at least some measure of happiness, and to the true favourites
554 of *Imana*, the well-born women who are at maturity true matriarchs. The absolute quantity of power and wealth depends upon birth. A

848 girl, the girl's father takes over the child.
851 In the past, during the wars, the owner of a woman slave
[37] sometimes married her. The children of this marriage were considered legitimate and [37] had their fathers' status, even if he already had children from marriage with a munyarwanda wife.

Children born of the master and a woman slave were also considered legitimate.

CHAPTER V. PATERNAL AUTHORITY

593 The patria potestas is exercised by the father. In the past it implied the right of life and death over his children. Today the father does not have such power, but his authority still remains sovereign and extends even over married sons. The latter must in particular, give him cows if he asks for any to increase his herds and to replace animals that are sick or have died.

A bad son can be cursed by his father and driven out of the family and even from the hill (igitshibwa or ikivume, the accursed one). He goes off with empty hands, and his brothers divide his property.

As a counterpart to his authority, the father is obligated to support his children and to establish his sons by paying the dowry.

The children must obey their mother as well as their father.

[604] Simiarly they must be deferential to their paternal uncles and aunts, and to a lesser degree, to their maternal uncles and aunts. Sisters must obey their brothers, and younger brothers, their older ones.

603 The loss of paternal authority does not exist as such. If the
604 father is unworthy or incapable, the grandfather or paternal uncle has charge of the children. [38]

CHAPTER VI. TUTELAGE AND EMANCIPATION (1)

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p. 60.

429 When the father is dead, usually one of his brothers watches over the widow and orphans. In the absence of a paternal uncle, guardianship goes to a maternal uncle.

604 429 The paternal uncle may marry his sister-in-law. He has the same rights over his nephews and the same obligations to them as their father. If the widow marries a stranger (umwinjila), the latter becomes the guardian of the children, but as a rule he has not much authority. And if he does not fulfill his obligations, he may be driven out by the paternal uncle and has to go away empty-handed.

Similarly, if the uncle who is guardian does not fulfill his obligations, the children may complain to their father's patron, or, if they have no cattle, to the hill chief. When they have grown up, they may even drive out the unworthy guardian.

Only through marriage do the sons gain independence unless previously they have freed themselves with violence from the guardian's authority.

593 Nevertheless, even when they are emancipated by marriage, male children are not freed of their obligations to their parents (1).

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p.60.

[39] CHAPTER VII. MAJORITY AND INTERDICTION

[881] 885 In Ruanda there is no initiation ceremony to mark the entrance of boys into social life any more than there are age classes. But when a young man has become ingaragu, his father then looks upon him as a man; he speaks to him of cattle and crops, allows him to share his meal, and sends him in his place to the patron to pay homage, etc.

732 Lunatics (abasazi), the dumb (ibirazi) and the deaf (ibipfamatwi) move around freely and, except for the first, may marry.

593 The property of a spendthrift (ikarara, lit., half mad, exalted) is managed by his parents.

As for the bad son who is disobedient and insolent, he can be cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume).

561 CHAPTER VIII. TABLE INDICATING THE NAMES USED TO DESIGNATE THE DIFFERENT AGES OF LIFE (1)

1. The age given in years is obviously

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the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law 593
and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to [606]
punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[12]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. [883]
They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the [583]
bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's [613]
inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father).

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. 604
He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful.

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her [583]
nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent [584]

[12] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

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604 obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further
[582] pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally,
[584] she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between
604 FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected
601 in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezawanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

602 Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather
603 called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to
[867] cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization
[887] of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of
[869] past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

593 As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
601 *IV. Ego's generation*		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[15]

593 Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old [589] widower frequently lived alone.

604 The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants, The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have [836] intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody [584] else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego [582] married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[15] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Muenumama* (child of mother).

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Why did they not operate in the case of FaSi? As mother of Ego's paternal cross-cousins, with whom Ego could enjoy the same familiarities, she could have reacted in the same way. We have seen that, on the contrary, she was extremely cordial to her nephews. The only reason seems to be that her nephews belonged to her own lineage, whereas her daughters did not. Consequently she was less interested in bride-wealths, &c. Her husband (FaSiHu) probably reacted in the same way as MoBr. 604

The relations of Ego with his maternal aunt (MoSi) were supposed to be similar to his relations with his mother, but in fact great trust and affection did not often exist between them because of the usually tense relations of the aunt with Ego's mother, her sister. If, for instance, Ego's aunt's husband (MoSiHu) neglected his wife and preferred his sister-in-law (Ego's Mo), with whom intercourse was not taboo, the relations between the two sisters became tense. The incest taboo applied to the relations between Ego and MoSi (as an extension of the incest prohibition between Ego and his Mo) and also MoSiDa (although she did not belong to Mo's inzu). In the latter case, the reason was that for Ego, his maternal parallel cousins were assimilated to his paternal parallel cousins. He had consequently to consider her as his sister. In the next generation this incest taboo still existed (between So and MoSiDaDa, i.e. between any male and his FaMoSiDaDa). The incest between Ego's male descendants and his MoSi's female descendants through females lasted, I was told, as long as the original sibling relation (between Mo and MoSi) was remembered. 604 835 [593] 605 835

Between Ego and his maternal grandfather, the relations were very similar to those between him and his paternal grandfather. As we may expect, the fact that his maternal grandmother did not belong to the maternal patrilineage did not prevent her from being considered as a grandmother and not only as MoFaWi. 603

As has just been indicated, Ego could enjoy with his female maternal cross-cousins great familiarity expressed in practical jokes, pleasant talk, and erotic games. But as long as the girls were unmarried anything more than caressing and petting (erotic kissing seems to have been unknown among Ruanda) was prohibited. It was only after the female cross-cousins' marriages that sexual intercourse with them was tolerated. This behaviour was extended to wives of male cross-cousins (MoBrSoWi). 605 [832] [835]

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3. EGO'S CROSS-LINE RELATIVES

602 The cross-line relatives of Ego are people who are socially recognized as related to him although they do not belong either to his parents' descent groups or to the category of his relatives by affinity.

[605] In Ruanda, the category of cross-line relatives was limited to Ego's paternal cross-cousins, his maternal parallel cousins, their [604] descendants, his sororal nephews and nieces, and their descendants.

Paternal cross-cousins did not belong to Ego's father's patrilineage since they were members of their own father's (FaSiHu of Ego) lineage. It could be said that they were agnates of FaSiHu who was himself an affine of Ego. It seems, however, that the link between Ego and his paternal cross-cousins was their mother (FaSi) and not their father (FaSiHu). This is why I do not include Ego's paternal cross-cousins among Ego's affines.

Maternal cross-cousins were not Ego's cross-line relatives because they were related to Ego as agnates of Ego's mother. On the contrary maternal parallel cousins of Ego were cross-line relatives of Ego's mother: her sororal nephews and nieces. Ego was not related to them through his MoSiHu but through his MoSi as the term of reference used by Ego indicates: child-of-my-maternal-aunt (*mwenemamawacu*). This is why I regard them as Ego's cross-line relatives.

604 Ego was related to his sororal nephews and nieces through his sister in spite of the fact that her children belonged to her husband's agnatic group.

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
FaSiSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
FaSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoSiSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
MoSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
SiSo	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye
SiDa	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye

605 Familiarity, jesting, erotic games without actual intercourse before marriage, were the relations of paternal cross-cousins (as well as maternal cross-cousins) of the opposite sex. The difference was that paternal cross-cousins had to assist each other and often [613] fought together in blood-feuds although, as they did not belong to the same inzu, they could not be killed in retaliation.

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This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an 835
unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the 837
point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover [586]
was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage 836
girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl 848
became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be 605
treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his 835
parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the 605
two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar 604
to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not [582]
marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour [835]

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604 was expected to be protective, but he had no authority over his sister's children unless bride-wealth had not been paid for her.

4. EGO'S AFFINES

128 Following *Notes and Queries*, I shall distinguish two classes among the relatives by marriage. First, those in which the affinal link is the first traced from Ego, i.e. kin of the spouse; secondly, those in which the kinship link is the first one traced, i.e. persons who have married kinsmen and kinswomen.[16]

602 I shall begin with the second class: spouses of members of Ego's patrilineage, of Ego's mother's patrilineage and their own agnatic relatives. Not all of these spouses were considered by Ruanda to be significantly related to Ego. They say, for instance, that the wife of the maternal uncle (MoBrWi) is just a stranger, whereas there was a particular code of behaviour laid down towards the wife of the paternal uncle (FaBrWi). Among affines I include, besides these spouses of Ego's consanguineal relatives, the consanguineal relatives of these spouses, such as DaHuFa, SoWiFa, &c.

(*a*) *The Spouses of Ego's Kin*

601 This is the nomenclature of the second class of Ego's affines.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's father		
FaWi	Mama	Mukadata (wife of Fa)
FaBrWi	Mama	Mukadatawacu (wife of FaBr)
FaSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa masenge (husband of FaSi)
MoSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa mamawacu (husband of MoSi)
II. The generation of Ego's grandfather		
FaFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
MoFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. Ego's generation		
BrWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu (wife-our)
BrWi (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramukazi wanjye
SiHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabowacu (husband-our)
SiHu (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramu wanjye

[16] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 87.

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601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
FaBrDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
FaBrSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaSiSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaSiDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoSiSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
MoSiDaHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoBrDaHu (f.s.)	Name, Nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabo wacu
MoBrSoWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
FaFaBrSoSoWi (m.s.) &c.	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu
DaHuFa, DaHuMo, SoWiFa, SoWiMo		Muwana wanjye
IV. The generation of Ego's son.		
SoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawanjye (female-mine-through-marriage)
DaHu	Mwana	Mukwewanjye (. . . male . . .)
BrSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu (. . . our)
SiSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu (. . . our)
BrDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu (. . . our)
SiDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu (. . . our)
FaBrSoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
FaBrSoDaHu &c.	Mwana	Mukwewacu
V. The generation of Ego's grandchildren		
SoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
SoDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu
DaDaHu	Mwana	Mukwewacu
DaSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
BrSoSoWi	Mwana	Mukazanawacu
SiSoSoWi &c.	Mwana	Mukazanawacu

Grandparents by affinity were regarded in the same way as grandparents by consanguinity. Relations with them were symmetrically playful and familiar. 603

The two uncles by affinity (FaSiHu and MoSiHu) were treated with respect because they were older than their nephews and with sympathy in so far as their wives got along well with them. If they did not, the nephews tended to side with their aunts. The ideal behaviour, however, was to act towards the aunts' husband with rather more confidence than towards mere outsiders. 604

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604 The paternal uncle's wife (FaBrWi) was more deeply connected with Ego's inzu. She bore children who were Ego's parallel cousins; there was no incest taboo between her and Ego's father and if her husband died, she might become a wife of Ego's father. For all these reasons, respectful and almost filial behaviour towards her was expected from Ego.

835 For the affinal relatives of Ego's generation, the rule was quite simple. There was no incest taboo; there was on the contrary a privileged sexual partnership (as described earlier in connexion with the paternal cross-cousins) between a male Ego on the one hand and on the other the wives of his brothers, parallel cousins, and cross-cousins. And the same *mutatis mutandis* when Ego is female.

606 Between Ego and his daughter-in-law (SoWi) there was no incest prohibition, although there was between a female Ego and her son-in-law (her DaHu). This was rationalized by saying that the SoWi is for Ego a little spouse and not a daughter, whereas for the son-in-law, his wife's mother is his mother. As may be imagined the role of SoWi, 'daughter' and rival of her HuMo, was not an easy one as regards Ego and Ego's wife. Her ambivalent situation was reflected in her traditionally expected behaviour. She had to behave respectfully, obediently, and affectionately, as a daughter, towards her parents-in-law, and at the same time she was expected to assume almost an avoidance attitude: she was not allowed to pronounce their names nor even words which sounded similar.

Ego's daughter's husband was expected to conform to the same verbal taboos as regards his father-in-law (Ego) and his mother-in-law (Ego's wife). He was not allowed to eat at his parents-in-law's until his wife had had a child. Even then he never spoke if not invited to. After a certain period of time, however, when the marriage was stable and had produced a few children, relations eventually became freer, though they remained always rather reserved.

601 All other affines of generations following that of Ego were designated by the same term, even if they were not connected through his patrilineal descendents, DaDaHu for instance.

(b) *The kin of Ego's wife*

602 Let us now consider the other class of affines, that in which the affinal link is first traced from Ego. These are the consanguineal

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood. After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin, Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts were severely tabooed.

(*d*) *Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko*

The two other descent groups may be described much more briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally disappeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Why did they not operate in the case of FaSi? As mother of Ego's paternal cross-cousins, with whom Ego could enjoy the same familiarities, she could have reacted in the same way. We have seen that, on the contrary, she was extremely cordial to her nephews. The only reason seems to be that her nephews belonged to her own lineage, whereas her daughters did not. Consequently she was less interested in bride-wealths, &c. Her husband (FaSiHu) probably reacted in the same way as MoBr. 604

The relations of Ego with his maternal aunt (MoSi) were supposed to be similar to his relations with his mother, but in fact great trust and affection did not often exist between them because of the usually tense relations of the aunt with Ego's mother, her sister. If, for instance, Ego's aunt's husband (MoSiHu) neglected his wife and preferred his sister-in-law (Ego's Mo), with whom intercourse was not taboo, the relations between the two sisters became tense. The incest taboo applied to the relations between Ego and MoSi (as an extension of the incest prohibition between Ego and his Mo) and also MoSiDa (although she did not belong to Mo's inzu). In the latter case, the reason was that for Ego, his maternal parallel cousins were assimilated to his paternal parallel cousins. He had consequently to consider her as his sister. In the next generation this incest taboo still existed (between So and MoSiDaDa, i.e. between any male and his FaMoSiDaDa). The incest between Ego's male descendants and his MoSi's female descendants through females lasted, I was told, as long as the original sibling relation (between Mo and MoSi) was remembered. 604 835 [593] 605 835

Between Ego and his maternal grandfather, the relations were very similar to those between him and his paternal grandfather. As we may expect, the fact that his maternal grandmother did not belong to the maternal patrilineage did not prevent her from being considered as a grandmother and not only as MoFaWi. 603

As has just been indicated, Ego could enjoy with his female maternal cross-cousins great familiarity expressed in practical jokes, pleasant talk, and erotic games. But as long as the girls were unmarried anything more than caressing and petting (erotic kissing seems to have been unknown among Ruanda) was prohibited. It was only after the female cross-cousins' marriages that sexual intercourse with them was tolerated. This behaviour was extended to wives of male cross-cousins (MoBrSoWi). 605 [832] [835]

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3. EGO'S CROSS-LINE RELATIVES

602 The cross-line relatives of Ego are people who are socially recognized as related to him although they do not belong either to his parents' descent groups or to the category of his relatives by affinity.

[605] In Ruanda, the category of cross-line relatives was limited to [604] Ego's paternal cross-cousins, his maternal parallel cousins, their descendants, his sororal nephews and nieces, and their descendants.

Paternal cross-cousins did not belong to Ego's father's patrilineage since they were members of their own father's (FaSiHu of Ego) lineage. It could be said that they were agnates of FaSiHu who was himself an affine of Ego. It seems, however, that the link between Ego and his paternal cross-cousins was their mother (FaSi) and not their father (FaSiHu). This is why I do not include Ego's paternal cross-cousins among Ego's affines.

Maternal cross-cousins were not Ego's cross-line relatives because they were related to Ego as agnates of Ego's mother. On the contrary maternal parallel cousins of Ego were cross-line relatives of Ego's mother: her sororal nephews and nieces. Ego was not related to them through his MoSiHu but through his MoSi as the term of reference used by Ego indicates: child-of-my-maternal-aunt (*mwenemamawacu*). This is why I regard them as Ego's cross-line relatives.

604 Ego was related to his sororal nephews and nieces through his sister in spite of the fact that her children belonged to her husband's agnatic group.

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
FaSiSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
FaSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoSiSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
MoSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
SiSo	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye
SiDa	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye

605 Familiarity, jesting, erotic games without actual intercourse before marriage, were the relations of paternal cross-cousins (as well as maternal cross-cousins) of the opposite sex. The difference was that paternal cross-cousins had to assist each other and often fought together in blood-feuds although, as they did not belong [613] to the same insu, they could not be killed in retaliation.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted. 557 858 613

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions. 181 554 555 433 858 557 858

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society. 858

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10] 842

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between 182 842 605

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1955, pp. 85-86.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

837 Up until recent times, the father-in-law and even the brothers-
606 in-law had the right to spend one or several nights with the wife of
607 his son or brother. The father-in-law had the right to claim this right without discussion, while the brothers-in-law had to have the brother's permission. The wife who refused to share her bed with her father-in-law or one of her brothers-in-law could be driven away. The husband even had the right to compel his wife to give her favors to one of his friends.

CHAPTER III. DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

1. Death

765 Two days after a death, the whole clan arrives to assist the widow and orphans in their mourning. The mother and her children shave off their hair, take off their bracelets, and abstain from washing their clothes (kwirabura, lit., to become black). One of the brothers of the deceased lights a fire that burns in the rugo without cease for two days (igitshaniro). When it has gone out, the children and their uncle take the ashes and go in secret to throw them in a marsh.

[834] Mourning lasts for two months during which time the married sons may not have intercourse with their wives.

On the first day of the third month the members of the family return. In the evening they all assemble, swallow [32] great quantities of beer, and sing happily (kwera, lit., to become white). The brother of the deceased who took charge of the igitshaniro, or in his absence, another brother, must share the bed of the widow (kweza). The married sons, in the order of their birth, simulate the sexual act with their wives.

The following day, the widow and the wives of the married sons put milk in the churns and make butter (1). Then all the members of

1. During the mourning they could not touch the churns. A stranger to the family of the deceased came and made the butter.

the family rub themselves with chalk, put on white garments, and go

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
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INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young

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1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother

[301]

2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[600] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 784 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren		
SoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruza
SoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruza
IX. The other generations under		
Descendant		Ubuvivi[11]

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

593 During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other [881] comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely [882] and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not [883] have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in 593 different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the 868 Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

593 When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as [583] Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, [681] which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating [606] his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

[11] Compare with Vanhove, 1941, pp. 11-16.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[12]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father).

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful.

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent

[12] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

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604 The paternal uncle's wife (FaBrWi) was more deeply connected with Ego's inzu. She bore children who were Ego's parallel cousins; there was no incest taboo between her and Ego's father and if her husband died, she might become a wife of Ego's father. For all these reasons, respectful and almost filial behaviour towards her was expected from Ego.

835 For the affinal relatives of Ego's generation, the rule was quite simple. There was no incest taboo; there was on the contrary a privileged sexual partnership (as described earlier in connexion with the paternal cross-cousins) between a male Ego on the one hand and on the other the wives of his brothers, parallel cousins, and cross-cousins. And the same *mutatis mutandis* when Ego is female.

606 Between Ego and his daughter-in-law (SoWi) there was no incest prohibition, although there was between a female Ego and her son-in-law (her DaHu). This was rationalized by saying that the SoWi is for Ego a little spouse and not a daughter, whereas for the son-in-law, his wife's mother is his mother. As may be imagined the role of SoWi, 'daughter' and rival of her HuMo, was not an easy one as regards Ego and Ego's wife. Her ambivalent situation was reflected in her traditionally expected behaviour. She had to behave respectfully, obediently, and affectionately, as a daughter, towards her parents-in-law, and at the same time she was expected to assume almost an avoidance attitude: she was not allowed to pronounce their names nor even words which sounded similar.

Ego's daughter's husband was expected to conform to the same verbal taboos as regards his father-in-law (Ego) and his mother-in-law (Ego's wife). He was not allowed to eat at his parents-in-law's until his wife had had a child. Even then he never spoke if not invited to. After a certain period of time, however, when the marriage was stable and had produced a few children, relations eventually became freer, though they remained always rather reserved.

601 All other affines of generations following that of Ego were designated by the same term, even if they were not connected through his patrilineal descendents, DaDaHu for instance.

(b) *The kin of Ego's wife*

602 Let us now consider the other class of affines, that in which the affinal link is first traced from Ego. These are the consanguineal

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601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
WiFaBrSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoSiSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiFaSiSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiFaSiDa	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoBrSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoBrDa	Name	Muramuwacu
Female speaking		
HuBr	Name	Mugabowacu
HuSi	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuFaBrSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuMoSiSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuFaSiSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuFaSiDa	Name	Mukebawanjye (my rival)
HuMoBrSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuMoBrDa	Name	Mukebawanjye
HuMoSiDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuFaBrDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuWi	Name	Mukebawanjye
HuBrWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)
HuFaBrSoWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)
HuMoSiSoWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)

606 601 As has just been mentioned in connexion with the SoWi and the DaHu roles, Ego and his wife were expected to behave respectfully, with restraint as well as with affection towards their parents-in-law. This was reflected in the terminology. WiFa, WiMo, HuFa, HuMo were addressed by the term used for the grandparents. We know that Ego's conduct towards his grandparents was extremely familiar. He had to use the same term for in-laws and was not allowed to pronounce their name. As the preceding nomenclature indicates, the use of the same term of address was extended to all in-laws of the generation above Ego's one. There was again no distinction between the grandparents and great-grandparents who were patrilineal ascendents of the spouse and those who were only in the maternal line.

607 Ego's conduct towards his wife's relatives of the same generation depended mainly on the privileged sex partnership. The determination of those who could be partners was conditioned by the simple principle which assimilates a person to his siblings and parallel cousins. According to this, Ego could have sex relations with those who were assimilated to his wife: her sisters and her parallel cousins. The same applied to a female Ego: her privileged partners are thus her husband's brothers and parallel cousins.

We have indicated what was meant by a sexual privileged

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or 585
speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but [613
under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. 578]
Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts [607
to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, 606]
and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for 584
his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home [586]
with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an [835]
older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan 593
or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please 776

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Hutu

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
[574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her
517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415 water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on
[356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
[252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need
[574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home
593 while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

586 she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with
593 her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but
[587] abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of
[564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside,
[567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her
●606 daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true
592 mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The
607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority
592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his
578 wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same
595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of
564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced
[586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

837 Up until recent times, the father-in-law and even the brothers-
606 in-law had the right to spend one or several nights with the wife of
607 his son or brother. The father-in-law had the right to claim this right without discussion, while the brothers-in-law had to have the brother's permission. The wife who refused to share her bed with her father-in-law or one of her brothers-in-law could be driven away. The husband even had the right to compel his wife to give her favors to one of his friends.

CHAPTER III. DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

1. Death

765 Two days after a death, the whole clan arrives to assist the widow and orphans in their mourning. The mother and her children shave off their hair, take off their bracelets, and abstain from washing their clothes (kwirabura, lit., to become black). One of the brothers of the deceased lights a fire that burns in the rugo without cease for two days (igitshaniro). When it has gone out, the children and their uncle take the ashes and go in secret to throw them in a marsh.

[834] Mourning lasts for two months during which time the married sons may not have intercourse with their wives.

On the first day of the third month the members of the family return. In the evening they all assemble, swallow [32] great quantities of beer, and sing happily (kwera, lit., to become white). The brother of the deceased who took charge of the igitshaniro, or in his absence, another brother, must share the bed of the widow (kweza). The married sons, in the order of their birth, simulate the sexual act with their wives.

The following day, the widow and the wives of the married sons put milk in the churns and make butter (1). Then all the members of

1. During the mourning they could not touch the churns. A stranger to the family of the deceased came and made the butter.

the family rub themselves with chalk, put on white garments, and go

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to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the 593
importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among
brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there [607]
was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's [835]
husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood. After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as [428]
they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his 605
brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin, Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of [589]
his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging [835]
obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts were severely tabooed.

(*d*) *Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko*

The two other descent groups may be described much more 613
briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually 613
these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu 591
and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally disappeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics 613
or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

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partnership among cross-cousins and that this was only one 607
aspect of wider behaviour patterns of familiarity and joking. The [602]
relations between Ego and certain of his affines should be understood in the same sense.

These relations were reciprocal in the sense that the husband of Ego's partner was also the privileged partner of Ego's wife, as the two husbands had the same relationships of affinity with each other's wives. This reciprocity seemed essential to the working of the system, which otherwise would have been probably too frustrating. The case of the wife of Ego's wife's brother (WiBrWi) confirms this interpretation. Although she was quite unrelated to Ego, there was a kind of 'incest' taboo concerning any relation with her. There was a strict avoidance (Ego was not allowed to stay alone with his WiBrWi) and such a relation was considered to bring ill-luck not only to the partners but to the lineages concerned. The reason for that prohibition, I was told, was that the husband of WiBrWi, being the brother of Ego's wife, was prevented by the incest-taboo from having any reciprocal relations with her. It appears, however, that the common resentment of Ego and his WiBrWi against their common in-laws may have been such that these sanctions were not a sufficient deterrent.

These different patterns of behaviour were expressed in 601
terminology. Ego referred by the same term to his wife's female parallel cousins and by another to her cross-cousins and male parallel cousins. There was also a special term to designate those who are husbands of privileged partners. A female Ego used terms in which similar distinctions appeared.

5. SOME COMMENTS ON KINSHIP PRINCIPLES IN RUANDA

(a) *Analytical table of kinship terms*

The attention I have given and have still to give to kinship 12
terminology rests on the assumption that the use of kinship 601
terms indicates what aspects, among the many that could be stressed in a kinship system, have been actually emphasized in a particular society. Terminology indicates first the principles according to which, among the almost unlimited mass of possible relationships some have been given a name and are thus considered as social roles. Secondly, terminology shows the lines of cleavage according to which the totality of relationships have been separated in different classes.

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601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
WiFaBrSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoSiSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiFaSiSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiFaSiDa	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoBrSo	Name	Muramuwacu
WiMoBrDa	Name	Muramuwacu
Female speaking		
HuBr	Name	Mugabowacu
HuSi	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuFaBrSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuMoSiSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuFaSiSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuFaSiDa	Name	Mukebawanjye (my rival)
HuMoBrSo	Name	Mugabowacu
HuMoBrDa	Name	Mukebawanjye
HuMoSiDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuFaBrDa	Name	Muramukaziwanjye
HuWi	Name	Mukebawanjye
HuBrWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)
HuFaBrSoWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)
HuMoSiSoWi	Name	Mukebawacu (our rival)

606 601 As has just been mentioned in connexion with the SoWi and the DaHu roles, Ego and his wife were expected to behave respectfully, with restraint as well as with affection towards their parents-in-law. This was reflected in the terminology. WiFa, WiMo, HuFa, HuMo were addressed by the term used for the grandparents. We know that Ego's conduct towards his grandparents was extremely familiar. He had to use the same term for in-laws and was not allowed to pronounce their name. As the preceding nomenclature indicates, the use of the same term of address was extended to all in-laws of the generation above Ego's one. There was again no distinction between the grandparents and great-grandparents who were patrilineal ascendents of the spouse and those who were only in the maternal line.

607 Ego's conduct towards his wife's relatives of the same generation depended mainly on the privileged sex partnership. The determination of those who could be partners was conditioned by the simple principle which assimilates a person to his siblings and parallel cousins. According to this, Ego could have sex relations with those who were assimilated to his wife: her sisters and her parallel cousins. The same applied to a female Ego: her privileged partners are thus her husband's brothers and parallel cousins.

We have indicated what was meant by a sexual privileged

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

585 [613 578] [607 606]

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please

584 [586] [835] 593 776

586 593 [587] she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of [564] this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside, [567] often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

606 592 In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The 607 first one to be married into the household has in principle priority 592 over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking 578 sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same 595 story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of 564 the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced [586] children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

601 2) Sister of my husband: muramukazi wanjye
3) Wife of my husband's brother: mukeba wanjye
4) Second wife of my sister's husband: umugore wa muramu wanjye or mukeba w'uwo tuv'indimwe
Those who have married two sisters: abasanzire
Two men, each of whom has married the sister of the other: abaramu
Father of my son-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Mother of my son-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Brother of my son-in-law: umukwe wanjye
Sister of my son-in-law: umwana wanjye
Father of my daughter-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Mother of my daughter-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Brother of my daughter-in-law: umukwe wanjye
Sister of my daughter-in-law: umwana wanjye [17]

5. The Blood Pact

608 The blood pact (kunywana) is practiced throughout the whole of Ruanda and particularly by the Bahutu. Blood brothers (abanywanyi) can depend on each other completely. They must help each other in the most difficult circumstances of life and may even mutually dispose of their property (1) and their wives (2).

1. By special agreement.

2. With the consent of the wives.

The interested parties, each one assisted by a witness who will guarantee the other party's observation of the pact, sit down on a mat in the hut of one of them. Each of the witnesses cuts a leaf of coral erythrin (muko) and removes the stalk; he rolls the leaf into a cone shape and pours into it a little sorghum flour. Then with a small knife he makes an incision below the navel of the one he is assisting. He presses the sides of the cut to make the blood flow, collects it in the cone, and mixes it with the flour, using the leaf stalk. Then each party drinks the mixture called gihango (lit., blood) presented to him by the other's witness. The witnesses then pronounce imprecations (kutanga) in the name of their respective clients in order to seal the pact: "If you find me ill or wounded on the road and do not help me, may the gihango kill you."

608 "If you refuse to give me lodging or food, may the gihango kill you."

The two blood brothers then lie down on the mat side by side for a few moments to indicate that they will be indissolubly united in good as in bad days.

Then the one who is the visitor takes a handful of herbs and throws it on the hearth, saying: "If you come to my house and [18] I am away you may drink my beer and warm yourself with my wood, and may the gihango do you no harm, for you will not have wanted either to steal my beer or to burn my hut. But if my wife refuses to give you the beer and the wood, it is no concern of mine, for my wife is not bound as we are by the blood pact."

The abanywanyi then offer gifts to the witnesses such as hoes, necklaces, etc., and give each other presents of hoes, goats, and cows, according to their means, in order "to free themselves from the mat on which the blood pact has taken place," (kwichara ku kirago).

CHAPTER II. MARRIAGE

1. Kinds of Unions

583 The word ugushaka (to have a wife) designates marriage in general.

The typical marriage with payment of a dowry (inkwano) to the girl's father is called kurongora.

A umugeni w'ubuntu (lit., betrothed given as a present) may [572] be given as testimony of affection to a friend. Later the man can give a dowry, but he is not obliged to do so. If the friends quarrel, [562] the dowry may then be reclaimed. A powerful chief can also give his mututsi client a young girl as a gift (umugeni w'ingororano).

587 To marry a divorced woman or a widow is called gutshyura umusumbakazi (lit., to bring home a woman who has already been married). These unions are frequent, especially among the Bahutu. When they start keeping house, the husband only gives the bride's paterfamilias a jug of pombe, but if the couple have children he must give a dowry. [19]

428 608 429

A man who has concluded the blood pact (kunywana) (2)

2. Cf. Personal Status, The Blood Pact, p.13.

inherits from his blood brother (umunywanyi) if the latter dies without leaving any male relatives. He may marry the wife of the deceased but not his daughter, who is considered as being his child, and he exercises paternal authority over the orphans.

429 If the deceased is tied to a patron by a lease of livestock and has no brother, the guardianship of the children who are minors belongs to the shebuja (kumuremera). In the opposite case, the shebuja shares it with a paternal or a maternal uncle of the orphans. If the patron has paid his client's dowry, he will take the dowries given for his umugaragu's daughters and will keep them to enable the boys to marry. Thus, in this case, a Mututsi becomes chief of the Muhutu's rugo.

9. Reversion of Property in Escheat

428 As women do not inherit, in the unlikely case of the deceased having no male relatives, his patron takes back the cows that belonged to him and appropriates the small livestock, tools, etc. (inzungu) (3). The fields, banana plantations, and pastures left

3. From guzungura, " to inherit without being a relative."

under the same conditions (inkungu) (1) go to the political chief who

1. Cf. Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4.

assigns them to another man. But widows are authorized to live in their own rugo.

If the deceased is not tied by an ubugaragu contract, all his property goes to the political chief who disposes of it as he sees fit.

643 Often an interdiction is attached to a king's name: a Yuhi,
[551] for instance, may not cross great rivers like the Nyabarongo (3).

3. River flowing into the Akanyaru which forms the boundary between Ruanda and Urundi.

[775] After his death the king becomes a sort of divinity for the people. He has gone to Hades to join the demigods, his ancestors.
643 The king shares the supreme authority with his mother
644 (umugabekazi) (4). She is all-powerful, often more powerful than

4. The king's wife is called Umwamikazi or simply Muka-Rudahigwa, etc. The present King's wife is called Nyiramakomare.

her son. Whoever pays homage to the king [88] must also do so to his mother. She intervenes in law proceedings and the distribution of land, herds, etc. The king and his mother together are called Abami. The continual presence of the queen mother at her son's
[608] side is essential (1) and if the king loses his mother, he will be given

1. Kankazi, mother of Rudahigwa Mutara, lives on Shyogwa Hill in Marangara. This measure was taken by the Belgian government because, remembering the disastrous role played by Nyirayuhi with Musinga, they wished to prevent the mother of the present King from exercising too great a political influence.

an official mother. The king's mother has a special name, the
[551] same as that of her son, except when the king is called Mutara; that name even the court familiars cannot give her (2). The same honors

2. Yuhi Musinga's mother Kanjogera, bore the royal name of Nyirayuhi. Kankazi, mother of Mutara Rudahigwa, is called Nyiramavugo.

563 582 614 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara Iwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

572 608 [243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

572 608 628 There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is connected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 is divided into zones settled by different clans which are often
•608 hostile to each other, the individual can depend only on his
628 clansmen. When he goes abroad, outside his clan's sphere of influence, he must look for personal friends and secure their pledge of protection, thus making possible his sojourn in strange parts of the land. This is the reason why traders enter into the greatest number of brotherhood pacts. People who never leave their hillsides do not make this pact, and pacts between the inhabitants of the same hillside also are not common.

572 Brotherhood is sealed by special ceremonies. On the day of
608 the pact the one who wants to enter into brotherhood goes to the house of his future blood brother, accompanied by a witness. He is received there also in the presence of a witness. All four men sit down on a mat on the hut floor. The articles necessary for the ceremony are placed beside them: mutsima, stiff millet mush; a knife; and a hoe.

The witness of the guest takes the knife and makes a scratch to the right of the latter's navel. He catches the blood on a piece of mutsima and hands the knife to the witness of the houseowner, who repeats the same ceremony with his candidate. The two blood brothers then eat each other's blood along with the mutsima. Then the first witness takes the knife, begins to sharpen it on his skin, and says:

[244] Mwumwe! Ntuza yaniwanye na ntuza.
Harken! This one enters into blood brotherhood with that one.

Elmwa kanaka uramuka umutatiye iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Hear you (this one), if you dare betray him, this vow will kill you.

Akomerekera mw' itawalo wanga kumuheka, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
If he is wounded in battle, you refuse to carry (him), this vow will kill you.

Umushigisha amata iwawe, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you him milk yours, this vow will kill you.

Wanga kumuheka, yarwaliye mw' itawalo, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you to carry, when he falls in battle, this vow will kill you.

572 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiche.
608 (If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rise, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood
608 brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new
431 friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to
608 attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood
614 brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed
628 by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its
608 significance. This may be considered a result of state organiza-
614 tion which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organiza-
178 tion. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

572 608 614 178 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship between blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 608 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 608 582 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously observed. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 608 837 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 608 563 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the Batwa.

614 621 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

164 Since then the Lake Barundi have not changed much as
regards their physical and mental constitution, but the individ-
165 ual tribes were struck by a terrible epidemic of sleeping sick-
ness and were reduced to scarcely a third of their original num-
bers, so that in 1911 I found most of the formerly flourishing
settlements deserted and laid waste. Fortunately the stinging
[136] fly, Glossina palpalis, which carries the infection, has not
penetrated into cool, windy, upper Urundi, and it probably
never will since it does not find favorable conditions there.

4. Mental Traits

000 At this point little will be said about the mental traits
of the Barundi since they can be adequately inferred from the
detailed descriptions of their life and of their material and in-
tellectual culture which will follow. Therefore, I shall give
only a few data about the disposition, temperament, and
character of these three large population groups which differ
so considerably from each other.

Of the Batwa, the more primitive, freer Forest Batwa
151 are also much freer mentally than those who have settled
among the Bahutu and Batussi. Like all hunting tribes, they
are characterized by their extraordinarily sharp senses, the
superiority of which is very often experienced and still feared
by the Bahutu as they advance against the forest in search of
563 arable land. As long as he can still hunt and live, freely
roaming the forest, the Mutwa is very proud of his independence
and looks with contempt upon the Muhutu wretched and bent
low tilling his field, and also on the Village Mutwa living
outside the forests who has to earn his living painfully either
by working in the fields or as a potter or blacksmith. Toward
609 a European the Mutwa is in most cases, if not hostile, at any
rate shy and ostensibly indolent, for even in peaceful inter-
course he is afraid of the sorcery and formidable powers of the
Whites.

563 [13] The Village Batwa are in all circumstances shy and
157 cringing as a result of their social position as pariahs, of which

157 northwest. In spite of their impulsive behavior, the Bahutu are incapable of any strong exertion of will. They are conservative out of inertia and indifference, and for this reason they cling to the old, habitual concepts and customs. A marked tendency toward everything mystical and supernatural works in the same direction, in spite of the rough sensuality of their physical nature. Much good-naturedness is apparent in their social behavior to their equals and in their warm love for children.

In his contacts with others, whenever no higher class Mutussi is present, the Muhutu is cheerful, loud, and talkative, but in the presence of a Mutussi superior he is serious and reticent. When the Muhutu is able to relax, his imagination is active and is expressed in naïve boasting and bragging. He likes to cheat his fellow countrymen and foreigners and is liable to use physical force if he considers the other person weaker. [609] The European is sure to be told lies by him at first and to have him soon turn impertinent if he does not know how to command 563 his respect. If the European manages this, as the Mutussi 157 always does, the boasting of the Muhutu soon turns into slavish docility and cowardice. This is also the case when he is confronted by serious danger, for example, in war, unless his fear of the Mutussi ruler [14] is even greater than his cowardice and forces him to commit acts which look like the result of great courage and self-imposed discipline. In reality the Bahutu of Urundi have become slaves in thought and desire, as a result of the four centuries of despotism by the Batussi, although theirs is not so slavish an attitude as that of the Banjaruanda [Ruanda] under their monarchic Hamitic rulers.

For the keen observer this enormous influence of the relatively small Batussi minority upon the large mass of the Bahutu is at first impossible to understand, for he soon realizes that the Batussi are by no means the ideal men they seemed to us to be from the first descriptions by Count von Götzen, Dr. Kandt, and others.

Richard Kandt says of the Batussi:

181 "If I analyze my feelings and state them honestly, I must say that I was impressed by them. Even now I have not lost this feeling although my mind rebels against it and although I have told myself hundreds of times that these people are, after all, barbarians far inferior to me intellectually. But it is of no avail! I have explained to myself the source of this feeling, so unusual to experience toward a colored person ... Apart from the gigantic stature, apart from the nobility of each movement and the dignity of their manner of speech, apart from the tasteful unobtrusive manner in which they dress, apart from their refined features and the calm penetrating, often even mocking and provocative eyes, apart from all this, there still is -- and here I hesitate and am unable to formulate the dim obscure feelings which hover in my imagination." (No. 22, p. 266.)

[564] This is a sentimental but a very understandable judgment. In actual fact the Batussi are a ruling caste, but not a ruling race in the ethical sense.

563 Gradually one discovers the secret of the tremendous
186 superiority of the relatively few Batussi over the one and a half
156 million Bahutu: they are greatly superior to them in intelligence, calmness, composure, cruelty, cunning, racial pride, solidarity, and political talent. What strikes one most about the individual Mutussi, apart from his imposing outward appearance which certainly must have made a great impression on the Muhutu from the beginning, is first his calm and what appears to be unconcerned reserve. In his contact with the restless, impulsive, thoughtless Muhutu, this has always been to his advantage.
[609] Further one is struck by the arrogance he displays even toward Europeans, by his abysmal mendacity and cowardice when faced with any disagreeable situation. The Mutussi regards himself and his kind as the crown of creation, as a paragon of cleverness and political skill. This is small wonder, for the inferiority of the relatively few tribes within his sphere of vision -- intentionally kept narrowly circumscribed -- and the fact that a Batussi minority rules the large Bahutu people were bound to increase his feeling
186 of importance beyond all measure. It is true that he fears the
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186 European because the latter is in possession of many mysterious
609 powers and resources, for example, the breechloader and technical skills, but he nevertheless considers him basically stupid since he can deceive him, and he looks down upon him with more contempt the less he knows and understands him. As a traveler, one at first has to get used to being looked up and down with a contemptuous smile by most Batussi in conversations and negotiations far from the military posts, and from then on it is best to treat them with a certain amount of humorous derision, provided one is capable of it. The longer one has traveled in Negro areas and the better one has familiarized oneself with Negro character, the more one is impressed when first meeting the Batussi by their proud reserve. There is no restless curiosity [15], no noisy, half fearful, half good-natured greeting as with most Negroes, but, calm and composed, these tall fellows stand there, leaning on their spears, and let the European pass or approach as though the unusual phenomenon did not impress them in the least. It is not until one matches their self-assurance and meets them with some force to back one up that one notices from the restless play of their eyes and the veins in their necks that most of them have a nervous uneasiness, anxiety, and fear concealed behind their apparent indifference.

181 Never or only very seldom does the Mutussi say what he thinks; it has to be inferred. Indeed, lying is not only customary to strangers, but it is a deep-rooted vice practiced toward everyone. This is a moral defect which cannot be glossed over by considering it optimistically, as R. Kandt does, as a "kind of competition between two intellects which to them is not dishonorable," or as "the unconscious transference into real life of their graceful riddle games, unusual for a Negro people, with which even as children they are accustomed to enliven conviviality" (No. 22, p. 273). Such romanticism is misleading in ethnology and ethnopsychology; sober objectivity in the evaluation of our colonial peoples is necessary for practical reasons alone.

In addition to mendacity, laziness and cowardice are also unpleasant character traits of the Batussi. The Mutussi never

157 were the times of hard work for all able-bodied persons who could
461 wield a hoe. Once sowing time was over, why cultivate further? The busy times were intermittent, therefore, and even those people who were most inclined to work had nothing to do but sit for a good half of the year, unless a war should bring them to their feet. It is obvious that such a state of affairs does not lead to the development of industrious habits and sustained application to work.

157 Immorality. I fear that I won't be contradicted if I say that the Black is immoral.... How could one expect these "child-peoples," who live such a carefree and easy life, to acquire habits of abnegation and self-restraint? When the evangelization of these primitive tribes was begun, it was not easy to establish among them such habits of morality as befit a Christian people (1).

1. We have good reason to believe that the Banyarwanda may be classified among the least corrupt. The taboos and traditions that prevail among them act as a check against profligacy.

Mistrust. Centuries of struggle to the death among the various
[609] African tribes have engendered... a certain attitude toward foreigners which makes it very difficult for a well-intentioned person to lead them as far as he might wish on the road to progress....

To conclude. If the previous lines do not contain an exact description of the African in general (for there are no generalizations applicable at once to one and all), /65/ I hope nevertheless not to have been guilty of injustice toward the Blacks in describing them. If only they could make the most of their assets and persevere in conquering their shortcomings, then no doubt a fine future would be open to them.

The same author adds that if one could persuade them to develop a civilization peculiar to their race, instead of slavishly giving way to their natural aptitude for copying that of others, this would be a good contribution to the glory of humanity and a denial

278 Igisura belongs to the Urticaceae family.

824 This plant grows to a height of about 1.50 meters. Sufferers from yaws drink its juice as a remedy. They must be careful not to take too heavy a dose, so as not to risk a serious intoxication.

It is rumored that ill-disposed people have used one or another of those plants, and in particular the mutambasha, or rat poison, to wreak their vengeance and do away with their enemies.

754 Small packets of herbs were found in the possession of people suspected of practicing the poisoner's vocation.

609 For what purpose had those plants been gathered? Perhaps the sorcerer had tried to lend them a harmfulness which of themselves they did not possess. Backbiters in the land insist that once at least royal hands mixed those allegedly noxious substances into milk, honey, and butter intended for Europeans who were passing through. The said person achieved no results, however, and this led him /or her/ to say that it was impossible to get rid of the Whites, that poisons, spells, and bewitchment had no hold over them. We are inclined to believe that in this case charms and philters were involved rather than noxious substances.

754 It is said that the penultimate king of the Uswi, Gasusuro, one of the regular suppliers of such products, replied to the court 178 envoys one fine day when they came to fetch the goods that henceforth he would not supply them, that he was through with all poisons. It is also quite /489/ possible that his answer was dictated by the fear of being caught practicing this vocation. Let us add for the sake of truthfulness that the days are long since past when such things could be said or plotted against Europeans (1).

1. The Blacks live in the almost constant fear of bewitchment and poisoning.

[161] Rickets, tuberculosis, and sudden or strange deaths, especially when the corpse swells up immediately, could have no other cause in their opinion.

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

769 [609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

769 766 791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies.

769 [775] The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[534] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

●609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different clements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mutwa, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
•609 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[71] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J. M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

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Neighbors]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

614 [240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan
262 groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

262 Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no
858 means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of
562 Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

262 The food taboos which play such an important role in the
614 life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos,
784 abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

614 The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are
784 taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

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CHAPTER II

THE SYSTEM OF KINSHIP AND AFFINITY[1]

1. DESCENT GROUPS

AMONG the Ruanda people, Tutsi as well as Hutu, the social principle of descent was agnatic. When any informant is asked who are his ascendants, he always answers by giving the names of his father, his paternal grandfather, his paternal great grandfather up to some male ancestor beyond whom he is unable to go. He does not mention his mother nor any of her ascendants. 611

Questions on the actual groupings founded on this principle and their functions elicit less unanimous and clear answers. The reason is that kinship groups have undoubtedly undergone a slow process of change in several respects during the Tutsi occupation of the country. What we know of its history[2] is quite sufficient to convince us that there has been a progressive territorial expansion under one dynasty of rulers together with an intensification of the 61. 178 [642]

[1] In order to make clear the connotations of the main concepts used in this chapter, here are a few definitions: 128

Ego's *kin* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through parent-child and-or sibling links. *Consanguineal* and *cognatic* relatives are used as synonyms for kin. 602

Ego's *affines* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through a marriage link. This link may be the first traced from Ego (the affines are then Ego's spouse's kin) or the kinship link may be the first one traced (the affines are then Ego's kin's spouse).

Ego's *patrilineal* or *agnatic* relatives are those of his kin who descend by male links from the same male ancestor as Ego.

Ego's *matrilineal* or *uterine* relatives are those of his kin who descend by female links from the same ancestress as Ego.

Ego's *cross-line* relatives are those of his kin who are neither patrilineally nor matrilineally related to him.

Ego's *paternal* or *patrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his father.

Ego's *maternal* or *matrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his mother.

To sum up:

Relatives	are *kin* (or consanguineal relatives or cognates) who can be distinguished as	1. patrilineal (or agnatic) 2. matrilineal (or uterine) 3. cross-line
	of as	1. paternal (or patrilateral) 2. maternal (or matrilateral)
	and *affines* who can be distinguished as	1. kin of Ego's spouse 2. spouses of Ego's kin.

[2] See for instances, Pagès, 1933.

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61 degrees of control exerted by that central authority on the territory.
178 These processes have necessarily had an impact on the autonomy
692 and social significance of Hutu and Tutsi kinship groups, on their connexion with a particular tract of land, and on their functions.
121 We shall not be concerned here with any reconstruction of these processes but only with them as they existed in the immediate pre-European days. It should be borne in mind, however, that this was the period of an evolution. This explains the sometimes confused picture given by some informants.

(*a*) *Inzu, ubwoko, umulyango*

613 Hutu and Tutsi recognized a patrilineal kin group (*inzu*)[3] which included all who could actually trace their agnatic relationship through usually no more than four or five ascendent genealogical links to an ancestor recognized as the original ancestor of the group.

Members of the inzu of a male Ego were: Br, Si, Fa, FaSi, FaBr, FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaFa, FaFaBr, FaFaSi, FaFaBrSo, FaFaBrDa, FaFaBrSoSo, FaFaBrSoDa.[4]

Ego's sororal nephews and nieces (SiSo, SiDa) and his paternal cross-cousins (FaSiSo and FaSiDa) did not belong to his *inzu*. However they participated in some of its activities if they lived
[591] with their maternal uncle (Ego), which happened when the bride-wealth for their mother (Ego's Si) had not been entirely paid.

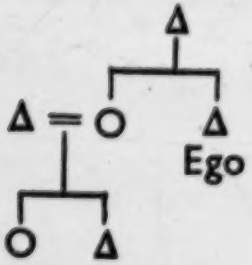

Diagram A.

Other generations above Ego's (that of FaFaFa, &c.) or under his (that of SoSoSo, &c.), were not necessarily included in Ego's

[3] *Inzu* means also hut.
[4] I follow the symbolization system used by Murdock, 1949.

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The most important *biru* were the three to whom the king communicated the name of his successor and the recommendations he wanted them to transmit to the new king later. There were about a dozen main *biru* offices. These important *biru* had assistants from their lineages, prospective successors whom they gradually trained in order that the oral traditions should not be lost.

Biru had to memorize secret rules, governing for instance the order according to which queens would be chosen from different descent groups, the ritual to observe in case of spreading of cattle disease, lack of abundance of rain, warlike ceremonies, celebrations of the sorghum harvests, &c.

[196]

The *biru* institution safeguarded the interests of the great Tutsi descent groups. This function appears clearly in the determination made for several reigns in advance of the secondary lineages and clans from which the queens should be successively chosen. The *biru*, as representatives of their kinship groups had, as it were, established the order in which the interests of different clans and lineages would be favoured in turn.

No one *mwiru* knew the entire body of customs. That knowledge was divided into parts, the remembering of each being entrusted to a *mwiru*, that is to say a descent group, as the office was hereditary. In this way it may be said that the exclusive knowledge of a part of the most important Ruanda ritual had become almost the property of each great Tutsi descent group.

A second function of the *biru* institution was to secure the continuity and the prevalence of the tradition which could have been endangered by the very considerable powers of the king. That traditional body was not unlike a constitution in a modern state and the *biru* institution could be said to have had a role similar to that of a supreme court judging whether a new rule is compatible with the fundamental charter of the country. Of course they had explicitly neither such a task nor such institutionalized means to prevent the mwami from establishing new rules, but the disapproval of an innovation by the *biru* was not to be taken lightly as they represented the great Tutsi kinship groups.

[C42]

To assess more exactly the function of this institution, one should know more about it. The present day *biru* are still very reluctant to provide information and still less to let it be published, in spite of the encouragement to do so that they receive from the king.[38]

[38] See Kagame, 1947a.

SECTION I. PERSONAL STATUS

CHAPTER I. THE FAMILY AND THE CLAN

1. Generalities

596 The family sensu stricto (rugo) (1) is more inclusive than in

[196]

1. The rugo is the enclosure in which are the hut, the granaries, and the stables. By extension, this word designates the family in the strict sense of the word. In the plural: ingo.

our countries. It includes the father; his wives and their children, whether married or not; the father's brothers; and their wives and children. Formerly, the slaves taken in war (abanyagano) (2) were

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2. Cf. also Marriage, p. 15; Birth and Filiation, p. 29; Government and Administration, Nationality, p. 70; Social Classes, p. 91; Right of War, p. 92.

also part of it.

[566] The Bahutu, serfs of the Batutsi, have their own rugo. The Ruanda family is of the patriarchal type. Filiation counts in the

[611] paternal line (3); the child does not necessarily take the name of his

3. The children are nevertheless considered, in a way, as belonging to both father's family and the mother's. The Banyarwanda say: Umuntu akomoka iwabo wase nanyina, that is to say, "the man proceeds from both (families), his father's and his mother's."

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591 father (4); paternal authority is exercised by the father, and the wife

4. This was even rare before European penetration.

553 neighborhood children are then invited to eat a dish consisting of a gruel of sorghum and beans. But before eating they wait for the child to relieve himself, hence the name of this meal, ubunyano (from kunya, to defecate). Then the father recites a few names he would like to give the child, and those present choose one of them. If the parents have already lost a child, in order to turn away the evil spirits, the newborn child is baptized with an objectionable name such as Kangurube (little pig child). The same day the husband is obliged to have intercourse with his wife lest a misfortune happen to the child.

[845] Twins (impanga) are given names that resemble each other, Karengera and Karinganire for example. [36]

851 The rule pater is est quem nuptiae demonstrant is universally 848 applied. Normally, therefore, the husband is the child's father and [611] filiation is established in the patemal line. Children born after the father's death are considered legitimate if the wife was pregnant at the time of his death.

There is no special word to designate the legitimate child.

However, the rule mentioned above has certain exceptions. If a man marries an ikinyandaro, the child to be born, who is only an umusambanano for the husband, will belong to his natural father. But the husband may claim that the child is his if at the time of the marriage the girl is only a few months pregnant.

It may happen that a girl does not know the name of the man who has taken her (1). The natural child then belongs to the inzu of

1. This is especially the case with abajakazi (mistress-servants), who live at the Mwami's Court or with the great chiefs and who are put at the disposal of their master's guests.

the girl's father. Today there are many ibyomanzi who, eager for their independence, have left their parents and wander throughout the country. Their children are called abana b'umugore, but they do not belong to the maternal inzu, for the ibyomanzi no longer have any family.

The adulterine child belongs to the husband because of the dowry that has been paid. If the dowry has not been paid, the child is supposed to belong to the family of his mother's father. The incestuous child belongs to the husband. When a child is born to an unmarried

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Questions on the actual groupings founded on this principle and their functions elicit less unanimous and clear answers. The reason is that kinship groups have undoubtedly undergone a slow process of change in several respects during the Tutsi occupation of the country. What we know of its history[2] is quite sufficient to convince us that there has been a progressive territorial expansion under one dynasty of rulers together with an intensification of the 61. 178 [642]

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Relatives
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  - 1. paternal (or patrilateral)
  - 2. maternal (or matrilateral)
- and *affines* who can be distinguished as
  - 1. kin of Ego's spouse
  - 2. spouses of Ego's kin.

[2] See for instances, Pagès, 1933.

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The last column of the table indicates the range of application of the term: is it classificatory or denotative? Although the nine preceding characteristics are criteria of the range of application, I have considered as denotative not only the terms which have these nine characteristics, but those which show only characteristics 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, i.e. generation, sex, distinction between affinity and consanguinity, lineality and collaterality, bifurcation by sex of connecting relative.

If we sum up the different symbols in the vertical lines, we obtain for the sixty-one terms of the table (fifty-five terms of reference and six of address) the following results:

1. Linguistic structure: 6 elementary terms, 48 derivative, 7 descriptive.
2. 54 denote generation, 7 do not.
3. 43 denote sex of the relative, 18 do not.
4. 54 do not cover both affinal and consanguineal relative together and 7 do.
5. 45 do not denote a class of people including lineal and collateral relatives, 16 do.
6. 34 indicate the sex of the person through whom kinship is traced, 19 do not and in 8 cases the question does not arise as there is no link.
7. 50 terms indicate polarity, 11 do not.
8. 59 do not denote age within generation, 2 do, and in 7 cases they ignore age differences by definition.
9. The speaker's sex is indicated in 16 cases, it is not in 45.
10. There is no case in which it is indicated whether the link is living or dead. Thus, except for the 8 cases in which there is no connecting relative, 53 terms ignore that characteristic.
11. 41 terms are classificatory and 20 are denotative.

(*b*) *Concluding remarks*

Let me conclude this chapter with a few remarks on the Ruanda system of kinship and affinity. They are suggested by the previous description of kinship roles or by the table.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally and a lineage is a corporate group of agnates. But Ego does not feel that all others are strangers. He lives, as it were, in a cognatic as well as an agnatic world. For help in important questions, when it is necessary for him to assert his rights to be assisted, he turns to his patrilineal kinsmen, but in

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

595 Although a wife feeds herself and the market price for a woman is trifling the Bahutu, nevertheless the man must build and maintain a house for each woman. The amount of work this entails, considering the perishability of the straw buildings, seems to be an important factor in curtailing polygamy. In some cases, it is true, several wives get along with each other in one house, but the lack of a separate hut is considered a great disadvantage and usually results in a woman's departure.

612 The family in the wider sense of the term includes the more distant relatives.

If the child is regarded as the center of the family, only the ancestors in the male line of the father as well as of the mother are considered. The ancestors in the female line are disregarded. Of the various branches of the family only uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces are to be mentioned, as well as the corresponding relatives of the husband or wife.

601 In the Kinyaruanda language there is a word, basekuru, for the abstract concept "ancestor," but there is no word for the concept "father," and one must always say "my father," "your father," "his father." For "grandfather," too, there is no special designation; sekuru really means "his grandfather," and the concept "your grandfather" must be expressed by sokuru.

[217] In the following table we list the expressions for the closer relatives. (See following pages.)

Older close relatives are simply called uncle, data wachu. More distant relatives are referred to as mwene wachu.

The term wachu used so much in the table of relatives is really a possessive pronoun and means "our," just as wanyu means "your" and wabo, "their."

The stepfather is referred to simply as the husband of the mother or brother of the father. [218] The latter designation refers to the fact that a husband's brother falls heir to his widow.

It should be noted that in kinship terms the father's brothers and the mother's sister are treated as two parallel groups, the members of which can intermarry.

562 264 Position of Women. In Ruanda the woman is regarded, in principle, as a lower creature, and married couples never eat together in public. In private, I have repeatedly observed that they usually do eat together.

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61 degrees of control exerted by that central authority on the territory.
178 These processes have necessarily had an impact on the autonomy
642 and social significance of Hutu and Tutsi kinship groups, on their connexion with a particular tract of land, and on their functions.
121 We shall not be concerned here with any reconstruction of these processes but only with them as they existed in the immediate pre-European days. It should be borne in mind, however, that this was the period of an evolution. This explains the sometimes confused picture given by some informants.

(*a*) *Inzu, ubwoko, umulyango*

● 613 Hutu and Tutsi recognized a patrilineal kin group (*inzu*)[3] which included all who could actually trace their agnatic relationship through usually no more than four or five ascendent genealogical links to an ancestor recognized as the original ancestor of the group.

Members of the inzu of a male Ego were: Br, Si, Fa, FaSi, FaBr, FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaFa, FaFaBr, FaFaSi, FaFaBrSo, FaFaBrDa, FaFaBrSoSo, FaFaBrSoDa.[4]

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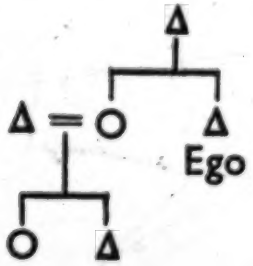

Diagram A.

Other generations above Ego's (that of FaFaFa, &c.) or under his (that of SoSoSo, &c.), were not necessarily included in Ego's

[3] *Inzu* means also hut.
[4] I follow the symbolisation system used by Murdock, 1949.

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inzu. Their inclusion depended on the situation of Ego's generation with regard to the ancestor recognized as the originator of the group. Suppose a new inzu had begun with F (Diagram B), in the sense that F's descendants referred to themselves as 'people of F' rather than as 'people of A' (as F referred to himself). In that case, Ego would not consider E (FaFaFaFa) as of his inzu although he knew that he was the father of his great-grandfather.

Or suppose that D was considered as the origin of the inzu. In that case Ego's son, J, was separated from D by five links. It was quite possible that if, for instance, G had had many children and had been a man of standing and repute, J and K (and all G's descendants in their generations) would some day refer to themselves as 'people of G'. As long as Ego was living, however, J would consider himself as a member of the same inzu as his father and Ego would not think of his son as belonging to another inzu. One informant, Kayijuka, told us that one of his great-grandchildren will probably take the initiative in forming the new inzu of 'people of Kayijuka'.[5]

Although the inzu was a transitory group about six generations deep, it must be understood that the formation of a new inzu was not rigidly determined and did not automatically happen at the birth of the first child in the seventh generation. The operative factors were mainly the fast growing number of inzu members after a few generations (in genealogies collected, the sixth

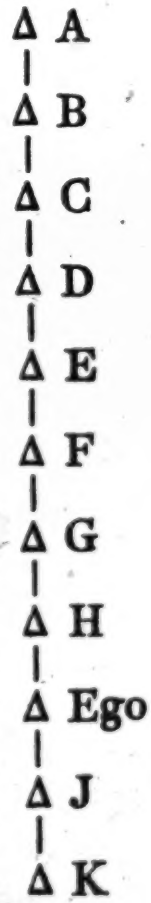

Diagram B.

[5] This was no boast as Kayijuka is now a very important political personality in Ruanda. It may be of interest to mention that Kayijuka was at the court, as a young nobleman, when the first Europeans entered the country. At that time there was a considerable amount of suspicion on both sides. A missionary asked him to point out the queen-mother among the women who were present at the Court. This was prohibited as it was feared that the White Fathers could harm her by magic. Kayijuka did it, however, and for that reason, when the visitors had gone, he was blinded with a red hot iron. But as on the following day he addressed somebody by name after having recognized the voice, it was believed that the operation had not been a success and it was performed a second time. Kayijuka is now a loyal courtier of the king.

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613 generation alone seems to comprise about 100 persons), the existence
571 of a man prominent (by wealth, political functions, &c.) among the descendants closer than the fifth, or a change of residence. The first two factors were usually realized in the span of six generations. If they were not, and if the inzu remained a small group of, say, a dozen people, these and their descendants went on referring to themselves as 'people of' an ancestor of the seventh, eighth, or ninth generation. One informant told us that his own inzu, already six generations deep, was not yet numerous enough to be split into new ones though it probably would be after two more generations. The fact that the ancestor of a new inzu was chosen, and was not simply the son of the ancestor of the former inzu, shows that there was a definite emphasis on the personal prominence of the ancestor.

Among the Tutsi, it seems that inzu tended to grow rather large before segmenting. In their intrigues for power, it was an advantage
[557] to be connected by agnatic links to many and important people. Consequently, before initiating the formation of a new inzu, the Tutsi were very cautious: they did not want to diminish their social power by severing their connexions with the members of their present inzu. Besides, a change of residence was a less compelling reason for the Tutsi to split the inzu: they were not attached to a particular region to the same extent as the Hutu; when appointed to different offices, they often had to move from one part of the country to another and they frequently travelled to the court.

The formation of a new inzu was not necessarily a segmentation resulting in the concomitant formation of two new units of the same age and importance. It could happen that among the inzu 'people of A', those of the sixth generation who were the descendants of B preferred to think of themselves as 'people of B' because B was a famous warrior and they were numerous enough to constitute an inzu of their own. This did not compel those of the sixth generation who were descendants of C and D to do the same. They would go on considering themselves 'people of A'. After a couple more generations, when the number of the descendants of F had increased, they would refer to themselves as 'people of F' who was a rich owner of cows, and the descendants of G as 'people of G' because he had been an important province chief, whereas the descendants of C would some day take the name of 'people of E' if they moved into another region.

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The *ubwoko* was the largest kin group of the patrilineal type. 614 Its members recognized a traditional bond of common descent in the paternal line, but were definitely unable to trace their

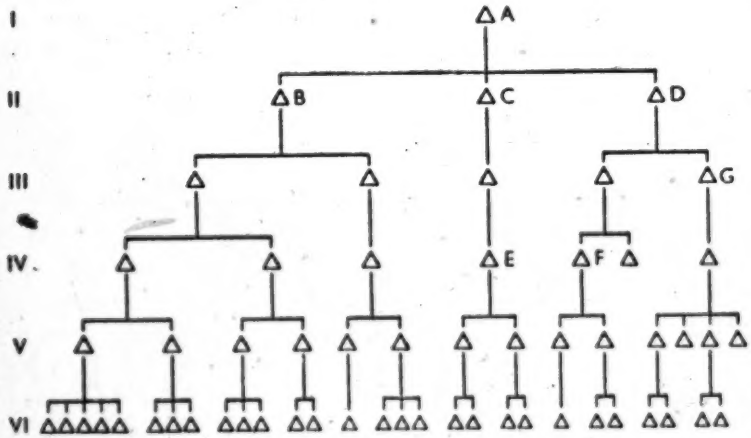

Diagram C.

relationship to the ancestor who was, perhaps, mythical. Two members of the same ubwoko have an idea of a certain kinship tie between them, but nothing more. Ubwoko were geographically dispersed.

There were thirteen such groupings in Ruanda: Abanyiginya (the royal ubwoko), Abega (the ubwoko from which the queens usually came), Abatsoba, Abacyaba, Abasinga, Abatira, Abakono, Abaniakarama, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Ababanda, Abaha, Abashambo. This number was consistent for a very long time. Ubwoko were permanent groups.[6]

Larger in membership than inzu and smaller than ubwoko, a 613 third kinship group called *umulyango* existed in Ruanda. What it was is not quite clear in the mind of most of our informants. This is due, I think, to the fact that umulyango varied considerably in their degree of organization, corporateness, and functions. But also there was some uncertainty in terminology: the same group, say the Abahindiro, has been referred to by our informants sometimes as inzu, and sometimes as umulyango.

[6] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 41-45 and 235 f.

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613 Umulyango appears to have been the group of living people
5171 who would have belonged to the same inzu if that primitive inzu had not split into new ones. This explains the fluidity of the use of the term. For instance the word 'Abareganshuro' (people of Mureganshuro) has meant first 'the members of the inzu of Mureganshuro'; then, after the splitting of that inzu, 'the members of the umulyango of Mureganshuro'. When an inzu divided into different new ones, the ancestor of the former one became the ancestor of the umulyango. Thus the umulyango link existed between members of different inzu having the same origin.

As may be expected, the strength of these links was quite different at the time of the splitting and a few generations afterwards. This accounts for the fact that in some cases the umulyango appears almost as a corporate group very similar to an inzu, and in other cases as a purely nominal group.

The span of life of an umulyango seems less defined than that of an inzu. It is doubtful, however, whether it was longer. Suppose inzu A splits into B and C and becomes umulyango A. Six generations later inzu B splits into inzu D and E and becomes umulyango B. At that time it is very likely that the primitive ancestor being twelve generations past will not be clearly remembered and that, except for some extraordinary reason, he will be superseded by the ancestor of umulyango B.

614 Descent groups in Ruanda were thus of two different types
613 A permanent group, the ubwoko which fulfilled the definition of patriclan (if exogamy be excluded from that definition) and two temporary groups, inzu and umulyango, the second being rather the surviving shadow of the first. The latter were both patrilineages. As they were not segments in the same sense as among, e.g. the Nuer, it would be misleading to differentiate them according to the terminology of Evans-Pritchard.[7] We would suggest calling inzu a primary and umulyango a secondary patrilineage in order to convey the idea that the umulyango originated from the inzu and that the inzu's functions were more important for the individual and society at large than those of the umulyango.[8]

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[7] Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-4.

[8] Members of the inzu were called *bavandimwe* (which primarily means sibling), agnatic relatives, *benewacu* and relatives, affines included, *abacu*.

[601]

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613

(b) *Organization and activities of the inzu*

The primary patrilineage had a head who was usually called *umutware w'inzu* (chief of the inzu). Sometimes he was designated *umutware w'umulyango* (chief of the umulyango) even when his group was clearly an inzu. Among the Hutu, particularly in the north (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), he was often called *umukungu*.

The man who first formed a new inzu did not necessarily become its head: he could choose its chief from among his uncles, brothers, cousins, or sons. Then the lineage head chose his successor. He was usually the eldest son but he could be any son or a nephew. If the person chosen seemed unacceptable to the Ruanda administrative authority, a meeting of the inzu was held and the political chief asked them to choose another inzu head. If the objections came from the group itself, they could resort to the umulyango head—if the umulyango concerned was still a strong group—or to the administrative authority, or in the case of an Hutu inzu which depended on only one lord for its cattle (*shebuja*), to him.

In addition to presiding over the collective activities of his lineage, the head had some power of his own. He was a judge in disputes between the members of his inzu; he also had the right to punish a member of his inzu who had wronged another, except in the case of murder, when the political authority was responsible for the punishment. Anyway, those who were dissatisfied with the decisions of the lineage head could always appeal to the political chief. Sometimes the lineage head legislated for the members of the inzu. A Hutu informant told us that his grandfather, who was the inzu head, had prohibited cross-cousin marriage in his inzu. The lineage head also detailed members for military service and assigned individual contributions to the tax required by the authorities. Officially and towards individual outsiders, he acted as the representative of the inzu. When a girl of his inzu ran away from her husband, he tried to settle the dispute with the head of the husband's inzu. He was responsible for the inzu's tax contribution and for handing over to the political authority any member of the lineage who had committed a crime against an outsider.

The significance of the inzu as a collective body was apparent in ritual, marriage, mutual aid, and blood-feud. In the ritual

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613 In the ritual
114 sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during
[173] his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

613 A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to
769 honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound
[062] in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

613 Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of
623 councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the
[554] opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

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marriage coming from another inzu or to be made to another inzu, and whether the council thought that a connexion with such or such lineage was to be accepted, sought, or avoided. A certain number of disputes that the lineage head could not or would not settle alone were submitted to the council. When somebody had lost his cattle and was ruined, the council could determine and apportion a collective contribution to help him out of his difficulties. Finally, blood-feuds were discussed. When a member of the group had been killed by a member of another all the kinsmen of the victim attempted to retaliate by taking of the life of a kinsman of the offender. Compensation was not usual. I was told, however, by the Hutu of Bugoyi that there the murderer's group could prevent the taking of vengeance by handing over a beautiful girl. Political authority kept the feuds under strict control. Permission to retaliate had to be obtained from the king and when it was granted and vengeance had been achieved, the feud was at an end. No further vengeance could be taken. Sometimes the king made representatives of the two lineages share a meal.

As the preceding paragraphs suggest, there was no clear-cut division between the powers of the head and of the council. It was a question of the particular traditions in each inzu and of the individual characters of the persons concerned. Usually, however, the inzu was an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. The head could not rule in opposition to the men of standing in his lineage; they had the means to put pressure on him and then there was the possibility of recourse to the political chiefs, always glad to interfere in a domain which was not completely under their control.

The obligations and rights of the individual members of a primary patrilineage were many. There was first a prohibition on sexual intercourse within the group, which applied to relations whether in or out of wedlock. It was feared that the mating of descendants from the same inzu ancestor would produce sickly and malformed children. A few informants add that exogamy was necessary to promote connexions between descent-groups, these connexions being thought of as beneficial in a vague way. The Ruanda did not distinguish incestuous relations from prohibited relations because of consanguinity. For them all the latter were incestuous. But they recognized order in the degrees of gravity in

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613 835 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 496 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied [692] by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 764 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a 613 man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a 765 prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again. [833] There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as

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for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

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121 interactions of Ego and Alter once an organized system of interaction between themselves has become stabilized. 'Alter expects Ego to behave in given situational conditions in certain relatively specific ways, or at least within relatively specific limits.'[10]

613 Members of an inzu were supposed to have more confidence in each other and to be readier to help and sympathize with each other than with outsiders. Within the inzu itself, each member was expected to assume a certain role which defined, within narrow limits, expected behaviour towards other lineage members. 613 Before these intra-inzu roles are described, a list of kinship terms 601 used within the inzu to address or designate members, will be given. Some characteristics of these behaviour patterns are reflected in the terminology, as, for instance, the predominance within the lineage of the horizontal or generation principle of grouping over the vertical grouping by branches of the lineage.

601 Data will be presented first and implications analysed at a later stage. Our point of reference will be the conventional Ego. All the terms and their symbolizations are to be understood as relating to Ego who is a male (Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa). The same terms are used by a male as by a female, except where otherwise indicated: f.s. (female speaking) and m.s. (male speaking).

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's father		
Fa	Data	Data
FaBr	Data	Datawacu (father-our)
FaSi	Mama	Masenge (mother through father)
FaFaBrSo	Data	Datawacu
FaFaBrDa	Mama	Masenge
FaFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Datawacu
FaFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Masenge
II. The generation of Ego's grandfather		
FaFa	Sogokuru (kuru = great)	Sogokuru
FaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
FaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
FaFaFaBrSo	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
FaFaFaBrDa	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's great-grandfather		
FaFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
FaFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
FaFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

[10] Parsons and Shils, 1951, p. 19.

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the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[12] 593 [606]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father). [883] [583] [613]

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful. 604

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent [587] [584]

[12] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

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to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the 593
importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among
brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there [609]
was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's [835]
husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood.
After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to
the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as [428]
they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of
their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did
not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his 605
brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was
not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin,
Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more
fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of [587]
his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage
prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between
them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging [835]
obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts
were severely tabooed.

(*d*) *Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko*

The two other descent groups may be described much more 613
briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from
the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of
the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the
descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements
in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually 613
these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu 571
and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally dis-
appeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due
to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former
inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with
other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an
umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics 613
or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

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613 When the umulyango had a head (chosen in a similar way to the inzu head), he is said to have had the power to give orders to the heads of the component inzu and to draw up general rules for all the umulyango members. I was told, for instance, that the chief of a certain umulyango had ruled that the members should not marry girls of the ubwoko of the Abacyaba. This prohibition about 150 years old is still observed. When the secondary lineage had a head, he fulfilled very much the same function as an 'appeal court' for all decisions taken within the inzu. Such an umulyango organization existed among Hutu and Tutsi, but seems to have been more common in the important Tutsi lineages.

614 The patriclan (ubwoko) had no head and no collective activities. It was usually agamous, although there may have been an exogamy rule in one particular clan. An animal species was associated with [778] each clan. Its members were not allowed to kill any of them and were even obliged to protect them. The animal was not thought of as a reincarnation of the ancestor's spirit but probably only as a living symbol of the clan.[14]

614 563 Unlike the inzu and the umulyango, any ubwoko could have both Tutsi and Hutu among its members. There was no purely Hutu or purely Tutsi patriclan. When asked if this meant that Tutsi and Hutu of the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered that it did not. They explain it by the relationships which have linked Hutu to Tutsi as clients or servants. After some time the Hutu were identified with the group of their master. Such identification was particularly easy since Tutsi frequently emigrated from one region of Ruanda to another with their Hutu clients and servants. Some Hutu told me that as Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa (mythical figures who, as their names indicate, were supposed to be ancestors of the three groups) were brothers, it is not impossible that Tutsi and Hutu of one clan could have had the same ancestor. At all events clansmen who were of different socio-'racial' groups did not exhibit any solidarity at all and behaved towards each other as complete strangers.

613 562 As has been said, Ego's wife belonged to her own patrilineage for ever. This is why the social role of Ego's wife has not been mentioned in this section. But as she took part in many of the

[14] Some examples of the totemic animals of patriclans are: Abazigaba, the leopard (*ingwe*), Abasinga, the hawk (*sakabaka*), Abega, the frog (*igiheli*), Abagesera, the wagtail (*nyamanza*), Abacyaba, the hyena (*impyisi*).

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activities of her husband's inzu and was not bound by all the obligations common to the members of her own inzu, a few words should be added about her behaviour in this connexion. 613 562

She participated in the cult of Ego's (=her husband's) ancestor and of her own ancestor, but she was not allowed to build a shrine in honour of her ancestor in Ego's enclosure. She gave the ritual gifts at the birth of a child in her own inzu as well as in Ego's inzu, and did the same at marriage ceremonies. In times of mourning, Ego's inzu was predominant: his wife had to practise sexual abstention for two or three months when Ego's parents died. For her own parents she was not bound by any such observances. She received protection from her husband's group, but from her own only when she had disputes with Ego's lineage [765]

2. THE DESCENT GROUP OF EGO'S MOTHER

A man (or a woman) was not a member of his mother's patrilineage, which is why in the preceding section only his agnates were considered. But the picture of Ego's position in kinship relations would be incomplete if it were limited to that. Ego's mother's agnates were not complete strangers to him. In everyday life, he met them often and his culture provided him with roles to assume in these circumstances. In some cases Ego's behaviour to 'maternal' kin was very similar to that which he was expected to observe towards the agnatic counterpart of that kin. 602

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's mother		
Mo	Mama	Mama
MoBr	Data	Marume
MoSi	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaBrSo	Data	Marume
MoFaBrDa	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Marume
MoFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Mamawacu
II. The generation of Ego's maternal grandfather		
MoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's maternal great-grandfather		
MoFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

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3. EGO'S CROSS-LINE RELATIVES

602 The cross-line relatives of Ego are people who are socially recognized as related to him although they do not belong either to his parents' descent groups or to the category of his relatives by affinity.

[605] [604] In Ruanda, the category of cross-line relatives was limited to Ego's paternal cross-cousins, his maternal parallel cousins, their descendants, his sororal nephews and nieces, and their descendants.

Paternal cross-cousins did not belong to Ego's father's patrilineage since they were members of their own father's (FaSiHu of Ego) lineage. It could be said that they were agnates of FaSiHu who was himself an affine of Ego. It seems, however, that the link between Ego and his paternal cross-cousins was their mother (FaSi) and not their father (FaSiHu). This is why I do not include Ego's paternal cross-cousins among Ego's affines.

Maternal cross-cousins were not Ego's cross-line relatives because they were related to Ego as agnates of Ego's mother. On the contrary maternal parallel cousins of Ego were cross-line relatives of Ego's mother: her sororal nephews and nieces. Ego was not related to them through his MoSiHu but through his MoSi as the term of reference used by Ego indicates: child-of-my-maternal-aunt (*mwenemamawacu*). This is why I regard them as Ego's cross-line relatives.

604 Ego was related to his sororal nephews and nieces through his sister in spite of the fact that her children belonged to her husband's agnatic group.

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
FaSiSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
FaSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoSiSo	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
MoSiDa	Muvandimwe	Mwenemamawacu
SiSo	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye
SiDa	Mwana	Mwishywawanjye

605 Familiarity, jesting, erotic games without actual intercourse before marriage, were the relations of paternal cross-cousins (as well as maternal cross-cousins) of the opposite sex. The difference was that paternal cross-cousins had to assist each other and often fought together in blood-feuds although, as they did not belong [613] to the same inzu, they could not be killed in retaliation.

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The last column of the table indicates the range of application of the term: is it classificatory or denotative? Although the nine preceding characteristics are criteria of the range of application, I have considered as denotative not only the terms which have these nine characteristics, but those which show only characteristics 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, i.e. generation, sex, distinction between affinity and consanguinity, lineality and collaterality, bifurcation by sex of connecting relative.

If we sum up the different symbols in the vertical lines, we obtain for the sixty-one terms of the table (fifty-five terms of reference and six of address) the following results:

1. Linguistic structure: 6 elementary terms, 48 derivative, 7 descriptive.
2. 54 denote generation, 7 do not.
3. 43 denote sex of the relative, 18 do not.
4. 54 do not cover both affinal and consanguineal relative together and 7 do.
5. 45 do not denote a class of people including lineal and collateral relatives, 16 do.
6. 34 indicate the sex of the person through whom kinship is traced, 19 do not and in 8 cases the question does not arise as there is no link.
7. 50 terms indicate polarity, 11 do not.
8. 59 do not denote age within generation, 2 do, and in 7 cases they ignore age differences by definition.
9. The speaker's sex is indicated in 16 cases, it is not in 45.
10. There is no case in which it is indicated whether the link is living or dead. Thus, except for the 8 cases in which there is no connecting relative, 53 terms ignore that characteristic.
11. 41 terms are classificatory and 20 are denotative.

(b) *Concluding remarks*

Let me conclude this chapter with a few remarks on the Ruanda system of kinship and affinity. They are suggested by the previous description of kinship roles or by the table.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally and a lineage is a corporate group of agnates. But Ego does not feel that all others are strangers. He lives, as it were, in a cognatic as well as an agnatic world. For help in important questions, when it is necessary for him to assert his rights to be assisted, he turns to his patrilineal kinsmen, but in

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that in questions of exogamy, informants mention it first and attempt to relate other categories to it: I refer to the primary patrilineage (inzu). People descending in the paternal line from a common ancestor did not intermarry because they were of the same blood. The same principle was logically extended to the secondary patrilineage (umulyango).

A second extension of the taboo concerned the maternal kinship group and had a double basis. First the idea that it would be unnatural and horrible to conceive a marriage between Ego and his mother and consequently between him and any person assimilated to her (her sisters and female parallel cousins). Second, because of the tendency to recognize the cognatic principle, some matrilateral relatives were tabooed because their paternal counterparts were tabooed. This applied to the maternal parallel cousins.

Only when Ego was a male was there a third extension to his in-laws. The explanation given is that it seemed distasteful that a man could have intercourse with a girl and her mother. Consequently the wife's mother and all the relatives assimilated to the mother were in the prohibited class.

The same taboo included also sororal nieces and grand-nieces of Ego because he had to assume an avuncular attitude towards them, although they belonged to another patrilineage.

A further extension included the spouses of uncles and aunts. The spouse of an aunt was regarded rather as an uncle, and the spouse of an uncle was regarded rather as an aunt.

Ruanda were so eager to form new connexions with unrelated kinship groups that they were very keenly aware of any factor favouring them. Some informants stressed the function of exogamy rules from that point of view. Increase of social communication by marriage does not explain all the particular prohibitions, however, since some of them were concerned with people of a different patrilineage. Taboos on marriage and sex relations (they were co-extensive) had, it appears, in some cases the function of keeping a certain cohesion within the large group of relatives by kinship and affinity by preventing rivalry. Prohibition of relations between Ego and his WiBrWi could not favour social communication, but it certainly made possible harmonious relations between Ego and his WiBr.

Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and

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Bride-wealth was definitely not a compensation for the economic loss entailed by the girl's departure from her patrilineage. Her departure was not an impoverishment of her group because it provided it with a new alliance with another descent group; all informants agree on that. Bride-wealth was the socially recognized symbol of the legitimate transfer of fertility from one descent group to another. As long as bride-wealth had not been given, children borne by the woman were considered as belonging to her inzu (they are called *nkuli*). The husband was only their genitor, not their pater. 583 583 851

Bride-wealth received by the girl's father was not to be used only to provide the bride's brother with a wife. There was no direct relation between a man's possibility of getting a wife and his sister's marriage. 583

(*c*) *The wedding ceremonies*

Wedding ceremonies (*ubukwe*) taking place at the groom's father's were very long and complicated. The central rite constituting the wedding was the spitting on the bride's head of chewed herbs mixed with milk, and the placing on her head of a garland made of the leaves of a certain plant (*umuwishywa*). Other rites symbolized the dominance of the patrilineages' interests in the marriage. Both inzu were represented by two groups, the *abashyitsi*, the agnatic relatives of the bride, and *abasangwa*, agnatic relatives of the groom. When the rite was accomplished, *abashyitsi* had to express sorrow by their laments and *abasangwa* to rejoice loudly. Another rite stressed the concern of the kin-groups in the intimate relations between the spouses. A younger brother or paternal parallel cousin of the bride had to lie between the new spouses during some part of their first night together (*gucahagati*). The groom had to beg him to leave. I was told that this signified that it was the bride's patrilineage which had to give permission for the first intercourse. Moreover, after the central rite and before the first intercourse, the father and mother of the groom and the father and mother of the bride had to have sexual relations. If the girl's parents (who did not attend the wedding party) were living far away, the young couple sometimes had to wait for a couple of days before having intercourse.[6] 585 [824] [613]

The high value of virginity was also symbolically stressed.

[6] On wedding celebration, see Kagame, 1954, pp. 143-72.

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Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted. 557 858 613

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions. 181 554 555 433 858 557 858

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society. 858

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10] 842 182

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between 842 605

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1935, pp. 85-86.

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conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(*e*) *Ritual function*

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

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At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective rights over certain areas except in the north of Ruanda (Mulera, Rwankeri, Bushiru, Bigogwe) where the Tutsi occupation had been more superficial. I have been told that there the soil belonged to the patrilineage and that there was no land or cattle chief. From the point of view of the individual, however, the situation was very similar: he inherited a share of his father's tract. The difference was that, if the part were insufficient, he had to apply for more to the lineage head instead of to the land-chief, and a plot left without heirs returned to the patrilineage instead of the political authority. 613 423 [425]

The person entitled to the use of a plot could not sell his right but could let the tract. The rent was about one hoe every other year plus a jug of beer each harvest. The tenant was not permitted to settle by building a hut or planting banana trees. 423 427

The Twa resented very much the expansion of fields and pastures in the forests they regarded as their possession. The authority was not concerned with the way they divided it into hunting areas.[1] 311

2. RIGHTS OVER CATTLE

The rights over each head of cattle were also manifold. Property in the Western sense was split up into different aspects. 422

A global right existed over all Ruanda cattle, even sheep and goats, by which the king could claim actual possession of any of them. The mwami used this right more frequently, it seems, over cattle than over land. An important chief indulging in intrigues regarded as dangerous by the king might find himself dispossessed of all his cattle. The king's right over all the cattle of Ruanda was a constant threat which seems to have very effectively deterred the Tutsi of the ruling set from becoming too independent. 422 643 [662]

Another right was very similar to our bare ownership. The person who had it was not in possession of the cow but could at any time claim possession of the animal and the heifers and cows produced by that beast since the time when the possession had been transferred. This was the right of the lord (*shebuja*). 422

In contrast there was the usufruct right with respect to cattle. The person endowed with it could dispose of the milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the dead cows. This was the typical right of the client (*garagu*).

[1] For a more extended account of the land tenure system in traditional Ruanda, see Maquet and Naigiriki, 1957.

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poems in imitation of these great models. They attended evening sessions near the fire, in the kraal, where by sarcasm and humiliation, their capacity for self control was put to the test.

These few companies constituted the nucleus of a new army. It was completed by detaching a certain number of people from other armies to incorporate them in the new one. Except for this, armies existed indefinitely. When a king died and when a new army was formed, the previous army founded by him did not disappear. Only some members of the former armies joined the new one. These people were not incorporated individually but with their patrilineages, primary (*inzu*) or even secondary (*umulyango*).

Except for the *intore*, it seems more accurate to say that an army was made up of patrilineages rather than of individuals. Indeed 100 per cent. of our informants affirm that a man was not affiliated alone to an army but that he was in it together with his sons, married or not, his brothers and their sons, and his paternal uncles. It was a group of agnates indeed, as the sister's sons were not included in the group according to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants. In the army, the patrilineage remained a closed group under its inzu head. Our informants were unanimous (100 per cent.) that dues and services to which the army chief was entitled had to be asked for from members through the lineage chiefs. This rule did not apply to the *intore*. They entered alone into the army, although later their children would also join. According to 100 per cent. of the informants a man belonged only to one army. The army chief was called *umugabe* or *umutware w'ingabo*.

(*b*) *The warriors' section*

In any army, according to eighty-four per cent. of our informants, there were two sections—the warrior's section and the herdsmen's section (warrior: *ingabo*, herdsman: *umushumba*). The warriors' section was made up of the few companies of men who had received the *intore* training to whom were added their personal dependents who were also fighting. Warriors did not wear a uniform but had some special badges.

As mentioned in a preceding section, a certain number of warriors of an army camped near the borders threatened by neighbouring enemies. If an attack occurred, they called the other warriors who lived nearby and, while waiting for their aid, held

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services.

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such.

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting

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WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

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564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without
643] exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
644 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
582 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases). 562 582 613

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child. 562 557 [582] [58] [85] 848

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives. 557 562 564 583 [851] [842]

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the 142 564 826

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home. 585 [613 578] [607 606]

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please 584 [586] [835] 593 776

●614 The clan (umulyango) (4) or inzu includes all those who claim

4. Not to be confused with umúlyango, "door."

a common ancestor who is founder of the [9] race. In the course of time the clan has become divided into several subclans (imilyango).

The clan and the subclan have names (ubgoko) that recall the name of the founder. Thus the members of the umulyango of the Abanyiginya are the descendants of Kimanuka who is the Umunyiginya (the first of the Abanyiginya). Ndabarasa, son of the Mwami Rujugira Chyirima, who became king under the name of Kigeri, was the Umurabarasa, the first of the umulyango of the Abarabarasa or Ibigina. This last name is what they are called at the present time.

614 775 Each umulyango possesses one or several animal totems (ibiziro). For example, the totems of the Abanyiginya are the crested crane (umusambi) and the ox-pecker (inyange); that of the Abega is the toad (igikeri); that of the Abagessera is the wagtail (inyamanza). The member of a clan will never kill such a bird, for example, because he believes that it contains the spirit of an ancestor.

614 563 The Bahutu belong to the same umulyango as the Batutsi and possess the same totems. However, they have a different name. For example, those who live with the Abega and the Abanyiginya are called respectively Abasavere and Abasindi.

2. The Head of the Family and of the Clan

596 The head of the family sensu stricto (umutware w'urago rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) is normally the father. After his death, one of his sons, not necessarily the eldest, succeeds him. It may happen that the widow of the family head provisionally directs the rugo if her husband has died without designating his successor or when his sons are still children (1). [10]

614

1. While still forming part of her [own] umulyango, the wife is, so to speak, incorporated into her husband's inzu if she has children. But she does not take the name of her husband's umulyango. The

614 wife always remains a stranger to her husband's clan and keeps her own totem.

596 614 The umutware w'urugo rwa se is only slightly important and this word is seldom used. More important is the umutware w'urugo rwa bo (lit., of them), also called umutware w'umulyango, who has command both of his rugo and the umulyango.

614 The umulyango is a social entity without any political value. Thus Rwabutogo, chief of the umulyango of the Abega, owns only the province of East Buganza. In matters of family and cattle he commands Rwagatakara, who in turn commands Rwabusisi, chief of Buliza and South Buganza.

614 689 425 The umutware w'umulyango exercises a paternal jurisdiction over all the members of his group. If they disobey him seriously he can drive them out and seize their cattle (indemano, inkazibiti) except for the animals they have received as a gift from the king (ingabane) (1). However, it is the Mwami who has the right of

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 42.

[166] eviction. In addition, if the king sees that an injustice has been committed, he authorizes the one who has been the victim to settle elsewhere so as to remove himself from the jurisdiction of the chief of the umulyango, without however ceasing to belong to the clan. If the Mwami asks the umulundo (2) from the chief of the umulyango,

2. That is to say, lit., "wishes to see the cattle of his cattle." He takes only one or two animals.

the latter can in turn claim some inyiturano (3) from his family. On

3. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

the other hand, the chief of the umulyango can show his favor to those of his relatives with whom he is satisfied by giving them some ingabane.

3. Laws of the Family and the Clan

•614 1. It is forbidden to marry a person belonging to the same umulyango, whatever the degree [of relationship]. Only the Abanyiginya, the clan from which the kings come, may marry [11] within their [own] inzu (1) and a fortiori into the other imilyango.

1. The reason for this endogamy must be sought in the fact that, according to legend, Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu.

However, marriage is forbidden with the Abatshyaba, the Abungura, and the Abakomankali. They usually marry the Abega.

The Abega (the family providing the queens), the Abagessera, the Abakono, the Abaha, and the Abasinga may not marry within their [own] umulyango nor into the other inzu. They are allowed to marry the Abunguru and Abakomankali, but not the Abatshyaba.

[426] [672] 2. The active and passive solidarity [joint and separate liability] in the matter of debts exists only on the paternal side (iwabo wa se) and not in the mother's umulyango (iwabo wa nyina).

The same is true in penal matters unless it is a case of a blood debt.

4. Table of Names Indicating Relationship through Kinship and Marriage

601 Those who are members of the same umulyango are called abagil'ichyobahuriycho, abagil' ichyobapfana, or, and it is the most frequently used and most precise term, abafit'isano.

Husband: umugabo
Wife: umugore
The husband of two wives: umugabo z'ishyali
One of the wives speaking of the other: umukeba wa njye
The husband speaking of one or the other [of the wives]: umukeba we

Son:
1) When the mother speaks: umuhungu wa njye
2) When another wife of the father speaks: umuhungu wa mukeba wa njye or umuhungu w'umugabo wa njye

[763] Usually, feeling his end to be near, the father calls the chief
596 of the umulyango and two friends. He dictates to them his last wishes.
428 The wives of a polygamous man do not hesitate to intrigue in favor of their sons and attempt to circumvent their husband -- or even his brother -- using both their charms and their most subtle arguments. The situation is the same in the case of successive marriages.

It is easily understood that often the other sons, especially if they are of different mothers, feel themselves wronged, rightly or wrongly.
[691] But they are given the opportunity of demanding justice from the Mwami, the provincial chief, or the hill chief, according to whether they are sons of umutware w'intebe, of igisonga, or simple Batutsi or Bahutu. These authorities will ratify the choice made by the father or the uncle, or else will decide what other young man will succeed his father.

If there is no male descendant, the high position of head of the family falls on the oldest brother of the deceased. In this case, the heir will be both head of his rugo and of his brother's.

[614] He may also be, at the same time, chief of the umulyango, that is to say, of the clan. This is the umutware w'umulyango (or the umutware rwa bo).

If all the brothers have disappeared, their sons inherit by right of primogeniture. [62]

If the deceased has neither sons, nor brothers, nor nephews in his line, his father will succeed him, or in his absence, the father's brother or one of his male descendants by right of primogeniture.

The Bahutu and the Batwa have their own umutware w'urugo. But they are dependent on the same umulyango chief as the Batutsi.

3. Composition of the Inheritance

428 In addition to the high position of head of the family, the inheritance includes:

1) The heavy cattle
2) The clients (abagaragu)
3) Particularly among the Bahutu, the goats and sheep
4) Landed property (1)
5) Movables, personal property (1)

1. Cf. Property, Property in General, p. 34.

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believe that this potion will kill whoever does not speak the truth or reveals a state secret (cf. also Procedure, pp. 104 and 105).

766 dared reveal what he had seen.

The summit of Rutare Hill is crowned with trees, [96] the remains of an ancient forest. The cemetery of the kings and queens can be found there. The abanyamugogo build a hut there, dig a grave, and bury the king and his weapons in it. The hut is closed with beams and surrounded by a thorny enclosure to keep wild ani-
[767] mals out. Quite near-by, the watchers build themselves dwellings where they live for two years and are fed during this time by the people of the neighborhood. Then they return home after going through Nyanza where they are showered with gifts. But the Mwami may not see them for he would die during the year if he caught sight of those who have watched over and carried his father's body. For the same reason the abiru who have accompanied them to Rutare may never return to the court of Nyanza. The belief also exists that from
[825] the right shoulder of the dead Mwami there issues a worm (urunyo) which, if placed in a pitcher of milk, will grow and become a leopard that kills only those who are wicked and unjust.

When the Mwami dies all work stops for eight days. For two months the bulls are removed from the herds and the king's children may not have any marital relations. Although they are under no obligation to do so, the Banyarwanda behave in the same way.

The death of the Umugabekazi [king's mother] calls for the same ceremonies and the same interdictions, but they are somewhat simplified.

9. Succession to the Throne

643 The king of Ruanda always belongs to the family of the
[614] Abanyiginya. His wives (1) are mostly chosen from the clans of the

[644]

1. The king may have four legitimate wives whose children are the only ones who, in theory, can succeed him; he can have as many concubines as he wishes.

Abega and the Abakono.

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without 635 exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of 565 the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces 634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

631 The same organization of officialdom also exists in 614 Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided [635] among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district [634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of [635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as 643 well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this 614 may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

662 The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

3. Clans, Exogamy, Totemism

614 In addition to the social stratification resulting from the different ethnic strata of the population with the Bahima conquerors, Batussi, as the upper class, there is in the entire interlacustrine region a subordinate social structure determined by kin groups or clans consisting of blood relatives. Depending on their nature, there are clans of Batussi, of Bahutu, and of Batwa. As a group of families related by blood, the clan is the basis of the entire social organization of both Ruanda and of Urundi, and also of Karagwe, Kisiba, Ankole, etc., while the political state is organized on the feudal system. Unfortunately, we
614 know very little about the clans of the Barundi since my pre-
114 decessors have given little attention to this institution and since the natives are reluctant to give information about these con-
[551] ditions, more from fear of the evil results of mentioning names than from their religious concepts (see p. 111, 112). These things are much clearer in Ruanda where Czekanowski, assisted by the missionaries and Christianized natives, was able to obtain much interesting information about the clan structure (No. 48, Chap. 11). What I am able to convey below I owe -- except for my own findings in the field -- to information received from Capt. von Langenn-Steinkeller and Father van der Burgt.

"In his Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi, van der Burgt refers to a few privileged Batussi families from whom the kings customarily choose their wives (see pp. 99, 101, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]), but he fails to mention anything about an organization of the entire population into clans which is of decisive legal, social, and political importance. In reply to my direct inquiry, Father van der Burgt sent me the following information: "Formerly I held the belief for a long time that no clan organization at all existed in Urundi. Both in Unjamwesi and in Kisiba (No. 31, p. 5) one always hears people speak of their luganda (families, cognatio) and their kisse (pl., visse), i.e., clan; for example, whenever one asks a woman for her name, she first gives the name of her clan, e.g., "I am a Magana" or a "Njamurega" or a "Kundwa," etc. In central

614 114 Urundi, however, I only once heard a woman say that she was a Magana. Thus, I would say that clan organization is not as pronounced in Urundi as it is in Unjamwesi, Ussuwi, Kisiba, etc. In Kirundi I am not familiar with a word like the Usâmbiro "kisse" [99] but the Warundi often speak of their "umurjango" which also means kin group, clan. However, in Ruanda clan organization seems to be well developed. In northern Urundi (Mariensee Mission) where there are many Wanjakissaka immigrants, they often speak of their clans, but this does not apply to the Warundi who live there.

"Whether there are few or many such clans in Urundi I do not know. I discovered the names listed below, but I cannot guarantee that they are genuine Urundi clan names. I rather think that they originate from the periphery of the country: Wajango, Wamagana, Wassindi, Waschambo, Wasinga, Wajambo (Wanjambo), Wasigawa (Wasigaba), and others. Incidentally, although the population is divided into clans, the members live all over the area without rule or restraint, i.e., not localized."

Van der Burgt further lists (see p. 183 [not translated]) the Wakundo, Warwanda (Wawanda, Babanda?), Wenengwe, Wanjakarama, Wasigaba, and Waterwa (Watoirwa?) as the families closest to the royal family. On the other hand, Capt. v. Langenn informs me that the Batussi families of the highest rank are the Banjakarama, Benengwe, Banjakissaka, Baschunguka, and Boschoka, after which there follows a second series of families, also very distinguished, the Bawanda, Bahondogo, Bassawu, Bawejuru, Baschama, Bega, Bawankundu, Babile, Basindakire, and others. A few of these family names, like the Bega, the Bawanda, the Bakundo, and the Baschama, were repeatedly mentioned to me in Urundi, and in addition the Baschambo, Basito, Bagessera, Bakango, Balenge, Baransi, Balesi, Bakono, Basseke, Bassabu, Bajosi, and Barire.

If we compare these names with the family names listed by Czekanowski in his clan tables from Unjoro, Toro, Ankole, Mpororô, Kjamtwara, Kisiba, and Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 41, 88, 233-251) and with those mentioned by Kandt, van der Burgt, van Thiel,

614 Stuhlmann, P. Schumacher, Meldon, Roscoe, Rehse, and
114 others, we rediscover over half of the Barundi names also in these lands, especially in Ruanda. This indicates the direction of the closest relationship to the Barundi families. According to legend, the Basinga, Bagessera, and Basigaba are the oldest kin groups there (see p. 153 [not translated]). Probably these clans of Urundi and the northern Bahima states which have the same name are mere offshoots of one original clan which split up as the result of a large increase in numbers or from being harrassed by war and spread over the area by migration. Throughout Urundi, Ruanda, and the northern areas of the interlacustrine region, the Bawanda, Bega, Bakango, Baschambo, Bagaia, Basindi, Basinga, Basito, Bajango, Basigaba, Bajubu, and others are most widely dispersed, while the Bahondogo, Bassabu, Baschunguka, Babile, Basindakire, Barire, and Basseke seem to be restricted to Urundi, although future investigators may discover them in other areas. Perhaps their blood relatives and namesakes may be found father south and west, rather than in the north.

614 The majority of the clans listed above are those of the Batussi, but the Bamagana, Bajango, Basseke, Basjubu, Barire, and others are Bahutu. In addition to this, there are numerous Batwa clans whose names, however, I was unable to ascertain. Some clan names refer both to Batussi and to Bahutu clans. In fact, a few, as, for example, the Bagessera and Basinga, even refer to Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa clans. It appears that the type of clan structure, the internal organization and the hierarchy of the clans, their social role, and their mutual legal relationships among the Batussi differ essentially in only a few characteristics from those of the Bahutu and the Batwa, namely, in those institutions and rules whose aim is to keep the Batussi blood pure and to maintain the exclusive position of their race and thus its authority. [100] Remnants of earlier endogamy still exist among them (see p. 101), while otherwise the clans are strictly exogamous. Probably the Batussi adopted the clan organization of the older ethnic elements in Urundi, just as they adopted many

614 other customs and institutions from them. However, the Batussi have contributed to a considerable extent in further reducing the importance of the old clan system. For the stronger the monarchy became and the more power and privileges the batwale who had been appointed by the king and the independent Batussi chiefs demanded and enjoyed, the less they could tolerate the continued existence of the authority of the former clan heads or clan elders and the more they suppressed and reduced the clan privileges still existing and replaced them by the administrative organization of the growing Batussi feudal state. In Ruanda, which is under strict monarchical rule, the activity of the clans in law and social affairs has been to a greater extent suppressed and restricted. Even in Urundi where the monarchy is not as strong and the state is more differentiated, the clans have had to hand over to the king and to the chiefs most of their former privileges, and they have lost their solidarity. In spite of all this, the clans continue to exist as a natural organization of the people alongside the artificial one of the state. Not only have they preserved in their organization and customs quite a number of traditions from earlier times, but they also carry on many activities stemming from their organization which have general social significance and effects. This is true particularly of functions relating to family law.

The chief characteristics of clan organization have remained the same as in earlier times: the patriarchal nature of the organization; the exogamy of the clans among each other; the totemistic peculiarity of each clan and, connected with this, the injunctions and taboos (abasiru) affecting the members, especially food taboos. These clearly separate the clans from each other. Further, there is the communalism of the clan members and the protection of the members of the kin group by their clan, by vendetta if necessary. Even under Batussi rule, this acts as a restraining influence against acts of violence by Batussi officials.

Let us briefly review the chief points as they were sketched by Czekanowski for Ruanda. Each clan recruits its members by

614 patriarchate, by patrilineal succession; each child belongs to the clan (umurjango) of its father from the day of its birth. Strangers may join the clan only in exceptional cases, but they do not enjoy full privileges. The greater the number of male members of the kin group, the stronger the clan is in its internal and external functions, the better will it protect and benefit the individual. This accounts for the fervent wish of each father of a family to have as many sons as possible and to bring them into his clan.

Marriages between the members of the same clan are forbidden. A clan member may choose his wife only from another clan. Strict exogamy is thus the rule. C. Meinhof traces the origin of this custom, which is particularly pronounced among the African Hamitic herdsmen, back to the fact that originally the wife belonged not just to a single man but rather to the whole kin group, to all clan associates of the man in common. In other words, the whole of the man's clan married the woman, and for this reason she had to be from another clan (No. 41, p. 84). Clear remnants of this kind of group marriage still persist among many of these Hamitic tribes and also among the Massai; it is customary for a husband to put his wife at the disposal of any clan member during the time of the latter's visit. [101] Also, the married wives are so easily accessible to the men of their clan that prostitution is almost nonexistent among these tribes. The concept of adultery is meaningful only with regard to illicit intercourse outside the clan. To a limited degree this is also true of the exogamous marriages of the Barundi (see p. 107). A member of a Batussi clan never enters into a completely valid marriage with a member of a Bahutu or a Batwa clan, and there never occur wholly valid mixed marriages between members of Bahutu and Batwa clans. The racial distinctions among the three large population groups are stronger than the rules regarding exogamy. It is true that Batussi may frequently be found in Bahutu clans and Bahutu in Batussi clans, but these are either offspring from concubinage with Bahutu women or from other liaisons with inferiors through special circumstances, and they are not regarded as fully valid clan members.

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614 It appears, however, that the exogamy of the clans is not entirely unrestricted. It seems that members of a Batussi clan cannot enter into marriage with the members of all other Batussi clans, nor can the members of a Bahutu clan marry the members of any other Bahutu clan. It seems rather that the member of a clan is restricted in his choice of a wife or husband to a certain number of other clans, most probably to those having the same totem (umusiru). As among other peoples practicing totemistic exogamy, marriages may originally have taken place between old totemic cult groups founded upon animistic concepts (No. 43, p. 162). It appears that in this case also marriages are restricted to clans which have the same totem or belong to totem groups which entertain friendly relations with each other. Among other East African tribes, for example, among the Wagogo [Gogo], Wahehe, Bafipa, Banjoro, and Baganda, marriage is at least not excluded if the partners have the same totem (No. 49, p. 164). In any case it is not the identity of the totem but only the membership in the same kin group, i.e., consanguinity, which is the determining element in exogamy. Evidently exogamous and totemic groups have different origins even where they coincide (No. 49, p. 166).

614 171 In the rest of East Africa exogamous, totemic clans exist among the Sulu [Zulu] (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 380), the Wangoni (395), Wagogo (402), Wahehe (404), Waheia [Haya] (406), Wayao [Yao], Makua, Makonde (406), Massai (408), Watakomba (420), Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Kamasia [Kamasya] (426), Wakawirondo [Kavirondo] (448), Basoga (457), Baganda (472), Banjoro (513), Batoro [Toro] (531), Banjankole (535), Galla (540), Basiba (No. 31, pp. 5-6), Bafipa (No. 47, pp. 131-135), Wakamba [Kamba], Wataweta [Taveta], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], Wabena [Bena], Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, [Sukuma], Wasango [Sango], Wawemba, and others (No. 49, pp. 122-124). If among these tribes the clans are not exogamous -- as among the Wahehe and the Massai -- the subclans into which the clans are divided practice exogamy. Often there are four clans and

614 almost everywhere the totem is called musiro or umusiru (pl., 171 abasiru).

In Urundi only the royal kin group, the Baganwa clan, is 614 not strictly bound by the rules of exogamy. Its members may 643 marry members of other clans of the high Batussi nobility (exogamy), or they may marry other Baganwa (endogamy). The king of Urundi himself always practices exogamy and marries into one of the four (or six?) highest clans (pp. 99, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). Under exceptional circumstances the king in both Urundi and Ruanda may, or must, as the case may be marry even his own sister or daughter (see p. 182 [not translated]).

Among the Bahima of Ankole, Unjoro, Ufipa, among 614 the Baganda and the Galla or Oromo, the kings and princes 643 of royal blood may practice endogamy within the royal kin 171 group and may even marry their own sisters while all the other clans are exogamous (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 523, 538, 541; No. 27, p. 105; No. 47, pp. 49, 132; Emin Bey, Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 120).

[102] As an extreme form of endogamy, marriage with a sister is practiced in East Africa only in cases of emergency when the ruling dynasty is unable to preserve the purity of its blood by any other connection. It probably is or was practiced by the ruling families of other peoples past and present only if the dynasty, as, for example, the Bahima, came either as peaceful immigrants or as conquering invaders and originally formed an alien element which excluded any miscegenation with the subjugated group (No. 43, p. 150).

From the fact that there are always several clans with the 614 same totem it may be concluded that these clans originally belonged to the same tribe which later split into two or more kin groups and clans as a result of growth while nevertheless keeping

614 the common totem. After separating, the clans took different names. Among the Bahima and Bahutu of East Africa, unlike the North American Indians, the totem name was not used as the name of the clan itself, but rather, as among the Australian aborigines, the names of the clan and the totem are different. However, the totem cult and its membership have been preserved even though in diluted form (cf. No. 43, pp. 142-143). In a few individual cases the names of the kin groups are identical with that of their totem, as among the Basoga, Basiba, and Banjoro, while the kin groups of the Baganda are named, without exception, after their totem (No. 49, p. 155).

Both in Urundi and in Ruanda the totem (umusiru) is still the cult object of the clan or the clan group, even if only in a passive or negative sense, in that everything connected with the totem must be strictly avoided by its clan. There is no active cult devoted to the totem either among the Barundi or among any other Bahima people (cf. also No. 47, pp. 133, 134 and No. 49, pp. 145, 147). Sacrificial offerings are occasionally made to them but that is all. Among most Rundi clans the totem is an animal or part of an animal. Much more rarely it is an object, as, for example, the small pillow with which burdens are carried on the head or the basket in which sweet potatoes are stored, even more rarely plants or parts of plants, flowers, and stones. The definite predominance of animal
614 totemism is probably related, as among all peoples organized
775 by totems, to the idea that the totem animal was originally
171 considered the "ancestral animal." Among the Barundi and Banjaruanda, however, this does not appear to indicate that the particular species of animals is regarded as the founder of the race or the tribal ancestor or ancestress of the particular clan, but rather that the soul of each clan member after his death enters an animal of this particular type. Evidently the belief in a relationship between the human kin group and the totem animal species does not include the concept of common descent from the same ancestral animal. Whenever a member of the kin group dies, this relationship is renewed by his soul entering an

614 animal of his totem species. In Central Africa many tribes of
775 the northern Congo basin and of the western Sudan (No. 49,
171 pp. 140-142) have the same belief.

Van der Burgt believes that the royal family of the
614 Barundi has no totem (letter). According to other reports, however, their totem animal is probably the large python (see p. 118) which is also the "soul animal" of the kings; this also applies to the Basiba (No. 31, pp. 107, 130) and to the Baganda (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 500). According to the belief of the Banjankole, the souls of the kings enter into lions, those of the princes into snakes (No. 26, p. 151; No. 27, p. 102); among the Banjaruanda the souls of the kings enter into leopards."

[103] Thus, the belief in a relationship between clan members and the totem animal is one of the roots of totemism; the other is the same kind of animism that gives rise to awe and fear of the spirit of a dead person living in an animal or some other object and, in connection with this, brings about the cult of ancestors (cf. No. 49, p. 169). For this reason the totem animals are identical with the "soul animals" which are generally assumed to be the residence of human souls (see p. 118). In this case, too, these are characteristically animals, those which excel in great speed and agility and, thus, are suggestive of the vital breath, as, for example, the snake, lizard, certain fish and birds, the otter, weasel, duikerbok, long-tailed monkey, or those animals which have a sinister appearance or other terrifying characteristics, as, for example, the chameleon, the insect walking stick, leopard, buffalo, and hippopotamus. However, certain kinds of domestic animals, for example, black, white striped, or otherwise mottled cows or certain varieties of sheep may be chosen as totem animals by many clans. The veneration of cattle, which are neither used for work nor ordinarily butchered, would indicate that they were formerly the cult animal of the Bahima herdsmen, which to some extent is still true today. Some clans designate only liver, heart, and intestines of certain animals as totems. This custom is also found among many other Bahima and Bantu tribes. This is

614 probably done for a variety of reasons: partly because the original clan split up into several totem groups; partly because these organs of the animal body are most often regarded as containing the soul; partly for the practical reason of not wishing to forego the enjoyment of eating the meat of the entire animal. For a clan of herdsmen, it would have been impossible to select only cattle as their totem like, for instance, the hyena or the chameleon since the clan would have had to go hungry because of the taboo imposed by its totem.

614 784 262 For the clan member his clan totem, his umusiru, is an object of awe. It either inspires veneration as a member of an earlier generation of his kin group or it causes revulsion for other reasons. It is taboo to him, either because he regards it as sacrosanct due to its superior characteristics or because he regards it as impure due to its disagreeable characteristics. In their effect on the attitude of the clan member, these two emotions are the same. The umusiru is carefully avoided. Any injury or, what is worse, killing of a totem animal, any contact with or occupation connected with the totem or a part of the totem is considered an offense of which it is difficult to purge oneself. Eating its meat or drinking its blood or milk is prohibited. Out of this strict food taboo, there developed the now predominant attitude that meat, blood, milk, and other parts of an animal are impure and injurious to the health of the clan member. The impurity can only be eliminated by [783] means of elaborate ceremonies, and the umufumu (medicine man) determines the amount of the penance which depends on the seriousness of the case. Moreover, violations of the totem taboo, particularly of the food taboo, are automatically and magically punished by illness or even death for the offender (cf. No. 49, pp. 152, 153).

Since the members of other clans eat the meat of the totem animal of one clan, they are regarded as impure by this clan. Thus, the food taboos erect barriers between clans with different totems. For example, [104] if members of the clan of the Bawanda (Babanda), whose totem is the duikerbok, find

614 784 262 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 174 563 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism. In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 621 In the internal organization and life of the clan the strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

614 621 Wherever monarchy with its state organization has not yet dissolved the clans and dispersed their members all over the various feudal districts of the Batussi state (see p. 89), wherever the clans have preserved the main elements of their ancient solidarity and autonomy, as is the case particularly in the more or less independent border provinces of Urundi (and Ruanda), the clans form small or large communities under an elected clan elder (umugabo). This is especially true of 614 the Bahutu clans that existed in the area before the period of 423 Batussi rule. The office of the umugabo is hereditary in 621 many cases. The central communalistic element in the organization of these clans is the communal ownership of the land occupied by the clan. The land belongs to the clan community probably because it was originally appropriated and cultivated by the clan. The individual clan members is merely entitled to the use of the land he cultivates or of the pasture where his cattle grazes. Only the hut built on this ground is the real property of the individual, in addition to the inventory of implements, tools, weapons, and the cattle he has raised from the herd with which he has been vested by his feudal lord (see p. 93).

614 E. Johanssen, a missionary who in 1907 founded the first 182 Protestant missionary stations of Dsinga and Kirinda in Ruanda [114] and who is an eminent student of the Banjaruanda, makes the following comment on the social importance of the Ruanda clans: "These kin group organizations hand down the old customs and traditions from one generation to the next. In this way they preserve the national characteristics against intermixture and decay. The easier it is to loosen the ties of the family group in its narrowly defined sense as a result of polygamy and by the dissolution of marriage, the greater is the [105] importance of the stable, indissoluble, religiously determined kin group. The destruction of this group would cause the entire nation to disintegrate and to split up into isolated groups which would be exposed to any outside influence. There can be no doubt that the kin group, as the

614 vehicle of tradition and religious customs (totem, food taboos,
182 sacrificial community), has been of great importance in sustaining the nation's life." (No. 39, p. 73.) This characterization also applies to the clans of the Barundi.

However, the Batussi monarchy is a most powerful enemy
614 of the clan organization. The growing power of the Batussi kings
642 has laid claim, as has been shown above, to all the land and
182 cattle as the personal property of the king who parcels it out in larger or smaller portions as fiefs to his Batussi followers (see p. 89). The king's vassal, in turn, divides his fief into smaller portions with which he vests his people. The former clan elder is usually appointed mutwale of the king and collects the taxes and other tribute of which he retains a share. Under the conquering kings the clan has thus been disrupted socially and economically and has been rather quickly absorbed into the political feudal community of the state, although it may still retain its clan name, its old customs, some of its institutions, and its totem for a long time to come.

There is one element of the old clan organization which
642 the clan members have retained even under the political re-
614 organization of the Batussi monarchy since it offers them a
628 strong protection against arbitrary acts of their rulers: it is
182 the vendetta (kuhora). Originally, allied clans used it as the most effective way to protect themselves when they were threatened by other clans. Even at the present time the vendetta is the strongest bulwark for the protection of the individual in spite of the fact that public and private security has considerably increased under the strong rule of the royal batwale. Despite criminal jurisdiction administered by the batwale, the vendetta is still used by the clan members as the most effective form of self-help and as a protective instrument of intimidation on the part of those who are politically weak. A person who kills or injures a member of a clan is killed or wounded by the members of the wronged clan (see p. 97). If the wrongdoer cannot be apprehended, the vendetta will strike another member of the criminal's clan. Indeed, more than that, some clans

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite
an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price;
the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are
[589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor.
If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable
to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife.
Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within
the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a
583 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does
685 occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358).
595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son
of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

5: Pages--26 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Chapter 2

Familial and Social Organization (continued).
Clans. Family Life and Traditions. Mentality and Psychology.
Characters and Temperament of the Africans.
Intelligence, Ability, and Perfectibility of the Blacks.
Africa, the Cradle of the Aurignacian Civilization.

614 The Banyarwanda, whether Batutsi, Bahutu, or Batwa, are grouped into tribes or clans whose names they bear. They lead a patriarchal life. The northwestern regions are those where the concept of the clan has retained all its force and all its importance. The members of a clan pool their interests, their joys, and their revenges.

The exclusiveness of the clans is rigorous. It was in those same regions that the invasion of the Batutsi was opposed most vigorously. One may wonder how this separation into clans originated.

As they evolved, the three ethnic groups, Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, each adopted the name of one or the other of their ancestors in order to be distinguished from other families with the same origin. This caused the parceling of the tribes.

The Basiete, who became Batutsi only recently, claim to be descended from their ancestor Busiete, who was of Mutwa /sing of Batwa/ origin and who was raised to noble rank by Yuhi III Gahindiro.

Among the Batutsi, it is the Banyiginya, Bega, Balejuru, and Bakongori who claim to have come down from heaven.

614 592 The clan or tribe is nothing more than the extended lineage. "The family, thus constituted, did not remain limited to father, mother, children, and servants.... It grew larger. The spirit of solidarity which united its various members, strengthened by the necessities of time, keeps the various branches attached to the trunk. The younger brothers and their progeny remain grouped around the eldest, from whom they continue to receive a central guidance." /45/

614 This enlarged family, which comprises the younger brothers
[592] and their children, the cousins and servants attached to the household (1), takes the name of umulyango, which has the same meaning as

1. Funck-Brentano, L'Ancien Régime /The Old Regime/, p. 15.

mesnie from the Latin mansionata, "household." Eventually the tribe became too large and split up. Each subtribe then took the name of the new chief while retaining as a reminder the name of the common ancestor. In other words, the major clans divided as time went on and remained bound to the mother tribe under a new name.

The Bagwabiro of Bugoyi are descended from a Migwabiro rain maker who belonged to the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ clan of the Basinga.

173 He left his village of Suti (Munyambiriri), and, after a vain
614 attempt at colonization in the Kinyaga, settled in the Bugoyi during the reign of Chyilima II Ludjugira, around 1700 or thereabouts. He was reunited there with his son Macchumu, who played an important role in the fight against the famous "Mutes," or "men with an incomprehensible tongue."

614 A change of territory, a raise to the noble ranks, an important role played in some event, the holding of a post at court, etc., such were some of the motives that determined the creation of new clans. In the following pages, we shall describe many examples of such recent formations.

We shall now provide a brief list of clans.

1. Batutsi Ethnic Group

a) The two major clans:
Abanyiginya, from which the royal family originated.
Abega.

b) The secondary clans:
Abatsobe (Gatsobe, Nyirarutsobe).
Abaha, which came from the Uha.

614 Abasinga, Abagessera, Abasiete, etc. /46/

2. Bahutu Ethnic Group

a) Oldest clans:
Ababanda, Abagessera, Abazigaba, Abungura, Abasinga, Abatchaba or Abiru, etc.

b) Secondary or recent clans:
Abambari, Abalevu, Abalindwa, Abatabo, Abahindi, Abakora, Abahigo, Abahuma, Abatembe, Abaziko, Abashobyo, Abondo, Abanyunjo, Abajongo, Abachira, Abakwa, Abanyoni, Abungura, Abalimba, etc.

3. Batwa Ethnic Group

563 614 They borrow their designations from the Bahutu for most of their clans. Although of Bahutu origin, the Bayovu are linked to the Batwa race. They are regarded as a degenerate group because, like the Negrillos, they eat animals considered impure and make pottery.

In spite of their more or less artificial division into tribes, the Pygmies actually regard themselves from a social point of view as part of one single group called Batwa. They practice what we call solidarity among themselves.

If one of them is killed, the whole group feels injured and [574] rises to avenge him. A Mutwa /sing. of Batwa/ who travels is everywhere offered hospitality by his "brothers," even if they do not know him.

421 Property rights exist among the Banyarwanda. They are well defined by custom and tradition, notwithstanding temporary injustices and the discretionary powers of the king and of the chiefs. Everyone recognizes those rights and accepts them in principle. No one fails to exercise them or claim them.

They are taken into account in legal proceedings.

Daughters do not inherit but are taken care of by their brothers 421 until the day they marry. /47/

neolithic people made a bread or rather a cake, some interesting specimens of which have been preserved in the waters of Swiss lakes....

"They are round biscuits, probably prepared without yeast with coarse flour...." (3) The bread made of sorghum flour that the

3. Joseph Déchelette, op. cit., p. 344.

Blacks bake is similar to those biscuits and of the same shape. /60/

Who can fail to see that all these analogies, resemblances, and ethnological similarities open to the mind a vast realm of conjecture, especially if one accepts the idea that Africa is the cradle of the Aurignacian civilization (1)?

1. It is enough to wander through the galleries of a museum of comparative ethnography, Déchelette adds, to find that the initial stage of civilization among all peoples of the earth presents in every case, if not a uniform appearance, at least many identical fundamental traits. Everywhere the same industry corresponds to the same cultural phase. (Op. cit. p. 313.

614 825 Totemism is not highly prized in Ruanda. Perhaps it is nothing more than a vestige from the past. The totem is always an animal. That of the king is a leopard, the crowned crane is that of the Banyiginya, and the frog that of the Bega. Among the Bahutu, the Bagessera have the wagtail (inyamanza) as their totem, the Babanda have the hyena (impyisi), the Basinga the sparrow hawk (sakabaka), etc. The totem is a member of the clan and is respected as such by the other members.

In the past it happened sometimes that the clan took up arms to avenge the death of its totem, deliberately or accidentally killed by one of the members of a neighboring tribe. The members of certain tribes, the Bapyisi, for example, are said to communicate

614 with their totems or even with other animals, to render them harmless
825 or to excite them against their enemies.

This, however, is a belief that will soon disappear, for the Banyarwanda take small notice of their totems nowadays.

538 As far as oral literature and folklore in general are concerned, one may assert without risk of error that the Banyarwanda have no reason to envy the neighboring peoples.

There may be few Black groups who managed to preserve so many and such ancient traditions, made all the more precious by the fact that they help us understand more than one facet of their history. This will be shown readily /61/ in the course of this work. We believe that the Hamites, who are given to the things of the mind and have organized the country methodically, must be justly regarded as the chief authors of this literary development.

181 The Bahutu of Ruanda owe to these same Batutsi the appreciable advantage of being less backward, less "primitive" than many of their fellow Bantu of Central Africa. Because they were less isolated than most of the members of the tiny neighboring states at the time of European penetration, the Banyawanda found themselves in a situation more favorable to the progress of civilization thanks to the centralization of the Hamitic state.

171 The inhabitants of Ruanda, as we have just pointed out, have more than one trait in common with the other African tribes. In speaking on the subject, Maurice Delafosse provides the following explanation, "The African Negro peoples, as different from one another as they may seem to a superficial observer, have a unified character which may be attributed to their common ethnic origins and to the relative similarity of the physical, economic, and social environments where they first developed and where they later evolved." (1)

1. Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro African Civilizations/.

157 As for the reader who wishes to know what to think of the Blacks, we must answer in all sincerity that it is very difficult to

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
[202]/374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
533 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
644 hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated
[614] to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
644 name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of
814 closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

644 forebears. Along with thedeeds of the past, they must preserve the
814 memory of each king's name, the names of the queen mother, of the king's immediate ancestors, and of the tribe to which they belonged.

Needless to say, critical sense has not yet appeared in the land. It happens sometimes that the Court historians and keepers of the traditions disagree about some detail which is now forgotten or
[787] in dispute. In such cases divinatory sacrifices are offered in order to find out what the king should be told (1).

1. See "Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom of Ruanda" /Book II, not translated/ for opinions regarding the authenticity of the first /few/ sovereigns. As fas as the beginnings of the kingdom are concerned, the traditional documentation is of greater value to ethnology than to history.

In spite of their inherent faults and imperfections, the epics nevertheless are not lacking in interest or charm. Through them we can grasp at first hand the thoughts of the Banyarwanda, their feelings, their /375/ ideas about life, their love of their native soil, their attachment to old customs and memories of the past. They reveal the pathetic sorrow caused by foreign invasions, and the enthusiasm inspired by eventual triumph.

[64] 7. The keepers of the traditions belong to the important Abiru clan. Their role is to preserve the unity and continuity of customs at the capital and throughout the realm. The supreme chief of this corporation is the chief of the Batsobe, whose position entails numerous and varied functions.

644 In accordance with a popular tradition, he is personally en-
643 trusted with the task of collecting the umbilical cord (umukungwa) of
787 each of the king's sons, as well as their teeth, including their milk teeth. Then, when the time comes to determine the heir to the throne, it is this personage who has the honor of presiding over the selection.

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the author discusses diviners, including the Bakongori, and the various methods of practicing their art.

The same individual is both diviner and sacrificer.

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The Abakongori are also designated by the name of Abanyambuto because they use the saliva of their clients in their method of divination, hence the name mbuto given to this viscous fluid in this particular case.

614 644 791 Numerous are the clans, such as the Bazigaba, Batembe, and Bahigo, of the Muhutu /Bantu/ race, which provide the court with diviners and sacrificers, but more numerous still are the families where these functions have been transmitted, since more or less distant times, from father to son or from mother to daughter.

The Bahigo and Batembe inhabit the Bugoyi region. The ancestors of these two families emigrated to the /Ruanda/ kingdom around the year 1800, during the reign of Yuhi III Gahindiro. The members of these two /392/ groups owed their good fortune to a Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief who was pleased with their divinatory talents and made them known to the court of King Yuhi III Gahindiro, where they were summoned (1).

1. The events and incidents of this emigration to Ruanda were preserved by his descendants and make an interesting tale.

787 Their method of divination differs from that of other diviners.

They are called Abanyamihundwa, that is to say, "jawbone diviners," because instead of using any small bones as do the ordinary Banyanzuzi, they use only the jawbones of sheep, beeves, and antelopes (2).

779 This is how the young prince became willy-nilly the father of the
821 present Bashara, or rain-maker, lineage, which has inherited his
614 vocation.

If they wish to bring rain, these people go outside, look at
785 the sky, and spread out their arms. If they wish to favor only the
821 hill they inhabit, they must sit. If they wish to benefit the entire land with their astonishing power, they must stretch out at full length and spread out their arms at the same time. The storytellers add that this is how the descendants of Rushara have acted ever since that time.

Up to these last few years, rain makers were exposed to
[686] serious dangers. It was not unusual to hear that one or another of those unfortunate creatures had been killed or thrown into the river for failing to produce the needed rain on time.

According to another interpretation of the same legend which
[773] is very popular in the central province of Nduga, Rushara disobeyed the orders of the sorcerer at the proddings of the demon of curiosity after he had crossed the Nyabarongo. The water ran out of the pot and spread onto the ground. Nyamukama was informed and replied that in order /431/ to get rain, all that was needed was to build upon the spot where the water from the vessel had been spilled, and to dig into the hill (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Many of the kings of Ruanda have indeed elected this hill as one of their favorite capitals.

In times of drought it is customary to scratch its soil lightly as though searching for a spring, and it is said that Nyamukama's prophecies always come true. This is why the area is appropriately
[103] called Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), that is to say, "the place where rain comes forth."

It is for the same reason, and to obtain the same results, that at Mata in Marangara, people dig into both sides of the hill.

The first of the two holes is called "the fountain of milk" (iliba ry'amata) and symbolizes abundance. Cows will then yield more milk. The other hole is called by the name of "source of rain" (iliba ry'imvura). Just by dealing it a few blows with a hoe, a favorable influence is exercised upon the clouds, which will give forth a beneficent rain.

[i.e., the Bashara. - Avalyn]

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[778]

to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

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It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

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It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

000 fellow-tribesmen.

162 I constantly inquired about the Batwa, and since I gained no further information, I think I can assume that I have herewith listed the most important groups. Accordingly, the number of Batwa in Ruanda does not exceed 3,000, although there are individuals scattered in many different places. There were two or three in Issawi and a rainmaker in Ruasa.

614 The Batwa belong to the same clans as the rest of the Banyaruanda. Thus, the Batwa of Kahima belong to the Mugessera clan, and Kahima seems to be their clan elder, a man of little authority. The Batwa of Kabgaye, as well as those of Muhawura, belonged to various clans and may perhaps be regarded as remnants of clan groups which have been broken up.

[135] Chapter 7

Occupations

241 Agriculture. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the Bahutu. It is carried on quite intensively and with care, reaching its maximum in the vicinity of Lake Kivu. The chief products are: millet (masaka), sweet potatoes (bidjumba), peas (bishimbo), and bananas (bitoke). The following are also grown in large quantities: corn (kigori), peanuts (ichiema), eleusine [a kind of millet] (buro), gourds (mungu), tobacco (itabi), and a little manioc (mukembe).

In Mulera and Bugoye peas are the staple whereas in Kissaka, Nduga, in the northeast territory, and especially in Bgisha, millet is the principal food.

The following methods used in Ruanda agriculture bespeak its high level of development: the use of fertilizer, unknown in eastern Europe; artificial irrigation; and terraced fields on the steep mountainsides.

The care that goes into farming is shown primarily by the way the farmer covers the ground of the banana groves with leaves and rotting banana stalks, so that the moisture necessary to the

766 of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be
643 worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites
and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at
[782] the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies
of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, where-
upon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced
to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said
to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan. As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the
[597] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his relatives.

614 842 Since the groups involved in this arrangement are small and conditions simple and clear, no one can forget that the welfare of the individual is directly dependent on the welfare of the clan. Hence everyone is very much concerned that the clan appear powerful to the outside world. It must be as large as possible and always ready for war. No effort must be spared to achieve this; otherwise the members of the clan have no protection against plunder, impoverishment, and even complete extinction. The man as well as the woman must be considered from this point of view, and producing children is, therefore, the most important duty of the individual. This explains the completely unenviable position of the childless woman. For the same reason, sons whose descendants will augment the number of clan members are preferred to a daughter, even though one can always trade her for a cow.

614 563 The importance of the clan's strength and fighting fitness, even today in Bugoye, was convincingly demonstrated to me by the fate of my Muhutu informant's father. Several years ago their clan was scattered by advancing Batutsi. Only his father remained on the old clan property, along with the [234] children and his uncle. Since there were only a few men in both families and they were too weak to defend themselves, the Batutsi simply settled on the land and indulged in all kinds of suppressive measures against the weaker farmers. At the time of my visit, for example, they took away a whole hut and carried it to their settlement, instead of building a new one for themselves.

614 628 Every individual is under the protection of the clan. This makes it possible for a person to lead a more or less secure existence. Clan organization represents a sort of social guarantee which is directed primarily against the misdeeds of fellow tribesmen who do not belong to the clan.

614 627 Moreover, the clan exercises control over its members, and, if serious offenses are committed by individuals who endanger the interests of the clan, they can even be exiled.

614 627 428 The clan may also interfere in family matters and, above all, in disputes about inheritances. Although the father can dispose of his property as he sees fit, nevertheless his decisions presuppose the tacit approval of the clan. If the interests of the clan are

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
428 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
423 property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy, it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
651 taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

The protection of female clan members does not extend to
614 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
591 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
760 happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
614 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

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671
178 finds protection even outside the clan, which formerly was not possible.

614 Ruanda Clans. We have already listed the clans of Ruanda in Chapter 2 [not translated]. However, in view of the significance which the distribution of individual clans in the various provinces has for the history of Ruanda settlements, the list must be supplemented by further data. Here we shall also give the names of the provinces in which the individual clans were observed. (Chart on following pages)

It is said that the Baanzira clan is not represented in Kissaka, but the name is familiar, and strangely enough, it is used by the women in vows. When they wish to affirm something very positively, they say: "Aha Baanzira batshu."

Father Schumacher (1) uses the designation "Base" or "Abase"

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 896.

for the Bagessera and Bazigaba who play a special role in the Ryangombe cult.

628
614 [237] Blood Revenge. Clans practice blood vengeance (kuhora) for their members. If an outsider kills or wounds a clan member, his fellow members take revenge on the members of the criminal's clan.

The clan's revenge, however, is not always a simple settlement on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In Kissaka, for example, the people are satisfied if they kill a member of the murderer's clan, whereas in Mulera the vengeance is always greater than the crime. The severity of the vengeance by the injured clan depends on the number of its able-bodied men. The powerful and spirited clan of the Barashi who are settled in Mulera on Muhawura is aware of its strength and takes bitter revenge. For a murdered clansman, the Barashi kill six to eight men from the murderer's clan. The other less powerful Mulera clans content themselves with three or four. The Batutsi, on the other hand, demand as many as ten to twelve heads. The same number is exacted by the greatly feared Batwa clans.

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Baasigu 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Babadji 1)	.....	–
.....	Babanda 2)	.....	Babandi 1)2)3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	Babusi 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Babwari 1)	.....	from Ndorwa
Rugumvu, chameleon	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bachacha 1)	.....	branch of Baloye
Rutoni, weasel	.....	.....	.....	Bachakohogo 1)	.....	.....	branch of Baloye
.....	.....	.....	Batsiaba 3)	Bachaba 1)3)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Badahe 1)	Badoha 1)	.....	branch of Basinga
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Badjadja 1)	–
.....	Badogo 2)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	Bega 2)	Bega 1)2)3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagaba 1)	–
.....	Bagai 1)2)	Bagahe 1)2)	Bagai 3)	Bagai 3)	Bagai	Bagai 1)	–
Infundi, small red bird	.....	.....	.....	Bagaya 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagambira 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagara 1)	Bagara 1)	branch of Batsiaba
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bageni	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
Niamanza, wag-tail	Bagessera 1)	.....	Bagessera 1)2)3)	Bagessera 1)3)	Bagessera 1)3)	Bagessera	branch of Batsiaba
.....	Bagiri 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagirima 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga
.....	.....	.....	Bagoboko 1)	.....	.....	.....	–
Ingwe, leopard	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagwabiro 2)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahachi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bahungura 3)	Bahangura 1)	Bahangara 1)	Bakungura 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahanuka	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bahene 1)	.....	.....	.....	branch of Batsiaba
Infundi, small red bird.....	Bahigo 2)	.....	Bahigo 2)	.....	Bahigo 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahinga 1)	–
Rutoni, Weasel	.....	.....	.....	Bahoma 1)	Bahoma 1)	Bahoma 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahotso 1)	.....	.....	–
Niamanza, Bachstelze	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahuma 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahumba 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahunde 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahungudu	.....	.....	–
.....	Bahuzi 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Baichozi 1)	Baichozi 1)	.....	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bairuntu 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Baisha 1)	–
.....	Baitera 2)	.....	.....	Baishaza 1)	Baishaza	.....	–
.....	.....	Bakango 1)	.....	Bakango 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakanyara 1)	–
.....	Bakiaba 1)	.....	.....	.....	Bakara 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakima 1)	Bakima 1)	.....	–
.....	Bakimbiri 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bakobga 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	Bakono 2)	.....	Bakono 2)	Bakono 2)	.....	Bakono 1)	–
Rugumvu, chameleon	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakora 1)	.....	–
.....	Bakumangari 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakundi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakungura	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakwa 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Balesi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Balihira 1)	Balihira 1)	Balihira 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Baloye 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Balyolyo 1)	.....	branch of Bahoma
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bambari 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banegitore 1)	.....	.....	.....	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bangona 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga called Raven
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bangota 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bangura 1)	Bangula 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banie-ginia 1)2)3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banyabeneki 3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Banyabgisha 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Banyabgoye 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	Banyabyinshi 3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banyakarama 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Banyambo 1)	Banyambo 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Barashi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Baruru 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Basale 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Basezera 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga
Impereri, rock badger	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bashama 1)	.....	–
.....	Bashambo 2)	Bashambo 2)	Bashambo 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bashobio 1)	.....	–
Niamanza, wag-tail	.....	.....	.....	Bashoke 1)	.....	.....	branch of Bahoma

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
Liver.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Basigali 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Basigi 1)	.....	Basigi 1)	–
nda[1], antelope	.....	.....	Basindi 1)3)	Basindi 1)3)	Basindi 1)	Basindi 1)	–
Nsere, black cow with white stripes	Basinga 1)2)3)	Basinga 1)	Basinga 1)2)	Basinga 1)3)	Basinga 1)	Basinga 1)	–
.....	.....	Basita 1)	Basita 2)1)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Basubahu 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	Basungu 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Baswaga 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	Basweri 1)	.....	Baswera 1)3)	Baswera 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Batekamogi	–
Ntama, sheep	.....	.....	.....	.....	Batembe 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Batita 1)	.....	.....	branch of Bahoma
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Batogi 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	Batsiaba 1)	Batsiaba 1)	Batsiaba 1)	.....	.....	in Mulera the branches Bagara and Behene
.....	.....	.....	.....	Batsilege 1)	.....	.....	

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan (continued)

[1] [Probably should read Ingonda; cf. text page 159, line 24.-Analyst]

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	Batsove 1)	Batsove 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Batwa 2)	.....	.....	Batundu 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bavuna 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bayovu 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bayumbo 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bayungo 1)	–
Amara, entrails of every animal	Bazigaba 1)	Bazigaba 1)	Bazigaba 1)2)3)	Bazigaba 1)3)	.....	.....	–
Rutoni, weasel	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bazogera 1)	.....	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

•64 628 In Mulera, in contrast to Kissaka, the female members of the clan are also avenged, but in Ruanda I heard nothing about women being killed in revenge.

[765] The clan which has avenged its dead casts off mourning and celebrates the happy event with dancing and beer drinking. This announces to the others that they have nothing more to fear.

In exacting vengeance, the injured clan is primarily bent on laying its hands on members of the criminal's clan, but the murderer himself also receives special attention.

During my stay in Mulera a man with a pot of beer on his head went to a neighboring settlement. On the way he met a stranger who expressed the wish to taste his beer. When the man refused, the stranger retaliated by stabbing him in the back. The wounded man fell to the ground and began to scream. The stranger fled, but the injured man's clansmen pursued him, inflicted arm and head wounds with a bush knife, bound him, and brought him to their settlement. There he had to await the outcome of his victim's illness, and if the man had died, he would have had to pay with his life for his fit of temper.

Revenge is the factor that most strongly binds the clan together and contributes most to the development of a feeling of solidarity among clan members.

A clan that refused to take revenge would become extinct in a short time, since neighbors could plunder its members without punishment.

[238] The practice of blood revenge in Ruanda and, above all, in Nduga where clan members are scattered among outsiders takes the form of secret, occasional murders. In the northwest, for example, in Itambi where clans have settled in larger units, revenge is said to take on the nature of a regular war. This difference is decidedly an adjustment of the same institution to the particular conditions prevailing in the two regions.

Unsettled and pending cases of revenge constitute an ever-present danger for the clan members, and at the same time they involve many unexpected and unpleasant situations. The clans are settled in different places far apart from one another, and the individual member is not always informed about the relation of his clan to others in distant regions. For this reason the Munyaruanda

614 keeps his clan a secret and discloses it only when he has confi-
628 dence in his questioner. That is why it was so difficult at first to find out the names of the clans, especially before we learned the word for clan, namely, umuryangu or umuliangu.

For its own safety, the clan is forced to watch over its members and, in case of an emergency, oust certain individuals whose actions endanger the community. This applies chiefly to those who, through careless murder, burden their clan with the revenge of the injured. The banished member loses the right of protection and property and will not be avenged. This expulsion is called kilenga ngoma and seems to occur more frequently than adoption.

These imperfect security measures aimed at guaranteeing the safety of the individual cause eternal petty wars. The whole society is split up into a number of warring camps, which weakens its resistance against outside enemies. This applies primarily to the Bahutu, and this will be one of the chief reasons why the better organized herdsmen minority will be able to conquer them.

Clan feuds are by no means limited to the Bahutu. My anthropological studies among the Batwa in the region around Marangara were very much curtailed because a few days before, during an evening of beer drinking, a drunken man committed a murder. The murderer and his clansmen were obliged to leave the region of Marangara in great haste.

614 Abaziru. Although blood revenge unites the clan more con-
267 spicuously than any other factor, nevertheless in peaceful times one is only occasionally aware of the sharp demarcation of clans. [239] In quiet everyday life the clans are differentiated much more by their food taboos. The adult members of individual clans are forbidden to eat certain foods. For example, the Bagessera and Bashambo, like some Massai tribes, do not eat liver; the Bagahe and Bazigaba do not eat entrails, etc. Each clan may have more than one food taboo. Thus, the Bashambo, for example, eat neither liver nor the meat of foreign spotted cows.

The members of different clans may not eat together because of their dietary laws. Consequently, they also regard each other

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different elements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
609 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[178] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J.M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

262
609

Neighbors], " Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

[240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few
• 614 clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan
262 groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

262 Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no
858 means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of
562 Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

262 The food taboos which play such an important role in the
614 life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos,
784 abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

614 The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are
784 taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

614 784 Nevertheless, the individual's freedom of action with regard to his umuziru is limited. For this reason one is closer to the actual meaning of the word when one translates it as "prohibition."

I was told that the following were abaziru: mammals, the various parts of their bodies, birds, fish, grasshoppers, the milk of particular cows, and inanimate objects, such as an empty basket, for example, but not plants, with the exception of a blade of straw.

784 775 614 [241] The meaning of abaziru involves the vague idea that after death everyone takes the form of an umuziru. For example, they believe that the clansmen of the ruler of Kiziba turn into snakes, the family of the kings of Ruanda into leopards, and various Azande clans into all kinds of animals.

I had no opportunity to find out the derivation of abaziru, not even in cases where the transformation into animals after death was positively maintained. Thus, we can hardly link the various prohibitions with remnants of these ideas.

784 614 On the other hand, I learned about traditions which make it seem likely that the prohibitions arose from experiences of clan members or their protoplasts. Thus, in Kifumbiro I was told that one of the clans there (the Abazirambogo) does not eat buffalo meat because one of its ancestors was killed on a buffalo hunt many, many years ago.

The prohibition on wearing the skin of the inganda, antelope, shows how the taboos of a single clan spread to larger groups, even to a whole country. Inganda is an umuziru of the Basindi clan. Its members were not permitted to hunt the animal, eat its meat, or use its skin for clothing. Two wives of a king of Ruanda once quarreled over this beautiful skin, and one stabbed the other with a knife. Thereupon the wise king, in order to eliminate discord from the world once and for all, declared the animal to be an umuziru for the entire country. This has also been the case with dogs, monkeys, and birds.

The Banyaruanda, who generally like to dismiss a questioner with the phrase, "our fathers did it this way," cite traditions about the origin of their taboos, and this we can regard as an argument in favor of the view that the taboos developed along with clan organization.

714 628 614 It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

614 582 Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Batutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

614 581 [242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

563 582 614 In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu,

563 582 614 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

572 608 [243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it 572 seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is con- 608 nected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. 628 This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 608 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiehe. (If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rize, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 608 431 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 608 614 628 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 608 614 178 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its significance. This may be considered a result of state organization which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organization. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

572 608 614 178 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship between blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 608 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 608 582 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously observed. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 608 837 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 608 563 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the Batwa.

614 621 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

•614 621 In the north the members of individual clans have large areas wholly to themselves. In view of the not very strictly organized political situation, these autonomous territorial communities can sometimes play a very important role because of their solidarity and their often rather large numbers. In Nduga, on the other hand, the power of the state has broken up the clans, scattered them, and robbed them of any possibility of forming political or territorial clan unions. The representatives [246] of the various warring factions were incorporated into territorial groups and placed under chiefs appointed by the state. If you travel from Mulera to Nduga via Bugoye, you can observe the successive phases in this process of the formation of a state. You see how the independent, undifferentiated clans are first drawn into all kinds of dependent relationships and are then gradually absorbed.

In taking possession of Bugoye, members of the same clans have settled in various places. As a result, the whole country represents a mosaic of properties occupied by different members of the same clans who are physically separated from one another, yet still aware of their historical connection. This is most clearly evident in the institution of blood revenge, as well as in the prohibitions regarding food and marriage. This awareness, however, is not sufficient to bring about the formation of larger, independent, well-disciplined political unions. Every individual settlement is an entirely independent community with its own elder at the head.

614 622 In clan communities that have been unaffected by conquest, the head of the community has little authority. He represents the clan community in external affairs and settles internal disputes. The latter are one of the most important reasons why clan members emigrate. The headman is known as mugabo, and his position is hereditary, usually devolving upon the eldest son. In the list given below, the bagabo are given first place.

After the subjugation of clan communities by outside conquerors, the mugabo occupies a special place. His duty is to collect taxes and to deliver them to the official commissioned by the king. However, this official position gives him a certain

622 614 influence which can increase along with that of the outside conquerors, especially if he knows how to make himself useful to them. Since the privilege of collecting taxes is hereditary, it bears a seed that can grow to the level of a regular high chief, as was demonstrated in the case of the Muhutu, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, who became known even in Europe for the murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias.

The leadership of the Barashi under Lukara lwa Bishingwe is an example of a clan whose elder, through the influence of the Batutsi, was elevated to chief according to the concepts of the conquerors. This development has not, however, come to an end. The entire process is too new, too little strengthened by tradition.

The privileged position of the Barashi clan elder goes back only two generations. Lukara's father, Bishingwe, was a very skillful hunter and [247] knew how to use a Batwa group for his ends. He knew how to furnish Lwabugiri, the king of Ruanda and father of Musinga, with plenty of ivory, and the king rewarded him for it. The king treated him as his immediate vassal (mugaragu) and made him chief over his own clan, in which he is said to have formerly held the position of mugabo.

622 614 578 The promotion of the powerless clan elder to chief was not recognized by the clan members, and among them Lukara had little power, according to my observations at the time of my journey. He tried to remedy this disadvantage by attracting exiled riffraff and foreign elements from dispersed clans and settling them on free land. He selected his followers from among this unorganized group who, as strangers, were at the mercy of everyone and could expect protection only from Lukara. With them he held his fellow clansmen in check. The latter, however, in their hatred, drove the outsiders to Lukara, and in this way there arose that compact, strictly organized structure which made Lukara so dangerous to his opponents. The Mututsi, Luhanga, his chief opponent, did not have such a well-disciplined following.

I had an opportunity, on the basis of a minor incident, to observe how great the constant internal friction of this social structure must be. I requested Lukara to have water fetched for my men. After negotiations that lasted almost two hours, Lukara announced that he was willing to do this and told his men who were assembled

in the courtyard to fetch water. No one was in a hurry to make the half an hour trip to the water hole. Lukara grew angry at this delay, seized a few people by their hands, and pushed them aside to have them get the water. One of them rebuffed Lukara with the words, "I am no Murashi," and would not let himself be singled out. Lukara began to scold and asked the name of the man's father, but did not molest him further. The water had to be fetched by newcomers. Lukara has allowed these newcomers to settle, and therefore he can, of course, also drive them out again. He cannot treat his fellow tribesmen so arbitrarily.

In spite of the friction between the clan elder and the clan members, the Barashi support Lukara. They know that his downfall will mean their subjugation to outsiders. That is why Lukara is so strong in the face of his opponents, even though he has not as many men to put into the field. His Batutsi opponents must depend on Bahutu who have no such interest in Batutsi successes.

Lukara, whose father became a mugaragu only through the demagogic Lwabugiri, now passes himself off as a Mututsi. His men, too, say that he is a Mututsi. His fellow clansmen, however, merely say [248] that whenever he can, he tries to oppress his own people with newcomers, as an outsider, a Mututsi, would do.

In this manner the peasant aristocracy made up of clan elders merges with the Batutsi. We are, therefore, justified in asking outselves whether this gradual rise to nobility, sealed by the forgetting of ones origins is not the chief reason why Bahutu clan names occur among the Batutsi.

The size of the autonomous clan communities, which roughly correspond to our villages, varies a great deal. In many cases they have a population of about 100, while some have a few thousand inhabitants. In the Barashi territory, for example, there are 6,000 to 8,000 people. The fertile area is bounded on the north by primeval forests covering the volcanoes, on the east by Lake Bolero, and on the south by the lava steppes. The population was pushed out of the lava plain by the Barashi. The Batwa, however, remained on Muhawura.

As we have seen, the population of these communities does not consist entirely of clan members. There are also outsiders who

621 settle among the clan members as clients (bagaragu) who perform
614 services for them for which they get their food and from time to time a sheep or goat. They are poor devils who in this way must scrape together the means to buy a wife. There are others in the densely populated areas where there is no free land who rent acreage and even own houses on rented land. Others rent only as much land as is necessary for their hut and a small courtyard, and they make their living as day laborers.

We must point out that settling on the land of a strange clan presupposes a certain calm and stability and signalizes the impending deterioration of the clan community. Under more primitive conditions where clan organization is at its height, we seldom find cases of people settling on the land of a strange clan. Life among strangers would be too dangerous because feuds involving blood revenge might break out. There is no security against feuds between the clan of the host and that of the settler, and then the isolated person is the first victim because one can most easily get at him.

614 Property. The clans of Bugoye and Mulera occupy regions
423 which were taken over and cleared by their ancestors several generations ago.

In Ruanda the clearing of the primeval forest plays a very important role in the conception of ownership. In Bugoye, despite the recent Batutsi conquest, land is regarded as the property of those whose ancestors (249) took possession of and cleared the corresponding sections of primeval forest. This comes out in legal cases involving property, when they cite as a witness the stone on which the bush knife (muhoro) was sharpened when the land under dispute was cleared. The party claiming the land says: "I shall bring the whetstone (uzakuha ulutsiaga) that my ancestor used when he cleared this piece." In view of this, the clan members may also be regarded as the owners of the land occupied by them.

However, although the huts, the animals, and all the furnish-
[422] ings are absolutely private possessions which one can dispose of as he sees fit, the possession of land is not entirely free of restrictions. The clan members really have only the use of the common property given them. The land, like its possessor, is the property of

614 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest
623 has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession
[643] of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

556 The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of
231 the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and
621 the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma,
592 and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near
423 Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.
231 [251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

6:Czekanowski--170 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagarage	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
			Baishaza of Katebe											
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	—	2	—	1	—	1/2	—	—	2	—	„mugabo"
	Nikora	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	—	1	2	—	3 4/5	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semivombi	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
3.	Ndereye	„	1	2	2	—	1	—	1/2	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semilyangu	Muvuna	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ndegeya	Mwichozi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Banitogega	Mukora	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Mukuri	Mwishaza	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	
	Kolombani	„	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Otto	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	1/2	2	—	2	—	
5.	Mpabuka	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	3	2	outside		
	Sebichikira	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Matayo	Muhuma	1	—	—	—	1	—	1 1/2	7	12	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 9.
	Bisaga	Mushobio	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhuma	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Kimonjo	Mukara	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8.	Marobi	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	4	4	1	—	Day laborer for board
	Ndamwete	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9.	Sebutama	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	2	2	4	1	
10.	Gafene	„	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11.	Senguri	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	1/2	1	—	4	2	Field of No.1
12.	Mafara	Munyabgisha	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	2	2	—	Son-in-law
	Birere	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	Brother of No.12 Field of No.1
13.	Ndungutsi	Mwishaza	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	
14.	Bukara	„	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Antigoni	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	
	Pilipo	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	
15.	Segihobi	„	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	Children of vagrant wife
			—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
16.	Nderiwamunda	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	
17.	Bihwehwe	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	3	—	2	1	
18.	Gihigwa	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	9 1/10	41	28	45	12	104 persons 1)

1) Among them 47 male clan members and two sons-in-law.

6: Czekanowski --171 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows plus	Bulls	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
			Bahoma of Kitebe (Balyolyo Branch)												
1.	Rugira	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	$2\frac{1}{4}+1$	3	4	3	1		„mugabo"
	Sebishimbo	Mudahe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
2.	Dominiko	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	1	—	$\frac{1}{6}$	2	2	2	—		
	Budjodjwe	Mugai	—	—	—	—	—	1	$3\frac{1}{2}+1$	—	—	—	—		
3.	Rukara	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1		
	Muchuchu	Murashi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Birikunzira	Munyakaru	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Rusigari	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
4.	Faro	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—		
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Rudjanju	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	$2\frac{3}{4}+1$	4	4	4	1		
	Mabgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Karbagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
6.	Sedigi	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	$2+\frac{1}{2}$	2	2	4	1		
7.	Bihire	„	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1		
8.	Bashaki	„	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	—		
9.	Ishaho	„	1	1	—	1	2	—	$2+\frac{1}{2}$	3	—	3	1		
	Mwiza	„	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
10.	Patria	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1		
			10	11	6	14	17	9	$12\frac{3}{4}+4$	22	12	30	7	61	persons 1)
			Bagwabiro of Kitebe												
1.	Mwuyekure	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	5	2	4	1		„mugabo"
2.	Maliro	„	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1		
3.	Semiteza	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1		
4.	Mabembe	„	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1		
	Karisti	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Kichondo	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Bidjari	„	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1		
6.	Sekini	„	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1		
7.	Sebihumira	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	—	4	1		
			7	14	3	4	14	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$25\frac{1}{2}$	7	36	7	41	persons 2)

1) Among them 21 male clan members.

2) Among them 21 male clan members.

614 grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average
621 size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four
592 of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical
423 with the number of women. It is very important to note that the
231 head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

643 The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the
614 formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive
178 factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than
642 the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

644 In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in
642 turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

643 Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most
648 powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

661 control easier. The moment this happens the native no longer
642 has any protection against his chief. As a result, the need for
178 serious intervention by the European administration becomes an
648 urgent necessity. With increased possibilities of exploitation certain norms must now be set up which will protect the interests of the common man and permit him some freedom, in other words, give him back everything that was formerly guaranteed him by means of a less perfect, less compact and oppressive social organization and without any kind of pact. Under these conditions, further intervention by the European administration becomes a necessity, because there is as yet no guarantee that the new order will do more than contribute to a "more complete exploitation of the lazy Negro" and perhaps also to a decline in the population.

642 By comparing conditions in Ndorwa, Mulera, Bugoye, and
64 Nduga, we can easily determine the direction in which conditions
178 have developed in Ruanda.

In Ndorwa we find independent clans living apart from one another.

[265] In Mulera the clans have been subjugated by the king and pay taxes. The Batutsi have driven the natives from some of the hills and permit homeless members of disrupted clans to settle there. These dregs must support their masters and perform compulsory services for the protection they get. These are the new communities which really should be spoken of as analogous to large estates. Some of the clan elders, such as Bishingwe, father of Lukara, are joining the conquerors and are supported by them. With this support they settle immigrants on the uncultivated land, and the latter must perform compulsory services, just as they do for the Batutsi.

In Bugoye the distinction between conquerors and peasant aristocracy is gradually being effaced and along with it the difference between impoverished clan members and immigrants who are domiciled on the remaining free land by the clan elder and become his bondsmen. In Bugoye this process is not yet completed.

The Bambari clan have already put their buletwa to work in the field of the chief, who is also a Mumbari and who must be regarded as a former clan elder. Here the land is already regarded as his property, as land granted by the king.

642 However, the Bagwabiro, an impoverished Batutsi clan, main-
614 tain that the king gave them the bush knife (muhoro) for Bugoye.
178 They occupied large areas, defended them, in some parts successfully, against the encroaching self-contained clans, and settled them with exiles, refugees, and vagabonds, who make up the biletwa of the Bagwabiro. Here the community headmen are officials of the king, which is in contrast to the situation among the rest of their clansmen where bagabo only collect taxes for the Bagwabiro. However, there seems to be a tendency to blot out the difference between Bagwabiro and tax collectors (clan elders) and to make serfs of the clan members, as is already the case with the Bambari.

In Nduga the population on the various hills is very mixed. It belongs to different clans. Most of the land belongs to the chiefs (the large landowners), and only occasionally do we find ngabo (fighting farmers) who are exempt from compulsory service (buletwa), that is to say, who live on their own land (granted to them by the king).

In this way clan organization in Ruanda is broken up by the rule of the herdsmen and the resultant development of a peasant aristocracy. The factors that remain to uphold clan organization are the food taboos, exogamy, and blood revenge.

The effect of royal power on the homogeneous clans has resulted in the differentiation of the population.

In Urundi the tendency towards centralized state organization [266] does not seem to have made much progress as yet. Here there are still feudal masters who are unrestricted rulers of entire provinces, while in Ruanda the chiefs have nowhere near the same independence on their lands. Here too, however, the land is regarded as the king's property.

635 Political Organization. Ruanda consists of a number of provinces with geographic names but without administrative units. We have already mentioned Nduga, Mukinjaga, Bugessera, Bugoye, Bwischascha, Mulera, Bgisha, Ruweruka, Ndorwa, and Kissaka.

The individual provinces have no central administration and
634 no governor. The provinces are divided into a number of communities, most of which are assigned to clients staying at the

631 tendencies of their fathers. Count Von Götzen (1) mentions
642

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), pp. 156, 159.

only one governor of Kissaka, namely, Kavahigi, but he also speaks of Kaware (Kabare) in the northern part of the country.

621 The hill (kashozi) is the smallest political unit in Kissaka,
631 as well as in all the rest of Ruanda. The inhabitants of a hill belong to different clans, and the factor uniting them is purely political. It is primarily the chief, to whom compulsory service [622] (buletwa) must be paid. This official is likewise appointed by the high chief. However, the very large hills are not infrequently divided into subgroups with different subchiefs. Thus, the hill known as Bare in Nsasa is divided into the communities of Bare, Ishua, Kibare, and some others.

621 In Mulera where there are very few Batutsi and these have
614 no great power, much more primitive conditions have been preserved. Here too, however, political units are represented by hills, but each hill has a homogeneous population, consisting of the members of the clan. These communities are directly sub- [651] ordinate to the king and, through their elders, pay taxes to the king's deputies. Here the mutware, the integrating factor, is absent. On the few hills [269] in Mulera belonging to Batutsi, however, we find conditions similar to those in Kissaka. Here, [651] also, taxes are paid to the chiefs and not to the king's deputies. I believe that the Bahutu on these hills must also render compulsory service.

Ndorwa is a country that is only under nominal rule and does not pay taxes to Musinga. We find here the same clan communities, but they are completely independent, small political units.

Besides the two extreme forms, the community settled on alien land granted to the chief by the king, which the chief represents at court, and the free clan community settled on its own land and paying taxes to the king's deputy but having no

621 representative at court, we find clans that do have their repre-
614 sentatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the
202 help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hill-top to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

The population hates the police agents. I had an opportuni-
625 ty to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to
578 join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

651 The bagaragu of Chief Makobi do hoeing as recompense for rented fields, or this may be done by paid day laborers (mubizi). The clan communities under discussion, however, are free of this burden, since they live on their own land.

There are also taxes that are paid by particular families or communities. The furnishing of objects whose manufacture presupposes a certain skill falls in this category. Among these objects are salt that is made from swamp grass, grass rings for women's legs (butega), otter skins, wildcat skins, cowhides, barkcloth, weapons, etc. The people who furnish these items are exempt from part of the normal taxes that represent the share of the ordinary farmer. Thus, Mulera furnishes a rather large number of butega.

651 614 The duty of the Bahenyi, a privileged Bahutu clan, is to build royal houses. They also play a part in the cult, offering special sacrifices, and they may not eat with members of other clans.

Special taxation on individual clans seems to be a remnant of an older form of taxation, the clan tax. This has been very nicely preserved in Kiziba where individual clans have special duties toward the king. This is the nature of the taxes borne by free, landowning farmers (ngabo) in Mulera. Here the tax is the concern of the clan community. It is paid by the clan elder, and apportioning the tax is an internal matter for the community. All its members, however, have joint responsibility for paying the tax.

The ngabo pay their taxes in honey and also give the king annually every twentieth cow. If the number of cows owned is less than 20, a goat is given for each cow. In figuring taxes, one cow is equal to 20 goats.

651 661 [274] In Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are collected by special deputies of the king. We need not emphasize the self-evident fact that the officials entrusted with the collection of taxes increase the amount to their advantage and do not shrink from shameful plunder. If, as is generally the case, a high chief is not present when the taxes are collected, the Balera will not stand for this oppression. For their part, they seek every opportunity to get out of paying taxes altogether. That is why there are big rows

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

THE BATUSE OR BALYAN-WANDA OF RUANDA

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TRIBE AND ITS GOVERNMENT

The clans—government—powers of the chiefs—taxation—murder—homicide—death in battle—suicide—the chief priest

115 THOUGH much of the Ruanda country became Belgian after the war, there is still a large part of Kigezi which is British Ruanda. My information with regard to these people was derived from two chiefs who were political prisoners in Mbarara. One of them was a prince of Ruanda who had fought against the British during the war and had been captured, and both were exiles from their own country because their king regarded them as dangerous to him and wished to kill them.

THE CLANS

614 The tribe was divided into clans which were totemic, having both primary and secondary totems. Sub-divisions of several clans were mentioned, but the information given was so imperfect as to be of little value. The names given were the same as some of the main clans and details as to the totems were lacking. The list, however, is given to show the existence of such sub-divisions:

1. Abanyiginya, totem, *mpekhi* or *epu* and *efuti*, a calf born feet foremost?

   This was the royal clan and had three sub-divisions with the same totems:

   (*a*) Abasindi.
   (*b*) Nabaganzo.
   (*c*) Abene, which had also a third totem, an unmarried girl with child.

2. Abega, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.

   Sub-divisions with the same totems:

   (*a*) Abakono.
   (*b*) Abaha.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

614 3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamanzi*, wagtail.
Sub-divisions:
(*a*) Abasinga, totems, *enyamanzi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
(*b*) Abazigaba, " "
(*c*) Abatyaba, " "
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamanzi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

GOVERNMENT

643 The head of the country was the king, whose title was
692 *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not
634 appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were
[428] hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district;
693 but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court
[203] of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The *ubwoko* was the largest kin group of the patrilineal type. 614 ●
Its members recognized a traditional bond of common descent in the paternal line, but were definitely unable to trace their

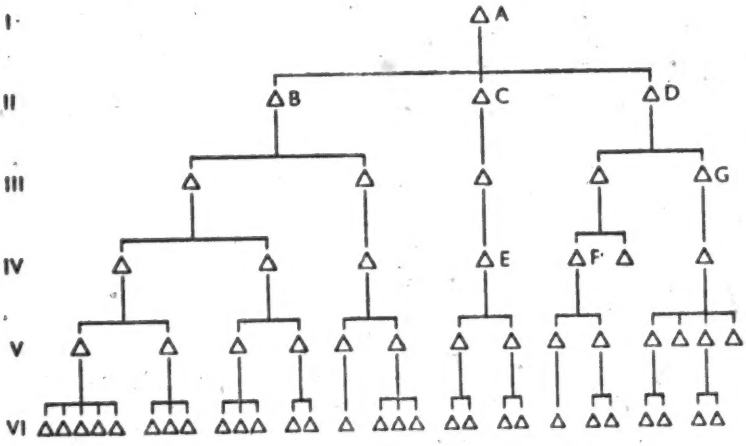

Diagram C.

relationship to the ancestor who was, perhaps, mythical. Two members of the same ubwoko have an idea of a certain kinship tie between them, but nothing more. Ubwoko were geographically dispersed.

There were thirteen such groupings in Ruanda: Abanyiginya (the royal ubwoko), Abega (the ubwoko from which the queens usually came), Abatsoba, Abacyaba, Abasinga, Abatira, Abakono, Abaniakarama, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Ababanda, Abaha, Abashambo. This number was consistent for a very long time. Ubwoko were permanent groups.[6]

Larger in membership than inzu and smaller than ubwoko, a 613
third kinship group called *umulyango* existed in Ruanda. What it was is not quite clear in the mind of most of our informants. This is due, I think, to the fact that umulyango varied considerably in their degree of organization, corporateness, and functions. But also there was some uncertainty in terminology: the same group, say the Abahindiro, has been referred to by our informants sometimes as inzu, and sometimes as umulyango.

[6] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 41-45 and 235 f.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

613 Umulyango appears to have been the group of living people
5171 who would have belonged to the same inzu if that primitive inzu had not split into new ones. This explains the fluidity of the use of the term. For instance the word 'Abareganshuro' (people of Mureganshuro) has meant first 'the members of the inzu of Mureganshuro'; then, after the splitting of that inzu, 'the members of the umulyango of Mureganshuro'. When an inzu divided into different new ones, the ancestor of the former one became the ancestor of the umulyango. Thus the umulyango link existed between members of different inzu having the same origin.

As may be expected, the strength of these links was quite different at the time of the splitting and a few generations afterwards. This accounts for the fact that in some cases the umulyango appears almost as a corporate group very similar to an inzu, and in other cases as a purely nominal group.

The span of life of an umulyango seems less defined than that of an inzu. It is doubtful, however, whether it was longer. Suppose inzu A splits into B and C and becomes umulyango A. Six generations later inzu B splits into inzu D and E and becomes umulyango B. At that time it is very likely that the primitive ancestor being twelve generations past will not be clearly remembered and that, except for some extraordinary reason, he will be superseded by the ancestor of umulyango B.

614 Descent groups in Ruanda were thus of two different types
613 A permanent group, the ubwoko which fulfilled the definition of patriclan (if exogamy be excluded from that definition) and two temporary groups, inzu and umulyango, the second being rather the surviving shadow of the first. The latter were both patrilineages. As they were not segments in the same sense as among, e.g. the Nuer, it would be misleading to differentiate them according to the terminology of Evans-Pritchard.[7] We would suggest calling inzu a primary and umulyango a secondary patrilineage in order to convey the idea that the umulyango originated from the inzu and that the inzu's functions were more important for the individual and society at large than those of the umulyango.[8]

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[7] Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-4.

[8] Members of the inzu were called *bavandimwe* (which primarily means sibling), agnatic relatives, *benewacu* and relatives, affines included, *abacu*.

[601]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

613 When the umulyango had a head (chosen in a similar way to the inzu head), he is said to have had the power to give orders to the heads of the component inzu and to draw up general rules for all the umulyango members. I was told, for instance, that the chief of a certain umulyango had ruled that the members should not marry girls of the ubwoko of the Abacyaba. This prohibition about 150 years old is still observed. When the secondary lineage had a head, he fulfilled very much the same function as an 'appeal court' for all decisions taken within the inzu. Such an umulyango organization existed among Hutu and Tutsi, but seems to have been more common in the important Tutsi lineages.

614 The patriclan (ubwoko) had no head and no collective activities. It was usually agamous, although there may have been an exogamy rule in one particular clan. An animal species was associated with [708] each clan. Its members were not allowed to kill any of them and were even obliged to protect them. The animal was not thought of as a reincarnation of the ancestor's spirit but probably only as a living symbol of the clan.[14]

614 563 Unlike the inzu and the umulyango, any ubwoko could have both Tutsi and Hutu among its members. There was no purely Hutu or purely Tutsi patriclan. When asked if this meant that Tutsi and Hutu of the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered that it did not. They explain it by the relationships which have linked Hutu to Tutsi as clients or servants. After some time the Hutu were identified with the group of their master. Such identification was particularly easy since Tutsi frequently emigrated from one region of Ruanda to another with their Hutu clients and servants. Some Hutu told me that as Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa (mythical figures who, as their names indicate, were supposed to be ancestors of the three groups) were brothers, it is not impossible that Tutsi and Hutu of one clan could have had the same ancestor. At all events clansmen who were of different socio-'racial' groups did not exhibit any solidarity at all and behaved towards each other as complete strangers.

613 563 As has been said, Ego's wife belonged to her own patrilineage for ever. This is why the social role of Ego's wife has not been mentioned in this section. But as she took part in many of the

[14] Some examples of the totemic animals of patriclans are: Abazigaba, the leopard (*ingwe*), Abasinga, the hawk (*sakabaka*), Abaga, the frog (*igikeri*), Abagesera, the wagtail (*nyamaswa*), Abacyaba, the hyena (*impyisi*).

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954c, p. 65. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

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[778]

to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

[821]

It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

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619

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

[825]

It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

644 484 619 In addition, they are the born protectors selected by the Hamitic princes to ward off the bad luck which threatens them in certain circumstances. The Banyarwanda, indeed, have mystic defenders of this sort who are chosen among the members of a tribe alien to theirs.

Those individuals are believed to have the power to ward off the imaginary dangers which threaten human beings. They are called abase (singular umuse). The Banyarwanda call upon their omnipotence at times of death (1), a loss of fortune, the plundering of a herd, the

[764]

1. In the Bugoyi the umuse, or protector, removes from the hut of the deceased the main post upon which the dead owner liked to lean, the piece of wood (umusego) which stands at the head of the bed, the log that was used as a chair, and the small piece of wood that surmounted the roof of the hut. All of this is laid upon the grave.

building of a hut, the giving of a name to a child, his teething, the celebration of a marriage, etc.

Since the Bagessera are the protectors of the Hamitic princes, it is understandable that the monarchs should seek their hospitality.

If there are no members of that family /in the locality/, the king stays with the Bazigaba, whose ancestor Kazigaba was the /497/ brother of Kagessera, founder of the Bagessera clan. If neither are to be found in the area through which the monarch is traveling, the latter resorts, in this order, to the Banyiginya, the Bega, or lastly, the Bakono.

644 484 While traveling, the king is accompanied by an honor guard of Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, who sleep around the royal hut at night.

[533] Five or six drummers walk at the head of the procession, beating occasionally on their instruments. The drums are also played at nightfall and at the first birdsong in the morning.

614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
784 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism.
563 In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

614 Wherever monarchy with its state organization has not yet
621 dissolved the clans and dispersed their members all over the various feudal districts of the Batussi state (see p. 89), wherever the clans have preserved the main elements of their ancient solidarity and autonomy, as is the case particularly in the more or less independent border provinces of Urundi (and Ruanda), the clans form small or large communities under an elected clan elder (umugabo). This is especially true of
614 the Bahutu clans that existed in the area before the period of
423 Batussi rule. The office of the umugabo is hereditary in
621 many cases. The central communalistic element in the organization of these clans is the communal ownership of the land occupied by the clan. The land belongs to the clan community probably because it was originally appropriated and cultivated by the clan. The individual clan members is merely entitled to the use of the land he cultivates or of the pasture where his cattle grazes. Only the hut built on this ground is the real property of the individual, in addition to the inventory of implements, tools, weapons, and the cattle he has raised from the herd with which he has been vested by his feudal lord (see p. 93).

614 E. Johanssen, a missionary who in 1907 founded the first
182 Protestant missionary stations of Dsinga and Kirinda in Ruanda
[114] and who is an eminent student of the Banjaruanda, makes the following comment on the social importance of the Ruanda clans: "These kin group organizations hand down the old customs and traditions from one generation to the next. In this way they preserve the national characteristics against intermixture and decay. The easier it is to loosen the ties of the family group in its narrowly defined sense as a result of polygamy and by the dissolution of marriage, the greater is the [105] importance of the stable, indissoluble, religiously determined kin group. The destruction of this group would cause the entire nation to disintegrate and to split up into isolated groups which would be exposed to any outside influence. There can be no doubt that the kin group, as the

563 always an understanding, and they often live side by side. In spite of all their prejudices, they [133] are obliged to stick together in order to assert themselves against the farmers who are a large majority in the country.

There are far fewer Batwa than Batutsi. The extensive na-
361 ture of their livelihood makes a concentrated Batwa population
● 621 impossible. Larger, purely Batwa settlements are to be found only in the primeval forest and in Nyanza near Musinga. Otherwise the Batwa are widely scattered amidst the Bahutu population.

I am acquainted with the following Batwa groups:

1. Batwa under Kahima of Kazu. Kahima is the subordinate of the Muhutu, Chuma, who lives three hours south of Nyundo. Together with his petty subchief, Sebuleza, he has under him up to 150 Batwa, including women and children.

2. Batwa under Ngunzu. Ngunzu is subordinate to the Muhutu chief, Mutubula. His village is situated on a mountain near Kahama and can be seen from the third forest clearing on the way from Ruasa to Kisenyi. This group is said to be at least as strong as the other, even though one can see only seven huts from the road.

3. Batwa under Lukara are settled on the pass between Muhawura and Mgahinga. They are probably not much fewer in number. From Lukara's kraal we could see only two or three Batwa huts, and Lukara brought me only a dozen adults to be measured, but the fact that they had to be driven out of Belgian territory by military force shows that there must be a larger number. Mgahinga owes the name "Kirunga ya Batwa" to them.

4. Batwa of Mikeno. Dr. Kandt (1) visited this group. He

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1894), pp. 300, 301, 304.

mentions two groups of huts. The first has two huts; the second is four hours distant and contains six to eight huts. The latter are situated around a clearing. There are from 15 to 20 Batwa here.

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[113]

Dr. Kandt (2) mentions, however, that there are also Batwa

2. Kandt, R., "Bericht über meine Reisen und gesamte Tätigkeit in Deutsch-Ostafrika [Report on my Journeys and Entire Work in German East Africa]," Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1900 [Reports on the German Protectorates 1900], p. 246.

living in the forests of Sabinio.

In Ndorwa the following influential Batwa chiefs were mentioned.

5 and 6. Ngurube and Katulenge. Ngurube's Batwa are called Puniu. (3)

3. Parisch, F.R. Von "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 to 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

7. The Batwa on Idjwi Island were visited by Dr. J. Mildbraed and Dr. H. Schubotz and are supposed to be more similar to the Pygmies than the rest of the Batwa.

8. Batwa of southern Ruanda. There are large colonies of Batwa in the Rugege Forest and in the forests in the southwestern part of the province of Nduga. This [134] group is called Mashami or Machaba. Their forest belongs to the Njaruguru country which was formerly under the jurisdiction of Chief Kaizuka (1).

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

9. Batwa from Kabgaye. Apart from these larger groups, I met a colony of 20 to 25 who lived in the vicinity of the Kabgaye Mission (Marangara) and were potters.

10. Finally there are Batwa in Nyanza who live there in order to serve the king. From time to time they are relieved by fellow tribesmen.

572 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu
608 substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana
614 beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship be-
178 tween blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet
608 beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage
608 prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously ob-
582 served. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the
608 wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other
837 reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one
608 another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the
563 Batwa.

614 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan
621 varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

614 621 In the north the members of individual clans have large areas wholly to themselves. In view of the not very strictly organized political situation, these autonomous territorial communities can sometimes play a very important role because of their solidarity and their often rather large numbers. In Nduga, on the other hand, the power of the state has broken up the clans, scattered them, and robbed them of any possibility of forming political or territorial clan unions. The representatives [246] of the various warring factions were incorporated into territorial groups and placed under chiefs appointed by the state. If you travel from Mulera to Nduga via Bugoye, you can observe the successive phases in this process of the formation of a state. You see how the independent, undifferentiated clans are first drawn into all kinds of dependent relationships and are then gradually absorbed.

In taking possession of Bugoye, members of the same clans have settled in various places. As a result, the whole country represents a mosaic of properties occupied by different members of the same clans who are physically separated from one another, yet still aware of their historical connection. This is most clearly evident in the institution of blood revenge, as well as in the prohibitions regarding food and marriage. This awareness, however, is not sufficient to bring about the formation of larger, independent, well-disciplined political unions. Every individual settlement is an entirely independent community with its own elder at the head.

614 622 In clan communities that have been unaffected by conquest, the head of the community has little authority. He represents the clan community in external affairs and settles internal disputes. The latter are one of the most important reasons why clan members emigrate. The headman is known as mugabo, and his position is hereditary, usually devolving upon the eldest son. In the list given below, the bagabo are given first place.

After the subjugation of clan communities by outside conquerors, the mugabo occupies a special place. His duty is to collect taxes and to deliver them to the official commissioned by the king. However, this official position gives him a certain

622 in the courtyard to fetch water. No one was in a hurry to make
614 the half an hour trip to the water hole. Lukara grew angry at
598 this delay, seized a few people by their hands, and pushed them aside to have them get the water. One of them rebuffed Lukara with the words, "I am no Murashi," and would not let himself be singled out. Lukara began to scold and asked the name of the man's father, but did not molest him further. The water had to be fetched by newcomers. Lukara has allowed these newcomers to settle, and therefore he can, of course, also drive them out again. He cannot treat his fellow tribesmen so arbitrarily.

In spite of the friction between the clan elder and the clan members, the Barashi support Lukara. They know that his downfall will mean their subjugation to outsiders. That is why Lukara is so strong in the face of his opponents, even though he has not as many men to put into the field. His Batutsi opponents must depend on Bahutu who have no such interest in Batutsi successes.

Lukara, whose father became a mugaragu only through the demagogic Lwabugiri, now passes himself off as a Mututsi. His men, too, say that he is a Mututsi. His fellow clansmen, however, merely say [248] that whenever he can, he tries to oppress his own people with newcomers, as an outsider, a Mututsi, would do.

In this manner the peasant aristocracy made up of clan elders merges with the Batutsi. We are, therefore, justified in asking outselves whether this gradual rise to nobility, sealed by the forgetting of ones origins is not the chief reason why Bahutu clan names occur among the Batutsi.

614 The size of the autonomous clan communities, which roughly
621 correspond to our villages, varies a great deal. In many cases they have a population of about 100, while some have a few thousand inhabitants. In the Barashi territory, for example, there are 6,000 to 8,000 people. The fertile area is bounded on the north by primeval forests covering the volcanoes, on the east by Lake Bolero, and on the south by the lava steppes. The population was pushed out of the lava plain by the Barashi. The Batwa, however, remained on Muhawura.

As we have seen, the population of these communities does not consist entirely of clan members. There are also outsiders who

621 settle among the clan members as clients (bagaragu) who perform
614 services for them for which they get their food and from time to time a sheep or goat. They are poor devils who in this way must scrape together the means to buy a wife. There are others in the densely populated areas where there is no free land who rent acreage and even own houses on rented land. Others rent only as much land as is necessary for their hut and a small courtyard, and they make their living as day laborers.

We must point out that settling on the land of a strange clan presupposes a certain calm and stability and signalizes the impending deterioration of the clan community. Under more primitive conditions where clan organization is at its height, we seldom find cases of people settling on the land of a strange clan. Life among strangers would be too dangerous because feuds involving blood revenge might break out. There is no security against feuds between the clan of the host and that of the settler, and then the isolated person is the first victim because one can most easily get at him.

614 Property. The clans of Bugoye and Mulera occupy regions
423 which were taken over and cleared by their ancestors several generations ago.

In Ruanda the clearing of the primeval forest plays a very important role in the conception of ownership. In Bugoye, despite the recent Batutsi conquest, land is regarded as the property of those whose ancestors [249] took possession of and cleared the corresponding sections of primeval forest. This comes out in legal cases involving property, when they cite as a witness the stone on which the bush knife (muhoro) was sharpened when the land under dispute was cleared. The party claiming the land says: "I shall bring the whetstone (uzakuha ulutsiaga) that my ancestor used when he cleared this piece." In view of this, the clan members may also be regarded as the owners of the land occupied by them.

However, although the huts, the animals, and all the furnish-
[422] ings are absolutely private possessions which one can dispose of as he sees fit, the possession of land is not entirely free of restrictions. The clan members really have only the use of the common property given them. The land, like its possessor, is the property of

614 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest
623 has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession
[643] of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

556 The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of
231 the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and
●621 the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma,
592 and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near
423 Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.

231 [251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

6:Czekanowski--170 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagarage	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
			Baishaza of Katebe											
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	—	2	—	1	—	1/2	—	—	2	—	„mugabo"
	Nikora	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	—	1	2	—	3 4/5	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semivombi	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
3.	Ndereye	„	1	2	2	—	1	—	1/2	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semllyangu	Muvuna	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ndegeya	Mwichozi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Banitogega	Mukora	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Mukuri	Mwishaza	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	
	Kolombani	„	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Otto	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	1/2	2	—	2	—	
5.	Mpabuka	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	3	2	—	—	outside
	Sebichikira	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Mazayo	Muhuma	1	—	—	—	1	—	1 1/2	7	12	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 9.
	Bisaga	Mushobio	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhuma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Kimonjo	Mukarà	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8.	Marobi	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	4	4	1	—	Day laborer for board
	Ndamwete	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9.	Sebutama	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	2	2	4	1	
10.	Gafene	„	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11.	Senguri	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	1/2	1	—	4	2	Field of No.1
12.	Mafara	Munyabgisha	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	2	2	—	Son-in-law
	Birere	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	Brother of No.12 Field of No.1
13.	Ndungutsi	Mwishaza	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	
14.	Bukara	„	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Antigoni	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	
	Pilipo	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	
15.	Segihobi	„	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	Children of vagrant wife
			—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
16.	Nderiwamunda	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	
17.	Bihwehwe	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	3	—	2	1	
18.	Gihigwa	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	9 3/10	41	28	45	12	104 persons 1)

midwives

1) Among them 47 male clan members and two sons-in-law.

6: Czekanowski --171 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows plus	Bulls	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
		Bahoma of Kitebe (Balyolyo Branch)													
1.	Rugira	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	$2^1/_4+1$	3	4	3	1		„mugabo"
	Sebishimbo	Mudahe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
2.	Dominiko	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	1	—	$^1/_2$	2	2	2	—		
	Budjodjwe-	Mugai	—	—	—	—	—	1	$3^1/_2+1$	—	—	—	—		
3.	Rukara	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1		
	Muchuchu	Murashi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Birikunzira	Munyakaru	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Rufigari	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
4.	Faro	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—		
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Rudjanju	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	$2^3/_4+1$	4	4	4	1		
	Mabgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Karbagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
6.	Sedigi	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	$2+^1/_2$	2	2	4	1		
7.	Bihire	„	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1		
8.	Bashaki	„	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	—		
9.	Ishaho	„	1	1	—	1	2	—	$2+^1/_2$	3	—	3	1		
	Mwiza	„	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
10.	Patris	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1		
			10	11	6	14	17	9	$12^3/_4+4$	22	12	30	7	61	persons 1)
		Bagwabiro of Kitebe													
1.	Mwuyekure	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	$^1/_2$	5	2	4	1		„mugabo"
2.	Maliro	„	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1		
3.	Semiteza	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1		
4.	Mahembe	„	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1		
	Karisti	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Kichondo	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Bidjari	„	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1		
6.	Sekini	„	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1		
7.	Sebihumira	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	$^1/_2$	—	4	1		
			7	14	3	4	14	2	$6^1/_2$	$35^1/_2$	7	36	7	41	persons 2)

1) Among them 21 male clan members.

2) Among them 21 male clan members.

grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical with the number of women. It is very important to note that the head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

631 642 tendencies of their fathers. Count Von Götzen (1) mentions

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), pp. 156, 159.

only one governor of Kissaka, namely, Kavahigi, but he also speaks of Kaware (Kabare) in the northern part of the country.

621 631 The hill (kashozi) is the smallest political unit in Kissaka, as well as in all the rest of Ruanda. The inhabitants of a hill belong to different clans, and the factor uniting them is purely political. It is primarily the chief, to whom compulsory service [622] (buletwa) must be paid. This official is likewise appointed by the high chief. However, the very large hills are not infrequently divided into subgroups with different subchiefs. Thus, the hill known as Bare in Nsasa is divided into the communities of Bare, Ishua, Kibare, and some others.

621 614 In Mulera where there are very few Batutsi and these have no great power, much more primitive conditions have been preserved. Here too, however, political units are represented by hills, but each hill has a homogeneous population, consisting of the members of the clan. These communities are directly sub- [657] ordinate to the king and, through their elders, pay taxes to the king's deputies. Here the mutware, the integrating factor, is absent. On the few hills [269] in Mulera belonging to Batutsi, however, we find conditions similar to those in Kissaka. Here, [651] also, taxes are paid to the chiefs and not to the king's deputies. I believe that the Bahutu on these hills must also render compulsory service.

Ndorwa is a country that is only under nominal rule and does not pay taxes to Musinga. We find here the same clan communities, but they are completely independent, small political units.

Besides the two extreme forms, the community settled on alien land granted to the chief by the king, which the chief represents at court, and the free clan community settled on its own land and paying taxes to the king's deputy but having no

621 representative at court, we find clans that do have their repre-
614 sentatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the
202 help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hill-top to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

The population hates the police agents. I had an opportuni-
625 ty to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to
578 join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

and Tutsi compounds. Only the size and number of huts and enclosures were different.[24] 361

These compounds, usually surrounded and more or less hidden by banana groves, were scattered throughout the country. They were on the top or on the slopes of hills, never in the valleys which were flooded every year at the end of the rainy season. They were usually rather isolated but even when they were not far from each other (and they were never so near together as to have two adjacent hedges) they did not constitute villages in the sense of concentrated clusters of dwellings situated near the centre of the territory worked by the inhabitants. There was, however, some grouping 621 on a predominantly local basis of people who were all personally acquainted with each other. They could be described, following Murdock's terminology, as *neighbourhoods*.[25] These neighbourhoods were made up of a certain number of compounds (from twenty to sixty) situated on a hill (*umusozi*) or a part of a hill (*umurenge*). The people living there had a few common activities: mutual aid in the building of huts and in the performance of certain agricultural tasks, and recreational gatherings (such as [476] dancing, jumping competitions, arrow shooting, &c.). They showed a certain *esprit de corps* in taking the side of one of their members in a dispute against a member of another similar community. The word used to designate the members of such groups expressed this idea of neighbourhood. They were called *abazimya muriro*, 'those who put out the fire', people very often needed. One 622 important person in the group such as a lineage-head, was appointed as neighbourhood-head (*umukoresha*) by the traditional administrative authority to take charge of the collection of dues and tribute-labour of a hill or, more frequently, of a group of hills (*umutware w'umosozi*). He acted as an intermediary between his neighbours and the hill chief. The group could refuse the appointment of a certain person and another would be chosen. These neighbourhoods had no communal place for meeting, 621 exchanging goods, or worshipping.

The same pattern of local grouping was to be found throughout Rwanda.

[24] Cf. Czekanowski, 117, p. 200 ff; Peuwels, 1953; Vincent, 1954, pp. 12-15.

[25] Murdock, 1949, p. 80. The definition of village given in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 64. ('a territorially separate collection of homesteads, which is regarded as a distinct unit and of such a size that its inhabitants can all be personally acquainted') cannot be applied to the Rwanda type of local community. [114]

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The district was divided into hills (umusozi). At that level the
622 cattle- and land-chiefs had only one subordinate, the hill-chief, *umutware w'umusozi*, whose counterpart in the present administrative organization is called sub-chief or *ibisonga*.

621 On each hill, there were usually several neighbourhoods. In
622 each, one of the family heads living there was chosen as its head by the hill-chief. He was called *umukoresha*.

(*b*) *Taxes*

651 Tributes and dues for which the land-chief was responsible
697 were: any kind of labour, usually agricultural; *uguhunika* (putting into the granary), which consisted of a certain number of baskets of beans, peas, and sorghum to be delivered at harvest time; *amavu* (bananas to be used for brewing beer). These tributes were due from Hutu. The person who provided these things was the family head who was considered as the individual producer of the rugo. But between him and the land-chief, there was a hierarchy of persons responsible for the carrying out of the levies: sometimes the lineage head (if he was living in the same neighbourhood), then the neighbourhood head, and finally the hill-chief.

[622] Through the hill-chief, too (according to 68 per cent. of the informants), the cattle-chief obtained jars of milk from the Tutsi. Moreover, the latter had to provide (according to 88 per cent.) *inkuke*, cows kept by the beneficiary in order that milk could be consumed fresh.

These tributes were centralized in the royal residence of the district which was occupied by the king when he was travelling in the district. This residence was called *rugo*, the ordinary word meaning a compound dwelling. 95 per cent. of our informants remembered several names of royal district residences and 86 per cent. had not forgotten the name of the residence in the district where they used to live as children.

Revenues of a district were either reserved to the king himself or were granted to one of the king's wives. In the first case, the [697] residence was called *ingaligali* and was administered by a king's concubine (*umuja*, girl-servant).

Administrative officers collecting tributes, had the right to keep a part for their own benefit. According to 95 per cent. of our informants, the hill-chiefs had the right to deduct some agricultural produce, of which they could keep about a third. Then the land-chief—according to 99 per cent.—could also keep a part of it,

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[P. 140]

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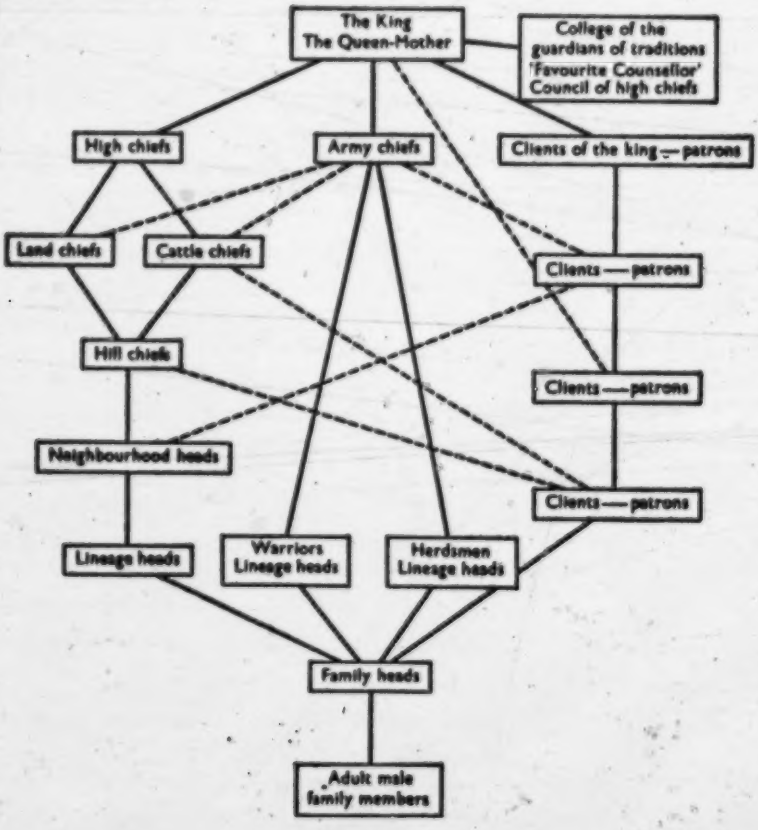

Diagram D.

This diagram suggests the complexity of Ruanda social relations if it is remembered that an individual generally has several political roles. Thus a high chief was very often also an army chief as well as a client of the king, and all the chiefs of the two premier hierarchies had their places in the system of feudal relations as clients and patrons. The broken lines indicate some of these possible pluralities of relationships.

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and in Rukiga (provinces of Mulera and Bugoyi) where the land cleared and cultivated by the Bahutu are subject to a right of family property. This right is sacred and the Batutsi, whose power in these regions is rather nominal, know that they cannot dispute it without exposing themselves to serious miscalculations and even to bloody reprisals.

423 The hill chief also has the right to take a plot of land
[622] (ubugerure) from the Bahutu in order to form an ubuka which he wishes
[425] to give to someone else or to keep as his own property (imilima y'inyarulembo). The part of the plot that is left to the Muhutu is called isagu.

[428] The Muhutu can transmit his right of exploitation to his son by inheritance. Land that passes from one generation to the next is called indeka.

[596] Land is sometimes held collectively by a family in the person of its head (isambu or ingobyi y'iwabo). Members of the family pay him no rent and, to the exclusion of strangers, have the right to cut firewood and graze their cattle there.

[622] There are also communal woods (itshanya). The hill chief reserves part of them for himself and allows the hill people to exploit the remainder.

[563] The Batwa claim to be the legitimate occupants of the forests. For this reason they often enter into disputes with the Bahutu living near the wooded regions.

[622] Mines and quarries of clay are the property of the chief, but he allows his people to [43] supply themselves there in exchange for a payment (a hoe or some pots).

The boundaries (imbibi) of fields are usually marked by small ditches (impavu) or piles of stones (ibishyinga).

There are no neutral zones between lands.

425 An inkungu is a piece of ground that has been abandoned be-
423 cause of the holder's voluntary departure or death without leaving an heir. A man who has been cursed by his father or driven out by the chief because of repeated thefts of cattle, for example, must also abandon his plot. The chief can offer an inkungu (or an ubugerure) to a stranger to the hill who asks to settle there. If he is a Muhutu, he is

423 obliged to submit to the same obligations as his predecessor. If he
[425] is a Mututsi, he is not required to pay any ground rent, and the chief gives him a pasture in addition.

Rights of way and of access are not private. The hill people may move about freely on each other's land. This is also true of the cattle for which special paths are made.

622 In the case of a dispute in matters of landed property, litiga-
692 tion is taken to the hill chief who goes to the place and, after having heard the witnesses, decides between the plaintifs.

3. Customary Law of Hunting

224 Customary laws of hunting are very numerous. Of these we will quote only a few of the most frequent cases.

A native hunting alone who has killed an ordinary antelope (impongo) takes the meat and skins the animal.

224 Hunting with beaters is organized by the chief who decides on
622 the land to be beaten after having taken the advice of the [44] expert Batutsi or Bahutu hunters and following the indications of the trackers. The chief also chooses the beaters from among the least good shots. To stimulate their zeal in this thankless task, he promises them pots of beer if the hunt is successful.

224 The natives are required to take part in the hunt, but they fulfill this obligation willingly as it is a much appreciated entertainment and also a source of profit.

Whoever first wounds an animal during a battue or beat, is presumed to have killed it. He is entitled to the skin and one rear leg. The meat is divided among all the Batutsi and Bahutu hunters. The hunter who has killed several antelopes may keep the skin of one animal.

224 Whoever finds an animal that has been killed must return it to
643 the hunters. At least theoretically, game belongs to the king and skins of any value (1) must be turned over to him, especially those of

281 1. Skins of marsh antelopes are much appreciated by the Batutsi because of their long silky fur with which they make bed coverings. Skins of the "bush bock" and

281 leopard are used as dance ornaments by the intore pages.

224 the otter (inzibyi or igihura), the marsh antelope (mpala), the
[643] "bush bock" (inzole), the lion, and the leopard, as well as ivory tusks.

If a wild beast such as a lion or leopard has been killed,
[622] its skin must be turned over to the chief who in exchange gives the hunters a sterile cow as ingororano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 48.

224 When the hill chief hunts with his people, he keeps some of
622 the skins and gives the others to the provincial chief, who in turn
643 keeps some of them and, if he considers it advantageous to himself, sends the others to the Mwami. If the hill chief has killed a lion or a leopard, the skin must be turned over to the Mwami. If there are two skins they are divided between the king and the provincial chief. The [45] hill chief may keep a leopardskin only if the hunt has been particularly fruitful.

224 The native who has killed three elephants has the sole right to the tusks of the third animal killed.

Finally, a hunter is forbidden to take any part of a crocodile
224 he has killed. The animal with its paws loaded with stones must be
825 thrown to the bottom of the river, for the Banyarwanda believe that the body of the saurian contains a violent poison and they want to prevent its being used.

224 When an animal is pointed out, the beaters who have gone forward into the thickets where they are almost invisible and the hunters who have followed them must indicate their presence by a low whistle. Hunting accidents are regulated by customary law (1).

1. Cf. Penal Law, p. 98.

4. Ownership of Heavy Cattle

422 231 a) Generalities.

[643] The Mwami is the owner of all the cattle in Ruanda or at least of all females kept for breeding purposes. The great chiefs (abatware) are charged by the king to watch over his cattle in the different provinces. Also, the sale of heifers cannot take place without his permission.

On the other hand, the holder of sterile cows or bulls may give away or slaughter these animals as he wishes.

In a province the native who has acquired a cow for breeding [643] purposes has usufruct and has no redress if the Mwami takes away the animal he has bought along with its young. The umutware w'umukenke (2) can oppose the removal of cattle from the province.

2. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Division, p. 85.

422 622 628 Any native who settles in another province must abandon his cattle [46] unless he has the chief's permission to take it with him. When a native leaves his province, leaving his cattle behind, to settle in another, his new chief usually gives him a herd of the same size as the one he has lost. If he escapes from his district carrying off his cattle surreptitiously, his former chief claims the herd. In the past if he was refused he would endeavor to capture a herd of equal value belonging to the deserter's new chief, and an armed clash would invariably result from such a dispute. Today the dispute must be submitted to the Mwami. He eventually orders the new chief to return the cattle, and if the latter is unwilling to do so, he may take from him one or more herds.

Before the European occupation a dissatisfied chief could take all or part of his cattle without previous permission from the Mwami. In this case the chief was "Mwami of his umugaragu."

422 231 The cowherds (abashumba) in the service of the cattle holders are authorized to keep for themselves part of the milk from the animals entrusted to them. They can be discharged in case of negligence.

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c) Classification by age (cont'd)

2. FEMALE CATTLE

Isave, cow sterile from birth (thin)
Urubeheri, cow sterile from birth (fat)

d) Classification of Cattle According to Horns

Igaritse, with large spreading horns
Impotore, with horns whose points are slightly twisted
Ingarure, with twisted horns whose points go forward
Inkungu, without horns
[48]
Intenderi, with horns whose points point toward the ground
Inkungu y'indegeri, with small mobile horns
Ikubis'ihembe, with one vertical and one horizontal horn
Itigey'inyuma, with horns whose points point backwards
Itez'akamosd, with crossed horns
Urubindo, with horns whose points point towards the ears
Itegey'ijuru, with large almost vertical horns

e) Classification of Cattle According to Common Law

422 231 [622] [192] IMBATA. Head of cattle received as dowry, as a present, or bought in the market, and whose owner is the true proprietor. But if, in putting himself under the patronage of the hill or provincial chief (1) he receives from either of them one or several cows called

1. See further on, Obligations and Contracts, p. 63.

inkazibiti or ingabane, according to whether he is a Muhutu or a Mututsi, all the imbata cows can be taken away from him with the others, should he lose his status as a client, by an arbitrary decision of his patron.

422 231 427 If a Muhutu receives from a Mututsi some heads of cattle in virtue of the contract called ubugaragu (lease of livestock) (1),

1. See further on, Obligations and

631 There are abatware who personally own hills in other prov-
635 inces (1).

1. Since 1924, aiming to unify the commands of the provincial chiefs, the government has endeavored to persuade the abatware to exchange hills.

634 The abatchibiri, who own only a part of a province, are also directly subordinate to the Mwami, who has given them their lands.

The ibisonga are placed at the head of one or more hills.
622
562 They are the supervisors of the abatware and the abachibiri, on whom
624 they also spy for the Mwami. Women can be ibisonga. For example, they can be the Mwami's abaja (mistress-servants) who, as a reward for the bestowal of their favors, are given a hill. But the most frequent case is that of a widow of an igisonga [sic] without any male children who, while attending the king, obtains permission to continue to manage the hill held by her husband (2). Each hill chief has

2. An example would be Nyiraigweni, widow of Nyantabana, a great provincial chief, replaced today by Rwabutogo who commands the district of Buganza in the territory of Nyanza.

under him a factotum called umuhingisha who designates and marks the boundaries of the fields, for which the Bahutu have asked the chief, and who may even settle the palavers in the absence of the igisonga. The umunyabigega is hierarchically subordinate to the former igisonga. He is the steward of the granaries (ibigega) of the chief whose cultivated fields he supervises.

631 The abanyabikingi command only a portion, a spur of a hill.
622 Appointed directly by the Mwami, they act as supervisors, and even as spies of the ibisonga for the king. [100]

12. Succession of Command

635 Like the royal office, the position of provincial chief is hereditary. It is assigned by the chief to one of his sons whom he considers most worthy to succeed him. It may happen that he may at the same time become chief of the clan, but it is not always so (1), for the family and the clan are social entities that are distinct

1. Cf. the example quoted in Personal Status, The Head of the Family and of the Clan, p. 6.

from political units.

The new chief must come and announce his father's death to the Mwami, bringing him a yo kubika cow, (lit., which announces death). On the other hand, he receives some indabukirano from his people and his friends.

622 The chiefs other than the abatware are appointed by the latter and confirmed in their functions by the Mwami.

13. Taxes and Forced Labor

651 466 Along with the civil obligations derived from the ubugaragu contract, there are others due to the chiefs as such.

A. Obligations Due to the Hill Chief.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu of the igisonga must bring the latter once a year a large basket of sorghum (urutete) and a small basket of beans (ipfukire). Formerly, they were also required to cultivate the chief's fields (ubuletwa or uruharo) (2), to build and main-

2. In 1924 this custom was modified by the authorities in order to improve the lot of the Muhutu, who now give only two days of work out of seven.

tain each a part of the chief's rugo (kubak'inkike), and to act as messenger (gutumwa). Finally, the igisonga keeps a group of five

614 621 In the north the members of individual clans have large areas wholly to themselves. In view of the not very strictly organized political situation, these autonomous territorial communities can sometimes play a very important role because of their solidarity and their often rather large numbers. In Nduga, on the other hand, the power of the state has broken up the clans, scattered them, and robbed them of any possibility of forming political or territorial clan unions. The representatives [246] of the various warring factions were incorporated into territorial groups and placed under chiefs appointed by the state. If you travel from Mulera to Nduga via Bugoye, you can observe the successive phases in this process of the formation of a state. You see how the independent, undifferentiated clans are first drawn into all kinds of dependent relationships and are then gradually absorbed.

In taking possession of Bugoye, members of the same clans have settled in various places. As a result, the whole country represents a mosaic of properties occupied by different members of the same clans who are physically separated from one another, yet still aware of their historical connection. This is most clearly evident in the institution of blood revenge, as well as in the prohibitions regarding food and marriage. This awareness, however, is not sufficient to bring about the formation of larger, independent, well-disciplined political unions. Every individual settlement is an entirely independent community with its own elder at the head.

614 622 In clan communities that have been unaffected by conquest, the head of the community has little authority. He represents the clan community in external affairs and settles internal disputes. The latter are one of the most important reasons why clan members emigrate. The headman is known as mugabo, and his position is hereditary, usually devolving upon the eldest son. In the list given below, the bagabo are given first place.

After the subjugation of clan communities by outside conquerors, the mugabo occupies a special place. His duty is to collect taxes and to deliver them to the official commissioned by the king. However, this official position gives him a certain

622 614 influence which can increase along with that of the outside conquerors, especially if he knows how to make himself useful to them. Since the privilege of collecting taxes is hereditary, it bears a seed that can grow to the level of a regular high chief, as was demonstrated in the case of the Muhutu, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, who became known even in Europe for the murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias.

The leadership of the Barashi under Lukara lwa Bishingwe is an example of a clan whose elder, through the influence of the Batutsi, was elevated to chief according to the concepts of the conquerors. This development has not, however, come to an end. The entire process is too new, too little strengthened by tradition.

The privileged position of the Barashi clan elder goes back only two generations. Lukara's father, Bishingwe, was a very skillful hunter and [247] knew how to use a Batwa group for his ends. He knew how to furnish Lwabugiri, the king of Ruanda and father of Musinga, with plenty of ivory, and the king rewarded him for it. The king treated him as his immediate vassal (mugaragu) and made him chief over his own clan, in which he is said to have formerly held the position of mugabo.

622 614 578 The promotion of the powerless clan elder to chief was not recognized by the clan members, and among them Lukara had little power, according to my observations at the time of my journey. He tried to remedy this disadvantage by attracting exiled riffraff and foreign elements from dispersed clans and settling them on free land. He selected his followers from among this unorganized group who, as strangers, were at the mercy of everyone and could expect protection only from Lukara. With them he held his fellow clansmen in check. The latter, however, in their hatred, drove the outsiders to Lukara, and in this way there arose that compact, strictly organized structure which made Lukara so dangerous to his opponents. The Mututsi, Luhanga, his chief opponent, did not have such a well-disciplined following.

I had an opportunity, on the basis of a minor incident, to observe how great the constant internal friction of this social structure must be. I requested Lukara to have water fetched for my men. After negotiations that lasted almost two hours, Lukara announced that he was willing to do this and told his men who were assembled

622 in the courtyard to fetch water. No one was in a hurry to make
614 the half an hour trip to the water hole. Lukara grew angry at
598 this delay, seized a few people by their hands, and pushed them aside to have them get the water. One of them rebuffed Lukara with the words, "I am no Murashi," and would not let himself be singled out. Lukara began to scold and asked the name of the man's father, but did not molest him further. The water had to be fetched by newcomers. Lukara has allowed these newcomers to settle, and therefore he can, of course, also drive them out again. He cannot treat his fellow tribesmen so arbitrarily.

In spite of the friction between the clan elder and the clan members, the Barashi support Lukara. They know that his downfall will mean their subjugation to outsiders. That is why Lukara is so strong in the face of his opponents, even though he has not as many men to put into the field. His Batutsi opponents must depend on Bahutu who have no such interest in Batutsi successes.

Lukara, whose father became a mugaragu only through the demagogic Lwabugiri, now passes himself off as a Mututsi. His men, too, say that he is a Mututsi. His fellow clansmen, however, merely say [248] that whenever he can, he tries to oppress his own people with newcomers, as an outsider, a Mututsi, would do.

In this manner the peasant aristocracy made up of clan elders merges with the Batutsi. We are, therefore, justified in asking outselves whether this gradual rise to nobility, sealed by the forgetting of ones origins is not the chief reason why Bahutu clan names occur among the Batutsi.

614 The size of the autonomous clan communities, which roughly
621 correspond to our villages, varies a great deal. In many cases they have a population of about 100, while some have a few thousand inhabitants. In the Barashi territory, for example, there are 6,000 to 8,000 people. The fertile area is bounded on the north by primeval forests covering the volcanoes, on the east by Lake Bolero, and on the south by the lava steppes. The population was pushed out of the lava plain by the Barashi. The Batwa, however, remained on Muhawura.

As we have seen, the population of these communities does not consist entirely of clan members. There are also outsiders who

634 somewhat different. The most important personality after the chief is his brother. He represents him in all matters. Both of them have their houses in the individual villages in which they live during their journeys. The son ranks just below the brother of his father and is granted a village after he has grown up. He is not entitled to gifts in the other villages of his father, and only if he has [267] no uncle does he get an uncle's rank. In spite of this preference, the brother of the chief is not his heir; all his possessions go to the son after the burial of the father.

622 563 Below the kissonga are the quite unimportant subchiefs who supervise the communities on the separate hills. Among them there are everywhere, especially in Bugoye, many Bahutu, whereas the higher positions are almost always held by Batutsi. It is only in Mulera and Bgisha that one sees Bahutu also occupying the highest positions.

The Bahutu officials are very much praised by their superiors, for no one can be more merciless and servile than an upstart who is hated by his clansmen. This characterization does not, of course, apply to the clan elders who occupy this position in the free farm communities. The subchiefs are the only cattle-owning Bahutu outside of Mulera, Bgisha, and Bugoye.

642 631 There is no doubt that with the extensive interweaving of property belonging to individual high chiefs (in this respect the whole country resembles a village with a community system of planting [Flurzwang]) an influential stratum is created which has vital interests in the most diverse parts of the country. This counteracts the centrifugal, particularistic tendencies of the individual provinces.

642 631 643 These conditions seem to be the result of a conscious aim on the part of the crown. In this direction much seems to have been accomplished by Lwabugiri Kigeri, the father of the present ruler, Musinga. Kigeri is reputed to have centralized the state and partitioned, scattered, and interwoven the holdings of the chiefs in order to destroy the centrifugal tendencies of the feudal lords. This involved him in bitter struggles with the lords, among them his brother-in-law, Kabare, but he managed to crown his efforts with success.

631 642 tendencies of their fathers. Count Von Götzen (1) mentions

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), pp. 156, 159.

only one governor of Kissaka, namely, Kavahigi, but he also speaks of Kaware (Kabare) in the northern part of the country.

621 631 The hill (kashozi) is the smallest political unit in Kissaka, as well as in all the rest of Ruanda. The inhabitants of a hill belong to different clans, and the factor uniting them is purely [622] political. It is primarily the chief, to whom compulsory service (buletwa) must be paid. This official is likewise appointed by the high chief. However, the very large hills are not infrequently divided into subgroups with different subchiefs. Thus, the hill known as Bare in Nsasa is divided into the communities of Bare, Ishua, Kibare, and some others.

621 614 In Mulera where there are very few Batutsi and these have no great power, much more primitive conditions have been preserved. Here too, however, political units are represented by hills, but each hill has a homogeneous population, consisting of the members of the clan. These communities are directly sub- [651] ordinate to the king and, through their elders, pay taxes to the king's deputies. Here the mutware, the integrating factor, is absent. On the few hills [269] in Mulera belonging to Batutsi, however, we find conditions similar to those in Kissaka. Here, [651] also, taxes are paid to the chiefs and not to the king's deputies. I believe that the Bahutu on these hills must also render compulsory service.

Ndorwa is a country that is only under nominal rule and does not pay taxes to Musinga. We find here the same clan communities, but they are completely independent, small political units.

Besides the two extreme forms, the community settled on alien land granted to the chief by the king, which the chief represents at court, and the free clan community settled on its own land and paying taxes to the king's deputy but having no

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and Tutsi compounds. Only the size and number of huts and enclosures were different.[24] 361

These compounds, usually surrounded and more or less hidden by banana groves, were scattered throughout the country. They were on the top or on the slopes of hills, never in the valleys which were flooded every year at the end of the rainy season. They were usually rather isolated but even when they were not far from each other (and they were never so near together as to have two adjacent hedges) they did not constitute villages in the sense of concentrated clusters of dwellings situated near the centre of the territory worked by the inhabitants. There was, however, some grouping 621 on a predominantly local basis of people who were all personally acquainted with each other. They could be described, following Murdock's terminology, as *neighbourhoods*.[25] These neighbourhoods were made up of a certain number of compounds (from twenty to sixty) situated on a hill (*umusozi*) or a part of a hill (*umurenge*). The people living there had a few common activities: mutual aid in the building of huts and in the performance of certain agricultural tasks, and recreational gatherings (such as [476] dancing, jumping competitions, arrow shooting, &c.). They showed a certain *esprit de corps* in taking the side of one of their members in a dispute against a member of another similar community. The word used to designate the members of such groups expressed this idea of neighbourhood. They were called *abazimya muriro*, 'those who put out the fire', people very often needed. One 622 important person in the group such as a lineage-head, was appointed as neighbourhood-head (*umukoresha*) by the traditional administrative authority to take charge of the collection of dues and tribute-labour of a hill or, more frequently, of a group of hills (*umutware w'umosozi*). He acted as an intermediary between his neighbours and the hill chief. The group could refuse the appointment of a certain person and another would be chosen. These neighbourhoods had no communal place for meeting, 621 exchanging goods, or worshipping.

The same pattern of local grouping was to be found throughout Ruanda.

[24] Cf. Czekanowski, 117, p. 200 ff; Pauwels, 1953; Vincent, 1954, pp. 12-15.

[25] Murdock, 1949, p. 80. The definition of village given in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 64. ('a territorially separate collection of homesteads, which is regarded as a distinct unit and of such a size that its inhabitants can all be personally acquainted') cannot be applied to the Ruanda type of local community. [119]

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2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

(a) *Districts, hills, and neighbourhoods*

From the point of view of territorial administration, the border 631
zones were distinguished from the rest of the country. Border zones which were permanently threatened by foreign attack were administered by the chief of the army, the headquarters, and camp of which situated in the region. The centre of Ruanda and the regions which were close to a foreign territory not regarded as dangerous were divided into what we shall call administrative districts. There is an almost complete unanimity of informants (97 per cent.) on this.[11]

Unfortunately, there is confusion about the names applied to these areas. Five names were given by informants, with the following percentages: *igikingi* (3 per cent.); *igiti* (19 per cent.), *urugo* (12 per cent.); *umurwa* (7 per cent.); *ubukebe* (24 per cent.). Moreover, the three terms *igikingi*, *igiti*, *urugo* were all used, according to 2 per cent.; *igiti* and *urugo* according to 4 per cent.; *igikingi* and *igiti* according to 6 per cent.; *igiti* and *ubukebe* according to 8 per cent.; *igikingi*, *igiti*, and *ubukebe* according to 1 per cent. Finally, to add to the confusion, the same word was used to mean different but related units. For instance *igikingi* could mean a subdivision of a hill—according to 97 per cent.—and a hill was itself part of a district to which, as we have just indicated, 12 per cent. applied the term *igikingi*.

At all events the whole country was divided into administrative 634
locations that may be designated as districts. Each of them was ruled by two chiefs, neither of them dependent on the other. Their authority extended over the same territory but from different points of view. The land-chief (*umunyabutaka*) took care of the [622]
dues from agriculture and the cattle-chief (*umunyamukenke*) of the dues from stock. According to 60 per cent. of our informants, the same person could not have the two charges. It was possible, however, according to 36 per cent. of the Tutsi asked. But the usual situation was to have two chiefs and not a single one.

The district was divided into hills (*umusozi*). At that level the 000

[11] As has been explained in the introduction, a hundred questions on the political organization have been put to three hundred informants chosen from all the regions of Ruanda (the interviews took place in seventy-four different places). The percentages to be found in that chapter refer to this sample. When the percentages included decimal fractions, the figures have been brought to the nearest unit. [125]

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The district was divided into hills (umusozi). At that level the
622 cattle- and land-chiefs had only one subordinate, the hill-chief, *umutware w'umusozi*, whose counterpart in the present administrative organization is called sub-chief or *ibisonga*.

621 On each hill, there were usually several neighbourhoods. In
622 each, one of the family heads living there was chosen as its head by the hill-chief. He was called *umukoresha*.

(*b*) *Taxes*

651 Tributes and dues for which the land-chief was responsible
647 were: any kind of labour, usually agricultural; *uguhunika* (putting into the granary), which consisted of a certain number of baskets of beans, peas, and sorghum to be delivered at harvest time; *amavu* (bananas to be used for brewing beer). These tributes were due from Hutu. The person who provided these things was the family head who was considered as the individual producer of the rugo. But between him and the land-chief, there was a hierarchy of persons responsible for the carrying out of the levies: sometimes the lineage head (if he was living in the same neighbourhood), then the neighbourhood head, and finally the hill-chief.

[622] Through the hill-chief, too (according to 68 per cent. of the informants), the cattle-chief obtained jars of milk from the Tutsi. Moreover, the latter had to provide (according to 88 per cent.) *inkuke*, cows kept by the beneficiary in order that milk could be consumed fresh.

These tributes were centralized in the royal residence of the district which was occupied by the king when he was travelling in the district. This residence was called *rugo*, the ordinary word meaning a compound dwelling. 95 per cent. of our informants remembered several names of royal district residences and 86 per cent. had not forgotten the name of the residence in the district where they used to live as children.

Revenues of a district were either reserved to the king himself or were granted to one of the king's wives. In the first case, the [647] residence was called *ingaligali* and was administered by a king's concubine (*umuja*, girl-servant).

Administrative officers collecting tributes, had the right to keep a part for their own benefit. According to 95 per cent. of our informants, the hill-chiefs had the right to deduct some agricultural produce, of which they could keep about a third. Then the land-chief—according to 99 per cent.—could also keep a part of it,

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probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

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It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not overexploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

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554 Ndarwubatse, Kanyonyomba, and Segore were exceptional and
622 that, in fact, Hutu were not very numerous among land-chiefs.
184 The share of Hutu in political power was probably symbolic rather than quantitatively great. Hutu could also be hill-chiefs and sixty-nine per cent. of our informants were able to mention a few names. According to ninety-nine per cent. a Twa could be neither land-chief nor cattle-chief, unless he were ennobled. But in that case, he was not socially a Twa any more, but assimilated to a Tutsi. Twa could be hill-chiefs; sixty-five per cent. of our Tutsi informants mentioned the names of such Twa. Neighbourhood heads were frequently Hutu, but the advantages they drew from their office were minimal, if any.

(*b*) *Maintenance of the central rulers in power*

661 One may conclude that the very great majority of the beneficiaries of the fiscal function of the administrative structure were people of the Tutsi group.

A second function of the administrative structure was to enable
661 those who enjoyed political power to keep it. The mwami and his
634 wives centralized the means necessary to afford an important court.
647 Moreover, by granting the profitable offices of land-, cattle-,
622 and hill-chiefs, the mwami increased the number of his faithful dependents. For these chiefs of the administrative structure were appointed by the king. To the question 'who appointed the land- and the cattle-chiefs?' ten different answers were given, but if one adds up all the answers which named the mwami as the person or one of the persons who granted these official appointments, a majority of sixty-five is reached. The confusion in the answers seems due to the fact that different principles operated together in the nomination of such a chief. Firstly, one of the sons of the former office holder usually succeeded to his father, and the latter could often indicate his preferences, but this did not mean that the office was hereditary. Merely, it happened fairly frequently that the mwami liked to strengthen a man's loyalty on the understanding that if he was a good chief, the office could remain in his family. Secondly, the appointment could be made by the mwami following presentation of the candidate by an important chief, such as the army-chief. Consequently, it could appear that the latter was the one who gave the appointment. But the third principle remained: the king kept a complete control of these offices in the sense

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that no other authority had the final say in such appointments. 661

The danger of having some chiefs becoming more and more 634 independent of the central government was avoided by the 699 mwami's power to dismiss anybody and also by the curious duality 622 of chiefs in each district. Increasing the control of the central government over its subordinates seems to have been the function of that duality. Tensions arose between these two chiefs who were neighbours and who exerted their prerogatives in the same territory yet were independent of each other. The mwami was always kept well informed by each of these chiefs of the exactions or suspicious activities of the other. Moreover, both chiefs had the same subordinate, the hill-chief. Consequently the mwami could be sure that if by chance the two chiefs were in agreement, it was very likely that if their common subordinate had some difficulty with one of his superiors, he would attempt and often succeed in getting the other on to his side: *duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens.* In addition, as conflicts of power were unavoidable in such a situation, the chief had to resort to the mwami as judge. In that way the links of the dependence of both of them on the mwami were tightened.

In this analysis it is not suggested that the duality of chiefs was conceived and put into being by a certain mwami in order to fulfil what we regard here as its function. It is possible that it happened in that way. But even if nobody ever thought of reinforcing the royal power by this dual organization, it was nevertheless its function in Ruanda society.

(c) *Social cohesion*

I have mentioned that the hill-chief required dues and tributes 651 not from the individual taxpayer but from the lineage head when 602 possible, and the latter demanded it from the family head. This 571 way of reaching the individual through his kin group and family group enhanced the importance of the descent principle of of kin solidarity. Even in Ruanda where the political organization had taken over so many functions from descent groups, the individual as such was not yet recognised in very important matters like the contributions to the maintenance of the rulers. In this interpretation, the kinship and the administrative structures promote the social cohesion of the group as a whole.

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to 000

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To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954c, p. 65. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

614 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest
623 has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession
[643] of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

556 The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of
231 the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and
621 the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma,
592 and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.
423 [251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the
231 clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

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613 sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the
194 Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during
[173] his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

613 A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to
769 honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a
[062] goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

613 Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of
623 councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the
[554] opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

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marriage coming from another inzu or to be made to another inzu, 613
and whether the council thought that a connexion with such or 623
such lineage was to be accepted, sought, or avoided. A certain number of disputes that the lineage head could not or would not settle alone were submitted to the council. When somebody had lost his cattle and was ruined, the council could determine and [736]
apportion a collective contribution to help him out of his difficulties. Finally, blood-feuds were discussed. When a member of the group had been killed by a member of another all the kinsmen [627]
of the victim attempted to retaliate by taking of the life of a kinsman of the offender. Compensation was not usual. I was told, [682]
however, by the Hutu of Bugoyi that there the murderer's group could prevent the taking of vengeance by handing over a beautiful girl. Political authority kept the feuds under strict control. Permission to retaliate had to be obtained from the king and [643]
when it was granted and vengeance had been achieved, the feud was at an end. No further vengeance could be taken. Sometimes the king made representatives of the two lineages share a meal.

As the preceding paragraphs suggest, there was no clear-cut division between the powers of the head and of the council. It was a question of the particular traditions in each inzu and of the individual characters of the persons concerned. Usually, however, the inzu was an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. The head could not rule in opposition to the men of standing in his lineage; they had the means to put pressure on him and then there was the possibility of recourse to the political chiefs, always glad to interfere in a domain which was not completely under their control.

The obligations and rights of the individual members of a 613
primary patrilineage were many. There was first a prohibition on 835
sexual intercourse within the group, which applied to relations whether in or out of wedlock. It was feared that the mating of descendants from the same inzu ancestor would produce sickly and malformed children. A few informants add that exogamy was necessary to promote connexions between descent-groups, these connexions being thought of as beneficial in a vague way. The Ruanda did not distinguish incestuous relations from prohibited relations because of consanguinity. For them all the latter were incestuous. But they recognized order in the degrees of gravity in

631 There are abatware who personally own hills in other prov-
635 inces (1).

1. Since 1924, aiming to unify the commands of the provincial chiefs, the government has endeavored to persuade the abatware to exchange hills.

634 The abatchibiri, who own only a part of a province, are also directly subordinate to the Mwami, who has given them their lands.

The ibisonga are placed at the head of one or more hills.
622
562 They are the supervisors of the abatware and the abachibiri, on whom
624 they also spy for the Mwami. Women can be ibisonga. For example, they can be the Mwami's abaja (mistress-servants) who, as a reward for the bestowal of their favors, are given a hill. But the most frequent case is that of a widow of an igisonga [sic] without any male children who, while attending the king, obtains permission to continue to manage the hill held by her husband (2). Each hill chief has

2. An example would be Nyiraigweni, widow of Nyantabana, a great provincial chief, replaced today by Rwabutogo who commands the district of Buganza in the territory of Nyanza.

under him a factotum called umuhingisha who designates and marks the boundaries of the fields, for which the Bahutu have asked the chief, and who may even settle the palavers in the absence of the igisonga. The umunyabigega is hierarchically subordinate to the former igisonga. He is the steward of the granaries (ibigega) of the chief whose cultivated fields he supervises.

631 The abanyabikingi command only a portion, a spur of a hill.
622 Appointed directly by the Mwami, they act as supervisors, and even as spies of the ibisonga for the king. [100]

631 districts in the area adjoining Ruanda and Ussuwi. They still pay a set amount of tribute in natural produce to the king, but otherwise they may do, or not do, whatever they please unless they disturb the peace or necessitate the military intervention of our Resident.

As a rule the king or the princely governor will not make alternations in the conditions of feudal tenure if the vassal regularly sends his tribute, keeps his subjects in timorous dependence, promptly contributes the necessary groups of men in case of war, and remains subservient and loyal to the king.

[624] Finally, in the different villages and hamlets there are communal officials (bisonga) who are responsible to the batwale; they collect the taxes, arrange for corvée labor, and are in charge of petty jurisdiction, etc.

645 When discussing important matters, the king, also the
634 provincial governors, and the batwale, are assisted by a state council or a comm[illegible]l council, respectively. These councils are appointed by the king or by the governor, as the case may be, and are chosen from among the most respected and most prosperous men of the country or of the region. Represented among them particularly are the clan elders (abagabo). The council is convened on important occasions, and the king or the mutwale presides, but in his decisions the king or the mutwale is not bound by the advice of the council (No. 19, p. 267). The
634 batwale are responsible to the king for everything that happens
641 in their administrative district. They also have almost absolute power over the Bahutu and Batwa population which they administer. This includes the power of execution. It is true that subjects suppressed by an unjust mutwale may appeal to the provincial governor or to the king, but they obtain satisfaction only very seldom, for "the tsar is far away and the sky is high." [91]
643 The absolute ruler, the semidivine king is, of course, always
641 right and has every privilege; he owns all the land and all the cattle, and he vests with it whomever he chooses, whenever he chooses, and in amounts that he alone decides, and he may take any subject's life or property as he pleases.

643 These are the conditions, de jure and de facto, whenever
631 the king is a man of strong will, and there has been a whole

443 The market is the place where people meet, inspect
571 merchandise and observe other people, gossip, hear and pass on
[203] news items, drink pombe, discuss business and non-business matters, and where they do many things which are useful and many others which are superfluous. Many Barundi visit the market even if they do not intend to buy or sell anything, merely to amuse themselves. If things become too lively in
[625] the beer section or if a fight starts, the market police aided by the peaceful elements among the population quickly succeed in restoring order.

436 The German East African heller is the current coin at the main markets of Usumbura, Kajagga, and Gitega. Silver rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees are seldom seen. Apart from the heller, all sorts of other money substitutes are in circulation at other markets of the northern lakeshore belonging to Urundi. The heller has not yet penetrated into the large area of central Urundi, and it is known only at the few missionary and government posts and along the main roads linking them. Even there it is accepted reluctantly. Beads are still the most important medium of exchange in this area, notwithstanding the efforts of the government to introduce hellers and rupees everywhere in order to facilitate not only trade but also the future collection of taxes. These efforts will only meet with success after Urundi has actually been placed under government administration and after a hut or head tax has been introduced which has to be paid in currency. The same is true of Ruanda. There, however, the use of currency has already spread considerably as a result of the export trade and the residency at Kigali with its traders' settlement which has been established in the interior for years.

The small coin most in use in Urundi is the pink bead simsim or samsam; a string (kete, Kette? [Kette, "string" in German]) of beads, approximately 30 centimeters long, is the monetary unit. It is equivalent to three hellers. Ten strings equal 1 ifundo; 10 ifundo equal 1 ingoje; 10 ingoje equal 1
[301] akanono (No. 19, p. 111). The samsam bead is also used as the principal neck ornament of men and women.

621 representative at court, we find clans that do have their repre-
614 sentatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the
202 help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hill-top to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

The population hates the police agents. I had an opportuni-
625 ty to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to
574 join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

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181 *mugabo* (a rich man) and a *mukungu*—a very rich man possessing a few
564 cows, many fields, goats, and bee-hives. He enjoys the recognition of his
554 fidelity to his master and his qualities as a labourer.

The Batwa never had the stability of peasants. They were hunters, potters, dancers, buffoons, and were regarded by their neighbours as being on the margin of society. They did not possess anything that others could envy. Consequently security from exactions was not such an important value for them. As people who lived a hazardous and unsettled existence, they greatly appreciated momentary and immediate satisfactions, and among these, food, especially during periods of scarcity, was the object of their activity. Their principal means of securing food varied according to their particular occupations. Hunters depended on their ability and their courage, of which they were very proud. Dancers, musicians, and buffoons relied on their talents and on the favour of their masters, their loyalty to whom was widely recognized. Indeed it is said that one could rely upon a Mutwa much more than on anybody else.

The social and economic situation of the Batwa explains and to some extent determines the value they attach to gratifying the basic need for food. Ability in their specialized occupations and a blind faithfulness to their masters were the best means to achieve that satisfaction, but skills and loyalty were also valued for themselves.

Rules of Human Action

577 These values, ultimate and intermediate, were eagerly sought by Banyar-
183 wanda but, as in any society, some means for realizing them were prohibited under certain circumstances. Stealing is rarely, if ever, culturally accepted as an ordinary practice for getting rich. Socially defined values are to be reached by socially approved means. We do not suggest that, in a particular society, the rules of action appear as merely social imperatives, or that the only basis for these rules is social. We would point out that some rules of action, whatever their origin and their philosophical foundation, are part of the collective heritage in any society. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, there are such rules of action. Murdering somebody who is not an enemy of one's family is prohibited. Women are forbidden to commit adultery and, among Batutsi and Bahutu, unmarried girls may not have sexual intercourse. When an order is issued by somebody in authority it has to be obeyed.

577 Does submission to the rules appear only as the rational behaviour of one who wishes to avoid an external punishment or is it moral conduct? Does
● 626 a prospective offender refrain from wrong-doing simply in order to avoid very probable and unpleasant consequences, or is it his conscience which tells him that he should not follow his desire?

Of course this is not an either-or problem, but the question of degree or relative stress is important. Even in cultures which lay most stress on the moral motivation to action, external social sanctions are useful deterrents from prohibited behaviour. In Ruanda these external sanctions exist. Those

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

who steal cattle, or set fire to huts, or commit adultery are punished by the 577
political or family authorities. Social sanctions are not only physically en- 626
forced penalties, such as corporal punishment and compensations, but also the unorganized reactions of the people who know the delinquent: kin, neighbours, clients, and lord. For the Batutsi, for whom reputation stands high in the scale of values, this is extremely important. According to our informants, the fear of being considered a man without loyalty or without dignity, the dread of being despised by one's family, prevent many breaches of rules. To use Kluckhohn's terminology, we may say that Ruanda's is a shame-culture. But it is also a guilt-culture. When a Munyarwanda has transgressed some rule so secretly that there is not the slightest chance of his being found out and incurring punishment and shame, he nevertheless feels guilty and knows, our informants told us, that his action is bad. When a child has disobeyed his father without the latter's knowledge, he thinks not only of the unpleasant consequences that the discovery of his misbehaviour might produce but also (and some informants say 'mainly') of the wickedness of the act itself. The Ruanda word for conscience, *kamera*, means something that is internally felt. It is situated in the heart.

That the Banyarwanda have a 'conscience' will not be rated as a great discovery by some. But since some recent studies, such as Kluckhohn's on the Navaho, have stressed the fact that, in some cultures, submission to rules seems to be realized almost entirely through a rational concern to avoid punishment or shame, it does not seem superfluous to consider how far observance of rules is, or is not, linked to ethical principles and feelings of guilt.

Let us now attempt to indicate more precisely how moral wrong is con- 577
ceived in the Ruanda culture. As has been already mentioned, *Imana* is not 776
the guardian of the moral order. Sometimes he seems to be regarded as its 673
author in the sense that he might have decided that men should not steal; but it is clear that when a man steals another man's cows, *Imana* is not personally offended. Those who are offended are those who have been wronged by the action, or those who had issued an order which has been disobeyed. When *Imana* has not been directly injured (as by blasphemies), or when the injury done to another has not been specifically forbidden by him, he is not thought to be offended. The victim could, however, ask *Imana* to punish the wrongdoer and if he then became ill, it would be said that *Imana* had punished him.

The other agencies of the supernatural world have even slighter relations 577
with ethical values. The *bazimu* are naturally malevolent and punish only 776
those actions which they take to be directed against themselves. A way to 715
honour the spirit of somebody who had been a thief during his life was to simulate a robbery. *Ryangombe* and his fellows were not models of morality during their earthly existence and they did not care about the ethics of their followers. Nor was there any punishment after death. For those who believe that there are two kinds of life after death—happy or unhappy—the

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

a very considerable extent universality and absoluteness, qualifies some of its commands. The degree of absoluteness and universality of the Ruanda rules of conduct is much lower. We might say that most of its precepts are qualified in relation to persons and circumstances. To steal cattle was forbidden, but a Mututsi could take the cattle of a Muhutu who had no lord. For a Muhutu to rob a foreigner was not forbidden. A wife might not commit adultery, but she was allowed to have sexual relations with people when ordered by her husband to do so and, even without her husband's permission, a woman could have intercourse with her husband's brothers and parallel cousins. Killing a man was prohibited, but not if he was an enemy of Ruanda or of the family, and if the feud had not been barred by the king. Banyarwanda certainly had no idea of rules of behaviour applicable to all men in virtue of their common humanity. This is perfectly consistent with the Ruanda conception of mankind and the very significant inequalities which Banyarwanda observe between themselves and neighbouring peoples and, among themselves, between the different castes.

To conclude, the rules of human action which prohibit or enjoin the use of certain means in order to achieve the culturally recognized values of Ruanda are sanctioned, not only by organized and unorganized social reactions but also by individual conscience or guilt feelings. The foundation of this moral code is not religious or supernatural but traditional; its content is a multiplicity of rules synthesized under a few moral principles. Particular precepts do not have a universal application but are relative to persons and groups.

Human Relations

Two principles dominate the field of human relations in Ruanda: inequality of men and indefinite reciprocity.

For the Banyarwanda all men have indeed a common nature; they are ultimately the descendants of the same ancestor. But this notion does not seem to be very significant, for Banyarwanda are much more impressed by the differences displayed by the various castes. The characteristics of these castes are stereotyped and repeated in many folk-tales. Batutsi are intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), apt to command, refined, courageous, and cruel. Bahutu are hard-working, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong. Batwa are gluttonous, loyal to their Batutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, lacking in restraint. These characteristics, with differences in stress and shading, are generally recognized by all Banyarwanda. As they reflect the Mututsi point of view, it appears that the superior caste has been able to make other people see themselves in important respects as Batutsi see them. Moreover, those qualities are considered to be innate, not acquired. A Mututsi is born clever and a Muhutu impulsive. Some tales, more widely known than those concerning the creation of man, relate how the first Batutsi came to Ruanda

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with their superior.

On the other hand, no superior enjoys a purely arbitrary power. There are norms which are informally enforced by social pressure; and this is particularly important for people so concerned about their reputations. Since, moreover, there are several chiefs of equal rank belonging to different political structures, it is not difficult for the subject of one superior to secure support in opposing him from another. Finally, there is the possibility of appeal to a higher authority empowered to control subordinate chiefs. All this limits, in fact, the authority of chiefs, but nevertheless the authority of a superior cannot be questioned by his subjects. They may escape, intrigue, or look for another protector, but they cannot offer direct opposition. The Western conception of contract, derived from Roman law, with well-defined obligations on both parties who are equal before and during the contract, is accordingly not understood or acted upon even by Banyarwanda who have long been familiar with our culture.

Any superior is a protector, and his protection is of the same character as his authority: all-embracing and limited only by his own convenience. In any difficulty, the inferior may ask the help of his master, and, if help is refused, it will not be on the grounds that the superior is not concerned with that aspect of the life of the subordinate. On the other hand, the superior himself will be the only judge of the limits of his intervention, for the dependent has no right to require anything from his superior.

Everywhere men in authority enjoy advantages denied to those whom they command, but it is often felt that justification is needed for these privileges. In Ruanda such rationalizations do not seem to be required. It is taken for granted by everybody, the subjects included, that superiors as such should derive profits from their position. The very high standard of living of Europeans is accepted without any criticism by 'traditional' Banyarwanda not yet imbued with egalitarian principles.

The conception of authority as all-embracing, unlimited, protective, profitable, and of inferiority as dependent, devoid of rights, fundamentally weak, and generally exploited, is exactly suited to a structure of castes composed of human beings who are thought to be fundamentally different and unequal. On these inter-caste relations all hierarchical relations have been modelled. This means that the conceptions and attitudes which have just been sketched pervade most human relations in Ruanda. Indeed, very many human interactions involve persons who, in Ruanda, are placed on a hierarchical scale: man and woman, husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, old and young, craftsman and apprentice, &c., and when there is also a superiority-inferiority situation, even though confined to one aspect of the relation, the whole of that relation is impregnated with inequality.

Another basic principle governing the field of human relations in Ruanda is that of indefinite reciprocity. Whenever somebody receives a service,

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

438 often set out on journeys lasting several days to visit customers
484 and distant markets. They handle the trade between Mulera, Nduga, and Katana on Lake Edward, and their chief items of exchange are sheep and goats, iron, salt, and tobacco. The Bagoye handle trade between Bugoye and Bunyabungu and exchange large quantities of hoes for goats from Mulera.

123 The Bagoye are unprejudiced traders. For example, when they saw me collecting skulls there, they brought me some to buy. However, no one had the courage to touch a skull. They carried it either on a stick or wrapped in a banana leaf. It was a boy of eleven who first had the idea of demanding payment for skulls. Others followed, even adults, when they saw that the boy was well paid. In a short time they brought in over 200 skulls.

We must point out, however, that not everyone was enthusiastic about these transactions. After more careful investigation, it was discovered that all the skull collectors were people of the lower classes. They were bagaragu (1) of the others and orphans

1. Clients.

who had been taken into individual households as semi-slaves.
[626] After a few days, however, skull collecting stopped altogether, since the boys of the mission refused to eat with anyone who had collected skulls. When this news spread, I could not get any more skulls, and the last collector was thrashed.

The people were very much interested in knowing how much was paid for skulls in Europe.

567 Even today it is said that human beings are exported from Ruanda, not as voluntary emigrants and transient workers, but as slaves. I could find out little about this obscure problem. Since wives [164] are bought, it is very difficult to draw the line between a purchased slave and a purchased wife. In Kissaka the story goes that the Bassuwi come in large numbers to buy women and that they stay in Lukira. They are also said to re-sell the women in Tabora.

Dr. Kandt (1) says that there is a regular slave trade in the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 435.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The conditions favouring contamination by different diseases and the very limited defences against them permit us to assume that illness and mortality through these diseases must have been very high and a constant threat to everybody. 164

These brief notes on health conditions in Ruanda would be incomplete without a mention of mental health. We are not attempting here an assessment of the neuroses and psychoses which can be found in Ruanda or to the number of people affected by them and who, in the Western world, would be considered in need of psychiatric treatment. There is not sufficient information on these matters at present. But we would like to consider very briefly conditions which are likely to result in psychological tensions. 121

We have already mentioned the circumstances which make life objectively hard (a barely sufficient diet, starvation periods, and diseases). In addition it was often dangerous. When informants were asked what sort of reputation they particularly wished to avoid, they did not usually answer by listing the opposites of those particular qualities which they would like to have attributed to them, but by pointing to some definite reputation in which danger might be inherent. Above all, a Tutsi feared to be regarded as an enemy of the king. It was no doubt partly because he felt a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be thought of as an enemy of the king was extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of everything, the severance of all social relations, exile, or even death. He also feared to be considered a traitor to his chief. This was a less dangerous reputation, although it entailed sanctions: if a client had been disloyal to his lord the latter might take back from him all the cattle he had previously given him and eventually all his cattle. The Hutu said that they feared an accusation of witchcraft, for such an accusation could certainly mean immediate death. There was little that could be done actively to avoid such a danger except to be a good neighbour, to be envied by nobody, to have no enemies, and especially to have a powerful protector. The Hutu were also afraid of acquiring any reputation which could result in their losing the protection of the lord to whom they owed allegiance and consequently leaving them exposed and defenceless against the arbitrary actions of the powerful.[21] 152 626 681 591 181

[21] Cf. Maquet, 1954a, or Maquet, 1958.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[22] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[23] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[22] Maquet, 1958, pp. 326-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[23] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

431 he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has
554 already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle
431 measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any
554 alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior.

Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows
626 or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more
[564] generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will
[593] return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For,
554 physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to
681 instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take
[561] out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their
[566] parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a
[593] woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always
431 combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or
554 affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors
928 and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no
[152] doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him for other reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the property of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

The inhabitants own their huts and, in addition, every-
421 thing they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus, men, women, and children may own property, and the following may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade objects, etc.

685 Property violations, i.e., damage and theft (uwivi), are
674 frequent, but if someone leaves his hut unguarded, a woven screen in front of the door opening is usually sufficient to keep away uninvited guests. Although the kraals are surrounded by
[417] strong fences and the paths between the fields are often lined with high euphorbia hedges (Plate 20), these have not been put up or grown as a protection against thieves but to pen and restrain the cattle. If a person steals something from [94] a homestead or produce from the fields, he is taken before the mutwale and is sentenced to severe corporal punishment unless he can pay a generous amount in damages of which the mutwale will appropriate one half (No. 4, p. 224).

692 The mutwale or in smaller districts the village chief is
627 the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves without appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings several witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases
696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see p. 97 .

614 842 Since the groups involved in this arrangement are small and conditions simple and clear, no one can forget that the welfare of the individual is directly dependent on the welfare of the clan. Hence everyone is very much concerned that the clan appear powerful to the outside world. It must be as large as possible and always ready for war. No effort must be spared to achieve this; otherwise the members of the clan have no protection against plunder, impoverishment, and even complete extinction. The man as well as the woman must be considered from this point of view, and producing children is, therefore, the most important duty of the individual. This explains the completely unenviable position of the childless woman. For the same reason, sons whose descendants will augment the number of clan members are preferred to a daughter, even though one can always trade her for a cow.

614 563 The importance of the clan's strength and fighting fitness, even today in Bugoye, was convincingly demonstrated to me by the fate of my Muhutu informant's father. Several years ago their clan was scattered by advancing Batutsi. Only his father remained on the old clan property, along with the [234] children and his uncle. Since there were only a few men in both families and they were too weak to defend themselves, the Batutsi simply settled on the land and indulged in all kinds of suppressive measures against the weaker farmers. At the time of my visit, for example, they took away a whole hut and carried it to their settlement, instead of building a new one for themselves.

614 628 Every individual is under the protection of the clan. This makes it possible for a person to lead a more or less secure existence. Clan organization represents a sort of social guarantee which is directed primarily against the misdeeds of fellow tribesmen who do not belong to the clan.

614 627 Moreover, the clan exercises control over its members, and, if serious offenses are committed by individuals who endanger the interests of the clan, they can even be exiled.

614 627 428 The clan may also interfere in family matters and, above all, in disputes about inheritances. Although the father can dispose of his property as he sees fit, nevertheless his decisions presuppose the tacit approval of the clan. If the interests of the clan are

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
428 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the
423 interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy,
651 it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

614 The protection of female clan members does not extend to
591 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
768 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
614 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

marriage coming from another inzu or to be made to another inzu, 613
and whether the council thought that a connexion with such or 623
such lineage was to be accepted, sought, or avoided. A certain number of disputes that the lineage head could not or would not settle alone were submitted to the council. When somebody had lost his cattle and was ruined, the council could determine and apportion a collective contribution to help him out of his diffi- [736]
culties. Finally, blood-feuds were discussed. When a member of the group had been killed by a member of another all the kinsmen [627]
of the victim attempted to retaliate by taking of the life of a kins- [682]
man of the offender. Compensation was not usual. I was told, however, by the Hutu of Bugoyi that there the murderer's group could prevent the taking of vengeance by handing over a beautiful girl. Political authority kept the feuds under strict control. Permission to retaliate had to be obtained from the king and [643]
when it was granted and vengeance had been achieved, the feud was at an end. No further vengeance could be taken. Sometimes the king made representatives of the two lineages share a meal.

As the preceding paragraphs suggest, there was no clear-cut division between the powers of the head and of the council. It was a question of the particular traditions in each inzu and of the individual characters of the persons concerned. Usually, however, the inzu was an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. The head could not rule in opposition to the men of standing in his lineage; they had the means to put pressure on him and then there was the possibility of recourse to the political chiefs, always glad to interfere in a domain which was not completely under their control.

The obligations and rights of the individual members of a 613
primary patrilineage were many. There was first a prohibition on 835
sexual intercourse within the group, which applied to relations whether in or out of wedlock. It was feared that the mating of descendants from the same inzu ancestor would produce sickly and malformed children. A few informants add that exogamy was necessary to promote connexions between descent-groups, these connexions being thought of as beneficial in a vague way. The Ruanda did not distinguish incestuous relations from prohibited relations because of consanguinity. For them all the latter were incestuous. But they recognized order in the degrees of gravity in

4. Ownership of Heavy Cattle

422 231 [643] a) Generalities.

The Mwami is the owner of all the cattle in Ruanda or at least of all females kept for breeding purposes. The great chiefs (abatware) are charged by the king to watch over his cattle in the different provinces. Also, the sale of heifers cannot take place without his permission.

On the other hand, the holder of sterile cows or bulls may give away or slaughter these animals as he wishes.

In a province the native who has acquired a cow for breeding [643] purposes has usufruct and has no redress if the Mwami takes away the animal he has bought along with its young. The umutware w'umukenke (2) can oppose the removal of cattle from the province.

2. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Division, p. 85.

422 622 628 Any native who settles in another province must abandon his cattle [46] unless he has the chief's permission to take it with him. When a native leaves his province, leaving his cattle behind, to settle in another, his new chief usually gives him a herd of the same size as the one he has lost. If he escapes from his district carrying off his cattle surreptitiously, his former chief claims the herd. In the past if he was refused he would endeavor to capture a herd of equal value belonging to the deserter's new chief, and an armed clash would invariably result from such a dispute. Today the dispute must be submitted to the Mwami. He eventually orders the new chief to return the cattle, and if the latter is unwilling to do so, he may take from him one or more herds.

Before the European occupation a dissatisfied chief could take all or part of his cattle without previous permission from the Mwami. In this case the chief was "Mwami of his umugaragu."

422 231 The cowherds (abashumba) in the service of the cattle holders are authorized to keep for themselves part of the milk from the animals entrusted to them. They can be discharged in case of negligence.

683 Muhutu has been wounded he receives the indwaza (lit., who cares for) indemnity consisting of one or two goats. If the author of the blows is a Mututsi, he must lend a cow to the Muhutu so that he can have its milk for as long as there is any; the Muhutu gets the full ownership of a bull calf when he returns the cow.

5. Murder

682 Murder cases were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Mwami at the time when he had the right of life and death over his subjects (1).

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Royal Power, p. 74, note 1.

682 696 628 If the murderer (gatozi) and his victim belonged to the same social class, the king ordered the exercise of private vengeance (guhora, to avenge; kwikorera, to avenge one's self), which resulted in endless conflicts between families and clans. The Mwami, however, could throw on the murderer, the full responsibility of his deed, and the relatives of the victim could not then resort to the "vendetta."

682 [112] If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two deaths were exacted.

On the other hand, if a Muhutu had been killed by a Mututsi, recourse to direct vengeance was impossible, but the Mwami could turn over a member of the Mututsi's family to the victim's relatives and have him killed. However, if a fairly important Mututsi killed a Muhutu, neither he himself nor his property would be affected. This iniquitous ruling did not rouse the natives' indignations because it conformed with the law of the land and they therefore submitted to it.

The right of pardon did not exist. However, the king could stop the vengeance (gucha inzigo, lit., to cut the vengeance) and offer compensation (wergild) to the family of the dead man; this was when the latter was a Muhutu, as the Batutsi accepted only blood atonement. For the king to agree to recognize the benefit of the compensation to the victim's family, the dead man had

692 one of the parties, he appeals to his provincial chief who points the matter out to the king. The Mwami then calls certain of his abahanga (1) with whom he sits and listens to the respective provincial

1. Cf. p. 104.

chiefs of the parties who are acting for them. The king then pronounces the sentence, justifying his judgment.

692 628 It should be noted that the normal procedure we have described could not always be employed in the past. When two hill chiefs, for example, were hostile to each other, and if the victim of a robbery came to claim justice, it could be that the thief's chief might take the thief's part. The robbed man would notify his chief, and then it was war between the hills. If the robbed man's chief was weak and could not obtain justice for his man, he appealed to the provincial chief who would summon both chiefs, the thief, and the robbed one. Only the two chiefs plead, first the robbed man's chief then the thief's chief. If the latter proved that the victim of the theft had wished to take the law into his own hands without first appealing to him, and that he then had to defend himself against an attack which he believed unjust, the provincial chief then inflicted a fine (ichyiru) in cows on the robbed man's chief. If the domestic war had resulted in deaths or wounds, the palaver was obligatorily transferred to the Mwami. After paying his fine, the robbed man's chief could apprehend the thief and punish him, as we have stated above.

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale
662 with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

628 in most cases. However, if the ransom is not paid, the mem-
672 bers of the injured group, with the consent of the mutwale, pro-
681 ceed to execute the victim. They take the captive to a remote place and first cut off his hands, then his feet, and eventually also the ears, nose, and tongue. Then the unfortunate victim is nailed to the ground by piercing four poles through his arms and thighs; there he finally receives the death blow through his chest (No. 19, p. 472). Another method of execution is to drive a sharp pole through his anus into his body up to his throat. The body is then exhibited in a public place. The vendetta takes similar forms among the other Bahima, down to the far south in Ufipa (No. 47, pp. 108-111). Stealing cattle and witchcraft are punished in the same cruel manner in Urundi.

762 [98] Persons intending to commit suicide, who are not by any means rare either in Urundi or Ruanda, usually kill themselves by hanging or drowning.

695 It appears that the oath (indahiro), the invocation of the deity, the manes, or the king for the purpose of affirming a statement, is not permitted as a legal device among the Barundi who, incidentally, "use oaths, curses, sorcery, lies, or trickery" copiously. On the other hand, a judge frequently inflicts the ordeal on the accused, especially if it is a case where he has charged with witchcraft and sorcery (No. 19, p. 405). Most often this takes the form of the spear test. It consists of stabbing the accused person's arm with a hot spear point. If the blood gushes out, he is judged guilty; if not, he is considered innocent. The water test is applied by making the accused place his hand into a pot of boiling water. If his hand is scalded, he is considered guilty, otherwise, not. Also, under certain conditions, the poison test is used, a custom found all over Africa. Of course, there exist all kinds of methods designed to make the ordeal come out correctly, like greasing or powdering one's skin, using counter-poisons, etc.

614 vehicle of tradition and religious customs (totem, food taboos,
182 sacrificial community), has been of great importance in sustaining the nation's life." (No. 39, p. 73.) This characterization also applies to the clans of the Barundi.

614 However, the Batussi monarchy is a most powerful enemy
642 of the clan organization. The growing power of the Batussi kings
182 has laid claim, as has been shown above, to all the land and cattle as the personal property of the king who parcels it out in larger or smaller portions as fiefs to his Batussi followers (see p. 89). The king's vassal, in turn, divides his fief into smaller portions with which he vests his people. The former clan elder is usually appointed mutwale of the king and collects the taxes and other tribute of which he retains a share. Under the conquering kings the clan has thus been disrupted socially and economically and has been rather quickly absorbed into the political feudal community of the state, although it may still retain its clan name, its old customs, some of its institutions, and its totem for a long time to come.

642 There is one element of the old clan organization which
614 the clan members have retained even under the political re-
628 organization of the Batussi monarchy since it offers them a strong protection against arbitrary acts of their rulers: it is
182 the vendetta (kuhora). Originally, allied clans used it as the most effective way to protect themselves when they were threatened by other clans. Even at the present time the vendetta is the strongest bulwark for the protection of the individual in spite of the fact that public and private security has considerably increased under the strong rule of the royal batwale. Despite criminal jurisdiction administered by the batwale, the vendetta is still used by the clan members as the most effective form of self-help and as a protective instrument of intimidation on the part of those who are politically weak. A person who kills or injures a member of a clan is killed or wounded by the members of the wronged clan (see p. 97). If the wrongdoer cannot be apprehended, the vendetta will strike another member of the criminal's clan. Indeed, more than that, some clans

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite
an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price;
the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are
[589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor.
If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable
to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife.
Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within
583 the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a
685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does
occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358).
595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son
of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus. Many small objects are poured on the ground from various calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an intelligent man.

[134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no
791 circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
754 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may be characterized in the following manner. According to Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medicine men who can free a person from the malediction of the evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, protectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
[578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either incurred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentricity, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
661 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly informed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

791 as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the
661 entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by
628 law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to
793 officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine
796 services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the
796 important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred
778 in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and
796 the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear"
[411] guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the
[776] point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but
796 one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

173 The families or clans which made up each of those tiny states were at first autonomous and independent from one another. They were self-governed and lacked any well-defined authority. It was only gradually in the course of time that one local chief came to impose his will upon the others. Along with royal prerogatives, and in accordance with his title of sovereign, the man in power took over the functions of sorcerer, diviner, magician, rain maker, etc. The office of sorcerer-king (umuhinza) then became hereditary. The small provinces of Buberuka, Kibali, Buyoka, Bugarura, and especially Mulera, retained their original organization and never had kings. Each tribe governed and administered itself according to its own lights. As a result they were nearly always at war with one another owing to thefts, boundary disputes, or vendettas (2). Peace ruled for a while among

[628]

2. This region was preeminently the land of the vendetta. Individuals would take justice into their own hands, with the help of family or clan members, and were implacable in /seeking/ vengeance.

those tribes only when they banded forces against the common enemy, the detested Hamite, who, in spite of the fact that he had subdued them, had not deemed it safe to settle in the mountainous regions. Ruganzu II and Kigeri IV Lwabugiri are listed among the Hamitic kings who traveled through those areas populated by proud /77/ inhabitants. The mountain dwellers did not make a great show of resistance, but after the princes were gone, they nevertheless continued to lead an independent existence. No Mututsi chief dared settle among those fierce populations. Their only obligation was to pay tribute in kind to the king himself or to the high court dignitary who was supposed to govern the area at a distance.

The Bantu of the central and southern provinces, who make up the greater part of the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ population, [184] accepted and bore more readily the yoke of the Hamites, who settled among them and shared their way of life (1).

783

1. A Munyarwanda would never pick up such accursed weapons, whose origin and function he knows only too well. The curse which is attached to them and the fear which they inspire cause him to go his way without a covetous glance.

In certain clans the purifier-sorcerer slips the scrapings into a sweet potato which he feeds to a goat. The latter is then sold to strangers faraway on whom falls the curse attached to the weapon which was used to commit the murder. The price of the animal, which was formerly paid in kind (hoes, peas, beans, sorghum, etc.) was renounced or thrown away. The victim's family considered that they were thus freeing themselves completely from the evil spell which befell them through the violent death of one of its members.

769 783 628 In order to pacify the spirit of the deceased, a young man of the kin group is chosen during the funeral ceremonies to avenge him. He must obtain a new /418/ spear which the purifier-sorcerer or his colleague, the "conjurer of spirits," takes from his hands in order to cut in two a plant with a mysterious property called irago or umurago. "I have 'cut up' the tribe of murderers," he says, "may they all die of it." Then, addressing himself to the deceased, "Here is the spear that will avenge you. Grant it the opportunity and the power to carry out the vendetta."

[766] According to customs peculiar to each clan, the body is exposed on a deserted hill, hidden far out in the bush in rocky crags, or buried near the village or even in the courtyard.

In the latter case, some irago, or if there is none some murago that grows in the swamps, is planted along with its roots. At the end of about a year, the sorcerer comes back to cut this plant /again/, as he did once before. Then a goat is sacrificed.

The purifier takes some of the blood of this offering and sprinkles it on the grave, saying, "Let this blood cause the entire family of the assassin to perish."

h[ie, of a murdered person - Analyst]

[681] 696 .644

8. A slave (umuja) was struck down along the road at night after she had been advised to leave court and seek her fortune elsewhere. She was punished for not having watched closely enough over the moral behavior of two young princesses of royal blood.

9. Luhinankiko, a son of Queen Mother Nyirayuhi, was stripped of his property for having had Lutishereka killed. He even had to flee to Urundi, where he spent some 15 years.

Since Kabale, the regent, could not take his revenge upon him as he would have wished, he turned upon his friends and followers. /484/

Chaka, who was Luhinankiko's son-in-law, and Sebuharara and Rulinda, who were his protegés, were attacked in the Buganza by the men of the powerful minister. Defeated and unable to flee, they shut themselves up in a hut, set fire to it, and perished in the flames.

Kaningo, who belonged to their faction, was stripped of his property. On the point of being caught and knowing what awaited him at the capital, he also burned himself in his hut.

[683] 10. The Banyarwanda still remember the corporal punishment inflicted upon the six "poisoners" (1) led to Nyanza by chief Kanuma.

1. This is how the individuals suspected of the alleged crime of bewitching are designated.

These unfortunate persons had their hands and feet cut off.

11. Nyantanyi, son of Semakamba, as surrendered by Musinga to Gashamura, son of Lukagirashamba. Lwamwa, one of the latter's sons, had been killed at Ndolandi, a land he wished to conquer, by Nyantanyi's men. His relatives, the Batsobe, complained to the king, who gave them satisfaction by handing the local chief over to them.

Nyantanyi was bound and led outside the palace by Gashamura and his followers. Lwamwa's son stabbed him first in the side with a spear, and almost immediately 20 or 30 spear thrusts laid him low. [684] His head and right hand were cut off to be shown to the other followers, as was done in vendettas. One detail is to be noted: Gashamura was Nyantanyi's uncle by marriage and his father-in-law.

231 proved to be the case. I was told that work ceases for a day after a
[628] dog's death, and that on occasion blood revenge is exacted for the killing of a dog. The Banyaruanda maintain that a person kills a dog because he would really like to kill its master but does not dare.

The number of dogs kept in Ruanda is very large, and for this reason the porters returning to Lake Victoria took a number of dogs with them. A returning caravan of 200 porters which I met in Kissaka had at least 60 dogs. Several of them were quite young and had to be carried on the porters' backs for the two to three weeks' trip. One can scarcely show greater proof of affection.

231 Since the dogs generally do not bark, they are not often used as
534 watch dogs. They usually wear small wooden or iron bells around their necks, dedicated to Ryangombe [a supernatural being] (insogera ya Ryangombe). Similar bells are tied around the necks of sheep and goats.

The iron bells commonly consist of two small, thin sheets of metal bent together, with a narrow, rounded slit at each end. Between the two sheets is a hollow space containing a small pellet large enough so that it cannot fall out through the slit. A string [147] is threaded

Fig. 35. Dog Bell from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13704. 6 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 36. Dog Bell from Ufumbiro, Batwa. 1/4 actual size. III E 6897. 10 1/2 centimeters long.)

through two small holes in the bell and tied to the collar. Captain W. Von Grawert found an entirely different bell among the Batwa of Ufumbiro. It consists of a narrow, triangular piece of sheet iron, the two lower ends of which are bent to form a cylinder. The tip is hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

614 842 Since the groups involved in this arrangement are small and conditions simple and clear, no one can forget that the welfare of the individual is directly dependent on the welfare of the clan. Hence everyone is very much concerned that the clan appear powerful to the outside world. It must be as large as possible and always ready for war. No effort must be spared to achieve this; otherwise the members of the clan have no protection against plunder, impoverishment, and even complete extinction. The man as well as the woman must be considered from this point of view, and producing children is, therefore, the most important duty of the individual. This explains the completely unenviable position of the childless woman. For the same reason, sons whose descendants will augment the number of clan members are preferred to a daughter, even though one can always trade her for a cow.

614 563 The importance of the clan's strength and fighting fitness, even today in Bugoye, was convincingly demonstrated to me by the fate of my Muhutu informant's father. Several years ago their clan was scattered by advancing Batutsi. Only his father remained on the old clan property, along with the [234] children and his uncle. Since there were only a few men in both families and they were too weak to defend themselves, the Batutsi simply settled on the land and indulged in all kinds of suppressive measures against the weaker farmers. At the time of my visit, for example, they took away a whole hut and carried it to their settlement, instead of building a new one for themselves.

614 628 Every individual is under the protection of the clan. This makes it possible for a person to lead a more or less secure existence. Clan organization represents a sort of social guarantee which is directed primarily against the misdeeds of fellow tribesmen who do not belong to the clan.

614 627 Moreover, the clan exercises control over its members, and, if serious offenses are committed by individuals who endanger the interests of the clan, they can even be exiled.

614 627 428 The clan may also interfere in family matters and, above all, in disputes about inheritances. Although the father can dispose of his property as he sees fit, nevertheless his decisions presuppose the tacit approval of the clan. If the interests of the clan are

614
671
178 finds protection even outside the clan, which formerly was not possible.

614 Ruanda Clans. We have already listed the clans of Ruanda in Chapter 2 [not translated]. However, in view of the significance which the distribution of individual clans in the various provinces has for the history of Ruanda settlements, the list must be supplemented by further data. Here we shall also give the names of the provinces in which the individual clans were observed. (Chart on following pages)

It is said that the Baanzira clan is not represented in Kissaka, but the name is familiar, and strangely enough, it is used by the women in vows. When they wish to affirm something very positively, they say: "Aha Baanzira batshu."

Father Schumacher (1) uses the designation "Base" or "Abase"

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 896.

for the Bagessera and Bazigaba who play a special role in the Ryangombe cult.

628
614 [237] Blood Revenge. Clans practice blood vengeance (kuhora) for their members. If an outsider kills or wounds a clan member, his fellow members take revenge on the members of the criminal's clan.

The clan's revenge, however, is not always a simple settlement on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In Kissaka, for example, the people are satisfied if they kill a member of the murderer's clan, whereas in Mulera the vengeance is always greater than the crime. The severity of the vengeance by the injured clan depends on the number of its able-bodied men. The powerful and spirited clan of the Barashi who are settled in Mulera on Muhawura is aware of its strength and takes bitter revenge. For a murdered clansman, the Barashi kill six to eight men from the murderer's clan. The other less powerful Mulera clans content themselves with three or four. The Batutsi, on the other hand, demand as many as ten to twelve heads. The same number is exacted by the greatly feared Batwa clans.

In Mulera, in contrast to Kissaka, the female members of the clan are also avenged, but in Ruanda I heard nothing about women being killed in revenge.

The clan which has avenged its dead casts off mourning and celebrates the happy event with dancing and beer drinking. This announces to the others that they have nothing more to fear.

In exacting vengeance, the injured clan is primarily bent on laying its hands on members of the criminal's clan, but the murderer himself also receives special attention.

During my stay in Mulera a man with a pot of beer on his head went to a neighboring settlement. On the way he met a stranger who expressed the wish to taste his beer. When the man refused, the stranger retaliated by stabbing him in the back. The wounded man fell to the ground and began to scream. The stranger fled, but the injured man's clansmen pursued him, inflicted arm and head wounds with a bush knife, bound him, and brought him to their settlement. There he had to await the outcome of his victim's illness, and if the man had died, he would have had to pay with his life for his fit of temper.

Revenge is the factor that most strongly binds the clan together and contributes most to the development of a feeling of solidarity among clan members.

A clan that refused to take revenge would become extinct in a short time, since neighbors could plunder its members without punishment.

[238] The practice of blood revenge in Ruanda and, above all, in Nduga where clan members are scattered among outsiders takes the form of secret, occasional murders. In the northwest, for example, in Itambi where clans have settled in larger units, revenge is said to take on the nature of a regular war. This difference is decidedly an adjustment of the same institution to the particular conditions prevailing in the two regions.

Unsettled and pending cases of revenge constitute an ever-present danger for the clan members, and at the same time they involve many unexpected and unpleasant situations. The clans are settled in different places far apart from one another, and the individual member is not always informed about the relation of his clan to others in distant regions. For this reason the Munyaruanda

614 keeps his clan a secret and discloses it only when he has confi-
628 dence in his questioner. That is why it was so difficult at first to find out the names of the clans, especially before we learned the word for clan, namely, umuryangu or umuliangu.

For its own safety, the clan is forced to watch over its members and, in case of an emergency, oust certain individuals whose actions endanger the community. This applies chiefly to those who, through careless murder, burden their clan with the revenge of the injured. The banished member loses the right of protection and property and will not be avenged. This expulsion is called kilenga ngoma and seems to occur more frequently than adoption.

These imperfect security measures aimed at guaranteeing the safety of the individual cause eternal petty wars. The whole society is split up into a number of warring camps, which weakens its resistance against outside enemies. This applies primarily to the Bahutu, and this will be one of the chief reasons why the better organized herdsmen minority will be able to conquer them.

Clan feuds are by no means limited to the Bahutu. My anthropological studies among the Batwa in the region around Marangara were very much curtailed because a few days before, during an evening of beer drinking, a drunken man committed a murder. The murderer and his clansmen were obliged to leave the region of Marangara in great haste.

614 Abaziru. Although blood revenge unites the clan more con-
267 spicuously than any other factor, nevertheless in peaceful times one is only occasionally aware of the sharp demarcation of clans. [239] In quiet everyday life the clans are differentiated much more by their food taboos. The adult members of individual clans are forbidden to eat certain foods. For example, the Bagessera and Bashambo, like some Massai tribes, do not eat liver; the Bagahe and Bazigaba do not eat entrails, etc. Each clan may have more than one food taboo. Thus, the Bashambo, for example, eat neither liver nor the meat of foreign spotted cows.

The members of different clans may not eat together because of their dietary laws. Consequently, they also regard each other

714 628 614 It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

614 582 Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Batutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

614 581 [242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

563 582 614 In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu,

563 582 614 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

572 608 [243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

572 608 628 There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is connected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 608 628 is divided into zones settled by different clans which are often hostile to each other, the individual can depend only on his clansmen. When he goes abroad, outside his clan's sphere of influence, he must look for personal friends and secure their pledge of protection, thus making possible his sojourn in strange parts of the land. This is the reason why traders enter into the greatest number of brotherhood pacts. People who never leave their hillsides do not make this pact, and pacts between the inhabitants of the same hillside also are not common.

572 608 Brotherhood is sealed by special ceremonies. On the day of the pact the one who wants to enter into brotherhood goes to the house of his future blood brother, accompanied by a witness. He is received there also in the presence of a witness. All four men sit down on a mat on the hut floor. The articles necessary for the ceremony are placed beside them: mutsima, stiff millet mush; a knife; and a hoe.

The witness of the guest takes the knife and makes a scratch to the right of the latter's navel. He catches the blood on a piece of mutsima and hands the knife to the witness of the houseowner, who repeats the same ceremony with his candidate. The two blood brothers then eat each other's blood along with the mutsima. Then the first witness takes the knife, begins to sharpen it on his skin, and says:

[244] Mwumwe! Ntuza yaniwanye na ntuza.
Harken! This one enters into blood brotherhood with that one.

Elmwa kanaka uramuka umutatiye iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Hear you (this one), if you dare betray him, this vow will kill you.

Akomerekera mw' itawalo wanga kumuheka, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
If he is wounded in battle, you refuse to carry (him), this vow will kill you.

Umushigisha amata iwawe, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you him milk yours, this vow will kill you.

Wanga kumuheka, yarwaliye mw' itawalo, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you to carry, when he falls in battle, this vow will kill you.

572 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiche.
608 (If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rise, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood
608 brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new
431 friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to
608 attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood
614 brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed
628 by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its
608 significance. This may be considered a result of state organiza-
614 tion which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organiza-
178 tion. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

721 Declarations of war are not made, at least not in Mulera. If a military expedition is to be undertaken, everyone knows about it long beforehand. It is hard to keep a secret. The actual declaration of war is the sound of the antelope horn calling the warriors together.

727 Baumann (1) mentions that spades wrapped with leaves are

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 84.

a sign of peace.

[277] Chapter 13

Administration of Justice

671 Law. Ruanda has no codified laws. The administration of justice is the business of the government which takes into consideration long-established customs. This is the only kind of law one can speak of in Ruanda.

Criminal law is not developed here to such an extent that the various types of crimes must be atoned for with specific punishments. We can only indicate approximately the severity of individual punishment, since uncodified law leaves so much to the personal opinion of the judge.

628 178 The basis of justice within the clan is the institution of blood revenge. With the development of the state, this is gradually being pushed into the background, but in Ruanda the process is still in its initial stages. In Kissaka, on the other hand, it is said that before revenge is taken, the chief is notified, and he can forbid taking vengeance for a man killed for robbery.

682 685 Aside from murder, which in Ruanda proper is still punished with blood revenge, the theft of cows is very severely punished, in accordance with the role the cow has in the life of Ruanda.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

634 the district chiefs formed the council of the king. The court
[693] was under the direction of a special man, a kind of steward or *inhebe*.

The district chiefs were also responsible for building and other work for the king and the state; they had to find the necessary workmen and appoint overseers to direct them. Another man of the king acted as a kind of household steward to see that the buildings were kept in repair and properly attended to.

Each district chief appointed chiefs of the second rank or *Ibisonga* in his own district, and they in their turn appointed the chiefs of the third grade or *Abafragizu*. Each district chief also appointed a steward or *inhebe* who acted in his place when he had to be absent from his district. This man always possessed land near his chief so that he might be at hand when he was wanted. His special duty was to take charge of any building for the chief.

Taxation

634 Every year a district chief had to bring two or three
651 hundred large pots of honey, each holding some two gallons, and a supply of millet, peas, and beans to the king. This was brought to the district chief by the people on his estate, and he took a portion for himself before passing the required amount on to the king.

[231] Twice in the year each person with cattle gave to the king a cow and a calf to supply him with milk and a fat animal to be killed for his meat. Milk was also sent daily to the court for the use of the king and his household.

Murder

682 It was the duty of the relatives of a murdered man to hunt
628 down and capture the murderer and put him to death; they rarely accepted any other settlement. If a murder was committed before witnesses, they would seize the murderer and hand him over to the relatives of the dead man. If, however, one man abused another before witnesses, the offended man

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

might put the other to death without fear of punishment, for 682
the witnesses would state the reason for his action and he 628
would not suffer for it.

When a murder was committed secretly and the body was found without any trace of the murderer, it caused much difficulty. The relatives had to inform the chief of anything they knew concerning the relations of the dead man with the people of the district. Any person with whom the dead man had had a quarrel or disagreement was captured, and a priest [695]
killed a fowl and took an augury in order to find out whether he was guilty or not. Should the augury be in the suspected man's favour he was released, and some other magical means of finding the murderer were tried.

Sometimes a murderer would confess his deed to the king or chiefs and notify his desire to atone. The family of the murdered man were called to a meeting and the murderer had to supply a sheep. The king was present at the meeting and ordered the animal to be killed and cut open, after which the murderer and the head-man of the murdered man's clan placed their hands on the entrails. Portions of every kind of food used by the people were brought and placed in the sheep with purificatory herbs, and again the two men placed their hands in it. The sheep was then called *Maana* or god and was the pledge of peace. Some clans, however, refused to make peace with a murderer and awaited an opportunity of killing either the criminal or some member of his clan.

When a man killed another accidentally and succeeded in proving that there was no malice or intention about the act, he paid fourteen cows to the family of the dead man, with whom he remained on friendly terms. If a man wounded [683]
another he paid him eight cows as compensation.

When a warrior killed a man in battle, the king and chiefs 727
honoured him and gave him presents of land and cattle. Sometimes when the king was specially pleased, he would give a warrior a princess to wife. The warrior had to be purified on his return from the battle, but observed no other taboo.

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Gissaka, a war in which he was killed, had designated as regent of his son Kyilima Rugwe, an Umunyginya called Chyenge, and not one of his brothers-in-law.

meetings of the Council of Ministers until her son is about fifteen years old, an age at which he can exercise supreme authority. Formerly, the Mwami's maternal uncles, taking advantage of his youth and their own privileged position, would often have recourse to violence and trickery in order to increase their provinces and their herds.

11. Political Divisions

631 The characteristic traits of feudalism are found in Ruanda. The dispersion of authority and property and the Mwami's bestowing on his subjects benefits and commands that are always revocable, result in great uncertainty for everyone and permit the king to establish his domination firmly over the country.

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631 Ruanda is divided into provinces (intara) placed under the command of a single chief (umutware w'intebe) (2). There are

2. Intebe, stool-seat.

exceptions to this rule. In Bgishaza, for example, two different chiefs are placed under the orders of the umutware w'intebe, the umutware w'ubutaka who exerts his authority over the lands and the Bahutu, and the umutware w'umukenke who governs the pastures, the herds, and the Batutsi. The abatware are appointed by the Mwami. They do not necessarily belong to the first families of the country. An average Mututsi or even a Muhutu may become a chief, thanks to royal favor that rewards his intelligence and devotion. [99]

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701 In the past, at the time of the wars, the Mwami's abapfumu chose from among the abatware w'intebe the umugabe w'ingabo (chief of the army). When peace was concluded, the latter remained what he had been before.

631 There are abatware who personally own hills in other prov-
635 inces (1).

1. Since 1924, aiming to unify the commands of the provincial chiefs, the government has endeavored to persuade the abatware to exchange hills.

634 The abatchibiri, who own only a part of a province, are also directly subordinate to the Mwami, who has given them their lands.

622 The ibisonga are placed at the head of one or more hills.
562 They are the supervisors of the abatware and the abachibiri, on whom
624 they also spy for the Mwami. Women can be ibisonga. For example, they can be the Mwami's abaja (mistress-servants) who, as a reward for the bestowal of their favors, are given a hill. But the most frequent case is that of a widow of an igisonga [sic] without any male children who, while attending the king, obtains permission to continue to manage the hill held by her husband (2). Each hill chief has

2. An example would be Nyiraigweni, widow of Nyantabana, a great provincial chief, replaced today by Rwabutogo who commands the district of Buganza in the territory of Nyanza.

under him a factotum called umuhingisha who designates and marks the boundaries of the fields, for which the Bahutu have asked the chief, and who may even settle the palavers in the absence of the igisonga. The umunyabigega is hierarchically subordinate to the former igisonga. He is the steward of the granaries (ibigega) of the chief whose cultivated fields he supervises.

631 The abanyabikingi command only a portion, a spur of a hill.
622 Appointed directly by the Mwami, they act as supervisors, and even as spies of the ibisonga for the king. [100]

144 changes occurred; the ethnic character of the Barundi changes only slightly, in spite of the fact also that political connections with the Mountain Barundi had become much less close.

[12] In 1901 Richard Kandt wrote as follows of the
● 681 Barundi of the Tanganyika lowlands.

"Politically the area between the eastern periphery of the Central African graben and the Ruzizi is divided into from ten to twelve rather small sultanates, most of which probably cover approximately 150 to 200 square kilometers. They are nominally not independent; their rulers, who all belong to the Semitic Watussi of the Galla territories south of Abyssinia, were originally vassals of the king of Urundi, or the 'Muesi' as he is called by title. But although the majority of the inhabitants gives the impression of being almost pure Warundi, the high crest of the peripheral mountains and the broad desolate primeval forest were too convenient a bulwark not to arouse the desire of independence in the population which is hardly affected by grandiose ideas of national unity, the more so since the mother country is also split up into a large number of mutually warring chiefdoms which are only loosely bound to the central power. The only existing remnant of cohesion seems to be the fact that the Muesi has some kind of religious importance which makes his chief think it advisable not to sever all connections with him.

If we consider how infinitely different the entire living
182 conditions of the Lake Warundi dwelling near Tanganyika are from those of the Mountain Warundi and how far back the various influences go which affect the Lake Warundi (namely, the presence of the Wasuaheli [Swahili], the Arabs, and the various western tribes following in their footsteps), we are surprised at how stubbornly they have nevertheless remained true in the matter of their external appearance, language, and customs to the peculiarities of their unusually isolated native country. The same is true of the Warundi living in the low valley of the Ruzizi, except that for them the temptation to abandon the customs of their forefathers was considerably smaller, and the farther north they lived, the smaller it became." (No. 22, pp. 339-340.)

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without 635 exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of 565 the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces 634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

● 631 The same organization of officialdom also exists in 614 Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided [635] among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district [634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of [635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as 643 well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this 614 may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

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As in Ruanda and the other Bahima states, from Unjoro in the north to Ufipa in the south (No. 47, p. 74), all the land, people, and cattle in Urundi belong to the king on the basis of his inherited right as conqueror. He distributes the land among the members of his family and his clan, the Baganwa, as a hereditary fief. He may reclaim it, however, if at any time he is dissatisfied with the holder. These grand vassals or grand batwale again subdivide their territory in many small fiefs among their followers, and these continue the process so that the entire country is covered by a gigantic network of vassals of the king (see p. 171 [not translated]). They are predominantly Batussi, and the lowest among them have approximately the position of a village mayor. The smallest territorial unit of this large administrative organization is the [361] mountain, the plateau ridge (umutumba, umurambi). In the highlands which are cut up by swampy valleys, the mountains bear the settlements, not the valleys. For this reason the boundaries of the provinces and their subdivisions are formed almost everywhere by the stream and river valleys, the most obvious and most effective natural lines of separation between the regions and their inhabitants. However, the large fiefs seldom consist of one continuous stretch of land within a region; almost always they are formed by numerous smaller pieces of territory distributed over various provinces. Thus, the important vassals are prevented from becoming too powerful for the king.

Of course, all vassals are expected to pay a certain amount of tribute to the king. From these the latter meets the expenses of his large household, pays his officials, and conducts his wars. Depending on the duties involved, there are three kinds of feudal tenure. 1) Land fiefs: their holders have to pay regularly a certain share of the produce of their fields to the king. 2) Cattle fiefs: the tenants monthly furnish a certain number of cattle, milk, and butter. 3) War fiefs: the holders must keep ready for action a certain number of warriors who must be placed at the king's disposal upon his command. Sometimes these three types of feudal tenure are combined in one region and in the

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale
662 with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

631 districts in the area adjoining Ruanda and Ussuwi. They still pay a set amount of tribute in natural produce to the king, but otherwise they may do, or not do, whatever they please unless they disturb the peace or necessitate the military intervention of our Resident.

As a rule the king or the princely governor will not make alternations in the conditions of feudal tenure if the vassal regularly sends his tribute, keeps his subjects in timorous dependence, promptly contributes the necessary groups of men in case of war, and remains subservient and loyal to the king.

[624] Finally, in the different villages and hamlets there are communal officials (bisonga) who are responsible to the batwale; they collect the taxes, arrange for corvée labor, and are in charge of petty jurisdiction, etc.

645 When discussing important matters, the king, also the
634 provincial governors, and the batwale, are assisted by a state council or a communal council, respectively. These councils are appointed by the king or by the governor, as the case may be, and are chosen from among the most respected and most prosperous men of the country or of the region. Represented among them particularly are the clan elders (abagabo). The council is convened on important occasions, and the king or the mutwale presides, but in his decisions the king or the mutwale is not bound by the advice of the council (No. 19, p. 267). The
634 batwale are responsible to the king for everything that happens
641 in their administrative district. They also have almost absolute power over the Bahutu and Batwa population which they administer. This includes the power of execution. It is true that subjects suppressed by an unjust mutwale may appeal to the provincial governor or to the king, but they obtain satisfaction only very seldom, for "the tsar is far away and the sky is high." [91]

643 The absolute ruler, the semidivine king is, of course, always
641 right and has every privilege; he owns all the land and all the cattle, and he vests with it whomever he chooses, whenever he chooses, and in amounts that he alone decides, and he may take any subject's life or property as he pleases.

643 These are the conditions, de jure and de facto, whenever
631 the king is a man of strong will, and there has been a whole

643 series of such kings in Urundi. If the king is a weakling, if he
631 lacks the cunning and the capacity for violence and cruelty to inspire fear, which are the necessary characteristics of African rulers -- as, for example, the present weak King Mütaga -- his absolutism is mere show. Then the real rulers are the heads of the royal family, the Baganwa or Abaganwa, who make the royal puppet dance to their tune. These, then, are times when the various provincial governors make themselves independent, when other parts of the country fall under the rule of foreign neighboring sultans (for example, Ujogoma temporarily under Ussuwi), and when anarchy more or less prevails in the entire realm. Concerning the development of these conditions and the present state of affairs, see the chapter, "History," p. 151 ff. [not translated].

The present impotence of the monarchy, the weakening
648 of central power, and the disruption of the formerly powerful unified realm have been sanctioned by the German colonial government to its own advantage. At the same time the colonial government is attempting to replace gradually the supreme power of the king with the rule of the German Resident. It cannot eliminate the monarchy as such unless it is prepared to take up the fight against all the Batussi. For this our strength is still not sufficient. However, in the future much will depend on what kind of a man from the old ruling dynasty succeeds the present weak puppet king, Mutaga, and what the attitude of our government to him will be.

The succession to the throne is determined by primogeniture
643 in Urundi, unless the king or the head chief decides otherwise.
662 By law he is succeeded by the oldest son of his head wife. Usually, however, the king designates as his successor the one of his many sons who appears most suitable to him, and he bequeathes to him the insignia of royalty, i.e., the holy drum, his spear, and his arm ring. If this decision is made during the lifetime of the king, it is dangerous for the favored son. He will consider it advisable to escape from the jealousy of his brothers and relatives by taking refuge in some distant place until his time comes. If he is still a child, he is hidden by his mother far out of reach

643 between the various elements of the people; it was
796 supposed to be a large contribution to the land's fertility and the country's welfare, and in all this the part played by the king was prominent.

Only in fact was the king's power limited. He
643 transferred the leadership of parts of his sultanates
631 to some chiefs, almost in every case relatives (brothers, uncles, cousins), members of the royal family (*bapowa*). In their turn these would establish subchiefs chosen among their relatives, or the aristocracy (*bafáowi*), or even Batutsi commoners, but seldom among the Bahutu. The division reached very far and the last elements of it were not only single hills, but even parts of a hill. And although the ensuing intrication and divided hierarchy remind us forcibly of our own feudo-vassalic middle ages, and appear consequently most unstable, the Barundi system, if we set aside some violent revolutions, possessed some sort of stability and could carry on thanks to its practically hereditary organization. Chiefs, subchiefs and all who had availed themselves of the deep-seated division of authority were naturally possessed of rights over the common people and were entitled to demand from them various privileges, usually defined by local custom, and which ranged from a present of beer to well-determined contributions or vagner corvées (services).

423 Some scholars have maintained that the *mwami*
661 definitely had a right of possession over the land of the whole of his sultanate. But the truth is that land was not an object of property for the *mwami*, or for commoners and the *mwami* and his representatives simply had to allow its utilization and choose the people to carry it out. Such designations were, just as the political leaderships, more or less unstable, more or less precarious; there exists a heredity in fact; but it is possible for a chief, should he care to do so, to eject the tenants. Besides, the abandoned or untilled lands are at his disposal. The system in general enables members of the leading classes as well as members of the subject classes to constitute estates with the only difference that the former will possess large herds of cattle and have their lands tilled by people liable to unpaid service while the latter have only very few cows and must depend on their own labour and that of their families.

The political leader's say in agricultural matters also solves the difficult problem of proportioning field and pasture-lands. The chief will not allow the latter to be reduced, and the threat to the cattle-breeder is further avoided by the chief's right to use the sorghum fields for pastures after the harvest (*ibishaka-shaka*) either for themselves or for others.

423 The territory of an important chief, with its intermixing complex of herds, estates, revenues, and services, very often extended over large, sometimes

[p.14 (8)]

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

578 Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

631 Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

642 individuals through a continuous chain of lesser chiefs." This regime resulted from the invasion and conquest of Ruanda by the Hamites. The monarchical system was introduced by them in order "to keep the subject people within a very tight administrative network." (1) Ac-

1. Les Relations entre l'évolution sociale et l'évolution religieuse /The Relations between Social and Religious Evolution/ by Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J. (Correspondant, January 25, 1929.)

cording to the classification adopted by Deniker (2), the Banyarwanda

2. Races et peuples de la terre /Races and Peoples of the Earth/, 1900, p. 151.
Deniker divides peoples into savage, semicivilized, and civilized.

belong in their degree of culture to the first group by the Bahutu and Batwa, but it is also proper to place them in the second category on account of the Hamites, who gave their conquered subjects an organization superior to that of the peoples in the first stage and a higher degree of culture. They form an intermediate group between the first two divisions of this classification.

643 The land is governed by a king with unlimited and hereditary powers (we are speaking of the past). The symbol of royalty is a drum, a sacred object, a sort of palladium referred to as Kalinga. /38/

Like all African potentates, the Hamitic prince formerly held powers of life and death over his subjects. Everything belonged to him in his own right, lands and people, crops and livestock. He
631 would designate the dignitaries and the provincial governors, who were almost invariably chosen from the ranks of the Batutsi, the noble and conquering race.

631 These in turn would select their own assistants, who became "hill chiefs." The great chiefs, although they owned a number of dwellings in their respective districts, seldom lived among their people.

[662] Ever surrounded by jealous and often malevolent rivals, they were exposed to intrigues. Espionage and delation were endemic at court. This is why the great dignitaries remained by the king's side in order to guard against all eventualities.

643 Hamitic royalty, once it became powerful, immediately acquired great brilliance. United under a single scepter, the Banyarwanda became one of the best-organized Negro peoples and spread beyond their natural boundaries to defeat and subject to tribute the enemy nations around them. The union of the Bahutu clans took place thanks to the increasingly centralized administrative organization of the new inhabitants.

The Hamitic kings never lost the simplicity of their ancient mores. They kept up their interest in their herds of cattle, which they regularly asked to see, and they would ask and remember the names and genealogy of the animals. On the battlefields they were hardly distinguishable from their warriors, whose outfit and weapons they wore: a mere goatskin around the loins, a spear, a bow and arrows.

In peacetime, however, etiquette would elevate the monarch 644 and isolate him from his subjects. One could not visit him without asking for an audience and being announced first. This was so at least as far as common people were concerned, for dignitaries and favorites acted with greater freedom and even took certain liberties. According to court protocol, one had /39/ to clap hands (gukom' amashi) when appearing before the monarch.

The "lords" would throng around him to fill out the government offices and to make up the court (1). Not only were princes of royal

1. "The Hamitic Court!" In dealing with the persons and times whose history we are describing, one must not think of the courts established in civilized countries. The Batutsi Court does not

634 somewhat different. The most important personality after the chief is his brother. He represents him in all matters. Both of them have their houses in the individual villages in which they live during their journeys. The son ranks just below the brother of his father and is granted a village after he has grown up. He is not entitled to gifts in the other villages of his father, and only if he has [267] no uncle does he get an uncle's rank. In spite of this preference, the brother of the chief is not his heir; all his possessions go to the son after the burial of the father.

622 563 Below the kissonga are the quite unimportant subchiefs who supervise the communities on the separate hills. Among them there are everywhere, especially in Bugoye, many Bahutu, whereas the higher positions are almost always held by Batutsi. It is only in Mulera and Bgisha that one sees Bahutu also occupying the highest positions.

The Bahutu officials are very much praised by their superiors, for no one can be more merciless and servile than an upstart who is hated by his clansmen. This characterization does not, of course, apply to the clan elders who occupy this position in the free farm communities. The subchiefs are the only cattle-owning Bahutu outside of Mulera, Bgisha, and Bugoye.

642 631 There is no doubt that with the extensive interweaving of property belonging to individual high chiefs (in this respect the whole country resembles a village with a community system of planting [Flurzwang]) an influential stratum is created which has vital interests in the most diverse parts of the country. This counteracts the centrifugal, particularistic tendencies of the individual provinces.

642 631 643 These conditions seem to be the result of a conscious aim on the part of the crown. In this direction much seems to have been accomplished by Lwabugiri Kigeri, the father of the present ruler, Musinga. Kigeri is reputed to have centralized the state and partitioned, scattered, and interwoven the holdings of the chiefs in order to destroy the centrifugal tendencies of the feudal lords. This involved him in bitter struggles with the lords, among them his brother-in-law, Kabare, but he managed to crown his efforts with success.

631 The modern European who is accustomed to sharply demar-
642 cated administrative districts and has no idea of social equilibrium based on the interweaving of economic interests finds this principle of administration absurd. That is how Captain Göring (1)

[113]

1. Captain Göring, "Zu den Unruhen in Urundi [On the Unrest in Urundi]," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1911, p. 552.

judged conditions in Urundi. He says: "The division of the country is entirely without system. One often finds watuale who own various lands widely separated from each other."

I was told that Lwābugiri's policy is being followed by Musinga. He is said to prefer appointing chiefs who are directly responsible to him and to give them lands. These unimportant, free persons, mindful of the king's protection, form an element [268] independent of and even hostile to the high chiefs. They guard their own interests and resist the particularistic tendencies of the powerful.

This policy tends to erase the boundaries of individual provinces, and one encounters great difficulties if he asks about the political division of the country.

After this brief discussion of the central organization of the state which is made up of the king and a dozen and a half powerful feudal lords, we shall now touch on the political conditions in the individual sections.

The organization of Kissaka has the following pattern. The largest part of the country is divided among three large feudal lords, Kanuma, Niamutezi, and Lutangabo. Their lands are interspersed in such a way that no separate provinces can be formed. This increases their opposition to each other. Hence the dignitaries check on one another and fight one another with accusations and intrigues. In this way mutual control, which is very useful to the state, is established, as well as a quite stable equilibrium.

These three high chiefs of Kissaka live almost constantly at the court of Musinga in Nyanza, and when they obtain permission to visit their holdings, their sons remain behind as valuable hostages, a guarantee against possible separatistic

●631 642 tendencies of their fathers. Count Von Götzen (1) mentions

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), pp. 156, 159.

only one governor of Kissaka, namely, Kavahigi, but he also speaks of Kaware (Kabare) in the northern part of the country.

621 631 The hill (kashozi) is the smallest political unit in Kissaka, as well as in all the rest of Ruanda. The inhabitants of a hill belong to different clans, and the factor uniting them is purely [622] political. It is primarily the chief, to whom compulsory service (buletwa) must be paid. This official is likewise appointed by the high chief. However, the very large hills are not infrequently divided into subgroups with different subchiefs. Thus, the hill known as Bare in Nsasa is divided into the communities of Bare, Ishua, Kibare, and some others.

621 614 In Mulera where there are very few Batutsi and these have no great power, much more primitive conditions have been preserved. Here too, however, political units are represented by hills, but each hill has a homogeneous population, consisting of the members of the clan. These communities are directly sub- [657] ordinate to the king and, through their elders, pay taxes to the king's deputies. Here the mutware, the integrating factor, is absent. On the few hills [269] in Mulera belonging to Batutsi, however, we find conditions similar to those in Kissaka. Here, [651] also, taxes are paid to the chiefs and not to the king's deputies. I believe that the Bahutu on these hills must also render compulsory service.

Ndorwa is a country that is only under nominal rule and does not pay taxes to Musinga. We find here the same clan communities, but they are completely independent, small political units.

Besides the two extreme forms, the community settled on alien land granted to the chief by the king, which the chief represents at court, and the free clan community settled on its own land and paying taxes to the king's deputy but having no

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

(a) *Districts, hills, and neighbourhoods*

From the point of view of territorial administration, the border zones were distinguished from the rest of the country. Border zones which were permanently threatened by foreign attack were administered by the chief of the army, the headquarters, and camp of which situated in the region. The centre of Ruanda and the regions which were close to a foreign territory not regarded as dangerous were divided into what we shall call administrative districts. There is an almost complete unanimity of informants (97 per cent.) on this.[11]

Unfortunately, there is confusion about the names applied to these areas. Five names were given by informants, with the following percentages: *igikingi* (3 per cent.); *igiti* (19 per cent.), *urugo* (12 per cent.); *umurwa* (7 per cent.); *ubukebe* (24 per cent.). Moreover, the three terms *igikingi*, *igiti*, *urugo* were all used, according to 2 per cent.; *igiti* and *urugo* according to 4 per cent.; *igikingi* and *igiti* according to 6 per cent.; *igiti* and *ubukebe* according to 8 per cent.; *igikingi*, *igiti*, and *ubukebe* according to 1 per cent. Finally, to add to the confusion, the same word was used to mean different but related units. For instance *igikingi* could mean a subdivision of a hill—according to 97 per cent.—and a hill was itself part of a district to which, as we have just indicated, 12 per cent. applied the term *igikingi*.

At all events the whole country was divided into administrative locations that may be designated as districts. Each of them was ruled by two chiefs, neither of them dependent on the other. Their authority extended over the same territory but from different points of view. The land-chief (*umunyabutaka*) took care of the dues from agriculture and the cattle-chief (*umunyamukenke*) of the dues from stock. According to 60 per cent. of our informants, the same person could not have the two charges. It was possible, however, according to 36 per cent. of the Tutsi asked. But the usual situation was to have two chiefs and not a single one.

The district was divided into hills (*umusozi*). At that level the

[11] As has been explained in the introduction, a hundred questions on the political organization have been put to three hundred informants chosen from all the regions of Ruanda (the interviews took place in seventy-four different places). The percentages to be found in that chapter refer to this sample. When the percentages included decimal fractions, the figures have been brought to the nearest unit.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

TANGANYIKA TERRITORY
URUNDI
BUGESERA
BUGANZA
HUTURA
NDUGA
BUYOVI
BELGE
CONGO
Kigoma
Kabalo
Kalemie
Bujumbura
Ruhengeri
Gisenyi
Kigali
Butare
Gitarama
Kibungo
Kibuye
Cyangugu
Nyanza
Muhinga
Ngozi
Kitega
Rutana
Bubanza
Bujumbura
Bujumbura
Bujumbura

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[P. 140]

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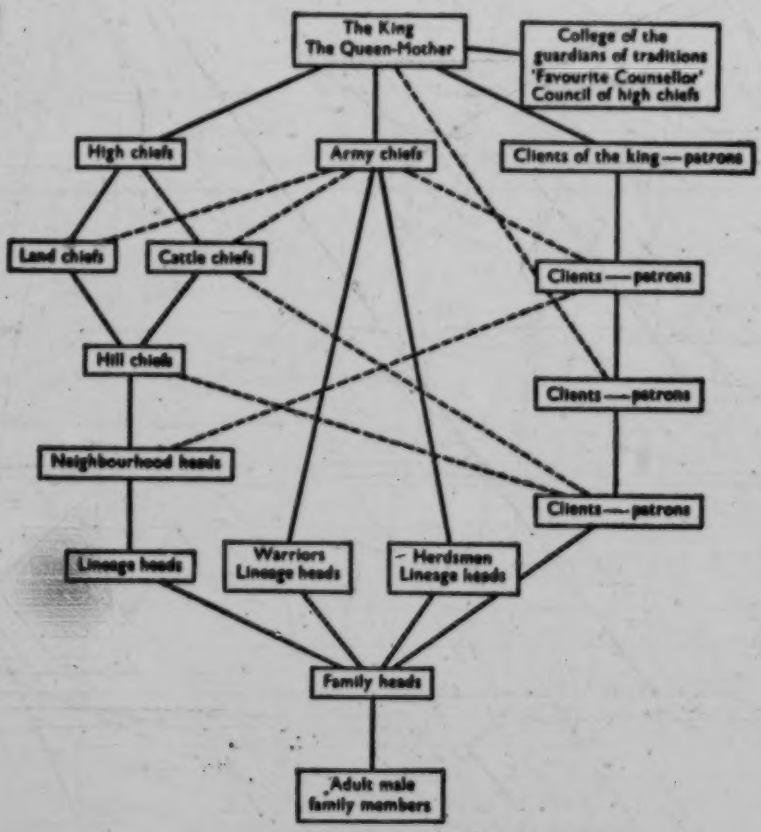

Diagram D.

This diagram suggests the complexity of Ruanda social relations if it is remembered that an individual generally has several political roles. Thus a high chief was very often also an army chief as well as a client of the king, and all the chiefs of the two premier hierarchies had their places in the system of feudal relations as clients and patrons. The broken lines indicate some of these possible pluralities of relationships.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

did not play an important part in the feudal system because there were no socially recognized ties between a client and his lord's lord. Feudality was not a ranking system in the same sense as were the political structures. Each lord had his personal following; he was not as such the representative of a higher authority.

To sum up, the political and clientage structures at the same time secured the economic exploitation of the Hutu and protected them against an exaggerated pressure which could have led to disaster for the upper caste.

(c) *Delegation and centralization of political power*

Before the European occupation the kingdom's population was already numerous, probably around 1,700,000 inhabitants. The orographic configuration of the country made communications rather difficult. In that non-literate culture, an efficient collection of tributes required almost a face to face acquaintance between the subject and his ruler. These circumstances necessitated a delegation of authority to many intermediary chiefs who would be the local representatives of the rulers.

But such an unavoidable system was very dangerous for the central government. Its subordinated agents having frequently authority over a rather numerous population which could provide them with abundant supplies (if nothing was sent to the court) could be tempted to isolate themselves completely from the capital and become independent. Such a course of action would have been facilitated by the military structure and the feudal system.

Some important chiefs were, indeed, authorized to raise an army. Moreover, any military chief whose army was encamped near the border, in a district far from the capital, could gain such ascendancy over his warriors as to win over their allegiance to himself.

The *buhake* was perhaps still more dangerous because, as in any feudal system, it created personal bonds of allegiance between the client and his lord. As such, that bond of loyalty did not extend beyond the lord. One had to obey one's lord because he was one's lord and not because he was a mwami's representative. This is why any feudal system has always been so dangerous for a central government. Independence and revolt against the king have been recurring events in the areas where a feudal system existed.

Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies

182 its own rules, if each infraction were punished strictly according
183 to prescribed sanctions and if all the formal norms were always respected. To be a part of a society is to know which of its rules prescribe or prohibit absolutely or conditionally; whether a particular action which is not forbidden is nevertheless something that is simply "not done"; whether human beings, always imperfect, must in any particular case actually be punished or whether the offence should blinked. Exceptions to the formal rules are not haphazard. Rather, they are ordered by what may be called implicit norms, or secondary or functional norms. These are as well known and as well established as norms which are explicit and formal. Taken together, the explicit, primary norms and the implicit, secondary norms form the "active norms" of the society. By means of secondary norms, society can come to terms with the social and psychological impossibility of a perfect correspondence between the formal norms of the social structure, invented by men in the interest of social order, and the actions of men confronted by the empirical realities of human existence.

183 Each society has its own calculus of values by which it establishes its active norms, the norms to be respected verbally but understood to be neither practical nor practised, and the rules of punishment which are to be taken seriously. It will not be possible to understand the life of the women of Burundi without knowing both the formal norms of the social structure and the secondary, functional norms. The life of a Rundikazi is made up of various
183 elements. To reconstruct it, we shall begin with a description of
562 women as members of Rundi society, of which they form an integral part. We shall then describe women in the specifically feminine roles, and we shall conclude with an account of the devices used by women to realize the values of their patriarchal society.

* * *

631 The Rundi describe their society as a hierarchy ordered by
643 *Imana*, the Supreme Being, who is at its summit. Among human beings, it is the *mwami*, the king, who is superior to all. In the past,
[795] there was also Kiranga, the legendary head of a possession cult. He was said to be of approximately the same rank as the *mwami*.[8] Immediately below the king are the *baganwa*, the princes—four
631 generations of the descendents of a king. The *mwami* and the
635 *baganwa* are the rulers of the Rundi. In the traditional system, the power of the *mwami* was defined by his inheritence of absolute
643 royal power and of the entire country, together with all its goods,

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the

WTA 18

631 There are abatware who personally own hills in other prov-
635 inces (1).

1. Since 1924, aiming to unify the commands of the provincial chiefs, the government has endeavored to persuade the abatware to exchange hills.

634 The abatchibiri, who own only a part of a province, are also directly subordinate to the Mwami, who has given them their lands.

The ibisonga are placed at the head of one or more hills.
622
562 They are the supervisors of the abatware and the abachibiri, on whom
624 they also spy for the Mwami. Women can be ibisonga. For example, they can be the Mwami's abaja (mistress-servants) who, as a reward for the bestowal of their favors, are given a hill. But the most frequent case is that of a widow of an igisonga [sic] without any male children who, while attending the king, obtains permission to continue to manage the hill held by her husband (2). Each hill chief has

2. An example would be Nyiraigweni, widow of Nyantabana, a great provincial chief, replaced today by Rwabutogo who commands the district of Buganza in the territory of Nyanza.

under him a factotum called umuhingisha who designates and marks the boundaries of the fields, for which the Bahutu have asked the chief, and who may even settle the palavers in the absence of the igisonga. The umunyabigega is hierarchically subordinate to the former igisonga. He is the steward of the granaries (ibigega) of the chief whose cultivated fields he supervises.

631 The abanyabikingi command only a portion, a spur of a hill.
622 Appointed directly by the Mwami, they act as supervisors, and even as spies of the ibisonga for the king. [100]

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without 635 exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of 565 the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces 634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

631 The same organization of officialdom also exists in 614 Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided [635] among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district [634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of [635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as 643 well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this 614 may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale
662 with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

631 districts in the area adjoining Ruanda and Ussuwi. They still pay a set amount of tribute in natural produce to the king, but otherwise they may do, or not do, whatever they please unless they disturb the peace or necessitate the military intervention of our Resident.

As a rule the king or the princely governor will not make alternations in the conditions of feudal tenure if the vassal regularly sends his tribute, keeps his subjects in timorous dependence, promptly contributes the necessary groups of men in case of war, and remains subservient and loyal to the king. [624] Finally, in the different villages and hamlets there are communal officials (bisonga) who are responsible to the batwale; they collect the taxes, arrange for corvée labor, and are in charge of petty jurisdiction, etc.

645 634 When discussing important matters, the king, also the provincial governors, and the batwale, are assisted by a state council or a communal council, respectively. These councils are appointed by the king or by the governor, as the case may be, and are chosen from among the most respected and most prosperous men of the country or of the region. Represented among them particularly are the clan elders (abagabo). The council is convened on important occasions, and the king or the mutwale presides, but in his decisions the king or the mutwale is not bound by the advice of the council (No. 19, p. 267). The 634 batwale are responsible to the king for everything that happens 641 in their administrative district. They also have almost absolute power over the Bahutu and Batwa population which they administer. This includes the power of execution. It is true that subjects suppressed by an unjust mutwale may appeal to the provincial governor or to the king, but they obtain satisfaction only very seldom, for "the tsar is far away and the sky is high." [91] 643 The absolute ruler, the semidivine king is, of course, always 641 right and has every privilege; he owns all the land and all the cattle, and he vests with it whomever he chooses, whenever he chooses, and in amounts that he alone decides, and he may take any subject's life or property as he pleases.

643 These are the conditions, de jure and de facto, whenever 631 the king is a man of strong will, and there has been a whole

643 of his relatives. However, the young prince who, according
662 to the belief of the Barundi, is destined to be king of Urundi also lives far from the court. The Barundi believe that this
[787] predestined royal child who has been born of one or another of the wives of the king can be recognized at birth by the fact that he holds in his hands seeds of all the species of produce grown in Urundi. They also believe that because of these revealing signs, the mother with her child flees to the neighboring country until the ruling king has died. A royal prince is regarded as suitable to succeed the king only if he is not yet married when ascending the throne and if his mother is still alive (p. 184 [not translated]). In any case there is a struggle between the various parties when the pretender to the throne returns from abroad after the king's death to lay claim to the succession. This ends with the victory [92] of one party and its pretender. The new ruler is proclaimed king after a ritual act of election (p. 184 [not translated]) by the council of the Baganwa and abafumu [plural of umufumu, sorcerer], and he usually has all his brothers and close relatives killed or sent into safe exile (No. 19, p. 524).

634 Less blood and violence is involved in the succession of the greater and lesser batwale. In this case, too, the father during his lifetime designates one of his sons as his successor by inheritance (or one of his daughter if he has no sons); usually it is the eldest. The king, however, may change the decision in favor of someone else. After the death of the chief, the new mutwale is ceremonially installed in his office by the council. He is given the insignia of the deceased and also the cattle, the wives, and the kraal of his predecessor; in short, he receives all his family property (No. 19, p. 550). He now proceeds to rule his new fiefdom like a sovereign prince, but he has to pay punctually to the king the tribute imposed on him, and he must also fulfill his other feudal duties which are not burdensome. Otherwise, he risks deposition, war, exile, and death.

644 634 641 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises, the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain the latter's approval.

644 778 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

[534] This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it [402] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock, and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails "turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

642 However, the Bagwabiro, an impoverished Batutsi clan, main-
614 tain that the king gave them the bush knife (muhoro) for Bugoye.
178 They occupied large areas, defended them, in some parts successfully, against the encroaching self-contained clans, and settled them with exiles, refugees, and vagabonds, who make up the biletwa of the Bagwabiro. Here the community headmen are officials of the king, which is in contrast to the situation among the rest of their clansmen where bagabo only collect taxes for the Bagwabiro. However, there seems to be a tendency to blot out the difference between Bagwabiro and tax collectors (clan elders) and to make serfs of the clan members, as is already the case with the Bambari.

In Nduga the population on the various hills is very mixed. It belongs to different clans. Most of the land belongs to the chiefs (the large landowners), and only occasionally do we find ngabo (fighting farmers) who are exempt from compulsory service (buletwa), that is to say, who live on their own land (granted to them by the king).

In this way clan organization in Ruanda is broken up by the rule of the herdsmen and the resultant development of a peasant aristocracy. The factors that remain to uphold clan organization are the food taboos, exogamy, and blood revenge.

The effect of royal power on the homogeneous clans has resulted in the differentiation of the population.

In Urundi the tendency towards centralized state organization [266] does not seem to have made much progress as yet. Here there are still feudal masters who are unrestricted rulers of entire provinces, while in Ruanda the chiefs have nowhere near the same independence on their lands. Here too, however, the land is regarded as the king's property.

635 Political Organization. Ruanda consists of a number of provinces with geographic names but without administrative units. We have already mentioned Nduga, Mukinjaga, Bugessera, Bugoye, Bwischascha, Mulera, Bgisha, Ruweruka, Ndorwa, and Kissaka.

The individual provinces have no central administration and
634 no governor. The provinces are divided into a number of communities, most of which are assigned to clients staying at the

634 court of the king. The feudal lord, the manangwa, has the duty of keeping his subjects in check, straightening out their affairs, and supporting his master with arms and retainers. In payment he has the right to be cared for by the inhabitants of the holdings entrusted to him. They must perform compulsory services to recompense him for the land given them to cultivate. Besides that, chiefs also enjoy a profit from the other taxes collected for the king.

The clients of the king administer their holdings with the help of subchiefs, and in each province they have a greater or lesser number of scattered possessions.

The representative of the manangwa is called kissonga and usually belongs to his master's family. He is appointed by his master, just as the king appoints the manangwa. The sons of high chiefs often hold this office. Thus, Nigensi's son, Kassasi, is on the Kwischara Peninsula in northern Mukinjaga (1);

1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer des Kiwu [A March along the Eastern Shore of Lake Kivu]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 249.

Bushakwe's son, Mulangira, lives in Kawagali (2) with his grand-

2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda 1902-1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 73, 74.

mother, Kiramato; Von Parisch also mentions the mutware, Sebitana, son of Bushakwe, in Bwischascha; and Dr. Kandt (3)

3. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 505.

speaks of Semirigamba in southern Lubengera. In the Bahutu chieftainships of Bgisha, ruled by Sebikoko, Mogalule, Kati, Mutweki, Sebingiri, Chunga Ngombe, and others, conditions are

634 somewhat different. The most important personality after the chief is his brother. He represents him in all matters. Both of them have their houses in the individual villages in which they live during their journeys. The son ranks just below the brother of his father and is granted a village after he has grown up. He is not entitled to gifts in the other villages of his father, and only if he has [267] no uncle does he get an uncle's rank. In spite of this preference, the brother of the chief is not his heir; all his possessions go to the son after the burial of the father.

622 563 Below the kissonga are the quite unimportant subchiefs who supervise the communities on the separate hills. Among them there are everywhere, especially in Bugoye, many Bahutu, whereas the higher positions are almost always held by Batutsi. It is only in Mulera and Bgisha that one sees Bahutu also occupying the highest positions.

The Bahutu officials are very much praised by their superiors, for no one can be more merciless and servile than an upstart who is hated by his clansmen. This characterization does not, of course, apply to the clan elders who occupy this position in the free farm communities. The subchiefs are the only cattle-owning Bahutu outside of Mulera, Bgisha, and Bugoye.

642 631 There is no doubt that with the extensive interweaving of property belonging to individual high chiefs (in this respect the whole country resembles a village with a community system of planting [Flurzwang]) an influential stratum is created which has vital interests in the most diverse parts of the country. This counteracts the centrifugal, particularistic tendencies of the individual provinces.

642 631 643 These conditions seem to be the result of a conscious aim on the part of the crown. In this direction much seems to have been accomplished by Lwabugiri Kigeri, the father of the present ruler, Musinga. Kigeri is reputed to have centralized the state and partitioned, scattered, and interwoven the holdings of the chiefs in order to destroy the centrifugal tendencies of the feudal lords. This involved him in bitter struggles with the lords, among them his brother-in-law, Kabare, but he managed to crown his efforts with success.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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614 3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamanzi*, wagtail.
Sub-divisions:
(*a*) Abasinga, totems, *enyamanzi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
(*b*) Abazigaba, " "
(*c*) Abatyaba, " "
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamanzi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

GOVERNMENT

643 The head of the country was the king, whose title was
692 *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not
634 appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were
[428] hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district;
693 but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court
[203] of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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634 the district chiefs formed the council of the king. The court
[693] was under the direction of a special man, a kind of steward or *inhebe*.

The district chiefs were also responsible for building and other work for the king and the state; they had to find the necessary workmen and appoint overseers to direct them. Another man of the king acted as a kind of household steward to see that the buildings were kept in repair and properly attended to.

Each district chief appointed chiefs of the second rank or *Ibisonga* in his own district, and they in their turn appointed the chiefs of the third grade or *Abafragizu*. Each district chief also appointed a steward or *inhebe* who acted in his place when he had to be absent from his district. This man always possessed land near his chief so that he might be at hand when he was wanted. His special duty was to take charge of any building for the chief.

Taxation

634 Every year a district chief had to bring two or three
651 hundred large pots of honey, each holding some two gallons, and a supply of millet, peas, and beans to the king. This was brought to the district chief by the people on his estate, and he took a portion for himself before passing the required amount on to the king.

Twice in the year each person with cattle gave to the king
[231] a cow and a calf to supply him with milk and a fat animal to be killed for his meat. Milk was also sent daily to the court for the use of the king and his household.

Murder

682 It was the duty of the relatives of a murdered man to hunt
628 down and capture the murderer and put him to death; they rarely accepted any other settlement. If a murder was committed before witnesses, they would seize the murderer and hand him over to the relatives of the dead man. If, however, one man abused another before witnesses, the offended man

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accompanied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells.
[535] The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

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2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

(a) *Districts, hills, and neighbourhoods*

From the point of view of territorial administration, the border zones were distinguished from the rest of the country. Border zones which were permanently threatened by foreign attack were administered by the chief of the army, the headquarters, and camp of which situated in the region. The centre of Ruanda and the regions which were close to a foreign territory not regarded as dangerous were divided into what we shall call administrative districts. There is an almost complete unanimity of informants (97 per cent.) on this.[11]

Unfortunately, there is confusion about the names applied to these areas. Five names were given by informants, with the following percentages: *igikingi* (3 per cent.); *igiti* (19 per cent.), *urugo* (12 per cent.); *umurwa* (7 per cent.); *ubukebe* (24 per cent.). Moreover, the three terms *igikingi*, *igiti*, *urugo* were all used, according to 2 per cent.; *igiti* and *urugo* according to 4 per cent.; *igikingi* and *igiti* according to 6 per cent.; *igiti* and *ubukebe* according to 8 per cent.; *igikingi*, *igiti*, and *ubukebe* according to 1 per cent. Finally, to add to the confusion, the same word was used to mean different but related units. For instance *igikingi* could mean a subdivision of a hill—according to 97 per cent.—and a hill was itself part of a district to which, as we have just indicated, 12 per cent. applied the term *igikingi*.

At all events the whole country was divided into administrative locations that may be designated as districts. Each of them was ruled by two chiefs, neither of them dependent on the other. Their authority extended over the same territory but from different points of view. The land-chief (*umunyabutaka*) took care of the dues from agriculture and the cattle-chief (*umunyamukenke*) of the dues from stock. According to 60 per cent. of our informants, the same person could not have the two charges. It was possible, however, according to 36 per cent. of the Tutsi asked. But the usual situation was to have two chiefs and not a single one.

The district was divided into hills (*umusozi*). At that level the

[11] As has been explained in the introduction, a hundred questions on the political organization have been put to three hundred informants chosen from all the regions of Ruanda (the interviews took place in seventy-four different places). The percentages to be found in that chapter refer to this sample. When the percentages included decimal fractions, the figures have been brought to the nearest unit.

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128 be negative or positive. It is to be distinguished from the aim explicitly stated in the charter (written or not) of the institution or the purpose of the association consciously conceived by its members.

Take, for instance, some of the religious ceremonies of a particular group. Their aim as known and admitted by every member of the group may be to honour the ancestral spirits, whereas their function, of which perhaps nobody in the group is completely aware, is to manifest and reinforce the *esprit de corps* of the group. Or an association whose explicit purpose is some philanthropic activity may have as its function the giving of certain political control to a particular set of people. Aim and function are not necessarily different. It may happen that the aim expresses one of the ways in which the institution is significant from the viewpoint of the perpetuation of the particular organization existing in that society.[12]

(*a*) *Fiscal function*

649 It is not difficult to determine the main social function of the administrative structure of Ruanda. It was identical indeed with its explicitly recognized aim in that society. Aim and function were fiscal: the country had to provide its rulers with consumption goods.

651 634 Tribute collecting was very methodically organized. Because of the division of the country into about seventy to ninety districts, the amount to be supplied was distributed in a way which did not favour one region more than another. Even parts of Ruanda which were far from the royal court had to provide dues for the local royal residence. The timing of the levies was also fortunate as the agricultural products were not demanded when the rulers needed them but at harvesting time. Tribute labour seems also to have been regularly required during the year.

641 Were these impositions heavy? It is very difficult to assess the proportion of foodstuff and labour required from each family head. I gathered from different informants that about a third of the labour of one individual was required from each family. It is important to stress the fact that only one person in each rugo had to fulfil this demand whereas there were usually several men able to give that tribute in each family.

[12] See Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, p. ix; 1940, p. 10; 1952, pp. 200 f; Maquet 1949a; 1954c, p. 65.

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554 Ndarwubatse, Kanyonyomba, and Segore were exceptional and
622 that, in fact, Hutu were not very numerous among land-chiefs.
184 The share of Hutu in political power was probably symbolic rather than quantitatively great. Hutu could also be hill-chiefs and sixty-nine per cent. of our informants were able to mention a few names. According to ninety-nine per cent. a Twa could be neither land-chief nor cattle-chief, unless he were ennobled. But in that case, he was not socially a Twa any more, but assimilated to a Tutsi. Twa could be hill-chiefs; sixty-five per cent. of our Tutsi informants mentioned the names of such Twa. Neighbourhood heads were frequently Hutu, but the advantages they drew from their office were minimal, if any.

(*b*) *Maintenance of the central rulers in power*

661 One may conclude that the very great majority of the beneficiaries of the fiscal function of the administrative structure were people of the Tutsi group.

A second function of the administrative structure was to enable
661 those who enjoyed political power to keep it. The mwami and his
634 wives centralized the means necessary to afford an important court.
647 Moreover, by granting the profitable offices of land-, cattle-,
622 and hill-chiefs, the mwami increased the number of his faithful dependents. For these chiefs of the administrative structure were appointed by the king. To the question 'who appointed the land- and the cattle-chiefs?' ten different answers were given, but if one adds up all the answers which named the mwami as the person or one of the persons who granted these official appointments, a majority of sixty-five is reached. The confusion in the answers seems due to the fact that different principles operated together in the nomination of such a chief. Firstly, one of the sons of the former office holder usually succeeded to his father, and the latter could often indicate his preferences, but this did not mean that the office was hereditary. Merely, it happened fairly frequently that the mwami liked to strengthen a man's loyalty on the understanding that if he was a good chief, the office could remain in his family. Secondly, the appointment could be made by the mwami following presentation of the candidate by an important chief, such as the army-chief. Consequently, it could appear that the latter was the one who gave the appointment. But the third principle remained: the king kept a complete control of these offices in the sense

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that no other authority had the final say in such appointments. 661

The danger of having some chiefs becoming more and more 634 independent of the central government was avoided by the 697 mwami's power to dismiss anybody and also by the curious duality 627 of chiefs in each district. Increasing the control of the central government over its subordinates seems to have been the function of that duality. Tensions arose between these two chiefs who were neighbours and who exerted their prerogatives in the same territory yet were independent of each other. The mwami was always kept well informed by each of these chiefs of the exactions or suspicious activities of the other. Moreover, both chiefs had the same subordinate, the hill-chief. Consequently the mwami could be sure that if by chance the two chiefs were in agreement, it was very likely that if their common subordinate had some difficulty with one of his superiors, he would attempt and often succeed in getting the other on to his side: *duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens.* In addition, as conflicts of power were unavoidable in such a situation, the chief had to resort to the mwami as judge. In that way the links of the dependence of both of them on the mwami were tightened.

In this analysis it is not suggested that the duality of chiefs was conceived and put into being by a certain mwami in order to fulfil what we regard here as its function. It is possible that it happened in that way. But even if nobody ever thought of reinforcing the royal power by this dual organization, it was nevertheless its function in Ruanda society.

(c) *Social cohesion*

I have mentioned that the hill-chief required dues and tributes 651 not from the individual taxpayer but from the lineage head when 602 possible, and the latter demanded it from the family head. This 571 way of reaching the individual through his kin group and family group enhanced the importance of the descent principle of of kin solidarity. Even in Ruanda where the political organization had taken over so many functions from descent groups, the individual as such was not yet recognized in very important matters like the contributions to the maintenance of the rulers. In this interpretation, the kinship and the administrative structures promote the social cohesion of the group as a whole.

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to 000

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To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954c, p. 65. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the

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192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231 3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
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1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage
192
231
431

3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
727 by warriors.
651

IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to
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4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

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643

Gissaka, a war in which he was killed, had designated as regent of his son Kyilima Rugwe, an Umunyginya called Chyenge, and not one of his brothers-in-law.

meetings of the Council of Ministers until her son is about fifteen years old, an age at which he can exercise supreme authority. Formerly, the Mwami's maternal uncles, taking advantage of his youth and their own privileged position, would often have recourse to violence and trickery in order to increase their provinces and their herds.

11. Political Divisions

631 The characteristic traits of feudalism are found in Ruanda. The dispersion of authority and property and the Mwami's bestowing on his subjects benefits and commands that are always revocable, result in great uncertainty for everyone and permit the king to establish his domination firmly over the country.

635 631 Ruanda is divided into provinces (intara) placed under the command of a single chief (umutware w'intebe) (2). There are

2. Intebe, stool-seat.

exceptions to this rule. In Bgishaza, for example, two different chiefs are placed under the orders of the umutware w'intebe, the umutware w'ubutaka who exerts his authority over the lands and the Bahutu, and the umutware w'umukenke who governs the pastures, the herds, and the Batutsi. The abatware are appointed by the Mwami. They do not necessarily belong to the first families of the country. An average Mututsi or even a Muhutu may become a chief, thanks to royal favor that rewards his intelligence and devotion. [99]

635 701 In the past, at the time of the wars, the Mwami's abapfumu chose from among the abatware w'intebe the umugabe w'ingabo (chief of the army). When peace was concluded, the latter remained what he had been before.

631 There are abatware who personally own hills in other prov-
635 inces (1).

1. Since 1924, aiming to unify the commands of the provincial chiefs, the government has endeavored to persuade the abatware to exchange hills.

634 The abatchibiri, who own only a part of a province, are also directly subordinate to the Mwami, who has given them their lands.

The ibisonga are placed at the head of one or more hills.
622
562 They are the supervisors of the abatware and the abachibiri, on whom
624 they also spy for the Mwami. Women can be ibisonga. For example, they can be the Mwami's abaja (mistress-servants) who, as a reward for the bestowal of their favors, are given a hill. But the most frequent case is that of a widow of an igisonga [sic], without any male children who, while attending the king, obtains permission to continue to manage the hill held by her husband (2). Each hill chief has

2. An example would be Nyiraigweni, widow of Nyantabana, a great provincial chief, replaced today by Rwabutogo who commands the district of Buganza in the territory of Nyanza.

under him a factotum called umuhingisha who designates and marks the boundaries of the fields, for which the Bahutu have asked the chief, and who may even settle the palavers in the absence of the igisonga. The umunyabigega is hierarchically subordinate to the former igisonga. He is the steward of the granaries (ibigega) of the chief whose cultivated fields he supervises.

631 The abanyabikingi command only a portion, a spur of a hill.
622 Appointed directly by the Mwami, they act as supervisors, and even as spies of the ibisonga for the king. [100]

12. Succession of Command

●635 Like the royal office, the position of provincial chief is hereditary. It is assigned by the chief to one of his sons whom he considers most worthy to succeed him. It may happen that he may at the same time become chief of the clan, but it is not always so (1), for the family and the clan are social entities that are distinct

1. Cf. the example quoted in Personal Status, The Head of the Family and of the Clan, p. 6.

from political units.

The new chief must come and announce his father's death to the Mwami, bringing him a yo kubika cow, (lit., which announces death). On the other hand, he receives some indabukirano from his people and his friends.

622 The chiefs other than the abatware are appointed by the latter and confirmed in their functions by the Mwami.

13. Taxes and Forced Labor

651 466 Along with the civil obligations derived from the ubugaragu contract, there are others due to the chiefs as such.

A. Obligations Due to the Hill Chief.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu of the igisonga must bring the latter once a year a large basket of sorghum (urutete) and a small basket of beans (ipfukire). Formerly, they were also required to cultivate the chief's fields (ubuletwa or uruharo) (2), to build and main-

2. In 1924 this custom was modified by the authorities in order to improve the lot of the Muhutu, who now give only two days of work out of seven.

tain each a part of the chief's rugo (kubak'inkike), and to act as messenger (gutumwa). Finally, the igisonga keeps a group of five

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without
635 exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of
565 the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces
634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

631 The same organization of officialdom also exists in
614 Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided
[635] among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district
[634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of
[635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as
643 well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this
614 may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

173 The small provinces of Bukonya, Mulera, Buhoma, Bushiru,
[635] Luhengeri, Kingogo and Bgishaza, all of which are situated toward the north and west, formed as /80/ many mutually independent principalities. The situation was the same toward the south, in the Munyambiriri and the Kinyaga, where several petty kings ruled side by side as in Biguzi, Bukunzi, and Busozo. Toward the southwest the Burwe, also known as Mukindo or Ndala, may have been autonomous. The province of Bwana-Mkali was itself divided among several petty kings. There was practically no cohesion among those various groups, although they were for the most part of common origin.

The north is, indeed, populated by tribes who came from Mpororo and the Ndorwa. They are the Bahunde (1), who settled in

1. The "Bahunde" came from the northwest of Lake Kivu, from the various areas designated by the respective names of Kamuronsi, Gishari, Shari, Buyungu, Butembo, and Bwito.

the northwest, particularly in the Bugoyi. In the Kinyaga, toward the south, one finds a mixture of Bashi, or Banyabungu, who crossed the Ruzizi River, and Barundi, who have mixed with them. The inhabitants of the Burwe and Bwana-Mkali are also Barundi.

In the central province of Nduga there lived a group of individuals known by the name of Ababanda, who were divided into small groups and governed by several petty kings. The small lands of the Muhanga and especially that of the Marangara had a certain renown in local history. This will be discussed in the "History of a Reign" /Book III, not translated/. At that time, the most powerful of those petty kings was unquestionably the famous Mashira, who also possessed the Ndiza to the north in addition to most of the Nduga.

Legend claims that it was in his capacity as sorcerer that he was earnestly requested by Kigeri I, the Hamitic king who is believed to have lived at Mwurire near Kigali, to come to his aid. The

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Abarangamyambi	Bumbogo, Bussigi	Gashamura
Abangogo	Kingogo	Luvuzandekwe
Abatanyagwa	Budaha	Lwamanywa (1)
etc.	etc.	etc.

1. The Batwa, like the Bahutu, are divided into several army corps.

The four principal ones are the following:

The army corps called Rwiririza, which includes the Batwa of Gihogwe, in the Nduga, beyond the Kayumbo River; the Biniga, which includes the Batwa of the Bwana-Mkalé and which has as its chiefs two Batwa, Senkobga and his son, Kanyamubare; Abagiga, or Batwa /371/ of the great chief Kayondo; and finally the Batwa soldiers called Impunyu. These are none other than the forest Negrillos who are commonly designated by the name of Impunyu, whose etymological meaning is "men of small stature," that is to say, Negrillos or Pygmies, of which the native word is an exact translation.

Such is the military regime that still prevails, although in purely theoretical fashion. /371/

Until 1900 most of the Hamitic kings had taken advantage of this system to such an extent that some clans are said to have been decimated as a result of the too numerous expeditions of ancient times.

2. The provincial governors (Abatware b' intebbe), who are nearly always at court.

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686 "Why don't you make the sky weep if you wish to find a remedy for your suffering!" people would shout at them as a joke (1).

1. Izuba libaririre!

"If it does not rain at such-and-such a time, if you do not make our fields green again, you will die".... And execution followed close upon the threat.

635 692 Like the king, the great Batutsi chiefs sat in judgment and passed sentence in their provinces when they resided there or whenever they were passing through. They were not all alike. Among them there were just and humane men, and one likes to believe that they were in the majority. Some nevertheless left a bad reputation on account of their cruelty. It is said that two of them took pleasure 681 in having the arms of their victims bound behind their backs with wire drawn so tightly that the elbows met and the wire sank into the flesh.... Many persons died of this unique and atrocious torment. Another dignitary had those upon whom he wanted to wreak his revenge immobilized and made to lie on their backs.

Then he would make his victim drink a pitcher of beer or water through a gourd shaped like a funnel. A third man, leaning heavily on his spear, would pierce his victim's foot and thus nail him to the ground. A high dignitary punished those who had displeased him by seizing two of their fingers and pulling them apart with all his might, thus tearing the tissues that connected them. Fortunately, however, those were exceptions which should be ascribed to paganism, the primitiveness of customs, the cruelty of the times, the criminal procedures then in effect, the passions aroused by clan struggles, the competition for power, the revolutions, and sometimes also the proud and savage conceit of chiefs who were too young to govern. /380/

643 661 In order to gain an accurate understanding of the more that prevailed at the time, the reader must be reminded that the life of a man counted for very little in the eyes of the king and of the great chiefs. Subjects of Lwabugiri who are still alive today (he died in 1895) report that in order to show his skill or to judge the strength of his bow, the sovereign would shoot at the first person who appeared

642 However, the Bagwabiro, an impoverished Batutsi clan, main-
614 tain that the king gave them the bush knife (muhoro) for Bugoye.
178 They occupied large areas, defended them, in some parts successfully, against the encroaching self-contained clans, and settled them with exiles, refugees, and vagabonds, who make up the biletwa of the Bagwabiro. Here the community headmen are officials of the king, which is in contrast to the situation among the rest of their clansmen where bagabo only collect taxes for the Bagwabiro. However, there seems to be a tendency to blot out the difference between Bagwabiro and tax collectors (clan elders) and to make serfs of the clan members, as is already the case with the Bambari.

In Nduga the population on the various hills is very mixed. It belongs to different clans. Most of the land belongs to the chiefs (the large landowners), and only occasionally do we find ngabo (fighting farmers) who are exempt from compulsory service (buletwa), that is to say, who live on their own land (granted to them by the king).

In this way clan organization in Ruanda is broken up by the rule of the herdsmen and the resultant development of a peasant aristocracy. The factors that remain to uphold clan organization are the food taboos, exogamy, and blood revenge.

The effect of royal power on the homogeneous clans has resulted in the differentiation of the population.

In Urundi the tendency towards centralized state organization [266] does not seem to have made much progress as yet. Here there are still feudal masters who are unrestricted rulers of entire provinces, while in Ruanda the chiefs have nowhere near the same independence on their lands. Here too, however, the land is regarded as the king's property.

635 Political Organization. Ruanda consists of a number of provinces with geographic names but without administrative units. We have already mentioned Nduga, Mukinjaga, Bugessera, Bugoye, Bwischascha, Mulera, Bgisha, Ruweruka, Ndorwa, and Kissaka.

The individual provinces have no central administration and
634 no governor. The provinces are divided into a number of communities, most of which are assigned to clients staying at the

651 by their ancestors and from which they were not driven away during the conquest.

The second ancient burden is butaka. It is paid primarily in food and tobacco and only to a minor extent in cash hoe-money. The king's capital does not have any fields of its own. The court is fed by supplies delivered by subjects from near and distant provinces. Only cattle are pastured in the environs of the capital; there are no farmers who till land.

644 651 All the potentates living at court are fed from home. Bringing food for the chief residing at court is called kugemurira mutware. Food supplies are brought almost daily. As a result, any stoppage of this traffic means a food scarcity among the dignitaries thus affected. There are no markets where provisions could be obtained. Because of this primitive arrangement, food in the capital is always rather scarce, and everyone to whom I spoke about this told me that no one lives in the lap of luxury at court during his stay which is usually involuntary. The Batwa bodyguards even maintain that they actually starve and would very much like to return to their poor settlements.

To these two ancient tax burdens Lwabugiri added the war tax (umuheto) and Musinga the food supply tax (ilali) for visiting Europeans.

651 661 Among the Bahutu the furnishing of food supplies for visiting Europeans is merely an additional tax for the benefit of their chief. He regards the presents of the European as his property and not infrequently takes for himself part of the supplies brought by his people for the Europeans. I saw an example of this in Kwa Rutagungira. The requisition for my presence brought the chief three goats and four pots of beer, but I received only two pots and two goats. The larger pots and the best goats were put aside by the chief, but this was done too close to my camp to escape the notice of the people who were excited by the approaching pots of beer.

651 635 The collection of butaka and muheto, which are paid, theoretically at least, throughout the country, is distributed among various chiefs, as has already been reported by Von

651 Parisch. (1) He mentions: [272]
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1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 74, 78.

Province or Region	Chief (mutware)	
	Ku butaka	Ku muheto
Bugoye	Bushakwe	Bushakwe
Mukinoni	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Bwischascha	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Mukinjaga	Lubilinda	Rudegambia
Niantungu . . . . . (between Bwischascha and Nduga)	Bushakwe	Kabare
Munjaga . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Lujondo	Kanuma
Kawagali . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Bushakwe	Bushakwe

Von Parisch also mentions the mutware ku muheto Balahanda who led the attack on Count Von Götzen.

651 The butaka, it seems, is always collected by the chief to whom the land is granted. The muheto tax, on the other hand, goes to the chief who is entrusted with the king's cattle in the district. He has the right to pasture cows on the harvested fields of the farmers, which is a very considerable burden to the population. Thus, for example, the grass on many hills in Bugoye belongs to Rudegambia, although Bushakwe is the high chief of the region. On my way to Kisenyi I saw many uncultivated fields that had to lie fallow because the Batutsi removed their cattle too late for planting.

Dr. Kandt (1) also speaks of two chiefs in the provinces. He

[113] 1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer

its own rules, if each infraction were punished strictly according to prescribed sanctions and if all the formal norms were always respected. To be a part of a society is to know which of its rules prescribe or prohibit absolutely or conditionally; whether a particular action which is not forbidden is nevertheless something that is simply "not done"; whether human beings, always imperfect, must in any particular case actually be punished or whether the offence should blinked. Exceptions to the formal rules are not haphazard. Rather, they are ordered by what may be called implicit norms, or secondary or functional norms. These are as well known and as well established as norms which are explicit and formal. Taken together, the explicit, primary norms and the implicit, secondary norms form the "active norms" of the society. By means of secondary norms, society can come to terms with the social and psychological impossibility of a perfect correspondence between the formal norms of the social structure, invented by men in the interest of social order, and the actions of men confronted by the empirical realities of human existence.

Each society has its own calculus of values by which it establishes its active norms, the norms to be respected verbally but understood to be neither practical nor practised, and the rules of punishment which are to be taken seriously. It will not be possible to understand the life of the women of Burundi without knowing both the formal norms of the social structure and the secondary, functional norms. The life of a Rundikazi is made up of various elements. To reconstruct it, we shall begin with a description of women as members of Rundi society, of which they form an integral part. We shall then describe women in the specifically feminine roles, and we shall conclude with an account of the devices used by women to realize the values of their patriarchal society.

* * *

The Rundi describe their society as a hierarchy ordered by *Imana*, the Supreme Being, who is at its summit. Among human beings, it is the *mwami*, the king, who is superior to all. In the past, there was also Kiranga, the legendary head of a possession cult. He was said to be of approximately the same rank as the *mwami*.[8] Immediately below the king are the *baganwa*, the princes—four generations of the descendents of a king. The *mwami* and the *baganwa* are the rulers of the Rundi. In the traditional system, the power of the *mwami* was defined by his inheritence of absolute royal power and of the entire country, together with all its goods,

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the

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631 districts in the area adjoining Ruanda and Ussuwi. They still pay a set amount of tribute in natural produce to the king, but otherwise they may do, or not do, whatever they please unless they disturb the peace or necessitate the military intervention of our Resident.

As a rule the king or the princely governor will not make alternations in the conditions of feudal tenure if the vassal regularly sends his tribute, keeps his subjects in timorous dependence, promptly contributes the necessary groups of men in case of war, and remains subservient and loyal to the king.

[624] Finally, in the different villages and hamlets there are communal officials (bisonga) who are responsible to the batwale; they collect the taxes, arrange for corvée labor, and are in charge of petty jurisdiction, etc.

645 When discussing important matters, the king, also the
634 provincial governors, and the batwale, are assisted by a state council or a communal council, respectively. These councils are appointed by the king or by the governor, as the case may be, and are chosen from among the most respected and most prosperous men of the country or of the region. Represented among them particularly are the clan elders (abagabo). The council is convened on important occasions, and the king or the mutwale presides, but in his decisions the king or the mutwale is not bound by the advice of the council (No. 19, p. 267). The
634 batwale are responsible to the king for everything that happens
641 in their administrative district. They also have almost absolute power over the Bahutu and Batwa population which they administer. This includes the power of execution. It is true that subjects suppressed by an unjust mutwale may appeal to the provincial governor or to the king, but they obtain satisfaction only very seldom, for "the tsar is far away and the sky is high." [91]
643 The absolute ruler, the semidivine king is, of course, always
641 right and has every privilege; he owns all the land and all the cattle, and he vests with it whomever he chooses, whenever he chooses, and in amounts that he alone decides, and he may take any subject's life or property as he pleases.

643 These are the conditions, de jure and de facto, whenever
631 the king is a man of strong will, and there has been a whole

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ibgami, "at the king's."
In speaking of the ancient
royal residences, they use
the noun umurwa, plural
imirwa, or else ikigabiro,
plural ibigabiro. As for the
term umuhango (plural
imihango), it signifies "mores,
customs, traditions," hence
the name Abanyamihango given
to the "keepers of the customs."

[642] We remind the reader that the native government is an absolute and hereditary monarchy.

The sovereign is master of the land and all it contains; he deals
643 with the life and goods of his subjects as he pleases. Until recently
his power knew no bounds of any sort and was wholly dependent upon
[776] his whims or good will. Imana (God) was no more powerful than he.
[687] Any attempt to draw a comparison between the two was formerly
regarded as a crime of high treason. God and the King could, at
best, be one and the same person.

The subjects, therefore, tended to be regarded as things from
● 641 which to draw as much pleasure and well-being as possible.

Their own worth and usefulness were assessed and measured
only with reference to the king. Let us add that the welfare of the
kingdom, although it was not disregarded, could only come second
in the thoughts of the king. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans,
644 the dignitaries of the realm to whom the king assigned the government
of the provinces were compelled to spend most of their time at court.
The Hamitic princes were very eager to keep the nobility close to
them. They were always on the alert and daily surveyed the lords and
courtiers who surrounded them (2). The latter belong /349/ almost

2. From Saint Simon we learn
that the situation was the same
under Louis XIV. "It is a demerit

643 There must have been few kings who benevolently left this life of their own accord.

Popular belief has accepted too many fables on the subject. It was still said recently that Queen Mother Nyiramavugo, a grandmother of King Lwabugiri who must have died around 1860, was the first to refuse the poison when old age drew near in spite of the dictates of custom and tradition. "Since that day, " say the common people, "the Abiru, or keepers of the customs, who are in charge of this task and duty have not dared mention it anymore to kings and queens. "

2. The Corpse of the Royal Dead is "Smoked"

766 "When a king died, " the same people go on, "two Batutsi from important families were seized and killed forthwith near the body. "
643 This was called "to make the king's pillow" (gusegurir' umwami). Those men were given to him to accompany and serve him in the spirit world.

[641] A subject counts for nothing while the king is all important. It is proper, therefore, to send him at least two men chosen from the highest social stratum.

"They did not dare observe this rite, " add the narrators, "at the death of the last king, Lwabugiri (in 1895). " /517/

When a queen mother died, two great ladies of the same (Mututsi) /Batutsi/ race were sacrificed. It is the Banyamugogo, or [767] "men with the big (mourning) log, " who are in charge of funeral ceremonies. They make up the royal corporation of undertakers, although their name does not indicate this outright. They are called "men with the big (mourning) log, " owing to the custom which demands that a wooden log be burned for three or four days after the [824] death of an individual. For this purpose, one deliberately chooses a green log of red-bloom erythrina (umuko), a symbolic tree that recalls the death of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the famous secret society of initiates (imandwa).

The body of the dead king is transported from his last home, [823] which will henceforth be called Gisozi ("Big hill") (1), to one of the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

(*d*) *Intergroup political relations*

121 Intergroup political relations are essentially different. They do not imply inferiority and superiority. The opposite assumption is made: the two groups are supposed to be independent and equal. If by diplomacy or by war one succeeds in subduing the other, the subsequent unequal relations will be more similar to intragroup than to intergroup political relations.

If our definition of intragroup political organization be accepted, the word 'political' when applied to intergroup relations conveys a different and derivative meaning. Those who control legitimate coercion within a social structure are also those who are qualified to enter into intergroup relations. Subjects do not represent their own group, only rulers do. The ability to deal with intergroup relations results from a superior situation in internal political relations. In that sense, the political external relations may be said to be secondary. In the following account of Ruanda political organization the emphasis will be on the primary political relations, the internal ones.

• • •

642 571 In Ruanda, there were two types of relationships sanctioned by legitimate coercion on the part of the superior. Consequently we may distinguish within the political organization two structures which may be termed administrative and military. Another system of social relations was the clientage structure or the feudal organization. It occupied an intermediate position between the political and the private spheres. It was not purely political, but it was much more than a private agreement such as a loan. Consequently the feudal relations in Ruanda will be considered in close connexion with the administrative and military ones.

[183] The three structures were interwoven and interconnected at each level. This was particularly the case at the top and at the 641 bottom. The mwami held the supreme position in the three systems and the commoners were taxpayers, members of an army, and clients. In the intermediate levels it happened, too, that a superior and an inferior were linked by several ties: one could be at the same time the lord and the cattle-chief of an individual, and the client of one's army chief.

I shall describe and analyse each structure separately.

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128 be negative or positive. It is to be distinguished from the aim explicitly stated in the charter (written or not) of the institution or the purpose of the association consciously conceived by its members.

Take, for instance, some of the religious ceremonies of a particular group. Their aim as known and admitted by every member of the group may be to honour the ancestral spirits, whereas their function, of which perhaps nobody in the group is completely aware, is to manifest and reinforce the *esprit de corps* of the group. Or an association whose explicit purpose is some philanthropic activity may have as its function the giving of certain political control to a particular set of people. Aim and function are not necessarily different. It may happen that the aim expresses one of the ways in which the institution is significant from the viewpoint of the perpetuation of the particular organization existing in that society.[12]

(*a*) *Fiscal function*

649 It is not difficult to determine the main social function of the administrative structure of Ruanda. It was identical indeed with its explicitly recognized aim in that society. Aim and function were fiscal: the country had to provide its rulers with consumption goods.

651 634 Tribute collecting was very methodically organized. Because of the division of the country into about seventy to ninety districts, the amount to be supplied was distributed in a way which did not favour one region more than another. Even parts of Ruanda which were far from the royal court had to provide dues for the local royal residence. The timing of the levies was also fortunate as the agricultural products were not demanded when the rulers needed them but at harvesting time. Tribute labour seems also to have been regularly required during the year.

641 Were these impositions heavy? It is very difficult to assess the proportion of foodstuff and labour required from each family head. I gathered from different informants that about a third of the labour of one individual was required from each family. It is important to stress the fact that only one person in each rugo had to fulfil this demand whereas there were usually several men able to give that tribute in each family.

[12] See Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, p. ix; 1940, p. 10; 1952, pp. 200 f; Maquet 1949a; 1954c, p. 65.

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It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not over-exploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

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the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country.

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Rwanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death.

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agateroshuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight.

Some of the warriors (*abakoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems.

(c) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*).

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief,

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indices and the lynching of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union. There is evidently no rational means for the whites of the south to impute the responsibility for the lack of rain—which was then the cause of the poor cotton crops—to Negroes. This typically irrational behaviour, however, becomes comprehensible if we accept the frustration-aggression sequence. In this sense, it can be said that the relation between the two phenomena, economic crises and lynching, is a logical relation.[5]

Ruanda political relations disclose one of the premises of that culture. Underlying the political and feudal structures there was a general assumption about human relations. In order to formulate it as accurately as may be possible, I shall first consider more closely the social roles of the superior and inferior in the field of political and feudal relations. In the following section the words 'ruler' and 'subject' refer to superiors and inferiors in the administrative, military, and clientage structures.

2. THE RULER'S AND SUBJECT'S SOCIAL ROLES

The analysis of the political organization of Ruanda indicates that the ruler was expected to assume a complex role towards his subject. The two poles of it were protection and profit. The subordinate was somebody whom one protected: he was also a resource from which it was normal to draw some advantage.

Protection was not restricted to a certain field of action, but potentially encompassed the whole of the subject's life. When the inferior needed some help, any help, he was expected to apply to his ruler even if the issue was completely alien to the sphere of the main relations between the ruler and the subject. A client could ask his *shebuja* for aid in matters not pertaining to cattle and *buhake* services. It was even thought proper for the ruler to interfere in difficulties which his subject through his own misdemeanour had run into as, for instance, when an inferior had been caught stealing from somebody. When protection was refused, it was not because the question was not the ruler's concern, but on other grounds, such as disloyalty.

The extent of that protection was not strictly defined. It did not constitute for the ruler a set of particular and fixed obligations. The subordinate had a general right to be protected but very few claims to particular advantages. In *buhake*, when one offered one's

[5] Dollard, 1939, p. 44 (quoted by Maquet, 1951, p. 166).

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services to a lord in order to become his client, one was entitled to receive usufruct of his cattle. But the number of cows was not determined. It could be one or twenty or fifty or even more.

It was up to the ruler to decide if any protection was to be granted and to what extent. Of course the pressure of public opinion obliged him not to refuse aid to his subordinate unless he had some socially accepted reason to do so (such as the subordinate's disobedience), but the measure of the protection depended on his own will and pleasure.

These characteristics of the protective attitude (care of the whole of the subordinate's life, its very variable extent being left to the superior's judgement) allow us to apply to it the qualification of 'paternalistic'. Paternalism is understood here as 'the principle of acting in a way like that of a father towards his children. Because of the total dependency of the human offspring, during their first years, on those who nurse and educate them—and they are usually their parents—the latter's authority ranges over the whole of the life of the child. In everything he needs his parents, in everything they have to direct and control him. Moreover, parents sovereignly judge what they are going to give their children. Undoubtedly, their social groups force them to secure for their children the protection they need to live and develop but the children may not require such or such a particular service. Parents decide without further ado what is suitable for the child and think that better than he they know what is 'best for him'.

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A paternal relation does not exclude profit. In describing the Ruanda's father's role towards his sons, I mentioned that the father's interests were usually thought to be predominant in respect of the children's interests. When inferiors were not the superior's children but his subjects or clients, that aspect of profit was much more emphasized. All those who occupied the inferior position in the relations of the political and feudal structures had dues to give and tribute labour to perform for the profit of their superiors, and some of these obligations were heavy. It did not appear at all unusual to Ruanda that power brought many privileges to those who had it. If one is a chief, is it not fitting to draw advantages from one's situation? Here, again, the extent of the subject's obligations was left within very broad limits to the superior's discretion.

The ruler's role seems to have been that paternalistic blend of

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protection and profit. Of course, that role was not always perfectly fulfilled. Chiefs who have been more exploiters than protectors are remembered. It was by comparison with that ideal picture that their behaviour was judged and blamed. 571 829 156 641

The subject was expected to have a role complementary to the one we have just described. He was supposed to assume an attitude of dependency. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a well delimited field. Dependence is inferiority in the whole of life. When the ruler gives an order, he has to be obeyed, not because his order falls within the field over which he has authority, but because he is a ruler.

It could be objected that in Ruanda this attitude of dependence was not in principle unlimited. We saw that cattle- and land-chiefs could not require as many dues as they liked, that subjects could resort to higher authorities against their immediate chiefs, and that it was possible to oppose one chief against another. This does not change the fact that the dependent attitude was the only one socially expected of the subject. Indeed it was impossible to be considered a 'good' subject if one asserted independence of one's superior. A claim of independence, even limited, obliged one to leave the superior, to ask for the support of another and to assume towards the latter an attitude of complete compliance. This appeared clearly in the feudal relation. A lord could not be refused what he asked (even at the present time a shop assistant who is obliged by the law to sell only for cash, will find it very difficult not to sell on credit to his lord). He could only be deserted for another.

3. FORMULATION OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

When paternalism and dependence define the permanent roles expected from two persons, much more is implied than when they express the transitory roles of a father and his young son. In the latter case it is known that the son will grow up and one day, even if he has to wait till after his father's death, will be equal to what his father was when the latter was young. But when paternalism and dependence are linked in permanent reciprocal roles, the assumption is that there is a fundamental inequality between the two persons. The subject will never grow up, he will never 'reach his majority'. It is implied without any doubt that there is between the ruler and his subject a difference so fundamental that it never can be suppressed. This fundamental inequality of men is the 571 829 181

563 acquiring a reputation among the superstitious Bahutu of being
[154] great sorcerers and have made themselves greatly feared for this reason. Also, the priesthood works hand in hand with them to enslave and exploit the people (see p. 134). The exploita-
563 tion of the mass of the people and the crass egoism of the small
642 Batussi minority are made possible by the whole ingenious political system of both the Barundi and the Banjaruanda, with its strict legal separation of races and castes, with the rigidly graded system of vassals and supervising officials, the hierarchy of priests, privileged families, princes, etc. All this will be described in detail in later chapters of this book. The astonishing political acumen of the Batussi merely promotes the selfishness with which they exploit the subject Bahutu. There is no trace of any higher conception of the state.

For this reason it is natural that the Bahutu regard the
563 Batussi only as conquerors of a different tribe whose yoke weighs
181 heavily on them. Yet, although they hate the Batussi, they make no effort to free themselves from their bondage for, like almost all Negro peoples, their nature necessitates subordination under a firm guiding hand. Moreover, their fear of the Batussi is so great that they would not hazard an open rebellion against them. Indeed, though few in numbers, the Batussi are vastly
563 superior to the Bahutu in intelligence and in the fact that a
186 solidarity exists among them which is constantly being renewed under the impulse of common interests. The Bahutu, on the other hand, are split up into a number of mutually warring clans and tribal groups, lack any sort of genuine national consciousness, and are being played off against each other in an ingenious manner by the Batussi.

000 As long as the Batussi are the rulers in the country, an intellectual and cultural revival of the Barundi people is impossible, for it is only the present depressed condition of the Bahutu, maintained through hundreds of years of seclusion, that guarantees the domination of the Batussi. For the time being, however, we Germans must collaborate with the Batussi and interest them materially in our projects in Urundi since we are still too weak to meet an open attack on their part. The goal of our long term colonial policy, however, must be to crush the

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state.
[782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders
[411] are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read
787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are
726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or
727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed.
721 Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces
[648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

● 642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

642 number of the leading men of the country had become more or less independent of the king. As we shall see in the historical survey (p. 166 [not translated]), the government recognized the independence of a few of these chiefs after the death of old King Kisabo. Even there, however, the people still regard the distant king -- who it is true has become almost a phantom for them -- as the supreme authority of the realm in many respects, especially in religious matters.

643 Theoretically, the king is the absolute ruler of all of Urundi. Whoever does not submit to him is a renegade and a revolutionary. In the last analysis this claim to royal supremacy is founded on the fact that the king is descended from the old ruling family, the Baganwa, and is regarded and revered as an almost divine being. In this capacity he is the head of the national religion and the religious head of the nation, regardless of the personal characteristics of the king who is ruling at any one time. If, in addition to the religious respect which he enjoys, the king is prudent and strong-willed, as the bearer of the "crown" he will have no difficulty in enforcing his claim to be the sole ruler in the whole of Urundi. This is proved by the history of Urundi.

In both Urundi and Ruanda, also in Ufipa (No. 47, p. 29), the official title of the king is umwami, i.e., he who rose to authority. The Urundi king is also referred to as the njen' ingoma, the possessor of the (holy) drum, or as umvijéji, father, master.

644 The person closest to the king is the umufumu w'umwami, [793] the "house chaplain," high priest. Generally he is a highly intelligent man who in all cases is attached to the semidivine king and who also is the first to advise him in mundane matters. [791] A "court kiranga," a chief magician or sorcerer, assists the high priest. Among the officials of the court, there are masters of the kitchen, butchers, firewood keepers, stable masters, water suppliers, cow milkers, night watchmen, the bodyguard, and others. As far as political personalities are concerned, there are in the entourage of the king representatives of the great head men, the governors of the provinces, just as at the court of Musinga of Ruanda. Here, as well as in Ruanda, it is often the governors themselves who temporarily or permanently are drawn

614 vehicle of tradition and religious customs (totem, food taboos,
182 sacrificial community), has been of great importance in sustaining the nation's life." (No. 39, p. 73.) This characterization also applies to the clans of the Barundi.

However, the Batussi monarchy is a most powerful enemy
614 of the clan organization. The growing power of the Batussi kings
642 has laid claim, as has been shown above, to all the land and
182 cattle as the personal property of the king who parcels it out in larger or smaller portions as fiefs to his Batussi followers (see p. 89). The king's vassal, in turn, divides his fief into smaller portions with which he vests his people. The former clan elder is usually appointed mutwale of the king and collects the taxes and other tribute of which he retains a share. Under the conquering kings the clan has thus been disrupted socially and economically and has been rather quickly absorbed into the political feudal community of the state, although it may still retain its clan name, its old customs, some of its institutions, and its totem for a long time to come.

There is one element of the old clan organization which
642 the clan members have retained even under the political re-
614 organization of the Batussi monarchy since it offers them a
628 strong protection against arbitrary acts of their rulers: it is
182 the vendetta (kuhora). Originally, allied clans used it as the most effective way to protect themselves when they were threatened by other clans. Even at the present time the vendetta is the strongest bulwark for the protection of the individual in spite of the fact that public and private security has considerably increased under the strong rule of the royal batwale. Despite criminal jurisdiction administered by the batwale, the vendetta is still used by the clan members as the most effective form of self-help and as a protective instrument of intimidation on the part of those who are politically weak. A person who kills or injures a member of a clan is killed or wounded by the members of the wronged clan (see p. 97). If the wrongdoer cannot be apprehended, the vendetta will strike another member of the criminal's clan. Indeed, more than that, some clans

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price; the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are [589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor. If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife. Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within 583 the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a 685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358). 595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

578 Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the
631 following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

642 individuals through a continuous chain of lesser chiefs." This regime resulted from the invasion and conquest of Ruanda by the Hamites. The monarchical system was introduced by them in order "to keep the subject people within a very tight administrative network." (1) Ac-

1. Les Relations entre l'évolution sociale et l'évolution religieuse /The Relations between Social and Religious Evolution/ by Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J. (Correspondant, January 25, 1929.)

cording to the classification adopted by Deniker (2), the Banyarwanda

2. Races et peuples de la terre /Races and Peoples of the Earth/, 1900, p. 151.
Deniker divides peoples into savage, semicivilized, and civilized.

belong in their degree of culture to the first group by the Bahutu and Batwa, but it is also proper to place them in the second category on account of the Hamites, who gave their conquered subjects an organization superior to that of the peoples in the first stage and a higher degree of culture. They form an intermediate group between the first two divisions of this classification.

643 The land is governed by a king with unlimited and hereditary powers (we are speaking of the past). The symbol of royalty is a drum, a sacred object, a sort of palladium referred to as Kalinga. /38/

Like all African potentates, the Hamitic prince formerly held powers of life and death over his subjects. Everything belonged to him in his own right, lands and people, crops and livestock. He 631 would designate the dignitaries and the provincial governors, who were almost invariably chosen from the ranks of the Batutsi, the noble and conquering race.

644

ibgami, "at the king's."
In speaking of the ancient
royal residences, they use
the noun umurwa, plural
imirwa, or else ikigabiro,
plural ibigabiro. As for the
term umuhango (plural
imihango), it signifies "mores,
customs, traditions," hence
the name Abanyamihango given
to the "keepers of the customs."

[642] We remind the reader that the native government is an absolute and hereditary monarchy.

The sovereign is master of the land and all it contains; he deals
643 with the life and goods of his subjects as he pleases. Until recently
his power knew no bounds of any sort and was wholly dependent upon
[776] his whims or good will. Imana (God) was no more powerful than he.
Any attempt to draw a comparison between the two was formerly
[687] regarded as a crime of high treason. God and the King could, at
best, be one and the same person.

The subjects, therefore, tended to be regarded as things from
641 which to draw as much pleasure and well-being as possible.

Their own worth and usefulness were assessed and measured only with reference to the king. Let us add that the welfare of the kingdom, although it was not disregarded, could only come second in the thoughts of the king. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans,
644 the dignitaries of the realm to whom the king assigned the government of the provinces were compelled to spend most of their time at court. The Hamitic princes were very eager to keep the nobility close to them. They were always on the alert and daily surveyed the lords and courtiers who surrounded them (2). The latter belong /349/ almost

2. From Saint Simon we learn
that the situation was the same
under Louis XIV. "It is a demerit

614 grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average
621 size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four
592 of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical
423 with the number of women. It is very important to note that the
231 head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

643 The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the
614 formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive
178 factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than
642 the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

644 In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in
642 turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

643 Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most
648 powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

644 traveling basket with small white beads. For two years his peo-
661 ple had to gather these beads, [258] a ransom which was designed not to increase the delight of the subjects with their master. When he saw that the basket was being filled too quickly, the king decided that the cure for the man's attitude was not sufficiently complete and made him fill a storehouse (kigega) with hoes. Only then did Musinga permit him to go home.

644 Thus, next to the splitting up of property, the sojourn at
662 court is the most important factor in the organization and stabilization of the Ruanda state. To a certain extent this ensures against all eventualities. As long as the chief, the most important person in his territory, remains at court, the king holds all the chief's lands in his own hands to a certain extent.

651 The local taxation system is also closely connected with the
644 sojourn of the bagaragu at court. The high chiefs must give the king gifts as large as possible in order not to lose favor. On the other hand, they must not demand too much of their people who might otherwise move away. This restricts them in two directions. It is left to them to strike a balance between these two factors, and the result is that the individual personality of the chief plays a much greater role than is the case in corresponding positions in our modern state.

644 The Royal Court. The court of the king consists of the representatives of the aristocracy, who make up a large majority of his bagaragu and hold various offices, and all kinds of minor officials who serve the ruler. The feudal lords and their retinues make up the bulk of the population of Nyanza, but they come and then go back again to their holdings when the king gives his permission. Thus, the size of the court fluctuates considerably. During the visit of His Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg there was great excitement at Musinga's court, and the whole courtyard in front of the house was always full of people. Taps were postponed accordingly, and one usually did not hear them until around two o'clock in the morning, sometimes even later.

This, however, was not the usual picture of life at court. Everyone was so worn out by all the festivities that after the departure of His Highness the courtyard was quite empty. When I came to call the day after the expedition had departed, I did not find a single chief paying court to the king.

634 somewhat different. The most important personality after the chief is his brother. He represents him in all matters. Both of them have their houses in the individual villages in which they live during their journeys. The son ranks just below the brother of his father and is granted a village after he has grown up. He is not entitled to gifts in the other villages of his father, and only if he has [267] no uncle does he get an uncle's rank. In spite of this preference, the brother of the chief is not his heir; all his possessions go to the son after the burial of the father.

622 563 Below the kissonga are the quite unimportant subchiefs who supervise the communities on the separate hills. Among them there are everywhere, especially in Bugoye, many Bahutu, whereas the higher positions are almost always held by Batutsi. It is only in Mulera and Bgisha that one sees Bahutu also occupying the highest positions.

The Bahutu officials are very much praised by their superiors, for no one can be more merciless and servile than an upstart who is hated by his clansmen. This characterization does not, of course, apply to the clan elders who occupy this position in the free farm communities. The subchiefs are the only cattle-owning Bahutu outside of Mulera, Bgisha, and Bugoye.

642 631 There is no doubt that with the extensive interweaving of property belonging to individual high chiefs (in this respect the whole country resembles a village with a community system of planting [Flurzwang]) an influential stratum is created which has vital interests in the most diverse parts of the country. This counteracts the centrifugal, particularistic tendencies of the individual provinces.

642 631 643 These conditions seem to be the result of a conscious aim on the part of the crown. In this direction much seems to have been accomplished by Lwabugiri Kigeri, the father of the present ruler, Musinga. Kigeri is reputed to have centralized the state and partitioned, scattered, and interwoven the holdings of the chiefs in order to destroy the centrifugal tendencies of the feudal lords. This involved him in bitter struggles with the lords, among them his brother-in-law, Kabare, but he managed to crown his efforts with success.

631 The modern European who is accustomed to sharply demar-
642 cated administrative districts and has no idea of social equilibrium based on the interweaving of economic interests finds this principle of administration absurd. That is how Captain Göring (1)

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1. Captain Göring, "Zu den Unruhen in Urundi [On the Unrest in Urundi]," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1911, p. 552.

judged conditions in Urundi. He says: "The division of the country is entirely without system. One often finds watuale who own various lands widely separated from each other."

I was told that Lwabugiri's policy is being followed by Musinga. He is said to prefer appointing chiefs who are directly responsible to him and to give them lands. These unimportant, free persons, mindful of the king's protection, form an element [268] independent of and even hostile to the high chiefs. They guard their own interests and resist the particularistic tendencies of the powerful.

This policy tends to erase the boundaries of individual provinces, and one encounters great difficulties if he asks about the political division of the country.

After this brief discussion of the central organization of the state which is made up of the king and a dozen and a half powerful feudal lords, we shall now touch on the political conditions in the individual sections.

The organization of Kissaka has the following pattern. The largest part of the country is divided among three large feudal lords, Kanuma, Niamutezi, and Lutangabo. Their lands are interspersed in such a way that no separate provinces can be formed. This increases their opposition to each other. Hence the dignitaries check on one another and fight one another with accusations and intrigues. In this way mutual control, which is very useful to the state, is established, as well as a quite stable equilibrium.

These three high chiefs of Kissaka live almost constantly at the court of Musinga in Nyanza, and when they obtain permission to visit their holdings, their sons remain behind as valuable hostages, a guarantee against possible separatistic

631 tendencies of their fathers. Count Von Götzen (1) mentions
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1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), pp. 156, 159.

only one governor of Kissaka, namely, Kavahigi, but he also speaks of Kaware (Kabare) in the northern part of the country.

621 The hill (kashozi) is the smallest political unit in Kissaka,
631 as well as in all the rest of Ruanda. The inhabitants of a hill belong to different clans, and the factor uniting them is purely political. It is primarily the chief, to whom compulsory service [622] (buletwa) must be paid. This official is likewise appointed by the high chief. However, the very large hills are not infrequently divided into subgroups with different subchiefs. Thus, the hill known as Bare in Nsasa is divided into the communities of Bare, Ishua, Kibare, and some others.

621 In Mulera where there are very few Batutsi and these have
614 no great power, much more primitive conditions have been preserved. Here too, however, political units are represented by hills, but each hill has a homogeneous population, consisting of the members of the clan. These communities are directly sub-[65] ordinate to the king and, through their elders, pay taxes to the king's deputies. Here the mutware, the integrating factor, is absent. On the few hills [269] in Mulera belonging to Batutsi, however, we find conditions similar to those in Kissaka. Here, [651] also, taxes are paid to the chiefs and not to the king's deputies. I believe that the Bahutu on these hills must also render compulsory service.

Ndorwa is a country that is only under nominal rule and does not pay taxes to Musinga. We find here the same clan communities, but they are completely independent, small political units.

Besides the two extreme forms, the community settled on alien land granted to the chief by the king, which the chief represents at court, and the free clan community settled on its own land and paying taxes to the king's deputy but having no

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● 642

[Information on the Biru, a body of ranked dignitaries in the Ruanda central government, will be found in category 645.]

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CHAPTER II

THE SYSTEM OF KINSHIP AND AFFINITY[1]

I. DESCENT GROUPS

AMONG the Ruanda people, Tutsi as well as Hutu, the social principle of descent was agnatic. When any informant is asked who are his ascendants, he always answers by giving the names of his father, his paternal grandfather, his paternal great grandfather up to some male ancestor beyond whom he is unable to go. He does not mention his mother nor any of her ascendants. 611

Questions on the actual groupings founded on this principle and their functions elicit less unanimous and clear answers. The reason is that kinship groups have undoubtedly undergone a slow process of change in several respects during the Tutsi occupation of the country. What we know of its history[2] is quite sufficient to convince us that there has been a progressive territorial expansion under one dynasty of rulers together with an intensification of the 61. 178 [642]

[1] In order to make clear the connotations of the main concepts used in this chapter, here are a few definitions: 128

Ego's *kin* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through parent-child and-or sibling links. *Consanguineal* and *cognatic* relatives are used as synonyms for kin. 602

Ego's *affines* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through a marriage link. This link may be the first traced from Ego (the affines are then Ego's spouse's kin) or the kinship link may be the first one traced (the affines are then Ego's kin's spouse).

Ego's *patrilineal* or *agnatic* relatives are those of his kin who descend by male links from the same male ancestor as Ego.

Ego's *matrilineal* or *uterine* relatives are those of his kin who descend by female links from the same ancestress as Ego.

Ego's *cross-line* relatives are those of his kin who are neither patrilineally nor matrilineally related to him.

Ego's *paternal* or *patrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his father.

Ego's *maternal* or *matrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his mother.

To sum up:

Relatives
- are *kin* (or consanguineal relatives or cognates) who can be distinguished as
  - 1. patrilineal (or agnatic)
  - 2. matrilineal (or uterine)
  - 3. cross-line
- of as
  - 1. paternal (or patrilateral)
  - 2. maternal (or matrilateral)
- and *affines* who can be distinguished as
  - 1. kin of Ego's spouse
  - 2. spouses of Ego's kin.

[2] See for instance, Fagg, 1933.

[P. 29]

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61 degrees of control exerted by that central authority on the territory.
178 These processes have necessarily had an impact on the autonomy
642 and social significance of Hutu and Tutsi kinship groups, on their connexion with a particular tract of land, and on their functions.
121 We shall not be concerned here with any reconstruction of these processes but only with them as they existed in the immediate pre-European days. It should be borne in mind, however, that this was the period of an evolution. This explains the sometimes confused picture given by some informants.

(*a*) *Inzu, ubwoko, umulyango*

613 Hutu and Tutsi recognized a patrilineal kin group (*inzu*)[3] which included all who could actually trace their agnatic relationship through usually no more than four or five ascendent genealogical links to an ancestor recognized as the original ancestor of the group.

Members of the inzu of a male Ego were: Br, Si, Fa, FaSi, FaBr, FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaFa, FaFaBr, FaFaSi, FaFaBrSo, FaFaBrDa, FaFaBrSoSo, FaFaBrSoDa.[4]

Ego's sororal nephews and nieces (SiSo, SiDa) and his paternal cross-cousins (FaSiSo and FaSiDa) did not belong to his *inzu*. However they participated in some of its activities if they lived
[591] with their maternal uncle (Ego), which happened when the bride-wealth for their mother (Ego's Si) had not been entirely paid.

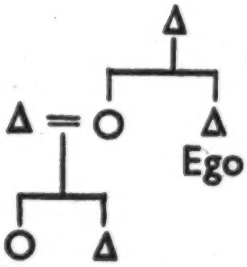

Diagram A.

Other generations above Ego's (that of FaFaFa, &c.) or under his (that of SoSoSo, &c.), were not necessarily included in Ego's

[3] *Inzu* means also hut.
[4] I follow the symbolization system used by Murdock, 1949.

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(d) Intergroup political relations

121 Intergroup political relations are essentially different. They do not imply inferiority and superiority. The opposite assumption is made: the two groups are supposed to be independent and equal. If by diplomacy or by war one succeeds in subduing the other, the subsequent unequal relations will be more similar to intragroup than to intergroup political relations.

If our definition of intragroup political organization be accepted, the word 'political' when applied to intergroup relations conveys a different and derivative meaning. Those who control legitimate coercion within a social structure are also those who are qualified to enter into intergroup relations. Subjects do not represent their own group, only rulers do. The ability to deal with intergroup relations results from a superior situation in internal political relations. In that sense, the political external relations may be said to be secondary. In the following account of Ruanda political organization the emphasis will be on the primary political relations, the internal ones.

• • •

642 571 In Ruanda, there were two types of relationships sanctioned by legitimate coercion on the part of the superior. Consequently we may distinguish within the political organization two structures which may be termed administrative and military. Another system of social relations was the clientage structure or the feudal organization. It occupied an intermediate position between the political and the private spheres. It was not purely political, but it was much more than a private agreement such as a loan. Consequently the feudal relations in Ruanda will be considered in close connexion with the administrative and military ones.

[183] 641 The three structures were interwoven and interconnected at each level. This was particularly the case at the top and at the bottom. The mwami held the supreme position in the three systems and the commoners were taxpayers, members of an army, and clients. In the intermediate levels it happened, too, that a superior and an inferior were linked by several ties: one could be at the same time the lord and the cattle-chief of an individual, and the client of one's army chief.

I shall describe and analyse each structure separately.

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services.

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such.

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting

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642 their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

701 From the point of view of social cohesion between the different
564 strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi,
571 Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(*d*) *Redistribution of wealth*

701 Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that
651 it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

556 A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel
422 of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi
[558] but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the
701 social order by the protective function of the army-chiefs. A minimum of individual security must be granted to every member of a society. The support of the army-chief secured partly that minimum of security. The protection against incursions of enemies was also provided by the army as such. Finally, the participation of
[564] Hutu and Twa in foreign expeditions, although extremely re-
[86] stricted, certainly contributed to the formation of a Ruanda 'national' feeling.

6. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

642 In the administrative and military structures, the king was the supreme political authority of Ruanda. Very closely associated with him was the queen-mother, who had an official role in the political sphere. Next, the highest dignitaries of the kingdom were the *biru*, guardians of traditions concerning the important events of the collective life of Ruanda. Finally, there was the council of the great chiefs. These four institutions may be regarded as having constituted the main element of the central government of Ruanda.

(a) *The king*

643 The theory of the Ruanda kingship was that the mwami was an absolute monarch in the fullest sense. There was no stated limit to his powers over the inhabitants, cattle, land, and even commodities of his country. His powers were not delegated by any authority and thus he had not to render an account of them to anybody. He was the supreme judge: his sentences were without appeal. He was the legislator having the right to change customs.

This theory of the king's powers was founded on their divine origin as mentioned earlier. The bami (plural of mwami) were very careful not to let their subjects forget their heavenly origin. Many rites stressed that they did not participate in the common nature of other men. This was also the reason why special words were used to indicate their common activities and the everyday objects they used (as for 'to get up', 'it is raining on the king's hut', 'his bed', 'his house', etc.). It was thus emphasized that in spite of their appearances, these activities and objects were fundamentally different from what they were for ordinary people.[22]

In fact the king's powers were of course limited. He had to respect the vested interests of important Tutsi lineages, he had to

[22] Pagès, 1933, pp. 491 f.

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The most important *biru* were the three to whom the king communicated the name of his successor and the recommendations he wanted them to transmit to the new king later. There were about a dozen main *biru* offices. These important *biru* had assistants from their lineages, prospective successors whom they gradually trained in order that the oral traditions should not be lost. 645 61

Biru had to memorize secret rules, governing for instance the order according to which queens would be chosen from different descent groups, the ritual to observe in case of spreading of cattle disease, lack of abundance of rain, warlike ceremonies, celebrations of the sorghum harvests, &c. [196]

The *biru* institution safeguarded the interests of the great Tutsi descent groups. This function appears clearly in the determination made for several reigns in advance of the secondary lineages and clans from which the queens should be successively chosen. The *biru*, as representatives of their kinship groups had, as it were, established the order in which the interests of different clans and lineages would be favoured in turn.

No one *mwiru* knew the entire body of customs. That knowledge was divided into parts, the remembering of each being entrusted to a *mwiru*, that is to say a descent group, as the office was hereditary. In this way it may be said that the exclusive knowledge of a part of the most important Ruanda ritual had become almost the property of each great Tutsi descent group.

A second function of the *biru* institution was to secure the continuity and the prevalence of the tradition which could have been endangered by the very considerable powers of the king. That traditional body was not unlike a constitution in a modern state and the *biru* institution could be said to have had a role similar to that of a supreme court judging whether a new rule is compatible with the fundamental charter of the country. Of course they had explicitly neither such a task nor such institutionalized means to prevent the mwami from establishing new rules, but the disapproval of an innovation by the *biru* was not to be taken lightly as they represented the great Tutsi kinship groups. [C42]

To assess more exactly the function of this institution, one should know more about it. The present day *biru* are still very reluctant to provide information and still less to let it be published, in spite of the encouragement to do so that they receive from the king.[26]

[26] See Kagame, 1947a.

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when the client was Hutu and *ingabane* when he was Tutsi. A *garagu* could have cows from another source (called *imbata*) such as those received as bride-wealth, as a reward for bravery or acquired by exchanging other goods. In the case of a Hutu client, who possessed both *inkazibiti* and *imbata* at the time when his relation with a *shebuja* was broken off, there are two opinions with regard to the cows' ownership. According to the first, the *imbata* possessed by the client before he entered in the *buhake* relation were regarded as *inkazibiti* and consequently the lord had the same rights over them as over those he had given to the client as cows of *buhake*. Moreover, the cows which the client eventually acquired when he was already *garagu*, and which in other circumstances would have been regarded as *imbata*, were also added to the cows received from the lord. The result was that at the breaking off of the *buhake* relation, the patron could take all his client's cows, *imbata* as well as *inkazibiti*. The other opinion is that the *imbata* acquired by the client before or after the *buhake* relation began, remained definitely *imbata* and that the lord had no claim on them.

It seems that both opinions are accurate, but that they refer to different periods. The second probably expresses the most ancient rule which had been prevalent up to about 1920. The practice of merging *imbata* and *inkazibiti* (or *ingabane*) in favour of the lord is likely to have been introduced only during the last forty years. This would be due to the fact that the chiefs of the administrative divisions (recognized by the Belgian authority under the names of *chefferies* and *sous-chefferies*) assumed at the end of the reign of king Yuhi Musinga (who was dismissed from his royal charge by the Belgian Administration in 1931) an undue importance, because their powers were no longer counterbalanced by those of the chiefs of the other hierarchies. Army chiefs did not enjoy their former authority, as the military structure had received no official recognition; Musinga, isolated in an attitude of indifference and hostility towards Europeans, was left without much effective power. Administrative chiefs who were important lords are said to have taken advantage of this situation, and to have modified the custom to their own advantage by establishing the principle of the merging of the cows received from the lord with those acquired independently of any *shebuja*.

It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of

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It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of more than one lord, I was told. Firstly, the services required were such that it was not easy for the same person to perform them twofold. Secondly, a lord did not like to enter into *buhake* relations with somebody who was already the client of another *shebuja*, because such an arrangement was very likely to result in a considerable lessening of each lord's control on his client.

2. ANALYSIS OF THE CLIENTAGE STRUCTURE

(a) *Notion of feudality*

If the term 'feudal' is to be legitimately applied to the social structure described in the preceding section, it must be understood as a notion covering more than the historical sense of that term as used when referring to the Western Middle Ages. Feudality is here an 'ideal-type' in the Weberian sense.

Feudality is a particular ordering of certain human relations. This organization is based on an agreement between two individuals who unequally partake in the symbols of wealth and power culturally recognized in their society. The person who, in that respect, is inferior to the other, asks the other for his patronage, and, as a counterpart, offers his services. This is the essence of the feudal régime which must be found in any social system qualified by that term. Feudality is manifold in its modalities. The latter differ in many respects. For instance, obligations of each party may vary and be more or less definite in measure; the symbols and proofs of the feudal relation may be very dissimilar. Thus, in the European Middle Ages, the symbol and the proof of the feudal agreement was the tenure of a tract of land granted by the man in the superior position to the other. That piece of land was called a fief and the parties concerned became suzerain and vassal as soon as the tenure had been granted and accepted.

It seems that the qualification 'feudal' may be applied to the organization of social relations between a *shebuja* and a *garagu* described in the preceding section. At the root of that relation, there are two individuals having a different social status. From one of these individuals, there is a demand for aid and protection, and from the other a promise of assistance in counterpart of services. Granting the usufruct of a few cows to the man of inferior status is the symbol and proof of the agreement.

The word 'agreement' is employed here rather than 'contract' which is more frequently used in this connexion. I do not consider

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121 is made narrower in order to give everybody the opportunity of obtaining sufficient personal security.

Such was, it appears, the first function of the *buhake* system in Ruanda. In that society where it was advisable to go into court 075 accompanied by socially powerful persons, and when a Hutu 564 possessing some wealth but no protector was risking the loss of his 643 possessions, the feudal organization, by institutionalizing the identification of the Hutu client with the Tutsi lord, secured the necessary protection and security for the socially weak. With a few exceptions, the Twa were outside that feudal system. Their caste occupations were not compatible with cattle-rearing and made available to them other means of obtaining the personal protection of upper caste people. On the other hand, their small number made that kind of protection very effective.

(*d*) *Social cohesion*

A second function of the feudality in Ruanda was its contribution to the cohesion of the society.

In this respect we have to distinguish the feudal agreements in which clients were Hutu from those in which they were Tutsi. Let us first take the former. In order that two castes whose interests were so often divergent or opposed could constitute a stable unitary structure, it was necessary that they should not remain merely juxtaposed but should show some solidarity. Through the feudal relations economic currents flowed between Hutu and Tutsi: the land tillers had at their disposal some cattle; the pastoralists consumed agricultural produce and had fields cultivated by their servants and clients. In this way the economic system of production in Ruanda was mixed, made up of techniques, abilities, and wealth brought by the two groups. Through *buhake*, Hutu participated in the Tutsi values. They valued cattle very highly and entered the prestige system based on bovine [177] possession. They assimilated some Tutsi alimentary habits, such as drinking milk. Feudality proved a very effective instrument for [184] the constitution of a culture common to all Ruanda.

When there was a feudal agreement between two Tutsi, the *buhake* had another relevance to social cohesion. It may be said that any Tutsi client was also a lord and any Tutsi lord was also a client. The mwami was the only patron who was nobody's client. His *garagu* were the great Tutsi chiefs, the lords of less important

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Tutsi, who themselves were patrons of still less important Tutsi, and so on. In this way the Tutsi consituted a homogeneous unit of individuals linked to one another by bonds of fidelity and protection. From that point of view, *buhake* contributed to the unity and the solidarity of the aristocratic caste.

675 564 642

(*e*) *Maintenance of caste privileges*

Besides the protection of socially weak individuals and the promotion of social cohesion, a third function was fulfilled by the feudal system: the maintenance of the social *status quo* and the perpetuation of Tutsi privileges. This function seems somewhat opposed to the first two. Let us see how all these functions have been combined by the *buhake* system.

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In a stratified society where control of a category of goods or a type of ownership is characteristic of the superior layer, the access of the members of other groups to these goods or to the particular rights of ownership constitutes an active factor of social mobility. It is the reason why the aristocracy frequently keeps exclusively for itself these goods and these rights. Thus in Ankole the Hima pastoralists bar Iru cultivators from the ownership of productive cows. They may possess only barren cows and bull calves.[8]

[121]

Ruanda Tutsi did not impose such severe rules but by the *buhake* system they obtained very much the same results. They allowed Hutu to have cattle at their disposal—which in exchange provided Tutsi with labour and agricultural produce—but at the same time prevented them from gaining independent ownership rights over these cattle. Those who had the final control of cattle were always Tutsi. As the Hutu had been granted only usufruct rights over cattle which were different from those enjoyed by the lords who were Tutsi, there was no chance that the group of cattle owners could be invaded by Hutu.

[422]

By definition the client's possession was precarious. This uncertainty in the duration of the disposal of cattle was further emphasized by the circumstances mentioned above. The breaking off of the *buhake* relation was almost always favourable mainly to the lord and could often be disastrous for the client. It may even be said that when the practice of merging the *buhake* cows (*inkasibiti*) with the cows not received from a lord (*imbata*) was regarded as customary, all the Hutu cattle were precariously held and under

[8] Oberg, 1940, p. 130.

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Tutsi control. A Hutu who in exchange for labour or agricultural goods had been able to acquire a few cows had necessarily to ask for the protection of a lord in order that his cows should not be seized upon under some pretence by a socially powerful neighbour. Then he received cows from his lord and they were merged with his own *imbata*. Consequently, if the agreement had to be ended, the lord could take away besides the cows he had granted, those which had previously belonged to the client. 675 564 642 178

The two political structures benefited most those among the Tutsi who were rulers. The feudal structure, by granting only a precarious possession of cattle to the clients, left in the hands of the Tutsi the ultimate control of cattle, symbol of social prestige and instrument of power. On the other hand, by the same *buhake*, Tutsi were obtaining the advantages of being provided with labour and agricultural produce. From that standpoint, the Ruanda feudal system granted a minority the means to live—and to live better than the bulk of the population—without having to participate in the manual labour of economic production, by the moderate and clever exploitation of the majority. 564 661 642

In order that an aristocratic structure may perpetuate itself without change as long as it is profitable to the superior caste, it is not sufficient to prevent an invasion or even an infiltration of members of inferior groups who, by modifying the proportion between exploiters and exploited, would completely disturb the smooth working of the system. It is also necessary that all those who are by birth members of the upper caste should live according to the standards of their group. It is most unusual for an upper caste to regard the falling off of some of its members without uneasiness and dismay. This is particularly true when the group position of power is rationalized in terms of innate superiority. Some modern governments in Africa, for example, are much concerned about the 'poor whites' because their decadence threatens the myth of the white racial superiority. 564

The Tutsi had a similar pretence to a natural superiority as has been pointed out already. Consequently, if one of them was unable to support himself in a way becoming to his caste and seemed on the point of slipping down into the group of those who work manually, it was regarded as a shocking situation that should at once be put right. The remedy was to become the client of a richer Tutsi. The cows thus received, allowed him to subsist in [186] [558]

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564 such a way that he could become the patron of a few Hutu who would work for him and cultivate his fields. On the other hand, while the lord of such a Tutsi would not get many material advantages from him, his social prestige was enhanced by an [557] increase in his following, and by being advised by a trusty Tutsi he was able to exert a greater influence in the different intrigues which played such an important part in his life.

(f) Feudal and political structures

675 642 We have said earlier that the Ruanda clientage system occupied an intermediate position between the public and private spheres. It must now appear more clearly why *buhake* was not just a private agreement between two persons, such as a loan. The element of pressure, although not going usually as far as the use of physical force, was certainly an important aspect of that relationship. There was also a constant interplay of the feudal structure of the two political ones (administrative and military). When, as frequently happened, one was at the same time administratively subjected to and a client of one's hill-chief, a client's obligations were not merely added to a subject's tribute: the total amount was reduced. This was a very favourable situation for the subject-client. All the great political chiefs were also rich lords. Their political offices helped them to increase their clientage, as is particularly evident in the case of the army-chief who could require cows from the army members merely in order to be able to gain more clients. On the other hand their wealth helped them to obtain important offices and to keep them.

It would be impossible, for these reasons, to describe adequately the working of the two political structures in Ruanda without describing the feudal system as well. It might even be said that the *buhake* is more fundamental in the sense that many political relations have been patterned on the client—lord relation. For instance, the army chief was really a lord for the members of the herdsmen's section of his army.

In spite of the psychological and perhaps historical precedence of the feudal system, it has been described after political organization because, as I wish to focus attention on the political organization, it seemed that the role of the feudal system in that respect would emerge more clearly.

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One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

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of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(*a*) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

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564 made for certain guarantees. For the *buhake* services, what each
661 client had to give or do was less clearly determined and depended
559 more on the *shebuja*'s wishes. There were also in that sphere,
182 however, some traditionally admitted limits.

Universality and regulation of dues as such do not prevent the exactions committed by socially powerful individuals and those who required payment of taxes were powerful. Another more efficient obstacle to an exaggerated exploitation was the fact that the political and clientage structures gave to any individual of ability the opportunity to secure for himself a defender and a protector. This opportunity resulted from the plural character of the Ruanda hierarchy.

When one belongs to a single structure, there is only one immediate superior. Consequently, everything must be obtained from
[692] him and is owed to him. In a plural system, there are several immediate superiors of approximately equal rank and who are not interdependent. Consequently, it is possible to have the support of one chief (or his complicity even) when resisting another.

564 This is what happened in Ruanda. An example will show how
662 the plurality of chiefs could be used. Suppose a Hutu had in-
182 herited cattle granted by a lord to his grandfather who had also received cows from his army-chief, and who had acquired other cattle by exchange of goods (*imbata*), and because his present lord was too exacting, our Hutu wanted to change and become the client of another important man. He knew that his lord would try to seize all his *imbata* and to choose the best cows among his other cattle. By some gifts, he obtained the support of his army-chief. Before entering into discussion with his lord, he and his army-chief had agreed that all the best cows he had at his disposal and all his *imbata* would be said to have been received from the military chief. They were removed and put on grazing grounds directly protected by the army-chief. Then when the lord claimed more cows than his client wanted to return to him, he had to settle the matter not with a man of very limited power but with the army-chief.

Of course this required clever handling of the situation, but when it succeeded it secured efficient protection against extortion.

It should be added that the recourse of a subject to a higher authority within the same hierarchy was approved and even encouraged in Ruanda. This was another means of putting a check on the exorbitant demands of immediate superiors. This, however,

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did not play an important part in the feudal system because there were no socially recognized ties between a client and his lord's lord. Feudality was not a ranking system in the same sense as were the political structures. Each lord had his personal following; he was not as such the representative of a higher authority.

To sum up, the political and clientage structures at the same time secured the economic exploitation of the Hutu and protected them against an exaggerated pressure which could have led to disaster for the upper caste.

(c) *Delegation and centralization of political power*

Before the European occupation the kingdom's population was already numerous, probably around 1,700,000 inhabitants. The orographic configuration of the country made communications rather difficult. In that non-literate culture, an efficient collection of tributes required almost a face to face acquaintance between the subject and his ruler. These circumstances necessitated a delegation of authority to many intermediary chiefs who would be the local representatives of the rulers.

But such an unavoidable system was very dangerous for the central government. Its subordinated agents having frequently authority over a rather numerous population which could provide them with abundant supplies (if nothing was sent to the court) could be tempted to isolate themselves completely from the capital and become independent. Such a course of action would have been facilitated by the military structure and the feudal system.

Some important chiefs were, indeed, authorized to raise an army. Moreover, any military chief whose army was encamped near the border, in a district far from the capital, could gain such ascendancy over his warriors as to win over their allegiance to himself.

The *buhake* was perhaps still more dangerous because, as in any feudal system, it created personal bonds of allegiance between the client and his lord. As such, that bond of loyalty did not extend beyond the lord. One had to obey one's lord because he was one's lord and not because he was a mwami's representative. This is why any feudal system has always been so dangerous for a central government. Independence and revolt against the king have been recurring events in the areas where a feudal system existed.

Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies

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Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies
642 towards the fragmentation of the political unity of their country,
643 first, by the ritual character of the royal power.
182 To revolt against the king, identified with Ruanda and supported by Imana, was a sacrilege and a profanation. It is not claimed that such a theory was sufficient to secure the kings with effective power indefinitely. Elsewhere similar ideologies of absolute and divine power of the monarchs have not prevented some of them from being stripped of their real authority, whereas their divine prerogatives were still respected. The ritual sanction does not seem to have had a primary importance in the maintenance of submission to the Ruanda kingship. In 1896 or 1897, a young mwami, Mibambwe IV Rutalindwa, was assailed and eventually [669] lost his life in a revolt instigated by the brother of the queen-mother. That queen-mother was not the mother of the mwami but another wife of his father. Her clan, the Abega, wanted a son of hers as mwami.[5] This shows that when the king lost effective control of power, ritual sanctions were not an effective safeguard for his prerogatives, or even for his life. This is why it has not been thought necessary to expand on the ritual aspect of the Ruanda kingship. But it certainly was a factor which contributed to the obedience of the Ruanda nobles.

[701] Another check was that the king kept at his disposal the coercive force of the armies. Even if the rebel had the support of one or two armies, the king had all the others.

642 But the main factor which I think prevented local authorities
578 from asserting their independence from the central government,
182 was the plural character of the political and feudal organization. In connexion with the maintenance of the effective power of the central government, this plurality of structure was a very effective means of maintaining misunderstanding, hostility, and jealousy among the subordinate chiefs. It is certain that the *shebuja* of our example in the preceding section, would have been only too glad to denounce to the mwami the army-chief if the latter was indulging in suspicious manœuvres. The co-existence of chiefs of almost the same rank who were constantly induced by their subjects to take sides in disputes was sufficient to create mistrust among themselves. Moreover, conflicts were numerous, particularly when two chiefs had the same territorial power (as in the case of the cattle- and land-chiefs). To settle conflicts they had to resort to the

[5] Pagès, 1933, pp. 195-206.

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superior authority's judgement and this increased the ruler's power over his subordinates.

This applied not only to the political organization but also to the feudal structure, which had potentially the most disruptive action on a centralized government. Indeed, the subject-client had often to ask protection and support from his political chief against his lord and from his lord against his political chief. Consequently, between the important lords, even those who were not themselves prominent in the political hierarchies, and the political chiefs, relations were often very tense. Moreover, as the very important lords who could have attempted to resist the central government held at the same time political offices, they were directly enmeshed in rivalries and jealousies.

Engendered by the hierarchic plurality, the mistrust which prevented the subordinate chiefs from uniting against the central government, which led them to spy on each other and to inform the king of anything suspect, was the main check against tendencies towards local autonomy in Ruanda. Even if that hostility between important Tutsi happened to express itself openly and violently, the central government was not very anxious to restore peace as long as troubles remained localized and did not threaten the regular collection of taxes and the authority of the king.

3. THE FUNCTION OF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN RUANDA

At the beginning of this study, in order to delimit the social phenomena we wished to study, political organization in an intragroup context was defined as 'the totality of culturally patterned relationships between certain individuals who possess the legitimate use of physical force and all the others who inhabit at a certain time a certain territory'. This definition did not include the function of a system of political relationships because, it was stated, it is only through analysis that the function fulfilled by a set of institutions in a particular social context, may be ascertained.

In the preceding chapters, the different political structures have been analysed from a functional point of view. It will be sufficient to summarize what has been said to grasp the function of the Ruanda political organization as a whole. Here we shall consider together the feudal as well as the administrative and military systems.

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642 178 At the beginning of this century, Ruanda political organization was an instrument of social immobility. It was not a force of expansion meant to increase the Tutsi dominion over the country, but a machinery which succeeded in maintaining a difficult equilibrium between the antinomic tendencies I have reviewed. Any institution in which divergent tendencies meet and are kept balanced bears in itself the principle of its own disintegration. But in Ruanda the equilibrium problem had been so efficiently solved that it seems that an optimum point had been reached. The political organization that sustained the domination system could have been perpetuated as long as forces external and internal to the system itself remained constant. The external influence which modified the political organization has been the contact with the [648] Europeans, another conquest group entering Ruanda history around 1900. But apart from such a consequential event, internal phenomena such as a modification in the demographic ratio, the introduction of new agricultural techniques, the impoverishment of the soil, &c., could have been sufficient to destroy the equilibrium maintained by the Tutsi political organization.

642 178 564 661 What was 'immobilized' by the political organization was the Tutsi's caste's and rulers' almost exclusive control of power. They used it for exploitation, by which is meant here the satisfaction of needs not by economic production but by pressure. I follow here closely Oppenheimer's distinction between economic and political means. Both have the same end, he writes, the satisfaction of needs. But when this end is obtained by one's labour and the equivalent exchange of one's own labour for the labour of others, one may speak of 'economic means' while the unrequited appropriation of the labour of others is 'political means'.[8] This should, however, be qualified in the *buhake* where the client received the usufruct of cattle.

642 564 571 It would, of course, be completely misleading to assume that Ruanda political organization had for its only function the preservation of Tutsi exploitation. Through the political structure, as has been shown, the inferior castes enjoyed security. Collectively, peasants were protected against raiding expeditions of neighbours and against an unlimited and too arbitrary exploitation. Individually, in the difficult or dangerous events of life, a Hutu could rely upon the protection of his lord, of his army-chief, and

[8] Oppenheimer, 1922, p. 25.

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of his administrative chiefs if he could not or did not wish to ask his lineage's aid. 692 569 571

Should one, then, speak of a counterpart and interpret the Tutsi privileges as a retribution for the care of the commonweal and public order? No, political organization in Ruanda fulfilled different functions. It cannot be said that one function is the counterpart of the other merely because it benefited different groups. It just so happened that two different functions were fulfilled by the same set of institutions.

To sum up, this political system was a means of maintaining a certain social order in which the group of rulers and their caste appropriated to their consumption a considerable part of the country's goods without having to use their labour in the productive processes. [661]

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Mutara III, King of Ruanda. (Taken by Author)

Essay on the Common Law of Ruanda

J. Vanhove

Preface

101 Beyond the eastern shore of Lake Kivu extends a country of
563 high hills called Ruanda. Nestling in banana groves, innumerable huts cling to the hillside, their smoke rising to the sky, and on the summits the brisk wind sways the pink grasses of the pastures where long-horned cattle graze. The exceptionally dense population con-
[161] sists of about 3,000,000 Bahutu of Bantu origin who are dominated by some tens of thousands of Batutsi, Hamitic shepherds who have probably come down from the Ethiopian plateaus. Finally, here and there, Batwa pygmoids, potters and hunters, live apart from the other natives who despise them.

183 Europeans who first studied the customs of the country dis-
671 covered to their surprise that they showed a number of points in common with our feudalism. The tenure of land and of cattle as well as
[643] the dependence of persons are under a [4] strict regulation which the ruler of Ruanda has the absolute power to modify but which has, in fact, remained unchanged throughout the ages.

Our occupation has obviously had the effect of modifying the
177 customs in many ways. For example, we could not approve of the
183 brutal evictions and attempts on life and liberty made in the name of the right of the strongest. Evangelization has also introduced into the heart of the native society notions of justice and gentleness which are very different from the natives' original conceptions. However, despite
177 the efforts of our civil servants and our missionaries to attack what is
183 most to be condemned in it, native customs still largely holds its
563 sway due to the influence of the great Batutsi chiefs, who are eager to maintain their authority intact, and also due to that of the sorcerers, toothsayers, rain makers, and many others, who attempt to maintain the traditional law by playing on the credulity and superstitious mind of the Banyarwanda [Banyaruanda] and thus protect their prestige and their revenues. In addition, while realizing the protection we give them in repressing arbitrary actions, the Bahutu submit to the changes we

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SECTION II. PROPERTY

1. Property in General

421 The Banyarwanda have a less abstract idea of property than we have. It is comparable to that of possession.

On the other hand, no differentiation is made between personal property and real estate. Property is given different names according to its nature and use. The Banyarwanda divide their property [into the following categories] : amatungo (animals); ibintu, a generic name applicable to the rugo, imilima (fields); ubgatsi (pasturage); imyaka (crops); and urutoke (banana plantations); ibiti (trees); intwaro (weapons and cutting instruments); ibikolesho (hoes, pickaxes, baskets, churns); imyambaro (clothing).

2. Landed Property

423 True landed property exists in Ruanda, while in the Belgian Congo the natives consider that the bare ownership of the land belongs to the souls of the departed and that they themselves only have usufruct.

[643] All the land in the country belongs to the Mwami who relin-
423 guishes its use successively to the various chiefs and subchiefs. These,
425 in turn, cede an isambu (land sold) or concede an umwatano (land
427 leased) to the Bahutu in consideration of a price or a payment consisting of a certain percentage of future crops (ichyata umulima, lit., gift in order to have a field).

The Muhutu holds his land in a more or less precarious way. Even if he makes his payments regularly [42] his land may be taken away from him one day, if, for example, he neglects to pay the customary dues to the chiefs and the king. In this case he may be deprived of all or part of his land, but the last crop is not taken from him (1).

423 184 1. An appreciably different administration of property exists in the western part of Bunyambiriri, the extreme north of Ndiza,

423 obliged to submit to the same obligations as his predecessor. If he
[425] is a Mututsi, he is not required to pay any ground rent, and the chief gives him a pasture in addition.

Rights of way and of access are not private. The hill people may move about freely on each other's land. This is also true of the cattle for which special paths are made.

622 In the case of a dispute in matters of landed property, litiga-
692 tion is taken to the hill chief who goes to the place and, after having heard the witnesses, decides between the plaintifs.

3. Customary Law of Hunting

224 Customary laws of hunting are very numerous. Of these we will quote only a few of the most frequent cases.

A native hunting alone who has killed an ordinary antelope (impongo) takes the meat and skins the animal.

224 Hunting with beaters is organized by the chief who decides on
622 the land to be beaten after having taken the advice of the [44] expert Batutsi or Bahutu hunters and following the indications of the trackers. The chief also chooses the beaters from among the least good shots. To stimulate their zeal in this thankless task, he promises them pots of beer if the hunt is successful.

224 The natives are required to take part in the hunt, but they fulfill this obligation willingly as it is a much appreciated entertainment and also a source of profit.

Whoever first wounds an animal during a battue or beat, is presumed to have killed it. He is entitled to the skin and one rear leg. The meat is divided among all the Batutsi and Bahutu hunters. The hunter who has killed several antelopes may keep the skin of one animal.

224 Whoever finds an animal that has been killed must return it to
643 the hunters. At least theoretically, game belongs to the king and skins of any value (1) must be turned over to him, especially those of

281 1. Skins of marsh antelopes are much appreciated by the Batutsi because of their long silky fur with which they make bed coverings. Skins of the "bush bock" and

281 leopard are used as dance ornaments by the intore pages.

224 the otter (inzibyi or igihura), the marsh antelope (mpala), the [643] "bush bock" (inzole), the lion, and the leopard, as well as ivory tusks.

If a wild beast such as a lion or leopard has been killed, [622] its skin must be turned over to the chief who in exchange gives the hunters a sterile cow as ingororano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 48.

224 When the hill chief hunts with his people, he keeps some of 622 the skins and gives the others to the provincial chief, who in turn 643 keeps some of them and, if he considers it advantageous to himself, sends the others to the Mwami. If the hill chief has killed a lion or a leopard, the skin must be turned over to the Mwami. If there are two skins they are divided between the king and the provincial chief. The [45] hill chief may keep a leopardskin only if the hunt has been particularly fruitful.

224 The native who has killed three elephants has the sole right to the tusks of the third animal killed.

224 Finally, a hunter is forbidden to take any part of a crocodile 825 he has killed. The animal with its paws loaded with stones must be thrown to the bottom of the river, for the Banyarwanda believe that the body of the saurian contains a violent poison and they want to prevent its being used.

224 When an animal is pointed out, the beaters who have gone forward into the thickets where they are almost invisible and the hunters who have followed them must indicate their presence by a low whistle. Hunting accidents are regulated by customary law (1).

1. Cf. Penal Law, p. 98.

4. Ownership of Heavy Cattle

422 231 a) Generalities.

[643] The Mwami is the owner of all the cattle in Ruanda or at least of all females kept for breeding purposes. The great chiefs (abatware) are charged by the king to watch over his cattle in the different provinces. Also, the sale of heifers cannot take place without his permission.

On the other hand, the holder of sterile cows or bulls may give away or slaughter these animals as he wishes.

In a province the native who has acquired a cow for breeding [643] purposes has usufruct and has no redress if the Mwami takes away the animal he has bought along with its young. The umutware w'umukenke (2) can oppose the removal of cattle from the province.

2. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Division, p. 85.

422 622 628 Any native who settles in another province must abandon his cattle [46] unless he has the chief's permission to take it with him. When a native leaves his province, leaving his cattle behind, to settle in another, his new chief usually gives him a herd of the same size as the one he has lost. If he escapes from his district carrying off his cattle surreptitiously, his former chief claims the herd. In the past if he was refused he would endeavor to capture a herd of equal value belonging to the deserter's new chief, and an armed clash would invariably result from such a dispute. Today the dispute must be submitted to the Mwami. He eventually orders the new chief to return the cattle, and if the latter is unwilling to do so, he may take from him one or more herds.

Before the European occupation a dissatisfied chief could take all or part of his cattle without previous permission from the Mwami. In this case the chief was "Mwami of his umugaragu."

422 231 The cowherds (abashumba) in the service of the cattle holders are authorized to keep for themselves part of the milk from the animals entrusted to them. They can be discharged in case of negligence.

563 The Batwa, however, stand entirely apart from and below the others. They are not slaves who are forced to render services, but they are regarded as excluded from the society of the others, as outcasts whom the Batussi and the Bahutu despise and detest. They are considered animals, not human beings (No. 19, p. 541). The Batussi and Bahutu do indeed buy all kinds of handicraft products, especially pots, from them and also employ them as medicine men, musicians, and watchmen, but they never enter into closer relationships with them. (In Ruanda it is more likely that exceptions will be made, especially at the royal court.) A Mutussi or a Muhutu will never enter the hut of a Mutwa, he will never eat or drink with him, nor will he use a pot or a garment which has already been used by a Mutwa. [95] Only one thing is permitted: the [576] Mutwa may greet the Murundi and return his greeting although in a different manner than a Murundi would have done.

576 Depending on the social status of the person who tenders a greeting and the person greeted, there are considerable dif-
554 ferences between the forms of greeting used among the Barundi. In all cases the greeting is tendered and returned with a certain amount of ceremonial politeness so much so that some observers maintain that greetings are a kind of religious act. Even the words of the stereotyped greeting often suggest a religious connection (see p. 46). It is perhaps for this reason, but even more likely because of the great innate or learned politeness of the Murundi, that each of them would consider it a serious insult if he were not greeted or if his greeting were not returned. Corresponding to the social stratification of the people, we may differentiate three large groups of greetings.

576 1. Greeting the king. The person greeting the king kneels down,
643 bends toward him, claps his hands in his direction, and calls
554 out: "uganse umwami" (command me, King) or "ugire umwami" (may you enjoy good health, King). The members of the royal family, the Baganwa, who for the most part rule the provinces as head chiefs, are greeted in a similar fashion.

554 2. Greeting the batwale who are not of royal blood and the lesser
576 chiefs of communities. The person tendering the greeting bows

Plate 11

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Batussi Delegation of King Mutaga in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

[643]

King Mutaga (*) of Urundi with Batussi Entourage
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 13

493
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Urundi King Mwesi Kisabo, Carried on a Traveling Litter
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

643
516

Urundi King Mwesi Kisabo, died 1908
(Photo. by "White Fathers" Urundi)

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female
[467] labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[778] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

[p.14 (A)]

643 796 between the various elements of the people; it was supposed to be a large contribution to the land's fertility and the country's welfare, and in all this the part played by the king was prominent.

643 631 Only in fact was the king's power limited. He transferred the leadership of parts of his sultanates to some chiefs, almost in every case relatives (brothers, uncles, cousins), members of the royal family (*baganwa*). In their turn these would establish subchiefs chosen among their relatives, or the aristocracy (*bafásoni*), or even Batutsi commoners, but seldom among the Bahutu. The division reached very far and the last elements of it were not only single hills, but even parts of a hill. And although the ensuing intrication and divided hierarchy remind us forcibly of our own feudo-vassalic middle ages, and appear consequently most unstable, the Barundi system, if we set aside some violent revolutions, possessed some sort of stability and could carry on thanks to its practically hereditary organization. Chiefs, subchiefs and all who had availed themselves of the deep-seated division of authority were naturally possessed of rights over the common people and were entitled to demand from them various privileges, usually defined by local custom, and which ranged from a present of beer to well-determined contributions or vaguer corvées (services).

423 661 Some scholars have maintained that the *mwami* definitely had a right of possession over the land of the whole of his sultanate. But the truth is that land was not an object of property for the *mwami* or for commoners and the *mwami* and his representatives simply had to allow its utilization and choose the people to carry it out. Such designations were, just as the political leaderships, more or less unstable, more or less precarious; there exists a heredity in fact; but it is possible for a chief, should he care to do so, to eject the tenants. Besides, the abandoned or untilled lands are at his disposal. The system in general enables members of the leading classes as well as members of the subject classes to constitute estates with the only difference that the former will possess large herds of cattle and have their lands tilled by people liable to unpaid service while the latter have only very few cows and must depend on their own labour and that of their families.

The political leader's say in agricultural matters also solves the difficult problem of proportioning field and pasture-lands. The chief will not allow the latter to be reduced, and the threat to the cattle-breeder is further avoided by the chief's right to use the sorghum fields for pastures after the harvest (*ibishaka-shaka*) either for themselves or for others.

423 The territory of an important chief, with its intermixing complex of herds, estates, revenues, and services, very often extended over large, sometimes

[p.14 (B)]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

Man and the Non-material World

Imana, the Creator

Imana, the creator, is a person. He is conceived as an intelligence, a will, an emotivity. He is extremely powerful: 'the plant protected by *Imana* is never hurt by wind', '*Imana* has very long arms', '*Imana* goes above any shield'. He is non-material. His action influences the whole world; but Ruanda is his home where he comes to spend the night. He is always invoked as 'God of Ruanda' (*Imana y'i Ruanda*). 776

Imana is essentially good: 'your enemy is digging a pitfall for you, *Imana* prepares your exit', '*Imana* gives, he does not sell'. This is why he takes care of men and why there is no cult in his honour. He is so good, I have been told, that he does not require any offering.

There is a special creative act of *Imana* at the beginning of each person's life. Impregnation in itself would not be sufficient to produce a new human being. This is why the young wife, at evening, leaves a few drops of water in a jar. *Imana*, as a potter, needs some water to shape the clay into a child in her womb. Then, after birth, *Imana* decides what life is to be for that individual: happy or unhappy. If, later on, a man is miserable, poverty-stricken, in bad health, it is said that he was created by *Ruremakwaci*. This way of speaking has led some observers to understand that besides *Imana*, there was another creator, perhaps subordinate, perhaps an evil spirit. As a matter of fact, *Ruremakwaci* is the name given to *Imana* when he does not create very successfully, when 'he is tired', or, for some inscrutable reason, decides that a certain destiny will be unhappy. This is consistent with the Ruanda linguistic habit of assigning different names to one cause according to its different effects. 776 842 776 777 [196]

Imana's influence is thought to be always beneficial for human beings. It happens very often that obstacles are placed in the way of his action by malevolent agencies of the invisible world, but from him only good things come. This is not completely consistent with the belief in an unfortunate predestination by *Imana*. It should be noted, first, that the theory of predestination has not a very deep impact on the attitude of Banyarwanda. A person who thinks himself unhappy, and might thus suspect that he has been predestined to a miserable life, does not seem to be submerged by a feeling of doom. Unless he is brought to despair by a situation from which there is no escape, he will go on living and trying to improve his condition. Secondly, this inconsistency will be better understood if we consider the attitude of Banyarwanda towards the king (the *Mwami*) in similar circumstances. The *Mwami*, the supreme authority is good, yet he may be harmful and cruel to some of his subjects. As his power is absolute, as he is magically identified with Ruanda itself, he may never be criticized. Thus the victims of some arbitrary royal decision, and their friends, go on saying that the king is good but that his favourite counsellor is very bad and is responsible for what they suffer. As might be expected, in Ruanda God is conceived [152] [43]

642 individuals through a continuous chain of lesser chiefs." This regime resulted from the invasion and conquest of Ruanda by the Hamites. The monarchical system was introduced by them in order "to keep the subject people within a very tight administrative network." (1) Ac-

1. Les Relations entre l'évolution sociale et l'évolution religieuse /The Relations between Social and Religious Evolution/ by Rev. Fr. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J. (Correspondant, January 25, 1929.)

cording to the classification adopted by Deniker (2), the Banyarwanda

2. Races et peuples de la terre /Races and Peoples of the Earth/, 1900, p. 151.
Deniker divides peoples into savage, semicivilized, and civilized.

belong in their degree of culture to the first group by the Bahutu and Batwa, but it is also proper to place them in the second category on account of the Hamites, who gave their conquered subjects an organization superior to that of the peoples in the first stage and a higher degree of culture. They form an intermediate group between the first two divisions of this classification.

643 The land is governed by a king with unlimited and hereditary powers (we are speaking of the past). The symbol of royalty is a drum, a sacred object, a sort of palladium referred to as Kalinga. /38/

Like all African potentates, the Hamitic prince formerly held powers of life and death over his subjects. Everything belonged to him in his own right, lands and people, crops and livestock. He
631 would designate the dignitaries and the provincial governors, who were almost invariably chosen from the ranks of the Batutsi, the noble and conquering race.

631 These in turn would select their own assistants, who became "hill chiefs." The great chiefs, although they owned a number of dwellings in their respective districts, seldom lived among their people.

[662] Ever surrounded by jealous and often malevolent rivals, they were exposed to intrigues. Espionage and delation were endemic at court. This is why the great dignitaries remained by the king's side in order to guard against all eventualities.

643 Hamitic royalty, once it became powerful, immediately acquired great brilliance: United under a single scepter, the Banyarwanda became one of the best-organized Negro peoples and spread beyond their natural boundaries to defeat and subject to tribute the enemy nations around them. The union of the Bahutu clans took place thanks to the increasingly centralized administrative organization of the new inhabitants.

The Hamitic kings never lost the simplicity of their ancient mores. They kept up their interest in their herds of cattle, which they regularly asked to see, and they would ask and remember the names and genealogy of the animals. On the battlefields they were hardly distinguishable from their warriors, whose outfit and weapons they wore: a mere goatskin around the loins, a spear, a bow and arrows.

In peacetime, however, etiquette would elevate the monarch 644 and isolate him from his subjects. One could not visit him without asking for an audience and being announced first. This was so at least as far as common people were concerned, for dignitaries and favorites acted with greater freedom and even took certain liberties. According to court protocol, one had /39/ to clap hands (gukom' amashi) when appearing before the monarch.

The "lords" would throng around him to fill out the government offices and to make up the court (1). Not only were princes of royal

1. "The Hamitic Court!" In dealing with the persons and times whose history we are describing, one must not think of the courts established in civilized countries. The Batutsi Court does not

644 with flagrant disgraces and the official executions that sometimes
662 resulted from them.

People became madly infatuated with everything abnormal or enigmatic, with the predictions of sorcerers, with ghosts, crimes, sudden or mysterious death.

And since the regular court attendants had a thorough knowledge of their neighbors' genealogy, past, history, acquaintances, and interests, it is easy to guess that the daily chronicle also concerned private quarrels, bereavements, marriages, and births. This was the usual pabulum of conversation. Similar in this respect to a certain French king who associated largely with lowly people, fortunetellers, astrologists, apothecaries, wig makers, and even the executioner, the Hamitic monarch also liked to surround himself with master cooks, archiaters, healers, magicians, and charlatans of all sorts to whom he occasionally distributed honors and appointments (1).

1. Some striking examples of those royal favors are known. Some subjects in most humble circumstances managed to obtain the hand of a Hamitic princess and to be raised to noble rank.

643 One can easily imagine what the royal administration was like
661 under the circumstances. No desire to encourage the arts, to favor agriculture, to improve the people's condition. The rights of the people exist theoretically, but they are regulated by no organic text and are too often dependent on the whims of royal and local power.

Infatuated with their own glory and exclusively preoccupied with their own pleasure, the sovereigns had no ambition other than to raise their prestige and to enjoy life.

The kings did not resemble one another from one reign to the next.

A warrior would succeed a peaceful man. Some, cruel and brutal, had the bloody whims and disordered passions of despots and degenerates. Others, of /42/ simpler tastes, led a peaceful existence and allowed the people to breathe.

643 One hears of sovereigns who liked and practiced the "things
661 of the mind," such as Yuhi-Mazimpaka, whose literary output is still highly prized by Black intellectuals.

The king's wives and concubines lived away from the court.
644 "Either he had noticed their beauty himself..., or their charms had been brought to his attention by the great who were sure to please him in so doing."

Among the reasons for the profusion of wives in the sovereign's harem, "the yearnings of the heart and the demands of the senses both played their part" above all else. Many a prince surrendered without restraint to voluptuous activities. Yet one hears of some romances adorned with the charms of literature which may actually have taken place.

It must be admitted in all fairness that a powerful idea pre-
842 sided over the establishment of the family among the Hamites. Like the Hebrews and so many other ancient peoples, the Batutsi regarded large numbers of children, and especially sons, as an honor, a glory, and a source of strength. They considered themselves fortunate if they could watch the growth of their children and their children's children to the third and fourth generations.

A large progeny seemed to them a sure guarantee for the future
595 of their race. Let us add that peace could not reign in their homes.
578 For among the legitimate wives, there was almost invariably a favorite. "Competing among themselves, competing for their children, they drove the latter to rivalry, and the husband, following his preferences or giving way to his weakness, did not always share equitably his heart, his favors, and his goods." (1) /43/

1. The loved wife is called nkundwakazi, the hated wife mbikazi. A rival is called mukeba or umugore w'ishyari, that is to say, literally, "jealously woman /or wife/."

595 One can easily imagine the troubles and conflicts caused by an excessive number of wives and children.

The history of the Hamitic princes of Ruanda contains "pages soiled and as if bloodied by the tale of passions which set them one against the other and which, unleashed with brutal violence, " eventually gave rise to tragedies and palace revolutions. Family unity and family spirit have never gained anything from polygamy. The history of the Hamites of Ruanda is here to prove and confirm this.

The king's mother held first place among the harem princesses,
644 and reigned along with her son. She was "shown the most respectful consideration, and whoever wished to obtain some favor from the monarch had no better recourse than to see her first. "

It has been said that a people must be well disciplined in
157 order to grow prosperous and powerful. The Hamites' strength resided
643 in their courage and organization.

Those who know the Hamites cannot but admire among their qualities perseverance in an undertaking and obedience to chiefs. One must recognize in these political and diplomatic beings, and this is to their credit, a thorough self-possession and great calmness. As true leaders, they rarely give way to anger, and their violent feelings rarely show.

Their apprenticeship to life begins early.

868 From childhood on, indeed, the young Batutsi devote themselves to real exercises in sports, under the supervision of the Mwami or of the great chiefs. They practice endurance and bravely bear the fatigue of the lengthy and frequent exercises of guhamiriza (dances indigenous to the Batutsi). For many years they remain as pages (intore) in the service of the Mwami or of the provincial governors, in order to be trained to life and to win the favors of currently powerful figures. /44/

173 His reign, being recent, is well known, and the tale of his expeditions is still to be heard from the lips of those of his contemporaries who survived him. His popularity is almost equal to that of his grandfather Ruganzu II, whose deeds and actions, badly distorted by legend as they are, have been preserved and are still the subject of many a fireside conversation. Lwabugiri's shifts of mood were most interesting. [197] His revenges, like his bloodthirsty whims, were short lived. He would raise the children of his victims and adopt young captives for whom he took a fancy, shower them with wealth, and admit them into his family.

His immediate successor, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, barely remained on the throne for a year. He was overthrown by Kabale, the most powerful chief of the Hamitic Bega clan.

So as not to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, the vanquished king took his own life. Mussinga, one of Lwabugiri's youngest sons, was immediately enthroned under the name of Yuhi IV.

Through his mother Kanjogera, he was a nephew of the ambitious Kabale, who was regent before the young prince came of age. The Banyiginya clan, from which the royal family is issued and which had until then wielded a preponderant influence at court, was stripped of its property. The most outstanding chiefs of the vanquished party were relentlessly killed by the Bega people, who divided the government of the provinces among themselves over the corpses of their victims. The Bega men, embittered because they had been kept away from public affairs, were avenging once and for all the inferior position in which they felt /93/ they had been held for such a long time by their rivals.

One may ask whether Kabale when he gave his nephew the royal name of Yuhi did not do so intentionally.

643 173 551 Two categories of kings are distinguished: warrior kings and peaceful kings (from the verb guteka, "to sit." (1))

1. The same verb guteka also means "to cook" (kupika in Kiswahili).

The name which is given to them on the day of their enthronement binds and commits them throughout their reign to a certain course of

643 action. "Ruganzu" is a war name, and so is "Kigeri." Ruganzu II
173 Ndori, as recounted by one tradition, had suffered so much (yari
551 yarushye chyane) that in order to spare his successors as much as possible of the anxieties, sorrows, and fatigue he had endured, he demanded that his name of "Ruganzu" should vanish forever with him into the grave. He thought that he would reduce thereby the number of future wars. The titles of "mutara" and "Yuhi" commit to peace those to whom they are given, who are not permitted to cross rivers (ntibambuk' uruzi). To break this "taboo" would make them and their realm subject to great misfortunes.

701 Thus, it was not Mutara himself who conquered the Gissaka. In case of a necessary war or expedition, the sovereign appoints two generals, one of whom (umugabe) has command of military operations while the other holds a mere honorary rank. He is said to exercise an occult and magic influence over the opponents, who cannot fail to be conquered if he fulfills his role properly. In the course of his expeditions, Lwabugiri always had at his side one of those generals with superstitious functions. They are called Abagaba.

Book IV

(First Fascicle)

The Royal Court

(Its Posts, Privileges, Mores, and Customs)

644 /348/ The object of the present study is the organization of the royal court, its posts and offices, its customs and festivals (1).

1. In order to designate the court and capital as they are here and now, the Banyarwanda use the word

644

ibgami, "at the king's."
In speaking of the ancient
royal residences, they use
the noun umurwa, plural
imirwa, or else ikigabiro,
plural ibigabiro. As for the
term umuhango (plural
imihango), it signifies "mores,
customs, traditions," hence
the name Abanyamihango given
to the "keepers of the customs."

[642] We remind the reader that the native government is an absolute and hereditary monarchy.

The sovereign is master of the land and all it contains; he deals
643 with the life and goods of his subjects as he pleases. Until recently
his power knew no bounds of any sort and was wholly dependent upon
[776] his whims or good will. Imana (God) was no more powerful than he.
Any attempt to draw a comparison between the two was formerly
[687] regarded as a crime of high treason. God and the King could, at
best, be one and the same person.

The subjects, therefore, tended to be regarded as things from
641 which to draw as much pleasure and well-being as possible.

Their own worth and usefulness were assessed and measured
only with reference to the king. Let us add that the welfare of the
kingdom, although it was not disregarded, could only come second
in the thoughts of the king. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans,
644 the dignitaries of the realm to whom the king assigned the government
of the provinces were compelled to spend most of their time at court.
The Hamitic princes were very eager to keep the nobility close to
them. They were always on the alert and daily surveyed the lords and
courtiers who surrounded them (2). The latter belong /349/ almost

2. From Saint Simon we learn
that the situation was the same
under Louis XIV. "It is a demerit

644 appointed bards (abachurabgenge), as well as literary jousters or men
538 of choice language called Abasizi, whose only role is to refresh the king's memory or to beguile his leisure with tasteful improvisations. Even the commoners are not insensitive to literature. There is not a single Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ who is not keenly interested in the legends, narratives, fables, moral or humorous tales, riddles, plays on words, jokes, etc., belonging to the oral literature.

644 Every post at the capital has its own traditions which must be scrupulously observed. We shall attempt to provide a short description of the duties and regulations connected with those offices, and of the practices and formalities to which the king must submit on the one hand and his subjects on the other.

The reader should not be surprised to hear that there is etiquette and ceremonial at court.

It is easy to imagine the oddity of a circle such as that of the court, where such varied figures rub shoulders within such a relatively small space: lords, courtiers, disciples of Aesculapius and vulgar charlatans, servants, sorcerers and diviners of various sorts, caterers, stewards, dancers, pages, keepers of the traditions, official chroniclers, literary men, etc., to list but a few. /353/ This whole world exists, thinks, and acts for the sake of the king alone. It is a true medieval court with, moreover, pagan mores where the element of sorcery predominates.

128 Laymen unfamiliar with Africa will be able to form an idea of what a king and his court represent in a Black land. What we shall say of the former political situation, the royal mores that prevailed, the human tributes and bloody bondage, will not only describe the [643] ancient times but also demonstrate the respect that surrounded the person of the king, who was regarded by his subjects as a demigod. When viewed in the past, his bloody whims, far from being injurious to his reputation, only served to strengthen his power and his majesty. Primitive souls are awed by displays of brute force.

Among other interesting details, one will find in these pages the more or less rational origin, derived from legend or history, of many a practice and custom that still exists today.

794 6. "The dog that runs like the wind" (Nyakayaga).
552 7. "The dog with fringes (with long hair)" (Nyagayonga).

Among the prototypes or figures who appear in this legend,
173 Ryangombe is the one most highly honored.
794 He is regarded as a sort of hunter-king who made volcanoes his favoirte dwelling place after his death.

According to the same narrative, he still enjoys the pleasures of the hunt with his sons, companions, and favorites in those high mountainous and wooded regions. The Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa have participated in this cult in large numbers. They observe its /369/ rites faithfully and observe the rules of the arcana. The ceremonies take place mostly at night. Each of the adepts appeals to the spirit or spirits for whom he has a special devotion. The Batutsi have chosen those whose life most closely parallels their own.

643 The chiefs do not like to mix with their subjects to honor those powerful spirits, but they seek out the help of the Bahutu and
794 Batwa who belong tothis cult and have them dance and sing in honor of Ryangombe and his companions. The Bahutu and Batwa alone take part in the ritual processions and collections which are carried out through the villages in summertime.

794 The gestures of this cult are pervaded with earnest and impressive seriousness. Initiation, confirmation, ritual feasts, the taking on and carrying out of vows, the collections and processions, all take place secretly, away from prying eyes. Laymen are not allowed to come near the gatherings, and jests and insults directed at the initiates were seriously punished in the old times. A former queen, Nyiramulema (a wife of King Mutara), was crucified upon the ground in the courtyard of her dwelling by the imandwa for having ridiculed their ceremonies. The tomb of the unfortunate woman lies at Savé, in the Nyarigina quarter.

644 II. Official Posts of Great Importance from the Standpoint of the Crown (Ingoma) as well as from that of the Executive.
Generals and Official Drummers.
Executioners, Capital Punishment, and the "Pit" of the Bugessera.

701 1. The generals or commanders of the armed forces.

644 forebears. Along with thedeeds of the past, they must preserve the
814 memory of each king's name, the names of the queen mother, of the king's immediate ancestors, and of the tribe to which they belonged.

Needless to say, critical sense has not yet appeared in the land. It happens sometimes that the Court historians and keepers of the traditions disagree about some detail which is now forgotten or
[787] in dispute. In such cases divinatory sacrifices are offered in order to find out what the king should be told (1).

1. See "Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom of Ruanda" /Book II, not translated/ for opinions regarding the authenticity of the first /few/ sovereigns. As fas as the beginnings of the kingdom are concerned, the traditional documentation is of greater value to ethnology than to history.

In spite of their inherent faults and imperfections, the epics nevertheless are not lacking in interest or charm. Through them we can grasp at first hand the thoughts of the Banyarwanda, their feelings, their /375/ ideas about life, their love of their native soil, their attachment to old customs and memories of the past. They reveal the pathetic sorrow caused by foreign invasions, and the enthusiasm inspired by eventual triumph.

[64] 7. The keepers of the traditions belong to the important Abiru clan. Their role is to preserve the unity and continuity of customs at the capital and throughout the realm. The supreme chief of this corporation is the chief of the Batsobe, whose position entails numerous and varied functions.

644 In accordance with a popular tradition, he is personally en-
● 643 trusted with the task of collecting the umbilical cord (umukungwa) of
787 each of the king's sons, as well as their teeth, including their milk teeth. Then, when the time comes to determine the heir to the throne, it is this personage who has the honor of presiding over the selection.

644 According to popular belief, this choice is made in a very interesting
643 manner. The umbilical cords of the young princes are buried separate-
787 ly in pots of ficus wood (umwuko), with gourd, sorghum, eleusine, and native spinach (issogi) seeds planted all around them (1). The

[824]

1. These seeds are designated by the name of mbuto nkuru, that is to say, "the major seeds." Eleusine and sorghum play an important role in the diet by yielding a sort of native bread. Spinach is also highly valued because of the flavor it lends to the beans with which it is cooked. The Banyarwanda also include in this category the seeds of a special gourd called inzungwane, which is hollowed out when ripe. It is used to store beer, and it is this relationship to pombe, so highly appreciated by the natives, which lends so much importance to the seed.

[252]

[415]

According to another popular belief, the successor to the throne is the one among the king's sons born with the "major seeds" in his right hand.

After subjugating the Bahutu by force, the Hamites insured their obedience by exploiting their credulity.

future holder of the drum is pointed out by the most plentiful harvest. According to these naive people, the umbilical cords are /376/ then discarded except for that of the crown prince, which must be preserved (1).

643

1. In actual practice it is the king himself who designates his heir directly during his lifetime, or indirectly through executors, who make known the king's last will after his death.

When the throne was left vacant, there often ensued contests which gave rise to complications and bloody tragedies.

The Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief of the most powerful clan sometimes made his own choice among the sons of the dead king andfforced acceptance of his candidate. This happened in 1896, when Kabale rebelled against the rightful heir, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, and had Yuhi IV Musinga, his own nephew and the present king, elected instead.

644 767 8. The royal corporation of undertakers called Abanyamugogo. Rightly or wrongly, they claim to be descendants of those who handled the funeral of Ruganzu II Ndori.

We shall mention them again in the section dealing with funeral rites.

644 681 696 9. Executioners.

They are usually chosen from among the Batwa.

So far as ordinary criminals are concerned, executions take place at the capital. High-ranking culprits are often placed in the custody of a chief, who leads them to the Buberuka or Bugessera provinces.

The unfortunate victims are strangled or smitten down with spears, and then tossed into the pit (urwobo) of Bayanga or into the shifting marsh of Nkonde. Aside from strangulation and drowning,

686 "Why don't you make the sky weep if you wish to find a remedy for your suffering!" people would shout at them as a joke (1).

1. Izuba libaririre!

"If it does not rain at such-and-such a time, if you do not make our fields green again, you will die".... And execution followed close upon the threat.

635 692 Like the king, the great Batutsi chiefs sat in judgment and passed sentence in their provinces when they resided there or whenever they were passing through. They were not all alike. Among them there were just and humane men, and one likes to believe that they were in the majority. Some nevertheless left a bad reputation on account of their cruelty. It is said that two of them took pleasure 681 in having the arms of their victims bound behind their backs with wire drawn so tightly that the elbows met and the wire sank into the flesh.... Many persons died of this unique and atrocious torment. Another dignitary had those upon whom he wanted to wreak his revenge immobilized and made to lie on their backs.

Then he would make his victim drink a pitcher of beer or water through a gourd shaped like a funnel. A third man, leaning heavily on his spear, would pierce his victim's foot and thus nail him to the ground. A high dignitary punished those who had displeased him by seizing two of their fingers and pulling them apart with all his might, thus tearing the tissues that connected them. Fortunately, however, those were exceptions which should be ascribed to paganism, the primitiveness of customs, the cruelty of the times, the criminal procedures then in effect, the passions aroused by clan struggles, the competition for power, the revolutions, and sometimes also the proud and savage conceit of chiefs who were too young to govern. /380/

643 661 In order to gain an accurate understanding of the more that prevailed at the time, the reader must be reminded that the life of a man counted for very little in the eyes of the king and of the great chiefs. Subjects of Lwabugiri who are still alive today (he died in 1895) report that in order to show his skill or to judge the strength of his bow, the sovereign would shoot at the first person who appeared

643 along the road, to the sanctimonious applause of his entourage. Once
661 he even tried his spear against one of his chief lieutenants. The latter had the audacity to evade the blow, pick up the weapon, and hurl it back at him with equal skill. The king managed to duck and showed no displeasure, at least on that day. He even congratulated the man for his boldness and courage and said that he was a "man" (umugabo).

This scene was enacted more than once during the same reign. The unfortunate men who served as targets to the spirited monarch, however, lacked sufficient audacity, and especially good fortune, to get away... with such amiable words.

Under the reign of the present monarch, Yuhi IV Musinga,
[687] from the time of his accession to the throne and prior to European penetration, the famous Ndamutsa drum often heralded one or several executions. Aside from the crime of sorcery it was enough to be denounced, rightly or wrongly, as having spoken poorly of the king and queen mother. Such crimes were punished on short order and briskly.

Public rumor has it that the young king tried his first gun shot on a madman. He hit him point blank.

The courtiers who were present at this murder scene emitted frenzied bravos to applaud the supreme skill of His Majesty.

[177] European influence and supervision alone managed to bring to an end this state of affairs and this kind of behavior, which in the natives' way of thought only served to accentuate the majesty and power of the king. /381/ It does not follow that this change made the pagan Blacks any happier, for they were awed by the ancient customs and the bloody displays of brute force.

671 In principle, justice was the king's justice, since as the saying goes, "the king is the law." For the sake of truthfulness, however, it must be added that there is a set of laws in existence. It is certainly not a complete code, but it nevertheless includes a series of laws and practices adding up to a veritable common law which, had it been rigorously applied, would have avoided many an extortion and cruelty. Gradually, over the centuries, a special procedure had been established for litigations bearing on property rights, inheritance rights, matrimonial rights and bride price, physical damage such as

784 keeper or owner of a herd, his property would also suffer from this infraction of custom (2). /411/

2. His cows would bear only male calves.

A husband may not use this kitchen utensil to beat his wife! He would risk the loss of his life.

The failure to observe most of the prescribed customs while celebrating a wedding would make the parents of the two partners liable to illness or death.

[551] When asked what their name is, children, young men, and girls either do not answer or give a false name, for fear that the stranger may cast an evil spell upon them and thus prevent them from growing.

[841] A woman in her menses may not enter a hut where there is a newborn child, lest she cause the baby to contract scabies. Hence [751] the custom of placing a copper-thread bracelet (ururnyerere, or urwinjiri) about the neck of babies as a talisman and preventive.

[643] The king must never bend his knees, in order not to expose his kingdom to becoming smaller.

A father may not step over the hide that serves as a portable cradle (ingobyi) for his child, nor may a son step over his mother's belt.

A woman may not step over a spear, milk a cow, repair the roof of a hut, imitate (!) the cry of a rooster, etc.

It is forbidden to sit on a food basket.

When it thunders, one may not smoke a pipe when seated on a chair.

No one may rest on a sheepskin, or he will contract scabies (ngo badahumana). There is danger of death involved in carrying a whetting stone (ityazo) into someone else's house.

It is expressly forbidden to kill certain birds and certain reptiles, [825 not only because they are totem but also because they are regarded 777] either as good luck for the land, like the wagtail (inyamanza), or as bad luck, like the scaly anteater, whose dead body might draw great misfortunes upon the territory. /412/

5: Pagès--139 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

784 A traveler who stubs his left foot against an obstacle or who
[484] meets with a rat whose pelt is slightly mottled (umushushwe) must return home, lest misfortune come to him.

If one finds black ants (intozi) on one's path, he must draw his hand over his foot as though to remove them, lest they swarm into his hut.

A pregnant woman must not see a European nor hear the sound
[843] of a gunshot, else the child she bears will suffer (1).

1. In order to neutralize this influence, she need only procure a cartridge case, a piece of paper,
[751] or even a piece of tile, brick, or any other object of European origin, and wear it around her neck as an amulet or talisman. The child will be born safe from injury.

[842] A woman who has borne only sons may not nurse the daughter of another woman, lest she bear nothing but girls from now on.

A man may not meet with his betrothed or with his mother-in-law prior to marriage (2). The king was formerly forbidden to see
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2. Cf. "Cérémonies du mariage /Marriage Ceremonies/," by Fr. Pagès (Anthropos, 1925).

his sons, at least in theory, for it has been proved that the last monarchs often broke this rule.

If the manufacturer of banana wine insults someone while crushing the fruit, he runs the risk of contracting the scurfy disease (guhumana).

A woman must keep silent while kneading sorghum dough. If a dog or chicken dirties the floor of the hut, she is forbidden to leave her work and clean the spot, or the bread may shrink.

If the bottom bananas in a bunch ripen first, the owner of the grove worries because it means that a danger threatens him. /413/

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drawn to the beauty of the fair stranger. The king was notified. She was the girl he had been waiting for. As a reward, the wagtail was granted a permanent privilege to its species called ubulenga nzira, which included immunity and a sort of tithe to be levied upon the crops throughout the realm.

near the hill of Lwoga, not far from Nyanza, the present capital.

563 The Bagessera regard themselves as the most important Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan, and claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of Ruanda. According to them, they were the first masters of the land. /462/

Bloody Bondage Imposed on Some Families

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178 The Bakono, Banyabyinshi, and Bakunzi of the Kinyaga were for a long time the victims of this /type of bondage/.

Let us add, however, that the brutality and cruelty characteristic of those inhuman and now suppressed customs had lost some of their primitive harshness in the course of the last two reigns.

1. The expiatory debt to which the Bakono were bound for having fought Ruganzu II had been changed altogether.

Upon the accession of a new king to the throne, the Bakono
● 643 had to send one or two of their people to the capital, and so did
644 another clan which had formerly belonged to the Banyabyinshi group,
178 so often mentioned at the beginning of the great king's reign.

At court, instead of having their throats slit as was formerly done, those people were merely sprinkled with lustral water (chalk water) and driven for an instant into the hut of the spirits as though being offered in sacrifice to them. There the matter rested. Other chroniclers state that it was customary to beat them a few times with

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178 sticks so that the custom should not altogether lose its penal character.

2. Another improvement over the past has been the complete suppression during the two preceding reigns of the odious custom which prompted each new prince when he ascended the throne to send his troops into the Russokovu, between the Bugamba and Kingogo, to make war and receive their baptism of fire.

This was called "to make the king's spear drink blood" (guhir' icchumu ry' umwami).

Just as the Banyarwanda have the habit of leading their herds to the watering hole (guhir' inka) at the /463/ beginning of the day, a traditional custom also made it necessary for the king to make his spear drink blood (kunywesh' amarasso icchumu ry' umwami) upon his accession to the throne.

After killing some unfortunate people, the victorious warriors returned home.

The beginning of a reign could not be augured more auspiciously.

Ruganzu II Ndori was the first to launch such an expedition,
773 which later became traditional.

He did this to punish the killers of his father. According to one version, which has already been cited (1), old King Ndahiro was

1. Cf. Book III, Histoire du règne de Ruganzu II, /History of Ruganzu II's Reign/ /not translated/.

killed at Russokovo, by the Bakongoro (a segment of the great Banyabyinshi faction) who had rebelled against him and whom he had set out to subjugate.

The expedition ended in disaster. Ndahiro, so the tradition adds, died there along with many of his followers. The rebels seized the king's drums and had them burned. Only the Kalinga, or palladium of the realm, escaped the conquerors. This is why the
[103] place where the defeat took place has been known since by the name

773 [103] of Rubi rw'inyundo, meaning "the evil of the hammer, " to recall that the weapons wrought by the blacksmiths' hammers were fatal there to Ndahiro and his warriors (2).

2. There are numerous variations on this historical theme. The inhabitants of the Bugamba insist that Ruganzu II was smoked out of Kirengo Cave by the Banyabyinshi. Hence the custom, they say, of leading two of the inhabitants of the land to the capital, where they were beaten, in memory of and punishment for this misdeed. Others believe that it was Chyilima-Rugwe who was fatally injured by the Bakongoro and who, pursued by his enemies, came to die near Gasseke, where his skeleton was later found. These tragic circumstances would explain the 15 annual days of mourning in June, if the disaster was such as the chroniclers lead us to suppose.

178 643 3. Fortunate, too, is the abolition of the custom which prompted the young king to kill one of his maternal uncles (nyirarume) with his own hands, an act which was political as well as /464/ superstitious, and which often followed close on the murder of the princes who were the monarch's relatives by marriage.

The prosperity of the realm was believed to depend on the fulfillment of cruel customs.

The abolition of these barbarous practices would be wholly to the credit of the Banyarwanda were it not for the fact that in 1895, at the time when Mibambge-Rutalindwa was deposed, the victorious Bega faction then in power committed innumerable atrocities toward

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643 the vanquished that the natives sometimes relate to each other secretly and fearfully in the evening by the fire.

4. The best known of those customs is the punishment of the
178 Bachuku and Bayumbo, who are from Bukunzi land, linked to the
643 Kinyaga province.
782 The story of the misdeed which gave rise to this penalty is told in Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II /The History of the Reign of Ruganzu II/ /Book III, not translated/.

Because the bull in one of the great king's herds had been killed, the king himself proceeded to take a blazing revenge there and then by having two young men and two young women killed in the valley called Nyakafunzo.

"My spear," cried the angered monarch, "I shall henceforth leave it among you so that you may give it children. At every change of reign, you shall surrender a young man and a young woman to expiate your misdeed." The royal envoys, therefore, would appear whenever a new king succeeded to the throne and claim their human tribute.

The young man was killed on the spot at Nyakafunzo. A dagger was plunged into his armpit. The blood was gathered into a wooden jar which was then taken into enemy country in accordance with directives from the capital.

The shedding of this cursed blood guaranteed the defeat of those inhabitants who had offended the king /465/ or who were at war with him. The corpse of the unfortunate one was left on the spot, where the hyenas soon disposed of it.... As for the young woman who had to be supplied by the Bachuku, it was agreed that she should be chosen among mothers who were suckling a baby girl. Her lot was less fearsome. She was given in marriage to the Bumbogo, where she had to attend to the cultivation of sorghum and eleusine, whose "first fruits" were taken to court for the great annual festival celebrated there at that time. As a further contribution to this custom, the Bachuku also supplied the flour mill used to grind the sorghum and eleusine.

An earthen jug and the large household spoon, or spatula, (umwuko), used to make bread (umutsima) were sent along with the millstones.

178 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the
●643 present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which
782 took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of
661 exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or
644 families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the
644 Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

554 It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial
565 unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

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Sentashonga, the victim's cousin, was granted permission that evening to have the corpse of his relative buried.

The elders and former habitués of the court do not lack for narratives of this kind, which they relate like any other tale without seeming overly shocked by them. Such is the environment, such are the mores and attitudes. /485/ [521]

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"The king is the master," they say. "He does as he pleases. The decisions he makes cannot be contested. He is the supreme judge. One can only obey and assent." The victims' relatives were sometimes the first to come and greet him, feigning total impassiveness, forced as they were to drive back to the bottom of their hearts the bitter pain which they could not but feel.

Complaints, wails, and recriminations could only have stirred up the anger of the king and given rise to new slaughters.

While looking after his own safety, every person also had to keep in mind that of his people /relatives and friends/. The latter, indeed, might be held responsible for the deeds and actions, no matter how harmless, of any of their fellow members. The extermination of a whole family formerly weighed very little on the scale of royal justice.

So as not to provoke trouble which might prove fatal, therefore, they put a good face on misfortune. These executed, however innocent they might have been, were claimed in loud voices to have been cursed men (ibichibga) or rebels. To shed tears or express one's sorrow were crimes of high treason. "A mere whim of the master was sufficient to send a person to punishment. What won't one do to avoid so cruel a fate?" This statement made by a court favorite of the previous reign /avant-règne/ reveals a great deal about the mores of the time. "If the king happened to sprain his foot," added the same man, "to knock against some obstacle or pebble, it was not a good idea to meet with him at that moment." [687]

In his anger the monarch might accuse anyone of having bewitched him, and wreak then and there a signal vengeance.

Professional executioners were not always used for this purpose. The king might call upon any member of his retinue to carry out the task. The person had to comply, no matter how revolted he might [696]

643 be /486/ by this dreadful assignment. Hands unpracticed in dealing
644 death might sometimes fumble, but the master was watching and
646 the task had to be carried through. The fact of being a friend of the victim did not exempt anyone from this odious task.

As a rule and with some rare exceptions, it may be said that the subjects were not inordinately appalled by such assignments, so much was this an accepted custom of the times.

186 This did not prevent the Banyarwanda from regarding themselves as superior to other Blacks, whom they thought to surpass in intelligence and civilization. Despite the stains and stigmas of the past, they reject with irritation the term Shenzi, which is applied exclusively to noncivilized groups, as not applying in any way to them or to their ancestors. It is good to close the tale of these cruel practices and to feel that the curtain of time has been drawn forever over the past.

III. Poisoning and Bewitching: The Use of Charms and Philters

754 What should we really believe about those victims whose death is attributed to bewitchment or poisoning? The Blacks unquestionably mention this constantly. Their credulity in this connection is universal and extraordinary.

Numerous examples are cited of deaths which are said to have resulted from one or the other of those alleged causes.

We may add that the natives are familiar with numerous methods for bewitching their enemies, and that sorcerers in this evil category, both male and female, are found in great numbers throughout the country. One thing is certain: their superlative reputation is worse than their deeds.

As for crimes of poisoning, one may rest assured that such attempts were made and that toxic materials were used to this end, some of which were extracted locally and others purchased in neighboring regions such as /487/ the Uswi and Bunyabungu. How effective were those poisons? This is not easy to determine since, on the one hand, a true case of poisoning has never actually been witnessed, although the Blacks are absolutely convinced that they do occur

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home, on the advice of his familiars, in a hut that stood nearby. The sorcerers assured him that he had nothing more to fear on the part of the spirits, who had been given full satisfaction by means of this trick.

643 Upon the accession of each new king to the throne, a special envoy went to the Ruzizi Valley and drew water from a spring called Zina. He took some of that water and brought it for the young monarch to drink.

The reasons for this custom, which has now fallen into disuse, have been forgotten.

Chapter 6

I. The Two Great Festivals at Court

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The two most important celebrations (ibirori) take place at the official presentation of the "First Fruits," and on the day following the annual mourning period, which the king and his court must observe.

This latter feast, which closes the month of June, is celebrated with the same pomp and richness. Since it will be described in the chapter dealing with honors rendered to the spirits of the royal dead, we shall discuss here only the festival called "First-Fruits" festival.

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In their enthusiasm and admiration for Ruganzu II, the Victorious, the Banyarwanda go so far as to credit him with almost every food plant or grain they possess. Special mention is made of sorghum, eleusine, and a kind of wild plant /499/ known by the name of issogi (1), owing to their importance in the local economy.

766 including numerous regulations that seem to date from far back in the past. It appears that the Batutsi monarchs borrowed from the ancient autochthonous princes (abahinza) the majority of their funeral rites, and more especially mummification, or "smoking," since this is what it actually amounts to, as well as the choice of the resting place and the jealous care with which the royal cemeteries are guarded (2).

2. The royal cemeteries where the aboriginal Bahutu petty kings were buried are still to be found in many provinces of Ruanda and especially in the Kingogo. The Hamites borrowed other things from the vanquished and subjected autochthonous inhabitants. We have already seen that the drums at the capital recall the memory of the tiny principalities subjected by the Hamites and that they are regarded as trophies of victory and as guarantees for the preservation of the present kingdom. Those same instruments have retained their role and their importance among the Batutsi.

[767] There follows a brief description of these matters as given by laymen, since the appointed royal undertakers (abanyamugogo) maintain the strictest silence on the subject. /515/

1. How a King Dies, According to Popular Belief

● 643 In Ruanda a monarch is such a superior and respected being that in the mind of most Bahutu he could not possibly be born, live, and die like the common run of men.

643 Hence the following beliefs, to which the common people have given credence up to now.

644 In principle, in the old days the sovereign was not permitted
855 to see his heir. The child was entrusted to the care of reliable men and raised far from his father, who occasionally was brought pieces of string which had served to measure the height and waist of his future successor. In order to judge the development and strength of the young prince, the king imprinted the outline of his own foot in a basket of sorghum flour. This was brought to the crown prince, who in turn left in it the imprint of his foot. The basket was returned to the king, who never lost interest in the physical development of his child.

Bows were later sent to him so that he might try his strength. The heir was considered worthy of the throne on the day when he was able to string his father's bow, since now he had become as strong as his father.

643 The last verifications were made. It was necessary to make
762 sure that the king's garment fitted him perfectly, and that the imprint of his feet matched exactly that of his father's. The latter, on the other hand, having grown old and noticed that his beard and hair were greying, (yamez' imvi), decided himself that his time had come. He immediately called his confidants and made known his last wishes. "I am going to depart (gutabara); there are only a few moments left to me. You shall see to it that my son rules (kwimika) in my place. You shall obey him in all things"....

The same evening the appointed sorcerers presented him /516/
[278] with hydromel (inkangaza) in which they had mixed a violent poison, purchased, it is believed, on the shores of Lake Victoria, where it was prepared with putrefied crocodile flesh.

The king went to sleep and never awakened. "He has drunk" (yanyone), as they said in official terminology, or else "He has departed" (yatabaye), he has rejoined his ancestors, the Liberators, who saved the land, "He has ceded the throne" (yatanze), "The sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye), for such are the expressions still consecrated by usage and used to proclaim this serious event.

643 There must have been few kings who benevolently left this life of their own accord.

Popular belief has accepted too many fables on the subject. It was still said recently that Queen Mother Nyiramavugo, a grandmother of King Lwabugiri who must have died around 1860, was the first to refuse the poison when old age drew near in spite of the dictates of custom and tradition. "Since that day, " say the common people, "the Abiru, or keepers of the customs, who are in charge of this task and duty have not dared mention it anymore to kings and queens. "

2. The Corpse of the Royal Dead is "Smoked"

766 "When a king died, " the same people go on, "two Batutsi from important families were seized and killed forthwith near the body. "
643 This was called "to make the king's pillow" (gusegurir' umwami). Those men were given to him to accompany and serve him in the spirit world.

[641] A subject counts for nothing while the king is all important. It is proper, therefore, to send him at least two men chosen from the highest social stratum.

"They did not dare observe this rite, " add the narrators, "at the death of the last king, Lwabugiri (in 1895). " /517/

When a queen mother died, two great ladies of the same (Mututsi) /Batutsi/ race were sacrificed. It is the Banyamugogo, or [767] "men with the big (mourning) log, " who are in charge of funeral ceremonies. They make up the royal corporation of undertakers, although their name does not indicate this outright. They are called "men with the big (mourning) log, " owing to the custom which demands that a wooden log be burned for three or four days after the [824] death of an individual. For this purpose, one deliberately chooses a green log of red-bloom erythrina (umuko), a symbolic tree that recalls the death of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the famous secret society of initiates (imandwa).

The body of the dead king is transported from his last home, [823] which will henceforth be called Gisozi ("Big hill") (1), to one of the

5: Pagès--242 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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1. This expression "big hill" is readily understood by the natives, because it serves to designate the spot where a reigning monarch drew his last breath.

sacred groves (2) reserved for royal tombs by custom or tradition.

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2. We owe the reader an explanation of the expression "sacred grove, " which will recur frequently. The word "sacred" is taken here in a broad and technical sense to mean that these groves are set aside and closed to laymen, who may not enter them. They are guarded by official watchmen, who see to it that the grounds are properly respected.

The Banyamugogo, who become the temporary masters of the area, have a large hut built and enlist for its construction the services of neighboring people.

There the remains of the sovereign are sheltered and laid upon a grid in the middle of the hut, about 1. 50 meters above ground. The members of the corporation keep a fire burning under the grid for several days in order to dry out the corpse and prevent it from putrefying.

The body, which lies on a bed of skins, is constantly moved so that the heat from the fire may reach all its parts. /518/

The keepers of the hut take turns without interruption, day and night, by the fire they must maintain. Meanwhile, no layman may come near the place under penalty of death.

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The undertakers keep up their work until, according to popular belief, the corpse gives birth to a leopard, which is at first

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only a small worm (1). Then a pit is dug in the same hut. The royal

1. Permit us to repeat once more that we are putting ourselves in the position of the natives. We are merely repeating their tales and beliefs.

remains are laid at the bottom of the tomb on a new bed of grass covered with precious skins: lion, leopard, and antelope hides.

The body is completely isolated from the ground, which must not soil it. The whole thing is covered with special mats (ibirago by' ibisunyu) made of lake reeds. Finally, the pit is filled up (2).

2. When a king named Yuhi ascends the throne, according to another popular belief, the undertakers have to perform another duty toward the deceased king in addition to what has already been said on the subject.

After having been smoked, the completely desiccated body (umwite) is carried to the sacred grove of Muhima, below Kigali. The pall bearers dig at the spot called Nyamvura ("the rain spot"), where there formerly existed an equally sacred spring, and lay the body in the hole for a moment.

This is called "giving the king a drink (guhira)."

Then the body is brought back to the royal cemetery. His

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successor may henceforth rule in peace, and abundance will reign in the realm, for the various formalities on which the prosperity of the land depends have been carried out.

3. Popular Beliefs Concerning the Survival of the King

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"The undertakers," the narrator goes on to say, "cannot leave the site of the grave yet.

"They are not permitted to leave it until the end of the mourning period, which lasts at least four months. The above-mentioned worm /519/ 'must' come out of the corpse's right hand after a while. It is immediately picked up by the keepers, who put it in a vessel full of milk.

"When the container becomes too small, the animal is put in a large jar into which milk is poured every day. The worm soon 'sprouts legs'; it will soon change shape. The jar is no longer adequate, and a tub (umuvule) is provided and also filled with milk. The thing becomes a leopard. It is still fed milk until the day when its carnivorous instincts awaken and it begins to use its claws. Then it is given fresh meat. It must be tied, for it has become 'mean' (irakaliha). The animal manages to break its first bonds, woven of banana-tree bark. It is tied with new ficus ropes, which are soon broken in turn.

"In order to chain the beast, a piece of wire (umukwege) is brought from the royal court (ibgami), where messengers keep going incessantly to report on the whole affair.

"The day comes when the wild beast wounds one of its keepers. Another one soon meets with the same fate, and a third dies of his wounds.

"The situation has become intolerable and cannot go on.

"The leopard, anxious to gain its freedom, grows fierce. Finally, permission is given to grant it freedom, thus releasing the Banyamugogo from an impossible task.

643 825 "A sensible man, " the narrator added as he closed his tale, "cannot believe in such things. As for myself, I am only repeating what I have heard around me. "

The "sacred groves" often serve as lairs for leopards, who take advantage of the rainy season, when the sorghum has grown tall, to comb the countryside /520/ for prey. Furthermore, the leopard is the totem of the king, who formerly appropriated all leopardskins for his own personal use. Many common people, therefore, believe in these fables. In the capital, where no one is taken in by such childish tales, nothing is done to enlighten the people. The undertakers, who maintain the strictest silence about their own functions, stand only to gain by exaggerating the wondrous aspects of the matter in order to acquire increased importance in the eyes of their fellow men. One can imagine the prestige that surrounds the king, a prestige that is mixed in with a large amount of superstition and that causes him to be revered on a par with a demigod by most of his subjects.

4. Duties and Privileges of the Undertakers

643 767 The task of burying or, more accurately, mummifying (gwosa, gwosereza) the sovereign is entrusted as we said to a special corporation known by the name of Banyamugogo, that is to say, "the men with the big (mourning) log, " who belong to the Abiru clan. This is the special clan whose members are responsible for preserving the memory of customs and traditions. The royal undertakers have no duties other than the funerary ones and enjoy rare privileges. No chief may attack or pillage them, for they live under the king's protection.

They are not subjected to forced labor, nor do they pay taxes. On the other hand, they are strictly forbidden to come to court and to appear in the presence of the prince. If they have to plead a case before him, they may at best set out on the path to the capital, but they must stop at a good distance from it. There they build a large fire into which they toss fresh cow dung in order to create thick clouds of smoke /521/ and to draw attention upon themselves. Meanwhile they delegate men to present their complaints and grievances.

643 767 Then the king appoints one or two chiefs to go and settle their difficulties.

In the old days these undertakers could not visit with their fellow men, nor could they eat or drink with them. Even today, when [415] invited to feast with their neighbors, they must bring with them their own drinking tube. It is maintained that they do not eat with their children. If it came to pass that the latter, in turn, should bury a new king, they would have to leave their parents and never see them again.

A special vocabulary is used to speak of the monarch and [198] 644 certain of his acts. It would be most disrespectful to say that the king sleeps, drinks, eats, etc., like anyone else. We have already seen how his ailments and his death are mentioned (yaberamye, yanyoye, yatabaye, etc.).

767 It is for the same reason that the royal undertakers bear a name 644 that recalls their function only in a very indirect way. Just as they are strictly forbidden to go to the capital, custom forbids the king to 643 go through areas inhabited by members of this corporation or to camp there. He must avoid the sacred groves where the spirits of his ancestors rest, as though the idea of death could shorten the life of the sovereign. It is mandatory to his followers to avert that image and thought from his eyes and from his ears, which are those of a demigod well above common mortals.

He must be enabled to enjoy this life and all its pleasures in peace.

5. Mourning Rites Observed at the Death of a Prince

643 765 The king is mourned for four months, that is to say, until the official accession of his successor to the throne. During /522/ that period of time, cohabitation between spouses is theoretically forbidden. Bulls are also separated from the herds at the time of this terrible misfortune, which causes the Banyarwanda to state that "the sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye). Men and even children shave their heads [302] as a sign of mourning.

643 765 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might [689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the [731] ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

766 778 Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe, [824] the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa), and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

778 and common terms ikibira, "cemetery," imva or "igituro, "grave,"
766 to be used in this connection. In certain parts of Ruanda, owing to
644 the respect with which the king is regarded and to the reverential fear he inspires, the Blacks use another expression which is much more accurate. One frequently hears them speak of musezero (misezero in the plural), that is to say, the place where the monarch permanently "took leave" of his subjects, from the verb gusezera, which means "to take leave."

The word umusezero is now commonly used to mean "restricted place," "guarded place," because in summer when people set fire to the tall grass, they first clear the bush from the edges of the cemeteries to protect the royal graves from fire. /525/

2. Main Royal Cemeteries

766 It is at Gasseke in the Nduga, about four hours from the Kabgayi mission in the northeast, that one of the first "sepulchral" groves is found where a prince by the name of Chyilima was buried.

173 Two monarchs by this name are known. It was during the reign of the more recent of the two that the famous migration into
643 Ruanda of the "Mutes," or "Foreign men with an incomprehensible
766 language," took place. According to tradition, the one with whom
778 we are dealing here was the brother and immediate successor of Ruganzu I, surnamed Bwimba (1), who lived long before his illustrious

1. The natives relate that the mother of this Ruganzu late in life married one of her courtiers named Chenge, and Chyilima-Rugwe was born of this union. She did this to the great dissatisfaction of her eldest son, Ruganzu I, for it ran contrary to the custom which requires the queen mother to live solely with the reigning prince.

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The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [175] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit...and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

173 As for the royal cemetery of Luhanga, which lies atop the
643 plateau of the same name, the inhabitants of the area all concur in
766 the belief that if King Gihanga himself was not buried there, that is
778 to say, the eminent "Creator," then at least his wife Nyirakabogo was. It is probable that numerous other monarchs sleep their last sleep there by the queen's side, but the people are not quite sure of their names anymore.

Nor are they sure of the names of those who were buried on the neighboring Kayenzi-Bussigi plateau, where four of those cemeteries are to be found.

The names of the princes buried in the northern most cemetery are better known. The inhabitants of the area are almost unanimous in naming Kigeri-Mibambge and Nyiramavugo as being buried there. During the last European war, which had local repercussions, the natives were rightly frightened and erected huts (indaro) over their tombs where they offered numerous sacrifices. As for Queen Nyiramavugo, the elders recall seeing her corpse go by in their earliest childhood. /527/ The body was laid at the foot of the plateau for the night before being carried to the top where it was buried. This was the mother of Lwogera-Mutara, that is to say, the grand-mother of the present king.

Malembo, daughter of Nyamajinya and mother of Yuhi-Mazimpaka, was buried on one or the other of the two plateaus, it is not known exactly which. One still hears of Yuhi-Mazimpaka himself and of a sister of Ruganzu, Nyirangabo, who, according to the natives, were buried in the afore-mentioned cemeteries. What is certain is that the grove which follows upon the first one starting from the north holds the remains of Kilongoro, daughter of a certain Magoma and mother of Chyilima-Ludjugira, who succeeded Yuhi-Mazimpaka.

According to present-day opinion, the sacred groves of Luhanga and Kayenzi-Bussigi are reserved exclusively for the burial of queen mothers (abanyambuto, "those of the grains"), that is to say,
[562] those who provided the heir to the throne and who reigned along with him.

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The best known of the royal cemeteries is that of Rutare in the mountainous Buyaga area, not far from Lake Mohazi near the frontier of Ruanda.

The existence of this resting place is traced back, rightly or wrongly, to Ruganzu II, who is said to have been the first one to be buried there.

According to one tradition, he had himself chosen the site of his tomb on this high spot, so as to be an insuperable obstacle to the enemies of Ruanda even after his death. This tradition is seriously challenged by the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga (1).

1. Cf. Book III, The Reign of Ruganzu II.

The last two kings who were buried there and who are recalled most readily were Lwogera and Lwabugiri, the immediate predecessors of the present reigning monarch.

It is rather difficult to say for how many monarchs the sepulchral grove of Rutare has served as last resting place. /528/ The trees in the thickets, some of which are quite old, were formerly separate but eventually merged. Here and there, old trunks which marked the site of the courtyards in which the huts were built have disappeared, so that one cannot count the funerery enclosures with any exactitude. There do not seem to be more than eight or ten.

Three other royal cemeteries are found at Musenyi in the Nduga to the south of the Kabgayi mission, about two hours away. The first one stands on the slope of a hill called by the name of Mayebe. It is made up of a small wood of thorny acacia trees which have reached their maximum height and whose long intertwined branches lend a mysterious atmosphere to the grove, where a half light barely penetrates. Some other trees with thicker foliage dominate the grove. Those are the inganzamarombo (1).

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1. They are called thus from kuganza, "to overtop," and marombo, "swarms of bees," because the natives like to set their hives there.

173 A native village stands nearby, its banana groves bordering
643 on the thickets. Its occupants are in charge of watching over the
766 cemetery, which according to the opinion of the Banya-Nduga (in-
778 habitants of the Nduga province) includes the tomb of Ruganzu II Ndori. Those who claim that his body was buried at Rutare cling to their opinion and insist that he was merely "smoked" at Mayebe. The inhabitants of the latter area, on the other hand, claim in turn that after having been mummified he was indeed buried right there, and add that this is the usual procedure. The place is quite commonly known by the name of "Ruganzu's cemetery."

According to the same interpretation, this prince alone was buried there.

Not far from Mayebe, two other small groves made up chiefly of ficus trees stand barely 300 meters apart. /529/ According to some, the corpses of several queens by the name of Nyirakigeri and Nyirayuhi were mummified there. Local people insist that they were also buried there, and support their claim by adding that the place where a king or queen is smoked is also the place where they are buried. The two clumps of trees formerly made up a single sacred grove, and this is why the natives call them by the same name.

The last of those cemeteries stands two kilometers farther. It is made up of handsome ficus trees, but the same controversies arise concerning the use to which this funeral site was put. It is called "the cemetery of the queens who bore the name of Nyiramavugo."

It is not easy to give precise information on this subject. The
[123] keepers of the groves, the undertakers (abanyamugogo), and the official chroniclers (Abachur' ubgenge) are not willing to surrender all their information on the subject. The statements of other people are unreliable.

Funerary enclosures called ilaro (amalaro in the plural), or "night stopping places," are also found in the area.

They mark the sites of huts which served as shelters for the mortal remains of kings and queens in transit to the cemeteries.

The dwellings had to be abandoned after their visit, just as happens when a prince travelling through his realm stops for the night.

173 The term gisozi ("big hill") serves, as we have said, to
643 designate the place where a king died.
It is the augmentative of the word musozi, which means "hill"
766 and by extension "village." This term belongs to the /word/ class
778 prefixed by the consonant ki.

This class includes nothing but words conveying the idea of majesty, fear, etc. /530/

There are numerous groves in this category, such as those of Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

In order to prove the truth of any pronouncement or assertion, the natives use the following phrase which alludes in metaphorical terms to the death of one or another of their sovereigns, Mb' ali jye wakuye
[539] Lwogera i Kaganza!

"Let it be I ('if I do not speak the truth' being implied here) who tore (King) Lwogera away from Kaganza (name of the place where the king died)!"

The reader must have noted that kings and queen mothers
[644] alone have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Mere wives were entitled to no special honors after their death. They were buried like common mortals. Queen mothers, that is to say, those who bore the heir to the throne and then reigned with him, were granted the same funerary honors as sovereigns.

Aside from the groves we have just described, there is also
173 mention of one at Bugarama-Ntare (i Buhurura) not far from Rukoma.
644 It is believed to be the spot where the undertakers fulfilled their usual
766 functions at the death of a queen named Nyirakigeri. The sacred
778 grove of Butare, which now only includes a few very old trees, is thought to be the place where Nyagihaga, daughter of Ruyenzi and mother of a Chyilima or Mutara died (1).

1. The official chroniclers do provide a genealogical list of the kings of Ruanda, with the name of their mothers and of the clans to which the latter belonged, but this cannot be fully credited. We have

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

5: Pages--266 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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King Musinga and some people of his entourage.

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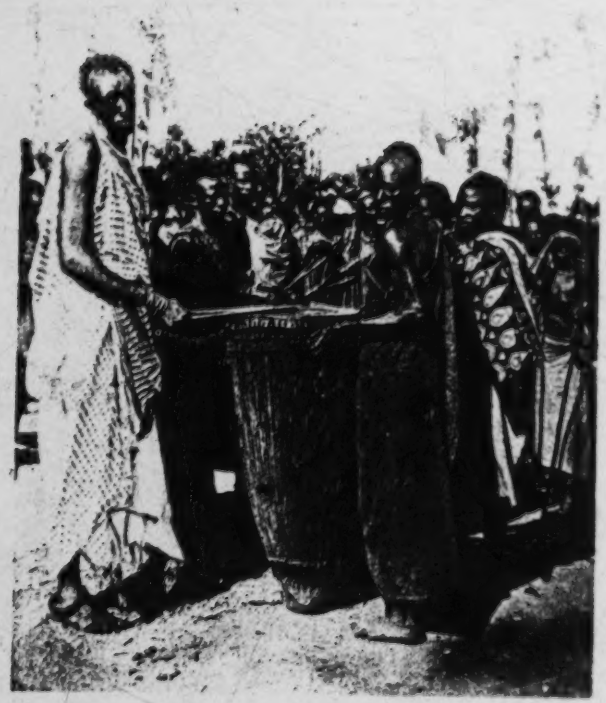
The king at one of his favorite diversions.



634 somewhat different. The most important personality after the chief is his brother. He represents him in all matters. Both of them have their houses in the individual villages in which they live during their journeys. The son ranks just below the brother of his father and is granted a village after he has grown up. He is not entitled to gifts in the other villages of his father, and only if he has [267] no uncle does he get an uncle's rank. In spite of this preference, the brother of the chief is not his heir; all his possessions go to the son after the burial of the father.

622 563 Below the kissonga are the quite unimportant subchiefs who supervise the communities on the separate hills. Among them there are everywhere, especially in Bugoye, many Bahutu, whereas the higher positions are almost always held by Batutsi. It is only in Mulera and Bgisha that one sees Bahutu also occupying the highest positions.

The Bahutu officials are very much praised by their superiors, for no one can be more merciless and servile than an upstart who is hated by his clansmen. This characterization does not, of course, apply to the clan elders who occupy this position in the free farm communities. The subchiefs are the only cattle-owning Bahutu outside of Mulera, Bgisha, and Bugoye.

642 631 There is no doubt that with the extensive interweaving of property belonging to individual high chiefs (in this respect the whole country resembles a village with a community system of planting [Flurzwang]) an influential stratum is created which has vital interests in the most diverse parts of the country. This counteracts the centrifugal, particularistic tendencies of the individual provinces.

642 631 643 These conditions seem to be the result of a conscious aim on the part of the crown. In this direction much seems to have been accomplished by Lwabugiri Kigeri, the father of the present ruler, Musinga. Kigeri is reputed to have centralized the state and partitioned, scattered, and interwoven the holdings of the chiefs in order to destroy the centrifugal tendencies of the feudal lords. This involved him in bitter struggles with the lords, among them his brother-in-law, Kabare, but he managed to crown his efforts with success.

651 the Akanjaru which can be crossed at only a few places because
491 of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes increased very considerably.

651 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu.
443 In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle disputes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the belief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda rulers become leopards.

721 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning
643 war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last expedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each expedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

692 "to Musinga" simply meant the place of his residence. The judge to whom these people were going was Rwamanwa, high chief of Njaruguru.

If the two parties have different chiefs, the trial is conducted at the compound of the more powerful one, since otherwise, because of injured vanity, he could make it impossible to carry out the verdict. If the two chiefs cannot reach an agreement, they go to a third party or to the king, who usually appoints a judge. [643] The king personally handles only the most important affairs of his bagaragu, but even that he does unwillingly.

695 The Trial. Certain forms are observed at trials. The two parties squat on the ground in front of the judge and greet him by clapping their hands. Otherwise only the king is greeted in this way. Then each in turn tells about the matter under dispute.

After the verdict of the judge, the winner immediately rises, takes some grass, and lays it at the feet of the judge in gratitude and as a token of his subservience. He then sings a song of praise in which (in Mulera, for example) he boasts about the number of enemies he has killed.

People sometimes wait in Nyanza two or three months for a trial, and finally the hearing is postponed until the next year. The chiefs do this also. They are afraid of endangering themselves by a sentence of incalculable scope.

696 Executing a sentence is the weak side of primitive justice. There is no organ of the government that would attend to the execution of the decree. Even the decisions of the king are by no means always carried out.

Sometimes, to ensure the execution of the sentence, the guilty party is held prisoner by the winning party until he has fulfilled his obligations.

The sentence is said to be carried out at the place of residence of the two parties. For this purpose the king sends a special messenger. He must inform the population of the decision, in disputes about land he must mark out the sections, and in cases involving cattle, divide up the herds.

Because of the long duration of these cases, which gives all the court schemers an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, the winning party sometimes leaves the capital before the king's

174 Ruanda, which originally covered the district of Bugansa south of Lake Mohasi, was later, in the course of a long period of time, limited to the province of Nduga. It must have been a long time ago, however, since Ruanda outgrew these circumscribed boundaries, for Mukinjaga and Mulera as well have traditions that go back to the rule of Ruganzu, and these provinces certainly did not belong to the original ones. The last Ruganzu is Musinga's fifth ancestor and probably ruled in the first years of the last century. This leads us to assume that the large kingdom of Ruanda is not a newly formed state of the last century, but has a long history.

The legend referring to this is somewhat as follows.

173 Once upon a time Ruganzu came to the Muhawura volcano to hunt elephants. Suddenly the news comes to him that the Barundi have crossed the southern border of his kingdom. He abandons the hunt and goes forth to meet the enemy. On the way he stops on a hill to rest. After a brief interval he continues the journey in his litter (ngobi). After the company had got under way, someone noticed that the king had left his spear on the hill. They shouted back to the hill, asking the people to return the spear that had been left behind. The Balera replied that the king had left them the spear, and if he wanted it back, he should come to get it himself. Whereupon the king answered: "If you had stolen food, I should have believed that you are hungry; if you had stolen cows, I should assume that you want to own them. But to steal a spear, [290] what can it bring you? Let it remain with you, multiply, and strike you dead." That is why there is always fighting in Mulera. The royal curse is upon the land.

In Mukinjaga they say about Ruganzu that he put the bimara tax on the region of Bukunzi as a punishment for the theft of his cows.

173 443 Ruganzu lwa Ndahiro (Ruganzu, son of Ndahiro) is the king about whom there are the most legends in Ruanda. He is said to have had supernatural power, and people believe that he might one day return. When, in the year 1904, the news spread that the imperial resident at Usumbura had been murdered, the natives said that Ruganzu had killed him.

175 Mutara Lwogera was also a successful warrior. He conquered
643 Bugoye and in 1876 added Kissaka to Ruanda by force of arms.

Lwabugiri Kigeri who was visited by Count Von Götzen, the first European to do so, was also a very belligerent ruler. He increased Ruanda's possessions in the Rutshuru Basin as far as Lake Edward.

175 In order to characterize the personality of Lwabugiri some-
643 what more exactly, we must mention that one of his chief delights
661 was stealing cows. If the owner of the cattle resisted, he was punished with confiscation for having the boldness to act against the muami [ruler]. If he did not resist, his cows, which he had learned to conceal, were simply taken away from him. These cow thefts with which Lwabugiri consciously promoted the splitting up of feudal possessions, as well as the constant wars, made him very troublesome to the Batutsi.

175 Without doubt the rule of Lwabugiri was a period of great
643 expansion and glory for Ruanda. The state enjoyed such a high reputation that neither the Arabs nor Stanley and Emin Pasha ventured to enter it. Lwabugiri undertook numerous campaigns, among them an unsuccessful one to Nkole (1891?). He wanted to get King Ntare's cows in order to supplement his own herds which had been very much decimated by disease. He waged war three times with Urundi, twice with Idjwi Island, three times against Bunyabungu, and twice with Kissaka. Moreover, he laid waste the country of Mulera three times in order to punish rebellious subjects, and he pillaged the Gana Mukari (1) three times in his

[113] 1. Brard, A., "Skizzen aus Ruanda [Ruanda Sketches]," Afrikabote, 1900-1901, p. 99.

ancestral province because of the revolt which was supposed to have taken place there. He was unsuccessful in his expeditions against Urundi. The two kings, Lwabugiri and Mwezi Kisabo (?), made peace with each other and built their settlements on the border between the two states, on the Akanjaru. The wars with the inhabitants of Idjwi Island were also only temporarily successful.

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[291] Dr. Kandt (1) says that Idjwi belongs to the Ruanda

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), pp. 517-518.

sphere of influence. Its inhabitants deny that they were former subjects of Ruanda, as the Banyaruanda maintain. Mihiggo's grandfather, Mwendo, had to pay tribute to Ruanda. His son, Kaweggo, tried to make himself independent, but Lwabugiri fought him (1886) and he had to flee to the island of Ugishushu. He was betrayed by his son, Nkudie, and fell into the hands of Kigeri who had him executed. After the king returned (1888), having been called back by unrest in Ruanda, the independent party formed around Mihiggo, another son, for Nkudie was executed by the king because he had betrayed his father. After a few years (1892 or 1893) Lwabugiri undertook a second expedition against Idjwi. The island was again conquered, and Mihiggo fled to Bunyabungu. In order to punish Bunyabungu for sheltering Mihiggo, Kigeri set out on an expedition against this country, but he became ill and died. With his death, the hour of liberation came for Idjwi, and Mihiggo returned as an independent ruler (1894).

The dying King Lwabugiri was brought back to Ruanda and died en route in Mukinjaga. It is said that he was poisoned by his courtiers who were tired of the endless wars. Not all of them were like the Batwa who were devoted to the king and regarded the wars as the best opportunity to consume a great deal of meat. Some accounts have it that the poison was prepared by his wife, Kanzogera, the mother of Musinga.

Lwabugiri pursued centralistic tendencies in his internal policy. It is said that he was credited with having broken up the large hereditary chieftainships and interspersed them territorially. This was probably the cause of the war with the later regent, Kabare, who allegedly was castrated, as well as the death of Kigeri. According to one version, Kabare was castrated by Lwabugiri in order to make it impossible for this ambitious man to try to become king. Another version has it that the young Kabare was caught with the favorite wife of the king and was punished for this. In revenge

175 Kabare is said to have killed all of Lwabugiri's sons except Musinga, 643 the son of his sister Kanzogera, after their mighty father died. These accounts agree with a note by Von Beringe (2) referring to

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2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 39.

Mumusa, the queen of Mururwa in Mpororo: "Mhumse claimed that she was a wife of the deceased Sultan Lwabugiri of Ruanda and that she was sent here by him to escape the persecution of Chief Kawalle who [292] killed four of his sons. However, there is no longer any connection between Mhumse and Ruanda."

Mibambwe who was temporarily proclaimed king after the death of Lwabugiri was burned to death in his hut along with his entire family (1). Most of his brothers died also. Only

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 263.

Ishirangabo, however, was not considered for the rulership because he was a man dedicated to the spirit Ryangombe. Bilegea, a son of Lwabugiri, was missing from the time of his youth and was always regarded as a possible, dangerous pretender to the throne. His return to the country was very much feared by the rulers. (2)

Ibid., p. 264.

Musinga, whose father had cast him out, was taken in by a Muhutu and reared by him. It was only because no other son of Lwabugiri came to be considered that the neglected son of Kanzogera was appointed king. He ascended the throne as Juhi Musinga. As a result of his plebeian upbringing, the king had learned to eat goat's meat. This custom is said to have been adopted by the court Batutsi out of courtesy.

175 This fact would probably have caused the young ruler great 643 difficulties if it had not happened that three years after the death 649

175 of Lwabugiri Captain Ramsay came to the country in 1897.
643 Musinga was recognized as the ruler. Captain Ramsay entered
648 into a special pact of blood brotherhood with him or at least with the man that was introduced to him as Musinga. (3) He reports:

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3. Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 315.

"Thereupon I had to tie a string around Juhi, and he tied several strings around me; then we shook hands vigorously, and the king of Ruanda and I became blood brothers."

Since that time Musinga has been energetically supported by the government, which, through him, again has the entire country in hand. Musinga has at his disposal the Askari of the guard troops who in an emergency can teach his rebels a lesson. I had occasion to observe this in 1907 in Mulera. With the intervention of this new factor, the country has become orderly to an extent that formerly did not seem possible.

113 Kissaka. The history of Kissaka cannot be traced as far back as that of Ruanda.

Banyakissaka traditions about ancient times say that they, like the Banyoro and Baganda, came from the north, not from the south, like the Wasukuma.

[293] Kissaka has been a state since very ancient times. According to Busindja (1) tradition, the Kissaka rulers were Basinga.

[113]

1. Van Thiele, Father H., "Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda [Businza under the Bahinda Dynasty]," Anthropos, 1911, p. 499.

One of these rulers was married to Nyakachende, the daughter of Ruhinda, and she bore him a successor. From then on the rulers of Kissaka were referred to as Bayango of Ruhinda.

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in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions
[643] that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[778] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

266 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago.
782 The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King
651 Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a muia (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[143] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in
575 the north and by poisoners (balozi). Koch (1) confirms its occurence
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1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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614 3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamanzi*, wagtail.
Sub-divisions:
(a) Abasinga, totems, *enyamanzi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
(b) Abazigaba, " "
(c) Abatyaba, " "
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamanzi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpakhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

Government

643 The head of the country was the king, whose title was
692 *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not
634 appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were
[428] hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district;
693 but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court
[203] of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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After the mourning the heir was purified by an elder of the clan, and he then took the mourning garment and buried it in some secret place. The mourners shaved their heads and hid the hair. A medicine-man decided whether the house of the dead man might still be inhabited or not. If the people were permitted to remain there, they, the place, and the pots had to be purified; but if they had to go they gave the pots and furniture away and left the house to fall down.

The heir was purified again by an elder of the clan and then went to buy a cow, which he took to the king, whom he was not on this occasion allowed to see. The next day he visited the king, taking a present of a young bull, and informed him of the death. This reception constituted his acknowledgment by the king as the dead man's heir, but if he proved unsatisfactory he might later be dismissed from the chieftainship.

The heir took all his father's widows except old women and his own mother. He even took widows with children, and the children regarded him as their father.

When a married man lost his father he lived apart from his wife for two months, and on the death of his mother he avoided his wife for one month.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

An instance which shows a number of these possibilities comes 217
from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west of
Tanganyika Territory. A custom which might or might not be noted 233
by the ethnographer—something must escape the most meticulous of 643
observers, and this one is not recorded by Meyer for the Barundi, of 423
whom the people of Bugufi are ethnologically part—is the right of the
chief to pasture his cattle among the millet-stalks after the harvest,
before the peasant may put in his own cattle or any which he is
herding for some one else. The court book records eight peasants
coming to court to complain against a Tusi who has driven off their [694]
cattle. The Tusi replies that the men had pastured their cattle in their
millet before the chief had had access. Asked by the court whether
he was instructed to drive off the cattle, the Tusi replies that he acted
as he was bound to do in accordance with ancient custom and his
obligations to the chief. New concepts have, however, found their
way into the court, which gives judgement for the plaintiffs on the [178]
grounds that the land and the cattle were theirs. This case is exceptional in the wealth of statement and suggestion which it offers, but there are many others helpful in lesser degree.

The value of native court records in this way was brought home to 127
me while stationed in this area, Bugufi, during the years 1929–31, 217
when I went through the available material with a view to seeing what
were the normal causes of litigation and getting a general idea of the
law administered. Starting with the year 1924, the series was examined
up to the end of 1930. For these seven years, 850 cases were found
where judgement issued, there being a further 225 which had been
settled out of court or dismissed for want of prosecution or by reason
of limitation. Of these 850 cases, almost one-quarter concerned con-
tracts where cattle were involved, nearly one-sixth were marital cases, [673]
and another sixth were over administrative matters, including offences
against the Native Authority Ordinance: only one-seventh were of
offences against person and property, and the remainder concerned
debts, land, inheritance, damage to property and a few miscellaneous
matters.

The fullest records were those of the numerous marital cases, and 127
these have been fully collated with a view to giving an idea of how 217
much information can be gleaned and what gaps remain, and what

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

174 Ruanda, Burundi, Ha, Karagwe). It is not known where these
101 pastoralists came from.

Because of cultural and physical similarities the Galla or Somali country of Southern Abyssinia has been advanced as their possible place of origin. As the invaders have completely adopted the Bantu language of the agriculturists, the lack of linguistic clues so important in such questions is a great setback to any historical reconstruction. It should be noted in this connexion that the use of
[114] the linguistic term 'Hamites' to denote Tutsi, who do not speak a Hamitic language at all, is unfortunate and misleading. Dr. Meinhard's suggestion of using a term not burdened with linguistic connotations such as 'Ethiopians' or 'Ethiopoids' should be considered.[11] The population movement which brought the
174 invaders to Ruanda is probably at least four centuries old. The
643 present ruler is traditionally the fortieth king of Ruanda. We know the names of thirty-nine predecessors, but it is possible that the list is incomplete. On the other hand it seems that the first nineteen are legendary figures. Taking account of this and assuming that a reign lasts about twenty years, we go back to the sixteenth century.[12]

174 As the Tutsi migration seems to have been gradual and peaceful, an infiltration rather than a conquest, it is probable that at the beginning their cattle grazed on the unoccupied grasslands. But the population increased as more Tutsi kept on entering the country and more land had to be tilled to feed them. Cattle were also increasing and the Hutu had to move from the most fertile soil, in the bottom of valleys, because during the dry season these places were the only ones where cattle could find fresh grass. This process must have been in operation for a few centuries to produce the situation as we know it now.

161 Statistics are not available for the 1900–10 period, with which
[174] this study is concerned, but we may from the present figures (with some modifications) get a fairly good idea of the situation at the beginning of this century. The population was estimated on 31 December 1949, to be 1,870,410 souls: in 1956, 2,374,136, which

[11] Cf. Meinhard, 1947a, p. 3.

[12] According to Meyer, 1913, the pastoral invasion took place in two ways. The first, at the beginning of this millenium reached the north-east of the Province; the second, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought them farther southward. According to Kagame and Delmas, the first Hamitic populations invaded the country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (Gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi), (1956), p. 9.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

marriage coming from another inzu or to be made to another inzu, 613
and whether the council thought that a connexion with such or 623
such lineage was to be accepted, sought, or avoided. A certain number of disputes that the lineage head could not or would not settle alone were submitted to the council. When somebody had lost his cattle and was ruined, the council could determine and apportion a collective contribution to help him out of his diffi- [736]
culties. Finally, blood-feuds were discussed. When a member of the group had been killed by a member of another all the kinsmen [627]
of the victim attempted to retaliate by taking of the life of a kins- [682]
man of the offender. Compensation was not usual. I was told, however, by the Hutu of Bugoyi that there the murderer's group could prevent the taking of vengeance by handing over a beautiful girl. Political authority kept the feuds under strict control. Permission to retaliate had to be obtained from the king and [643]
when it was granted and vengeance had been achieved, the feud was at an end. No further vengeance could be taken. Sometimes the king made representatives of the two lineages share a meal.

As the preceding paragraphs suggest, there was no clear-cut division between the powers of the head and of the council. It was a question of the particular traditions in each inzu and of the individual characters of the persons concerned. Usually, however, the inzu was an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. The head could not rule in opposition to the men of standing in his lineage; they had the means to put pressure on him and then there was the possibility of recourse to the political chiefs, always glad to interfere in a domain which was not completely under their control.

The obligations and rights of the individual members of a 613
primary patrilineage were many. There was first a prohibition on 835
sexual intercourse within the group, which applied to relations whether in or out of wedlock. It was feared that the mating of descendants from the same inzu ancestor would produce sickly and malformed children. A few informants add that exogamy was necessary to promote connexions between descent-groups, these connexions being thought of as beneficial in a vague way. The Ruanda did not distinguish incestuous relations from prohibited relations because of consanguinity. For them all the latter were incestuous. But they recognized order in the degrees of gravity in

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

585 Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have [593] been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his [428] share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their 591 own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

(*d*) *Polygynous unions*

595 Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, [556] as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which [842] were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually [114] occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

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physiological aspect of sexuality. They do not seem to have thought 831
of sexual relations as the fulfilment of a romantic love between two
individuals meant to mate with each other and nobody else. The
way spouses were chosen by the two patrilineages prevented any
such ideas, for the choosing of spouses rested on the assumption [581]
that any boy and any girl of the right age and reasonably attractive
could be good partners in marriage and sexuality. But feelings of
sympathy and affection developed later as a result of their life
together rather than as its basis. According to our informants,
love, in the sense of attractiveness based on individual character-
istics, was greater in non-marital relations. 'One slept with a
certain woman to make her happy because one liked her,' I was
told.

Various prohibitions and obligations indicate how sexuality 834
in marriage was related to events concerning the community and 965
the patrilineage. During the mourning period for the husband's
father and mother, which lasted one, two or three months accord-
ing to the region, intercourse was prohibited for both husband
and wife. It was also prohibited for one moon after the death of the
wife's child, and for two or three moons for the surviving spouse
when one of the spouses died. The meaning of this taboo was not 965
only that one had to refrain from enjoying oneself when one 831
should have been in sorrow. It meant also a certain symbolic
participation in death or in the diminution of life affecting the
patrilineage. This is, I think, what informants have in mind when
they say in this connexion that sex is a sacred activity. This
interpretation seems to be supported by what happened when a
king died. Not only had all Ruanda to be continent for a certain
period (some informants said two moons, others one year),
but the bulls were separated from cows and rams from sheep. The
king (*mwami*) was identified with Ruanda. If he was strong, Ruanda
was strong, if he was getting old and weak, he had to commit [643]
suicide because he endangered the country's life. In that context, [962]
if animals were prevented from mating it was to express symbol-
ically the idea of the death of the community rather than, it
seems, to deny them pleasure.

On the other hand, intercourse was obligatory when events 833
fortunate for the patrilineage or the community at large occurred.
For instance when a new hut was occupied, when six days had
passed after the birth of a child, when the first teeth of the baby

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421 different uses of the same thing. For instance, one person could have the right to sow a plot and to collect the harvest and another to use it for grazing purposes at another time of the year. Neither of them was considered as the owner letting somebody else use his property as a pasture or as a ground for cultivation.

422 643 On each pasture, cultivated plot or forest area, the king had a right very similar to the *dominion eminens* of Roman law, the kind of public ownership that a State has over the land within the borders. But he had also the right to prevent, if he chose to do so, somebody from using a particular tract of land in any way at all, which amounts to saying that the mwami had over land a right potentially superior to that of anybody else. The mwami's rights could be opposed to 'private rights'. In fact, the king very rarely insisted on this use of his rights and then only when he wanted to punish somebody who was guilty of disobedience or of some other crime.

423 651 The land chief's and cattle chief's rights to fields and pastures will be considered later in the section dealing with the administration. Suffice it to say here that these tax-collectors had the right to evict people for certain offences and to allocate land to newcomers in their districts.

423 The person endowed with rights on land for cultivation purposes was the head of a family (*rugo*). Mostly these rights came 425 to him from his father's inheritance. Sometimes, however, it was a [428] part of the bush that he had himself cleared. If he had not received enough from his father to support his family, he extended his plot in this way with the agreement of the political authority. If, because of a dispute with his brothers, he wanted to move elsewhere and the land chief could not allocate him a field already prepared at the place where he wanted to settle, he did the same. Such a plot was called *bukonde* as long as it was occupied either by the man who had cleared it or by his descendants. A third source of cultivation rights was the assignment by the land chief of a plot already prepared (*inkungu*). The former user of it had either to be evicted by the authority, or had left, or had died without heirs.

In the same way the family head had the right to use a certain area as pasture for his cattle either by inheritance, or by felling the trees of a tract of forest or by having it conceded by the cattle chief.

000 At the end of the nineteenth century the insu had no collective

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At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective rights over certain areas except in the north of Ruanda (Mulera, Rwankeri, Bushiru, Bigogwe) where the Tutsi occupation had been more superficial. I have been told that there the soil belonged to the patrilineage and that there was no land or cattle chief. From the point of view of the individual, however, the situation was very similar: he inherited a share of his father's tract. The difference was that, if the part were insufficient, he had to apply for more to the lineage head instead of to the land-chief, and a plot left without heirs returned to the patrilineage instead of the political authority. 613 423 [425]

The person entitled to the use of a plot could not sell his right but could let the tract. The rent was about one hoe every other year plus a jug of beer each harvest. The tenant was not permitted to settle by building a hut or planting banana trees. 423 427

The Twa resented very much the expansion of fields and pastures in the forests they regarded as their possession. The authority was not concerned with the way they divided it into hunting areas.[1] 311

2. RIGHTS OVER CATTLE

The rights over each head of cattle were also manifold. Property in the Western sense was split up into different aspects. 422

A global right existed over all Ruanda cattle, even sheep and goats, by which the king could claim actual possession of any of them. The mwami used this right more frequently, it seems, over cattle than over land. An important chief indulging in intrigues regarded as dangerous by the king might find himself dispossessed of all his cattle. The king's right over all the cattle of Ruanda was a constant threat which seems to have very effectively deterred the Tutsi of the ruling set from becoming too independent. 422 643 [662]

Another right was very similar to our bare ownership. The person who had it was not in possession of the cow but could at any time claim possession of the animal and the heifers and cows produced by that beast since the time when the possession had been transferred. This was the right of the lord (*shebuja*). 422

In contrast there was the usufruct right with respect to cattle. The person endowed with it could dispose of the milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the dead cows. This was the typical right of the client (*garagu*).

[1] For a more extended account of the land tenure system in traditional Ruanda, see Maquet and Naigiziki, 1957.

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428 without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

428 As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to 578 be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to [436] achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

4. LABOUR

461 Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), 466 he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

593 The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make 461 all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

466 The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the [643] supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.

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It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not over-exploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

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180 To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour [69] social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge 634 in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, 622 however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

121 Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

643 In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. [173] The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the [619] Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

643 This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives 183 more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954c, p. 63. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

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of coercion at their disposal. If a mwami attempted to go beyond his effective power even without exceeding the limits of his divine rights, he exposed himself to the chance of meeting some obstacles. Nevertheless, he had sovereign as well as divine rights and his subjects were constantly reminded of these by the tributes they had to pay. 643 183

4. DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

Every Ruanda, Twa, Hutu as well as Tutsi, was affiliated to an army (*ingabo*). This is stated by ninety-nine per cent. of our informants. Although this military organization is obsolete at the present day—indeed it no longer exists—ninety-eight per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed can still give the name of the army of their paternal ascendants. 701 [198]

There were several armies. The name of each one had a military meaning. It was a challenge, a boast, the memory of a dynastic or historical event: for instance 'the tough ones' (*abashakamba*), 'the first to be praised' (*imbanzamihigo*), 'the fearless ones' (*inzirabtooba*), &c. At the beginning of each reign a new army was organized by the king. Moreover, a very important chief could be authorized by the mwami to raise an army.

(a) *Recruitment*

An army was recruited in the following way. The mwami asked his Tutsi clients to bring to the court their sons who had not yet had any military training. When about 150 to 200 young men were gathered, they constituted what we may call a company (*itorero*). During the reign, four or five companies were recruited in the same way and were added to the first one. According to ninety-six per cent. of our informants a man had to stay all his life in the company he had first entered. The young men (*intore*, the chosen ones) lived at the court of the king or of the chief who had been allowed to recruit an army. Under the direction of an officer called the chief of the king's residence (*umutware w'urugo rw'umwami*) or of its counterpart at a chief's court, they were trained for several years in military skills such as bow and arrow shooting, the use of the sword, spear, and javelin. They learned warlike dances, and to memorize and to recite the poems in which the high deeds of extraordinary bravery and boldness of the past warriors were exalted.[16] They were also taught how to compose poems in imitation of these great models. 702 704 702 [411] [538]

[16] See Kagame, 1949b; 1951.

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a member of the warriors' section, and a member of the herdsmen's section.

The mwami could effectively dispose of the *nyambo* and *mabara*. *Nyambo* were cows which had some marked physical characteristics (as for instance long horns). The mere fact that beasts had such characteristics gave the king exclusive rights of disposal of them whatever may have been the previous rights of other people over them. Many lyrical poems were devoted to the praise of *nyambo* in which they are divided into two 'clans', the brown one (*ibihogo*) and the red-brown (*amagaju*) which were supposed to be in a permanent state of war.[17] A herd of *nyambo* numbered about fifty cows. There were not *nyambo* with every army. *Mabara* were ordinary cows, not fulfilling the *nyambo* qualifications, and of which the mwami had the effective disposal. One or several herds of *nyambo* and *mabara* were entrusted by the king only to certain armies.

[843]
[825]

The cows over which the army-chief had the rights of effective disposal were also considered, according to ninety-six per cent. of our informants, as army cattle and were tended by the army herdsmen.

Cattle at the effective disposal of each member of the herdsmen's section of the army were also regarded as army cattle. Here we have to distinguish between cattle possessed as a client and cattle not obtained from a lord (ninety-two per cent. of our informants said that one could have cattle which were not received from a lord). The former kind of cattle were linked to the lord's army and not to the client's army although the client had the right of usufruct and of effective disposal (as defined here) over that cattle. The latter kind of cattle was composed of cows obtained by exchange (*impahano*) which were regarded as army cows according to ninety-five per cent. of our informants; of cows given by the prospective husband to his father-in-law (*indogoranyo*) also according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as reward for brave conduct in war (*ingororano mu ntambara*) again according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as gifts (*inka z'ubuntu*) according to ninety-six per cent. Cows not kept by somebody as a client were called by the generic name of *imbata*, or, according to sixty-two per cent. of our informants, the mwami's cows (*inka z'umwami*), which is confusing.

[17] Kagame, 1947b, p. 792.

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721 conquest: the procession of the victorious warriors, and the recitation of poems telling of the achievements of heroes. The whole country was mystically committed in the expedition through the king, the country's personification, who was magically taking part in it. The king and the queen-mother had (as the expedition leader) to sit motionless during the day of the battle (the army-chief in the field when deciding when to attack had to take into account the space of time necessary for a messenger to reach the court). The secrecy about the expeditions stressed their importance. Even after the battle was over, a messenger was sent to the court who could not tell anything about the expedition except that it was over. Then a few warriors were chosen by the army-chief to go and tell the king—and the king only—the story of the battle.

[643] [726] 727

721 75 Ruanda was an aggressive neighbour. Its history, as it appears in the old traditions collected by Father Pagès for instance, is made up of numerous wars of annexation. The Abanyiginia dynasty started from about the centre of the present day Ruanda and expanded their domination progressively.

They were never permanently at peace with their neighbours, and when they had an alliance with some of them it was in order only to be free to concentrate their forces on others. They used any means that could ensure domination. In addition to direct attacks, they interfered in quarrels between smaller neighbours, helping one against the other and then overcoming both; they even murdered the chiefs and kings of small states.[19] Besides the territorial annexations they raided neighbouring countries for captives and cattle.

721 186 From the Ruanda point of view this policy of imperialism and looting did not require any rationalization. Their ethical obligations were limited to in-group relationships. One could not kill, steal from, or harm another Ruanda, but a foreigner was fair game. Ruanda people thought themselves to be quite different from people of other tribes, their land was the most important in the world and the country where Imana (the high god) came home every evening and spent the night. It was consistent with these beliefs to use out-group people for one's own purposes without the need for further justification.

080 The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its

[19] See for instance Pagès, 1933, pp. 121 f.; pp. 298 ff.; pp. 534 ff.

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PLATE 3

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The late king, Charles Mutara Rudahigwa

[Facing P. 118]

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The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the
701 social order by the protective function of the army-chiefs. A minimum of individual security must be granted to every member of a society. The support of the army-chief secured partly that minimum of security. The protection against incursions of enemies was also provided by the army as such. Finally, the participation of
[564] Hutu and Twa in foreign expeditions, although extremely re-
[186] stricted, certainly contributed to the formation of a Ruanda 'national' feeling.

6. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

642 In the administrative and military structures, the king was the supreme political authority of Ruanda. Very closely associated with him was the queen-mother, who had an official role in the political sphere. Next, the highest dignitaries of the kingdom were the *biru*, guardians of traditions concerning the important events of the collective life of Ruanda. Finally, there was the council of the great chiefs. These four institutions may be regarded as having constituted the main element of the central government of Ruanda.

(a) *The king*

643 The theory of the Ruanda kingship was that the mwami was an absolute monarch in the fullest sense. There was no stated limit to his powers over the inhabitants, cattle, land, and even commodities of his country. His powers were not delegated by any authority and thus he had not to render an account of them to anybody. He was the supreme judge: his sentences were without appeal. He was the legislator having the right to change customs.

This theory of the king's powers was founded on their divine origin as mentioned earlier. The bami (plural of mwami) were very careful not to let their subjects forget their heavenly origin. Many rites stressed that they did not participate in the common nature of other men. This was also the reason why special words were used to indicate their common activities and the everyday objects they used (as for 'to get up', 'it is raining on the king's hut', 'his bed', 'his house', etc.). It was thus emphasized that in spite of their appearances, these activities and objects were fundamentally different from what they were for ordinary people.[88]

In fact the king's powers were of course limited. He had to respect the vested interests of important Tutsi lineages, he had to

[88] Pagès, 1933, pp. 491 f.

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refrain from decisions which could have impaired the economic 643
production of the country, such as requiring tributes which were too heavy, or which could have lowered the level of personal security to such an extent that people would have preferred to flee abroad.[33] Moreover, profound legislative modifications would have roused the resistance of the *biru*. Nevertheless, his powers were still extremely great. A fact which reinforced and consolidated 643
them was the tradition of the long past of the dynasty. The present 173
mwami, Mutara III Rudahigwa is regarded as the fortieth king of Ruanda. Even if the first twenty names are considered as legendary, three or four centuries is a considerable past for a dynasty. The Abanyiginya clan has indeed been able to keep the kingship of Ruanda as long as kings are remembered.

The mwami was not only of divine origin but he was Ruanda 643
personified. This mystical identification with the country resulted in numerous avoidances and a very careful behaviour was expected from the mwami. What happened to him would reverberate, as it were, over the country. He should not bend his knees, for instance, lest Ruanda's territory would shrink.

Royal succession was not completely fixed by custom. The heir was chosen by the king from among his sons. He was generally one of the youngest because the strength of Ruanda was magically connected with the king's strength. The name of the chosen one was kept secret. Even the future mwami did not know it. It was revealed only after the king's death by the three most important biru whom the mwami had entrusted with his decision. The other sons and their mothers generally did not agree willingly to the choice and there was often a period of unrest, even of civil war, [669]
before the new mwami became an effective ruler.[34]

A new name was given to the new king, one of the five royal 643
names which were chosen according to the same sequence: 553
Cyilima, Kigeli, Nibambwe, Yuhi, Mutara. The kings named Cyilima, Yuhi, and Mutara were called 'peaceful bami'. They were not allowed to cross the Nyabarongo, a river which runs in the centre of the country, not far from Nyanza, the capital, and this symbolised the fact that they should not send their armies abroad. This rule very wisely allowed the country to recuperate and to assimilate new territories conquered during a preceding warlike reign.

[33] Maquet, 1953. [34] See Gluckman, 1954, p. 8.

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643 534 The symbol of kingship was Kalinga, the sacred drum. To possess this drum meant to be king. Kalinga was regularly sprinkled with the blood of the animals used for divination. Around Kalinga were hung the genitals of Ruanda enemies killed by the bami. Kalinga was never beaten but other drums were beaten in its honour as they were beaten for the king.[38]

(*b*) *The queen-mother*

644 It was essential that the role of queen-mother (*umugabekazi*) should always be fulfilled. If the mwami's mother's death occurred when her son was still living, he had to be given another 'mother'. The queen-mother had no special task, but she shared the royal prerogatives. She lived at the king's capital where she had her own court, and her protection was eagerly sought. She had herds of cattle and clients. But her role should not be regarded as independent of that of the king.

It can be said that the same kingship was realized by two persons at the same time, without any division of responsibilities or privileges. This was expressed by the term often used to designate together the mwami and his mother: the kings (*abami*). In that partnership the king, however, kept a predominant position: when he died, his mother completely lost her powers.

(*c*) *The biru*

645 [193] The *biru* did not constitute a council or a board. They were dignitaries with different tasks and very strictly ranked in a fixed hierarchy. Their activities, however, in common were concerned [196] with the preservation of ritual knowledge and the accomplishment of ceremonies essential to the existence of Ruanda and its government. This knowledge and activities were kept secret from everybody who was not a *mwiru* (singular of *biru*).

[243] *Biru* were under the king's authority in the sense that he could create new offices of *mwiru* and he could dismiss one of them who had been disloyal. The royal control was limited to this. It was really the minimum without which *biru* would have been completely independent of the mwami. The offices were hereditary and even when a *mwiru* had been dismissed one of his sons succeeded him. As we have seen previously, their domains were exempt from any interference of the land- or cattle-chief.

[38] Vanhove, 1941, pp. 88 f. See the series of photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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(*d*) *The council of the high chiefs*

645 The most important chiefs were called *batware w'intebe*, which means chiefs with a stool. Sometimes, especially in times of crisis, the king summoned them and they were consulted on the situation.[37]

645 643 It seems that the patterns of behaviour in the face-to-face relationships with an authority, particularly the supreme one, were such that an opinion opposed to that of the mwami was very unlikely to be voiced. Consequently, the main use of that council appears to have been for the king to explain what he wanted to do and to elicit suggestions on the means of carrying it out.

One of these chiefs was called the 'favourite counsellor' and acted as a sort of prime minister to the king. Besides the tasks he fulfilled by helping the mwami in administering the kingdom, the favoured counsellor's role included the most useful function of taking the blame for what the mwami did wrong. As the king was divine and essentially good, he could never be criticized even by those who suffered from one of his decisions. To relieve the tensions raised by an arbitrary action of the king, however, it was better that the responsibility for it could be imputed to somebody else. The favourite counsellor was that scapegoat: the victims of a royal decision and their friends could go on saying that the king was good but that his favourite counsellor was very bad and cruel and responsible for what they had suffered. This aspect of the favourite counsellor's role was no small contribution to the feelings of trust that Ruanda had for their ruler.

[37] Maquet and Hertefelt, 1959, chap. 1.

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of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

3. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organisation in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(a) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

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well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

A fourth factor which counterbalanced the socially disintegrative influence of the caste system was the plurality of the structures in which any Ruanda was affiliated.

Through several structures, subjects were much more efficiently bound among themselves and to their rulers than in a unique hierarchy. In the latter case, indeed, if the individual can extricate himself from that hierarchy, he becomes absolutely unattached. In Ruanda, even if one link was broken, the subject did not escape from his superior chiefs. Indeed, he was linked to them, particularly to the mwami, by more than one tie. Almost any Ruanda was dependent on the king through two hierarchical channels: *via* his hill-chief (who himself was subordinated to the cattle- and land-chief) and *via* his army-chief. In addition, the feudal system integrated him into a set of personal loyalty relations such that the person occupying the superior position in one of these relations is himself an inferior in another relation.

It should be mentioned also that any Ruanda was a member of three kin groups: primary and secondary patrilineages and clan. Of course kinship affiliations as such did not cut across caste lines (except for the clan name), but as many of these kinship groups had been for so long established in Ruanda territory, they were certainly a supplementary link between the individual and his country.

The network of relations woven by the political and clientage systems was particularly important in a country where there were no clear-cut groupings based on co-residence. This has led some observers to believe that Ruanda were living in a kind of social vacuum. On the contrary, a Ruanda was never isolated: his social links connected him with the authorities and were ramified, if not in the whole territory, at least in a large area of it.

The last factor of social cohesion to be mentioned here was the ideology developed around the monarchic institution. The mwami was regarded as the king of all Ruanda and not only of the Tutsi. His divine origin keeping him separate from men, bestowed on him an authority which no commoner thought to question. He was closely connected with Imana, conceived as a supreme god rather remote but benevolent. The mwami, representative of Imana, was the father and protector of all Ruanda. Was it not enough to assume towards him a filial attitude and to feel one's

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dependency upon him? As in many cultures in which a king is a paternal and divine image, the Ruanda monarch certainly contributed towards the creation in Ruanda individuals of a feeling of belonging to a unit which presented some similarities to a family.

This was, it seems, how the Ruanda political and feudal structures, by their complexity, succeeded in keeping an equilibrium between, on one hand, the tendencies towards social disintegration that a caste system necessarily produces and, on the other, the minimal cohesion necessary to the maintenance of a social unit such as a nation.

(*b*) *Exploitation and protection of Hutu*

The Tutsi were confronted with the dilemma that all conquerors must solve when they settle on a new territory with the intention of staying permanently: are they going to draw upon the natural resources of the country themselves, using their own labour and equipment, and to remove from the area the aboriginal inhabitants by pushing them further on and even by exterminating them as a people, or are they to let them stay and use them by having them working for their benefit? Europeans who settled in North America adopted the first solution, they did not attempt to use Indian labour and they expelled the native population from their hunting areas and began to cultivate their country. The second method has been chosen in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara where Europeans have settled.

Whether Tutsi have explicitly considered this problem is immaterial here. In fact they have adopted the solution which was most advantageous to them. Being pastoralists and not numerous (in comparison with the Hutu peasants), they had no interest in expelling them. If this had been done, they would have had either to till the land themselves or to dispense with beer, peas, sorghum, &c. It was preferable for Tutsi to adopt what Oppenheimer calls the bee-keeper's policy (as opposed to the bear's policy who for the purpose of robbing the beehive, destroys it),[4] that is to say, to keep in the country peasants in order permanently to exploit their productive work. Those who control territory are not a dominant group; it is upon men that power is exerted.

We have seen how, through the political and feudal structures, the country's surplus resources were drained and concentrated in

[4] Oppenheimer, 1922, pp. 65 ff.

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Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies
642 towards the fragmentation of the political unity of their country,
643 first, by the ritual character of the royal power.
182 To revolt against the king, identified with Ruanda and supported by Imana, was a sacrilege and a profanation. It is not claimed that such a theory was sufficient to secure the kings with effective power indefinitely. Elsewhere similar ideologies of absolute and divine power of the monarchs have not prevented some of them from being stripped of their real authority, whereas their divine prerogatives were still respected. The ritual sanction does not seem to have had a primary importance in the maintenance of submission to the Ruanda kingship. In 1896 or 1897, a young
[669] mwami, Mibambwe IV Rutalindwa, was assailed and eventually lost his life in a revolt instigated by the brother of the queen-mother. That queen-mother was not the mother of the mwami but another wife of his father. Her clan, the Abega, wanted a son of hers as mwami.[5] This shows that when the king lost effective control of power, ritual sanctions were not an effective safeguard for his prerogatives, or even for his life. This is why it has not been thought necessary to expand on the ritual aspect of the Ruanda kingship. But it certainly was a factor which contributed to the obedience of the Ruanda nobles.

[701] Another check was that the king kept at his disposal the coercive force of the armies. Even if the rebel had the support of one or two armies, the king had all the others.

642 But the main factor which I think prevented local authorities
578 from asserting their independence from the central government,
182 was the plural character of the political and feudal organization. In connexion with the maintenance of the effective power of the central government, this plurality of structure was a very effective means of maintaining misunderstanding, hostility, and jealousy among the subordinate chiefs. It is certain that the *shebuja* of our example in the preceding section, would have been only too glad to denounce to the mwami the army-chief if the latter was indulging in suspicious manœuvres. The co-existence of chiefs of almost the same rank who were constantly induced by their subjects to take sides in disputes was sufficient to create mistrust among themselves. Moreover, conflicts were numerous, particularly when two chiefs had the same territorial power (as in the case of the cattle- and land-chiefs). To settle conflicts they had to resort to the

[5] Pagès, 1933, pp. 195-206.

its own rules, if each infraction were punished strictly according to prescribed sanctions and if all the formal norms were always respected. To be a part of a society is to know which of its rules prescribe or prohibit absolutely or conditionally; whether a particular action which is not forbidden is nevertheless something that is simply "not done"; whether human beings, always imperfect, must in any particular case actually be punished or whether the offence should blinked. Exceptions to the formal rules are not haphazard. Rather, they are ordered by what may be called implicit norms, or secondary or functional norms. These are as well known and as well established as norms which are explicit and formal. Taken together, the explicit, primary norms and the implicit, secondary norms form the "active norms" of the society. By means of secondary norms, society can come to terms with the social and psychological impossibility of a perfect correspondence between the formal norms of the social structure, invented by men in the interest of social order, and the actions of men confronted by the empirical realities of human existence.

Each society has its own calculus of values by which it establishes its active norms, the norms to be respected verbally but understood to be neither practical nor practised, and the rules of punishment which are to be taken seriously. It will not be possible to understand the life of the women of Burundi without knowing both the formal norms of the social structure and the secondary, functional norms. The life of a Rundikazi is made up of various elements. To reconstruct it, we shall begin with a description of women as members of Rundi society, of which they form an integral part. We shall then describe women in the specifically feminine roles, and we shall conclude with an account of the devices used by women to realize the values of their patriarchal society.

* * *

The Rundi describe their society as a hierarchy ordered by *Imana*, the Supreme Being, who is at its summit. Among human beings, it is the *mwami*, the king, who is superior to all. In the past, there was also Kiranga, the legendary head of a possession cult. He was said to be of approximately the same rank as the *mwami*.[5] Immediately below the king are the *baganwa*, the princes—four generations of the descendents of a king. The *mwami* and the *baganwa* are the rulers of the Rundi. In the traditional system, the power of the *mwami* was defined by his inheritence of absolute royal power and of the entire country, together with all its goods,

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as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the

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564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least [583] four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the [554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
644 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
582 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence [766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

643 Often an interdiction is attached to a king's name: a Yuhi,
[551] for instance, may not cross great rivers like the Nyabarongo (3).

3. River flowing into the Akanyaru which forms the boundary between Ruanda and Urundi.

[775] After his death the king becomes a sort of divinity for the people. He has gone to Hades to join the demigods, his ancestors.
643 The king shares the supreme authority with his mother
644 (umugabekazi) (4). She is all-powerful, often more powerful than

4. The king's wife is called Umwamikazi or simply Muka-Rudahigwa, etc. The present King's wife is called Nyiramakomare.

her son. Whoever pays homage to the king [88] must also do so to his mother. She intervenes in law proceedings and the distribution of land, herds, etc. The king and his mother together are called Abami. The continual presence of the queen mother at her son's
[608] side is essential (1) and if the king loses his mother, he will be given

1. Kankazi, mother of Rudahigwa Mutara, lives on Shyogwa Hill in Marangara. This measure was taken by the Belgian government because, remembering the disastrous role played by Nyirayuhi with Musinga, they wished to prevent the mother of the present King from exercising too great a political influence.

an official mother. The king's mother has a special name, the
[551] same as that of her son, except when the king is called Mutara; that name even the court familiars cannot give her (2). The same honors

2. Yuhi Musinga's mother Kanjogera, bore the royal name of Nyirayuhi. Kankazi, mother of Mutara Rudahigwa, is called Nyiramavugo.

643 are paid the Mwamikazi as to her son, hand clappings repeated
644 three times (gukoma mumashyi). After the death of the Mwami (3),

> 3. Or rather, as the Banyarwanda say, "When he puts on his drum," for it is forbidden to say that the King is dead.

his mother no longer plays any official role.

3. The Sacred Drum

778 The origin of the Kalinga is said to go back to Ruganzu
173 Ndoli. While the latter, who was not yet king, was fighting against the Karagwe (Uganda), the Abakongoro of Kivu attacked Ruanda and killed the Mwami Ndahiro Chyamatara, father of Ndoli.

Returning from war, the latter stopped at Busigi (territory of Biumba), where a rich proprietor called Minyaruka presented a magnificent drum to the glorious victor.

778 The Kalinga is the very symbol of royalty (4). [89] Hung on
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> 4. The Banyarwanda say, Kalinga ibuze nta Mwami (lit., the drum was burned, there is no King). This proverb must not be taken literally for, on the other hand, the people of Ruanda say, Hagum'Umwami ingoma irabazwa, (lit., find the King (important thing), the drum (unimportant thing is only wood). [89]

its stretched cords are the ibikondo, virile attributes of the principal enemies vanquished and killed by the kings of Ruanda. It is also
[787] regularly sprinkled with the blood of victims sacrificed on occasions for auguries. Truly royal honors are given to the Kalinga; it is not made to resound but the other drums sound in its honor (1). It is

> 1. Kulamutza, "to salute (the king)." The drums are beaten every morning when the king leaves his apartments to begin his day as a public person.

778 643 placed in the hut called rwimiringa (lit., house of copper objects (2),

2. Kalinga means "royal drum"; Karinga means "small copper object."

[727] built inside the king's boma, where the war trophies are kept. The Kalinga is guarded night and day, for it is the emblem of the grandeur of the kings of Ruanda.

4. The Court of the Mwami

644 At Nyanza, the royal residence (ibgami), flocks of people of every rank come to attend court or to inform the Mwami of the affairs of their region: Bahutu or even Batwa villagers hoping to obtain some benefit from the Mwami or his mother, dignitaries of various ranks and functions, and servants of both sexes (3).

[114]

3. These duties and functions have been minutely described by the Rev. Father Pages in his fine book, Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique [A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa] (ed. I.R.C.B. [Institut Royal Colonial Belge], Brussels, 1933). This work constitutes a veritable and priceless monument for the knowledge of Ruanda and its people. We cannot do better than suggest that the reader refer to it for everything concerning the organization of the Royal Court.

5. The Council of Ministers

645 787 In serious circumstances, such as war or famine, the Mwami is obliged to convene the great chiefs (abatware b'intebe) in council (inima). The soothsayers (abapfuma) then consult the oracles and

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787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90] 6. The Intore

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861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

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292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and
[535] others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

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believe that this potion will kill whoever does not speak the truth or reveals a state secret (cf. also Procedure, pp. 104 and 105).

766 dared reveal what he had seen.

The summit of Rutare Hill is crowned with trees, [96] the remains of an ancient forest. The cemetery of the kings and queens can be found there. The abanyamugogo build a hut there, dig a grave, and bury the king and his weapons in it. The hut is closed with beams and surrounded by a thorny enclosure to keep wild ani-
[767] mals out. Quite near-by, the watchers build themselves dwellings where they live for two years and are fed during this time by the people of the neighborhood. Then they return home after going through Nyanza where they are showered with gifts. But the Mwami may not see them for he would die during the year if he caught sight of those who have watched over and carried his father's body. For the same reason the abiru who have accompanied them to Rutare may never return to the court of Nyanza. The belief also exists that from
[825] the right shoulder of the dead Mwami there issues a worm (urunyo) which, if placed in a pitcher of milk, will grow and become a leopard that kills only those who are wicked and unjust.

When the Mwami dies all work stops for eight days. For two months the bulls are removed from the herds and the king's children may not have any marital relations. Although they are under no obligation to do so, the Banyarwanda behave in the same way.

The death of the Umugabekazi [king's mother] calls for the same ceremonies and the same interdictions, but they are somewhat simplified.

9. Succession to the Throne

643 The king of Ruanda always belongs to the family of the
[644] Abanyiginya. His wives (1) are mostly chosen from the clans of the

[644]

1. The king may have four legitimate wives whose children are the only ones who, in theory, can succeed him; he can have as many concubines as he wishes.

Abega and the Abakono.

643 Sometimes the reigning sovereign can openly designate [97] even one of his youngest sons as heir. This happens when the soothsayers recognize him as being a "magic" king, with the mission of overcoming, for example, an epidemic (Umwami w'imitsindo). Thus Rwabugiri conferred power on his eldest son Rutalindwa, who took the name of Mibambwe, only for the duration of Musinga's minority.

Usually the name of the king's successor is secretly indicated by the king to the abiru, who then proclaim the one chosen.

669 As the law of primogeniture does not exist, palace revolu-
643 tions frequently occur on the death of kings. There are disputes between royal wives who have male children, especially when the wives belong to powerful families, in order to raise themselves and their sons to supreme power and to be able to bestow on members of their family high positions, land, and herds. It was this kind of revolution that, soon after the death of Rwabugiri, overthrew Mibamwe and gave Ruanda to Musinga and his mother Kanjogera.

10. Accession of the King

643 Two days after the death of the Mwami, his successor is proclaimed king by the guardians of the customs. After two months of mourning, all the great and small chiefs and their abagaragu go to Nyanza. The Inyambo are also brought there. For two days the most unbridled joy is given free rein amidst drinking, dancing, and games. The new king shows himself to the people in formal garments, his forehead bound with a crown composed of strings of white beads (ikamba or igisingo) falling over his face, and he receives from his subjects, as a gift of accession, some indabukirano. Then the people go back to their homes and the new reign begins.

643 If the son of the deceased is too young to actually reign
644 [98], the mother and usually the maternal uncles of the young prince act as regents (1). Similarly the Umugabekazi participates in the

1. We should point out however that Ruganzu Bwimba, before setting out on an expedition against the people of

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Gissaka, a war in which he was killed, had designated as regent of his son Kyilima Rugwe, an Umunyginya called Chyenge, and not one of his brothers-in-law.

meetings of the Council of Ministers until her son is about fifteen years old, an age at which he can exercise supreme authority. Formerly, the Mwami's maternal uncles, taking advantage of his youth and their own privileged position, would often have recourse to violence and trickery in order to increase their provinces and their herds.

11. Political Divisions

631 The characteristic traits of feudalism are found in Ruanda. The dispersion of authority and property and the Mwami's bestowing on his subjects benefits and commands that are always revocable, result in great uncertainty for everyone and permit the king to establish his domination firmly over the country.

635 631 Ruanda is divided into provinces (intara) placed under the command of a single chief (umutware w'intebe) (2). There are

2. Intebe, stool-seat.

exceptions to this rule. In Bgishaza, for example, two different chiefs are placed under the orders of the umutware w'intebe, the umutware w'ubutaka who exerts his authority over the lands and the Bahutu, and the umutware w'umukenke who governs the pastures, the herds, and the Batutsi. The abatware are appointed by the Mwami. They do not necessarily belong to the first families of the country. An average Mututsi or even a Muhutu may become a chief, thanks to royal favor that rewards his intelligence and devotion. [99]

635 701 In the past, at the time of the wars, the Mwami's abapfumu chose from among the abatware w'intebe the umugabe w'ingabo (chief of the army). When peace was concluded, the latter remained what he had been before.

563 they are reminded daily in living with the two other higher
157 classes of the population. Under this social pressure, their natural talent has been turned into cunning and craftiness. However, the Forest Batwa are quite proficient in these arts also.

Being shrewd and realizing their position fully, the Batwa
563 are friendly toward the Batussi, whereas they regard the Bahutu agriculturalists who destroy the forest with fire and axe as the robbers of their freedom, and this is the case both in Ruanda and in Urundi. Just as in Ruanda King Musinga himself keeps an
[644] entire settlement of Batwa at his court in Nyanza, preferring to entrust the protection of his person and the maintenance of order to these pariahs hostile to the Bahutu, so also in Urundi most of the Batwa are to be found near the residences of the chief where they find work and a livelihood in the service of the Batussi more easily than anywhere else except among the Bahutu. This is a symbiosis of the two numerically weaker population elements against the subjugated Bahutu, a people who number millions, within which both groups derive advantage.

The over-all character of the Barundi is provided by the large mass of the Bahutu, for although the Batussi are in fact the most striking members of the population because of their external appearance and their ruling position, they are too much in the minority, and in the majority of customs and external forms of culture they have assimilated with the Bahutu. Mentally, however, they are quite different from the Bahutu.

Like all Bantu, the Muhutu is by nature intelligent and
157 has a lively, sanguine temperament. This original trait is apparent in Urundi and in Ruanda wherever the hand of the Batussi rulers does not weigh upon them too heavily, i.e., more so in Urundi where the rule of the Batussi has never been as despotic as in Ruanda, and, in Urundi, most of all in the northwestern region, independent of the kingdom, where the chief, Kilima, is himself a Bantu or of mixed blood (see pp. 162, 168, 188 [these pages not translated]), and also in the far south and in the lowland areas of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. The mental agility, loud speech and lively gestures of the Bahutu are nowhere as noticeable in Urundi as there in the

241 beginning of the cultivation of the fields as soon as the rainy
782 season has started. This is done after he and his sorcerers (abafumu) have practiced a number of ceremonies and have
[776] offered sacrifices to the principal god, Imana, the fertility god. The order of the head chief is passed on by the subchief to the lower batwale who again pass it on to the Bahutu. The Bahutu also offer small gifts to the god. When they begin to till the field, a sorcerer (umufumu) dances in front of them on the first day, shouting and gesticulating, to banish the evil spirits and to bless the seed.

241 According to Father Gassldinger the consecration of the
782 fields takes a somewhat different form in central Urundi
796 (Mujaga). At the beginning of the rainy season, after the high grass has been cut down and dug into the topsoil with hoes, work is started with a ceremony that is supposed to bring the blessing of Kiranga. [58] The men, painted yellow and red, line up with their hoes on the field which is to be tilled. Kiranga with two escorts (ivisjego) sits on the side of the field. A girl who is painted and richly adorned stands in front of the men in the center of the field. She now begins to jump, dance, and sing while cutting the high grass with her sickle. Still singing, she asks Kiranga for a successful sowing and curses the sorcerers and witches who might want to harm the field. The men promise her ample gifts of beer for the summer. The men walk slowly behind her turning the soil over with their hoes which they strike rhythmically into the ground. Depending on the type of seed, Kiranga is invoked by a particular name: Njamurimi when sorghum is sown, Njabaschi for peanuts, Rumambo for corn, etc. (No. 45, p. 316).

782 The heir presumptive to the throne of the king is believed
241 to hold in his clenched fist at birth a grain of seed of each of the
[449] crops of Urundi. If the corn or sorghum in a field has been dashed to the ground by hail or a cloudburst, the Muhutu who cultivated the plot runs around the field with a cattle bell, and by its noisy clanging he reminds the god to whom he has made sacrifices of his duty to protect the field from evil spirits. If this clanging of the bell is done properly, the crops lying on the ground will raise themselves to an upright position.

642 number of the leading men of the country had become more or less independent of the king. As we shall see in the historical survey (p. 166 [not translated]), the government recognized the independence of a few of these chiefs after the death of old King Kisabo. Even there, however, the people still regard the distant king -- who it is true has become almost a phantom for them -- as the supreme authority of the realm in many respects, especially in religious matters.

643 Theoretically, the king is the absolute ruler of all of Urundi. Whoever does not submit to him is a renegade and a revolutionary. In the last analysis this claim to royal supremacy is founded on the fact that the king is descended from the old ruling family, the Baganwa, and is regarded and revered as an almost divine being. In this capacity he is the head of the national religion and the religious head of the nation, regardless of the personal characteristics of the king who is ruling at any one time. If, in addition to the religious respect which he enjoys, the king is prudent and strong-willed, as the bearer of the "crown" he will have no difficulty in enforcing his claim to be the sole ruler in the whole of Urundi. This is proved by the history of Urundi.

In both Urundi and Ruanda, also in Ufipa (No. 47, p. 29), the official title of the king is umwami, i.e., he who rose to authority. The Urundi king is also referred to as the njen' ingoma, the possessor of the (holy) drum, or as umvijéji, father, master.

644 The person closest to the king is the umufumu w'umwami, [793] the "house chaplain," high priest. Generally he is a highly intelligent man who in all cases is attached to the semidivine king and who also is the first to advise him in mundane matters. [791] A "court kiranga," a chief magician or sorcerer, assists the high priest. Among the officials of the court, there are masters of the kitchen, butchers, firewood keepers, stable masters, water suppliers, cow milkers, night watchmen, the bodyguard, and others. As far as political personalities are concerned, there are in the entourage of the king representatives of the great head men, the governors of the provinces, just as at the court of Musinga of Ruanda. Here, as well as in Ruanda, it is often the governors themselves who temporarily or permanently are drawn

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without 635 exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of 565 the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces 634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

631 The same organization of officialdom also exists in 614 Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided [635] among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district [634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of [635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as 643 well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this 614 may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

768 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's
736 family and provide for their widowed mother. However, childless widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or by begging.

The position of women is higher and the esteem in which
562 they are held is greater than among most other East African
593 Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned, the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the husband. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the
[462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found among any other East African people -- that husband and wife
[264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier husbands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex-
562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded
[644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of respect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

794 the fraternity of the ababandwa existed long before the histori-
575 cal Riangombe. It is most probably an extremely old element
171 of Negro religion in East Africa which has been preserved in its pure form in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda, Karagwe, the eastern Congo (Bunjabungu) (No. 44, p. 291), and in a degenerate form in Unjamwesi and Ussumbwa. Many parallels to it can be found in the secret societies of the Bantu and Sudan Negroes of Loango, the Cameroons, Togo, the Gold Coast, etc. Ac-
794 cording to van der Burgt, the Kubandwa cult in Urundi is part
575 of the Bantu religion of the Bahutu and has been taken over
114 by the Batussi. However, the king may not participate in the cult while the Batwa are very dedicated to it, particularly to that of Kiranga. In his dictionary van der Burgt defines the ababandwa as a "société religieuse et secrèt" (No. 19, pp. 220, 463), but according to a more recent written communication he regards the Kubandwa not as a real "secret society" but as a gathering for a mysterious cult act to which not everyone is admitted, for example, children. Captain von Langenn, however, regards it as a religious secret society in which old sorcerers play the leading role; admission to it follows special ceremonies. Missionary Johanssen, too, describes the analogous institution in Ruanda as a "society of the initiated or of mediums" who are in contact with the world of the spirits and join Riangombe after their death, in contrast to the laymen, the insigo, who are excluded from this community (No. 39, p. 96). Father van Thiel likewise refers to the initiated persons of the Kubandwa cult in east Ussuwi as a "soeiété secrète" whose leader is the sorcerer (No. 24, p. 49).

[793] In Ruanda a high priest (kiranga) is the head of the
794 ababandwa. He is appointed by the king, but he may also be
● 644 dismissed by him. In Ruanda the king appoints the mpara as his
575 assistants. They are a group of ababandwa who enjoy the privilege of offering their sacrifices to Riangombe in the kraal of the king. It is noteworthy that they are all Bahutu. This is probably a concession to the old Bantu origin of the Kubandwa cult. These mpara, in addition to the Batwa who live at the k king's court (see p. 13), are the bodyguards and the "guardians of the royal sleep," and much confidence is placed in them (No. 44, p. 292).

631 These in turn would select their own assistants, who became "hill chiefs." The great chiefs, although they owned a number of dwellings in their respective districts, seldom lived among their people.

[662] Ever surrounded by jealous and often malevolent rivals, they were exposed to intrigues. Espionage and delation were endemic at court. This is why the great dignitaries remained by the king's side in order to guard against all eventualities.

643 Hamitic royalty, once it became powerful, immediately acquired great brilliance: United under a single scepter, the Banyarwanda became one of the best-organized Negro peoples and spread beyond their natural boundaries to defeat and subject to tribute the enemy nations around them. The union of the Bahutu clans took place thanks to the increasingly centralized administrative organization of the new inhabitants.

The Hamitic kings never lost the simplicity of their ancient mores. They kept up their interest in their herds of cattle, which they regularly asked to see, and they would ask and remember the names and genealogy of the animals. On the battlefields they were hardly distinguishable from their warriors, whose outfit and weapons they wore: a mere goatskin around the loins, a spear, a bow and arrows.

In peacetime, however, etiquette would elevate the monarch
• 644 and isolate him from his subjects. One could not visit him without asking for an audience and being announced first. This was so at least as far as common people were concerned, for dignitaries and favorites acted with greater freedom and even took certain liberties. According to court protocol, one had /39/ to clap hands (gukom' amashi) when appearing before the monarch.

The "lords" would throng around him to fill out the government offices and to make up the court (1). Not only were princes of royal

1. "The Hamitic Court!" In dealing with the persons and times whose history we are describing, one must not think of the courts established in civilized countries. The Batutsi Court does not

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> resemble them much. It would be difficult, however, to call by another word the group of personages and servants who make up the entourage, followers, and retinue of these African potentates.

blood and dignitaries for the most part of Hamitic race and blood admitted to the court, but so were men whom the king introduced there directly. Among them were found, although in small numbers, commoners, foreigners, and even more rarely some Batwa whose status had been raised on account of their services or their skill in sorcery.

It was an art to arrive and to remain for them all.

644 662 The king inspired in his entourage a very humble respect mixed with a constant fear. Uncertainty as to what his dignified but slightly haughty manner held in store for them constantly worried these ambitious people.

They would, therefore, watch with apprehension the changes on his august face, which occasionally betrayed his most intimate feelings and his most sudden decisions, although most often it remained inscrutable.

A quick flash of wrath in his eyes portended disgrace and possibly death. A bright smile on his austere face caused radiant hopes to blossom.

These abrupt and capricious changes, which might dispose of one's future or even of one's life, constantly held souls in suspense between fear that makes one shudder and peace as refreshing as a breath of fresh air.

Yet, although one lived in anxious uncertainty, one tried to reassure oneself by saying that the king was too just to ignore virtue and honesty.... Although this integrity of the heart as expressed by words /40/ could strengthen the position of a courtier who had already arrived, however, how could it suffice to single out the aspiring courtier, whose qualities were hardly known as yet? In order to succeed, to find a patron willing to introduce a novice and sufficiently

644 662 enterprising to draw the king's glance and heart toward him, it was sometimes necessary to arouse and maintain the protector's interest by way of attentions which might be more or less discreet, but which were always significant.

The gift you are offered broadens the path.
And leads you to the presence of the great.

When fortune was slow to smile, this was no cause for discouragement. There is an art of knowing how to wait.

But waiting does not mean inaction. A besieged city always ends up surrendering. One must undertake the siege of the king (1).

1. "La Cour royale et les classes sociales au temps de David et de Solomon /The Royal Court and Social Classes at the Time of David and Solomon/," by Louis Desnoyers. (Correspondant, July 25, 1927.)

Patience costs ambitious people nothing, no matter how eager they may be to reach their goal. The chief occupation of the great and the parvenu was to dabble in politics, to plot intrigues, to flatter the king, and to increase their personal wealth. They owned lands and cattle, which they managed with care.

They followed the king on his moves so as not to lose his favor, so as to ward off the maneuvers of their enemies and profit from the crumbs that might fall from the royal table.

They would all make their way to the monarch, jolt each other to be near him and to have a choice place at his side.

Not one of them wished to leave.

They wanted to live at the capital, under the eyes of the master who dealt out influence and promotion. Court life and gossip were filled with the intrigues of the envious, with rivalries, "the bitter competition for power, the plots to win and keep favor, /41/ the treacherous insinuations of enemies who harried one another with hatred and decency /sic/, the brutal passions satisfied at any cost,"

644 with flagrant disgraces and the official executions that sometimes
662 resulted from them.

People became madly infatuated with everything abnormal or enigmatic, with the predictions of sorcerers, with ghosts, crimes, sudden or mysterious death.

And since the regular court attendants had a thorough knowledge of their neighbors' genealogy, past, history, acquaintances, and interests, it is easy to guess that the daily chronicle also concerned private quarrels, bereavements, marriages, and births. This was the usual pabulum of conversation. Similar in this respect to a certain French king who associated largely with lowly people, fortunetellers, astrologists, apothecaries, wig makers, and even the executioner, the Hamitic monarch also liked to surround himself with master cooks, archiaters, healers, magicians, and charlatans of all sorts to whom he occasionally distributed honors and appointments (1).

1. Some striking examples of those royal favors are known. Some subjects in most humble circumstances managed to obtain the hand of a Hamitic princess and to be raised to noble rank.

One can easily imagine what the royal administration was like
643 under the circumstances. No desire to encourage the arts, to favor
661 agriculture, to improve the people's condition. The rights of the people exist theoretically, but they are regulated by no organic text and are too often dependent on the whims of royal and local power.

Infatuated with their own glory and exclusively preoccupied with their own pleasure, the sovereigns had no ambition other than to raise their prestige and to enjoy life.

The kings did not resemble one another from one reign to the next.

A warrior would succeed a peaceful man. Some, cruel and brutal, had the bloody whims and disordered passions of despots and degenerates. Others, of /42/ simpler tastes, led a peaceful existence and allowed the people to breathe.

643 One hears of sovereigns who liked and practiced the "things
661 of the mind," such as Yuhi-Mazimpaka, whose literary output is still highly prized by Black intellectuals.

The king's wives and concubines lived away from the court.
●644 "Either he had noticed their beauty himself..., or their charms had been brought to his attention by the great who were sure to please him in so doing."

Among the reasons for the profusion of wives in the sovereign's harem, "the yearnings of the heart and the demands of the senses both played their part" above all else. Many a prince surrendered without restraint to voluptuous activities. Yet one hears of some romances adorned with the charms of literature which may actually have taken place.

842 It must be admitted in all fairness that a powerful idea presided over the establishment of the family among the Hamites. Like the Hebrews and so many other ancient peoples, the Batutsi regarded large numbers of children, and especially sons, as an honor, a glory, and a source of strength. They considered themselves fortunate if they could watch the growth of their children and their children's children to the third and fourth generations.

595 A large progeny seemed to them a sure guarantee for the future
578 of their race. Let us add that peace could not reign in their homes. For among the legitimate wives, there was almost invariably a favorite. "Competing among themselves, competing for their children, they drove the latter to rivalry, and the husband, following his preferences or giving way to his weakness, did not always share equitably his heart, his favors, and his goods." (1) /43/

1. The loved wife is called nkundwakazi, the hated wife mbikazi. A rival is called mukeba or umugore w'ishyari, that is to say, literally, "jealously woman /or wife/."

595 One can easily imagine the troubles and conflicts caused by an excessive number of wives and children.

The history of the Hamitic princes of Ruanda contains "pages soiled and as if bloodied by the tale of passions which set them one against the other and which, unleashed with brutal violence, " eventually gave rise to tragedies and palace revolutions. Family unity and family spirit have never gained anything from polygamy. The history of the Hamites of Ruanda is here to prove and confirm this.

The king's mother held first place among the harem princesses, 644 and reigned along with her son. She was "shown the most respectful consideration, and whoever wished to obtain some favor from the monarch had no better recourse than to see her first. "

It has been said that a people must be well disciplined in 157 order to grow prosperous and powerful. The Hamites' strength resided 643 in their courage and organization.

Those who know the Hamites cannot but admire among their qualities perseverance in an undertaking and obedience to chiefs. One must recognize in these political and diplomatic beings, and this is to their credit, a thorough self-possession and great calmness. As true leaders, they rarely give way to anger, and their violent feelings rarely show.

Their apprenticeship to life begins early.

868 From childhood on, indeed, the young Batutsi devote themselves to real exercises in sports, under the supervision of the Mwami or of the great chiefs. They practice endurance and bravely bear the fatigue of the lengthy and frequent exercises of guhamiriza (dances indigenous to the Batutsi). For many years they remain as pages (intore) in the service of the Mwami or of the provincial governors, in order to be trained to life and to win the favors of currently powerful figures. /44/

643 action. "Ruganzu" is a war name, and so is "Kigeri." Ruganzu II
173 Ndori, as recounted by one tradition, had suffered so much (yari
551 yarushye chyane) that in order to spare his successors as much as possible of the anxieties, sorrows, and fatigue he had endured, he demanded that his name of "Ruganzu" should vanish forever with him into the grave. He thought that he would reduce thereby the number of future wars. The titles of "mutara" and "Yuhi" commit to peace those to whom they are given, who are not permitted to cross rivers (ntibambuk' uruzi). To break this "taboo" would make them and their realm subject to great misfortunes.

701 Thus, it was not Mutara himself who conquered the Gissaka. In case of a necessary war or expedition, the sovereign appoints two generals, one of whom (umugabe) has command of military operations while the other holds a mere honorary rank. He is said to exercise an occult and magic influence over the opponents, who cannot fail to be conquered if he fulfills his role properly. In the course of his expeditions, Lwabugiri always had at his side one of those generals with superstitious functions. They are called Abagaba.

Book IV

(First Fascicle)

The Royal Court

(Its Posts, Privileges, Mores, and Customs)

644 /348/ The object of the present study is the organization of the royal court, its posts and offices, its customs and festivals (1).

1. In order to designate the court and capital as they are here and now, the Banyarwanda use the word

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ibgami, "at the king's."
In speaking of the ancient
royal residences, they use
the noun umurwa, plural
imirwa, or else ikigabiro,
plural ibigabiro. As for the
term umuhango (plural
imihango), it signifies "mores,
customs, traditions," hence
the name Abanyamihango given
to the "keepers of the customs."

[642] We remind the reader that the native government is an absolute and hereditary monarchy.

The sovereign is master of the land and all it contains; he deals
643 with the life and goods of his subjects as he pleases. Until recently
his power knew no bounds of any sort and was wholly dependent upon
[776] his whims or good will. Imana (God) was no more powerful than he.
Any attempt to draw a comparison between the two was formerly
[687] regarded as a crime of high treason. God and the King could, at
best, be one and the same person.

The subjects, therefore, tended to be regarded as things from
641 which to draw as much pleasure and well-being as possible.

Their own worth and usefulness were assessed and measured
only with reference to the king. Let us add that the welfare of the
kingdom, although it was not disregarded, could only come second
in the thoughts of the king. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans,
644 the dignitaries of the realm to whom the king assigned the government
of the provinces were compelled to spend most of their time at court.
The Hamitic princes were very eager to keep the nobility close to
them. They were always on the alert and daily surveyed the lords and
courtiers who surrounded them (2). The latter belong /349/ almost

2. From Saint Simon we learn
that the situation was the same
under Louis XIV. "It is a demerit

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> for the most distinguished courtiers, " he says, "not to make of the court their daily abode, and for the others to appear there only rarely. It is a sure disgrace for anyone to fail completely or almost completely to appear."

entirely to the noble and conquering Batutsi group. They are lords and courtiers, and they too live only for the king, his service, and his pleasure. In those territories lying under their jurisdiction the Batutsi, in turn, exercised the same powers as the monarch. The disadvantages and excesses of such an autocratic system are easy to imagine. The gift of government cannot be denied, however, to the Batutsi and their princes. They have had at all times an aptitude for organization and administration. Within a short period of time, thanks to their subtlety and talent, they succeeded in building a single kingdom upon the ruins of some 50 autonomous principalities, and in lending it stability.

Nyanza is the name of the present capital in the Nduga province. It is made up of a vast agglomeration of huts which stand apart from each other.

The group formed by the aggregate of royal huts is by far the most important. There live the king, the queen mother, and their servants (1). The chiefs are settled in the vicinity. So as not to

> 1. With rare exceptions the royal wives have little influence. They are rarely mentioned. Their august spouse may cast them away at the slightest whim.

offend the sensibilities of the king, they must see to it that their huts and courtyards are of modest dimensions. The other inhabitants, who are gathered all around, are there only for His Majesty's sake. The capital may thus be compared to a vast beehive where the jobs are

644 varied and numerous but all aimed at a single end, the service and entertainment of the king.

"The capital is filled, populated, and occupied for the sake of the life of a single man. It is but a royal residence, set up exclusively to attend to the needs, pleasures, service, protection, entertainment, and display of the king." (Taine.) "The king's household contains a veritable /350/ multitude of servants divided into various departments under the orders of high officials (Seignobos)." These two quotations, which refer to Versailles, may be applied to Nyanza and the court of Musinga if due allowances are made.

The operation of those departments regarded as indispensable to the life of the court demands an extensive staff that would fill a telephone directory. Lord of the Palace, Chief of the "Mouth" Department, Majordomo, High Keeper of the Treasure, High Cup Bearer or Butler, ushers, pages, chamberlains, valets, Keepers of the Wardrobe, physicians or rather quacks, etc., all have their equivalent at the court of His Black Majesty.

644 Of course, one must not imagine a Versailles with its delight-
ful gardens. Musinga's royal residence consists of a vast enclosure
344 of ficus trees and woven rushes and reeds. Its main opening is one meter wide. Toward the front, some 30 paces from the entrance, stands the large royal hut of branches and thatch.

It is dark inside. As in all local huts, light enters only through the door.

A multitude of wooden pillars rise within to support the roof. Along the inner walls stand a row of cubicles closed by large screens of artistically braided local rushes. The hearth lies in the center of the floor, protected by a sort of large clay rosette. This is the main hall, where only Europeans and courtiers are admitted. It also serves as bedroom to the king and his mother.

The vast enclosure is divided into several courtyards in which stand the huts of the queen mother, her daughters-in-law, and their male and female followers. Within the enclosure, here and there, stand the hut where the palladium-drum is kept, the one where the sacred fire is preserved, and the numerous huts dedicated to the shades of the royal /ancestors/.

644 One sees standing about what seem to be huge baskets covered
[343] with thatch roofs. They are granaries where the food of the employees is kept. The storeroom is the king's favorite spot. He takes pleasure in hoarding there the most disparate objects: fabrics, crockery, furniture, and trinkets of all sorts. It is said that it gives him infinite
[157] pleasure to survey his "bazaar" and to handle the goods piece by piece, away from all prying eyes.

It is easy to imagine the life and bustle that prevail at court and in the capital.

The entire nation dwells in the person of the king. He alone represents it. Since the State is identified with the king, he alone is eternally mentioned. "Everything is done for his sake. Justice is the king's justice, troops are the king's army, the nobility fights for him.... The monarch is absolute master and naturally has full and complete command over the property owned by his subjects, and when he takes it he is only taking what belongs to him.... Whoever is born a subject must obey without question...."

This short account of the history of Louis XIV's reign fittingly describes the rights exercised by the Hamitic kings of Ruanda. As a result of this concept and attitude on the part of the Blacks, nearly all the clans or family groups which make up the population of Ruanda have a role to fulfill at court, not so much for the welfare of the realm as for the pleasure of the king. The functions they must exercise are many and vary with the nature of the people involved and the products of the soil on which they live. Some of the posts derive from historical circumstances. Among these offices, some are regarded as an honor and privilege and others as a chore. Some offices are also assigned as punishment or /352/ revenge for misdeeds which were committed in the past by ancestors and the very memory of which has been lost. Most of those posts amount to actual bondage for their holders.

Positions of a mere utilitarian nature are by far the most numerous.

644 It is surprising to hear that literary pleasures and entertainments
538 are included in the court program and even stand in a separate category. By the sovereign's side, indeed, there stand official historians and

644 appointed bards (abachurabgenge), as well as literary jousters or men
538 of choice language called Abasizi, whose only role is to refresh the king's memory or to beguile his leisure with tasteful improvisations. Even the commoners are not insensitive to literature. There is not a single Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ who is not keenly interested in the legends, narratives, fables, moral or humorous tales, riddles, plays on words, jokes, etc., belonging to the oral literature.

644 Every post at the capital has its own traditions which must be scrupulously observed. We shall attempt to provide a short description of the duties and regulations connected with those offices, and of the practices and formalities to which the king must submit on the one hand and his subjects on the other.

The reader should not be surprised to hear that there is etiquette and ceremonial at court.

It is easy to imagine the oddity of a circle such as that of the court, where such varied figures rub shoulders within such a relatively small space: lords, courtiers, disciples of Aesculapius and vulgar charlatans, servants, sorcerers and diviners of various sorts, caterers, stewards, dancers, pages, keepers of the traditions, official chroniclers, literary men, etc., to list but a few. /353/ This whole world exists, thinks, and acts for the sake of the king alone. It is a true medieval court with, moreover, pagan mores where the element of sorcery predominates.

128 Laymen unfamiliar with Africa will be able to form an idea of what a king and his court represent in a Black land. What we shall say of the former political situation, the royal mores that prevailed, the human tributes and bloody bondage, will not only describe the [643] ancient times but also demonstrate the respect that surrounded the person of the king, who was regarded by his subjects as a demigod. When viewed in the past, his bloody whims, far from being injurious to his reputation, only served to strengthen his power and his majesty. Primitive souls are awed by displays of brute force.

Among other interesting details, one will find in these pages the more or less rational origin, derived from legend or history, of many a practice and custom that still exists today.

128 common to the three ethnic groups which make up the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ nation, or peculiar to one group or another.

Chapter 1.

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I. Posts and Offices of a Historical and Superstitious Nature. The Keepers of the Customs and Traditions. The "King" of the First Fruits and the "King" of the Imandwa.

1. Maintenance at court of a dog-faced baboon and a sacred bull.

It will be recalled that according to legend, when the enemies of Ruganzu II the Victorious attempted to smoke him out of a cave, /356/ he was saved by dog-faced baboons (inguge), who led him through subterranean tunnels to another exit. One of those animals is kept at the capital in order to commemorate this fantastic legend.

The clan in charge of caring for the animal is known under the name of Abanyamuheno, that is to say, "Men of the Cave, " in memory of the event.

The monkey, tied with a chain, is fed by his keepers with sweet potatoes, beans, grains, sorghum stalks, etc.

When he gets old he is released in the forest where he was captured when young, and another monkey is sought out to replace him.

Is not this custom reminiscent of honored practices at the court of the Pharaohs, where dog-faced baboons were also raised?

[233] Ruanda is a land of pastures. The Batutsi possess numerous herds of cattle which are, rightly enough, the pride and joy of their owners.

It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that aside from the sacred herds that will be mentioned in the last chapter but one of this book there is a bull at court that is the object of special care and attentions.

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).
778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here," he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is
[773] connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and
[262] even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

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inyambo. The individual who is placed in charge of Rusanga is called /358/ Nkwaya and belongs to the Banyiginya clan. This is a position of trust.

The insanga are well known by the inhabitants of the capital.

2. The chief of protocol and the "king" of the first fruits.

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There exists a complicated ceremonial and a series of rites whose teaching would soon be lost if their preservation were not entrusted to a group of personages who supervise their observance scrupulously at the monarch's side. They do not fail to call him to order occasionally on this score.

The most important of those directors of protocol, or masters of ceremony, is unquestionably the chief of the Batsobe clan. His is a select position by the side of the sovereign, whom he counsels and directs in those matters which are within his competence. His name will come up again in the pages that follow (1).

1. The Batsobe played an exalted role in the Ruchunchu coup d'état. As a reward, the spoils of the vanquished were distributed among them. Their major fees are the Bumbogo, Luhanga, Bussigi, etc.

Under the ultimate supervision of this high dignitary, one family is in charge of cultivating in the sacred land of Bumbogo the sorghum and eleusine which are later brought to court for the yearly "first-fruits festival." We shall speak of this later when we discuss festivals.

The head of this family is sometimes called "king of the first fruits" (umwami w'umuganura). The father and founder of the Batsobe clan, as we have already mentioned, was raised to noble rank and brought into Ruanda by the Hamitic king, Ruganzu II, as a result of the latter's expedition into Bugara lands, north of the Mulera, against the petty king Nzira, son of Mulamira. In connivance with his mother, the ancestor of the Batsobe had sheltered the disguised

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda). This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are recruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

794 6. "The dog that runs like the wind" (Nyakayaga).
552 7. "The dog with fringes (with long hair)" (Nyagayonga).

Among the prototypes or figures who appear in this legend,
173 Ryangombe is the one most highly honored.
794 He is regarded as a sort of hunter-king who made volcanoes his favoirte dwelling place after his death.

According to the same narrative, he still enjoys the pleasures of the hunt with his sons, companions, and favorites in those high mountainous and wooded regions. The Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa have participated in this cult in large numbers. They observe its /369/ rites faithfully and observe the rules of the arcana. The ceremonies take place mostly at night. Each of the adepts appeals to the spirit or spirits for whom he has a special devotion. The Batutsi have chosen those whose life most closely parallels their own.

643 The chiefs do not like to mix with their subjects to honor those powerful spirits, but they seek out the help of the Bahutu and
794 Batwa who belong tothis cult and have them dance and sing in honor of Ryangombe and his companions. The Bahutu and Batwa alone take part in the ritual processions and collections which are carried out through the villages in summertime.

794 The gestures of this cult are pervaded with earnest and impressive seriousness. Initiation, confirmation, ritual feasts, the taking on and carrying out of vows, the collections and processions, all take place secretly, away from prying eyes. Laymen are not allowed to come near the gatherings, and jests and insults directed at the initiates were seriously punished in the old times. A former queen, Nyiramulema (a wife of King Mutara), was crucified upon the ground in the courtyard of her dwelling by the imandwa for having ridiculed their ceremonies. The tomb of the unfortunate woman lies at Savé, in the Nyarigina quarter.

644 II. Official Posts of Great Importance from the Standpoint of the Crown (Ingoma) as well as from that of the Executive.

Generals and Official Drummers.

Executioners, Capital Punishment, and the "Pit" of the Bugessera.

701 1. The generals or commanders of the armed forces.

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Abarangamyambi	Bumbogo, Bussigi	Gashamura
Abangogo	Kingogo	Luvuzandekwe
Abatanyagwa	Budaha	Lwamanywa (1)
etc.	etc.	etc.

1. The Batwa, like the Bahutu, are divided into several army corps.

The four principal ones are the following:

The army corps called Rwiririza, which includes the Batwa of Gihogwe, in the Nduga, beyond the Kayumbo River; the Biniga, which includes the Batwa of the Bwana-Mkalé and which has as its chiefs two Batwa, Senkobga and his son, Kanyamubare; Abagiga, or Batwa /371/ of the great chief Kayondo; and finally the Batwa soldiers called Impunyu. These are none other than the forest Negrillos who are commonly designated by the name of Impunyu, whose etymological meaning is "men of small stature," that is to say, Negrillos or Pygmies, of which the native word is an exact translation.

Such is the military regime that still prevails, although in purely theoretical fashion. /371/

Until 1900 most of the Hamitic kings had taken advantage of this system to such an extent that some clans are said to have been decimated as a result of the too numerous expeditions of ancient times.

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2. The provincial governors (Abatware b' intebbe), who are nearly always at court.

644 634 661 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises, the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain the latter's approval.

644 778 [534] 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it [482] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock, and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails "turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

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1. They are among others Kanyoni, son of Gatibamenya, and Rubunda, princes of the Ndorwa area; Nyagaketchuru, the woman chief who governed part of Huyi in the Nyaruguru; Mutaga, the king of Urundi who was killed under the reign of Mutara I; Nyirabihoro, another princess from the neighborhood of Uswi; Kabego, king of the isle of Idjwi (in Lake Kivu), and his son Nkundiye.

644 This drum is jealously guarded within the enclosure of the
778 royal palace, on the east side in a hut called by the name of imilinga,
[344] that is to say, "copper objects."

This term is both metaphorical and euphemistic, and well understood by the people. It is metaphorical so as not to draw the attention of enemies upon the function of the hut, and it is also euphemistic so as to remind the courtiers of the importance of this palladium, which is likened thereby, to the copper threads and bracelets formerly regarded by the Banyarwanda as precious objects. The same hut serves as museum and repository. It also shelters the other royal drums which played a role in the past, before the Kalinga, in its stead, or along with it. /373/

[552] These drums bear characteristic names. Perhaps they should be regarded merely as symbols or trophies, reminders of victories won in the past by the Hamitic kings over the autochthonous princes. The latter's lands and drums went from their hands into those of the Batutsi monarchs.

The hut also encloses enormous quivers (imitana), arrows, spears, and other weapons of varied shapes and sizes. A certain element of taste must have presided over the selection of this booty, for people who have managed to see them say that the objects in the collection are almost invariably characterized by a certain richness, a great deal of originality, and fairly careful craftsmanship.

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
[202]/374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
533 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
644 hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated
[614] to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

644 6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
814 name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

644 forebears. Along with thedeeds of the past, they must preserve the
814 memory of each king's name, the names of the queen mother, of the king's immediate ancestors, and of the tribe to which they belonged.

Needless to say, critical sense has not yet appeared in the land. It happens sometimes that the Court historians and keepers of the traditions disagree about some detail which is now forgotten or
[787] in dispute. In such cases divinatory sacrifices are offered in order to find out what the king should be told (1).

1. See "Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom of Ruanda" /Book II, not translated/ for opinions regarding the authenticity of the first /few/ sovereigns. As fas as the beginnings of the kingdom are concerned, the traditional documentation is of greater value to ethnology than to history.

In spite of their inherent faults and imperfections, the epics nevertheless are not lacking in interest or charm. Through them we can grasp at first hand the thoughts of the Banyarwanda, their feelings, their /375/ ideas about life, their love of their native soil, their attachment to old customs and memories of the past. They reveal the pathetic sorrow caused by foreign invasions, and the enthusiasm inspired by eventual triumph.

[64] 7. The keepers of the traditions belong to the important Abiru clan. Their role is to preserve the unity and continuity of customs at the capital and throughout the realm. The supreme chief of this corporation is the chief of the Batsobe, whose position entails numerous and varied functions.

644 In accordance with a popular tradition, he is personally en-
643 trusted with the task of collecting the umbilical cord (umukungwa) of
787 each of the king's sons, as well as their teeth, including their milk teeth. Then, when the time comes to determine the heir to the throne, it is this personage who has the honor of presiding over the selection.

644 According to popular belief, this choice is made in a very interesting
643 manner. The umbilical cords of the young princes are buried separate-
787 ly in pots of ficus wood (umwuko), with gourd, sorghum, eleusine, and native spinach (issogi) seeds planted all around them (1). The

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1. These seeds are designated by the name of mbuto nkuru, that is to say, "the major seeds." Eleusine and sorghum play an important role in the diet by yielding a sort of native bread. Spinach is also highly valued because of the flavor it lends to the beans with which it is cooked. The Banyarwanda also include in this category the seeds of a special gourd called inzungwane, which is hollowed out when ripe. It is used to store beer, and it is this relationship to pombe, so highly appreciated by the natives, which lends so much importance to the seed.

According to another popular belief, the successor to the throne is the one among the king's sons born with the "major seeds" in his right hand.

After subjugating the Bahutu by force, the Hamites insured their obedience by exploiting their credulity.

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future holder of the drum is pointed out by the most plentiful harvest. According to these naive people, the umbilical cords are /376/ then discarded except for that of the crown prince, which must be preserved (1).

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1. In actual practice it is the king himself who designates his heir directly during his lifetime, or indirectly through executors, who make known the king's last will after his death.

When the throne was left vacant, there often ensued contests which gave rise to complications and bloody tragedies.

The Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief of the most powerful clan sometimes made his own choice among the sons of the dead king and forced acceptance of his candidate. This happened in 1896, when Kabale rebelled against the rightful heir, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, and had Yuhi IV Musinga, his own nephew and the present king, elected instead.

644 767 8. The royal corporation of undertakers called Abanyamugogo. Rightly or wrongly, they claim to be descendants of those who handled the funeral of Ruganzu II Ndori.

We shall mention them again in the section dealing with funeral rites.

644 681 696 9. Executioners.

They are usually chosen from among the Batwa.

So far as ordinary criminals are concerned, executions take place at the capital. High-ranking culprits are often placed in the custody of a chief, who leads them to the Buberuka or Bugessera provinces.

The unfortunate victims are strangled or smitten down with spears, and then tossed into the pit (urwobo) of Bayanga or into the shifting marsh of Nkonde. Aside from strangulation and drowning,

644 the Banyarwanda also practice dismemberment, otherwise known as
681 the "torment of the hundred wounds."
696 First the flesh of the face, arms, calves, back, etc. are cut up in order to make the victim suffer as long as possible. This refinement of cruelty is carried out mainly in vendettas (guhora).

Impalement is reserved for cattle thieves. There is mention of an unfortunate man whose stake threatened to come out through his side. The operation was begun all over again..., but the patient /377/ died long before it was concluded. The most common torture for persons of medium rank consisted in cutting off their hands and feet and leaving them thus on the spot, where they died of cold if the hyenas did not devour them first. Sometimes death lingered for two or three days because the blood had coagulated and the hemorrhage had stopped.

Some of those unfortunate victims would bellow their torment and thirst, dragging themselves wretchedly on knees and elbows and vainly attempting to come near the huts and implore the pity of human beings. Their doleful cries were heard throughout the night.

[687] Fear suppressed pity, for the slightest act of compassion would have been regarded as high treason. Any show of pity or mercy was punishable by death. Execution by club, spear, or billhook blows and the cutting of the carotid artery were regarded as the mildest and quickest methods for victims entitled to a certain consideration. This category included elders, women, former favorites, and certain court employees. Important personages whom one did not wish to "do away with" (gusonga) were often sentenced to lose their eyes.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, hardly a week went by at the capital without a bloody execution. If several weeks elapsed without one, the fact seemed so extraordinary that the following expression was repeated everywhere, "Peace (or calm) reigns at the capital" (N' ubuhoro ibgami).

644 Sorcery was the cause of condemnation most frequently in-
683 voked. When people had an enemy and wished for revenge or when they coveted a rich man's possessions and wealth, no great effort of the imagination /378/ was needed on their part to prove the culpability of the man whose death they desired. When a man was led before

644 the king following such a denunciation, the sentence was swiftly
683 pronounced. "Nakukijije (You are pardoned), " said the king, if the accused had been so fortunate as to find powerful protectors or to refute peremptorily the accusations of his enemies. "Mumujane ku kivumu (Lead him to the ficus tree), " cried the king to the executioners when the man was condemned.

696 "Come on, we shall pardon you (guino twakukijije), " added the executioners derisively while leading away their prey. The unfortunate creature vainly implored the pity of the king and of the spectators, who just looked away. He was quickly led to a hollow
[152] near the ill-omened ficus tree (ikivumu), where he was to suffer the prescribed punishment under the eyes of the crowd, who loved to
[541] attend those dreadful spectacles (1). The moans, complaints, cries,

1. Capital punishment drew large crowds filled with morbid curiosity and avid for cruel emotions.

and howls of the tormented victims did not stop the executioners from pursuing their deadly task to the end. The sufferings of the condemned persons in no way affected their sensibilities. "Has it been a long time since So-and-So was executed?" they were sometimes asked. "The hyenas have eaten him and even digested him (zamuliye, zamuneye), " they would answer coarsely without changing their tone.

Executioners were seen to prolong the victim's torment for their own gratification, or to lead them to run away by releasing them from their bonds so as to have the pleasure of finishing them on the run. We shall not elaborate on the disgraceful mutilations which those unfortunate individuals were first made to suffer.

686 Many a "rain maker" was killed because he could produce no rain. At times of great drought, those who had the misfortune /379/ of being caught were brought to court. They remained bound for days under the burning rays of the sun, while the populace hurled insults at them.

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1. Girls who reached marriageable age with this physical peculiarity were formerly regarded as an evil and a threat to the land. The small development of their breasts was considered a crime. They were called the girls "with undeveloped breasts," impenebere, from the verb guhenebera, meaning "to be limited," "to be brought to nothing."

681 whose legs... came first.

696 Those beings, abnormal or regarded as such, were invariably condemned prior to European penetration. There was no pity for them. They had to be done away with secretly and at night, so as not to be denied passage through the land which had to be crossed. According to popular belief, the mere presence or accidental sojourn of one of those beings could unleash famine or other evils throughout the region.

Chapter 2

Duties of a Purely Utilitarian Nature

644 A. The employees of His Majesty's "Mouth" and "Cup" /departments/, that is to say, the cooks and domestic servants (Abahanga, "the Skillful Ones," and Abozi, "the Washers") have always been regarded as holding the least enviable position at court. The hut in which the servants keep the bowls of milk reserved for the king is /385/ designated by the name of kiryana, "the house that devours its inhabitants," since few are the men who survived their duties. After a varying length of service, they were suspected in [682] almost every case of planning to poison the king, and they died a

644 violent death when they least expected it. This was for a long time
[682] a sword of Damocles which almost invariably fell upon the head of those who had the misfortune of being selected for that unenvied position.

We shall cite, later on, a few examples of this.

644 B. The cupbearers (abanyanzoga), like their colleagues in
273 the royal dairy and kitchen, also practiced a dangerous trade. Their
651 duties involved the obtention of the best beer available, which they had to preserve and to offer at the moment it was desired. They were numerous, and some of them lived near the king while others roamed the land to requisition honey, beer itself, or the bunches of bananas which are used in the manufacture of this precious beverage (1).

1. The head of the cupbearers, a certain Mutagikwa, is regarded thereby as captain of the Indengabaganizi army corps. This is a strictly honorific title, which nevertheless enables him to levy taxes in those territories where he exercises his functions as an officer of the "Cup."
He lives at Nyarugenge in Gassagara, the Buhanga.

Originally, employees in this category theoretically had rights
[661] only to bunches of bananas and honey (imitsama), and they roamed the land to obtain them (gutorana). Gradually they took on the habit of behaving like true chiefs and of demanding from the inhabitants contributions in kind, beans, sorghum, cows, etc., as well as forced labor called buletwa. This permitted them not only to live well, but also to acquire large herds.

644 C. There are several work groups assigned to the cultivation
276 and preparation of the tobacco which is used by the prince. The plants destined for his use come from the Bugoyi /386/ Mata in the Marangara, and Ruyanza and Mussambiro in the Nduga, among other

644 regions. The leaves are prepared at the capital by special employees,
276 men or women, who also risked their lives occasionally for the reasons cited above.

D. The preparation of tobacco juice, which is used for a most unusual and worldly purpose (mukibuno), is entrusted to a group of female servants or young girls in the service of the queen mother. The tobacco leaves are immersed in a liquid of tart and bitter flavor (inkari), in which they are allowed to remain for some time.

The liquid alone is then used by the queen mother and high-
[278] ranking ladies, who believe that tobacco juice, when prepared in this fashion, is an infallible remedy against the ailment known locally under the name of imisuzi.

This strongly scented solution bears the name of a plant with a pungent odor (umugabagaba) from which the odalisks in charge of this work also draw their name, abanyamugabagaba. The rooms where this curious medication is applied are known at court and among the great chiefs who are all familiar with the famous recipe by special names whose meaning is clear only to those in the know. They are the imikinga, or "secret cabinets," (from gukinga, "to close") and ubugonyi, "public toilets."

E. A group of factotums known as Abanyakambere remain at
644 the disposal of the sovereign, who spends most of his day in the hut called by the name of Ikambere, "the first one," because it stands at the heart of the main courtyard. The function of these valets is to watch over the various objects which make up the room furnishings. They also carry out the king's orders and relay messages to the other
[202] servants. /387/

F. There are also the keepers of the treasure. They are
644 called Abanya-byuma.
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The Banyarwanda designate all iron objects by the word byuma. Billhooks, axes, graters, knives, bracelets, and especially hoes represent wealth to their owners in terms of their numbers and actual value.

This manner of conceiving and understanding riches gave the keepers of the treasure the name of "people entrusted with the preservation of iron objects (abanya-byuma)." The treasure itself

644 556 bears the meaningful name of intore, from the verb gutora, "to choose," because it contains a selection of unique pieces. It includes the wardrobe (imyambar' abami) of the former kings and their jewels. Fabrics of all kinds; colobus hides, beads, necklaces, braceletd, and other objects of this sort make up the greater part of the treasure proper, which is exhibited twice a year, as we shall see later on when we discuss the festivals at Court.

644 356 G. A group of young girls is in charge of cleaning the hut which the monarch uses as a bedroom. They are entrusted with the task of renewing the fine grass which makes up the royal bed and of stretching upon it the mats and precious furs (ibyahi), that is to say, the otter, lion, and leopard hides on which the sovereign lies. Those chambermaids are popularly called Abashahsi, "those who stretch out the mats," from the word gusasa, "to stretch out the mats." Another of their functions, and not the least important one, consists of "warming" the royal bed every night. In order to achieve this, they lie down on the couch successively or even all together until the king arrives.

The women or girls who fulfill a function at court live under the ultimate supervision of the queen mother, at whose side they live. /388/

644 701 H. The "Irresistibles" (Intalindwa) take their name from the army corps of that name. They include a group of servants and factotums chosen among the various classes of society. Among other duties, they watch over the king and his children at night and keep up the fire that must burn on the hearth throughout the night, according to a custom of the country which is also observed by the great chiefs. They renovate the huts by rebuilding them regularly every three years. Since the huts which make up the royal palace are numerous, they share this task with the chiefs of certain provinces.

[482] It is from among the "Irresistibles" that hammock bearers (abahetsi b' ingobyi) are selected when great ladies of the royal harem venture outside. They belong to the army corps whose name they bear. The members of this military group were regarded as the most courageous (Intalindwa, "those who cannot be resisted").

644 They,[1] were sometimes employed, in preference to other servants, to
701 lead away the convicted high-ranking offenders who were to be exe-
[681] cuted at the usual places of punishment (Buberuka, Bugessera).

I. The name of Impara is used to designate another army corps which is recruited from among the inhabitants of Kinyaga provinces. This name was also given by extension to a group of individuals who are initiates of the Ryangombe secret society and who are compelled thereby to live close to the king in order to draw upon him the favors of the shades of all those who once belonged to that religious society.

They must make an appearance when the king rises, bearing on their heads the tails of hares (amashira y' inkwavu) or of some other carnivore /sic/ like the marten (ibiharangu), which they shake
[769] to the right and to the left while singing and dancing. They hold in the hand small bells or sistra (ibinyuguri), which they ring while /389/ invoking in a loud voice the protection of Ryangombe and his companions. Aside from this beseeching role, they fulfill other functions within the king's household.

Owing to their functions as suppliants and intercessors, which is their chief role by far, they might just as correctly have been included in the category that follows.

Duties of a Supposedly Utilitarian Nature, Some of Which Are Private and Others Public and National.
Sorcerers and Diviners of All Kinds.

A. The Bakoma clan has already been discussed at some
644 length in "History of a Reign," /Book III, not translated/. They were
791 direct descendants of the autochthonous petty kings of Marangara land and were formerly regarded, along with Mashira, as powerful sorcerers. It was believed that they could preserve or take life by hidden means known to them alone.

The first of those autochthonous princes, whose real name was Sekibakanyi, had a tremendous reputation. It is still said today that "Nkoma Sekibakanyi, king of Marangara, (son) of Nkondogoro, knew
[539] how to cast spells a great deal better than those things are done today" (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!). This phrase is now proverbial.

1 [i.e., the Intalindwa. - Analyst]

644 791 278 On account of this fame,[a] the Bakoma have been entrusted with the preparation of an elixir to prolong life called issubyo from the name of the plant which they use for this purpose, hence their name Abanyissubyo, "people of the life beverage," a name and function which they regard as a great honor. In order to make their elixir, the Bakoma, or people from Nkoma's land, look deep into the forest for a kind of moss or mould (urugombyi) which is found on trees. When they have a good amount of it they /390/ burn it all. The ashes are carefully gathered and stored in a safe place. They also use the roots of the plant called issubyo, which they dry in the sun and crush to powder on their flour mill.

The third ingredient of this water of youth is a kind of Lycoperdon called agatumura which resembles the puffball.

Small amounts of these ashes and powders are mixed with beer and handed daily to the king by two representatives of the ancient family. The Hamitic monarch sucks in a few drops through a drinking tube (umuseke or umuheha), rinses his mouth with them once, and immediately spits out the liquid.

[466] 644 791 767 In principle the members of the Bakoma clan are exempt from forced labor and have retained a fair amount of independence (1).

1. Over these last few years, the Hamitic chief who was placed above them had to concern himself only with the observance of European laws and ordinances.

They have no function other than to take turns at court and hand to the monarch the invigorating beverage of which they are the inventors (2).

2. Along with the Basozo, the Bakoma have enjoyed privileges and immunities for the longest period of time. In the "Reign of

a [i.e., of being descended from the best sorcerer. —Analyst]

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Ruganzu II, " /Book III, not translated/, we spoke at some length of the Basozo and the origin of the privileges they still enjoy.

The royal corporation of undertakers has similar prerogatives.

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B. The sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind who are employed at court or personally by the king may be said to form the most important and most numerous group. The king requests their services both on a private and on a public and national basis. Their titles and duties are infinitely varied. They are recruited from numerous clans. The Bega tribe provides the most celebrated sacrificer-diviners, known under the name /391/ of Abakongori or Abanyambuto. The Abachumbi group, who aside from their role as diviners have the power of setting spirits to flight, are drawn from among the Basinga. So are the Abosha, who claim to be direct descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo, that is to say, "the man with the sorcerer's knives, " who came from the land of Ndorwa. It has already been said that he came to seek his fortune in Ruanda, where he was well received by the Hamitic princes, who raised his family to noble rank and showered it with material goods. The name of the forebear, as preserved in history, derives from two words, kunuka, "to feel, " and imishyo, "knives, " because of the habit he had of using his sacrificer-diviner's knife to take his bearings.

Also included in the category of sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind are the Abanyantondwe, Abanyakarago, Bihungamutwe, Abanyanzuzi, who are the most common, and many others.

Rev. Fr. Arnoux has discussed them at some length in his work (1).

1. "La Divination au Rwanda /Divination in Ruanda/, " Anthropos, 1918. In this study

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the author discusses diviners, including the Bakongori, and the various methods of practicing their art.

The same individual is both diviner and sacrificer.

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The Abakongori are also designated by the name of Abanyambuto because they use the saliva of their clients in their method of divination, hence the name mbuto given to this viscous fluid in this particular case.

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Numerous are the clans, such as the Bazigaba, Batembe, and Bahigo, of the Muhutu /Bantu/ race, which provide the court with diviners and sacrificers, but more numerous still are the families where these functions have been transmitted, since more or less distant times, from father to son or from mother to daughter.

The Bahigo and Batembe inhabit the Bugoyi region. The ancestors of these two families emigrated to the /Ruanda/ kingdom around the year 1800, during the reign of Yuhi III Gahindiro. The members of these two /392/ groups owed their good fortune to a Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief who was pleased with their divinatory talents and made them known to the court of King Yuhi III Gahindiro, where they were summoned (1).

1. The events and incidents of this emigration to Ruanda were preserved by his descendants and make an interesting tale.

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Their method of divination differs from that of other diviners.

They are called Abanyamihundwa, that is to say, "jawbone diviners," because instead of using any small bones as do the ordinary Banyanzuzi, they use only the jawbones of sheep, beeves, and antelopes (2).

644 791 C. Aside from the haruspices, diviners, and sacrificers we have just mentioned, the king retains appointed representatives of every possible and imaginable kind of sorcery.

A whole crowd of sorcerers toils for the monarch and his court: necromancers (Abashyitsi or abahamagazi), conjurer-magicians (Abahuzi), makers of philters and charms (abanyanzaratsi), makers of amulets (abachunyi), etc.

Strangers who came from Bunyabungu or Buhunde (regions located to the north and west of Lake Kivu), from Uswi or Ujinja (on the shores of /Lake/ Victoria), etc., are no less popular than their autochthonous colleagues and sometimes surpass them in the novelty or originality of their art.

There was even once a dispensary for charms and poisons (ubulozi, plural amarozi or ibirozi) which one requisitioned from afar or attempted to make on the spot, although it appears that these experiments met with little success.

The plants whose juice, bark, or leaves were used were not among the most poisonous, as we shall see later.

We may add that the reputation of these magicians seems to have been more impressive than their deeds or the consequences of those deeds.

644 756 791 In all justice one must except from this statement the conjurer-magicians called abahuzi, whose crimes /394/ and misdeeds are too numerous to list (1). It is difficult to understand how they managed

1. "To seek" is guhura in Kinyarwanda, hence the word umuhuzi, "seeker," given to this fearsome group of sorcerers. Guhurish' ihembe means "to seek with the horn," and guhurish' umunwa, "to seek with the mouth" (in the patient's body).

to exploit public credulity with impunity through so many centuries. The popular expression "to have blood on one's hands" may be fully

644 applied to them. They are said to have the power of identifying
756 spell casters and bewitchers and also of expelling from the patient's
791 body whatever is claimed to have caused the illness, poisoning, or bewitchment.

The remove the source of evil with a small horn or a gourd
[755] in the guise of a cupping glass, or even with their own mouth, and produce before the bedazzled spectators bones, pebbles, toads, snake heads, and other incredible objects removed with the instrument. The Banyarwanda have boundless faith in the effectiveness of this method and tell of marvelous cures obtained in this fashion.

It is no use trying to reason with them about this. The elders are especially intractable.

In order to unmask the jettatori /from Italian/ and other such
791 cronies, our miracle workers (abahuzi) use another horn full of incongruous and even unmentionable things.

Popular belief adds that they set out in the nude, horn in hand. The horn moves and twists about, people say, as if possessed
[683] by an invisible spirit. It leads to the alleged spell casters and bewitchers, who were killed on the spot without furthur ceremony prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

The naïve Blacks add that ingredients used to bewitch or to produce a spell /395/ were discovered in the same manner, no matter whether they had been buried or hidden in a hut (1).

1. The case is cited of several individuals in whose possession a collection of bones was found, and who confessed of their own accord that they were spell casters and bewitchers. It is possible that those unfortunate people, having fallen prey to autosuggestion, believed in the effectiveness of their baleful activities.

791 Those same "seekers," in their capacity as conjurer-magicians
789 have the power of staving off the results of spells and sorcery. For a fee, they will set physical and moral boundaries to the evil powers of other sorcerers. They do this by means of medicines (imiti) of their own creation, amulets (impigi), and tree branches with magical properties, which they bury or stick into the ground. Areas thus "closed" to the evil of spells remain for a long time inviolable havens. Henceforth, the owners of such immunized grounds have nothing to fear from bewitchers.

The Banyarwanda talk a great deal, by the hearth, about those
791 conjurer-magicians and their high deeds.

In order to recover stolen objects, the Banyarwanda resort to the Banyerango (2). These do not inspire the same fear as their afore-

2. Abanyerango. This substantive is derived from the word kulangira, meaning "to show," "to uncover," and designates the sorcerer's trade. Hence the name irango given to the horn which he uses in his search.

mentioned colleagues, although they use the same magic horn. The
[842] Bachunyi, or makers of grigris, chiefly specialize in bringing fertility to sterile women.

For a fee they sell amulets and magic beverages. Gossipers add that charlatans in this category often take advantage of their clients while the naïve husband, a small bell in hand, is sent to take a slow walk around the sorcerer's hut.

754 D. The curser-sorcerers (Abahenyi) are also held in high esteem. Their mission, like that of the false prophet Balaam, /396/
[644] is to curse the foes and annihilate their power to resist. Their chief, named Agakwande, enjoys high regard at court. His ancestors were simple Bahutu. It was on account of their important functions that they gradually made their way into the noble caste of the Batutsi, with whom they continually intermarried. They inhabit the Ndiza, at Bulembo, and form a powerful and formidable body. Their

754 incantations are claimed to be highly effective. When they practice their magic, they gather at night in a small grove which is their habitual spot and which bears the name of ihinero, from the word guhena, "to curse" (1).

1. The etymological and precise meaning of the verb guhena is stronger than the one just stated. It designates a symbolic and expressive gesture which serves to show the low regard in which a person is held or the contempt manifested toward him. The curser-magicians also turn the back on the foe while fulfilling their functions, hence the name of their profession.

On this occasion a black goat is killed and its pelt hung onto a bush.

They wear the fruits of a spiny bush (intobo) around the neck and sow charms on the path which the enemy is about to follow. They did this when the first Europeans arrived but met with little success.

644 701 E. We have already mentioned the generals (abagabe) among high court dignitaries. Above them stands another important figure, who might be called the commander (Umugaba). He plays the role of a sort of honorary general-in-chief of a superstitious character who is believed to make the troops successful. As a distinctive badge of his superiority over the actual general, he encircles his forehead with a strap (ikamba), which is somewhat reminiscent of the royal crown. He is chosen by the diviners (yarelejwe) and perhaps taken from among the Bahutu.

Most often, nevertheless, the role was filled by one of the Batutsi, sons or relatives of the king. It was thus that Karara followed his /397/ father, King Lwabugiri, to the Bunyabungu in the capacity

644 of a good-luck general. During the Ishangi expedition it was another
701 son of Lwabugiri, Nshozamihigo, who filled this role. These generals
wear amulets around the neck and paint the face with white chalk or
[302] lustral water (amazi y'ingwa).

They are also the holders of charms and other talismans (inzaratsi, insinzi), which are supposed to help bring about the defeat of the enemy. They remain at camp while the troops fight. They are graced with almost royal honors. The drums sound reveille for them (akabikirwa) as they do for the king. They have full power to
[692] make laws and settle differences, and their sentences cannot be appealed (ikyo bavuze ntikisubir' inyuma) (1).

1. Umugaba is a noun derived from the verb kugaba, meaning "to distribute" or "to give free of charge." In principle this term applies only to the king. Its synonym Rugaba, which stems from the same verb, is reserved for God (Imana).

When the king chooses someone other than the general-in-chief called umugabe to take his place at the head of his troops, he grants this man extensive powers and honors appropriate to his rank as a result of this title.

Other Duties Similar in Nature to the Preceding.
Spell Casters and Bewitchers.
Purifiers and Exorcisers of All Sorts. Makers of Test Poison.

791 The duties of these men are practically everyday affairs and
thus rather well known, and their works are as famous as those of their
644 colleagues the sacrificer-diviners, the conjurer-magicians, etc.

791 We mention them here separately because of the relatively numerous details cited about each one of them.

644 It must be said that all those "doctors of occult, mystic, and magic sciences, " far from being ashamed of their trade, pride themselves in it and regard themselves as /398/ important and needed beings. They are conscious of their dignity and of the nobility of their functions, which they publicly advertise (1). For some of them professional

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1. This does not concern those who act on their own account and become bewitchers or spell casters on an occasional and temporary basis.
Such people operate in a hidden and roundabout way in order to exercise a purely personal vengeance. They take every possible precaution to conceal their operations, therefore, for they risk death if their deeds are disclosed.

remuneration is quite high. Glory brings profit.

In their pride and vanity the professional practitioners of magic and sorcery of all kinds have tried to give their art a noble [173] origin by tracing it back to the great king Ruganzu II. According to legend, he was the man who invented and organized everything.

Craftsmen, blacksmiths, and cultivators claim him /as their forebear/.

When pressed to account for their powers and with their backs against the wall, theurgic sorcerers, medicine men, etc., have claimed in turn to be merely trustees of the gifts and talents which the illustrious monarch was the first to hold and possess. He passed on those gifts and talents to their predecessors, whose line they carry on.

After subjugating the petty autochthonous princes who had governed Ruanda, the Hamitic kings used the services of those princes' descendants. Some of these petty kings, such as those of Marangara and the Bgishaza, had the reputation of being the most powerful of

644 sorcerers and of possessing exceptional talents. This is why the purely
791 mystical functions of their successors were sanctioned by the conquerors.

As a result, they remain on duty both to His Black Majesty and to his faithful subjects at court, at the capital, and throughout the realm. /399/

A. Bewitchers, spell casters, spells, and sorcery. The sorcerers in this category are subdivided into several groups and operate in various ways.

They are referred to as a group by the generic term umulôzi (abalôzi in the plural), "bewitcher." Kuloga means "to bewitch, to cast a spell," and also "to poison." Ubulôzi (amalôzi in the plural) means "bewitchment," "evil spell," "sorcery," and "poisoning." Those are familiar words in the great lake region.

As we shall see later, many of them ply their trade publicly both at the capital in the service of the king, to deliver him from his enemies, and in the villages where they serve their fellow men.

Others, whose activities are more or less acknowledged, practice only in secret.

Some, as will be made clear, have only a fictional existence and exist only in the imagination of naïve people.

1. Abashitsi, or "the catchers," is the name of those who
787 can force a thief to reveal himself through magical practices.
695 The name of their function is borrowed from the verb gushika, "to catch" (the thief), hence the word "urushiko" to designate the procedure. To do this the magician fills a vessel (imbehe) with a liquid which he prepares himself. He blows for a while into a drinking tube, one end of which is immersed in a wooden jar, until the froth (urufuro) overflows, forcing the thief through this mystic and symbolic procedure to reveal his deed in spite of himself. Such, at least, is the popular belief.

2. Abaheretsi (from the verb guhereka, "to lay traps through
791 bewitchment") serves to designate a second group of sorcerers who
789 specialize in burying charms and amulets of their own making in banana groves and cultivated fields, /400/ hence the name of uruhereko given to their sorcery.

754 The land was cleared instantly, to the stupefaction of the onlookers. The prince confirmed him in his position.

In closing, we need only cite the Italian proverb, "Se non è vero, è bene trovato /It may not be true, but it is a felicitous invention/." The Blacks hold the sorcerers and their power in high regard.

789 The deep-rooted trust of the Blacks in the /444/ skill of their sorcerers and the efficacy of their magic practices has something to do with the stagnant state of their civilizations.

How much are the doctors of occult and divinatory sciences to blame in this connection?

"It would be unfair," says Maurice Delafosse, "to make the magicians responsible for this situation, for they share the belief of their compatriots in the efficacy of their art. They practice magic not only because it is profitable, but also because they are as credulous as their clients." (Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro-African Civilizations/.)

Chapter 4

Offices of a Recreational and Literary Nature

644 535 a. The dancing groups are numerous, and their motions interesting and varied.

The pages have a special dance known by the name of guhamiriza. The kwiyereka and kulambira are indigenous to the mountain dwellers and especially to the Bagoyi.

The renown of this latter group in connection with this type of dance harks back to their great chief Bushako.

The people of the Gissaka specialize in the kubyina urushara. [534] When the dances are accompanied by stringed instruments known by the name of inanga, they take the name of gutambir' inanga. When performed to the beat of the drum, they are called gutambir' ingoma.

535 The kubyin' umudiho is danced by both men and women, who range themselves in a circle and clap their hands in time while their feet tread the ground. /445/

The word "dance" conveys but imperfectly the pastimes we are describing.

They are rather war games and hunting games. The imitation and mimicry of combats and the pursuit of game are very expressive. The Blacks spend hours on end simulating a battle, challenging and crushing imaginary enemies. From time to time they put down their weapons or present them to the king in perfect unity of motion, sing for a while the great deeds of the monarch, and then renew their fictional struggle.

The men's mudiho and that of the women, or young girls, are closer to the dance.

The women first come forward slowly to the sounds of a chanted elegy, and then some of them leave the group and execute graceful movements guided by the singing and hand clapping of their companions.

Their dances are more aesthetic and less wild.

●644 535 b. The corps of pages (intore, from the word gutora, "to choose"), who are recruited among the sons of chiefs, is not the least interesting among the groups who surround the king and who live wholly for his service and pleasure.

Along with the dancers, they contribute a great deal with their gambols and gyrations to the distinctive character of the public festivities which are celebrated at court from time to time, to the festival of the "First fruits," and to the day that closes the great June mourning (igichurassi).

They have special dances for which they undergo an apprenticeship almost daily for several years.

535 554 Like the king, each great Mutusi chief entrusts his pages to the care of highly paid dancing teachers who are to instruct their pupils in new motions and rhythms. This is why the training is carried out secretly /446/, so the "ballets" will be new. A chief derives honor and pleasure from hearing that his pages are the best trained. A great rivalry exists in this connection, therefore, among the various page corps and their respective chiefs.

535 The young men are sustained by the hope of eventually obtaining some cows, by the cheers of the spectators, and by the presence of the king.

On important festival days, the noble squires gird their loins [292] with a colobus or calf pelt adorned with otter hide fringes. On the head they wear a hat of banana-tree fibers that looks like long hair, and their chest is adorned with beads or long narrow strips. They wear bells on their legs and ankles, and they all hold in their hands a spear and a bow. They form groups of 40 or 50, which are differentiated by the richness or design of their costumes and ornaments.

One by one, at the command of the choreographers, they make writhing motions intermingled with jumps and shouts, coming and going with impeccable rhythm, revolving the head as though wishing to tear it from the body. The Blacks are very fond of those war dances, which are in fact marvels of technique.

It is the rhythmic motion of the feet that they admire most and watch most carefully.

644 535 We shall give here for what it may be worth a list of the names of the principal page corps, including the dance groups of the Muhutu /Bahutu/ and Mutwa /Batwa/ race:

Pages and Dancers	Race	Chief
Inchogozabahizi	Abatutsi	Yuhi-Musinga
Intangamuganzanyo	"	"
Urugangazi	"	"
Ibirushya	Abahutu	"
Ishyaka	Abatwa	"
Inkerarugamba	"	" /447/
Indinzi	Abatutsi	Sebagangari
Inkeramihigo	"	Kayondo
Imbasharugamba	Abatwa	"
Inkorabahizi	Abatutsi	Chyitatire
Urwintwari	"	Nturo
Ingeri	"	Rukarakamba
Imbabazabahizi	"	Lwagataraka

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Intagwabira	"	Lugerinyange
Inkwaya (from Bgana-Chambge)	"	Lwabusisi
Amakuza (from Lukaragata)	"	"
Impambara (from Bgishaza)	"	Rwidegembya
Inkaranga (from Bugoyi)	"	Bushako

535 "How shall we describe those dances," says Chalux, (1) "which

1. Un An au Congo belge /A Year in the Belgian Congo/ (Albert Dewit, publ., Brussels), pp. 487 ff.

are as beautiful, as elaborate, and as orderly as the best Russian ballet? They are obviously war dances, and evoke the epic combats of old. They have style and majesty, but in spite of the exactness of motion, the refinement of effects, the artfulness of entrances, exits, and groupings, their essential beauty resides in the fact that they retain a free, sparkling, spontaneous, and seemingly unrehearsed element. Each dancer (there are only men), when observed individually, expresses in his leaps, his steps, and his attitudes the harsh joy of challenging and defeating the enemy. The head is always tossed back, sometimes literally tossed upon the back, and revolves on and on as though the dancer were lending it impetus to propel it through space, as far as possible, against a detested foe. The chest is thrown out arrogantly, the fists are clenched upon the bow and spear, and the arms are rigid, menacing, stretched in two parallel lines. The naked feet hammer on the bare ground, stressing the beat with resounding slaps. The leaps, which are prodigious, defy gravity. The man seems to remain suspended in mid-air while he turns about with a powerful twist of the back, and he touches ground only to spring up even higher /448/ or to simulate with strikingly realistic gestures a fight to the death, the glory of war, the pride of fighting well, of having good weapons, of being a man and a hero, and the full certainty of victory and all its intoxication!

"All this is so natural, so perfectly true, that one must wrench one's sight from the individual and look at the dancers as a whole,

539 Umurir' ugatiny' amazi. Fire fears water.
Amaz (i)' atiny' ifu. Water fears flour. (3)

3. "Water fears flour," that is to say, the bread or "mush" into which it vanishes.

If' itiny' amenyo. Flour fears teeth (4).

4. "Flour fears the teeth" of those who eat it.

Ameny' atiny' umuhoro. Teeth fear the billhook (iron) (5).

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5. "Teeth fear the billhook," as all other hard bodies, especially when made of iron, like the billhook, which is one of the most useful tools.

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The Blacks of Ruanda have a rich and varied oral literature. They like witticisms, and since their language is rich in shades and nuances, they manipulate it with great art.

The most refined speech is heard at the capital.

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The habitual frequenters of the court, lords, courtiers, and employees, express themselves in flawless language, use the right words and choice expressions, and give them the proper inflections, for Runyarwanda is a phonetic /sic/ language. The appointed men of letters, storytellers, bards, genealogists, and historians carefully watch their diction. Among them conversation is never /454/ dull, for jokes and witticisms abound.

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Considering the good taste that distinguishes the familiars of the king and the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga, it is not

195 surprising that they should be shocked and amused by the lingo of the
644 mountain dwellers and those who inhabit the frontiers of the realm. The latter's language is far from refined. It teems with syntactical and accentual mistakes and contains a mixture of foreign terms borrowed from the tongues of neighboring groups.

More conversant than others with matters of language, the men at court readily argue about the worth or etymology of existing words, and willingly create others which are more adequate by drawing upon the genius of their language.

The plural word imiduha means "cactus." Its literal meaning
195 is "those (plants) that give to us." Since those kinds of plants, which
814 resemble the Abyssinian quelqual or kwelkol, are not of any productiveness to the Banyarwanda, the men of letters propose, at least theoretically, to replace the word with imyiha or ichyiha, both of which are purely conventional nouns devoid of this misleading connotation.

It is in the same spirit that the black academicians wish to substitute the word ikyiyone, that is to say, "large bird" for the usual term igikona, whose literal meaning is "that which ravages" (the crops). Our African "Immortals" /Tr.: term applied to members of Académie Française/ would also like to see the term umuguta used exclusively to designate a skeleton (or dried-up cadaver), and its synonym umwite reserved for the word "skin."

551 In their superstitious fear the Blacks avoid pronouncing the
195 names of persons, animals, and things of which they are afraid. They are motivated by the spirit expressed in the French proverb:

Quand on parle du loup, il sort du bois /Talk of the wolf and he will come out of the woods, i.e., speak of the devil and he will appear./ /455/

Instead of calling the leopard by his real name, ingwe, the cowherds, shepherds, travelers, and all other persons who frequent the areas haunted by those animals use the following expressions:

"The one whose name is kept unsaid," Nyiramahole.

"The wind (fast as the wind)," Muyaga.

"The claw of claws," Rwara.

"The animal with the spotted coat," Bugondo.

"The voracious one," Kimizi.

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Umumkari	Umugore	Woman
Umwere wa giti	Umwana	Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

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3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

438 651 The inhabitants of the Bugoyi, Mulera, Bussigi, Bgisha, Bufumbiro, etc., formerly supplied this substance, as a tax under the name of umutsama (plural imitsama).

438 463 The people of the Kinyaga, dwellers on the shores of Lake Kivu, made strong mats (ibisunyu) of lake reeds for the court.

People from the Bgishaza, Kingogo, Budaha, etc., made litters, baskets, and hampers of various shapes because they lived close to the forest where the materials essential to their craft are to be found.

463 651 Dressing cases, combs, butter jars, dishes, spoons, pitchers, pipes, tobacco pouches, bows, arrows, shields, quivers, spear shafts, clubs, scabbards, cases for knives and drinking tubes, drums, chairs, etc., were all made by professionals who paid their taxes in this fashion.

644 In accordance with an immemorial custom, the king chose himself a wife from each of the following Hamitic clans: /458/ Bega, Basinga, Bakono, Baha, and sometimes also among the Bagessera, not to speak of those who were referred to him on account of their mental or physical qualities. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the neighboring princes of the Uswi, Karagwe, and Bunyabungu, but no son of those foreign princesses, to our knowledge, ever sat on the throne. Few royal wives managed to retain their husband's good favors indefinitely. Many of them were demoted to the rank of servants (abaja), if not sent back to their families (1).

1. This was the best they could hope for, since then they regained their complete freedom.

Some chiefs were bound by custom to send regularly to court some little girls, who were raised among the queen-mother's followers. The lot of those children was a rather unhappy one. Some of them when grown were chosen as servants or as symbolic wives offered to the spirits of dead kings (2).

2. Cf. Chapter VII below under "Funeral Rites."

[i.e., honey. -Analyst]

644 Others were entrusted with the manufacture of baskets, hampers, mats, and other fine basketry.

Sebugrigri (deceased in 1925), the representative of the great chief Rwidegembya in the Bigogo province, had to supply annually two or three of those children, who were euphemistically known by the name of "pages" (intore) or "outgoers" (emigrants) chosen by fate (inkuke).

644 661 Nyiramurici (deceased in 1927), a Muhunde /Hunde/ from the Gishari and a close relative of the queen of that land, came to pay homage to the Hamitic prince of Ruanda. As a reward for his services as a sorcerer, he was given three villages (Gassovu, Gatoke, and Nyaruchundura) located in the Kanage, with the sole obligation of handing to the queen mother /459/ any girls he might father or obtain among his subjects (1).

[651] 1. This obligation has always been regarded as a hateful one. As a rule parents were loath to surrender their offspring and complied only under duress. Sometimes they managed to elude this exorbitant tax by giving the chief one or even several cows. The chief also took advantage of this power to tax only his enemies or to extort several head of cattle from them under this revolting pretext.

In order to gain the good graces of the king or his mother, certain families freely gave up their children, boys or girls. The lot of the adolescent boys was much preferable to that of their sisters. Once grown up, after serving for a time in the page corps, they regained their freedom and were often granted the rule of a hill as a reward for their sojourn at court.

•644 727 Among the other families who played a role at court, we may cite the aBasingo, Batchaba, and aBagessera. The Basingo, a subdivision of the powerful Biru clan, fulfill a special function in wartime along with the "Cursers" (Abahenyi).

They are in charge of "closing the path" to the enemy (gukingir' ababisha) by gathering all the monsters, real or fancied, who [787] are regarded by the Blacks as evil portents and therefore designated by the term intsiro. This covers chiefly black goats, black chicks whose entrails were found to "turn black" when examined by the diviners, that is to say, unfavorable to the enemy, dissolute mothers (ibinyandaro), children born out of wedlock, children born during the mourning period held for one of their relatives (umwana w'amabi), young girls with undeveloped breasts (impenebere), old women who remained sterile through life (umugetchuru w'igicha mbyaro), and other true monsters with real and visible defects, who are designated by the generic name of ibimara or ibimazi.

644 342 The aBatchaba, another branch of the great /460/ aBiru family, select and measure the sites of royal huts. They hang in the interior of the hut, and later fasten outside, some branches of trees with magic properties (1) which according to popular belief exercise a

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1. Among those plants or trees with magic properties, we may cite the ficus (umuvumu), the red-bloom erythrina (umuko), the plant called irarire, etc.

salutary influence over the inhabitants or owners of the huts. It is the duty of their wives and daughters to meet the victorious warriors, singing and dancing, and thus congratulate them for their feats of valor. They also take part in the traditional celebrations which are held when the king takes official possession of a newly built hut and enters it for the first time with a wife chosen especially for the occasion (2).

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2. Throughout Ruanda, in principle, a new hut is taken over in the name of a spirit (a dead relative) whose favors are desired.

It is also in his name that one takes a wife (kumulongorer' abazimu).

644 [347] This is why these women are called abaterampundu, that is, "those who utter cries of joy."

The duties of the aBatchaba are often identical to those of
726 their brothers, the aBasingo, whom they assist in bewitching the enemy with teratological beings who are driven before the hostile army. Like the aBiru they also make drums.

The totem of the aBagessera is the wagtail, a bird of good
825 omen, which is consequently regarded as a member of the family.
342 Hence the power of the Bagessera to call this bird when needed. At
644 court and throughout the land, there is a custom whereby no one may enter a new hut until the wagtail has made an appearance. The bird must at least flit about or hop on the flattened ground where the hut is to be built or on the hut itself. One may even wait several days if necessary /461/ rather than risk the misfortunes which invariably befall those who do not take this traditional practice into account. At the capital, therefore, theBagessera are in charge of instigating the appearance of "their relative" (mwene wabo), the congenial bird, whenever a royal building is put up.

To achieve this they take some embers from their home and light a fire before the new hut.

They sit nearby and whistle in a special way to catch the attention of their totem.

825 The wagtail is highly regarded by the Banyarwanda. In story and song it is called "the bird (inyamanza) from the region of Mabera," a once famous village inhabited by the Bagessera (1). It is located

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1. The regard in which the wagtail is held is the subject of a charming tale. The wagtail

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drawn to the beauty of the fair stranger. The king was notified. She was the girl he had been waiting for. As a reward, the wagtail was granted a permanent privilege to its species called ubulenga nzira, which included immunity and a sort of tithe to be levied upon the crops throughout the realm.

near the hill of Lwoga, not far from Nyanza, the present capital.

The Bagessera regard themselves as the most important
563 Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan, and claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of Ruanda. According to them, they were the first masters of the land. /462/

Bloody Bondage Imposed on Some Families

•644
178 The Bakono, Banyabyinshi, and Bakunzi of the Kinyaga were for a long time the victims of this /type of bondage/.

Let us add, however, that the brutality and cruelty characteristic of those inhuman and now suppressed customs had lost some of their primitive harshness in the course of the last two reigns.

1. The expiatory debt to which the Bakono were bound for having fought Ruganzu II had been changed altogether.

Upon the accession of a new king to the throne, the Bakono
643 had to send one or two of their people to the capital, and so did
644 another clan which had formerly belonged to the Banyabyinshi group,
178 so often mentioned at the beginning of the great king's reign.

At court, instead of having their throats slit as was formerly done, those people were merely sprinkled with lustral water (chalk water) and driven for an instant into the hut of the spirits as though being offered in sacrifice to them. There the matter rested. Other chroniclers state that it was customary to beat them a few times with

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sticks so that the custom should not altogether lose its penal character.

2. Another improvement over the past has been the complete suppression during the two preceding reigns of the odious custom which prompted each new prince when he ascended the throne to send his troops into the Russokovu, between the Bugamba and Kingogo, to make war and receive their baptism of fire.

This was called "to make the king's spear drink blood" (guhir' icchumu ry' umwami).

Just as the Banyarwanda have the habit of leading their herds to the watering hole (guhir' inka) at the /463/ beginning of the day, a traditional custom also made it necessary for the king to make his spear drink blood (kunywesh' amarasso icchumu ry' umwami) upon his accession to the throne.

After killing some unfortunate people, the victorious warriors returned home.

The beginning of a reign could not be augured more auspiciously.

173 Ruganzu II Ndori was the first to launch such an expedition, which later became traditional.

He did this to punish the killers of his father. According to one version, which has already been cited (1), old King Ndahiro was

1. Cf. Book III, Histoire du règne de Ruganzu II, /History of Ruganzu II's Reign/ /not translated/.

killed at Russokovo, by the Bakongoro (a segment of the great Banyabyinshi faction) who had rebelled against him and whom he had set out to subjugate.

The expedition ended in disaster. Ndahiro, so the tradition adds, died there along with many of his followers. The rebels seized the king's drums and had them burned. Only the Kalinga, or palladium of the realm, escaped the conquerors. This is why the [103] place where the defeat took place has been known since by the name

178 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the
643 present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which
782 took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakuńzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of
661 exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or
644 families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the
644 Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

554 It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial
565 unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).
565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
565 Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who
[527] had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

2. Other Favors and Privileges

661 a. "The gift of the fire cow" (inka y' umuriro). This is when
644 the king sends a cow to a chief who has been stripped of his property or who has been in disgrace for some time. It is tantamount to a reconciliation.

This privilege grants the man who had been ostracized or banished permission to settle definitively on granted land and to build there like anyone else.

The gift of the cow, which is a sign and proof of forgiveness, also heralds further favors.

The last two beneficiaries of royal clemency were Musinga's maternal uncles, Lukangamiheto and Luhinankiko, whose ambition and political activities had /469/ greatly displeased the queen mother and the regent Kabale, creator of the bloody Ruchunchu revolution. They regained their rank and position at court.

661 b. Entrance rights (ilembo). This favor is highly valued by those to whom it is granted. It consists of receiving, in lieu of the king, the gifts of material goods and herds which are daily offered to the prince. Hence the expression, "to proceed to or place oneself at the entrance to the Court" (kuja kw' ilembo ry'ibgami) so as to take over the gifts and cows which subjects bring to their sovereign. This is a temporary privilege that is granted only for a few days and never more than two or three months to the same individual.

c. Ubulenga nzira is a sort of tithing right which the king
[651] and great chiefs grant to individuals whom they wish to reward. The holder of this right may levy a tax on the inhabitants of the territory over which the chief or king has jurisdiction. He gets cows and produce as long as the concession is not revoked.

d. The right to levy a cow wherever one spends the night
[651 (kurar'inka) is largely granted in times of war, on the way out and on
72] the way back.

[702] It is a good device to recruit soldiers, who greatly valued this privilege and made use of it both in friendly and in enemy territory.

e. Ubutumwa ("message"). The "right of message" grants the king's envoys the right to demand a cow from the recipient of the message. Instances are cited of men who managed to assemble fine herds thanks to their job as royal couriers.

661 f. "Those who are not looted" (abatanyagwa). This is a kind of privilege of inviolability granted by the prince to chiefs whom he takes under his special protection. He /470/ promises to help them and swears never to surrender them to their enemies.

g. "The right to secure provisions at night" (oguhaha n' ijoro) is a polite metaphor, or rather a gracious euphemism, that means that the beneficiaries of this privilege are entitled to steal freely during the night. It is said that this strange privilege was granted for the last time to the clan of the Bakoma, descendants of the petty king of Marangara, who took advantage of it to the best of their interests.

Favors of this kind were not surprising to the Blacks, who knew only too well that the goods of the subjects belonged to the king, and that by taking them (directly or through an intermediary) he was only taking what belonged to him.

Chapter 5

Safeguard with which the King Surrounds Himself on the Part of His Employees. Dangers to Which the Latter Were Exposed Daily. Customs and Formalities Observed by the King and His Subjects.

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I. Precautions Employed by the King to Insure the Fidelity of His Servants and Employees

Not only does the king demand the most absolute devotion, but he also requires the most rigorous secrecy from most of his people. Those who must be especially careful not to risk his anger and suspicion are the cooks, table servants (abôzi, abahanga), cup bearers, the men who prepare tobacco, and those in charge of the prince's pipe (abanyaruhago).

The sacrificer-diviners and especially those who are known by the name of Abakongori or Abanyambuto because they use the

644 king's saliva in their procedures carry out their duties in the greatest secrecy. The same applies to the official historians (abachurabgenge), /471/ the keepers of the traditions (abiru) and the members of the royal corporation of undertakers. No layman is permitted to have close contact with them. In order to insure their zeal, their attachment, and their trustworthiness, the sovereign submits them at the outset to a sort of test poison (igihango), which in the minds of the Blacks has a noxious, suspensive, and subsequent effect. To this end, the aspirants or successors to the above-mentioned positions were formerly led to Gihanga in the Nduga, on the banks of a famous spring, to drink the beverage that would guarantee their future fidelity. The officials in charge of those tests threw into the water on the preceding day some leaves, plants, and shrub branches which played an important role in this kind of ceremony. The horn of a bull also had to be obtained and dipped in the water, and whenever possible it had to come from a bull who had killed at least one person, as if the memory of the spilled blood were henceforth to haunt the minds of the new candidates and to fill them with terror. The performance was carried out with great seriousness. After drinking this magic water, the participants in the test were expressly forbidden to spit, smoke, or drink beer during the first few days, so that the beverage might work its effect upon them unchecked. The Blacks are indeed very meticulous in the fulfillment of their rites and superstitions (imihango n'imigenzo). It was believed that from that time forward, those who had passed the test could not fall short in their official duties. They had pledged themselves forevermore, and the least infidelity, the least breach of duty could only entail disastrous consequences leading to the loss of their life. As in the case of the initiates into the Ryangombe secret society, the test poison thereafter exercised upon them a suspensive and subsequent effect.

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It was a sort of Damocles' sword, ever ready to fall upon them in case of disobedience or violation of secrecy. /472/

By drinking the magic beverage, they pledged themselves implicitly to serve the king as the nature of their functions required and to maintain secrecy to outsiders about all court events.

Woe to them if they broke professional secrecy!

644 We have seen that in order to preserve the supernatural
645 properties of the beverage (igihango) the candidates were forbidden to smoke, drink, or spit. What were they to do in order to avoid the disastrous effects that the test poison, according to popular belief, might have upon their health?

Accustomed as primitives are to the strangest and most incredible things, the Banyarwanda believed that in order to avert any danger in this connection, all they had to do was to commit a shameful act immediately.

As a result of this belief and in the thought that they were being helpful to the neophytes, their relatives led them away, outside the clan, along with some friends. They lay in wait and seized
[839] a young man or a young girl, depending on the sex of the candidate, and did violence to the young person.

It must be added that the Blacks, knowing the distaste of
[178] Europeans for such sport, have not dared to fulfill the last part of the program since the arrival of the Whites.

II. Dangers to Which Dignitaries, Employees, and Favorites at Court Were Exposed at All Times

644 It may be said that until recent years the secret of certain
661 customs and traditions had been well preserved, for fear of the effects of the test poison and for fear of the king, who would not hesitate to punish delinquents at the first sign of indiscretion. It is equally true that until our time the majority of servants /473/ and underlings lived under the risk and perpetual threat of a violent death which might claim them at any moment. The monarch, who did not rely exclusively on the effectiveness of the test poison and probably had very good reasons not to do so, unfortunately made use quite often of his prerogatives as sovereign and his discretionary power over all things to apply extravagant punishments. Nothing counted in his eyes except his own interests, his whims and his passions. He frequently gave free rein to the latter. A mere suspicion or even less was sufficient to cause the merciless death of an unfortunate individual.

644 661 Some examples will clarify the preceding statements. We may add that they were the last in this bloody serial, and that such things could not happen at the present time.

The most vulnerable servants were unquestionably those who were assigned to the king's kitchens or to the service of his meals, as well as those who were in charge of watching over his beer and milk and those who prepared his tobacco. So as not to extend the necrological list out of all proportion, since the other employees were far from being safe, we shall speak here only of victims belonging to the above-mentioned categories of servants.

Kiryana (from the word kurya, "to eat"), or the "House that devours" its inhabitants, such is the portentous name given to the hut where the bowls of milk reserved for the prince are kept.

Two or three keepers are assigned to this duty, which consists of cleaning the bowls, receiving the milk brought by the chiefs, and presenting it to the king once a day.

Of all vocations this is the most feared and the least envied. Numerous have been its victims, and numerous also those who ran far away to neighboring lands in order to avoid this dangerous honor.

This is why it was always assigned by force. It may be said that /474/ few of those men left their duties without having paid with their lives. The sovereigns, who also lived under a perpetual fear of poisoning and bewitchment and who were not in the least miserly about the blood of their subjects since it counted for so little in their eyes, did not hesitate to nurture a salutary fear in their entourage by striking blindly into the ranks of their servants. Those who fell served as examples to those who remained. It was a matter of inspiring terror and instigation their zeal. Thanks to his high intelligence and to his diviners and sorcerers, the king was believed to know everything which might be plotted in secret against him.

Some Concrete Instances

644 661 696 A young man had been attached to this particular service /milk hut/ for about 15 years. Many a time his sovereign had assured him that he was satisfied with his services and that nothing would ever happen to him.

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His assistants and colleagues kept vanishing, almost invariably struck by the bloody fate which clung to them and to their position. He alone remained untouched. To bind him closer the king plied him with gifts of goods and cattle.

Whenever an anxious thought disturbed his heart, he would think about all the things he possessed, about the royal favor, and about all that he could still expect. There came a time when the queen mother, influenced by rivals and envious men, began to persecute him. No matter how much our man defended himself, calling upon the guarantee he had offered by drinking the test poison and expressing in a most touching fashion the feelings of loyalty which he nurtured toward the royal family, the suspicions which rested upon him merely grew. The queen mother, who always held a sword in her hand, soon came to thrusts with it. While our unfortunate man was fulfilling his duties toward the king and /475/ serving him some drink, he felt the point of the sword graze his body many times. "Traitor, poisoner, son of a dog" (umwana w'imbga), such were the epithets that greeted his appearance. The prince at first seemed to defend him. He even told him privately that he did not believe the calumnies circulated against him, that everything would be all right, that his enemies would be exposed, and that the queen mother would eventually trust him once more.

The days went by, the animosity of the mother did not decrease, and now the king intervened only for the sake of appearances.

One evening, at nightfall, the unfortunate occupant of the "hut that devours" felt himself seized by strong arms.

Alone and taken by surprise, he did not put up any resistance. He was led to another hut.

He was laid upon the ground, firmly bound, and his hands tied behind his back. He vainly appealed to the mercy of his jailers, swearing his innocence.

They retorted that they were merely carrying out royal orders, and that their own life was at stake.

This the prisoner could well understand. Soon he was left to himself and to his own thoughts. Constrained tightly by his bonds, unable to move, and troubled about the fate that awaited him, the

644 661 696 unfortunate man grieved. He was prey to the most bitter thoughts when three lugubrious shadows surged forward into his prison from the midst of darkness and came toward him.... It must have been about eight o'clock. Two sticks grazed his neck as though to grip him in a vice. He was going to be strangled. In a convulsion of despair, the man who was about to die managed to break the bonds which held his hands and arms. In a flash he grasped both sticks by one end and set up fierce resistance against the efforts of those who wished to kill him, while emitting heart-rending cries, shouting for help, and proclaiming his innocence to the surrounding echoes. The huge agglomeration of /476/ royal huts resounded with the screams of this man who held on to life desperately.... No one could fail to know what was going on.

People were familiar with those shrill, heart-rending wails, which had pierced the air more than once. Everyone's heart tightened with emotion, but each person, in fear of the master or the envious men, maintained an impassive or scoffing expression as befits those who live in uncertainty about the future.

The victim struggled violently against his opponents, who could not manage to relax his hold. While two of the executioners attempted to free the sticks by beating him on the head and chest and kicking him, the third one rolled the victim, who was lying on the ground, in the opposite direction. The executioners, who were doing this work for the first time and had never yet killed anyone and who realized the odiousness of their task, trembled all over before the despair of the unfortunate man who had been surrendered to them.

The fight for life was reaching its climax, but it was obvious that victory would eventually rest with the group of opponents, who were able to move freely. Chance, or rather Divine Providence, willed it that a European who was passing through the capital should be with the king at that very moment.

Hearing the desperate cries that arose within the royal enclosure, the white man was moved and spoke heatedly to the prince.... The latter, feigning surprise and astonishment, hastened to the courtyard whence the cries rose, checked the stranglers, and returned forthwith to reassure his interlocutor.

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The man who was about to depart this life, exhausted by his efforts, had almost lost consciousness when he heard himself called by a voice which pretended to be compassionate. It was the king himself, feigning pity. He gave his ex-favorite some beer to drink, had him set on his feet, and asked him to follow, promising /477/ to release him. He had never believed in his guilt, he added, and therefore would soon restore his freedom. His goods would be returned to him, and he would resume his functions at court.

It was only a matter of a couple of hours. The poor captive, staggering at each step under the grip of emotion and weakness, was led to a sort of brick building used as a prison. The door was closed upon him.

He found there a fellow captive who sympathized with his misfortune. More fortunate than he, the other man received food and pombe from the outside, which he shared forthwith. The prisoner, who felt that his last hour had come, regained some courage and the strength needed to undertake a new fight for life.

The honeyed words of the king had not fooled him. He knew that the matter had merely been postponed and that soon he would be fetched again. His companion, who was familiar with the mores of the capital, made no attempt to contradict him. Fearing nothing for himself because he was a noble and too well known to be dispatched secretly, he was full of pity for the man who was about to die. Certain of his fellow-prisoner's trustworthiness and encouraged by his advice, the unfortunate servant tried to shake the door open and weighed upon it with all his might. Nothing could be achieved there, however, for it was shut tight. His efforts were in vain. The planks were nailed solidly and resisted his blows and the pressure of his knees. Time was short, however, for the executioners could arrive at any moment.

The prisoner, in whom the desire to live was stronger than the death which threatened him, managed to climb the dry-brick wall by using his feet and hands. The building was several years old, and the soil which had been used as mortar had disintegrated in the course of time, offering occasional holds to fingers and nails actuated /478/ by an iron will. The head of the climber reached the thatch roof.

644 661 696 The man quickly broke through the wood and bamboo of the framework. He was just in time. The door of the prison opened at the same moment, and the executioners came in to seize the condemned man. The latter took off and hurled himself into space. The wall was fortunately of moderate height. The fugitive nevertheless sprained himself slightly in falling upon his feet. Not having had time for thought, he had merely obeyed the instinct for self-preservation. The imminence of danger lent him wings, for his leap had drawn the attention of those who vainly sought him inside.

The alarm was sounded, and the fugitive pursued. He did not lose his head, however. Instead of risking capture, which was bound to result if he placed all his trust in flight, our man, who had some headway over his pursuers, hid in the capital itself at the home of a friend he trusted completely. It was to be expected that searches would be made in the huts. In order to avert this new danger, one of the long baskets used to store beans inside the huts was readied to provide the fugitive with a foolproof hiding place.

For further safety his head was covered with beans which allowed him to breathe sideways but which were sure to defeat the searchers' quest. All inspections and investigations among the inhabitants were in vain. When vigilance had relaxed a little, the lucky fugitive took advantage one evening of the shades of night to leave forever that tragic place which had nearly become his grave. His flight was discovered some time later. Under directives from higher sources, the local chief had the hut surrounded. Its owner managed to escape in time.

The affair had become known, and furthermore the country had come increasingly under the sway of European administration. The latter /479/ heard of the matter. A trial took place which did not turn out in favor of the persecutors.

As a result, the fugitive was not disturbed again.

Many years have passed since this moving episode. The memory of those frightful events has nevertheless remained painful to the hero of the tragedy, who does not like to recall the past. The stubborn scars which cross his face, chest, and arms corroborate the seriousness of the episode that nearly killed him. He has met

644 since more than once with his neophyte executioners, who did not
661 fail to congratulate him with some embarrassment while apologizing
696 for the odious task which had been entrusted to them. "Some luck thou had!" they already told him (wagiz' Imana). "What an ugly business the king had entrusted to us!"

"Good for thee, if you managed to get out of such a tight corner." A little later he was even presented to the king, who was first taken aback. He recovered himself quickly and congratulated him in turn. "It was God who saved you (N'Imana yagukijije)," he added. In gratitude to God, Who had rescued him from such a diffi-
[553] cult situation, the lucky fugitive changed his name from Ngirimandwa ("The spirits of the initiates are on my side") to Ngirimana, which means "I have God (on my side)."

After a whole string of circumstances, all equally eventful and dramatic, the outcome had finally turned out in Ngirimandwa's favor.

For one fugitive who was able to narrate in detail the vicissitudes of the drama that nearly killed him, however, how many unfortunate ones vanished into the fatal den without a trace!

Now that the times have changed, elders whose lips were formerly sealed by the rule of secrecy and by the fear of corporal punishment, freely mention the names of unfortunate executed men they knew. They recall among many others a young man who had been a page. /480/ His intelligence, ability, and liveliness had drawn the notice of the sovereign to him, who made him his favorite and could not do without him. As in the previous case the years went by and the prince's favor was transferred elsewhere.

[539] "A king's friendship, a day's friendship," says the proverb.

He had been practically forsaken and was hardly noticed anymore, when one day he was requested to work in the famous "bloody hut."

What had he done that his fate should be so irreparably settled? That is practically unknown.

About eight days after he had received his new job, he was summoned in great haste as though for some pressing errand. It was

644 661 696 the queen mother who had called him. She wanted news of a court lady who had just given birth.

This woman lived a short distance from the capital. Night fell. The messenger set out on his way. He was accompanied by a chief and by a factotum.

They reached the edge of a swamp of sinister fame where summary executions were formerly performed.

The young man, guiltless and carefree, walked in front. He was struck from behind. . . and has never been heard of since.

Another occupant of the hut with the portentous name, just as peaceable as the preceding one but older, was brutally seized in turn when he least expected it, after being designated by the diviners' bones. . . . First he managed to run away and hide at a friend's house. When he attempted to return to his own village, however, he was recognized and captured along the way by a chief who led him back to the capital. He was tossed into prison where he was joined during the night by sinister-looking men. They held in their hands large milk jars which they used to crush his jaw and face. The prisoner, tightly bound as the Blacks know how to do, was stretched upon the ground /481/ and unable to make the least motion. Kicks and blows fell thick and fast upon the chest and stomach of the unfortunate man whose body soon became a single wound.

He was finished off by strangulation.

Several groups of young girls were also killed, some under the fallacious pretext of having poisoned the tobacco they prepared, others for having stolen bead necklaces. The latter, after they had confessed, were first thrown into prison. A day or two later, they were taken out and led to the queen mother, who feigned reconciliation and pardon and received them with great displays of joy. Hydromel was served to them in large quantities. A deep sleep took hold of them. Then the executioner came and strangled them. . . .

681 696 644 In order to give an idea of the frequency of executions and variety of corporal punishments, we shall give here a sort of necrological list that includes the names of the victims and the circumstances of their death.

681 This list, which is incomplete, covers a period of some 20
696 years just before the Europeans took possession officially.
644 We list these data, of course, without vouching for their accuracy. We cannot guarantee the authenticity of every victim, and still less that of the details of the executions. We can only relate popular reports that are sometimes or even frequently suspect in their statements and evaluations.

Victims of the "Milk House"

1. Lwandenzi, of Mututsi /Batutsi/ race, originally from the Bgana-Chambge, was led into the Bugessera forest.

His executioners tied him to a tree and cut off his feet (kumusongor' ibirenge). /482/

2. Lutindamateme, an Umututsi from the village of Ntenyo (Nduga), was first bound, then killed with a spear thrust and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

3. Lwanyonga, a Mututsi, died in the same way at the the same time as the preceding man.

His corpse was cut into pieces by sorcerers, who wanted to hinder his spirit from harming the king.

4. Minega, son of a certain Bushakiro, a Mututsi from Mwendo (Nduga), had his throat slit in the Bugessera forest.

5. Gahima, son of Nyarwambari, a Mututsi from Gassaka (near Gisseke), was clubbed to death in the inner courtyard of the palace.

6. Munyagishari, a Mututsi, was killed with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

7. Gakwise, of Muhutu /Bahutu/ race, suffered the same fate.

8. Karara, a Muhutu, died the same death.

9. Ntagwabira, a Muhutu, died like the preceding.

10. Ibingira, a Mututsi, also died in the same manner.

11. Butama, a Muhutu, was clubbed to death.

12. Majanjo, a Mututsi, strangled himself in prison to escape the corporal punishment which awaited him.

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13. Kajigiri, a Mututsi from the Gissaka country, was first bound. His executioners lifted him several times and dropped him on his head. He was finished off with club blows.

14. Lwamiheto was given numerous blows by club. He was released almost immediately and died three months later of the brutalities he had suffered, according to public opinion.

15. Kayonga and his son, after many vicissitudes, were slain with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

Victims on Other Counts

1. Bigutu and Balikage, the latter a son of Bisango and chief of the Bgishaza provinces, were killed while the court was settled at Kamonyi, after having been accused of opposing the new regime. /483/

2. The great Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief Lutishereka, his sons, and some of his followers had their throats cut while the court sojourned at Mukingo. This was done at the instigation of Luhinankiko, who blamed that high dignitary for inciting one of Lwabugiri's sons to murder his friend Baryinyonza.

3. Serukenyinkware, from the Mututsi /Batutsi/ clan of the Bachumbi, was accused of the same crime. He was cut to pieces while the court was staying at Mwima.

[685] 4. Three employees of the court, at Nyanza, were caught killing a cow which they had stolen from the king.

They were condemned to death by spearing, and they made it a point of honor not to utter the slightest cry of pain.

5. A young Mututsi, after being bound and beaten with rods all through the day, was dragged still alive by the feet, into the swamp, where he was finished off by the Batwa.

[683] 6. Two inhabitants of the village of Musumba (Nduga), named Lukesha and Lugingabahizi, had their hands and feet cut off for a crime of bewitchment. The two poor devils were held responsible because Lwibishenga, a brother of the queen mother, had almost lost his sight as a result of yaws.

7. Two Bahutu were shot point blank in the palace courtyard for a crime of espionage.

[681] 696 644 8. A slave (umuja) was struck down along the road at night after she had been advised to leave court and seek her fortune elsewhere. She was punished for not having watched closely enough over the moral behavior of two young princesses of royal blood.

9. Luhinankiko, a son of Queen Mother Nyirayuhi, was stripped of his property for having had Lutishereka killed. He even had to flee to Urundi, where he spent some 15 years.

Since Kabale, the regent, could not take his revenge upon him as he would have wished, he turned upon his friends and followers. /484/

Chaka, who was Luhinankiko's son-in-law, and Sebuharara and Rulinda, who were his protegés, were attacked in the Buganza by the men of the powerful minister. Defeated and unable to flee, they shut themselves up in a hut, set fire to it, and perished in the flames.

Kaningo, who belonged to their faction, was stripped of his property. On the point of being caught and knowing what awaited him at the capital, he also burned himself in his hut.

[683] 10. The Banyarwanda still remember the corporal punishment inflicted upon the six "poisoners" (1) led to Nyanza by chief Kanuma.

1. This is how the individuals suspected of the alleged crime of bewitching are designated.

These unfortunate persons had their hands and feet cut off.

11. Nyantanyi, son of Semakamba, as surrendered by Musinga to Gashamura, son of Lukagirashamba. Lwamwa, one of the latter's sons, had been killed at Ndolandi, a land he wished to conquer, by Nyantanyi's men. His relatives, the Batsobe, complained to the king, who gave them satisfaction by handing the local chief over to them.

Nyantanyi was bound and led outside the palace by Gashamura and his followers. Lwamwa's son stabbed him first in the side with a spear, and almost immediately 20 or 30 spear thrusts laid him low. [628] His head and right hand were cut off to be shown to the other followers, as was done in vendettas. One detail is to be noted: Gashamura was Nyantanyi's uncle by marriage and his father-in-law.

644 681 696 Sentashonga, the victim's cousin, was granted permission that evening to have the corpse of his relative buried.

The elders and former habitués of the court do not lack for [521] narratives of this kind, which they relate like any other tale without seeming overly shocked by them. Such is the environment, such are the mores and attitudes. /485/

643 661 "The king is the master," they say. "He does as he pleases. The decisions he makes cannot be contested. He is the supreme judge. One can only obey and assent." The victims' relatives were sometimes the first to come and greet him, feigning total impassiveness, forced as they were to drive back to the bottom of their hearts the bitter pain which they could not but feel.

Complaints, wails, and recriminations could only have stirred up the anger of the king and given rise to new slaughters.

While looking after his own safety, every person also had to keep in mind that of his people /relatives and friends/. The latter, indeed, might be held responsible for the deeds and actions, no matter how harmless, of any of their fellow members. The extermination of a whole family formerly weighed very little on the scale of royal justice.

So as not to provoke trouble which might prove fatal, therefore, they put a good face on misfortune. These executed, however innocent they might have been, were claimed in loud voices to have [687] been cursed men (ibichibga) or rebels. To shed tears or express one's sorrow were crimes of high treason. "A mere whim of the master was sufficient to send a person to punishment. What won't one do to avoid so cruel a fate?" This statement made by a court favorite of the previous reign /avant-règne/ reveals a great deal about the mores of the time. "If the king happened to sprain his foot," added the same man, "to knock against some obstacle or pebble, it was not a good idea to meet with him at that moment."

In his anger the monarch might accuse anyone of having bewitched him, and wreak then and there a signal vengeance.

Professional executioners were not always used for this purpose. The king might call upon any member of his retinue to carry out the [696] task. The person had to comply, no matter how revolted he might

789 desires. At the beginning of his relations with the Whites, Musinga
648 often appeared with a small stick in his hand, the tip of which he would first turn toward himself as he spoke and then toward his interlocutors, in order to influence their answers. This stick was called by the name of uruchubyo, from the word guchubya, which describes the act of driving boiling water back into the pot with a stick of that name. The Blacks saw a certain similarity between the two occurrences. Just as cooks and their helpers keep the liquid from running over by forcing it back to the bottom of the pot, he who possesses a magic stick wards off the evil which his interlocutors might perpetrate upon him (ngo atsind' amagambo mabi). A happy and inoffensive credulity, which does harm to no one!

IV. Customs and Formalities Observed by the King and His Subjects

644 The relations between subjects and sovereign are permeated with a profound respect which is both superstitious and actuated by fear. The Banyarwanda formerly experienced /491/ no feelings toward their monarch other than reverential fear. The stateliness which surrounded the king and the bloody executions which confirmed his absolute power over all things had no small part in the preservation of these feelings, which were closely bound with an attitude of servility. The monarch was a true demigod far superior to other men, hence the following customs and formalities which governed the relations between subjects and sovereign.

1. The king is awakened by drums which are first played at four or five o'clock in the morning. Actually, he does not rise before seven thirty or eight o'clock. At the moment when he leaves his bed, women come and grind a handful of sorghum or eleusine, while a young girl shakes the large gourd (igisabo) which is used for churning.

The aim of these observances is to draw upon the king and the realm the prosperity symbolized by the sorghum, eleusine, and butter. The Impara, or group of initiates into the Ryangombe secret society, then make their appearance.

644 [534] Swinging their grotesque headdress to the right and to the left, they come in dancing and singing, sounding the bells and sistra which they hold in their hands.

They call upon Ryangombe and other dead initiates to bestow their protection upon the sovereign.

195 644 192 2. In order to speak of the king and of his most trivial and frequent actions, custom demands that colorful and noble terms be used, such as for example the following: kubikirwa or kwisasira instead of kuryama, which means "to go to bed."

igisasiro for uburiri..... "royal bed"
kubamburwa for kubyuka..... "to get up"
kuj' ijabiro for kuboneka ..... "to appear"
inyundo for amaguru ..... "legs"
ingoro for inzu ..... "house" /492/
ingoro irakamwa for inzu irava . "it rains in the hut"
ingoro irahonjoka for inzu iragwa. "the hut is falling to pieces with age" (1)

1. Kubikirwa comes from the word kubika, "to put away an object," "to put it in its proper place"; kwisasira means "to spread out the mats on the ground"; igisasiro, "the place where the mats are spread out"; kubamburwa, "to be awake"; kuj' ijabiro, "to go to that part of the hut where one talks to guests"; inyundo, "iron hammer"; ingoro, "palace"; ingoro irakamwa, "the palace is milked," to mean that it rains in there; ingor' irahonjoka, "the palace grows fat" (that is, it swells), because it is falling to pieces with age.

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Figurative terms are used to speak of the king's death:

gutabara ..... "to go to the aid," "to go to war"
gutanga ..... "to hand over" (the drum to the successor)
kunywa ..... "to drink" (poison)
gussaza ..... "to grow old"
gusezera ..... "to take leave"
ijuru ryaguye ..... "the sky has fallen"

644 3. It would be most disrespectful to allude to anything pertaining to his eventual death. While on a trip the king must avoid passing too close to cemeteries or even to the mere "night stops" (ilaro, amalaro), where the bodies of his predecessors were laid in the course of their transfer to the royal necropolises.

[767] Nor is he permitted to spend the night in those villages which are inhabited by the undertakers.

The latter in turn must avoid appearing in his presence and must employ an intermediary when they have to deal with the king.

As if the thought, likeness, or memory of death could shorten his days or bring misfortune upon him!

4. Whenever possible His Majesty must avoid bending his knees (guhina), so as not to risk a reduction in the area of his kingdom (2). /493/

[821] 2. When caught by a storm or bad weather the king must not quicken his pace; he must proceed quietly to shelter. Rain is regarded as a blessing due to the influence of the prince. A quickening of his pace might bring the beneficial downpour to an end.

We believe that this popular belief will soon be pushed into the background, and that the monarch will become less willing to submit to all the demands of his position.

●644 5. In certain cases and where certain objects are concerned, the king must help himself directly. When he wishes to play the drum, as he is wont to do, his followers set the sticks on the ground before him instead of offering them to him spontaneously. The prince picks them up himself.

To hand them over to him, which to us seems so simple, might cause him to die (gukenya).

644 272 6. It is for the same reason that the servants entrusted with keeping the milk in the famous "hut that devours its inhabitants" (ikiryana) observe the same custom. Two or three large bowls full [415] of milk are brought into the hut where the king is served. They are carefully closed with a lid woven of vegetable fiber.

Small wooden vessels known by the name of ichyantsi (plural ibyantsi) are laid before His Majesty. Whether there are two, four, or even eight of them, they must be immaculately clean. The servant fills a first container, which the king picks up himself without any help.

If the milk pleases him he goes on drinking, but he is careful not to finish it.

He must leave half of it, lest milk become scarce (ngw'amata atagabanuka) in the realm. Meanwhile, the servant fills another vessel, which the king picks up himself as he did the first one.

The first one is filled again. This table service continues until the king's hunger is satisfied.

644 7. Custom demands that when appearing at court one should clap one's hands three times (gukom'amashi) and use the customary formulas, with the sole addition of "king" (umwami) or "Sire" (Nyagasani). This is about the only external mark of respect reserved for the sovereign. /494/

644 293 8. At night the king must never be without the native hammer called Nyarushara. This tool goes with him on all his journeys.

412 It is left under the fine grass which serves as the monarch's bolster and pillow (barayisegurir' umwami).

778 It is a sort of ancient talisman which theoretically has not yet lost any of its mystic power. It was wrought according to the specifications of Mashira, the sorcerer-petty king, by an able

644 blacksmith, Gihu, son of Muhinda, on the hill of Mpanda (mu Buhigiro,
293 i Kizibaziba) in the Nduga. This was done to enable the Hamitic
412 king with whom this autochthonous prince had concluded an alliance
778 to turn back the Banyoro who had invaded Ruanda. The hammer, which is octogonal in shape (imigong' umunane), symbolized an all-powerful symbolic being. The artisan, on Mashira's specifications, had wrought two breasts upon it (1). Mutabazi, the monarch's son,

1. Such details demonstrate the importance attached to this fearsome mystic weapon. Nothing has been forgotten concerning the circumstances of its manufacture, the date, the place, the artisan, the man who inspired the project, etc.

only had to sit down and hold upon his knees the "dreadful" magic device, pointed facing the enemy, for the latter to be hewed to pieces.

Two other small hammers with the same origin and which played the same role are laid beside the Nyarushara. They are known by the name of ubushingo or abagaragu bayo, that is to say, its "companions." Every morning at about nine, when the drum called Ndamutsa ("I greet") is played to proclaim the rising and appearance of the monarch, the latter must touch the talisman hammer as if the day's luck depended upon it.

9. Inyundo ya Barenge, "the hammer of the Barenge people."

It is not known exactly why the hammer thus named is kept at court. /495/

Does it really belong to the Barenge, who lived in the country several centuries ago? This is hard to say. Since it is very heavy and weighs two or three times as much as an ordinary hammer, the king's laborers sometimes use it as a mallet to drive stakes (imiganda) into rocky ground (1).

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to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

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It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

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It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

644 484 619 In addition, they are the born protectors selected by the Hamitic princes to ward off the bad luck which threatens them in certain circumstances. The Banyarwanda, indeed, have mystic defenders of this sort who are chosen among the members of a tribe alien to theirs.

Those individuals are believed to have the power to ward off the imaginary dangers which threaten human beings. They are called abase (singular umuse). The Banyarwanda call upon their omnipotence at times of death (1), a loss of fortune, the plundering of a herd, the

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1. In the Bugoyi the umuse, or protector, removes from the hut of the deceased the main post upon which the dead owner liked to lean, the piece of wood (umusego) which stands at the head of the bed, the log that was used as a chair, and the small piece of wood that surmounted the roof of the hut. All of this is laid upon the grave.

building of a hut, the giving of a name to a child, his teething, the celebration of a marriage, etc.

Since the Bagessera are the protectors of the Hamitic princes, it is understandable that the monarchs should seek their hospitality.

If there are no members of that family /in the locality/, the king stays with the Bazigaba, whose ancestor Kazigaba was the /497/ brother of Kagessera, founder of the Bagessera clan. If neither are to be found in the area through which the monarch is traveling, the latter resorts, in this order, to the Banyiginya, the Bega, or lastly, the Bakono.

644 484 While traveling, the king is accompanied by an honor guard of [illegible]tsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, who sleep around the royal hut at night.

[533] Five or six drummers walk at the head of the procession, beating occasionally on their instruments. The drums are also played at nightfall and at the first birdsong in the morning.

644 484 661 Appointed cowherds lead before them a small herd of milk cows to provide for the needs of the king.

The passage of a prince was formerly tantamount to a disaster for the local inhabitants, who had to harbor the members of the train.

The retinue did not merely include courtiers, the royal guard, sorcerers, and the usual employees. Those dignitaries who wished to retain the good graces of the sovereign made it their business to accompany him with their numerous servants. Idlers and jacks-of-all-trades also joined the train along the way and fleeced the unlucky natives on whom they paid a visit.

This was indeed a veritable army which spared neither friend nor foe, trampling the crops in their path, looting travelers, and taking by force from the local inhabitants whatever had not been hidden in time.

[551] The men who made up the usual retinue of Kigeri IV Lwabugiri were nicknamed the "Pillagers" (1), owing to their extortions.

1. Their native nickname, Ibitsimbanyi, is a noun derived from the verb gutsimba, which means "to pillage," "to fleece."

644 768 11. For the sake of completeness, we shall cite the following two customs which the keepers of the traditions assure us were observed in the past. /498/

When the death of a neighboring sovereign, of the Uswi, Urundi, or Karagwe, was announced, the king had to leave his residence and have a new one built (1).

1. Times have changed. The choice of a site and the building of a new "palace" would present too many difficulties today. When the prince of Urundi died, the king merely spent eight days outside his habitual

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home, on the advice of his familiars, in a hut that stood nearby. The sorcerers assured him that he had nothing more to fear on the part of the spirits, who had been given full satisfaction by means of this trick.

643 Upon the accession of each new king to the throne, a special envoy went to the Ruzizi Valley and drew water from a spring called Zina. He took some of that water and brought it for the young monarch to drink.

The reasons for this custom, which has now fallen into disuse, have been forgotten.

Chapter 6

I. The Two Great Festivals at Court

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The two most important celebrations (ibirori) take place at the official presentation of the "First Fruits," and on the day following the annual mourning period, which the king and his court must observe.

This latter feast, which closes the month of June, is celebrated with the same pomp and richness. Since it will be described in the chapter dealing with honors rendered to the spirits of the royal dead, we shall discuss here only the festival called "First-Fruits" festival.

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In their enthusiasm and admiration for Ruganzu II, the Victorious, the Banyarwanda go so far as to credit him with almost every food plant or grain they possess. Special mention is made of sorghum, eleusine, and a kind of wild plant /499/ known by the name of issogi (1), owing to their importance in the local economy.

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778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

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543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

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543 Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

643 Hence the following beliefs, to which the common people have given credence up to now.

644 855 In principle, in the old days the sovereign was not permitted to see his heir. The child was entrusted to the care of reliable men and raised far from his father, who occasionally was brought pieces of string which had served to measure the height and waist of his future successor. In order to judge the development and strength of the young prince, the king imprinted the outline of his own foot in a basket of sorghum flour. This was brought to the crown prince, who in turn left in it the imprint of his foot. The basket was returned to the king, who never lost interest in the physical development of his child.

Bows were later sent to him so that he might try his strength. The heir was considered worthy of the throne on the day when he was able to string his father's bow, since now he had become as strong as his father.

643 762 The last verifications were made. It was necessary to make sure that the king's garment fitted him perfectly, and that the imprint of his feet matched exactly that of his father's. The latter, on the other hand, having grown old and noticed that his beard and hair were greying, (yamez' imvi), decided himself that his time had come. He immediately called his confidants and made known his last wishes. "I am going to depart (gutabara); there are only a few moments left to me. You shall see to it that my son rules (kwimika) in my place. You shall obey him in all things"....

[278] The same evening the appointed sorcerers presented him /516/ with hydromel (inkangaza) in which they had mixed a violent poison, purchased, it is believed, on the shores of Lake Victoria, where it was prepared with putrefied crocodile flesh.

The king went to sleep and never awakened. "He has drunk" (yanyone), as they said in official terminology, or else "He has departed" (yatabaye), he has rejoined his ancestors, the Liberators, who saved the land, "He has ceded the throne" (yatanze), "The sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye), for such are the expressions still consecrated by usage and used to proclaim this serious event.

643 767 Then the king appoints one or two chiefs to go and settle their difficulties.

In the old days these undertakers could not visit with their fellow men, nor could they eat or drink with them. Even today, when [415] invited to feast with their neighbors, they must bring with them their own drinking tube. It is maintained that they do not eat with their children. If it came to pass that the latter, in turn, should bury a new king, they would have to leave their parents and never see them again.

A special vocabulary is used to speak of the monarch and [198 certain of his acts. It would be most disrespectful to say that the king •644] sleeps, drinks, eats, etc., like anyone else. We have already seen how his ailments and his death are mentioned (yaberamye, yanyoye, yatabaye, etc.).

767 It is for the same reason that the royal undertakers bear a name that recalls their function only in a very indirect way. Just as they 644 are strictly forbidden to go to the capital, custom forbids the king to 643 go through areas inhabited by members of this corporation or to camp there. He must avoid the sacred groves where the spirits of his ancestors rest, as though the idea of death could shorten the life of the sovereign. It is mandatory to his followers to avert that image and thought from his eyes and from his ears, which are those of a demigod well above common mortals.

He must be enabled to enjoy this life and all its pleasures in peace.

5. Mourning Rites Observed at the Death of a Prince

643 765 The king is mourned for four months, that is to say, until the official accession of his successor to the throne. During /522/ that period of time, cohabitation between spouses is theoretically forbidden. Bulls are also separated from the herds at the time of this terrible misfortune, which causes the Banyarwanda to state that "the sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye). Men and even children shave their heads [302] as a sign of mourning.

766 The sacred groves are numerous, and it is surprising to find
778 them most everywhere, even in the most deserted areas.

Royal cemeteries and former residences are legion. There is
778 not one province in Ruanda that does not boast several of them at
766 least.

They are found even in bordering lands which were invaded
644 more than once by the Banyarwanda. Their numbers are understandable if one recalls the nomadic life of the warrior kings such as Ruganzu and Lwabugiri, who did not sleep often under the same roof. The sovereign had only to spend the night in a hut along the way for the spot to become sacred from then on. The owners had to abandon their dwelling and go elsewhere or build at the side. The ficus branches which fenced in the courtyard went on growing and created a new sacred grove (ikigabiro).

These groves are made up of various tree species, with the
[894] ficus usually predominating. Several types of this tree are found: imigobge, imilehe, imikobe, imitabataba, etc.

The bark of the last two trees is used to make a kind of cloth
[287] which wears out rapidly (impuzu). Those clumps of trees, which are almost invariably green and which loom into sight here and there, contrast with the bareness of the land, /524/ especially in the Nduga, and lend it a characteristic appearance which does not lack a certain charm.

Among the sacred groves, some of which stand on the tallest hills, only eight or nine at most are known to have been used as royal burial grounds. The others mark the sites of former royal capitals and recall the successive moves occasioned by the numerous expeditions undertaken in certain reigns. They are referred to by the generic name of ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," from the word kugabira, "to distribute" or "to offer as a gift." As we can see, the term ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," is quite suited etymologically to the tree clumps which mark the sites of the former royal dwellings, whose owners, by virtue of their absolute ownership and power, could mete out all sorts of favors to their subjects. It was only by extension that the same name was quite wrongly applied to the royal cemeteries. Indeed, custom does not allow the popular

778 and common terms ikibira, "cemetery," imva or "igituro, "grave,"
766 to be used in this connection. In certain parts of Ruanda, owing to
644 the respect with which the king is regarded and to the reverential fear he inspires, the Blacks use another expression which is much more accurate. One frequently hears them speak of musezero (misezero in the plural), that is to say, the place where the monarch permanently "took leave" of his subjects, from the verb gusezera, which means "to take leave."

The word umusezero is now commonly used to mean "restricted place," "guarded place," because in summer when people set fire to the tall grass, they first clear the bush from the edges of the cemeteries to protect the royal graves from fire. /525/

2. Main Royal Cemeteries

766 It is at Gasseke in the Nduga, about four hours from the Kabgayi mission in the northeast, that one of the first "sepulchral" groves is found where a prince by the name of Chyilima was buried.

173 Two monarchs by this name are known. It was during the reign of the more recent of the two that the famous migration into
643 Ruanda of the "Mutes," or "Foreign men with an incomprehensible
766 language," took place. According to tradition, the one with whom
778 we are dealing here was the brother and immediate successor of Ruganzu I, surnamed Bwimba (1), who lived long before his illustrious

1. The natives relate that the mother of this Ruganzu late in life married one of her courtiers named Chenge, and Chyilima-Rugwe was born of this union. She did this to the great dissatisfaction of her eldest son, Ruganzu I, for it ran contrary to the custom which requires the queen mother to live solely with the reigning prince.

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173 The term gisozi ("big hill") serves, as we have said, to
643 designate the place where a king died.

It is the augmentative of the word musozi, which means "hill"
766 and by extension "village." This term belongs to the /word/ class
778 prefixed by the consonant ki.

This class includes nothing but words conveying the idea of majesty, fear, etc. /530/

There are numerous groves in this category, such as those of Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

In order to prove the truth of any pronouncement or assertion, the natives use the following phrase which alludes in metaphorical terms to the death of one or another of their sovereigns, Mb' ali jye wakuye
[539] Lwogera i Kaganza!

"Let it be I ('if I do not speak the truth' being implied here) who tore (King) Lwogera away from Kaganza (name of the place where the king died)!"

The reader must have noted that kings and queen mothers
[644] alone have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Mere wives were entitled to no special honors after their death. They were buried like common mortals. Queen mothers, that is to say, those who bore the heir to the throne and then reigned with him, were granted the same funerary honors as sovereigns.

Aside from the groves we have just described, there is also
173 mention of one at Bugarama-Ntare (i Buhurura) not far from Rukoma.
644 It is believed to be the spot where the undertakers fulfilled their usual
766 functions at the death of a queen named Nyirakigeri. The sacred
778 grove of Butare, which now only includes a few very old trees, is thought to be the place where Nyagihaga, daughter of Ruyenzi and mother of a Chyilima or Mutara died (1).

1. The official chroniclers do provide a genealogical list of the kings of Ruanda, with the name of their mothers and of the clans to which the latter belonged, but this cannot be fully credited. We have

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seen that the names of the
first kings were pure fantasy.
The chronological order of
several others is lacking,
and the chroniclers do not agree
on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

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a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses, are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

[178] The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

5: Pages--265 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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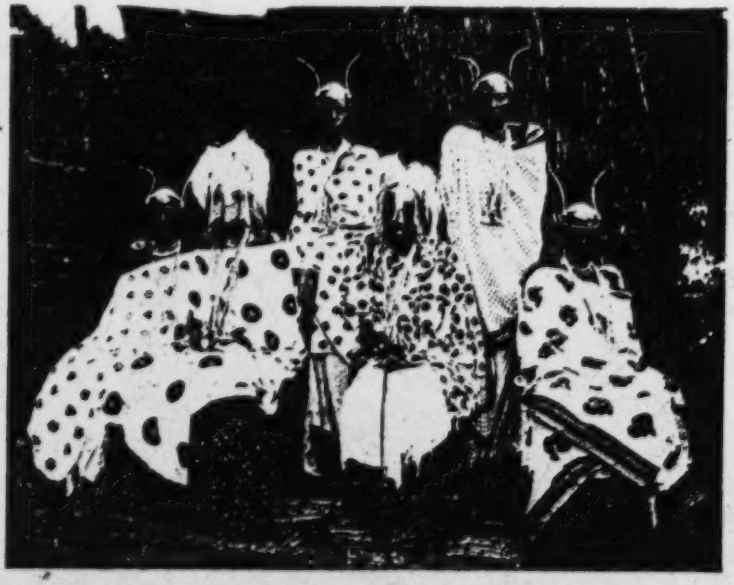

King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

614 grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average
621 size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four
592 of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical
423 with the number of women. It is very important to note that the
231 head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

643 The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the
614 formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive
178 factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than
642 the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

644 In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in
642 turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

643 Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most
618 powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

643 656 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 372 687 778 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 643 [775] The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king. After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 578 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 551 644 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 644 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

643 of the king who are recognized and fully qualified. The moment a
644 king has a son whom he recognizes, the queen mother is said to be sent away. For this reason she brings all her influence to bear (and this influence is, as a rule, very great) to prevent the king, as long as possible, from recognizing any of his children as fully qualified.

643 Bagaragu. The king is the owner of all the land and all the
423 cows in the country. He exercises his power by granting these lands and recalling them when he is displeased. In this manner the king appoints his officials who as such can be regarded as temporary large landowners. The king keeps them in office and on their land, but he can drive them out or increase their holdings at any time.

643 The king is omnipotent. The only thing that does not yield to him is the physically impossible. Thus, for example, he can find no one who is inclined to settle as chief in Ndorwa, for this would be too dangerous in spite of the eventual help of the king.

661 An individual's power and possessions depend chiefly on the
643 favor of the king. This is the case to such an extent that even the privileged must always remain in contact with the king or
558 even live at his court, otherwise they cannot hold on to their success or their possessions. No matter how wealthy a man is, he can lose everything if he has no allies and if someone more fortunate succeeds in getting the king to withdraw his favor.

643 Every fortune hunter is surrounded by a number of clients who
644 dog his footsteps in the hope of participating in the successes of their patron. One can judge the importance and the prospects of the master by the number of these second-class fortune hunters who often have to content themselves with nothing more than gifts of milk from the king.

644 When I lived in Nyanza, I had an opportunity at eleven o'clock every morning to see the mighty ones, with a following of 50 to 60 men, march up to the king to give him a morning greeting. Among these were also completely impoverished [257] devils who, although they were marching up to the king as his bagaragu, had only one Muhutu in their retinue.

The most intimate associates of the king are his high chiefs. They are his clients (bagaragu). At the time of my visit in Nyanza

651 by their ancestors and from which they were not driven away during the conquest.

The second ancient burden is butaka. It is paid primarily in food and tobacco and only to a minor extent in cash hoe-money. The king's capital does not have any fields of its own. The court is fed by supplies delivered by subjects from near and distant provinces. Only cattle are pastured in the environs of the capital; there are no farmers who till land.

644 651 All the potentates living at court are fed from home. Bringing food for the chief residing at court is called kugemurira mutware. Food supplies are brought almost daily. As a result, any stoppage of this traffic means a food scarcity among the dignitaries thus affected. There are no markets where provisions could be obtained. Because of this primitive arrangement, food in the capital is always rather scarce, and everyone to whom I spoke about this told me that no one lives in the lap of luxury at court during his stay which is usually involuntary. The Batwa bodyguards even maintain that they actually starve and would very much like to return to their poor settlements.

To these two ancient tax burdens Lwabugiri added the war tax (umuheto) and Musinga the food supply tax (ilali) for visiting Europeans.

651 661 Among the Bahutu the furnishing of food supplies for visiting Europeans is merely an additional tax for the benefit of their chief. He regards the presents of the European as his property and not infrequently takes for himself part of the supplies brought by his people for the Europeans. I saw an example of this in Kwa Rutagungira. The requisition for my presence brought the chief three goats and four pots of beer, but I received only two pots and two goats. The larger pots and the best goats were put aside by the chief, but this was done too close to my camp to escape the notice of the people who were excited by the approaching pots of beer.

651 635 The collection of butaka and muheto, which are paid, theoretically at least, throughout the country, is distributed among various chiefs, as has already been reported by Von

805 In katumba the people begin burning off the grass on the
221 hills.

Most of the weddings take place in nseri, because much beer can be brewed in this month. For the same reason, most fights occur then.

132 There are three seasons in Kissaka.
805 [296] I. Itumba, the great rainy season extending from March to May.

II. Ichanda, the great dry season from June to October.

III. Ruhira, the secondary rainy season from November to January and sometimes February.

The secondary dry season in February does not seem to have a special name.

805 Father C. Lecoindre told me that he had the impression there were 13 months in the Ruanda year and pointed out that on my list the month of kashantare between mutarama and werurwe was not shown.

The art of chronology is only slightly developed in Ruanda, and the Bahutu seem essentially to know only the periods for certain field chores, to which they give special names, for example:

Itumba ya massaka (in the autumn),
Itumba lyi bishimbo,

or solar time:

Rugaryi (little sun),
Itsi (big sun).

644 On the other hand, life in Musinga's royal residence, at
805 least the arrival of fresh drum guards with the new moon, is regulated by the lunar division of the year, and Father C. Lecoindre's observation seems to have many points in its favor. For example, it is said that at the court of the king there is mourning during the
[834] first half of the month kichurasi. During this time men allegedly have no sexual intercourse with women. The drums at the king's court are beaten only once around 11 o'clock to greet (ndamutsu) the king; they are said to be tied up (kuzirika). The Batwa do not entertain the king with their songs during the evening gatherings. The king pronounces no sentences and accepts no presents. At ordinary law proceedings the victorious party neither sings his song

644 of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies
805 he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is re-
[783] garded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon.
[533] They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great
796 feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called
644 kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

805 The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298] Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

771 Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

769 Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda
171 as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed 000 taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and 651 the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state [655] work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he 643 took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he 262 generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, [273] when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people [178] were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any [644] meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls 644 being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took [787] augunies to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when 643 he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his [762] life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated 643 over the country. There was no rule against naming the king 766 after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, [231] goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died. [782]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

● 644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 The Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accompanied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells.
[535] The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

000 Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court
361 happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century
644 the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

443 Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through
[437] other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from
[439] abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

121 The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the
[104] situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet.
146 The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[26] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as
[433] high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[26] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 4

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The queen-mother, Radegonde Nyiramavugo

[Facing P. 119]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

643 534 The symbol of kingship was Kalinga, the sacred drum. To possess this drum meant to be king. Kalinga was regularly sprinkled with the blood of the animals used for divination. Around Kalinga were hung the genitals of Ruanda enemies killed by the bami. Kalinga was never beaten but other drums were beaten in its honour as they were beaten for the king.[88]

(*b*) *The queen-mother*

644 It was essential that the role of queen-mother (*umugabekasi*) should always be fulfilled. If the mwami's mother's death occurred when her son was still living, he had to be given another 'mother'. The queen-mother had no special task, but she shared the royal prerogatives. She lived at the king's capital where she had her own court, and her protection was eagerly sought. She had herds of cattle and clients. But her role should not be regarded as independent of that of the king.

It can be said that the same kingship was realized by two persons at the same time, without any division of responsibilities or privileges. This was expressed by the term often used to designate together the mwami and his mother: the kings (*abami*). In that partnership the king, however, kept a predominant position: when he died, his mother completely lost her powers.

(*c*) *The biru*

645 [193] [196] The *biru* did not constitute a council or a board. They were dignitaries with different tasks and very strictly ranked in a fixed hierarchy. Their activities, however, in common were concerned with the preservation of ritual knowledge and the accomplishment of ceremonies essential to the existence of Ruanda and its government. This knowledge and activities were kept secret from everybody who was not a *mwiru* (singular of *biru*).

[243] *Biru* were under the king's authority in the sense that he could create new offices of *mwiru* and he could dismiss one of them who had been disloyal. The royal control was limited to this. It was really the minimum without which *biru* would have been completely independent of the mwami. The offices were hereditary and even when a *mwiru* had been dismissed one of his sons succeeded him. As we have seen previously, their domains were exempt from any interference of the land- or cattle-chief.

[88] Vanhove, 1941, pp. 88 f. See the series of photographs in Maquet, 1957.

564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
● 644 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
582 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[166] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

778 643 placed in the hut called rwimiringa (lit., house of copper objects (2),

2. Kalinga means "royal drum"; Karinga means "small copper object."

[727] built inside the king's boma, where the war trophies are kept. The Kalinga is guarded night and day, for it is the emblem of the grandeur of the kings of Ruanda.

4. The Court of the Mwami

644 At Nyanza, the royal residence (ibgami), flocks of people of every rank come to attend court or to inform the Mwami of the affairs of their region: Bahutu or even Batwa villagers hoping to obtain some benefit from the Mwami or his mother, dignitaries of various ranks and functions, and servants of both sexes (3).

[114]

3. These duties and functions have been minutely described by the Rev. Father Pagès in his fine book, Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique [A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa] (ed. I.R.C.B. [Institut Royal Colonial Belge], Brussels, 1933). This work constitutes a veritable and priceless monument for the knowledge of Ruanda and its people. We cannot do better than suggest that the reader refer to it for everything concerning the organization of the Royal Court.

5. The Council of Ministers

645 787 In serious circumstances, such as war or famine, the Mwami is obliged to convene the great chiefs (abatware b'intebe) in council (inima). The soothsayers (abapfuma) then consult the oracles and

645
787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90] 6. The Intore

644
861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

644
292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and
[535] others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

631 districts in the area adjoining Ruanda and Ussuwi. They still pay a set amount of tribute in natural produce to the king, but otherwise they may do, or not do, whatever they please unless they disturb the peace or necessitate the military intervention of our Resident.

As a rule the king or the princely governor will not make alternations in the conditions of feudal tenure if the vassal regularly sends his tribute, keeps his subjects in timorous dependence, promptly contributes the necessary groups of men in case of war, and remains subservient and loyal to the king.

[624] Finally, in the different villages and hamlets there are communal officials (bisonga) who are responsible to the batwale; they collect the taxes, arrange for corvée labor, and are in charge of petty jurisdiction, etc.

645 634 When discussing important matters, the king, also the provincial governors, and the batwale, are assisted by a state council or a communal council, respectively. These councils are appointed by the king or by the governor, as the case may be, and are chosen from among the most respected and most prosperous men of the country or of the region. Represented among them particularly are the clan elders (abagabo). The council is convened on important occasions, and the king or the mutwale presides, but in his decisions the king or the mutwale is not bound by the advice of the council (No. 19, p. 267). The

634 641 batwale are responsible to the king for everything that happens in their administrative district. They also have almost absolute power over the Bahutu and Batwa population which they administer. This includes the power of execution. It is true that subjects suppressed by an unjust mutwale may appeal to the provincial governor or to the king, but they obtain satisfaction only very seldom, for "the tsar is far away and the sky is high." [91]

643 641 The absolute ruler, the semidivine king is, of course, always right and has every privilege; he owns all the land and all the cattle, and he vests with it whomever he chooses, whenever he chooses, and in amounts that he alone decides, and he may take any subject's life or property as he pleases.

643 631 These are the conditions, de jure and de facto, whenever the king is a man of strong will, and there has been a whole

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

Religion

793 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[978] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 The list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

127 217 suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before 105 563 going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, [178] that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be 563 briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu 178 is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded 557 to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change [182] has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the [578] economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This 648 conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative 645 station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged [671] with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European [177] régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

up, partly on the personality of the administrative officer of the day, 645 ●
and partly on his own judgement. In any event, conflict with the 648
indigenous system at some points was to be expected, together with permanent modifications to give expression to the alteration of the status of the Hutu.

THE SYSTEM OF MARRIAGE IN BUGUFI

(as disclosed by Native Court records)

The normal precedent to marriage is formal betrothal, which must 584
be effected by members of a woman's family, and a contract which she makes herself or through unauthorized persons is void.

Instances: A girl goes to a neighbour, who takes her to the man of her 584
choice and offers her in marriage, the offer being accepted and bride- 684
wealth being paid. Her father is sued for refusing to give the girl in marriage and wins the case, the neighbour who received the bride-wealth being ordered to refund it.

A man sues another for seducing his sister. The defence is that he and she agreed to marry. The Court finds that there could be no agreement since there were no witnesses of any kind, much less the woman's mother or brother who ought to have been present.

But there is a case of this rule being overridden by a wealthy man.

A man, brought to Court by a woman's guardian for seducing her, says that he wishes to marry her and considered himself wealthy enough to dispense with the usual preliminaries, and in any case did not know who her relatives were. He is fined, but is permitted to pay bride-wealth and marry the woman. The Court adds that the fine would have been larger had not the woman expressed her desire to marry the man.

The neighbour cited above who acted as the woman's agent had only to refund the bride-wealth which he had received: but in another case a man was imprisoned for enticing away a woman and giving her in marriage without her father's knowledge or consent.

Betrothal is only binding for a reasonable time.

Instances: A woman having been betrothed and the man having delayed to come to complete the marriage, her father marries her off to another man and refunds the bride-wealth.

A woman is betrothed to one man and married off to another. It is found that the former has been looking for bride-wealth for eight years, and he is held to have no justification for claiming the woman.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

643 534 The symbol of kingship was Kalinga, the sacred drum. To possess this drum meant to be king. Kalinga was regularly sprinkled with the blood of the animals used for divination. Around Kalinga were hung the genitals of Ruanda enemies killed by the bami. Kalinga was never beaten but other drums were beaten in its honour as they were beaten for the king.[35]

(*b*) *The queen-mother*

644 It was essential that the role of queen-mother (*umugabekasi*) should always be fulfilled. If the mwami's mother's death occurred when her son was still living, he had to be given another 'mother'. The queen-mother had no special task, but she shared the royal prerogatives. She lived at the king's capital where she had her own court, and her protection was eagerly sought. She had herds of cattle and clients. But her role should not be regarded as independent of that of the king.

It can be said that the same kingship was realized by two persons at the same time, without any division of responsibilities or privileges. This was expressed by the term often used to designate together the mwami and his mother: the kings (*abami*). In that partnership the king, however, kept a predominant position: when he died, his mother completely lost her powers.

(*c*) *The biru*

645 [193] The *biru* did not constitute a council or a board. They were dignitaries with different tasks and very strictly ranked in a fixed hierarchy. Their activities, however, in common were concerned [196] with the preservation of ritual knowledge and the accomplishment of ceremonies essential to the existence of Ruanda and its government. This knowledge and activities were kept secret from everybody who was not a *mwiru* (singular of *biru*).

[243] *Biru* were under the king's authority in the sense that he could create new offices of *mwiru* and he could dismiss one of them who had been disloyal. The royal control was limited to this. It was really the minimum without which *biru* would have been completely independent of the mwami. The offices were hereditary and even when a *mwiru* had been dismissed one of his sons succeeded him. As we have seen previously, their domains were exempt from any interference of the land- or cattle-chief.

[35] Vanhove, 1941, pp. 88 f. See the series of photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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The most important *biru* were the three to whom the king communicated the name of his successor and the recommendations he wanted them to transmit to the new king later. There were about a dozen main *biru* offices. These important *biru* had assistants from their lineages, prospective successors whom they gradually trained in order that the oral traditions should not be lost.

Biru had to memorize secret rules, governing for instance the order according to which queens would be chosen from different descent groups, the ritual to observe in case of spreading of cattle disease, lack of abundance of rain, warlike ceremonies, celebrations of the sorghum harvests, &c.

[096]

The *biru* institution safeguarded the interests of the great Tutsi descent groups. This function appears clearly in the determination made for several reigns in advance of the secondary lineages and clans from which the queens should be successively chosen. The *biru*, as representatives of their kinship groups had, as it were, established the order in which the interests of different clans and lineages would be favoured in turn.

No one *mwiru* knew the entire body of customs. That knowledge was divided into parts, the remembering of each being entrusted to a *mwiru*, that is to say a descent group, as the office was hereditary. In this way it may be said that the exclusive knowledge of a part of the most important Ruanda ritual had become almost the property of each great Tutsi descent group.

A second function of the *biru* institution was to secure the continuity and the prevalence of the tradition which could have been endangered by the very considerable powers of the king. That traditional body was not unlike a constitution in a modern state and the *biru* institution could be said to have had a role similar to that of a supreme court judging whether a new rule is compatible with the fundamental charter of the country. Of course they had explicitly neither such a task nor such institutionalized means to prevent the mwami from establishing new rules, but the disapproval of an innovation by the *biru* was not to be taken lightly as they represented the great Tutsi kinship groups.

[042]

To assess more exactly the function of this institution, one should know more about it. The present day *biru* are still very reluctant to provide information and still less to let it be published, in spite of the encouragement to do so that they receive from the king.[24]

[24] See Kagame, 1947a.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

(*d*) *The council of the high chiefs*

645 The most important chiefs were called *batware w'intebe*, which means chiefs with a stool. Sometimes, especially in times of crisis, the king summoned them and they were consulted on the situation.[27]

645 643 It seems that the patterns of behaviour in the face-to-face relationships with an authority, particularly the supreme one, were such that an opinion opposed to that of the mwami was very unlikely to be voiced. Consequently, the main use of that council appears to have been for the king to explain what he wanted to do and to elicit suggestions on the means of carrying it out.

One of these chiefs was called the 'favourite counsellor' and acted as a sort of prime minister to the king. Besides the tasks he fulfilled by helping the mwami in administering the kingdom, the favoured counsellor's role included the most useful function of taking the blame for what the mwami did wrong. As the king was divine and essentially good, he could never be criticized even by those who suffered from one of his decisions. To relieve the tensions raised by an arbitrary action of the king, however, it was better that the responsibility for it could be imputed to somebody else. The favourite counsellor was that scapegoat: the victims of a royal decision and their friends could go on saying that the king was good but that his favourite counsellor was very bad and cruel and responsible for what they had suffered. This aspect of the favourite counsellor's role was no small contribution to the feelings of trust that Ruanda had for their ruler.

[27] Maquet and Hertefelt, 1959, chap. 1.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The district was divided into hills (umusozi). At that level the
622 cattle- and land-chiefs had only one subordinate, the hill-chief, *umutware w'umusozi*, whose counterpart in the present administrative organization is called sub-chief or *ibisonga*.

621 On each hill, there were usually several neighbourhoods. In
622 each, one of the family heads living there was chosen as its head by the hill-chief. He was called *umukoresha*.

(*b*) *Taxes*

651 Tributes and dues for which the land-chief was responsible
697 were: any kind of labour, usually agricultural; *uguhunika* (putting into the granary), which consisted of a certain number of baskets of beans, peas, and sorghum to be delivered at harvest time; *amavu* (bananas to be used for brewing beer). These tributes were due from Hutu. The person who provided these things was the family head who was considered as the individual producer of the rugo. But between him and the land-chief, there was a hierarchy of persons responsible for the carrying out of the levies: sometimes the lineage head (if he was living in the same neighbourhood), then the neighbourhood head, and finally the hill-chief.

[622] Through the hill-chief, too (according to 68 per cent. of the informants), the cattle-chief obtained jars of milk from the Tutsi. Moreover, the latter had to provide (according to 88 per cent.) *inkuke*, cows kept by the beneficiary in order that milk could be consumed fresh.

These tributes were centralized in the royal residence of the district which was occupied by the king when he was travelling in the district. This residence was called *rugo*, the ordinary word meaning a compound dwelling. 95 per cent. of our informants remembered several names of royal district residences and 86 per cent. had not forgotten the name of the residence in the district where they used to live as children.

Revenues of a district were either reserved to the king himself or were granted to one of the king's wives. In the first case, the [697] residence was called *ingaligali* and was administered by a king's concubine (*umuja*, girl-servant).

Administrative officers collecting tributes, had the right to keep a part for their own benefit. According to 95 per cent. of our informants, the hill-chiefs had the right to deduct some agricultural produce, of which they could keep about a third. Then the land-chief—according to 99 per cent.—could also keep a part of it,

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

128 be negative or positive. It is to be distinguished from the aim explicitly stated in the charter (written or not) of the institution or the purpose of the association consciously conceived by its members.

Take, for instance, some of the religious ceremonies of a particular group. Their aim as known and admitted by every member of the group may be to honour the ancestral spirits, whereas their function, of which perhaps nobody in the group is completely aware, is to manifest and reinforce the *esprit de corps* of the group. Or an association whose explicit purpose is some philanthropic activity may have as its function the giving of certain political control to a particular set of people. Aim and function are not necessarily different. It may happen that the aim expresses one of the ways in which the institution is significant from the viewpoint of the perpetuation of the particular organization existing in that society.[12]

(*a*) *Fiscal function*

649 It is not difficult to determine the main social function of the administrative structure of Ruanda. It was identical indeed with its explicitly recognized aim in that society. Aim and function were fiscal: the country had to provide its rulers with consumption goods.

651 634 Tribute collecting was very methodically organized. Because of the division of the country into about seventy to ninety districts, the amount to be supplied was distributed in a way which did not favour one region more than another. Even parts of Ruanda which were far from the royal court had to provide dues for the local royal residence. The timing of the levies was also fortunate as the agricultural products were not demanded when the rulers needed them but at harvesting time. Tribute labour seems also to have been regularly required during the year.

641 Were these impositions heavy? It is very difficult to assess the proportion of foodstuff and labour required from each family head. I gathered from different informants that about a third of the labour of one individual was required from each family. It is important to stress the fact that only one person in each rugo had to fulfil this demand whereas there were usually several men able to give that tribute in each family.

[12] See Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, p. ix; 1940, p. 10; 1952, pp. 200 f; Maquet 1949a; 1954c, p. 65.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

554 Ndarwubatse, Kanyonyomba, and Segore were exceptional and
622 that, in fact, Hutu were not very numerous among land-chiefs.
184 The share of Hutu in political power was probably symbolic rather than quantitatively great. Hutu could also be hill-chiefs and sixty-nine per cent. of our informants were able to mention a few names. According to ninety-nine per cent. a Twa could be neither land-chief nor cattle-chief, unless he were ennobled. But in that case, he was not socially a Twa any more, but assimilated to a Tutsi. Twa could be hill-chiefs; sixty-five per cent. of our Tutsi informants mentioned the names of such Twa. Neighbourhood heads were frequently Hutu, but the advantages they drew from their office were minimal, if any.

(*b*) *Maintenance of the central rulers in power*

661 One may conclude that the very great majority of the beneficiaries of the fiscal function of the administrative structure were people of the Tutsi group.

A second function of the administrative structure was to enable
661 those who enjoyed political power to keep it. The mwami and his
634 wives centralized the means necessary to afford an important court.
● 641 Moreover, by granting the profitable offices of land-, cattle-,
622 and hill-chiefs, the mwami increased the number of his faithful dependents. For these chiefs of the administrative structure were appointed by the king. To the question 'who appointed the land- and the cattle-chiefs?' ten different answers were given, but if one adds up all the answers which named the mwami as the person or one of the persons who granted these official appointments, a majority of sixty-five is reached. The confusion in the answers seems due to the fact that different principles operated together in the nomination of such a chief. Firstly, one of the sons of the former office holder usually succeeded to his father, and the latter could often indicate his preferences, but this did not mean that the office was hereditary. Merely, it happened fairly frequently that the mwami liked to strengthen a man's loyalty on the understanding that if he was a good chief, the office could remain in his family. Secondly, the appointment could be made by the mwami following presentation of the candidate by an important chief, such as the army-chief. Consequently, it could appear that the latter was the one who gave the appointment. But the third principle remained: the king kept a complete control of these offices in the sense

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

that no other authority had the final say in such appointments. 661

The danger of having some chiefs becoming more and more 634 independent of the central government was avoided by the 699 mwami's power to dismiss anybody and also by the curious duality 622 of chiefs in each district. Increasing the control of the central government over its subordinates seems to have been the function of that duality. Tensions arose between these two chiefs who were neighbours and who exerted their prerogatives in the same territory yet were independent of each other. The mwami was always kept well informed by each of these chiefs of the exactions or suspicious activities of the other. Moreover, both chiefs had the same subordinate, the hill-chief. Consequently the mwami could be sure that if by chance the two chiefs were in agreement, it was very likely that if their common subordinate had some difficulty with one of his superiors, he would attempt and often succeed in getting the other on to his side: *duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens.* In addition, as conflicts of power were unavoidable in such a situation, the chief had to resort to the mwami as judge. In that way the links of the dependence of both of them on the mwami were tightened.

In this analysis it is not suggested that the duality of chiefs was conceived and put into being by a certain mwami in order to fulfil what we regard here as its function. It is possible that it happened in that way. But even if nobody ever thought of reinforcing the royal power by this dual organization, it was nevertheless its function in Ruanda society.

(c) *Social cohesion*

I have mentioned that the hill-chief required dues and tributes 651 not from the individual taxpayer but from the lineage head when 602 possible, and the latter demanded it from the family head. This 571 way of reaching the individual through his kin group and family group enhanced the importance of the descent principle of of kin solidarity. Even in Ruanda where the political organization had taken over so many functions from descent groups, the individual as such was not yet recognised in very important matters like the contributions to the maintenance of the rulers. In this interpretation, the kinship and the administrative structures promote the social cohesion of the group as a whole.

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to 000

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

180 To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954c, p. 65. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

Chapter 1

Survey of Land People (1)

(Cf. the map [colored in the original] at the end of the book.)

114 1. Part of this chapter is taken from a lecture which I gave at the 19th German Geographers' Conference in Strasbourg in the spring of 1914.

1. The Land Urundi

131 In the extreme west of German East Africa lies one of the regions of Africa least known until now: Urundi. To the north it borders on Ruanda, to the east on Ussuwi and Uha, to the south also on Uha, to the west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Since Urundi has an area of almost 29,000 square kilometers, i.e., approximately twice that of the Kingdom of [161] Saxony, and since it has over one and a half million inhabitants (according to van der Burgt, around two and a half million), it deserves attention for this reason alone. However, although ●648 it has been German territory for over 25 years, we know little about it. Because of the recalcitrance of its population, the government had almost completely closed off the area to travel from the outside, and until 1911 political influence was limited to the establishment of a station with a resident and a company of colonial troops in Usumbura on Lake Tanganyika. It was not until 1912 that the seat of government was moved on a trial basis to Gitega in the interior of the region.

648 797 Oskar Baumann in 1812 was the first European who traveled through northern Urundi to the source of the Nile on the upper Ruvuvu. There followed then between 1896 and 1898 several military expeditions by colonial army officers, Ramsay, von Trotha, Langheld, von Langenn-Steinkeller, Fonck, and Dr. Kandt; and between 1896 and 1899 the Catholic Mission of

648 [191] the "White Fathers" founded the stations of Usumbura (later moved to Marienheim), Mujaga, and Mugera in central Urundi. However, this advance of the Europeans was met with hostility by the Barundi [Rundi], so that from 1900 on German colonial troops under their leaders, Bethe, von Beringé, and von Grawert, had to contend with Kisabo, the king of Urundi, whereupon the Barundi finally recognized the sovereignty of the Germans. This recognition, however, is only nominal, for our power there is much too small to permit the establishment of a German administration in Urundi as yet.

114 Under such circumstances the exploration of Urundi could make no substantial progress. Ethnology alone has been advanced to a high degree by Father J. M. M. van der Burgt, who for many years was active in Urundi as a missionary and published the results of his excellent ethnological studies in Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi which appeared in 1903 through the Dutch Missionary Publishing House at Bois le Duc. The extremely extensive ethnological and ethnographical data, however, are so interspersed in this book with all kinds of historical and [2] linguistic digressions that it is difficult to extract and methodically collate the ethnological data of scientific value.

In view of this situation I decided to devote part of my 1911 expedition to the investigation of Urundi. Therefore, I worked there for a few months, sufficient time to obtain an over-all view which I have endeavored to supplement, as far as possible, by inquiries, correspondence, and other kinds of studies. Setting out from Ruanda in the northwest, I first crossed the northwestern mountain region, the "Mountains of the Moon" with my two companions, Lieutenant Tiller and Dr. Houy, then descended to the great central African depression into the valley of the Rusizi, then crossed in dugouts the northern end of Lake Tanganyika to the residency, Usumbura, and thereupon traveled through the whole of central Urundi from west to east in a month and further through northern Uha and the Ussumbwa states, until finally, at Tabora, I reached the central railroad by which I traveled to Dar es Salaam.

133 western part is the tail end of a range of Archeozoic folded mountains; it consists of crystalline slate with many granite intrusions and outcrops. The boundary between the two formations is a sharp threshold or drop in the terrain running north to south approximately at the longitude of the Mugera missionary station. Toward the east the slate-quartzite plateau also slopes down in an extended gradient at high altitude toward the gneiss and granite plateau of Unjamwesi which I consider an eroded escarpment. A huge tectonic fault scarp is found in the steep western slope of the highland toward the central African graben and toward Lake Tanganyika. Smaller fault depressions in several places extend over the country of Urundi; in fact, the entire interlacustrine region is rich in such tectonic faults. (Cf. the map on opposite page.)

[448] [4] Only a few times have determined enemies invaded Urundi across the high ridges and escarpments in the west and southeast, but this has happened more often from the flatter, more open fronts in the north and northeast. In the north are [101] the proud, warlike neighbors, the Ruanda, in the northeast the restless tribes of the Lake Victoria region: the Bassuwi, Basindja [Linza], Wassumbwa [Sumbwa], and others.

The slate-quartzite plateau of eastern Urundi has been leveled by erosion from meteorological forces over many thousands of years into a large peneplain with long, broad, low ridges (Plate 1a), while in the west the older mountain periphery still rises to a considerable altitude although it has also been worn down and rounded for the most part. The plateau region has an average altitude of 1,600-1,800 meters; the peripheral mountains rise to as high as 3,000 meters. More recent block movements renewed again the process of erosion which had been slowing down, so that in many regions the streams have carved recent, deep valleys into the plateau and the mountain ranges which then divided the region into a great number of large blocks and bastions. However, in still more recent times this process of erosion was again considerably slowed down by other developments. This is apparent from the fact that at present there are rapid streams only in the mountains of the west (Plate 1b), while in the plateau region of the east almost

[86] Chapter 7

Political Organization, Law, Social Organization, Clans, Totemism

1. War, Monarchy, Feudal System

721 Insofar as there is a historical tradition, the history of the Barundi shows that under the rule of strong and energetic kings this people performed extraordinary warlike deeds which for a long period protected the country from the oppression of black or Arab conquerors (Ruanda, Mirambo, Wangoni [Ngoni], Rumalisa). It is only in recent decades with the decline of the dynasty and the lack of a great compelling personality that the warlike spirit and comprehensive organization has become weakened, so much so that the German occupation met no special obstacles. The present-day Barundi, i.e., the Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa, are not inclined to conduct war against an external enemy, in spite of their violent, quarrelsome temperament and their innumerable internal feuds. They are peaceful if they are left in peace.

In the past, too, during the period of their political strength, the Barundi did not conduct big wars for the purpose of expansion and conquest as did the Wangoni and the Wahehe [Hehe]. The usual practice was rather internal guerrilla warfare by one Murundi chief against another and the eternal clan and family feuds within their own country. Matters became serious only when foreign aggressors invaded the country. In such a case there were first several minor attempts to repel the aggressor, and then the entire people finally rose up behind their king and expelled the invader. This happened, for example, to the Arab leader, Rumalisa, and his slave-hunting bands (p. 165 [not translated]).

[648] Our government seldom considers it necessary to intervene to any great extent in the internal feuds and petty wars which still occur frequently. These quarrels are seldom of a very 726 bloody nature. If a chief finds cause to quarrel and complain [754] against his neighbor, he first seeks to make him give in peacefully by means of "sorcerers." If this method fails, he sends

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state.
[782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders
[411] are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read
787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are
726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or
727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed.
721 Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces
[648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

643 series of such kings in Urundi. If the king is a weakling, if he
631 lacks the cunning and the capacity for violence and cruelty to inspire fear, which are the necessary characteristics of African rulers -- as, for example, the present weak King Mutaga -- his absolutism is mere show. Then the real rulers are the heads of the royal family, the Baganwa or Abaganwa, who make the royal puppet dance to their tune. These, then, are times when the various provincial governors make themselves independent, when other parts of the country fall under the rule of foreign neighboring sultans (for example, Ujogoma temporarily under Ussuwi), and when anarchy more or less prevails in the entire realm. Concerning the development of these conditions and the present state of affairs, see the chapter, "History," p. 151 ff. [not translated].

643 The present impotence of the monarchy, the weakening of central power, and the disruption of the formerly powerful
648 unified realm have been sanctioned by the German colonial government to its own advantage. At the same time the colonial government is attempting to replace gradually the supreme power of the king with the rule of the German Resident. It cannot eliminate the monarchy as such unless it is prepared to take up the fight against all the Batussi. For this our strength is still not sufficient. However, in the future much will depend on what kind of a man from the old ruling dynasty succeeds the present weak puppet king, Mutaga, and what the attitude of our government to him will be.

643 The succession to the throne is determined by primogeniture in Urundi, unless the king or the head chief decides otherwise.
662 By law he is succeeded by the oldest son of his head wife. Usually, however, the king designates as his successor the one of his many sons who appears most suitable to him, and he bequeathes to him the insignia of royalty, i.e., the holy drum, his spear, and his arm ring. If this decision is made during the lifetime of the king, it is dangerous for the favored son. He will consider it advisable to escape from the jealousy of his brothers and relatives by taking refuge in some distant place until his time comes. If he is still a child, he is hidden by his mother far out of reach

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
651 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of
[481] rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[691] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

648 The kings of Ruanda also headed numerous expeditions into the Congo with no definite results other than pillage.

133 [137] As a whole, Ruanda is a high, rolling plateau. It was deforested to get rid of wild beasts and to supply pastures and fields for cultivation.

The northwest is a broken, picturesque, wooded region. There stands the chain of volcanoes, practically all of which are extinct today. /24/

The highest peaks are the Karisimbi (1), which is 4, 506 meters

[103 301]

1. Karisimbi, from the word amassimbi, a kind of white shell which the Batutsi of Urundi and Ruanda wear at the neck as an ornament. Because of its color it served to designate the snow that covers the summits, and by extension the highest mountain.

high; the Mikeno (2), or Mukuru mubi (3), which is 4, 380 meters high;

[103]

2. Mikeno, from the verb gukena, "to be bare."

[103]

3. Mukuru mubi, "a peak of difficult access."

the Muhabura (4), which is 4, 127 meters high; the Sabyinyo (5), which

[103 487]

4. Muhabura, from the verb guhabura, "to set on the right path," because this mountain serves as a landmark for travelers.

[103]

5. Sabyinyo, "big-toothed father," owing to its volcanic ridges.

How many unfortunate people
payed with their lives for having
been falsely accused of such
supposed misdeeds!

789 648 The use of charms to win the good graces of Europeans survived only by a few years the use of the above-mentioned poisons. When the latter were tagged as ineffective /to Europeans/, or at least dangerous in their consequences, charms (inzaratsi) were resorted to. The makers of charms, called by the generic name of Abanyamihango, "men of the traditions," exercise a vocation which is regarded as lucrative and honorable as long as the professionals do not overstep the limits of their art.

Public opinion indeed accuses them, most probably wrongly, of deceiving people and giving them poison instead of inoffensive charms. Women, especially, resort to their art and use their powders 832 to draw upon themselves the attention and favors of an unfaithful 278 or forgetful husband. Sorcerers in this category use for this purpose the following plants and shrubs: umukunde, which bears the evocative [824] name of "tree of love," umutanga, umugobora, umukeri, a kind of wild brambie, nkurimonga, umuhire, buryoher' imfizi, that is, "the plant that suits the taste of bulls," etc. The makers of philters take the bark, leaves, or roots of those plants and dry them in the sun. The whole thing is crushed and reduced to powder. One need only put a little of this powder into beer or butter, or else /490/ rub it onto a stick or spear, to obtain the desired effect. The neglected wife who manages to make her husband drink this beer will inevitably regain [302] first place in his heart. The result is the same if the husband anoints his limbs and body with the butter containing the precious powder.

The use of a walking stick or the bearing of a spear rubbed 789 with one of those powders will bring good luck to the owner. His 648 words and requests will all be accepted, and those he addresses will be unable to do him any harm.

This is why the king and court dignitaries attempted in their turn to use this simple and effective means of winning over the hearts of the Europeans and of swaying them toward their own needs and

789 desires. At the beginning of his relations with the Whites, Musinga
648 often appeared with a small stick in his hand, the tip of which he would first turn toward himself as he spoke and then toward his interlocutors, in order to influence their answers. This stick was called by the name of uruchubyo, from the word guchubya, which describes the act of driving boiling water back into the pot with a stick of that name. The Blacks saw a certain similarity between the two occurrences. Just as cooks and their helpers keep the liquid from running over by forcing it back to the bottom of the pot, he who possesses a magic stick wards off the evil which his interlocutors might perpetrate upon him (ngo atsind' amagambo mabi). A happy and inoffensive credulity, which does harm to no one!

IV. Customs and Formalities Observed by the King and His Subjects

644 The relations between subjects and sovereign are permeated with a profound respect which is both superstitious and actuated by fear. The Banyarwanda formerly experienced /491/ no feelings toward their monarch other than reverential fear. The stateliness which surrounded the king and the bloody executions which confirmed his absolute power over all things had no small part in the preservation of these feelings, which were closely bound with an attitude of servility. The monarch was a true demigod far superior to other men, hence the following customs and formalities which governed the relations between subjects and sovereign.

1. The king is awakened by drums which are first played at four or five o'clock in the morning. Actually, he does not rise before seven thirty or eight o'clock. At the moment when he leaves his bed, women come and grind a handful of sorghum or eleusine, while a young girl shakes the large gourd (igisabo) which is used for churning.

The aim of these observances is to draw upon the king and the realm the prosperity symbolized by the sorghum, eleusine, and butter. The Impara, or group of initiates into the Ryangombe secret society, then make their appearance.

233
778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

644 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two im-
543 portant solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived
292 the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King
543 Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

614 grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average
621 size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four
592 of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical
423 with the number of women. It is very important to note that the
231 head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

643 The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the
614 formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive
178 factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than
642 the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

644 In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in
642 turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

643 Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most
618 powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

during my journey. He controlled the largest country and boasted the largest number of subjects. At the beginning of our acquaintance he certainly did not give the impression of being the most intelligent ruler. Later, however, I was repeatedly convinced that he always made an effort to appear stupid [253] when the wishes of the Europeans were troublesome to him. He tried to gain time by toying with German words whose meaning he pretended to want to know. Thus, he would draw out a visit in order to tire the guest and in the end evade the whole matter under consideration.

On August 10, 1907, I had my first opportunity to see His Black Majesty. At noon I caught up with the main part of the expedition, and around three o'clock Musinga arrived in order to pay a return visit to His Highness the Duke. He was a slender, delicately built young man, 197 centimeters tall, with somewhat squinting, myopic eyes and protruding teeth. He wore a length of red cloth (bendera) over his shoulders and a white loincloth. The latter was held together with a belt to which was fastened the hunting knife which His Highness the Duke had given him the day before. The splendid figures of his retinue made a much more aristocratic and elegant impression than the king himself.

Musinga's ceremonious visit on the next day made an entirely different impression on me. He appeared wearing a diadem, his face veiled, and he was borne in a ngobi, surrounded by the members of his court who were formally dressed in their mukane. He was accompanied by the melodious, albeit wild singing of the Batwa. The entire picture was devoid of European influence and gave the impression of fantastic, indescribable beauty, everything was so perfect, aristocratic, and elegant. The ceremony had great style and was carried out with admirable exactness and distinction. It represented the complete negation of ordinary Negro style as I had observed it among my porters who paraded around in frock coats without pants.

It was not quite clear to me to what extent Musinga has adjusted himself to the new situation brought about by European conquest. He knows that his freedom of action has been somewhat curtailed, but he also knows that he can use government soldiers to suppress small, local revolts and to dun taxpayers who are in arrears. Best of all he knows that Mpumbika, the leader of the

643 640 followers of the Kissaka pretender, was exiled from the country only with the help of government troops.

Moreover, he hopes that his powerful friend, Tiki-Tiki (Captain W. Von Grawert, the erstwhile imperial resident of Ruanda and Urundi), who has already presented him with cows from Mpororo, will also one day drive the Belgians out of Ufumbiro and Bunyabungu and that he himself, like his father, Lwabugiri, will have sovereign power there.

Musinga, like every Mututsi, hates the Belgians particularly, indeed, much more than all the other disgusting egg-eaters put together. They shot down a great many of Rudegambia's people who tried to thwart their efforts to settle on Lake Kivu. Furthermore, [254] the guiding policy of the Belgians was to exclude the unproductive aristocracy. They wanted to exploit the natives all by themselves, without letting the Batutsi take part. They were even obliged to grant the Bahutu a certain amount of protection as recompense for the heavy burden of provisioning the large occupation forces which were needed to prevent too great an emigration from the Ruzizi-Kivu border territory.

German policy pursues basically the same goals, but the preservation of the old forms of social and political organization and the gradual development of new conditions gave Musinga no opportunity to comprehend the whole nature of the approaching danger, against which he was, of course, completely helpless. Instinctively, however, he foresaw the perilous situation. He ignored the opportunity to enlarge his territorial possessions by unconditional and eager support of the Europeans, as Kahigi from Kyanja had done, nor did he know what to do with Mpororo which had been given to him.

Although government troops have always supported Musinga, it is said that he cannot sleep as long as there is even one Askari in Nyanza. This will suffice to characterize his mental attitude toward the new situation.

Musinga is very vain and susceptible to flattery. For instance, he insists that his court dancers perform better than the most skillful dancers of his chiefs. That is why, after the performances, his first question to His Highness the Duke was which troupe had danced the best. The Duke, who had been tipped off by Father

643 L. Classe, was able to give him the desired pleasure by telling
648 him that his dancers were the best, although the dances of Kanuma's people from Kissaka had made the greatest impression on His Highness as well as on the others present. Musinga, it seems, shared this general opinion, but in order to assure himself that he had correctly understood the Duke, he asked him to have small gifts of glass beads given to his ntore, so that everyone would believe they had actually done the best dancing. Only after this request was carried out, was he content and scornfully looked down on his bagaragu as defeated rivals. With His Majesty's height of two meters and his squinting, myopic eyes, this was a very funny spectacle.

643 This childish, petty vanity, however, is also linked with a considerable degree of mischief. For example, Musinga twice refused the request of Father L. Classe who wanted to take to Issawi the old, broken-down barrel organ that Father Brard had given to the king. In Nyanza it stood in the rain and had become a playground for rats. Musinga maintained that one does not give away something that has been given one as a gift. This was no
[431] excuse, for in Ruanda gifts are always passed on, and a watch that had been given to Musinga came back to the giver through a third person at one-twentieth of its market value.

[255] There was another reason why he refused to give back the organ. The instrument was broken, and the missionaries wanted to repair it. Musinga knew that. An object that refused to play for the king should serve the missionaries! Musinga did not care a fig for the organ itself. He did not even express the wish to have it repaired, although he usually plagued his visitors with all kinds of requests in order to tire them.

His attitude toward the phonograph was very interesting. Quite apart from the pleasure which this trick of modern technology gave him, he enjoyed hearing Ruanda songs, even though they were badly reproduced. The European pieces, which were technically much better, did not give him any pleasure and soon disappeared from the repertoire of phonograph concerts. There was only one piece with infantry commands, drums, and flutes which he asked for occasionally. The barrel organ ground out pieces which he did not understand, and that is probably why he paid so little attention to it.

661 wisdom consists in not letting oneself be governed too much by
565 caprice and not becoming relatively the worst tyrant.

Even now when there is peace in the land, petty wars among
669 Musinga's bagaragu and brawls among the bagaragu of the bagaragu
642 of the king are by no means rare, but they occur chiefly in the border regions where the power of the king is not so strongly felt. At the time of my visit, for example, Lukara was fighting with Luhanga in Mulera. In cases like this it often happens that the king is unable to find a man who would not be too afraid to manage and tax the warlike farmers if they were assigned to him. In this way the Bahutu gain their independence and can be subjugated anew only by a punitive expedition.

[264] Under these circumstances, petty internal strife is a natural function of the state and does not result merely in brutality and devastation. In this way, even though it is uneconomical, poor administrators are weeded out, and the power of the strong is curtailed. This principle may at first glance seem paradoxical, but it corresponds very well to the facts. When it comes to the formation of a state under unlimited rule which on principle admits no protest, limitations must arise spontaneously if large masses of people are to live together.

661 The situation changes, however, the moment there is pacifi-
642 cation and the country is opened up and organized by Europeans.
178 The old, natural, albeit uneconomical forms which, after all,
648 regulated conditions are now done away with by force of arms and the rulers, weakened by emigration, overcome. On the other hand, the opening up of export trade creates countless possibilities for exploiting subjects in a hitherto unknown way. The situation of the natives is getting worse, for the new judicial norms, despite their humane phraseology, are less protection to them than the old regulations upon which the organization of the state was built. In Kissaka one can see many natives from Ussuwi who have taken refuge there from the blessings of humane European civilization. Under these new conditions, the only weapon in the hands of the subjects is economic injury to the chief, and this can be achieved by the emigration of the labor force.

The situation of the natives is worst of all where Europeans have put a stop to freedom of movement in order to make police

661 control easier. The moment this happens the native no longer
642 has any protection against his chief. As a result, the need for
178 serious intervention by the European administration becomes an
648 urgent necessity. With increased possibilities of exploitation certain norms must now be set up which will protect the interests of the common man and permit him some freedom, in other words, give him back everything that was formerly guaranteed him by means of a less perfect, less compact and oppressive social organization and without any kind of pact. Under these conditions, further intervention by the European administration becomes a necessity, because there is as yet no guarantee that the new order will do more than contribute to a "more complete exploitation of the lazy Negro" and perhaps also to a decline in the population.

642 By comparing conditions in Ndorwa, Mulera, Bugoye, and
644 Nduga, we can easily determine the direction in which conditions
178 have developed in Ruanda.

In Ndorwa we find independent clans living apart from one another.

[265] In Mulera the clans have been subjugated by the king and pay taxes. The Batutsi have driven the natives from some of the hills and permit homeless members of disrupted clans to settle there. These dregs must support their masters and perform compulsory services for the protection they get. These are the new communities which really should be spoken of as analogous to large estates. Some of the clan elders, such as Bishingwe, father of Lukara, are joining the conquerors and are supported by them. With this support they settle immigrants on the uncultivated land, and the latter must perform compulsory services, just as they do for the Batutsi.

In Bugoye the distinction between conquerors and peasant aristocracy is gradually being effaced and along with it the difference between impoverished clan members and immigrants who are domiciled on the remaining free land by the clan elder and become his bondsmen. In Bugoye this process is not yet completed.

The Bambari clan have already put their buletwa to work in the field of the chief, who is also a Mumbari and who must be regarded as a former clan elder. Here the land is already regarded as his property, as land granted by the king.

175 Kabare is said to have killed all of Lwabugiri's sons except Musinga,
643 the son of his sister Kanzogera, after their mighty father died.
These accounts agree with a note by Von Beringe (2) referring to

[113]

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 39.

Mumusa, the queen of Mururwa in Mpororo: "Mhumse claimed that she was a wife of the deceased Sultan Lwabugiri of Ruanda and that she was sent here by him to escape the persecution of Chief Kawalle who [292] killed four of his sons. However, there is no longer any connection between Mhumse and Ruanda."

Mibambwe who was temporarily proclaimed king after the death of Lwabugiri was burned to death in his hut along with his entire family (1). Most of his brothers died also. Only

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 263.

Ishirangabo, however, was not considered for the rulership because he was a man dedicated to the spirit Ryangombe. Bilegea, a son of Lwabugiri, was missing from the time of his youth and was always regarded as a possible, dangerous pretender to the throne. His return to the country was very much feared by the rulers. (2)

Ibid., p. 264.

Musinga, whose father had cast him out, was taken in by a Muhutu and reared by him. It was only because no other son of Lwabugiri came to be considered that the neglected son of Kanzogera was appointed king. He ascended the throne as Juhi Musinga. As a result of his plebeian upbringing, the king had learned to eat goat's meat. This custom is said to have been adopted by the court Batutsi out of courtesy.

175 This fact would probably have caused the young ruler great
643 difficulties if it had not happened that three years after the death
●649

175 of Lwabugiri Captain Ramsay came to the country in 1897.
643 Musinga was recognized as the ruler. Captain Ramsay entered
648 into a special pact of blood brotherhood with him or at least with the man that was introduced to him as Musinga. (3) He reports:

[113] 3. Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 315.

"Thereupon I had to tie a string around Juhi, and he tied several strings around me; then we shook hands vigorously, and the king of Ruanda and I became blood brothers."

Since that time Musinga has been energetically supported by the government, which, through him, again has the entire country in hand. Musinga has at his disposal the Askari of the guard troops who in an emergency can teach his rebels a lesson. I had occasion to observe this in 1907 in Mulera. With the intervention of this new factor, the country has become orderly to an extent that formerly did not seem possible.

173 Kissaka. The history of Kissaka cannot be traced as far back as that of Ruanda.

Banyakissaka traditions about ancient times say that they, like the Banyoro and Baganda, came from the north, not from the south, like the Wasukuma.

[293] Kissaka has been a state since very ancient times. According to Busindja (1) tradition, the Kissaka rulers were Basinga.

[113] 1. Van Thiele, Father H., "Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda [Businza under the Bahinda Dynasty]," Anthropos, 1911, p. 499.

One of these rulers was married to Nyakachende, the daughter of Ruhinda, and she bore him a successor. From then on the rulers of Kissaka were referred to as Bayango of Ruhinda.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

127 217 suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before 105 563 going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, [178] that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be 563 briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu 178 is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded 557 to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change [182] has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the [578] economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This 648 conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the 645 distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged [671] with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European [177] régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

up, partly on the personality of the administrative officer of the day, 645
and partly on his own judgement. In any event, conflict with the 648
indigenous system at some points was to be expected, together with permanent modifications to give expression to the alteration of the status of the Hutu.

THE SYSTEM OF MARRIAGE IN BUGUFI

(as disclosed by Native Court records)

The normal precedent to marriage is formal betrothal, which must 584
be effected by members of a woman's family, and a contract which she makes herself or through unauthorized persons is void.

Instances: A girl goes to a neighbour, who takes her to the man of her 584
choice and offers her in marriage, the offer being accepted and bride- 684
wealth being paid. Her father is sued for refusing to give the girl in marriage and wins the case, the neighbour who received the bride-wealth being ordered to refund it.

A man sues another for seducing his sister. The defence is that he and she agreed to marry. The Court finds that there could be no agreement since there were no witnesses of any kind, much less the woman's mother or brother who ought to have been present.

But there is a case of this rule being overridden by a wealthy man.

A man, brought to Court by a woman's guardian for seducing her, says that he wishes to marry her and considered himself wealthy enough to dispense with the usual preliminaries, and in any case did not know who her relatives were. He is fined, but is permitted to pay bride-wealth and marry the woman. The Court adds that the fine would have been larger had not the woman expressed her desire to marry the man.

The neighbour cited above who acted as the woman's agent had only to refund the bride-wealth which he had received: but in another case a man was imprisoned for enticing away a woman and giving her in marriage without her father's knowledge or consent.

Betrothal is only binding for a reasonable time.

Instances: A woman having been betrothed and the man having delayed to come to complete the marriage, her father marries her off to another man and refunds the bride-wealth.

A woman is betrothed to one man and married off to another. It is found that the former has been looking for bride-wealth for eight years, and he is held to have no justification for claiming the woman.

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131 (about 1,000 miles from the two nearest sea-ports, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam), probably accounts for the country's long isolation from Arab and European contacts, in spite of its easily accessible [567] frontiers in the north and south. Although slaves were occasionally sold to the African middlemen in touch with Arab traders operating in the neighbourhood of Ruanda, it seems that the traders themselves never penetrated the country. At all events Ruanda was never a regular place of supply. The first European reported 648 to have been in the country was Count G. A. von Götzen, a German officer leading a scientific and military expedition across Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. He stayed in Ruanda only for a few weeks, in 1894.

133 The interior highlands, which have been compared to the massif of Abyssinia and to the mountains of Bohemia, or even to Switzerland and Tibet, are not very large. Their longest north-south extent in a straight line is about 100 miles, the extent from west to east being about 140 miles. The area of present-day Ruanda 131 is 26,338 square kilometres (10,166 square miles). In 1907 Professor Jan Czekanowski, a member of the Duke of Mecklenburg's expedition to Central Africa, estimated it to cover about 28,900 square kilometres.[2]

132 The climatic effects of equatorial latitude are mitigated by the elevation. In the Congo-Nile mountain chain the temperature may drop to freezing point, but the greater part of Ruanda enjoys a temperate climate. The average is about 20° C. (68° F.), and the maximal variations (which are greater between day and night than between the seasons) rarely exceed 10° C. (18° F.) above or under the average. In the eastern lower part the temperature is, of course, higher.

Similar distinctions must be made for rainfall in the high mountains of the west, the highlands of the middle country, and the Kagera lower region of the east. In the first region rainfall averages 1,250 mm. a year (50 inches), in the second it is between 1,250 and 1,000 mm. (50 and 40 inches) and in the third less than 1,000 mm. (40 inches).[3] These figures alone do not have very much bearing on soil fertility, as the significance of rainfall depends on other factors, such as volume and intensity of precipitations, declivity of ground, type of vegetation, and characteristics of the soil.

[2] Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114. [3] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 63.

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gives a density of 235·8 per square mile or 91·9 per square kilometre.[13] This density is among the highest in Africa, south of the Sahara.[14] What may we infer from these figures as regards the population at the beginning of this century? According to the available statistics for the last fifteen years, when the circumstances are favourable the yearly increase of Ruanda population may reach three per cent. This increased ratio could hardly have been maintained over the whole of the last fifty years, mainly because the 'favourable circumstances' refer to medical amenities, new hygienic practices and the reduction of famine. Such conditions were by no means prevalent when the Europeans occupied the country in 1899.[15] Even since 1935, however, events have not always been favourable, as for three years (1941–2–3) there was a decrease of population due to a severe scarcity of food. Consequently it seems safe to assume that during the decades preceding the European occupation, the population was already very dense. According to Captain Bethe, it numbered about 2,000,000 in 1899.[16] In 1907, Czekanowski estimated the Ruanda population at approximately 1,710,000.[17]

According to a detailed survey made by the Department of Agriculture, there are about 60,000 to 70,000 families (out of a total of about 380,000 families) more than can be adequately fed by the country.[18] There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there

[13] There is a census for the male and able-bodied adults who are taxpayers. To obtain the total number of the population (females, old people, and children) the number of taxpayers in each administrative district is multiplied by a certain coefficient which is determined in each case by a sample-census of a few hills.

[14] For comparative purposes, there are a few density figures for some African territories according to present political boundaries: Uganda: 52·8 per square mile; Tanganyika: 20·7; Belgian Congo: 12·9; Nigeria: 92·0; Sierra Leone: 66·5. All these figures, taken from Hailey, 1957, p. 143, refer to the years 1948–52.

[15] Captain Bethe, a German officer, obtained from the king in 1899 Ruanda's acceptance of the Imperial Government's protection. There was no treaty, only an oral agreement which was followed by a permanent occupation by the German authorities. The first Christian mission was established in 1900, at Issavi, by the White Fathers. Belgian troops took possession of Ruanda during the First World War in 1916. The Belgian occupation of Ruanda-Urundi was confirmed by the Orts-Milner Agreement in 1919. In 1924, Belgium agreed to administer Ruanda-Urundi under the supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Ruanda-Urundi became a United Nations Organisation Trusteeship Territory administered by Belgium. Cf. Jentgen, 1947, pp. 9–11, 83–9.

[16] Quoted by Czekanowski, 1917, p. 109n. [17] See Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114.

[18] This study is based on an estimate of the optimum cultivated area needed by a family, the quality of the soil being taken into account. A similar method has been used in the case of cattle. Cf. Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, pp. 343–7.

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inzu. Their inclusion depended on the situation of Ego's generation with regard to the ancestor recognized as the originator of the group. Suppose a new inzu had begun with F (Diagram B), in the sense that F's descendants referred to themselves as 'people of F' rather than as 'people of A' (as F referred to himself). In that case, Ego would not consider E (FaFaFaFa) as of his inzu although he knew that he was the father of his great-grandfather.

Or suppose that D was considered as the origin of the inzu. In that case Ego's son, J, was separated from D by five links. It was quite possible that if, for instance, G had had many children and had been a man of standing and repute, J and K (and all G's descendants in their generations) would some day refer to themselves as 'people of G'. As long as Ego was living, however, J would consider himself as a member of the same inzu as his father and Ego would not think of his son as belonging to another inzu. One informant, Kayijuka, told us that one of his great-grandchildren will probably take the initiative in forming the new inzu of 'people of Kayijuka'.[8]

Although the inzu was a transitory group about six generations deep, it must be understood that the formation of a new inzu was not rigidly determined and did not automatically happen at the birth of the first child in the seventh generation. The operative factors were mainly the fast growing number of inzu members after a few generations (in genealogies collected, the sixth

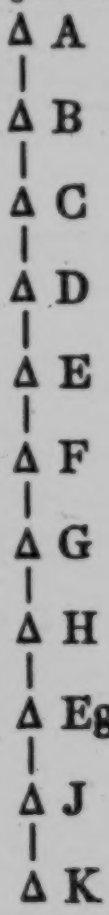

Diagram B.

[8] This was no boast as Kayijuka is now a very important political personality in Ruanda. It may be of interest to mention that Kayijuka was at the court, as a young nobleman, when the first Europeans entered the country. At that time there was a considerable amount of suspicion on both sides. A missionary asked him to point out the queen-mother among the women who were present at the Court. This was prohibited as it was feared that the White Fathers could harm her by magic. Kayijuka did it, however, and for that reason, when the visitors had gone, he was blinded with a red hot iron. But as on the following day he addressed somebody by name after having recognized the voice, it was believed that the operation had not been a success and it was performed a second time. Kayijuka is now a loyal courtier of the king.

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Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
582 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi
often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed
a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the
sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much
lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a
Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was
particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[562] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems
to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater
than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a
Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his
Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to
informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it
with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are
anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and
Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting inter-
marriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then
had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
582 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
698 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had
lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda
girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important
positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not
travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage
affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom
and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and par-
ticularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu.
They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to admini-
strative charges in one part of the country, then in another one.
Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully
extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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when the client was Hutu and *ingabane* when he was Tutsi. A *garagu* could have cows from another source (called *imbata*) such as those received as bride-wealth, as a reward for bravery or acquired by exchanging other goods. In the case of a Hutu client, who possessed both *inkazibiti* and *imbata* at the time when his relation with a *shebuja* was broken off, there are two opinions with regard to the cows' ownership. According to the first, the *imbata* possessed by the client before he entered in the *buhake* relation were regarded as *inkazibiti* and consequently the lord had the same rights over them as over those he had given to the client as cows of *buhake*. Moreover, the cows which the client eventually acquired when he was already *garagu*, and which in other circumstances would have been regarded as *imbata*, were also added to the cows received from the lord. The result was that at the breaking off of the *buhake* relation, the patron could take all his client's cows, *imbata* as well as *inkazibiti*. The other opinion is that the *imbata* acquired by the client before or after the *buhake* relation began, remained definitely *imbata* and that the lord had no claim on them.

It seems that both opinions are accurate, but that they refer to different periods. The second probably expresses the most ancient rule which had been prevalent up to about 1920. The practice of merging *imbata* and *inkazibiti* (or *ingabane*) in favour of the lord is likely to have been introduced only during the last forty years. This would be due to the fact that the chiefs of the administrative divisions (recognized by the Belgian authority under the names of *chefferies* and *sous-chefferies*) assumed at the end of the reign of king Yuhi Musinga (who was dismissed from his royal charge by the Belgian Administration in 1931) an undue importance, because their powers were no longer counterbalanced by those of the chiefs of the other hierarchies. Army chiefs did not enjoy their former authority, as the military structure had received no official recognition; Musinga, isolated in an attitude of indifference and hostility towards Europeans, was left without much effective power. Administrative chiefs who were important lords are said to have taken advantage of this situation, and to have modified the custom to their own advantage by establishing the principle of the merging of the cows received from the lord with those acquired independently of any *shebuja*.

It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of

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642 178 At the beginning of this century, Ruanda political organization was an instrument of social immobility. It was not a force of expansion meant to increase the Tutsi dominion over the country, but a machinery which succeeded in maintaining a difficult equilibrium between the antinomic tendencies I have reviewed. Any institution in which divergent tendencies meet and are kept balanced bears in itself the principle of its own disintegration. But in Ruanda the equilibrium problem had been so efficiently solved that it seems that an optimum point had been reached. The political organization that sustained the domination system could have been perpetuated as long as forces external and internal to the system itself remained constant. The external influence which modified the political organization has been the contact with the [648] Europeans, another conquest group entering Ruanda history around 1900. But apart from such a consequential event, internal phenomena such as a modification in the demographic ratio, the introduction of new agricultural techniques, the impoverishment of the soil, &c., could have been sufficient to destroy the equilibrium maintained by the Tutsi political organization.

642 178 564 661 What was 'immobilized' by the political organization was the Tutsi's caste's and rulers' almost exclusive control of power. They used it for exploitation, by which is meant here the satisfaction of needs not by economic production but by pressure. I follow here closely Oppenheimer's distinction between economic and political means. Both have the same end, he writes, the satisfaction of needs. But when this end is obtained by one's labour and the equivalent exchange of one's own labour for the labour of others, one may speak of 'economic means' while the unrequited appropriation of the labour of others is 'political means'.[8] This should, however, be qualified in the *buhake* where the client received the usufruct of cattle.

642 564 571 It would, of course, be completely misleading to assume that Ruanda political organization had for its only function the preservation of Tutsi exploitation. Through the political structure, as has been shown, the inferior castes enjoyed security. Collectively, peasants were protected against raiding expeditions of neighbours and against an unlimited and too arbitrary exploitation. Individually, in the difficult or dangerous events of life, a Hutu could rely upon the protection of his lord, of his army-chief, and

[8] Oppenheimer, 1922, p. 25.

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231

3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
635

1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage

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231
431

3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
727
651 by warriors.

IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to

192
234
574

4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

12. Succession of Command

635 Like the royal office, the position of provincial chief is hereditary. It is assigned by the chief to one of his sons whom he considers most worthy to succeed him. It may happen that he may at the same time become chief of the clan, but it is not always so (1), for the family and the clan are social entities that are distinct

1. Cf. the example quoted in Personal Status, The Head of the Family and of the Clan, p. 6.

from political units.

The new chief must come and announce his father's death to the Mwami, bringing him a yo kubika cow, (lit., which announces death). On the other hand, he receives some indabukirano from his people and his friends.

622 The chiefs other than the abatware are appointed by the latter and confirmed in their functions by the Mwami.

13. Taxes and Forced Labor

651 466 Along with the civil obligations derived from the ubugaragu contract, there are others due to the chiefs as such.

A. Obligations Due to the Hill Chief.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu of the igisonga must bring the latter once a year a large basket of sorghum (urutete) and a small basket of beans (ipfukire). Formerly, they were also required to cultivate the chief's fields (ubuletwa or uruharo) (2), to build and main-

2. In 1924 this custom was modified by the authorities in order to improve the lot of the Muhutu, who now give only two days of work out of seven.

tain each a part of the chief's rugo (kubak'inkike), and to act as messenger (gutumwa). Finally, the igisonga keeps a group of five

466 651 [101] men (intizo) for his personal needs and puts the remainder at the disposal of the provincial chief, who uses them either for building or repairing ingo belonging to the Mwami or his family, or else for work on the roads, etc.

The forced labor of kubak'inkike and gutumwa falls also on the simple Batutsi who are not the chief's clients (1).

1. The Batutsi obviously unload these obligations on their servants or their clients.

The chief's Bahutu and Batutsi abagaragu do not owe the ubuletwa. They are called ibyanga mibyizi (lit., those who refuse work). But they must bring the urutete and the ipfukire. In addition, the forced labor of kubak'inkike and of gutumwa falls on them also(2)

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

by virtue of the ubugaragu contract.

All the Bahutu must in turn watch each night in the igisonga's rugo (okulalira) and provide the necessary wood for heat and cooking.

B. Obligations Due to the Provincial Chiefs and the Abachibiri.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu owe them the urutete, the ipfukire, and also the ubuletwa for every two days out of seven. When the performance of this last obligation is difficult or even impossible because of the distance, the Bahutu replace it by bringing the produce of their cultivations (sorghum, peas, beans, Eleusine, and cush-cush). This tax is called ibihunikwa (lit., that which is put in the granary).

The Bahutu clients are only subject to the uretete and the ipfukire.

651 The ordinary Batutsi have the obligations of kubak'inkike, gutumwa, and kubyukurutsa, that is to say, of giving cows called imbyukuruke (2)

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

•65/ [102] Those who are abagaragu, unless they have a dispensation, must bring to the chief the uretete and the ipfukire.

The ibisonga [sic] are charged with the collection, in each umulyango, of the taxes in kind due respectively to the abatware and the abachibiri.

The inhabitants of Nduga and Marangara, provinces that are the appanage of the present-day Mwami, owe him and him alone, the tax because he is chief of the province.

C. Obligations Due the Mwami.

These obligations have the generic name of ikoro ry'Umwami.

The Bahutu have to bring the king the ikoro ry'ubutaka (lit., land tax), including the urutete and the ipfukire, on which the chiefs collect a tithe (umusogongero). Those who are his direct clients are subject to, in addition [to the above], either the ubuletwa or the ibihunikwa.

The Batutsi are subject to the kubak'inkike, the gutumwa, and the kubyukurutsa. Those who are the Mwami's abagaragu must in addition, unless they are exempt, provide the urutete and ipfukire. The taxes in kind intended for the Mwami are collected by the chiefs from the people under their administration.

The provincial chiefs have the obligation to live at Nyanza for some time in order to attend the court there, and the king is apt to keep them waiting sometimes for several months before dismissing those with whom he is displeased. They are also obliged to bring cattle to the Mwami, particularly some inkuke (1), one indwanyi (2), one ibiniha (3), and some intorwa (4).

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 42.

2. Cf. idem, p. 43.

3. Cf. idem, p. 43.

4. Cf. idem, p. 43.

●651 The king also has the right to a certain percentage of the heads of game (gusogongera). In the past the Mwami also collected a certain number of cows [103] (iminyago) out of those acquired during wartime raids.

Some of the natives are subject only to the ingabo. This is the case of the artisans, hunters, and farmers who provide the king and the Court with bows, arrows, pruning knives, mats, skins, drums, honey, hydromel, etc.

The Batwa are subject to no actual fiscal obligation to the king and chiefs. Potters must only furnish pots and pitchers to the court and provide the Mwami, his wife, and the Umugabekazi with ingobyi. They are also the executors of the king's great undertakings. The hunters' payments consist of ivory, skins, and fragrant wood.

687 Punitive sanctions are provided in the case of nonexecution of these obligations. The hill and provincial chiefs as well as the king have the Bahutu cudgeled and take the cows away from the Batutsi. In the past, the Mwami would even sometimes have the Batwa executioners cut off the ears (kubiha) of the Bahutu who are delinquent in tax payment.

651 486 A toll (ihoro) is paid by those who cross any water. To cross a larger river such as the Nyawarongo, the tax is paid to the provincial chief who refunds some of it to the boatmen.

Merchants must also pay a toll to the chief whose territory they cross. [104]

14. Secret Societies

575 563 668 The sect known as the Nyabingi (or Biheko) has its origin in the name of the Queen of Ndorwa who was killed by the warriors of Mwami Rwabugiri, resulting in a marked hostility to the Batutsi and the royal authority on the part of the Queen's descendants. Also, these people have become Bahutu by their marriages with commoners. These are sufficient reasons for the "Baheko" [sic] to be considered rescuers by the Bahutu, especially in the north of Ruanda where the resistance, if not the hostility, to the Batutsi and their administration is much stronger than in the rest of the country.

From Ndorwa where it originated, the sect spread out to Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi, and even to Buganza and Bwanachyambwe.

241 Urundi and Ruanda where water is abundant, crowned cranes,
136 spore geese, and Nile geese are the worst enemies of the crops since they eat the young budding sprouts of beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, millet, etc. The Bahutu try to frighten them away by rattles and shouting. Ibises, herons, and golden plovers also abound in the swamp valleys, but they do not attack the green crops and prefer to fish for frogs, worms, and snails in the drainage ditches. In the dry quartzite regions of eastern Urundi there are only a few such swamp valleys, and consequently there are only a few of the noxious birds mentioned above.

251 Harvested produce is partly kept in baskets and sacks in the huts, but most of it is put in the basket-shaped storage huts mentioned above (p.22) which are located near the living huts. Particularly beans, sorghum, and corn are stored in these basket-like huts. However, during the dry period ears of corn are suspended in large bundles from the fig trees surrounding the homestead. The tuberous fruit, namely, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and arrowroot, are usually not piled up but are left in the ground until they are needed. This is another reason why the quantity grown is never large, since it would spoil otherwise.

423 I mentioned before that further expansion of agriculture in Urundi is blocked by the peculiar conditions of ownership. The situation here is quite similar to that in Ruanda. None of the agricultural Bahutu owns the land that he cultivates. All the land is the property of the king who vests his high batwale with it, who in turn vest the lower Batussi batwale (see p. 134). The mutwale distributes the individual lots of land to the Bahutu he rules, who hold it in fee. [57] The Bahutu must ask his per-
423 mission whenever they intend to work a plot of land, build a hut,
●651 or clear new ground for fields. They pay him a tribute of natural products which is done only once. In addition, they pay him an
[427] annual "tithe" as a ground rent. If the annual rent is not paid at harvest time, the mutwale may punish this tardiness by evicting the person from the land. The mutwale may also demand extraordinary tributes from the Bahutu without compensating them, for example, presents for the head chief, provisions for the caravan of a European passing through, etc. The gifts or payments made

423 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale:
651 Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the people?]!

311 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is
578 not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and against agriculture, will continue even when this big country is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of
000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at present, since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agricultural production and to sell more. These difficulties will only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions relating to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concentrated fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily upon these areas and retarding their development: the rule of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is necessary than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall
782 mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it (No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

> 1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neigh-
● 651 bors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up
[481] to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega. Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to
[691] lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

644 violent death when they least expected it. This was for a long time
[682] a sword of Damocles which almost invariably fell upon the head of those who had the misfortune of being selected for that unenvied position.

We shall cite, later on, a few examples of this.

644 B. The cupbearers (abanyanzoga), like their colleagues in
273 the royal dairy and kitchen, also practiced a dangerous trade. Their
651 duties involved the obtention of the best beer available, which they had to preserve and to offer at the moment it was desired. They were numerous, and some of them lived near the king while others roamed the land to requisition honey, beer itself, or the bunches of bananas which are used in the manufacture of this precious beverage (1).

1. The head of the cupbearers, a certain Mutagikwa, is regarded thereby as captain of the Indengabaganizi army corps. This is a strictly honorific title, which nevertheless enables him to levy taxes in those territories where he exercises his functions as an officer of the "Cup."
He lives at Nyarugenge in Gassagara, the Buhanga.

Originally, employees in this category theoretically had rights
[661] only to bunches of bananas and honey (imitsama), and they roamed the land to obtain them (gutorana). Gradually they took on the habit of behaving like true chiefs and of demanding from the inhabitants contributions in kind, beans, sorghum, cows, etc., as well as forced labor, called buletwa. This permitted them not only to live well, but also to acquire large herds.

644 C. There are several work groups assigned to the cultivation
276 and preparation of the tobacco which is used by the prince. The plants destined for his use come from the Bugoyi /386/ Mata in the Marangara, and Ruyanza and Mussambiro in the Nduga, among other

438 The inhabitants of the Bugoyi, Mulera, Bussigi, Bgisha,
651 Bufumbiro, etc., formerly supplied this substance as a tax under the name of umutsama (plural imitsama).

438 The people of the Kinyaga, dwellers on the shores of Lake
463 Kivu, made strong mats (ibisunyu) of lake reeds for the court.

People from the Bgishaza, Kingogo, Budaha, etc., made litters, baskets, and hampers of various shapes because they lived close to the forest where the materials essential to their craft are to be found.

463 Dressing cases, combs, butter jars, dishes, spoons, pitchers,
651 pipes, tobacco pouches, bows, arrows, shields, quivers, spear shafts, clubs, scabbards, cases for knives and drinking tubes, drums, chairs, etc., were all made by professionals who paid their taxes in this fashion.

644 In accordance with an immemorial custom, the king chose himself a wife from each of the following Hamitic clans: /458/ Bega, Basinga, Bakono, Baha, and sometimes also among the Bagessera, not to speak of those who were referred to him on account of their mental or physical qualities. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the neighboring princes of the Uswi, Karagwe, and Bunyabungu, but no son of those foreign princesses, to our knowledge, ever sat on the throne. Few royal wives managed to retain their husband's good favors indefinitely. Many of them were demoted to the rank of servants (abaja), if not sent back to their families (1).

1. This was the best they could hope for, since then they regained their complete freedom.

Some chiefs were bound by custom to send regularly to court some little girls, who were raised among the queen-mother's followers. The lot of those children was a rather unhappy one. Some of them when grown were chosen as servants or as symbolic wives offered to the spirits of dead kings (2).

2. Cf. Chapter VII below under "Funeral Rites."

[Lie., honey. -Analyst]

5: Pages--185 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

644 Others were entrusted with the manufacture of baskets, hampers, mats, and other fine basketry.

Sebugrigri (deceased in 1925), the representative of the great chief Rwidegembya in the Bigogo province, had to supply annually two or three of those children, who were euphemistically known by the name of "pages" (intore) or "outgoers" (emigrants) chosen by fate (inkuke).

644 Nyiramurici (deceased in 1927), a Muhunde /Hunde/ from the Gishari and a close relative of the queen of that land, came to pay
661 homage to the Hamitic prince of Ruanda. As a reward for his services as a sorcerer, he was given three villages (Gassovu, Gatoke, and Nyaruchundura) located in the Kanage, with the sole obligation of handing to the queen mother /459/ any girls he might father or obtain among his subjects (1).

[651]

1. This obligation has always been regarded as a hateful one. As a rule parents were loath to surrender their offspring and complied only under duress. Sometimes they managed to elude this exorbitant tax by giving the chief one or even several cows. The chief also took advantage of this power to tax only his enemies or to extort several head of cattle from them under this revolting pretext.

In order to gain the good graces of the king or his mother, certain families freely gave up their children, boys or girls. The lot of the adolescent boys was much preferable to that of their sisters. Once grown up, after serving for a time in the page corps, they regained their freedom and were often granted the rule of a hill as a reward for their sojourn at court.

2. Other Favors and Privileges

661 a. "The gift of the fire cow" (inka y' umuriro). This is when
644 the king sends a cow to a chief who has been stripped of his property or who has been in disgrace for some time. It is tantamount to a reconciliation.

This privilege grants the man who had been ostracized or banished permission to settle definitively on granted land and to build there like anyone else.

The gift of the cow, which is a sign and proof of forgiveness, also heralds further favors.

The last two beneficiaries of royal clemency were Musinga's maternal uncles, Lukangamiheto and Luhinankiko, whose ambition and political activities had /469/ greatly displeased the queen mother and the regent Kabale, creator of the bloody Ruchunchu revolution. They regained their rank and position at court.

661 b. Entrance rights (ilembo). This favor is highly valued by those to whom it is granted. It consists of receiving, in lieu of the king, the gifts of material goods and herds which are daily offered to the prince. Hence the expression, "to proceed to or place oneself at the entrance to the Court" (kuja kw' ilembo ry'ibgami) so as to take over the gifts and cows which subjects bring to their sovereign. This is a temporary privilege that is granted only for a few days and never more than two or three months to the same individual.

c. Ubulenga nzira is a sort of tithing right which the king
[651] and great chiefs grant to individuals whom they wish to reward. The holder of this right may levy a tax on the inhabitants of the territory over which the chief or king has jurisdiction. He gets cows and produce as long as the concession is not revoked.

d. The right to levy a cow wherever one spends the night
[651 (kurar'inka) is largely granted in times of war, on the way out and on
721] the way back.
[702] It is a good device to recruit soldiers, who greatly valued this privilege and made use of it both in friendly and in enemy territory.

e. Ubutumwa ("message"). The "right of message" grants the king's envoys the right to demand a cow from the recipient of the message. Instances are cited of men who managed to assemble fine herds thanks to their job as royal couriers.

361 independent man lives with his women, children, and servants
[58] (bagaragu). The establishments of the well-to-do are quite large and often embrace a dozen or more huts. Poor people have only one or two huts. The large settlements of the Batutsi, with the exception of those in the northwestern provinces, are all widely scattered in the grasslands and are conspicuous by the tall euphorbia hedges and trees which surround them.

In eastern Mpororo scattered huts occur only in the cultivated areas; they occur somewhat more frequently near large Bahima kraals, as, for example, that of Kitaraya. South of Kitaraya, Batutsi settlements hidden behind their euphorbia hedges predominate. On Lake Mohasi the scattered Bahutu settlements and their banana groves again appear. Here Batutsi kraals are rarer.

In Kissaka and Nduga there are Bahutu settlements on the edges of the banana groves, but since bananas are confined to specific regions because of soil conditions, a certain concentration of settlements has come about.

Around Nyanza, the residence of Musinga [king of Ruanda],
[311] we find few and widely scattered settlements, because the land is reserved as pasture for the king's cows.

In Mulera where the entire country is under cultivation, there is again a regular distribution of farm settlements. However, we also note a tendency for relatives to move closer together for safety.

In Bugoye, which shows influences of the Forest Bantu, we find many compact groups of huts almost resembling villages, although these settlements vary a great deal in their structure. Here the
[65] hill dwellers, from whom their mugabo [clan elder] collects taxes which he hands over to the proper mutware (ku butaka, ku muheto, etc.), have all joined together in a single settlement. [200] In Bugoye we find settlements of over 100 inhabitants. The largest settlements are in Bgisha, north of the chain of volcanoes. They sometimes have over 100 huts.

The Banyabungu also live in large villages which are very well kept and have high fences. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 377.

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
428 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
423 property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy, it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
651 taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

The protection of female clan members does not extend to
614 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
591 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
768 happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
614 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

644 661 traveling basket with small white beads. For two years his people had to gather these beads, [258] a ransom which was designed not to increase the delight of the subjects with their master. When he saw that the basket was being filled too quickly, the king decided that the cure for the man's attitude was not sufficiently complete and made him fill a storehouse (kigega) with hoes. Only then did Musinga permit him to go home.

644 662 Thus, next to the splitting up of property, the sojourn at court is the most important factor in the organization and stabilization of the Ruanda state. To a certain extent this ensures against all eventualities. As long as the chief, the most important person in his territory, remains at court, the king holds all the chief's lands in his own hands to a certain extent.

651 644 The local taxation system is also closely connected with the sojourn of the bagaragu at court. The high chiefs must give the king gifts as large as possible in order not to lose favor. On the other hand, they must not demand too much of their people who might otherwise move away. This restricts them in two directions. It is left to them to strike a balance between these two factors, and the result is that the individual personality of the chief plays a much greater role than is the case in corresponding positions in our modern state.

644 The Royal Court. The court of the king consists of the representatives of the aristocracy, who make up a large majority of his bagaragu and hold various offices, and all kinds of minor officials who serve the ruler. The feudal lords and their retinues make up the bulk of the population of Nyanza, but they come and then go back again to their holdings when the king gives his permission. Thus, the size of the court fluctuates considerably. During the visit of His Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg there was great excitement at Musinga's court, and the whole courtyard in front of the house was always full of people. Taps were postponed accordingly, and one usually did not hear them until around two o'clock in the morning, sometimes even later.

This, however, was not the usual picture of life at court. Everyone was so worn out by all the festivities that after the departure of His Highness the courtyard was quite empty. When I came to call the day after the expedition had departed, I did not find a single chief paying court to the king.

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

565 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under
701 particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi conquest they were not driven from their land, and the king recog-
[657] nizes their privileges. They pay only the ordinary taxes, but they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is hereditary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police
[693] and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

631 642 tendencies of their fathers. Count Von Götzen (1) mentions

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), pp. 156, 159.

only one governor of Kissaka, namely, Kavahigi, but he also speaks of Kaware (Kabare) in the northern part of the country.

621 631 The hill (kashozi) is the smallest political unit in Kissaka, as well as in all the rest of Ruanda. The inhabitants of a hill belong to different clans, and the factor uniting them is purely [622] political. It is primarily the chief, to whom compulsory service (buletwa) must be paid. This official is likewise appointed by the high chief. However, the very large hills are not infrequently divided into subgroups with different subchiefs. Thus, the hill known as Bare in Nsasa is divided into the communities of Bare, Ishua, Kibare, and some others.

621 614 In Mulera where there are very few Batutsi and these have no great power, much more primitive conditions have been preserved. Here too, however, political units are represented by hills, but each hill has a homogeneous population, consisting of the members of the clan. These communities are directly sub- [651] ordinate to the king and, through their elders, pay taxes to the king's deputies. Here the mutware, the integrating factor, is absent. On the few hills [269] in Mulera belonging to Batutsi, however, we find conditions similar to those in Kissaka. Here, [651] also, taxes are paid to the chiefs and not to the king's deputies. I believe that the Bahutu on these hills must also render compulsory service.

Ndorwa is a country that is only under nominal rule and does not pay taxes to Musinga. We find here the same clan communities, but they are completely independent, small political units.

Besides the two extreme forms, the community settled on alien land granted to the chief by the king, which the chief represents at court, and the free clan community settled on its own land and paying taxes to the king's deputy but having no

159 of the king and his favorites, upon whom state affairs and interests are centered.

151 Tax System. The interweaving of landed property is not the only means of paralyzing local, particularistic aims. The system of taxation accomplishes this too. The tax burden of the farmers is divided into several units which are usually collected by different chiefs. In this instance the chiefs are only intermediaries, but they retain part of the taxes.

The taxes of the farmers consist of food, hoes, beer, animals, and work in natura.

The tax to be paid to the king is determined by the king himself. Special conditions in individual communities sometimes exempt them from transporting their produce to the capital city. Thus, for example, Issawi Hill was exempt from food deliveries to the capital because Europeans were staying there.

The tax to be paid to the chief is determined by the chief himself, but he may not overburden his people; otherwise his work force may threaten to move away. Taxes in the form of food are collected during the harvest. There is considerable local variation in the amount of taxation in Ruanda. It varies also among individual high chiefs. Thus, in Marangara, for example, the people of Nshohozamigo work two days out of a five-day week in the fields of their chiefs. The people of Rudegambia and Kabare only perform services in the capital, for example, build huts and deliver food supplies. The fields of the subchiefs are cultivated by their clients who have become subject to compulsory labor through the granting of cows, as well as by wageworkers who are paid in milk and butter. In Issawi clients do not work in the fields of their patrons.

In Ruanda there are different categories of taxes, and the people are taxed very differently.

The greatest burden is buletwa, work that must be performed in natura on the fields of the chief, a primitive great landowner. The people work [271] two to three days out of a five- to six-day week on the land of the mutware. This work is the Muhutu's payment for the land on which he has settled and is not performed by the free farmers (ngabo) who have their own land which was cleared

651 by their ancestors and from which they were not driven away during the conquest.

The second ancient burden is butaka. It is paid primarily in food and tobacco and only to a minor extent in cash hoe-money. The king's capital does not have any fields of its own. The court is fed by supplies delivered by subjects from near and distant provinces. Only cattle are pastured in the environs of the capital; there are no farmers who till land.

644 651 All the potentates living at court are fed from home. Bringing food for the chief residing at court is called kugemerira mutware. Food supplies are brought almost daily. As a result, any stoppage of this traffic means a food scarcity among the dignitaries thus affected. There are no markets where provisions could be obtained. Because of this primitive arrangement, food in the capital is always rather scarce, and everyone to whom I spoke about this told me that no one lives in the lap of luxury at court during his stay which is usually involuntary. The Batwa bodyguards even maintain that they actually starve and would very much like to return to their poor settlements.

To these two ancient tax burdens Lwabugiri added the war tax (umuheto) and Musinga the food supply tax (ilali) for visiting Europeans.

651 661 Among the Bahutu the furnishing of food supplies for visiting Europeans is merely an additional tax for the benefit of their chief. He regards the presents of the European as his property and not infrequently takes for himself part of the supplies brought by his people for the Europeans. I saw an example of this in Kwa Rutagungira. The requisition for my presence brought the chief three goats and four pots of beer, but I received only two pots and two goats. The larger pots and the best goats were put aside by the chief, but this was done too close to my camp to escape the notice of the people who were excited by the approaching pots of beer.

651 635 The collection of butaka and muheto, which are paid, theoretically at least, throughout the country, is distributed among various chiefs, as has already been reported by Von

651 Parisch. (1) He mentions: [272]
635

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 74, 78.

Province or Region	Chief (mutware)	
	Ku butaka	Ku muheto
Bugoye	Bushakwe	Bushakwe
Mukinoni	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Bwischascha	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Mukinjaga	Lubilinda	Rudegambia
Niantungu . . . . . (between Bwischascha and Nduga)	Bushakwe	Kabare
Munjaga . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Lujondo	Kanuma
Kawagali . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Bushakwe	Bushakwe

Von Parisch also mentions the mutware ku muheto Balahanda who led the attack on Count Von Götzen.

651 The butaka, it seems, is always collected by the chief to whom the land is granted. The muheto tax, on the other hand, goes to the chief who is entrusted with the king's cattle in the district. He has the right to pasture cows on the harvested fields of the farmers, which is a very considerable burden to the population. Thus, for example, the grass on many hills in Bugoye belongs to Rudegambia, although Bushakwe is the high chief of the region. On my way to Kisenyi I saw many uncultivated fields that had to lie fallow because the Batutsi removed their cattle too late for planting.

Dr. Kandt (1) also speaks of two chiefs in the provinces. He

[113] 1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer

●65/ [113]

des Kiwu [A March along the Eastern Shore of Lake Kivu]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 213.

calls one the chief of the people and the other the chief of the cattle.

The ilali tax seems to be collected by special officials who at the same time are entrusted with the supervision of the Europeans who travel about the country. In some cases this office is carried out by batware ku muheto or batware ku butaka.

The amount accruing to the chiefs when they collect the taxes is called musogongero and is fixed for the butaka and muheto. For the ilali this does not seem to be the case. The amount varies from one situation to another, in proportion to the size of the caravan of Europeans that has to be provided for.

In order to describe the taxes somewhat more in detail, we herewith give the tax burden carried by the three communities on Katebe and Kitebe which we have discussed before.

[273] Taxes for the Communities on Katebe and Kitebe

	Baishaza	Balyolyo	Bagwabiro
Population (including bagaragu)	104	61	41
Male clan members among these	47 + 2[1)]	21	21
Butaka for Musinga	9 Kaniki = 27 hoes	10 hoes	6 hoes
Musogongero for Chief Bizira Kuzama	6 hoes	?	?
Muheto	3000 butega	1000 butega	1000 butega
Musogongero	3 hoes to Makobi	Goat for 5 hoes to Murahangubo	
Ilali (through Gamidji)	1 package of beans	Small pot of beer, basket of sweet potatoes, basket of beans	1 load of beans
Buletwa	none	none	none

1) Two sons-in-law.

651 The bagaragu of Chief Makobi do hoeing as recompense for rented fields, or this may be done by paid day laborers (mubizi). The clan communities under discussion, however, are free of this burden, since they live on their own land.

There are also taxes that are paid by particular families or communities. The furnishing of objects whose manufacture presupposes a certain skill falls in this category. Among these objects are salt that is made from swamp grass, grass rings for women's legs (butega), otter skins, wildcat skins, cowhides, barkcloth, weapons, etc. The people who furnish these items are exempt from part of the normal taxes that represent the share of the ordinary farmer. Thus, Mulera furnishes a rather large number of butega.

651 614 The duty of the Bahenyi, a privileged Bahutu clan, is to build royal houses. They also play a part in the cult, offering special sacrifices, and they may not eat with members of other clans.

Special taxation on individual clans seems to be a remnant of an older form of taxation, the clan tax. This has been very nicely preserved in Kiziba where individual clans have special duties toward the king. This is the nature of the taxes borne by free, landowning farmers (ngabo) in Mulera. Here the tax is the concern of the clan community. It is paid by the clan elder, and apportioning the tax is an internal matter for the community. All its members, however, have joint responsibility for paying the tax.

The ngabo pay their taxes in honey and also give the king annually every twentieth cow. If the number of cows owned is less than 20, a goat is given for each cow. In figuring taxes, one cow is equal to 20 goats.

657 661 [274] In Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are collected by special deputies of the king. We need not emphasize the self-evident fact that the officials entrusted with the collection of taxes increase the amount to their advantage and do not shrink from shameful plunder. If, as is generally the case, a high chief is not present when the taxes are collected, the Balera will not stand for this oppression. For their part, they seek every opportunity to get out of paying taxes altogether. That is why there are big rows

651 and not infrequently open battles whenever collection takes place.
661 On the way to Mulera, at Kwa Rutagungira, I saw several wounded Batutsi who had to pay for their zeal as officials with holes in their hides. The business efficiency of the tax collectors is well characterized if we note their habit of substituting some of their poorer stock for the better cows that are delivered as the king's taxes. In view of its chronic character, this misuse and plunder must be regarded as a form of official remuneration.

651 We must emphasize the fact that in Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are linked to the community, the people, and not to the land they cultivate. That is why the outsider who has settled on alien soil with the approval of the residents does not participate in community taxes. He continues to pay the taxes of his own clan, and only if he is adopted by the resident clan does he pay taxes where he has settled.

651 This principle of family tax becomes complicated the mo-
178 ment pacification makes possible the disruption of clans which under the most primitive conditions have been held together by blood revenge. I saw the consequences of this complication of social conditions in Mulera in the form of a punitive expedition which reduced to ashes the settlement on Mount Kisseke. A few outsiders had bought with gifts permission to settle on Kisseke from the established residents. A few weeks after they were settled, some Batutsi arrived who had the right to collect taxes from the community of new settlers but who were complete strangers to the old established population.[3] The new settlers
[687] promised the old ones a bull, and the latter drove off the Batutsi with weapons, killing a few and wounding several. A punitive expedition of government troops, undertaken because of Musinga's complaint, was the sequel.

651 The ferry toll is a special tax that affects traders particularly.
491 It is collected by batware who are stationed at the ferries and whose people run the boats. The toll is very high. For a traveler with his pack, it is ten large beads, that is to say, a third of a day's wages. Twenty men with a herd of goats paid a piece of cloth (nguo).

[275] The batware who collect the ferry toll must also keep watch over the traffic. At the border ferries, for example, on

651 the Akanjaru which can be crossed at only a few places because
491 of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes increased very considerably.

651 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu.
443 In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle disputes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the belief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda rulers become leopards.

721 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning
643 war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last expedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each expedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

Among medicine men Father Van Thiele distinguishes two 759
different professional secret societies, the bakoni and the bageiye, 575
who are initiated with the banga ceremony. Bageiye heal persons suffering from snake bite.

I had no opportunity to see a bageiye perform in Ruanda. 752
When a man was bitten by a snake on the way to the Muhawura

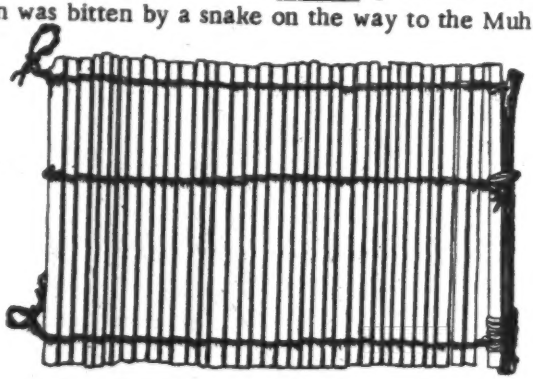

Fig. 178. Splints for Immobilizing Broken Bones, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13742. 26 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide.)

volcano, [327] the natives wanted to tie the head of the dead snake on the wound as an antidote.

The following account by Father Van Thiele about a preventive treatment for the greatly feared disease of smallpox 751
(bushita) is very interesting.

The medicine man first provides everyone with amulets consisting of gourd seeds. Even the water jug gets its amulet. Then he gives a preventive medicine which he boils. After the boiling he blows air into it through a straw so as to make foam which is rubbed all over the body. The efficacy of the medicine is increased by making incisions in five different places: three incisions over the right eye and one incision each on the right shoulder, the back, the right hand, and above the right foot. The medicine man spits on his little finger and rubs the incisions with it.

Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice. The problem of cannibal- 266
ism and human sacrifice in the interlacustrine region is the most 782
obscure and difficult of all. For example, in Ruanda the bimara, 651

266 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago.
782 The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King
651 Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a muja (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[643] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in
575 the north and by poisoners (balozi). Koch (1) confirms its occurence
794

1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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634 the district chiefs formed the council of the king. The court
[693] was under the direction of a special man, a kind of steward or *inhebe*.

The district chiefs were also responsible for building and other work for the king and the state; they had to find the necessary workmen and appoint overseers to direct them. Another man of the king acted as a kind of household steward to see that the buildings were kept in repair and properly attended to.

Each district chief appointed chiefs of the second rank or *Ibisonga* in his own district, and they in their turn appointed the chiefs of the third grade or *Abafragizu*. Each district chief also appointed a steward or *inhebe* who acted in his place when he had to be absent from his district. This man always possessed land near his chief so that he might be at hand when he was wanted. His special duty was to take charge of any building for the chief.

Taxation

634 Every year a district chief had to bring two or three
651 hundred large pots of honey, each holding some two gallons, and a supply of millet, peas, and beans to the king. This was brought to the district chief by the people on his estate, and he took a portion for himself before passing the required amount on to the king.

[231] Twice in the year each person with cattle gave to the king a cow and a calf to supply him with milk and a fat animal to be killed for his meat. Milk was also sent daily to the court for the use of the king and his household.

Murder

682 It was the duty of the relatives of a murdered man to hunt
628 down and capture the murderer and put him to death; they rarely accepted any other settlement. If a murder was committed before witnesses, they would seize the murderer and hand him over to the relatives of the dead man. If, however, one man abused another before witnesses, the offended man

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed 000 651
taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and
the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state [655]
work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he 643
took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he 262
generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, [273]
when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge,
but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal
he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people [178]
were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which
would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after
eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused
and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon
him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any [644]
meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls 644
being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite
of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women
were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who
told them whether they were going to bear children and took [787]
auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future
king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when 643
he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner
with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern
different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his [762]
life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated 643
over the country. There was no rule against naming the king 766
after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The
whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from
women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, [231]
goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for
this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared
with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other
times. One cow was killed when the king died. [782]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange 437 them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

AGRICULTURE

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

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421 different uses of the same thing. For instance, one person could have the right to sow a plot and to collect the harvest and another to use it for grazing purposes at another time of the year. Neither of them was considered as the owner letting somebody else use his property as a pasture or as a ground for cultivation.

422 643 On each pasture, cultivated plot or forest area, the king had a right very similar to the *dominion eminens* of Roman law, the kind of public ownership that a State has over the land within the borders. But he had also the right to prevent, if he chose to do so, somebody from using a particular tract of land in any way at all, which amounts to saying that the mwami had over land a right potentially superior to that of anybody else. The mwami's rights could be opposed to 'private rights'. In fact, the king very rarely insisted on this use of his rights and then only when he wanted to punish somebody who was guilty of disobedience or of some other crime.

423 651 The land chief's and cattle chief's rights to fields and pastures will be considered later in the section dealing with the administration. Suffice it to say here that these tax-collectors had the right to evict people for certain offences and to allocate land to newcomers in their districts.

423 425 [428] The person endowed with rights on land for cultivation purposes was the head of a family (*rugo*). Mostly these rights came to him from his father's inheritance. Sometimes, however, it was a part of the bush that he had himself cleared. If he had not received enough from his father to support his family, he extended his plot in this way with the agreement of the political authority. If, because of a dispute with his brothers, he wanted to move elsewhere and the land chief could not allocate him a field already prepared at the place where he wanted to settle, he did the same. Such a plot was called *bukonde* as long as it was occupied either by the man who had cleared it or by his descendants. A third source of cultivation rights was the assignment by the land chief of a plot already prepared (*inkungu*). The former user of it had either to be evicted by the authority, or had left, or had died without heirs.

In the same way the family head had the right to use a certain area as pasture for his cattle either by inheritance, or by felling the trees of a tract of forest or by having it conceded by the cattle chief.

000 At the end of the nineteenth century the insu had no collective

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The district was divided into hills (umusozi). At that level the
622 cattle- and land-chiefs had only one subordinate, the hill-chief, *umutware w'umusozi*, whose counterpart in the present administrative organization is called sub-chief or *ibisonga*.

621 On each hill, there were usually several neighbourhoods. In
622 each, one of the family heads living there was chosen as its head by the hill-chief. He was called *umukoresha*.

(*b*) *Taxes*

651 Tributes and dues for which the land-chief was responsible
647 were: any kind of labour, usually agricultural; *uguhunika* (putting into the granary), which consisted of a certain number of baskets of beans, peas, and sorghum to be delivered at harvest time; *amavu* (bananas to be used for brewing beer). These tributes were due from Hutu. The person who provided these things was the family head who was considered as the individual producer of the rugo. But between him and the land-chief, there was a hierarchy of persons responsible for the carrying out of the levies: sometimes the lineage head (if he was living in the same neighbourhood), then the neighbourhood head, and finally the hill-chief.

[622] Through the hill-chief, too (according to 68 per cent. of the informants), the cattle-chief obtained jars of milk from the Tutsi. Moreover, the latter had to provide (according to 88 per cent.) *inkuke*, cows kept by the beneficiary in order that milk could be consumed fresh.

These tributes were centralized in the royal residence of the district which was occupied by the king when he was travelling in the district. This residence was called *rugo*, the ordinary word meaning a compound dwelling. 95 per cent. of our informants remembered several names of royal district residences and 86 per cent. had not forgotten the name of the residence in the district where they used to live as children.

Revenues of a district were either reserved to the king himself or were granted to one of the king's wives. In the first case, the [647] residence was called *ingaligali* and was administered by a king's concubine (*umuja*, girl-servant).

Administrative officers collecting tributes, had the right to keep a part for their own benefit. According to 95 per cent. of our informants, the hill-chiefs had the right to deduct some agricultural produce, of which they could keep about a third. Then the land-chief—according to 99 per cent.—could also keep a part of it,

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probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

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128 be negative or positive. It is to be distinguished from the aim explicitly stated in the charter (written or not) of the institution or the purpose of the association consciously conceived by its members.

Take, for instance, some of the religious ceremonies of a particular group. Their aim as known and admitted by every member of the group may be to honour the ancestral spirits, whereas their function, of which perhaps nobody in the group is completely aware, is to manifest and reinforce the *esprit de corps* of the group. Or an association whose explicit purpose is some philanthropic activity may have as its function the giving of certain political control to a particular set of people. Aim and function are not necessarily different. It may happen that the aim expresses one of the ways in which the institution is significant from the viewpoint of the perpetuation of the particular organization existing in that society.[12]

(*a*) *Fiscal function*

649 It is not difficult to determine the main social function of the administrative structure of Ruanda. It was identical indeed with its explicitly recognized aim in that society. Aim and function were fiscal: the country had to provide its rulers with consumption goods.

651 634 Tribute collecting was very methodically organized. Because of the division of the country into about seventy to ninety districts, the amount to be supplied was distributed in a way which did not favour one region more than another. Even parts of Ruanda which were far from the royal court had to provide dues for the local royal residence. The timing of the levies was also fortunate as the agricultural products were not demanded when the rulers needed them but at harvesting time. Tribute labour seems also to have been regularly required during the year.

641 Were these impositions heavy? It is very difficult to assess the proportion of foodstuff and labour required from each family head. I gathered from different informants that about a third of the labour of one individual was required from each family. It is important to stress the fact that only one person in each rugo had to fulfil this demand whereas there were usually several men able to give that tribute in each family.

[12] See Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, p. ix; 1940, p. 10; 1952, pp. 200 f; Maquet 1949a; 1954c, p. 63.

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It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not over-exploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

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that no other authority had the final say in such appointments. 661

The danger of having some chiefs becoming more and more 634 independent of the central government was avoided by the 699 mwami's power to dismiss anybody and also by the curious duality 622 of chiefs in each district. Increasing the control of the central government over its subordinates seems to have been the function of that duality. Tensions arose between these two chiefs who were neighbours and who exerted their prerogatives in the same territory yet were independent of each other. The mwami was always kept well informed by each of these chiefs of the exactions or suspicious activities of the other. Moreover, both chiefs had the same subordinate, the hill-chief. Consequently the mwami could be sure that if by chance the two chiefs were in agreement, it was very likely that if their common subordinate had some difficulty with one of his superiors, he would attempt and often succeed in getting the other on to his side: *duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens.* In addition, as conflicts of power were unavoidable in such a situation, the chief had to resort to the mwami as judge. In that way the links of the dependence of both of them on the mwami were tightened.

In this analysis it is not suggested that the duality of chiefs was conceived and put into being by a certain mwami in order to fulfil what we regard here as its function. It is possible that it happened in that way. But even if nobody ever thought of reinforcing the royal power by this dual organization, it was nevertheless its function in Ruanda society.

(c) *Social cohesion*

I have mentioned that the hill-chief required dues and tributes 651 not from the individual taxpayer but from the lineage head when 602 possible, and the latter demanded it from the family head. This 571 way of reaching the individual through his kin group and family group enhanced the importance of the descent principle of of kin solidarity. Even in Ruanda where the political organization had taken over so many functions from descent groups, the individual as such was not yet recognized in very important matters like the contributions to the maintenance of the rulers. In this interpretation, the kinship and the administrative structures promote the social cohesion of the group as a whole.

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to 000

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Finally, the cattle that the warriors of an army could personally effectively dispose of were also considered as army cattle. There was a distinction between cows obtained from an overlord and *imbata*. Warriors' cattle, however, were linked to the army differently from herdsmen's: only the cattle of the latter were submitted to the different taxes I am going to examine now. 705 422

Each army had its own grazing grounds, particularly for the *nyambo*, *mabara*, and the chief's cattle as the other kinds were usually kept by those who had usufruct rights over them.[18]

(d) Tribute due by the army

Besides the personal services mentioned earlier (training, watching at the border, defending the country, foreign expeditions), each army had to provide the king, the court, and its chief with other benefits. 701 651

On a new king's accession, each patrilineage of the army had to give him a cow. This gift (*indabukirano*) showed the recognition of the authority of the person to whom it was offered. At the beginning of each reign there was also a ceremony called *murundo*, during which all the cattle of an army were numbered and presented to the king. A certain proportion was retained by him. Cattle raided by the stick-bearers (*abakoni*) of the army belonged to the king, according to eighty-seven per cent. of our informants.

Warriors and herdsmen of each army had the duty of keeping in order a part of the royal residence (*incyubagaba inkike*), according to ninety-three per cent. of our informants.

Each army was obliged to keep at the court a few cows to provide the king with fresh milk (*inkuke*). This herd was called *intamara* and was looked after by an officer, *umutware w'intamara*. According to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants, to provide *inkuke* was the duty of the herdsmen's section only. Besides they had to deliver daily to the court a certain number of milk jars (*igicuba*), according to ninety-nine per cent. A very important majority of Tutsi interviewed (eighty-nine per cent.) said that herdsmen had to supply the court with the necessary slaughter animals (*indwanyi*). Finally, each army had to provide the court with young steers used for divination purposes (*amamana*). According to fifty-five per cent. of our informants these had to be [787]

[18] On this section, see Kagame, 1952.

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provided by both sections of the army, according to forty-one per cent. by the herdsmen only.

All these services or dues were required only from Tutsi and from Hutu possessing cattle. Other Hutu replaced them by tributes consisting of agricultural produce (said ninety-two per cent. of our informants) and Twa by products from pottery or hunting.

The army-chief, too, could claim several dues from the army to his profit. When appointed to his charge, he was offered a cow (*indabukirano*) as a present recognizing his authority. According to a few informants, that present could consist of hoes or sheep for those who had no cattle, but ninety-two per cent. said such a present was necessarily a cow. As the king, the army-chief, when he was nominated to his office, had the right to have the cattle of his army numbered, presented to him, and a certain percentage offered to him (*murundo*). Ninety-six per cent. of our informants say that the presentation was always made at the same time as the recognition was offered. But certain informants indicate that the army-chief could not require the numbering to be done before a certain time had elapsed since the numbering for his predecessor. Moreover, according to eighty-three per cent. of our informants, the army-chief had to obtain the mwami's permission before summoning a numbering meeting. The cows kept by the army-chief were put at his effective disposal according to all informants. They were entrusted to the army herdsmen (according to eighty-eight per cent.), to army herdsmen only (according to thirty-five per cent.), and to them and *to inkomamashyi*, herdsmen alien to the army (according to fifty-three per cent.).

An army member, on certain occasions, principally when wanting to obtain a favour, used to give his chief a cow called *ituro*.

Finally, the army-chief could claim a certain part of the loot collected during an expedition in which his army had participated (*intorano*: cattle raided). Moreover, if the expedition had been a brilliant success, he received as a reward from the mwami a gift of several dozen cows.

(e) *Advantages for the members*

When in difficulty army members could ask for their chief's protection which could not be refused unless they had previously been disloyal to their chief. A chief could prevent a member of his

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their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

From the point of view of social cohesion between the different strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(*d*) *Redistribution of wealth*

Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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The emphasis put on the social prestige bestowed by cattle ownership has sometimes led to the underestimation of a second meaning of their possession. Effective disposal of cattle was the main institutionalized means of achieving power. It certainly enables a person to secure labour and agricultural produce through the clientage structure. And at the present time, the disposal of cows gives more advantages than could be obtained by their counterpart in money.

Consequently, the redistribution of cattle operated through the army was extremely important and had much wider social implications than the dues paid in commodities.

Here, again, the mwami was the main beneficiary of the bovine tributes concentrated through the army. On his accession he received one cow as a recognition gift from every lineage, and a certain proportion of the cows presented at the numbering; after a successful campaign, the 'bow of the army' (cattle seized upon by the *abakoni*) was his. The king usually kept only the bare ownership of that cattle and granted its usufruct to important chiefs who then became his clients.

The army-chief was also much favoured in army cattle dues. He received a recognition gift on entering his office, a part from the herds presented and numbered, a certain proportion of the private booty of the warriors, rewards extended by the king after a victorious expedition, and gifts offered by army members. He had the effective disposal of these cows as long as he was in charge, that is to say, up to his death if he was not dismissed. He thus controlled a considerable amount of cattle, symbols of prestige and instruments of power. He could build up a wide clientage among army herdsmen as it was particularly among them that he chose his clients. But he could also grant his cows to non-army members (*inkomamashyi*), who then became army members.

In what measure was the ordinary army member affected by cattle? Firstly, whether warrior or herdsman, he was deprived of some of his own cows by the different payments to the king and the army-chief. Secondly, a member of the herdsmen's section could receive some cows as a client of the army-chief. Was it a real advantage? The question may be raised as the herdsman had to give cows to the chief. Obviously, there was an advantage only if he received the usufruct of more cows than he had given. This means that only a certain number of army members were very likely to

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be favoured. This was a kind of redistribution of wealth among the lineages of the army made according to the preferences of the army-chief. Thirdly, the warriors as such did not receive cows from the army-chief (but they could be at the same time warriors and herdsmen). Their only privilege as warriors was to loot privately after the *abakoni* had laid hold on the 'bow of the army'. Moreover, if they had shown any particular gallantry, the mwami or the army-chief rewarded them with a gift of a few cows.

(*e*) *Protection*

When compared with the considerable benefits in cattle that the king and the army-chief derived from the military structure, the advantages of ordinary army members, particularly the warriors, seem to have been very meagre. The army tribute in goods and services were compensated for in a different way by the protection extended to his subordinates by the army-chief.

This protection could be asked for and received in all the difficult circumstances of life without being limited to any particular kind of circumstances. An instance frequently mentioned by our informants was the army-chief's support to one of his subordinates who was a party in a lawsuit. If the protection of a man of high standing appeared useful or necessary in such a situation one must suppose that judicial decisions were not taken only on the case's own merits, but that the respective power of the two protectors was weighed by the judge.

The army-chief's protection was diffuse and general, not limited to a few cases clearly defined. We have already come across such a characteristic of the superior's protection in respect of the chiefs of the administrative hierarchy. This suggests that power relations were emphasized in Ruanda and that the rights and properties of isolated men, that is to say those not identified in any respect with a powerful one, were insecure.

The judicial role of the army-chief must be related to his function of protection. In the disputes between two members of his army, he exercised a kind of paternal jurisdiction, as did any Ruanda authority. In contentions between members of different armies, the fact that the question was settled by the army-chiefs concerned suggests more a compromise in which each chief acted as a representative of one of the litigants, than a judgement based on pre-established norms.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated over the country. There was no rule against naming the king after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died.

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

643 656 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 372 687 778 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 643 [775] The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king. After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 578 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 551 644 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 644 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is as much as a one-month range of variations in the dates of the rainy and dry seasons each year. The precipitations are very irregular. Sometimes for a few weeks there is heavy rainfall lasting ten or twelve hours followed by a few dry days, at other times there is a 2- or 3-hour shower every day. Besides this fundamental irregularity there is no uniformity throughout the country. Owing to the very uneven relief, neighbouring regions or even neighbouring groups of hills and valleys, may have quite dissimilar climates. 132

Although it is believed that the country was covered with forest in the remote past, now only three per cent. of the surface of Ruanda is woodland; even if savannah with trees is taken into account the figure is not brought up to more than 6·5 per cent.[4] At the beginning of the century the figures were almost certainly not higher, and very likely lower. Indeed, the policy of the Administration has been to attempt to protect by regulation the forests which were left and to promote the replanting of trees. The present-day typical Ruanda landscape, eucalyptus-covered hills and roads, bordered by three or four lines of trees, is new. Fifty years ago the country had an even more denuded appearance than it has today. 311 656

The result of the scarcity of trees in a country of steep hills has been erosion. Torrential rainfall has washed off the more fertile top soil. The deterioration of the ground has been a long process which has not yet been reversed. The north-western part of Ruanda provides an exception to the general poverty. Here the soil is of volcanic origin, formed from recent lava, and rich. The land at the bottom of valleys everywhere is, of course, notably better than on the slopes. 134

A good top-soil is important not only for cultivation: allowing a slow infiltration of water, it helps to form subterranean watersheds situated not too deeply underground. A decrease in this top-soil has had the effect that some of these practically superficial water reserves which feed sources have drained away. I have been told more than once by old people that in such or such a place there was a water source when they were young. When digging a well now one has to go very deep. 133 134

These phenomena, erosion, impoverishment of soil, and drying up of sub-soil, are not to be attributed only to the action of the purely natural factors mentioned (the heavy rainfalls and the 134

[4] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 331.

621 representative at court, we find clans that do have their repre-
614 sentatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the
202 help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hill-top to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

The population hates the police agents. I had an opportuni-
625 ty to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to
578 join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

159 of the king and his favorites, upon whom state affairs and interests are centered.

151 Tax System. The interweaving of landed property is not the only means of paralyzing local, particularistic aims. The system of taxation accomplishes this too. The tax burden of the farmers is divided into several units which are usually collected by different chiefs. In this instance the chiefs are only intermediaries, but they retain part of the taxes.

The taxes of the farmers consist of food, hoes, beer, animals, and work in natura.

The tax to be paid to the king is determined by the king himself. Special conditions in individual communities sometimes exempt them from transporting their produce to the capital city. Thus, for example, Issawi Hill was exempt from food deliveries to the capital because Europeans were staying there.

The tax to be paid to the chief is determined by the chief himself, but he may not overburden his people; otherwise his work force may threaten to move away. Taxes in the form of food are collected during the harvest. There is considerable local variation in the amount of taxation in Ruanda. It varies also among individual high chiefs. Thus, in Marangara, for example, the people of Nshohozamigo work two days out of a five-day week in the fields of their chiefs. The people of Rudegambia and Kabare only perform services in the capital, for example, build huts and deliver food supplies. The fields of the subchiefs are cultivated by their clients who have become subject to compulsory labor through the granting of cows, as well as by wageworkers who are paid in milk and butter. In Issawi clients do not work in the fields of their patrons.

In Ruanda there are different categories of taxes, and the people are taxed very differently.

The greatest burden is buletwa, work that must be performed in natura on the fields of the chief, a primitive great landowner. The people work [271] two to three days out of a five- to six-day week on the land of the mutware. This work is the Muhutu's payment for the land on which he has settled and is not performed by the free farmers (ngabo) who have their own land which was cleared

643 of his great chiefs to cede it to him. The latter yields with good
[425] grace and usually receives some cattle in exchange.

The Mwami is an absolute monarch by divine right who
643 knows no other rule but his will, even his caprice. (2) In the past,
661
692

2. Hence the proverb: Luyose higirwa n'Unwami, "all depends on the King."

before our occupation, he could with impunity torture, mutilate, or kill anyone who had displeased him. His criminal sentences conformed to the customs of the country, which acknowledged this [87] formidable right, and no one thought of rebelling against his decisions (1).

[177]

1. The Mwami's right of life and death was abolished in 1917 at the time of the occupation of the country by our troops.

In the same way he is high judge and makes the final settlement in disputes, even the slightest, among his subjects.

Finally, the king is the supreme legislator of the people. With the help of the abiru, he sees that the common law is kept, but he has the sole power of modifying the country's law if and whatever he wishes.

643 He announces his decisions (amategeko) at the door of his rugo,
[692] where people from all parts have congregated to pay homage or demand justice. The intumwa (messengers) are then charged to make known the Mwami's orders to the people of the different provinces.

643 In addition to his Mututsi name (Musinga, Rudahigwa, etc.),
551 the Mwami receives on his accession a king's name (Yuhi, Mutara, etc.). These names are repeated periodically; thus the present Mwami is Mutara III.

The king is sometimes given a surname such as Rwabugiri Sezisoni (Merciful, Clement) (2).

[192]

2. Foreign word originating in Buhima, east of Ruanda.

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro
171 that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned
768 as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a
775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place
769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca-
766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and
661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is
[761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus. Many small objects are poured on the ground from various calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an intelligent man.

[134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no
791 circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
754 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may be characterized in the following manner. According to Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medicine men who can free a person from the malediction of the evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, protectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
[578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either incurred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentricity, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
661 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly informed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

791 as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the
661 entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by
628 law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to
793 officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine
796 services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the
796 important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred
778 in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and
796 the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear"
[411] guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the
[776] point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but
796 one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

643 between the various elements of the people; it was
796 supposed to be a large contribution to the land's fertility and the country's welfare, and in all this the part played by the king was prominent.

643 Only in fact was the king's power limited. He
631 transferred the leadership of parts of his sultanates to some chiefs, almost in every case relatives (brothers, uncles, cousins), members of the royal family (*bapónza*). In their turn these would establish subchiefs chosen among their relatives, or the aristocracy (*bafísoni*), or even Batutsi commoners, but seldom among the Bahutu. The division reached very far and the last elements of it were not only single hills, but even parts of a hill. And although the ensuing intrication and divided hierarchy remind us forcibly of our own feudo-vassalic middle ages, and appear consequently most unstable, the Barundi system, if we set aside some violent revolutions, possessed some sort of stability and could carry on thanks to its practically hereditary organization. Chiefs, subchiefs and all who had availed themselves of the deep-seated division of authority were naturally possessed of rights over the common people and were entitled to demand from them various privileges, usually defined by local custom, and which ranged from a present of beer to well-determined contributions or vaguer corvées (services).

423 Some scholars have maintained that the *mwami*
661 definitely had a right of possession over the land of the whole of his sultanate. But the truth is that land was not an object of property for the *mwami* or for commoners and the *mwami* and his representatives simply had to allow its utilization and choose the people to carry it out. Such designations were, just as the political leaderships, more or less unstable, more or less precarious; there exists a heredity in fact; but it is possible for a chief, should he care to do so, to eject the tenants. Besides, the abandoned or untilled lands are at his disposal. The system in general enables members of the leading classes as well as members of the subject classes to constitute estates with the only difference that the former will possess large herds of cattle and have their lands tilled by people liable to unpaid service while the latter have only very few cows and must depend on their own labour and that of their families.

The political leader's say in agricultural matters also solves the difficult problem of proportioning field and pasture-lands. The chief will not allow the latter to be reduced, and the threat to the cattle-breeder is further avoided by the chief's right to use the sorghum fields for pastures after the harvest (*ibishaka-shaka*) either for themselves or for others.

423 The territory of an important chief, with its intermixing complex of herds, estates, revenues, and services, very often extended over large, sometimes

[p.14 (R)]

423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 We have said that the *mwami* did not possess the
661 land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *mwami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds
431 a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them are naturally attracted towards those who own them.
357 The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* who watch over the cattle), *bakevvi* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here
675 are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner
425 gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later return a calf after the cow has calved two or three
554 times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 *The relations between agriculturists*

425 Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

[p.15(A)]

644 with flagrant disgraces and the official executions that sometimes
662 resulted from them.

People became madly infatuated with everything abnormal or enigmatic, with the predictions of sorcerers, with ghosts, crimes, sudden or mysterious death.

And since the regular court attendants had a thorough knowledge of their neighbors' genealogy, past, history, acquaintances, and interests, it is easy to guess that the daily chronicle also concerned private quarrels, bereavements, marriages, and births. This was the usual pabulum of conversation. Similar in this respect to a certain French king who associated largely with lowly people, fortunetellers, astrologists, apothecaries, wig makers, and even the executioner, the Hamitic monarch also liked to surround himself with master cooks, archiaters, healers, magicians, and charlatans of all sorts to whom he occasionally distributed honors and appointments (1).

1. Some striking examples of those royal favors are known. Some subjects in most humble circumstances managed to obtain the hand of a Hamitic princess and to be raised to noble rank.

One can easily imagine what the royal administration was like
643 under the circumstances. No desire to encourage the arts, to favor
●661 agriculture, to improve the people's condition. The rights of the people exist theoretically, but they are regulated by no organic text and are too often dependent on the whims of royal and local power.

Infatuated with their own glory and exclusively preoccupied with their own pleasure, the sovereigns had no ambition other than to raise their prestige and to enjoy life.

The kings did not resemble one another from one reign to the next.

A warrior would succeed a peaceful man. Some, cruel and brutal, had the bloody whims and disordered passions of despots and degenerates. Others, of /42/ simpler tastes, led a peaceful existence and allowed the people to breathe.

643 One hears of sovereigns who liked and practiced the "things
661 of the mind," such as Yuhi-Mazimpaka, whose literary output is still highly prized by Black intellectuals.

The king's wives and concubines lived away from the court.
644 "Either he had noticed their beauty himself..., or their charms had been brought to his attention by the great who were sure to please him in so doing."

Among the reasons for the profusion of wives in the sovereign's harem, "the yearnings of the heart and the demands of the senses both played their part" above all else. Many a prince surrendered without restraint to voluptuous activities. Yet one hears of some romances adorned with the charms of literature which may actually have taken place.

It must be admitted in all fairness that a powerful idea pre-
842 sided over the establishment of the family among the Hamites. Like the Hebrews and so many other ancient peoples, the Batutsi regarded large numbers of children, and especially sons, as an honor, a glory, and a source of strength. They considered themselves fortunate if they could watch the growth of their children and their children's children to the third and fourth generations.

A large progeny seemed to them a sure guarantee for the future
595 of their race. Let us add that peace could not reign in their homes.
578 For among the legitimate wives, there was almost invariably a favorite. "Competing among themselves, competing for their children, they drove the latter to rivalry, and the husband, following his preferences or giving way to his weakness, did not always share equitably his heart, his favors, and his goods." (1) /43/

1. The loved wife is called nkundwakazi, the hated wife mbikazi. A rival is called mukeba or umugore w'ishyari, that is to say, literally, "jealously woman /or wife/."

428 Only boys share in the real estate (1).

1. As exceptions to this rule, one finds a few joint patrimonial domains which the co-heirs exploit together under the frerage (or frareshe). This kind of landed property is called isage (or ingaligazi).

The oldest son, or at least the one appointed by the dying man to succeed him, receives a share slightly larger than that of his brothers, owing to his right of primogeniture. If there are three heirs, the property is divided into three lots of equal size except for one field or one small banana grove.

This /latter/ parcel is called umusaya and is added to the share of the first heir.

Cattle and sheep are divided equally among them.

One does not find any free or abandoned land in Ruanda. There may be more or less extensive areas that lie fallow because they are not very fertile, or because the presence of wild beasts makes them too dangerous, or because they are too remote from inhabited centers or too extensive in relation to the population size, but they are not on this account res nullius /Tr.: nobody's property/. Their owners always retain the right to use them and take effective possession of them whenever they wish.

311 423

Forests, mountains, moors, marshes, and bogs are divided into a multitude of lots whose owners are publicly known.

Through an abuse of authority, the chiefs may temporarily reserve for themselves part of the plateaus, valleys, or marshy lowlands to graze their cattle. [661]

In spite of this, their subjects retain proprietary ownership of these lands and grasslands and they will not fail to assert their rights at the first opportunity, for example, when a chief departs or when he is replaced.

In some regions it frequently happens that the arable plots no longer meet the /48/ needs of the population. Then those men who

644 634 64 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises, the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain the latter's approval.

644 778 [534] 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it [482] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock, and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails "turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

686 "Why don't you make the sky weep if you wish to find a remedy for your suffering!" people would shout at them as a joke (1).

1. Izuba libaririre!

"If it does not rain at such-and-such a time, if you do not make our fields green again, you will die".... And execution followed close upon the threat.

635 692 Like the king, the great Batutsi chiefs sat in judgment and passed sentence in their provinces when they resided there or whenever they were passing through. They were not all alike. Among them there were just and humane men, and one likes to believe that they were in the majority. Some nevertheless left a bad reputation on account of their cruelty. It is said that two of them took pleasure 681 in having the arms of their victims bound behind their backs with wire drawn so tightly that the elbows met and the wire sank into the flesh.... Many persons died of this unique and atrocious torment. Another dignitary had those upon whom he wanted to wreak his revenge immobilized and made to lie on their backs.

Then he would make his victim drink a pitcher of beer or water through a gourd shaped like a funnel. A third man, leaning heavily on his spear, would pierce his victim's foot and thus nail him to the ground. A high dignitary punished those who had displeased him by seizing two of their fingers and pulling them apart with all his might, thus tearing the tissues that connected them. Fortunately, however, those were exceptions which should be ascribed to paganism, the primitiveness of customs, the cruelty of the times, the criminal procedures then in effect, the passions aroused by clan struggles, the competition for power, the revolutions, and sometimes also the proud and savage conceit of chiefs who were too young to govern. /380/

643 In order to gain an accurate understanding of the mores that prevailed at the time, the reader must be reminded that the life of a 661 man counted for very little in the eyes of the king and of the great chiefs. Subjects of Lwabugiri who are still alive today (he died in 1895) report that in order to show his skill or to judge the strength of his bow, the sovereign would shoot at the first person who appeared

643 along the road, to the sanctimonious applause of his entourage. Once
661 he even tried his spear against one of his chief lieutenants. The latter had the audacity to evade the blow, pick up the weapon, and hurl it back at him with equal skill. The king managed to duck and showed no displeasure, at least on that day. He even congratulated the man for his boldness and courage and said that he was a "man" (umugabo).

This scene was enacted more than once during the same reign. The unfortunate men who served as targets to the spirited monarch, however, lacked sufficient audacity, and especially good fortune, to get away... with such amiable words.

Under the reign of the present monarch, Yuhi IV Musinga,
[687] from the time of his accession to the throne and prior to European penetration, the famous Ndamutsa drum often heralded one or several executions. Aside from the crime of sorcery it was enough to be denounced, rightly or wrongly, as having spoken poorly of the king and queen mother. Such crimes were punished on short order and briskly.

Public rumor has it that the young king tried his first gun shot on a madman. He hit him point blank.

The courtiers who were present at this murder scene emitted frenzied bravos to applaud the supreme skill of His Majesty.

European influence and supervision alone managed to bring
[177] to an end this state of affairs and this kind of behavior, which in the natives' way of thought only served to accentuate the majesty and power of the king. /381/ It does not follow that this change made the pagan Blacks any happier, for they were awed by the ancient customs and the bloody displays of brute force.

In principle, justice was the king's justice, since as the saying
671 goes, "the king is the law." For the sake of truthfulness, however, it must be added that there is a set of laws in existence. It is certainly not a complete code, but it nevertheless includes a series of laws and practices adding up to a veritable common law which, had it been rigorously applied, would have avoided many an extortion and cruelty. Gradually, over the centuries, a special procedure had been established for litigations bearing on property rights, inheritance rights, matrimonial rights and bride price, physical damage such as

644 violent death when they least expected it. This was for a long time
[682] a sword of Damocles which almost invariably fell upon the head of those who had the misfortune of being selected for that unenvied position.

We shall cite, later on, a few examples of this.

644 B. The cupbearers (abanyanzoga), like their colleagues in
273 the royal dairy and kitchen, also practiced a dangerous trade. Their
651 duties involved the obtention of the best beer available, which they had to preserve and to offer at the moment it was desired. They were numerous, and some of them lived near the king while others roamed the land to requisition honey, beer itself, or the bunches of bananas which are used in the manufacture of this precious beverage (1).

1. The head of the cupbearers, a certain Mutagikwa, is regarded thereby as captain of the Indengabaganizi army corps. This is a strictly honorific title, which nevertheless enables him to levy taxes in those territories where he exercises his functions as an officer of the "Cup."
He lives at Nyarugenge in Gassagara, the Buhanga.

Originally, employees in this category theoretically had rights
[661] only to bunches of bananas and honey (imitsama), and they roamed the land to obtain them (gutorana). Gradually they took on the habit of behaving like true chiefs and of demanding from the inhabitants contributions in kind, beans, sorghum, cows, etc., as well as forced labor, called buletwa. This permitted them not only to live well, but also to acquire large herds.

644 C. There are several work groups assigned to the cultivation
276 and preparation of the tobacco which is used by the prince. The plants destined for his use come from the Bugoyi /386/ Mata in the Marangara, and Ruyanza and Mussambiro in the Nduga, among other

644 Others were entrusted with the manufacture of baskets, hampers, mats, and other fine basketry.

Sebugrigri (deceased in 1925), the representative of the great chief Rwidegembya in the Bigogo province, had to supply annually two or three of those children, who were euphemistically known by the name of "pages" (intore) or "outgoers" (emigrants) chosen by fate (inkuke).

644 661 Nyiramurici (deceased in 1927), a Muhunde /Hunde/ from the Gishari and a close relative of the queen of that land, came to pay homage to the Hamitic prince of Ruanda. As a reward for his services as a sorcerer, he was given three villages (Gassovu, Gatoke, and Nyaruchundura) located in the Kanage, with the sole obligation of handing to the queen mother /459/ any girls he might father or obtain among his subjects (1).

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1. This obligation has always been regarded as a hateful one. As a rule parents were loath to surrender their offspring and complied only under duress. Sometimes they managed to elude this exorbitant tax by giving the chief one or even several cows. The chief also took advantage of this power to tax only his enemies or to extort several head of cattle from them under this revolting pretext.

In order to gain the good graces of the king or his mother, certain families freely gave up their children, boys or girls. The lot of the adolescent boys was much preferable to that of their sisters. Once grown up, after serving for a time in the page corps, they regained their freedom and were often granted the rule of a hill as a reward for their sojourn at court.

178 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the
643 present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which
782 took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of
661 exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or
644 families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the
644 Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

554 It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial
565 unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

2. Other Favors and Privileges

661 a. "The gift of the fire cow" (inka y' umuriro). This is when
644 the king sends a cow to a chief who has been stripped of his property or who has been in disgrace for some time. It is tantamount to a reconciliation.

This privilege grants the man who had been ostracized or banished permission to settle definitively on granted land and to build there like anyone else.

The gift of the cow, which is a sign and proof of forgiveness, also heralds further favors.

The last two beneficiaries of royal clemency were Musinga's maternal uncles, Lukangamiheto and Luhinankiko, whose ambition and political activities had /469/ greatly displeased the queen mother and the regent Kabale, creator of the bloody Ruchunchu revolution. They regained their rank and position at court.

661 b. Entrance rights (ilembo). This favor is highly valued by those to whom it is granted. It consists of receiving, in lieu of the king, the gifts of material goods and herds which are daily offered to the prince. Hence the expression, "to proceed to or place oneself at the entrance to the Court" (kuja kw' ilembo ry'ibgami) so as to take over the gifts and cows which subjects bring to their sovereign. This is a temporary privilege that is granted only for a few days and never more than two or three months to the same individual.

c. Ubulenga nzira is a sort of tithing right which the king and great chiefs grant to individuals whom they wish to reward. The [651] holder of this right may levy a tax on the inhabitants of the territory over which the chief or king has jurisdiction. He gets cows and produce as long as the concession is not revoked.

d. The right to levy a cow wherever one spends the night [651 (kurar'inka) is largely granted in times of war, on the way out and on 721] the way back.

[702] It is a good device to recruit soldiers, who greatly valued this privilege and made use of it both in friendly and in enemy territory.

e. Ubutumwa ("message"). The "right of message" grants the king's envoys the right to demand a cow from the recipient of the message. Instances are cited of men who managed to assemble fine herds thanks to their job as royal couriers.

661 f. "Those who are not looted" (abatanyagwa). This is a kind of privilege of inviolability granted by the prince to chiefs whom he takes under his special protection. He /470/ promises to help them and swears never to surrender them to their enemies.

g. "The right to secure provisions at night" (oguhaha n' ijoro) is a polite metaphor, or rather a gracious euphemism, that means that the beneficiaries of this privilege are entitled to steal freely during the night. It is said that this strange privilege was granted for the last time to the clan of the Bakoma, descendants of the petty king of Marangara, who took advantage of it to the best of their interests.

Favors of this kind were not surprising to the Blacks, who knew only too well that the goods of the subjects belonged to the king, and that by taking them (directly or through an intermediary) he was only taking what belonged to him.

Chapter 5

Safeguard with which the King Surrounds Himself on the Part of His Employees. Dangers to Which the Latter Were Exposed Daily. Customs and Formalities Observed by the King and His Subjects.

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I. Precautions Employed by the King to Insure the Fidelity of His Servants and Employees

Not only does the king demand the most absolute devotion, but he also requires the most rigorous secrecy from most of his people. Those who must be especially careful not to risk his anger and suspicion are the cooks, table servants (abōzi, abahanga), cup bearers, the men who prepare tobacco, and those in charge of the prince's pipe (abanyaruhago).

The sacrificer-diviners and especially those who are known by the name of Abakongori or Abanyambuto because they use the

644 We have seen that in order to preserve the supernatural
695 properties of the beverage (igihango) the candidates were forbidden to smoke, drink, or spit. What were they to do in order to avoid the disastrous effects that the test poison, according to popular belief, might have upon their health?

Accustomed as primitives are to the strangest and most incredible things, the Banyarwanda believed that in order to avert any danger in this connection, all they had to do was to commit a shameful act immediately.

As a result of this belief and in the thought that they were being helpful to the neophytes, their relatives led them away, outside the clan, along with some friends. They lay in wait and seized
[839] a young man or a young girl, depending on the sex of the candidate, and did violence to the young person.

It must be added that the Blacks, knowing the distaste of Europeans for such sport, have not dared to fulfill the last part of the
[178] program since the arrival of the Whites.

II. Dangers to Which Dignitaries, Employees, and Favorites at Court Were Exposed at All Times

644 It may be said that until recent years the secret of certain
●661 customs and traditions had been well preserved, for fear of the effects of the test poison and for fear of the king, who would not hesitate to punish delinquents at the first sign of indiscretion. It is equally true that until our time the majority of servants /473/ and underlings lived under the risk and perpetual threat of a violent death which might claim them at any moment. The monarch, who did not rely exclusively on the effectiveness of the test poison and probably had very good reasons not to do so, unfortunately made use quite often of his prerogatives as sovereign and his discretionary power over all things to apply extravagant punishments. Nothing counted in his eyes except his own interests, his whims and his passions. He frequently gave free rein to the latter. A mere suspicion or even less was sufficient to cause the merciless death of an unfortunate individual.

644 661 Some examples will clarify the preceding statements. We may add that they were the last in this bloody serial, and that such things could not happen at the present time.

The most vulnerable servants were unquestionably those who were assigned to the king's kitchens or to the service of his meals, as well as those who were in charge of watching over his beer and milk and those who prepared his tobacco. So as not to extend the necrological list out of all proportion, since the other employees were far from being safe, we shall speak here only of victims belonging to the above-mentioned categories of servants.

Kiryana (from the word kurya, "to eat"), or the "House that devours" its inhabitants, such is the portentous name given to the hut where the bowls of milk reserved for the prince are kept.

Two or three keepers are assigned to this duty, which consists of cleaning the bowls, receiving the milk brought by the chiefs, and presenting it to the king once a day.

Of all vocations this is the most feared and the least envied. Numerous have been its victims, and numerous also those who ran far away to neighboring lands in order to avoid this dangerous honor.

This is why it was always assigned by force. It may be said that /474/ few of those men left their duties without having paid with their lives. The sovereigns, who also lived under a perpetual fear of poisoning and bewitchment and who were not in the least miserly about the blood of their subjects since it counted for so little in their eyes, did not hesitate to nurture a salutary fear in their entourage by striking blindly into the ranks of their servants. Those who fell served as examples to those who remained. It was a matter of inspiring terror and instigation their zeal. Thanks to his high intelligence and to his diviners and sorcerers, the king was believed to know everything which might be plotted in secret against him.

Some Concrete Instances

644 661 696 A young man had been attached to this particular service /milk hut/ for about 15 years. Many a time his sovereign had assured him that he was satisfied with his services and that nothing would ever happen to him.

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His assistants and colleagues kept vanishing, almost invariably struck by the bloody fate which clung to them and to their position. He alone remained untouched. To bind him closer the king plied him with gifts of goods and cattle.

Whenever an anxious thought disturbed his heart, he would think about all the things he possessed, about the royal favor, and about all that he could still expect. There came a time when the queen mother, influenced by rivals and envious men, began to persecute him. No matter how much our man defended himself, calling upon the guarantee he had offered by drinking the test poison and expressing in a most touching fashion the feelings of loyalty which he nurtured toward the royal family, the suspicions which rested upon him merely grew. The queen mother, who always held a sword in her hand, soon came to thrusts with it. While our unfortunate man was fulfilling his duties toward the king and /475/ serving him some drink, he felt the point of the sword graze his body many times. "Traitor, poisoner, son of a dog" (umwana w'imbga), such were the epithets that greeted his appearance. The prince at first seemed to defend him. He even told him privately that he did not believe the calumnies circulated against him, that everything would be all right, that his enemies would be exposed, and that the queen mother would eventually trust him once more.

The days went by, the animosity of the mother did not decrease, and now the king intervened only for the sake of appearances.

One evening, at nightfall, the unfortunate occupant of the "hut that devours" felt himself seized by strong arms.

Alone and taken by surprise, he did not put up any resistance. He was led to another hut.

He was laid upon the ground, firmly bound, and his hands tied behind his back. He vainly appealed to the mercy of his jailers, swearing his innocence.

They retorted that they were merely carrying out royal orders, and that their own life was at stake.

This the prisoner could well understand. Soon he was left to himself and to his own thoughts. Constrained tightly by his bonds, unable to move, and troubled about the fate that awaited him, the

644 unfortunate man grieved. He was prey to the most bitter thoughts
661 when three lugubrious shadows surged forward into his prison from the
696 midst of darkness and came toward him. . . . It must have been about eight o'clock. Two sticks grazed his neck as though to grip him in a vice. He was going to be strangled. In a convulsion of despair, the man who was about to die managed to break the bonds which held his hands and arms. In a flash he grasped both sticks by one end and set up fierce resistance against the efforts of those who wished to kill him, while emitting heart-rending cries, shouting for help, and proclaiming his innocence to the surrounding echoes. The huge agglomeration of /476/ royal huts resounded with the screams of this man who held on to life desperately. . . . No one could fail to know what was going on.

People were familiar with those shrill, heart-rending wails, which had pierced the air more than once. Everyone's heart tightened with emotion, but each person, in fear of the master or the envious men, maintained an impassive or scoffing expression as befits those who live in uncertainty about the future.

The victim struggled violently against his opponents, who could not manage to relax his hold. While two of the executioners attempted to free the sticks by beating him on the head and chest and kicking him, the third one rolled the victim, who was lying on the ground, in the opposite direction. The executioners, who were doing this work for the first time and had never yet killed anyone and who realized the odiousness of their task, trembled all over before the despair of the unfortunate man who had been surrendered to them.

The fight for life was reaching its climax, but it was obvious that victory would eventually rest with the group of opponents, who were able to move freely. Chance, or rather Divine Providence, willed it that a European who was passing through the capital should be with the king at that very moment.

Hearing the desperate cries that arose within the royal enclosure, the white man was moved and spoke heatedly to the prince. . . . The latter, feigning surprise and astonishment, hastened to the courtyard whence the cries rose, checked the stranglers, and returned forthwith to reassure his interlocutor.

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The man who was about to depart this life, exhausted by his efforts, had almost lost consciousness when he heard himself called by a voice which pretended to be compassionate. It was the king himself, feigning pity. He gave his ex-favorite some beer to drink, had him set on his feet, and asked him to follow, promising /477/ to release him. He had never believed in his guilt, he added, and therefore would soon restore his freedom. His goods would be returned to him, and he would resume his functions at court.

It was only a matter of a couple of hours. The poor captive, staggering at each step under the grip of emotion and weakness, was led to a sort of brick building used as a prison. The door was closed upon him.

He found there a fellow captive who sympathized with his misfortune. More fortunate than he, the other man received food and pombe from the outside, which he shared forthwith. The prisoner, who felt that his last hour had come, regained some courage and the strength needed to undertake a new fight for life.

The honeyed words of the king had not fooled him. He knew that the matter had merely been postponed and that soon he would be fetched again. His companion, who was familiar with the mores of the capital, made no attempt to contradict him. Fearing nothing for himself because he was a noble and too well known to be dispatched secretly, he was full of pity for the man who was about to die. Certain of his fellow-prisoner's trustworthiness and encouraged by his advice, the unfortunate servant tried to shake the door open and weighed upon it with all his might. Nothing could be achieved there, however, for it was shut tight. His efforts were in vain. The planks were nailed solidly and resisted his blows and the pressure of his knees. Time was short, however, for the executioners could arrive at any moment.

The prisoner, in whom the desire to live was stronger than the death which threatened him, managed to climb the dry-brick wall by using his feet and hands. The building was several years old, and the soil which had been used as mortar had disintegrated in the course of time, offering occasional holds to fingers and nails actuated /478/ by an iron will. The head of the climber reached the thatch roof.

644 The man quickly broke through the wood and bamboo of the framework.
66! He was just in time. The door of the prison opened at the same
696 moment, and the executioners came in to seize the condemned man. The latter took off and hurled himself into space. The wall was fortunately of moderate height. The fugitive nevertheless sprained himself slightly in falling upon his feet. Not having had time for thought, he had merely obeyed the instinct for self-preservation. The imminence of danger lent him wings, for his leap had drawn the attention of those who vainly sought him inside.

The alarm was sounded, and the fugitive pursued. He did not lose his head, however. Instead of risking capture, which was bound to result if he placed all his trust in flight, our man, who had some headway over his pursuers, hid in the capital itself at the home of a friend he trusted completely. It was to be expected that searches would be made in the huts. In order to avert this new danger, one of the long baskets used to store beans inside the huts was readied to provide the fugitive with a foolproof hiding place.

For further safety his head was covered with beans which allowed him to breathe sideways but which were sure to defeat the searchers' quest. All inspections and investigations among the inhabitants were in vain. When vigilance had relaxed a little, the lucky fugitive took advantage one evening of the shades of night to leave forever that tragic place which had nearly become his grave. His flight was discovered some time later. Under directives from higher sources, the local chief had the hut surrounded. Its owner managed to escape in time.

The affair had become known, and furthermore the country had come increasingly under the sway of European administration. The latter /479/ heard of the matter. A trial took place which did not turn out in favor of the persecutors.

As a result, the fugitive was not disturbed again.

Many years have passed since this moving episode. The memory of those frightful events has nevertheless remained painful to the hero of the tragedy, who does not like to recall the past. The stubborn scars which cross his face, chest, and arms corroborate the seriousness of the episode that nearly killed him. He has met

644 since more than once with his neophyte executioners, who did not
661 fail to congratulate him with some embarrassment while apologizing
696 for the odious task which had been entrusted to them. "Some luck thou had!" they already told him (wagiz' Imana). "What an ugly business the king had entrusted to us!"

"Good for thee, if you managed to get out of such a tight corner." A little later he was even presented to the king, who was first taken aback. He recovered himself quickly and congratulated him in turn. "It was God who saved you (N'Imana yagukijije)," he added. In gratitude to God, Who had rescued him from such a diffi-
[553] cult situation, the lucky fugitive changed his name from Ngirimandwa ("The spirits of the initiates are on my side") to Ngirimana, which means "I have God (on my side)."

After a whole string of circumstances, all equally eventful and dramatic, the outcome had finally turned out in Ngirimandwa's favor.

For one fugitive who was able to narrate in detail the vicissitudes of the drama that nearly killed him, however, how many unfortunate ones vanished into the fatal den without a trace!

Now that the times have changed, elders whose lips were formerly sealed by the rule of secrecy and by the fear of corporal punishment, freely mention the names of unfortunate executed men they knew. They recall among many others a young man who had been a page. /480/ His intelligence, ability, and liveliness had drawn the notice of the sovereign to him, who made him his favorite and could not do without him. As in the previous case the years went by and the prince's favor was transferred elsewhere.

[539] "A king's friendship, a day's friendship," says the proverb.

He had been practically forsaken and was hardly noticed anymore, when one day he was requested to work in the famous "bloody hut."

What had he done that his fate should be so irreparably settled? That is practically unknown.

About eight days after he had received his new job, he was summoned in great haste as though for some pressing errand. It was

644 the queen mother who had called him. She wanted news of a court
661 lady who had just given birth.
696 This woman lived a short distance from the capital. Night fell. The messenger set out on his way. He was accompanied by a chief and by a factotum.

They reached the edge of a swamp of sinister fame where summary executions were formerly performed.

The young man, guiltless and carefree, walked in front. He was struck from behind. . . and has never been heard of since.

Another occupant of the hut with the portentous name, just as peaceable as the preceding one but older, was brutally seized in turn when he least expected it, after being designated by the diviners' bones. . . . First he managed to run away and hide at a friend's house. When he attempted to return to his own village, however, he was recognized and captured along the way by a chief who led him back to the capital. He was tossed into prison where he was joined during the night by sinister-looking men. They held in their hands large milk jars which they used to crush his jaw and face. The prisoner, tightly bound as the Blacks know how to do, was stretched upon the ground /481/ and unable to make the least motion. Kicks and blows fell thick and fast upon the chest and stomach of the unfortunate man whose body soon became a single wound.

He was finished off by strangulation.

Several groups of young girls were also killed, some under the fallacious pretext of having poisoned the tobacco they prepared, others for having stolen bead necklaces. The latter, after they had confessed, were first thrown into prison. A day or two later, they were taken out and led to the queen mother, who feigned reconciliation and pardon and received them with great displays of joy. Hydromel was served to them in large quantities. A deep sleep took hold of them. Then the executioner came and strangled them. . . .

681 In order to give an idea of the frequency of executions and
696 variety of corporal punishments, we shall give here a sort of
644 necrological list that includes the names of the victims and the circumstances of their death.

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Sentashonga, the victim's cousin, was granted permission that evening to have the corpse of his relative buried.

The elders and former habitués of the court do not lack for narratives of this kind, which they relate like any other tale without [521] seeming overly shocked by them. Such is the environment, such are the mores and attitudes. /485/

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"The king is the master," they say. "He does as he pleases. The decisions he makes cannot be contested. He is the supreme judge. One can only obey and assent." The victims' relatives were sometimes the first to come and greet him, feigning total impassiveness, forced as they were to drive back to the bottom of their hearts the bitter pain which they could not but feel.

Complaints, wails, and recriminations could only have stirred up the anger of the king and given rise to new slaughters.

While looking after his own safety, every person also had to keep in mind that of his people /relatives and friends/. The latter, indeed, might be held responsible for the deeds and actions, no matter how harmless, of any of their fellow members. The extermination of a whole family formerly weighed very little on the scale of royal justice.

So as not to provoke trouble which might prove fatal, therefore, they put a good face on misfortune. These executed, however innocent they might have been, were claimed in loud voices to have been cursed men (ibichibga) or rebels. To shed tears or express one's [687] sorrow were crimes of high treason. "A mere whim of the master was sufficient to send a person to punishment. What won't one do to avoid so cruel a fate?" This statement made by a court favorite of the previous reign /avant-règne/ reveals a great deal about the mores of the time. "If the king happened to sprain his foot," added the same man, "to knock against some obstacle or pebble, it was not a good idea to meet with him at that moment."

In his anger the monarch might accuse anyone of having bewitched him, and wreak then and there a signal vengeance.

Professional executioners were not always used for this purpose. The king might call upon any member of his retinue to carry out the [696] task. The person had to comply, no matter how revolted he might

643 be /486/ by this dreadful assignment. Hands unpracticed in dealing
661 death might sometimes fumble, but the master was watching and
686 the task had to be carried through. The fact of being a friend of the victim did not exempt anyone from this odious task.

As a rule and with some rare exceptions, it may be said that the subjects were not inordinately appalled by such assignments, so much was this an accepted custom of the times.

186 This did not prevent the Banyarwanda from regarding themselves as superior to other Blacks, whom they thought to surpass in intelligence and civilization. Despite the stains and stigmas of the past, they reject with irritation the term Shenzi, which is applied exclusively to noncivilized groups, as not applying in any way to them or to their ancestors. It is good to close the tale of these cruel practices and to feel that the curtain of time has been drawn forever over the past.

III. Poisoning and Bewitching: The Use of Charms and Philters

754 What should we really believe about those victims whose death is attributed to bewitchment or poisoning? The Blacks unquestionably mention this constantly. Their credulity in this connection is universal and extraordinary.

Numerous examples are cited of deaths which are said to have resulted from one or the other of those alleged causes.

We may add that the natives are familiar with numerous methods for bewitching their enemies, and that sorcerers in this evil category, both male and female, are found in great numbers throughout the country. One thing is certain: their superlative reputation is worse than their deeds.

As for crimes of poisoning, one may rest assured that such attempts were made and that toxic materials were used to this end, some of which were extracted locally and others purchased in neighboring regions such as /487/ the Uswi and Bunyabungu. How effective were those poisons? This is not easy to determine since, on the one hand, a true case of poisoning has never actually been witnessed, although the Blacks are absolutely convinced that they do occur

644 484 661 Appointed cowherds lead before them a small herd of milk cows to provide for the needs of the king.

The passage of a prince was formerly tantamount to a disaster for the local inhabitants, who had to harbor the members of the train.

The retinue did not merely include courtiers, the royal guard, sorcerers, and the usual employees. Those dignitaries who wished to retain the good graces of the sovereign made it their business to accompany him with their numerous servants. Idlers and jacks-of-all-trades also joined the train along the way and fleeced the unlucky natives on whom they paid a visit.

This was indeed a veritable army which spared neither friend nor foe, trampling the crops in their path, looting travelers, and taking by force from the local inhabitants whatever had not been hidden in time.

[551] The men who made up the usual retinue of Kigeri IV Lwabugiri were nicknamed the "Pillagers" (1), owing to their extortions.

1. Their native nickname, Ibitsimbanyi, is a noun derived from the verb gutsimba, which means "to pillage," "to fleece."

644 768 11. For the sake of completeness, we shall cite the following two customs which the keepers of the traditions assure us were observed in the past. /498/

When the death of a neighboring sovereign, of the Uswi, Urundi, or Karagwe, was announced, the king had to leave his residence and have a new one built (1).

1. Times have changed. The choice of a site and the building of a new "palace" would present too many difficulties today. When the prince of Urundi died, the king merely spent eight days outside his habitual

173 with beans. Ruganzu was pleased with the discovery and congratulated the cook. He was shown a few of the plants, and he had some of their seeds gathered.

Others add that the woman in question presented him on the same occasion with the first sorghum bread he had ever seen, hence the thought of introducing the cultivation of that grain plant into his kingdom.

Whatever the authenticity of these details may be, the truth 796 is that the "first fruits" festival (umuganura, kuganuz' umwami) is celebrated every year at the capital to commemorate the introduction of sorghum, eleusine, and the spinach-like plant into Ruanda. It was usually celebrated in February or March for eleusine, and in May for sorghum; to each occasion the famous plant was added. Over the last few years, eleusine, sorghum, and spinach have been brought at one time to the capital for a single ceremony. In the Bumbogo a special family is in charge of cultivating the field where the grain destined for the court is harvested.

This function is transmitted from father to son. At sowing time the appointed keeper of the field goes and asks the king for the hoe that will be used to break the ground.

When this envoy appeared at court, the king was supposed to have him struck three times, according to custom.

The reason for this curious practice is unknown.

The man left with his hoe during the night. Once the harvest /501/ was concluded, the same people /sic/ returned to the capital to fetch the special basket (igitenda ch' imikondo) in which the sorghum or eleusine was carried. The basket was placed on a litter (ingobyi). Those who walked in the procession enjoyed the privilege [661] of robbing and looting the people they found along the way.

The story tells that they did not hesitate to make use of this 796 privilege in the old days, but that for some time things had improved, 661 and with good reason. The chiefs whose territory they crossed at night were compelled to treat them well because they were the king's men. Needless to add, they were always ready to indulge in revelry when the opportunity arose. Once arrived at the capital they were allowed by custom, it seems, to handle the Batutsi roughly and to

796 throw cow bones into their face. This is no longer the case, and
661 times have changed for the better. An evolution of ideas has taken place under European influence. Since these men are no longer inviolate, their behavior has necessarily become less brutal.

They were immediately received by the king, who asked them
796 into his hut to the exclusion of his usual entourage. The great chief of the Bumbogo (umutware w' intebe), of the Batsobe clan, alone came in with the king. It was he who officially presented the first fruits to the sovereign. Precautions were taken so that no one might come near the grain destined for the king. Carefully selected slaves or servant girls threshed the stalks at night far from all unhallowed glances. Then they had the task of crushing the grain before the eyes of the monarch. They worked with the most meticulous cleanliness, that is to say, without spitting into their hands or touching the flour with their unhallowed fingers.

Princes and dignitaries live in perpetual fear of poisoning and spells, hence the numerous measures /502/ and strict watchfulness observed in these circumstances. When enough flour had been obtained to make bread (umutsima), another slave girl took it and immediately prepared it.

The dough was ceremoniously taken to the king, who removed a piece from it with his fingers. He brought it first to his forehead, then to his chest, and then took it to his mouth. The chief who was present did the same. This ceremony was carried out in silence. The men who had brought the first fruits also offered the monarch some stalks of issogi, which is, as we have seen, one of the most important plants (imbuto nkuru).

[262] It must be remembered that the Banyarwanda cannot eat sorghum bread or eleusine bread alone because it is too dry.

They usually eat it, therefore, with a mouthful of beans cooked along with this sort of spinach. The latter lends the beans a flavor which is highly esteemed by the natives. This is what gave the plant a choice place among other foods.

796 It was customary for the men who had taken part in the pro-
264 cession to be rewarded. A bucket (umuvule) was filled with milk, and another with beans that were only half cooked.

234 Butter is not eaten. It is used to anoint the body and to
302 smear on clothes. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter; they are held at the neck with one hand and rocked back and forth on the ground. Butter is stored in small clay [143] and
415 wooden vessels (akachendo). The latter often have looped handles and are then called uchende yo mukondo.

The local form of intensive agriculture on very fertile soil
233 is not easy to combine with the extremely extensive cattle raising. Barn feeding is unknown. The animals graze all day in the open and are locked into the kraal (lugo) at night. Thus, even in the densely populated and highly agricultural regions, it is very difficult to keep even the milch cows near the settlements. The rest of the animals are driven out to more remote pastures. For example, the Bagoye drive their cows eastward into the primeval
233 forest on the watershed. The animals are cared for by special
465 Batutsi caretakers who are paid to do this. For his service the herdsman gets the milk the first two months, since the cow is not returned to the owner until her calf is two months old. The herdsman also gets a jug of beer worth one hoe. He is, however, held accountable for the cow and must replace animals which are killed or stolen.

246 Pastures receive no special attention. On the northern slope of Mount Ndisa, however, I saw an irrigation system that watered the mountain meadows. Otherwise the steppes are merely burned off at the end of the dry season; this removes the withered grass and the young grass comes up abundantly after the first rain, the ground having been fertilized by the ashes. Needless to say, grass fires have greatly contributed to the deforestation of Ruanda, especially in the less populated areas. Granted that the forests have been destroyed by the farmers, nevertheless it is the herdsmen who make a second growth impossible. Grass fires rage throughout the country. In Mulera and Bugoye where everything is under cultivation, one sees fires only on the volcanic plains.

233 Since no fodder is stored, the cattle become very thin during
● 661 the dry season. It is not uncommon for Batutsi chiefs to have their herds driven into the sweet potato plantations of their farmers, where great damage is done. No matter how great their loss, the Bahutu cannot drive the cows out nor resist in any way.

643 of the king who are recognized and fully qualified. The moment a
644 king has a son whom he recognizes, the queen mother is said to be sent away. For this reason she brings all her influence to bear (and this influence is, as a rule, very great) to prevent the king, as long as possible, from recognizing any of his children as fully qualified.

643 Bagaragu. The king is the owner of all the land and all the
423 cows in the country. He exercises his power by granting these lands and recalling them when he is displeased. In this manner the king appoints his officials who as such can be regarded as temporary large landowners. The king keeps them in office and on their land, but he can drive them out or increase their holdings at any time.

643 The king is omnipotent. The only thing that does not yield to him is the physically impossible. Thus, for example, he can find no one who is inclined to settle as chief in Ndorwa, for this would be too dangerous in spite of the eventual help of the king.

●661 An individual's power and possessions depend chiefly on the
643 favor of the king. This is the case to such an extent that even the privileged must always remain in contact with the king or
558 even live at his court, otherwise they cannot hold on to their success or their possessions. No matter how wealthy a man is, he can lose everything if he has no allies and if someone more fortunate succeeds in getting the king to withdraw his favor.

643 Every fortune hunter is surrounded by a number of clients who
644 dog his footsteps in the hope of participating in the successes of their patron. One can judge the importance and the prospects of the master by the number of these second-class fortune hunters who often have to content themselves with nothing more than gifts of milk from the king.

644 When I lived in Nyanza, I had an opportunity at eleven o'clock every morning to see the mighty ones, with a following of 50 to 60 men, march up to the king to give him a morning greeting. Among these were also completely impoverished [257] devils who, although they were marching up to the king as his bagaragu, had only one Muhutu in their retinue.

The most intimate associates of the king are his high chiefs. They are his clients (bagaragu). At the time of my visit in Nyanza

644 the following high chiefs were mentioned:

1. Nshohozamigo (Luhanga is his mugaragu in Mulera);
2. Kanuma from Kissaka;
3. Niamutezi from Kissaka;
4. Lutangabo from Kissaka;
5. Rwamanwa from Niaruguru;
6. Rudegambia;
7. Kabare from Bugessera, Nduga, Kifumbiro, Bugansa, Kissaka, etc.;
8. Lukara lwa Bishingwe (Muhutu) from Mulera;
9. Ndazihiwe (Muhutu);
10. Ishirangabo;
11. Runiga (Muhutu of the Bahenyi clan);
12. Bushakwe (Lwakadygi is his mugaragu in Bugoye);
13. Niamuhanga from Bgisha;
14. Lwabilinda from Mukinjaga, brother of Lwabugiri Kigeri;
15. Ruenankiko from Bulembo south of Mount Ndisa;
16. Nigensi from Mukinjaga.

644 361 These clients live in the huts that surround the large kraal of the king. Their "villas" (bilaro) looked to me like an encampment that had been set up a few days before, probably because they may not have trees planted around them, as is customary, because this might detract from the beauty of the trees surrounding the royal kraal. The only ornamentations in the entire vicinity were the trees of an old abandoned settlement on a neighboring hill.

644 The bagaragu of the king do not have any definitely appointed periods of service at court, as do the musicians, for example. Their periods of uninterrupted sojourn fluctuate between weeks and years. If you ask a high chief when he expects to go home, you always get the same answer: "When the king permits it." Besides 644 the favored, it is especially the feared who are kept at court for 661 a long time so that, removed from their own people and surrounded by a lot of envious, covetous rivals, they become innocuous. If they are absent too long, they gradually lose all contact with their followers. Time and distance have their effect, here as everywhere. For example, a rebellious chief from Mukinjaga was retained at court for the length of time it would take him to fill a

644 661 traveling basket with small white beads. For two years his people had to gather these beads, [258] a ransom which was designed not to increase the delight of the subjects with their master. When he saw that the basket was being filled too quickly, the king decided that the cure for the man's attitude was not sufficiently complete and made him fill a storehouse (kigega) with hoes. Only then did Musinga permit him to go home.

644 662 Thus, next to the splitting up of property, the sojourn at court is the most important factor in the organization and stabilization of the Ruanda state. To a certain extent this ensures against all eventualities. As long as the chief, the most important person in his territory, remains at court, the king holds all the chief's lands in his own hands to a certain extent.

651 644 The local taxation system is also closely connected with the sojourn of the bagaragu at court. The high chiefs must give the king gifts as large as possible in order not to lose favor. On the other hand, they must not demand too much of their people who might otherwise move away. This restricts them in two directions. It is left to them to strike a balance between these two factors, and the result is that the individual personality of the chief plays a much greater role than is the case in corresponding positions in our modern state.

644 The Royal Court. The court of the king consists of the representatives of the aristocracy, who make up a large majority of his bagaragu and hold various offices, and all kinds of minor officials who serve the ruler. The feudal lords and their retinues make up the bulk of the population of Nyanza, but they come and then go back again to their holdings when the king gives his permission. Thus, the size of the court fluctuates considerably. During the visit of His Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg there was great excitement at Musinga's court, and the whole courtyard in front of the house was always full of people. Taps were postponed accordingly, and one usually did not hear them until around two o'clock in the morning, sometimes even later.

This, however, was not the usual picture of life at court. Everyone was so worn out by all the festivities that after the departure of His Highness the courtyard was quite empty. When I came to call the day after the expedition had departed, I did not find a single chief paying court to the king.

567 baja who were sold by their parents when they were children in exchange for food during the not infrequent famines. I was unable to find out anything in detail about the social position of boys who are sold in this way. I believe that when they grow up they are absorbed into the bagaragu stratum.

Every district that has periodic famines, for example, Ufumbiro [263], furnishes slaves who, unprotected by their relatives in a strange region, remain in an inferior position, dependent on the protection of their master. In every mission one can see a number of little slaves who have settled there to get away from their masters. On the whole, however, the position of slaves is not at all bad. I never heard of maltreatment.

565 [Pg 2] Loads are carried chiefly by the biletwa.[1] The Bahutu of this category have personal freedom. They may abandon their house and fields and change masters, as long as they do not leave the state. The batware on the border must see to it that people do not leave the country.

●661 565 Actually, however, the existence of the common man is of no consequence, and he is tolerated only on the condition that he satisfies all the demands of the rulers. Often a native cannot simply give up his field and his hut without further ado. He must put up with minor depredations, ostensibly as punishment for alleged crimes. He must pay his taxes and provide food for travelers if the king requests it, although the mutware himself pockets the amount given.

In this primitive, undifferentiated society, however, the possibilities of exploitation are extremely limited. As long as it is simply a question of furnishing food for the relatively small number of rulers, the latter can be satisfied, no matter how large their appetites. Thus, the slight possibility of exploitation lays the foundation of a social equilibrium without legally established norms. Also, if we take into consideration the constant internal struggle of an unsettled state which is very much dependent on the support of the subject masses, we discover the second factor which sharply curbs tyranny. The rulers must consider their subjects, otherwise they run the risk of being abandoned by their followers and subjects and defeated by their rival. Political

[1] [i.e. Free farmers without land of their own—Analyst]

661 wisdom consists in not letting oneself be governed too much by
565 caprice and not becoming relatively the worst tyrant.

Even now when there is peace in the land, petty wars among
669 Musinga's bagaragu and brawls among the bagaragu of the bagaragu
642 of the king are by no means rare, but they occur chiefly in the border regions where the power of the king is not so strongly felt. At the time of my visit, for example, Lukara was fighting with Luhanga in Mulera. In cases like this it often happens that the king is unable to find a man who would not be too afraid to manage and tax the warlike farmers if they were assigned to him. In this way the Bahutu gain their independence and can be subjugated anew only by a punitive expedition.

[264] Under these circumstances, petty internal strife is a natural function of the state and does not result merely in brutality and devastation. In this way, even though it is uneconomical, poor administrators are weeded out, and the power of the strong is curtailed. This principle may at first glance seem paradoxical, but it corresponds very well to the facts. When it comes to the formation of a state under unlimited rule which on principle admits no protest, limitations must arise spontaneously if large masses of people are to live together.

661 The situation changes, however, the moment there is pacifi-
642 cation and the country is opened up and organized by Europeans.
178 The old, natural, albeit uneconomical forms which, after all,
648 regulated conditions are now done away with by force of arms and the rulers, weakened by emigration, overcome. On the other hand, the opening up of export trade creates countless possibilities for exploiting subjects in a hitherto unknown way. The situation of the natives is getting worse, for the new judicial norms, despite their humane phraseology, are less protection to them than the old regulations upon which the organization of the state was built. In Kissaka one can see many natives from Ussuwi who have taken refuge there from the blessings of humane European civilization. Under these new conditions, the only weapon in the hands of the subjects is economic injury to the chief, and this can be achieved by the emigration of the labor force.

The situation of the natives is worst of all where Europeans have put a stop to freedom of movement in order to make police

661 control easier. The moment this happens the native no longer
642 has any protection against his chief. As a result, the need for
178 serious intervention by the European administration becomes an
648 urgent necessity. With increased possibilities of exploitation certain norms must now be set up which will protect the interests of the common man and permit him some freedom, in other words, give him back everything that was formerly guaranteed him by means of a less perfect, less compact and oppressive social organization and without any kind of pact. Under these conditions, further intervention by the European administration becomes a necessity, because there is as yet no guarantee that the new order will do more than contribute to a "more complete exploitation of the lazy Negro" and perhaps also to a decline in the population.

642 By comparing conditions in Ndorwa, Mulera, Bugoye, and
64 Nduga, we can easily determine the direction in which conditions
178 have developed in Ruanda.

In Ndorwa we find independent clans living apart from one another.

[265] In Mulera the clans have been subjugated by the king and pay taxes. The Batutsi have driven the natives from some of the hills and permit homeless members of disrupted clans to settle there. These dregs must support their masters and perform compulsory services for the protection they get. These are the new communities which really should be spoken of as analogous to large estates. Some of the clan elders, such as Bishingwe, father of Lukara, are joining the conquerors and are supported by them. With this support they settle immigrants on the uncultivated land, and the latter must perform compulsory services, just as they do for the Batutsi.

In Bugoye the distinction between conquerors and peasant aristocracy is gradually being effaced and along with it the difference between impoverished clan members and immigrants who are domiciled on the remaining free land by the clan elder and become his bondsmen. In Bugoye this process is not yet completed.

The Bambari clan have already put their buletwa to work in the field of the chief, who is also a Mumbari and who must be regarded as a former clan elder. Here the land is already regarded as his property, as land granted by the king.

651 by their ancestors and from which they were not driven away during the conquest.

The second ancient burden is butaka. It is paid primarily in food and tobacco and only to a minor extent in cash hoe-money. The king's capital does not have any fields of its own. The court is fed by supplies delivered by subjects from near and distant provinces. Only cattle are pastured in the environs of the capital; there are no farmers who till land.

644 651 All the potentates living at court are fed from home. Bringing food for the chief residing at court is called kugemurira mutware. Food supplies are brought almost daily. As a result, any stoppage of this traffic means a food scarcity among the dignitaries thus affected. There are no markets where provisions could be obtained. Because of this primitive arrangement, food in the capital is always rather scarce, and everyone to whom I spoke about this told me that no one lives in the lap of luxury at court during his stay which is usually involuntary. The Batwa bodyguards even maintain that they actually starve and would very much like to return to their poor settlements.

To these two ancient tax burdens Lwabugiri added the war tax (umuheto) and Musinga the food supply tax (ilali) for visiting Europeans.

651 611 Among the Bahutu the furnishing of food supplies for visiting Europeans is merely an additional tax for the benefit of their chief. He regards the presents of the European as his property and not infrequently takes for himself part of the supplies brought by his people for the Europeans. I saw an example of this in Kwa Rutagungira. The requisition for my presence brought the chief three goats and four pots of beer, but I received only two pots and two goats. The larger pots and the best goats were put aside by the chief, but this was done too close to my camp to escape the notice of the people who were excited by the approaching pots of beer.

651 635 The collection of butaka and muheto, which are paid, theoretically at least, throughout the country, is distributed among various chiefs, as has already been reported by Von

651 The bagaragu of Chief Makobi do hoeing as recompense for rented fields, or this may be done by paid day laborers (mubizi). The clan communities under discussion, however, are free of this burden, since they live on their own land.

There are also taxes that are paid by particular families or communities. The furnishing of objects whose manufacture presupposes a certain skill falls in this category. Among these objects are salt that is made from swamp grass, grass rings for women's legs (butega), otter skins, wildcat skins, cowhides, barkcloth, weapons, etc. The people who furnish these items are exempt from part of the normal taxes that represent the share of the ordinary farmer. Thus, Mulera furnishes a rather large number of butega.

651 614 The duty of the Bahenyi, a privileged Bahutu clan, is to build royal houses. They also play a part in the cult, offering special sacrifices, and they may not eat with members of other clans.

Special taxation on individual clans seems to be a remnant of an older form of taxation, the clan tax. This has been very nicely preserved in Kiziba where individual clans have special duties toward the king. This is the nature of the taxes borne by free, landowning farmers (ngabo) in Mulera. Here the tax is the concern of the clan community. It is paid by the clan elder, and apportioning the tax is an internal matter for the community. All its members, however, have joint responsibility for paying the tax.

The ngabo pay their taxes in honey and also give the king annually every twentieth cow. If the number of cows owned is less than 20, a goat is given for each cow. In figuring taxes, one cow is equal to 20 goats.

651 661 [274] In Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are collected by special deputies of the king. We need not emphasize the self-evident fact that the officials entrusted with the collection of taxes increase the amount to their advantage and do not shrink from shameful plunder. If, as is generally the case, a high chief is not present when the taxes are collected, the Balera will not stand for this oppression. For their part, they seek every opportunity to get out of paying taxes altogether. That is why there are big rows

651 and not infrequently open battles whenever collection takes place.
661 On the way to Mulera, at Kwa Rutagungira, I saw several wounded Batutsi who had to pay for their zeal as officials with holes in their hides. The business efficiency of the tax collectors is well characterized if we note their habit of substituting some of their poorer stock for the better cows that are delivered as the king's taxes. In view of its chronic character, this misuse and plunder must be regarded as a form of official remuneration.

651 We must emphasize the fact that in Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are linked to the community, the people, and not to the land they cultivate. That is why the outsider who has settled on alien soil with the approval of the residents does not participate in community taxes. He continues to pay the taxes of his own clan, and only if he is adopted by the resident clan does he pay taxes where he has settled.

651 This principle of family tax becomes complicated the mo-
178 ment pacification makes possible the disruption of clans which under the most primitive conditions have been held together by blood revenge. I saw the consequences of this complication of social conditions in Mulera in the form of a punitive expedition which reduced to ashes the settlement on Mount Kisseke. A few outsiders had bought with gifts permission to settle on Kisseke from the established residents. A few weeks after they were settled, some Batutsi arrived who had the right to collect taxes from the community of new settlers but who were complete strangers to the old established population. The new settlers
[687] promised the old ones a bull, and the latter drove off the Batutsi with weapons, killing a few and wounding several. A punitive expedition of government troops, undertaken because of Musinga's complaint, was the sequel.

651 The ferry toll is a special tax that affects traders particularly.
491 It is collected by batware who are stationed at the ferries and whose people run the boats. The toll is very high. For a traveler with his pack, it is ten large beads, that is to say, a third of a day's wages. Twenty men with a herd of goats paid a piece of cloth (nguo).

[275] The batware who collect the ferry toll must also keep watch over the traffic. At the border ferries, for example, on

701 expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life [687] for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war

2. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

726, 791 In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

727 The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns consist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up [661] their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies, the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

175 Mutara Lwogera was also a successful warrior. He conquered
643 Bugoye and in 1876 added Kissaka to Ruanda by force of arms.

Lwabugiri Kigeri who was visited by Count Von Götzen, the first European to do so, was also a very belligerent ruler. He increased Ruanda's possessions in the Rutshuru Basin as far as Lake Edward.

175 In order to characterize the personality of Lwabugiri some-
643 what more exactly, we must mention that one of his chief delights
661 was stealing cows. If the owner of the cattle resisted, he was punished with confiscation for having the boldness to act against the muami [ruler]. If he did not resist, his cows, which he had learned to conceal, were simply taken away from him. These cow thefts with which Lwabugiri consciously promoted the splitting up of feudal possessions, as well as the constant wars, made him very troublesome to the Batutsi.

175 Without doubt the rule of Lwabugiri was a period of great
643 expansion and glory for Ruanda. The state enjoyed such a high reputation that neither the Arabs nor Stanley and Emin Pasha ventured to enter it. Lwabugiri undertook numerous campaigns, among them an unsuccessful one to Nkole (1891?). He wanted to get King Ntare's cows in order to supplement his own herds which had been very much decimated by disease. He waged war three times with Urundi, twice with Idjwi Island, three times against Bunyabungu, and twice with Kissaka. Moreover, he laid waste the country of Mulera three times in order to punish rebellious subjects, and he pillaged the Gana Mukari (1) three times in his

[113] 1. Brard, A., "Skizzen aus Ruanda [Ruanda Sketches]," Afrikabote, 1900-1901, p. 99.

ancestral province because of the revolt which was supposed to have taken place there. He was unsuccessful in his expeditions against Urundi. The two kings, Lwabugiri and Mwezi Kisabo (?), made peace with each other and built their settlements on the border between the two states, on the Akanjaru. The wars with the inhabitants of Idjwi Island were also only temporarily successful.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

586 *Instances*: A man has beaten his wife and driven away her relatives when they came to see him. She leaves him for another man, who is ordered to refund the bride-wealth.

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587 A wife has left her husband and is now pregnant by another man. The husband will be satisfied either with the child or his bride-wealth. The paternity of the second man is established, and bride-wealth is to be paid over.

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In several cases a woman's relatives are found to have married her to another man in her husband's absence, or after she has left him and returned home. Here again circumstances determine whether the first or the second union shall be dissolved. In considering these, the voice of the woman is not disregarded, and in one case, after judgement has issued in the original husband's favour, it is amended there and then owing to his wife's refusal to return to him.

586 Several marriages are found to be broken up on account of the Chief's seizing cattle paid in bride-wealth.

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Instances: A wife goes off to her father's because the Chief has taken the bride-wealth cow.

A man from Urundi pays a cow in bride-wealth, which is seized by the Chief in order to recoup himself after some of his cattle have been stolen by Urundi natives: and the woman's father therefore takes her back.

In a third case, this right or propensity is deliberately made use of by a husband who wishes to shuffle off his wife. He arranges for the Chief to seize the bride-wealth cow with its two calves, and then sends his wife home. But the stratagem fails.

595 Finally, the existence of polygyny is to be referred to. That it may lead to disharmony in the home appears from two cases, in the former of which the first wife is so aggravated by her husband taking another spouse that she has assaulted him, while in the other a husband is brought to Court for tying up his second wife on suspicion of her having bewitched the first one, with a threat that he would kill her if the first one died. And a third husband finds himself heavily fined for being influenced by the predilections of his first wife. He had paid bride-wealth for a second: the first wife did not approve of the newcomer: her sister coming soon afterwards with a gift of beer, he kept her instead; she had already been promised in marriage, however, and he has to face an indignant betrothed as well as her father, in Court.

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R. DE Z. HALL.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not overexploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

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554 Ndarwubatse, Kanyonyomba, and Segore were exceptional and
622 that, in fact, Hutu were not very numerous among land-chiefs.
184 The share of Hutu in political power was probably symbolic rather than quantitatively great. Hutu could also be hill-chiefs and sixty-nine per cent. of our informants were able to mention a few names. According to ninety-nine per cent. a Twa could be neither land-chief nor cattle-chief, unless he were ennobled. But in that case, he was not socially a Twa any more, but assimilated to a Tutsi. Twa could be hill-chiefs; sixty-five per cent. of our Tutsi informants mentioned the names of such Twa. Neighbourhood heads were frequently Hutu, but the advantages they drew from their office were minimal, if any.

(*b*) *Maintenance of the central rulers in power*

661 One may conclude that the very great majority of the beneficiaries of the fiscal function of the administrative structure were people of the Tutsi group.

A second function of the administrative structure was to enable
661 those who enjoyed political power to keep it. The mwami and his
634 wives centralized the means necessary to afford an important court.
647 Moreover, by granting the profitable offices of land-, cattle-,
622 and hill-chiefs, the mwami increased the number of his faithful dependents. For these chiefs of the administrative structure were appointed by the king. To the question 'who appointed the land- and the cattle-chiefs?' ten different answers were given, but if one adds up all the answers which named the mwami as the person or one of the persons who granted these official appointments, a majority of sixty-five is reached. The confusion in the answers seems due to the fact that different principles operated together in the nomination of such a chief. Firstly, one of the sons of the former office holder usually succeeded to his father, and the latter could often indicate his preferences, but this did not mean that the office was hereditary. Merely, it happened fairly frequently that the mwami liked to strengthen a man's loyalty on the understanding that if he was a good chief, the office could remain in his family. Secondly, the appointment could be made by the mwami following presentation of the candidate by an important chief, such as the army-chief. Consequently, it could appear that the latter was the one who gave the appointment. But the third principle remained: the king kept a complete control of these offices in the sense

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that no other authority had the final say in such appointments. 661

The danger of having some chiefs becoming more and more 634 independent of the central government was avoided by the 697 mwami's power to dismiss anybody and also by the curious duality 622 of chiefs in each district. Increasing the control of the central government over its subordinates seems to have been the function of that duality. Tensions arose between these two chiefs who were neighbours and who exerted their prerogatives in the same territory yet were independent of each other. The mwami was always kept well informed by each of these chiefs of the exactions or suspicious activities of the other. Moreover, both chiefs had the same subordinate, the hill-chief. Consequently the mwami could be sure that if by chance the two chiefs were in agreement, it was very likely that if their common subordinate had some difficulty with one of his superiors, he would attempt and often succeed in getting the other on to his side: *duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens.* In addition, as conflicts of power were unavoidable in such a situation, the chief had to resort to the mwami as judge. In that way the links of the dependence of both of them on the mwami were tightened.

In this analysis it is not suggested that the duality of chiefs was conceived and put into being by a certain mwami in order to fulfil what we regard here as its function. It is possible that it happened in that way. But even if nobody ever thought of reinforcing the royal power by this dual organization, it was nevertheless its function in Ruanda society.

(c) *Social cohesion*

I have mentioned that the hill-chief required dues and tributes 651 not from the individual taxpayer but from the lineage head when 602 possible, and the latter demanded it from the family head. This 571 way of reaching the individual through his kin group and family group enhanced the importance of the descent principle of of kin solidarity. Even in Ruanda where the political organization had taken over so many functions from descent groups, the individual as such was not yet recognised in very important matters like the contributions to the maintenance of the rulers. In this interpretation, the kinship and the administrative structures promote the social cohesion of the group as a whole.

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to 000

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The army-chief's protection was not unconditionally granted to any army member. The chief could refuse to give support to one of his subordinates if he had been disobedient or disloyal. It was up to the chief himself to decide if his warrior or herdsman had an objectionable attitude. The fact that the chief was the only judge of the attitude did not, of course, give the subordinate the assurance of a fair treatment; however, the chief could not indulge often in arbitrary refusals of help because a member could always leave the army and join another if allowed to do so by the chief of this other army. Moreover, the principle of recourse to a superior authority against an intermediate authority was operative here also. If discontent was widespread in an army, the chief could be dismissed by the mwami. Consequently the chief had to take into account public opinion to some extent and could not be indifferent to his popularity. It is clear, however, that the means of pressure that a chief did have on his subordinates were more efficient than the ones subordinates had on him. They had thus to assume a submissive attitude and to gain the chief's favour by gifts and proper behaviour.

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The different functions of the military structure of Ruanda were profitable mainly to the rulers: they contributed to the maintenance in power positions of those who were occupying them. Through that structure, the king secured, in addition to what he received from his tax collectors, an important amount of commodities (necessary for the upkeep of a numerous court), more cattle (consequently the possibility to increase the number of people personally bound to him), and a more complete control of all the chiefs under him (by the possibility of a direct recourse of the subordinates to the royal supreme authority). The ruling position of the army-chiefs was also consolidated by their increase of control on cattle.

The preceding analysis has also disclosed how the army was an important instrument of domination for the Tutsi caste. Warriors being recruited only among Tutsi, organized physical force was exclusively theirs. They alone had in their hands the ultimate basis of political power. Moreover, by the serious training of the *intore*, the aristocratic values and virtues so well adapted for domination were inculcated into the new generations.

The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the

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Tutsi control. A Hutu who in exchange for labour or agricultural goods had been able to acquire a few cows had necessarily to ask for the protection of a lord in order that his cows should not be seized upon under some pretence by a socially powerful neighbour. Then he received cows from his lord and they were merged with his own *imbata*. Consequently, if the agreement had to be ended, the lord could take away besides the cows he had granted, those which had previously belonged to the client. 675 564 692 178

The two political structures benefited most those among the Tutsi who were rulers. The feudal structure, by granting only a precarious possession of cattle to the clients, left in the hands of the Tutsi the ultimate control of cattle, symbol of social prestige and instrument of power. On the other hand, by the same *buhake*, Tutsi were obtaining the advantages of being provided with labour and agricultural produce. From that standpoint, the Ruanda feudal system granted a minority the means to live—and to live better than the bulk of the population—without having to participate in the manual labour of economic production, by the moderate and clever exploitation of the majority. 564 661 692

In order that an aristocratic structure may perpetuate itself without change as long as it is profitable to the superior caste, it is not sufficient to prevent an invasion or even an infiltration of members of inferior groups who, by modifying the proportion between exploiters and exploited, would completely disturb the smooth working of the system. It is also necessary that all those who are by birth members of the upper caste should live according to the standards of their group. It is most unusual for an upper caste to regard the falling off of some of its members without uneasiness and dismay. This is particularly true when the group position of power is rationalized in terms of innate superiority. Some modern governments in Africa, for example, are much concerned about the 'poor whites' because their decadence threatens the myth of the white racial superiority. 569

The Tutsi had a similar pretence to a natural superiority as has been pointed out already. Consequently, if one of them was unable to support himself in a way becoming to his caste and seemed on the point of slipping down into the group of those who work manually, it was regarded as a shocking situation that should at once be put right. The remedy was to become the client of a richer Tutsi. The cows thus received, allowed him to subsist in [186] [558]

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[p. 143]

CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM OF TUTSI DOMINATION

At the beginning of this century, after an historical development of which we can at the most have only a glimpse, Ruanda society appeared to be composed of two main strata, the Hutu and Tutsi castes. The latter was dominant in social power and used it to exploit economically the former and to retain political power exclusively. 564 661

This system of the social domination of a caste and of the political domination of a group within that caste seemed to be successful and stable at the beginning of the twentieth century. 121 178 How did the Tutsi achieve the difficult task of keeping such a large caste kingdom a working concern? Before considering the social structural factors which were operative one must take into account the frame in which and the background against which the problem of domination had to be solved. By frame and background, is understood here the totality of circumstances which appeared to the Tutsi, and were for them, unalterable. Tutsi had to adapt their pattern of domination to these circumstances as they were in any event beyond their control. These circumstances were very numerous, pertaining to physical environment (ecological), to human biology, and even to the culture of the group. What these very various elements had in common was that, at the time referred to in this study, they set limits to the action and ways of life of the group. Some of these limits were not immutable in themselves but they were so none the less for the Tutsi at the beginning of the twentieth century.

From this vast congeries of natural, biological, and cultural factors, I shall review only a few which appear most significant from the present point of view: that of the conditions of domination.

1. FRAME AND BACKGROUND OF THE DOMINATION SYSTEM 178

A first relevant background fact was that, apart from the ultimate control of a most valuable resource, namely, cattle (a subject which will be discussed later), the difference between the equipment of Tutsi and Hutu was not very considerable. It is 564

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One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

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571 dependency upon him? As in many cultures in which a king is a
564 paternal and divine image, the Ruanda monarch certainly con-
184 tributed towards the creation in Ruanda individuals of a feeling of
693 belonging to a unit which presented some similarities to a family.

This was, it seems, how the Ruanda political and feudal struc-
564 tures, by their complexity, succeeded in keeping an equilibrium
182 between, on one hand, the tendencies towards social disintegra-
184 tion that a caste system necessarily produces and, on the other, the minimal cohesion necessary to the maintenance of a social unit such as a nation.

(*b*) *Exploitation and protection of Hutu*

728 The Tutsi were confronted with the dilemma that all conquerors must solve when they settle on a new territory with the intention of staying permanently: are they going to draw upon the natural resources of the country themselves, using their own labour and equipment, and to remove from the area the aboriginal inhabitants by pushing them further on and even by exterminating them as a people, or are they to let them stay and use them by having them working for their benefit? Europeans who settled in North America adopted the first solution, they did not [171] attempt to use Indian labour and they expelled the native population from their hunting areas and began to cultivate their country. The second method has been chosen in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara where Europeans have settled.

564 Whether Tutsi have explicitly considered this problem is immaterial here. In fact they have adopted the solution which was
661 most advantageous to them. Being pastoralists and not numerous (in comparison with the Hutu peasants), they had no interest in expelling them. If this had been done, they would have had either to till the land themselves or to dispense with beer, peas, sorghum, &c. It was preferable for Tutsi to adopt what Oppenheimer calls the bee-keeper's policy (as opposed to the bear's policy who for the purpose of robbing the beehive, destroys it),[4] that is to say, to keep in the country peasants in order permanently to exploit their productive work. Those who control territory are not a dominant group; it is upon men that power is exerted.

We have seen how, through the political and feudal structures, the country's surplus resources were drained and concentrated in

[4] Oppenheimer, 1922, pp. 65 ff.

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Tutsi hands. From that point of view, we have to distinguish here two categories. In the first, we put the mwami, the court, the intermediary military and administrative chiefs, whom we call the rulers; in the second, the ordinary Tutsi. The rulers received tributes and labour through the military and administrative channels; the second got fewer consumption goods directly, but mainly labour by the *buhake*. Thus the satisfaction of the needs of the superior caste was not obtained by economic means but by social pressure. 564 661

Were these services in labour and in kind heavy for the Hutu caste? It seems that it was not a too painful obligation for about nine-tenths of the population to secure the whole of the agricultural produce of the country. But we should not forget that it was an economy based on rudimentary techniques and which did not yield a considerable surplus. Moreover, the standard of life of the dominant group was much higher than that of the inferior castes; one may thus safely assume that Tutsi consumed much more than a tenth of the total production. Such an assessment is not very precise but it does not seem possible to obtain a more accurate one. [433] [511]

What is certain is that the social power enjoyed collectively by the Tutsi caste was so great that it must have been a permanent temptation for them to increase their demands on the Hutu group. Such a situation was indeed at the same time both advantageous and dangerous as it carried in itself the seeds of its own destruction. For if the measures of the impositions were exceeded (and the technological and environmental circumstances made the margin very narrow), the subordinate group would be weakened and its productivity would diminish. Eventually, it might be led to leave the territory. To prevent such detrimental occurrences was all the more difficult as each Tutsi was endowed with so much individual social power that he might be inclined to misuse it. 564 661 559 182

How did the Tutsi deal with this threat? Firstly, by a universal distribution of the levies obtained through the military and administrative structures. Every familial unit of production was obliged to contribute—certainly not equally, but the mere fact of having universal impositions tended to prevent very considerable differences, because a sufficient return was secured and rules were established. These rules were not as fixed and publicized as the fiscal laws in a Western society, yet the mere fact of their existence

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564 made for certain guarantees. For the *buhake* services, what each
661 client had to give or do was less clearly determined and depended
554 more on the *shebuja*'s wishes. There were also in that sphere,
182 however, some traditionally admitted limits.

Universality and regulation of dues as such do not prevent the exactions committed by socially powerful individuals and those who required payment of taxes were powerful. Another more efficient obstacle to an exaggerated exploitation was the fact that the political and clientage structures gave to any individual of ability the opportunity to secure for himself a defender and a protector. This opportunity resulted from the plural character of the Ruanda hierarchy.

When one belongs to a single structure, there is only one immediate superior. Consequently, everything must be obtained from
[692] him and is owed to him. In a plural system, there are several immediate superiors of approximately equal rank and who are not interdependent. Consequently, it is possible to have the support of one chief (or his complicity even) when resisting another.

564 This is what happened in Ruanda. An example will show how
662 the plurality of chiefs could be used. Suppose a Hutu had in-
182 herited cattle granted by a lord to his grandfather who had also received cows from his army-chief, and who had acquired other cattle by exchange of goods (*imbata*), and because his present lord was too exacting, our Hutu wanted to change and become the client of another important man. He knew that his lord would try to seize all his *imbata* and to choose the best cows among his other cattle. By some gifts, he obtained the support of his army-chief. Before entering into discussion with his lord, he and his army-chief had agreed that all the best cows he had at his disposal and all his *imbata* would be said to have been received from the military chief. They were removed and put on grazing grounds directly protected by the army-chief. Then when the lord claimed more cows than his client wanted to return to him, he had to settle the matter not with a man of very limited power but with the army-chief.

Of course this required clever handling of the situation, but when it succeeded it secured efficient protection against extortion.

It should be added that the recourse of a subject to a higher authority within the same hierarchy was approved and even encouraged in Ruanda. This was another means of putting a check on the exorbitant demands of immediate superiors. This, however,

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did not play an important part in the feudal system because there were no socially recognized ties between a client and his lord's lord. Feudality was not a ranking system in the same sense as were the political structures. Each lord had his personal following; he was not as such the representative of a higher authority.

To sum up, the political and clientage structures at the same time secured the economic exploitation of the Hutu and protected them against an exaggerated pressure which could have led to disaster for the upper caste.

(c) *Delegation and centralization of political power*

Before the European occupation the kingdom's population was already numerous, probably around 1,700,000 inhabitants. The orographic configuration of the country made communications rather difficult. In that non-literate culture, an efficient collection of tributes required almost a face to face acquaintance between the subject and his ruler. These circumstances necessitated a delegation of authority to many intermediary chiefs who would be the local representatives of the rulers.

But such an unavoidable system was very dangerous for the central government. Its subordinated agents having frequently authority over a rather numerous population which could provide them with abundant supplies (if nothing was sent to the court) could be tempted to isolate themselves completely from the capital and become independent. Such a course of action would have been facilitated by the military structure and the feudal system.

Some important chiefs were, indeed, authorized to raise an army. Moreover, any military chief whose army was encamped near the border, in a district far from the capital, could gain such ascendancy over his warriors as to win over their allegiance to himself.

The *buhake* was perhaps still more dangerous because, as in any feudal system, it created personal bonds of allegiance between the client and his lord. As such, that bond of loyalty did not extend beyond the lord. One had to obey one's lord because he was one's lord and not because he was a mwami's representative. This is why any feudal system has always been so dangerous for a central government. Independence and revolt against the king have been recurring events in the areas where a feudal system existed.

Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies

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642 178 At the beginning of this century, Ruanda political organization was an instrument of social immobility. It was not a force of expansion meant to increase the Tutsi dominion over the country, but a machinery which succeeded in maintaining a difficult equilibrium between the antinomic tendencies I have reviewed. Any institution in which divergent tendencies meet and are kept balanced bears in itself the principle of its own disintegration. But in Ruanda the equilibrium problem had been so efficiently solved that it seems that an optimum point had been reached. The political organization that sustained the domination system could have been perpetuated as long as forces external and internal to the system itself remained constant. The external influence which modified the political organization has been the contact with the [648] Europeans, another conquest group entering Ruanda history around 1900. But apart from such a consequential event, internal phenomena such as a modification in the demographic ratio, the introduction of new agricultural techniques, the impoverishment of the soil, &c., could have been sufficient to destroy the equilibrium maintained by the Tutsi political organization.

642 178 564 661 What was 'immobilized' by the political organization was the Tutsi's caste's and rulers' almost exclusive control of power. They used it for exploitation, by which is meant here the satisfaction of needs not by economic production but by pressure. I follow here closely Oppenheimer's distinction between economic and political means. Both have the same end, he writes, the satisfaction of needs. But when this end is obtained by one's labour and the equivalent exchange of one's own labour for the labour of others, one may speak of 'economic means' while the unrequited appropriation of the labour of others is 'political means'.[6] This should, however, be qualified in the *buhake* where the client received the usufruct of cattle.

642 564 571 It would, of course, be completely misleading to assume that Ruanda political organization had for its only function the preservation of Tutsi exploitation. Through the political structure, as has been shown, the inferior castes enjoyed security. Collectively, peasants were protected against raiding expeditions of neighbours and against an unlimited and too arbitrary exploitation. Individually, in the difficult or dangerous events of life, a Hutu could rely upon the protection of his lord, of his army-chief, and

[6] Oppenheimer, 1922, p. 25.

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of his administrative chiefs if he could not or did not wish to ask his lineage's aid. 692 569 571

Should one, then, speak of a counterpart and interpret the Tutsi privileges as a retribution for the care of the commonweal and public order? No, political organization in Ruanda fulfilled different functions. It cannot be said that one function is the counterpart of the other merely because it benefited different groups. It just so happened that two different functions were fulfilled by the same set of institutions.

To sum up, this political system was a means of maintaining a certain social order in which the group of rulers and their caste appropriated to their consumption a considerable part of the country's goods without having to use their labour in the productive processes. [661]

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale
● 662 with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

643 series of such kings in Urundi. If the king is a weakling, if he
631 lacks the cunning and the capacity for violence and cruelty to inspire fear, which are the necessary characteristics of African rulers -- as, for example, the present weak King Mutaga -- his absolutism is mere show. Then the real rulers are the heads of the royal family, the Baganwa or Abaganwa, who make the royal puppet dance to their tune. These, then, are times when the various provincial governors make themselves independent, when other parts of the country fall under the rule of foreign neighboring sultans (for example, Ujogoma temporarily under Ussuwi), and when anarchy more or less prevails in the entire realm. Concerning the development of these conditions and the present state of affairs, see the chapter, "History," p. 151 ff. [not translated].

643 The present impotence of the monarchy, the weakening
648 of central power, and the disruption of the formerly powerful unified realm have been sanctioned by the German colonial government to its own advantage. At the same time the colonial government is attempting to replace gradually the supreme power of the king with the rule of the German Resident. It cannot eliminate the monarchy as such unless it is prepared to take up the fight against all the Batussi. For this our strength is still not sufficient. However, in the future much will depend on what kind of a man from the old ruling dynasty succeeds the present weak puppet king, Mutaga, and what the attitude of our government to him will be.

643 The succession to the throne is determined by primogeniture
662 in Urundi, unless the king or the head chief decides otherwise. By law he is succeeded by the oldest son of his head wife. Usually, however, the king designates as his successor the one of his many sons who appears most suitable to him, and he bequeathes to him the insignia of royalty, i.e., the holy drum, his spear, and his arm ring. If this decision is made during the lifetime of the king, it is dangerous for the favored son. He will consider it advisable to escape from the jealousy of his brothers and relatives by taking refuge in some distant place until his time comes. If he is still a child, he is hidden by his mother far out of reach

643 of his relatives. However, the young prince who, according
662 to the belief of the Barundi, is destined to be king of Urundi also lives far from the court. The Barundi believe that this
[787] predestined royal child who has been born of one or another of the wives of the king can be recognized at birth by the fact that he holds in his hands seeds of all the species of produce grown in Urundi. They also believe that because of these revealing signs, the mother with her child flees to the neighboring country until the ruling king has died. A royal prince is regarded as suitable to succeed the king only if he is not yet married when ascending the throne and if his mother is still alive (p. 184 [not translated]). In any case there is a struggle between the various parties when the pretender to the throne returns from abroad after the king's death to lay claim to the succession. This ends with the victory [92] of one party and its pretender. The new ruler is proclaimed king after a ritual act of election (p. 184 [not translated]) by the council of the Baganwa and abafumu [plural of umufumu, sorcerer], and he usually has all his brothers and close relatives killed or sent into safe exile (No. 19, p. 524).

634 Less blood and violence is involved in the succession of the greater and lesser batwale. In this case, too, the father during his lifetime designates one of his sons as his successor by inheritance (or one of his daughter if he has no sons); usually it is the eldest. The king, however, may change the decision in favor of someone else. After the death of the chief, the new mutwale is ceremonially installed in his office by the council. He is given the insignia of the deceased and also the cattle, the wives, and the kraal of his predecessor; in short, he receives all his family property (No. 19, p. 550). He now proceeds to rule his new fiefdom like a sovereign prince, but he has to pay punctually to the king the tribute imposed on him, and he must also fulfill his other feudal duties which are not burdensome. Otherwise, he risks deposition, war, exile, and death.

631 These in turn would select their own assistants, who became "hill chiefs." The great chiefs, although they owned a number of dwellings in their respective districts, seldom lived among their people.

[662] Ever surrounded by jealous and often malevolent rivals, they were exposed to intrigues. Espionage and delation were endemic at court. This is why the great dignitaries remained by the king's side in order to guard against all eventualities.

643 Hamitic royalty, once it became powerful, immediately acquired great brilliance. United under a single scepter, the Banyarwanda became one of the best-organized Negro peoples and spread beyond their natural boundaries to defeat and subject to tribute the enemy nations around them. The union of the Bahutu clans took place thanks to the increasingly centralized administrative organization of the new inhabitants.

The Hamitic kings never lost the simplicity of their ancient mores. They kept up their interest in their herds of cattle, which they regularly asked to see, and they would ask and remember the names and genealogy of the animals. On the battlefields they were hardly distinguishable from their warriors, whose outfit and weapons they wore: a mere goatskin around the loins, a spear, a bow and arrows.

In peacetime, however, etiquette would elevate the monarch 644 and isolate him from his subjects. One could not visit him without asking for an audience and being announced first. This was so at least as far as common people were concerned, for dignitaries and favorites acted with greater freedom and even took certain liberties. According to court protocol, one had /39/ to clap hands (gukom' amashi) when appearing before the monarch.

The "lords" would throng around him to fill out the government offices and to make up the court (1). Not only were princes of royal

1. "The Hamitic Court!" In dealing with the persons and times whose history we are describing, one must not think of the courts established in civilized countries. The Batutsi Court does not

644

> resemble them much. It would be difficult, however, to call by another word the group of personages and servants who make up the entourage, followers, and retinue of these African potentates.

blood and dignitaries for the most part of Hamitic race and blood admitted to the court, but so were men whom the king introduced there directly. Among them were found, although in small numbers, commoners, foreigners, and even more rarely some Batwa whose status had been raised on account of their services or their skill in sorcery.

It was an art to arrive and to remain for them all.

644 The king inspired in his entourage a very humble respect mixed with a constant fear. Uncertainty as to what his dignified but slightly 662 haughty manner held in store for them constantly worried these ambitious people.

They would, therefore, watch with apprehension the changes on his august face, which occasionally betrayed his most intimate feelings and his most sudden decisions, although most often it remained inscrutable.

A quick flash of wrath in his eyes portended disgrace and possibly death. A bright smile on his austere face caused radiant hopes to blossom.

These abrupt and capricious changes, which might dispose of one's future or even of one's life, constantly held souls in suspense between fear that makes one shudder and peace as refreshing as a breath of fresh air.

Yet, although one lived in anxious uncertainty, one tried to reassure oneself by saying that the king was too just to ignore virtue and honesty.... Although this integrity of the heart as expressed by words /40/ could strengthen the position of a courtier who had already arrived, however, how could it suffice to single out the aspiring courtier, whose qualities were hardly known as yet? In order to succeed, to find a patron willing to introduce a novice and sufficiently

644 enterprising to draw the king's glance and heart toward him, it was
662 sometimes necessary to arouse and maintain the protector's interest by way of attentions which might be more or less discreet, but which were always significant.

The gift you are offered broadens the path.
And leads you to the presence of the great.

When fortune was slow to smile, this was no cause for discouragement. There is an art of knowing how to wait.

But waiting does not mean inaction. A besieged city always ends up surrendering. One must undertake the siege of the king (1).

1. "La Cour royale et les classes sociales au temps de David et de Solomon /The Royal Court and Social Classes at the Time of David and Solomon/, " by Louis Desnoyers. (Correspondant, July 25, 1927.)

Patience costs ambitious people nothing, no matter how eager they may be to reach their goal. The chief occupation of the great and the parvenu was to dabble in politics, to plot intrigues, to flatter the king, and to increase their personal wealth. They owned lands and cattle, which they managed with care.

They followed the king on his moves so as not to lose his favor, so as to ward off the maneuvers of their enemies and profit from the crumbs that might fall from the royal table.

They would all make their way to the monarch, jolt each other to be near him and to have a choice place at his side.

Not one of them wished to leave.

They wanted to live at the capital, under the eyes of the master who dealt out influence and promotion. Court life and gossip were filled with the intrigues of the envious, with rivalries, "the bitter competition for power, the plots to win and keep favor, /41/ the treacherous insinuations of enemies who harried one another with hatred and decency /sic/, the brutal passions satisfied at any cost, "

644 with flagrant disgraces and the official executions that sometimes
662 resulted from them.

People became madly infatuated with everything abnormal or enigmatic, with the predictions of sorcerers, with ghosts, crimes, sudden or mysterious death.

And since the regular court attendants had a thorough knowledge of their neighbors' genealogy, past, history, acquaintances, and interests, it is easy to guess that the daily chronicle also concerned private quarrels, bereavements, marriages, and births. This was the usual pabulum of conversation. Similar in this respect to a certain French king who associated largely with lowly people, fortunetellers, astrologists, apothecaries, wig makers, and even the executioner, the Hamitic monarch also liked to surround himself with master cooks, archiaters, healers, magicians, and charlatans of all sorts to whom he occasionally distributed honors and appointments (1).

1. Some striking examples of those royal favors are known. Some subjects in most humble circumstances managed to obtain the hand of a Hamitic princess and to be raised to noble rank.

One can easily imagine what the royal administration was like
643 under the circumstances. No desire to encourage the arts, to favor
661 agriculture, to improve the people's condition. The rights of the people exist theoretically, but they are regulated by no organic text and are too often dependent on the whims of royal and local power.

Infatuated with their own glory and exclusively preoccupied with their own pleasure, the sovereigns had no ambition other than to raise their prestige and to enjoy life.

The kings did not resemble one another from one reign to the next.

A warrior would succeed a peaceful man. Some, cruel and brutal, had the bloody whims and disordered passions of despots and degenerates. Others, of /42/ simpler tastes, led a peaceful existence and allowed the people to breathe.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

At the end of the nineteenth century the inzu had no collective rights over certain areas except in the north of Ruanda (Mulera, Rwankeri, Bushiru, Bigogwe) where the Tutsi occupation had been more superficial. I have been told that there the soil belonged to the patrilineage and that there was no land or cattle chief. From the point of view of the individual, however, the situation was very similar: he inherited a share of his father's tract. The difference was that, if the part were insufficient, he had to apply for more to the lineage head instead of to the land-chief, and a plot left without heirs returned to the patrilineage instead of the political authority. 613 423 [425]

The person entitled to the use of a plot could not sell his right but could let the tract. The rent was about one hoe every other year plus a jug of beer each harvest. The tenant was not permitted to settle by building a hut or planting banana trees. 423 427

The Twa resented very much the expansion of fields and pastures in the forests they regarded as their possession. The authority was not concerned with the way they divided it into hunting areas.[1] 311

2. RIGHTS OVER CATTLE

The rights over each head of cattle were also manifold. Property in the Western sense was split up into different aspects. 422

A global right existed over all Ruanda cattle, even sheep and goats, by which the king could claim actual possession of any of them. The mwami used this right more frequently, it seems, over cattle than over land. An important chief indulging in intrigues regarded as dangerous by the king might find himself dispossessed of all his cattle. The king's right over all the cattle of Ruanda was a constant threat which seems to have very effectively deterred the Tutsi of the ruling set from becoming too independent. 422 643 [662]

Another right was very similar to our bare ownership. The person who had it was not in possession of the cow but could at any time claim possession of the animal and the heifers and cows produced by that beast since the time when the possession had been transferred. This was the right of the lord (*shebuja*). 422

In contrast there was the usufruct right with respect to cattle. The person endowed with it could dispose of the milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the dead cows. This was the typical right of the client (*garagu*).

[1] For a more extended account of the land tenure system in traditional Ruanda, see Maquet and Naigiziki, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

564 made for certain guarantees. For the *buhake* services, what each
661 client had to give or do was less clearly determined and depended
559 more on the *shebuja*'s wishes. There were also in that sphere,
182 however, some traditionally admitted limits.

Universality and regulation of dues as such do not prevent the exactions committed by socially powerful individuals and those who required payment of taxes were powerful. Another more efficient obstacle to an exaggerated exploitation was the fact that the political and clientage structures gave to any individual of ability the opportunity to secure for himself a defender and a protector. This opportunity resulted from the plural character of the Ruanda hierarchy.

When one belongs to a single structure, there is only one immediate superior. Consequently, everything must be obtained from
[692] him and is owed to him. In a plural system, there are several immediate superiors of approximately equal rank and who are not interdependent. Consequently, it is possible to have the support of one chief (or his complicity even) when resisting another.

564 This is what happened in Ruanda. An example will show how
662 the plurality of chiefs could be used. Suppose a Hutu had in-
182 herited cattle granted by a lord to his grandfather who had also received cows from his army-chief, and who had acquired other cattle by exchange of goods (*imbata*), and because his present lord was too exacting, our Hutu wanted to change and become the client of another important man. He knew that his lord would try to seize all his *imbata* and to choose the best cows among his other cattle. By some gifts, he obtained the support of his army-chief. Before entering into discussion with his lord, he and his army-chief had agreed that all the best cows he had at his disposal and all his *imbata* would be said to have been received from the military chief. They were removed and put on grazing grounds directly protected by the army-chief. Then when the lord claimed more cows than his client wanted to return to him, he had to settle the matter not with a man of very limited power but with the army-chief.

Of course this required clever handling of the situation, but when it succeeded it secured efficient protection against extortion.

It should be added that the recourse of a subject to a higher authority within the same hierarchy was approved and even encouraged in Ruanda. This was another means of putting a check on the exorbitant demands of immediate superiors. This, however,

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 F042 Rundi F042

did not play an important part in the feudal system because there were no socially recognized ties between a client and his lord's lord. Feudality was not a ranking system in the same sense as were the political structures. Each lord had his personal following; he was not as such the representative of a higher authority.

To sum up, the political and clientage structures at the same time secured the economic exploitation of the Hutu and protected them against an exaggerated pressure which could have led to disaster for the upper caste.

(c) *Delegation and centralization of political power*

Before the European occupation the kingdom's population was already numerous, probably around 1,700,000 inhabitants. The orographic configuration of the country made communications rather difficult. In that non-literate culture, an efficient collection of tributes required almost a face to face acquaintance between the subject and his ruler. These circumstances necessitated a delegation of authority to many intermediary chiefs who would be the local representatives of the rulers.

But such an unavoidable system was very dangerous for the central government. Its subordinated agents having frequently authority over a rather numerous population which could provide them with abundant supplies (if nothing was sent to the court) could be tempted to isolate themselves completely from the capital and become independent. Such a course of action would have been facilitated by the military structure and the feudal system.

Some important chiefs were, indeed, authorized to raise an army. Moreover, any military chief whose army was encamped near the border, in a district far from the capital, could gain such ascendancy over his warriors as to win over their allegiance to himself.

The *ubuhake* was perhaps still more dangerous because, as in any feudal system, it created personal bonds of allegiance between the client and his lord. As such, that bond of loyalty did not extend beyond the lord. One had to obey one's lord because he was one's lord and not because he was a mwami's representative. This is why any feudal system has always been so dangerous for a central government. Independence and revolt against the king have been recurring events in the areas where a feudal system existed.

Rwanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father.

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save him, since his downfall will also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires.

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly

651 The king also has the right to a certain percentage of the heads of game (gusogongera). In the past the Mwami also collected a certain number of cows [103] (iminyago) out of those acquired during wartime raids.

Some of the natives are subject only to the ingabo. This is the case of the artisans, hunters, and farmers who provide the king and the Court with bows, arrows, pruning knives, mats, skins, drums, honey, hydromel, etc.

The Batwa are subject to no actual fiscal obligation to the king and chiefs. Potters must only furnish pots and pitchers to the court and provide the Mwami, his wife, and the Umugabekazi with ingobyi. They are also the executors of the king's great undertakings. The hunters' payments consist of ivory, skins, and fragrant wood.

687 Punitive sanctions are provided in the case of nonexecution of these obligations. The hill and provincial chiefs as well as the king have the Bahutu cudgeled and take the cows away from the Batutsi. In the past, the Mwami would even sometimes have the Batwa executioners cut off the ears (kubiha) of the Bahutu who are delinquent in tax payment.

651 486 A toll (ihoro) is paid by those who cross any water. To cross a larger river such as the Nyawarongo, the tax is paid to the provincial chief who refunds some of it to the boatmen.

Merchants must also pay a toll to the chief whose territory they cross. [104]

14. Secret Societies

575 563 668 The sect known as the Nyabingi (or Biheko) has its origin in the name of the Queen of Ndorwa who was killed by the warriors of Mwami Rwabugiri, resulting in a marked hostility to the Batutsi and the royal authority on the part of the Queen's descendants. Also, these people have become Bahutu by their marriages with commoners. These are sufficient reasons for the "Baheko" [sic] to be considered rescuers by the Bahutu, especially in the north of Ruanda where the resistance, if not the hostility, to the Batutsi and their administration is much stronger than in the rest of the country.

From Ndorwa where it originated, the sect spread out to Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi, and even to Buganza and Bwanachyambwe.

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is
565 called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

643 Sometimes the reigning sovereign can openly designate [97] even one of his youngest sons as heir. This happens when the soothsayers recognize him as being a "magic" king, with the mission of overcoming, for example, an epidemic (Umwami w'imitsindo). Thus Rwabugiri conferred power on his eldest son Rutalindwa, who took the name of Mibambwe, only for the duration of Musinga's minority.

Usually the name of the king's successor is secretly indicated by the king to the abiru, who then proclaim the one chosen.

669 As the law of primogeniture does not exist, palace revolu-
643 tions frequently occur on the death of kings. There are disputes between royal wives who have male children, especially when the wives belong to powerful families, in order to raise themselves and their sons to supreme power and to be able to bestow on members of their family high positions, land, and herds. It was this kind of revolution that, soon after the death of Rwabugiri, overthrew Mibamwe and gave Ruanda to Musinga and his mother Kanjogera.

10. Accession of the King

643 Two days after the death of the Mwami, his successor is proclaimed king by the guardians of the customs. After two months of mourning, all the great and small chiefs and their abagaragu go to Nyanza. The Inyambo are also brought there. For two days the most unbridled joy is given free rein amidst drinking, dancing, and games. The new king shows himself to the people in formal garments, his forehead bound with a crown composed of strings of white beads (ikamba or igisingo) falling over his face, and he receives from his subjects, as a gift of accession, some indabukirano. Then the people go back to their homes and the new reign begins.

643 If the son of the deceased is too young to actually reign
644 [98], the mother and usually the maternal uncles of the young prince act as regents (1). Similarly the Umugabekazi participates in the

1. We should point out however that Ruganzu Bwimba, before setting out on an expedition against the people of

661 wisdom consists in not letting oneself be governed too much by
565 caprice and not becoming relatively the worst tyrant.

Even now when there is peace in the land, petty wars among
669 Musinga's bagaragu and brawls among the bagaragu of the bagaragu
642 of the king are by no means rare, but they occur chiefly in the border regions where the power of the king is not so strongly felt. At the time of my visit, for example, Lukara was fighting with Luhanga in Mulera. In cases like this it often happens that the king is unable to find a man who would not be too afraid to manage and tax the warlike farmers if they were assigned to him. In this way the Bahutu gain their independence and can be subjugated anew only by a punitive expedition.

[264] Under these circumstances, petty internal strife is a natural function of the state and does not result merely in brutality and devastation. In this way, even though it is uneconomical, poor administrators are weeded out, and the power of the strong is curtailed. This principle may at first glance seem paradoxical, but it corresponds very well to the facts. When it comes to the formation of a state under unlimited rule which on principle admits no protest, limitations must arise spontaneously if large masses of people are to live together.

661 The situation changes, however, the moment there is pacifi-
642 cation and the country is opened up and organized by Europeans.
178 The old, natural, albeit uneconomical forms which, after all,
648 regulated conditions are now done away with by force of arms and the rulers, weakened by emigration, overcome. On the other hand, the opening up of export trade creates countless possibilities for exploiting subjects in a hitherto unknown way. The situation of the natives is getting worse, for the new judicial norms, despite their humane phraseology, are less protection to them than the old regulations upon which the organization of the state was built. In Kissaka one can see many natives from Ussuwi who have taken refuge there from the blessings of humane European civilization. Under these new conditions, the only weapon in the hands of the subjects is economic injury to the chief, and this can be achieved by the emigration of the labor force.

The situation of the natives is worst of all where Europeans have put a stop to freedom of movement in order to make police

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refrain from decisions which could have impaired the economic 643
production of the country, such as requiring tributes which were too heavy, or which could have lowered the level of personal security to such an extent that people would have preferred to flee abroad.[23] Moreover, profound legislative modifications would have roused the resistance of the *biru*. Nevertheless, his powers were still extremely great. A fact which reinforced and consolidated 643
them was the tradition of the long past of the dynasty. The present 173
mwami, Mutara III Rudahigwa is regarded as the fortieth king of Ruanda. Even if the first twenty names are considered as legendary, three or four centuries is a considerable past for a dynasty. The Abanyiginya clan has indeed been able to keep the kingship of Ruanda as long as kings are remembered.

The mwami was not only of divine origin but he was Ruanda 643
personified. This mystical identification with the country resulted in numerous avoidances and a very careful behaviour was expected from the mwami. What happened to him would reverberate, as it were, over the country. He should not bend his knees, for instance, lest Ruanda's territory would shrink.

Royal succession was not completely fixed by custom. The heir was chosen by the king from among his sons. He was generally one of the youngest because the strength of Ruanda was magically connected with the king's strength. The name of the chosen one was kept secret. Even the future mwami did not know it. It was revealed only after the king's death by the three most important biru whom the mwami had entrusted with his decision. The other sons and their mothers generally did not agree willingly to the choice and there was often a period of unrest, even of civil war, [669]
before the new mwami became an effective ruler.[24]

A new name was given to the new king, one of the five royal 643
names which were chosen according to the same sequence: 553
Cyilima, Kigeli, Nibambwe, Yuhi, Mutara. The kings named Cyilima, Yuhi, and Mutara were called 'peaceful bami'. They were not allowed to cross the Nyabarongo, a river which runs in the centre of the country, not far from Nyanza, the capital, and this symbolized the fact that they should not send their armies abroad. This rule very wisely allowed the country to recuperate and to assimilate new territories conquered during a preceding warlike reign.

[23] Maquet, 1953. [24] See Gluckman, 1954, p. 8.

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Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies
640 towards the fragmentation of the political unity of their country,
643 first, by the ritual character of the royal power.
182 To revolt against the king, identified with Ruanda and supported by Imana, was a sacrilege and a profanation. It is not claimed that such a theory was sufficient to secure the kings with effective power indefinitely. Elsewhere similar ideologies of absolute and divine power of the monarchs have not prevented some of them from being stripped of their real authority, whereas their divine prerogatives were still respected. The ritual sanction does not seem to have had a primary importance in the maintenance of submission to the Ruanda kingship. In 1896 or 1897, a young
[669] mwami, Mibambwe IV Rutalindwa, was assailed and eventually lost his life in a revolt instigated by the brother of the queen-mother. That queen-mother was not the mother of the mwami but another wife of his father. Her clan, the Abega, wanted a son of hers as mwami.[6] This shows that when the king lost effective control of power, ritual sanctions were not an effective safeguard for his prerogatives, or even for his life. This is why it has not been thought necessary to expand on the ritual aspect of the Ruanda kingship. But it certainly was a factor which contributed to the obedience of the Ruanda nobles.

[701] Another check was that the king kept at his disposal the coercive force of the armies. Even if the rebel had the support of one or two armies, the king had all the others.

640 But the main factor which I think prevented local authorities
578 from asserting their independence from the central government,
182 was the plural character of the political and feudal organization. In connexion with the maintenance of the effective power of the central government, this plurality of structure was a very effective means of maintaining misunderstanding, hostility, and jealousy among the subordinate chiefs. It is certain that the *shebuja* of our example in the preceding section, would have been only too glad to denounce to the mwami the army-chief if the latter was indulging in suspicious manœuvres. The co-existence of chiefs of almost the same rank who were constantly induced by their subjects to take sides in disputes was sufficient to create mistrust among themselves. Moreover, conflicts were numerous, particularly when two chiefs had the same territorial power (as in the case of the cattle- and land-chiefs). To settle conflicts they had to resort to the

[6] Pagès, 1933, pp. 195-206.

Essay on the Common Law of Ruanda

J. Vanhove

Preface

101 Beyond the eastern shore of Lake Kivu extends a country of
563 high hills called Ruanda. Nestling in banana groves, innumerable huts cling to the hillside, their smoke rising to the sky, and on the summits the brisk wind sways the pink grasses of the pastures where long-horned cattle graze. The exceptionally dense population con-
[161] sists of about 3,000,000 Bahutu of Bantu origin who are dominated by some tens of thousands of Batutsi, Hamitic shepherds who have probably come down from the Ethiopian plateaus. Finally, here and there, Batwa pygmoids, potters and hunters, live apart from the other natives who despise them.

183 Europeans who first studied the customs of the country dis-
671 covered to their surprise that they showed a number of points in common with our feudalism. The tenure of land and of cattle as well as the dependence of persons are under a [4] strict regulation which the
[643] ruler of Ruanda has the absolute power to modify but which has, in fact, remained unchanged throughout the ages.

Our occupation has obviously had the effect of modifying the
177 customs in many ways. For example, we could not approve of the
183 brutal evictions and attempts on life and liberty made in the name of the right of the strongest. Evangelization has also introduced into the heart of the native society notions of justice and gentleness which are very different from the natives' original conceptions. However, despite
177 the efforts of our civil servants and our missionaries to attack what is
183 most to be condemned in it, native customs still largely holds its
563 sway due to the influence of the great Batutsi chiefs, who are eager to maintain their authority intact, and also due to that of the sorcerers, toothsayers, rain makers, and many others, who attempt to maintain the traditional law by playing on the credulity and superstitious mind of the Banyarwanda [Banyaruanda] and thus protect their prestige and their revenues. In addition, while realizing the protection we give them in repressing arbitrary actions, the Bahutu submit to the changes we

177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

671 The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous
184 population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
563 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

114 Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pagès, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

121 Nevertheless, we do not believe that a more or less complete account of the customs of private and public law of Ruanda has ever been prepared. This is what we have modestly attempted to do in the
[125] present work by inserting observations gathered in a questionnaire set up especially to facilitate [6] the study of native law (1). We have

1. J. Vanhove, Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique, Brussels, printer Lesigne, 1939.

not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother [429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a 428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers 768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her 587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional 428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest 463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith 868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is 671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is 563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

563 the law. The law of the land is, of course, a "master's law"
●671 which favors the Batussi in all respects. In contrast, the Bahutu as bondsmen enjoy few privileges, and the Batwa are almost entirely without rights. The Batussi batwale often commit grave violations of the law, especially in their dealings with the Bahutu and Batwa without, however, being held responsible for such infractions. It is only the fear of vendetta that puts a restraint on their arbitrariness.

As is the case among all primitive people, the ethical
577 concepts of the Barundi regarding what is right and wrong are elusive. Questions aimed in this direction either remain unanswered or the reply is simply: "We do not know" or "the headman says so" or "our parents, superiors, the king wish it that way," and similar answers (No. 19, p. 381). One never hears that "conscience" prescribes certain actions or that the ghosts, the manes, or the gods wish it that way. Whatever is said on this subject has probably been suggested by the questioners, especially the missionaries. In contrast, concrete concepts of
671 law are much clearer. They are chiefly based on conditions of ownership and on social conditions, and they define something as right or wrong depending on whether it benefits or impairs these conditions which have become traditional.

As has been mentioned above (p. 91) the king is, in
423 principle, the sole owner of the entire land and fields and of all the cattle in the country. As described above (p. 86), the batwale and the lesser district chiefs -- almost always Batussi -- hold larger or smaller portions of this royal property in feudal tenure, and they, in turn, parcel out smaller portions for the use of those Batussi who are not officials or for the use of the Bahutu. Whatever these latter produce from the fields and from the cattle belongs to them by law as their own property after they have paid their tribute to the feudal lords. The huts and the courtyard which the Murundi has set up on the plot of land left to him are also his property. However, he can be driven from his house and field, for example, if he fails to pay his tribute or if he has committed murder of theft and also if the feudal lord wishes to put someone else in his place, either a

643 along the road, to the sanctimonious applause of his entourage. Once
661 he even tried his spear against one of his chief lieutenants. The latter had the audacity to evade the blow, pick up the weapon, and hurl it back at him with equal skill. The king managed to duck and showed no displeasure, at least on that day. He even congratulated the man for his boldness and courage and said that he was a "man" (umugabo).

This scene was enacted more than once during the same reign. The unfortunate men who served as targets to the spirited monarch, however, lacked sufficient audacity, and especially good fortune, to get away... with such amiable words.

Under the reign of the present monarch, Yuhi IV Musinga,
[687] from the time of his accession to the throne and prior to European penetration, the famous Ndamutsa drum often heralded one or several executions. Aside from the crime of sorcery it was enough to be denounced, rightly or wrongly, as having spoken poorly of the king and queen mother. Such crimes were punished on short order and briskly.

Public rumor has it that the young king tried his first gun shot on a madman. He hit him point blank.

The courtiers who were present at this murder scene emitted frenzied bravos to applaud the supreme skill of His Majesty.

[177] European influence and supervision alone managed to bring to an end this state of affairs and this kind of behavior, which in the natives' way of thought only served to accentuate the majesty and power of the king. /381/ It does not follow that this change made the pagan Blacks any happier, for they were awed by the ancient customs and the bloody displays of brute force.

• 671 In principle, justice was the king's justice, since as the saying goes, "the king is the law." For the sake of truthfulness, however, it must be added that there is a set of laws in existence. It is certainly not a complete code, but it nevertheless includes a series of laws and practices adding up to a veritable common law which, had it been rigorously applied, would have avoided many an extortion and cruelty. Gradually, over the centuries, a special procedure had been established for litigations bearing on property rights, inheritance rights, matrimonial rights and bride price, physical damage such as

671 theft, arson, and destruction of crops caused to a neighbor, grazing rights, the levying of taille /head tax/ and forced labor, etc. Culprits [696] of high lineage and wealthy people often extricated themselves with money and innocent people sometimes payed for offenders, especially when false witnesses were suborned.

The Pit of the Bugessera

133 Among the various torture spots such as the swamp, called 823 Nkonde in the Buberuka, the Nshimbo swamp near Lukaza, the Ruboneye swamp near Nyanza, the place called "Ficus-tree spot" 681 (ku Kivumu), certain rapids of the Akanyaru and Nyabarongo rivers, 696 etc., it was the pit of the Bugessera that left the most evil memory. Its reputation is highly sinister, owing to the illustrious offenders who were tossed into it and also to the legends that circulate about this accursed place.

The pit is located in the Bugessera region, not far from one of Lwabugiri's ancient residences, which it is surprising to find in the middle of this deserted region.

The landscape is stark, even wild, and darkened by the memory of the tragic executions it witnessed. /382/

The pit is a sort of depression in a rocky area (ibuye ryasamye), 681 about three or four meters deep. It is more or less filled with stagnant 696 rain water according to the time of year, and it is half choked with 823 mud (1). Clumps of trees of various kinds make islets of greenery and

1. The Blacks like to account for the peculiarities of rocks and boulders, whose shapes and cavities invite comparisons. They tend to attribute these formations to the influence of men or demigods. They gave the name of "Bayanga's little beer boat" (umuvule) to another depression located near the preceding one and which to their eyes had that appearance. All around

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
423 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
423 property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy, it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
651 taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

The protection of female clan members does not extend to
614 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
591 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
768 happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
614 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

614
671
178 finds protection even outside the clan, which formerly was not possible.

614 Ruanda Clans. We have already listed the clans of Ruanda in Chapter 2 [not translated]. However, in view of the significance which the distribution of individual clans in the various provinces has for the history of Ruanda settlements, the list must be supplemented by further data. Here we shall also give the names of the provinces in which the individual clans were observed. (Chart on following pages)

It is said that the Baanzira clan is not represented in Kissaka, but the name is familiar, and strangely enough, it is used by the women in vows. When they wish to affirm something very positively, they say: "Aha Baanzira batshu."

Father Schumacher (1) uses the designation "Base" or "Abase"

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 896.

for the Bagessera and Bazigaba who play a special role in the Ryangombe cult.

628
614 [237] Blood Revenge. Clans practice blood vengeance (kuhora) for their members. If an outsider kills or wounds a clan member, his fellow members take revenge on the members of the criminal's clan.

The clan's revenge, however, is not always a simple settlement on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In Kissaka, for example, the people are satisfied if they kill a member of the murderer's clan, whereas in Mulera the vengeance is always greater than the crime. The severity of the vengeance by the injured clan depends on the number of its able-bodied men. The powerful and spirited clan of the Barashi who are settled in Mulera on Muhawura is aware of its strength and takes bitter revenge. For a murdered clansman, the Barashi kill six to eight men from the murderer's clan. The other less powerful Mulera clans content themselves with three or four. The Batutsi, on the other hand, demand as many as ten to twelve heads. The same number is exacted by the greatly feared Batwa clans.

721 Declarations of war are not made, at least not in Mulera. If a military expedition is to be undertaken, everyone knows about it long beforehand. It is hard to keep a secret. The actual declaration of war is the sound of the antelope horn calling the warriors together.

727 Baumann (1) mentions that spades wrapped with leaves are

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 84.

a sign of peace.

[277] Chapter 13

Administration of Justice

671 Law. Ruanda has no codified laws. The administration of justice is the business of the government which takes into consideration long-established customs. This is the only kind of law one can speak of in Ruanda.

Criminal law is not developed here to such an extent that the various types of crimes must be atoned for with specific punishments. We can only indicate approximately the severity of individual punishment, since uncodified law leaves so much to the personal opinion of the judge.

628 178 The basis of justice within the clan is the institution of blood revenge. With the development of the state, this is gradually being pushed into the background, but in Ruanda the process is still in its initial stages. In Kissaka, on the other hand, it is said that before revenge is taken, the chief is notified, and he can forbid taking vengeance for a man killed for robbery.

682 685 Aside from murder, which in Ruanda proper is still punished with blood revenge, the theft of cows is very severely punished, in accordance with the role the cow has in the life of Ruanda.

127 suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in super-
217 imposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before
105 going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the
563 record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly,
[178] that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be
563 briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu
178 is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded
557 to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change
[182] has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the
[578] economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This
649 conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the
645 distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged
[671] with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—
[177] subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

3. Laws of the Family and the Clan

614 1. It is forbidden to marry a person belonging to the same umulyango, whatever the degree [of relationship]. Only the Abanyiginya, the clan from which the kings come, may marry [11] within their [own] inzu (1) and a fortiori into the other imilyango.

1. The reason for this endogamy must be sought in the fact that, according to legend, Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu.

However, marriage is forbidden with the Abatshyaba, the Abungura, and the Abakomankali. They usually marry the Abega.

The Abega (the family providing the queens), the Abagessera, the Abakono, the Abaha, and the Abasinga may not marry within their [own] umulyango nor into the other inzu. They are allowed to marry the Abunguru and Abakomankali, but not the Abatshyaba.

[426] [672] 2. The active and passive solidarity [joint and separate liability] in the matter of debts exists only on the paternal side (iwabo wa se) and not in the mother's umulyango (iwabo wa nyina).

The same is true in penal matters unless it is a case of a blood debt.

4. Table of Names Indicating Relationship through Kinship and Marriage

601 Those who are members of the same umulyango are called abagil'ichyobahuriycho, abagil' ichyobapfana, or, and it is the most frequently used and most precise term, abafit'isano.

Husband: umugabo
Wife: umugore
The husband of two wives: umugabo z'ishyali
One of the wives speaking of the other: umukeba wa njye
The husband speaking of one or the other [of the wives]: umukeba we

Son:
1) When the mother speaks: umuhungu wa njye
2) When another wife of the father speaks: umuhungu wa mukeba wa njye or umuhungu w'umugabo wa njye

428 Gifts (kugabira, to make a donation) made by the father to one of his sons, called inkazibiti, if they consist of cows, remain the property of the receiver, except in the case of unworthiness such as marked disrespect, repeated disobedience, etc. (kunyaga, to take back).

The active as well as the passive obligations are passed on to the [672] heirs. If they are unable to pay a debt, the descendants of the deceased [426] in direct line -- and only they -- are required to work one or two days a week for the benefit of the creditor's heirs, whether sons or even brothers, until the debt is completely wiped out.

4. Transmission of Property

The property is assigned to the heirs two months after death among the Batutsi, one month after among the Bahutu. However, the tools and objects may be used immediately. [63]

The son who is cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume) must make restitution for everything he has received from him (inkazibiti, indemano); he is obliged to go far away all alone, without his wife or his children, abandoning all his belongings.

To clarify the mechanism of the transmission of property, we will choose four types of inheritance that commonly arise and make a diagram of the four cases.

Case 1. Inheritance of a Rich Mututsi(Provincial Chief or Umugaragu of the Mwami)

Nyirimigabo, chief of a province, dies, leaving five sons born of two wives. These are:

Bihutu, son of Mujijima, married
Nyagatoma, son of Mujijima, married
Nturo, son of Nyirampunga, not yet married
Rusagara, son of Mujijima, still a child
Mahira, son of Mujijima, still a child

On the death of his father, Nturo, the third son, becomes head of the urugo rwa se.

426 by his son, his daughter, or his daughter-in-law, and possibly an umugaragu. In the past, if a debtor fled in order to avoid his obligations, the creditor had the right to seize his cattle, [82] his banana plantations, and even his hut. However, in this case, the children could keep their father's property on the condition of agreeing to work for the creditor until the debt was fully paid.

Sometimes a patron pays for his client if the latter has only a storehouse of provisions and if he needs the help of his family to work for his shebuja. If the umugaragu dies, his son takes his place. The obligation thus passes to the descendants until it is fulfilled.

On the other hand, the creditor's brother or son can act in the place of their relatives (1).

1. Laws of the Family and of the Clan, p. 8.

574 Hospitality.

The duty of hospitality is sacred to the Banyarwanda. Even a Mututsi will never refuse a Muhutu either ichumbi (lodging) or izimano (wood, water, and food). A proverb says; "Uwubaka wese yubakira abu Mwami (2), and whoever did not grant food and lodging

2. "Whoever builds (a house) does it for the people of the Mwami," which means that his house must be open to all the king's subjects.

to a traveler would be given the name of umugome (bad); he would be Uwanga Umwami (an enemy of the Mwami).

Civil responsibility.

672 Civil responsibility does not exist. The parents themselves however, repair any damage done by their children.

SECTION V. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

1. Nationality

563 The Munyarwanda people include the Batutsi, the Bahutu, and the Batwa. The Mututsi aristocracy of Hamite origin dominates

689 Rain makers (abavubyi) proved guilty of imposture (3) were

> 3. In spite of this terrible punishment the rain makers continued to ply their dangerous but lucrative trade.

drowned in Lake Mugessera.

684 Unmarried girls found to be pregnant suffered the same fate.

7. Unintentional Homicide

682 It sometimes happens that a beater or a hunter hidden in thick shrubbery is confused with the game or a wild animal and is killed by an arrow. These accidents are regulated in the following way:

If an arrow, after wounding an animal, kills a man, the shooter's responsibility is not involved.

If an arrow intended for an animal misses its target and kills a man who has indicated his presence, [114] the clumsy shooter is considered a murderer and the right of revenge is granted the victim's family. However, if the murderer can prove that the victim gave no signal, he is relieved of responsibility. He can also plead not guilty before the tribunal of the provincial chief or of the king by pointing out, with the help of witnesses, that because of the cries and many signals set off at the same time, he was unable to distinguish his victim's warning whistle, or that the latter moved after having given the signal agreed upon.

If the plaintif's statements are accepted, the tribunal declares that the victim has perished by reason of his own imprudence or of an accident for which the killer cannot be held responsible, and the latter is definitely exonerated.

8. Imputability and Responsibility

672 Except in a case where the guilty one and the victim are of different social ranks, the seriousness of the punishment corresponds ne varietur to a determined offense, and attenuating or aggravating

672 circumstances are not taken into account, except in the case of a theft of provisions, when the judge must make sure whether the motive for the crime was hunger or fraudulent intention.

681 Children who commit an offense are whipped. Insane criminals are shut up and shackled.

682 Striking back is considered legitimate in the case of an unjust attack. In the past, if the aggressor was killed, the individual who had legitimately defended himself asked for the Mwami's intervention to stop reprisals by the family of the author of the criminal attempt. The king then forbade the exercise of private vengeance.

[115] 9. Prescription

681 Prescription of the punishment as well as that of public action is unknown in Ruanda's common law.

CHAPTER II. PROCEDURE (1)

692 1. Today, with the exception of crimes such as the abduction of cattle and private disputes which are in the cognizance of native tribunals, penal cases in which natives are involved are judged by European courts. The Belgian government has maintained, almost entirely, the native judicial organization in civil affairs. (Cf. J. Vanhove, Les Juridictions indigènes au Ruanda [Native Jurisdiction in Ruanda], Revue Congo, July, 1939).

1. The Various Degrees of Jurisdiction

Usually the parties first attempt to settle their dispute amicably before appealing to the jurisdiction of the hill chief (2).

2. Uruja kujya ibgami rubanza mu bagabo, that is to say literally, "the palaver that

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

628 in most cases. However, if the ransom is not paid, the mem-
672 bers of the injured group, with the consent of the mutwale, pro-
681 ceed to execute the victim. They take the captive to a remote place and first cut off his hands, then his feet, and eventually also the ears, nose, and tongue. Then the unfortunate victim is nailed to the ground by piercing four poles through his arms and thighs; there he finally receives the death blow through his chest (No. 19, p. 472). Another method of execution is to drive a sharp pole through his anus into his body up to his throat. The body is then exhibited in a public place. The vendetta takes similar forms among the other Bahima, down to the far south in Ufipa (No. 47, pp. 108-111). Stealing cattle and witchcraft are punished in the same cruel manner in Urundi.

762 [98] Persons intending to commit suicide, who are not by any means rare either in Urundi or Ruanda, usually kill themselves by hanging or drowning.

695 It appears that the oath (indahiro), the invocation of the deity, the manes, or the king for the purpose of affirming a statement, is not permitted as a legal device among the Barundi who, incidentally, "use oaths, curses, sorcery, lies, or trickery" copiously. On the other hand, a judge frequently inflicts the ordeal on the accused, especially if it is a case where he has charged with witchcraft and sorcery (No. 19, p. 405). Most often this takes the form of the spear test. It consists of stabbing the accused person's arm with a hot spear point. If the blood gushes out, he is judged guilty; if not, he is considered innocent. The water test is applied by making the accused place his hand into a pot of boiling water. If his hand is scalded, he is considered guilty, otherwise, not. Also, under certain conditions, the poison test is used, a custom found all over Africa. Of course, there exist all kinds of methods designed to make the ordeal come out correctly, like greasing or powdering one's skin, using counter-poisons, etc.

791 or howling. A special spirit language is also used. Usually
[198] they fall into a religious ecstasy after consuming copious quantities of beer, and the spirit himself [124] will begin to speak through them and utter prophesies and oracles. They are
[672] not responsible for anything they do while they are in this spiritualistic-mediumistic state, even if they commit the worst violations of law and good manners (No. 39, p. 100). Those who are possessed make liberal use of this immunity, and one may very well consider this one of the chief motives for the whole institution of the imandwa cult.

In Unjoro the medicine men are also called abandwa. They "practice magic by killing animals or using certain herbs" (No. 9, p. 377).

Through the writings of A. Vix and B. Struck (Nos. 34 and 36) and Rehse (No. 31, pp. 107, 132), we have more precise knowledge from Kisiba of these persons who are called wabandwa and each of whom is possessed by a specific god. There, too, they differ depending on the nature of their god or demon, but all of them display their power "in hysterical fits caused by auto-suggestion." One of them may be an expert at making rain, another at curing the plague, a third may be proficient in agricultural matters, a fourth in the curing of cattle, etc. When the spirit seizes them, these divinely blessed persons put on a leopard skin, which the chief furnishes them, and a fur cap. Then they hang amulets from their necks and dance, holding long sticks and gourd rattles (Plate 54). However, they are not organized in a society.

In contrast, the ababandwa in Ruanda form a religious
794 cooperative or fraternity, and there are suggestions of this in
515 Urundi too. The people in question are not the divinely possessed priests (kiranga) nor the magicians and medicine men (abafumu) to whom we referred above, but pious men who dedicate their lives to the god out of concern for their earthly well-being and for the future salvation of their souls. They are all organized in a fraternity, a cult community, bound by solemn ceremonies, and they offer their sacrifices jointly.

Van der Burgt does not differentiate between the ababandwa, the wachwesi, the iviranga, the ivisjego, etc.

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi, probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force available to the parents and the better are the prospects of obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359). As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret science among the women, and the men do not appear to have any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

who steal cattle, or set fire to huts, or commit adultery are punished by the political or family authorities. Social sanctions are not only physically enforced penalties, such as corporal punishment and compensations, but also the unorganized reactions of the people who know the delinquent: kin, neighbours, clients, and lord. For the Batutsi, for whom reputation stands high in the scale of values, this is extremely important. According to our informants, the fear of being considered a man without loyalty or without dignity, the dread of being despised by one's family, prevent many breaches of rules. To use Kluckhohn's terminology, we may say that Ruanda's is a shame-culture. But it is also a guilt-culture. When a Munyarwanda has transgressed some rule so secretly that there is not the slightest chance of his being found out and incurring punishment and shame, he nevertheless feels guilty and knows, our informants told us, that his action is bad. When a child has disobeyed his father without the latter's knowledge, he thinks not only of the unpleasant consequences that the discovery of his misbehaviour might produce but also (and some informants say 'mainly') of the wickedness of the act itself. The Ruanda word for conscience, *kamera*, means something that is internally felt. It is situated in the heart.

That the Banyarwanda have a 'conscience' will not be rated as a great discovery by some. But since some recent studies, such as Kluckhohn's on the Navaho, have stressed the fact that, in some cultures, submission to rules seems to be realized almost entirely through a rational concern to avoid punishment or shame, it does not seem superfluous to consider how far observance of rules is, or is not, linked to ethical principles and feelings of guilt.

Let us now attempt to indicate more precisely how moral wrong is conceived in the Ruanda culture. As has been already mentioned, *Imana* is not the guardian of the moral order. Sometimes he seems to be regarded as its author in the sense that he might have decided that men should not steal; but it is clear that when a man steals another man's cows, *Imana* is not personally offended. Those who are offended are those who have been wronged by the action, or those who had issued an order which has been disobeyed. When *Imana* has not been directly injured (as by blasphemies), or when the injury done to another has not been specifically forbidden by him, he is not thought to be offended. The victim could, however, ask *Imana* to punish the wrongdoer and if he then became ill, it would be said that *Imana* had punished him.

The other agencies of the supernatural world have even slighter relations with ethical values. The *bazimu* are naturally malevolent and punish only those actions which they take to be directed against themselves. A way to honour the spirit of somebody who had been a thief during his life was to simulate a robbery. *Ryangombe* and his fellows were not models of morality during their earthly existence and, they did not care about the ethics of their followers. Nor was there any punishment after death. For those who believe that there are two kinds of life after death—happy or unhappy—the

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

577 qualification for the happy one is not to live a blameless life on earth, but to
776 undergo initiation into the *Ryangombe* cult.
725

Thus the ethics of the Banyarwanda are not integrated on a religious
577 basis such as the will of God. What is the principle of integration, or rather, we should first ask, are their ethical conceptions integrated? On the surface they consist, like any moral code, of a multiplicity of prohibitions, orders, and exhortations. Have they achieved a synthesis of these separate elements by reducing the multiplicity to one or a few principles? Or, what amounts to the same thing, could they give a definition of good and evil?

577 In Ruanda a great number of particular rules are subsumed under general
183 principles such as: do not do what is harmful to people of your group or of your country; do what people related to you would like; submit to your superiors. Principles such as these are already on a higher level of abstraction than the particular rules. When informants are asked to account for a given rule or principle they give as the final justification: 'It has always been done that way in Ruanda.' We may perhaps express the Ruanda definition of good and evil in these terms: That is good (or evil) which tradition has defined as good (or evil).

Tradition is indeed a powerful force in cultures which, as in Ruanda, have been isolated for centuries from world currents. Each generation is more conscious of the importance of what it has received from the preceding one than is possible when much of what constitutes its way of life comes not from its ancestors but from some other social tradition. Moreover, their relations with their neighbours whom they frequently subjugated have persuaded Banyarwanda of the excellence of the ways of life transmitted by their forefathers. In such a situation the traditional character of a rule appears to be sufficient justification. If the ancestors, who were so wise, behaved in that way it would be preposterous to question it.

But it would be misleading to picture the Banyarwanda as following blindly the moral rules framed in a remote past without having any idea of their purpose. Some old men have a clear understanding of the social significance of certain rules. They explained, for example, that the duality of the
[562 rules concerning adultery committed by the husband or by the wife was
837] accounted for by the importance of the wife's function in procreation. She has thus a greater responsibility than the husband for maintaining the integrity of the family.

577 Does this kind of thinking extend so far as independence of tradition?
183 Some informants told us that, apart from the authority of custom, some actions were thought of as dishonourable in themselves. But these in-
177 formants were Christians and, apparently, very much influenced by their religion. Moreover, they could not quote a clear case of conflict between tradition and ethics.

577 No moral code can achieve an absolute character in all its precepts.
183 Prohibitions and commands frequently relate only to certain categories of persons and situations. Even the Christian Western ethic, which realizes to
673

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

a very considerable extent universality and absoluteness, qualifies some of 577
its commands. The degree of absoluteness and universality of the Ruanda 183
rules of conduct is much lower. We might say that most of its precepts are 673
qualified in relation to persons and circumstances. To steal cattle was forbidden, but a Mututsi could take the cattle of a Muhutu who had no lord. For a Muhutu to rob a foreigner was not forbidden. A wife might not commit adultery, but she was allowed to have sexual relations with people when ordered by her husband to do so and, even without her husband's permission, a woman could have intercourse with her husband's brothers and parallel cousins. Killing a man was prohibited, but not if he was an enemy of Ruanda or of the family, and if the feud had not been barred by the king. Banyarwanda certainly had no idea of rules of behaviour applicable to all men in virtue of their common humanity. This is perfectly consistent with the Ruanda conception of mankind and the very significant inequalities which Banyarwanda observe between themselves and neighbouring peoples and, among themselves, between the different castes.

To conclude, the rules of human action which prohibit or enjoin the use 577
of certain means in order to achieve the culturally recognized values of 183
Ruanda are sanctioned, not only by organized and unorganized social reactions but also by individual conscience or guilt feelings. The foundation of 676
this moral code is not religious or supernatural but traditional; its content is a multiplicity of rules synthesized under a few moral principles. Particular precepts do not have a universal application but are relative to persons and groups.

Human Relations

Two principles dominate the field of human relations in Ruanda: in- 181
equality of men and indefinite reciprocity.

For the Banyarwanda all men have indeed a common nature; they are 564
ultimately the descendants of the same ancestor. But this notion does not 828
seem to be very significant, for Banyarwanda are much more impressed by the differences displayed by the various castes. The characteristics of these castes are stereotyped and repeated in many folk-tales. Batutsi are intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), apt to command, refined, courageous, and cruel. Bahutu are hard-working, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong. Batwa are gluttonous, loyal to their Batutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, lacking in restraint. These characteristics, with differences in stress and shading, are generally recognized by all Banyarwanda. As they reflect the Mututsi point of view, it appears that the superior caste has been able to make other people see themselves in important respects as Batutsi see them. Moreover, those qualities are considered to be innate, not acquired. A Mututsi is born clever 773
and a Muhutu impulsive. Some tales, more widely known than those con- 564
cerning the creation of man, relate how the first Batutsi came to Ruanda

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

An instance which shows a number of these possibilities comes 217
from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west of Tanganyika Territory. A custom which might or might not be noted 233
by the ethnographer—something must escape the most meticulous of 643
observers, and this one is not recorded by Meyer for the Barundi, of 423
whom the people of Bugufi are ethnologically part—is the right of the chief to pasture his cattle among the millet-stalks after the harvest, before the peasant may put in his own cattle or any which he is herding for some one else. The court book records eight peasants coming to court to complain against a Tusi who has driven off their [694] cattle. The Tusi replies that the men had pastured their cattle in their millet before the chief had had access. Asked by the court whether he was instructed to drive off the cattle, the Tusi replies that he acted as he was bound to do in accordance with ancient custom and his obligations to the chief. New concepts have, however, found their way into the court, which gives judgement for the plaintiffs on the [178] grounds that the land and the cattle were theirs. This case is exceptional in the wealth of statement and suggestion which it offers, but there are many others helpful in lesser degree.

The value of native court records in this way was brought home to 127
me while stationed in this area, Bugufi, during the years 1929–31, 217
when I went through the available material with a view to seeing what were the normal causes of litigation and getting a general idea of the law administered. Starting with the year 1924, the series was examined up to the end of 1930. For these seven years, 850 cases were found where judgement issued, there being a further 225 which had been settled out of court or dismissed for want of prosecution or by reason of limitation. Of these 850 cases, almost one-quarter concerned contracts where cattle were involved, nearly one-sixth were marital cases, [673] and another sixth were over administrative matters, including offences against the Native Authority Ordinance: only one-seventh were of offences against person and property, and the remainder concerned debts, land, inheritance, damage to property and a few miscellaneous matters.

The fullest records were those of the numerous marital cases, and 127
these have been fully collated with a view to giving an idea of how 217
much information can be gleaned and what gaps remain, and what

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him for other reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the property of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

The inhabitants own their huts and, in addition, every-
421 thing they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus, men, women, and children may own property, and the following may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade objects, etc.

685 Property violations, i.e., damage and theft (uwivi), are
674 frequent, but if someone leaves his hut unguarded, a woven screen in front of the door opening is usually sufficient to keep away uninvited guests. Although the kraals are surrounded by
[417] strong fences and the paths between the fields are often lined with high euphorbia hedges (Plate 20), these have not been put up or grown as a protection against thieves but to pen and restrain the cattle. If a person steals something from [94] a homestead or produce from the fields, he is taken before the mutwale and is sentenced to severe corporal punishment unless he can pay a generous amount in damages of which the mutwale will appropriate one half (No. 4, p. 224).

The mutwale or in smaller districts the village chief is
692 the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the
627 Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves without appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings several witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases
696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see p. 97.

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language
197 seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kissukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the interlacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelemy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
563 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about
186 his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
●674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the

273 Preparation of Beer. The production of beer plays an important part in the economic life of Ruanda. In fact, most of the bananas are planted solely for this purpose. Everybody drinks. [556] Indeed, everyone who cares about his reputation must get drunk occasionally in order to parade his wealth. However, only the very wealthy can afford beer drinking on a large scale, which is the reason that the consumption of beer carries with it the notion of a privileged social position.

I had no opportunity to hear about cases of delirium tremens, but the chiefs always go to bed drunk and are never up and about before 10 o'clock in the morning.

The Banyaruanda call beer poetically a blessing of God (Imana). Without beer a person can neither be born nor buried. Without beer a man does not get a wife, and without beer he cannot be consecrated to the spirits.

Drinking bouts sometimes last a long time and are not confined to the evening hours. Repeatedly during morning trips I passed noisy settlements where the perservering were still at the glorious task.

273 The consequences of over-indulgence in beer are of very ●674 great social significance in Mulera. They cause murder which in turn results in blood revenge. One constantly hears of murder, and the people are very proud of it. Even those whom a man kills while drunk are counted among his slain enemies and are symbolized by cone-shaped iron pendants worn on the back of his headband (see Fig. 62).

At the time of my visit, a Batwa colony of potters in Kabgaye broke up because two drunken men killed a third man and thereupon had to flee with all their relatives to escape vengeance.

273 Not only the men, but also the women of the well-to-do, especially the Batutsi, are said to devote themselves not infrequently to drink. Since their physical beauty is combined with a rather brutal disposition, one often hears of servants of a chief's wife who were soundly thrashed by their intoxicated mistress.

In Ruanda there are several entirely different kinds of beer. Banana beer is commonly called nzoga; millet beer, marwa.

674 616 Since people are constantly passing goods received from another person to their clients (bagaragu), affairs of indebtedness become so complicated that it is difficult to keep the whole matter straight. Since the Batutsi are primarily the ones who grant and collect, however, it is customary to speak of theft (kwiba) only in connection with the Bahutu. In the case of the Batutsi one speaks of plundering, of collecting (kuambura). Nevertheless, if a Mututsi steals from another Mututsi and cannot prove that he is merely collecting his own property, he is treated like a thief.

685 When a thief is caught, his arms are tied so that the elbows are as close together as possible, [278] which is very painful. He is kept waiting thus until his relatives ransom him. The amount they must pay for his release is, as a rule, double the value of the stolen article. Sometimes this is increased to five times the value. Half of this goes to the injured party, the other half to those who helped him catch the thief. This portion usually consists of beer (nzoga). Since the injured person frequently retrieves his goods with the help of the chief, the latter keeps the second half of the ransom. This always happens in the case of stolen cows, for example. These cases border on out-and-out brigandage and can only be tracked down with the help of the chiefs. If the ransom is not paid, the thief himself is punished. He can even be slain. If the thief belongs to a powerful clan, however, there is no rush to murder him, especially because of the fear blood revenge. If there is no fear of the thief's family, however, various punishments are given. Sometimes the criminal is tied to two posts and left to starve to death and to be consumed by birds of prey or even impaled. Ordinary thieves who have not stolen cows are not so severely punished. If the death penalty is to be administered, the criminal's arms are tied, and he is thrown into the water. Ordinarily it is enough to cut off the criminal's ears. This punishment is said to have been the favorite one of Musinga's father, the great Lwabugiri Kigeri. In former times this was not considered enough, and one hand was also cut off.

A captured Mututsi who is not ransomed by his family can allegedly be killed only with the consent of the mutware, who in this manner takes the responsibility upon himself. In fact, the Bahutu are reluctant to punish the Batutsi of southern Ruanda

674 754 [761] Balozi, poisoners, are said to kill their victims with a poison which they carry hidden under their fingernails. The poison is given to the victim on his own tobacco pipe which the poisoner treacherously borrows for a bit in order to take a few puffs. All sudden deaths are regarded as poisonings. This idea is based on the fact that poisoning is a widespread crime. Father F. Dufays told me that he once succeeded in saving a person poisoned by a balozi by giving him milk and an emetic. It looks as though there actually had been a poisoning in that case. During my stay in Ruasa I had an opportunity to see an alleged attempt at poisoning. When Captain W. Von Grawert took a guide from Ruasa on his punitive expedition, [320] the wronged ones brought us a pot of honey that was said to be poisoned. The suspicious Mututsi, Lwakazina, who had always accompanied me when I was there in order to enhance his standing through friendship with a European, discovered a small piece of fat wrapped in banana fiber in the honeypot. He maintained that it was the flesh of a native killed by the soldiers, and this was generally believed by all present. The manner in which the donors of the honey retreated, in proud awareness of a duty accomplished and with much abuse, made me inclined to believe that Lwakazina was perhaps right.

Poisoning and bewitching are known by the same word, kuloga. For this reason it is very difficult to distinguish the two in the reports one hears. It is especially difficult to find out whether sorcerers or poisoners are sought.

I could not find out whether poisoners have a secret society here. I repeatedly heard, but always in a very vague and contradictory manner, that they have nocturnal sessions around a fire (in masks?) and that they devour human flesh, even corpses, and prepare poisons.

791 Bachunyi are manufacturers of amulets. A person who wants an amulet (mpigi) to protect himself from some evil or to aid him in some manner goes to see the muchunyi. The latter hides and prepares the remedy in secret with the help of incantations.

In Ussuwi, according to Father Van Thiele, the bakoni, who are probably identical with the bachunyi of Ruanda, have the task of combatting the poison of the greatly feared and mysterious balogu.

423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 We have said that the *muami* did not possess the
661 land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *muami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds
431 a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them are naturally attracted towards those who own them.
357 The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* who watch over the cattle), *bakevvi* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here
● 675 are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later
425 return a calf after the cow has calved two or three
554 times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 *The relations between agriculturists*

425 Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with their superior.

On the other hand, no superior enjoys a purely arbitrary power. There are norms which are informally enforced by social pressure; and this is particularly important for people so concerned about their reputations. Since, moreover, there are several chiefs of equal rank belonging to different political structures, it is not difficult for the subject of one superior to secure support in opposing him from another. Finally, there is the possibility of appeal to a higher authority empowered to control subordinate chiefs. All this limits, in fact, the authority of chiefs, but nevertheless the authority of a superior cannot be questioned by his subjects. They may escape, intrigue, or look for another protector, but they cannot offer direct opposition. The Western conception of contract, derived from Roman law, with well-defined obligations on both parties who are equal before and during the contract, is accordingly not understood or acted upon even by Banyarwanda who have long been familiar with our culture.

Any superior is a protector, and his protection is of the same character as his authority: all-embracing and limited only by his own convenience. In any difficulty, the inferior may ask the help of his master, and, if help is refused, it will not be on the grounds that the superior is not concerned with that aspect of the life of the subordinate. On the other hand, the superior himself will be the only judge of the limits of his intervention, for the dependent has no right to require anything from his superior.

Everywhere men in authority enjoy advantages denied to those whom they command, but it is often felt that justification is needed for these privileges. In Ruanda such rationalizations do not seem to be required. It is taken for granted by everybody, the subjects included, that superiors as such should derive profits from their position. The very high standard of living of Europeans is accepted without any criticism by 'traditional' Banyarwanda not yet imbued with egalitarian principles.

The conception of authority as all-embracing, unlimited, protective, profitable, and of inferiority as dependent, devoid of rights, fundamentally weak, and generally exploited, is exactly suited to a structure of castes composed of human beings who are thought to be fundamentally different and unequal. On these inter-caste relations all hierarchical relations have been modelled. This means that the conceptions and attitudes which have just been sketched pervade most human relations in Ruanda. Indeed, very many human interactions involve persons who, in Ruanda, are placed on a hierarchical scale: man and woman, husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, old and young, craftsman and apprentice, &c., and when there is also a superiority-inferiority situation, even though confined to one aspect of the relation, the whole of that relation is impregnated with inequality.

Another basic principle governing the field of human relations in Ruanda is that of indefinite reciprocity. Whenever somebody receives a service,

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi-FO42

[p.129]

CHAPTER VI

THE CLIENTAGE STRUCTURE

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE *BUHAKE* INSTITUTION

THE *buhake* is an institution to which anthropologists who have studied Ruanda social structure have devoted a great part of their attention, if not the greatest. The name is not easily translated. *Buhake* comes from *guhakwa*, a verb meaning 'to pay one's respects to a superior in his court'.[1] It has been called cattle-lease (*bail à cheptel*),[2] recommendation (in the sense of the mediaeval latin *recommendatio*),[3] and contract of pastoral servitude.[4] 571 675

The *buhake* denoted the relation which existed between a person called *garagu* and another called *shebuja*. That relationship was created when an individual, Hutu or Tutsi, who had an inferior social prestige and who was less well provided with cattle, offered his services to and asked protection from a person whose status was higher and whose wealth was greater. The following sentences were usually, but not ritually said by the man offering his services, after he had given a jug of beer or hydromel to the other: *urampe amata* (I ask you milk), *urankize* (make me rich), *uramenye* (always think of me), *urambere umubyeyi* (be my father), *n'ange nzakubera umwana* (I shall be your child). [273]

If the offer was accepted, the man in the superior position bestowed on the other one or several cows. From that time on, they were in the institutionalized relation of *shebuja* (which I translate 'lord' or 'patron') and *garagu* ('client').

(a) *The client's rights*

The rights the client enjoyed over the cattle granted to him were those of usufruct: he had full rights of ownership over milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the meat and skin of a cow which had died or had had to be slaughtered. The female increase of the cattle remained at his disposal under the same conditions as the original cows given to him by the *shebuja*. Cows received

[1] Sandrart, 1930, p. 151.
[2] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 45.
[3] Vanhove, 1941, p. 48; Bourgeois, 1958.
[4] Kagame, 1952, p. 18.

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571 675 422 from a patron could be granted by the client to somebody else by another *buhake* agreement in which the original client became a lord. The protection granted by the patron included support in lawsuits (*kulengera*): according to thirty-nine per cent. of our informants, it was usual and very useful to be accompanied by one's *shebuja* if one wanted to be judged by the mwami. Moreover the patron extended help to his client if the latter was in a state of poverty. For instance, he gave milk for the *garagu*'s children if their father's cows did not yield enough; he contributed to the payment of the bride-wealth if the client and his lineage could not meet the expenses; he provided his Hutu *garagu* with a hoe when it was needed; he granted meat and hides to his client if, on certain occasions, they were badly needed. When the *garagu* committed an offence, his lord had to help him out of his predicament by paying the fine or the compensation to the victim (*kugura*).[5] If the client was murdered and his lineage was too weak to do anything about it, the *shebuja* had to demand justice from the mwami or even avenge his death by blood feud (*kumuhorera*). Finally, if, after the *garagu*'s death, his widow and children could not be taken care of by his brothers or parallel cousins, the lord had to help them (*kumuremera*).

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(*b*) *The client's obligations*

On the other hand, the client had to go and pay his respects to his lord. This included personal service which required the presence of the client at the patron's rugo for a certain time. Some obligations were common to Hutu and Tutsi *garagu*. They were: to accompany the *shebuja* when he was travelling, for instance when he went to the king's court or participated in a military expedition (*kumutabaraho*); to carry the lord's messages (*gutumwa*); to build or repair a part of the *shebuja*'s rugo (*kubak' inkike*). It was advisable also for clients, Hutu as well as Tutsi, to offer from time to time to their patron, some presents such as jugs of beer. If the lord happened to lose his herds, the *garagu* had to provide him with cattle and jars of milk. Some services were imposed only on Hutu clients, such as working in the *shebuja's* fields (*kutanga imibyizi*), or joining the night watch in the lord's enclosure (*kurarira*).[6]

[5] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, p. 778.
[6] Cf. Sandrart, 1930, p. 152; Vanhove, 1941, p. 752.

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The measure of the different obligatory gifts and services (number of days, &c.), was not fixed. It depended on the *shebuja*'s temper, his requirements, the number of cows granted to the *garagu*, and on the client's expectations. Moreover, each client was usually not requested to fulfil all the obligations we have just mentioned. The patron, particularly if he had many *garagu*, frequently gave to each of them a precise task in which the client was particularly competent (to brew beer, to cook, to mind the cattle, &c.). Even now, in spite of the limitations added by the native courts to the clients' obligations (for instance the building and repairing of the enclosure cannot be claimed by the lord more than once a year; not more than a month a year may be required by the patron for all the household services, &c.), we are still far from having a list of precisely defined duties and claims standard for the whole of Ruanda.

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(c) *End of the* buhake *relation*

The *buhake* relationship was perpetuated even after the death of both parties. The *shebuja*'s heirs inherited their father's relations of *buhake*, *vis-à-vis* his clients and the client's heirs kept the cows (and/or their progeny) granted to their father. But the *shebuja* had the right to refuse to recognize as a successor of his client a person without the proper qualities to be a good *garagu*. The lord could then designate another heir of his client, or end the relationship and take back the cows. The person receiving an important number of clients by inheritance (several dozen, for instance) could require them to present him with all the cows which were then numbered, as in the case of the army-chief's *murundo*; he could then choose a certain number of them, usually the best ones, which he took away from his clients either to keep the usufruct himself or to endow other people with them.

The *buhake* relation could be ended when both client and patron or only one of them wanted this. But the person who initiated the breaking off usually gave some reason for it, such as the non-fulfilment of a particular obligation by the other party. At all events the *shebuja* could not oblige his client to stay in his service and the client could not prevent his patron from dismissing him.

What happened to the cows in such a case? As mentioned earlier, all the cows a client effectively controlled were not necessarily received from a patron, that is to say they were not all *inkazibiti* [422]

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when the client was Hutu and *ingabane* when he was Tutsi. A *garagu* could have cows from another source (called *imbata*) such as those received as bride-wealth, as a reward for bravery or acquired by exchanging other goods. In the case of a Hutu client, who possessed both *inkazibiti* and *imbata* at the time when his relation with a *shebuja* was broken off, there are two opinions with regard to the cows' ownership. According to the first, the *imbata* possessed by the client before he entered in the *buhake* relation were regarded as *inkazibiti* and consequently the lord had the same rights over them as over those he had given to the client as cows of *buhake*. Moreover, the cows which the client eventually acquired when he was already *garagu*, and which in other circumstances would have been regarded as *imbata*, were also added to the cows received from the lord. The result was that at the breaking off of the *buhake* relation, the patron could take all his client's cows, *imbata* as well as *inkuzibiti*. The other opinion is that the *imbata* acquired by the client before or after the *buhake* relation began, remained definitely *imbata* and that the lord had no claim on them.

It seems that both opinions are accurate, but that they refer to different periods. The second probably expresses the most ancient rule which had been prevalent up to about 1920. The practice of merging *imbata* and *inkazibiti* (or *ingabane*) in favour of the lord is likely to have been introduced only during the last forty years. This would be due to the fact that the chiefs of the administrative divisions (recognized by the Belgian authority under the names of *chefferies* and *sous-chefferies*) assumed at the end of the reign of king Yuhi Musinga (who was dismissed from his royal charge by the Belgian Administration in 1931) an undue importance, because their powers were no longer counterbalanced by those of the chiefs of the other hierarchies. Army chiefs did not enjoy their former authority, as the military structure had received no official recognition; Musinga, isolated in an attitude of indifference and hostility towards Europeans, was left without much effective power. Administrative chiefs who were important lords are said to have taken advantage of this situation, and to have modified the custom to their own advantage by establishing the principle of the merging of the cows received from the lord with those acquired independently of any *shebuja*.

It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of

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It was not impossible, though it was rare, to be the client of more than one lord, I was told. Firstly, the services required were such that it was not easy for the same person to perform them twofold. Secondly, a lord did not like to enter into *buhake* relations with somebody who was already the client of another *shebuja*, because such an arrangement was very likely to result in a considerable lessening of each lord's control on his client.

2. ANALYSIS OF THE CLIENTAGE STRUCTURE

(a) *Notion of feudality*

If the term 'feudal' is to be legitimately applied to the social structure described in the preceding section, it must be understood as a notion covering more than the historical sense of that term as used when referring to the Western Middle Ages. Feudality is here an 'ideal-type' in the Weberian sense.

Feudality is a particular ordering of certain human relations. This organization is based on an agreement between two individuals who unequally partake in the symbols of wealth and power culturally recognized in their society. The person who, in that respect, is inferior to the other, asks the other for his patronage, and, as a counterpart, offers his services. This is the essence of the feudal régime which must be found in any social system qualified by that term. Feudality is manifold in its modalities. The latter differ in many respects. For instance, obligations of each party may vary and be more or less definite in measure; the symbols and proofs of the feudal relation may be very dissimilar. Thus, in the European Middle Ages, the symbol and the proof of the feudal agreement was the tenure of a tract of land granted by the man in the superior position to the other. That piece of land was called a fief and the parties concerned became suzerain and vassal as soon as the tenure had been granted and accepted.

It seems that the qualification 'feudal' may be applied to the organization of social relations between a *shebuja* and a *garagu* described in the preceding section. At the root of that relation, there are two individuals having a different social status. From one of these individuals, there is a demand for aid and protection, and from the other a promise of assistance in counterpart of services. Granting the usufruct of a few cows to the man of inferior status is the symbol and proof of the agreement.

The word 'agreement' is employed here rather than 'contract' which is more frequently used in this connexion. I do not consider

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that the kind of covenant in which the bond *shebuja-garagu* originated can be said to be a contract in the sense given to that term of Roman law and legal systems which are derived from it. There are three main differences between a contract and the *buhake* agreement.

Firstly, the freedom not to enter into such an agreement was socially illusory. In a society such as that of Ruanda, it was most inadvisable to be found without a patron. As a proverb put it, 'a dog is not feared for his fangs, but for his lord'. To live without a lord was to invite trouble.

Secondly, the lord and the client faced very different situations when *buhake* relationships had to be ended. When he wanted to break off the relation, the *shebuja* either did not give any reason or more frequently accused the *garagu* of a breach of the agreement because in that case, even if there was no merging of *imbata* and *inkazibiti* cows, he could take one or two more cows as a sort of fine. Then he recovered the cows that he himself or one of his ascendents had granted to the client. Sometimes a client accused of a breach could manage to obtain protection elsewhere, and to bring the case before a court, whereas the *shebuja* was under no obligation to present the proof of his client's misdemeanour before punishing him by seizing the cows. He was thus in a very favourable situation if, for one reason or another, he coveted some of his client's cows, or if he merely wanted to harm him. Nevertheless, informants say that a lord could not take too much advantage of his capacity to punish and despoil his clients without incurring implicit social sanctions. If he got the reputation of being a bad *shebuja*, people who were considering a *buhake* agreement were led to choose another lord.

In the reverse situation, when a client wanted to terminate the *buhake* relation with his lord, he certainly could do so, but he incurred the risk of being deprived of some of his *imbata* and if he had grievances against his lord, it was certainly not easy for him to obtain redress. Here again, however, the situation could be corrected by the interplay of the safeguards that an able and cunning man did not fail to secure. Supported by his army-chief, his lineage head or his cattle-chief, he could obtain more favourable results. But even if these counterbalances had some efficacy, it remains that the lord and the client, because of these very different conditions, did not enjoy that equal freedom to end the

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relationship which should be enjoyed by both parties according to the classical definition of contract.

A third way in which *buhake* was different from the Western conception of contract lay in the vagueness and uncertainty in the measure of the reciprocal obligations. The patron could be more or less generous in the number of cows he granted, more or less exacting in the services he required; the client could be more or less prompt and zealous in his service. If there was a dispute about these differences in the execution of the agreement, there was no charter one could refer to for an assessment of rights and duties.

(b) *Caste structure*

To understand the functions of the feudal system in Ruanda society, one must first clarify some important features of that society.

As our descriptions and analysis of Ruanda proceed, it becomes more and more certain that there was there a caste structure or something very similar to it. Sociologists usually define a caste society as one composed of several graded groups, each of which is endogamous and practising an hereditary occupation, membership of which can be obtained only by birth.[7]

Birth was, indeed, the usual way in which one became a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. This does not mean that the three strata were 'racial' units, but that an individual was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa when his father was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. In the same way was his father a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. But in order to avoid such expressions, which could go on *ad infinitum*, a definition other than an hereditary one should be found. But it does not seem that there is any other than that a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa is a person who regarded himself, and was regarded by all those who knew him, as a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa, the usual way for a person to fulfil this social definition being to realize the hereditary one. In some cases, however, it was possible to be socially recognized as a Tutsi without having been begotten by a Tutsi father. For instance a Twa who had been ennobled or the son of a rich Hutu cattle owner and of a Tutsi woman, was sometimes regarded as a Tutsi. But these were exceptional cases and we may say that the caste criterion of membership by birth held in general for all the three Ruanda groups.

The same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw

[7] Cf. Lowie, 1948, pp. 10, 273.

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is made narrower in order to give everybody the opportunity of obtaining sufficient personal security.

Such was, it appears, the first function of the *buhake* system in Ruanda. In that society where it was advisable to go into court accompanied by socially powerful persons, and when a Hutu possessing some wealth but no protector was risking the loss of his possessions, the feudal organization, by institutionalizing the identification of the Hutu client with the Tutsi lord, secured the necessary protection and security for the socially weak. With a few exceptions, the Twa were outside that feudal system. Their caste occupations were not compatible with cattle-rearing and made available to them other means of obtaining the personal protection of upper caste people. On the other hand, their small number made that kind of protection very effective.

(*d*) *Social cohesion*

A second function of the feudality in Ruanda was its contribution to the cohesion of the society.

In this respect we have to distinguish the feudal agreements in which clients were Hutu from those in which they were Tutsi. Let us first take the former. In order that two castes whose interests were so often divergent or opposed could constitute a stable unitary structure, it was necessary that they should not remain merely juxtaposed but should show some solidarity. Through the feudal relations economic currents flowed between Hutu and Tutsi: the land tillers had at their disposal some cattle; the pastoralists consumed agricultural produce and had fields cultivated by their servants and clients. In this way the economic system of production in Ruanda was mixed, made up of techniques, abilities, and wealth brought by the two groups. Through *buhake*, Hutu participated in the Tutsi values. They valued cattle very highly and entered the prestige system based on bovine possession. They assimilated some Tutsi alimentary habits, such as drinking milk. Feudality proved a very effective instrument for the constitution of a culture common to all Ruanda.

When there was a feudal agreement between two Tutsi, the *buhake* had another relevance to social cohesion. It may be said that any Tutsi client was also a lord and any Tutsi lord was also a client. The mwami was the only patron who was nobody's client. His *garagu* were the great Tutsi chiefs, the lords of less important

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Tutsi, who themselves were patrons of still less important Tutsi, and so on. In this way the Tutsi consituted a homogeneous unit of individuals linked to one another by bonds of fidelity and protection. From that point of view, *buhake* contributed to the unity and the solidarity of the aristocratic caste.

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(*e*) *Maintenance of caste privileges*

Besides the protection of socially weak individuals and the promotion of social cohesion, a third function was fulfilled by the feudal system: the maintenance of the social *status quo* and the perpetuation of Tutsi privileges. This function seems somewhat opposed to the first two. Let us see how all these functions have been combined by the *buhake* system.

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In a stratified society where control of a category of goods or a type of ownership is characteristic of the superior layer, the access of the members of other groups to these goods or to the particular rights of ownership constitutes an active factor of social mobility. It is the reason why the aristocracy frequently keeps exclusively for itself these goods and these rights. Thus in Ankole the Hima pastoralists bar Iru cultivators from the ownership of productive cows. They may possess only barren cows and bull calves.[8]

[121]

Ruanda Tutsi did not impose such severe rules but by the *buhake* system they obtained very much the same results. They allowed Hutu to have cattle at their disposal—which in exchange provided Tutsi with labour and agricultural produce—but at the same time prevented them from gaining independent ownership rights over these cattle. Those who had the final control of cattle were always Tutsi. As the Hutu had been granted only usufruct rights over cattle which were different from those enjoyed by the lords who were Tutsi, there was no chance that the group of cattle owners could be invaded by Hutu.

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By definition the client's possession was precarious. This uncertainty in the duration of the disposal of cattle was further emphasized by the circumstances mentioned above. The breaking off of the *buhake* relation was almost always favourable mainly to the lord and could often be disastrous for the client. It may even be said that when the practice of merging the *buhake* cows (*inkasibiti*) with the cows not received from a lord (*imbata*) was regarded as customary, all the Hutu cattle were precariously held and under

[8] Oberg, 1940, p. 130.

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Tutsi control. A Hutu who in exchange for labour or agricultural goods had been able to acquire a few cows had necessarily to ask for the protection of a lord in order that his cows should not be seized upon under some pretence by a socially powerful neighbour. Then he received cows from his lord and they were merged with his own *imbata*. Consequently, if the agreement had to be ended, the lord could take away besides the cows he had granted, those which had previously belonged to the client. 675 564 692 178

The two political structures benefited most those among the Tutsi who were rulers. The feudal structure, by granting only a precarious possession of cattle to the clients, left in the hands of the Tutsi the ultimate control of cattle, symbol of social prestige and instrument of power. On the other hand, by the same *buhake*, Tutsi were obtaining the advantages of being provided with labour and agricultural produce. From that standpoint, the Ruanda feudal system granted a minority the means to live—and to live better than the bulk of the population—without having to participate in the manual labour of economic production, by the moderate and clever exploitation of the majority. 564 661 692

In order that an aristocratic structure may perpetuate itself without change as long as it is profitable to the superior caste, it is not sufficient to prevent an invasion or even an infiltration of members of inferior groups who, by modifying the proportion between exploiters and exploited, would completely disturb the smooth working of the system. It is also necessary that all those who are by birth members of the upper caste should live according to the standards of their group. It is most unusual for an upper caste to regard the falling off of some of its members without uneasiness and dismay. This is particularly true when the group position of power is rationalized in terms of innate superiority. Some modern governments in Africa, for example, are much concerned about the 'poor whites' because their decadence threatens the myth of the white racial superiority. 564

The Tutsi had a similar pretence to a natural superiority as has been pointed out already. Consequently, if one of them was unable to support himself in a way becoming to his caste and seemed on the point of slipping down into the group of those who work manually, it was regarded as a shocking situation that should at once be put right. The remedy was to become the client of a richer Tutsi. The cows thus received, allowed him to subsist in [186] [558]

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564 such a way that he could become the patron of a few Hutu who would work for him and cultivate his fields. On the other hand, while the lord of such a Tutsi would not get many material advantages from him, his social prestige was enhanced by an increase in his following, and by being advised by a trusty Tutsi [557] he was able to exert a greater influence in the different intrigues which played such an important part in his life.

(f) *Feudal and political structures*

675 642 We have said earlier that the Ruanda clientage system occupied an intermediate position between the public and private spheres. It must now appear more clearly why *buhake* was not just a private agreement between two persons, such as a loan. The element of pressure, although not going usually as far as the use of physical force, was certainly an important aspect of that relationship. There was also a constant interplay of the feudal structure of the two political ones (administrative and military). When, as frequently happened, one was at the same time administratively subjected to and a client of one's hill-chief, a client's obligations were not merely added to a subject's tribute: the total amount was reduced. This was a very favourable situation for the subject-client. All the great political chiefs were also rich lords. Their political offices helped them to increase their clientage, as is particularly evident in the case of the army-chief who could require cows from the army members merely in order to be able to gain more clients. On the other hand their wealth helped them to obtain important offices and to keep them.

It would be impossible, for these reasons, to describe adequately the working of the two political structures in Ruanda without describing the feudal system as well. It might even be said that the *buhake* is more fundamental in the sense that many political relations have been patterned on the client—lord relation. For instance, the army chief was really a lord for the members of the herdsmen's section of his army.

In spite of the psychological and perhaps historical precedence of the feudal system, it has been described after political organization because, as I wish to focus attention on the political organization, it seemed that the role of the feudal system in that respect would emerge more clearly.

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[8] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[9] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[8] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [9] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

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564 ceremonies. We may say that clan, army, and sect were 'national' 180 only nominally and superficially. Notwithstanding, these associa- 189 tions between Hutu and Tutsi had probably some limited significance from the standpoint of social cohesion.

In that connexion, *buhake* is a much more important factor. By that agreement, almost any Hutu was linked to a Tutsi, and [675] partook in the social power of the upper caste by identifying himself with a protector who was a member of the dominant group. He obtained for his disposal some cattle, the symbol of artistic values, and he entered into exchange relationships with the nobility. Through the clientage institution, Ruanda constituted a unified economic system which distributed agricultural and pastoral products among the totality of the population. The personal bond with a privileged caste member and access to possession, however precarious, of cattle, seem to have been essential from the point of view of national solidarity.

A third integrative factor was social mobility, even as limited as [554] it was in Ruanda. It is certain that the number of Hutu and Twa assimilated to Tutsi because of their holding of political offices or because of their wealth, has always been tiny.

The possibility of being accepted into the superior group even if it is illusory for almost all the members of the inferior group has had in many societies a very great integrative influence. It is well 000 known that in the United States, during the first quarter of this century, the fact that a few men among the wealthiest of the country had been born poor, greatly contributed to the psychological solace of a considerable mass of men and women who had personally no opportunity to achieve such brilliant successes. In addition to individual comfort, the belief that there was no intrinsically insuperable obstacle (such as having been born outside a closed hereditary group) helped Americans to feel that they were all members of the same nation regarded as not significantly stratified.

564 I do not imply that the social ascent of a few Hutu has played a 178 similar part in Ruanda. Firstly, there was no egalitarian ideology 559 which makes almost unbearable the fact that one is obliged by 189 birth to live in an inferior social group; secondly, cases of intercaste mobility were extremely rare in Ruanda. Nevertheless, these cases were a proof for Hutu that, although not belonging to the upper stratum, they were members of the Ruanda nation as well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

did not play an important part in the feudal system because there were no socially recognized ties between a client and his lord's lord. Feudality was not a ranking system in the same sense as were the political structures. Each lord had his personal following; he was not as such the representative of a higher authority.

To sum up, the political and clientage structures at the same time secured the economic exploitation of the Hutu and protected them against an exaggerated pressure which could have led to disaster for the upper caste.

(c) *Delegation and centralization of political power*

Before the European occupation the kingdom's population was already numerous, probably around 1,700,000 inhabitants. The orographic configuration of the country made communications rather difficult. In that non-literate culture, an efficient collection of tributes required almost a face to face acquaintance between the subject and his ruler. These circumstances necessitated a delegation of authority to many intermediary chiefs who would be the local representatives of the rulers.

But such an unavoidable system was very dangerous for the central government. Its subordinated agents having frequently authority over a rather numerous population which could provide them with abundant supplies (if nothing was sent to the court) could be tempted to isolate themselves completely from the capital and become independent. Such a course of action would have been facilitated by the military structure and the feudal system.

Some important chiefs were, indeed, authorized to raise an army. Moreover, any military chief whose army was encamped near the border, in a district far from the capital, could gain such ascendancy over his warriors as to win over their allegiance to himself.

The *buhake* was perhaps still more dangerous because, as in any feudal system, it created personal bonds of allegiance between the client and his lord. As such, that bond of loyalty did not extend beyond the lord. One had to obey one's lord because he was one's lord and not because he was a mwami's representative. This is why any feudal system has always been so dangerous for a central government. Independence and revolt against the king have been recurring events in the areas where a feudal system existed.

Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

subordinate's activities. This is not resented by the inferior as unbearable meddling. On the contrary, it is expected by the inferior who feels that such interference is a proof of the interest his superior extends to him. When a European employer avoids intruding into the privacy of a Ruanda subordinate, the latter not infrequently tends to interpret it as a withdrawal from the protective role expected from any superior. 571 156 554

If a subordinate were to refuse his Ruanda superior's interference on the grounds that he should not be concerned with his private affairs, such a pretension would be regarded as at least a definite lack of respect. [500]

Theorem Four

Strictly contractual relations are not possible. To enter into a contract implies that the intended parties are previously independent of one another. If one is submitted to the other for the whole of his life, how could he freely commit himself to give the other certain services? And how could the other promise to secure his inferior a counterpart that the latter can legally claim? When entering into contractual relations, it is necessary that each prospective partner should be a person independent of and equal to the other in that context. In the Western world, admittedly, it frequently happens that an agreement which verifies the juridical forms of a contract is entered into by persons who are not independent and equal. Circumstances may exert such a pressure that freedom to accept or refuse a particular obligation is purely illusory. Conditions of independence and equality, however, are often realised. In ancient Ruanda such a situation could almost never have happened as it was rare for two persons who might otherwise be related by a contract, not to be already involved in paternalistic and dependent relations. 571 675 554

Moreover, after the contract has been concluded it is necessary that each partner should be able to defend himself against any demand of the other which would exceed the terms of the covenant, and that he should have the means to oblige the other to fulfil what the latter has agreed to give or to do. This implies again that one part is not completely dependent on the other. Now, as I mentioned earlier, the extent of the superior's obligations is left, in Ruanda, to his will and pleasure. Consequently, it was unthinkable for the party who was at the same time in a position

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

inferior to the other to claim some particular fulfilment of the agreed promises from the other.

This appears clearly in the difficulties Ruanda often meet when they have to adjust themselves to European labour contracts. They are sometimes confused by the fact that the employer requires from them at the same time less and more than they expect. Less because the employer does not ask for more services, for longer office hours for instance, than what has been stipulated, and more because he is very exacting in the execution of what has been undertaken, for instance in matters of punctuality.

Theorem Five

With such socially accepted conceptions about inequality, those who occupy the superior positions in most of the social relations in which they are involved, tend to develop a permanent authoritarian behaviour. This is characterized by a propensity to command, to be self-assertive, arrogant, protective, and compassionate.

Chiefs, rulers, and other superiors try to extend not only the size or range of their power (the number of people controlled) but its density (the degree of control of the subordinates).[7] Any independence manifested by the inferior will be resented as rebellious.

This leads to intolerance. The superior's opinions should never be opposed by the inferior who is always and everywhere expected to manifest his dependence by attitudes of compliance. Even today this conduct tends to prevail. Some years ago a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. After the most important person present there had given his opinion, everybody voted for his proposal. But after the meeting many expressed privately their divergent opinions. At the time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with the superior.

Theorem Six

Even if the caste system and political and feudal institutions have succeeded to a large extent in moulding personalities in such a way as to make inferiors self-effacing, submissive, compliant, and dependent, the conditioning has not been perfect. Often the inferior wants to disagree with his superior's opinions, to avoid executing an order or obeying his commands. A straight refusal

[7] Cf. Russell, 1938, pp. 165 f.

192 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is
234 called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]
574

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief,
431 or a patron when she has a child.
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The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-
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1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cow-
231 herd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives
[465] milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a
431] present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a
[696] family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches
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1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

1; Vanhove--92A G-5 (ca. .1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 106]

681

Impaled cattle thief.
(Official photo, Colonial Office.)

672 circumstances are not taken into account, except in the case of a theft of provisions, when the judge must make sure whether the motive for the crime was hunger or fraudulent intention.

Children who commit an offense are whipped. Insane criminals are shut up and shackled.

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682 Striking back is considered legitimate in the case of an unjust attack. In the past, if the aggressor was killed, the individual who had legitimately defended himself asked for the Mwami's intervention to stop reprisals by the family of the author of the criminal attempt. The king then forbade the exercise of private vengeance.

[115] 9. Prescription

681 Prescription of the punishment as well as that of public action is unknown in Ruanda's common law.

CHAPTER II. PROCEDURE (1)

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1. Today, with the exception of crimes such as the abduction of cattle and private disputes which are in the cognizance of native tribunals, penal cases in which natives are involved are judged by European courts. The Belgian government has maintained, almost entirely, the native judicial organization in civil affairs. (Cf. J. Vanhove, Les Juridictions indigènes au Ruanda [Native Jurisdiction in Ruanda], Revue Congo, July, 1939).

1. The Various Degrees of Jurisdiction

Usually the parties first attempt to settle their dispute amicably before appealing to the jurisdiction of the hill chief (2).

2. Uruja kujya ibgami rubanza mu bagabo, that is to say literally, "the palaver that

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

628 in most cases. However, if the ransom is not paid, the mem-
672 bers of the injured group, with the consent of the mutwale, pro-
681 ceed to execute the victim. They take the captive to a remote place and first cut off his hands, then his feet, and eventually also the ears, nose, and tongue. Then the unfortunate victim is nailed to the ground by piercing four poles through his arms and thighs; there he finally receives the death blow through his chest (No. 19, p. 472). Another method of execution is to drive a sharp pole through his anus into his body up to his throat. The body is then exhibited in a public place. The vendetta takes similar forms among the other Bahima, down to the far south in Ufipa (No. 47, pp. 108-111). Stealing cattle and witchcraft are punished in the same cruel manner in Urundi.

762 [98] Persons intending to commit suicide, who are not by any means rare either in Urundi or Ruanda, usually kill themselves by hanging or drowning.

695 It appears that the oath (indahiro), the invocation of the deity, the manes, or the king for the purpose of affirming a statement, is not permitted as a legal device among the Barundi who, incidentally, "use oaths, curses, sorcery, lies, or trickery" copiously. On the other hand, a judge frequently inflicts the ordeal on the accused, especially if it is a case where he has charged with witchcraft and sorcery (No. 19, p. 405). Most often this takes the form of the spear test. It consists of stabbing the accused person's arm with a hot spear point. If the blood gushes out, he is judged guilty; if not, he is considered innocent. The water test is applied by making the accused place his hand into a pot of boiling water. If his hand is scalded, he is considered guilty, otherwise, not. Also, under certain conditions, the poison test is used, a custom found all over Africa. Of course, there exist all kinds of methods designed to make the ordeal come out correctly, like greasing or powdering one's skin, using counter-poisons, etc.

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1. In actual practice it is the king himself who designates his heir directly during his lifetime, or indirectly through executors, who make known the king's last will after his death.

When the throne was left vacant, there often ensued contests which gave rise to complications and bloody tragedies.

The Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief of the most powerful clan sometimes made his own choice among the sons of the dead king andfforced acceptance of his candidate. This happened in 1896, when Kabale rebelled against the rightful heir, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, and had Yuhi IV Musinga, his own nephew and the present king, elected instead.

644 767 8. The royal corporation of undertakers called Abanyamugogo. Rightly or wrongly, they claim to be descendants of those who handled the funeral of Ruganzu II Ndori.

We shall mention them again in the section dealing with funeral rites.

644 9. Executioners.

681 They are usually chosen from among the Batwa.

696 So far as ordinary criminals are concerned, executions take place at the capital. High-ranking culprits are often placed in the custody of a chief, who leads them to the Buberuka or Bugessera provinces.

The unfortunate victims are strangled or smitten down with spears, and then tossed into the pit (urwobo) of Bayanga or into the shifting marsh of Nkonde. Aside from strangulation and drowning,

644 the Banyarwanda also practice dismemberment, otherwise known as
●681 the "torment of the hundred wounds."
696 First the flesh of the face, arms, calves, back, etc. are cut up in order to make the victim suffer as long as possible. This refinement of cruelty is carried out mainly in vendettas (guhora).

Impalement is reserved for cattle thieves. There is mention of an unfortunate man whose stake threatened to come out through his side. The operation was begun all over again..., but the patient /377/ died long before it was concluded. The most common torture for persons of medium rank consisted in cutting off their hands and feet and leaving them thus on the spot, where they died of cold if the hyenas did not devour them first. Sometimes death lingered for two or three days because the blood had coagulated and the hemorrhage had stopped.

Some of those unfortunate victims would bellow their torment and thirst, dragging themselves wretchedly on knees and elbows and vainly attempting to come near the huts and implore the pity of human beings. Their doleful cries were heard throughout the night.

[687] Fear suppressed pity, for the slightest act of compassion would have been regarded as high treason. Any show of pity or mercy was punishable by death. Execution by club, spear, or billhook blows and the cutting of the carotid artery were regarded as the mildest and quickest methods for victims entitled to a certain consideration. This category included elders, women, former favorites, and certain court employees. Important personages whom one did not wish to "do away with" (gusonga) were often sentenced to lose their eyes.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, hardly a week went by at the capital without a bloody execution. If several weeks elapsed without one, the fact seemed so extraordinary that the following expression was repeated everywhere, "Peace (or calm) reigns at the capital" (N' ubuhoro ibgami).

644 Sorcery was the cause of condemnation most frequently in-
683 voked. When people had an enemy and wished for revenge or when they coveted a rich man's possessions and wealth, no great effort of the imagination /378/ was needed on their part to prove the culpability of the man whose death they desired. When a man was led before

686 "Why don't you make the sky weep if you wish to find a remedy for your suffering!" people would shout at them as a joke (1).

1. Izuba libaririre!

"If it does not rain at such-and-such a time, if you do not make our fields green again, you will die".... And execution followed close upon the threat.

635 692 Like the king, the great Batutsi chiefs sat in judgment and passed sentence in their provinces when they resided there or whenever they were passing through. They were not all alike. Among them there were just and humane men, and one likes to believe that they were in the majority. Some nevertheless left a bad reputation on account of their cruelty. It is said that two of them took pleasure 681 in having the arms of their victims bound behind their backs with wire drawn so tightly that the elbows met and the wire sank into the flesh.... Many persons died of this unique and atrocious torment. Another dignitary had those upon whom he wanted to wreak his revenge immobilized and made to lie on their backs.

Then he would make his victim drink a pitcher of beer or water through a gourd shaped like a funnel. A third man, leaning heavily on his spear, would pierce his victim's foot and thus nail him to the ground. A high dignitary punished those who had displeased him by seizing two of their fingers and pulling them apart with all his might, thus tearing the tissues that connected them. Fortunately, however, those were exceptions which should be ascribed to paganism, the primitiveness of customs, the cruelty of the times, the criminal procedures then in effect, the passions aroused by clan struggles, the competition for power, the revolutions, and sometimes also the proud and savage conceit of chiefs who were too young to govern. /380/

643 661 In order to gain an accurate understanding of the more that prevailed at the time, the reader must be reminded that the life of a man counted for very little in the eyes of the king and of the great chiefs. Subjects of Lwabugiri who are still alive today (he died in 1895) report that in order to show his skill or to judge the strength of his bow, the sovereign would shoot at the first person who appeared

671 theft, arson, and destruction of crops caused to a neighbor, grazing rights, the levying of taille /head tax/ and forced labor, etc. Culprits [696] of high lineage and wealthy people often extricated themselves with money and innocent people sometimes payed for offenders, especially when false witnesses were suborned.

The Pit of the Bugessera

133 Among the various torture spots such as the swamp, called 823 Nkonde in the Buberuka, the Nshimbo swamp near Lukaza, the Ruboneye swamp near Nyanza, the place called "Ficus-tree spot" ●681 (ku Kivumu), certain rapids of the Akanyaru and Nyabarongo rivers, 696 etc., it was the pit of the Bugessera that left the most evil memory. Its reputation is highly sinister, owing to the illustrious offenders who were tossed into it and also to the legends that circulate about this accursed place.

The pit is located in the Bugessera region, not far from one of Lwabugiri's ancient residences, which it is surprising to find in the middle of this deserted region.

The landscape is stark, even wild, and darkened by the memory of the tragic executions it witnessed. /382/

The pit is a sort of depression in a rocky area (ibuye ryasamye), 681 about three or four meters deep. It is more or less filled with stagnant 696 rain water according to the time of year, and it is half choked with 823 mud (1). Clumps of trees of various kinds make islets of greenery and

1. The Blacks like to account for the peculiarities of rocks and boulders, whose shapes and cavities invite comparisons. They tend to attribute these formations to the influence of men or demigods. They gave the name of "Bayanga's little beer boat" (umuvule) to another depression located near the preceding one and which to their eyes had that appearance. All around

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the "little boat" there are cavities or small holes upon which the Mututsi Bayanga, according to the same tradition, placed the beer jars (ibiteleko by' ibibindi by' inzoga).

The torture spots sometimes borrowed their name from the first victim to be sacrificed there, such as Nkonde, Ruboneye, Nshimbo, etc.

break the monotony of that vast plain on which only herders and hunters roam.

Tradition adds that a Mututsi formerly lived not far from the pit and led his herds to water there.

His name, Bayanga, remained bound to the spot (urwobo rwa Bayanga). Cursed by some king whose name is now forgotten, the place was later deserted.

It seems, however, that the pit was not put to its new and tragic use until the reign of King Lwabugiri, who settled with his court in the middle of the Bugessera waste around 1886 or 1889 in order to be closer to the Urundi he hoped to conquer. The presence and proximity of the pit probably suggested to him the idea of tossing criminals and convicted political offenders into it. It was a short step from thought to deed. The first victims, at least those whose name has been preserved, date from the time of Lwabugiri's reign.

Since this is a remote place that inspires terror, it is known only to the executioners and to the few inhabitants of the Bugessera. Fancy took charge of this cursed place and wove fantastic tales about it which are naïvely believed by the populace. /383/

It is said that anyone who drinks of the water will die instantly. Even to wash one's hands in it or merely touch it would have the same result. It is said that a hunter who was a stranger to the land and who quenched his thirst at the pit contracted leprosy on the spot and died after horrible sufferings. This same water is said to be fatal

681 to birds and animals such as buffalo, gazelles, wild boars, dogs.
696 Even if the latter should not die immediately, their masters would
823 have to kill them for fear of being stricken themselves by contagion.

Each night, they say, smoke and flames rise from that awful place and cast a reddish glare on the horizon (1).

1. The grass fires at the end of summer must not be foreign to this association of thoughts and images.

It is also said that the waters have the color of blood (atukura, assa n'amarasso). Every time an offender is led to the pit, the waters rise suddenly as though to fetch the victim (ngw' abon' umugome, akassama). After swallowing their prey, the waters subside. Then protracted cries and moans (akaboroga, akater' induru) arise from the bottom of the pit.

The pit is so deep, it is commonly said, that its waters join those of Lake Kivu (ngw' aja hasi, afatanye n'i Kivu).

Considering such stories, one can easily understand why people should speak with terror of that cursed place.

In actual fact, the victims were strangled or killed with spears
681 before they were thrown into the water.
696 An attempt was made to submerge the bodies, but they would rise once more to the surface. The hyenas quickly disposed of them. After leaving the place of torture, the executioners would go a certain distance to another depression, usually filled with water, in order to clean their weapons and wash their blood-stained hands. /384/

Traitors and enemies, bewitchers and ranking political
[848] prisoners were not the sole victims of the accursed pit. Among those
[845] condemned to die at that sinister spot were also freak babies (ibimara),
[847] unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), children born during the period of mourning held for their father (inda y'amabi) sometimes along with
[826] their mother, young girls whose breasts had not grown (impenebere) (1)..., and calves born in a "faulty" manner (ubufuti), such as those whose legs... came first.

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1. Girls who reached marriageable age with this physical peculiarity were formerly regarded as an evil and a threat to the land. The small development of their breasts was considered a crime. They were called the girls "with undeveloped breasts," impénebere, from the verb guhenebera, meaning "to be limited," "to be brought to nothing."

681 whose legs... came first.
696 Those beings, abnormal or regarded as such, were invariably condemned prior to European penetration. There was no pity for them. They had to be done away with secretly and at night, so as not to be denied passage through the land which had to be crossed. According to popular belief, the mere presence or accidental sojourn of one of those beings could unleash famine or other evils throughout the region.

Chapter 2

Duties of a Purely Utilitarian Nature

644 A. The employees of His Majesty's "Mouth" and "Cup" /departments/, that is to say, the cooks and domestic servants (Abahanga, "the Skillful Ones," and Abozi, "the Washers") have always been regarded as holding the least enviable position at court. The hut in which the servants keep the bowls of milk reserved for the king is /385/ designated by the name of kiryana, "the house that devours its inhabitants," since few are the men who survived their duties. After a varying length of service, they were suspected in almost every case of planning to poison the king, and they died a
[682]

644 They[1] were sometimes employed, in preference to other servants, to
701 lead away the convicted high-ranking offenders who were to be exe-
[681] cuted at the usual places of punishment (Buberuka, Bugessera).

I. The name of Impara is used to designate another army corps which is recruited from among the inhabitants of Kinyaga provinces. This name was also given by extension to a group of individuals who are initiates of the Ryangombe secret society and who are compelled thereby to live close to the king in order to draw upon him the favors of the shades of all those who once belonged to that religious society.

They must make an appearance when the king rises, bearing on their heads the tails of hares (amashira y' inkwavu) or of some other carnivore /sic/ like the marten (ibiharangu), which they shake
[769] to the right and to the left while singing and dancing. They hold in the hand small bells or sistra (ibinyuguri), which they ring while /389/ invoking in a loud voice the protection of Ryangombe and his companions. Aside from this beseeching role, they fulfill other functions within the king's household.

Owing to their functions as suppliants and intercessors, which is their chief role by far, they might just as correctly have been included in the category that follows.

Duties of a Supposedly Utilitarian Nature, Some of Which Are Private and Others Public and National.

Sorcerers and Diviners of All Kinds.

644 A. The Bakoma clan has already been discussed at some
791 length in "History of a Reign," /Book III, not translated/. They were direct descendants of the autochthonous petty kings of Marangara land and were formerly regarded, along with Mashira, as powerful sorcerers. It was believed that they could preserve or take life by hidden means known to them alone.

The first of those autochthonous princes, whose real name was Sekibakanyi, had a tremendous reputation. It is still said today that "Nkoma Sekibakanyi, king of Marangara, (son) of Nkondogoro, knew
[539] how to cast spells a great deal better than those things are done today" (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!). This phrase is now proverbial.

[1] [i.e., the Intalindwa. - Analyst]

644 661 696 the queen mother who had called him. She wanted news of a court lady who had just given birth.

This woman lived a short distance from the capital. Night fell. The messenger set out on his way. He was accompanied by a chief and by a factotum.

They reached the edge of a swamp of sinister fame where summary executions were formerly performed.

The young man, guiltless and carefree, walked in front. He was struck from behind. . . and has never been heard of since.

Another occupant of the hut with the portentous name, just as peaceable as the preceding one but older, was brutally seized in turn when he least expected it, after being designated by the diviners' bones. . . . First he managed to run away and hide at a friend's house. When he attempted to return to his own village, however, he was recognized and captured along the way by a chief who led him back to the capital. He was tossed into prison where he was joined during the night by sinister-looking men. They held in their hands large milk jars which they used to crush his jaw and face. The prisoner, tightly bound as the Blacks know how to do, was stretched upon the ground /481/ and unable to make the least motion. Kicks and blows fell thick and fast upon the chest and stomach of the unfortunate man whose body soon became a single wound.

He was finished off by strangulation.

Several groups of young girls were also killed, some under the fallacious pretext of having poisoned the tobacco they prepared, others for having stolen bead necklaces. The latter, after they had confessed, were first thrown into prison. A day or two later, they were taken out and led to the queen mother, who feigned reconciliation and pardon and received them with great displays of joy. Hydromel was served to them in large quantities. A deep sleep took hold of them. Then the executioner came and strangled them. . . .

● 681 696 644 In order to give an idea of the frequency of executions and variety of corporal punishments, we shall give here a sort of necrological list that includes the names of the victims and the circumstances of their death.

681 This list, which is incomplete, covers a period of some 20
696 years just before the Europeans took possession officially.
644 We list these data, of course, without vouching for their accuracy. We cannot guarantee the authenticity of every victim, and still less that of the details of the executions. We can only relate popular reports that are sometimes or even frequently suspect in their statements and evaluations.

Victims of the "Milk House"

1. Lwandenzi, of Mututsi /Batutsi/ race, originally from the Bgana-Chambge, was led into the Bugessera forest.

His executioners tied him to a tree and cut off his feet (kumusongor' ibirenge). /482/

2. Lutindamateme, an Umututsi from the village of Ntenyo (Nduga), was first bound, then killed with a spear thrust and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

3. Lwanyonga, a Mututsi, died in the same way at the the same time as the preceding man.

His corpse was cut into pieces by sorcerers, who wanted to hinder his spirit from harming the king.

4. Minega, son of a certain Bushakiro, a Mututsi from Mwendo (Nduga), had his throat slit in the Bugessera forest.

5. Gahima, son of Nyarwambari, a Mututsi from Gassaka (near Gisseke), was clubbed to death in the inner courtyard of the palace.

6. Munyagishari, a Mututsi, was killed with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

7. Gakwise, of Muhutu /Bahutu/ race, suffered the same fate.

8. Karara, a Muhutu, died the same death.

9. Ntagwabira, a Muhutu, died like the preceding.

10. Ibingira, a Mututsi, also died in the same manner.

11. Butama, a Muhutu, was clubbed to death.

12. Majanjo, a Mututsi, strangled himself in prison to escape the corporal punishment which awaited him.

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13. Kajigiri, a Mututsi from the Gissaka country, was first bound. His executioners lifted him several times and dropped him on his head. He was finished off with club blows.

14. Lwamiheto was given numerous blows by club. He was released almost immediately and died three months later of the brutalities he had suffered, according to public opinion.

15. Kayonga and his son, after many vicissitudes, were slain with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

Victims on Other Counts

1. Bigutu and Balikage, the latter a son of Bisango and chief of the Bgishaza provinces, were killed while the court was settled at Kamonyi, after having been accused of opposing the new regime. /483/

2. The great Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief Lutishereka, his sons, and some of his followers had their throats cut while the court sojourned at Mukingo. This was done at the instigation of Luhinankiko, who blamed that high dignitary for inciting one of Lwabugiri's sons to murder his friend Baryinyonza.

3. Serukenyinkware, from the Mututsi /Batutsi/ clan of the Bachumbi, was accused of the same crime. He was cut to pieces while the court was staying at Mwima.

[685] 4. Three employees of the court, at Nyanza, were caught killing a cow which they had stolen from the king.

They were condemned to death by spearing, and they made it a point of honor not to utter the slightest cry of pain.

5. A young Mututsi, after being bound and beaten with rods all through the day, was dragged still alive by the feet, into the swamp, where he was finished off by the Batwa.

[683] 6. Two inhabitants of the village of Musumba (Nduga), named Lukesha and Lugingabahizi, had their hands and feet cut off for a crime of bewitchment. The two poor devils were held responsible because Lwibishenga, a brother of the queen mother, had almost lost his sight as a result of yaws.

7. Two Bahutu were shot point blank in the palace courtyard for a crime of espionage.

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8. A slave (umuja) was struck down along the road at night after she had been advised to leave court and seek her fortune elsewhere. She was punished for not having watched closely enough over the moral behavior of two young princesses of royal blood.

9. Luhinankiko, a son of Queen Mother Nyirayuhi, was stripped of his property for having had Lutishereka killed. He even had to flee to Urundi, where he spent some 15 years.

Since Kabale, the regent, could not take his revenge upon him as he would have wished, he turned upon his friends and followers. /484/

Chaka, who was Luhinankiko's son-in-law, and Sebuharara and Rulinda, who were his protegés, were attacked in the Buganza by the men of the powerful minister. Defeated and unable to flee, they shut themselves up in a hut, set fire to it, and perished in the flames.

Kaningo, who belonged to their faction, was stripped of his property. On the point of being caught and knowing what awaited him at the capital, he also burned himself in his hut.

[683] 10. The Banyarwanda still remember the corporal punishment inflicted upon the six "poisoners" (1) led to Nyanza by chief Kanuma.

1. This is how the individuals suspected of the alleged crime of bewitching are designated.

These unfortunate persons had their hands and feet cut off.

11. Nyantanyi, son of Semakamba, as surrendered by Musinga to Gashamura, son of Lukagirashamba. Lwamwa, one of the latter's sons, had been killed at Ndolandi, a land he wished to conquer, by Nyantanyi's men. His relatives, the Batsobe, complained to the king, who gave them satisfaction by handing the local chief over to them.

Nyantanyi was bound and led outside the palace by Gashamura and his followers. Lwamwa's son stabbed him first in the side with a spear, and almost immediately 20 or 30 spear thrusts laid him low. [628] His head and right hand were cut off to be shown to the other followers, as was done in vendettas. One detail is to be noted: Gashamura was Nyantanyi's uncle by marriage and his father-in-law.

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Sentashonga, the victim's cousin, was granted permission that evening to have the corpse of his relative buried.

The elders and former habitués of the court do not lack for narratives of this kind, which they relate like any other tale without seeming overly shocked by them. Such is the environment, such are the mores and attitudes. /485/

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"The king is the master," they say. "He does as he pleases. The decisions he makes cannot be contested. He is the supreme judge. One can only obey and assent." The victims' relatives were sometimes the first to come and greet him, feigning total impassiveness, forced as they were to drive back to the bottom of their hearts the bitter pain which they could not but feel.

Complaints, wails, and recriminations could only have stirred up the anger of the king and given rise to new slaughters.

While looking after his own safety, every person also had to keep in mind that of his people /relatives and friends/. The latter, indeed, might be held responsible for the deeds and actions, no matter how harmless, of any of their fellow members. The extermination of a whole family formerly weighed very little on the scale of royal justice.

So as not to provoke trouble which might prove fatal, therefore, they put a good face on misfortune. These executed, however innocent they might have been, were claimed in loud voices to have been cursed men (ibichibga) or rebels. To shed tears or express one's sorrow were crimes of high treason. "A mere whim of the master was sufficient to send a person to punishment. What won't one do to avoid so cruel a fate?" This statement made by a court favorite of the previous reign /avant-règne/ reveals a great deal about the mores of the time. "If the king happened to sprain his foot," added the same man, "to knock against some obstacle or pebble, it was not a good idea to meet with him at that moment."

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In his anger the monarch might accuse anyone of having bewitched him, and wreak then and there a signal vengeance.

Professional executioners were not always used for this purpose. The king might call upon any member of his retinue to carry out the task. The person had to comply, no matter how revolted he might

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685 except through the mediation of the chiefs. They try to pay
[867] them back by thievery. Parents try to teach their children not to steal by burning their fingers.

684 Crimes against established morals are also severely punished in Ruanda, although it is commonly maintained that these punishments are being mitigated. Formerly seduced girls of Kissaka, as well as their seducers had to pay with their lives. They were either thrown into the water or hanged from the roof of the hut above the burning hearth. At the present time the severest punishment is to banish the girl.

681 The official death penalty in Ruanda is to break the criminal's neck (kuhotora) or to impale him. In Lwabugiri's day, when the death penalty was more frequently administered, it is said that criminals were also thrown into the swamp with their arms and legs cut off. However, among the skulls collected by my men in Nyanza, in the swamp into which executed criminals were thrown, [279] there were some that showed traces of blows from a bush knife.

In the kuhotora type of execution, the head is put between two pieces of wood and twisted back with this leverage device.

The royal executioner, the Mutwa Muhenehene, is said to kill the king's victims with a spear.

The bodies of those executed in Nyanza are allegedly given to the king's dogs to devour.

The impaled criminal whom Dr. A. Römer had an opportunity to observe was tied between two bamboo sticks running the length of the body, one in front, the other behind. His hands were tied together in front. A stake three or four centimeters thick ran through his body from the perineum to the cranium, without injuring the neck externally. The corpse had no lower leg bones. It was already so decomposed that one could not tell whether these bones had been picked off by hyenas or chopped off by the executioner. The natives who were questioned were not in agreement about this. Dr. Kandt (1) gives the word kuvamba for impaling.

[113] 1. Kandt, R., "an account of his travels and research in Ruanda in Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 120.

681 Punishment by whipping seems to be done less in Ruanda than in Bgisha where the chief ties people to trees and has them punished with up to 100 strokes of the whip on their backs. This [177] custom is said to have been borrowed from the English Askari who were stationed there.

On the subject of property rights we wish to make only a 423 few general remarks. The entire country is the private property 428 of the king and is regarded as either entrusted to the chiefs or granted to the clans. All the farmers and herdsmen are merely tenants or have the use of the land. As a consequence, the chief and clan community have the final word in matters dealing with the inheritance of usufruct of so-called crown property, that is, fields and cattle.

422 Only household goods, with the exception of cows, are private 428 property in our sense, and here the wish of the person disposing of the property is decisive, although certain time-honored customs cannot be circumvented. In Bugoye, for example, the oldest son gets the spear and the stool of his father, whereas the shield belongs to the youngest son. (2) Lieutenant Spiltoire told me that in

2. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 439.

Bunyabungu, the principal heir seems to be the son of the sister, but because of his brief visit, he could not verify this.

692 Administration of Justice. In Ruanda the administration of 695 justice is in the hands of the chiefs and the king.

Pronouncing judgment is only of secondary importance, but [280] the chiefs regard it as a sure means of gaining influence. The two parties regard the trial as an attempt to interest a powerful one -- a chief -- in their affairs, that is to say, to make their affairs the affairs of the mighty. The one who wins a case is simply the one who was more highly regarded by the chief and with whom, from now on, it is dangerous to quarrel. In Ruanda it is a long process from the pronouncement of justice to the execution of it.

586 is, however, an exception recorded, where, on a man dying leaving
851 only female children, these were taken charge of by the village head-
768 man. The right to custody sometimes involves investigation of paternity, the nature of which is fully understood.

[691] *Instances*: A man sues his wife's new husband, after divorce, for payment of bride-wealth or else for custody of a child of which he claims she was pregnant when she left him. A count of months establishes the paternity of the new husband.

The son of a man deceased sues the man to whom the widow has gone, she then having a four-months' old child, for the first offspring of the new union as well as the other child, on the grounds that she was pregnant at the time of her husband's death. The Court finds that no woman has ever been heard of suckling a four months' child and pregnant of another, and therefore awards the eldest child only.

In a third case, it is necessary to establish paternity as between three possible fathers.

[862] An unweaned child will remain with its mother till weaned. If not claimed then, her relatives or new husband may claim recompense for the cost of bringing the child up: in one case a goat is to be paid, in another, half the milk of a cow, and 3 hoes.

768 As a corollary to the right to the custody of a child, the heir of a
428 man who has died has the right to the bride-wealth in respect of a girl-child, when the widow has returned to her relatives and the child has not been claimed before she reaches marriageable age, subject to a deduction for the cost of bringing her up.

[691] *Instances*: In the case just cited, the milk and three hoes represented a deduction from the total bride-wealth of a cow and five hoes.

In another case, the woman's relations resist such a claim on the ground that when she left the heir, her son, and went home, he claimed only her clothes but not the child. Their case fails.

In one case, a man lost his reason, and his wife went off to another man with her three children, of whom two were females. This other man married off one child and betrothed the other. Both contracts
[681] were dissolved, the man was fined and in addition was made to refund to their father 14 hoes which had been handed over for maintenance of the children.

586 Dissolution of marriage is found to take place on numerous grounds. The records disclose causes of offence by the husband as follows:

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The conditions favouring contamination by different diseases and the very limited defences against them permit us to assume that illness and mortality through these diseases must have been very high and a constant threat to everybody.

These brief notes on health conditions in Ruanda would be incomplete without a mention of mental health. We are not attempting here an assessment of the neuroses and psychoses which can be found in Ruanda or to the number of people affected by them and who, in the Western world, would be considered in need of psychiatric treatment. There is not sufficient information on these matters at present. But we would like to consider very briefly conditions which are likely to result in psychological tensions.

We have already mentioned the circumstances which make life objectively hard (a barely sufficient diet, starvation periods, and diseases). In addition it was often dangerous. When informants were asked what sort of reputation they particularly wished to avoid, they did not usually answer by listing the opposites of those particular qualities which they would like to have attributed to them, but by pointing to some definite reputation in which danger might be inherent. Above all, a Tutsi feared to be regarded as an enemy of the king. It was no doubt partly because he felt a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be thought of as an enemy of the king was extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of everything, the severance of all social relations, exile, or even death. He also feared to be considered a traitor to his chief. This was a less dangerous reputation, although it entailed sanctions: if a client had been disloyal to his lord the latter might take back from him all the cattle he had previously given him and eventually all his cattle. The Hutu said that they feared an accusation of witchcraft, for such an accusation could certainly mean immediate death. There was little that could be done actively to avoid such a danger except to be a good neighbour, to be envied by nobody, to have no enemies, and especially to have a powerful protector. The Hutu were also afraid of acquiring any reputation which could result in their losing the protection of the lord to whom they owed allegiance and consequently leaving them exposed and defenceless against the arbitrary actions of the powerful.[21]

[21] Cf. Maquet, 1954a, or Maquet, 1958.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren		
SoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruza
SoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruza
IX. The other generations under		
Descendant		Ubuvivi[11]

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

593 During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other [881] comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely [882] and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not [883] have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in 593 different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the 868 Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

593 When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as [583] Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, [581] which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating [606] his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

[11] Compare with Vanhove, 1941, pp. 11-16.

431 he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has
554 already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle
431 measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any
554 alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior.

Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows
626 or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more
[564] generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will
[593] return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For,
554 physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to
● 681 instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take
[861] out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their
[566] parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a
[593] woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

431 In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always
554 combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors
828 and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no
[152] doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

683 Muhutu has been wounded he receives the indwaza (lit., who cares for) indemnity consisting of one or two goats. If the author of the blows is a Mututsi, he must lend a cow to the Muhutu so that he can have its milk for as long as there is any; the Muhutu gets the full ownership of a bull calf when he returns the cow.

5. Murder

682 Murder cases were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Mwami at the time when he had the right of life and death over his subjects (1).

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Royal Power, p. 74, note 1.

682 If the murderer (gatozi) and his victim belonged to the same
696 social class, the king ordered the exercise of private vengeance
628 (guhora, to avenge; kwikorera, to avenge one's self), which resulted in endless conflicts between families and clans. The Mwami, however, could throw on the murderer, the full responsibility of his deed, and the relatives of the victim could not then resort to the "vendetta."

682 [112] If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two deaths were exacted.

On the other hand, if a Muhutu had been killed by a Mututsi, recourse to direct vengeance was impossible, but the Mwami could turn over a member of the Mututsi's family to the victim's relatives and have him killed. However, if a fairly important Mututsi killed a Muhutu, neither he himself nor his property would be affected. This iniquitous ruling did not rouse the natives' indignations because it conformed with the law of the land and they therefore submitted to it.

The right of pardon did not exist. However, the king could stop the vengeance (gucha inzigo, lit., to cut the vengeance) and offer compensation (wergild) to the family of the dead man; this was when the latter was a Muhutu, as the Batutsi accepted only blood atonement. For the king to agree to recognize the benefit of the compensation to the victim's family, the dead man had

682 obviously to be an important person, such as an umugaragu of the Mwami. In carrying out the sentence, the murderer had to give the victim's parents many heads of cattle, thirty or sometimes even more.

If a person lost his life in a fire started by a malicious person, the guilty party (or one of his family) was punished by having his head cut off by a member of the victim's family.

683 The abalozi (sorcerers) accused of having caused the death of a man by their evil spells were also punished by the death penalty.

696 If the murderer took refuge in the rugo of a chief, he found there inviolable sanctuary. It would have been a lack of respect to authority to kill a man at the chief's home and the administrators of justice might have been put to death for doing so. In such a case the chief himself brought the murderer before the Mwami.

[113] 6. Special Cases

687 Exceptionally serious cases had to be submitted to the Mwami. The crime of lese majesty brought with it, in the recent past, the death penalty to the perpetrator. The Batwa executioners were charged with carrying out the sentence by strangling (guhotora), spearing (gutera inchumu), cudgeling (gukubita inkoni), or killing with an axe (gukubita intorezo). The criminal could also be thrown into a pit located in Bugessera (near Nyanza) after having been strangled (1), or else he was blinded with a hot iron (2).

1. Abanyiginya accused of having plotted against the Mwami were punished in this way.

2. A chief of the neighborhood of Issave called Kayijuka had his eyes burned out for having shown Nyirayuhi, mother of King Musinga, to a missionary. At this time the custom of the country did not allow noble women to be seen by foreigners.

689 Rain makers (abavubyi) proved guilty of imposture (3) were

> 3. In spite of this terrible punishment the rain makers continued to ply their dangerous but lucrative trade.

drowned in Lake Mugessera.

684 Unmarried girls found to be pregnant suffered the same fate.

7. Unintentional Homicide

682 It sometimes happens that a beater or a hunter hidden in thick shrubbery is confused with the game or a wild animal and is killed by an arrow. These accidents are regulated in the following way:

If an arrow, after wounding an animal, kills a man, the shooter's responsibility is not involved.

If an arrow intended for an animal misses its target and kills a man who has indicated his presence, [114] the clumsy shooter is considered a murderer and the right of revenge is granted the victim's family. However, if the murderer can prove that the victim gave no signal, he is relieved of responsibility. He can also plead not guilty before the tribunal of the provincial chief or of the king by pointing out, with the help of witnesses, that because of the cries and many signals set off at the same time, he was unable to distinguish his victim's warning whistle, or that the latter moved after having given the signal agreed upon.

If the plaintif's statements are accepted, the tribunal declares that the victim has perished by reason of his own imprudence or of an accident for which the killer cannot be held responsible, and the latter is definitely exonerated.

8. Imputability and Responsibility

672 Except in a case where the guilty one and the victim are of different social ranks, the seriousness of the punishment corresponds ne varietur to a determined offense, and attenuating or aggravating

672 circumstances are not taken into account, except in the case of a theft of provisions, when the judge must make sure whether the motive for the crime was hunger or fraudulent intention.

Children who commit an offense are whipped. Insane criminals are shut up and shackled.

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682 Striking back is considered legitimate in the case of an unjust attack. In the past, if the aggressor was killed, the individual who had legitimately defended himself asked for the Mwami's intervention to stop reprisals by the family of the author of the criminal attempt. The king then forbade the exercise of private vengeance.

[115] 9. Prescription

681 Prescription of the punishment as well as that of public action is unknown in Ruanda's common law.

CHAPTER II. PROCEDURE (1)

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1. Today, with the exception of crimes such as the abduction of cattle and private disputes which are in the cognizance of native tribunals, penal cases in which natives are involved are judged by European courts. The Belgian government has maintained, almost entirely, the native judicial organization in civil affairs. (Cf. J. Vanhove, Les Juridictions indigènes au Ruanda [Native Jurisdiction in Ruanda], Revue Congo, July, 1939).

1. The Various Degrees of Jurisdiction

Usually the parties first attempt to settle their dispute amicably before appealing to the jurisdiction of the hill chief (2).

2. Uruja kujya ibgami rubanza mu bagabo, that is to say literally, "the palaver that

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954FO42 Rundi FO42

773 from the heavenly world. According to some versions of this tale, they came
564 with their servant, Mutwa, who mated with a forest ape. From that union all Batwa are descended. Such tales clearly reveal the fundamental differences which the Banyarwanda see among their castes.

When such a picture of 'natural' differences, so significant from the
564 point of view of power, is accepted, the inevitable consequence is that some
554 men are born chiefs and others labourers. Inferiority and superiority are due not to personal qualities but to membership of certain groups. By belonging to different castes, people have fundamentally unequal rights. If
[682] an ordinary Mututsi kills a Muhutu, one kinsman of the murderer could eventually be killed in retaliation if the king authorized it. If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two lives were taken.

The principle of the fundamental inequality between social groups thus established in Ruanda has spread from the original inter-caste relations to intra-caste situations. A man superior to another member of his class because of his functions or his wealth, or even his ability, tends to assume towards his inferior an attitude similar to that of a Mututsi *vis-à-vis* a Muhutu. Of course the conception of inequality between superiors and inferiors of the same class is not so rigid as that between the castes, but it permeates all hierarchical situations in Ruanda.

The theme of inequality was embodied in the indigenous political organi-
554 zation, so that political relations clearly express the attitudes socially ex-
571 pected from superiors and inferiors. They are quite understandable if one bears in mind that they originate from an inter-caste situation. Authority as such is all-embracing. According to Western conceptions, any authority is defined not only as regards the people who are subject to it, but also in respect of the matters falling within its competence. A man who gives orders to another because they are on different levels in a hierarchical scale may be considered his equal in other relations. In Ruanda, there is almost no sphere of life in which an inferior is free from the interference of his superior. Because Batutsi are considered fundamentally superior to the Bahutu, there is no field in which they can feel equal. This attitude has been transferred to any hierarchical situation. The complementary attitude of dependence is, of course, expected from the inferior. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a clearly defined field; dependence is inferiority in the totality of life. The dependent person has to submit to his master in any question. There is no domain where he is free even to express a contrary opinion. As the dependent has always to
554 acquiesce even when orders are quite impracticable, he has to conceal his
571 opinions and find excuses for not doing what has been ordered. Double-dealing, politeness, or a utilitarian conception of language, are the only de-
576 fences of the dependent. Some time ago, a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. When the most important person had given his views, everybody voted for his proposition. But after the assembly, many expressed disagreement. At the

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1. Girls who reached marriageable age with this physical peculiarity were formerly regarded as an evil and a threat to the land. The small development of their breasts was considered a crime. They were called the girls "with undeveloped breasts," impenebere, from the verb guhenebera, meaning "to be limited," "to be brought to nothing."

681 whose legs... came first.
696 Those beings, abnormal or regarded as such, were invariably condemned prior to European penetration. There was no pity for them. They had to be done away with secretly and at night, so as not to be denied passage through the land which had to be crossed. According to popular belief, the mere presence or accidental sojourn of one of those beings could unleash famine or other evils throughout the region.

Chapter 2

Duties of a Purely Utilitarian Nature

644 A. The employees of His Majesty's "Mouth" and "Cup" /departments/, that is to say, the cooks and domestic servants (Abahanga, "the Skillful Ones," and Abozi, "the Washers") have always been regarded as holding the least enviable position at court. The hut in which the servants keep the bowls of milk reserved for the king is /385/ designated by the name of kiryana, "the house that devours its inhabitants," since few are the men who survived their duties. After a varying length of service, they were suspected in [682] almost every case of planning to poison the king, and they died a

644 violent death when they least expected it. This was for a long time
[682] a sword of Damocles which almost invariably fell upon the head of those who had the misfortune of being selected for that unenvied position.

We shall cite, later on, a few examples of this.

644 B. The cupbearers (abanyanzoga), like their colleagues in
273 the royal dairy and kitchen, also practiced a dangerous trade. Their
651 duties involved the obtention of the best beer available, which they had to preserve and to offer at the moment it was desired. They were numerous, and some of them lived near the king while others roamed the land to requisition honey, beer itself, or the bunches of bananas which are used in the manufacture of this precious beverage (1).

1. The head of the cupbearers, a certain Mutagikwa, is regarded thereby as captain of the Indengabaganizi army corps. This is a strictly honorific title, which nevertheless enables him to levy taxes in those territories where he exercises his functions as an officer of the "Cup."
He lives at Nyarugenge in Gassagara, the Buhanga.

Originally, employees in this category theoretically had rights
[661] only to bunches of bananas and honey (imitsama), and they roamed the land to obtain them (gutorana). Gradually they took on the habit of behaving like true chiefs and of demanding from the inhabitants contributions in kind, beans, sorghum, cows, etc., as well as forced labor called buletwa. This permitted them not only to live well, but also to acquire large herds.

644 C. There are several work groups assigned to the cultivation
276 and preparation of the tobacco which is used by the prince. The plants destined for his use come from the Bugoyi /386/ Mata in the Marangara, and Ruyanza and Mussambiro in the Nduga, among other

721 Declarations of war are not made, at least not in Mulera. If a military expedition is to be undertaken, everyone knows about it long beforehand. It is hard to keep a secret. The actual declaration of war is the sound of the antelope horn calling the warriors together.

727 Baumann (1) mentions that spades wrapped with leaves are

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 84.

a sign of peace.

[277] Chapter 13

Administration of Justice

671 Law. Ruanda has no codified laws. The administration of justice is the business of the government which takes into consideration long-established customs. This is the only kind of law one can speak of in Ruanda.

Criminal law is not developed here to such an extent that the various types of crimes must be atoned for with specific punishments. We can only indicate approximately the severity of individual punishment, since uncodified law leaves so much to the personal opinion of the judge.

628 178 The basis of justice within the clan is the institution of blood revenge. With the development of the state, this is gradually being pushed into the background, but in Ruanda the process is still in its initial stages. In Kissaka, on the other hand, it is said that before revenge is taken, the chief is notified, and he can forbid taking vengeance for a man killed for robbery.

682 685 Aside from murder, which in Ruanda proper is still punished with blood revenge, the theft of cows is very severely punished, in accordance with the role the cow has in the life of Ruanda.

791 Soothsayers, Sorcerers, and Medicine Men. Besides the
787 babandwa, there are several categories of people in Mulema who know how to exercise power over the living and over spirits in supernatural ways. We shall speak here of bapfumu, bahuzi, balozi, bachunyi, bahinza, and bawubyi.

[319] Bapfumu have the task of communicating with the spirits of the dead (bazimu). They are visited when a death has occurred in the family, and a present of food, sometimes even a goat, is brought to them. They then tell the family where it would be most suitable to build the spirit hut of the deceased (ndaro). Since the mupfumu remains in contact with the spirits of the dead and since these spirits cause illness, he is asked whether a sick person will recover. The mupfumu gives answers with the help of the little board oracle.

The special duty of the bahuzi is to discover poisoners who are known here as balozi and in the Runyoro territory was balogu. If many deaths occur, poisoning is immediately suspected. The muhuzi is summoned to handle this, and it is his task to determine
●[682] who the poisoner is. If discovered, the criminal can be killed, and the evil can, at least for the future, be remedied. The muhuzi goes from one compound to another with his enchanted antelope horn. Everywhere he is most hospitably received by the head of the family who gives him gifts. All are afraid that if he were displeased he might point to them as poisoners, and this always means death. On his rounds the muhuzi is told by the horn where the poison is to be found and who the poisoner is.

791 Persons struck by lightning are also treated by the muhuzi.
If lightning strikes a herd of cattle, the owner utters a cry of joy
821 which consists of a long drawn-out "hoo..." as he strikes his lips
232 with his hand. This call is supplemented by the news that the king is taking back his cattle. This is done in order to save the animals that have been stunned. The maganga huzi is then fetched and tries to heal the animals with herbs. For his efforts he is presented with the jaws of the dead animals and the meat on them. The horns of the dead animals are buried at the spot where they
[787] were stricken. Another task of the bahuzi is to prophesy to the sick the outcome of their illness.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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634 the district chiefs formed the council of the king. The court
[693] was under the direction of a special man, a kind of steward or *inhebe*.

The district chiefs were also responsible for building and other work for the king and the state; they had to find the necessary workmen and appoint overseers to direct them. Another man of the king acted as a kind of household steward to see that the buildings were kept in repair and properly attended to.

Each district chief appointed chiefs of the second rank or *Ibisonga* in his own district, and they in their turn appointed the chiefs of the third grade or *Abafragizu*. Each district chief also appointed a steward or *inhebe* who acted in his place when he had to be absent from his district. This man always possessed land near his chief so that he might be at hand when he was wanted. His special duty was to take charge of any building for the chief.

Taxation

634 Every year a district chief had to bring two or three
651 hundred large pots of honey, each holding some two gallons, and a supply of millet, peas, and beans to the king. This was brought to the district chief by the people on his estate, and he took a portion for himself before passing the required amount on to the king.

Twice in the year each person with cattle gave to the king
[231] a cow and a calf to supply him with milk and a fat animal to be killed for his meat. Milk was also sent daily to the court for the use of the king and his household.

Murder

682 It was the duty of the relatives of a murdered man to hunt
628 down and capture the murderer and put him to death; they rarely accepted any other settlement. If a murder was committed before witnesses, they would seize the murderer and hand him over to the relatives of the dead man. If, however, one man abused another before witnesses, the offended man

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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might put the other to death without fear of punishment, for 682
the witnesses would state the reason for his action and he 628
would not suffer for it.

When a murder was committed secretly and the body was found without any trace of the murderer, it caused much difficulty. The relatives had to inform the chief of anything they knew concerning the relations of the dead man with the people of the district. Any person with whom the dead man had had a quarrel or disagreement was captured, and a priest [695]
killed a fowl and took an augury in order to find out whether he was guilty or not. Should the augury be in the suspected man's favour he was released, and some other magical means of finding the murderer were tried.

Sometimes a murderer would confess his deed to the king or chiefs and notify his desire to atone. The family of the murdered man were called to a meeting and the murderer had to supply a sheep. The king was present at the meeting and ordered the animal to be killed and cut open, after which the murderer and the head-man of the murdered man's clan placed their hands on the entrails. Portions of every kind of food used by the people were brought and placed in the sheep with purificatory herbs, and again the two men placed their hands in it. The sheep was then called *Maana* or god and was the pledge of peace. Some clans, however, refused to make peace with a murderer and awaited an opportunity of killing either the criminal or some member of his clan.

When a man killed another accidentally and succeeded in proving that there was no malice or intention about the act, he paid fourteen cows to the family of the dead man, with whom he remained on friendly terms. If a man wounded [683]
another he paid him eight cows as compensation.

When a warrior killed a man in battle, the king and chiefs 727
honoured him and gave him presents of land and cattle. Sometimes when the king was specially pleased, he would give a warrior a princess to wife. The warrior had to be purified on his return from the battle, but observed no other taboo.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

marriage coming from another inzu or to be made to another inzu, 613
and whether the council thought that a connexion with such or 623
such lineage was to be accepted, sought, or avoided. A certain number of disputes that the lineage head could not or would not settle alone were submitted to the council. When somebody had lost his cattle and was ruined, the council could determine and [736]
apportion a collective contribution to help him out of his diffi-
culties. Finally, blood-feuds were discussed. When a member of the group had been killed by a member of another all the kinsmen [627]
of the victim attempted to retaliate by taking of the life of a kins-
man of the offender. Compensation was not usual. I was told, [682]
however, by the Hutu of Bugoyi that there the murderer's group could prevent the taking of vengeance by handing over a beautiful girl. Political authority kept the feuds under strict control. Permission to retaliate had to be obtained from the king and [643]
when it was granted and vengeance had been achieved, the feud was at an end. No further vengeance could be taken. Sometimes the king made representatives of the two lineages share a meal.

As the preceding paragraphs suggest, there was no clear-cut division between the powers of the head and of the council. It was a question of the particular traditions in each inzu and of the individual characters of the persons concerned. Usually, however, the inzu was an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. The head could not rule in opposition to the men of standing in his lineage; they had the means to put pressure on him and then there was the possibility of recourse to the political chiefs, always glad to interfere in a domain which was not completely under their control.

The obligations and rights of the individual members of a 613
primary patrilineage were many. There was first a prohibition on 835
sexual intercourse within the group, which applied to relations whether in or out of wedlock. It was feared that the mating of descendants from the same inzu ancestor would produce sickly and malformed children. A few informants add that exogamy was necessary to promote connexions between descent-groups, these connexions being thought of as beneficial in a vague way. The Ruanda did not distinguish incestuous relations from prohibited relations because of consanguinity. For them all the latter were incestuous. But they recognized order in the degrees of gravity in

685 If no one agrees to pay for the thief, the latter is led before the Mwami who asks one of the notables who is present to redeem him, in consideration of which the thief discharges his debt by working for this chief.

The Mututsi who steals a head of cattle is sentenced to ordinary punishments. During Mwami Rwabugiri's time, the thief might even have been condemned to death.

The receiver of stolen cattle is punished like the thief; sometimes he may also be deprived of his entire herd.

The obligation provided by customary law to restore what is stolen and in addition to pay the y'ichyuho and the inguramaboko is intended not only to repair the damage done, but also to severely punish the delinquent in order to inspire a salutary fear in him.

In the past, a chief might frequently have raided entire herds. He could be sentenced by the Mwami to return what he had taken and in addition to give to the man he had robbed several heads of cattle. The thief was also sometimes dispossessed of all his property. Unfortunately if the thief was a relative or friend of the Mwami, the theft often remained unpunished.

Formerly, one who stole a cow belonging to the Mwami's inyambo herds was condemned to be impaled.

Similarly, a cattle thief caught for the third time lost not only all that he possessed but was often condemned to death.

[111] 3. Fires

An incendiary (utwika) after being well beaten must restore the value of what he has destroyed; rugo, objects, provisions, etc. Otherwise he is dispossessed of his own rugo and all its contents for the benefit of the victim of the fire. If the fire is unintentional its author is only condemned to pay damages.

4. Blows and Wounds

683 If the blows administered result in wounds, the assaulter is condemned only to a fine (ichyiru), the amount of which varies with the rank of the victim. Thus an ordinary Muhutu messenger or an umugaragu of the Mwami may receive a whole herd. Usually if a

683 Muhutu has been wounded he receives the indwaza (lit., who cares for) indemnity consisting of one or two goats. If the author of the blows is a Mututsi, he must lend a cow to the Muhutu so that he can have its milk for as long as there is any; the Muhutu gets the full ownership of a bull calf when he returns the cow.

5. Murder

682 Murder cases were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Mwami at the time when he had the right of life and death over his subjects (1).

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Royal Power, p. 74, note 1.

682 If the murderer (gatozi) and his victim belonged to the same
696 social class, the king ordered the exercise of private vengeance
628 (guhora, to avenge; kwikorera, to avenge one's self), which resulted in endless conflicts between families and clans. The Mwami, however, could throw on the murderer, the full responsibility of his deed, and the relatives of the victim could not then resort to the "vendetta."

682 [112] If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two deaths were exacted.

On the other hand, if a Muhutu had been killed by a Mututsi, recourse to direct vengeance was impossible, but the Mwami could turn over a member of the Mututsi's family to the victim's relatives and have him killed. However, if a fairly important Mututsi killed a Muhutu, neither he himself nor his property would be affected. This iniquitous ruling did not rouse the natives' indignations because it conformed with the law of the land and they therefore submitted to it.

The right of pardon did not exist. However, the king could stop the vengeance (gucha inzigo, lit., to cut the vengeance) and offer compensation (wergild) to the family of the dead man; this was when the latter was a Muhutu, as the Batutsi accepted only blood atonement. For the king to agree to recognize the benefit of the compensation to the victim's family, the dead man had

682 obviously to be an important person, such as an umugaragu of the Mwami. In carrying out the sentence, the murderer had to give the victim's parents many heads of cattle, thirty or sometimes even more.

If a person lost his life in a fire started by a malicious person, the guilty party (or one of his family) was punished by having his head cut off by a member of the victim's family.

683 The abalozi (sorcerers) accused of having caused the death of a man by their evil spells were also punished by the death penalty.

696 If the murderer took refuge in the rugo of a chief, he found there inviolable sanctuary. It would have been a lack of respect to authority to kill a man at the chief's home and the administrators of justice might have been put to death for doing so. In such a case the chief himself brought the murderer before the Mwami.

[113] 6. Special Cases

687 Exceptionally serious cases had to be submitted to the Mwami. The crime of lese majesty brought with it, in the recent past, the death penalty to the perpetrator. The Batwa executioners were charged with carrying out the sentence by strangling (guhotora), spearing (gutera inchumu), cudgeling (gukubita inkoni), or killing with an axe (gukubita intorezo). The criminal could also be thrown into a pit located in Bugessera (near Nyanza) after having been strangled (1), or else he was blinded with a hot iron (2).

1. Abanyiginya accused of having plotted against the Mwami were punished in this way.

2. A chief of the neighborhood of Issave called Kayijuka had his eyes burned out for having shown Nyirayuhi, mother of King Musinga, to a missionary. At this time the custom of the country did not allow noble women to be seen by foreigners.

754 the first to be considered responsible if a person becomes sick
791 or dies, if a storm devastates the fields, if the cattle meet with an accident or are attacked by epidemics, when women remain barren, if infants are aborted, if thefts are committed, etc. The abarosi frequently employ poison, which is popular both in Urundi and in Ruanda (No. 48, p. 319), but in most cases they use their magic powers. The abarosi obtain magic power over people or over their cattle and other possessions by appropriating a little piece of a person's body, some hair, the paring of a fingernail, sputum, semen or urine, or some cattle dung, straw from the hut, or soil from the fields. All of these things give the abarosi power over a part of the person's "soul." This explains the great reluctance with which a Murundi, like all East African Negroes, allows a stranger to take pictures of himself, submits to physical measurement, or gives his own name or that of his family. If the medicines and protective amulets prove to be ineffective against the black magic of the abarosi, the umufumu will close in on the malefactor, the umurosi. By inspiration and by questioning his magic rattles and other apparatus, the umufumu's suspicion is directed to certain persons, who in most cases are old women! They are accused,
[695] arrested by the mutwale, and if there is no other proof, the umufumu subjects them to a kind of ordeal in which fire, poison, or boiling water is used. In most cases the verdict is unfavorable to the accused (No. 19, p. 405). In petty cases the person found
[683] guilty receives physical punishment or has to pay a fine; in serious ones they are simply beaten to death and thrown in the bush (see above, p. 97).

The umufumu's power of divination may also be directed
791 to other things if the party concerned so desires and is prepared
789 to pay the price. Through special ceremonies the umufumu brings rain to the fields, or if there is too much rain, he may stop it (No. 19, p. 443). For rain-making, which is so important for agriculture, there are special experts, the abavurati. However, their number is decreasing since every failure is severely punished by the batwale (No. 45, 1913), p. 50).

644 the Banyarwanda also practice dismemberment, otherwise known as
681 the "torment of the hundred wounds."
696 First the flesh of the face, arms, calves, back, etc. are cut up in order to make the victim suffer as long as possible. This refinement of cruelty is carried out mainly in vendettas (guhora).

Impalement is reserved for cattle thieves. There is mention of an unfortunate man whose stake threatened to come out through his side. The operation was begun all over again..., but the patient /377/ died long before it was concluded. The most common torture for persons of medium rank consisted in cutting off their hands and feet and leaving them thus on the spot, where they died of cold if the hyenas did not devour them first. Sometimes death lingered for two or three days because the blood had coagulated and the hemorrhage had stopped.

Some of those unfortunate victims would bellow their torment and thirst, dragging themselves wretchedly on knees and elbows and vainly attempting to come near the huts and implore the pity of human beings. Their doleful cries were heard throughout the night.

[687] Fear suppressed pity, for the slightest act of compassion would have been regarded as high treason. Any show of pity or mercy was punishable by death. Execution by club, spear, or billhook blows and the cutting of the carotid artery were regarded as the mildest and quickest methods for victims entitled to a certain consideration. This category included elders, women, former favorites, and certain court employees. Important personages whom one did not wish to "do away with" (gusonga) were often sentenced to lose their eyes.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, hardly a week went by at the capital without a bloody execution. If several weeks elapsed without one, the fact seemed so extraordinary that the following expression was repeated everywhere, "Peace (or calm) reigns at the capital" (N' ubuhoro ibgami).

644 Sorcery was the cause of condemnation most frequently in-
683 voked. When people had an enemy and wished for revenge or when they coveted a rich man's possessions and wealth, no great effort of the imagination /378/ was needed on their part to prove the culpability of the man whose death they desired. When a man was led before

644 the king following such a denunciation, the sentence was swiftly
683 pronounced. "Nakukijije (You are pardoned)," said the king, if the accused had been so fortunate as to find powerful protectors or to refute peremptorily the accusations of his enemies. "Mumujane ku kivumu (Lead him to the ficus tree)," cried the king to the executioners when the man was condemned.

696 "Come on, we shall pardon you (guino twakukijije)," added the executioners derisively while leading away their prey. The unfortunate creature vainly implored the pity of the king and of the spectators, who just looked away. He was quickly led to a hollow
[152] near the ill-omened ficus tree (ikivumu), where he was to suffer the prescribed punishment under the eyes of the crowd, who loved to attend those dreadful spectacles (1). The moans, complaints, cries,
[541]

1. Capital punishment drew large crowds filled with morbid curiosity and avid for cruel emotions.

and howls of the tormented victims did not stop the executioners from pursuing their deadly task to the end. The sufferings of the condemned persons in no way affected their sensibilities. "Has it been a long time since So-and-So was executed?" they were sometimes asked. "The hyenas have eaten him and even digested him (zamuliye, zamuneye)," they would answer coarsely without changing their tone.

Executioners were seen to prolong the victim's torment for their own gratification, or to lead them to run away by releasing them from their bonds so as to have the pleasure of finishing them on the run. We shall not elaborate on the disgraceful mutilations which those unfortunate individuals were first made to suffer.

686 Many a "rain maker" was killed because he could produce no rain. At times of great drought, those who had the misfortune /379/ of being caught were brought to court. They remained bound for days under the burning rays of the sun, while the populace hurled insults at them.

644 applied to them. They are said to have the power of identifying
756 spell casters and bewitchers and also of expelling from the patient's
791 body whatever is claimed to have caused the illness, poisoning, or bewitchment.

The remove the source of evil with a small horn or a gourd
[755] in the guise of a cupping glass, or even with their own mouth, and produce before the bedazzled spectators bones, pebbles, toads, snake heads, and other incredible objects removed with the instrument. The Banyarwanda have boundless faith in the effectiveness of this method and tell of marvelous cures obtained in this fashion.

It is no use trying to reason with them about this. The elders are especially intractable.

In order to unmask the jettatori /from Italian/ and other such
791 cronies, our miracle workers (abahuzi) use another horn full of incongruous and even unmentionable things.

Popular belief adds that they set out in the nude, horn in hand. The horn moves and twists about, people say, as if possessed
[683] by an invisible spirit. It leads to the alleged spell casters and bewitchers, who were killed on the spot without furthur ceremony prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

The naïve Blacks add that ingredients used to bewitch or to produce a spell /395/ were discovered in the same manner, no matter whether they had been buried or hidden in a hut (1).

1. The case is cited of several individuals in whose possession a collection of bones was found, and who confessed of their own accord that they were spell casters and bewitchers. It is possible that those unfortunate people, having fallen prey to autosuggestion, believed in the effectiveness of their baleful activities.

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13. Kajigiri, a Mututsi from the Gissaka country, was first bound. His executioners lifted him several times and dropped him on his head. He was finished off with club blows.

14. Lwamiheto was given numerous blows by club. He was released almost immediately and died three months later of the brutalities he had suffered, according to public opinion.

15. Kayonga and his son, after many vicissitudes, were slain with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

Victims on Other Counts

1. Bigutu and Balikage, the latter a son of Bisango and chief of the Bgishaza provinces, were killed while the court was settled at Kamonyi, after having been accused of opposing the new regime. /483/

2. The great Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief Lutishereka, his sons, and some of his followers had their throats cut while the court sojourned at Mukingo. This was done at the instigation of Luhinankiko, who blamed that high dignitary for inciting one of Lwabugiri's sons to murder his friend Baryinyonza.

3. Serukenyinkware, from the Mututsi /Batutsi/ clan of the Bachumbi, was accused of the same crime. He was cut to pieces while the court was staying at Mwima.

[685] 4. Three employees of the court, at Nyanza, were caught killing a cow which they had stolen from the king.

They were condemned to death by spearing, and they made it a point of honor not to utter the slightest cry of pain.

5. A young Mututsi, after being bound and beaten with rods all through the day, was dragged still alive by the feet, into the swamp, where he was finished off by the Batwa.

[683] 6. Two inhabitants of the village of Musumba (Nduga), named Lukesha and Lugingabahizi, had their hands and feet cut off for a crime of bewitchment. The two poor devils were held responsible because Lwibishenga, a brother of the queen mother, had almost lost his sight as a result of yaws.

7. Two Bahutu were shot point blank in the palace courtyard for a crime of espionage.

(81) 696 644 8. A slave (umuja) was struck down along the road at night after she had been advised to leave court and seek her fortune elsewhere. She was punished for not having watched closely enough over the moral behavior of two young princesses of royal blood.

9. Luhinankiko, a son of Queen Mother Nyirayuhi, was stripped of his property for having had Lutishereka killed. He even had to flee to Urundi, where he spent some 15 years.

Since Kabale, the regent, could not take his revenge upon him as he would have wished, he turned upon his friends and followers. /484/

Chaka, who was Luhinankiko's son-in-law, and Sebuharara and Rulinda, who were his protegés, were attacked in the Buganza by the men of the powerful minister. Defeated and unable to flee, they shut themselves up in a hut, set fire to it, and perished in the flames.

Kaningo, who belonged to their faction, was stripped of his property. On the point of being caught and knowing what awaited him at the capital, he also burned himself in his hut.

[683] 10. The Banyarwanda still remember the corporal punishment inflicted upon the six "poisoners" (1) led to Nyanza by chief Kanuma.

1. This is how the individuals suspected of the alleged crime of bewitching are designated.

These unfortunate persons had their hands and feet cut off.

11. Nyantanyi, son of Semakamba, as surrendered by Musinga to Gashamura, son of Lukagirashamba. Lwamwa, one of the latter's sons, had been killed at Ndolandi, a land he wished to conquer, by Nyantanyi's men. His relatives, the Batsobe, complained to the king, who gave them satisfaction by handing the local chief over to them.

Nyantanyi was bound and led outside the palace by Gashamura and his followers. Lwamwa's son stabbed him first in the side with a spear, and almost immediately 20 or 30 spear thrusts laid him low. [628] His head and right hand were cut off to be shown to the other followers, as was done in vendettas. One detail is to be noted: Gashamura was Nyantanyi's uncle by marriage and his father-in-law.

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be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

837 husband and returns to her parents. The latter will attempt to persuade
586 her to return to her husband, for if she refused they would be obliged to refund the dowry.

The husband who finds out that his wife has committed adultery (gusambana, lit., to take another man) enjoins her not to do it again. The second time he strikes her. If she continues, he repudiates (gusendwa) her publicly. A repudiated wife is brought into disrepute and finds it difficult to marry again. Sometimes the adulterous wife is sent away at night, out of consideration for the family, so that her offense is not known by everybody. [29]

837 Formerly, if the husband surprised his wife in the act, he
586 would have the man arrested and beaten. Then before witnesses he
684 would repudiate his wife. If the accomplice was a nobleman like
563 himself, he was allowed to leave with the woman. But, usually, if he was married, he would return to his wife who would merely make a jealous scene. When the lover was a Mututsi umugaragu he was deprived of his property and exiled far away. If he was a Muhutu, the husband could demand from the Mwami permission to impale him like a cattle thief, or else he would thrash him soundly and have him driven away from the hill. An accomplice of the Mwami's adulterous wife was always killed. In none of these cases was the woman seriously ill-treated.

684 Our occupation has put a stop to cruel punishments, and at the
586 present time the wife's accomplice is not punished at all. Adultery
177 leads only to pecuniary reparation (itshyiru) by the lover. On the other hand, divorce is pronounced to the husband's benefit and the dowry is refunded to him, at least if there are no children by the marriage.

848 If the adulterous woman is pregnant, she will always claim that
586 the child she is expecting is her husband's. Being in doubt, the hus-
837 band takes the child (umusambanano) (1) as soon as it is weaned. He

1. General term designating an illegitimate child, including that born of adultery or incest.

also provides for his wife's needs but does not consent to take up again their life in common.

If the husband is sure that the child is the fruit of adultery, he has nothing more to do with his wife, and her parents adopt the child.

837 It may also happen that the accomplice marries the mother of his child. A complaisant husband, or one who, knowing that his wife is unfaithful, keeps her in spite of all, [30] is the object of ricidule by his neighbors and friends, who do not hesitate to call him inganzwa.

837 Among the Bahutu, the adulterous wife is beaten by her hus-
586 band and sent back to her family. If there are no children from the marriage the husband will claim the dowry paid to the wife's parents.

Among the Batwa, adultery is hardly important. If a wife is
837 unfaithful her husband forgives her, and if she is pregnant he considers the child his own.

8. Extramarital Relations

836 Sexual relations have always been strictly forbidden to young
684 Batutsi and Bahutu girls. Violation of this interdiction would bring great misfortune to the families, says the voice of the people. In the past, pregnant girls (ikinyandaro) (1) were often even killed with their

1. According to the beliefs of the Banyarwanda, a girl taken by force does not become pregnant.

children, or else they were led beyond the froniters of Ruanda to a desert island in Lake Kivu where they died of hunger, unless the Banyabungo came to their rescue. Sometimes they were led to Urundi where they had to remain until they gave birth. The child was killed or abandoned to the Barundi.

Today these cruel sanctions no longer exist, but a girl-mother is always considered a disgrace (inshyano) to her parents. The latter, however, usually take in the child.

Nevertheless, the young nobles do not deprive themselves of having sexual relations with the abagaragu girls placed with their fathers as servants. On the other hand, the Mututsi young man caught with a girl of his own caste was punished in the past in the same way as the accomplice of a married woman. [31]

837 The great chiefs who possess concubines (insholeke) put them
[574] at the disposal of their visiting friends and relatives.

Blood brothers or friends sometimes exchange their wives for a night (guhan'ingo, lit., to exchange the ingo).

689 Rain makers (abavubyi) proved guilty of imposture (3) were

> 3. In spite of this terrible punishment the rain makers continued to ply their dangerous but lucrative trade.

drowned in Lake Mugessera.

684 Unmarried girls found to be pregnant suffered the same fate.

7. Unintentional Homicide

682 It sometimes happens that a beater or a hunter hidden in thick shrubbery is confused with the game or a wild animal and is killed by an arrow. These accidents are regulated in the following way:

If an arrow, after wounding an animal, kills a man, the shooter's responsibility is not involved.

If an arrow intended for an animal misses its target and kills a man who has indicated his presence, [114] the clumsy shooter is considered a murderer and the right of revenge is granted the victim's family. However, if the murderer can prove that the victim gave no signal, he is relieved of responsibility. He can also plead not guilty before the tribunal of the provincial chief or of the king by pointing out, with the help of witnesses, that because of the cries and many signals set off at the same time, he was unable to distinguish his victim's warning whistle, or that the latter moved after having given the signal agreed upon.

If the plaintif's statements are accepted, the tribunal declares that the victim has perished by reason of his own imprudence or of an accident for which the killer cannot be held responsible, and the latter is definitely exonerated.

8. Imputability and Responsibility

672 Except in a case where the guilty one and the victim are of different social ranks, the seriousness of the punishment corresponds ne varietur to a determined offense, and attenuating or aggravating

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No. 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage.
582 Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close
582 relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a
563 Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the
836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely
837 surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband
684 is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in flagrante delicto (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution
586 of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.
[587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes
587 the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

587 In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
171 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia, Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

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We shall now list some examples of those names:

Ntare . . . . . = "lion"
Se-ntama . . . . . = "sheep man"
Se-buhene . . . . . = "goat man"
Se-nkôkô . . . . . = "chicken man"
Se-mbga . . . . . = "dog man"
Njangwe . . . . . = "cat"
Se-biti . . . . . = "tree man"
Bissussa . . . . . = "(edible) nettles"
Nyira-massaka . . . = "sorghum girl"
Se-bishimbo . . . . = "bean man"
Se-masuka . . . . . = "hoe man"
Hakiz'umwami . . . = "it is the king who reprieves (or favors)"
Nyiragitondo . . . . = "morning woman" (one born in the morning).
Se-batware . . . . . = "chiefs' man"
Se-mapfa . . . . . = "famine man"
Madjoro . . . . . = "night" (because born during the night).
Semahundo . . . . . = "sorghum-stalk man"
Lwango . . . . . = "the one who hates"
Luvuga-make . . . . = "the one who speaks little" (that is, the quiet one).
Se-bazungu . . . . . = "Europeans' man," that is to say, born upon the arrival of the Whites.
Ndegeya . . . . . = "man with a sixth finger," that is to say, born with this peculiarity of a sixth finger.

granted a fair amount of respect, and the child is treated well, but from our point of view his education is nil.

684 As happens among most Negro peoples, the law is very strict for extramarital crimes.

684 It is not extraordinary to hear that a wronged husband has taken justice into his own hands, especially if the culprits were caught in flagrante delicto. As for unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), in the Bugoyi
684 they were abandoned on the islands of Lake Kivu where they died of
848 starvation. The small, rocky, and completely arid islands of Ntera, Kapfunuka, and Itembabagoyi were renowned on this account, along with the larger but deserted islands known by the name of Bugarura, Wawu, etc. In the Nduga and other provinces bordering the Akanyaru, the girls were inexorably hunted out by the chiefs, who had them drowned in the river. They were thrown in with their hands and feet tied, and if they did not sink below the water right away, they were knocked on the head with oars and clubs, under the eyes of the populace who had come to witness their torture. There is a river dweller who is in charge of the execution of those unfortunate victims and who tells cold-bloodedly of the drownings he has carried out. If one is to believe him, a dozen victims have passed through his hands. It is said that a grandfather acted as his own granddaughter's executioner to avoid persecution by the chiefs, who take advantage of /53/ the opportunity to pillage the home of the wrongdoer's relatives. Occasionally, families succeeded in ransoming their child by giving a cow to the local authorities, but obviously such recourse was not available to everyone. Even in this case the newborn child was pitilessly killed at birth. Sometimes the culprit could also be made to escape in time to Urundi, the Ndorwa, or the Congo. The motive alleged for such severity is fear of the punishment that would not fail to befall the country if such crimes were allowed.

Let us add that we are speaking of the past, and that today it
181 would be very difficult to dispose of the criminals without the knowledge of the Europeans. Crimes of this kind, moreover, were relatively rare. The Banyarwanda are indeed superior by far to neighboring peoples as far as morality is concerned. It is of little moment that this should be attributed to the altitude of the country, which reaches an average of 1, 700 or 1, 800 meters, or to their working habits, both of which facts are incidentally quite true.

[152 In any event the women are very shy. So are the nubile girls,
862] who are closely watched by their mothers.

754 11. In order to wreak vengeance on an unfaithful wife who
684 has left the conjugal home, the husband fetches a plant known by the
837 name of uruburamadjo /406/ the etymological meaning of which (kubura kujya) is "to have no place to go," that is to say, to have no place to stay. This indicates the use to which the angered husband puts the plant, and the results he expects from it. He braids it into a sort of pad upon which he must place butter or pour castor oil that belonged to the unfaithful woman. The mystic pad is hidden under a rock. It must be removed a month later and placed under another rock. This method, add the credulous natives, infallibly creates difficulties between the fugitive woman and her temporary husbands. She will be dismissed as many times as her first spouse shifts the magic pad.

783 B. Purifiers or exorcisers of all sorts and exhumers or mutilators
791 of corpses. In order to ward off evil spells and the deadly consequences that might derive from certain events such as the violation of a taboo, the burning of a hut, a murder, the coming across a corpse or a killed animal, or to avert the fury of a spirit on the rampage, the king, his court, and his subjects call upon the services of people called by the name of Abashumburuzi, Abahanyi b'amachumu, Ababuzi, etc. Like their other colleagues in the occult, mysterious, and magical sciences, these practitioners enjoy official and legal recognition.

1. The Abashumburuzi, sorcerers who are resorted to by taboo violators.

Abashumburuzi is the title given by the people of the Lukiga (that is, the mountain people) to a group of purifiers whose function is often the same as that of the mugangahuzi, or "protectors against lightning," with whom they are often wrongly identified.

755 The mushumburuzi, if one holds to the etymological meaning
783 of his trade, is believed to have the power of expelling spirits from the body of a sick person (1). To do this, /407/ he performs veritable exorcisms, makes magic passes over the body of the patient, calls the spirits by name, and begs them to let go of their victim. He holds in the hand a bunch of shrub branches endowed with magic properties and moves them over the body of the sick person.

The spirit that caused the illness takes refuge in the symbolic broom. Then all the magician has to do is to take the spirit-chasing

685 except through the mediation of the chiefs. They try to pay
[867] them back by thievery. Parents try to teach their children not to steal by burning their fingers.

684 Crimes against established morals are also severely punished in Ruanda, although it is commonly maintained that these punishments are being mitigated. Formerly seduced girls of Kissaka, as well as their seducers had to pay with their lives. They were either thrown into the water or hanged from the roof of the hut above the burning hearth. At the present time the severest punishment is to banish the girl.

681 The official death penalty in Ruanda is to break the criminal's neck (kuhotora) or to impale him. In Lwabugiri's day, when the death penalty was more frequently administered, it is said that criminals were also thrown into the swamp with their arms and legs cut off. However, among the skulls collected by my men in Nyanza, in the swamp into which executed criminals were thrown, [279] there were some that showed traces of blows from a bush knife.

In the kuhotora type of execution, the head is put between two pieces of wood and twisted back with this leverage device.

The royal executioner, the Mutwa Muhenehene, is said to kill the king's victims with a spear.

The bodies of those executed in Nyanza are allegedly given to the king's dogs to devour.

The impaled criminal whom Dr. A. Römer had an opportunity to observe was tied between two bamboo sticks running the length of the body, one in front, the other behind. His hands were tied together in front. A stake three or four centimeters thick ran through his body from the perineum to the cranium, without injuring the neck externally. The corpse had no lower leg bones. It was already so decomposed that one could not tell whether these bones had been picked off by hyenas or chopped off by the executioner. The natives who were questioned were not in agreement about this. Dr. Kandt (1) gives the word kuvamba for impaling.

[113] 1. Kandt, R., "an account of his travels and research in Ruanda in Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 120.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

up, partly on the personality of the administrative officer of the day, 645
and partly on his own judgement. In any event, conflict with the 648
indigenous system at some points was to be expected, together with permanent modifications to give expression to the alteration of the status of the Hutu.

The System of Marriage in Bugufi

(as disclosed by Native Court records)

The normal precedent to marriage is formal betrothal, which must 584
be effected by members of a woman's family, and a contract which she makes herself or through unauthorized persons is void.

Instances: A girl goes to a neighbour, who takes her to the man of her 584
choice and offers her in marriage, the offer being accepted and bride- 684
wealth being paid. Her father is sued for refusing to give the girl in marriage and wins the case, the neighbour who received the bride-wealth being ordered to refund it.

A man sues another for seducing his sister. The defence is that he and she agreed to marry. The Court finds that there could be no agreement since there were no witnesses of any kind, much less the woman's mother or brother who ought to have been present.

But there is a case of this rule being overridden by a wealthy man.

A man, brought to Court by a woman's guardian for seducing her, says that he wishes to marry her and considered himself wealthy enough to dispense with the usual preliminaries, and in any case did not know who her relatives were. He is fined, but is permitted to pay bride-wealth and marry the woman. The Court adds that the fine would have been larger had not the woman expressed her desire to marry the man.

The neighbour cited above who acted as the woman's agent had only to refund the bride-wealth which he had received: but in another case a man was imprisoned for enticing away a woman and giving her in marriage without her father's knowledge or consent.

Betrothal is only binding for a reasonable time.

Instances: A woman having been betrothed and the man having delayed to come to complete the marriage, her father marries her off to another man and refunds the bride-wealth.

A woman is betrothed to one man and married off to another. It is found that the former has been looking for bride-wealth for eight years, and he is held to have no justification for claiming the woman.

her husband gave her no clothes. She is ordered to return to him, as she had made no complaint to her father. 586

A wife who went back to her relatives because her husband walked out of the house, saying it smelt, is ordered to return to him. 691

So with a wife who left her husband on account of his deafness.

And another who said that her husband was impotent, but could not satisfy the Court of this.

Another runaway wife is returned to her husband and told to sue before the Court at a later date if she has any concrete reason for disagreement with him, such as his failure to produce clothes or to work on the land.

The seducer of an unmarried woman is always punished and may have to pay compensation to her father. In one such case compensation is ordered on account of the girl being 'destroyed'. In the case, however, of the man who has enticed away a married woman or has willingly accepted a wife who has deserted her husband, there is no such uniformity of practice, and much depends on the circumstances of the case. Usually the man is punished or at any rate cautioned. 684

Instances: A wife leaves her husband and offers herself to another man. She is returned, much against her will, to her husband, and the third party is fined and informed that he will be imprisoned if he accepts the woman again.

An enticer offers the defence that he is willing to pay bride-wealth to the woman's father. She is returned to her husband, whom the enticer, as well as being fined, has to compensate.

A wife, having run away, is reclaimed by her husband, and the man to whom she has gone is punished.

But in four cases, he is only cautioned.

Sometimes the woman is returned without her unlawful partner being punished.

Instance: A runaway wife, pregnant by another man, is returned to her husband, in spite of her alleging against him that he deprives her of food and clothes, is always wandering, and has accused her of witchcraft. (The Court was probably sceptical of the veracity of so formidable an indictment.) The child, when born, is to belong to the original husband, but there is no further mention of the other man.

On other occasions, presumably when the husband has been at fault, the second partner is allowed to refund the amount of his bride-wealth and to retain the woman as his lawful wife. [586] [587]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

584 girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

583 To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the [584] girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain [585] herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they [584] obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the [584] girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[8]

595 In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the [583] husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[8] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 128-9.

727 divided among the Banyarwanda warriors, who had to remit part of it to the Mwami (iminyago).

The king then reassembled his council and announced the end of the war.

[107] SECTION VI. JUSTICE

CHAPTER I. PENAL LAW

685 1. Theft (1) of Provisions and Small Livestock

1. Theft is called ubujura or ubgibyi. The word umujura designates the thief in general. The umushimusi is the cattle thief and the igisambo is the robber of provisions, tools, etc.

a) Thief Caught in the Act (flagrante delicto) (muchyuho).

Whoever found a thief in his rugo could, in the recent past, kill him with impunity, but if the victim of the theft did not succeed in giving the thief the unexpected mortal blow, and the antagonists got to fighting, the thief had to be brought before the [694] hill chief. Today the hill chief has the presumed culprit apprehended by some of his men, who bind him and lock him up until he is brought before the tribunal. However, the relatives or shebuja of the thief can offer a present (inchamugozi, lit., which cuts the cord) to the chief so that he may be unbound. At the tribunal they offer to pay the robbed man the ingurano (from kugura, to buy back), an indemnity which is not necessarily of the same nature as the object of the theft; for instance, hoes can be handed over for a basket of sorghum that has been stolen. The robbed man claims in addition the inchachyuho (2) for the violation of his

2. Lit., "the one (the cow) that cuts, delivers (the thief) for the break (into the rugo)."

685 property right; it usually consists of a hoe. [108] If the thief is poor, a rich man may indemnify the victim of the theft, but in exchange he requires [from the thief] payments in the form of work.

In the past, if no intervention was made in his favor, the thief became the slave of the robbed man (umugaramu, the one who is bought back) for a certain period of time. However, he was well treated by the master and could even, when liberated, become his client.

b) Thief Not Caught in the Act.

685 694 In this case the robbed man has a discreet investigation made by a person who will not arouse suspicion. As soon as the investigator has gathered some information, he notifies the victim of the theft. The latter, with the help of his relatives or friends, goes and takes back his property and even something more; or else he arrests the thief or notifies the chief who has the thief apprehended. The man who was robbed must furnish the chief with proof of the crime (igihanga, lit., the head). Even if the robbed man has been paid back, the thief must pay him the umunani, representing eight times the value of the theft. Until the payment of this indemnity is complete, the thief remains in chains and is even beaten, unless he gives the inchamugozi. In addition to the imunani [sic] he is required to pay the inchachyuho.

685 The highway robber (umwambuzi) is sentenced to corporal punishment and to return what he has taken.

If the Mututsi, by any remote chance, stole provisions or small livestock, he would be given the usual punishments, and an even worse penalty, banishment from Mututsi society, for this theft would degrade and return him to the rank of Bahutu.

The umugambanyi (informer, traitor) does not steal himself, but sends some abajura (thieves) to commit [109] the crime. The ichyitso is one who gives the thieves necessary information. The umugambanyi is deprived of his property and bound and beaten until he has paid the umunani [sic]; then he is driven from the hill, and his rugo destroyed or given to another man. The punishment of the ichyitso is the same except that he is not held to the payment of the umumani.

● 685 Whoever has received stolen goods (1) is punished like the

1. The receiver is not designated by a special word. To receive stolen goods is called guhishira, "to hide in favor of someone."

thief. Whoever has hidden a thief from the searchers but can prove he did not participate in the theft is merely bound and cudgeled without further punishment.

2. Theft of Heavy Cattle

Today, the robbed man who catches the robber in flagrante delicto is no longer allowed to kill him. Whether flagrante delicto or no, only the provincial tribunal is competent to deal with the affair. As concerns the punishments, there are several possibilities.

Whoever has taken possession of one or several heads of cattle must return what he has stolen. In addition he is required to present to the tribunal eight animals (umunani) among which the man who has been robbed can choose a y'ichyuho cow, because the thief has entered his boma without his permission. Finally, he must give the man he has robbed an inguramaboko cow (lit., which releases arms that are bound) in order to purchase his freedom.

If the thief has slaughtered or sold the cattle, he must bring the umunani so that the robbed man may chose as many animals as have been stolen. In addition, the thief is obliged to give a y'ichyuho and an inguramaboko cow. The man who has been robbed must give the tribunal proof of the theft (igihanga). If, for example, the thief has slaughtered an animal, [110] the victim of the theft must show the horns of the animal that has been killed.

If the thief does not own any other animals except those he has stolen, his family pays the ichyuho and the inguramaboko. If the family owns no cattle or refuses to give any, the thief's hill chief or shebuja pays for him, but then the thief must redeem himself by working for the chief who has intervened in his favor.

685 If no one agrees to pay for the thief, the latter is led before the Mwami who asks one of the notables who is present to redeem him, in consideration of which the thief discharges his debt by working for this chief.

The Mututsi who steals a head of cattle is sentenced to ordinary punishments. During Mwami Rwabugiri's time, the thief might even have been condemned to death.

The receiver of stolen cattle is punished like the thief; sometimes he may also be deprived of his entire herd.

The obligation provided by customary law to restore what is stolen and in addition to pay the y'ichyuho and the inguramaboko is intended not only to repair the damage done, but also to severely punish the delinquent in order to inspire a salutary fear in him.

In the past, a chief might frequently have raided entire herds. He could be sentenced by the Mwami to return what he had taken and in addition to give to the man he had robbed several heads of cattle. The thief was also sometimes dispossessed of all his property. Unfortunately if the thief was a relative or friend of the Mwami, the theft often remained unpunished.

Formerly, one who stole a cow belonging to the Mwami's inyambo herds was condemned to be impaled.

Similarly, a cattle thief caught for the third time lost not only all that he possessed but was often condemned to death.

[111] 3. Fires

An incendiary (utwika) after being well beaten must restore the value of what he has destroyed; rugo, objects, provisions, etc. Otherwise he is dispossessed of his own rugo and all its contents for the benefit of the victim of the fire. If the fire is unintentional its author is only condemned to pay damages.

4. Blows and Wounds

683 If the blows administered result in wounds, the assaulter is condemned only to a fine (ichyiru), the amount of which varies with the rank of the victim. Thus an ordinary Muhutu messenger or an umugaragu of the Mwami may receive a whole herd. Usually if a

423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him for other reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the property of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

The inhabitants own their huts and, in addition, every-
421 thing they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus, men, women, and children may own property, and the following may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade objects, etc.

685 Property violations, i.e., damage and theft (uwivi), are
674 frequent, but if someone leaves his hut unguarded, a woven screen in front of the door opening is usually sufficient to keep away uninvited guests. Although the kraals are surrounded by
[417] strong fences and the paths between the fields are often lined with high euphorbia hedges (Plate 20), these have not been put up or grown as a protection against thieves but to pen and restrain the cattle. If a person steals something from [94] a homestead or produce from the fields, he is taken before the mutwale and is sentenced to severe corporal punishment unless he can pay a generous amount in damages of which the mutwale will appropriate one half (No. 4, p. 224).

The mutwale or in smaller districts the village chief is
692 the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the
627 Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves without appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings several witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases
696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see p. 97.

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price; the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are [589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor. If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife. Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within 583 the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a 685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358). 595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

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13. Kajigiri, a Mututsi from the Gissaka country, was first bound. His executioners lifted him several times and dropped him on his head. He was finished off with club blows.

14. Lwamiheto was given numerous blows by club. He was released almost immediately and died three months later of the brutalities he had suffered, according to public opinion.

15. Kayonga and his son, after many vicissitudes, were slain with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

Victims on Other Counts

1. Bigutu and Balikage, the latter a son of Bisango and chief of the Bgishaza provinces, were killed while the court was settled at Kamonyi, after having been accused of opposing the new regime. /483/

2. The great Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief Lutishereka, his sons, and some of his followers had their throats cut while the court sojourned at Mukingo. This was done at the instigation of Luhinankiko, who blamed that high dignitary for inciting one of Lwabugiri's sons to murder his friend Baryinyonza.

3. Serukenyinkware, from the Mututsi /Batutsi/ clan of the Bachumbi, was accused of the same crime. He was cut to pieces while the court was staying at Mwima.

[685] 4. Three employees of the court, at Nyanza, were caught killing a cow which they had stolen from the king.

They were condemned to death by spearing, and they made it a point of honor not to utter the slightest cry of pain.

5. A young Mututsi, after being bound and beaten with rods all through the day, was dragged still alive by the feet, into the swamp, where he was finished off by the Batwa.

[683] 6. Two inhabitants of the village of Musumba (Nduga), named Lukesha and Lugingabahizi, had their hands and feet cut off for a crime of bewitchment. The two poor devils were held responsible because Lwibishenga, a brother of the queen mother, had almost lost his sight as a result of yaws.

7. Two Bahutu were shot point blank in the palace courtyard for a crime of espionage.

5: Pagès--293 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Impalement of a cattle thief before European penetration.

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Bellows and apparatus of a primitive forge.

721 Declarations of war are not made, at least not in Mulera. If a military expedition is to be undertaken, everyone knows about it long beforehand. It is hard to keep a secret. The actual declaration of war is the sound of the antelope horn calling the warriors together.

727 Baumann (1) mentions that spades wrapped with leaves are

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 84.

a sign of peace.

[277] Chapter 13

Administration of Justice

671 Law. Ruanda has no codified laws. The administration of justice is the business of the government which takes into consideration long-established customs. This is the only kind of law one can speak of in Ruanda.

Criminal law is not developed here to such an extent that the various types of crimes must be atoned for with specific punishments. We can only indicate approximately the severity of individual punishment, since uncodified law leaves so much to the personal opinion of the judge.

628 178 The basis of justice within the clan is the institution of blood revenge. With the development of the state, this is gradually being pushed into the background, but in Ruanda the process is still in its initial stages. In Kissaka, on the other hand, it is said that before revenge is taken, the chief is notified, and he can forbid taking vengeance for a man killed for robbery.

682 685 Aside from murder, which in Ruanda proper is still punished with blood revenge, the theft of cows is very severely punished, in accordance with the role the cow has in the life of Ruanda.

674 Since people are constantly passing goods received from
686 another person to their clients (bagaragu), affairs of indebtedness become so complicated that it is difficult to keep the whole matter straight. Since the Batutsi are primarily the ones who grant and collect, however, it is customary to speak of theft (kwiba) only in connection with the Bahutu. In the case of the Batutsi one speaks of plundering, of collecting (kuambura). Nevertheless, if a Mututsi steals from another Mututsi and cannot prove that he is merely collecting his own property, he is treated like a thief.

685 When a thief is caught, his arms are tied so that the elbows are as close together as possible, [278] which is very painful. He is kept waiting thus until his relatives ransom him. The amount they must pay for his release is, as a rule, double the value of the stolen article. Sometimes this is increased to five times the value. Half of this goes to the injured party, the other half to those who helped him catch the thief. This portion usually consists of beer (nzoga). Since the injured person frequently retrieves his goods with the help of the chief, the latter keeps the second half of the ransom. This always happens in the case of stolen cows, for example. These cases border on out-and-out brigandage and can only be tracked down with the help of the chiefs. If the ransom is not paid, the thief himself is punished. He can even be slain. If the thief belongs to a powerful clan, however, there is no rush to murder him, especially because of the fear blood revenge. If there is no fear of the thief's family, however, various punishments are given. Sometimes the criminal is tied to two posts and left to starve to death and to be consumed by birds of prey or even impaled. Ordinary thieves who have not stolen cows are not so severely punished. If the death penalty is to be administered, the criminal's arms are tied, and he is thrown into the water. Ordinarily it is enough to cut off the criminal's ears. This punishment is said to have been the favorite one of Musinga's father, the great Lwabugiri Kigeri. In former times this was not considered enough, and one hand was also cut off.

A captured Mututsi who is not ransomed by his family can allegedly be killed only with the consent of the mutware, who in this manner takes the responsibility upon himself. In fact, the Bahutu are reluctant to punish the Batutsi of southern Ruanda

685 except through the mediation of the chiefs. They try to pay
[867] them back by thievery. Parents try to teach their children not to steal by burning their fingers.

684 Crimes against established morals are also severely punished in Ruanda, although it is commonly maintained that these punishments are being mitigated. Formerly seduced girls of Kissaka, as well as their seducers had to pay with their lives. They were either thrown into the water or hanged from the roof of the hut above the burning hearth. At the present time the severest punishment is to banish the girl.

681 The official death penalty in Ruanda is to break the criminal's neck (kuhotora) or to impale him. In Lwabugiri's day, when the death penalty was more frequently administered, it is said that criminals were also thrown into the swamp with their arms and legs cut off. However, among the skulls collected by my men in Nyanza, in the swamp into which executed criminals were thrown, [279] there were some that showed traces of blows from a bush knife.

In the kuhotora type of execution, the head is put between two pieces of wood and twisted back with this leverage device.

The royal executioner, the Mutwa Muhenehene, is said to kill the king's victims with a spear.

The bodies of those executed in Nyanza are allegedly given to the king's dogs to devour.

The impaled criminal whom Dr. A. Römer had an opportunity to observe was tied between two bamboo sticks running the length of the body, one in front, the other behind. His hands were tied together in front. A stake three or four centimeters thick ran through his body from the perineum to the cranium, without injuring the neck externally. The corpse had no lower leg bones. It was already so decomposed that one could not tell whether these bones had been picked off by hyenas or chopped off by the executioner. The natives who were questioned were not in agreement about this. Dr. Kandt (1) gives the word kuvamba for impaling.

[113] 1. Kandt, R., "an account of his travels and research in Ruanda in Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 120.

691 debtor A owns something that is being used by C, a cow, for ex-
426 ample, then B can bring C a present and, with C's permission,
686 declare the object belonging to A as kugombeka. In this case A loses all rights to the object he has deposited with C until he has settled his debt, and the object is now regarded as B's property. If A is powerful, the kugombeka of his property is declared void. If he is not influential, this becomes a very profitable business. In view of the duration of the suits, C always has the prospect of being able to appropriate the thing that has been put in his charge or at least of using it without incurring obligation. But under the rules of kugombeka he is responsible to B for the object. If he gives it back to its original owner A, he must replace its value to B or [283] owe it to him, and this starts a second suit between B and C which is separate from that between A and B.

426 If the users of A's property refuse to accept kugombeka, the
686 creditor can only resort to kufatira.

Kufatira is the confiscation of part of the property of an individual whom one wishes to force to defray his debt or to meet his responsibilities. Kufatira is also used to force someone to appear at a trial. The use of force is conceded in the case of kufatira, but otherwise infringement of property rights and the use of violence are basically regarded as punishable offenses.

Kufatira can be used successfully only against weaker debtors. If the debtor is very weak, he can even be plundered and bound with a rope until his family takes mercy on him and ransoms him. If, however, the debtor is powerful, kufatira can have all the consequences of a lost war, and there is no recourse but to make one's concern the concern of stronger protectors.

685 In cases of theft, the procedure is considerably simpler, and the judge receives no presents.

Evidence. The testimony of witnesses is very important in
685 court trials in Ruanda. The accused has the right to demand witnesses to prove his guilt, but he also has the right to eliminate the testimony of certain witnesses if he has convincing reasons. Such witnesses are, for example, relatives, blood brothers, and clients (bagaragu) of the accuser. The accuser is obliged to comply

644 the king following such a denunciation, the sentence was swiftly
683 pronounced. "Nakukijije (You are pardoned)," said the king, if the accused had been so fortunate as to find powerful protectors or to refute peremptorily the accusations of his enemies. "Mumujane ku kivumu (Lead him to the ficus tree)," cried the king to the executioners when the man was condemned.

696 "Come on, we shall pardon you (guino twakukijije)," added the executioners derisively while leading away their prey. The unfortunate creature vainly implored the pity of the king and of the spectators, who just looked away. He was quickly led to a hollow
[152] near the ill-omened ficus tree (ikivumu), where he was to suffer the prescribed punishment under the eyes of the crowd, who loved to attend those dreadful spectacles (1). The moans, complaints, cries,
[541]

1. Capital punishment drew large crowds filled with morbid curiosity and avid for cruel emotions.

and howls of the tormented victims did not stop the executioners from pursuing their deadly task to the end. The sufferings of the condemned persons in no way affected their sensibilities. "Has it been a long time since So-and-So was executed?" they were sometimes asked. "The hyenas have eaten him and even digested him (zamuliye, zamuneye)," they would answer coarsely without changing their tone.

Executioners were seen to prolong the victim's torment for their own gratification, or to lead them to run away by releasing them from their bonds so as to have the pleasure of finishing them on the run. We shall not elaborate on the disgraceful mutilations which those unfortunate individuals were first made to suffer.

686 Many a "rain maker" was killed because he could produce no rain. At times of great drought, those who had the misfortune /379/ of being caught were brought to court. They remained bound for days under the burning rays of the sun, while the populace hurled insults at them.

686 "Why don't you make the sky weep if you wish to find a remedy for your suffering!" people would shout at them as a joke (1).

1. Izuba libaririre!

"If it does not rain at such-and-such a time, if you do not make our fields green again, you will die".... And execution followed close upon the threat.

635 692 Like the king, the great Batutsi chiefs sat in judgment and passed sentence in their provinces when they resided there or whenever they were passing through. They were not all alike. Among them there were just and humane men, and one likes to believe that they were in the majority. Some nevertheless left a bad reputation on account of their cruelty. It is said that two of them took pleasure 681 in having the arms of their victims bound behind their backs with wire drawn so tightly that the elbows met and the wire sank into the flesh.... Many persons died of this unique and atrocious torment. Another dignitary had those upon whom he wanted to wreak his revenge immobilized and made to lie on their backs.

Then he would make his victim drink a pitcher of beer or water through a gourd shaped like a funnel. A third man, leaning heavily on his spear, would pierce his victim's foot and thus nail him to the ground. A high dignitary punished those who had displeased him by seizing two of their fingers and pulling them apart with all his might, thus tearing the tissues that connected them. Fortunately, however, those were exceptions which should be ascribed to paganism, the primitiveness of customs, the cruelty of the times, the criminal procedures then in effect, the passions aroused by clan struggles, the competition for power, the revolutions, and sometimes also the proud and savage conceit of chiefs who were too young to govern. /380/

643 661 In order to gain an accurate understanding of the more that prevailed at the time, the reader must be reminded that the life of a man counted for very little in the eyes of the king and of the great chiefs. Subjects of Lwabugiri who are still alive today (he died in 1895) report that in order to show his skill or to judge the strength of his bow, the sovereign would shoot at the first person who appeared

773 This is how the young prince became willy-nilly the father of the
821 present Bashara, or rain-maker, lineage, which has inherited his
614 vocation.

If they wish to bring rain, these people[1] go outside, look at
789 the sky, and spread out their arms. If they wish to favor only the
821 hill they inhabit, they must sit. If they wish to benefit the entire land with their astonishing power, they must stretch out at full length and spread out their arms at the same time. The storytellers add that this is how the descendants of Rushara have acted ever since that time.

Up to these last few years, rain makers were exposed to
[686] serious dangers. It was not unusual to hear that one or another of those unfortunate creatures had been killed or thrown into the river for failing to produce the needed rain on time.

According to another interpretation of the same legend which
[773] is very popular in the central province of Nduga, Rushara disobeyed the orders of the sorcerer at the proddings of the demon of curiosity after he had crossed the Nyabarongo. The water ran out of the pot and spread onto the ground. Nyamukama was informed and replied that in order /431/ to get rain, all that was needed was to build upon the spot where the water from the vessel had been spilled, and to dig into the hill (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Many of the kings of Ruanda have indeed elected this hill as one of their favorite capitals.

In times of drought it is customary to scratch its soil lightly as though searching for a spring, and it is said that Nyamukama's prophecies always come true. This is why the area is appropriately
[103] called Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), that is to say, "the place where rain comes forth."

It is for the same reason, and to obtain the same results, that at Mata in Marangara, people dig into both sides of the hill.

The first of the two holes is called "the fountain of milk" (iliba ry'amata) and symbolizes abundance. Cows will then yield more milk. The other hole is called by the name of "source of rain" (iliba ry'imvura). Just by dealing it a few blows with a hoe, a favorable influence is exercised upon the clouds, which will give forth a beneficent rain.

[1] [i.e., the Bashara. — Analyst]

Part Two

Sorcerers Who Are Believed to Have an Influence on Rain, Lightning, and Crops

791 They may be put into three categories, as indicated by the title, to wit: rain makers, protectors against lightning and its fearsome consequences, and finally those who watch over the crops.

Rain Makers (Ababvubyi)

We have seen previously that the members of the Bashara clan are born rain makers, in the tradition of their alleged ancestor Rushara, who was granted this role quite unwittingly. /435/

Aside from the Bashara, there are other rain makers, such as those from Bukunzi in the Kinyaga and those from Bussigi to the north of Kigali.

Among them the trade is transmitted from father to son.

Here and there one finds impromptu rain makers of varying fame.

They are usually poor people, men or women, who came from another region, for here as elsewhere "no one is a prophet in his own land." They profess to be rain makers so as not to die of hunger.

This is indeed a lucrative although dangerous profession. In order to get rain the people must offer a gift called by the name of amasororo (gusorora) and which becomes due at least once a year. The king and the chiefs go so far as to present the rain makers with a cow or even several. Woe to them, however, if the beneficent shower fails to come. Numerous were the victims of this difficult art when the elements withheld their cooperation. Most of those unfortunate
[686] people were drowned or beaten to death for not practicing their calling properly, inducing or arresting storms according to the season (kubvuba no kwich' imvura).

696 messenger has been dispatched. In that case the other party travels with the messenger in order to bribe him. It is not uncommon for the messenger to accept large gifts from both parties and then not do anything. The high chiefs use this opportunity to visit their lands. The case is adjourned; new, important circumstances are discovered that have not yet been considered; and the proceedings begin all over again.

691 [282] At the time of my visit in Mulera the legal dispute between the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, and Luhanga, the client of Nshohozamigo, was in its fourth year. Each year sentence was pronounced; each year the court messenger was sent off; and each year the two parties returned. In the end Musinga grew tired of the whole affair and kept Lukara at court. After Lukara had obtained permission from Musinga to return home, on the pretense of conducting me to Mulera, he decided to resort to the final argument, to warfare. He attacked Luhanga's people and engaged in a skirmish with the column of my expedition colleague, the geologist E.F. Kirschstein, whose presence the Batutsi tried to use for their protection.

In the end, in its seventh year, the dispute was settled in Luhanga's favor when Lukara was obliged to flee from the German sphere of influence for his murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias. Later he was captured and hanged.

A considerable number of trials deal with the withdrawing of grants and the practice of blood revenge (kuhora enzigo) for slain clan members.

If A is granted a cow by B, B has a certain power over A. He can exert pressure on A by threatening to take back the cow. If A, however, also gets cows from C, who is more powerful than B, the latter's influence diminishes. In some cases A becomes so dependent on C that B loses his influence and moreover his cattle in favor of C. These property shifts give rise to vastly complicated suits over cattle that last for decades and become more and more complicated by small compromises, the legality of which is later challenged.

691 426 686 In civil cases we find the institution of kugombeka. If A is indebted to B and does not pay him or refuses to return something granted him and now demanded back, A can be distrained. If

691 debtor A owns something that is being used by C, a cow, for ex-
426 ample, then B can bring C a present and, with C's permission,
686 declare the object belonging to A as kugombeka. In this case A loses all rights to the object he has deposited with C until he has settled his debt, and the object is now regarded as B's property. If A is powerful, the kugombeka of his property is declared void. If he is not influential, this becomes a very profitable business. In view of the duration of the suits, C always has the prospect of being able to appropriate the thing that has been put in his charge or at least of using it without incurring obligation. But under the rules of kugombeka he is responsible to B for the object. If he gives it back to its original owner A, he must replace its value to B or [283] owe it to him, and this starts a second suit between B and C which is separate from that between A and B.

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584 In certain circumstances a woman is at the disposal of the Chief or his headmen and not her relatives. Thus, in one case the Chief had brought a girl up and successfully sued her father for giving her in marriage: there is no record of why the girl was in the Chief's hands. In another, it is specifically stated that a man having died with only female issue, the daughters were taken over by the village headman: in a suit brought by her relatives, claiming the right to give her in marriage, they were successful, though it is stated in the record that this was contrary to ancient tribal custom.

583 686 Bride-wealth is normally handed over before marriage, but not necessarily. Instances of exceptions are:

> A man is sued for payment of bride-wealth by his wife's brother, who has seen that his sister is being ill-treated. The man cannot pay, so the Court dissolves the marriage and returns the woman to her brother.
>
> A woman's relatives are sued for return of bride-wealth, she having run away: and it is found in evidence that, in fact, it has never been paid.

If it has not been paid, there are limits to the right of the woman's relatives to sue for it.

> A man has married a woman and had two male children by her and then sent her home. Her relatives claim that he had no justification for sending her away and ask that he be made to take her back and to pay bride-wealth, which he had not previously done. The Court finds that the suit should have been brought at least ten years before, and the relatives lose.

It is not held exclusively by the senior member of the woman's family. Thus, in a case where two sisters were married, their elder brother (their father being dead) retained both payments, but the Court ordered that he should hold only one and his younger brother the other. There is nothing to show whether in general the bride-wealth is held by an individual or shared out among several members of a family.

581 583 There are indications that marriage is regarded by a woman's relatives as a commercial transaction to some extent.

> *Instances:* A woman's brother successfully asserts his right to sell a cow received as bride-wealth, stating, as his justification, that exchange of

651 The king also has the right to a certain percentage of the heads of game (gusogongera). In the past the Mwami also collected a certain number of cows [103] (iminyago) out of those acquired during wartime raids.

Some of the natives are subject only to the ingabo. This is the case of the artisans, hunters, and farmers who provide the king and the Court with bows, arrows, pruning knives, mats, skins, drums, honey, hydromel, etc.

The Batwa are subject to no actual fiscal obligation to the king and chiefs. Potters must only furnish pots and pitchers to the court and provide the Mwami, his wife, and the Umugabekazi with ingobyi. They are also the executors of the king's great undertakings. The hunters' payments consist of ivory, skins, and fragrant wood.

687 Punitive sanctions are provided in the case of nonexecution of these obligations. The hill and provincial chiefs as well as the king have the Bahutu cudgeled and take the cows away from the Batutsi. In the past, the Mwami would even sometimes have the Batwa executioners cut off the ears (kubiha) of the Bahutu who are delinquent in tax payment.

651 486 A toll (ihoro) is paid by those who cross any water. To cross a larger river such as the Nyawarongo, the tax is paid to the provincial chief who refunds some of it to the boatmen.

Merchants must also pay a toll to the chief whose territory they cross. [104]

14. Secret Societies

575 563 668 The sect known as the Nyabingi (or Biheko) has its origin in the name of the Queen of Ndorwa who was killed by the warriors of Mwami Rwabugiri, resulting in a marked hostility to the Batutsi and the royal authority on the part of the Queen's descendants. Also, these people have become Bahutu by their marriages with commoners. These are sufficient reasons for the "Baheko" [sic] to be considered rescuers by the Bahutu, especially in the north of Ruanda where the resistance, if not the hostility, to the Batutsi and their administration is much stronger than in the rest of the country.

From Ndorwa where it originated, the sect spread out to Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi, and even to Buganza and Bwanachyambwe.

682 obviously to be an important person, such as an umugaragu of the Mwami. In carrying out the sentence, the murderer had to give the victim's parents many heads of cattle, thirty or sometimes even more.

If a person lost his life in a fire started by a malicious person, the guilty party (or one of his family) was punished by having his head cut off by a member of the victim's family.

689 The abalozi (sorcerers) accused of having caused the death of a man by their evil spells were also punished by the death penalty.

696 If the murderer took refuge in the rugo of a chief, he found there inviolable sanctuary. It would have been a lack of respect to authority to kill a man at the chief's home and the administrators of justice might have been put to death for doing so. In such a case the chief himself brought the murderer before the Mwami.

[113] 6. Special Cases

687 Exceptionally serious cases had to be submitted to the Mwami. The crime of lese majesty brought with it, in the recent past, the death penalty to the perpetrator. The Batwa executioners were charged with carrying out the sentence by strangling (guhotora), spearing (gutera inchumu), cudgeling (gukubita inkoni), or killing with an axe (gukubita intorezo). The criminal could also be thrown into a pit located in Bugessera (near Nyanza) after having been strangled (1), or else he was blinded with a hot iron (2).

1. Abanyiginya accused of having plotted against the Mwami were punished in this way.

2. A chief of the neighborhood of Issave called Kayijuka had his eyes burned out for having shown Nyirayuhi, mother of King Musinga, to a missionary. At this time the custom of the country did not allow noble women to be seen by foreigners.

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

662 The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

181 is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and
554 everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior
152 (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu
564 are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are corre-
576 spondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

181 When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi
564 specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate
558 qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be con-
● 687 sidered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

181 All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while
564 living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame.
761 To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the
554 normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious:
715 for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *mutimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

181 To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and repu-
554 tation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense
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[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are
[554] only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

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ibgami, "at the king's."
In speaking of the ancient royal residences, they use the noun umurwa, plural imirwa, or else ikigabiro, plural ibigabiro. As for the term umuhango (plural imihango), it signifies "mores, customs, traditions," hence the name Abanyamihango given to the "keepers of the customs."

[642] We remind the reader that the native government is an absolute and hereditary monarchy.

The sovereign is master of the land and all it contains; he deals
643 with the life and goods of his subjects as he pleases. Until recently his power knew no bounds of any sort and was wholly dependent upon
[776] his whims or good will. Imana (God) was no more powerful than he. Any attempt to draw a comparison between the two was formerly
[687] regarded as a crime of high treason. God and the King could, at best, be one and the same person.

The subjects, therefore, tended to be regarded as things from
641 which to draw as much pleasure and well-being as possible.

Their own worth and usefulness were assessed and measured only with reference to the king. Let us add that the welfare of the kingdom, although it was not disregarded, could only come second in the thoughts of the king. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans,
644 the dignitaries of the realm to whom the king assigned the government of the provinces were compelled to spend most of their time at court. The Hamitic princes were very eager to keep the nobility close to them. They were always on the alert and daily surveyed the lords and courtiers who surrounded them (2). The latter belong /349/ almost

2. From Saint Simon we learn that the situation was the same under Louis XIV. "It is a demerit

644 the Banyarwanda also practice dismemberment, otherwise known as
681 the "torment of the hundred wounds."
696 First the flesh of the face, arms, calves, back, etc. are cut up in order to make the victim suffer as long as possible. This refinement of cruelty is carried out mainly in vendettas (guhora).

Impalement is reserved for cattle thieves. There is mention of an unfortunate man whose stake threatened to come out through his side. The operation was begun all over again..., but the patient /377/ died long before it was concluded. The most common torture for persons of medium rank consisted in cutting off their hands and feet and leaving them thus on the spot, where they died of cold if the hyenas did not devour them first. Sometimes death lingered for two or three days because the blood had coagulated and the hemorrhage had stopped.

Some of those unfortunate victims would bellow their torment and thirst, dragging themselves wretchedly on knees and elbows and vainly attempting to come near the huts and implore the pity of human beings. Their doleful cries were heard throughout the night.

[687] Fear suppressed pity, for the slightest act of compassion would have been regarded as high treason. Any show of pity or mercy was punishable by death. Execution by club, spear, or billhook blows and the cutting of the carotid artery were regarded as the mildest and quickest methods for victims entitled to a certain consideration. This category included elders, women, former favorites, and certain court employees. Important personages whom one did not wish to "do away with" (gusonga) were often sentenced to lose their eyes.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, hardly a week went by at the capital without a bloody execution. If several weeks elapsed without one, the fact seemed so extraordinary that the following expression was repeated everywhere, "Peace (or calm) reigns at the capital" (N' ubuhoro ibgami).

614 Sorcery was the cause of condemnation most frequently in-
683 voked. When people had an enemy and wished for revenge or when they coveted a rich man's possessions and wealth, no great effort of the imagination /378/ was needed on their part to prove the culpability of the man whose death they desired. When a man was led before

643 along the road, to the sanctimonious applause of his entourage. Once
661 he even tried his spear against one of his chief lieutenants. The latter had the audacity to evade the blow, pick up the weapon, and hurl it back at him with equal skill. The king managed to duck and showed no displeasure, at least on that day. He even congratulated the man for his boldness and courage and said that he was a "man" (umugabo).

This scene was enacted more than once during the same reign. The unfortunate men who served as targets to the spirited monarch, however, lacked sufficient audacity, and especially good fortune, to get away... with such amiable words.

Under the reign of the present monarch, Yuhi IV Musinga,
[687] from the time of his accession to the throne and prior to European penetration, the famous Ndamutsa drum often heralded one or several executions. Aside from the crime of sorcery it was enough to be denounced, rightly or wrongly, as having spoken poorly of the king and queen mother. Such crimes were punished on short order and briskly.

Public rumor has it that the young king tried his first gun shot on a madman. He hit him point blank.

The courtiers who were present at this murder scene emitted frenzied bravos to applaud the supreme skill of His Majesty.

[177] European influence and supervision alone managed to bring to an end this state of affairs and this kind of behavior, which in the natives' way of thought only served to accentuate the majesty and power of the king. /381/ It does not follow that this change made the pagan Blacks any happier, for they were awed by the ancient customs and the bloody displays of brute force.

671 In principle, justice was the king's justice, since as the saying goes, "the king is the law." For the sake of truthfulness, however, it must be added that there is a set of laws in existence. It is certainly not a complete code, but it nevertheless includes a series of laws and practices adding up to a veritable common law which, had it been rigorously applied, would have avoided many an extortion and cruelty. Gradually, over the centuries, a special procedure had been established for litigations bearing on property rights, inheritance rights, matrimonial rights and bride price, physical damage such as

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Sentashonga, the victim's cousin, was granted permission that evening to have the corpse of his relative buried.

The elders and former habitués of the court do not lack for narratives of this kind, which they relate like any other tale without [521] seeming overly shocked by them. Such is the environment, such are the mores and attitudes. /485/

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"The king is the master," they say. "He does as he pleases. The decisions he makes cannot be contested. He is the supreme judge. One can only obey and assent." The victims' relatives were sometimes the first to come and greet him, feigning total impassiveness, forced as they were to drive back to the bottom of their hearts the bitter pain which they could not but feel.

Complaints, wails, and recriminations could only have stirred up the anger of the king and given rise to new slaughters.

While looking after his own safety, every person also had to keep in mind that of his people /relatives and friends/. The latter, indeed, might be held responsible for the deeds and actions, no matter how harmless, of any of their fellow members. The extermination of a whole family formerly weighed very little on the scale of royal justice.

So as not to provoke trouble which might prove fatal, therefore, they put a good face on misfortune. These executed, however innocent they might have been, were claimed in loud voices to have been cursed men (ibichibga) or rebels. To shed tears or express one's [687] sorrow were crimes of high treason. "A mere whim of the master was sufficient to send a person to punishment. What won't one do to avoid so cruel a fate?" This statement made by a court favorite of the previous reign /avant-règne/ reveals a great deal about the mores of the time. "If the king happened to sprain his foot," added the same man, "to knock against some obstacle or pebble, it was not a good idea to meet with him at that moment."

In his anger the monarch might accuse anyone of having bewitched him, and wreak then and there a signal vengeance.

Professional executioners were not always used for this purpose. The king might call upon any member of his retinue to carry out the [696] task. The person had to comply, no matter how revolted he might

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/ their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially 262 for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

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Elephant's tusk	up to 100 goats.
Goat	two to four hoes.
Sheep	two to three hoes.
Young bull	eight to eleven hoes.
Calf	two to five hoes.
Young cow	15 to 20 goats or two bulls: one the same size as the cow, the other somewhat larger.

439 Trade. In considering trade in Ruanda we must make a sharp distinction between trade in hides and other forms of trading.

In the cattle-rich lands of the African interior the trade in hides takes on the character of pure export, indeed of piracy. Imported [162] European and Indian cotton goods, glass beads, brass and copper wire, and other consumer goods are paid for in hides.

The government has forbidden traders to cross the borders of Ruanda and Urundi because it was afraid that livestock might be decimated due to the relatively high prices of skins. Smugglers [687] who were caught had to forfeit their wares and, temporarily, their freedom, but despite the risk, native traders, lured by the great profits, came from Karagwe to Kissaka to buy skins. These they sold to Indian shopkeepers in Kafuro.

South of Lake Mohasi I met a trading caravan of ten men. They drove a few cows and goats, and on their heads they carried rolls of hides. They carried a passport from Bukoba to Kafuro and continued their journey at their own risk. They talked a great deal about the high prices they paid for the livestock, in order to clear themselves of any suspicion that they had stolen them. They said they had paid ten doti Amerikani for one bull and one doti for a goat.

Near the Nsasa Mission there is a Muganda trader who has been there so long that he is a permanent resident.

Smuggling must be rather extensive, since all the Batutsi were dressed in cotton. It is not probable that this material came primarily from the military and trading stations on Lake Kivu (Kisenyi and Ischangi).

643 656 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 372 687 778 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 643 [775] The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king. After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 578 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 551 644 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 644 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

651 and not infrequently open battles whenever collection takes place.
661 On the way to Mulera, at Kwa Rutagungira, I saw several wounded Batutsi who had to pay for their zeal as officials with holes in their hides. The business efficiency of the tax collectors is well characterized if we note their habit of substituting some of their poorer stock for the better cows that are delivered as the king's taxes. In view of its chronic character, this misuse and plunder must be regarded as a form of official remuneration.

651 We must emphasize the fact that in Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are linked to the community, the people, and not to the land they cultivate. That is why the outsider who has settled on alien soil with the approval of the residents does not participate in community taxes. He continues to pay the taxes of his own clan, and only if he is adopted by the resident clan does he pay taxes where he has settled.

651 This principle of family tax becomes complicated the mo-
178 ment pacification makes possible the disruption of clans which under the most primitive conditions have been held together by blood revenge. I saw the consequences of this complication of social conditions in Mulera in the form of a punitive expedition which reduced to ashes the settlement on Mount Kisseke. A few outsiders had bought with gifts permission to settle on Kisseke from the established residents. A few weeks after they were settled, some Batutsi arrived who had the right to collect taxes from the community of new settlers but who were complete strangers to the old established population. The new settlers
[687] promised the old ones a bull, and the latter drove off the Batutsi with weapons, killing a few and wounding several. A punitive expedition of government troops, undertaken because of Musinga's complaint, was the sequel.

651 The ferry toll is a special tax that affects traders particularly.
491 It is collected by batware who are stationed at the ferries and whose people run the boats. The toll is very high. For a traveler with his pack, it is ten large beads, that is to say, a third of a day's wages. Twenty men with a herd of goats paid a piece of cloth (nguo).

[275] The batware who collect the ferry toll must also keep watch over the traffic. At the border ferries, for example, on

701 expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life [687] for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war

2. Götzen, G. A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

726 791 In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

727 The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns consist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up [661] their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies, the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

695 with this and to secure witnesses who are not dependent on him.

695 A witness may refuse to testify. In order to dissuade him from
431 making use of this right, he is given presents by the one who wishes him to testify.

Gifts to witnesses are no secret. They are regarded as something quite natural, a sort of compensation for the unpleasantness that may result from testifying. That is why one often hears of a witness delaying his testimony for a few days in order to give people a chance to bring him presents or saying that he will testify after he has received his nzoga. In this case nzoga does not mean merely beer, but all kinds of presents, such as goats, hoes, or even cows, depending on the importance of the case.

695 In spite of the custom of giving presents to witnesses, false
687 testimony is punishable. Thus, it is said that Lwabugiri Kigeri, for example, who was strict but just, simply had false witnesses killed.

[284] Court procedure in Ruanda allows the accused and the
695 witness to swear oaths. At trials the following form of oath is used. The person taking the oath sticks his spear into the ground and says: "May this spear kill me if I did this." This way of taking an oath is called kuchulika ichuma. This form of oath is feared.
[687] Perjury was punished with death in Lwabugiri's time.

In this connection we must also mention the forms of allegation which are used, for example, when witnesses testify. The one corresponding to the form of oath given above consists of pointing to one's spear and saying, "dakolitera Musinga." This brief statement means "if that is not true, I shall pierce the king with this spear." Connected to this is another form: "bandoga Musinga (I shall poison Musinga if this is not true)." This form is also used if one wishes to assure the king that what one has said is true. Thus, for example, Musinga asked a man whether he had seen Kabare, "wabonye Kabare?" The man answered in the affirmative, "yee." The king did not believe it and wanted to make sure, "nukuli." The man thereupon answered, "bandoga Musinga," and the matter was settled. If one doubts the truth of a person's statement, he may also say, "lahira (swear)." The person then answers, "bandoga Musinga."

614 wife always remains a stranger to her husband's clan and keeps her own totem.

596 614 The umutware w'urugo rwa se is only slightly important and this word is seldom used. More important is the umutware w'urugo rwa bo (lit., of them), also called umutware w'umulyango, who has command both of his rugo and the umulyango.

614 The umulyango is a social entity without any political value. Thus Rwabutogo, chief of the umulyango of the Abega, owns only the province of East Buganza. In matters of family and cattle he commands Rwagatakara, who in turn commands Rwabusisi, chief of Buliza and South Buganza.

614 689 425 The umutware w'umulyango exercises a paternal jurisdiction over all the members of his group. If they disobey him seriously he can drive them out and seize their cattle (indemano, inkazibiti) except for the animals they have received as a gift from the king (ingabane) (1). However, it is the Mwami who has the right of

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 42.

[166] eviction. In addition, if the king sees that an injustice has been committed, he authorizes the one who has been the victim to settle elsewhere so as to remove himself from the jurisdiction of the chief of the umulyango, without however ceasing to belong to the clan. If the Mwami asks the umulundo (2) from the chief of the umulyango,

2. That is to say, lit., "wishes to see the cattle of his cattle." He takes only one or two animals.

the latter can in turn claim some inyituano (3) from his family. On

3. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

the other hand, the chief of the umulyango can show his favor to those of his relatives with whom he is satisfied by giving them some ingabane.

1: Vanhove--99 G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

689 Rain makers (abavubyi) proved guilty of imposture (3) were

> 3. In spite of this terrible punishment the rain makers continued to ply their dangerous but lucrative trade.

drowned in Lake Mugessera.

684 Unmarried girls found to be pregnant suffered the same fate.

7. Unintentional Homicide

682 It sometimes happens that a beater or a hunter hidden in thick shrubbery is confused with the game or a wild animal and is killed by an arrow. These accidents are regulated in the following way:

If an arrow, after wounding an animal, kills a man, the shooter's responsibility is not involved.

If an arrow intended for an animal misses its target and kills a man who has indicated his presence, [114] the clumsy shooter is considered a murderer and the right of revenge is granted the victim's family. However, if the murderer can prove that the victim gave no signal, he is relieved of responsibility. He can also plead not guilty before the tribunal of the provincial chief or of the king by pointing out, with the help of witnesses, that because of the cries and many signals set off at the same time, he was unable to distinguish his victim's warning whistle, or that the latter moved after having given the signal agreed upon.

If the plaintiff's statements are accepted, the tribunal declares that the victim has perished by reason of his own imprudence or of an accident for which the killer cannot be held responsible, and the latter is definitely exonerated.

8. Imputability and Responsibility

672 Except in a case where the guilty one and the victim are of different social ranks, the seriousness of the punishment corresponds ne varietur to a determined offense, and attenuating or aggravating

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than 766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

643 765 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might [689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

[731] A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

766 778 Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe, [824] the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa), and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

[763] Usually, feeling his end to be near, the father calls the chief
596 of the umulyango and two friends. He dictates to them his last wishes.
428 The wives of a polygamous man do not hesitate to intrigue in favor of their sons and attempt to circumvent their husband -- or even his brother -- using both their charms and their most subtle arguments. The situation is the same in the case of successive marriages.

It is easily understood that often the other sons, especially if they are of different mothers, feel themselves wronged, rightly or wrongly.
[691] But they are given the opportunity of demanding justice from the Mwami, the provincial chief, or the hill chief, according to whether they are sons of umutware w'intebe, of igisonga, or simple Batutsi or Bahutu. These authorities will ratify the choice made by the father or the uncle, or else will decide what other young man will succeed his father.

If there is no male descendant, the high position of head of the family falls on the oldest brother of the deceased. In this case, the heir will be both head of his rugo and of his brother's.

He may also be, at the same time, chief of the umulyango, that
[614] is to say, of the clan. This is the umutware w'umulyango (or the umutware rwa bo).

If all the brothers have disappeared, their sons inherit by right of primogeniture. [62]

If the deceased has neither sons, nor brothers, nor nephews in his line, his father will succeed him, or in his absence, the father's brother or one of his male descendants by right of primogeniture.

The Bahutu and the Batwa have their own umutware w'urugo. But they are dependent on the same umulyango chief as the Batutsi.

3. Composition of the Inheritance

428 In addition to the high position of head of the family, the inheritance includes:

1) The heavy cattle
2) The clients (abagaragu)
3) Particularly among the Bahutu, the goats and sheep
4) Landed property (1)
5) Movables, personal property (1)

1. Cf. Property, Property in General, p. 34.

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
651 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of
[481] rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[691] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

784 A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while
her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another
[842] path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest,
787 it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

789 In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a
mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the
691 case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer
[273] made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

784 There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange)
is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb
824 (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

696 messenger has been dispatched. In that case the other party travels with the messenger in order to bribe him. It is not uncommon for the messenger to accept large gifts from both parties and then not do anything. The high chiefs use this opportunity to visit their lands. The case is adjourned; new, important circumstances are discovered that have not yet been considered; and the proceedings begin all over again.

691 [282] At the time of my visit in Mulera the legal dispute between the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, and Luhanga, the client of Nshohozamigo, was in its fourth year. Each year sentence was pronounced; each year the court messenger was sent off; and each year the two parties returned. In the end Musinga grew tired of the whole affair and kept Lukara at court. After Lukara had obtained permission from Musinga to return home, on the pretense of conducting me to Mulera, he decided to resort to the final argument, to warfare. He attacked Luhanga's people and engaged in a skirmish with the column of my expedition colleague, the geologist E.F. Kirschstein, whose presence the Batutsi tried to use for their protection.

In the end, in its seventh year, the dispute was settled in Luhanga's favor when Lukara was obliged to flee from the German sphere of influence for his murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias. Later he was captured and hanged.

A considerable number of trials deal with the withdrawing of grants and the practice of blood revenge (kuhora enzigo) for slain clan members.

If A is granted a cow by B, B has a certain power over A. He can exert pressure on A by threatening to take back the cow. If A, however, also gets cows from C, who is more powerful than B, the latter's influence diminishes. In some cases A becomes so dependent on C that B loses his influence and moreover his cattle in favor of C. These property shifts give rise to vastly complicated suits over cattle that last for decades and become more and more complicated by small compromises, the legality of which is later challenged.

691 426 686 In civil cases we find the institution of kugombeka. If A is indebted to B and does not pay him or refuses to return something granted him and now demanded back, A can be distrained. If

691 debtor A owns something that is being used by C, a cow, for ex-
426 ample, then B can bring C a present and, with C's permission,
686 declare the object belonging to A as kugombeka. In this case A loses all rights to the object he has deposited with C until he has settled his debt, and the object is now regarded as B's property. If A is powerful, the kugombeka of his property is declared void. If he is not influential, this becomes a very profitable business. In view of the duration of the suits, C always has the prospect of being able to appropriate the thing that has been put in his charge or at least of using it without incurring obligation. But under the rules of kugombeka he is responsible to B for the object. If he gives it back to its original owner A, he must replace its value to B or [283] owe it to him, and this starts a second suit between B and C which is separate from that between A and B.

426 If the users of A's property refuse to accept kugombeka, the
686 creditor can only resort to kufatira.

Kufatira is the confiscation of part of the property of an individual whom one wishes to force to defray his debt or to meet his responsibilities. Kufatira is also used to force someone to appear at a trial. The use of force is conceded in the case of kufatira, but otherwise infringement of property rights and the use of violence are basically regarded as punishable offenses.

Kufatira can be used successfully only against weaker debtors. If the debtor is very weak, he can even be plundered and bound with a rope until his family takes mercy on him and ransoms him. If, however, the debtor is powerful, kufatira can have all the consequences of a lost war, and there is no recourse but to make one's concern the concern of stronger protectors.

685 In cases of theft, the procedure is considerably simpler, and the judge receives no presents.

Evidence. The testimony of witnesses is very important in
685 court trials in Ruanda. The accused has the right to demand witnesses to prove his guilt, but he also has the right to eliminate the testimony of certain witnesses if he has convincing reasons. Such witnesses are, for example, relatives, blood brothers, and clients (bagaragu) of the accuser. The accuser is obliged to comply

cattle alone? and if so, are they marrying into Tusi families, bridging 583
the social gulf? or are they only marrying into other rich Hutu families, adopting the Tusi standard of wealth? And what is the meaning of the mixed payments in cattle and hoes? Are Tusi marrying into Hutu families, and being expected to utilize the Hutu standard as well as their own? or are wealthy Hutu, again, adopting Tusi standards? It would seem to be almost certain that change of some form or another is going on. The records are not helpful, save for one case where payments of the unusual number of three cows are mentioned as being as in respect of members of the Chief's clan: and another, where a woman's father, suing for payment of bride-wealth of a cow, finds that no cow is available and accepts, *faute de mieux*, 11 hoes—this must surely be a Hutu.

There are seven instances where payment in cash is a constituent of 436
the bride-wealth and one where cash alone is involved. This cash 583
element only appears in the years 1928–30, the last of the series, and is exactly paralleled in the suits for recovery of debts, where hoes are the normal subject-matter in the years 1924–6, are being replaced by cash in 1927, and virtually disappear in the later years. In five of the seven cases it is the hoe which has been replaced by cash in the bride-wealth payment, and that this change may be making marriage more of a commercial transaction, even if it was not before, is instanced by the case already cited, where a father was ready to part with his daughter in return for the extinguishment of a debt of 10*s*. and 6 pots of beer. And one would like to know whether the cattle standard has also been attacked in the case where the large amount of 20*s*. appears.

The function of the perishable article, beer, as an element in bride-wealth, does not appear from the records. There is nothing to show whether its appearance in only one-third of the cases reviewed means that it has not been a constituent on other occasions, and if so, why it is in issue sometimes and not at other times.

Bride-wealth in the possession of a woman's family need not necessarily be maintained intact. 583 691

Instances: Where a woman's brother has lost a cow paid in bride-wealth and is brought to Court by her husband, the Court makes no order: it finds that the woman is still with her husband, that no grounds for

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583 691 divorce have arisen between the married pair, and that there is therefore no cause of action.

And, a case already cited, a man hears that his wife's brother has sold the cow paid in bride-wealth, and thereupon drives away his wife and sues for his bride-wealth. The sale is admitted, but the plaintiff fails in his suit, as no grounds for divorce have arisen between his wife and himself: he is therefore to take his wife back.

586 691 On the termination of a marriage, bride-wealth, with rare exceptions, is returnable in full: and where cattle are involved, the increase is also to be returned (three cases in the records): but a man who sued for three bulls, the progeny of a cow paid in bride-wealth, was unsuccessful when it was established that the bulls were dead.

Circumstances under which the bride-wealth is not returnable in full are:

(*a*) when the wife has borne children or is pregnant at the time of the dissolution of marriage.

Instances: A claim is made for the repayment of bride-wealth of 4 hoes. Three only are awarded by the Court, as a child has been born of the marriage.

In a claim for repayment of bride-wealth of a cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer and some fat, the Court only awards the cow and the hoes, as the woman was pregnant at the time of divorce.

(*b*) when the wife dies in pregnancy.

In such a case, a woman's father was sued for the return of bride-wealth, but pleaded, to the satisfaction of the Court, that her death in pregnancy amounted to her having been killed by her husband. No bride-wealth was to be repaid.

(*c*) when the wife dies after an illness, unless she has come to her husband ill or otherwise unsound at the time of marriage, or has returned home without cause given by him, and there fallen ill and died.

Instances: A widower sues for the return of his bride-wealth on the ground that the woman was unsound when he married her. Her father shows to the satisfaction of the Court that the husband did not disclose the defect at the time of marriage, and that the woman died at her husband's home: and the widower loses and is further ordered to return the clothes and ornaments of his dead wife to her father.

A man marries but does not build a home and remains at his brother-in-law's. Later, he quarrels with the brother-in-law and removes, with his wife. She falls ill and goes home to her brother, and there dies. The Court decides that her husband has no justification for reclaiming

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his bride-wealth, since his brother-in-law did not take her away, she 586
went home when ill because she had no home. In any case, the Court 691
adds, bride-wealth is not to be returned as a matter of course just because a woman dies.

In a third case a woman has died after bearing one child; the circumstances of death are not stated. The widower, reclaiming his bride-wealth, a cow, which by increase has become 8 head, in a village meeting, has been awarded 5 head and the woman's father 3. The widower has later taken one of his father-in-law's share to provide milk for the child, and now claims his right to retain it and receive the balance. The Court confirms the decision of the village meeting, on the grounds that although the widower has lost a wife, her father has lost a child.

(*d*) when a husband drives away his wife without due cause, or abandons her.

Instances: A man takes his cow, paid as bride-wealth, away, then drives his wife out of the house, and now reclaims the balance, 11 hoes. He is adjudged to have forfeited these.

A man reclaims 7 hoes, balance of bride-wealth of a cow and 7 hoes, from his brother-in-law, who has taken the woman when ill to a doctor and has not returned her. The husband is found to have seized the opportunity to take back his cow and to have abandoned his wife, and he is held to have no claim to his hoes.

A man claims 6 cows, the increase of one, paid as bride-wealth. It is established that after the woman had borne him 5 children, he emigrated, leaving her, and that she is still unmarried and willing to return to him. He admits in cross-examination that he wants the cattle, not his wife—and loses both.

Bride-wealth is also returnable when a woman, left a widow, 587
declines to remain under the custody of her late husband's heirs, and 768
goes to her relatives. But custody must be claimed at the time of the 851
husband's death: in a case where this was not done, and the woman had gone away and remarried, the new marriage was allowed to stand, subject to the proviso that the child of the marriage would be a member of the family of the first husband when it grew up, if it desired. In one case, a man waives his claim to the bride-wealth in respect of the widow of his dead son, she having returned to her relatives.

On the termination of a marriage, the custody of children is always 586
the right of the husband. If he dies, the right passes to his heirs: there 768
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586 is, however, an exception recorded, where, on a man dying leaving
851 only female children, these were taken charge of by the village head-
768 man. The right to custody sometimes involves investigation of paternity, the nature of which is fully understood.

[691] *Instances*: A man sues his wife's new husband, after divorce, for payment of bride-wealth or else for custody of a child of which he claims she was pregnant when she left him. A count of months establishes the paternity of the new husband.

The son of a man deceased sues the man to whom the widow has gone, she then having a four-months' old child, for the first offspring of the new union as well as the other child, on the grounds that she was pregnant at the time of her husband's death. The Court finds that no woman has ever been heard of suckling a four months' child and pregnant of another, and therefore awards the eldest child only.

In a third case, it is necessary to establish paternity as between three possible fathers.

[862] An unweaned child will remain with its mother till weaned. If not claimed then, her relatives or new husband may claim recompense for the cost of bringing the child up: in one case a goat is to be paid, in another, half the milk of a cow, and 3 hoes.

As a corollary to the right to the custody of a child, the heir of a
768 man who has died has the right to the bride-wealth in respect of a
428 girl-child, when the widow has returned to her relatives and the child has not been claimed before she reaches marriageable age, subject to a deduction for the cost of bringing her up.

[691] *Instances*: In the case just cited, the milk and three hoes represented a deduction from the total bride-wealth of a cow and five hoes.

In another case, the woman's relations resist such a claim on the ground that when she left the heir, her son, and went home, he claimed only her clothes but not the child. Their case fails.

In one case, a man lost his reason, and his wife went off to another man with her three children, of whom two were females. This other man married off one child and betrothed the other. Both contracts
[681] were dissolved, the man was fined and in addition was made to refund to their father 14 hoes which had been handed over for maintenance of the children.

586 Dissolution of marriage is found to take place on numerous grounds. The records disclose causes of offence by the husband as follows:

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Impotence.
Loss of reason.
Failure to clothe the wife.
Failure to cultivate.
Failure to provide food.
Wandering habits.
Measuring out food to the wife (instead of giving her free access to the store).
Refusal to eat food.
Accusation of witchcraft.
Continued insult and beating.
Removal of bride-wealth from the relations-in-law.

There are three marital causes where dissolution is threatened, one, because the cow paid in bride-wealth has died, in another because it has gone blind, and in a third because it has borne twin-calves: such a cow is taboo for this purpose, presumably on account of the danger [845] of sympathetic influence on the wife—the advent of twins is not hailed with joy, witness a case where a cow is in issue, the fee of a doctor for removing the curse of twins.

Grounds for divorce of the wife include:

Refusal to work and to cook.
Continued sickness.
Desertion, subdivided into cases where she has gone to her relations, and where she has gone off to another man.

Adultery as such is never cited as a reason for divorce. There is but [837] one case of adultery on record in the Court, the offending man being punished and the woman returned to her husband.

It is but rarely that a woman or her relatives come to Court to sue for a divorce. Normally, if she feels that she has reason for dissatisfac- [691] tion, she returns to the home of her father or brother, whose duty it is to endeavour to reach an amicable settlement. If this is not done, she remains and abides the issue, or, not infrequently, is married to another man, this precipitating proceedings by the husband. But in a fair number of instances, she goes straight off to another man.

The Court will try to compose matters and to maintain the marriage wherever possible.

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Instances: A runaway wife, sued by her husband, complains that he does 691 not give her clothes and is stingy with food to the extent of measuring

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it out. The Court awards him his wife on condition of his paying her two barkcloths for clothing, and a sleeping mat.

A man has removed his two cows, paid in bride-wealth, and his wife has gone away and has been married off elsewhere. He may recover his wife by immediate payment of the cows, when the second union will be declared invalid.

A woman has left her husband on account of his cruelty, and her father has married her again. She agrees to return to her husband if he will guarantee to clothe her.

The cases of a husband resuming possession of cattle paid in bride-wealth are fairly frequent, but the marriage is never *ipso facto* dissolved on this account: the position would rather seem to be that the relation of the man and the woman reverts to one of betrothal.

The Court discourages recourse to it when it appears that full recourse to conciliation has not been made or that action is otherwise premature.

Instances: A wife admits running away, and her father admits marrying her to another man. The husband gets his bride-wealth back, but loses his costs because he did not try to arrange matters with his father-in-law before coming to Court.

A woman's father has returned the cow paid in bride-wealth, as being of poor quality, and his daughter has left her husband on this account. He sues for payment of a sound cow and wins, but costs are given against him for his manner of action.

A man sues his father-in-law for taking his daughter away. The reply is that she came home ill, and stayed, with his concurrence, because her husband gave her no clothes. This the husband admits, but costs are given against the father because he took no steps to bring about a reconciliation.

A man claims his wife from his mother-in-law, to whom she has gone. He wins, but loses his costs because he did not ask his mother-in-law for his wife before bringing a case.

A man sues his mother-in-law for marrying off his wife to another man while he was absent in Uganda. It is found that she had merely returned home to await his return, and he loses his costs.

It has been mentioned above that a husband who tries to get rid of his wife without sufficient cause is liable to forfeit part of his bride-wealth. Nor does the runaway wife who cannot back her action by sufficient reason for discontent get any sympathy from the Court.

Instances: A wife has left her husband and maintains that she went because

her husband gave her no clothes. She is ordered to return to him, as she had made no complaint to her father. 586

A wife who went back to her relatives because her husband walked out of the house, saying it smelt, is ordered to return to him. 691

So with a wife who left her husband on account of his deafness.

And another who said that her husband was impotent, but could not satisfy the Court of this.

Another runaway wife is returned to her husband and told to sue before the Court at a later date if she has any concrete reason for disagreement with him, such as his failure to produce clothes or to work on the land.

The seducer of an unmarried woman is always punished and may have to pay compensation to her father. In one such case compensation is ordered on account of the girl being 'destroyed'. In the case, however, of the man who has enticed away a married woman or has willingly accepted a wife who has deserted her husband, there is no such uniformity of practice, and much depends on the circumstances of the case. Usually the man is punished or at any rate cautioned. 684

Instances: A wife leaves her husband and offers herself to another man. She is returned, much against her will, to her husband, and the third party is fined and informed that he will be imprisoned if he accepts the woman again.

An enticer offers the defence that he is willing to pay bride-wealth to the woman's father. She is returned to her husband, whom the enticer, as well as being fined, has to compensate.

A wife, having run away, is reclaimed by her husband, and the man to whom she has gone is punished.

But in four cases, he is only cautioned.

Sometimes the woman is returned without her unlawful partner being punished.

Instance: A runaway wife, pregnant by another man, is returned to her husband, in spite of her alleging against him that he deprives her of food and clothes, is always wandering, and has accused her of witchcraft. (The Court was probably sceptical of the veracity of so formidable an indictment.) The child, when born, is to belong to the original husband, but there is no further mention of the other man.

On other occasions, presumably when the husband has been at fault, the second partner is allowed to refund the amount of his bride-wealth and to retain the woman as his lawful wife. [586] [587]

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Instances: A man has beaten his wife and driven away her relatives when they came to see him. She leaves him for another man, who is ordered to refund the bride-wealth.

A wife has left her husband and is now pregnant by another man. The husband will be satisfied either with the child or his bride-wealth. The paternity of the second man is established, and bride-wealth is to be paid over.

In several cases a woman's relatives are found to have married her to another man in her husband's absence, or after she has left him and returned home. Here again circumstances determine whether the first or the second union shall be dissolved. In considering these, the voice of the woman is not disregarded, and in one case, after judgement has issued in the original husband's favour, it is amended there and then owing to his wife's refusal to return to him.

586 661 Several marriages are found to be broken up on account of the Chief's seizing cattle paid in bride-wealth.

Instances: A wife goes off to her father's because the Chief has taken the bride-wealth cow.

A man from Urundi pays a cow in bride-wealth, which is seized by the Chief in order to recoup himself after some of his cattle have been stolen by Urundi natives: and the woman's father therefore takes her back.

In a third case, this right or propensity is deliberately made use of by a husband who wishes to shuffle off his wife. He arranges for the Chief to seize the bride-wealth cow with its two calves, and then sends his wife home. But the stratagem fails.

595 578 586 Finally, the existence of polygyny is to be referred to. That it may lead to disharmony in the home appears from two cases, in the former of which the first wife is so aggravated by her husband taking another spouse that she has assaulted him, while in the other a husband is brought to Court for tying up his second wife on suspicion of her having bewitched the first one, with a threat that he would kill her if the first one died. And a third husband finds himself heavily fined for being influenced by the predilections of his first wife. He had paid bride-wealth for a second: the first wife did not approve of the newcomer: her sister coming soon afterwards with a gift of beer, he kept her instead; she had already been promised in marriage, however, and he has to face an indignant betrothed as well as her father, in Court.

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423 obliged to submit to the same obligations as his predecessor. If he
[425] is a Mututsi, he is not required to pay any ground rent, and the chief gives him a pasture in addition.

Rights of way and of access are not private. The hill people may move about freely on each other's land. This is also true of ~~the~~ cattle for which special paths are made.

622 In the case of a dispute in matters of landed property, litiga-
692 tion is taken to the hill chief who goes to the place and, after having heard the witnesses, decides between the plaintifs.

3. Customary Law of Hunting

224 Customary laws of hunting are very numerous. Of these we will quote only a few of the most frequent cases.

A native hunting alone who has killed an ordinary antelope (impongo) takes the meat and skins the animal.

224 Hunting with beaters is organized by the chief who decides on
622 the land to be beaten after having taken the advice of the [44] expert Batutsi or Bahutu hunters and following the indications of the trackers. The chief also chooses the beaters from among the least good shots. To stimulate their zeal in this thankless task, he promises them pots of beer if the hunt is successful.

224 The natives are required to take part in the hunt, but they fulfill this obligation willingly as it is a much appreciated entertainment and also a source of profit.

Whoever first wounds an animal during a battue or beat, is presumed to have killed it. He is entitled to the skin and one rear leg. The meat is divided among all the Batutsi and Bahutu hunters. The hunter who has killed several antelopes may keep the skin of one animal.

224 Whoever finds an animal that has been killed must return it to
643 the hunters. At least theoretically, game belongs to the king and skins of any value (1) must be turned over to him, especially those of

281 1. Skins of marsh antelopes are much appreciated by the Batutsi because of their long silky fur with which they make bed coverings. Skins of the "bush bock" and

643 of his great chiefs to cede it to him. The latter yields with good
[425] grace and usually receives some cattle in exchange.

The Mwami is an absolute monarch by divine right who
643 knows no other rule but his will, even his caprice. (2) In the past,
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2. Hence the proverb: Luyose higirwa n'Unwami, "all depends on the King."

before our occupation, he could with impunity torture, mutilate, or kill anyone who had displeased him. His criminal sentences conformed to the customs of the country, which acknowledged this [87] formidable right, and no one thought of rebelling against his decisions (1).

[177]

1. The Mwami's right of life and death was abolished in 1917 at the time of the occupation of the country by our troops.

In the same way he is high judge and makes the final settlement in disputes, even the slightest, among his subjects.

Finally, the king is the supreme legislator of the people. With the help of the abiru, he sees that the common law is kept, but he has the sole power of modifying the country's law if and whatever he wishes.

643 He announces his decisions (amategeko) at the door of his rugo,
[692] where people from all parts have congregated to pay homage or demand justice. The intumwa (messengers) are then charged to make known the Mwami's orders to the people of the different provinces.

643 In addition to his Mututsi name (Musinga, Rudahigwa, etc.),
551 the Mwami receives on his accession a king's name (Yuhi, Mutara, etc.). These names are repeated periodically; thus the present Mwami is Mutara III.

The king is sometimes given a surname such as Rwabugiri Sezisoni (Merciful, Clement) (2).

[192]

2. Foreign word originating in Buhima, east of Ruanda.

672 circumstances are not taken into account, except in the case of a theft of provisions, when the judge must make sure whether the motive for the crime was hunger or fraudulent intention.

681 Children who commit an offense are whipped. Insane criminals are shut up and shackled.

682 Striking back is considered legitimate in the case of an unjust attack. In the past, if the aggressor was killed, the individual who had legitimately defended himself asked for the Mwami's intervention to stop reprisals by the family of the author of the criminal attempt. The king then forbade the exercise of private vengeance.

[115] 9. Prescription

681 Prescription of the punishment as well as that of public action is unknown in Ruanda's common law.

CHAPTER II. PROCEDURE (1)

692 1. Today, with the exception of crimes such as the abduction of cattle and private disputes which are in the cognizance of native tribunals, penal cases in which natives are involved are judged by European courts. The Belgian government has maintained, almost entirely, the native judicial organization in civil affairs. (Cf. J. Vanhove, Les Juridictions indigènes au Ruanda [Native Jurisdiction in Ruanda], Revue Congo, July, 1939).

1. The Various Degrees of Jurisdiction

Usually the parties first attempt to settle their dispute amicably before appealing to the jurisdiction of the hill chief (2).

2. Uruja kujya ibgami rubanza mu bagabo, that is to say literally, "the palaver that

692 will go to the king begins between the men (meaning here the arbiters)."

The chief who is judge is always assisted by its abagaragu conversant with the common law of the country, who have the collective name of abachamanza (arbitrating judges). In very delicate matters the case may be postponed to a later date to permit particularly competent abagaragu to handle it. The abachamanza are not necessarily Batutsi; Bahutu may be appointed as assessors and are thus called upon to judge an affair in which a Mututsi is involved.

694 Cases are brought before the tribunal in two ways:

a) When the hill chief (igisonga) or the subchief (umuhingisha) hears that a crime has been committed, [116] he sends a few of his men to arrest the individual who is suspected by public rumor of having committed the offense. The latter, tightly bound, remains shut up in an enclosure open to the winds, located near the chief's house, until the tribunal decides on his fate. During this period of preliminary detention, some of the chief's abagaragu, whether judges or not, question the presumed guilty person and attempt to make him confess his crime (kwindja, lit., to tempt, to solicit).

b) In civil matters the plaintif (umulezi) goes to the chief before whom he squats down, his stick and his spear against his shoulder, claps his hands, and says to the chief: Nimugahorane Imâna! (May God help you!) (implying, to judge my palaver). The defendant (ulegwa) is asked to appear. If after three successive summonses he persists in not appearing, the chief has him called once more. If he still defaults, his adversary has won his case.

695 The tribunal sits on the threshold of the chief's dwelling, where the ibitabo (1) are, or else under the porch in front of the

1. Small, very low festoon-shaped mud walls.

insika (2).

2. A kind of wickerwork screens decorating the base of the pillars supporting the hut's roof.

695 opened up its body, and after examining its entrails would give the
787 suitable interpretation.

696 [119] There is no special procedure in the execution of sentences. If the judgment concerns stolen cows, the plaintif or the abagaragu go and take them from the thief. In other cases the condemned one does it himself, and if, as unlikely, he refuses to do so, the chief would compel him by force.

692 In principle, justice is gratuitous and legal expenses do not exist, but the judges are not indifferent to douceur, which gives an advantage to the powerful and wealthy ones. On the other hand, as a rule, an umugaragu with a palaver brings beer or tobacco to his shebuja so that he will bring his case before the tribunal.

Appeals are dealt with by the provincial chief whose tribunal is organized on the same basis as that of the hill chief. This appeal is called gusuzugura (lit., to despise the chief's justice) or gusubira urubanza (to begin the palaver over again).

In the past a Muhutu did not appeal to the provincial chief but to the umugabe w'ingabo (1).

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Right of War, p. 92.

On the other hand, the provincial chief's tribunal has first cognizance of cases concerning cattle and territorial litigation between hill chiefs. It is also obliged to act in cases of expulsion or dispossession of a Mututsi or a Muhutu by a hill chief.

The Mwami's tribunal is the supreme jurisdiction. The king presides, surrounded by his confidential men who are versed in the customs (abahanga) or by persons of high rank who have the responsibility of being judges.

Normally, the Mwami alone is competent to deal in the first instance, and with no appeal, with criminal affairs, [120] but he may delegate his power to an umutware. If, for example, a provincial chief has denounced a sorcerer to the king, the latter may command the chief to kill the umulozi.

Crimes of high treason and violation of state secrets are also exclusively of his competence.

695 In the past, in criminal cases judged by the Mwami, recourse was had to the gihango-test in order to force the accused to

695 confess (1). Sentences were carried out by the Batwa executioners.

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Death of the King, p. 82, note 3.

692 695 Any Munyarwanda, even the most humble, may appeal directly to the Mwami if he has been despoiled by a chief. But this resort to royal justice is illusory for the poorer claimants, who are often obliged to remain for an indefinite time at Nyanza before their case is called. In addition, while the judges of the Mwami's tribunal are required to refuse presents offered by the litigants and to judge equitably regardless of their caste, they sometimes are willing to accept an "honorarium" from one or the other of the parties.

692 Finally, the Mwami's tribunal intervenes, with no appeal possible, in litigations arising between individuals belonging to different jurisdictions.

2. Litigation between Natives of Different Jurisdictions

When litigation arises between natives belonging to different hills, the defendant's igisonga deals with the case. The plaintif appears assisted by his shebuja or one of the latter's umugaragu, who acts as a kind of lawyer and is called umuhagarikira. If the plaintif's claim is rejected, he appeals to his chief. The two chiefs then get together in a neutral place with their abagaragu and the [121] litigants. If an amicable arrangement is impossible, the parties have recourse to the jurisdiction of the provincial chief.

If the litigants belong to different provinces, the plaintiff whose claim has been rejected by his adversary's hill chief goes accompanied by his shebuja or a umuhagarikira to the provincial chief who tries to come to an agreement with his colleague. If he does not succeed in doing this, the parties and their patrons go to the Mwami. The king appoints some persons of high rank from among the provincial chiefs on official visits, his courtiers, and his abagaragu to examine the case. This time it is the hill chiefs who plead for their own people. If the decision rendered does not please

692 one of the parties, he appeals to his provincial chief who points the matter out to the king. The Mwami then calls certain of his abahanga (1) with whom he sits and listens to the respective provincial

1. Cf. p. 104.

chiefs of the parties who are acting for them. The king then pronounces the sentence, justifying his judgment.

692 628 It should be noted that the normal procedure we have described could not always be employed in the past. When two hill chiefs, for example, were hostile to each other, and if the victim of a robbery came to claim justice, it could be that the thief's chief might take the thief's part. The robbed man would notify his chief, and then it was war between the hills. If the robbed man's chief was weak and could not obtain justice for his man, he appealed to the provincial chief who would summon both chiefs, the thief, and the robbed one. Only the two chiefs plead, first the robbed man's chief then the thief's chief. If the latter proved that the victim of the theft had wished to take the law into his own hands without first appealing to him, and that he then had to defend himself against an attack which he believed unjust, the provincial chief then inflicted a fine (ichyiru) in cows on the robbed man's chief. If the domestic war had resulted in deaths or wounds, the palaver was obligatorily transferred to the Mwami. After paying his fine, the robbed man's chief could apprehend the thief and punish him, as we have stated above.

423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him for other reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the property of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

The inhabitants own their huts and, in addition, every-
421 thing they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus, men, women, and children may own property, and the following may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade objects, etc.

685 Property violations, i.e., damage and theft (uwivi), are
674 frequent, but if someone leaves his hut unguarded, a woven screen in front of the door opening is usually sufficient to keep away uninvited guests. Although the kraals are surrounded by
[417] strong fences and the paths between the fields are often lined with high euphorbia hedges (Plate 20), these have not been put up or grown as a protection against thieves but to pen and restrain the cattle. If a person steals something from [94] a homestead or produce from the fields, he is taken before the mutwale and is sentenced to severe corporal punishment unless he can pay a generous amount in damages of which the mutwale will appropriate one half (No. 4, p. 224).

692 The mutwale or in smaller districts the village chief is
627 the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves without appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings several witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases
696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see p. 97.

686 "Why don't you make the sky weep if you wish to find a remedy for your suffering!" people would shout at them as a joke (1).

1. Izuba libaririre!

"If it does not rain at such-and-such a time, if you do not make our fields green again, you will die".... And execution followed close upon the threat.

635 Like the king, the great Batutsi chiefs sat in judgment and
692 passed sentence in their provinces when they resided there or whenever they were passing through. They were not all alike. Among them there were just and humane men, and one likes to believe that they were in the majority. Some nevertheless left a bad reputation
681 on account of their cruelty. It is said that two of them took pleasure in having the arms of their victims bound behind their backs with wire drawn so tightly that the elbows met and the wire sank into the flesh.... Many persons died of this unique and atrocious torment. Another dignitary had those upon whom he wanted to wreak his revenge immobilized and made to lie on their backs.

Then he would make his victim drink a pitcher of beer or water through a gourd shaped like a funnel. A third man, leaning heavily on his spear, would pierce his victim's foot and thus nail him to the ground. A high dignitary punished those who had displeased him by seizing two of their fingers and pulling them apart with all his might, thus tearing the tissues that connected them. Fortunately, however, those were exceptions which should be ascribed to paganism, the primitiveness of customs, the cruelty of the times, the criminal procedures then in effect, the passions aroused by clan struggles, the competition for power, the revolutions, and sometimes also the proud and savage conceit of chiefs who were too young to govern. /380/

643 In order to gain an accurate understanding of the more that
661 prevailed at the time, the reader must be reminded that the life of a man counted for very little in the eyes of the king and of the great chiefs. Subjects of Lwabugiri who are still alive today (he died in 1895) report that in order to show his skill or to judge the strength of his bow, the sovereign would shoot at the first person who appeared

644 of a good-luck general. During the Ishangi expedition it was another
701 son of Lwabugiri, Nshozamihigo, who filled this role. These generals
wear amulets around the neck and paint the face with white chalk or
[302] lustral water (amazi y'ingwa).

They are also the holders of charms and other talismans (inzaratsi, insinzi), which are supposed to help bring about the defeat of the enemy. They remain at camp while the troops fight. They are graced with almost royal honors. The drums sound reveille for them (akabikirwa) as they do for the king. They have full power to
[692] make laws and settle differences, and their sentences cannot be appealed (ikyo bavuze ntikisubir' inyuma) (1).

1. Umugaba is a noun derived from the verb kugaba, meaning "to distribute" or "to give free of charge." In principle this term applies only to the king. Its synonym Rugaba, which stems from the same verb, is reserved for God (Imana).

When the king chooses someone other than the general-in-chief called umugabe to take his place at the head of his troops, he grants this man extensive powers and honors appropriate to his rank as a result of this title.

Other Duties Similar in Nature to the Preceding.
Spell Casters and Bewitchers.
Purifiers and Exorcisers of All Sorts. Makers of Test Poison.

791 The duties of these men are practically everyday affairs and
thus rather well known, and their works are as famous as those of their
644 colleagues the sacrificer-diviners, the conjurer-magicians, etc.

681 Punishment by whipping seems to be done less in Ruanda than in Bgisha where the chief ties people to trees and has them punished with up to 100 strokes of the whip on their backs. This [177] custom is said to have been borrowed from the English Askari who were stationed there.

On the subject of property rights we wish to make only a 423 few general remarks. The entire country is the private property 428 of the king and is regarded as either entrusted to the chiefs or granted to the clans. All the farmers and herdsmen are merely tenants or have the use of the land. As a consequence, the chief and clan community have the final word in matters dealing with the inheritance of usufruct of so-called crown property, that is, fields and cattle.

Only household goods, with the exception of cows, are private 422 property in our sense, and here the wish of the person disposing of 428 the property is decisive, although certain time-honored customs cannot be circumvented. In Bugoye, for example, the oldest son gets the spear and the stool of his father, whereas the shield belongs to the youngest son. (2) Lieutenant Spiltoire told me that in

2. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 439.

Bunyabungu, the principal heir seems to be the son of the sister, but because of his brief visit, he could not verify this.

692 Administration of Justice. In Ruanda the administration of 695 justice is in the hands of the chiefs and the king.

Pronouncing judgment is only of secondary importance, but [280] the chiefs regard it as a sure means of gaining influence. The two parties regard the trial as an attempt to interest a powerful one -- a chief -- in their affairs, that is to say, to make their affairs the affairs of the mighty. The one who wins a case is simply the one who was more highly regarded by the chief and with whom, from now on, it is dangerous to quarrel. In Ruanda it is a long process from the pronouncement of justice to the execution of it.

692 The verdict means that the judge, not the state, has taken a cer-
695 tain stand. The state, even in principle, does not represent abstract justice. In order to carry out the verdict, one must have sufficient power, either in his own right or through his allies; otherwise it would be impossible to take any action that would be unpleasant for others.

692 In the communities the administration of justice is in the hands of the subchiefs. A person who is dissatisfied with their verdict may consult his high chief. I have heard that the common man may appeal to the king, but from other reports this seems to me quite improbable. This right can have no practical significance for the common man, if indeed it exists. He could not incur the displeasure of the nearest small potentates with whom he has primarily to deal. Going directly to the king means not only a demonstration of distrust toward one's nearest superior, but it also represents an attempt to free oneself from the hierarchy of subordination and make oneself directly subordinate to the king.

692 For the clients (bagaragu) of the king, the royal court is the
4B1 first and also the final authority. There is no other recourse, except to the force of arms, provided one dares to revolt. Hence higher authority always takes action, but it also takes into account general peace and order and is not guided by abstract principles of justice. Moreover, gifts to the judge play an important part and are not regarded as something punishable or even inappropriate. The parties regard these gifts as court fees, even though larger gifts are usually combined with greater hopes for the favorable outcome of the trial. The size of the gifts does not seem to be fixed. In important cases large presents are given. Not infrequently the judge is even presented with a cow.

692 Although trials before the king do not often occur, nevertheless all over Ruanda one hears that someone has gone to Musinga regarding judicial matters. This expression stems from the fact that people go to their high chiefs who are staying at the court of Musinga in Nyanza. The trials take place in Nyanza at the compound (bilaro) of the chief concerned. For example, I met a band of people from Njaruguru who were on their way "to Musinga." On more careful investigation [281] it turned out that

692 "to Musinga" simply meant the place of his residence. The judge to whom these people were going was Rwamanwa, high chief of Njaruguru.

If the two parties have different chiefs, the trial is conducted at the compound of the more powerful one, since otherwise, because of injured vanity, he could make it impossible to carry out the verdict. If the two chiefs cannot reach an agreement, they go to a third party or to the king, who usually appoints a judge. [643] The king personally handles only the most important affairs of his bagaragu, but even that he does unwillingly.

695 The Trial. Certain forms are observed at trials. The two parties squat on the ground in front of the judge and greet him by clapping their hands. Otherwise only the king is greeted in this way. Then each in turn tells about the matter under dispute.

After the verdict of the judge, the winner immediately rises, takes some grass, and lays it at the feet of the judge in gratitude and as a token of his subservience. He then sings a song of praise in which (in Mulera, for example) he boasts about the number of enemies he has killed.

People sometimes wait in Nyanza two or three months for a trial, and finally the hearing is postponed until the next year. The chiefs do this also. They are afraid of endangering themselves by a sentence of incalculable scope.

696 Executing a sentence is the weak side of primitive justice. There is no organ of the government that would attend to the execution of the decree. Even the decisions of the king are by no means always carried out.

Sometimes, to ensure the execution of the sentence, the guilty party is held prisoner by the winning party until he has fulfilled his obligations.

The sentence is said to be carried out at the place of residence of the two parties. For this purpose the king sends a special messenger. He must inform the population of the decision, in disputes about land he must mark out the sections, and in cases involving cattle, divide up the herds.

Because of the long duration of these cases, which gives all the court schemers an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, the winning party sometimes leaves the capital before the king's

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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614 3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamanzi*, wagtail.
Sub-divisions:
(*a*) Abasinga, totems, *enyamanzi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
(*b*) Abazigaba, " "
(*c*) Abatyaba, " "
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamanzi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

GOVERNMENT

643 The head of the country was the king, whose title was
692 *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not
634 appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were
[428] hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district;
693 but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court
[203] of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

Religion

793 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 The list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

613 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be
835 between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any
476 of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied
[692] by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's
764 hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a
613 man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a
765 prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again. There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu
[833] members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as

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probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

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be favoured. This was a kind of redistribution of wealth among the lineages of the army made according to the preferences of the army-chief. Thirdly, the warriors as such did not receive cows from the army-chief (but they could be at the same time warriors and herdsmen). Their only privilege as warriors was to loot privately after the *abakoni* had laid hold on the 'bow of the army'. Moreover, if they had shown any particular gallantry, the mwami or the army-chief rewarded them with a gift of a few cows.

(*e*) *Protection*

When compared with the considerable benefits in cattle that the king and the army-chief derived from the military structure, the advantages of ordinary army members, particularly the warriors, seem to have been very meagre. The army tribute in goods and services were compensated for in a different way by the protection extended to his subordinates by the army-chief.

This protection could be asked for and received in all the difficult circumstances of life without being limited to any particular kind of circumstances. An instance frequently mentioned by our informants was the army-chief's support to one of his subordinates who was a party in a lawsuit. If the protection of a man of high standing appeared useful or necessary in such a situation one must suppose that judicial decisions were not taken only on the case's own merits, but that the respective power of the two protectors was weighed by the judge.

The army-chief's protection was diffuse and general, not limited to a few cases clearly defined. We have already come across such a characteristic of the superior's protection in respect of the chiefs of the administrative hierarchy. This suggests that power relations were emphasized in Ruanda and that the rights and properties of isolated men, that is to say those not identified in any respect with a powerful one, were insecure.

The judicial role of the army-chief must be related to his function of protection. In the disputes between two members of his army, he exercised a kind of paternal jurisdiction, as did any Ruanda authority. In contentions between members of different armies, the fact that the question was settled by the army-chiefs concerned suggests more a compromise in which each chief acted as a representative of one of the litigants, than a judgement based on pre-established norms.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The measure of the different obligatory gifts and services (number of days, &c.), was not fixed. It depended on the *shebuja*'s temper, his requirements, the number of cows granted to the *garagu*, and on the client's expectations. Moreover, each client was usually not requested to fulfil all the obligations we have just mentioned. The patron, particularly if he had many *garagu*, frequently gave to each of them a precise task in which the client was particularly competent (to brew beer, to cook, to mind the cattle, &c.). Even now, in spite of the limitations added by the native courts to the clients' obligations (for instance the building and repairing of the enclosure cannot be claimed by the lord more than once a year; not more than a month a year may be required by the patron for all the household services, &c.), we are still far from having a list of precisely defined duties and claims standard for the whole of Ruanda.

571 675 [692]

(*c*) *End of the* buhake *relation*

The *buhake* relationship was perpetuated even after the death of both parties. The *shebuja*'s heirs inherited their father's relations of *buhake*, *vis-à-vis* his clients and the client's heirs kept the cows (and/or their progeny) granted to their father. But the *shebuja* had the right to refuse to recognize as a successor of his client a person without the proper qualities to be a good *garagu*. The lord could then designate another heir of his client, or end the relationship and take back the cows. The person receiving an important number of clients by inheritance (several dozen, for instance) could require them to present him with all the cows which were then numbered, as in the case of the army-chief's *murundo*; he could then choose a certain number of them, usually the best ones, which he took away from his clients either to keep the usufruct himself or to endow other people with them.

The *buhake* relation could be ended when both client and patron or only one of them wanted this. But the person who initiated the breaking off usually gave some reason for it, such as the non-fulfilment of a particular obligation by the other party. At all events the *shebuja* could not oblige his client to stay in his service and the client could not prevent his patron from dismissing him.

What happened to the cows in such a case? As mentioned earlier, all the cows a client effectively controlled were not necessarily received from a patron, that is to say they were not all *inkamibili* [927]

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

565 701 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi conquest they were not driven from their land, and the king recognizes their privileges. [657] They pay only the ordinary taxes, but they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is hereditary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police [693] and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

614 3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamansi*, wagtail.
Sub-divisions:
(*a*) Abasinga, totems, *enyamansi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
(*b*) Abazigaba, " "
(*c*) Abatyaba, " "
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamansi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

GOVERNMENT

643 The head of the country was the king, whose title was
692 *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not
634 appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were
[428] hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district;
693 but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court
[203] of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

634 the district chiefs formed the council of the king. The court
[693] was under the direction of a special man, a kind of steward or *inhebe*.

The district chiefs were also responsible for building and other work for the king and the state; they had to find the necessary workmen and appoint overseers to direct them. Another man of the king acted as a kind of household steward to see that the buildings were kept in repair and properly attended to.

Each district chief appointed chiefs of the second rank or *Ibisonga* in his own district, and they in their turn appointed the chiefs of the third grade or *Abafragizu*. Each district chief also appointed a steward or *inhebe* who acted in his place when he had to be absent from his district. This man always possessed land near his chief so that he might be at hand when he was wanted. His special duty was to take charge of any building for the chief.

Taxation

634 651 Every year a district chief had to bring two or three hundred large pots of honey, each holding some two gallons, and a supply of millet, peas, and beans to the king. This was brought to the district chief by the people on his estate, and he took a portion for himself before passing the required amount on to the king.

[231] Twice in the year each person with cattle gave to the king a cow and a calf to supply him with milk and a fat animal to be killed for his meat. Milk was also sent daily to the court for the use of the king and his household.

Murder

682 628 It was the duty of the relatives of a murdered man to hunt down and capture the murderer and put him to death; they rarely accepted any other settlement. If a murder was committed before witnesses, they would seize the murderer and hand him over to the relatives of the dead man. If, however, one man abused another before witnesses, the offended man

727 divided among the Banyarwanda warriors, who had to remit part of it to the Mwami (iminyago).

The king then reassembled his council and announced the end of the war.

[107] SECTION VI. JUSTICE

CHAPTER I. PENAL LAW

685 1. Theft (1) of Provisions and Small Livestock

1. Theft is called ubujura or ubgibyi. The word umujura designates the thief in general. The umushimusi is the cattle thief and the igisambo is the robber of provisions, tools, etc.

a) Thief Caught in the Act (flagrante delicto) (muchyuho).

Whoever found a thief in his rugo could, in the recent past, kill him with impunity, but if the victim of the theft did not succeed in giving the thief the unexpected mortal blow, and the antagonists got to fighting, the thief had to be brought before the [694] hill chief. Today the hill chief has the presumed culprit apprehended by some of his men, who bind him and lock him up until he is brought before the tribunal. However, the relatives or shebuja of the thief can offer a present (inchamugozi, lit., which cuts the cord) to the chief so that he may be unbound. At the tribunal they offer to pay the robbed man the ingurano (from kugura, to buy back), an indemnity which is not necessarily of the same nature as the object of the theft; for instance, hoes can be handed over for a basket of sorghum that has been stolen. The robbed man claims in addition the inchachyuho (2) for the violation of his

2. Lit., "the one (the cow) that cuts, delivers (the thief) for the break (into the rugo)."

685 property right; it usually consists of a hoe. [108] If the thief is poor, a rich man may indemnify the victim of the theft, but in exchange he requires [from the thief] payments in the form of work.

In the past, if no intervention was made in his favor, the thief became the slave of the robbed man (umugaramu, the one who is bought back) for a certain period of time. However, he was well treated by the master and could even, when liberated, become his client.

b) Thief Not Caught in the Act.

685 694 In this case the robbed man has a discreet investigation made by a person who will not arouse suspicion. As soon as the investigator has gathered some information, he notifies the victim of the theft. The latter, with the help of his relatives or friends, goes and takes back his property and even something more; or else he arrests the thief or notifies the chief who has the thief apprehended. The man who was robbed must furnish the chief with proof of the crime (igihanga, lit., the head). Even if the robbed man has been paid back, the thief must pay him the umunani, representing eight times the value of the theft. Until the payment of this indemnity is complete, the thief remains in chains and is even beaten, unless he gives the inchamugozi. In addition to the imunani [sic] he is required to pay the inchachyuho.

685 The highway robber (umwambuzi) is sentenced to corporal punishment and to return what he has taken.

If the Mututsi, by any remote chance, stole provisions or small livestock, he would be given the usual punishments, and an even worse penalty, banishment from Mututsi society, for this theft would degrade and return him to the rank of Bahutu.

The umugambanyi (informer, traitor) does not steal himself, but sends some abajura (thieves) to commit [109] the crime. The ichyitso is one who gives the thieves necessary information. The umugambanyi is deprived of his property and bound and beaten until he has paid the umunani [sic]; then he is driven from the hill, and his rugo destroyed or given to another man. The punishment of the ichyitso is the same except that he is not held to the payment of the umumani.

692 will go to the king begins between the men (meaning here the arbiters)."

The chief who is judge is always assisted by its abagaragu conversant with the common law of the country, who have the collective name of abachamanza (arbitrating judges). In very delicate matters the case may be postponed to a later date to permit particularly competent abagaragu to handle it. The abachamanza are not necessarily Batutsi; Bahutu may be appointed as assessors and are thus called upon to judge an affair in which a Mututsi is involved.

Cases are brought before the tribunal in two ways:

694 a) When the hill chief (igisonga) or the subchief (umuhingisha) hears that a crime has been committed, [116] he sends a few of his men to arrest the individual who is suspected by public rumor of having committed the offense. The latter, tightly bound, remains shut up in an enclosure open to the winds, located near the chief's house, until the tribunal decides on his fate. During this period of preliminary detention, some of the chief's abagaragu, whether judges or not, question the presumed guilty person and attempt to make him confess his crime (kwindja, lit., to tempt, to solicit).

b) In civil matters the plaintif (umulezi) goes to the chief before whom he squats down, his stick and his spear against his shoulder, claps his hands, and says to the chief: Nimugahorane Imâna! (May God help you!) (implying, to judge my palaver). The defendant (ulegwa) is asked to appear. If after three successive summonses he persists in not appearing, the chief has him called once more. If he still defaults, his adversary has won his case.

695 The tribunal sits on the threshold of the chief's dwelling, where the ibitabo (1) are, or else under the porch in front of the

1. Small, very low festoon-shaped mud walls.

instika (2).

2. A kind of wickerwork screens decorating the base of the pillars supporting the hut's roof.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

An instance which shows a number of these possibilities comes from the court book of Bugufi, a chiefdom in the north-west of Tanganyika Territory. A custom which might or might not be noted by the ethnographer—something must escape the most meticulous of observers, and this one is not recorded by Meyer for the Barundi, of whom the people of Bugufi are ethnologically part—is the right of the chief to pasture his cattle among the millet-stalks after the harvest, before the peasant may put in his own cattle or any which he is herding for some one else. The court book records eight peasants coming to court to complain against a Tusi who has driven off their cattle. The Tusi replies that the men had pastured their cattle in their millet before the chief had had access. Asked by the court whether he was instructed to drive off the cattle, the Tusi replies that he acted as he was bound to do in accordance with ancient custom and his obligations to the chief. New concepts have, however, found their way into the court, which gives judgement for the plaintiffs on the grounds that the land and the cattle were theirs. This case is exceptional in the wealth of statement and suggestion which it offers, but there are many others helpful in lesser degree.

The value of native court records in this way was brought home to me while stationed in this area, Bugufi, during the years 1929–31, when I went through the available material with a view to seeing what were the normal causes of litigation and getting a general idea of the law administered. Starting with the year 1924, the series was examined up to the end of 1930. For these seven years, 850 cases were found where judgement issued, there being a further 225 which had been settled out of court or dismissed for want of prosecution or by reason of limitation. Of these 850 cases, almost one-quarter concerned contracts where cattle were involved, nearly one-sixth were marital cases, and another sixth were over administrative matters, including offences against the Native Authority Ordinance: only one-seventh were of offences against person and property, and the remainder concerned debts, land, inheritance, damage to property and a few miscellaneous matters.

The fullest records were those of the numerous marital cases, and these have been fully collated with a view to giving an idea of how much information can be gleaned and what gaps remain, and what

583 1 cow, 7 hoes (twice).	7 hoes.
435 1 cow, 6 hoes, 1 pot of beer.	4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
1 cow, 4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.	1 hoe, 5 pots of beer.
1 cow, 6 hoes (twice).	2 hoes, 3/50 worth of cloth.
1 cow, 5 hoes (four times).	5 hoes (twice).
1 cow, 5 pots of beer.	4 hoes (twice).
1 cow (thirteen times).	1 hoe.

The analysis of this list reveals 42 cases where bride-wealth is paid in cattle, alone or accompanied by hoes, beer, cash, or a combination of these latter. Thence, with a few exceptions, there is an abrupt drop to a standard where hoes alone or with beer are paid in bride-wealth, three of the exceptions being where cash is paid with beer: there are 27 cases in this second main class. The quantitative relation of the number of bride-wealths in media other than cattle to those where cattle are a constituent is unlikely to be of importance. There is a [694] standard fee of 2*s*. in marital causes in the Native Court, and a man who can only command sufficient property to pay a bride-wealth of a few hoes is not to be expected readily to raise a court fee.

583 A summary of the analysis shows:

20 cases of payment in cattle alone.
10 „ „ of cattle with hoes.
1 „ „ „ „ beer.
8 „ „ „ „ hoes and beer.
2 „ „ „ „ beer and cash.

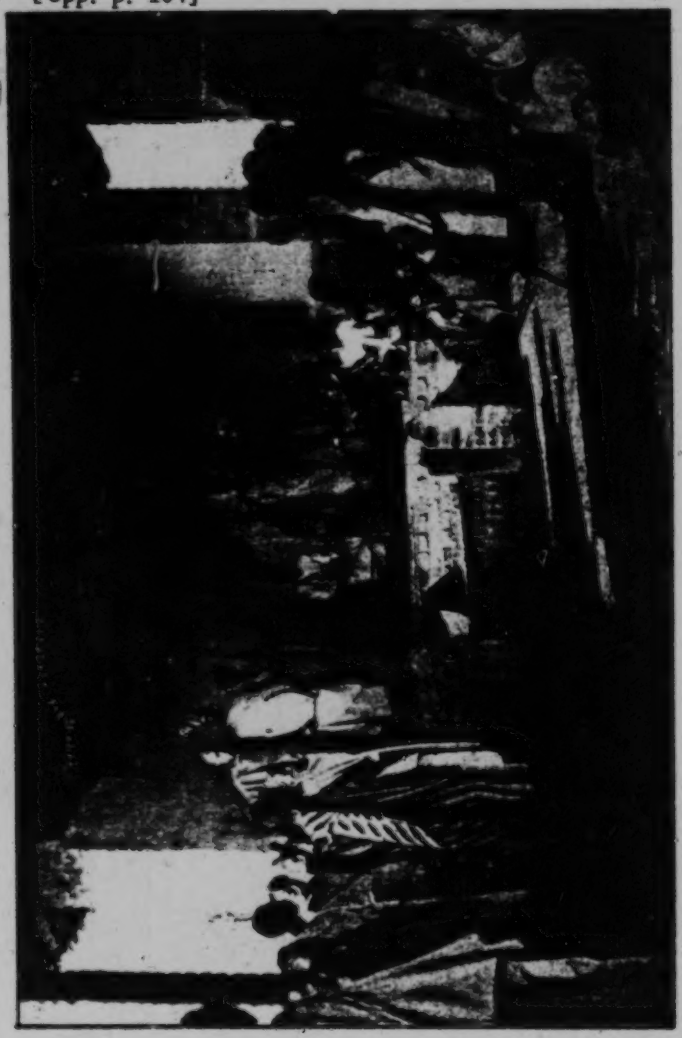
11 cases of payment in hoes alone.
6 „ „ of hoes with beer.
3 „ „ of cash with beer.
1 „ „ of cash with cloth.
1 „ „ of cash alone.
1 „ „ of hoes and cloth.
3 „ „ of goats, once with a bracelet, once with hoes and beer, and once with hoes and cash.

There are evident norms of payment in cattle alone and of payment in hoes alone, but further investigation is needed to discover how far these correspond with the symbiotic social system of pastoral Tusi and agricultural Hutu. A wide field of suggestion is opened up. For instance, are there any cases of wealthy Hutu paying bride-wealth in

1:Vanhove--93A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 107]

291
695
177



One of the many native tribunals instituted since the Belgian occupation.

(Official photograph, Colonial Office)

692 will go to the king begins between the men (meaning here the arbiters)."

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2. A kind of wickerwork screens decorating the base of the pillars supporting the hut's roof.

● 695 The plaintif's relatives and a crowd of curious onlookers attend the debates.

The defendant, then the plaintif, speak in turn, each of them twice. They can have recourse to an unpaid lawyer, generally a son, a faithful servant, or their shebuja.

The assessors who have questions to ask interrogate the parties. The chief himself is silent. Then, at his command or that of the wisest of the assessors, one of them rises and takes up the palaver again in detail (gusor'imanza, to give the content of the palaver, or better, gusubira mu rubanza, to repeat [in place of] the palaver). At the end of this statement [117] during which there has been complete silence, he pronounces the following words: Kubganjye nyanaka aratsinze! (According to me so and so has won), then he sits down again. Although the tribunal's silence indicates their agreement, the chief asks the assessors to confirm their assent and then pronounces the sentence.

If the members of the tribunal are not unanimous, the chief asks one of the opposing assessors to give again a statement of the case, indicating the reasons for his attitude. The first speaker then answers, supported by those of his colleagues who agree with him. The assessors with a different opinion then answer back, and there follows a lively and often stormy debate in open court. The exchange of talk sometimes becomes such that the chief has to interrupt to call the meeting back to dignified order. At a given moment, having heard all the facts, the chief, who is judge, demands silence, takes over in his turn the affair ab ovo, and after having justified his point of view, says: Koko nyanaka aratsinze! (Truly that one wins!).

The most usual methods of proof are testimony and oath. Only the plaintif is authorized to demand testimony. The witness (1)

1. A woman or child can never act as a witness.

(umugabo), always a single one, can be called in civil and penal affairs. He is questioned after the two parties have spoken. The intervention of a witness is only relatively useful, he is always more or less closely related to the plaintif and the defendant generally objects to him.

695 The oath is administered by the chief to both litigants and the witness before they speak. After planting their spears in the ground, they swear, saying: Nkabeshya iti chumu ndakaritega Mutara! (2) (If I lie, may this spear pierce Mutara!)

2. Instead of pronouncing the name of the reigning king, one often simply says, Ndakariteg'Umwami!

[118] In the past, in the case of a serious theft, assaults and wounds, or suspect illness or death, the accused who persisted in his denial was often tortured or subjected to an ordeal.

A person presumed guilty of a big robbery was tightly bound, then cow's urine was poured into the cuts made by the cords; or else he was deprived of food and beaten till he was crippled, all this without prejudicing the punishment.

695 787 A man who had been the victim of a big robbery, or whose relative had been attacked by, or died of, a suspicious disease, would go to complain to the chief, accompanied by a Muhutu sorcerer (umushuzi), who would then perform the gushora (divination). The sorcerer would take a pruning knife (ikibabo) and ask the accused to spit on the blade (gukamira, lit., to milk) and to pronounce the following words: "If I am guilty, you will become black. If I am not guilty, you will become white like an inyange (ibis)." The umushuzi would then plunge the pruning knife into the fire. When the iron turned red-hot he scattered magic powder (umubi) on the blade and awaited the result of the experiment.

Another test currently used in the same cases was that of the chick called umuchuri (from guchurikam, to upset) for the occasion. The accused drank a little water, rinsed out his mouth, and spat out the water into the beak of the chick. The sorcerer (mututsi) then spoke to the bird, saying: "If you find that this one is guilty, you will make the traveler walk and the sedentary one stop. If he is not guilty, you will make the traveler rest and the sedentary one walk (1)."

1. These sibylline words can be explained as follows: In the entrails of the chick (ibilanga) there are some intestines which in contracting or expanding give the impression of retreating or advancing.

695 opened up its body, and after examining its entrails would give the
787 suitable interpretation.

[119] There is no special procedure in the execution of
696 sentences. If the judgment concerns stolen cows, the plaintif or the abagaragu go and take them from the thief. In other cases the condemned one does it himself, and if, as unlikely, he refuses to do so, the chief would compel him by force.

692 In principle, justice is gratuitous and legal expenses do not exist, but the judges are not indifferent to douceur, which gives an advantage to the powerful and wealthy ones. On the other hand, as a rule, an umugaragu with a palaver brings beer or tobacco to his shebuja so that he will bring his case before the tribunal.

Appeals are dealt with by the provincial chief whose tribunal is organized on the same basis as that of the hill chief. This appeal is called gusuzugura (lit., to despise the chief's justice) or gusubira urubanza (to begin the palaver over again).

In the past a Muhutu did not appeal to the provincial chief but to the umugabe w'ingabo (1).

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Right of War, p. 92.

On the other hand, the provincial chief's tribunal has first cognizance of cases concerning cattle and territorial litigation between hill chiefs. It is also obliged to act in cases of expulsion or dispossession of a Mututsi or a Muhutu by a hill chief.

The Mwami's tribunal is the supreme jurisdiction. The king presides, surrounded by his confidential men who are versed in the customs (abahanga) or by persons of high rank who have the responsibility of being judges.

Normally, the Mwami alone is competent to deal in the first instance, and with no appeal, with criminal affairs, [120] but he may delegate his power to an umutware. If, for example, a provincial chief has denounced a sorcerer to the king, the latter may command the chief to kill the umulozi.

Crimes of high treason and violation of state secrets are also exclusively of his competence.

695 In the past, in criminal cases judged by the Mwami, recourse was had to the gihango test in order to force the accused to

695 confess (1). Sentences were carried out by the Batwa executioners.

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Death of the King, p. 82, note 3.

692 695 Any Munyarwanda, even the most humble, may appeal directly to the Mwami if he has been despoiled by a chief. But this resort to royal justice is illusory for the poorer claimants, who are often obliged to remain for an indefinite time at Nyanza before their case is called. In addition, while the judges of the Mwami's tribunal are required to refuse presents offered by the litigants and to judge equitably regardless of their caste, they sometimes are willing to accept an "honorarium" from one or the other of the parties.

692 Finally, the Mwami's tribunal intervenes, with no appeal possible, in litigations arising between individuals belonging to different jurisdictions.

2. Litigation between Natives of Different Jurisdictions

When litigation arises between natives belonging to different hills, the defendant's igisonga deals with the case. The plaintif appears assisted by his shebuja or one of the latter's umugaragu, who acts as a kind of lawyer and is called umuhagarikira. If the plaintif's claim is rejected, he appeals to his chief. The two chiefs then get together in a neutral place with their abagaragu and the [121] litigants. If an amicable arrangement is impossible, the parties have recourse to the jurisdiction of the provincial chief.

If the litigants belong to different provinces, the plaintiff whose claim has been rejected by his adversary's hill chief goes accompanied by his shebuja or a umuhagarikira to the provincial chief who tries to come to an agreement with his colleague. If he does not succeed in doing this, the parties and their patrons go to the Mwami. The king appoints some persons of high rank from among the provincial chiefs on official visits, his courtiers, and his abagaragu to examine the case. This time it is the hill chiefs who plead for their own people. If the decision rendered does not please

628 in most cases. However, if the ransom is not paid, the mem-
672 bers of the injured group, with the consent of the mutwale, pro-
681 ceed to execute the victim. They take the captive to a remote place and first cut off his hands, then his feet, and eventually also the ears, nose, and tongue. Then the unfortunate victim is nailed to the ground by piercing four poles through his arms and thighs; there he finally receives the death blow through his chest (No. 19, p. 472). Another method of execution is to drive a sharp pole through his anus into his body up to his throat. The body is then exhibited in a public place. The vendetta takes similar forms among the other Bahima, down to the far south in Ufipa (No. 47, pp. 108-111). Stealing cattle and witchcraft are punished in the same cruel manner in Urundi.

762 [98] Persons intending to commit suicide, who are not by any means rare either in Urundi or Ruanda, usually kill themselves by hanging or drowning.

695 It appears that the oath (indahiro), the invocation of the deity, the manes, or the king for the purpose of affirming a statement, is not permitted as a legal device among the Barundi who, incidentally, "use oaths, curses, sorcery, lies, or trickery" copiously. On the other hand, a judge frequently inflicts the ordeal on the accused, especially if it is a case where he has charged with witchcraft and sorcery (No. 19, p. 405). Most often this takes the form of the spear test. It consists of stabbing the accused person's arm with a hot spear point. If the blood gushes out, he is judged guilty; if not, he is considered innocent. The water test is applied by making the accused place his hand into a pot of boiling water. If his hand is scalded, he is considered guilty, otherwise, not. Also, under certain conditions, the poison test is used, a custom found all over Africa. Of course, there exist all kinds of methods designed to make the ordeal come out correctly, like greasing or powdering one's skin, using counter-poisons, etc.

754 the first to be considered responsible if a person becomes sick
791 or dies, if a storm devastates the fields, if the cattle meet with an accident or are attacked by epidemics, when women remain barren, if infants are aborted, if thefts are committed, etc. The abarosi frequently employ poison, which is popular both in Urundi and in Ruanda (No. 48, p. 319), but in most cases they use their magic powers. The abarosi obtain magic power over people or over their cattle and other possessions by appropriating a little piece of a person's body, some hair, the paring of a fingernail, sputum, semen or urine, or some cattle dung, straw from the hut, or soil from the fields. All of these things give the abarosi power over a part of the person's "soul." This explains the great reluctance with which a Murundi, like all East African Negroes, allows a stranger to take pictures of himself, submits to physical measurement, or gives his own name or that of his family. If the medicines and protective amulets prove to be ineffective against the black magic of the abarosi, the umufumu will close in on the malefactor, the umurosi. By inspiration and by questioning his magic rattles and other apparatus, the umufumu's suspicion is directed to certain persons, who in most cases are old women! They are accused,
[695] arrested by the mutwale, and if there is no other proof, the umufumu subjects them to a kind of ordeal in which fire, poison, or boiling water is used. In most cases the verdict is unfavorable to the accused (No. 19, p. 405). In petty cases the person found
[683] guilty receives physical punishment or has to pay a fine; in serious ones they are simply beaten to death and thrown in the bush (see above, p. 97).

The umufumu's power of divination may also be directed
791 to other things if the party concerned so desires and is prepared
789 to pay the price. Through special ceremonies the umufumu brings rain to the fields, or if there is too much rain, he may stop it (No. 19, p. 443). For rain-making, which is so important for agriculture, there are special experts, the abavurati. However, their number is decreasing since every failure is severely punished by the batwale (No. 45, 1913), p. 50).

644 sorcerers and of possessing exceptional talents. This is why the purely
791 mystical functions of their successors were sanctioned by the conquerors.

As a result, they remain on duty both to His Black Majesty and to his faithful subjects at court, at the capital, and throughout the realm. /399/

A. Bewitchers, spell casters, spells, and sorcery. The sorcerers in this category are subdivided into several groups and operate in various ways.

They are referred to as a group by the generic term umulôzi (abalôzi in the plural), "bewitcher." Kuloga means "to bewitch, to cast a spell," and also "to poison." Ubulôzi (amalôzi in the plural) means "bewitchment," "evil spell," "sorcery," and "poisoning." Those are familiar words in the great lake region.

As we shall see later, many of them ply their trade publicly both at the capital in the service of the king, to deliver him from his enemies, and in the villages where they serve their fellow men.

Others, whose activities are more or less acknowledged, practice only in secret.

Some, as will be made clear, have only a fictional existence and exist only in the imagination of naïve people.

1. Abashitsi, or "the catchers," is the name of those who
787 can force a thief to reveal himself through magical practices.
695 The name of their function is borrowed from the verb gushika, "to catch" (the thief), hence the word "urushiko" to designate the procedure. To do this the magician fills a vessel (imbehe) with a liquid which he prepares himself. He blows for a while into a drinking tube, one end of which is immersed in a wooden jar, until the froth (urufuro) overflows, forcing the thief through this mystic and symbolic procedure to reveal his deed in spite of himself. Such, at least, is the popular belief.

2. Abaheretsi (from the verb guhereka, "to lay traps through
791 bewitchment") serves to designate a second group of sorcerers who
789 specialize in burying charms and amulets of their own making in banana groves and cultivated fields, /400/ hence the name of uruhereko given to their sorcery.

789 The sorcerer mutilator cuts off a tiny piece (isonga) from the tongue,
751 heart, little finger (umuhera), and skin, and these pieces are dried above the hearth. All of this is then enclosed in a small horn, preferably black, which the assassin wears around his neck as a talisman and which guards him not only against his victim but also against the latter's relatives.

It is also good to procure some of the herb called irago or umurago which has been planted on the slain man's grave. /420/

If this is added to the other gruesome items contained by the horn, the talisman becomes more powerful.

We may add that these people charge very high fees for their services. A bull, at least, is required.

C. Sorcerers who preside over ordeals and who prepare the
●695 test poisons. Sorcerers of this type bear the name of Abashozi, hence the verbs gushora, "to put someone through a test," and gushoka (a neutral verb) to designate the test itself.

It does seem that here in Ruanda ordeals are employed only in criminal cases and that their sole object is to prove the innocence or culpability of those who submit to them, as was formerly done in the Middle Ages. Our Blacks have such faith and trust in such judicial methods that they believe in their absolute effectiveness. They have never given a thought to the absurdity of those divinatory tests, in which chance and fraud play such a predominant role.

Such tests are numerous, but the most widespread is that which
695 consists of drinking or smoking the urwizilinga, a kind of shrub that
278 seems to bear at least a superficial resemblance to datura (1). In any
[824]

1. Moavi is used as the test poison practically throughout the rest of Africa. This plant does not seem to exist in Ruanda. The matter, nevertheless, would be worth investigating.

case their effects are similar.

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The maker of test poison usually handles it in the form of a powder which he mixes with water or with pipe tobacco. The accused, male or female, must draw two or three puffs from the pipe. The results are swift. One of the smokers or another, or even several of them at once, is almost immediately seized with a real madness (kussàra) which strips him of his reasoning faculties and which may last sometimes /421/ close to a month, as we were able to verify. The unfortunate victim eats or takes to his lips everything he finds along the way, no matter how unlikely or even repulsive (amabyi!) it may be.

He casts off his clothing, and a mother tosses away her child and goes off, raving or gesticulating like a true lunatic.

Then the intoxicated person sinks into a nightmare-ridden sleep. He talks in his sleep and speaks of ghosts and wild animals which he believes he sees.... In short, he becomes very trying to his family. Could this not be a simple case of autosuggestion, which occurs frequently among Blacks?

If the patient pleads guilty right from the onset of the illness and begs for mercy, the same sorcerer administers to him a counter-poison, another vegetable powder mixed with a little "chloride of liquid sodium" (inkari!), which immediately neutralizes the effects of rwizilinga. The Batutsi also know that in such cases it helps to give fresh milk to those who have taken the poison.

We are acquainted with a case where nearly ten individuals submitted voluntarily to this test. Only two of them were affected. They were deemed guilty then and there. It so happens that the true culprit was discovered some time later. He had not been subjected to the ordeal.

The people nevertheless continue to praise this judicial procedure. Certain things are even related about the subject which are amazing but untrue, and which do naught but strengthen the prestige of the sorcerers (1). /422/

1. "The European cannot help considering, first and foremost, the physiological effects of the

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poison. Accordingly, /in his own mind, / the results of the ordeal will vary in direct proportion with the strength and amount of the drug taken into the organism. If the dose is sufficiently strong, it will invariably do away with the person who swallows it, whether innocent or guilty. If it is insignificant, it will do no harm to the worst criminal. The Whites consider it extraordinary that the native should disregard such simple truisms.

"The point of view of the Blacks, however, is completely different. The idea of what we call "poison" is not clearly defined in their own minds. They know by experience, no doubt, that certain concoctions have the power of killing those who drink them, they are nevertheless unfamiliar with the mechanics of poisoning, and do not attempt to understand it. They do not even suspect its existence. According to them, these concoctions may be deadly only because they serve as vehicles for mystic forces, just like the remedies which they use to cure diseases and whose effectiveness they explain wholly in this way. . . . The Blacks do not grasp the actual properties of the test poison, but consider only its mystical and immediate power. . . .

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It is a sort of mystic reagent, and as such it is infallible.

"The native is so convinced of this that often he takes no precautions before undergoing the test. He does not make use of his right to watch while the poison is being prepared, he does not scrutinize the dose to see whether it may not be too strong, the liquid too thick, etc.... Why should he, since the beverage does not act physically, so to speak, but spiritually? It does not matter whether a little less or a little more is swallowed. The outcome of the test does not depend on this... "Such is the faith they have in trial by ordeal that the natives regard the matter of who pounded the poison into powder as an unimportant detail." (Levy-Bruhl, La Mentalité primitive /The Primitive Mentality/, pp. 250 and 251.)

[181] Full of trust, sure of their innocence, and excessively naïve, the natives are completely blind to the frauds of the sorcerers, who call the accused persons in turn into a hut or to an isolated spot. What crimes and injustices have been committed by those doctors in occult sciences!

Other Judicial Tests

695 A. The drum test. One rubs cow dung on the surface of a drum and pours some water onto it, which the accused gathers in his hands and brings to his lips, while the man who presides over the ordeal loudly cries, "May the shades of the deceased and the spirits

695 of the initiates (in the Ryangombe sect) abstain from interfering. As for you, may you be subjected to the sole influence of the test!"

If the accused is guilty, he must "theoretically" suffer and die of excruciating intestinal pains after submitting to the test. /423/

B. The bell test. This test consists of making the accused persons drink water into which a small bell has been plunged for an instant. "May this beverage," says the judge, "cause you to die if you have been justly accused." "Let me die," each of the accused says in turn, "if I have lied!" A disease similar to leprosy will cover the body of the perjurers.

C. The ordeal called "rush-basket ordeal" (urutete). The basket is made of rushes or papyrus stems, with spaces one or two centimeters wide between the coarse meshing. The accused person sits directly on the basket, holding in his hand the sword which is the usual badge of Ryangombe. The bystanders stick their spears into the ground, haft downward, around the man and his improvised seat. A handful of grass of the ishinge kind is brought and laid down by the basket. "If I am guilty," says the man, "may I be the victim of these spears. I call upon you, Ryangombe, king of the initiates! If my innocence is not recognized, I promise to offer you as many cows as there are openings (holes) in this basket and blades of grass in this bunch."

D. The red-hot billhook ordeal. The accused puts some saliva on the billhook, which is held above a fire set up in the courtyard.

The bystanders use a winnowing basket to fan the flames. As in the case cited above, the man who presides over the test, requests the spirits of the dead to refrain from interfering and to let the test follow its course. If the billhook becomes red, the innocence of the individual is proved.

E. The "iron-piece" test. Two spears are stuck into the ground on the public square. Between them is set an earthenware jug or wooden vessel in which a beverage is prepared /424/ with disparate and repulsive ingredients. Cow dung, the droppings of birds and animals (crowned crane, crow, etc.), honey and beer, the leaves of certain plants (the castor-oil plant, isenyanguzi), etc., chopped up

695 in the liquid, such are the ingredients of this drink which is prepared for God's judgment.

A small piece of iron, kadigi, which is believed to have a magic property, is tossed into the vessel. Gravity and solemnity are the rule during sessions of this kind. A drinking tube is given to the accused to take the poison. Some people are made seriously ill by it, while others are able to "relieve" themselves almost immediately, which goes to prove their innocence.

F. The chick test. The accused are given small chicks which have just hatched. Each of them must hold one in his hand under the supervision of watchmen who are supposed to prevent tricks and infractions in the proceedings. The chick which survives the lack of food for the longest period of time (about one day and one night) proves "in its own way" the honesty of its lucky owner.

G. The boiling water test, so well known and so popular in the Middle Ages. The procedure is the same.

The numbers and kinds of ordeals vary among the provinces of Ruanda. Many of them were borrowed from neighboring lands with which the Banyarwanda have frequent contact.

Up to now, both plaintiffs and defendants had frequent recourse [177] to those methods. The introduction of European tribunals has dealt a death blow to tests of this sort, which occur in the beginnings of every civilization. /425/

Chapter 3

Rain Makers or Tempest Makers (Ababvubyi).
Protectors Against Lightning (Abagangahuzi).
Ravagers of Crops and Fields (Abahoryo).

791 Owing to the people's credulity, the services of these personages are among the most valued and also the most lucrative. They seldom live at the capital, or go there only occasionally when summoned expressly.

644 king's saliva in their procedures carry out their duties in the greatest secrecy. The same applies to the official historians (abachurabgenge), /471/ the keepers of the traditions (abiru) and the members of the royal corporation of undertakers. No layman is permitted to have close contact with them. In order to insure their zeal, their attach-
644 ment, and their trustworthiness, the sovereign submits them at the
695 outset to a sort of test poison (igihango), which in the minds of the Blacks has a noxious, suspensive, and subsequent effect. To this end, the aspirants or successors to the above-mentioned positions were formerly led to Gihanga in the Nduga, on the banks of a famous spring, to drink the beverage that would guarantee their future fidelity. The officials in charge of those tests threw into the water on the preceding day some leaves, plants, and shrub branches which played an important role in this kind of ceremony. The horn of a bull also had to be obtained and dipped in the water, and whenever possible it had to come from a bull who had killed at least one person, as if the memory of the spilled blood were henceforth to haunt the minds of the new candidates and to fill them with terror. The performance was carried out with great seriousness. After drinking this magic water, the participants in the test were expressly forbidden to spit, smoke, or drink beer during the first few days, so that the beverage might work its effect upon them unchecked. The Blacks are indeed very meticulous in the fulfillment of their rites and superstitions (imihango n'imigenzo). It was believed that from that time forward, those who had passed the test could not fall short in their official duties. They had pledged themselves forevermore, and the least infidelity, the least breach of duty could only entail disastrous consequences leading to the loss of their life. As in the case of the initiates into the Ryangombe secret society, the test poison thereafter exercised upon them a suspensive and subsequent effect.

It was a sort of Damocles' sword, ever ready to fall upon them in case of disobedience or violation of secrecy. /472/

By drinking the magic beverage, they pledged themselves implicitly to serve the king as the nature of their functions required and to maintain secrecy to outsiders about all court events.

Woe to them if they broke professional secrecy!

644 695 We have seen that in order to preserve the supernatural properties of the beverage (igihango) the candidates were forbidden to smoke, drink, or spit. What were they to do in order to avoid the disastrous effects that the test poison, according to popular belief, might have upon their health?

Accustomed as primitives are to the strangest and most incredible things, the Banyarwanda believed that in order to avert any danger in this connection, all they had to do was to commit a shameful act immediately.

As a result of this belief and in the thought that they were being helpful to the neophytes, their relatives led them away, outside the clan, along with some friends. They lay in wait and seized [839] a young man or a young girl, depending on the sex of the candidate, and did violence to the young person.

It must be added that the Blacks, knowing the distaste of Europeans for such sport, have not dared to fulfill the last part of the [178] program since the arrival of the Whites.

II. Dangers to Which Dignitaries, Employees, and Favorites at Court Were Exposed at All Times

644 661 It may be said that until recent years the secret of certain customs and traditions had been well preserved, for fear of the effects of the test poison and for fear of the king, who would not hesitate to punish delinquents at the first sign of indiscretion. It is equally true that until our time the majority of servants /473/ and underlings lived under the risk and perpetual threat of a violent death which might claim them at any moment. The monarch, who did not rely exclusively on the effectiveness of the test poison and probably had very good reasons not to do so, unfortunately made use quite often of his prerogatives as sovereign and his discretionary power over all things to apply extravagant punishments. Nothing counted in his eyes except his own interests, his whims and his passions. He frequently gave free rein to the latter. A mere suspicion or even less was sufficient to cause the merciless death of an unfortunate individual.

681 Punishment by whipping seems to be done less in Ruanda than in Bgisha where the chief ties people to trees and has them punished with up to 100 strokes of the whip on their backs. This [177] custom is said to have been borrowed from the English Askari who were stationed there.

On the subject of property rights we wish to make only a 423 few general remarks. The entire country is the private property 428 of the king and is regarded as either entrusted to the chiefs or granted to the clans. All the farmers and herdsmen are merely tenants or have the use of the land. As a consequence, the chief and clan community have the final word in matters dealing with the inheritance of usufruct of so-called crown property, that is, fields and cattle.

Only household goods, with the exception of cows, are private 422 property in our sense, and here the wish of the person disposing of 428 the property is decisive, although certain time-honored customs cannot be circumvented. In Bugoye, for example, the oldest son gets the spear and the stool of his father, whereas the shield belongs to the youngest son. (2) Lieutenant Spiltoire told me that in

2. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 439.

Bunyabungu, the principal heir seems to be the son of the sister, but because of his brief visit, he could not verify this.

692 Administration of Justice. In Ruanda the administration of 695 justice is in the hands of the chiefs and the king.

Pronouncing judgment is only of secondary importance, but [280] the chiefs regard it as a sure means of gaining influence. The two parties regard the trial as an attempt to interest a powerful one -- a chief -- in their affairs, that is to say, to make their affairs the affairs of the mighty. The one who wins a case is simply the one who was more highly regarded by the chief and with whom, from now on, it is dangerous to quarrel. In Ruanda it is a long process from the pronouncement of justice to the execution of it.

692 The verdict means that the judge, not the state, has taken a cer-
695 tain stand. The state, even in principle, does not represent abstract justice. In order to carry out the verdict, one must have sufficient power, either in his own right or through his allies; otherwise it would be impossible to take any action that would be unpleasant for others.

692 In the communities the administration of justice is in the hands of the subchiefs. A person who is dissatisfied with their verdict may consult his high chief. I have heard that the common man may appeal to the king, but from other reports this seems to me quite improbable. This right can have no practical significance for the common man, if indeed it exists. He could not incur the displeasure of the nearest small potentates with whom he has primarily to deal. Going directly to the king means not only a demonstration of distrust toward one's nearest superior, but it also represents an attempt to free oneself from the hierarchy of subordination and make oneself directly subordinate to the king.

692 For the clients (bagaragu) of the king, the royal court is the first and also the final authority. There is no other recourse, ex-
431 cept to the force of arms, provided one dares to revolt. Hence higher authority always takes action, but it also takes into account general peace and order and is not guided by abstract principles of justice. Moreover, gifts to the judge play an important part and are not regarded as something punishable or even inappropriate. The parties regard these gifts as court fees, even though larger gifts are usually combined with greater hopes for the favorable outcome of the trial. The size of the gifts does not seem to be fixed. In important cases large presents are given. Not infrequently the judge is even presented with a cow.

692 Although trials before the king do not often occur, nevertheless all over Ruanda one hears that someone has gone to Musinga regarding judicial matters. This expression stems from the fact that people go to their high chiefs who are staying at the court of Musinga in Nyanza. The trials take place in Nyanza at the compound (bilaro) of the chief concerned. For example, I met a band of people from Njaruguru who were on their way "to Musinga." On more careful investigation [281] it turned out that

692 "to Musinga" simply meant the place of his residence. The judge to whom these people were going was Rwamanwa, high chief of Njaruguru.

If the two parties have different chiefs, the trial is conducted at the compound of the more powerful one, since otherwise, because of injured vanity, he could make it impossible to carry out the verdict. If the two chiefs cannot reach an agreement, they go to a third party or to the king, who usually appoints a judge. [643] The king personally handles only the most important affairs of his bagaragu, but even that he does unwillingly.

695 The Trial. Certain forms are observed at trials. The two parties squat on the ground in front of the judge and greet him by clapping their hands. Otherwise only the king is greeted in this way. Then each in turn tells about the matter under dispute.

After the verdict of the judge, the winner immediately rises, takes some grass, and lays it at the feet of the judge in gratitude and as a token of his subservience. He then sings a song of praise in which (in Mulera, for example) he boasts about the number of enemies he has killed.

People sometimes wait in Nyanza two or three months for a trial, and finally the hearing is postponed until the next year. The chiefs do this also. They are afraid of endangering themselves by a sentence of incalculable scope.

696 Executing a sentence is the weak side of primitive justice. There is no organ of the government that would attend to the execution of the decree. Even the decisions of the king are by no means always carried out.

Sometimes, to ensure the execution of the sentence, the guilty party is held prisoner by the winning party until he has fulfilled his obligations.

The sentence is said to be carried out at the place of residence of the two parties. For this purpose the king sends a special messenger. He must inform the population of the decision, in disputes about land he must mark out the sections, and in cases involving cattle, divide up the herds.

Because of the long duration of these cases, which gives all the court schemers an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, the winning party sometimes leaves the capital before the king's

691 debtor A owns something that is being used by C, a cow, for ex-
426 ample, then B can bring C a present and, with C's permission,
686 declare the object belonging to A as kugombeka. In this case A loses all rights to the object he has deposited with C until he has settled his debt, and the object is now regarded as B's property. If A is powerful, the kugombeka of his property is declared void. If he is not influential, this becomes a very profitable business. In view of the duration of the suits, C always has the prospect of being able to appropriate the thing that has been put in his charge or at least of using it without incurring obligation. But under the rules of kugombeka he is responsible to B for the object. If he gives it back to its original owner A, he must replace its value to B or [283] owe it to him, and this starts a second suit between B and C which is separate from that between A and B.

426 If the users of A's property refuse to accept kugombeka, the
686 creditor can only resort to kufatira.

Kufatira is the confiscation of part of the property of an individual whom one wishes to force to defray his debt or to meet his responsibilities. Kufatira is also used to force someone to appear at a trial. The use of force is conceded in the case of kufatira, but otherwise infringement of property rights and the use of violence are basically regarded as punishable offenses.

Kufatira can be used successfully only against weaker debtors. If the debtor is very weak, he can even be plundered and bound with a rope until his family takes mercy on him and ransoms him. If, however, the debtor is powerful, kufatira can have all the consequences of a lost war, and there is no recourse but to make one's concern the concern of stronger protectors.

685 In cases of theft, the procedure is considerably simpler, and the judge receives no presents.

• 685 Evidence. The testimony of witnesses is very important in court trials in Ruanda. The accused has the right to demand witnesses to prove his guilt, but he also has the right to eliminate the testimony of certain witnesses if he has convincing reasons. Such witnesses are, for example, relatives, blood brothers, and clients (bagaragu) of the accuser. The accuser is obliged to comply

695 with this and to secure witnesses who are not dependent on him.

695 431 A witness may refuse to testify. In order to dissuade him from making use of this right, he is given presents by the one who wishes him to testify.

Gifts to witnesses are no secret. They are regarded as something quite natural, a sort of compensation for the unpleasantness that may result from testifying. That is why one often hears of a witness delaying his testimony for a few days in order to give people a chance to bring him presents or saying that he will testify after he has received his nzoga. In this case nzoga does not mean merely beer, but all kinds of presents, such as goats, hoes, or even cows, depending on the importance of the case.

695 687 In spite of the custom of giving presents to witnesses, false testimony is punishable. Thus, it is said that Lwabugiri Kigeri, for example, who was strict but just, simply had false witnesses killed.

695 [284] Court procedure in Ruanda allows the accused and the witness to swear oaths. At trials the following form of oath is used. The person taking the oath sticks his spear into the ground and says: "May this spear kill me if I did this." This way of taking an oath is called kuchulika ichuma. This form of oath is feared. [687] Perjury was punished with death in Lwabugiri's time.

In this connection we must also mention the forms of allegation which are used, for example, when witnesses testify. The one corresponding to the form of oath given above consists of pointing to one's spear and saying, "dakolitera Musinga." This brief statement means "if that is not true, I shall pierce the king with this spear." Connected to this is another form: "bandoga Musinga (I shall poison Musinga if this is not true)." This form is also used if one wishes to assure the king that what one has said is true. Thus, for example, Musinga asked a man whether he had seen Kabare, "wabonye Kabare?" The man answered in the affirmative, "yee." The king did not believe it and wanted to make sure, "nukuli." The man thereupon answered, "bandoga Musinga," and the matter was settled. If one doubts the truth of a person's statement, he may also say, "lahira (swear)." The person then answers, "bandoga Musinga."

● 685 The last two allegations imply that sad consequences could result if a person expresses intentions that are hostile to the king. The person making the statement publicly announces that if he told a lie he would willingly suffer persecution for threatening the sacred person of the king. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, who could probably set a record for lying, use this phrase constantly.

In doubtful cases where the testimony of witnesses is not at hand or is not sufficiently credible, as well as in cases where the use of sorcery is suspected, the poison test (kihango) is resorted to. The poison test is conducted by the babandwa [members of secret societies who conduct ceremonies].

In Kissaka the poison is dissolved in water and handed to both parties in two cow horns. This gives the mubandwa an opportunity to influence the outcome directly and to use his own judgment in determining the guilty one. Although this makes it very easy for a person to misuse the poison test, the people of Kissaka be-
[797] lieve in it. Even the Christians do, in spite of the otherwise very great influence of the mission. The poison test seldom results in death in Ruanda, for the person taking it can immediately spit and vomit. The poison is not always drunk, for not infrequently the mubandwa is satisfied to dip his thumb into the poison and stick it into the mouth of the person, who may immediately expectorate. In such cases the effect is purely a psychological one. [285] Father L. Classe, who lived in the country seven years, never heard of a death caused by the poison test.

Another very important form of evidence is testimony from the entrails of chickens killed for this purpose. We shall discuss this somewhat more fully below in connection with religious practices.

Quite independent of the chicken oracle, there is a chick oracle that is conducted in the following way. The accused takes a very small chick and carries it in his hand a whole day. If
[822] the chick dies, the man is guilty, yiera bura (he is black). If the chick does not die, the man is innocent, yeira [sic] bwera (he is white). A very strange color association for the Negro world (see page 145).

All forms of evidence and allegation, such as the poison test, the chicken oracle, the spear oath, and the Musinga oath, are

695 referred to simply as kushoko, "drinking." This fact indicates that the poison test was the oldest form. To give a person this test is called kushora which simply means "to give a drink." Thus they say: "Umututsi ashora inka ze (the Mututsi gives his cows a drink)," as well as "kushora ikihango (to drink poison)" and "kushora (literally, to drink a chicken)."

[286] Chapter 14

History and Chronology

173 Ruanda. I had great difficulty in obtaining data about the history of Ruanda. Oral tradition in the interlacustrine region is limited chiefly to the genealogy of the rulers. This basic skeleton is also generally supplemented by a few statements about the chief events of the corresponding epochs. My informants, however, knew little about the history of the dynasty, since most of them were Bahutu.

124 Musinga gave Captain W. Von Grawert, who introduced me to him, his royal promise that he would have reports made to me on the history of the country or even tell me about it himself. [187] The chicken oracle, however, said that the king would suffer harm if I were initiated in the history of the country. The next time I visited Musinga and tried to have certain contradictions in my notes on the Ruanda rulers cleared up by this authoritative source, I was kept dangling for two and a half hours and was unsuccessful. His Black Majesty was very pleasant, but during the whole time he kept practicing, in German, the meaningless sentence, "Little spear is pretty."

Musinga wanted to please me by demonstrating his zeal in learning the German language and in this way divert my attention from interviewing him.

173 It seems that in Ruanda as well as In Nkole one may not speak [715] about deceased kings with the uninitiated, for the spirits, disturbed in their rest, might avenge themselves. However, people [52] talk about olden times in the evening when the nobility gather with the king, pay court to him, and drink beer. They know

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

might put the other to death without fear of punishment, for 682
the witnesses would state the reason for his action and he 628
would not suffer for it.

When a murder was committed secretly and the body was found without any trace of the murderer, it caused much difficulty. The relatives had to inform the chief of anything they knew concerning the relations of the dead man with the people of the district. Any person with whom the dead man had had a quarrel or disagreement was captured, and a priest [695] killed a fowl and took an augury in order to find out whether he was guilty or not. Should the augury be in the suspected man's favour he was released, and some other magical means of finding the murderer were tried.

Sometimes a murderer would confess his deed to the king or chiefs and notify his desire to atone. The family of the murdered man were called to a meeting and the murderer had to supply a sheep. The king was present at the meeting and ordered the animal to be killed and cut open, after which the murderer and the head-man of the murdered man's clan placed their hands on the entrails. Portions of every kind of food used by the people were brought and placed in the sheep with purificatory herbs, and again the two men placed their hands in it. The sheep was then called *Maana* or god and was the pledge of peace. Some clans, however, refused to make peace with a murderer and awaited an opportunity of killing either the criminal or some member of his clan.

When a man killed another accidentally and succeeded in proving that there was no malice or intention about the act, he paid fourteen cows to the family of the dead man, with whom he remained on friendly terms. If a man wounded [683] another he paid him eight cows as compensation.

When a warrior killed a man in battle, the king and chiefs 727
honoured him and gave him presents of land and cattle. Sometimes when the king was specially pleased, he would give a warrior a princess to wife. The warrior had to be purified on his return from the battle, but observed no other taboo.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

192 234 574 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192 431 231 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief, or a patron when she has a child.

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

192 231 426 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-

1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192 231 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cowherd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

[465] 3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681] 431] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

[696] INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192 437 231 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches

1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

683 Muhutu has been wounded he receives the indwaza (lit., who cares for) indemnity consisting of one or two goats. If the author of the blows is a Mututsi, he must lend a cow to the Muhutu so that he can have its milk for as long as there is any; the Muhutu gets the full ownership of a bull calf when he returns the cow.

5. Murder

682 Murder cases were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Mwami at the time when he had the right of life and death over his subjects (1).

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Royal Power, p. 74, note 1.

682 If the murderer (gatozi) and his victim belonged to the same
696 social class, the king ordered the exercise of private vengeance
628 (guhora, to avenge; kwikorera, to avenge one's self), which resulted in endless conflicts between families and clans. The Mwami, however, could throw on the murderer, the full responsibility of his deed, and the relatives of the victim could not then resort to the "vendetta."

682 [112] If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two deaths were exacted.

On the other hand, if a Muhutu had been killed by a Mututsi, recourse to direct vengeance was impossible, but the Mwami could turn over a member of the Mututsi's family to the victim's relatives and have him killed. However, if a fairly important Mututsi killed a Muhutu, neither he himself nor his property would be affected. This iniquitous ruling did not rouse the natives' indignations because it conformed with the law of the land and they therefore submitted to it.

The right of pardon did not exist. However, the king could stop the vengeance (gucha inzigo, lit., to cut the vengeance) and offer compensation (wergild) to the family of the dead man; this was when the latter was a Muhutu, as the Batutsi accepted only blood atonement. For the king to agree to recognize the benefit of the compensation to the victim's family, the dead man had

682 obviously to be an important person, such as an umugaragu of the Mwami. In carrying out the sentence, the murderer had to give the victim's parents many heads of cattle, thirty or sometimes even more.

If a person lost his life in a fire started by a malicious person, the guilty party (or one of his family) was punished by having his head cut off by a member of the victim's family.

683 The abalozi (sorcerers) accused of having caused the death of a man by their evil spells were also punished by the death penalty.

696 If the murderer took refuge in the rugo of a chief, he found there inviolable sanctuary. It would have been a lack of respect to authority to kill a man at the chief's home and the administrators of justice might have been put to death for doing so. In such a case the chief himself brought the murderer before the Mwami.

[113] 6. Special Cases

687 Exceptionally serious cases had to be submitted to the Mwami. The crime of lese majesty brought with it, in the recent past, the death penalty to the perpetrator. The Batwa executioners were charged with carrying out the sentence by strangling (guhotora), spearing (gutera inchumu), cudgeling (gukubita inkoni), or killing with an axe (gukubita intorezo). The criminal could also be thrown into a pit located in Bugessera (near Nyanza) after having been strangled (1), or else he was blinded with a hot iron (2).

1. Abanyiginya accused of having plotted against the Mwami were punished in this way.

2. A chief of the neighborhood of Issave called Kayijuka had his eyes burned out for having shown Nyirayuhi, mother of King Musinga, to a missionary. At this time the custom of the country did not allow noble women to be seen by foreigners.

695 787 opened up its body, and after examining its entrails would give the suitable interpretation.

●696 [119] There is no special procedure in the execution of sentences. If the judgment concerns stolen cows, the plaintif or the abagaragu go and take them from the thief. In other cases the condemned one does it himself, and if, as unlikely, he refuses to do so, the chief would compel him by force.

692 In principle, justice is gratuitous and legal expenses do not exist, but the judges are not indifferent to douceur, which gives an advantage to the powerful and wealthy ones. On the other hand, as a rule, an umugaragu with a palaver brings beer or tobacco to his shebuja so that he will bring his case before the tribunal.

Appeals are dealt with by the provincial chief whose tribunal is organized on the same basis as that of the hill chief. This appeal is called gusuzugura (lit., to despise the chief's justice) or gusubira urubanza (to begin the palaver over again).

In the past a Muhutu did not appeal to the provincial chief but to the umugabe w'ingabo (1).

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Right of War, p. 92.

On the other hand, the provincial chief's tribunal has first cognizance of cases concerning cattle and territorial litigation between hill chiefs. It is also obliged to act in cases of expulsion or dispossession of a Mututsi or a Muhutu by a hill chief.

The Mwami's tribunal is the supreme jurisdiction. The king presides, surrounded by his confidential men who are versed in the customs (abahanga) or by persons of high rank who have the responsibility of being judges.

Normally, the Mwami alone is competent to deal in the first instance, and with no appeal, with criminal affairs, [120] but he may delegate his power to an umutware. If, for example, a provincial chief has denounced a sorcerer to the king, the latter may command the chief to kill the umulozi.

Crimes of high treason and violation of state secrets are also exclusively of his competence.

695 In the past, in criminal cases judged by the Mwami, recourse was had to the gihango test in order to force the accused to

423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him for other reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the property of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

The inhabitants own their huts and, in addition, every-
421 thing they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus, men, women, and children may own property, and the following may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade objects, etc.

685 Property violations, i.e., damage and theft (uwivi), are
674 frequent, but if someone leaves his hut unguarded, a woven screen in front of the door opening is usually sufficient to keep away uninvited guests. Although the kraals are surrounded by
[417] strong fences and the paths between the fields are often lined with high euphorbia hedges (Plate 20), these have not been put up or grown as a protection against thieves but to pen and restrain the cattle. If a person steals something from [94] a homestead or produce from the fields, he is taken before the mutwale and is sentenced to severe corporal punishment unless he can pay a generous amount in damages of which the mutwale will appropriate one half (No. 4, p. 224).

692 The mutwale or in smaller districts the village chief is
627 the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves without appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings several witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases
• 696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see p. 97 .

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden
[411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times,
[579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that
463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them
● 696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches,
[342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

1 [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -Analyst]

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1. In actual practice it is the king himself who designates his heir directly during his lifetime, or indirectly through executors, who make known the king's last will after his death.

When the throne was left vacant, there often ensued contests which gave rise to complications and bloody tragedies.

The Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief of the most powerful clan sometimes made his own choice among the sons of the dead king andfforced acceptance of his candidate. This happened in 1896, when Kabale rebelled against the rightful heir, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, and had Yuhi IV Musinga, his own nephew and the present king, elected instead.

644 767 8. The royal corporation of undertakers called Abanyamugogo. Rightly or wrongly, they claim to be descendants of those who handled the funeral of Ruganzu II Ndori.

We shall mention them again in the section dealing with funeral rites.

644 681 ● 696 9. Executioners.

They are usually chosen from among the Batwa.

So far as ordinary criminals are concerned, executions take place at the capital. High-ranking culprits are often placed in the custody of a chief, who leads them to the Buberuka or Bugessera provinces.

The unfortunate victims are strangled or smitten down with spears, and then tossed into the pit (urwobo) of Bayanga or into the shifting marsh of Nkonde. Aside from strangulation and drowning,

644 the Banyarwanda also practice dismemberment, otherwise known as
681 the "torment of the hundred wounds."

696 First the flesh of the face, arms, calves, back, etc. are cut up in order to make the victim suffer as long as possible. This refinement of cruelty is carried out mainly in vendettas (guhora).

Impalement is reserved for cattle thieves. There is mention of an unfortunate man whose stake threatened to come out through his side. The operation was begun all over again..., but the patient /377/ died long before it was concluded. The most common torture for persons of medium rank consisted in cutting off their hands and feet and leaving them thus on the spot, where they died of cold if the hyenas did not devour them first. Sometimes death lingered for two or three days because the blood had coagulated and the hemorrhage had stopped.

Some of those unfortunate victims would bellow their torment and thirst, dragging themselves wretchedly on knees and elbows and vainly attempting to come near the huts and implore the pity of human beings. Their doleful cries were heard throughout the night.

[687] Fear suppressed pity, for the slightest act of compassion would have been regarded as high treason. Any show of pity or mercy was punishable by death. Execution by club, spear, or billhook blows and the cutting of the carotid artery were regarded as the mildest and quickest methods for victims entitled to a certain consideration. This category included elders, women, former favorites, and certain court employees. Important personages whom one did not wish to "do away with" (gusonga) were often sentenced to lose their eyes.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, hardly a week went by at the capital without a bloody execution. If several weeks elapsed without one, the fact seemed so extraordinary that the following expression was repeated everywhere, "Peace (or calm) reigns at the capital" (N' ubuhoro ibgami).

684 Sorcery was the cause of condemnation most frequently in-
683 voked. When people had an enemy and wished for revenge or when they coveted a rich man's possessions and wealth, no great effort of the imagination /378/ was needed on their part to prove the culpability of the man whose death they desired. When a man was led before

644 the king following such a denunciation, the sentence was swiftly
683 pronounced. "Nakukijije (You are pardoned)," said the king, if the accused had been so fortunate as to find powerful protectors or to refute peremptorily the accusations of his enemies. "Mumujane ku kivumu (Lead him to the ficus tree)," cried the king to the executioners when the man was condemned.

"Come on, we shall pardon you (guino twakukijije)," added
696 the executioners derisively while leading away their prey. The unfortunate creature vainly implored the pity of the king and of the spectators, who just looked away. He was quickly led to a hollow
[152] near the ill-omened ficus tree (ikivumu), where he was to suffer the prescribed punishment under the eyes of the crowd, who loved to attend those dreadful spectacles (1). The moans, complaints, cries,
[541]

1. Capital punishment drew large crowds filled with morbid curiosity and avid for cruel emotions.

and howls of the tormented victims did not stop the executioners from pursuing their deadly task to the end. The sufferings of the condemned persons in no way affected their sensibilities. "Has it been a long time since So-and-So was executed?" they were sometimes asked. "The hyenas have eaten him and even digested him (zamuliye, zamuneye)," they would answer coarsely without changing their tone.

Executioners were seen to prolong the victim's torment for their own gratification, or to lead them to run away by releasing them from their bonds so as to have the pleasure of finishing them on the run. We shall not elaborate on the disgraceful mutilations which those unfortunate individuals were first made to suffer.

686 Many a "rain maker" was killed because he could produce no rain. At times of great drought, those who had the misfortune /379/ of being caught were brought to court. They remained bound for days under the burning rays of the sun, while the populace hurled insults at them.

671 theft, arson, and destruction of crops caused to a neighbor, grazing rights, the levying of taille /head tax/ and forced labor, etc. Culprits [696] of high lineage and wealthy people often extricated themselves with money and innocent people sometimes payed for offenders, especially when false witnesses were suborned.

The Pit of the Bugessera

133 Among the various torture spots such as the swamp, called 823 Nkonde in the Buberuka, the Nshimbo swamp near Lukaza, the Ruboneye swamp near Nyanza, the place called "Ficus-tree spot" 681 (ku Kivumu), certain rapids of the Akanyaru and Nyabarongo rivers, 696 etc., it was the pit of the Bugessera that left the most evil memory. Its reputation is highly sinister, owing to the illustrious offenders who were tossed into it and also to the legends that circulate about this accursed place.

The pit is located in the Bugessera region, not far from one of Lwabugiri's ancient residences, which it is surprising to find in the middle of this deserted region.

The landscape is stark, even wild, and darkened by the memory of the tragic executions it witnessed. /382/

The pit is a sort of depression in a rocky area (ibuye ryasamye), 681 about three or four meters deep. It is more or less filled with stagnant 696 rain water according to the time of year, and it is half choked with 823 mud (1). Clumps of trees of various kinds make islets of greenery and

1. The Blacks like to account for the peculiarities of rocks and boulders, whose shapes and cavities invite comparisons. They tend to attribute these formations to the influence of men or demigods. They gave the name of "Bayanga's little beer boat" (umuvule) to another depression located near the preceding one and which to their eyes had that appearance. All around

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the "little boat" there are cavities or small holes upon which the Mututsi Bayanga, according to the same tradition, placed the beer jars (ibiteleko by' ibibindi by' inzoga).

The torture spots sometimes borrowed their name from the first victim to be sacrificed there, such as Nkonde, Ruboneye, Nshimbo, etc.

break the monotony of that vast plain on which only herders and hunters roam.

Tradition adds that a Mututsi formerly lived not far from the pit and led his herds to water there.

His name, Bayanga, remained bound to the spot (urwobo rwa Bayanga). Cursed by some king whose name is now forgotten, the place was later deserted.

It seems, however, that the pit was not put to its new and tragic use until the reign of King Lwabugiri, who settled with his court in the middle of the Bugessera waste around 1886 or 1889 in order to be closer to the Urundi he hoped to conquer. The presence and proximity of the pit probably suggested to him the idea of tossing criminals and convicted political offenders into it. It was a short step from thought to deed. The first victims, at least those whose name has been preserved, date from the time of Lwabugiri's reign.

Since this is a remote place that inspires terror, it is known only to the executioners and to the few inhabitants of the Bugessera. Fancy took charge of this cursed place and wove fantastic tales about it which are naïvely believed by the populace. /383/

It is said that anyone who drinks of the water will die instantly. Even to wash one's hands in it or merely touch it would have the same result. It is said that a hunter who was a stranger to the land and who quenched his thirst at the pit contracted leprosy on the spot and died after horrible sufferings. This same water is said to be fatal

681 to birds and animals such as buffalo, gazelles, wild boars, dogs.
696 Even if the latter should not die immediately, their masters would have to kill them for fear of being stricken themselves by contagion.
823 Each night, they say, smoke and flames rise from that awful place and cast a reddish glare on the horizon (1).

1. The grass fires at the end of summer must not be foreign to this association of thoughts and images.

It is also said that the waters have the color of blood (atukura, assa n'amarasso). Every time an offender is led to the pit, the waters rise suddenly as though to fetch the victim (ngw' abon' umugome, akassama). After swallowing their prey, the waters subside. Then protracted cries and moans (akaboroga, akater' induru) arise from the bottom of the pit.

The pit is so deep, it is commonly said, that its waters join those of Lake Kivu (ngw' aja hasi, afatanye n'i Kivu).

Considering such stories, one can easily understand why people should speak with terror of that cursed place.

681 In actual fact, the victims were strangled or killed with spears before they were thrown into the water.
696 An attempt was made to submerge the bodies, but they would rise once more to the surface. The hyenas quickly disposed of them. After leaving the place of torture, the executioners would go a certain distance to another depression, usually filled with water, in order to clean their weapons and wash their blood-stained hands. /384/

[848] Traitors and enemies, bewitchers and ranking political prisoners were not the sole victims of the accursed pit. Among those [845] condemned to die at that sinister spot were also freak babies (ibimara), [847] unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), children born during the period of mourning held for their father (inda y'amabi) sometimes along with [826] their mother, young girls whose breasts had not grown (impenebere) (1)..., and calves born in a "faulty" manner (ubufuti), such as those whose legs... came first.

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1. Girls who reached marriageable age with this physical peculiarity were formerly regarded as an evil and a threat to the land. The small development of their breasts was considered a crime. They were called the girls "with undeveloped breasts," impenebere, from the verb guhenebera, meaning "to be limited," "to be brought to nothing."

681 whose legs...came first.

●696 Those beings, abnormal or regarded as such, were invariably condemned prior to European penetration. There was no pity for them. They had to be done away with secretly and at night, so as not to be denied passage through the land which had to be crossed. According to popular belief, the mere presence or accidental sojourn of one of those beings could unleash famine or other evils throughout the region.

Chapter 2

Duties of a Purely Utilitarian Nature

644 A. The employees of His Majesty's "Mouth" and "Cup" /departments/, that is to say, the cooks and domestic servants (Abahanga, "the Skillful Ones," and Abozi, "the Washers") have always been regarded as holding the least enviable position at court. The hut in which the servants keep the bowls of milk reserved for the king is /385/ designated by the name of kiryana, "the house that devours its inhabitants," since few are the men who survived their duties. After a varying length of service, they were suspected in [682] almost every case of planning to poison the king, and they died a

644 661 Some examples will clarify the preceding statements. We may add that they were the last in this bloody serial, and that such things could not happen at the present time.

The most vulnerable servants were unquestionably those who were assigned to the king's kitchens or to the service of his meals, as well as those who were in charge of watching over his beer and milk and those who prepared his tobacco. So as not to extend the necrological list out of all proportion, since the other employees were far from being safe, we shall speak here only of victims belonging to the above-mentioned categories of servants.

Kiryana (from the word kurya, "to eat"), or the "House that devours" its inhabitants, such is the portentous name given to the hut where the bowls of milk reserved for the prince are kept.

Two or three keepers are assigned to this duty, which consists of cleaning the bowls, receiving the milk brought by the chiefs, and presenting it to the king once a day.

Of all vocations this is the most feared and the least envied. Numerous have been its victims, and numerous also those who ran far away to neighboring lands in order to avoid this dangerous honor.

This is why it was always assigned by force. It may be said that /474/ few of those men left their duties without having paid with their lives. The sovereigns, who also lived under a perpetual fear of poisoning and bewitchment and who were not in the least miserly about the blood of their subjects since it counted for so little in their eyes, did not hesitate to nurture a salutary fear in their entourage by striking blindly into the ranks of their servants. Those who fell served as examples to those who remained. It was a matter of inspiring terror and instigation their zeal. Thanks to his high intelligence and to his diviners and sorcerers, the king was believed to know everything which might be plotted in secret against him.

Some Concrete Instances

644 661 696 A young man had been attached to this particular service /milk hut/ for about 15 years. Many a time his sovereign had assured him that he was satisfied with his services and that nothing would ever happen to him.

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His assistants and colleagues kept vanishing, almost invariably struck by the bloody fate which clung to them and to their position. He alone remained untouched. To bind him closer the king plied him with gifts of goods and cattle.

Whenever an anxious thought disturbed his heart, he would think about all the things he possessed, about the royal favor, and about all that he could still expect. There came a time when the queen mother, influenced by rivals and envious men, began to persecute him. No matter how much our man defended himself, calling upon the guarantee he had offered by drinking the test poison and expressing in a most touching fashion the feelings of loyalty which he nurtured toward the royal family, the suspicions which rested upon him merely grew. The queen mother, who always held a sword in her hand, soon came to thrusts with it. While our unfortunate man was fulfilling his duties toward the king and /475/ serving him some drink, he felt the point of the sword graze his body many times. "Traitor, poisoner, son of a dog" (umwana w'imbga), such were the epithets that greeted his appearance. The prince at first seemed to defend him. He even told him privately that he did not believe the calumnies circulated against him, that everything would be all right, that his enemies would be exposed, and that the queen mother would eventually trust him once more.

The days went by, the animosity of the mother did not decrease, and now the king intervened only for the sake of appearances.

One evening, at nightfall, the unfortunate occupant of the "hut that devours" felt himself seized by strong arms.

Alone and taken by surprise, he did not put up any resistance. He was led to another hut.

He was laid upon the ground, firmly bound, and his hands tied behind his back. He vainly appealed to the mercy of his jailers, swearing his innocence.

They retorted that they were merely carrying out royal orders, and that their own life was at stake.

This the prisoner could well understand. Soon he was left to himself and to his own thoughts. Constrained tightly by his bonds, unable to move, and troubled about the fate that awaited him, the

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unfortunate man grieved. He was prey to the most bitter thoughts when three lugubrious shadows surged forward into his prison from the midst of darkness and came toward him. . . . It must have been about eight o'clock. Two sticks grazed his neck as though to grip him in a vice. He was going to be strangled. In a convulsion of despair, the man who was about to die managed to break the bonds which held his hands and arms. In a flash he grasped both sticks by one end and set up fierce resistance against the efforts of those who wished to kill him, while emitting heart-rending cries, shouting for help, and proclaiming his innocence to the surrounding echoes. The huge agglomeration of /476/ royal huts resounded with the screams of this man who held on to life desperately. . . . No one could fail to know what was going on.

People were familiar with those shrill, heart-rending wails, which had pierced the air more than once. Everyone's heart tightened with emotion, but each person, in fear of the master or the envious men, maintained an impassive or scoffing expression as befits those who live in uncertainty about the future.

The victim struggled violently against his opponents, who could not manage to relax his hold. While two of the executioners attempted to free the sticks by beating him on the head and chest and kicking him, the third one rolled the victim, who was lying on the ground, in the opposite direction. The executioners, who were doing this work for the first time and had never yet killed anyone and who realized the odiousness of their task, trembled all over before the despair of the unfortunate man who had been surrendered to them.

The fight for life was reaching its climax, but it was obvious that victory would eventually rest with the group of opponents, who were able to move freely. Chance, or rather Divine Providence, willed it that a European who was passing through the capital should be with the king at that very moment.

Hearing the desperate cries that arose within the royal enclosure, the white man was moved and spoke heatedly to the prince. . . . The latter, feigning surprise and astonishment, hastened to the courtyard whence the cries rose, checked the stranglers, and returned forthwith to reassure his interlocutor.

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The man who was about to depart this life, exhausted by his efforts, had almost lost consciousness when he heard himself called by a voice which pretended to be compassionate. It was the king himself, feigning pity. He gave his ex-favorite some beer to drink, had him set on his feet, and asked him to follow, promising /477/ to release him. He had never believed in his guilt, he added, and therefore would soon restore his freedom. His goods would be returned to him, and he would resume his functions at court.

It was only a matter of a couple of hours. The poor captive, staggering at each step under the grip of emotion and weakness, was led to a sort of brick building used as a prison. The door was closed upon him.

He found there a fellow captive who sympathized with his misfortune. More fortunate than he, the other man received food and pombe from the outside, which he shared forthwith. The prisoner, who felt that his last hour had come, regained some courage and the strength needed to undertake a new fight for life.

The honeyed words of the king had not fooled him. He knew that the matter had merely been postponed and that soon he would be fetched again. His companion, who was familiar with the mores of the capital, made no attempt to contradict him. Fearing nothing for himself because he was a noble and too well known to be dispatched secretly, he was full of pity for the man who was about to die. Certain of his fellow-prisoner's trustworthiness and encouraged by his advice, the unfortunate servant tried to shake the door open and weighed upon it with all his might. Nothing could be achieved there, however, for it was shut tight. His efforts were in vain. The planks were nailed solidly and resisted his blows and the pressure of his knees. Time was short, however, for the executioners could arrive at any moment.

The prisoner, in whom the desire to live was stronger than the death which threatened him, managed to climb the dry-brick wall by using his feet and hands. The building was several years old, and the soil which had been used as mortar had disintegrated in the course of time, offering occasional holds to fingers and nails actuated /478/ by an iron will. The head of the climber reached the thatch roof.

644 The man quickly broke through the wood and bamboo of the framework.
661 He was just in time. The door of the prison opened at the same
696 moment, and the executioners came in to seize the condemned man. The latter took off and hurled himself into space. The wall was fortunately of moderate height. The fugitive nevertheless sprained himself slightly in falling upon his feet. Not having had time for thought, he had merely obeyed the instinct for self-preservation. The imminence of danger lent him wings, for his leap had drawn the attention of those who vainly sought him inside.

The alarm was sounded, and the fugitive pursued. He did not lose his head, however. Instead of risking capture, which was bound to result if he placed all his trust in flight, our man, who had some headway over his pursuers, hid in the capital itself at the home of a friend he trusted completely. It was to be expected that searches would be made in the huts. In order to avert this new danger, one of the long baskets used to store beans inside the huts was readied to provide the fugitive with a foolproof hiding place.

For further safety his head was covered with beans which allowed him to breathe sideways but which were sure to defeat the searchers' quest. All inspections and investigations among the inhabitants were in vain. When vigilance had relaxed a little, the lucky fugitive took advantage one evening of the shades of night to leave forever that tragic place which had nearly become his grave. His flight was discovered some time later. Under directives from higher sources, the local chief had the hut surrounded. Its owner managed to escape in time.

The affair had become known, and furthermore the country had come increasingly under the sway of European administration. The latter /479/ heard of the matter. A trial took place which did not turn out in favor of the persecutors.

As a result, the fugitive was not disturbed again.

Many years have passed since this moving episode. The memory of those frightful events has nevertheless remained painful to the hero of the tragedy, who does not like to recall the past. The stubborn scars which cross his face, chest, and arms corroborate the seriousness of the episode that nearly killed him. He has met

644 since more than once with his neophyte executioners, who did not
661 fail to congratulate him with some embarrassment while apologizing
696 for the odious task which had been entrusted to them. "Some luck thou had!" they already told him (wagiz' Imana). "What an ugly business the king had entrusted to us!"

"Good for thee, if you managed to get out of such a tight corner." A little later he was even presented to the king, who was first taken aback. He recovered himself quickly and congratulated him in turn. "It was God who saved you (N'Imana yagukijije)," he added. In gratitude to God, Who had rescued him from such a diffi-
[553] cult situation, the lucky fugitive changed his name from Ngirimandwa ("The spirits of the initiates are on my side") to Ngirimana, which means "I have God (on my side)."

After a whole string of circumstances, all equally eventful and dramatic, the outcome had finally turned out in Ngirimandwa's favor.

For one fugitive who was able to narrate in detail the vicissitudes of the drama that nearly killed him, however, how many unfortunate ones vanished into the fatal den without a trace!

Now that the times have changed, elders whose lips were formerly sealed by the rule of secrecy and by the fear of corporal punishment, freely mention the names of unfortunate executed men they knew. They recall among many others a young man who had been a page. /480/ His intelligence, ability, and liveliness had drawn the notice of the sovereign to him, who made him his favorite and could not do without him. As in the previous case the years went by and the prince's favor was transferred elsewhere.

[539] "A king's friendship, a day's friendship," says the proverb.

He had been practically forsaken and was hardly noticed anymore, when one day he was requested to work in the famous "bloody hut."

What had he done that his fate should be so irreparably settled? That is practically unknown.

About eight days after he had received his new job, he was summoned in great haste as though for some pressing errand. It was

644 the queen mother who had called him. She wanted news of a court
661 lady who had just given birth.

This woman lived a short distance from the capital. Night
696 fell. The messenger set out on his way. He was accompanied by a chief and by a factotum.

They reached the edge of a swamp of sinister fame where summary executions were formerly performed.

The young man, guiltless and carefree, walked in front. He was struck from behind. . . and has never been heard of since.

Another occupant of the hut with the portentous name, just as peaceable as the preceding one but older, was brutally seized in turn when he least expected it, after being designated by the diviners' bones. . . . First he managed to run away and hide at a friend's house. When he attempted to return to his own village, however, he was recognized and captured along the way by a chief who led him back to the capital. He was tossed into prison where he was joined during the night by sinister-looking men. They held in their hands large milk jars which they used to crush his jaw and face. The prisoner, tightly bound as the Blacks know how to do, was stretched upon the ground /481/ and unable to make the least motion. Kicks and blows fell thick and fast upon the chest and stomach of the unfortunate man whose body soon became a single wound.

He was finished off by strangulation.

Several groups of young girls were also killed, some under the fallacious pretext of having poisoned the tobacco they prepared, others for having stolen bead necklaces. The latter, after they had confessed, were first thrown into prison. A day or two later, they were taken out and led to the queen mother, who feigned reconciliation and pardon and received them with great displays of joy. Hydromel was served to them in large quantities. A deep sleep took hold of them. Then the executioner came and strangled them. . . .

681 In order to give an idea of the frequency of executions and
696 variety of corporal punishments, we shall give here a sort of
644 necrological list that includes the names of the victims and the circumstances of their death.

681 This list, which is incomplete, covers a period of some 20
696 years just before the Europeans took possession officially.
644 We list these data, of course, without vouching for their accuracy. We cannot guarantee the authenticity of every victim, and still less that of the details of the executions. We can only relate popular reports that are sometimes or even frequently suspect in their statements and evaluations.

Victims of the "Milk House"

1. Lwandenzi, of Mututsi /Batutsi/ race, originally from the Bgana-Chambge, was led into the Bugessera forest.

His executioners tied him to a tree and cut off his feet (kumusongor' ibirenge). /482/

2. Lutindamateme, an Umututsi from the village of Ntenyo (Nduga), was first bound, then killed with a spear thrust and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

3. Lwanyonga, a Mututsi, died in the same way at the the same time as the preceding man.

His corpse was cut into pieces by sorcerers, who wanted to hinder his spirit from harming the king.

4. Minega, son of a certain Bushakiro, a Mututsi from Mwendo (Nduga), had his throat slit in the Bugessera forest.

5. Gahima, son of Nyarwambari, a Mututsi from Gassaka (near Gisseke), was clubbed to death in the inner courtyard of the palace.

6. Munyagishari, a Mututsi, was killed with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

7. Gakwise, of Muhutu /Bahutu/ race, suffered the same fate.

8. Karara, a Muhutu, died the same death.

9. Ntagwabira, a Muhutu, died like the preceding.

10. Ibingira, a Mututsi, also died in the same manner.

11. Butama, a Muhutu, was clubbed to death.

12. Majanjo, a Mututsi, strangled himself in prison to escape the corporal punishment which awaited him.

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13. Kajigiri, a Mututsi from the Gissaka country, was first bound. His executioners lifted him several times and dropped him on his head. He was finished off with club blows.

14. Lwamiheto was given numerous blows by club. He was released almost immediately and died three months later of the brutalities he had suffered, according to public opinion.

15. Kayonga and his son, after many vicissitudes, were slain with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

Victims on Other Counts

1. Bigutu and Balikage, the latter a son of Bisango and chief of the Bgishaza provinces, were killed while the court was settled at Kamonyi, after having been accused of opposing the new regime. /483/

2. The great Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief Lutishereka, his sons, and some of his followers had their throats cut while the court sojourned at Mukingo. This was done at the instigation of Luhinankiko, who blamed that high dignitary for inciting one of Lwabugiri's sons to murder his friend Baryinyonza.

3. Serukenyinkware, from the Mututsi /Batutsi/ clan of the Bachumbi, was accused of the same crime. He was cut to pieces while the court was staying at Mwima.

[685] 4. Three employees of the court, at Nyanza, were caught killing a cow which they had stolen from the king.

They were condemned to death by spearing, and they made it a point of honor not to utter the slightest cry of pain.

5. A young Mututsi, after being bound and beaten with rods all through the day, was dragged still alive by the feet, into the swamp, where he was finished off by the Batwa.

[683] 6. Two inhabitants of the village of Musumba (Nduga), named Lukesha and Lugingabahizi, had their hands and feet cut off for a crime of bewitchment. The two poor devils were held responsible because Lwibishenga, a brother of the queen mother, had almost lost his sight as a result of yaws.

7. Two Bahutu were shot point blank in the palace courtyard for a crime of espionage.

[681] 8. A slave (umuja) was struck down along the road at night
696 after she had been advised to leave court and seek her fortune else-
644 where. She was punished for not having watched closely enough over the moral behavior of two young princesses of royal blood.

9. Luhinankiko, a son of Queen Mother Nyirayuhi, was stripped of his property for having had Lutishereka killed. He even had to flee to Urundi, where he spent some 15 years.

Since Kabale, the regent, could not take his revenge upon him as he would have wished, he turned upon his friends and followers. /484/

Chaka, who was Luhinankiko's son-in-law, and Sebuharara and Rulinda, who were his protegés, were attacked in the Buganza by the men of the powerful minister. Defeated and unable to flee, they shut themselves up in a hut, set fire to it, and perished in the flames.

Kaningo, who belonged to their faction, was stripped of his property. On the point of being caught and knowing what awaited him at the capital, he also burned himself in his hut.

10. The Banyarwanda still remember the corporal punishment
[683] inflicted upon the six "poisoners" (1) led to Nyanza by chief Kanuma.

1. This is how the individuals suspected of the alleged crime of bewitching are designated.

These unfortunate persons had their hands and feet cut off.

11. Nyantanyi, son of Semakamba, as surrendered by Musinga to Gashamura, son of Lukagirashamba. Lwamwa, one of the latter's sons, had been killed at Ndolandi, a land he wished to conquer, by Nyantanyi's men. His relatives, the Batsobe, complained to the king, who gave them satisfaction by handing the local chief over to them.

Nyantanyi was bound and led outside the palace by Gashamura and his followers. Lwamwa's son stabbed him first in the side with a spear, and almost immediately 20 or 30 spear thrusts laid him low.
[628] His head and right hand were cut off to be shown to the other followers, as was done in vendettas. One detail is to be noted: Gashamura was Nyantanyi's uncle by marriage and his father-in-law.

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Sentashonga, the victim's cousin, was granted permission that evening to have the corpse of his relative buried.

The elders and former habitués of the court do not lack for narratives of this kind, which they relate like any other tale without seeming overly shocked by them. Such is the environment, such are the mores and attitudes. /485/

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"The king is the master," they say. "He does as he pleases. The decisions he makes cannot be contested. He is the supreme judge. One can only obey and assent." The victims' relatives were sometimes the first to come and greet him, feigning total impassiveness, forced as they were to drive back to the bottom of their hearts the bitter pain which they could not but feel.

Complaints, wails, and recriminations could only have stirred up the anger of the king and given rise to new slaughters.

While looking after his own safety, every person also had to keep in mind that of his people /relatives and friends/. The latter, indeed, might be held responsible for the deeds and actions, no matter how harmless, of any of their fellow members. The extermination of a whole family formerly weighed very little on the scale of royal justice.

So as not to provoke trouble which might prove fatal, therefore, they put a good face on misfortune. These executed, however innocent they might have been, were claimed in loud voices to have been cursed men (ibichibga) or rebels. To shed tears or express one's sorrow were crimes of high treason. "A mere whim of the master was sufficient to send a person to punishment. What won't one do to avoid so cruel a fate?" This statement made by a court favorite of the previous reign /avant-règne/ reveals a great deal about the mores of the time. "If the king happened to sprain his foot," added the same man, "to knock against some obstacle or pebble, it was not a good idea to meet with him at that moment."

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In his anger the monarch might accuse anyone of having bewitched him, and wreak then and there a signal vengeance.

Professional executioners were not always used for this purpose. The king might call upon any member of his retinue to carry out the task. The person had to comply, no matter how revolted he might

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643 be /486/ by this dreadful assignment. Hands unpracticed in dealing
661 death might sometimes fumble, but the master was watching and
696 the task had to be carried through. The fact of being a friend of the victim did not exempt anyone from this odious task.

As a rule and with some rare exceptions, it may be said that the subjects were not inordinately appalled by such assignments, so much was this an accepted custom of the times.

186 This did not prevent the Banyarwanda from regarding themselves as superior to other Blacks, whom they thought to surpass in intelligence and civilization. Despite the stains and stigmas of the past, they reject with irritation the term Shenzi, which is applied exclusively to noncivilized groups, as not applying in any way to them or to their ancestors. It is good to close the tale of these cruel practices and to feel that the curtain of time has been drawn forever over the past.

III. Poisoning and Bewitching: The Use of Charms and Philters

754 What should we really believe about those victims whose death is attributed to bewitchment or poisoning? The Blacks unquestionably mention this constantly. Their credulity in this connection is universal and extraordinary.

Numerous examples are cited of deaths which are said to have resulted from one or the other of those alleged causes.

We may add that the natives are familiar with numerous methods for bewitching their enemies, and that sorcerers in this evil category, both male and female, are found in great numbers throughout the country. One thing is certain: their superlative reputation is worse than their deeds.

As for crimes of poisoning, one may rest assured that such attempts were made and that toxic materials were used to this end, some of which were extracted locally and others purchased in neighboring regions such as /487/ the Uswi and Bunyabungu. How effective were those poisons? This is not easy to determine since, on the one hand, a true case of poisoning has never actually been witnessed, although the Blacks are absolutely convinced that they do occur

692 "to Musinga" simply meant the place of his residence. The judge to whom these people were going was Rwamanwa, high chief of Njaruguru.

If the two parties have different chiefs, the trial is conducted at the compound of the more powerful one, since otherwise, because of injured vanity, he could make it impossible to carry out the verdict. If the two chiefs cannot reach an agreement, they go to a third party or to the king, who usually appoints a judge. [643] The king personally handles only the most important affairs of his bagaragu, but even that he does unwillingly.

695 The Trial. Certain forms are observed at trials. The two parties squat on the ground in front of the judge and greet him by clapping their hands. Otherwise only the king is greeted in this way. Then each in turn tells about the matter under dispute.

After the verdict of the judge, the winner immediately rises, takes some grass, and lays it at the feet of the judge in gratitude and as a token of his subservience. He then sings a song of praise in which (in Mulera, for example) he boasts about the number of enemies he has killed.

People sometimes wait in Nyanza two or three months for a trial, and finally the hearing is postponed until the next year. The chiefs do this also. They are afraid of endangering themselves by a sentence of incalculable scope.

696 Executing a sentence is the weak side of primitive justice. There is no organ of the government that would attend to the execution of the decree. Even the decisions of the king are by no means always carried out.

Sometimes, to ensure the execution of the sentence, the guilty party is held prisoner by the winning party until he has fulfilled his obligations.

The sentence is said to be carried out at the place of residence of the two parties. For this purpose the king sends a special messenger. He must inform the population of the decision, in disputes about land he must mark out the sections, and in cases involving cattle, divide up the herds.

Because of the long duration of these cases, which gives all the court schemers an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, the winning party sometimes leaves the capital before the king's

696 messenger has been dispatched. In that case the other party travels with the messenger in order to bribe him. It is not uncommon for the messenger to accept large gifts from both parties and then not do anything. The high chiefs use this opportunity to visit their lands. The case is adjourned; new, important circumstances are discovered that have not yet been considered; and the proceedings begin all over again.

691 [282] At the time of my visit in Mulera the legal dispute between the Barashi chief, Lukara Iwa Bishingwe, and Luhanga, the client of Nshohozamigo, was in its fourth year. Each year sentence was pronounced; each year the court messenger was sent off; and each year the two parties returned. In the end Musinga grew tired of the whole affair and kept Lukara at court. After Lukara had obtained permission from Musinga to return home, on the pretense of conducting me to Mulera, he decided to resort to the final argument, to warfare. He attacked Luhanga's people and engaged in a skirmish with the column of my expedition colleague, the geologist E.F. Kirschstein, whose presence the Batutsi tried to use for their protection.

In the end, in its seventh year, the dispute was settled in Luhanga's favor when Lukara was obliged to flee from the German sphere of influence for his murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias. Later he was captured and hanged.

A considerable number of trials deal with the withdrawing of grants and the practice of blood revenge (kuhora enzigo) for slain clan members.

If A is granted a cow by B, B has a certain power over A. He can exert pressure on A by threatening to take back the cow. If A, however, also gets cows from C, who is more powerful than B, the latter's influence diminishes. In some cases A becomes so dependent on C that B loses his influence and moreover his cattle in favor of C. These property shifts give rise to vastly complicated suits over cattle that last for decades and become more and more complicated by small compromises, the legality of which is later challenged.

691 426 686 In civil cases we find the institution of kugombeka. If A is indebted to B and does not pay him or refuses to return something granted him and now demanded back, A can be distrained. If

Plate 10

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Women with Sleeping Sickness, Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Chain Gang in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Gissaka, a war in which he was killed, had designated as regent of his son Kyilima Rugwe, an Umunyginya called Chyenge, and not one of his brothers-in-law.

meetings of the Council of Ministers until her son is about fifteen years old, an age at which he can exercise supreme authority. Formerly, the Mwami's maternal uncles, taking advantage of his youth and their own privileged position, would often have recourse to violence and trickery in order to increase their provinces and their herds.

11. Political Divisions

631 The characteristic traits of feudalism are found in Ruanda. The dispersion of authority and property and the Mwami's bestowing on his subjects benefits and commands that are always revocable, result in great uncertainty for everyone and permit the king to establish his domination firmly over the country.

635 631 Ruanda is divided into provinces (intara) placed under the command of a single chief (umutware w'intebe) (2). There are

2. Intebe, stool-seat.

exceptions to this rule. In Bgishaza, for example, two different chiefs are placed under the orders of the umutware w'intebe, the umutware w'ubutaka who exerts his authority over the lands and the Bahutu, and the umutware w'umukenke who governs the pastures, the herds, and the Batutsi. The abatware are appointed by the Mwami. They do not necessarily belong to the first families of the country. An average Mututsi or even a Muhutu may become a chief, thanks to royal favor that rewards his intelligence and devotion. [99]

635 701 In the past, at the time of the wars, the Mwami's abapfumu chose from among the abatware w'intebe the umugabe w'ingabo (chief of the army). When peace was concluded, the latter remained what he had been before.

[727] the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
[567] same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

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[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
[564] able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[791] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugerero) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
[787] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to [754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro- [789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king 701 against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms, [722] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and [714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors [411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the [714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful 726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

643 action. "Ruganzu" is a war name, and so is "Kigeri." Ruganzu II
173 Ndori, as recounted by one tradition, had suffered so much (yari
551 yarushye chyane) that in order to spare his successors as much as possible of the anxieties, sorrows, and fatigue he had endured, he demanded that his name of "Ruganzu" should vanish forever with him into the grave. He thought that he would reduce thereby the number of future wars. The titles of "mutara" and "Yuhi" commit to peace those to whom they are given, who are not permitted to cross rivers (ntibambuk' uruzi). To break this "taboo" would make them and their realm subject to great misfortunes.

701 Thus, it was not Mutara himself who conquered the Gissaka. In case of a necessary war or expedition, the sovereign appoints two generals, one of whom (umugabe) has command of military operations while the other holds a mere honorary rank. He is said to exercise an occult and magic influence over the opponents, who cannot fail to be conquered if he fulfills his role properly. In the course of his expeditions, Lwabugiri always had at his side one of those generals with superstitious functions. They are called Abagaba.

Book IV

(First Fascicle)

The Royal Court

(Its Posts, Privileges, Mores, and Customs)

644 /348/ The object of the present study is the organization of the royal court, its posts and offices, its customs and festivals (1).

1. In order to designate the court and capital as they are here and now, the Banyarwanda use the word

794 6. "The dog that runs like the wind" (Nyakayaga).
552 7. "The dog with fringes (with long hair)" (Nyagayonga).

Among the prototypes or figures who appear in this legend,
173 Ryangombe is the one most highly honored.
794 He is regarded as a sort of hunter-king who made volcanoes his favoirte dwelling place after his death.

According to the same narrative, he still enjoys the pleasures of the hunt with his sons, companions, and favorites in those high mountainous and wooded regions. The Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa have participated in this cult in large numbers. They observe its /369/ rites faithfully and observe the rules of the arcana. The ceremonies take place mostly at night. Each of the adepts appeals to the spirit or spirits for whom he has a special devotion. The Batutsi have chosen those whose life most closely parallels their own.

643 The chiefs do not like to mix with their subjects to honor those powerful spirits, but they seek out the help of the Bahutu and
794 Batwa who belong tothis cult and have them dance and sing in honor of Ryangombe and his companions. The Bahutu and Batwa alone take part in the ritual processions and collections which are carried out through the villages in summertime.

794 The gestures of this cult are pervaded with earnest and impressive seriousness. Initiation, confirmation, ritual feasts, the taking on and carrying out of vows, the collections and processions, all take place secretly, away from prying eyes. Laymen are not allowed to come near the gatherings, and jests and insults directed at the initiates were seriously punished in the old times. A former queen, Nyiramulema (a wife of King Mutara), was crucified upon the ground in the courtyard of her dwelling by the imandwa for having ridiculed their ceremonies. The tomb of the unfortunate woman lies at Savé, in the Nyarigina quarter.

644 II. Official Posts of Great Importance from the Standpoint of the Crown (Ingoma) as well as from that of the Executive.
Generals and Official Drummers.
Executioners, Capital Punishment, and the "Pit" of the Bugessera.

●701 1. The generals or commanders of the armed forces.

•701 A general is called umugabe, an army corps umutwe, and an army on the march igitero, from the verb gutera, "to attack."

For the sake of documentation, here is a list of the names of the army corps, /370/ those of the regions where they are recruited, and the names of the born generals /généraux-nes/ who lead them.

Army Corps	Region	Generals
Ndala	Burwe	Lwasamanzi
Imvejuru	Bwana-Mkale	Chytatire
Nyaruguru	Buyenzi and Bungwe	Sebagangari
U Ruyange	Various regions	Lwabutogo
A-Bashumba	Part of the Bungwe	Kabera
Nyakale	Nyakale	Sezikeya
Impamakwicha	Busanza	Luharamanzi
Inzirabgoba	Buhanga	Lugerinyange
Abashakamba	Bwana-Chambge	Lwabusisi
Intaganzwa	Various regions	Nturo
Impara	Kinyaga	Lwakataraka
Issumo	Nduga, Lukiga	Rwidegembya
Abakembanyi	Bugarama	Gisazi
Abiru	Southwestern Kinyaga	Birassenyeri
Abakemba	Bugessera and Buganza	Mafene
Abahirika	Migongo	Muligo
Abarassa	Gihumya	Kanuma
Abadahigwa	Mirenge	Gashamura
Indengabanizi	Various regions	Mudukikwa
Abalima	Mututu	Gamakwandi
Abalito	Nduga and Buganza	Nyakassaza
Ndushabandi	Buganza and elsewhere	Lukarakamba
Abadahemuka	Gisseke	Machari
Imitari	Eastern Mayaga	Buzizi
Ibisiga	Mutara-Ndorwa	Zimulinda
Abashakamba	Bugoyi (Abagwabiro)	Lwangeyo
Abatalindwa	Bugoyi, Bgishaza	Bushako
Abakemba	"	Mugemanshuro

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Abarangamyambi	Bumbogo, Bussigi	Gashamura
Abangogo	Kingogo	Luvuzandekwe
Abatanyagwa	Budaha	Lwamanywa (1)
etc.	etc.	etc.

1. The Batwa, like the Bahutu, are divided into several army corps.

The four principal ones are the following:

The army corps called Rwiririza, which includes the Batwa of Gihogwe, in the Nduga, beyond the Kayumbo River; the Biniga, which includes the Batwa of the Bwana-Mkalé and which has as its chiefs two Batwa, Senkobga and his son, Kanyamubare; Abagiga, or Batwa /371/ of the great chief Kayondo; and finally the Batwa soldiers called Impunyu. These are none other than the forest Negrillos who are commonly designated by the name of Impunyu, whose etymological meaning is "men of small stature," that is to say, Negrillos or Pygmies, of which the native word is an exact translation.

Such is the military regime that still prevails, although in purely theoretical fashion. /371/

Until 1900 most of the Hamitic kings had taken advantage of this system to such an extent that some clans are said to have been decimated as a result of the too numerous expeditions of ancient times.

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635

2. The provincial governors (Abatware b' intebbe), who are nearly always at court.

644 bears the meaningful name of intore, from the verb gutora, "to
556 choose," because it contains a selection of unique pieces. It includes the wardrobe (imyambar' abami) of the former kings and their jewels. Fabrics of all kinds; colobus hides, beads, necklaces, braceletd, and other objects of this sort make up the greater part of the treasure proper, which is exhibited twice a year, as we shall see later on when we discuss the festivals at Court.

644 G. A group of young girls is in charge of cleaning the hut
356 which the monarch uses as a bedroom. They are entrusted with the task of renewing the fine grass which makes up the royal bed and of stretching upon it the mats and precious furs (ibyahi), that is to say, the otter, lion, and leopard hides on which the sovereign lies. Those chambermaids are popularly called Abashahsi, "those who stretch out the mats," from the word gusasa, "to stretch out the mats." Another of their functions, and not the least important one, consists of "warming" the royal bed every night. In order to achieve this, they lie down on the couch successively or even all together until the king arrives.

The women or girls who fulfill a function at court live under the ultimate supervision of the queen mother, at whose side they live. /388/

644 H. The "Irresistibles" (Intalindwa) take their name from the
●701 army corps of that name. They include a group of servants and factotums chosen among the various classes of society. Among other duties, they watch over the king and his children at night and keep up the fire that must burn on the hearth throughout the night, according to a custom of the country which is also observed by the great chiefs. They renovate the huts by rebuilding them regularly every three years. Since the huts which make up the royal palace are numerous, they share this task with the chiefs of certain provinces.

[482] It is from among the "Irresistibles" that hammock bearers (abahetsi b' ingobyi) are selected when great ladies of the royal harem venture outside. They belong to the army corps whose name they bear. The members of this military group were regarded as the most courageous (Intalindwa, "those who cannot be resisted").

644 They,[1] were sometimes employed, in preference to other servants, to
701 lead away the convicted high-ranking offenders who were to be exe-
[681] cuted at the usual places of punishment (Buberuka, Bugessera).

I. The name of Impara is used to designate another army corps which is recruited from among the inhabitants of Kinyaga provinces. This name was also given by extension to a group of individuals who are initiates of the Ryangombe secret society and who are compelled thereby to live close to the king in order to draw upon him the favors of the shades of all those who once belonged to that religious society.

They must make an appearance when the king rises, bearing on their heads the tails of hares (amashira y'. inkwavu) or of some other carnivore /sic/ like the marten (ibiharangu), which they shake
[769] to the right and to the left while singing and dancing. They hold in the hand small bells or sistra (ibinyuguri), which they ring while /389/ invoking in a loud voice the protection of Ryangombe and his companions. Aside from this beseeching role, they fulfill other functions within the king's household.

Owing to their functions as suppliants and intercessors, which is their chief role by far, they might just as correctly have been included in the category that follows.

Duties of a Supposedly Utilitarian Nature, Some of Which Are Private and Others Public and National.
Sorcerers and Diviners of All Kinds.

A. The Bakoma clan has already been discussed at some
644 length in "History of a Reign," /Book III, not translated/. They were
791 direct descendants of the autochthonous petty kings of Marangara land and were formerly regarded, along with Mashira, as powerful sorcerers. It was believed that they could preserve or take life by hidden means known to them alone.

The first of those autochthonous princes, whose real name was Sekibakanyi, had a tremendous reputation. It is still said today that "Nkoma Sekibakanyi, king of Marangara, (son) of Nkondogoro, knew
[539] how to cast spells a great deal better than those things are done today" (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!). This phrase is now proverbial.

[1] [i.e., the Intalindwa. - Analyst]

754 incantations are claimed to be highly effective. When they practice their magic, they gather at night in a small grove which is their habitual spot and which bears the name of ihinero, from the word guhena, "to curse" (1).

1. The etymological and precise meaning of the verb guhena is stronger than the one just stated. It designates a symbolic and expressive gesture which serves to show the low regard in which a person is held or the contempt manifested toward him. The curser-magicians also turn the back on the foe while fulfilling their functions, hence the name of their profession.

On this occasion a black goat is killed and its pelt hung onto a bush.

They wear the fruits of a spiny bush (intobo) around the neck and sow charms on the path which the enemy is about to follow. They did this when the first Europeans arrived but met with little success.

644 701 E. We have already mentioned the generals (abagabe) among high court dignitaries. Above them stands another important figure, who might be called the commander (Umugaba). He plays the role of a sort of honorary general-in-chief of a superstitious character who is believed to make the troops successful. As a distinctive badge of his superiority over the actual general, he encircles his forehead with a strap (ikamba), which is somewhat reminiscent of the royal crown. He is chosen by the diviners (yarelejwe) and perhaps taken from among the Bahutu.

Most often, nevertheless, the role was filled by one of the Batutsi, sons or relatives of the king. It was thus that Karara followed his /397/ father, King Lwabugiri, to the Bunyabungu in the capacity

644 of a good-luck general. During the Ishangi expedition it was another
•701 son of Lwabugiri, Nshozamihigo, who filled this role. These generals
wear amulets around the neck and paint the face with white chalk or
[302] lustral water (amazi y'ingwa).

They are also the holders of charms and other talismans (inzaratsi, insinzi), which are supposed to help bring about the defeat of the enemy. They remain at camp while the troops fight. They are graced with almost royal honors. The drums sound reveille for them (akabikirwa) as they do for the king. They have full power to
[692] make laws and settle differences, and their sentences cannot be appealed (ikyo bavuze ntikisubir' inyuma) (1).

1. Umugaba is a noun derived from the verb kugaba, meaning "to distribute" or "to give free of charge." In principle this term applies only to the king. Its synonym Rugaba, which stems from the same verb, is reserved for God (Imana).

When the king chooses someone other than the general-in-chief called umugabe to take his place at the head of his troops, he grants this man extensive powers and honors appropriate to his rank as a result of this title.

Other Duties Similar in Nature to the Preceding.
Spell Casters and Bewitchers.
Purifiers and Exorcisers of All Sorts. Makers of Test Poison.

791 The duties of these men are practically everyday affairs and
thus rather well known, and their works are as famous as those of their
644 colleagues the sacrificer-diviners, the conjurer-magicians, etc.

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

565 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under
701 particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi conquest they were not driven from their land, and the king recog-
[651] nizes their privileges. They pay only the ordinary taxes, but they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is herediitary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police
[693] and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

651 the Akanjaru which can be crossed at only a few places because
491 of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes increased very considerably.

651 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu.
443 In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle disputes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the belief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda rulers become leopards.

721 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning
643 war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last expedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each expedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

701 expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life [687] for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war

2. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

726 791 In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

727 The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns consist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up [661] their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies, the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

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of coercion at their disposal. If a mwami attempted to go beyond his effective power even without exceeding the limits of his divine rights, he exposed himself to the chance of meeting some obstacles. Nevertheless, he had sovereign as well as divine rights and his subjects were constantly reminded of these by the tributes they had to pay. 643 183

4. DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

Every Ruanda, Twa, Hutu as well as Tutsi, was affiliated to an army (*ingabo*). This is stated by ninety-nine per cent. of our informants. Although this military organization is obsolete at the present day—indeed it no longer exists—ninety-eight per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed can still give the name of the army of their paternal ascendants. 701 [178]

There were several armies. The name of each one had a military meaning. It was a challenge, a boast, the memory of a dynastic or historical event: for instance 'the tough ones' (*abashakamba*), 'the first to be praised' (*imbanzamihigo*), 'the fearless ones' (*inzirabwoba*), &c. At the beginning of each reign a new army was organized by the king. Moreover, a very important chief could be authorized by the mwami to raise an army.

(*a*) *Recruitment*

An army was recruited in the following way. The mwami asked his Tutsi clients to bring to the court their sons who had not yet had any military training. When about 150 to 200 young men were gathered, they constituted what we may call a company (*itorero*). During the reign, four or five companies were recruited in the same way and were added to the first one. According to ninety-six per cent. of our informants a man had to stay all his life in the company he had first entered. The young men (*intore*, the chosen ones) lived at the court of the king or of the chief who had been allowed to recruit an army. Under the direction of an officer called the chief of the king's residence (*umutware w'urugo rw'umwami*) or of its counterpart at a chief's court, they were trained for several years in military skills such as bow and arrow shooting, the use of the sword, spear, and javelin. They learned warlike dances, and to memorize and to recite the poems in which the high deeds of extraordinary bravery and boldness of the past warriors were exalted.[18] They were also taught how to compose poems in imitation of these great models. 702 704 702 [411] [538]

[18] See Kagame, 1949b; 1951.

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Finally, the cattle that the warriors of an army could personally effectively dispose of were also considered as army cattle. There was a distinction between cows obtained from an overlord and *imbata*. Warriors' cattle, however, were linked to the army differently from herdsmen's: only the cattle of the latter were submitted to the different taxes I am going to examine now. 705 422

Each army had its own grazing grounds, particularly for the *nyambo*, *mabara*, and the chief's cattle as the other kinds were usually kept by those who had usufruct rights over them.[18]

(*d*) *Tribute due by the army*

Besides the personal services mentioned earlier (training, watching at the border, defending the country, foreign expeditions), each army had to provide the king, the court, and its chief with other benefits. 701 651

On a new king's accession, each patrilineage of the army had to give him a cow. This gift (*indabukirano*) showed the recognition of the authority of the person to whom it was offered. At the beginning of each reign there was also a ceremony called *murundo*, during which all the cattle of an army were numbered and presented to the king. A certain proportion was retained by him. Cattle raided by the stick-bearers (*abakoni*) of the army belonged to the king, according to eighty-seven per cent. of our informants.

Warriors and herdsmen of each army had the duty of keeping in order a part of the royal residence (*incyubagaba inkike*), according to ninety-three per cent. of our informants.

Each army was obliged to keep at the court a few cows to provide the king with fresh milk (*inkuke*). This herd was called *intamara* and was looked after by an officer, *umutware w'intamara*. According to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants, to provide *inkuke* was the duty of the herdsmen's section only. Besides they had to deliver daily to the court a certain number of milk jars (*igicuba*), according to ninety-nine per cent. A very important majority of Tutsi interviewed (eighty-nine per cent.) said that herdsmen had to supply the court with the necessary slaughter animals (*indwanyi*). Finally, each army had to provide the court with young steers used for divination purposes (*amamana*). According to fifty-five per cent. of our informants these had to be [187]

[18] On this section, see Kagame, 1952.

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701 provided by both sections of the army, according to forty-one
651 per cent. by the herdsmen only.

All these services or dues were required only from Tutsi and from Hutu possessing cattle. Other Hutu replaced them by tributes consisting of agricultural produce (said ninety-two per cent. of our informants) and Twa by products from pottery or hunting.

701 The army-chief, too, could claim several dues from the army to his profit. When appointed to his charge, he was offered a cow (*indabukirano*) as a present recognizing his authority. According to a few informants, that present could consist of hoes or sheep for those who had no cattle, but ninety-two per cent. said such a present was necessarily a cow. As the king, the army-chief, when he was nominated to his office, had the right to have the cattle of his army numbered, presented to him, and a certain percentage offered to him (*murundo*). Ninety-six per cent. of our informants say that the presentation was always made at the same time as the recognition was offered. But certain informants indicate that the army-chief could not require the numbering to be done before a certain time had elapsed since the numbering for his predecessor. Moreover, according to eighty-three per cent. of our informants, the army-chief had to obtain the mwami's permission before summoning a numbering meeting. The cows kept by the army-chief were put at his effective disposal according to all informants. They were entrusted to the army herdsmen (according to eighty-eight per cent.), to army herdsmen only (according to thirty-five per cent.), and to them and *to inkomamashyi*, herdsmen alien to the army (according to fifty-three per cent.).

An army member, on certain occasions, principally when wanting to obtain a favour, used to give his chief a cow called *ituro*.

Finally, the army-chief could claim a certain part of the loot
[701] collected during an expedition in which his army had participated (*intorano*: cattle raided). Moreover, if the expedition had been a brilliant success, he received as a reward from the mwami a gift of several dozen cows.

(*e*) *Advantages for the members*

701 When in difficulty army members could ask for their chief's
703 protection which could not be refused unless they had previously been disloyal to their chief. A chief could prevent a member of his

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army from being submitted to judiciary torture; he could be his surety if the member was unable to repay a debt. When one desired to obtain a favour, such as to be judged by the mwami, it was very useful to be accompanied by one's army-chief, said twenty-seven per cent. of informants. (Thirty-nine per cent., however, would have preferred to be accompanied by their lord and eighteen per cent. would have wished to have both of them.)

A client wanting to lodge a complaint against his lord requested his army-chief's intervention, according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants. (However seven per cent. thought that it was better to address the complaint to the lord's army-chief and eleven per cent. to the mwami.) A lord dissatisfied with his client could raise the question before his own army-chief according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants (thirteen per cent. would rather have gone to the client's army-chief and 9.3 per cent. to the mwami).

When a dispute concerning cattle arose between two Tutsi of the same army, it was judged by the army-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. of the informants. If the two litigants belonged to different armies, the case was settled by both army-chiefs, according to eighty-two per cent. of the informants.

The army-chief was chosen by the king and could be dismissed by him. Army members had the right to bring a charge against him at the mwami's, according to eighty-three per cent. In that case they sent delegates from the army to the court, said seventy-two per cent.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

We are accustomed to regard an army as first 'the instrument of force in external relations'. It must defend the territory of the community against external threats and eventually attempt to expand the territory or to subdue alien groups. In Ruanda armies had other functions besides this.

(a) *Warlike function*

Permanent encampments established not far from the borders were defensive indeed, but they were also bases for expeditions into neighbouring territories. Whatever their frequency, it is certain that they were foci for strong feelings of admiration, pride, and emulation. Many features of these events exalted the spirit of

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The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

701 703 173 [178] [182]

(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[20] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture.

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In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military

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[20] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services. 564 184 86

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such. 701 613 571

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting 703 613 642

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642 their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

701 From the point of view of social cohesion between the different
564 strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi,
571 Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(*d*) *Redistribution of wealth*

701 Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that
651 it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

556 A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel
422 of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi
[558] but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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The emphasis put on the social prestige bestowed by cattle ownership has sometimes led to the underestimation of a second meaning of their possession. Effective disposal of cattle was the main institutionalized means of achieving power. It certainly enables a person to secure labour and agricultural produce through the clientage structure. And at the present time, the disposal of cows gives more advantages than could be obtained by their counterpart in money. 556 422

Consequently, the redistribution of cattle operated through the army was extremely important and had much wider social implications than the dues paid in commodities. 701 651 422

Here, again, the mwami was the main beneficiary of the bovine tributes concentrated through the army. On his accession he received one cow as a recognition gift from every lineage, and a certain proportion of the cows presented at the numbering; after a successful campaign, the 'bow of the army' (cattle seized upon by the *abakoni*) was his. The king usually kept only the bare ownership of that cattle and granted its usufruct to important chiefs who then became his clients.

The army-chief was also much favoured in army cattle dues. He received a recognition gift on entering his office, a part from the herds presented and numbered, a certain proportion of the private booty of the warriors, rewards extended by the king after a victorious expedition, and gifts offered by army members. He had the effective disposal of these cows as long as he was in charge, that is to say, up to his death if he was not dismissed. He thus controlled a considerable amount of cattle, symbols of prestige and instruments of power. He could build up a wide clientage among army herdsmen as it was particularly among them that he chose his clients. But he could also grant his cows to non-army members (*ishomamashyi*), who then became army members. [554]

In what measure was the ordinary army member affected by cattle? Firstly, whether warrior or herdsman, he was deprived of some of his own cows by the different payments to the king and the army-chief. Secondly, a member of the herdsmen's section could receive some cows as a client of the army-chief. Was it a real advantage? The question may be raised as the herdsman had to give cows to the chief. Obviously, there was an advantage only if he received the usufruct of more cows than he had given. This means that only a certain number of army members were very likely to

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701 651 422 be favoured. This was a kind of redistribution of wealth among the lineages of the army made according to the preferences of the army-chief. Thirdly, the warriors as such did not receive cows from the army-chief (but they could be at the same time warriors and herdsmen). Their only privilege as warriors was to loot privately after the *abakoni* had laid hold on the 'bow of the army'. Moreover, if they had shown any particular gallantry, the mwami or the army-chief rewarded them with a gift of a few cows.

(*e*) *Protection*

701 571 When compared with the considerable benefits in cattle that the king and the army-chief derived from the military structure, the advantages of ordinary army members, particularly the warriors, seem to have been very meagre. The army tribute in goods and services were compensated for in a different way by the protection extended to his subordinates by the army-chief.

This protection could be asked for and received in all the difficult circumstances of life without being limited to any particular kind of circumstances. An instance frequently mentioned by our informants was the army-chief's support to one of his subordinates who was a party in a lawsuit. If the protection of a man of high standing appeared useful or necessary in such a situation one must suppose that judicial decisions were not taken only on the case's own merits, but that the respective power of the two protectors was weighed by the judge.

The army-chief's protection was diffuse and general, not limited to a few cases clearly defined. We have already come across such a characteristic of the superior's protection in respect of the chiefs of the administrative hierarchy. This suggests that power relations were emphasized in Ruanda and that the rights and properties of isolated men, that is to say those not identified in any respect with a powerful one, were insecure.

[692] The judicial role of the army-chief must be related to his function of protection. In the disputes between two members of his army, he exercised a kind of paternal jurisdiction, as did any Ruanda authority. In contentions between members of different armies, the fact that the question was settled by the army-chiefs concerned suggests more a compromise in which each chief acted as a representative of one of the litigants, than a judgement based on pre-established norms.

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The army-chief's protection was not unconditionally granted to any army member. The chief could refuse to give support to one of his subordinates if he had been disobedient or disloyal. It was up to the chief himself to decide if his warrior or herdsman had an objectionable attitude. The fact that the chief was the only judge of the attitude did not, of course, give the subordinate the assurance of a fair treatment; however, the chief could not indulge often in arbitrary refusals of help because a member could always leave the army and join another if allowed to do so by the chief of this other army. Moreover, the principle of recourse to a superior authority against an intermediate authority was operative here also. If discontent was widespread in an army, the chief could be dismissed by the mwami. Consequently the chief had to take into account public opinion to some extent and could not be indifferent to his popularity. It is clear, however, that the means of pressure that a chief did have on his subordinates were more efficient than the ones subordinates had on him. They had thus to assume a submissive attitude and to gain the chief's favour by gifts and proper behaviour.

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The different functions of the military structure of Ruanda were profitable mainly to the rulers: they contributed to the maintenance in power positions of those who were occupying them. Through that structure, the king secured, in addition to what he received from his tax collectors, an important amount of commodities (necessary for the upkeep of a numerous court), more cattle (consequently the possibility to increase the number of people personally bound to him), and a more complete control of all the chiefs under him (by the possibility of a direct recourse of the subordinates to the royal supreme authority). The ruling position of the army-chiefs was also consolidated by their increase of control on cattle.

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The preceding analysis has also disclosed how the army was an important instrument of domination for the Tutsi caste. Warriors being recruited only among Tutsi, organized physical force was exclusively theirs. They alone had in their hands the ultimate basis of political power. Moreover, by the serious training of the *intore*, the aristocratic values and virtues so well adapted for domination were inculcated into the new generations.

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The army organisation was also a factor for maintenance of the

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The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the
701 social order by the protective function of the army-chiefs. A minimum of individual security must be granted to every member of a society. The support of the army-chief secured partly that minimum of security. The protection against incursions of enemies was also provided by the army as such. Finally, the participation of
[564] Hutu and Twa in foreign expeditions, although extremely re-
[186] stricted, certainly contributed to the formation of a Ruanda 'national' feeling.

6. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

692 In the administrative and military structures, the king was the supreme political authority of Ruanda. Very closely associated with him was the queen-mother, who had an official role in the political sphere. Next, the highest dignitaries of the kingdom were the *biru*, guardians of traditions concerning the important events of the collective life of Ruanda. Finally, there was the council of the great chiefs. These four institutions may be regarded as having constituted the main element of the central government of Ruanda.

(a) *The king*

693 The theory of the Ruanda kingship was that the mwami was an absolute monarch in the fullest sense. There was no stated limit to his powers over the inhabitants, cattle, land, and even commodities of his country. His powers were not delegated by any authority and thus he had not to render an account of them to anybody. He was the supreme judge: his sentences were without appeal. He was the legislator having the right to change customs.

This theory of the king's powers was founded on their divine origin as mentioned earlier. The bami (plural of mwami) were very careful not to let their subjects forget their heavenly origin. Many rites stressed that they did not participate in the common nature of other men. This was also the reason why special words were used to indicate their common activities and the everyday objects they used (as for 'to get up', 'it is raining on the king's hut', 'his bed', 'his house', etc.). It was thus emphasized that in spite of their appearances, these activities and objects were fundamentally different from what they were for ordinary people.[22]

In fact the king's powers were of course limited. He had to respect the vested interests of important Tutsi lineages, he had to

[22] Pagès, 1933, pp. 491 f.

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

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In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

564 675 [558]

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[8] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

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First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[9] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

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[8] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [9] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

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Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies
640 towards the fragmentation of the political unity of their country,
643 first, by the ritual character of the royal power.
182 To revolt against the king, identified with Ruanda and supported by Imana, was a sacrilege and a profanation. It is not claimed that such a theory was sufficient to secure the kings with effective power indefinitely. Elsewhere similar ideologies of absolute and divine power of the monarchs have not prevented some of them from being stripped of their real authority, whereas their divine prerogatives were still respected. The ritual sanction does not seem to have had a primary importance in the maintenance of submission to the Ruanda kingship. In 1896 or 1897, a young
[669] mwami, Mibambwe IV Rutalindwa, was assailed and eventually lost his life in a revolt instigated by the brother of the queen-mother. That queen-mother was not the mother of the mwami but another wife of his father. Her clan, the Abega, wanted a son of hers as mwami.[5] This shows that when the king lost effective control of power, ritual sanctions were not an effective safeguard for his prerogatives, or even for his life. This is why it has not been thought necessary to expand on the ritual aspect of the Ruanda kingship. But it certainly was a factor which contributed to the obedience of the Ruanda nobles.

[701] Another check was that the king kept at his disposal the coercive force of the armies. Even if the rebel had the support of one or two armies, the king had all the others.

640 But the main factor which I think prevented local authorities
518 from asserting their independence from the central government,
182 was the plural character of the political and feudal organization. In connexion with the maintenance of the effective power of the central government, this plurality of structure was a very effective means of maintaining misunderstanding, hostility, and jealousy among the subordinate chiefs. It is certain that the *shebuja* of our example in the preceding section, would have been only too glad to denounce to the mwami the army-chief if the latter was indulging in suspicious manœuvres. The co-existence of chiefs of almost the same rank who were constantly induced by their subjects to take sides in disputes was sufficient to create mistrust among themselves. Moreover, conflicts were numerous, particularly when two chiefs had the same territorial power (as in the case of the cattle- and land-chiefs). To settle conflicts they had to resort to the

[5] Pagès, 1933, pp. 195-206.

2. Other Favors and Privileges

661 a. "The gift of the fire cow" (inka y' umuriro). This is when
644 the king sends a cow to a chief who has been stripped of his property or who has been in disgrace for some time. It is tantamount to a reconciliation.

This privilege grants the man who had been ostracized or banished permission to settle definitively on granted land and to build there like anyone else.

The gift of the cow, which is a sign and proof of forgiveness, also heralds further favors.

The last two beneficiaries of royal clemency were Musinga's maternal uncles, Lukangamiheto and Luhinankiko, whose ambition and political activities had /469/ greatly displeased the queen mother and the regent Kabale, creator of the bloody Ruchunchu revolution. They regained their rank and position at court.

661 b. Entrance rights (ilembo). This favor is highly valued by those to whom it is granted. It consists of receiving, in lieu of the king, the gifts of material goods and herds which are daily offered to the prince. Hence the expression, "to proceed to or place oneself at the entrance to the Court" (kuja kw' ilembo ry'ibgami) so as to take over the gifts and cows which subjects bring to their sovereign. This is a temporary privilege that is granted only for a few days and never more than two or three months to the same individual.

c. Ubulenga nzira is a sort of tithing right which the king and great chiefs grant to individuals whom they wish to reward. The [651] holder of this right may levy a tax on the inhabitants of the territory over which the chief or king has jurisdiction. He gets cows and produce as long as the concession is not revoked.

d. The right to levy a cow wherever one spends the night [651 (kurar'inka) is largely granted in times of war, on the way out and on 721] the way back.

• [702] It is a good device to recruit soldiers, who greatly valued this privilege and made use of it both in friendly and in enemy territory.

e. Ubutumwa ("message"). The "right of message" grants the king's envoys the right to demand a cow from the recipient of the message. Instances are cited of men who managed to assemble fine herds thanks to their job as royal couriers.

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of coercion at their disposal. If a mwami attempted to go beyond his effective power even without exceeding the limits of his divine rights, he exposed himself to the chance of meeting some obstacles. Nevertheless, he had sovereign as well as divine rights and his subjects were constantly reminded of these by the tributes they had to pay.

4. DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

Every Ruanda, Twa, Hutu as well as Tutsi, was affiliated to an army (*ingabo*). This is stated by ninety-nine per cent. of our informants. Although this military organization is obsolete at the present day—indeed it no longer exists—ninety-eight per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed can still give the name of the army of their paternal ascendants.

There were several armies. The name of each one had a military meaning. It was a challenge, a boast, the memory of a dynastic or historical event: for instance 'the tough ones' (*abashakamba*), 'the first to be praised' (*imbanzamihigo*), 'the fearless ones' (*inzirabwoba*), &c. At the beginning of each reign a new army was organized by the king. Moreover, a very important chief could be authorized by the mwami to raise an army.

(*a*) *Recruitment*

An army was recruited in the following way. The mwami asked his Tutsi clients to bring to the court their sons who had not yet had any military training. When about 150 to 200 young men were gathered, they constituted what we may call a company (*itorero*). During the reign, four or five companies were recruited in the same way and were added to the first one. According to ninety-six per cent. of our informants a man had to stay all his life in the company he had first entered. The young men (*intore*, the chosen ones) lived at the court of the king or of the chief who had been allowed to recruit an army. Under the direction of an officer called the chief of the king's residence (*umutware w'urugo rw'umwami*) or of its counterpart at a chief's court, they were trained for several years in military skills such as bow and arrow shooting, the use of the sword, spear, and javelin. They learned warlike dances, and to memorize and to recite the poems in which the high deeds of extraordinary bravery and boldness of the past warriors were exalted.[18] They were also taught how to compose

[18] See Kagame, 1949b; 1951.

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000 702 poems in imitation of these great models. They attended evening sessions near the fire, in the kraal, where by sarcasm and humiliation, their capacity for self control was put to the test.

704 These few companies constituted the nucleus of a new army. It was completed by detaching a certain number of people from other armies to incorporate them in the new one. Except for this, armies existed indefinitely. When a king died and when a new army was formed, the previous army founded by him did not disappear. Only some members of the former armies joined the new one. These people were not incorporated individually but [613] with their patrilineages, primary (*inzu*) or even secondary (*umulyango*).

704 613 Except for the *intore*, it seems more accurate to say that an army was made up of patrilineages rather than of individuals. Indeed 100 per cent. of our informants affirm that a man was not affiliated alone to an army but that he was in it together with his sons, married or not, his brothers and their sons, and his paternal uncles. It was a group of agnates indeed, as the sister's sons were not included in the group according to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants. In the army, the patrilineage remained a closed group under its inzu head. Our informants were unanimous (100 per cent.) that dues and services to which the army chief was entitled had to be asked for from members through the lineage chiefs. This rule did not apply to the *intore*. They entered alone into the army, although later their children would also join. According to 100 per cent. of the informants a man belonged only to one army. The army chief was called *umugabe* or *umutware w'ingabo*.

(*b*) *The warriors' section*

704 In any army, according to eighty-four per cent. of our informants, there were two sections—the warrior's section and the herdsmen's section (warrior: *ingabo*, herdsman: *umushumba*). The warriors' section was made up of the few companies of men who had received the *intore* training to whom were added their personal dependents who were also fighting. Warriors did not wear a uniform but had some special badges.

723 As mentioned in a preceding section, a certain number of warriors of an army camped near the borders threatened by neighbouring enemies. If an attack occurred, they called the other [721] warriors who lived nearby and, while waiting for their aid, held
The aggressors at bay

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The great traditions of military

867 courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, 577 *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were pre- [571] dominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose [152] one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There 867 was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. 152 By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

86 Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The ● 702 Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related 186 origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

564 This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for 184 Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become 86 warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

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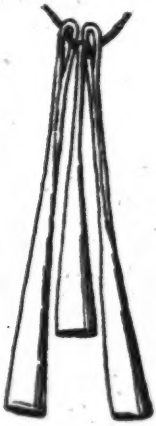
mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

WTA 14

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.



301 703 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.

291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

[531]

Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. 413 (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Marangara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

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provided by both sections of the army, according to forty-one per cent. by the herdsmen only.

All these services or dues were required only from Tutsi and from Hutu possessing cattle. Other Hutu replaced them by tributes consisting of agricultural produce (said ninety-two per cent. of our informants) and Twa by products from pottery or hunting.

The army-chief, too, could claim several dues from the army to his profit. When appointed to his charge, he was offered a cow (*indabukirano*) as a present recognizing his authority. According to a few informants, that present could consist of hoes or sheep for those who had no cattle, but ninety-two per cent. said such a present was necessarily a cow. As the king, the army-chief, when he was nominated to his office, had the right to have the cattle of his army numbered, presented to him, and a certain percentage offered to him (*murundo*). Ninety-six per cent. of our informants say that the presentation was always made at the same time as the recognition was offered. But certain informants indicate that the army-chief could not require the numbering to be done before a certain time had elapsed since the numbering for his predecessor. Moreover, according to eighty-three per cent. of our informants, the army-chief had to obtain the mwami's permission before summoning a numbering meeting. The cows kept by the army-chief were put at his effective disposal according to all informants. They were entrusted to the army herdsmen (according to eighty-eight per cent.), to army herdsmen only (according to thirty-five per cent.), and to them and *to inkomamashyi*, herdsmen alien to the army (according to fifty-three per cent.).

An army member, on certain occasions, principally when wanting to obtain a favour, used to give his chief a cow called *ituro*.

Finally, the army-chief could claim a certain part of the loot collected during an expedition in which his army had participated (*intorano*: cattle raided). Moreover, if the expedition had been a brilliant success, he received as a reward from the mwami a gift of several dozen cows.

(e) *Advantages for the members*

When in difficulty army members could ask for their chief's protection which could not be refused unless they had previously been disloyal to their chief. A chief could prevent a member of his

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army from being submitted to judiciary torture; he could be his surety if the member was unable to repay a debt. When one desired to obtain a favour, such as to be judged by the mwami, it was very useful to be accompanied by one's army-chief, said twenty-seven per cent. of informants. (Thirty-nine per cent., however, would have preferred to be accompanied by their lord and eighteen per cent. would have wished to have both of them.)

A client wanting to lodge a complaint against his lord requested his army-chief's intervention, according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants. (However seven per cent. thought that it was better to address the complaint to the lord's army-chief and eleven per cent. to the mwami.) A lord dissatisfied with his client could raise the question before his own army-chief according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants (thirteen per cent. would rather have gone to the client's army-chief and 9.3 per cent. to the mwami).

When a dispute concerning cattle arose between two Tutsi of the same army, it was judged by the army-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. of the informants. If the two litigants belonged to different armies, the case was settled by both army-chiefs, according to eighty-two per cent. of the informants.

The army-chief was chosen by the king and could be dismissed by him. Army members had the right to bring a charge against him at the mwami's, according to eighty-three per cent. In that case they sent delegates from the army to the court, said seventy-two per cent.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

We are accustomed to regard an army as first 'the instrument of force in external relations'. It must defend the territory of the community against external threats and eventually attempt to expand the territory or to subdue alien groups. In Ruanda armies had other functions besides this.

(a) *Warlike function*

Permanent encampments established not far from the borders were defensive indeed, but they were also bases for expeditions into neighbouring territories. Whatever their frequency, it is certain that they were foci for strong feelings of admiration, pride, and emulation. Many features of these events exalted the spirit of

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The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

701 703 173 [198] [182]

(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[80] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture. 121

In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military 86 868 000

[80] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services. 564 184 86

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such. 701 613 571

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting 703 613 642

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of coercion at their disposal. If a mwami attempted to go beyond his effective power even without exceeding the limits of his divine rights, he exposed himself to the chance of meeting some obstacles. Nevertheless, he had sovereign as well as divine rights and his subjects were constantly reminded of these by the tributes they had to pay. 643 183

4. DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

Every Ruanda, Twa, Hutu as well as Tutsi, was affiliated to an army (*ingabo*). This is stated by ninety-nine per cent. of our informants. Although this military organization is obsolete at the present day—indeed it no longer exists—ninety-eight per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed can still give the name of the army of their paternal ascendants. 701 [198]

There were several armies. The name of each one had a military meaning. It was a challenge, a boast, the memory of a dynastic or historical event: for instance 'the tough ones' (*abashakamba*), 'the first to be praised' (*imbanzamihigo*), 'the fearless ones' (*inzirabwoba*), &c. At the beginning of each reign a new army was organized by the king. Moreover, a very important chief could be authorized by the mwami to raise an army.

(a) *Recruitment*

An army was recruited in the following way. The mwami asked his Tutsi clients to bring to the court their sons who had not yet had any military training. When about 150 to 200 young men were gathered, they constituted what we may call a company (*itorero*). During the reign, four or five companies were recruited in the same way and were added to the first one. According to ninety-six per cent. of our informants a man had to stay all his life in the company he had first entered. The young men (*intore*, the chosen ones) lived at the court of the king or of the chief who had been allowed to recruit an army. Under the direction of an officer called the chief of the king's residence (*umutware w'urugo rw'umwami*) or of its counterpart at a chief's court, they were trained for several years in military skills such as bow and arrow shooting, the use of the sword, spear, and javelin. They learned warlike dances, and to memorize and to recite the poems in which the high deeds of extraordinary bravery and boldness of the past warriors were exalted.[18] They were also taught how to compose poems in imitation of these great models. 702 704 702 [411] [538]

[18] See Kagame, 1949b; 1951.

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000 702 poems in imitation of these great models. They attended evening sessions near the fire, in the kraal, where by sarcasm and humiliation, their capacity for self control was put to the test.

704 These few companies constituted the nucleus of a new army. It was completed by detaching a certain number of people from other armies to incorporate them in the new one. Except for this, armies existed indefinitely. When a king died and when a new army was formed, the previous army founded by him did not disappear. Only some members of the former armies joined the new one. These people were not incorporated individually but [613] with their patrilineages, primary (*inzu*) or even secondary (*umulyango*).

704 613 Except for the *intore*, it seems more accurate to say that an army was made up of patrilineages rather than of individuals. Indeed 100 per cent. of our informants affirm that a man was not affiliated alone to an army but that he was in it together with his sons, married or not, his brothers and their sons, and his paternal uncles. It was a group of agnates indeed, as the sister's sons were not included in the group according to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants. In the army, the patrilineage remained a closed group under its inzu head. Our informants were unanimous (100 per cent.) that dues and services to which the army chief was entitled had to be asked for from members through the lineage chiefs. This rule did not apply to the *intore*. They entered alone into the army, although later their children would also join. According to 100 per cent. of the informants a man belonged only to one army. The army chief was called *umugabe* or *umutware w'ingabo*.

(*b*) *The warriors' section*

704 In any army, according to eighty-four per cent. of our informants, there were two sections—the warrior's section and the herdsmen's section (warrior: *ingabo*, herdsman: *umushumba*). The warriors' section was made up of the few companies of men who had received the *intore* training to whom were added their personal dependents who were also fighting. Warriors did not wear a uniform but had some special badges.

723 As mentioned in a preceding section, a certain number of warriors of an army camped near the borders threatened by neighbouring enemies. If an attack occurred, they called the other [721] warriors who lived nearby and, while waiting for their aid, held
The aggressors at bay

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the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country. 723

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death. 708 [641]

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agateroshuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight. 721 [787] [726]

Some of the warriors (*abakoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems. 727

(*c*) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*). 705

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief, 705 422

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705
422

a member of the warriors' section, and a member of the herdsmen's section.

The mwami could effectively dispose of the *nyambo* and *mabara*. *Nyambo* were cows which had some marked physical characteristics (as for instance long horns). The mere fact that beasts had such characteristics gave the king exclusive rights of disposal of them whatever may have been the previous rights of other people over them. Many lyrical poems were devoted to the praise of *nyambo* in which they are divided into two 'clans', the brown one (*ibihogo*) and the red-brown (*amagaju*) which were supposed to be in a permanent state of war.[17] A herd of *nyambo* numbered about fifty cows. There were not *nyambo* with every army. *Mabara* were ordinary cows, not fulfilling the *nyambo* qualifications, and of which the mwami had the effective disposal. One or several herds of *nyambo* and *mabara* were entrusted by the king only to certain armies.

[43]
[825]

The cows over which the army-chief had the rights of effective disposal were also considered, according to ninety-six per cent. of our informants, as army cattle and were tended by the army herdsmen.

Cattle at the effective disposal of each member of the herdsmen's section of the army were also regarded as army cattle. Here we have to distinguish between cattle possessed as a client and cattle not obtained from a lord (ninety-two per cent. of our informants said that one could have cattle which were not received from a lord). The former kind of cattle were linked to the lord's army and not to the client's army although the client had the right of usufruct and of effective disposal (as defined here) over that cattle. The latter kind of cattle was composed of cows obtained by exchange (*impahano*) which were regarded as army cows according to ninety-five per cent. of our informants; of cows given by the prospective husband to his father-in-law (*indogoranyo*) also according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as reward for brave conduct in war (*ingororano mu ntambara*) again according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as gifts (*inka z'ubuntu*) according to ninety-six per cent. Cows not kept by somebody as a client were called by the generic name of *imbata*, or, according to sixty-two per cent. of our informants, the mwami's cows (*inka z'umwami*), which is confusing.

[17] Kagame, 1947b, p. 792.

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Finally, the cattle that the warriors of an army could personally effectively dispose of were also considered as army cattle. There was a distinction between cows obtained from an overlord and *imbata*. Warriors' cattle, however, were linked to the army differently from herdsmen's: only the cattle of the latter were submitted to the different taxes I am going to examine now. 705 422

Each army had its own grazing grounds, particularly for the *nyambo*, *mabara*, and the chief's cattle as the other kinds were usually kept by those who had usufruct rights over them.[18]

(*d*) *Tribute due by the army*

Besides the personal services mentioned earlier (training, watching at the border, defending the country, foreign expeditions), each army had to provide the king, the court, and its chief with other benefits. 701 651

On a new king's accession, each patrilineage of the army had to give him a cow. This gift (*indabukirano*) showed the recognition of the authority of the person to whom it was offered. At the beginning of each reign there was also a ceremony called *murundo*, during which all the cattle of an army were numbered and presented to the king. A certain proportion was retained by him. Cattle raided by the stick-bearers (*abakoni*) of the army belonged to the king, according to eighty-seven per cent. of our informants.

Warriors and herdsmen of each army had the duty of keeping in order a part of the royal residence (*incyubagaba inkike*), according to ninety-three per cent. of our informants.

Each army was obliged to keep at the court a few cows to provide the king with fresh milk (*inkuke*). This herd was called *intamara* and was looked after by an officer, *umutware w'intamara*. According to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants, to provide *inkuke* was the duty of the herdsmen's section only. Besides they had to deliver daily to the court a certain number of milk jars (*igicuba*), according to ninety-nine per cent. A very important majority of Tutsi interviewed (eighty-nine per cent.) said that herdsmen had to supply the court with the necessary slaughter animals (*indwanyi*). Finally, each army had to provide the court with young steers used for divination purposes (*amamana*). According to fifty-five per cent. of our informants these had to be [787]

[18] On this section, see Kagame, 1952.

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447 On the subject of the fences of the settlements northwest of
712 Kivu, Dr. Kandt (2) says: "All villages have a very curious wall

2. Ibid., p. 460.

surrounding them. It consists of thousands of forked branches and split roots, 10 layers wide and 20 high. For natives this is an almost impenetrable obstacle. The villages can be reached only by way of narrow passes or very steep approaches, and on two sides there are gates that can be quickly and securely closed with trees."

I observed such fences among the Baamba on the Ruwenzori. In Ruanda one does not see them. Here the dwelling is, as a rule, situated on the edge of the courtyard and is, together with the courtyard, surrounded by a euphorbia hedge. The hedges of the individual homesteads intertwine and form a labyrinth that is impenetrable even with the aid of a bush knife, for if one cuts the branches an exceedingly caustic juice squirts out which is very dangerous for the eyes. On the inside these hedges are usually supported by a fence made of sticks bound together. At night the outer approaches, usually opposite the huts, are closed with tree trunks, the branches of which are turned toward the outside. This primitive closure cannot be removed from the outside and, along with the euphorbia hedge, makes a very effective though not at all conspicuous fortification.

On poor Bahutu farms there are sometimes no fences at all.

592 The Compound. The compound or homestead where one
351 family lives with all its relatives and servants usually consists of several huts that form a self-contained unit.

351 In front of the main entrance there is generally a cleared place, free of grass. In the mountainous parts of Ruanda one often has a superb view from this spot, for the settlements are frequently located on mountain tops. This is especially true of the Batutsi settlements north of Lake Mohasi. On the edge of this cleared spot
[372] are kept large supplies of dried cow dung which is used for fuel in the parts of the country where wood is scarce.

In the well-built settlements the main entrance, which is closed at night, is flanked by two columns of tied bundles of

714 Finally, battle dress is part of the fighting equipment of the Murundi. When the bodyguards of the king -- who are, as we shall see later (p. 87), the actual combatants -- march out for battle, they wear a uniform consisting of an apron of white tanned antelope hide or sheepskin (inkindi), and they paint [302] their skulls, faces, and the upper part of their bodies with all kinds of white and red lines and ornaments which give them a terrifying, savage appearance (No. 19, p. 277). This hide apron uniform is also worn at war dances. It is much the same in Ruanda where, in addition to this uniform, other decorations, for example, a headdress and foot rattles, are also worn. The Bahima in Ufipa have the same kind of war costume as here and in Ruanda (cf. illustration in Lechaptois, No. 47, p. 61).

172 411 Old stone weapons, the remnants of former cultures which have disappeared (see p. 151 [not translated]), are not in use any more in Urundi even among the Batwa who are the oldest ethnic element; the same is true in Ruanda.

[36] Chapter 4

Hunting, Fishing, Stock Farming, Agriculture, Stimulants

1. Hunting and Fishing

224 Hunting (uwuhisi) plays only a small role in the existence of the Barundi, for in an area which is so densely populated and almost completely denuded of forests and where game has been systematically exterminated in the interests of cattle farming and pastures as in the regions settled by the Boers, there are only a few animals left which one might hunt. It appears that the most frequent ones are the bushbuck (Tragelaphus) which are found mainly in the narrow bush thickets of the deep valleys of the streams and also the tufted antelope, gazelle, and the Jimela antelope. As far as other big game fit for hunting are concerned, the elephant is occasionally found in the thinly populated areas, in the deserted forests of the western peripheral

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to [754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro- [789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king 701 against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms, [122] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and [714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors [411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the [714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful 726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

302 We must mention that the children love to paint themselves on all occasions, or rather, smear themselves with white paint. I noticed that when there was plastering going on, for example, the children who were present painted each other. Similarly, in Issawi, children who carried bricks out of the swamp were intentionally painted with light clay.

302 714 It is said that in war the opponents paint themselves with different patterns so that they can distinguish each other. Dr. Kandt (1), however, speaks of another distinguishing mark:

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 427.

"All of them (Bahunde [Hunde]) had tied a wilted banana leaf around their foreheads, so that later we would be able to distinguish them as friends if, as they hoped, we were to engage in hand-to-hand fighting with the Wanjaitambi."

The Munyaruanda anoints his body with butter. In Bugoye, however, which is already under the cultural influence of the Forest Bantu, they use the cheaper castor oil (mbarika, wono) which is also used by the people of the Congo forest. The same custom prevails in the entire graben territory [Rift Valley] as far down as Tanganyika.

411 Spears. The chief weapons of the Banyaruanda are spears (ichumu), bows (muheto), arrows (muhambi), and bush knives (muhoro). Furthermore, swords (ngota), shields (ngabo), and clubs are used.

[185] The spear is the most common and widely used weapon. In the north, where conditions are less safe, no one leaves his homestead without taking along a spear, so in this region we must regard the weapon as an essential part of a man's dress and ornament. In the central part of Ruanda, on the other hand, where stable conditions prevail, especially among the Batutsi, one often sees the long shepherd-staff instead of the spear.

The spear is one and a half to two and a half meters long, and its shaft is encased with iron sockets at both ends. The spear heads are usually grooved to allow the blood to run off, but they vary a great deal in shape. Sometimes the widest part of the blade

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

565 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under
701 particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi conquest they were not driven from their land, and the king recog-
[651] nizes their privileges. They pay only the ordinary taxes, but they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is hereditary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police
[693] and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 2

192
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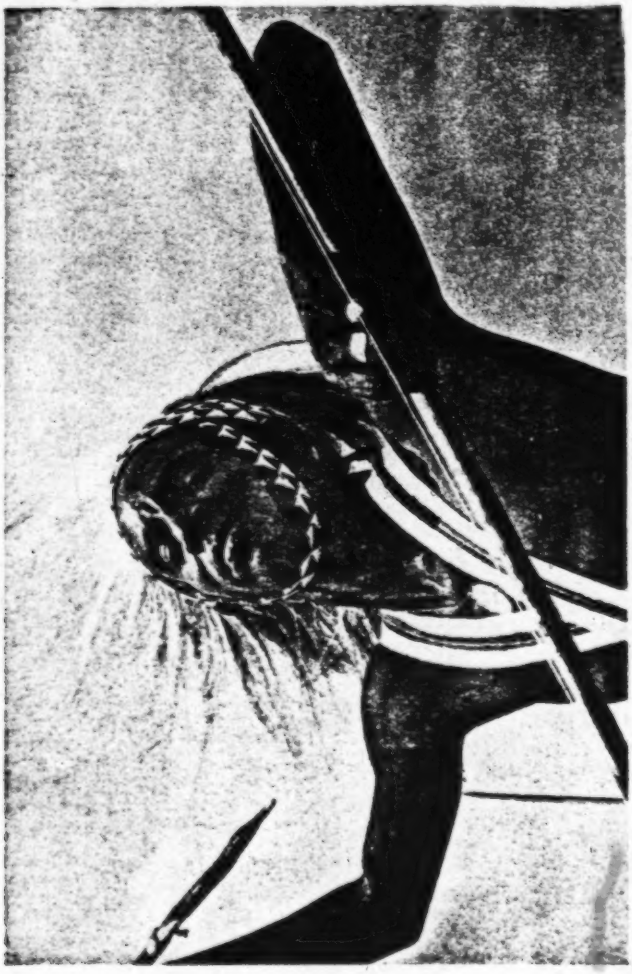

Intore warrior dancing

[Facing P. 23]

[72] the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
[567] same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
[564] able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[191] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

●721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugerero) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
[187] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

[86] Chapter

Political Organization, Law, Social Organization, Clans, Totemism

1. War, Monarchy, Feudal System

721 Insofar as there is a historical tradition, the history of the Barundi shows that under the rule of strong and energetic kings this people performed extraordinary warlike deeds which for a long period protected the country from the oppression of black or Arab conquerors (Ruanda, Mirambo, Wangoni [Ngoni], Rumalisa). It is only in recent decades with the decline of the dynasty and the lack of a great compelling personality that the warlike spirit and comprehensive organization has become weakened, so much so that the German occupation met no special obstacles. The present-day Barundi, i.e., the Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa, are not inclined to conduct war against an external enemy, in spite of their violent, quarrelsome temperament and their innumerable internal feuds. They are peaceful if they are left in peace.

In the past, too, during the period of their political strength, the Barundi did not conduct big wars for the purpose of expansion and conquest as did the Wangoni and the Wahehe [Hehe]. The usual practice was rather internal guerrilla warfare by one Murundi chief against another and the eternal clan and family feuds within their own country. Matters became serious only when foreign aggressors invaded the country. In such a case there were first several minor attempts to repel the aggressor, and then the entire people finally rose up behind their king and expelled the invader. This happened, for example, to the Arab leader, Rumalisa, and his slave-hunting bands (p. 165 [not translated]).

[648] Our government seldom considers it necessary to intervene to any great extent in the internal feuds and petty wars which still occur frequently. These quarrels are seldom of a very 726 bloody nature. If a chief finds cause to quarrel and complain [754] against his neighbor, he first seeks to make him give in peacefully by means of "sorcerers." If this method fails, he sends

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state.
[782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders
[411] are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read
787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are
726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or
727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed.
• 721 Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces
[648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

651 the Akanjaru which can be crossed at only a few places because
491 of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes increased very considerably.

651 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu.
443 In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle disputes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the belief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda rulers become leopards.

721 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning
643 war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

Ruenankiko (Rukiangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last expedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each expedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

721 Declarations of war are not made, at least not in Mulera. If a military expedition is to be undertaken, everyone knows about it long beforehand. It is hard to keep a secret. The actual declaration of war is the sound of the antelope horn calling the warriors together.

727 Baumann (1) mentions that spades wrapped with leaves are

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 84.

a sign of peace..

[277] Chapter 13

Administration of Justice

671 Law. Ruanda has no codified laws. The administration of justice is the business of the government which takes into consideration long-established customs. This is the only kind of law one can speak of in Ruanda.

Criminal law is not developed here to such an extent that the various types of crimes must be atoned for with specific punishments. We can only indicate approximately the severity of individual punishment, since uncodified law leaves so much to the personal opinion of the judge.

628 178 The basis of justice within the clan is the institution of blood revenge. With the development of the state, this is gradually being pushed into the background, but in Ruanda the process is still in its initial stages. In Kissaka, on the other hand, it is said that before revenge is taken, the chief is notified, and he can forbid taking vengeance for a man killed for robbery.

682 685 Aside from murder, which in Ruanda proper is still punished with blood revenge, the theft of cows is very severely punished, in accordance with the role the cow has in the life of Ruanda.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 The Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

000 702 poems in imitation of these great models. They attended evening sessions near the fire, in the kraal, where by sarcasm and humiliation, their capacity for self control was put to the test.

704 These few companies constituted the nucleus of a new army. It was completed by detaching a certain number of people from other armies to incorporate them in the new one. Except for this, armies existed indefinitely. When a king died and when a new army was formed, the previous army founded by him did not disappear. Only some members of the former armies joined the new one. These people were not incorporated individually but [613] with their patrilineages, primary (*inzu*) or even secondary (*umulyango*).

704 613 Except for the *intore*, it seems more accurate to say that an army was made up of patrilineages rather than of individuals. Indeed 100 per cent. of our informants affirm that a man was not affiliated alone to an army but that he was in it together with his sons, married or not, his brothers and their sons, and his paternal uncles. It was a group of agnates indeed, as the sister's sons were not included in the group according to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants. In the army, the patrilineage remained a closed group under its inzu head. Our informants were unanimous (100 per cent.) that dues and services to which the army chief was entitled had to be asked for from members through the lineage chiefs. This rule did not apply to the *intore*. They entered alone into the army, although later their children would also join. According to 100 per cent. of the informants a man belonged only to one army. The army chief was called *umugabe* or *umutware w'ingabo*.

(*b*) *The warriors' section*

704 In any army, according to eighty-four per cent. of our informants, there were two sections—the warrior's section and the herdsmen's section (warrior: *ingabo*, herdsman: *umushumba*). The warriors' section was made up of the few companies of men who had received the *intore* training to whom were added their personal dependents who were also fighting. Warriors did not wear a uniform but had some special badges.

723 As mentioned in a preceding section, a certain number of warriors of an army camped near the borders threatened by neighbouring enemies. If an attack occurred, they called the other [721] warriors who lived nearby and, while waiting for their aid, held
The aggressors at bay

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country. 723

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death. 708 [641]

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agateroshuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight. 721 [787] [726]

Some of the warriors (*abakoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems. 727

(*c*) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*). 705

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief, 705 422

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

701 provided by both sections of the army, according to forty-one
651 per cent. by the herdsmen only.

All these services or dues were required only from Tutsi and from Hutu possessing cattle. Other Hutu replaced them by tributes consisting of agricultural produce (said ninety-two per cent. of our informants) and Twa by products from pottery or hunting.

701 The army-chief, too, could claim several dues from the army to his profit. When appointed to his charge, he was offered a cow (*indabukirano*) as a present recognizing his authority. According to a few informants, that present could consist of hoes or sheep for those who had no cattle, but ninety-two per cent. said such a present was necessarily a cow. As the king, the army-chief, when he was nominated to his office, had the right to have the cattle of his army numbered, presented to him, and a certain percentage offered to him (*murundo*). Ninety-six per cent. of our informants say that the presentation was always made at the same time as the recognition was offered. But certain informants indicate that the army-chief could not require the numbering to be done before a certain time had elapsed since the numbering for his predecessor. Moreover, according to eighty-three per cent. of our informants, the army-chief had to obtain the mwami's permission before summoning a numbering meeting. The cows kept by the army-chief were put at his effective disposal according to all informants. They were entrusted to the army herdsmen (according to eighty-eight per cent.), to army herdsmen only (according to thirty-five per cent.), and to them and *to inkomamashyi*, herdsmen alien to the army (according to fifty-three per cent.).

An army member, on certain occasions, principally when wanting to obtain a favour, used to give his chief a cow called *ituro*.

Finally, the army-chief could claim a certain part of the loot
[721] collected during an expedition in which his army had participated (*intorano*: cattle raided). Moreover, if the expedition had been a brilliant success, he received as a reward from the mwami a gift of several dozen cows.

(*e*) *Advantages for the members*

701 When in difficulty army members could ask for their chief's
703 protection which could not be refused unless they had previously been disloyal to their chief. A chief could prevent a member of his

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army from being submitted to judiciary torture; he could be his surety if the member was unable to repay a debt. When one desired to obtain a favour, such as to be judged by the mwami, it was very useful to be accompanied by one's army-chief, said twenty-seven per cent. of informants. (Thirty-nine per cent., however, would have preferred to be accompanied by their lord and eighteen per cent. would have wished to have both of them.)

A client wanting to lodge a complaint against his lord requested his army-chief's intervention, according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants. (However seven per cent. thought that it was better to address the complaint to the lord's army-chief and eleven per cent. to the mwami.) A lord dissatisfied with his client could raise the question before his own army-chief according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants (thirteen per cent. would rather have gone to the client's army-chief and 9.3 per cent. to the mwami).

When a dispute concerning cattle arose between two Tutsi of the same army, it was judged by the army-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. of the informants. If the two litigants belonged to different armies, the case was settled by both army-chiefs, according to eighty-two per cent. of the informants.

The army-chief was chosen by the king and could be dismissed by him. Army members had the right to bring a charge against him at the mwami's, according to eighty-three per cent. In that case they sent delegates from the army to the court, said seventy-two per cent.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

We are accustomed to regard an army as first 'the instrument of force in external relations'. It must defend the territory of the community against external threats and eventually attempt to expand the territory or to subdue alien groups. In Ruanda armies had other functions besides this.

(a) *Warlike function*

Permanent encampments established not far from the borders were defensive indeed, but they were also bases for expeditions into neighbouring territories. Whatever their frequency, it is certain that they were foci for strong feelings of admiration, pride, and emulation. Many features of these events exalted the spirit of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

conquest: the procession of the victorious warriors, and the recitation of poems telling of the achievements of heroes. The whole country was mystically committed in the expedition through the king, the country's personification, who was magically taking part in it. The king and the queen-mother had (as the expedition leader) to sit motionless during the day of the battle (the army-chief in the field when deciding when to attack had to take into account the space of time necessary for a messenger to reach the court). The secrecy about the expeditions stressed their importance. Even after the battle was over, a messenger was sent to the court who could not tell anything about the expedition except that it was over. Then a few warriors were chosen by the army-chief to go and tell the king—and the king only—the story of the battle.

Ruanda was an aggressive neighbour. Its history, as it appears in the old traditions collected by Father Pagès for instance, is made up of numerous wars of annexation. The Abanyiginia dynasty started from about the centre of the present day Ruanda and expanded their domination progressively.

They were never permanently at peace with their neighbours, and when they had an alliance with some of them it was in order only to be free to concentrate their forces on others. They used any means that could ensure domination. In addition to direct attacks, they interfered in quarrels between smaller neighbours, helping one against the other and then overcoming both; they even murdered the chiefs and kings of small states.[19] Besides the territorial annexations they raided neighbouring countries for captives and cattle.

From the Ruanda point of view this policy of imperialism and looting did not require any rationalization. Their ethical obligations were limited to in-group relationships. One could not kill, steal from, or harm another Ruanda, but a foreigner was fair game. Ruanda people thought themselves to be quite different from people of other tribes, their land was the most important in the world and the country where Imana (the high god) came home every evening and spent the night. It was consistent with these beliefs to use out-group people for one's own purposes without the need for further justification.

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its

[19] See for instance Pagès, 1933, pp. 121 f.; pp. 298 ff.; pp. 554 ff.

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to [754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro- [789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the 701 case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms, ●[722] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and [714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors [411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the [714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful 726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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564 able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[791] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

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● 726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

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[86] Chapter 7

Political Organization, Law, Social Organization, Clans, Totemism

1. War, Monarchy, Feudal System

721 Insofar as there is a historical tradition, the history of the Barundi shows that under the rule of strong and energetic kings this people performed extraordinary warlike deeds which for a long period protected the country from the oppression of black or Arab conquerors (Ruanda, Mirambo, Wangoni [Ngoni], Rumalisa). It is only in recent decades with the decline of the dynasty and the lack of a great compelling personality that the warlike spirit and comprehensive organization has become weakened, so much so that the German occupation met no special obstacles. The present-day Barundi, i.e., the Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa, are not inclined to conduct war against an external enemy, in spite of their violent, quarrelsome temperament and their innumerable internal feuds. They are peaceful if they are left in peace.

In the past, too, during the period of their political strength, the Barundi did not conduct big wars for the purpose of expansion and conquest as did the Wangoni and the Wahehe [Hehe]. The usual practice was rather internal guerrilla warfare by one Murundi chief against another and the eternal clan and family feuds within their own country. Matters became serious only when foreign aggressors invaded the country. In such a case there were first several minor attempts to repel the aggressor, and then the entire people finally rose up behind their king and expelled the invader. This happened, for example, to the Arab leader, Rumalisa, and his slave-hunting bands (p. 165 [not translated]).

[648] Our government seldom considers it necessary to intervene to any great extent in the internal feuds and petty wars which still occur frequently. These quarrels are seldom of a very 726 bloody nature. If a chief finds cause to quarrel and complain [754] against his neighbor, he first seeks to make him give in peacefully by means of "sorcerers." If this method fails, he sends

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to
[754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro-
[789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the
701 case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms,
[722] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and
[714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors
[411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the
[714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful
726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state. [782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders [811] are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read 787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are 726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or 727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed. Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs 721 is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces [648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom 642 for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

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2. Throughout Ruanda, in principle, a new hut is taken over in the name of a spirit (a dead relative) whose favors are desired.

It is also in his name that one takes a wife (kumulongorer' abazimu).

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[343]

This is why these women are called abaterampundu, that is, "those who utter cries of joy."

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The duties of the aBatchaba are often identical to those of their brothers, the aBasingo, whom they assist in bewitching the enemy with teratological beings who are driven before the hostile army. Like the aBiru they also make drums.

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The totem of the aBagessera is the wagtail, a bird of good omen, which is consequently regarded as a member of the family. Hence the power of the Bagessera to call this bird when needed. At court and throughout the land, there is a custom whereby no one may enter a new hut until the wagtail has made an appearance. The bird must at least flit about or hop on the flattened ground where the hut is to be built or on the hut itself. One may even wait several days if necessary /461/ rather than risk the misfortunes which invariably befall those who do not take this traditional practice into account. At the capital, theBagessera are in charge of instigating the appearance of "their relative" (mwene wabo), the congenial bird, whenever a royal building is put up.

To achieve this they take some embers from their home and light a fire before the new hut.

They sit nearby and whistle in a special way to catch the attention of their totem.

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The wagtail is highly regarded by the Banyarwanda. In story and song it is called "the bird (inyamanza) from the region of Mabera," a once famous village inhabited by the Bagessera (1). It is located

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1. The regard in which the wagtail is held is the subject of a charming tale. The wagtail

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411 Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only
[594] as children's toys.

In this connection we must also mention the women's canes
411 (muterere), because they are not infrequently also used as weapons.
481 The shoe of the spear is here replaced by an iron ferrule 40 centimeters long, the lower three-fourths of which forms a square point in cross section. The upper fourth forms a socket into which the end of the cane is driven. The ferrule of the upper end of the stick is very similar to the shoe of the spear and ends in a knob. [188] Finally it should be pointed out that Ruanda spears are in many respects identical with those of Abyssinia, while the cane used by the women occurs in the Sudan, for example, among the Maka.

411 Braided grass rings are tied to the uprights of the huts for hanging the spears inside. The spears are stuck vertically into these rings, much as we stand up our umbrellas. The rings (rutagara) that hold the spears are no different from the rings placed under containers.

Bow, Arrow, and Quiver. Bows are not seen as frequently as spears in Ruanda, probably because they are carried only on journeys, on hunts, at offerings and ceremonies, and on war expeditions. The bow is a very important and much used weapons which also fits the character of the people. The Munyaruanda is
[726] not enthusiastic about hand-to-hand combat in closed ranks with spear and shield, in the manner of the Nilotes, although he does not actually avoid this type of warfare.

In Ruanda we can observe two entirely different types of bows. The Batwa bows are completely different from those of the rest of the inhabitants.

The bow used throughout the country by both Batutsi and Bahutu is a typical example of the so-called East African form, and, like Dr. Kandt, I shall simply refer to it as the Ruanda bow. This bow is more than one and a half meters long, is round in cross section, has long points but gradually tapers off at both ends, has no notches, and is strung [189] with a cord made of animal tendons or of fibers of the nimisse plant. The bow is curved so much that it can be used without a guard against the recoil of the bowstring. It does not differ from the Mpororo bow.

701 expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life [687] for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war

2. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

726 791 In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

727 The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns consist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up [661] their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies, the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country. 723

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death. 708 [641]

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agaterashuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight. 721 [787] [726]

Some of the warriors (*abakoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems. 727

(*c*) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*). 705

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief, 705 422

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

conquest: the procession of the victorious warriors, and the recitation of poems telling of the achievements of heroes. The whole country was mystically committed in the expedition through the king, the country's personification, who was magically taking part in it. The king and the queen-mother had (as the expedition leader) to sit motionless during the day of the battle (the army-chief in the field when deciding when to attack had to take into account the space of time necessary for a messenger to reach the court). The secrecy about the expeditions stressed their importance. Even after the battle was over, a messenger was sent to the court who could not tell anything about the expedition except that it was over. Then a few warriors were chosen by the army-chief to go and tell the king—and the king only—the story of the battle.

Ruanda was an aggressive neighbour. Its history, as it appears in the old traditions collected by Father Pagès for instance, is made up of numerous wars of annexation. The Abanyiginia dynasty started from about the centre of the present day Ruanda and expanded their domination progressively.

They were never permanently at peace with their neighbours, and when they had an alliance with some of them it was in order only to be free to concentrate their forces on others. They used any means that could ensure domination. In addition to direct attacks, they interfered in quarrels between smaller neighbours, helping one against the other and then overcoming both; they even murdered the chiefs and kings of small states.[19] Besides the territorial annexations they raided neighbouring countries for captives and cattle.

From the Ruanda point of view this policy of imperialism and looting did not require any rationalization. Their ethical obligations were limited to in-group relationships. One could not kill, steal from, or harm another Ruanda, but a foreigner was fair game. Ruanda people thought themselves to be quite different from people of other tribes, their land was the most important in the world and the country where Imana (the high god) came home every evening and spent the night. It was consistent with these beliefs to use out-group people for one's own purposes without the need for further justification.

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its

[19] See for instance Pagès, 1933, pp. 121 f.; pp. 298 ff.; pp. 334 ff.

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231

3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
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1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

192 INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage
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3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
727 by warriors.
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192 IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to
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4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

563 of the ubugaragu contract, can be integrated into the Ruanda society (1). But if a Mututsi of Urundi settles in Ruanda with his

1. There are also Banyarwanda Bahutu who go and settle in Urundi.

abagaragu, although he is the equal of the Batutsi of that country, he and his household are nevertheless considered as foreigners (2).

[166]

2. These migrations are caused by the desire to escape personal vengeance following the accusation of murder, a sentence of banishment pronounced by the king of Urundi, or difficulties encountered by a client in his relations with his patron.

727 In the past, at the time of the wars, the vanquished who were
567 taken prisoner were killed, while the women and the boys and girls were carried off to slavery. A Mututsi could [85] even marry a woman prisoner if she were of noble origin; the children held their father's status. But as a rule he gave her in marriage to one of his clients; the children of such a marriage continued to belong to the master's household, but their descendants were free and thus became Banyarwanda.

567 A slave might even marry a Mututsi woman. It was thus that the Mwami Rwabugiri, who had captured a young man called Rusera Muhima, later gave him his own daughter in marriage and made him a present of the subdistrict of Rugarama in Bunyambiriri.

2. Royal Power

643 The Mwami (king) has supreme authority in Ruanda. We have
173 seen that all the traditions ascribe a divine origin to his power. The annalists of the Royal Court (abatshurabgenge) attribute to the present Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa, thirty-nine ancestors who, with the exception of the first, Nkuba, who remained in heaven, have all ruled over Ruanda (1).

1. Many names have certainly been omitted from this list. Assuming that

778 643 placed in the hut called rwimiringa (lit., house of copper objects (2),

2. Kalinga means "royal drum"; Karinga means "small copper object."

[727] built inside the king's boma, where the war trophies are kept. The Kalinga is guarded night and day, for it is the emblem of the grandeur of the kings of Ruanda.

4. The Court of the Mwami

644 At Nyanza, the royal residence (ibgami), flocks of people of every rank come to attend court or to inform the Mwami of the affairs of their region: Bahutu or even Batwa villagers hoping to obtain some benefit from the Mwami or his mother, dignitaries of various ranks and functions, and servants of both sexes (3).

[114]

3. These duties and functions have been minutely described by the Rev. Father Pagès in his fine book, Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique [A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa] (ed. I.R.C.B. [Institut Royal Colonial Belge], Brussels, 1933). This work constitutes a veritable and priceless monument for the knowledge of Ruanda and its people. We cannot do better than suggest that the reader refer to it for everything concerning the organization of the Royal Court.

5. The Council of Ministers

645 787 In serious circumstances, such as war or famine, the Mwami is obliged to convene the great chiefs (abatware b'intebe) in council (inima). The soothsayers (abapfuma) then consult the oracles and

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is
565 called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

[727] the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
[567] same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
[564] able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

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727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

[727] divided among the Banyarwanda warriors, who had to remit part of it to the Mwami (iminyago).

The king then reassembled his council and announced the end of the war.

[107] SECTION VI. JUSTICE

CHAPTER I. PENAL LAW

685 1. Theft (1) of Provisions and Small Livestock

1. Theft is called ubujura or ubgibyi. The word umujura designates the thief in general. The umushimusi is the cattle thief and the igisambo is the robber of provisions, tools, etc.

a) Thief Caught in the Act (flagrante delicto) (muchyuho).

Whoever found a thief in his rugo could, in the recent past, kill him with impunity, but if the victim of the theft did not succeed in giving the thief the unexpected mortal blow, and the antagonists got to fighting, the thief had to be brought before the [694] hill chief. Today the hill chief has the presumed culprit apprehended by some of his men, who bind him and lock him up until he is brought before the tribunal. However, the relatives or shebuja of the thief can offer a present (inchamugozi, lit., which cuts the cord) to the chief so that he may be unbound. At the tribunal they offer to pay the robbed man the ingurano (from kugura, to buy back), an indemnity which is not necessarily of the same nature as the object of the theft; for instance, hoes can be handed over for a basket of sorghum that has been stolen. The robbed man claims in addition the inchachyuho (2) for the violation of his

2. Lit., "the one (the cow) that cuts, delivers (the thief) for the break (into the rugo)."

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state. [782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders [411] are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read 787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are 726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

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642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

644 634 661 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises, the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain the latter's approval.

644 778 [534] 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it [482] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock, and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails "turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

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1. They are among others Kanyoni, son of Gatibamenya, and Rubunda, princes of the Ndorwa area; Nyagaketchuru, the woman chief who governed part of Huyi in the Nyaruguru; Mutaga, the king of Urundi who was killed under the reign of Mutara I; Nyirabihoro, another princess from the neighborhood of Uswi; Kabego, king of the isle of Idjwi (in Lake Kivu), and his son Nkundiye.

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This drum is jealously guarded within the enclosure of the royal palace, on the east side in a hut called by the name of imilinga, that is to say, "copper objects."

This term is both metaphorical and euphemistic, and well understood by the people. It is metaphorical so as not to draw the attention of enemies upon the function of the hut, and it is also euphemistic so as to remind the courtiers of the importance of this palladium, which is likened thereby, to the copper threads and bracelets formerly regarded by the Banyarwanda as precious objects. The same hut serves as museum and repository. It also shelters the other royal drums which played a role in the past, before the Kalinga, in its stead, or along with it. /373/

[552]

These drums bear characteristic names. Perhaps they should be regarded merely as symbols or trophies, reminders of victories won in the past by the Hamitic kings over the autochthonous princes. The latter's lands and drums went from their hands into those of the Batutsi monarchs.

The hut also encloses enormous quivers (imitana), arrows, spears, and other weapons of varied shapes and sizes. A certain element of taste must have presided over the selection of this booty, for people who have managed to see them say that the objects in the collection are almost invariably characterized by a certain richness, a great deal of originality, and fairly careful craftsmanship.

644 727 Among the other families who played a role at court, we may cite the aBasingo, Batchaba, and aBagessera. The Basingo, a subdivision of the powerful Biru clan, fulfill a special function in wartime along with the "Cursers" (Abahenyi).

They are in charge of "closing the path" to the enemy (gukingir' ababisha) by gathering all the monsters, real or fancied, who [787] are regarded by the Blacks as evil portents and therefore designated by the term intsiro. This covers chiefly black goats, black chicks whose entrails were found to "turn black" when examined by the diviners, that is to say, unfavorable to the enemy, dissolute mothers (ibinyandaro), children born out of wedlock, children born during the mourning period held for one of their relatives (umwana w'amabi), young girls with undeveloped breasts (impenebere), old women who remained sterile through life (umugetchuru w'igicha mbyaro), and other true monsters with real and visible defects, who are designated by the generic name of ibimara or ibimazi.

644 342 The aBatchaba, another branch of the great /460/ aBiru family, select and measure the sites of royal huts. They hang in the interior of the hut, and later fasten outside, some branches of trees with magic properties (1) which according to popular belief exercise a

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1. Among those plants or trees with magic properties, we may cite the ficus (umuvumu), the red-bloom erythrina (umuko), the plant called irarire, etc.

salutary influence over the inhabitants or owners of the huts. It is the duty of their wives and daughters to meet the victorious warriors, singing and dancing, and thus congratulate them for their feats of valor. They also take part in the traditional celebrations which are held when the king takes official possession of a newly built hut and enters it for the first time with a wife chosen especially for the occasion (2).

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).
565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
565 Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who
• [527] had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

2. Other Favors and Privileges

661 a. "The gift of the fire cow" (inka y' umuriro). This is when
644 the king sends a cow to a chief who has been stripped of his property or who has been in disgrace for some time. It is tantamount to a reconciliation.

This privilege grants the man who had been ostracized or banished permission to settle definitively on granted land and to build there like anyone else.

The gift of the cow, which is a sign and proof of forgiveness, also heralds further favors.

The last two beneficiaries of royal clemency were Musinga's maternal uncles, Lukangamiheto and Luhinankiko, whose ambition and political activities had /469/ greatly displeased the queen mother and the regent Kabale, creator of the bloody Ruchunchu revolution. They regained their rank and position at court.

661 b. Entrance rights (ilembo). This favor is highly valued by those to whom it is granted. It consists of receiving, in lieu of the king, the gifts of material goods and herds which are daily offered to the prince. Hence the expression, "to proceed to or place oneself at the entrance to the Court" (kuja kw' ilembo ry'ibgami) so as to take over the gifts and cows which subjects bring to their sovereign. This is a temporary privilege that is granted only for a few days and never more than two or three months to the same individual.

c. Ubulenga nzira is a sort of tithing right which the king and great chiefs grant to individuals whom they wish to reward. The [651] holder of this right may levy a tax on the inhabitants of the territory over which the chief or king has jurisdiction. He gets cows and produce as long as the concession is not revoked.

d. The right to levy a cow wherever one spends the night [651 (kurar'inka) is largely granted in times of war, on the way out and on ●72] the way back.

[702] It is a good device to recruit soldiers, who greatly valued this privilege and made use of it both in friendly and in enemy territory.

e. Ubutumwa ("message"). The "right of message" grants the king's envoys the right to demand a cow from the recipient of the message. Instances are cited of men who managed to assemble fine herds thanks to their job as royal couriers.

701 expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life [687] for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war

2. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

726 791 In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

727 The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns consist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up [661] their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies, the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

721 Declarations of war are not made, at least not in Mulera. If a military expedition is to be undertaken, everyone knows about it long beforehand. It is hard to keep a secret. The actual declaration of war is the sound of the antelope horn calling the warriors together.

727 Baumann (1) mentions that spades wrapped with leaves are

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 84.

a sign of peace.

[277] Chapter 13

Administration of Justice

671 Law. Ruanda has no codified laws. The administration of justice is the business of the government which takes into consideration long-established customs. This is the only kind of law one can speak of in Ruanda.

Criminal law is not developed here to such an extent that the various types of crimes must be atoned for with specific punishments. We can only indicate approximately the severity of individual punishment, since uncodified law leaves so much to the personal opinion of the judge.

628 178 The basis of justice within the clan is the institution of blood revenge. With the development of the state, this is gradually being pushed into the background, but in Ruanda the process is still in its initial stages. In Kissaka, on the other hand, it is said that before revenge is taken, the chief is notified, and he can forbid taking vengeance for a man killed for robbery.

682 685 Aside from murder, which in Ruanda proper is still punished with blood revenge, the theft of cows is very severely punished, in accordance with the role the cow has in the life of Ruanda.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

might put the other to death without fear of punishment, for 682
the witnesses would state the reason for his action and he 628
would not suffer for it.

When a murder was committed secretly and the body was found without any trace of the murderer, it caused much difficulty. The relatives had to inform the chief of anything they knew concerning the relations of the dead man with the people of the district. Any person with whom the dead man had had a quarrel or disagreement was captured, and a priest killed a fowl and took an augury in order to find out whether [695] he was guilty or not. Should the augury be in the suspected man's favour he was released, and some other magical means of finding the murderer were tried.

Sometimes a murderer would confess his deed to the king or chiefs and notify his desire to atone. The family of the murdered man were called to a meeting and the murderer had to supply a sheep. The king was present at the meeting and ordered the animal to be killed and cut open, after which the murderer and the head-man of the murdered man's clan placed their hands on the entrails. Portions of every kind of food used by the people were brought and placed in the sheep with purificatory herbs, and again the two men placed their hands in it. The sheep was then called *Maana* or god and was the pledge of peace. Some clans, however, refused to make peace with a murderer and awaited an opportunity of killing either the criminal or some member of his clan.

When a man killed another accidentally and succeeded in proving that there was no malice or intention about the act, he paid fourteen cows to the family of the dead man, with whom he remained on friendly terms. If a man wounded [683] another he paid him eight cows as compensation.

When a warrior killed a man in battle, the king and chiefs 727
honoured him and gave him presents of land and cattle. Sometimes when the king was specially pleased, he would give a warrior a princess to wife. The warrior had to be purified on his return from the battle, but observed no other taboo.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [438] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the [727] better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange 437 them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Agriculture

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Servants' labour belonged completely to their masters. These servants (*abatindi* for men, *abaja* for women) were either war captives or simply very poor people (this is the first meaning of the word *abatindi*). Their payment consisted in receiving food, shelter, and clothing from their masters. Sometimes it was agreed that after a certain period of time (such as three years) the master would either pay the bride-wealth to provide the servant with a wife or would even give him his own daughter.

Family heads were the only persons who could dispose of their own labour resources, with the exception of that part required by the lord and the political authority.

• • •

Almost any Ruanda family head could command enough rights to capital goods and labour to make his rugo self-supporting, with a certain surplus for his chief and his overlord. But these rights were not finally his. The ultimate control of the factors of production was not his. Labour, land, and cattle, in that order, were increasingly slipping away from his control. Command of the factors of production and political power was so interwoven in Ruanda social structure that they are to be analysed together in the following chapter devoted to the political organization.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country. 723

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death. 708 [641]

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agaterashuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight. 721 [987] [726]

Some of the warriors (*abahoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems. 727

(*c*) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*). 705

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief, 705 422

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

721 conquest: the procession of the victorious warriors, and the recitation of poems telling of the achievements of heroes. The whole country was mystically committed in the expedition through the king, the country's personification, who was magically taking part in it. The king and the queen-mother had (as the expedition leader) to sit motionless during the day of the battle (the army-chief in the field when deciding when to attack had to take into account the space of time necessary for a messenger to reach the court). The secrecy about the expeditions stressed their importance. Even after the battle was over, a messenger was sent to the court who could not tell anything about the expedition except that it was over. Then a few warriors were chosen by the army-chief to go and tell the king—and the king only—the story of the battle.

[643] [726] 727

721 75 Ruanda was an aggressive neighbour. Its history, as it appears in the old traditions collected by Father Pagès for instance, is made up of numerous wars of annexation. The Abanyiginia dynasty started from about the centre of the present day Ruanda and expanded their domination progressively.

They were never permanently at peace with their neighbours, and when they had an alliance with some of them it was in order only to be free to concentrate their forces on others. They used any means that could ensure domination. In addition to direct attacks, they interfered in quarrels between smaller neighbours, helping one against the other and then overcoming both; they even murdered the chiefs and kings of small states.[19] Besides the territorial annexations they raided neighbouring countries for captives and cattle.

721 186 From the Ruanda point of view this policy of imperialism and looting did not require any rationalization. Their ethical obligations were limited to in-group relationships. One could not kill, steal from, or harm another Ruanda, but a foreigner was fair game. Ruanda people thought themselves to be quite different from people of other tribes, their land was the most important in the world and the country where Imana (the high god) came home every evening and spent the night. It was consistent with these beliefs to use out-group people for one's own purposes without the need for further justification.

080 The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its

[19] See for instance Pagès, 1933, pp. 121 f.; pp. 298 ff.; pp. 534 ff.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

571 dependency upon him? As in many cultures in which a king is a
564 paternal and divine image, the Ruanda monarch certainly con-
184 tributed towards the creation in Ruanda individuals of a feeling of
643 belonging to a unit which presented some similarities to a family.

This was, it seems, how the Ruanda political and feudal struc-
564 tures, by their complexity, succeeded in keeping an equilibrium
182 between, on one hand, the tendencies towards social disintegra-
184 tion that a caste system necessarily produces and, on the other, the minimal cohesion necessary to the maintenance of a social unit such as a nation.

(*b*) *Exploitation and protection of Hutu*

•728 The Tutsi were confronted with the dilemma that all conquerors must solve when they settle on a new territory with the intention of staying permanently: are they going to draw upon the natural resources of the country themselves, using their own labour and equipment, and to remove from the area the aboriginal inhabitants by pushing them further on and even by exterminating them as a people, or are they to let them stay and use them by having them working for their benefit? Europeans who settled in North America adopted the first solution, they did not [171] attempt to use Indian labour and they expelled the native population from their hunting areas and began to cultivate their country. The second method has been chosen in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara where Europeans have settled.

564 Whether Tutsi have explicitly considered this problem is
661 immaterial here. In fact they have adopted the solution which was most advantageous to them. Being pastoralists and not numerous (in comparison with the Hutu peasants), they had no interest in expelling them. If this had been done, they would have had either to till the land themselves or to dispense with beer, peas, sorghum, &c. It was preferable for Tutsi to adopt what Oppenheimer calls the bee-keeper's policy (as opposed to the bear's policy who for the purpose of robbing the beehive, destroys it),[4] that is to say, to keep in the country peasants in order permanently to exploit their productive work. Those who control territory are not a dominant group; it is upon men that power is exerted.

We have seen how, through the political and feudal structures, the country's surplus resources were drained and concentrated in

[4] Oppenheimer, 1922, pp. 65 ff.

000 three banana trees.

192 [53] INKAMWA. When the father of a family dies, one of
764 his sons or grandsons is chosen to put between his hands a jug of
231 milk. The cow that has given this milk is called inkamwa. It is given to the one who has placed the jug of milk between the hands of the deceased and is not included in the division of the inheritance.

This cow cannot be sold or killed. Its young are not subject to this interdiction. If it dies, it is eaten by the Bahutu in the owner's rugo, and its bones are buried there.

Among the Bahutu a sheep is used as the inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. When the father of a family dies, the eldest son slaughters a bull calf, which is eaten by the family. The skin is worn by the eldest son for two months so that the cows will not die like their master.

192 IY'UMULIRO and INSHUMBUSHANYO. 1) If lightning has
231 destroyed the herd (or even one animal) held by the umugaragu, the
● 731 latter can obtain from his shebuja the umuliro (lit., the fire cow), either a cow or a bull calf.

When several cows are given by the patron to indemnify his client, the first one is called umuliro, the others inshumbushanyo.

425 2) If the patron deprives his client of his whole herd to punish him
231 for not performing one of his obligations, the umugaragu begs the protection of another shebuja who gives his new dependent a cow and a bull calf or only a bull calf.

192 IMPONOKE. When the herd of the patron, the provincial chief,
731 or the king is decimated by cattle plague (muryamo), the abagaragu
231 give some cows to fill the gaps caused by the epizootic disease.

192 [54] INDORANO (1). At the death of the king's child, wife,
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1. From kurora, "to see."

brother, and also in the case of death in a great chief's family, the provincial chiefs and the hill chiefs, if they are directly subject to the Mwami, each bring two cows to the Mwami, and only one in the other event. A cow is also given by the abagaragu. The cow given to a friend on the occasion of deep mourning is also called indorano.

361 and villages differ considerably depending on the quality of the soil. In the densely populated western districts one passes a cluster of homesteads every quarter or half hour, but in the thinly populated eastern districts one sometimes travels over an hour without seeing or passing a courtyard or a village.

One never sees many people outside, neither on the roads, 363 near the grazing cattle, nor in the fields. Only close to the huts and within the kraals does one see people walking, standing, and squatting in groups. Old people 70 years old and older 145 are extremely rare. Very few seem to live beyond the age of 60, and this seems to be more often the case with the Batussi than with the Bahutu.

According to missionaries' reports, the population has 161 been increasing during the last ten years or so, since the petty wars between the batwale and the princes and the invasions of the Banjaruanda and the Baha [Ha] have become rarer and less bloody. Only in the Tanganyika region which has been hit by 164 sleeping sickness has the population decreased considerably. 731 In the rest of Urundi the number of inhabitants is occasionally reduced considerably by smallpox epidemics or by crop failures, which are especially fatal to children, but such famines are relatively rare. In 1892, 1896, 1904-5 and 1908, rinderpest, bad harvests, and smallpox caused great devastations. In 1910 the distress resulting from drought in eastern Urundi was so great that the mission at Mujaga had to buy up large amounts of manioc and beans in Uha for their natives. Some travelers 181 claim that the majority of the Bahutu are waiting to be liberated from their conquerors. I cannot confirm this from my observations. [20] [Fig. 2 appears here in original text.] [21] The enthusiastic reception that the Bahutu gave at the time to the first European arriving there, Oskar Baumann in Urundi and Count Götzen in Ruanda, did indeed spring from the traditional hope for a great new conqueror who would usher in a golden age, but like all East African Bantu the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda do not in the least thirst for freedom. As has been mentioned above, they are submissive and dependent on others; they are happiest under firm authority and as accustomed to the discipline of their

[Text continues on page 31]

233 surviving animals for a long time to come, until the herds once more have become too large, the animals once more cannot find enough to eat, and natural selection by epidemics starts once again. This situation will not improve until Europeans introduce national methods of stock breeding.

The animals are conscientiously cared for every day. Every night fresh litter is provided in the pens for the herds returning from the pasture. The animals are scrubbed clean with straw whisks and searched for ticks and other parasites which may have attached themselves to the animals. The udders are washed each time after milking. While the cattle are standing in the kraals or drinking from the troughs, they are bothered by stinging flies; human beings, too, are attacked by these bloodthirsty tormentors. For this reason fires are kept burning in the kraals and near the watering places, the smoke driving away the flies. Such pillars of smoke can be seen rising from the farms everywhere in the morning and evening. From time to time the animals are given saliferous ashes to lick. Even in the pastures the herdsman is constantly occupied with his herd. He is able to give it all kinds of orders by shrill whistling. As a result of good treatment, the animals are in most cases very good-natured; they do not kick, and they keep still when something is being done to them. In the latter case one of the herdsmen usually uses his stick or reed to stroke the animal gently between the upper part of the hind legs. Despite their long horns, the animals also cause much less damage among themselves than one might expect. Even if they are crowded together when driven to or from the pasture, a constant muffled rattling and clanking of the colliding horns can be heard -- the characteristic sound of a moving Urundi herd -- but it is extremely seldom that the animals injure each
232 other. In case an animal is seriously injured or becomes sick and the owner himself is unable to help which, however, he is usually able to do -- a Mutussi or Muhutu who is skilled in medicine is called to act as a veterinarian. For his help he
232 is paid very well (Plate 25a). The Batussi, like all Africans,
731 are quite powerless against epidemics, especially rinderpest,

232 and as a result the devastations caused among the cattle by a
731 single epidemic are terrible. Thus, the rinderpest that ravaged the entire interlacustrine region, as well as Uganda and Unjoro, in 1888 killed two thirds of all the cattle, and since the Bahima live mainly on milk, blood, and meat, it is reported that almost two thirds of the Bahima also died of hunger (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 626).

Although the Barundi take good care of their cattle, they
232 cannot really be called good cattle breeders, as is sometimes done. The same is true for the Banjaruanda. The livestock suffers from an insufficient supply of new blood, that is, from the centuries-old inbreeding. It is true that the Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda, always select the breeding steers from a different herd in order to prevent degeneration, but there is still only variation within the same long-horned strain of cattle [44] and the blood is not freshened up by other breeds. Since also most of the bulls are not castrated, although castration is known and a special term exists for it (kuschahura), there are often weak bulls in the herds which cause the breed to deteriorate. The improvement of the breeds is not helped either by the fact that, as a result of the growing demand for cattle hides by traders, more bulls are raised which in former times used to be slaughtered or sacrificed when they were still young. Degeneration is especially apparent from the fact that there are a great number of sterile cows, both in Urundi and Ruanda. They can be immediately recognized in a herd since they have the longest horns. It almost appears as if the excess of strength which has not been spent on reproduction is channeled into making the horns grow to a gigantic size. Both in Urundi and Ruanda only the herds of the kings and of the high batwale are in really good condition as a result of constant selection and exchange. There are white, brown, and dappled herds. However, these are deluxe herds and not representative of the general run.
232 The designation, "holy cattle," which is often heard applied
778 to the king's herds, is as incorrect as it is when applied to the herds of the Musinga [king] of Ruanda. It is also erroneous in that not even the animals destined for sacrifice are taken from these herds. On the other hand there are holy cattle kept

241 In spite of all this, the Barundi do not grow more crops
433 than they need for their subsistence during the year. The soil
[134] is, for the most part, fertile red earth and, in the valley plains, dark gray alluvial soil or humus, except in the sterile and stony quartzite regions of the east. With or without artificial irrigation, this soil could produce much more if a larger area were cultivated. This is prevented mainly by the absence of trade. [56] Since there are neither markets nor organized trade in the large area of central Urundi -- only the Tanganyika region possesses both -- the Murundi could do nothing with what he produced beyond his own needs. Moreover, the Murundi does not anticipate bad harvests. Like nearly all Negroes, he never worries about the future. Since not even the hardy manioc
● 731 (which, even in the driest years when everything else withers, still furnishes a good yield) is grown in large quantities, extensive areas are plagued by famine in poor harvest years. This is especially true of the arid quartzite regions of eastern Urundi.
[797] Then the missionary stations (Mugera, Mujaga, and others) and the government try to help by importing grain (sorghum) from Uha and Usámbiro, but they still cannot prevent many people, particularly children, from starving to death.

Another important reason that prevents further expansion
241 of agriculture can be found in the way land is owned, in the
423 overruling power of the Batussi who claim, above all, grazing land for their herds of cattle. We shall discuss this problem later (p. 57).

Various efforts are made to protect the growing crops
241 against pests. Weeds are cleared away; caterpillars, beetles,
136 and snails are picked off; birds are frightened away by scarecrows which, for example, are made of gallows-shaped sorghum stalks tied one upon the other with dry, rattling fruit suspended from them. Large animals, however, like the wild boars and baboons in the mountains of western Urundi, are either kept out by fences or chased away by watchmen who walk around in the daytime and at night take up their positions in small huts perched on high posts. From there the guards from time to time set up a loud shouting or rattle with sticks. In the valleys of western

752 It seems more likely that, as in Ruanda, Ussuwi, and Kisiba (No. 31, p. 117; No. 48, p. 228; Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications] 1879, p. 393), they only perform a Caesarean operation on women who have just died in order to save the infant or at least to remove it from the womb so that it may be buried separately (see pp. 110, 140). Trepanation is unknown among the Barundi.

164 Many of the diseases from which the Barundi suffer are of an endemic character, for example, malaria, relapsing fever, leprosy, and sand fleas. Only a few appear as an epidemic, for example, smallpox and sleeping sickness, but their effect is all the more terrible since the Barundi do not know or apply any antidotes. Van der Burgt lists a whole series of diseases which occur in this region (No. 19, pp. 350-351), but he often uses different names for one and the same disease in its different stages. The following ones, in particular, should be mentioned: syphilis, fever, boils, inflammation of the eye, sores on legs and arms, epilepsy, cramps, leprosy, tapeworms and other intestinal worms, phthisis (ikihaha), dysentery, coughing, abscess on the vulva, diphtheria (?), inflammation of the testicles, gonorrhea, rheumatism, head porrigo, threadworms (filaria), omphalocele, elephantiasis, smallpox, insanity, loss of teeth, lithiasis, paralysis, catarrh of the frontal cavity, whooping cough, dropsy, blood in the urine, deafness, inflammation of the chest, leucorrhea and blennorrhea.

164 Of all diseases, smallpox (akaranda, akasibe) is the most feared. It comes in epidemics and depopulates entire districts, as, for instance, in the beginning of the 1890's when in Urundi, Ruanda, Karagwe, and other areas of the interlacustrine region many thousands of people were carried away. According to native reports a serious smallpox epidemic afflicted the country around the turn of the century. Less epidemic in nature but also very much feared are the different types of inflammation of the throat (ikiwa) which should be described as angina and some of them perhaps as diphtheria. Often they quickly result in the infected person's death. Running pustules and boils (ikihoro,

164 ●.731

164 these large "human reservoirs" of the highlands in order to
147 supply the plantations suffering from a chronic lack of labor. An attempt to do so would lead to results which would differ little from mass murder.

[144] The spread of sleeping sickness from the eastern
164 Congo to the western, lower regions of Urundi has had terrible
136 results. The carrier of the sleeping sickness, the stinging fly
● 731 Glossina palpalis, has infected the Ruzizi valley up to the vicinity of Lake Kivu, which is still safe, and the entire basin of Lake Tanganyika almost to the border formed by the surrounding mountains, and it also has spread to the stream and river valleys facing the lake as far as the eastern highland, for example, the valley of the Malagarasi. According to official reports on the development of our protectorate in 1912-13, the situation on Lake Tanganyika is such that, as a result of the considerable expansion of the infected area, the inaccessibility of the population, and also the difficulty of controlling the traffic with the infected areas of the Congo colony, the fight against sleeping sickness will continue for a long time to come. According to official sources, 3,303 new cases were observed in 1913, as compared with 3,560 cases in 1912. In the area of Lakê Tanganyika there are probably a total of 200,000 persons suffering from sleeping sickness.

164 In 1911 I traveled through the infected areas of the lower
731 Ruzizi valley and in northeastern Tanganyika. I was horrified by the devastation that the disease had caused among the population which formerly had been so dense and had been so cheerful. Entire villages have ceased to exist, and the population of extensive areas have moved away or have been relocated by the government. The sick who have been collected in well-guarded camps by the government are slowly dying, and none of the remedies applied (Atoxyl, Salvarsan, and others) seem to have any beneficial effect. All economic activity has ceased, traffic and commerce have stopped, and the European firms which were active there have either gone bankrupt or moved away except for a few. After the railroad has been built to Lake Tanganyika, it will be possible to combat the spreading of the sleeping sickness

164 in the Tanganyika region with much better means and prospects
731 for success, but it will take decades before the damage is repaired to any extent.

Fortunately the disease has not yet spread to the large
164 area of Urundi proper east of Lake Tanganyika, and it probably
136 will not spread there in the future since the highlands of Urundi, Ruanda, and Uha are too cool for the Glossina palpalis to thrive and also because the conditions necessary for the existence of the fly, flowing water and shady bushes near the water, exist only in certain places of the highlands which are predominantly covered with grass. On the other hand, it seems to me that the great danger still approaching is that after the completion of the Tanganyika railroad the disease may also spread to the central areas of East Africa. Disease-carrying specimens of the Glossina palpalis, which at present is unable to fly across the dry steppes east of Lake Tanganyika, might be disseminated passively by being carried in railroad trains, as has happened in other countries with so many other epidemic or endemic diseases that were spread by means of railroads and ships. Then, if these infected flies find favorable conditions of existence at the eastern end of the railroad line, new nidi for sleeping sickness will be created. The situation may become even more dangerous if Glossina morsitans, the tsetse fly which is very common in the eastern regions, contracts the infection from Glossina palpalis and carries it farther. It has already been definitely proved in the southern part of our colony that Glossina morsitans may become a carrier of true sleeping sickness. If now, by [145] means of the railroad, the immensely large area where Glossina morsitans is common were infected from the direction of Lake Tanganyika, the consequences for the population of German East Africa would be incalculable. It is advisable to face up in time to this danger which is threatening us from western Urundi and the region of Lake Tanganyika. Otherwise reality might prove too much of a shock for us someday.

539 Tulek' intōke. — Let us leave (alone) the banana trees (their roots) (1).

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539
731

1. Times of want are unfortunately frequent among the Blacks owing to their lack of foresight. They till the soil only for their own personal consumption. If a crop is ruined by drought or too much rain, therefore, they run out of food. The narrator describes one of those famines and gives it the name of "that which caused bits and pieces of hoes to come out (of hiding), " no matter how worn, to be sold to blacksmiths. One would then attempt to buy food in neighboring provinces with those meager resources.

Reference is made to the roots of banana trees which are dried in the sun after being struck with the handle of a hoe in order to remove the potash. They are then crushed on the grain-grinding stone and furnish an indigestible food which does not satisfy and does not hinder the end, which is death, unless this imitation flour is mixed in with something more substantial.

Second Example

539 Akasigo ko gutur' umwami. — A small literary piece (on how to address the king when offering gifts to him).

643 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were
765 in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might
[689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the
[731] ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

766 Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken
778 into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa),
[824] and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

gives a density of 235·8 per square mile or 91·9 per square kilometre.[13] This density is among the highest in Africa, south of the Sahara.[14] What may we infer from these figures as regards the population at the beginning of this century? According to the available statistics for the last fifteen years, when the circumstances are favourable the yearly increase of Ruanda population may reach three per cent. This increased ratio could hardly have been maintained over the whole of the last fifty years, mainly because the 'favourable circumstances' refer to medical amenities, new hygienic practices and the reduction of famine. Such conditions were by no means prevalent when the Europeans occupied the country in 1899.[15] Even since 1935, however, events have not always been favourable, as for three years (1941–2–3) there was a decrease of population due to a severe scarcity of food. Consequently it seems safe to assume that during the decades preceding the European occupation, the population was already very dense. According to Captain Bethe, it numbered about 2,000,000 in 1899.[16] In 1907, Czekanowski estimated the Ruanda population at approximately 1,710,000.[17]

According to a detailed survey made by the Department of Agriculture, there are about 60,000 to 70,000 families (out of a total of about 380,000 families) more than can be adequately fed by the country.[18] There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there

[13] There is a census for the male and able-bodied adults who are taxpayers. To obtain the total number of the population (females, old people, and children) the number of taxpayers in each administrative district is multiplied by a certain coefficient which is determined in each case by a sample-census of a few hills.

[14] For comparative purposes, there are a few density figures for some African territories according to present political boundaries: Uganda: 52·8 per square mile; Tanganyika: 20·7; Belgian Congo: 12·9; Nigeria: 92·0; Sierra Leone: 66·5. All these figures, taken from Hailey, 1957, p. 143, refer to the years 1948-52.

[15] Captain Bethe, a German officer, obtained from the king in 1899 Ruanda's acceptance of the Imperial Government's protection. There was no treaty, only an oral agreement which was followed by a permanent occupation by the German authorities. The first Christian mission was established in 1900, at Isavi, by the White Fathers. Belgian troops took possession of Ruanda during the First World War in 1916. The Belgian occupation of Ruanda-Urundi was confirmed by the Orts-Milner Agreement in 1919. In 1924, Belgium agreed to administer Ruanda-Urundi under the supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Ruanda-Urundi became a United Nations Organization Trusteeship Territory administered by Belgium. Cf. Jentgen, 1947, pp. 9-11, 83-9

[16] Quoted by Czekanowski, 1917, p. 109 n. [17] See Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114.

[18] This study is based on an estimate of the optimum cultivated area needed by a family, the quality of the soil being taken into account. A similar method has been used in the case of cattle. Cf. Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, pp. 343-7.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

604 The paternal uncle may marry his sister-in-law. He has the
429 same rights over his nephews and the same obligations to them as their father. If the widow marries a stranger (umwinjila), the latter becomes the guardian of the children, but as a rule he has not much authority. And if he does not fulfill his obligations, he may be driven out by the patemal uncle and has to go away empty-handed.

Similarly, if the uncle who is guardian does not fulfill his obligations, the children may complain to their father's patron, or, if they have no cattle, to the hill chief. When they have grown up, they may even drive out the unworthy guardian.

Only through marriage do the sons gain independence unless previously they have freed themselves with violence from the guardian's authority.

593 Nevertheless, even when they are emancipated by marriage, male children are not freed of their obligations to their parents (1).

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p.60.

[39] CHAPTER VII. MAJORITY AND INTERDICTION

[881] In Ruanda there is no initiation ceremony to mark the entrance
885 of boys into social life any more than there are age classes. But when a young man has become ingaragu, his father then looks upon him as a man; he speaks to him of cattle and crops, allows him to share his meal, and sends him in his place to the patron to pay homage, etc.

732 Lunatics (abasazi), the dumb (ibirazi) and the deaf (ibipfamatwi) move around freely and, except for the first, may marry.

593 The property of a spendthrift (ikarara, lit., half mad, exalted) is managed by his parents.

As for the bad son who is disobedient and insolent, he can be cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume).

561 CHAPTER VIII. TABLE INDICATING THE NAMES USED TO DESIGNATE THE DIFFERENT AGES OF LIFE (1)

1. The age given in years is obviously

9;Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

586 sufficient grounds, as in that case the wife had the right of co-habitation with one of her husband's agnates. Socially accepted grounds of divorce for a husband were his wife's neglect of domestic duties, or repeated adultery with a non-privileged partner. Sterility was not a reason for divorce as the man could always take another wife.

The divorced woman left with her only belongings—her clothes. Usually the husband gave her new clothes on that occasion. If bride-wealth and counter-gifts had been exchanged, nothing had to be given by either father. If bride-wealth had been paid, but not the counter-gifts, bride-wealth had to be returned except either where children had been born or where there were other marriage links between the two lineages concerned. If bride-wealth had not been paid, children went to live with their mother's kinsfolk unless their father paid the bride-wealth later. If bride-wealth was not returned and there were no children, the children borne by the wife in a following marriage could be claimed by the former husband.

Young children stayed with their divorced mother till they were seven or eight years old. They were then sent to their father's home where they were taken care of by another of his wives. Later on these children could visit their mother whenever they wished.

587 Divorced women usually married again easily. Their bride-wealth was lower and its payment was delayed till after marriage. But if it was felt that they were responsible for the failure of their previous marriage, then they did not always find another husband.

(*f*) *Celibacy*

589 Voluntary celibacy was unknown in Ruanda. Every man wanted to be married, to have children and a place of his own. Every girl wanted to be a mother. Those who were impotent (*ibiremba*) usually did not marry. Lepers (*ababembe*), the insane (*abasazi*), [582] and people ill with tuberculosis (*abanyagitundu*) were forbidden to [734] marry. Girls who had refused a husband often remained unmarried, as few men wanted to take the chance of being refused also. Single people lived with their kinsmen. Sometimes Tutsi bachelors were given a homestead and servants by their fathers.

482 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child
784 who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic conceptions.

3. Missions

797 The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the
563 main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave," the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the [139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons, and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.
797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men (abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and organizations form a network over the entire land. Although
797 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years
735 in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor
737 and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van
888 der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives" No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child. 851 586

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother. 842 [835] [853] 849 [874]

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place. 854 [885]

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization. 855 593 604

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to 857 [862] 868 859 000

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution
586 of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.
[587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes
587 the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
587 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia,
171 Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

768 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's
736 family and provide for their widowed mother. However, child-
less widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or
by begging.

The position of women is higher and the esteem in which
562 they are held is greater than among most other East African
593 Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned,
the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the hus-
band. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the
[462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the
fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to
the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with
all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the
wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the
children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is
also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found
among any other East African people -- that husband and wife
[264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the
northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier hus-
bands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live
there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications],
1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the
mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their
opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex-
562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and
the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by
inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among
the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded
[644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her
entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of re-
spect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states
as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the
proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with
work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family
council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They
are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one
wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

marriage coming from another inzu or to be made to another inzu, and whether the council thought that a connexion with such or such lineage was to be accepted, sought, or avoided. A certain number of disputes that the lineage head could not or would not settle alone were submitted to the council. When somebody had lost his cattle and was ruined, the council could determine and apportion a collective contribution to help him out of his difficulties. Finally, blood-feuds were discussed. When a member of the group had been killed by a member of another all the kinsmen of the victim attempted to retaliate by taking of the life of a kinsman of the offender. Compensation was not usual. I was told, however, by the Hutu of Bugoyi that there the murderer's group could prevent the taking of vengeance by handing over a beautiful girl. Political authority kept the feuds under strict control. Permission to retaliate had to be obtained from the king and when it was granted and vengeance had been achieved, the feud was at an end. No further vengeance could be taken. Sometimes the king made representatives of the two lineages share a meal.

As the preceding paragraphs suggest, there was no clear-cut division between the powers of the head and of the council. It was a question of the particular traditions in each inzu and of the individual characters of the persons concerned. Usually, however, the inzu was an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. The head could not rule in opposition to the men of standing in his lineage; they had the means to put pressure on him and then there was the possibility of recourse to the political chiefs, always glad to interfere in a domain which was not completely under their control.

The obligations and rights of the individual members of a primary patrilineage were many. There was first a prohibition on sexual intercourse within the group, which applied to relations whether in or out of wedlock. It was feared that the mating of descendants from the same inzu ancestor would produce sickly and malformed children. A few informants add that exogamy was necessary to promote connexions between descent-groups, these connexions being thought of as beneficial in a vague way. The Ruanda did not distinguish incestuous relations from prohibited relations because of consanguinity. For them all the latter were incestuous. But they recognized order in the degrees of gravity in

482 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child
784 who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic conceptions.

3. Missions

797 The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success
563 in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave," the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the [139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons, and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.
797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men (abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and organizations form a network over the entire land. Although
797 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years
735 in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor
737 and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van
888 der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives" No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

gives a density of 235·8 per square mile or 91·9 per square kilometre.[13] This density is among the highest in Africa, south of the Sahara.[14] What may we infer from these figures as regards the population at the beginning of this century? According to the available statistics for the last fifteen years, when the circumstances are favourable the yearly increase of Ruanda population may reach three per cent. This increased ratio could hardly have been maintained over the whole of the last fifty years, mainly because the 'favourable circumstances' refer to medical amenities, new hygienic practices and the reduction of famine. Such conditions were by no means prevalent when the Europeans occupied the country in 1899.[15] Even since 1935, however, events have not always been favourable, as for three years (1941–2–3) there was a decrease of population due to a severe scarcity of food. Consequently it seems safe to assume that during the decades preceding the European occupation, the population was already very dense. According to Captain Bethe, it numbered about 2,000,000 in 1899.[16] In 1907, Czekanowski estimated the Ruanda population at approximately 1,710,000.[17]

According to a detailed survey made by the Department of Agriculture, there are about 60,000 to 70,000 families (out of a total of about 380,000 families) more than can be adequately fed by the country.[18] There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there

[13] There is a census for the male and able-bodied adults who are taxpayers. To obtain the total number of the population (females, old people, and children) the number of taxpayers in each administrative district is multiplied by a certain coefficient which is determined in each case by a sample-census of a few hills.

[14] For comparative purposes, there are a few density figures for some African territories according to present political boundaries: Uganda: 52·8 per square mile; Tanganyika: 20·7; Belgian Congo: 12·9; Nigeria: 92·0; Sierra Leone: 66·5. All these figures, taken from Hailey, 1957, p. 143, refer to the years 1948-52.

[15] Captain Bethe, a German officer, obtained from the king in 1899 Ruanda's acceptance of the Imperial Government's protection. There was no treaty, only an oral agreement which was followed by a permanent occupation by the German authorities. The first Christian mission was established in 1900, at Isavi, by the White Fathers. Belgian troops took possession of Ruanda during the First World War in 1916. The Belgian occupation of Ruanda-Urundi was confirmed by the Orts-Milner Agreement in 1919. In 1924, Belgium agreed to administer Ruanda-Urundi under the supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Ruanda-Urundi became a United Nations Organization Trusteeship Territory administered by Belgium. Cf. Jentgen, 1947, pp. 9-11, 83-9

[16] Quoted by Czekanowski, 1917, p. 109 n. [17] See Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114.

[18] This study is based on an estimate of the optimum cultivated area needed by a family, the quality of the soil being taken into account. A similar method has been used in the case of cattle. Cf. Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, pp. 343-7.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

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2: Meyer--40A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 3. Conical Pendants of Copper. Neck Ornament and Amulet filled with "Medicine." (Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

Fig. 4. Iron Bells as Neck Ornament. (Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi, probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force available to the parents and the better are the prospects of obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359). As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret science among the women, and the men do not appear to have any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

756 accordingly" (No. 45, 1913, p. 46). As a rule the craft of the umufumu is passed on from father to son, but it is also possible for extraordinary events or experiences suddenly to lead a Murundi, who until then has not felt any inclination to be an umufumu, to practice sorcery (kuragusa), for example, if he is unexpectedly saved from death. Then people say: "You have been chosen by Kiranga, and you must help us and mediate between him and us. Go and find the necessary objects, we shall come." If someone has thus been elevated to the status of the abafumu without any of his doing, if for many years he practices his craft and is sought after by numerous suffering people, success quite understandably often causes a kind of auto-suggestion and self-deception. Gradually the umufumu begins to believe more and more in his own power. He does after all believe in the magic of Kiranga, and besides, quite often he uses real and effective medicines in his cures. However, pious belief often goes hand in hand with a liberal dose of deliberate deception.

●751 789 Father Gassldinger gives an excellent description of the versatility of the abafumu in inventing and manufacturing their amulets and also of their function as magicians which affects every situation in the life of a Murundi: "The little stranger has hardly arrived on this earth when his brother, uncle, or nephew runs to the umufumu and asks him to come to the hut and to bring along his isato, the magic wand. The umufumu does not have to be asked twice. He puts a large number of peculiarly shaped pieces of wood and bones into a bag and immediately appears at the side of the newborn infant. The family may be rich, and in this case a great show must be made to earn the generous reward which is expected. First, he spends quite a while practicing all kinds of tricks. When he has finished with this, he solemnly takes the real iviheko from his bag: finger-length pieces of wood covered with butter and red earth and with a hole in the middle; then a few seeds of a sacred tree adroitly wrapped in twisted straws; a little antelope horn filled with ocherous earth into which are stuck small pieces

751 of wood and cat's hair; two leopard claws; a piece of snake skin
789 covered with soot; a little box made of dried pumpkin rind containing a piece of umbilical cord and hair of a newborn infant mixed with bean flour and ashes of the bones of wild boars, etc. He hangs these 20 to 30 small amulets around the infant's neck, and another such string with at least a dozen of these amulets is tied around the child's loins: one amulet against intestinal worms, another as protection against lightning, another against diarrhea, the next against snake bite, another one against skin diseases, and the last one to help the child become fat and strong. The umufumu breathes on the child, flails his arms convulsively, rattles his bells violently, and blesses and sanctifies the individual iviheko, for the Barundi do not believe in a power in these sticks, hair, and horns in themselves but only in the blessing and anointing which they have received from the umufumu. The potency of this blessing depends on the power of the umufumu and on the rarity of the substratum, the vehicle of this sanctification. There is no other Negro tribe which believes as firmly in the iviheko or which wears them in such great numbers as the Barundi.

789 "After the child has grown somewhat older, he begins to make crude bows and wooden arrows for himself and to practice shooting at birds. At that stage his parents seek even stronger iviheko for him, especially the horn of a gazelle filled with powder and containing a few iron points. This is supposed to impart strength for hunting, to make for good marksmanship, and to deflect the missiles of the enemy. When the boy has reached the age when he wants to find himself a wife, there is another series of iviheko to help him. After the marriage, he safeguards his wife's faithfulness and the speedy arrival of healthy [131] offspring by using still other amulets. In disease and misfortune and especially when he feels death approaching, the Murundi seeks rest and comfort in sleep caused by using particularly strong iviheko. On a journey the Murundi wears his own amulets; he sticks others in the four corners of his field; some hang over his bed. There are more amulets hidden near the entrance to the hut, and particularly strong and powerful ones are buried in the earth next to the fireplace. Sick cows are supposed to be cured

756 to him for generations, but this is done before the "case" be-
757 comes serious and requires the attention of an umufumu. These remedies are in a class by themselves (p. 140), and at this point we are only discussing sorcery, magic remedies and their application.

Regardless of the kind of remedy which is to be applied,
755 the Murundi first tests its effectiveness by external application. Even those remedies which can only be of help if taken internally are first strapped or spread on the ailing part of the body since they are expected to have a magical power similar to an amulet. Even European medicines meant to be taken internally, such as pills, powders, or tablets, are first wrapped in a leaf by the Murundi and tied to the sick organ. Only if he does not feel any improvement after that, will he finally make up his mind to swallow or drink them.

There are countless numbers of true amulets (iviheko)
751 which are made of various substances and in various shapes.
789 They are always worn suspended on the body in a small compact form (Plate 55). We have already listed quite a number of these above (p. 130). Usually they are suspended from the neck on strings, but frequently they are also tied to the head, to the belly, or to the genitalia, etc. At times each one hangs on a separate piece of string, at other times dozens of different kinds are strung up on a single piece of string, similar to a necklace. The material used for making the amulet is not as important as the sorcery through which the umufumu imparts supernatural powers to the object, but in most cases the amulet consists of a piece of wood three to six centimeters long, if for no other reason than that it is easiest to produce and to carry. One may also see claws or hooves of leopards, cats, goats, and sheep, the bones of birds, pieces of snake skin or the fur of wild animals, dried fruit, mussels, pebbles with unusual shapes, but, most frequently, powder from various types of soil, ashes of burnt bones or of the horns of animals, and flour made of various kinds of grain (No. 19, p. 29). Usually these powdery charms are poured into a small cattle, goat, or antelope horn whose opening is then closed with wax. Hollowed out fruit

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies, against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who
[556] can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most
[554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the
[791] Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most lucrative sources of income.

The abafumu have another important task: to discover
754 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various
791 ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

Plate 54

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[285]

Headdresses and Amulets; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 1) Bifurcated stick with medicine amulets in plaited satchels, 82 centimeters long; Nos. 2, 3) Plaited dancing caps with goat hair and cowrie shells, 68 and 80 centimeters long.

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Plate 55

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[531]

Neck Ornaments and Amulets Filled with "Medicine."

Nos. 1, 4) Goat horns, pieces of bone, wooden sticks, 16 and 20 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – Nos. 2, 3) Carved cattle horns, 9 and 10 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
826

1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets. The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

144

2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

784 keeper or owner of a herd, his property would also suffer from this infraction of custom (2). /411/

2. His cows would bear only male calves.

A husband may not use this kitchen utensil to beat his wife! He would risk the loss of his life.

The failure to observe most of the prescribed customs while celebrating a wedding would make the parents of the two partners liable to illness or death.

[551] When asked what their name is, children, young men, and girls either do not answer or give a false name, for fear that the stranger may cast an evil spell upon them and thus prevent them from growing.

[84] A woman in her menses may not enter a hut where there is a newborn child, lest she cause the baby to contract scabies. Hence [751] the custom of placing a copper-thread bracelet (urunyerere, or urwinjiri) about the neck of babies as a talisman and preventive.

[643] The king must never bend his knees, in order not to expose his kingdom to becoming smaller.

A father may not step over the hide that serves as a portable cradle (ingobyi) for his child, nor may a son step over his mother's belt.

A woman may not step over a spear, milk a cow, repair the roof of a hut, imitate (!) the cry of a rooster, etc.

It is forbidden to sit on a food basket.

When it thunders, one may not smoke a pipe when seated on a chair.

No one may rest on a sheepskin, or he will contract scabies (ngo badahumana). There is danger of death involved in carrying a whetting stone (ityazo) into someone else's house.

It is expressly forbidden to kill certain birds and certain reptiles, [825 not only because they are totem but also because they are regarded 777] either as good luck for the land, like the wagtail (inyamanza), or as bad luck, like the scaly anteater, whose dead body might draw great misfortunes upon the territory. /412/

784 A traveler who stubs his left foot against an obstacle or who
[484] meets with a rat whose pelt is slightly mottled (umushushwe) must return home, lest misfortune come to him.

If one finds black ants (intozi) on one's path, he must draw his hand over his foot as though to remove them, lest they swarm into his hut.

A pregnant woman must not see a European nor hear the sound
[843] of a gunshot, else the child she bears will suffer (1).

1. In order to neutralize this influence, she need only procure a cartridge case, a piece of paper,
[751] or even a piece of tile, brick, or any other object of European origin, and wear it around her neck as an amulet or talisman. The child will be born safe from injury.

[842] A woman who has borne only sons may not nurse the daughter of another woman, lest she bear nothing but girls from now on.

A man may not meet with his betrothed or with his mother-in-law prior to marriage (2). The king was formerly forbidden to see
[643]

2. Cf. "Cérémonies du mariage /Marriage Ceremonies/," by Fr. Pagès (Anthropos, 1925).

his sons, at least in theory, for it has been proved that the last monarchs often broke this rule.

If the manufacturer of banana wine insults someone while crushing the fruit, he runs the risk of contracting the scurfy disease (guhumana).

A woman must keep silent while kneading sorghum dough. If a dog or chicken dirties the floor of the hut, she is forbidden to leave her work and clean the spot, or the bread may shrink.

If the bottom bananas in a bunch ripen first, the owner of the grove worries because it means that a danger threatens him. /413/

783 The murderer in turn worries about the consequences of his act. He appeals, therefore, to the same kind of operators in order to avert the vengeance and the curse which he was wrought upon himself and his kinsmen.

The rival of the previously mentioned sorcerer takes a reed which he cleaves throughout its length without altogether separating the tips. He draws apart the two rods, which are stuck into the ground. The culprit and members of his family pass under this novel type of bridge. The operator seizes the reed, puts its two parts back together, and tosses it at a distance, saying, "I have warded off the spirit (of the deceased) that was pursuing you." Then, leading his client to a crossroads, he sprinkles him with a few drops of a liquid he has prepared and which contains the juices of certain plants.

Standing back to back with his protégé, the sorcerer /419/ slips into his hands some amulets which he must wear around his neck. "Just as we cannot see each other," adds the protector against sorcery, "may the spirit of the man thou hast killed never see thee (find thee)." Then he tells the man to lie flat on the ground. Taking a sort of broom (urutsiro) made of plants with magic properties, he brushes it over the body of the individual. "Ndagushumburuye, I have caused the spirit of the man who pursued thee to depart," he adds.

The operation has every chance of success if the murderer manages to obtain through gifts the services of the sorcerer who "worked" for the victim and his relatives.

3. "Exhumers and mutilators of corpses" (ababûzi), from the
789 word kwabura, "to exhume a corpse."

751 They are resorted to in two cases; /first, / when it concerns a criminal who has been executed, and his spirit must be prevented from harming the living, that is to say, those who killed him. We shall speak of this later in the course of this work.

The second case is the following: The murderer, a man of common extraction, whether he killed willingly or unwillingly, wishes to be protected in turn against the wrath of his victim's spirit. To this end, he calls upon one of the exhumers of corpses who helps him obtain the body of the slain man (this is not always easy). Then the corpse must be mutilated in order to drive the spirit out of it.

789 The sorcerer mutilator cuts off a tiny piece (isonga) from the tongue,
751 heart, little finger (umuhera), and skin, and these pieces are dried above the hearth. All of this is then enclosed in a small horn, preferably black, which the assassin wears around his neck as a talisman and which guards him not only against his victim but also against the latter's relatives.

It is also good to procure some of the herb called irago or umurago which has been planted on the slain man's grave. /420/

If this is added to the other gruesome items contained by the horn, the talisman becomes more powerful.

We may add that these people charge very high fees for their services. A bull, at least, is required.

C. Sorcerers who preside over ordeals and who prepare the
695 test poisons. Sorcerers of this type bear the name of Abashozi, hence the verbs gushora, "to put someone through a test," and gushoka (a neutral verb) to designate the test itself.

It does seem that here in Ruanda ordeals are employed only in criminal cases and that their sole object is to prove the innocence or culpability of those who submit to them, as was formerly done in the Middle Ages. Our Blacks have such faith and trust in such judicial methods that they believe in their absolute effectiveness. They have never given a thought to the absurdity of those divinatory tests, in which chance and fraud play such a predominant role.

Such tests are numerous, but the most widespread is that which
695 consists of drinking or smoking the urwizilinga, a kind of shrub that
278 seems to bear at least a superficial resemblance to datura (1). In any

[824]

1. Moavi is used as the test poison practically throughout the rest of Africa. This plant does not seem to exist in Ruanda. The matter, nevertheless, would be worth investigating.

case their effects are similar.

Among medicine men Father Van Thiele distinguishes two 759
different professional secret societies, the bakoni and the bageiye, 575
who are initiated with the banga ceremony. Bageiye heal persons suffering from snake bite.

I had no opportunity to see a bageiye perform in Ruanda. 752
When a man was bitten by a snake on the way to the Muhawura

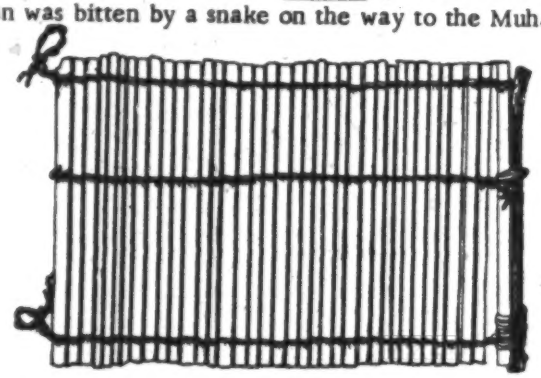

Fig. 178. Splints for Immobilizing Broken Bones, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13742. 26 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide.)

volcano, [327] the natives wanted to tie the head of the dead snake on the wound as an antidote.

The following account by Father Van Thiele about a preventive treatment for the greatly feared disease of smallpox 751
(bushita) is very interesting.

The medicine man first provides everyone with amulets consisting of gourd seeds. Even the water jug gets its amulet. Then he gives a preventive medicine which he boils. After the boiling he blows air into it through a straw so as to make foam which is rubbed all over the body. The efficacy of the medicine is increased by making incisions in five different places: three incisions over the right eye and one incision each on the right shoulder, the back, the right hand, and above the right foot. The medicine man spits on his little finger and rubs the incisions with it.

Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice. The problem of cannibal- 266
ism and human sacrifice in the interlacustrine region is the most 782
obscure and difficult of all. For example, in Ruanda the bimara, 651

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752 BODILY INJURIES--theory of the causation of mishaps and accidental injuries; first aid; treatment of wounds, cuts, burns, frostbite, bruises, and sprains (e.g., ligatures, bandages, poultices, massage, cauterization); treatment of snake and insect bites; antidotes for poisoning; treatment of fractures (e.g., bonesetting, trepanation); surgical operations; use of sterile techniques; adjustments to pain (e.g., anesthetics); dental surgery; etc. See also:

Obstetrics 84
Incidence of accidents 164
Mutilation 304
Surgical instruments 413
Accident insurance 456
Bloodletting 757
Wound doctors, surgeons, and dentists 759
Ideas about human anatomy 876

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
231 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist
776 between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

757 there are others which rely on mechanical means for an effect, as, for instance, massage, enema, hot and cold baths, and, further, a small number of surgical operations from the simple [752] opening of a boil to (allegedly) the Caesarean operation (see above, p. 110). Difficult cases are treated by an experienced, skillful umufumu, but for simple cases every father of a family uses a number of household remedies. The art of using them is passed on from father to son. If necessary, a sick neighbor is given the benefit of them also.

[141] Generally, the first remedy tried is hot or cold water. It is used for intensive rubdowns, for long baths in treating skin diseases, aching joints, insomnia, and fever. A Murundi [515] enjoys taking a bath whenever a sufficient supply of water is available, but as soon as possible after the bath he will rub butter on his skin. There are several natural thermal baths in Urundi [312] which are used not only by the people living in the vicinity. For example, a gushing thermal spring whose water temperature is 47° Centigrade is located near Kisagara, a village not far from the Mugera missionary station, and there is another one north of Tschiwitoke in the Ruzizi Valley. A kind of steam bath is given to persons with fever by alternately holding their heads and limbs over a pot of boiling, steaming water (No. 19, p. 183). Enemas of warm water to which some herbal juice has been added are very common. They are given by first introducing the end of a long hollow stalk of reed or a strong leaf folled into the form of a tube into the anus; then the person applying the treatment blows a mouthful of water through the other end of this pipe into the bowels (No. 19, p. 331). Adults frequently give an enema to themselves: they fill one of the long-necked bottle gourds with water, insert the narrow end of the long bottleneck into the anus, and then lift the calabash in such a manner as to permit the water to enter the bowels by its own weight. Enemas are used for stomach-aches of any kind, constipation, diarrhea, fever, etc.

[278] There are innumerable medicines made of inorganic, vegetable, and animal substances. Among these, poisons play a relatively minor role, for the Barundi do not even know how to make arrows poisonous. The Batwa often use very effective

757 poison on their arrows. Nevertheless, besides magical conceptions, the fear of poison is probably the main reason why most medicines are first applied externally to the skin or worn in a poultice. Only after this method fails to produce results do they decide to take the medicine internally (cf. also p. 132).

One of the popular external remedies is the burning of the skin (cauterization) on the ailing part of the body. For this purpose a mixture of grease and wood ashes is first rubbed on the skin, then a red-hot piece of iron is applied to it. Afterward a little butter is rubbed on to alleviate the pain (No. 19, p. 91). In other cases a sharp knife is used instead of a hot piece of iron. It is used either as an especially strong irritant or for drawing blood. The method is similar to that of tattooing (p. 79). The Murundi does not actually practice blood-letting nor does he open the veins of human patients, although he frequently uses an arrowhead for bleeding cattle so as to enjoy their blood (p. 45). Boils on the surface of the skin are opened
● 752 with a needle or a knife. If a person is suffering from aching limbs, a series of small incisions are made in the skin with the local type of razor. Certain healing ointments or powders are then applied to the wound. The technique of cupping is also known. [Fig. 18 appears here in the original text.] It is applied by placing a piece of cattle horn (Fig. 18), [142] with the point pierced, on the place where an incision has been made in the skin. Through the hole in the horn the wound is then sucked until a sufficient amount of blood has been extracted (No. 19, p. 527).

However, the Barundi are very much afraid of deeper incisions, even if they are made by a European. A Murundi physician never performs amputations of limbs. Broken arms or legs are adroitly and carefully put in splints by placing them between two flat boards of wood which are then held firmly together with strips of barkcloth so that movement is impossible. Considering the prevailing disinclination for surgical operations, it appears very doubtful to me whether the Barundi actually perform as difficult an operation as the Caesarean on living women as van der Burgt mentions in a short note (No. 19, p. 363).

[Text continues on page 221]

2: Meyer--220A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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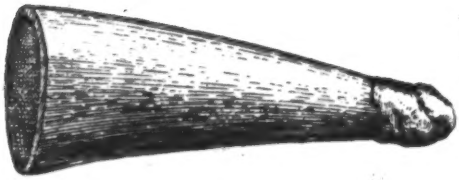

Fig. 18. Cupping Instrument of Cattle Horn.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6543.)

752 It seems more likely that, as in Ruanda, Ussuwi, and Kisiba (No. 31, p. 117; No. 48, p. 228; Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications] 1879, p. 393), they only perform a Caesarean operation on women who have just died in order to save the infant or at least to remove it from the womb so that it may be buried separately (see pp. 110, 140). Trepanation is unknown among the Barundi.

164 Many of the diseases from which the Barundi suffer are of an endemic character, for example, malaria, relapsing fever, leprosy, and sand fleas. Only a few appear as an epidemic, for example, smallpox and sleeping sickness, but their effect is all the more terrible since the Barundi do not know or apply any antidotes. Van der Burgt lists a whole series of diseases which occur in this region (No. 19, pp. 350-351), but he often uses different names for one and the same disease in its different stages. The following ones, in particular, should be mentioned: syphilis, fever, boils, inflammation of the eye, sores on legs and arms, epilepsy, cramps, leprosy, tapeworms and other intestinal worms, phthisis (ikihaha), dysentery, coughing, abscess on the vulva, diphtheria (?), inflammation of the testicles, gonorrhea, rheumatism, head porrigo, threadworms (filaria), omphalocele, elephantiasis, smallpox, insanity, loss of teeth, lithiasis, paralysis, catarrh of the frontal cavity, whooping cough, dropsy, blood in the urine, deafness, inflammation of the chest, leucorrhea and blennorrhea.

164 731 Of all diseases, smallpox (akaranda, akasibe) is the most feared. It comes in epidemics and depopulates entire districts, as, for instance, in the beginning of the 1890's when in Urundi, Ruanda, Karagwe, and other areas of the interlacustrine region many thousands of people were carried away. According to native reports a serious smallpox epidemic afflicted the country around the turn of the century. Less epidemic in nature but also 164 very much feared are the different types of inflammation of the throat (ikiwa) which should be described as angina and some of them perhaps as diphtheria. Often they quickly result in the infected person's death. Running pustules and boils (ikihoro,

755 to the afflicted parts of the body. Since the amulets are very specialized in their effects, every illness requires a different amulet, sometimes even a different medicine man. That is why one constantly sees individuals with a dozen amulets.

There are many different types of amulets. There are, first of all, small pieces of wood decorated with little glass beads. One or two of these are worn on the bast headband. Sometimes several thin wooden cylinders with glass beads are worn on a necklace. One also sees quite a number of larger pieces of wood on a necklace. Occasionally amulets have the shape of tiny clay vessels filled with long-distance medicine. Similarly shaped are
832 the little love pots (ingondo) which are [326] worn in large numbers by the women on their belts. They are said to guarantee the love of their husbands. The small gourds called bunuli serve the same purpose. Vessels of this kind are filled with the medicine known as isarazi.

752 Sometimes the sick person is branded with a hot iron. One often sees scars of burns on the forehead, which indicate headache treatments. In other cases incisions and bloodletting are performed.

Bloodletting (kurasha) is common in Ruanda medical practice. A vein in the forehead is chosen and blocked by means of pressure (bandaging the neck). The vein is then opened. This is done by placing an arrow or a knife on the vein and pushing it into the vein with the index finger.

When a sufficient amount of blood has been drawn off, the ligature is removed. The bleeding usually stops automatically. If it does not, the opening is stopped up with clay.

Cupping is also a favorite treatment. An antelope horn with a small opening at the point serves as a cupping glass. Air is sucked out through the opening, and the cup is sealed with fig leaves. The cupping horn is placed on the neck in the case of a headache. To increase its effectiveness, the skin is often lacerated with a knife. The cupping horn is kept on the spot until it falls off by itself. The cupping horns do not differ from those of the Dinka.

In fractures of arms or legs the bones are skillfully set and immobilized with splints (busenge).

[Text continues on p.266]

6: Czekanowski--265 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 174. Clay Containers for Amulets, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10147.)

Fig. 175. Little Love Pots, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13087a, III E13088c, III E13086a, III E13084b.)

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Fig. 176. Love Gourd from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13119. 12 centimeters high.)

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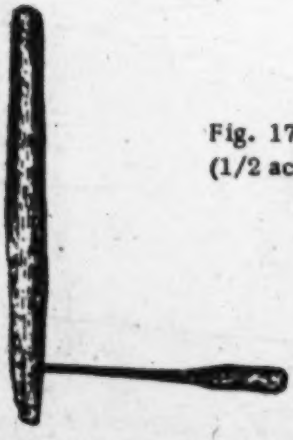

Fig. 177. Instrument for Bleeding, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L15066.)

Among medicine men Father Van Thiele distinguishes two 759
different professional secret societies, the bakoni and the bageiye, 575
who are initiated with the banga ceremony. Bageiye heal persons suffering from snake bite.

I had no opportunity to see a bageiye perform in Ruanda. 752
When a man was bitten by a snake on the way to the Muhawura

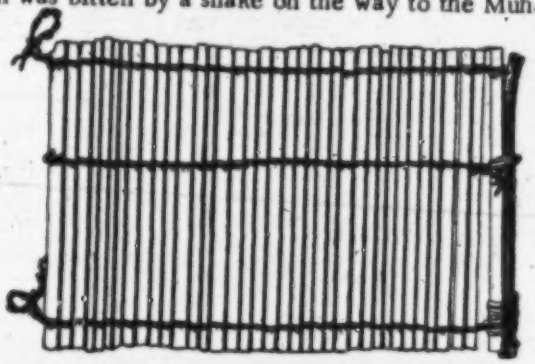

Fig. 178. Splints for Immobilizing Broken Bones, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13742. 26 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide.)

volcano, [327] the natives wanted to tie the head of the dead snake on the wound as an antidote.

The following account by Father Van Thiele about a preventive treatment for the greatly feared disease of smallpox 751
(bushita) is very interesting.

The medicine man first provides everyone with amulets consisting of gourd seeds. Even the water jug gets its amulet. Then he gives a preventive medicine which he boils. After the boiling he blows air into it through a straw so as to make foam which is rubbed all over the body. The efficacy of the medicine is increased by making incisions in five different places: three incisions over the right eye and one incision each on the right shoulder, the back, the right hand, and above the right foot. The medicine man spits on his little finger and rubs the incisions with it.

Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice. The problem of cannibal- 266
ism and human sacrifice in the interlacustrine region is the most 752
obscure and difficult of all. For example, in Ruanda the bimara, 651

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkokó) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade. [439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the [262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior [782] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453). [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by 262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 753 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom: when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

235 from doing this again. Barundi passing this way take pains not
753 to crush the shells since the improvident person doing so would get sick (No. 19, p. 453).

231 Finally, among the domesticated animals we shall mention the dog (imbwa). His only purpose in life is to eat all the refuse. Adults and children play with him and also maltreat him. It has already been mentioned above (p.36) that on rare occasions he is also used for hunting drives. Both mentally and physically they are most miserable curs and it is difficult to understand why, after being domesticated for so long, they have not made better progress. Perhaps their domestication does not date back as far as is generally assumed, but in that case what might be their indigenous wild ancestor? Van der Burgt says that they "tiennent du loup" (resemble the wolf) (No. 19, p. 104). This can only be an error of observation for these dogs have much more in common with a jackal than with a wolf. Perhaps the jackal is the ancestor. Yet the original stock has separated into two different breeds, unless we assume that one breed was indigenous while the other was introduced later, probably by the Bahima. One breed is yellow-brown, and its ears are pointed upright. The other one is black, white, or spotted and has drooping ears. Mixed types, however, are quite frequent. Both types have only a little hair on their tails. When they run, the stiff, jolting motions of their legs are conspicuous. I have found the same two types or varieties distributed also in Kisiba and Ruanda. In Ruanda dogs are bred in greater numbers than in Urundi, probably because they are used for hunting more than here. Since dogs are not fed, they have to take care of themselves, and of necessity they have become omnivorous. They are always hungry and very skinny. Whenever they find something to eat, they fill themselves until they are ready to burst. What Europeans find most revolting about them and the
364 Barundi consider a useful trait is that they eat human excrement. In a country where there are no pigs and only a few scavenger birds, which take care of the sanitation problem in the rest of East Africa, the dogs are of hygienic importance. Apart from this they have absolutely no social virtues. They are snappish, cowardly, thievish, very poor watchdogs, and miserable

791 This chief sorcerer was a kind of Delphic Oracle for the entire
756 interlacustrine region. He enjoyed such a high reputation that the kings of Urundi and Ruanda often sent missions to him to obtain the benefit of his counsel. The same is also frequently reported of the rulers of Usindja (No. 35, pp. 498, 506). As far as the sorcerers of Urundi, Kisiba, Ussumbwa, and other adjoining areas are concerned, we know that at times they travel to Uha in order to learn higher magic from the famous abafumu who live there. On the other hand, there are Baha medicine men who are employed as "court sorcerers" by various rulers of the interlacustrine region. The influential court sorcerer of the Urundi king, Mutaga, is also a Muhutu from Uha. His name is Kiburua (Ndandi), and he is well provided for by the king (report by von Langenn). It appears that all these Baha sorcerers are Bahutu, Bantu. This again is connected with the fact that the Bantu is by nature inclined toward mysticism and that the Bantu population is much older than the Bahima immigrants. There is no sorcerers' school in Urundi or Ruanda, where one might learn the secret teachings and practices from a "Council of Wise Men," but, as has been mentioned above, power and wisdom is passed on from one generation to the other within the family. Whoever has inherited these attributes and wishes to augment them must try to imitate the techniques of other magicians.

[132] As is evident from the examples reported by Father
756 Gassldinger which have been listed above, the functions of the umufumu are extremely varied. They encompass all conceivable physical ailments of man and animal, and the umufumu applies innumerable natural and supernatural techniques for assuaging and curing them. In the opinion of the Barundi, however, the natural remedies are not successful merely because of their natural characteristics -- for what does he know about physical and chemical effects, about the physiology of the body, or about causality, etc. -- but their effects stem from supernatural
● [753] powers imparted to them by the umufumu. They believe that sickness, when not a case of direct poisoning, is usually caused by the supernatural influence of evil spirits (abarosi). It is, of
756 course, true that the Murundi, for his domestic use, applies
757 a great number of simple remedies which have been passed down

[140] Chapter 10

Medicine, Chronometry, Arithmetic, Language

1. Medicine

753 We have already discussed above (p. 132) the basic re-
755 ligious elements in the concepts of the Barundi about all kinds
of sickness and their remedies. To the Barundi, all illnesses
757 are the result of sorcery by a demon, and they can be cured or alleviated only by counter-magic. This counter-magic may be performed by the sorcerer or medicine man (umufumu) by means of the magic powers vested in him. He may seek to affect the demon of sickness either by certain manipulations or incantations or by means of talismans and amulets which he has endowed with his powers, or he may choose with prudent circumspection and mature experience certain natural substances which have specific inherent magical powers, herbs, juices, types of earth, or the body parts of animals, and use them as specific remedies for each particular case.

I should like to describe this last type of application as
757 being essentially medical treatment of the patient, for the decisive element is, after all, that these remedies have not been vested with their magic power and effectiveness by the umufumu, but rather they had these qualities originally. Without a thorough investigation, we are unable to answer the question whether we should say that the natives regard these properties as the expression of a soul inherent in the object or as the characteristic emanations of the object itself (in the sense of "emanism" as defined by Karutz, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie [Ethnological Journal], 1913, p. 545 ff.). For our present purposes this question is only of secondary importance. Such remedies, endowed with healing power a priori, can be effectively applied not only by the sorcerer but by any other intelligent man or woman familiar with their specific magical properties and able to select them properly. In addition to these remedies which are applied internally and externally,

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *imandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barozi*), on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes of others. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or the rainy season is considered to be due to the change of weather. It is known that yaws can be got by contagion. Even death is very often accepted without seeking any magical explanation. It is expected, for instance, that people will die because of old age. If beans had been planted on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences have

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

been observed or when 'causes' have been discovered in the sphere of human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following these causes are considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events cannot be explained by reference to natural antecedents or causes, or are surrounded by peculiar circumstances, the intervention of ghosts or sorcerers is suspected and a diviner is consulted. If somebody has tuberculosis (*igitundu*) and none of his forebears or the people with whom he lives has suffered from that disease, it is thought that sorcery is the cause. If somebody dies from an illness usually considered 'natural', but the death occurs a few days after a theft of which he is the supposed culprit, he is said to have been magically stricken at the request of the robbed person.

This attitude is in fact quite coherent. When the natural cause is known, the event is attributed to it; when it is not known, or appears extraordinary on account of the circumstances, the explanation is given in terms of beliefs concerning the non-material world. Why do Westerners not use a magical frame of reference on similar occasions? First, their wider knowledge of natural sequences of antecedents and consequents makes the residuum of naturally inexplicable facts more restricted. For instance, a sudden death appears to them quite understandable for purely medical reasons. To Banyarwanda, on the contrary, a sudden death is an event of which the physical causes are completely unknown. Second, even for residual facts not scientifically explained, there is in Western culture a faith that, given time and effort, a scientific explanation will be found. The Munyarwanda has no such belief in positive science. Third, for the disconcerting circumstances which may be coincidental with illness or death, the concept of chance, which does not appear frequently in Ruanda culture, is resorted to. However, Western believers in a provident God see in these exceptional circumstances, not an accidental constellation, but a sign of the meaning God intends to give to the illness or death.

A threat permanently dominating the mind of the Bahutu was that of being accused of sorcery. This danger was connected with the invisible world but was objective enough, for such an accusation could result in being killed and, of course, merely to refrain from anti-social magic did not ensure immunity from being called a *murozi*.

The Nature and Situation of Man

Kazikamuntu (which may mean Root-of-Men) is the common ancestor of all mankind. Created by *Imana*, he had, among other children, Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa who, as their names indicate, are the ancestors of the three Ruanda social and 'racial' groups. Gatwa killed one of his brothers and for that reason was cursed by his father. Gahutu, who had been chosen by his father as heir and successor, had been commissioned by him to accomplish an important mission. As a result of overeating, Gahutu fell asleep and could not collect the information his father wanted. Gatutsi, on the

796
231 The purifier-sorcerer need not be present at this last ceremony.
821 Their role and presence were essential only on the day of purification. They always come away with handsome rewards, leaving on the spot protective herbs or lucky amulets (impigi za Biheko).

3. In some localities individuals also resort to these doctors
753 in mystical sciences upon the death of a leper or the burning of a hut.
783 a. The natives have an acute aversion to contagious diseases and especially to leprosy. Once the unfortunate victim of one of those terrible diseases is dead, the purifier-sorcerer is called in to carry out various ceremonies. He tosses lustral water upon the hut of the deceased, and finally sets fire to it. The onlookers run far away in order to avoid the smoke, as though it could transmit the disease of the deceased owner.

In the central province of Nduga, the sorcerer has a small hut built in which he places the son of the deceased. With one hand he sets fire to the hut, while with the other he rapidly snatches the child out of it.

The leprosy is supposed to have vanished forever, and henceforth no other member of the family will become its victim. The sorcerer vouches for this. /440/

b. In order to avoid the evils which might befall the owner of a hut that has burned or even his neighbors, the same sorcerer is resorted to. He makes his clients drink the liquid mentioned previously.

The site of the hut is sprinkled with lustral water, and the bystanders are also sprinkled with it.

Three reeds stuck into the ground and covered with banana leaves make an improvised hut in which the owner and his wife must stay for an instant (baryamana). The evil spell has been lifted. Henceforth, nothing is to be feared (bamaz' umuriro or bamaze ishyano, that is to say, "they have warded off all misfortune"). The diseases which might have afflicted those present at the accident and their unborn children have been averted forever.

791 In the Bugoyi, to the northeast of Lake Kivu, the role of protector against fire and its deadly consequences is the prerogative of a special category of sorcerers known by the title of Abahozi or-

794 575 Secret Societies. The cult of Ryangombe is practiced by the secret societies of babandwa. These societies unite men and women, Batutsi and Bahutu.

In Nduga, above all, the secret societies of babandwa embrace a considerable part of the population. There, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, they seem not only to represent well-organized religious groups, but also to play a role in politics.

This is said to be especially true of the Biheko cult, for example. It is blamed for many a disturbance in the northern part of Ruanda. Biheko was apparently a woman consecrated to Binego, the disciple of Ryangombe. She was killed by Lwabugiri who, it seems, in doing this fought the particularistic tendencies of the north. In order to escape the revenge of her spirit, Lwabugiri permitted his subjects to be initiated into the cult she represented. Since that time, the Biheko cult is said to have made great progress in Mulera and Bugoye.

According to Father L. Classe (1) Biheko was a man from

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 440.

Ndorwa whose brothers were Lutindangezi, Gahaya, and Maloli.

[778] In Mulera the iron rods known as ikrosho are connected with the Biheko cult. They were already described in Mpororo by Stuhlmann (2) and associated with the Nyawingi cult.

2. Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika [Into the Heart of Africa with Emin Pasha] (Berlin, 1894), p. 253.

794 575 782 763 The dogma is somewhat as follows. Only those consecrated to Ryangombe may contact him, but it is necessary to establish contact with him. It is only through sacrifices that one can persuade Ryangombe to let the spirits that have been driven out return to the birunga (volcanoes) [306] and free the living from

794 them. This is of very great importance, especially in cases of
575 illness, for illness is, of course, caused by the spirits. That is
782 why sick people are often initiated into the secret societies of
753 babandwa. Sometimes this is done when they are already so ill that they are not quite conscious during the ceremonies, but the hope is that through the initiation the sick person will gain such a powerful protector that the latter will make possible the recovery of the new member. Despite these expectations, people do not omit the sacrifices to the manes of the sick person in order to receive their favor.

794 The existence of the [secret] society divides the population
575 into two classes: the consecrated and the profane. The consecrated ones, in turn, are divided into two subgroups, the babandwa who conduct the ceremonies and the rusingo, ordinary initiates of the lower grade. This creates a hierarchy in which discipline is exercised through fear of the supernatural power of the chosen ones. Hence the secret societies are powerful factors in social integration.

The hierarchy of secret societies does not correspond to the territorial division into chieftainships and exogamous clans. It creates dependencies that bridge these divisions, and the social structure is strengthened by the addition of these "supernatural powers."

794 It would be futile to speculate whether the states of the
575 interlacustrine region could exist without secret societies. It is very probable, however, that the rule of the Batutsi and Bahima
563 minorities is contingent on the organization of these societies. The ruling element seems to be disproportionately stronger among the babandwa, whose sons inherit their rank, than among the rest of the population, probably because the Ryangombe cult was allegedly a Batutsi cult originally. This view was expressed to me repeatedly in one way or another by missionaries and natives. It is supported by Rehse (1) who says that Ryangombe is regarded

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 134.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *murozi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

The Mutussi never
181 works unless he belongs to the lower class, but he takes a sports-
[461] man-like interest in his cattle. Work is the concern of the sub-
jugated Bahutu and hence disgraceful to a Mutussi, and only
the really poor Batussi will stoop to it. To be rich and powerful
and to enjoy life in idleness is for him the essence of wisdom,
the ideal which he endeavors to achieve with the utmost
cunning and lack of scruple. It is everyone for himself, a maxim
which is also adhered to by the Batussi as a whole in their rela-
tions to the ruled people, the Bahutu and Batwa.

Naturally this life of pleasure, indulged in for hundreds of years, has done great harm to the character and manly virtues of the Batussi. That they were not without courage, warlike ability, and energy can be easily inferred from the fact that, although they are small in numbers now and doubtless even smaller at one time, they have conquered this large country. Witness also the early history of their royalty (see p. 162 [not translated]). For a long time now, however, they have had their internal and external battles fought for them by their bondsmen, their Bahutu vassals, while they keep themselves cautiously in the background and cunningly direct operations from a safe place. Of course, there are praiseworthy exceptions even here.

In spite of all this, it must be admitted that even in this respect the Barundi are on a higher level than the Banjaruanda. In Urundi the Batussi are not so pleasure-seeking, lazy, mendacious, violent, and cowardly as those in Ruanda, nor are the Bahutu so servile and hypocritical toward superiors and so insolent toward the weak as they are there, nor does the king along with the lords living at his court indulge to such a degree in idleness, revelry, intrigues, and the satisfaction of vicious and cruel instincts as does the one in Ruanda.

563 In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, it is above all the will
[556] to power and the desire for pleasure which have caused the ruling
Batussi to keep the greatest form of wealth, cattle, to them-
selves. By this means alone they have created for themselves
an economic power over [16] the mass of the Bahutu which also
provides the surest foundation for their political predominance
[754] (see pp. 41-42). In addition they have cleverly succeeded in

563 acquiring a reputation among the superstitious Bahutu of being
[154] great sorcerers and have made themselves greatly feared for this reason. Also, the priesthood works hand in hand with them to enslave and exploit the people (see p. 134). The exploita-
563 tion of the mass of the people and the crass egoism of the small
642 Batussi minority are made possible by the whole ingenious political system of both the Barundi and the Banjaruanda, with its strict legal separation of races and castes, with the rigidly graded system of vassals and supervising officials, the hierarchy of priests, privileged families, princes, etc. All this will be described in detail in later chapters of this book. The astonishing political acumen of the Batussi merely promotes the selfishness with which they exploit the subject Bahutu. There is no trace of any higher conception of the state.

For this reason it is natural that the Bahutu regard the
563 Batussi only as conquerors of a different tribe whose yoke weighs
181 heavily on them. Yet, although they hate the Batussi, they make no effort to free themselves from their bondage for, like almost all Negro peoples, their nature necessitates subordination under a firm guiding hand. Moreover, their fear of the Batussi is so great that they would not hazard an open rebellion against them. Indeed, though few in numbers, the Batussi are vastly
563 superior to the Bahutu in intelligence and in the fact that a
186 solidarity exists among them which is constantly being renewed under the impulse of common interests. The Bahutu, on the other hand, are split up into a number of mutually warring clans and tribal groups, lack any sort of genuine national consciousness, and are being played off against each other in an ingenious manner by the Batussi.

000 As long as the Batussi are the rulers in the country, an intellectual and cultural revival of the Barundi people is impossible, for it is only the present depressed condition of the Bahutu, maintained through hundreds of years of seclusion, that guarantees the domination of the Batussi. For the time being, however, we Germans must collaborate with the Batussi and interest them materially in our projects in Urundi since we are still too weak to meet an open attack on their part. The goal of our long term colonial policy, however, must be to crush the

[86] Chapter 7

Political Organization, Law, Social Organization, Clans, Totemism

1. War, Monarchy, Feudal System

721 Insofar as there is a historical tradition, the history of the Barundi shows that under the rule of strong and energetic kings this people performed extraordinary warlike deeds which for a long period protected the country from the oppression of black or Arab conquerors (Ruanda, Mirambo, Wangoni [Ngoni], Rumalisa). It is only in recent decades with the decline of the dynasty and the lack of a great compelling personality that the warlike spirit and comprehensive organization has become weakened, so much so that the German occupation met no special obstacles. The present-day Barundi, i.e., the Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa, are not inclined to conduct war against an external enemy, in spite of their violent, quarrelsome temperament and their innumerable internal feuds. They are peaceful if they are left in peace.

In the past, too, during the period of their political strength, the Barundi did not conduct big wars for the purpose of expansion and conquest as did the Wangoni and the Wahehe [Hehe]. The usual practice was rather internal guerrilla warfare by one Murundi chief against another and the eternal clan and family feuds within their own country. Matters became serious only when foreign aggressors invaded the country. In such a case there were first several minor attempts to repel the aggressor, and then the entire people finally rose up behind their king and expelled the invader. This happened, for example, to the Arab leader, Rumalisa, and his slave-hunting bands (p. 165 [not translated]).

[648] Our government seldom considers it necessary to intervene to any great extent in the internal feuds and petty wars which still occur frequently. These quarrels are seldom of a very 726 bloody nature. If a chief finds cause to quarrel and complain [754] against his neighbor, he first seeks to make him give in peacefully by means of "sorcerers." If this method fails, he sends

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to [754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro- [789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king 701 against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms, [722] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and [714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors [411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the [714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful 726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies, against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who
[556] can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most
[554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the
[791] Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most lucrative sources of income.

754 The abafumu have another important task: to discover
791 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

754 the first to be considered responsible if a person becomes sick
791 or dies, if a storm devastates the fields, if the cattle meet with an accident or are attacked by epidemics, when women remain barren, if infants are aborted, if thefts are committed, etc. The abarosi frequently employ poison, which is popular both in Urundi and in Ruanda (No. 48, p. 319), but in most cases they use their magic powers. The abarosi obtain magic power over people or over their cattle and other possessions by appropriating a little piece of a person's body, some hair, the paring of a fingernail, sputum, semen or urine, or some cattle dung, straw from the hut, or soil from the fields. All of these things give the abarosi power over a part of the person's "soul." This explains the great reluctance with which a Murundi, like all East African Negroes, allows a stranger to take pictures of himself, submits to physical measurement, or gives his own name or that of his family. If the medicines and protective amulets prove to be ineffective against the black magic of the abarosi, the umufumu will close in on the malefactor, the umurosi. By inspiration and by questioning his magic rattles and other apparatus, the umufumu's suspicion is directed to certain persons, who in most cases are old women! They are accused,
[695] arrested by the mutwale, and if there is no other proof, the umufumu subjects them to a kind of ordeal in which fire, poison, or boiling water is used. In most cases the verdict is unfavorable to the accused (No. 19, p. 405). In petty cases the person found
[688] guilty receives physical punishment or has to pay a fine; in serious ones they are simply beaten to death and thrown in the bush (see above, p. 97).

The umufumu's power of divination may also be directed
791 to other things if the party concerned so desires and is prepared
789 to pay the price. Through special ceremonies the umufumu brings rain to the fields, or if there is too much rain, he may stop it (No. 19, p. 443). For rain-making, which is so important for agriculture, there are special experts, the abavurati. However, their number is decreasing since every failure is severely punished by the batwale (No. 45, 1913), p. 50).

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus. Many small objects are poured on the ground from various calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an intelligent man.

[134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no
791 circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
354 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may be characterized in the following manner. According to Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medicine men who can free a person from the malediction of the evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, protectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
[578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either incurred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentricity, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
661 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly informed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

791 in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the
789 aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *imandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barozi*), 754 on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

772 Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

811 But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes [753] of others. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or the rainy season is considered to be due to the change of weather. It is known that yaws can be [761] got by contagion. Even death is very often accepted without seeking any magical explanation. It is expected, for instance, that people will die because of old age. If beans had been planted on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences have

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been observed or when 'causes' have been discovered in the sphere of human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following these causes are considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events cannot be explained by reference to natural antecedents or causes, or are surrounded by peculiar circumstances, the intervention of ghosts or sorcerers is suspected and a diviner is consulted. If sòmebody has tuberculosis (*igitundu*) and none of his forebears or the people with whom he lives has suffered from that disease, it is thought that sorcery is the cause. If somebody dies from an illness usually considered 'natural', but the death occurs a few days after a theft of which he is the supposed culprit, he is said to have been magically stricken at the request of the robbed person.

This attitude is in fact quite coherent. When the natural cause is known, the event is attributed to it; when it is not known, or appears extraordinary on account of the circumstances, the explanation is given in terms of beliefs concerning the non-material world. Why do Westerners not use a magical frame of reference on similar occasions? First, their wider knowledge of natural sequences of antecedents and consequents makes the residuum of naturally inexplicable facts more restricted. For instance, a sudden death appears to them quite understandable for purely medical reasons. To Banyarwanda, on the contrary, a sudden death is an event of which the physical causes are completely unknown. Second, even for residual facts not scientifically explained, there is in Western culture a faith that, given time and effort, a scientific explanation will be found. The Munyarwanda has no such belief in positive science. Third, for the disconcerting circumstances which may be coincidental with illness or death, the concept of chance, which does not appear frequently in Ruanda culture, is resorted to. However, Western believers in a provident God see in these exceptional circumstances, not an accidental constellation, but a sign of the meaning God intends to give to the illness or death.

A threat permanently dominating the mind of the Bahutu was that of being accused of sorcery. This danger was connected with the inviaible world but was objective enough, for such an accusation could result in being killed and, of course, merely to refrain from anti-social magic did not ensure immunity from being called a *muroxi*.

The Nature and Situation of Man

Kanikamuntu (which may mean Root-of-Men) is the common ancestor of all mankind. Created by *Imana*, he had, among other children, Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa who, as their names indicate, are the ancestors of the three Ruanda social and 'racial' groups. Gatwa killed one of his brothers and for that reason was cursed by his father. Gahutu, who had been chosen by his father as heir and successor, had been commissioned by him to accomplish an important mission. As a result of overeating, Gahutu fell asleep and could not collect the information his father wanted. Gatutsi, on the

791 Those same "seekers," in their capacity as conjurer-magicians
789 have the power of staving off the results of spells and sorcery. For a fee, they will set physical and moral boundaries to the evil powers of other sorcerers. They do this by means of medicines (imiti) of their own creation, amulets (impigi), and tree branches with magical properties, which they bury or stick into the ground. Areas thus "closed" to the evil of spells remain for a long time inviolable havens. Henceforth, the owners of such immunized grounds have nothing to fear from bewitchers.

The Banyarwanda talk a great deal, by the hearth, about those
791 conjurer-magicians and their high deeds.

In order to recover stolen objects, the Banyarwanda resort to the Banyerango (2). These do not inspire the same fear as their afore-

2. Abanyerango. This substantive is derived from the word kulangira, meaning "to show," "to uncover," and designates the sorcerer's trade. Hence the name irango given to the horn which he uses in his search.

mentioned colleagues, although they use the same magic horn. The
[842] Bachunyi, or makers of grigris, chiefly specialize in bringing fertility to sterile women.

For a fee they sell amulets and magic beverages. Gossipers add that charlatans in this category often take advantage of their clients while the naïve husband, a small bell in hand, is sent to take a slow walk around the sorcerer's hut.

754 D. The curser-sorcerers (Abahenyi) are also held in high esteem. Their mission, like that of the false prophet Balaam, /396/ is to curse the foes and annihilate their power to resist. Their chief,
[644] named Agakwande, enjoys high regard at court. His ancestors were simple Bahutu. It was on account of their important functions that they gradually made their way into the noble caste of the Batutsi, with whom they continually intermarried. They inhabit the Ndiza, at Bulembo, and form a powerful and formidable body. Their

754 incantations are claimed to be highly effective. When they practice their magic, they gather at night in a small grove which is their habitual spot and which bears the name of ihinero, from the word guhena, "to curse" (1).

1. The etymological and precise meaning of the verb guhena is stronger than the one just stated. It designates a symbolic and expressive gesture which serves to show the low regard in which a person is held or the contempt manifested toward him. The curser-magicians also turn the back on the foe while fulfilling their functions, hence the name of their profession.

On this occasion a black goat is killed and its pelt hung onto a bush.

They wear the fruits of a spiny bush (intobo) around the neck and sow charms on the path which the enemy is about to follow. They did this when the first Europeans arrived but met with little success.

644 701 E. We have already mentioned the generals (abagabe) among high court dignitaries. Above them stands another important figure, who might be called the commander (Umugaba). He plays the role of a sort of honorary general-in-chief of a superstitious character who is believed to make the troops successful. As a distinctive badge of his superiority over the actual general, he encircles his forehead with a strap (ikamba), which is somewhat reminiscent of the royal crown. He is chosen by the diviners (yarelejwe) and perhaps taken from among the Bahutu.

Most often, nevertheless, the role was filled by one of the Batutsi, sons or relatives of the king. It was thus that Karara followed his /397/ father, King Lwabugiri, to the Bunyabungu in the capacity

791 644 We mention them here separately because of the relatively numerous details cited about each one of them.

It must be said that all those "doctors of occult, mystic, and magic sciences," far from being ashamed of their trade, pride themselves in it and regard themselves as /398/ important and needed beings. They are conscious of their dignity and of the nobility of their functions, which they publicly advertise (1). For some of them professional

[754]

1. This does not concern those who act on their own account and become bewitchers or spell casters on an occasional and temporary basis.

Such people operate in a hidden and roundabout way in order to exercise a purely personal vengeance. They take every possible precaution to conceal their operations, therefore, for they risk death if their deeds are disclosed.

remuneration is quite high. Glory brings profit.

In their pride and vanity the professional practitioners of magic and sorcery of all kinds have tried to give their art a noble origin by tracing it back to the great king Ruganzu II. According to legend, he was the man who invented and organized everything. [173]

Craftsmen, blacksmiths, and cultivators claim him /as their forebear/.

When pressed to account for their powers and with their backs against the wall, theurgic sorcerers, medicine men, etc., have claimed in turn to be merely trustees of the gifts and talents which the illustrious monarch was the first to hold and possess. He passed on those gifts and talents to their predecessors, whose line they carry on.

After subjugating the petty autochthonous princes who had governed Ruanda, the Hamitic kings used the services of those princes' descendants. Some of these petty kings, such as those of Marangara and the Bgishaza, had the reputation of being the most powerful of

791 /practitioners/ of this kind demand rather high fees /401/ and will
789 accept no less than a goat, an ox, or even a heifer as the price of their services.

3. In the Gissaka people believe that there are tame snakes
[825] guarding the fields and houses of their masters. Those reptiles coil themselves around the neck of thieves and suffocate them. They also follow the tracks of thieves and receivers of stolen goods to their homes.

4. According to popular belief, the batezi (from the verb gutega, "to lay traps") are capable of uncovering evildoers and thieves by means of a curious method, which is none other than bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/. The victim of the theft comes to the spell caster and presents him with a goat whose throat is immediately slit. Then the magician takes the bladder, fills it with air, and suspends it with a rope from the ceiling of the hut. If the thief's death is desired, the sorcerer punctures the bladder or even cuts the rope that holds it. If the membranous sac collapses on the ground, the thief cannot fail to die instantly. It will be sufficient to ask for news in the vicinity. Any sudden death will be interpreted in this light and ascribed to the act of bewitchment. The belly of the victim will be greatly inflated. This is what is called gubang' agaheto, "to string a bow," as the Banyarwanda sometimes put it when they wish to allude to this method of bewitching.

If the owner of the stolen object wishes to be magnanimous, he asks the sorcerer to strike the bladder only lightly, in order to cause the culprit mere intestinal pains. Needless to say, the Blacks have complete faith in these magic procedures and believe that they have witnessed their consequences in a large number of cases.

754 5. Abachuraguzi. This word comes from the word guchuragura
[535] and designates a kind of dance. /402/ The devotees of this kind of dance stamp up and down on the spot. People in this category are the true jettatori /from Italian/ whose aim is to cast a spell, jettatura, on their fellow men because they are jealous of their good fortune or because they want revenge fro an offense, real or fancied. Those baleful men operate at night. In order to succeed better in their black designs, the spell casters must wear nothing but an old mat

754 which is no longer usable (umûsâmbi). Then they fetch a human tibia
or fibula (umurundi) with which they carry out a gruesome dance
[826] (guchuragura) in the courtyard of the person they wish to harm. They
hold in their hand a small jar full of live coals to symbolize the life
of their enemy which is soon to burn out. After breaking the clay jar
and scattering the coals, they toss a handful of earth taken from a
grave upon the owner's hut and say the following words in a low voice,
[539] "I don't want your beans but your life" (Sinshak' ibishyimbo, ichyo
ndashaka n'amagara yawe). This is reputed to be one of the worst
evil spells.

6. Gutambikir' umutambikiro, that is to say, "to dig a small ditch across" the path where the hated enemy they wish to bewitch will pass. This is another kind of spell by analogy /sympathetic
[826] magic/. In order to do this, the operator must if possible procure a nerve taken from a human cadaver, and a strip of bamboo or some other wood that was used in transporting the dead.

With these he makes a tiny bow which he places in the ditch dug out on the path of his enemy, who is soon to come by. The hole is covered with earth and grass so as not to arouse anyone's suspicion. When the detested person puts his foot on the concealed bow, the spell caster, hidden in the surrounding bushes, pronounces in a low voice the fateful word, Fatwa, "Be caught." This is the end of the unlucky traveler. /403/ Assailed with violent intestinal pains, distended, blown up, he will soon die in terrible agonies, or so claims the theory.

This procedure is also designated under the name of kubang' agaheto or guteg' umuntu agaheto, "to lay the bow trap."

7. Guteger' umuntu inkoko, "to practice the chick spell"
754 (implicitly, one whose guts did not turn white, iteze neza, yabay'
787 urutunda) is regarded along with guchuragura as one of the worst evil spells.

In order to make use of this spell, one usually resorts to specialists in divination who are past masters of this art. If the diviner
[826] agrees to do the job, for a handsome fee, his client prepares to collect secretly (since the Blacks are suspicious and mistrustful of their fellow men) a little saliva expectorated by the person on whom

754 he wishes to take revenge. The viscous material, carefully gathered
787 in a leaf, is brought to the sorcerer who introduces it with a little
[826] water into the beak of the chick he is about to sacrifice.

The diviner first holds a conversation with the bird and requests it to make sure that its guts will not "turn white" but "turn black," so the evil deriving from this fact may be duly utilized. After talking at some length, the operator slits the chicken's throat in the usual fashion of diviners and carefully washes the guts to verify the specific color (white or black) on which the spell depends. If black is present, the lucky client takes what is left of the chick from the hands of the diviner and tosses it surreptitiously into the hut or enclosure of his enemy, or else he buries it at the favorite spot where the person likes to sit and rest. The effects of the sorcery will be felt quickly, and the unfortunate victim /404/ will die almost instantly after a few moments of indisposition.

The Blacks add that this sorcery is feared by everyone but used more especially by the nobility (Batutsi). They say that if one wishes to ensure success, it is preferable to use a chick which is the only survivor (yonyine, ikinege) of its brood.

If the guts turn black in the course of the divinatory procedure, the chick will infallibly "swallow" (gusama) and "destroy" (gufata) the person whose death is desiired.

754 8. Let us now mention the bewitcher who uses the horn of a cow to cast an evil spell on an enemy (ihembe umulozi alogesha).

The horn is hollowed out by the sorcerer, who carves at its tip the head of a snake. He fills it with all sorts of objects and ingredients, the droppings of various birds or animals, and scraps of flesh taken from victims he has already killed.

9. Freak babies (ibimara), young girls whose breasts have not
[787 developed (impenebere), and other unfortunate beings of this kind are
845 regarded by the Banyarwanda as "revealing in themselves the presence
856] of an evil principle or mystic force whose influence is deadly." (1)
just like the monster, poakouta, and other ill omens of Roman times

1. La mentalité primitive
/The Primitive Mentality/,
by Levy-Bruhl, pp. 158 ff.

754 just like the monstra, portenta, and other ill omens of Roman times.

In order to check an enemy invasion, the Banyarwanda formerly had the habit of leaving those abnormal beings to the blows of the invaders. The shedding of this blood, or even the mere presence of such individuals, was regarded as a curse.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the various methods of bewitchment and spell casting. The imagination of the Blacks is disproportionately fertile in this respect. The wealth of methods will [538] be /405/ appreciated when we recount the famous "Banyoro Invasion" tale, which has now become a traditional epic poem. Numerous incantations and much sorcery are mentioned in this narrative, and the eventual defeat of the invaders is ascribed to them.

754 842 10. Aglet knotters. It is rather surprising to find that the Blacks, too, believe in the evil influence of people to whom this kind of misdeed is ascribed.

Activities of this sort are called in the native language kumanikir' undi ngw'atabyara, "to tie up or check fecundity," or again, kubang' ingata, "to braid a grass pad."

As the etymological meaning of these words indicates, the grass knotters attempt to procure from the household of the people they wish to injure a handful of grass of the kind (ishinge) which is strewn upon the floor of the hut.

With it they braid a sort of pad (ingata), which is then hidden and hung in the hut.

So long as the grass remains knotted (in the pad), the mistress of the household cannot hope to become a mother.

Many young women ascribe their sterility to this /form of/ sorcery.

A handful of hair taken from a neighboring woman and braided [826] in the shape of a crown will have the same result. This is called kumuzingirahw'amasunzu, "to coil someone's hair."

The natives claim that it would also suffice for the ill-disposed to get hold of one of the vegetable-fiber rings which ladies or women of rank wear on their legs, and crumple it in their hands, for the unfortunate woman to become sterile or to die in childbirth.

754 11. In order to wreak vengeance on an unfaithful wife who
684 has left the conjugal home, the husband fetches a plant known by the
837 name of uruburamadjo /406/ the etymological meaning of which (kubura kujya) is "to have no place to go," that is to say, to have no place to stay. This indicates the use to which the angered husband puts the plant, and the results he expects from it. He braids it into a sort of pad upon which he must place butter or pour castor oil that belonged to the unfaithful woman. The mystic pad is hidden under a rock. It must be removed a month later and placed under another rock. This method, add the credulous natives, infallibly creates difficulties between the fugitive woman and her temporary husbands. She will be dismissed as many times as her first spouse shifts the magic pad.

783 B. Purifiers or exorcisers of all sorts and exhumers or mutilators
791 of corpses. In order to ward off evil spells and the deadly consequences that might derive from certain events such as the violation of a taboo, the burning of a hut, a murder, the coming across a corpse or a killed animal, or to avert the fury of a spirit on the rampage, the king, his court, and his subjects call upon the services of people called by the name of Abashumburuzi, Abahanyi b'amachumu, Ababuzi, etc. Like their other colleagues in the occult, mysterious, and magical sciences, these practitioners enjoy official and legal recognition.

1. The Abashumburuzi, sorcerers who are resorted to by taboo violators.

Abashumburuzi is the title given by the people of the Lukiga (that is, the mountain people) to a group of purifiers whose function is often the same as that of the mugangahuzi, or "protectors against lightning," with whom they are often wrongly identified.

755 The mushumburuzi, if one holds to the etymological meaning
783 of his trade, is believed to have the power of expelling spirits from the body of a sick person (1). To do this, /407/ he performs veritable exorcisms, makes magic passes over the body of the patient, calls the spirits by name, and begs them to let go of their victim. He holds in the hand a bunch of shrub branches endowed with magic properties and moves them over the body of the sick person.

The spirit that caused the illness takes refuge in the symbolic broom. Then all the magician has to do is to take the spirit-chasing

754 The sorcerers who are reputed to unloose insects and other pests over the crops are called by the name of Abahoryo, which means "baleful men."

Popular belief indeed goes so far as to lend them this occult power, which causes everyone to fear them.

They are believed capable of the most evil designs.

In view of this, they are avoided and shunned as much as possible.

The natives will avoid carefully all matrimonial relations with them. This would entail every evil including sterility, which is not the least feared among them.

These dangerous men are believed to cast the /443/ evil eye (guter' umwaku) and are placed in the same category as the members of the Abahenyi, Abatchaba, and Abungura clans, who inspire the [578] same mistrust and the same repulsion. Thus the name Abahoryo, "baleful men," is regarded as an insult by the Abahoryo themselves.

The bahinza of the Bgishaza province have always had the reputation of excelling in the exercise of these supernatural powers. What wonders are not ascribed to them! One of them as one tradition goes, was condemned to death for some misdeed or other.

While he was being led to the place of punishment, he resorted to his occult powers. Vultures, hawks, eagles, and crows flocked instantly from every corner of the sky and descended with open beaks and claws upon the executioners and onlookers.

Filled with wonder, the Mututsi /Batutsi/ prince pardoned him.

Another time, two brothers from the same family quarreled over their sorcerer's birthright after the death of their father. When asked to interfere, the king decided that the position would go to the one who proved superior in skill.

It so happened that the dreaded caterpillars were devouring the sweet potatoes at the time. One of the men proceeded to exercise his art in order to do away with them. The other one used his power to act in an opposite way, and made them multiply without end. The caterpillars came out of the ground and covered the earth. "Now," he exclaimed to the monarch, "do you wish me to deliver you from them?"

754 The land was cleared instantly, to the stupefaction of the onlookers. The prince confirmed him in his position.

In closing, we need only cite the Italian proverb, "Se non è vero, è bene trovato /It may not be true, but it is a felicitous invention/." The Blacks hold the sorcerers and their power in high regard.

789 The deep-rooted trust of the Blacks in the /444/ skill of their sorcerers and the efficacy of their magic practices has something to do with the stagnant state of their civilizations.

How much are the doctors of occult and divinatory sciences to blame in this connection?

"It would be unfair," says Maurice Delafosse, "to make the magicians responsible for this situation, for they share the belief of their compatriots in the efficacy of their art. They practice magic not only because it is profitable, but also because they are as credulous as their clients." (Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro-African Civilizations/.)

Chapter 4

Offices of a Recreational and Literary Nature

644 a. The dancing groups are numerous, and their motions
535 interesting and varied.

The pages have a special dance known by the name of guhamiriza. The kwiyereka and kulambira are indigenous to the mountain dwellers and especially to the Bagoyi.

The renown of this latter group in connection with this type of dance harks back to their great chief Bushako.

The people of the Gissaka specialize in the kubyina urushara. When the dances are accompanied by stringed instruments known by
[534] the name of inanga, they take the name of gutambir' inanga. When performed to the beat of the drum, they are called gutambir' ingoma.

643 be /486/ by this dreadful assignment. Hands unpracticed in dealing
661 death might sometimes fumble, but the master was watching and
686 the task had to be carried through. The fact of being a friend of the victim did not exempt anyone from this odious task.

As a rule and with some rare exceptions, it may be said that the subjects were not inordinately appalled by such assignments, so much was this an accepted custom of the times.

186 This did not prevent the Banyarwanda from regarding themselves as superior to other Blacks, whom they thought to surpass in intelligence and civilization. Despite the stains and stigmas of the past, they reject with irritation the term Shenzi, which is applied exclusively to noncivilized groups, as not applying in any way to them or to their ancestors. It is good to close the tale of these cruel practices and to feel that the curtain of time has been drawn forever over the past.

III. Poisoning and Bewitching: The Use of Charms and Philters

754 What should we really believe about those victims whose death is attributed to bewitchment or poisoning? The Blacks unquestionably mention this constantly. Their credulity in this connection is universal and extraordinary.

Numerous examples are cited of deaths which are said to have resulted from one or the other of those alleged causes.

We may add that the natives are familiar with numerous methods for bewitching their enemies, and that sorcerers in this evil category, both male and female, are found in great numbers throughout the country. One thing is certain: their superlative reputation is worse than their deeds.

As for crimes of poisoning, one may rest assured that such attempts were made and that toxic materials were used to this end, some of which were extracted locally and others purchased in neighboring regions such as /487/ the Uswi and Bunyabungu. How effective were those poisons? This is not easy to determine since, on the one hand, a true case of poisoning has never actually been witnessed, although the Blacks are absolutely convinced that they do occur

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known.

754 278 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other [164] people (1).

1. This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great [578] curse, "May you die of tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu).

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu), [841] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia [824 847] (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example, muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 824 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract [224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

278 824 Igisura belongs to the Urticaceae family.

This plant grows to a height of about 1.50 meters. Sufferers from yaws drink its juice as a remedy. They must be careful not to take too heavy a dose, so as not to risk a serious intoxication.

It is rumored that ill-disposed people have used one or another of those plants, and in particular the mutambasha, or rat poison, to wreak their vengeance and do away with their enemies.

754 609 Small packets of herbs were found in the possession of people suspected of practicing the poisoner's vocation.

For what purpose had those plants been gathered? Perhaps the sorcerer had tried to lend them a harmfulness which of themselves they did not possess. Backbiters in the land insist that once at least royal hands mixed those allegedly noxious substances into milk, honey, and butter intended for Europeans who were passing through. The said person achieved no results, however, and this led him /or her/ to say that it was impossible to get rid of the Whites, that poisons, spells, and bewitchment had no hold over them. We are inclined to believe that in this case charms and philters were involved rather than noxious substances.

754 178 It is said that the penultimate king of the Uswi, Gasusuro, one of the regular suppliers of such products, replied to the court envoys one fine day when they came to fetch the goods that henceforth he would not supply them, that he was through with all poisons. It is also quite /489/ possible that his answer was dictated by the fear of being caught practicing this vocation. Let us add for the sake of truthfulness that the days are long since past when such things could be said or plotted against Europeans (1).

1. The Blacks live in the almost constant fear of bewitchment and poisoning.

[761] Rickets, tuberculosis, and sudden or strange deaths, especially when the corpse swells up immediately, could have no other cause in their opinion.

674 Balozi, poisoners, are said to kill their victims with a poison
754 which they carry hidden under their fingernails. The poison is given to the victim on his own tobacco pipe which the poisoner treacherously borrows for a bit in order to take a few puffs. All sudden
[761] deaths are regarded as poisonings. This idea is based on the fact that poisoning is a widespread crime. Father F. Dufays told me that he once succeeded in saving a person poisoned by a balozi by giving him milk and an emetic. It looks as though there actually had been a poisoning in that case. During my stay in Ruasa I had an opportunity to see an alleged attempt at poisoning. When Captain W. Von Grawert took a guide from Ruasa on his punitive expedition, [320] the wronged ones brought us a pot of honey that was said to be poisoned. The suspicious Mututsi, Lwakazina, who had always accompanied me when I was there in order to enhance his standing through friendship with a European, discovered a small piece of fat wrapped in banana fiber in the honeypot. He maintained that it was the flesh of a native killed by the soldiers, and this was generally believed by all present. The manner in which the donors of the honey retreated, in proud awareness of a duty accomplished and with much abuse, made me inclined to believe that Lwakazina was perhaps right.

Poisoning and bewitching are known by the same word, kuloga. For this reason it is very difficult to distinguish the two in the reports one hears. It is especially difficult to find out whether sorcerers or poisoners are sought.

I could not find out whether poisoners have a secret society here. I repeatedly heard, but always in a very vague and contradictory manner, that they have nocturnal sessions around a fire (in masks?) and that they devour human flesh, even corpses, and prepare poisons.

791 Bachunyi are manufacturers of amulets. A person who wants an amulet (mpigi) to protect himself from some evil or to aid him in some manner goes to see the muchunyi. The latter hides and prepares the remedy in secret with the help of incantations.

In Ussuwi, according to Father Van Thiele, the bakoni, who are probably identical with the bachunyi of Ruanda, have the task of combatting the poison of the greatly feared and mysterious balogu.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[32] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[33] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[32] Maquet, 1958, pp. 526-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[33] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

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581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without permission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he [857] comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered
586 perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is con-
593 sistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors [754] while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be [842 retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price
583] to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

756 to him for generations, but this is done before the "case" be-
757 comes serious and requires the attention of an umufumu. These remedies are in a class by themselves (p. 140), and at this point we are only discussing sorcery, magic remedies and their application.

Regardless of the kind of remedy which is to be applied,
755 the Murundi first tests its effectiveness by external application. Even those remedies which can only be of help if taken internally are first strapped or spread on the ailing part of the body since they are expected to have a magical power similar to an amulet. Even European medicines meant to be taken internally, such as pills, powders, or tablets, are first wrapped in a leaf by the Murundi and tied to the sick organ. Only if he does not feel any improvement after that, will he finally make up his mind to swallow or drink them.

There are countless numbers of true amulets (iviheko)
751 which are made of various substances and in various shapes.
789 They are always worn suspended on the body in a small compact form (Plate 55). We have already listed quite a number of these above (p. 130). Usually they are suspended from the neck on strings, but frequently they are also tied to the head, to the belly, or to the genitalia, etc. At times each one hangs on a separate piece of string, at other times dozens of different kinds are strung up on a single piece of string, similar to a necklace. The material used for making the amulet is not as important as the sorcery through which the umufumu imparts supernatural powers to the object, but in most cases the amulet consists of a piece of wood three to six centimeters long, if for no other reason than that it is easiest to produce and to carry. One may also see claws or hooves of leopards, cats, goats, and sheep, the bones of birds, pieces of snake skin or the fur of wild animals, dried fruit, mussels, pebbles with unusual shapes, but, most frequently, powder from various types of soil, ashes of burnt bones or of the horns of animals, and flour made of various kinds of grain (No. 19, p. 29). Usually these powdery charms are poured into a small cattle, goat, or antelope horn whose opening is then closed with wax. Hollowed out fruit

[140] Chapter 10

Medicine, Chronometry, Arithmetic, Language

1. Medicine

753 We have already discussed above (p. 132) the basic re-
755 ligious elements in the concepts of the Barundi about all kinds
757 of sickness and their remedies. To the Barundi, all illnesses are the result of sorcery by a demon, and they can be cured or alleviated only by counter-magic. This counter-magic may be performed by the sorcerer or medicine man (umufumu) by means of the magic powers vested in him. He may seek to affect the demon of sickness either by certain manipulations or incantations or by means of talismans and amulets which he has endowed with his powers, or he may choose with prudent circumspection and mature experience certain natural substances which have specific inherent magical powers, herbs, juices, types of earth, or the body parts of animals, and use them as specific remedies for each particular case.

I should like to describe this last type of application as
757 being essentially medical treatment of the patient, for the decisive element is, after all, that these remedies have not been vested with their magic power and effectiveness by the umufumu, but rather they had these qualities originally. Without a thorough investigation, we are unable to answer the question whether we should say that the natives regard these properties as the expression of a soul inherent in the object or as the characteristic emanations of the object itself (in the sense of "emanism" as defined by Karutz, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie [Ethnological Journal], 1913, p. 545 ff.). For our present purposes this question is only of secondary importance Such remedies, endowed with healing power a priori, can be effectively applied not only by the sorcerer but by any other intelligent man or woman familiar with their specific magical properties and able to select them properly. In addition to these remedies which are applied internally and externally,

644 applied to them. They are said to have the power of identifying
756 spell casters and bewitchers and also of expelling from the patient's
791 body whatever is claimed to have caused the illness, poisoning, or bewitchment.

The remove the source of evil with a small horn or a gourd
[755] in the guise of a cupping glass, or even with their own mouth, and produce before the bedazzled spectators bones, pebbles, toads, snake heads, and other incredible objects removed with the instrument. The Banyarwanda have boundless faith in the effectiveness of this method and tell of marvelous cures obtained in this fashion.

It is no use trying to reason with them about this. The elders are especially intractable.

In order to unmask the jettatori /from Italian/ and other such
791 cronies, our miracle workers (abahuzi) use another horn full of incongruous and even unmentionable things.

Popular belief adds that they set out in the nude, horn in hand. The horn moves and twists about, people say, as if possessed
[683] by an invisible spirit. It leads to the alleged spell casters and bewitchers, who were killed on the spot without furthur ceremony prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

The naïve Blacks add that ingredients used to bewitch or to produce a spell /395/ were discovered in the same manner, no matter whether they had been buried or hidden in a hut (1).

1. The case is cited of several individuals in whose possession a collection of bones was found, and who confessed of their own accord that they were spell casters and bewitchers. It is possible that those unfortunate people, having fallen prey to autosuggestion, believed in the effectiveness of their baleful activities.

754 11. In order to wreak vengeance on an unfaithful wife who
684 has left the conjugal home, the husband fetches a plant known by the
837 name of uruburamadjo /406/ the etymological meaning of which (kubura kujya) is "to have no place to go," that is to say, to have no place to stay. This indicates the use to which the angered husband puts the plant, and the results he expects from it. He braids it into a sort of pad upon which he must place butter or pour castor oil that belonged to the unfaithful woman. The mystic pad is hidden under a rock. It must be removed a month later and placed under another rock. This method, add the credulous natives, infallibly creates difficulties between the fugitive woman and her temporary husbands. She will be dismissed as many times as her first spouse shifts the magic pad.

783 B. Purifiers or exorcisers of all sorts and exhumers or mutilators
791 of corpses. In order to ward off evil spells and the deadly consequences that might derive from certain events such as the violation of a taboo, the burning of a hut, a murder, the coming across a corpse or a killed animal, or to avert the fury of a spirit on the rampage, the king, his court, and his subjects call upon the services of people called by the name of Abashumburuzi, Abahanyi b'amachumu, Ababuzi, etc. Like their other colleagues in the occult, mysterious, and magical sciences, these practitioners enjoy official and legal recognition.

1. The Abashumburuzi, sorcerers who are resorted to by taboo violators.

Abashumburuzi is the title given by the people of the Lukiga (that is, the mountain people) to a group of purifiers whose function is often the same as that of the mugangahuzi, or "protectors against lightning," with whom they are often wrongly identified.

755 The mushumburuzi, if one holds to the etymological meaning
783 of his trade, is believed to have the power of expelling spirits from the body of a sick person (1). To do this, /407/ he performs veritable exorcisms, makes magic passes over the body of the patient, calls the spirits by name, and begs them to let go of their victim. He holds in the hand a bunch of shrub branches endowed with magic properties and moves them over the body of the sick person.

The spirit that caused the illness takes refuge in the symbolic broom. Then all the magician has to do is to take the spirit-chasing

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads....Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit, ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo, departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it.

Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
787 nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no
783 matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly material infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions, some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction frequently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter, she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune, and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has been used to kill entails the same consequences.

787 There is a story of a similar prophecy for Ruasa. Formerly
173 the hill on which the mission is now located had a quite unintelligible name, busakaza itaka, allegedly, "land where earth is used to cover." About 15 years ago a man prophesied that "red men" would come and that their house would be covered with earth. When the missionaries came and covered their buildings with bricks, the words made sense, and the prophecy was fulfilled. There is a similar story about Bugoye.

I could not understand the Banyaruanda views about dreams.
787 What one sees in a dream is a matter pertaining to the past
775 or the future if it is contrary to the present. If one has seen deceased persons in a dream, it is said that the spirits of the dead came visiting. Such a dream is usually followed by a sacrifice, for it is assumed that the spirits are suffering and that they appear in order to beg for help. If a person disregards this he might suffer evil consequences, for the neglected spirits would avenge themselves.

787 If a youth sees his bride in a dream, he does not marry her. The dream warns him against a marriage in which the partners would not get along.

Father F. Dufays once dreamed that one of his black friends burst because he drank too much beer. When he told this to the man in question on the next morning, [324] the man was frightened and began to cry. When he was asked the reason for his tears, he said that whatever one sees in a dream comes to pass.

755 The Practice of Medicine. A special form of medical treatment, cure through initiation into a secret society, has already been described. This is not all there is to medical practice, however, and it is not always employed. Not all sorcerers, soothsayers, and medicine men belong to the secret societies of babandwa. The act of appeasing the spirits with eleusine (buro) seems to be carried out by ordinary soothsayers (bapfumu) in order to free patients from afflictions caused by troublesome spirits.

In Kissaka where I was told a great deal about the "appeasement of spirits" with eleusine, the procedure is somewhat as follows.

The mupfumu takes a small calabash known as ntendere and fills it with eleusine. He adds nzuzi seeds, kaolin powder, and a bone from the forefoot of a cow. The soothsayer rubs the palm of

755 his hand with kaolin, places the nzuzi seeds and the bone on his hand, spits on them, and says: "ngira amagara (I am strong)." He shakes his hand and tosses the contents into a small basket, ntaro. Then he pours eleusine from the gourd into the basket. He spits on the eleusine and hands the basket to the person for whom he is performing the ceremony, who likewise spits into the basket. For the second time the mupfumu takes the bone and the nzuzi seeds out with the words, "ngira amagara." He shakes them in his hand as though mixing them. He tosses the contents of his hand into a round basket with the words, "ngira amagara," and puts the basket to one side. Then he hands the basket containing the eleusine to the man, who spits into it and says: "n'dapfa (I am dying)." Thereupon the soothsayer spits into it with the words, "ngira amagara." The tormented one says: "n'ziranyu muzimu (I am suffering at the hands of this spirit)," and gives its name. The individual spirits are named in this manner, the soothsayer and the man alternately going through the ritual of spitting. This performance is known as kushora umuzimu, "appeasing the spirits." When this is finished, the soothsayer takes the small basket that has been set aside with the cow bone, the nzuzi seeds, and a few eleusine seeds, and he hands it to the tormented one, who spits into it and says: "ngira ubuhoro (I am at peace)." The soothsayer moves the basket with the words: "agira ubuhoro (he is at peace)"; "atapfa (he will not die)"; "atafushe (he would not like to be killed)"; "azaturaho (he will remain)." After these words the sorcerer tosses everything into the calabash, and the ceremony is ended.

In payment for his services the mupfumu gets peas, sweet potatoes, etc.

[325] I was unable to find out anything about true medical 755 treatment and the methods of cure, since this involves a knowledge 757 of the local flora. The natives themselves know far less about this than about the impressive ceremonies of auto-suggestive cures. I should merely like to say that the remedies are taken internally and applied externally and are also worn on the body in small horns 757 and vessels as amulets. The amulets containing medicine are tied

[Text continues on p. 264]

6: Czekanowski--263 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 170. Head Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 6978. Length, 1.8 centimeters.

Fig. 171. Head Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 10153.)

Fig. 172. Neck Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10153.)

Fig. 173. Neck Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 10147.)

755 to the afflicted parts of the body. Since the amulets are very specialized in their effects, every illness requires a different amulet, sometimes even a different medicine man. That is why one constantly sees individuals with a dozen amulets.

There are many different types of amulets. There are, first of all, small pieces of wood decorated with little glass beads. One or two of these are worn on the bast headband. Sometimes several thin wooden cylinders with glass beads are worn on a necklace. One also sees quite a number of larger pieces of wood on a necklace. Occasionally amulets have the shape of tiny clay vessels filled with long-distance medicine. Similarly shaped are
832 the little love pots (ingondo) which are [326] worn in large numbers by the women on their belts. They are said to guarantee the love of their husbands. The small gourds called bunuli serve the same purpose. Vessels of this kind are filled with the medicine known as isarazi.

752 Sometimes the sick person is branded with a hot iron. One often sees scars of burns on the forehead, which indicate headache treatments. In other cases incisions and bloodletting are performed.

Bloodletting (kurasha) is common in Ruanda medical practice. A vein in the forehead is chosen and blocked by means of pressure (bandaging the neck). The vein is then opened. This is done by placing an arrow or a knife on the vein and pushing it into the vein with the index finger.

When a sufficient amount of blood has been drawn off, the ligature is removed. The bleeding usually stops automatically. If it does not, the opening is stopped up with clay.

Cupping is also a favorite treatment. An antelope horn with a small opening at the point serves as a cupping glass. Air is sucked out through the opening, and the cup is sealed with fig leaves. The cupping horn is placed on the neck in the case of a headache. To increase its effectiveness, the skin is often lacerated with a knife. The cupping horn is kept on the spot until it falls off by itself. The cupping horns do not differ from those of the Dinka.

In fractures of arms or legs the bones are skillfully set and immobilized with splints (busenge).

[Text continues on p.266]

6: Czekanowski--265 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 174. Clay Containers for Amulets, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10147.)

Fig. 175. Little Love Pots, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13087a, III E13088c, III E13086a, III E13084b.)

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Fig. 176. Love Gourd from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13119. 12 centimeters high.)

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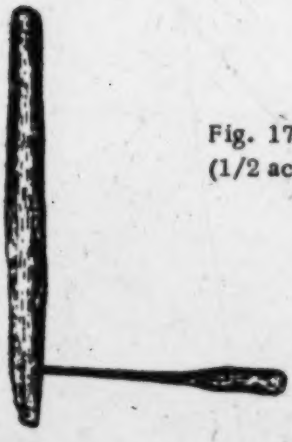

Fig. 177. Instrument for Bleeding, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L15066.)

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *muroxi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the bride-price, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,

2. Cults

793 Each of these gods is worshipped by specific cults; each
787 has his specific priest whom he "enters" from time to time,
makes him "possessed," and lets him prophesy and perform
794 feats of magic. There are male and female priests. Allegedly
● 756 the female ones remain unmarried. Divine power and inspiration and the predisposition for being possessed are in most cases passed on from father to son or daughter in the same manner as the power to heal and to raise spirits which is held by the medicine men (abafumu).

793 In Urundi these priests are called iviranga (sing. kiranga); in Ruanda, imandwa; in Kisiba, wabandwa. Among the persons who dedicate themselves to the cult of gods and spirits, the kiranga most of all has the character and functions of the priest in our sense. He has the same name as the god Kiranga (derived from the word root kira, to put in order), and he is regarded both as the representative and as the ambulatory abode of the god himself. Men or women become kiranga either because their fathers or mothers were kiranga and transmitted this talent after their death or as a result of having been struck but not killed by lightning, the sign of the power of the god (No. 19, p. 253), or they are seized by the spirit and enter a state of
[828] manic possession at the Kubandwa celebration or the "sacred spear" ceremony (cf. p. 134). As soon as such happenings and conditions make their appearance, the person in question is declared a kiranga and has to officiate at the ceremonies of the holy spear which are performed on so many occasions (No. 19, pp. 462-463) and to mediate between humanity, suffering or filled with metaphysical urges, and the spirits and gods.

As has been mentioned before, in Ruanda the ecstatic
791 mediators of the world of the spirits are called imandwa. They are male or female, divinely chosen mediums of one of the principal spirits, i.e., either Riangombe, Binego, Mugassa, or others. Depending on this association with a particular god, they have to adorn themselves in a fashion different from the others. They have to express themselves by growling, hissing,

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
569 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

There is another group of persons who maintain close
756 relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with
791 supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person
756 in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

756 accordingly" (No. 45, 1913, p. 46). As a rule the craft of the umufumu is passed on from father to son, but it is also possible for extraordinary events or experiences suddenly to lead a Murundi, who until then has not felt any inclination to be an umufumu, to practice sorcery (kuragusa), for example, if he is unexpectedly saved from death. Then people say: "You have been chosen by Kiranga, and you must help us and mediate between him and us. Go and find the necessary objects, we shall come." If someone has thus been elevated to the status of the abafumu without any of his doing, if for many years he practices his craft and is sought after by numerous suffering people, success quite understandably often causes a kind of auto-suggestion and self-deception. Gradually the umufumu begins to believe more and more in his own power. He does after all believe in the magic of Kiranga, and besides, quite often he uses real and effective medicines in his cures. However, pious belief often goes hand in hand with a liberal dose of deliberate deception.

751 Father Gassldinger gives an excellent description of the
789 versatility of the abafumu in inventing and manufacturing their amulets and also of their function as magicians which affects every situation in the life of a Murundi: "The little stranger has hardly arrived on this earth when his brother, uncle, or nephew runs to the umufumu and asks him to come to the hut and to bring along his isato, the magic wand. The umufumu does not have to be asked twice. He puts a large number of peculiarly shaped pieces of wood and bones into a bag and immediately appears at the side of the newborn infant. The family may be rich, and in this case a great show must be made to earn the generous reward which is expected. First, he spends quite a while practicing all kinds of tricks. When he has finished with this, he solemnly takes the real iviheko from his bag: finger-length pieces of wood covered with butter and red earth and with a hole in the middle; then a few seeds of a sacred tree adroitly wrapped in twisted straws; a little antelope horn filled with ocherous earth into which are stuck small pieces

789 by iviheko. They also neutralize the evil influence of personal enemies. When at war, the night before the battle, the Murundi sleeps on his beloved iviheko, and he is laid to rest in the grave together with his iviheko.

"Once the body of a Murundi has been made invulnerable, it is still necessary to secure his property. Another amulet is fastened to the spear, or a special stick bought from the umufumu is carried in the same hand as the spear, or a magic sign may be scratched into the iron of the spear. An additional amulet is fastened to the top of the bowstring. Inside the hut a pile of amulets is buried in the ground near the entrance, one amulet is fastened above the entrance, but the most powerful and effective ones are placed near the three hearth stones. There are other amulets used in the fields, against hail and storm, against locusts and other calamities. Very frequently one may find them also on roads, especially on those leading to the banana groves or directly to the hut. If one is careless, he may easily stumble over slabs of wood colored ochre-red, protruding about five centimeters from the ground, and that, after all, is their purpose: a person with evil intent is expected to stumble and fall on the road, thus revealing himself to be an umurosi (malicious witches or wizards)." (No. 45.)

791 293 424 756 The magic power of the umufumu is handed down in families, not only by blood relationship but also by transfer of the insignia characteristic of the umufumu, which consist chiefly in a leopard skin, a headdress made of a cow's tail (Plate 54) and goat hair, a gourd rattle, a stick with charms, a certain way of painting the body and the face with light-colored clay and fat, etc. (No. 19, p. 461).

791 756 The abafumu of the Batwa enjoy a special reputation. They are feared by the Barundi because of their strong magic powers, but they are also consulted for cures. The supreme head of all medicine men, however, resides in Uha (No. 19, p. 462). He lives in the northern district of Ujungu and was formerly called Kawango, the name of one of the spirits of the interlacustrine region. He was probably the medium of this god.

791 This chief sorcerer was a kind of Delphic Oracle for the entire
●756 interlacustrine region. He enjoyed such a high reputation that the kings of Urundi and Ruanda often sent missions to him to obtain the benefit of his counsel. The same is also frequently reported of the rulers of Usindja (No. 35, pp. 498, 506). As far as the sorcerers of Urundi, Kisiba, Ussumbwa, and other adjoining areas are concerned, we know that at times they travel to Uha in order to learn higher magic from the famous abafumu who live there. On the other hand, there are Baha medicine men who are employed as "court sorcerers" by various rulers of the interlacustrine region. The influential court sorcerer of the Urundi king, Mutaga, is also a Muhutu from Uha. His name is Kiburua (Ndandi), and he is well provided for by the king (report by von Langenn). It appears that all these Baha sorcerers are Bahutu, Bantu. This again is connected with the fact that the Bantu is by nature inclined toward mysticism and that the Bantu population is much older than the Bahima immigrants. There is no sorcerers' school in Urundi or Ruanda, where one might learn the secret teachings and practices from a "Council of Wise Men," but, as has been mentioned above, power and wisdom is passed on from one generation to the other within the family. Whoever has inherited these attributes and wishes to augment them must try to imitate the techniques of other magicians.

[132] As is evident from the examples reported by Father
756 Gassldinger which have been listed above, the functions of the umufumu are extremely varied. They encompass all conceivable physical ailments of man and animal, and the umufumu applies innumerable natural and supernatural techniques for assuaging and curing them. In the opinion of the Barundi, however, the natural remedies are not successful merely because of their natural characteristics -- for what does he know about physical and chemical effects, about the physiology of the body, or about causality, etc. -- but their effects stem from supernatural
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Regardless of the kind of remedy which is to be applied,
755 the Murundi first tests its effectiveness by external application. Even those remedies which can only be of help if taken internally are first strapped or spread on the ailing part of the body since they are expected to have a magical power similar to an amulet. Even European medicines meant to be taken internally, such as pills, powders, or tablets, are first wrapped in a leaf by the Murundi and tied to the sick organ. Only if he does not feel any improvement after that, will he finally make up his mind to swallow or drink them.

There are countless numbers of true amulets (iviheko)
751 which are made of various substances and in various shapes.
789 They are always worn suspended on the body in a small compact form (Plate 55). We have already listed quite a number of these above (p. 130). Usually they are suspended from the neck on strings, but frequently they are also tied to the head, to the belly, or to the genitalia, etc. At times each one hangs on a separate piece of string, at other times dozens of different kinds are strung up on a single piece of string, similar to a necklace. The material used for making the amulet is not as important as the sorcery through which the umufumu imparts supernatural powers to the object, but in most cases the amulet consists of a piece of wood three to six centimeters long, if for no other reason than that it is easiest to produce and to carry. One may also see claws or hooves of leopards, cats, goats, and sheep, the bones of birds, pieces of snake skin or the fur of wild animals, dried fruit, mussels, pebbles with unusual shapes, but, most frequently, powder from various types of soil, ashes of burnt bones or of the horns of animals, and flour made of various kinds of grain (No. 19, p. 29). Usually these powdery charms are poured into a small cattle, goat, or antelope horn whose opening is then closed with wax. Hollowed out fruit

644 C. Aside from the haruspices, diviners, and sacrificers we
791 have just mentioned, the king retains appointed representatives of every possible and imaginable kind of sorcery.

A whole crowd of sorcerers toils for the monarch and his court: necromancers (Abashyitsi or abahamagazi), conjurer-magicians (Abahuzi), makers of philters and charms (abanyanzaratsi), makers of amulets (abachunyi), etc.

Strangers who came from Bunyabungu or Buhunde (regions located to the north and west of Lake Kivu), from Uswi or Ujinja (on the shores of /Lake/ Victoria), etc., are no less popular than their autochthonous colleagues and sometimes surpass them in the novelty or originality of their art.

There was even once a dispensary for charms and poisons (ubulozi, plural amarozi or ibirozi) which one requisitioned from afar or attempted to make on the spot, although it appears that these experiments met with little success.

The plants whose juice, bark, or leaves were used were not among the most poisonous, as we shall see later.

We may add that the reputation of these magicians seems to have been more impressive than their deeds or the consequences of those deeds.

In all justice one must except from this statement the conjurer-
649' magicians called abahuzi, whose crimes /394/ and misdeeds are too
●756 numerous to list (1). It is difficult to understand how they managed
791

1. "To seek" is guhura in Kinyarwanda, hence the word umuhuzi, "seeker," given to this fearsome group of sorcerers. Guhurish' ihembe means "to seek with the horn," and guhurish' umunwa, "to seek with the mouth" (in the patient's body).

to exploit public credulity with impunity through so many centuries. The popular expression "to have blood on one's hands" may be fully

644 applied to them. They are said to have the power of identifying
756 spell casters and bewitchers and also of expelling from the patient's
791 body whatever is claimed to have caused the illness, poisoning, or bewitchment.

The remove the source of evil with a small horn or a gourd
[755] in the guise of a cupping glass, or even with their own mouth, and produce before the bedazzled spectators bones, pebbles, toads, snake heads, and other incredible objects removed with the instrument. The Banyarwanda have boundless faith in the effectiveness of this method and tell of marvelous cures obtained in this fashion.

It is no use trying to reason with them about this. The elders are especially intractable.

In order to unmask the jettatori /from Italian/ and other such
791 cronies, our miracle workers (abahuzi) use another horn full of incongruous and even unmentionable things.

Popular belief adds that they set out in the nude, horn in hand. The horn moves and twists about, people say, as if possessed
[683] by an invisible spirit. It leads to the alleged spell casters and bewitchers, who were killed on the spot without furthur ceremony prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

The naïve Blacks add that ingredients used to bewitch or to produce a spell /395/ were discovered in the same manner, no matter whether they had been buried or hidden in a hut (1).

1. The case is cited of several individuals in whose possession a collection of bones was found, and who confessed of their own accord that they were spell casters and bewitchers. It is possible that those unfortunate people, having fallen prey to autosuggestion, believed in the effectiveness of their baleful activities.

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[140] Chapter 10

Medicine, Chronometry, Arithmetic, Language

1. Medicine

753 We have already discussed above (p. 132) the basic re-
755 ligious elements in the concepts of the Barundi about all kinds
757 of sickness and their remedies. To the Barundi, all illnesses are the result of sorcery by a demon, and they can be cured or alleviated only by counter-magic. This counter-magic may be performed by the sorcerer or medicine man (umufumu) by means of the magic powers vested in him. He may seek to affect the demon of sickness either by certain manipulations or incantations or by means of talismans and amulets which he has endowed with his powers, or he may choose with prudent circumspection and mature experience certain natural substances which have specific inherent magical powers, herbs, juices, types of earth, or the body parts of animals, and use them as specific remedies for each particular case.

757 I should like to describe this last type of application as being essentially medical treatment of the patient, for the decisive element is, after all, that these remedies have not been vested with their magic power and effectiveness by the umufumu, but rather they had these qualities originally. Without a thorough investigation, we are unable to answer the question whether we should say that the natives regard these properties as the expression of a soul inherent in the object or as the characteristic emanations of the object itself (in the sense of "emanism" as defined by Karutz, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie [Ethnological Journal], 1913, p. 545 ff.). For our present purposes this question is only of secondary importance. Such remedies, endowed with healing power a priori, can be effectively applied not only by the sorcerer but by any other intelligent man or woman familiar with their specific magical properties and able to select them properly. In addition to these remedies which are applied internally and externally,

757 there are others which rely on mechanical means for an effect, as, for instance, massage, enema, hot and cold baths, and, further, a small number of surgical operations from the simple [752] opening of a boil to (allegedly) the Caesarean operation (see above, p. 110). Difficult cases are treated by an experienced, skillful umufumu, but for simple cases every father of a family uses a number of household remedies. The art of using them is passed on from father to son. If necessary, a sick neighbor is given the benefit of them also.

[141] Generally, the first remedy tried is hot or cold water. It is used for intensive rubdowns, for long baths in treating skin diseases, aching joints, insomnia, and fever. A Murundi [515] enjoys taking a bath whenever a sufficient supply of water is available, but as soon as possible after the bath he will rub butter on his skin. There are several natural thermal baths in Urundi [312] which are used not only by the people living in the vicinity. For example, a gushing thermal spring whose water temperature is 47° Centigrade is located near Kisagara, a village not far from the Mugera missionary station, and there is another one north of Tschiwitoke in the Ruzizi Valley. A kind of steam bath is given to persons with fever by alternately holding their heads and limbs over a pot of boiling, steaming water (No. 19, p. 183). Enemas of warm water to which some herbal juice has been added are very common. They are given by first introducing the end of a long hollow stalk of reed or a strong leaf folled into the form of a tube into the anus; then the person applying the treatment blows a mouthful of water through the other end of this pipe into the bowels (No. 19, p. 331). Adults frequently give an enema to themselves: they fill one of the long-necked bottle gourds with water, insert the narrow end of the long bottleneck into the anus, and then lift the calabash in such a manner as to permit the water to enter the bowels by its own weight. Enemas are used for stomach-aches of any kind, constipation, diarrhea, fever, etc.

[278] There are innumerable medicines made of inorganic, vegetable, and animal substances. Among these, poisons play a relatively minor role, for the Barundi do not even know how to make arrows poisonous. The Batwa often use very effective

757 poison on their arrows. Nevertheless, besides magical conceptions, the fear of poison is probably the main reason why most medicines are first applied externally to the skin or worn in a poultice. Only after this method fails to produce results do they decide to take the medicine internally (cf. also p. 132).

One of the popular external remedies is the burning of the skin (cauterization) on the ailing part of the body. For this purpose a mixture of grease and wood ashes is first rubbed on the skin, then a red-hot piece of iron is applied to it. Afterward a little butter is rubbed on to alleviate the pain (No. 19, p. 91). In other cases a sharp knife is used instead of a hot piece of iron. It is used either as an especially strong irritant or for drawing blood. The method is similar to that of tattooing (p. 79). The Murundi does not actually practice blood-letting nor does he open the veins of human patients, although he frequently uses an arrowhead for bleeding cattle so as to enjoy their blood (p. 45). Boils on the surface of the skin are opened
752 with a needle or a knife. If a person is suffering from aching limbs, a series of small incisions are made in the skin with the local type of razor. Certain healing ointments or powders are then applied to the wound. The technique of cupping is also known. [Fig. 18 appears here in the original text.] It is applied by placing a piece of cattle horn (Fig. 18), [142] with the point pierced, on the place where an incision has been made in the skin. Through the hole in the horn the wound is then sucked until a sufficient amount of blood has been extracted (No. 19, p. 527).

However, the Barundi are very much afraid of deeper incisions, even if they are made by a European. A Murundi physician never performs amputations of limbs. Broken arms or legs are adroitly and carefully put in splints by placing them between two flat boards of wood which are then held firmly together with strips of barkcloth so that movement is impossible. Considering the prevailing disinclination for surgical operations, it appears very doubtful to me whether the Barundi actually perform as difficult an operation as the Caesarean on living women as van der Burgt mentions in a short note (No. 19, p. 363).

[Text continues on page 221]

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
826

1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets.

The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

144

2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

755 his hand with kaolin, places the nzuzi seeds and the bone on his hand, spits on them, and says: "ngira amagara (I am strong)." He shakes his hand and tosses the contents into a small basket, ntaro. Then he pours eleusine from the gourd into the basket. He spits on the eleusine and hands the basket to the person for whom he is performing the ceremony, who likewise spits into the basket. For the second time the mupfumu takes the bone and the nzuzi seeds out with the words, "ngira amagara." He shakes them in his hand as though mixing them. He tosses the contents of his hand into a round basket with the words, "ngira amagara," and puts the basket to one side. Then he hands the basket containing the eleusine to the man, who spits into it and says: "n'dapfa (I am dying)." Thereupon the soothsayer spits into it with the words, "ngira amagara." The tormented one says: "n'ziranyu muzimu (I am suffering at the hands of this spirit)," and gives its name. The individual spirits are named in this manner, the soothsayer and the man alternately going through the ritual of spitting. This performance is known as kushora umuzimu, "appeasing the spirits." When this is finished, the soothsayer takes the small basket that has been set aside with the cow bone, the nzuzi seeds, and a few eleusine seeds, and he hands it to the tormented one, who spits into it and says: "ngira ubuhoro (I am at peace)." The soothsayer moves the basket with the words: "agira ubuhoro (he is at peace)"; "atapfa (he will not die)"; "atafushe (he would not like to be killed)"; "azaturaho (he will remain)." After these words the sorcerer tosses everything into the calabash, and the ceremony is ended.

In payment for his services the mupfumu gets peas, sweet potatoes, etc.

[325] I was unable to find out anything about true medical
755 treatment and the methods of cure, since this involves a knowledge
757 of the local flora. The natives themselves know far less about this than about the impressive ceremonies of auto-suggestive cures. I should merely like to say that the remedies are taken internally and applied externally and are also worn on the body in small horns
757 and vessels as amulets. The amulets containing medicine are tied

[Text continues on p. 264]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *muroxi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15]

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight.

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks.

243 are then scattered from the swinging hand onto the level ground, after which some soil is sprinkled on the seed by hand. Eleusine (uwuro) is sown in the same manner. The ripe ears of these two types of millet are each individually cut from the stalks with a knife. This is also the method used for corn and rice. Then the ears are spread on the firm ground in front of the huts and threshed with switches. Some of the sorghum [252] is ground into flour, but most of it is used for brewing beer. [273] Eleusine is mainly ground into flour from which the daily ugali mush (umudsima) is made.

The Barundi grow tobacco (itabi) in small quantities near 249 almost every homestead, as has been mentioned above. The delicate plant is cared for so poorly, however, that it yields a mediocre product. Uvira tobacco, which is traded in considerable amounts in the Tanganyika area, is of much better quality. [53] The Barundi put the tobacco seeds into small holes dug into the soil with a hoe. The young seedlings are not transplanted, but the Barundi clear and irrigate the surrounding soil from time to time. As soon as the plant begins to blossom (red, not white), the leaves are picked off and strung up on bast strings to dry in the sun. Then, for fermentation and storage, they are wrapped in dry banana leaves. In spite of its terrible appearance, 276 the tobacco does not have a bad aroma, but it is so strong that even the Barundi seldom smoke it. In most cases it is smoked only by old men and women. The others are all inveterate snuff-takers (see p.59), whereas in Ruanda tobacco is only rarely taken as snuff but is smoked in considerable amounts.

[824] Tobacco is regarded by the Barundi in the same way as all narcotics are regarded by primitive peoples: as possessing mysterious powers. From this originates the custom of stuffing [758] a pinch of snuff up the nose of a person who has fainted. Also, the young bridegroom blows tobacco smoke at his wife, and so forth (No. 19, p. 557).

244 Several kinds of pumpkins (imboga) are likewise grown merely as garden produce or interspersed among bananas or sorghum, in particular a variety which is round and as big as a head, and another smaller variety that looks almost like a

Among medicine men Father Van Thiele distinguishes two 759
different professional secret societies, the bakoni and the bageiye, 575
who are initiated with the banga ceremony. Bageiye heal persons suffering from snake bite.

I had no opportunity to see a bageiye perform in Ruanda. 752
When a man was bitten by a snake on the way to the Muhawura

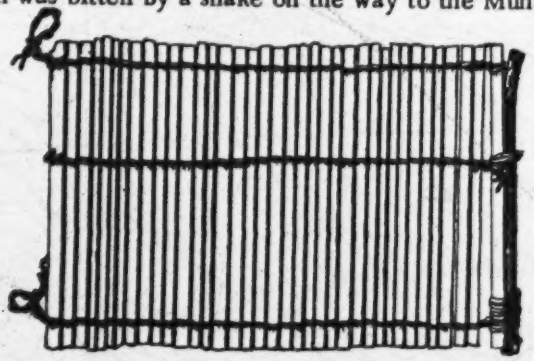

Fig. 178. Splints for Immobilizing Broken Bones, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13742. 26 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide.)

volcano, [327] the natives wanted to tie the head of the dead snake on the wound as an antidote.

The following account by Father Van Thiele about a preventive treatment for the greatly feared disease of smallpox 751
(bushita) is very interesting.

The medicine man first provides everyone with amulets consisting of gourd seeds. Even the water jug gets its amulet. Then he gives a preventive medicine which he boils. After the boiling he blows air into it through a straw so as to make foam which is rubbed all over the body. The efficacy of the medicine is increased by making incisions in five different places: three incisions over the right eye and one incision each on the right shoulder, the back, the right hand, and above the right foot. The medicine man spits on his little finger and rubs the incisions with it.

Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice. The problem of cannibal- 266
ism and human sacrifice in the interlacustrine region is the most 752
obscure and difficult of all. For example, in Ruanda the bimara, 651

586 or that the husband finds his wife to be capricious or disobedient. In such cases the couple can separate for a while (kwahukana). But this separation often makes them think it over; either the husband makes amends and fetches his wife from her parents, giving presents to the latter and to his wife (beer, cloth, or goats), or else the wife, realizing that she was in the wrong to leave her home, returns of her own will.

During the time of separation, the children, except nurslings, remain with the husband.

If an understanding is definitely impossible, divorce (kwahukana rwose, lit., to separate definitely) can be requested by one of the couple.

Causes of divorce in favor of the husband (repudiation) are: repeated adultery; dirtiness; negligence in the care of the household and the supervision of servants; the evil eye (1) that will cause illness

1. Cf. preceding page, note 1.

of the husband or cattle, and, above all, stubborn disobedience. [842] Sterility may be a cause for divorce, but if the husband is pleased with his wife he will keep her and merely take another who will be able to give him children.

Illness, even when prolonged, is not a cause for divorce. [34] If the marriage has been fruitful, the husband cannot take back the dowry, but keeps the indongoranyo he received from his father-in-law.

If there are no children, the husband who has received the indongoranyo is not authorized to claim the inkwano. He can do so, in the opposite case, but the wife's parents, in order to avoid this obligation, give him another of their daughters.

If the dowry has been paid in full, the children remain with their father, except those that have not been weaned.

The wife can ask for a divorce if the husband does not pay the dowry, does not provide her with cloth and ornaments, continually [161] ill-treats her, or if the children's, dying one after another makes her believe in the malevolent influence of her husband.

If there are children, the husband may keep the indongoranyo. In the opposite case, he takes back the dowry unless he has received the indongoranyo.

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro
171 that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned
768 as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a
775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place
769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca-
766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and
661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is
[761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

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791 in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the
789 aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *imandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of
757 interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barozi*), on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

772 Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

811 But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes
[753] of others. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or the rainy season is considered to be due to the change of weather. It is known that yaws can be
[761] got by contagion. Even death is very often accepted without seeking any magical explanation. It is expected, for instance, that people will die because of old age. If beans had been planted on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences have

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been observed or when 'causes' have been discovered in the sphere of human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following these causes are considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events cannot be explained by reference to natural antecedents or causes, or are surrounded by peculiar circumstances, the intervention of ghosts or sorcerers is suspected and a diviner is consulted. If somebody has tuberculosis (*igitundu*) and none of his forebears or the people with whom he lives has suffered from that disease, it is thought that sorcery is the cause. If somebody dies from an illness usually considered 'natural', but the death occurs a few days after a theft of which he is the supposed culprit, he is said to have been magically stricken at the request of the robbed person.

This attitude is in fact quite coherent. When the natural cause is known, the event is attributed to it; when it is not known, or appears extraordinary on account of the circumstances, the explanation is given in terms of beliefs concerning the non-material world. Why do Westerners not use a magical frame of reference on similar occasions? First, their wider knowledge of natural sequences of antecedents and consequents makes the residuum of naturally inexplicable facts more restricted. For instance, a sudden death appears to them quite understandable for purely medical reasons. To Banyarwanda, on the contrary, a sudden death is an event of which the physical causes are completely unknown. Second, even for residual facts not scientifically explained, there is in Western culture a faith that, given time and effort, a scientific explanation will be found. The Munyarwanda has no such belief in positive science. Third, for the disconcerting circumstances which may be coincidental with illness or death, the concept of chance, which does not appear frequently in Ruanda culture, is resorted to. However, Western believers in a provident God see in these exceptional circumstances, not an accidental constellation, but a sign of the meaning God intends to give to the illness or death.

A threat permanently dominating the mind of the Bahutu was that of being accused of sorcery. This danger was connected with the invisible world but was objective enough, for such an accusation could result in being killed and, of course, merely to refrain from anti-social magic did not ensure immunity from being called a *muroxi*.

The Nature and Situation of Man

Kazikamuntu (which may mean Root-of-Men) is the common ancestor of all mankind. Created by *Imana*, he had, among other children, Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa who, as their names indicate, are the ancestors of the three Ruanda social and 'racial' groups. Gatwa killed one of his brothers and for that reason was cursed by his father. Gahutu, who had been chosen by his father as heir and successor, had been commissioned by him to accomplish an important mission. As a result of overeating, Gahutu fell asleep and could not collect the information his father wanted. Gatutsi, on the

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other hand, got it by his sobriety and cleverness. Kazikamuntu then chose Gatutsi to be the chief of the brothers. There are numerous versions of this tale. Moreover, the stories concerning man's creation are often inextricably mixed with the legends about the arrival of the Batutsi in Ruanda. The same names appear sometimes in the creation, sometimes in the conquest stories. In general the latter are better known. The summary given above is thus only one of the various accounts of the origin of mankind.

According to a widely known folk-tale, Death, personalized as a sort of animal, was hunted by *Imana*. He told all men to stay at home in order that Death should not find a hiding-place. An old woman, however, went out to work in her banana-grove. Death, pursued by *Imana*, asked her protection. Moved by pity, she let the animal hide under her skirt. *Imana*, in order to punish her, decided then that death should stay with men. This story might perhaps suggest a belief that there was a time when men did not die. But we could not find other elements to corroborate that interpretation.

On the ontological character of man two points are certain. First, an adult human being is considered to be different from an animal by virtue of his faculty of speech (*kivuga*), his intelligence (*ubwenge*), and his will (*ugushaka*); but the difference, if any, between a small child and an animal is not quite clear. Second, no one of these attributes is equated with the surviving spirit (*muzimu*). There is something in the human being which, after his death, becomes *muzimu*, but there is no agreement as to what it is. According to a fairly common opinion, the *muzimu* is the metamorphosis of the *igicucu*, the shadow cast by the body in sunshine. But according to some informants, this shadow is only an image of the spiritual shadow which is the essence of the post-mortem spirit. In conformity with that opinion, the living man is said to be made of three components: the body (*mubili*) which, after death, becomes a corpse (*murambo*); life (*buzima*), which disappears; and the shadow (*igucucu*) from which the surviving spirit (*muzimu*) results.

The heart is believed to be the seat of intelligence and affectivity. It is conceived as a single organ although some ways of speaking suggest that it is double. For instance, it is frequently said: 'One heart told me this, one heart told me that.' This is another application of the habit of attributing opposed effects of the same cause to several causes, but this is only a verbal habit which does not deceive anybody.

These uncertainties regarding the nature of man indicate that Banyarwanda do not make any clear-cut distinction between the concepts of body and mind. Although they recognize parts in man, they prefer to consider the unit rather than its components.

Whatever the culture, human experience is made up of a sequence of events and activities, such as working, eating, sleeping, maturing, suffering, mating, getting old, and dying. What is the Ruanda attitude in face of these universals of human life? In many societies these happenings are considered not in their naked reality but in terms of the beliefs held as true in the particular culture. For instance, in a society with a Christian ideology, to

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suffer is not only to be hurt but also to expiate one's sins, to purify one's soul, and to identify oneself with Christ. For serious Christians, suffering cannot be stripped of its religious meaning without being completely distorted. Banyarwanda, on the contrary, seem to take a very 'secular' view of the human condition. Their belief in the supernatural world does not greatly influence their attitude to the unavoidable hardships and pleasures of life. All our informants agree that to die means above all to quit life. They believe that they will become *bazimu* but that leaves them rather indifferent. Even initiates do not show any enthusiasm for the idea of joining *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa* at their feasts. To abandon his children, his herds, his friends, is a sad thing for a Mututsi. But it is accepted, without dramatizing it, as one of those facts which belong to the normal order of things.

If quitting this life is so unfortunate, is human existence such a cheerful experience for Banyarwanda? Enjoyments and the pleasant things of life are very unevenly distributed in Ruanda. The superior caste, the Batutsi, form about 10 per cent. of the population. But, by various means, principally by the institutionalized exchange of cattle for services and dues, Batutsi have been able to gather a much higher proportion of consumers' goods. They do no manual work and have leisure to cultivate eloquence, poetry, refined manners, and the subtle art of being witty when talking and drinking hydromel with friends. Bahutu, perhaps 85 per cent. of the population, do not enjoy such gracious living. They have to produce for themselves and for Batutsi. On a very poor soil, with technologically primitive implements, it is necessary to work hard to secure the surplus production required by the Batutsi. Moreover, the great social influence of Batutsi has given opportunities for the arbitrary exercise of power, so that there are many insecurities in a Muhutu's life. But exploitation has been kept within limits set by the wisdom and the interests of the Batutsi, and a system of protection has assured a minimum of security to the Bahutu. As to the Batwa, they are so low in the social hierarchy, and are considered so irresponsible that they have had a greater independence of action. Formerly they lived on the margin of Ruanda society. They had a reputation for grossly enjoying any opportunities for eating, drinking, making music, and dancing. It should be added that Banyarwanda, according to our standards, have been rather defenceless against disease, that starvation was a real threat for the majority when the rains failed, that ritual observances and interdicts were numerous, and that when somebody happened to be involved in a charge of sorcery he had good reason for great fear. Thus it seems that, for an ordinary Munyarwanda, life is objectively hard, often dangerous but bearable. This partly explains the Ruanda outlook upon the totality of life. It might be described as a mild optimism. As many of our informants put it: 'Existence for Banyarwanda was not easy, it was even often very painful, but on the whole, life was rather a good thing.'

As everywhere, some individuals were at some time of their lives plunged into circumstances which offered apparently no way out. A Mututsi who

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had incurred the king's displeasure and was for that reason left without protectors, friends, or cattle was in a desperate situation; only with difficulty could he gain a bare subsistence. A Muhutu against whom an accusation of sorcery was repeated; an unmarried girl of a noble family whose pregnancy became publicly known; all these, if they failed to escape from their predicament by skill and rational behaviour (such as obtaining the king's mercy, denying the charge of sorcery and looking for the protection of a powerful man, using abortifacients or denying the pregnancy), would have recourse to the *bapfumu*, seeking to know what spirit or sorcerer was responsible for their misfortune and how to appease the malevolent being. If all the practices and offerings recommended by the diviner had no effect, then they called upon *Imana*, and if their prayers were unanswered, only drastic solutions remained, such as exile in a foreign country or suicide. But these tragic destinies were not numerous and they did not shake the belief of the majority in the moderate happiness of living.

There is a further reason for their generally cheerful acceptance of the conditions of their existence. Banyarwanda are not inclined to speculate about the inaccessible. Westerners are given to imagining how beautiful and good life might be if humanity and the universe were different from what they are. This trend of thinking is quite alien to Banyarwanda and, when it is suggested, appears futile to them. The usual, the normal (in the sense of what we are accustomed to, and what we have reason to expect) is often self-explanatory. When a particular event fits into the normal scheme of things, there are no questions to be asked. If everybody has to relinquish this existence and die, death is no scandal or absurdity. It is the way *Imana* has arranged things. There is no further problem.

Cultural Values

Human action is determined partly by cultural values, partly by the socially recognized means of attaining them. By cultural values we mean the final or intermediate aims that are considered the proper purposes of human activity in a particular society.

In a stratified society, such as that of Ruanda, each layer is likely to have its own set of values, although some of those originating in one group may extend to others. Let us begin with the Batutsi. When a Mututsi informant is asked what the people of his group wish for above all, the answer comes immediately: 'children and cattle.' A further question, 'why?', discloses that these are not ultimate values sought for themselves, but intermediate ones, means to reach more abstract ends. The latter are power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

Power is understood here in connexion with persons (power over somebody) rather than with things (power to do something). It is, to paraphrase Lasswell's definition, the ability that a person, engaged in a human relationship with another, has to oblige the latter to do or not to do something (on pain of suffering severe privation). Power is essentially the capacity to

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is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

Protectors against Lightning and Its Fearsome Consequences

791 They are known by the name of abagangahuzi (from the verb kugangahura) Their honorable and lucrative profession does not expose them to any danger.

Their role is to purify, as their name (umugangahuzi) and their duties (kugangahura) indicate, and to avert any future consequences of lightning. Here are the various circumstances in which sorcerers of this kind officiate and the manner in which they operate.

761 1. When a human being is struck down by lightning. According to /436/ native belief, lightning is regarded as the king of the
766 sky, who comes occasionally and chooses subjects among men. It is
821 said in such cases that the person who was struck is a "living tax"
791 (inkuke) levied by the god, or else a subject or a page of his (intore). As a consequence, laments are forbidden. So as not to displease the king of the sky, who may do as he pleases, the relatives and friends of the victim must dance and emit joyful cries while the drums are played.

766 The purifier-sorcerer then makes an appearance. Those
821 present receive from him, on the back of their hand, a few drops of a liquid which they must allow to fall upon the ground. Then the
791 sorcerer pours some for the second time in the palm of their hand, and each of the participants drinks what is given to him.

766 Then they inhale in turn the aroma of another liquid substance
821 (issubyo) made by the purifier.

The victim's hut and all people present are sprinkled with a mixture of water and chalk. The corpse also gets some on the forehead and chest. Then it becomes proper to lay out the corpse, which the relatives would not have dared to do prior to the sorcerer's intervention.

The guests put around their necks a special grass stem (umwishwa) which, as we have seen, plays an important role in ritual ceremonies as though it had a purifying property. The deceased also gets one, and the funeral procession sets out for the place where the body is to be exposed.

278 Igisura belongs to the Urticaceae family.
824 This plant grows to a height of about 1.50 meters. Sufferers from yaws drink its juice as a remedy. They must be careful not to take too heavy a dose, so as not to risk a serious intoxication.

It is rumored that ill-disposed people have used one or another of those plants, and in particular the mutambasha, or rat poison, to wreak their vengeance and do away with their enemies.

754 Small packets of herbs were found in the possession of people
609 suspected of practicing the poisoner's vocation.

For what purpose had those plants been gathered? Perhaps the sorcerer had tried to lend them a harmfulness which of themselves they did not possess. Backbiters in the land insist that once at least royal hands mixed those allegedly noxious substances into milk, honey, and butter intended for Europeans who were passing through. The said person achieved no results, however, and this led him /or her/ to say that it was impossible to get rid of the Whites, that poisons, spells, and bewitchment had no hold over them. We are inclined to believe that in this case charms and philters were involved rather than noxious substances.

754 It is said that the penultimate king of the Uswi, Gasusuro,
178 one of the regular suppliers of such products, replied to the court envoys one fine day when they came to fetch the goods that henceforth he would not supply them, that he was through with all poisons. It is also quite /489/ possible that his answer was dictated by the fear of being caught practicing this vocation. Let us add for the sake of truthfulness that the days are long since past when such things could be said or plotted against Europeans (1).

1. The Blacks live in the almost constant fear of bewitchment and poisoning.

[76] Rickets, tuberculosis, and sudden or strange deaths, especially when the corpse swells up immediately, could have no other cause in their opinion.

674 754 Balozi, poisoners, are said to kill their victims with a poison which they carry hidden under their fingernails. The poison is given to the victim on his own tobacco pipe which the poisoner treacherously borrows for a bit in order to take a few puffs. All sudden [761] deaths are regarded as poisonings. This idea is based on the fact that poisoning is a widespread crime. Father F. Dufays told me that he once succeeded in saving a person poisoned by a balozi by giving him milk and an emetic. It looks as though there actually had been a poisoning in that case. During my stay in Ruasa I had an opportunity to see an alleged attempt at poisoning. When Captain W. Von Grawert took a guide from Ruasa on his punitive expedition, [320] the wronged ones brought us a pot of honey that was said to be poisoned. The suspicious Mututsi, Lwakazina, who had always accompanied me when I was there in order to enhance his standing through friendship with a European, discovered a small piece of fat wrapped in banana fiber in the honeypot. He maintained that it was the flesh of a native killed by the soldiers, and this was generally believed by all present. The manner in which the donors of the honey retreated, in proud awareness of a duty accomplished and with much abuse, made me inclined to believe that Lwakazina was perhaps right.

Poisoning and bewitching are known by the same word, kuloga. For this reason it is very difficult to distinguish the two in the reports one hears. It is especially difficult to find out whether sorcerers or poisoners are sought.

I could not find out whether poisoners have a secret society here. I repeatedly heard, but always in a very vague and contradictory manner, that they have nocturnal sessions around a fire (in masks?) and that they devour human flesh, even corpses, and prepare poisons.

791 Bachunyi are manufacturers of amulets. A person who wants an amulet (mpigi) to protect himself from some evil or to aid him in some manner goes to see the muchunyi. The latter hides and prepares the remedy in secret with the help of incantations.

In Ussuwi, according to Father Van Thiele, the bakoni, who are probably identical with the bachunyi of Ruanda, have the task of combatting the poison of the greatly feared and mysterious balogu.

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means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

628 in most cases. However, if the ransom is not paid, the mem-
672 bers of the injured group, with the consent of the mutwale, pro-
681 ceed to execute the victim. They take the captive to a remote place and first cut off his hands, then his feet, and eventually also the ears, nose, and tongue. Then the unfortunate victim is nailed to the ground by piercing four poles through his arms and thighs; there he finally receives the death blow through his chest (No. 19, p. 472). Another method of execution is to drive a sharp pole through his anus into his body up to his throat. The body is then exhibited in a public place. The vendetta takes similar forms among the other Bahima, down to the far south in Ufipa (No. 47, pp. 108-111). Stealing cattle and witchcraft are punished in the same cruel manner in Urundi.

762 [98] Persons intending to commit suicide, who are not by any means rare either in Urundi or Ruanda, usually kill themselves by hanging or drowning.

695 It appears that the oath (indahiro), the invocation of the deity, the manes, or the king for the purpose of affirming a statement, is not permitted as a legal device among the Barundi who, incidentally, "use oaths, curses, sorcery, lies, or trickery" copiously.. On the other hand, a judge frequently inflicts the ordeal on the accused, especially if it is a case where he has charged with witchcraft and sorcery (No. 19, p. 405). Most often this takes the form of the spear test. It consists of stabbing the accused person's arm with a hot spear point. If the blood gushes out, he is judged guilty; if not, he is considered innocent. The water test is applied by making the accused place his hand into a pot of boiling water. If his hand is scalded, he is considered guilty, otherwise, not. Also, under certain conditions, the poison test is used, a custom found all over Africa. Of course, there exist all kinds of methods designed to make the ordeal come out correctly, like greasing or powdering one's skin; using counter-poisons, etc.

643 Hence the following beliefs, to which the common people have given credence up to now.

644 In principle, in the old days the sovereign was not permitted to see his heir. The child was entrusted to the care of reliable men
855 and raised far from his father, who occasionally was brought pieces of string which had served to measure the height and waist of his future successor. In order to judge the development and strength of the young prince, the king imprinted the outline of his own foot in a basket of sorghum flour. This was brought to the crown prince, who in turn left in it the imprint of his foot. The basket was returned to the king, who never lost interest in the physical development of his child.

Bows were later sent to him so that he might try his strength. The heir was considered worthy of the throne on the day when he was able to string his father's bow, since now he had become as strong as his father.

The last verifications were made. It was necessary to make
643 sure that the king's garment fitted him perfectly, and that the im-
•762 print of his feet matched exactly that of his father's. The latter, on the other hand, having grown old and noticed that his beard and hair were greying, (yamez' imvi), decided himself that his time had come. He immediately called his confidants and made known his last wishes. "I am going to depart (gutabara); there are only a few moments left to me. You shall see to it that my son rules (kwimika) in my place. You shall obey him in all things"....

The same evening the appointed sorcerers presented him /516/
[278] with hydromel (inkangaza) in which they had mixed a violent poison, purchased, it is believed, on the shores of Lake Victoria, where it was prepared with putrefied crocodile flesh.

The king went to sleep and never awakened. "He has drunk" (yanyone), as they said in official terminology, or else "He has departed" (yatabaye), he has rejoined his ancestors, the Liberators, who saved the land, "He has ceded the throne" (yatanze), "The sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye), for such are the expressions still consecrated by usage and used to proclaim this serious event.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

RELIGION

773 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 THE list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed 000 651
taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and
the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state [655]
work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he 643
took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he 262
generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, [273]
when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge,
but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal
he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people [178]
were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which
would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after
eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused
and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon
him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any [644]
meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls 644
being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite
of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women
were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who
told them whether they were going to bear children and took [787]
auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future
king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when 643
he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner
with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern
different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his [762]
life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated 643
over the country. There was no rule against naming the king 766
after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The
whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from
women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, [231]
goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for
this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared
with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other
times. One cow was killed when the king died. [782]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

physiological aspect of sexuality. They do not seem to have thought 831
of sexual relations as the fulfilment of a romantic love between two
individuals meant to mate with each other and nobody else. The
way spouses were chosen by the two patrilineages prevented any [581]
such ideas, for the choosing of spouses rested on the assumption
that any boy and any girl of the right age and reasonably attractive
could be good partners in marriage and sexuality. But feelings of
sympathy and affection developed later as a result of their life
together rather than as its basis. According to our informants,
love, in the sense of attractiveness based on individual characteristics, was greater in non-marital relations. 'One slept with a
certain woman to make her happy because one liked her,' I was
told.

Various prohibitions and obligations indicate how sexuality 834
in marriage was related to events concerning the community and 765
the patrilineage. During the mourning period for the husband's
father and mother, which lasted one, two or three months according to the region, intercourse was prohibited for both husband
and wife. It was also prohibited for one moon after the death of the
wife's child, and for two or three moons for the surviving spouse
when one of the spouses died. The meaning of this taboo was not 765
only that one had to refrain from enjoying oneself when one 831
should have been in sorrow. It meant also a certain symbolic
participation in death or in the diminution of life affecting the
patrilineage. This is, I think, what informants have in mind when
they say in this connexion that sex is a sacred activity. This
interpretation seems to be supported by what happened when a
king died. Not only had all Ruanda to be continent for a certain
period (some informants said two moons, others one year),
but the bulls were separated from cows and rams from sheep. The
king (*mwami*) was identified with Ruanda. If he was strong, Ruanda
was strong, if he was getting old and weak, he had to commit [643]
suicide because he endangered the country's life. In that context, [763]
if animals were prevented from mating it was to express symbolically the idea of the death of the community rather than, it
seems, to deny them pleasure.

On the other hand, intercourse was obligatory when events 833
fortunate for the patrilineage or the community at large occurred.
For instance when a new hut was occupied, when six days had
passed after the birth of a child, when the first teeth of the baby

[763] Usually, feeling his end to be near, the father calls the chief
596 of the umulyango and two friends. He dictates to them his last wishes.
428 The wives of a polygamous man do not hesitate to intrigue in favor of their sons and attempt to circumvent their husband -- or even his brother -- using both their charms and their most subtle arguments. The situation is the same in the case of successive marriages.

It is easily understood that often the other sons, especially if they are of different mothers, feel themselves wronged, rightly or wrongly.
[691] But they are given the opportunity of demanding justice from the Mwami, the provincial chief, or the hill chief, according to whether they are sons of umutware w'intebe, of igisonga, or simple Batutsi or Bahutu. These authorities will ratify the choice made by the father or the uncle, or else will decide what other young man will succeed his father.

If there is no male descendant, the high position of head of the family falls on the oldest brother of the deceased. In this case, the heir will be both head of his rugo and of his brother's.

[614] He may also be, at the same time, chief of the umulyango, that is to say, of the clan. This is the umutware w'umulyango (or the umutware rwa bo).

If all the brothers have disappeared, their sons inherit by right of primogeniture. [62]

If the deceased has neither sons, nor brothers, nor nephews in his line, his father will succeed him, or in his absence, the father's brother or one of his male descendants by right of primogeniture.

The Bahutu and the Batwa have their own umutware w'urugo. But they are dependent on the same umulyango chief as the Batutsi.

3. Composition of the Inheritance

428 In addition to the high position of head of the family, the inheritance includes:

1) The heavy cattle
2) The clients (abagaragu)
3) Particularly among the Bahutu, the goats and sheep
4) Landed property (1)
5) Movables, personal property (1)

1. Cf. Property, Property in General, p. 34.

232 the best are kept for reproduction, but the others are sold, killed, or placed in ordinary herds. The meat of slaughtered bulls and that of dead cows is eaten or sold by the guardians.

Castration does not exist; it is even forbidden by customary law.

527 231 The Inyambo are led to the Mwami at festival time and at public rejoicings. They are escorted by the Mututsi, with whom they are boarded, and by [94] their guardians. For the occasion, the finest animal (inyamibwa) wears on its forehead an ornament of beads (amaraba), at the base of each of its horns three strings of beads (amashyongoshyo), and on the tips, tufts of banana fiber (amakamba); a strap covered with black and red beads goes round its neck; finally tufts of palm fiber called ubuhivu are fastened to the end of its tail. Six cows wear an ornament of white beads (inigi) between their horns and necks. Two others have two inigi and a bead collar longer than the inigi called imiheja. Finally the rest of the Inyambo simply have a tuft of fibers on their tails.

When they arrive at Nyanza, the Inyambo file before the Mwami while their escorts utter joyful cries (urwamu), wave sticks (guchyar'inka, lit., to make the cattle go in), and praise the good qualities of the Inyambo. Then they line the Inyambo up (kumulika Inyambo, lit., to show off the Inyambo) and renew their praises.

The intore pages then group themselves and dance in front of the herd (kwinikiza). The festival ends with libations of banana beer offered by the Mwami to all who have participated in the presentation of the Inyambo. If the Mwami is satisfied with the treatment of the Inyambo, he gives some ingororano to the chief of the province in which the herd is living and also to the chief's people.

8. Death of the King

643 763 When the Mwami feels his end is approaching, he calls to his side his stewards (abanyagikari), notables (abatoni) of whom he is particularly fond, and some guardians of the customs (abiru). He tells them his last wishes and reminds them of the name of the successor he has chosen. [95]

561 group" as is found among several East African tribes. Is such a social institution does exist among the Barundi, it plays no role in public life. Nor are there special bachelors' huts or kraals for such an age group, while among other Hamitic peoples of East Africa -- or peoples under Hamitic influence -- for example, the Massai, the Wapokomo [Pokome], and the Galla, these age groups constitute the principal structure of the entire social life.

Among the Massai there are three age groups: the boys living with their parents, the unmarried youths (of the warrior caste) who live together in their own kraals, and the peaceful married men. Similarly among the Wapokomo and the Galla there are: first, the boys; second, the various age groups of those who have been circumcised at the same time, or Luva; and third, the class of the older men, or Gada. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 262 ff.) In Ruanda the youthful band of warriors which usually appears at the court of Musinga for festive occasions and performs war dances might suggest that such an "age group" of unmarried youths exists among the Batussi, but perhaps they are only a kind of cadet or page corps of the king (see p. 65).

888 775 Old persons who have lost their physical and mental agility are seldom seen since they remain within the homesteads. Their next of kin take care of them until their death (ukufa), perhaps less for reasons of piety than for fear that if they treated them badly they might take revenge after their death as spirits. 763 When a person is dying his family usually gathers around him. Immediately after death, the women in the house and the neighborhood raise a loud and plaintive wailing while the men close the eyes of the deceased, bend his arms and legs, and tie him up (in a crouched position) so as to prevent him or his spirit from returning. Preparations are immediately made for the burial.

764 171 Burial in a crouched position is also the custom in Ankole, Mpororó, Ufipa, and in other Bahima states, also among the

769 This explains his invocations, offerings, and libations before the hood-shaped shelter that contains the angered spirit who was pointed out to him.

The Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ is bound by the law of taboos
784 (imiziro).

He may not smoke or sit on a chair during a thunderstorm. A woman may not use a billhook to cut grass. She may eat only cow meat. The flesh of certain animals is forbidden, /56/ in some cases to every Munyarwanda, in others to certain clans only. The objects used by a deceased person and the food that was in the hut at the time of his death are taboo. At the end of the mourning period, all these things will be purified with lustral water. The widow herself will have to go through the rites of purification.

Work is forbidden on certain days. The relatives of a deceased person give up all their occupations for four or five days.

Upon the death of the king, all work in the fields is prohibited for three months. In certain parts of Ruanda, one stops work for one day when a child is born, when a hut has burned down, when there has been a hailstorm, even when a dog has died. Some taboos only affect the king.

The burial method peculiar to the Banyarwanda, which
763 incidentally is shared by other African peoples, must now be mentioned. When a sick person is about to die and spreads his arms and legs, his relatives bring his knees up to the chin. His arms are bent at the elbows and his hands are made to cover his face.

764 This crouching position is the absolute rule among pagans. It is not far-fetched to state that this most uncomfortable position, when forced on a dying person, makes breathing very difficult and shortens his last moments.

In the right hand of the deceased, one places the leaves of
[824] plants with magical properties, ishoza, umulembe, umwishwa, seeds of squash, sorghum, and issogi, and lamb's wool. All these things are symbols explained by the following words pronounced on this occasion, "Return to us as a limb (with the sweetness of a lamb)! Return to us without thorns (like the plants, soft to the touch, that we have given thee), that is to say, without mean intentions."

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

000 three banana trees.

192 [53] INKAMWA. When the father of a family dies, one of
764 his sons or grandsons is chosen to put between his hands a jug of
231 milk. The cow that has given this milk is called inkamwa. It is given to the one who has placed the jug of milk between the hands of the deceased and is not included in the division of the inheritance.

This cow cannot be sold or killed. Its young are not subject to this interdiction. If it dies, it is eaten by the Bahutu in the owner's rugo, and its bones are buried there.

Among the Bahutu a sheep is used as the inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. When the father of a family dies, the eldest son slaughters a bull calf, which is eaten by the family. The skin is worn by the eldest son for two months so that the cows will not die like their master.

192 IY'UMULIRO and INSHUMBUSHANYO. 1) If lightning has
231 destroyed the herd (or even one animal) held by the umugaragu, the
731 latter can obtain from his shebuja the umuliro (lit., the fire cow), either a cow or a bull calf.

When several cows are given by the patron to indemnify his client, the first one is called umuliro, the others inshumbushanyo.

425 2) If the patron deprives his client of his whole herd to punish him
231 for not performing one of his obligations, the umugaragu begs the protection of another shebuja who gives his new dependent a cow and a bull calf or only a bull calf.

192 IMPONOKE. When the herd of the patron, the provincial chief,
731 or the king is decimated by cattle plague (muryamo), the abagaragu
231 give some cows to fill the gaps caused by the epizootic disease.

192 [54] INDORANO (1). At the death of the king's child, wife,
231
766

1. From kurora, "to see."

brother, and also in the case of death in a great chief's family, the provincial chiefs and the hill chiefs, if they are directly subject to the Mwami, each bring two cows to the Mwâmi, and only one in the other event. A cow is also given by the abagaragu. The cow given to a friend on the occasion of deep mourning is also called indorano.

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764 Massai and the Galla. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," 171 Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 283; and No. 47, p. 159.)

764 [764] [114] With the exception of executed criminals whose corpses are thrown into the bush for the hyenas to feed on, all Barundi are buried (kuhamba). Baumann reports that "the next of kin cut open the belly of those who have died in order to search for the evil charm responsible for the death" (No. 4, p. 222). I have not been able to confirm this either by my own investigations in the country itself, by van der Burgt, or others. The corpse is not washed but is put into the grave in its ordinary garments and with its amulets; at best it is wrapped in an old mat. No other funeral gifts are added. The burial takes place a few hours after death has occurred.

The grave (isjobo) is dug within the courtyard next to the fence or, if the dead person was the father of the family, in the center of the courtyard opposite the entrance to the main hut (No. 19, p. 203). However, according to O. Baumann, the grave is dug inside the hut itself (?) which is then abandoned. (No. 4, p. 223). While the corpse is being carried to the grave, the women once more set up a loud lament; they act as though they intended to prevent the burial, and they shout words of farewell to the deceased. If the dead person was the father of a family, the widow squats beside him before his burial, applies butter to his head, and speaks well of him so as to make his spirit look with favor on the members of the family. Then the corpse is placed in the grave which is padded with leaves; it is placed on its right side in a crouched position. Then the grave is filled with earth and a little sepulchral mound is formed on top upon which are placed various objects that the dead person used, for example, earthen vessels, old baskets, the plaited screen that covered the entrance to his hut, and other things. After a short time these objects are removed, the sepulchral mound is leveled, and nothing is left to indicate the site of the grave.

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764 His relatives leave him victuals and a few utensils for the long trip to the netherland. They attend to his needs but ask him in return not to come and torment them. /57/ This is an ethnic custom which the Blacks observe with great faithfulness, so much so that if death occurs unbeknownst to them, they will do everything possible to bring the body to this crouching position. They will even use a cutting instrument to force the limbs into the desired posture. "To give the dead the shape of a basket (Gupfuny' upfuye nk' igitebo)" is the Runyaruanda expression used to describe this procedure. In so doing the Blacks believe that they are performing an act of filial reverence. It would be a lack of respect toward the dead not to fold their legs. "You bury your dead as straight and stiff as sticks," the pagans used to exclaim at first when they reproached Christians for no longer following the native customs.

The body is wrapped in a mat and tied in order to maintain the prescribed shape. The twine is cut only at the burial ground. The body is buried so that the face lies on its right side (1).

766

1. The funeral rites practiced at the death of a Hamitic prince are totally different from those of the Bahutu. The royal corpse is mummified and dried under the action of fire. The undertakers who are in charge of this follow a complex and strange etiquette. Cf. Book IV, Chapter VII.

600 The dead of the Mousterian and Aurignacian eras were found buried in the sleeping position, with their face resting on the right side, while during the Magdalenian era the face of the dead rests on the left side. The Egyptians and Nasamon of Tripolitania proceeded approximately in the same manner.

"The body (of an Egyptian)," says Dr. Weisgerber, "usually lay on the left side (head to the south), with legs folded, knees brought up near the chest, hands on the face or neck....

"Herodotus," the same author goes on to say, "tells us that the Nasamon who lived in Tripolitania buried their dead in a crouching position. They took good care /58/ that a dying person, when about to give up the ghost, should be made to sit up and prevented from lying down. . . . " (1)

1. Dr. Weisgerber, Les Blancs d'Afrique /The Whites of Africa/, pp. 309 and 310.

121 Déchelette says that it is not possible to explain the origin of this custom of folding up the corpse. Several conjectures have been offered about it.

1. Identification of the corpse with a fetus (symbolic embryonic position). The deceased returns to the womb of the mother, who will bring him back to life (belief of the Peruvians and Hottentots).

2. Practice performed for practical reasons, so as to reduce the dimensions of the funeral container (or grave).

3. Feeling of terror which the dead inspired in the living (possible origin of the tying process) (2).

2. Joseph Déchelette, Manuel d'Archéologie prehistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine /Handbook of Prehistoric, Celtic, and Gallo-Roman Archeology/, Vol. 1, p. 473.

764 In some parts of Ruanda the relatives of the deceased, after preparing the grave, dig to one side and at the bottom of the pit a sort of chamber where the body is laid. They are obviously moved by respect for the dead whose body, thus placed, is not crushed by the weight of the earth.

Others cover the mortal remains with a layer of grass to prevent direct contact with the soil and to allay the weight [of the earth].

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull,
[825] billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

644 In addition, they are the born protectors selected by the
484 Hamitic princes to ward off the bad luck which threatens them in cer-
619 tain circumstances. The Banyarwanda, indeed, have mystic defenders of this sort who are chosen among the members of a tribe alien to theirs.

Those individuals are believed to have the power to ward off the imaginary dangers which threaten human beings. They are called abase (singular umuse). The Banyarwanda call upon their omnipotence at times of death (1), a loss of fortune, the plundering of a herd, the

[764]

1. In the Bugoyi the umuse, or protector, removes from the hut of the deceased the main post upon which the dead owner liked to lean, the piece of wood (umusego) which stands at the head of the bed, the log that was used as a chair, and the small piece of wood that surmounted the roof of the hut. All of this is laid upon the grave.

building of a hut, the giving of a name to a child, his teething, the celebration of a marriage, etc.

Since the Bagessera are the protectors of the Hamitic princes, it is understandable that the monarchs should seek their hospitality.

If there are no members of that family /in the locality/, the king stays with the Bazigaba, whose ancestor Kazigaba was the /497/ brother of Kagessera, founder of the Bagessera clan. If neither are to be found in the area through which the monarch is traveling, the latter resorts, in this order, to the Banyiginya, the Bega, or lastly, the Bakono.

644 While traveling, the king is accompanied by an honor guard
484 of Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, who sleep around the royal hut at night.

Five or six drummers walk at the head of the procession,
[533] beating occasionally on their instruments. The drums are also played at nightfall and at the first birdsong in the morning.

527 As we can see, the origins of this practice are obscure. Could a trace of the Sabbath or Sunday be involved here?

The hypothesis would be fairly plausible, especially if one supposes that the Batutsi originally came from Egypt or Abyssinia.

Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it used to be strictly observed. Many pagans who live far from European settlements still observe it today. Like their ancestors, /538/ they [82] lend it a superstitious meaning. If hail should fall on that day, they would not fail to attribute it to a supernatural punishment and to place the responsibility on those who were caught breaking the rule. "One didn't hesitate," the elders relate, "to insult the delinquents, to rob them or even to strike them if need be, and it was not unusual to be taken to task, so highly was this custom regarded."

769 The great chiefs also do for the dead members of their families, proportionately speaking, what the king does for his own ancestors (1). Each of the huts which make up their homes, for usually

764

1. The Bega preferably take their dead to the Budaha region, which is one of their fees. The regent Kabale and one of his favorite wives, Kirumwero, were buried in the village of Ngoma, near Gatare hill. His father Lwagara had been buried at Gisunzu, not far from Munzanga, and his brother Lwibishengo at Nyamutukura. His son Nyantabana and one of his grandsons were interred at Lwasankuba.

The Banyiginya choose their burial sites in enemy country to check invasions and to wreak evil on foreigners (Abanyamuhanga).

Before it was joined to the Crown, the isle of Idjwi served as a final

764 resting place for several important members of this clan.

Other Banyiginya were buried in Urundi and in the Bugessera province, which borders on that country. The dead sons of Musinga, who number at least five or six, rest there in their last sleep.

The deceased are usually buried in a hut. In the Budaha, the owner of a hut that served as a Mwega's tomb cannot leave the dwelling until about a year later. He is forced to remain there to prevent sorcerers from digging up the body.

769 there are several, is dedicated to a spirit in whose honor they marry a woman whom they later keep or discard, depending on their whims and fancies.

Well-off Bahutu attempt to imitate the great, but their huts [343] are usually few in number. So as not to be inferior to those they emulate in their superstitions, they build around their dwelling several tiny huts (indaro) which often consist merely of two or three sticks planted in the ground and barely bound at the top by a small band. /539/

4. The Annual Mourning Period of Fifteen Days in the Month of June, Which Ends With an Important Celebration

765 769 766 The famous annual mourning period of 15 days takes place during the last fortnight of the lunar month called by the native name of Gichurassi, which corresponds approximately to our month of June. In principle the king alone is supposed to go into mourning, but the whole court joins him for the sake of solidarity. At that time, the

5: Pages--277 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Panorama of Rulindo. The two groves which served as the last resting place for queen mothers can be seen on the heights.

133

On the border between Ruanda and the Karagwe.

842 It is obvious that if a large number of children brings the father influence and possessions and insures the existence of the whole group, there is no reason for the use of devices which limit the number of children. However, contraceptives are known. Father Schumacher (2) says: "The juice of the muhoko bush,

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 894.

mixed with a small amount of water, is taken as a contraceptive; strong doses are taken to commit suicide. As a superstitious but 'infallible' remedy, the mother who wishes to prevent her daughter's disgrace uses the latter's first menstrual blood. She catches this and allows it to dry on any kind of material. She keeps it, or, for example, she may tie the rag on her foot (the numerous butega hide it). After this is done, conception is impossible, no matter what the girl manages to do."

847 If a nursing mother becomes pregnant, she has an abortion out of consideration for the child. The operation is performed by a smith and is said to be done mechanically and not with internal remedies.

[231] The same thing happens when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant. If the abortion is unsuccessful and the girl has the child, it is often killed by being allowed to starve.

764 Death. If a person dies in a house, the nearest relatives are assembled, and a pole is provided on which the body is tied when it is transported to the grave. The body must not be kept very long in the hut.

The women mourn the deceased, and all clothing, bracelets, and leg rings are removed from the corpse. The body is put in a crouching position with arms and legs bent, rubbed with butter, and wrapped in mats (virago) with no gifts added. Moreover, the Batutsi shave the head of the body, but the Bahutu do not do this.

In Kissaka the deceased is either buried in the banana grove or thrown into a papyrus swamp, according to his wishes. In Nduga bodies are usually thrown into the swamps. In places where there are no papyrus swamps, they are covered with a layer of earth. In Mulera it is a common custom to bury the Bahutu. The

764 grave is dug so deep that the gravedigger's head is not visible when he is standing in it. Only those who have been killed are laid to rest in caves. In Bugoye people who have died at home of an illness or of old age are buried near the house. People who have died suddenly or have been killed are simply abandoned or thrown into the bushes. People who have died in an epidemic or of starvation are also abandoned.

The corpses left in swamps are devoured by animals. In contrast to this, care is taken that buried corpses are not dug up, and to prevent this, the grave is covered with banana stalks and thorns.

765 The deceased is mourned for four days. On the fourth day the members of his family remove their bracelets and shave their heads for four moons. If a wife dies, only the girls remove their jewelry; the men merely shave their heads. After four months the masunzu, the shaved patterns, are allowed to grow again.

In Bugoye and Nduga, it is said that a stick (kasongera) is broken above the hut of a woman who has become a widow. This probably symbolizes the absent phallus.

764 The abandonment of the corpse which is customary in Nduga is probably related to the Batutsi element. The Bahutu of Mulera bury their dead, like the Bantu of the neighboring Congo Basin. There is an inexplicable contrast between the neglect of the dead and the death cult. Could this neglect perhaps facilitate the [765] transformation into an animal? The members of royal families of Ruanda and Urundi are [232] said to turn into leopards after their death, just as the ruling family of Kiziba, like the Massai, turn into snakes.

766 643 According to Father Van der Burgt (1), the corpse of the king

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German.] (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 204.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

428 his heir, the king or his clan appointed someone to inherit his property.

764 When a man died, all ornaments and clothing, with the exception of a loin-cloth, were removed, his legs were bent up into the squatting posture, and his head was shaved. A cow was brought to the bedside, a little hair from it was put in the right hand of the dead man and a little milk milked over it. This hand with the hair in it was then placed under the head.

In the case of an ordinary man, the grave was dug by the relatives or servants in the garden near, or, should he have no land, in some secluded spot, and the body was buried there.

766 Should he, however, be a wealthy man, the grave was dug big enough for a bedstead to be placed in it. This was covered with skins, on which the body, wrapped in mats, was laid and covered with skins of wild animals and cows. A second bedstead was placed on top of the first to keep the earth from the body, and the grave was filled up with earth, which was piled into a mound over it. The weapons of a dead man were put on his grave, and in the case of a woman her flour basket was buried with her.

764 A hut without any doorway was built over the grave and a growing fence planted round it. There was always the fear that someone might disturb the dead by digging up the body for the purpose of working magic, and the heir was therefore responsible for keeping this fence in repair until it had grown big enough to keep off people and cattle, after which no further attention was paid to it. After the burial all the people who took part in it were given hot water to wash their hands before leaving for their own homes.

765 A cow was brought and killed by the grave after the burial and was cooked and eaten by the mourners. The skin was dressed and worn as mourning by the heir, or by some favourite child of the dead man, for two months, during which time he might not come into the presence of the king. The mourners might neither wash nor shave. They lived together in one house, avoided all other people, and had to be strictly chaste lest they should incur the ghost's displeasure.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

613 835 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 476 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied [692] by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 764 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a 613 765 man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again. [833] There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as

837 Up until recent times, the father-in-law and even the brothers-
606 in-law had the right to spend one or several nights with the wife of
607 his son or brother. The father-in-law had the right to claim this right without discussion, while the brothers-in-law had to have the brother's permission. The wife who refused to share her bed with her father-in-law or one of her brothers-in-law could be driven away. The husband even had the right to compel his wife to give her favors to one of his friends.

CHAPTER III. DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

1. Death

765 Two days after a death, the whole clan arrives to assist the widow and orphans in their mourning. The mother and her children shave off their hair, take off their bracelets, and abstain from washing their clothes (kwirabura, lit., to become black). One of the brothers of the deceased lights a fire that burns in the rugo without cease for two days (igitshaniro). When it has gone out, the children and their uncle take the ashes and go in secret to throw them in a marsh.

[834] Mourning lasts for two months during which time the married sons may not have intercourse with their wives.

On the first day of the third month the members of the family return. In the evening they all assemble, swallow [32] great quantities of beer, and sing happily (kwera, lit., to become white). The brother of the deceased who took charge of the igitshaniro, or in his absence, another brother, must share the bed of the widow (kweza). The married sons, in the order of their birth, simulate the sexual act with their wives.

The following day, the widow and the wives of the married sons put milk in the churns and make butter (1). Then all the members of

1. During the mourning they could not touch the churns. A stranger to the family of the deceased came and made the butter.

the family rub themselves with chalk, put on white garments, and go

765 to the watering place. A brother of the deceased goes down in the near-by well, draws out water with a jug, and empties it into the watering trough. Then he passes the jug to the male children, beginning with the eldest, and each one imitates his gesture (2). In

2. During mourning, only the cowherds fill the watering trough.

the evening the guardians milk the cows; then after the mother, with the help of the paternal uncle, has removed the butter from her own churn (gutshyura igisabo, lit., to bring the churns back), the married sons and their wives do the same thing with theirs.

The son then gives a heifer to the uncle and a bull calf to the sister who has removed the cow dung (gukuka) in the kraal.

768 The night is spent in drinking, and the following day the uncle proceeds to choose a new head of the family if the father had not already designated one before dying.

765 If the wife has not had any children or if the marriage has lasted only a short while, her death gives rise to no ceremony and the husband wears mourning for only a week. (3)

3. All these curibus ceremonies show the deep sorrow of the deceased's relatives. Above all, their purpose [33] is to prevent misfortune descending on the family of the one who has disappeared (guhumana, lit., to be soiled, to change color, to contract a serious illness).

Although they are extraneous to the common law itself, we have deemed it desirable to make a brief sketch of these ceremonies, in order to show that the whole life of the Banyarwanda is encircled in a close web of prescriptions of a magic nature.

[33] 2. Separation and Divorce

586 It may happen that the husband's and wife's characters are not in harmony, that the wife complains of her husband's stinginess,

SECTION III. INHERITANCE

1. Basis of the Law of Inheritance

428 The principles regulating the laws of inheritance are:

1) Wives and daughters are excluded from inheritance for they can neither bequeath nor inherit valuables.

2) In principle, the inheritance remains in the male paternal line (2);

> 2. A boy may also inherit from his mother's family but only if the deceased, a relative of his mother, has expressed his wish before dying and also, of course, if he has no natural heirs. It may also happen that a stranger inherits from the deceased, if the latter has no heirs.

3) The new head of the family is normally, but not necessarily, the eldest of the sons, with no distinction made between mothers.

2. Designation of the New Head of the Family

[765] The period of mourning (kwirabura, lit., to become black) and the
596 purification ceremonies (kwera, lit., to become white) being over, that
428 is, two months after the death (3), the [61] designation of the new head

> 3. The time is reduced to a few days if the couple have not had any children.

of the family (umutware w'urugo rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) takes place.

If the father has died without having been able to make his wishes known, this choice is made by the chief of the umulyango who asks beforehand the advice of the elders. It matters little whether the sons are of different mothers (polygyny, or successive marriages), whether they are legitimate, born of a concubine, or adulterine. Only the qualities required of a future head of the family are taken into consideration.

587 If the widower is left with very young children, the parents-in-law usually suggest to their son-in-law that he take one of their other daughters as a wife (2) so that the children do not have a stranger as

[765]

2. The widower may not remarry until after a month of mourning. During this time he does not shave, does not wash his clothes, and may not have intercourse with another woman.

stepmother. Far from claiming another dowry for her, they offer on the contrary an indongoranyo cow (3) which normally, however, is

3. A hoe, among the Bahutu.

the counterpart of the dowry paid.

A widower without children may claim restitution of the dowry. He usually does not do so because he knows that his parents-in-law, to avoid returning the dowry, will find him a new wife among their own daughters or those of their kin.

7. Guardianship of Children (4)

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4. Cf. Personal Status, Tutelage and Emancipation, pp. 31 and 32.

The widowed mother who does not remarry outside the family continues to live in her rugo where she brings up her children until their marriage, which emancipates them, at least so far as the boys are concerned.

The son who is named head of the family actually replaces his father, provided he is old enough to do so. He has the same rights and obligations as his father, especially that of establishing his brothers (by giving them some indemano) and marrying off his sisters. If later one of his sisters happens to be repudiated, she takes refuge with her mother or her brother, who finds her a new husband.

If all the boys are minors, the paternal grandfather or, in his absence, the paternal uncle who seems the best [72] qualified is

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than 766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

[765] The mourning period for a mutwale lasts two to three weeks. However, the highest honors are paid to the dead king
766 (see p. 185 [not translated]). The corpse is first wrapped in
775 hides and barkcloth. It is not buried but dried over a smoking fire until it has become completely mummified. The first worm ("soul worm") that leaves the corpse is put into a milk pot and fed until one night it leaves the pot and turns into a giant snake (isato) in which the spirit (umusimu) of the dead
766 king will reside from then on. The corpse is not embalmed. The corpse of the king is not arranged in a crouched position as are those of the common Barundi; the arms and legs remain extended (No. 19, p. 204). In Ankole, however, the king's body is also put in a crouched position, wrapped in cowhide and buried (No. 27, p. 101). In Urundi the dead king is then put on a wooden trestle in the center of the homestead and left to lie in state until the feet of the trestle are eaten by termites. Under certain conditions this may take months. It is reported that King Kisabo lay in state in this way for an entire year. A local missionary told me that the deceased was
[588] even "married" to a young wife whose duty it was to take care of him and to provide him with food and pombe beer every day. During the entire period in which he lies in state the king's subjects gather from all corners of his realm; they pray to his spirit to win his favor, eat and drink in a festive funeral banquet beside his bier, and praise the deceased. Of course, the great ceremony of the "holy spear" is also performed. The
[765] official period of mourning for the king is one month. Finally, the mummy, accompanied by the medicine men and priests and followed by a wailing crowd of people, is carried away by the closest male relatives of the king. It is taken a distance of several days' journey to Ganso Mountain in the northwestern border mountains adjoining Ruanda, south of the source of the Ruvuvu River. The corpse is finally buried in a forest which may be entered only by the members of the royal family (Baganwa) and the priests. According to van der Burgt, however, it is not buried but simply laid to rest in a hut (see p. 186 [not translated]). The other Barundi kings have also been laid to rest there (No. 4, p. 223). On the other hand, van der Burgt writes

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
[781] by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife
[843] is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
[825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

643 767 Then the king appoints one or two chiefs to go and settle their difficulties.

In the old days these undertakers could not visit with their fellow men, nor could they eat or drink with them. Even today, when [415] invited to feast with their neighbors, they must bring with them their own drinking tube. It is maintained that they do not eat with their children. If it came to pass that the latter, in turn, should bury a new king, they would have to leave their parents and never see them again.

A special vocabulary is used to speak of the monarch and [198 644] certain of his acts. It would be most disrespectful to say that the king sleeps, drinks, eats, etc., like anyone else. We have already seen how his ailments and his death are mentioned (yaberamye, yanyoye, yatabaye, etc.).

767 644 643 It is for the same reason that the royal undertakers bear a name that recalls their function only in a very indirect way. Just as they are strictly forbidden to go to the capital, custom forbids the king to go through areas inhabited by members of this corporation or to camp there. He must avoid the sacred groves where the spirits of his ancestors rest, as though the idea of death could shorten the life of the sovereign. It is mandatory to his followers to avert that image and thought from his eyes and from his ears, which are those of a demigod well above common mortals.

He must be enabled to enjoy this life and all its pleasures in peace.

5. Mourning Rites Observed at the Death of a Prince

643 765 The king is mourned for four months, that is to say, until the official accession of his successor to the throne. During /522/ that period of time, cohabitation between spouses is theoretically forbidden. Bulls are also separated from the herds at the time of this terrible misfortune, which causes the Banyarwanda to state that "the sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye). Men and even children shave their heads [302] as a sign of mourning.

643 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were
765 in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might
[689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the
[731] ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken
766 into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the
778 remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa),
[824] and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

764 resting place for several important members of this clan.

Other Banyiginya were buried in Urundi and in the Bugessera province, which borders on that country. The dead sons of Musinga, who number at least five or six, rest there in their last sleep.

The deceased are usually buried in a hut. In the Budaha, the owner of a hut that served as a Mwega's tomb cannot leave the dwelling until about a year later. He is forced to remain there to prevent sorcerers from digging up the body.

769 there are several, is dedicated to a spirit in whose honor they marry a woman whom they later keep or discard, depending on their whims and fancies.

Well-off Bahutu attempt to imitate the great, but their huts [343] are usually few in number. So as not to be inferior to those they emulate in their superstitions, they build around their dwelling several tiny huts (indaro) which often consist merely of two or three sticks planted in the ground and barely bound at the top by a small band. /539/

4. The Annual Mourning Period of Fifteen Days in the Month of June, Which Ends With an Important Celebration

765 769 776 The famous annual mourning period of 15 days takes place during the last fortnight of the lunar month called by the native name of Gichurassi, which corresponds approximately to our month of June. In principle the king alone is supposed to go into mourning, but the whole court joins him for the sake of solidarity. At that time, the

765 prince must cast aside his ornaments and retain only ordinary clothes.
769 No marriage ceremony may take place. Games and dances are
prohibited. Among the drums, only the Ndamutsa is heard around
796 nine o'clock in the morning.

When the mourning period is nearly over, the chiefs have beer brought in from various parts of Ruanda in preparation for the closing celebration (gukur' igichurassi, "to chase away the month of mourning"). On the eve of the day appointed for the festivities, the small drum (ishako) is heard at four different times during the night to herald the great solemn occasion. At dawn other instruments join in. Joyous shouts rise on all sides and the crowd rushes to the huge esplanade where the festival is to take place.

Continuous dancing follows, with pages and other specialists participating. The members of the Ryangombe secret society, their faces smeared with white, observe their usual ceremonies. Sacrifices are offered.

The sacred cows appear on the square and contribute in no small way to the original character of the festivities. Needless to say, beer flows freely.

As for finding out in whose honor the mourning is held, this is no easy matter. The chroniclers do not agree on this score. /540/

Some say that it is held in honor of all kings; others add that it is held in honor of a queen whose name has been forgotten. The majority state that it is observed in memory of Ndahiro.

The latter's death is said to have occurred precisely during the month of Gichurassi and in the circumstances we have already mentioned. We leave it to better informed people to cut those Gordian knots.

764 grave is dug so deep that the gravedigger's head is not visible when he is standing in it. Only those who have been killed are laid to rest in caves. In Bugoye people who have died at home of an illness or of old age are buried near the house. People who have died suddenly or have been killed are simply abandoned or thrown into the bushes. People who have died in an epidemic or of starvation are also abandoned.

The corpses left in swamps are devoured by animals. In contrast to this, care is taken that buried corpses are not dug up, and to prevent this, the grave is covered with banana stalks and thorns.
765 The deceased is mourned for four days. On the fourth day the members of his family remove their bracelets and shave their heads for four moons. If a wife dies, only the girls remove their jewelry; the men merely shave their heads. After four months the masunzu, the shaved patterns, are allowed to grow again.

In Bugoye and Nduga, it is said that a stick (kasongera) is broken above the hut of a woman who has become a widow. This probably symbolizes the absent phallus.

764 The abandonment of the corpse which is customary in Nduga is probably related to the Batutsi element. The Bahutu of Mulera bury their dead, like the Bantu of the neighboring Congo Basin. There is an inexplicable contrast between the neglect of the dead and the death cult. Could this neglect perhaps facilitate the
[765] transformation into an animal? The members of royal families of Ruanda and Urundi are [232] said to turn into leopards after their death, just as the ruling family of Kiziba, like the Massai, turn into snakes.

766 643 According to Father Van der Burgt (1), the corpse of the king

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German.] (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 204.

766 of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be
643 worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites
[782] and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, whereupon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan. As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the
[597] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his relatives.

614 628 In Mulera, in contrast to Kissaka, the female members of the clan are also avenged, but in Ruanda I heard nothing about women being killed in revenge.

[765] The clan which has avenged its dead casts off mourning and celebrates the happy event with dancing and beer drinking. This announces to the others that they have nothing more to fear.

In exacting vengeance, the injured clan is primarily bent on laying its hands on members of the criminal's clan, but the murderer himself also receives special attention.

During my stay in Mulera a man with a pot of beer on his head went to a neighboring settlement. On the way he met a stranger who expressed the wish to taste his beer. When the man refused, the stranger retaliated by stabbing him in the back. The wounded man fell to the ground and began to scream. The stranger fled, but the injured man's clansmen pursued him, inflicted arm and head wounds with a bush knife, bound him, and brought him to their settlement. There he had to await the outcome of his victim's illness, and if the man had died, he would have had to pay with his life for his fit of temper.

Revenge is the factor that most strongly binds the clan together and contributes most to the development of a feeling of solidarity among clan members.

A clan that refused to take revenge would become extinct in a short time, since neighbors could plunder its members without punishment.

[238] The practice of blood revenge in Ruanda and, above all, in Nduga where clan members are scattered among outsiders takes the form of secret, occasional murders. In the northwest, for example, in Itambi where clans have settled in larger units, revenge is said to take on the nature of a regular war. This difference is decidedly an adjustment of the same institution to the particular conditions prevailing in the two regions.

Unsettled and pending cases of revenge constitute an ever-present danger for the clan members, and at the same time they involve many unexpected and unpleasant situations. The clans are settled in different places far apart from one another, and the individual member is not always informed about the relation of his clan to others in distant regions. For this reason the Munyaruanda

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

428 his heir, the king or his clan appointed someone to inherit his property.

764 When a man died, all ornaments and clothing, with the exception of a loin-cloth, were removed, his legs were bent up into the squatting posture, and his head was shaved. A cow was brought to the bedside, a little hair from it was put in the right hand of the dead man and a little milk milked over it. This hand with the hair in it was then placed under the head.

In the case of an ordinary man, the grave was dug by the relatives or servants in the garden near, or, should he have no land, in some secluded spot, and the body was buried there. 766 Should he, however, be a wealthy man, the grave was dug big enough for a bedstead to be placed in it. This was covered with skins, on which the body, wrapped in mats, was laid and covered with skins of wild animals and cows. A second bedstead was placed on top of the first to keep the earth from the body, and the grave was filled up with earth, which was piled into a mound over it. The weapons of a dead man were put on his grave, and in the case of a woman her flour basket was buried with her.

764 A hut without any doorway was built over the grave and a growing fence planted round it. There was always the fear that someone might disturb the dead by digging up the body for the purpose of working magic, and the heir was therefore responsible for keeping this fence in repair until it had grown big enough to keep off people and cattle, after which no further attention was paid to it. After the burial all the people who took part in it were given hot water to wash their hands before leaving for their own homes.

765 A cow was brought and killed by the grave after the burial and was cooked and eaten by the mourners. The skin was dressed and worn as mourning by the heir, or by some favourite child of the dead man, for two months, during which time he might not come into the presence of the king. The mourners might neither wash nor shave. They lived together in one house, avoided all other people, and had to be strictly chaste lest they should incur the ghost's displeasure.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

After the mourning the heir was purified by an elder of the clan, and he then took the mourning garment and buried it in some secret place. The mourners shaved their heads and hid the hair. A medicine-man decided whether the house of the dead man might still be inhabited or not. If the people were permitted to remain there, they, the place, and the pots had to be purified; but if they had to go they gave the pots and furniture away and left the house to fall down.

The heir was purified again by an elder of the clan and then went to buy a cow, which he took to the king, whom he was not on this occasion allowed to see. The next day he visited the king, taking a present of a young bull, and informed him of the death. This reception constituted his acknowledgment by the king as the dead man's heir, but if he proved unsatisfactory he might later be dismissed from the chieftainship.

The heir took all his father's widows except old women and his own mother. He even took widows with children, and the children regarded him as their father.

When a married man lost his father he lived apart from his wife for two months, and on the death of his mother he avoided his wife for one month.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

613 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be
835 between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any
476 of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied
[692] by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's
764 hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a
613 man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a
765 prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again.
[833] There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

activities of her husband's inzu and was not bound by all the obligations common to the members of her own inzu, a few words should be added about her behaviour in this connexion. 613 562

She participated in the cult of Ego's (=her husband's) ancestor and of her own ancestor, but she was not allowed to build a shrine in honour of her ancestor in Ego's enclosure. She gave the ritual gifts at the birth of a child in her own inzu as well as in Ego's inzu, and did the same at marriage ceremonies. In times of mourning, Ego's inzu was predominant: his wife had to practise sexual abstention for two or three months when Ego's parents died. For her own parents she was not bound by any such observances. She received protection from her husband's group, but from her own only when she had disputes with Ego's lineage [765]

2. THE DESCENT GROUP OF EGO'S MOTHER

A man (or a woman) was not a member of his mother's patrilineage, which is why in the preceding section only his agnates were considered. But the picture of Ego's position in kinship relations would be incomplete if it were limited to that. Ego's mother's agnates were not complete strangers to him. In everyday life, he met them often and his culture provided him with roles to assume in these circumstances. In some cases Ego's behaviour to 'maternal' kin was very similar to that which he was expected to observe towards the agnatic counterpart of that kin. 607

601

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's mother		
Mo	Mama	Mama
MoBr	Data	Marume
MoSi	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaBrSo	Data	Marume
MoFaBrDa	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Marume
MoFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Mamawacu
II. The generation of Ego's maternal grandfather		
MoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's maternal great-grandfather		
MoFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

physiological aspect of sexuality. They do not seem to have thought 831
of sexual relations as the fulfilment of a romantic love between two individuals meant to mate with each other and nobody else. The way spouses were chosen by the two patrilineages prevented any [581]
such ideas, for the choosing of spouses rested on the assumption that any boy and any girl of the right age and reasonably attractive could be good partners in marriage and sexuality. But feelings of sympathy and affection developed later as a result of their life together rather than as its basis. According to our informants, love, in the sense of attractiveness based on individual characteristics, was greater in non-marital relations. 'One slept with a certain woman to make her happy because one liked her,' I was told.

Various prohibitions and obligations indicate how sexuality 834
in marriage was related to events concerning the community and 765
the patrilineage. During the mourning period for the husband's father and mother, which lasted one, two or three months according to the region, intercourse was prohibited for both husband and wife. It was also prohibited for one moon after the death of the wife's child, and for two or three moons for the surviving spouse when one of the spouses died. The meaning of this taboo was not 765
only that one had to refrain from enjoying oneself when one 831
should have been in sorrow. It meant also a certain symbolic participation in death or in the diminution of life affecting the patrilineage. This is, I think, what informants have in mind when they say in this connexion that sex is a sacred activity. This interpretation seems to be supported by what happened when a king died. Not only had all Ruanda to be continent for a certain period (some informants said two moons, others one year), but the bulls were separated from cows and rams from sheep. The king (*mwami*) was identified with Ruanda. If he was strong, Ruanda [643]
was strong, if he was getting old and weak, he had to commit [765]
suicide because he endangered the country's life. In that context, if animals were prevented from mating it was to express symbolically the idea of the death of the community rather than, it seems, to deny them pleasure.

On the other hand, intercourse was obligatory when events 833
fortunate for the patrilineage or the community at large occurred. For instance when a new hut was occupied, when six days had passed after the birth of a child, when the first teeth of the baby

166 When the king is dead, the abiru shave their heads, take off their bracelets, and put on a garment of sycamore bark. Then they choose eight Batutsi or Bahutu belonging to the families of the Abatsobe, the Abagunga, or the Abanyargona, who are in charge of the funeral (abanyamugogo, lit., man with the great log). The corpse is dressed as when the person was alive, rolled in a mat, and placed in an ingobyi (1) resting on a raised hurdle (urutara) set up in

1. Long, boat-shaped basket in which people of high quality are carried.

one of the huts of the royal boma (2).

2. In the past, on the death of the king, two noble Batutsi had their throats cut. This was called gusegurir Umwami (lit., to make the king's pillow). When the Umugabekazi died, two great Batutsi ladies were similarly killed.

For eight days the watchers keep a great fire burning under the hurdle in order to cure the corpse. To speed up the operation the corpse is turned over morning and evening, and to prevent the skin from splitting, the watchers anoint it with butter from time to time.

At dawn of the ninth day, the body is lifted by the watchers, accompanied by a few abiru, and hidden during the day in the rugo of a Munyarwanda. At nightfall, the small group sets out again. Traveling only at night, the funeral procession arrives at Rutare Hill, near Lake Mohasi, the end of the journey. The owner of each rugo, where the bearers have spent the day with the corpse, must drink the gihango (3), the absorption of which will inevitably kill him if he

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3. This gihango is different from the one in question in the blood pact, p. 13. It is a muddy drink in which medicinal herbs are mashed and mixed with wood ash and ash from the powder of the horn of a bull that has killed another bull. The Banyarwanda

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believe that this potion will kill whoever does not speak the truth or reveals a state secret (cf. also Procedure, pp. 104 and 105).

766 dared reveal what he had seen.

The summit of Rutare Hill is crowned with trees, [96] the remains of an ancient forest. The cemetery of the kings and queens can be found there. The abanyamugogo build a hut there, dig a grave, and bury the king and his weapons in it. The hut is closed with beams and surrounded by a thorny enclosure to keep wild ani-
[767] mals out. Quite near-by, the watchers build themselves dwellings where they live for two years and are fed during this time by the people of the neighborhood. Then they return home after going through Nyanza where they are showered with gifts. But the Mwami may not see them for he would die during the year if he caught sight of those who have watched over and carried his father's body. For the same reason the abiru who have accompanied them to Rutare may never return to the court of Nyanza. The belief also exists that from
[825] the right shoulder of the dead Mwami there issues a worm (urunyo) which, if placed in a pitcher of milk, will grow and become a leopard that kills only those who are wicked and unjust.

When the Mwami dies all work stops for eight days. For two months the bulls are removed from the herds and the king's children may not have any marital relations. Although they are under no obligation to do so, the Banyarwanda behave in the same way.

The death of the Umugabekazi [king's mother] calls for the same ceremonies and the same interdictions, but they are somewhat simplified.

9. Succession to the Throne

643 The king of Ruanda always belongs to the family of the
[644] Abanyiginya. His wives (1) are mostly chosen from the clans of the
[644]

1. The king may have four legitimate wives whose children are the only ones who, in theory, can succeed him; he can have as many concubines as he wishes.

Abega and the Abakono.

764 Massai and the Galla. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa,"
171 Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 283; and No. 47, p. 159.)

764 [114] With the exception of executed criminals whose
[766] corpses are thrown into the bush for the hyenas to feed on, all Barundi are buried (kuhamba). Baumann reports that "the next of kin cut open the belly of those who have died in order to search for the evil charm responsible for the death" (No. 4, p. 222). I have not been able to confirm this either by my own investigations in the country itself, by van der Burgt, or others. The corpse is not washed but is put into the grave in its ordinary garments and with its amulets; at best it is wrapped in an old mat. No other funeral gifts are added. The burial takes place a few hours after death has occurred.

The grave (isjobo) is dug within the courtyard next to the fence or, if the dead person was the father of the family, in the center of the courtyard opposite the entrance to the main hut (No. 19, p. 203). However, according to O. Baumann, the grave is dug inside the hut itself (?) which is then abandoned. (No. 4, p. 223). While the corpse is being carried to the grave, the women once more set up a loud lament; they act as though they intended to prevent the burial, and they shout words of farewell to the deceased. If the dead person was the father of a family, the widow squats beside him before his burial, applies butter to his head, and speaks well of him so as to make his spirit look with favor on the members of the family. Then the corpse is placed in the grave which is padded with leaves; it is placed on its right side in a crouched position. Then the grave is filled with earth and a little sepulchral mound is formed on top upon which are placed various objects that the dead person used, for example, earthen vessels, old baskets, the plaited screen that covered the entrance to his hut, and other things. After a short time these objects are removed, the sepulchral mound is leveled, and nothing is left to indicate the site of the grave.

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than ●766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

[765] The mourning period for a mutwale lasts two to three weeks. However, the highest honors are paid to the dead king
766 (see p. 185 [not translated]). The corpse is first wrapped in
775 hides and barkcloth. It is not buried but dried over a smoking fire until it has become completely mummified. The first worm ("soul worm") that leaves the corpse is put into a milk pot and fed until one night it leaves the pot and turns into a giant snake (isato) in which the spirit (umusimu) of the dead king will reside from then on. The corpse is not embalmed.
766 The corpse of the king is not arranged in a crouched position as are those of the common Barundi; the arms and legs remain extended (No. 19, p. 204). In Ankole, however, the king's body is also put in a crouched position, wrapped in cowhide and buried (No. 27, p. 101). In Urundi the dead king is then put on a wooden trestle in the center of the homestead and left to lie in state until the feet of the trestle are eaten by termites. Under certain conditions this may take months. It is reported that King Kisabo lay in state in this way for an entire year. A local missionary told me that the deceased was
[588] even "married" to a young wife whose duty it was to take care of him and to provide him with food and pombe beer every day. During the entire period in which he lies in state the king's subjects gather from all corners of his realm; they pray to his spirit to win his favor, eat and drink in a festive funeral banquet beside his bier, and praise the deceased. Of course, the great ceremony of the "holy spear" is also performed. The
[765] official period of mourning for the king is one month. Finally, the mummy, accompanied by the medicine men and priests and followed by a wailing crowd of people, is carried away by the closest male relatives of the king. It is taken a distance of several days' journey to Ganso Mountain in the northwestern border mountains adjoining Ruanda, south of the source of the Ruvuvu River. The corpse is finally buried in a forest which may be entered only by the members of the royal family (Baganwa) and the priests. According to van der Burgt, however, it is not buried but simply laid to rest in a hut (see p. 186 [not translated]). The other Barundi kings have also been laid to rest there (No. 4, p. 223). On the other hand, van der Burgt writes

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro
171 that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned
768 as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a
775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place
769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca-
766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and
661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is
[761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

764 His relatives leave him victuals and a few utensils for the long trip to the netherland. They attend to his needs but ask him in return not to come and torment them. /57/ This is an ethnic custom which the Blacks observe with great faithfulness, so much so that if death occurs unbeknownst to them, they will do everything possible to bring the body to this crouching position. They will even use a cutting instrument to force the limbs into the desired posture. "To give the dead the shape of a basket (Gupfuny' upfuye nk' igitebo)" is the Runyaruanda expression used to describe this procedure. In so doing the Blacks believe that they are performing an act of filial reverence. It would be a lack of respect toward the dead not to fold their legs. "You bury your dead as straight and stiff as sticks," the pagans used to exclaim at first when they reproached Christians for no longer following the native customs.

The body is wrapped in a mat and tied in order to maintain the prescribed shape. The twine is cut only at the burial ground. The body is buried so that the face lies on its right side (1).

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1. The funeral rites practiced at the death of a Hamitic prince are totally different from those of the Bahutu. The royal corpse is mummified and dried under the action of fire. The undertakers who are in charge of this follow a complex and strange etiquette. Cf. Book IV, Chapter VII.

600 The dead of the Mousterian and Aurignacian eras were found buried in the sleeping position, with their face resting on the right side, while during the Magdalenian era the face of the dead rests on the left side. The Egyptians and Nasamon of Tripolitania proceeded approximately in the same manner.

"The body (of an Egyptian)," says Dr. Weisgerber, "usually lay on the left side (head to the south), with legs folded, knees brought up near the chest, hands on the face or neck. . . .

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).
778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here," he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is
[773] connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and
[262] even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

783

1. A Munyarwanda would never pick up such accursed weapons, whose origin and function he knows only too well. The curse which is attached to them and the fear which they inspire cause him to go his way without a covetous glance.

In certain clans the purifier-sorcerer slips the scrapings into a sweet potato which he feeds to a goat. The latter is then sold to strangers faraway on whom falls the curse attached to the weapon which was used to commit the murder. The price of the animal, which was formerly paid in kind (hoes, peas, beans, sorghum, etc.) was renounced or thrown away. The victim's family considered that they were thus freeing themselves completely from the evil spell which befell them through the violent death of one of its members.

769 783 628 In order to pacify the spirit of the deceased, a young man of the kin group is chosen during the funeral ceremonies to avenge him. He must obtain a new /418/ spear which the purifier-sorcerer or his colleague, the "conjurer of spirits," takes from his hands in order to cut in two a plant with a mysterious property called irago or umurago. "I have 'cut up' the tribe of murderers," he says, "may they all die of it." Then, addressing himself to the deceased, "Here is the spear that will avenge you. Grant it the opportunity and the power to carry out the vendetta."

[766] According to customs peculiar to each clan, the body is exposed on a deserted hill, hidden far out in the bush in rocky crags, or buried near the village or even in the courtyard.

In the latter case, some irago, or if there is none some murago that grows in the swamps, is planted along with its roots. At the end of about a year, the sorcerer comes back to cut this plant /again/, as he did once before. Then a goat is sacrificed.

The purifier takes some of the blood of this offering and sprinkles it on the grave, saying, "Let this blood cause the entire family of the assassin to perish."

[i.e., of a murdered person. -Analyst]

Protectors against Lightning and Its Fearsome Consequences

791 They are known by the name of abagangahuzi (from the verb kugangahura). Their honorable and lucrative profession does not expose them to any danger.

Their role is to purify, as their name (umugangahuzi) and their duties (kugangahura) indicate, and to avert any future consequences of lightning. Here are the various circumstances in which sorcerers of this kind officiate and the manner in which they operate.

761 1. When a human being is struck down by lightning. According to /436/ native belief, lightning is regarded as the king of the
766 sky, who comes occasionally and chooses subjects among men. It is
821 said in such cases that the person who was struck is a "living tax"
791 (inkuke) levied by the god, or else a subject or a page of his (intore). As a consequence, laments are forbidden. So as not to displease the king of the sky, who may do as he pleases, the relatives and friends of the victim must dance and emit joyful cries while the drums are played.

766 The purifier-sorcerer then makes an appearance. Those
821 present receive from him, on the back of their hand, a few drops of a liquid which they must allow to fall upon the ground. Then the
791 sorcerer pours some for the second time in the palm of their hand, and each of the participants drinks what is given to him.

766 Then they inhale in turn the aroma of another liquid substance
821 (issubyo) made by the purifier.

The victim's hut and all people present are sprinkled with a mixture of water and chalk. The corpse also gets some on the forehead and chest. Then it becomes proper to lay out the corpse, which the relatives would not have dared to do prior to the sorcerer's intervention.

The guests put around their necks a special grass stem (umwishwa) which, as we have seen, plays an important role in ritual ceremonies as though it had a purifying property. The deceased also gets one, and the funeral procession sets out for the place where the body is to be exposed.

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage." (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
766 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
821 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824 umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783] avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

543 belonged, to the deceased monarchs. Then they danced in honor of
769 the "spirits" of dead kings on the grounds before the king's house. While moving about, they repeated in unison, "These are your treasures (intore), those that belonged to you. They are truly yours, those garments, those fabrics, those weapons, those beads, etc. It is in your name that we carry out these celebrations. We always remain your subjects, your lieges, your servants"....

(Tor' ibintu byawe, intore zawe; n' ibirori byawe, n'abagaragu bawe....) When the ceremony is over, the keepers of the treasure store the objects away until the following festival (1).

1. Among the original pieces included in the royal museum, there is the garment (inkindi) of the king of Urundi, Mutaga, who was killed in battle near Mwurire hill in the province of Bwana-Mkali. It is a hide, since no other garments were worn at that time, and it is altered almost beyond recognition in spite of the rancid butter with which it is constantly rubbed to preserve it. It is one of the rare trophies of victory that survived the fire caused by the Ruchunchu disaster. It is called by the name of ntizihishw' amabuno, that is to say, "that (garment) which is too short (for size)." The native expression is stronger and shows that the Banyarwanda wit never flags in situations tragic or comic.

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769 The festivals and celebrations are almost invariably of a sacrificial character in the sense that the ancestral spirits are commemorated and are offered gifts in a fictitious or even a real fashion, as we shall see in the pages that follow. We shall discuss funeral
766 customs or, more exactly, those that apply to the death of the king,

766 since in this restricted work we must try to limit ourselves, whenever possible, to the practices followed at the capital. The contrast will seem rather sharp, owing to the purely spatial proximity in these pages of the celebrations we have just described and the funeral rites observed at the death of a sovereign. To the Blacks, however, it would not seem so, in view of the constant contact they entertain with /514/ their dead and the participation they grant them in the life of the household (1).

1. Funeral ceremonies are very intricate, even for other members of society, and vary according to age, sex, the status of the individual, and the circumstances of his death.

They demonstrate the anxiety of the Banyarwanda to remain in contact with their dead, an anxiety inspired "by the belief in the power of those spirits, on whom health, prosperity, and life itself depend" .... (Levy-Bruhl, La Mentalité primitive /Primitive Mentality/, p. 76.)

Chapter 7

Funeral Rites. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves. Mummification of Corpses Under the Action of Fire. Honors Rendered to Ancestral Spirits. Hierogamies. Assignment of a Day of Rest in Memory of a Royal Prince.

I. Special Customs Observed at the Time of a Royal Funeral

In Ruanda the death of a king occasions intricate ceremonies,

766 including numerous regulations that seem to date from far back in the past. It appears that the Batutsi monarchs borrowed from the ancient autochthonous princes (abahinza) the majority of their funeral rites, and more especially mummification, or "smoking," since this is what it actually amounts to, as well as the choice of the resting place and the jealous care with which the royal cemeteries are guarded (2).

2. The royal cemeteries where the aboriginal Bahutu petty kings were buried are still to be found in many provinces of Ruanda and especially in the Kingogo. The Hamites borrowed other things from the vanquished and subjected autochthonous inhabitants. We have already seen that the drums at the capital recall the memory of the tiny principalities subjected by the Hamites and that they are regarded as trophies of victory and as guarantees for the preservation of the present kingdom. Those same instruments have retained their role and their importance among the Batutsi.

[767] There follows a brief description of these matters as given by laymen, since the appointed royal undertakers (abanyamugogo) maintain the strictest silence on the subject. /515/

1. How a King Dies, According to Popular Belief

643 In Ruanda a monarch is such a superior and respected being that in the mind of most Bahutu he could not possibly be born, live, and die like the common run of men.

643 There must have been few kings who benevolently left this life of their own accord.

Popular belief has accepted too many fables on the subject. It was still said recently that Queen Mother Nyiramavugo, a grandmother of King Lwabugiri who must have died around 1860, was the first to refuse the poison when old age drew near in spite of the dictates of custom and tradition. "Since that day, " say the common people, "the Abiru, or keepers of the customs, who are in charge of this task and duty have not dared mention it anymore to kings and queens. "

2. The Corpse of the Royal Dead is "Smoked"

766 "When a king died, " the same people go on, "two Batutsi from important families were seized and killed forthwith near the body. "
643 This was called "to make the king's pillow" (gusegurir' umwami). Those men were given to him to accompany and serve him in the spirit world.

[641] A subject counts for nothing while the king is all important. It is proper, therefore, to send him at least two men chosen from the highest social stratum.

"They did not dare observe this rite, " add the narrators, "at the death of the last king, Lwabugiri (in 1895). " /517/

When a queen mother died, two great ladies of the same (Mututsi) /Batutsi/ race were sacrificed. It is the Banyamugogo, or [767] "men with the big (mourning) log, " who are in charge of funeral ceremonies. They make up the royal corporation of undertakers, although their name does not indicate this outright. They are called "men with the big (mourning) log, " owing to the custom which demands that a wooden log be burned for three or four days after the [824] death of an individual. For this purpose, one deliberately chooses a green log of red-bloom erythrina (umuko), a symbolic tree that recalls the death of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the famous secret society of initiates (imandwa).

The body of the dead king is transported from his last home, [823] which will henceforth be called Gisozi ("Big hill") (1), to one of the

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1. This expression "big hill" is readily understood by the natives, because it serves to designate the spot where a reigning monarch drew his last breath.

sacred groves (2) reserved for royal tombs by custom or tradition.

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2. We owe the reader an explanation of the expression "sacred grove, " which will recur frequently. The word "sacred" is taken here in a broad and technical sense to mean that these groves are set aside and closed to laymen, who may not enter them. They are guarded by official watchmen, who see to it that the grounds are properly respected.

The Banyamugogo, who become the temporary masters of the area, have a large hut built and enlist for its construction the services of neighboring people.

There the remains of the sovereign are sheltered and laid upon a grid in the middle of the hut, about 1. 50 meters above ground. The members of the corporation keep a fire burning under the grid for several days in order to dry out the corpse and prevent it from putrefying.

The body, which lies on a bed of skins, is constantly moved so that the heat from the fire may reach all its parts. /518/

The keepers of the hut take turns without interruption, day and night, by the fire they must maintain. Meanwhile, no layman may come near the place under penalty of death.

[775 825] The undertakers keep up their work until, according to popular belief, the corpse gives birth to a leopard, which is at first

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only a small worm (1). Then a pit is dug in the same hut. The royal

1. Permit us to repeat once more that we are putting ourselves in the position of the natives. We are merely repeating their tales and beliefs.

remains are laid at the bottom of the tomb on a new bed of grass covered with precious skins: lion, leopard, and antelope hides.

The body is completely isolated from the ground, which must not soil it. The whole thing is covered with special mats (ibirago by' ibisunyu) made of lake reeds. Finally, the pit is filled up (2).

2. When a king named Yuhi ascends the throne, according to another popular belief, the undertakers have to perform another duty toward the deceased king in addition to what has already been said on the subject.

After having been smoked, the completely desiccated body (umwite) is carried to the sacred grove of Muhima, below Kigali. The pall bearers dig at the spot called Nyamvura ("the rain spot"), where there formerly existed an equally sacred spring, and lay the body in the hole for a moment.

This is called "giving the king a drink (guhira)."

Then the body is brought back to the royal cemetery. His

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successor may henceforth rule in peace, and abundance will reign in the realm, for the various formalities on which the prosperity of the land depends have been carried out.

3. Popular Beliefs Concerning the Survival of the King

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"The undertakers," the narrator goes on to say, "cannot leave the site of the grave yet.

"They are not permitted to leave it until the end of the mourning period, which lasts at least four months. The above-mentioned worm /519/ 'must' come out of the corpse's right hand after a while. It is immediately picked up by the keepers, who put it in a vessel full of milk.

"When the container becomes too small, the animal is put in a large jar into which milk is poured every day. The worm soon 'sprouts legs'; it will soon change shape. The jar is no longer adequate, and a tub (umuvule) is provided and also filled with milk. The thing becomes a leopard. It is still fed milk until the day when its carnivorous instincts awaken and it begins to use its claws. Then it is given fresh meat. It must be tied, for it has become 'mean' (irakaliha). The animal manages to break its first bonds, woven of banana-tree bark. It is tied with new ficus ropes, which are soon broken in turn.

"In order to chain the beast, a piece of wire (umukwege) is brought from the royal court (ibgami), where messengers keep going incessantly to report on the whole affair.

"The day comes when the wild beast wounds one of its keepers. Another one soon meets with the same fate, and a third dies of his wounds.

"The situation has become intolerable and cannot go on.

"The leopard, anxious to gain its freedom, grows fierce. Finally, permission is given to grant it freedom, thus releasing the Banyamugogo from an impossible task.

643 765 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might [689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the [731] ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

● 766 778 Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa), [824] and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

766 The sacred groves are numerous, and it is surprising to find
778 them most everywhere, even in the most deserted areas.

Royal cemeteries and former residences are legion. There is
778 not one province in Ruanda that does not boast several of them at
766 least.

They are found even in bordering lands which were invaded
644 more than once by the Banyarwanda. Their numbers are understandable if one recalls the nomadic life of the warrior kings such as Ruganzu and Lwabugiri, who did not sleep often under the same roof. The sovereign had only to spend the night in a hut along the way for the spot to become sacred from then on. The owners had to abandon their dwelling and go elsewhere or build at the side. The ficus branches which fenced in the courtyard went on growing and created a new sacred grove (ikigabiro).

These groves are made up of various tree species, with the
[824] ficus usually predominating. Several types of this tree are found: imigobge, imilehe, imikobe, imitabataba, etc.

The bark of the last two trees is used to make a kind of cloth
[287] which wears out rapidly (impuzu). Those clumps of trees, which are almost invariably green and which loom into sight here and there, contrast with the bareness of the land, /524/ especially in the Nduga, and lend it a characteristic appearance which does not lack a certain charm.

Among the sacred groves, some of which stand on the tallest hills, only eight or nine at most are known to have been used as royal burial grounds. The others mark the sites of former royal capitals and recall the successive moves occasioned by the numerous expeditions undertaken in certain reigns. They are referred to by the generic name of ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," from the word kugabira, "to distribute" or "to offer as a gift." As we can see, the term ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," is quite suited etymologically to the tree clumps which mark the sites of the former royal dwellings, whose owners, by virtue of their absolute ownership and power, could mete out all sorts of favors to their subjects. It was only by extension that the same name was quite wrongly applied to the royal cemeteries. Indeed, custom does not allow the popular

778 and common terms ikibira, "cemetery," imva or "igituro, "grave,"
766 to be used in this connection. In certain parts of Ruanda, owing to
644 the respect with which the king is regarded and to the reverential fear he inspires, the Blacks use another expression which is much more accurate. One frequently hears them speak of musezero (misezero in the plural), that is to say, the place where the monarch permanently "took leave" of his subjects, from the verb gusezera, which means "to take leave."

The word umusezero is now commonly used to mean "restricted place," "guarded place," because in summer when people set fire to the tall grass, they first clear the bush from the edges of the cemeteries to protect the royal graves from fire. /525/

2. Main Royal Cemeteries

766 It is at Gasseke in the Nduga, about four hours from the Kabgayi mission in the northeast, that one of the first "sepulchral" groves is found where a prince by the name of Chyilima was buried.

173 Two monarchs by this name are known. It was during the reign of the more recent of the two that the famous migration into
643 Ruanda of the "Mutes," or "Foreign men with an incomprehensible
766 language," took place. According to tradition, the one with whom
778 we are dealing here was the brother and immediate successor of Ruganzu I, surnamed Bwimba (1), who lived long before his illustrious

1. The natives relate that the mother of this Ruganzu late in life married one of her courtiers named Chenge, and Chyilima-Rugwe was born of this union. She did this to the great dissatisfaction of her eldest son, Ruganzu I, for it ran contrary to the custom which requires the queen mother to live solely with the reigning prince.

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The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [175] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit... and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

173 As for the royal cemetery of Luhanga, which lies atop the
643 plateau of the same name, the inhabitants of the area all concur in
the belief that if King Gihanga himself was not buried there, that is
766 to say, the eminent "Creator," then at least his wife Nyirakabogo was.
778 It is probable that numerous other monarchs sleep their last sleep
there by the queen's side, but the people are not quite sure of their
names anymore.

Nor are they sure of the names of those who were buried on the neighboring Kayenzi-Bussigi plateau, where four of those cemeteries are to be found.

The names of the princes buried in the northern most cemetery are better known. The inhabitants of the area are almost unanimous in naming Kigeri-Mibambge and Nyiramavugo as being buried there. During the last European war, which had local repercussions, the natives were rightly frightened and erected huts (indaro) over their tombs where they offered numerous sacrifices. As for Queen Nyiramavugo, the elders recall seeing her corpse go by in their earliest childhood. /527/ The body was laid at the foot of the plateau for the night before being carried to the top where it was buried. This was the mother of Lwogera-Mutara, that is to say, the grandmother of the present king.

Malembo, daughter of Nyamajinya and mother of Yuhi-Mazimpaka, was buried on one or the other of the two plateaus, it is not known exactly which. One still hears of Yuhi-Mazimpaka himself and of a sister of Ruganzu, Nyirangabo, who, according to the natives, were buried in the afore-mentioned cemeteries. What is certain is that the grove which follows upon the first one starting from the north holds the remains of Kilongoro, daughter of a certain Magoma and mother of Chyilima-Ludjugira, who succeeded Yuhi-Mazimpaka.

According to present-day opinion, the sacred groves of Luhanga and Kayenzi-Bussigi are reserved exclusively for the burial of queen mothers (abanyambuto, "those of the grains"), that is to say,
[562] those who provided the heir to the throne and who reigned along with him.

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The best known of the royal cemeteries is that of Rutare in the mountainous Buyaga area, not far from Lake Mohazi near the frontier of Ruanda.

The existence of this resting place is traced back, rightly or wrongly, to Ruganzu II, who is said to have been the first one to be buried there.

According to one tradition, he had himself chosen the site of his tomb on this high spot, so as to be an insuperable obstacle to the enemies of Ruanda even after his death. This tradition is seriously challenged by the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga (1).

1. Cf. Book III, The Reign of Ruganzu II.

The last two kings who were buried there and who are recalled most readily were Lwogera and Lwabugiri, the immediate predecessors of the present reigning monarch.

It is rather difficult to say for how many monarchs the sepulchral grove of Rutare has served as last resting place. /528/ The trees in the thickets, some of which are quite old, were formerly separate but eventually merged. Here and there, old trunks which marked the site of the courtyards in which the huts were built have disappeared, so that one cannot count the funerery enclosures with any exactitude. There do not seem to be more than eight or ten.

Three other royal cemeteries are found at Musenyi in the Nduga to the south of the Kabgayi mission, about two hours away. The first one stands on the slope of a hill called by the name of Mayebe. It is made up of a small wood of thorny acacia trees which have reached their maximum height and whose long intertwined branches lend a mysterious atmosphere to the grove, where a half light barely penetrates. Some other trees with thicker foliage dominate the grove. Those are the inganzamarombo (1).

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1. They are called thus from kuganza, "to overtop," and marombo, "swarms of bees," because the natives like to set their hives there.

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A native village stands nearby, its banana groves bordering on the thickets. Its occupants are in charge of watching over the cemetery, which according to the opinion of the Banya-Nduga (inhabitants of the Nduga province) includes the tomb of Ruganzu II Ndori. Those who claim that his body was buried at Rutare cling to their opinion and insist that he was merely "smoked" at Mayebe. The inhabitants of the latter area, on the other hand, claim in turn that after having been mummified he was indeed buried right there, and add that this is the usual procedure. The place is quite commonly known by the name of "Ruganzu's cemetery."

According to the same interpretation, this prince alone was buried there.

Not far from Mayebe, two other small groves made up chiefly of ficus trees stand barely 300 meters apart. /529/ According to some, the corpses of several queens by the name of Nyirakigeri and Nyirayuhi were mummified there. Local people insist that they were also buried there, and support their claim by adding that the place where a king or queen is smoked is also the place where they are buried. The two clumps of trees formerly made up a single sacred grove, and this is why the natives call them by the same name.

The last of those cemeteries stands two kilometers farther. It is made up of handsome ficus trees, but the same controversies arise concerning the use to which this funeral site was put. It is called "the cemetery of the queens who bore the name of Nyiramavugo."

It is not easy to give precise information on this subject. The [123] keepers of the groves, the undertakers (abanyamugogo), and the official chroniclers (Abachur' ubgenge) are not willing to surrender all their information on the subject. The statements of other people are unreliable.

Funerary enclosures called ilaro (amalaro in the plural), or "night stopping places," are also found in the area.

They mark the sites of huts which served as shelters for the mortal remains of kings and queens in transit to the cemeteries.

The dwellings had to be abandoned after their visit, just as happens when a prince travelling through his realm stops for the night.

173 The term gisozi ("big hill") serves, as we have said, to
643 designate the place where a king died.

It is the augmentative of the word musozi, which means "hill"
766 and by extension "village." This term belongs to the /word/ class
778 prefixed by the consonant ki.

This class includes nothing but words conveying the idea of majesty, fear, etc. /530/

There are numerous groves in this category, such as those of Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

In order to prove the truth of any pronouncement or assertion, the natives use the following phrase which alludes in metaphorical terms to the death of one or another of their sovereigns, Mb' ali jye wakuye
[539] Lwogera i Kaganza!

"Let it be I ('if I do not speak the truth' being implied here) who tore (King) Lwogera away from Kaganza (name of the place where the king died)!"

The reader must have noted that kings and queen mothers
[644] alone have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Mere wives were entitled to no special honors after their death. They were buried like common mortals. Queen mothers, that is to say, those who bore the heir to the throne and then reigned with him, were granted the same funerary honors as sovereigns.

Aside from the groves we have just described, there is also
173 mention of one at Bugarama-Ntare (i Buhurura) not far from Rukoma.
644 It is believed to be the spot where the undertakers fulfilled their usual
766 functions at the death of a queen named Nyirakigeri. The sacred
778 grove of Butare, which now only includes a few very old trees, is thought to be the place where Nyagihaga, daughter of Ruyenzi and mother of a Chyilima or Mutara died (1).

1. The official chroniclers do provide a genealogical list of the kings of Ruanda, with the name of their mothers and of the clans to which the latter belonged, but this cannot be fully credited. We have

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seen that the names of the
first kings were pure fantasy.
The chronological order of
several others is lacking,
and the chroniclers do not agree
on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

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a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses, are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

[178] The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

769 [609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

769 766 791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

769 [775] c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies. The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

764 grave is dug so deep that the gravedigger's head is not visible when he is standing in it. Only those who have been killed are laid to rest in caves. In Bugoye people who have died at home of an illness or of old age are buried near the house. People who have died suddenly or have been killed are simply abandoned or thrown into the bushes. People who have died in an epidemic or of starvation are also abandoned.

The corpses left in swamps are devoured by animals. In contrast to this, care is taken that buried corpses are not dug up, and to prevent this, the grave is covered with banana stalks and thorns.

765 The deceased is mourned for four days. On the fourth day the members of his family remove their bracelets and shave their heads for four moons. If a wife dies, only the girls remove their jewelry; the men merely shave their heads. After four months the masunzu, the shaved patterns, are allowed to grow again.

In Bugoye and Nduga, it is said that a stick (kasongera) is broken above the hut of a woman who has become a widow. This probably symbolizes the absent phallus.

764 The abandonment of the corpse which is customary in Nduga is probably related to the Batutsi element. The Bahutu of Mulera bury their dead, like the Bantu of the neighboring Congo Basin. There is an inexplicable contrast between the neglect of the dead and the death cult. Could this neglect perhaps facilitate the

[765] transformation into an animal? The members of royal families of Ruanda and Urundi are [232] said to turn into leopards after their death, just as the ruling family of Kiziba, like the Massai, turn into snakes.

•766 643 According to Father Van der Burgt (1), the corpse of the king

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German.] (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 204.

766 of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be
643 worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites
[782] and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, whereupon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

> 2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan. As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the
[597] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his relatives.

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
[775] with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be
643 the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the
578 successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

There are, however, some regulations which eliminate cer-
643 tain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

Religion

793 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 The list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed 000 651
taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and
the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state [655]
work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he 643
took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he 262
generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, [273]
when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge,
but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal
he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people [178]
were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which
would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after
eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused
and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon
him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any [644]
meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls
being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite 644
of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women
were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who
told them whether they were going to bear children and took [787]
auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future
king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when 643
he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner
with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern
different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his [762]
life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated 643
over the country. There was no rule against naming the king
after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The 766
whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from
women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, [231]
goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for
this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared
with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other
times. One cow was killed when the king died. [782]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 The Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

428 his heir, the king or his clan appointed someone to inherit his property.

764 When a man died, all ornaments and clothing, with the exception of a loin-cloth, were removed, his legs were bent up into the squatting posture, and his head was shaved. A cow was brought to the bedside, a little hair from it was put in the right hand of the dead man and a little milk milked over it. This hand with the hair in it was then placed under the head.

In the case of an ordinary man, the grave was dug by the relatives or servants in the garden near, or, should he have no land, in some secluded spot, and the body was buried there. 766 Should he, however, be a wealthy man, the grave was dug big enough for a bedstead to be placed in it. This was covered with skins, on which the body, wrapped in mats, was laid and covered with skins of wild animals and cows. A second bedstead was placed on top of the first to keep the earth from the body, and the grave was filled up with earth, which was piled into a mound over it. The weapons of a dead man were put on his grave, and in the case of a woman her flour basket was buried with her.

764 A hut without any doorway was built over the grave and a growing fence planted round it. There was always the fear that someone might disturb the dead by digging up the body for the purpose of working magic, and the heir was therefore responsible for keeping this fence in repair until it had grown big enough to keep off people and cattle, after which no further attention was paid to it. After the burial all the people who took part in it were given hot water to wash their hands before leaving for their own homes.

765 A cow was brought and killed by the grave after the burial and was cooked and eaten by the mourners. The skin was dressed and worn as mourning by the heir, or by some favourite child of the dead man, for two months, during which time he might not come into the presence of the king. The mourners might neither wash nor shave. They lived together in one house, avoided all other people, and had to be strictly chaste lest they should incur the ghost's displeasure.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither [583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the [554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without 643] exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
564 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
644 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
582 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence [766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

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> believe that this potion will kill whoever does not speak the truth or reveals a state secret (cf. also Procedure, pp. 104 and 105).

766 dared reveal what he had seen.

The summit of Rutare Hill is crowned with trees, [96] the remains of an ancient forest. The cemetery of the kings and queens can be found there. The abanyamugogo build a hut there, dig a grave, and bury the king and his weapons in it. The hut is closed with beams and surrounded by a thorny enclosure to keep wild animals out. Quite near-by, the watchers build themselves dwellings [767] where they live for two years and are fed during this time by the people of the neighborhood. Then they return home after going through Nyanza where they are showered with gifts. But the Mwami may not see them for he would die during the year if he caught sight of those who have watched over and carried his father's body. For the same reason the abiru who have accompanied them to Rutare may never return to the court of Nyanza. The belief also exists that from [825] the right shoulder of the dead Mwami there issues a worm (uruny) which, if placed in a pitcher of milk, will grow and become a leopard that kills only those who are wicked and unjust.

When the Mwami dies all work stops for eight days. For two months the bulls are removed from the herds and the king's children may not have any marital relations. Although they are under no obligation to do so, the Banyarwanda behave in the same way.

The death of the Umugabekazi [king's mother] calls for the same ceremonies and the same interdictions, but they are somewhat simplified.

9. Succession to the Throne

643 The king of Ruanda always belongs to the family of the [614] Abanyiginya. His wives (1) are mostly chosen from the clans of the

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> 1. The king may have four legitimate wives whose children are the only ones who, in theory, can succeed him; he can have as many concubines as he wishes.

Abega and the Abakono.

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1. In actual practice it is the king himself who designates his heir directly during his lifetime, or indirectly through executors, who make known the king's last will after his death.

When the throne was left vacant, there often ensued contests which gave rise to complications and bloody tragedies.

The Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief of the most powerful clan sometimes made his own choice among the sons of the dead king andfforced acceptance of his candidate. This happened in 1896, when Kabale rebelled against the rightful heir, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, and had Yuhi IV Musinga, his own nephew and the present king, elected instead.

644 767 8. The royal corporation of undertakers called Abanyamugogo. Rightly or wrongly, they claim to be descendants of those who handled the funeral of Ruganzu II Ndori.

We shall mention them again in the section dealing with funeral rites.

644 681 696 9. Executioners.

They are usually chosen from among the Batwa.

So far as ordinary criminals are concerned, executions take place at the capital. High-ranking culprits are often placed in the custody of a chief, who leads them to the Buberuka or Bugessera provinces.

The unfortunate victims are strangled or smitten down with spears, and then tossed into the pit (urwobo) of Bayanga or into the shifting marsh of Nkonde. Aside from strangulation and drowning,

644 On account of this fame,[a] the Bakoma have been entrusted with
791 the preparation of an elixir to prolong life called issubyo from the
278 name of the plant which they use for this purpose, hence their name Abanyissubyo, "people of the life beverage," a name and function which they regard as a great honor. In order to make their elixir, the Bakoma, or people from Nkoma's land, look deep into the forest for a kind of moss or mould (urugombyi) which is found on trees. When they have a good amount of it they /390/ burn it all. The ashes are carefully gathered and stored in a safe place. They also use the roots of the plant called issubyo, which they dry in the sun and crush to powder on their flour mill.

The third ingredient of this water of youth is a kind of Lycoperdon called agatumura which resembles the puffball.

Small amounts of these ashes and powders are mixed with beer and handed daily to the king by two representatives of the ancient family. The Hamitic monarch sucks in a few drops through a drinking tube (umuseke or umuheha), rinses his mouth with them once, and immediately spits out the liquid.

[466] In principle the members of the Bakoma clan are exempt from
644 forced labor and have retained a fair amount of independence (1).
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1. Over these last few years, the Hamitic chief who was placed above them had to concern himself only with the observance of European laws and ordinances.

They have no function other than to take turns at court and hand to the monarch the invigorating beverage of which they are the inventors (2).

2. Along with the Basozo, the Bakoma have enjoyed privileges and immunities for the longest period of time. In the "Reign of

a [i.e., of being descended from the best sorcerer. —Analyst]

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Ruganzu II, " /Book III, not translated/, we spoke at some length of the Basozo and the origin of the privileges they still enjoy.

The royal corporation of undertakers has similar prerogatives.

791 644 B. The sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind who are employed at court or personally by the king may be said to form the most important and most numerous group. The king requests their services both on a private and on a public and national basis. Their titles and duties are infinitely varied. They are recruited from numerous clans. The Bega tribe provides the most celebrated sacrificer-diviners, known under the name /391/ of Abakongori or Abanyambuto. The Abachumbi group, who aside from their role as diviners have the power of setting spirits to flight, are drawn from among the Basinga. So are the Abosha, who claim to be direct descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo, that is to say, "the man with the sorcerer's knives, " who came from the land of Ndorwa. It has already been said that he came to seek his fortune in Ruanda, where he was well received by the Hamitic princes, who raised his family to noble rank and showered it with material goods. The name of the forebear, as preserved in history, derives from two words, kunuka, "to feel, " and imishyo, "knives, " because of the habit he had of using his sacrificer-diviner's knife to take his bearings.

Also included in the category of sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind are the Abanyantondwe, Abanyakarago, Bihungamutwe, Abanyanzuzi, who are the most common, and many others.

Rev. Fr. Arnoux has discussed them at some length in his work (1).

1. "La Divination au Rwanda /Divination in Ruanda/, " Anthropos, 1918. In this study

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Figurative terms are used to speak of the king's death:

gutabara ..... "to go to the aid," "to go to war"
gutanga ..... "to hand over" (the drum to the successor)
kunywa ..... "to drink" (poison)
gussaza ..... "to grow old"
gusezera ..... "to take leave"
ijuru ryaguye ..... "the sky has fallen"

644 3. It would be most disrespectful to allude to anything pertaining to his eventual death. While on a trip the king must avoid passing too close to cemeteries or even to the mere "night stops" (ilaro, amalaro), where the bodies of his predecessors were laid in the course of their transfer to the royal necropolises.

[767] Nor is he permitted to spend the night in those villages which are inhabited by the undertakers.

The latter in turn must avoid appearing in his presence and must employ an intermediary when they have to deal with the king.

As if the thought, likeness, or memory of death could shorten his days or bring misfortune upon him!

4. Whenever possible His Majesty must avoid bending his knees (guhina), so as not to risk a reduction in the area of his kingdom (2). /493/

[821] 2. When caught by a storm or bad weather the king must not quicken his pace; he must proceed quietly to shelter. Rain is regarded as a blessing due to the influence of the prince. A quickening of his pace might bring the beneficial downpour to an end.

We believe that this popular belief will soon be pushed into the background, and that the monarch will become less willing to submit to all the demands of his position.

766 including numerous regulations that seem to date from far back in the past. It appears that the Batutsi monarchs borrowed from the ancient autochthonous princes (abahinza) the majority of their funeral rites, and more especially mummification, or "smoking," since this is what it actually amounts to, as well as the choice of the resting place and the jealous care with which the royal cemeteries are guarded (2).

2. The royal cemeteries where the aboriginal Bahutu petty kings were buried are still to be found in many provinces of Ruanda and especially in the Kingogo. The Hamites borrowed other things from the vanquished and subjected autochthonous inhabitants. We have already seen that the drums at the capital recall the memory of the tiny principalities subjected by the Hamites and that they are regarded as trophies of victory and as guarantees for the preservation of the present kingdom. Those same instruments have retained their role and their importance among the Batutsi.

767 There follows a brief description of these matters as given by laymen, since the appointed royal undertakers (abanyamugogo) maintain the strictest silence on the subject. /515/

1. How a King Dies, According to Popular Belief

643 In Ruanda a monarch is such a superior and respected being that in the mind of most Bahutu he could not possibly be born, live, and die like the common run of men.

643 There must have been few kings who benevolently left this life of their own accord.

Popular belief has accepted too many fables on the subject. It was still said recently that Queen Mother Nyiramavugo, a grandmother of King Lwabugiri who must have died around 1860, was the first to refuse the poison when old age drew near in spite of the dictates of custom and tradition. "Since that day, " say the common people, "the Abiru, or keepers of the customs, who are in charge of this task and duty have not dared mention it anymore to kings and queens. "

2. The Corpse of the Royal Dead is "Smoked"

766 "When a king died, " the same people go on, "two Batutsi from important families were seized and killed forthwith near the body. "
643 This was called "to make the king's pillow" (gusegurir' umwami). Those men were given to him to accompany and serve him in the spirit world.

[641] A subject counts for nothing while the king is all important. It is proper, therefore, to send him at least two men chosen from the highest social stratum.

"They did not dare observe this rite, " add the narrators, "at the death of the last king, Lwabugiri (in 1895). " /517/

When a queen mother died, two great ladies of the same (Mututsi) /Batutsi/ race were sacrificed. It is the Banyamugogo, or [767] "men with the big (mourning) log, " who are in charge of funeral ceremonies. They make up the royal corporation of undertakers, although their name does not indicate this outright. They are called "men with the big (mourning) log, " owing to the custom which demands that a wooden log be burned for three or four days after the [824] death of an individual. For this purpose, one deliberately chooses a green log of red-bloom erythrina (umuko), a symbolic tree that recalls the death of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the famous secret society of initiates (imandwa).

The body of the dead king is transported from his last home, [823] which will henceforth be called Gisozi ("Big hill") (1), to one of the

643 825 "A sensible man," the narrator added as he closed his tale, "cannot believe in such things. As for myself, I am only repeating what I have heard around me."

The "sacred groves" often serve as lairs for leopards, who take advantage of the rainy season, when the sorghum has grown tall, to comb the countryside /520/ for prey. Furthermore, the leopard is the totem of the king, who formerly appropriated all leopardskins for his own personal use. Many common people, therefore, believe in these fables. In the capital, where no one is taken in by such childish tales, nothing is done to enlighten the people. The undertakers, who maintain the strictest silence about their own functions, stand only to gain by exaggerating the wondrous aspects of the matter in order to acquire increased importance in the eyes of their fellow men. One can imagine the prestige that surrounds the king, a prestige that is mixed in with a large amount of superstition and that causes him to be revered on a par with a demigod by most of his subjects.

4. Duties and Privileges of the Undertakers

643 767 The task of burying or, more accurately, mummifying (gwosa, gwosereza) the sovereign is entrusted as we said to a special corporation known by the name of Banyamugogo, that is to say, "the men with the big (mourning) log," who belong to the Abiru clan. This is the special clan whose members are responsible for preserving the memory of customs and traditions. The royal undertakers have no duties other than the funerary ones and enjoy rare privileges. No chief may attack or pillage them, for they live under the king's protection.

They are not subjected to forced labor, nor do they pay taxes. On the other hand, they are strictly forbidden to come to court and to appear in the presence of the prince. If they have to plead a case before him, they may at best set out on the path to the capital, but they must stop at a good distance from it. There they build a large fire into which they toss fresh cow dung in order to create thick clouds of smoke /521/ and to draw attention upon themselves. Meanwhile they delegate men to present their complaints and grievances.

643 767 Then the king appoints one or two chiefs to go and settle their difficulties.

In the old days these undertakers could not visit with their fellow men, nor could they eat or drink with them. Even today, when [415] invited to feast with their neighbors, they must bring with them their own drinking tube. It is maintained that they do not eat with their children. If it came to pass that the latter, in turn, should bury a new king, they would have to leave their parents and never see them again.

A special vocabulary is used to speak of the monarch and [198 644] certain of his acts. It would be most disrespectful to say that the king sleeps, drinks, eats, etc., like anyone else. We have already seen how his ailments and his death are mentioned (yaberamye, yanyoye, yatabaye, etc.).

767 644 643 It is for the same reason that the royal undertakers bear a name that recalls their function only in a very indirect way. Just as they are strictly forbidden to go to the capital, custom forbids the king to go through areas inhabited by members of this corporation or to camp there. He must avoid the sacred groves where the spirits of his ancestors rest, as though the idea of death could shorten the life of the sovereign. It is mandatory to his followers to avert that image and thought from his eyes and from his ears, which are those of a demigod well above common mortals.

He must be enabled to enjoy this life and all its pleasures in peace.

5. Mourning Rites Observed at the Death of a Prince

643 765 The king is mourned for four months, that is to say, until the official accession of his successor to the throne. During /522/ that period of time, cohabitation between spouses is theoretically forbidden. Bulls are also separated from the herds at the time of this terrible misfortune, which causes the Banyarwanda to state that "the sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye). Men and even children shave their heads [302] as a sign of mourning.

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seen that the names of the
first kings were pure fantasy.
The chronological order of
several others is lacking,
and the chroniclers do not agree
on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

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a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses, are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

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The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

767 trees and green branches. Human conscience can adapt itself to any-
778 thing. The keepers, who get their share, pretend to see nothing.
178 As a result, relatives and friends take full advantage of their tacit permission and make inconspicuous forays into the groves.

b. General honors paid to the spirits of the royal dead.
769 The dead are neither forgotten nor forsaken. Superstitious fear plays its part in the cult of the dead. /532/ The Blacks' fear of the dead recalls them constantly to the remembrance of the living (1). From

1. The muzimu retains "the passions, tastes, inclinations, and grudges that characterized it during the material life span of the individual whose existence it perpetuates spiritually after death." (Maurice Delafosse.) To the natives, this belief explains and justifies the cult of spirits.

time to time and in important circumstances, when real or imagined calamities threaten, the drums are beaten in their honor.

Huts (indaro) of varying size are raised on their graves, and sacrifices performed in them to pacify and ingratiate their spirits.

At certain times, young bulls are sent from the capital and immolated by the sacrificers with pomp and solemnity.

The things most readily sent are small earthenware vessels, rounded, rather graceful, (uruherezo, imperezo), filled with banana wine, which the keepers offer as a libation to the dead kings in order to win their support.

Similar sacrifices were, and still are, performed occasionally
[778] at the sites of numerous former royal dwellings: at Lwamaraba near the Kabgayi mission, at Mwurire near the Savé mission, at Lussagara near Nyaluhengeri, in honor of Lwabugiri, Lwogera, and another Mutara, a son of Ruganzu II, to mention only a few (2). /533/

765 to the watering place. A brother of the deceased goes down in the near-by well, draws out water with a jug, and empties it into the watering trough. Then he passes the jug to the male children, beginning with the eldest, and each one imitates his gesture (2). In

2. During mourning, only the cowherds fill the watering trough.

the evening the guardians milk the cows; then after the mother, with the help of the paternal uncle, has removed the butter from her own churn (gutshyura igisabo, lit., to bring the churns back), the married sons and their wives do the same thing with theirs.

The son then gives a heifer to the uncle and a bull calf to the sister who has removed the cow dung (gukuka) in the kraal.

● 768 The night is spent in drinking, and the following day the uncle proceeds to choose a new head of the family if the father had not already designated one before dying.

765 If the wife has not had any children or if the marriage has lasted only a short while, her death gives rise to no ceremony and the husband wears mourning for only a week. (3)

3. All these curious ceremonies show the deep sorrow of the deceased's relatives. Above all, their purpose [33] is to prevent misfortune descending on the family of the one who has disappeared (guhumana, lit., to be soiled, to change color, to contracta serious illness).

Although they are extraneous to the common law itself, we have deemed it desirable to make a brief sketch of these ceremonies, in order to show that the whole life of the Banyarwanda is encircled in a close web of prescriptions of a magic nature.

[33] 2. Separation and Divorce

586 It may happen that the husband's and wife's characters are not in harmony, that the wife complains of her husband's stinginess,

000 three banana trees.

192 [53] INKAMWA. When the father of a family dies, one of
764 his sons or grandsons is chosen to put between his hands a jug of
231 milk. The cow that has given this milk is called inkamwa. It is given to the one who has placed the jug of milk between the hands of the deceased and is not included in the division of the inheritance.

This cow cannot be sold or killed. Its young are not subject to this interdiction. If it dies, it is eaten by the Bahutu in the owner's rugo, and its bones are buried there.

Among the Bahutu a sheep is used as the inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. When the father of a family dies, the eldest son slaughters a bull calf, which is eaten by the family. The skin is worn by the eldest son for two months so that the cows will not die like their master.

192 IY'UMULIRO and INSHUMBUSHANYO. 1) If lightning has
231 destroyed the herd (or even one animal) held by the umugaragu, the
731 latter can obtain from his shebuja the umuliro (lit., the fire cow), either a cow or a bull calf.

When several cows are given by the patron to indemnify his client, the first one is called umuliro, the others inshumbushanyo.

425 2) If the patron deprives his client of his whole herd to punish him
231 for not performing one of his obligations, the umugaragu begs the protection of another shebuja who gives his new dependent a cow and a bull calf or only a bull calf.

192 IMPONOKE. When the herd of the patron, the provincial chief,
731 or the king is decimated by cattle plague (muryamo), the abagaragu
231 give some cows to fill the gaps caused by the epizootic disease.

[54] INDORANO (1). At the death of the king's child, wife,

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1. From kurora, "to see."

brother, and also in the case of death in a great chief's family, the provincial chiefs and the hill chiefs, if they are directly subject to the Mwami, each bring two cows to the Mwami, and only one in the other event. A cow is also given by the abagaragu. The cow given to a friend on the occasion of deep mourning is also called indorano.

768 If the woman[1] refuses all offers of marriage in order to devote herself to the education of her children, she will be allowed [70] nevertheless to remain in her rugo. She keeps the inyarulembo cows, her servants, the field and the pasture she had received from her husband with the right to reap the benefits thereof. This property does not constitute a dowry for her but is kept by her provisionally. Actually she merely manages it in the interest of those of her sons who are minors and who stay with her. In this way she may continue to live in the same manner as in her husband's lifetime, with no fear of poverty. Furthermore, even when her sons take part of this property in order to establish themselves, they do not cease to show a tender solicitude for their mother and to provide for her needs.

If the widow wishes to return to her family, she must then abandon the rugo and its contents, except for her personal belongings. Her children must be left to the father's family as soon as they are weaned, that is to say, when they are about four or five years old -- unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

587 It may happen that a widow with children marries a stranger to the deceased's family. In principle, she is not forbidden to live in her rugo with her new husband. But these marriages, which are not [illegible] looked upon, are usually precarious. At the slightest difficulty, the deceased's relatives intervene, and the second husband is driven out without being able to carry anything away and is even obliged to abandon the children he has had with the woman.

768 As to the childless widow, she must return to her family unless she agrees to marry a member of the deceased's family.

[1] [i.e., a widow.—Analyst]

6. Situation of the Widower

Usually the death of a wife does not bring to an end the relations of the widower with his family-in-law, especially if there are children born of the marriage. [71]

The parents-in-law have the option of giving their son-in-law one indorano cow (1) and sometimes even two.

1. The Bahutu give jugs of beer as indorano.

587 If the widower is left with very young children, the parents-in-law usually suggest to their son-in-law that he take one of their other daughters as a wife (2) so that the children do not have a stranger as

[765] 2. The widower may not remarry until after a month of mourning. During this time he does not shave, does not wash his clothes, and may not have intercourse with another woman.

stepmother. Far from claiming another dowry for her, they offer on the contrary an indongoranyo cow (3) which normally, however, is

3. A hoe, among the Bahutu.

the counterpart of the dowry paid.

A widower without children may claim restitution of the dowry. He usually does not do so because he knows that his parents-in-law, to avoid returning the dowry, will find him a new wife among their own daughters or those of their kin.

7. Guardianship of Children (4)

429 ●768 4. Cf. Personal Status, Tutelage and Emancipation, pp. 31 and 32.

The widowed mother who does not remarry outside the family continues to live in her rugo where she brings up her children until their marriage, which emancipates them, at least so far as the boys are concerned.

The son who is named head of the family actually replaces his father, provided he is old enough to do so. He has the same rights and obligations as his father, especially that of establishing his brothers (by giving them some indemano) and marrying off his sisters. If later one of his sisters happens to be repudiated, she takes refuge with her mother or her brother, who finds her a new husband.

If all the boys are minors, the paternal grandfather or, in his absence, the paternal uncle who seems the best [72] qualified is

429 chosen as guardian. In this capacity he exercises the prerogatives
768 of the paternal authority and manages for his wards the property left by the deceased.

If the male relatives on the paternal side have died, one of the maternal uncles will be guardian. In effect as each of the couple continues to belong to his and her umulyango, the children are members of both families.

429 Emancipation, which occurs normally at the moment of marriage comes when the young man reaches eighteen years of age. But it may happen that the children, having reason to complain of their guardian, go and seek justice, according to their rank, from the hill chief, the provincial chief, or the Mwami. When they are grown they may even emancipate themselves (proprio motu) by driving out their unworthy guardian.

8. Irregular Inheritance

428 While daughters are excluded from inheriting by the law of inheritance, they are always presented with gifts by the new head of the family, at least when he is their brother.

As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the following case may arise: A Muhutu, umugaragu of a rich Mututsi, has a daughter who is a servant to his master and who is married to another servant. When his client dies, instead of taking back the cows, the master can give them to the daughter's husband, who thus becomes his umagaragu.

When a wife dies, the few ornaments she owns (necklaces, bracelets) do not go to her daughter, but to her stepdaughters (her husband's daughters). With the political chief's permission, the mother may also give them to her son who was living with her and who will later on give them to his wife.

428 A man who has no sons (inchike) or who has cursed them may adopt
597 a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu) [73], or in his absence, a son of his sister (umwishywa). He promises him his inheritance and his inheritance and his nephew becomes his true son (1).

1. Cf. Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4.

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother [429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a 428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers ●768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her 587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional 428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest 463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith 868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is 671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is 563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution
586 of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.
[587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes
587 the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
587 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia,
171 Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

● 768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

768 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's
736 family and provide for their widowed mother. However, childless widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or by begging.

562 The position of women is higher and the esteem in which
593 they are held is greater than among most other East African Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned, the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the husband. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the
[462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found among any other East African people -- that husband and wife
[264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier husbands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex-
562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded
[644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of respect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than 766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro
171 that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned
768 as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a
775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place
769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca-
766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and
661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is
[761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

428 The widow whose son was chosen as chief legatee usually en-
[768] joys the use of the family property until her death. The sharing is definitively carried out only after she has left this world. A childless widow is usually sent away by her husband's relatives, who share among themselves the property of the deceased. On being dismissed, she is left merely with a mat and a few household utensils. If she is fairly young, one of her brothers-in-law takes her as a concubine or
429 gets her another husband. /51/ When a child loses both parents, he is given a guardian. The legal guardian is the paternal grandfather, or lacking him, an uncle, a paternal first cousin, or lastly the chief of the village himself.

Maternal uncles and aunts, especially if they belong to another clan, cannot as a general rule manage the orphan's property. This would give rise to disputes and legal porceedings among the members of both tribes. They may bring up the child at best.

The guardianship devolves by right to relatives on the paternal side. They administer the ward's property until he comes of age,
[582] that is to say, until the day when he takes a wife. This usually happens at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

If only daughters are left, the nearest paternal relatives
[428] inherit the family property, but they must take care of the orphans until they marry.

If a person dies childless and leaves no relatives, his property devolves by right to the hill chief. This property is called inkungu.

[165] The families are large, but child mortality is high.

851 Eight days after his birth the newborn child receives from his
551 father a name that befits the circumstances (1). The mother /52/ is

1. "We notice that all men," says Mgr. LeRoy, "give themselves names that characterize them, and frequently the best one they could find was that of an animal whose strength, skill, agility, or beauty they had noticed, of a plant that was useful to them.... of an object or phenomenon which had struck them." (Les primitifs /Primitive Peoples/, p. 126.)

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

[825] In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull, billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

644 Appointed cowherds lead before them a small herd of milk
484 cows to provide for the needs of the king.

The passage of a prince was formerly tantamount to a disaster
661 for the local inhabitants, who had to harbor the members of the train.

The retinue did not merely include courtiers, the royal guard, sorcerers, and the usual employees. Those dignitaries who wished to retain the good graces of the sovereign made it their business to accompany him with their numerous servants. Idlers and jacks-of-all-trades also joined the train along the way and fleeced the unlucky natives on whom they paid a visit.

This was indeed a veritable army which spared neither friend nor foe, trampling the crops in their path, looting travelers, and taking by force from the local inhabitants whatever had not been hidden in time.

The men who made up the usual retinue of Kigeri IV Lwabugiri
[551] were nicknamed the "Pillagers" (1), owing to their extortions.

1. Their native nickname, Ibitsimbanyi, is a noun derived from the verb gutsimba, which means "to pillage," "to fleece."

11. For the sake of completeness, we shall cite the following
644 two customs which the keepers of the traditions assure us were ob-
768 served in the past. /498/

When the death of a neighboring sovereign, of the Uswi, Urundi, or Karagwe, was announced, the king had to leave his residence and have a new one built (1).

1. Times have changed. The choice of a site and the building of a new "palace" would present too many difficulties today. When the prince of Urundi died, the king merely spent eight days outside his habitual

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home, on the advice of his familiars, in a hut that stood nearby. The sorcerers assured him that he had nothing more to fear on the part of the spirits, who had been given full satisfaction by means of this trick.

643 Upon the accession of each new king to the throne, a special envoy went to the Ruzizi Valley and drew water from a spring called Zina. He took some of that water and brought it for the young monarch to drink.

The reasons for this custom, which has now fallen into disuse, have been forgotten.

Chapter 6

I. The Two Great Festivals at Court

644 796 The two most important celebrations (ibirori) take place at the official presentation of the "First Fruits," and on the day following the annual mourning period, which the king and his court must observe.

This latter feast, which closes the month of June, is celebrated with the same pomp and richness. Since it will be described in the chapter dealing with honors rendered to the spirits of the royal dead, we shall discuss here only the festival called "First-Fruits" festival.

173 [8a4] In their enthusiasm and admiration for Ruganzu II, the Victorious, the Banyarwanda go so far as to credit him with almost every food plant or grain they possess. Special mention is made of sorghum, eleusine, and a kind of wild plant /499/ known by the name of issogi (1), owing to their importance in the local economy.

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

764 After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. How-
125 ever, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has
787 settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega)
251 which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist
285 of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held
251 together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
428 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
423 property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy, it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
651 taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

The protection of female clan members does not extend to
614 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
591 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
760 happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
614 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

7:Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

After the mourning the heir was purified by an elder of the clan, and he then took the mourning garment and buried it in some secret place. The mourners shaved their heads and hid the hair. A medicine-man decided whether the house of the dead man might still be inhabited or not. If the people were permitted to remain there, they, the place, and the pots had to be purified; but if they had to go they gave the pots and furniture away and left the house to fall down. 765 [783]

The heir was purified again by an elder of the clan and then went to buy a cow, which he took to the king, whom he was not on this occasion allowed to see. The next day he visited the king, taking a present of a young bull, and informed him of the death. This reception constituted his acknowledgment by the king as the dead man's heir, but if he proved unsatisfactory he might later be dismissed from the chieftainship. 768 [643] [431] [428]

The heir took all his father's widows except old women and his own mother. He even took widows with children, and the children regarded him as their father. [587]

When a married man lost his father he lived apart from his wife for two months, and on the death of his mother he avoided his wife for one month.

his bride-wealth, since his brother-in-law did not take her away, she 586
went home when ill because she had no home. In any case, the Court 691
adds, bride-wealth is not to be returned as a matter of course just because a woman dies.

In a third case a woman has died after bearing one child; the circumstances of death are not stated. The widower, reclaiming his bride-wealth, a cow, which by increase has become 8 head, in a village meeting, has been awarded 5 head and the woman's father 3. The widower has later taken one of his father-in-law's share to provide milk for the child, and now claims his right to retain it and receive the balance. The Court confirms the decision of the village meeting, on the grounds that although the widower has lost a wife, her father has lost a child.

(*d*) when a husband drives away his wife without due cause, or abandons her.

Instances: A man takes his cow, paid as bride-wealth, away, then drives his wife out of the house, and now reclaims the balance, 11 hoes. He is adjudged to have forfeited these.

A man reclaims 7 hoes, balance of bride-wealth of a cow and 7 hoes, from his brother-in-law, who has taken the woman when ill to a doctor and has not returned her. The husband is found to have seized the opportunity to take back his cow and to have abandoned his wife, and he is held to have no claim to his hoes.

A man claims 6 cows, the increase of one, paid as bride-wealth. It is established that after the woman had borne him 5 children, he emigrated, leaving her, and that she is still unmarried and willing to return to him. He admits in cross-examination that he wants the cattle, not his wife—and loses both.

Bride-wealth is also returnable when a woman, left a widow, 587
declines to remain under the custody of her late husband's heirs, and 768
goes to her relatives. But custody must be claimed at the time of the 851
husband's death: in a case where this was not done, and the woman had gone away and remarried, the new marriage was allowed to stand, subject to the proviso that the child of the marriage would be a member of the family of the first husband when it grew up, if it desired. In one case, a man waives his claim to the bride-wealth in respect of the widow of his dead son, she having returned to her relatives.

On the termination of a marriage, the custody of children is always 586
the right of the husband. If he dies, the right passes to his heirs: there 768
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8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

586 is, however, an exception recorded, where, on a man dying leaving
851 only female children, these were taken charge of by the village head-
768 man. The right to custody sometimes involves investigation of paternity, the nature of which is fully understood.

[691] *Instances*: A man sues his wife's new husband, after divorce, for payment of bride-wealth or else for custody of a child of which he claims she was pregnant when she left him. A count of months establishes the paternity of the new husband.

The son of a man deceased sues the man to whom the widow has gone, she then having a four-months' old child, for the first offspring of the new union as well as the other child, on the grounds that she was pregnant at the time of her husband's death. The Court finds that no woman has ever been heard of suckling a four months' child and pregnant of another, and therefore awards the eldest child only.

In a third case, it is necessary to establish paternity as between three possible fathers.

[862] An unweaned child will remain with its mother till weaned. If not claimed then, her relatives or new husband may claim recompense for the cost of bringing the child up: in one case a goat is to be paid, in another, half the milk of a cow, and 3 hoes.

768 As a corollary to the right to the custody of a child, the heir of a
428 man who has died has the right to the bride-wealth in respect of a girl-child, when the widow has returned to her relatives and the child has not been claimed before she reaches marriageable age, subject to a deduction for the cost of bringing her up.

[691] *Instances*: In the case just cited, the milk and three hoes represented a deduction from the total bride-wealth of a cow and five hoes.

In another case, the woman's relations resist such a claim on the ground that when she left the heir, her son, and went home, he claimed only her clothes but not the child. Their case fails.

In one case, a man lost his reason, and his wife went off to another man with her three children, of whom two were females. This other man married off one child and betrothed the other. Both contracts
[681] were dissolved, the man was fined and in addition was made to refund to their father 14 hoes which had been handed over for maintenance of the children.

586 Dissolution of marriage is found to take place on numerous grounds. The records disclose causes of offence by the husband as follows:

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

422 Sometimes these rights (bare ownership and usufruct) were possessed by the same person. The cattle concerned were then called *imbata*.[8]

3. INHERITANCE RULES

768 When the father died, the family unit of which he had been the head did not disappear as well. Some of the family functions had still to be carried on for some time: the younger sons had to be given a wife and the bride-wealth paid for them, the younger daughters had to be married, and perhaps young children had still to be taken care of by their mother for several years. In order that the family unit should be able to perform its tasks before its breakdown, it was necessary that the duties of the rugo head should continue to be fulfilled. Consequently the father chose one of his sons who could be trusted with that role (*umutware w'urugo rwa se:* head of his father's family). He was often, but not always, the eldest son of the first wife. The father could even choose a brother or one of his parallel cousins if he thought none of his sons was capable. The father's choice could always be reversed by the lineage head or the political chief or even the lord, if it appeared unwise to these authorities or if it was the cause of complaints from the other members of the family.

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593 It was the father who was endowed, as we have just seen, with rights to land and cattle. The totality of these rights plus goods such as trees, huts, and household implements, constituted his patrimony.

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428 If there was no declaration of will, custom determined the division of the patrimony according to the following rules.

The first heirs were the sons of the deceased, or, failing these, his brothers, then his paternal male parallel cousins, his grandsons, the sons of his brothers and their male paternal parallel cousins, his paternal uncles. Then any male in the inzu or the umulyango. If there was no known kinsman left, the political authority (land or cattle chief) or the lord was the heir. In that case the patrimony might be divided according to the kind of rights left, for instance those over cattle went to the lord, those over land to the land chief. Or the more powerful authority was able to secure for himself the whole of the inheritance.

[8] See Vanhove, 1941, pp. 48-59, for still other, but less important, rights over cattle.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Nothing was definitely left to the wife, the daughters or the affines. But the wife had the usufruct of the rugo in which she had been living while she still had young children to care for. Even when all the children were married, it happened frequently among Tutsi that the wife remained in the rugo till her death. This was usual when the widow married one of her husband's consanguineal relatives, or did not marry again. If she married a man completely alien to her former husband's patrilineage, usually she had to leave the rugo. 428 768 [587]

The father, before he died, had already given a share of the inheritance to each of his married sons, at the time of the wedding. Consequently, what was left at the father's death had to be divided among the sons who had not yet received anything. In principle rights to cattle as well as to land were equally shared. When bare ownership of cattle was divided between the sons of a lord, the clients of the father became clients of the son to whom the bare ownership of a particular cow or herd of cattle had been ascribed. When usufruct on cattle had to be inherited, the successors became clients of the people who had the bare ownership of the same cattle. But the lord had to agree on the choice of his new client. 428

In a polygynous family the principle of equality of shares held good for each rugo. Consequently the shares of the sons of the same father could vary considerably if the number of sons of each wife was very dissimilar. [595]

The son chosen as head of the rugo had a supplementary share (*ingarigari*) as he had more economic responsibilities. Normally he received it before his father's death. This was called *gukubita itoko*, to stroke the thigh, meaning to give a favour.

Debts owed by the deceased were divided between his heirs, but the family head had to meet a greater part than the others. Judiciary fines were cancelled by the death of the debtor. When the deceased was creditor, the debt had to be paid by the rugo head who shared it with his co-heirs. 426 428

The father could also make a will and usually did. He could alter the traditional procedure within rather narrow limits, and for reasons regarded as valid by the patrilineage head or sometimes the political chief or the lord. A son who had been cursed was *ipso facto* disinherited. A son could be punished in the same way 428

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro
171 that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned
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778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
778 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
782 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
796 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the an-
769 cestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
769 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
782 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
778 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the
775 neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is
778 regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned, the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of
[784] residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
532 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or
776 as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

776 according to the image of the *Mwami*, and thus when some misfortune
777 occurs, the blame is put on another name of God or on the ghosts or sorcerers.

The beneficent action of *Imana* is general and remote. *Imana* is the source of all gifts, but he does not interfere very much in individual lives unless he is invoked. He is not the vigilant deity whom no single detail of the lives of his creatures can escape and who, when he acts, takes into account all the antecedents of the situation. There is a story of a man who borrowed beans from different people. When repayment of the loans was demanded, he was always able by his wits to avoid fulfilling his obligations. One creditor—Death—insists on being paid and pursues him. The debtor, when fleeing, calls upon *Imana* who saves him.

Imana—as is illustrated by this tale—is not the guardian of ethics and social order. He is not offended when somebody is robbed, but only if the offence is directed against himself, as when somebody disobeys a particular order of his or abuses his name. Then he punishes the offender by sending him misfortunes during his earthly life.

The Spirits of the Dead

775 The spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), with whom *Imana* has no closer relationships than he has with living people, constitute the second category of non-material beings. They continue the individuality of living persons and have the same names. It is usual to say: 'when he will be a *muzimu*. . . .' Though non-material, they are localized by their activity, in contrast to *Imana* who, having a much wider range of action, cannot be so precisely localized. They live in the lower world whose ruler is *Nyamuzinda* ('the one with whom one is forgotten'). Banyarwanda have not elaborated a very detailed picture of post-mortem existence. Although, according to some informants, the deceased kings of Ruanda constitute a kind of governing body in the underworld, there are no social distinctions. Life is neither pleasant nor unhappy. The *bazimu* do not drink, eat, or mate but their existence in other respects is similar to that in the world of the living. The *bazimu* sometimes come back to this world, returning to the places where they used to live. An ancestor and some other spirits may stay permanently in the hut where their descendants live or in the small huts made for them in the enclosure around the dwelling.

775 Whatever their temper when they were in this world, the *bazimu* are bad.
769 Direct ancestors in both lines (although the system of descent is patrilineal) are believed to protect their living descendants, if they showed them proper filial behaviour when they were in this world, if they observe prohibitions and avoidances and if they do not forget to make offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to one's patrilineage (*mulyango*) are always harmful. The *bazimu* of other families are less detrimental except where there are feuds between the families. Ghosts are thus essentially malevolent towards the living. At best they are not actively injurious.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzumu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

285 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care 462 of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ 776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

●769 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, 775 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

769 This explains his invocations, offerings, and libations before the hood-shaped shelter that contains the angered spirit who was pointed out to him.

The Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ is bound by the law of taboos
784 (imiziro).

He may not smoke or sit on a chair during a thunderstorm. A woman may not use a billhook to cut grass. She may eat only cow meat. The flesh of certain animals is forbidden, /56/ in some cases to every Munyarwanda, in others to certain clans only. The objects used by a deceased person and the food that was in the hut at the time of his death are taboo. At the end of the mourning period, all these things will be purified with lustral water. The widow herself will have to go through the rites of purification.

Work is forbidden on certain days. The relatives of a deceased person give up all their occupations for four or five days.

Upon the death of the king, all work in the fields is prohibited for three months. In certain parts of Ruanda, one stops work for one day when a child is born, when a hut has burned down, when there has been a hailstorm, even when a dog has died. Some taboos only affect the king.

The burial method peculiar to the Banyarwanda, which
763 incidentally is shared by other African peoples, must now be mentioned. When a sick person is about to die and spreads his arms and legs, his relatives bring his knees up to the chin. His arms are bent at the elbows and his hands are made to cover his face.

764 This crouching position is the absolute rule among pagans. It is not far-fetched to state that this most uncomfortable position, when forced on a dying person, makes breathing very difficult and shortens his last moments.

In the right hand of the deceased, one places the leaves of
[824] plants with magical properties, ishoza, umulembe, umwishwa, seeds of squash, sorghum, and issogi, and lamb's wool. All these things are symbols explained by the following words pronounced on this occasion, "Return to us as a limb (with the sweetness of a lamb)! Return to us without thorns (like the plants, soft to the touch, that we have given thee), that is to say, without mean intentions."

173 Under Ndahiro-Chyamatara, twenty-fifth in the royal lineage, the Batutsi star suffered a pronounced eclipse. The reign of this prince ended in disaster. His death is the subject of a long narrative which is recounted in the "History of Ruganzu's Reign" /Book III, not translated/. According to that episode, he sought death of his own accord in the Bugoyi forest. According to another version which seems more likely, he died at Russokovu in the Bugamba where he is said to have fallen, weapons in hand, in the course of an ill-starred expedition against the inhabitants of the area whom he apparently wished to subjugate. The region was known thereafter as the "hammer-cursed land" (i Rubi rw'inyundo), meaning that the weapons wrought with hammers produced unfortunate results in that area since they caused the death of the king and the elite of his men. It is believed that [796] the annual June mourning observed at the capital (igichurassi) is held [769] in memory and commemoration of this tragic occurrence.

This defeat had baneful consequences for the /86/ Hamitic kingdom, which until then had made continual headway in the interior of the land. Legend and tradition have drawn the picture on the dark side by stressing the tragic events.

A certain Nsibura, chief of the Banyabyinshi, who lived to the southwest of Ruanda, overran the land as a conqueror, subjugating everyone, on his path. The kingdom's misfortunes had no end, say the bards, until the day when the son and successor of the hapless prince, Ruganzu II Ndori, claimed his ancestral throne by force of arms.

Following the disaster which took the life of his father, the young prince had fled to the court of the King of Karagwe, where he was raised by his paternal aunt, the Queen. Upon his return to Ruanda, circumstances were kind to him.

His chief opponent, Nsibura, had just died in the Bugessera forest of an accident dramatized by legend. His energetic and determined character helped him a great deal in his undertakings. Ruganzu greatly expanded the boundaries of the kingdom left to him by his ancestors. No one did more than he for the unity of the monarchy.

The last autochthonous petty kings who had weathered the Hamitic invasion were subjugated by him. The Bugara beyond the

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).
778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here," he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

[773] In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and
even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the
inyambo.

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen [778 from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire 362] which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda).

784 This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and 173 he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are re- [769] cruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

644 They[1] were sometimes employed, in preference to other servants, to
701 lead away the convicted high-ranking offenders who were to be exe-
[68] cuted at the usual places of punishment (Buberuka, Bugessera).

I. The name of Impara is used to designate another army corps which is recruited from among the inhabitants of Kinyaga provinces. This name was also given by extension to a group of individuals who are initiates of the Ryangombe secret society and who are compelled thereby to live close to the king in order to draw upon him the favors of the shades of all those who once belonged to that religious society.

They must make an appearance when the king rises, bearing on their heads the tails of hares (amashira y' inkwavu) or of some other carnivore /sic/ like the marten (ibiharangu), which they shake
[769] to the right and to the left while singing and dancing. They hold in the hand small bells or sistra (ibinyuguri), which they ring while /389/ invoking in a loud voice the protection of Ryangombe and his companions. Aside from this beseeching role, they fulfill other functions within the king's household.

Owing to their functions as suppliants and intercessors, which is their chief role by far, they might just as correctly have been included in the category that follows.

Duties of a Supposedly Utilitarian Nature, Some of Which Are Private and Others Public and National.
Sorcerers and Diviners of All Kinds.

644 A. The Bakoma clan has already been discussed at some
791 length in "History of a Reign," /Book III, not translated/. They were direct descendants of the autochthonous petty kings of Marangara land and were formerly regarded, along with Mashira, as powerful sorcerers. It was believed that they could preserve or take life by hidden means known to them alone.

The first of those autochthonous princes, whose real name was Sekibakanyi, had a tremendous reputation. It is still said today that "Nkoma Sekibakanyi, king of Marangara, (son) of Nkondogoro, knew
[539] how to cast spells a great deal better than those things are done today" (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!). This phrase is now proverbial.

1 [i.e., the Intalindwa. - Analyst]

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1. A Munyarwanda would never pick up such accursed weapons, whose origin and function he knows only too well. The curse which is attached to them and the fear which they inspire cause him to go his way without a covetous glance.

In certain clans the purifier-sorcerer slips the scrapings into a sweet potato which he feeds to a goat. The latter is then sold to strangers faraway on whom falls the curse attached to the weapon which was used to commit the murder. The price of the animal, which was formerly paid in kind (hoes, peas, beans, sorghum, etc.) was renounced or thrown away. The victim's family considered that they were thus freeing themselves completely from the evil spell which befell them through the violent death of one of its members.

769 783 628 In order to pacify the spirit of the deceased, a young man of the kin group is chosen during the funeral ceremonies to avenge him. He must obtain a new /418/ spear which the purifier-sorcerer or his colleague, the "conjurer of spirits," takes from his hands in order to cut in two a plant with a mysterious property called irago or umurago. "I have 'cut up' the tribe of murderers," he says, "may they all die of it." Then, addressing himself to the deceased, "Here is the spear that will avenge you. Grant it the opportunity and the power to carry out the vendetta."

[766] According to customs peculiar to each clan, the body is exposed on a deserted hill, hidden far out in the bush in rocky crags, or buried near the village or even in the courtyard.

In the latter case, some irago, or if there is none some murago that grows in the swamps, is planted along with its roots. At the end of about a year, the sorcerer comes back to cut this plant /again/, as he did once before. Then a goat is sacrificed.

The purifier takes some of the blood of this offering and sprinkles it on the grave, saying, "Let this blood cause the entire family of the assassin to perish."

λ[i.e., of a murdered person. -Analyst]

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2. Throughout Ruanda, in principle, a new hut is taken over in the name of a spirit (a dead relative) whose favors are desired.

It is also in his name that one takes a wife (kumulongorer' abazimu).

641 This is why these women are called abaterampundu, that is,
[347] "those who utter cries of joy."

The duties of the aBatchaba are often identical to those of
726 their brothers, the aBasingo, whom they assist in bewitching the enemy with teratological beings who are driven before the hostile army. Like the aBiru they also make drums.

The totem of the aBagessera is the wagtail, a bird of good
825 omen, which is consequently regarded as a member of the family.
342 Hence the power of the Bagessera to call this bird when needed. At
644 court and throughout the land, there is a custom whereby no one may enter a new hut until the wagtail has made an appearance. The bird must at least flit about or hop on the flattened ground where the hut is to be built or on the hut itself. One may even wait several days if necessary /461/ rather than risk the misfortunes which invariably befall those who do not take this traditional practice into account. At the capital, therefore, theBagessera are in charge of instigating the appearance of "their relative" (mwene wabo), the congenial bird, whenever a royal building is put up.

To achieve this they take some embers from their home and light a fire before the new hut.

They sit nearby and whistle in a special way to catch the attention of their totem.

825 The wagtail is highly regarded by the Banyarwanda. In story and song it is called "the bird (inyamanza) from the region of Mabera," a once famous village inhabited by the Bagessera (1). It is located

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1. The regard in which the wagtail is held is the subject of a charming tale. The wagtail

543 292 Lake Victoria, the kings of the Karagwe and especially those of the Usui were among the first to establish contact with the Arabs and to receive fabrics from them. Their Ruanda friends benefitted from this. Since those garments were few, /the kings/ alone wore them, and they were also given /512/ the name of imyambarabami, "the king's vestments." Upon the death of a king his garments were put away and became part of the treasure. Although they wore cloth from that time onward, the kings of Ruanda did not forsake the national costume called by the name of inkindi and made of one or two colobus pelts (inkomo), well tanned and elaborately worked. Those pelts were collected and entrusted to the keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), trustworthy men who were preferably chosen among chiefs or the prince's favorites. Those employees had to see to it that the belongings of dead kings were properly cared for. Those garments were beginning to pile up in the wardrobe when the revolution which overthrew King Mibambge-Rutalindwa, appointed successor of Lwabugiri-Kigeri, broke out.

The fire which consumed the huts where the royal furnishings had been stored destroyed practically everything.

It has since been attempted to build up a new treasure by choosing new lengths of fabric bought from merchants, this being now an easy proposition.

Colobus pelts were tanned to replace the old ones. The present king has secured beads, bracelets, necklaces, etc., of various sorts. They are faithfully displayed with great solemnity before the royal hut, which stands at the heart /fond/ of the first outer courtyard, at the time of the two great festivals.

It should not be assumed that this is mere ostentation, a simple display of riches.

Of course, the kings are far from insensitive to this vainglorious exhibit of antiquated frippery and trinkets, which to them were supreme artistic riches. This, however, was not all. This display also had the purpose of gaining the good graces of dead princes. To this end, several individuals were selected among those present to recall their memory. They were made to dress in the old or new colobus pelts /513/ which had belonged, or were supposed to have

543 769

543 belonged, to the deceased monarchs. Then they danced in honor of
769 the "spirits" of dead kings on the grounds before the king's house. While moving about, they repeated in unison, "These are your treasures (intore), those that belonged to you. They are truly yours, those garments, those fabrics, those weapons, those beads, etc. It is in your name that we carry out these celebrations. We always remain your subjects, your lieges, your servants"....

(Tor' ibintu byawe, intore zawe; n' ibirori byawe, n'abagaragu bawe....) When the ceremony is over, the keepers of the treasure store the objects away until the following festival (1).

1. Among the original pieces included in the royal museum, there is the garment (inkindi) of the king of Urundi, Mutaga, who was killed in battle near Mwurire hill in the province of Bwana-Mkali. It is a hide, since no other garments were worn at that time, and it is altered almost beyond recognition in spite of the rancid butter with which it is constantly rubbed to preserve it. It is one of the rare trophies of victory that survived the fire caused by the Ruchunchu disaster. It is called by the name of ntizihishw' amabuno, that is to say, "that (garment) which is too short (for size)." The native expression is stronger and shows that the Banyarwanda wit never flags in situations tragic or comic.

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769 The festivals and celebrations are almost invariably of a sacrificial character in the sense that the ancestral spirits are commemorated and are offered gifts in a fictitious or even a real fashion, as we shall see in the pages that follow. We shall discuss funeral
766 customs or, more exactly, those that apply to the death of the king,

767 trees and green branches. Human conscience can adapt itself to any-
778 thing. The keepers, who get their share, pretend to see nothing.
178 As a result, relatives and friends take full advantage of their tacit permission and make inconspicuous forays into the groves.

b. General honors paid to the spirits of the royal dead.
769 The dead are neither forgotten nor forsaken. Superstitious fear plays its part in the cult of the dead. /532/ The Blacks' fear of the dead recalls them constantly to the remembrance of the living (1). From

1. The muzimu retains "the passions, tastes, inclinations, and grudges that characterized it during the material life span of the individual whose existence it perpetuates spiritually after death." (Maurice Delafosse.) To the natives, this belief explains and justifies the cult of spirits.

time to time and in important circumstances, when real or imagined calamities threaten, the drums are beaten in their honor.

Huts (indaro) of varying size are raised on their graves, and sacrifices performed in them to pacify and ingratiate their spirits.

At certain times, young bulls are sent from the capital and immolated by the sacrificers with pomp and solemnity.

The things most readily sent are small earthenware vessels, rounded, rather graceful, (uruherezo, imperezo), filled with banana wine, which the keepers offer as a libation to the dead kings in order to win their support.

Similar sacrifices were, and still are, performed occasionally
[778] at the sites of numerous former royal dwellings: at Lwamaraba near the Kabgayi mission, at Mwurire near the Savé mission, at Lussagara near Nyaluhengeri, in honor of Lwabugiri, Lwogera, and another Mutara, a son of Ruganzu II, to mention only a few (2). /533/

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

769 [609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

769 766 791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

769 [775] c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies. The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

769 similar to those used to conciliate men one deals with. The spirits are presented with pleasant offerings; they are fed; they are ingratiated in many ingenious ways.

In other words, they are regarded after death as human beings who have retained their faculties for enjoyment.

We have already seen that in order to gain their good graces one offers them libations, and sacrifices, and one beats the drums in order to remind them of their royalty and to prove to them at the same time that they are still regarded as kings. This is done not only on their tombs, in the important cemeteries, but also at the sites of their former favorite residences. This last procedure is believed to be more gratifying to them.

By reason of their fear and respect, the Banyarwanda usually avoid building too close to former capitals, and keep at a distance from them. In the Bwana-Mukali in the village of Lussagara, the inhabitants of the hill bury their dead far away in the forest so as not to defile the ground that was often trod by Lwogera and Lwabugiri.

Aside from these precautions and cares, the reigning princes have set up for each of their dead predecessors a true family home with wife and servants, including even the small traditional herd, in order to honor them and to obtain their protection.

It will be recalled that Chyilima-Rugwe is believed to have reigned only a short time. As a result, it is thought that he has retained an unpleasant memory of his stay on the throne.

Moreover, he refused to leave the country (yanze kuva mu Ruanda) and continues to exist in the form of a leopard which is often seen, so the natives say.

In order to pacify /535/ his spirit, which is perennially dissatisfied (yarushije abandi gukaliha), a large hut has been erected for him at the very spot where he was buried. A keeper maintains it in good order and watches over the preservation of a herd of cows which is said to belong to Chyilima himself. A woman is in attendance on him.

[588] From time to time, a young girl is appointed by the diviner-sorcerers to be his new wife. The keeper substitutes for the dead king /in this connection/.

769 As a rule, the girls are sent back to their families after a short
582 stay in the hut of the spirit, but an appointed woman must always remain there. At Idjuru, about halfway along the road leading from the Kabgayi mission to Kigali, a clump of trees marks the site of the ancient residence of King Yuhi-Mazimpaka. Legend tells us that this place was the scene of a prodigious event following the death of the prince. He had barely been mummified and buried in the Rutare cemetery when the earth began to tremble at Idjuru. While a heavy rain poured down, the sound of clashing horns (amahembe arakomangana) was distinctly heard. Yuhi-Mazimpaka made it known thereby that he insisted on being cared for and on having his dwelling maintained. His wishes were fulfilled. In addition to a large hut, he was granted on the spot a small herd of cows called indoha because their lowing is harmonious. Furthermore, a woman lives there permanently for his pleasure, not to mention his temporary wives.

At the capital, inside the royal enclosure, there are numerous huts dedicated to the spirits of former kings. Although they are used for the various services entailed by the royal way of life, those huts are also consecrated to the memory of each of the deceased monarchs. The women who occupy them, while they are part of the harem, are also regarded as wives of the sovereigns whose huts they inhabit. As far as the lesser /536/ dead princes are concerned, it is considered sufficient to raise little girls at court who are occasionally made to enter the huts (indaro) dedicated to the spirits. The girls are sprinkled there with lustral water (ingwa, "chalky water"). Their royal (deceased) husbands are satisfied with this ceremony.

769 In the large hut consecrated to King Gihanga, a fire is main-
372 tained night and day, in a huge earthenware jug (intango), which is replaced when worn out.

King Gihanga, the alleged inventor or creator of fire, bequeathed it to his son Kanyarwanda. Fire is maintained in his hut in memory of this inestimable gift. Theoretically, no one but the king may take a brand from it to light his pipe. To allow this fire to go out or to be taken by unhallowed hands might have entailed death in the old days. A group of individuals chosen from the Abiru clan are in charge of watching this fire.

769 d. The cult of Kibogo and the observance of a day of rest.
773 As for Kibogo, a brother of Ruganzu II and son of King Ndahiro, although he never ascended the throne, he is honored in a special way owing to his role as Liberator. It will be recalled that he was appointed by the diviners to save the land and bring a drought to a close. He was taken to the sky and wrapped in a cloud, and his ascension had fortunate consequences for Ruanda. Each newly elected prince builds him a separate dwelling outside the royal enclosure, so that Kibogo will truly be "at home." The hut consecrated to him is surrounded by a large and beautiful courtyard. A woman lives there and cares with her servants for the traditional herd of cows assigned to the purely theoretical "needs" of the spirits.

769 The present monarch complied with this custom by building him a home, as his predecessors did, /537/ which is altogether separate from the other dwellings and which is still designated by the name of "Kibogo's place." He even has a special drum, which emphasizes further the importance of the role he played in the past.

537 The Kibogo episode is connected with a curious practice which is still observed today in some provinces. It consists of stopping work in the fields once every five days, but in the morning only. This practice gave rise to the well-known word chumweru, which contains the meaning of "white" and "whiteness" and which the Christians have adopted now to designate Sunday.

On what occasion and at what time did the Banyarwanda choose this day? Some trace the custom back to Gihanga the Creator. It is not unusual, indeed, to hear on the lips of pagans the expression Chumweru cha Gihanga, "Gihanga's white day."

Others say that Chumweru was a man in Kibogo's retinue. He belonged to the Basindi clan, they add, and he lived at Ruhina, not far from the present Kabgayi mission. He was in the service of Kibogo and watched over his crops (guhingishiriza). He went along with his master on the day of his "ascension," carrying around his neck the small bag (uruhago) of banana-tree fiber which contained his chief's pipe and tobacco.

The cloud seized them all together.

527 As we can see, the origins of this practice are obscure. Could a trace of the Sabbath or Sunday be involved here?

The hypothesis would be fairly plausible, especially if one supposes that the Batutsi originally came from Egypt or Abyssinia.

Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it used to be strictly observed. Many pagans who live far from European settlements still observe it today. Like their ancestors, /538/ they [821] lend it a superstitious meaning. If hail should fall on that day, they would not fail to attribute it to a supernatural punishment and to place the responsibility on those who were caught breaking the rule. "One didn't hesitate," the elders relate, "to insult the delinquents, to rob them or even to strike them if need be, and it was not unusual to be taken to task, so highly was this custom regarded."

769 The great chiefs also do for the dead members of their families, proportionately speaking, what the king does for his own ancestors (1). Each of the huts which make up their homes, for usually

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1. The Bega preferably take their dead to the Budaha region, which is one of their fees. The regent Kabale and one of his favorite wives, Kirumwero, were buried in the village of Ngoma, near Gatare hill. His father Lwagara had been buried at Gisunzu, not far from Munzanga, and his brother Lwibishengo at Nyamutukura. His son Nyantabana and one of his grandsons were interred at Lwasankuba.

The Banyiginya choose their burial sites in enemy country to check invasions and to wreak evil on foreigners (Abanyamuhanga).

Before it was joined to the Crown, the isle of Idjwi served as a final

764 resting place for several important members of this clan.

Other Banyiginya were buried in Urundi and in the Bugessera province, which borders on that country. The dead sons of Musinga, who number at least five or six, rest there in their last sleep.

The deceased are usually buried in a hut. In the Budaha, the owner of a hut that served as a Mwega's tomb cannot leave the dwelling until about a year later. He is forced to remain there to prevent sorcerers from digging up the body.

769 there are several, is dedicated to a spirit in whose honor they marry a woman whom they later keep or discard, depending on their whims and fancies.

Well-off Bahutu attempt to imitate the great, but their huts [343] are usually few in number. So as not to be inferior to those they emulate in their superstitions, they build around their dwelling several tiny huts (indaro) which often consist merely of two or three sticks planted in the ground and barely bound at the top by a small band. /539/

4. The Annual Mourning Period of Fifteen Days in the Month of June, Which Ends With an Important Celebration

765 The famous annual mourning period of 15 days takes place
769 during the last fortnight of the lunar month called by the native name
776 of Gichurassi, which corresponds approximately to our month of June. In principle the king alone is supposed to go into mourning, but the whole court joins him for the sake of solidarity. At that time, the

765 prince must cast aside his ornaments and retain only ordinary clothes.
769 No marriage ceremony may take place. Games and dances are prohibited. Among the drums, only the Ndamutsa is heard around
796 nine o'clock in the morning.

When the mourning period is nearly over, the chiefs have beer brought in from various parts of Ruanda in preparation for the closing celebration (gukur' igichurassi, "to chase away the month of mourning"). On the eve of the day appointed for the festivities, the small drum (ishako) is heard at four different times during the night to herald the great solemn occasion. At dawn other instruments join in. Joyous shouts rise on all sides and the crowd rushes to the huge esplanade where the festival is to take place.

Continuous dancing follows, with pages and other specialists participating. The members of the Ryangombe secret society, their faces smeared with white, observe their usual ceremonies. Sacrifices are offered.

The sacred cows appear on the square and contribute in no small way to the original character of the festivities. Needless to say, beer flows freely.

As for finding out in whose honor the mourning is held, this is no easy matter. The chroniclers do not agree on this score. /540/

Some say that it is held in honor of all kings; others add that it is held in honor of a queen whose name has been forgotten. The majority state that it is observed in memory of Ndahiro.

The latter's death is said to have occurred precisely during the month of Gichurassi and in the circumstances we have already mentioned. We leave it to better informed people to cut those Gordian knots.

644 of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies
805 he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the
[783] herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon.
[533] They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great
796 feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called
644 kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

805 The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298] Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

771 Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

● 769 Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda
171 as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

769 The bazimu, the spirits of the dead, are feared. They are not good. They are responsible for the misfortunes and torments that plague one. In Mulera, at any rate, this may be related to the well-known unfortunate position of old men.

Every father of a family offers sacrifices to his ancestors and his deceased relatives in the ndaro, the small grass huts near his compound and the place where the spirits dwell. Ndaro means "sleeping place," "resting place," and, according to Father Buisson, is derived from the verb kurara "to sleep." I should like to point out, however, the similarity between this word and ndako which in the Bangala and Ababua [Babua] dialects simply means "house." Sacrifices are also made in the sacred niche of every hut.

782 769 For sacrifices to the manes, a fire is built in front of the huts and around it sticks are placed in the ground, to which are fastened small bits of meat, lumps of umutsima, etc. Small vessels (imperezo) of beer are also set out. These offerings are taken from the meat and umutsima (stiff millet mush) which the sacrificer brought with him. The rest he eats himself.

[299] Offerings are also placed inside the huts. Frequently the more valuable offerings are only temporarily exposed. Later they are eaten by the family of the sacrificer. This is said to be the case when, in accordance with custom, the foreleg of a slain animal is offered for a deceased girl. This is not always true, however, for I repeatedly saw rotting forelegs of goats hanging in the ndaro. "To offer to the spirits" is called kutonora bazimu. To the spirits of one's parents the ribs and entrails of slain animals are usually offered.

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775 823 Fig. 162. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Muiera. (1/4 actual size. HI E13096. 8 centimeters high.)

Underworld. Not all the spirits of the dead remain in the vicinity of their ndaro to be taken care of by their families and to lead a peaceful existence. Many spirits, after death, live in the volcanoes, and the activity of these fire mountains is connected with them.

According to the Balera, Ryangombe is said to live in Muhawura with the souls of those who were dedicated to him in life. They constitute his court and his retinue.

At the court of Ryangombe there are not infrequently angry disputes among his retinue. Then they usually throw stones, and

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in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions [643] that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[778] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

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613 In the ritual
194 sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was [173] accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

613 A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to
769 honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a [062] goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

613 Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of
623 councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the [554] opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

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conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(e) *Ritual function*

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

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not injure the living. Consequently the cult addressed to the *bazimu* (spirits of the dead) was essentially aimed at appeasing them. When an unfortunate event was ascribed to a dead relative's ire by the diviner, the spirit had to be placated by the immolation of a goat or even a bull.

These practices were symbolic. It was not implied that the *bazimu* really drank the milk, ate the meat, or slept with the girl. When a goat or a steer was offered, most of it was eaten by members of the family. Other practices are more difficult to interpret. It sometimes happened that water was given to the spirits and at the same time they were told very loudly that it was milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* were regarded as rather stupid and that these mock offerings were not given to the ancestors who were respected but only to the collaterals who, as *bazimu*, were hated. To have feared powerful *bazimu*, however, and at the same time to have deceived them so grossly does not appear very coherent and requires, I think, further explanation.

Every fourth reign, there was an important ritual connected with the final burial of the fourth predecessor of the king. As all *bazimu* were thought to accompany the spirit of the king long ago deceased, their cult was abolished. The inzu heads, however, continued to be remembered.[12]

[12] Kagame, 1947, pp. 377-86.

Towards her grand- *Ethel M. Albert*

603 children, a grandmother may at last dare to indulge openly in
554 revealing her sentiments, without, however, neglecting practical considerations. Grandparents joke with their grandchildren, spoil them, protect them against their parents' anger, and, if they are
[769] not believing Christians, they expect their grandchildren will in due course perform the ceremonies in honour of the *imizimu*, the spirits of dead grandparents.

* * *

577 The most direct route to happiness is conformity to the norms
829 and rules of society. Most Rundi have some roles in which they are superior and others in which they are inferior and the accompanying obligations and compensations. A good wife of a generous and reasonable husband, a good mother of numerous and good children, a good mother-in-law of obedient and industrious daughters-in-law and of respectful sons-in-law, will be a happy woman. Unfortunately, it is necessary to take into account the ever-present and infamous "bad characters", the numberless misfortunes sent by *Imana* when he is in a bad humour, the truth that *Imana*—or, if one prefers, Nature, biology, or genetics—does not always pay attention to social norms. Thus, it can happen that a man is not qualified for the role of patriarch, that he suffers all his life the oppression of a nagging shrew. It can happen that a woman is born too weak for manual labour. If she does not find a kind husband who will carry the burden of the work of the household or a rich one who can provide her with workers, she will die very miserable and very young. It can also happen that a woman is more intelligent and more enterprising than her father, her husband, or her son. A woman of this kind is ordinarily encouraged to make use of her gifts—intelligence must not be wasted—but sometimes an energetic woman is tied to a husband who is cruel and stupid and can do nothing with her good-for-nothing sons. In the social life of Burundi, the motto is, everyone for himself. Each must do what he can with whatever *Imana* has given him.

There are many Rundikazi who are unfortunate and wretched—
[562] orphans, the daughters of avaricious and cruel fathers, the wives of bad husbands, childless widows, the poor and the sick—in brief, those who do not have the favour of *Imana*. Let us pass in sad silence from their pathetic lot to the more fortunate women, those who have succeeded, despite the inevitable woes of life, in obtain-
562 ing at least some measure of happiness, and to the true favourites
554 of *Imana*, the well-born women who are at maturity true matriarchs. The absolute quantity of power and wealth depends upon birth. A

[117] Chapter 9

Religion, Myths, Cults, Missions

1. Gods

•771 The religion of the Barundi is probably best described as animism and totemism, with a generous admixture of elements of fetishism (talisman), manism (worship of the ancestral spirits), and hero cult. The last has already become a cult of gods in many respects. This mixture of elements of the "totemistic era" with those of the "era of heroes and gods" (No. 43, pp. 116, 278) is undoubtedly the result of the mixture of the indigenous Batwa and Bantu with the Hamitic conquerors who added their totemistic clan organization and the cult of their heroes -- who have become tribal gods -- to the clan system, animism, and fetishism of the Batwa and Bantu. All these different social and religious elements have permeated each other, partly by merely existing side by side, partly by merging together and changing, so that it is often difficult to separate out neatly the individual elements and to recognize their origin.

Animism and the belief in demons constitute the main body of the religious concepts of the Barundi. These beliefs are shared by Batwa, Bahutu, and also the Batussi, although the latter to a much smaller extent. Apparently in Urundi as well as in all the rest of the interlacustrine region the Bahima brought with them more refined religious ideas from their original homes in the north. These ideas partly repressed the crude belief in demons and sorcery held by the Bantu Negroes and gave a more important role to ancestor worship. It is true, however, that the large majority of the Bahutu still cling to the old primitive belief in demons and sorcery which conforms so well to their spiritual bent. The Barundi believe that everything is endowed 774 with a soul. As among most primitive peoples who are still 787 at the stage of animism, their ideas of an immaterial soul are based on the observed fact that in a sleeping body there exists

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316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives [326] out of it. /55/

Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small 285 articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care 462 of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

● 771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ 776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, 769 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that 775 befall him.

of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon. They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great feast for which the more gather at court. The feast is called kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298] Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

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means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

776 spirits (abasimu) (No. 44, p. 286). In Ruanda the religious society Kubandwa is dedicated to him (see p. 124), and after death he is the judge of the just and the unjust. For this reason he plays a more important role than any other god in the ethical and emotional life of the Barundi, and the same is true in Ruanda. This is also demonstrated by the fact that Riangombe (or Imana) is the protector of what to the Murundi and the Munjaruanda are their most treasured possessions: their cattle (see p. 46).

776 According to Ruanda tradition, Riangombe during his human existence was a Muhima of the privileged kin group, the 773 Bega, the highest nobility next to the royal family of the 772 Banjeginja. His father, Babinga, was the religious head of Ruanda, and Riangombe became his successor as the chief of the ababandwa, the religious fraternity. At the same time the political king of Ruanda was Lugansu who at first made war on him but then recognized and honored him (No. 44, p. 281). Imana was very favorably disposed toward the high priest Riangombe during his lifetime. When the latter died, Imana led him to the high volcano Muhawura where Riangombe now grazed his herd and planted his tobacco (the large-leafed Senecio). The plantations, however, were destroyed by the evil spirit Niragongo who resides on the mountain of the same name [Nyiragonga]. Then Riangombe, backed by Imana, sallied out against Niragongo, destroyed his dwelling, and set fire to the mountain (the volcano Nyiragongo). Now Riangombe alternately lives undisturbed on Muhawura and Karisimbi [Mountain] where he grazes his large, sacred, milch cattle herds and where he is served by the imandwa, the spirits of the deceased members of the religious society of the ababandwa. These alone enter his "Paradise," while the souls of unblessed, profane persons (abansigo) are relegated as demons (abasimu) to Namlagira and Nyiragongo where in the "Hell" of the volcanos they lead a shadowy existence as slaves. This is the Ruanda tradition as reported by Father Arnoux (No. 44). The essential elements of this tradition have also been preserved among the Barundi. Indeed, one still finds here even the account that after his death Riangombe was buried on the

776 mountain "Vurunga wa niangombe" in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 216),
773 although the Virunga volcanos of northern Ruanda are completely
772 unknown to the Barundi. The concept of Paradise and Hell (Karisimbe and Nyiragongo) is probably of local origin in Ruanda; in Urundi nothing of this sort is known (van der Burgt, written communication).

776 Both in Urundi and Kisiba, Riangombe is mainly regarded as the protector of cattle. In Kisiba he is only worshipped by the Bahima, and his priest is always a Muhima. However, he does not enjoy special status in Ankole (No. 34, p. 520). Further, since in Ruanda and Urundi he (next to Kiranga) is the focus of worship for the religious fraternities (ababandwa) and since in Urundi he is even revered by the Batwa as their chief deity (No. 19, p. 216), one may conclude that this herdsman's god, who evidently came into the country with the Bahima, has gradually been adopted by the Negroes and has become established in the old Negro mythology of the Bahutu and Batwa.

[123] Father Loupias, however, is of a different opinion. He assumes that Riangombe was originally a deity of the Bahutu or perhaps of the Batwa, and he states that in Ruanda neither the king nor the "great" Batussi are members of the order of the imandwa which is dedicated to Riangombe (No. 28, p. 6). The latter statement, however, is true also for Urundi, but it might be interpreted as aristocratic reserve on the part of the Batussi nobles against close contact with the Bahutu or with the Batwa.

Among the other Barundi deities which have not been mentioned above, the following are most probably the old indigenous gods of the agricultural Bahutu and the Batwa: Indagarra is the god of procreative power, a "Priapus," who is worshipped especially by the Batwa; Njamurimi is regarded as the protector of the fields; Njankuru is the national god of the Basige in northwest Urundi; Ingansje appears to be a god of time, "Chronos"; Wandamutoni is the wife of Imana; Ikisjego is the son of Imana; Tusara is the god of the spirits of domestic service, "kobold"; Kwiguka is the god of lewdness; and there are many others (No. 19, pp. 216-220).

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Three socio-'racial' castes are to be distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa, hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

The world in which men are placed and which they know through their senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat; its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms) stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, creatures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old (people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

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questions are asked, it appears that this conception of the life of the universe has not been the subject of speculation and is not of great importance to the Banyarwanda. 772

Without *Imana* the world would not continue to exist and his action is necessary to maintain life. *Imana's* action, however, is not manifested in particular interventions; it is conceived rather as an underlying force which sustains the whole universe but does not interfere in the development of the life of nature. Seeds are put into the ground and after some time plants come up, the banana-trees produce their yields, the cows breed. All this is the normal course of things and we may expect the recurrence of these events at the proper times. This universal order, indeed, is not independent of *Imana*. He made plants grow and animals multiply, but he does not have to act to give fertility in each case. The scholastic distinction between prime cause and secondary causes can very well be applied to Ruanda conceptions. *Imana* acts as the prime cause of the universe and therefore any event may be imputed to him. On the other hand, nature itself includes the secondary causes which account for the regular unfolding of its course. 776 772

But this natural order is not unalterable. *Imana* remains master of the rules he has established. There are numerous stories of miracles worked by *Imana* (a stick becomes a cow, teeth are granted to a girl who had none, &c.). Other beings besides *Imana* may act on nature: the spirits of the dead and even some men, the sorcerers. They may prevent somebody's beans from growing, they may have a man or a cow struck down by lightning. In particular, rain, so important in this country where rainfall is very irregular, has been regarded as under man's control. There were rain-makers (*bavubyi*) who had the dangerous responsibility of regulating rainfall. [821 791]

Natural forces—rain, wind, hail, storms—are not considered as persons having desires and intentions that could be influenced by prayers or offerings. It seems that only thunder is personalized, and is regarded as a king (*mwami*). When a person has been struck by lightning, it is said that the Thunder-King has honoured his subjects with a visit and has taken one of them with him. Lightning receives the same salute as the king of Ruanda. 821 776

Banyarwanda implicitly distinguish between the regular course of nature and more or less unexpected events. Towards the former they assume a rational attitude. They do not look to the invisible world to account for the alternation of the phases of the moon, the growth of plants, the breeding of cattle. These phenomena are explicable on the level of secondary causes. Neither *Imana* nor the occult powers interfere in the normal course of material nature. It would be misleading to conceive of the Ruanda people as 'primitives' living in an irrational world where every phenomenon is an enchantment demanding explanation in terms of an intervention of the invisible world. They look at the world in its regular course in the same way as does a product of Western culture. 772

Of course, a Munyarwanda could not explain the interplay and the exact action of secondary causes as a Western scientist would do. But neither

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could the great majority of people in our culture. They believe that some specialists know exactly how natural phenomena work, and they have an idea of the type of explanation the specialists use. Banyarwanda have fundamentally the same attitude.

In relation to natural phenomena which do not appear with such regularity that they may be expected at about this or that time, the ideas of the Banyarwanda are quite different. Because of their unexpectedness, these events resemble the consequences of human intention. As a man suddenly becomes angry and hits somebody, so thunder strikes. If an occurrence is clearly an exception to natural laws, as Banyarwanda know them, they are confused. If I have taken ordinary care of my banana-grove and it does not produce so many or such good fruits as the trees of my neighbours on the same hill, there must be some reason to be sought outside the normal order of the world. Moreover, these unexpected events may often be dangerous and detrimental. Since any Munyarwanda has, as we shall see later, many powerful enemies in the invisible world, he is easily led to suspect them. Consequently, when confronted with happenings in the material world which do not fit into their conception of the normal order of things, the Banyarwanda explain these events as due to a special intervention of supernatural forces. *Imana* himself may be responsible, but when the event is regarded as harmful, ghosts or sorcerers bear the blame.

In this interpretation of unusual events, the Banyarwanda differ significantly from the people of the West. First, it should be emphasized that for us, events which seem to be exceptions to the laws of nature are much rarer. Those who scientifically know a certain field of spatio-temporal reality can show that events unforeseen by laymen, such as a storm, are in fact completely in accordance with the order of nature. When the event seems inexplicable to the specialist, the uninitiated person is generally unaware of the fact and indeed often displays a greater belief in physical science than do scientists themselves. A basic assumption of our culture is that science (of the physico-chemical type) can explain any material phenomenon. Thus any event in that sphere of reality will be interpreted in accordance with that belief. The event may, however, be of such a type that a 'scientific' explanation does not seem possible. For instance, the unpredictable event (a storm, a famine) may happen several times in the same place and no reason can be found for that repetition. The Western mind will then usually have recourse to the concept of chance, by which is meant, that the numerous conditions which must be realized in order to produce the event may happen accidentally to coincide more than once. There is no inevitability in the repetition of that constellation of conditions, it may just happen. The concept of chance, by which we avoid recourse to the supernatural in such cases, is not used by Banyarwanda. For them a phenomenon of the material world is either a part of the normal course of nature and is explicable in itself, or it is extraordinary and must be understood as a supernatural interference.

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In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzumu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kwandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

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791 in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the
789 aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *imandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of
754 interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barozi*), on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

772 Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

811 But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes
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distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of
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Man and the Material World

113 The world in which men are placed and which they know through their
senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to
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This attitude is in fact quite coherent. When the natural cause is known, the event is attributed to it; when it is not known, or appears extraordinary on account of the circumstances, the explanation is given in terms of beliefs concerning the non-material world. Why do Westerners not use a magical frame of reference on similar occasions? First, their wider knowledge of natural sequences of antecedents and consequents makes the residuum of naturally inexplicable facts more restricted. For instance, a sudden death appears to them quite understandable for purely medical reasons. To Banyarwanda, on the contrary, a sudden death is an event of which the physical causes are completely unknown. Second, even for residual facts not scientifically explained, there is in Western culture a faith that, given time and effort, a scientific explanation will be found. The Munyarwanda has no such belief in positive science. Third, for the disconcerting circumstances which may be coincidental with illness or death, the concept of chance, which does not appear frequently in Ruanda culture, is resorted to. However, Western believers in a provident God see in these exceptional circumstances, not an accidental constellation, but a sign of the meaning God intends to give to the illness or death. [761]

A threat permanently dominating the mind of the Bahutu was that of being accused of sorcery. This danger was connected with the invisible world but was objective enough, for such an accusation could result in being killed and, of course, merely to refrain from anti-social magic did not ensure immunity from being called a *murozi*. 754

The Nature and Situation of Man

Kazikamuntu (which may mean Root-of-Men) is the common ancestor of all mankind. Created by *Imana*, he had, among other children, Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa who, as their names indicate, are the ancestors of the three Ruanda social and 'racial' groups. Gatwa killed one of his brothers and for that reason was cursed by his father. Gahutu, who had been chosen by his father as heir and successor, had been commissioned by him to accomplish an important mission. As a result of overeating, Gahutu fell asleep and could not collect the information his father wanted. Gatutsi, on the 113 564

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773 other hand, got it by his sobriety and cleverness. Kazikamuntu then chose
564 Gatutsi to be the chief of the brothers. There are numerous versions of this tale. Moreover, the stories concerning man's creation are often inextricably mixed with the legends about the arrival of the Batutsi in Ruanda. The same names appear sometimes in the creation, sometimes in the conquest stories. In general the latter are better known. The summary given above is thus only one of the various accounts of the origin of mankind.

773 According to a widely known folk-tale, Death, personalized as a sort of animal, was hunted by *Imana*. He told all men to stay at home in order that
761 Death should not find a hiding-place. An old woman, however, went out to work in her banana-grove. Death, pursued by *Imana*, asked her protection. Moved by pity, she let the animal hide under her skirt. *Imana*, in order to punish her, decided then that death should stay with men. This story might perhaps suggest a belief that there was a time when men did not die. But we could not find other elements to corroborate that interpretation.

114 On the ontological character of man two points are certain. First, an adult human being is considered to be different from an animal by virtue
828 of his faculty of speech (*kivuga*), his intelligence (*ubwenge*), and his will (*ugushaka*); but the difference, if any, between a small child and an animal is not quite clear. Second, no one of these attributes is equated with the surviving spirit (*muzimu*). There is something in the human being which, after his death, becomes *muzimu*, but there is no agreement as to what it is. According to a fairly common opinion, the *muzimu* is the metamorphosis of the *igicucu*, the shadow cast by the body in sunshine. But according to some informants, this shadow is only an image of the spiritual shadow which is the essence of the post-mortem spirit. In conformity with that opinion, the living man is said to be made of three components: the body (*mubili*) which, after death, becomes a corpse (*murambo*); life (*buzima*), which disappears; and the shadow (*igucucu*) from which the surviving spirit (*muzimu*) results.

[826] The heart is believed to be the seat of intelligence and affectivity. It is conceived as a single organ although some ways of speaking suggest that it is double. For instance, it is frequently said: 'One heart told me this, one heart told me that.' This is another application of the habit of attributing opposed effects of the same cause to several causes, but this is only a verbal habit which does not deceive anybody.

These uncertainties regarding the nature of man indicate that Banyarwanda do not make any clear-cut distinction between the concepts of body and mind. Although they recognize parts in man, they prefer to consider the unit rather than its components.

060 Whatever the culture, human experience is made up of a sequence of events and activities, such as working, eating, sleeping, maturing, suffering, mating, getting old, and dying. What is the Ruanda attitude in face of these universals of human life? In many societies these happenings are considered not in their naked reality but in terms of the beliefs held as true in the particular culture. For instance, in a society with a Christian ideology, to

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a very considerable extent universality and absoluteness, qualifies some of its commands. The degree of absoluteness and universality of the Ruanda rules of conduct is much lower. We might say that most of its precepts are qualified in relation to persons and circumstances. To steal cattle was forbidden, but a Mututsi could take the cattle of a Muhutu who had no lord. For a Muhutu to rob a foreigner was not forbidden. A wife might not commit adultery, but she was allowed to have sexual relations with people when ordered by her husband to do so and, even without her husband's permission, a woman could have intercourse with her husband's brothers and parallel cousins. Killing a man was prohibited, but not if he was an enemy of Ruanda or of the family, and if the feud had not been barred by the king. Banyarwanda certainly had no idea of rules of behaviour applicable to all men in virtue of their common humanity. This is perfectly consistent with the Ruanda conception of mankind and the very significant inequalities which Banyarwanda observe between themselves and neighbouring peoples and, among themselves, between the different castes.

To conclude, the rules of human action which prohibit or enjoin the use of certain means in order to achieve the culturally recognized values of Ruanda are sanctioned, not only by organized and unorganized social reactions but also by individual conscience or guilt feelings. The foundation of this moral code is not religious or supernatural but traditional; its content is a multiplicity of rules synthesized under a few moral principles. Particular precepts do not have a universal application but are relative to persons and groups.

Human Relations

Two principles dominate the field of human relations in Ruanda: inequality of men and indefinite reciprocity.

For the Banyarwanda all men have indeed a common nature; they are ultimately the descendants of the same ancestor. But this notion does not seem to be very significant, for Banyarwanda are much more impressed by the differences displayed by the various castes. The characteristics of these castes are stereotyped and repeated in many folk-tales. Batutsi are intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), apt to command, refined, courageous, and cruel. Bahutu are hard-working, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong. Batwa are gluttonous, loyal to their Batutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, lacking in restraint. These characteristics, with differences in stress and shading, are generally recognized by all Banyarwanda. As they reflect the Mututsi point of view, it appears that the superior caste has been able to make other people see themselves in important respects as Batutsi see them. Moreover, those qualities are considered to be innate, not acquired. A Mututsi is born clever and a Muhutu impulsive. Some tales, more widely known than those concerning the creation of man, relate how the first Batutsi came to Ruanda

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

773 from the heavenly world. According to some versions of this tale, they came
564 with their servant, Mutwa, who mated with a forest ape. From that union all Batwa are descended. Such tales clearly reveal the fundamental differences which the Banyarwanda see among their castes.

564 When such a picture of 'natural' differences, so significant from the point of view of power, is accepted, the inevitable consequence is that some
554 men are born chiefs and others labourers. Inferiority and superiority are due not to personal qualities but to membership of certain groups. By belonging to different castes, people have fundamentally unequal rights. If
[682] an ordinary Mututsi kills a Muhutu, one kinsman of the murderer could eventually be killed in retaliation if the king authorized it. If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two lives were taken.

The principle of the fundamental inequality between social groups thus established in Ruanda has spread from the original inter-caste relations to intra-caste situations. A man superior to another member of his class because of his functions or his wealth, or even his ability, tends to assume towards his inferior an attitude similar to that of a Mututsi *vis-à-vis* a Muhutu. Of course the conception of inequality between superiors and inferiors of the same class is not so rigid as that between the castes, but it permeates all hierarchical situations in Ruanda.

554 The theme of inequality was embodied in the indigenous political organization, so that political relations clearly express the attitudes socially ex-
571 pected from superiors and inferiors. They are quite understandable if one bears in mind that they originate from an inter-caste situation. Authority as such is all-embracing. According to Western conceptions, any authority is defined not only as regards the people who are subject to it, but also in respect of the matters falling within its competence. A man who gives orders to another because they are on different levels in a hierarchical scale may be considered his equal in other relations. In Ruanda, there is almost no sphere of life in which an inferior is free from the interference of his superior. Because Batutsi are considered fundamentally superior to the Bahutu, there is no field in which they can feel equal. This attitude has been transferred to any hierarchical situation. The complementary attitude of dependence is, of course, expected from the inferior. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a clearly defined field; dependence is inferiority in the totality of life. The dependent person has to submit to his master in any question. There is no domain where he is free even to express a contrary opinion. As the dependent has always to
554 acquiesce even when orders are quite impracticable, he has to conceal his
571 opinions and find excuses for not doing what has been ordered. Double-dealing, politeness, or a utilitarian conception of language, are the only de-
576 fences of the dependent. Some time ago, a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. When the most important person had given his views, everybody voted for his proposition. But after the assembly, many expressed disagreement. At the

173 in the royal cemetery which retained his name and which is called Luhanga. Must he be regarded as the Hamitic chief who was first to come with his family and a few compatriots and occupy the area, after staying in the Ndorwa at a place called Mutara, which seems to have been the first stopping place of the Batutsi at the threshold of Ruanda?

Along with Ruganzu II, he is of all the ancient kings the one most often mentioned and the one whose legends are prized most highly by the people. According to a curious legend, one of his [773] daughters is said to have discovered and domesticated the first cow, from which the others descended. The narrative built around this memorable event is very popular and contains several episodes. Gihanga is also regarded as the inventor of fire, which he bequeathed to his son and successor.

This alleged discovery has won Gihanga special honors. The official chroniclers maintain the most profound silence about the nine following kings, whose names alone they have preserved.

Did they all really exist? It is not easy to answer this question clearly, for we have not yet left the legendary realm. Gihanga, indeed, is regarded as the father of all men. His sons became the ancestors of all peoples. Kafomo, who is mentioned in the legend concerning the introduction of cows into Ruanda, gave birth to the Bashubbi (Basui), or people of Usui. /79/

Kanyarwanda, the heir to the throne, gave birth to the Banyarwanda. His immediate successor, Musindi, twelfth in the dynasty, is regarded as the founder of the Basindi, or Banyiginya, clan, the most powerful among the Batutsi (1).

1. Most of the important families have picked out for themselves imaginary ancestors. Among some of them, however, the claimed ancestry is authentic.

[791] The sacrificer-diviners, known by the name of Abosha, claim to be descended from the famous Lunukamishyo,

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).
778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here, " he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is
[773] connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and
[262] even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

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1. Ku or kw' before a vowel, or mu or mw' before a vowel /sic/, is none other than the preposition "at, in."

also says isekera, from the verb gusekera, "to cultivate," because the fields are readied at the end of summer although no planting or sowing is done, hence the difference from the word guhinga, which also means "to cultivate" but with immediate planting in mind.

2. Urugaryi. This term designates first and foremost the time when beans are cultivated (mw' itabira ry' ibishimbo) and also the time when the beans yield pods (imishogoro) tender enough to eat (gashogoro). This same season includes about a month of good weather, which enables people to harvest the beans and which has earned it the name of "little summer season." This first harvest usually takes place in January or February.

3. Itumba. This season corresponds roughly to our winter. The word that designates it comes from the verb gutumba, "to swell," to indicate that the clouds keep piling up and the rain keeps falling. Hence the synonym Urushyana, "time of heavy rains."

4. Ichyi or Mpeshi designates the summer season when the harvesting is done, hence the two synonyms mw' (1) itema from

/1. See footnote (1) immediately preceding./

gutema, "to cut," and mw' isarura from gusarura, "to harvest."

As for the origin of the months and seasons, /429/ legend states
773 that King Gihunga sent two of his sons to an important personage who
821 controlled rain and good weather in order to ask him for divisions
[805] (ibihe) in the year. This extraordinary man was called Kibariro, "he who knows how to count." Thanks to the gifts that were presented to him, he agreed to adjust the year in this fashion. We can see that the Blacks manage to explain everything with their imaginative minds. It is also obvious that a slight tongue-in-cheek attitude always transpires through their many tales. It must be said, indeed, that they are not

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invariably gulled by their own legends and that they do not have absolute faith in them, although they tend on the whole to be rather naïve.

Another legend explains the origins of the Bashara, or corporation of appointed rain makers.

This took place, according to the chronicle, under the reign of Yuhi I. Drought prevailed throughout the land of Ruanda and threatened to destroy everything. The king, in his anxiety, called his son Rushura and ordered him to go to the Kinyaga and see Nyamukama, a famous sorcerer who controlled the rain.

The prince's mission was to learn from the rain maker the secret of drawing the beneficent element to the earth. His pride flattered by the royal request, Nyamukama gave the envoy a sealed wooden pot with instructions to hand it over to His Majesty. "Be very careful not to open it along the way." he warned, "and give it to your father just as it is." When Rushura had gone half the distance, he was overcome with curiosity. "I have been entrusted with something, and I don't even know what it is. Let's see, I'll open it...." He undid the knot which held the grass cover. His eyes scanned the inside of the pot. He saw nothing.... The water had evaporated across his face. When he returned to his father, Rushura gave him the precious vessel. Yuhi opened it in turn and, to his great surprise, found it empty. "Is this all that Nyamukuma gave you?" the king asked. "Yes, father, this is all." "In this case, my son, you must return to the rain maker and ask him why this vessel is empty." /430/

Rushura left the royal hut, very much worried about the whole thing. He lifted his eyes to the heavens with a sigh. At that moment the clouds gathered and shed upon the earth an abundant rain.

Puzzled by this strange phenomenon, Yuhi called back his son and asked him to tell the truth, for he realized that something unusual had happened. Rushura shame-facedly confessed to his father what he had done under the promptings of curiosity and what had ensued. In spite of the sorcerer's warning, he had wished to look and the water had evaporated across his face, hence his sudden and unforeseen vocation as a rain maker.

Yuhi, who was very fond of his son and wished to give him the throne, had to choose a new heir and leave Rushara to his new fate.

773 This is how the young prince became willy-nilly the father of the
821 present Bashara, or rain-maker, lineage, which has inherited his
614 vocation.

If they wish to bring rain, these people[1] go outside, look at
789 the sky, and spread out their arms. If they wish to favor only the
821 hill they inhabit, they must sit. If they wish to benefit the entire land with their astonishing power, they must stretch out at full length and spread out their arms at the same time. The storytellers add that this is how the descendants of Rushara have acted ever since that time.

Up to these last few years, rain makers were exposed to
[686] serious dangers. It was not unusual to hear that one or another of those unfortunate creatures had been killed or thrown into the river for failing to produce the needed rain on time.

According to another interpretation of the same legend which
[773] is very popular in the central province of Nduga, Rushara disobeyed the orders of the sorcerer at the proddings of the demon of curiosity after he had crossed the Nyabarongo. The water ran out of the pot and spread onto the ground. Nyamukama was informed and replied that in order /431/ to get rain, all that was needed was to build upon the spot where the water from the vessel had been spilled, and to dig into the hill (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Many of the kings of Ruanda have indeed elected this hill as one of their favorite capitals.

In times of drought it is customary to scratch its soil lightly as though searching for a spring, and it is said that Nyamukama's prophecies always come true. This is why the area is appropriately
[103] called Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), that is to say, "the place where rain comes forth."

It is for the same reason, and to obtain the same results, that at Mata in Marangara, people dig into both sides of the hill.

The first of the two holes is called "the fountain of milk" (iliba ry'amata) and symbolizes abundance. Cows will then yield more milk. The other hole is called by the name of "source of rain" (iliba ry'imvura). Just by dealing it a few blows with a hoe, a favorable influence is exercised upon the clouds, which will give forth a beneficent rain.

[1] [i.e., the Bashara. – Author]

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sticks so that the custom should not altogether lose its penal character.

2. Another improvement over the past has been the complete suppression during the two preceding reigns of the odious custom which prompted each new prince when he ascended the throne to send his troops into the Russokovu, between the Bugamba and Kingogo, to make war and receive their baptism of fire.

This was called "to make the king's spear drink blood" (guhir' icchumu ry' umwami).

Just as the Banyarwanda have the habit of leading their herds to the watering hole (guhir' inka) at the /463/ beginning of the day, a traditional custom also made it necessary for the king to make his spear drink blood (kunywesh' amarasso icchumu ry' umwami) upon his accession to the throne.

After killing some unfortunate people, the victorious warriors returned home.

The beginning of a reign could not be augured more auspiciously.

173 Ruganzu II Ndori was the first to launch such an expedition, which later became traditional.

He did this to punish the killers of his father. According to one version, which has already been cited (1), old King Ndahiro was

1. Cf. Book III, Histoire du règne de Ruganzu II, /History of Ruganzu II's Reign/ /not translated/.

killed at Russokovo, by the Bakongoro (a segment of the great Banyabyinshi faction) who had rebelled against him and whom he had set out to subjugate.

The expedition ended in disaster. Ndahiro, so the tradition adds, died there along with many of his followers. The rebels seized the king's drums and had them burned. Only the Kalinga, or palladium of the realm, escaped the conquerors. This is why the [103] place where the defeat took place has been known since by the name

773 of Rubi rw'inyundo, meaning "the evil of the hammer," to recall that
[103] the weapons wrought by the blacksmiths' hammers were fatal there to Ndahiro and his warriors (2).

2. There are numerous variations on this historical theme. The inhabitants of the Bugamba insist that Ruganzu II was smoked out of Kirengo Cave by the Banyabyinshi. Hence the custom, they say, of leading two of the inhabitants of the land to the capital, where they were beaten, in memory of and punishment for this misdeed. Others believe that it was Chyilima-Rugwe who was fatally injured by the Bakongoro and who, pursued by his enemies, came to die near Gasseke, where his skeleton was later found. These tragic circumstances would explain the 15 annual days of mourning in June, if the disaster was such as the chroniclers lead us to suppose.

178 3. Fortunate, too, is the abolition of the custom which prompted
643 the young king to kill one of his maternal uncles (nyirarume) with his own hands, an act which was political as well as /464/ superstitious, and which often followed close on the murder of the princes who were the monarch's relatives by marriage.

The prosperity of the realm was believed to depend on the fulfillment of cruel customs.

The abolition of these barbarous practices would be wholly to the credit of the Banyarwanda were it not for the fact that in 1895, at the time when Mibambge-Rutalindwa was deposed, the victorious Bega faction then in power committed innumerable atrocities toward

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1. The existence of stones shaped like hammers has given rise to several tales.

The Banyarwanda formerly believed that the vault of heaven was a sort of rocky crust (urutare).

This is why in the legend of Kigwa they explain the fall of the first Hamitic king and his settlement in Ruanda in the following way. "Kigwa," they say, "being in the sky, wished to know what there was in the land below.

"Taking a hammer, he dealt repeated blows to the celestial vault. A small opening was made and the hammer fell out of his hand and down to the Mulera, at the spot called Gifuna. He attempted to enlarge the hole with a second hammer. He struck with such violence that the vault caved in under him. Kigwa fell from the sky but arose safe and sound in the sacred land of the Buhanga on the Muko plain.

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The hammer sank into the ground near Ntenyo, at the place called Nyundo ("hammer").

"This one may still be seen," add the Blacks. A stone lies at that spot which looks from afar like a native hammer.

The natives lavish upon it a superstitious worship mingled with fear. No one may touch it. Should a sacrilegious hand attempt

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to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

[821]

It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

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It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

769 d. The cult of Kibogo and the observance of a day of rest.
773 As for Kibogo, a brother of Ruganzu II and son of King Ndahiro, although he never ascended the throne, he is honored in a special way owing to his role as Liberator. It will be recalled that he was appointed by the diviners to save the land and bring a drought to a close. He was taken to the sky and wrapped in a cloud, and his ascension had fortunate consequences for Ruanda. Each newly elected prince builds him a separate dwelling outside the royal enclosure, so that Kibogo will truly be "at home." The hut consecrated to him is surrounded by a large and beautiful courtyard. A woman lives there and cares with her servants for the traditional herd of cows assigned to the purely theoretical "needs" of the spirits.

769 The present monarch complied with this custom by building him a home, as his predecessors did, /537/ which is altogether separate from the other dwellings and which is still designated by the name of "Kibogo's place." He even has a special drum, which emphasizes further the importance of the role he played in the past.

527 The Kibogo episode is connected with a curious practice which is still observed today in some provinces. It consists of stopping work in the fields once every five days, but in the morning only. This practice gave rise to the well-known word chumweru, which contains the meaning of "white" and "whiteness" and which the Christians have adopted now to designate Sunday.

On what occasion and at what time did the Banyarwanda choose this day? Some trace the custom back to Gihanga the Creator. It is not unusual, indeed, to hear on the lips of pagans the expression Chumweru cha Gihanga, "Gihanga's white day."

Others say that Chumweru was a man in Kibogo's retinue. He belonged to the Basindi clan, they add, and he lived at Ruhina, not far from the present Kabgayi mission. He was in the service of Kibogo and watched over his crops (guhingishiriza). He went along with his master on the day of his "ascension," carrying around his neck the small bag (uruhago) of banana-tree fiber which contained his chief's pipe and tobacco.

The cloud seized them all together.

173 their history, but they regard it as a hallowed secret of the Batutsi which belongs to the category of ibanga [secrets].

173 Father F. Dufays and Father P. Loupias succeeded in learning about one of the traditions of ancient times from a Mututsi whom 114 I personally know very well but whose name I must withhold out of consideration for his own safety. The man clashed with his fellow tribesmen [287] and told his story to the missionaries to express his gratitude for their protection.

173 According to this story, human beings in former times lived in heaven as well as on the earth. The children of Nyina Kigwa, 173 Kigwa, Lututsi, and their sister, Nyina Batutsi, were cast out from heaven as a punishment for their mother's loquacity. They fell to earth in Bugansa, Ruanda, and discovered the following Bahutu families in the country: the Basinga, Bagessera, and Bazigaba. In the forest they found the Batwa. The Bahutu and Batwa had been expelled from heaven before them. The new immigrants brought fire, agriculture (hoe culture), cattle raising, and industry (iron technique). In this way they gained influence, and Kigwa became the ruler of Ruanda. Kigwa married his sister, Nyina Batutsi, and became the protoplast of the Banieginia who are descended from his three sons and still rule Ruanda. Lututsi emigrated to Karagwe and married one of Kigwa's three daughters. He became the protoplast of the Bega who supply the kings of Ruanda with wives and mothers who are their peers. Kigwa and his descendants kept in touch with heaven through Batabazi redeemers, who came to their aid in times of great need. There are three chief Batabazi mentioned. The first protected the children of Nyina Batutsi and brought animals to Ruanda; the second was Kihana, son of King Ndahiro; and the third, Kyamweru, was the son of King Luzugira Iwijuru.

[117] This tradition contains some details of Christian legends, which we shall not go into here. Its origin will probably be determined some day, but at present it is a mystery. However, the statement that the children of Nyina Kigwa (referring doubtless to the Batutsi) brought fire and hoe culture into the country can be written off as historically incorrect. In any case, it is certain that this story tells us about the settling of the Batutsi in Ruanda and the establishment of their rule in Bugansa, and that at this time Bagessera,

173 Basinga, and Bazigaba were already settled in the land and
173 Batwa were roaming the forests. In other words, conditions then were much the same as they are now in Mulera.

Dr. Kandt's report (1) about the ancient history of the country

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 302.

is somewhat different. "When the first human being lived in Ruanda with his five sons, Kitussi, Kitwa, Kinjabungu, etc., Kitwa killed one of his brothers out of jealousy. At first the father wanted to kill him for this, but hesitated because he was his own flesh and blood. So he sent him into the wilderness with the curse that all his descendants were to dwell among the descendants of the other sons as pariahs."

Here, in contrast to the tradition mentioned earlier, we find no references to the fact that the Batutsi immigrated at a later time. [288] Moreover, the representatives of all the tribes are referred to as descendants of the same ancestors. This is probably the best proof that the account has little historical significance.

173 Let us now turn to more accurate accounts about the Ruanda state. In my inquiries into the history of the state I succeeded in getting data that may be summarized in the following list of rulers. However, we must admit that the individual sources were sometimes very contradictory. For this reason further investigation is needed before a definite genealogy can be given. There is always the possibility that some of the succession of rulers listed here may be brothers, but usually collateral descendants of former times are forgotten.

The rulers of Ruanda are:

1. Kigwa.
2. Nyeranda.
3. Kadji.
4. Muntu.
5. Kihanga.
6. Ndoba.
7. Ndore I.
8. Ndahiro I or Dabarasa.
9. Ruganzu or Luzugira. (Kihana).

776 Even though Imana is supposedly the creator, there are no
773 special tales about his relation to the other powerful spirits, for example, Ryangombe. The Banyaruanda seem to have an altogether vague and indefinite idea of him. The strangest thing is the story of his appearance on earth in the form of a child who was even whiter than kaolin (runoni). The child had supernatural power. Among other things, he changed water into milk. Imana created the first human beings. The first man married his sister, but neither of them had a father or a mother. Imana gave them fire.

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) listed Lugira, Lulema, and

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

Kihanga as synonyms for Imana.

The myths about Imana seem to be less known or kept more secret, at least in Kissaka, than the stories about other spirits.

778 [302] Every Mututsi is said to revere a particularly sacred
825 bull in his herd, which has a secret connection with Imana. The sacred bull of Musinga was allegedly very fierce and attacked many people. It is maintained that those who were attacked by the bull were recognized by the animal as enemies of the king. If they came through alive, they were in former times punished with death. This custom has been given up in the last three or four years, probably as the result of greater contact with Europeans, but the unfortunate ones are still in very bad repute.

778 We must not forget that the vessels containing remnants of chickens and the fat of sacrificed sheep, which the Batutsi wear around their necks, are also called "Imana."

776 Even more puzzling than Imana are the batabazi in the
773 Ruanda pantheon. I have already mentioned them in the chapter on the history of Ruanda. Father L. Classe told me that the myth of the flood as well as the idea of the sacrifice of an individual life to save mankind appear in the batabazi legends. The people survive the flood in a hut made watertight with earth.

776 The batabazi are Batutsi because they are associated with the reigning family.

773 Ryangombe and his Bagaragu. Ryangombe with his bagaragu (clients) and relatives plays the most important role in the Ruanda cult.

We have already expressed the opinion that in the traditions 776 about Ryangombe there is a memory of an historical hero. In 173 favor of this view we have the story (umugani) given below (which does not say much), and in addition, the fact that Kakuku, Mugasha, Kagoro, and Rubaga are mentioned among his retinue. The latter three are semihistorical personalities and, according to our research, belong to the family that ruled in Bunyoro before the Babito, whereas Kakuku is probably identical with Bukuku from the older Bunyoro dynasty.

Ryangombe's nearest relatives do not seem to play any special role and are mentioned only in reference to the hero. Hence we shall only list them. His father was Ndema, and his grandfather, Migongo. Babinga was his mother, and Nyundo, his grandmother. His wife, Nyakisha, presented him with a child called kachumu kato kato kavira imyuna mumbuga, "a small, small spear stained with blood up to the hilt." According to other accounts, his wife was Kadjumba, and their son, Binego.

In other accounts we find somewhat different statements. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) calls Ryangombe's wife Njawirungu

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 10.

and his father Bawinda which [303] he has probably confused with the name of the mother, Babinga.

Captain Von Beringe (1), on the other hand, calls

1. Beringe, Captain Von, an account of his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 37.

[117] Chapter 9

Religion, Myths, Cults, Missions

1. Gods

771 The religion of the Barundi is probably best described as animism and totemism, with a generous admixture of elements of fetishism (talisman), manism (worship of the ancestral spirits), and hero cult. The last has already become a cult of gods in many respects. This mixture of elements of the "totemistic era" with those of the "era of heroes and gods" (No. 43, pp. 116, 278) is undoubtedly the result of the mixture of the indigenous Batwa and Bantu with the Hamitic conquerors who added their totemistic clan organization and the cult of their heroes -- who have become tribal gods -- to the clan system, animism, and fetishism of the Batwa and Bantu. All these different social and religious elements have permeated each other, partly by merely existing side by side, partly by merging together and changing, so that it is often difficult to separate out neatly the individual elements and to recognize their origin.

Animism and the belief in demons constitute the main body of the religious concepts of the Barundi. These beliefs are shared by Batwa, Bahutu, and also the Batussi, although the latter to a much smaller extent. Apparently in Urundi as well as in all the rest of the interlacustrine region the Bahima brought with them more refined religious ideas from their original homes in the north. These ideas partly repressed the crude belief in demons and sorcery held by the Bantu Negroes and gave a more important role to ancestor worship. It is true, however, that the large majority of the Bahutu still cling to the old primitive belief in demons and sorcery which conforms so well to their spiritual bent. The Barundi believe that everything is endowed 774 with a soul. As among most primitive peoples who are still 787 at the stage of animism, their ideas of an immaterial soul are based on the observed fact that in a sleeping body there exists

774 something which is alive, which does not rest but thinks, sees,
787 and moves about. In a dream this incorporeal part of us sees the world not merely as a person who is awake does, but it also meets the dead who thus continue to exist incorporeally after death. If this immaterial element, the life-generating soul, permanently leaves the body, the human being dies.

774 The distinction between the body or shadow soul and the breath soul which W. Wundt and C. Meinhof considered characteristic of totemistic conceptions (No. 43, p. 203; No. 41, pp. 32-34) apparently fits [118] the notions of the Barundi, for the Murundi clearly distinguishes between the spirit of a dead person, the umusimu, and the soul active within a living person, the umutima, which is destroyed at the moment of death along with the pulsating heart, the indihagusi (No. 46, p. 15). It further seems certain to me that the Barundi conceive of all things, organic or inorganic, as being endowed with souls; this does not only apply to persons and animals but also to plants, stones, stars, fire, fountains, rivers, etc. These are not simply regarded as the occasional residences of former human and animal souls but as having souls of their own. Thus, the thorny bush which scratches the hunter and makes him bleed does so not only because it is the abode of what formerly was a malicious human soul but because it has a malicious "bush soul" of its own. The fountain refreshes the thirsty traveler not because, or not only because in it resides the spirit of what was formerly a generous person but because it has its own generous "fountain soul."

775 Umusimu is not only the term for the spirit of the deceased but also for the object or the animal which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as its residence; there may be various ones. Frequently these are small oblong pebbles (inguru) from the fields of the deceased. These pebbles are collected by the next of kin and put into a wooden trough which is placed inside the sacrificial hut where a beer sacrifice is made to them (No. 46, p. 16). Often the soul of a dead person also resides in an object close to his former dwelling, in a tree, fence, or rock, often also in an animal which by its nimble

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

773 other hand, got it by his sobriety and cleverness. Kazikamuntu then chose
564 Gatutsi to be the chief of the brothers. There are numerous versions of this tale. Moreover, the stories concerning man's creation are often inextricably mixed with the legends about the arrival of the Batutsi in Ruanda. The same names appear sometimes in the creation, sometimes in the conquest stories. In general the latter are better known. The summary given above is thus only one of the various accounts of the origin of mankind.

773 According to a widely known folk-tale, Death, personalized as a sort of
761 animal, was hunted by *Imana*. He told all men to stay at home in order that Death should not find a hiding-place. An old woman, however, went out to work in her banana-grove. Death, pursued by *Imana*, asked her protection. Moved by pity, she let the animal hide under her skirt. *Imana*, in order to punish her, decided then that death should stay with men. This story might perhaps suggest a belief that there was a time when men did not die. But we could not find other elements to corroborate that interpretation.

114 On the ontological character of man two points are certain. First, an
828 adult human being is considered to be different from an animal by virtue of his faculty of speech (*kivuga*), his intelligence (*ubwenge*), and his will (*ugushaka*); but the difference, if any, between a small child and an animal is not quite clear. Second, no one of these attributes is equated with the surviving spirit (*muzimu*). There is something in the human being which, after his death, becomes *muzimu*, but there is no agreement as to what it is. According to a fairly common opinion, the *muzimu* is the metamorphosis of the *igicucu*, the shadow cast by the body in sunshine. But according to some informants, this shadow is only an image of the spiritual shadow which is the essence of the post-mortem spirit. In conformity with that opinion, the living man is said to be made of three components: the body (*mubili*) which, after death, becomes a corpse (*murambo*); life (*buzima*), which disappears; and the shadow (*igucucu*) from which the surviving spirit (*muzimu*) results.

[826] The heart is believed to be the seat of intelligence and affectivity. It is conceived as a single organ although some ways of speaking suggest that it is double. For instance, it is frequently said: 'One heart told me this, one heart told me that.' This is another application of the habit of attributing opposed effects of the same cause to several causes, but this is only a verbal habit which does not deceive anybody.

These uncertainties regarding the nature of man indicate that Banyarwanda do not make any clear-cut distinction between the concepts of body and mind. Although they recognize parts in man, they prefer to consider the unit rather than its components.

080 Whatever the culture, human experience is made up of a sequence of events and activities, such as working, eating, sleeping, maturing, suffering, mating, getting old, and dying. What is the Ruanda attitude in face of these universals of human life? In many societies these happenings are considered not in their naked reality but in terms of the beliefs held as true in the particular culture. For instance, in a society with a Christian ideology, to

614 The clan (umulyango) (4) or inzu includes all those who claim

4. Not to be confused with umulyango, "door."

a common ancestor who is founder of the [9] race. In the course of time the clan has become divided into several subclans (imilyango).

The clan and the subclan have names (ubgoko) that recall the name of the founder. Thus the members of the umulyango of the Abanyiginya are the descendants of Kimanuka who is the Umunyiginya (the first of the Abanyiginya). Ndabarasa, son of the Mwami Rujugira Chyirima, who became king under the name of Kigeri, was the Umurabarasa, the first of the umulyango of the Abarabarasa or Ibigina. This last name is what they are called at the present time.

614 775 Each umulyango possesses one or several animal totems (ibiziro). For example, the totems of the Abanyiginya are the crested crane (umusambi) and the ox-pecker (inyange); that of the Abega is the toad (igikeri); that of the Abagessera is the wagtail (inyamanza). The member of a clan will never kill such a bird, for example, because he believes that it contains the spirit of an ancestor.

614 563 The Bahutu belong to the same umulyango as the Batutsi and possess the same totems. However, they have a different name. For example, those who live with the Abega and the Abanyiginya are called respectively Abasavere and Abasindi.

2. The Head of the Family and of the Clan

596 The head of the family sensu stricto (umutware w'urago rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) is normally the father. After his death, one of his sons, not necessarily the eldest, succeeds him. It may happen that the widow of the family head provisionally directs the rugo if her husband has died without designating his successor or when his sons are still children (1). [10]

614 1. While still forming part of her [own] umulyango, the wife is, so to speak, incorporated into her husband's inzu if she has children. But she does not take the name of her husband's umulyango. The

643 Often an interdiction is attached to a king's name: a Yuhi,
[551] for instance, may not cross great rivers like the Nyabarongo (3).

3. River flowing into the Akanyaru which forms the boundary between Ruanda and Urundi.

[775] After his death the king becomes a sort of divinity for the people. He has gone to Hades to join the demigods, his ancestors.
643 The king shares the supreme authority with his mother
644 (umugabekazi) (4). She is all-powerful, often more powerful than

4. The king's wife is called Umwamikazi or simply Muka-Rudahigwa, etc. The present King's wife is called Nyiramakomare.

her son. Whoever pays homage to the king [88] must also do so to his mother. She intervenes in law proceedings and the distribution of land, herds, etc. The king and his mother together are called Abami. The continual presence of the queen mother at her son's
[608] side is essential (1) and if the king loses his mother, he will be given

1. Kankazi, mother of Rudahigwa Mutara, lives on Shyogwa Hill in Marangara. This measure was taken by the Belgian government because, remembering the disastrous role played by Nyirayuhi with Musinga, they wished to prevent the mother of the present King from exercising too great a political influence.

an official mother. The king's mother has a special name, the
[551] same as that of her son, except when the king is called Mutara; that name even the court familiars cannot give her (2). The same honors

2. Yuhi Musinga's mother Kanjogera, bore the royal name of Nyirayuhi. Kankazi, mother of Mutara Rudahigwa, is called Nyiramavugo.

614 the common totem. After separating, the clans took different names. Among the Bahima and Bahutu of East Africa, unlike the North American Indians, the totem name was not used as the name of the clan itself, but rather, as among the Australian aborigines, the names of the clan and the totem are different. However, the totem cult and its membership have been preserved even though in diluted form (cf. No. 43, pp. 142-143). In a few individual cases the names of the kin groups are identical with that of their totem, as among the Basoga, Basiba, and Banjoro, while the kin groups of the Baganda are named, without exoeption, after their totem (No. 49, p. 155).

Both in Urundi and in Ruanda the totem (umusiru) is still the cult object of the clan or the clan group, even if only in a passive or negative sense, in that everything connected with the totem must be strictly avoided by its clan. There is no active cult devoted to the totem either among the Barundi or among any other Bahima people (cf. also No. 47, pp. 133, 134 and No. 49, pp. 145, ~~147~~). Sacrificial offerings are occasionally made to them but that is all. Among most Rundi clans the totem is an animal or part of an animal. Much more rarely it is an object, as, for example, the small pillow with which burdens are carried on the head or the basket in which sweet potatoes are stored, even more rarely plants or parts of plants, flowers, and stones. The definite predominance of animal
614 totemism is probably related, as among all peoples organized
● 775 by totems, to the idea that the totem animal was originally
171 considered the "ancestral animal." Among the Barundi and Banjaruanda, however, this does not appear to indicate that the particular species of animals is regarded as the founder of the race or the tribal ancestor or ancestress of the particular clan, but rather that the soul of each clan member after his death enters an animal of this particular type. Evidently the belief in a relationship between the human kin group and the totem animal species does not include the concept of common descent from the same ancestral animal. Whenever a member of the kin group dies, this relationship is renewed by his soul entering an

614 animal of his totem species. In Central Africa many tribes of
775 the northern Congo basin and of the western Sudan (No. 49,
171 pp. 140-142) have the same belief.

Van der Burgt believes that the royal family of the
614 Barundi has no totem (letter). According to other reports, however, their totem animal is probably the large python (see p. 118) which is also the "soul animal" of the kings; this also applies to the Basiba (No. 31, pp. 107, 130) and to the Baganda (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 500). According to the belief of the Banjankole, the souls of the kings enter into lions, those of the princes into snakes (No. 26, p. 151; No. 27, p. 102); among the Banjaruanda the souls of the kings enter into leopards."

[103] Thus, the belief in a relationship between clan members and the totem animal is one of the roots of totemism; the other is the same kind of animism that gives rise to awe and fear of the spirit of a dead person living in an animal or some other object and, in connection with this, brings about the cult of ancestors (cf. No. 49, p. 169). For this reason the totem animals are identical with the "soul animals" which are generally assumed to be the residence of human souls (see p. 118). In this case, too, these are characteristically animals, those which excel in great speed and agility and, thus, are suggestive of the vital breath, as, for example, the snake, lizard, certain fish and birds, the otter, weasel, duikerbok, long-tailed monkey, or those animals which have a sinister appearance or other terrifying characteristics, as, for example, the chameleon, the insect walking stick, leopard, buffalo, and hippopotamus. However, certain kinds of domestic animals, for example, black, white striped, or otherwise mottled cows or certain varieties of sheep may be chosen as totem animals by many clans. The veneration of cattle, which are neither used for work nor ordinarily butchered, would indicate that they were formerly the cult animal of the Bahima herdsmen, which to some extent is still true today. Some clans designate only liver, heart, and intestines of certain animals as totems. This custom is also found among many other Bahima and Bantu tribes. This is

561 group" as is found among several East African tribes. Is such a social institution does exist among the Barundi, it plays no role in public life. Nor are there special bachelors' huts or kraals for such an age group, while among other Hamitic peoples of East Africa -- or peoples under Hamitic influence -- for example, the Massai, the Wapokomo [Pokome], and the Galla, these age groups constitute the principal structure of the entire social life.

Among the Massai there are three age groups: the boys living with their parents, the unmarried youths (of the warrior caste) who live together in their own kraals, and the peaceful married men. Similarly among the Wapokomo and the Galla there are: first, the boys; second, the various age groups of those who have been circumcised at the same time, or Luva; and third, the class of the older men, or Gada. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 262 ff.) In Ruanda the youthful band of warriors which usually appears at the court of Musinga for festive occasions and performs war dances might suggest that such an "age group" of unmarried youths exists among the Batussi, but perhaps they are only a kind of cadet or page corps of the king (see p. 65).

888 Old persons who have lost their physical and mental
●775 agility are seldom seen since they remain within the homesteads. Their next of kin take care of them until their death (ukufa), perhaps less for reasons of piety than for fear that if they treated them badly they might take revenge after their death as spirits.
763 When a person is dying his family usually gathers around him. Immediately after death, the women in the house and the neighborhood raise a loud and plaintive wailing while the men close the eyes of the deceased, bend his arms and legs, and tie him up (in a crouched position) so as to prevent him or his spirit from returning. Preparations are immediately made for the burial.

764 Burial in a crouched position is also the custom in Ankole,
171 Mpororó, Ufipa, and in other Bahima states, also among the

[765] The mourning period for a mutwale lasts two to three weeks. However, the highest honors are paid to the dead king 766 (see p. 185 [not translated]). The corpse is first wrapped in ●775 hides and barkcloth. It is not buried but dried over a smoking fire until it has become completely mummified. The first worm ("soul worm") that leaves the corpse is put into a milk pot and fed until one night it leaves the pot and turns into a giant snake (isato) in which the spirit (umusimu) of the dead king will reside from then on. The corpse is not embalmed. 766 The corpse of the king is not arranged in a crouched position as are those of the common Barundi; the arms and legs remain extended (No. 19, p. 204). In Ankole, however, the king's body is also put in a crouched position, wrapped in cowhide and buried (No. 27, p. 101). In Urundi the dead king is then put on a wooden trestle in the center of the homestead and left to lie in state until the feet of the trestle are eaten by termites. Under certain conditions this may take months. It is reported that King Kisabo lay in state in this way for an entire year. A local missionary told me that the deceased was [588] even "married" to a young wife whose duty it was to take care of him and to provide him with food and pombe beer every day. During the entire period in which he lies in state the king's subjects gather from all corners of his realm; they pray to his spirit to win his favor, eat and drink in a festive funeral banquet beside his bier, and praise the deceased. Of course, the great ceremony of the "holy spear" is also performed. The [765] official period of mourning for the king is one month. Finally, the mummy, accompanied by the medicine men and priests and followed by a wailing crowd of people, is carried away by the closest male relatives of the king. It is taken a distance of several days' journey to Ganso Mountain in the northwestern border mountains adjoining Ruanda, south of the source of the Ruvuvu River. The corpse is finally buried in a forest which may be entered only by the members of the royal family (Baganwa) and the priests. According to van der Burgt, however, it is not buried but simply laid to rest in a hut (see p. 186 [not translated]). The other Barundi kings have also been laid to rest there (No. 4, p. 223). On the other hand, van der Burgt writes

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro
171 that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned
768 as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a
775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place
769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca-
766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and
661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is
[761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

774 something which is alive, which does not rest but thinks, sees,
787 and moves about. In a dream this incorporeal part of us sees the world not merely as a person who is awake does, but it also meets the dead who thus continue to exist incorporeally after death. If this immaterial element, the life-generating soul, permanently leaves the body, the human being dies.

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775 agility conjures up the idea of the breath-like fleetingness of the soul, especially in snakes, lizards, and birds and also in unpleasant animals like toads, crocodiles, hyenas, and others. Apparently the members of certain clans all turn into specific animals, the totem animal (umusiru) of the clan (see p. 102). In general the first worm leaving the decaying corpse of a person is regarded as the vehicle of his soul until it has choosen another definite residence. As mentioned on p. 115, the first worm leaving the corpse of a king is therefore fed with milk until it turns into a large python who is worshipped as a god. The souls of great batwale turn into other snakes, lions, and leopards, who then reside in the holy groves (imana) near the graves. From there the snakes often visit the huts of the family and the mother of the family regards them as soul animals of the deceased family members and feeds them milk. The same [171] is true of the Galla, the Massai, and the Kaffir [Xosa] of South Africa (No. 41, p. 36; No. 19, p. 354). The idea of divine punishment, purification, and expiatory transmigration of souls which missionaries in particular read into this transfer of human souls into animals was certainly foreign to the Barundi originally. The fundamental notion of such a "transmigration of souls" is rather the totemic affinity of a human kin group with a particular animal species (see p. 102). The Barundi are, however, in the least disturbed by the internal contradiction contained in these notions, namely, the fact that the animal, tree, rock, stream, etc., which is occupied by the soul of the deceased person, would then have to have two souls. The logic of Negroes is different from that of Europeans.

The question of the immortality of the soul, which, of course, is strongly emphasized in the teachings of the Christian missionaries, leaves the non-Christianized Murundi as cold as all other East African Negroes. His imagination and ethical needs are [119] satisfied by assuming that the soul survives death. He is not further concerned about how long this survival lasts. Perhaps he thinks, as most other African natives do, that souls do not live on for eternity but that they gradually become weaker and smaller and finally disappear entirely (No. 41, p. 41) or that after the soul has entered an animal its life will be extinguished with that of the animal.

775 The spirits of the dead are, without exception, more or less evil and hostile to the living even if they were relatively good-natured when they were still alive. The dead person was forced to leave behind everything that he loved and cherished in his life, and for this reason he is filled with envy for those who survive and possess all these things. These jealous spirits, hostile to men and causing sickness, ruined crops, cattle epidemics, and other misfortunes, are the dreaded abasimu or imisimu (sing., umusimu); to repel, confine, appease them, or to win their favor forms the largest part of the thoughts and acts which occupy a Barundi's mind in his daily life. We find these primitive evil spirits among all the Bahima under the same name, abasimu or imisimu, even in the southern area of settlement, in Ufipa (No. 047, pp. 167-168). The envy and
775 hostility of the abasimu are soothed and assuaged by placing
782 valuable objects belonging to the deceased on his grave. Also, as often as possible morsels of food and parts of the objects formerly belonging to the deceased and now in use are offered as a sacrifice (see p.136). The incorporeal spirit eats or uses only the incorporeal part of these sacrifices, i.e., the "essence" of the proffered beer, meat, millet gruel, jugs, knives, arrows, hoes, etc. The sacrificial offerings are nothing but a premium to obtain greater security against the hostility of the abasimu. By no means can they be regarded as pious offerings to the revered and beloved ancestors. The Murundi only offers sacrifices to the manes because he is afraid of them. Yet a more effective method than making sacrifices is joining a
775 religious secret society, the religious fraternity of the ababandwa
794 of which we shall speak in greater detail below (p. 124). These ababandwa assume a privileged position in the realm of the spirits after their death. If their behavior within the society has been found correct, they come to Riangombe where, as imandwa, they form a kind of bodyguard of the god. They are, so to speak, the saints of the Barundi heaven.

776 Above the innumerable nameless abasimu and above the imandwa there is a stratum of higher spirits who are given names.

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
778 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
782 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
796 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the an-
769 cestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
769 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
782 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
778 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the
775 neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is
778 regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned; the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of
[784] residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
532 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or
776 as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

according to the image of the *Mwami*, and thus when some misfortune occurs, the blame is put on another name of God or on the ghosts or sorcerers.

The beneficent action of *Imana* is general and remote. *Imana* is the source of all gifts, but he does not interfere very much in individual lives unless he is invoked. He is not the vigilant deity whom no single detail of the lives of his creatures can escape and who, when he acts, takes into account all the antecedents of the situation. There is a story of a man who borrowed beans from different people. When repayment of the loans was demanded, he was always able by his wits to avoid fulfilling his obligations. One creditor—Death—insists on being paid and pursues him. The debtor, when fleeing, calls upon *Imana* who saves him.

Imana—as is illustrated by this tale—is not the guardian of ethics and social order. He is not offended when somebody is robbed, but only if the offence is directed against himself, as when somebody disobeys a particular order of his or abuses his name. Then he punishes the offender by sending him misfortunes during his earthly life.

The Spirits of the Dead

The spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), with whom *Imana* has no closer relationships than he has with living people, constitute the second category of non-material beings. They continue the individuality of living persons and have the same names. It is usual to say: 'when he will be a *muzimu*. . . .' Though non-material, they are localized by their activity, in contrast to *Imana* who, having a much wider range of action, cannot be so precisely localized. They live in the lower world whose ruler is *Nyamuzinda* ('the one with whom one is forgotten'). Banyarwanda have not elaborated a very detailed picture of post-mortem existence. Although, according to some informants, the deceased kings of Ruanda constitute a kind of governing body in the underworld, there are no social distinctions. Life is neither pleasant nor unhappy. The *bazimu* do not drink, eat, or mate but their existence in other respects is similar to that in the world of the living. The *bazimu* sometimes come back to this world, returning to the places where they used to live. An ancestor and some other spirits may stay permanently in the hut where their descendants live or in the small huts made for them in the enclosure around the dwelling.

Whatever their temper when they were in this world, the *bazimu* are bad. Direct ancestors in both lines (although the system of descent is patrilineal) are believed to protect their living descendants, if they showed them proper filial behaviour when they were in this world, if they observe prohibitions and avoidances and if they do not forget to make offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to one's patrilineage (*mulyango*) are always harmful. The *bazimu* of other families are less detrimental except where there are feuds between the families. Ghosts are thus essentially malevolent towards the living. At best they are not actively injurious.

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In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzumu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

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is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

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who steal cattle, or set fire to huts, or commit adultery are punished by the political or family authorities. Social sanctions are not only physically enforced penalties, such as corporal punishment and compensations, but also the unorganized reactions of the people who know the delinquent: kin, neighbours, clients, and lord. For the Batutsi, for whom reputation stands high in the scale of values, this is extremely important. According to our informants, the fear of being considered a man without loyalty or without dignity, the dread of being despised by one's family, prevent many breaches of rules. To use Kluckhohn's terminology, we may say that Ruanda's is a shame-culture. But it is also a guilt-culture. When a Munyarwanda has transgressed some rule so secretly that there is not the slightest chance of his being found out and incurring punishment and shame, he nevertheless feels guilty and knows, our informants told us, that his action is bad. When a child has disobeyed his father without the latter's knowledge, he thinks not only of the unpleasant consequences that the discovery of his misbehaviour might produce but also (and some informants say 'mainly') of the wickedness of the act itself. The Ruanda word for conscience, *kamera*, means something that is internally felt. It is situated in the heart.

That the Banyarwanda have a 'conscience' will not be rated as a great discovery by some. But since some recent studies, such as Kluckhohn's on the Navaho, have stressed the fact that, in some cultures, submission to rules seems to be realized almost entirely through a rational concern to avoid punishment or shame, it does not seem superfluous to consider how far observance of rules is, or is not, linked to ethical principles and feelings of guilt.

Let us now attempt to indicate more precisely how moral wrong is conceived in the Ruanda culture. As has been already mentioned, *Imana* is not the guardian of the moral order. Sometimes he seems to be regarded as its author in the sense that he might have decided that men should not steal; but it is clear that when a man steals another man's cows, *Imana* is not personally offended. Those who are offended are those who have been wronged by the action, or those who had issued an order which has been disobeyed. When *Imana* has not been directly injured (as by blasphemies), or when the injury done to another has not been specifically forbidden by him, he is not thought to be offended. The victim could, however, ask *Imana* to punish the wrongdoer and if he then became ill, it would be said that *Imana* had punished him.

The other agencies of the supernatural world have even slighter relations with ethical values. The *bazimu* are naturally malevolent and punish only those actions which they take to be directed against themselves. A way to honour the spirit of somebody who had been a thief during his life was to simulate a robbery. *Ryangombe* and his fellows were not models of morality during their earthly existence and they did not care about the ethics of their followers. Nor was there any punishment after death. For those who believe that there are two kinds of life after death—happy or unhappy—the

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577 qualification for the happy one is not to live a blameless life on earth, but to
776 undergo initiation into the *Ryangombe* cult.
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Thus the ethics of the Banyarwanda are not integrated on a religious
577 basis such as the will of God. What is the principle of integration, or rather, we should first ask, are their ethical conceptions integrated? On the surface they consist, like any moral code, of a multiplicity of prohibitions, orders, and exhortations. Have they achieved a synthesis of these separate elements by reducing the multiplicity to one or a few principles? Or, what amounts to the same thing, could they give a definition of good and evil?

577 In Ruanda a great number of particular rules are subsumed under general
183 principles such as: do not do what is harmful to people of your group or of your country; do what people related to you would like; submit to your superiors. Principles such as these are already on a higher level of abstraction than the particular rules. When informants are asked to account for a given rule or principle they give as the final justification: 'It has always been done that way in Ruanda.' We may perhaps express the Ruanda definition of good and evil in these terms: That is good (or evil) which tradition has defined as good (or evil).

Tradition is indeed a powerful force in cultures which, as in Ruanda, have been isolated for centuries from world currents. Each generation is more conscious of the importance of what it has received from the preceding one than is possible when much of what constitutes its way of life comes not from its ancestors but from some other social tradition. Moreover, their relations with their neighbours whom they frequently subjugated have persuaded Banyarwanda of the excellence of the ways of life transmitted by their forefathers. In such a situation the traditional character of a rule appears to be sufficient justification. If the ancestors, who were so wise, behaved in that way it would be preposterous to question it.

But it would be misleading to picture the Banyarwanda as following blindly the moral rules framed in a remote past without having any idea of their purpose. Some old men have a clear understanding of the social significance of certain rules. They explained, for example, that the duality of the
[562 rules concerning adultery committed by the husband or by the wife was
837] accounted for by the importance of the wife's function in procreation. She has thus a greater responsibility than the husband for maintaining the integrity of the family.

577 Does this kind of thinking extend so far as independence of tradition?
183 Some informants told us that, apart from the authority of custom, some actions were thought of as dishonourable in themselves. But these in-
177 formants were Christians and, apparently, very much influenced by their religion. Moreover, they could not quote a clear case of conflict between tradition and ethics.

577 No moral code can achieve an absolute character in all its precepts.
183 Prohibitions and commands frequently relate only to certain categories of
673 persons and situations. Even the Christian Western ethic, which realizes to

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

265 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

462 Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ 776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

769 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, 775 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

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1. This expression "big hill" is readily understood by the natives, because it serves to designate the spot where a reigning monarch drew his last breath.

sacred groves (2) reserved for royal tombs by custom or tradition.

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2. We owe the reader an explanation of the expression "sacred grove," which will recur frequently. The word "sacred" is taken here in a broad and technical sense to mean that these groves are set aside and closed to laymen, who may not enter them. They are guarded by official watchmen, who see to it that the grounds are properly respected.

The Banyamugogo, who become the temporary masters of the area, have a large hut built and enlist for its construction the services of neighboring people.

There the remains of the sovereign are sheltered and laid upon a grid in the middle of the hut, about 1.50 meters above ground. The members of the corporation keep a fire burning under the grid for several days in order to dry out the corpse and prevent it from putrefying.

The body, which lies on a bed of skins, is constantly moved so that the heat from the fire may reach all its parts. /518/

The keepers of the hut take turns without interruption, day and night, by the fire they must maintain. Meanwhile, no layman may come near the place under penalty of death.

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The undertakers keep up their work until, according to popular belief, the corpse gives birth to a leopard, which is at first

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only a small worm (1). Then a pit is dug in the same hut. The royal

1. Permit us to repeat once more that we are putting ourselves in the position of the natives. We are merely repeating their tales and beliefs.

remains are laid at the bottom of the tomb on a new bed of grass covered with precious skins: lion, leopard, and antelope hides.

The body is completely isolated from the ground, which must not soil it. The whole thing is covered with special mats (ibirago by' ibisunyu) made of lake reeds. Finally, the pit is filled up (2).

2. When a king named Yuhi ascends the throne, according to another popular belief, the undertakers have to perform another duty toward the deceased king in addition to what has already been said on the subject.

After having been smoked, the completely desiccated body (umwite) is carried to the sacred grove of Muhima, below Kigali. The pall bearers dig at the spot called Nyamvura ("the rain spot"), where there formerly existed an equally sacred spring, and lay the body in the hole for a moment.

This is called "giving the king a drink (guhira)."

Then the body is brought back to the royal cemetery. His

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The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [175] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit... and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

769 The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people [609] who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

769 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an 766 important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called 791 "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies.

769 The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their [775] hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

764 grave is dug so deep that the gravedigger's head is not visible when he is standing in it. Only those who have been killed are laid to rest in caves. In Bugoye people who have died at home of an illness or of old age are buried near the house. People who have died suddenly or have been killed are simply abandoned or thrown into the bushes. People who have died in an epidemic or of starvation are also abandoned.

The corpses left in swamps are devoured by animals. In contrast to this, care is taken that buried corpses are not dug up, and to prevent this, the grave is covered with banana stalks and thorns.

765 The deceased is mourned for four days. On the fourth day the members of his family remove their bracelets and shave their heads for four moons. If a wife dies, only the girls remove their jewelry; the men merely shave their heads. After four months the masunzu, the shaved patterns, are allowed to grow again.

In Bugoye and Nduga, it is said that a stick (kasongera) is broken above the hut of a woman who has become a widow. This probably symbolizes the absent phallus.

764 The abandonment of the corpse which is customary in Nduga is probably related to the Batutsi element. The Bahutu of Mulera bury their dead, like the Bantu of the neighboring Congo Basin. There is an inexplicable contrast between the neglect of the dead and the death cult. Could this neglect perhaps facilitate the transformation into an animal? The members of royal families [765] of Ruanda and Urundi are [232] said to turn into leopards after their death, just as the ruling family of Kiziba, like the Massai, turn into snakes.

766 643 According to Father Van der Burgt (1), the corpse of the king

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German.] (Boisle-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 204.

614 Nevertheless, the individual's freedom of action with regard
784 to his umuziru is limited. For this reason one is closer to the actual meaning of the word when one translates it as "prohibition."

I was told that the following were abaziru: mammals, the various parts of their bodies, birds, fish, grasshoppers, the milk of particular cows, and inanimate objects, such as an empty basket, for example, but not plants, with the exception of a blade of straw.

784 [241] The meaning of abaziru involves the vague idea that
775 after death everyone takes the form of an umuziru. For example,
614 they believe that the clansmen of the ruler of Kiziba turn into snakes, the family of the kings of Ruanda into leopards, and various Azande clans into all kinds of animals.

I had no opportunity to find out the derivation of abaziru, not even in cases where the transformation into animals after death was positively maintained. Thus, we can hardly link the various prohibitions with remnants of these ideas.

On the other hand, I learned about traditions which make
784 it seem likely that the prohibitions arose from experiences of
614 clan members or their protoplasts. Thus, in Kifumbiro I was told that one of the clans there (the Abazirambogo) does not eat buffalo meat because one of its ancestors was killed on a buffalo hunt many, many years ago.

The prohibition on wearing the skin of the inganda, antelope, shows how the taboos of a single clan spread to larger groups, even to a whole country. Inganda is an umuziru of the Basindi clan. Its members were not permitted to hunt the animal, eat its meat, or use its skin for clothing. Two wives of a king of Ruanda once quarreled over this beautiful skin, and one stabbed the other with a knife. Thereupon the wise king, in order to eliminate discord from the world once and for all, declared the animal to be an umuziru for the entire country. This has also been the case with dogs, monkeys, and birds.

The Banyaruanda, who generally like to dismiss a questioner with the phrase, "our fathers did it this way," cite traditions about the origin of their taboos, and this we can regard as an argument in favor of the view that the taboos developed along with clan organization.

643 656 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 372 687 778 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 643 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king. After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death. [775]

643 578 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 551 644 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 644 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

695 referred to simply as kushoko, "drinking." This fact indicates that the poison test was the oldest form. To give a person this test is called kushora which simply means "to give a drink." Thus they say: "Umututsi ashora inka ze (the Mututsi gives his cows a drink)," as well as "kushora ikihango (to drink poison)" and "kushora (literally, to drink a chicken)."

[286] Chapter 14

History and Chronology

173 Ruanda. I had great difficulty in obtaining data about the history of Ruanda. Oral tradition in the interlacustrine region is limited chiefly to the genealogy of the rulers. This basic skeleton is also generally supplemented by a few statements about the chief events of the corresponding epochs. My informants, however, knew little about the history of the dynasty, since most of them were Bahutu.

124 Musinga gave Captain W. Von Grawert, who introduced me to him, his royal promise that he would have reports made to me on the history of the country or even tell me about it himself. [287] The chicken oracle, however, said that the king would suffer harm if I were initiated in the history of the country. The next time I visited Musinga and tried to have certain contradictions in my notes on the Ruanda rulers cleared up by this authoritative source, I was kept dangling for two and a half hours and was unsuccessful. His Black Majesty was very pleasant, but during the whole time he kept practicing, in German, the meaningless sentence, "Little spear is pretty."

Musinga wanted to please me by demonstrating his zeal in learning the German language and in this way divert my attention from interviewing him.

173 It seems that in Ruanda as well as In Nkole one may not speak about deceased kings with the uninitiated, for the spirits, disturbed in their rest, might avenge themselves. However, people talk about olden times in the evening when the nobility gather with the king, pay court to him, and drink beer. They know

769 The bazimu, the spirits of the dead, are feared. They are not good. They are responsible for the misfortunes and torments that plague one. In Mulera, at any rate, this may be related to the well-known unfortunate position of old men.

Every father of a family offers sacrifices to his ancestors and his deceased relatives in the ndaro, the small grass huts near his compound and the place where the spirits dwell. Ndaro means "sleeping place," "resting place," and, according to Father Buisson, is derived from the verb kurara "to sleep." I should like to point out, however, the similarity between this word and ndako which in the Bangala and Ababua [Babua] dialects simply means "house." Sacrifices are also made in the sacred niche of every hut.

782 769 For sacrifices to the manes, a fire is built in front of the huts and around it sticks are placed in the ground, to which are fastened small bits of meat, lumps of umutsima, etc. Small vessels (imperezo) of beer are also set out. These offerings are taken from the meat and umutsima (stiff millet mush) which the sacrificer brought with him. The rest he eats himself.

[299] Offerings are also placed inside the huts. Frequently the more valuable offerings are only temporarily exposed. Later they are eaten by the family of the sacrificer. This is said to be the case when, in accordance with custom, the foreleg of a slain animal is offered for a deceased girl. This is not always true, however, for I repeatedly saw rotting forelegs of goats hanging in the ndaro. "To offer to the spirits" is called kutonora bazimu. To the spirits of one's parents the ribs and entrails of slain animals are usually offered.

[415]

775 823 Fig. 162. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13096. 8 centimeters ~~high.~~)

Underworld. Not all the spirits of the dead remain in the vicinity of their ndaro to be taken care of by their families and to lead a peaceful existence. Many spirits, after death, live in the volcanoes, and the activity of these fire mountains is connected with them.

According to the Balera, Ryangombe is said to live in Muhawura with the souls of those who were dedicated to him in life. They constitute his court and his retinue.

At the court of Ryangombe there are not infrequently angry disputes among his retinue. Then they usually throw stones, and

775 823 sometimes large quantities of these reach the outside world. I repeatedly heard this explanation of volcanic activity. It sometimes happens, however, that Ryangombe drives spirits into the outer world as a punishment. Then they torment the living, who must make sacrifices so that Ryangombe will take the spirits back and thus free the living from molestation by these homeless.

[103] People from the region of Bobandana, whom I met on the way to Rutshuru, called Mount Nyiragongo Kilima ya Mungu, "Mountain of the Gods."

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) also says that Ryangombe allegedly

1. Parisch, F.R.Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-03]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

lived in Muhawura with his court which consists of the souls of the babandwa dedicated to him. Only the souls of the nsigo, that is, the profane and those initiated into other cults, go to Nyiragongo after death. However, he concedes that, according to other accounts, Ryangombe lives in Nyiragongo.

The volcanoes play a very important role in the supernatural world of Ruanda. Captain Von Beringe (2) mentions that the birunga

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, pp. 36, 37.

(plural of kirunga, "volcano") are named after the spirits which are said to live in them, such as Sabinio, Karisimbi, Mikeno, Nyamlagira, and Gonga. The last is the oldest among them. Formerly Nyamlagira, who was later exiled, was said to have lived with him. The later event is perhaps an allusion to the recent origin of the youngest volcano in this group.

[532] [300] Memorial Trees. There are no pictorial representations of the dead in Ruanda. I saw no sculpture or wood carvings that referred to them.

775 778 824 211 There are trees, however, that are associated with remembrance of the dead. These trees were planted either by them or in connection with them, usually in the settlements. Thus, at the birth of a child a fig tree is planted, which is later associated with the person, even after his death. It seems that in these trees, as on the hedges of abandoned settlements, spirits of the dead abide.

778 824 211 Trees are also planted in memory of historical events. Thus, Dr. Kandt (1) says: "At the end of the bridge (cliff bridge of the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 365.

Ruzizi) there is still standing a young fig tree, an immana, a soul tree, which was planted by Luabugiri, the former king of Ruanda, when he set out to fight against Bunjabungu which is on the right bank. There is a steep, almost perpendicular path of a few hundred meters, down which he and his warriors set out to their destruction. On the tree hang straw and metal rings, the offerings of pious wanderers, and on the bridge people point out the footprint of the king's favorite dog in the cliff and tell a legend similar to the one about the Rosstrappe [Tr., a rock in the Harz Mountains]."

With reference to another type of memorial tree which is only indirectly connected with historical personages, Dr. Kandt (2)

2. Ibid., p. 504.

says: "They (trees on the eastern point of the lake) are sacred because King Luabugiri camped on this spot when he set out on his campaign against Bunjabungu (1894), from which he returned to Ruanda a dying man.... The boat that carried the ruler into the war is still lying under the trees, half buried in the ground. It was hollowed out from a giant tree of the primeval forest, but now it is split down the middle, partly rotted, and disintegrating more and more each year. As I remember, it is about 18 meters long and one and a quarter meters wide."

The memorial trees looming up on the heights are very characteristic of the Ruanda landscape. They are conspicuous because they form such a contrast to the bare hilltops. Their

787 There is a story of a similar prophecy for Ruasa. Formerly
173 the hill on which the mission is now located had a quite unintelligible name, busakaza itaka, allegedly, "land where earth is used to cover." About 15 years ago a man prophesied that "red men" would come and that their house would be covered with earth. When the missionaries came and covered their buildings with bricks, the words made sense, and the prophecy was fulfilled. There is a similar story about Bugoye.

I could not understand the Banyaruanda views about dreams.
787 What one sees in a dream is a matter pertaining to the past
775 or the future if it is contrary to the present. If one has seen deceased persons in a dream, it is said that the spirits of the dead came visiting. Such a dream is usually followed by a sacrifice, for it is assumed that the spirits are suffering and that they appear in order to beg for help. If a person disregards this he might suffer evil consequences, for the neglected spirits would avenge themselves.

787 If a youth sees his bride in a dream, he does not marry her. The dream warns him against a marriage in which the partners would not get along.

Father F. Dufays once dreamed that one of his black friends burst because he drank too much beer. When he told this to the man in question on the next morning, [324] the man was frightened and began to cry. When he was asked the reason for his tears, he said that whatever one sees in a dream comes to pass.

755 The Practice of Medicine. A special form of medical treatment, cure through initiation into a secret society, has already been described. This is not all there is to medical practice, however, and it is not always employed. Not all sorcerers, soothsayers, and medicine men belong to the secret societies of babandwa. The act of appeasing the spirits with eleusine (buro) seems to be carried out by ordinary soothsayers (bapfumu) in order to free patients from afflictions caused by troublesome spirits.

In Kissaka where I was told a great deal about the "appeasement of spirits" with eleusine, the procedure is somewhat as follows.

The mupfumu takes a small calabash known as ntendere and fills it with eleusine. He adds nzuzi seeds, kaolin powder, and a bone from the forefoot of a cow. The soothsayer rubs the palm of

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[32] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[33] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[32] Maquet, 1958, pp. 526-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[33] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [289] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and 778 reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce [782] of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from 364 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 356 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage 342 next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding [514] the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

231 the last herds of the long-horned cattle in the Urundi border villages west of the Kisuma River; east of this, in lower northern Uha, the bush forest and tsetse fly begin.

In Urundi and Ruanda there are none of the smaller, short-horned zebu or humped cattle that are found in the rest of East Africa. Bahima cattle are so well adjusted to the climate and the mode of life of the highlands of the interlacustrine region that they thrive only in this region. As soon as the animals are taken to the lower areas, that is, to Unjamwesi, Lake Victoria, or to the coastal regions, they languish and soon die, even if they are not stung by the tsetse fly. In this respect they are quite like the Batussi themselves with whom they live in a kind of symbiosis.

As a former nation of shepherds, the Batussi place a high value on their cattle which is quite foreign to the Bantu. It far exceeds the estimate of their capital value. Cattle are not regarded as producers of meat, as an "article of consumption," but as original capital from which only the dividends (milk, [231] butter, blood tapped from the living animal, hair) may be used, while the capital itself (individual heads of cattle) may only be exchanged for other valuable capital assets, for example, women. More than that, cattle have a high sentimental value for the [182] Mutussi. His entire thoughts and aspirations revolve around the cattle; they are for him the mainstay of his social order, yes, even the object of his devotion which in many cases even transcends into the religious sphere. Accordingly, they are objects of a cult which is full of symbols and mystical relationships. [776] The highest deity, Imana, is first of all protector of the cattle. In East Africa we find a similar attitude among the Hamito-Nilotic nation of herdsmen, the Massai. In whatever concerns cattle, a woman has no say at all. The entire breeding and [462] care of the cattle, even milking, is the job of the man. It is true that in this sphere too the Bahutu have to do all the heavy work, cleaning the animals, tending the cattle in the pasture, milking the cows, etc., but the Mutussi does the more delicate work: he chooses the animals for breeding; he is the veterinarian; he decides what animals are to be killed or sacrificed; and he does this job with all the affection of the sportsman for his animal.

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

231 It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
776 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

241 beginning of the cultivation of the fields as soon as the rainy
782 season has started. This is done after he and his sorcerers (abafumu) have practiced a number of ceremonies and have
[776] offered sacrifices to the principal god, Imana, the fertility god. The order of the head chief is passed on by the subchief to the lower batwale who again pass it on to the Bahutu. The Bahutu also offer small gifts to the god. When they begin to till the field, a sorcerer (umufumu) dances in front of them on the first day, shouting and gesticulating, to banish the evil spirits and to bless the seed.

241 According to Father Gassldinger the consecration of the
782 fields takes a somewhat different form in central Urundi
796 (Mujaga). At the beginning of the rainy season, after the high grass has been cut down and dug into the topsoil with hoes, work is started with a ceremony that is supposed to bring the blessing of Kiranga. [58] The men, painted yellow and red, line up with their hoes on the field which is to be tilled. Kiranga with two escorts (ivisjego) sits on the side of the field. A girl who is painted and richly adorned stands in front of the men in the center of the field. She now begins to jump, dance, and sing while cutting the high grass with her sickle. Still singing, she asks Kiranga for a successful sowing and curses the sorcerers and witches who might want to harm the field. The men promise her ample gifts of beer for the summer. The men walk slowly behind her turning the soil over with their hoes which they strike rhythmically into the ground. Depending on the type of seed, Kiranga is invoked by a particular name: Njamurimi when sorghum is sown, Njabaschi for peanuts, Rumambo for corn, etc. (No. 45, p. 316).

782 The heir presumptive to the throne of the king is believed
241 to hold in his clenched fist at birth a grain of seed of each of the
[644] crops of Urundi. If the corn or sorghum in a field has been dashed to the ground by hail or a cloudburst, the Muhutu who cultivated the plot runs around the field with a cattle bell, and by its noisy clanging he reminds the god to whom he has made sacrifices of his duty to protect the field from evil spirits. If this clanging of the bell is done properly, the crops lying on the ground will raise themselves to an upright position.

846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and
853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feel-
845 ings. Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand, Gassldinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No. 45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which
845 conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the
782 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in. Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By vener-
[776] ating this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19,
845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces
535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

775 The spirits of the dead are, without exception, more or less evil and hostile to the living even if they were relatively good-natured when they were still alive. The dead person was forced to leave behind everything that he loved and cherished in his life, and for this reason he is filled with envy for those who survive and possess all these things. These jealous spirits, hostile to men and causing sickness, ruined crops, cattle epidemics, and other misfortunes, are the dreaded abasimu or imisimu (sing., umusimu); to repel, confine, appease them, or to win their favor forms the largest part of the thoughts and acts which occupy a Barundi's mind in his daily life. We find these primitive evil spirits among all the Bahima under the same name, abasimu or imisimu, even in the southern area of settlement, in Ufipa (No. 047, pp. 167-168). The envy and
775 hostility of the abasimu are soothed and assuaged by placing
782 valuable objects belonging to the deceased on his grave. Also, as often as possible morsels of food and parts of the objects formerly belonging to the deceased and now in use are offered as a sacrifice (see p.136). The incorporeal spirit eats or uses only the incorporeal part of these sacrifices, i.e., the "essence" of the proffered beer, meat, millet gruel, jugs, knives, arrows, hoes, etc. The sacrificial offerings are nothing but a premium to obtain greater security against the hostility of the abasimu. By no means can they be regarded as pious offerings to the revered and beloved ancestors. The Murundi only offers sacrifices to the manes because he is afraid of them. Yet a more effective method than making sacrifices is joining a
775 religious secret society, the religious fraternity of the ababandwa
794 of which we shall speak in greater detail below (p. 124). These ababandwa assume a privileged position in the realm of the spirits after their death. If their behavior within the society has been found correct, they come to Riangombe where, as imandwa, they form a kind of bodyguard of the god. They are, so to speak, the saints of the Barundi heaven.

776 Above the innumerable nameless abasimu and above the imandwa there is a stratum of higher spirits who are given names.

776 The relation between these two groups is similar to that of the ruling caste of the Batussi to the Bahutu (No. 19, p. 213). They are all personified beings whom we may call simply gods. A whole series of them bears the same names as former historical personalities among the Barundi or neighboring peoples. Everything that is said about them proves that these gods were originally heroes, chiefs, and kings of the people. As a result of their apparently superhuman characteristics and acts, they were worshipped as heroes and have gradually been elevated to the rank of gods. The hero has not been formed after the image of god, but the god after the image of the hero (No. 43, p. 280). Nor are these gods personifications of great natural phenomena, as, for example, the sun, moon, clouds, or thunder. The Murundi regards these phenomena simply as the residence and the expressions of the abasimu who inhabit them but not the personification of individual gods (No. 43, p. 358 ff.).

776 The name-bearing hero-gods of the Barundi who have been
177 [120] vested with the characteristics of superhuman personality and immortality are -- judging by the attributes and histories ascribed to them -- partly popular gods of the indigenous Bantu and Batwa and partly an import of the Hamitic conquerors, partly also a mixture of both these elements. Van der Burgt does not believe that the deified heroes were originally Hamitic princes but emphasizes (reported by letter) that "most of the names of the gods belong to Bantu religion and are Bantu words." He maintains that in addition to the language the Batussi also acquired the gods of the Bahutu, but that the Batwa have some gods of their own, for example, Indagarra. However, among the 30 names of Barundi gods listed by van der Burgt (No. 19, p. 214), the following appear to me to be of Hamitic origin, or at least not genuine Bantu gods: Riangombe, Umugassa, Wamara, Kagoro, Ruwambo, Ruhanga, Rugba. Of these, Riangombe (Ljangombe, Djangombi) is also worshipped as a god in the Bahima states of Ruanda, Kisiba, Mpororó, Ankole, and others. He is thought to have been a Ruanda-Mutussi, the pupil of the first Ruhinda, and it is said that he distinguished himself by his great magic power (see also p. 188 [not translated]). Umugassa

776 or Mugascha is worshipped as a god of streams and of rain in
Uganda ("Mukessa," see Anthropos III, p. 214), in Ankole,
177 Kisiba, Karagwe (Lake Mugascha), Kissaka, and Ussuwi. According to the tradition of the Basiba, he was a former king of the Sese Islands in the northern part of Lake Victoria (No. 31, p. 128; No. 27, p. 110; No. 34, pp. 518-519). Wamara is worshipped in Ankole and in Kisiba as the spirit of the dead souls. According to Banjankole tradition, he was a king of the Batschwesi in Baera (Uganda) who were a Hamitic people different from the Bahima, and he conquered Ankole. According to Rehse, he was "formerly a great ruler to whom the nations from Nyanza to the Congo State owed allegiance" (No. 31, pp. 126-127; No. 34, p. 520). Kagoro is regarded in Kisiba as a grandchild of Wamara (No. 31, p. 133). Rugaba or Lugaba, who is worshipped as the creator of man and cattle in Kisiba and in Ankole (No. 27, p. 108), was, according to van der Burgt, "the oldest king of the Wahinda" (No. 19, p. 219). Rehse writes of the gods of the Basiba that "the description of this world of spirits would at the same time represent the oldest history of Kisiba as well as that of all the central African countries." This also applies to the hero-gods of the Barundi. It would be a rewarding task to study these religious sources, especially for missionaries!

776 The Basiba worship a supreme god named Rugaba as the creator of the world and the highest giver of grace, but they never offer sacrifices to him (No. 31, p. 125). In the same manner the Barundi and Banjaruanda (No. 28, pp. 1-13) worship Imana. He is never offered sacrifices or prayers, as an unapproachable supreme being. People prefer to turn to gods who are closer to human beings, who have once been human beings themselves, like Riangombe, Kiranga, Wamara, and others. Although he is conceived of as the personified creator and ruler of the world, Imana is the only one in the abode of the gods of the Barundi whose name is sometimes used as a
776 general term for the world of the spirits. Imana is simply "the
778 divine," "the godhead." Imana is also the term for all that is sacred to the Murundi: the sacred trees, the sacred steer, the

776 king, the amulets, the oracle animals, the sacred spear, etc.
[778] (No. 19, p. 214). The same applies to Ruanda (No. 44, pp. 284; No. 39, pp. 102, 109). Imana is given a number of different names or is identified with other gods, depending on his different characteristics and functions. This is also true in
[551] Ruanda. Children are often given names which contain the word Imana: [121] Kaimana, little Imana; Mbonimana, gift of Imana; Ndorimana, appearance of Imana; Keschimana, ornament of Imana (No. 23, 1913, p. 308). Both men and
[842] women, if they wish to have offspring, wear an impusu y'Imana, a garment of Imana, made of reddish barkcloth with black circles painted on it. Imana is the supreme god of all manes, of all ancestral spirits, and thereby has the character of an old national god.

Although Imana as the sole creator of the world ranks high above the other gods, one nevertheless cannot describe this as a monotheistic concept of the Barundi, as is done by some missionaries (No. 44, p. 283). Nor is it correct to attempt to see a kind of "Trinity" in the fact that, besides Imana, the Barundi have two supreme gods, Rikiranga and Riangombe, whom they often identify or confuse with Imana (No. 19, p. 214). This is to put Christian interpretations on the matter, and these are foreign to the thinking of the Barundi.

It appears that Kiranga or Rikiranga ranks closest to Imana. If Imana is described as the supreme head of the high ancestral spirits, Kiranga is the ruler of all the lesser demons and of all things material. For this reason von der Burgt describes him as a kind of "logos payen" (No. 19, p. 216). He is the god to whom people appeal first for assistance in all worldly matters. It is Kiranga to whom the priestly cult of the crowds is devoted, to him the ceremony of the "sacred spear" is dedicated (see p. 134), and the high priest calls himself Kiranga for he is "possessed" by him, he is his medium (p. 123). To all appearances he is a deity of the old Bantu population and has remained
776 quite free of Batussi influence. The missionaries refer to
778 Kiranga as the "devil" (No. 23, 1904, p. 123). It is said that
793 near Mujaga in central Urundi Kiranga possesses two large herds

776 of cattle led by two sacred steers. He is thought to have a sacred
778 mountain administered by a priestess who wields great influence
793 and is even immune to the power of the king, although the latter keeps her under constant guard so as to insure that she fulfills her cult duties. If she neglects her duties, she and her closest relatives are executed upon the order of the king. Her office, it is said, begins and ends with the reign of the king, for after the king's death she has to take poison.

776 Father Gassldinger describes Kiranga as the "great
782 destroyer," the Lucifer of the Barundi. People appeal to him first in all their afflictions, misery, and fear, and it is to him that most sacrificial huts (akararo) are dedicated. Inside these huts there is, as a rule, a big three-legged earthen pot with three spouts into which the sacrifice is deposited. Besides beer, grain stalks constitute the main sacrificial offerings made in these huts. Horns of cattle are also burned in them as sacrifices (No. 45, 1913, p. 359 ff.).

776 It is characteristic of the confused conception which the Barundi have of the different personalities of their gods and spirits that they often mix up the terms and attribute the names of several gods to a single one of them. For example, one may hear them say: "Riangombe is powerful, he is Kiranga; Kagoro is also Kiranga, he is Sengoga." Kiranga is also called Rugaba, Ruhanga, Inganje, Njabaski, Indagarra, or Rukisa, or these names are used as epithets of Imana, and the word Imana itself is used as a plural concept (No. 45, 1913, p. 363). Among the names listed there are several which we already know, as shown above (p.120), from other Bahima states as the names of specific gods and spirits. In Urundi their images seem to have faded [122] so much that they are confused with one another, and the concepts people had of them seem to have been reduced to mere attributes or epithets of Imana who in any case has already become a collective term for "sacred" or "divine" rather than a personified god.

Riangombe is third among the gods. He is the supreme head of all good spirits (imandwa) whom Imana entrusted with the task of guiding human beings and protecting them against evil

776 spirits (abasimu) (No. 44, p. 286). In Ruanda the religious society Kubandwa is dedicated to him (see p. 124), and after death he is the judge of the just and the unjust. For this reason he plays a more important role than any other god in the ethical and emotional life of the Barundi, and the same is true in Ruanda. This is also demonstrated by the fact that Riangombe (or Imana) is the protector of what to the Murundi and the Munjaruanda are their most treasured possessions: their cattle (see p. 46).

776 According to Ruanda tradition, Riangombe during his human existence was a Muhima of the privileged kin group, the
773 Bega, the highest nobility next to the royal family of the
772 Banjeginja. His father, Babinga, was the religious head of Ruanda, and Riangombe became his successor as the chief of the ababandwa, the religious fraternity. At the same time the political king of Ruanda was Lugansu who at first made war on him but then recognized and honored him (No. 44, p. 281). Imana was very favorably disposed toward the high priest Riangombe during his lifetime. When the latter died, Imana led him to the high volcano Muhawura where Riangombe now grazed his herd and planted his tobacco (the large-leafed Senecio). The plantations, however, were destroyed by the evil spirit Niragongo who resides on the mountain of the same name [Nyiragonga]. Then Riangombe, backed by Imana, sallied out against Niragongo, destroyed his dwelling, and set fire to the mountain (the volcano Nyiragongo). Now Riangombe alternately lives undisturbed on Muhawura and Karisimbi [Mountain] where he grazes his large, sacred, milch cattle herds and where he is served by the imandwa, the spirits of the deceased members of the religious society of the ababandwa. These alone enter his "Paradise," while the souls of unblessed, profane persons (abansigo) are relegated as demons (abasimu) to Namlagira and Nyiragongo where in the "Hell" of the volcanos they lead a shadowy existence as slaves. This is the Ruanda tradition as reported by Father Arnoux (No. 44). The essential elements of this tradition have also been preserved among the Barundi. Indeed, one still finds here even the account that after his death Riangombe was buried on the

776 mountain "Vurunga wa niangombe" in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 216),
773 although the Virunga volcanos of northern Ruanda are completely
772 unknown to the Barundi. The concept of Paradise and Hell (Karisimbe and Nyiragongo) is probably of local origin in Ruanda; in Urundi nothing of this sort is known (van der Burgt, written communication).

776 Both in Urundi and Kisiba, Riangombe is mainly regarded as the protector of cattle. In Kisiba he is only worshipped by the Bahima, and his priest is always a Muhima. However, he does not enjoy special status in Ankole (No. 34, p. 520). Further, since in Ruanda and Urundi he (next to Kiranga) is the focus of worship for the religious fraternities (ababandwa) and since in Urundi he is even revered by the Batwa as their chief deity (No. 19, p. 216), one may conclude that this herdsman's god, who evidently came into the country with the Bahima, has gradually been adopted by the Negroes and has become established in the old Negro mythology of the Bahutu and Batwa.

[123] Father Loupias, however, is of a different opinion. He assumes that Riangombe was originally a deity of the Bahutu or perhaps of the Batwa, and he states that in Ruanda neither the king nor the "great" Batussi are members of the order of the imandwa which is dedicated to Riangombe (No. 28, p. 6). The latter statement, however, is true also for Urundi, but it might be interpreted as aristocratic reserve on the part of the Batussi nobles against close contact with the Bahutu or with the Batwa.

Among the other Barundi deities which have not been mentioned above, the following are most probably the old indigenous gods of the agricultural Bahutu and the Batwa: Indagarra is the god of procreative power, a "Priapus," who is worshipped especially by the Batwa; Njamurimi is regarded as the protector of the fields; Njankuru is the national god of the Basige in northwest Urundi; Ingansje appears to be a god of time, "Chronos"; Wandamutoni is the wife of Imana; Ikisjego is the son of Imana; Tusara is the god of the spirits of domestic service, "kobold"; Kwiguka is the god of lewdness; and there are many others (No. 19, pp. 216-220).

791 as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the
661 entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by
628 law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to
793 officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine
796 services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the
796 important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

778 Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred
796 in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and
[411] the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear" guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the
[776] point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but
796 one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is
778 regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned, the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may
[784] touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
532 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or
776 as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
●776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with
[781] certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman
[843] may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
[825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

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564 Three socio-'racial' castes are to be
563 distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of
162 the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa, hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

773 The world in which men are placed and which they know through their senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to
● 776 produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

772 The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material
[823] world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat; its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

821 In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms) stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

773 In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been
[823] some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, crea-
[825] tures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

772 This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old (people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

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questions are asked, it appears that this conception of the life of the universe has not been the subject of speculation and is not of great importance to the Banyarwanda. 772

Without *Imana* the world would not continue to exist and his action is necessary to maintain life. *Imana's* action, however, is not manifested in particular interventions; it is conceived rather as an underlying force which sustains the whole universe but does not interfere in the development of the life of nature. Seeds are put into the ground and after some time plants come up, the banana-trees produce their yields, the cows breed. All this is the normal course of things and we may expect the recurrence of these events at the proper times. This universal order, indeed, is not independent of *Imana*. He made plants grow and animals multiply, but he does not have to act to give fertility in each case. The scholastic distinction between prime cause and secondary causes can very well be applied to Ruanda conceptions. *Imana* acts as the prime cause of the universe and therefore any event may be imputed to him. On the other hand, nature itself includes the secondary causes which account for the regular unfolding of its course. 776 772

But this natural order is not unalterable. *Imana* remains master of the rules he has established. There are numerous stories of miracles worked by *Imana* (a stick becomes a cow, teeth are granted to a girl who had none, &c.). Other beings besides *Imana* may act on nature: the spirits of the dead and even some men, the sorcerers. They may prevent somebody's beans from growing, they may have a man or a cow struck down by lightning. In particular, rain, so important in this country where rainfall is very irregular, has been regarded as under man's control. There were rain-makers (*bavubyi*) who had the dangerous responsibility of regulating rainfall. [821 791]

Natural forces—rain, wind, hail, storms—are not considered as persons having desires and intentions that could be influenced by prayers or offerings. It seems that only thunder is personalized, and is regarded as a king (*mwami*). When a person has been struck by lightning, it is said that the Thunder-King has honoured his subjects with a visit and has taken one of them with him. Lightning receives the same salute as the king of Ruanda. 821 776

Banyarwanda implicitly distinguish between the regular course of nature and more or less unexpected events. Towards the former they assume a rational attitude. They do not look to the invisible world to account for the alternation of the phases of the moon, the growth of plants, the breeding of cattle. These phenomena are explicable on the level of secondary causes. Neither *Imana* nor the occult powers interfere in the normal course of material nature. It would be misleading to conceive of the Ruanda people as 'primitives' living in an irrational world where every phenomenon is an enchantment demanding explanation in terms of an intervention of the invisible world. They look at the world in its regular course in the same way as does a product of Western culture. 772

Of course, a Munyarwanda could not explain the interplay and the exact action of secondary causes as a Western scientist would do. But neither

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Man and the Non-material World

Imana, the Creator

Imana, the creator, is a person. He is conceived as an intelligence, a will, an emotivity. He is extremely powerful: 'the plant protected by *Imana* is never hurt by wind', '*Imana* has very long arms', '*Imana* goes above any shield'. He is non-material. His action influences the whole world; but Ruanda is his home where he comes to spend the night. He is always invoked as 'God of Ruanda' (*Imana y'i Ruanda*). 776

Imana is essentially good: 'your enemy is digging a pitfall for you, *Imana* prepares your exit', '*Imana* gives, he does not sell'. This is why he takes care of men and why there is no cult in his honour. He is so good, I have been told, that he does not require any offering.

There is a special creative act of *Imana* at the beginning of each person's life. Impregnation in itself would not be sufficient to produce a new human being. This is why the young wife, at evening, leaves a few drops of water in a jar. *Imana*, as a potter, needs some water to shape the clay into a child in her womb. Then, after birth, *Imana* decides what life is to be for that individual: happy or unhappy. If, later on, a man is miserable, poverty-stricken, in bad health, it is said that he was created by *Ruremakwaci*. This way of speaking has led some observers to understand that besides *Imana*, there was another creator, perhaps subordinate, perhaps an evil spirit. As a matter of fact, *Ruremakwaci* is the name given to *Imana* when he does not create very successfully, when 'he is tired', or, for some inscrutable reason, decides that a certain destiny will be unhappy. This is consistent with the Ruanda linguistic habit of assigning different names to one cause according to its different effects. 776 842 776 777 [196]

Imana's influence is thought to be always beneficial for human beings. It happens very often that obstacles are placed in the way of his action by malevolent agencies of the invisible world, but from him only good things come. This is not completely consistent with the belief in an unfortunate predestination by *Imana*. It should be noted, first, that the theory of predestination has not a very deep impact on the attitude of Banyarwanda. A person who thinks himself unhappy, and might thus suspect that he has been predestined to a miserable life, does not seem to be submerged by a feeling of doom. Unless he is brought to despair by a situation from which there is no escape, he will go on living and trying to improve his condition. Secondly, this inconsistency will be better understood if we consider the attitude of Banyarwanda towards the king (the *Mwami*) in similar circumstances. The *Mwami*, the supreme authority is good, yet he may be harmful and cruel to some of his subjects. As his power is absolute, as he is magically identified with Ruanda itself, he may never be criticized. Thus the victims of some arbitrary royal decision, and their friends, go on saying that the king is good but that his favourite counsellor is very bad and is responsible for what they suffer. As might be expected, in Ruanda God is conceived [152] [443]

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776 according to the image of the *Mwami*, and thus when some misfortune
777 occurs, the blame is put on another name of God or on the ghosts or sorcerers.

The beneficent action of *Imana* is general and remote. *Imana* is the source of all gifts, but he does not interfere very much in individual lives unless he is invoked. He is not the vigilant deity whom no single detail of the lives of his creatures can escape and who, when he acts, takes into account all the antecedents of the situation. There is a story of a man who borrowed beans from different people. When repayment of the loans was demanded, he was always able by his wits to avoid fulfilling his obligations. One creditor—Death—insists on being paid and pursues him. The debtor, when fleeing, calls upon *Imana* who saves him.

Imana—as is illustrated by this tale—is not the guardian of ethics and social order. He is not offended when somebody is robbed, but only if the offence is directed against himself, as when somebody disobeys a particular order of his or abuses his name. Then he punishes the offender by sending him misfortunes during his earthly life.

The Spirits of the Dead

775 The spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), with whom *Imana* has no closer relationships than he has with living people, constitute the second category of non-material beings. They continue the individuality of living persons and have the same names. It is usual to say: 'when he will be a *muzimu*. . . .' Though non-material, they are localized by their activity, in contrast to *Imana* who, having a much wider range of action, cannot be so precisely localized. They live in the lower world whose ruler is *Nyamuzinda* ('the one with whom one is forgotten'). Banyarwanda have not elaborated a very detailed picture of post-mortem existence. Although, according to some informants, the deceased kings of Ruanda constitute a kind of governing body in the underworld, there are no social distinctions. Life is neither pleasant nor unhappy. The *bazimu* do not drink, eat, or mate but their existence in other respects is similar to that in the world of the living. The *bazimu* sometimes come back to this world, returning to the places where they used to live. An ancestor and some other spirits may stay permanently in the hut where their descendants live or in the small huts made for them in the enclosure around the dwelling.

775 Whatever their temper when they were in this world, the *bazimu* are bad.
769 Direct ancestors in both lines (although the system of descent is patrilineal) are believed to protect their living descendants, if they showed them proper filial behaviour when they were in this world, if they observe prohibitions and avoidances and if they do not forget to make offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to one's patrilineage (*mulyango*) are always harmful. The *bazimu* of other families are less detrimental except where there are feuds between the families. Ghosts are thus essentially malevolent towards the living. At best they are not actively injurious.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzumu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

who steal cattle, or set fire to huts, or commit adultery are punished by the political or family authorities. Social sanctions are not only physically enforced penalties, such as corporal punishment and compensations, but also the unorganized reactions of the people who know the delinquent: kin, neighbours, clients, and lord. For the Batutsi, for whom reputation stands high in the scale of values, this is extremely important. According to our informants, the fear of being considered a man without loyalty or without dignity, the dread of being despised by one's family, prevent many breaches of rules. To use Kluckhohn's terminology, we may say that Ruanda's is a shame-culture. But it is also a guilt-culture. When a Munyarwanda has transgressed some rule so secretly that there is not the slightest chance of his being found out and incurring punishment and shame, he nevertheless feels guilty and knows, our informants told us, that his action is bad. When a child has disobeyed his father without the latter's knowledge, he thinks not only of the unpleasant consequences that the discovery of his misbehaviour might produce but also (and some informants say 'mainly') of the wickedness of the act itself. The Ruanda word for conscience, *kamera*, means something that is internally felt. It is situated in the heart.

That the Banyarwanda have a 'conscience' will not be rated as a great discovery by some. But since some recent studies, such as Kluckhohn's on the Navaho, have stressed the fact that, in some cultures, submission to rules seems to be realized almost entirely through a rational concern to avoid punishment or shame, it does not seem superfluous to consider how far observance of rules is, or is not, linked to ethical principles and feelings of guilt.

Let us now attempt to indicate more precisely how moral wrong is conceived in the Ruanda culture. As has been already mentioned, *Imana* is not the guardian of the moral order. Sometimes he seems to be regarded as its author in the sense that he might have decided that men should not steal; but it is clear that when a man steals another man's cows, *Imana* is not personally offended. Those who are offended are those who have been wronged by the action, or those who had issued an order which has been disobeyed. When *Imana* has not been directly injured (as by blasphemies), or when the injury done to another has not been specifically forbidden by him, he is not thought to be offended. The victim could, however, ask *Imana* to punish the wrongdoer and if he then became ill, it would be said that *Imana* had punished him.

The other agencies of the supernatural world have even slighter relations with ethical values. The *bazimu* are naturally malevolent and punish only those actions which they take to be directed against themselves. A way to honour the spirit of somebody who had been a thief during his life was to simulate a robbery. *Ryangombe* and his fellows were not models of morality during their earthly existence and they did not care about the ethics of their followers. Nor was there any punishment after death. For those who believe that there are two kinds of life after death—happy or unhappy—the

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954FO42 Rundi FO42

qualification for the happy one is not to live a blameless life on earth, but to undergo initiation into the *Ryangombe* cult.

Thus the ethics of the Banyarwanda are not integrated on a religious basis such as the will of God. What is the principle of integration, or rather, we should first ask, are their ethical conceptions integrated? On the surface they consist, like any moral code, of a multiplicity of prohibitions, orders, and exhortations. Have they achieved a synthesis of these separate elements by reducing the multiplicity to one or a few principles? Or, what amounts to the same thing, could they give a definition of good and evil?

In Ruanda a great number of particular rules are subsumed under general principles such as: do not do what is harmful to people of your group or of your country; do what people related to you would like; submit to your superiors. Principles such as these are already on a higher level of abstraction than the particular rules. When informants are asked to account for a given rule or principle they give as the final justification: 'It has always been done that way in Ruanda.' We may perhaps express the Ruanda definition of good and evil in these terms: That is good (or evil) which tradition has defined as good (or evil).

Tradition is indeed a powerful force in cultures which, as in Ruanda, have been isolated for centuries from world currents. Each generation is more conscious of the importance of what it has received from the preceding one than is possible when much of what constitutes its way of life comes not from its ancestors but from some other social tradition. Moreover, their relations with their neighbours whom they frequently subjugated have persuaded Banyarwanda of the excellence of the ways of life transmitted by their forefathers. In such a situation the traditional character of a rule appears to be sufficient justification. If the ancestors, who were so wise, behaved in that way it would be preposterous to question it.

But it would be misleading to picture the Banyarwanda as following blindly the moral rules framed in a remote past without having any idea of their purpose. Some old men have a clear understanding of the social significance of certain rules. They explained, for example, that the duality of the rules concerning adultery committed by the husband or by the wife was accounted for by the importance of the wife's function in procreation. She has thus a greater responsibility than the husband for maintaining the integrity of the family.

Does this kind of thinking extend so far as independence of tradition? Some informants told us that, apart from the authority of custom, some actions were thought of as dishonourable in themselves. But these informants were Christians and, apparently, very much influenced by their religion. Moreover, they could not quote a clear case of conflict between tradition and ethics.

No moral code can achieve an absolute character in all its precepts. Prohibitions and commands frequently relate only to certain categories of persons and situations. Even the Christian Western ethic, which realizes to

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

285 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care 462 of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ 776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much pre-occupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

769 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, 775 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

644

ibgami, "at the king's."
In speaking of the ancient
royal residences, they use
the noun umurwa, plural
imirwa, or else ikigabiro,
plural ibigabiro. As for the
term umuhango (plural
imihango), it signifies "mores,
customs, traditions," hence
the name Abanyamihango given
to the "keepers of the customs."

[642] We remind the reader that the native government is an absolute and hereditary monarchy.

643 The sovereign is master of the land and all it contains; he deals with the life and goods of his subjects as he pleases. Until recently his power knew no bounds of any sort and was wholly dependent upon [776] his whims or good will. Imana (God) was no more powerful than he. [687] Any attempt to draw a comparison between the two was formerly regarded as a crime of high treason. God and the King could, at best, be one and the same person.

641 The subjects, therefore, tended to be regarded as things from which to draw as much pleasure and well-being as possible.

Their own worth and usefulness were assessed and measured only with reference to the king. Let us add that the welfare of the kingdom, although it was not disregarded, could only come second in the thoughts of the king. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, 644 the dignitaries of the realm to whom the king assigned the government of the provinces were compelled to spend most of their time at court. The Hamitic princes were very eager to keep the nobility close to them. They were always on the alert and daily surveyed the lords and courtiers who surrounded them (2). The latter belong /349/ almost

2. From Saint Simon we learn
that the situation was the same
under Louis XIV. "It is a demerit

794
173

lost)... (p. 203).

"In the Bunyoro the Bachwezi cult was superimposed on the local religion whose primary objects of worship were no other than the spirits of the ancestors and the Creator himself."

(Luhanga, Nyamuhanga, among the Bahima of Uganda), p. 218.

(Sub-army /sub L'armee?/ (society) of the mbandwa).

The same author speaks also of Muzana, the servant girl honored by the initiates.

Fr. Césard, in turn, lists the same figures, including Rungu (Nyabirungu among the Banyarwanda) in his study, "Comment les Bahaya interprètent leurs origines /How the Bahaya Interpret their Origins/," Anthropos, 1927.

Yes, if the legends are to be believed, but the details they provide are not sufficiently accurate to make us accept the reality of their existence. What are the bonds of kinship or subordination which unite Ryangombe and the figures who are grouped at his side in the worship and ceremonies held in his honor?

173 ●776 794 There does exist a sort of mythology that classifies some of those figures, but others were introduced into some of the provinces at a later time and are more or less unknown. Some of them nevertheless have historical associations, and their claimed patronage arouses certain conjectures. /361/ We wonder whether the Banyarwanda may have introduced into this sort of religious pantheon sorcerers, ancient petty kings, and political figures who played an important role in the land. The Blacks, being superstitious, timorous, eager to avert the wrath of ancestral spirits and anxious to gain their protection, have

173 rendered them a special worship. The Hamites were perhaps the first
776 to organize this religious group in the newly conquered land. The
794 Bahutu (or Bantu) were not excluded from it. Their admission was a political act on the part of the immigrants (1).

1. It is not impossible that the Hamites found the imwandwa society already organized when they arrived in Uganda, and later in Ruanda, and that they immediately adopted it and had themselves initiated into it to serve their own ends. As we can see, the problems relating to the origins of this religious society remain unsolved. Any hypothesis may be offered until the day when light will be brought on the subject.

By conviction and perhaps also in a spirit of diplomacy, in order to win their subjects over, the conquering Batutsi, killers of the magician-petty kings, did not hesitate to invoke the spirits of their victims and to honor them in cult ceremonies.

The Romans acted similarly toward foreign divinities, and admitted them willingly into the pantheon of the Empire.

According to this interpretation, should Ryangombe and his initial companions be placed in the category of aboriginal princes? If one accepts the facts set forth in the Banyarwanda legend, such a supposition is not impossible. The mythological narrative represents Ryangombe as a sort of independent prince (umuhinza), whose residence was at Kibingo in the small province of Nyakale. The legend says that Ryangombe went hunting to please his wife Nyanzige, daughter of the great king, Ruganzu II, who had asked him for a buffalo hide in which to wrap (ingobyi) her newborn child. He found one of those /362/ formidable animals and even wounded it, but was charged by the beast and killed at a spot about two hours distant from his dwelling,

173 Nyabikenke, which became thereby historical and accursed. His sons
776 and companions avenged his death and killed Nyanzige, who was the
794 indirect cause of the misfortune. The initiates of the Ryangombe cult also deified Ruganzu's daughter and made her a liberator (Umutabazi). It may have been the children and followers of Ryangombe who ennobled the end of this unfortunate woman for political reasons, so as to escape the anger and reprisals of the vindictive monarch.

Nyanzige is designated in ritual ceremonies by the name of Nyagishya or Inzobe, that is to say, "pale-faced woman," on account of her complexion.

The Bagoyi attribute Ryangombe's death to another one of his relatives, a young girl whom he had previously seduced after offering her a heady drink of hydromel. "I will have my revenge," cried the adolescent girl. "You will find me along the way, changed into a buffalo, and your blood will pay for my dishonor."

In accordance with local custom, the family of the unlucky girl chased her away. She found refuge in a wooded area where she bore a male child.

Ryangombe had gone out hunting when he suddenly met with the angered mother. She changed herself into a buffalo and pierced the king of the Imwanda with her horns.

The Banyarwanda like to ascribe to Ruganzu II most historical events and the origin of a number of practices and customs. What aspects of the afore-mentioned legend should we keep in mind? The interpretation of the facts is far from easy. The reign of Ruganzu II is relatively recent. On the other hand, the cult of Ryangombe is found in neighboring areas although the details vary. It is difficult to accept all the narrative details as historical. The religious society seems to /363/ date much farther back than the reign of this great monarch (1).

1. Ryangombe himself may have been only the perpetuator of these rites and may have practiced them by virtue of the law of succession, if it is assumed that he was a petty king (umuhinza), or on the authority of the Hamitic potentates.

774 The figures honored by the members of this secret society
●776 rank as demigods. Their protection is believed to be effective in the various circumstances of public and family life. As a result, their disciples appeal to them for the obtaining of any material benefit, recovery from illness, ownership of cattle, good relations with chiefs or neighbors, triumph over enemies, protection against bewitchers or spell casters, fecundity, etc.

[576] In order to reach these goals, the initiates respectfully come to the man who plays the role of Ryangombe, greet him, kneel at his feet, address his companions, and offer them gifts.

There is a traditional way to honor these spirits of varying rank and position. No rite is overlooked. Ceremonial dress, gestures, words, offerings, everything is foreseen and prescribed by immutable laws.

Each of the "patrons" has a peculiar costume and special insignias which the man who plays his role must perforce take into account. They are offered gifts of various kinds, and chants or "paeans" are sung, recalling to the spectators the brilliant deeds of their protectors.

1. Ryangombe is represented as seated on a native chair, with a cutlass suspended from his neck. One sets down at his side a
[273] vessel full of lustral water and a large jar of pombe, beer made of sorghum or banana juice.

The ladies who wish to honor him hold in their hands a house-
[198] hold spatula (umwuko). His adepts imitate the call of the hyena to praise him (2). /364/

2. Is this a vestige of the ancient tribal totems? We cannot be sure.

2. Binego, son of Ryangombe, is called the "Liberator" because he saved his father from ruin and dishonor.

The man who plays his role holds a spear and stick and has a pipe (urwika in the language of the initiates) and a small gourd full of banana beer.

794 His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba. . . , " pronounced in a virile tone,
776 recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a
[30] necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung
854 around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye. . . . "

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

224 His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around
[231] the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i. . . " to recall
534 that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence
[287] the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with
a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a
[415] hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using
[272] a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

794 9. Nkonjo, another enslaved servant girl, who was first to
776 bring the sad news of Ryangombe's death.

She is offered a broom as a gift, the symbol of her work as a slave, and a small storage granary or some produce as a reminder that she was in charge of watching over the harvest and of attending to the household tasks.

10. Mashira.

The Banyarwanda, forgetful of their own history, regard him as Ryangombe's child. We have better reasons to believe that he was no other than the celebrated magician-petty king acknowleged as one of the most powerful sorcerers.

In ritual sessions, his representatives assume a majestic bear-
[71] ing and hold in their hand an iron spear made all of a piece (igihosho), which is a sorcerer's emblem symbolizing strength. His followers
[415] offer him an earthen pitcher of special design, with two openings and a drinking tube in each to permit the spectators to drink the hydromel it contains in honor of the magician.

His peculiar cry is "shi shi shi ...."

11. Mutwa, one of Ryangombe's companions, is invoked especially by the Batwa. /366/

This figure seems to have been invented for the sake of the
[782] Batwa. He is offered gifts of beans, meat, milk, and sorghum bread which the members of this despised group share with delight.

The selection of these particular foods, which are offered first as a sacrifice to Mutwa, aims at pleasing him by satisfying his hunger. This is because the Negrillos, whose prototype (or ancestor) he portrays, do not always eat their fill, and these foods appeal to them as the ideal dishes they most desire.

New members were added later to this gallery of demigods. We shall mention only the best-known ones.

1. The Liberator Kibogo, son of King Ndahiro, is often invoked for rain.

2. The Bagoyi, lake-shore dwellers, offer libations of beer
[782] to Mwungeri, son of Nyankaka, who perished in the Lake Kivu disaster.

3. The inhabitants of the Bwana-Mkali honor in turn Rumana

794 and Mulengetwe, old historical figures who may have been notorious.
●776 4. The "Munyoro" figure was invented for the same superstitious reasons which cause the Blacks to honor the spirits of the dead and more particularly the souls of those who distinguished themselves for good or for evil in the course of their mortal existence.

The figure of Munyoro was probably included in the ceremonies after the defeat of the Banyoro.

5. The inhabitants of the Nkombo isles render special worship to Muhima and Nyirangenge.

Muhima, a synonym for Mututsi, symbolizes the Batutsi conquerors who seized the isles, and Nyirangenge, a feminine figure, stands for the Batutsi ladies or personifies the intelligence of the Hamites.

6. Nyarwambari, son of Mulema and grandson /367/ of Ngwegwe, figures among Ryangombe's followers. The initiates do not have much to say about him.

7. Bukiranzuki figures among the daughters of the founder. During the ceremonies, the women who worship her wear on their heads the tail of an animal known under the name of igiharangu.

The members of this religious pantheon are numerous. They include, aside from the afore-mentioned figures, the founder's father and grandfather, Babinga and Nyundo; his wives, Kajumba, mother of Binego, Karyango, mother of Bukiranzuki, and Gachubya, mother of Nyabirungu; Nyirakabali, his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to one of his companions; and Lubindankima ("the man who girds his loins with a monkey pelt"). The inhabitants of the Bugoyi have it that this latter figure, who was probably invented out of whole cloth, was the friend and confidant of one of Ruganzu II's great victims, the famous Gatabirora, nicknamed Bilikunkomo, whose actions and deeds have been dramatized and romanticized (1).

1. Cf. Book III /not translated/.

In the meetings of the initiates there is also mention of
[825] Gassankomo, "the man who wraps himself in colobus pelts." This is the honorific name given to Kagoro, whose impersonator must for some

778 religious character was already known through Captain Hermann,
824 and they are referred to simply as Imana trees.
211 It seems to be chiefly the Batutsi who venerate the memorial trees. The fig trees on the heights are most numerous and most beautiful in places where the Batutsi have the greatest power. On the other hand, it is said that sometimes at night Bahutu secretly take wood from the sacred trees. The Batwa, who fear no one and who have also preserved their independence in spiritual matters, do [301] this quite openly in the daytime, but there are not enough of them to destroy the trees and change the landscape.

Imana and Batabazi. In our general discussion of the inter-
776 lacustrine region [not translated], we pointed out that the spirits of dead kings and rulers have a special place among the manes. They are distinguished from the undifferentiated mass of bazimu by their greater power. They are known and feared in larger circles. This is the case, for example, with the spirit of Kimeni in Kisaka. It is not impossible that from this we shall be able to explain the contrast between the rule of Ryangombe in the underworld, which seems to be patterned after the organization of Batutsi states, and the familial anarchy of the ordinary manes. However, it is doubtful whether the central figure of the Ruanda pantheon, the creator of the world, Imana, can be associated with the spirits of the dead. He probably must be considered as derived from foreign influence. Perhaps this also explains the underworld residence of the court of Ryangombe, whereas the rest of the bazimu remain with their living relatives.

Imana is the lord of lightning, thunder, and rain. One ad-
776 dresses him with the words: "Nabone Imana yandemie ikalema
782 tata, na sokokuru, na sokuruza, na mukaka, na mukakuruzu, na mama. Ikankiza, nkuko yabakidjidji! (Favor me, Imana, who created my father, and my grandfather, and the father of my grandfather, and my grandmother, and the mother of my grandmother, and my mother. He has healed me, how he has healed me!)"

No sacrifices are made to Imana. Thus, he plays no part in the cult and satisfies only, if we may so express it, a philosophical need.

776 Even though Imana is supposedly the creator, there are no
773 special tales about his relation to the other powerful spirits, for example, Ryangombe. The Banyaruanda seem to have an altogether vague and indefinite idea of him. The strangest thing is the story of his appearance on earth in the form of a child who was even whiter than kaolin (runoni). The child had supernatural power. Among other things, he changed water into milk. Imana created the first human beings. The first man married his sister, but neither of them had a father or a mother. Imana gave them fire.

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) listed Lugira, Lulema, and

1. Parisch, F.R.Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

Kihanga as synonyms for Imana.

The myths about Imana seem to be less known or kept more secret, at least in Kissaka, than the stories about other spirits.

[302] Every Mututsi is said to revere a particularly sacred
778 bull in his herd, which has a secret connection with Imana. The
825 sacred bull of Musinga was allegedly very fierce and attacked many people. It is maintained that those who were attacked by the bull were recognized by the animal as enemies of the king. If they came through alive, they were in former times punished with death. This custom has been given up in the last three or four years, probably as the result of greater contact with Europeans, but the unfortunate ones are still in very bad repute.

We must not forget that the vessels containing remnants of
778 chickens and the fat of sacrificed sheep, which the Batutsi wear around their necks, are also called "Imana."

Even more puzzling than Imana are the batabazi in the
776 Ruanda pantheon. I have already mentioned them in the chapter
773 on the history of Ruanda. Father L. Classe told me that the myth of the flood as well as the idea of the sacrifice of an individual life to save mankind appear in the batabazi legends. The people survive the flood in a hut made watertight with earth.

776 The batabazi are Batutsi because they are associated with
773 the reigning family.

Ryangombe and his Bagaragu. Ryangombe with his bagaragu (clients) and relatives plays the most important role in the Ruanda cult.

We have already expressed the opinion that in the traditions
776 about Ryangombe there is a memory of an historical hero. In
773 favor of this view we have the story (umugani) given below (which does not say much), and in addition, the fact that Kakuku, Mugasha, Kagoro, and Rubaga are mentioned among his retinue. The latter three are semihistorical personalities and, according to our research, belong to the family that ruled in Bunyoro before the Babito, whereas Kakuku is probably identical with Bukuku from the older Bunyoro dynasty.

Ryangombe's nearest relatives do not seem to play any special role and are mentioned only in reference to the hero. Hence we shall only list them. His father was Ndema, and his grandfather, Migongo. Babinga was his mother, and Nyundo, his grandmother. His wife, Nyakisha, presented him with a child called kachumu kato kato kavira imyuna mumbuga, "a small, small spear stained with blood up to the hilt." According to other accounts, his wife was Kadjumba, and their son, Binego.

In other accounts we find somewhat different statements. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) calls Ryangombe's wife Njawirungu

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 10.

and his father Bawinda which [303] he has probably confused with the name of the mother, Babinga.

Captain Von Beringe (1), on the other hand, calls

1. Beringe, Captain Von, an account of his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 37.

776 173 Ryangombe's grandfather Nyundo, his father Bavinga, and his wife Nina Ryangombe. The last name, however, simply means "mother of Ryangombe."

The most important bagaragu (clients) of Ryangombe are Binego, Kavuna, Mugasha, Kakuku, Kagoro, Senyakazana, and Rubaga.

Their subordination to Ryangombe is always strongly emphasized. We can see this also in the fact that before sacrifices can be made to them sacrifices must be made to Ryangombe. Rubaga is the only exception. One can bring him gifts without first having made offerings to Ryangombe.

782 Special forms and ceremonies are observed in offerings made to these individual spirits.

776 In sacrificing to Binego the person stands with lowered head and murmurs: "Binego bya Kadjumba nyamunega amafizi amabuguma akapfa numulindu. Lukaraba nkaba n'inkuba yadjandja. Ulwamba lw'impiri namaganya y'inkuba aseseka ntanyobwe umushaidja mukanya." I could not find out what this means.

[346] Small straw huts are built to Kavuna. He is offered banana beer with added honey in twin-necked pots. Formerly the sacrificer covered himself with a leopard skin. As he makes the sacrifice, he stretches out his hands and sings: "Kavuna ushime ntango yawe (Kavuna, accept my offering)."

If a person makes a sacrifice to Mugasha, he winds the bark of banana stalks around his legs, arms, and neck. He holds the thin end of a stick in his right hand, stamps his feet, beats the ground with the stick, and repeats: "Mugasha akatema katoke niribiriri, niribirimbo."

Kakuku was an old paralyzed slave. If a person wishes to address him, he first smears his arms with ashes, then he scratches his skin, weeps, and sighs. Peas which are sacrificed are held with the finger bent, because the paralytic could eat only in this manner.

Kagoro is offered small arrows of wood or iron with the words, "busenda bwa Kagoro."

Senyakazana is offered peas and lentils, called inkore.

Rubaga is the greatest after Ryangombe, and he is also offered cows.

182 [304] Umugani rwa Ryangombe. To Ryangombe is dedi-
116 cated the muku or mulinzi, a tree he once climbed to save him-
self from a buffalo that attacked him on the hunt. The Banyakissaka
have the following story about it.

539 Umugani rwa Ryangombe
Story of Ryangombe

Ngoni Ryangombe lya Babinga, ba Nyundo, ngoni Nyamuniga,
That is Ryangombe the Babinga of Nyundo, who is Nyamuniga,

amafizi nayo awabuguma akapfan nimirindo.
? ? ? ? ?

Ryangombe yaliafite nyina, akanga kumumwira. Ryangombe
Ryangombe has mother refused to obey Ryangombe

ashaka kuja kuhiga mwishamba. Nyina nyiwa Ryangombe:
wants to go hunting on the plain. Mother says[to] Ryangombe:

ati mwana wanje leka kuja kuhiga; ati nalose
so child [of] mine let go hunting; so I dreamed

umugezi, utemba uja luguru; ati uzawambuka, ngenda,
a river, which flows upward; so you cross it, you go,

ntuzagaruka. Ati kandi nalose ulukwavu lutagira ishira,
do not come back. So later I dream a rabbit without tail,

uzalwicha, ntuzalubamba. Ati kandi nalose
you will kill it, without obeying. So later I dream

Nyakisha Chimepenebere au Nyakitindi, ati azakulemutsa,
Nyakisha Chimpenebere or Nyakitindi, so she will greet,

atazakulekula Ryangombe. Ati kandi nalose imbogo
she will not leave Ryangombe. So later I dream a buffalo

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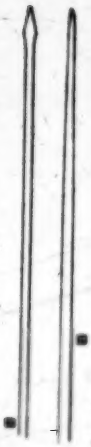

in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

[643]

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The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[644]

Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

RELIGION

773 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 THE list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

152 Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[33] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[34] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[33] Maquet, 1958, pp. 326-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[34] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

A fourth factor which counterbalanced the socially disintegrative influence of the caste system was the plurality of the structures in which any Ruanda was affiliated.

Through several structures, subjects were much more efficiently bound among themselves and to their rulers than in a unique hierarchy. In the latter case, indeed, if the individual can extricate himself from that hierarchy, he becomes absolutely unattached. In Ruanda, even if one link was broken, the subject did not escape from his superior chiefs. Indeed, he was linked to them, particularly to the mwami, by more than one tie. Almost any Ruanda was dependent on the king through two hierarchical channels: *via* his hill-chief (who himself was subordinated to the cattle- and land-chief) and *via* his army-chief. In addition, the feudal system integrated him into a set of personal loyalty relations such that the person occupying the superior position in one of these relations is himself an inferior in another relation.

It should be mentioned also that any Ruanda was a member of three kin groups: primary and secondary patrilineages and clan. Of course kinship affiliations as such did not cut across caste lines (except for the clan name), but as many of these kinship groups had been for so long established in Ruanda territory, they were certainly a supplementary link between the individual and his country.

The network of relations woven by the political and clientage systems was particularly important in a country where there were no clear-cut groupings based on co-residence. This has led some observers to believe that Ruanda were living in a kind of social vacuum. On the contrary, a Ruanda was never isolated: his social links connected him with the authorities and were ramified, if not in the whole territory, at least in a large area of it.

The last factor of social cohesion to be mentioned here was the ideology developed around the monarchic institution. The mwami was regarded as the king of all Ruanda and not only of the Tutsi. His divine origin keeping him separate from men, bestowed on him an authority which no commoner thought to question. He was closely connected with Imana, conceived as a supreme god rather remote but benevolent. The mwami, representative of Imana, was the father and protector of all Ruanda. Was it not enough to assume towards him a filial attitude and to feel one's

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

*Author's translation.

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10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

585 [613 578] [607 606]

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please

584 [586] [835] 593 776

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
564 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
583 hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461] 1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

Man and the Non-material World

Imana, the Creator

Imana, the creator, is a person. He is conceived as an intelligence, a will, an emotivity. He is extremely powerful: 'the plant protected by *Imana* is never hurt by wind', '*Imana* has very long arms', '*Imana* goes above any shield'. He is non-material. His action influences the whole world; but Ruanda is his home where he comes to spend the night. He is always invoked as 'God of Ruanda' (*Imana y'i Ruanda*). 776

Imana is essentially good: 'your enemy is digging a pitfall for you, *Imana* prepares your exit', '*Imana* gives, he does not sell'. This is why he takes care of men and why there is no cult in his honour. He is so good, I have been told, that he does not require any offering.

There is a special creative act of *Imana* at the beginning of each person's life. Impregnation in itself would not be sufficient to produce a new human being. This is why the young wife, at evening, leaves a few drops of water in a jar. *Imana*, as a potter, needs some water to shape the clay into a child in her womb. Then, after birth, *Imana* decides what life is to be for that individual: happy or unhappy. If, later on, a man is miserable, poverty-stricken, in bad health, it is said that he was created by *Ruremakwaci*. This way of speaking has led some observers to understand that besides *Imana*, there was another creator, perhaps subordinate, perhaps an evil spirit. As a matter of fact, *Ruremakwaci* is the name given to *Imana* when he does not create very successfully, when 'he is tired', or, for some inscrutable reason, decides that a certain destiny will be unhappy. This is consistent with the Ruanda linguistic habit of assigning different names to one cause according to its different effects. 776 842 776 777 [196]

Imana's influence is thought to be always beneficial for human beings. It happens very often that obstacles are placed in the way of his action by malevolent agencies of the invisible world, but from him only good things come. This is not completely consistent with the belief in an unfortunate predestination by *Imana*. It should be noted, first, that the theory of predestination has not a very deep impact on the attitude of Banyarwanda. A person who thinks himself unhappy, and might thus suspect that he has been predestined to a miserable life, does not seem to be submerged by a feeling of doom. Unless he is brought to despair by a situation from which there is no escape, he will go on living and trying to improve his condition. Secondly, this inconsistency will be better understood if we consider the attitude of Banyarwanda towards the king (the *Mwami*) in similar circumstances. The *Mwami*, the supreme authority is good, yet he may be harmful and cruel to some of his subjects. As his power is absolute, as he is magically identified with Ruanda itself, he may never be criticized. Thus the victims of some arbitrary royal decision, and their friends, go on saying that the king is good but that his favourite counsellor is very bad and is responsible for what they suffer. As might be expected, in Ruanda God is conceived [152] [43]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

according to the image of the *Mwami*, and thus when some misfortune occurs, the blame is put on another name of God or on the ghosts or sorcerers.

The beneficent action of *Imana* is general and remote. *Imana* is the source of all gifts, but he does not interfere very much in individual lives unless he is invoked. He is not the vigilant deity whom no single detail of the lives of his creatures can escape and who, when he acts, takes into account all the antecedents of the situation. There is a story of a man who borrowed beans from different people. When repayment of the loans was demanded, he was always able by his wits to avoid fulfilling his obligations. One creditor—Death—insists on being paid and pursues him. The debtor, when fleeing, calls upon *Imana* who saves him.

Imana—as is illustrated by this tale—is not the guardian of ethics and social order. He is not offended when somebody is robbed, but only if the offence is directed against himself, as when somebody disobeys a particular order of his or abuses his name. Then he punishes the offender by sending him misfortunes during his earthly life.

The Spirits of the Dead

The spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), with whom *Imana* has no closer relationships than he has with living people, constitute the second category of non-material beings. They continue the individuality of living persons and have the same names. It is usual to say: 'when he will be a *muzimu*. . . .' Though non-material, they are localized by their activity, in contrast to *Imana* who, having a much wider range of action, cannot be so precisely localized. They live in the lower world whose ruler is *Nyamuzinda* ('the one with whom one is forgotten'). Banyarwanda have not elaborated a very detailed picture of post-mortem existence. Although, according to some informants, the deceased kings of Ruanda constitute a kind of governing body in the underworld, there are no social distinctions. Life is neither pleasant nor unhappy. The *bazimu* do not drink, eat, or mate but their existence in other respects is similar to that in the world of the living. The *bazimu* sometimes come back to this world, returning to the places where they used to live. An ancestor and some other spirits may stay permanently in the hut where their descendants live or in the small huts made for them in the enclosure around the dwelling.

Whatever their temper when they were in this world, the *bazimu* are bad. Direct ancestors in both lines (although the system of descent is patrilineal) are believed to protect their living descendants, if they showed them proper filial behaviour when they were in this world, if they observe prohibitions and avoidances and if they do not forget to make offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to one's patrilineage (*mulyango*) are always harmful. The *bazimu* of other families are less detrimental except where there are feuds between the families. Ghosts are thus essentially malevolent towards the living. At best they are not actively injurious.

784 keeper or owner of a herd, his property would also suffer from this infraction of custom (2). /411/

2. His cows would bear only male calves.

A husband may not use this kitchen utensil to beat his wife! He would risk the loss of his life.

The failure to observe most of the prescribed customs while celebrating a wedding would make the parents of the two partners liable to illness or death.

[551] When asked what their name is, children, young men, and girls either do not answer or give a false name, for fear that the stranger may cast an evil spell upon them and thus prevent them from growing.

[841] A woman in her menses may not enter a hut where there is a newborn child, lest she cause the baby to contract scabies. Hence [751] the custom of placing a copper-thread bracelet (urunyerere, or urwinjiri) about the neck of babies as a talisman and preventive.

[643] The king must never bend his knees, in order not to expose his kingdom to becoming smaller.

A father may not step over the hide that serves as a portable cradle (ingobyi) for his child, nor may a son step over his mother's belt.

A woman may not step over a spear, milk a cow, repair the roof of a hut, imitate (!) the cry of a rooster, etc.

It is forbidden to sit on a food basket.

When it thunders, one may not smoke a pipe when seated on a chair.

No one may rest on a sheepskin, or he will contract scabies (ngo badahumana). There is danger of death involved in carrying a whetting stone (ityazo) into someone else's house.

It is expressly forbidden to kill certain birds and certain reptiles, [825 not only because they are totem but also because they are regarded • 777] either as good luck for the land, like the wagtail (inyamanza), or as bad luck, like the scaly anteater, whose dead body might draw great misfortunes upon the territory. /412/

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(e) *Ritual function*

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

643 are paid the Mwamikazi as to her son, hand clappings repeated
644 three times (gukoma mumashyi). After the death of the Mwami (3),

3. Or rather, as the Banyarwanda say, "When he puts on his drum," for it is forbidden to say that the King is dead.

his mother no longer plays any official role.

3. The Sacred Drum

778 The origin of the Kalinga is said to go back to Ruganzu
173 Ndoli. While the latter, who was not yet king, was fighting against the Karagwe (Uganda), the Abakongoro of Kivu attacked Ruanda and killed the Mwami Ndahiro Chyamatara, father of Ndoli.

Returning from war, the latter stopped at Busigi (territory of Biumba), where a rich proprietor called Minyaruka presented a magnificent drum to the glorious victor.

778 The Kalinga is the very symbol of royalty (4). [89] Hung on
643

4. The Banyarwanda say, Kalinga ibuze nta Mwami (lit., the drum was burned, there is no King). This proverb must not be taken literally for, on the other hand, the people of Ruanda say, Hagum'Umwami ingoma irabazwa, (lit., find the King (important thing), the drum (unimportant thing is only wood). [89]

its stretched cords are the ibikondo, virile attributes of the principal enemies vanquished and killed by the kings of Ruanda. It is also
[787] regularly sprinkled with the blood of victims sacrificed on occasions for auguries. Truly royal honors are given to the Kalinga; it is not made to resound but the other drums sound in its honor (1). It is

1. Kulamutza, "to salute (the king)." The drums are beaten every morning when the king leaves his apartments to begin his day as a public person.

778 643 placed in the hut called rwimiringa (lit., house of copper objects (2).

2. Kalinga means "royal drum"; Karinga means "small copper object."

[727] built inside the king's boma, where the war trophies are kept. The Kalinga is guarded night and day, for it is the emblem of the grandeur of the kings of Ruanda.

4. The Court of the Mwami

644 At Nyanza, the royal residence (ibgami), flocks of people of every rank come to attend court or to inform the Mwami of the affairs of their region: Bahutu or even Batwa villagers hoping to obtain some benefit from the Mwami or his mother, dignitaries of various ranks and functions, and servants of both sexes (3).

[114] 3. These duties and functions have been minutely described by the Rev. Father Pages in his fine book, Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique [A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa] (ed. I.R.C.B. [Institut Royal Colonial Belge], Brussels, 1933). This work constitutes a veritable and priceless monument for the knowledge of Ruanda and its people. We cannot do better than suggest that the reader refer to it for everything concerning the organization of the Royal Court.

5. The Council of Ministers

645 787 In serious circumstances, such as war or famine, the Mwami is obliged to convene the great chiefs (abatware b'intebe) in council (inima). The soothsayers (abapfuma) then consult the oracles and

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [288] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and ●778 reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce [782] of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from 356 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 342 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage [514] next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

232 and as a result the devastations caused among the cattle by a
731 single epidemic are terrible. Thus, the rinderpest that ravaged the entire interlacustrine region, as well as Uganda and Unjoro, in 1888 killed two thirds of all the cattle, and since the Bahima live mainly on milk, blood, and meat, it is reported that almost two thirds of the Bahima also died of hunger (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 626).

Although the Barundi take good care of their cattle, they
232 cannot really be called good cattle breeders, as is sometimes done. The same is true for the Banjaruanda. The livestock suffers from an insufficient supply of new blood, that is, from the centuries-old inbreeding. It is true that the Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda, always select the breeding steers from a different herd in order to prevent degeneration, but there is still only variation within the same long-horned strain of cattle [44] and the blood is not freshened up by other breeds. Since also most of the bulls are not castrated, although castration is known and a special term exists for it (kuschahura), there are often weak bulls in the herds which cause the breed to deteriorate. The improvement of the breeds is not helped either by the fact that, as a result of the growing demand for cattle hides by traders, more bulls are raised which in former times used to be slaughtered or sacrificed when they were still young. Degeneration is especially apparent from the fact that there are a great number of sterile cows, both in Urundi and Ruanda. They can be immediately recognized in a herd since they have the longest horns. It almost appears as if the excess of strength which has not been spent on reproduction is channeled into making the horns grow to a gigantic size. Both in Urundi and Ruanda only the herds of the kings and of the high batwale are in really good condition as a result of constant selection and exchange. There are white, brown, and dappled herds. However, these are deluxe herds and not representative of the general run.
232 The designation, "holy cattle," which is often heard applied
778 to the king's herds, is as incorrect as it is when applied to the herds of the Musinga [king] of Ruanda. It is also erroneous in that not even the animals destined for sacrifice are taken from these herds. On the other hand there are holy cattle kept

232 especially for sacrifice and for their function at the election
778 of the king, and there are others dedicated to one of the principal gods, Imana, Riangombe, Rikiranga (see p. 68 , also p. 184 of original text [not translated]).

When a calf is born, it is rubbed with butter. As soon
233 as the horns appear, the owner tears off the covering epidermis with his teeth and rubs the little horns with butter so as to make them grow well. The calf is then given a name which is de-
[552] termined by its parentage, color, or some other characteristic, or in memory of some deceased member of the family, a chief, king, etc. The calves are put in the pen for six months before being sent to pasture, and after that the young cattle graze in a separate pasture. In the morning and in the evening, before the milking of the cows, the calves are permitted to suck. If a cow refuses to suckle her calf, both her udder and the calf are rubbed with salt water, whereupon the cow will lick the calf and will also allow it to lick and to suck her udder. In order to wean a calf, the cow's teats are smeared with cow dung (No. 19, p. 423).

234 Before a cow is milked (kukamma), the calf is permitted to suck for a few moments. Then the Murundi squats down near the udder, holding a vessel under it with his left hand and milking with his right hand. In this process a considerable amount of milk (amata) is spilled on the ground since the vessel has a narrow opening. An unruly cow or one that kicks has her legs tied together while being milked. If the calf dies or is slaughtered, the cow gives no more milk. In this case, to make her continue to produce milk, the skin of her calf stuffed with straw or simply a piece of the hide suspended on a stick is held in front of her nose (No. 22, p. 287; No. 48, p. 141; No. 27, p. 95). This is also true in Ruanda, Ankole, and the other Bahima regions. This artless yet useful deception usually tricks the cows, and they lick the hide and continue to give milk. The amount of milk produced by the long-horned cattle is quite small all over the interlacustrine region. It is seldom more than two to three liters daily, in
234 the morning and in the evening. The milk pails (itschjansi)
415 are always made of wood; in most cases they have a cylindrical shape and a rounded lid. Van der Burgt claims that [45] this

533 on for hours. The drum concert and drum dance are hardly
535 ever accompanied by singing (No. 19, p. 388).

In Urundi and Ruanda drums are such a rarity that an
534 experienced observer wrote as recently as 1901: "In Urundi drums are unknown" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 212). During my own two months' journey through central Urundi, I never heard a single drumbeat. This can be explained easily by the fact that there remain only a few small areas in this country where trees still exist that are large enough to make drums (and boats). It is probably because of
534 their high value that the possession of drums has become a
554 privilege of chiefs and of the king. Neither the "people" of
778 the Barundi (Bahutu or Batussi) nor the Batwa are permitted to own drums. A special role is reserved for the king's drum. This drum, in addition to the spear, the finger ring or bracelet (wrist disc), and the holy wooden milk vessels, is part of the royal insignia which the ruler bequeaths to his successor (No. 19, p. 524). This "holy" drum is a kind of Palladium of the realm and, as such, it is given the name akarjenda. It is very big and made from the wood of a special tree. This drum is regarded as the seat of the protective spirit of the realm, and solemn vows are made by this "drum spirit" akarjenda (No. 19, p. 388). Special guards are charged with taking care of [70] this royal drum (see p. 187 [not translated]). It is always kept at the residence of the king and, together with the holy spears and the holy milk vessels, it also accompanies him on his trips (report by Captain von Langenn). The hides used for the holy drums [sic] are taken exclusively from the cattle of the so-called "holy herd" (see p. 44).

533 Neither van der Burgt nor any other observer reports having heard of the combination of several drums and other instruments to form an orchestra, but natives assured me that such an orchestra existed at the royal court and that it consisted of Batwa. I consider this very likely since there is such an orchestra, a combination of several differently tuned drums and flutes, at the residence of Musinga, king of Ruanda. The members of the orchestra are Batwa. It sounds very melodious

776 or Mugascha is worshipped as a god of streams and of rain in
177 Uganda ("Mukessa," see Anthropos III, p. 214), in Ankole, Kisiba, Karagwe (Lake Mugascha), Kissaka, and Ussuwi. According to the tradition of the Basiba, he was a former king of the Sese Islands in the northern part of Lake Victoria (No. 31, p. 128; No. 27, p. 110; No. 34, pp. 518-519). Wamara is worshipped in Ankole and in Kisiba as the spirit of the dead souls. According to Banjankole tradition, he was a king of the Batschwesi in Baera (Uganda) who were a Hamitic people different from the Bahima, and he conquered Ankole. According to Rehse, he was "formerly a great ruler to whom the nations from Nyanza to the Congo State owed allegiance" (No. 31, pp. 126-127; No. 34, p. 520). Kagoro is regarded in Kisiba as a grandchild of Wamara (No. 31, p. 133). Rugaba or Lugaba, who is worshipped as the creator of man and cattle in Kisiba and in Ankole (No. 27, p. 108), was, according to van der Burgt, "the oldest king of the Wahinda" (No. 19, p. 219). Rehse writes of the gods of the Basiba that "the description of this world of spirits would at the same time represent the oldest history of Kisiba as well as that of all the central African countries." This also applies to the hero-gods of the Barundi. It would be a rewarding task to study these religious sources, especially for missionaries!

776 The Basiba worship a supreme god named Rugaba as the creator of the world and the highest giver of grace, but they never offer sacrifices to him (No. 31, p. 125). In the same manner the Barundi and Banjaruanda (No. 28, pp. 1-13) worship Imana. He is never offered sacrifices or prayers, as an unapproachable supreme being. People prefer to turn to gods who are closer to human beings, who have once been human beings themselves, like Riangombe, Kiranga, Wamara, and others. Although he is conceived of as the personified creator and ruler of the world, Imana is the only one in the abode of the gods of the Barundi whose name is sometimes used as a
776 general term for the world of the spirits. Imana is simply "the
778 divine," "the godhead." Imana is also the term for all that is sacred to the Murundi: the sacred trees, the sacred steer, the

776 king, the amulets, the oracle animals, the sacred spear, etc.
[178] (No. 19, p. 214). The same applies to Ruanda (No. 44, pp. 284; No. 39, pp. 102, 109). Imana is given a number of different names or is identified with other gods, depending on his different characteristics and functions. This is also true in
[551] Ruanda. Children are often given names which contain the word Imana: [121] Kaimana, little Imana; Mbonimana, gift of Imana; Ndorimana, appearance of Imana; Keschimana, ornament of Imana (No. 23, 1913, p. 308). Both men and
[842] women, if they wish to have offspring, wear an impusu y'Imana, a garment of Imana, made of reddish barkcloth with black circles painted on it. Imana is the supreme god of all manes, of all ancestral spirits, and thereby has the character of an old national god.

Although Imana as the sole creator of the world ranks high above the other gods, one nevertheless cannot describe this as a monotheistic concept of the Barundi, as is done by some missionaries (No. 44, p. 283). Nor is it correct to attempt to see a kind of "Trinity" in the fact that, besides Imana, the Barundi have two supreme gods, Rikiranga and Riangombe, whom they often identify or confuse with Imana (No. 19, p. 214). This is to put Christian interpretations on the matter, and these are foreign to the thinking of the Barundi.

It appears that Kiranga or Rikiranga ranks closest to Imana. If Imana is described as the supreme head of the high ancestral spirits, Kiranga is the ruler of all the lesser demons and of all things material. For this reason von der Burgt describes him as a kind of "logos payen" (No. 19, p. 216). He is the god to whom people appeal first for assistance in all worldly matters. It is Kiranga to whom the priestly cult of the crowds is devoted, to him the ceremony of the "sacred spear" is dedicated (see p. 134), and the high priest calls himself Kiranga for he is "possessed" by him, he is his medium (p. 123). To all appearances he is a deity of the old Bantu population and has remained
776 quite free of Batussi influence. The missionaries refer to
718 Kiranga as the "devil" (No. 23, 1904, p. 123). It is said that
793 near Mujaga in central Urundi Kiranga possesses two large herds

776 of cattle led by two sacred steers. He is thought to have a sacred
●778 mountain administered by a priestess who wields great influence
793 and is even immune to the power of the king, although the latter keeps her under constant guard so as to insure that she fulfills her cult duties. If she neglects her duties, she and her closest relatives are executed upon the order of the king. Her office, it is said, begins and ends with the reign of the king, for after the king's death she has to take poison.

776 Father Gassldinger describes Kiranga as the "great
782 destroyer," the Lucifer of the Barundi. People appeal to him first in all their afflictions, misery, and fear, and it is to him that most sacrificial huts (akararo) are dedicated. Inside these huts there is, as a rule, a big three-legged earthen pot with three spouts into which the sacrifice is deposited. Besides beer, grain stalks constitute the main sacrificial offerings made in these huts. Horns of cattle are also burned in them as sacrifices (No. 45, 1913, p. 359 ff.).

776 It is characteristic of the confused conception which the Barundi have of the different personalities of their gods and spirits that they often mix up the terms and attribute the names of several gods to a single one of them. For example, one may hear them say: "Riangombe is powerful, he is Kiranga; Kagoro is also Kiranga, he is Sengoga." Kiranga is also called Rugaba, Ruhanga, Inganje, Njabaski, Indagarra, or Rukisa, or these names are used as epithets of Imana, and the word Imana itself is used as a plural concept (No. 45, 1913, p. 363). Among the names listed there are several which we already know, as shown above (p.120), from other Bahima states as the names of specific gods and spirits. In Urundi their images seem to have faded [122] so much that they are confused with one another, and the concepts people had of them seem to have been reduced to mere attributes or epithets of Imana who in any case has already become a collective term for "sacred" or "divine" rather than a personified god.

Riangombe is third among the gods. He is the supreme head of all good spirits (imandwa) whom Imana entrusted with the task of guiding human beings and protecting them against evil

791 as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the
661 entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by
628 law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to
793 officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine
796 services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the
796 important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

● 778 Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred
796 in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear"
[411] guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the
[776] point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but
796 one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

796 expresses the wish that the "ceremony of the sacred spear" be celebrated for his benefit, he invites his friends and the priest (kiranga) of the district along with the latter's spear. The kiranga arrives with two or three male or female assistants (ivisjego), and all the participants in the celebration take their seats in the hut. The priest sits in the middle holding the sacred spear in his hand and wearing a cap made of leopard skin with its tail falling down his back. Each of the assistants holds in his hand a bifurcated branch to whose ends are tied little calabashes, some of which are filled with grains or pebbles. These rattles are shaken in a certain rhythm, and to their accompaniment the entire gathering sings -- in a minor key and andante -- a traditional hymn in the old Kirundi language (see p. 148) which is for the most part unintelligible. The hymn calls on the congregation to praise and glorify the spirits, Kiranga, Rugondo, Riangombe, and others (No. 19, pp. 517 and 292). While they are singing, each person gathers a little straw from the ground and places it as a sacrifice in front of the sacred spear, clapping his hands as a sign of homage, and then directs to the spirit Kiranga, residing in the spear point, a number of requests expressing the wishes of the host. After that the whole party leaves the house with a chant and proceeds to the little spirit hut (ikitabo) close by. Its floor is then covered with fresh straw or grass. After they have returned to the house, the whole gathering is sprinkled with water by the priest (symbol of purification?). At the end all join in drinking the contents of a large jar of "sacrificial beer." This concludes the ceremony, the priest receives his fee (beads, grain, barkcloth, etc.), and everyone goes home. In Ruanda and Uha the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated in a similar fashion (No. 19, p. 518).

796 There is another ritual at which the priest is regularly asked
● 778 to officiate: the ceremony of erecting and consecrating the little
346 spirit and sacrifice huts (Plate 18a). There are two different types of these huts: some are dedicated to the gods, Imana, Kiranga, and Riangombe, and are open to the public (ikitabo, akararo); the others are dedicated to the family ancestors and are private (ikigabiro).

778 The public cult sites used for common worship of the gods
[821] are erected wherever lightning has struck the ground, either where it injured or killed a person or a head of cattle or where it has just struck the ground. Lightning is regarded as sent by the god Imana himself (No. 19, p. 253). At such a place a circular piece of ground, two to three meters in diameter, is leveled and covered with straw. Manioc and fig branches are planted around it. Then, celebrating the ceremony of the sacred spear, the kiranga plants in the middle of it a shoot from a banana or a fig tree which is regarded as the temporary residence of the god, Imana-Rikiranga-Riangombe. uEvery passerby
[782] puts a little tuft of dry grass in front of the young tree in homage to the god (see grass greeting, p. 95). Sick people are brought to this site so that they may ask the god to grant them recovery (No. 19, p. 564). This kind of homage is also supposed to be helpful when asking for rain for the fields and herds. Usually
[346] some small grass huts are also erected at or near the sacrificial site; in these huts food and drink are sacrificed to the god. Often, however, such huts are absent.

778 [136] The second type of cult and sacrifice huts at whose
consecration the kiranga must participate is the private sacri-
346 fice huts (ivigabiro), dedicated to the spirits of the dead
782 (imisimu or abasimu). Often, however, a sacrifice is also offered to the god Kiranga in one of these little private huts; it is then called akararo ka rugabo, i.e., the great master's humble quarters for the night (No. 46, p. 18). These little huts are erected inside the kraal next to the residential huts. In most cases their shape resembles that of the residential huts, but they are only one half to one meter high (Plate 18a). They are always constructed in a careless fashion. In fact, often a few branches or some bundles of straw or reed, inserted in the ground and tied together at the top in the shape of an arch, are considered sufficient. A little straw is spread underneath, and on it a few implements are placed as a sacrificial offering, for example, a piece of imanga wood which is used for amulets, a piece of bottle gourd, shaped like a bowl, which is used as a container for food, an old pot as a receptacle for beer, an old tobacco pipe, etc. In some areas of Urundi, for example, in

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
778 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
782 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
796 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the an-
769 cestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
769 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
782 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
778 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the
775 neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is
778 regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned, the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of
[784] residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
532 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or
776 as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

2: Meyer--263 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 29

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Sacred Grove (Imana) in Central Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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Church at the Mujaga Missionary Station, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[462] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural products, as well as cattle and game. It included the
[778] exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

[p.14 (A)]

128 common to the three ethnic groups which make up the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ nation, or peculiar to one group or another.

Chapter 1.

644 I. Posts and Offices of a Historical and Superstitious Nature.
The Keepers of the Customs and Traditions.
231 The "King" of the First Fruits and the "King" of the Imandwa.
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1. Maintenance at court of a dog-faced baboon and a sacred bull.

It will be recalled that according to legend, when the enemies of Ruganzu II the Victorious attempted to smoke him out of a cave, /356/ he was saved by dog-faced baboons (inguge), who led him through subterranean tunnels to another exit. One of those animals is kept at the capital in order to commemorate this fantastic legend.

The clan in charge of caring for the animal is known under the name of Abanyamuheno, that is to say, "Men of the Cave, " in memory of the event.

The monkey, tied with a chain, is fed by his keepers with sweet potatoes, beans, grains, sorghum stalks, etc.

When he gets old he is released in the forest where he was captured when young, and another monkey is sought out to replace him.

Is not this custom reminiscent of honored practices at the court of the Pharaohs, where dog-faced baboons were also raised?

[233] Ruanda is a land of pastures. The Batutsi possess numerous herds of cattle which are, rightly enough, the pride and joy of their owners.

It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that aside from the sacred herds that will be mentioned in the last chapter but one of this book there is a bull at court that is the object of special care and attentions.

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).
778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here, " he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is
[773] connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and
[262] even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

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inyambo. The individual who is placed in charge of Rusanga is called /358/ Nkwaya and belongs to the Banyiginya clan. This is a position of trust.

The insanga are well known by the inhabitants of the capital.

2. The chief of protocol and the "king" of the first fruits.

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There exists a complicated ceremonial and a series of rites whose teaching would soon be lost if their preservation were not entrusted to a group of personages who supervise their observance scrupulously at the monarch's side. They do not fail to call him to order occasionally on this score.

The most important of those directors of protocol, or masters of ceremony, is unquestionably the chief of the Batsobe clan. His is a select position by the side of the sovereign, whom he counsels and directs in those matters which are within his competence. His name will come up again in the pages that follow (1).

1. The Batsobe played an exalted role in the Ruchunchu coup d'état. As a reward, the spoils of the vanquished were distributed among them. Their major fees are the Bumbogo, Luhanga, Bussigi, etc.

Under the ultimate supervision of this high dignitary, one family is in charge of cultivating in the sacred land of Bumbogo the sorghum and eleusine which are later brought to court for the yearly "first-fruits festival." We shall speak of this later when we discuss festivals.

The head of this family is sometimes called "king of the first fruits" (umwami w'umuganura). The father and founder of the Batsobe clan, as we have already mentioned, was raised to noble rank and brought into Ruanda by the Hamitic king, Ruganzu II, as a result of the latter's expedition into Bugara lands, north of the Mulera, against the petty king Nzira, son of Mulamira. In connivance with his mother, the ancestor of the Batsobe had sheltered the disguised

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen [778 372] from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda).

774 This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and 173 he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are re- [769] cruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

644 634 641 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises, the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain the latter's approval.

644 778 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

[534] This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it [402] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock, and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails "turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

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1. They are among others Kanyoni, son of Gatibamenya, and Rubunda, princes of the Ndorwa area; Nyagaketchuru, the woman chief who governed part of Huyi in the Nyaruguru; Mutaga, the king of Urundi who was killed under the reign of Mutara I; Nyirabihoro, another princess from the neighborhood of Uswi; Kabego, king of the isle of Idjwi (in Lake Kivu), and his son Nkundiye.

644 This drum is jealously guarded within the enclosure of the
778 royal palace, on the east side in a hut called by the name of imilinga,
[344] that is to say, "copper objects."

This term is both metaphorical and euphemistic, and well understood by the people. It is metaphorical so as not to draw the attention of enemies upon the function of the hut, and it is also euphemistic so as to remind the courtiers of the importance of this palladium, which is likened thereby, to the copper threads and bracelets formerly regarded by the Banyarwanda as precious objects. The same hut serves as museum and repository. It also shelters the other royal drums which played a role in the past, before the Kalinga, in its stead, or along with it. /373/

[552] These drums bear characteristic names. Perhaps they should be regarded merely as symbols or trophies, reminders of victories won in the past by the Hamitic kings over the autochthonous princes. The latter's lands and drums went from their hands into those of the Batutsi monarchs.

The hut also encloses enormous quivers (imitana), arrows, spears, and other weapons of varied shapes and sizes. A certain element of taste must have presided over the selection of this booty, for people who have managed to see them say that the objects in the collection are almost invariably characterized by a certain richness, a great deal of originality, and fairly careful craftsmanship.

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
[202] /374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
533 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
644 hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated
[614] to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
644 name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of
814 closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

644 5. In certain cases and where certain objects are concerned, the king must help himself directly. When he wishes to play the drum, as he is wont to do, his followers set the sticks on the ground before him instead of offering them to him spontaneously. The prince picks them up himself.

To hand them over to him, which to us seems so simple, might cause him to die (gukenya).

644 272 6. It is for the same reason that the servants entrusted with keeping the milk in the famous "hut that devours its inhabitants" (ikiryana) observe the same custom. Two or three large bowls full [415] of milk are brought into the hut where the king is served. They are carefully closed with a lid woven of vegetable fiber.

Small wooden vessels known by the name of ichyantsi (plural ibyantsi) are laid before His Majesty. Whether there are two, four, or even eight of them, they must be immaculately clean. The servant fills a first container, which the king picks up himself without any help.

If the milk pleases him he goes on drinking, but he is careful not to finish it.

He must leave half of it, lest milk become scarce (ngw'amata atagabanuka) in the realm. Meanwhile, the servant fills another vessel, which the king picks up himself as he did the first one.

The first one is filled again. This table service continues until the king's hunger is satisfied.

644 7. Custom demands that when appearing at court one should clap one's hands three times (gukom'amashi) and use the customary formulas, with the sole addition of "king" (umwami) or "Sire" (Nyagasani). This is about the only external mark of respect reserved for the sovereign. /494/

644 293 8. At night the king must never be without the native hammer called Nyarushara. This tool goes with him on all his journeys.

412 It is left under the fine grass which serves as the monarch's bolster and pillow (barayisegurir' umwami).

778 It is a sort of ancient talisman which theoretically has not yet lost any of its mystic power. It was wrought according to the specifications of Mashira, the sorcerer-petty king, by an able

644 blacksmith, Gihu, son of Muhinda, on the hill of Mpanda (mu Buhigiro,
293 i Kizibaziba) in the Nduga. This was done to enable the Hamitic
412 king with whom this autochthonous prince had concluded an alliance
778 to turn back the Banyoro who had invaded Ruanda. The hammer, which is octogonal in shape (imigong' umunane), symbolized an all-powerful symbolic being. The artisan, on Mashira's specifications, had wrought two breasts upon it (1). Mutabazi, the monarch's son,

1. Such details demonstrate the importance attached to this fearsome mystic weapon. Nothing has been forgotten concerning the circumstances of its manufacture, the date, the place, the artisan, the man who inspired the project, etc.

only had to sit down and hold upon his knees the "dreadful" magic device, pointed facing the enemy, for the latter to be hewed to pieces.

Two other small hammers with the same origin and which played the same role are laid beside the Nyarushara. They are known by the name of ubushingo or abagaragu bayo, that is to say, its "companions." Every morning at about nine, when the drum called Ndamutsa ("I greet") is played to proclaim the rising and appearance of the monarch, the latter must touch the talisman hammer as if the day's luck depended upon it.

9. Inyundo ya Barenge, "the hammer of the Barenge people."

It is not known exactly why the hammer thus named is kept at court. /495/

Does it really belong to the Barenge, who lived in the country several centuries ago? This is hard to say. Since it is very heavy and weighs two or three times as much as an ordinary hammer, the king's laborers sometimes use it as a mallet to drive stakes (imiganda) into rocky ground (1).

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1. The existence of stones shaped like hammers has given rise to several tales.

The Banyarwanda formerly believed that the vault of heaven was a sort of rocky crust (urutare).

This is why in the legend of Kigwa they explain the fall of the first Hamitic king and his settlement in Ruanda in the following way. "Kigwa," they say, "being in the sky, wished to know what there was in the land below.

"Taking a hammer, he dealt repeated blows to the celestial vault. A small opening was made and the hammer fell out of his hand and down to the Mulera, at the spot called Gifuna. He attempted to enlarge the hole with a second hammer. He struck with such violence that the vault caved in under him. Kigwa fell from the sky but arose safe and sound in the sacred land of the Buhanga on the Muko plain. The hammer sank into the ground near Ntenyo, at the place called Nyundo ("hammer").

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"This one may still be seen," add the Blacks. A stone lies at that spot which looks from afar like a native hammer.

The natives lavish upon it a superstitious worship mingled with fear. No one may touch it. Should a sacrilegious hand attempt

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to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

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It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

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It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

Sacred Cows

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The idea for this select group is traced back to Ruganzu. These special herds are known as inyambo, or long-horned cattle, and they are always selected among the finest in the land. They are not all of the same color.

Among other hues, the following predominate: dusty red (ibihogo by' issine), purplish red (ibihogo by' igaju), red speckled with [822] white (ibihogo by' imyeru), and black and white, which are all favorite colors of the Batutsi.

Special cowherds are in charge of watching over those herds, which usually graze in the Buganza.

They are led to the capital for festivals or public celebrations. The finest animals, known as inyamibga or indatwa /510/ (from the word kurata, "to show off"), lead the herd.

There is usually only one or two of these in each herd, and they are accustomed to walking ahead of the others. Their horns, brow, and neck are covered with rows of beads and small antelope horns which serve as ornaments (imitako n' imiheha). Also included [824] are stems of the sacrosanct umwishwa grass, which the cowherds also wear on chest and head on numerous occasions. Then special [535] dances take place which are organized by the keepers of the herd or even by the Batwa and in which the animals participate with their mooing.

The cows are quite familiar with this kind of sport, and they seem to take an interest in it and watch the motions of the dancers. The latter emit special guttural cries all the while, in order to excite the animals further.

Performances of this sort are highly esteemed by the Banyarwanda and attract large crowds.

After the celebration the sacred cows return to their Buganza pastures. Their keepers treat them with great care and are the only ones permitted to milk them, just as they are the only ones to drink their milk.

The calves are gorged with milk and weaned quite late.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat animals who died a natural death, they are strictly forbidden

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778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

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543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived
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543 the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

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1. This expression "big hill" is readily understood by the natives, because it serves to designate the spot where a reigning monarch drew his last breath.

sacred groves (2) reserved for royal tombs by custom or tradition.

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2. We owe the reader an explanation of the expression "sacred grove, " which will recur frequently, The word "sacred" is taken here in a broad and technical sense to mean that these groves are set aside and closed to laymen, who may not enter them. They are guarded by official watchmen, who see to it that the grounds are properly respected.

The Banyamugogo, who become the temporary masters of the area, have a large hut built and enlist for its construction the services of neighboring people.

There the remains of the sovereign are sheltered and laid upon a grid in the middle of the hut, about 1. 50 meters above ground. The members of the corporation keep a fire burning under the grid for several days in order to dry out the corpse and prevent it from putrefying.

The body, which lies on a bed of skins, is constantly moved so that the heat from the fire may reach all its parts. /518/

The keepers of the hut take turns without interruption, day and night, by the fire they must maintain. Meanwhile, no layman may come near the place under penalty of death.

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The undertakers keep up their work until, according to popular belief, the corpse gives birth to a leopard, which is at first

643 765 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might [689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the [731] ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

766 778 Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe, [824] the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa), and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

766 The sacred groves are numerous, and it is surprising to find
778 them most everywhere, even in the most deserted areas.

Royal cemeteries and former residences are legion. There is
778 not one province in Ruanda that does not boast several of them at
766 least.

They are found even in bordering lands which were invaded
644 more than once by the Banyarwanda. Their numbers are understandable if one recalls the nomadic life of the warrior kings such as Ruganzu and Lwabugiri, who did not sleep often under the same roof. The sovereign had only to spend the night in a hut along the way for the spot to become sacred from then on. The owners had to abandon their dwelling and go elsewhere or build at the side. The ficus branches which fenced in the courtyard went on growing and created a new sacred grove (ikigabiro).

These groves are made up of various tree species, with the
[824] ficus usually predominating. Several types of this tree are found: imigobge, imilehe, imikobe, imitabataba, etc.

The bark of the last two trees is used to make a kind of cloth
[287] which wears out rapidly (impuzu). Those clumps of trees, which are almost invariably green and which loom into sight here and there, contrast with the bareness of the land, /524/ especially in the Nduga, and lend it a characteristic appearance which does not lack a certain charm.

Among the sacred groves, some of which stand on the tallest hills, only eight or nine at most are known to have been used as royal burial grounds. The others mark the sites of former royal capitals and recall the successive moves occasioned by the numerous expeditions undertaken in certain reigns. They are referred to by the generic name of ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," from the word kugabira, "to distribute" or "to offer as a gift." As we can see, the term ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," is quite suited etymologically to the tree clumps which mark the sites of the former royal dwellings, whose owners, by virtue of their absolute ownership and power, could mete out all sorts of favors to their subjects. It was only by extension that the same name was quite wrongly applied to the royal cemeteries. Indeed, custom does not allow the popular

778 and common terms ikibira, "cemetery," imva or "igituro, "grave,"
766 to be used in this connection. In certain parts of Ruanda, owing to
644 the respect with which the king is regarded and to the reverential fear he inspires, the Blacks use another expression which is much more accurate. One frequently hears them speak of musezero (misezero in the plural), that is to say, the place where the monarch permanently "took leave" of his subjects, from the verb gusezera, which means "to take leave."

The word umusezero is now commonly used to mean "restricted place," "guarded place," because in summer when people set fire to the tall grass, they first clear the bush from the edges of the cemeteries to protect the royal graves from fire. /525/

2. Main Royal Cemeteries

766 It is at Gasseke in the Nduga, about four hours from the Kabgayi mission in the northeast, that one of the first "sepulchral" groves is found where a prince by the name of Chyilima was buried.

Two monarchs by this name are known. It was during the
173 reign of the more recent of the two that the famous migration into
643 Ruanda of the "Mutes," or "Foreign men with an incomprehensible
766 language," took place. According to tradition, the one with whom
778 we are dealing here was the brother and immediate successor of Ruganzu I, surnamed Bwimba (1), who lived long before his illustrious

1. The natives relate that the mother of this Ruganzu late in life married one of her courtiers named Chenge, and Chyilima-Rugwe was born of this union. She did this to the great dissatisfaction of her eldest son, Ruganzu I, for it ran contrary to the custom which requires the queen mother to live solely with the reigning prince.

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The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [175] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit...and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

173 As for the royal cemetery of Luhanga, which lies atop the
643 plateau of the same name, the inhabitants of the area all concur in
766 the belief that if King Gihanga himself was not buried there, that is
to say, the eminent "Creator," then at least his wife Nyirakabogo was.
778 It is probable that numerous other monarchs sleep their last sleep
there by the queen's side, but the people are not quite sure of their
names anymore.

Nor are they sure of the names of those who were buried on the neighboring Kayenzi-Bussigi plateau, where four of those cemeteries are to be found.

The names of the princes buried in the northern most cemetery are better known. The inhabitants of the area are almost unanimous in naming Kigeri-Mibambge and Nyiramavugo as being buried there. During the last European war, which had local repercussions, the natives were rightly frightened and erected huts (indaro) over their tombs where they offered numerous sacrifices. As for Queen Nyiramavugo, the elders recall seeing her corpse go by in their earliest childhood. /527/ The body was laid at the foot of the plateau for the night before being carried to the top where it was buried. This was the mother of Lwogera-Mutara, that is to say, the grandmother of the present king.

Malembo, daughter of Nyamajinya and mother of Yuhi-Mazimpaka, was buried on one or the other of the two plateaus, it is not known exactly which. One still hears of Yuhi-Mazimpaka himself and of a sister of Ruganzu, Nyirangabo, who, according to the natives, were buried in the afore-mentioned cemeteries. What is certain is that the grove which follows upon the first one starting from the north holds the remains of Kilongoro, daughter of a certain Magoma and mother of Chyilima-Ludjugira, who succeeded Yuhi-Mazimpaka.

According to present-day opinion, the sacred groves of Luhanga and Kayenzi-Bussigi are reserved exclusively for the burial of queen mothers (abanyambuto, "those of the grains"), that is to say,
[562] those who provided the heir to the throne and who reigned along with him.

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The best known of the royal cemeteries is that of Rutare in the mountainous Buyaga area, not far from Lake Mohazi near the frontier of Ruanda.

The existence of this resting place is traced back, rightly or wrongly, to Ruganzu II, who is said to have been the first one to be buried there.

According to one tradition, he had himself chosen the site of his tomb on this high spot, so as to be an insuperable obstacle to the enemies of Ruanda even after his death. This tradition is seriously challenged by the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga (1).

1. Cf. Book III, The Reign of Ruganzu II.

The last two kings who were buried there and who are recalled most readily were Lwogera and Lwabugiri, the immediate predecessors of the present reigning monarch.

It is rather difficult to say for how many monarchs the sepulchral grove of Rutare has served as last resting place. /528/ The trees in the thickets, some of which are quite old, were formerly separate but eventually merged. Here and there, old trunks which marked the site of the courtyards in which the huts were built have disappeared, so that one cannot count the funerery enclosures with any exactitude. There do not seem to be more than eight or ten.

Three other royal cemeteries are found at Musenyi in the Nduga to the south of the Kabgayi mission, about two hours away. The first one stands on the slope of a hill called by the name of Mayebe. It is made up of a small wood of thorny acacia trees which have reached their maximum height and whose long intertwined branches lend a mysterious atmosphere to the grove, where a half light barely penetrates. Some other trees with thicker foliage dominate the grove. Those are the inganzamarombo (1).

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1. They are called thus from kuganza, "to overtop," and marombo, "swarms of bees," because the natives like to set their hives there.

173 643 766 778 A native village stands nearby, its banana groves bordering on the thickets. Its occupants are in charge of watching over the cemetery, which according to the opinion of the Banya-Nduga (inhabitants of the Nduga province) includes the tomb of Ruganzu II Ndori. Those who claim that his body was buried at Rutare cling to their opinion and insist that he was merely "smoked" at Mayebe. The inhabitants of the latter area, on the other hand, claim in turn that after having been mummified he was indeed buried right there, and add that this is the usual procedure. The place is quite commonly known by the name of "Ruganzu's cemetery."

According to the same interpretation, this prince alone was buried there.

Not far from Mayebe, two other small groves made up chiefly of ficus trees stand barely 300 meters apart. /529/ According to some, the corpses of several queens by the name of Nyirakigeri and Nyirayuhi were mummified there. Local people insist that they were also buried there, and support their claim by adding that the place where a king or queen is smoked is also the place where they are buried. The two clumps of trees formerly made up a single sacred grove, and this is why the natives call them by the same name.

The last of those cemeteries stands two kilometers farther. It is made up of handsome ficus trees, but the same controversies arise concerning the use to which this funeral site was put. It is called "the cemetery of the queens who bore the name of Nyiramavugo."

It is not easy to give precise information on this subject. The [123] keepers of the groves, the undertakers (abanyamugogo), and the official chroniclers (Abachur' ubgenge) are not willing to surrender all their information on the subject. The statements of other people are unreliable.

Funerary enclosures called ilaro (amalaro in the plural), or "night stopping places," are also found in the area.

They mark the sites of huts which served as shelters for the mortal remains of kings and queens in transit to the cemeteries.

The dwellings had to be abandoned after their visit, just as happens when a prince travelling through his realm stops for the night.

173 The term gisozi ("big hill") serves, as we have said, to
643 designate the place where a king died.

It is the augmentative of the word musozi, which means "hill"
766 and by extension "village." This term belongs to the /word/ class
778 prefixed by the consonant ki.

This class includes nothing but words conveying the idea of majesty, fear, etc. /530/

There are numerous groves in this category, such as those of Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

In order to prove the truth of any pronouncement or assertion, the natives use the following phrase which alludes in metaphorical terms to the death of one or another of their sovereigns, Mb' ali jye wakuye
[539] Lwogera i Kaganza!

"Let it be I ('if I do not speak the truth' being implied here) who tore (King) Lwogera away from Kaganza (name of the place where the king died)!"

The reader must have noted that kings and queen mothers
[644] alone have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Mere wives were entitled to no special honors after their death. They were buried like common mortals. Queen mothers, that is to say, those who bore the heir to the throne and then reigned with him, were granted the same funerary honors as sovereigns.

Aside from the groves we have just described, there is also
173 mention of one at Bugarama-Ntare (i Behurura) not far from Rukoma.
644 It is believed to be the spot where the undertakers fulfilled their usual
766 functions at the death of a queen named Nyirakigeri. The sacred
778 grove of Butare, which now only includes a few very old trees, is thought to be the place where Nyagihaga, daughter of Ruyenzi and mother of a Chyilima or Mutara died (1).

1. The official chroniclers do provide a genealogical list of the kings of Ruanda, with the name of their mothers and of the clans to which the latter belonged, but this cannot be fully credited. We have

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seen that the names of the
first kings were pure fantasy.
The chronological order of
several others is lacking,
and the chroniclers do not agree
on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

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a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses, are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

[178] The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

767 trees and green branches. Human conscience can adapt itself to any-
●778 thing. The keepers, who get their share, pretend to see nothing.
178 As a result, relatives and friends take full advantage of their tacit permission and make inconspicuous forays into the groves.

b. General honors paid to the spirits of the royal dead.
769 The dead are neither forgotten nor forsaken. Superstitious fear plays its part in the cult of the dead. /532/ The Blacks' fear of the dead recalls them constantly to the remembrance of the living (1). From

1. The muzimu retains "the passions, tastes, inclinations, and grudges that characterized it during the material life span of the individual whose existence it perpetuates spiritually after death." (Maurice Delafosse.) To the natives, this belief explains and justifies the cult of spirits.

time to time and in important circumstances, when real or imagined calamities threaten, the drums are beaten in their honor.

Huts (indaro) of varying size are raised on their graves, and sacrifices performed in them to pacify and ingratiate their spirits.

At certain times, young bulls are sent from the capital and immolated by the sacrificers with pomp and solemnity.

The things most readily sent are small earthenware vessels, rounded, rather graceful, (uruherezo, imperezo), filled with banana wine, which the keepers offer as a libation to the dead kings in order to win their support.

Similar sacrifices were, and still are, performed occasionally
[778] at the sites of numerous former royal dwellings: at Lwamaraba near the Kabgayi mission, at Mwurire near the Savé mission, at Lussagara near Nyaluhengeri, in honor of Lwabugiri, Lwogera, and another Mutara, a son of Ruganzu II, to mention only a few (2). /533/

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2. Many of those former royal residences recall historic events which took place at the site or in the vicinity.

It was at Mwurire that Mutara I, a son of Ruganzu II, vanquished the king of Urundi, a Mutaga, whose lands extended that far at the time.

On Ruehunchu hill, not far from a former residence of Lwabugiri's at Rubugurizo (that is to say, according to the etymological sense of the word, "at the spot where the king's sons played backgammon"), the natives point out the spot where Mibambge-Rutalindwa, Lwabugiri's appointed heir, set fire to himself and his people /relations and friends/ in 1896, in some hastily built huts, when he found himself about to be captured by partisans of the powerful Bega family who had rebelled against him. In the Bumbogo, at places called Mbilima and Matovu, some tall fiscus trees mark the site /533/ of a dwelling formerly occupied by an important chief of the Batsobe clan who had married King Lwabugiri's own mother.

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The latter, having grown up, wanted to wreak vengeance for what he regarded not only as a serious infringement of court custom but also as a crime of high treason.

His warriors surrounded the hill one day.

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

769 [609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

769 766 791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies.

769 [775] The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 – At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
[775] with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be
578 the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

493 [578] courtyard at the king's compound, guarded by Batwa. A consecrated elephant tusk is also supposed to be kept there.

During the visit in Nyanza by His Highness the Duke, Musinga climbed into a ngobi at the request of Captain W. Von Grawert. This is the conveyance in which the chiefs are carried on journeys. The king was reluctant to do this, perhaps because he was afraid or because this form of conveyance did not seem to him appropriate to his rank.

643 484 While the king is on a journey, his Batwa bearers may get food wherever they wish, for everything is the king's property. That is why Lwabugiri, who was always traveling about, became such a burden to the country. Only the Batwa speak longingly of those days. They accompanied his expeditions, and I often heard them say: "In those days there was a lot of meat. Now Batwa have no standing."

Dr. Hans Meyer says: (1) "...since a sacred tradition forbids

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 347.

him (Musinga) to travel beyond the borders of his central province, he is very limited in his outlook." This statement must be based on a misunderstanding, since the rulers of Ruanda formerly traveled a great deal, and this is spoken of in detail in the legends. In all probability a native told Professor Meyer how much he disliked the troublesome journeys of the king, hoping, perhaps, that by misleading an influential European he might make the king's journeys impossible in the future.

565 Social Organization. We can distinguish four classes among the population of Ruanda. The privileged class consists of the royal officials. It includes the feudal lords of the king (bagaragu) and their subchiefs with their retinues, as well as the rest of the dignitaries at court. Most of the court officials are also feudal lords; some, however, like the head of the royal smiths, are said to hold no lands.

Among the elect, the highest rank is, of course, held by the family of the king, the Banieginia, and that of the queen mother, the Bega.

775 There are trees, however, that are associated with remem-
778 brance of the dead. These trees were planted either by them or
824 in connection with them, usually in the settlements. Thus, at
211 the birth of a child a fig tree is planted, which is later associated with the person, even after his death. It seems that in these trees, as on the hedges of abandoned settlements, spirits of the dead abide.

778 Trees are also planted in memory of historical events. Thus,
824 Dr. Kandt (1) says: "At the end of the bridge (cliff bridge of the
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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 365.

Ruzizi) there is still standing a young fig tree, an immana, a soul tree, which was planted by Luabugiri, the former king of Ruanda, when he set out to fight against Bunjabungu which is on the right bank. There is a steep, almost perpendicular path of a few hundred meters, down which he and his warriors set out to their destruction. On the tree hang straw and metal rings, the offerings of pious wanderers, and on the bridge people point out the footprint of the king's favorite dog in the cliff and tell a legend similar to the one about the Rosstrappe [Tr., a rock in the Harz Mountains]."

With reference to another type of memorial tree which is only indirectly connected with historical personages, Dr. Kandt (2)

2. Ibid., p. 504.

says: "They (trees on the eastern point of the lake) are sacred because King Luabugiri camped on this spot when he set out on his campaign against Bunjabungu (1894), from which he returned to Ruanda a dying man.... The boat that carried the ruler into the war is still lying under the trees, half buried in the ground. It was hollowed out from a giant tree of the primeval forest, but now it is split down the middle, partly rotted, and disintegrating more and more each year. As I remember, it is about 18 meters long and one and a quarter meters wide."

The memorial trees looming up on the heights are very characteristic of the Ruanda landscape. They are conspicuous because they form such a contrast to the bare hilltops. Their

778 religious character was already known through Captain Hermann,
824 and they are referred to simply as Imana trees.
211 It seems to be chiefly the Batutsi who venerate the memorial trees. The fig trees on the heights are most numerous and most beautiful in places where the Batutsi have the greatest power. On the other hand, it is said that sometimes at night Bahutu secretly take wood from the sacred trees. The Batwa, who fear no one and who have also preserved their independence in spiritual matters, do [301] this quite openly in the daytime, but there are not enough of them to destroy the trees and change the landscape.

776 Imana and Batabazi. In our general discussion of the interlacustrine region [not translated], we pointed out that the spirits of dead kings and rulers have a special place among the manes. They are distinguished from the undifferentiated mass of bazimu by their greater power. They are known and feared in larger circles. This is the case, for example, with the spirit of Kimeni in Kissaka. It is not impossible that from this we shall be able to explain the contrast between the rule of Ryangombe in the underworld, which seems to be patterned after the organization of Batutsi states, and the familial anarchy of the ordinary manes. However, it is doubtful whether the central figure of the Ruanda pantheon, the creator of the world, Imana, can be associated with the spirits of the dead. He probably must be considered as derived from foreign influence. Perhaps this also explains the underworld residence of the court of Ryangombe, whereas the rest of the bazimu remain with their living relatives.

776 Imana is the lord of lightning, thunder, and rain. One ad-
782 dresses him with the words: "Nabone Imana yandemie ikalema tata, na sokokuru, na sokuruza, na mukaka, na mukakuruzu, na mama. Ikankiza, nkuko yabakidjidji! (Favor me, Imana, who created my father, and my grandfather, and the father of my grandfather, and my grandmother, and the mother of my grandmother, and my mother. He has healed me, how he has healed me!)"

No sacrifices are made to Imana. Thus, he plays no part in the cult and satisfies only, if we may so express it, a philosophical need.

776 Even though Imana is supposedly the creator, there are no
773 special tales about his relation to the other powerful spirits, for example, Ryangombe. The Banyaruanda seem to have an altogether vague and indefinite idea of him. The strangest thing is the story of his appearance on earth in the form of a child who was even whiter than kaolin (runoni). The child had supernatural power. Among other things, he changed water into milk. Imana created the first human beings. The first man married his sister, but neither of them had a father or a mother. Imana gave them fire.

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) listed Lugira, Lulema, and

1. Parisch, F.R.Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

Kihanga as synonyms for Imana.

The myths about Imana seem to be less known or kept more secret, at least in Kissaka, than the stories about other spirits.

778 [302] Every Mututsi is said to revere a particularly sacred
825 bull in his herd, which has a secret connection with Imana. The sacred bull of Musinga was allegedly very fierce and attacked many people. It is maintained that those who were attacked by the bull were recognized by the animal as enemies of the king. If they came through alive, they were in former times punished with death. This custom has been given up in the last three or four years, probably as the result of greater contact with Europeans, but the unfortunate ones are still in very bad repute.

778 We must not forget that the vessels containing remnants of chickens and the fat of sacrificed sheep, which the Batutsi wear around their necks, are also called "Imana."

776 Even more puzzling than Imana are the batabazi in the
773 Ruanda pantheon. I have already mentioned them in the chapter on the history of Ruanda. Father L. Classe told me that the myth of the flood as well as the idea of the sacrifice of an individual life to save mankind appear in the batabazi legends. The people survive the flood in a hut made watertight with earth.

794 575 Secret Societies. The cult of Ryangombe is practiced by the secret societies of babandwa. These societies unite men and women, Batutsi and Bahutu.

In Nduga, above all, the secret societies of babandwa embrace a considerable part of the population. There, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, they seem not only to represent well-organized religious groups, but also to play a role in politics.

This is said to be especially true of the Biheko cult, for example. It is blamed for many a disturbance in the northern part of Ruanda. Biheko was apparently a woman consecrated to Binego, the disciple of Ryangombe. She was killed by Lwabugiri who, it seems, in doing this fought the particularistic tendencies of the north. In order to escape the revenge of her spirit, Lwabugiri permitted his subjects to be initiated into the cult she represented. Since that time, the Biheko cult is said to have made great progress in Mulera and Bugoye.

According to Father L. Classe (1) Biheko was a man from

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 440.

Ndorwa whose brothers were Lutindangezi, Gahaya, and Maloli.

[778] In Mulera the iron rods known as ikrosho are connected with the Biheko cult. They were already described in Mpororo by Stuhlmann (2) and associated with the Nyawingi cult.

2. Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika [Into the Heart of Africa with Emin Pasha] (Berlin, 1894), p. 253.

794 575 782 763 The dogma is somewhat as follows. Only those consecrated to Ryangombe may contact him, but it is necessary to establish contact with him. It is only through sacrifices that one can persuade Ryangombe to let the spirits that have been driven out return to the birunga (volcanoes) [306] and free the living from

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in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions
[643] that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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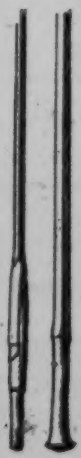

The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[778] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

RELIGION

793 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 THE list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Rwanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

613 When the umulyango had a head (chosen in a similar way to the inzu head), he is said to have had the power to give orders to the heads of the component inzu and to draw up general rules for all the umulyango members. I was told, for instance, that the chief of a certain umulyango had ruled that the members should not marry girls of the ubwoko of the Abacyaba. This prohibition about 150 years old is still observed. When the secondary lineage had a head, he fulfilled very much the same function as an 'appeal court' for all decisions taken within the inzu. Such an umulyango organization existed among Hutu and Tutsi, but seems to have been more common in the important Tutsi lineages.

614 The patriclan (ubwoko) had no head and no collective activities. It was usually agamous, although there may have been an exogamy rule in one particular clan. An animal species was associated with [1118] each clan. Its members were not allowed to kill any of them and were even obliged to protect them. The animal was not thought of as a reincarnation of the ancestor's spirit but probably only as a living symbol of the clan.[14]

614 563 Unlike the inzu and the umulyango, any ubwoko could have both Tutsi and Hutu among its members. There was no purely Hutu or purely Tutsi patriclan. When asked if this meant that Tutsi and Hutu of the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered that it did not. They explain it by the relationships which have linked Hutu to Tutsi as clients or servants. After some time the Hutu were identified with the group of their master. Such identification was particularly easy since Tutsi frequently emigrated from one region of Ruanda to another with their Hutu clients and servants. Some Hutu told me that as Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa (mythical figures who, as their names indicate, were supposed to be ancestors of the three groups) were brothers, it is not impossible that Tutsi and Hutu of one clan could have had the same ancestor. At all events clansmen who were of different socio-'racial' groups did not exhibit any solidarity at all and behaved towards each other as complete strangers.

613 562 As has been said, Ego's wife belonged to her own patrilineage for ever. This is why the social role of Ego's wife has not been mentioned in this section. But as she took part in many of the

[14] Some examples of the totemic animals of patriclans are: Abazigaba, the leopard (*ingwe*), Abasinga, the hawk (*sakabaka*), Abega, the frog (*igikeli*), Abagesera, the wagtail (*nyamanza*), Abacyaba, the hyena (*impyisi*).

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(*e*) *Ritual function*

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
[781] by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman
[843] may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
[825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [288] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and 778 reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce [782] of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 356 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage 342 next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding [514] the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air.

[182] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt,

[191] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The

262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence

438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
B25 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
231 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist
776 between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[742] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade. [439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the [262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior [782] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453). [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by 262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 753 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom: when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

423 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale:
651 Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the people?]!

311 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is
578 not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and against agriculture, will continue even when this big country is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of
000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at present, since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agricultural production and to sell more. These difficulties will only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions relating to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concentrated fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily upon these areas and retarding their development: the rule of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is necessary than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall
782 mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it (No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

241 beginning of the cultivation of the fields as soon as the rainy
782 season has started. This is done after he and his sorcerers (abafumu) have practiced a number of ceremonies and have
[776] offered sacrifices to the principal god, Imana, the fertility god. The order of the head chief is passed on by the subchief to the lower batwale who again pass it on to the Bahutu. The Bahutu also offer small gifts to the god. When they begin to till the field, a sorcerer (umufumu) dances in front of them on the first day, shouting and gesticulating, to banish the evil spirits and to bless the seed.

241 According to Father Gaisldinger the consecration of the
782 fields takes a somewhat different form in central Urundi
796 (Mujaga). At the beginning of the rainy season, after the high grass has been cut down and dug into the topsoil with hoes, work is started with a ceremony that is supposed to bring the blessing of Kiranga. [58] The men, painted yellow and red, line up with their hoes on the field which is to be tilled. Kiranga with two escorts (ivisjego) sits on the side of the field. A girl who is painted and richly adorned stands in front of the men in the center of the field. She now begins to jump, dance, and sing while cutting the high grass with her sickle. Still singing, she asks Kiranga for a successful sowing and curses the sorcerers and witches who might want to harm the field. The men promise her ample gifts of beer for the summer. The men walk slowly behind her turning the soil over with their hoes which they strike rhythmically into the ground. Depending on the type of seed, Kiranga is invoked by a particular name: Njamurimi when sorghum is sown, Njabaschi for peanuts, Rumambo for corn, etc. (No. 45, p. 316).

782 The heir presumptive to the throne of the king is believed
241 to hold in his clenched fist at birth a grain of seed of each of the
[644] crops of Urundi. If the corn or sorghum in a field has been dashed to the ground by hail or a cloudburst, the Muhutu who cultivated the plot runs around the field with a cattle bell, and by its noisy clanging he reminds the god to whom he has made sacrifices of his duty to protect the field from evil spirits. If this clanging of the bell is done properly, the crops lying on the ground will raise themselves to an upright position.

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
[563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 415 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[276] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
[782] ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 276 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 323 439 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping. Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

396 Often the boat has to be transported a long distance to
496 its launching site. This may take several days. An umufumu (sorcerer) walks in front, scattering "salutary" powder on the road so as to make sure that the boat will reach the water undamaged. As soon as the boat is launched, the people participating in the celebration sing and dance on both sides of the river. Then a pot of banana beer is covered with river clay and placed inside the boat; the immediate participants drink from
[782] the pot and spit into the river to appease the evil spirits. The clay on the pot is rubbed by the participants on their foreheads and on those of the members of their family as protection against accidents. Then the boat is rowed across the river to the other shore, and the people there go through the same ceremonies. The consecration of the boat is concluded by a dance
[273] of the abafumu (medicine men) and ends in a general drinking bout. (No. 19, p. 66)

If after the launching of the boat it is discovered that it
396 lacks buoyancy or equilibrium, corrections are made by further carving with knife or ax or by putting stones inside for ballast. It has already been mentioned (p.73) that the dugouts have neither seats nor rudder. The way they are propelled has also been described.

[83] I have also already discussed the very simple technique (p.31) of making barkcloth (fig. bast felt).

The technique for hides and leatherwork is also very
281 simple. The Barundi on rare occasions use a piece of hide as their only garment. Otherwise they mainly use hides as blankets. The Batwa, however, prefer garments of hide to those made of barkcloth; consequently they are the most expert workers in leather (abaharra). However, both the Batwa and the Bahutu use the same technique. If it is merely a matter of firm, hard leather for lids, quivers, binding material for fastening arrowheads, etc., the hide is simply scraped clean and dried in the sun. If, however, soft, flexible leather (urusato) is needed for garments and blankets, it must be tanned. Since in Urundi the method of tanning and tawing is little known, as was originally the case in all other parts of Africa (No. 32a, p. 47), the hide

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state. [782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders [411] are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read 787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are 726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or 727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed. 721 Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces [648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and 853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feel- 845 ings. Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand, Gassldinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No. 45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the 845 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and 782 celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in. Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By vener- [776] ating this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19, 845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces 535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffoca-
[826] tion). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

553 As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

775 The spirits of the dead are, without exception, more or less evil and hostile to the living even if they were relatively good-natured when they were still alive. The dead person was forced to leave behind everything that he loved and cherished in his life, and for this reason he is filled with envy for those who survive and possess all these things. These jealous spirits, hostile to men and causing sickness, ruined crops, cattle epidemics, and other misfortunes, are the dreaded abasimu or imisimu (sing., umusimu); to repel, confine, appease them, or to win their favor forms the largest part of the thoughts and acts which occupy a Barundi's mind in his daily life. We find these primitive evil spirits among all the Bahima under the same name, abasimu or imisimu, even in the southern area of settlement, in Ufipa (No. 47, pp. 167-168). The envy and 775 hostility of the abasimu are soothed and assuaged by placing 782 valuable objects belonging to the deceased on his grave. Also, as often as possible morsels of food and parts of the objects formerly belonging to the deceased and now in use are offered as a sacrifice (see p.136). The incorporeal spirit eats or uses only the incorporeal part of these sacrifices, i.e., the "essence" of the proffered beer, meat, millet gruel, jugs, knives, arrows, hoes, etc. The sacrificial offerings are nothing but a premium to obtain greater security against the hostility of the abasimu. By no means can they be regarded as pious offerings to the revered and beloved ancestors. The Murundi only offers sacrifices to the manes because he is afraid of them. Yet a more effective method than making sacrifices is joining a 775 religious secret society, the religious fraternity of the ababandwa 794 of which we shall speak in greater detail below (p. 124). These ababandwa assume a privileged position in the realm of the spirits after their death. If their behavior within the society has been found correct, they come to Riangombe where, as imandwa, they form a kind of bodyguard of the god. They are, so to speak, the saints of the Barundi heaven.

776 Above the innumerable nameless abasimu and above the imandwa there is a stratum of higher spirits who are given names.

776 of cattle led by two sacred steers. He is thought to have a sacred
778 mountain administered by a priestess who wields great influence
793 and is even immune to the power of the king, although the latter keeps her under constant guard so as to insure that she fulfills her cult duties. If she neglects her duties, she and her closest relatives are executed upon the order of the king. Her office, it is said, begins and ends with the reign of the king, for after the king's death she has to take poison.

776 Father Gassldinger describes Kiranga as the "great
782 destroyer," the Lucifer of the Barundi. People appeal to him first in all their afflictions, misery, and fear, and it is to him that most sacrificial huts (akararo) are dedicated. Inside these huts there is, as a rule, a big three-legged earthen pot with three spouts into which the sacrifice is deposited. Besides beer, grain stalks constitute the main sacrificial offerings made in these huts. Horns of cattle are also burned in them as sacrifices (No. 45, 1913, p. 359 ff.).

776 It is characteristic of the confused conception which the Barundi have of the different personalities of their gods and spirits that they often mix up the terms and attribute the names of several gods to a single one of them. For example, one may hear them say: "Riangombe is powerful, he is Kiranga; Kagoro is also Kiranga, he is Sengoga." Kiranga is also called Rugaba, Ruhanga, Inganje, Njabaski, Indagarra, or Rukisa, or these names are used as epithets of Imana, and the word Imana itself is used as a plural concept (No. 45, 1913, p. 363). Among the names listed there are several which we already know, as shown above (p.120), from other Bahima states as the names of specific gods and spirits. In Urundi their images seem to have faded [122] so much that they are confused with one another, and the concepts people had of them seem to have been reduced to mere attributes or epithets of Imana who in any case has already become a collective term for "sacred" or "divine" rather than a personified god.

Riangombe is third among the gods. He is the supreme head of all good spirits (imandwa) whom Imana entrusted with the task of guiding human beings and protecting them against evil

778 The public cult sites used for common worship of the gods
[821] are erected wherever lightning has struck the ground, either where it injured or killed a person or a head of cattle or where it has just struck the ground. Lightning is regarded as sent by the god Imana himself (No. 19, p. 253). At such a place a circular piece of ground, two to three meters in diameter, is leveled and covered with straw. Manioc and fig branches are planted around it. Then, celebrating the ceremony of the sacred spear, the kiranga plants in the middle of it a shoot from a banana or a fig tree which is regarded as the temporary residence of the god, Imana-Rikiranga-Riangombe. uEvery passerby
[782] puts a little tuft of dry grass in front of the young tree in homage to the god (see grass greeting, p. 95). Sick people are brought to this site so that they may ask the god to grant them recovery (No. 19, p. 564). This kind of homage is also supposed to be helpful when asking for rain for the fields and herds. Usually
[346] some small grass huts are also erected at or near the sacrificial site; in these huts food and drink are sacrificed to the god. Often, however, such huts are absent.

778 [136] The second type of cult and sacrifice huts at whose
consecration the kiranga must participate is the private sacri-
346 fice huts (ivigabiro), dedicated to the spirits of the dead
782 (imisimu or abasimu). Often, however, a sacrifice is also offered to the god Kiranga in one of these little private huts; it is then called akararo ka rugabo, i.e., the great master's humble quarters for the night (No. 46, p. 18). These little huts are erected inside the kraal next to the residential huts. In most cases their shape resembles that of the residential huts, but they are only one half to one meter high (Plate 18a). They are always constructed in a careless fashion. In fact, often a few branches or some bundles of straw or reed, inserted in the ground and tied together at the top in the shape of an arch, are considered sufficient. A little straw is spread underneath, and on it a few implements are placed as a sacrificial offering, for example, a piece of imanga wood which is used for amulets, a piece of bottle gourd, shaped like a bowl, which is used as a container for food, an old pot as a receptacle for beer, an old tobacco pipe, etc. In some areas of Urundi, for example, in

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
778 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
782 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
796 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the an-
769 cestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
769 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
782 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
778 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the
775 neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in
●[782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6).
[788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters
[606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married
[593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given
[846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If
[845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law
606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples
[171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata)
784 has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzumu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).
778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here, " he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is
[773] connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and
[262] even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

794 776 9. Nkonjo, another enslaved servant girl, who was first to bring the sad news of Ryangombe's death.

She is offered a broom as a gift, the symbol of her work as a slave, and a small storage granary or some produce as a reminder that she was in charge of watching over the harvest and of attending to the household tasks.

10. Mashira.

The Banyarwanda, forgetful of their own history, regard him as Ryangombe's child. We have better reasons to believe that he was no other than the celebrated magician-petty king acknowleged as one of the most powerful sorcerers.

In ritual sessions, his representatives assume a majestic bear- [781] ing and hold in their hand an iron spear made all of a piece (igihosho), which is a sorcerer's emblem symbolizing strength. His followers [415] offer him an earthen pitcher of special design, with two openings and a drinking tube in each to permit the spectators to drink the hydromel it contains in honor of the magician.

His peculiar cry is "shi shi shi ...."

11. Mutwa, one of Ryangombe's companions, is invoked especially by the Batwa. /366/

This figure seems to have been invented for the sake of the [782] Batwa. He is offered gifts of beans, meat, milk, and sorghum bread which the members of this despised group share with delight.

The selection of these particular foods, which are offered first as a sacrifice to Mutwa, aims at pleasing him by satisfying his hunger. This is because the Negrillos, whose prototype (or ancestor) he portrays, do not always eat their fill, and these foods appeal to them as the ideal dishes they most desire.

New members were added later to this gallery of demigods. We shall mention only the best-known ones.

1. The Liberator Kibogo, son of King Ndahiro, is often invoked for rain.

2. The Bagoyi, lake-shore dwellers, offer libations of beer [782] to Mwungeri, son of Nyankaka, who perished in the Lake Kivu disaster.

3. The inhabitants of the Bwana-Mkali honor in turn Rumana

178
643 the vanquished that the natives sometimes relate to each other secretly and fearfully in the evening by the fire.

4. The best known of those customs is the punishment of the
178 Bachuku and Bayumbo, who are from Bukunzi land, linked to the
643 Kinyaga province.
782 The story of the misdeed which gave rise to this penalty is told in Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II /The History of the Reign of Ruganzu II/ /Book III, not translated/.

Because the bull in one of the great king's herds had been killed, the king himself proceeded to take a blazing revenge there and then by having two young men and two young women killed in the valley called Nyakafunzo.

"My spear," cried the angered monarch, "I shall henceforth leave it among you so that you may give it children. At every change of reign, you shall surrender a young man and a young woman to expiate your misdeed." The royal envoys, therefore, would appear whenever a new king succeeded to the throne and claim their human tribute.

The young man was killed on the spot at Nyakafunzo. A dagger was plunged into his armpit. The blood was gathered into a wooden jar which was then taken into enemy country in accordance with directives from the capital.

The shedding of this cursed blood guaranteed the defeat of those inhabitants who had offended the king /465/ or who were at war with him. The corpse of the unfortunate one was left on the spot, where the hyenas soon disposed of it. . . . As for the young woman who had to be supplied by the Bachuku, it was agreed that she should be chosen among mothers who were suckling a baby girl. Her lot was less fearsome. She was given in marriage to the Bumbogo, where she had to attend to the cultivation of sorghum and eleusine, whose "first fruits" were taken to court for the great annual festival celebrated there at that time. As a further contribution to this custom, the Bachuku also supplied the flour mill used to grind the sorghum and eleusine.

An earthen jug and the large household spoon, or spatula, (umwuko), used to make bread (umutsima) were sent along with the millstones.

178 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the
643 present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which
782 took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of
661 exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or
644 families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the
644 Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

554 It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial
565 unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

585 He hands it to her, lifts the skin in which he is dressed, and exposes his thigh with the words: "ndakuhaye omurundi, uzachukura inka yo kukuhaliki (I give you my leg, it will become a bull for you, that will mount you)."

The gourd which the man hands over is a symbol for the belly of a pregnant woman, and the ceremony symbolically expresses the wish of the man that she bear him children. The bride walks through the courtyard and enters the house where the marriage ceremony is to be continued. There she gives her future mother-in-law the gourd, kisabo, for safekeeping. She also leaves her the gourd she brought along and the two baskets of presents. The second gourd is very carefully preserved, for in it the young wife [222], after the birth of her child, brings beer to the home of her parents to sacrifice to the manes. In this way she requests the manes not to harm her child. Little children are given liquids from the same gourd. It must be quite new and must not have been used previously, even for water.

[182]

Afterwards the guests separate within the house. The women go to their section of the house, the mbele, opposite the entrance; the men remain in the ikirambi, the middle of the house. The basangwa, guests of the bridegroom, sit on one side; the bahelekeza, members of the bridal procession, sit on the other. The uninvited guests remain in the courtyard outside the hut.

After everyone has drunk copiously of the beer, they ask for food. One of those present suggests that they begin with the marriage ceremony, since it is getting late. The bridegroom gets up, takes a container of milk, and goes to the women's section. The women resist and do not let him get near the bride. The bridegroom violently drives them away and slides toward the girl who is sitting on the ground with her legs spread apart. He kneels in front of her, spits milk on her breasts, and says as he rises: "mumpe impundu, ndalongoye (give me shouts of joy, I have married)."

This is the core of the entire marriage ceremony. Unmarried girls may not be present when this takes place. The parents of the girl and the brothers of her father are not present at the wedding. They celebrate the daughter's marriage with beer in their own home.

585 After this ceremony one of the young husband's sisters grinds
842 flour, makes millet mush, and distributes it among the small children. This is done in order to guarantee the young couple numerous progeny. The same girl prepares food for the young wife on the following day.

585 The marriage ceremonies are concluded with the sacrifice
782 of a goat. After the children have eaten their millet mush, the head of the family says: "We are going to eat." The guest reply that the women would like to wash their hands. The women do not agree with this and say: "We shall eat after the men have finished." Then the head of the family has a goat brought to him. After this is done, the guests look at the goat critically and say that it is not beautiful enough. Then another is fetched. This, also, does not satisfy the demands of those present. Then a third one is brought. This can be accepted if it is beautiful. After the goat has been accepted, it is beaten with a stick while being driven to the bridegroom's house. It is killed near his bed with kicks and blows, not with a knife in the usual way.

This ceremony supposedly indicates how the wife would have been treated if this sacrifice had not been made. According to another version [223], it means that the woman should be as soft and yielding as the goat that had all its bones broken. The meat must be divided among those present, otherwise the marriage would be childless. The men eat it on the same day; the women take it home for the children, because in Mulera they themselves may not eat goat's meat.

585 The men eat the meat along with millet mush. After everyone has eaten and drunk his fill, the guests disperse in the morning. The guests of the bridegroom accompany the guests of the bride for a short distance and honor them in this way.

The young husband soon returns, takes the firewood that has been prepared, and lights two fires at the places where the women and the men were seated. The bride goes out with the guests but immediately returns to her mother-in-law, where she remains. The mother-in-law prepares a meal, but the young bride refuses to eat it. The husband must persuade his hungry wife to do so by giving her presents.

In the evening the mother-in-law tries to prevail upon the wife to go to her husband's hut. The wife stubbornly resists yielding to

766 of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be
643 worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites
and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at
[782] the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies
of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, whereupon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan. As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the
[597] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his relatives.

769 The bazimu, the spirits of the dead, are feared. They are not good. They are responsible for the misfortunes and torments that plague one. In Mulera, at any rate, this may be related to the well-known unfortunate position of old men.

Every father of a family offers sacrifices to his ancestors and his deceased relatives in the ndaro, the small grass huts near his compound and the place where the spirits dwell. Ndaro means "sleeping place," "resting place," and, according to Father Buisson, is derived from the verb kurara "to sleep." I should like to point out, however, the similarity between this word and ndako which in the Bangala and Ababua [Babua] dialects simply means "house." Sacrifices are also made in the sacred niche of every hut.

782 769 For sacrifices to the manes, a fire is built in front of the huts and around it sticks are placed in the ground, to which are fastened small bits of meat, lumps of umutsima, etc. Small vessels (imperezo) of beer are also set out. These offerings are taken from the meat and umutsima (stiff millet mush) which the sacrificer brought with him. The rest he eats himself.

[299] Offerings are also placed inside the huts. Frequently the more valuable offerings are only temporarily exposed. Later they are eaten by the family of the sacrificer. This is said to be the case when, in accordance with custom, the foreleg of a slain animal is offered for a deceased girl. This is not always true, however, for I repeatedly saw rotting forelegs of goats hanging in the ndaro. "To offer to the spirits" is called kutonora bazimu. To the spirits of one's parents the ribs and entrails of slain animals are usually offered.

[445]

775 823 Fig. 162. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13096. 8 centimeters high.)

Underworld. Not all the spirits of the dead remain in the vicinity of their ndaro to be taken care of by their families and to lead a peaceful existence. Many spirits, after death, live in the volcanoes, and the activity of these fire mountains is connected with them.

According to the Balera, Ryangombe is said to live in Muhawura with the souls of those who were dedicated to him in life. They constitute his court and his retinue.

At the court of Ryangombe there are not infrequently angry disputes among his retinue. Then they usually throw stones, and

778 religious character was already known through Captain Hermann,
824 and they are referred to simply as Imana trees.
211 It seems to be chiefly the Batutsi who venerate the memorial trees. The fig trees on the heights are most numerous and most beautiful in places where the Batutsi have the greatest power. On the other hand, it is said that sometimes at night Bahutu secretly take wood from the sacred trees. The Batwa, who fear no one and who have also preserved their independence in spiritual matters, do [301] this quite openly in the daytime, but there are not enough of them to destroy the trees and change the landscape.

776 Imana and Batabazi. In our general discussion of the interlacustrine region [not translated], we pointed out that the spirits of dead kings and rulers have a special place among the manes. They are distinguished from the undifferentiated mass of bazimu by their greater power. They are known and feared in larger circles. This is the case, for example, with the spirit of Kimeni in Kissaka. It is not impossible that from this we shall be able to explain the contrast between the rule of Ryangombe in the underworld, which seems to be patterned after the organization of Batutsi states, and the familial anarchy of the ordinary manes. However, it is doubtful whether the central figure of the Ruanda pantheon, the creator of the world, Imana, can be associated with the spirits of the dead. He probably must be considered as derived from foreign influence. Perhaps this also explains the underworld residence of the court of Ryangombe, whereas the rest of the bazimu remain with their living relatives.

776 Imana is the lord of lightning, thunder, and rain. One ad-
782 dresses him with the words: "Nabone Imana yandemie ikalema tata, na sokokuru, na sokuruza, na mukaka, na mukakuruzu, na mama. Ikankiza, nkuko yabakidjidji! (Favor me, Imana, who created my father, and my grandfather, and the father of my grandfather, and my grandmother, and the mother of my grandmother, and my mother. He has healed me, how he has healed me!)"

No sacrifices are made to Imana. Thus, he plays no part in the cult and satisfies only, if we may so express it, a philosophical need.

776 173 Ryangombe's grandfather Nyundo, his father Bavinga, and his wife Nina Ryangombe. The last name, however, simply means "mother of Ryangombe."

The most important bagaragu (clients) of Ryangombe are Binego, Kavuna, Mugasha, Kakuku, Kagoro, Senyakazana, and Rubaga.

Their subordination to Ryangombe is always strongly emphasized. We can see this also in the fact that before sacrifices can be made to them sacrifices must be made to Ryangombe. Rubaga is the only exception. One can bring him gifts without first having made offerings to Ryangombe.

●782 776 Special forms and ceremonies are observed in offerings made to these individual spirits.

In sacrificing to Binego the person stands with lowered head and murmurs: "Binego bya Kadjumba nyamunega amafizi amabuguma akapfa numulindu. Lukaraba nkaba n'inkuba yadjandja. Ulwamba lw'impiri namaganya y'inkuba aseseka ntanyobwe umushaidja mukanya." I could not find out what this means.

[346] Small straw huts are built to Kavuna. He is offered banana beer with added honey in twin-necked pots. Formerly the sacrificer covered himself with a leopard skin. As he makes the sacrifice, he stretches out his hands and sings: "Kavuna ushime ntango yawe (Kavuna, accept my offering)."

If a person makes a sacrifice to Mugasha, he winds the bark of banana stalks around his legs, arms, and neck. He holds the thin end of a stick in his right hand, stamps his feet, beats the ground with the stick, and repeats: "Mugasha akatema katoke niribiriri, niribirimbo."

Kakuku was an old paralyzed slave. If a person wishes to address him, he first smears his arms with ashes, then he scratches his skin, weeps, and sighs. Peas which are sacrificed are held with the finger bent, because the paralytic could eat only in this manner.

Kagoro is offered small arrows of wood or iron with the words, "busenda bwa Kagoro."

Senyakazana is offered peas and lentils, called inkore.

Rubaga is the greatest after Ryangombe, and he is also offered cows.

[304] Umugani rwa Ryangombe. To Ryangombe is dedicated the muku or mulinzi, a tree he once climbed to save himself from a buffalo that attacked him on the hunt. The Banyakissaka have the following story about it.

Umugani rwa Ryangombe
Story of Ryangombe

Ngoni Ryangombe lya Babinga, ba Nyundo, ngoni Nyamuniga,
That is Ryangombe the Babinga of Nyundo, who is Nyamuniga,

amafizi nayo awabuguma akapfan nimirindo.
? ? ? ? ?

Ryangombe yaliafite nyina, akanga kumumwira. Ryangombe
Ryangombe has mother refused to obey Ryangombe

ashaka kuja kuhiga mwishamba. Nyina nyiwa Ryangombe:
wants to go hunting on the plain. Mother says[to] Ryangombe:

ati mwana wanje leka kuja kuhiga; ati nalose
so child [of] mine let go hunting; so I dreamed

umugezi, utemba uja luguru; ati uzawambuka, ngenda,
a river, which flows upward; so you cross it, you go,

ntuzagaruka. Ati kandi nalose ulukwavu lutagira ishira,
do not come back. So later I dream a rabbit without tail,

uzalwicha, ntuzalubamba. Ati kandi nalose
you will kill it, without obeying. So later I dream

Nyakisha Chimepenebere au Nyakitindi, ati azakulemutsa,
Nyakisha Chimpenebere or Nyakitindi, so she will greet,

atazakulekula Ryangombe. Ati kandi nalose imbogo
she will not leave Ryangombe. So later I dream a buffalo

794 575 Secret Societies. The cult of Ryangombe is practiced by the secret societies of babandwa. These societies unite men and women, Batutsi and Bahutu.

In Nduga, above all, the secret societies of babandwa embrace a considerable part of the population. There, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, they seem not only to represent well-organized religious groups, but also to play a role in politics.

This is said to be especially true of the Biheko cult, for example. It is blamed for many a disturbance in the northern part of Ruanda. Biheko was apparently a woman consecrated to Binego, the disciple of Ryangombe. She was killed by Lwabugiri who, it seems, in doing this fought the particularistic tendencies of the north. In order to escape the revenge of her spirit, Lwabugiri permitted his subjects to be initiated into the cult she represented. Since that time, the Biheko cult is said to have made great progress in Mulera and Bugoye.

According to Father L. Classe (1) Biheko was a man from

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 440.

Ndorwa whose brothers were Lutindangezi, Gahaya, and Maloli.

[778] In Mulera the iron rods known as ikrosho are connected with the Biheko cult. They were already described in Mpororo by Stuhlmann (2) and associated with the Nyawingi cult.

2. Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika [Into the Heart of Africa with Emin Pasha] (Berlin, 1894), p. 253.

794 575 782 763 The dogma is somewhat as follows. Only those consecrated to Ryangombe may contact him, but it is necessary to establish contact with him. It is only through sacrifices that one can persuade Ryangombe to let the spirits that have been driven out return to the birunga (volcanoes) [306] and free the living from

794 them. This is of very great importance, especially in cases of
575 illness, for illness is, of course, caused by the spirits. That is
782 why sick people are often initiated into the secret societies of
753 babandwa. Sometimes this is done when they are already so ill that they are not quite conscious during the ceremonies, but the hope is that through the initiation the sick person will gain such a powerful protector that the latter will make possible the recovery of the new member. Despite these expectations, people do not omit the sacrifices to the manes of the sick person in order to receive their favor.

794 The existence of the [secret] society divides the population
575 into two classes: the consecrated and the profane. The consecrated ones, in turn, are divided into two subgroups, the babandwa who conduct the ceremonies and the rusingo, ordinary initiates of the lower grade. This creates a hierarchy in which discipline is exercised through fear of the supernatural power of the chosen ones. Hence the secret societies are powerful factors in social integration.

The hierarchy of secret societies does not correspond to the territorial division into chieftainships and exogamous clans. It creates dependencies that bridge these divisions, and the social structure is strengthened by the addition of these "supernatural powers."

794 It would be futile to speculate whether the states of the
575 interlacustrine region could exist without secret societies. It is
563 very probable, however, that the rule of the Batutsi and Bahima minorities is contingent on the organization of these societies. The ruling element seems to be disproportionately stronger among the babandwa, whose sons inherit their rank, than among the rest of the population, probably because the Ryangombe cult was allegedly a Batutsi cult originally. This view was expressed to me repeatedly in one way or another by missionaries and natives. It is supported by Rehse (1) who says that Ryangombe is regarded

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 134.

794 575 root in the mouth of the sick man and keeps it there until the man collapses, unconscious. Then a fire is lighted, and the hoe, arrow, and kimwanda are deposited beside it. Two spirits are invoked, for example, Ryangombe and Mugasha. The woman who represents Ryangombe is addressed by the man with the words: [782] "Come, oh Ryangombe! Heal and receive your man!" This prayer is called kwentongeza, that is, to let oneself be received, to be consecrated, consecration. With her mouth closed, the woman who represents Ryangombe imitates the mooing of a cow. This is called kutangana and is supposed to mean that the spirit is present. Then one of the members says: "I was kutanganirwa through the spirit N.N.," and the man hands the woman a drinking straw. "Ryangombe" takes beer into her mouth and squirts it on the sick person. This millet beer is kept in an earthen jug; it is made from the variety called endimasi which is dedicated to Ryangombe. Then the woman repeats the same prayer as she turns to the man. He replies with a sigh which is supposed to indicate the presence of Mugasha. The spirit also drinks through a straw which is handed to him by the woman. He drinks banana beer (luhagwa) from a calabash and spits it out on the sick person. Then the mugogo takes some ntendere from his kimwanda, gives the sick person a second portion of the white snuff in order to make him return to consciousness, hits him on the head with the kimwanda, and the sick person wakes up. This concludes the ceremonies of the first day. The baishebuhemba remain overnight in the house of the sick person. They live there for the four days that the ceremony lasts.

On the next evening the assembly goes into the bush a considerable distance from the huts to a place known as kagondo kato. The spirits are invoked in the same way as on the previous evening. The members drink beer and spit it on the sick person who, if he recovers, belongs to the spirits. Then the mugogo takes the knife and the axe and says threateningly to the sick person: "I shall kill you if you tell others what I am doing with you." The woman takes the stick, places it on the neck of the sick man, and threatens him in the same way. Then a few dances are performed, and they go home. This ceremony is known as mutalongo or kumeramera.

794 575 184 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences. We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 575 198 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

[601] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 575 782 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom everyone may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to Ryangombe and his disciples and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253 — Analyst]

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575
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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Tobacco	–	–	ihukula	–
Forest	ishamba	–	kichaka	–
Water	amazi	–	matingi	–
Way	inzira	–	muhura	–
Teeth	–	–	manono	–
Goat	ihene	inguruka	uzwika	kianwa
Tongue	urulimi	–	lurigizi	–

794
575
782

blood of the animal and placed on the chests, the foreheads, and, last of all, the backs of those present. Then the mubandwa spreads out small bundles of green twigs, muyambo, on the animal. When he has given the order to disperse, everyone begins to move. One person after another walks over the sacrificial animal and goes home without looking back; otherwise the sacrifice would lose all its meaning. In this procession the father goes first, then the sons, then the chief wife, followed by the other wives and their daughters. The mubandwa and his attendants remain at the place of sacrifice. [318] If someone passes in the vicinity of the sacrificial remains, he takes care to pick up a leaf, spit on it, and throw it in the direction of the remains, saying: "Do not pursue me (spirit, umuzimu, misfortune, or illness)." This refers to the fact that the evil, the spirit, or whatever has been cast off through the sacrifice might attack a passer-by at the crossroads.

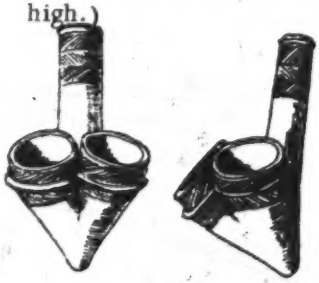
The Batutsi sacrifice cows, sheep, and chickens, whereas the sacrificial animal of the Bahutu is the goat and, more rarely, sheep.

As far as I could ascertain, the meat of sacrificed cows is distributed to all present if the prophecy is favorable. If the entrails prophesy unfavorably, the meat is given to the Batwa. The family of the donor does not eat the meat of sacrificed sheep, but gives it to the mubandwa and his helpers who have performed the sacrifice. The ceremony described by Father Van Thiele thus undoubtedly refers to the sacrifice of a sheep, which he forgot to mention. The meat of sacrificial goats is eaten by the Bahutu who

have made the sacrifice and by their friends.

The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails, is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)



a b

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cowhide known as mukane.

Among medicine men Father Van Thiele distinguishes two 759
different professional secret societies, the bakoni and the bageiye, 575
who are initiated with the banga ceremony. Bageiye heal persons suffering from snake bite.

I had no opportunity to see a bageiye perform in Ruanda. 752
When a man was bitten by a snake on the way to the Muhawura

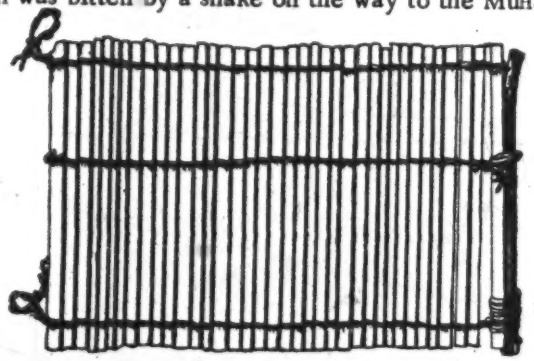


Fig. 178. Splints for Immobilizing Broken Bones, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13742. 26 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide.)

volcano, [327] the natives wanted to tie the head of the dead snake on the wound as an antidote.

The following account by Father Van Thiele about a preventive treatment for the greatly feared disease of smallpox 751
(bushita) is very interesting.

The medicine man first provides everyone with amulets consisting of gourd seeds. Even the water jug gets its amulet. Then he gives a preventive medicine which he boils. After the boiling he blows air into it through a straw so as to make foam which is rubbed all over the body. The efficacy of the medicine is increased by making incisions in five different places: three incisions over the right eye and one incision each on the right shoulder, the back, the right hand, and above the right foot. The medicine man spits on his little finger and rubs the incisions with it.

Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice. The problem of cannibal- 266
ism and human sacrifice in the interlacustrine region is the most 782
obscure and difficult of all. For example, in Ruanda the bimara, 651

266 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago.
782 The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King
651 Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a muja (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[643] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in
575 the north and by poisoners (balozi). Koch (1) confirms its occurence
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1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

Religion

793 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 The list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs..

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed 000 651 taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state [655] work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he 643 took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he 262 generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, [273] when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people [178] were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any [644] meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls 644 being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took [787] auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when 643 he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his [762] life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated 643 over the country. There was no rule against naming the king 766 after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, [231] goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died. [752]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
643 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made
721 no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 The Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Among the better classes the 241
wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants [565]
and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband [462]
and wife worked in the field.

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the 243
common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to [252]
a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people.

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten 534
morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month [782]
a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(e) Ritual function

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

not injure the living. Consequently the cult addressed to the *bazimu* (spirits of the dead) was essentially aimed at appeasing them. When an unfortunate event was ascribed to a dead relative's ire by the diviner, the spirit had to be placated by the immolation of a goat or even a bull.

These practices were symbolic. It was not implied that the *bazimu* really drank the milk, ate the meat, or slept with the girl. When a goat or a steer was offered, most of it was eaten by members of the family. Other practices are more difficult to interpret. It sometimes happened that water was given to the spirits and at the same time they were told very loudly that it was milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* were regarded as rather stupid and that these mock offerings were not given to the ancestors who were respected but only to the collaterals who, as *bazimu*, were hated. To have feared powerful *bazimu*, however, and at the same time to have deceived them so grossly does not appear very coherent and requires, I think, further explanation.

Every fourth reign, there was an important ritual connected with the final burial of the fourth predecessor of the king. As all *bazimu* were thought to accompany the spirit of the king long ago deceased, their cult was abolished. The inzu heads, however, continued to be remembered.[12]

[12] Kagame, 1947, pp. 377-86.

614 probably done for a variety of reasons: partly because the original clan split up into several totem groups; partly because these organs of the animal body are most often regarded as containing the soul; partly for the practical reason of not wishing to forego the enjoyment of eating the meat of the entire animal. For a clan of herdsmen, it would have been impossible to select only cattle as their totem like, for instance, the hyena or the chameleon since the clan would have had to go hungry because of the taboo imposed by its totem.

614 784 262 For the clan member his clan totem, his umusiru, is an object of awe. It either inspires veneration as a member of an earlier generation of his kin group or it causes revulsion for other reasons. It is taboo to him, either because he regards it as sacrosanct due to its superior characteristics or because he regards it as impure due to its disagreeable characteristics. In their effect on the attitude of the clan member, these two emotions are the same. The umusiru is carefully avoided. Any injury or, what is worse, killing of a totem animal, any contact with or occupation connected with the totem or a part of the totem is considered an offense of which it is difficult to purge oneself. Eating its meat or drinking its blood or milk is prohibited. Out of this strict food taboo, there developed the now predominant attitude that meat, blood, milk, and other parts of an animal are impure and injurious to the health of the clan member. The impurity can only be eliminated by [783] means of elaborate ceremonies, and the umufumu (medicine man) determines the amount of the penance which depends on the seriousness of the case. Moreover, violations of the totem taboo, particularly of the food taboo, are automatically and magically punished by illness or even death for the offender (cf. No. 49, pp. 152, 153).

Since the members of other clans eat the meat of the totem animal of one clan, they are regarded as impure by this clan. Thus, the food taboos erect barriers between clans with different totems. For example, [104] if members of the clan of the Bawanda (Babanda), whose totem is the duikerbok, find

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

766 Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This[1] makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden [411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times, [579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that 463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them 696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches, [342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

1 [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -Analyst]

754 684 837 11. In order to wreak vengeance on an unfaithful wife who has left the conjugal home, the husband fetches a plant known by the name of uruburamadjo /406/ the etymological meaning of which (kubura kujya) is "to have no place to go," that is to say, to have no place to stay. This indicates the use to which the angered husband puts the plant, and the results he expects from it. He braids it into a sort of pad upon which he must place butter or pour castor oil that belonged to the unfaithful woman. The mystic pad is hidden under a rock. It must be removed a month later and placed under another rock. This method, add the credulous natives, infallibly creates difficulties between the fugitive woman and her temporary husbands. She will be dismissed as many times as her first spouse shifts the magic pad.

783 791 B. Purifiers or exorcisers of all sorts and exhumers or mutilators of corpses. In order to ward off evil spells and the deadly consequences that might derive from certain events such as the violation of a taboo, the burning of a hut, a murder, the coming across a corpse or a killed animal, or to avert the fury of a spirit on the rampage, the king, his court, and his subjects call upon the services of people called by the name of Abashumburuzi, Abahanyi b'amachumu, Ababuzi, etc. Like their other colleagues in the occult, mysterious, and magical sciences, these practitioners enjoy official and legal recognition.

1. The Abashumburuzi, sorcerers who are resorted to by taboo violators.

Abashumburuzi is the title given by the people of the Lukiga (that is, the mountain people) to a group of purifiers whose function is often the same as that of the mugangahuzi, or "protectors against lightning," with whom they are often wrongly identified.

755 783 The mushumburuzi, if one holds to the etymological meaning of his trade, is believed to have the power of expelling spirits from the body of a sick person (1). To do this, /407/ he performs veritable exorcisms, makes magic passes over the body of the patient, calls the spirits by name, and begs them to let go of their victim. He holds in the hand a bunch of shrub branches endowed with magic properties and moves them over the body of the sick person.

The spirit that caused the illness takes refuge in the symbolic broom. Then all the magician has to do is to take the spirit-chasing

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads....Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit, ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo, departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it.

Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
787 nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no
783 matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly material infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions, some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction frequently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter, she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune, and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has been used to kill entails the same consequences.

•783 It is easy to see from these cases how frequently people must
843 resort to purification (1).

1. In certain cases, taboo violators need not resort to specialists and may purify themselves by a simple method.

If a pregnant woman has come upon a death weapon, a bound prisoner, a killed snake, or anything else that is taboo, she must immediately procure some of those herbs or leaves with magic properties which are in common usage. She will bring them into contact with the corpse or bond, and then crush them to drink their juice or inhale their aroma. If there are no plants available, she first touches the thing involved in the taboo and then brings her hand to her forehead, where she traces a kind of sign of the cross. This is what Fr. A. Bros called "procedures of imitative magic." Religion des Peuples non civilisés /Religion of Uncivilized Peoples/, p. 72).

783 The rites of purification vary in accordance with the case, the individuals involved, and the sorcerer himself. Almost invariably, however, the latter pours into the person's hand a few drops of a liquid (issubjo) in which he has mixed the juice of certain plants with magic characteristics which have the property of curing all evils. /409/

824

1. The Blacks set great store by plants with magic properties. It would be easy to make up a long list of them. A whole separate study could be made about them, in view of the number and importance of popular beliefs concerning the vegetable world. "From the most humble herbs to the largest trees," says Fr. Sébillot, "/plants/ play a role which for many years has drawn the interest of scholars." (Le Folklore /Folklore/.)

783

2. "Spear purifiers" (abahanyi b' amachumu) and their exorcisms.

The word umuhanyi, plural abahanyi, comes from the verb guhana, which means literally "to punish, to reprimand." It is only in a figurative sense that it means "to purify." The word guhanula is used to describe the performance of the purifying rites. /416/

The spear purifier exercises his functions at the time of a murder or assassination.

He is called upon by the victim's relatives to give satisfaction to the dead person and the members of his family by aiding them to obtain justice for the spilt blood with his mysterious procedures. He purifies the spear or death weapon with the aim of preventing or arresting the fatal consequences which the murder would not fail to involve for the dead person's relatives. The latter, fearing that they will undergo the same fate as their dead kinsman, call upon the sorcerer. He often works simultaneously with the "conjurer of spirits" (umushyitsi, umuhamagazi), who also has a role to play at this time, and sometimes both functions are filled by the same man. Among other rites, for we do not intend to describe them all (they would be more pertinent to a study dealing exclusively with funeral ceremonies), we shall cite only those pertaining to the role and function of the "spear purifier."

783 The weapon must be both "punished" and "purified" at the same time.

If the weapon involved is a spear that was successfully retrieved, the sorcerer first unhafts it. The spearhead is set aside, its tip (umuhunda) broken to pieces, and a few wooden scrapings are removed from the shaft (uruti). This debris is placed in a small gourd of the type called idegede (1). If the actual weapon is not available, the

1. Henceforth, the family may not eat this kind of gourd. (La Mentalité primitive /Primitive Mentality/, op. cit., p. 293.)

purifier works with a similar weapon, but a used one. Then the gourd is filled with beer. Owing to its mystic usage and to the scrapings that were placed in it, this gourd bears the name of akabatongera in sorcerers' terms. The relatives who are present take a mouthful of this pombe. The gourd with the scrapings and spearhead is then entrusted to someone who is an outsider (umuse) to the clan or to the family, and who goes /417/ and hides it in an isolated spot, such as a thicket, a cave, or a hole of some sort. The same is done with any other weapon that may have been used to commit the crime, arrow, sword, or knife.

783 ... "A practice of this kind, " says Levy-Bruhl," is almost universal among African tribes.

171 "Those ceremonies are carried out because it is thought that the weapon bears calamity or fatality with it. This is the case among the Akamba. According to them, a weapon once used to commit a murder will continue to be the instrument of new deaths. No ceremony, charm, or magic of any sort, however, could ever exhaust this deadly property. The weapon will continue to kill indefinitely through its master's hand, no matter what he may do. Since there is no way of removing this curse, the Mkamba uses guile. He places the weapon on a path or at some spot where a passer-by is likely to see it. Once the latter has picked it up, the deadly influence of the weapon falls upon him and the first owner is freed from it. . . . " (1)

783

1. A Munyarwanda would never pick up such accursed weapons, whose origin and function he knows only too well. The curse which is attached to them and the fear which they inspire cause him to go his way without a covetous glance.

In certain clans the purifier-sorcerer slips the scrapings into a sweet potato which he feeds to a goat. The latter is then sold to strangers faraway on whom falls the curse attached to the weapon which was used to commit the murder. The price of the animal, which was formerly paid in kind (hoes, peas, beans, sorghum, etc.) was renounced or thrown away. The victim's family considered that they were thus freeing themselves completely from the evil spell which befell them through the violent death of one of its members.

769 783 628 In order to pacify the spirit of the deceased, a young man of the kin group is chosen during the funeral ceremonies to avenge him. He must obtain a new /418/ spear which the purifier-sorcerer or his colleague, the "conjurer of spirits," takes from his hands in order to cut in two a plant with a mysterious property called irago or umurago. "I have 'cut up' the tribe of murderers," he says, "may they all die of it." Then, addressing himself to the deceased, "Here is the spear that will avenge you. Grant it the opportunity and the power to carry out the vendetta."

[766] According to customs peculiar to each clan, the body is exposed on a deserted hill, hidden far out in the bush in rocky crags, or buried near the village or even in the courtyard.

In the latter case, some irago, or if there is none some murago that grows in the swamps, is planted along with its roots. At the end of about a year, the sorcerer comes back to cut this plant /again/, as he did once before. Then a goat is sacrificed.

The purifier takes some of the blood of this offering and sprinkles it on the grave, saying, "Let this blood cause the entire family of the assassin to perish."

[i.e., of a murdered person. - Analyst]

783 The murderer in turn worries about the consequences of his act. He appeals, therefore, to the same kind of operators in order to avert the vengeance and the curse which he was wrought upon himself and his kinsmen.

The rival of the previously mentioned sorcerer takes a reed which he cleaves throughout its length without altogether separating the tips. He draws apart the two rods, which are stuck into the ground. The culprit and members of his family pass under this novel type of bridge. The operator seizes the reed, puts its two parts back together, and tosses it at a distance, saying, "I have warded off the spirit (of the deceased) that was pursuing you." Then, leading his client to a crossroads, he sprinkles him with a few drops of a liquid he has prepared and which contains the juices of certain plants.

Standing back to back with his protégé, the sorcerer /419/ slips into his hands some amulets which he must wear around his neck. "Just as we cannot see each other," adds the protector against sorcery, "may the spirit of the man thou hast killed never see thee (find thee)." Then he tells the man to lie flat on the ground. Taking a sort of broom (urutsiro) made of plants with magic properties, he brushes it over the body of the individual. "Ndagushumburuye, I have caused the spirit of the man who pursued thee to depart," he adds.

The operation has every chance of success if the murderer manages to obtain through gifts the services of the sorcerer who "worked" for the victim and his relatives.

3. "Exhumers and mutilators of corpses" (ababûzi), from the
789 word kwabura, "to exhume a corpse."
781 They are resorted to in two cases; /first, / when it concerns a criminal who has been executed, and his spirit must be prevented from harming the living, that is to say, those who killed him. We shall speak of this later in the course of this work.

The second case is the following: The murderer, a man of common extraction, whether he killed willingly or unwillingly, wishes to be protected in turn against the wrath of his victim's spirit. To this end, he calls upon one of the exhumers of corpses who helps him obtain the body of the slain man (this is not always easy). Then the corpse must be mutilated in order to drive the spirit out of it.

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
766 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
821 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824 umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783] avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

796
231 The purifier-sorcerer need not be present at this last ceremony.
821 Their role and presence were essential only on the day of purification. They always come away with handsome rewards, leaving on the spot protective herbs or lucky amulets (impigi za Biheko).

3. In some localities individuals also resort to these doctors
753 in mystical sciences upon the death of a leper or the burning of a hut.
783 a. The natives have an acute aversion to contagious diseases and especially to leprosy. Once the unfortunate victim of one of those terrible diseases is dead, the purifier-sorcerer is called in to carry out various ceremonies. He tosses lustral water upon the hut of the deceased, and finally sets fire to it. The onlookers run far away in order to avoid the smoke, as though it could transmit the disease of the deceased owner.

In the central province of Nduga, the sorcerer has a small hut built in which he places the son of the deceased. With one hand he sets fire to the hut, while with the other he rapidly snatches the child out of it.

The leprosy is supposed to have vanished forever, and henceforth no other member of the family will become its victim. The sorcerer vouches for this. /440/

b. In order to avoid the evils which might befall the owner of a hut that has burned or even his neighbors, the same sorcerer is resorted to. He makes his clients drink the liquid mentioned previously.

The site of the hut is sprinkled with lustral water, and the bystanders are also sprinkled with it.

Three reeds stuck into the ground and covered with banana leaves make an improvised hut in which the owner and his wife must stay for an instant (baryamana). The evil spell has been lifted. Henceforth, nothing is to be feared (bamaz' umuriro or bamaze ishyano, that is to say, "they have warded off all misfortune"). The diseases which might have afflicted those present at the accident and their unborn children have been averted forever.

791 In the Bugoyi, to the northeast of Lake Kivu, the role of protector against fire and its deadly consequences is the prerogative of a special category of sorcerers known by the title of Abahozi or

644 of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies
805 he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon.
[533] They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great
644 feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

805 The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298] Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

771 Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

769 Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda
171 as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

After the mourning the heir was purified by an elder of the 765
clan, and he then took the mourning garment and buried it
in some secret place. The mourners shaved their heads and
hid the hair. A medicine-man decided whether the house of
the dead man might still be inhabited or not. If the people [783]
were permitted to remain there, they, the place, and the pots
had to be purified; but if they had to go they gave the pots
and furniture away and left the house to fall down.

The heir was purified again by an elder of the clan and 768
then went to buy a cow, which he took to the king, whom he
was not on this occasion allowed to see. The next day he [643]
visited the king, taking a present of a young bull, and informed [431]
him of the death. This reception constituted his acknowledg- [428]
ment by the king as the dead man's heir, but if he proved
unsatisfactory he might later be dismissed from the chieftain-
ship.

The heir took all his father's widows except old women and [587]
his own mother. He even took widows with children, and the
children regarded him as their father.

When a married man lost his father he lived apart from his
wife for two months, and on the death of his mother he
avoided his wife for one month.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
285 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

614 probably done for a variety of reasons: partly because the original clan split up into several totem groups; partly because these organs of the animal body are most often regarded as containing the soul; partly for the practical reason of not wishing to forego the enjoyment of eating the meat of the entire animal. For a clan of herdsmen, it would have been impossible to select only cattle as their totem like, for instance, the hyena or the chameleon since the clan would have had to go hungry because of the taboo imposed by its totem.

614 For the clan member his clan totem, his umusiru, is
784 an object of awe. It either inspires veneration as a member
262 of an earlier generation of his kin group or it causes revulsion for other reasons. It is taboo to him, either because he regards it as sacrosanct due to its superior characteristics or because he regards it as impure due to its disagreeable characteristics. In their effect on the attitude of the clan member, these two emotions are the same. The umusiru is carefully avoided. Any injury or, what is worse, killing of a totem animal, any contact with or occupation connected with the totem or a part of the totem is considered an offense of which it is difficult to purge oneself. Eating its meat or drinking its blood or milk is prohibited. Out of this strict food taboo, there developed the now predominant attitude that meat, blood, milk, and other parts of an animal are impure and injurious to the health of the clan member. The impurity can only be eliminated by
[783] means of elaborate ceremonies, and the umufumu (medicine man) determines the amount of the penance which depends on the seriousness of the case. Moreover, violations of the totem taboo, particularly of the food taboo, are automatically and magically punished by illness or even death for the offender (cf. No. 49, pp. 152, 153).

Since the members of other clans eat the meat of the totem animal of one clan, they are regarded as impure by this clan. Thus, the food taboos erect barriers between clans with different totems. For example, [104] if members of the clan of the Bawanda (Babanda), whose totem is the duikerbok, find

614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
184 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests
563 that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism. In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.
575 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[534] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128] Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Piangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
796 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
794 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
575 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word
198 insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
794 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is
778 regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned, the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of
[784] residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
532 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or
776 as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
[781] by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
● 784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife
[843] is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a per-
[825] son who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 784 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

482 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child
●784 who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic conceptions.

3. Missions

797 The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the
563 main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave," the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the [139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons, and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.
797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men (abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and organizations form a network over the entire land. Although
797 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years
735 in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor
737 and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van
888 der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives" No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.

769 This explains his invocations, offerings, and libations before the hood-shaped shelter that contains the angered spirit who was pointed out to him.

The Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ is bound by the law of taboos
●784 (imiziro).

He may not smoke or sit on a chair during a thunderstorm. A woman may not use a billhook to cut grass. She may eat only cow meat. The flesh of certain animals is forbidden, /56/ in some cases to every Munyarwanda, in others to certain clans only. The objects used by a deceased person and the food that was in the hut at the time of his death are taboo. At the end of the mourning period, all these things will be purified with lustral water. The widow herself will have to go through the rites of purification.

Work is forbidden on certain days. The relatives of a deceased person give up all their occupations for four or five days.

Upon the death of the king, all work in the fields is prohibited for three months. In certain parts of Ruanda, one stops work for one day when a child is born, when a hut has burned down, when there has been a hailstorm, even when a dog has died. Some taboos only affect the king.

The burial method peculiar to the Banyarwanda, which
763 incidentally is shared by other African peoples, must now be mentioned. When a sick person is about to die and spreads his arms and legs, his relatives bring his knees up to the chin. His arms are bent at the elbows and his hands are made to cover his face.

764 This crouching position is the absolute rule among pagans. It is not far-fetched to state that this most uncomfortable position, when forced on a dying person, makes breathing very difficult and shortens his last moments.

In the right hand of the deceased, one places the leaves of
[834] plants with magical properties, ishoza, umulembe, umwishwa, seeds of squash, sorghum, and issogi, and lamb's wool. All these things are symbols explained by the following words pronounced on this occasion, "Return to us as a limb (with the sweetness of a lamb)! Return to us without thorns (like the plants, soft to the touch, that we have given thee), that is to say, without mean intentions."

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads. . . .Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit, ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo, departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it.

Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
787 nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no
783 matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly material infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions, some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction frequently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter, she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune, and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has been used to kill entails the same consequences.

5: Pagès--136 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Taboos and Portents

784 Taboos (imiziro) and portents, good or bad, are innumerable. We must limit ourselves to a few samples without taking any account whatever of their rational classification, which would be at best a very difficult undertaking.

The appearance of an evil portent or the violation of a taboo make the Banyarwanda liable to misfortunes which vary in magnitude with the seriousness of the infraction, whether or not it was voluntary.

We know that it is not easy to give an exact definition of taboo, for the subject is vast and far reaching.

A taboo does not involve merely the obligatory respect due to traditional customs and practices or the observance of sacred rules, but also a group of prohibitions and interdictions dealing with an object or an animal which may not be touched, which may not be eaten, and which may not be looked at (1).

1. Let us add that in certain cases portents and taboos are identified with each other in the minds of the Blacks, as we have stated above.

What is taboo to one person is not taboo to another.

262 784 As for taboos dealing with animals whose flesh is impure and may not be eaten, the rule is not the same for everyone.

With the single exception of cows, the flesh of all animals is forbidden to women.

Mutton is taboo to certain clans, while goat meat is forbidden to others.

Fish and wild boars are forbidden to the Banyarwanda with the exception of riverain people and hunters. Hares, partridges, ducks, and guinea fowl are included among the impure animals (2) /410/

2. Children sometimes eat them in secret.

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

[825] In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull, billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

784 keeper or owner of a herd, his property would also suffer from this infraction of custom (2). /411/

2. His cows would bear only male calves.

A husband may not use this kitchen utensil to beat his wife! He would risk the loss of his life.

The failure to observe most of the prescribed customs while celebrating a wedding would make the parents of the two partners liable to illness or death.

[551] When asked what their name is, children, young men, and girls either do not answer or give a false name, for fear that the stranger may cast an evil spell upon them and thus prevent them from growing.

[841] A woman in her menses may not enter a hut where there is a newborn child, lest she cause the baby to contract scabies. Hence [751] the custom of placing a copper-thread bracelet (urunyerere, or urwinjiri) about the neck of babies as a talisman and preventive.

[643] The king must never bend his knees, in order not to expose his kingdom to becoming smaller.

A father may not step over the hide that serves as a portable cradle (ingobyi) for his child, nor may a son step over his mother's belt.

A woman may not step over a spear, milk a cow, repair the roof of a hut, imitate (!) the cry of a rooster, etc.

It is forbidden to sit on a food basket.

When it thunders, one may not smoke a pipe when seated on a chair.

No one may rest on a sheepskin, or he will contract scabies (ngo badahumana). There is danger of death involved in carrying a whetting stone (ityazo) into someone else's house.

It is expressly forbidden to kill certain birds and certain reptiles, [825 777] not only because they are totem but also because they are regarded either as good luck for the land, like the wagtail (inyamanza), or as bad luck, like the scaly anteater, whose dead body might draw great misfortunes upon the territory. /412/

●784 A traveler who stubs his left foot against an obstacle or who
[484] meets with a rat whose pelt is slightly mottled (umushushwe) must return home, lest misfortune come to him.

If one finds black ants (intozi) on one's path, he must draw his hand over his foot as though to remove them, lest they swarm into his hut.

A pregnant woman must not see a European nor hear the sound
[843] of a gunshot, else the child she bears will suffer (1).

1. In order to neutralize this influence, she need only procure a cartridge case, a piece of paper,
[751] or even a piece of tile, brick, or any other object of European origin, and wear it around her neck as an amulet or talisman. The child will be born safe from injury.

[842] A woman who has borne only sons may not nurse the daughter of another woman, lest she bear nothing but girls from now on.

A man may not meet with his betrothed or with his mother-in-law prior to marriage (2). The king was formerly forbidden to see
[643]

2. Cf. "Cérémonies du mariage /Marriage Ceremonies/," by Fr. Pagès (Anthropos, 1925).

his sons, at least in theory, for it has been proved that the last monarchs often broke this rule.

If the manufacturer of banana wine insults someone while crushing the fruit, he runs the risk of contracting the scurfy disease (guhumana).

A woman must keep silent while kneading sorghum dough. If a dog or chicken dirties the floor of the hut, she is forbidden to leave her work and clean the spot, or the bread may shrink.

If the bottom bananas in a bunch ripen first, the owner of the grove worries because it means that a danger threatens him. /413/

● 784 A crowned crane that perches at the top of a hut, or a dog, goat, or sheep that manages to climb upon it, are sure signs of approaching misfortunes.

It is rigorously forbidden to kill a crowned crane, crow, wagtail, lizard, frog, or toad.

The parents of a newly married man may not partake of his meals unless they first cook a bunch of bananas in his house. Scurvy is the punishment for this transgression.

[844] A woman who has just given birth to a child must see to it that the umbilical cord of the newborn is not lost. If there is food in the hut at the moment of childbirth, the mother may not touch it. If she broke this taboo she would contract a disease (guhumana).

The father of a baby whose teeth have not yet come out may not take a new wife without exposing the child to the danger of contracting the acute scurfy disease (amahumane).

[593] If a child wishes to sit in a chair just vacated by his father, he must first place there a little straw. If he were to act otherwise, he would risk his father's curse.

Children are not permitted to lean against the post which is reserved for the family head. This, too, is done for reasons of propriety.

The owner of a calf whose hooves have only one toe as the result of a congenital deformity may not butcher it except at his own home. The meat of the animal may not be eaten elsewhere. It must be eaten on the spot with the sorghum bread brought by each guest. At the end of the meal, the guests wash their hands in the courtyard and not outside of it.

A goat that sits...on its behind must be butchered /414/ or sold immediately, so that evil will not befall the occupants of the hut.

A hunter of "feli-cervaline /?/" (tiger cats) must be careful careful not to make too many victims among those carnivores so as not to risk unfortunate consequences. A peasant threshing beans in the pod must see to it that no one steps on the threshing floor while he is working.

He would experience the surprise of seeing his provision of beans diminish if a passer-by were to stop suddenly before him.

784 A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while
[842] her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest,
787 it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

789 In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a
691 mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer
[273] made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

784 There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange)
824 is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

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Neighbors]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

614 [240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few
262 clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

262 Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no
858 means the case with women. They are also bound by special ob-
562 ligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

262 The food taboos which play such an important role in the
614 life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos,
784 abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

614 The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are
784 taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

614 Nevertheless, the individual's freedom of action with regard
784 to his umuziru is limited. For this reason one is closer to the actual meaning of the word when one translates it as "prohibition."

I was told that the following were abaziru: mammals, the various parts of their bodies, birds, fish, grasshoppers, the milk of particular cows, and inanimate objects, such as an empty basket, for example, but not plants, with the exception of a blade of straw.

784 [241] The meaning of abaziru involves the vague idea that
715 after death everyone takes the form of an umuziru. For example,
614 they believe that the clansmen of the ruler of Kiziba turn into snakes, the family of the kings of Ruanda into leopards, and various Azande clans into all kinds of animals.

I had no opportunity to find out the derivation of abaziru, not even in cases where the transformation into animals after death was positively maintained. Thus, we can hardly link the various prohibitions with remnants of these ideas.

On the other hand, I learned about traditions which make
784 it seem likely that the prohibitions arose from experiences of
614 clan members or their protoplasts. Thus, in Kifumbiro I was told that one of the clans there (the Abazirambogo) does not eat buffalo meat because one of its ancestors was killed on a buffalo hunt many, many years ago.

The prohibition on wearing the skin of the inganda, antelope, shows how the taboos of a single clan spread to larger groups, even to a whole country. Inganda is an umuziru of the Basindi clan. Its members were not permitted to hunt the animal, eat its meat, or use its skin for clothing. Two wives of a king of Ruanda once quarreled over this beautiful skin, and one stabbed the other with a knife. Thereupon the wise king, in order to eliminate discord from the world once and for all, declared the animal to be an umuziru for the entire country. This has also been the case with dogs, monkeys, and birds.

The Banyaruanda, who generally like to dismiss a questioner with the phrase, "our fathers did it this way," cite traditions about the origin of their taboos, and this we can regard as an argument in favor of the view that the taboos developed along with clan organization.

714 628 614 It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

614 582 Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Batutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

614 581 [242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

563 582 614 In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange 437 them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Agriculture

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

584 girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

583 To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the [584] girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain [585] herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they [584] obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the [584] girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[8]

595 In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the [583] husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[8] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 126-9.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

593 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong
784 enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a
582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to
[357] be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are
[565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter.
[564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the ap-
[591] proach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will
342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.)
591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home
[184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. 121). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the
[302] courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and
[301] narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

796 794 575 [576] Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured; another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him generous presents of beer and cattle.

Now the dance begins under the direction of a female 796 794 575 535 leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward, sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are accompanied by staggering steps. The dance excites the participants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl leading the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer. Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively applause" (No. 45, 1913).

The women are usually particularly skillful in this role. 796 794 575 786 The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head, which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells. Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred: "All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of participants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

796 bellies" (i.e., like sick cattle). And so it continues with in-
794 numerable wild curses. When the storm has subsided, individ-
575 ual supplicants once more stumble forward in front of the
786 enthroned woman, pay profuse respects to the "king," and re-
quest his help in opposing witches and sorcerers who have harmed them. The woman promises this, and with the voice of a fury she calls for a pledge of faith to Kiranga. [129] The ivisjego jump up, and under their leadership and accompanied by the noise of all the instruments and with a thousand curses and screams, a dance is performed, such that in the end everyone is bathed in sweat.

A wild drinking bout by the men and women follows, while they repeatedly scream to Kiranga sitting on the footstool: "Remain on the ruler's throne forever, King of Urundi; Kiranga is king." After that the frantic dancing in rows and the noise continue until the woman representing Kiranga becomes thirsty and surrenders her place to a male successor who is then the host. Naturally, he also is enthroned with tremendous jubilation. In this fashion the drinking and dancing, the invocations of Kiranga, and the curses against enemies continue through the entire night until early morning. Then suddenly the whole group breaks up, and in single file, rattling their bells, they run to the nearest stream where they all wash themselves. With this, the celebration comes to an end, and everyone goes home. From this moment on, none of the participants of the celebration may show any sign of recognizing his companions. The whole Kubandwa must be kept secret. However, the host who last "played" Kiranga belongs from now on among those most privileged and divinely blessed.

796 Since much beer is drunk at these cult festivals and at all
794 other celebrations and it is only available after harvest time,
575 from July to the end of October, all festivals occur exclusively
273 in these months. Every night, especially when there is moon-
light, one can hear the noise of drinkers and dancers from the banana groves. Usually they are mere drinking bouts which resound into the night and have no further importance, but often they are cult gatherings of the abandandwa in which only members of the fraternity may participate.

592 595 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her children, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

514 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents. ●787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance, [481] for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda.

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The 421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi, 563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 353 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461]

1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

425 b) A Mututsi umugaragu is obliged to send the Mwami an inkuke
192 from among the ingabane he has received. When the cow no longer
231 gives milk, the client must bring other animals.

c) An umugaragu can receive some indemano from his patron. Usually these are old cows or bull calves which he then exchanges for heifers. When they are full grown, he gives one or several of these inkuke to his patron.

d) An umugaragu of the Mwami must occasionally send him a milch cow from among the ingabane he has received.

INDWANYI. Full-grown bull given annually to the Mwami by each provincial chief, for sacrifice to the spirits of the departed or slaughtered for the use of the king, his Batwa, or his foreign guests: Bahima, Barundi, Baganda, etc.
[51]

IBINIHA. Sterile cow given under the same conditions and meant for the same use.

[787] INTORWA. Bull calves or young rams to be used for consulting the auguries or for the cult of ancestors.

YO KUBIKA. Cow brought to the Mwami by the successor of a provincial chief who comes to announce the death of his father.

IY'UBUNTU (1). Cow given as a present. It belongs in full

1. From ubuntu, "generosity." Ineza, "good will," is also said.

ownership to the one who receives it, who is held under no obligation to the donor. Ubuntu cows are not ingabane; they are imbata when they are placed among the imbata that are already in the rugo, and keep the name of inka y'ubunta, without possessing any of its privileges, in all other cases [sic].

INYITURANO. Cow given in return by the one who has received an ubuntu. When a man who has bestowed ubuntu on certain of his friends dies, his children can claim an inyiturano cow from each of them.

IMPAHANO (2). Cows bought under the same conditions as

2. From guhaha, "to fetch, to procure."

the intundano and received as a gift or dowry. They have the same character, but if their owner attaches himself to a patron they become ipso facto cows of an umugaragu.

643 are paid the Mwamikazi as to her son, hand clappings repeated
644 three times (gukoma mumashyi). After the death of the Mwami (3),

3. Or rather, as the Banyarwanda say, "When he puts on his drum," for it is forbidden to say that the King is dead.

his mother no longer plays any official role.

3. The Sacred Drum

778 The origin of the Kalinga is said to go back to Ruganzu
173 Ndoli. While the latter, who was not yet king, was fighting against the Karagwe (Uganda), the Abakongoro of Kivu attacked Ruanda and killed the Mwami Ndahiro Chyamatara, father of Ndoli.

Returning from war, the latter stopped at Busigi (territory of Biumba), where a rich proprietor called Minyaruka presented a magnificent drum to the glorious victor.

778 The Kalinga is the very symbol of royalty (4). [89] Hung on
643

4. The Banyarwanda say, Kalinga ibuze nta Mwami (lit., the drum was burned, there is no King). This proverb must not be taken literally for, on the other hand, the people of Ruanda say, Hagum'Umwami ingoma irabazwa, (lit., find the King (important thing), the drum (unimportant thing is only wood). [89]

its stretched cords are the ibikondo, virile attributes of the principal enemies vanquished and killed by the kings of Ruanda. It is also
[787] regularly sprinkled with the blood of victims sacrificed on occasions for auguries. Truly royal honors are given to the Kalinga; it is not made to resound but the other drums sound in its honor (1). It is

1. Kulamutza, "to salute (the king)." The drums are beaten every morning when the king leaves his apartments to begin his day as a public person.

778 643 placed in the hut called rwimiringa (lit., house of copper objects (2),

2. Kalinga means "royal drum"; Karinga means "small copper object."

[727] built inside the king's boma, where the war trophies are kept. The Kalinga is guarded night and day, for it is the emblem of the grandeur of the kings of Ruanda.

4. The Court of the Mwami

644 At Nyanza, the royal residence (ibgami), flocks of people of every rank come to attend court or to inform the Mwami of the affairs of their region: Bahutu or even Batwa villagers hoping to obtain some benefit from the Mwami or his mother, dignitaries of various ranks and functions, and servants of both sexes (3).

[114]

3. These duties and functions have been minutely described by the Rev. Father Pages in his fine book, Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique [A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa] (ed. I.R.C.B. [Institut Royal Colonial Belge], Brussels, 1933). This work constitutes a veritable and priceless monument for the knowledge of Ruanda and its people. We cannot do better than suggest that the reader refer to it for everything concerning the organization of the Royal Court.

5. The Council of Ministers

645 787 In serious circumstances, such as war or famine, the Mwami is obliged to convene the great chiefs (abatware b'intebe) in council (inima). The soothsayers (abapfuma) then consult the oracles and

645
787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90] 6. The Intore

644
861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

644
292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and
[535] others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

727 the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
567 same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
564 able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[191] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugerero) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
● [787] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

695 The oath is administered by the chief to both litigants and the witness before they speak. After planting their spears in the ground, they swear, saying: Nkabeshya iti chumu ndakaritega Mutara! (2) (If I lie, may this spear pierce Mutara!)

2. Instead of pronouncing the name of the reigning king, one often simply says, Ndakariteg'Umwami!

[118] In the past, in the case of a serious theft, assaults and wounds, or suspect illness or death, the accused who persisted in his denial was often tortured or subjected to an ordeal.

A person presumed guilty of a big robbery was tightly bound, then cow's urine was poured into the cuts made by the cords; or else he was deprived of food and beaten till he was crippled, all this without prejudicing the punishment.

695 A man who had been the victim of a big robbery, or whose
787 relative had been attacked by, or died of, a suspicious disease, would go to complain to the chief, accompanied by a Muhutu sorcerer (umushuzi), who would then perform the gushora (divination). The sorcerer would take a pruning knife (ikibabo) and ask the accused to spit on the blade (gukamira, lit., to milk) and to pronounce the following words: "If I am guilty, you will become black. If I am not guilty, you will become white like an inyange (ibis)." The umushuzi would then plunge the pruning knife into the fire. When the iron turned red-hot he scattered magic powder (umubi) on the blade and awaited the result of the experiment.

Another test currently used in the same cases was that of the chick called umuchuri (from guchurikam, to upset) for the occasion. The accused drank a little water, rinsed out his mouth, and spat out the water into the beak of the chick. The sorcerer (mututsi) then spoke to the bird, saying: "If you find that this one is guilty, you will make the traveler walk and the sedentary one stop. If he is not guilty, you will make the traveler rest and the sedentary one walk (1)."

1. These sibylline words can be explained as follows: In the entrails of the chick (ibilanga) there are some intestines which in contracting or expanding give the impression of retreating or advancing.

695 opened up its body, and after examining its entrails would give the
●787 suitable interpretation.

696 [119] There is no special procedure in the execution of sentences. If the judgment concerns stolen cows, the plaintif or the abagaragu go and take them from the thief. In other cases the condemned one does it himself, and if, as unlikely, he refuses to do so, the chief would compel him by force.

692 In principle, justice is gratuitous and legal expenses do not exist, but the judges are not indifferent to douceur, which gives an advantage to the powerful and wealthy ones. On the other hand, as a rule, an umugaragu with a palaver brings beer or tobacco to his shebuja so that he will bring his case before the tribunal.

Appeals are dealt with by the provincial chief whose tribunal is organized on the same basis as that of the hill chief. This appeal is called gusuzugura (lit., to despise the chief's justice) or gusubira urubanza (to begin the palaver over again).

In the past a Muhutu did not appeal to the provincial chief but to the umugabe w'ingabo (1).

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Right of War, p. 92.

On the other hand, the provincial chief's tribunal has first cognizance of cases concerning cattle and territorial litigation between hill chiefs. It is also obliged to act in cases of expulsion or dispossession of a Mututsi or a Muhutu by a hill chief.

The Mwami's tribunal is the supreme jurisdiction. The king presides, surrounded by his confidential men who are versed in the customs (abahanga) or by persons of high rank who have the responsibility of being judges.

Normally, the Mwami alone is competent to deal in the first instance, and with no appeal, with criminal affairs, [120] but he may delegate his power to an umutware. If, for example, a provincial chief has denounced a sorcerer to the king, the latter may command the chief to kill the umulozi.

Crimes of high treason and violation of state secrets are also exclusively of his competence.

695 In the past, in criminal cases judged by the Mwami, recourse was had to the gihango test in order to force the accused to

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade. [439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the [262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior [782] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453). [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by 262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 753 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom: when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state.
[782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders
[411] are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read
787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are
726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or
727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed.
721 Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces
[648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

643 of his relatives. However, the young prince who, according
662 to the belief of the Barundi, is destined to be king of Urundi also lives far from the court. The Barundi believe that this
[787] predestined royal child who has been born of one or another of the wives of the king can be recognized at birth by the fact that he holds in his hands seeds of all the species of produce grown in Urundi. They also believe that because of these revealing signs, the mother with her child flees to the neighboring country until the ruling king has died. A royal prince is regarded as suitable to succeed the king only if he is not yet married when ascending the throne and if his mother is still alive (p. 184 [not translated]). In any case there is a struggle between the various parties when the pretender to the throne returns from abroad after the king's death to lay claim to the succession. This ends with the victory [92] of one party and its pretender. The new ruler is proclaimed king after a ritual act of election (p. 184 [not translated]) by the council of the Baganwa and abafumu [plural of umufumu, sorcerer], and he usually has all his brothers and close relatives killed or sent into safe exile (No. 19, p. 524).

634 Less blood and violence is involved in the succession of the greater and lesser batwale. In this case, too, the father during his lifetime designates one of his sons as his successor by inheritance (or one of his daughter if he has no sons); usually it is the eldest. The king, however, may change the decision in favor of someone else. After the death of the chief, the new mutwale is ceremonially installed in his office by the council. He is given the insignia of the deceased and also the cattle, the wives, and the kraal of his predecessor; in short, he receives all his family property (No. 19, p. 550). He now proceeds to rule his new fiefdom like a sovereign prince, but he has to pay punctually to the king the tribute imposed on him, and he must also fulfill his other feudal duties which are not burdensome. Otherwise, he risks deposition, war, exile, and death.

[117] Chapter 9

Religion, Myths, Cults, Missions

1. Gods

771 The religion of the Barundi is probably best described as animism and totemism, with a generous admixture of elements of fetishism (talisman), manism (worship of the ancestral spirits), and hero cult. The last has already become a cult of gods in many respects. This mixture of elements of the "totemistic era" with those of the "era of heroes and gods" (No. 43, pp. 116, 278) is undoubtedly the result of the mixture of the indigenous Batwa and Bantu with the Hamitic conquerors who added their totemistic clan organization and the cult of their heroes -- who have become tribal gods -- to the clan system, animism, and fetishism of the Batwa and Bantu. All these different social and religious elements have permeated each other, partly by merely existing side by side, partly by merging together and changing, so that it is often difficult to separate out neatly the individual elements and to recognize their origin.

Animism and the belief in demons constitute the main body of the religious concepts of the Barundi. These beliefs are shared by Batwa, Bahutu, and also the Batussi, although the latter to a much smaller extent. Apparently in Urundi as well as in all the rest of the interlacustrine region the Bahima brought with them more refined religious ideas from their original homes in the north. These ideas partly repressed the crude belief in demons and sorcery held by the Bantu Negroes and gave a more important role to ancestor worship. It is true, however, that the large majority of the Bahutu still cling to the old primitive belief in demons and sorcery which conforms so well to their spiritual bent. The Barundi believe that everything is endowed
774 with a soul. As among most primitive peoples who are still
787 at the stage of animism, their ideas of an immaterial soul are based on the observed fact that in a sleeping body there exists

774 something which is alive, which does not rest but thinks, sees,
787 and moves about. In a dream this incorporeal part of us sees the world not merely as a person who is awake does, but it also meets the dead who thus continue to exist incorporeally after death. If this immaterial element, the life-generating soul, permanently leaves the body, the human being dies.

774 The distinction between the body or shadow soul and the breath soul which W. Wundt and C. Meinhof considered characteristic of totemistic conceptions (No. 43, p. 203; No. 41, pp. 32-34) apparently fits [118] the notions of the Barundi, for the Murundi clearly distinguishes between the spirit of a dead person, the umusimu, and the soul active within a living person, the umutima, which is destroyed at the moment of death along with the pulsating heart, the indihagusi (No. 46, p. 15). It further seems certain to me that the Barundi conceive of all things, organic or inorganic, as being endowed with souls; this does not only apply to persons and animals but also to plants, stones, stars, fire, fountains, rivers, etc. These are not simply regarded as the occasional residences of former human and animal souls but as having souls of their own. Thus, the thorny bush which scratches the hunter and makes him bleed does so not only because it is the abode of what formerly was a malicious human soul but because it has a malicious "bush soul" of its own. The fountain refreshes the thirsty traveler not because, or not only because in it resides the spirit of what was formerly a generous person but because it has its own generous "fountain soul."

775 Umusimu is not only the term for the spirit of the deceased but also for the object or the animal which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as its residence; there may be various ones. Frequently these are small oblong pebbles (inguru) from the fields of the deceased. These pebbles are collected by the next of kin and put into a wooden trough which is placed inside the sacrificial hut where a beer sacrifice is made to them (No. 46, p. 16). Often the soul of a dead person also resides in an object close to his former dwelling, in a tree, fence, or rock, often also in an animal which by its nimble

2. Cults

793 Each of these gods is worshipped by specific cults; each
●787 has his specific priest whom he "enters" from time to time,
makes him "possessed," and lets him prophesy and perform
794 feats of magic. There are male and female priests. Allegedly
756 the female ones remain unmarried. Divine power and inspiration and the predisposition for being possessed are in most cases passed on from father to son or daughter in the same manner as the power to heal and to raise spirits which is held by the medicine men (abafumu).

793 In Urundi these priests are called iviranga (sing. kiranga); in Ruanda, imandwa; in Kisiba, wabandwa. Among the persons who dedicate themselves to the cult of gods and spirits, the kiranga most of all has the character and functions of the priest in our sense. He has the same name as the god Kiranga (derived from the word root kira, to put in order), and he is regarded both as the representative and as the ambulatory abode of the god himself. Men or women become kiranga either because their fathers or mothers were kiranga and transmitted this talent after their death or as a result of having been struck but not killed by lightning, the sign of the power of the god (No. 19, p. 253), or they are seized by the spirit and enter a state of
[828] manic possession at the Kubandwa celebration or the "sacred spear" ceremony (cf. p. 134). As soon as such happenings and conditions make their appearance, the person in question is declared a kiranga and has to officiate at the ceremonies of the holy spear which are performed on so many occasions (No. 19, pp. 462-463) and to mediate between humanity, suffering or filled with metaphysical urges, and the spirits and gods.

As has been mentioned before, in Ruanda the ecstatic
791 mediators of the world of the spirits are called imandwa. They are male or female, divinely chosen mediums of one of the principal spirits, i.e., either Riangombe, Binego, Mugassa, or others. Depending on this association with a particular god, they have to adorn themselves in a fashion different from the others. They have to express themselves by growling, hissing,

794 575 The main reasons for joining the Kubandwa are usually the following: the invitation of a magician; the wish to be cured of a sickness or to be rescued from a difficult situation caused by evil spirits; the intention of obtaining a privileged position of various material advantages of joining the cult society; the fulfillment of a promise or vow made to one's ancestors; the carrying on of a family tradition, etc. Thus, we have motives in all of which the positive principle of utility strongly predominates.

The consequence of joining the Kubwanda [sic] is that the umubandwa ceases to be a member of common humanity; he now belongs to an exalted adoptive family which protects and promotes its members. We might regard it as a kind of Free Masons' Lodge. Through solemn vows the newly admitted members pledge themselves not to betray or violate the secrets of the Kubwanda. If a member should nevertheless do so, the [789] ababandwa curse him, wishing all sufferings on him, and Riangombe carries out the malediction (No. 44, p. 294).

[126] The ceremonies of the Kubandwa, the admission 796 of new members to the society, are accompanied by a great 794 number of formalities; they are identical, however, for Batussi, 575 Bahutu, and Batwa. To the best of my knowledge they correspond in their main outlines to the procedure that is customary in Ruanda which is as follows. First the aspirant (nsigo) informs a sorcerer (umufumu) of his desire to be admitted to the society. Then the abafumu require weeks and months to obtain the spirits' [787] assent by performing all kinds of sorcery: they listen to their "inner voices," they observe floating pieces of butter and wood, they read the entrails of chickens, sheep, water-wagtails, etc. (No. 44, p. 530). During this entire period the candidate is expected to bring the umufumu a series of presents: sheep, goats, beans, iron hoes, even cattle (required of the Batussi). At the same time bananas, meat, pombe beer, and other delicacies must be offered as sacrifices to the spirits in the little sacrificial huts. At last the spirits agree to the admission of the candidate. Then the abafumu choose from their circle a sponsor whose duty it is to introduce the candidate to the ababandwa. The real

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus. Many small objects are poured on the ground from various calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an intelligent man.

[134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no
791 circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
754 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may be characterized in the following manner. According to Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medicine men who can free a person from the malediction of the evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, protectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
[578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either incurred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentricity, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
661 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly informed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzimu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

644 forebears. Along with thedeeds of the past, they must preserve the
814 memory of each king's name, the names of the queen mother, of the king's immediate ancestors, and of the tribe to which they belonged.

Needless to say, critical sense has not yet appeared in the land. It happens sometimes that the Court historians and keepers of the traditions disagree about some detail which is now forgotten or [707] in dispute. In such cases divinatory sacrifices are offered in order to find out what the king should be told (1).

1. See "Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom of Ruanda" /Book II, not translated/ for opinions regarding the authenticity of the first /few/ sovereigns. As fas as the beginnings of the kingdom are concerned, the traditional documentation is of greater value to ethnology than to history.

In spite of their inherent faults and imperfections, the epics nevertheless are not lacking in interest or charm. Through them we can grasp at first hand the thoughts of the Banyarwanda, their feelings, their /375/ ideas about life, their love of their native soil, their attachment to old customs and memories of the past. They reveal the pathetic sorrow caused by foreign invasions, and the enthusiasm inspired by eventual triumph.

[64] 7. The keepers of the traditions belong to the important Abiru clan. Their role is to preserve the unity and continuity of customs at the capital and throughout the realm. The supreme chief of this corporation is the chief of the Batsobe, whose position entails numerous and varied functions.

644 In accordance with a popular tradition, he is personally en-
643 trusted with the task of collecting the umbilical cord (umukungwa) of
787 each of the king's sons, as well as their teeth, including their milk teeth. Then, when the time comes to determine the heir to the throne, it is this personage who has the honor of presiding over the selection.

644 According to popular belief, this choice is made in a very interesting
643 manner. The umbilical cords of the young princes are buried separate-
787 ly in pots of ficus wood (umwuko), with gourd, sorghum, eleusine, and native spinach (issogi) seeds planted all around them (1). The

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1. These seeds are designated by the name of mbuto nkuru, that is to say, "the major seeds." Eleusine and sorghum play an important role in the diet by yielding a sort of native bread. Spinach is also highly valued because of the flavor it lends to the beans with which it is cooked. The Banyarwanda also include in this category the seeds of a special gourd called inzungwane, which is hollowed out when ripe. It is used to store beer, and it is this relationship to pombe, so highly appreciated by the natives, which lends so much importance to the seed.

According to another popular belief, the successor to the throne is the one among the king's sons born with the "major seeds" in his right hand.

After subjugating the Bahutu by force, the Hamites insured their obedience by exploiting their credulity.

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future holder of the drum is pointed out by the most plentiful harvest. According to these naive people, the umbilical cords are /376/ then discarded except for that of the crown prince, which must be preserved (1).

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the author discusses diviners, including the Bakongori, and the various methods of practicing their art.

The same individual is both diviner and sacrificer.

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The Abakongori are also designated by the name of Abanyambuto because they use the saliva of their clients in their method of divination, hence the name mbuto given to this viscous fluid in this particular case.

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Numerous are the clans, such as the Bazigaba, Batembe, and Bahigo, of the Muhutu /Bantu/ race, which provide the court with diviners and sacrificers, but more numerous still are the families where these functions have been transmitted, since more or less distant times, from father to son or from mother to daughter.

The Bahigo and Batembe inhabit the Bugoyi region. The ancestors of these two families emigrated to the /Ruanda/ kingdom around the year 1800, during the reign of Yuhi III Gahindiro. The members of these two /392/ groups owed their good fortune to a Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief who was pleased with their divinatory talents and made them known to the court of King Yuhi III Gahindiro, where they were summoned (1).

1. The events and incidents of this emigration to Ruanda were preserved by his descendants and make an interesting tale.

●787

Their method of divination differs from that of other diviners.

They are called Abanyamihundwa, that is to say, "jawbone diviners," because instead of using any small bones as do the ordinary Banyanzuzi, they use only the jawbones of sheep, beeves, and antelopes (2).

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2. The bones of goats are excluded from their divinatory practices.

To those small bones (imihundwa y' urwasaya), which must be six in number, they add three small pieces of iron (imbaba), three seeds of the gourd called inzungwane, and a piece of wood about ten centimeters long adorned with beads at one end and on one side, which is called igichumbi.

The diviners ascribe great importance to it /the last?/ and place it in the center of the jawbones, three to the right and three to the left, in order to consult the future. Another detail distinguishes them from their colleagues. While the latter throw their magic dice onto the plate (impinga) with an abrupt gesture, the Banyamihundwa simply allow theirs to fall upon the hide of one of the above-named animals.

Small bones play an important role at court and throughout the land. They are resorted to for everyday events. The bone thrower's role is to interpret the relative positions of the bones in accordance with his special knowledge. The number of dice or bones varies with the rank or title of the diviner. Each of the dice and bones has a significance of its own, which is modified in turn according to the manner in which they fall to the ground.... One must take into account the side upon which the bones fall, the direction in which they /393/ are pointing, and the position they assume in relation to each other. It is easy to imagine how many combinations are possible when all those elements are taken into account....

If the desired answer is not obtained at the first throw, one begins again...once, twice, ten times...until it comes (Levy-Bruhl) (1).

1. La Mentalité primitive /Primitive Mentality/, Félix Alcan Publ., 1922.

644 sorcerers and of possessing exceptional talents. This is why the purely
791 mystical functions of their successors were sanctioned by the conquerors.

As a result, they remain on duty both to His Black Majesty and to his faithful subjects at court, at the capital, and throughout the realm. /399/

A. Bewitchers, spell casters, spells, and sorcery. The sorcerers in this category are subdivided into several groups and operate in various ways.

They are referred to as a group by the generic term umulôzi (abalôzi in the plural), "bewitcher." Kuloga means "to bewitch, to cast a spell," and also "to poison." Ubulôzi (amalôzi in the plural) means "bewitchment," "evil spell," "sorcery," and "poisoning." Those are familiar words in the great lake region.

As we shall see later, many of them ply their trade publicly both at the capital in the service of the king, to deliver him from his enemies, and in the villages where they serve their fellow men.

Others, whose activities are more or less acknowledged, practice only in secret.

Some, as will be made clear, have only a fictional existence and exist only in the imagination of naïve people.

1. Abashitsi, or "the catchers," is the name of those who
787 can force a thief to reveal himself through magical practices.
695 The name of their function is borrowed from the verb gushika, "to catch" (the thief), hence the word "urushiko" to designate the procedure. To do this the magician fills a vessel (imbehe) with a liquid which he prepares himself. He blows for a while into a drinking tube, one end of which is immersed in a wooden jar, until the froth (urufuro) overflows, forcing the thief through this mystic and symbolic procedure to reveal his deed in spite of himself. Such, at least, is the popular belief.

2. Abaheretsi (from the verb guhereka, "to lay traps through
791 bewitchment") serves to designate a second group of sorcerers who
789 specialize in burying charms and amulets of their own making in banana groves and cultivated fields, /400/ hence the name of uruhereko given to their sorcery.

754 which is no longer usable (umûsambi). Then they fetch a human tibia
or fibula (umurundi) with which they carry out a gruesome dance
[826] (guchuragura) in the courtyard of the person they wish to harm. They
hold in their hand a small jar full of live coals to symbolize the life
of their enemy which is soon to burn out. After breaking the clay jar
and scattering the coals, they toss a handful of earth taken from a
grave upon the owner's hut and say the following words in a low voice,
[539] "I don't want your beans but your life" (Sinshak' ibishyimbo, ichyo
ndashaka n'amagara yawe). This is reputed to be one of the worst
evil spells.

6. Gutambikir' umutambikiro, that is to say, "to dig a small ditch across" the path where the hated enemy they wish to bewitch will pass. This is another kind of spell by analogy /sympathetic
[826] magic/. In order to do this, the operator must if possible procure a nerve taken from a human cadaver, and a strip of bamboo or some other wood that was used in transporting the dead.

With these he makes a tiny bow which he places in the ditch dug out on the path of his enemy, who is soon to come by. The hole is covered with earth and grass so as not to arouse anyone's suspicion. When the detested person puts his foot on the concealed bow, the spell caster, hidden in the surrounding bushes, pronounces in a low voice the fateful word, Fatwa, "Be caught." This is the end of the unlucky traveler. /403/ Assailed with violent intestinal pains, distended, blown up, he will soon die in terrible agonies, or so claims the theory.

This procedure is also designated under the name of kubang' agaheto or guteg' umuntu agaheto, "to lay the bow trap."

7. Guteger' umuntu inkoko, "to practice the chick spell"
754 (implicitly, one whose guts did not turn white, iteze neza, yabay'
•787 urutunda) is regarded along with guchuragura as one of the worst evil spells.

In order to make use of this spell, one usually resorts to specialists in divination who are past masters of this art. If the diviner
[826] agrees to do the job, for a handsome fee, his client prepares to collect secretly (since the Blacks are suspicious and mistrustful of their fellow men) a little saliva expectorated by the person on whom

754 he wishes to take revenge. The viscous material, carefully gathered
787 in a leaf, is brought to the sorcerer who introduces it with a little
[826] water into the beak of the chick he is about to sacrifice.

The diviner first holds a conversation with the bird and requests it to make sure that its guts will not "turn white" but "turn black," so the evil deriving from this fact may be duly utilized. After talking at some length, the operator slits the chicken's throat in the usual fashion of diviners and carefully washes the guts to verify the specific color (white or black) on which the spell depends. If black is present, the lucky client takes what is left of the chick from the hands of the diviner and tosses it surreptitiously into the hut or enclosure of his enemy, or else he buries it at the favorite spot where the person likes to sit and rest. The effects of the sorcery will be felt quickly, and the unfortunate victim /404/ will die almost instantly after a few moments of indisposition.

The Blacks add that this sorcery is feared by everyone but used more especially by the nobility (Batutsi). They say that if one wishes to ensure success, it is preferable to use a chick which is the only survivor (yonyine, ikinege) of its brood.

If the guts turn black in the course of the divinatory procedure, the chick will infallibly "swallow" (gusama) and "destroy" (gufata) the person whose death is desired.

754 8. Let us now mention the bewitcher who uses the horn of a cow to cast an evil spell on an enemy (ihembe umulozi alogesha).

The horn is hollowed out by the sorcerer, who carves at its tip the head of a snake. He fills it with all sorts of objects and ingredients, the droppings of various birds or animals, and scraps of flesh taken from victims he has already killed.

9. Freak babies (ibimara), young girls whose breasts have not
[787 developed (impenebere), and other unfortunate beings of this kind are
845 regarded by the Banyarwanda as "revealing in themselves the presence
856] of an evil principle or mystic force whose influence is deadly." (1)
just like the monstra, portenta, and other ill omens of Roman times

1. La mentalité primitive
/The Primitive Mentality/,
by Levy-Bruhl, pp. 158 ff.

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads. . . .Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit, ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo, departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it.

Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
•787 nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no
783 matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly material infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions, some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction frequently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter, she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune, and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has been used to kill entails the same consequences.

784 A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while
[842] her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest,
787 it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

789 In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a
691 mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer
[273] made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

784 There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange)
824 is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

644 727 Among the other families who played a role at court, we may cite the aBasingo, Batchaba, and aBagessera. The Basingo, a subdivision of the powerful Biru clan, fulfill a special function in wartime along with the "Cursers" (Abahenyi).

They are in charge of "closing the path" to the enemy (gukingir' ababisha) by gathering all the monsters, real or fancied, who [787] are regarded by the Blacks as evil portents and therefore designated by the term intsiro. This covers chiefly black goats, black chicks whose entrails were found to "turn black" when examined by the diviners, that is to say, unfavorable to the enemy, dissolute mothers (ibinyandaro), children born out of wedlock, children born during the mourning period held for one of their relatives (umwana w'amabi), young girls with undeveloped breasts (impenebere), old women who remained sterile through life (umugetchuru w'igicha mbyaro), and other true monsters with real and visible defects, who are designated by the generic name of ibimara or ibimazi.

644 342 The aBatchaba, another branch of the great /460/ aBiru family, select and measure the sites of royal huts. They hang in the interior of the hut, and later fasten outside, some branches of trees with magic properties (1) which according to popular belief exercise a

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1. Among those plants or trees with magic properties, we may cite the ficus (umuvumu), the red-bloom erythrina (umuko), the plant called irarire, etc.

salutary influence over the inhabitants or owners of the huts. It is the duty of their wives and daughters to meet the victorious warriors, singing and dancing, and thus congratulate them for their feats of valor. They also take part in the traditional celebrations which are held when the king takes official possession of a newly built hut and enters it for the first time with a wife chosen especially for the occasion (2).

5: Pagès--281 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A ceremony in front of the kiosk dedicated to the spirits.

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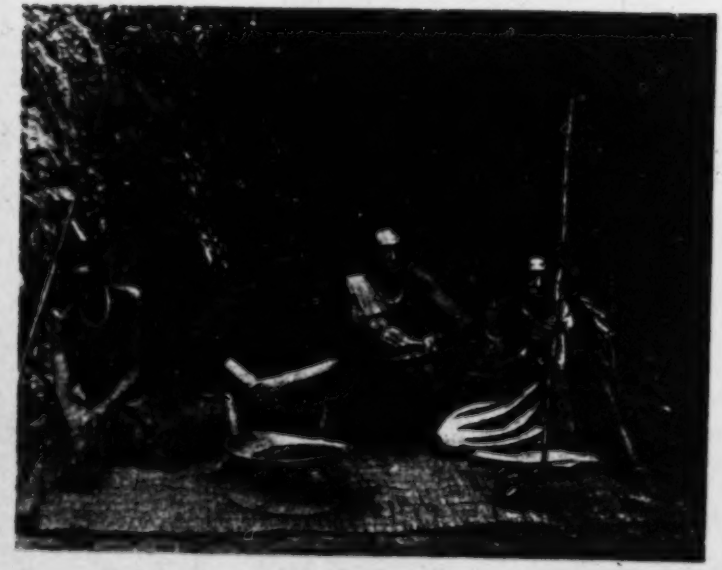

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A divination scene.

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

[768] After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. How-
825 ever, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has
787 settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega)
251 which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist
285 of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held
251 together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

685 referred to simply as kushoko, "drinking." This fact indicates that the poison test was the oldest form. To give a person this test is called kushora which simply means "to give a drink." Thus they say: "Umututsi ashora inka ze (the Mututsi gives his cows a drink)," as well as "kushora ikihango (to drink poison)" and "kushora (literally, to drink a chicken)."

[286] Chapter 14

History and Chronology

173 Ruanda. I had great difficulty in obtaining data about the history of Ruanda. Oral tradition in the interlacustrine region is limited chiefly to the genealogy of the rulers. This basic skeleton is also generally supplemented by a few statements about the chief events of the corresponding epochs. My informants, however, knew little about the history of the dynasty, since most of them were Bahutu.

124 Musinga gave Captain W. Von Grawert, who introduced me to him, his royal promise that he would have reports made to me on the history of the country or even tell me about it himself. [187] The chicken oracle, however, said that the king would suffer harm if I were initiated in the history of the country. The next time I visited Musinga and tried to have certain contradictions in my notes on the Ruanda rulers cleared up by this authoritative source, I was kept dangling for two and a half hours and was unsuccessful. His Black Majesty was very pleasant, but during the whole time he kept practicing, in German, the meaningless sentence, "Little spear is pretty."

Musinga wanted to please me by demonstrating his zeal in learning the German language and in this way divert my attention from interviewing him.

173 It seems that in Ruanda as well as In Nkole one may not speak [715] about deceased kings with the uninitiated, for the spirits, disturbed in their rest, might avenge themselves. However, people [52] talk about olden times in the evening when the nobility gather with the king, pay court to him, and drink beer. They know

791 Soothsayers, Sorcerers, and Medicine Men. Besides the
●789 babandwa, there are several categories of people in Mulem who know how to exercise power over the living and over spirits in supernatural ways. We shall speak here of bapfumu, bahuzi, balozi, bachunyi, bahinza, and bawubyi.

[319] Bapfumu have the task of communicating with the spirits of the dead (bazimu). They are visited when a death has occurred in the family, and a present of food, sometimes even a goat, is brought to them. They then tell the family where it would be most suitable to build the spirit hut of the deceased (ndaro). Since the mupfumu remains in contact with the spirits of the dead and since these spirits cause illness, he is asked whether a sick person will recover. The mupfumu gives answers with the help of the little board oracle.

The special duty of the bahuzi is to discover poisoners who are known here as balozi and in the Runyoro territory was balogu. If many deaths occur, poisoning is immediately suspected. The muhuzi is summoned to handle this, and it is his task to determine
[682] who the poisoner is. If discovered, the criminal can be killed, and the evil can, at least for the future, be remedied. The muhuzi goes from one compound to another with his enchanted antelope horn. Everywhere he is most hospitably received by the head of the family who gives him gifts. All are afraid that if he were displeased he might point to them as poisoners, and this always means death. On his rounds the muhuzi is told by the horn where the poison is to be found and who the poisoner is.

Persons struck by lightning are also treated by the muhuzi.
791 If lightning strikes a herd of cattle, the owner utters a cry of joy
821 which consists of a long drawn-out "hoo..." as he strikes his lips
232 with his hand. This call is supplemented by the news that the king is taking back his cattle. This is done in order to save the animals that have been stunned. The maganga huzi is then fetched and tries to heal the animals with herbs. For his efforts he is presented with the jaws of the dead animals and the meat on them. The horns of the dead animals are buried at the spot where they
[789] were stricken. Another task of the bahuzi is to prophesy to the sick the outcome of their illness.

791 The bahinza have to do with matters relating to farming,
789 above all with crops and grasshoppers. A good harvest is due to their cooperation. That is why, after the harvest, bahinza go about collecting donations. People like to give them gifts. The curse of the muhinza can "dry up" human beings as well as animals, so that they lose their sexual powers.

The Balera fear the curse of the muhinza very much, for if he merely pronounces his curse and spits upon the ground, the effect is automatic.

[152] Father F. Dufays told me that he saw a man die of fright soon after he had been cursed by a muhinza. The bahinza are always Bahutu.

791 Bawubyi are rainmakers. They appear in the transition period between the rainy season and the dry season and demand gifts for making rain or for making it stop. Bawubyi are always pariah Batwa.

Since there are very few Batutsi in Mulera and they have little influence, we may assume that [321] the various categories of soothsayers and sorcerers mentioned here and familiar to me from my stay in Mulera and the practice of poisoning are phenomena basic to Bahutu culture and not borrowed from the Batutsi.

588 In Ruanda, as in Kiziba and Mpororo, women are consecrated to the spirits. They must provide for the needs of the spirits, and their children are said to be regarded as the children of the spirit and to belong to his family, for these women are allegedly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with others. I was told quite frankly, however, about a case where a Mututsi chief consecrated Bahutu women to a spirit and had sexual intercourse with them.

787 Dreams and Soothsaying. In Ruanda various methods of soothsaying are practiced. First we must speak of the chicken oracle because of its great importance.

In order to obtain information about a certain matter through the chicken oracle, it is necessary for the person to come to the soothsayer (mupfumu) with a chicken. When he arrives, he spits into the beak of the chicken and hands it to the soothsayer. The latter first places the chicken on the visitor's head and then calls his helper, a young boy. The boy grasps the chicken under its

787 wings and lays it on its back on the ground. The mupfumu slits open the chicken from the beak down, so the tongue remains attached to the lower jaw. He lifts out the entrails, which are placed in an improvised basin and washed. The basin is a depression in the ground lined with a banana leaf. The soothsayer spreads the washed entrails on his hand and looks for excrescences known as nkebe. If there are not more than two or three nkebe, the prediction is favorable or in the affirmative. In this case, a 787 few bones are taken from the chicken and placed in a small ves- 789 sel of barkcloth. Sometimes the entrails with the nkebe are added. This vessel is dried in the smoke from the hearth and worn around the neck as an amulet against the evil eye. If the number of nkebe is larger, the chicken is thrown away, and the operation is repeated on another chicken.

A few days after the soothsaying has taken place, the amulet 787 made of a bit of barkcloth and containing chicken bones and fat is handed over with a certain solemnity. It takes a few days for the contents to dry out. Early in the morning the mupfumu comes into the hut of the person fortunate enough to have a favorable prediction. The soothsayer is received by the man who sits on a stool and his wife who sits beside him on the ground. The soothsayer sits down opposite them and smears the man's forehead, back, and chest with some kaolin. [322] Later he hands the man a necklace of bast from which hang the vessels containing the bones of the chicken sacrificed for the soothsaying. In payment, the soothsayer gets a hoe and some beer if there is any to be had at the time.

The chicken oracle is a Batutsi (or Bahima) custom. This is evident from the fact that the soothsayers belong to the aristocracy of herdsmen and that the amulets containing chicken bones are worn primarily by Batutsi.

The entrails of cows and sheep are used in the same manner as chicken entrails for soothsaying. Because of their costliness, however, this is evidently done only by the king and the aristocracy. Goats are used for sacrifices, but never for soothsaying.

The fact that the goat, which is associated more with the lower-class Bahutu, is not used for soothsaying probably shows that in general soothsaying from the entrails of sacrificial animals is associated with the ruling Batutsi class.

[Text continues in p. 260]

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Fig. 167. Amulet of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)
Fig. 168. Twin Amulets on a Necklace of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

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Fig. 169. Container with Tokens for the Little Board Oracle, Mulera: (a) gourd token, (b) iron tokens, (c) bone tokens. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13117. 22 centimeters long.)

181 In Kissaka soothsaying with calabashes is also said to be practiced. Father Van Thiele describes it as follows. The soothsayer has two calabashes filled with seed kernels. He sits on a small stool, dressed in the hide of a jackal in such a way that the head of the animal lies on the head of the soothsayer and the tail hangs down behind. He shakes the two gourds and makes the kernels rattle. After a while he stops, puts the gourds aside, takes off the skin, and lies down on the floor. After a period of concentration the soothsayer announces his oracle and is paid.

Another type of soothsaying is that of the speaking calabash and the speaking goatskin, nyabukobwa. This was supposed to have prophesied the arrival of Europeans from the east at the time of the last independent king of Kissaka (Kimeni II). Father Van Thiele reports that he found a reed flute in the nyabukobwa which played when the bag was squeezed and air escaped.

[323] In Mulera the little board oracle is common. The soothsayer grasps the handle of a small, hollowed out, trough-shaped board 40 centimeters long, 15 centimeters wide, and one to two centimeters deep. With his other hand he tosses into the air a few times several seeds, some little metal discs, small sheep bones, and a piece of gourd. The piece of gourd is called umwami (king). The iron discs represent the bazimu (spirits) of men, and the sheep bones, those of women. They are always skillfully caught. After they have been sufficiently mixed, they are thrown on the little board. The answer is found in the way they are spread out.

181 The natives of Ruanda tell about prophecies several years back that foretold the coming of the Europeans.

173 Thus, years ago the then mighty father of Kaizuka was said to have known that a conqueror, different from all men known up to that time and one having power over thunder, would come from the east and would change the internal conditions of Ruanda. This prophecy was generally known and induced Monseigneur Hirth to choose the route via Usumbura and Urundi for the mission to avoid possible difficulties that might result from this prophecy. In 1905 when the king became aware of changed conditions, it is said that Kaizuka, the son of the prophet of doom, was robbed of his possessions and had his eyes gouged out.

787 There is a story of a similar prophecy for Ruasa. Formerly
773 the hill on which the mission is now located had a quite unintelligible name, busakaza itaka, allegedly, "land where earth is used to cover." About 15 years ago a man prophesied that "red men" would come and that their house would be covered with earth. When the missionaries came and covered their buildings with bricks, the words made sense, and the prophecy was fulfilled. There is a similar story about Bugoye.

787 I could not understand the Banyaruanda views about dreams.
773 What one sees in a dream is a matter pertaining to the past or the future if it is contrary to the present. If one has seen deceased persons in a dream, it is said that the spirits of the dead came visiting. Such a dream is usually followed by a sacrifice, for it is assumed that the spirits are suffering and that they appear in order to beg for help. If a person disregards this he might suffer evil consequences, for the neglected spirits would avenge themselves.

787 If a youth sees his bride in a dream, he does not marry her. The dream warns him against a marriage in which the partners would not get along.

Father F. Dufays once dreamed that one of his black friends burst because he drank too much beer. When he told this to the man in question on the next morning, [324] the man was frightened and began to cry. When he was asked the reason for his tears, he said that whatever one sees in a dream comes to pass.

755 The Practice of Medicine. A special form of medical treatment, cure through initiation into a secret society, has already been described. This is not all there is to medical practice, however, and it is not always employed. Not all sorcerers, soothsayers, and medicine men belong to the secret societies of babandwa. The act of appeasing the spirits with eleusine (buro) seems to be carried out by ordinary soothsayers (bapfumu) in order to free patients from afflictions caused by troublesome spirits.

In Kissaka where I was told a great deal about the "appeasement of spirits" with eleusine, the procedure is somewhat as follows.

The mupfumu takes a small calabash known as ntendere and fills it with eleusine. He adds nzuzi seeds, kaolin powder, and a bone from the forefoot of a cow. The soothsayer rubs the palm of

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

RELIGION

793 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 THE list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed 000 taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and 651 the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state [655] work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he 643 took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he 262 generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, [273] when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people [178] were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any [644] meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls 644 being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took [787] auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when 643 he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his [762] life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated 643 over the country. There was no rule against naming the king 766 after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for [231] this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died. [782]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *murozi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czeknowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country. 723

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death. 708 [641]

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agateroshuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight. 721 [787] [726]

Some of the warriors (*abakoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems. 727

(*c*) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*). 705

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief, 705 422

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Finally, the cattle that the warriors of an army could personally effectively dispose of were also considered as army cattle. There was a distinction between cows obtained from an overlord and *imbata*. Warriors' cattle, however, were linked to the army differently from herdsmen's: only the cattle of the latter were submitted to the different taxes I am going to examine now. 705 422

Each army had its own grazing grounds, particularly for the *nyambo*, *mabara*, and the chief's cattle as the other kinds were usually kept by those who had usufruct rights over them.[18]

(*d*) *Tribute due by the army*

Besides the personal services mentioned earlier (training, watching at the border, defending the country, foreign expeditions), each army had to provide the king, the court, and its chief with other benefits. 701 651

On a new king's accession, each patrilineage of the army had to give him a cow. This gift (*indabukirano*) showed the recognition of the authority of the person to whom it was offered. At the beginning of each reign there was also a ceremony called *murundo*, during which all the cattle of an army were numbered and presented to the king. A certain proportion was retained by him. Cattle raided by the stick-bearers (*abakoni*) of the army belonged to the king, according to eighty-seven per cent. of our informants.

Warriors and herdsmen of each army had the duty of keeping in order a part of the royal residence (*incyubagaba inkike*), according to ninety-three per cent. of our informants.

Each army was obliged to keep at the court a few cows to provide the king with fresh milk (*inkuke*). This herd was called *intamara* and was looked after by an officer, *umutware w'intamara*. According to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants, to provide *inkuke* was the duty of the herdsmen's section only. Besides they had to deliver daily to the court a certain number of milk jars (*igicuba*), according to ninety-nine per cent. A very important majority of Tutsi interviewed (eighty-nine per cent.) said that herdsmen had to supply the court with the necessary slaughter animals (*indwanyi*). Finally, each army had to provide the court with young steers used for divination purposes (*amamana*). According to fifty-five per cent. of our informants these had to be [787]

[18] On this section, see Kagame, 1952.

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 784 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

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12. Imvura y' igisanura (2), "the rain that soaks (the parched

2. Gusanura is a sort of auxiliary verb which is understood in a figurative sense and has many meanings, like the verb gukaza.

lands), that is to say, the first showers of the rainy season.

IV. Seasonal Rites

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When the sorghum-sowing time (mu kubiba) comes by, the mistress of the household takes a handful of grain which she proceeds to grind. With the resulting small amount of flour, she fashions a roll into which she slips some fruit of the shrub called intobo. Then the roll is placed in a small basket (interero or chyibo) along with a household spatula (umwuko) /433/ Meanwhile, the children of the household wrap the embers from the hearth in a bunch of grass which should contain either bran or sorghum husks whenever possible. They bury this parcel in the field which is about to be sowed.

One must not forget to add to the contents of the basket a piece of iron dross. There remains only to place the whole thing in the storage granary (ikigega), which shall be filled to the brim at harvest time as a result of this symbolic and superstitious procedure.

The owners of the hut must see to it that none of their neighbors will come to get some fire (kulahura) and enter the hut until the day when the first sorghum shoots appear.

If one were to neglect this precaution, one would incur the risk of a bad harvest (ngo batabak' umugisha).

At the time when beans are cultivated, the owner of the field sticks his spear into the ground and places on the tip of the weapon a pod of unshelled beans which he drives in lightly. His children bring him a hollowed half gourd (uruho), which is used as a basin. He fills it with water.

On a grass pad he puts a rolling stone (ibuye ry' intosho). Then a handful of beans in the pod are placed on the pad for an instant and shelled.

241 The beans are poured onto the back of an overturned winnowing
288 basket. Then the owner removes one of the long grass stalks covering the entrance to the hut, and he places this dried stem on the winnowing basket whose concave side is facing down. He takes the basket, lifts it, and shakes it strongly with both hands in order to get the beans into the other side of the grain-scouring implement.

This superstitious practice bears the name of bean "creation" or "multiplication." If a stranger /434/ happens by in the course of this ritual, he must not walk around the basket but pass to one side of it.

Then the beans are buried in the tilled ground in the hope of a rich harvest. This procedure is commonly used to insure good weather.

In their credulity and trust in superstitious practices, the Banyarwanda hope to exercise an influence over sunshine.

At the time of the sorghum harvest, when the Banyarwanda
[273] are extremely eager to secure beer from this plant (amarwa) of which they have been deprived for so long, they expose the crushing stone (ingasire) to sunlight, believing that they are "retaining" the sun in this fashion. We may add that their knowledge of astronomy is nil.
821 They have only one generic term, inyenyeri, to designate the stars, and another, nyakotsi, for comets (1).

1. Nyakotsi means "the /female/ one with smoke," that is to say, with a tail.

The sun (izuba), the moon (ukwezi), and the planet Venus (nyamuhiribona) are the only heavenly bodies for which they have specific names.

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to [754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro- [789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king 701 against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms, [722] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and [714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors [411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the [714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful 726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

794 575 The main reasons for joining the Kubandwa are usually the following: the invitation of a magician; the wish to be cured of a sickness or to be rescued from a difficult situation caused by evil spirits; the intention of obtaining a privileged position of various material advantages of joining the cult society; the fulfillment of a promise or vow made to one's ancestors; the carrying on of a family tradition, etc. Thus, we have motives in all of which the positive principle of utility strongly predominates.

The consequence of joining the Kubwanda [sic] is that the umubandwa ceases to be a member of common humanity; he now belongs to an exalted adoptive family which protects and promotes its members. We might regard it as a kind of Free Masons' Lodge. Through solemn vows the newly admitted members pledge themselves not to betray or violate the secrets of the Kubwanda. If a member should nevertheless do so, the [789] ababandwa curse him, wishing all sufferings on him, and Riangombe carries out the malediction (No. 44, p. 294).

796 794 575 [126] The ceremonies of the Kubandwa, the admission of new members to the society, are accompanied by a great number of formalities; they are identical, however, for Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa. To the best of my knowledge they correspond in their main outlines to the procedure that is customary in Ruanda which is as follows. First the aspirant (nsigo) informs a sorcerer (umufumu) of his desire to be admitted to the society. Then the abafumu require weeks and months to obtain the spirits' [787] assent by performing all kinds of sorcery: they listen to their "inner voices," they observe floating pieces of butter and wood, they read the entrails of chickens, sheep, water-wagtails, etc. (No. 44, p. 530). During this entire period the candidate is expected to bring the umufumu a series of presents: sheep, goats, beans, iron hoes, even cattle (required of the Batussi). At the same time bananas, meat, pombe beer, and other delicacies must be offered as sacrifices to the spirits in the little sacrificial huts. At last the spirits agree to the admission of the candidate. Then the abafumu choose from their circle a sponsor whose duty it is to introduce the candidate to the ababandwa. The real

756 accordingly" (No. 45, 1913, p. 46). As a rule the craft of the umufumu is passed on from father to son, but it is also possible for extraordinary events or experiences suddenly to lead a Murundi, who until then has not felt any inclination to be an umufumu, to practice sorcery (kuragusa), for example, if he is unexpectedly saved from death. Then people say: "You have been chosen by Kiranga, and you must help us and mediate between him and us. Go and find the necessary objects, we shall come." If someone has thus been elevated to the status of the abafumu without any of his doing, if for many years he practices his craft and is sought after by numerous suffering people, success quite understandably often causes a kind of auto-suggestion and self-deception. Gradually the umufumu begins to believe more and more in his own power. He does after all believe in the magic of Kiranga, and besides, quite often he uses real and effective medicines in his cures. However, pious belief often goes hand in hand with a liberal dose of deliberate deception.

751 Father Gassldinger gives an excellent description of the versatility of the abafumu in inventing and manufacturing their
● 789 amulets and also of their function as magicians which affects every situation in the life of a Murundi: "The little stranger has hardly arrived on this earth when his brother, uncle, or nephew runs to the umufumu and asks him to come to the hut and to bring along his isato, the magic wand. The umufumu does not have to be asked twice. He puts a large number of peculiarly shaped pieces of wood and bones into a bag and immediately appears at the side of the newborn infant. The family may be rich, and in this case a great show must be made to earn the generous reward which is expected. First, he spends quite a while practicing all kinds of tricks. When he has finished with this, he solemnly takes the real iviheko from his bag: finger-length pieces of wood covered with butter and red earth and with a hole in the middle; then a few seeds of a sacred tree adroitly wrapped in twisted straws; a little antelope horn filled with ocherous earth into which are stuck small pieces

751 of wood and cat's hair; two leopard claws; a piece of snake skin
789 covered with soot; a little box made of dried pumpkin rind containing a piece of umbilical cord and hair of a newborn infant mixed with bean flour and ashes of the bones of wild boars, etc. He hangs these 20 to 30 small amulets around the infant's neck, and another such string with at least a dozen of these amulets is tied around the child's loins: one amulet against intestinal worms, another as protection against lightning, another against diarrhea, the next against snake bite, another one against skin diseases, and the last one to help the child become fat and strong. The umufumu breathes on the child, flails his arms convulsively, rattles his bells violently, and blesses and sanctifies the individual iviheko, for the Barundi do not believe in a power in these sticks, hair, and horns in themselves but only in the blessing and anointing which they have received from the umufumu. The potency of this blessing depends on the power of the umufumu and on the rarity of the substratum, the vehicle of this sanctification. There is no other Negro tribe which believes as firmly in the iviheko or which wears them in such great numbers as the Barundi.

789 "After the child has grown somewhat older, he begins to make crude bows and wooden arrows for himself and to practice shooting at birds. At that stage his parents seek even stronger iviheko for him, especially the horn of a gazelle filled with powder and containing a few iron points. This is supposed to impart strength for hunting, to make for good marksmanship, and to deflect the missiles of the enemy. When the boy has reached the age when he wants to find himself a wife, there is another series of iviheko to help him. After the marriage, he safeguards his wife's faithfulness and the speedy arrival of healthy [131] offspring by using still other amulets. In disease and misfortune and especially when he feels death approaching, the Murundi seeks rest and comfort in sleep caused by using particularly strong iviheko. On a journey the Murundi wears his own amulets; he sticks others in the four corners of his field; some hang over his bed. There are more amulets hidden near the entrance to the hut, and particularly strong and powerful ones are buried in the earth next to the fireplace. Sick cows are supposed to be cured

789 by iviheko. They also neutralize the evil influence of personal enemies. When at war, the night before the battle, the Murundi sleeps on his beloved iviheko, and he is laid to rest in the grave together with his iviheko.

"Once the body of a Murundi has been made invulnerable, it is still necessary to secure his property. Another amulet is fastened to the spear, or a special stick bought from the umufumu is carried in the same hand as the spear, or a magic sign may be scratched into the iron of the spear. An additional amulet is fastened to the top of the bowstring. Inside the hut a pile of amulets is buried in the ground near the entrance, one amulet is fastened above the entrance, but the most powerful and effective ones are placed near the three hearth stones. There are other amulets used in the fields, against hail and storm, against locusts and other calamities. Very frequently one may find them also on roads, especially on those leading to the banana groves or directly to the hut. If one is careless, he may easily stumble over slabs of wood colored ochre-red, protruding about five centimeters from the ground, and that, after all, is their purpose: a person with evil intent is expected to stumble and fall on the road, thus revealing himself to be an umurosi (malicious witches or wizards)." (No. 45.)

791 293 424 756 The magic power of the umufumu is handed down in families, not only by blood relationship but also by transfer of the insignia characteristic of the umufumu, which consist chiefly in a leopard skin, a headdress made of a cow's tail (Plate 54) and goat hair, a gourd rattle, a stick with charms, a certain way of painting the body and the face with light-colored clay and fat, etc. (No. 19, p. 461).

791 756 The abafumu of the Batwa enjoy a special reputation. They are feared by the Barundi because of their strong magic powers, but they are also consulted for cures. The supreme head of all medicine men, however, resides in Uha (No. 19, p. 462). He lives in the northern district of Ujungu and was formerly called Kawango, the name of one of the spirits of the interlacustrine region. He was probably the medium of this god.

756 to him for generations, but this is done before the "case" be-
757 comes serious and requires the attention of an umufumu. These remedies are in a class by themselves (p. 140), and at this point we are only discussing sorcery, magic remedies and their application.

Regardless of the kind of remedy which is to be applied,
755 the Murundi first tests its effectiveness by external application. Even those remedies which can only be of help if taken internally are first strapped or spread on the ailing part of the body since they are expected to have a magical power similar to an amulet. Even European medicines meant to be taken internally, such as pills, powders, or tablets, are first wrapped in a leaf by the Murundi and tied to the sick organ. Only if he does not feel any improvement after that, will he finally make up his mind to swallow or drink them.

There are countless numbers of true amulets (iviheko)
751 which are made of various substances and in various shapes.
789 They are always worn suspended on the body in a small compact form (Plate 55). We have already listed quite a number of these above (p. 130). Usually they are suspended from the neck on strings, but frequently they are also tied to the head, to the belly, or to the genitalia, etc. At times each one hangs on a separate piece of string, at other times dozens of different kinds are strung up on a single piece of string, similar to a necklace. The material used for making the amulet is not as important as the sorcery through which the umufumu imparts supernatural powers to the object, but in most cases the amulet consists of a piece of wood three to six centimeters long, if for no other reason than that it is easiest to produce and to carry. One may also see claws or hooves of leopards, cats, goats, and sheep, the bones of birds, pieces of snake skin or the fur of wild animals, dried fruit, mussels, pebbles with unusual shapes, but, most frequently, powder from various types of soil, ashes of burnt bones or of the horns of animals, and flour made of various kinds of grain (No. 19, p. 29). Usually these powdery charms are poured into a small cattle, goat, or antelope horn whose opening is then closed with wax. Hollowed out fruit

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies, against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who
[556] can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most
[554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the
[791] Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most lucrative sources of income.

The abafumu have another important task: to discover
754 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various
791 ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

754 the first to be considered responsible if a person becomes sick
791 or dies, if a storm devastates the fields, if the cattle meet with an accident or are attacked by epidemics, when women remain barren, if infants are aborted, if thefts are committed, etc. The abarosi frequently employ poison, which is popular both in Urundi and in Ruanda (No. 48, p. 319), but in most cases they use their magic powers. The abarosi obtain magic power over people or over their cattle and other possessions by appropriating a little piece of a person's body, some hair, the paring of a fingernail, sputum, semen or urine, or some cattle dung, straw from the hut, or soil from the fields. All of these things give the abarosi power over a part of the person's "soul." This explains the great reluctance with which a Murundi, like all East African Negroes, allows a stranger to take pictures of himself, submits to physical measurement, or gives his own name or that of his family. If the medicines and protective amulets prove to be ineffective against the black magic of the abarosi, the umufumu will close in on the malefactor, the umurosi. By inspiration and by questioning his magic rattles and other apparatus, the umufumu's suspicion is directed to certain persons, who in most cases are old women! They are accused,
[695] arrested by the mutwale, and if there is no other proof, the umufumu subjects them to a kind of ordeal in which fire, poison, or boiling water is used. In most cases the verdict is unfavorable to the accused (No. 19, p. 405). In petty cases the person found
[683] guilty receives physical punishment or has to pay a fine; in serious ones they are simply beaten to death and thrown in the bush (see above, p. 97).

The umufumu's power of divination may also be directed
791 to other things if the party concerned so desires and is prepared
789 to pay the price. Through special ceremonies the umufumu brings rain to the fields, or if there is too much rain, he may stop it (No. 19, p. 443). For rain-making, which is so important for agriculture, there are special experts, the abavurati. However, their number is decreasing since every failure is severely punished by the batwale (No. 45, 1913), p. 50).

2: Meyer--288 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 54

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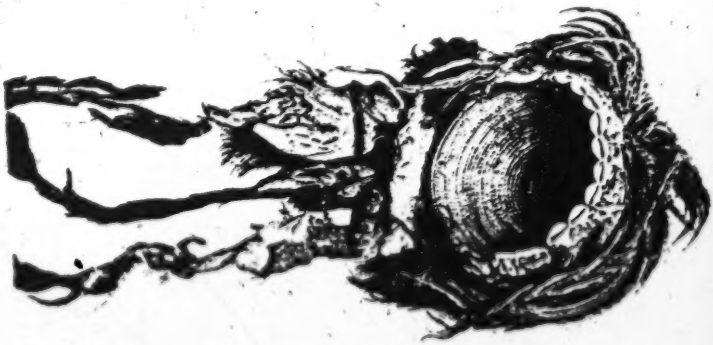

Headdresses and Amulets; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 1) Bifurcated stick with medicine amulets in plaited satchels, 82 centimeters long; Nos. 2, 3) Plaited dancing caps with goat hair and cowrie shells, 68 and 80 centimeters long.

2: Meyer--289 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 55

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[581]

Neck Ornaments and Amulets Filled with "Medicine."

Nos. 1, 4) Goat horns, pieces of bone, wooden sticks, 16 and 20 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – Nos. 2, 3) Carved cattle horns, 9 and 10 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *imandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barosi*), on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes of others. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or the rainy season is considered to be due to the change of weather. It is known that yaws can be got by contagion. Even death is very often accepted without seeking any magical explanation. It is expected, for instance, that people will die because of old age. If beans had been planted on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences have

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
826

1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets. The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

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2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

791 Those same "seekers," in their capacity as conjurer-magicians
789 have the power of staving off the results of spells and sorcery. For a fee, they will set physical and moral boundaries to the evil powers of other sorcerers. They do this by means of medicines (imiti) of their own creation, amulets (impigi), and tree branches with magical properties, which they bury or stick into the ground. Areas thus "closed" to the evil of spells remain for a long time inviolable havens. Henceforth, the owners of such immunized grounds have nothing to fear from bewitchers.

The Banyarwanda talk a great deal, by the hearth, about those
791 conjurer-magicians and their high deeds.

In order to recover stolen objects, the Banyarwanda resort to the Banyerango (2). These do not inspire the same fear as their afore-

2. Abanyerango. This substantive is derived from the word kulangira, meaning "to show," "to uncover," and designates the sorcerer's trade. Hence the name irango given to the horn which he uses in his search.

mentioned colleagues, although they use the same magic horn. The
[842] Bachunyi, or makers of grigris, chiefly specialize in bringing fertility to sterile women.

For a fee they sell amulets and magic beverages. Gossipers add that charlatans in this category often take advantage of their clients while the naïve husband, a small bell in hand, is sent to take a slow walk around the sorcerer's hut.

754 D. The curser-sorcerers (Abahenyi) are also held in high esteem. Their mission, like that of the false prophet Balaam, /396/
[644] is to curse the foes and annihilate their power to resist. Their chief, named Agakwande, enjoys high regard at court. His ancestors were simple Bahutu. It was on account of their important functions that they gradually made their way into the noble caste of the Batutsi, with whom they continually intermarried. They inhabit the Ndiza, at Bulembo, and form a powerful and formidable body. Their

644 sorcerers and of possessing exceptional talents. This is why the purely
791 mystical functions of their successors were sanctioned by the conquerors.

As a result, they remain on duty both to His Black Majesty and to his faithful subjects at court, at the capital, and throughout the realm. /399/

A. Bewitchers, spell casters, spells, and sorcery. The sorcerers in this category are subdivided into several groups and operate in various ways.

They are referred to as a group by the generic term umulôzi (abalôzi in the plural), "bewitcher." Kuloga means "to bewitch, to cast a spell," and also "to poison." Ubulôzi (amalôzi in the plural) means "bewitchment," "evil spell," "sorcery," and "poisoning." Those are familiar words in the great lake region.

As we shall see later, many of them ply their trade publicly both at the capital in the service of the king, to deliver him from his enemies, and in the villages where they serve their fellow men.

Others, whose activities are more or less acknowledged, practice only in secret.

Some, as will be made clear, have only a fictional existence and exist only in the imagination of naïve people.

1. Abashitsi, or "the catchers," is the name of those who
787 can force a thief to reveal himself through magical practices.
695 The name of their function is borrowed from the verb gushika, "to catch" (the thief), hence the word "urushiko" to designate the procedure. To do this the magician fills a vessel (imbehe) with a liquid which he prepares himself. He blows for a while into a drinking tube, one end of which is immersed in a wooden jar, until the froth (urufuro) overflows, forcing the thief through this mystic and symbolic procedure to reveal his deed in spite of himself. Such, at least, is the popular belief.

2. Abaheretsi (from the verb guhereka, "to lay traps through
791 bewitchment") serves to designate a second group of sorcerers who
●789 specialize in burying charms and amulets of their own making in banana groves and cultivated fields, /400/ hence the name of uruhereko given to their sorcery.

789 241 Woe to those who plunder lands which have been thus bewitched! They are struck motionless on the spot and become completely paralyzed (baragangara) and incapable of any motion. The sorcerer alone can free them by uttering some cabalistic words. In order to safeguard his crops the owner of a field often uses the following method, which consists of laying down on the field which is to be protected the sharpening stone, a handful of ashes from the hearth, and strips of leather taken from an old drum. If a sorghum crop is involved, our man ties together four sorghum stems near the mystic assortment, as though to simulate a hut consecrated to the spirits. The trespasser who chances on the property will be immobilized, or he will catch an illness that will lead him to the grave (1).

1. We are talking as from the native's mouth, but we do not intend to confirm his claims in any way. Even when events justify those claims, this may undoubtedly be ascribed to emotion, autosuggestion, or sheer coincidence.

791 789 In the Bwana-Mkali province, operators of this kind bear the name of Abakagizi (from gukagira, "to hinder"), and their method is called urukago, "hindrance." Like their other colleagues, they bury amulets, plants with magic properties, an old household spatula, or even the small stone used to crush the grain at the entrance to the courtyard or behind the hut. The stone, called ingasire, is also called ikinane in sorcerers' terms, that is to say, "the obstacle," "the supreme preventitive." The use of a spatula which is worn or out of commission has a mystic sense and a magic virtue at the same time. The thief who should attempt to enter a dwelling protected in this fashion would find his efforts come to naught (2). Professional

2. This method is reminiscent of bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/.

791 /practitioners/ of this kind demand rather high fees /401/ and will
789 accept no less than a goat, an ox, or even a heifer as the price of their services.

[825] 3. In the Gissaka people believe that there are tame snakes guarding the fields and houses of their masters. Those reptiles coil themselves around the neck of thieves and suffocate them. They also follow the tracks of thieves and receivers of stolen goods to their homes.

4. According to popular belief, the batezi (from the verb gutega, "to lay traps") are capable of uncovering evildoers and thieves by means of a curious method, which is none other than bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/. The victim of the theft comes to the spell caster and presents him with a goat whose throat is immediately slit. Then the magician takes the bladder, fills it with air, and suspends it with a rope from the ceiling of the hut. If the thief's death is desired, the sorcerer punctures the bladder or even cuts the rope that holds it. If the membranous sac collapses on the ground, the thief cannot fail to die instantly. It will be sufficient to ask for news in the vicinity. Any sudden death will be interpreted in this light and ascribed to the act of bewitchment. The belly of the victim will be greatly inflated. This is what is called gubang' agaheto, "to string a bow," as the Banyarwanda sometimes put it when they wish to allude to this method of bewitching.

If the owner of the stolen object wishes to be magnanimous, he asks the sorcerer to strike the bladder only lightly, in order to cause the culprit mere intestinal pains. Needless to say, the Blacks have complete faith in these magic procedures and believe that they have witnessed their consequences in a large number of cases.

754 5. Abachuraguzi. This word comes from the word guchuragura
[535] and designates a kind of dance. /402/ The devotees of this kind of dance stamp up and down on the spot. People in this category are the true jettatori /from Italian/ whose aim is to cast a spell, jettatura, on their fellow men because they are jealous of their good fortune or because they want revenge fro an offense, real or fancied. Those baleful men operate at night. In order to succeed better in their black designs, the spell casters must wear nothing but an old mat

784 A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while
her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another
[842] path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest,
787 it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a
789 mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the
691 case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer
[273] made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange)
784 is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb
824 (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

783 The murderer in turn worries about the consequences of his act. He appeals, therefore, to the same kind of operators in order to avert the vengeance and the curse which he was wrought upon himself and his kinsmen.

The rival of the previously mentioned sorcerer takes a reed which he cleaves throughout its length without altogether separating the tips. He draws apart the two rods, which are stuck into the ground. The culprit and members of his family pass under this novel type of bridge. The operator seizes the reed, puts its two parts back together, and tosses it at a distance, saying, "I have warded off the spirit (of the deceased) that was pursuing you." Then, leading his client to a crossroads, he sprinkles him with a few drops of a liquid he has prepared and which contains the juices of certain plants.

Standing back to back with his protégé, the sorcerer /419/ slips into his hands some amulets which he must wear around his neck. "Just as we cannot see each other," adds the protector against sorcery, "may the spirit of the man thou hast killed never see thee (find thee)." Then he tells the man to lie flat on the ground. Taking a sort of broom (urutsiro) made of plants with magic properties, he brushes it over the body of the individual. "Ndagushumburuye, I have caused the spirit of the man who pursued thee to depart," he adds.

The operation has every chance of success if the murderer manages to obtain through gifts the services of the sorcerer who "worked" for the victim and his relatives.

789 3. "Exhumers and mutilators of corpses" (ababûzi), from the word kwabura, "to exhume a corpse."

781 They are resorted to in two cases; /first,/ when it concerns a criminal who has been executed, and his spirit must be prevented from harming the living, that is to say, those who killed him. We shall speak of this later in the course of this work.

The second case is the following: The murderer, a man of common extraction, whether he killed willingly or unwillingly, wishes to be protected in turn against the wrath of his victim's spirit. To this end, he calls upon one of the exhumers of corpses who helps him obtain the body of the slain man (this is not always easy). Then the corpse must be mutilated in order to drive the spirit out of it.

789 The sorcerer mutilator cuts off a tiny piece (isonga) from the tongue,
751 heart, little finger (umuhera), and skin, and these pieces are dried above the hearth. All of this is then enclosed in a small horn, preferably black, which the assassin wears around his neck as a talisman and which guards him not only against his victim but also against the latter's relatives.

It is also good to procure some of the herb called irago or umurago which has been planted on the slain man's grave. /420/

If this is added to the other gruesome items contained by the horn, the talisman becomes more powerful.

We may add that these people charge very high fees for their services. A bull, at least, is required.

C. Sorcerers who preside over ordeals and who prepare the
695 test poisons. Sorcerers of this type bear the name of Abashozi, hence the verbs gushora, "to put someone through a test," and gushoka (a neutral verb) to designate the test itself.

It does seem that here in Ruanda ordeals are employed only in criminal cases and that their sole object is to prove the innocence or culpability of those who submit to them, as was formerly done in the Middle Ages. Our Blacks have such faith and trust in such judicial methods that they believe in their absolute effectiveness. They have never given a thought to the absurdity of those divinatory tests, in which chance and fraud play such a predominant role.

Such tests are numerous, but the most widespread is that which
695 consists of drinking or smoking the urwizilinga, a kind of shrub that
278 seems to bear at least a superficial resemblance to datura (1). In any
[824]

1. Moavi is used as the test poison practically throughout the rest of Africa. This plant does not seem to exist in Ruanda. The matter, nevertheless, would be worth investigating.

case their effects are similar.

773 This is how the young prince became willy-nilly the father of the
821 present Bashara, or rain-maker, lineage, which has inherited his
614 vocation.

If they wish to bring rain, these people[1] go outside, look at
•789 the sky, and spread out their arms. If they wish to favor only the
821 hill they inhabit, they must sit. If they wish to benefit the entire land with their astonishing power, they must stretch out at full length and spread out their arms at the same time. The storytellers add that this is how the descendants of Rushara have acted ever since that time.

Up to these last few years, rain makers were exposed to
[686] serious dangers. It was not unusual to hear that one or another of those unfortunate creatures had been killed or thrown into the river for failing to produce the needed rain on time.

According to another interpretation of the same legend which
[773] is very popular in the central province of Nduga, Rushara disobeyed the orders of the sorcerer at the proddings of the demon of curiosity after he had crossed the Nyabarongo. The water ran out of the pot and spread onto the ground. Nyamukama was informed and replied that in order /431/ to get rain, all that was needed was to build upon the spot where the water from the vessel had been spilled, and to dig into the hill (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Many of the kings of Ruanda have indeed elected this hill as one of their favorite capitals.

In times of drought it is customary to scratch its soil lightly as though searching for a spring, and it is said that Nyamukama's prophecies always come true. This is why the area is appropriately
[103] called Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), that is to say, "the place where rain comes forth."

It is for the same reason, and to obtain the same results, that at Mata in Marangara, people dig into both sides of the hill.

The first of the two holes is called "the fountain of milk" (iliba ry'amata) and symbolizes abundance. Cows will then yield more milk. The other hole is called by the name of "source of rain" (iliba ry'imvura). Just by dealing it a few blows with a hoe, a favorable influence is exercised upon the clouds, which will give forth a beneficent rain.

[1] [i.e., the Bashara. – Ann Ist]

754 The land was cleared instantly, to the stupefaction of the onlookers. The prince confirmed him in his position.

In closing, we need only cite the Italian proverb, "Se non è vero, è bene trovato /It may not be true, but it is a felicitous invention/." The Blacks hold the sorcerers and their power in high regard.

789 The deep-rooted trust of the Blacks in the /444/ skill of their sorcerers and the efficacy of their magic practices has something to do with the stagnant state of their civilizations.

How much are the doctors of occult and divinatory sciences to blame in this connection?

"It would be unfair," says Maurice Delafosse, "to make the magicians responsible for this situation, for they share the belief of their compatriots in the efficacy of their art. They practice magic not only because it is profitable, but also because they are as credulous as their clients." (Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro-African Civilizations/.)

Chapter 4

Offices of a Recreational and Literary Nature

644 a. The dancing groups are numerous, and their motions
535 interesting and varied.

The pages have a special dance known by the name of guhamiriza. The kwiyereka and kulambira are indigenous to the mountain dwellers and especially to the Bagoyi.

The renown of this latter group in connection with this type of dance harks back to their great chief Bushako.

The people of the Gissaka specialize in the kubyina urushara. [534] When the dances are accompanied by stringed instruments known by the name of inanga, they take the name of gutambir' inanga. When performed to the beat of the drum, they are called gutambir' ingoma.

How many unfortunate people
payed with their lives for having
been falsely accused of such
supposed misdeeds!

789 The use of charms to win the good graces of Europeans survived
648 only by a few years the use of the above-mentioned poisons. When the latter were tagged as ineffective /to Europeans/, or at least dangerous in their consequences, charms (inzaratsi) were resorted to. The makers of charms, called by the generic name of Abanyamihango, "men of the traditions," exercise a vocation which is regarded as lucrative and honorable as long as the professionals do not overstep the limits of their art.

Public opinion indeed accuses them, most probably wrongly, of deceiving people and giving them poison instead of inoffensive
832 charms. Women, especially, resort to their art and use their powders to draw upon themselves the attention and favors of an unfaithful
278 or forgetful husband. Sorcerers in this category use for this purpose the following plants and shrubs: umukunde, which bears the evocative
[824] name of "tree of love," umutanga, umugobora, umukeri, a kind of wild bramble, nkurimonga, umuhire, buryoher' imfizi, that is, "the plant that suits the taste of bulls," etc. The makers of philters take the bark, leaves, or roots of those plants and dry them in the sun. The whole thing is crushed and reduced to powder. One need only put a little of this powder into beer or butter, or else /490/ rub it onto a stick or spear, to obtain the desired effect. The neglected wife who manages to make her husband drink this beer will inevitably regain
[302] first place in his heart. The result is the same if the husband anoints his limbs and body with the butter containing the precious powder.

The use of a walking stick or the bearing of a spear rubbed
789 with one of those powders will bring good luck to the owner. His
648 words and requests will all be accepted, and those he addresses will be unable to do him any harm.

This is why the king and court dignitaries attempted in their turn to use this simple and effective means of winning over the hearts of the Europeans and of swaying them toward their own needs and

789 desires. At the beginning of his relations with the Whites, Musinga
648 often appeared with a small stick in his hand, the tip of which he would first turn toward himself as he spoke and then toward his interlocutors, in order to influence their answers. This stick was called by the name of uruchubyo, from the word guchubya, which describes the act of driving boiling water back into the pot with a stick of that name. The Blacks saw a certain similarity between the two occurrences. Just as cooks and their helpers keep the liquid from running over by forcing it back to the bottom of the pot, he who possesses a magic stick wards off the evil which his interlocutors might perpetrate upon him (ngo atsind' amagambo mabi). A happy and inoffensive credulity, which does harm to no one!

IV. Customs and Formalities Observed by the King and His Subjects

644 The relations between subjects and sovereign are permeated with a profound respect which is both superstitious and actuated by fear. The Banyarwanda formerly experienced /491/ no feelings toward their monarch other than reverential fear. The stateliness which surrounded the king and the bloody executions which confirmed his absolute power over all things had no small part in the preservation of these feelings, which were closely bound with an attitude of servility. The monarch was a true demigod far superior to other men, hence the following customs and formalities which governed the relations between subjects and sovereign.

1. The king is awakened by drums which are first played at four or five o'clock in the morning. Actually, he does not rise before seven thirty or eight o'clock. At the moment when he leaves his bed, women come and grind a handful of sorghum or eleusine, while a young girl shakes the large gourd (igisabo) which is used for churning.

The aim of these observances is to draw upon the king and the realm the prosperity symbolized by the sorghum, eleusine, and butter. The Impara, or group of initiates into the Ryangombe secret society, then make their appearance.

have made the sacrifice and by their friends.

The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails, is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cowhide known as mukane.

791 The bahinza have to do with matters relating to farming,
●789 above all with crops and grasshoppers. A good harvest is due to their cooperation. That is why, after the harvest, bahinza go about collecting donations. People like to give them gifts. The curse of the muhinza can "dry up" human beings as well as animals, so that they lose their sexual powers.

The Balera fear the curse of the muhinza very much, for if he merely pronounces his curse and spits upon the ground, the effect is automatic.

Father F. Dufays told me that he saw a man die of fright
[152] soon after he had been cursed by a muhinza. The bahinza are always Bahutu.

791 Bawubyi are rainmakers. They appear in the transition period between the rainy season and the dry season and demand gifts for making rain or for making it stop. Bawubyi are always pariah Batwa.

Since there are very few Batutsi in Mulera and they have little influence, we may assume that [321] the various categories of soothsayers and sorcerers mentioned here and familiar to me from my stay in Mulera and the practice of poisoning are phenomena basic to Bahutu culture and not borrowed from the Batutsi.

588 In Ruanda, as in Kiziba and Mpororo, women are consecrated to the spirits. They must provide for the needs of the spirits, and their children are said to be regarded as the children of the spirit and to belong to his family, for these women are allegedly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with others. I was told quite frankly, however, about a case where a Mututsi chief consecrated Bahutu women to a spirit and had sexual intercourse with them.

Dreams and Soothsaying. In Ruanda various methods of
787 soothsaying are practiced. First we must speak of the chicken oracle because of its great importance.

In order to obtain information about a certain matter through the chicken oracle, it is necessary for the person to come to the soothsayer (mupfumu) with a chicken. When he arrives, he spits into the beak of the chicken and hands it to the soothsayer. The latter first places the chicken on the visitor's head and then calls his helper, a young boy. The boy grasps the chicken under its

787 wings and lays it on its back on the ground. The mupfumu slits open the chicken from the beak down, so the tongue remains attached to the lower jaw. He lifts out the entrails, which are placed in an improvised basin and washed. The basin is a depression in the ground lined with a banana leaf. The soothsayer spreads the washed entrails on his hand and looks for excrescences known as nkebe. If there are not more than two or three nkebe, 787 the prediction is favorable or in the affirmative. In this case, a few bones are taken from the chicken and placed in a small ves- 789 sel of barkcloth. Sometimes the entrails with the nkebe are added. This vessel is dried in the smoke from the hearth and worn around the neck as an amulet against the evil eye. If the number of nkebe is larger, the chicken is thrown away, and the operation is repeated on another chicken.

A few days after the soothsaying has taken place, the amulet 787 made of a bit of barkcloth and containing chicken bones and fat is handed over with a certain solemnity. It takes a few days for the contents to dry out. Early in the morning the mupfumu comes into the hut of the person fortunate enough to have a favorable prediction. The soothsayer is received by the man who sits on a stool and his wife who sits beside him on the ground. The soothsayer sits down opposite them and smears the man's forehead, back, and chest with some kaolin. [322] Later he hands the man a necklace of bast from which hang the vessels containing the bones of the chicken sacrificed for the soothsaying. In payment, the soothsayer gets a hoe and some beer if there is any to be had at the time.

The chicken oracle is a Batutsi (or Bahima) custom. This is evident from the fact that the soothsayers belong to the aristocracy of herdsmen and that the amulets containing chicken bones are worn primarily by Batutsi.

The entrails of cows and sheep are used in the same manner as chicken entrails for soothsaying. Because of their costliness, however, this is evidently done only by the king and the aristocracy. Goats are used for sacrifices, but never for soothsaying.

The fact that the goat, which is associated more with the lower-class Bahutu, is not used for soothsaying probably shows that in general soothsaying from the entrails of sacrificial animals is associated with the ruling Batutsi class.

[Text continues in p. 260]

789

167

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Fig. 167. Amulet of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)
Fig. 168. Twin Amulets on a Necklace of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

787

Fig. 169. Container with Tokens for the Little Board Oracle, Mulera: (a) gourd token, (b) iron tokens, (c) bone tokens. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13117. 22 centimeters long.)

727 the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
567 same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
564 able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[791] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castés.

16. Right of War

721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugerero) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
[787] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air. [182] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt, [791] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The 262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence 438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

642 number of the leading men of the country had become more or less independent of the king. As we shall see in the historical survey (p. 166 [not translated]), the government recognized the independence of a few of these chiefs after the death of old King Kisabo. Even there, however, the people still regard the distant king -- who it is true has become almost a phantom for them -- as the supreme authority of the realm in many respects, especially in religious matters.

643 Theoretically, the king is the absolute ruler of all of Urundi. Whoever does not submit to him is a renegade and a revolutionary. In the last analysis this claim to royal supremacy is founded on the fact that the king is descended from the old ruling family, the Baganwa, and is regarded and revered as an almost divine being. In this capacity he is the head of the national religion and the religious head of the nation, regardless of the personal characteristics of the king who is ruling at any one time. If, in addition to the religious respect which he enjoys, the king is prudent and strong-willed, as the bearer of the "crown" he will have no difficulty in enforcing his claim to be the sole ruler in the whole of Urundi. This is proved by the history of Urundi.

In both Urundi and Ruanda, also in Ufipa (No. 47, p. 29), the official title of the king is umwami, i.e., he who rose to authority. The Urundi king is also referred to as the njen' ingoma, the possessor of the (holy) drum, or as umvijéji, father, master.

644 The person closest to the king is the umufumu w'umwami, [793] the "house chaplain," high priest. Generally he is a highly intelligent man who in all cases is attached to the semidivine king and who also is the first to advise him in mundane matters. [791] A "court kiranga," a chief magician or sorcerer, assists the high priest. Among the officials of the court, there are masters of the kitchen, butchers, firewood keepers, stable masters, water suppliers, cow milkers, night watchmen, the bodyguard, and others. As far as political personalities are concerned, there are in the entourage of the king representatives of the great head men, the governors of the provinces, just as at the court of Musinga of Ruanda. Here, as well as in Ruanda, it is often the governors themselves who temporarily or permanently are drawn

2. Cults

793 Each of these gods is worshipped by specific cults; each
787 has his specific priest whom he "enters" from time to time,
makes him "possessed," and lets him prophesy and perform
794 feats of magic. There are male and female priests. Allegedly
756 the female ones remain unmarried. Divine power and inspiration and the predisposition for being possessed are in most cases passed on from father to son or daughter in the same manner as the power to heal and to raise spirits which is held by the medicine men (abafumu).

793 In Urundi these priests are called iviranga (sing. kiranga); in Ruanda, imandwa; in Kisiba, wabandwa. Among the persons who dedicate themselves to the cult of gods and spirits, the kiranga most of all has the character and functions of the priest in our sense. He has the same name as the god Kiranga (derived from the word root kira, to put in order), and he is regarded both as the representative and as the ambulatory abode of the god himself. Men or women become kiranga either because their fathers or mothers were kiranga and transmitted this talent after their death or as a result of having been struck but not killed by lightning, the sign of the power of the god (No. 19, p. 253), or they are seized by the spirit and enter a state of
[828] manic possession at the Kubandwa celebration or the "sacred spear" ceremony (cf. p. 134). As soon as such happenings and conditions make their appearance, the person in question is declared a kiranga and has to officiate at the ceremonies of the holy spear which are performed on so many occasions (No. 19, pp. 462-463) and to mediate between humanity, suffering or filled with metaphysical urges, and the spirits and gods.

●791 As has been mentioned before, in Ruanda the ecstatic mediators of the world of the spirits are called imandwa. They are male or female, divinely chosen mediums of one of the principal spirits, i.e., either Riangombe, Binego, Mugassa, or others. Depending on this association with a particular god, they have to adorn themselves in a fashion different from the others. They have to express themselves by growling, hissing,

791 or howling. A special spirit language is also used. Usually
[198] they fall into a religious ecstasy after consuming copious quantities of beer, and the spirit himself [124] will begin to speak through them and utter prophesies and oracles. They are
[672] not responsible for anything they do while they are in this spiritualistic-mediumistic state, even if they commit the worst violations of law and good manners (No. 39, p. 160). Those who are possessed make liberal use of this immunity, and one may very well consider this one of the chief motives for the whole institution of the imandwa cult.

In Unjoro the medicine men are also called abandwa. They "practice magic by killing animals or using certain herbs" (No. 9, p. 377).

Through the writings of A. Vix and B. Struck (Nos. 34 and 36) and Rehse (No. 31, pp. 107, 132), we have more precise knowledge from Kisiba of these persons who are called wabandwa and each of whom is possessed by a specific god. There, too, they differ depending on the nature of their god or demon, but all of them display their power "in hysterical fits caused by auto-suggestion." One of them may be an expert at making rain, another at curing the plague, a third may be proficient in agricultural matters, a fourth in the curing of cattle, etc. When the spirit seizes them, these divinely blessed persons put on a leopard skin, which the chief furnishes them, and a fur cap. Then they hang amulets from their necks and dance, holding long sticks and gourd rattles (Plate 54). However, they are not organized in a society.

In contrast, the ababandwa in Ruanda form a religious
794 cooperative or fraternity, and there are suggestions of this in
575 Urundi too. The people in question are not the divinely possessed priests (kiranga) nor the magicians and medicine men (abafumu) to whom we referred above, but pious men who dedicate their lives to the god out of concern for their earthly well-being and for the future salvation of their souls. They are all organized in a fraternity, a cult community, bound by solemn ceremonies, and they offer their sacrifices jointly.

Van der Burgt does not differentiate between the ababandwa, the wachwesi, the iviranga, the ivisjego, etc.

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
569 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

There is another group of persons who maintain close
756 relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with
791 supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person
756 in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

789 by iviheko. They also neutralize the evil influence of personal enemies. When at war, the night before the battle, the Murundi sleeps on his beloved iviheko, and he is laid to rest in the grave together with his iviheko.

"Once the body of a Murundi has been made invulnerable, it is still necessary to secure his property. Another amulet is fastened to the spear, or a special stick bought from the umufumu is carried in the same hand as the spear, or a magic sign may be scratched into the iron of the spear. An additional amulet is fastened to the top of the bowstring. Inside the hut a pile of amulets is buried in the ground near the entrance, one amulet is fastened above the entrance, but the most powerful and effective ones are placed near the three hearth stones. There are other amulets used in the fields, against hail and storm, against locusts and other calamities. Very frequently one may find them also on roads, especially on those leading to the banana groves or directly to the hut. If one is careless, he may easily stumble over slabs of wood colored ochre-red, protruding about five centimeters from the ground, and that, after all, is their purpose: a person with evil intent is expected to stumble and fall on the road, thus revealing himself to be an umurosi (malicious witches or wizards)." (No. 45.)

791 293 424 756 The magic power of the umufumu is handed down in families, not only by blood relationship but also by transfer of the insignia characteristic of the umufumu, which consist chiefly in a leopard skin, a headdress made of a cow's tail (Plate 54) and goat hair, a gourd rattle, a stick with charms, a certain way of painting the body and the face with light-colored clay and fat, etc. (No. 19, p. 461).

791 756 The abafumu of the Batwa enjoy a special reputation. They are feared by the Barundi because of their strong magic powers, but they are also consulted for cures. The supreme head of all medicine men, however, resides in Uha (No. 19, p. 462). He lives in the northern district of Ujungu and was formerly called Kawango, the name of one of the spirits of the interlacustrine region. He was probably the medium of this god.

791 This chief sorcerer was a kind of Delphic Oracle for the entire
756 interlacustrine region. He enjoyed such a high reputation that the kings of Urundi and Ruanda often sent missions to him to obtain the benefit of his counsel. The same is also frequently reported of the rulers of Usindja (No. 35, pp. 498, 506). As far as the sorcerers of Urundi, Kisiba, Ussumbwa, and other adjoining areas are concerned, we know that at times they travel to Uha in order to learn higher magic from the famous abafumu who live there. On the other hand, there are Baha medicine men who are employed as "court sorcerers" by various rulers of the interlacustrine region. The influential court sorcerer of the Urundi king, Mutaga, is also a Muhutu from Uha. His name is Kiburua (Ndandi), and he is well provided for by the king (report by von Langenn). It appears that all these Baha sorcerers are Bahutu, Bantu. This again is connected with the fact that the Bantu is by nature inclined toward mysticism and that the Bantu population is much older than the Bahima immigrants. There is no sorcerers' school in Urundi or Ruanda, where one might learn the secret teachings and practices from a "Council of Wise Men," but, as has been mentioned above, power and wisdom is passed on from one generation to the other within the family. Whoever has inherited these attributes and wishes to augment them must try to imitate the techniques of other magicians.

[132] As is evident from the examples reported by Father
756 Gasldinger which have been listed above, the functions of the umufumu are extremely varied. They encompass all conceivable physical ailments of man and animal, and the umufumu applies innumerable natural and supernatural techniques for assuaging and curing them. In the opinion of the Barundi, however, the natural remedies are not successful merely because of their natural characteristics -- for what does he know about physical and chemical effects, about the physiology of the body, or about causality, etc. -- but their effects stem from supernatural
[753] powers imparted to them by the umufumu. They believe that sickness, when not a case of direct poisoning, is usually caused by the supernatural influence of evil spirits (abarosi). It is, of
756 course, true that the Murundi, for his domestic use, applies
757 a great number of simple remedies which have been passed down

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies, against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who
[556] can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most
[554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the
[791] Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most lucrative sources of income.

The abafumu have another important task: to discover
754 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various
791 ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

754 the first to be considered responsible if a person becomes sick
791 or dies, if a storm devastates the fields, if the cattle meet with an accident or are attacked by epidemics, when women remain barren, if infants are aborted, if thefts are committed, etc. The abarosi frequently employ poison, which is popular both in Urundi and in Ruanda (No. 48, p. 319), but in most cases they use their magic powers. The abarosi obtain magic power over people or over their cattle and other possessions by appropriating a little piece of a person's body, some hair, the paring of a fingernail, sputum, semen or urine, or some cattle dung, straw from the hut, or soil from the fields. All of these things give the abarosi power over a part of the person's "soul." This explains the great reluctance with which a Murundi, like all East African Negroes, allows a stranger to take pictures of himself, submits to physical measurement, or gives his own name or that of his family. If the medicines and protective amulets prove to be ineffective against the black magic of the abarosi, the umufumu will close in on the malefactor, the umurosi. By inspiration and by questioning his magic rattles and other apparatus, the umufumu's suspicion is directed to certain persons, who in most cases are old women! They are accused,
[695] arrested by the mutwale, and if there is no other proof, the umufumu subjects them to a kind of ordeal in which fire, poison, or boiling water is used. In most cases the verdict is unfavorable to the accused (No. 19, p. 405). In petty cases the person found
[688] guilty receives physical punishment or has to pay a fine; in serious ones they are simply beaten to death and thrown in the bush (see above, p. 97).

The umufumu's power of divination may also be directed
791 to other things if the party concerned so desires and is prepared
789 to pay the price. Through special ceremonies the umufumu brings rain to the fields, or if there is too much rain, he may stop it (No. 19, p. 443). For rain-making, which is so important for agriculture, there are special experts, the abavurati. However, their number is decreasing since every failure is severely punished by the batwale (No. 45, 1913), p. 50).

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus. Many small objects are poured on the ground from various calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an intelligent man.

[134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no
791 circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
754 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may be characterized in the following manner. According to Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medicine men who can free a person from the malediction of the evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, protectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
[578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either incurred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentricity, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
661 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly informed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

791 as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the
661 entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by
628 law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to
793 officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine
796 services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the
796 important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

778 Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred
796 in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear"
[411] guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the
[776] point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but
796 one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

questions are asked, it appears that this conception of the life of the universe has not been the subject of speculation and is not of great importance to the Banyarwanda. 772

Without *Imana* the world would not continue to exist and his action is necessary to maintain life. *Imana's* action, however, is not manifested in particular interventions; it is conceived rather as an underlying force which sustains the whole universe but does not interfere in the development of the life of nature. Seeds are put into the ground and after some time plants come up, the banana-trees produce their yields, the cows breed. All this is the normal course of things and we may expect the recurrence of these events at the proper times. This universal order, indeed, is not independent of *Imana*. He made plants grow and animals multiply, but he does not have to act to give fertility in each case. The scholastic distinction between prime cause and secondary causes can very well be applied to Ruanda conceptions. *Imana* acts as the prime cause of the universe and therefore any event may be imputed to him. On the other hand, nature itself includes the secondary causes which account for the regular unfolding of its course. 776 772

But this natural order is not unalterable. *Imana* remains master of the rules he has established. There are numerous stories of miracles worked by *Imana* (a stick becomes a cow, teeth are granted to a girl who had none, &c.). Other beings besides *Imana* may act on nature: the spirits of the dead and even some men, the sorcerers. They may prevent somebody's beans from growing, they may have a man or a cow struck down by lightning. In particular, rain, so important in this country where rainfall is very irregular, has been regarded as under man's control. There were rain-makers (*bavubyi*) who had the dangerous responsibility of regulating rainfall. [821 791]

Natural forces—rain, wind, hail, storms—are not considered as persons having desires and intentions that could be influenced by prayers or offerings. It seems that only thunder is personalized, and is regarded as a king (*mwami*). When a person has been struck by lightning, it is said that the Thunder-King has honoured his subjects with a visit and has taken one of them with him. Lightning receives the same salute as the king of Ruanda. 821 776

Banyarwanda implicitly distinguish between the regular course of nature and more or less unexpected events. Towards the former they assume a rational attitude. They do not look to the invisible world to account for the alternation of the phases of the moon, the growth of plants, the breeding of cattle. These phenomena are explicable on the level of secondary causes. Neither *Imana* nor the occult powers interfere in the normal course of material nature. It would be misleading to conceive of the Ruanda people as 'primitives' living in an irrational world where every phenomenon is an enchantment demanding explanation in terms of an intervention of the invisible world. They look at the world in its regular course in the same way as does a product of Western culture. 772

Of course, a Munyarwanda could not explain the interplay and the exact action of secondary causes as a Western scientist would do. But neither

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzimu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

791 in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the
789 aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *imandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barozi*),
754 on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

772 Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

811 But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes
[753] of others. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or the rainy season is considered to be due to the change of weather. It is known that yaws can be
[761] got by contagion. Even death is very often accepted without seeking any magical explanation. It is expected, for instance, that people will die because of old age. If beans had been planted on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences have

173 in the royal cemetery which retained his name and which is called Luhanga. Must he be regarded as the Hamitic chief who was first to come with his family and a few compatriots and occupy the area, after staying in the Ndorwa at a place called Mutara, which seems to have been the first stopping place of the Batutsi at the threshold of Ruanda?

Along with Ruganzu II, he is of all the ancient kings the one most often mentioned and the one whose legends are prized most highly by the people. According to a curious legend, one of his [773] daughters is said to have discovered and domesticated the first cow, from which the others descended. The narrative built around this memorable event is very popular and contains several episodes. Gihanga is also regarded as the inventor of fire, which he bequeathed to his son and successor.

This alleged discovery has won Gihanga special honors. The official chroniclers maintain the most profound silence about the nine following kings, whose names alone they have preserved.

Did they all really exist? It is not easy to answer this question clearly, for we have not yet left the legendary realm. Gihanga, indeed, is regarded as the father of all men. His sons became the ancestors of all peoples. Kafomo, who is mentioned in the legend concerning the introduction of cows into Ruanda, gave birth to the Bashubbi (Basui), or people of Usui. /79/

Kanyarwanda, the heir to the throne, gave birth to the Banyarwanda. His immediate successor, Musindi, twelfth in the dynasty, is regarded as the founder of the Basindi, or Banyiginya, clan, the most powerful among the Batutsi (1).

1. Most of the important families have picked out for themselves imaginary ancestors. Among some of them, however, the claimed ancestry is authentic.

The sacrificer-diviners, known [791] by the name of Abosha, claim to be descended from the famous Lunukamishyo,

173
[191]

"the man with the sorcerer's knives, " who was originally from the Ndorwa and who left it for Ruanda. The important Batsobe family claims to be descended from Gatsobe and Nyirarutsobe, who aided Ruganzu II Ndori in his expedition against Nzira in the land of Bugara.

Families vie with each other to claim the most distant and most illustrious ancestors.

No matter how well devised they may be, these genealogies are practically worthless from a historical standpoint. At best one may regard as true the origin of the Abosha, who belong to the Basinga clan, and that of the Batsobe, who entered the great family of the Banyarwanda a little later.

One must come all the way to Ruganzu I Bwimba and Chyilima I Rugwe, the twentieth and twenty-first in the dynasty, in order to obtain a few historical details of a greater moment. The latter king is said to have been killed at Gasseke where his spirit (umuzimu) is still regularly "soothed" and "honored." The central province of Nduga, it seems, had not yet been invaded by the Batutsi. At that time they may, at best, have occupied the Buganza, the Gissaka, which formed a small Hamitic kingdom, possibly the Bugessera, and later the Bgana-Chambge and the Bumbogo. It is possible that Chyilima I died in the course of an expedition which he carried out to invade the Nduga.

With his two immediate successors, Kigeri I and the latter's son, Mibambge I Mutabasi, we enter an important and better-known historical period.

The present surface of Ruanda was still covered with tiny autonomous kingdoms.

794 9. Nkonjo, another enslaved servant girl, who was first to
776 bring the sad news of Ryangombe's death.

She is offered a broom as a gift, the symbol of her work as a slave, and a small storage granary or some produce as a reminder that she was in charge of watching over the harvest and of attending to the household tasks.

10. Mashira.

The Banyarwanda, forgetful of their own history, regard him as Ryangombe's child. We have better reasons to believe that he was no other than the celebrated magician-petty king acknowleged as one of the most powerful sorcerers.

In ritual sessions, his representatives assume a majestic bear-
[711] ing and hold in their hand an iron spear made all of a piece (igihosho), which is a sorcerer's emblem symbolizing strength. His followers
[415] offer him an earthen pitcher of special design, with two openings and a drinking tube in each to permit the spectators to drink the hydromel it contains in honor of the magician.

His peculiar cry is "shi shi shi ...."

11. Mutwa, one of Ryangombe's companions, is invoked especially by the Batwa. /366/

This figure seems to have been invented for the sake of the
[782] Batwa. He is offered gifts of beans, meat, milk, and sorghum bread which the members of this despised group share with delight.

The selection of these particular foods, which are offered first as a sacrifice to Mutwa, aims at pleasing him by satisfying his hunger. This is because the Negrillos, whose prototype (or ancestor) he portrays, do not always eat their fill, and these foods appeal to them as the ideal dishes they most desire.

New members were added later to this gallery of demigods. We shall mention only the best-known ones.

1. The Liberator Kibogo, son of King Ndahiro, is often invoked for rain.

2. The Bagoyi, lake-shore dwellers, offer libations of beer
[782] to Mwungeri, son of Nyankaka, who perished in the Lake Kivu disaster.

3. The inhabitants of the Bwana-Mkali honor in turn Rumana

644 They[1] were sometimes employed, in preference to other servants, to
701 lead away the convicted high-ranking offenders who were to be exe-
[681] cuted at the usual places of punishment (Buberuka, Bugessera).

1. The name of Impara is used to designate another army corps which is recruited from among the inhabitants of Kinyaga provinces. This name was also given by extension to a group of individuals who are initiates of the Ryangombe secret society and who are compelled thereby to live close to the king in order to draw upon him the favors of the shades of all those who once belonged to that religious society.

They must make an appearance when the king rises, bearing on their heads the tails of hares (amashira y' inkwavu) or of some other carnivore /sic/ like the marten (ibiharangu), which they shake
[769] to the right and to the left while singing and dancing. They hold in the hand small bells or sistra (ibinyuguri), which they ring while /389/ invoking in a loud voice the protection of Ryangombe and his companions. Aside from this beseeching role, they fulfill other functions within the king's household.

Owing to their functions as suppliants and intercessors, which is their chief role by far, they might just as correctly have been included in the category that follows.

Duties of a Supposedly Utilitarian Nature, Some of Which Are Private and Others Public and National.
Sorcerers and Diviners of All Kinds.

A. The Bakoma clan has already been discussed at some
644 length in "History of a Reign," /Book III, not translated/. They were
791 direct descendants of the autochthonous petty kings of Marangara land and were formerly regarded, along with Mashira, as powerful sorcerers. It was believed that they could preserve or take life by hidden means known to them alone.

The first of those autochthonous princes, whose real name was Sekibakanyi, had a tremendous reputation. It is still said today that "Nkoma Sekibakanyi, king of Marangara, (son) of Nkondogoro, knew
[539] how to cast spells a great deal better than those things are done today" (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!). This phrase is now proverbial.

1 [i.e., the Intalindwa. - Analyst]

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On account of this fame, the Bakoma have been entrusted with the preparation of an elixir to prolong life called issubyo from the name of the plant which they use for this purpose, hence their name Abanyissubyo, "people of the life beverage," a name and function which they regard as a great honor. In order to make their elixir, the Bakoma, or people from Nkoma's land, look deep into the forest for a kind of moss or mould (urugombyi) which is found on trees. When they have a good amount of it they /390/ burn it all. The ashes are carefully gathered and stored in a safe place. They also use the roots of the plant called issubyo, which they dry in the sun and crush to powder on their flour mill.

The third ingredient of this water of youth is a kind of Lycoperdon called agatumura which resembles the puffball.

Small amounts of these ashes and powders are mixed with beer and handed daily to the king by two representatives of the ancient family. The Hamitic monarch sucks in a few drops through a drinking tube (umuseke or umuheha), rinses his mouth with them once, and immediately spits out the liquid.

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In principle the members of the Bakoma clan are exempt from forced labor and have retained a fair amount of independence (1).

1. Over these last few years, the Hamitic chief who was placed above them had to concern himself only with the observance of European laws and ordinances.

They have no function other than to take turns at court and hand to the monarch the invigorating beverage of which they are the inventors (2).

2. Along with the Basozo, the Bakoma have enjoyed privileges and immunities for the longest period of time. In the "Reign of

[i.e., of being descended from the best sorcerer. —Analyst]

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Ruganzu II, " /Book III, not translated/, we spoke at some length of the Basozo and the origin of the privileges they still enjoy.

The royal corporation of undertakers has similar prerogatives.

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B. The sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind who are employed at court or personally by the king may be said to form the most important and most numerous group. The king requests their services both on a private and on a public and national basis. Their titles and duties are infinitely varied. They are recruited from numerous clans. The Bega tribe provides the most celebrated sacrificer-diviners, known under the name /391/ of Abakongori or Abanyambuto. The Abachumbi group, who aside from their role as diviners have the power of setting spirits to flight, are drawn from among the Basinga. So are the Abosha, who claim to be direct descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo, that is to say, "the man with the sorcerer's knives, " who came from the land of Ndorwa. It has already been said that he came to seek his fortune in Ruanda, where he was well received by the Hamitic princes, who raised his family to noble rank and showered it with material goods. The name of the forebear, as preserved in history, derives from two words, kunuka, "to feel, " and imishyo, "knives, " because of the habit he had of using his sacrificer-diviner's knife to take his bearings.

Also included in the category of sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind are the Abanyantondwe, Abanyakarago, Bihungamutwe, Abanyanzuzi, who are the most common, and many others.

Rev. Fr. Arnoux has discussed them at some length in his work (1).

1. "La Divination au Rwanda /Divination in Ruanda/, " Anthropos, 1918. In this study

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the author discusses diviners, including the Bakongori, and the various methods of practicing their art.

The same individual is both diviner and sacrificer.

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The Abakongori are also designated by the name of Abanyambuto because they use the saliva of their clients in their method of divination, hence the name mbuto given to this viscous fluid in this particular case.

614 644 791 Numerous are the clans, such as the Bazigaba, Batembe, and Bahigo, of the Muhutu /Bantu/ race, which provide the court with diviners and sacrificers, but more numerous still are the families where these functions have been transmitted, since more or less distant times, from father to son or from mother to daughter.

The Bahigo and Batembe inhabit the Bugoyi region. The ancestors of these two families emigrated to the /Ruanda/ kingdom around the year 1800, during the reign of Yuhi III Gahindiro. The members of these two /392/ groups owed their good fortune to a Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief who was pleased with their divinatory talents and made them known to the court of King Yuhi III Gahindiro, where they were summoned (1).

1. The events and incidents of this emigration to Ruanda were preserved by his descendants and make an interesting tale.

787 Their method of divination differs from that of other diviners.

They are called Abanyamihundwa, that is to say, "jawbone diviners," because instead of using any small bones as do the ordinary Banyanzuzi, they use only the jawbones of sheep, beeves, and antelopes (2).

644 C. Aside from the haruspices, diviners, and sacrificers we
791 have just mentioned, the king retains appointed representatives of every possible and imaginable kind of sorcery.

A whole crowd of sorcerers toils for the monarch and his court: necromancers (Abashyitsi or abahamagazi), conjurer-magicians (Abahuzi), makers of philters and charms (abanyanzaratsi), makers of amulets (abachunyi), etc.

Strangers who came from Bunyabungu or Buhunde (regions located to the north and west of Lake Kivu), from Uswi or Ujinja (on the shores of /Lake/ Victoria), etc., are no less popular than their autochthonous colleagues and sometimes surpass them in the novelty or originality of their art.

There was even once a dispensary for charms and poisons (ubulozi, plural amarozi or ibirozi) which one requisitioned from afar or attempted to make on the spot, although it appears that these experiments met with little success.

The plants whose juice, bark, or leaves were used were not among the most poisonous, as we shall see later.

We may add that the reputation of these magicians seems to have been more impressive than their deeds or the consequences of those deeds.

In all justice one must except from this statement the conjurer-
644 magicians called abahuzi, whose crimes /394/ and misdeeds are too
756 numerous to list (1). It is difficult to understand how they managed
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1. "To seek" is guhura in Kinyarwanda, hence the word umuhuzi, "seeker," given to this fearsome group of sorcerers. Guhurish' ihembe means "to seek with the horn," and guhurish' umunwa, "to seek with the mouth" (in the patient's body).

to exploit public credulity with impunity through so many centuries. The popular expression "to have blood on one's hands" may be fully

644 applied to them. They are said to have the power of identifying
756 spell casters and bewitchers and also of expelling from the patient's
791 body whatever is claimed to have caused the illness, poisoning, or bewitchment.

The remove the source of evil with a small horn or a gourd
[755] in the guise of a cupping glass, or even with their own mouth, and produce before the bedazzled spectators bones, pebbles, toads, snake heads, and other incredible objects removed with the instrument. The Banyarwanda have boundless faith in the effectiveness of this method and tell of marvelous cures obtained in this fashion.

It is no use trying to reason with them about this. The elders are especially intractable.

In order to unmask the jettatori /from Italian/ and other such
791 cronies, our miracle workers (abahuzi) use another horn full of incongruous and even unmentionable things.

Popular belief adds that they set out in the nude, horn in hand. The horn moves and twists about, people say, as if possessed
[683] by an invisible spirit. It leads to the alleged spell casters and bewitchers, who were killed on the spot without furthur ceremony prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

The naïve Blacks add that ingredients used to bewitch or to produce a spell /395/ were discovered in the same manner, no matter whether they had been buried or hidden in a hut (1).

1. The case is cited of several individuals in whose possession a collection of bones was found, and who confessed of their own accord that they were spell casters and bewitchers. It is possible that those unfortunate people, having fallen prey to autosuggestion, believed in the effectiveness of their baleful activities.

791 Those same "seekers," in their capacity as conjurer-magicians
789 have the power of staving off the results of spells and sorcery. For a fee, they will set physical and moral boundaries to the evil powers of other sorcerers. They do this by means of medicines (imiti) of their own creation, amulets (impigi), and tree branches with magical properties, which they bury or stick into the ground. Areas thus "closed" to the evil of spells remain for a long time inviolable havens. Henceforth, the owners of such immunized grounds have nothing to fear from bewitchers.

The Banyarwanda talk a great deal, by the hearth, about those
791 conjurer-magicians and their high deeds.

In order to recover stolen objects, the Banyarwanda resort to the Banyerango (2). These do not inspire the same fear as their afore-

2. Abanyerango. This substantive is derived from the word kulangira, meaning "to show," "to uncover," and designates the sorcerer's trade. Hence the name irango given to the horn which he uses in his search.

mentioned colleagues, although they use the same magic horn. The
[842] Bachunyi, or makers of grigris, chiefly specialize in bringing fertility to sterile women.

For a fee they sell amulets and magic beverages. Gossipers add that charlatans in this category often take advantage of their clients while the naïve husband, a small bell in hand, is sent to take a slow walk around the sorcerer's hut.

754 D. The curser-sorcerers (Abahenyi) are also held in high esteem. Their mission, like that of the false prophet Balaam, /396/
[644] is to curse the foes and annihilate their power to resist. Their chief, named Agakwande, enjoys high regard at court. His ancestors were simple Bahutu. It was on account of their important functions that they gradually made their way into the noble caste of the Batutsi, with whom they continually intermarried. They inhabit the Ndiza, at Bulembo, and form a powerful and formidable body. Their

644 701 [302] of a good-luck general. During the Ishangi expedition it was another son of Lwabugiri, Nshozamihigo, who filled this role. These generals wear amulets around the neck and paint the face with white chalk or lustral water (amazi y'ingwa).

They are also the holders of charms and other talismans (inzaratsi, insinzi), which are supposed to help bring about the defeat of the enemy. They remain at camp while the troops fight. They are graced with almost royal honors. The drums sound reveille for them (akabikirwa) as they do for the king. They have full power to [692] make laws and settle differences, and their sentences cannot be appealed (ikyo bavuze ntikisubir' inyuma) (1).

1. Umugaba is a noun derived from the verb kugaba, meaning "to distribute" or "to give free of charge." In principle this term applies only to the king. Its synonym Rugaba, which stems from the same verb, is reserved for God (Imana).

When the king chooses someone other than the general-in-chief called umugabe to take his place at the head of his troops, he grants this man extensive powers and honors appropriate to his rank as a result of this title.

Other Duties Similar in Nature to the Preceding.
Spell Casters and Bewitchers.
Purifiers and Exorcisers of All Sorts. Makers of Test Poison.

• 791 644 The duties of these men are practically everyday affairs and thus rather well known, and their works are as famous as those of their colleagues the sacrificer-diviners, the conjurer-magicians, etc.

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We mention them here separately because of the relatively numerous details cited about each one of them.

It must be said that all those "doctors of occult, mystic, and magic sciences," far from being ashamed of their trade, pride themselves in it and regard themselves as /398/ important and needed beings. They are conscious of their dignity and of the nobility of their functions, which they publicly advertise (1). For some of them professional

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1. This does not concern those who act on their own account and become bewitchers or spell casters on an occasional and temporary basis.

Such people operate in a hidden and roundabout way in order to exercise a purely personal vengeance. They take every possible precaution to conceal their operations, therefore, for they risk death if their deeds are disclosed.

remuneration is quite high. Glory brings profit.

In their pride and vanity the professional practitioners of magic and sorcery of all kinds have tried to give their art a noble origin by tracing it back to the great king Ruganzu II. According to legend, he was the man who invented and organized everything.

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Craftsmen, blacksmiths, and cultivators claim him /as their forebear/.

When pressed to account for their powers and with their backs against the wall, theurgic sorcerers, medicine men, etc., have claimed in turn to be merely trustees of the gifts and talents which the illustrious monarch was the first to hold and possess. He passed on those gifts and talents to their predecessors, whose line they carry on.

After subjugating the petty autochthonous princes who had governed Ruanda, the Hamitic kings used the services of those princes' descendants. Some of these petty kings, such as those of Marangara and the Bgishaza, had the reputation of being the most powerful of

644 sorcerers and of possessing exceptional talents. This is why the purely
791 mystical functions of their successors were sanctioned by the conquerors.

As a result, they remain on duty both to His Black Majesty and to his faithful subjects at court, at the capital, and throughout the realm. /399/

A. Bewitchers, spell casters, spells, and sorcery. The sorcerers in this category are subdivided into several groups and operate in various ways.

They are referred to as a group by the generic term umulôzi (abalôzi in the plural), "bewitcher." Kuloga means "to bewitch, to cast a spell," and also "to poison." Ubulôzi (amalôzi in the plural) means "bewitchment," "evil spell," "sorcery," and "poisoning." Those are familiar words in the great lake region.

As we shall see later, many of them ply their trade publicly both at the capital in the service of the king, to deliver him from his enemies, and in the villages where they serve their fellow men.

Others, whose activities are more or less acknowledged, practice only in secret.

Some, as will be made clear, have only a fictional existence and exist only in the imagination of naïve people.

1. Abashitsi, or "the catchers," is the name of those who
787 can force a thief to reveal himself through magical practices.
695 The name of their function is borrowed from the verb gushika, "to catch" (the thief), hence the word "urushiko" to designate the procedure. To do this the magician fills a vessel (imbehe) with a liquid which he prepares himself. He blows for a while into a drinking tube, one end of which is immersed in a wooden jar, until the froth (urufuro) overflows, forcing the thief through this mystic and symbolic procedure to reveal his deed in spite of himself. Such, at least, is the popular belief.

2. Abaheretsi (from the verb guhereka, "to lay traps through
791 bewitchment") serves to designate a second group of sorcerers who
789 specialize in burying charms and amulets of their own making in banana groves and cultivated fields, /400/ hence the name of uruhereko given to their sorcery.

789 241 Woe to those who plunder lands which have been thus bewitched! They are struck motionless on the spot and become completely paralyzed (baragangara) and incapable of any motion. The sorcerer alone can free them by uttering some cabalistic words. In order to safeguard his crops the owner of a field often uses the following method, which consists of laying down on the field which is to be protected the sharpening stone, a handful of ashes from the hearth, and strips of leather taken from an old drum. If a sorghum crop is involved, our man ties together four sorghum stems near the mystic assortment, as though to simulate a hut consecrated to the spirits. The trespasser who chances on the property will be immobilized, or he will catch an illness that will lead him to the grave (1).

1. We are talking as from the native's mouth, but we do not intend to confirm his claims in any way. Even when events justify those claims, this may undoubtedly be ascribed to emotion, autosuggestion, or sheer coincidence.

791 789 In the Bwana-Mkali province, operators of this kind bear the name of Abakagizi (from gukagira, "to hinder"), and their method is called urukago, "hindrance." Like their other colleagues, they bury amulets, plants with magic properties, an old household spatula, or even the small stone used to crush the grain at the entrance to the courtyard or behind the hut. The stone, called ingasire, is also called ikinane in sorcerers' terms, that is to say, "the obstacle," "the supreme preventitive." The use of a spatula which is worn or out of commission has a mystic sense and a magic virtue at the same time. The thief who should attempt to enter a dwelling protected in this fashion would find his efforts come to naught (2). Professional

2. This method is reminiscent of bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/.

791 /practitioners/ of this kind demand rather high fees /401/ and will
789 accept no less than a goat, an ox, or even a heifer as the price of their services.

[825] 3. In the Gissaka people believe that there are tame snakes guarding the fields and houses of their masters. Those reptiles coil themselves around the neck of thieves and suffocate them. They also follow the tracks of thieves and receivers of stolen goods to their homes.

4. According to popular belief, the batezi (from the verb gutega, "to lay traps") are capable of uncovering evildoers and thieves by means of a curious method, which is none other than bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/. The victim of the theft comes to the spell caster and presents him with a goat whose throat is immediately slit. Then the magician takes the bladder, fills it with air, and suspends it with a rope from the ceiling of the hut. If the thief's death is desired, the sorcerer punctures the bladder or even cuts the rope that holds it. If the membranous sac collapses on the ground, the thief cannot fail to die instantly. It will be sufficient to ask for news in the vicinity. Any sudden death will be interpreted in this light and ascribed to the act of bewitchment. The belly of the victim will be greatly inflated. This is what is called gubang' agaheto, "to string a bow," as the Banyarwanda sometimes put it when they wish to allude to this method of bewitching.

If the owner of the stolen object wishes to be magnanimous, he asks the sorcerer to strike the bladder only lightly, in order to cause the culprit mere intestinal pains. Needless to say, the Blacks have complete faith in these magic procedures and believe that they have witnessed their consequences in a large number of cases.

754 5. Abachuraguzi. This word comes from the word guchuragura
[535] and designates a kind of dance. /402/ The devotees of this kind of dance stamp up and down on the spot. People in this category are the true jettatori /from Italian/ whose aim is to cast a spell, jettatura, on their fellow men because they are jealous of their good fortune or because they want revenge fro an offense, real or fancied. Those baleful men operate at night. In order to succeed better in their black designs, the spell casters must wear nothing but an old mat

754 11. In order to wreak vengeance on an unfaithful wife who
684 has left the conjugal home, the husband fetches a plant known by the
name of uruburamadjo /406/ the etymological meaning of which
837 (kubura kujya) is "to have no place to go," that is to say, to have no place
to stay. This indicates the use to which the angered husband puts the
plant, and the results he expects from it. He braids it into a sort of
pad upon which he must place butter or pour castor oil that belonged
to the unfaithful woman. The mystic pad is hidden under a rock. It
must be removed a month later and placed under another rock. This
method, add the credulous natives, infallibly creates difficulties be-
tween the fugitive woman and her temporary husbands. She will be
dismissed as many times as her first spouse shifts the magic pad.

783 B. Purifiers or exorcisers of all sorts and exhumers or mutilators
791 of corpses. In order to ward off evil spells and the deadly consequences
that might derive from certain events such as the violation of a taboo,
the burning of a hut, a murder, the coming across a corpse or a killed
animal, or to avert the fury of a spirit on the rampage, the king, his
court, and his subjects call upon the services of people called by
the name of Abashumburuzi, Abahanyi b'amachumu, Ababuzi, etc.
Like their other colleagues in the occult, mysterious, and magical
sciences, these practitioners enjoy official and legal recognition.

1. The Abashumburuzi, sorcerers who are resorted to by
taboo violators.

Abashumburuzi is the title given by the people of the Lukiga
(that is, the mountain people) to a group of purifiers whose function
is often the same as that of the mugangahuzi, or "protectors against
lightning," with whom they are often wrongly identified.

755 The mushumburuzi, if one holds to the etymological meaning
783 of his trade, is believed to have the power of expelling spirits from
the body of a sick person (1). To do this, /407/ he performs veritable
exorcisms, makes magic passes over the body of the patient, calls the
spirits by name, and begs them to let go of their victim. He holds
in the hand a bunch of shrub branches endowed with magic properties
and moves them over the body of the sick person.

The spirit that caused the illness takes refuge in the symbolic
broom. Then all the magician has to do is to take the spirit-chasing

695 in the liquid, such are the ingredients of this drink which is prepared for God's judgment.

A small piece of iron, kadigi, which is believed to have a magic property, is tossed into the vessel. Gravity and solemnity are the rule during sessions of this kind. A drinking tube is given to the accused to take the poison. Some people are made seriously ill by it, while others are able to "relieve" themselves almost immediately, which goes to prove their innocence.

F. The chick test. The accused are given small chicks which have just hatched. Each of them must hold one in his hand under the supervision of watchmen who are supposed to prevent tricks and infractions in the proceedings. The chick which survives the lack of food for the longest period of time (about one day and one night) proves "in its own way" the honesty of its lucky owner.

G. The boiling water test, so well known and so popular in the Middle Ages. The procedure is the same.

The numbers and kinds of ordeals vary among the provinces of Ruanda. Many of them were borrowed from neighboring lands with which the Banyarwanda have frequent contact.

Up to now, both plaintiffs and defendants had frequent recourse [177] to those methods. The introduction of European tribunals has dealt a death blow to tests of this sort, which occur in the beginnings of every civilization. /425/

Chapter 3

Rain Makers or Tempest Makers (Ababvubyi).
Protectors Against Lightning (Abagangahuzi).
Ravagers of Crops and Fields (Abahoryo).

791 Owing to the people's credulity, the services of these personages are among the most valued and also the most lucrative. They seldom live at the capital, or go there only occasionally when summoned expressly.

791 The dangers which formerly threatened them in times of drought were such as to keep them away from the capital.

132 Before mentioning their duties, we deem it useful to list the
221 names of the native months and seasons with a short explanation of
805 their meaning. This will make it easier to understand the importance of these men to their compatriots, whom they fleece shamelessly.

Part One

Months, Seasons, and Principal Rains

I. Native Months

1.	Nzeri	October	7.	Werurgwe	April
2.	Okwakira	November	8.	Mata	May
3.	Ogushingo	December	9.	Gichurassi	June
4.	Okuboza	January	10.	Kamena	July
5.	Mutarama	February	11.	Nyakanga	August
6.	Gashantare	March	12.	Gatumba gatoya	September
				Gatumba kanama	"

Nzeri, October, is the first on the list (imfura y' amezi). The Banyarwanda, indeed, count from October onward and regard this month as the most important because the cultivation of beans begins at this time.

Okwakira, November, comes from the verb kwaka (or kwakira), which means "to shine" because the sun is quite strong. /426/

Ogushingo, December, is reputed to be a very rainy month.

Okuboza, January, comes from the word kuboza, "to rot." It often happens, indeed, that the rains of the preceding month persist and seriously damage the crops.

The word Mutarama, which comes from the verb gutarama, "to nibble" (like the verb guhekenya, with which it is synonymous) was given to the month of February because it is at that time that one finds in certain parts of Ruanda, here and there, a few ears of ripe sorghum which children do not hesitate to cut off and eat.

Part Two

Sorcerers Who Are Believed to Have an Influence on Rain, Lightning, and Crops

791 They may be put into three categories, as indicated by the title, to wit: rain makers, protectors against lightning and its fearsome consequences, and finally those who watch over the crops.

Rain Makers (Ababvubyi)

We have seen previously that the members of the Bashara clan are born rain makers, in the tradition of their alleged ancestor Rushara, who was granted this role quite unwittingly. /435/

Aside from the Bashara, there are other rain makers, such as those from Bukunzi in the Kinyaga and those from Bussigi to the north of Kigali.

Among them the trade is transmitted from father to son.

Here and there one finds impromptu rain makers of varying fame.

They are usually poor people, men or women, who came from another region, for here as elsewhere "no one is a prophet in his own land." They profess to be rain makers so as not to die of hunger.

This is indeed a lucrative although dangerous profession. In order to get rain the people must offer a gift called by the name of amasororo (gusorora) and which becomes due at least once a year. The king and the chiefs go so far as to present the rain makers with a cow or even several. Woe to them, however, if the beneficent shower fails to come. Numerous were the victims of this difficult art when the elements withheld their cooperation. Most of those unfortunate
[686] people were drowned or beaten to death for not practicing their calling properly, inducing or arresting storms according to the season (kubvuba no kwich' imvura).

Protectors against Lightning and Its Fearsome Consequences

791 They are known by the name of abagangahuzi (from the verb kugangahura) Their honorable and lucrative profession does not expose them to any danger.

Their role is to purify, as their name (umugangahuzi) and their duties (kugangahura) indicate, and to avert any future consequences of lightning. Here are the various circumstances in which sorcerers of this kind officiate and the manner in which they operate.

768 1. When a human being is struck down by lightning. According to /436/ native belief, lightning is regarded as the king of the
766 sky, who comes occasionally and chooses subjects among men. It is
821 said in such cases that the person who was struck is a "living tax"
791 (inkuke) levied by the god, or else a subject or a page of his (intore). As a consequence, laments are forbidden. So as not to displease the king of the sky, who may do as he pleases, the relatives and friends of the victim must dance and emit joyful cries while the drums are played.

766 The purifier-sorcerer then makes an appearance. Those
821 present receive from him, on the back of their hand, a few drops of a liquid which they must allow to fall upon the ground. Then the
791 sorcerer pours some for the second time in the palm of their hand, and each of the participants drinks what is given to him.

766 Then they inhale in turn the aroma of another liquid substance
821 (issubyo) made by the purifier.

The victim's hut and all people present are sprinkled with a mixture of water and chalk. The corpse also gets some on the forehead and chest. Then it becomes proper to lay out the corpse, which the relatives would not have dared to do prior to the sorcerer's intervention.

The guests put around their necks a special grass stem (umwishwa) which, as we have seen, plays an important role in ritual ceremonies as though it had a purifying property. The deceased also gets one, and the funeral procession sets out for the place where the body is to be exposed.

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
766 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
821 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824 umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783] avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
● 791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

796
231 The purifier-sorcerer need not be present at this last ceremony.
821 Their role and presence were essential only on the day of purification. They always come away with handsome rewards, leaving on the spot protective herbs or lucky amulets (impigi za Biheko).

3. In some localities individuals also resort to these doctors
753 in mystical sciences upon the death of a leper or the burning of a hut.
783 a. The natives have an acute aversion to contagious diseases and especially to leprosy. Once the unfortunate victim of one of those terrible diseases is dead, the purifier-sorcerer is called in to carry out various ceremonies. He tosses lustral water upon the hut of the deceased, and finally sets fire to it. The onlookers run far away in order to avoid the smoke, as though it could transmit the disease of the deceased owner.

In the central province of Nduga, the sorcerer has a small hut built in which he places the son of the deceased. With one hand he sets fire to the hut, while with the other he rapidly snatches the child out of it.

The leprosy is supposed to have vanished forever, and henceforth no other member of the family will become its victim. The sorcerer vouches for this. /440/

b. In order to avoid the evils which might befall the owner of a hut that has burned or even his neighbors, the same sorcerer is resorted to. He makes his clients drink the liquid mentioned previously.

The site of the hut is sprinkled with lustral water, and the bystanders are also sprinkled with it.

Three reeds stuck into the ground and covered with banana leaves make an improvised hut in which the owner and his wife must stay for an instant (baryamana). The evil spell has been lifted. Henceforth, nothing is to be feared (bamaz' umuriro or bamaze ishyano, that is to say, "they have warded off all misfortune"). The diseases which might have afflicted those present at the accident and their unborn children have been averted forever.

791 In the Bugoyi, to the northeast of Lake Kivu, the role of protector against fire and its deadly consequences is the prerogative of a special category of sorcerers known by the title of Abahozi or

791

Abashumburuzi (1).

1. Umuhozi (plural abahozi) literally means "extinguisher." It is the noun from the active verb guhozá, "to extinguish," or from the neutral form of the same verb, guhora, "to cool off."

[191]

The common people, who do not know the vernacular language thoroughly and are unfamiliar with its riches and subtleties, often confuse in practice the names and professions of the numerous sorcerers who exploit the populace.

Sorcerers Who Are Believed to Exercise an Influence Over the Crops by Benefitting Them or by Endangering Them With Their Sorcery

They are called by the name of Abahinza, that is to say, "kings and descendants of the ancient aborigional kings," which goes to explain the origins of most of them at least.

In l'Histoire d'un Règne /Book III, not translated/ there was repeated discussion /441/ of those autochthonous petty kings, who joined the powers of priesthood with those of civil and military magistrature.

Among the best-known examples of these diviner- or magician-kings are Mashira, the famous sorcerer-king of the Nduga, Nkoma, the petty king of Marangara, and Rutoke, of the Buhanga. Their subjects could resort to them in every emergency, for they had an answer to everything. To read and foresee the future, to uncover hidden things, to bewitch and cast spells on their enemies and reduce them to impotence, such were not the least prerogatives of their position. They were also begged for a handful of grain of the time of sowing and cultivation, for this was believed to insure a rich harvest.

791 This was no doubt how the profession of "protector and defender of the crops" originated. It is now exercised by the bahinza, nearly all of whom are descended from the ancient petty kings subjugated by Ruganzu. They never gave offense to the Hamitic kings, who not only allowed them to remain but even protected them in the thought that they and their subjects might benefit thereby.

The professionals in this category are numerous, but the most renowned among them have been so far those from Lubengera in the Bgishaza and those from Suti in the Munyambiriri, because they were closer to the central province of Nduga and in continuous contact with the Hamitic court.

Their colleagues from the Kingogo, Bushiru, Buhoma, Bugamba, etc., were not well known outside their own home territory.

According to public belief, these masters of occult sciences
791 can place restrictions (kuvuma) upon the birds and insects that ravage
825 the crops. Caterpillars are the most dreaded because some of them (ingungu) attack the stems of sweet potatoes and destroy every last one of them, while others devour the leaves of trees in the summertime. /442/

The latter are called bahema. Grasshoppers, weevils, and other worms or insects which attack the crops are no less feared. This is why the natives frequently resort to the bahinza and implore their protection. This protection is purchased with gifts in kind which the chiefs levy themselves on their subjects in order to enlist the intervention of the powerful sorcerers. Some of the bahinza have been known to add rain making to their other functions.

791 One of the sorcerers in this category, called Nyamitwe, who lived on the top of a mountain (Chungeri) in the Bugoyi province, had the idea of excavating a small well, about 1.50 meters deep, in the courtyard fronting his home.

Since the ground was impervious to water, rain water would remain there for varying lengths of time. This enabled the crafty fellow to spread the rumor that he had high powers over the clouds. An ingenious way of bringing grist /Tr.: in French, "water"/ to his mill!

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

769 [609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

769 766 791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

769 [775] c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies. The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

563 destruction of the forest their independence is at an end, and they
311 become pariahs.

When guerrilla warfare can no longer stem the flood of farmers driven toward the forest because of the land shortage, there is nothing left for the Batwa but to complain of the new state of affairs. This is the story with which Kahima greeted me when I paid him a visit with Father L. Delmas. Originally Kahima's Batwa lived in the primeval forest, but constant clearing had so shifted the forest border that eight huts were already outside the forest, while the rest were still scattered within it. The Batwa, however, do not yet till their own fields. At most their women help the Bahutu in the fields and obtain food in payment.

563 In Ruanda one does, however, find cases where Batwa turn to agriculture out of dire necessity. Thus, in the vicinity of
● [591] Ruasa there is a Mutwa rainmaker who is a leper. When his trade became less profitable because of the growing missionary influence, he began tilling a field. In one respect, however, he remained a true Mutwa: he was unable to keep any small livestock; in no time it had all been killed and eaten.

The relationship between the Forest Batwa and the Banyaruanda is the same as that between the Pygmies and the full-sized Negroes. Each Batwa group recognizes a Ruanda chief as its head, to whom they bring the yield from hunting in exchange for agricultural produce. This vassal relationship existed between Kahima and Chuma.

We must, however, point out a difference. The Batwa acknowledge the sovereignty of the ruler of Ruanda. From time to time they bring the king presents. These are presented to the king through the mediation of their Muhutu patron, Chuma, who is said to be the king's client (mugaragu).

Anthropologically, the contrast between Batutsi and Batwa is even greater than between the farmers and the herdsman aristocracy, but even so we cannot overlook the strong political solidarity of the privileged and the pariahs. If a Mututsi sacrifices sheep, the Mutwa eats the meat. When he slaughters anything, he does not forget the Mutwa. Between these two minority elements there is

701 expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life [687] for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war

2. Götzen, G. A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

726 In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify 741 the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

727 The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns consist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief,, Bassebia, no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up [661] their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies, the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

791 Soothsayers, Sorcerers, and Medicine Men. Besides the
789 babandwa, there are several categories of people in Mulem who know how to exercise power over the living and over spirits in supernatural ways. We shall speak here of bapfumu, bahuzi, balozi, bachunyi, bahinza, and bawubyi.

[319] Bapfumu have the task of communicating with the spirits of the dead (bazimu). They are visited when a death has occurred in the family, and a present of food, sometimes even a goat, is brought to them. They then tell the family where it would be most suitable to build the spirit hut of the deceased (ndaro). Since the mupfumu remains in contact with the spirits of the dead and since these spirits cause illness, he is asked whether a sick person will recover. The mupfumu gives answers with the help of the little board oracle.

The special duty of the bahuzi is to discover poisoners who are known here as balozi and in the Runyoro territory was balogu. If many deaths occur, poisoning is immediately suspected. The muhuzi is summoned to handle this, and it is his task to determine
[682] who the poisoner is. If discovered, the criminal can be killed, and the evil can, at least for the future, be remedied. The muhuzi goes from one compound to another with his enchanted antelope horn. Everywhere he is most hospitably received by the head of the family who gives him gifts. All are afraid that if he were displeased he might point to them as poisoners, and this always means death. On his rounds the muhuzi is told by the horn where the poison is to be found and who the poisoner is.

Persons struck by lightning are also treated by the muhuzi.
791 If lightning strikes a herd of cattle, the owner utters a cry of joy
821 which consists of a long drawn-out "hoo..." as he strikes his lips
232 with his hand. This call is supplemented by the news that the king is taking back his cattle. This is done in order to save the animals that have been stunned. The maganga huzi is then fetched and tries to heal the animals with herbs. For his efforts he is presented with the jaws of the dead animals and the meat on them. The horns of the dead animals are buried at the spot where they
[789] were stricken. Another task of the bahuzi is to prophesy to the sick the outcome of their illness.

674 754 Balozi, poisoners, are said to kill their victims with a poison which they carry hidden under their fingernails. The poison is given to the victim on his own tobacco pipe which the poisoner treacherously borrows for a bit in order to take a few puffs. All sudden [761] deaths are regarded as poisonings. This idea is based on the fact that poisoning is a widespread crime. Father F. Dufays told me that he once succeeded in saving a person poisoned by a balozi by giving him milk and an emetic. It looks as though there actually had been a poisoning in that case. During my stay in Ruasa I had an opportunity to see an alleged attempt at poisoning. When Captain W. Von Grawert took a guide from Ruasa on his punitive expedition, [320] the wronged ones brought us a pot of honey that was said to be poisoned. The suspicious Mututsi, Lwakazina, who had always accompanied me when I was there in order to enhance his standing through friendship with a European, discovered a small piece of fat wrapped in banana fiber in the honeypot. He maintained that it was the flesh of a native killed by the soldiers, and this was generally believed by all present. The manner in which the donors of the honey retreated, in proud awareness of a duty accomplished and with much abuse, made me inclined to believe that Lwakazina was perhaps right.

Poisoning and bewitching are known by the same word, kuloga. For this reason it is very difficult to distinguish the two in the reports one hears. It is especially difficult to find out whether sorcerers or poisoners are sought.

I could not find out whether poisoners have a secret society here. I repeatedly heard, but always in a very vague and contradictory manner, that they have nocturnal sessions around a fire (in masks?) and that they devour human flesh, even corpses, and prepare poisons.

●791 Bachunyi are manufacturers of amulets. A person who wants an amulet (mpigi) to protect himself from some evil or to aid him in some manner goes to see the muchunyi. The latter hides and prepares the remedy in secret with the help of incantations.

In Ussuwi, according to Father Van Thiele, the bakoni, who are probably identical with the bachunyi of Ruanda, have the task of combatting the poison of the greatly feared and mysterious balogu.

791 The bahinza have to do with matters relating to farming,
789 above all with crops and grasshoppers. A good harvest is due to their cooperation. That is why, after the harvest, bahinza go about collecting donations. People like to give them gifts. The curse of the muhinza can "dry up" human beings as well as animals, so that they lose their sexual powers.

The Balera fear the curse of the muhinza very much, for if he merely pronounces his curse and spits upon the ground, the effect is automatic.

Father F. Dufays told me that he saw a man die of fright
[152] soon after he had been cursed by a muhinza. The bahinza are always Bahutu.

791 Bawubyi are rainmakers. They appear in the transition period between the rainy season and the dry season and demand gifts for making rain or for making it stop. Bawubyi are always pariah Batwa.

Since there are very few Batutsi in Mulera and they have little influence, we may assume that [321] the various categories of soothsayers and sorcerers mentioned here and familiar to me from my stay in Mulera and the practice of poisoning are phenomena basic to Bahutu culture and not borrowed from the Batutsi.

588 In Ruanda, as in Kiziba and Mpororo, women are consecrated to the spirits. They must provide for the needs of the spirits, and their children are said to be regarded as the children of the spirit and to belong to his family, for these women are allegedly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with others. I was told quite frankly, however, about a case where a Mututsi chief consecrated Bahutu women to a spirit and had sexual intercourse with them.

Dreams and Soothsaying.
787 In Ruanda various methods of soothsaying are practiced. First we must speak of the chicken oracle because of its great importance.

In order to obtain information about a certain matter through the chicken oracle, it is necessary for the person to come to the soothsayer (mupfumu) with a chicken. When he arrives, he spits into the beak of the chicken and hands it to the soothsayer. The latter first places the chicken on the visitor's head and then calls his helper, a young boy. The boy grasps the chicken under its

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *murozi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[32] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[33] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[32] Maquet, 1958, pp. 526-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[33] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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PLATE 6

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A Hutu diviner

[Facing P. 135]

642 number of the leading men of the country had become more or less independent of the king. As we shall see in the historical survey (p. 166 [not translated]), the government recognized the independence of a few of these chiefs after the death of old King Kisabo. Even there, however, the people still regard the distant king -- who it is true has become almost a phantom for them -- as the supreme authority of the realm in many respects, especially in religious matters.

643 Theoretically, the king is the absolute ruler of all of Urundi. Whoever does not submit to him is a renegade and a revolutionary. In the last analysis this claim to royal supremacy is founded on the fact that the king is descended from the old ruling family, the Baganwa, and is regarded and revered as an almost divine being. In this capacity he is the head of the national religion and the religious head of the nation, regardless of the personal characteristics of the king who is ruling at any one time. If, in addition to the religious respect which he enjoys, the king is prudent and strong-willed, as the bearer of the "crown" he will have no difficulty in enforcing his claim to be the sole ruler in the whole of Urundi. This is proved by the history of Urundi.

In both Urundi and Ruanda, also in Ufipa (No. 47, p. 29), the official title of the king is umwami, i.e., he who rose to authority. The Urundi king is also referred to as the njen' ingoma, the possessor of the (holy) drum, or as umvijéji, father, master.

644 The person closest to the king is the umufumu w'umwami, [793] the "house chaplain," high priest. Generally he is a highly intelligent man who in all cases is attached to the semidivine king and who also is the first to advise him in mundane matters. [791] A "court kiranga," a chief magician or sorcerer, assists the high priest. Among the officials of the court, there are masters of the kitchen, butchers, firewood keepers, stable masters, water suppliers, cow milkers, night watchmen, the bodyguard, and others. As far as political personalities are concerned, there are in the entourage of the king representatives of the great head men, the governors of the provinces, just as at the court of Musinga of Ruanda. Here, as well as in Ruanda, it is often the governors themselves who temporarily or permanently are drawn

776 king, the amulets, the oracle animals, the sacred spear, etc.
[178] (No. 19, p. 214). The same applies to Ruanda (No. 44, pp. 284; No. 39, pp. 102, 109). Imana is given a number of different names or is identified with other gods, depending on his different characteristics and functions. This is also true in
[551] Ruanda. Children are often given names which contain the word Imana: [121] Kaimana, little Imana; Mbonimana, gift of Imana; Ndorimana, appearance of Imana; Keschimana, ornament of Imana (No. 23, 1913, p. 308). Both men and
[842] women, if they wish to have offspring, wear an impusu y'Imana, a garment of Imana, made of reddish barkcloth with black circles painted on it. Imana is the supreme god of all manes, of all ancestral spirits, and thereby has the character of an old national god.

Although Imana as the sole creator of the world ranks high above the other gods, one nevertheless cannot describe this as a monotheistic concept of the Barundi, as is done by some missionaries (No. 44, p. 283). Nor is it correct to attempt to see a kind of "Trinity" in the fact that, besides Imana, the Barundi have two supreme gods, Rikiranga and Riangombe, whom they often identify or confuse with Imana (No. 19, p. 214). This is to put Christian interpretations on the matter, and these are foreign to the thinking of the Barundi.

It appears that Kiranga or Rikiranga ranks closest to Imana. If Imana is described as the supreme head of the high ancestral spirits, Kiranga is the ruler of all the lesser demons and of all things material. For this reason von der Burgt describes him as a kind of "logos payen" (No. 19, p. 216). He is the god to whom people appeal first for assistance in all worldly matters. It is Kiranga to whom the priestly cult of the crowds is devoted, to him the ceremony of the "sacred spear" is dedicated (see p. 134), and the high priest calls himself Kiranga for he is "possessed" by him, he is his medium (p. 123). To all appearances he is a deity of the old Bantu population and has remained
776 quite free of Batussi influence. The missionaries refer to
778 Kiranga as the "devil" (No. 23, 1904, p. 123). It is said that
793 near Mujaga in central Urundi Kiranga possesses two large herds

776 of cattle led by two sacred steers. He is thought to have a sacred
778 mountain administered by a priestess who wields great influence
793 and is even immune to the power of the king, although the latter keeps her under constant guard so as to insure that she fulfills her cult duties. If she neglects her duties, she and her closest relatives are executed upon the order of the king. Her office, it is said, begins and ends with the reign of the king, for after the king's death she has to take poison.

776 Father Gassldinger describes Kiranga as the "great
782 destroyer," the Lucifer of the Barundi. People appeal to him first in all their afflictions, misery, and fear, and it is to him that most sacrificial huts (akararo) are dedicated. Inside these huts there is, as a rule, a big three-legged earthen pot with three spouts into which the sacrifice is deposited. Besides beer, grain stalks constitute the main sacrificial offerings made in these huts. Horns of cattle are also burned in them as sacrifices (No. 45, 1913, p. 359 ff.).

776 It is characteristic of the confused conception which the Barundi have of the different personalities of their gods and spirits that they often mix up the terms and attribute the names of several gods to a single one of them. For example, one may hear them say: "Riangombe is powerful, he is Kiranga; Kagoro is also Kiranga, he is Sengoga." Kiranga is also called Rugaba, Ruhanga, Inganje, Njabaski, Indagarra, or Rukisa, or these names are used as epithets of Imana, and the word Imana itself is used as a plural concept (No. 45, 1913, p. 363). Among the names listed there are several which we already know, as shown above (p.120), from other Bahima states as the names of specific gods and spirits. In Urundi their images seem to have faded [122] so much that they are confused with one another, and the concepts people had of them seem to have been reduced to mere attributes or epithets of Imana who in any case has already become a collective term for "sacred" or "divine" rather than a personified god.

Riangombe is third among the gods. He is the supreme head of all good spirits (imandwa) whom Imana entrusted with the task of guiding human beings and protecting them against evil

2. Cults

793 Each of these gods is worshipped by specific cults; each
787 has his specific priest whom he "enters" from time to time,
makes him "possessed," and lets him prophesy and perform
794 feats of magic. There are male and female priests. Allegedly
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[793] In Ruanda a high priest (kiranga) is the head of the
794 ababandwa. He is appointed by the king, but he may also be
644 dismissed by him. In Ruanda the king appoints the mpara as his
575 assistants. They are a group of ababandwa who enjoy the privilege of offering their sacrifices to Riangombe in the kraal of the king. It is noteworthy that they are all Bahutu. This is probably a concession to the old Bantu origin of the Kubandwa cult. These mpara, in addition to the Batwa who live at the k king's court (see p. 13), are the bodyguards and the "guardians of the royal sleep," and much confidence is placed in them (No. 44, p. 292).

791 as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the
661 entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by
628 law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to
793 officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine
796 services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the
796 important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

778 Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred
796 in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and
[411] the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear" guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the
[776] point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but
796 one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

Religion

773 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 The list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

643 The symbol of kingship was Kalinga, the sacred drum. To possess
534 this drum meant to be king. Kalinga was regularly sprinkled with the blood of the animals used for divination. Around Kalinga were hung the genitals of Ruanda enemies killed by the bami. Kalinga was never beaten but other drums were beaten in its honour as they were beaten for the king.[25]

(*b*) *The queen-mother*

644 It was essential that the role of queen-mother (*umugabekasi*) should always be fulfilled. If the mwami's mother's death occurred when her son was still living, he had to be given another 'mother'. The queen-mother had no special task, but she shared the royal prerogatives. She lived at the king's capital where she had her own court, and her protection was eagerly sought. She had herds of cattle and clients. But her role should not be regarded as independent of that of the king.

It can be said that the same kingship was realized by two persons at the same time, without any division of responsibilities or privileges. This was expressed by the term often used to designate together the mwami and his mother: the kings (*abami*). In that partnership the king, however, kept a predominant position: when he died, his mother completely lost her powers.

(*c*) *The biru*

645 The *biru* did not constitute a council or a board. They were
[193] dignitaries with different tasks and very strictly ranked in a fixed hierarchy. Their activities, however, in common were concerned
[196] with the preservation of ritual knowledge and the accomplishment of ceremonies essential to the existence of Ruanda and its government. This knowledge and activities were kept secret from everybody who was not a *mwiru* (singular of *biru*).

[243] *Biru* were under the king's authority in the sense that he could create new offices of *mwiru* and he could dismiss one of them who had been disloyal. The royal control was limited to this. It was really the minimum without which *biru* would have been completely independent of the mwami. The offices were hereditary and even when a *mwiru* had been dismissed one of his sons succeeded him. As we have seen previously, their domains were exempt from any interference of the land- or cattle-chief.

[25] Vanhove, 1941, pp. 88 f. See the series of photographs in Maquet, 1957.

775 The spirits of the dead are, without exception, more or less evil and hostile to the living even if they were relatively good-natured when they were still alive. The dead person was forced to leave behind everything that he loved and cherished in his life, and for this reason he is filled with envy for those who survive and possess all these things. These jealous spirits, hostile to men and causing sickness, ruined crops, cattle epidemics, and other misfortunes, are the dreaded abasimu or imisimu (sing., umusimu); to repel, confine, appease them, or to win their favor forms the largest part of the thoughts and acts which occupy a Barundi's mind in his daily life. We find these primitive evil spirits among all the Bahima under the same name, abasimu or imisimu, even in the southern area of settlement, in Ufipa (No. 047, pp. 167-168). The envy and
775 hostility of the abasimu are soothed and assuaged by placing
782 valuable objects belonging to the deceased on his grave. Also, as often as possible morsels of food and parts of the objects formerly belonging to the deceased and now in use are offered as a sacrifice (see p.136). The incorporeal spirit eats or uses only the incorporeal part of these sacrifices, i.e., the "essence" of the proffered beer, meat, millet gruel, jugs, knives, arrows, hoes, etc. The sacrificial offerings are nothing but a premium to obtain greater security against the hostility of the abasimu. By no means can they be regarded as pious offerings to the revered and beloved ancestors. The Murundi only offers sacrifices to the manes because he is afraid of them. Yet a more effective method than making sacrifices is joining a
775 religious secret society, the religious fraternity of the ababandwa
●794 of which we shall speak in greater detail below (p. 124). These ababandwa assume a privileged position in the realm of the spirits after their death. If their behavior within the society has been found correct, they come to Riangombe where, as imandwa, they form a kind of bodyguard of the god. They are, so to speak, the saints of the Barundi heaven.

776 Above the innumerable nameless abasimu and above the imandwa there is a stratum of higher spirits who are given names.

2. Cults

793 Each of these gods is worshipped by specific cults; each
787 has his specific priest whom he "enters" from time to time,
makes him "possessed," and lets him prophesy and perform
●794 feats of magic. There are male and female priests. Allegedly
756 the female ones remain unmarried. Divine power and inspiration and the predisposition for being possessed are in most cases passed on from father to son or daughter in the same manner as the power to heal and to raise spirits which is held by the medicine men (abafumu).

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[828] manic possession at the Kubandwa celebration or the "sacred spear" ceremony (cf. p. 134). As soon as such happenings and conditions make their appearance, the person in question is declared a kiranga and has to officiate at the ceremonies of the holy spear which are performed on so many occasions (No. 19, pp. 462-463) and to mediate between humanity, suffering or filled with metaphysical urges, and the spirits and gods.

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791 or howling. A special spirit language is also used. Usually
[198] they fall into a religious ecstasy after consuming copious quantities of beer, and the spirit himself [124] will begin to speak through them and utter prophesies and oracles. They are
[672] not responsible for anything they do while they are in this spiritualistic-mediumistic state, even if they commit the worst violations of law and good manners (No. 39, p. 100). Those who are possessed make liberal use of this immunity, and one may very well consider this one of the chief motives for the whole institution of the imandwa cult.

In Unjoro the medicine men are also called abandwa. They "practice magic by killing animals or using certain herbs" (No. 9, p. 377).

Through the writings of A. Vix and B. Struck (Nos. 34 and 36) and Rehse (No. 31, pp. 107, 132), we have more precise knowledge from Kisiba of these persons who are called wabandwa and each of whom is possessed by a specific god. There, too, they differ depending on the nature of their god or demon, but all of them display their power "in hysterical fits caused by auto-suggestion." One of them may be an expert at making rain, another at curing the plague, a third may be proficient in agricultural matters, a fourth in the curing of cattle, etc. When the spirit seizes them, these divinely blessed persons put on a leopard skin, which the chief furnishes them, and a fur cap. Then they hang amulets from their necks and dance, holding long sticks and gourd rattles (Plate 54). However, they are not organized in a society.

• 794 In contrast, the ababandwa in Ruanda form a religious
575 cooperative or fraternity, and there are suggestions of this in Urundi too. The people in question are not the divinely possessed priests (kiranga) nor the magicians and medicine men (abafumu) to whom we referred above, but pious men who dedicate their lives to the god out of concern for their earthly well-being and for the future salvation of their souls. They are all organized in a fraternity, a cult community, bound by solemn ceremonies, and they offer their sacrifices jointly.

Van der Burgt does not differentiate between the ababandwa, the wachwesi, the iviranga, the ivisjego, etc.

794 575 (No. 19, pp. 220, 292, 463, 516), so it is impossible to obtain a clear picture of the nature of the Kubandwa cult of the Barundi from his writings. However, his accounts corespond essentially to the descriptions of the Imandwa secret society of Ruanda which have been given to us by Father Arnoux and the missionary Johanssen (No. 44 and No. 39, pp. 96-101). Thus, we can obtain many insights concerning Urundi from their writings. Quite correctly van der Burgt refers to similar cults of the "Watschwesi" (Batschwesi) fraternities in Ussuwi, Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Unjamwesi. In their nocturnal orgies have been preserved the last traces of religious cults and cult societies which still function openly as national institutions in Urundi, Uha, and Ruanda. The old relationship is also still recognizable in the hymns which are sung at such celebrations of the Watschwesi in Unjamwesi, Usindja, and in eastern Urundi. It is noteworthy that their lyrics are in the Old Kirundi language (No. 19, pp. 220, 463).

794 575 198 Father van Thiel, too, reports that in eastern Ussuwi at the ceremony of the Kubandwa, the admission to the society of the ababandwa, a ritual language called luchwesi is used. Father van Thiel lists a few dozen words (No. 24, p. 57), for example: bulege, bow; milasa, arrow; migasi, meat; muto, fire; masugunu, milk; muyara, head; manono, teeth; agawesa, eyes. It will have to be investigated whether this luchwesi is identical with Old Kirundi (cf. pp. 149, 332). Czekanowski gives a few specimens of the secret language of the babandwa in Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 316-317).

794 575 171 The following is known about the ababandwa in Ruanda. According to legend, the historical high priest Riangombe, before dying, expressed the desire [125] to be worshipped by the Batussi as well as by the Bahutu and the Batwa, without differentiation by caste. For this reason they all, without differentiation, dedicate themselves to him in the Kubandwa ceremony. It appears that this tradition merely means that the fraternity was extended to include the Batussi, for according to tradition

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794 575 The main reasons for joining the Kubandwa are usually the following: the invitation of a magician; the wish to be cured of a sickness or to be rescued from a difficult situation caused by evil spirits; the intention of obtaining a privileged position of various material advantages of joining the cult society; the fulfillment of a promise or vow made to one's ancestors; the carrying on of a family tradition, etc. Thus, we have motives in all of which the positive principle of utility strongly predominates.

The consequence of joining the Kubwanda [sic] is that the umubandwa ceases to be a member of common humanity; he now belongs to an exalted adoptive family which protects and promotes its members. We might regard it as a kind of Free Masons' Lodge. Through solemn vows the newly admitted members pledge themselves not to betray or violate the secrets of the Kubwanda. If a member should nevertheless do so, the [789] ababandwa curse him, wishing all sufferings on him, and Riangombe carries out the malediction (No. 44, p. 294).

[126] The ceremonies of the Kubandwa, the admission 796 of new members to the society, are accompanied by a great 794 number of formalities; they are identical, however, for Batussi, 575 Bahutu, and Batwa. To the best of my knowledge they correspond in their main outlines to the procedure that is customary in Ruanda which is as follows. First the aspirant (nsigo) informs a sorcerer (umufumu) of his desire to be admitted to the society. Then the abafumu require weeks and months to obtain the spirits' [787] assent by performing all kinds of sorcery: they listen to their "inner voices," they observe floating pieces of butter and wood, they read the entrails of chickens, sheep, water-wagtails, etc. (No. 44, p. 530). During this entire period the candidate is expected to bring the umufumu a series of presents: sheep, goats, beans, iron hoes, even cattle (required of the Batussi). At the same time bananas, meat, pombe beer, and other delicacies must be offered as sacrifices to the spirits in the little sacrificial huts. At last the spirits agree to the admission of the candidate. Then the abafumu choose from their circle a sponsor whose duty it is to introduce the candidate to the ababandwa. The real

794 admission to the order by the society's members is then enacted
575 in the kraal of the candidate. It is accompanied by innumerable
796 formulas, ministrations, invocations of Riangombe, Painting of face and body, eating, drinking, dressing up, handling the sacred spear, alternate chants, and the rattling of bells and gourds. Each of these acts has a symbolic meaning and reference (No. 44, pp. 539-558).

At the end of the ceremony the candidate's sponsor puts
[292] on the insignia of Riangombe (leopard skin, headdress with a cow's tail, etc.) and thereby turns into Riangombe himself who now in his own person performs the ceremony of the admission of the neophyte by a kind of examination and instruction. However, the novice is initiated to no profound secrets or "esoteric wisdom," as in the mysteries of antiquity, but only to ritual formalities, and though the novice is required to make a solemn vow that he will keep the secrets of the Kubandwa, this refers merely to these superficial ceremonies, for, like the other ababandwa, he knows of nothing else. In conclusion, the newly admitted member once more offers presents to Riangombe and to the ababandwa assisting him. Then Riangombe confers
[551] a new name on the novice by which he will be exclusively known in the future; in Ruanda, for example, the name may be "the little one who smashes the stone," or "the one who swallows cream," or "the one who steals from his mother," or "the one who rids the dogs of fleas" (No. 44, p. 870). After this the neophyte is a regular member of the society. Then the ababandwa, decorated with the insignia of their spirits, march through the countryside collecting food which is finally squandered in an eating and drinking bout (No. 44, p. 110). The newly admitted umubandwa then has to give public demonstration of his newly acquired power. A Munjaruanda who finds himself in some difficult situation asks him to help him appeal to Riangombe or some other god or protective spirit (for example, Kiranga, Masira, Binego, Kagoro, Mugassa). This is done by ceremoniously imploring the god to grant the request and by slaughtering in honor of the god a sterile cow, an old steer, or a ram, which is consumed by the ababandwa of the entire region (No. 44, p. 123 ff.). [127] On this occasion, as at all cattle sacrifices,

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. 121). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and
[302] narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women
[301] also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
● 794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.
575 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[534] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128] Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Riangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
796 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
794 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
575 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word
198 insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
794 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

796
794 Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting
575 for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all
[576] kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured; another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him generous presents of beer and cattle.

Now the dance begins under the direction of a female
796 leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the
794 flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist
575 joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each
535 other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward, sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are accompanied by staggering steps. The dance excites the participants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl leading the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer. Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively applause" (No. 45, 1913).

The women are usually particularly skillful in this role.
796 The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head,
794 which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells.
575 Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome
786 sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred: "All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of participants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

796 bellies" (i.e., like sick cattle). And so it continues with in-
●794 numerable wild curses. When the storm has subsided, individ-
575 ual supplicants once more stumble forward in front of the
786 enthroned woman, pay profuse respects to the "king," and request his help in opposing witches and sorcerers who have harmed them. The woman promises this, and with the voice of a fury she calls for a pledge of faith to Kiranga. [129] The ivisjego jump up, and under their leadership and accompanied by the noise of all the instruments and with a thousand curses and screams, a dance is performed, such that in the end everyone is bathed in sweat.

A wild drinking bout by the men and women follows, while they repeatedly scream to Kiranga sitting on the footstool: "Remain on the ruler's throne forever, King of Urundi; Kiranga is king." After that the frantic dancing in rows and the noise continue until the woman representing Kiranga becomes thirsty and surrenders her place to a male successor who is then the host. Naturally, he also is enthroned with tremendous jubilation. In this fashion the drinking and dancing, the invocations of Kiranga, and the curses against enemies continue through the entire night until early morning. Then suddenly the whole group breaks up, and in single file, rattling their bells, they run to the nearest stream where they all wash themselves. With this, the celebration comes to an end, and everyone goes home. From this moment on, none of the participants of the celebration may show any sign of recognizing his companions. The whole Kubandwa must be kept secret. However, the host who last "played" Kiranga belongs from now on among those most privileged and divinely blessed.

796 Since much beer is drunk at these cult festivals and at all
794 other celebrations and it is only available after harvest time,
575 from July to the end of October, all festivals occur exclusively
273 in these months. Every night, especially when there is moonlight, one can hear the noise of drinkers and dancers from the banana groves. Usually they are mere drinking bouts which resound into the night and have no further importance, but often they are cult gatherings of the abandandwa in which only members of the fraternity may participate.

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
569 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

There is another group of persons who maintain close
756 relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with
791 supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person
756 in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzumu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen [778 372] from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda).

•784 This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and 173 he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are re- [769] cruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

794 time it came into being, or where and by whom it was first established.
173 It seems to be of foreign origin, although it has made important strides in Ruanda proper. It has been noted that the neighboring
[171] peoples to the north, south, east and west of Ruanda indulge in a similar cult (1). Did Ryangombe and his companions really exist?

1. In the work entitled Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Édouard /Between Lakes Victoria, Albert, and Edward/ the author, Mgr. Gorju, discloses details about this secret society which lead one to believe that it is of Hamitic origin and that it was introduced into Ruanda by the Hamites.

"In the Bunyoro each tribe has its high Muchwezi, or acknowledged protector. Thus ... the Bagweri claim to be under Mugasa's protection....

"Aside from these protectors peculiar to each tribe, however, there are universal protectors common to all tribes who have specialized in some menial function... such as Kagoro, the god of lightning (p. 202). There is a group (of these demigods, or genii) in which individuals were included under the name of bachwezi, such as Nyabatwa and Nyabakonjo, whose legendary history hardly corroborates a kinship with the authentic Bachwezi (three powerful figures whose trail is suddenly

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lost)... (p. 203).

"In the Bunyoro the Bachwezi cult was superimposed on the local religion whose primary objects of worship were no other than the spirits of the ancestors and the Creator himself."

(Luhanga, Nyamuhanga, among the Bahima of Uganda), p. 218.

(Sub-army /sub L'armee?/ (society) of the mbandwa).

The same author speaks also of Muzana, the servant girl honored by the initiates.

Fr. Césard, in turn, lists the same figures, including Rungu (Nyabirungu among the Banyarwanda) in his study, "Comment les Bahaya interprètent leurs origines /How the Bahaya Interpret their Origins/," Anthropos, 1927.

Yes, if the legends are to be believed, but the details they provide are not sufficiently accurate to make us accept the reality of their existence. What are the bonds of kinship or subordination which unite Ryangombe and the figures who are grouped at his side in the worship and ceremonies held in his honor?

173 776 794 There does exist a sort of mythology that classifies some of those figures, but others were introduced into some of the provinces at a later time and are more or less unknown. Some of them nevertheless have historical associations, and their claimed patronage arouses certain conjectures. /361/ We wonder whether the Banyarwanda may have introduced into this sort of religious pantheon sorcerers, ancient petty kings, and political figures who played an important role in the land. The Blacks, being superstitious, timorous, eager to avert the wrath of ancestral spirits and anxious to gain their protection, have

173 rendered them a special worship. The Hamites were perhaps the first
776 to organize this religious group in the newly conquered land. The
794 Bahutu (or Bantu) were not excluded from it. Their admission was a political act on the part of the immigrants (1).

> 1. It is not impossible that the Hamites found the imwandwa society already organized when they arrived in Uganda, and later in Ruanda, and that they immediately adopted it and had themselves initiated into it to serve their own ends. As we can see, the problems relating to the origins of this religious society remain unsolved. Any hypothesis may be offered until the day when light will be brought on the subject.

By conviction and perhaps also in a spirit of diplomacy, in order to win their subjects over, the conquering Batutsi, killers of the magician-petty kings, did not hesitate to invoke the spirits of their victims and to honor them in cult ceremonies.

The Romans acted similarly toward foreign divinities, and admitted them willingly into the pantheon of the Empire.

According to this interpretation, should Ryangombe and his initial companions be placed in the category of aboriginal princes? If one accepts the facts set forth in the Banyarwanda legend, such a supposition is not impossible. The mythological narrative represents Ryangombe as a sort of independent prince (umuhinza), whose residence was at Kibingo in the small province of Nyakale. The legend says that Ryangombe went hunting to please his wife Nyanzige, daughter of the great king, Ruganzu II, who had asked him for a buffalo hide in which to wrap (ingobyi) her newborn child. He found one of those /362/ formidable animals and even wounded it, but was charged by the beast and killed at a spot about two hours distant from his dwelling,

173 Nyabikenke, which became thereby historical and accursed. His sons
776 and companions avenged his death and killed Nyanzige, who was the
indirect cause of the misfortune. The initiates of the Ryangombe cult
● 794 also deified Ruganzu's daughter and made her a liberator (Umutabazi).
It may have been the children and followers of Ryangombe who ennobled the end of this unfortunate woman for political reasons, so as to escape the anger and reprisals of the vindictive monarch.

Nyanzige is designated in ritual ceremonies by the name of Nyagishya or Inzobe, that is to say, "pale-faced woman," on account of her complexion.

The Bagoyi attribute Ryangombe's death to another one of his relatives, a young girl whom he had previously seduced after offering her a heady drink of hydromel. "I will have my revenge," cried the adolescent girl. "You will find me along the way, changed into a buffalo, and your blood will pay for my dishonor."

In accordance with local custom, the family of the unlucky girl chased her away. She found refuge in a wooded area where she bore a male child.

Ryangombe had gone out hunting when he suddenly met with the angered mother. She changed herself into a buffalo and pierced the king of the Imwanda with her horns.

The Banyarwanda like to ascribe to Ruganzu II most historical events and the origin of a number of practices and customs. What aspects of the afore-mentioned legend should we keep in mind? The interpretation of the facts is far from easy. The reign of Ruganzu II is relatively recent. On the other hand, the cult of Ryangombe is found in neighboring areas although the details vary. It is difficult to accept all the narrative details as historical. The religious society seems to /363/ date much farther back than the reign of this great monarch (1).

1. Ryangombe himself may have been only the perpetuator of these rites and may have practiced them by virtue of the law of succession, if it is assumed that he was a petty king (umuhinza), or on the authority of the Hamitic potentates.

774 776 The figures honored by the members of this secret society rank as demigods. Their protection is believed to be effective in the various circumstances of public and family life. As a result, their disciples appeal to them for the obtaining of any material benefit, recovery from illness, ownership of cattle, good relations with chiefs or neighbors, triumph over enemies, protection against bewitchers or spell casters, fecundity, etc.

[576] In order to reach these goals, the initiates respectfully come to the man who plays the role of Ryangombe, greet him, kneel at his feet, address his companions, and offer them gifts.

There is a traditional way to honor these spirits of varying rank and position. No rite is overlooked. Ceremonial dress, gestures, words, offerings, everything is foreseen and prescribed by immutable laws.

Each of the "patrons" has a peculiar costume and special insignias which the man who plays his role must perforce take into account. They are offered gifts of various kinds, and chants or "paeans" are sung, recalling to the spectators the brilliant deeds of their protectors.

1. Ryangombe is represented as seated on a native chair, with a cutlass suspended from his neck. One sets down at his side a [273] vessel full of lustral water and a large jar of pombe, beer made of sorghum or banana juice.

The ladies who wish to honor him hold in their hands a household spatula (umwuko). His adepts imitate the call of the hyena to [198] praise him (2). /364/

2. Is this a vestige of the ancient tribal totems? We cannot be sure.

2. Binego, son of Ryangombe, is called the "Liberator" because he saved his father from ruin and dishonor.

The man who plays his role holds a spear and stick and has a pipe (urwika in the language of the initiates) and a small gourd full of banana beer.

His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba. . . , " pronounced in a virile tone, recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye. . . . "

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i. . . " to recall that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

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776 9. Nkonjo, another enslaved servant girl, who was first to bring the sad news of Ryangombe's death.

She is offered a broom as a gift, the symbol of her work as a slave, and a small storage granary or some produce as a reminder that she was in charge of watching over the harvest and of attending to the household tasks.

10. Mashira.

The Banyarwanda, forgetful of their own history, regard him as Ryangombe's child. We have better reasons to believe that he was no other than the celebrated magician-petty king acknowleged as one of the most powerful sorcerers.

In ritual sessions, his representatives assume a majestic bear-
[711] ing and hold in their hand an iron spear made all of a piece (igihosho), which is a sorcerer's emblem symbolizing strength. His followers
[415] offer him an earthen pitcher of special design, with two openings and a drinking tube in each to permit the spectators to drink the hydromel it contains in honor of the magician.

His peculiar cry is "shi shi shi ...."

11. Mutwa, one of Ryangombe's companions, is invoked especially by the Batwa. /366/

This figure seems to have been invented for the sake of the
[782] Batwa. He is offered gifts of beans, meat, milk, and sorghum bread which the members of this despised group share with delight.

The selection of these particular foods, which are offered first as a sacrifice to Mutwa, aims at pleasing him by satisfying his hunger. This is because the Negrillos, whose prototype (or ancestor) he portrays, do not always eat their fill, and these foods appeal to them as the ideal dishes they most desire.

New members were added later to this gallery of demigods. We shall mention only the best-known ones.

1. The Liberator Kibogo, son of King Ndahiro, is often invoked for rain.

[782] 2. The Bagoyi, lake-shore dwellers, offer libations of beer to Mwungeri, son of Nyankaka, who perished in the Lake Kivu disaster.

3. The inhabitants of the Bwana-Mkali honor in turn Rumana

794 and Mulengetwe, old historical figures who may have been notorious.
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4. The "Munyoro" figure was invented for the same superstitious reasons which cause the Blacks to honor the spirits of the dead and more particularly the souls of those who distinguished themselves for good or for evil in the course of their mortal existence.

The figure of Munyoro was probably included in the ceremonies after the defeat of the Banyoro.

5. The inhabitants of the Nkombo isles render special worship to Muhima and Nyirangenge.

Muhima, a synonym for Mututsi, symbolizes the Batutsi conquerors who seized the isles, and Nyirangenge, a feminine figure, stands for the Batutsi ladies or personifies the intelligence of the Hamites.

6. Nyarwambari, son of Mulema and grandson /367/ of Ngwegwe, figures among Ryangombe's followers. The initiates do not have much to say about him.

7. Bukiranzuki figures among the daughters of the founder. During the ceremonies, the women who worship her wear on their heads the tail of an animal known under the name of igiharangu.

The members of this religious pantheon are numerous. They include, aside from the afore-mentioned figures, the founder's father and grandfather, Babinga and Nyundo; his wives, Kajumba, mother of Binego, Karyango, mother of Bukiranzuki, and Gachubya, mother of Nyabirungu; Nyirakabali, his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to one of his companions; and Lubindankima ("the man who girds his loins with a monkey pelt"). The inhabitants of the Bugoyi have it that this latter figure, who was probably invented out of whole cloth, was the friend and confidant of one of Ruganzu II's great victims, the famous Gatabirora, nicknamed Bilikunkomo, whose actions and deeds have been dramatized and romanticized (1).

1. Cf. Book III /not translated/.

In the meetings of the initiates there is also mention of
[825] Gassankomo, "the man who wraps himself in colobus pelts." This is the honorific name given to Kagoro, whose impersonator must for some

794 reason gather myriapods (centipedes) which he must dry in the sun and
796 then string up and wear as a badge when he goes begging for sorghum
[625] or banana bunches in the course of ritual processions.

The disciples of Ryangombe also honor the memory of the master's mother, whose role was rather insignificant to judge by the legend.

Ntamutimuchumyi is mentioned only to state that he was the cause of Ryangombe's first misfortunes, for he was about to dishonor him by depriving him of his property and his rights. He was eventually killed for the sake of the general /368/ welfare and honor by Binego, who arrived at the most critical moment. The name of Ntamutimuchunyi /sic/ is synonymous with felony and treachery.

As for Nkonjo, the slave, she personifies cowardice and coarseness. She is mentioned only with scorn (1).

1. Cf. Book V, "The Legend of Ryangombe," /not translated/.

794 To designate the master's hunting dogs, initiates avail them-
552 selves of appellations and epithets replete with allusions. Some of them recall the abilities of these animals, others the qualities and defects of human beings. The names of the following animals are readily mentioned:

1. "The (serious) man who never laughs at his fellowman" (Ntamugab' usek' undi).

2. "He who preserves (as a careful owner) a store of smoked meat" (Nyamubikan' umuranz' uruguma).

3. "He who pays the bride price for a girl whose family did not raise her properly" (Bakoska batahana).

4. "The pot-herb which is so odorous, although it is not yet ripe, that it causes people to eat up (at one blow) all the butter in the house" (Urunyegeri rutoto).

5. "Her mother knows her well (including all her faults), so she will make no effort to argue with her because she knows that her daughter is incorrigible" (Nyina aramuzi, ntazamumpora).

794 6. "The dog that runs like the wind" (Nyakayaga).
552 7. "The dog with fringes (with long hair)" (Nyagayonga).

Among the prototypes or figures who appear in this legend,
173 Ryangombe is the one most highly honored.
794 He is regarded as a sort of hunter-king who made volcanoes his favoirte dwelling place after his death.

According to the same narrative, he still enjoys the pleasures of the hunt with his sons, companions, and favorites in those high mountainous and wooded regions. The Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa have participated in this cult in large numbers. They observe its /369/ rites faithfully and observe the rules of the arcana. The ceremonies take place mostly at night. Each of the adepts appeals to the spirit or spirits for whom he has a special devotion. The Batutsi have chosen those whose life most closely parallels their own.

643 The chiefs do not like to mix with their subjects to honor those powerful spirits, but they seek out the help of the Bahutu and
794 Batwa who belong tothis cult and have them dance and sing in honor of Ryangombe and his companions. The Bahutu and Batwa alone take part in the ritual processions and collections which are carried out through the villages in summertime.

794 The gestures of this cult are pervaded with earnest and impressive seriousness. Initiation, confirmation, ritual feasts, the taking on and carrying out of vows, the collections and processions, all take place secretly, away from prying eyes. Laymen are not allowed to come near the gatherings, and jests and insults directed at the initiates were seriously punished in the old times. A former queen, Nyiramulema (a wife of King Mutara), was crucified upon the ground in the courtyard of her dwelling by the imandwa for having ridiculed their ceremonies. The tomb of the unfortunate woman lies at Savé, in the Nyarigina quarter.

644 II. Official Posts of Great Importance from the Standpoint of the Crown (Ingoma) as well as from that of the Executive.
Generals and Official Drummers.
Executioners, Capital Punishment, and the "Pit" of the Bugessera.

701 1. The generals or commanders of the armed forces.

794 575 Secret Societies. The cult of Ryangombe is practiced by the secret societies of babandwa. These societies unite men and women, Batutsi and Bahutu.

In Nduga, above all, the secret societies of babandwa embrace a considerable part of the population. There, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, they seem not only to represent well-organized religious groups, but also to play a role in politics.

This is said to be especially true of the Biheko cult, for example. It is blamed for many a disturbance in the northern part of Ruanda. Biheko was apparently a woman consecrated to Binego, the disciple of Ryangombe. She was killed by Lwabugiri who, it seems, in doing this fought the particularistic tendencies of the north. In order to escape the revenge of her spirit, Lwabugiri permitted his subjects to be initiated into the cult she represented. Since that time, the Biheko cult is said to have made great progress in Mulera and Bugoye.

According to Father L. Classe (1) Biheko was a man from

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 440.

Ndorwa whose brothers were Lutindangezi, Gahaya, and Maloli.

[778] In Mulera the iron rods known as ikrosho are connected with the Biheko cult. They were already described in Mpororo by Stuhlmann (2) and associated with the Nyawingi cult.

2. Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika [Into the Heart of Africa with Emin Pasha] (Berlin, 1894), p. 253.

794 575 782 763 The dogma is somewhat as follows. Only those consecrated to Ryangombe may contact him, but it is necessary to establish contact with him. It is only through sacrifices that one can persuade Ryangombe to let the spirits that have been driven out return to the birunga (volcanoes) [306] and free the living from

794 them. This is of very great importance, especially in cases of
575 illness, for illness is, of course, caused by the spirits. That is
782 why sick people are often initiated into the secret societies of
753 babandwa. Sometimes this is done when they are already so ill that they are not quite conscious during the ceremonies, but the hope is that through the initiation the sick person will gain such a powerful protector that the latter will make possible the recovery of the new member. Despite these expectations, people do not omit the sacrifices to the manes of the sick person in order to receive their favor.

794 The existence of the [secret] society divides the population
575 into two classes: the consecrated and the profane. The consecrated ones, in turn, are divided into two subgroups, the babandwa who conduct the ceremonies and the rusingo, ordinary initiates of the lower grade. This creates a hierarchy in which discipline is exercised through fear of the supernatural power of the chosen ones. Hence the secret societies are powerful factors in social integration.

The hierarchy of secret societies does not correspond to the territorial division into chieftainships and exogamous clans. It creates dependencies that bridge these divisions, and the social structure is strengthened by the addition of these "supernatural powers."

794 It would be futile to speculate whether the states of the
575 interlacustrine region could exist without secret societies. It is
563 very probable, however, that the rule of the Batutsi and Bahima minorities is contingent on the organization of these societies. The ruling element seems to be disproportionately stronger among the babandwa, whose sons inherit their rank, than among the rest of the population, probably because the Ryangombe cult was allegedly a Batutsi cult originally. This view was expressed to me repeatedly in one way or another by missionaries and natives. It is supported by Rehse (1) who says that Ryangombe is regarded

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 134.

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in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, [643] Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[778] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

000 which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

794 The importance of the dog among babandwa[3] merits special attention. I was assured that the dog is the cow, that is, the most important and sacred animal, of the babandwa. I was unable to find out anything more specific about its role in the cult. The adherents of the theory that the states of central [177] Africa represent vestiges of Egyptian culture might see in the relationship of the dog to the cult of the "lord of departed souls" a reflection of Anubis who had the head of a dog.

794 The babandwa exert their power as medicine men, sacrificers, and soothsayers. These three functions are very closely related to each other and can hardly be separated. Besides the babandwa and the worshippers of Biheko, the balozi [poisoners] are also said to constitute a secret society.

Initiation. Initiation into a secret society is bound up with long and complicated ceremonies. There are two categories of consecrated ones, those who are fully consecrated and those who have undergone only the preliminary tests.

[308] I should now like to try to give a picture of the babandwa initiation ceremonies in Ruanda, which are very strictly kept secret.

The picture, pieced together by means of painstaking questions, shows a resemblance in the main with the description by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi, although the arrangement of the whole ceremony seems to bring out some differences.

If a person who is to be accepted into the secret society of babandwa, for example, a sick person, as generally happens, has been told by the chicken oracle that he can be cured by initiation, he must bring gifts to the consecrated to make them favorably disposed toward him.

First of all an influential member is visited, one who might agree to act as guardian (godfather). The guardian, who is also called "father," invites the rest of the initiated into the house of the candidate for initiation.

Certain preparations must be made and a number of objects assembled before the initiation ceremony can take place. The candidate provides a sword, a bell, a torch, a large quantity of beer, and food supplies.

3 [i.e. Secret society members - Analyst]

794 On the appointed evening the members assemble in large
575 numbers in the hut of the candidate and begin with the inevitable
293 beer drinking. The individual babandwa act as various bagaragu of Ryangombe, and this is shown by their insignia. Thus, the

Fig. 164. Crown of Mugasha, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13033. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

representative of Mugasha is said to appear wearing a crown and carrying a scepter. The crown consists of a woven ring, similar to the ones placed under vessels, on which hang two rows of strings. On each string is a small reed cylinder [309] secured at the end with a seed of the wild banana. In Ruanda, as in the
794 other countries of the interlacustrine region, the banana is
575 associated with Mugasha. Similarly, Kagoro is here represented as a brave youth carrying a spear and a stick. In view of this, we expect that the cult of the lance (of Ikiranga), as described

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by Father Van der Burgt (1), is connected with Binego.

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German] (Bois-le-Duc, Hollande, 1903), p. 516.

The uninitiated may not be present at the ceremony, and they are driven away from the vicinity of the hut with such brutal blows from a stick that they must often pay for their curiosity with severe injuries, sometimes even with their lives.

When the ceremony is about to begin, the "father" and his "child" sit down on stools facing each other, with their legs spread apart. The members ask them what they are doing here. Candidate and guardian answer that they would like to be initiated into the society. The members refuse, and sometimes they even try to drive out the candidate with blows. It sometimes happens that the candidate with blows. It sometimes happens that the candidate loses his nerve and runs away, which ends the ceremonies. If he does not run away and the others agree to accept him, he is subjected to various tests which are supposed to prove that he is worthy of joining the society. The first tests are purely playful. He is requested to fetch a star and is told that whoever fails to do this is unworthy of being taken into the secret society. Thereupon the members take glowing embers from the hearth, toss them into the air repeatedly, and catch them in their hands. After this ceremony they again try to drive away the candidate with blows.

He is then given consecrated beer to drink through a straw that is plugged, and the same words are spoken: "If you do not succeed, you are unworthy of joining the order of babandwa." The initiated ones thereupon show that this is easy for them, and they drink beer with perfectly good straws. The candidate again does not succeed. After this comes the last test. The candidate is given stones to eat. Again he fails. The members pretend it is easy to eat stones and partake of bananas.

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575 The candidate then asks his guardian very timidly how one is to do all this. The guardian takes consecrated beer (buahoro) into his mouth and squirts it on the candidate. Later he rubs the candidate's face with kaolin (runoni) and utters unintelligible, mysterious words. This ceremony is known as kurawa ingwa. After this is done, the consecrator takes [310] a live coal from the hearth, tosses it into the air, and the candidate catches it. Later he gives him beer to drink through a good straw and hands him a banana which the "child" eats. Then it is announced that the candidate can be accepted. At this moment the songs begin. During the singing the candidate is sent by his "father" to steal bananas. If he succeeds in doing this without being seen, he is congratulated when he returns to the gathering. They praise his cunning and greet him with the name which henceforth is his in the society. After this interlude, the songs are resumed, and the "father" proceeds with the initiation, using unintelligible words.

With his guardian the candidate sets out for the muku or mulinzi, the tree consecrated to Ryangombe. Here the consecrating mubandwa's helper, known as muhiruka, joins him. No one else is allowed in the vicinity of the tree. After making certain of this, the candidate is stretched out on his back on the ground, and the consecrator and his helper perform a wild dance. They repeatedly threaten to stab the candidate's chest with a sword. This ceremony is supposed to make the candidate realize what would happen to him if he should decide to commit an indiscretion against the society. At the same time it represents the oath of the consecrator that he will carry out the punishment.

When the dance is over, all three of them return to the hut where the members are assembled; the muhiruka leads the procession, followed by the candidate, while the mubandwa brings up the rear. The other members (babandwa) come to meet them. Among these is one known as kishego. Kishego carries a burning torch (lumuri) and a small bell which he rings. All of them together return to the hut of the candidate.

After their return, the candidate and the consecrating mubandwa sit on stools facing each other. Between them stands a pot of marwa (millet beer), and beside the pot sits an old woman with a forehead ornament that has a rabbit tail. She holds a piece

194 515 of muku wood in her hand. (Muku wood is consecrated to Ryangombe.) All those present squat with their hands stretched out in front of them and call upon Ryangombe.

After the marwa has been sacrificed in this manner to Ryangombe, the candidate lies down on the floor in front of the old woman who, with the muku wood in her hand, is supposed to represent Ryangombe. The candidate says to the woman: "Unkize, undinde, muli uyu muaka umbesheho (Let me be restored to health, protect me this year)." The woman moves her head as though she agreed, mutters unintelligibly – mmmmm – and says: [311] "Nzakubesho, ntanga yewe (I shall protect you, I shall let you live, my child)"; later she adds: "Chwaga, chwagura Ryangombe," which is said to mean "Goodness in abundance, thou Ryangombe." Thereupon she takes beer into her mouth and spits it on the candidate. This is the core of the ceremony. After this everyone takes a small torch and roams about the hut as though he were looking for something. After this hunt, the peas (maharagi) and stiff millet mush (mutsima) previously prepared especially for this ceremony are eaten. The Batutsi on this occasion also drink milk. This concludes the ceremony for this day.

After the common meal, the one newly initiated joins in the singing and is ostentatiously honored by those present. He wears a crown of grass, joins in the beer drinking, and eats the sacrificial meat. After he is through eating, he is told that Ryangombe and above all the spirit whose name he bears will protect him, that he will have many children, and that he may attend the secret meetings. He is also taught the sacrificial formulas.

After these ceremonies they drink beer until morning. Shortly before sunrise everyone present, except the one newly initiated, goes to visit the huts in the neighboring banana groves. This ceremony is called simply kusega. Everywhere the visitors are served marwa and nzoga, depending on what the host has on hand, and given bananas as presents. After the visits the members return to the hut where the ceremony has taken place to drink up the remaining beer. Then they go home. On the next evening or a few days later the mubandwa and the muhiruka go to the new

194 initiate, eat with him, and warm some water which is poured
575 into the pot that contained the beer sacrificed to Ryangombe during the initiation. The water is drunk by the family of the new initiate. Afterward the bananas collected on the early morn-
[325] ing visits (kusega) are put in the underground warming place in order to ripen. After a few days, when the beer made from these bananas is ready, acquaintances come for a visit, and they are all served this beer (nzoga).

In this manner the candidate achieves the lower stage of initiation. He has become rusingu. Many remain here and do not go any higher.

In Batutsi initiation ceremonies, a cow is killed on this occasion. When the cow has fallen, the mubandwa, the muhiruka, and the candidate --these are always the three active persons -- place themselves on the fallen cow, one after the other. This ceremony is known as kwitonda gira. Only after that is the animal cut up and the meat divided among those present.

If a person who has been initiated wishes to rise higher in the hierarchy, if he wants to be a mubandwa instead of a rusingu, he goes to the "father" who initiated him [312] and asks for further initiation. If the "father" approves, a meeting is called for this purpose. The candidate, as on the first occasion, provides beer and food. Again, of course, the profane are excluded. Similar ceremonies are carried out, and the candidate is squirted with beer. This time, however, the tests are hard, and since only reliable and chosen people are admitted to the higher initiation, these ceremonies are still more mysterious. The candidates are always refused several times and admitted only at the third or fourth meeting. The one newly initiated must swear that he will not betray the secrets of the association nor in any way misuse the confidence placed in him. In taking the oath, the candidate touches the objects consecrated to Ryangombe, such as the crown, the bell, and others. After the ceremony the newly initiated member is accompanied home by the older members. All participants in this festive procession carry branches of the fig tree in their hands. From then on the newly initiated member has the right to sacrifice to Ryangombe, to introduce candidates to the secret society, and to be present at all the ceremonies. Having

794 been born anew as a result of the initiation, he is above the law
515 of the profane and belongs to the ranks of the chosen. He must not forget, however, to offer sacrifices to his patron spirit and to Ryangombe from time to time.

A somewhat different and much more detailed description of an initiation into the society of babandwa is given by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi. This description, it seems, refers to a higher grade of initiation, about which I could find out little in Ruanda. I give a summary of it here, obtained from data placed at my disposal by Father L. Classe.

For the initiation two babandwa are necessary, a man and a woman. The man is called mugogo saidja, and the woman, mugogo kazi. Another name for the man is musego, "the [male] consecrator," and for the woman, muchwezi, "the [female] consecrator." Both together are known as "parents," baishebuhemba. They also have helpers known as bihale. The candidate is regarded as their "child" in the ceremony. The "child" is usually ill. The ceremony is performed at the instigation of the soothsayer who has been previously consulted. A number of objects are necessary for the ceremony: a knife; an axe; fire; a stool; calabashes; two kinds of beer; a spoon; a stick; a large needle; a tobacco root; a small stick of musinge wood wound with hair from the tail of an animal (mbwisi) and sprinkled with white snuff (ntendere), the whole thing known as kimwanda; an arrow; a hoe; two small pieces of wood from the mulinzi tree, slightly hollowed out to make them look like boats and known as bilimbe; and finally the bisingo, that is, skins decorated with cowrie shells.

[313] After their arrival in the house of the candidate, the baishebuhemba, wearing their crowns, sit down on their stools. They represent the spirits taking part in the ceremony. The woman slides her hands alternately up and down the stick. The beer stands in front of them. The sick person lies at their feet and is given snuff. If he sneezes, it means that he qualifies for the initiation. If he does not sneeze, the initiation ceremony does not take place. A member of the family asks that the spirits have mercy on the person, heal him, accept him as one of them, and take possession of him. After that the mugogo puts the tobacco

794 575 root in the mouth of the sick man and keeps it there until the man collapses, unconscious. Then a fire is lighted, and the hoe, arrow, and kimwanda are deposited beside it. Two spirits are invoked, for example, Ryangombe and Mugasha. The woman who represents Ryangombe is addressed by the man with the words: [782] "Come, ch Ryangombe! Heal and receive your man!" This prayer is called kwentongeza, that is, to let oneself be received, to be consecrated, consecration. With her mouth closed, the woman who represents Ryangombe imitates the mooing of a cow. This is called kutangana and is supposed to mean that the spirit is present. Then one of the members says: "I was kutanganirwa through the spirit N.N.," and the man hands the woman a drinking straw. "Ryangombe" takes beer into her mouth and squirts it on the sick person. This millet beer is kept in an earthen jug; it is made from the variety called endimasi which is dedicated to Ryangombe. Then the woman repeats the same prayer as she turns to the man. He replies with a sigh which is supposed to indicate the presence of Mugasha. The spirit also drinks through a straw which is handed to him by the woman. He drinks banana beer (luhagwa) from a calabash and spits it out on the sick person. Then the mugogo takes some ntendere from his kimwanda, gives the sick person a second portion of the white snuff in order to make him return to consciousness, hits him on the head with the kimwanda, and the sick person wakes up. This concludes the ceremonies of the first day. The baishebuhemba remain overnight in the house of the sick person. They live there for the four days that the ceremony lasts.

On the next evening the assembly goes into the bush a considerable distance from the huts to a place known as kagondo kato. The spirits are invoked in the same way as on the previous evening. The members drink beer and spit it on the sick person who, if he recovers, belongs to the spirits. Then the mugogo takes the knife and the axe and says threateningly to the sick person: "I shall kill you if you tell others what I am doing with you." The woman takes the stick, places it on the neck of the sick man, and threatens him in the same way. Then a few dances are performed, and they go home. This ceremony is known as mutalongo or kumeramera.

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[314] The major tests come on the third day. This time the ceremony lasts longer and breaks up around noon. Besides the above-mentioned articles, food and a bow with arrows are added. The party goes to kagondo kakuru, which is known as "big" because this place is not in the bush but at the foot of a large tree. The ceremony begins with laying the fire. The sick man lies stretched out on leaves at the foot of the tree. The mugogo climbs up on a little knoll and calls together the members in the neighborhood with the words: "Esaire, Esaire," that the consecrated ones. The babisi, the new ones or the non-consecrated, are not permitted and do not dare to come. Only those who were once initiated come. They approach as though they were going to a solemn festival. When all are assembled (sometimes 50 or more), amulets and medicines are burned so that the babisi, the profane or uninitiated, cannot harm their sacred wood.

Later the head of the sick person, who lies stretched out, is placed on the knee of someone present. He is told to put out his tongue, whereupon medicine is placed upon it. The mugogo takes a small flat piece of wood, shoves it under the man's tongue, and with his other hand takes a large needle smeared with medicine and sticks it into the tongue of the sick man so that the point of the needle penetrates the piece of wood. If blood flows, the ceremony is worthless, for it proves that the spirit rejects the person. The helpers hold the man by his arms and legs, his head still resting on the lap of another man who supports him. The needle is kept in the tongue for an indefinite period, depending on the age and strength of the person. Sometimes it is left for 20 to 30 minutes. During the entire time the people present are dancing. The women beat on the hides they are wearing, and the men shake the gourds containing beer. They sing two words alternately: wabo meaning "they [or she; Ger., sie]" and bagaburi meaning "they deny me." At the same time they place their arm rings in front of the mugogo to ransom the sick one. When there are enough arm rings, the mugogo pulls the needle out. The dancing ceases, and they eat. After the meal they call upon the spirit, and the sick person is threatened as on the two previous days.

794 515 Everything is repeated but much more madly. In the end all are invited to assemble early the next morning for the final ceremonies. The sick person is accompanied home, and there is dancing along the way. Sometimes for the rest of the night they stay out in the open, kulala alukome. The body of the sick person is rubbed with earth or sand so he will be all the more beautiful at the ablutions the next day.

On the fourth and last day the ceremony of mulwesero, "ablutions," takes place. Early in the morning all who have been invited go to a certain river, dressed in festive garb. A youth is held under water by the baishebuhemba; an adult dives [315] in after him. They hold their noses and ears shut with their fingers. The baishebuhemba pour water into the small boats made of mulinzi wood. After the diving, the trunk of the sick person is painted white with kaolin (runoni). Everyone present admires his beauty with the words: "You shine like a leopard; you are another person." There is celebrating and drinking on the shore of the river. Then, as on the previous days, the spirits are invoked. In the evening all the participants return, singing and dancing like maniacs. When they arrive in the courtyard of the house, they are given a hoe and four seeds: millet, manioc, gourd, and pea. The initiate buries them in the presence of his baishebuhemba and the others attending. They are placed on the two boats of mulinzi wood. Then he is given the name of a spirit and a crown with two cowrie shells. Not until later may the number of shells be increased. Then the initiate begins to act like one possessed. He goes so far as to abuse his relatives with indecent words. The baishebuhemba order him to lie down on the ground, and after a while the mugogo calls him by his ordinary name in order to remind him of his everyday life. The initiate pretends to be waking from a deep sleep. He looks at everyone present and greets them all quietly in the usual way. This is called "to take away the luchwezi." Then the initiation fees are paid, and the ceremony is over.

794 515 184 The two descriptions of the initiation ceremonies are somewhat different, but this probably indicates local differences in the cult.[3]

3. [i.e. the Babandwa cult – Analyst]

794 575 184 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences. We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 575 198 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

[601] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 575 782 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom everyone may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to Ryangombe and his disciples and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253 — Analyst]

Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Amulet	ngisha	–	mihasira	–
Arms	amaboko	–	mikolantambara	–
Bracelet (copper)	imiringa	imihone	–	–
Eyes	amaso	–	agaweza	–
Axe	–	–	nsenya	–
Banana	ekitoke	–	bihuni	–
Bananenenhain	indoke	–	bihungatete	–
Sweet potato	–	–	ebizibizi	–
To build	kubaka	–	kizizimba	–
Farmer	umuhutu	umunutu	–	–
Tree	ikiti	–	kisale	–
Legs	–	–	malibasa	–
Beer	nzoga	ruhunga	mayanza	–
To drink beer (nzoga)	–	–	–	kutshwaga hwagura
Bow	umuheto	umuneto	bulega	–
Archery	kurasa	kurasha	–	–
Firewood	ntushari	–	nsali	–
Dagger	umusenyi	umusenyi	–	–
Peas	maharage	–	ebihurugu	–
To eat	kulia	kutanyira	–	–
European	–	–	Bazubu	–
Meat	nyama	–	migasi	–
Fire	umuriro	umwoto	muto	–
Woman	umugore	umukari	mukankazi	–
To give birth	kubiara	kubuta	–	–
To go	kugenda	kuzenga	–	–
Face	amasso	amashongo	–	–
God	Imana	Imende	–	–
Grass	ubwatsi	–	bunyamurwa	–
Hair	imitsatsi	–	ichoke	–
Chief	umutware	chirima	–	–
House	inzu	inzakaru	enzakaru	–

6: Czekanowski--252 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Dog	imga	kakungu	–	kakungu
Kahindiro (king)	Kahindiro	Kamindiro	–	–
Calabash	kisabo	–	ensweina	–
Child	umwana	umuhere	–	ibikende
Client	umugaragu	umugarama	–	–
Cooking pot	nyungu	–	ntwerwa	–
Queen mother	–	–	muyarami	–
Head	umutwe	–	muyara	–
Herbs	imboga	iziboze	–	–
Cow	inka	ihangi	–	–
Cowhide	inkanda	inkabara	–	–
Lwabugiri (king)	Lwabugiri	Rwabuguru	–	–
Girl	mukobga	musundi, ntara-komereke	–	–
Man	umugabo	umulabo	umulenzi	–
Mat	ikirago	–	mukabali	–
Mush	umutsima	umubonania	–	–
My child	umwana wanye	–	umwere wane	–
[317] To milk	kukama	kukoroga	–	–
Milk	amata	ameza	masugunu	amafuro
Ears	amatwi	–	mahuliru	–
Arrows	umuambi	–	milasa	–
Rain	–	–	nfonyi	–
Salt	umunyú	umusenyi	–	–
To suckle	–	–	kunuka	–
Sheep	ntama	–	mbwana	inyabuhoro
Stool	–	–	kisunta	–
Spear	ichumo	ishongoro	masongola	–
To die	kupfa	–	kuyiruma	–
Cloth	–	–	migonzi, mikorokozi	–

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Tobacco	—	—	ihukula	—
Forest	ishamba	—	kichaka	—
Water	amazi	—	matingi	—
Way	inzira	—	muhura	—
Teeth	—	—	manono	—
Goat	ihene	inguruka	uzwika	kianwa
Tongue	urulimi	—	lurigizi	—

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blood of the animal and placed on the chests, the foreheads, and, last of all, the backs of those present. Then the mubandwa spreads out small bundles of green twigs, muyambo, on the animal. When he has given the order to disperse, everyone begins to move. One person after another walks over the sacrificial animal and goes home without looking back; otherwise the sacrifice would lose all its meaning. In this procession the father goes first, then the sons, then the chief wife, followed by the other wives and their daughters. The mubandwa and his attendants remain at the place of sacrifice. [318] If someone passes in the vicinity of the sacrificial remains, he takes care to pick up a leaf, spit on it, and throw it in the direction of the remains, saying: "Do not pursue me (spirit, umuzimu, misfortune, or illness)." This refers to the fact that the evil, the spirit, or whatever has been cast off through the sacrifice might attack a passer-by at the crossroads.

The Batutsi sacrifice cows, sheep, and chickens, whereas the sacrificial animal of the Bahutu is the goat and, more rarely, sheep.

As far as I could ascertain, the meat of sacrificed cows is distributed to all present if the prophecy is favorable. If the entrails prophesy unfavorably, the meat is given to the Batwa. The family of the donor does not eat the meat of sacrificed sheep, but gives it to the mubandwa and his helpers who have performed the sacrifice. The ceremony described by Father Van Thiele thus undoubtedly refers to the sacrifice of a sheep, which he forgot to mention. The meat of sacrificial goats is eaten by the Bahutu who

have made the sacrifice and by their friends.

The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails, is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

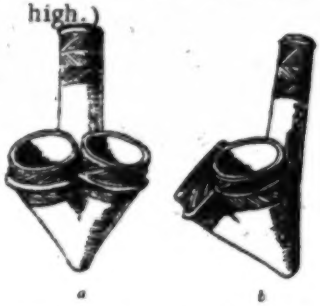

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cowhide known as mukane.

266 782 651 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago. The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a muia (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[643] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 575 794 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in the north and by poisoners (balozi). Koch (1) confirms its occurence

1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

266 794 575

guards near corpses. They believe that if a person eats corpses he is imbued with weird, magical power and can turn into wild animals, as in our legend of the werewolf."

According to Johnston (2), the secret society of basezi in

[13]

2. Johnston, H., The Uganda Protectorate (London, 1902), p. 692.

Buddu and on the Sese Islands assembles at night and devours corpses. Johnston (3) characterizes the inhabitants of the Sese

3. Ibid., p. 693.

Islands as notorious cannibals who gave up this passion only when they were forced to by the Baganda.

Ruanda's western neighbors, the Bahunde, are likewise cannibals, as Dr. Kandt (4) has determined. He reports the

4. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 449.

following discovery: "Here lay the head of a human being that had been slaughtered not more than two days ago. The ears, the lips, and the flesh of cheeks, neck, and chin had been cut away, and the large hollow bones had been broken, apparently to suck out the marrow and the blood. The place where the fire had been, marked by ashes, was still visible; the blood-soaked apron of barkcloth and the straw and wire rings of the slaughtered person lay strewn about in the grass. I called the guides. They knew the man and said that if we wanted to look around we could find many other remnants of this kind, but I had no desire to do so."

From these facts we may conclude that formerly cannibalism was common in the entire interlacustrine region from the western lakes to the Sese Islands. Only recently suppressed, it has left definite traces in the cult and in secret societies.

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613 In the ritual
749 sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the
Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during
his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was
[173] accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling
to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's
horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former
volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more
agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege
of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while
living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be
initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization,
in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony
that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as
members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different
people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The
initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense
that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that
affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for
the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were
initiated.

613 A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to
769 honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering
to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut
dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound.
They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life
(milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days
and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in
July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound
in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a
[062] goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people).
This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among
the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and
feasting was observed.

613 Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of
623 councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat.
Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the
[554] opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men
would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

its own rules, if each infraction were punished strictly according to prescribed sanctions and if all the formal norms were always respected. To be a part of a society is to know which of its rules prescribe or prohibit absolutely or conditionally; whether a particular action which is not forbidden is nevertheless something that is simply "not done"; whether human beings, always imperfect, must in any particular case actually be punished or whether the offence should blinked. Exceptions to the formal rules are not haphazard. Rather, they are ordered by what may be called implicit norms, or secondary or functional norms. These are as well known and as well established as norms which are explicit and formal. Taken together, the explicit, primary norms and the implicit, secondary norms form the "active norms" of the society. By means of secondary norms, society can come to terms with the social and psychological impossibility of a perfect correspondence between the formal norms of the social structure, invented by men in the interest of social order, and the actions of men confronted by the empirical realities of human existence.

Each society has its own calculus of values by which it establishes its active norms, the norms to be respected verbally but understood to be neither practical nor practised, and the rules of punishment which are to be taken seriously. It will not be possible to understand the life of the women of Burundi without knowing both the formal norms of the social structure and the secondary, functional norms. The life of a Rundikazi is made up of various elements. To reconstruct it, we shall begin with a description of women as members of Rundi society, of which they form an integral part. We shall then describe women in the specifically feminine roles, and we shall conclude with an account of the devices used by women to realize the values of their patriarchal society.

• • •

The Rundi describe their society as a hierarchy ordered by *Imana*, the Supreme Being, who is at its summit. Among human beings, it is the *mwami*, the king, who is superior to all. In the past, there was also Kiranga, the legendary head of a possession cult. He was said to be of approximately the same rank as the *mwami*.[5] Immediately below the king are the *baganwa*, the princes—four generations of the descendents of a king. The *mwami* and the *baganwa* are the rulers of the Rundi. In the traditional system, the power of the *mwami* was defined by his inheritence of absolute royal power and of the entire country, together with all its goods,

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

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[2]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954. 184 113

[3]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi. 184

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help. 564 323

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

WTA 19

241 beginning of the cultivation of the fields as soon as the rainy
782 season has started. This is done after he and his sorcerers (abafumu) have practiced a number of ceremonies and have
[776] offered sacrifices to the principal god, Imana, the fertility god. The order of the head chief is passed on by the subchief to the lower batwale who again pass it on to the Bahutu. The Bahutu also offer small gifts to the god. When they begin to till the field, a sorcerer (umufumu) dances in front of them on the first day, shouting and gesticulating, to banish the evil spirits and to bless the seed.

241 According to Father Gassldinger the consecration of the
782 fields takes a somewhat different form in central Urundi
796 (Mujaga). At the beginning of the rainy season, after the high grass has been cut down and dug into the topsoil with hoes, work is started with a ceremony that is supposed to bring the blessing of Kiranga. [58] The men, painted yellow and red, line up with their hoes on the field which is to be tilled. Kiranga with two escorts (ivisjego) sits on the side of the field. A girl who is painted and richly adorned stands in front of the men in the center of the field. She now begins to jump, dance, and sing while cutting the high grass with her sickle. Still singing, she asks Kiranga for a successful sowing and curses the sorcerers and witches who might want to harm the field. The men promise her ample gifts of beer for the summer. The men walk slowly behind her turning the soil over with their hoes which they strike rhythmically into the ground. Depending on the type of seed, Kiranga is invoked by a particular name: Njamurimi when sorghum is sown, Njabaschi for peanuts, Rumambo for corn, etc. (No. 45, p. 316).

782 The heir presumptive to the throne of the king is believed
241 to hold in his clenched fist at birth a grain of seed of each of the
[649] crops of Urundi. If the corn or sorghum in a field has been dashed to the ground by hail or a cloudburst, the Muhutu who cultivated the plot runs around the field with a cattle bell, and by its noisy clanging he reminds the god to whom he has made sacrifices of his duty to protect the field from evil spirits. If this clanging of the bell is done properly, the crops lying on the ground will raise themselves to an upright position.

794 575 The main reasons for joining the Kubandwa are usually the following: the invitation of a magician; the wish to be cured of a sickness or to be rescued from a difficult situation caused by evil spirits; the intention of obtaining a privileged position of various material advantages of joining the cult society; the fulfillment of a promise or vow made to one's ancestors; the carrying on of a family tradition, etc. Thus, we have motives in all of which the positive principle of utility strongly predominates.

The consequence of joining the Kubwanda [sic] is that the umubandwa ceases to be a member of common humanity; he now belongs to an exalted adoptive family which protects and promotes its members. We might regard it as a kind of Free Masons' Lodge. Through solemn vows the newly admitted members pledge themselves not to betray or violate the secrets of the Kubwanda. If a member should nevertheless do so, the [789] ababandwa curse him, wishing all sufferings on him, and Riangombe carries out the malediction (No. 44, p. 294).

[126] The ceremonies of the Kubandwa, the admission 796 of new members to the society, are accompanied by a great 794 number of formalities; they are identical, however, for Batussi, 575 Bahutu, and Batwa. To the best of my knowledge they correspond in their main outlines to the procedure that is customary in Ruanda which is as follows. First the aspirant (nsigo) informs a sorcerer (umufumu) of his desire to be admitted to the society. Then the abafumu require weeks and months to obtain the spirits' [787] assent by performing all kinds of sorcery: they listen to their "inner voices," they observe floating pieces of butter and wood, they read the entrails of chickens, sheep, water-wagtails, etc. (No. 44, p. 530). During this entire period the candidate is expected to bring the umufumu a series of presents: sheep, goats, beans, iron hoes, even cattle (required of the Batussi). At the same time bananas, meat, pombe beer, and other delicacies must be offered as sacrifices to the spirits in the little sacrificial huts. At last the spirits agree to the admission of the candidate. Then the abafumu choose from their circle a sponsor whose duty it is to introduce the candidate to the ababandwa. The real

794 admission to the order by the society's members is then enacted
575 in the kraal of the candidate. It is accompanied by innumerable
796 formulas, ministrations, invocations of Riangombe, Painting of face and body, eating, drinking, dressing up, handling the sacred spear, alternate chants, and the rattling of bells and gourds. Each of these acts has a symbolic meaning and reference (No. 44, pp. 539-558).

At the end of the ceremony the candidate's sponsor puts
[292] on the insignia of Riangombe (leopard skin, headdress with a cow's tail, etc.) and thereby turns into Riangombe himself who now in his own person performs the ceremony of the admission of the neophyte by a kind of examination and instruction. However, the novice is initiated to no profound secrets or "esoteric wisdom," as in the mysteries of antiquity, but only to ritual formalities, and though the novice is required to make a solemn vow that he will keep the secrets of the Kubandwa, this refers merely to these superficial ceremonies, for, like the other ababandwa, he knows of nothing else. In conclusion, the newly admitted member once more offers presents to Riangombe and to the ababandwa assisting him. Then Riangombe confers
[551] a new name on the novice by which he will be exclusively known in the future; in Ruanda, for example, the name may be "the little one who smashes the stone," or "the one who swallows cream," or "the one who steals from his mother," or "the one who rids the dogs of fleas" (No. 44, p. 870). After this the neophyte is a regular member of the society. Then the ababandwa, decorated with the insignia of their spirits, march through the countryside collecting food which is finally squandered in an eating and drinking bout (No. 44, p. 110). The newly admitted umubandwa then has to give public demonstration of his newly acquired power. A Munjaruanda who finds himself in some difficult situation asks him to help him appeal to Riangombe or some other god or protective spirit (for example, Kiranga, Masira, Binego, Kagoro, Mugassa). This is done by ceremoniously imploring the god to grant the request and by slaughtering in honor of the god a sterile cow, an old steer, or a ram, which is consumed by the ababandwa of the entire region (No. 44, p. 123 ff.). [127] On this occasion, as at all cattle sacrifices,

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. 121). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and
[302] narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women
[301] also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.
575 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[534] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128] Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Riangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
796 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
794 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
575 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word
198 insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
794 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

796
794 Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting
575 for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all
[576] kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured; another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him generous presents of beer and cattle.

Now the dance begins under the direction of a female
796 leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the
794 flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist
575 joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each
535 other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward, sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are accompanied by staggering steps. The dance excites the participants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl leading the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer. Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively applause" (No. 45, 1913).

The women are usually particularly skillful in this role.
796 The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head,
794 which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells.
575 Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome
786 sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred: "All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of participants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

796 bellies" (i.e., like sick cattle). And so it continues with in-
794 numerable wild curses. When the storm has subsided, individ-
575 ual supplicants once more stumble forward in front of the
786 enthroned woman, pay profuse respects to the "king," and request his help in opposing witches and sorcerers who have harmed them. The woman promises this, and with the voice of a fury she calls for a pledge of faith to Kiranga. [129] The ivisjego jump up, and under their leadership and accompanied by the noise of all the instruments and with a thousand curses and screams, a dance is performed, such that in the end everyone is bathed in sweat.

A wild drinking bout by the men and women follows, while they repeatedly scream to Kiranga sitting on the footstool: "Remain on the ruler's throne forever, King of Urundi; Kiranga is king." After that the frantic dancing in rows and the noise continue until the woman representing Kiranga becomes thirsty and surrenders her place to a male successor who is then the host. Naturally, he also is enthroned with tremendous jubilation. In this fashion the drinking and dancing, the invocations of Kiranga, and the curses against enemies continue through the entire night until early morning. Then suddenly the whole group breaks up, and in single file, rattling their bells, they run to the nearest stream where they all wash themselves. With this, the celebration comes to an end, and everyone goes home. From this moment on, none of the participants of the celebration may show any sign of recognizing his companions. The whole Kubandwa must be kept secret. However, the host who last "played" Kiranga belongs from now on among those most privileged and divinely blessed.

796 Since much beer is drunk at these cult festivals and at all
794 other celebrations and it is only available after harvest time,
575 from July to the end of October, all festivals occur exclusively
273 in these months. Every night, especially when there is moonlight, one can hear the noise of drinkers and dancers from the banana groves. Usually they are mere drinking bouts which resound into the night and have no further importance, but often they are cult gatherings of the abandandwa in which only members of the fraternity may participate.

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
569 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

There is another group of persons who maintain close
756 relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with
791 supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person
756 in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

791 as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the
661 entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by
628 law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to
793 officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine
796 services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the
796 important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred
778 in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and
796 the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear"
[411] guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the
[776] point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but
796 one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

•796 expresses the wish that the "ceremony of the sacred spear" be celebrated for his benefit, he invites his friends and the priest (kiranga) of the district along with the latter's spear. The kiranga arrives with two or three male or female assistants (ivisjego), and all the participants in the celebration take their seats in the hut. The priest sits in the middle holding the sacred spear in his hand and wearing a cap made of leopard skin with its tail falling down his back. Each of the assistants holds in his hand a bifurcated branch to whose ends are tied little calabashes, some of which are filled with grains or pebbles. These rattles are shaken in a certain rhythm, and to their accompaniment the entire gathering sings -- in a minor key and andante -- a traditional hymn in the old Kirundi language (see p. 148) which is for the most part unintelligible. The hymn calls on the congregation to praise and glorify the spirits, Kiranga, Rugondo, Riangombe, and others (No. 19, pp. 517 and 292). While they are singing, each person gathers a little straw from the ground and places it as a sacrifice in front of the sacred spear, clapping his hands as a sign of homage, and then directs to the spirit Kiranga, residing in the spear point, a number of requests expressing the wishes of the host. After that the whole party leaves the house with a chant and proceeds to the little spirit hut (ikitabo) close by. Its floor is then covered with fresh straw or grass. After they have returned to the house, the whole gathering is sprinkled with water by the priest (symbol of purification?). At the end all join in drinking the contents of a large jar of "sacrificial beer." This concludes the ceremony, the priest receives his fee (beads, grain, barkcloth, etc.), and everyone goes home. In Ruanda and Uha the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated in a similar fashion (No. 19, p. 518).

796 778 346 There is another ritual at which the priest is regularly asked to officiate: the ceremony of erecting and consecrating the little spirit and sacrifice huts (Plate 18a). There are two different types of these huts: some are dedicated to the gods, Imana, Kiranga, and Riangombe, and are open to the public (ikitabo, akararo); the others are dedicated to the family ancestors and are private (ikigabiro).

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
778 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
782 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
●796 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the an-
769 cestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
769 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
782 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
778 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the
775 neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[462] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
● 796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[778] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

[p.14 (A)]

643 between the various elements of the people; it was
796 supposed to be a large contribution to the land's fertility and the country's welfare, and in all this the part played by the king was prominent.

643 Only in fact was the king's power limited. He
631 transferred the leadership of parts of his sultanates to some chiefs, almost in every case relatives (brothers, uncles, cousins), members of the royal family (*baganwa*). In their turn these would establish subchiefs chosen among their relatives, or the aristocracy (*bafásoni*), or even Batutsi commoners, but seldom among the Bahutu. The division reached very far and the last elements of it were not only single hills, but even parts of a hill. And although the ensuing intrication and divided hierarchy remind us forcibly of our own feudo-vassalic middle ages, and appear consequently most unstable, the Barundi system, if we set aside some violent revolutions, possessed some sort of stability and could carry on thanks to its practically hereditary organization. Chiefs, subchiefs and all who had availed themselves of the deep-seated division of authority were naturally possessed of rights over the common people and were entitled to demand from them various privileges, usually defined by local custom, and which ranged from a present of beer to well-determined contributions or vaguer corvées (services).

423 Some scholars have maintained that the *mwami*
661 definitely had a right of possession over the land of the whole of his sultanate. But the truth is that land was not an object of property for the *mwami* or for commoners and the *mwami* and his representatives simply had to allow its utilization and choose the people to carry it out. Such designations were, just as the political leaderships, more or less unstable, more or less precarious; there exists a heredity in fact; but it is possible for a chief, should he care to do so, to eject the tenants. Besides, the abandoned or untilled lands are at his disposal. The system in general enables members of the leading classes as well as members of the subject classes to constitute estates with the only difference that the former will possess large herds of cattle and have their lands tilled by people liable to unpaid service while the latter have only very few cows and must depend on their own labour and that of their families.

The political leader's say in agricultural matters also solves the difficult problem of proportioning field and pasture-lands. The chief will not allow the latter to be reduced, and the threat to the cattle-breeder is further avoided by the chief's right to use the sorghum fields for pastures after the harvest (*ibishaka-shaka*) either for themselves or for others.

423 The territory of an important chief, with its intermixing complex of herds, estates, revenues, and services, very often extended over large, sometimes

[p.14 (8)]

173 Under Ndahiro-Chyamatara, twenty-fifth in the royal lineage, the Batutsi star suffered a pronounced eclipse. The reign of this prince ended in disaster. His death is the subject of a long narrative which is recounted in the "History of Ruganzu's Reign" /Book III, not translated/. According to that episode, he sought death of his own accord in the Bugoyi forest. According to another version which seems more likely, he died at Russokovu in the Bugamba where he is said to have fallen, weapons in hand, in the course of an ill-starred expedition against the inhabitants of the area whom he apparently wished to subjugate. The region was known thereafter as the "hammer-cursed land" (i Rubi rw'inyundo), meaning that the weapons wrought with hammers produced unfortunate results in that area since they caused the death of the king and the elite of his men. It is believed that [796] the annual June mourning observed at the capital (igichurassi) is held [769] in memory and commemoration of this tragic occurrence.

This defeat had baneful consequences for the /86/ Hamitic kingdom, which until then had made continual headway in the interior of the land. Legend and tradition have drawn the picture on the dark side by stressing the tragic events.

A certain Nsibura, chief of the Banyabyinshi, who lived to the southwest of Ruanda, overran the land as a conqueror, subjugating everyone, on his path. The kingdom's misfortunes had no end, say the bards, until the day when the son and successor of the hapless prince, Ruganzu II Ndori, claimed his ancestral throne by force of arms.

Following the disaster which took the life of his father, the young prince had fled to the court of the King of Karagwe, where he was raised by his paternal aunt, the Queen. Upon his return to Ruanda, circumstances were kind to him.

His chief opponent, Nsibura, had just died in the Bugessera forest of an accident dramatized by legend. His energetic and determined character helped him a great deal in his undertakings. Ruganzu greatly expanded the boundaries of the kingdom left to him by his ancestors. No one did more than he for the unity of the monarchy.

The last autochthonous petty kings who had weathered the Hamitic invasion were subjugated by him. The Bugara beyond the

794 reason gather myriapods (centipedes) which he must dry in the sun and
796 then string up and wear as a badge when he goes begging for sorghum
[625] or banana bunches in the course of ritual processions.

The disciples of Ryangombe also honor the memory of the master's mother, whose role was rather insignificant to judge by the legend.

Ntamutimuchumyi is mentioned only to state that he was the cause of Ryangombe's first misfortunes, for he was about to dishonor him by depriving him of his property and his rights. He was eventually killed for the sake of the general /368/ welfare and honor by Binego, who arrived at the most critical moment. The name of Ntamutimuchunyi /sic/ is synonymous with felony and treachery.

As for Nkonjo, the slave, she personifies cowardice and coarseness. She is mentioned only with scorn (1).

1. Cf. Book V, "The Legend of Ryangombe," /not translated/.

794 To designate the master's hunting dogs, initiates avail them-
552 selves of appellations and epithets replete with allusions. Some of them recall the abilities of these animals, others the qualities and defects of human beings. The names of the following animals are readily mentioned:

1. "The (serious) man who never laughs at his fellowman" (Ntamugab' usek' undi).

2. "He who preserves (as a careful owner) a store of smoked meat" (Nyamubikan' umuranz' uruguma).

3. "He who pays the bride price for a girl whose family did not raise her properly" (Bakoska batahana).

4. "The pot-herb which is so odorous, although it is not yet ripe, that it causes people to eat up (at one blow) all the butter in the house" (Urunyegeri rutoto).

5. "Her mother knows her well (including all her faults), so she will make no effort to argue with her because she knows that her daughter is incorrigible" (Nyina aramuzi, ntazamumpora).

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
766 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
821 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824 umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783] avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

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Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose [422] property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of [539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning [833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered [302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

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231 The purifier-sorcerer need not be present at this last ceremony.
821 Their role and presence were essential only on the day of purification. They always come away with handsome rewards, leaving on the spot protective herbs or lucky amulets (impigi za Biheko).

753 3. In some localities individuals also resort to these doctors in mystical sciences upon the death of a leper or the burning of a hut.
783 a. The natives have an acute aversion to contagious diseases and especially to leprosy. Once the unfortunate victim of one of those terrible diseases is dead, the purifier-sorcerer is called in to carry out various ceremonies. He tosses lustral water upon the hut of the deceased, and finally sets fire to it. The onlookers run far away in order to avoid the smoke, as though it could transmit the disease of the deceased owner.

In the central province of Nduga, the sorcerer has a small hut built in which he places the son of the deceased. With one hand he sets fire to the hut, while with the other he rapidly snatches the child out of it.

The leprosy is supposed to have vanished forever, and henceforth no other member of the family will become its victim. The sorcerer vouches for this. /440/

b. In order to avoid the evils which might befall the owner of a hut that has burned or even his neighbors, the same sorcerer is resorted to. He makes his clients drink the liquid mentioned previously.

The site of the hut is sprinkled with lustral water, and the bystanders are also sprinkled with it.

Three reeds stuck into the ground and covered with banana leaves make an improvised hut in which the owner and his wife must stay for an instant (baryamana). The evil spell has been lifted. Henceforth, nothing is to be feared (bamaz' umuriro or bamaze ishyano, that is to say, "they have warded off all misfortune"). The diseases which might have afflicted those present at the accident and their unborn children have been averted forever.

791 In the Bugoyi, to the northeast of Lake Kivu, the role of protector against fire and its deadly consequences is the prerogative of a special category of sorcerers known by the title of Abahozi or

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home, on the advice of his familiars, in a hut that stood nearby. The sorcerers assured him that he had nothing more to fear on the part of the spirits, who had been given full satisfaction by means of this trick.

643 Upon the accession of each new king to the throne, a special envoy went to the Ruzizi Valley and drew water from a spring called Zina. He took some of that water and brought it for the young monarch to drink.

The reasons for this custom, which has now fallen into disuse, have been forgotten.

Chapter 6

I. The Two Great Festivals at Court

644 The two most important celebrations (ibirori) take place at the official presentation of the "First Fruits," and on the day following 796 the annual mourning period, which the king and his court must observe.

This latter feast, which closes the month of June, is celebrated with the same pomp and richness. Since it will be described in the chapter dealing with honors rendered to the spirits of the royal dead, we shall discuss here only the festival called "First-Fruits" festival.

In their enthusiasm and admiration for Ruganzu II, the 173 Victorious, the Banyarwanda go so far as to credit him with almost [824] every food plant or grain they possess. Special mention is made of sorghum, eleusine, and a kind of wild plant /499/ known by the name of issogi (1), owing to their importance in the local economy.

173 with beans. Ruganzu was pleased with the discovery and congratulated the cook. He was shown a few of the plants, and he had some of their seeds gathered.

Others add that the woman in question presented him on the same occasion with the first sorghum bread he had ever seen, hence the thought of introducing the cultivation of that grain plant into his kingdom.

Whatever the authenticity of these details may be, the truth 796 is that the "first fruits" festival (umuganura, kuganuz' umwami) is celebrated every year at the capital to commemorate the introduction of sorghum, eleusine, and the spinach-like plant into Ruanda. It was usually celebrated in February or March for eleusine, and in May for sorghum; to each occasion the famous plant was added. Over the last few years, eleusine, sorghum, and spinach have been brought at one time to the capital for a single ceremony. In the Bumbogo a special family is in charge of cultivating the field where the grain destined for the court is harvested.

This function is transmitted from father to son. At sowing time the appointed keeper of the field goes and asks the king for the hoe that will be used to break the ground.

When this envoy appeared at court, the king was supposed to have him struck three times, according to custom.

The reason for this curious practice is unknown.

The man left with his hoe during the night. Once the harvest /501/ was concluded, the same people /sic/ returned to the capital to fetch the special basket (igitenda ch' imikondo) in which the sorghum or eleusine was carried. The basket was placed on a litter [661] (ingobyi). Those who walked in the procession enjoyed the privilege of robbing and looting the people they found along the way.

The story tells that they did not hesitate to make use of this 796 privilege in the old days, but that for some time things had improved, 661 and with good reason. The chiefs whose territory they crossed at night were compelled to treat them well because they were the king's men. Needless to add, they were always ready to indulge in revelry when the opportunity arose. Once arrived at the capital they were allowed by custom, it seems, to handle the Batutsi roughly and to

796 throw cow bones into their face. This is no longer the case, and
661 times have changed for the better. An evolution of ideas has taken place under European influence. Since these men are no longer inviolate, their behavior has necessarily become less brutal.

They were immediately received by the king, who asked them
796 into his hut to the exclusion of his usual entourage. The great chief of the Bumbogo (umutware w' intebe), of the Batsobe clan, alone came in with the king. It was he who officially presented the first fruits to the sovereign. Precautions were taken so that no one might come near the grain destined for the king. Carefully selected slaves or servant girls threshed the stalks at night far from all unhallowed glances. Then they had the task of crushing the grain before the eyes of the monarch. They worked with the most meticulous cleanliness, that is to say, without spitting into their hands or touching the flour with their unhallowed fingers.

Princes and dignitaries live in perpetual fear of poisoning and spells, hence the numerous measures /502/ and strict watchfulness observed in these circumstances. When enough flour had been obtained to make bread (umutsima), another slave girl took it and immediately prepared it.

The dough was ceremoniously taken to the king, who removed a piece from it with his fingers. He brought it first to his forehead, then to his chest, and then took it to his mouth. The chief who was present did the same. This ceremony was carried out in silence. The men who had brought the first fruits also offered the monarch some stalks of issogi, which is, as we have seen, one of the most important plants (imbuto nkuru).

[262] It must be remembered that the Banyarwanda cannot eat sorghum bread or eleusine bread alone because it is too dry.

They usually eat it, therefore, with a mouthful of beans cooked along with this sort of spinach. The latter lends the beans a flavor which is highly esteemed by the natives. This is what gave the plant a choice place among other foods.

796 It was customary for the men who had taken part in the pro-
264 cession to be rewarded. A bucket (umuvule) was filled with milk, and another with beans that were only half cooked.

•796 These were topped with rancid butter as though it were a special
264 treat.

The intended goal was to stuff the bearers of the first fruits.

The poorly cooked food was digested slowly, and meanwhile the eaters proved to the spectators, with their rounded stomachs, that they had been treated royally (ngo n' ishimo).

It is said that in the old days the guests were not allowed to leave the royal enclosure without having finished their Pantagruelic repast. They ate before the amused eyes of a delirious crowd which plied them with jeers and gibes. Nor were they allowed /503/ to leave the premises in order to relieve nature. "As a result," add the narrators, "the court looked more like a stable."

Yet the guests could consider themselves fortunate if their appetite was not stimulated with blows. It seems that at the present time these customs have lost some of their grotesque and brutal character.

Not only did the court familiars and neighboring inhabitants take part in those festivities, but so did the great chiefs and their retinues. Sacrifices followed upon dances and shows given by clowns and snake charmers.

There was also the presentation of the sacred cows (inyambo), which was to many people the most important part of the festivities. To those who know the Batutsi as professional herders, there is nothing surprising about this part of the program.

II. The Existence and Presentation of Sacred Herds

233 In speaking of sacred cows, our study would remain incomplete if we were not to say a few words about the attachment which the Banyarwanda, Bahutu, and Hamites demonstrate for their cattle.

Cows are cherished by everyone, without exception. Meticulous and often ridiculous care is lavished upon them. The Blacks of Ruanda stop at nothing to obtain cattle. A Muhutu /Bahutu/ will fawn upon his chief for many years, if necessary, in order to obtain one. He will bear the inclemencies of the seasons, undertake long journeys, perform endless drudgery, and sacrifice his crops to

764 resting place for several important members of this clan.

Other Banyiginya were buried in Urundi and in the Bugessera province, which borders on that country. The dead sons of Musinga, who number at least five or six, rest there in their last sleep.

The deceased are usually buried in a hut. In the Budaha, the owner of a hut that served as a Mwega's tomb cannot leave the dwelling until about a year later. He is forced to remain there to prevent sorcerers from digging up the body.

769 there are several, is dedicated to a spirit in whose honor they marry a woman whom they later keep or discard, depending on their whims and fancies.

Well-off Bahutu attempt to imitate the great, but their huts [343] are usually few in number. So as not to be inferior to those they emulate in their superstitions, they build around their dwelling several tiny huts (indaro) which often consist merely of two or three sticks planted in the ground and barely bound at the top by a small band. /539/

4. The Annual Mourning Period of Fifteen Days in the Month of June, Which Ends With an Important Celebration

765 The famous annual mourning period of 15 days takes place
769 during the last fortnight of the lunar month called by the native name
of Gichurassi, which corresponds approximately to our month of June.
766 In principle the king alone is supposed to go into mourning, but the whole court joins him for the sake of solidarity. At that time, the

765 prince must cast aside his ornaments and retain only ordinary clothes.
769 No marriage ceremony may take place. Games and dances are prohibited. Among the drums, only the Ndamutsa is heard around
796 nine o'clock in the morning.

When the mourning period is nearly over, the chiefs have beer brought in from various parts of Ruanda in preparation for the closing celebration (gukur' igichurassi, "to chase away the month of mourning"). On the eve of the day appointed for the festivities, the small drum (ishako) is heard at four different times during the night to herald the great solemn occasion. At dawn other instruments join in. Joyous shouts rise on all sides and the crowd rushes to the huge esplanade where the festival is to take place.

Continuous dancing follows, with pages and other specialists participating. The members of the Ryangombe secret society, their faces smeared with white, observe their usual ceremonies. Sacrifices are offered.

The sacred cows appear on the square and contribute in no small way to the original character of the festivities. Needless to say, beer flows freely.

As for finding out in whose honor the mourning is held, this is no easy matter. The chroniclers do not agree on this score. /540/

Some say that it is held in honor of all kings; others add that it is held in honor of a queen whose name has been forgotten. The majority state that it is observed in memory of Ndahiro.

The latter's death is said to have occurred precisely during the month of Gichurassi and in the circumstances we have already mentioned. We leave it to better informed people to cut those Gordian knots.

644 of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies
805 he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the
[183] herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon.
[533] They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great
644 feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

805 The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298] Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

771 Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

769 Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda
17 as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

643 534 The symbol of kingship was Kalinga, the sacred drum. To possess this drum meant to be king. Kalinga was regularly sprinkled with the blood of the animals used for divination. Around Kalinga were hung the genitals of Ruanda enemies killed by the bami. Kalinga was never beaten but other drums were beaten in its honour as they were beaten for the king.[25]

(*b*) *The queen-mother*

644 It was essential that the role of queen-mother (*umugabekasi*) should always be fulfilled. If the mwami's mother's death occurred when her son was still living, he had to be given another 'mother'. The queen-mother had no special task, but she shared the royal prerogatives. She lived at the king's capital where she had her own court, and her protection was eagerly sought. She had herds of cattle and clients. But her role should not be regarded as independent of that of the king.

It can be said that the same kingship was realized by two persons at the same time, without any division of responsibilities or privileges. This was expressed by the term often used to designate together the mwami and his mother: the kings (*abami*). In that partnership the king, however, kept a predominant position: when he died, his mother completely lost her powers.

(*c*) *The biru*

645 [1193] The *biru* did not constitute a council or a board. They were dignitaries with different tasks and very strictly ranked in a fixed hierarchy. Their activities, however, in common were concerned [1196] with the preservation of ritual knowledge and the accomplishment of ceremonies essential to the existence of Ruanda and its government. This knowledge and activities were kept secret from everybody who was not a *muiru* (singular of *biru*).

[643] *Biru* were under the king's authority in the sense that he could create new offices of *muiru* and he could dismiss one of them who had been disloyal. The royal control was limited to this. It was really the minimum without which *biru* would have been completely independent of the mwami. The offices were hereditary and even when a *muiru* had been dismissed one of his sons succeeded him. As we have seen previously, their domains were exempt from any interference of the land- or cattle-chief.

[25] Vanhove, 1951, pp. 88 f. See the series of photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The most important *biru* were the three to whom the king communicated the name of his successor and the recommendations he wanted them to transmit to the new king later. There were about a dozen main *biru* offices. These important *biru* had assistants from their lineages, prospective successors whom they gradually trained in order that the oral traditions should not be lost. 645 61

Biru had to memorize secret rules, governing for instance the order according to which queens would be chosen from different descent groups, the ritual to observe in case of spreading of cattle disease, lack of abundance of rain, warlike ceremonies, celebrations of the sorghum harvests, &c. [196]

The *biru* institution safeguarded the interests of the great Tutsi descent groups. This function appears clearly in the determination made for several reigns in advance of the secondary lineages and clans from which the queens should be successively chosen. The *biru*, as representatives of their kinship groups had, as it were, established the order in which the interests of different clans and lineages would be favoured in turn.

No one *mwiru* knew the entire body of customs. That knowledge was divided into parts, the remembering of each being entrusted to a *mwiru*, that is to say a descent group, as the office was hereditary. In this way it may be said that the exclusive knowledge of a part of the most important Ruanda ritual had become almost the property of each great Tutsi descent group.

A second function of the *biru* institution was to secure the continuity and the prevalence of the tradition which could have been endangered by the very considerable powers of the king. That traditional body was not unlike a constitution in a modern state and the *biru* institution could be said to have had a role similar to that of a supreme court judging whether a new rule is compatible with the fundamental charter of the country. Of course they had explicitly neither such a task nor such institutionalized means to prevent the mwami from establishing new rules, but the disapproval of an innovation by the *biru* was not to be taken lightly as they represented the great Tutsi kinship groups. [642]

To assess more exactly the function of this institution, one should know more about it. The present day *biru* are still very reluctant to provide information and still less to let it be published, in spite of the encouragement to do so that they receive from the king.[36]

[36] See Kagame, 1947a.

Chapter 1

Survey of Land People (1)

(Cf. the map [colored in the original] at the end of the book.)

114 1. Part of this chapter is taken from a lecture which I gave at the 19th German Geographers' Conference in Strasbourg in the spring of 1914.

1. The Land Urundi

131 In the extreme west of German East Africa lies one of the regions of Africa least known until now: Urundi. To the north it borders on Ruanda, to the east on Ussuwi and Uha, to the south also on Uha, to the west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Since Urundi has an area of almost 29,000 square kilometers, i.e., approximately twice that of the Kingdom of [161] Saxony, and since it has over one and a half million inhabitants (according to van der Burgt, around two and a half million), it deserves attention for this reason alone. However, although 648 it has been German territory for over 25 years, we know little about it. Because of the recalcitrance of its population, the government had almost completely closed off the area to travel from the outside, and until 1911 political influence was limited to the establishment of a station with a resident and a company of colonial troops in Usumbura on Lake Tanganyika. It was not until 1912 that the seat of government was moved on a trial basis to Gitega in the interior of the region.

648 Oskar Baumann in 1812 was the first European who •797 traveled through northern Urundi to the source of the Nile on the upper Ruvuvu. There followed then between 1896 and 1898 several military expeditions by colonial army officers, Ramsay, von Trotha, Langheld, von Langenn-Steinkeller, Fonck, and Dr. Kandt; and between 1896 and 1899 the Catholic Mission of

648 the "White Fathers" founded the stations of Usumbura (later
[797] moved to Marienheim), Mujaga, and Mugera in central Urundi. However, this advance of the Europeans was met with hostility by the Barundi [Rundi], so that from 1900 on German colonial troops under their leaders, Bethe, von Beringe, and von Grawert, had to contend with Kisabo, the king of Urundi, whereupon the Barundi finally recognized the sovereignty of the Germans. This recognition, however, is only nominal, for our power there is much too small to permit the establishment of a German administration in Urundi as yet.

114 Under such circumstances the exploration of Urundi could make no substantial progress. Ethnology alone has been advanced to a high degree by Father J. M. M. van der Burgt, who for many years was active in Urundi as a missionary and published the results of his excellent ethnological studies in Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi which appeared in 1903 through the Dutch Missionary Publishing House at Bois le Duc. The extremely extensive ethnological and ethnographical data, however, are so interspersed in this book with all kinds of historical and [2] linguistic digressions that it is difficult to extract and methodically collate the ethnological data of scientific value.

In view of this situation I decided to devote part of my 1911 expedition to the investigation of Urundi. Therefore, I worked there for a few months, sufficient time to obtain an over-all view which I have endeavored to supplement, as far as possible, by inquiries, correspondence, and other kinds of studies. Setting out from Ruanda in the northwest, I first crossed the northwestern mountain region, the "Mountains of the Moon" with my two companions, Lieutenant Tiller and Dr. Houy, then descended to the great central African depression into the valley of the Ruzizi, then crossed in dugouts the northern end of Lake Tanganyika to the residency, Usumbura, and thereupon traveled through the whole of central Urundi from west to east in a month and further through northern Uha and the Ussumbwa states, until finally, at Tabora, I reached the central railroad by which I traveled to Dar es Salaam.

241 In spite of all this, the Barundi do not grow more crops
433 than they need for their subsistence during the year. The soil
[134] is, for the most part, fertile red earth and, in the valley plains, dark gray alluvial soil or humus, except in the sterile and stony quartzite regions of the east. With or without artificial irrigation, this soil could produce much more if a larger area were cultivated. This is prevented mainly by the absence of trade. [56] Since there are neither markets nor organized trade in the large area of central Urundi -- only the Tanganyika region possesses both -- the Murúndi could do nothing with what he produced beyond his own needs. Moreover, the Murundi does not anticipate bad harvests. Like nearly all Negroes, he never worries about the future. Since not even the hardy manioc
731 (which, even in the driest years when everything else withers, still furnishes a good yield) is grown in large quantities, extensive areas are plagued by famine in poor harvest years. This is especially true of the arid quartzite regions of eastern Urundi.
[797] Then the missionary stations (Mugera, Mujaga, and others) and the government try to help by importing grain (sorghum) from Uha and Usámbiro, but they still cannot prevent many people, particularly children, from starving to death.

Another important reason that prevents further expansion
241 of agriculture can be found in the way land is owned, in the
423 overruling power of the Batussi who claim, above all, grazing land for their herds of cattle. We shall discuss this problem later (p. 57).

Various efforts are made to protect the growing crops
241 against pests. Weeds are cleared away; caterpillars, beetles,
136 and snails are picked off; birds are frightened away by scarecrows which, for example, are made of gallows-shaped sorghum stalks tied one upon the other with dry, rattling fruit suspended from them. Large animals, however, like the wild boars and baboons in the mountains of western Urundi, are either kept out by fences or chased away by watchmen who walk around in the daytime and at night take up their positions in small huts perched on high posts. From there the guards from time to time set up a loud shouting or rattle with sticks. In the valleys of western

482 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child
784 who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic conceptions.

3. Missions

797 The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the
563 main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave," the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the [139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons, and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.
797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men (abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and organizations form a network over the entire land. Although
797 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years
735 in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor
737 and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van
888 der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives" No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.

797 For all these national, social, and political reasons, the Batussi would also reject Islam if at some time in the future it should attempt to gain a foothold in this country which so far has been hardly accessible to foreign penetration. The memory of the battles they fought against Arab slave hunters only intensifies the Murundi's rejection of it.

The missionaries, however, continue their work untiringly in spite of little expectation of spreading the gospel among the Barundi as long as the Batussi remain the rulers. Such idealism and firmness of belief is indeed admirable. For many years only the Catholic "White Fathers" were active in this area. In 1896 they founded the first mission in Mujaga (east Urundi; Plate 29b), and later they opened other missions in Mugera (central Urundi), Marienberg (west Urundi), Mariensee (north-eastern Urundi). The Protestant Neudettelsbach Mission began its activity in Iruwura (northwest Urundi) only in 1910. The founding of a second mission in northwest Urundi followed in 1912.

Due to the predominantly negative attitude of the Barundi, 797 very little cultural work has been accomplished of the kind 177 which prepares for and accompanies actual missionary work: teaching basic school subjects, guidance in handicrafts, the spread of innovations in agriculture and stockbreeding. The medical activity of the missionaries seems still to be more efficacious than anything else in winning the confidence of the people.

In the Batussi states of Ruanda and Uha which have been inaccessible to the outside world for such a long time, the position is the same. On the other hand, the adjoining areas of Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Ihangiro, where the people are less divided by differences of caste and race and where there is no strict Batussi rule, have been open to foreign influences for a much longer period and there the work of the missionaries has been far more successful. Only time can tell whether the prospects for Christianization will also improve in Urundi. Most probably this will come about once the power of the Batussi rulers has been destroyed.

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137

Sacred Grove (Imana) in Central Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

346
797

Church at the Mujaga Missionary Station, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

173 His reign, being recent, is well known, and the tale of his expeditions is still to be heard from the lips of those of his contemporaries who survived him. His popularity is almost equal to that of his grandfather Ruganzu II, whose deeds and actions, badly distorted by legend as they are, have been preserved and are still the subject of many a fireside conversation. Lwabugiri's shifts of mood were most interesting. [797] His revenges, like his bloodthirsty whims, were short lived. He would raise the children of his victims and adopt young captives for whom he took a fancy, shower them with wealth, and admit them into his family.

His immediate successor, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, barely remained on the throne for a year. He was overthrown by Kabale, the most powerful chief of the Hamitic Bega clan.

So as not to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, the vanquished king took his own life. Mussinga, one of Lwabugiri's youngest sons, was immediately enthroned under the name of Yuhi IV.

Through his mother Kanjogera, he was a nephew of the ambitious Kabale, who was regent before the young prince came of age. The Banyiginya clan, from which the royal family is issued and which had until then wielded a preponderant influence at court, was stripped of its property. The most outstanding chiefs of the vanquished party were relentlessly killed by the Bega people, who divided the government of the provinces among themselves over the corpses of their victims. The Bega men, embittered because they had been kept away from public affairs, were avenging once and for all the inferior position in which they felt /93/ they had been held for such a long time by their rivals.

One may ask whether Kabale when he gave his nephew the royal name of Yuhi did not do so intentionally.

643 173 551 Two categories of kings are distinguished: warrior kings and peaceful kings (from the verb guteka, "to sit." (1))

1. The same verb guteka also means "to cook" (kupika in Kiswahili).

The name which is given to them on the day of their enthronement binds and commits them throughout their reign to a certain course of

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber short-
372 age is a very important economic problem. In some places wood must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

245 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have
●197 begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation
554 a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C.T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

563 582 614 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara Iwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities,[1] and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

572 608 [243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it 572 seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is con- 608 nected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. 628 This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

695 The last two allegations imply that sad consequences could result if a person expresses intentions that are hostile to the king. The person making the statement publicly announces that if he told a lie he would willingly suffer persecution for threatening the sacred person of the king. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, who could probably set a record for lying, use this phrase constantly.

In doubtful cases where the testimony of witnesses is not at hand or is not sufficiently credible, as well as in cases where the use of sorcery is suspected, the poison test (kihango) is resorted to. The poison test is conducted by the babandwa [members of secret societies who conduct ceremonies].

In Kissaka the poison is dissolved in water and handed to both parties in two cow horns. This gives the mubandwa an opportunity to influence the outcome directly and to use his own judgment in determining the guilty one. Although this makes it very easy for a person to misuse the poison test, the people of Kissaka be-
[147] lieve in it. Even the Christians do, in spite of the otherwise very great influence of the mission. The poison test seldom results in death in Ruanda, for the person taking it can immediately spit and vomit. The poison is not always drunk, for not infrequently the mubandwa is satisfied to dip his thumb into the poison and stick it into the mouth of the person, who may immediately expectorate. In such cases the effect is purely a psychological one. [285] Father L. Classe, who lived in the country seven years, never heard of a death caused by the poison test.

Another very important form of evidence is testimony from the entrails of chickens killed for this purpose. We shall discuss this somewhat more fully below in connection with religious practices.

Quite independent of the chicken oracle, there is a chick oracle that is conducted in the following way. The accused takes a very small chick and carries it in his hand a whole day. If
[822] the chick dies, the man is guilty, yiera bura (he is black). If the chick does not die, the man is innocent, yeira [sic] bwera (he is white). A very strange color association for the Negro world (see page 145).

All forms of evidence and allegation, such as the poison test, the chicken oracle, the spear oath, and the Musinga oath, are

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

gives a density of 235·8 per square mile or 91·9 per square kilometre.[13] This density is among the highest in Africa, south of the Sahara.[14] What may we infer from these figures as regards the population at the beginning of this century? According to the available statistics for the last fifteen years, when the circumstances are favourable the yearly increase of Ruanda population may reach three per cent. This increased ratio could hardly have been maintained over the whole of the last fifty years, mainly because the 'favourable circumstances' refer to medical amenities, new hygienic practices and the reduction of famine. Such conditions were by no means prevalent when the Europeans occupied the country in 1899.[15] Even since 1935, however, events have not always been favourable, as for three years (1941–2–3) there was a decrease of population due to a severe scarcity of food. Consequently it seems safe to assume that during the decades preceding the European occupation, the population was already very dense. According to Captain Bethe, it numbered about 2,000,000 in 1899.[16] In 1907, Czekanowski estimated the Ruanda population at approximately 1,710,000.[17]

According to a detailed survey made by the Department of Agriculture, there are about 60,000 to 70,000 families (out of a total of about 380,000 families) more than can be adequately fed by the country.[18] There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there

[13] There is a census for the male and able-bodied adults who are taxpayers. To obtain the total number of the population (females, old people, and children) the number of taxpayers in each administrative district is multiplied by a certain coefficient which is determined in each case by a sample-census of a few hills.

[14] For comparative purposes, there are a few density figures for some African territories according to present political boundaries: Uganda: 52·8 per square mile; Tanganyika: 20·7; Belgian Congo: 12·9; Nigeria: 92·0; Sierra Leone: 66·5. All these figures, taken from Hailey, 1957, p. 143, refer to the years 1948-52.

[15] Captain Bethe, a German officer, obtained from the king in 1899 Ruanda's acceptance of the Imperial Government's protection. There was no treaty, only an oral agreement which was followed by a permanent occupation by the German authorities. The first Christian mission was established in 1900, at Isavi, by the White Fathers. Belgian troops took possession of Ruanda during the First World War in 1916. The Belgian occupation of Ruanda-Urundi was confirmed by the Orts-Milner Agreement in 1919. In 1924, Belgium agreed to administer Ruanda-Urundi under the supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Ruanda-Urundi became a United Nations Organisation Trusteeship Territory administered by Belgium. Cf. Jentgen, 1947, pp. 9-11, 83-9

[16] Quoted by Czekanowski, 1917, p. 109 n. [17] See Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114.

[18] This study is based on an estimate of the optimum cultivated area needed by a family, the quality of the soil being taken into account. A similar method has been used in the case of cattle. Cf. Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, pp. 343-7.

805 201 with their outstretched hand. They also do this when they wish to indicate the length of a trip or the distance between two places. Specific expressions are used for the following times of day: first crowing of the cock, first signs of daybreak, dawn, time of the awakening of the birds, rising of the sun, time between noon and evening, beginning of dusk, sundown, nightfall, bedtime, midnight, very late, very early. The concept for "week" is unknown.

802 201 When counting and reckoning (kuharura) the Murundi uses the fingers of one or both hands; he does not use his toes or his feet. Like all Bantu Negroes, the Barundi count by placing together or bending a certain number or group of fingers. They thus employ the decimal system. In the Bantu language the numbers from one to ten are: one, umwe; two, iwili; three, itatu; four, inne; five, itano; six, itantlatu; seven, indwi; eight, umunane; nine, tschjenda; ten, tschjumi. Frequently, however, one may hear them count by using combinations of numbers with five, i.e., 6 = 5 + 1, 7 = 5 + 2, 8 = 5 + 3, 9 = 5 + 4. The number of fingers on one hand is thus the arithmetical unit which, as a closed fist, is always used for calculations. Individual numbers are indicated with the fingers in the following manner: one, outstretched index finger of the right hand with the other fingers bent inward; two, outstretched index finger and middle finger with the other fingers bent; three, outstretched index finger, middle finger, and ring finger with the other fingers bent; four, all fingers of a hand, except the thumb, outstretched; five fist formed with the right hand; six, fist formed with the right hand touched by the outstretched little finger of the left hand; seven, fist formed with the right hand touched with the little finger and ring finger of the left hand; eight, fist formed with the right hand touched with the little finger, ring finger, and middle finger of the left hand; nine, fist formed by the right hand and touched with the little finger, ring finger, middle finger, and index finger of the left hand; ten, two fists placed together. In order to indicate eleven, the fists are beaten together once and then the index finger of the

802 right hand is stretched out to indicate one, etc., up to nine-
201 teen. To indicate twenty, thirty, forty, the fists are beaten together two, three, or four times while counting: two tens (amatschjumi awili), three tens (amatschjumi atatu), etc. There are no specific numbers above ten (No. 19, pp. 114-115).

If in practical life the Murundi has to calculate with
802 objects, for example, when buying a certain number of sweet potatoes or manioc or beads, he divides the objects in groups of five, then piles two such groups of five together, and then adds the two, three, or four tens, etc. [147] A Murundi will hardly ever count above 100; he will always try to visualize the amounts by dividing them into separate groups, for example, when counting cattle or the warriors or subjects of a mutwale.

The Murundi does not have a number for describing the concept of "much" or "very much," as, for instance, the figure 40 among the Turkic peoples or 600 among the Romans; he expresses "much, many" with the Bantu word inschi (Swahili, ingi).

3. Language

197 All Barundi speak the same Bantu idiom, Kirundi. This is true of the original Batwa inhabitants as well as of the Bahutu who settled in the area later, and also of the most recent Hamitic conquerors, the Batussi. Kirundi belongs to the agglutinative languages; its structure is the same as that of all Bantu languages. Its distribution covers the entire interlacustrine region. It is spoken in Urundi and, with dialectal variations, in Ruanda, Uha (Ujungu, Uschingu, Heru, Uruguru) and in Ujiji. The idioms spoken in Usindja, Ussuwi, and Karagwe, i.e., Kisindja, Kimueri, and Kinjambo, are very similar to Kirundi, and the languages spoken in Uganda and Unjoro are closely related to it (No. 19, p. 329). Many Kirundi words, mainly for governmental and administrative institutions and religious customs, can also be found in the Kinjamwesi dialects, such as Kissumbwa, Kirwana, Kisukuma, and Kitakama. The religious
198 secret societies (Waswesi, Batschwesi) of these peoples make

436 An elongated, violet bead, with white stripes, inganga, is more valuable: one inganga bead equals one kete of samsam beads. Still more valuable are the thick white amaguru beads; a double necklace of these is valued at 10 kete of samsam beads. In addition to these, there are, especially in the lake region, medium-sized blue beads and reddish and white ones with a lacquer-like sheen, also large spindle-shaped white beads with red circles, and others. All these types, however, do not have a fixed monetary value, [77] like those mentioned above; their exchange value fluctuates. Yellow, green, and black beads are not accepted anywhere.

435 Naturally, the available stock of beads and the law of supply and demand also determine the value of the "monetary" beads. In general, these were the rates of exchange which formerly applied in the interior: 5 bananas = 1 heller, 1 bunch of about 20 bananas = 1 kete, more than 2 double handfuls of flour = 1 kete, 1 handful of salt = 1 kete, 1 pot of beer = 3 kete, 1 iron hoe = 6 kete, 1 pot of honey = 1 ifundo, 1 goat = 3 ifundo, 1 sheep = 4 ifundo, 1 bull = 5 to 10 ingoje, 1 cow = 20 ingoje. At present, one goat costs as much as 3 to 4 rupees in the interior, and all other prices have risen proportionately.

439 435 Cotton material which was formerly strictly banned by the chiefs is now accepted eagerly in the interior. The most popular brand is the ordinary white "amerikani" of which 1 gora of 30 ells [an ell is between 55 and 80 centimeters] is valued at approximately 12 rupees in the interior. The "lesso" or "kanga," printed materials with brown patterns which are popular in Ruanda, are gradually being introduced all over Urundi.

804 The double handful (kumaschi) or, on the markets, a pumpkin shell of equal capacity is the generally accepted dry measure for flour, grain, beans, etc. Larger items, like manioc roots, sweet potatoes, bananas etc., are sold by the 804 piece. There are no domestic weights. The farsalah (35 pounds 177 Brit.) used all over East Africa since Arab times has only been

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461]

1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

2. Chronometry, Counting, Arithmetic

821 The astronomical observations and knowledge of the Barundi are very meager. To them the sun (isuba) is only the wandering fire of Imana, the principal god. They believe that when the sun goes down in the west it falls into the hands of the Wabemba. The Wabemba, however, are cannibals and eat the sun, except for a small piece which escapes them and returns to the east where it once more grows to its full size and rises again in the morning (No. 19, p. 53).

In the minds of the Barundi the moon (ukwesi) is of greater importance, for it is by the regularly recurring phases of the moon that they measure the time. The moon is a male (or hermaphroditic?) being; the evening star is his favorite wife; the other stars are his children and servants; the stars of the "Great Bear" are his concubines; and those of Orion are his oldest sons (No. 19, p. 54). As among all Negroes, the appearance of the first crescent after new moon is greeted with jubilation, but the Barundi have no special cult devoted to the return of the moon. The word ukwesi, moon, has the same root as the Swahili word mwesi; the moon is the shining, strong, and powerful one. This is probably also the origin of the name Mwesi for one of the Barundi kings (see p. 162 [not translated]). The name Unjamwesi really refers to the land of Mwesi, i.e., Urundi, but when the Arabs invaded the lake region (in 1840), they applied this name to the whole area south of Lake Victoria and east of Lake Tanganyika. They named it after the most powerful of the local rulers, the king of Urundi. Thus, the name has been retained for the region of Unjamwesi which, in addition to Tabora, was occupied by the Arabs; yet the real land of Mwesi (Urundi) remained closed to them.

805 Everything in Urundi is determined by the course and the changes of the moon. The year is a lunar year, but the year is not consciously divided into twelve months, nor is there any definite measure of time for a year (umwaka). A year has passed when the two main seasons, the dry season and the rainy season, have passed. Within this framework, time is reckoned by the various agricultural activities undertaken at certain phases of the

805 moon during the rainy season or the dry season, for example: beginning of the rainy season (end of October), sowing corn; end of the rainy season (end of May), planting manioc; birth of a boy, full moon after the corn was sowed; death of a relative, new moon after planting manioc, and so forth. Nobody is able to count back in time for more than eight or ten years, and to do this one counts by saying: we have harvested sorghum so many times (No. 19, p. 377). Nobody knows exactly how old he is as soon as he is more than eight to ten years old. If one describes an event as 20, 30, or 40 years in the past, he means by this merely that it happened a long time ago.

To be specific, certain seasons which are marked by regularly recurring agricultural events are given definite names which one might call the names of months as determined by the agricultural cycle. Van der Burgt lists a whole series [146] of these (No. 19, p. 377), for example: uratsi, time when the grass sprouts (end of September and beginning of October); umwirima, beginning of the rainy season, beginning of planting and sowing (end of October, November); umwirawura, sprouting of the seed (December); umukuwesi, the corn is beginning to form cobs, beans are blossoming (end of December); ikigarama, beans are ripe (beginning of January); ikidida, beans are picked (end of January); akataschi, sorghum is planted (beginning of February); uruschana, corn is ripe (end of February, beginning of March); umunjonjo, sorghum is growing cobs (end of March); urusamo, sorghum is almost ripe (beginning of April); akawosa, harvesting sorghum (end of April); uruheschi, end of the rainy season, planting manioc, harvesting corn (end of May); itsi, dry season, time for drinking beer and catching fish (June to October); umukakora, burning the grass (June, July, August); akasjabirano, preparing the fields (October).

805 201 Of course the Barundi do not divide the day into twelve hours but into periods determined by the position of the sun and by phenomena which regularly occurs during daylight. Like almost all Negroes, when referring to a certain time of day in a story, they indicate the particular position of the sun in the sky

805 201 with their outstretched hand. They also do this when they wish to indicate the length of a trip or the distance between two places. Specific expressions are used for the following times of day: first crowing of the cock, first signs of daybreak, dawn, time of the awakening of the birds, rising of the sun, time between noon and evening, beginning of dusk, sundown, nightfall, bedtime, midnight, very late, very early. The concept for "week" is unknown.

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791 The dangers which formerly threatened them in times of drought were such as to keep them away from the capital.

132 Before mentioning their duties, we deem it useful to list the
221 names of the native months and seasons with a short explanation of
805 their meaning. This will make it easier to understand the importance of these men to their compatriots, whom they fleece shamelessly.

Part One

Months, Seasons, and Principal Rains

I. Native Months

1.	Nzeri	October	7.	Werurgwe	April
2.	Okwakira	November	8.	Mata	May
3.	Ogushingo	December	9.	Gichurassi	June
4.	Okuboza	January	10.	Kamena	July
5.	Mutarama	February	11.	Nyakanga	August
6.	Gashantare	March	12.	Gatumba gatoya	September
				Gatumba kanama	"

Nzeri, October, is the first on the list (imfura y' amezi). The Banyarwanda, indeed, count from October onward and regard this month as the most important because the cultivation of beans begins at this time.

Okwakira, November, comes from the verb kwaka (or kwakira), which means "to shine" because the sun is quite strong. /426/

Ogushingo, December, is reputed to be a very rainy month.

Okuboza, January, comes from the word kuboza, "to rot." It often happens, indeed, that the rains of the preceding month persist and seriously damage the crops.

The word Mutarama, which comes from the verb gutarama, "to nibble" (like the verb guhekenya, with which it is synonymous) was given to the month of February because it is at that time that one finds in certain parts of Ruanda, here and there, a few ears of ripe sorghum which children do not hesitate to cut off and eat.

221 Werurgwe, April. This word designates microscopic insects
805 which occasionally prey on sorghum and quickly destroy it. Hence
the expression, "Go and see whether the (above-mentioned) insects
[539] have attacked (the sorghum)" (Mulebe ngo Werurgwe itayajamo).

Gichurassi. This is the baleful month (ukwezi kubi) during which the annual mourning which lasts 15 days takes place at court. It is also the time of colds and bronchitis, hence the common ex-
[539] pression, "He who lies down with a cold will be carried away (made to die) by the month of June" (Uryamye ibichurane, igichurassi kizamutwara).

Kamena, July. This month is thus called from the word kumena, "to shatter" or "to tear out," because in those provinces of Ruanda where sorghum is cultivated only once a year people harvest the ripe ears in order to crush the grain and make bread (umutsima), which they have not tasted for a long time.

Nyakanga, August, comes from the word gukanga "to frighten." It is called thus because it is often fatal to old cows (amabuguma, ibibuguma), hence the common expression, Nyakanga ikanga amabuguma,
[539] "The month of August frightens old animals," that is to say, causes them to die.

The two terms Gatumba gatoya and Gatumba /427/ kanama formerly served to designate two months, that is, August and September, prior to the creation of the month of Mata, May. Today they indicate the two fortnights in September, thus named from the word gutumba,
[132] "to swell," because the clouds begin to gather in the sky and the rains begin to fall.

As for the month of Mata, it was created at the instigation of the sorcerers under the reign of Lwabugiri.

Mata literally means "milk," and in a figurative sense it means "abundance." It is also the name of a hill at Marangara, where as already mentioned Mutara and his son Lwabugiri established their residence because this area is reputed to bring good fortune to those who inhabit it. It is said that once for several years the rains failed to come and the crops did not ripen. In order to cope with this grave difficulty, it was resolved that henceforth a new month would be added to the year, and that this month would precede the month of

221 mourning (gichurassi) so as to give the crops time to ripen. And thus
805 it was done. The name of the hill, a name of good omen, was given to the new month.

132 The native months correspond more or less to those of our solar
805 year, owing to the elasticity with which the Banyarwanda endow their lunar divisions. They take the short rainy season, indeed, as their point of reference for cultivation and sowing. This rainy period bears the name of Nzeri and corresponds roughly to our month of October (1).

1. In some areas of vast Central Africa, the Blacks use the word masika, which means "rainy season" and belongs to the Kiswahili vocabulary. This term is preceded by the qualifiers "little" or "big" to denote the two rainy seasons. The little masika begins in October and usually ends in December. The big masika covers the months of February, March, April, and part of May.

We have heard it said that the Batutsi, herders living in the open air, acquired a practical knowledge of time from the plants and flowers that grow /428/ at regular intervals, and that they imparted this knowledge to the cultivators.

II. Seasons

221 The Banyarwanda also distinguish four seasons.
805 1. Uruhira, from the verb gushya, after its applicative /sic/ guhira, "to burn," designates the end of summer because this is the time when grass is burned everywhere. Another synonymous term is used, ku (1) Muyonga (ivu), which means "the time of ashes." One

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> 1. Ku or kw' before a vowel, or mu or mw' before a vowel /sic/, is none other than the preposition "at, in."

also says isekera, from the verb gusekera, "to cultivate," because the fields are readied at the end of summer although no planting or sowing is done, hence the difference from the word guhinga, which also means "to cultivate" but with immediate planting in mind.

2. Urugaryi. This term designates first and foremost the time when beans are cultivated (mw' itabira ry' ibishimbo) and also the time when the beans yield pods (imishogoro) tender enough to eat (gashogoro). This same season includes about a month of good weather, which enables people to harvest the beans and which has earned it the name of "little summer season." This first harvest usually takes place in January or February.

3. Itumba. This season corresponds roughly to our winter. The word that designates it comes from the verb gutumba, "to swell," to indicate that the clouds keep piling up and the rain keeps falling. Hence the synonym Urushyana, "time of heavy rains."

4. Ichyi or Mpeshi designates the summer season when the harvesting is done, hence the two synonyms mw' (1) itema from

> /1. See footnote (1) immediately preceding./

gutema, "to cut," and mw' isarura from gusarura, "to harvest."

As for the origin of the months and seasons, /429/ legend states that King Gihunga sent two of his sons to an important personage who controlled rain and good weather in order to ask him for divisions (ibihe) in the year. This extraordinary man was called Kibariro, "he who knows how to count." Thanks to the gifts that were presented to him, he agreed to adjust the year in this fashion. We can see that the Blacks manage to explain everything with their imaginative minds. It is also obvious that a slight tongue-in-cheek attitude always transpires through their many tales. It must be said, indeed, that they are not

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III. Names of the Principal Rains of the Year

•805 821 The generic term for rain is the word imvura. To make rain is called kubvuba, hence the name of the occupation, umuvubyi, or "rain maker," which is largely the specialty of the members of the Bashara clan.

1. Imvura y' umuhindo, "thunder rain," from the word guhinda, "to thunder," because it is a stormy downpour accompanied by lightning and thunder (in October).

2. Amahole y' imvura, "persistent rain," from the word guhora, "to persist," "to last." It is also called imvura y' indoha (from the verb kuroha, "to flood").

3. Amahuhezi, from the word guhuha, "to blow," designates windstorms when the rain is driven by the wind. /432/

4. Amassuri, "torrential rain" (1).

> 1. Umuvu serves to designate the bed of torrents suddenly scooped out by the rain.

5. Also called imivumbi, "rain that begins early in the morning and falls during the greater part of the day."

6. Amahindu, when it rains and hails (urubura, "hail").

7. Urushyana serves to designate the long rainy season in March, April, and part of May.

8. Impungira mirara or inyagira mirara, "rain that falls on several sorghum ears left in the fields"; it occasionally falls in July.

9. Intsindagir' ibigega, "rain that packs tight (the sorghum stored in) the granaries," because it falls for a day or two at the end of August when the granaries have not been covered in time.

10. Imvura y' impangukano, "rain that ends the waiting period," that is to say, the first rains that were hoped for in order to cultivate the soil (guhanga, "to hope for," and its reverse /sic/ guhanguka, "to see one's hopes fulfilled").

11. Inkaza bigunda, from gukaz' ibigunda, "to make the grass lands green again," designates the few more or less unexpected rainfalls at the end of summer.

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12. Imvura y' igisanura (2), "the rain that soaks (the parched

2. Gusarura is a sort of auxiliary verb which is understood in a figurative sense and has many meanings, like the verb gukaza.

lands), that is to say, the first showers of the rainy season.

IV. Seasonal Rites

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When the sorghum-sowing time (mu kubiba) comes by, the mistress of the household takes a handful of grain which she proceeds to grind. With the resulting small amount of flour, she fashions a roll into which she slips some fruit of the shrub called intobo. Then the roll is placed in a small basket (interero or chyibo) along with a household spatula (umwuko) /433/ Meanwhile, the children of the household wrap the embers from the hearth in a bunch of grass which should contain either bran or sorghum husks whenever possible. They bury this parcel in the field which is about to be sowed.

One must not forget to add to the contents of the basket a piece of iron dross. There remains only to place the whole thing in the storage granary (ikigega), which shall be filled to the brim at harvest time as a result of this symbolic and superstitious procedure.

The owners of the hut must see to it that none of their neighbors will come to get some fire (kulahura) and enter the hut until the day when the first sorghum shoots appear.

If one were to neglect this precaution, one would incur the risk of a bad harvest (ngo batabak' umugisha).

At the time when beans are cultivated, the owner of the field sticks his spear into the ground and places on the tip of the weapon a pod of unshelled beans which he drives in lightly. His children bring him a hollowed half gourd (uruho), which is used as a basin. He fills it with water.

On a grass pad he puts a rolling stone (ibuye ry' intosho). Then a handful of beans in the pod are placed on the pad for an instant and shelled.

516 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is cus-
554 tomary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

231 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the
● 805 words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

231 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their
192 herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[556] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruânda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

173 some Batwa living there. The Batwa were in part driven out, in part assimilated. The latter are known as Batwa bikyugu "Batwa of the inhabited land." Very many colonists came from Kishari and Kameronse, regions north of Lake Kivu. They were driven out of their homes by raids of the cannibalistic Balioko, probably Manyema, or perhaps also of the Babira who were driven out by the Manyema. To this emigration we can probably attribute latent traces of Bakondjo in Bugoye. Besides this wave, the Bambari clan from Ndorwa came to Bugoye, as well as the Bagwabiro from the region of Ischangi on the southern shore of Lake Kivu. The latter are impoverished Batutsi who till fields and own but few cows.

805 Chronology. Time in Ruanda is divided into years, seasons, months (moons), and weeks. The weeks have only five or six days. Thanks to the kindness of Father Buisson, I can herewith give the names of the months used in Kissaka and Ussuwi, opposite the Mulera calendar. The data on Nkole have been taken from Meldon (3). [295]

[113] 3. Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Nkole," Journal of the African Society, 1907, p. 137.

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
I. Kwakira, pea harvest, beginning hoeing for millet	Kimguru	Kashantare	Biruru
II. Mutarama, millet sowing	Kakire	Werurwe	Kata
III. Werurwe, weeding millet fields	Mahingo	Kichurasi	Katumba
IV. Mata, sowing green peas (nyagasha)	Ruwoza	Kamena	Ikoma
V. Kichurasi, sowing peas	Muhiranguzu	Nyakanga	Chabahezi
VI. Kamena, one hopes to have plenty to eat soon	Rweru	Katumba	Nyerurue

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
VII. Nyakanga, begin millet harvest	Nyamatarugara	Itumba	Kichurasi
VIII. Itumba, main harvest	Nyairira	Nsenene	Kamena
IX. Katumba, begin hoeing for peas	Mumereze	Nkereza	Nyakanga.
X. Nseri, hoeing peas	Kisua	Kushingwo	Kashua
XI. Kushingwo, weeding peas	Nsenene	Kwakira	Musenene
XII. Kaboza, planting gourds	Kibuika	Kuwoza	Itumba

The Mulera calendar is about two months behind the Kissaka calendar because the names of the months are bound up with the activities of the farmers and weather and pasture conditions. The various field chores are done two months later in the more northerly mountains of Mulera. Similarly, the Nkole calendar is two months behind Mulera because it is still farther north.

For the various proper and common names given the individual months, I succeeded in obtaining the following explanations.

Itumba nyakime: itumba of the possessor of dew.

Katumba kanama: kanama is derived from the verb kwanama, meaning "to stay in one place"; this month is very warm and one hates to move.

Nyakanga mabuguma: the one hating old cows (mabuguma); the pastures are dried up and old cows die in this month.

Kaboza kabozabihaza: gourds rot because of too much precipitation.

Mata: literally, "milk," or really, "milk month"; the pastures are lush, and there is a great abundance of milk.

During the months of ntumba, katumba, and nseri, huts are built. The millet straw is ripe, and the grass is at its tallest. At the end of nseri everything must be finished, for the rainy season begins.

805 In katumba the people begin burning off the grass on the
221 hills.

Most of the weddings take place in nseri, because much beer can be brewed in this month. For the same reason, most fights occur then.

132 There are three seasons in Kissaka.

805 [296] I. Itumba, the great rainy season extending from March to May.

II. Ichanda, the great dry season from June to October.

III. Ruhira, the secondary rainy season from November to January and sometimes February.

The secondary dry season in February does not seem to have a special name.

805 Father C. Lecoindre told me that he had the impression there were 13 months in the Ruanda year and pointed out that on my list the month of kashantare between mutarama and werurwe was not shown.

The art of chronology is only slightly developed in Ruanda, and the Bahutu seem essentially to know only the periods for certain field chores, to which they give special names, for example:

Itumba ya massaka (in the autumn),
Itumba lyi bishimbo,

or solar time:

Rugaryi (little sun),
Itsi (big sun).

644 On the other hand, life in Musinga's royal residence, at
805 least the arrival of fresh drum guards with the new moon, is regulated by the lunar division of the year, and Father C. Lecoindre's observation seems to have many points in its favor. For example, it is said that at the court of the king there is mourning during the first half of the month kichurasi. During this time men allegedly
[834] have no sexual intercourse with women. The drums at the king's court are beaten only once around 11 o'clock to greet (ndamutsu) the king; they are said to be tied up (kuzirika). The Batwa do not entertain the king with their songs during the evening gatherings. The king pronounces no sentences and accepts no presents. At ordinary law proceedings the victorious party neither sings his song

644 of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies
805 he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the
[783] herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon.
[533] They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great
796 feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called
644 kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

805 The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298] Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

771 Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

769 Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda
17 as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

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could the great majority of people in our culture. They believe that some specialists know exactly how natural phenomena work, and they have an idea of the type of explanation the specialists use. Banyarwanda have fundamentally the same attitude.

In relation to natural phenomena which do not appear with such regularity that they may be expected at about this or that time, the ideas of the Banyarwanda are quite different. Because of their unexpectedness, these events resemble the consequences of human intention. As a man suddenly becomes angry and hits somebody, so thunder strikes. If an occurrence is clearly an exception to natural laws, as Banyarwanda know them, they are confused. If I have taken ordinary care of my banana-grove and it does not produce so many or such good fruits as the trees of my neighbours on the same hill, there must be some reason to be sought outside the normal order of the world. Moreover, these unexpected events may often be dangerous and detrimental. Since any Munyarwanda has, as we shall see later, many powerful enemies in the invisible world, he is easily led to suspect them. Consequently, when confronted with happenings in the material world which do not fit into their conception of the normal order of things, the Banyarwanda explain these events as due to a special intervention of supernatural forces. *Imana* himself may be responsible, but when the event is regarded as harmful, ghosts or sorcerers bear the blame.

In this interpretation of unusual events, the Banyarwanda differ significantly from the people of the West. First, it should be emphasized that for us, events which seem to be exceptions to the laws of nature are much rarer. Those who scientifically know a certain field of spatio-temporal reality can show that events unforeseen by laymen, such as a storm, are in fact completely in accordance with the order of nature. When the event seems inexplicable to the specialist, the uninitiated person is generally unaware of the fact and indeed often displays a greater belief in physical science than do scientists themselves. A basic assumption of our culture is that science (of the physico-chemical type) can explain any material phenomenon. Thus any event in that sphere of reality will be interpreted in accordance with that belief. The event may, however, be of such a type that a 'scientific' explanation does not seem possible. For instance, the unpredictable event (a storm, a famine) may happen several times in the same place and no reason can be found for that repetition. The Western mind will then usually have recourse to the concept of chance, by which is meant, that the numerous conditions which must be realized in order to produce the event may happen accidentally to coincide more than once. There is no inevitability in the repetition of that constellation of conditions, it may just happen. The concept of chance, by which we avoid recourse to the supernatural in such cases, is not used by Banyarwanda. For them a phenomenon of the material world is either a part of the normal course of nature and is explicable in itself, or it is extraordinary and must be understood as a supernatural interference.

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in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *imandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barozi*), on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes of others. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or the rainy season is considered to be due to the change of weather. It is known that yaws can be got by contagion. Even death is very often accepted without seeking any magical explanation. It is expected, for instance, that people will die because of old age. If beans had been planted on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences have

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been observed or when 'causes' have been discovered in the sphere of human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following these causes are considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events cannot be explained by reference to natural antecedents or causes, or are surrounded by peculiar circumstances, the intervention of ghosts or sorcerers is suspected and a diviner is consulted. If somebody has tuberculosis (*igitundu*) and none of his forebears or the people with whom he lives has suffered from that disease, it is thought that sorcery is the cause. If somebody dies from an illness usually considered 'natural', but the death occurs a few days after a theft of which he is the supposed culprit, he is said to have been magically stricken at the request of the robbed person.

This attitude is in fact quite coherent. When the natural cause is known, the event is attributed to it; when it is not known, or appears extraordinary on account of the circumstances, the explanation is given in terms of beliefs concerning the non-material world. Why do Westerners not use a magical frame of reference on similar occasions? First, their wider knowledge of natural sequences of antecedents and consequents makes the residuum of naturally inexplicable facts more restricted. For instance, a sudden death appears to them quite understandable for purely medical reasons. To Banyarwanda, on the contrary, a sudden death is an event of which the physical causes are completely unknown. Second, even for residual facts not scientifically explained, there is in Western culture a faith that, given time and effort, a scientific explanation will be found. The Munyarwanda has no such belief in positive science. Third, for the disconcerting circumstances which may be coincidental with illness or death, the concept of chance, which does not appear frequently in Ruanda culture, is resorted to. However, Western believers in a provident God see in these exceptional circumstances, not an accidental constellation, but a sign of the meaning God intends to give to the illness or death.

A threat permanently dominating the mind of the Bahutu was that of being accused of sorcery. This danger was connected with the invisible world but was objective enough, for such an accusation could result in being killed and, of course, merely to refrain from anti-social magic did not ensure immunity from being called a *murozi*.

The Nature and Situation of Man

Kazikamuntu (which may mean Root-of-Men) is the common ancestor of all mankind. Created by *Imana*, he had, among other children, Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa who, as their names indicate, are the ancestors of the three Ruanda social and 'racial' groups. Gatwa killed one of his brothers and for that reason was cursed by his father. Gahutu, who had been chosen by his father as heir and successor, had been commissioned by him to accomplish an important mission. As a result of overeating, Gahutu fell asleep and could not collect the information his father wanted. Gatutsi, on the

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had incurred the king's displeasure and was for that reason left without protectors, friends, or cattle was in a desperate situation; only with difficulty could he gain a bare subsistence. A Muhutu against whom an accusation of sorcery was repeated; an unmarried girl of a noble family whose pregnancy became publicly known; all these, if they failed to escape from their predicament by skill and rational behaviour (such as obtaining the king's mercy, denying the charge of sorcery and looking for the protection of a powerful man, using abortifacients or denying the pregnancy), would have recourse to the *bapfumu*, seeking to know what spirit or sorcerer was responsible for their misfortune and how to appease the malevolent being. If all the practices and offerings recommended by the diviner had no effect, then they called upon *Imana*, and if their prayers were unanswered, only drastic solutions remained, such as exile in a foreign country or suicide. But these tragic destinies were not numerous and they did not shake the belief of the majority in the moderate happiness of living.

There is a further reason for their generally cheerful acceptance of the conditions of their existence. Banyarwanda are not inclined to speculate about the inaccessible. Westerners are given to imagining how beautiful and good life might be if humanity and the universe were different from what they are. This trend of thinking is quite alien to Banyarwanda and, when it is suggested, appears futile to them. The usual, the normal (in the sense of what we are accustomed to, and what we have reason to expect) is often self-explanatory. When a particular event fits into the normal scheme of things, there are no questions to be asked. If everybody has to relinquish this existence and die, death is no scandal or absurdity. It is the way *Imana* has arranged things. There is no further problem.

Cultural Values

Human action is determined partly by cultural values, partly by the socially recognized means of attaining them. By cultural values we mean the final or intermediate aims that are considered the proper purposes of human activity in a particular society.

In a stratified society, such as that of Ruanda, each layer is likely to have its own set of values, although some of those originating in one group may extend to others. Let us begin with the Batutsi. When a Mututsi informant is asked what the people of his group wish for above all, the answer comes immediately: 'children and cattle.' A further question, 'why?', discloses that these are not ultimate values sought for themselves, but intermediate ones, means to reach more abstract ends. The latter are power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

Power is understood here in connexion with persons (power over somebody) rather than with things (power to do something). It is, to paraphrase Lasswell's definition, the ability that a person, engaged in a human relationship with another, has to oblige the latter to do or not to do something (on pain of suffering severe privation). Power is essentially the capacity to

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What is a primitive? By what signs is he recognized? Historians traditionally regard as primitive prehistoric peoples, the savage populations of the various continents, and also the ancient civilizations antedating the history of the various peoples (Greeks, Romans, Arabs, etc.)

Ethnologists have recently attempted to introduce certain distinctions into this confusion. They have evaluated the degree of primitiveness of various primitive peoples... by tracing every known cycle of civilization geographically through space and historically through time. (Cf. Ecclesia, Encyclopédie populaire des connaissances religieuses /Ecclesia, Popular Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge/, pp. 725 and 726.)

173 Banyarwanda. The arrrival of the Hamites, or Batutsi, in the area and the influence they exercised there, especially when they entered the central province of Nduga under Mibambge-Mutabazi, twenty-third in the dynasty, transformed Ruanda and its autochthonous inhabitants in more ways than one. The conquerors contributed a great deal to the development of the legends and traditions.

173 A great part of what we have to say about Ruanda was related to us by the official historians, abachurabgenge ("knowledge makers"),
● 814 appointed to the court. From times immemorial, those men have been in charge of preserving the memory of the Hamitic princes' deeds and actions. /74/

M3 They record the genealogy of kings, their birth name and
● 814 reigning name. They do not overlook the queen-mother's name and that of her clan of origin. They are always at the monarch's beck and call, attend upon him in shifts two by two, and beguile his leisure with the narration of his ancestral lineage and of the exploits that adorn it. It must be admitted that this purely oral tradition is liable to a serious shortcoming, forgetfulness and resulting distortion. Time, that wears away everything, eventually obliterates certain facts and even the names of people whose existence is lost in the mists of time and who are replaced with legends and myths. This is the impression made by the tales of the chroniclers concerning the first sovereigns of the Mututsi /Batutsi/ dynasty. The first nine or ten kings seem to have been invented out of whole cloth, Their genealogy seems to have been created as an afterthought in order to flatter the pride of princes, who are enraptured at the thought of being descended from a long line of ancestors with some demigods among them.

M3 These legends, nevertheless, do not lack interest. They disclose native ideas about the creation of the world, the existence of good and evil, the origin of death, etc.

Moreover, the historical outline is revealed in spite of everything and makes it possible for us to divine the political state of affairs in Ruanda at the time of the Batutsi arrival.

Whence did the Hamites come? No one knows exactly. It is likely that they came from the Nkole, which is now part of the Protectorate of Uganda. It is generally agreed that they emerged from the Ndorwa through the northeast and that they stayed for a while at the place called Mutara, which is often mentioned in narratives and legends.

While some of them settled more or less definitively in the Ndorwa region and its immediate surroundings, others continued their journey and successively established the kingdoms of Ruanda, Gissaka, /75/ Burundi, and Uha (1). The first stopping places and first conquests

1. The eight small kingdoms located in the territory of the Bahaya (shore dwellers of lake

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
[202] /374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
533 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
644 hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated
[614] to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
644 name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of
● 814 closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

644 forebears. Along with thedeeds of the past, they must preserve the
814 memory of each king's name, the names of the queen mother, of the king's immediate ancestors, and of the tribe to which they belonged.

Needless to say, critical sense has not yet appeared in the land. It happens sometimes that the Court historians and keepers of the traditions disagree about some detail which is now forgotten or
[787] in dispute. In such cases divinatory sacrifices are offered in order to find out what the king should be told (1).

1. See "Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom of Ruanda" /Book II, not translated/ for opinions regarding the authenticity of the first /few/ sovereigns. As fas as the beginnings of the kingdom are concerned, the traditional documentation is of greater value to ethnology than to history.

In spite of their inherent faults and imperfections, the epics nevertheless are not lacking in interest or charm. Through them we can grasp at first hand the thoughts of the Banyarwanda, their feelings, their /375/ ideas about life, their love of their native soil, their attachment to old customs and memories of the past. They reveal the pathetic sorrow caused by foreign invasions, and the enthusiasm inspired by eventual triumph.

[644] 7. The keepers of the traditions belong to the important Abiru clan. Their role is to preserve the unity and continuity of customs at the capital and throughout the realm. The supreme chief of this corporation is the chief of the Batsobe, whose position entails numerous and varied functions.

644 In accordance with a popular tradition, he is personally en-
643 trusted with the task of collecting the umbilical cord (umukungwa) of
787 each of the king's sons, as well as their teeth, including their milk teeth. Then, when the time comes to determine the heir to the throne, it is this personage who has the honor of presiding over the selection.

195 surprising that they should be shocked and amused by the lingo of the
644 mountain dwellers and those who inhabit the frontiers of the realm. The latter's language is far from refined. It teems with syntactical and accentual mistakes and contains a mixture of foreign terms borrowed from the tongues of neighboring groups.

More conversant than others with matters of language, the men at court readily argue about the worth or etymology of existing words, and willingly create others which are more adequate by drawing upon the genius of their language.

The plural word imiduha means "cactus." Its literal meaning
195 is "those (plants) that give to us." Since those kinds of plants, which
814 resemble the Abyssinian quelqual or kwelkol, are not of any productiveness to the Banyarwanda, the men of letters propose, at least theoretically, to replace the word with imyiha or ichyiha, both of which are purely conventional nouns devoid of this misleading connotation.

It is in the same spirit that the black academicians wish to substitute the word ikyiyone, that is to say, "large bird" for the usual term igikona, whose literal meaning is "that which ravages" (the crops). Our African "Immortals" /Tr.: term applied to members of Académie Française/ would also like to see the term umuguta used exclusively to designate a skeleton (or dried-up cadaver), and its synonym umwite reserved for the word "skin."

551 In their superstitious fear the Blacks avoid pronouncing the
195 names of persons, animals, and things of which they are afraid. They are motivated by the spirit expressed in the French proverb:

Quand on parle du loup, il sort du bois /Talk of the wolf and he will come out of the woods, i.e., speak of the devil and he will appear./ /455/

Instead of calling the leopard by his real name, ingwe, the cowherds, shepherds, travelers, and all other persons who frequent the areas haunted by those animals use the following expressions:

"The one whose name is kept unsaid," Nyiramahole.

"The wind (fast as the wind)," Muyaga.

"The claw of claws," Rwara.

"The animal with the spotted coat," Bugondo.

"The voracious one," Kimizi.

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means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

231 173 [91] Legendary tradition attributes to Nyiraruchyaba, daughter of Gihanga, the introduction of cattle into Ruanda. One day when she went to cut wood, she noticed whitish patches on the ground. Being very thirsty and not finding any water nearby, she took her drinking-straw and drank the white liquid. Finding this drink delicious, she wished to know whence it came. She went into the forest and came upon a horned animal that was losing through its udder a liquid identical to that she had just drunk. In the meantime as Gihanga had fallen seriously ill, she brought him some of the white liquid. The patient drank it and recovered quickly. He asked his daughter where the medicine had come from and she brought him the animal. The cow was called ingizi (from kugira neza, to heal well). Since that time the Banyarwanda have had a great veneration for horned cattle.

232 Along with ordinary cattle (inkuku) the Mwami owns herds of scrupulously selected cows which, without being precisely the object of a cult as in ancient Egypt, are treated with particular care and are in the foreground at all festivals. These are the Inyambo (1).

1. The word Inyambo designates an animal, a herd, or all the herds together.

The origin of the Inyambo goes back to the Mwami Yuhi Mazimpaka. This king chose fine long-legged cows with long horns and a shiny dark brown coat (ibihogo) and mated them with a young and vigorous bull. The selected herd was kept apart in the province of Rukōma near the Nyabarongo River. These cows multiplied and from them the best ones continually selected. Under the preceding Mwami, Yuhi Musinga, the Inyambo were divided into two herds, one called agakanda and the other indoha. Musinga [92] added a third and called them respectively Inyuba hilo (the ones to be respected) or herd of Gihanga; Inshya (the new ones) or herd of Kigeri Ndabarasa which contained a remarkable bull called Rushya; and finally Ingabe (the dominating ones) or herd of Kigeri Rwabugiri.

The three herds combined were called Insanga. At the full moon in June they were led in procession to the Mwami amidst dancing and joyful cries (gukura gichurasi, lit., to carry off the month of May) (1).

821 1. The month of May, during which according to tradition Mwami Gihanga died.

821 was considered a time of mourning. It was forbidden to get married at that time.

232 At all times a bull called Rusanga and five cows of each of the three Insanga herds were kept in a special enclosure inside Musinga's boma, and the king would often come and stroke them and speak to them affectionately.

The Inyambo now live in the province of Buganza, a country of fine pastures and gently undulating hills; being delicate animals they cannot stand the high altitude climate. The Mwami hands over his herds to the umutware w'intebe who in turn entrusts them to a hill chief or to the common Batutsi, although without position of authority, they are of nobler origin than some chiefs and are therefore particularly qualified to care for this choice cattle.

The Inyambo are large, long-legged animals with a less well developed dewlap than ordinary cattle, a deeper chest, long flanks, and an angular, thin, and dry rump. The enormously long horns often attain a length of 1.75 meters. They are in the shape of a lyre or crescent; the width between the tips may be 2 or more meters. [93] The coat is bright russet (igaju) or cheese-colored (igitare), but mostly dark brown (ibihogo).

The Inyambo go back into the kraal every evening and are always bedded down, which is rarely done for ordinary cattle, even by wealthy owners.

234 They are not milked like ordinary cows. Only sufficient milk for their Bahutu guardians is taken daily. If they have a calf, their milk is reserved for the young animal. The offspring of the Inyambo is automatically an inyambo. Even the offspring of ordinary cows may become inyambo.

232 If in a herd of inkuku there is a heifer whose characteristics are similar to those of the Inyambo, the Banyarwanda mate this heifer with an inyambo bull. The calf born of this first union is called imilizo. If the breeders judge that the inyambo qualities are to be found in this animal, it is also mated with an inyambo bull, and the offspring is considered worthy to enter the Inyambo herd.

The inyambo cows are never slaughtered or sold for any reason, such as malformation or sterility; they all die of illness or old age. The males fare differently. When they are full grown

778 The public cult sites used for common worship of the gods
[821] are erected wherever lightning has struck the ground, either where it injured or killed a person or a head of cattle or where it has just struck the ground. Lightning is regarded as sent by the god Imana himself (No. 19, p. 253). At such a place a circular piece of ground, two to three meters in diameter, is leveled and covered with straw. Manioc and fig branches are planted around it. Then, celebrating the ceremony of the sacred spear, the kiranga plants in the middle of it a shoot from a banana or a fig tree which is regarded as the temporary residence of the god, Imana-Rikiranga-Riangombe. uEvery passerby
[782] puts a little tuft of dry grass in front of the young tree in homage to the god (see grass greeting, p. 95). Sick people are brought to this site so that they may ask the god to grant them recovery (No. 19, p. 564). This kind of homage is also supposed to be helpful when asking for rain for the fields and herds. Usually
[346] some small grass huts are also erected at or near the sacrificial site; in these huts food and drink are sacrificed to the god. Often, however, such huts are absent.

[136] The second type of cult and sacrifice huts at whose
778 consecration the kiranga must participate is the private sacri-
346 fice huts (ivigabiro), dedicated to the spirits of the dead
782 (imisimu or abasimu). Often, however, a sacrifice is also offered to the god Kiranga in one of these little private huts; it is then called akararo ka rugabo, i.e., the great master's humble quarters for the night (No. 46, p. 18). These little huts are erected inside the kraal next to the residential huts. In most cases their shape resembles that of the residential huts, but they are only one half to one meter high (Plate 18a). They are always constructed in a careless fashion. In fact, often a few branches or some bundles of straw or reed, inserted in the ground and tied together at the top in the shape of an arch, are considered sufficient. A little straw is spread underneath, and on it a few implements are placed as a sacrificial offering, for example, a piece of imanga wood which is used for amulets, a piece of bottle gourd, shaped like a bowl, which is used as a container for food, an old pot as a receptacle for beer, an old tobacco pipe, etc. In some areas of Urundi, for example, in

2. Chronometry, Counting, Arithmetic

●821 The astronomical observations and knowledge of the Barundi are very meager. To them the sun (isuba) is only the wandering fire of Imana, the principal god. They believe that when the sun goes down in the west it falls into the hands of the Wabemba. The Wabemba, however, are cannibals and eat the sun, except for a small piece which escapes them and returns to the east where it once more grows to its full size and rises again in the morning (No. 19, p. 53).

In the minds of the Barundi the moon (ukwesi) is of greater importance, for it is by the regularly recurring phases of the moon that they measure the time. The moon is a male (or hermaphroditic?) being; the evening star is his favorite wife; the other stars are his children and servants; the stars of the "Great Bear" are his concubines; and those of Orion are his oldest sons (No. 19, p. 54). As among all Negroes, the appearance of the first crescent after new moon is greeted with jubilation, but the Barundi have no special cult devoted to the return of the moon. The word ukwesi, moon, has the same root as the Swahili word mwesi; the moon is the shining, strong, and powerful one. This is probably also the origin of the name Mwesi for one of the Barundi kings (see p. 162 [not translated]). The name Unjamwesi really refers to the land of Mwesi, i.e., Urundi, but when the Arabs invaded the lake region (in 1840), they applied this name to the whole area south of Lake Victoria and east of Lake Tanganyika. They named it after the most powerful of the local rulers, the king of Urundi. Thus, the name has been retained for the region of Unjamwesi which, in addition to Tabora, was occupied by the Arabs; yet the real land of Mwesi (Urundi) remained closed to them.

805 Everything in Urundi is determined by the course and the changes of the moon. The year is a lunar year, but the year is not consciously divided into twelve months, nor is there any definite measure of time for a year (umwaka). A year has passed when the two main seasons, the dry season and the rainy season, have passed. Within this framework, time is reckoned by the various agricultural activities undertaken at certain phases of the

564 Three socio-'racial' castes are to be
563 distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of
162 the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa, hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

773 The world in which men are placed and which they know through their
776 senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

772 The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material
[823] world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat; its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

821 In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms) stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

773 In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been
[823] some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, crea-
[825] tures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

772 This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old (people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

questions are asked, it appears that this conception of the life of the universe has not been the subject of speculation and is not of great importance to the Banyarwanda. 772

Without *Imana* the world would not continue to exist and his action is necessary to maintain life. *Imana's* action, however, is not manifested in particular interventions; it is conceived rather as an underlying force which sustains the whole universe but does not interfere in the development of the life of nature. Seeds are put into the ground and after some time plants come up, the banana-trees produce their yields, the cows breed. All this is the normal course of things and we may expect the recurrence of these events at the proper times. This universal order, indeed, is not independent of *Imana*. He made plants grow and animals multiply, but he does not have to act to give fertility in each case. The scholastic distinction between prime cause and secondary causes can very well be applied to Ruanda conceptions. *Imana* acts as the prime cause of the universe and therefore any event may be imputed to him. On the other hand, nature itself includes the secondary causes which account for the regular unfolding of its course. 776 772

But this natural order is not unalterable. *Imana* remains master of the rules he has established. There are numerous stories of miracles worked by *Imana* (a stick becomes a cow, teeth are granted to a girl who had none, &c.). Other beings besides *Imana* may act on nature: the spirits of the dead and even some men, the sorcerers. They may prevent somebody's beans from growing, they may have a man or a cow struck down by lightning. In particular, rain, so important in this country where rainfall is very irregular, has been regarded as under man's control. There were rain-makers (*bavubyi*) who had the dangerous responsibility of regulating rainfall. [821 791]

Natural forces—rain, wind, hail, storms—are not considered as persons having desires and intentions that could be influenced by prayers or offerings. It seems that only thunder is personalized, and is regarded as a king (*mwami*). When a person has been struck by lightning, it is said that the Thunder-King has honoured his subjects with a visit and has taken one of them with him. Lightning receives the same salute as the king of Ruanda. 821 776

Banyarwanda implicitly distinguish between the regular course of nature and more or less unexpected events. Towards the former they assume a rational attitude. They do not look to the invisible world to account for the alternation of the phases of the moon, the growth of plants, the breeding of cattle. These phenomena are explicable on the level of secondary causes. Neither *Imana* nor the occult powers interfere in the normal course of material nature. It would be misleading to conceive of the Ruanda people as 'primitives' living in an irrational world where every phenomenon is an enchantment demanding explanation in terms of an intervention of the invisible world. They look at the world in its regular course in the same way as does a product of Western culture. 772

Of course, a Munyarwanda could not explain the interplay and the exact action of secondary causes as a Western scientist would do. But neither

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

could the great majority of people in our culture. They believe that some specialists know exactly how natural phenomena work, and they have an idea of the type of explanation the specialists use. Banyarwanda have fundamentally the same attitude.

In relation to natural phenomena which do not appear with such regularity that they may be expected at about this or that time, the ideas of the Banyarwanda are quite different. Because of their unexpectedness, these events resemble the consequences of human intention. As a man suddenly becomes angry and hits somebody, so thunder strikes. If an occurrence is clearly an exception to natural laws, as Banyarwanda know them, they are confused. If I have taken ordinary care of my banana-grove and it does not produce so many or such good fruits as the trees of my neighbours on the same hill, there must be some reason to be sought outside the normal order of the world. Moreover, these unexpected events may often be dangerous and detrimental. Since any Munyarwanda has, as we shall see later, many powerful enemies in the invisible world, he is easily led to suspect them. Consequently, when confronted with happenings in the material world which do not fit into their conception of the normal order of things, the Banyarwanda explain these events as due to a special intervention of supernatural forces. *Imana* himself may be responsible, but when the event is regarded as harmful, ghosts or sorcerers bear the blame.

In this interpretation of unusual events, the Banyarwanda differ significantly from the people of the West. First, it should be emphasized that for us, events which seem to be exceptions to the laws of nature are much rarer. Those who scientifically know a certain field of spatio-temporal reality can show that events unforeseen by laymen, such as a storm, are in fact completely in accordance with the order of nature. When the event seems inexplicable to the specialist, the uninitiated person is generally unaware of the fact and indeed often displays a greater belief in physical science than do scientists themselves. A basic assumption of our culture is that science (of the physico-chemical type) can explain any material phenomenon. Thus any event in that sphere of reality will be interpreted in accordance with that belief. The event may, however, be of such a type that a 'scientific' explanation does not seem possible. For instance, the unpredictable event (a storm, a famine) may happen several times in the same place and no reason can be found for that repetition. The Western mind will then usually have recourse to the concept of chance, by which is meant, that the numerous conditions which must be realized in order to produce the event may happen accidentally to coincide more than once. There is no inevitability in the repetition of that constellation of conditions, it may just happen. The concept of chance, by which we avoid recourse to the supernatural in such cases, is not used by Banyarwanda. For them a phenomenon of the material world is either a part of the normal course of nature and is explicable in itself, or it is extraordinary and must be understood as a supernatural interference.

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1. Ku or kw' before a vowel, or mu or mw' before a vowel /sic/, is none other than the preposition "at, in."

also says isekera, from the verb gusekera, "to cultivate," because the fields are readied at the end of summer although no planting or sowing is done, hence the difference from the word guhinga, which also means "to cultivate" but with immediate planting in mind.

2. Urugaryi. This term designates first and foremost the time when beans are cultivated (mw' itabira ry' ibishimbo) and also the time when the beans yield pods (imishogoro) tender enough to eat (gashogoro). This same season includes about a month of good weather, which enables people to harvest the beans and which has earned it the name of "little summer season." This first harvest usually takes place in January or February.

3. Itumba. This season corresponds roughly to our winter. The word that designates it comes from the verb gutumba, "to swell," to indicate that the clouds keep piling up and the rain keeps falling. Hence the synonym Urushyana, "time of heavy rains."

4. Ichyi or Mpeshi designates the summer season when the harvesting is done, hence the two synonyms mw' (1) itema from

/1. See footnote (1) immediately preceding./

gutema, "to cut," and mw' isarura from gusarura, "to harvest."

As for the origin of the months and seasons, /429/ legend states
773 that King Gihunga sent two of his sons to an important personage who
821 controlled rain and good weather in order to ask him for divisions
[805] (ibihe) in the year. This extraordinary man was called Kibariro, "he who knows how to count." Thanks to the gifts that were presented to him, he agreed to adjust the year in this fashion. We can see that the Blacks manage to explain everything with their imaginative minds. It is also obvious that a slight tongue-in-cheek attitude always transpires through their many tales. It must be said, indeed, that they are not

773 This is how the young prince became willy-nilly the father of the
821 present Bashara, or rain-maker, lineage, which has inherited his
614 vocation.

If they wish to bring rain, these people[1] go outside, look at
789 the sky, and spread out their arms. If they wish to favor only the
821 hill they inhabit, they must sit. If they wish to benefit the entire land with their astonishing power, they must stretch out at full length and spread out their arms at the same time. The storytellers add that this is how the descendants of Rushara have acted ever since that time.

Up to these last few years, rain makers were exposed to
[686] serious dangers. It was not unusual to hear that one or another of those unfortunate creatures had been killed or thrown into the river for failing to produce the needed rain on time.

According to another interpretation of the same legend which
[773] is very popular in the central province of Nduga, Rushara disobeyed the orders of the sorcerer at the proddings of the demon of curiosity after he had crossed the Nyabarongo. The water ran out of the pot and spread onto the ground. Nyamukama was informed and replied that in order /431/ to get rain, all that was needed was to build upon the spot where the water from the vessel had been spilled, and to dig into the hill (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Many of the kings of Ruanda have indeed elected this hill as one of their favorite capitals.

In times of drought it is customary to scratch its soil lightly as though searching for a spring, and it is said that Nyamukama's prophecies always come true. This is why the area is appropriately
[103] called Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), that is to say, "the place where rain comes forth."

It is for the same reason, and to obtain the same results, that at Mata in Marangara, people dig into both sides of the hill.

The first of the two holes is called "the fountain of milk" (iliba ry'amata) and symbolizes abundance. Cows will then yield more milk. The other hole is called by the name of "source of rain" (iliba ry'imvura). Just by dealing it a few blows with a hoe, a favorable influence is exercised upon the clouds, which will give forth a beneficent rain.

[1] [i.e., the Bashara. - Analyst]

III. Names of the Principal Rains of the Year

805 821 The generic term for rain is the word imvura. To make rain is called kubvuba, hence the name of the occupation, umuvubyi, or "rain maker," which is largely the specialty of the members of the Bashara clan.

1. Imvura y' umuhindo, "thunder rain," from the word guhinda, "to thunder," because it is a stormy downpour accompanied by lightning and thunder (in October).

2. Amahole y' imvura, "persistent rain," from the word guhora, "to persist," "to last." It is also called imvura y' indoha (from the verb kuroha, "to flood").

3. Amahuhezi, from the word guhuha, "to blow," designates windstorms when the rain is driven by the wind. /432/

4. Amassuri, "torrential rain" (1).

> 1. Umuvu serves to designate the bed of torrents suddenly scooped out by the rain.

5. Also called imivumbi, "rain that begins early in the morning and falls during the greater part of the day."

6. Amahindu, when it rains and hails (urubura, "hail").

7. Urushyana serves to designate the long rainy season in March, April, and part of May.

8. Impungira mirara or inyagira mirara, "rain that falls on several sorghum ears left in the fields"; it occasionally falls in July.

9. Intsindagir' ibigega, "rain that packs tight (the sorghum stored in) the granaries," because it falls for a day or two at the end of August when the granaries have not been covered in time.

10. Imvura y' impangukano, "rain that ends the waiting period," that is to say, the first rains that were hoped for in order to cultivate the soil (guhanga, "to hope for," and its reverse /sic/ guhanguka, "to see one's hopes fulfilled").

11. Inkaza bigunda, from gukaz' ibigunda, "to make the grass lands green again," designates the few more or less unexpected rainfalls at the end of summer.

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12. Imvura y' igisanura (2), "the rain that soaks (the parched

2. Gusanura is a sort of auxiliary verb which is understood in a figurative sense and has many meanings, like the verb gukaza.

lands), that is to say, the first showers of the rainy season.

IV. Seasonal Rites

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When the sorghum-sowing time (mu kubiba) comes by, the mistress of the household takes a handful of grain which she proceeds to grind. With the resulting small amount of flour, she fashions a roll into which she slips some fruit of the shrub called intobo. Then the roll is placed in a small basket (interero or chyibo) along with a household spatula (umwuko) /433/. Meanwhile, the children of the household wrap the embers from the hearth in a bunch of grass which should contain either bran or sorghum husks whenever possible. They bury this parcel in the field which is about to be sowed.

One must not forget to add to the contents of the basket a piece of iron dross. There remains only to place the whole thing in the storage granary (ikigega), which shall be filled to the brim at harvest time as a result of this symbolic and superstitious procedure.

The owners of the hut must see to it that none of their neighbors will come to get some fire (kulahura) and enter the hut until the day when the first sorghum shoots appear.

If one were to neglect this precaution, one would incur the risk of a bad harvest (ngo batabak' umugisha).

At the time when beans are cultivated, the owner of the field sticks his spear into the ground and places on the tip of the weapon a pod of unshelled beans which he drives in lightly. His children bring him a hollowed half gourd (uruho), which is used as a basin. He fills it with water.

On a grass pad he puts a rolling stone (ibuye ry' intosho). Then a handful of beans in the pod are placed on the pad for an instant and shelled.

241 788 The beans are poured onto the back of an overturned winnowing basket. Then the owner removes one of the long grass stalks covering the entrance to the hut, and he places this dried stem on the winnowing basket whose concave side is facing down. He takes the basket, lifts it, and shakes it strongly with both hands in order to get the beans into the other side of the grain-scouring implement.

This superstitious practice bears the name of bean "creation" or "multiplication." If a stranger /434/ happens by in the course of this ritual, he must not walk around the basket but pass to one side of it.

Then the beans are buried in the tilled ground in the hope of a rich harvest. This procedure is commonly used to insure good weather.

In their credulity and trust in superstitious practices, the Banyarwanda hope to exercise an influence over sunshine.

At the time of the sorghum harvest, when the Banyarwanda [273] are extremely eager to secure beer from this plant (amarwa) of which they have been deprived for so long, they expose the crushing stone (ingasire) to sunlight, believing that they are "retaining" the sun in this fashion. We may add that their knowledge of astronomy is nil. 821 They have only one generic term, inyenyeri, to designate the stars, and another, nyakotsi, for comets (1).

1. Nyakotsi means "the /female/ one with smoke," that is to say, with a tail.

The sun (izuba), the moon (ukwezi), and the planet Venus (nyamuhiribona) are the only heavenly bodies for which they have specific names.

Protectors against Lightning and Its Fearsome Consequences

791 They are known by the name of abagangahuzi (from the verb kugangahura). Their honorable and lucrative profession does not expose them to any danger.

Their role is to purify, as their name (umugangahuzi) and their duties (kugangahura) indicate, and to avert any future consequences of lightning. Here are the various circumstances in which sorcerers of this kind officiate and the manner in which they operate.

761 1. When a human being is struck down by lightning. According to /436/ native belief, lightning is regarded as the king of the
766 sky, who comes occasionally and chooses subjects among men. It is
821 said in such cases that the person who was struck is a "living tax"
791 (inkuke) levied by the god, or else a subject or a page of his (intore). As a consequence, laments are forbidden. So as not to displease the king of the sky, who may do as he pleases, the relatives and friends of the victim must dance and emit joyful cries while the drums are played.

766 The purifier-sorcerer then makes an appearance. Those
821 present receive from him, on the back of their hand, a few drops of a liquid which they must allow to fall upon the ground. Then the
791 sorcerer pours some for the second time in the palm of their hand, and each of the participants drinks what is given to him.

766 Then they inhale in turn the aroma of another liquid substance
821 (issubyo) made by the purifier.

The victim's hut and all people present are sprinkled with a mixture of water and chalk. The corpse also gets some on the forehead and chest. Then it becomes proper to lay out the corpse, which the relatives would not have dared to do prior to the sorcerer's intervention.

The guests put around their necks a special grass stem (umwishwa) which, as we have seen, plays an important role in ritual ceremonies as though it had a purifying property. The deceased also gets one, and the funeral procession sets out for the place where the body is to be exposed.

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
766 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
821 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824 umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783] avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

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Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose [422] property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of [539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning [833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered [302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

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231 The purifier-sorcerer need not be present at this last ceremony.
821 Their role and presence were essential only on the day of purification. They always come away with handsome rewards, leaving on the spot protective herbs or lucky amulets (impigi za Biheko).

3. In some localities individuals also resort to these doctors
753 in mystical sciences upon the death of a leper or the burning of a hut.
783 a. The natives have an acute aversion to contagious diseases and especially to leprosy. Once the unfortunate victim of one of those terrible diseases is dead, the purifier-sorcerer is called in to carry out various ceremonies. He tosses lustral water upon the hut of the deceased, and finally sets fire to it. The onlookers run far away in order to avoid the smoke, as though it could transmit the disease of the deceased owner.

In the central province of Nduga, the sorcerer has a small hut built in which he places the son of the deceased. With one hand he sets fire to the hut, while with the other he rapidly snatches the child out of it.

The leprosy is supposed to have vanished forever, and henceforth no other member of the family will become its victim. The sorcerer vouches for this. /440/

b. In order to avoid the evils which might befall the owner of a hut that has burned or even his neighbors, the same sorcerer is resorted to. He makes his clients drink the liquid mentioned previously.

The site of the hut is sprinkled with lustral water, and the bystanders are also sprinkled with it.

Three reeds stuck into the ground and covered with banana leaves make an improvised hut in which the owner and his wife must stay for an instant (baryamana). The evil spell has been lifted. Henceforth, nothing is to be feared (bamaz' umuriro or bamaze ishyano, that is to say, "they have warded off all misfortune"). The diseases which might have afflicted those present at the accident and their unborn children have been averted forever.

791 In the Bugoyi, to the northeast of Lake Kivu, the role of protector against fire and its deadly consequences is the prerogative of a special category of sorcerers known by the title of Abahozi or

539 Nd' uwawe, nd' uw' imanzi. — I am yours, I am the Hero's (man).
Nkazibgira, Muzima. — I speak to him (to this Hero), oh perfect (king)!
Nivugire, nd' uwinganji. — Let me rejoice, I am (the man) of the Victorious.
Witwa Ndabagize. — You are named (oh king!) the master of their fate. /453/

[195] We may add that in order to observe the rules of euphony, the black men of letters are permitted to use poetic license and deliberately to make errors of syntax, construction, conjugation, etc.

Third Example

Akanganiro k' umubyeyi w' umwana. — Conversation of a mother with her child (to amuse him).
Umugor' atiny' umugabo. — The wife fears her husband.
Umugab' atiny' umwami. — The man fears the king.
Umwam' agatiny' inkuba. — The king fears lightning.
Inkub ' igatiny' umugano. — Lightning fears bamboo (1).

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1. The Banyarwanda, especially those who live in the mountains, have the custom of setting up a long bamboo stem in the court-yard near their hut to protect against lightning. They believe that the latter is caged and harmless when it splits the bamboo.

539 Umwan' atinya nyina. — A child fears (respects) his mother.
Umugan' ugatiny' umuliro. — Bamboo fears fire (2).

[372]

2. "Bamboo fears fire" because people who live near the forest burn chiefly bamboo.

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Figurative terms are used to speak of the king's death:

gutabara ..... "to go to the aid," "to go to war"
gutanga ..... "to hand over" (the drum to the successor)
kunywa ..... "to drink" (poison)
gussaza ..... "to grow old"
gusezera ..... "to take leave"
ijuru ryaguye ..... "the sky has fallen"

644 3. It would be most disrespectful to allude to anything pertaining to his eventual death. While on a trip the king must avoid passing too close to cemeteries or even to the mere "night stops" (ilaro, amalaro), where the bodies of his predecessors were laid in the course of their transfer to the royal necropolises.

[767] Nor is he permitted to spend the night in those villages which are inhabited by the undertakers.

The latter in turn must avoid appearing in his presence and must employ an intermediary when they have to deal with the king.

As if the thought, likeness, or memory of death could shorten his days or bring misfortune upon him!

4. Whenever possible His Majesty must avoid bending his knees (guhina), so as not to risk a reduction in the area of his kingdom (2). /493/

[821] 2. When caught by a storm or bad weather the king must not quicken his pace; he must proceed quietly to shelter. Rain is regarded as a blessing due to the influence of the prince. A quickening of his pace might bring the beneficial downpour to an end.

We believe that this popular belief will soon be pushed into the background, and that the monarch will become less willing to submit to all the demands of his position.

773
[778]

to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

[821]

It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

[825]

It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

527 As we can see, the origins of this practice are obscure. Could a trace of the Sabbath or Sunday be involved here?

The hypothesis would be fairly plausible, especially if one supposes that the Batutsi originally came from Egypt or Abyssinia.

Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it used to be strictly observed. Many pagans who live far from European settlements still observe it today. Like their ancestors, /538/ they [821] lend it a superstitious meaning. If hail should fall on that day, they would not fail to attribute it to a supernatural punishment and to place the responsibility on those who were caught breaking the rule. "One didn't hesitate," the elders relate, "to insult the delinquents, to rob them or even to strike them if need be, and it was not unusual to be taken to task, so highly was this custom regarded."

769 The great chiefs also do for the dead members of their families, proportionately speaking, what the king does for his own ancestors (1). Each of the huts which make up their homes, for usually

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1. The Bega preferably take their dead to the Budaha region, which is one of their fees. The regent Kabale and one of his favorite wives, Kirumwero, were buried in the village of Ngoma, near Gatare hill. His father Lwagara had been buried at Gisunzu, not far from Munzanga, and his brother Lwibishengo at Nyamutukura. His son Nyantabana and one of his grandsons were interred at Lwasankuba.

The Banyiginya choose their burial sites in enemy country to check invasions and to wreak evil on foreigners (Abanyamuhanga).

Before it was joined to the Crown, the isle of Idjwi served as a final

791 Soothsayers, Sorcerers, and Medicine Men. Besides the
787 babandwa, there are several categories of people in Mulem who know how to exercise power over the living and over spirits in supernatural ways. We shall speak here of bapfumu, bahuzi, balozi, bachunyi, bahinza, and bawubyi.

[319] Bapfumu have the task of communicating with the spirits of the dead (bazimu). They are visited when a death has occurred in the family, and a present of food, sometimes even a goat, is brought to them. They then tell the family where it would be most suitable to build the spirit hut of the deceased (ndaro). Since the mupfumu remains in contact with the spirits of the dead and since these spirits cause illness, he is asked whether a sick person will recover. The mupfumu gives answers with the help of the little board oracle.

The special duty of the bahuzi is to discover poisoners who are known here as balozi and in the Runyoro territory was balogu. If many deaths occur, poisoning is immediately suspected. The muhuzi is summoned to handle this, and it is his task to determine
[682] who the poisoner is. If discovered, the criminal can be killed, and the evil can, at least for the future, be remedied. The muhuzi goes from one compound to another with his enchanted antelope horn. Everywhere he is most hospitably received by the head of the family who gives him gifts. All are afraid that if he were displeased he might point to them as poisoners, and this always means death. On his rounds the muhuzi is told by the horn where the poison is to be found and who the poisoner is.

791 Persons struck by lightning are also treated by the muhuzi.
●821 If lightning strikes a herd of cattle, the owner utters a cry of joy
232 which consists of a long drawn-out "hoo..." as he strikes his lips with his hand. This call is supplemented by the news that the king is taking back his cattle. This is done in order to save the animals that have been stunned. The maganga huzi is then fetched and tries to heal the animals with herbs. For his efforts he is presented with the jaws of the dead animals and the meat on them. The horns of the dead animals are buried at the spot where they
[787] were stricken. Another task of the bahuzi is to prophesy to the sick the outcome of their illness.

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than 766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

Sacred Cows

233
778 The idea for this select group is traced back to Ruganzu. These special herds are known as inyambo, or long-horned cattle, and they are always selected among the finest in the land. They are not all of the same color.

Among other hues, the following predominate: dusty red (ibihogo by' issine), purplish red (ibihogo by' igaju), red speckled with [822] white (ibihogo by' imyeru), and black and white, which are all favorite colors of the Batutsi.

Special cowherds are in charge of watching over those herds, which usually graze in the Buganza.

They are led to the capital for festivals or public celebrations. The finest animals, known as inyamibga or indatwa /510/ (from the word kurata, "to show off"), lead the herd.

There is usually only one or two of these in each herd, and they are accustomed to walking ahead of the others. Their horns, brow, and neck are covered with rows of beads and small antelope horns which serve as ornaments (imitako n' imiheha). Also included [824] are stems of the sacrosanct umwishwa grass, which the cowherds also wear on chest and head on numerous occasions. Then special [535] dances take place which are organized by the keepers of the herd or even by the Batwa and in which the animals participate with their mooing.

The cows are quite familiar with this kind of sport, and they seem to take an interest in it and watch the motions of the dancers. The latter emit special guttural cries all the while, in order to excite the animals further.

Performances of this sort are highly esteemed by the Banyarwanda and attract large crowds.

After the celebration the sacred cows return to their Buganza pastures. Their keepers treat them with great care and are the only ones permitted to milk them, just as they are the only ones to drink their milk.

The calves are gorged with milk and weaned quite late.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat animals who died a natural death, they are strictly forbidden

695 The last two allegations imply that sad consequences could result if a person expresses intentions that are hostile to the king. The person making the statement publicly announces that if he told a lie he would willingly suffer persecution for threatening the sacred person of the king. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, who could probably set a record for lying, use this phrase constantly.

In doubtful cases where the testimony of witnesses is not at hand or is not sufficiently credible, as well as in cases where the use of sorcery is suspected, the poison test (kihango) is resorted to. The poison test is conducted by the babandwa [members of secret societies who conduct ceremonies].

In Kissaka the poison is dissolved in water and handed to both parties in two cow horns. This gives the mubandwa an opportunity to influence the outcome directly and to use his own judgment in determining the guilty one. Although this makes it very easy for a person to misuse the poison test, the people of Kissaka be-
[797] lieve in it. Even the Christians do, in spite of the otherwise very great influence of the mission. The poison test seldom results in death in Ruanda, for the person taking it can immediately spit and vomit. The poison is not always drunk, for not infrequently the mubandwa is satisfied to dip his thumb into the poison and stick it into the mouth of the person, who may immediately expectorate. In such cases the effect is purely a psychological one. [285] Father L. Classe, who lived in the country seven years, never heard of a death caused by the poison test.

Another very important form of evidence is testimony from the entrails of chickens killed for this purpose. We shall discuss this somewhat more fully below in connection with religious practices.

Quite independent of the chicken oracle, there is a chick oracle that is conducted in the following way. The accused takes a very small chick and carries it in his hand a whole day. If
[822] the chick dies, the man is guilty, yiera bura (he is black). If the chick does not die, the man is innocent, yeira [sic] bwera (he is white). A very strange color association for the Negro world (see page 145).

All forms of evidence and allegation, such as the poison test, the chicken oracle, the spear oath, and the Musinga oath, are

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

564 Three socio-'racial' castes are to be
distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of
563 the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa,
162 hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

113 The world in which men are placed and which they know through their
senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to
176 produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say
that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

172 The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material
world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat;
[823] its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms)
821 stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

113 In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been
some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the
[823] kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, crea-
[825] tures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

112 This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old
(people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

133 Then there are in order of size: Mohazi in the Buganza, Mugessera and Sake in the Gissaka, Ruhondo (at an altitude of 1, 750 meters) and Bolero (at 1, 065 meters) in Mulera, and Karago in Lwankeri plain.

In the Bugessera there are several ponds: Murago, Mirayi, Kagomasi, Chohoha, Gaharwa, Kilimbi, etc. The small land of Bgiriri, which is adjacent to Gissaka toward the south, includes Birira /pond/.

The two rivers that wind through Ruanda are: the Nyabarongo /Nyawarongo/ (1) and the Akanyaru (2). The former, to which

[103] 1. Nyabarongo, from the verb kulongora, kulongoroka, "to go far away." This river was called thus because it flows throughout Ruanda.

[103] 2. Akanyaru, from the verb kunyaruka, "to rush." The speed of its flow gave rise to this name.

Mr. Kandt, the last German resident, gave the name of Caput Nili ("Source of the Nile") in a well-known book, is formed by the junction of two rivers, the Mwogo (3) and the Lukarara.

[823] 3. The violence of its flow and the volume of its waters during the rainy season occasion numerous tragic accidents, hence the expression: "Mwogo! Thou doth not kill men, thou only taketh away those who come (of their own accord) to meet death," Mwogo! ntiwich' abantu, wicha abakwizaniye.

[539]

671 theft, arson, and destruction of crops caused to a neighbor, grazing rights, the levying of taille /head tax/ and forced labor, etc. Culprits [696] of high lineage and wealthy people often extricated themselves with money and innocent people sometimes payed for offenders, especially when false witnesses were suborned.

The Pit of the Bugessera

133 Among the various torture spots such as the swamp, called ● 823 Nkonde in the Buberuka, the Nshimbo swamp near Lukaza, the 681 Ruboneye swamp near Nyanza, the place called "Ficus-tree spot" 696 (ku Kivumu), certain rapids of the Akanyaru and Nyabarongo rivers, etc., it was the pit of the Bugessera that left the most evil memory. Its reputation is highly sinister, owing to the illustrious offenders who were tossed into it and also to the legends that circulate about this accursed place.

The pit is located in the Bugessera region, not far from one of Lwabugiri's ancient residences, which it is surprising to find in the middle of this deserted region.

The landscape is stark, even wild, and darkened by the memory of the tragic executions it witnessed. /382/

681 The pit is a sort of depression in a rocky area (ibuye ryasamye), 696 about three or four meters deep. It is more or less filled with stagnant 823 rain water according to the time of year, and it is half choked with mud (1). Clumps of trees of various kinds make islets of greenery and

1. The Blacks like to account for the peculiarities of rocks and boulders, whose shapes and cavities invite comparisons. They tend to attribute these formations to the influence of men or demigods. They gave the name of "Bayanga's little beer boat" (umuvule) to another depression located near the preceding one and which to their eyes had that appearance. All around

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the "little boat" there are cavities or small holes upon which the Mututsi Bayanga, according to the same tradition, placed the beer jars (ibiteleko by' ibibindi by' inzoga).

The torture spots sometimes borrowed their name from the first victim to be sacrificed there, such as Nkonde, Ruboneye, Nshimbo, etc.

break the monotony of that vast plain on which only herders and hunters roam.

Tradition adds that a Mututsi formerly lived not far from the pit and led his herds to water there.

His name, Bayanga, remained bound to the spot (urwobo rwa Bayanga). Cursed by some king whose name is now forgotten, the place was later deserted.

It seems, however, that the pit was not put to its new and tragic use until the reign of King Lwabugiri, who settled with his court in the middle of the Bugessera waste around 1886 or 1889 in order to be closer to the Urundi he hoped to conquer. The presence and proximity of the pit probably suggested to him the idea of tossing criminals and convicted political offenders into it. It was a short step from thought to deed. The first victims, at least those whose name has been preserved, date from the time of Lwabugiri's reign.

Since this is a remote place that inspires terror, it is known only to the executioners and to the few inhabitants of the Bugessera. Fancy took charge of this cursed place and wove fantastic tales about it which are naïvely believed by the populace. /383/

It is said that anyone who drinks of the water will die instantly. Even to wash one's hands in it or merely touch it would have the same result. It is said that a hunter who was a stranger to the land and who quenched his thirst at the pit contracted leprosy on the spot and died after horrible sufferings. This same water is said to be fatal

681 to birds and animals such as buffalo, gazelles, wild boars, dogs.
696 Even if the latter should not die immediately, their masters would
● 823 have to kill them for fear of being stricken themselves by contagion.

Each night, they say, smoke and flames rise from that awful place and cast a reddish glare on the horizon (1).

1. The grass fires at the end of summer must not be foreign to this association of thoughts and images.

It is also said that the waters have the color of blood (atukura, assa n'amarasso). Every time an offender is led to the pit, the waters rise suddenly as though to fetch the victim (ngw' abon' umugome, akassama). After swallowing their prey, the waters subside. Then protracted cries and moans (akaboroga, akater' induru) arise from the bottom of the pit.

The pit is so deep, it is commonly said, that its waters join those of Lake Kivu (ngw' aja hasi, afatanye n'i Kivu).

Considering such stories, one can easily understand why people should speak with terror of that cursed place.

In actual fact, the victims were strangled or killed with spears
681 before they were thrown into the water.
696 An attempt was made to submerge the bodies, but they would rise once more to the surface. The hyenas quickly disposed of them. After leaving the place of torture, the executioners would go a certain distance to another depression, usually filled with water, in order to clean their weapons and wash their blood-stained hands. /384/

[848] Traitors and enemies, bewitchers and ranking political
[845] prisoners were not the sole victims of the accursed pit. Among those
[847] condemned to die at that sinister spot were also freak babies (ibimara),
[826] unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), children born during the period of mourning held for their father (inda y'amabi) sometimes along with their mother, young girls whose breasts had not grown (impenebere) (1)..., and calves born in a "faulty" manner (ubufuti), such as those whose legs... came first.

643 There must have been few kings who benevolently left this life of their own accord.

Popular belief has accepted too many fables on the subject. It was still said recently that Queen Mother Nyiramavugo, a grandmother of King Lwabugiri who must have died around 1860, was the first to refuse the poison when old age drew near in spite of the dictates of custom and tradition. "Since that day," say the common people, "the Abiru, or keepers of the customs, who are in charge of this task and duty have not dared mention it anymore to kings and queens."

2. The Corpse of the Royal Dead is "Smoked"

766 "When a king died," the same people go on, "two Batutsi from important families were seized and killed forthwith near the body."
643 This was called "to make the king's pillow" (gusegurir' umwami). Those men were given to him to accompany and serve him in the spirit world.

[641] A subject counts for nothing while the king is all important. It is proper, therefore, to send him at least two men chosen from the highest social stratum.

"They did not dare observe this rite," add the narrators, "at the death of the last king, Lwabugiri (in 1895)." /517/

When a queen mother died, two great ladies of the same (Mututsi) /Batutsi/ race were sacrificed. It is the Banyamugogo, or [767] "men with the big (mourning) log," who are in charge of funeral ceremonies. They make up the royal corporation of undertakers, although their name does not indicate this outright. They are called "men with the big (mourning) log," owing to the custom which demands that a wooden log be burned for three or four days after the [824] death of an individual. For this purpose, one deliberately chooses a green log of red-bloom erythrina (umuko), a symbolic tree that recalls the death of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the famous secret society of initiates (imandwa).

The body of the dead king is transported from his last home, [823] which will henceforth be called Gisozi ("Big hill") (1), to one of the

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1. This expression "big hill" is readily understood by the natives, because it serves to designate the spot where a reigning monarch drew his last breath.

sacred groves (2) reserved for royal tombs by custom or tradition.

[778]

2. We owe the reader an explanation of the expression "sacred grove, " which will recur frequently. The word "sacred" is taken here in a broad and technical sense to mean that these groves are set aside and closed to laymen, who may not enter them. They are guarded by official watchmen, who see to it that the grounds are properly respected.

The Banyamugogo, who become the temporary masters of the area, have a large hut built and enlist for its construction the services of neighboring people.

There the remains of the sovereign are sheltered and laid upon a grid in the middle of the hut, about 1. 50 meters above ground. The members of the corporation keep a fire burning under the grid for several days in order to dry out the corpse and prevent it from putrefying.

The body, which lies on a bed of skins, is constantly moved so that the heat from the fire may reach all its parts. /518/

The keepers of the hut take turns without interruption, day and night, by the fire they must maintain. Meanwhile, no layman may come near the place under penalty of death.

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The undertakers keep up their work until, according to popular belief, the corpse gives birth to a leopard, which is at first

769 The bazimu, the spirits of the dead, are feared. They are not good. They are responsible for the misfortunes and torments that plague one. In Mulera, at any rate, this may be related to the well-known unfortunate position of old men.

Every father of a family offers sacrifices to his ancestors and his deceased relatives in the ndaro, the small grass huts near his compound and the place where the spirits dwell. Ndaro means "sleeping place," "resting place," and, according to Father Buisson, is derived from the verb kurara "to sleep." I should like to point out, however, the similarity between this word and ndako which in the Bangala and Ababua [Babua] dialects simply means "house." Sacrifices are also made in the sacred niche of every hut.

782 769 For sacrifices to the manes, a fire is built in front of the huts and around it sticks are placed in the ground, to which are fastened small bits of meat, lumps of umutsima, etc. Small vessels (imperezo) of beer are also set out. These offerings are taken from the meat and umutsima (stiff millet mush) which the sacrificer brought with him. The rest he eats himself.

[299] Offerings are also placed inside the huts. Frequently the more valuable offerings are only temporarily exposed. Later they are eaten by the family of the sacrificer. This is said to be the case when, in accordance with custom, the foreleg of a slain animal is offered for a deceased girl. This is not always true, however, for I repeatedly saw rotting forelegs of goats hanging in the ndaro. "To offer to the spirits" is called kutonora bazimu. To the spirits of one's parents the ribs and entrails of slain animals are usually offered.

[415]

775 ●823 Fig. 162. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13096. 8 centimeters high.)

Underworld. Not all the spirits of the dead remain in the vicinity of their ndaro to be taken care of by their families and to lead a peaceful existence. Many spirits, after death, live in the volcanoes, and the activity of these fire mountains is connected with them.

According to the Balera, Ryangombe is said to live in Muhawura with the souls of those who were dedicated to him in life. They constitute his court and his retinue.

At the court of Ryangombe there are not infrequently angry disputes among his retinue. Then they usually throw stones, and

775 sometimes large quantities of these reach the outside world. I
823 repeatedly heard this explanation of volcanic activity. It sometimes happens, however, that Ryangombe drives spirits into the outer world as a punishment. Then they torment the living, who must make sacrifices so that Ryangombe will take the spirits back and thus free the living from molestation by these homeless.

[103] People from the region of Bobandana, whom I met on the way to Rutshuru, called Mount Nyiragongo Kilima ya Mungu, "Mountain of the Gods."

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) also says that Ryangombe allegedly

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-03]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

lived in Muhawura with his court which consists of the souls of the babandwa dedicated to him. Only the souls of the nsigo, that is, the profane and those initiated into other cults, go to Nyiragongo after death. However, he concedes that, according to other accounts, Ryangombe lives in Nyiragongo.

The volcanoes play a very important role in the supernatural world of Ruanda. Captain Von Beringe (2) mentions that the birunga

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, pp. 36, 37.

(plural of kirunga, "volcano") are named after the spirits which are said to live in them, such as Sabinio, Karisimbi, Mikeno, Nyamlagira, and Gonga. The last is the oldest among them. Formerly Nyamlagira, who was later exiled, was said to have lived with him. The later event is perhaps an allusion to the recent origin of the youngest volcano in this group.

[532] [300] Memorial Trees. There are no pictorial representations of the dead in Ruanda. I saw no sculpture or wood carvings that referred to them.

243 are then scattered from the swinging hand onto the level ground, after which some soil is sprinkled on the seed by hand. Eleusine (uwuro) is sown in the same manner. The ripe ears of these two types of millet are each individually cut from the stalks with a knife. This is also the method used for corn and rice. Then the ears are spread on the firm ground in front of the huts and threshed with switches. Some of the sorghum [252] is ground into flour, but most of it is used for brewing beer. [273] Eleusine is mainly ground into flour from which the daily ugali mush (umudsima) is made.

The Barundi grow tobacco (itabi) in small quantities near 249 almost every homestead, as has been mentioned above. The delicate plant is cared for so poorly, however, that it yields a mediocre product. Uvira tobacco, which is traded in considerable amounts in the Tanganyika area, is of much better quality. [53] The Barundi put the tobacco seeds into small holes dug into the soil with a hoe. The young seedlings are not transplanted, but the Barundi clear and irrigate the surrounding soil from time to time. As soon as the plant begins to blossom (red, not white), the leaves are picked off and strung up on bast strings to dry in the sun. Then, for fermentation and storage, they are wrapped in dry banana leaves. In spite of its terrible appearance, 276 the tobacco does not have a bad aroma, but it is so strong that even the Barundi seldom smoke it. In most cases it is smoked only by old men and women. The others are all inveterate snuff-takers (see p.59), whereas in Ruanda tobacco is only rarely taken as snuff but is smoked in considerable amounts.

[824] Tobacco is regarded by the Barundi in the same way as all narcotics are regarded by primitive peoples: as possessing [758] mysterious powers. From this originates the custom of stuffing a pinch of snuff up the nose of a person who has fainted. Also, the young bridegroom blows tobacco smoke at his wife, and so forth (No. 19, p. 557).

244 Several kinds of pumpkins (imboga) are likewise grown merely as garden produce or interspersed among bananas or sorghum, in particular a variety which is round and as big as a head, and another smaller variety that looks almost like a

Their Food is Varied

262 It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate
[241] a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ébikoro), squash and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain
[263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/, who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and
[272] intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with
[273] a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their
263 everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824]

1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from
258 263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824]

1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

769 This explains his invocations, offerings, and libations before the hood-shaped shelter that contains the angered spirit who was pointed out to him.

The Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ is bound by the law of taboos
784 (imiziro).

He may not smoke or sit on a chair during a thunderstorm. A woman may not use a billhook to cut grass. She may eat only cow meat. The flesh of certain animals is forbidden, /56/ in some cases to every Munyarwanda, in others to certain clans only. The objects used by a deceased person and the food that was in the hut at the time of his death are taboo. At the end of the mourning period, all these things will be purified with lustral water. The widow herself will have to go through the rites of purification.

Work is forbidden on certain days. The relatives of a deceased person give up all their occupations for four or five days.

Upon the death of the king, all work in the fields is prohibited for three months. In certain parts of Ruanda, one stops work for one day when a child is born, when a hut has burned down, when there has been a hailstorm, even when a dog has died. Some taboos only affect the king.

The burial method peculiar to the Banyarwanda, which
763 incidentally is shared by other African peoples, must now be mentioned. When a sick person is about to die and spreads his arms and legs, his relatives bring his knees up to the chin. His arms are bent at the elbows and his hands are made to cover his face.

764 This crouching position is the absolute rule among pagans. It is not far-fetched to state that this most uncomfortable position, when forced on a dying person, makes breathing very difficult and shortens his last moments.

In the right hand of the deceased, one places the leaves of
[824] plants with magical properties, ishoza, umulembe, umwishwa, seeds of squash, sorghum, and issogi, and lamb's wool. All these things are symbols explained by the following words pronounced on this occasion, "Return to us as a limb (with the sweetness of a lamb)! Return to us without thorns (like the plants, soft to the touch, that we have given thee), that is to say, without mean intentions."

644 According to popular belief, this choice is made in a very interesting
643 manner. The umbilical cords of the young princes are buried separate-
787 ly in pots of ficus wood (umwuko), with gourd, sorghum, eleusine, and native spinach (issogi) seeds planted all around them (1). The

[824]

1. These seeds are designated by the name of mbuto nkuru, that is to say, "the major seeds." Eleusine and sorghum play an important role in the diet by yielding a sort of native bread. Spinach is also highly valued because of the flavor it lends to the beans with which it is cooked. The Banyarwanda also include in this category the seeds of a special gourd called inzungwane, which is hollowed out when ripe. It is used to store beer, and it is this relationship to pombe, so highly appreciated by the natives, which lends so much importance to the seed.

According to another popular belief, the successor to the throne is the one among the king's sons born with the "major seeds" in his right hand.

After subjugating the Bahutu by force, the Hamites insured their obedience by exploiting their credulity.

[252]

[415]

future holder of the drum is pointed out by the most plentiful harvest. According to these naive people, the umbilical cords are /376/ then discarded except for that of the crown prince, which must be preserved (1).

784 A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another
[842] path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband.

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest,
787 it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

789 In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a
691 mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer
[273] made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

784 There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange)
●824 is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

● 824

1. The Blacks set great store by plants with magic properties. It would be easy to make up a long list of them. A whole separate study could be made about them, in view of the number and importance of popular beliefs concerning the vegetable world. "From the most humble herbs to the largest trees," says Fr. Sébillot, "/plants/ play a role which for many years has drawn the interest of scholars." (Le Folklore /Folklore/.)

783

2. "Spear purifiers" (abahanyi b' amachumu) and their exorcisms.

The word umuhanyi, plural abahanyi, comes from the verb guhana, which means literally "to punish, to reprimand." It is only in a figurative sense that it means "to purify." The word guhanula is used to describe the performance of the purifying rites. /416/

The spear purifier exercises his functions at the time of a murder or assassination.

He is called upon by the victim's relatives to give satisfaction to the dead person and the members of his family by aiding them to obtain justice for the spilt blood with his mysterious procedures. He purifies the spear or death weapon with the aim of preventing or arresting the fatal consequences which the murder would not fail to involve for the dead person's relatives. The latter, fearing that they will undergo the same fate as their dead kinsman, call upon the sorcerer. He often works simultaneously with the "conjurer of spirits" (umushyitsi, umuhamagazi), who also has a role to play at this time, and sometimes both functions are filled by the same man. Among other rites, for we do not intend to describe them all (they would be more pertinent to a study dealing exclusively with funeral ceremonies), we shall cite only those pertaining to the role and function of the "spear purifier."

789 The sorcerer mutilator cuts off a tiny piece (isonga) from the tongue,
751 heart, little finger (umuhera), and skin, and these pieces are dried above the hearth. All of this is then enclosed in a small horn, preferably black, which the assassin wears around his neck as a talisman and which guards him not only against his victim but also against the latter's relatives.

It is also good to procure some of the herb called irago or umurago which has been planted on the slain man's grave. /420/

If this is added to the other gruesome items contained by the horn, the talisman becomes more powerful.

We may add that these people charge very high fees for their services. A bull, at least, is required.

C. Sorcerers who preside over ordeals and who prepare the
695 test poisons. Sorcerers of this type bear the name of Abashozi, hence the verbs gushora, "to put someone through a test," and gushoka (a neutral verb) to designate the test itself.

It does seem that here in Ruanda ordeals are employed only in criminal cases and that their sole object is to prove the innocence or culpability of those who submit to them, as was formerly done in the Middle Ages. Our Blacks have such faith and trust in such judicial methods that they believe in their absolute effectiveness. They have never given a thought to the absurdity of those divinatory tests, in which chance and fraud play such a predominant role.

Such tests are numerous, but the most widespread is that which
695 consists of drinking or smoking the urwizilinga, a kind of shrub that
278 seems to bear at least a superficial resemblance to datura (1). In any

[824]

1. Moavi is used as the test poison practically throughout the rest of Africa. This plant does not seem to exist in Ruanda. The matter, nevertheless, would be worth investigating.

case their effects are similar.

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
766 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
821 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824 umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783] avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

192

198 Umumkari — Umugore — Woman
Umwere wa giti — Umwana — Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

[824]
[234]

3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

644 727 Among the other families who played a role at court, we may cite the aBasingo, Batchaba, and aBagessera. The Basingo, a subdivision of the powerful Biru clan, fulfill a special function in wartime along with the "Cursers" (Abahenyi).

They are in charge of "closing the path" to the enemy (gukingir' ababisha) by gathering all the monsters, real or fancied, who [787] are regarded by the Blacks as evil portents and therefore designated by the term intsiro. This covers chiefly black goats, black chicks whose entrails were found to "turn black" when examined by the diviners, that is to say, unfavorable to the enemy, dissolute mothers (ibinyandaro), children born out of wedlock, children born during the mourning period held for one of their relatives (umwana w'amabi), young girls with undeveloped breasts (impenebere), old women who remained sterile through life (umugetchuru w'igicha mbyaro), and other true monsters with real and visible defects, who are designated by the generic name of ibimara or ibimazi.

644 342 The aBatchaba, another branch of the great /460/ aBiru family, select and measure the sites of royal huts. They hang in the interior of the hut, and later fasten outside, some branches of trees with magic properties (1) which according to popular belief exercise a

[824]

1. Among those plants or trees with magic properties, we may cite the ficus (umuvumu), the red-bloom erythrina (umuko), the plant called irarire, etc.

salutary influence over the inhabitants or owners of the huts. It is the duty of their wives and daughters to meet the victorious warriors, singing and dancing, and thus congratulate them for their feats of valor. They also take part in the traditional celebrations which are held when the king takes official possession of a newly built hut and enters it for the first time with a wife chosen especially for the occasion (2).

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known.

754 278 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other [164] people (1).

1. This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great [578] curse, "May you die of tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu).

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu), [841] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia [824 847] (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example, muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 824 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract [224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

278 Igisura belongs to the Urticaceae family.

824 This plant grows to a height of about 1.50 meters. Sufferers from yaws drink its juice as a remedy. They must be careful not to take too heavy a dose, so as not to risk a serious intoxication.

It is rumored that ill-disposed people have used one or another of those plants, and in particular the mutambasha, or rat poison, to wreak their vengeance and do away with their enemies.

754 Small packets of herbs were found in the possession of people
609 suspected of practicing the poisoner's vocation.

For what purpose had those plants been gathered? Perhaps the sorcerer had tried to lend them a harmfulness which of themselves they did not possess. Backbiters in the land insist that once at least royal hands mixed those allegedly noxious substances into milk, honey, and butter intended for Europeans who were passing through. The said person achieved no results, however, and this led him /or her/ to say that it was impossible to get rid of the Whites, that poisons, spells, and bewitchment had no hold over them. We are inclined to believe that in this case charms and philters were involved rather than noxious substances.

754 It is said that the penultimate king of the Uswi, Gasusuro,
178 one of the regular suppliers of such products, replied to the court envoys one fine day when they came to fetch the goods that henceforth he would not supply them, that he was through with all poisons. It is also quite /489/ possible that his answer was dictated by the fear of being caught practicing this vocation. Let us add for the sake of truthfulness that the days are long since past when such things could be said or plotted against Europeans (1).

1. The Blacks live in the almost constant fear of bewitchment and poisoning.

[761] Rickets, tuberculosis, and sudden or strange deaths, especially when the corpse swells up immediately, could have no other cause in their opinion.

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How many unfortunate people
payed with their lives for having
been falsely accused of such
supposed misdeeds!

789 The use of charms to win the good graces of Europeans survived
648 only by a few years the use of the above-mentioned poisons. When the latter were tagged as ineffective /to Europeans/, or at least dangerous in their consequences, charms (inzaratsi) were resorted to. The makers of charms, called by the generic name of Abanyamihango, "men of the traditions," exercise a vocation which is regarded as lucrative and honorable as long as the professionals do not overstep the limits of their art.

Public opinion indeed accuses them, most probably wrongly, of deceiving people and giving them poison instead of inoffensive
832 charms. Women, especially, resort to their art and use their powders
278 to draw upon themselves the attention and favors of an unfaithful or forgetful husband. Sorcerers in this category use for this purpose the following plants and shrubs: umukunde, which bears the evocative
[824] name of "tree of love," umutanga, umugobora, umukeri, a kind of wild bramble, nkurimonga, umuhire, buryoher' imfizi, that is, "the plant that suits the taste of bulls," etc. The makers of philters take the bark, leaves, or roots of those plants and dry them in the sun. The whole thing is crushed and reduced to powder. One need only put a little of this powder into beer or butter, or else /490/ rub it onto a stick or spear, to obtain the desired effect. The neglected wife who manages to make her husband drink this beer will inevitably regain
[302] first place in his heart. The result is the same if the husband anoints his limbs and body with the butter containing the precious powder.

The use of a walking stick or the bearing of a spear rubbed
789 with one of those powders will bring good luck to the owner. His
648 words and requests will all be accepted, and those he addresses will be unable to do him any harm.

This is why the king and court dignitaries attempted in their turn to use this simple and effective means of winning over the hearts of the Europeans and of swaying them toward their own needs and

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home, on the advice of his familiars, in a hut that stood nearby. The sorcerers assured him that he had nothing more to fear on the part of the spirits, who had been given full satisfaction by means of this trick.

643 Upon the accession of each new king to the throne, a special envoy went to the Ruzizi Valley and drew water from a spring called Zina. He took some of that water and brought it for the young monarch to drink.

The reasons for this custom, which has now fallen into disuse, have been forgotten.

Chapter 6

I. The Two Great Festivals at Court

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The two most important celebrations (ibirori) take place at the official presentation of the "First Fruits," and on the day following the annual mourning period, which the king and his court must observe.

This latter feast, which closes the month of June, is celebrated with the same pomp and richness. Since it will be described in the chapter dealing with honors rendered to the spirits of the royal dead, we shall discuss here only the festival called "First-Fruits" festival.

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In their enthusiasm and admiration for Ruganzu II, the Victorious, the Banyarwanda go so far as to credit him with almost every food plant or grain they possess. Special mention is made of sorghum, eleusine, and a kind of wild plant /499/ known by the name of issogi (1), owing to their importance in the local economy.

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1. The Banyarwanda prepare the stem and leaves of issogi as though it were spinach.

Their introduction into Ruanda by the great monarch is the subject of numerous tales that are more or less contradictory.

We shall cite only the best-known ones.

"A chief in the Bumbogo country, " according to one tradition, "had abducted and married Ruganzu's sister to his great dissatisfaction, and he had sworn to wreak a signal vengeance upon him. In order to appease the wrath of his royal brother-in-law, the abductor thought it best to send him envoys with gifts. Among the latter were several baskets of sorghum and eleusine, which were then unknown in Ruanda.

"The king recognized their importance and forgave the offender forthwith, but laid upon him the obligation of bringing one basketful of each plant to the capital every year. The king distributed the first consignments among the chiefs and advised them to plant them and watch over their growth. "

According to another version, Ruganzu was passing through the Bumbogo when he saw an ant (imonyo) dragging a handsome grain along the path. He pointed this out to one of his followers. "Look at this ant, " he said. "Let's see what it is holding in its mouth. " The Banyarwanda had never seen a grain like that one.

The king ordered it to be preserved with care.

Upon his return to the capital he had it planted in the ground. Six months later a handsome ear was harvested, and its grains were sowed anew. Two years later the harvest was such that the precious grain could be distributed to a number of persons. The cultivation of this cereal, which /500/ was given the name of sorghum, soon spread throughout Ruanda.

On another occasion when Ruganzu was traveling across the same land of Bumbogo, he suddenly stopped before a hut from which there emanated a delicious cooking odor. "What could be the food that gives forth such a delicious aroma?" he exclaimed. The woman of the household invited the prince to come in, uncovered the pot, and showed him the famous issogi plant (spinach) that she was cooking

Sacred Cows

233
778 The idea for this select group is traced back to Ruganzu. These special herds are known as inyambo, or long-horned cattle, and they are always selected among the finest in the land. They are not all of the same color.

Among other hues, the following predominate: dusty red (ibihogo by' issine), purplish red (ibihogo by' igaju), red speckled with [822] white (ibihogo by' imyeru), and black and white, which are all favorite colors of the Batutsi.

Special cowherds are in charge of watching over those herds, which usually graze in the Buganza.

They are led to the capital for festivals or public celebrations. The finest animals, known as inyamibga or indatwa /510/ (from the word kurata, "to show off"), lead the herd.

There is usually only one or two of these in each herd, and they are accustomed to walking ahead of the others. Their horns, brow, and neck are covered with rows of beads and small antelope horns which serve as ornaments (imitako n' imiheha). Also included [824] are stems of the sacrosanct umwishwa grass, which the cowherds also wear on chest and head on numerous occasions. Then special [535] dances take place which are organized by the keepers of the herd or even by the Batwa and in which the animals participate with their mooing.

The cows are quite familiar with this kind of sport, and they seem to take an interest in it and watch the motions of the dancers. The latter emit special guttural cries all the while, in order to excite the animals further.

Performances of this sort are highly esteemed by the Banyarwanda and attract large crowds.

After the celebration the sacred cows return to their Buganza pastures. Their keepers treat them with great care and are the only ones permitted to milk them, just as they are the only ones to drink their milk.

The calves are gorged with milk and weaned quite late.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat animals who died a natural death, they are strictly forbidden

643 There must have been few kings who benevolently left this life of their own accord.

Popular belief has accepted too many fables on the subject. It was still said recently that Queen Mother Nyiramavugo, a grandmother of King Lwabugiri who must have died around 1860, was the first to refuse the poison when old age drew near in spite of the dictates of custom and tradition. "Since that day, " say the common people, "the Abiru, or keepers of the customs, who are in charge of this task and duty have not dared mention it anymore to kings and queens. "

2. The Corpse of the Royal Dead is "Smoked"

766 "When a king died, " the same people go on, "two Batutsi from important families were seized and killed forthwith near the body. "
643 This was called "to make the king's pillow" (gusegurir' umwami). Those men were given to him to accompany and serve him in the spirit world.

[641] A subject counts for nothing while the king is all important. It is proper, therefore, to send him at least two men chosen from the highest social stratum.

"They did not dare observe this rite, " add the narrators, "at the death of the last king, Lwabugiri (in 1895). " /517/

When a queen mother died, two great ladies of the same (Mututsi) /Batutsi/ race were sacrificed. It is the Banyamugogo, or [767] "men with the big (mourning) log, " who are in charge of funeral ceremonies. They make up the royal corporation of undertakers, although their name does not indicate this outright. They are called "men with the big (mourning) log, " owing to the custom which demands that a wooden log be burned for three or four days after the [824] death of an individual. For this purpose, one deliberately chooses a green log of red-bloom erythrina (umuko), a symbolic tree that recalls the death of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the famous secret society of initiates (imandwa).

The body of the dead king is transported from his last home, [823] which will henceforth be called Gisozi ("Big hill") (1), to one of the

643 765 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might [689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

[731] A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

766 778 Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe, [824] the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa), and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

766 The sacred groves are numerous, and it is surprising to find
778 them most everywhere, even in the most deserted areas.

Royal cemeteries and former residences are legion. There is
778 not one province in Ruanda that does not boast several of them at
766 least.

They are found even in bordering lands which were invaded
644 more than once by the Banyarwanda. Their numbers are understandable if one recalls the nomadic life of the warrior kings such as Ruganzu and Lwabugiri, who did not sleep often under the same roof. The sovereign had only to spend the night in a hut along the way for the spot to become sacred from then on. The owners had to abandon their dwelling and go elsewhere or build at the side. The ficus branches which fenced in the courtyard went on growing and created a new sacred grove (ikigabiro).

These groves are made up of various tree species, with the
[824] ficus usually predominating. Several types of this tree are found: imigobge, imilehe, imikobe, imitabataba, etc.

The bark of the last two trees is used to make a kind of cloth
[287] which wears out rapidly (impuzu). Those clumps of trees, which are almost invariably green and which loom into sight here and there, contrast with the bareness of the land, /524/ especially in the Nduga, and lend it a characteristic appearance which does not lack a certain charm.

Among the sacred groves, some of which stand on the tallest hills, only eight or nine at most are known to have been used as royal burial grounds. The others mark the sites of former royal capitals and recall the successive moves occasioned by the numerous expeditions undertaken in certain reigns. They are referred to by the generic name of ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," from the word kugabira, "to distribute" or "to offer as a gift." As we can see, the term ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," is quite suited etymologically to the tree clumps which mark the sites of the former royal dwellings, whose owners, by virtue of their absolute ownership and power, could mete out all sorts of favors to their subjects. It was only by extension that the same name was quite wrongly applied to the royal cemeteries. Indeed, custom does not allow the popular

775 778 824 211 There are trees, however, that are associated with remembrance of the dead. These trees were planted either by them or in connection with them, usually in the settlements. Thus, at the birth of a child a fig tree is planted, which is later associated with the person, even after his death. It seems that in these trees, as on the hedges of abandoned settlements, spirits of the dead abide.

778 824 211 Trees are also planted in memory of historical events. Thus, Dr. Kandt (1) says: "At the end of the bridge (cliff bridge of the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 365.

Ruzizi) there is still standing a young fig tree, an immana, a soul tree, which was planted by Luabugiri, the former king of Ruanda, when he set out to fight against Bunjabungu which is on the right bank. There is a steep, almost perpendicular path of a few hundred meters, down which he and his warriors set out to their destruction. On the tree hang straw and metal rings, the offerings of pious wanderers, and on the bridge people point out the footprint of the king's favorite dog in the cliff and tell a legend similar to the one about the Rosstrappe [Tr., a rock in the Harz Mountains]."

With reference to another type of memorial tree which is only indirectly connected with historical personages, Dr. Kandt (2)

2. Ibid., p. 504.

says: "They (trees on the eastern point of the lake) are sacred because King Luabugiri camped on this spot when he set out on his campaign against Bunjabungu (1894), from which he returned to Ruanda a dying man.... The boat that carried the ruler into the war is still lying under the trees, half buried in the ground. It was hollowed out from a giant tree of the primeval forest, but now it is split down the middle, partly rotted, and disintegrating more and more each year. As I remember, it is about 18 meters long and one and a quarter meters wide."

The memorial trees looming up on the heights are very characteristic of the Ruanda landscape. They are conspicuous because they form such a contrast to the bare hilltops. Their

778 religious character was already known through Captain Hermann,
●824 and they are referred to simply as Imana trees.
211 It seems to be chiefly the Batutsi who venerate the memorial trees. The fig trees on the heights are most numerous and most beautiful in places where the Batutsi have the greatest power. On the other hand, it is said that sometimes at night Bahutu secretly take wood from the sacred trees. The Batwa, who fear no one and who have also preserved their independence in spiritual matters, do [301] this quite openly in the daytime, but there are not enough of them to destroy the trees and change the landscape.

776 Imana and Batabazi. In our general discussion of the interlacustrine region [not translated], we pointed out that the spirits of dead kings and rulers have a special place among the manes. They are distinguished from the undifferentiated mass of bazimu by their greater power. They are known and feared in larger circles. This is the case, for example, with the spirit of Kimeni in Kissaka. It is not impossible that from this we shall be able to explain the contrast between the rule of Ryangombe in the underworld, which seems to be patterned after the organization of Batutsi states, and the familial anarchy of the ordinary manes. However, it is doubtful whether the central figure of the Ruanda pantheon, the creator of the world, Imana, can be associated with the spirits of the dead. He probably must be considered as derived from foreign influence. Perhaps this also explains the underworld residence of the court of Ryangombe, whereas the rest of the bazimu remain with their living relatives.

776 Imana is the lord of lightning, thunder, and rain. One ad-
782 dresses him with the words: "Nabone Imana yandemie ikalema tata, na sokokuru, na sokuruza, na mukaka, na mukakuruzu, na mama. Ikankiza, nkuko yabakidjidji! (Favor me, Imana, who created my father, and my grandfather, and the father of my grandfather, and my grandmother, and the mother of my grandmother, and my mother. He has healed me, how he has healed me!)"

No sacrifices are made to Imana. Thus, he plays no part in the cult and satisfies only, if we may so express it, a philosophical need.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

584 girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

583 To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain [834] herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). [585] They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they [784] obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the [684] girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[5]

595 In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the [583] husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[5] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 126-9.

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Bride-wealth was definitely not a compensation for the economic loss entailed by the girl's departure from her patrilineage. Her departure was not an impoverishment of her group because it provided it with a new alliance with another descent group; all informants agree on that. Bride-wealth was the socially recognized symbol of the legitimate transfer of fertility from one descent group to another. As long as bride-wealth had not been given, children borne by the woman were considered as belonging to her inzu (they are called *nkuli*). The husband was only their genitor, not their pater.

Bride-wealth received by the girl's father was not to be used only to provide the bride's brother with a wife. There was no direct relation between a man's possibility of getting a wife and his sister's marriage.

The wedding ceremonies

Wedding ceremonies (*ubukwe*) taking place at the groom's father's were very long and complicated. The central rite constituting the wedding was the spitting on the bride's head of chewed herbs mixed with milk, and the placing on her head of a garland made of the leaves of a certain plant (*umuwishywa*). Other rites symbolized the dominance of the patrilineages' interests in the marriage. Both inzu were represented by two groups, the *abashyitsi*, the agnatic relatives of the bride, and *abasangwa*, agnatic relatives of the groom. When the rite was accomplished, *abashyitsi* had to express sorrow by their laments and *abasangwa* to rejoice loudly. Another rite stressed the concern of the kin-groups in the intimate relations between the spouses. A younger brother or paternal parallel cousin of the bride had to lie between the new spouses during some part of their first night together (*gucahagati*). The groom had to beg him to leave. I was told that this signified that it was the bride's patrilineage which had to give permission for the first intercourse. Moreover, after the central rite and before the first intercourse, the father and mother of the groom and the father and mother of the bride had to have sexual relations. If the girl's parents (who did not attend the wedding party) were living far away, the young couple sometimes had to wait for a couple of days before having intercourse.[6]

The high value of virginity was also symbolically stressed.

[6] On wedding celebration, see Kagame, 1954, pp. 143-72.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

281 leopard are used as dance ornaments by the intore pages.

224 the otter (inzibyi or igihura), the marsh antelope (mpala), the
[643] "bush bock" (inzole), the lion, and the leopard, as well as ivory tusks.

If a wild beast such as a lion or leopard has been killed,
[622] its skin must be turned over to the chief who in exchange gives the hunters a sterile cow as ingororano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 48.

224 When the hill chief hunts with his people, he keeps some of
622 the skins and gives the others to the provincial chief, who in turn
643 keeps some of them and, if he considers it advantageous to himself, sends the others to the Mwami. If the hill chief has killed a lion or a leopard, the skin must be turned over to the Mwami. If there are two skins they are divided between the king and the provincial chief. The [45] hill chief may keep a leopardskin only if the hunt has been particularly fruitful.

224 The native who has killed three elephants has the sole right to the tusks of the third animal killed.

224 Finally, a hunter is forbidden to take any part of a crocodile
825 he has killed. The animal with its paws loaded with stones must be thrown to the bottom of the river, for the Banyarwanda believe that the body of the saurian contains a violent poison and they want to prevent its being used.

224 When an animal is pointed out, the beaters who have gone forward into the thickets where they are almost invisible and the hunters who have followed them must indicate their presence by a low whistle. Hunting accidents are regulated by customary law (1).

1. Cf. Penal Law, p. 98.

278

believe that this potion will kill whoever does not speak the truth or reveals a state secret (cf. also Procedure, pp. 104 and 105).

766 dared reveal what he had seen.

The summit of Rutare Hill is crowned with trees, [96] the remains of an ancient forest. The cemetery of the kings and queens can be found there. The abanyamugogo build a hut there, dig a grave, and bury the king and his weapons in it. The hut is closed with beams and surrounded by a thorny enclosure to keep wild ani-
[767] mals out. Quite near-by, the watchers build themselves dwellings where they live for two years and are fed during this time by the people of the neighborhood. Then they return home after going through Nyanza where they are showered with gifts. But the Mwami may not see them for he would die during the year if he caught sight of those who have watched over and carried his father's body. For the same reason the abiru who have accompanied them to Rutare may never return to the court of Nyanza. The belief also exists that from
[825] the right shoulder of the dead Mwami there issues a worm (urunyo) which, if placed in a pitcher of milk, will grow and become a leopard that kills only those who are wicked and unjust.

When the Mwami dies all work stops for eight days. For two months the bulls are removed from the herds and the king's children may not have any marital relations. Although they are under no obligation to do so, the Banyarwanda behave in the same way.

The death of the Umugabekazi [king's mother] calls for the same ceremonies and the same interdictions, but they are somewhat simplified.

9. Succession to the Throne

643 The king of Ruanda always belongs to the family of the
[641] Abanyiginya. His wives (1) are mostly chosen from the clans of the
[644]

1. The king may have four legitimate wives whose children are the only ones who, in theory, can succeed him; he can have as many concubines as he wishes.

Abega and the Abakono.

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
231 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist
776 between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
778 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
782 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
796 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the an-
769 cestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
769 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
782 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
778 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the
775 neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
●825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is
778 regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned, the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of
[784] residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
532 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or
776 as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
[781] by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman
[843] may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
• [825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

564 Three socio-'racial' castes are to be
distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of
563 the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa,
162 hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

113 The world in which men are placed and which they know through their
senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to
176 produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say
that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

172 The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material
world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat;
[823] its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

821 In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms)
stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

113 In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been
some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the
[823] kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, crea-
[825] tures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

172 This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old
(people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

/21/ A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa

Book I

A Summary Outline of Ruanda and Its Inhabitants

Chapter 1

Physical and Ethnological Make-up of Ruanda.
Political, Familial, and Social Organization of Its Inhabitants.

|3| Ruanda is bound to the north by the Protectorate of Uganda which encloses the Bufumbiro, separated from Ruanda in 1912 by the Anglo-Belgian Commission of Delimitation. /22/

To the northeast it is bound by the Kagera, which runs into Lake Victoria.

The Akanyaru River, which delimits Ruanda to the south and southeast does not enclose the Bugessera. That province, situated at the angle formed by the junction of the Akanyaru and the Kagera, was separated from Urundi, to which it used to belong. It is now divided from it by an artificial line. Nor is the Bungwe enclosed by the southern river, which leaves it to the right.

To the west, Ruanda is separated from the Belgian Congo by Lake Kivu along a length of 120 kilometers. To the northwest the volcanic chain forms a natural boundary beyond which are situated, however, two small provinces, the Bgisha, or Gisigari, and the Jomba, which were joined to Belgian Kivu in 1912.

484 Such are the approximate boundaries of Ruanda. This does not
[317] prevent its inhabitants from extending their contacts well beyond the
circle of their own land. They go as far as Lake Edward to fetch salt,
● [825] which is collected in the marshes near the lake. There they also

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with
439 the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
436 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neigh-
651 bors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of
301 rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up
[481] to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[556] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to
[691] lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden [411] arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times, [579] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that 463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 696 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches, [342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

[i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -August]

000 neolithic people made a bread or rather a cake, some interesting specimens of which have been preserved in the waters of Swiss lakes....

"They are round biscuits, probably prepared without yeast with coarse flour...." (3) The bread made of sorghum flour that the

3. Joseph Déchelette, op. cit., p. 344.

Blacks bake is similar to those biscuits and of the same shape. /60/

Who can fail to see that all these analogies, resemblances, and ethnological similarities open to the mind a vast realm of conjecture, especially if one accepts the idea that Africa is the cradle of the Aurignacian civilization (1)?

1. It is enough to wander through the galleries of a museum of comparative ethnography, Déchelette adds, to find that the initial stage of civilization among all peoples of the earth presents in every case, if not a uniform appearance, at least many identical fundamental traits. Everywhere the same industry corresponds to the same cultural phase. (Op. cit. p. 313.

614 Totemism is not highly prized in Ruanda. Perhaps it is nothing
●825 more than a vestige from the past. The totem is always an animal. That of the king is a leopard, the crowned crane is that of the Banyiginya, and the frog that of the Bega. Among the Bahutu, the Bagessera have the wagtail (inyamanza) as their totem, the Babanda have the hyena (impyisi), the Basinga the sparrow hawk (sakabaka), etc. The totem is a member of the clan and is respected as such by the other members.

In the past it happened sometimes that the clan took up arms to avenge the death of its totem, deliberately or accidentally killed by one of the members of a neighboring tribe. The members of certain tribes, the Bapyisi, for example, are said to communicate

614 with their totems or even with other animals, to render them harmless
825 or to excite them against their enemies.

This, however, is a belief that will soon disappear, for the Banyarwanda take small notice of their totems nowadays.

538 As far as oral literature and folklore in general are concerned, one may assert without risk of error that the Banyarwanda have no reason to envy the neighboring peoples.

There may be few Black groups who managed to preserve so many and such ancient traditions, made all the more precious by the fact that they help us understand more than one facet of their history. This will be shown readily /61/ in the course of this work. We believe that the Hamites, who are given to the things of the mind and have organized the country methodically, must be justly regarded as the chief authors of this literary development.

181 The Bahutu of Ruanda owe to these same Batutsi the appreciable advantage of being less backward, less "primitive" than many of their fellow Bantu of Central Africa. Because they were less isolated than most of the members of the tiny neighboring states at the time of European penetration, the Banyawanda found themselves in a situation more favorable to the progress of civilization thanks to the centralization of the Hamitic state.

171 The inhabitants of Ruanda, as we have just pointed out, have more than one trait in common with the other African tribes. In speaking on the subject, Maurice Delafosse provides the following explanation, "The African Negro peoples, as different from one another as they may seem to a superficial observer, have a unified character which may be attributed to their common ethnic origins and to the relative similarity of the physical, economic, and social environments where they first developed and where they later evolved." (1)

1. Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro African Civilizations/.

157 As for the reader who wishes to know what to think of the Blacks, we must answer in all sincerity that it is very difficult to

794 and Mulengetwe, old historical figures who may have been notorious.
776 4. The "Munyoro" figure was invented for the same superstitious reasons which cause the Blacks to honor the spirits of the dead and more particularly the souls of those who distinguished themselves for good or for evil in the course of their mortal existence.

The figure of Munyoro was probably included in the ceremonies after the defeat of the Banyoro.

5. The inhabitants of the Nkombo isles render special worship to Muhima and Nyirangenge.

Muhima, a synonym for Mututsi, symbolizes the Batutsi conquerors who seized the isles, and Nyirangenge, a feminine figure, stands for the Batutsi ladies or personifies the intelligence of the Hamites.

6. Nyarwambari, son of Mulema and grandson /367/ of Ngwegwe, figures among Ryangombe's followers. The initiates do not have much to say about him.

7. Bukiranzuki figures among the daughters of the founder. During the ceremonies, the women who worship her wear on their heads the tail of an animal known under the name of igiharangu.

The members of this religious pantheon are numerous. They include, aside from the afore-mentioned figures, the founder's father and grandfather, Babinga and Nyundo; his wives, Kajumba, mother of Binego, Karyango, mother of Bukiranzuki, and Gachubya, mother of Nyabirungu; Nyirakabali, his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to one of his companions; and Lubindankima ("the man who girds his loins with a monkey pelt"). The inhabitants of the Bugoyi have it that this latter figure, who was probably invented out of whole cloth, was the friend and confidant of one of Ruganzu II's great victims, the famous Gatabirora, nicknamed Bilikunkomo, whose actions and deeds have been dramatized and romanticized (1).

1. Cf. Book III /not translated/.

In the meetings of the initiates there is also mention of
[825] Gassankomo, "the man who wraps himself in colobus pelts." This is the honorific name given to Kagoro, whose impersonator must for some

794 reason gather myriapods (centipedes) which he must dry in the sun and
796 then string up and wear as a badge when he goes begging for sorghum
[625] or banana bunches in the course of ritual processions.

The disciples of Ryangombe also honor the memory of the master's mother, whose role was rather insignificant to judge by the legend.

Ntamutimuchumyi is mentioned only to state that he was the cause of Ryangombe's first misfortunes, for he was about to dishonor him by depriving him of his property and his rights. He was eventually killed for the sake of the general /368/ welfare and honor by Binego, who arrived at the most critical moment. The name of Ntamutimuchunyi /sic/ is synonymous with felony and treachery.

As for Nkonjo, the slave, she personifies cowardice and coarseness. She is mentioned only with scorn (1).

1. Cf. Book V, "The Legend of Ryangombe," /not translated/.

794 To designate the master's hunting dogs, initiates avail them-
552 selves of appellations and epithets replete with allusions. Some of them recall the abilities of these animals, others the qualities and defects of human beings. The names of the following animals are readily mentioned:

1. "The (serious) man who never laughs at his fellowman" (Ntamugab' usek' undi).

2. "He who preserves (as a careful owner) a store of smoked meat" (Nyamubikan' umuranz' uruguma).

3. "He who pays the bride price for a girl whose family did not raise her properly" (Bakoska batahana).

4. "The pot-herb which is so odorous, although it is not yet ripe, that it causes people to eat up (at one blow) all the butter in the house" (Urunyegeri rutoto).

5. "Her mother knows her well (including all her faults), so she will make no effort to argue with her because she knows that her daughter is incorrigible" (Nyina aramuzi, ntazamumpora).

791 /practitioners/ of this kind demand rather high fees /401/ and will
789 accept no less than a goat, an ox, or even a heifer as the price of their services.

3. In the Gissaka people believe that there are tame snakes
[825] guarding the fields and houses of their masters. Those reptiles coil themselves around the neck of thieves and suffocate them. They also follow the tracks of thieves and receivers of stolen goods to their homes.

4. According to popular belief, the batezi (from the verb gutega, "to lay traps") are capable of uncovering evildoers and thieves by means of a curious method, which is none other than bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/. The victim of the theft comes to the spell caster and presents him with a goat whose throat is immediately slit. Then the magician takes the bladder, fills it with air, and suspends it with a rope from the ceiling of the hut. If the thief's death is desired, the sorcerer punctures the bladder or even cuts the rope that holds it. If the membranous sac collapses on the ground, the thief cannot fail to die instantly. It will be sufficient to ask for news in the vicinity. Any sudden death will be interpreted in this light and ascribed to the act of bewitchment. The belly of the victim will be greatly inflated. This is what is called gubang' agaheto, "to string a bow," as the Banyarwanda sometimes put it when they wish to allude to this method of bewitching.

If the owner of the stolen object wishes to be magnanimous, he asks the sorcerer to strike the bladder only lightly, in order to cause the culprit mere intestinal pains. Needless to say, the Blacks have complete faith in these magic procedures and believe that they have witnessed their consequences in a large number of cases.

754 5. Abachuraguzi. This word comes from the word guchuragura
[535] and designates a kind of dance. /402/ The devotees of this kind of dance stamp up and down on the spot. People in this category are the true jettatori /from Italian/ whose aim is to cast a spell, jettatura, on their fellow men because they are jealous of their good fortune or because they want revenge fro an offense, real or fancied. Those baleful men operate at night. In order to succeed better in their black designs, the spell casters must wear nothing but an old mat

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

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1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

[825] In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull, billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

784 keeper or owner of a herd, his property would also suffer from this infraction of custom (2). /411/

2. His cows would bear only male calves.

A husband may not use this kitchen utensil to beat his wife! He would risk the loss of his life.

The failure to observe most of the prescribed customs while celebrating a wedding would make the parents of the two partners liable to illness or death.

[551] When asked what their name is, children, young men, and girls either do not answer or give a false name, for fear that the stranger may cast an evil spell upon them and thus prevent them from growing.

[841] A woman in her menses may not enter a hut where there is a newborn child, lest she cause the baby to contract scabies. Hence [751] the custom of placing a copper-thread bracelet (urunyerere, or urwinjiri) about the neck of babies as a talisman and preventive.

[643] The king must never bend his knees, in order not to expose his kingdom to becoming smaller.

A father may not step over the hide that serves as a portable cradle (ingobyi) for his child, nor may a son step over his mother's belt.

A woman may not step over a spear, milk a cow, repair the roof of a hut, imitate (!) the cry of a rooster, etc.

It is forbidden to sit on a food basket.

When it thunders, one may not smoke a pipe when seated on a chair.

No one may rest on a sheepskin, or he will contract scabies (ngo badahumana). There is danger of death involved in carrying a whetting stone (ityazo) into someone else's house.

[825 It is expressly forbidden to kill certain birds and certain reptiles, 777] not only because they are totem but also because they are regarded either as good luck for the land, like the wagtail (inyamanza), or as bad luck, like the scaly anteater, whose dead body might draw great misfortunes upon the territory. /412/

791 This was no doubt how the profession of "protector and defender of the crops" originated. It is now exercised by the bahinza, nearly all of whom are descended from the ancient petty kings subjugated by Ruganzu. They never gave offense to the Hamitic kings, who not only allowed them to remain but even protected them in the thought that they and their subjects might benefit thereby.

The professionals in this category are numerous, but the most renowned among them have been so far those from Lubengera in the Bgishaza and those from Suti in the Munyambiriri, because they were closer to the central province of Nduga and in continuous contact with the Hamitic court.

Their colleagues from the Kingogo, Bushiru, Buhoma, Bugamba, etc., were not well known outside their own home territory.

According to public belief, these masters of occult sciences
791 can place restrictions (kuvuma) upon the birds and insects that ravage
825 the crops. Caterpillars are the most dreaded because some of them (ingungu) attack the stems of sweet potatoes and destroy every last one of them, while others devour the leaves of trees in the summertime. /442/

The latter are called bahema. Grasshoppers, weevils, and other worms or insects which attack the crops are no less feared. This is why the natives frequently resort to the bahinza and implore their protection. This protection is purchased with gifts in kind which the chiefs levy themselves on their subjects in order to enlist the intervention of the powerful sorcerers. Some of the bahinza have been known to add rain making to their other functions.

791 One of the sorcerers in this category, called Nyamitwe, who lived on the top of a mountain (Chungeri) in the Bugoyi province, had the idea of excavating a small well, about 1.50 meters deep, in the courtyard fronting his home.

Since the ground was impervious to water, rain water would remain there for varying lengths of time. This enabled the crafty fellow to spread the rumor that he had high powers over the clouds. An ingenious way of bringing grist /Tr.: in French, "water"/ to his mill!

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2. Throughout Ruanda, in principle, a new hut is taken over in the name of a spirit (a dead relative) whose favors are desired.

It is also in his name that one takes a wife (kumulongorer' abazimu).

644 This is why these women are called abaterampundu, that is,
[342] "those who utter cries of joy."

The duties of the aBatchaba are often identical to those of
726 their brothers, the aBasingo, whom they assist in bewitching the enemy with teratological beings who are driven before the hostile army. Like the aBiru they also make drums.

The totem of the aBagessera is the wag tail, a bird of good
825 omen, which is consequently regarded as a member of the family.
342 Hence the power of the Bagessera to call this bird when needed. At
644 court and throughout the land, there is a custom whereby no one may enter a new hut until the wagtail has made an appearance. The bird must at least flit about or hop on the flattened ground where the hut is to be built or on the hut itself. One may even wait several days if necessary /461/ rather than risk the misfortunes which invariably befall those who do not take this traditional practice into account. At the capital, therefore, theBagessera are in charge of instigating the appearance of "their relative" (mwene wabo), the congenial bird, whenever a royal building is put up.

To achieve this they take some embers from their home and light a fire before the new hut.

They sit nearby and whistle in a special way to catch the attention of their totem.

825 The wagtail is highly regarded by the Banyarwanda. In story and song it is called "the bird (inyamanza) from the region of Mabera," a once famous village inhabited by the Bagessera (1). It is located

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1. The regard in which the wagtail is held is the subject of a charming tale. The wagtail

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gained a choice position among favorite birds because it once performed a very useful deed. A king whose name has been forgotten was pining for love. His courtiers did not know what to do, in spite of their numerous attempts to provide the monarch with a choice companion. . . .

At about the same time, in a village far from the capital, a man and his wife were raising a girl of great beauty, who was nourished on cow milk. . . . The wagtail, who knew of the king's apathy, came and flitted about the courtyard where the young girl was dressing. The bird seized one of her main garments and flew toward the capital. Surprised, the fair maiden followed the bird, begging it to return her garment. "Do not fear," answered the bird, "I shall return it when we hear the sound of the (capital's) drums." While speaking, the winged messenger dropped some beads, of which he had brought a number. The young girl, who was fond of novelties, bent down and picked them up. Eventually they arrived at court. . . . At first people were surprised at such a miraculous event, but their attention was

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drawn to the beauty of the fair stranger. The king was notified. She was the girl he had been waiting for. As a reward, the wagtail was granted a permanent privilege to its species called ubulenga nzira, which included immunity and a sort of tithe to be levied upon the crops throughout the realm.

near the hill of Lwoga, not far from Nyanza, the present capital.

563 The Bagessera regard themselves as the most important Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan, and claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of Ruanda. According to them, they were the first masters of the land. /462/

Bloody Bondage Imposed on Some Families

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178 The Bakono, Banyabyinshi, and Bakunzi of the Kinyaga were for a long time the victims of this /type of bondage/.

Let us add, however, that the brutality and cruelty characteristic of those inhuman and now suppressed customs had lost some of their primitive harshness in the course of the last two reigns.

1. The expiatory debt to which the Bakono were bound for having fought Ruganzu II had been changed altogether.

643 Upon the accession of a new king to the throne, the Bakono had to send one or two of their people to the capital, and so did
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178 another clan which had formerly belonged to the Banyabyinshi group, so often mentioned at the beginning of the great king's reign.

At court, instead of having their throats slit as was formerly done, those people were merely sprinkled with lustral water (chalk water) and driven for an instant into the hut of the spirits as though being offered in sacrifice to them. There the matter rested. Other chroniclers state that it was customary to beat them a few times with

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to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

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It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

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It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

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1. This expression "big hill" is readily understood by the natives, because it serves to designate the spot where a reigning monarch drew his last breath.

sacred groves (2) reserved for royal tombs by custom or tradition.

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2. We owe the reader an explanation of the expression "sacred grove, " which will recur frequently, The word "sacred" is taken here in a broad and technical sense to mean that these groves are set aside and closed to laymen, who may not enter them. They are guarded by official watchmen, who see to it that the grounds are properly respected.

The Banyamugogo, who become the temporary masters of the area, have a large hut built and enlist for its construction the services of neighboring people.

There the remains of the sovereign are sheltered and laid upon a grid in the middle of the hut, about 1. 50 meters above ground. The members of the corporation keep a fire burning under the grid for several days in order to dry out the corpse and prevent it from putrefying.

The body, which lies on a bed of skins, is constantly moved so that the heat from the fire may reach all its parts. /518/

The keepers of the hut take turns without interruption, day and night, by the fire theymust maintain. Meanwhile, no layman may come near the place under penalty of death.

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The undertakers keep up their work until, according to popular belief, the corpse gives birth to a leopard, which is at first

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only a small worm (1). Then a pit is dug in the same hut. The royal

1. Permit us to repeat once more that we are putting ourselves in the position of the natives. We are merely repeating their tales and beliefs.

remains are laid at the bottom of the tomb on a new bed of grass covered with precious skins: lion, leopard, and antelope hides.

The body is completely isolated from the ground, which must not soil it. The whole thing is covered with special mats (ibirago by' ibisunyu) made of lake reeds. Finally, the pit is filled up (2).

2. When a king named Yuhi ascends the throne, according to another popular belief, the undertakers have to perform another duty toward the deceased king in addition to what has already been said on the subject.

After having been smoked, the completely desiccated body (umwite) is carried to the sacred grove of Muhima, below Kigali. The pall bearers dig at the spot called Nyamvura ("the rain spot"), where there formerly existed an equally sacred spring, and lay the body in the hole for a moment.

This is called "giving the king a drink (guhira)."

Then the body is brought back to the royal cemetery. His

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successor may henceforth rule in peace, and abundance will reign in the realm, for the various formalities on which the prosperity of the land depends have been carried out.

3. Popular Beliefs Concerning the Survival of the King

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"The undertakers," the narrator goes on to say, "cannot leave the site of the grave yet.

"They are not permitted to leave it until the end of the mourning period, which lasts at least four months. The above-mentioned worm /519/ 'must' come out of the corpse's right hand after a while. It is immediately picked up by the keepers, who put it in a vessel full of milk.

"When the container becomes too small, the animal is put in a large jar into which milk is poured every day. The worm soon 'sprouts legs'; it will soon change shape. The jar is no longer adequate, and a tub (umuvule) is provided and also filled with milk. The thing becomes a leopard. It is still fed milk until the day when its carnivorous instincts awaken and it begins to use its claws. Then it is given fresh meat. It must be tied, for it has become 'mean' (irakaliha). The animal manages to break its first bonds, woven of banana-tree bark. It is tied with new ficus ropes, which are soon broken in turn.

"In order to chain the beast, a piece of wire (umukwege) is brought from the royal court (ibgami), where messengers keep going incessantly to report on the whole affair.

"The day comes when the wild beast wounds one of its keepers. Another one soon meets with the same fate, and a third dies of his wounds.

"The situation has become intolerable and cannot go on.

"The leopard, anxious to gain its freedom, grows fierce. Finally, permission is given to grant it freedom, thus releasing the Banyamugogo from an impossible task.

643 825 "A sensible man," the narrator added as he closed his tale, "cannot believe in such things. As for myself, I am only repeating what I have heard around me."

The "sacred groves" often serve as lairs for leopards, who take advantage of the rainy season, when the sorghum has grown tall, to comb the countryside /520/ for prey. Furthermore, the leopard is the totem of the king, who formerly appropriated all leopardskins for his own personal use. Many common people, therefore, believe in these fables. In the capital, where no one is taken in by such childish tales, nothing is done to enlighten the people. The undertakers, who maintain the strictest silence about their own functions, stand only to gain by exaggerating the wondrous aspects of the matter in order to acquire increased importance in the eyes of their fellow men. One can imagine the prestige that surrounds the king, a prestige that is mixed in with a large amount of superstition and that causes him to be revered on a par with a demigod by most of his subjects.

4. Duties and Privileges of the Undertakers

643 767 The task of burying or, more accurately, mummifying (gwosa, gwosereza) the sovereign is entrusted as we said to a special corporation known by the name of Banyamugogo, that is to say, "the men with the big (mourning) log," who belong to the Abiru clan. This is the special clan whose members are responsible for preserving the memory of customs and traditions. The royal undertakers have no duties other than the funerary ones and enjoy rare privileges. No chief may attack or pillage them, for they live under the king's protection.

They are not subjected to forced labor, nor do they pay taxes. On the other hand, they are strictly forbidden to come to court and to appear in the presence of the prince. If they have to plead a case before him, they may at best set out on the path to the capital, but they must stop at a good distance from it. There they build a large fire into which they toss fresh cow dung in order to create thick clouds of smoke /521/ and to draw attention upon themselves. Meanwhile they delegate men to present their complaints and grievances.

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

[768] After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. How-
•125 ever, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has
787 settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega)
251 which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist
285 of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held
251 together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

776 Even though Imana is supposedly the creator, there are no
773 special tales about his relation to the other powerful spirits, for example, Ryangombe. The Banyaruanda seem to have an altogether vague and indefinite idea of him. The strangest thing is the story of his appearance on earth in the form of a child who was even whiter than kaolin (runoni). The child had supernatural power. Among other things, he changed water into milk. Imana created the first human beings. The first man married his sister, but neither of them had a father or a mother. Imana gave them fire.

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) listed Lugira, Lulema, and

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

Kihanga as synonyms for Imana.

The myths about Imana seem to be less known or kept more secret, at least in Kissaka, than the stories about other spirits.

778 [302] Every Mututsi is said to revere a particularly sacred
825 bull in his herd, which has a secret connection with Imana. The sacred bull of Musinga was allegedly very fierce and attacked many people. It is maintained that those who were attacked by the bull were recognized by the animal as enemies of the king. If they came through alive, they were in former times punished with death. This custom has been given up in the last three or four years, probably as the result of greater contact with Europeans, but the unfortunate ones are still in very bad repute.

778 We must not forget that the vessels containing remnants of chickens and the fat of sacrificed sheep, which the Batutsi wear around their necks, are also called "Imana."

776 Even more puzzling than Imana are the batabazi in the
773 Ruanda pantheon. I have already mentioned them in the chapter on the history of Ruanda. Father L. Classe told me that the myth of the flood as well as the idea of the sacrifice of an individual life to save mankind appear in the batabazi legends. The people survive the flood in a hut made watertight with earth.

000 which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

794 The importance of the dog among babandwa[3] merits special
575 attention. I was assured that the dog is the cow, that is, the
825 most important and sacred animal, of the babandwa. I was unable to find out anything more specific about its role in the cult. The adherents of the theory that the states of central
[177] Africa represent vestiges of Egyptian culture might see in the relationship of the dog to the cult of the "lord of departed souls" a reflection of Anubis who had the head of a dog.

794 The babandwa exert their power as medicine men, sacri-
575 ficers, and soothsayers. These three functions are very closely related to each other and can hardly be separated. Besides the babandwa and the worshippers of Biheko, the balozi [poisoners] are also said to constitute a secret society.

Initiation. Initiation into a secret society is bound up with long and complicated ceremonies. There are two categories of consecrated ones, those who are fully consecrated and those who have undergone only the preliminary tests.

[308] I should now like to try to give a picture of the babandwa initiation ceremonies in Ruanda, which are very strictly kept secret.

The picture, pieced together by means of painstaking questions, shows a resemblance in the main with the description by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi, although the arrangement of the whole ceremony seems to bring out some differences.

If a person who is to be accepted into the secret society of babandwa, for example, a sick person, as generally happens, has been told by the chicken oracle that he can be cured by initiation, he must bring gifts to the consecrated to make them favorably disposed toward him.

First of all an influential member is visited, one who might agree to act as guardian (godfather). The guardian, who is also called "father," invites the rest of the initiated into the house of the candidate for initiation.

Certain preparations must be made and a number of objects assembled before the initiation ceremony can take place. The candidate provides a sword, a bell, a torch, a large quantity of beer, and food supplies.

3 [i.e. Secret society members—Analyst]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange 437 them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

Agriculture

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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a member of the warriors' section, and a member of the herdsmen's section.

The mwami could effectively dispose of the *nyambo* and *mabara*. *Nyambo* were cows which had some marked physical characteristics (as for instance long horns). The mere fact that beasts had such characteristics gave the king exclusive rights of disposal of them whatever may have been the previous rights of other people over them. Many lyrical poems were devoted to the praise of *nyambo* in which they are divided into two 'clans', the brown one (*ibihogo*) and the red-brown (*amagaju*) which were supposed to be in a permanent state of war.[17] A herd of *nyambo* numbered about fifty cows. There were not *nyambo* with every army. *Mabara* were ordinary cows, not fulfilling the *nyambo* qualifications, and of which the mwami had the effective disposal. One or several herds of *nyambo* and *mabara* were entrusted by the king only to certain armies.

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[825]

The cows over which the army-chief had the rights of effective disposal were also considered, according to ninety-six per cent. of our informants, as army cattle and were tended by the army herdsmen.

Cattle at the effective disposal of each member of the herdsmen's section of the army were also regarded as army cattle. Here we have to distinguish between cattle possessed as a client and cattle not obtained from a lord (ninety-two per cent. of our informants said that one could have cattle which were not received from a lord). The former kind of cattle were linked to the lord's army and not to the client's army although the client had the right of usufruct and of effective disposal (as defined here) over that cattle. The latter kind of cattle was composed of cows obtained by exchange (*impahano*) which were regarded as army cows according to ninety-five per cent. of our informants; of cows given by the prospective husband to his father-in-law (*indogoranyo*) also according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as reward for brave conduct in war (*ingororano mu ntambara*) again according to ninety-five per cent.; of cows received as gifts (*inka z'ubuntu*) according to ninety-six per cent. Cows not kept by somebody as a client were called by the generic name of *imbata*, or, according to sixty-two per cent. of our informants, the mwami's cows (*inka z'umwami*), which is confusing.

[17] Kagame, 1947b, p. 792.

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffoca-
[826] tion). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

553 As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

839 marriage and is pleasing to men. During this execrable act, they pronounce certain oaths or, rather imprecations: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. In addition, they use various means to obtain greater pleasure for themselves. In general they use plants or roots of plants and trees with which they rub the labia." Van der Burgt adds in a letter to me: "His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes prostent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adspirantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt 'pulchras se facere,' quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione." [Tr., "By means of this friction they extend the labia so that they become yellow and protrude, and they try to give them an extraordinary size and length. This custom may be considered [171] a general or national one not only in Urundi and Ruanda but also among the majority of tribes of central Africa with few exceptions, as, for instance, the Wasukuma. Consequently, it is not primarily intended as a means of obtaining pleasure, but the [826] girls simply wish to 'make themselves pretty,' since very many young men would not marry a girl who did not have such labia. After marriage the girls abstain from this manipulation."

I could not learn anything about the puberty rites; how- 881 ever, they most certainly are celebrated. Van der Burgt does not report anything on this subject either (No. 19, p. 394). In 304 any case, boys are not circumcised nor are girls infibulated. Only the Batwa, who in contrast to the Batussi and the Bahutu practice deformation of the teeth, sharpen the two upper incisors with a knife as an act to announce puberty (No. 19, pp. 105, 155).

I also was unable to ascertain whether the youths who had 561 reached puberty joined a social club or formed a special "age

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

other hand, got it by his sobriety and cleverness. Kazikamuntu then chose Gatutsi to be the chief of the brothers. There are numerous versions of this tale. Moreover, the stories concerning man's creation are often inextricably mixed with the legends about the arrival of the Batutsi in Ruanda. The same names appear sometimes in the creation, sometimes in the conquest stories. In general the latter are better known. The summary given above is thus only one of the various accounts of the origin of mankind.

According to a widely known folk-tale, Death, personalized as a sort of animal, was hunted by *Imana*. He told all men to stay at home in order that Death should not find a hiding-place. An old woman, however, went out to work in her banana-grove. Death, pursued by *Imana*, asked her protection. Moved by pity, she let the animal hide under her skirt. *Imana*, in order to punish her, decided then that death should stay with men. This story might perhaps suggest a belief that there was a time when men did not die. But we could not find other elements to corroborate that interpretation.

On the ontological character of man two points are certain. First, an adult human being is considered to be different from an animal by virtue of his faculty of speech (*kivuga*), his intelligence (*ubwenge*), and his will (*ugushaka*); but the difference, if any, between a small child and an animal is not quite clear. Second, no one of these attributes is equated with the surviving spirit (*muzimu*). There is something in the human being which, after his death, becomes *muzimu*, but there is no agreement as to what it is. According to a fairly common opinion, the *muzimu* is the metamorphosis of the *igicucu*, the shadow cast by the body in sunshine. But according to some informants, this shadow is only an image of the spiritual shadow which is the essence of the post-mortem spirit. In conformity with that opinion, the living man is said to be made of three components: the body (*mubili*) which, after death, becomes a corpse (*murambo*); life (*buzima*), which disappears; and the shadow (*igucucu*) from which the surviving spirit (*muzimu*) results.

The heart is believed to be the seat of intelligence and affectivity. It is conceived as a single organ although some ways of speaking suggest that it is double. For instance, it is frequently said: 'One heart told me this, one heart told me that.' This is another application of the habit of attributing opposed effects of the same cause to several causes, but this is only a verbal habit which does not deceive anybody.

These uncertainties regarding the nature of man indicate that Banyarwanda do not make any clear-cut distinction between the concepts of body and mind. Although they recognize parts in man, they prefer to consider the unit rather than its components.

Whatever the culture, human experience is made up of a sequence of events and activities, such as working, eating, sleeping, maturing, suffering, mating, getting old, and dying. What is the Ruanda attitude in face of these universals of human life? In many societies these happenings are considered not in their naked reality but in terms of the beliefs held as true in the particular culture. For instance, in a society with a Christian ideology, to

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
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1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets. The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until
789 recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

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2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

681 to birds and animals such as buffalo, gazelles, wild boars, dogs.
696 Even if the latter should not die immediately, their masters would
823 have to kill them for fear of being stricken themselves by contagion.

Each night, they say, smoke and flames rise from that awful place and cast a reddish glare on the horizon (1).

1. The grass fires at the end of summer must not be foreign to this association of thoughts and images.

It is also said that the waters have the color of blood (atukura, assa n'amarasso). Every time an offender is led to the pit, the waters rise suddenly as though to fetch the victim (ngw' abon' umugome, akassama). After swallowing their prey, the waters subside. Then protracted cries and moans (akaboroga, akater' induru) arise from the bottom of the pit.

The pit is so deep, it is commonly said, that its waters join those of Lake Kivu (ngw' aja hasi, afatanye n'i Kivu).

Considering such stories, one can easily understand why people should speak with terror of that cursed place.

In actual fact, the victims were strangled or killed with spears
681 before they were thrown into the water.
696 An attempt was made to submerge the bodies, but they would rise once more to the surface. The hyenas quickly disposed of them. After leaving the place of torture, the executioners would go a certain distance to another depression, usually filled with water, in order to clean their weapons and wash their blood-stained hands. /384/

Traitors and enemies, bewitchers and ranking political
[848] prisoners were not the sole victims of the accursed pit. Among those
[845] condemned to die at that sinister spot were also freak babies (ibimara),
[847] unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), children born during the period of mourning held for their father (inda y'amabi) sometimes along with
[826] their mother, young girls whose breasts had not grown (impenebere) (1)..., and calves born in a "faulty" manner (ubufuti), such as those whose legs... came first.

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1. Girls who reached marriageable age with this physical peculiarity were formerly regarded as an evil and a threat to the land. The small development of their breasts was considered a crime. They were called the girls "with undeveloped breasts," impenebere, from the verb guhenebera, meaning "to be limited," "to be brought to nothing."

681 whose legs... came first.
696 Those beings, abnormal or regarded as such, were invariably condemned prior to European penetration. There was no pity for them. They had to be done away with secretly and at night, so as not to be denied passage through the land which had to be crossed. According to popular belief, the mere presence or accidental sojourn of one of those beings could unleash famine or other evils throughout the region.

Chapter 2

Duties of a Purely Utilitarian Nature

644 A. The employees of His Majesty's "Mouth" and "Cup" /departments/, that is to say, the cooks and domestic servants (Abahanga, "the Skillful Ones," and Abozi, "the Washers") have always been regarded as holding the least enviable position at court. The hut in which the servants keep the bowls of milk reserved for the king is /385/ designated by the name of kiryana, "the house that devours its inhabitants," since few are the men who survived their duties. After a varying length of service, they were suspected in [682] almost every case of planning to poison the king, and they died a

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the author discusses diviners, including the Bakongori, and the various methods of practicing their art.

The same individual is both diviner and sacrificer.

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The Abakongori are also designated by the name of Abanyambuto because they use the saliva of their clients in their method of divination, hence the name mbuto given to this viscous fluid in this particular case.

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Numerous are the clans, such as the Bazigaba, Batembe, and Bahigo, of the Muhutu /Bantu/ race, which provide the court with diviners and sacrificers, but more numerous still are the families where these functions have been transmitted, since more or less distant times, from father to son or from mother to daughter.

The Bahigo and Batembe inhabit the Bugoyi region. The ancestors of these two families emigrated to the /Ruanda/ kingdom around the year 1800, during the reign of Yuhi III Gahindiro. The members of these two /392/ groups owed their good fortune to a Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief who was pleased with their divinatory talents and made them known to the court of King Yuhi III Gahindiro, where they were summoned (1).

1. The events and incidents of this emigration to Ruanda were preserved by his descendants and make an interesting tale.

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Their method of divination differs from that of other diviners.

They are called Abanyamihundwa, that is to say, "jawbone diviners," because instead of using any small bones as do the ordinary Banyanzuzi, they use only the jawbones of sheep, beeves, and antelopes (2).

754 which is no longer usable (umusambi). Then they fetch a human tibia
[826] or fibula (umurundi) with which they carry out a gruesome dance (guchuragura) in the courtyard of the person they wish to harm. They hold in their hand a small jar full of live coals to symbolize the life of their enemy which is soon to burn out. After breaking the clay jar and scattering the coals, they toss a handful of earth taken from a grave upon the owner's hut and say the following words in a low voice,
[539] "I don't want your beans but your life" (Sinshak' ibishyimbo, ichyo ndashaka n'amagara yawe). This is reputed to be one of the worst evil spells.

6. Gutambikir' umutambikiro, that is to say, "to dig a small ditch across" the path where the hated enemy they wish to bewitch will pass. This is another kind of spell by analogy /sympathetic
[826] magic/. In order to do this, the operator must if possible procure a nerve taken from a human cadaver, and a strip of bamboo or some other wood that was used in transporting the dead.

With these he makes a tiny bow which he places in the ditch dug out on the path of his enemy, who is soon to come by. The hole is covered with earth and grass so as not to arouse anyone's suspicion. When the detested person puts his foot on the concealed bow, the spell caster, hidden in the surrounding bushes, pronounces in a low voice the fateful word, Fatwa, "Be caught." This is the end of the unlucky traveler. /403/ Assailed with violent intestinal pains, distended, blown up, he will soon die in terrible agonies, or so claims the theory.

This procedure is also designated under the name of kubang' agaheto or guteg' umuntu agaheto, "to lay the bow trap."

7. Guteger' umuntu inkoko, "to practice the chick spell"
754 (implicitly, one whose guts did not turn white, iteze neza, yabay'
787 urutunda) is regarded along with guchuragura as one of the worst evil spells.

In order to make use of this spell, one usually resorts to specialists in divination who are past masters of this art. If the diviner
[826] agrees to do the job, for a handsome fee, his client prepares to collect secretly (since the Blacks are suspicious and mistrustful of their fellow men) a little saliva expectorated by the person on whom

754 he wishes to take revenge. The viscous material, carefully gathered
787 in a leaf, is brought to the sorcerer who introduces it with a little
[826] water into the beak of the chick he is about to sacrifice.

The diviner first holds a conversation with the bird and requests it to make sure that its guts will not "turn white" but "turn black," so the evil deriving from this fact may be duly utilized. After talking at some length, the operator slits the chicken's throat in the usual fashion of diviners and carefully washes the guts to verify the specific color (white or black) on which the spell depends. If black is present, the lucky client takes what is left of the chick from the hands of the diviner and tosses it surreptitiously into the hut or enclosure of his enemy, or else he buries it at the favorite spot where the person likes to sit and rest. The effects of the sorcery will be felt quickly, and the unfortunate victim /404/ will die almost instantly after a few moments of indisposition.

The Blacks add that this sorcery is feared by everyone but used more especially by the nobility (Batutsi). They say that if one wishes to ensure success, it is preferable to use a chick which is the only survivor (yonyine, ikinege) of its brood.

If the guts turn black in the course of the divinatory procedure, the chick will infallibly "swallow" (gusama) and "destroy" (gufata) the person whose death is desired.

754 8. Let us now mention the bewitcher who uses the horn of a cow to cast an evil spell on an enemy (ihembe umulozi alogesha).

The horn is hollowed out by the sorcerer, who carves at its tip the head of a snake. He fills it with all sorts of objects and ingredients, the droppings of various birds or animals, and scraps of flesh taken from victims he has already killed.

9. Freak babies (ibimara), young girls whose breasts have not
[787 developed (impenebere), and other unfortunate beings of this kind are
845 regarded by the Banyarwanda as "revealing in themselves the presence
856] of an evil principle or mystic force whose influence is deadly," (1)
just like the monster, portents, and other ill omens of Roman times.

1. La mentalité primitive
/The Primitive Mentality/,
by Levy-Bruhl, pp. 158 ff.

754 just like the monstra, portenta, and other ill omens of Roman times.

In order to check an enemy invasion, the Banyarwanda formerly had the habit of leaving those abnormal beings to the blows of the invaders. The shedding of this blood, or even the mere presence of such individuals, was regarded as a curse.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the various methods of bewitchment and spell casting. The imagination of the Blacks is disproportionately fertile in this respect. The wealth of methods will be /405/ appreciated when we recount the famous "Banyoro Invasion" [538] tale, which has now become a traditional epic poem. Numerous incantations and much sorcery are mentioned in this narrative, and the eventual defeat of the invaders is ascribed to them.

754 842 10. Aglet knotters. It is rather surprising to find that the Blacks, too, believe in the evil influence of people to whom this kind of misdeed is ascribed.

Activities of this sort are called in the native language kumanikir' undi ngw'atabyara, "to tie up or check fecundity," or again, kubang' ingata, "to braid a grass pad."

As the etymological meaning of these words indicates, the grass knotters attempt to procure from the household of the people they wish to injure a handful of grass of the kind (ishinge) which is strewn upon the floor of the hut.

With it they braid a sort of pad (ingata), which is then hidden and hung in the hut.

So long as the grass remains knotted (in the pad), the mistress of the household cannot hope to become a mother.

Many young women ascribe their sterility to this /form of/ sorcery.

A handful of hair taken from a neighboring woman and braided [826] in the shape of a crown will have the same result. This is called kumuzingirahw'amasunzu, "to coil someone's hair."

The natives claim that it would also suffice for the ill-disposed to get hold of one of the vegetable-fiber rings which ladies or women of rank wear on their legs, and crumple it in their hands, for the unfortunate woman to become sterile or to die in childbirth.

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
609 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga
186 grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

302 strings of white beads on their heads.

Both men and women shave the patterns. They use a small razor which is honed on their own skin, especially on the soles of their feet. The hair is moistened with water and scraped off with a knife.

Beards are very seldom worn in Kissaka. Throughout the rest of Ruanda the sparse beards and mustaches, as well as the hair of the armpits, are not shaved as a rule. A beard is more prized than a mustache. They are particularly proud of the hair [226] on the belly around the navel, because it is valued as a highly prized beauty mark.

304 In Ruanda people do not purposely deform their bodies in any way. They desist from piercing their ears or disfiguring their teeth. The only thing that could be regarded as a disfigurement is unintentional and comes from the fact that women wear grass rings on their legs. They not infrequently develop serious wounds and badly impair their shanks.

Tatooing of chest and arms is frequently seen among the Batutsi. [183] The Bahutu also use this type of ornament. In Kissaka not many persons were tatooed, but in Mulera I had the impression that considerably more people were.

Since the patterns of tatooing were also discussed by Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (1), I

1. Van der Burgt, Father J. M. M., Dictionnaire Francais-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 560.

shall merely mention here that the most frequent pattern consists of two rows of curved lines. The concave parts of these lines face each other in such a way that the two ends of adjacent curves fall within the concavity of the opposite curve. One also sees small squares arranged rectangularly in groups of 9, 12, and 16.

The operation is performed with an ordinary knife or a razor. First the pattern to be tatooed is lightly scratched on the

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182 cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that
847 parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of
605 biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be
[114] considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

824 Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a
[182] view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

844 The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception
845 was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as
[177] caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-
[187] luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins,
[23] usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On
851 the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced
851 woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay
586 a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1969, p. 156.

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One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared 559
to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their 564
control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate propor- 178
tion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their 184
caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the
number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They [168]
shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor [661]
favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of 178
economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the 564
irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was 433
not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited 184
national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem
in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organise a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This
emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and [651]
tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a
very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, [642]
army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organisation had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establish- 178
ment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the 184
difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. 564
Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics, 822

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it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

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of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organisation in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases). 562 582 613

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child. 562 557 [582] [58] [851] [848]

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives. 557 562 564 583 [851] [842]

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the 142 564 826

Ethel M. Albert

N2 same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This
564 makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to dis-
826 tinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that
564 the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least, cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the
827 Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving
829 anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

564 It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are,
827 to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour.
564 True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose character and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and
[262] their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even
[186] those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Other-
[461] wise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

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To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

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the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the bride-price, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,

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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

2. Cults

793 * Each of these gods is worshipped by specific cults; each
787 has his specific priest whom he "enters" from time to time,
makes him "possessed," and lets him prophesy and perform
794 feats of magic. There are male and female priests. Allegedly
756 the female ones remain unmarried. Divine power and inspiration and the predisposition for being possessed are in most cases passed on from father to son or daughter in the same manner as the power to heal and to raise spirits which is held by the medicine men (abafumu).

793 In Urundi these priests are called iviranga (sing. kiranga); in Ruanda, imandwa; in Kisiba, wabandwa. Among the persons who dedicate themselves to the cult of gods and spirits, the kiranga most of all has the character and functions of the priest in our sense. He has the same name as the god Kiranga (derived from the word root kira, to put in order), and he is regarded both as the representative and as the ambulatory abode of the god himself. Men or women become kiranga either because their fathers or mothers were kiranga and transmitted this talent after their death or as a result of having been struck but not killed by lightning, the sign of the power of the god (No. 19, p. 253), or they are seized by the spirit and enter a state of
[828] manic possession at the Kubandwa celebration or the "sacred spear" ceremony (cf. p. 134). As soon as such happenings and conditions make their appearance, the person in question is declared a kiranga and has to officiate at the ceremonies of the holy spear which are performed on so many occasions (No. 19, pp. 462-463) and to mediate between humanity, suffering or filled with metaphysical urges, and the spirits and gods.

791 As has been mentioned before, in Ruanda the ecstatic mediators of the world of the spirits are called imandwa. They are male or female, divinely chosen mediums of one of the principal spirits, i.e., either Riangombe, Binego, Mugassa, or others. Depending on this association with a particular god, they have to adorn themselves in a fashion different from the others. They have to express themselves by growling, hissing,

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

other hand, got it by his sobriety and cleverness. Kazikamuntu then chose Gatutsi to be the chief of the brothers. There are numerous versions of this tale. Moreover, the stories concerning man's creation are often inextricably mixed with the legends about the arrival of the Batutsi in Ruanda. The same names appear sometimes in the creation, sometimes in the conquest stories. In general the latter are better known. The summary given above is thus only one of the various accounts of the origin of mankind.

According to a widely known folk-tale, Death, personalized as a sort of animal, was hunted by *Imana*. He told all men to stay at home in order that Death should not find a hiding-place. An old woman, however, went out to work in her banana-grove. Death, pursued by *Imana*, asked her protection. Moved by pity, she let the animal hide under her skirt. *Imana*, in order to punish her, decided then that death should stay with men. This story might perhaps suggest a belief that there was a time when men did not die. But we could not find other elements to corroborate that interpretation.

On the ontological character of man two points are certain. First, an adult human being is considered to be different from an animal by virtue of his faculty of speech (*kivuga*), his intelligence (*ubwenge*), and his will (*ugushaka*); but the difference, if any, between a small child and an animal is not quite clear. Second, no one of these attributes is equated with the surviving spirit (*muzimu*). There is something in the human being which, after his death, becomes *muzimu*, but there is no agreement as to what it is. According to a fairly common opinion, the *muzimu* is the metamorphosis of the *igicucu*, the shadow cast by the body in sunshine. But according to some informants, this shadow is only an image of the spiritual shadow which is the essence of the post-mortem spirit. In conformity with that opinion, the living man is said to be made of three components: the body (*mubili*) which, after death, becomes a corpse (*murambo*); life (*buzima*), which disappears; and the shadow (*igucucu*) from which the surviving spirit (*muzimu*) results.

The heart is believed to be the seat of intelligence and affectivity. It is conceived as a single organ although some ways of speaking suggest that it is double. For instance, it is frequently said: 'One heart told me this, one heart told me that.' This is another application of the habit of attributing opposed effects of the same cause to several causes, but this is only a verbal habit which does not deceive anybody.

These uncertainties regarding the nature of man indicate that Banyarwanda do not make any clear-cut distinction between the concepts of body and mind. Although they recognize parts in man, they prefer to consider the unit rather than its components.

Whatever the culture, human experience is made up of a sequence of events and activities, such as working, eating, sleeping, maturing, suffering, mating, getting old, and dying. What is the Ruanda attitude in face of these universals of human life? In many societies these happenings are considered not in their naked reality but in terms of the beliefs held as true in the particular culture. For instance, in a society with a Christian ideology, to

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a very considerable extent universality and absoluteness, qualifies some of its commands. The degree of absoluteness and universality of the Ruanda rules of conduct is much lower. We might say that most of its precepts are qualified in relation to persons and circumstances. To steal cattle was forbidden, but a Mututsi could take the cattle of a Muhutu who had no lord. For a Muhutu to rob a foreigner was not forbidden. A wife might not commit adultery, but she was allowed to have sexual relations with people when ordered by her husband to do so and, even without her husband's permission, a woman could have intercourse with her husband's brothers and parallel cousins. Killing a man was prohibited, but not if he was an enemy of Ruanda or of the family, and if the feud had not been barred by the king. Banyarwanda certainly had no idea of rules of behaviour applicable to all men in virtue of their common humanity. This is perfectly consistent with the Ruanda conception of mankind and the very significant inequalities which Banyarwanda observe between themselves and neighbouring peoples and, among themselves, between the different castes.

To conclude, the rules of human action which prohibit or enjoin the use of certain means in order to achieve the culturally recognized values of Ruanda are sanctioned, not only by organized and unorganized social reactions but also by individual conscience or guilt feelings. The foundation of this moral code is not religious or supernatural but traditional; its content is a multiplicity of rules synthesized under a few moral principles. Particular precepts do not have a universal application but are relative to persons and groups.

Human Relations

Two principles dominate the field of human relations in Ruanda: inequality of men and indefinite reciprocity.

For the Banyarwanda all men have indeed a common nature; they are ultimately the descendants of the same ancestor. But this notion does not seem to be very significant, for Banyarwanda are much more impressed by the differences displayed by the various castes. The characteristics of these castes are stereotyped and repeated in many folk-tales. Batutsi are intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), apt to command, refined, courageous, and cruel. Bahutu are hard-working, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong. Batwa are gluttonous, loyal to their Batutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, lacking in restraint. These characteristics, with differences in stress and shading, are generally recognized by all Banyarwanda. As they reflect the Mututsi point of view, it appears that the superior caste has been able to make other people see themselves in important respects as Batutsi see them. Moreover, those qualities are considered to be innate, not acquired. A Mututsi is born clever and a Muhutu impulsive. Some tales, more widely known than those concerning the creation of man, relate how the first Batutsi came to Ruanda

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181 cultural premise underlying the social roles of the ruler and the subject.

564 829 We have seen that Ruanda society is made up of three hereditary groups with a very different participation in social power and that these differences were explained in terms of innate qualities. On the other hand, in a very great proportion of the political and feudal relations, the superior and the inferior belong to different castes. This indicates in what sense Ruanda feel men to be unequal.

This was not an inequality founded on differences in individual qualities or possessions. Of course, a very clever and artful man, a very wealthy possessor of great herds of cattle, could exert much greater influence, could have access to many more amenities of life and would command much more respect than a not very intelligent or a not very wealthy man. But these differences were not regarded as entailing such a significant inequality between them if they belonged to the same caste. Caste affiliation was mainly what made men unequal.

564 186 Several stories expressed the differences between the three castes and the qualities which were thought characteristic of them.[6] I mentioned above physical stereotypes. To them, moral qualities were added. Tutsi were said to be intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), capable of command, refined, courageous, and cruel; Hutu, hardworking, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong; Twa, gluttonous, loyal to their Tutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, without any restraint. These stereotypes, admitted with only minor qualifications and slight differences and emphases by all Ruanda, Hutu and Twa as well as Tutsi, were thought to be essentially linked to caste affiliation. When asked if a Hutu brought up with Tutsi, and as a Tutsi boy, could not develop the Tutsi qualities, Hutu and Tutsi informants answer that such a training [828] could change the boy to some extent, but not completely; the differences pertain to nature.

564 Caste status was, of course, not founded on a difference of qualities, objective or assumed, in the sense that if a particular Hutu was recognized as intelligent and courageous as a Tutsi, his status remained nevertheless unaffected. What mattered primarily indeed was not to have the qualifications of the upper caste, but to have been born in it. This was sufficient to determine a very

[6] Cf. for instance Sandrart, 1930, p. 139; Hursi, 1922.

431 he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has
554 already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle
431 measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any
554 alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior. Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows
626 or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more
[564] generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will
[593] return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For,
554 physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to
681 instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take
[861] out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their
[566] parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a
[593] woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

431 In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always
554 combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors
828 and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no
[152] doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

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or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

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Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[22] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[23] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[22] Maquet, 1958, pp. 526-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[23] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

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means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

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agents instead of being comforting were always potential enemies. There appear to have been certain defences, however. Firstly, there was a belief in the immutability of natural and social order; consequently this order and its frustrations were accepted as a matter of course. Secondly, there was always a means, whatever its efficacy, of coping with dangers and consequently people were able to hope that they would not be defenceless against them. We may thus conclude that social and natural conditions in Ruanda did not seem to prevent the bulk of people from enjoying the amount of psychological security necessary to go on living without tensions and anxieties such as disturb mental balance.

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indices and the lynching of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union. There is evidently no rational means for the whites of the south to impute the responsibility for the lack of rain—which was then the cause of the poor cotton crops—to Negroes. This typically irrational behaviour, however, becomes comprehensible if we accept the frustration-aggression sequence. In this sense, it can be said that the relation between the two phenomena, economic crises and lynching, is a logical relation.[5]

Ruanda political relations disclose one of the premises of that culture. Underlying the political and feudal structures there was a general assumption about human relations. In order to formulate it as accurately as may be possible, I shall first consider more closely the social roles of the superior and inferior in the field of political and feudal relations. In the following section the words 'ruler' and 'subject' refer to superiors and inferiors in the administrative, military, and clientage structures.

2. THE RULER'S AND SUBJECT'S SOCIAL ROLES

The analysis of the political organization of Ruanda indicates that the ruler was expected to assume a complex role towards his subject. The two poles of it were protection and profit. The subordinate was somebody whom one protected; he was also a resource from which it was normal to draw some advantage.

Protection was not restricted to a certain field of action, but potentially encompassed the whole of the subject's life. When the inferior needed some help, any help, he was expected to apply to his ruler even if the issue was completely alien to the sphere of the main relations between the ruler and the subject. A client could ask his *shebuja* for aid in matters not pertaining to cattle and *buhake* services. It was even thought proper for the ruler to interfere in difficulties which his subject through his own misdemeanour had run into as, for instance, when an inferior had been caught stealing from somebody. When protection was refused, it was not because the question was not the ruler's concern, but on other grounds, such as disloyalty.

The extent of that protection was not strictly defined. It did not constitute for the ruler a set of particular and fixed obligations. The subordinate had a general right to be protected but very few claims to particular advantages. In *buhake*, when one offered one's

[5] Dollard, 1939, p. 44 (quoted by Maquet, 1951, p. 166).

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571 services to a lord in order to become his client, one was entitled to
829 receive usufruct of his cattle. But the number of cows was not
156 determined. It could be one or twenty or fifty or even more.
641 It was up to the ruler to decide if any protection was to be granted and to what extent. Of course the pressure of public opinion obliged him not to refuse aid to his subordinate unless he had some socially accepted reason to do so (such as the subordinate's disobedience), but the measure of the protection depended on his own will and pleasure.

These characteristics of the protective attitude (care of the whole of the subordinate's life, its very variable extent being left to the superior's judgement) allow us to apply to it the qualification of
128 'paternalistic'. Paternalism is understood here as 'the principle of
114 acting in a way like that of a father towards his children. Because of the total dependency of the human offspring, during their first years, on those who nurse and educate them—and they are usually their parents—the latter's authority ranges over the whole of the life of the child. In everything he needs his parents, in everything they have to direct and control him. Moreover, parents sovereignly judge what they are going to give their children. Undoubtedly, their social groups force them to secure for their children the protection they need to live and develop but the children may not require such or such a particular service. Parents decide without further ado what is suitable for the child and think that better than he they know what is 'best for him'.

571 A paternal relation does not exclude profit. In describing the
829 Ruanda's father's role towards his sons, I mentioned that the
156 father's interests were usually thought to be predominant in
641 respect of the children's interests. When inferiors were not the superior's children but his subjects or clients, that aspect of profit was much more emphasized. All those who occupied the inferior position in the relations of the political and feudal structures had dues to give and tribute labour to perform for the profit of their superiors, and some of these obligations were heavy. It did not appear at all unusual to Ruanda that power brought many privileges to those who had it. If one is a chief, is it not fitting to draw advantages from one's situation? Here, again, the extent of the subject's obligations was left within very broad limits to the superior's discretion.

The ruler's role seems to have been that paternalistic blend of

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protection and profit. Of course, that role was not always perfectly fulfilled. Chiefs who have been more exploiters than protectors are remembered. It was by comparison with that ideal picture that their behaviour was judged and blamed.

The subject was expected to have a role complementary to the one we have just described. He was supposed to assume an attitude of dependency. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a well delimited field. Dependence is inferiority in the whole of life. When the ruler gives an order, he has to be obeyed, not because his order falls within the field over which he has authority, but because he is a ruler.

It could be objected that in Ruanda this attitude of dependence was not in principle unlimited. We saw that cattle- and land-chiefs could not require as many dues as they liked, that subjects could resort to higher authorities against their immediate chiefs, and that it was possible to oppose one chief against another. This does not change the fact that the dependent attitude was the only one socially expected of the subject. Indeed it was impossible to be considered a 'good' subject if one asserted independence of one's superior. A claim of independence, even limited, obliged one to leave the superior, to ask for the support of another and to assume towards the latter an attitude of complete compliance. This appeared clearly in the feudal relation. A lord could not be refused what he asked (even at the present time a shop assistant who is obliged by the law to sell only for cash, will find it very difficult not to sell on credit to his lord). He could only be deserted for another.

3. FORMULATION OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

When paternalism and dependence define the permanent roles expected from two persons, much more is implied than when they express the transitory roles of a father and his young son. In the latter case it is known that the son will grow up and one day, even if he has to wait till after his father's death, will be equal to what his father was when the latter was young. But when paternalism and dependence are linked in permanent reciprocal roles, the assumption is that there is a fundamental inequality between the two persons. The subject will never grow up, he will never 'reach his majority'. It is implied without any doubt that there is between the ruler and his subject a difference so fundamental that it never can be suppressed. This fundamental inequality of men is the

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181 cultural premise underlying the social roles of the ruler and the subject.

564 We have seen that Ruanda society is made up of three hereditary groups with a very different participation in social power and that 829 these differences were explained in terms of innate qualities. On the other hand, in a very great proportion of the political and feudal relations, the superior and the inferior belong to different castes. This indicates in what sense Ruanda feel men to be unequal.

This was not an inequality founded on differences in individual qualities or possessions. Of course, a very clever and artful man, a very wealthy possessor of great herds of cattle, could exert much greater influence, could have access to many more amenities of life and would command much more respect than a not very intelligent or a not very wealthy man. But these differences were not regarded as entailing such a significant inequality between them if they belonged to the same caste. Caste affiliation was mainly what made men unequal.

564 Several stories expressed the differences between the three castes and the qualities which were thought characteristic of 186 them.[6] I mentioned above physical stereotypes. To them, moral qualities were added. Tutsi were said to be intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), capable of command, refined, courageous, and cruel; Hutu, hardworking, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong; Twa, gluttonous, loyal to their Tutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, without any restraint. These stereotypes, admitted with only minor qualifications and slight differences and emphases by all Ruanda, Hutu and Twa as well as Tutsi, were thought to be essentially linked to caste affiliation. When asked if a Hutu brought up with Tutsi, and as a Tutsi boy, could not develop the Tutsi qualities, Hutu and Tutsi informants answer that such a training [828] could change the boy to some extent, but not completely; the differences pertain to nature.

564 Caste status was, of course, not founded on a difference of qualities, objective or assumed, in the sense that if a particular Hutu was recognized as intelligent and courageous as a Tutsi, his status remained nevertheless unaffected. What mattered primarily indeed was not to have the qualifications of the upper caste, but to have been born in it. This was sufficient to determine a very

[6] Cf. for instance Sandrart, 1930, p. 139; Hurel, 1922.

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component in the content of a social intercourse, other components were regarded as less important and were coloured by the hierarchical situation of the two actors. In Euro-American culture, relationships of inferiority are defined not only as regards the people taking part in them but also as regards the matters concerned. A business executive may give orders to one of his employees only within very well-defined limits of competence and time, but he cannot oblige him to accept his views on for instance artistic or political questions. In Ruanda, on the contrary, when one of the persons involved in a dyad was superior to the other from a certain point of view, the superiority was diffused, as it were, through the whole relation. For his subject, a chief was always a chief in whatever matter.

This first theorem is a consequence of inequality conceived as essential. When two persons are considered unequal by nature, the superiority of one over the other cannot be limited to a certain sphere. Obedience in everything must be required: there is no field in which a father could be wrong and his son right.

[829]

Theorem Two

As in almost any human relation there is some superiority of one actor over the other, as that aspect is always stressed and as inferiority relations are patterned on inter-caste relations, paternalistic, and dependent attitudes were to be found in almost every human relation in Ruanda.

The only exceptions were relations between people who were equal from any point of view, as for instance young men of about the same age, belonging to the same caste and whose families were about at the same level of wealth.

This is very noticeable today, even in relations with Europeans. A clerk usually assumes towards the European he assists, a dependent attitude different from the behaviour of a European employee. The clerk expects from his employer a behaviour similar to the paternalistic attitude of the Ruanda superiors and he is puzzled and disappointed if the employer does not assume such an attitude.

Theorem Three

There is no private sector in the life of the inferior *vis-à-vis* his superior. The superior has the right to control the whole of his

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inferior to the other to claim some particular fulfilment of the agreed promises from the other.

This appears clearly in the difficulties Ruanda often meet when they have to adjust themselves to European labour contracts. They are sometimes confused by the fact that the employer requires from them at the same time less and more than they expect. Less because the employer does not ask for more services, for longer office hours for instance, than what has been stipulated, and more because he is very exacting in the execution of what has been undertaken, for instance in matters of punctuality.

Theorem Five

With such socially accepted conceptions about inequality, those who occupy the superior positions in most of the social relations in which they are involved, tend to develop a permanent authoritarian behaviour. This is characterized by a propensity to command, to be self-assertive, arrogant, protective, and compassionate.

Chiefs, rulers, and other superiors try to extend not only the size or range of their power (the number of people controlled) but its density (the degree of control of the subordinates).[7] Any independence manifested by the inferior will be resented as rebellious.

This leads to intolerance. The superior's opinions should never be opposed by the inferior who is always and everywhere expected to manifest his dependence by attitudes of compliance. Even today this conduct tends to prevail. Some years ago a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. After the most important person present there had given his opinion, everybody voted for his proposal. But after the meeting many expressed privately their divergent opinions. At the time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with the superior.

Theorem Six

Even if the caste system and political and feudal institutions have succeeded to a large extent in moulding personalities in such a way as to make inferiors self-effacing, submissive, compliant, and dependent, the conditioning has not been perfect. Often the inferior wants to disagree with his superior's opinions, to avoid executing an order or obeying his commands. A straight refusal

[7] Cf. Russell, 1938, pp. 165 f.

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being regarded as insulting, disrespect or revolt, the only way out for the inferior is to appear to behave always as expected: to fall in with any desire of his superior while concealing his own opinion, never to say no to any order but to find clever excuses for not doing it. Consequently dissimulation is very highly thought of and a skill necessary to master for someone wanting to live more or less securely under such a political régime.

Many stories and proverbs give evidence of the frequency of covert disobedience to the rulers and of the appreciation in which an astute excuse and a 'good lie' were held. This was the only way to adapt oneself to such a situation.

Theorem Seven

It is commonly accepted in the Western tradition that truth has a high value and that language is the medium used to express 'truth', that is to say, 'what reality appears to be to the person who speaks'. Undoubtedly, in Western practice, language is used, even in the cognitive sphere, for many other purposes than to express what the speaker thinks. Moreover, most of the scholars who, in recent years, have studied the problem of the origin and function of language, bring qualifications to the traditional view. In the almost unanimous opinion of the carriers of Western culture, however, the ideal verbal behaviour must express 'truth' and not what is useful to the speaker. This is, for example, what is inculcated into children in schools.

In a society in which human relations are imbued with some cultural premises as the one being considered in this chapter, 'truth' cannot be recognized as a dominant value. Indeed, one is supposed to use language not to say what is thought to conform to reality but what is thought to conform to the ruler's opinion. Nobody, the ruler included, entertains many illusions on the sincerity of what is said, but submission has been expressed at the right time and this is felt to be most important.

This theorem could be formulated in this way: the verbal behaviour towards a superior must express dependence rather than 'truth'.

Theorem Eight

Once it is taken for granted that in hierarchical relations, behaviour must conform to the superior's expectations even to the

N2 same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This
564 makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to dis-
826 tinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least,
564 cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the
827 Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving
829 anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

564 It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically
827 more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are, to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour.
564 True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose character and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and
[262] their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even
[186] those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Other-
[461] wise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

[826 It is necessary to stay in Burundi for a long time to see behind
827] the stereotypes of the castes. In brief, it is assumed that the Tutsi

Towards her grand-

Ethel M. Albert

603 554 children, a grandmother may at last dare to indulge openly in revealing her sentiments, without, however, neglecting practical considerations. Grandparents joke with their grandchildren, spoil them, protect them against their parents' anger, and, if they are [764] not believing Christians, they expect their grandchildren will in due course perform the ceremonies in honour of the *imiziriu*, the spirits of dead grandparents.

• • •

577 829 The most direct route to happiness is conformity to the norms and rules of society. Most Rundi have some roles in which they are superior and others in which they are inferior and the accompanying obligations and compensations. A good wife of a generous and reasonable husband, a good mother of numerous and good children, a good mother-in-law of obedient and industrious daughters-in-law and of respectful sons-in-law, will be a happy woman. Unfortunately, it is necessary to take into account the ever-present and infamous "bad characters", the numberless misfortunes sent by *Imana* when he is in a bad humour, the truth that *Imana*—or, if one prefers, Nature, biology, or genetics—does not always pay attention to social norms. Thus, it can happen that a man is not qualified for the role of patriarch, that he suffers all his life the oppression of a nagging shrew. It can happen that a woman is born too weak for manual labour. If she does not find a kind husband who will carry the burden of the work of the household or a rich one who can provide her with workers, she will die very miserable and very young. It can also happen that a woman is more intelligent and more enterprising than her father, her husband, or her son. A woman of this kind is ordinarily encouraged to make use of her gifts—intelligence must not be wasted—but sometimes an energetic woman is tied to a husband who is cruel and stupid and can do nothing with her good-for-nothing sons. In the social life of Burundi, the motto is, everyone for himself. Each must do what he can with whatever *Imana* has given him.

There are many Rundikazi who are unfortunate and wretched— [562] orphans, the daughters of avaricious and cruel fathers, the wives of bad husbands, childless widows, the poor and the sick—in brief, those who do not have the favour of *Imana*. Let us pass in sad silence from their pathetic lot to the more fortunate women, those who have succeeded, despite the inevitable woes of life, in obtaining at least some measure of happiness, and to the true favourites 562 554 of *Imana*, the well-born women who are at maturity true matriarchs. The absolute quantity of power and wealth depends upon birth. A

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important for prospective spouses? Among Hutu and Tutsi both patrilineages looked for the right connexion. Has the man's (or girl's) inzu a good reputation? Is it well considered at the king's court? Are they rich? Is it strategic, in present circumstances, to be allied to them? What are the relations between their cattle-lord and ours? Individual qualities considered as socially important were for the prospective wife of a Tutsi that she should be expert at keeping a house very clean, at basket work, and at commanding servants. The Hutu wanted a hard-working wife able to help them in the fields. The Twa appreciated, as we may expect, a skilled potter. The most important qualities of the culturally defined ideal husband was his ability to support economically his wife and their children. That meant for a Tutsi that he should be rich in cattle and clever in political intrigues; for a Hutu that he should be a good labourer and a client appreciated by his lord, and for a Twa that he should be a good craftsman or hunter or a buffoon, liked by his Tutsi protectors. These qualities mentioned by our informants are those which made spouses good partners in the co-operative economic unit of the family. In the mind of Ruanda that aspect of the family was clearly emphasized. Beauty and sex-appeal were also highly appreciated, however, particularly by Tutsi.

The normal marriage age for boys was around twenty-five for Tutsi, seventeen to eighteen for Hutu, and fifteen for Twa. For girls, when 'breasts were fully developed and beginning to fall down' I was told. This gives a rather large range of age. A girl could be married before puberty but she remained with her parents till her first menstruation.

According to informants, virginity was appreciated more than both beauty and ability to co-operate in economic pursuits. This was rationalized in terms of virginity being a guarantee of fertility and of stability in the family. Among the Hutu a small gift was sent to the girl's parents by the husband when the girl was found to be virgin.

The prospective spouse was not chosen by his or her future partner. The boy could express only to his paternal uncle or aunt nothing more than a wish to get married. The father was told of his son's desire and then looked for a suitable girl. When she was found, the inzu council met and the advisability of a connexion with the girl's inzu was discussed. When an agreement was reached on the choice, the boy's father asked for an appointment with the

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For husband and wife, sex was not only that pleasurable 831
activity in which tensions are released, but it was also linked with feelings of affection and sympathy. Moreover, as some cases of prohibition and obligation make it clear, it was a means of participating in collective feelings and of relating oneself to natural processes and rhythms.

For men, marriage was not the only socially approved means of 836
obtaining sexual gratification. Before marriage young Tutsi were often given Hutu temporary concubines, wives or daughters of their father's clients. Moreover, they, as well as young Hutu, had privileged partners: married cross-cousins, brothers', and parallel cousins' wives. If they had affairs with unrelated women or even related or unrelated girls, the blame and the risk were for the latter more than for themselves. But as these affairs were occasional and had to be kept secret, marriage brought to men stability, continuity, and quietness in their sexual life. Homosexuality was [838]
widespread among Tutsi and Hutu young men. For girls, any heterosexual activity before marriage was strictly prohibited and severely sanctioned. After marriage, their sexual needs could be satisfied not only with their husbands but with their privileged partners.

Cohabitation was an obligation for each spouse. Refusal over a 833
certain time—one, two or three weeks according to different in- [586]
formants—was a cause of temporary separation or even of divorce (of course this does not refer to a refusal based on culturally accepted reasons such as illness or menstruation). Frequency of intercourse is said to have been up to three times a day for Tutsi when they were newly married, then once a day for young people, and about once every other day later on. Hutu accounts suggest that the average frequency was not as high in their group (once a day for newly married, every other day for young people, and twice or once a week later on). The difference was attributed to the more leisurely life of Tutsi. 'They were not tired by work in the fields.' Women were said to be more eager than men but I was told by some informants that men thought this 'because they never refused intercourse'. Women, however, had to behave in a restrained way and to leave the initiative to men. It was very improper for a wife to manifest pleasure or to be other than purely passive during love-play and intercourse. Both partners sat or lay on their sides. Coitus with the woman lying on her back

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833 under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family
[595] the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some
864 parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and
838 flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

831 Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not
837 available, it was socially permitted to have another partner
835 (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when
[843] she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a
[833] minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his
[593] travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with
[484] them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few
548 Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

831 The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

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physiological aspect of sexuality. They do not seem to have thought of sexual relations as the fulfilment of a romantic love between two individuals meant to mate with each other and nobody else. The way spouses were chosen by the two patrilineages prevented any such ideas, for the choosing of spouses rested on the assumption that any boy and any girl of the right age and reasonably attractive could be good partners in marriage and sexuality. But feelings of sympathy and affection developed later as a result of their life together rather than as its basis. According to our informants, love, in the sense of attractiveness based on individual characteristics, was greater in non-marital relations. 'One slept with a certain woman to make her happy because one liked her,' I was told.

Various prohibitions and obligations indicate how sexuality in marriage was related to events concerning the community and the patrilineage. During the mourning period for the husband's father and mother, which lasted one, two or three months according to the region, intercourse was prohibited for both husband and wife. It was also prohibited for one moon after the death of the wife's child, and for two or three moons for the surviving spouse when one of the spouses died. The meaning of this taboo was not only that one had to refrain from enjoying oneself when one should have been in sorrow. It meant also a certain symbolic participation in death or in the diminution of life affecting the patrilineage. This is, I think, what informants have in mind when they say in this connexion that sex is a sacred activity. This interpretation seems to be supported by what happened when a king died. Not only had all Ruanda to be continent for a certain period (some informants said two moons, others one year), but the bulls were separated from cows and rams from sheep. The king (*mwami*) was identified with Ruanda. If he was strong, Ruanda was strong, if he was getting old and weak, he had to commit suicide because he endangered the country's life. In that context, if animals were prevented from mating it was to express symbolically the idea of the death of the community rather than, it seems, to deny them pleasure.

On the other hand, intercourse was obligatory when events fortunate for the patrilineage or the community at large occurred. For instance when a new hut was occupied, when six days had passed after the birth of a child, when the first teeth of the baby

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype. 562 593

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective. 152 593 837 [557] [831] [833] [601] [578]

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a polygamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that 152 595 [832]

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[12] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi, probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force available to the parents and the better are the prospects of obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of
[832] herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359). As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret science among the women, and the men do not appear to have any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible." One frequently sees fathers tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

How many unfortunate people
payed with their lives for having
been falsely accused of such
supposed misdeeds!

789 648 The use of charms to win the good graces of Europeans survived only by a few years the use of the above-mentioned poisons. When the latter were tagged as ineffective /to Europeans/, or at least dangerous in their consequences, charms (inzaratsi) were resorted to. The makers of charms, called by the generic name of Abanyamihango, "men of the traditions," exercise a vocation which is regarded as lucrative and honorable as long as the professionals do not overstep the limits of their art.

Public opinion indeed accuses them, most probably wrongly, of deceiving people and giving them poison instead of inoffensive charms. Women, especially, resort to their art and use their powders 832 278 to draw upon themselves the attention and favors of an unfaithful or forgetful husband. Sorcerers in this category use for this purpose the following plants and shrubs: umukunde, which bears the evocative [824] name of "tree of love," umutanga, umugobora, umukeri, a kind of wild bramble, nkurimonga, umuhire, bufyoher' imfizi, that is, "the plant that suits the taste of bulls," etc. The makers of philters take the bark, leaves, or roots of those plants and dry them in the sun. The whole thing is crushed and reduced to powder. One need only put a little of this powder into beer or butter, or else /490/ rub it onto a stick or spear, to obtain the desired effect. The neglected wife who manages to make her husband drink this beer will inevitably regain [302] first place in his heart. The result is the same if the husband anoints his limbs and body with the butter containing the precious powder.

789 648 The use of a walking stick or the bearing of a spear rubbed with one of those powders will bring good luck to the owner. His words and requests will all be accepted, and those he addresses will be unable to do him any harm.

This is why the king and court dignitaries attempted in their turn to use this simple and effective means of winning over the hearts of the Europeans and of swaying them toward their own needs and

323 making baskets, thus forming the lower part of the pot. The rolls of clay are pressed together inside and out, and when the lower part of the pot is formed, additional spirals are added and pressed together. The procedure is continued to the upper edge of the pot or the neck of the jug, the spiral rolls still being recognizable. When it is finished thus far, [154] the pot is dipped in water and smoothed out with a piece of gourd until the rolls disappear. The upper edges are worked over with special care. They are carefully smoothed with a wet leaf (Acanthus arboreus) while the pot is rotated on the sherd. The ornamentation is also added while the pot is rotated, though much more slowly. A cylinder of plaited grass is rolled against the sides of the pot to make the primitive [531] decorations. Geometrical designs are also applied.

The pots made in this way are allowed to dry for a few days and are then fired. It is said that they are fired in the pits used to warm the unripe, unfermented beer. Pots are also fired in the open where they are stacked in pyramids, packed with firewood and grass on the sides and banana stalks on top, and thus fired. The high moisture content of the banana stalks slows the burning of the wood and prolongs the entire process, which should help to keep the pots from cracking. Nevertheless, there is always a considerable residue of useless pots.

To increase the quality of the goods, it is said that crushed sherds are added to the clay.

Potters are found on every hill. In Kissaka where there are no markets, they work only to supply the needs of the immediate vicinity.

[832] A secondary branch of pottery is the manufacture of pipes and "little love pots," tiny vessels in which the women carry their amulets which are said to guarantee them the love of their husbands. These objects are made of kneaded clay and hollowed out with special small spatulas. These two classes of objects, if [531] they are decorated at all, primarily have only linear geometrical ornamentation.

755 to the afflicted parts of the body. Since the amulets are very specialized in their effects, every illness requires a different amulet, sometimes even a different medicine man. That is why one constantly sees individuals with a dozen amulets.

There are many different types of amulets. There are, first of all, small pieces of wood decorated with little glass beads. One or two of these are worn on the bast headband. Sometimes several thin wooden cylinders with glass beads are worn on a necklace. One also sees quite a number of larger pieces of wood on a necklace. Occasionally amulets have the shape of tiny clay vessels filled with long-distance medicine. Similarly shaped are
●832 the little love pots (ingondo) which are [326] worn in large numbers by the women on their belts. They are said to guarantee the love of their husbands. The small gourds called bunuli serve the same purpose. Vessels of this kind are filled with the medicine known as isarazi.

752 Sometimes the sick person is branded with a hot iron. One often sees scars of burns on the forehead, which indicate headache treatments. In other cases incisions and bloodletting are performed.

Bloodletting (kurasha) is common in Ruanda medical practice. A vein in the forehead is chosen and blocked by means of pressure (bandaging the neck). The vein is then opened. This is done by placing an arrow or a knife on the vein and pushing it into the vein with the index finger.

When a sufficient amount of blood has been drawn off, the ligature is removed. The bleeding usually stops automatically. If it does not, the opening is stopped up with clay.

Cupping is also a favorite treatment. An antelope horn with a small opening at the point serves as a cupping glass. Air is sucked out through the opening, and the cup is sealed with fig leaves. The cupping horn is placed on the neck in the case of a headache. To increase its effectiveness, the skin is often lacerated with a knife. The cupping horn is kept on the spot until it falls off by itself. The cupping horns do not differ from those of the Dinka.

In fractures of arms or legs the bones are skillfully set and immobilized with splints (busenge).

[Text continues on p.266]

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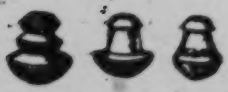

Fig. 174. Clay Containers for Amulets, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10147.)

Fig. 175. Little Love Pots, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13087a, III E13088c, III E13086a, III E13084b.)

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Fig. 176. Love Gourd from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13119. 12 centimeters high.)

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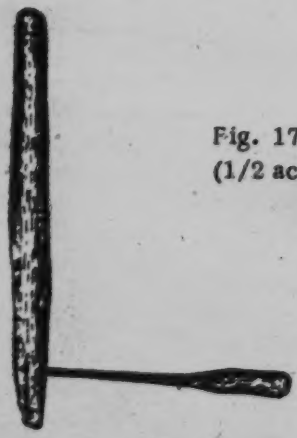

Fig. 177. Instrument for Bleeding, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L15066.)

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Why did they not operate in the case of FaSi? As mother of Ego's paternal cross-cousins, with whom Ego could enjoy the same familiarities, she could have reacted in the same way. We have seen that, on the contrary, she was extremely cordial to her nephews. The only reason seems to be that her nephews belonged to her own lineage, whereas her daughters did not. Consequently she was less interested in bride-wealths, &c. Her husband (FaSiHu) probably reacted in the same way as MoBr. 604

The relations of Ego with his maternal aunt (MoSi) were supposed to be similar to his relations with his mother, but in fact great trust and affection did not often exist between them because of the usually tense relations of the aunt with Ego's mother, her sister. If, for instance, Ego's aunt's husband (MoSiHu) neglected his wife and preferred his sister-in-law (Ego's Mo), with whom intercourse was not taboo, the relations between the two sisters became tense. The incest taboo applied to the relations between Ego and MoSi (as an extension of the incest prohibition between Ego and his Mo) and also MoSiDa (although she did not belong to Mo's inzu). In the latter case, the reason was that for Ego, his maternal parallel cousins were assimilated to his paternal parallel cousins. He had consequently to consider her as his sister. In the next generation this incest taboo still existed (between So and MoSiDaDa, i.e. between any male and his FaMoSiDaDa). The incest between Ego's male descendants and his MoSi's female descendants through females lasted, I was told, as long as the original sibling relation (between Mo and MoSi) was remembered. 604 835 [593] 605 835

Between Ego and his maternal grandfather, the relations were very similar to those between him and his paternal grandfather. As we may expect, the fact that his maternal grandmother did not belong to the maternal patrilineage did not prevent her from being considered as a grandmother and not only as MoFaWi. 603

As has just been indicated, Ego could enjoy with his female maternal cross-cousins great familiarity expressed in practical jokes, pleasant talk, and erotic games. But as long as the girls were unmarried anything more than caressing and petting (erotic kissing seems to have been unknown among Ruanda) was prohibited. It was only after the female cross-cousins' marriages that sexual intercourse with them was tolerated. This behaviour was extended to wives of male cross-cousins (MoBrSoWi). 605 [832] [835]

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. 562
He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. 593
For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an 152
imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity 593
to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by 837
this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information [557]
from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. [831]
Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep [833]
with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a [601]
highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to [578]
quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a poly- 152
gamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every 595
other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to [832]
quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

152 diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look
595 for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with
[832] other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his
152 wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from
564 each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself
595 that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

562 The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

562 Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with
868 maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around
[291] her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting
[867] among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work
858] and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
●833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

[825] In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull, billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

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Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose [422] property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of [539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning [833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered [302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

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613 835 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 416 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied [692] by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 764 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a 613 765 man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again. [833] There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as

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for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territories*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

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For husband and wife, sex was not only that pleasurable 831
activity in which tensions are released, but it was also linked with feelings of affection and sympathy. Moreover, as some cases of prohibition and obligation make it clear, it was a means of participating in collective feelings and of relating oneself to natural processes and rhythms.

For men, marriage was not the only socially approved means of 836
obtaining sexual gratification. Before marriage young Tutsi were often given Hutu temporary concubines, wives or daughters of their father's clients. Moreover, they, as well as young Hutu, had privileged partners: married cross-cousins, brothers', and parallel cousins' wives. If they had affairs with unrelated women or even related or unrelated girls, the blame and the risk were for the latter more than for themselves. But as these affairs were occasional and had to be kept secret, marriage brought to men stability, continuity, and quietness in their sexual life. Homosexuality was [838]
widespread among Tutsi and Hutu young men. For girls, any heterosexual activity before marriage was strictly prohibited and severely sanctioned. After marriage, their sexual needs could be satisfied not only with their husbands but with their privileged partners.

Cohabitation was an obligation for each spouse. Refusal over a 833
certain time—one, two or three weeks according to different in- [586]
formants—was a cause of temporary separation or even of divorce (of course this does not refer to a refusal based on culturally accepted reasons such as illness or menstruation). Frequency of intercourse is said to have been up to three times a day for Tutsi when they were newly married, then once a day for young people, and about once every other day later on. Hutu accounts suggest that the average frequency was not as high in their group (once a day for newly married, every other day for young people, and twice or once a week later on). The difference was attributed to the more leisurely life of Tutsi. 'They were not tired by work in the fields.' Women were said to be more eager than men but I was told by some informants that men thought this 'because they never refused intercourse'. Women, however, had to behave in a restrained way and to leave the initiative to men. It was very improper for a wife to manifest pleasure or to be other than purely passive during love-play and intercourse. Both partners sat or lay on their sides. Coitus with the woman lying on her back

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833 under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family
[595] the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some
864 parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and
838 flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

831 Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not
837 available, it was socially permitted to have another partner
835 (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when
[843] she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a
[833] minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his
[593] travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with
[484] them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few
548 Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

831 The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1934, pp. 167-71.

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physiological aspect of sexuality. They do not seem to have thought of sexual relations as the fulfilment of a romantic love between two individuals meant to mate with each other and nobody else. The way spouses were chosen by the two patrilineages prevented any such ideas, for the choosing of spouses rested on the assumption that any boy and any girl of the right age and reasonably attractive could be good partners in marriage and sexuality. But feelings of sympathy and affection developed later as a result of their life together rather than as its basis. According to our informants, love, in the sense of attractiveness based on individual characteristics, was greater in non-marital relations. 'One slept with a certain woman to make her happy because one liked her,' I was told.

Various prohibitions and obligations indicate how sexuality in marriage was related to events concerning the community and the patrilineage. During the mourning period for the husband's father and mother, which lasted one, two or three months according to the region, intercourse was prohibited for both husband and wife. It was also prohibited for one moon after the death of the wife's child, and for two or three moons for the surviving spouse when one of the spouses died. The meaning of this taboo was not only that one had to refrain from enjoying oneself when one should have been in sorrow. It meant also a certain symbolic participation in death or in the diminution of life affecting the patrilineage. This is, I think, what informants have in mind when they say in this connexion that sex is a sacred activity. This interpretation seems to be supported by what happened when a king died. Not only had all Ruanda to be continent for a certain period (some informants said two moons, others one year), but the bulls were separated from cows and rams from sheep. The king (*mwami*) was identified with Ruanda. If he was strong, Ruanda was strong, if he was getting old and weak, he had to commit suicide because he endangered the country's life. In that context, if animals were prevented from mating it was to express symbolically the idea of the death of the community rather than, it seems, to deny them pleasure.

On the other hand, intercourse was obligatory when events fortunate for the patrilineage or the community at large occurred. For instance when a new hut was occupied, when six days had passed after the birth of a child, when the first teeth of the baby

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833 were growing, when a child had his hair cut in tufts for the first time, at the initiation into the Ryangombe sect, when a daughter was asked to marry, on the wedding day of a son or a daughter, on the accession of a new king, at sowing time, and at the celebration for July harvesting. All these events were happy and joyful because they were growths or increases in life. Intercourse was also obligatory at the end of the mourning periods when life had to go on and start again after that period of abeyance.

This obligatory intercourse took place between husband and wife. When it was impossible because one of the spouses was absent or dead, one had to rely upon a privileged partner, or, if this was impossible, had to get medicine prepared from certain herbs by a diviner.

[853] There was no prohibition of intercourse between the spouses during the suckling months (the first eighteen to twenty-four).

(*b*) *Economic co-operation*

595 [594] The nuclear family and, to a large extent each wife's compound in polygamous cases, was a self-sufficient unit of economic co-operation. Among rich Tutsi who could afford separate homesteads for their wives, each wife was in fact the superintendent of her own. She had to command her husband's clients, servants, cultivators, and herdsmen. It was no wonder that women who could be entrusted with such responsibilities were respected within their family and in society at large. If the homestead was small, as among ordinary Tutsi, or consisted only of a small cultivated plot, as among most Hutu polygamists, each of these wives had, nevertheless, some economic responsibility, even if it was only that of working by herself in the fields. This important participation of polygynous wives in the management of a small unit of production and consumption, should be studied in relation to the 562 status of women in Ruanda.[9] This status was by no means equal to that of men but it was far from being one of slavery. Tutsi [593] husbands and wives ate together, the wife was consulted by her husband on many problems, and she was treated with much politeness. The Hutu were ruder and more temperamental, but they followed a more or less similar pattern. Under the present administration there are two or three women, widows of Tutsi chiefs, who act as sub-chiefs. The mere fact that it is taken for

[9] See Naigiziki, 1959.

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. 562
He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. 593
For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an 152
imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity 593
to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by 837
this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information [557]
from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. [831]
Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep [833]
with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a [601]
highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to [578]
quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a poly- 152
gamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every 595
other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to [832]
quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

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the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the brideprice, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,

5. Betrothal and Marriage

584 If the young man has not made his choice, the father draws his attention to such and such a girl whom he would like to have as a daughter-in-law, after having made sure of her father's approval and agreed with him on the date of the official betrothal (gusaba umugeni, lit., to ask a girl in marriage).

On the appointed day he returns to the home of the girl's parents accompanied by one or two clients (3) carrying a new hoe and

3. One of his relatives among the Bahutu.

a jug of hydromel and leading a cow [25] called y'ilembo (lit., in order to enter the rugo). He is let into the rugo. The young man's father and the girl's father, as well as his brothers and brothers-in-law, sit on mats, drink, smoke and talk of this and that. Meanwhile, the mother and the girl keep themselves hidden in a near-by nook and follow the conversation eagerly.

After this preamble which is merely a distraction, the talk turns to the marriage. This often gives rise to a lively discussion during which each of the parties defends his interests. When agreement is finally reached, the father says: "we give you our daughter, but the cow is not fine enough (1); bring us some others." An umugaragu is

1. Even if the animal is magnificent.

then ordered to bring seven other cows to complete the umunani (2)

2. As we have seen above (cf. Dowry) the girl's father nowadays only keeps one out of the two cows for himself.

and to ask the girl's parents for their approval as to the date of the wedding.

[834] Sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden to the betrothed.

585 The wedding usually takes place at the home of the young man's father (3).

3. The marriage ceremonies have been

837 Up until recent times, the father-in-law and even the brothers-
606 in-law had the right to spend one or several nights with the wife of
607 his son or brother. The father-in-law had the right to claim this right without discussion, while the brothers-in-law had to have the brother's permission. The wife who refused to share her bed with her father-in-law or one of her brothers-in-law could be driven away. The husband even had the right to compel his wife to give her favors to one of his friends.

CHAPTER III. DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

1. Death

765 Two days after a death, the whole clan arrives to assist the widow and orphans in their mourning. The mother and her children shave off their hair, take off their bracelets, and abstain from washing their clothes (kwirabura, lit., to become black). One of the brothers of the deceased lights a fire that burns in the rugo without cease for two days (igitshaniro). When it has gone out, the children and their uncle take the ashes and go in secret to throw them in a marsh.

Mourning lasts for two months during which time the married
[834] sons may not have intercourse with their wives.

On the first day of the third month the members of the family return. In the evening they all assemble, swallow [32] great quantities of beer, and sing happily (kwera, lit., to become white). The brother of the deceased who took charge of the igitshaniro, or in his absence, another brother, must share the bed of the widow (kweza). The married sons, in the order of their birth, simulate the sexual act with their wives.

The following day, the widow and the wives of the married sons put milk in the churns and make butter (1). Then all the members of

1. During the mourning they could not touch the churns. A stranger to the family of the deceased came and made the butter.

the family rub themselves with chalk, put on white garments, and go

805 In katumba the people begin burning off the grass on the
221 hills.

Most of the weddings take place in nseri, because much beer can be brewed in this month. For the same reason, most fights occur then.

132 There are three seasons in Kissaka.

805 [296] I. Itumba, the great rainy season extending from March to May.

II. Ichanda, the great dry season from June to October.

III. Ruhira, the secondary rainy season from November to January and sometimes February.

The secondary dry season in February does not seem to have a special name.

805 Father C. Lecoindre told me that he had the impression there were 13 months in the Ruanda year and pointed out that on my list the month of kashantare between mutarama and werurwe was not shown.

The art of chronology is only slightly developed in Ruanda, and the Bahutu seem essentially to know only the periods for certain field chores, to which they give special names, for example:

Itumba ya massaka (in the autumn),
Itumba lyi bishimbo,

or solar time:

Rugaryi (little sun),
Itsi (big sun).

644 On the other hand, life in Musinga's royal residence, at
805 least the arrival of fresh drum guards with the new moon, is regulated by the lunar division of the year, and Father C. Lecoindre's observation seems to have many points in its favor. For example, it is said that at the court of the king there is mourning during the
[834] first half of the month kichurasi. During this time men allegedly have no sexual intercourse with women. The drums at the king's court are beaten only once around 11 o'clock to greet (ndamutsu) the king; they are said to be tied up (kuzirika). The Batwa do not entertain the king with their songs during the evening gatherings. The king pronounces no sentences and accepts no presents. At ordinary law proceedings the victorious party neither sings his song

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physiological aspect of sexuality. They do not seem to have thought 831
of sexual relations as the fulfilment of a romantic love between two individuals meant to mate with each other and nobody else. The way spouses were chosen by the two patrilineages prevented any such ideas, for the choosing of spouses rested on the assumption [581] that any boy and any girl of the right age and reasonably attractive could be good partners in marriage and sexuality. But feelings of sympathy and affection developed later as a result of their life together rather than as its basis. According to our informants, love, in the sense of attractiveness based on individual characteristics, was greater in non-marital relations. 'One slept with a certain woman to make her happy because one liked her,' I was told.

Various prohibitions and obligations indicate how sexuality 834
in marriage was related to events concerning the community and 765
the patrilineage. During the mourning period for the husband's father and mother, which lasted one, two or three months according to the region, intercourse was prohibited for both husband and wife. It was also prohibited for one moon after the death of the wife's child, and for two or three moons for the surviving spouse when one of the spouses died. The meaning of this taboo was not 765
only that one had to refrain from enjoying oneself when one 831
should have been in sorrow. It meant also a certain symbolic participation in death or in the diminution of life affecting the patrilineage. This is, I think, what informants have in mind when they say in this connexion that sex is a sacred activity. This interpretation seems to be supported by what happened when a king died. Not only had all Ruanda to be continent for a certain period (some informants said two moons, others one year), but the bulls were separated from cows and rams from sheep. The king (*mwami*) was identified with Ruanda. If he was strong, Ruanda was strong, if he was getting old and weak, he had to commit [643] suicide because he endangered the country's life. In that context, [765] if animals were prevented from mating it was to express symbolically the idea of the death of the community rather than, it seems, to deny them pleasure.

On the other hand, intercourse was obligatory when events 833
fortunate for the patrilineage or the community at large occurred. For instance when a new hut was occupied, when six days had passed after the birth of a child, when the first teeth of the baby

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marriage coming from another inzu or to be made to another inzu, and whether the council thought that a connexion with such or such lineage was to be accepted, sought, or avoided. A certain number of disputes that the lineage head could not or would not settle alone were submitted to the council. When somebody had lost his cattle and was ruined, the council could determine and apportion a collective contribution to help him out of his difficulties. Finally, blood-feuds were discussed. When a member of the group had been killed by a member of another all the kinsmen of the victim attempted to retaliate by taking of the life of a kinsman of the offender. Compensation was not usual. I was told, however, by the Hutu of Bugoyi that there the murderer's group could prevent the taking of vengeance by handing over a beautiful girl. Political authority kept the feuds under strict control. Permission to retaliate had to be obtained from the king and when it was granted and vengeance had been achieved, the feud was at an end. No further vengeance could be taken. Sometimes the king made representatives of the two lineages share a meal.

As the preceding paragraphs suggest, there was no clear-cut division between the powers of the head and of the council. It was a question of the particular traditions in each inzu and of the individual characters of the persons concerned. Usually, however, the inzu was an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. The head could not rule in opposition to the men of standing in his lineage; they had the means to put pressure on him and then there was the possibility of recourse to the political chiefs, always glad to interfere in a domain which was not completely under their control.

The obligations and rights of the individual members of a primary patrilineage were many. There was first a prohibition on sexual intercourse within the group, which applied to relations whether in or out of wedlock. It was feared that the mating of descendants from the same inzu ancestor would produce sickly and malformed children. A few informants add that exogamy was necessary to promote connexions between descent-groups, these connexions being thought of as beneficial in a vague way. The Ruanda did not distinguish incestuous relations from prohibited relations because of consanguinity. For them all the latter were incestuous. But they recognized order in the degrees of gravity in

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613 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be
835 between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any
416 of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men
[692] of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's
764 hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a
613 man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a
765 prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again.
[833] There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as

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to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the 593
importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among
brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there [609]
was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's [835]
husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood. After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as [428]
they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his 605
brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin, Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of [589]
his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging [835]
obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts were severely tabooed.

(*d*) *Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko*

The two other descent groups may be described much more 613
briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually 613
these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu 571
and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally disappeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics 613
or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

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Why did they not operate in the case of FaSi? As mother of Ego's paternal cross-cousins, with whom Ego could enjoy the same familiarities, she could have reacted in the same way. We have seen that, on the contrary, she was extremely cordial to her nephews. The only reason seems to be that her nephews belonged to her own lineage, whereas her daughters did not. Consequently she was less interested in bride-wealths, &c. Her husband (FaSiHu) probably reacted in the same way as MoBr. 604

The relations of Ego with his maternal aunt (MoSi) were supposed to be similar to his relations with his mother, but in fact great trust and affection did not often exist between them because of the usually tense relations of the aunt with Ego's mother, her sister. If, for instance, Ego's aunt's husband (MoSiHu) neglected his wife and preferred his sister-in-law (Ego's Mo), with whom intercourse was not taboo, the relations between the two sisters became tense. The incest taboo applied to the relations between Ego and MoSi (as an extension of the incest prohibition between Ego and his Mo) and also MoSiDa (although she did not belong to Mo's inzu). In the latter case, the reason was that for Ego, his maternal parallel cousins were assimilated to his paternal parallel cousins. He had consequently to consider her as his sister. In the next generation this incest taboo still existed (between So and MoSiDaDa, i.e. between any male and his FaMoSiDaDa). The incest between Ego's male descendants and his MoSi's female descendants through females lasted, I was told, as long as the original sibling relation (between Mo and MoSi) was remembered. 604 835 [593] 605 835

Between Ego and his maternal grandfather, the relations were very similar to those between him and his paternal grandfather. As we may expect, the fact that his maternal grandmother did not belong to the maternal patrilineage did not prevent her from being considered as a grandmother and not only as MoFaWi. 603

As has just been indicated, Ego could enjoy with his female maternal cross-cousins great familiarity expressed in practical jokes, pleasant talk, and erotic games. But as long as the girls were unmarried anything more than caressing and petting (erotic kissing seems to have been unknown among Ruanda) was prohibited. It was only after the female cross-cousins' marriages that sexual intercourse with them was tolerated. This behaviour was extended to wives of male cross-cousins (MoBrSoWi). 605 [832] [835]

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This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an 835
unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the 837
point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover [586] was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage 836
girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl 848
became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be 605
treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his 835
parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the 605
two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar 604
to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not [582]
marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour [835]

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604 The paternal uncle's wife (FaBrWi) was more deeply connected with Ego's inzu. She bore children who were Ego's parallel cousins; there was no incest taboo between her and Ego's father and if her husband died, she might become a wife of Ego's father. For all these reasons, respectful and almost filial behaviour towards her was expected from Ego.

835 For the affinal relatives of Ego's generation, the rule was quite simple. There was no incest taboo; there was on the contrary a privileged sexual partnership (as described earlier in connexion with the paternal cross-cousins) between a male Ego on the one hand and on the other the wives of his brothers, parallel cousins, and cross-cousins. And the same *mutatis mutandis* when Ego is female.

606 Between Ego and his daughter-in-law (SoWi) there was no incest prohibition, although there was between a female Ego and her son-in-law (her DaHu). This was rationalized by saying that the SoWi is for Ego a little spouse and not a daughter, whereas for the son-in-law, his wife's mother is his mother. As may be imagined the role of SoWi, 'daughter' and rival of her HuMo, was not an easy one as regards Ego and Ego's wife. Her ambivalent situation was reflected in her traditionally expected behaviour. She had to behave respectfully, obediently, and affectionately, as a daughter, towards her parents-in-law, and at the same time she was expected to assume almost an avoidance attitude: she was not allowed to pronounce their names nor even words which sounded similar.

Ego's daughter's husband was expected to conform to the same verbal taboos as regards his father-in-law (Ego) and his mother-in-law (Ego's wife). He was not allowed to eat at his parents-in-law's until his wife had had a child. Even then he never spoke if not invited to. After a certain period of time, however, when the marriage was stable and had produced a few children, relations eventually became freer, though they remained always rather reserved.

601 All other affines of generations following that of Ego were designated by the same term, even if they were not connected through his patrilineal descendents, DaDaHu for instance.

(b) *The kin of Ego's wife*

602 Let us now consider the other class of affines, that in which the affinal link is first traced from Ego. These are the consanguineal

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that in questions of exogamy, informants mention it first and attempt to relate other categories to it: I refer to the primary patrilineage (inzu). People descending in the paternal line from a common ancestor did not intermarry because they were of the same blood. The same principle was logically extended to the secondary patrilineage (umulyango).

A second extension of the taboo concerned the maternal kinship group and had a double basis. First the idea that it would be unnatural and horrible to conceive a marriage between Ego and his mother and consequently between him and any person assimilated to her (her sisters and female parallel cousins). Second, because of the tendency to recognize the cognatic principle, some matrilateral relatives were tabooed because their paternal counterparts were tabooed. This applied to the maternal parallel cousins.

Only when Ego was a male was there a third extension to his in-laws. The explanation given is that it seemed distasteful that a man could have intercourse with a girl and her mother. Consequently the wife's mother and all the relatives assimilated to the mother were in the prohibited class.

The same taboo included also sororal nieces and grand-nieces of Ego because he had to assume an avuncular attitude towards them, although they belonged to another patrilineage.

A further extension included the spouses of uncles and aunts. The spouse of an aunt was regarded rather as an uncle, and the spouse of an uncle was regarded rather as an aunt.

Ruanda were so eager to form new connexions with unrelated kinship groups that they were very keenly aware of any factor favouring them. Some informants stressed the function of exogamy rules from that point of view. Increase of social communication by marriage does not explain all the particular prohibitions, however, since some of them were concerned with people of a different patrilineage. Taboos on marriage and sex relations (they were co-extensive) had, it appears, in some cases the function of keeping a certain cohesion within the large group of relatives by kinship and affinity by preventing rivalry. Prohibition of relations between Ego and his WiBrWi could not favour social communication, but it certainly made possible harmonious relations between Ego and his WiBr.

Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and

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under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not available, it was socially permitted to have another partner (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or 585
speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but [613
under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. 578]
Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts [607
to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, 606]
and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for 584
his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home [586]
with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an [835]
older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan 593
or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please 776

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the bride-price, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,

595 The Batwa usually have four or five wives.

One of the wives has a special name, inkundwakazi (the loved one, the favorite). She is thus called because of her qualities: her cleanliness, her ability to make pombe, her faithfulness, her careful supervision of the crops, the good treatment she extends to the abagaragu, the constant care she takes of the cattle, the friendly reception she reserves for her husband's friends, the care with which she has the master's orders carried out in his absence (1).

1. The inyungwakazi is quite the opposite of the inkwundakazi. She is a wife without any domestic qualities, who is disobedient, even adulterous. If her husband does not repudiate her, he keeps her at a distance and has no relations with her.

[836]

As to the other wives, the husband, in speaking of them, simply says abagore banjye (my wives). However, the favorite may not give them orders. Only the husband can give orders to his wives.

Children of different mothers (or of different fathers) are on the same footing and considered as real brothers and sisters. [21]

[848] Adulterine children belong to the husband of the unfaithful wife.

Whether legitimate or not, the children are not treated differently according to their mother's condition. But if the children of a concubine show themselves to be unbearable, people will not fail to contemptuously call them abana bo mu milombero (children of the hedges).

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595

3. Obstacles to Marriage

582 1. Exogamy.

The Batutsi (except the Abanyiginya) and the Bahutu may not take a wife from within their father's family and clan, whatever the kinship. Parallel cousins (1) therefore cannot marry each other, but

1. Parallel cousins are those whose fathers are brothers or whose mothers are sisters.

837 It may also happen that the accomplice marries the mother of his child. A complaisant husband, or one who, knowing that his wife is unfaithful, keeps her in spite of all, [30] is the object of ricidule by his neighbors and friends, who do not hesitate to call him inganzwa.

837 586 Among the Bahutu, the adulterous wife is beaten by her husband and sent back to her family. If there are no children from the marriage the husband will claim the dowry paid to the wife's parents.

837 Among the Batwa, adultery is hardly important. If a wife is unfaithful her husband forgives her, and if she is pregnant he considers the child his own.

8. Extramarital Relations

836 684 Sexual relations have always been strictly forbidden to young Batutsi and Bahutu girls. Violation of this interdiction would bring great misfortune to the families, says the voice of the people. In the past, pregnant girls (ikinyandaro) (1) were often even killed with their

1. According to the beliefs of the Banyarwanda, a girl taken by force does not become pregnant.

children, or else they were led beyond the froniters of Ruanda to a desert island in Lake Kivu where they died of hunger, unless the Banyabungo came to their rescue. Sometimes they were led to Urundi where they had to remain until they gave birth. The child was killed or abandoned to the Barundi.

Today these cruel sanctions no longer exist, but a girl-mother is always considered a disgrace (inshyano) to her parents. The latter, however, usually take in the child.

Nevertheless, the young nobles do not deprive themselves of having sexual relations with the abagaragu girls placed with their fathers as servants. On the other hand, the Mututsi young man caught with a girl of his own caste was punished in the past in the same way as the accomplice of a married woman. [31]

837 [574] The great chiefs who possess concubines (insholeke) put them at the disposal of their visiting friends and relatives.

Blood brothers or friends sometimes exchange their wives for a night (guhan'ingo, lit., to exchange the ingo).

595 reach a marriageable age, and the girl has been chosen as his marriage partner by his parents; he will then take a concubine from a lower class for the waiting period. However, in most cases, the parents give their sons free choice.

584 When a young man takes a liking to a girl, he first proposes marriage to her without asking anyone else. If she accepts, the young man asks his parents to pay the "bride price." When the parents have given their consent, the suitor sends a matchmaker to the parents of the girl or, if her parents have died, to her closest relatives. If the father or, if he is dead, the mother refuses or explains that the girl has already been promised to someone else, the matter is considered closed, and the two lovers have to give each other up. If, contrary to
•896 the orders of the parents, they engage in extramarital intercourse, the girl will, in most cases, receive corporal punishment. If she should become pregnant, she is placed completely outside the social pale, for by her behavior she has cheated her parents of the purchase price, and she has also deprived other girls of the opportunity of being asked for in marriage in her place.

583 However, when a girl's father or mother, as the case may be, accepts the suitor's proposal, the matchmaker has to negotiate the purchase price (inkwano) for the bride. This fluctuates depending on the individual, the position of and the property owned by the bridegroom and the bride. Among the large class of the unpropertied, a few strings of small pearls and a few pots of pombe beer are considered sufficient. Among more prosperous groups the bride costs, besides beer and pearls, one or more goats and sometimes even one or two head of cattle (No. 4, p. 221). Among the families of the rich and powerful, that is, the Baganwa, a bride may seldom be had for [107] less than 10 to 15 head of cattle. A bride can also be purchased by paying a part of the agreed price. In this case the young husband becomes security for the rest of the money but does not need to pay it if the marriage is annulled.

585 The objects constituting the agreed purchase price are sent to the bride's parents by the bridegroom through the matchmaker.

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No: 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage.
582 Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close
582 relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a
563 Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the
836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely
837 surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband
684 is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in flagrante delicto (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

583 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is pri-
556 marily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[643] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

•836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a
584 girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

574 This custom seems to be widespread particularly among the
837 Batutsi as well as among the Bahima. Father Achte sees in it the reason why polygamy is relatively undeveloped among the Bahima.

548 In spite of polygamy and the fact that it is easy to enter into marriage in Ruanda, there is a sort of prostitute. These are widows or older women, as well as girls who have not found a husband. They give themselves in exchange for presents, thereby earning their living. They are called inzorezi. Young men have sexual intercourse with them before marriage. The word is derived from the verb kuzerera, "to run about."

836 Prostitutes and concubines are distinguished from nyamuraza, roving girls who enter into a sort of trial marriage and have intercourse in this way. They hope [226] by this means to persuade a man who would otherwise not have given them any consideration to make the conventional payment and thus make a proper marriage. This attempt may be repeated several times.

586 Divorce. If a man is not satisfied with his wife he may, without further ado, send her back home. If the woman was at fault, if she was unfaithful or sterile, a demand may be made for the return of the payment given for her.

In Mulera the cow which was paid for the woman, as well as all the animal's young, are returned in this type of divorce if the woman has had no children. If the woman has lived for some time with her husband, the cows may be replaced by calves. While I was in Ruasa the whole countryside was in a state of excitement over an unusual divorce suit. A man named Lwamakuba paid for his wife with a cow which in the course of time gave his father-in-law ten calves. When the wife grew old, her husband sent her back home indicating that she was sterile. He demanded the return of his payment which had meanwhile increased to a whole herd of cattle. After many negotiations the wife returned with an excellent cow which was supposed to make up for her beauty defects. The husband took his wife back, and the matter was settled. After a time, the wife was sent back again. Five times the woman returned, always with another cow. At the time of my visit the woman was being sent back for the sixth time.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
601 *IV. Ego's generation*		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[18]

593 Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old [589] widower frequently lived alone.

604 The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants, The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar [836] relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have [584] intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego [582] married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[18] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Mwanamama* (child of mother).

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an 835
unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the 837
point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover [586] was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage 836
girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl 848
became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be 605
treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his 835
parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the 605
two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar 604
to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not [582]
marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour [835]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

For husband and wife, sex was not only that pleasurable 831
activity in which tensions are released, but it was also linked with feelings of affection and sympathy. Moreover, as some cases of prohibition and obligation make it clear, it was a means of participating in collective feelings and of relating oneself to natural processes and rhythms.

For men, marriage was not the only socially approved means of 836
obtaining sexual gratification. Before marriage young Tutsi were often given Hutu temporary concubines, wives or daughters of their father's clients. Moreover, they, as well as young Hutu, had privileged partners: married cross-cousins, brothers', and parallel cousins' wives. If they had affairs with unrelated women or even related or unrelated girls, the blame and the risk were for the latter more than for themselves. But as these affairs were occasional and had to be kept secret, marriage brought to men stability, continuity, and quietness in their sexual life. Homosexuality was [838] widespread among Tutsi and Hutu young men. For girls, any heterosexual activity before marriage was strictly prohibited and severely sanctioned. After marriage, their sexual needs could be satisfied not only with their husbands but with their privileged partners.

Cohabitation was an obligation for each spouse. Refusal over a 833
certain time—one, two or three weeks according to different informants—was a cause of temporary separation or even of divorce [586] (of course this does not refer to a refusal based on culturally accepted reasons such as illness or menstruation). Frequency of intercourse is said to have been up to three times a day for Tutsi when they were newly married, then once a day for young people, and about once every other day later on. Hutu accounts suggest that the average frequency was not as high in their group (once a day for newly married, every other day for young people, and twice or once a week later on). The difference was attributed to the more leisurely life of Tutsi. 'They were not tired by work in the fields.' Women were said to be more eager than men but I was told by some informants that men thought this 'because they never refused intercourse'. Women, however, had to behave in a restrained way and to leave the initiative to men. It was very improper for a wife to manifest pleasure or to be other than purely passive during love-play and intercourse. Both partners sat or lay on their sides. Coitus with the woman lying on her back

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. 562
He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. 593
For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an 152
imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity 593
to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by 837
this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information [557]
from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. [831]
Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep [833]
with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a [601]
highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to [578]
quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a poly- 152
gamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every 595
other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to [832]
quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 842 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

[163] 3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 562 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house), the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

837 The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 586 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she nearly always will accept it. However, she sometimes leaves her

837 husband and returns to her parents. The latter will attempt to persuade
586 her to return to her husband, for if she refused they would be obliged to refund the dowry.

The husband who finds out that his wife has committed adultery (gusambana, lit., to take another man) enjoins her not to do it again. The second time he strikes her. If she continues, he repudiates (gusendwa) her publicly. A repudiated wife is brought into disrepute and finds it difficult to marry again. Sometimes the adulterous wife is sent away at night, out of consideration for the family, so that her offense is not known by everybody. [29]

837 Formerly, if the husband surprised his wife in the act, he
586 would have the man arrested and beaten. Then before witnesses he
684 would repudiate his wife. If the accomplice was a nobleman like
563 himself, he was allowed to leave with the woman. But, usually, if he was married, he would return to his wife who would merely make a jealous scene. When the lover was a Mututsi umugaragu he was deprived of his property and exiled far away. If he was a Muhutu, the husband could demand from the Mwami permission to impale him like a cattle thief, or else he would thrash him soundly and have him driven away from the hill. An accomplice of the Mwami's adulterous wife was always killed. In none of these cases was the woman seriously ill-treated.

684 Our occupation has put a stop to cruel punishments, and at the
586 present time the wife's accomplice is not punished at all. Adultery
177 leads only to pecuniary reparation (itshyiru) by the lover. On the other hand, divorce is pronounced to the husband's benefit and the dowry is refunded to him, at least if there are no children by the marriage.

848 If the adulterous woman is pregnant, she will always claim that
586 the child she is expecting is her husband's. Being in doubt, the hus-
837 band takes the child (umusambanano) (1) as soon as it is weaned. He

1. General term designating an illegitimate child, including that born of adultery or incest.

also provides for his wife's needs but does not consent to take up again their life in common.

If the husband is sure that the child is the fruit of adultery, he has nothing more to do with his wife, and her parents adopt the child.

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1. According to the beliefs of the Banyarwanda, a girl taken by force does not become pregnant.

Today these cruel sanctions no longer exist, but a girl-mother is always considered a disgrace (inshyano) to her parents. The latter, however, usually take in the child.

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Blood brothers or friends sometimes exchange their wives for a night (guhan'ingo, lit., to exchange the ingo).

837 Up until recent times, the father-in-law and even the brothers-
606 in-law had the right to spend one or several nights with the wife of
607 his son or brother. The father-in-law had the right to claim this right without discussion, while the brothers-in-law had to have the brother's permission. The wife who refused to share her bed with her father-in-law or one of her brothers-in-law could be driven away. The husband even had the right to compel his wife to give her favors to one of his friends.

CHAPTER III. DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

1. Death

765 Two days after a death, the whole clan arrives to assist the widow and/or orphans in their mourning. The mother and her children shave off their hair, take off their bracelets, and abstain from washing their clothes (kwirabura, lit., to become black). One of the brothers of the deceased lights a fire that burns in the rugo without cease for two days (igitshaniro). When it has gone out, the children and their uncle take the ashes and go in secret to throw them in a marsh.

[834] Mourning lasts for two months during which time the married sons may not have intercourse with their wives.

On the first day of the third month the members of the family return. In the evening they all assemble, swallow [32] great quantities of beer, and sing happily (kwera, lit., to become white). The brother of the deceased who took charge of the igitshaniro, or in his absence, another brother, must share the bed of the widow (kweza). The married sons, in the order of their birth, simulate the sexual act with their wives.

The following day, the widow and the wives of the married sons put milk in the churns and make butter (1). Then all the members of

1. During the mourning they could not touch the churns. A stranger to the family of the deceased came and made the butter.

the family rub themselves with chalk, put on white garments, and go

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No. 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage.
582 Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close
582 relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a
563 Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the
836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely
837 surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband
684 is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in flagrante delicto (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution
586 of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.
[587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes
587 the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
587 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia,
171 Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

595 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi. [837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is [428] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists. [429] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children [563] have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very [842] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage [583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi; 548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

577 qualification for the happy one is not to live a blameless life on earth, but to
776 undergo initiation into the *Ryangombe* cult.
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Thus the ethics of the Banyarwanda are not integrated on a religious
577 basis such as the will of God. What is the principle of integration, or rather, we should first ask, are their ethical conceptions integrated? On the surface they consist, like any moral code, of a multiplicity of prohibitions, orders, and exhortations. Have they achieved a synthesis of these separate elements by reducing the multiplicity to one or a few principles? Or, what amounts to the same thing, could they give a definition of good and evil?

577 In Ruanda a great number of particular rules are subsumed under general
183 principles such as: do not do what is harmful to people of your group or of your country; do what people related to you would like; submit to your superiors. Principles such as these are already on a higher level of abstraction than the particular rules. When informants are asked to account for a given rule or principle they give as the final justification: 'It has always been done that way in Ruanda.' We may perhaps express the Ruanda definition of good and evil in these terms: That is good (or evil) which tradition has defined as good (or evil).

Tradition is indeed a powerful force in cultures which, as in Ruanda, have been isolated for centuries from world currents. Each generation is more conscious of the importance of what it has received from the preceding one than is possible when much of what constitutes its way of life comes not from its ancestors but from some other social tradition. Moreover, their relations with their neighbours whom they frequently subjugated have persuaded Banyarwanda of the excellence of the ways of life transmitted by their forefathers. In such a situation the traditional character of a rule appears to be sufficient justification. If the ancestors, who were so wise, behaved in that way it would be preposterous to question it.

But it would be misleading to picture the Banyarwanda as following blindly the moral rules framed in a remote past without having any idea of their purpose. Some old men have a clear understanding of the social significance of certain rules. They explained, for example, that the duality of the
[562 rules concerning adultery committed by the husband or by the wife was
● 837] accounted for by the importance of the wife's function in procreation. She has thus a greater responsibility than the husband for maintaining the integrity of the family.

577 Does this kind of thinking extend so far as independence of tradition?
183 Some informants told us that, apart from the authority of custom, some actions were thought of as dishonourable in themselves. But these in-
177 formants were Christians and, apparently, very much influenced by their religion. Moreover, they could not quote a clear case of conflict between tradition and ethics.

577 No moral code can achieve an absolute character in all its precepts.
183 Prohibitions and commands frequently relate only to certain categories of persons and situations. Even the Christian Western ethic, which realizes to
673

754 11. In order to wreak vengeance on an unfaithful wife who
684 has left the conjugal home, the husband fetches a plant known by the
name of uruburamadjo /406/ the etymological meaning of which
837 (kubura kujya) is "to have no place to go," that is to say, to have no place
to stay. This indicates the use to which the angered husband puts the
plant, and the results he expects from it. He braids it into a sort of
pad upon which he must place butter or pour castor oil that belonged
to the unfaithful woman. The mystic pad is hidden under a rock. It
must be removed a month later and placed under another rock. This
method, add the credulous natives, infallibly creates difficulties be-
tween the fugitive woman and her temporary husbands. She will be
dismissed as many times as her first spouse shifts the magic pad.

783 B. Purifiers or exorcisers of all sorts and exhumers or mutilators
of corpses. In order to ward off evil spells and the deadly consequences
791 that might derive from certain events such as the violation of a taboo,
the burning of a hut, a murder, the coming across a corpse or a killed
animal, or to avert the fury of a spirit on the rampage, the king, his
court, and his subjects call upon the services of people called by
the name of Abashumburuzi, Abahanyi b'amachumu, Ababuzi, etc.
Like their other colleagues in the occult, mysterious, and magical
sciences, these practitioners enjoy official and legal recognition.

1. The Abashumburuzi, sorcerers who are resorted to by
taboo violators.

Abashumburuzi is the title given by the people of the Lukiga
(that is, the mountain people) to a group of purifiers whose function
is often the same as that of the mugangahuzi, or "protectors against
lightning," with whom they are often wrongly identified.

755 The mushumburuzi, if one holds to the etymological meaning
of his trade, is believed to have the power of expelling spirits from
783 the body of a sick person (1). To do this, /407/ he performs veritable
exorcisms, makes magic passes over the body of the patient, calls the
spirits by name, and begs them to let go of their victim. He holds
in the hand a bunch of shrub branches endowed with magic properties
and moves them over the body of the sick person.

The spirit that caused the illness takes refuge in the symbolic
broom. Then all the magician has to do is to take the spirit-chasing

585 Extramarital Relations. Not all women who share a house-
567 hold with a man are his regular wives (basumba kazi) with whom
848 he has entered into a formal purchase marriage. Concubines
588 and slaves (baja) are also kept in Ruanda. The concubines are [225] usually childless widows and abandoned or fugitive women. They settle wherever they find a relatively good refuge. The baja are sold by their parents when they are children, usually in exchange for food during a famine. They are simply women without ties, but who are otherwise very much like the other women and usually also have their own huts. Their children are likewise said to belong to the father's family, although they are not regarded as equal. Such children of Batutsi men, for example, are said not to be regarded as Batutsi although they have the same family name.

588 The chiefs grant baja to their clients, a practice which is
567 even more clearly defined among the Azande and Mangbetu, for example. The baja, along with the cow, are the means whereby the powerful one binds his clients to himself and thus strengthens his power.

567 Just as a man can grant a cow to a client and also demand it
574 back, so he can likewise put a muja at the temporary disposal of
837 a favorite. Under these circumstances the entertainment of guests with women "who are to warm his bed for him" is quite understandable. The less esteemed guests are given baja; the highly respected guests, on the other hand, are honored by being offered regular wives.

574 In general, a man on a journey has at his disposal the wives
837 of his blood brothers. Dr. Kandt (1) says that from certain social

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

aspects this arrangement has its positive points: "Alternating connubium, that is, the interchangeable pairing of several male blood relatives with all their wives, as is permitted in Ruanda, prevents the loss of the female element in the preservation of the race, should the male element prove unfit."

574 This custom seems to be widespread particularly among the
837 Batutsi as well as among the Bahima. Father Achte sees in it the reason why polygamy is relatively undeveloped among the Bahima.

548 In spite of polygamy and the fact that it is easy to enter into marriage in Ruanda, there is a sort of prostitute. These are widows or older women, as well as girls who have not found a husband. They give themselves in exchange for presents, thereby earning their living. They are called inzorezi. Young men have sexual intercourse with them before marriage. The word is derived from the verb kuzerera, "to run about."

836 Prostitutes and concubines are distinguished from nyamuraza, roving girls who enter into a sort of trial marriage and have intercourse in this way. They hope [226] by this means to persuade a man who would otherwise not have given them any consideration to make the conventional payment and thus make a proper marriage. This attempt may be repeated several times.

586 Divorce. If a man is not satisfied with his wife he may, without further ado, send her back home. If the woman was at fault, if she was unfaithful or sterile, a demand may be made for the return of the payment given for her.

In Mulera the cow which was paid for the woman, as well as all the animal's young, are returned in this type of divorce if the woman has had no children. If the woman has lived for some time with her husband, the cows may be replaced by calves. While I was in Ruasa the whole countryside was in a state of excitement over an unusual divorce suit. A man named Lwamakuba paid for his wife with a cow which in the course of time gave his father-in-law ten calves. When the wife grew old, her husband sent her back home indicating that she was sterile. He demanded the return of his payment which had meanwhile increased to a whole herd of cattle. After many negotiations the wife returned with an excellent cow which was supposed to make up for her beauty defects. The husband took his wife back, and the matter was settled. After a time, the wife was sent back again. Five times the woman returned, always with another cow. At the time of my visit the woman was being sent back for the sixth time.

572 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu
608 substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana
614 beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship be-
178 tween blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet
608 beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage
608 prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously ob-
582 served. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the
608 wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other
837 reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one
608 another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the
563 Batwa.

614 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan
621 varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's 585
party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was re- [606]
garded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought 595
only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he
built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he
was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who [556]
married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to
supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her
field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual 837
intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him
a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who
acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more
usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife,
or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and
leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a 754
medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether
magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of
some ghost. If nfagic was found to be the cause of the illness,
the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by [787]
augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or
some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been dis- 695
covered by augury to be guilty was condemned without 683
question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had
very little chance of escape, and was always put to death.
If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull [775]
was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling [782]
the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was 428
usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not [763]
always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Impotence.
Loss of reason.
Failure to clothe the wife.
Failure to cultivate.
Failure to provide food.
Wandering habits.
Measuring out food to the wife (instead of giving her free access to the store).
Refusal to eat food.
Accusation of witchcraft.
Continued insult and beating.
Removal of bride-wealth from the relations-in-law.

There are three marital causes where dissolution is threatened, one, because the cow paid in bride-wealth has died, in another because it has gone blind, and in a third because it has borne twin-calves: such a cow is taboo for this purpose, presumably on account of the danger of sympathetic influence on the wife—the advent of twins is not hailed with joy, witness a case where a cow is in issue, the fee of a doctor for removing the curse of twins. [845]

Grounds for divorce of the wife include:

Refusal to work and to cook.
Continued sickness.
Desertion, subdivided into cases where she has gone to her relations, and where she has gone off to another man.

Adultery as such is never cited as a reason for divorce. There is but one case of adultery on record in the Court, the offending man being punished and the woman returned to her husband. [837]

It is but rarely that a woman or her relatives come to Court to sue for a divorce. Normally, if she feels that she has reason for dissatisfaction, she returns to the home of her father or brother, whose duty it is to endeavour to reach an amicable settlement. If this is not done, she remains and abides the issue, or, not infrequently, is married to another man, this precipitating proceedings by the husband. But in a fair number of instances, she goes straight off to another man. [691]

The Court will try to compose matters and to maintain the marriage wherever possible.

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Instances: A runaway wife, sued by her husband, complains that he does not give her clothes and is stingy with food to the extent of measuring

586 691 587 ●837

Instances: A man has beaten his wife and driven away her relatives when they came to see him. She leaves him for another man, who is ordered to refund the bride-wealth.

A wife has left her husband and is now pregnant by another man. The husband will be satisfied either with the child or his bride-wealth. The paternity of the second man is established, and bride-wealth is to be paid over.

In several cases a woman's relatives are found to have married her to another man in her husband's absence, or after she has left him and returned home. Here again circumstances determine whether the first or the second union shall be dissolved. In considering these, the voice of the woman is not disregarded, and in one case, after judgement has issued in the original husband's favour, it is amended there and then owing to his wife's refusal to return to him.

586 661 Several marriages are found to be broken up on account of the Chief's seizing cattle paid in bride-wealth.

Instances: A wife goes off to her father's because the Chief has taken the bride-wealth cow.

A man from Urundi pays a cow in bride-wealth, which is seized by the Chief in order to recoup himself after some of his cattle have been stolen by Urundi natives: and the woman's father therefore takes her back.

In a third case, this right or propensity is deliberately made use of by a husband who wishes to shuffle off his wife. He arranges for the Chief to seize the bride-wealth cow with its two calves, and then sends his wife home. But the stratagem fails.

595 578 586 Finally, the existence of polygyny is to be referred to. That it may lead to disharmony in the home appears from two cases, in the former of which the first wife is so aggravated by her husband taking another spouse that she has assaulted him, while in the other a husband is brought to Court for tying up his second wife on suspicion of her having bewitched the first one, with a threat that he would kill her if the first one died. And a third husband finds himself heavily fined for being influenced by the predilections of his first wife. He had paid bride-wealth for a second: the first wife did not approve of the newcomer: her sister coming soon afterwards with a gift of beer, he kept her instead; she had already been promised in marriage, however, and he has to face an indignant betrothed as well as her father, in Court.

R. DE Z. HALL.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal. 835 837 [586]

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged. 836 848

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the two mothers were sisters had been forgotten. 605 835 605

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour 604 [582] [835]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

833 under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family
[595] the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some
864 parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and
838 flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

831 Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not
837 available, it was socially permitted to have another partner
835 (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when
[843] she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a
[833] minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his
[593] travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with
[484] them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few
548 Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

831 The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

Ethel M. Albert

581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without per-
[895] mission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered
586 perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is con-
593 sistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors
[754] while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be
[842 retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price
583] to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

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For husband and wife, sex was not only that pleasurable 831
activity in which tensions are released, but it was also linked with feelings of affection and sympathy. Moreover, as some cases of prohibition and obligation make it clear, it was a means of participating in collective feelings and of relating oneself to natural processes and rhythms.

For men, marriage was not the only socially approved means of 836
obtaining sexual gratification. Before marriage young Tutsi were often given Hutu temporary concubines, wives or daughters of their father's clients. Moreover, they, as well as young Hutu, had privileged partners: married cross-cousins, brothers', and parallel cousins' wives. If they had affairs with unrelated women or even related or unrelated girls, the blame and the risk were for the latter more than for themselves. But as these affairs were occasional and had to be kept secret, marriage brought to men stability, continuity, and quietness in their sexual life. Homosexuality was [838] widespread among Tutsi and Hutu young men. For girls, any heterosexual activity before marriage was strictly prohibited and severely sanctioned. After marriage, their sexual needs could be satisfied not only with their husbands but with their privileged partners.

Cohabitation was an obligation for each spouse. Refusal over a 833
certain time—one, two or three weeks according to different informants—was a cause of temporary separation or even of divorce [586] (of course this does not refer to a refusal based on culturally accepted reasons such as illness or menstruation). Frequency of intercourse is said to have been up to three times a day for Tutsi when they were newly married, then once a day for young people, and about once every other day later on. Hutu accounts suggest that the average frequency was not as high in their group (once a day for newly married, every other day for young people, and twice or once a week later on). The difference was attributed to the more leisurely life of Tutsi. 'They were not tired by work in the fields.' Women were said to be more eager than men but I was told by some informants that men thought this 'because they never refused intercourse'. Women, however, had to behave in a restrained way and to leave the initiative to men. It was very improper for a wife to manifest pleasure or to be other than purely passive during love-play and intercourse. Both partners sat or lay on their sides. Coitus with the woman lying on her back

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under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not available, it was socially permitted to have another partner (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

854 p. 63). In order to put the child to sleep and also to soothe it
513 in the daytime, the mother may lightly pat its back and occasionally sing a monotonous "cradle song." Van der Burgt has recorded one in which the evil mother-in-law is mentioned to frighten the child: "Be quiet; otherwise I shall take you to the mother-in-law. She will give you only water. When the cows come home and are milked, you will go hungry. Mother-in-law will not protect you from the sun nor against hunger" (No. 19, p. 71).

Spiritually and morally the children grow up wild. There
861 is no effort to cure children of bad habits nor to teach them good ones. As long as the children's bad manners do not inconvenience the parents, they even take pleasure in inciting them to fits of temper, to fight, and to steal. Only in exceptional cases is there any practical training in special jobs and handicrafts. Whatever the children learn is acquired by observation, listening, and by helping with work. From an early age they must help their parents in all their work, and being by nature intelligent and vivacious, they soon become surprisingly independent.

145 Boys reach puberty (kukura) when they are between 12 to
864 15 years old, girls even earlier. Long before that, however,
839 they are enlightened about sexual matters and have learned many loathsome things of a sexual nature from those who are older. This does not mean that they have sexual intercourse at a very early age, but onanism and masturbation are widespread vices.

[113] About these practices van der Burgt reports (No. 19,
839 p. 361): "Puellae praesertim horibili huic vitio valde deditae sunt, sub praetextu quidem, ut magis aptae fiant matrimonio et viris placeant. In actu ipso nefando quoddam juramentum vel potius imprecationem pronuntiant: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. Insuper variis mediis utuntur ad majorem voluptatem sibi procurandam. Media generatim sunt plantae, vel radices plantarum arborumve, quibus labia perfricantur." [Tr., "The girls especially are given to indulge in this horrible vice at an early age under the pretext that this makes them more fit for

839 marriage and is pleasing to men. During this execrable act, they pronounce certain oaths or, rather imprecations: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. In addition, they use various means to obtain greater pleasure for themselves. In general they use plants or roots of plants and trees with which they rub the labia." Van der Burgt adds in a letter to me: "His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes prostent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adspirantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt 'pulchras se facere,' quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione." [Tr., "By means of this friction they extend the labia so that they become yellow and protrude, and they try to give them an extraordinary size and length. This custom may be considered
[171] a general or national one not only in Urundi and Ruanda but also among the majority of tribes of central Africa with few exceptions, as, for instance, the Wasukuma. Consequently, it is not primarily intended as a means of obtaining pleasure, but the
[826] girls simply wish to 'make themselves pretty,' since very many young men would not marry a girl who did not have such labia. After marriage the girls abstain from this manipulation."

I could not learn anything about the puberty rites; how-
881 ever, they most certainly are celebrated. Van der Burgt does not report anything on this subject either (No. 19, p. 394). In
304 any case, boys are not circumcised nor are girls infibulated. Only the Batwa, who in contrast to the Batussi and the Bahutu practice deformation of the teeth, sharpen the two upper incisors with a knife as an act to announce puberty (No. 19, pp. 105, 155).

I also was unable to ascertain whether the youths who had
561 reached puberty joined a social club or formed a special "age

644 695 We have seen that in order to preserve the supernatural properties of the beverage (igihango) the candidates were forbidden to smoke, drink, or spit. What were they to do in order to avoid the disastrous effects that the test poison, according to popular belief, might have upon their health?

Accustomed as primitives are to the strangest and most incredible things, the Banyarwanda believed that in order to avert any danger in this connection, all they had to do was to commit a shameful act immediately.

As a result of this belief and in the thought that they were being helpful to the neophytes, their relatives led them away, outside the clan, along with some friends. They lay in wait and seized [839] a young man or a young girl, depending on the sex of the candidate, and did violence to the young person.

It must be added that the Blacks, knowing the distaste of Europeans for such sport, have not dared to fulfill the last part of the [178] program since the arrival of the Whites.

II. Dangers to Which Dignitaries, Employees, and Favorites at Court Were Exposed at All Times

644 661 It may be said that until recent years the secret of certain customs and traditions had been well preserved, for fear of the effects of the test poison and for fear of the king, who would not hesitate to punish delinquents at the first sign of indiscretion. It is equally true that until our time the majority of servants /473/ and underlings lived under the risk and perpetual threat of a violent death which might claim them at any moment. The monarch, who did not rely exclusively on the effectiveness of the test poison and probably had very good reasons not to do so, unfortunately made use quite often of his prerogatives as sovereign and his discretionary power over all things to apply extravagant punishments. Nothing counted in his eyes except his own interests, his whims and his passions. He frequently gave free rein to the latter. A mere suspicion or even less was sufficient to cause the merciless death of an unfortunate individual.

784 keeper or owner of a herd, his property would also suffer from this infraction of custom (2). /411/

2. His cows would bear only male calves.

A husband may not use this kitchen utensil to beat his wife! He would risk the loss of his life.

The failure to observe most of the prescribed customs while celebrating a wedding would make the parents of the two partners liable to illness or death.

[551] When asked what their name is, children, young men, and girls either do not answer or give a false name, for fear that the stranger may cast an evil spell upon them and thus prevent them from growing.

[841] A woman in her menses may not enter a hut where there is a newborn child, lest she cause the baby to contract scabies. Hence [751] the custom of placing a copper-thread bracelet (urunyerere, or urwinjiri) about the neck of babies as a talisman and preventive.

[643] The king must never bend his knees, in order not to expose his kingdom to becoming smaller.

A father may not step over the hide that serves as a portable cradle (ingobyi) for his child, nor may a son step over his mother's belt.

A woman may not step over a spear, milk a cow, repair the roof of a hut, imitate (!) the cry of a rooster, etc.

It is forbidden to sit on a food basket.

When it thunders, one may not smoke a pipe when seated on a chair.

No one may rest on a sheepskin, or he will contract scabies (ngo badahumana). There is danger of death involved in carrying a whetting stone (ityazo) into someone else's house.

It is expressly forbidden to kill certain birds and certain reptiles, [825 777] not only because they are totem but also because they are regarded either as good luck for the land, like the wagtail (inyamanza), or as bad luck, like the scaly anteater, whose dead body might draw great misfortunes upon the territory. /412/

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known.

754 278 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other [164] people (1).

1. This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great [578] curse, "May you die of tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu).

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu), [84] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia [824 847] (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example, muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 824 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract [224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

585 her husband, and there is a quarrel. It is proper for the man to show marks on his body which indicate to everyone that his wife bravely defended herself and did not yield like a hussy. However, the man may not be strong enough to break the wife's resistance with force, and he must then persuade her with presents to eat and to yield to him.

After the marriage, the woman must remain hidden for a time, that is, until her relatives come with gifts of beer, food, and bracelets. This visit usually takes place on the third day. On this occasion mats are brought along which the young wife made at home. She may chat with her relatives, the young girls who brought the mats. On this day there is dancing, singing, and much drinking.

Some time afterwards the parents again send their daughter presents. Among these, besides food, is a brand new hoe with a new handle. On this day the wife dances with her husband and the new hoe while the rest of the relatives sing an accompaniment. The wife then goes to the field for the first time and works a little. Until this day, called kushishura, the man has no sexual intercourse with his other wives. After the hoeing, grains of millet [842] are brought to the young woman. A handful is scattered on a mat, and she must pick them up with one sweep of her hand. If she fails, the prospects of numerous progeny are poor. She and her husband together grind these grains and use the flour to make beer which they give to small children in order that they themselves will have children.

841 [224] During the first menstrual period after her marriage, the woman is given the cowhide which constitutes the dress of 291 married women, and her head is shaved. However, since girls are 302 not infrequently married before they are mature, it often happens 585 that the wife goes about with her masunzu (shaved pattern) for a long time, waiting for the cowhide. Father F. Dufays told me that he knows of a case where a wife waited eight months for her cowhide, but it is said that the wife sometimes waits as long as two years.

841 Thus, a superstitition has arisen about the shaved pattern on 302 the head. According to it, if a wife does not give up her maiden 585

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

586 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in
[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but
●842 only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

[163] 3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house),
562 the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But
837 custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she
586 nearly always will accept it. However, she sometimes leaves her

586 or that the husband finds his wife to be capricious or disobedient. In such cases the couple can separate for a while (kwahukana). But this separation often makes them think it over; either the husband makes amends and fetches his wife from her parents, giving presents to the latter and to his wife (beer, cloth, or goats), or else the wife, realizing that she was in the wrong to leave her home, returns of her own will.

During the time of separation, the children, except nurslings, remain with the husband.

If an understanding is definitely impossible, divorce (kwahukana rwose, lit., to separate definitely) can be requested by one of the couple.

Causes of divorce in favor of the husband (repudiation) are: repeated adultery; dirtiness; negligence in the care of the household and the supervision of servants; the evil eye (1) that will cause illness

1. Cf. preceding page, note 1.

of the husband or cattle, and, above all, stubborn disobedience. [842] Sterility may be a cause for divorce, but if the husband is pleased with his wife he will keep her and merely take another who will be able to give him children.

Illness, even when prolonged, is not a cause for divorce. [34] If the marriage has been fruitful, the husband cannot take back the dowry, but keeps the indongoranyo he received from his father-in-law.

If there are no children, the husband who has received the indongoranyo is not authorized to claim the inkwano. He can do so, in the opposite case, but the wife's parents, in order to avoid this obligation, give him another of their daughters.

If the dowry has been paid in full, the children remain with their father, except those that have not been weaned.

The wife can ask for a divorce if the husband does not pay the dowry, does not provide her with cloth and ornaments, continually [161] ill-treats her, or if the children's, dying one after another makes her believe in the malevolent influence of her husband.

If there are children, the husband may keep the indongoranyo. In the opposite case, he takes back the dowry unless he has received the indongoranyo.

161 quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more
[133] sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19]
One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more
[311] humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations
cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense
population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in
them.

592 The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in chil-
dren, as in Ruanda. Individually the Batussi women are less
[842] fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom
fewer than three children in each family and in many cases
(among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly
more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married
couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if
[595] there are many children or several wives, each mother lives
in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and
unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there
are often between two and four residential huts and several huts
for grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential
huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see
Fig. 1).

361 The settlement pattern is that of individual establish-
ments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (lugo, urugo).
Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and
its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates
18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals
belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each
other within calling distance so that village-like clusters
(ikisagara) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside ex-
tend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the
settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the
poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or
clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are
scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and sur-
rounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without
banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

595 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi.
[837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is
[428] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists.
[428] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children
[563] have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very
[842] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage
[583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi;
548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi, probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force available to the parents and the better are the prospects of obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359). As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret science among the women, and the men do not appear to have any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

776 king, the amulets, the oracle animals, the sacred spear, etc.
[178] (No. 19, p. 214). The same applies to Ruanda (No. 44, pp. 284; No. 39, pp. 102, 109). Imana is given a number of different names or is identified with other gods, depending on his different characteristics and functions. This is also true in
[551] Ruanda. Children are often given names which contain the word Imana: [121] Kaimana, little Imana; Mbonimana, gift of Imana; Ndorimana, appearance of Imana; Keschimana, ornament of Imana (No. 23, 1913, p. 308). Both men and
[842] women, if they wish to have offspring, wear an impusu y'Imana, a garment of Imana, made of reddish barkcloth with black circles painted on it. Imana is the supreme god of all manes, of all ancestral spirits, and thereby has the character of an old national god.

Although Imana as the sole creator of the world ranks high above the other gods, one nevertheless cannot describe this as a monotheistic concept of the Barundi, as is done by some missionaries (No. 44, p. 283). Nor is it correct to attempt to see a kind of "Trinity" in the fact that, besides Imana, the Barundi have two supreme gods, Rikiranga and Riangombe, whom they often identify or confuse with Imana (No. 19, p. 214). This is to put Christian interpretations on the matter, and these are foreign to the thinking of the Barundi.

It appears that Kiranga or Rikiranga ranks closest to Imana. If Imana is described as the supreme head of the high ancestral spirits, Kiranga is the ruler of all the lesser demons and of all things material. For this reason von der Burgt describes him as a kind of "logos payen" (No. 19, p. 216). He is the god to whom people appeal first for assistance in all worldly matters. It is Kiranga to whom the priestly cult of the crowds is devoted, to him the ceremony of the "sacred spear" is dedicated (see p. 134), and the high priest calls himself Kiranga for he is "possessed" by him, he is his medium (p. 123). To all appearances he is a deity of the old Bantu population and has remained
776 quite free of Batussi influence. The missionaries refer to
778 Kiranga as the "devil" (No. 23, 1904, p. 123). It is said that
793 near Mujaga in central Urundi Kiranga possesses two large herds

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

Man and the Non-material World

Imana, the Creator

Imana, the creator, is a person. He is conceived as an intelligence, a will, an emotivity. He is extremely powerful: 'the plant protected by *Imana* is never hurt by wind', '*Imana* has very long arms', '*Imana* goes above any shield'. He is non-material. His action influences the whole world; but Ruanda is his home where he comes to spend the night. He is always invoked as 'God of Ruanda' (*Imana y'i Ruanda*). 776

Imana is essentially good: 'your enemy is digging a pitfall for you, *Imana* prepares your exit', '*Imana* gives, he does not sell'. This is why he takes care of men and why there is no cult in his honour. He is so good, I have been told, that he does not require any offering.

There is a special creative act of *Imana* at the beginning of each person's life. Impregnation in itself would not be sufficient to produce a new human being. This is why the young wife, at evening, leaves a few drops of water in a jar. *Imana*, as a potter, needs some water to shape the clay into a child in her womb. Then, after birth, *Imana* decides what life is to be for that individual: happy or unhappy. If, later on, a man is miserable, poverty-stricken, in bad health, it is said that he was created by *Ruremakwaci*. This way of speaking has led some observers to understand that besides *Imana*, there was another creator, perhaps subordinate, perhaps an evil spirit. As a matter of fact, *Ruremakwaci* is the name given to *Imana* when he does not create very successfully, when 'he is tired', or, for some inscrutable reason, decides that a certain destiny will be unhappy. This is consistent with the Ruanda linguistic habit of assigning different names to one cause according to its different effects. 776 842 776 777 [196]

Imana's influence is thought to be always beneficial for human beings. It happens very often that obstacles are placed in the way of his action by malevolent agencies of the invisible world, but from him only good things come. This is not completely consistent with the belief in an unfortunate predestination by *Imana*. It should be noted, first, that the theory of predestination has not a very deep impact on the attitude of Banyarwanda. A person who thinks himself unhappy, and might thus suspect that he has been predestined to a miserable life, does not seem to be submerged by a feeling of doom. Unless he is brought to despair by a situation from which there is no escape, he will go on living and trying to improve his condition. Secondly, this inconsistency will be better understood if we consider the attitude of Banyarwanda towards the king (the *Mwami*) in similar circumstances. The *Mwami*, the supreme authority is good, yet he may be harmful and cruel to some of his subjects. As his power is absolute, as he is magically identified with Ruanda itself, he may never be criticized. Thus the victims of some arbitrary royal decision, and their friends, go on saying that the king is good but that his favourite counsellor is very bad and is responsible for what they suffer. As might be expected, in Ruanda God is conceived [152] [443]

643 One hears of sovereigns who liked and practiced the "things
661 of the mind," such as Yuhi-Mazimpaka, whose literary output is still highly prized by Black intellectuals.

The king's wives and concubines lived away from the court.
644 "Either he had noticed their beauty himself..., or their charms had been brought to his attention by the great who were sure to please him in so doing."

Among the reasons for the profusion of wives in the sovereign's harem, "the yearnings of the heart and the demands of the senses both played their part" above all else. Many a prince surrendered without restraint to voluptuous activities. Yet one hears of some romances adorned with the charms of literature which may actually have taken place.

●842 It must be admitted in all fairness that a powerful idea presided over the establishment of the family among the Hamites. Like the Hebrews and so many other ancient peoples, the Batutsi regarded large numbers of children, and especially sons, as an honor, a glory, and a source of strength. They considered themselves fortunate if they could watch the growth of their children and their children's children to the third and fourth generations.

595 A large progeny seemed to them a sure guarantee for the future
578 of their race. Let us add that peace could not reign in their homes. For among the legitimate wives, there was almost invariably a favorite. "Competing among themselves, competing for their children, they drove the latter to rivalry, and the husband, following his preferences or giving way to his weakness, did not always share equitably his heart, his favors, and his goods." (1) /43/

1. The loved wife is called nkundwakazi, the hated wife mbikazi. A rival is called mukeba or umugore w'ishyari, that is to say, literally, "jealously woman /or wife/."

791 Those same "seekers," in their capacity as conjurer-magicians
789 have the power of staving off the results of spells and sorcery. For a fee, they will set physical and moral boundaries to the evil powers of other sorcerers. They do this by means of medicines (imiti) of their own creation, amulets (impigi), and tree branches with magical properties, which they bury or stick into the ground. Areas thus "closed" to the evil of spells remain for a long time inviolable havens. Henceforth, the owners of such immunized grounds have nothing to fear from bewitchers.

The Banyarwanda talk a great deal, by the hearth, about those
791 conjurer-magicians and their high deeds.

In order to recover stolen objects, the Banyarwanda resort to the Banyerango (2). These do not inspire the same fear as their afore-

2. Abanyerango. This substantive is derived from the word kulangira, meaning "to show," "to uncover," and designates the sorcerer's trade. Hence the name irango given to the horn which he uses in his search.

mentioned colleagues, although they use the same magic horn. The
[842] Bachunyi, or makers of grigris, chiefly specialize in bringing fertility to sterile women.

For a fee they sell amulets and magic beverages. Gossipers add that charlatans in this category often take advantage of their clients while the naïve husband, a small bell in hand, is sent to take a slow walk around the sorcerer's hut.

754 D. The curser-sorcerers (Abahenyi) are also held in high esteem. Their mission, like that of the false prophet Balaam, /396/
[644] is to curse the foes and annihilate their power to resist. Their chief, named Agakwande, enjoys high regard at court. His ancestors were simple Bahutu. It was on account of their important functions that they gradually made their way into the noble caste of the Batutsi, with whom they continually intermarried. They inhabit the Ndiza, at Bulembo, and form a powerful and formidable body. Their

754 just like the monstra, portenta, and other ill omens of Roman times.

In order to check an enemy invasion, the Banyarwanda formerly had the habit of leaving those abnormal beings to the blows of the invaders. The shedding of this blood, or even the mere presence of such individuals, was regarded as a curse.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the various methods of bewitchment and spell casting. The imagination of the Blacks is disproportionately fertile in this respect. The wealth of methods will [538] be /405/ appreciated when we recount the famous "Banyoro Invasion" tale, which has now become a traditional epic poem. Numerous incantations and much sorcery are mentioned in this narrative, and the eventual defeat of the invaders is ascribed to them.

754 842 10. Aglet knotters. It is rather surprising to find that the Blacks, too, believe in the evil influence of people to whom this kind of misdeed is ascribed.

Activities of this sort are called in the native language kumanikir' undi ngw'atabyara, "to tie up or check fecundity," or again, kubang' ingata, "to braid a grass pad."

As the etymological meaning of these words indicates, the grass knotters attempt to procure from the household of the people they wish to injure a handful of grass of the kind (ishinge) which is strewn upon the floor of the hut.

With it they braid a sort of pad (ingata), which is then hidden and hung in the hut.

So long as the grass remains knotted (in the pad), the mistress of the household cannot hope to become a mother.

Many young women ascribe their sterility to this /form of/ sorcery.

A handful of hair taken from a neighboring woman and braided [826] in the shape of a crown will have the same result. This is called kumuzingirahw'amasunzu, "to coil someone's hair."

The natives claim that it would also suffice for the ill-disposed to get hold of one of the vegetable-fiber rings which ladies or women of rank wear on their legs, and crumple it in their hands, for the unfortunate woman to become sterile or to die in childbirth.

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull,
[825] billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

784 A traveler who stubs his left foot against an obstacle or who
[484] meets with a rat whose pelt is slightly mottled (umushushwe) must return home, lest misfortune come to him.

If one finds black ants (intozi) on one's path, he must draw his hand over his foot as though to remove them, lest they swarm into his hut.

A pregnant woman must not see a European nor hear the sound
[843] of a gunshot, else the child she bears will suffer (1).

1. In order to neutralize this influence, she need only procure a cartridge case, a piece of paper,
[751] or even a piece of tile, brick, or any other object of European origin, and wear it around her neck as an amulet or talisman. The child will be born safe from injury.

A woman who has borne only sons may not nurse the daughter
[842] of another woman, lest she bear nothing but girls from now on.

A man may not meet with his betrothed or with his mother-in-law prior to marriage (2). The king was formerly forbidden to see
[643]

2. Cf. "Cérémonies du mariage /Marriage Ceremonies/," by Fr. Pagès (Anthropos, 1925).

his sons, at least in theory, for it has been proved that the last monarchs often broke this rule.

If the manufacturer of banana wine insults someone while crushing the fruit, he runs the risk of contracting the scurfy disease (guhumana).

A woman must keep silent while kneading sorghum dough. If a dog or chicken dirties the floor of the hut, she is forbidden to leave her work and clean the spot, or the bread may shrink.

If the bottom bananas in a bunch ripen first, the owner of the grove worries because it means that a danger threatens him. /413/

784 A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while
[842] her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest,
787 it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

789 In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a
691 mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer
[273] made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

784 There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange)
824 is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

585 After this ceremony one of the young husband's sisters grinds
842 flour, makes millet mush, and distributes it among the small children. This is done in order to guarantee the young couple numerous progeny. The same girl prepares food for the young wife on the following day.

585 The marriage ceremonies are concluded with the sacrifice
782 of a goat. After the children have eaten their millet mush, the head of the family says: "We are going to eat." The guest reply that the women would like to wash their hands. The women do not agree with this and say: "We shall eat after the men have finished." Then the head of the family has a goat brought to him. After this is done, the guests look at the goat critically and say that it is not beautiful enough. Then another is fetched. This, also, does not satisfy the demands of those present. Then a third one is brought. This can be accepted if it is beautiful. After the goat has been accepted, it is beaten with a stick while being driven to the bridegroom's house. It is killed near his bed with kicks and blows, not with a knife in the usual way.

This ceremony supposedly indicates how the wife would have been treated if this sacrifice had not been made. According to another version [223], it means that the woman should be as soft and yielding as the goat that had all its bones broken. The meat must be divided among those present, otherwise the marriage would be childless. The men eat it on the same day; the women take it home for the children, because in Mulera they themselves may not eat goat's meat.

585 The men eat the meat along with millet mush. After everyone has eaten and drunk his fill, the guests disperse in the morning. The guests of the bridegroom accompany the guests of the bride for a short distance and honor them in this way.

The young husband soon returns, takes the firewood that has been prepared, and lights two fires at the places where the women and the men were seated. The bride goes out with the guests but immediately returns to her mother-in-law, where she remains. The mother-in-law prepares a meal, but the young bride refuses to eat it. The husband must persuade his hungry wife to do so by giving her presents.

In the evening the mother-in-law tries to prevail upon the wife to go to her husband's hut. The wife stubbornly resists yielding to

585 her husband, and there is a quarrel. It is proper for the man to show marks on his body which indicate to everyone that his wife bravely defended herself and did not yield like a hussy. However, the man may not be strong enough to break the wife's resistance with force, and he must then persuade her with presents to eat and to yield to him.

After the marriage, the woman must remain hidden for a time, that is, until her relatives come with gifts of beer, food, and bracelets. This visit usually takes place on the third day. On this occasion mats are brought along which the young wife made at home. She may chat with her relatives, the young girls who brought the mats. On this day there is dancing, singing, and much drinking.

Some time afterwards the parents again send their daughter presents. Among these, besides food, is a brand new hoe with a new handle. On this day the wife dances with her husband and the new hoe while the rest of the relatives sing an accompaniment. The wife then goes to the field for the first time and works a little. Until this day, called kushishura, the man has no sexual intercourse with his other wives. After the hoeing, grains of millet [842] are brought to the young woman. A handful is scattered on a mat, and she must pick them up with one sweep of her hand. If she fails, the prospects of numerous progeny are poor. She and her husband together grind these grains and use the flour to make beer which they give to small children in order that they themselves will have children.

841 [224] During the first menstrual period after her marriage, the woman is given the cowhide which constitutes the dress of 291 married women, and her head is shaved. However, since girls are 302 not infrequently married before they are mature, it often happens 585 that the wife goes about with her masunzu (shaved pattern) for a long time, waiting for the cowhide. Father F. Dufays told me that he knows of a case where a wife waited eight months for her cowhide, but it is said that the wife sometimes waits as long as two years.

841 Thus, a superstitition has arisen about the shaved pattern on 302 the head. According to it, if a wife does not give up her maiden 585

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

586 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in

[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 843 164 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 847 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] 861 Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

842 It is obvious that if a large number of children brings the father influence and possessions and insures the existence of the whole group, there is no reason for the use of devices which limit the number of children. However, contraceptives are known. Father Schumacher (2) says: "The juice of the muhoko bush,

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 894.

mixed with a small amount of water, is taken as a contraceptive; strong doses are taken to commit suicide. As a superstitious but 'infallible' remedy, the mother who wishes to prevent her daughter's disgrace uses the latter's first menstrual blood. She catches this and allows it to dry on any kind of material. She keeps it, or, for example, she may tie the rag on her foot (the numerous butega hide it). After this is done, conception is impossible, no matter what the girl manages to do."

847 If a nursing mother becomes pregnant, she has an abortion out of consideration for the child. The operation is performed by a smith and is said to be done mechanically and not with internal remedies.

[231] The same thing happens when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant. If the abortion is unsuccessful and the girl has the child, it is often killed by being allowed to starve.

844 Death. If a person dies in a house, the nearest relatives are assembled, and a pole is provided on which the body is tied when it is transported to the grave. The body must not be kept very long in the hut.

The women mourn the deceased, and all clothing, bracelets, and leg rings are removed from the corpse. The body is put in a crouching position with arms and legs bent, rubbed with butter, and wrapped in mats (virago) with no gifts added. Moreover, the Batutsi shave the head of the body, but the Bahutu do not do this.

In Kissaka the deceased is either buried in the banana grove or thrown into a papyrus swamp, according to his wishes. In Nduga bodies are usually thrown into the swamps. In places where there are no papyrus swamps, they are covered with a layer of earth. In Mulera it is a common custom to bury the Bahutu. The

614 842 Since the groups involved in this arrangement are small and conditions simple and clear, no one can forget that the welfare of the individual is directly dependent on the welfare of the clan. Hence everyone is very much concerned that the clan appear powerful to the outside world. It must be as large as possible and always ready for war. No effort must be spared to achieve this; otherwise the members of the clan have no protection against plunder, impoverishment, and even complete extinction. The man as well as the woman must be considered from this point of view, and producing children is, therefore, the most important duty of the individual. This explains the completely unenviable position of the childless woman. For the same reason, sons whose descendants will augment the number of clan members are preferred to a daughter, even though one can always trade her for a cow.

614 563 The importance of the clan's strength and fighting fitness, even today in Bugoye, was convincingly demonstrated to me by the fate of my Muhutu informant's father. Several years ago their clan was scattered by advancing Batutsi. Only his father remained on the old clan property, along with the [234] children and his uncle. Since there were only a few men in both families and they were too weak to defend themselves, the Batutsi simply settled on the land and indulged in all kinds of suppressive measures against the weaker farmers. At the time of my visit, for example, they took away a whole hut and carried it to their settlement, instead of building a new one for themselves.

614 628 Every individual is under the protection of the clan. This makes it possible for a person to lead a more or less secure existence. Clan organization represents a sort of social guarantee which is directed primarily against the misdeeds of fellow tribesmen who do not belong to the clan.

614 627 Moreover, the clan exercises control over its members, and, if serious offenses are committed by individuals who endanger the interests of the clan, they can even be exiled.

614 627 428 The clan may also interfere in family matters and, above all, in disputes about inheritances. Although the father can dispose of his property as he sees fit, nevertheless his decisions presuppose the tacit approval of the clan. If the interests of the clan are

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585 Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have [493] been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his [428] share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their 591 own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

(*d*) *Polygynous unions*

595 Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, [556] as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which [842] were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually [119] occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called
594 by the same name, rugo. I have described earlier this complex dwelling place composed of intersecting circular enclosures. In
[592] the case of rich people, their clients during their time of service
[559] and their servants had huts in the compound.

The compound, surrounded by fields and banana-groves, and not far from pastures, was situated on that part of the paternal homestead given by the father to his son at the latter's wedding. If the father's homestead was not large enough to provide all his sons with areas to live on, the young couple either had to ask the political authority to allocate them a plot, or they had to rent one belonging either to a relative or an unrelated person.

595 The ideal type of residence of a polygynous family was a compound for each wife surrounded by its own cultivated area. These rugo could be on the same homestead or on several homesteads. The latter arrangement was more frequent with Tutsi than with Hutu. None of these compounds was more important than the others, except occasionally. The husband had no rugo regarded as being more his residence than the others.

Between these two sharply different types of family organization, there were intermediate kinds. If it happened that a Ruanda wanted a second wife, he looked for one even if he could not afford a second compound. She lived then in the same compound as the first wife, in a separate hut. But such an arrangement was regarded as unfortunate, and should be assimilated to that of a nuclear family notwithstanding the plurality of wives.

121 We will now consider whether and how these types of organization fulfilled the functions that might be expected of any type of family, for some of these functions seem to be fulfilled by all the family structures known, and the others by most of them. The points to be considered are: sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, socialization, and ritual.

(a) *Sexual relations*

581 The Ruanda distinguish the sexual from the procreational function of marriage. Neither the husband, nor apparently the wife, ever feared (except in very unhappy circumstances of poverty) that pregnancy might result from any particular act of
[842] intercourse; on the contrary such an event was usually longed for. As some informants said, why have relations with a sterile woman? Sexuality, however, had for them a value in itself.

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Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted. 557 858 613

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions. 181 554 555 433 858 557 858

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society. 858

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10] 842

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between 182 842 605

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1955, pp. 85-86.

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cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

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woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child. 586

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother. 842 [835] [853] 847 [874]

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place. 854 [885]

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization. 855 593 604

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to 857 [862] 868 857 000

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases). 562 582 613

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child. 562 557 [582] [558] [851] 848

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives. 557 562 564 583 [851] [842]

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the 142 564 826

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviqur change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.
562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
593

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their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

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581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without per-
[895] mission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered
586 perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is con-
593 sistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors
[754] while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be
[842 retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price
583] to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

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[2]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dons le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954. 184 113

[3]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights. 178

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi. 184

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred. 795 181

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society. 564

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups. 121

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.* 184

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste. 184 564

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956. 113

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three. 595 178

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer. 593 564

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light. 241

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help. 564 323

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy. 842

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system. 123 842

WTA 19

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461] 1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see
also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are
no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a
people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi,
probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force
available to the parents and the better are the prospects of
obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of
herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359).
As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
● 843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is
particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the
husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove
the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is
induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions
made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret
science among the women, and the men do not appear to have
any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head
man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in
Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions
is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers
tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
[781] by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife
[843] is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
[825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads. . . .Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit, ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo, departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it,

Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
787 nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no
783 matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly material infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions, some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction frequently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter, she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune, and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has been used to kill entails the same consequences.

783 It is easy to see from these cases how frequently people must
843 resort to purification (1).

1. In certain cases, taboo violators need not resort to specialists and may purify themselves by a simple method.

If a pregnant woman has come upon a death weapon, a bound prisoner, a killed snake, or anything else that is taboo, she must immediately procure some of those herbs or leaves with magic properties which are in common usage. She will bring them into contact with the corpse or bond, and then crush them to drink their juice or inhale their aroma. If there are no plants available, she first touches the thing involved in the taboo and then brings her hand to her forehead, where she traces a kind of sign of the cross. This is what Fr. A. Bros called "procedures of imitative magic." Religion des Peuples non civilisés /Religion of Uncivilized Peoples/, p. 72).

783 The rites of purification vary in accordance with the case, the individuals involved, and the sorcerer himself. Almost invariably, however, the latter pours into the person's hand a few drops of a liquid (issubjo) in which he has mixed the juice of certain plants with magic characteristics which have the property of curing all evils. /409/

784 A traveler who stubs his left foot against an obstacle or who
[484] meets with a rat whose pelt is slightly mottled (umushushwe) must return home, lest misfortune come to him.

If one finds black ants (intozi) on one's path, he must draw his hand over his foot as though to remove them, lest they swarm into his hut.

A pregnant woman must not see a European nor hear the sound
[843] of a gunshot, else the child she bears will suffer (1).

1. In order to neutralize this influence, she need only procure a cartridge case, a piece of paper,
[751] or even a piece of tile, brick, or any other object of European origin, and wear it around her neck as an amulet or talisman. The child will be born safe from injury.

A woman who has borne only sons may not nurse the daughter
[842] of another woman, lest she bear nothing but girls from now on.

A man may not meet with his betrothed or with his mother-in-law prior to marriage (2). The king was formerly forbidden to see
[643]

2. Cf. "Cérémonies du mariage /Marriage Ceremonies/," by Fr. Pagès (Anthropos, 1925).

his sons, at least in theory, for it has been proved that the last monarchs often broke this rule.

If the manufacturer of banana wine insults someone while crushing the fruit, he runs the risk of contracting the scurfy disease (guhumana).

A woman must keep silent while kneading sorghum dough. If a dog or chicken dirties the floor of the hut, she is forbidden to leave her work and clean the spot, or the bread may shrink.

If the bottom bananas in a bunch ripen first, the owner of the grove worries because it means that a danger threatens him. /413/

578 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the
851 child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to
562 be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when
578 their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 843 164 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 847 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] 861 Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

833 under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family
[595] the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some
864 parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and
838 flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

831 Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not
837 available, it was socially permitted to have another partner
835 (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when
[843] she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a
[833] minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his
[593] travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with
[484] them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few
548 Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

831 The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working
844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About
553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the
292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461] 1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young
553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

784 A crowned crane that perches at the top of a hut, or a dog, goat, or sheep that manages to climb upon it, are sure signs of approaching misfortunes.

It is rigorously forbidden to kill a crowned crane, crow, wagtail, lizard, frog, or toad.

The parents of a newly married man may not partake of his meals unless they first cook a bunch of bananas in his house. Scurvy is the punishment for this transgression.

[844] A woman who has just given birth to a child must see to it that the umbilical cord of the newborn is not lost. If there is food in the hut at the moment of childbirth, the mother may not touch it. If she broke this taboo she would contract a disease (guhumana).

The father of a baby whose teeth have not yet come out may not take a new wife without exposing the child to the danger of contracting the acute scurfy disease (amahumane).

[593] If a child wishes to sit in a chair just vacated by his father, he must first place there a little straw. If he were to act otherwise, he would risk his father's curse.

Children are not permitted to lean against the post which is reserved for the family head. This, too, is done for reasons of propriety.

The owner of a calf whose hooves have only one toe as the result of a congenital deformity may not butcher it except at his own home. The meat of the animal may not be eaten elsewhere. It must be eaten on the spot with the sorghum bread brought by each guest. At the end of the meal, the guests wash their hands in the courtyard and not outside of it.

A goat that sits...on its behind must be butchered /414/ or sold immediately, so that evil will not befall the occupants of the hut.

A hunter of "felì-cervaline /?/" (tiger cats) must be careful careful not to make too many victims among those carnivores so as not to risk unfortunate consequences. A peasant threshing beans in the pod must see to it that no one steps on the threshing floor while he is working.

He would experience the surprise of seeing his provision of beans diminish if a passer-by were to stop suddenly before him.

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[422] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
192 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
233 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
431 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer
844 in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

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233
[844
431]

to the young mother who has suffered the pains of childbirth (umuruho w' umubyeyi). Her parents compensate her in this fashion for her troubles and sufferings.

Inka y' indundu (kurundura, "to give unconditionally") serves to designate a cow given unconditionally, as opposed to inka y' ingwate.

Inka y' ilembo means "the cow of entry (into the new household)," because the bride receives it as a gift from her parents-in-law when she enters her new home for the first time.

Inka y'indabukirano (kurabuka, kurabukir' umutware, "to pay an accession gift to a new chief") designates the cow given to a chief at the time of his accession to office.

Inka y' inyiturano (kwitura, kwiturana, "to pay a debt of gratitude") designates the cow given in acknowledgement of a kindness.

Inka y' inturano (gutura, "to offer a gift") serves to designate a cow which subjects must give to chiefs by way of a tax.

Inka y' intundano means "trade cow." The verb gutunda means "to trade" or "to purchase through an exchange of goods," hence the expression "trade cow."

Inka y' ingororano (kugororera, "to reward") designates /508/ a cow given as a reward for a favor done.

Inka y' inyibano (kwiba, "to steal"), a stolen cow.

Inka y' ibihembo, "a cow given in payment as salary," for example, to pay for two years of consecutive work.

Inka y' amahugu (guhuguza, "to deceive"), a cow obtained through trickery.

Inka y' umuheto ("bow"), a cow obtained by force.

Inka y' isaso ("bullet") is the generic name for the cows of the Europeans, who have taken over the land.

Inka z' indemano (kulema, "to create"), cows given by the king or by a great chief to someone they wish to honor or to raise above other men by providing him with a herd that will make him safe from want.

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844 in a kneeling position. Only women and girls may be present; men are not allowed.

845 If the mother dies during labor in Ussuwi and Bukumbi, a Caesarean operation is performed in order to save the child. It is said that in Kissaka and Mulera people do not dare to perform this operation.

844 After delivery the woman is nourished with a mixture of milk and cow's blood. Later, beer (nzoga) is added to this diet, as well as a mixture of peas and bananas of the nkamba variety.

The navel cord is cut with a reed splinter. On the fourth day, it is said, the navel is finally trimmed. After this the mother 846 sweeps out the hut and places the rubbish in two baskets (ntaro) which she carries out with the help of her neighbors. The women go in a row, one next to the other, and in this way they accompany the young mother to a previously chosen spot where the contents of the baskets are scattered. After the women return, the husband serves banana beer to the midwife, but before that he performs a libation.

846 On this day the neighbors call and bring presents in honor of 431 the child's birth. The presents consist of food and drink, for example, bananas, peas, sweet potatoes, beer, and, among the 852 Batutsi, milk. This ceremony is known as bihembo.

In Kissaka the guests kneel in honor of the father. He accepts 852 the honors standing, holding a wooden spear (muko) in his hand and with a sword (ngota) behind his back. He calls upon Binego and Mugasha and expresses his gratitude for the honor by spitting nzoga (banana beer) upon the visitors. If the newborn child is a boy, the father puts a small spear, a small bow, a nail upon which to hang the bow, and a small shield woven of grass into his hand. When he gives the bow to the child, the father spits and says: "akavuna muheto kandi ntaka uvune (if he breaks the bow, may he not break it again)." When he presents the spear, he says: "arakagua mukicho kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he is attacked in ambush, may it not happen again)." When the shield is presented: "kiliho arakagua mungabo kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he should fall upon his shield, may he [229] not fall again)." Finally, turning to the nail on which the bow is to be hung, he says: "arakavuna ingaugo kandi ntaka uvune (if the nail breaks, may it no longer do so later)."

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

553 neighborhood children are then invited to eat a dish consisting of a gruel of sorghum and beans. But before eating they wait for the child to relieve himself, hence the name of this meal, ubunyano (from kunya, to defecate). Then the father recites a few names he would like to give the child, and those present choose one of them. If the parents have already lost a child, in order to turn away the evil spirits, the newborn child is baptized with an objectionable name such as Kangurube (little pig child). The same day the husband is obliged to have intercourse with his wife lest a misfortune happen to the child.

[845] Twins (impanga) are given names that resemble each other, Karengera and Karinganire for example. [36]

851 The rule pater is est quem nuptiae demonstrant is universally
848 applied. Normally, therefore, the husband is the child's father and
[611] filiation is established in the paternal line. Children born after the father's death are considered legitimate if the wife was pregnant at the time of his death.

There is no special word to designate the legitimate child.

However, the rule mentioned above has certain exceptions. If a man marries an ikinyandaro, the child to be born, who is only an umusambanano for the husband, will belong to his natural father. But the husband may claim that the child is his if at the time of the marriage the girl is only a few months pregnant.

It may happen that a girl does not know the name of the man who has taken her (1). The natural child then belongs to the inzu of

1. This is especially the case with abajakazi (mistress-servants), who live at the Mwami's Court or with the great chiefs and who are put at the disposal of their master's guests.

the girl's father. Today there are many ibyomanzi who, eager for their independence, have left their parents and wander throughout the country. Their children are called abana b'umugore, but they do not belong to the maternal inzu, for the ibyomanzi no longer have any family.

The adulterine child belongs to the husband because of the dowry that has been paid. If the dowry has not been paid, the child is supposed to belong to the family of his mother's father. The incestuous child belongs to the husband. When a child is born to an unmarried

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ;
845 No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and
853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feel-
845 ings. Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand, Gassldinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No. 45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which
845 conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the
782 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in. Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By vener-
[776] ating this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19,
845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces
535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffoca-
[826] tion). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is
[171] born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221). This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is
553 able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) 784 has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

681 to birds and animals such as buffalo, gazelles, wild boars, dogs.
696 Even if the latter should not die immediately, their masters would
823 have to kill them for fear of being stricken themselves by contagion.

Each night, they say, smoke and flames rise from that awful place and cast a reddish glare on the horizon (1).

1. The grass fires at the end of summer must not be foreign to this association of thoughts and images.

It is also said that the waters have the color of blood (atukura, assa n'amarasso). Every time an offender is led to the pit, the waters rise suddenly as though to fetch the victim (ngw' abon' umugome, akassama). After swallowing their prey, the waters subside. Then protracted cries and moans (akaboroga, akater' induru) arise from the bottom of the pit.

The pit is so deep, it is commonly said, that its waters join those of Lake Kivu (ngw' aja hasi, afatanye n'i Kivu).

Considering such stories, one can easily understand why people should speak with terror of that cursed place.

In actual fact, the victims were strangled or killed with spears
681 before they were thrown into the water.
696 An attempt was made to submerge the bodies, but they would rise once more to the surface. The hyenas quickly disposed of them. After leaving the place of torture, the executioners would go a certain distance to another depression, usually filled with water, in order to clean their weapons and wash their blood-stained hands. /384/

Traitors and enemies, bewitchers and ranking political
[848] prisoners were not the sole victims of the accursed pit. Among those
[845] condemned to die at that sinister spot were also freak babies (ibimara),
[847] unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), children born during the period of mourning held for their father (inda y'amabi) sometimes along with
[826] their mother, young girls whose breasts had not grown (impenebere) (1)..., and calves born in a "faulty" manner (ubufuti), such as those whose legs... came first.

754 he wishes to take revenge. The viscous material, carefully gathered
787 in a leaf, is brought to the sorcerer who introduces it with a little
[826] water into the beak of the chick he is about to sacrifice.

The diviner first holds a conversation with the bird and requests it to make sure that its guts will not "turn white" but "turn black," so the evil deriving from this fact may be duly utilized. After talking at some length, the operator slits the chicken's throat in the usual fashion of diviners and carefully washes the guts to verify the specific color (white or black) on which the spell depends. If black is present, the lucky client takes what is left of the chick from the hands of the diviner and tosses it surreptitiously into the hut or enclosure of his enemy, or else he buries it at the favorite spot where the person likes to sit and rest. The effects of the sorcery will be felt quickly, and the unfortunate victim /404/ will die almost instantly after a few moments of indisposition.

The Blacks add that this sorcery is feared by everyone but used more especially by the nobility (Batutsi). They say that if one wishes to ensure success, it is preferable to use a chick which is the only survivor (yonyine, ikinege) of its brood.

If the guts turn black in the course of the divinatory procedure, the chick will infaliibly "swallow" (gusama) and "destroy" (gufata) the person whose death is desiired.

754 8. Let us now mention the bewitcher who uses the horn of a cow to cast an evil spell on an enemy (ihembe umulozi alogesha).

The horn is hollowed out by the sorcerer, who carves at its tip the head of a snake. He fills it with all sorts of objects and ingredients, the droppings of various birds or animals, and scraps of flesh taken from victims he has already killed.

9. Freak babies (ibimara), young girls whose breasts have not
[787 developed (impenebere), and other unfortunate beings of this kind are
845 regarded by the Banyarwanda as "revealing in themselves the presence
856] of an evil principle or mystic force whose influence is deadly." (1)
just like the monster, portents, and other ill omens of Roman times

1. La mentalité primitive
/The Primitive Mentality/,
by Levy-Bruhl, pp. 158 ff.

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads....Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit, ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo, departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it.

Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
787 nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no
783 matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly material infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions, some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction frequently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter, she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune, and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has been used to kill entails the same consequences.

578 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the
851 child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to
562 be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when
578 their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

[228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section
844 occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

844 in a kneeling position. Only women and girls may be present; men are not allowed.

845 If the mother dies during labor in Ussuwi and Bukumbi, a Caesarean operation is performed in order to save the child. It is said that in Kissaka and Mulera people do not dare to perform this operation.

844 After delivery the woman is nourished with a mixture of milk and cow's blood. Later, beer (nzoga) is added to this diet, as well as a mixture of peas and bananas of the nkamba variety.

The navel cord is cut with a reed splinter. On the fourth day, it is said, the navel is finally trimmed. After this the mother 846 sweeps out the hut and places the rubbish in two baskets (ntaro) which she carries out with the help of her neighbors. The women go in a row, one next to the other, and in this way they accompany the young mother to a previously chosen spot where the contents of the baskets are scattered. After the women return, the husband serves banana beer to the midwife, but before that he performs a libation.

846 On this day the neighbors call and bring presents in honor of the child's birth. The presents consist of food and drink, for ex- 431 ample, bananas, peas, sweet potatoes, beer, and, among the 852 Batutsi, milk. This ceremony is known as bihembo.

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551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has
843 remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it
164 has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in
847 Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[857] Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the
861 high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

586

Impotence.
Loss of reason.
Failure to clothe the wife.
Failure to cultivate.
Failure to provide food.
Wandering habits.
Measuring out food to the wife (instead of giving her free access to the store).
Refusal to eat food.
Accusation of witchcraft.
Continued insult and beating.
Removal of bride-wealth from the relations-in-law.

There are three marital causes where dissolution is threatened, one, because the cow paid in bride-wealth has died, in another because it has gone blind, and in a third because it has borne twin-calves: such a cow is taboo for this purpose, presumably on account of the danger [845] of sympathetic influence on the wife—the advent of twins is not hailed with joy, witness a case where a cow is in issue, the fee of a doctor for removing the curse of twins.

Grounds for divorce of the wife include:

Refusal to work and to cook.
Continued sickness.
Desertion, subdivided into cases where she has gone to her relations, and where she has gone off to another man.

Adultery as such is never cited as a reason for divorce. There is but [837] one case of adultery on record in the Court, the offending man being punished and the woman returned to her husband.

It is but rarely that a woman or her relatives come to Court to sue for a divorce. Normally, if she feels that she has reason for dissatisfac- [691] tion, she returns to the home of her father or brother, whose duty it is to endeavour to reach an amicable settlement. If this is not done, she remains and abides the issue, or, not infrequently, is married to another man, this precipitating proceedings by the husband. But in a fair number of instances, she goes straight off to another man.

The Court will try to compose matters and to maintain the marriage wherever possible.

586

Instance: A runaway wife, sued by her husband, complains that he does 691 not give her clothes and is stingy with food to the extent of measuring

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

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[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461] 1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

●846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and
853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feel-
845 ings. Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand, Gassldinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No. 45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which
845 conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the
782 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in. Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By vener-
[776] ating this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19,
845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces
535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 784 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

234 [142] While the cow is being milked, a fire of cow dung is kept burning beside her. The smoke keeps off the troublesome stable flies, and the animals can stand quietly.

Young calves are kept in special small huts or in closed-off portions of the entrance room of the dwellings (umuliango).

415 The milk is stored in cylindrical vessels (kianzi) crudely carved out of wood. The vessels are washed with cow urine, and from time to time they are fumigated. A cone-shaped lid is made from a bundle of straw sewed to form a spiral. 272 The milk is drunk chiefly when it is curdled (kivugutu); it is beaten with a small stick to change this consistency. Fresh milk (amata) and buttermilk (amachunde) are also drunk.

[413]

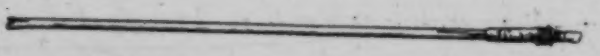

Fig. 33. Arrow for Bloodletting, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13744. 58 1/2 centimeters long.)

Besides milk, the blood of cattle is also drunk. For this purpose the bulls are bled from time to time by shooting a special arrow into the neck vein at close range. The short iron tip of the arrow is set into a wooden shaft. The upper part of the shaft is bound, to prevent the wood from splitting and also to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply into the vein. The lower end of the arrow has a notch into which the bowstring fits. When the blood is drawn off, a tourniquet of rope is tied around the neck below the wound.

The blood is drunk either fresh or cooked. It is sometimes [846] also mixed with milk, and in this form it is given to women after childbirth "to replace the lost blood."

232 Bloodletting is also practiced on sick animals by specialists. It is said that the animals are given the drawn blood as a reward.

262 Meat is eaten only on special occasions. Beef cattle have a very great value, and beef, therefore, is regarded as the greatest delicacy.

844 in a kneeling position. Only women and girls may be present; men are not allowed.

845 If the mother dies during labor in Ussuwi and Bukumbi, a Caesarean operation is performed in order to save the child. It is said that in Kissaka and Mulera people do not dare to perform this operation.

844 After delivery the woman is nourished with a mixture of milk and cow's blood. Later, beer (nzoga) is added to this diet, as well as a mixture of peas and bananas of the nkamba variety.

The navel cord is cut with a reed splinter. On the fourth day, it is said, the navel is finally trimmed. After this the mother 846 sweeps out the hut and places the rubbish in two baskets (ntaro) which she carries out with the help of her neighbors. The women go in a row, one next to the other, and in this way they accompany the young mother to a previously chosen spot where the contents of the baskets are scattered. After the women return, the husband serves banana beer to the midwife, but before that he performs a libation.

846 On this day the neighbors call and bring presents in honor of the child's birth. The presents consist of food and drink, for ex- 431 ample, bananas, peas, sweet potatoes, beer, and, among the 852 Batutsi, milk. This ceremony is known as bihembo.

In Kissaka the guests kneel in honor of the father. He accepts 852 the honors standing, holding a wooden spear (muko) in his hand and with a sword (ngota) behind his back. He calls upon Binego and Mugasha and expresses his gratitude for the honor by spitting nzoga (banana beer) upon the visitors. If the newborn child is a boy, the father puts a small spear, a small bow, a nail upon which to hang the bow, and a small shield woven of grass into his hand. When he gives the bow to the child, the father spits and says: "akavuna muheto kandi ntaka uvune (if he breaks the bow, may he not break it again)." When he presents the spear, he says: "arakagua mukicho kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he is attacked in ambush, may it not happen again)." When the shield is presented: "kiliho arakagua mungabo kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he should fall upon his shield, may he [229] not fall again)." Finally, turning to the nail on which the bow is to be hung, he says: "arakavuna ingaugo kandi ntaka uvune (if the nail breaks, may it no longer do so later)."

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi, probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force available to the parents and the better are the prospects of obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359). As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret science among the women, and the men do not appear to have any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffoca-
[826] tion). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

553 As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

681 to birds and animals such as buffalo, gazelles, wild boars, dogs.
696 Even if the latter should not die immediately, their masters would
823 have to kill them for fear of being stricken themselves by contagion.

Each night, they say, smoke and flames rise from that awful place and cast a reddish glare on the horizon (1).

1. The grass fires at the end of summer must not be foreign to this association of thoughts and images.

It is also said that the waters have the color of blood (atukura, assa n'amarasso). Every time an offender is led to the pit, the waters rise suddenly as though to fetch the victim (ngw' abon' umugome, akassama). After swallowing their prey, the waters subside. Then protracted cries and moans (akaboroga, akater' induru) arise from the bottom of the pit.

The pit is so deep, it is commonly said, that its waters join those of Lake Kivu (ngw' aja hasi, afatanye n'i Kivu).

Considering such stories, one can easily understand why people should speak with terror of that cursed place.

681 In actual fact, the victims were strangled or killed with spears
696 before they were thrown into the water.

An attempt was made to submerge the bodies, but they would rise once more to the surface. The hyenas quickly disposed of them. After leaving the place of torture, the executioners would go a certain distance to another depression, usually filled with water, in order to clean their weapons and wash their blood-stained hands. /384/

[848] Traitors and enemies, bewitchers and ranking political
[845] prisoners were not the sole victims of the accursed pit. Among those
[847] condemned to die at that sinister spot were also freak babies (ibimara),
[826] unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), children born during the period of mourning held for their father (inda y'amabi) sometimes along with their mother, young girls whose breasts had not grown (impenebere) (1)..., and calves born in a "faulty" manner (ubufuti), such as those whose legs... came first.

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known.

754 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human
278 cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other
[164] people (1).

1: This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great
[578] curse, "May you die of tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu).

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu),
[841] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia
[824 (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example,
847] muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following
824 plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract
[224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

322 412 The tools used for this work are the ax (Figs. 29, 30), the bush knife (Fig. 31), the percussion drill, the hollow hatchet in various sizes with diagonal cutting edges, and the rasp for scraping the interior and surface of objects.

325 316 439 Metal Industry. The two types of metalwork in Ruanda are the ordinary blacksmith's art and wire drawing. Iron mining is of no importance; the inhabitants are dependent almost entirely on imported metal. Iron is imported from Busindja and from the Congo state in the form of hoes. I saw a few abandoned mines on Mount Ndisa, and there is some iron in Kissaka. Dr. Kandt (1) even reports a blast furnace with 16 bellows. Bgisha

1. Ibid., p. 360.

is said to be considerably richer in iron, but it seems to me that it chiefly mediates the importation of Congo iron.

326 The smiths form a sort of guild in Nduga. They are all Bahutu, but they belong to different clans even though their occupation is generally hereditary.

Smiths are very much feared throughout the country, although one cannot deny that their trade is regarded with a certain scorn. Among the Bahutu the smiths enjoy their wealth because of an undeniable influence. Women, for example, seem to regard smiths as great cavaliers and men of the world who always drink beer to excess. In general, however, they are regarded as restless spirits and eternal rebels, nor are they especially praised for their honesty. In view of this, they are carefully watched at their work when, as is usually the case, they are furnished with raw materials by the customers. It is said that they filch iron whenever they can and have a very bad reputation in this respect.

[847] Aside from their regular trade, the smiths also practice gynecology, and they are noted for their skill in performing abortions. They also play a prominent part in the cult. The head of the royal smiths is said to have a high position and to play an important role in court ceremonies.

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has
843 remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it
164 has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in
847 Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the
861 high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

842 It is obvious that if a large number of children brings the father influence and possessions and insures the existence of the whole group, there is no reason for the use of devices which limit the number of children. However, contraceptives are known. Father Schumacher (2) says: "The juice of the muhoko bush,

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 894.

mixed with a small amount of water, is taken as a contraceptive; strong doses are taken to commit suicide. As a superstitious but 'infallible' remedy, the mother who wishes to prevent her daughter's disgrace uses the latter's first menstrual blood. She catches this and allows it to dry on any kind of material. She keeps it, or, for example, she may tie the rag on her foot (the numerous butega hide it). After this is done, conception is impossible, no matter what the girl manages to do."

847 If a nursing mother becomes pregnant, she has an abortion out of consideration for the child. The operation is performed by a smith and is said to be done mechanically and not with internal remedies.

[231] The same thing happens when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant. If the abortion is unsuccessful and the girl has the child, it is often killed by being allowed to starve.

764 Death. If a person dies in a house, the nearest relatives are assembled, and a pole is provided on which the body is tied when it is transported to the grave. The body must not be kept very long in the hut.

The women mourn the deceased, and all clothing, bracelets, and leg rings are removed from the corpse. The body is put in a crouching position with arms and legs bent, rubbed with butter, and wrapped in mats (virago) with no gifts added. Moreover, the Batutsi shave the head of the body, but the Bahutu do not do this.

In Kissaka the deceased is either buried in the banana grove or thrown into a papyrus swamp, according to his wishes. In Nduga bodies are usually thrown into the swamps. In places where there are no papyrus swamps, they are covered with a layer of earth. In Mulera it is a common custom to bury the Bahutu. The

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

595 The Batwa usually have four or five wives.

One of the wives has a special name, inkundwakazi (the loved one, the favorite). She is thus called because of her qualities: her cleanliness, her ability to make pombe, her faithfulness, her careful supervision of the crops, the good treatment she extends to the abagaragu, the constant care she takes of the cattle, the friendly reception she reserves for her husband's friends, the care with which she has the master's orders carried out in his absence (1).

1. The inyungwakazi is quite the opposite of the inkwundakazi. She is a wife without any domestic qualities, who is disobedient, even adulterous. If her husband does not repudiate her, he keeps her at a distance and has no relations with her.

[836]

As to the other wives, the husband, in speaking of them, simply says abagore banjye (my wives). However, the favorite may not give them orders. Only the husband can give orders to his wives.

Children of different mothers (or of different fathers) are on the same footing and considered as real brothers and sisters. [21]

[848] Adulterine children belong to the husband of the unfaithful wife.

Whether legitimate or not, the children are not treated differently according to their mother's condition. But if the children of a concubine show themselves to be unbearable, people will not fail to contemptuously call them abana bo mu milombero (children of the hedges).

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3. Obstacles to Marriage

582 1. Exogamy.

The Batutsi (except the Abanyiginya) and the Bahutu may not take a wife from within their father's family and clan, whatever the kinship. Parallel cousins (1) therefore cannot marry each other, but

1. Parallel cousins are those whose fathers are brothers or whose mothers are sisters.

837 husband and returns to her parents. The latter will attempt to persuade
586 her to return to her husband, for if she refused they would be obliged to refund the dowry.

The husband who finds out that his wife has committed adultery (gusambana, lit., to take another man) enjoins her not to do it again. The second time he strikes her. If she continues, he repudiates (gusendwa) her publicly. A repudiated wife is brought into disrepute and finds it difficult to marry again. Sometimes the adulterous wife is sent away at night, out of consideration for the family, so that her offense is not known by everybody. [29]

837 Formerly, if the husband surprised his wife in the act, he
586 would have the man arrested and beaten. Then before witnesses he
684 would repudiate his wife. If the accomplice was a nobleman like
563 himself, he was allowed to leave with the woman. But, usually, if he was married, he would return to his wife who would merely make a jealous scene. When the lover was a Mututsi umugaragu he was deprived of his property and exiled far away. If he was a Muhutu, the husband could demand from the Mwami permission to impale him like a cattle thief, or else he would thrash him soundly and have him driven away from the hill. An accomplice of the Mwami's adulterous wife was always killed. In none of these cases was the woman seriously ill-treated.

684 Our occupation has put a stop to cruel punishments, and at the
586 present time the wife's accomplice is not punished at all. Adultery
177 leads only to pecuniary reparation (itshyiru) by the lover. On the other hand, divorce is pronounced to the husband's benefit and the dowry is refunded to him, at least if there are no children by the marriage.

848 If the adulterous woman is pregnant, she will always claim that
586 the child she is expecting is her husband's. Being in doubt, the hus-
837 band takes the child (umusambanano) (1) as soon as it is weaned. He

1. General term designating an illegitimate child, including that born of adultery or incest.

also provides for his wife's needs but does not consent to take up again their life in common.

If the husband is sure that the child is the fruit of adultery, he has nothing more to do with his wife, and her parents adopt the child.

553 neighborhood children are then invited to eat a dish consisting of a gruel of sorghum and beans. But before eating they wait for the child to relieve himself, hence the name of this meal, ubunyano (from kunya, to defecate). Then the father recites a few names he would like to give the child, and those present choose one of them. If the parents have already lost a child, in order to turn away the evil spirits, the newborn child is baptized with an objectionable name such as Kangurube (little pig child). The same day the husband is obliged to have intercourse with his wife lest a misfortune happen to the child.

[845] Twins (impanga) are given names that resemble each other, Karengera and Karinganire for example. [36]

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However, the rule mentioned above has certain exceptions. If a man marries an ikinyandaro, the child to be born, who is only an umusambanano for the husband, will belong to his natural father. But the husband may claim that the child is his if at the time of the marriage the girl is only a few months pregnant.

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the girl's father. Today there are many ibyomanzi who, eager for their independence, have left their parents and wander throughout the country. Their children are called abana b'umugore, but they do not belong to the maternal inzu, for the ibyomanzi no longer have any family.

The adulterine child belongs to the husband because of the dowry that has been paid. If the dowry has not been paid, the child is supposed to belong to the family of his mother's father. The incestuous child belongs to the husband. When a child is born to an unmarried

348 girl, the girl's father takes over the child.
351 In the past, during the wars, the owner of a woman slave
[37] sometimes married her. The children of this marriage were considered legitimate and [37] had their fathers' status, even if he already had children from marriage with a munyarwanda wife.

Children born of the master and a woman slave were also considered legitimate.

CHAPTER V. PATERNAL AUTHORITY

593 The patria potestas is exercised by the father. In the past it implied the right of life and death over his children. Today the father does not have such power, but his authority still remains sovereign and extends even over married sons. The latter must in particular, give him cows if he asks for any to increase his herds and to replace animals that are sick or have died.

A bad son can be cursed by his father and driven out of the family and even from the hill (igitshibwa or ikivume, the accursed one). He goes off with empty hands, and his brothers divide his property.

As a counterpart to his authority, the father is obligated to support his children and to establish his sons by paying the dowry.

The children must obey their mother as well as their father.

[604] Simiarly they must be deferential to their paternal uncles and aunts, and to a lesser degree, to their maternal uncles and aunts. Sisters must obey their brothers, and younger brothers, their older ones.

603 The loss of paternal authority does not exist as such. If the
604 father is unworthy or incapable, the grandfather or paternal uncle has charge of the children. [38]

CHAPTER VI. TUTELAGE AND EMANCIPATION (1)

(1) Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p. 60.

429 When the father is dead, usually one of his brothers watches over the widow and orphans. In the absence of a paternal uncle, guardianship goes to a maternal uncle.

684 It is not extraordinary to hear that a wronged husband has taken justice into his own hands, especially if the culprits were caught in flagrante delicto. As for unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), in the Bugoyi 684 they were abandoned on the islands of Lake Kivu where they died of 848 starvation. The small, rocky, and completely arid islands of Ntera, Kapfunuka, and Itembabagoyi were renowned on this account, along with the larger but deserted islands known by the name of Bugarura, Wawu, etc. In the Nduga and other provinces bordering the Akanyaru, the girls were inexorably hunted out by the chiefs, who had them drowned in the river. They were thrown in with their hands and feet tied, and if they did not sink below the water right away, they were knocked on the head with oars and clubs, under the eyes of the populace who had come to witness their torture. There is a river dweller who is in charge of the execution of those unfortunate victims and who tells cold-bloodedly of the drownings he has carried out. If one is to believe him, a dozen victims have passed through his hands. It is said that a grandfather acted as his own granddaughter's executioner to avoid persecution by the chiefs, who take advantage of /53/ the opportunity to pillage the home of the wrongdoer's relatives. Occasionally, families succeeded in ransoming their child by giving a cow to the local authorities, but obviously such recourse was not available to everyone. Even in this case the newborn child was pitilessly killed at birth. Sometimes the culprit could also be made to escape in time to Urundi, the Ndorwa, or the Congo. The motive alleged for such severity is fear of the punishment that would not fail to befall the country if such crimes were allowed.

Let us add that we are speaking of the past, and that today it 181 would be very difficult to dispose of the criminals without the knowledge of the Europeans. Crimes of this kind, moreover, were relatively rare. The Banyarwanda are indeed superior by far to neighboring peoples as far as morality is concerned. It is of little moment that this should be attributed to the altitude of the country, which reaches an average of 1, 700 or 1, 800 meters, or to their working habits, both of which facts are incidentally quite true.

[152 In any event the women are very shy. So are the nubile girls, 862] who are closely watched by their mothers.

681 to birds and animals such as buffalo, gazelles, wild boars, dogs.
696 Even if the latter should not die immediately, their masters would
823 have to kill them for fear of being stricken themselves by contagion.

Each night, they say, smoke and flames rise from that awful place and cast a reddish glare on the horizon (1).

1. The grass fires at the end of summer must not be foreign to this association of thoughts and images.

It is also said that the waters have the color of blood (atukura, assa n'amarasso). Every time an offender is led to the pit, the waters rise suddenly as though to fetch the victim (ngw' abon' umugome, akassama). After swallowing their prey, the waters subside. Then protracted cries and moans (akaboroga, akater' induru) arise from the bottom of the pit.

The pit is so deep, it is commonly said, that its waters join those of Lake Kivu (ngw' aja hasi, afatanye n'i Kivu).

Considering such stories, one can easily understand why people should speak with terror of that cursed place.

In actual fact, the victims were strangled or killed with spears
681 before they were thrown into the water.
696 An attempt was made to submerge the bodies, but they would rise once more to the surface. The hyenas quickly disposed of them. After leaving the place of torture, the executioners would go a certain distance to another depression, usually filled with water, in order to clean their weapons and wash their blood-stained hands. /384/

Traitors and enemies, bewitchers and ranking political
[848] prisoners were not the sole victims of the accursed pit. Among those
[845] condemned to die at that sinister spot were also freak babies (ibimara),
[847] unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), children born during the period of mourning held for their father (inda y'amabi) sometimes along with
[826] their mother, young girls whose breasts had not grown (impenebere) (1)..., and calves born in a "faulty" manner (ubufuti), such as those whose legs came first.

585 567 848 588 Extramarital Relations. Not all women who share a household with a man are his regular wives (basumba kazi) with whom he has entered into a formal purchase marriage. Concubines and slaves (baja) are also kept in Ruanda. The concubines are [225] usually childless widows and abandoned or fugitive women. They settle wherever they find a relatively good refuge. The baja are sold by their parents when they are children, usually in exchange for food during a famine. They are simply women without ties, but who are otherwise very much like the other women and usually also have their own huts. Their children are likewise said to belong to the father's family, although they are not regarded as equal. Such children of Batutsi men, for example, are said not to be regarded as Batutsi although they have the same family name.

588 567 The chiefs grant baja to their clients, a practice which is even more clearly defined among the Azande and Mangbetu, for example. The baja, along with the cow, are the means whereby the powerful one binds his clients to himself and thus strengthens his power.

567 574 837 Just as a man can grant a cow to a client and also demand it back, so he can likewise put a muja at the temporary disposal of a favorite. Under these circumstances the entertainment of guests with women "who are to warm his bed for him" is quite understandable. The less esteemed guests are given baja; the highly respected guests, on the other hand, are honored by being offered regular wives.

574 837 In general, a man on a journey has at his disposal the wives of his blood brothers. Dr. Kandt (1) says that from certain social

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

aspects this arrangement has its positive points: "Alternating connubium, that is, the interchangeable pairing of several male blood relatives with all their wives, as is permitted in Ruanda, prevents the loss of the female element in the preservation of the race, should the male element prove unfit."

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(e) Ritual function

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases). 562 582 613

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child. 562 557 [582] [558] [851] 848

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives. 557 562 564 583 [851] [842]

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the 142 564 826

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[12] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

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428 over his brothers. As an act of vassalage, the latter must in turn /each/
593 give him a beer, a hoe, and a sheep. /50/ They acknowledge his superiority thereby, and place themselves under his dependence. In return he must show interest in them and in their legal proceedings, take care of their affairs in the event of illness, defend them against one and all.

[429] Daughters have no right whatever to inherit from their father. Before he dies, on the other hand, the father appoints one of his sons to look after each one of them to take care of her future, her marriage, and to watch over her until she marries.

●851 A daughter whose bride price was paid for in cows receives
431 a heifer from her father or brother when she comes to show them her first born. Among wealthy families, she is given a cow at the birth
[556] of each male child. Among poorer families, the gift consists of a young bull, a goat, or one or two hoes, depending on the amount of the bride price (1).

1. A cow given under these circumstances is called "young mother's cow" (ichari, umwari). The young bull obtained under the same circumstances is called "woman's garment" (inkanda), because the animal's hide must theoretically be used to clothe the happy mother.

According to the Banyarwanda custom governing the occasion, the child's father must give three jugs of beer and a basketful of cooked food to his father-in-law or to the brother-in-law who is his wife's guardian.

428 Upon their father's death, daughters merely receive garments made of cowhide, hoes, or sheep, which on account of the bereavement are called by the name of "salary or reward for tears."

428 The widow whose son was chosen as chief legatee usually en-
[768] joys the use of the family property until her death. The sharing is definitively carried out only after she has left this world. A childless widow is usually sent away by her husband's relatives, who share among themselves the property of the deceased. On being dismissed, she is left merely with a mat and a few household utensils. If she is fairly young, one of her brothers-in-law takes her as a concubine or
429 gets her another husband. /51/ When a child loses both parents, he is given a guardian. The legal guardian is the paternal grandfather, or lacking him, an uncle, a paternal first cousin, or lastly the chief of the village himself.

Maternal uncles and aunts, especially if they belong to another clan, cannot as a general rule manage the orphan's property. This would give rise to disputes and legal porceedings among the members of both tribes. They may bring up the child at best.

The guardianship devolves by right to relatives on the paternal side. They administer the ward's property until he comes of age,
[582] that is to say, until the day when he takes a wife. This usually happens at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

If only daughters are left, the nearest paternal relatives
[428] inherit the family property, but they must take care of the orphans until they marry.

If a person dies childless and leaves no relatives, his property devolves by right to the hill chief. This property is called inkungu.

[165] The families are large, but child mortality is high.

● 851 Eight days after his birth the newborn child receives from his
551 father a name that befits the circumstances (1). The mother /52/ is

1. "We notice that all men," says Mgr. LeRoy, "give themselves names that characterize them, and frequently the best one they could find was that of an animal whose strength, skill, agility, or beauty they had noticed, of a plant that was useful to them.... of an object or phenomenon which had struck them." (Les primitifs /Primitive Peoples/, p. 126.)

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We shall now list some examples of those names:

Ntare . . . . . = "lion"
Se-ntama . . . . . = "sheep man"
Se-buhene . . . . . = "goat man"
Se-nkôkô . . . . . = "chicken man"
Se-mbga . . . . . = "dog man"
Njangwe . . . . . = "cat"
Se-biti . . . . . = "tree man"
Bissussa . . . . . = "(edible) nettles"
Nyira-massaka . . . = "sorghum girl"
Se-bishimbo . . . . = "bean man"
Se-masuka . . . . . = "hoe man"
Hakiz'umwami . . . = "it is the king who reprieves (or favors)"
Nyiragitondo . . . . = "morning woman" (one born in the morning).
Se-batware . . . . . = "chiefs' man"
Se-mapfa . . . . . = "famine man"
Madjoro . . . . . = "night" (because born during the night).
Semahundo . . . . . = "sorghum-stalk man"
Lwango . . . . . = "the one who hates"
Luvuga-make . . . . = "the one who speaks little" (that is, the quiet one).
Se-bazungu . . . . . = "Europeans' man," that is to say, born upon the arrival of the Whites.
Ndegeya . . . . . = "man with a sixth finger," that is to say, born with this peculiarity of a sixth finger.

granted a fair amount of respect, and the child is treated well, but from our point of view his education is nil.

684 As happens among most Negro peoples, the law is very strict for extramarital crimes.

586 However, since this time another cow was denied, the man entered a suit for the return of the illegally retained cow.

If a woman no longer wishes to live with her husband, she
586 first goes back to her parents. She does not have a comfortable
587 existence there, however, for she is regarded solely as a beast of burden and as something unclean besides. Her father, above all, has visions of having to return the payments which he cannot refuse the husband. For this reason the woman usually does not stay long in her parents' home. After a certain time she moves away and settles with a man who does not shy away because of the dispute with her husband and her father. Once the woman has left her proper husband, she does not usually stay long anywhere and travels about according to her moods and the advantages she may gain. Thus a woman may change husbands several times within a few years.

586 In Mulera disputes between man and wife are said to be tried before a specially selected tribunal of older women and men. If public opinion is in favor of the wife who has left, the husband loses his right to be paid and must persuade her to return by offering her gifts. In this case, as a rule, the bribed relatives of the wife become the man's most vehement antagonists, for they do not like to see her wandering about in any case.

[227] The divorced wife retains her personal possessions and the dowry she brought to her husband's house.

578
257 The vagabond existence of women causes much disorder in the life of small communities. Most quarrels, in Kissaka, for example, arise on account of the children. Here the Muhutu woman does not have a high purchase price, and consequently the children are more important than the wife herself. The children belong to the father's clan. The clan regards the children as reciprocity for the payment received by the wife's parents. If a man has impregnated a woman for whom he has not paid, his right to the child is apparently lost. The woman stays with him, however, and the child, at least as long as it is small, cannot be taken away from the mother. This involves a legal question which the batware [officials] must decide. If the man is powerful and has many followers, the question becomes very complicated. In this

578 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the
851 child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to
562 be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when
578 their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

his bride-wealth, since his brother-in-law did not take her away, she went home when ill because she had no home. In any case, the Court adds, bride-wealth is not to be returned as a matter of course just because a woman dies. 586 691

In a third case a woman has died after bearing one child; the circumstances of death are not stated. The widower, reclaiming his bride-wealth, a cow, which by increase has become 8 head, in a village meeting, has been awarded 5 head and the woman's father 3. The widower has later taken one of his father-in-law's share to provide milk for the child, and now claims his right to retain it and receive the balance. The Court confirms the decision of the village meeting, on the grounds that although the widower has lost a wife, her father has lost a child.

(*d*) when a husband drives away his wife without due cause, or abandons her.

Instances: A man takes his cow, paid as bride-wealth, away, then drives his wife out of the house, and now reclaims the balance, 11 hoes. He is adjudged to have forfeited these.

A man reclaims 7 hoes, balance of bride-wealth of a cow and 7 hoes, from his brother-in-law, who has taken the woman when ill to a doctor and has not returned her. The husband is found to have seized the opportunity to take back his cow and to have abandoned his wife, and he is held to have no claim to his hoes.

A man claims 6 cows, the increase of one, paid as bride-wealth. It is established that after the woman had borne him 5 children, he emigrated, leaving her, and that she is still unmarried and willing to return to him. He admits in cross-examination that he wants the cattle, not his wife—and loses both.

Bride-wealth is also returnable when a woman, left a widow, declines to remain under the custody of her late husband's heirs, and goes to her relatives. But custody must be claimed at the time of the husband's death: in a case where this was not done, and the woman had gone away and remarried, the new marriage was allowed to stand, subject to the proviso that the child of the marriage would be a member of the family of the first husband when it grew up, if it desired. In one case, a man waives his claim to the bride-wealth in respect of the widow of his dead son, she having returned to her relatives. 587 768 851

On the termination of a marriage, the custody of children is always the right of the husband. If he dies, the right passes to his heirs: there 586 768 851

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

586 is, however, an exception recorded, where, on a man dying leaving
851 only female children, these were taken charge of by the village head-
768 man. The right to custody sometimes involves investigation of paternity, the nature of which is fully understood.

[691] *Instances*: A man sues his wife's new husband, after divorce, for payment of bride-wealth or else for custody of a child of which he claims she was pregnant when she left him. A count of months establishes the paternity of the new husband.

The son of a man deceased sues the man to whom the widow has gone, she then having a four-months' old child, for the first offspring of the new union as well as the other child, on the grounds that she was pregnant at the time of her husband's death. The Court finds that no woman has ever been heard of suckling a four months' child and pregnant of another, and therefore awards the eldest child only.

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768 As a corollary to the right to the custody of a child, the heir of a man who has died has the right to the bride-wealth in respect of a
428 girl-child, when the widow has returned to her relatives and the child has not been claimed before she reaches marriageable age, subject to a deduction for the cost of bringing her up.

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[681] were dissolved, the man was fined and in addition was made to refund to their father 14 hoes which had been handed over for maintenance of the children.

586 Dissolution of marriage is found to take place on numerous grounds. The records disclose causes of offence by the husband as follows:

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Bride-wealth was definitely not a compensation for the economic loss entailed by the girl's departure from her patrilineage. Her departure was not an impoverishment of her group because it provided it with a new alliance with another descent group; all informants agree on that. Bride-wealth was the socially recognized symbol of the legitimate transfer of fertility from one descent group to another. As long as bride-wealth had not been given, children borne by the woman were considered as belonging to her inzu (they are called *nkuli*). The husband was only their genitor, not their pater.

Bride-wealth received by the girl's father was not to be used only to provide the bride's brother with a wife. There was no direct relation between a man's possibility of getting a wife and his sister's marriage.

(*c*) *The wedding ceremonies*

Wedding ceremonies (*ubukwe*) taking place at the groom's father's were very long and complicated. The central rite constituting the wedding was the spitting on the bride's head of chewed herbs mixed with milk, and the placing on her head of a garland made of the leaves of a certain plant (*umuwishywa*). Other rites symbolized the dominance of the patrilineages' interests in the marriage. Both inzu were represented by two groups, the *abashyitsi*, the agnatic relatives of the bride, and *abasangwa*, agnatic relatives of the groom. When the rite was accomplished, *abashyitsi* had to express sorrow by their laments and *abasangwa* to rejoice loudly. Another rite stressed the concern of the kin-groups in the intimate relations between the spouses. A younger brother or paternal parallel cousin of the bride had to lie between the new spouses during some part of their first night together (*gucahagati*). The groom had to beg him to leave. I was told that this signified that it was the bride's patrilineage which had to give permission for the first intercourse. Moreover, after the central rite and before the first intercourse, the father and mother of the groom and the father and mother of the bride had to have sexual relations. If the girl's parents (who did not attend the wedding party) were living far away, the young couple sometimes had to wait for a couple of days before having intercourse.[8]

The high value of virginity was also symbolically stressed.

[8] On wedding celebration, see Kagame, 1954, pp. 143-72.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child. 851 586

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother. 842 [935] [853] 847 824

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place. 854 [885]

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization. 855 593 604

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to 857 [862] 868 857 000

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases). 562 582 613

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child. 562 557 [582] [558] [851] 848]

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives. 557 562 564 583 [851] [842]

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the 142 564 826

844 in a kneeling position. Only women and girls may be present; men are not allowed.

845 If the mother dies during labor in Ussuwi and Bukumbi, a Caesarean operation is performed in order to save the child. It is said that in Kissaka and Mulera people do not dare to perform this operation.

844 After delivery the woman is nourished with a mixture of milk and cow's blood. Later, beer (nzoga) is added to this diet, as well as a mixture of peas and bananas of the nkamba variety.

The navel cord is cut with a reed splinter. On the fourth day, it is said, the navel is finally trimmed. After this the mother 846 sweeps out the hut and places the rubbish in two baskets (ntaro) which she carries out with the help of her neighbors. The women go in a row, one next to the other, and in this way they accompany the young mother to a previously chosen spot where the contents of the baskets are scattered. After the women return, the husband serves banana beer to the midwife, but before that he performs a libation.

846 On this day the neighbors call and bring presents in honor of the child's birth. The presents consist of food and drink, for example, bananas, peas, sweet potatoes, beer, and, among the 431 852 Batutsi, milk. This ceremony is known as bihembo.

In Kissaka the guests kneel in honor of the father. He accepts 852 the honors standing, holding a wooden spear (muko) in his hand and with a sword (ngota) behind his back. He calls upon Binego and Mugasha and expresses his gratitude for the honor by spitting nzoga (banana beer) upon the visitors. If the newborn child is a boy, the father puts a small spear, a small bow, a nail upon which to hang the bow, and a small shield woven of grass into his hand. When he gives the bow to the child, the father spits and says: "akavuna muheto kandi ntaka uvune (if he breaks the bow, may he not break it again)." When he presents the spear, he says: "arakagua mukicho kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he is attacked in ambush, may it not happen again)." When the shield is presented: "kiliho arakagua mungabo kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he should fall upon his shield, may he [229] not fall again)." Finally, turning to the nail on which the bow is to be hung, he says: "arakavuna ingaugo kandi ntaka uvune (if the nail breaks, may it no longer do so later)."

852 If the child is a girl, the mother gives her: lugori, a head band of corn straw which is a symbol of motherhood; luhindu, a needle; and ntamyi, a papyrus thread.

In describing this ceremony, Father P. Schumacher (1) says

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 901.

that the child, be it boy or girl, is also presented with hoes with which invited children cultivate a piece of land one square meter in size at the spot where the child's uncleanliness is buried. This ceremony is called kusohora and takes place on the eighth day after birth. Present at the ceremony are the child and the mother, shaved for the first time since her confinement.

553 The next day the child is given a name. In Kissaka it is said that children are not named until they are three or four months old. The grandfather names the son, and the grandmother names the daughter. At this ceremony the child is laid on the ground before sunrise and called by its name. If a child has not been born
551 within the house, it is given a special name. In that case a boy is called Maira, and a girl, Nanzira. Besides these names, children are given other names, even those of strangers. Some of these are nicknames and often replace the regular names.

We must also mention that everyone has not only his personal name and the name of his clan, but also the name of his umuzimu, that is, of the ancestral spirit which remains in contact with him. I could not find out any details about this. It seems that the name of the spirit to which the child must make offerings and build a spirit hut (ndaro) is used as the child's second name.

Besides these names people also have boastful names. Father Schumacher (2) says: "Every Munyaruanda, or at least every warrior,

2. Ibid., p. 895.

has a kivugo, that is, a nickname that extols his outstanding characteristics, especially the warlike ones. The byivugo (plural)

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851 only female children, these were taken charge of by the village head-
768 man. The right to custody sometimes involves investigation of paternity, the nature of which is fully understood.

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586 Dissolution of marriage is found to take place on numerous grounds. The records disclose causes of offence by the husband as follows:

846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and
853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feel-
845 ings. Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand, Gassldinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No. 45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which
845 conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the
782 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in. Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By vener-
[776] ating this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19,
845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces
535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nsujimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal, kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

853 The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the affair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more rejoins his playmates. The children are kept clean and given 854 [515] a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time [482] in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 513 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground. They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has
843 remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it
164 has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in
847 Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

●853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the
861 high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

833 were growing, when a child had his hair cut in tufts for the first time, at the initiation into the Ryangombe sect, when a daughter was asked to marry, on the wedding day of a son or a daughter, on the accession of a new king, at sowing time, and at the celebration for July harvesting. All these events were happy and joyful because they were growths or increases in life. Intercourse was also obligatory at the end of the mourning periods when life had to go on and start again after that period of abeyance.

This obligatory intercourse took place between husband and wife. When it was impossible because one of the spouses was absent or dead, one had to rely upon a privileged partner, or, if this was impossible, had to get medicine prepared from certain herbs by a diviner.

There was no prohibition of intercourse between the spouses [853] during the suckling months (the first eighteen to twenty-four).

(*b*) *Economic co-operation*

595 The nuclear family and, to a large extent each wife's compound [594] in polygamous cases, was a self-sufficient unit of economic co-operation. Among rich Tutsi who could afford separate homesteads for their wives, each wife was in fact the superintendent of her own. She had to command her husband's clients, servants, cultivators, and herdsmen. It was no wonder that women who could be entrusted with such responsibilities were respected within their family and in society at large. If the homestead was small, as among ordinary Tutsi, or consisted only of a small cultivated plot, as among most Hutu polygamists, each of these wives had, nevertheless, some economic responsibility, even if it was only that of working by herself in the fields. This important participation of polygynous wives in the management of a small unit of production and consumption, should be studied in relation to the 562 status of women in Ruanda.[9] This status was by no means equal to that of men but it was far from being one of slavery. Tutsi [593] husbands and wives ate together, the wife was consulted by her husband on many problems, and she was treated with much politeness. The Hutu were ruder and more temperamental, but they followed a more or less similar pattern. Under the present administration there are two or three women, widows of Tutsi chiefs, who act as sub-chiefs. The mere fact that it is taken for

[9] See Naigiziki, 1959.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

1:Vanhove--14A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

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[opp. p. 18]

Two Bahutu mothers, their heads encircled with the urugori greet each other.
(Official photograph, Colonial Office)

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat
291 skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the
[854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No.
287 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials
386 in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with
[531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi, probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force available to the parents and the better are the prospects of obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of
[832] herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359). As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret science among the women, and the men do not appear to have any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
● 854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nsujimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal; kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

853 The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the affair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more rejoins his playmates. The children are kept clean and given
854 [515] a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time
[482] in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 513 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground. They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

854 p. 63). In order to put the child to sleep and also to soothe it
513 in the daytime, the mother may lightly pat its back and occasionally sing a monotonous "cradle song." Van der Burgt has recorded one in which the evil mother-in-law is mentioned to frighten the child: "Be quiet; otherwise I shall take you to the mother-in-law. She will give you only water. When the cows come home and are milked, you will go hungry. Mother-in-law will not protect you from the sun nor against hunger" (No. 19, p. 71).

Spiritually and morally the children grow up wild. There
861 is no effort to cure children of bad habits nor to teach them good ones. As long as the children's bad manners do not inconvenience the parents, they even take pleasure in inciting them to fits of temper, to fight, and to steal. Only in exceptional cases is there any practical training in special jobs and handicrafts. Whatever the children learn is acquired by observation, listening, and by helping with work. From an early age they must help their parents in all their work, and being by nature intelligent and vivacious, they soon become surprisingly independent.

145 Boys reach puberty (kukura) when they are between 12 to
864 15 years old, girls even earlier. Long before that, however,
839 they are enlightened about sexual matters and have learned many loathsome things of a sexual nature from those who are older. This does not mean that they have sexual intercourse at a very early age, but onanism and masturbation are widespread vices.

[113] About these practices van der Burgt reports (No. 19,
839 p. 361): "Puellae praesertim horibili huic vitio valde deditae sunt, sub praetextu quidem, ut magis aptae fiant matrimonio et viris placeant. In actu ipso nefando quoddam juramentum vel potius imprecationem pronuntiant: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. Insuper variis mediis utuntur ad majorem voluptatem sibi procurandam. Media generatim sunt plantae, vel radices plantarum arborumve, quibus labia perfricantur." [Tr., "The girls especially are given to indulge in this horrible vice at an early age under the pretext that this makes them more fit for

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

181 is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and
554 everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior
152 (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu
564 are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are corre-
576 spondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

181 When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi
564 specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate
558 qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be con-
687 sidered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

181 All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while
564 living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame.
761 To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious:
554 for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender
715 one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

181 To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and repu-
554 tation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense
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[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

that they are the almost indispensable means for achieving these ends. 181
The originality of Ruanda culture does not lie in its high valuation of power 554
and fame. These are recognized ends in many cultures. What is distinctive 564
is the paucity and the indispensability of the means provided in that society for effecting these purposes.

An ordinary Muhutu could never hope to achieve a position of power over other men comparable to that which a Mututsi could attain without difficulty. A well-to-do Muhutu could acquire a few servants either by ensuring the subsistence of other Bahutu poorer than himself or, like a Mututsi, by the gift of cattle. But this was not common. Ambition for power is proper to people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. The ultimate value for Bahutu is security, for this means protection from the things our informants say they fear above all: accusations of witchcraft, starvation, and the arbitrary actions of the powerful. There are no direct methods of protecting oneself against the first of these threats. All that can be done preventively is to be a good neighbour, not to be envied by anybody, not to have enemies. . . . But there are ways of reducing the other two dangers and these are the intermediate values which the Bahutu earnestly seek: work, children, and patronage.

Bahutu till the soil from which they have to get subsistence, the tribute 181
demanded by the chief, and perhaps a surplus. This surplus is extremely 564
important because it will enable them to acquire some goats, sheep, even a 461
cow, to have the time to work for their lord, to store enough food to get a few servants who will then increase production. Surpluses may be obtained only by work. That is why, among Bahutu, the man or the woman who works hard and competently is highly considered. Work enables Bahutu to achieve some security against starvation and even to attain moderate wealth.

There is a Ruanda proverb that the dog is not feared because of his 181
fangs but because of his master. This is the main reason why a Muhutu 564
wants to have a patron. A peasant rich enough to own a couple of cows needs the protection of somebody more powerful than himself in order to avoid the arbitrary exactions of some member of the dominant class. Patronage was institutionalized by the *buhake* agreement mentioned above. Like the lord in medieval Europe, the patron was bound to protect his client in most of the dangerous situations of life. A second reason for seeking a patron lay in the material and moral advantages accruing from the possession of cattle.

If we wish to state Bahutu values in more abstract terms, we may say that they seek security through the production of agricultural goods and the protection of a powerful patron.

Although he is not indifferent to his reputation, the Muhutu does not 181
seem to stress its importance as much as does the Mututsi. The reputation 564
he desires reflects the values of his caste. He likes to be considered a 554

their children just because they are their children. This, of course, exists in Ruanda as in many other cultures. [854]

794 His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba. . . , " pronounced in a virile tone,
776 recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a
[30] necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung
854 around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye. . . . "

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

[224 His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around
[231 the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i. . . " to recall
534 that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence
[287 the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with
a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a
[415 hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using
[272 a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it.
Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

Young Mututsi (Batutsi) woman carrying her baby on the back.

Mututsi type with long tufts of hair.

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Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type.

Mututsi type.

5: Pages--289 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Banana leaf serving as an umbrella.

A banana leaf shelters a baby's head.

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291 cord or thong. The free end of this thong is usually cut into several strands and strung with beads of glass or iron (ngimbi). The braided bast cord is called indjishi.

Dressed cowhide has a relatively high value and is worn for several years. When torn, it is mended and carefully sewn together. Not all women, however, can obtain this costly, though

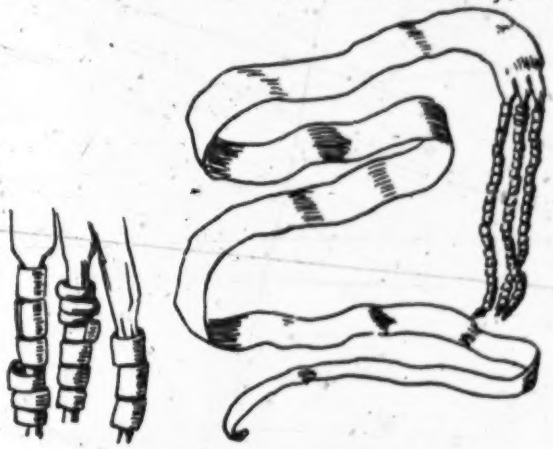

Fig. 60. Woman's Belt from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13701. 145 centimeters long.)

serviceable article of clothing and must wear goat skins and barkcloth (mpuzu), as do the grown girls. Near the missions where work is paid in cloth, they also wear cotton materials in place of cowhides.

To complete a woman's costume, a goat skin is thrown over the shoulders. However, when this article is omitted, the costume is not regarded as incomplete.

[854] Small children are always wrapped in sheepskin and carried on the back. The skin is tied together above and below the mother's breasts with two strips of barkcloth or two pieces of bark from a banana tree. These strips are tied to the leg parts of the skin.

[515] [173] Women who are carrying children usually also carry leaves in their left hand. The leaves are carefully laid together and used to wipe their backs and the child if necessary.

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has
843 remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it
164 has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in
847 Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the
861 high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

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10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

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XIII. A Tutsikazi.

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XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]

643 Hence the following beliefs, to which the common people have given credence up to now.

644 In principle, in the old days the sovereign was not permitted to see his heir. The child was entrusted to the care of reliable men
855 and raised far from his father, who occasionally was brought pieces of string which had served to measure the height and waist of his future successor. In order to judge the development and strength of the young prince, the king imprinted the outline of his own foot in a basket of sorghum flour. This was brought to the crown prince, who in turn left in it the imprint of his foot. The basket was returned to the king, who never lost interest in the physical development of his child.

Bows were later sent to him so that he might try his strength. The heir was considered worthy of the throne on the day when he was able to string his father's bow, since now he had become as strong as his father.

The last verifications were made. It was necessary to make
643 sure that the king's garment fitted him perfectly, and that the im-
762 print of his feet matched exactly that of his father's. The latter, on the other hand, having grown old and noticed that his beard and hair were greying, (yamez' imvi), decided himself that his time had come. He immediately called his confidants and made known his last wishes. "I am going to depart (gutabara); there are only a few moments left to me. You shall see to it that my son rules (kwimika) in my place. You shall obey him in all things"....

The same evening the appointed sorcerers presented him /516/
[278] with hydromel (inkangaza) in which they had mixed a violent poison, purchased, it is believed, on the shores of Lake Victoria, where it was prepared with putrefied crocodile flesh.

The king went to sleep and never awakened. "He has drunk" (yanyone), as they said in official terminology, or else "He has departed" (yatabaye), he has rejoined his ancestors, the Liberators, who saved the land, "He has ceded the throne" (yatanze), "The sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye), for such are the expressions still consecrated by usage and used to proclaim this serious event.

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My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

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586 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their
855 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends
[587] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

858 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the
862 typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very
593 tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege
858 and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and
593 mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in
[556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit
593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys
[861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can
[603] avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the

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1. Girls who reached marriageable age with this physical peculiarity were formerly regarded as an evil and a threat to the land. The small development of their breasts was considered a crime. They were called the girls "with undeveloped breasts," impenebere, from the verb guhenebera, meaning "to be limited," "to be brought to nothing."

681 whose legs... came first.

696 Those beings, abnormal or regarded as such, were invariably condemned prior to European penetration. There was no pity for them. They had to be done away with secretly and at night, so as not to be denied passage through the land which had to be crossed. According to popular belief, the mere presence or accidental sojourn of one of those beings could unleash famine or other evils throughout the region.

Chapter 2

Duties of a Purely Utilitarian Nature

644 A. The employees of His Majesty's "Mouth" and "Cup" /departments/, that is to say, the cooks and domestic servants (Abahanga, "the Skillful Ones," and Abozi, "the Washers") have always been regarded as holding the least enviable position at court. The hut in which the servants keep the bowls of milk reserved for the king is /385/ designated by the name of kiryana, "the house that devours its inhabitants," since few are the men who survived their duties. After a varying length of service, they were suspected in almost every case of planning to poison the king, and they died a

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754 he wishes to take revenge. The viscous material, carefully gathered
787 in a leaf, is brought to the sorcerer who introduces it with a little
[826] water into the beak of the chick he is about to sacrifice.

The diviner first holds a conversation with the bird and requests it to make sure that its guts will not "turn white" but "turn black," so the evil deriving from this fact may be duly utilized. After talking at some length, the operator slits the chicken's throat in the usual fashion of diviners and carefully washes the guts to verify the specific color (white or black) on which the spell depends. If black is present, the lucky client takes what is left of the chick from the hands of the diviner and tosses it surreptitiously into the hut or enclosure of his enemy, or else he buries it at the favorite spot where the person likes to sit and rest. The effects of the sorcery will be felt quickly, and the unfortunate victim /404/ will die almost instantly after a few moments of indisposition.

The Blacks add that this sorcery is feared by everyone but used more especially by the nobility (Batutsi). They say that if one wishes to ensure success, it is preferable to use a chick which is the only survivor (yonyine, ikinege) of its brood.

If the guts turn black in the course of the divinatory procedure, the chick will infallibly "swallow" (gusama) and "destroy" (gufata) the person whose death is desired.

754 8. Let us now mention the bewitcher who uses the horn of a cow to cast an evil spell on an enemy (ihembe umulozi alogesha).

The horn is hollowed out by the sorcerer, who carves at its tip the head of a snake. He fills it with all sorts of objects and ingredients, the droppings of various birds or animals, and scraps of flesh taken from victims he has already killed.

9. Freak babies (ibimara), young girls whose breasts have not
[787 developed (impenebere), and other unfortunate beings of this kind are
845 regarded by the Banyarwanda as "revealing in themselves the presence
856] of an evil principle or mystic force whose influence is deadly," (1)
just like the monster, portents, and other ill omens of Roman times

1. La mentalité primitive
/The Primitive Mentality/,
by Levy-Bruhl, pp. 158 ff.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 524 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children participate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e, the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

857 soldiers" ranks first among the children's games. [Fig. 15 appears
524 here in the original text.] As everywhere else the boys form two opposing armies, and then they try to outsmart each other by engaging in all kinds of maneuvers and attacking each other with bows and spears without, however, doing any harm to each other. These battle game is of a more serious nature: two groups arm themselves with corncobs or stones and keep bombarding each other until one party has suffered enough casualties and takes to flight. Single combat is taken even more seriously: two boys who have insulted and challenged each other beat away at one another with sticks until one of them runs away.

K. Weule discussed several toys used by Barundi children which are now on display in the Berlin Ethnological Museum (Ethnologisches Notizblatt [Ethnological Notes], Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 48-52). For toys, boys make small swords, bows, arrows, and spears of wood or reed. In the Tanganyika area where guns are known, they also make little rifles out of sorghum stalks or bamboo cane from which a wooden arrow is catapulted by a palm stalk acting as a spring (Fig. 15). The boys also make popguns out of cylindrical pieces of tree bark which is removed from the twig in one piece, in the same manner as European boys cut a whistle. Both openings are closed by a plug of wet bast, and then one plug is pushed [64] into the cylinder with a stick so that the other plug is forced out by the compressed air, giving a loud report.

A popular game in which adults also participate is hoop-throwing (ulubangwe). Two groups of players face each other and, by turns, throw a hoop which the opposite party is supposed to catch in the air. This is to be done neither with the hand nor a stick but by means of a piece of cord whose forward end is forked. Each end of this fork has an empty corncob fastened to it. The hoop must be caught in this end of the cord which is tossed toward it. The party who most often succeeds at this is pronounced the winner.

Small kites are made out of pieces of the very light pith of rushes which are held together by a small rod. The tail of the kite is made of a piece of barkcloth. These contraptions fly as

[Text continues on page 95]

857 badly as the little kites made out of newspapers which European
524 children like to build (Weule, loc. cit., p. 51).

Boys and girls like to play at hiding nuts in the sand. This is quite similar to a game played by European children. Squatting on the ground, they make a little heap of sand, put a small nut inside, and divide the heap into five or six segments. The player who has scratched open the greatest number of segments before hitting on the nut is the winner.

The children make tops (irebe) out of a small pumpkin or the shell of a dry fruit which is pierced with a little stick. A bast string is wound around the stick and then quickly pulled by means of a cleft piece of wood held in the other hand. By piercing holes into the top, it is made to produce a buzzing sound (No. 19, p. 320 and Weule, loc. cit., p. 51).

The boys have stick-throwing contests. Each of them takes two sticks, and in turn they hurl their sticks, like spears, from the same place toward the same direction. Anyone whose stick is thrown farther than another stick is entitled to take the other stick and add it to his own collection. The player who ends up with the greatest number of sticks is the winner.

Balls for games are made of all kinds of elastic material. The children throw them to each other or hit them with a stick.

The game of hide-and-seek is also popular, of course. The child who has been discovered in his hiding place must in turn seek the others. As among the Banjaruanda, jumping over a high string or stick is also practiced.

Girls are given less time for playing than boys. From an early age they have to help with the house work, take care of their little brothers and sisters, fetch water, litter, etc., thus getting used to the idea, common to all these peoples, that the woman is a veritable work animal. Even they have some free time, however, which they use mostly for playing with dolls. They make the dolls (umwana) themselves out of a small pumpkin which has been laced tightly in the middle. Eyes, nose, and mouth are indicated by a few holes scratched on one side of the sphere, arms and hands by means of a few strokes on the other side. Or they use the conical reddish blossom of the banana plant. Sometimes a piece of bast material

857 524 is used to make a dress for the doll which is then carried on the back as mothers carry their children.

[65] When they are not drinking or gossiping, the adult 526 men spent their leisure time shooting arrows at a stick placed at a distance of up to 100 meters or more or by lance-throwing contests at any distant object. In the Tanganyika region a quiet 524 sitting game in which only two persons can participate is very popular. It is a game played on a board (ikisoro) resembling [177] our checker board. It is known to the Wasuaheli as mbao and probably has been imported from there to the Tanganyika area by way of Unjamwesi. From Tanganyika it also penetrated to a few chiefs of central Urundi. The board is rounded off at the edges and has four rows of little bowl-shaped hollows of which there are 32 altogether. Small stones or fruit pits are placed in them. By a complicated system of moves and counter-moves by which one opponent may take stones from the other, one player finally wins all the stones of his opponent. A precise description would lead us too far here, and in any case the game is known from the East African coastal areas.

Weule described (loc. cit., p. 52) the game of patience, ikifundo, that is played in Usige on the north shore of Lake [177] Tanganyika. It was probably an import from the Arabs or the Wasuaheli. I have not seen it myself.

There are also other widespread games, as, for instance, the string games, which I have not seen played by children or adults.

535 Dances (ivino, uruvino) are included here since they are to a certain extent mere "games." It is true that only a minority of dances are executed for their own sake as amusement; most of them are connected with some family, social, war, or religious celebration and are danced only on these special occasions. They all resemble each other in form, however, and may be described together here, except the religious ones which we shall discuss in the chapter on "Religion" (see p. 127).

Like the Banjaruanda, the Barundi are enthusiastic dancers and dance whenever they have the opportunity. "To amuse oneself, to play, to sing and to dance are synonymous words. They dance well, elegantly (especially the women), even with

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On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

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595 The Batwa usually have four or five wives.

One of the wives has a special name, inkundwakazi (the loved one, the favorite). She is thus called because of her qualities: her cleanliness, her ability to make pombe, her faithfulness, her careful supervision of the crops, the good treatment she extends to the abagaragu, the constant care she takes of the cattle, the friendly reception she reserves for her husband's friends, the care with which she has the master's orders carried out in his absence (1).

1. The inyungwakazi is quite the opposite of the inkwundakazi. She is a wife without any domestic qualities, who is disobedient, even adulterous. If her husband does not repudiate her, he keeps her at a distance and has no relations with her.

[836]

As to the other wives, the husband, in speaking of them, simply says abagore banjye (my wives). However, the favorite may not give them orders. Only the husband can give orders to his wives.

Children of different mothers (or of different fathers) are on the same footing and considered as real brothers and sisters. [21]

[848] Adulterine children belong to the husband of the unfaithful wife.

858 595 Whether legitimate or not, the children are not treated differently according to their mother's condition. But if the children of a concubine show themselves to be unbearable, people will not fail to contemptuously call them abana bo mu milombero (children of the hedges).

3. Obstacles to Marriage

582 1. Exogamy.

The Batutsi (except the Abanyiginya) and the Bahutu may not take a wife from within their father's family and clan, whatever the kinship. Parallel cousins (1) therefore cannot marry each other, but

1. Parallel cousins are those whose fathers are brothers or whose mothers are sisters.

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609

Neighbors]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

614 [240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few
262 clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

262 Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no
●858 means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of
562 Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

262 The food taboos which play such an important role in the
614 life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos,
784 abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

614 The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are
784 taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

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592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(c) *Procreational function*

181 554 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children was almost indispensible for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby reinforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

557 858 [556] [571]

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Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10]

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1955, pp. 85-86.

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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law 554
constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are 557
persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched 578
that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the [595]
former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same 554
pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to 264
look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no 554
comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always [858]
inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to 554
changes in social role according to age. The changes of social 561
status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, 562
then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five [885]
years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to 431
like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to 554
receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a pubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

586 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their
855 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends
[587] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

•858 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the
862 typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very
593 tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege
858 and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long
593 night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in
[556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit
593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys
[861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A
[603] young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the

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86 SOCIALIZATION--general statements dealing with several aspects of the basic mechanisms of cultural transmission, especially the socialization of impulses and the more informal educational processes. For formal education see 87; for personality and its development see 15.

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The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotors* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organise raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

701 703 173 [178] [182]

(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[20] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture. 121

In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military 86 868 000

[20] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

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the great traditions of military

867 courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, 579 *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were pre- [591] dominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose [152] one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There 867 was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. 152 By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

• 86 Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The 702 Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority 186 of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[11]

This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities 564 required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for 184 Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become 86 warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[11] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services. 564 184 86

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such. 701 613 591

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting 703 613 642

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787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90] 6. The Intore

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361 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

644
292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and
[535] others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

854 p. 63). In order to put the child to sleep and also to soothe it
513 in the daytime, the mother may lightly pat its back and occasionally sing a monotonous "cradle song." Van der Burgt has recorded one in which the evil mother-in-law is mentioned to frighten the child: "Be quiet; otherwise I shall take you to the mother-in-law. She will give you only water. When the cows come home and are milked, you will go hungry. Mother-in-law will not protect you from the sun nor against hunger" (No. 19, p. 71).

Spiritually and morally the children grow up wild. There
●861 is no effort to cure children of bad habits nor to teach them good ones. As long as the children's bad manners do not inconvenience the parents, they even take pleasure in inciting them to fits of temper, to fight, and to steal. Only in exceptional cases is there any practical training in special jobs and handicrafts. Whatever the children learn is acquired by observation, listening, and by helping with work. From an early age they must help their parents in all their work, and being by nature intelligent and vivacious, they soon become surprisingly independent.

145 Boys reach puberty (kukura) when they are between 12 to
864 15 years old, girls even earlier. Long before that, however,
839 they are enlightened about sexual matters and have learned many loathsome things of a sexual nature from those who are older. This does not mean that they have sexual intercourse at a very early age, but onanism and masturbation are widespread vices.

[113] About these practices van der Burgt reports (No. 19,
839 p. 361): "Puellae praesertim horibili huic vitio valde deditae sunt, sub praetextu quidem, ut magis aptae fiant matrimonio et viris placeant. In actu ipso nefando quoddam juramentum vel potius imprecationem pronuntiant: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. Insuper variis mediis utuntur ad majorem voluptatem sibi procurandam. Media generatim sunt plantae, vel radices plantarum arborumve, quibus labia perfricantur." [Tr., "The girls especially are given to indulge in this horrible vice at an early age under the pretext that this makes them more fit for

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has
843 remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the
164 idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in
847 Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest-Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral educa-
●861 tion of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

431 he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has
554 already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle
431 measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any
554 alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior. Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows
626 or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more
[564] generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will
[593] return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For,
554 physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to
681 instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take
[861] out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their
566 parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a
[593] woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always
431 combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or
554 affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors
828 and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no
[152] doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[18] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

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855 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends
[587] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

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862 typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very
593 tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege
858 and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long
593 night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in
[556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit
593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys
[861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A
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woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

586 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their
855 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends
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854 p. 63). In order to put the child to sleep and also to soothe it
513 in the daytime, the mother may lightly pat its back and occasionally sing a monotonous "cradle song." Van der Burgt has recorded one in which the evil mother-in-law is mentioned to frighten the child: "Be quiet; otherwise I shall take you to the mother-in-law. She will give you only water. When the cows come home and are milked, you will go hungry. Mother-in-law will not protect you from the sun nor against hunger" (No. 19, p. 71).

Spiritually and morally the children grow up wild. There
861 is no effort to cure children of bad habits nor to teach them good ones. As long as the children's bad manners do not inconvenience the parents, they even take pleasure in inciting them to fits of temper, to fight, and to steal. Only in exceptional cases is there any practical training in special jobs and handicrafts. Whatever the children learn is acquired by observation, listening, and by helping with work. From an early age they must help their parents in all their work, and being by nature intelligent and vivacious, they soon become surprisingly independent.

145 Boys reach puberty (kukura) when they are between 12 to
● 864 15 years old, girls even earlier. Long before that, however,
839 they are enlightened about sexual matters and have learned many loathsome things of a sexual nature from those who are older. This does not mean that they have sexual intercourse at a very early age, but onanism and masturbation are widespread vices.

[113] About these practices van der Burgt reports (No. 19,
839 p. 361): "Puellae praesertim horibili huic vitio valde deditae sunt, sub praetextu quidem, ut magis aptae fiant matrimonio et viris placeant. In actu ipso nefando quoddam juramentum vel potius imprecationem pronuntiant: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. Insuper variis mediis utuntur ad majorem voluptatem sibi procurandam. Media generatim sunt plantae, vel radices plantarum arborumve, quibus labia perfricantur." [Tr., "The girls especially are given to indulge in this horrible vice at an early age under the pretext that this makes them more fit for

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833 under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family
[595] the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some
864 parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and
838 flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

831 Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not
837 available, it was socially permitted to have another partner
835 (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when
[843] she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a
[833] minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's
[593] patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his
[484] travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few
548 Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

831 The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

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685 except through the mediation of the chiefs. They try to pay
[867] them back by thievery. Parents try to teach their children not to steal by burning their fingers.

684 Crimes against established morals are also severely punished in Ruanda, although it is commonly maintained that these punishments are being mitigated. Formerly seduced girls of Kissaka, as well as their seducers had to pay with their lives. They were either thrown into the water or hanged from the roof of the hut above the burning hearth. At the present time the severest punishment is to banish the girl.

681 The official death penalty in Ruanda is to break the criminal's neck (kuhotora) or to impale him. In Lwabugiri's day, when the death penalty was more frequently administered, it is said that criminals were also thrown into the swamp with their arms and legs cut off. However, among the skulls collected by my men in Nyanza, in the swamp into which executed criminals were thrown, [279] there were some that showed traces of blows from a bush knife.

In the kuhotora type of execution, the head is put between two pieces of wood and twisted back with this leverage device.

The royal executioner, the Mutwa Muhenehene, is said to kill the king's victims with a spear.

The bodies of those executed in Nyanza are allegedly given to the king's dogs to devour.

The impaled criminal whom Dr. A. Römer had an opportunity to observe was tied between two bamboo sticks running the length of the body, one in front, the other behind. His hands were tied together in front. A stake three or four centimeters thick ran through his body from the perineum to the cranium, without injuring the neck externally. The corpse had no lower leg bones. It was already so decomposed that one could not tell whether these bones had been picked off by hyenas or chopped off by the executioner. The natives who were questioned were not in agreement about this. Dr. Kandt (1) gives the word kuvamba for impaling.

[113] 1. Kandt, R., "an account of his travels and research in Ruanda in Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 120.

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obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezawanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is [illegible] of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

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Boys from Twelve To
883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several
[224] days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place
869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage
[603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grandfather. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of
● 867 behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed
[868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to
[867] be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first
[428] wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

595 The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been
593 mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favour-
183 ite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But
[152] according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these

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The great traditions of military

867 courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, 577 *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were pre- [571] dominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose [152] one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There 867 was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. 152 By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

86 Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The 702 Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related 186 origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

564 This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities 189 required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become 86 warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(*a*) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[8] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[9] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[8] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [9] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

152 595 [832] diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his 152 564 595 wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

562 The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

562 868 [29] Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

[867] 858

never have to do menial tasks. Young girls are taught, so that they will be refined, to command and to correct inferiors gently but firmly; to weave pretty baskets; to rub red and yellow ochre on the wooden milk pots which are lined up on a long shelf to display the herder's wealth; to offer beer and food to visitors and to sing and dance, breasts bared, to entertain them. Later, a young woman must learn to cover her face with her scarf, to so arrange her numerous diaphanous white and yellow robes that her entire body is covered, and to engage visitors in conversation while shielded from view by a screen. She must learn how to listen and to understand. If a young girl has noticed that her mother is a good conversationalist, she takes into account the fact that her mother is discreet, intelligent and older than she.

The more closely a woman approximates to the feminine ideal for her caste, the greater her hope for the rewards due to a married woman. A good wife should receive from her husband a quantity of clothes and jewels proportionate to his wealth, permission to go out and to visit where she wishes, permission to drink her husband's beer and to take snuff. In addition she will be praised wherever her husband travels. If the husband has cows, he will give her several so that she and the children will have milk, and he may give her one or more as gifts. If he likes her very much, he will plan in advance the means by which she can remain on his property if he predeceases her. To be a good wife means first of all to execute wifely tasks efficiently. Then, towards her husband and parents-in-law, a good wife is always obedient and respectful, at least while there are outsiders present. Intelligence is a highly desirable characteristic and is indeed indispensable in anyone who will be the wife of a prince. A capable woman will be consulted by her husband, especially if he knows that she is cleverer than he. Among the Hutu, the husband asks advice of an intelligent wife before he goes to ask a cow of a Tutsi, before choosing a wife for their son, before he does anything. Among the Tutsi, a husband who takes pride in his wife's intelligence will consult her before he chooses a serf, goes to his superior to ask for another cow. He does nothing without her advice and boasts about her intelligence and loyalty to his friends. Among the princes, family and economic affairs are hardly distinguishable from affairs of state. Thus, intelligent women come to have a voice in matters of the first importance.

A good hostess who provides food and drink for her husband's visitors need never fear his anger. Just as women speak a great deal of the importance of receiving clothing from their husbands, so men speak a great deal of the importance of a warm welcome for

535 thick cloud of dust. Through this veil of dust I could see the white in their eyes, the shining rows of their teeth, and their heads thrown back with laughter or ecstasy. It was a strange spectacle which I watched for over an hour without tiring of it. I admired the incredible discipline of this mass of men which reacted to the slightest signal of the choir leader, following promptly the quickly changing rhythms so that it seemed as though the ground trembled under the step of a single giant. [868] Even the small naked boys of six to eight years imitated their fathers and brothers with such adroitness that only rarely did one of them miss a beat in this pedal ceremony. In that case the culprit, blushing with shame, was forced into the background by the angry jeer or rough hand of an adult onlooker."

Another dance, which is seldom done, is executed not in rows but in a wavy line. Holding their spears in their hands, all the men run in single file, keeping the same step by imitating the rhythm of their leader who runs at the head of the line. This produces a sound like that of a galloping horse (No. 19, p. 142).

Solo dances by men are even more rare. The motions of the solo dancer are much livelier than those observed in group dances. Usually the onlookers beat the rhythm by clapping their hands, or a musical accompaniment is made [67] with [534] rattle sticks, a zither (inanga), or a drum. Such a dance is described as follows in Kreuz und Schwert, 1901, p. 212:

"The dancer executes all kinds of jumps: now he approaches the instrument which is setting the rhythm; now he moves away from it in great leaps, now he rushes forward as though he intended to jump over the instrument player; he crawls away on hands and legs, falls backwards onto the ground, suddenly jumps up again; and he continues these antics until he loses his breath. Then someone else takes his place and once more amuses the audience with his wild gyrations. Even though the dancer may be engaged in the wildest leaps, he will stop as suddenly as the instrument player stops his music, for he will not dance without the accompaniment of an instrument."

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother [429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a 428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers 768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her 587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional 428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest 463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith 868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is 671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is 563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

exert a significant pressure on somebody. In Ruanda, to be powerful is to be able to exact from others tribute in labour or in kind, or support for one's claims to some advantage to be obtained from the king. In the latter case pressure may remain undefined and indirect: for instance, a threat to withold backing which may later be necessary to the person who is now asked to support a request. We desire to have cattle, say our informants, because by giving one or two beasts to a Muhutu, he becomes our client (*mugaragu*) and then has to do, to a large extent, what we ask of him. We also like to have cattle in order to get as vassal another Mututsi who lacks them. The services expected from a vassal are not manual, but he will increase the influence of his lord by his family connexions and will be useful through his diplomatic shrewdness in dealing with his lord's intrigues. Finally, we desire to become ourselves the vassals of great chiefs, or even of the king, because we are then under the protection of somebody very important, we get more cows and that allows us to have more clients.

In order to become powerful it is important, almost indispensable, to have many children. Girls, by their marriages, extend one's family connexions and bring their fathers a few cows as bridewealth. Boys at an early age begin their military training which gives them a complete education in the skills, knowledge, and virtues pertaining to their noble condition. This training is given them as *intore* (chosen ones) at the royal court or at the court of an important chief. For a father to have a son at court would reinforce his influence: through his son he knows what is going on, and the king or the chief is constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence —an important security for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Mututsi, and thereby getting protection and cows for himself and his parents' family (*mulyango*). Finally, the marriages of his sons could create new links between the father and the families of his daughters-in-law.

In complex societies like our own the roads to power are many. In Ruanda it does not appear that power could be readily attained except through the possession of children and cows. As we shall see, warlike valour could confer very high prestige, but not necessarily power. Great warriors were often granted herds of cattle by the king as rewards for their prowess, and could then gain power by their cattle, but not directly.

If we press our analysis farther, we may say that from the point of view of power, the significance of children is to provide cattle or connexions. On the other hand, cattle give direct power (over the Bahutu clients) or ensure connexions. In relation to Bahutu labourers, cattle have many of the social functions of money in our culture. They enable the man who owns them to exert pressure on those who have few or none of their own and who try to acquire them in exchange for services. In order to facilitate comparison with other ways of life, we may use the term wealth (as a medium of exchange) instead of cattle. As for connexions, what is meant here is that type of relationship in which one party may require something from the

595 One can easily imagine the troubles and conflicts caused by an excessive number of wives and children.

The history of the Hamitic princes of Ruanda contains "pages soiled and as if bloodied by the tale of passions which set them one against the other and which, unleashed with brutal violence, " eventually gave rise to tragedies and palace revolutions. Family unity and family spirit have never gained anything from polygamy. The history of the Hamites of Ruanda is here to prove and confirm this.

The king's mother held first place among the harem princesses,
644 and reigned along with her son. She was "shown the most respectful consideration, and whoever wished to obtain some favor from the monarch had no better recourse than to see her first. "

It has been said that a people must be well disciplined in
157 order to grow prosperous and powerful. The Hamites' strength resided
643 in their courage and organization.

Those who know the Hamites cannot but admire among their qualities perseverance in an undertaking and obedience to chiefs. One must recognize in these political and diplomatic beings, and this is to their credit, a thorough self-possession and great calmness. As true leaders, they rarely give way to anger, and their violent feelings rarely show.

Their apprenticeship to life begins early.

•868 From childhood on, indeed, the young Batutsi devote themselves to real exercises in sports, under the supervision of the Mwami or of the great chiefs. They practice endurance and bravely bear the fatigue of the lengthy and frequent exercises of guhamiriza (dances indigenous to the Batutsi). For many years they remain as pages (intore) in the service of the Mwami or of the provincial governors, in order to be trained to life and to win the favors of currently powerful figures. /44/

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren		
SoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruza
SoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruza
IX. The other generations under		
Descendant		Ubuvivi[11]

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

593 During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other [881] comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely [882] and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not [883] have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in 593 different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the 868 Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

593 When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as [583] Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, [681] which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating [606] his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

[11] Compare with Vanhove, 1941, pp. 11-16.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(d) Socialization

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Boys from Twelve To

883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several
[224] days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place
869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage
[603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grand-father. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of
867 behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed
[868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to
[867] be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first
[428] wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been
595 mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favour-
593 ite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all
183 the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour
[152] was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and
000 one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

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(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[20] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture.

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In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military

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[20] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

152 595 [832] diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his 152 564 595 wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

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[867] 858

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

567 kind of service. They could not be sold and might leave service and marry when they wished.

(3) Slaves who had been purchased or captured during wars or raids. These were also women and were seldom sold; when once a slave entered a family she remained there for life. Such slaves were often taken by their owners to wife, and their sons were regarded as legitimate and might inherit property.

CHAPTER XXXI

MARRIAGE, ILLNESS, AND DEATH

Forbidden relationships—initiation—arranging marriages—marriage ceremonies—taking home a bride—polygamy—entertainment of visitors—treatment of illness—death—burial—mourning—the heir—the widows

582 MARRIAGE between the descendants of a brother and sister was forbidden until they reached the fourth generation, that is, the great-grandchildren of a brother and sister might marry.

[881] There were no initiation ceremonies, but before the sons of princes or chiefs were considered to be of marriageable age, they had to prove that they were capable of settling some quarrel or lawsuit between men. The chief instruction given [869] to a youth was how to manage cattle, but he was also taught to cultivate the land.

584 Infant betrothals were common, and the parents of a boy might agree with those of a baby girl for their children to marry when of a suitable age. The boy's parents gave the others a cow as a pledge of the betrothal, and as long as they kept the cow the engagement was binding. If, however, the parents of the girl discovered any cause for breaking the pledge, they returned the cow with a message that the engagement was at an end. When a boy thus engaged came to a reasonable age, he was told of the arrangement and took presents of beer to his prospective father-in-law. When a boy

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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000 one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15]

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight.

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her

604 The paternal uncle may marry his sister-in-law. He has the
429 same rights over his nephews and the same obligations to them as their father. If the widow marries a stranger (umwinjila), the latter becomes the guardian of the children, but as a rule he has not much authority. And if he does not fulfill his obligations, he may be driven out by the paternal uncle and has to go away empty-handed.

Similarly, if the uncle who is guardian does not fulfill his obligations, the children may complain to their father's patron, or, if they have no cattle, to the hill chief. When they have grown up, they may even drive out the unworthy guardian.

Only through marriage do the sons gain independence unless previously they have freed themselves with violence from the guardian's authority.

593 Nevertheless, even when they are emancipated by marriage, male children are not freed of their obligations to their parents (1).

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p.60.

[39] CHAPTER VII. MAJORITY AND INTERDICTION

[881] In Ruanda there is no initiation ceremony to mark the entrance
885 of boys into social life any more than there are age classes. But when a young man has become ingaragu, his father then looks upon him as a man; he speaks to him of cattle and crops, allows him to share his meal, and sends him in his place to the patron to pay homage, etc.

732 Lunatics (abasazi), the dumb (ibirazi) and the deaf (ibipfamatwi) move around freely and, except for the first, may marry.

593 The property of a spendthrift (ikarara, lit., half mad, exalted) is managed by his parents.

As for the bad son who is disobedient and insolent, he can be cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume).

561 CHAPTER VIII. TABLE INDICATING THE NAMES USED TO DESIGNATE THE DIFFERENT AGES OF LIFE (1)

1. The age given in years is obviously

839 marriage and is pleasing to men. During this execrable act, they pronounce certain oaths or, rather imprecations: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. In addition, they use various means to obtain greater pleasure for themselves. In general they use plants or roots of plants and trees with which they rub the labia." Van der Burgt adds in a letter to me: "His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes prostent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adspirantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt 'pulchras se facere,' quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione." [Tr., "By means of this friction they extend the labia so that they become yellow and protrude, and they try to give them an extraordinary size and length. This custom may be considered
[171] a general or national one not only in Urundi and Ruanda but also among the majority of tribes of central Africa with few exceptions, as, for instance, the Wasukuma. Consequently, it is not primarily intended as a means of obtaining pleasure, but the
[826] girls simply wish to 'make themselves pretty,' since very many young men would not marry a girl who did not have such labia. After marriage the girls abstain from this manipulation."

I could not learn anything about the puberty rites; how-
881 ever, they most certainly are celebrated. Van der Burgt does not report anything on this subject either (No. 19, p. 394). In
304 any case, boys are not circumcised nor are girls infibulated. Only the Batwa, who in contrast to the Batussi and the Bahutu practice deformation of the teeth, sharpen the two upper incisors with a knife as an act to announce puberty (No. 19, pp. 105, 155).

I also was unable to ascertain whether the youths who had
561 reached puberty joined a social club or formed a special "age

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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567 kind of service. They could not be sold and might leave service and marry when they wished.

(3) Slaves who had been purchased or captured during wars or raids. These were also women and were seldom sold; when once a slave entered a family she remained there for life. Such slaves were often taken by their owners to wife, and their sons were regarded as legitimate and might inherit property.

CHAPTER XXXI

MARRIAGE, ILLNESS, AND DEATH

Forbidden relationships—initiation—arranging marriages—marriage ceremonies—taking home a bride—polygamy—entertainment of visitors—treatment of illness—death—burial—mourning—the heir—the widows

582 MARRIAGE between the descendants of a brother and sister was forbidden until they reached the fourth generation, that is, the great-grandchildren of a brother and sister might marry.

[881] There were no initiation ceremonies, but before the sons of princes or chiefs were considered to be of marriageable age, they had to prove that they were capable of settling some quarrel or lawsuit between men. The chief instruction given [869] to a youth was how to manage cattle, but he was also taught to cultivate the land.

584 Infant betrothals were common, and the parents of a boy might agree with those of a baby girl for their children to marry when of a suitable age. The boy's parents gave the others a cow as a pledge of the betrothal, and as long as they kept the cow the engagement was binding. If, however, the parents of the girl discovered any cause for breaking the pledge, they returned the cow with a message that the engagement was at an end. When a boy thus engaged came to a reasonable age, he was told of the arrangement and took presents of beer to his prospective father-in-law. When a boy

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren		
SoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruza
SoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruza
IX. The other generations under		
Descendant		Ubuvivi[11]

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

593 During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other [881] comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely [882] and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not [883] have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in 593 different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the 868 Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

593 When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as [583] Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, [581] which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating [606] his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

684 It is not extraordinary to hear that a wronged husband has taken justice into his own hands, especially if the culprits were caught in flagrante delicto. As for unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), in the Bugoyi 684 they were abandoned on the islands of Lake Kivu where they died of 848 starvation. The small, rocky, and completely arid islands of Ntera, Kapfunuka, and Itembabagoyi were renowned on this account, along with the larger but deserted islands known by the name of Bugarura, Wawu, etc. In the Nduga and other provinces bordering the Akanyaru, the girls were inexorably hunted out by the chiefs, who had them drowned in the river. They were thrown in with their hands and feet tied, and if they did not sink below the water right away, they were knocked on the head with oars and clubs, under the eyes of the populace who had come to witness their torture. There is a river dweller who is in charge of the execution of those unfortunate victims and who tells cold-bloodedly of the drownings he has carried out. If one is to believe him, a dozen victims have passed through his hands. It is said that a grandfather acted as his own granddaughter's executioner to avoid persecution by the chiefs, who take advantage of /53/ the opportunity to pillage the home of the wrongdoer's relatives. Occasionally, families succeeded in ransoming their child by giving a cow to the local authorities, but obviously such recourse was not available to everyone. Even in this case the newborn child was pitilessly killed at birth. Sometimes the culprit could also be made to escape in time to Urundi, the Ndorwa, or the Congo. The motive alleged for such severity is fear of the punishment that would not fail to befall the country if such crimes were allowed.

Let us add that we are speaking of the past, and that today it 181 would be very difficult to dispose of the criminals without the knowledge of the Europeans. Crimes of this kind, moreover, were relatively rare. The Banyarwanda are indeed superior by far to neighboring peoples as far as morality is concerned. It is of little moment that this should be attributed to the altitude of the country, which reaches an average of 1, 700 or 1, 800 meters, or to their working habits, both of which facts are incidentally quite true.

[152 In any event the women are very shy. So are the nubile girls, 862] who are closely watched by their mothers.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Boys from Twelve To
883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several
[224] days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place
869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage
[603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grand-father. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of
867 behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed
[868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to
[867] be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first
[428] wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been
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the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law 593
and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to [606]
punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[12]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. [883] They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the [583] bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's [613] inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father).

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. 604
He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful.

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her [582] nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent [584]

[12] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

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1. The age given in years is obviously

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(*d*) *Socialization*

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law 554
constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are 557
persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched 578
that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the [595]
former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same 554
pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to 264
look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no 554
comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always [858]
inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to 554
changes in social role according to age. The changes of social status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, 561
then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression 562
towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five [885]
years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to 431
like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to 554
receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

604 obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further
[582] pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally,
[584] she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between
604 FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected
601 in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhungwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengeneza-wanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

602 Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather
603 called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to
[867] cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of
[887] past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal
[869] of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful
593 attitude towards his eldest brother, *umwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

561 group" as is found among several East African tribes. Is such a social institution does exist among the Barundi, it plays no role in public life. Nor are there special bachelors' huts or kraals for such an age group, while among other Hamitic peoples of East Africa -- or peoples under Hamitic influence -- for example, the Massai, the Wapokomo [Pokome], and the Galla, these age groups constitute the principal structure of the entire social life.

Among the Massai there are three age groups: the boys living with their parents, the unmarried youths (of the warrior caste) who dive together in their own kraals, and the peaceful married men. Similarly among the Wapokomo and the Galla there are: first, the boys; second, the various age groups of those who have been circumcised at the same time, or Luva; and third, the class of the older men, or Gada. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 262 ff.) In Ruanda the youthful band of warriors which usually appears at the court of Musinga for festive occasions and performs war dances might suggest that such an "age group" of unmarried youths exists among the Batussi, but perhaps they are only a kind of cadet or page corps of the king (see p. 65).

888 775 Old persons who have lost their physical and mental agility are seldom seen since they remain within the homesteads. Their next of kin take care of them until their death (ukufa), perhaps less for reasons of piety than for fear that if they treated them badly they might take revenge after their death as spirits. 763 When a person is dying his family usually gathers around him. Immediately after death, the women in the house and the neighborhood raise a loud and plaintive wailing while the men close the eyes of the deceased, bend his arms and legs, and tie him up (in a crouched position) so as to prevent him or his spirit from returning. Preparations are immediately made for the burial.

764 171 Burial in a crouched position is also the custom in Ankole, Mpororó, Ufipa, and in other Bahima states, also among the

482 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child
784 who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic conceptions.

3. Missions

797 The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success
563 in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave," the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the [139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons, and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.
797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men (abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and organizations form a network over the entire land. Although
797 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years
735 in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor
737 and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van
888 der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives" No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.